Appendix

Address by Hon. Theodore Francis Green, of Rhode Island, at Brown University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an address which I gave at the under-the-elms exercises at Brown University on Friday, May 31, 1957.

This address, entitled "A Sense of Balance," I believe may be of interest to the Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SENSE OF BALANCE

(Address of United States Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN at the Under the Elms exercises, Brown University, Providence, R. I., May 31, 1957)

It means a great deal to me, a great deal more than I can easily express, to meet with you Under the Elms today.

I first saw these trees, at least most of them, when I was a little boy. I have seen them year after year ever since—excepting 2 years when I was a student in Germany. The most memorable occasion for me, under these elms, was in 1887—just 70 years ago—when I graduated and bade them "goodby" and read them a farewell poem. You see it took a long while for them to recover from that shock—but I am grateful for their ultimate forgiveness.

Most of these stately elms have stood here for a long time, in cold and in heat, in dry seasons and wet, in wartime and peace, quietly pursuing the business of being elm trees, undisturbed, so far as we can observe, by recurrent crops of frightened freshmen and solemn seniors hurrying by, or by the great and fundamental changes which have taken place in this world since they were seedlings.

We humans can learn from all of nature. We can learn from these trees. The secret of much usefulness and success, of good health and a tranquil mind, lies in this capacity to go quietly ahead with the business of existence, undisturbed and undismayed by passing stress and turmoil. Yet, such is the balance in nature that we cannot be wholly insulated from our surroundings, any more than a tree can be. In dry country a tree will send its roots far down, searching for water. It is well known that a sapling will push its way through cracked rock in order to survive. A tree in dense forest will become tall, reaching upward toward the light.

If it is the part of tranquillity to be properly unconcerned with the world around us, it is the part of survival to be properly concerned. It is this balance we must cultivate, and it is of this balance I wish to speak today, particularly as it relates to matters of American foreign policy, which has gradually become my chief concern as a United States Senator in Washington.

There are certain areas of this country which question whether foreign policy should ever have been invented in the first place. I am happy to say that the record shows that Brown University is by no means such a place. During my undergraduate years here and later, here and abroad, I became increasingly impressed by the contribution my alma mater has made to this subject which has become probably the most important subject our Government has to deal with. Let me give you some of the highlights.

William Learned Marcy, Brown class of 1808, had his first taste of foreign affairs when he led an attack which captured a Canadian outpost in the War of 1812. Apparently this whetted his interest in matters beyond our borders, for in 1853 he became United States Secretary of State, and greatly distinguished himself by the handling of important and delicate matters, including the Gadsden Treaty of 1853 with Mexico, and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with Great Britain.

Richard Olney, who received his degree from Brown in 1856, served as United States Secretary of State from 1895 until 1897. He induced the British government to submit to arbitration its dispute with Venezuela over the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and wrote a remarkable official note, sustaining the right of the United States to interfere, and giving a wide interpretation to the Monroe Doctrine.

John Hay, of the class of 1858, after serving as private secretary to President Lincoln, was given posts as a diplomat in Paris, Vienna and Madrid, later became Assistant Secretary of State, then Ambassador to Great Britian, and finally served as United States Secretary of State from 1898 until his death in 1905. Among his services were the signing of the first Hague Conference Treaty for World Conciliation, negotiating the original treaty for the Panama Canal, and assisting with the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War. John Hay, by the way, was the author of his class poem, which was considered quite above the average. You see, a class poet may go far. I hope today's may do so.

Charles Evans Hughes, class of 1881, was Secretary of State from 1921 until 1925. He negotiated more than 50 treaties, presided over the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, was chairman of the United States Delegation to the Sixth Pan American Conference in 1928, and was a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice from 1928 until 1930, when he was named Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

This is a good record for Brunonians, but it is by no means the end of the story. Secretary of State Dulles informs me that at last count there were 28 Brunonias on present active service with the State Department, including John Joseph Muccio, Class of 1921, formerly Special Representative of the President to the Republic of Korea, winner of the Distinguished Service Award, and now Ambassador to Iceland.

Over the past 3 years, Mr. Dulles tells me also, that Brunonians have won appointments to the Foreign Service at the rate of two a year. I feel confident that this interest and this service will continue.

No account of the contributions of Brown to foreign affairs would be complete without a mention of our former President, Dr. Wriston. There is no need for me to enumerate his achievements before this audience. You know them well. You know that his courage, his breadth of outlook, his progressive spirit, his ability to command confidence and respect have been given unstintingly to the Nation and the world, as well as to this university, which cordially returns the devotion he has bestowed upon it.

Dr. Wriston's central achievement here at Brown was, I believe, to strengthen in all its aspects the tradition of liberal learning. One of the chief products of this learning is the balance of which I have spoken, the inner guide that distinguishes an educated, civilized man; that gives him the capacity to thread his way among dangers and difficulties and to chart a course of honor and safety through unknown waters. I hope that some of you here today may follow the same path trodden by our fellow Brunonians, some of whom I have mentioned.

Let me review with you a few of the ways in which our foreign policy today must achieve a vital balance. We must, first of all, know to what extent we must be involved, and to what exetent we should be involved, in the destinies of other nations. If our own survival depends upon the survival of certain other lands, and if they in turn must have our help in order to survive, then the most elemental self-interest, if nothing else, demands that we do what is required, and not less than is required, to insure their survival and strength. There is little room for hair-splitting here.

But, the fact that we must necessarily cooperate with other peoples does not give us license to run their lives for them, nor to squander our substance in doing things for them they should be doing for themselves. There is a balance between too much and too little, and we must seek that balance.

In the second place we must make it clear to ourselves, and to the world, not only to what extent we are involved, but also why we are involved in these matters in lands far away. Our legitimate interest in surviving causes us to help others to survive. We have also a legitimate interest in prospering, which causes us to desire that others be prosperous also. These things are related.

We have interests, and we also have obligations. We have obligations to abide by the terms of the promises we make, the treaties we sign, the rules and customs of international law, the Charter of the United Nations. We have obligations to live up to the heritage of freedom, which breathes from the traditions, from the monuments, from the very lands around us here. We must remain true to the religious faith upon which our freedom is founded. We must be true to our very humanity, which we share with other humans, whatever their race or station.

Our honor as well as our survival hang upon maintaining a proper balance, between our legitimate interests and our inescapable obligations. Upon that proper balance depends not only our peace of mind, but also peace among the nations.

So, clear thinking is needed about why and to what extent we must become involved in the affairs of the rest of the world. But, knowing why we do a thing, and knowing how much of it to do, still leaves us with the most troublesome problem of all—how to get it done. It is easy enough to become involved in an argument over a coming football game. But, then you have to win it, and that requires something more than second-guessing and armchair quarterbacking.

First and foremost of all, we must learn patience in our foreign dealings. We are living in a time when changes in the atti-

tude of the Soviet Union, which may well be coming, will come slowly; when problems such as beset the Middle East will require a generation or more for solution; when development such as the young nations seek is slow to the point of anguish, difficult, and often disappointing.

But, for all our patience, we cannot yield the initiative. We must be restlessly probing for avenues to move ahead, and when we find them we must exploit them, not with timidity or penury, but with energy and vision, with courage and will, and if possible with good humor, even when now and then we make a mistake.

Just as we must be patient, so we must be bold. But, as we must be bold, we must be cautious. The Soviet Union is waving the olive branch of disarmament again, and it appears this branch may possibly have a little more substance than the same old stage prop they have waved before. Yet our foreign policy has been and must continue to be a leading from strength, not weakness, because weakness does not prevent wars, it invites them.

But, even though we must be cautious, we still must trust—and hope—and continue to negotiate because we know there is as much danger in too little disarming as there surely would be in too much.

So, we must sail our ship of policy between the devil and the deep sea between the whirlpool and the rock. We cannot drop anchor where we are; we cannot turn back. Either we sail on, or we sink.

And, just as there is balance in our methods, so there will be balance in our moods. We know the fear of awful destruction, and know there is no shame in such a fear. We know the thrill of winning a gamble that must be taken, of meeting a challenge as it comes. We know the joy of creating, not merely a poem or a painting, but a nation, a civilization, a new world. We know the reward, beyond all other rewards, of giving our best to people we love, to a Nation we love, to values we love; of being true—in the highest sense—true to ourselves.

I wish you well, you seniors, as you go out from here. In your childhood and student days you have seen the birth of a perilous and wonderful age. Now go out and share in its maturing. And, I pray that you may keep your balance.

May your lives and the life of the world you are joining grow as this Nation and this university have grown. May they flourish and endure, and become strong and beautiful, like these old elm trees around us here this afternoon.

Steps Taken by Automobile Manufacturers Association To Promote Highway Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, early in this session I introduced a bill to establish a division of highway and automobile safety in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The experience of recent years has indicated with increasing emphasis the need for such a step. Highway deaths are the No. 1 killers of our country.

The New York Times this morning carried an editorial commending the Automobile Manufacturers Association for steps it has taken to promote highway safety. The article stresses some of the factors involved in accidents.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR AUTOMOBILE SAFETY

The Automobile Manufacturers Association has just done a sensible and highly commendable thing. It proposes to take the emphasis off automobile speed and put it on safety and reliability. A first step is to put an end to stock-car racing, competitive acceleration tests, and promotion based on such events. A second step is a planned emphasis in advertising on factors other than speed and horsepower. The National Safety Council calls this a big step toward greater safety and the council, of course, is right.

In recent years the trend in American automobile production has been hazardous. Superhighways have invited cars with superspeeds and the industry has provided them. The death toll has climbed steadily and it is naive to suggest that high speeds and high-powered cars have not been a major factor in this grim rise in fatalities.

The industry has now taken a sound move to break the cycle. It is incumbent upon the motoring public, in turn, to do its responsive part. Advertising will help when its emphasis is right. But in the long run there needs to be something of a change of mind on the part of the American motorist. He must somehow come to realize that 200 horsepower is not necessary for good car performance and that cruising speeds of 80 miles an hour are absurdly dangerous.

Still further steps will have been taken toward greater automobile safety when the purchaser learns to ask a different set of questions. If he will insist upon economy, reliability, and safety as the first qualities in an automobile, the industry will not be unresponsive.

Evaluation of General Education Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "An Institutional Self-Study," by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., director of institutional self-study, at Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN INSTITUTIONAL SELF-STUDY

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

On September 1, 1956, Arkansas A. and M. College began their institutional self-study. An advisory board headed by Dean James H. Hutchinson as chairman and the writer as cochairman and composed of Dr. Claude Babin, Dr. Milton L. Baughn, Dr. B. J. Fletcher, Mr. A. H. Boyd, Mr. Tom Coleman III, Mr. J. D. Moore, Mr. P. L. Harmon, Mr. Leon V. Vawter, Dr. Scott Boyd, and Mr. C. K. Sandifer planned the program. Mr. Coleman and Mr. Moore were on leave part of the time, and Mr. Edward P. Ryan and Dr. Ralph Wickstrom were on the preboard.

The stated purpose was to provide a basis for future modification of the college program by evaluating the general education program and examining its relation to the major fields of teaching, and by determining the effectiveness of the student services initiated or expanded under the Arkansas experiment in teacher education.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education aided the college financially in the study, but the scope of the study was reduced to omit the study of the student services. Approximately $17,000 of combined funds and services went into the study.

The following factors thus became a part of the scope:

1. To what extent and by what procedures have the objectives of the program been achieved?

2. To what extent has participation in the AETE affected the previous program?

3. To what extent does the current program promote the development of A. and M. college students?

4. To what extent can these gains be preserved, and what should be the future goals of the college?

5. To what extent can the college achieve future goals without additional support?

In the execution of the study, a variety of methods were used in order to achieve both a broad and a detailed view of the college program. Some of these were: Examination of the stated goals of each course, examination of the subject matter in syllabuses and texts, interviewing instructors, observation, student-faculty-patron polls, utilization of guidance and counseling records, and pretesting and posttesting.

The faculty, the students, and the patrons listed the attributes they desired students to possess. Each is noted in order of interest. Here is the faculty ranking:

1. Have achieved moral and spiritual values by which to guide his life—including honesty.

2. Have an ability to work with people—human relations—including concepts of group participation, leadership, followership.

3. Achieve a realistic understanding of himself—his potentialities and abilities as well as his limitations.

4. Be prepared to earn a livelihood or have selected a plan that is valid for him—including a vocational choice which will bring satisfaction to him and make it possible for him to contribute to others. This will involve the achieving of at least the initial vocational skills and competence for those who are seeking employment following graduation.

5. Be able to communicate effectively with other people through writing, speaking, reading, listening.

6. Achieve an "at homeness" in the world of ideas.

7. Be prepared for mentally healthful living and personal adjustment.

8. Have a respect for the dignity and worth of the human personality.

9. Recognize that learning is a life-long process—in a sense college is a spring board to life-long learning.

10. Be prepared for the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship.

11. Know and have desirable ideas toward practical principles of healthful living consistent with his own personal physical health.

12. Be prepared for effective leisure time activities—hobbies and the like.

13. Have achieved the ability to push ahead, show initiative, be energetic.

14. Be prepared for the responsibilities as well as the privileges of family life.

15. Be able to perform arithmetical skills in necessary day-to-day living.

The students used the following rating:

1. Ability to cooperate and work with people—human relations.

2. Valid moral and spiritual values by which to guide his life.

3. The ability to cope successfully with the unexpected—new problems and situations consistently arising in the life of individuals as well as of the world.

4. Have a plan for his life that is valid for himself and consistent with the requirements and needs of society.

5. Mental health and personal adjustment.

6. Have a realistic self-confidence and faith in himself—self-understanding.

7. The ability to look at problems objectively—have a scientific attitude.

8. Ability to prepare for the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship.

9. Knowledge of the world in which he lives—plants, animals, natural phenomena and the like.

10. Understanding of problems and practices of healthful living that apply to him.

The patrons used the following rating:

1. A sense of moral and spiritual values by which to guide his life.

2. The ability to think clearly—scientific attitude, objectivity.

3. Ability to work with people.

4. Be prepared for the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship.

5. Be prepared to earn a living or have a valid plan for him to achieve such preparations.

6. The ability to communicate effectively through writing, reading, and speaking, for example—spelling.

7. Recognize that at the conclusion of college his learning has just begun.

8. A realistic ability to adjust (without losing one's own personal values) to the unexpected ethics and practices in business, the ethics and practices in government and society in general.

9. An introductory knowledge of the varied fields of learning, a knowledge of which can stand him in good stead throughout life.

10. An understanding of varied social and human problems—even if the solution is not clear.

11. A respect for and pride in his college.

12. The ability to perform mathematical skills needed in everyday living—the ability to figure well enough to keep other people from cheating him.

The full report will be available by August 31, 1957. It will be a copyright publication of about 300 pages. There will be 2 copies on file in the Library of Congress.

Foreign Aid Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the recent column by George Sokolsky entitled, "Too Much Foreign Aid Waste."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOO MUCH FOREIGN AID WASTE

(By George Sokolsky)

It cannot be said that foreign aid is unpopular in the United States because Americans are not a generous people. It can be said that foreign aid grows increasingly unpopular because too much of it is being wasted and there are no results in such a tangible form that the people can understand what is being done.

For instance, this country has given plenty of foreign aid to Great Britain and the relations of the two countries have not been worse since 1812, except for a short period during the Civil War. True, the British government has to face its own internal problem which is not to be thrown out of office because of the awful mess of Suez which Britons believe John Foster Dulles made for them; on the other hand, the British policy of selling obviously strategic materials to the Red Chinese and the Red Koreans and the Tibetans can only lead to a collapse of relations between the United States and Great Britain. The Tai-pei riots were not accidental and they were timed for international relations.

Whatever is done in any field requires intelligence, and apparently that is where we have been weak. Our operators are just not smart. For instance, that one the Reader's Digest tells about is not unusual enough. Our Government built a $128,000 cowbarn in Lebanon to demonstrate to average farmers living on $100 or less a year the equipment they should provide for themselves in order to get ahead. The dopes. The Levantine farmers who looked at that barn must have wondered what kind of a faker built the impossible.

And if the truth must be told, how many American farmers own a $128,000 cowbarn? Up in my part of Massachusetts, I can only think of one farmer who would have the money to build such a thing for the cows. Most of my neighbors just call in a couple of fellows who know how to put a hammer on a nail and before long there is a barn. What do cows need—mink carpets?

This goes on all over the world without rime or reason. What American foreign aid is really trying to do now apparently is to bring the whole of mankind to the very highest mechanical proficiency of the United States at one jump. It was believed, at one time, that if Harold Stassen were relieved of association with foreign aid there might be an improvement, but there has been no improvement under John Hollister, who before he took on this work was most vehement in denouncing the spenders. In fact, he was a member of the Herbert Hoover group of moneysavers, but since he has settled on the Potomac there is no evidence that he is any longer interested in saving the American taxpayer's money.

The Reader's Digest quotes an ICA man—the giveaway agency—as follows: "After all, this is the air age. We'll give the Afghans an airline and an agency like our Civil Aeronautics Administration to regulate air traffic. American technicians will have to stay there to run the show, of course; we'll have to teach the nation to read and write before it can begin to produce technicians to replace ours."

At first, I thought this was a joke because about 96 percent of the Afghans cannot read or write and most are nomads or simple farmers. It was like the old phrase: "Come the revolution you'll eat strawberries mit sweet cream—and like it." So this is the size of the job this bureaucrat would like to undertake at the expense of the American taxpayer. Of course, this means that large numbers of Americans will live in Afghanistan, converting dollars into local currencies which is a grand way to live and to save money.

Why return to the drab life of the United States where the women do their housework which despite all the mechanized devices that seem so good in the advertisements are such a problem afterwards? No. It is better abroad, where a native woman will look after a child and baby-sitting is not such a complicated family affair.

Foreign aid is unpopular because it does not make Americans proud of achievement. In fact, Americans are often ashamed of the stupid things we do in the name of foreign aid, and being ashamed, they would like to cut it to shreds.

The Basis of America's Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "The Basis of America's Foreign Policy," which I delivered before the St. Paul's Guild of St. Joseph's Catholic Church, on May 26, 1957, at Huntington, W. Va.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BASIS OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

(Address by Senator REVERCOMB)

I speak to you today on a problem that may well be uppermost in the minds of every American. Stated simply, it is this: "How can the United States contribute most to conditions that give greatest assurance of peace in the world and security for our own people?"

This problem is not new, to be sure, but the conditions that confront us today are quite different from what they were only a few years ago. Therefore, we must be prepared to think anew and act anew.

However much we may wish to wash our hands of the responsibility that is thrust upon this country, we cannot escape the grave task with which we are faced. However much we might prefer to take comfort in our economic and military strength, the inescapable fact remains that we cannot afford to go it alone. Alliances with other nations have become as essential to our own security as the hydrogen bomb or the intercontinental missile. The security of our own shores depends as much on preventing the Communists from taking over the Middle East as from taking over the Philippine Islands.

The reason for this new set of conditions on which world peace hinges is obvious when we consider the facts. The advent of the air age, and with it the hydrogen bomb and the guided missile, has brought all nations into such close proximity that every part of the world has become a potential battlefield. When one pauses to consider the fact that it will soon be possible for an enemy power to direct guided missiles with unerring accuracy upon our cities from points thousands of miles away, it becomes graphically clear that the nation which seeks to stand alone is inviting its own destruction.

In the face of these indisputable realities, unpleasant though they be, it becomes abundantly clear that 19th century policies are inadequate to meet 20th century conditions. And we must either rise to the occasion and accept the responsibility that is America's or risk the danger of losing all that we hold dear.

I need not remind you that there is still abroad in the world an ideology that is alien to the beliefs of every person who gives allegiance to God. I need not remind you that if the perpetrators of this evil design carry out their avowed aim, which is

world conquest, the way of life that you and I cherish will be lost.

There are those who say to me, "But why should we be concerned with what is happening in the far-off Middle East?" I say to you, in reply, that what happens in that distant part of the world may well determine whether or not we are able to keep communism from engulfing our own shores.

We know that if a forest fire is burning in the direction of our homes, we do not wait until the flames are lapping at the doors before moving to check its advance. If a flood is descending upon us, we do not stand idle until it has engulfed our homes before taking action to avert the danger. By the same criteria, we must acknowledge that it is folly of the worst sort to sit idly by, taking comfort in our own strength, while nation after nation is being absorbed into the Communist camp. In my judgment, the greatest danger from these aggressors lies in their well-conceived plan of taking over country after country until America is left isolated and standing alone. This must not be permitted to happen. Whatever the cost, we must bolster the strength of those free nations which are resisting the Communist tide. The moral and financial support we give them now may well save us billions of dollars, to say nothing of American lives, at some future day when the danger has swept much closer home.

I subscribe wholeheartedly to the basic tenets of the foreign policies on which the leaders of this country have embarked. It is an altruistic policy, to be sure, founded on the high moral conception that the dignity of man requires that he be permitted to enjoy certain inalienable rights, not the least of which is the right to exercise a voice in his government. This is not to say that this country should seek to impose its way of life on any nation, but rather that our deep love of human freedom compels us to employ a part of our substance and strength to help prevent the people of other nations from being enslaved against their wills.

In the main, however, our foreign policy is based on the simple expedient of self-preservation. So long as Communism poses the threat that it does today, self-interest demands that we join forces with every nation which is resisting this evil force. It is an obvious fact, certainly one well known to our military leaders, that should the oil-rich Middle East fall to the Communists, our own security would be lessened by an incalculable degree. By the same token, should all Asia fall to the Communists, we know that it would be only a matter of time until the aggressor would be moving from island to island across the Pacific. Such is the nature of the evil force we are called upon to resist in the interest of our own self-preservation.

I am convinced that if war is to be averted, if civilization is to be spared the horrifying experience of an atomic conflict that is certain to engulf the whole world, communism must be stopped before it has made great new advances. Every gain they make, wherever it may occur, will inevitably increase the chances of war. On the other hand, if we stand firm, if we lend our support to those nations now actively resisting this aggressive force, war may be averted.

I believe that security is better defended by standing together with those who fight against a common enemy than by staying neutral on so dangerous an issue until one by one our friends are destroyed. This is not a time for neutrality. We cannot be neutral in the face of proven danger. Where would Christendom be today if Christ had been neutral on the subject of the moral life of man?

No one can say that the policy this Nation is pursuing will guarantee conditions of peace. The results that already have come from that policy, however, are encouraging. I cite a recent example.

Only a few weeks ago it looked as though the little kingdom of Jordan was ripe for a Communist coup. Internal dissenson had created conditions ideal for that purpose. What was the result? President Eisenhower, implementing the principles embodied in the Middle East doctrine, threw the full moral support of this country behind Jordan. The United States Sixth Fleet was moved into a strategic position in the Mediterranean—not as a threat of war, mind you, but rather as a warning to those who would exploit Jordan's internal difficulties that this country would tolerate no outside intervention. The result of that action has been to keep Jordan's Government in the anti-Communis alliance.

The basic aim of our whole foreign policy, then, is to deter aggression. This is true in eastern Europe, in the Middle East and in Asia. This policy has already paid off in all three areas. Only a few days ago, in an address before a join session of Congress, the president of the 2-year-old Republic of Vietnam, a strategic south Asian country, emphasized that American foreign aid had been largely instrumental in preventing his country from falling to the Communists. I quote from his address:

"In the face of increased international tension and Communist pressure in southeast Asia, I could not repeat to often how much the Vietnamese people are grateful for American aid, and how much they are conscious of its importance, profound significance, and amount * * *. This action has contributed to the defense of southeast Asia and prevented the raw materials of this area from falling into Communist hands."

It is only reasonable, in considering he task we have undertaken, to ask: "How long and to what extent must America extend aid to other nations?" I think we must advance military aid until such time as the free world is sufficiently strong that the Communists will not dare risk starting a war. As for economic aid abroad, I am convinced that the time has come when such aid should be in the form of loans rather than gifts. It is to our interest, of course, that the nations of the free world be both economically and militarily strong. However, nearly all foreign nations outside the Communist orbit are now in a stronger economic position than ever before, and such help as they require should not be at the expense of endangering our own economy.

The burden of maintaining strong defenses here at home and of bolstering the military strength of nations which subscribe to the basic principles of human freedom is heavy, to be certain. A large percentage—more than 60 cents out of each tax dollar—is going for that purpose. I say in all earnestness, however, that so long as this menace remains a threat to America's security, we must stand prepared to make whatever sacrifice may be required.

I deplore the high cost of this policy—but it is less costly than war. I deplore the necessity of the policy itself—but we cannot ignore realities.

A few weeks ago, it was my privilege to talk at some length with a foreign correspondent who has covered wars and uprisings in nearly every part of the world for the last two decades. The man I refer to is Larry Allen, a former West Virginia newspaperman, who had only recently returned from Vietnam. He had experienced firsthand the tactics of the Communists in Indochina and other Asian countries. He said to me: "If the day should ever come that the American citizen is required to pay 80 cents out of every dollar he earns to provide this country with adequate defenses against communism, I would say that it's a small sacrifice to make." He went on to say that no one who has not witnessed firsthand the horrors of Communist enslavement can begin to imagine what life is like under that totalitarian ideology so alien to all that we in this country hold dear.

We must continue on in the task that world circumstances has assigned to us. We must not falter in the world responsibility that is ours. We must cast aside partisan politics at the water's edge and stand united in our defense of American liberties. We must earnestly, seriously seek the pathway that leads to conditions of peace.

It is my conviction that if we do not falter, if we do not let down our guard, if we do not show signs of weakness, the time will come when the threat of enslavement will have passed away. Then the vast sums of money we are now spending for defense purposes can be used for internal improvements here in America or turned back to our people in the form of tax relief.

Indeed, there are already heartening signs that the strength of the free world is reaching a point where the aggressor nations are growing more wary. We know that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are growing more and more restive, and there is reason to believe that the time will come when the deterrent influences of the free world will more than balance the warmaking potential of would-be aggressors.

Until that day comes, however, we must stand firm against further Communist aggression in any part of the world. Any other course can well lead to disaster for free peoples everywhere, our own included.

Address by Hon. Barry Goldwater, of Arizona, Before Wisconsin Republican State Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address I made before the Wisconsin Republican State convention on June 8, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER BEFORE THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION, JUNE 8, 1957

For many reasons I am pleased by this opportunity to come to Wisconsin tonight.

First, and quite naturally, it is a privilege to meet with your outstanding State Republican organization, as it is an honor at any time to join with those of our citizenry who are actively dedicated to the cause of good government through the enunciation of basic Republican principles.

Second, and of particular importance to the party of Abraham Lincoln, it is good to visit the State in which, just over 100 years ago, the ideal of Republicanism was transformed into the reality of the Republican Party.

We are fortunate today in recalling our first century of service to this Nation, to be able to acknowledge that those same ageless precepts and purposes which guided the men in the little schoolhouse at Ripon still provide the motivation for our party's efforts.

The Republican Party is now, as it was in the beginning, committed to the proposition that man, as a child of God, is a free being, and that governments are created among

men to serve and protect the liberties of the individual.

The Republican Party is today, as it was 100 years ago, a party dedicated to the goal of reserving to the States and to the people the power to regulate their own lives, unhampered by any semblance of Federal domination.

We believe that the thesis of individual incentive and private initiative is good—good for the country and good for all its citizens—and we are pledged, as always, to the strengthening of that economic and political system which enables men to realize and enjoy the products of their own labors through the sheer joy of personal accomplishment in a free and competitive society.

As Republicans, it is our historic obligation to preserve inviolate the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. And we vigorously reject any concept which suggests that these are no longer applicable to our governmental pursuits.

Indeed, for 20 long and painful years our Nation followed bureaucratic byways toward a collectivist goal under the devious direction of New Deal and Fair Deal administrations.

For 20 years the traditional Democrat philosophy of Jefferson and Jackson was subverted and destroyed, and all that remains of the foundation of that once great party is now desperately crying out for a restoration of loyal leadership which does not, because it cannot, respond.

Many times I have suggested to my Democrat friends that there is a place for them in Republican ranks, and that they would be welcome. For our party has not and never will write off the value of States rights and limited, conservative, economical Government.

Neither will we ever abandon the principles of Republicanism for the siren song of socialism.

Another reason that I am glad to be with you this evening is because Joe McCarthy, your Senator, was my good friend, and a man of whom all Republicans can be justly proud.

Joe and I became friends long before either of us entered the Senate and, with his usual good judgment, whenever the weather in Appleton or Washington got too cold for him, he used to come out to Arizona and enjoy some of our priceless sunshine which nobody has ever figured out how to put in bottles and ship back East.

During the time that I had the good fortune to serve with him in the Senate, I found further evidence of his distinction as a Senator, as a Republican, and as a friend. He was a faithful, tireless, and conscientious American. He fought just as hard for the things he believed were right as he did against the things he knew were wrong.

Joe McCarthy gave himself—his life—to the service of his God and his country. He did a job that no other man could, or would, do. He was completely selfless and his single motive was the preservation of those principles which make it possible for the Republican Party to proclaim now its fulfillment of the confidence of all Americans.

Because Joe McCarthy lived, we are a safer, freer, more vigilant Nation today. That fact, even though he no longer dwells among us, will never perish. And I know you will join with me in thanking God that while Joe lived he made a contribution to his countrymen that will forever redound to the credit of the people of Wisconsin and to your Republican organization.

Finally, I am proud, as a Republican, to come to this State which has twice accorded to Dwight D. Eisenhower such an overwhelming vote of respect. And I am gratified to be able to report to you that, with the passing of each day, this Republican administration grows in stature and in the sight of the American people.

To those of us who watched with alarm the chaos, corruption, and communism which was rampant under the New Deal and Fair Deal administrations, it is surely rewarding to know that, under Republican leadership, dignity, decency, and dedicated Americanism have been restored to the halls of our Government.

After 20 years of rule by a philosophy whose watchword was crisis, the affairs of our Nation are now directed by a leadership whose watchword is peace.

Now, we might ask, who is really responsible for these achievements? A modern Republican might answer: Arthur Larson or Paul Hoffman. But Arthur Larson did not even vote in 1954 and 1956, and Paul Hoffman, who was a member of the Truman administration, has not been conspicuous for achievement in political, or other fields.

To this question of who deserves the credit for the accomplishments of these past 5 years, a citizen for Eisenhower might reply that it is the President himself. Yet I know that he considers himself as only one member of a large team, and I believe President Eisenhower would be the first to deny the indispensability of any single personality in the overall effort to bring good government to our land.

You and I gathered here, of course, might say that the genius for these recent gains resides solely in the Republican Party; and, indeed, comparatively speaking, it must be admitted that our party has succeeded in righting many of the evils perpetrated by the New Deal disciples.

Yet, to be completely accurate, may I suggest that it is the innate good sense of all the American people, and their increasing dedication to and understanding of our constitutional, free-enterprise way of life, that has provided the real impetus for this return to sanity and morality in government.

The Republican Party has always sought to reflect the combined, cumulative thinking and beliefs of men and women of good conscience who are devoted to representative government and committed to the maintenance of the dignity of the individual.

That is why there is, and always will be, room in our ranks for men of such widely differing personalities and viewpoints as Dwight Eisenhower and Joe McCarthy.

That is why, when we are in pursuit of a principle, we must divorce it completely from any considerations of personality; for to judge an ideal merely in terms of the individual who propounds it is to insult both the ideal and the individual.

It is this capacity of Republicanism to embrace the honest disagreement of honest men that gives our party its best opportunity for future achievements for the good of all. And there is no place among Republicans for the use of compulsion or other inducements to enforce a specialized will or belief upon the party as a whole.

Indeed, we have never subscribed to that collectivist conclusion that the sum is greater than the total of its component parts.

Right and justice and honor and truth and devotion to the cause of mankind are not the products of an organization. They are and always will be a reflection of the principles of the men and women who are members of that organization.

In the Congress today the Republican Party is engaged in debating the merit and wisdom of the proposed budget for fiscal 1958. There is a wide divergence of opinion and belief. I am among those who think that this budget can and should be cut in the interest of preserving the economic freedoms and fiscal integrity of this Nation. There are others who think that any reduction in this budget would imperil our future security.

May I submit that this disagreement is a healthy situation. It is an expression of the sincere conviction of each individual. And out of this debate there will be produced a final conclusion, strengthened and tempered by the cumulative wisdom of those contributing to that decision.

I suggest, too, that the Republican Party will be stronger and more unified because of this experience. The President's position of leadership will be enhanced. For history teaches us that when men of conscience have disagreed and have resolved their disagreements in a climate of mutual respect the cause of representative government has been well served.

There are some members of the opposition party who think they, in this struggle, are witnessing the disintegration of the Republican Party. They are, I think, extremely shortsighted and engaging, perhaps, more in wishful thinking than in objective analysis.

They are, I suggest, incapable of recognizing the dynamic strength of this political faith which has grown so steadily in wisdom and stature and in its ability to serve the people by virtue of its constant rejection of the feudalistic concept of a political organization which requires subservience and acquiescence of its members.

You and I, as Republicans in 1957, can be grateful to this administration for having repudiated the thinking of those who urge the concept of one-man rule, for having reaffirmed our ancient faith in the tripartite system of government, and for having enlisted in this cause of freedom those who would serve rather than those who would master.

Strong in the faith of Lincoln and in the proven record of our party of principle, we can answer now and for all time the cynical demands of those who would divert us from our chosen course by reaffirming these highest concepts of Republicanism.

Rider College Commencement Address by Hon. Alan Bible, of Nevada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 8, Rider College in Trenton, N. J., had its 92d commencement. On that occasion honorary degrees were conferred by the college on our distinguished colleagues, the Senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], who because of his recent indisposition was unable to be present; the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], and myself.

In Senator BRIDGES' enforced absence, Senator BIBLE made an outstanding and significant commencement address. It was a great pleasure for us in New Jersey to have Senator BIBLE with us, and I ask unanimous consent that his address be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH GIVEN BY SENATOR BIBLE AT RIDER COLLEGE, TRENTON, N. J., JUNE 9, 1957

It is an honor and a privilege for me to appear at the commencement exercises of Rider College.

This day belongs to the graduates of the class of 1957 and to the parents whose sacrifices have made it possible for this goal to be reached. I hope that every one of you will pause to sufficiently appreciate and to say thanks for the help you have received.

Graduates of Rider College have much of which they can be proud. Since 1865, Rider has grown from a small business college to the fine institution which you know today. It is my understanding that Rider is embarking on a $10 million building project which will give your school one of the finest campuses in the East. This is a significant sign of the progress being made by Rider. You can face the future confidently with the realization that you have received excellent preparation here at Rider College.

The word "commencement" which is used to describe these ceremonies means a "beginning." In this sense, today is a beginning for you who are about to be graduated. I do not intend to impose on your time. I promise to be brief. I well remember my college days, and I think I know the part of the program for which you are waiting.

You are a selected group. You were selected for admission to this college. You were screened through 4 years of study. You have been given an opportunity. You have attained an objective. At the same time, you have assumed a responsibility, which you cannot lightly disregard. As Thomas Huxley said, "The greatest end of life is not knowledge but action."

The faculty of this college has equipped you with the knowledge. Sometimes at considerable pain to you and, I suspect, some irritation to them. Your equipment is excellent. You cannot plead ignorance to your fellow men. You must accept the duty and responsibility which, although not contained in the wording of your degree, is, nevertheless, clearly your obligation.

As you leave this campus and seek employment in different parts of the United States or, indeed, the world, the direct test of what you have learned here will be demonstrated by your daily actions. All of you are intelligent or you could never have completed the course of academic studies which has been presented in the seminars and lecture rooms of this college.

I suggest to you, however, that your distinguished faculty has not been teaching subject matter alone. They have been teaching young men and women. They have been instilling in you the principles of fidelity, honesty, moral courage, industry, integrity, and loyalty. These facets of your education are eternal. The subject matter changes—the learning process is constant if one would keep apace in today's world. But a freeman who thinks like a freeman, who talks like a freeman, and acts like a freeman will remain a freeman in prosperity, in adversity—whatever the future may bring.

It is fashionable today to decry the times in which we live. I hold to the theory, as expressed by the English historian Macaulay, that: "Those who compare the age in which their lot has fallen with a golden age which exists only in imagination, may talk of degeneracy and decay; but no man who is correctly informed as to the past, will be disposed to take a morose or desponding view of the present."

Personally, I know that the present is a great improvement over the past; I am confident about the present, and I am optimistic about the future. This is my belief, and I have dedicated what talents I have toward it. I hold no brief with those who beat their brests and say that our civilization is going to Hades in a hand basket and that the decline of the West is in progress.

To me the future of this Nation belongs to the youth. As I have witnessed, throughout the length and breadth of this land, the education of young men and women, dedicated to love of country and service to humanity, I am personally confident that the future is in good hands.

I do not mean to suggest that the road which you will travel in the years ahead is an easy one. You will face adversity in many forms. There will be moments when your courage is shaken and you will be torn with indecision. These are facts which you must recognize.

I do suggest, however, that during those moments of doubt the spiritual quality of you, as Americans, achieves its greatest significance.

There is no one among us who can deny that the affairs of men are guided by the hand of a Creator. It is inconceivable—as a matter of personal philosophy—that this spiritual hand which guides us will permit the destruction of this Nation before its mission to humanity and God is achieved. I draw strength from this concept, even in the darkest hours of decision.

Whatever the sacrifices, I have no doubt as to the ultimate outcome in the struggle between a philosophy dedicated to the improvement of man as opposed to one which seeks only to destroy him. H. G. Wells once said: "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." To me, this is a race which can only have one outcome. Education will conquer.

To avoid despondency and despair, one has only to consider the progress that has been made in the last century in human relations. Less than 100 years ago, there was human slavery in these United States. Today, that very thought is intolerable. Women were regarded as chattels without political equality. That, too, has disappeared.

The concept of attempting to seek solutions to world problems on a world basis had not yet been born. Today we have the United Nations. It remains our responsibility to be constructively critical of the United Nations in the hope that it can be made to work better. There is no doubt that without the deliberately obstructive tactics of the Soviet Union much more progress toward peace could have been made. You probably know that of the 81 United Nations vetoes in the last 11 years, 78 were cast by Russia. Perhaps by a realistic appraisal of the situation, we can go forward despite the Communists. Imperfect though the United Nations is today, it is a vehicle for the exchange of ideas and discussion of mutual problems. We are at least trying.

In the field of medical science more specific achievements have been made. What would Abraham Lincoln and his wife, Mary, have given for $5 worth of antibiotics when their son died? What would Calvin and Grace Coolidge have given for a few dozen sulfur tablets when the precious life of their son was being drained away by septicemia? What would thousands of parents have given for the miracle drugs of today which were not available while their children were being stricken with diseases of diphtheria, pneumonia, tetanus, and others which are almost unknown to modern parents. Perhaps today with the Salk vaccine we are on the threshold of a new victory of man over disease.

Each generation feels as though it has not done a proper job in the conduct of its affairs. Each generation feels as though it has burdened its children with its own mistakes. This eternal conscience which never lets us rest is in itself an indication of the striving for improvement which characterizes our society.

Of course, there are problems, and very serious ones. Today's problems are perhaps the most complex the world has ever known. They do not yield to simple solutions.

There is the problem of communism. I regard this atheistic philosophy not as a government in any sense of the word but as a great international conspiracy aimed at world conquest and domination. It challenges the very survival of this Nation and all the people of the free world. I would not appease communism by any action which sacrifices 1 inch of free land, 1 human life or 1 American principle.

I believe that whenever any free individual is forced into bondage, to that degree America becomes enslaved. So long as I am able, I shall oppose communism with all the resources at my disposal.

If the world is to be free, young men and women like you must carry on the fight long after I and others like me have disappeared.

As a citizen, aware of the dangers which threaten our way of life, you young men may be called upon to serve in the Armed Forces of your Nation. Just as the pioneer Davy Crockett instructed his sons in woodcraft and in the handling of weapons for their own protection against hostile savages, your country must train you for your own safety and the security of your loved ones.

It would be pleasant if the world had reached the point where no danger existed. It would be desirable if you men could be allowed to get on with your chosen careers and not have to devote a portion of your time to military training. The present necessity, however, is not one of our making. You must, therefore, accept your civic responsibility of military service with the realization that its ultimate purpose is your self-perpetuation. This is one of the realities of the times in which you live.

There is also the problem of atomic energy. This powerful source of energy is viewed by some as a threatening monster which will destroy the world. We know that the "atom" has no morals, no ethics. It is a natural force like any other which can be used for good or evil.

It is man directed and its use will reflect the character of those who guide it.

I personally feel that the possession of nuclear weapons, and the ability to deliver them, by the United States restrained the Communists from overrunning all Western Europe, and allowed sufficient time for free people to raise their own defenses.

I envision great strides in the benign applications of atomic energy in medicine, biology, agriculture and industry. I am convinced that as the years go by the benefits to mankind will be enormous and will dwarf into insignificance the weapons aspect of this physical phenomenon.

If my vision is to be realized, there must be dedicated realistic men who have enough common sense to protect us from destruction while we forge ahead in the cause of humanity.

There is the problem of individual responsibility. There has grown up a cult throughout the world, and to a considerable degree in our land, of those who believe that government should accept the complete responsibility for the lives of its citizens.

Those people all have one thing in common. They want something for nothing. They want to spend more than they make; reduce taxes and increase benefits.

Their beliefs are in direct opposition to the political philosophy which made this Nation great. The new order which was given to the world in 1776 was based upon the philosophy that man was a rational animal, that given opportunity he could take care of himself without injuring his neighbors; that he had certain inalienable rights which government could not diminish or circumscribe.

The only true security is in the daily satisfaction of a job well done. One has only to read the daily paper to realize that no man knows when he will die. Life is not measured in years alone or by material acquisitions, rather in terms of service, accomplishments, and spiritual rewards. Better to have lived for 50 years enjoying fully every second of the time; doing great deeds; winning the love of friends and neighbors; than to eke

out a miserable existence for a century where life was an empty pulp.

The problem basically has been stated in the Scriptures, "Bread cast upon the waters returns a thousandfold."

It was also said: "Give and you shall receive."

If you give of yourself in the service of others, you will be rewarded accordingly.

I get very restless with those who constantly apologize for the American system. Of course there are inequities and injustices which should be corrected. Americans should support every constructive suggestion for the refinement of our social system. Nevertheless, I am conscious that our society has provided more opportunity for spiritual and material development of humanity than has ever before been possible.

Destructive critics of our way of life annoy me. They are so busy looking at the few spots of mud that they never lift their eyes and observe the blue sky above.

Every privilege in this world carries with it a responsibility. Every opportunity implies an obligation. Every possession has affixed a duty.

Whether or not the sphere of righteousness extends rapidly or slowly in your lifetime, will ultimately depend on the attitude each of you adopts. Never were there greater challenges. Never was there more opportunity.

It has been said that there are three ingredients in a good life: Learning, earning, and yearning.

Here at Rider, you have been given the opportunity and the equipment of learning. When you leave this institution you will begin the process of earning—earning not only material things but earning the respect, the love, and the friendship of people with whom you associate. To a tremendous degree, your future, and the future of your generation, will depend upon the things for which you yearn. If you yearn for freedom, individual responsibility, and opportunity, you and your children shall have it. You can transmit the legacy you inherited. It is within your power to make future generations refer to the last half of the 20th Century as "the golden age."

This country and the free world needs leadership. We don't need people who are willing only to become one of the crowd; we need men and women who are individuals and who stand for individual principles. God give us wisdom to profit from the mistakes of yesterday; God give us courage to face the problems of today; God give us vision to plan for the challenegs of tomorrow.

Report by Texas Newsman From Europe on USIA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of our most distinguished Texas newspapermen, Mr. Wes Izzard, editorial columnist for the Amarillo Daily News, is currently touring Europe. Mr. Izzard took with him to Europe the inquiring mind and the keen powers of observation that have made him eminent in his profession.

Recently Mr. Izzard sent to the News from Paris a report on his personal, on-the-spot investigations of the work being done by the USIA. I believe his report will be of considerable interest to Members of Congress, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

USIS: IS IT WORTH ALL THOSE MILLIONS?

(By Wes Izzard)

PARIS, FRANCE.—Is the United States getting its money's worth from the USIS?

LYNDON JOHNSON and a majority of his fellow Senators thought not; so they voted a deep cut in next year's appropriation for the sprawling information agency that reaches around the world.

What is the situation in the field?

In Europe I have visited three USIS establishments and have heard indirectly about others. But first, let's look at the general picture.

The United States Information Service is autonomous. It is not an agency of the State Department.

Each director in the field has authority to set up his own program and run it as he sees fit, except for overall policy made in Washington. In this respect he has more autonomy than an ambassador.

The USIS has a dual function. It provides information about the United States to foreign politicians, editors, business leaders, and, where possible, to just plain people. In addition, it is supposed to interpret American culture to other countries. World competition in the field of culture is terrific. It seems to have been started by the Russians.

These functions are carrier out in various ways.

In Rome, for example, USIS puts out a daily mimeographed summary of Washington news with the official American viewpoint. It goes largely to Italian newspapers. No such service is provided in Paris, although feature stories are distributed to the press.

Most USIS offices issue a magazine of some sort. In Paris, a bimonthly called Informations and Documents is published. It is attractive but not too elaborate; modestly printed by offset with a profusion of black and white photos.

In the June issue, just out, is an article titled "Texas," mostly about rodeos. It starts with the old story of the Sweetwater oilman who thought the Eiffel Tower was a drilling rig.

Other articles have to do with the migration of industry in the United States; the American Indian; Longfellow. The editorial is a letter from the New York Times, Capitalism and Democracy. There's a letters-to-the-editor department called Franco-American Forum.

This magazine has a circulation of 110,000, of which 85,000 are hand-picked men of affairs, such as members of the assembly, bureau chiefs, editors, feature writers, college presidents, businessmen, and so on. The remainder represent requests to be put on the mailing list.

Morrill Cody, director of the USIS here is a one-time magazine man who has spent 17 years in Paris. He explained that the editor of Informations and Documents is a Frenchman. His copy is gone over carefully by an editorial board and by Cody, himself, to check every implication that might be misleading or irritating.

Practically all USIS establishments use radio freely. This is about the only way masses of ordinary people can be reached.

In Paris, a choice 20-minute segment of time on the government network, 7:30 to 7:50 p. m., is given over daily to the American program, which consists of news, commentary, features, and music.

Also each USIS office is a distributing center for films depicting American life and culture. These films are shown at meetings of various sorts on request.

The larger offices have an American theater or auditorium at their disposal. While I was in Rome, a lecture by an Italian-American professor was given in the theater in the basement of the consulate, adjoining the Embassy.

Practically all USIS offices have libraries and reading rooms. In Rome, a large library with attractive display windows is maintained across from the Embassy. I passed it several times and saw only an occasional Italian pause to look.

A few days after I left Rome, I saw in the paper that a crazed Italian youth had dashed into the center, shouted "down with Americans," and stabbed an Italian woman attendant.

I asked Cody for some figures on the setup in France. He said USIS hires 52 Americans and about 250 locals to staff its Paris establishment, as well as officers in seven other cities, and suboffices in two.

In Paris, USIS is scattered over four locations, including a group of buildings around an ancient court on St. Honore Street, behind the embassy, where the print shop, photo lab, and storage are maintained. Headquarters are three floors of a building adjoining the Embassy.

The director for USIS in Rome is Alfred Jacobson, with offices in the old Twin Palace building next door to the Embassy. The consulate occupies the other twin with a garden between. He was busy getting acquainted with the new ambassador, and when I went to see him, he was in the process of distributing mimeographed copies of a speech Mr. Zellerbach had made in Naples.

In Bern, I talked to George Freymark, a foreign service career man who was moved over to USIS a few years ago. Manhattan born and reared, Freymark looks, acts, and talks like a Madison Avenue advertising executive.

He has a tight, low-budget operation that might well serve as a model for the more extravagant jobs.

His chief concern is that the budget cut might result in the closing of the office in Switzerland altogether.

This happened in 1953, and he was elected to come back and reopen it in 1955, when the appropriation was restored.

If it happens again, the Swiss are likely to get the idea that Americans can't make up their mind.

Cody's Paris operation is the largest in Europe except for Bonn. There, USIS has a vast establishment designed to hold the Germans steady in their allegiance to the United States.

While we taxpayers are maintaining this great public relations setup in Germany, the Bonn government is hiring an American public relations firm to popularize the Germans in America. And if the French Government could afford it, they say they would hire a New York public relations counselor, too.

USIS has offices not only in Europe, but around the world. Thus a visit to three European offices, and conversation on the subject with various embassy and consular people, are hardly enough to qualify one as an expert.

However, I do have some definite impressions.

The staffs in the field are performing well the program laid out for them by Washington.

But is this program effective? Is it worth the money?

Are we reaching the people who should be reached?

Can the hundreds of thousands of dollars going into tax-supported magazine publishing ventures around the world be justified?

How much influence do these publications have, and is it actually important that such influence be provided?

Is USIS getting to the millions of people who really would like to know about the United States, or is it concentrating too much on politicians, editors, and big businessmen—the sort of people who are hardened to propaganda, and could find out for themselves the things they really want to know?

Is it essential that we spend millions trying to make people like us and understand us?

Can such respect and understanding be forced through films and radio and magazines and similar channels?

It seems to me that our information service should be just that, and nothing more—a service to provide information for those who want it.

A small, competent staff could be maintained in major cities around the world to whom the people could go when they wanted to know something about the United States. Perhaps a modest publication containing only vital current information could be distributed to those who asked for it; and radio could be used sparingly and effectively.

Is it necessary to spend tens of millions of dollars on magazines, movies, special wire services, costly books of colored photoes, elaborate downtown reading rooms, and the like? Will all this buy the good will we Americans seem so determined to create?

It hasn't—and we doubt that it can.

LYNDON JOHNSON, we think, is on the right track. Information for those who seek it—yes. A vast cultural and propaganda machine—why?

It is my observation that the infiltration of Europe by American business is having more influence on the attitude of the people toward us than all the tax-supported ventures we maintain.

Coca-cola is the best propaganda we have over here, and it doesn't cost the taxpayers a cent.

The President and the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Fight for It," published in the Washington Post and Times Herald on May 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIGHT FOR IT

It is too soon to say finally whether President Eisenhower's belated efforts to muster support for his budget have succeeded or failed. All indications on Captiol Hill, however, are that the Chief Executive's appeals have not made much of a dent upon legislators hell-bent for economy. This is not a very reassuring background for Mr. Eisenhower's message to Congress and address to the Nation today on foreign aid, which is in some ways the most crucial single part of the budget. The President's performance had better be good if it is not to be disastrous.

Much of the trouble has stemmed from the fact that Mr. Eisenhower himself has seemed very unsure of his budget. A situation in which a President has invited Congress to cut what is supposedly his most responsible estimate of the costs of operating the Government is virtually without parallel. Even after Mr. Eisenhower began to take a different tack publicly, others in the administration continued to hint that a cut in the budget would not be unwelcome. It is little wonder that Members of Congress have asked who is in charge. Some legislators who might be inclined to support the President with any show of determination in the White House may be honestly perplexed about his real feeling. He has given them scant reason to go against the protests from constituents which he himself has abetted.

Added to this uncertainty has been the curious matter of the President's tactics. Mr. Eisenhower has given Members of Congress the impression that if they repudiate him and his program he will do nothing except think dark thoughts. He has conveyed a sense of political pacifism.

The basic question here is one of attitude toward the Presidency. Mr. Eisenhower has made it apparent on a number of occasions that he takes a different view from some of his predecessors. He has a deeply ingrained respect for the separation of powers, and he is fearful of overstepping. He has seemed to consider his position more as that of a reigning monarch than as that of an active political leader with responsibility for obtaining enactment of a program.

Now, this position above the battle has had its utility in a certain range of national affairs. For awhile it was refreshing, and no doubt it accounts for some of Mr. Eisenhower's popularity. But popularity is valuable only when it serves some useful purpose. The situation is not quite the same as that during World War II, when General Eisenhower displayed great ability as a military commander to conciliate disparate factions and keep members of a team working together. Members of Congress are not responsible to Mr. Eisenhower, and there is not the wartime danger to keep them in harness.

Can there be a successful political leader who does not practice political leadership? Sometimes Mr. Eisenhower has displayed a very subtle knowledge of the art of politics. But it is questionable realism to expect to persuade Members of Congress to do what they don't want to do without something more compelling than half-hearted beseeching.

The alternative to sitting on a cloud is not wallowing in the gutter. It is not necessary for the President to engage in name-calling or to wield a truncheon, or to shout his intentions. The Presidency has available to it many powers and techniques, ranging from consultation and political endorsement to patronage and (if necessary) the elimination of projects favored by legislators who fail to cooperate. The office is diminished when these tools are not used.

It is very late for Mr. Eisenhower to be asserting this kind of leadership for the budget and for the other parts of his program—such as refugee and immigration legislation—on which there has been monumental inaction. Mr. Eisenhower has, lamentably, failed to support his supporters in Congress, and he has gone out of his way to propitiate a Republican leadership which is insatiable. Mr. NIXON has been strangely quiet. There is real danger, since Mr. Eisenhower has not exerted all his powers and cannot himself be a candidate again, that he will find himself repudiated by men who think his endorsement to be of little further political value.

Still, the foreign aid program, particularly the economic part of it, is the heart of what Mr. Eisenhower has been stressing since his days in NATO. No one can be so sure of each item in the program as to justify every penny, but the President, as the representative of all the people, is in the best position to bring understanding of and action upon the overall need—if he uses the power at his command. What Mr. Eisenhower does to follow up his words today will be more important than the words themselves. Americans, and history too, we think, will gage their respect for a President by whether he is willing to fight for what he believes.

Address by Hon. Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, Before New Jersey State Federation of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed the Appendix of the RECORD a most distinguished address delivered by the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] before the annual convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, at the Traymore Hotel, Atlantic City, on Monday, June 3. In the address the Senator from New Jersey dealt with the implications to American labor of the current hearings by a special Senate committee; and also pointed out the great responsibility of labor leadership today to provide for internal grievance machinery and other safeguards which will be self-generating within unions themselves, as an obligation to trade union membership, and as another opportunity—so many of which have been availed of in the past—further to advance real trade union statesmanship.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In the current wave of discussion about organized labor, there may be some who might be tempted to try to make the names of Beck and Brewster synonymous with all the 15 million Americans who belong to labor unions. I think it would be useful to take a look at the situation and attempt to bring the matter into proper perspective.

Testimony developed thus far before the McClellan committee indicates that the officers of one of the major unions have abused their power and misused their trust. This is a grave matter and it is good to know that law enforcement officials have been taking action and that the leadership of the labor movement has acted promptly to condemn and remedy such abuses.

Further steps are necessary and I suggest these:

1. Establishment of a program by union leadership to bring democratic procedures and protections to all members.

2. Enactment of adequate legislation to protect the health and welfare funds run by unions and managements alike, so the hard-earned money of union members and their families are protected. But, let me emphasize, I do not mean legislation aimed at burning down the whole home of labor in order to roast a few pigs.

At the heart of this corruption problem lies the need for making unions the democratic institutions which the founders envisioned. Clearly, the best insurance of

honest unionism lies in an alert and informed membership.

There is much that the leadership of the labor movement can do to assure that the rank and file of locals actually, as well as theoretically, make the decisions. Business has the problem of bringing adequate facts before the stockholders so that they can make the proper decisions. It is just as important in unions that members have full information.

I urge the AFL–CIO Executive Council to consider setting up a code of minimum standards of self government for its member unions.

The AFL–CIO, even before the current revelations, took a firm and frank stand on ethical practices in the labor movement. In December 1955, long before the Beck-Brewster hearings, the AFL–CIO convention noted that "the vast majority of labor union officials accept their responsibility and trust. They endeavor honestly to carry out the democratic will of their members and to discharge the duties of their office. Yet the reputations of the vast majority are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt, unethical practices of the few who betray their trust and who look upon the trade union movement not as a brotherhood to serve the general welfare, but as a means to advance their own selfish purposes or to forward the aim of groups or organizations who would destroy our democratic institutions."

And, in June 1956, the executive council established a committee on ethical practices to help keep member units "free from any and all corrupt influences" and last month the council spelled out a recommended code of financial and certain democratic practices for member unions.

My suggestion today is that the executive council of the AFL–CIO take further steps to strengthen the stewardship of funds and improve the decision-making process within unions. Since our unions have developed in varying ways, they now have varying degrees of democracy in their procedures. It is important to put a floor under these procedures so that certain minimum protections are provided to union members.

Present, I am told, about a half billion dollars a year is paid by members in dues. The executive council has suggested a number of fiscal checks, including outside audits and bonding of disbursing officials. In addition, there should be ample opportunity for union members to have a voice in the determination of all major policies including those involving expenditures and to receive full and accurate reports of union activities including financial transactions.

The provision for election of officers varies. Some are chosen by national conventions, some by referendums of the membership, some for 1-year terms, some for 5-year terms. In some cases, voting is by show of hands, in others by secret ballot. The executive council has recommended that election of officers be held at least every 4 years, but other provisions for elections should also be spelled out. Surely, members should be assured of a right to regular and not too far apart elections of officers by secret ballot.

There should be an opportunity for individual members to appeal from arbitrary action by union officers. The nature of the appeal could be defined better by the leadership of the labor movement. No union members should be afraid to speak out for fear of losing his membership, or his job.

No union should have any objection to these requirements and I recognize fully that many unions already have such safeguards.

Unfortunately, there are some who do not want to admit this. The Beck-Brewster revelations have been seized on by groups which have long—and unsuccessfully—urged restrictions on labor. Now they say they are acting on behalf of the union rank and file who have been abused by such leaders. It is interesting to note that these suggestions have been put forward by national groups who have been quick to oppose any increased regulation of their own interests, but who feel that more regulation is better for unions. Their theory seems to be that in order to make union members stronger, it is necessary to make all unions weaker.

From such sources has come a recommendation for new legislation to prohibit present union security arrangements. They demand a national right-to-work law. This has a ring reminiscent of those who 20 years ago argued against child labor legislation on the grounds that it interfered with a 10-year-old's right of contract. This legislation would mean unions and managements that have peacefully negotiated contracts for union shop agreements would have to cancel them. Such a law would be a major step toward disintegration of labor unions. I agree with Secretary of Labor Mitchell that down this road lurks labor-management chaos.

Even the late Senator Robert A. Taft, coauthor of the Taft-Hartley Act, stated during the congressional debates that he was opposed to such legislation. He said: "I have hesitated to support the complete outlawing of the union shop, because the union shop has been in force in many industries for many years and to upset it today would destroy relationships of long standing and probably would bring on more strikes than it would cure."

Such sources have made other legislative suggestions, which although less direct, are not really aimed at protecting individual members but rather would have the effect of weakening unions and their position. Let me remind you that such proposals would affect not merely Messrs. Beck and Brewster, but all decent, honest union members as well. In the long run, the process of collective bargaining would be severely hampered and one of the major forces in achieving the world's highest standard of living would be hindered and hurt.

On the other hand, there has been some useful legislation proposed in the Senate to help safeguard union members against the raiding of immoral union leaders in collusion with cooperative employers. The legislation of Senator PAUL DOUGLAS and Senator IRVING IVES for reporting on the estimated $25 billion of union pension and welfare funds deserves urgent and earnest consideration. The amendments proposed by Secretary of Labor Mitchell should also have quick action. The union members who count on the life insurance, sickness pay, hospitalization, medical and pension benefits should be protected from the shysters and sharpshooters attracted by these large sums of money.

Another legislative proposal which deserves prompt consideration is that proposed by Secretary Mitchell to make public financial statements now required under the terms of the Taft-Hartley law and to provide penalties for any false items reported.

Unions were not organized to provide a few privileged individuals with fast horses and fancy haberdashery. They were, and are, men and women who join together to bargain more effectively than they could individually. They sought, and seek, to give the working man a position of respect and dignity in the community; to help him give his children a more abundant life; to protect him against oppressive employers, the sweatshop and other hazards.

Philip Murray described it this way: "Organization fundamentally means but one thing and that is clothing and bread and butter and pictures on the wall and carpets on the floor and music in the home and enlarged opportunities for children to receive the benefits of better education."

Inevitably, some who rose to power in the labor movement have been corrupt, selfish men, less interested in the workingman's welfare than in their own. Unions were not alone in attracting men of this kind; their parallel has been found in those who have organized vast corporate empires, bled them and let them crumble, destroying the savings of thousands of Americans.

In the ranks of selfish men who have abused the trust of their fellow men, the names of Dave Beck and Frank Brewster will have an unenviable place. Their disregard for the rights of the membership of the teamsters union and their contempt for the entire labor movement have been demonstrated before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Practices in the Labor or Management Field. The committee has had evidence of the use of members' dues for mansions, costly automobiles, racing stables, and other luxuries which has put all unionism under a cloud.

Mr. Brewster says there was a gift for the rank and file, too—the health and welfare funds negotiated in contracts. But he did not mention that the collective-bargaining efforts of the teamsters' western locals and their hard-earned $5 a month dues had something to do with this. The hundreds of employers who contribute to this fund and the milk drivers, long-distance drivers and others who work hard to earn it must have winced when they heard Brewster's statement.

Once before some unions were infiltrated by unscrupulous individuals, then bent on perverting the legitimate activities of union members to assist Communist propaganda. Courageous and perceptive leaders in the labor movement saw the challenge, forced the issue, and drove these unions out of the responsible house of labor.

George Meany and the AFL–CIO executive council have acted quickly and unanimously in regard to Beck.

There have been several hopeful signs that the membership is reviving interest in the affairs of the union and in the transactions of the treasury of its western conference. I have read of Beck's proposal for a union fund to help defend himself, and of a million dollar public relations fund to tell his side of the story. That these have been rejected are good signs. A wiser use of members' dues would be for a full-scale audit and legal accounting of the western conference, as well as the general treasury. In this way the members could recover any moneys improperly taken from the treasuries, as well as any profits derived by persons using such moneys.

The major role in dealing with malfeasance of the officers must be taken by the 1.4 million members of the teamsters union. The future of the union, as well as the role of all organized labor, will depend in large measure on them. They are the parties directly aggrieved—it is their money. Even more, it is their union.

Finally, in the interests of further putting this situation in perspective, let me quote to you from an editorial in a current issue of a national publication:

"When the McClellan committee began looking into the affairs of Dave Beck and the teamsters early this year, it was widely observed that the labor movement was at last getting the sort of hard senatorial scrutiny that business had been subjected to in the 1930's. Such a scrutiny was certainly long overdue—as the seamy revelations in the Beck case attest—but events of the last few weeks have also made it abundantly clear that business practices will be, and should be, a major part of the investigation into improprieties in the field of labor-management relations. Indeed, it was clear before this committee began its public hearings that

unethical and just plain crooked deals between businessmen and union leaders were commonplace in many industries. In retrospect, the most surprising thing about these deals is the complacency with which they were widely regarded. What the McClellan hearings have done is dissipate the notion that labor relations in the United States are in good shape today just because there is relatively little violence.

"Just how much responsibility do businessmen bear for Beckism in labor relations? The problem involves only a small proportion of businessmen, of course—just as it involves relatively few labor leaders. But certainly there are some United States businessmen who are in no position to assert any moral superiority over their union opposite numbers. There are some cases, to be sure, in which businessmen may almost be forgiven for making a dishonest deal. When a small retail store is hit during its busy season by pickets who do not represent any employees, and who are interested principally in getting paid off, the proprietor may often face a practical choice between making a deal and going broke. But all too often the employer who portrays himself as a hapless victim of union racketeers is, in fact, merely an opportunist, who would rather pay off a crooked union leader than incur any economic hardship. In unions, the improprieties are apt to stem from racketeering; in business management, they stem principally from moral laziness."

The editorial concludes, "The problem of Beckism in business is not merely a question of strengthening labor law; it is also a challenge to business ethics."

This may sound like an editorial from a labor publication. But, actually, it comes from the June issue of Fortune, the distinguished business journal. To the views expressed, I say "Amen."

Public opinion should not aim the blame for misconduct at a few labor leaders and ignore the culpability of a few businessmen. It takes both to make a dishonest deal and it takes both to keep an agreement honest.

Dedication of New Facilities at Francis E. Warren Air Force Base, Cheyenne, Wyo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK A. BARRETT
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, on May 25, last, the Wyoming congressional delegation attended the dedication ceremonies of three new dormitories and a dining hall at Francis E. Warren Air Force Base at Cheyenne, Wyo. The dormitories and the dining hall are as modern and up to date as any that can be found anywhere in the country. During the past few years 4 barracks, a service club and a dining hall have either been constructed or are under construction at a total cost of $2,338,000. We are very hopeful that funds totaling in excess of a million dollars for 3 additional barracks will be provided in the next fiscal year's appropriation bill.

The dedication ceremonies were conducted under the supervision of Col. H. F. Muenter, the commander of Francis E. Warren Air Force Base. Hundreds of people from Cheyenne and throughout the region attended the ceremonies, and it was apparent that the consensus of opinion among all was that Colonel Muenter was not only an effective and efficient commanding officer at the base, but that, in addition, he was doing an excellent public relations job for the Air Force. I was very pleased to note that my good friend, Lewis E. Bates, the editor of the Wyoming State Tribune, published an editorial entitled "He Gets It Done" which appeared in his newspaper on June 6, last.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HE GETS IT DONE

Ceremonies that seemed to fit the occasion were arranged by Col. H. F. Muenter, Warren Air Base commander, to highlight the opening of new dormitory and dinng hall facilities at the Cheyenne military installation.

The new structures, part of an impressive building program, are of significant importance to base training and operations, and this fact was graphically highlighted for the public by the ceremonies.

Colonel Muenter's arrangements extended all the way from Cheyenne to Washintgon, D. C. They ifcluded transportation of the State's congressional delegation—Senators J. C. O'MAHONEY and FRANK A. BARRETT and Representative KEITH THOMSON—and a representative of the Pentagon, to Cheyenne by air.

They were joined at a luncheon, at the new dinning hall, by Gov. Milward L. Simpson, other State officials, and Cheyenne's Mayor Val Christensen.

Speakers at the luncheon included Senator BARRETT, Representative THOMSON, and the Governor. Senator O'MAHONEY was heard at a dinner closing the daylong observance.

A fine attendance from Cheyenne featured all events and the base visitors were impressed by the way public convenience was served, by the tours through the new buildings, as well as by the standout bill-of-fare featured at the new eating facility.

The smooth organization centering on the rites opening the new base buildings came hard upon the heels of the standout job turned in by the air base, again under the direction of Colonel Muenter and his staff, at Cheyenne's observance of Armed Forces Day. The latter was the best and most expansive on the record at the capital city, including whopping and unprecedented attendance at base exhibits set up at the new Frontier Park pavilion.

The public interest, of course, is served by the efficient and cooperative way the base, under Colonel Muenter's direction, gets a job done. It is pleasant to be able to say so.

Career of Colton Meek, Principal of Grant High School, Portland, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, men and women who dedicate their careers to teaching are among the most useful members of our entire Democratic society. Such an outstanding person in the city of Portland, where I was born and raised, is Mr. Colton Meek, who has just retired as Principal of Grand High School—which is one of the largest and finest secondary schools in our entire State.

Both Mrs. Neuberger, who is a former schoolteacher and a former chairman of the Oregon State House of Representatives education committee, and I have a high opinion of the academic qualities and personal character of Colton Meek.

Because education problems loom so large in this session of the Congress, I think it is appropriate that an editorial in tribute to the educational career of Colton Meek be included in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The editorial was published in the May 24, 1957, issue of the Grantonian, the student newspaper of Grant High School. The editor of the Grantonian is Mile Legerwood, and its faculty adviser is Mr. A. A. Alexandre. The editorial was called to my attention by my long-time personal friend, Mr. David V. Buchanan, who is another member of the Grant High School faculty. I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOODBY, MR. MEEK

The generals' general is retiring, and, although much of what is now Grant High will go with him, much of what is Colton Meek will stay in this building, its occupants, and, most important, in its graduates.

In February of 1943 there was a slight reshuffling in administrative positions in the Portland school system, and Colton Meek, who was then principal at Roosevelt, was assigned to Grant. Grant's fate was decided at the meeting of the school board in early 1943. Grant was destined to become, with the leadership of one man, the finest high school in the Nation. That man was Colton Meek.

Mr. Meek has many fine qualities, and perhaps every student would cite a different one, but most outstanding among them are his humility, his humor, his friendliness, and his love for Grant.

Humility is expressed in many ways, and every great man has it. Perhaps Mr. Meek's humility is best expressed in his statement to Pageant magazine in 1954, when that publication selected Grant as the best high school in America, that the credit for Grant's success belonged to the parents, the students, the faculty, the administration, and everybody else except himself. Not that those groups shouldn't be given some credit, but the majority of Grant's success can be placed at Mr. Meek's door.

Everyone who has listened to Mr. Meek speak at a banquet, has talked to him for very long, or has worked with him on a project can attest to his humor. He is very jovial and full of interesting stories. No one can accuse him of being a dour-faced stuffed shirt, like many principals.

Mr. Meek expresses friendliness in many ways. The ready smile as he walks through the halls, the friendly greeting to all students who address him, whether student body officer or a problem student. He is always ready to stop and discuss a problem with any student.

His love for Grant knows no bounds. This is love not for the building itself, but is rather for the students, the traditions, the scholastic and athletic records, and the spirit

that is Grant. Seldom can a Grant football team me found playing without Mr. Meek being found in the stands. Likewise he attends all the basketball games and after every game, win or lose, he comes to the locker room to congratulate the team on a game well played. Each player is congratulated individually, also. Mr. Meek officiates at track meets and joins the crowds at the baseball diamond. It is these appearances, expressions of interest, that have won him respect and admiration from Grant's student body.

Very seldom, in fact only twice in the last 4 years, has Mr. Meek appeared before the students to inform them of a situation which he would like to see corrected. Both times, without any further mention from him or without any policing or prodding from the faculty, the poor situation has been corrected by the students. Such is their respect for his wishes.

Mr. Meek, Grant can never repay you with anything but respect and love for what you have given the school and its occupants, but Grant would like to say, "Thank you. Good luck, and God bless you." You have given to us that which we can never repay. Our only wish is that you will not forget Grant, its teachers, and its students. We shall certainly never forget you, and the flame of greatness which you kindled shall burn in these halls forever.

Adventures in Job Hunting—Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Meyer Pertcheck, entitled "Adventures in Job Hunting," before the annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, as well as a biographical sketch of Mr. Pertcheck.

There being no objection, the address and biographical sketch were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADVENTURES IN JOB HUNTING

(Remarks by Meyer Pertcheck, placement counselor, Ohio State employment service, before the afternoon session of the annual meeting of the President's Committee, May 23, Departmental Auditorium, Washington, D. C.)

I'm going to take you with me today on my Adventures in Job Hunting. I first began to think about a job at the age of 13 when I completed elementary school and was told that my physical condition would not permit me to attend high school because my inability to climb stairs, and difficulty in getting around on crutches, which I had just learned to use, would create a hardship and make me prone to accidents. I tried selling papers on a street corner. In 2 days I sold 13 papers and made 10 cents profit. I decided that I would go to high school and did so without any difficulties, graduating in the top third of my class.

I had studied bookkeeping and hoped to get some simple clerical work that would use this training. Two years of looking resulted only in disappointments; many employers would not even talk to me. When I was 20, one of my friends suggested that I open a billiard parlor in the neighborhood and against my parents' advice, I made plans to do so. With the investment of $300—my entire savings account—I did open this business and for the first 2 months I did very well financially. Then, because of my lack of business experience, and a strike in the factory where most of my customers were employed—I was soon extending credit to my customers who had no money to pay me, and four months later my business days were over—I had run out of money.

I tried to enroll in the Toledo Secretarial School, a local business college for handicapped young people to learn more bookkeeping or study accounting. The instructor refused to accept me, as it was thought my physical condition would not permit me to do such work. Even though both of my hands were severely deformed, my handwriting was very legible, but I did not have sufficient strength in my hands nor my arms to lift and carry the large journals and ledgers that are used in accounting work. After pressure brought by friends, I was accepted. Here I received good basic training in accounting.

Part of my interest in bookkeeping dated from my years in high school when a relative had promised me employment if I became either a bookkeeper or an accountant. Yet, this relative refused to even talk to my business school instructor so that my skills could be explained. He referred her to the personnel manager of his firm, who said that there was no place for me in the organization. Two days later a young man from the University of Toledo was hired as a trainee in the accounting department of this firm, and a friend learned that my relative had stated he did not "want to hire any cripples." I'd like to tell you, though, that during the war years, this same relative came to appreciate the value of a handicapped worker. He was engaged in nonessential industry, and he learned that handicapped male workers who had difficulty in finding employment could be used on nonessential occupations without changing the male ceiling which had been established for the firm. Today, one of the handicapped workers who was sent to this firm, is its personnel manager and this relative of mine has learned that cripples are good workers and uses them wherever possible.

A friend of mine arranged an interview with a local educator so that I might discuss job possibilities with him, but a lengthy discussion produced no results, except his promise to try to "figure out something." As I was leaving I overheard him say to my friend that he felt I was unemployable. Once again, just 6 years later, another friend of mine arranged for me to speak to one of this educator's classes in personnel training on "Placing Handicapped Workers" because he had heard of the work that I was doing in our local employment office. When I appeared to make this talk, I was immediately recognized, and during the introduction, this teacher apologized openly to me, and told his pupils that he would never again consider any handicapped person as "unemployable."

Let's go back to 1938, though, when I was very despondent over my inability to find work. In the daily paper, I read where a man whom I had known in my high-school days was elected the county clerk of courts. In 1934, when I had won a city checker tournament, he congratulated me and asked me if I thought I was a pretty good checker player, to which I answered "Yes." Then and there, he set up a checkerboard, and before I had made 5 moves he had given me the worst beating of my life. Then he smiled, said, "That is just to teach you a lesson," and refused to play any more with me. I went to his office and he remembered me, and I told him that I needed a job and that the actual income, so long as it provided spending money for me, was not too important. He asked if I would consider part-time employment with the National Youth Administration and made an appointment for me with the local director of this organization, and 1 week later I reported to the Toledo Vocational Guidance Center in the local office of the Ohio State Employment Service, where I was put to work scoring tests for the wages of $18 a month for 80 hours of work. After 2½ years I was earning $23 a month and was supervising 4 other scorers. I celebrated my 25th birthday—and lost my job—as no one was permitted to work on the NYA after the age of 25 years. Again, I was very low in spirit, even though my supervisor had told me that he would make every effort to get me back on the job. Much to my surprise, 6 weeks later I was asked to come back to the OSES and found that my supervisor had, with support of others in our local and State offices of the employment service, obtained a provisional appointment for me as a clerk, grade III. On April 15, 1941, I started to work on a full-time basis and received $70 a month. That ended my personal experience as a job hunter. For the past 18 years I have been in the Toledo office where I have made a sincere and constant effort to be a job earner.

Getting away from my own experiences, I will mention some of the pitfalls that other handicapped people have encountered in job hunting. Of course, there are the usual unfounded excuses, such as hiring a handicapped person would mean an increase in insurance rates, in accidents, absenteeism, and turnover, and a decrease in production. In addition to these, we still find—

1. Much buckpassing between management and labor when a request is made to consider a handicapped individual.

2. Some large firms state that operating policies are established by the parent firm located at some distant point, and employment of handicapped workers is contrary to company policy.

3. Large companies have agreements with their unions that new help hired in must start in the labor gang. This hiring practice bars many competent handicapped workers who could be hired into specific jobs.

4. Another obstacle is the practice of giving every new employee a general physical examination and using this as a bar to employment instead of as a tool to proper placement.

Actually most of the problems which face handicapped workers and their potential employers today are still those which can best be solved by constant efforts to improve communications, understanding, and appreciation of one another. We who are handicapped will be frank enough to say that we know there are many of us who demand recognition and consideration because of, rather in spite of, our individual limitations. On the other hand, many employers still have a mental block which falls into place at the very mention of the word "handicap," and before they are ever told what the condition may be, they have ceased to listen. There can be no pat answer, no immediate solution, no ideas which will be the overall decision, but we can strive to reach that end by learning—learning to work, learning to relax, learning to live—together.

In summarizing, prejudicial excuses, "buck-passing," labor gang hiring, wrong use of physical examination, are still prevalent and need correction. I would also like to say that the knowledge that we do have support at high levels is a constant encouragement to all of us—both in our daily living with our own individual handicaps and in our efforts to place the handicapped worker where he is a useful member of our social order, and I am proud to have had this opportunity to present the views of just an ordinary fellow from the great midsection of our country.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MEYER PERTCHECK, EMPLOYMENT COUNSELOR AND SERVICE-TO-HANDICAPPED REPRESENTATIVE

Date of birth: February 24, 1916.

At the age of 2 years and 4 months was afflicted with Still's arthritis which remained progressive until 13 years of age. This disease affected all body joints causing contraction and deformity of fingers, hands, legs, and so forth. Was confined to a wheelchair for 3 years and spent much time in the hospital. Attended and graduated from the Charles Feilbach Elementary School for Crippled Children. At the age of 13, through the efforts of two orthopedic surgeons and the use of leg braces, was able to get out of the wheelchair and walk on crutches. After 1 years of idleness, started in a regular high school on a full-time basis and graduated at the age of 18. In 1934 entered Toledo University in pre-law course and after the first semester suffered a fall which resulted in a broken arm and did not return to the university. Attended 15 months at Toledo Secretarial School, which is a business college for handicapped young people, majored in bookkeeping and accounting. Started to work on NYA on a part-time basis as a clerk, whose duties were scoring of aptitude, interest, and performance tests at the Ohio State Employment Service. After 2½ years received a civil-service appointed as a clerk II and through on-the-job training and actual work was reclassified to the following positions: Clerk, grade II, junior interviewer, senior interviewer, counselor I, and now counselor II.

In 1952 was named by the Junior Chamber of Commerce as 1 of the 10 outstanding young men in Toledo; also received merit award from Governor Lausche and a citation from the President's NEPH Committee.

Belongs to the following organizations: The Fraternal Order of Eagles, Indoor Sports Clubs, Inc., Ohio State Civil Service Employees' Association, American Federation of Labor, Lucas County Chapter of the Ohio Society for Crippled Children, National Vocational Rehabilitation Association, International Association of Personnel in Employment Security. Is a member of the board of directors of the Toledo BUC Credit Union and the Toledo Goodwill Industries.

Mr. Pertcheck is employment counselor and special service-to-the-handicapped representative in the Ohio State Employment Service in Toledo, Ohio, and has traveled through the United States of America. He has spoken before many organizations: civic, fraternal, and so forth.

The Marshall Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Returning to the Marshall Plan Idea," written by C. L. Sulzberger, and published in the New York Times of Monday, June 10, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RETURNING TO THE MARSHALL PLAN IDEA

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, June 9.—Western Europe observed with notable restraint the 10th anniversary of our Marshall plan. But the manner of remembrance has no importance. The fact that Western Europe is here, a prosperous and independent entity, represents the real tribute to General Marshall's revolutionary departure in United States foreign policy.

This continent still has plenty of troubles. It remains ideologically partitioned by a cleavage running right across the heart of Germany. Its larger nations, such as Italy and France, have yet to solve the administrative aspects of efficient democratic government.

But Europe is again a vital force. Last year the countries banded in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation—created under the Marshall plan—had an average industrial production 74 percent greater than in 1939.

Only because of this renewed vigor has Western Europe again become an important military and diplomatic element. Without the Marshall plan there could have been no NATO, because there would have been no economic or political base upon which to erect the alliance. And without NATO the Soviet expansive thrust which extended to Berlin and Czechoslovakia in 1948 might have pushed onward to the English Channel.

President Truman, Secretary Marshall, and his then deputy, Dean Acheson, deserve vast credit for the program bearing Marshall's name. But an Englishman, Ernest Bevin, then Foreign Secretary, was largely responsible for inspiring the present OEEC countries to make the most of opportunities we offered them.

A CHANGE IN THINKING

The Marshall plan, in fact, represented a far more profound development in our thinking than was at first apparent. Even isolationist politicians have come to accept—since the Secretary of State's famous Harvard speech, June 5, 1947—the idea that it can be in our own interest to contribute aid to friendly nations overseas.

Unfortunately, however, the wisdom displayed in the Marshall plan has not been equally apparent in policy attitudes elsewhere in the world. In Western Europe we shrewdly set the regional economy on its feet before installing upon this base the necessary burden of a military alliance. All too often, in other areas, we have acted precisely in the reverse.

Thus we have either fostered or joined military pacts in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the Orient which did not have the initial foundation of economic health. The result has been, in certain instances, to create a debilitating rather than a strengthening factor.

Some poor nations have found themselves saddled with the permanent burden of keeping up a modern defense apparatus which their industrial and fiscal structure is inacapable of supporting. The result is a tendency toward internal weaknesses vitiating the value of an army.

During the years that followed the Marshall plan and NATO our policy experienced a form of pactomania. Weapons overbalanced welfare. This phase has, to a considerable degree, now been righted. But we have not yet been able to bring about the necessary nonmilitary programs in free Asia or burgeoning Africa.

ECONOMIC AID NEEDED

It is, of course, impossible to dream of ever accomplishing in those continents the same kind of success that we achieved in Europe with the Marshall plan. Europe is a dynamic, industrialized, highly educated region. It has a vast reservoir of technical skills that cannot be approached in underdeveloped areas. Furthermore, the countries joined in OEEC have a very considerable common political heritage. This does not exist elsewhere.

Nevertheless, as we appear to be discovering, it is now more important during this age of competitive coexistence to emphasize economic rather than military aid. Too much of our assistance still goes only to maintain arms. This is unproductive in terms of the poor people whose freedom we would protect.

It is time to return to the original philosophy expressed in the Marshall plan. We must help our friends abroad. But it is wiser to help them first in economic ways. For example, there is no point in continuing to increase our military assistance to Pakistan. If we could freeze it at its present level, and invest more funds in productive fields, we might do more to shore up that courageous but impoverished land.

If the emphasis of our Asian policy is thus adjusted, we will find ourselves on better terms with neutralist nations—above all, India. And this is vitally important.

It is in what President Eisenhower terms our own "enlightened self-interest" to see the free world strong. The free world includes many uncommitted nations—as well as those aligned with us as loyal partners.

We have now devoted much energy and money to the bolstering of foreign military defenses. It is time to pay more attention to the economic structure upon which liberty must in the end rely.

Union Welfare and Political Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the 1st of May, Mr. Roscoe Drummond wrote in the New York Herald Tribune a column concerning the welfare funds and political funds of labor unions. He contends that individuals in labor unions and corporations should make their contributions direct to the political party of their choice, and not have it done by their leaders out of their dues money or corporate funds. I agree with Mr. Drummond in this approach, and I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR: WELFARE FUNDS AND POLITICAL FUNDS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—There is growing sentiment in Congress for some legislative action to deal with two aspects of the far-ranging power of union leaders.

This sentiment springs largely from the Senate racketeering and related investigations which showed among other things, how easy it was for teamster President Dave Beck to reach, uninvited, into the pockets of his union membership and lift $100,000 now and then, to use for unexplained purposes without the members knowing when or whether these touches were ever returned.

There are two objectives which the sponsors of new legislation have in view.

One is to protect the vast and mounting union-welfare funds from being dissipated or mismanaged.

The other is to make sure that the political funds of union members are used in accordance with the wishes of the contrib-

utors, not merely in accordance with the wishes of the union leaders.

Few, I suspect, appreciate the magnitude of the union-welfare funds, the joint labor-management funds, and the management funds. Already more than 75 million persons are directly or indirectly covered by these employee pension and welfare programs. The funded reserves total $20 to $25 billion and every year contributions add up to nearly $7 billion. The Securities and Exchange Commission reports that these reserves make up the largest single source of equity capital.

To safeguard these huge welfare funds Congress now has before it measures to require the registration and disclosure of all essential financial and management facts to the SEC and to limit investment to those securities permissible to insurance companies in the District of Columbia.

These protections have an excellent chance of being passed at this session.

A more controversial measure concerns the closer regulation of union political activity. Despite the fact that the Democrats would apparently stand to lose more than the Republicans by such regulations, it has considerable Democratic support.

An analysis by the Congressional Quarterly, for example, shows that the 52 congressional districts where more than 60 percent of the workers are in blue-collar jobs, elected 41 Democrats and only 11 Republicans last year—a 30-seat margin that just about equals the Democratic House majority.

Democratic candidates generally received most of the $2,020,123 contributed by labor. A Senate report says that almost all of it was used in behalf of Democratic candidates and the Congressional Quarterly estimates that 99.6 cents out of every worker-contributed dollar went to support Democratic candidates. This $2 million figure includes only the money raised by voluntary subscriptions from union members. It does not include any dues-supported political education funds.

Now, obviously, there should be no discriminatory restrictions placed upon union political activity. The rules which govern the political contributions of corporate business should also govern corporate labor, that is, political contributions should be made only by individuals, whether businessmen or workers, not out of company funds or union dues.

How it shouldn't be done was revealed by Frank W. Brewster, president of the Western Conference of Teamsters, who testified that local 174 in Seattle made political contributions of $99,999.65 from 1950 to 1953 from dues paid for other purposes by its 6,500 members. Much of it was handed out in cash under the counter.

It has apparently never occurred to Mr. Brewster that it should matter one way or the other which candidates the union members want their money to support.

He was asked by one Senator: "Do you believe it is right to make it necessary for a man, in order to earn a living for his family, to contribute by compulsion to the election of an official whom he prefers personally to defeat?"

Mr. Brewster first replied: "Yes, I think so." Later he added that "I never looked at it that way and I am going to have to do some thinking about it." Finally, he remarked: "I am getting a liberal education, to say the least. * * * This is a new thing to me."

This does not mean that the unions should not obtain money from its members for campaign purposes. What is sought is to make sure that funds are used for candidates whom the contributors want to support.

Address of W. Paul Stillman Before Advertising Club of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on June 4 at the Essex House in Newark, N. J., the Advertising Club of New Jersey held its annual dinner, for the purpose of granting an award to the outstanding citizen of New Jersey for 1956. At this dinner there were present more than 600 persons, including business, civic and political leaders of our State.

The award was made to Mr. W. Paul Stillman, one of our leading New Jersey citizens, who is chairman of the New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policy. Mr. Stillman is a banker of wide experience, and in accepting this award he delivered a notable address, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY W. PAUL STILLMAN, OF NEW JERSEY

Because the city of Newark is of such importance to the State, and because its future is so entwined with the future of the State, I would like to comment briefly upon a problem that is at the moment acute, and of paramount importance to both. No matter how worthy either a public or private project may be, its fulfillment will almost certainly depend upon finance. On the public side, this raises the thorny problem of taxation. On the one hand are the taxpayers, who must maintain their standards of living and protect the productivity of the bases from which taxes must be raised. On the other, are the service establishments, often represented by dedicated men and women who agree with former Justice Holmes when he said, "I like to pay taxes. With them I buy civilization." Each of us agrees with both points of view, but each of us has different responsibilities to fulfill; and it is, therefore, methods rather than objectives, that create the great dilemmas of public finance.

Our major difficulty is this: Basically speaking, the choice of methods is comparatively limited. By whatever names we may call them, or in spite of whatever refinements we may introduce into them, there are only four bases from which a State can raise substantial revenues—sales, income, property, and excises—and every State has a major base or bases that classifies it as a certain type of State. Whatever this major base may be, it tends to become a balancing item to meet increased expenditures. As service demands increase, the pressure on the major base increases; and taxpayers seek relief in some other base that will redistribute portions of the burden.

In spite of the heaviest property tax in the country, New Jersey has for many years resisted a shift to other forms of taxation. This resistance has been deep and genuine. It has been reflected in the platforms of both parties for 20 years. It has received full and continuous endorsement at the polls. Both governors and legislators have, on the whole, either respected, or learned to respect, this mandate. It is true that New Jersey is the only industrial State that has maintained this tax pattern. Indeed, only two other States—Nebraska and Texas—have neither income nor sales taxes. On the face of it, New Jersey appears in a somewhat irregular position, and there are those who continue to urge that we should get in step with modern tax practices.

After many years of association with this problem, there are three overall conclusions that seem plain to me:

First, New Jersey is one of the greatest industrial and residential areas in the world. It is, I believe, our destiny to intensify this development. In an environment such as this, perhaps, a property-tax base makes more sense than in an agricultural community where income is so closely associated with property.

Second, New Jersey is a small State in area, with great urban concentrations at both ends; great recreational facilities in every part; and great highway corridors that link it with the North, South, and West. Perhaps a broad use of excises and even selected sales, best reaches the tax liabilities of those who use our services.

Third, New Jersey is a State which develops on business competition. Taxes are an important element in competitive costs. We are generally regarded, taxwise, as a favorable State for business. We must maintain that advantage—and let us never forget this.

I am not unaware of the imperfections of our tax structure. The fifth report of the commission on State tax policy to which I subscribed, set these forth in considerable detail; and the sixth report emphasized a century of inequities in our property tax. These imperfections, I wish to see corrected; and I have been pleased with the progress made in this direction over the past 5 years. To some it has seemed slow and insufficient; but to me it has been steady, thoughtful and fundamental.

More progress has been made toward putting our property tax in order, than in all the preceding years of our statehood. Our grant-in-aid programs have been generously increased, both toward the improvement of our services and the restraint of our property base. Our competitive position has been maintained, and will, I am confident be strengthened, by further improvements in our property tax that are now so much before us all.

There is, however, the other side of this problem—increasing expenditures at all levels of government. It is the intensity and magnitude of these pressures that so often throw tax structures out of balance. But I have a few thoughts on this, also. The place to restrain large and untimely expenditure programs is at the taxing level. Once a major tax is adopted, its yield is the only limit to its use; and it will carry other bases along with it. Tax dollars raised at the local level are harder to raise and better spent than any other dollar in the tax economy. No matter how badly we may think we need a public service, it must never be purchased at the price of impairing the productive capacity of the community. There are things we cannot afford, and these things we must not attempt to acquire. A simple rule, but an often neglected one.

Both our State and our city are faced with the old, old problem: "How to maintain adequate services for their citizens and still maintain the competitive advantages that make such maintenance possible." New Jersey has, within our life span, been a well governed State. Our city has made great strides in the past few years. We are proud of what has been done, and look, with confidence, toward further improvements. We are a conservative State. We are not given to violent and erratic changes nor to un-

tried experiments. New Jersey is a good place to work and a good place to live. Let us dedicate ourselves to keeping it this way; and when we think of taxes, let us remember that they must fit our environment, be tailored to our capacities, be adequate to our services, and equitable among our citizens.

Graduation-Day Address by Judge Irving R. Kaufman Before FBI National Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a distinguished address delivered by one of our Federal district judges in New York, Hon. Irving R. Kaufman, incident to the graduation exercises of the 59th session of the FBI National Academy, in this city on June 6, 1957. The address is entitled "A Judge Looks at Law Enforcement." It contains some very feeling and pointed references to the judge's personal experience with the FBI when he sat in a very trying case in New York which contributed so much to his stature with the American people.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A JUDGE LOOKS AT LAW ENFORCEMENT

(Address by Hon. Irving R. Kaufman, judge, United States District Court, Southern District of New York, before the graduation exercises of the 59th session, FBI National Academy, Departmental Auditorium, Washington, D. C., June 6, 1957)

Members of the graduating class, Director Hoover, distinguished guests, perhaps it is not in accordance with strict protocol that I mention those who are about to become graduates of this Academy before addressing the noted personages who have made this occasion possible and honored it by their presence. But it is to congratulate the members of this, the 59th graduating class of the FBI National Academy, that we are gathered here today—to congratulate them, and to thank them for the splendid spirit of dedication which brought them to this Academy.

To you graduates, perhaps the most important message I can bring is a reminder that you are the successors to a proud tradition of efficiency and integrity—a tradition, I must add, that has its roots in the vision, the courage, and the devotion of one man—the distinguished Director of the FBI who has led his organization to its present position of international eminence, and who has provided the law enforcement agencies of the entire Nation with the tools, the techniques, and the training which are vital in modern society's constant war against crime. In a very real way, Director Hoover is a part of this graduating class, as he has been a part of each and every class before it, and before addressing myself to you graduates whom we have gathered to honor today, I would like to pay tribute to the man who paved the way for this symbolic moment, and to the devoted members of his staff who enable him to translate his ideals and ideas into reality. Their road has not been an easy one. You have but to read Don Whitehead's book on the FBI to appreciate the difficulties which the Director and the Bureau had to overcome. Less dedicated men would have been snowed under by the avalanche of propaganda thrown at them. America owes Mr. Hoover a debt of gratitude.

Were I just the ordinary man on the street whose only contact with the FBI has been through the newspapers, and whose only benefit was that indirect but so vital benefit of knowing that my country, my community and my family are safer because of its existence, I would cherish this opportunity to publicly express my thanks. My contacts with Director Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, however, have been much closer than have those of most of us fortunate people who call ourselves Americans. During the long trying months of the Rosenberg case, as many of you know, there were deliberate attempts to intimidate the Court—personal threats to me and my family unprecedented in the history of our Nation's judiciary. And during those interminable months when I feared for the safety of my wife and my three boys during my every waking hour, my chief solace was the protection of the FBI, and the kindness and concern of the various members of the Bureau who were assigned to protect my family. I have never before had the opportunity to publicly say to those men—"I thank you from the bottom of my heart."

Turning my attention from the FBI as a whole to this National Academy which it sponsors and to this specific graduating class representing police officers from 37 States and 1 Territory, I am compelled to state that as a Federal judge, probably more familiar than most laymen with the work of certain of our law enforcement agencies, I was most astounded and frankly tremendously impressed when I scanned the list of subjects offered at this academy. They run the gamut from firearms to fugitive investigations, from spectrography to sociology, and from training techniques to traffic control with numerous courses in the sciences—chemical, physical, biological, and even mathematical. Reeling them off makes me feel like Gilbert and Sullivan's modern major general.

I find in this unique training program a startling reminder of how far we have come from the time, not too long ago, when the typical community provided its law officers with a shield, a gun, and a club, but no training.

A shield, a gun, and a club—that this is not enough for efficient police performance is, of course, an axiom to all of us who are gathered here today—but I would remind you that a prime reason that this is not enough is because ours is a society of free men, and of government under law. The Nazi's Gestapo, Soviet Russia's MVD, the puppet Hungarian government's hated AVO, the thought police, and secret police who function today in all the totalitarian countries which compose the Soviet sphere of influence—they can operate with a gun and a club. But in America this is not enough.

The men and women who fled the old world to establish this country had had their fill of the physical anguish of the torture chamber and the refined mental pressures of star chamber inquisitions; they had learned that the coerced confession is often false; they had fought against the indignity of a man's being forced to bear witness against himself, and they had rebelled against the presumption of guilt and the capricious search and seizure. Thus they wrote into our Constitution safeguards against all these abuses—safeguards which can only be preserved by being punctiliously obeyed.

It is sometimes a temptation to the most scrupulous law enforcement officer to bypass one or more of these safeguards when he just "knows" a man is guilty or that valuable evidence will otherwise be lost. And I would be the last to deny that to operate under law sometimes seems harder than to operate outside it, but it has been demonstrated time and again that, in the long run, police operations within the framework of these restrictions can be just as effective, and the results much more enduring.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, for example, has achieved a worldwide reputation for high standards and for operating strictly within the framework of our democracy. Yet when matched up with the Nazi intelligence machine at the outset of World War II, it proved its superiority by breaking the leading Nazi spy ring in this country, and it is noteworthy that not one single major act of enemy sabotage was committed within the United States throughout the war years. And in more recent times, the work of the FBI has led to evidence of the Communist conspiracy in America, and we have every reason to believe that the Bureau has today's major internal espionage problem well in hand.

Furthermore, the FBI's outstanding record in the fight against the ordinary criminal has proved time and again that police brutality and procedural short-cuts are not a necessary corollary to effective law enforcement. Indeed, I would venture to say that the wise criminal of today fears the net which is closed about him by the scientifically trained FBI agent or police officer far more than he fears the third degree.

In this latter pragmatic vein, as a judge, I could regale you for hours with stories of criminals who could never be brought to justice because the evidence against them was illegally seized and of convictions which were reversed or set aside because key confessions and evidence had been illegally obtained. Indeed, one of the best possible ways to insure that a probably guilty man will go unpunished is to deprive him of the basic safeguards which our Constitution affords him.

But there is yet another argument for consistent observance of these constitutional rights, an argument which is, to me, much more fundamental, for it goes to the roots of the American concept of law enforcement. In our society a man is presumed innocent until proven guilty—and this presumption has special meaning for you law-enforcement officers who must face the seemingly guilty every day. First, it means that you must work to find evidence that may avert the pointing finger of suspicion even as you try to find evidence pointing to guilt.

I said to you earlier that I appreciated the temptation to ignore certain constitutional requirements when dealing with a man who you just "know" is guilty—and, of course, that word "know" must be in quotes. Neither you nor I nor any man can "know" that a person is guilty until a duly appointed jury has rendered its verdict or until a plea of guilty has been accepted by the proper court. Thus, when you trammel the rights of a man you think guilty, no matter how odious his character or record, you are trammeling upon all our rights—setting yourself up as judge and jury and proclaiming to the world that our vaunted constitutional safeguards are mere privileges to be dispensed to the worthy. This you may not do, and, I say again, you need not do.

On the other hand, I deem it only fair to state that a judge who places unnecessary and hypertechnical roadblocks, with no foundation in law or the Constitution, in the path of lawful prosecution because of an antagonism which the judge harbors toward law-enforcement officers, has rendered as great a disservice to the American people as the overreaching police officer.

For the past 12 weeks you have been intensively studying the latest techniques in all phases of law enforcement. If you apply what you have learned here, if you teach it to the other members of your respective agencies, if you constantly improve upon

what you have learned, and pass that information on also, the rising tide of crime in this country will be arrested.

For you graduates, dedicated as you are to your career of community service, seeing your efforts succeed will probably be thanks enough. As for myself, I strongly believe that you and the thousands like you should also be thanked by a grateful citizenry which increases in pay and in prestige, and it is gratifying to me to be able to note that when a citizenry is alerted to the splendid job a topnotch police force can do it will often respond with the vital financial assistance which will enable you to attract, to train, and to keep the high caliber of men which society needs for its own protection. As a native New Yorker, it is natural that I should single out the work of academy alumnus Stephen P. Kennedy as a prime example. His success in making New York City a safer place in which to live has recently led to success in his plea for more and better paid policemen.

I have talked to you today of several aspects of your many faceted roles as law-enforcement officers—of your duty to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States and the several States in which you serve, and of your constant job as scientific detectors and efficient deterrors of crime.

Before concluding, I would like to remind you of yet another responsibility which you must shoulder. As law-enforcement officers in your communities, you are often the only point of personal contact between the ordinary citizen and his government. Your bearing, your conduct, and your professional skill will have a subtle but strong impact upon the confidence your citizenry has in its government, and our Nation is only as strong as its people's faith in it. In an era of conflicting world ideologies, at a time when our youth has never known world peace and stability, the survival of the free world may well depend upon the maintenance of our faith in free government, and the depth of that faith will depend in large part upon how we who are in public service conduct ourselves.

Were this a unified world and a peaceful world in which all countries adhered to the same moral values, I would still say to you that the manner in which you demean yourselves in the performance of your daily duties, will have an important bearing on the strength of our democracy. But in today's divided world, with the Communist press ready to seize the slightest opportunity to proclaim that America's boasted freedom is a fraud—every time you violate the safeguards of due process or perform any act unworthy of an officer sworn to uphold our laws, you undermine the very foundations not only of our democracy but of our security. Soviet-sponsored communism today has enveloped half the world in slavery, and it is seeking to ensnare the rest of the world by every means available to a highly mobilized totalitarian and Machiavellian government.

The Soviets ignore their depredations in Hungary, the riots in Poland, and the slave-labor camps spread throughout the Iron Curtain countries like dark blots of corruption—the Communist press slurs over these events or denies their existence. And then to take the heat off, so to speak, the Communists will point to asserted deprivations of liberty in America. Any slight incident of police brutality or veniality will be enlarged upon and utilized skillfully as propaganda in the underdeveloped, uncommitted countries of the world.

A free nation cannot hide its officials' misdeeds behind a veil of censorship as can a dictatorship and, of course, none of us would have it otherwise. But this freedom and this world spotlight impose upon those in positions of authority a tremendous responsibility—a responsibility of enforcing our laws in such a manner that there are no untoward incidents to report. This is a challenge we must never forget and I know that all of us will meet it with wisdom and courage.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Will Ike Now Fight for Foreign Aid?" published in the Arkansas Gazette of May 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL IKE NOW FIGHT FOR FOREIGN AID?

There were patches of eloquence in President Eisenhower's televised defense of that much abused commodity "foreign aid."

In the first place, as the President ably pointed out, most of what we refer to as "foreign aid" is simply defense spending by another name, armament placed in the hands of allies who are willing to stand up against the same enemy for less material reward than we ourselves are wont to demand.

But beyond that somewhat mercenary point, Mr. Eisenhower's remarks on the impossibility of national isolationism were evocative of John Donne's celebrated words on the impossibility of personal isolationism. At one point, for example, the President was moved to say: "America cannot exist as an island of freedom in a surrounding sea of communism."

At another: "We must recognize that whenever any country falls under the domination of communism, the strength of the free world, and of America, is by that amount weakened and communism strengthened."

Toward the end, the President sought to answer that considerable body of criticism which is always wondering why we should spend a single penny abroad so long as a single unfilled need still is felt at home: "We live at a time when our plainest task is to put first things first. Of all our current domestic concerns—lower taxes, bigger dams, deeper harbors, higher pensions, better housing—not one of these will matter if our Nation is put in peril. For all that we cherish and justly desire, for ourselves or for our children, the securing of peace is our first requisite."

This is one theme which keeps recurring throughout President Eisenhower's public utterances: Nothing much will matter if we fail to prevent Armageddon.

The President personally thinks that continuation of a meaningful mutual-security program will help prevent world war III. So does this newspaper.

What remains to be seen now is how hard the President will fight for his revised mutual-security budget and all the rest of his new spending recommendations in the private showdowns with congressional leaders, particularly with leaders of the President's own party. This is where Presidents of the United States usually have been able to do the most for their legislative programs.

So far, Dwight Eisenhower has been willing to do occasional battle with dedicated opponents of his program, but only in the most generalized and impersonal of terms.

The effect of Mr. Eisenhower's first TV appeal for the whole of his new budget was seriously diluted the next day when he said that he did not regard it as his duty to "punish anybody (in this context, such Republican congressional leaders as Senators KNOWLAND and BRIDGES) for voting what he believes."

Those GOP worthies were as unmoved by the President's second TV appeal as by the first, and so the President was asked again at yesterday's press conference what he proposed to do about the fact that practically every key congressional figure in his party is opposed to the program he himself had defended so vigorously the night before.

About all that Mr. Eisenhower would admit this time was that he was not so namby-pamby a person as not to have degrees of enthusiasm between those who stand with him and those who oppose him.

Question. What about Senator KNOWLAND, who is against more often than he is for?

Answer. Senator KNOWLAND is a man of very strong convictions.

This newspaper has made the point before that it cannot presume to speak for any part of the Republican Party.

We trust, however, that the leaders of the Democratic Party in Congress will react as Americans first and as Democrats second as they weigh the President's new mutual security appeal.

The early reaction from such leaders as Senate Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON and our own Senator FULBRIGHT, neither of whom is a soft touch for administration blarney, was most encouraging.

Price Increases in Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article in the June 7 issue of the Wall Street Journal reporting on a recent speech by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. Mr. McDonald's comments on pending price increases in the steel industry warrant serious thought and consideration.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MCDONALD SAYS STEEL FIRMS CAN ABSORB PAY RISE, MAKE GOOD PROFIT—STEELWORKER CHIEF SINGLES OUT UNITED STATES STEEL FOR USING UNION AS SCAPEGOAT FOR PRICE HIKES

WASHINGTON.—United Steel Workers president David J. McDonald charged the steel industry with a long history of irresponsility in its pricing policies that has resulted in higher costs to helpless consumers.

In an attack on what he termed "industry profiteering," Mr. McDonald singled out United States Steel Corp. for using his union as a scapegoat for unnecessary price boosts over the years.

The union chief declared the company could absorb higher labor costs coming soon under a long-term contract without raising prices at all and still show a substantial profit increase over last year.

"But despite this," he asserted, "the corporation is planning its second 1957 price increase and to hide the fact that it is solely to accumulate an even greater profit, its leaders have the affrontery to claim they are forced to raise prices."

Mr. McDonald delivered the criticism of steel-pricing policies, a subject he generally has avoided, in an appearance before a conference of the AFL–CIO Industrial Union Department.

He cited a long list of statistics designed to show that increased profits per man-hour worked in the steel industry have far outstripped higher wage costs.

"Wage increases in steel," Mr. McDonald said, "have not caused a single steel-price increase." This was the only conclusion that could be drawn from the rounds of price and wage boosts since 1945, he said, adding that price increases since then have yielded the industry more than $3 in revenue for each $1 of wage increase.

"The upward movement of steel prices through the years," he charged, "has been caused by the steel industry's determination to widen its profit margin by a consistent policy of imposing ever-higher prices on customers and eventual consumers of steel who are helpless to resist." He added:

"Year after year—and more often than not, twice a year—the steel industry hikes its prices in utter disregard of the welfare of all concerned. Despite pronouncements to the contrary, the price increases are not tailored to increased costs, nor do they bear any relationship to how well the industry is doing profitwise."

Steel management, "as exemplified" by United States Steel spokesmen, Mr. McDonald declared, "leads the field in the irresponsibility of its pricing policies which have contributed to the rising trend of prices for more than a decade." At the same time, he said, management "takes a back seat to no one" for the "sheer quantity of public utterances on the evils of inflation."

This "split personality," he charged, represented "a calculated strategy designed to enable the industry to accumulate even higher profits through continuous steel price increases at the expense of the consumer, and still escape the blame and public censure which such actions deserve."

Mr. McDonald estimated that the total cost of steelworker wage increases and other benefits that will go into effect on July 1 will cost United States Steel less than $51.5 million this year. Without considering any productivity increases, net profits will be reduced by $24.7 million, he said. This, he figured, would still leave the concern with a net profit for the year of $437 million, compared with $348.1 million in 1956, based on current profit rates.

Indian Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there is now pending in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs my bill, S. 574, which would establish the Federal Government's responsibility for Indian welfare costs.

On May 27 there appeared an article by Jay Edgerton on the editorial page of the Minneapolis Star, commenting on the philosophy upon which this legislation is based. I ask unanimous consent that this article, together with a letter to the editor written by Deputy Commissioner Ray Lappegaard, of the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and letter to the editor were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIAN WELFARE EFFORT TAGGED "RACIST"—NOVELIST OLIVER LAFARGE'S GROUP CLAIMS THAT NORTH CENTRAL STATES POLICY DECLARATION IS "JIM CROW"

(By Jay Edgerton)

One of the strange, almost unexplainable, storms that frequently envelop American Indian affairs is now blowing up around the vexed question of who shall pay the freight on Indian health, welfare and educational work in Minnesota, North and South Dakota and Wisconsin.

The Association on American Indian Affairs has taken out after what most of the upper Midwest considers a reasonable statement on Indian policy—the so-called North Central States policy declaration which lies back of Senate file No. 574, sponsored by Senators THYE and HUMPHREY of Minnesota, MUNDT and CASE of South Dakota, LANGER of North Dakota and WILEY of Wisconsin.

The AAIA is charging that this is a racist document, that it is in fact "Jim Crow."

The AAIA, headed by Novelist Oliver LaFarge, charges in its publication, Indian Affairs, that the North Central States policy declaration, adopted in St. Paul last year, attempts to lay the philosophical ground for denying Indians most of the rights of States citizenship.

It is dismaying, the article continues, to find Minnesota, Wisconsin and the Dakotas seeking Federal financial assistance through the expedient of having their Indian citizens set apart by Congress as a racial group.

To many upper midwesterners, who know AAIA's interest in the southwestern Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, the statement must come as a mysterious contradiction.

The LaFarge group never has had any objection to the Federal Government picking up the tab, or at least a large part of it, for Indian work in Arizona and New Mexico. But when it comes to the upper Midwest, things seem to change.

If one can follow the somewhat tortuous logic here, it develops that Federal payments in the Southwest are based on economic need while those in the upper Midwest are based on race.

"The Federal Government," says AAIA, "in Arizona and New Mexico pays 80 percent of the sums expended for assistance to Navaho and Hopi Indians; but, under the Navaho-Hopi Rehabilitation Act which applies here, the payment is based upon the State's and Indians' economic need, not upon separation of Indians by race."

In all fairness, it has to be said that many upper Midwest Indians go along with the LaFarge group's point of view. They look on SF 574 (which provides for 80 percent Federal payment—the same as in the Southwest) as racist and Jim Crow.

The Standing Rock Sioux tribal council of North and South Dakota has gone on record as opposing the measure and stating that they "bitterly resent the introduction of discriminatory legislation by their own Representatives in Congress and are strongly opposed to the passage of such legislation."

But the people who have to do the actual work of Indian relief—State administrators and welfare workers—can't see that what isn't Jim Crow in Arizona and New Mexico should suddenly become racial discrimination when it is applied in northern States. They argue that the whole problem is one of Federal responsibility—plus the fact that many countries in which large numbers of Indians live simply cannot pay the welfare bill.

A basic premise of this point of view, and it was so stated in the North Central States Indian policy declaration, is that Indian welfare is a Federal responsibility.

"Indians," the declaration said, "are located where they are as a result of Federal Government action and for this reason some States do not have an Indian problem. It is, therefore, unfair that certain States should be forced to assume large financial outlays for proper and necessary Indian services."

It is admitted that somebody will have to pay the bill on Indian welfare for many years. And in the upper Midwest the most heavily populated Indian localities simply are not able to do so. Why is it racist for Uncle Sam to foot the bill?

INDIAN WELFARE

To the EDITOR:

The article Indian Welfare Effort Tagged "Racist" in the May 27 issue of the Minneapolis Star was most welcome. Since it so ably expressed the viewpoint I and others engaged in Minnesota's welfare program, I should admit my opinion could be termed "biased." However, it is extremely refreshing to see the fundamental question of what level of government is responsible stated publicly in a clear, lucid, dispassionate manner.

I personally am convinced that most of the difficulties we encounter in attempting to provide equal opportunity to our Indian citizens stem from the fact that this fundamental question of who is responsible has not been resolved clearly and conclusively. You are doing a great public service by your contribution to public awareness and understanding of these difficulties. Without such awareness and understanding our efforts will continue to be relatively fruitless.

RAY LAPPEGAARD,
Deputy Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare, State of Minnesota.

ST. PAUL.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter entitled "What Happened When Ike Teed Off on Budget?" signed by "Hardscrabble," and published in the Arkansas Gazette of April 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT HAPPENED WHEN IKE TEED OFF ON BUDGET?

To the EDITOR of the GAZETTE:

"I wish to my soul Ike would make up his mind about the budget," said Timothy Peckworthy. "For the last 3 months, he's been jumping around like a cat on a hot stove."

"You're barking up the wrong tree," I told him, shifting to a figure of speech that I hoped might elevate the conversation. "It doesn't matter what Ike thinks about the budget. It's what the team thinks that counts. This might seem a little odd, for you lived so long under Roosevelt and Truman, that you expect a President to show some leadership in these matters. But we're in a different and more advanced age now. This administration believes in teamwork—

democratic teamwork. The team calls the signals, and the quarterback runs with the ball.

"All this budget trouble started on a day back in January, when the President was seated at his desk, turning a problem over and over in his mind. He was trying to figure out a way to outwit that water hazard on the seventh hole. 'Now, if I make my approach like this,' he muttered, 'and then take a No. 2 iron and * * *.' But at this moment in came the Director of the Budget.

"'What you got on your back?' Ike asked.

"'This is the budget, Mr. President. You might look it over before you recommend it to Congress.'

"At this point, Ike aimed his well-known executive ability at the problem.

"'This thing been through the usual channels?' he asked. 'Everything all wrapped up? No strings hanging out?'

"'Everything is in order, Mr. President.'

"Ike yanked out his pen, made a few preliminary flourishes in the air, signed the accompanying papers, packed all the stuff on the Director's back, and guided him to the door. Then he turned his attention again to that pesky water hazard on the seventh hole.

"But pretty soon, the air outside the President's office was filled with cries of pain and outrage, and Ike learned that the team had not been unanimous in calling that last signal. Secretary Humphrey declared that such an enormous budget would plunge us into a depression. This comment put the elder Herbert Hoover in a reminiscent frame of mind, and he threw off a few remarks that were about as cheerful as a ghost cracking his knuckles in a mausoleum. Prominent Republicans in Congress wrung their hands and beat their breasts as they paced off the measurement of the budget.

"Annoyed and distracted by all this racket, Ike sent messages up and down the channels, begging the team to get together on some signal that a man could understand. But he soon became reconciled to the fact that his administration is divided into two groups—little spenders and big spenders. So he's doing what any fair-minded, likeable President would do. He's giving each group equal time and facilities. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, he's the spokesman for the little spenders. On Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, he delivers the message of the big spenders. And on Sundays, he loafs, reads westerns, and does a little figuring on the use he's going to make of that No. 2 iron."

"I wish he'd spend less time on golf and more time on the Government," Timothy sighed.

"You leave Ike alone," I said sharply. "He knows what's best for the country."

HARDSCRABBLE.

CONWAY.

Retirement of Eli Lilly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Lilly Ends 50 Years With Family's Firm," published in the Indianapolis Star of Friday, May 31, 1957; an editorial entitled "Fifty Years With Lilly," published in the Indianapolis News of Friday, May 31, 1957; and an editorial entitled "Fifty Faithful Years," published in the Indianapolis Times of Saturday, June 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the article and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Indianapolis Star of May 31, 1957]

TRADITION OF PROGRESS: LILLY ENDS 50 YEARS WITH FAMILY'S FIRM

Eli Lilly, one of Indiana's most honored citizens, tomorrow will complete 50 years of service with the world's biggest phamaceutical manufacturer, founded by his grandfather 81 years ago.

A philanthropist, civic leader and historian, Lilly is retired from active administration of the international firm, Eli Lilly & Co., although he has been chairman of the board since 1948.

The company magazine, the Lilly Review, in its May–June issue outlines the career and character of the Indianapolis industrialist in an article titled "Eli Lilly * * * Man With a Long View."

The family business, during Eli Lilly's presidency from 1932 to 1948, expanded its annual sales from $13 million to $115 million. More important to Lilly, however, was the preservation of the firm's reputation for ethical practice and considerate treatment of employees.

"We must not be too impressed by our size," he cautions, "because, after all, the question is not how big we are, but how good."

Eli Lilly's desire for the company to be "good" in a field sometimes exploited by promoters led to some startling actions, such as the opening of a $1 million research center in 1934, while the depression was closing corporate purses everywhere.

The Lilly firm had a tradition of advanced personnel policies which Eli Lilly continued. During the depression the firm devised a succession of measures such as tearing down and rebuilding machinery to keep people on the payroll.

The company set up a pension program in 1920 and a group insurance plan in 1927.

Throughout his life Lilly has found time for numerous other interests. A product of his research in local history is the volume, Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana, published in 1937. For 14 years he was president of the Indiana Historical Society.

His grandfather is listed as one of the founders of Indianapolis, and the family has demonstrated continued interest in civic and philanthropic institutions.

The Lilly Endowment has donated in 20 years $18,500,000 to colleges, hospitals and other charities. The city's first United Fund drive this fall will have Eli Lilly as its honorary chairman.

Other interests in which Lilly indulges more freely since his retirement are boating, fishing, woodworking and travel. He and his wife, Mrs. Ruth Allison Lilly, spend much of the spring and summer at their home on Lake Wawasee.

This year they will interrupt the summer routine for a trip to Switzerland. Then Eli Lilly will come back to his current historical project—some notes on early Wawasee—and to his quiet works.

[From the Indianapolis News of May 31, 1957]

FIFTY YEARS WITH LILLY

Tomorrow a modest, quiet man will have completed a half century of service with Eli Lilly & Co.

Such an event is ordinarily of importance only to the individual and the corporation involved. However, the anniversary tomorrow has a significance far beyond the plants and offices of the Lilly firm because the man completing 50 years is Eli Lilly, the 72-year-old board chairman.

One reason we think the occasion is of community-wide significance is that in Mr. Lilly's 16 years as president the company's sales increased from $13 million annually to $115 million in 1948, the year he relinquished the presidency to his brother, J. K. Lilly.

In that same period the number of employees increased from 1,700 to 6,300. Floor space increased from 600,000 square feet to more than 2 million.

The impact of these statistics on a community fortunate enough to have such a vital manufacturing firm is tremendous.

Eli Lilly & Co. has, of course, continued to grow with undiminished vigor since he retired as president and became board chairman. Its sales are at the top of the world's pharmaceutical manufacturing firms.

Mr. Lilly, although he has played a leading role in that growth, is not impressed by sheer size.

"The question," he says, "is not how big we are, but how good."

In this statement is the secret of the internationally distinguished reputation of the Indianapolis firm. Perhaps it is why Lilly's devotes so much attention to research so that ways can be found to make only the best.

Eli Lilly is the grandson of the founder of the firm. Quietly, unobtrusively, he has accepted the responsibilities of his position in a manner by which the entire community has benefited.

He has been described as an industrialist, philanthropist and humanitarian. And he is all of these in the best meaning of the terms.

We congratulate Mr. Lilly, the company and the city on the occasion of his 50th anniversary of service.

[From the Indianapolis Times of June 1, 1957]

FIFTY FAITHFUL YEARS

Few men of power and such overwhelming modesty have made the mark on the community, and the wide earth, as has Eli Lilly, chairman of the board of Eli Lilly & Co., who today ends his 50th year in the service of humanity.

The Lilly family has been the sturdy hub of this community, in its exacting industry, its relentless search for new ways to preserve and improve human health, in its charities and philanthropy, through its long, pulsing growth.

Eli Lilly is a quite man. A boast has never crossed his lips. Pride is not in him. But there is something infinitely stronger, a kindness and a humility which from his childhood when he was baptized in Christ Church Cathedral on Monument Circle has been as much a part of him as the patient beat of his generous heart.

Mr. Lilly is a man who puts things in their proper order as few do. His church comes first, his family second, his business family third. But they are only fractions of an inch apart. Indeed, in one quick look at Mr. Lilly you see them all at once in the high integrity he has put into his products, his words and his deeds.

A man of many interests, he has kept himself mentally young. He is an authority on archeology, Chinese art, the study of the origin of man and the church from which man gets guidance for his spirit.

He learned early that Lilly products had to stand for the highest in character. He set up means of protecting their standards, never copies a formula for a medicine. Instead, he has all formulas blueprinted. There can be no mistakes.

He has held the highest honors in his profession. He has almost endless college and university degrees. He would never tell you so, but he has built his company into an unsurpassed pinnacle of perfection recognized the world over.

Through the Lilly family's charitable trust, Lilly Endowment, Inc., he has given

away $18.5 million in 20 years for his community. He has invested money everywhere in the intangibles of life, all those which promise permanent value.

He is one of the world's leading disciples of research, finding new and better ways. He knew long ago that if his company is to live it must lead. He has poured millions into finding unknown secrets of human health, agriculture and means of adding to the happiness of the human individual.

He is not without hobbies. A man thinks best when he works with his hands. He is a woodworker, a sailor, a farmer, an author. He is many things, all contributing to the dignity and majesty of his fellows.

This day with an effort at equal humility, we extend a congratulating hand to Eli Lilly, who has learned the secret of living every minute of his life to its fullest—but living it always for other men.

June Is Dairy Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "June Is Dairy Month," published in Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead, June 1, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUNE IS DAIRY MONTH—WHEN YOU BUY A GLASS OF MILK, ARE RESTAURANT OPERATORS REALLY COOPERATING WITH DAIRY FARMERS?

(By Dave Bryant)

The colorful poster on the restaurant wall proudly proclaimed: "June is dairy month—We are cooperating."

Fine.

I ordered my lunch from the menu—substituting milk for coffee.

Then came the bill. Sure enough. I was charged 5 cents extra for the milk.

Paying the bill, I glanced at the "We are cooperating" poster.

Who wouldn't want to cooperate with a program that would enable them to sell an 8-ounce glass of milk for 15 cents? That $30 per hundred pounds.

Somebody was getting a lot bigger chunk out of the price of that glass of milk than was the farmer who produced it and paid for the June Dairy Month poster with his check-off.

How did I get the 15-cent price? It's easy to figure. Coffee in most eating places now sells for 10 cents a cup. Coffee comes with the meal.

Substitute milk, and you pay for the coffee and add 5 cents. Total, 15 cents.

To be fair, it must be noted that some restaurants do permit you to substitute milk for coffee without extra charge. But they're too few.

Fortunately, some folks like milk well enough to pay the price. But why put a price penalty on milk?

The Nation's dairy farmers are spending a lot of money—about $6 million—this year to push the sale of dairy products.

Dairy farmers provide free posters promoting the sale of milk and other dairy products served in restaurants. And dairy farmers are pushing the idea of "milk with your meal—coffee later," another help for restaurant operators.

Is it too much, then, to ask the restaurant operator to sell milk for something less than 12 or 15 cents per glass—especially during June Dairy Month? Is it too much to ask that they put some meaning into the word, "cooperate"?

Another pet peeve. I couldn't begin to count the number of times that I've had a waitress suggest coffee as a beverage. But, so help me, I can't recall a single waitress who suggested milk.

What do dairy farmers think of restaurant milk prices?

The fact is: Most of them haven't given the problem much attention. They're producers—not merchandisers.

Most dairy farmers feel that they're doing their part toward promoting sales of dairy products when they contribute through the year-round checkoff—one cent per pound of butterfat during May and June, and one-half cent per pound of butterfat or 2 cents per 100 pounds of milk during the other 10 months.

Added to that, good dairy farmers eat most of their meals at home—close to the cows. Few of them have a chance to make their own surveys of restaurant milk prices.

And those who've spotted the problem find it rather baffling.

"I'll cuss all you want me to," says Eves Cadwallader, prominent Mahaska County, Iowa, dairy farmer. "But I don't know what else to do about it."

Then he adds: "It's the same old story. They set the price on our products at both ends—to us and to the consumers."

In Poweshiek County, Iowa, veteran dairyman Alvin Mann feels about the same way. "I've never been able to figure out why they charge more for milk when you substitute it, but most of them do," Mann says.

That's it. You can't tell a restaurant operator how to run his business—any more than you would let him tell you how to feed your cows.

"I don't know what we can do about it," says Claire Wemer, another Poweshiek County dairyman. "Except to commend the ones that don't charge extra for milk."

Maybe that's the only answer. Maybe it's time for dairy farmers and June Dairy Month committees to do a little checking up in their own committees—find out how milk is being sold.

Then express appreciation to restaurant operators who really are cooperating in the dairy-promotion program.

Maybe the dairy farmer can do more than contribute to dairy product promotion through the checkoff.

What results might be expected if every dairy farmer were to go on a little crusade of his own during June—visit some restaurants, ask questions about milk prices, and make commendations where they are deserved?

Resolutions Adopted by Sons of American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of five resolutions adopted by the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution at its recent annual meeting held at Salt Lake City, Utah.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FALSE PHILOSOPHY OF EQUALITY

Whereas we hold the following truths to be self-evident:

Governments are often established by philosophers and it is generally the philosopher who takes a hand in their destruction.

ALL MEN ARE NOT EQUAL

The doctrine of human equality is to be found neither in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, nor the Bible.

That doctrine is to be found in Das Kapital, the bible of communism.

It is a specious falsehood repeated thousands of times in school textbooks, newspapers, in television programs, and on the radio. We find it in the writings of Marxists and eggheads who have converted it into a propaganda weapon of tremendous power. It is now being used to support a Socialist interpretation of a nonsocialistic document—the Constitution of the United States.

It has been the basis of many recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

We deem it our right, and our duty to denounce this doctrine for what it is—a false interpretation of our basic law.

We, therefore, resolve and dedicate ourselves to the task of doing everything in our power to expose this falsehood, whenever, and wherever it may appear. We call upon other organizations and their members to do likewise until the force of public opinion will compel a return to the true philosophy on which our Government is founded.

We assert, and are prepared to prove, that all men are born with equal rights and are subject to equal responsibilities. They are entitled to equal justice under law. In all other respects, men are unequal. It was never the intent or the purpose of the framers of our Constitution to reduce all men to a dead level of mediocrity.

TO PROTECT THE RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY IN INJUNCTION CASES

Whereas the Attorney General of the United States has recommended to Congress that citizens be deprived of their right to a trial by jury in contempt of court cases involving an alleged violation of injunctions, orders, and other decrees and relating to situations where there is no obstruction to the orderly conduct of a trial, or other conduct where summary use of the contempt power would be justified.

It is proposed to accomplish this denial of the right to a jury by permitting the United States to intervene and become a party to pending litigation, or commence action in its own name in the first instance.

We regard this as a dangerous infringement of basic rights and recognize that it will inevitably lead to abuses affecting the people of all the States. This practice, if sanctioned now as a device to deal with a particular type of litigation, will inevitably be extended to other types of legal actions and in the end, government by injuction will be substituted for trial by jury: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, First, that we declare our unalterable opposition to all legislative bills which will have the effect of denying the right of trial by jury in injunction enforcement cases.

Second, we call upon the Congress of the United States to take affirmative action, by statute, securing the right to a trial by jury

in all cases other than those involving use of the contempt power to maintain order during the conduct of a trial.

SUPREME COURT DECISION UPHOLDING RIGHT OF COMMUNIST TO PRACTICE LAW

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States, in one of its latest decisions, lent its prestige and dignity in support of the proposition that the board of bar examiners of a State may not find and determine that a former member of the Communist Party is morally unfit to practice law.

We think it is time to direct public attention to this latest example of false philosophy on the part of the justices of our highest Court.

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we do hereby exercise our unalienable right to criticize the Supreme Court of the United States, and the several justices thereof whenever such action appears justified. We suggest to other organizations, that they do likewise. We remind the justices of that Court of their solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

NONSENSE AND THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

Whereas we have been deluged for years with the propaganda of so-called "liberals" rushing in to defend the fifth-amendment witness and depicting his sad plight and self-imposed martyrdom.

Much nonsense has been and is being said on this subject.

Finally, the answer to this philosophical dilemma has been found by Professor Sidney Hook in his work "Commonsense and the Fifth Amendment" wherein he states that we are morally justified in demanding an answer to unloaded but devastating questions such as the following:

"Do you now, or have you ever beaten your wife?"

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend Professor Hook for the contribution he has made to the cause of sanity and clear thinking by the writing of this book.

That we assert that it is now time to apply to the fifth-amendment witness the moral judgment so completely justified in the case of any man who, by his refusal to testify, shields and protects those who seek to overthrow our Constitution and form of government.

TO MAINTAIN FREE DEBATE IN THE SENATE

Whereas maintenance of freedom of debate in the United States Senate performs the same essential function as freedom of the press, under the first amendment, in keeping the people fully informed in respect to matters which may vitally affect their freedom and the security of constitutional rights.

In recent years various attempts have been made to bring about the enactment of restricted rules in the Senate of the United States which may endanger freedom of discussion in that House of Congress.

We recognize the possibility of abuse of the right of free debate in the Senate, just as we know that freedom of the press is, at times, abused.

The alternative, which is control of debate, and may lead to a condition equivalent to the censorship, is too dangerous to be seriously considered.

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our unalterable opposition to the enactment of any rule in the Senate which will substantially alter the right to freedom of discussion secured by Senate rule XXII.

We call upon the Rules Committee of the Senate to protect this essential right when acting on pending proposals relating to the change of that Senate rule.

Administration of George M. Humphrey as Secretary of the Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled, "Robert B. Anderson's Burden," written by J. A. Livingston, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 6, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROBERT B. ANDERSON'S BURDEN

(By J. A. Livingston)

George M. Humphrey may go down in the history of Republican administrations as a great Secretary of the Treasury. Certainly, President Eisenhower regards him as such. Yet, in cold statistics of Treasury finance, Humphrey will leave behind what some irreverent Wall Streeters call a financial mess.

To say that Humphrey failed as Secretary of the Treasury is too hard. A failure is a person who has the tide with him and doesn't use it. The tide was against Humphrey.

When he first took office, he made it clear that too much of the Federal debt was short-term—under 5 years. He was going to "lengthen it out." He selected W. Randolph Burgess from the powerful post of chairman of the executive committee of the First National City Bank of New York for that intractable task. If any man could, Burgess—with a background as a money-market specialist, author of the noteworthy book, The Reserve Banks and the Money Market—would succeed in spacing, simplifying, and systematizing the Federal debt structure.

Here are the results:

Five years ago, in December 1952, just before President Eisenhower took office, 34.9 percent of the marketable debt owned by banks, insurance companies, and other nongovernment investors was due in less than a year. Today (in February 1957), the percentage of debt due inside a year is exactly the same—34.9 percent. No improvement there.

Five years ago, 25.3 percent of the debt matured in 1 to 5 years. Today, 31.2 percent. Deterioration. More debt is coming up for early refinancing.

Five years ago, 17.2 percent of the debt matured in 5 to 10 years. Today, 12.5 percent. Again, deterioration. The proportion of longer-term debt is lower—exactly contrary to original intent.

Finally, 5 years ago, 22.5 percent of the debt matured in more than 10 years. Today, 21.4 percent. A slight deterioration in the percent of long maturities.

That's Robert B. Anderson's heritage as the incoming Secretary of the Treasury. Government maturities are closing in at a time when industrial corporations, public utilities, and State and local governments are calling for money. And the money market isn't exactly overflowing with cash-laden investors.

And Treasury financing costs are up. In December 1952, Government bonds were selling to yield 2.74 percent. Today, if the Treasury had to borrow, it would have to pay about 3.5 percent for long-term money. Interests costs, over $6 billion a year 5 years ago, now run to about $7.5 billion, a 25 percent rise.

How is it, then, that in a letter expressing "profound regret" President Eisenhower thanks Humphrey for his "extraordinary talents"? The answer is that Humphrey is honored for his influence outside the Treasury more than for his work inside it. He was the man, as President Eisenhower himself said, all "listened to" at Cabinet meetings.

Humphrey was a dedicated servant to orthodoxy at a time when orthodoxy was costly. He was unwilling to pervert the Federal Reserve System into a Treasury handmaiden. He did not press the Reserve to buy Treasury bonds and so support the Government market. That would have enabled the Treasury to sell long-term issues and thus elongate its maturity schedule.

But that would have amounted to monetizing the debt, creating money by Government fiat. It would have increased demand for goods and services, added to inflationary pressures. It would have undone the victory of former Reserve Board Chairman Thomas B. McCabe over former Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder in the Truman administration.

Humphrey sacrificed ease of financing, cheap financing, to what he regards as the greater good—sound money. All the while his ambition was to pile up Government surpluses in the manner of Andrew W. Mellon and pay off the short-term debt.

But peacelessness—the war of nerves with the Kremlin—permitted no big surpluses. The debt he leaves behind is bigger than the debt he started with. And Treasury maturities come tumbling over one another in critical bunches.

That's Humphrey's failure—a failure that's a monument to his courage, character, and unflagging loyalty to his own and President Eisenhower's belief in a sound dollar.

Shocking Disregard of Basic Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Shocking Disregard of Basic Right," from the June 5, 1957, issue of the Metropolitan Herald of Atlanta, Ga.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOCKING DISREGARD OF BASIC RIGHT

The decision of the Eisenhower administration to surrender an American serviceman to a Japanese court for trial for an act committed while he was on duty has shocked most Americans and put fear in the hearts of the parents of all servicemen serving abroad.

If as Secretary Dulles and Secretary Wilson state the "firing of empty shell cases from the rifle grenade launcher was not authorized," then the young soldier should be tried by an army court-marital.

We can see no justification whatsoever in surrendering the youth to Japanese authorities, in this instance, even under the questionable "status of forces" agreement. The act for which the soldier is charged was committed while he was on guard duty on an American firing range.

It seems to us this is just another step of appeasing foreign nations at the sacrifice of the basic rights of an American soldier.

The sacrificing of the basic civil rights of an American soldier comes at a time when the administration's Attorney General is doing his utmost to get Congress to pass legislation which would deprive accused American citizens the right of a trial by jury when charged with violations of so-called civil rights measures.

Try as hard as they may, administration leaders cannot separate these two major acts. They are willing to sacrifice the rights of an American soldier to appease the Japanese government and they are willing to sacrifice one of the most basic civil rights—the right of a trial by jury—to appease a vocal political bloc vote minority.

We trust that the Congress of the United States will not fail to see the connection and the grave threat these actions pose to our fundamental liberties.

Billy Joe Mitchell of Warren County, Ky., Selected Kentucky Star Farmer by Kentucky Future Farmers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "A Star Farmer Is a Testimonial" which appeared in the June 9, 1957, issue of the Courier Journal of Louisville, Ky.

Billy Joe Mitchell of Warren County was selected the Kentucky Star Farmer by the Kentucky Future Farmers of America. I take great pride in my fellow Warren Countian's accomplishments. At 17, Billy Joe has 11 years of practical farming experience, and his efforts have not gone unrewarded.

The editorial is as follows:

A STAR FARMER IS A TESTIMONIAL

The annual selection of Kentucky's Star Farmer from among the boys of FFA is practically a course of instruction in agriculture. Out of it comes information of the Star Farmer's farm plan, and this is bound to be good or else there'd be no point in the contest.

In the case of Billy Joe Mitchell of Smiths Grove (Warren County), who is 1957's Star Farmer, the winning program is a guide to suitable and profitable farming in Kentucky. There on an easily manageable 158 acres is the burley allotment, the 1.35-acre cash base. There are the 80 acres in grain, the 25 acres in alfalfa hay.

And this, naturally, brings us to the core of the Kentucky pattern. It brings us to the livestock, the indispensable substance—the mortgage raiser, the improvement factor, the home builder. Billy Joe Mitchell owns 13 head of registered Holstein cows. With his brother Smith, his partner in the program, he owns 120 feeder hogs.

The land, of course, is owned in the partnership. The two boys have come far. Billy Joe, this year's Kentucky champ, is living proof that industry and dedication pay, that the fellow who talks of farming as a depressed occupation does not know the likes of the Mitchells. Given intelligence and capacity, given love of land and experience with life on the productive land (Billy Joe's began at six), the farmer is the man who asks and needs no commiseration. Rather, the call is for envy.

Closing Statement by Loyd Wright, Chairman, Government Security Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

CHAIRMAN'S CLOSING STATEMENT

As Chairman of the Commission, I have been privileged to hold a position in the central flow of the materials considered and in constant contact with the processes of our work. Having enjoyed this unique opportunity for observation, I am constrained to offer a comment by way of supplementation in this closing chapter of the report. The opinions expressed, which could not have been included appropriately elsewhere, are my own, and not necessarily those of my associates of the Commission.

My first purpose is to commend my fellow Commissioners for their tireless and objective dedication to our task. There could be no more eloquent testimonial to the best of American traditions than their devoted service, given at great personal sacrifice, in the effort to protect both the national security and individual rights.

To observe the impressive accomplishments of the entire staff and to witness the unselfish response of the citizens called upon for aid in our endeavor has been heartening. The experience proves fully the wisdom of the Congress in making use of commissions of this kind for study of its legislative programs.

For the citizen from private life, an opportunity for objective study of the work of the legislative branch in the vital field of protecting national security is both instructive and reassuring. As an American who has reviewed the reports of various congressional committees and who has been privileged to examine the Government files, I am convinced that the investigative function of the Congress is both constructive and essential, and that on the whole the function has been discharged with fairness by sincere men seeking to met a difficult responsibility. And I am grateful and proud that the Congress, despite the emotional stress of total war and uneasy peace, has proved able to enact legislation that in the main preserves without encroachment the principles of individual liberty and government by law.

The completion of the Commission's work does not bring to an end the need for continuing study of the demands of national security. The challenge which confronts the Nation is ever changing. In the short 18 months of the Commission's life, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union revealed a shift in conspiratorial strategy, raising new problems to be coped with. Recently, developments have made it clear that Mexico has become the unwilling center of Communist activity on this continent, imposing new burdens upon the American authorities who patrol the difficult terrain of this frontier, and suggesting the need for congressional consideration of additional safeguards.

Judicial decisions rendered during the past year have required modification of the security programs, and, apparently, similar changes can be anticipated for the future. Both the legal profession and an informed citizenry have found cause for concern in the judicial delays that have left in doubt many of the basic issues of the security system. Prosecutions under the Smith Act and the proceeding to declare the character of the Communist Party have been deferred. The log jam seems to be attributable to several causes. First, as recently noted by Justices Frankfurter and Harlan, the Supreme Court has appeared to direct its energies toward the disposition of "insignificant cases," thereby "doing injustice to the significant and important cases on the calendar." (*Ferguson* v. *Moore-McCormack Lines* (352 U. S. 521, at 546 (1957)).

A second cause of uncertainty on these critical questions is the apparent tendency of certain lower courts, both District courts and courts of appeals, to allow cases involving the security laws to lie dormant on the calendar pending clarification by the Supreme Court. Under our judicial system, the proper concern of these lower courts is rather to assist the upper court by well-reasoned decision than to build a good record of affirmance and reversal. The maxim that "justice delayed is justice denied" is no less true in the field of security. When the Government is a litigant, the interests not only of the particular defendant but of all 170 million Americans are involved. Every defendant, even a Communist, is entitled to a fair and impartial trial. In these cases it is well to remember that often the defendant has by his own actions brought about his plight. He is certainly entitled to no more consideration than the 170 million parties litigant whom he seeks to subvert. Delays not premised upon necessity, appropriate extensions of time, or the principle that unnecessary constitutional questions should not be passed upon, inevitably impair the effective protection of the Nation. It is not easy for the Attorney General, charged with representing the interests of the people, to make his case after delays of 3 or 4 years. In the face of these obstacles, the Department of Justice's Internal Security Division has done a commendable job.

As this is written to meet a publication deadline, confusion has been compounded by the decision of *Jencks* v. *United States*.[1] When we are striving to survive the insidious attacks of the Kremlin seeking to destroy our government of law, it is disheartening that "blind justice" is unnecessarily blinded to realism. I respectfully urge the Congress that if we are to keep pace with our enemies who seek to infiltrate our Nation to subvert us, immediate legislation must be passed to negative the grave consequences that will flow from this confusing decision.

Such problems of security will command careful attention in the future. Continued study of the workings of the program will be imperative, and deserved criticism should be encouraged. But baseless, carping censure can serve only to discredit the responsible legislators and officials and to undermine the confidence in Government that is essential to national security. In this respect the responsibilities of the public press assume a heightened significance. In a government built in a republican form superimposed upon the philosophies of a democracy, the

[1] United States Supreme Court, June 3, 1957. The staff of the Commission, after hours of study, could not reach an accord either as to the legal consequences or probable effect of this decision.

operations of its officers cannot be cloaked in complete secrecy. An informed citizenry is a major premise of our governmental structure. But that same structure may be destroyed if a potential enemy is supplied with information critical to national self-preservation. The final responsibility for the difficult decisions of what shall be secret must be confided in those loyal and devoted public servants who are qualified to make the judgment. No citizen is entitled to take the law, and the safety of the Nation, into his own hands. With near unanimity, the American journalism profession has conscientiously observed these limits. But there are a few exceptional cases, which for some reason have escaped prosecution. The purveyor of information vital to national security, purloined by devious means, gives aid to our enemies as effectively as the foreign agent. I commend to the special consideration of the Congress the Commission's proposal for unequivocal prohibition of such irresponsible and unauthorized disclosure and for vigorous prosecution of every offender.

In closing, I am pleased to report that through the aid of the President in making available to us detailed studies conducted by other agencies and through the excellent management of our executive secretary, Mr. Douglas Price, the Commission has been able to complete its work with a saving of approximately $150,000 from the $883,000 appropriated for the work by the Congress.

Michigan's Tax Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, press notices concerning Michigan's tax policies and their effect within the State upon industrial expansion, or lack of it, have reached all over the country.

There follows an article summarizing the situation which appeared in the June 6, 1957, issue of the Muskegon (Mich.) Chronicle:

(By William C. Kulsea)

LANSING, June 6.—The boyish grin is gone. The shoulders are stooped. The pout of the lower lip is more pronounced. Even the green-and-white polka dot tie has lost its swagger.

For the first time in nearly 9 years, Gov. G. Mennen Williams has been hurt politically.

From nearly all sections of Michigan, from California, from Texas, from New York, and from Massachusetts reports are coming in that Williams is driving industry out of Michigan.

His opponents are crying that the Governor's tax policies are chasing industry out of the State, and preventing new business from coming in.

The Governor has been shouting back—"It's libel on the reputation of the State"—"irreparable damage is being done"—"This is mass hysteria"—"This is politics both in Michigan and in Washington."

But his denials are coming into an echo-chamber, and so far are being heard only by his partisans.

And even some of them are beginning to wonder. Reports reaching the executive office are that Negroes in Detroit are asking "Why is Soapy chasing industry out of the State?"

The story is a prairie fire among many minority groups. Many are taking a backward glance at their 46-year-old favorite to see what all this means, why are so many losing jobs, why doesn't Williams come out and say it isn't so and make it stick.

"It's a bum rap," say his aids.

The peerless public-relations organization operated by Paul W. Weber, his press secretary, so far is stalled. It doesn't know how to fight back.

Here's the problem, as outlined by one of the Governor's aids:

"It's a hard thing to fight. Take a man who owns a plant in Michigan. He decides to expand. He spends some money for minor expansion of his Michigan facilities and then announces he's going to build a new plant in Kentucky. He says he's doing that because taxwise it will be cheaper for him to do that there than in Michigan.

"It's a personal matter. It's his plant, his money, and his problem with taxes. It's his own idea and there's no way you can disprove it. There have been so many of these cases lately that you can't begin to cope with them all.

"It's propaganda. We know it, but we can't fight it with the same formula we used in other cases."

It all began innocently enough several months ago. The governor said a University of Michigan study showed that taxation is not an important factor in having industry locate in a State.

The Republicans in the legislature screamed like they had just caught a burglar at the State treasury safe.

Leading the pack was house speaker, George M. Van Peursem, of Zeeland. He was aided by businessmen and industrialists who took issue with the governor's interpretation of the report. One of them was Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors.

Williams took off after Curtice on the theory that "his blast" was the most damaging, but he was too late.

Curtice deepened the wound with these phrases:

"* * * Even the present level of business taxation in Michigan has already led us to locate plants in other States, where the taxes per General Motors job are less than one-half of the present taxes per job in Michigan. This will also be taken into consideration in the placement of additional plants.

"Obviously, if the governor's plan of taxation is adopted the resultant excessive tax level will be even greater influence in our decisions with respect to locating new plants and providing new job opportunities."

This and a prior statement by Curtice triggered a reaction that has painted Williams as a tax-happy Governor.

For 7 of the 8 years he has been in office, Williams has been asking the legislature to adopt a corporate profits tax. It hasn't.

Editorial writers all over the country responded to Curtice's statement.

The Financial World warned: "His [Curtice's] words serve as a voluble reminder that no one State has a monopoly of natural resources or labor and it behooves State governments to be efficient and reasonable lest they lose competitive position."

The Buffalo Evening News: "Michigan * * * is risking the loss of industry to other States."

The Chicago Tribune: "The State that punishes industry with heavy taxes will not get new plants, other things being equal."

Tampa Daily Times: "It is equally true that industry will shy away from those States with inefficient governmental organization and heavy tax loads."

New Bedford (Mass.) Standard Times: "Every company must give major consideration to the tax factor when choosing a site for manufacturing facilities."

Omaha Evening World-Herald: "Obviously, there is a point at which returns from increasing tax rates and new forms of taxation begin to diminish. Michigan may be nearing that point."

Washington Evening Star: "There should be some reasonable balance between the tax burden and the advanges received in return. It is an area in which economic considerations, rather than political ones, should be prevailing."

In the governor's office, his aides have one thing to smile about. It's 18 month's before the next gubernatorial election next year, and the controversary may blow over.

Mr. Speaker, whether the charges and countercharges concerning Michigan's tax policies are true or false, the publicity attending them has not enhanced the State's reputation as a home for industry. Since I represent a congressional district where there is now considerable unemployment, I believe it is essential that an appropriate committee of the State Legislature get to the bottom of this matter as quickly as possible and straighten it out, if possible. There follows a letter which I mailed today to the presiding officers of the two houses of Michigan's Legislature:

JUNE 10, 1957.

Hon. PHILIP A. HART,
President, State Senate.
Hon. GEORGE M. VAN PEURSEM,
Speaker, State House of Representatives, The Capitol, Lansing, Mich.

GENTLEMEN: In recent weeks, national, as well as State-wide, attention has focused upon the tax policies of Michigan and their effect upon industrial expansion, or the lack of it, within our State.

I am very interested in this subject because at the present time there is considerable unemployment in northwestern Michigan, particularly at Muskegon and Traverse City. Several plants in that area have closed their doors during the past year, while at the same time, I am aware through conversations with some of my Ohio colleagues in the Congress, that Ohio is now flourishing industrially with many new jobs being created there.

The purpose of my letter is not to point an accusing finger or to pass judgment; but I believe that the many laboring people who are out of work, as well as the rest of the citizens of Michigan, are entitled to know some facts. If State tax policies or other conditions are causing industries to prefer other States to Michigan, then unfortunately it is the laboring people of our State who are the real losers—not industry. In view of the recent nationwide publicity, which has been very damaging to our State's reputation, I believe the charge that State and local tax policies are discouraging industrial expansion in Michigan, should now either be substantiated or discredited.

Accordingly, I wish strongly to urge that an appropriate committee of one or both houses of the State Legislature commence immediately to study and conduct a thorough investigation of the charge.

If I can be of assistance in any way, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT P. GRIFFIN,
Member of Congress.

Independent Airlines Set New Safety Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is with extreme pleasure that I call atten-

tion of my colleagues to the fact that the Nation's independent airlines have established a new passenger safety record for the air-transportation industry.

I am informed by Mr. Jesse F. Stallings, president of Independent Airlines Association, that the independent airline industry has completed over 18 months of fatality-free operations to surpass a previous record established by the scheduled airlines in domestic operations between March 26, 1939, and August 31, 1940.

The supplemental air carriers—formerly known as nonscheduled lines—have flown in excess of 2½ billion passenger-miles without a fatal mishap since November 17, 1955.

Restricted as to the amount of civilian common carriage business they may do, the independent airlines have developed the market for peacetime transportation of military personnel and are rendering a great service to our national-defense effort, as well as saving the Government considerable money in this respect. These lines also represent an essential element of the Nation's reserve airlift capacity available for use in case of national emergency.

So on the occasion of establishing this new safety record I offer congratulations to the Nation's small businesses in air transportation.

Alleged Post Office Subsidy to Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Herbert B. Brand, director, railway mail transportation division, Association of American Railroads. This statement was recently submitted to me as a supplement to Mr. Brand's testimony before the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Testimony alleging that railroads are enjoying a $100 million subsidy has recently been published across the Nation. In fairness, I think Mr. Brand's statement opposing this claim should be made a part of the public record. However, it should be distinctly understood that neither the chairman nor the committee has endorsed either side of this question. In fact, the committee has not yet completed its study, nor has it made any recommendations relating to the overall problem of postal policy.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALLEGED POST OFFICE SUBSIDY TO RAILROADS

The Advisory Council report says that by not enforcing the existing Federal statute, the executive branch has caused the post office to grant railroads a subsidy of $100 million a year.

It is difficut to imagine a more baseless, untrue, and irresponsible assertion. The facts are (1) the post office did endeavor to have the statute mentioned applied, but after investigation the Interstate Commerce Commission held it to be obsolete and incapable of application; (2) the railroads are paid on the basis of their mail transportation costs, as determined by the ICC in litigated proceedings; (3) the railroads receive no subsidy from the post office or any other agency of the Government, although their highway and air competitors do receive a substantial financial assistance from various Government agencies; and (4) the railroads are now spending more money to serve the Department than the Department is paying them.

Let us examine first the alleged $100 million subsidy. A subsidy is a payment—in cash, property, or service—in excess of fair compensation for services rendered. There is no statutory authority for the post office to pay railroads any subsidy whatsoever and it does not do so.

In general, the Department pays the railroads for the many services already described, rates and charges fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The railroads cannot set their own mail rates. The Commission has never fixed rates and charges higher than the railroad cost incurred to serve the Department; it has fixed them below the railroad cost.

The Commission does not casually accept railroad figures as the actual cost; regular legal proceedings, including field studies, long hearings, and legal arguments are held to determine the cost. Post Office and Department of Justice lawyers and witnesses participate, and the entire Commission makes the decision in a quasi-judicial capacity. For example, in 1947 the railroads were forced by rising costs to seek an increase in mail rates. It was 1951 before the final increase was granted, the first since 1928. The Commission relied on its own cost study, and expressly stated that the increase would not cover the entire railroad mail costs as found by that study.

This increase did not, in fact, provide revenues sufficient to cover costs, and costs continued to rise. In 1953 an increase was sought to cover this deficiency. The railroads finally agreed with the Department upon a 10-percent compromise settlement and this was later aproved by the Commission. The Commission again found, however, on the basis of the evidence, that the 10 percent was not adequate to meet the increase in railroad mail costs. Because of subsequent changes in policies and practices of the Post Office Department, the railroads actually realized only a small part of this increase.

With rates already to low to cover costs, the rise in expenses since 1953 has increased the railroad mail deficit. The railroads are now before the ICC seeking rate increases to compensate them for the full costs being incurred to serve the Department.

The law requires railroads to serve the Department as it commands, and for that reason also provides that railroads are entitled to fair and just compensation as determined by the ICC. The Supreme Court has held that the Constitution entitles the railroads to recover from the Government their full cost incurred in furnishing services required by the Department. But, as I have explained, the ICC has conservatively fixed rates on the low side. In addition, the Department has successfully negotiated a number of railroad contracts for particular services at less than the Commission-fixed rates. For these reasons, along with constant increases in wage rates and other railroad expenses since World War II, the Department now pays far less to the railroads than they spent to transport and handle mail.

It is fantastic to say that a business is subsidized when it is not even receiving compensation sufficient to cover the cost of its service. The Department may not agree that our costs are as high as we believe, but the Commission will eventually resolve this question of fact. It is indisputable that present railroad rates are below cost, and, by performing mail transportation at a loss, the railroads are actually subsidizing the Post Office and the Federal Government. Ironically, the Government at the same time is subsidizing railroad competitors. Not only has the Post Office (now CAB) paid millions of dollars in cash subsidies to the airlines under the Civil Aeronautics Act, but in fiscal 1956 the Federal Government spent $790 million for highways and $263 million for cash subsidy and aviation aids and facilities. In addition, State and county expenditures for these or similar purposes were substantial.

Under these circumstances, how could the advisory council possibly conclude that the railroads are being subsidized? Ignoring railroad losses in carrying mail, the council says a subsidy exists through the failure of the executive branch to enforce the provisions of section 557 of title 39 of the United States Code. This section was enacted in 1916. It provides that from time to time the Postmaster General (1) shall request information from the Interstate Commerce Commission as to revenue received by the railroads from express companies for services connected with the transportation of express matter; and (2) may in his discretion arrange for the transportation of other than first-class mail at rates not exceeding those so ascertained.

In the first place, the council's basic premise is incorrect. The Post Office has made every effort to invoke this section. The Interstate Commerce Commission, which of course, is an arm of Congress, not part of the executive branch, has investigated and held that the 1916 provision is now obsolete, useless, and incapable of enforcement. The reasons are apparent.

The transportation of express matter by railroads is not now, and has not been for many years, performed under a rate system. It is therefore impossible to ascertain rates as directed by the statute.

Furthermore, there are no "express companies" in existence in the sense contemplated by section 557. In 1916 the express business was conducted by a number of independently owned and operated companies which did buy transportation from the railroads. These companies long ago ceased to exist. Since 1929 the express business has been carried on by the railroads through their wholly-owned Railway Express Agency. It acts for the railroads themselves in selling the complete express service, including air express and other service, to the public. The agency does not buy transportation from railroads and there are no railroad rates for express transportation. The only rates now involved are those charged the public by the agency. The agency collects the gross revenue from the public, pays its expenses, which include nothing for railroad transportation, and then hands the remainder over to the railroads. This remainder is not paid or received as compensation for rail transportation service for express. The amount of the remainder does not necessarily have any relation to what the railroads would charge the agency if it were buying rail transportation service; the amount may be considerably more or less than fair compensation. It is simply whatever is left over. Thus, the present organization and operation of the express business bear no similarity to the situation when section 557 was passed in 1916.

The Post Office itself, having originally sought enforcement of section 557, has ac-

cepted the Commission's determination that the section is unenforceable in the light of changed circumstances since 1916, and informed your committee of its views through the testimony of Mr. Stans on March 21, 1957.

The post office already enjoys advantages over express and there is no basis for the Advisory Council's statement that the Post Office pays the railroads 60 percent more than do comparable customers. A few facts will make this quite clear.

In the first place, the railroads serve no customers comparable to the Post Office Department. For no other customers are the railroads obligated (1) to undertake transportation in accordance with detailed regulations of the customer; (2) to build equipment, involving a large capital outlay, in accordance with customer specifications—equipment of no use to railroads except to serve that one customer; (3) to carry free of charge the customer's personnel while traveling in the performance of their duties for the customer even though such duties may not be directly connected with rail transportation; (4) to perform additional services such as spotting cars in passenger stations in advance of train movements so that the customer may use those cars as office space for his employees; and (5) to place that customer's requirements above those of all other customers, or be subject to fines.

In this connection, your committee may be interested in fact that, since 1939, percentage increases in mail rates have consistently lagged behind the increases in express rates. In fact the cumulative mail rate increase since that time is 35 percentage points lower than the cumulative increase in express rates. With the above facts in mind it should be clear that railroads receive no subsidy from the Post Office.

Charles Stewart Mott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from East Lansing, Mich., where I was privileged to attend the annual commencement at Michigan State University and witness the conferring of the honorary degree of doctor of laws upon Charles Stewart Mott, an outstanding engineer, industrialist, humanitarian, and philanthropist.

Charles Stewart Mott's many business activities are matched by his record of public service as president of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, mayor of Flint, Mich., and service in the United States Navy during the Spanish-American War, to name only a few of his endeavors. While the real extent of his accomplishments are engraved on the hearts of his fellow man and are reflected in their higher standards of living, in an attempt to recognize some of these efforts, Mr. Mott was named Michigan engineer of 1956 on February 21, 1957, in a ceremony befitting the high esteem in which he is held.

Because of his tremendous contribution not only to those of Michigan but to all the people of America, I would like to include here the citation which accompanied his degree:

Charles Stewart Mott, engineer, industrialist, philanthropist. Your engineering skill and business acumen have been instrumental in providing employment and affording a greater measure of economic security for thousands of Americans. Highly motivated by the spirit of altruism and love of your fellow man, you have been generous in the use of your private means to promote the well-being of others. Education in particular has benefited from your philanthropy, which has supported wholesome leisure-time activities for adults and young people, community development, adult education on a wide scale, the junior college movement, and many other projects which have as their objective the elevation of the human spirit. Throughout your career, you have been guided by the principle that people should be encouraged to help themselves and a steadfast belief that our social system affords the world's best opportunity for individuals to achieve their legitimate ambitions. For these reasons, you are widely known and loved as one of Michigan's most illustrious and useful citizens, and for these same reasons, Michigan State University is proud to confer upon you the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

What Now? Pale, Slick Leaf in Demand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial appearing in the Florence (S. C.) Morning News, which is my hometown daily newspaper.

I made a desperate effort last fall and early this spring to secure some definite information as to the author of a letter that was circulated from Germany and some other foreign tobacco markets, stating that they did not desire our bright, slick type tobacco. I have been unable to find out who wrote this letter but it is and has been my sincere opinion that the original author was from the United States and not from any foreign country. I know that some of our cigarette manufacturers do object to our heavy type tobacco which has proven to be of great benefit to our farmers.

I am of the opinion that we do not have too much tobacco in reserve at the present time as all tobacco should be aged at least 3 years before it is manufactured into cigarettes. Tobacco can be kept in good condition for at least 10 years and in my opinion there was no sound reason for the strenuous acreage reductions we people in the tobacco growing sections were required to take by the Department of Agriculture this year.

The stabilization bureau in Raleigh, N. C., and a number of other tobacco officials in North Carolina convinced the Department of Agriculture officials, who seem to depend on the North Carolina tobacco people for their information, that we were planting too much tobacco and, I believe, competing too favorably for certain types of tobacco.

I certainly do not believe that the tobacco industry, including the stabilization bureau, could successfully take a thorough investigation. The enclosed editorial appearing in my hometown paper bears out my statements and the contentions I have continuously made during the past year on this subject:

WHAT NOW? PALE, SLICK LEAF IN DEMAND

Just when tobacco farmers were preparing to plant their tobacco beds for 1956, the export trade began a hue and cry about pale, slick tobacco. It was the kind of tobacco they wanted none of. Unless the American tobacco market could supply them with old-line tobacco varieties with body and aroma, they'd get their tobacco elsewhere, they affirmed vigorously.

North Carolina State College joined in the cry. Don't plant varieties that produce pale, slick tobacco, they said. Specifically, don't plant Coker 139, the high-yielding, blackshank, resisting variety blamed for producing the pale, slick tobacco the exporters said they didn't want and wouldn't buy.

The big blow fell last fall when the United States Department of Agriculture placed Coker 139 and two other varieties on blacklist. This year, farmers, though unhappy about it all, knuckled under and didn't plant Coker 139.

And now comes the word out of Raleigh that the Flue-Cured Tobacco Stabilization has sold about 3,500 hogsheads of "LL" tobacco, the so-called pale, slick, neutral grades, since February 1. That's around 3,696,000 pounds, or almost 30 percent of the total amount of "LL" received by Stabilization from the 1956 crop.

Stabilization has sold its entire stocks of several "LL" grades from the 1956 crop, the Raleigh source reveals.

And guess who bought these pale, slick grades. The exporters—the very self-same people who said they didn't want it and threatened to boycott the American market if something wasn't done to force it out of production.

Why should they now buy the tobacco they said they didn't want? "It doesn't make sense," says Bill Humphries, agricultural editor of the Raleigh News and Observer. So say we.

Yet tobacco farmers have a right to ask that question and demand an answer to it. They should demand it of North Carolina State College whose staff fell for the export line and helped convince tobacco farmers that the exporters were on the up and up. They should demand it of the North Carolina Export Producers Association, of Tobacco Associates, of the Tobacco Division of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Assuming that the report out of Raleigh is correct, some reasonable explanation is in order, or some heads should fall.

Identifying Foreign Holdings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Donald I.

Rogers, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 5, 1957:

WALL STREET, U. S. A.

(By Donald I. Rogers)

IDENTIFYING FOREIGN HOLDINGS

G. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, has come up with a solution to the problem of identifying foreign owners of American securities which, Wall Street leaders believe, merits serious consideration by Federal authorities.

It has been known for years that unnamed and unknown foreign interests possess huge holdings of American stocks. Only the extent of the ownership is known to the authorities, not the identity of the owners. It could be Americans who have deposited money abroad—usually in Swiss banks, where disclosure of depositors is not mandatory—and who thus avoid American taxes.

On the other hand it could be foreign industrial interests acquiring direct ownership of American enterprises. It could even be money from behind the Iron Curtain.

Speaking at the general management conference of the American Management Association, Mr. Funston proposed a broad program designed to strengthen the rights of stockholders in proxy contests and to give shareholders in all publicly owned companies the benefits of full disclosure.

Curb on voting

As part of the program, Mr. Funston recommended that the Securities and Exchange Commission be empowered to take court action to block the vote of any stock where the commission believes its disclosure rules are being violated.

This, he said, would provide an effective means, during proxy contests, of piercing the anonymity of foreign holdings.

At present the Securities Exchange Commission can enforce its disclosure rules governing proxy contests of companies listed with the stock exchanges, where domestic stockholdings are concerned. But where shares are held in the name of foreign institutions, either for American citizens or the nationals of other countries, the Securities and Exchange Commission finds itself thwarted in its efforts to get the facts. It has no enforcement outside the country.

Apparently he was speaking for the membership of the stock exchange when Mr. Funston said: "We believe that the Securities and Exchange Commission should be empowered to go to court and seek a temporary restraining order barring the vote of any stock in which it has reason to believe any proxy participant has an undisclosed interest, either direct or indirect."

Way of getting facts

It is solid reasoning, and it illustrates again the leadership the New York Stock Exchange has taken during the years in policing its own markets.

Mr. Funston's proposal, if adopted by Congress, will help get the facts, about purchases made through foreign banks without directly involving the foreign institutions.

It would have the effect of putting the true owner—the anonymous holder of American securities—right on the spot. He would have to decide whether to make full disclosure of his identity, or sacrifice his proxy vote.

This has the added charm of not invading unnecessarily the privacy of the many investors who register their shares in the names of banks or brokers—they call the practice registering in street names—and who do not participate in proxy contests.

Vice President Nixon's Michigan State University Commencement Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the people of Michigan and the Sixth Congressional District were honored yesterday when the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON, addressed the graduating class at the 99th annual commencement of Michigan State University at East Lansing.

The Vice President's analysis of current governmental questions in terms of permanent intellectual principles and each individual's civic responsibilities merit the attention of Members of Congress. The question now before the House, the civil-rights bill, is most particularly a case in point. Also, the clear and concise statements on foreign aid, labor legislation, and the Khrushchev challenge, should be carefully examined by each Member of the House as well as all citizens.

The Vice President's address follows:

ADDRESS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE 99TH ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST LANSING, MICH., JUNE 9, 1957

I hope that each member of this graduating class will make a personal and lifetime commitment to take an active part in the political life of your communities.

Some of you should run for office. Don't avoid your responsibility in this respect with the usual excuse that politics is a dirty business. If you believe it is, get into it and do something about it.

Those of you who do not make politics a career can participate on a volunteer basis in the political activities of the party of your choice. I can assure you that both of our major parties can use and need new blood and new leadership.

All of you can help create the intelligent and informed public opinion which is essential if a democracy is to survive. The two most dangerous enemies of successful democratic government are ignorance and prejudice. You are particularly qualified by your background and experience to fight and defeat them in the communities in which you live.

Those of you who become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, businessmen, homemakers, will be tempted to adopt the attitude: Why borrow trouble? Don't take a position on controversial issues. If you do, always support what appears to be the popular side of the question.

I urge you today not to fall into that error. Have the courage to take a position on the great issues of our time. And in doing so, don't let a Gallup poll make up your mind for you. What may be the easy or popular answer to a hard question may not always be the right one. If you believe what appears to be an unpopular position is the right one, make it your business to make it the popular one.

Now I realize what I have just said amounts to nothing more than pious platitudes unless we get down to cases. Let me be specific by discussing some of the controversial issues on the Washington scene today.

You have been reading and hearing about the labor racketeering investigation being conducted by the MCCLELLAN committee. We can all agree that this investigation is serving a useful purpose in exposing the activities of union officials who broke faith with their union membership. The hearings are being conducted with dignity and fairness in the very best tradition of congressional investigations. They have served to remind us that no leader of government, business, or labor is so big or so powerful that he cannot be made to account for his actions before the elected representatives of the people.

Now, however, we come to the more difficult question. What legislation should be passed to avoid such abuses in the future? Public opinion at this moment would probably support legislation of the most drastic character which would have the effect of curbing legitimate union activities as well as the abuses that have been exposed in these hearings. The tendency for most people is probably to go along with this prevailing sentiment.

But what is the right thing to do? Organized labor today is going through a period of trial comparable to that endured by the business community 20 years ago. Its leadership is being scrutinized and tested. Some union leaders have been shown to have failed badly in their positions of trust.

But we should not repeat the mistake of 20 years ago and blame an entire movement for the blunders and crimes of a minority. Rather we should help outraged union members to restore honesty and integrity to their unions. The protection of the integrity of union welfare funds and the insurance of democratic procedures in the conduct of union business are among the objectives which Congress should properly consider in determining what legislation should be adopted. The aim of any legislation in this field must not be to weaken or destroy unions, but to give union members the tools they need to make all unions follow the good practices which many unions follow today.

I would go further and suggest that this is a golden opportunity for American business men to encourage and make friends of the honest and sincere men who constitute the great majority of union officers. Now is the time to build lasting good will in labor relations, rather than to ostracize all union leadership, good or bad, and create the conditions which would lead to bitter industrial strife in the years ahead.

Let us turn to the international field for our second controversial issue. We have just signed an agreement to send $95 million worth of surplus agricultural commdoities to Poland. Should the Congress appropriate the necessary funds to carry out this agreement?

The first reaction of perhaps a majority of people would be that to send aid to a Communist country is not only wrong but foolish. Why should the American people be taxed to help a nation which might be alined against us in the event of a conflict?

But how will the interests of the United States best be served in this instance? Let us look at the situation in Poland at this time. There is no question but that Poland is a Communist country. But the Polish people have been displaying increasing evidence of their determination to follow a course independent of the Soviet Union.

In response to that popular sentiment, the leaders of the Polish Government have been trying to soften the features of communism that do the most violence to human nature.

The churches of Poland have much greater freedom than in the past and the cardinal

primate of Poland is allowed not only to exercise his function but to leave the country at will. The powers of the secret police have been substantially reduced. While the Polish press is not free by any means by our standards, it has a greater degree of freedom now than it has had in many years. Some farmers have been allowed to own their farms—a marked deviation from strict Communist-theory practice.

These, then, are our alternatives:

We can drive the Polish people and Government back to complete domination by Moscow in the hopes that Poland will then be an economic burden on the Soviet Union. If we follow this course, we are, in effect, saying that there is no evolutionary road to independence for a people dominated by communism and that violent revolution is their only resort if they want to be free.

Our other alternative is to help Poland progress toward greater internal freedom and increasing independence from the Soviet Union with the hope that Communists in other lands will see that freedom, and freedom alone, brings out the best qualities in men. We do this not because we approve of communism, but because we believe that the explosive power of freedom is great enough to destroy communism once it is given a chance to flourish.

In making this decision we are under no illusions that our policy is certain to succeed. The Polish people and Government might still be forced back under the complete domination of the Soviet Union. But certainly here is a gamble worth taking. If because of our action the movement toward independence and freedom is enabled to remain alive and to grow in Poland, the other satellite countries will have an example which they in turn can follow.

We should favor any step that will promote freedom and event limited independence in a Communist state. By our action we will be announcing to the world that we are not writing off the Polish people or any of the other millions who are held in bondage behind the Iron Curtain.

A related controversial issue in the international field will soon be debated on the floor of the Senate. It is the question of what we should do about our foreign aid programs. Here again the snap judgment of many people might well be—why should the Congress appropriate our hard-earned tax dollars to aid people in other lands? We often hear the term "giveaway" applied to this whole program.

It is relatively easy to develop public support for the military phase of this program. When we realize that it costs on an average 5 times as much for the maintenance of an American soldier abroad as it does for a fighting man of the allies we aid, it is obvious that a vote to cut foreign military aid is not a vote for economy but is actually a vote for larger budgets in the years ahead.

It isn't a question of whether such countries as Korea, Formosa, Indochina, Pakistan, and Turkey, which have common borders with the Comunist world, should have adequat defense forces. We learned in Korea that if they are attacked, we will become involved.

The question is how the necessary forces can most economically and effectively be maintained.

Two and eight-tenths billion dollars in foreign military aid results directly in at least $15 billion worth of defense for ourselves and the free world. These conclusions, then, are inevitable. Cuts in our military aid program will result in more taxes and expenditures for the American people rather than less. And spending less for aid abroad would not only mean more dollars for defense at home but it would inevitably mean more American boys in uniform.

I am confident that the Senate will follow the lead of its Foreign Relations Committee in refusing to make substantial cuts in the amounts requested by the President for this program and that the American people, as they know the facts, will overwhelmingly support that decision.

But let us turn now to a far more difficult phase of our foreign aid program. The President has asked for a billion dollars for the purpose of foreign economic assistance programs. The greater part of this money will not go to nations allied with the United States militarily. Most of it will go to countries in Africa, the Near East and Asia which are uncommitted or neutral in the world struggle.

How can we justify spending the taxpayers' money in this way?

Let us examine the breakdown of the people in the world today. The world is roughly divided into thirds, both in area and in population—one-third free, one-third Communist, and one-third uncommitted. The Communists know that if they can win a substantial part of the 700 million people who live in the uncommitted areas of Asia and Africa to their side they will not have to fight a war in order to achieve world domination. If they succeed in this objective, the overwhelming majority of the world's people will be under Communist control and the free world will be denied access to economic resources essential for our survival.

I have visited most of these countries. I have talked to their leaders and to their peoples. After centuries of poverty they are determined to have economic progress which will lead to a better life. They would prefer to have this prgoress and retain their independence and freedom. But make no mistake about it. If we give them no other choice they will be forced to turn to the Communist world for help.

The Communists know this. That is why they are making every effort to meet the needs of these countries for education, technical assistance and political advice. And that is why we are spending a billion dollars a year for our economic and information programs.

I have seen our program in action. There has been some waste and inefficiency in their administration. But when we consider the tremendous stakes involved we can only conclude that the remedy for these difficulties and errors is to try to do a more effective job and not to give up and let the Soviet Union start taking over the world.

Mr. Khrushchev in his television broadcast to the American people last Sunday predicted that our grandchildren would live under socialism. By socialism he, of course, meant the communism we see in the Soviet Union today. But he significantly added that the Soviet Union would win the struggle for the world through other than military means.

The greatest danger the Free World faces today is not defeat or surrender in war. It is defeat by means other than war. When we consider the fact that the Communist world has gained 600 million people since World War II without the Soviet Union being involved directly in war we can see the danger that confronts us. If we allow the Communists to win the uncommitted areas of the world, the balance of power and resources and men will be such that the Free World will be strangled into submission by the Communist World.

The billion dollars we are spending for economic assistance to these uncommitted areas, therefore, is an investment in our own freedom and independence. It is the premium we pay to insure our survival as a free people.

May I turn finally to a controversial but vital domestic issue which has a far greater effect on our foreign policy than many of us realize. I have referred to the great battle which is going on in the world for the allegiance of the peoples in the uncommitted nations.

These people are alike in several respects. Their economies are underdeveloped. Most of them are newly independent. All of them belong to races which are not white. I can testify from personal observation and experience that even more than independence and economic progress the people of Asia and Africa want and deserve recognition of their equal dignity as individuals and as nations in the world community.

We can tell them, as we do, that we respect that dignity and that we consider them to be our moral, political, and social equals. But the impression people have of America abroad is determined more by what we do than what we say. And the question that is inevitably asked is: Do you really believe in equality when you practice racial discrimination in your own country?

Now the easy answer to this question is either to ignore the problem or to say "Let the Government do it." There are some things the Government can do in this field. The enactment of the civil-rights bill now before Congress would be an effective step toward living up to our democratic ideals.

But, in the final analysis, legislation will not solve the problem with which we are confronted. A law is only as good as the will of people to obey it. And this must come from the hearts of people themselves.

In every community where racial tensions exist today—and let me emphasize that this is not a problem which is limited to the South—there is need for moderate, constructive action by people of both races. We must not allow the extremists and demagogs to take over this field by default.

It is only through the willingness of public-spirited citizens in all walks of life to assume personal responsibility for removing the causes of racial prejudice that we can assure the progress that eventually will make the American dream of equality of opportunity a reality for all of our citizens.

In discussing some controversial issues today, I would not like to leave the impression that we should be skeptical or discouraged as to the eventual outcome of this great struggle which is going on between the forces of freedom and slavery in the world today.

We are going to win. We are going to win because we are on the right side, the side of freedom, justice, belief in God against the forces of slavery, injustice, and atheism.

I know that the members of this class will be a mighty force in your communities and in this Nation in developing the enlightened public opinion which will support our national leaders as they continue to work for the cause of independence, freedom, and peace.

Protest of Franco-American War Veterans, Post No. 12, Lynn, Mass., to Army Action in Japan Against Pvt. William Girard

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. Roland J. Champigny, commander, Franco-American War Veterans, Post No. 12, Lynn, Mass., which condemns the Army action in Japan against Pvt. William Girard.

The letter follows:

FRANCO-AMERICAN WAR VETERANS,
POST NO. 12,
Lynn, Mass., June 5, 1957.

Hon. Congressman THOMAS J. LANE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The members of post No. 12, Lynn, Mass., Franco-American War Veterans, wish to protest the action of the Army in Japan pertinent to Pvt. William Girard.

At a meeting on Tuesday, June 4, 1957, a resolution was unanimously accepted which condemned this action. Furthermore, we believe action should be taken which would prevent such occurrence in the future.

Knowing your regard and concern for servicemen, the veterans of this post instructed me to make our feelings in this matter known to you so that you could take appropriate action.

Respectfully yours,
ROLAND J. CHAMPIGNY,
Commander.

The Pressure Upon Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Hon. Scott W. Lucas, former Senator from Illinois, entitled "Getting Through to Congress." The article was published in the Public Relations Journal, and I feel sure that most of us will find ourselves in agreement with Senator Lucas' views with respect to the pressures on Members of Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GETTING THROUGH TO CONGRESS

(By Scott W. Lucas)

(Few men in public life have had as good an opportunity to participate in the workings of Congress as Scott W. Lucas, of Illinois, former majority leader in the United States Senate. Since Members of Congress are often regarded as an "audience" for public relations messages and statements, the editors of the Journal asked Senator Lucas to describe in his own way some of the pressures—good, bad, and indifferent—to which Congressmen are subjected, and to tell something of the methods they use to separate the wheat from the chaff. We believe that the Senator's resulting article is an extremely illuminating one.)

One of the letters I remember best, and one that I read with rapt attention, was a simple note from a constituent in Chicago. Its full text was:

"DEAR SENATOR LUCAS: Everyone where I am working are sending letters to their Senator. At present I have no complaint.

"One of your loyal supporters,
"GEORGE A. HARRIMAN."

Mr. Harriman had no doubt been told by his boss, or his union, to write a letter to his Senator about whatever matter was the project of the moment. He wrote a letter all right, and it got more attention from me than those thousands of letters written by his coworkers. I read it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Very rarely does a Senator receive such a gem in the bags of mail which arrive at his office. This is the only one of its kind I can recall receiving in the 16 years I served in the United States Congress, 4 as a Member of the House of Representatives from the 20th Illinois District, and 12 as a United States Senator from the same State.

As I look back on my years of representing Illinois, one of the largest and most versatile States in the Union, I cannot begin to describe all the numerous and complex problems and pressures which arose in a constituency comprising every walk of life. Illinois is half rural, half giant metropolis, and my constituents were of all races, nationalities, creeds, and colors and were engaged in every business, profession, and occupation. Inevitably, they had conflicting interests, different viewpoints on many subjects, and, in some cases, deep-seated prejudices.

In 1939 I left the position of Congressman from a downstate agricultural district to take up the work of a Senator from a State of nearly 8 million citizens. My staff and I had scarcely adjusted ourselves to the hundreds of daily demands and pressures which can be expected from a large State when Hitler marched into Poland and the country awoke to the danger in Europe.

Illinois, in the heart of the then isolationist Midwest, was the home of some of the most vocal and hysterical isolationist groups—America First, the German-American National Alliance, We the Mothers—which had offices in Chicago. The pressure from 1939 through 1941 in the way of letters, telegrams, and cards from the membership of these groups ranged from passionate appeals to my emotions to ugly threats, from patriotic demands for a fortress America to manifest sympathy for the Nazi regime. I mention this barrage against all the administration's proposals to aid our allies and strengthen our own defense because it was a classic example of everything effective lobbying should not be.

Obviously, there were many good, level-headed Americans in these groups, but their calmer voices were never heard, because they had made the mistake of permitting shrill and frenzied leaders to speak for them. Many of the visitors at my office were more offensive than the isolationist mail.

CLASSIC EXAMPLE

And, again to choose a classic example of everything lobbying should not be, the visit of Elizabeth Dilling and her screaming female cohorts holds an alltime record. The emotional women filled my reception room, and when I sent out word that I would interview every one of them, but individually, or in groups of 2 or 3, the Dilling woman refused to permit this, while whipping up the hysteria of her followers with the skill of an expert mob leader. I finally walked into the reception room where I was screamed at, threatened, implored, and mauled when two weeping women dropped to the floor at my feet and clutched at my legs. There were women in that crowd who tried to ask intelligent questions and obviously wanted factual information, but reason and discussion were neither desired nor permitted by the majority. When I held out my hand to say goodby to them, the Dilling woman backed away, shouting, "I won't shake your hand. I'd rather spit in your face."

OVERWHELMING PRESSURE

During those turbulent years, I was faced time after time with the soul-searing decision a representative must make when he chooses between yielding to overwhelming pressure or following the dictates of his own judgment and conscience. Judging from the preponderance of isolationist mail I received during the pre-World War II years, to go down the line in support of President Roosevelt's legislation would be political suicide. Yet, after attending all the committee meetings, listening to all the debates in the Senate, and studying and reading at every opportunity, I became convinced that if the Administration's foreign program failed, this Nation might eventually be added to the list of victims of Nazi aggression. Subsequent events have proved the wisdom of our course from 1939 to 1941, for, ill-prepared as we were on Pearl Harbor day, we would have been in much worse shape had we not taken the steps we did prior to that fatal day to bolster our allies. Unhappily, Senators and Congressmen are deprived of the benefit of hindsight when they cast their votes, and must make their decisions on the basis of all the information available to them at the moment, not the least of which is "pressure from back home."

That pressure is increasing annually in every way, shape and form. During my last 2 years in the Senate, as its majority leader, I experienced the brunt of pressure on a national scale, as do Senators who reach the level of committee chairman. It comes from every section of the country, from every interest in the economy, and from every individual or group interested in a "cause."

My opinion is that the great part of it is either ineffective or bad, some of it is helpful, and only a small portion achieves all the objectives desired by its promoter.

The wrong type of pressure takes many forms. Obviously, crackpot arguments and threats will not accomplish anything. To these categories may be added the "nuisance" lobbyists, and they are numerous. They never cease their tramping of the Capitol corridors, buttonholing Senators at every turn. They try to ingratiate themselves with Senators' personnel. I am certain that many of these ubiquitous characters are on the payrolls of various organizations, and feel it is necessary, in order to make a good impression on the boss, to report daily conversations with Senators and Congressmen on their staffs. They either do not know or do not care that there is a time element in the handling of all legislation, and that it is best to hold their fire for the right time. The fact is that by their contsant demands on the time of people at the Capitol they do their cause more harm than good.

BAD PUBLIC RELATIONS

Except in some unusual circumstances, it is bad public relations to contact a Member on a bill before committee hearings have been scheduled. He has too many things requiring immediate attention on his mind, and weeks or months later he may have forgotten the interview.

I daresay there isn't one citizen in a thousand who understands the responsibilities and the work of a United States Senator, or how pressed he is for time. But every citizen with a problem, large or small, is certain that his problem is the most important one to which a Senator could give his attention, and makes his demands accordingly. There was never sufficient time in any one day in my 12 years in the Senate to see all the mail which came to me and to meet all the people who wanted to interview me. To find the time to discharge the function of well-informed legislator and still take care of all the other demands which fall into the "personal service" or "errand boy" classification, a Senator must organize his time and his office carefully.

In an organization of this kind, a capable administrative assistant is of great value. It is most difficult for a Senator to decide personally which of the many requests for interviews he can grant, just as he cannot decide how many of the tens of thousands of letters he receives he should read and answer first. He must have someone on his staff capable of deciding priorities on the mail which will reach his desk first, and arranging to have the answers handled through the various Government departments by staff members trained in this highly specialized work.

His assistant must also, by the use of tact and diplomacy, transform requests for interviews with a Senator into conferences with staff members capable of handling the subjects in question. A conscientious administrative assistant will try to bring every matter worthy of the Senator's attention to his desk, while acting as a scapegoat for all the crackpots and unreasonable callers. It doesn't do a lobbyist's cause any good to antagonize the man or woman who holds that position.

When someone on a Senator's staff suggests to an out-of-State caller that he present his case to the Senator from his own State, he or she is not brushing off the visitor. It is customary for every Senator to give top priority to the requests of his own voters, and this leaves little or no time for out-of-State callers or mail.

Time is usually made available to non-voters if they represent persons living in the Senator's State, and men and women holding positions of national importance in various fields of enterprise can almost always gain an audience with a Senator. But the lobbyist who is not a constituent, and who cannot lay claim to a following in a Senator's home State, has little chance for a personal interview unless he can persuade one of his own Senators to sponsor him.

If you have a reasonable request or an intelligent opinion on legislation, the chances are good that it will have the Senator's eye or ear eventually. But it doesn't take a genius to distinguish between a responsible constituent and the phony who seeks to sell a pig in a poke. A keen administrative assistant can spot the latter the moment he opens the door and, if not that soon, certainly the moment he opens his mouth.

ORGANIZED PROPAGANDA

It is possible also to spot organized propaganda merely by glancing at a stack of envelopes, all the same size, all mailed at the same time, and often all addressed in the same handwriting. These, together with the thousands of printed cards and innumerable petitions on legislation, are usually turned over directly to an assembly line type of operation in the office for answering, and eventually the Senator gets only a total count of such communications for or against a piece of legislation. I remember sessions when my mail was coming in by the bagful several times a day, and my overworked staff suggested they could just as well weigh it instead of count it, and report to me by the pound pro and con.

There may have been a time when thousands of identical or similar letters and cards impressed a legislator by sheer volume, but no longer. Too often Members of Congress have replied to them, only to have their letters returned "Unknown," or to receive a letter in return stating that the writer had never sent a communication to the legislator in the first place. Many times I wrote to the senders of organized propaganda, asking them to give me in detail their reasons for opposing or supporting the legislation in question. Usually the answer was silence.

It is the mail which is not inspired, letters based upon the honest convictions of the writers, presented in a logical and convincing manner, to which serious consideration is given. Not infrequently would I find that the lay mind in the country town or city would demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of legislation which was truly revealing and helpful.

INSPIRING MAIL

Some organizations or groups have succeeded in inspiring mail to Congress which gave no indication that the correspondence had been prompted. Writers were instructed to state in their own language their opinions, or to discuss how a legislative proposal would affect them personally. It takes time and effort to originate such a mail campaign, but the results are usually worth the effort, for the letters appear to (and in the great majority of cases actually do) express individual viewpoints rather than organization propaganda.

Many proponents of a measure who came to see me brought wisdom and strength. They came prepared with sound arguments based upon facts. Whether or not I agreed with their position, they gained my ear, as well as my sympathy, through their sincerity and through knowledge of the subject matter at hand. In a meeting of this kind I could always learn something from the expert, and usually my time was his time. This type of pressure is a decided asset to any legislator and usually welcomed by the great majority of them. They all want to learn all they can on both sides of every piece of legislation, but they want unslanted and relevant facts.

LOBBYING

The Constitution guarantees to every American the right to petition the Government. The farmer asking his Representative to appropriate a few thousand dollars for a wall to protect his farm from flood waters and the National Association of Manufacturers asking Congress to reduce corporation taxes by hundreds of millions of dollars are both exercising the privilege Americans have enjoyed since the beginning of this Nation. By sanction of the Constitution, lobbying and pressure tactics are a legitimate part of the legislative process, and one that ,properly controlled, can lead to good legislative results. The sinister connotation applied to lobbying in the past has practically faded from the picture.

My experience on both sides of the lobbying picture bears out my conviction that there is no Member of Congress who does not feel that legitimate lobbying and reasonable and temperate pressure play an important part in shaping sound and constructive legislation. As a Member of the Senate, I was always willing to listen to lobbyists who were acting in good faith. As a practicing lawyer in Washington for the past 6 years, I have had no hesitancy in registering as a lobbyist for clients whose interests were affected by legislation in addition to other governmental action. I have found my former colleagues open-minded, fair and always willing to listen when I approached them with a client's legislative problem, even though all of them have not always agreed with me. I have tried scrupulously to avoid unnecessary demands on their time and the many other mistakes by which some lobbyists lose more votes for a cause than gain them.

I could not list in this article all the don'ts for effective lobbying, but another that comes to mind is inconsistency. I vividly recall a time when the chamber of commerce was running one of its campaigns to cut Federal expenditures and balance the budget. I was being bombarded with letters for local chambers in Illinois, requesting that I pare appropriations, reduce the Federal payroll, and economize, economize, economize. Some threatened me with political extinction if I did not heed their advice. One secretary of a chamber of commerce, who was prone to letter writing without urging, sent me his organization's stern resolution, complete with instructions to use the meat-axe and cut appropriations 10 percent across the board. Lo and behold, some 2 weeks later, I received a letter from that same secretary, demanding that I see to it that the $250,000 needed for their local airport be appropriated promptly and that no reduction in the amount be permitted. Consistency usually disappeared into thin air when a community began to sniff the aroma of Uncle Sam's bulging pocketbook.

ADVICE WELCOMED

Not often does one find a responsible organization riding off in 2 different directions at the same time on 1 horse. Most national organizations are not only consistent and responsible, but they have skillful representatives, trained in their subject matter, and experienced in the most effective way to present their interests. The respect which organizations such as the American Legion, the AFL–CIO and the National Association of Manufacturers command in the Congress is a tribute to their knowledge, skill and consistency.

Every member of the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture, on which I served for 16 years, welcomed the advice and counsel of the American Farm Bureau Federation, even though many disagreed with its concept of what was beneficial for the farmer. Whether the members believed in rigid or flexible farm price supports, they recognized that experts from the Bureau spoke from an unparalleled fund of knowledge upon every phase of agriculture. And experts of this kind always presented their information undoctored, with clarity and brevity.

When a member is seriously considering his decision upon basic national legislation, his thinking may well be guided by: (1) his political philosophy; (2) his own research and his study of factual information, from whatever source; and (3) the opinions of his constituents to whom he is responsible.

If an individual wants to influence a Member of Congress, he must be sufficiently familiar with the subject to reach a considered decision; he must present his opinion and the reasons for it briefly and without fanfare; and he must believe sincerely in the cause he represents. If the cause is just and the proponent is able to inspire Members' confidence in him, his chance of success is good. But, based upon 16 years of experience in the Congress, my conviction is that no amount of pressure, good or bad, will keep the majority of our fine public servants in the Congress from doing what they honestly believe to be the best for the general welfare of all the people.

Discriminatory Aspects of 10 Percent Tax on Leather Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I am calling to the attention of the Senate today a significant section from the report of the general secretary-treasurer of the International Leather Goods, Plastics, and Novelty Workers' Union to the Eighth Regular Convention of that organization, meeting this week in Atlantic City, N. J.

In the particular section to which I have reference, Mr. Norman Zukowsky, general secretary-treasurer of the union, has emphasized the unfair operation of the 10 percent excise tax which the Government still collects on all leather goods. This tax is discriminatory in the extreme. It cripples the people who supply hides for leather and it takes away jobs of the people in the leather-goods manufacturing industry. It chokes off trade in retail stores where leather goods are merchandised. A handbag for a woman, a wallet for a man, or a valise for a person of either

sex, are quite as essential as clothing, for example. Why should leather goods be singled out for this 10 percent excise tax?

Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent that this particular portion of Mr. Zukowsky's report to his union convention be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR INDUSTRIES

Rapidly changing economic events in our country have affected the various industries in which our members work and have, as a consequence, had repercussions on the day-to-day life of our International and its affiliates. The significant changes began to make their appearances shortly after the past World War.

By degrees the consuming public began to favor so-called "hard goods"—machines, appliances, etc.—as against the so-called "soft goods"—wearing apparel, luggage, handbags, personal leather goods, etc. While the war was in progress, the "hard goods" were either in very short supply or completely unobtainable. With the end of hostilities came a startling resurgence of buying power. Our industries, unfortunately, did not garner an equitable share of the purchasers' dollars.

Large industries prospered. Workers in these industries were able to win greater benefits. Employers reaped additional profits and new jobs were created as industry after industry expanded.

This general prosperity bypassed our industries for many reasons.

Perhaps foremost was the amazing shift in living, working, and playing habits of the American family in the postwar period.

Informality became the keyword—informality in dress, informality in style. The handbag industry became the chief victim of this "less dressed-up" approach. And for the very obvious reasons.

A woman in slacks doesn't need a sleek handbag and, in fact, just won't carry one. Nor will a woman in a cheery, sleeveless cotton dress wear a formally styled bag or a clutch bag. More often than not she carries a knitting bag—or just a wallet.

Result was a serious slump in handbag sales.

The hard-pressed handbag industry struggled under two additional burdens—the unfair, harassing excise tax and the cutthroat competition from Government-subsidized, low-wage, foreign handbag producers.

This triple squeeze play saw many shops forced out of business. Many others were compelled to retrench; practically all of them experienced a serious falling off of profits. The workers suffered as a result through jobs lost, reduction to part-time status, inability to secure proper increases from a sick industry, and a subsequent cut in the total amounts of money received from the employers for the welfare fund.

This combination of pressures was disheartening, of course, but to the everlasting credit of Pocketbook Workers Union, Local 1, it closed ranks with the international to prevent these pressures from inflicting critical injuries upon its organization and hard-won standards. The members of our pocketbook locals helped the industry to regain its health after the early impact of the postwar changes in our industrial and economic life.

That the pocketbook workers succeeded in their efforts to bring their shops out of the economic doldrums has been conceded by industry representatives who admit that in 1956, for example, the handbag volume at wholesale was $193 million—an increase of $8 million over the 1955 figures which were, in turn, an increase over the totals for the previous year.

The United States Treasury Department also offered evidence of the build-up in handbag volume, a boost that could not have been possible without increased productivity by unionized handbag workers. It published figures showing that collection of the 10 percent retail excise tax rose from some $50 million in 1955 to $57 million in 1956, a gain of $7 million or about 15 percent.

These are encouraging signs but we must bear in mind that even with these increases there is still not full employment in the handbag industry. The problem of how to revitalize this, and other sections of our industries, is one that we will have to face up to seriously and imaginatively in the months ahead.

The handbag industry is not the only one to bear scars from the discriminatory excise tax of 10 percent still imposed on all leather goods. The luggage industry has been very hard hit as well.

One might expect that the very factors that led to the serious slump in handbag sales might have boomed the luggage industry. For, hand in hand with informality, there developed added travel by Americans, more leisure as unions won more and more free time for its members and their families through more holidays or vacations, and a general skyrocketing in package deals by air and railroad lines as they sought to induce Mr. and Mrs. America to get moving.

In roughly a 10-year period following World War II, steamship travel increased 164 percent; auto travel by 72 percent; airline travel by 164 percent; department store sales zoomed by 39 percent and consumer income rose by 59 percent. Yet luggage and leather goods sales dropped 5 percent.

In that same period of approximately 10 years, expenditures for luggage fell off by some $10 million. All this, despite the fact that luggage values at both wholesale and retail levels are the greatest in the industry's history.

As a consequence, in that same 10-year period, more than 100 luggage establishments have been forced out of business. Where more than 16,000 workers had been engaged in the manufacture of luggage, that figure has dropped by almost 20 percent. Wage averages have dropped as a result, and a small but essential industry in our economy is still faced with serious dislocation.

The impact on the luggage industry has been matched by the pressures these factors have exerted on the personal leathergoods, frames, novelties, and miscellaneous industries within our jurisdiction. The combination of the excise tax, acting as a deterrent to purchases, and the inroads of low-wage products from abroad have also pushed many employers in these fields to the wall. Some have gone out of business; many have been forced to work parttime. The injuries to our workers in these crafts is obvious.

Our twin fight against the tax and the unfair tariff is a fight to salvage all of our industries and to safeguard the standards of all of our workers in all the crafts.

The tax had been, as you will recall, 20 percent. It took many years of persistent fighting and lobbying by our international—sometimes with the cooperation of the employers; often on our own—to cut that figure down. We cannot and will not rest until we have eliminated the tax entirely.

This is the grossest form of discrimination imaginable. The tax on leather goods was initially imposed because there was a serious shortage of leather, steel, and related items during the war. So essential were these materials to the war effort that it was mandatory to impose some penalty on those who purchased such items. The war effort had to come first. No one argued with this concept during the emergency.

But it was clearly understood and made clear by the initiators of the tax at that time that this was no luxury tax imposed on a nonessential product. This was a desperate war measure designed to conserve vitally needed materials. We were led to believe that come the end of the war, the tax would be eliminated. This was the unmistakable implication of the sponsors of the tax.

The war ended. The shortage of supplies ended. The tax remained. Buyer resistance increased sharply and employers and workers alike suffered seriously.

The reduction of the tax to 10 percent only slightly reduced the resistance of the consumers. Thus we find today that the luggage industry, just to take one example, which should be enjoying the greatest prosperity in its history, is suffering critically.

The reason is the 10 percent tax. It must go. And the fight against it must be high on the agenda of our union in the months ahead of us. It is imperative that we save our industries from additional dislocations.

The fight against this tax must be matched by an equally vigorous drive against the dumping of low-wage handbags and personal leather goods items and frames on the American market from abroad.

At the moment, handbag manufacturers who are in contractual relations with our union are the hardest hit. But there are clear signs of mounting imports of all other items. No section of our industry is immune.

For years we have sought to have the tariff rates increased in order to protect the American businessman and the American worker. There are, even yet, organized efforts to have the tariff rates lowered. We cannot sit by idly as the menace to our crafts grows.

At the moment, Italy and France are the chief sources of competition. But Japan is moving up fast. In the case of all three countries, the question has gone beyond just imports. It is now a matter of actual dumping—the sale here of so many items that the markets are literally being flooded.

In the case of Italy and France, the handbag producers are subsidized by their government. In addition they have abominably low wage scales. Labor costs are no factor to them. Consequently, they can often sell their items here in America for what it would cost an American manufacturer to make comparable products. The difference is first in the slave-labor wages (with no fringe benefits), then in the subsidy by the respective governments and, lastly, in the breaks they get from our Government on tariff rates.

So we have the somewhat ludicrous picture of the American Government aiding foreign businessmen to put United States businessmen out of business. And, since the workers in the leather trades in France and Italy belong to Communist-dominated unions, we have the equally appalling spectacle of our Government helping to lose jobs for American workers and create problems for United States unions by perpetuating an unfair tariff structure that, in the long run, aids the Communists too.

The task of getting this message across to the American people, the task of enrolling sufficient congressional support to end this discriminatory setup, is one that must occupy our officers' attention. It is not just a question of public relations in this instance. In a very real sense it is a question of survival for large chunks of our industries. We will literally be helping to save American industries, small though they may be. We will be helping to save jobs for American workers. We will be protecting the standards we have had to fight so bitterly to establish through the 21 years of our existence as an international union.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Before Wyoming Stock Growers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK A. BARRETT

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I attended the 85th annual convention of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association at Lander, Wyo., on Thursday, June 6 last. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson delivered a forceful address to the 1,200 members and guests assembled on the occasion. The address received favorable mention in the press throughout the West.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of Secretary Benson's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE THE WYOMING STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION, LANDER, WYO., JUNE 6, 1957

I consider it a high privilege as well as a challenging responsibility to meet with you today.

I want to talk with you as citizen to citizen, as farmer to farmer, rancher to rancher, sincerely and honestly about the agricultural situation. My only purpose is—as it always has been—to seek what is best for agriculture.

We must face facts with the utmost honesty. The American people want the truth, and I have supreme confidence in the good judgment of rural people, who are the salt of the earth—and a great bulwark for American freedom.

We need to take a good look at the livestock picture—and at the agricultural picture as a whole.

Where do we stand? What is our goal? What road should we travel to get where we want to go?

First, where do we stand as regards livestock?

Livestock production has climbed to a level higher than any previously known. Our people—on a per person basis—had more meat last year than in any year on record. In the past half century, our national population has almost doubled. Meanwhile the number of people engaged in agriculture has dropped 40 percent. Yet our meat consumption last year—167 pounds per person—reached the highest point in more than 50 years.

This was top performance production-wise. But it brought with it serious problems of unsatisfactory prices—problems that were compounded by drought.

Now the familiar cycle in cattle numbers has apparently turned. A 7-year expansion in cattle on United States farms has come to an end. After climbing from about 77 million at the beginning of 1949 to nearly 97 million head at the beginning of 1956, the cattle inventory this past January was down by 1.6 million. What is probably more important, the cow herd alone was reduced by 1.2 million from the high level of 1955. Hog production also has eased off for the present.

Market prices of cattle and hogs are now generally $2 to $3 per 100 pounds higher than at this time last year.

The decrease in cattle numbers may continue for a time. But we do not expect a big drop in numbers such as occurred in 1934 and 1947. We look for a gradual strengthening of prices for cattle—a moderate trend, not runaway prices, such as those of 1951, which brought an aftermath of trouble. A more permanent improvement is to be preferred, and that is what we hope is in prospect.

All in all, the longer range outlook for prices to cattle producers is brighter than it has been for several years.

This is good news, especially here in Wyoming, where beef cattle bring in a larger part of total farm income than in any other State except Nevada. Beef accounts for half of all your farm cash receipts.

Wyoming was one of the few Western States that did not reduce cattle inventories last year. You will benefit considerably if prices of feeder cattle this summer and fall retain a higher level than last year, as we expect they will.

The improvement in the cattle situation is part of a general trend in agriculture as a whole. Last year, as you know, the realized net income of farm operators rose about 4 percent—the first peacetime rise since 1947. We expect another increase of perhaps 4 percent this year.

So much for where we stand. Now, what is our goal, our objective, for agriculture? We have stated it many times. We seek an agriculture that is expanding, prosperous, and free—for the benefit of the entire American people.

What do these words mean?

Expanding speaks for itself. We are a dynamic people. Agriculture is a dynamic industry. It must expand to keep pace with the economy.

Prosperous, as I see it, means a constantly improving abundant life for farm and ranch people in fair comparison with that of other groups of our population.

By free, I do not mean freedom to exploit others. I do mean freedom for an individual to make his own decisions, to manage his own affairs. I mean freedom as conceived in the Declaration of Independence, constitutional freedom which so safeguards the right of choice of each individual as to provide the greatest possible opportunity for us all.

I wish I could report to you that the recent gains agriculture has made—and is now making—mean that this goal of an expanding, prosperous, and free agriculture is immediately in sight.

But I cannot. The basic problems have not been fully solved. The objective is not closed at hand.

We must not allow current progress to lull us into complacency. This progress has been achieved in large measure through temporary, emergency programs, and at great expense. These programs are relieving the pressure of surpluses but they do not remove the cause.

True, we have some of the major tools we need to deal with the current emergency—disposal programs, the soil bank, and the beginning of flexibility in price support. The Agricultural Acts of 1954 and 1956 were first steps in the right direction, and they were enacted with bipartisan support. But we have never contended that they were the complete solution to our farm and ranch problems.

We are still saddled with one requirement that we don't need—that price supports on the basic commodities be increased as soon as surpluses are moved. Under the price support formula in the old basic law, once the Government stocks in the warehouses are cleaned out, the door must be opened to build them up again.

The past consequences of this formula have been extremely damaging, not only for producers of the basic crops, but for agriculture as a whole. Both at home and abroad, markets have been lost. Foreign farm production has been increased. Exports of some American crops have declined. Foreign products have been attracted to our shores.

Shrinking markets have forced drastic acreage controls upon our farmers. But this has not solved our problems. It has merely spread them. Diverted acres were shifted to other crops—and the consequences onto other producers—until almost every farmer and rancher, regardless of the crop or the livestock he raises, has been hurt.

Many of the diverted acres went into oats, barley, and grain sorghums—the end products of which were more meat, milk, and eggs at a time when markets were already glutted.

We all agree that agriculture is entitled to a fair share of this Nation's record prosperity. The question is how does agriculture—how do you livestock producers—get a fair share.

In my belief you will get it out of efficient production—balanced production—and better marketing.

You will not get it out of Government.

You will not get it out of acreage allotments and marketing quotas.

You will not get it by Government price-fixing, and you never have.

You will not get it through research and education and cooperation and free initiative.

You will get it out of building new markets and strengthening the private and cooperative marketing machinery.

There is a new dimension in the farm picture that makes management of agriculture by rigid formula totally unworkable. I refer to the amazing technological revolution that has been, and is, going on in agriculture.

Since 1920 crop production per acre has risen fore than 25 percent. Tremendous changes have occurred in the livestock business too. Production per breeding unit—that is per cow, per sow, per hen on an aggregate basis—has gone up 72 percent. Even compared with 1935–39 we are now getting 40 percent more beef per cow of the breeding herd.

In view of this revolution, we cannot balance total supply and demand by acreage allotments on the basic crops. Farmers will not accept, legislators will not vote, and from a practical standpoint administrators cannot impose the kind of controls which, at the price objective specified by the old basic law, would be necessary to bring production into line with market outlets.

Nor can we build a healthy outlook for the corn, wheat, or cotton producers by steadily fencing them in. On a 55-million-acre minimum national allotment we now produce more than enough wheat for all our needs, domestic and exports. On an allotment calculated to produce 10 million bales of cotton, we grew almost 15 million. On the smallest corn acreage allotment we ever had, and with a drought in the western Corn Belt, and with the beginnings of a soil bank, 1956 corn production approached an all-time record.

For these three crops, plus tobacco, peanuts and rice, we have programs in effect to control production and support prices according to a legal formula. These six crops bring in only one-fourth of farm income. Yet for these six crops, surpluses are greater, costs are higher, infringements on individual liberty are more extensive, international relations are placed in greater jeopardy, and farmer complaints are louder than for all of the 200 or so other farm commodities combined.

I want to emphasize one fact above all: The basic rigid price support formula in the old law is directly contradictory to the objective of an expanding, prosperous, and free agriculture.

To expand, agriculture needs new markets. The application of the basic price support formula has caused markets to be lost. It will cause further loss of markets if it is applied in the future.

To be prosperous, agriculture must be able to compete successfully against foreign and substitute products. The restrictions of this formula have given agriculture's competitors an almost unbeatable price advantage. It would continue to do so in the future.

To be free, farmers must be permitted to make their own management decisions on their own farms and ranches. The application of this formula requires controls that transfer the management of agriculture into the hands of Government. It is doing so now and it will continue to do so as long as the rigid formula remains in the law.

This is the fundamental problem we face in agriculture. We must confront it. We dare not ignore it. I have testified before the Congress and I have emphasized before agricultural groups that we should further reexamine the old basic farm law—and that we should do so now.

I am not proposing that we scrap farm programs or that we scrap price-support programs. I am saying that we need to revise some of our programs so that they may better serve the needs of our farm people. We are now ready to take the next step in this direction. Let us use the time while the soil bank and the disposal programs are in effect to make the transition to a sounder price-support policy.

As you know, the cost of farm programs is much in the public eye. A key part of these programs is the acreage reserve of the soil bank. The acreage reserve is a temporary, emergency, costly, and voluntary program. We came to it reluctantly because of the emergency situation brought on by the war and by unsound price-support policy.

The acreage reserve did not have a fair trial last year. It was not authorized until after most crops had been planted. Now the attempt is being made to destroy it, even before we can measure the results of a full year's operation. The soil bank is being blamed for failures caused by the outmoded programs of the past which made the soil bank necessary in the first place. Except for these failures, there would be no need of a soil bank today.

The simple fact is that every acre in the acreage reserve—whether that acre is high yielding or low yielding—means an acre that is not adding to surpluses of the basic crops. If it is allowed to work, the acreage reserve can lessen the undue stimulus to livestock production which has caused your industry many of its present problems.

Though it is contrary to my philosophy to pay farmers for not producing, agriculture cannot be expected to bear the complete burden of adjustment in a situation which is a national responsibility.

Management of agriculture by fixed Government formula is assuredly not the road to a dynamic, expanding, and free agriculture. But is there another road?

Of course there is.

There is the road of more freedom for farmers and ranchers to produce, coupled with less reliance on price support by rigid formula. We should begin to move away from acreage controls while the soil bank and the surplus disposal programs are in effect. We must not wait until, having disposed of surplus stockpile No. 1, we have built up surplus No. 2. Let us not put off the making of necessary changes until they are forced upon us.

Let us price our products so they will sell.

Let us not price support our products at levels which make overproduction almost inevitable—which dry up markets and require severe controls on farmers.

Let us expand markets—markets for food and markets for industrial and nonfood uses of agricultural products.

Let us give special attention to the problems peculiar to small farmers. Our Rural Development Program is successfully launched. It can help open the doors of opportunity to more than a million farm families with incomes of less than a thousand dollars a year. We hope this program will grow in scope and effectiveness.

Let us, above all, build up our markets for livestock products—wholesome, tasty, nutritious foods that people can and will purchase in larger amounts if the price is attractive.

Increasing and decreasing the livestock population is the time-honored method of adjusting the food supply to changing needs. The amount of flexibility provided by this system is tremendous.

When we consume more of our food in the form of livestock products, we need the output of many more acres to produce feed.

Livestock condense about 7 pounds of dry matter in the form of grain and other feed to about one pound of dry matter in the form of meat, milk, and eggs. The other 6 pounds are converted into heat and energy or waste. Thus, far more agricultural resources are needed to provide a diet which contains a high percentage of livestock products.

The American consumer has been increasing his consumption of livestock and poultry products. But on a per capita basis he is still behind the Australian, the New Zealander, or the Argentinian in meat consumption. We can go farther in shifting consumption to milk, eggs, and other highly nutritious livestock products.

Of course markets for more animal products must be potentially available before we begin producing for them. Expansion in output of meat animals, poultry, and dairy products should occur only gradually. Sharp increases can be disastrous, as we found a little over a year ago with hogs. But we have been moving toward a greater animal agriculture during the past 20 years and we can move further.

From time to time livestock markets will become glutted and prices will be disrupted. In such periods timely and vigorous Government purchase and diversion programs should be used to help bolster prices and help producers adjust to market demands. Such programs have been undertaken by this administration.

Here are some of the things we have done. When we came to Washington in 1953 we found grading of beef compulsory and prices controlled and falling. We removed Government restrictions and we undertook a vast beef-purchase program to help stop the decline in prices. Since that time, we have reinstituted purchases whenever it appeared necessary. Last fall, for example, the market was almost swamped with cows and young stock from drought regions. We bought 72 million pounds of beef at that time to help move the big supplies into consumption.

We have worked with industry to market beef—and not only beef but dairy products, pork, and other plentiful foods.

Just a year ago, in support of the recommendation of the cattle and beef industry, we adopted USDA Standard as the newest grade of beef. Very recently the Department put out a new 1-minute TV film that makes the most of beef's best points—its flavor, its use in many appetizing dishes, and the generous supplies that are currently available. We produced this film in support of the livestock industry's campaign to merchandise beef.

We have expanded our export markets. Our shipments of livestock and livestock products in this current fiscal year are estimated at nearly $350 million—an increase of 50 percent over the total of 3 years earlier—and 10 times the amount shipped in prewar years. Under Public Law 480, we have sold or authorized for purchase about 125 million pounds of beef to Israel, Spain, and Turkey—a tonnage equivalent to about 250,000 head of cattle.

Special programs of an emergency nature have been provided to help livestock producers. For example, emergency credit and low-cost feed have been made available in drought areas.

What we have fought for, and what we are now fighting for, is sound and practical. It makes good sense. That has been the ultimate test to which we have subjected every program. I will not support any program that does not make sense.

I have opposed direct price support of livestock. I have done so because, in my judgment, it just won't work. It is not sound. It would hurt the livestock industry. That is why I resisted the pressures of the cattle caravan which came to Washington a few years ago. I will never advocate any policy or program which I believe is not in the best interest of farmers and ranchers and fair to all our people—regardless of pressure.

If livestock producers had been subjected to the kind of price controls and production straitjackets other segments in agriculture have had during the past 10 years, your industry would never have achieved anything approaching its present growth. You might have lost ground under the restrictive hand of Federal regulations and quotas—much as some other segments of agriculture have lost ground under these restrictions.

Tremendous opportunities beckon to animal agriculture in the longer range future. A strong economy is the basis for big livestock markets, and the economy of the United States is healthy and rapidly expanding. Compared with the 1951–53 average, we may have opportunity to increase production of cattle and calves by as much as 50 percent in order to meet prospective demand less than 20 years from now. We all remember the phenomenal rise in livestock production during World War II. This was accomplished under the incentive of an almost insatiable demand. To attain the livestock production anticipated for 1975, we would need to increase output at about two-thirds the annual rate of increase of the war years. For peacetime, this is a tremendous opportunity. It involves growth over a period of two decades, not a spurt of just a few years. It involves an annual increase one and a half times the rate of growth from the mid-forties to the early fifties.

Your is the most expandable part of our farm market. Our people will buy more livestock products if they are priced right and the quality is right.

We know that when the American housewife buys milk, meat, and eggs, she is not merely buying food for the family, she is buying taste and convenience as well. You as livestock producers are facing a real challenge. Your production efficiency will play no less a role in the market of the future than will be played by processing and marketing efficiency. You have got to keep up to date. You can no more rest content with outmoded farm and ranch management than a manufacturer can be content to go along with the management practices of prewar days.

Increased research on nutrition, disease control, better breeding, more profitable use of byproducts and improved marketing will help lower production costs and smooth the flow of livestock products into consumption.

Here in the West, cattle feeding has expanded rapidly and has taken on a distinctive character. The number of cattle on feed in the West this past January 1 was 3½ times the 1930–34 average. Nearly one-third of all fed cattle marketed in 1956 came from Western States. Your feeding is resourcefully designed to utilize a variety of feeds that take the place of the Midwest's plentiful corn. Feeding is a more specialized enterprise here in the West. Your cattle are fed faster for quicker sale, and the turnover rate in feedlots is higher. Through expanded feeding of cattle, western producers are taking advantage not only of their own fast-growing western market for beef but of the increased demand for fed beeves with finish

All of our farmers—all of our people—have a vital stake in reaching the objective—an expanding, prosperous, and free agriculture. But I can think of no group in America to which this objective is more essential than it is to you producers of livestock. We can have a more dynamic and prosperous agriculture. We can have a free agriculture. To achieve it we must plan ahead now. There is no room for complacency. The agricultural revolution has made the price support, acreage-control program obsolete. Let us reexamine the old basic law. We are now ready for the next step forward.

Here in America we have the world's highest level of material living—and it is the product of an expanding, prosperous, and free economy.

But the history of nations presents this shocking picture. As nations become more prosperous—as their standard of living increases—they become more interested in preserving luxuries and comforts than the ideals and principles which made them great. Any nation which would trade freedom for security deserves neither and will lose both.

God forbid that this should happen to our agriculture or to our Nation.

We are a prosperous people today because of a free enterprise founded on spiritual, not material, values. Free enterprise is based on freedom of choice—free agency—an eternal God-given principle. The Founding Fathers, inspired though they were, did not invent the priceless blessing of individual freedom and respect for the dignity of man. No, that priceless gift to mankind sprang from the God of Heaven and not from government. The Founding Fathers welded together the safeguards as best they could, but freedom must be continually won to be retained.

With the help of a kind providence let us get on—now—with the job of building a prosperous, expanding, and free agriculture in a prosperous, expanding, and free America—an America which is economically, socially, and spiritually sound.

Elkins Girl Wins Statewide Essay Contest of Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the winning essay in the statewide contest sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and written by Miss Joan Lea Kramer, a senior in the Elkins, W. Va., High School. Miss Kramer, the statewide winner, was awarded a 4-year college scholarship, $150 in United States savings bonds, and a $50 cash prize. This young West Virginian has shown a remarkable grasp of America's crusade for free men's rights. Her essay effectively sets forth the principles of our democracy and makes us conscious of our great heritage and our obligation to preserve our institutions. I commend it to your attention:

WINNING ESSAY IN NATIONAL CONTEST—ELKINS GIRL WINS STATEWIDE ESSAY CONTEST OF VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Miss Joan Lea Kramer, a member of the senior class at Elkins High School, has been revealed as the winner of a statewide essay contest, sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

A daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Noble Kramer, of 12 First Street, Miss Kramer first won a seventh district contest conducted by the VFW and went on to win statewide honors. She represented Tygart Valley Post No. 3647 of the VFW.

Miss Kramer will receive a 4-year college scholarship, $150 in United States savings bonds, and a $50 cash prize for winning the district and State contests.

Her essay, titled "America's Crusade for Free Men's Rights," will be entered in a national contest which has as the first prize $1,000.

Miss Kramer's winning essay follows:

"The sun rose in pale golden rays and a new glorious day dawned. The sky turned from light gray to blue, and the fluffy white clouds floated over the little colony of Plymouth, Mass. Here a group of weary, God-fearing people had come to live, exchanging the security of their homes across the vast, wave-whipped Atlantic for a bleak, turbulent existence in a new land. They were pilgrims. Pilgrims whose main aim was worth giving their lives for—freedom. Freedom of worship, of speech, of press, and freedom to live in peace and understanding with their fellow man—this was the way of life they were seeking.

"From the crude beginning of those rugged and courageous pilgrims in 1620, to the opening of the 85th Congress in 1957, there have been many changes. This land has been turned from a dense, uninviting wilderness to a land of hazy, rugged mountain peaks, serene valleys, peaceful flowing rivers, and waving fields of golden grain. Within the great land of bustling, steel cities and small cozy, Cape Cod villages nestled by the ocean, there is a word that all hold dear—democracy. Our American way of life is founded upon the solid basis of freedom.

"Although other countries lay helpless under the unmerciful arm of a dictator, our country has been held in the hand of God. We are a free and independent democracy, one of which we can be proud.

"Our democracy was made possible through the struggles and genius of many great and valiant souls who loved their land dearer than life itself. Washington and his men fought at Valley Forge to keep their freedom. The brave men who fought and died in World War I; again against Hitler's oppression in World War II; and still again on the bloody, little, wartorn strip of land known as Korea, did not die in vain. They have defended and upheld their rights of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' with everything they had.

"America has always been a peace-loving nation, and by the blood, sweat, and lives of her soldiers, she has and will remain free and independent.

"All America stands for freedom, strives for freedom, and yearns for freedom for all who have it not.

"The United Nations assembly building in New York City is a graceful symbol of countries working toward freedom for all mankind. It stands slender and gleaming; a mighty fortress in a land that is dedicated to the great principles of freedom of speech, religion, and government. We send money, that in turn sends the truth of freedom to those behind the Iron Curtain, giving them hope and courage. The people of these United States send money, food, and clothing in aid to the helpless people of the world, through organizations such as CARE, the Red Cross, and Radio Free Europe.

"Our Constitution has given us our rights but what is to give freedom to other countries?

"When we look at the red, white, and blue of Old Glory waving in the breeze, we know we have a government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people.' When we stand at attention listening to the gripping strains of our national anthem, we are proud we live in this land of plenty. We are the envy of all the war-torn, pain-wracked nations of the world. These countries look to us for help and we answer their mournful call. Our Statue of Liberty, standing majestically overlooking New York Harbor, has seen the look of many humble people as they stood before her and thanked God that they have these blessed shores to welcome them. Never has America turned these freedom-starved refugees from the peace and hope of her democracy.

"America hates oppressors. Today the dark door of communism is standing in front of every American citizen and it is our duty to break it down and wipe out communism and any other threat to the freedom of mankind. In Hungary we have an example of people fighting for the freedom they went so badly. People have been murdered and their homes wrecked because they want to live freely or not at all. Why do not all people see that the American way is best? This question is hard for people of a free nation to answer. We sometimes take our freedom for granted but we need to do all in our power to stay strong and free.

"An American baby cuddled in a loving mother's arms doesn't know that it was born with one of lifes' most precious gifts—that of being born in a free land. Before many years this child will see that this Nation is truly one of freedom. And by the time he reaches maturity, he finds he has the great privilege of living his life in a land where fredom is his heritage and prosperity the way of life for all people.

"America stands as a beacon of liberty to the oppressed people of the world, shedding her silvery beams across the white, foam-tipped waves of the Atlantic and the deep, blue-green swells of the Pacific, setting an example for all the world to see. From the north, south, east, and west people look on America as the land of hope and glory; a land where from the first silver rays of sun at dawning, till the last golden rays sink over the horizon and deepen to copper in the evening, we live in peace and understanding. From the twinkling stars at twilight and on to the rich, blue-black, velvet of night, we have the angel of happiness and peace hovering over us in our beloved land.

"Yes, our land is blessed with peaceful homes and people. We are proud of our heritage and in this way we will live because this is the only way of life we know. We are Americans."

Ideas Are God's Weapons for a New World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following broadcast by Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 4, 1957]

IDEAS ARE GOD'S WEAPONS FOR A NEW WORLD

(By Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman)

(A broadcast made at the opening of the Assembly of Nations, Mackinac Island, Mich. It is being rebroadcast throughout the world on June 4 in languages including Japanese, Chinese, Indonesian, Arabic, French, Italian,

Spanish, German, the Scandinavian languages and Russian.)

A glorious answer has come to the years of costly failure in the Pacific.

"Pacific Relations" was an idea that caught the imagination of the world. It brought no peace, nor did it improve relations. Like all false ideas it threw up a mountain of chaotic debris that dammed back unity and freedom for millions. Today that debris is being swept away by the force of a God-given idea.

Magsaysay of the Philippines experienced it. He said to us, "Most people weigh me down with problems. You bring the answers."

General Ho Ying-chin of China defeated the Japanese in battle. The mainland of his nation is enthralled by the wrong idea. He has been a friend of mine for many years. Recently in Magsaysay's country at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly of Asian Nations, he said, "What we have failed to achieve in 10 years of postwar diplomatic effort has been accomplished at this Assembly."

Mr. Hoshijima, Supreme Adviser to the Japanese Government, declared at this Assembly, "Here we have been able to find the road to unity between Korea and Japan." He was a signatory of the Japanese Peace Treaty in San Francisco. That was the time Robert Schuman said to me after the signing, "You made peace with Japan 2 years before we statesmen had the courage to sign it."

Korea I have known for many years. Take Mrs. Park, a former Cabinet Minister, who had been deeply humiliated, and whose husband has been bedridden for more than 18 years as a result of Japanese imprisonment. She said at the Assembly, "Through change in my own heart, I have lost my enmity. Only on the basis of moral rearmament can permanent peace be achieved in Asia and the world."

Also at this Assembly was the great-grandson of the founder of modern industrial Japan. Viscount Shibusawa was my host when I first went to Tokyo in 1915. His great-grandson is a typical postwar young Japanese businessman. He saw that the choice for Asia was moral rearmament or communism. He made his choice. He changed. He found a faith. He has given up his business. His father, a postwar Minister of Finance, had young Shibusawa speak to 50 of his intellectual friends, including economics professors and younger businessmen. At the end the father spoke. He said his son's great-grandfather had left his home and plunged into the Meiji revolution. He had felt history was being made and he must have a part in it. Now the great-grandfather's blood was surging in the great-grandson's veins. He believed moral rearmament is a new factor in history and that he must give everything for it.

The youth organization of Japan, the Seinendan, 4,300,000 strong, is asking, "Which way will youth go?" They are finding the idea for Japan's future at the moral rearmament assemblies in Europe and America. Now Moscow offers a hundred of them a free trip to Russia. They turn to us—can we answer this strategy? And so 100 from Japan are coming to an assembly at Mackinac Island and a proportionate number from the rest of Asia.

Not only Japan, but the youth of Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, India, Ceylon, are asking the same question, "Which way shall we take—Moscow or moral rearmament?"

U Nu of Burma while in America heard that in his university in Rangoon an idea had gripped the youth—taken them away from the wrong idea that obsessed them, and given them the right idea. His message to the Asian assembly was, "This ideology is above race and class because it answers the needs of the heart. It seeks to change men, their ideas, their motives, their aims."

The rector of the university's older brother, Foreign Minister U Tin Tut, said, "The one unfailing light in this dark world is the light of moral rearmament." As the younger brother, the rector told us he had always reserved the right to disagree with his older brother, but he, too, now says, "Moral rearmament is a magic word in Rangoon University. It marks the beginning of a new era."

The widow of President Magsaysay is caught by this same spirit that won her husband. She invited the Colwell brothers to her home to meet her son. They are the three Americans whom Magsaysay specially wanted to be at the Philippine assembly. He put their songs on the national radio. They have laid aside all worldly advantage. The Asian leaders at the assembly declared, "They have played a vital part in creating the spirit in which unity is being forged between our nations." The Colwells arrived at 4 o'clock. The Magsaysay family kept them until 11:30, such was the radiant response. Mrs. Magsaysay 20 times called for their songs.

Then the Colwells traveled 60 miles to a Philippine village 15 miles from the territory of the rebel Huks. The mayor, the chief of police, the deputy mayor, were among hundreds who gathered beneath a spreading acacia tree beside the main street for an hour and three-quarters to hear the Colwells and their friends. They were introduced by the medical director of the Far Eastern University, Dr. Gutierrez, who cares for 28,000 students. Traffic was repeatedly blocked in the street as people crowded to listen. They said there were Huk rebels in the crowd. At the end the people refused to disperse until there were two more songs from the Colwell brothers. Said Mrs. Gutierrez, also on the staff of the Far Eastern University, "You are doing what made Magsaysay so loved among his people. You have gone to meet them in the villages."

The chairman of the Philippine Senate committee for national defense is quick to realize the meaning of this for the nation. He said, "For reasons of national security, I want moral rearmament to take root here and be a force. It can be a very practical and realistic bulwark against the infiltration of communism."

In our frantic efforts to buy security, let us not sell ourselves short by overlooking the one real security—the idea which can remake men and unite them to remake the world.

Ideas are God's weapons for a new world. And man has the capacity to receive ideas from God. When men act on these ideas they find new direction for themselves and their nations. Now I believe that we should so live that God can speak to us at any hour of the day or night.

And it was in the night that I had the compelling thought, "Africa will speak to the world." I was at the World Assembly at Caux at the time and with me there were Africans from all parts of the Continent. The Africans responded. They wrote a play on the theme closest to their hearts—Freedom. The German Ambassador in London saw it. The same night he telephoned Bonn to tell his colleagues they must see it. That play went through the capitals of Europe. Now it has been made into a film—the first film made in Africa, written by Africans and played by Africans. Walt Disney's European cameraman sacrificed his contract to make the picture. Men of many nations gave money, time, and skill. The premier was in Hollywood. "A picture that may change my life," wrote one critic. "It made me feel the soul of Lincoln was still with us," wrote another. "If we act on it, we may save all we value in civilization." And a Nigerian political leader commented, "For our present generation of vipers Freedom is the bible which people will read today."

"Africa speaks to the world"—Washington queued up four deep for half a mile outside the National Theater twice in one day to see it. Leaders of nine Asian nations at the Asian Assembly cabled the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "This overwhelming film is providential for our nations at this critical time and must reach the millions of Asia now. Its ideology is the only true basis on which East and West can unite."

Men of science understand that weapons can only buy time. An ideal must win the world. And the youth of a scientific age respond to moral rearmament because it is the idea that answers the basic divisions of race, class, and ideology.

An American university student leader was won by this idea. He began by putting right what was wrong. He went to the home of the president of the 16,000 students of his university, a Negro. He apologized for his bitterness and his dishonest politics. It was at Christmas time. The president held out his hand. "This is really going to be a happy Christmas," he said. The 2 of them joined forces. They brought 700 of their fellow students to see the film Freedom, including members of the faculty, the staff of the university paper and the members of the student council.

Then they went together to the Asian Assembly. Declared the president through the Los Angeles Sentinel, "Moral rearmament is the only real solution to the race problem in the United States. This answer is needed in the Negro community. Only the ideology of moral rearmament can answer racial prejudice because it is the only force that can challenge both black and white to change and build a new world."

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY on the floor of the Senate introduced the story of the Asian Assembly to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. He spoke of the ideology which had produced these results. He said, "If we in America live that ideology we shall find a response in Asia that money cannot buy. It could be the turning point. The signs of a response to these deeper realities at this assembly are a source of hope for us all, and a challenge to us to examine our policy and our practice in the light of these truths."

A book has just been published. The idea for it came to me early one morning. It was a God-given thought—America needs an ideology. William Penn expressed the heart of this ideology, "Men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants."

When man listens, God gives him ideas. And when man chooses to be governed by these ideas, he becomes a new type of man. It is an experiment which can be tested by anyone, anywhere, at any time. It works.

The challenge of our time is simply this. Will the scientists, the statesmen, the men of the factory, school, and farm, face these facts? Test them? Act on them and live accordingly?

Ideas quick and powerful to reconcile nations, to conquer all hearts and wills, to inspire a worldwide renaissance, are instantly available, immediately applicable.

For ideas are God's weapons for a new world.

And every man, if he will, can listen to God.

Our National Economy and the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, an unusually thoughtful and useful analysis of the so-called budget fight appeared recently in the East St. Louis, Ill., Journal. It was written by Edward Lindsay, and it states some facts that most people either do not know or overlook.

Mr. Lindsay points out the highly publicized controversy over President Eisenhower's $71.8 billion budget has little or no relationship to actual Government spending.

He points out that the billion-dollar figures bandied so glibly by pressure groups or by those responding to what they think is public demand have little or no relationship to reality.

Mr. Lindsay had the commonsense to begin his study of the budget controversy by checking actual Government receipts and expenditures for what he terms the "fabulous postwar years."

He next moved to the appropriations that were voted during these same years by the Congress and demonstrated that budget appropriations and actual spending are very different things.

Are Members aware that for the last full fiscal year of the Truman administration the Congress appropriated $127.7 billion for the Government, but that the Government actually spent only $65.4 billion?

Are they aware that for fiscal 1953 the Congress voted smaller appropriations—$94.9 billion, but the Government spent more than in 1952—a total of $74.2 billion?

Mr. Lindsay draws the conclusion that there is money "in pipelines," as he puts it, "that is not very well accounted for."

His greater service, however, is to document the explosive nature of our economy in the first 10 postwar years that enabled us to support the appropriations and the spending.

He cites the increase in compensation of employed persons from $117.6 billion in 1946 to $223.1 billion in 1955.

He mentions the increase of corporation profits and adjusted inventories from $17.2 billion to $40 billion.

And most important is the growth in total national income, from $179.5 billion in 1946 to $324 billion in 1955.

Mr. Lindsay draws the commonsense conclusion that with the rise in salaries and purchases, "it is not surprising that the cost of government would tend to rise with the increase in national income."

He draws another conclusion about which I hope he is partly in error—that when his readers read about the great budget battle, they should realize that neither they nor the Congressmen who are making what they think is a statesmanlike correction of the President's budget estimate, have the slightest idea of what they are talking about.

Under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I offer Mr. Lindsay's analysis for the RECORD:

WE KNOW NOT WHEREOF WE SPEAK

(By Edward Lindsay)

Much has been said about the United States budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, now before Congress.

President Eisenhower proposed a budget of $71.8 billion. The Democrats and disaffected Republicans in Congress, with some aid and comfort from members of the President's Cabinet, have been making a big thing of "cutting the budget."

In trying to get this controversy into focus, I have been looking at the 1957 World Almanac. The fabulous postwar years, which began in 1946, seem to me to be a reasonable base against which to consider figures that are now in the news.

I looked at the United States receipts and expenditures, which follow this pattern:

[In billions]

Year	Receipts	Expenditures
1946	$39.7	$60.4
1947	38.7	39.0
1948	41.4	33.0
1949	37.6	39.5
1950	36.4	39.6
1951	40.5	44.0
1952	61.3	65.4
1953	64.8	74.2
1954	64.6	67.7
1955	60.3	64.5
1956	68.1	66.3

Since Congress doesn't actually spend the money, but appropriates it to departments and bureaus, I turned to a table on appropriations by the Federal Government.

Appropriations—in billions of dollars—follow this pattern in postwar years: 1946, 76.5; 1947, 40.8; 1948, 41.1; 1949, 48.2; 1950, 52.8; 1951, 67.9; 1952, 127.7; 1953, 94.9; 1954, 74.7; 1955, 64.3.

Now that we see the appropriations figures, we have some questions about the relationship between the appropriations and the expenditures.

Look back at the year 1952, when $127.7 billion was appropriated. In 1952 the Government spent $65.5 billion, and the following year $74.2 billion. It seems likely that there is money in pipelines that is not very well accounted for.

When we see the rise in the cost of Federal Government, we ought to relate this in some way to what is happening to the United States economy as a whole.

It is unlikely that the cost of Federal Government would go down when the cost of everything else is going up. This is not to say that the Federal expenditures are right or wrong.

I picked out, in another table, a few of the items that go to make up the total of national income.

Under the columns below I have tried to show three figures, as the critical ones, which illustrate the explosive nature of United States economy since the war.

In the first column, by years, is compensation of employed persons. This is both private and military.

The second item I have chosen is corporate profits and an adjusted inventory valuation. The third figure is the total national income. All figures are in billions of dollars.

Year	Compensation	Corporate profit	National income
1946	117.6	17.2	179.5
1947	128.7	23.6	197.1
1948	140.9	30.6	221.6
1949	140.8	28.1	216.1
1950	154.3	35.1	239.9
1951	180.4	39.9	227.0
1952	195.0	36.9	290.1
1953	208.0	36.0	302.1
1954	206.9	32.8	298.3
1955	223.1	40.0	324.0

Since the cost of Federal Government includes salaries and purchases, it is not surprising that the cost of government would tend to rise with the increase in the total national income.

I realize that none of these figures tend to prove anything, and this is the point I hope to make.

The Federal Government keeps books on a cash basis, ignoring in its so-called budget any prior commitments to make expenditures and any prior appropriations not yet expended.

When you read the news of the great budget battle in Washington, I think you should bear in mind that neither you nor the Congressmen who are making what they think is a statesmanlike correction of the President's budget estimate have the slightest idea of what they are talking about.

Why I Choose To Locate in South Carolina or the Southeast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an essay entitled "Why I Choose To Locate in South Carolina or the Southeast," which was prepared by a student at Clemson College, South Carolina.

I hope that every Member of Congress will take time from his or her busy schedule to read this essay.

The essay follows:

WHY I CHOOSE TO LOCATE IN SOUTH CAROLINA OR THE SOUTHEAST

(By William G. Johnson, Jr.)

The industrial heart of the Western Hemisphere is located between the Canadian and Mexican borders. The pulse beat of this heart, South Carolina, lies between the Gulf of Mexico and the Mason-Dixon line. This new frontier, this dynamic changing South and its people are providing this heart with new lifeblood. In recent years there has been an amazing transition in this pulse beat of our Nation. The era of cotton and vast plantations, mint juleps and magnolias in the moonlight, wealth for a privileged few and toil for many has died a long-deserved death. The Southeast is still a great agricultural region, but a new giant has become a partner of agriculture. This giant is the titanic industrial growth of the entire Southeast. Any red-blooded American who ever dreamed of being a pioneer will not

need to choose to make his career in the Southeast. This new frontier will decide his destiny for him.

What brought about this new frontier that provides such a tremendous challenge to the college graduate in the Southeast? The last rumbles of the chaos created by the Civil War and the old traditions and mores are heard only in the far distance. A new, much louder rumble created by an awakening Amazon, the new South, is vibrating throughout every corner of the Southeast. Where did their great and gracious lady obtain her strength to create this industrial earthquake? Industry has become aware that her favorable climate and tremendous natural resources are assets of remarkable worth. The last asset, the worker, is the most important of the three, although people in other parts of our country are reluctant to acknowledge this fact. A mild climate prevails throughout the Southeast. The temperature for the four seasons does not have the wide range found in other sections of the country. The climate is suitable for production every month of the year. Plants do not have to shut down because of 10-foot snowdrifts or 100-degree-plus temperatures. Most manufacturing firms need large amounts of electricity and water. The Southeast has the best distributed and largest amount of these resources in the country. There are people who contend that favorable tax laws and lower wages have caused industry to move to the South. This contention is untrue, but it does make the last and perhaps the greatest factor seem less important to people in other sections of the country. This factor is the homegrown worker. The South is enjoying a competitive advantage, not because of low wages, but because of the high productivity of the worker. Why are these workers more productive? Most of the workers were born in rural areas where self-reliance and resourcefulness were an inherent part of their education. Industry has discovered that a man with an independent mind who accepts guidance from a much higher authority than a union official will become the most productive worker in the world if he is treated with fairness and respect. These workers believe in an honest day's work for an honest day's pay, and they know that an honest day's work will reap its own reward. The new South has not changed the worker's way of life very much at the present time. He still eats his beans and collard greens cooked with a piece of salt pork, but now very often that side meat has a good wide streak of lean in it. Industrial growth has not caused the South to lose its charm, but a new economic status is quite evident.

I shall remain in the beloved land of my birth because I want to advance with it culturally, socially, and economically. Although its legend will live forever, the old way of life is gasping its dying breath. A new form of liberalism and political freedom is arising with the economic growth. An improvement in living standards, the trend toward a two-party system, and a better balance between agriculture and industry make it a healthy, wholesome place to live.

Why does this area provide the college graduate with such glowing opportunities for success? The leisurely pace of jasmine-scented days and the Dixie-colonel-type businessman are gone. They have been replaced with dynamic business enterprises managed by young executives whose college training in industrial development, research, and management prepared them for these positions. This new-type executive knows that his company must produce a quality product at a competitive price. He knows that large amounts of capital must be spent to provide research on new ideas for better methods, machinery, and product. He advocates a sound personnel policy because he knows the production of the firm is directly proportional to the satisfaction of its workers. This new-type executive has become the guiding light of this new industrial frontier. The future of this industrial boom rests on his ability and training. The southeastern colleges are giving the necessary training to many young men. Unless they are blind, they cannot fail to see that their future awaits them in this same region.

There is an acute shortage of the new-type executive throughout the southeast, and this shortage creates a challenge for me that I accept wholeheartedly. I have received the necessary background at Clemson to qualify as a candidate for one of these positions, and I know how well I meet this challenge from this point on will be determined by the contributions I make to this new way of life. I can apply the training I have received, contribute all my abilities and resourcefulness, and direct all my energy toward the predetermined goal, which is the establishment of the South as the greatest agricultural and industrial region in the world. I will not have to adjust to the southern way of life. I am a part of both the old and new. I shall remain here on this new frontier, this new melting pot, this new gold coast, and fulfill my boyhood dream of becoming a pioneer. Horace Greeley made a phrase famous, but the direction needs to be changed.

Address of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman at the Commencement Exercises of Providence College, Providence, R. I., June 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on June 4, 1957, Providence College, of Providence, R. I., held its 39th annual commencement. Presiding at the commencement exercises was the Very Reverend Robert J. Slavin, O. P., S. T. D., president of Providence College. Many distinguished persons in both religious and governmental life—Federal, State, and city—attended the commencement exercises.

The recipients of honorary degrees conferred upon them this year were His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York; Dr. John Stephen Burke, chairman of the board, B. Altman Co.; and Dr. Frank Marion Folsom, chairman of the executive committee of the board, Radio Corporation of America.

The commencement address was given by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York; an eloquent and effective address appropriate for the occasion and for this period of the world's history. In his address to the members of the graduating class, Cardinal Spellman, in part, said:

It is my fervent prayer that all of you, graduates of Providence, may through God's grace, become apostles of truth and charity, for these are the virtues which must predominate in the souls of men if they aspire to be worthy of their treasured twin-heritage of Catholic faith and American citizenship.

These stirring words of Cardinal Spellman could be taken into the minds of all of our people, particularly in connection with becoming "apostles of truth and charity."

The message of Cardinal Spellman, stressing "faith of God and love of country" is not only the message of hope and confidence for all persons, if they would only heed it, but the road to success, particularly in the trying period of the world's history that we are undergoing. For as Cardinal Spellman again said in his great address:

This wondrous Nation of ours is a religious nation, her strongest armor against her atheistic foes is godliness; her strongest weapon faith.

It is with pleasure that I include the address made by Cardinal Spellman in my extension of remarks, an address that should be read by all persons possible:

Gratefully do I acknowledge the honor that is mine today as I become an alumnus of Providence College. As brother alumni we share not only pride in our living faith, but also pride in living our loyalty to the law of this great and blessed land. It is my fervent prayer that all of you, graduates of Providence, may through God's grace, become apostles of truth and charity, for these are the virtues which must predominate in the souls of men if they would aspire to be worthy of their treasured twin-heritage of Catholic faith and American citizenship.

This memorable day marks for you the fulfillment and the realization of your dreams, for the goal you envisioned 4 years ago has now been attained. This is the day, long awaited, when you become alumni of Providence College, loving sons of your alma mater, which, throughout her hallowed history, has nurtured many devout and devoted sons upon whom God has bestowed the graces of goodness and intelligence.

A tinge of regret shadows this joyful occasion, however, for you are about to bid farewell to Providence, and farewells are rarely joyous. You are about to leave your college home endeared to you with its pleasant, familiar surroundings. There will be times when you may wish that you could come back to Providence, back to your friends, your classmates and professors, with whom you shared heartaches and headaches, happiness and gaiety—friends whom you may never see again, or at best, only occasionally. Actually, in leaving this ordered and orderly way of life, you are exchanging your sheltered security for freedom, a freedom, however, which imposes upon you at once a responsibility and a challenge, as you face the future weighted with daily complex problems involving not only your own personal life, but your immediate family life, your community life and the life of your beloved America.

This wondrous Nation of ours is a religious Nation, her strongest armor against her atheistic foes is godliness; her strongest weapon faith. Therefore do I pray you friends and fellow-alumni, cherish and live your faith, seeking devoutly to spend yourselves for God, your country and your neighbor. Only thus will you prepare within your own souls a fertile field in which the seeds of faith can take firm root and grow, because, unlike many Soviet-dominated lands, America's freedoms guarantee each of her citizens the priceless right fearlessly to follow the faith of his choice. For in this land liberty was born; in this land freedom to exercise God-given rights was won; in this land enterprise and labor have prospered; in this land hunted minorities have found haven and homes.

But constantly we must be aware that the forces opposing these treasured liberties of our great and glorious Nation are strong and relentless. The evil spirit prevailing today expresses its power and purpose in two violent, godless ways, evil thinking and evil living. Against this evil spirit, logic avails

nothing, for it confounds falsehood with the truth. Against it virtue avails nothing, for the credo of the godless is that unbridled living alone makes life worthwhile. Like a cancerous growth this malignant spirit of evil thinking and evil living corrodes the body and corrupts the soul of a nation, obscuring its power to see truth, weakening its power to live truth. And when a nation becomes blinded in mind and hardened of heart, it becomes a target for tyranny and its ultimate end is enslavement.

Your training here at Providence College has prepared you to meet this challenge of good and godly living by nourishing and strengthening your Christian ideals, cultivating your powers of understanding and deepening your love of truth. As I gave thanks for the privilege of participating in this memorable occasion, I offer especial gratitude to God for this citadel of learning whose very motto is truth and which, over the years, has taught so many of our young Americans to know truth and to live truth as they pursue their varied occupations and professions.

During the past 40 years a deep and abiding love of God has been implanted and nurtured within this sanctuary of faith and learning. Who can estimate the graces that have been poured forth upon the faculty and students of this college and the blessings that they in turn pass on to others? Who can calculate the forces for good that have been stimulated in this land because of the presence of the Holy Ghost in the souls of the men of this college, souls wherein the gift of faith was tenderly fostered? This precious gift of faith is the cornerstone of Catholic education from the kindergarten to the graduate school; it orientates the personalities of our youth toward God, their Creator; it enables youth to recognize in their parents an authority delegated to them by God and acts as a leaven in society, producing harmony and order in the community.

Your years of education under Catholic auspices have been truly a privilege, and I am sure that you who have received it have both appreciated and enjoyed it. But I pray you to remember that this is not an exempt privilege; it is a privilege freighted with tremendous responsibilities, for yours is the sacred duty to be fearlessly steadfast in your love of God and the practice of your faith; courageously loyal to your beloved country; devoted to your families; honorable in your cherished friendships; charitable and respectful in all your relationships, and dedicated to your destined work.

Providence College has accomplished much good during its lifetime and I know that under God's divine protection her contribution and her reputation will increase with the years. Your alma mater will lead an ever greater number of students to a deeper reverence for God and God's design for mankind; it will direct the careers of young men along the paths of righteousness and justice and instill in the hearts of its students a patriotic devotion to our free and blessed Nation, teaching them that no sacrifice, not even life itself, is too great a price to pay for the security of our country's sacred liberties. In the challenging and crucial years that are ahead of us, Providence College will send forth from these halls of learning many more of America's sons dedicated to study and research, men proud to be Americans, men whose hearts are consecrated to their Creator and this glorious country which God has chosen to be the vessel of His justice, the instrument of His wisdom, the medium of His mercy.

On this commencement day I pray God's blessing upon you, sons of Providence College and implore you, stay close to Christ, making your hearts His shrine, your bodies His temple, your minds His mirror, your souls His abode, for only those whose hearts are pure and powerful with faith are endowed with the supernatural strength and the unchallengeable loyalty to protect the precious liberties of our own mighty land, and help achieve freedom and peace for all this troubled world.

Statement of New England Governors' Textile Committee on Two-Price Cotton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement on two-price cotton, which has been submitted to the New England congressional delegation by Mr. Seymour E. Harris, chairman of the New England Governors' Textile Committee:

THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS' TEXTILE COMMITTEE,
Cambridge, Mass., June 5, 1957.

To: The New England congressional delegation.
From: Seymour E. Harris, chairman, New England Governors' Textile Committee.
Subject: Two-price cotton.

THE PROBLEM

At our recent meeting with the New England congressional delegation, the Governors' committee suggested that something should be done about two-price cotton. Congressman MCINTIRE in turn proposed that we make some concrete proposals for the guidance of the congressional delegation.

The injustice done by two-price cotton is that the American Government sells cotton abroad at prices substantially below those sold at home. Hence competitors abroad are able to obtain an advantage in foreign markets and in our markets at the expense of the American taxpayer. In any event, world prices for non-American cotton will probably be lower than the supported American price.

The Government recently has allowed similar concessions to be made to American purchasers of cotton to be exported in the form of textiles. But no protection has been made for cotton exported at prices below the support level and then imported into this country as textiles or apparel.

The current practice amounts to a subsidy to foreign producers (the reverse of a tariff) who are thus encouraged to penetrate our markets. The price of cotton amounts to about one-half the finished price of textiles in the United States. But with foreign low-wage producers cotton amounts to an even larger percentage of price and consequently a greater advantage. The concession in cotton price to foreign purchasers is of the order of 25 percent–30 percent, or at least 15 percent in the price of the finished textile. In countries with very low wages, the differential might well be 25 percent of total costs. The wage differential is even greater, and in addition.

The continued high price of cotton for which the Government is largely responsible has also contributed to the substitution of man-made fibers, to the detriment of cotton producers and the New England economy.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

What can be done to correct this situation?

(a) One price: An obvious solution would be to sell cotton to American producers at the same price as it is sold to foreigners, namely, the world cotton price. This would at least have the advantage of giving the consumer the advantage of the great rise of productivity in cotton growing. New legislation will be required, for the Government at present is not allowed to sell cotton on domestic markets at prices below support levels.

(b) Compensating tariff: Another suggested method is to impose an additional tariff on cotton goods and apparel imported into the United States which will compensate for the difference in price which American mills must pay for cotton and that which foreign mills pay. Exported American cotton is sold at the world price for cotton, and consequently it can be assumed that all cotton textiles and apparel coming into the United States will be made with cotton bought at cheaper prices.

The sale of 9 million bales in export markets in 15 months at world competitive prices and the low level of sales in preceding years, despite sales for domestic currency and grant-financed exports, reflects the disadvantage suffered by American producers in recent years. The large sales under a two-price system have merely clarified a price disadvantage suffered by American producers of textiles in the purchase of cotton which has prevailed for a long time.

A PROPOSED SOLUTION: ONE PRICE, THE MARKET PRICE

Of the two solutions we prefer the one-price approach.

The decline of the consumption of cotton in this country is partially, at least, the result of the high-price policies of the Government.

The cotton textile mills have been forced, as a result of the cotton farm programs, to include in the price of the cloth much of the cost of the farm program. This has seriously hurt their competitive position and the total market for their fabrics. It is generally believed that much of the growth of the synthetic textile industry, as well as the popularity of many paper substitutes, is due to the relatively high price of cotton caused by farm programs.

It is therefore in the interests of the cotton textile mills as well as the farmers to lower the price of cotton in order to increase consumption of cotton and cotton textiles and improve their relative competitive position. It has already been found necessary to lower the price of cotton in order to restore the export market which was lost, and to discourage the great expansion of cotton plantings in foreign countries which was stimulated by the high-price umbrella which the United States has held over cotton.

From a textile mill point of view, the price of cotton should be determined by free market forces so that the American mills can buy at world prices, and so that the farmer can profit from greater consumption and increased exports. With greater acreage, his total earnings would also be greater.

We are not taking a position against the price-support policies of the Government. We realize that a serious problem of adjustment exists, particularly for the small cotton farmer, and that a completely free market for cotton, suddenly created, would bring hardships which should be avoided by a more temperate long-range program.

Various suggestions have been made for handling this matter, which include either adjustment payments or a combination of adjustment payments (direct subsidy), and increased acreage allotments. From the textile point of view there may not be too much difference, although, generally speaking, the textile mills would prefer increased acreage.

It is essential to remember, however, that the adjustment payments or subsidy to the farmer must not be loaded on to the price of cotton or on to the textile manufacturers by way of a processing tax or other device. This would be self-defeating, and would cause great damage to our textile mills. The farm program should not be a tax or other cost added on to textiles.

IN SUMMARY

In short, the maintenance of the position of the cotton farmer requires lower, not higher prices; and if the cotton farmer has to be helped, it would be better to increase output and to allow the rising productivity to be reflected in declining prices, the farmer to be compensated in part by subsidies and in part by increased acreage and larger markets, which in turn would increase his income.

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Other proposals

In this connection, a proposal of the American Cotton Producers Associates is of some interest. They suggest a long-range program which would include acreage allotments, a single but competitive price for cotton at home and abroad, and a payment to the cotton producer of the difference between average spot market price or loan price, whichever is higher, and a support level at a stated percent of parity. The farmer would receive an adjustment payment only on the domestic allotment of his acreage. His export allotment would increase his income but no adjustment payments would be made. For a farmer planting his entire allotment, the payment would be the support price (say, 34 cents)—the spot market price (say, 28.5 cents) or 5.5 multiplied by domestic allotment divided by total allotment, that is, by (say, 0.643) or 3.54 cents. The cotton buyer would be reimbursed for the extra 3.54 cents paid.

This particular proposal has some merit, though it proposes a loan rate of 75 percent of parity and production payments to farmers of the difference between 75 percent of parity or market price and 90 percent of parity—corrected for a fraction given by domestic allotment divided by total allotment.

A variant of this proposal was embodied in H. R. 877. Payments would be made on both domestic and foreign sales. The Assistant Secretary of Agriculture (April 9, 1957) estimated the cost of this program at approximately $240 million, and additional payments might be required to assure an export market.

The Atlantic Cotton Association (House Agricultural Committee hearings, April 9, 1957) endorsed H. R. 877 but would support cotton at 65 percent of parity (not 75 as proposed under H. R. 877), thus assuring movement of cotton into consumption instead of Government inventories. On the assumption of a fair price for the farmer of 80 percent of parity (33 cents per pound), then the association estimates costs at $300 million for 1958–59. In contrast, the current program would cost $500 million plus costs of administering the loan and soil bank and later losses on cotton sold by the CCC.

Problems raised by current policies

1. Cotton loses ground vis-a-vis rayon:

Pounds per capita consumption

	Cotton	Rayon and acetate	Percent cotton
1946	34.0	6.2	84.6
1956 (preliminary)	26.0	7.1	78.5

2. Prices and productivity:

	Yield per acre (pounds)	Price received (1910–14=100)
1946	226.4	238
1956	377.4	268
Percent gain	65	

(In 1946, 18.1 million acres yielded 8.64 million bales; in 1956, 16.9 million acres yielded 13.254 million bales.) Output per unit of input, 1955 versus 1947–49, equals plus 27 percent; but prices received equal minus 1 percent.

The price of cotton does not reflect the gains of productivity, though in view of the general inflationary conditions the price is not greatly out of line. But a much lower price and a more competitive position for cotton would have been had if acreage had not been cut severely.

3. Markets: High-price cotton means losses of competitive power for cotton producers and also for American textile and apparel manufacturers.

Despite the large increase of world markets, United States exports of cotton were approximately 40 percent of the exports of the 1920's in the years 1953–55. In 1955, exports had fallen to 2.209 million bales or only 20 percent of United States production—and a large part of these meager exports was financed by the Government.

The carryover rose from 2.2 million bales in 1951 to 14.4 million (estimated) in 1956.

The Department of Agriculture estimates that, in 1960, cotton consumption would decline from 63 percent (1955) of cotton and man-made fiber consumption to 60 percent with cotton at 75 percent of parity and to 55 percent of the total with cotton at 90 percent of parity.

4. Current costs: For the 1956–57 season, exports amounted to 6.98 million bales through March 25, 1957.

The losses per bale were $45, or $315 million, on 7 million bales.

In addition, through March 1957, the Government had spent $153 million under the soil-bank program.

Finally, the Government made available $458 million for loans, gifts, and sales in foreign currency. (This may not all be used in 1956–57.)

The total of these items is $926 million. Obviously a support program for cotton costing close to $1 billion in a year cannot be continued.

Even assuming that part of the loans will be paid and all of the $458 million will not be used in 1956–57, the costs are staggering. What is more, even the 25 cents competitive price, which presumably would make possible sales of 7 or so million bales abroad, is premised on the assumption that rayon producers would not meet this competition. Actually, the large expansion of rayon facilities points to a determination to meet the new competition.

(Material based on Economic Report of the President, January 1955; U. S. Department of Agriculture: (1) 1957 Agricultural Outlook Charts, (2) Foreign Agricultural Trade of the United States for Fiscal Year 1955–56 (January 1957), and (3) Competitive Position of United States Farm Products Abroad, 1957; Long-Range Program for Cotton by American Cotton Producers Association, May 20, 1957; American Farm Bureau Federation, Alternative Programs for Cotton, April 1957; Hearings on H. R. 877 before House Agriculture Committee, April 1957; Senate Document No. 12, Report on Various Methods of Supporting the Price of Cotton, January 1957 (by Department of Agriculture).)

Hon. Robert Crosser

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I have just learned, with deep regret, of the death of my late, great friend, Robert Crosser, longtime Member of the United States House of Representatives.

Bob Crosser devoted most of his adult life to a public service, which was long and fruitful.

In addition to his long and effective service in the House of Representatives, he served with honor and distinction as a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention which, in large part, rewrote and gave the State of Ohio a modern and model constitution.

He was a fighter for freedom with a Scotsman's courage, which never wavered. We, his friends, will miss him more than we now know.

Ike's Hour of Triumph

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

[From the London Express of May 26, 1957]

IKE'S HOUR OF TRIUMPH

(By Robert Edwards)

The Russians have just suffered by far their greatest and most dramatic defeat in the cold war. Their idle threats have been exposed. Their foolish boasts have been stripped bare.

To one man must go the credit for this remarkable achievement, President Eisenhower.

His wartime triumphs are dwarfed by comparison. He has had the most startling victory of his career. He has carried out an act of daring that will scatter his critics like chaff—once they realize what has happened.

For here is the extraordinary fact. No one outside the inner conclaves of power seems to have understood the full measure of recent events. The victory has gone unhailed.

ON THE EDGE

I refer to the unprecedented challenge thrown out to Moscow by the sailing of the American 6th Fleet across the Mediterranean when Jordan was imperiled.

Look back on this moment in history and all its implications.

Jordan was on the edge of falling into the hands of conspirators from within. Outside the Syrian allies of the Russians were ready to send in their troops and swallow up the desert kingdom.

A MENACE

The signs pointed in one direction only. The Kremlin's Middle East ambitions were about to be fulfilled. A new and deadly menace to the immense Western oil reserves seemed inevitable.

Then President Eisenhower walked off the 18th tee at the Georgia golf course and gave the command as unconcernedly as most people would order a round of drinks: Sixth Fleet sail—call the Russian bluff. Dare them to pick up the gauntlet.

No humiliation was spared the Communists. The departure of the fleet from its anchorage off the south of France was as boldly advertised as a Hollywood epic.

BIG SHOW

Sailors, marines, and airmen were summoned from their leave billets ashore and from the casinos. Anyone left behind had to catch up by airplane. The maximum ostentation was employed to show that America meant business.

And what happened? Did Mr. Khrushchev threaten New York with guided missiles, as he did London when Sir Anthony Eden intervened in Suez? Did he write a stern warning to the President as he did to our Prime Minister?

SILENCE

Not at all. There was no talk of missiles. And not a single missive was sent to Washington. The best that Moscow could summon up were a few mumbling sentences in Pravda which had as much impact in America as a feather colliding with a Centurion tank.

By the time the 6th Fleet had arrived off the coast of Lebanon, by the time the marine contingents were landed and the anchor chains of the great vessels had rattled and roared into the sea, it was clear that for Russia the game was up.

The Syrian troops had no choice but to return to their homes. King Hussein was able to defeat his enemies without further interference from across the borders of Jordan. And the Kremlin leaders knew that their Middle Eastern adventure had come to an abrupt end.

Now nation after nation is rallying to the American banner. For domestic political reasons some of the Middle Eastern countries have yet to affirm the alliance publicly, but in due course they will do so. Only Syria and Egypt remain outside in lonely isolation.

Even the Israelites are under the American umbrella. Their boundaries have been made safe for them. They can relax as long as they behave themselves. "Jehovah has triumphed. Her people are free."

It is an astonishing transformation since the sorry picture a few months ago when all the Middle East was about to crumble. A transformation that has come about simply because America was willing to risk taking the world to the brink of the abyss.

Many a man of common sense and judgment would disapprove of America taking such a gamble.

ONE PATH

Supposing, after all, it had failed? Supposing Russia had sent in her forces on the other side? Then the last world war would have been fought to the finish or every one of us.

But these objections are now of no consequence. Whatever those who oppose unilateral action may say, the gamble came off, to the immeasurable benefit of mankind.

Now, of course, harvest piles upon harvest. One path alone lies open to the Russians. The path of peace. They are seeking to reach an accommodation with the Americans, an accommodation that will remove for generations ahead the fear of war. And they have found a willing response from the man responsible for their change of heart—Mr. Eisenhower.

DRASTIC

Yesterday he called a meeting of his defense chiefs and other advisers to work out new disarmament proposals. He is preparing a drastice reappraisal of policy toward the Russians following their acceptance of defeat in the Middle East.

Only the vested interest of the merchants of death stands in the way.

The American economy is sustained by the manufacture of ammunitions. Be sure the arms manufacturers will strive hard to prescrve the atmosphere of the cold war rather than see their profits dwindle.

EDEN'S BID

Where lies the moral for Britain in this triumph of American strategy?

Sir Anthony Eden's government tried to carry out exactly the same operation against Egypt and failed.

Britain ignored the United Nations and took tremendous punishment. America ignored the United Nations and gathered great benefits.

The lesson is surely this. Successful diplomacy depends upon overwhelming strength.

Allies' Policy Toward Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL E. NEAL

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, within the past week the citizens of the United States were dumfounded, if I may make it even stronger, shocked, when some of our stanchest allies deserted us on our fundamental position that Red China should be commercially quarantined from the free world. I do not need to remind you that we adopted this policy in regard to the Peiping regime because of China's inhuman and barbaric treatment of Americans in China at the time the Communist masters assumed control.

It was a policy of some 10 years' duration and our desertion by the British, French, Norwegians, and others of the free world community serves to underline the changing picture of America's position today and what it amounted to a decade ago.

At the time we adopted our no-trade policy, America's position was secure as the financial and industrial giant on this planet. True, by loans, grants, and assorted forms of aid, we were able to maintain adherence to the China boycott policy. Now, it is of some concern to me when I consider the fact that perhaps we, unwittingly, have weakened ourselves to a point where our erstwhile stanch friends see fit to disregard and turn away from a basic American foreign policy.

During the 10 years in which we clung to commercial and diplomatic ostracism of the Communist masters of Russian and Chinese millions, we sacrificed a considerable portion of our own industrial capacity through liberalized tariff rates and trade agreements, in order to bolster and maintain the dollar balances of foreign countries. They, our allies, in turn used such dollar balances to come into our market for the purchase of machine tools and heavy durable equipment which enabled them thus to manufacture goods for the world market and with their cheap labor undersell American manufacturers.

It is my considered opinion that it will never be known just how much of American manufacturing costs of producing this export material for foreign aid have been absorbed by the United States Treasury. It seems to me, however, that throughout the years there has been a steady stream of America's wealth that has flowed outward in the form of gifts, grants-in-aid, and highly questionable loans. This growing stream is a highly important factor in high taxes which the American people are made to pay. Meanwhile, recipients of these gifts have attained the point of real, and, in some cases, crushing competition for the American businessman in world markets.

As a result of these strengthened economies, given sinew by successive administrations pledged and devoted to continue foreign aid, we are turning now to mass production of war materials for export purposes, hoping that such war materials will eventually give us firm recruits in our fierce determination to prevent extension outward of Russia's Iron Curtain. This is, of course, a highly debatable policy and only time can show its worth.

A second result that has come to pass from our prosperous friends is that they have assumed various postures of diplomatic independence which led to last week's instant case of their desertion of the United States on the China question.

I do not know what the will of this Congress will be on GAT and OTC but I do know that Members of this House will be under increasingly heavy pressure from producers of durable goods, international bankers and the prophets of "one world" in future weeks to lower tariff barriers and generally to launch this Nation upon something approaching free trade. When that day comes we will see a vast importation of foreign goods which will undersell products made at home. Thus our foreign friends will accumulate dollars to their credit in our own country with which to pay for the export materials which we supply them.

It might be timely to point out that while it was a great blow to have our friends repudiate our Chinese policy, there occurred another event almost parallel with it, which showed even better how anti-American blow the international winds. It was on Formosa that anti-American sentiment flared up into astonishing proportions, leaving even some of our most determined supports of Nationalist China here on the Hill considerably shaken and taken aback. This riot occurred in one place where it had been almost automatically assumed that one of our best friends resided. If such violent anti-American feeling could flame up on Formosa, what of the situation in other countries which have been shored up and sustained by American dollars and aid?

It seems to me that much of what we have sought to accomplish in the way of a stable and peaceful world at such a staggering cost during the past postwar period may have come to naught. It is true that we have saved many a country from being gobbled up by the Russian bear but it is even truer that gratitude among nations, as among men, is a fragile thing.

I do not believe that America can stand totally alone in a hostile world.

To exist as a Nation we must have alliances, but to have enduring and profitable alliances we, as a senior partner, must be strong internally. Even now while we enjoy unprecedented prosperity there are disquieting but abundant signs that the time of reaping of the economic whirlwind may not be too far in the future.

You may recall that during the week of May 12 the United States Treasury's offer of several million dollars' worth of bonds was a failure. While officially it was said that the low-interest yield was largely responsible for the lack of investors, it may be an ominous sign that private capital is increasingly afraid of Federal securities because of the staggering size of our $270-billion national debt. If that be true, then it means that public confidence in the fiscal policies of the United States Government has been severely shaken, and a shaken confidence in Government means a diminution of confidence in our economy and the political machinery of the Republic.

I think it is time for some stocktaking upon the part of those entrusted with making national policy. I, for one, believe that the entire question of foreign aid should be gravely and thoroughly reexamined and a new assessment of its true worth as an instrument of foreign policy be arrived at. I believe, further, that some consistency should be restored to the operation of the Federal establishment. By this I would strike a blow for the taxpayers by ruthlessly eliminating waste and extravagance to the double purpose that we might effect tax reductions and apply some of our savings to a reduction of our overwhelming national debt which hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of us all.

With a strengthened economy and our domestic economic household put in order, America need have no fears for the future; our labor and industry, possessing confidence in our way of life, can easily produce for the world market so efficiently and cheaply that we can hold our own in any competitive situation. However, labor and industry, debilitated by the knowledge their taxes are being used to subsidize their competitors to the point where American goods can be undersold and shut out, have lost half the battle before it starts.

There is still time for us to redeem much of our past folly. It is not too late to restore the United States to its dominant position of world leadership which it had enjoyed immediately following World War II. But to redeem our past errors we in this 85th Congress must show the way. We have been amply warned by international events since the first of this year that perhaps, after all, we have been living in a fool's paradise and continually deluding ourselves that all is right with the world. I hope the time has come when we can see the handwriting on the wall. The letters are large enough for all to see.

Message of President Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese People on the Taiwan Riots

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the press has carried brief excerpts from the broadcast delivered to the Chinese people, June 1, 1957, by President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China, on the recent attack in Taiwan on the American Embassy and the American flag; an attack which President Chiang frankly states brought dishonor to the nation.

The full text should be available to our people and, therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I include it as follows:

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK TO THE NATION ON THE RIOTS IN TAIPEI ON MAY 24, 1957

(English translation of a broadcast delivered on June 1, 1957)

My fellow countrymen, the unfortunate incident that occurred at the United States Embassy in Taipei on May 24 was one of the most shocking and most regrettable things to have happened to our country during the 50 years of my participation in China's National Revolution. For the moment I choose not to dwell on its effect on our struggle against communism and Russian imperialism, or its harm to our effort in restoring authority and delivering our people on the mainland from tyranny, or its damage to the century-old Chinese-American friendship. What grieves me most is that the incident has left on our national prestige and dignity a stigma not easily removed.

CAUSE FOR REMORSE

In the first place, I cannot but admit that my leadership has been at fault. With a heavy heart, I wish to point out to my countrymen that we should all realize the seriousness of the incident. We must take it both as a lesson and as a cause for remorse. Only thus can we hope to be able to repair the damage done to our national honor.

I can well understand why the masses felt indignant at the American court-martial's verdict in the Reynolds case, but they should never have resorted to violence. All those who have received basic citizenship education should have a proper respect for law and order. No citizen of a modern and civilized nation should have sacked the Embassy of a foreign power and torn the flag representing that power, because such acts of violence are serious offenses before the law of our land. What happened on May 24 brought dishonor to the nation in its relations with the outside world.

At his inauguration as the Provisional President of the Republic of China on New Year's Day, 1912, Dr. Sun Yat-sen declared in a statement: "Following the establishment of our government, we should fulfill the obligations as expected of any civilized nation before we can qualify for the rights and privileges of such a nation. We must do away with all misdeeds which have brought disgrace to our nation during the Manchu dynasty and correct all antiforeign feelings. We must uphold peace and promote friendship with other countries so that China can once again take her rightful place in the community of nations."

NATIONAL POLICY

This was the national policy which the founder of the Republic of China had proclaimed for our guidance. Ever since the northward expedition which brought about our national unification, our Government has consistently adhered to this policy.

Let us review the recent unfortunate incident on the basis of this policy. Dr. Sun's purpose in leading our people in the national revolution was to remove the shame which had befallen our country as a result of the ignorant policy and acts of violence of the Manchu dynasty. The humiliating protocol of 1901 was the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising, during which frenzied mobs attacked foreign legations and inflicted physical injuries on foreign diplomats and foreign nationals. The uprising not only greatly impaired our sovereignty, but also brought upon our nation such infamy that for many years China was looked upon as a barbarian country.

In plotting against their own country, the Chinese Communists have all along tried to conceal the brutality of international communism behind national sentiments. It has been their practice to stir up mob violence to destroy friendly relations between China and the various foreign powers. Their purpose is to isolate our nation and to pave the way for the enslavement of our people by the Russian imperialists. This Communist tactic has been applied not only to China, but also to other countries. This is the lesson taught us by modern history. Let us all take it to heart.

COMMUNIST MACHINATIONS

I will now cite for you three historical instances that I have personally experienced. The first of them happened in 1924. In his first speech at the Whampoa Military Academy, Michael Borodin, representative of Soviet Russia, told the cadets that Chinese mobs in storming foreign legations and killing foreign diplomats during the Boxer uprising became the forerunners of China's national revolution. He must have known that as a result of that uprising the Chinese people came to be branded as barbarians. China's international position sank to a new depth overnight and the Chinese people were subjected to prolonged derogation after the protocol of 1901. Yet Borodin openly lauded the Boxer uprising. It is no accident that today the Chinese Communists are publishing books on the uprising, unashamedly confessing that they are the successors to the Boxers.

The second instance occurred in 1926 when I was leading our armed forces in the Northward expedition. In public proclamations as well as in orders to the troops, I called on all those concerned to do their utmost to protect all foreign government organs as well as foreign lives and property. I was terribly shocked when Lin Tsu-han, a Communist, instigated some units of the Sixth Army to attack British and American consulates, to tear up foreign flags, to sack missionary schools, and to harm foreign nationals in Nanking. This happened shortly after our troops had entered the city and before they had had time to reestablish law and order in general. This was known as the Nanking incident. The Communists' intention was to provoke a clash between the

National Government and the foreign powers concerned. Fortunately, this plot on the part of the international Communists was discovered in time and an amicable settlement was found before the incident assumed more serious proportions.

The third instance known as the Anping Incident took place in 1946. After the American troops had helped us accept the surrender of Japanese forces in North China, Chinese Communists fired on American troops at Anping along the Peiping-Liaoning Railway. Their purpose was to force the American troops to leave and to sabotage Chinese-American cooperation. Soon afterward, the situation in North China began to worsen. The Chinese Communists finally succeeded in isolating not only China but also Asia, thereby precipitating a greater crisis in the Pacific. These are all unforgettable facts.

COMMUNIST DESIGNS ON TAIWAN

As a result of the concerted efforts of our Armed Forces and civilians during the past 7 years, our fight against communism and Russian imperialism, as carried on from our base on Taiwan, has become inseparably interwoven with the fate of Asia and the security of the Pacific region as a whole. Whether the Russian imperialists will be able to dominate the whole of Asia depends on how successfully we defend this strong anti-Communist bastion of ours. In other words, it will be decided by whether they can dispose of the so-called Taiwan problem on their own terms. Otherwise, the Communist Iron Curtain will sooner or later be destroyed by the crusading flames of China's National Revolution. In that event, not only our own people on the mainland will be delivered from Communist tyranny, but the people in other parts of Asia will also once again see the light of dawn. This is the last and only problem which still confronts the Russian imperialists in their scheme of aggression in Asia. Today they are directing their Chinese puppets to sow seeds of suspicion by treacherous propaganda, by threats as well as by cajolery with this very objective in view, namely, the disposal of this problem. If this scheme of the Russian imperialists should become successful, then not only our people on the mainland will remain indefinitely in the clutches of the Devil, but our very safety here will be seriously threatened.

Today the world is divided between the aggressors and the antiaggressors. In our struggle against communism, there can be no compromise between the patriots and the traitors. We must know what is right and what is wrong. We must distinguish friends from foes. Mao Tse-tung and his gang are approaching their collapse and our opportunity of restoring national authority on the mainland is not far off. The only hope of the Chinese Communists to save themselves is to open a new battlefield for psychological warfare right here in the center of our fortress by instigating mob violence and propagating anti-American movements. If our people should have lost sight of the enemy's scheme, felt incensed over a court case, forgotten the goal of our national endeavors, mistaken friends for foes, and even gone so far as to ignore our own national interests, I do not believe that this could possibly have been the real intention of our patriotic citizens. Today I must make it clear again to our people that in carrying out our national policy against communism and Russian imperialism, we must stand on the same side with the United States, which is the leader of the democratic nations, and that we cannot permit any opposition to this policy from within or without.

SINO-AMERICAN COOPERATION

Our people must also understand that the United States not only is on our side now, but has had a long history of friendship with us. She is the only one among the foreign powers who has never conceived any aggressive designs on our territory. In fact, both before and after the protocol of 1901, she forestalled all attempts at China's dismemberment. This is something we should never forget.

But even among friends, unpleasant things could happen. The proper attitude we should have is one of mutual understanding. We hope our friends will understand us, but it is for us first to understand them. Our conduct in human relations should be guided by the confusian principles of loyalty and reciprocity, which exhort us "to do the utmost within" and "to extend from ourselves to others." If we should let our emotions of the moment run away without restraint, then regardless of the motive, however patriotic it may be, and regardless of the justification, the result is the same in that it will harm our national cause and inadvertently condemn our people on the mainland to continued suffering.

In the recent unfortunate incident, those whose duty it was to maintain law and order T'ai-pei failed to adopt proper precautionary measures at the outset. In the course of the incident, they failed to take resolute steps to cope with the steadily worsening situation. They were still indecisive as to what to do even after a peaceful demonstration had turned into a mob violence. As a result, the disturbances got out of control. This was most deplorable indeed. The Government has ordered the dismissal of the security chiefs concerned as a disciplinary measure. Henceforth, Government organs will be held strictly accountable for carrying out our national policy, protecting the lives and property of both our own people and of foreign nationals and maintaining law and order in any circumstances. No failings shall be condoned. Those arrested on the scene of the riots shall be dealt with in accordance with law.

NEED OF ENLIGHTENED CITIZENRY

After this incident, both the Government and the people should take the painful lesson to heart. Especially in the field of education, attention should be paid to the matter of inculcating in the minds of the people at large knowledge of world affairs and concepts of modern citizenship. Relevant material should be added in textbooks on civics for use in all schools. We should understand that modern nations are made of people with modern knowledge and training and that an enlightened citizenry is the foundation of a nation.

My fellow countrymen: At this crucial moment when our national interests and honor are at stake, I earnestly hope that all teachers and parents will tell their students and children that they must learn to behave like citizens of a modern nation. Henceforth, there should be a spirit of respect and friendliness not only toward American nationals but toward all other foreign nationals who reside in our country. Only thus can the Republic of China fulfill its duties and at the same time enjoy the rights and privileges of a civilized nation. This is why we must maintain our national standing and promote international cooperation and mutual help. Only thus can our nation look forward to a brighter future and our 60 years of national revolution be expected to bear fruit. Only thus can we insure success in our fight against communism and Russian imperialism.

Reds Appear To Be Losing Italy's Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I have noted with great interest and profound pleasure the fact that the Communists appear to be losing ground in Italy, both in the labor movement and the registrations of the general public.

As I have pointed out earlier, I think the greatest error made by the Communists was in the belief that they could derive more than token support from a freedom-loving nation of a deceptive and false ideology, which, in fact, actually denies freedom of choice and independence.

I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from a recent issue of the New Haven Register on this subject:

REDS APPEAR TO BE LOSING ITALY'S UNIONS—COMMUNIST LABOR BOSSES MAKING LAST STAND AT MILAN SUBURB

MILAN.—Communist control of Italy's labor movement is being shattered in a series of crucial union elections in key plants of this northern industrial hub.

Red labor bosses are making a back-to-the-wall stand here in the Milan suburb of Sesto San Giovanni, known as Italy's "Little Stalingrad" for its Communist strength.

Two of their strongholds are the Marelli radio plant and the Falck steelworks. Elections are due in both plants late this month. The outlook, based on results at the key Fiat factories in Turin, is for a double-barreled Red setback.

The Fiat story capsules the rise and decline of Communist domination of Italy's highly organized labor movement. In the post-liberation summer of 1945, the Communists seized physical control of the Italian industrial titan, locking management out of the plants.

After law and order were restored, the Communists still managed to regain control of Fiat labor unions. As late as 1954 the Reds polled 33,000 votes against 13,000 for the free unions.

GRIP IS BROKEN

In 1955 the free unions, with a handsome assist from the United States, finally broke communism's grip at Fiat, but the Reds even so polled 40 percent of the ballot.

This year, in a record voting turnout, the 60,000 Fiat workers elected only 1 Communist of 6 on the committee the Reds had bossed entirely until 2 years ago.

The 1955 Fiat election was the turning point. The Communists slipped further at Fiat in 1956, and labor in other major Italian industries, with its eye on Fiat, began a similar breakaway from the Red-controlled CGIL union.

In 1955, it took a threat by the United States to cancel fat Fiat contracts for American-financed NATO aircraft to push the Reds out. After that the United States Embassy in Rome never had to enter the picture.

Communism's Fiat freezeout is a victory of incalculable magnitude for the western free-labor movement. It has eradicated Communist roots from possibly the world's most fabulous industrial concern, and, equally significant, it has demonstrated that,

with the worker in Italy as elsewhere, bread and butter, not ideology, still has priority.

LARGEST OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

Fiat is easily Italy's largest industrial concentration. It is the free world's largest single arsenal outside the United States. Not even Krupp at the peak of World War II armaments production was as fabulously vast as Fiat.

Fiat's industrial virtuosity is told in the firm's slogan: "Fiat on land, sea, and in the air." Fiat's 18 huge plants at Turin wander over 24 million square yards! They spew out automobiles, aircraft, washing machines, refrigerators, diesel trains, aircraft engines, marine engines, machine tools, tractors, trucks, and buses. The corporation also controls Italy's cinematographic film production, has a stake in the world-famous vermouth, and owns and operates the Sestrieres ski resort.

Fiat mines supply ore from the Piedmont Alps to Fiat iron and steel mills. Fiat boasts Italy's biggest steel mills, its biggest aircraft plant, and is Italy's biggest automobile producer. It also operates the world's biggest private social-welfare program of its type. In the mechanical trades, Fiat pays Italy's highest wages. But that is only a starter.

Every Fiat worker receives free medical treatment. Fiat has a convalescent hospital for its workers and a retirement home for its aged. It operates a social-insurance fund which is paying out to 170,000 beneficiaries.

The corporation operates a mammoth technical-training program. And it provides for the worker in his free time and for his family. There are Fiat holiday camps, social and recreational centers, and day nurseries.

When Fiat workers need housing, the firm will provide that, too. Fiat invested $13 million in worker housing after the war.

Taking stock of all this, it has apparently suddenly occurred to the workers that communism can give them nothing they aren't already getting—at Fiat.

Reserve for the Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am happy to include an editorial from today's Washington Post titled "Reserve for the Soil Bank."

When this bill was before the House a few weeks ago, I did feel it was largely misunderstood by many Members of the House—and especially what we were trying to accomplish by the continuation of the soil bank through the full 3-year period for which it was originally designed.

I am happy that the other body has included authorization for the soil bank next year.

This will undoubtedly come before the House in the next few weeks for another vote. At that time we will have a chance to explain the matter in more detail and I feel sure that many of those who voted against the continuation of the soil bank for next year will change their minds. The soil bank is a good plan and it produces the proper incentive for reduced production. Unless we have reduced production, it is impossible for the farmer to get an adequate price for his produce in the open market place—and that is the purpose of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I append in full the editorial of Friday, June 7, from the Washington Post:

RESERVE FOR THE SOIL BANK

The budget-cutting fever on Capitol Hill has subsided sufficiently to enable a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee to restore a spending authorization for the soil bank next year. The House had capriciously deleted this $500 million item for economy reasons, with apparently little thought of the impact it would have on the agricultural program. The Senators who voted 8 to 2 to reverse that action are probably no less economy-minded than the House, but they feel some responsibility for continuing the soil bank's incentives for reduced production until something better can be put in their place.

It is instructive to remember that only a little more than a year ago Congress passed an omnibus farm bill providing for restoration of rigid 90-percent-of-parity price supports for basic crops and a dual parity system as well as a soil bank. The President vetoed that extravagant measure. Likewise it is well to remember that only a few months ago the agricultural leaders of the House sponsored a feed-grains bill that might have added another billion dollars to farm benefits. After defeating this measure the House flew to the other extreme of trying to kill the soil bank.

It is good that more sober counsel has prevailed in the first test on the Senate side. Nothing is to be gained by offering the farmer the moon one month and snatching away benefits already authorized the next. The Senate will do well to insist on carrying the soil bank through 1958 or until the proposed new program can be worked out and enacted.

Innocent Incitement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I have just read an article in the National Review of June 8, 1957, regarding the part that Radio Free Europe played in the recent Hungarian revolt. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this article and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

INNOCENT INCITEMENT

The New York Times of April 29 carried a dispatch from Munich reporting that Radio Free Europe officials there had declared that none of the changes (in the personnel of RFE's Hungarian desk in Munich) made, or in the making, implies a guilty plea to charges that the organization irresponsibly incited Hungarians to revolt.

Three months earlier, on January 26, the Herald Tribune's Bonn correspondent, Gaston Coblenz, had reported President Konrad Adenauer's criticism of RFE. President Adenauer had, according to Mr. Coblenz, "also disclosed that certain changes in personnel have taken place on RFE's staff as a result of the handling of broadcasts during the Hungarian uprising."

In 1950's RFE's founders declared that it was necessary to form RFE in order to have a hard-hitting instrument, not bound by restrictions under which the official Voice of America has to broadcast to the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

That encouragement to fight communism and the creation of revolts has always been the purpose of RFE can easily be proved not only by the transcripts of its broadcasts but also by statements of its highest officials. To give just one example:

On November 25, 1951, the New York Times carried a story from Munich by Jack Raymond, in which he quoted a speech by Charles D. Jackson, then president of the National Committee for a Free Europe (which runs RFE), as follows: "What we wanted was to create conditions of inner turmoil in the countries our broadcasts reached." According to Mr. Raymond's report, Mr. Jackson said "The time to think about possible military aid is when people in satellite countries succeed in inaugurating a useful military movement on home grounds."

This speech was, of course, broadcast to Hungary. The Hungarians never forgot it, as many Hungarian refugees at Camp Kilmer have told me. It was rebroadcast by Hungarian freedom stations again and again in 1956, with assurances that the United States would certainly honor C. D. Jackson's promises of 1951—all the more since Jackson had in the meantime been appointed special adviser to the President on problems of psychological warfare.

In the light of these facts, can we still maintain that we are innocent?

JULIUS EPSTEIN.

NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. Brownell's Witness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in the last week about the right of trial by jury of those charged with violating an injunction under the pending civil-rights bill.

The Attorney General of the United States has called upon the late and respected President Taft to bolster his demand for the denial of the jury trial to those so accused.

The highly respected Washington Star has today exposed the fallacy of the Attorney General's position in the following editorial:

MR. BROWNELL'S WITNESS

For reasons which are obscure to us, the Attorney General has called the late William Howard Taft as a witness in his behalf in his opposition to the jury-trial amendment to the proposed civil-rights bill. And at his press conference last week the President joined Mr. Brownell.

Early this month the Attorney General wrote to several Members of Congress arguing against the jury-trial amendment. And he quoted the former President and Chief Justice to this effect:

"The administration of justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essen-

tial unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy. Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

On its face, this sounds impressive—and it certainly impressed Mr. Brownell. But let's look a little closer. Mr. Taft made the statement in a speech accepting the Republican nomination in 1908. It was a political speech—a speech attacking a Democratic proposal to provide for jury trials of persons accused of violating labor injunctions.

A year later, on September 16, 1909, Mr. Taft made another speech, and we commend it to Mr. Brownell's attention. For by that time Mr. Taft had been elected, and it is fair to say, we think, that his real attitude toward jury trials became clearer. The truth is that Mr. Taft, a former judge even at that date, did not think very highly of the American jury system. He thought that "a judgeship is a great office and the man who holds it should exercise great power and he ought to be allowed to exercise that in a trial by jury." He deplored the practice of letting juries "follow their own sweet will, influenced by all the arts of counsel." He spoke chidingly of the "weaknesses, the timidities and the ignorance of juries." In short, Mr. Taft preferred the English system, where, as he put it, a murder case would be disposed of in 2 or 3 days, and where "the judge controls the trial."

But let's go back to the 1908 speech. Why does Mr. Brownell cite it in support of his current opposition to jury trials in civil rights cases? For the plain fact is that Mr. Taft was mistaken. Despite his opposition, Congress did provide for jury trials in labor cases. And the country did not sink into anarchy, nor did the provision prove to be an insidious attack upon the judicial system. In short, Mr. Taft was just about as wrong as a man could be in 1908. Why does Mr. Brownell call him to the witness stand in 1957?

Congress and Defense Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney, S. C., Ledger of June 8, 1957:

CONGRESS AND DEFENSE MONEY

The prevailing atmosphere in the House of Representatives indicates the Defense Department's budget requests are going to be cut. We did not anticipate that the House would be ready to whack huge defense requests this year, although we have predicted that this was an inevitable development, military expenditures being what they are.

In recent days, the House Appropriations Committee chopped some $2,587,000,000 from the original Defense Department appropriation requests, which was $36,128,000,000. As soon as this cut was made, the President and Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson asked that at least half the cut be restored.

However, a scene occurred on the floor of the House shortly after this appeal which indicates the sentiment prevailing in the lower legislative body. A Democrat, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, defended the committee's action and was applauded by both Republicans and Democrats. Moreover, Republican Members of the House arose to defend the position taken by the Democrat and that of the Appropriations Committee.

This would indicate that the House, at least, is in a mood to cut defense expenditures. It is difficult to say that a military budget of over $36 billion cannot be cut without impairing the Nation's security. It is also difficult for an editor, or a citizen far removed from the scene of budget study, to say where the cuts should be made.

And if Congress feels that the military requests for fiscal 1958 can be reduced after studying the proposed budget, and being aware of the international situation, then this judgment is not necessarily frivolous.

In our system of government, Congress often makes mistakes. So does the executive branch and the Pentagon. Therefore, Congress having granted huge defense budgets for many years in succession and having supported the foreign policies of both Democratic and Republican Presidents consistently, chances are that Congress is more right than wrong.

Iowa AMVETS Post Denounces Decision To Deliver Soldier for Trial in Japanese Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, vigorous protests have reached my office from veterans' organizations and individuals in response to the unthinkable decision of Secretary of State Dulles and Secretary of Defense Wilson to deliver for trial in a Japanese civil court Sp3c. William S. Girard for an alleged act committed while he was on duty.

One strong protest comes from Waterloo, Iowa, Post No. 19, American Veterans of World War II, in the form of a resolution adopted unanimously at a meeting of the post on June 6. The resolution follows:

Whereas Sp3c. William Girard of the United States Army has been, or will be, turned over to Japanese authorities for trial in the alleged killing of a Japanese woman; and

Whereas said William Girard was on duty at the time of the alleged incident and actually under the direct and immediate orders of a United States Army Officer; and

Whereas the case of William Girard who was on duty at the time of the alleged incident would not come under the provisions of the Status of Forces Agreement between the United States and Japan; and

Whereas the decision of the United States Government to allow Japanese jurisdiction in the case of William Girard is tantamount to a finding that Girard has not acted in line of duty in the alleged incident; and

Whereas such a finding is the proper concern of a military court-martial; and

Whereas William Girard has not been granted the right to a military court-martial to determine whether or not he acted in the line of duty in the alleged incident; and

Whereas the provisions of the Status of Forces Agreement have apparently been wrongfully applied in the case of William Girard as a result of the insistence of the Japanese Government and for the sake of diplomatic expediency; and

Whereas William Girard of the United States Army has been, or will be, deprived of the protection of the United States Constitution while serving his country in an onduty capacity in Japan; and

Whereas William Girard has been, or will be, placed in a position where he could be deprived of his freedom by a foreign power for an act allegedly committed while on active duty with the United States Army in Japan: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by AMVET Post, No. 19, Waterloo, Iowa, That we protest in the strongest terms the decision of the Government to allow Japanese jurisdiction in the case of Sp3c. William Girard; be it further

Resolved, That AMVET Post, No. 19, Waterloo, Iowa, demands that our duly elected representatives in Congress make every effort to prevent the transfer of William Girard to Japanese authority, or in the event William Girard has already been transferred to the civil authority of Japan, every effort be made to restore him to United States custody and that his case be disposed of under the provisions of the Military Code of the United States Army.

AMVET POST, No. 19,
NICHOLAS GEORGE,
Commander.

The 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, about this time every year, a hue and cry goes up that Congress is two-thirds of the way through its session and has done nothing. This year and this Congress are no exceptions, as I have learned by reading my favorite political writers, commentators and news analysts. The criticism is never entirely justified and is frequently misleading. And so I am moved to say a good word for Congresses generally—since apparently so few people ever do.

Mr. Speaker, somehow, the impression has gotten about that unless the Nation's great legislative body is busily engaged in grinding out laws—like a giant buzz saw gnawing through wood and scattering the chips where it may—nothing is being accomplished. Of course, this simply is not so and I can think of nothing that could be worse for the country if it were. Laws passed in haste must inevitably be repented—and repealed—at leisure.

Each Congress develops a character and objective distinctly its own, but always in response to the public mood. When people are restless and reaching out toward new goals, you will find a Congress seething with action—scurrying about and eagerly seeking the means to achieve those goals. When the people are satisfied and wish, primarily, to be let alone, then you will have a Congress that is conservative and contemplative, reviewing, correcting and amending, but seldom pioneering in new fields.

From the vantage point of my seat in the House of Representatives, I would say that the character of the 85th Congress, as it has developed so far, is somewhere between the two extremes. It is neither especially progressive nor is it ultraconservative. It is deliberative.

Knotty problems and tremendous challenges face the 85th Congress; and I, for one, am content that it is not to be hurried into making any hasty, and possibly erroneous, decisions. Civil rights, foreign aid, amending the immigration laws, Federal aid for school construction, extending the minimum wage coverage, regulating election campaign contributions and tightening the lobbying law—these are some of the major questions to which this Congress must find the answers.

These answers, when they are found, are bound to affect the lives of all of us—and conceivably, a good many people could be hurt. That is why I am very glad that neither our leaders, the chairmen of our committees, nor the Members will allow themselves to be rushed or pressured into quick action.

At the moment I would say that the major objective of the 85th Congress is economy—the squeezing of the fat out of the budget. For years, Government spending has been the target of political barbs and public criticism—and again, I say, much of it justified, a good deal of it unfair and selfishly inspired. This year, both the House and Senate are determined to do something about it and are concentrating upon this single goal almost to the exclusion of the rest of the legislative program. At least, all other proposals are considered first in the light of whether or not they will add to Government spending.

To date, the House has cut more than $4 billion from the administration's budget estimates by painstaking examination, item by item, of its vast proposed expenditures. If you do not believe that this is something of a feat, try keeping track of every cent you spend in 1 month. Then go back and see how you can reduce that spending by 5 percent or better, without changing appreciably your mode of living. This is what the House has done on a tremendously greater scale and without detracting to any marked extent from the public good or the national well-being.

This accomplishment, alone, would constitute an outstanding record for the 85th Congress—to reestablish congressional control over spending in the executive branch of the Government. If is by no means all that has been accomplished so far.

Important to the Fifth District, and in fact to all of West Virginia, especially in those areas damaged severely by the January floods, is the legislation enacted which increased by $80 million the lending authority of the Small Business Administration.

The borrowing power of the Federal National Mortgage Association has been increased by $500 million to ease the mortgage-money market, and both House and Senate have passed housing bills which are now in conference and which, ultimately, will help homebuyers and the construction industry, allow lower downpayments on FHA-insured loans, and make it easier for elderly people and large families to obtain adequate housing.

In the House a number of veterans' benefit bills, long sought and urgently needed, have been passed. Among them are bills to increase the rates of compensation for service-connected disabilities and dependency allowances; to increase the maximum allowable for direct housing loans; to increase the monthly pension payments to widows of Spanish-American War veterans; and to make permanent the Missing Persons Act, authorizing continued pay to next of kin of personnel missing in the course of duty.

Nor does any of this take into account the vast scope of the work now going on in the committees of Congress—work which will shortly begin to bear fruit as each committee reports out the bills which are the results of its labors and both Chambers quickly pass these bills in rapid succession.

Mr. Speaker, this is the pattern which has been established in the Congress over the years. And although our good friends, the news reporters in the Press Galleries, are prone to describe this activity as "the rash of bills pushed through in Congress' last-minute rush to adjourn," it is, of course, nothing of the sort. It is final action coming after much hard effort, long deliberation, and careful weighing of the end results of each bill's passage.

In the estimation of this Representative, the best Congresses are those that pass the fewest laws—but take the time and thought to make them good ones.

American Job Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD a heart-warming letter from one of my constituents relative to the spirit and loyality of a wonderful group of workers at the Watervliet, N. Y. Arsenal. It offers further proof of the wisdom of the United States Government in continuing to provide the work needed to keep these splendid men and women employed in meeting the needs of our national defense. The letter follows:

ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF
NEW YORK STATE, INC.,
Albany, N. Y., June 4, 1957.

Hon. LEO W. O'BRIEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'BRIEN: Knowing of your interest in the people of Watervliet Arsenal I invite your attention to a spirit and job endeavor among the employees there which is always gratifying to find in industry and particularly in a Federal establishment. Moreover, involving a wholly voluntary, out of pocket, personal contribution to accident prevention and plant efficiency, it also represents a saving of Federal funds.

Here's the story: This year, for the first time, Watervliet Arsenal participated in the annual statewide accident prevention campaign of Associated Industries of New York State. The campaign, held during the first quarter of the year, is regarded by most participating firms as a means of strengthening their year round safety programs. Conducted as a public service, it is open to all types and sizes of industrial and business firms.

Twenty-one different departments of the arsenal enrolled in the campaign, each being classed with other entries of comparable size. Such all-out participation is a clear indication of earnest desire to derive the greatest benefit from the campaign in terms of real safety promotion.

There is an $8 and $12 fee for each entry to help defray costs of campaign materials and it is standard practice for a company, whether it has one or multiple fees, to write this cost off as an operating expense—as is also done with the tickets for employees to attend the award dinners held throughout the State to honor the winners.

In consideration of the strict controls over Federal funds, the people at the arsenal tried to find a precedent or regulation authorizing this type of expenditure. When the question still remained as to whether this was an acceptable charge, they undertook to assume the cost themselves.

Thus the employees of the arsenal paid the entry fees out of their own personal pockets. They also attended the regional awards dinner, held in Albany, and paid for the tickets out of their own pockets. They came through the campaign with flying colors, winning 19 awards. Their overall accident frequency rate was 4.2—substantially below the statewide average of 7.63.

The most commendable aspect of the Watervliet Arsenal's participation in the campaign is that the employees enrolled and assumed all the costs entirely on their own. As you well know, such instances of employee spirit and willingness to contribute materially to the advancement of organizational efficiency and prestige are not the general rule.

Moreover, in consideration of the fact that the average lost-time accident in the Ordnance Department costs the Government approximately $800, the fine safety enthusiasm and the splendid safety record of the 2,600 Watervliet employees is translatable into significant savings for the taxpayer. Against the current cries about Federal spending and extravagance this news is most timely and significant.

May I say that it was quite by chance that we learned of this fine move on the part of the Watervliet people. They have not been making anything of it nor has there been any publicity other than that normally given to all winners of the campaign. I am sure you will agree with me that this most commendable job spirit is clearly worthy of special recognition. Thus, my reason for bringing it to your attention.

Sincerely yours,
JOSEPH R. SHAW, *President.*

Cooperatives and the Future of Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I would like to include an article from the May 31, 1957, issue of the Sco-op, published by Mrs. Doris Henderson, at Rolla, Kans., my hometown.

I believe this article shows thoughtful judgment and Mrs. Henderson's proposal that cooperatives may be the remedy to our farm problem ills certainly deserves further consideration.

The article follows:

No doubt you've all read the protests issued by farm legislators to Secretary Benson's suggested drastic overhaul of the farm program, and his statement that the present farm program is a failure.

Our own Representative J. FLOYD BREEDING has said that he does not believe that the farmer should accept anything less than 90-percent support on any basic crop—including grain sorghums—with acreage controls constituted and administered as they are today. He stated that he considered the existing program abundantly operable if realistically administered. But he said, "If the current administration of the farm program continues at its present ineffective rate, the farm leaders of the country had best begin devising fresh approaches to the Nation's agricultural problems."

Amen, brother. Government and politics have been used to keep prices up for some groups since time out of mind. One of the characteristics of modern economic life is that many more groups have demanded the same privilege, and it has been contested bitterly by those who have long enjoyed the privilege. But that is far from being the only feature. However that may be, a political solution for an economic problem is a lot like an aspirin for a pain in the head. It may relieve the misery, but it doesn't remove the cause. The cause itself may disappear while the aspirin is still giving relief from the pain, so that the aspirin may be credited with curing the headache, while it actually did no such thing. If the aspirin does not kill the pain, as happens with some headaches, or loses its effectiveness, it is time to look for the cause, and if possible, eliminate that.

Cooperatives are an economic approach to the economic headache of the individual, the family, the business, or the farm which must sell its goods or services in a market controlled by the buyer, and buy its supplies and equipment in a market controlled by the seller. Much economic distress boils down to this squeeze in which the other fellow always sets the price.

A farm, even a huge one, is a small business, by comparison with the industrial giants who produce most of the farmers' supplies and equipment, and who definitely operate in a seller's market. Like the aspirin, Government controls and supports are desirable to relieve the distress in this situation. Hurrah for the men up there in Washington who are doing their best with our problem. Whose methods are right and whose are wrong is not for me to say. Bless them for trying. But for curing the disease, cooperatives can provide their members true economic bargaining power, a sort of entering wedge in the cost-price squeeze.

Much has already been accomplished through cooperatives, though they are a child of the industrial revolution, and only a century old. But there is so much more that they can do, and in fact they have gone much farther in the direction of economic strength for agriculture, especially in the Scandinavian countries.

Let's work together to develop a sound solution to our own problems. Let's get them out of the lap of the Government as quickly as possible, and be the first segment of the economy to do this. It's part of the tradition of the land. Then we'll be in a position to challenge other groups for their Government subsidies.

As long as agriculture remains a political pressure bloc the whims of politics can destroy our economic position. Let's build it on an economic foundation.

Our cooperatives can be developed to do this. It will take time, but so do all strong, sound things. So do some precarious things. But there's one thing certain. A cooperative won't work unless its own members work it.

Juries in Contempt Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in extension of my remarks, I include a letter published in the New York Times of Sunday, June 9, from Paul A. Freund, Royall professor of law at Harvard University, which makes a valuable contribution to the discussion of juries in contempt cases.

JURIES IN CONTEMPT CASES—BASIC ISSUE IN TRIALS IN AREA OF CIVIL RIGHTS DISCUSSED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The debate over the pending civil-rights bills has come to turn increasingly on a proposed amendment for trial by jury in contempt proceedings, where the defendants are charged with having violated an injunction. The discussion has unfortunately converted what should be a straightforward practical issue of law-enforcement policy into a spurious struggle over constitutional rights.

The provision for jury in the Federal Bill of Rights did not uproot the historic practice of courts of equity whereby injunctions and contempt orders for their violation are issued in proceedings heard by the judge alone without a jury.

The real constitutional issue has not been over a supposed right of jury trial in this class of cases. It has been quite the reverse—namely, whether the judge may be deprived of his historic power to punish for contempt without a jury. Not until 1924, when the jury-trial provision in the Clayton Act was tested, did this issue become settled by a decision of the Supreme Court sustaining the legislative power thus to modify the historic practice of courts of equity.

STATE COURT RULINGS

It is noteworthy that when a similar issue had been presented by State statutes the jury-trial provision was held unconstitutional in a number of State courts, including those of Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Virginia.

The Supreme Court decision in 1924, in the Michaelson case, sustained the innovation of the Clayton Act for criminal contempt while reserving the question whether a jury trial in civil contempt would be likewise constitutional—that is, where the contempt order is not punitive but is coercive toward compliance with the original order. In short, the constitutional issue is not what the proponents of jury trial contend; the constitutional shoe is decidedly on the other foot.

On the level of legislative precedent, the Clayton Act and the later Norris-LaGuardia Act are very remote analogies. The Clayton Act did not apply the jury-trial concept to suits brought by the United States. The Norris-LaGuardia Act was designed to take the Federal district courts out of the business of issuing injunctions in labor disputes in the general run of cases; the provision for jury trial was an appendage applicable to a negligible class of cases that might still remain in the Federal courts.

PRIVATE CONTROVERSIES

The central feature of that legislative episode was that the Federal courts were bringing their jurisdiction into disrepute by being drawn into private controversies which did not rest on any Federal statutory or constitutional mandate and which lent themselves to procedural abuses. Today the Federal courts in administering the National Labor Relations Act are not bound by the jury-trial provisions of the earlier statutes.

If there is apprehension that the Federal district courts may need constraint in carrying out their responsibilities under the civil-rights legislation, the debate could profitably center on what those constraints might be. Arguably the legislation should require that a defendant be named in an injunction order before being cited for contempt, and that the statute should specify the maximum punishment which a judge may impose for contempt.

When the legal dust raised by the jury-trial proposals has settled, the basic issue of judgment can be viewed more clearly. That issue is this, is it not: whether in carrying out the fundamental law of the land in the area of civil rights, miscarriages of justice are more to be feared at the hands of local Federal judges than of local juries?

PAUL A. FREUND.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *June 3, 1957.*

Time Should Be Given Koevago To Answer Khrushchev Broadcast on CBS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY G. HASKELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Speaker, on June 2, 1957, the boss of the Russian Communist Party, Nikita S. Khrushchev, appeared on the television program, "Face the Nation," on the Columbia Broadcasting System. His answers to the questions submitted to him were nothing but the usual Soviet distortions of the truth.

In my district, in a suburb of Wilmington, Del., the last freely elected mayor of the city of Budapest is now living. Yesterday, he wrote to the Columbia Broadcasting System and requested that he be given time to answer the statements made by Khrushchev, and especially the latter's assertion that the Kadar regime is the true representative of the people of Hungary.

The best way to disprove that statement would be for the Soviet Union to conduct free elections in Hungary and allow the Hungarian people to decide whom they desire to be governed by.

I know of no one who would be more qualified to give the American people the true picture of the tragic situation that now exists in Hungary than Mr. Joseph Koevago, the last free mayor of their capital city.

Mr. Koevago was very active in the resistance movement against the Nazis, and during World War II was a major factor in organizing the underground.

As a result of his attempts to strengthen ties with the western countries, he was, in 1946, thrown into prison by the Communists for 6½ years.

Mr. Koevago was the last freely elected secretary general of the Small Holders Party, the majority party in that heroic nation. Since escaping from Hungary, he has been to London, Paris, Brussels, and other parts of the free world to enlist assistance for his enslaved people. He is continuing these activities here in the United States. Mr. Koevago was one of the leaders of the October revolution in Hungary last year.

Today, I sent a telegram to Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, urging that Mr. Koevago's request for time to answer the outright lies by the Soviet Communist Party boss, Khrushchev, be granted.

There is no American spokesman who would be more capable of making such an answer and in presenting the true picture to the American people of Soviet brutality in Hungary.

I hope that the Members of Congress will support Mr. Koevago's efforts to obtain time on this nationwide television network, to give the American people the truth about Hungary.

Discrimination Against 90-Score Butter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Enrolled Senate Concurrent Memorial No. 1 which was adopted by the Oklahoma House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature on May 27 and by the Oklahoma Senate of the 26th Legislature on May 29:

The memorial follows:

Enrolled Senate Concurrent Memorial 1

A concurrent memorial relating to the proposed discrimination against 90-score butter in the application of the agriculture price-support program; directing that copies of this memorial be forwarded to specified officials

To the SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

1. That it is understood serious contemplation is being given by the United States Department of Agriculture to disqualify 90-score butter for eligibility under the agricultural price-support program.

2. Oklahoma produces and markets annually in excess of 25 million pounds of butter, 80 percent of which is 90 score.

3. It would result in a disastrous and unjustified discrimination against Oklahoma butter if the price support program were changed to eliminate 90-score butter.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, prays:

1. That the Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture continue in effect the present rules and qualifications which afford the application of price supports to all butter scoring at least 90.

2. That copies of this memorial be furnished each member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation, with the urgent request that they personally present the same to the Honorable Ezra T. Benson, Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Adopted by the senate the 27th day of May 1957.

COWBOY PINK WILLIAMS,
President of the Senate.

Adopted by the house of representatives the 28th day of May 1957.

B. E. HARKEY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Postmaster Quigley, of Brooklyn, N. Y., Appoints New Assistant Postmaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, following the announcement of the retirement of the assistant postmaster in Brooklyn, the postmaster has announced the promotion of loyal postal employees.

The announcement follows:

POSTMASTER QUIGLEY OF BROOKLYN, N. Y., APPOINTS NEW ASSISTANT POSTMASTER

Postmaster Edward J. Quigley, of Brooklyn, N. Y., has announced that personnel changes in the Brooklyn post office will go into effect, caused by the retirement of Charles J. Eginton, assistant postmaster.

The new assistant postmaster will be Martin Shapiro, 1270 East 18th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., who formerly was the chief accountant. He is 54 years of age, with 37 years service, having entered the Brooklyn post office as a substitute clerk May 9, 1921. Mr. Shapiro has held many and varied positions during his long tenure, both in the mail operations and in the finance sections. In 1942, he was appointed a supervisor and has held many responsible assignments until his present promotion to the second highest position in the Brooklyn office. Mr. Shapiro is the father of two daughters, Mrs. Sally Walker, of New Brunswick, N. J., and Mrs. Lois Shaw, Brooklyn, N. Y. He was formerly national president of the Welfare Organization of the Jewish Civil Service Employees. His activities in labor management have seen him as past president of Local 251, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, and New York City Joint Conference of Postal Employees. He was a representative during his early postal career at many clerical organization conferences and conventions, and served in the same capacity at similar meetings during the last 15 years while a supervisor.

Replacing Mr. Shapiro as chief accountant, Postmaster Quigley has promoted Richard L. Calvely, who was appointed a subclerk in the Brooklyn post office in 1925 and has progressively been promoted through various clerical and supervisory assignments. Previous to his present assignment, he was on Postmaster Quigley's staff as survey officer making many recommendations for changes in the more expeditious handling of the mails.

On Monday, June 3, Postmaster Quigley, in a ceremony taking place in his office witnessed by many postal and community officials, will administer the oath of office to these new appointees. Postmaster Quigley pointed out that these men represent the trend in postal service career force, wherein qualified senior men are considered and appointed to positions commensurate with their ability.

Close Air Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following article, Close Air Support, which appeared in the Officer, published each month by the Reserve Officers Association. It is the report as submitted to the House Armed Services Committee by the Department of the Air Force:

The Marine Corps is designed, equipped, manned, and trained to engage in "shock" type action which is limited in time, magnitude, and scope. Marine aviation, being integral to that corps, is called upon to provide direct air support operations, the specific purpose of which is to support ground elements of the Fleet Marine Forces. Normally, 1 Marine aircraft wing supports 1 Marine division. When one Marine division is operating independently, its supporting air wing is normally centrally controlled at division level. However, if two or more divisions are operating together, the commander would effect centralization of control of all air wings in order to employ the air effort effectively.

The Marine aircraft wing is a task organization of groups and squadrons tailored in strength and composition to conduct various type air operations. Its size, therefore, is not constant. It is, however, a much larger organization than an Air Force wing, although the two are not comparable as they have different missions and organizations. A typical Marine aircraft wing might consist of 3 to 4 Marine air groups, a total of 12 to 16 combat squadrons in these groups, additional specialized squadrons, and possibly as many as 10,000 personnel and over 300 combat aircraft. The personnel and aircraft strength of a typical Air Force wing in no manner approaches these figures.

One of the basic philosophical differences between the Marine and the Air Force systems for close air support is the degree of reliance placed by Army and Marine ground force commanders upon the supporting fires of their own artillery. Generally, Army commanders prefer to rely on their own artillery within the first thousand yards of the front. Conversely, Marine ground commanders can normally expect only flat trajectory fires of naval guns during the critical phases of ship-to-shore movement. Consequently, Marine commanders must place greater emphasis on close air support as a substitute for organic ground fires. The preliminary preparation of areas which are to be subjected to classic Marine air-ground action has usually been accomplished by either naval air or tactical air. A satisfactory degree of air superiority and isolation of the battlefield is accomplished prior to such close support operations as envisioned by the Marine system.

The Marine system has definite advantages when employed solely in support of an operation which requires classic Marine action. As the type of operation deviates from the classic, the Marine system becomes progressively more unsatisfactory and closely. As

an example in the later stages of the Korean conflict, Marine air effort was considered no different from Air Force tactical air support and was controlled with no partiality toward its parent service. It was placed under the operational control of the Fifth Air Force.

Thus, any definitive comparison of the Air Force and Marine systems is faulty in the very premise that the two systems are designed for completely different types of ground operations and necessarily have entirely different allocations of artillery and supporting air. This concept is accentuated by Secretary Wilson's recent Roles and Mission Directive. The Air Force, while retained responsibility for close air support to the Army, tends to move out of the ground battle zone. United States Army surface-to-surface missiles are directed to take over more of the close air support task with those new weapons.

Some Army personnel advocate close air support of the type and quantity that Marine air doctrine prescribes for Marine ground forces. This lavish use of close air support may be desirable in highly specialized operations such as amphibious landings, but not in large scale, extended-time ground operations. For the Air Force to attempt a similar close-air-support strategy for Army forces would be an inefficient and wasteful use of airpower, even though the economy of this Nation could support such a program, which is doubtful when the requirements for the support of ground forces of smaller allied nations are added to the support needs of the United States Army.

During calendar year 1955, the Tactical Air Command participated in conjunction with Army ground forces in 7 joint command post exercises and 8 joint exercises or maneuvers. During 1956 there were 6 joint command post exercises and 4 joint exercises. During 1957 Tactical Air Command has participated in 1 command post exercise and 1 joint exercise.

Tactical Air Command units have participated with the Army in 37 minor joint exercises during calendar year 1956. These joint exercises consisted of Air Force units participating in battalion training exercises, tracking missions and firepower demonstrations for division size and smaller units. In addition, two major firepower demonstrations are conducted each year at Eglin Air Force Base, Fla., for all the services and selected civilians.

Listed below is a breakdown of Tactical Air Command's troop carrier Air Force airlift capability allocated to support the Army each month:

Type aircraft:	*Army percentage*
C–124	35
C–119	55
C–123	65

DEVELOPMENT OF THE USAF'S CONCEPT FOR EMPLOYMENT OF TACTICAL AIR

World War II was the beginning of what might be termed the first scientific application of tactical air operations, and the basic doctrine for tactical air operations, as they are known today, had its inception in the lessons and hard-won experience of that conflict. For example, in the north African campaign we initially followed a practice of parceling out airpower to corps commanders to use as they saw fit. It was not until we realized that we were taking a beating from a numerically inferior Germany Air Force that we changed our practice. Once our Air Forces had been centrally organized under an air commander, their total effectiveness was fully exploited to turn the tide of battle. Thus, the tenet of having airpower controlled at the highest level than it can be effectively utilized was developed and is reflected today in the organization of each theater command.

Tactical airpower must be provided with centralized control and direction at both theater and tactical air force level. Its component parts are specifically designed to complement each other and to be mutually supporting. They cannot be fully effective if they are divided. Division seriously reduces tactical air potentials of mobility, and flexibility, as well as making these piecemeal air elements extremely vulnerable to destruction by a more wisely controlled and employed air force. Control and direction of available airpower must rest with a single air commander. Under such centralized control its full weight and power can be shifted quickly from one objective to another, or from one type mission to another, in order to meet unexpected threats; exploit success, and wield its tremendous influence in furtherance of the combined strategy.

Although it is perfectly natural that the infantry division commander feels that his job is of primary importance, he must realize that there are many other commanders who are concurrently thinking the same thing. If the available tactical air effort were to be split into the requisite number of small forces to satisfy all these individual desires for air support, tactical air power—the most powerful and strategic weapons system available to the theater commander—would be dissipated and denied him when he needed it most. In the obvious role that air force will have in future conflicts, and due to the tremendous destructive power that could be employed by an enemy air force, this point cannot be overemphasized.

Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery made the following statement: "The dominant factor in a future war will be airpower. * * * If we lose the war in the air, we lose the war, and lose it quickly. * * * We will not win the war in the air unless the air forces are allowed to retain their flexibility and unity, and unless the air command is organized accordingly."

General Eisenhower has recorded, also, some forthright and appropriate views on this subject. He wrote: "Battle experience proved that control of the air, the prerequisite to the conduct of ground operations in any given area, was gained most economically by the employment of air forces operating under a single command."

In order to permit a realistic interpretation of the problem, it is necessary to review basic Army and Air Force doctrine. First, Army doctrine, as stated in FM 100–5, is quoted: "Army combat forces do not support the operations of any other component." This concept envisions that theater operations will culminate in the ground compaign with the overall success of the theater mission being predicated on that action. The Army concept ignores the fact that both the United States Navy and United States Air Force are capable of decisive action in their media.

Air Force doctrine holds that theater forces are organized and employed in accordance with a tenet of mutual support. Each theater component is dependent upon the other for the accomplishment of certain functions and activities associated with a particular force. Compatible with the objective of mutual support, each component force is concentrated on the task it is best able to accomplish. No one theater component is self-contained or capable within itself of achieving the theater mission. The Army-Air Force positions are therefore in conflict.

For all intents and purposes, tactical Air Forces are synonymous with theater Air Forces. As such, they are the only Air Force forces which can respond immediately to the desires of the theater command and/or theater air commander. In this respect any changes which affect, or can affect, the overall theater mission can be exploited quickly as long as the tactical Air Forces are under the command and control of a single air commander. Piecemeal division of the Air Force forces would render ineffective the principles of centralized control and decentralized execution.

In the matter of quantitative requirements, wherein the Army desires one Air Force wing per division, the following information is submitted:

(a) The Army states that this wing would be under the direction of the division commander and employed like artillery. This arrangement would, the Army feels, "guarantee" the division commander close air support when he needed it. Let's observe what would actually happen to both the artillery and the aircraft. If the enemy concentrated a large effort through this division the wing would be insufficient. The aircraft from other divisions within the corps and all artillery which had the range and flexibility to strike the target would be utilized by the corps commander under his control to counter the threat. If the attack on the corps were of great magnitude, the Army commander would have to call on aircraft and artillery support from other corps, retained under the control of the Army commander, to counter the threat. Thus, one is forced into the basic principle of centralized control. These aircraft, as mentioned would be available to counter ground threats only. At a glance one can see that one wing per division would be a significant number of aircraft that would not be available for use in the accomplishment of the overall theater mission. Should this air effort be needed in the counter air battle, control would have to be exercised by the theater commander. This is presently accomplished by the theater air component commander who controls all air operating in the theater. Without centralized control, if the enemy were in an inactive ground status in front of any one particular division or corps front, the wing of aircraft available to this particular division or corps could not be properly utilized, and, thus, air weapons systems that have a tremendous capability would necessarily be wasted and misused. Centralized control is essential to exploit the full potential of airpower. The misuse of air as evidenced in North Africa was almost disastrous. This was an important lesson which we learned the hard way and at great cost. In a nuclear war against an aggressive, determined, and superbly equipped enemy we cannot afford the price we would have to pay to relearn this lesson.

(b) The foremost threat to any force is enemy air. The neutralization, and undeniably today, the destruction of such a threat is mandatory in order that all members of the land, sea, and air team can be utilized effectively. It would be attractive, indeed, if the Air Force had the specialized aircraft, personnel, equipment, and supplies in such tremendous amounts to meet any foreseeable threat. The counter air battle could be accomplished by specialized aircraft in sufficient numbers to accomplish efficiently this task. We could have specialized interdiction, close air support, reconnaissance, and airlift aircraft in sufficient numbers so that one task would not detract from another. From the standpoint of national economy alone this can never be the case. As the overall defense of the country is the foremost consideration, the military must place its greatest effort against the greatest threat. The greatest threat to our survival is enemy air power. This must be countered with a strong air defense, and an extremely effective retaliatory striking force. In the Zone of the Interior these functions are performed by the Air Defense Command and the Strategic Air Command. The theater commander has tactical air forces to perform both of these functions. In a theater these functions are more varied than in the Zone of the Interior. Thus, the theater air effort requires multipurpose aircraft employed under centralized control to accomplish the task which at a particular time, poses the greatest threat to the theater mission.

In addition to the responsibilities for providing air support to the United States Army, the United States Air Force is committed to providing similar support to allied nations in the NATO structure, and possibly in the SEATO structure. The United States Government has recognised certain deficiencies existing in the military strength of its allies. Several allied countries possess the necessary military strength in the ground forces, but they are lacking in an adequate air capability. Accordingly, the military forces of these nations are being assisted through military assistance groups. Since these nations do not possess an adequate air capability, United States Air Force responsibilities in the realm of tactical air support can no longer be limited solely to United States Army interests. To provide adequate, effective, and timely air support to the varied commands and allied nations requires centralized control of air power under a single air commander.

Whenever You See This Fake in Print, Nail It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the June 8, 1957, issue of Labor points out that attempts are presently being made to arouse public prejudice against pension systems such as the railroad retirement system, social security, and civil-service retirement by picturing them as part of "Government spending." This propaganda is, of course, refuted by the fact that these pension funds are totally paid for by the workers themselves and their employers, and not 1 cent is contributed by other taxpayers. Therefore, the charge that these pension systems are a part of the Government's spending picture for the coming year is completely false and very unfair.

Under unanimous consent, I include for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this editorial from Labor:

WHENEVER YOU SEE THIS FAKE IN PRINT, NAIL IT

A hoary old hoax—started years ago by the United States Chamber of Commerce—is being revived again. Its apparent purpose is to arouse public prejudice against the Railroad Retirement System and other pension systems by picturing them as part of Government spending.

Labor has received examples of this hoax. One is an article in a recent issue of Look, a national magazine. The headline says: "You think $72 billion is too much? The United States Treasury is really spending $96 billion. Where is the extra $24 billion hidden?"

The article answers that question by saying President Eisenhower's $72 billion budget is only part of the spending picture for the coming fiscal year and that, in addition, the Government will spend billions which are not counted in the budget, and which come from trust funds.

Among those funds, the article lists those which support the railroad retirement, social security, and civil-service retirement systems.

The article subtly suggests more than it says. What it suggests is indicated by such phrases as "the Eisenhower administration makes New Deal spenders look like pikers." "More than $14 billion are to be spent for welfare next year, a far greater amount than the New Dealers ever dared dream of spending." "Uncle Sam keeps digging deeper and deeper into the public's pocket."

In short, this is a thinly disguised revival of the old theme song, and its revived now to take advantage of the wave of public feeling stirred up by the present drive to cut the Federal budget.

Now let's size up the facts which refute this insidious propaganda. The pension funds were left out of the budget for a simple reason—they do not belong there. The spending proposed in the budget will be paid for by taxes on the general public. In contrast, the workers under the railroad retirement, social security and civil service systems, equally with their employers, pay for their own pensions. Not a cent of the cost is contributed by other taxpayers.

Not only that, but, by paying for their own support in their old age, the workers under the three great pension systems relieve other taxpayers of much of the relief costs they would otherwise have to pay. That's one reason why the railroad unions are asking Congress to end the unjust tax on a tax—the income tax on money which has already been paid out in retirement taxes under three pension systems.

These pension funds are not Government money. The Government merely administers them as trustee. The money belongs to the workers who shared in paying retirement taxes. When they get back this money in pensions, it is not Government spending.

That was well pointed out by retired railroader Earl R. Hodgin, of Spokane, Wash., in a letter to the editor of Look, a copy of which he sent to Labor. Among other things, the letter said:

"Why should railroad retirement be included in the (Government spending) list, when the employer and employee pay the entire cost and not a dollar comes from the public in the way of taxes. The statement in Look is in error and I, as a pensioner under the Railroad Retirement Act, resent it. The reading public gets a slanted, untrue picture of the railroad retirement setup, and Look should offer a correction."

Hodgin set a good example by his protest. If other railroaders would write similar protests when they see articles confusing their pensions with Government spending, editors would begin to think twice before publishing such misleading stuff.

Why Gamble?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald of June 6, 1957:

WHY GAMBLE?

Are nuclear weapons endangering the lives of people throughout the world? Some scientists say "yes." Some say "no." Others say "not yet."

The fact is, no one knows for sure. And so long as we don't know there's no sense in gambling with the future of the human race.

Suppose we continue atomic-weapons tests—the United States, Russia, and England. Suppose the smaller nations gradually begin tests. Each year the amount of radioactive ash in the upper atmosphere would grow. Each year the fallout of this radioactive material would increase.

Damage from such radioactivity doesn't appear until humans have undergone years of exposure. By the time we found out whether the increased radiation was dangerous to human life it might be too late.

The nuclear-weapons tests continue because the free world and the Soviets are locked in a struggle for power. Surely, on the basis that further nclear tests could kill off all humanity, the free world and the Soviets can come to some agreement to halt a race toward self-destruction.

The Russian leaders are coldly practical people. Even they should see the wisdom of self-preservation.

AEC Needs Murray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include a splendid editorial in relation to Hon. Thomas E. Murray, member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, entitled "AEC Needs Murray" and appearing in the Washington Daily News of June 10, 1957.

I thoroughly agree with all of the editorial, and particularly its conclusion, "The country, the Eisenhower atoms-for-peace program, and the AEC need men like Tom Murray."

I further thoroughly agree with the editorial when it said, in connection with Commissioner Murray, that "events have often shown him to be right." There is no act that President Eisenhower could make that would more effectively evidence real bipartisan leadership on his part and cement and strengthen bipartisan action by the two great political parties than the reappointment of Commissioner Murray.

The editorial follows:

AEC NEEDS MURRAY

Thomas E. Murray's first term as a member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, now nearing its end, has proved him to be a fine public servant.

He is a practical man, dedicated to free enterprise, with a long and successful business career behind him. Commissioner Murray is also a philosopher, an articulate defender of what he believes is right. And events have often shown him to be right.

His views have at times clashed with those of Lewis L. Strauss, AEC's chairman. His occasional dissents have been vital in the final fixing of some of the policies of the great agency upon which the security of our country and that of the free world so largely depends.

Recent congressional hearings on radioactive fallout from atomic and hydrogen weapons have shown vividly the wide differences of opinion among trained scientists on the dangers involved.

These point up the necessity of insuring that the AEC, above all other Government agencies, shall never become a mere rubber stamp, blindly approving the views of one man or one group of men.

The whole atomic enterprise is so young, so complicated, so vastly important that only out of a clash of opinions can AEC select the proper course toward its twin objectives: First, the military security of our country; and, second, the application of this mysterious force to the advancement of mankind.

Mr. Murray, a devout man, is a strong supporter of the President's atoms-for-peace program which could lead to the establishment of God's peace.

Chairman Strauss doubtless will have great influence in President Eisenhower's decision on whether to reappoint Mr. Murray.

A big man in his own right, Mr. Strauss was himself an occasional "dissenter" in earlier days of this atomic agency. He will increase in stature when he shuns those who put unanimity above all else, and recommends the reappointment of Mr. Murray.

The country, the Eisenhower atoms-for-peace program, and the AEC need men like Tom Murray.

National Freedom Board Urged Anew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of April 22, 1957]

NATIONAL FREEDOM BOARD URGED ANEW

(By Kimmis Hendrick)

LOS ANGELES.—California's Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Republican, has once more introduced a bill to establish a National Freedom Board. Representative DONALD L. JACKSON, Republican, of California's 16th District, has also reintroduced a companion measure in the House.

Their purpose is to provide for coordinating all of the Government's means and efforts for telling the American story of freedom for nations and individuals around the world, and for combating communism's lies about that story.

The freedom board proposal has strong American Legion support, and in large part originated with Aviators Post No. 350 here in Los Angeles. But the legislation originally introduced 2 years ago was stopped by strong State and Defense Department opposition.

Presumably the difficulty was the potential threat to establish procedures in both departments by a new agency designed to have executive level authority in a field important to each of them. Legionnaires believe that the freedom board is needed to provide a strong foundation for the people-to-people peace approach which President Eisenhower has called for.

COUNTERATTACK SPURRED

Lewis K. Gough, a national past commander of the Legion, says the time has come when this country's counterattack on Communist propaganda must be on "a big league basis." He says, "We are in big league competition and either we meet it effectively or it will wear us down."

When the Legion held its national convention here last year, it urged Congress to establish the Freedom Board as part of the executive branch of the Federal Government.

It said it was "vitally necessary to provide a top-level planning and coordinating board with adequate authority, responsibility, and funds to successfully wage the battle for peace to national victory."

ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE

Mr. Gough says the Communists are spending between two and three billion dollars on cold war propaganda while the United States is spending just $80 million.

Legionnaires, like the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other organizations have responded enthusiastically to President Eisenhower's call for Americans to forward the story of Americanism, as individuals, to other individuals and peoples throughout the world. But the Legion is not satisfied with the report on the Knowland-Jackson bills that came from the State and Defense Departments during the 84th Congress.

This was, in effect, that these Departments were doing "all that is necessary to be done."

Legionnaires like First Vice Commander Rollins MacFadyen, of Aviators Post, No. 350, here, hoped that Senator THEODORE F. GREEN, Democrat, of Rhode Island, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, would coauthor this year's bill. But Senator KNOWLAND finally introduced it in the Senate alone.

The Knowland-Jackson bills provide for a Board consisting of the Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Director of the United States Information Agency, and five persons from civil life appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The first group would serve without extra pay; the non-Government members would receive salaries of $20,000 a year.

This Board's task would be threefold.

Under a plan it would formulate, which the President must approve, it would act for "the effective exposure of the falsity of propaganda used by Communist governments and agencies to mislead the people of the world with respect to the nature of the American way of life."

It would develop specific ways to make known the true purposes and methods of the United States.

It would be responsible for "promoting affirmatively by all available means (other than by military or diplomatic action) the cause of freedom throughout the world." It would do this by making known "the genuinely revolutionary concept of individual liberty within a free nation."

Fighting Bob

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include herein in my extension of remarks a fitting tribute to our late friend and colleague, Hon. Robert Crosser, an editorial entitled "Fighting Bob," appearing in the June 10, 1957, issue of the Trainman News, official publication of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The editorial follows:

"FIGHTING BOB"

"Fighting Bob" Crosser has gone to his eternal reward, but the memory of "the fighting Scot" will live on among the people whom he served so faithfully and well during his 38 years in Congress.

Former Congressman Crosser, a Democrat representing Ohio's 21st district, was ever in the thick of the fight during his long tenure of service to bring advancement to all the people through progressive legislation.

Members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and other railroad workers will never forget the part "Fighting Bob" played in drawing up the original Railroad Retirement Act and subsequent amendments that resulted in improved benefits under RRA. When other beneficial rail labor legislation was up for consideration in Congress, Bob Crosser could be counted upon to do his utmost for its enactment.

He also distinguished himself in his efforts for the Social Security Act, the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, the Federal Reserve Act and the Farm Credit Act.

Speaker of the House SAM RAYBURN had these laudatory words for Crosser when he left Congress in 1955:

"I never knew a man in or out of public life that I thought had a higher sense of justice, a greater devotion to public service and trying to serve his day and generation well and make this country better while we lived and leave it better for those who came after than Bob Crosser."

That was "Fighting Bob" Crosser.

Polish Aid Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as you know I have been very active in urging the satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations between this country and Poland concerning economic aid to Poland by our Government.

As you will recall, during the negotiations I introduced a resolution in the House, House Resolution 248, which states, in part, that "the United States should speedily furnish substantial economic and technical assistance to the people of Poland, subject to careful control through the use of inspection teams or otherwise to insure that commodities and equipment so furnished will not be diverted to Russia or her satellites but will remain in Poland for the purpose of strengthening her internal economy and bolstering her people in their quest for freedom."

I am certain, Mr. Speaker, that our Government agencies will follow through with shipments of American products to Poland, and also arrange for shipment of surplus agricultural products to Poland as well as permit the receipt by the people of Poland of gifts from their relatives here in this country.

I was gratified to learn that agreements have been arrived at on the allocation of funds to finance the sale of various food products and textile raw materials for Polish currency.

It is interesting to note that the bank loans will be repaid in dollars at 4½ percent interest beginning in 5 years and extending to 20 years.

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt in my mind that the Polish people have never been, are not now, and never will be pro-Communist, despite indescribable sufferings and persecutions by the Communist.

There is also no intelligent doubt that the Polish people want a free and independent Poland and will always trust the United States as Poland's true friend.

Facts Showing Why the Congress Should Not Ignore Its Mandate To Save the Insurance of 95,000 Present, Retired, and Separated Federal Employees

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I have received a great many letters from persons in my district urging that the Civil Service Commission be given funds to take over the administration of the remaining beneficial insurance associations within the Government which have not been absorbed into the Federal employees group life insurance program.

It is my feeling that Congress has a clear and definite responsibility to provide the necessary funds to the Civil Service Commission, and I am very regretful of the fact that the House has acted unfavorably on this proposal.

I hope that legislation which has recently passed the Senate and is pending before this body for the relief of thousands of persons holding beneficial association insurance will be passed prior to the adjournment of this session.

I am enclosing a fact sheet from the War, Navy, Treasury, and Interior Departments Beneficial Associations which I think will be of interest to all:

FACTS SHOWING WHY THE CONGRESS SHOULD NOT IGNORE ITS MANDATE TO SAVE THE INSURANCE OF 95,000 PRESENT, RETIRED, AND SEPARATED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Question: Prior to the passage of the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954, could Federal Government employees secure low-cost group life insurance?

Answer: Yes; but only through associations organized by them within their departments or agencies. Employees joined voluntarily to secure this much-needed protection at low rates because none was provided by the Federal Government.

Question: How long have these employee beneficial associations been operating within the various departments of the Federal Government?

Answer: Some since before the turn of the century, but the majority of more than 25 years.

Question: Have these associations served a real purpose in government?

Answer: Yes; $36.4 million in death, disability, and dismemberment claims have been paid to employees or to their beneficiaries.

Question: Did the Congress recognize the fact that the passage of the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 would impair the growth of these associations and face them with posible extinction?

Answer: Yes. Section 10 of the act was later amended to provide for the assumption of the outstanding insurance of these associations by the Civil Service Commission. Without this, the associations faced ultimate insolvency and loss of the insurance by their members, both active and retired employees of the Government.

Question: At the time the Civil Service Commission and the associations asked the Congress to amend section 10, was the Congress advised as to the ultimate cost of taking over these associations?

Answer: Yes. The testimony before the Congress showed that over a period of more than a quarter of a century the ultimate cost would be approximately $33 million.

Question: Was this sum of $33 million to be paid from general tax receipts?

Answer: No. The Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 provides that the expenses incurred in the administration of the act shall be paid from the employees life insurance fund created by the act.

Question: What constitutes the employees life insurance fund?

Answer: The fund is made up of the employees contribution (two-thirds) and the Government's contribution (one-third) of the present life-insurance premium. It is increased by dividends or premium refunds from the insurance companies underwriting the coverage, and by the assets of the 16 employee beneficial associations which have now been taken over by the Civil Service Commission.

Question: What is the estimated total of the fund at this time?

Answer: Approximately $100 million.

Question: How many employee beneficial associations requested the Civil Service Commission to take them over under section 10 of the act, as amended?

Answer: Twenty-five associations having assets, collectively, approximating $22 million.

Question: How many of these associations have been taken over by the Civil Service Commission under section 10, as amended?

Answer: Sixteen, having assets of approximately $5.5 million.

Question: How many of these associations remain to be taken over?

Answer: Nine, having assets of approximately $16.5 million.

Question: Is it equitable for the Government to take over the life insurance agreements of 16 associations having 52,000 members, and fail to provide the same protection for the remaining 9 associations having 95,000 members?

Answer: No. Certainly, in amending section 10, the Congress did not intend to discriminate against these 95,000 present, retired, and former Government employees as being less deserving than the 52,000 whose insurance has been assumed by the Government.

Question: Did the Civil Service Commission schedule these 9 associations for takeover pursuant to section 10, as amended, and so notify each association?

Answer: Yes. The Civil Service Commission, acting in good faith and under the congressional mandate, scheduled these 9 associations for takeover during the months of June, July, and August, 1956, and so notified each association by letter during the early part of 1956.

Question: Did the Civil Service Commission later notify these 9 associations in writing that they could not be taken over as scheduled and as previously notified?

Answer: Yes, after the Congress failed to authorize the use of sufficient funds for this purpose.

Question: Did the Civil Service Commission give these 9 associations any assurance that they would ask the Congress for authority to use the necessary funds?

Answer: Yes, and expressing confidence that funds would be available to carry out the provisions of the law, the Civil Service Commission directed the associations during the interim to retain all holdings of United States Government obligations and to convert other holdings to cash, including stocks, bonds, mortgages, and savings and loan accounts.

Question: Have these 9 associations suffered monetary loss by complying with this directive?

Answer: Yes. Collectively, they have lost more than $200,000 to date by converting their holdings to cash and by reinvesting in Government bonds at the request of the Civil Service Commission, and this loss is increasing daily.

Question: If the Congress does not permit the Civil Service Commission to take over and administer these 9 associations before August 17, 1957—the deadline fixed by section 10, as amended—what will happen to these associations and to the insurance benefits of their members?

Answer: The ultimate result will be the insolvency of the associations and the loss of insurance benefits by many members and their dependents. These include present employees of the Government, as well as retired and former employees who are not eligible for insurance protection under the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954.

Question: How much insurance is now in force on the 95,000 members of these 9 associations?

Answer: Approximately $140 million.

Question: In the House Appropriations Committee report accompanying the third supplemental bill (H. R. 7221) for fiscal 1957, the committee indicated it would consider a fair and reasonable proposal to assume the insurance policies of retired Federal employees who are members of these 9 associations. Would such legislation be effective?

Answer: No. Section 10 of the act originally made such a provision, but it was found to be unworkable and of doubtful legality because of legal decisions which prevented a division of the assets of these associations among the active, retired and separated employees without a dissolution of the associations. Therefore, Section 10 was amended in 1955 to provide for the taking over of all of the insurance and all of the assets.

Question: Will the taking over of these 25 associations by the Government constitute a double favoritism for a handful of people?

Answer: No. The records indicate that approximately 50 percent of the members of the associations are active Federal employees who pay a higher premium for this insurance and will continue to pay this higher premium under Government administration. Also, this insurance does not reduce at age 65, but remains constant in the majority of cases.

Question: How many members of these 25 associations are now employed by the Federal Government?

Answer: Approximately 50 percent. It is estimated that 20 percent of the total are retired Federal employees and that the remaining 30 percent are now separated from the Federal service after employment by the Government during World War II. These retired and separated employees reside in practically every State in the Union and are not eligible for insurance under the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954.

Question: If the associations should become insolvent, can the members convert their group life insurance to individual policies?

Answer: Yes, but without disability benefits, and few would have the means to pay the premium rate at their attained age.

Question: Why could not these associations continue to operate on a group basis until the last member dies?

Answer: Because in a closed group without younger members being added, the average age becomes higher annually with resulting increase in the average premium for the group. Many members would be forced out and lose their insurance because of their inability to pay this higher premium.

Question: Could these associations bring in new members and maintain a low average age?

Answer: No, because the basic life insurance needs of the employees of the Federal Government are now met by the insurance provided by the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954, at a premium rate which cannot be matched by ordinary insurance.

Question. Are there any nonprofit associations of Federal employees which are not interested in being taken over by the Civil Service Commission?

Answer. Yes; the War Agencies Employees Protective Association and the American Foreign Service Protective Association. These two associations offer large amounts of insurance to members assigned to foreign service or subject to call to foreign service, with the group insurance terminating at age 65. Their plans of insurance include accidental death benefits and dependents' hospitalization insurance coverage that would terminate should the association dissolve.

Question. What will be the ultimate cost to the Employees Life Insurance Fund if the Government takes over and administers the insurance of these nine associations?

Answer. Actuarial projections indicate that over a period of 25 years or more the ultimate cost will be $22 million.

Question. Would this $22 million be paid from general tax receipts?

Answer. No; it would be paid from the Employees Life Insurance Fund.

Question. Have any Federal employee organizations endorsed the taking over of these nine associations under section 10, as amended?

Answer. Yes; a number of employee organizations within the Government have endorsed the taking over of these nine associations, including: AFL–CIO, National Federation of Federal Employees, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

Respectfully submitted:

WAR DEPARTMENT BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION.
NAVY DEPARTMENT BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION.
TREASURY DEPARTMENT BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION.
DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION.

The Hour of Crisis for a Free Asia—and for a Free World—Is at Hand

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, during the thirties many western countries, including our own, made the tragic mistake of trading with enemies, like Hitler and Japan. For every dollar of profit they made, they lost a thousand dollars, and thousands of their finest youths besides. Britain and France lost their empires. Yet many of the same countries seem determined to make the same mistake again—by expanding trade with Communist China—even though the stake now is not relatively puny profits, but sheer survival.

Some are urging the United States to follow these other countries down the primrose path. They talk about commercial benefits that might conceivably be gained; they ignore the political losses that certainly would be sustained. The greatest would be that, as has been warned so many times, no country in Asia would trust us again—and the free countries of Asia would have no choice but to give up their struggle and accept Communist domination.

But if the United States stands firm, such a debacle need not follow. The countries of Asia understand better than we that it is the United States, not England or France, that has power in their part of the world.

Furthermore, they have learned to expect expediency from the European powers; they trust the United States to stand on principle.

So it is we who are on trial. They wait breathlessly to see what the United States Government and our people will do. We must make clear there is no weakening of our resolve to stand resolutely with them in their determined effort to remain free, as long as the Red threat exists.

We have won the first three quarters of the game. The Communists in both Russia and China are unable to conceal their growing internal troubles. I cannot believe we will wobble and weaken in the last quarter—and lose the game.

But the time to make clear our steadfastness is right now. Our Government is under strong pressures from small but powerful groups. The people as a whole must rise and make their wishes known. They know that Communist China is an enemy of everything Americans believe in. They know that we cannot weaken an enemy by making him stronger. They know that no good has yet come from helping Communists.

Just how grave and how urgent are the dangers is brilliantly portrayed in the following sobering article from the Washington Daily News by Fred Sparks of the Scripp-Howard press:

A SILENT CRISIS IN THE FAR EAST

(By Fred Sparks)

Free Asia is in serious danger; the silent crisis is now.

Not from a Red Chinese blow. But from contagious defeatism that might accept the Peiping regime as the undisputed, direct, or indirect master of hundreds of millions of brown and yellow people who ask little, but freedom.

The new crisis has been created not by bullets, but by talk and hesitation. Talk of trade with Red China, talk of neutralizing Formosa. Hesitation to strengthen South Korea, while acknowledging North Korea's build-up.

What is at stake for America is the loss of a vast buffer of proved friendship and, yes, the military service of your son, brother, or friend, his very life.

CONVINCED

As one who has spent more time in the Orient since the end of World War II than in the United States, and is still in touch with developments there, I am convinced our friends in free Asia are demoralized today. Demoralization is the prolog to disintegration.

While we were occupied with spectacular doings in the Middle East—the endless frictions between Arab and Israeli, the Soviet grab for power in the oil deserts—the prestige of Red China, which spoonfeeds its young a "Hate America" diet, has been elevated to new arrogant heights.

What are the fresh fever points? Why does the patient weaken?

TRADE

England, followed by others, eased restrictions set up during the Korean conflict. Merchants from Birmingham and Lille now hasten to the court of the great Red Khan in a manner of bootlickery, order books in hand.

This itself would hardly discourage free Asians. For they have seen England and France compromise in the Orient before.

But the foreigner they depend on is the United States. And—as in the Middle East—we have of necessity moved independently.

Then just the other day President Eisenhower (under terrible pressures) opened wide the possibility of American trade with Communist China.

Consider the free Vietnam soldier, his youth spent fighting communism. Abandoned by France, today he packs an American carbine. Daily he sees an American officer, his regimental adviser. He is told: To the north is your mortal foe; there can be no compromise.

What now if he hears of Detroit peddlers offering wares to this same Communist enemy? Who can distinguish between military and nonmilitary cargo? Cannot a civilian truck transport troops? Cannot a shovel spade a foxhole as well as a garden?

Do you blame this boy if he is puzzled tonight? (I pity the many American military friends I have who today are training Formosans, Koreans, Thailanders, Vietnamese. I can imagine the questions they are being asked.)

In Saigon, in Bangkok the Red underground can make good use of this new trend. They can quietly advise community leaders: "Well, see how it's going? America is shifting. Make the best deal you can—while you can."

KOREA

As every general, admiral and UN observer has stated, Communist North Korea laughs at the agreement forbidding retooling and reinforcing armies present when the truce document ended the killing.

Still, we refuse to send in modern tools. Our infantrymen watching the bleak armistice line are threatened with brutal beating when it should please Peiping again to push south.

You can assume, then, South Korea's declining morale. Seoul is two jeep hours from Communist bunkers. Twice half that country was subjected to the tyranny; thousands of innocents died in bloodletting.

FORMOSA

The unfortunate flash mob madness that sacked our T'ai-pei Embassy has again stirred those who used to label Red China's leaders "agrarian reformers" without territorial hunger.

Important politicians and columnists—whose Asian journeys are limited to occasional plates of won ton soup in Washington's chop suey parlors—now cry for a neutralized, demilitarized Formosa.

A militarized, partisan Formosa is a club of peace. That late giant, Philippine President Ramon Magsaysay, predicted that without the shield of Formosa, communism would chain his own country in 3 years.

By threatening the mainland coast, Formosa borrows time for Hong Kong, a spoil Red China means eventually to have. In the crown colony's tea rooms, Peiping's agents' boast: "Hong Kong can be taken by telephone."

INSIDE RED CHINA

Millions gagged by the absolute state still dream of liberation. Priests hold clandestine prayer meetings like ancient Christians in Roman caves. Well remembered are missionary schools, American friends, western democracy.

Today's "two Chinas" campaign means their slavery will never end. And such talk is precious for the Communist brainwashers.

OVERSEAS CHINESE

There are 13 million in southeast Asia. Energetic, wise, they nearly dominate the finances of a half dozen countries.

So far, we have managed to keep them, at worst, neutral. We have argued against remittances to relatives inside Red China, insisting that every dollar dispatched muscles the Communist war machine.

If Formosa collapses, or if American merchant ships anchor in Shanghai, their resistance would be snipped like a ribbon before a new bridge; they'd be a prefabricated fifth column.

As appeasement mounts, I can recall just a few Asian lives we have influenced:

The brown Cambodian girl who learned the true nature of communism sitting barefoot in an American library, a sturdy structure ringed by paddy-mud huts.

The young Chinese, captured fighting for communism in Korea who, under our influence, refused to go home (sentencing his parents to what penalties). He chose Formosa, tattooed his chest with bitter anti-Mao slogans.

The North Korean professor, a straggle of white beard on his chin, who fled his work, his books, after hearing brave words defying communism, offering hope, on the American Government's radio.

These people are depressed today. The mood is spreading. Can you blame me for being convinced that the silent crisis is now?

Smalltown Editor Has Powerful Voice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most honored and important institutions in this Nation is the smalltown newspaper. From the earliest days of the history of this Republic the smalltown newspaper and the country editor have contributed much to the winning and the development of our liberties. In thousands of small communities throughout the land are dedicated men and women, noting the daily history of their town or village, speaking out freely against injustice, intolerance, and any threat to our way of life. Extolling those sound, old-fashioned virtues upon which this great country was founded and by which we have continued to grow morally and spiritually.

The smalltown editor chooses his profession because it offers him a wide field of service, not because of any hope of obtaining for himself great wealth, for the very operation of these small papers precludes the piling up of material riches. But in his service to his fellow man, in the respect for him in the community, in the day-to-day and week-to-week accomplishment of making this land of ours a better place, in his devotion to freedom and the protection of our liberties, he amasses treasures of great worth.

In the 11th District of Ohio, which I have the privilege and honor to represent, we have an outstanding example of the courageous editor, the crusading writer, the angry man who rails against injustice. He is Chet Lampson, for 61 years editor of the Jefferson Gazette at Jefferson, Ohio. In April, Editor Lampson received a notice from the Internal Revenue Department notifying him that he owed the Government $9 on his income tax. Incensed at both the charge, which he claimed he did not owe, but also at the language used in the notice, Mr. Lampson took up his pen and spoke out against what he considered to be a rank injustice. Probably there were those who smiled at the audacity of this smalltown editor who dared to challenge the strength and majesty of the Federal Government and its entrenched bureaucrats, but Editor Lampson did not hesitate. He wrote editorials for the Gazette, he wrote letters to his Congressman, to the President. The strength of his argument prevailed and not only has his own account been corrected but the Internal Revenue Department has agreed to drop from future notices language which must necessarily be offensive to honest, hard-working citizens.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include Mr. Lampson's open letter to the Members of Congress, giving the facts of the case, the story in the Jefferson Gazette of the victory won by Mr. Lampson, an editorial from the Ashtabula Star-Beacon applauding Mr. Lampson's stand and its importance to all of us, and an additional editorial by Mr. Lampson stressing the necessity of Government bureaus to obey State laws:

CONTEMPT FOR THE GOVERNMENT IS THE NATURAL RESULT OF CONTEMPT SHOWN THE TAXPAYERS—REVENUE OFFICERS VIOLATE STATE AND FEDERAL LAWS—STATEMENT OF INCOME TAX DUE MAY CONSTITUTE BLACKMAIL, IT VIOLATES THE BILL OF RIGHTS

A LETTER TO EACH MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS

DEAR SIR: If you will secure from an income tax agency copies of Statement of Income Tax Due which constitutes the first notice to an alleged delinquent income taxpayer, you will be amazed at its effrontery.

It is beneath the dignity of the United States Government to permit any of its agents to humiliate or frighten taxpayers, delinquent or not, in the agency's initial notice of an alleged delinquency.

The first notice should be as courteous as those used in general business.

The said Statement of Income Tax Due gives absolutely no explanation of why, how, nor what. The statement assumes infallibility by the accounting department, notorious for its delays and errors. The first notice is a preemptory demand for payment within 10 days of the date on the notice. If the alleged delinquent does not send funds which are "received within 10 days of the date of the notice," the alleged delinquent is threatened in the first notice: "Your account will be placed in the hands of an internal revenue collection officer without further notice. Under the law, he may levy on your wages, salary or other income, or seize or sell your property or rights to property to collect this account."

"Your computation of tax has been mathematically verified."

The person who wrote this first notice did not mean "your computation of tax has been mathematically verified." He meant your computation of the tax is incorrect. The agency should in this first statement make a proper claim and allow a reasonable time for the alleged delinquent to accept and pay or question the accuracy of the agency.

INCORRECT BILLINGS MADE

Besides my own case, I know of two local cases in which the taxpayer was threatened with dire punishment if the alleged tax delinquencies were not paid within 10 days of date of the notice. Within 10 days of May 10 is any of the 9 days just prior or any of the 9 days immediately after May 10.

A competent author would have written "prior to the date on this notice."

A Jefferson woman, whose legal exemptions are more than her total income, received one of these insulting demands that she pay a small tax "or else." This citizen cannot be frightened by any illegal claims. The illegal charge distressed her. She denied the claim and refused to make the illegal payment. In the end, the clerk at Cleveland admitted a mistake. The following year (1955) this woman received a demand for about 4 times the tax claimed in 1954. She owed nothing and refused to make the illegal payment. As the agent who made the claim in the first place had no evidence to prove the claim, this second false charge was deleted. I use the word deleted. If there were no proper evidence that the claim was just and the Jefferson woman had been frightened into paying it, where would her blackmail money have gone?

I know of many unjust actions, but find people fear to allow their names to be used.

If you can get the Treasury to order the present illegal "Statement of Income Tax Due" to be dropped and a businesslike system of first notification with reasonable time for the taxpayer to prove his claim, millions of people will have their respect for their own Government restored.

The wording of this Statement of Income Tax Due shows it was written by someone too ignorant to comprehend business courtesy or the rights of citizens to due process of law under the Bill of Rights.

I claim that no Federal officer is privileged to violate a State or Federal law or the Constitution in the course of making a Federal collection.

This Statement of Income Tax Due if mailed violates Federal postal laws. It contains the inference that the delinquent is a criminal. It contains threats of summary punishment unless the account is paid within a limited time. That card may be a libel and actionable.

If the alleged taxpayer be frightened into paying more than he owes by fear of publicity or fear of duress then this notice is blackmail. Out of the 60 million income-tax payers how many have paid sums they did not owe? What becomes of an illegal collection?

The agency claims legal right and power to seize private records, books, and papers, to levy on wages, salary, or other income and to seize or sell property all without a constitutional court order.

Thus, the alleged delinquent is denied the protection of the Bill of Rights and his day in court. He may be the victim of great injustice by his own Government.

No agency of Government should be allowed to insult any citizen, or deny him his constitutional rights or inflict cruel and unusual punishments on a mere assumption that the taxpayer is a willful violator of the income tax law.

CHET LAMPSON,
Editor for 61 years of the Jefferson Gazette, Jefferson, Ohio.

[From the Jefferson (Ohio) Gazette of May 28, 1957]

NEWSPAPER WINS FIGHT WITH REVENUE BUREAU—GOVERNMENT TO DROP OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE ON FEDERAL TAX NOTICES

Late in April, about 90 days after I had paid my income tax for 1956, I received a notice that unless I paid an alleged $9 balance within 10 days of May 6 "your account will be placed in the hands of a revenue collection officer without further notice. Under the law, he may levy on your wages, salary, or other income, or seize, or sell your property or rights to property to collect this account."

There was no explanation of how the amount alleged due had been determined by the Internal Revenue Service. In our 61 years as editor of the Jefferson Gazette, we have never defaulted on any obligation, public or private. To have the Government of the United States insult me, and doubtless thousands of other well-meaning citizens by such a threat, raised my blood pressure. I decided to fight.

Fortunately I knew how to get attention from the top men in the Government. I told some of them the notice I received was beneath the dignity of the United States of America, and that no taxpayer should be sent an insulting notice. There could be a mistake on both sides.

On April 30 the Gazette published an open letter to the President of the United States. We wrote to the Vice President, to Hon. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, to Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE and Hon. DAVID DENNSION (our Congressman), and to Hon. CLARENCE BROWN, whom I have known for many years.

President Eisenhower, or an aid, sent my personal letter to him and the editorial of April 30 to the Internal Revenue Collection Division. I have a letter from Robert L. Jack, Director, so stating.

Three days after the editorial was published here, Hon. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN inserted the same in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at Washington.

Six days after the editorial was printed here, Senator FRANK LAUSCHE wrote stating he would take the editorial and our letter directly to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The secretary for the Vice President wrote a personal letter stating he would present our editorial and letter to Vice President NIXON.

On May 17 we received a very good letter from the First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Fred C. Scribner, Jr. That letter proved immediately that the right man had been reached. We knew then that we had bypassed the bureaucratic minds and were dealing with a capable official.

On Saturday morning, May 25, the Gazette received the following explanatory letter from Hon. Fred C. Scribner, Jr., stating that the offensive card will be banned as fast as possible, and that the statement of income tax due will not contain any offensive language. It will take time to make a complete change.

The Gazette is deeply appreciative of the efforts of each official to whom we appealed.

In my first letter to Mr. Scribner I made the remark that if the language on that card were changed, then my 81 years would not have been lived in vain.

CHET LAMPSON.

DEAR MR. LAMPSON: I have your letter of May 20. Since writing to you on May 17, I have discussed with the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service the printed notice which was sent to you. We are agreed that the language should be revised, and the technical staff is now at work on the revision.

We do wish to point out to you that the statements which appeared on the card which you received were an accurate statement of the rights of the Service. In instances in which the failure to pay the full tax was deliberate, the language was justified. However, in order to keep the number of forms in use at an absolute minimum, the card which was sent to you has been used in all instances in which an initial verification indicated some balance due. I personally agree with you that in most cases the language was too strong for a first notice.

As you can well understand, the revision of the language, the printing of new cards and the distribution of the same throughout the country will take a little time. In the meantime, some taxpayers will continue to receive the cards which are now in use.

You can be assured, however, that, as a result of your action in calling this matter to our attention and of the very thoughtful consideration which has been given to the matter by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, a change will be made in the card at the earliest possible moment. You can rest assured also that you will not have lived in vain, as the card which you called to our attention is to be changed.

Thank you very much for giving us the opportunity to consider this matter.

Very truly yours,

FRED C. SCRIBNER, JR.,
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

[From the Ashtabula Star-Beacon]

GOVERNMENT HEEDS EDITOR'S PROTESTS

The enraged outcry of a smalltown northeastern Ohio editor has been enough to make even the Federal Government take notice.

Chet Lampson, of Jefferson, didn't like to be dunned for a $9 payment due on income taxes. What's more, he was annoyed even more by the harsh language of the dun.

So the bristling Mr. Lampson turned loose both barrels. He went beyond his own Gazette editorial columns. He wrote letters—to officials and to the metropolitan press.

The result has been complete. He has received recognition of his efforts from the top Federal echelon. And, even more important, he has won for all taxpayers a less-demanding tone from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

It appears to be symptomatic of Government service to assume persons guilty of innocent mistakes are hardened criminals and intentional lawbreakers. Obviously the original letter Mr. Lampson received was based on that erroneous assumption.

By striking back, Editor Lampson has impressed these bureaucrats that taxpayers need not be treated like dogs. They do, after all, provide those bureaucrats with their salaries.

[From the Jefferson (Ohio) Gazette of June 7, 1957]

REVENUE MEN MUST OBEY STATE LAWS—AN OPEN LETTER TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, PROTESTING FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS PERPETRATED BY SOME INTERNAL REVENUE OFFICIALS AND AGENTS

Attorney General HERBERT BROWNELL.

GREETINGS: Your correspondent recently protested the discourtesy of the Internal Revenue Division of the United States Treasury in its first Statement of Income Tax Due. I doubt if you ever have seen such a card and realize how crudely it is worded.

It is beneath the dignity of the United States Government to permit any of its agents to humiliate or frighten taxpayers, delinquent or not, in the agency's initial notice of an alleged delinquency.

The first notice should be as courteous as those used in general business.

The said Statement of Income Tax Due gives absolutely no explanation of "why, how, nor what." The statement assumes infallibility by the accounting department, notorious for its delays and errors. The first notice is a peremptory demand for payment within 10 days of the date on the notice. If the alleged delinquent does not send funds which are "received within 10 days of the date of the notice," the alleged delinquent is threatened in the first notice: "Your account will be placed in the hands of an Internal Revenue Collection officer without further notice. Under the law, he may levy on your wages, salary, or other income, or seize or sell your property or rights to property to collect this account."

UNITED STATES TREASURY PROMISES TO CHANGE FIRST STATEMENT

On April 30, 1957, I published in the Jefferson Gazette, which I have edited for nearly 61 years, an open letter of protest to the President of the United States. On May 2, this letter was reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (A3287, courtesy of Hon. MICHAEL KIRWAN).

On May 6, 1957, United States Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE wrote me that he would take the matter up with the Treasurer of the United States.

On May 23, 1957, I received a courteous letter from the First Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Fred C. Scribner, Jr., reading in part as follows:

"I personally agree with you that in most cases the language was too strong for a first notice.

"As you can well understand, the revision of the language, the printing of new cards and the distribution of the same throughout the country will take a little time. In the meantime, some taxpayers will continue to receive the cards which are now in use.

"You can be assured, however, that, as a result of your action in calling this matter to our attention and of the very thoughtful consideration which has been given to the matter by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, a change will be made in the card at the earliest possible moment. You can rest assured also that you will not have lived in vain, as the card which you called to our attention is to be changed."

On June 3, 1957, Mr. Scribner wrote to me stating: "If at any time you have any other matters which you think should be called to our attention, I hope you will write to me about them."

It required only 23 days to get this change beneficial both to the Government and to 60 million income taxpayers.

INFORMAL PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT IN REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES

Under authority of article I in the Bill of Rights, I am petitioning the Government of the United States for a redress of a serious grievance. In doing so, I voice the appeal of thousands of loyal citizens who have been illegally attacked by alleged Internal Revenue officials or agents.

Since there may be no provision in the United States Constitution itself, naming the person or persons who shall represent the Government to receive and consider my petition, I address it to you, Mr. Attorney General. By direct action, we may save a long and expensive gantlet of the various State and Federal courts.

In my letter from the Assistant Treasurer dated May 23, 1957, were the following words, which I deem an effort to defend an untenable position, if we are a nation of free men and women. Mr. Scribner wrote:

"We do wish to point out to you that the statements which appeared on the card which you received were an accurate statement of the rights of the service.

"Proposition No. 1: A Federal officer or agent is amenable to and not immune from prosecution and punishment for any violation within the State itself of a State law.

"Proof: The fourth amendment to the Federal Constitution and the 14th article of the Ohio State Constitution are identical, namely: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and posses-

sions, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated and no warrant shall be issued, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons and things to be seized."

Application: This prohibition in the State of Ohio and the Federal Constitution is violated frequently by Revenue officers and agents.

OHIO COURT DECISIONS

In this informal brief and letter I need not cite in detail the numerous cases in Ohio and elsewhere in support of proposition No. 1. Our Ohio courts have held "that an officer of the law who makes search and seizure in a dwelling or other premises, without a warrant, or with an illegal warrant—is a trespasser, and amenable to an action for such trespass."

Also, "Strong probability that defendants were guilty of offenses charged was insufficient where convictions could not be sustained without giving sanction to procedure violative of rights under constitutional provisions regarding search and seizure."

Also, "No exploratory search or seizure of either persons, houses, or effects can ever be justified without warrant."

Also, "Under a subpena duces tecum the person subpenaed is required to bring with him only such books and files as are particularly described—and a subpena duces tecum purporting to require the person subpenaed to bring with him books and files under his control without particularly describing such books and files, is wholely void."

Also, "Searching of a garage without search warrant and without consent of the owner, is clear infringement upon his constitutional rights, for this section protects not only houses but whatever is regarded as 'place'."

Article I of the Ohio State Constitution grants to its citizens the right "of defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and seeking and obtaining happiness and safety." Can the Federal Government evade and render void that Ohio constitutional provision? It cannot do so constitutionally.

Mr. Attorney General, each of the 48 States, when admitted to the Union, had to have a republican form of government. Each is sovereign in intrastate affairs. Every citizen is first a citizen of the State in which he holds residence. He is a citizen of the United States, not in the first capacity of citizenship, but in a secondary capacity, save in those things and powers delegated by the Constitution to the United States of America. The doctrine of "implied powers" is specifically denied in the Federal Bill of Rights, article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

CONCLUSION

If an officer or agent of the United States Government, acting within the State of Ohio, without prior notice and due process of law levies on the wage, salary, or income, or seizes or sells the property of a citizen of the State and of the United States on the mere assumption that the taxpayer is guilty of willful or neglectful failure to pay an income tax, then such officer or agent of the Federal Government is guilty of a crime. His crime may be a misdemeanor, a felony or both. No Federal officer can legally make any search and seizure in Ohio without a proper search warrant particularly describing the persons or the place, and the property which he expects to search and seize.

A clerk, agent, or collector in the Internal Revenue Division has no constitutional judicial powers. The revenue agent often punishes an alleged delinquent as guilty of evasion of income taxes with no more evidence than what may be a bookkeeping error made by a careless or incompetent clerk in a district Internal Revenue office. Against such error the alleged delinquent is refused his constitutional right to due process of law.

The outraged citizen has no defense whatever under bureaucracy. A bureaucrat doesn't give a whoop about the Federal or the State constitution, nor the laws regulating search and seizure. Such agents acting without due process of law are criminals. They can be and should be prosecuted under State laws as trespassers, thieves or burglars.

Mr. Attorney General, there is a rising and ominous protest all over the United States against the injustice of the Federal income tax and the collectors of the tax. I warn you to listen and act promptly. You have the legal right for you are, first, the representative of the citizens, second, the representative of an administration in the Government of the people.

There is no immunity under the laws of Ohio even to a Federal officer who violates our constitution and laws. Our people will not be pushed around forever.

Will you see to it that Internal Revenue agents, in Ohio, obey the laws of Ohio?

CHET LAMPSON.

Scientists Unable To Clarify Confusion on What To Do About Atomic Testing Because Disagree as to Facts and Because Fundamental Decision Is Political Rather Than Scientific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

SCIENTISTS CANNOT CLARIFY SITUATION

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

American scientists—some of them—are scornful of American politicians. Especially since the creation of the A-bomb these lofty intellects have been complaining of the politicos' failure to produce a coherent foreign policy, one adjusted to the tremendous facts of the world situation.

Instead of obtaining a settlement with the Kremlin, abolishing the use of thermonuclear weapons, raising world living standards and other odd jobs, these poor elected Americans have, it seems, dallied, and talked. They cannot even agree among themselves. Therefore what is needed is scientific politics.

Now, however, Washington politicians are reversing the charges. It appears the greatest scientific minds cannot agree about the possible dangers to mankind of continual tests of thermonuclear weapons—A and H.

How come? Don't all scientists have access to the same basic facts? Are not scientific conclusions open to all honest minds of sufficient capacity?

These certainly are things scientists have long claimed. Yet the fact remains that on what should be a simple matter of fact, the greatest experts disagree.

Over the last few years many scientists, particularly biologists, have been pressing for an end to tests of atomic weapons. Nobel prize biochemist Linus Pauling mobilized no less than 2,000 American scientists to urge our Government to stop testing thermonuclear weapons.

"SPONTANEOUS" MUTATIONS

The argument is simple: Atomic tests loose particles which multiply spontaneous (meaning unaccounted for) biological mutations. Most mutations are harmful—by definition if not by experimental demonstration. Therefore, atomic explosions are harmful and ought to be stopped.

Moreover, all exploding bombs release some strontium 90 which, entering human bones, causes cancers.

It sounds impressive—until one notes that equally famous scientists, possessing the same knowledge, claim the amount of noxious substances so far released, or likely to be released in the near future, is so small as to be insignificant. There is as yet no real danger, these people believe.

Where does this leave a really scientific national policy?

Some have tried to explain the scientists' argument away on the following basis: Biological mutations likely to be caused in the near future will harm only a few thousand individuals.

To the tough group this is fairly unimportant since the number of deformed individuals in any war will number millions. The tender fellows, on the other hand, insist that knowingly adding any more to the inevitable number of the biologically handicapped is a crime.

To which the tough rejoin, in that case the tender should also advocate the abolition of motorcars (at least those with speeds over 35 miles an hour), the abolition of fast military airplanes which are continually cracking up, and all other causes of danger.

To which the tender minded reply no—those things are necessary, but further atomic weapons tests are not.

EXPLANATION OF DISCREPANCY

Here, I submit, lies a plausible explanation of a discrepancy which is putting science and scientists in a very poor light. Apparently leading scientists do agree on approximately what more tests may do.

Where they differ is in their appreciation of the need for trying to maintain thermonuclear supremacy over an enemy.

They differ in their views as to that enemy's readiness to reach a political solution and call the cold war off.

They differ as to the chances of any disarmament agreement which the Kremlin would then observe.

They differ as to the virtues of nonprovocation and pacifism.

Just like the unscientific politicians.

All of which suggests two things: First, our scientists have little or nothing new or constructive to contribute to the formulation of national policy; and second, the contradictory evidence now being presented by learned men to the special congressional Atomic Energy Committee will add little or nothing to the common understanding of the desirability of further thermonuclear tests.

Early Congressional Directories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, on the eighth ultimo, following the unanimously favorable report of the House Committee on the District of Columbia,

there was passed by the House and sent to the Senate for action, H. R. 4874. The reasons in support of such passage are fully set forth in the committee report, House Report No. 303.

Touching the splendid services which have been and are being rendered by the Columbia Historical Society in compiling and preserving for the benefit of the entire country the annals and important historical incidents of the District of Columbia, I have noted with interest an article recently prepared by Mr. Meredith B. Colket, Jr., vice president of the Columbia Historical Society, setting forth in interesting detail the story of the early Directories of Congress. Believing that publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of this highly informative sketch may prove of interest and value to Members of Congress, under leave accorded, I herewith include the same as a part of my remarks:

THE EARLY CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORIES

Very little is known about the embryonic predecessor of the large and regularly published Congressional Directory that is so valuable to every Member of Congress. In 1911 the Superintendent of Documents issued a checklist of Government documents and listed the Congressional Directories then known. He described the early ones as "queer little pamphlets" and identified 5 that were dated 1820 or before. The earliest found was printed in 1809. In 1950 a committee of Congress published a revised Biographical Directory of the American Congress and identified an even earlier pamphlet, printed in 1803. The Library of Congress issued a catalogue card for the latter rarity as follows:

"United States Eighth Congress, first session, 1803–04: Alphabetical list of the Members of the two Houses of Congress. According to States. First session, Eighth Congress. Commencing the 17th of October 1803." ([Washington, 1803] 12 p. 21cm.)

Recently, a dealer in secondhand books offered for sale a leaflet identified as "List of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives with their Places of Abode. n. d." This undated leaflet proved to be of even earlier vintage; for it includes the name of Senator Thomas Sumter, of South Carolina, who took his seat on December 19, 1801, and does not include the name of Representative Seth Hastings, of Massachusetts, who took his seat January 11, 1802. It was evidently printed for the Seventh Congress between these dates, and not long after the Capital of the United States had moved to the District of Columbia. Further investigation reveals that the first directory with the formal title "Congressional Directory" was published in 1811; and that the only known copy of it is in the Columbia Historical Society. At least 26 rather than 5 Congressional Directories were printed by 1820, if we include broadsides printed when Congress met in New York and Philadelphia.

These directories served a practical purpose. It was obviously necessary for every Member of Congress to be able to ascertain the name of each colleague and the place of his residence. The difficulty in locating the places of residence of public figures in the Nation's Capital in the early days is probably best illustrated by a problem that beset young Elbridge Gerry, Jr. One June afternoon in 1813 he arrived in Washington to visit his father, then the Vice President of the United States. The boy wrote in his diary:

"* * * As I was ignorant of the lodgings of my father, who is now at Washington, I alighted at the hotel, having made some vain efforts to find him. I arrived at 6 in the evening, and after tea was informed that he lived in 10 buildings at one end of the town. I commenced my walk in the dark, and having measured more than a mile, I came to the place. Here no father was to be found, and I was directed to his barber to obtain the necessary information. Him I found and was informed that he lived at the other extremity of the city, 2 or 3 miles distant, in 7 instead of 10 buildings. I endeavored to find a hack but none could be had. By this time it was 9 o'clock. I was so provoked at my lost labor, that I was resolved to walk until morning, but what I would find the house. Off I set and at 10, reached the place.

However practical the directories may have been, they apparently were printed in very small numbers, chiefly for congressional use. They appear to have been regarded as ephemera to be thrown out as soon as a particular Congress was over or a new issue was printed.

The early Congressional Directories are virtually the only source of information as to the residences of the Members of Congress because Washington directories were not published until 1822. The Congressional Directories show that most Members in those early days lived in boarding houses. They show where these boarding houses were and who operated them. They enable us to reconstruct a segment of the life of an individual Member of Congress, for we can see what other Members sat at his table. They may even help to explain the "ayes" and "nays" in Congress. From about the time of the War of 1812 on they contain such information as the home post offices of the Members and the names and locations of the Federal buildings and foreign legations in the city. They show that Senator Eaton wasn't the only Member of Congress to lodge at the O'Neill tavern where the famed Peggy O'Neill, the proprietor's daughter, resided. Just after some of the public buildings were burned by the British during the war, the President was described in the appropriate Congressional Directory, as a resident of "The house lately occupied by Colonel Tayloe." This is the Octagon House, now occupied by the American Institute of Architects.

Dr. Samuel Clagett Busey, one of the foremost historians of the District of Columbia, years ago recognized the historical significance of these directories. Although only a few of the early ones were available to him, he was able to piece together a delightful and informative monograph Boarding-House and Hotel Life of Public Men in the City During the First Half of the 19th Century. This was published as a chapter in Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past (Washington, D. C., 1898).

More recently, Dr. Frederick Barnes Tolles, librarian of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa., utilized information from the 1801 list in his biography, George Logan of Philadelphia (New York, 1953). Dr. Tolles identified Senator Logan's boarding house, and reconstructed a brief but interesting account naming Members who sat at the Senator's table.

Little is known about the printers of the earliest Congressional Directories, which bear no imprint. It is quite probable that in the days before there was a Public Printer, a local printer was induced to undertake the printing as a private venture. Certainly it was not until 1848 that official authorization is indicated on the directories. Charles Evans in his American Bibliography attributes two printed in Philadelphia in the late 18th century to John Fenno, perhaps through a comparison of type face. R. C. Weightman is credited by James L. Harrison, editor of the 1950 Biographical Directory of the American Congress, with printing the 1809 directory. The 1814 directory, printed by Rapine and Elliott, is the first directory to bear an imprint. Daniel Rapine alone was the printer in 1816. Peter Force, whose very full directory was actually a directory of the Government in Washington, was a printer in 1820.

Force, who later became Mayor of Washington, is perhaps the best known of these early printers; and the details of his life have been well told by the former curator of the Columbia Historical Society, Newman F. McGirr. We want only to add the following intimate picture of Force's printing shop as described by Representative John Heritage Bryan, of North Carolina. He wrote his wife from Washington on February 28, 1828:

"MY DEAR WIFE: * * * It is such a wearisome drudgery to prepare a speech, to wait with fervish anxiety for an opportunity to deliver it, and then to prepare it for the press, and superintend its publication, that I am almost deterred from undertaking it again shortly; however ambition requires the slaving of its votaries. I was kept up last night til near midnight waiting for the proof sheets. I waited for them with great impatience and then went to the office through the rain to correct them. After all there are several errors.

"I really pity the poor journeymen whom I saw at work at Force's office. (Nat.[ional] J.[ournal].) They were employed in a heated atmosphere setting types. They sit up night after night nearly all night long and sleep in the day—the poor creatures strain their eyes in arranging the small type by a bad light and altogether they look very wan and meager. I almost felt as if I have got among some unearthly beings."

The search made to locate every Congressional Directory that was printed down through the year 1820 took us to many depositories of Americana in the United States. It revealed a number of interesting things. The first directory proved to be published not for the 7th Congress, but for the 1st Congress. The formal title "Congressional Directory" was not used until 1811, during the 12th Congress. There was at least one directory for each Congress; and, from the 12th Congress, one for each session of each Congress.

The frequency of the printings is probably the best direct evidence to suggest that the directories served a practical purpose, since 26 separate imprints were found for the period 1789–1820. The scarcity of these printings is the best evidence that they were treated as ephemera. No library has been found to possess as many as half; and no library of the Federal Government, except for the Library of Congress, has been found to possess one. The Library of Congress, however, has 12 of the 26, the largest holdings for any library; and, the chief of its Rare Book Room, Dr. Frederick Goff, has recently had photostated the ones missing from its collection.

Two Massachusetts libraries, the American Antiquarian Society and the Boston Athenaeum, almost equal the Library of Congress in the number of the early directories owned, a situation that speaks well for the collecting instincts of the New Englanders. No other libraries can boast of possessing as many as a quarter of the directories printed during this period. The Columbia Historical Society is the only library that has a copy of the 1811 directory, the first directory entitled "Congressional Directory."

The following table shows the holdings of each of the depositories found to have one or more of these early directories (1789–1820):

sions, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated and no warrant shall be issued, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons and things to be seized."

Application: This prohibition in the State of Ohio and the Federal Constitution is violated frequently by Revenue officers and agents.

OHIO COURT DECISIONS

In this informal brief and letter I need not cite in detail the numerous cases in Ohio and elsewhere in support of proposition No. 1. Our Ohio courts have held "that an officer of the law who makes search and seizure in a dwelling or other premises, without a warrant, or with an illegal warrant—is a trespasser, and amenable to an action for such trespass."

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Also, "No exploratory search or seizure of either persons, houses, or effects can ever be justified without warrant."

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Article I of the Ohio State Constitution grants to its citizens the right "of defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and seeking and obtaining happiness and safety." Can the Federal Government evade and render void that Ohio constitutional provision? It cannot do so constitutionally.

Mr. Attorney General, each of the 48 States, when admitted to the Union, had to have a republican form of government. Each is sovereign in intrastate affairs. Every citizen is first a citizen of the State in which he holds residence. He is a citizen of the United States, not in the first capacity of citizenship, but in a secondary capacity, save in those things and powers delegated by the Constitution to the United States of America. The doctrine of "implied powers" is specifically denied in the Federal Bill of Rights, article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

CONCLUSION

If an officer or agent of the United States Government, acting within the State of Ohio, without prior notice and due process of law levies on the wage, salary, or income, or seizes or sells the property of a citizen of the State and of the United States on the mere assumption that the taxpayer is guilty of willful or neglectful failure to pay an income tax, then such officer or agent of the Federal Government is guilty of a crime. His crime may be a misdemeanor, a felony or both. No Federal officer can legally make any search and seizure in Ohio without a proper search warrant particularly describing the persons or the place, and the property which he expects to search and seize.

A clerk, agent, or collector in the Internal Revenue Division has no constitutional judicial powers. The revenue agent often punishes an alleged delinquent as guilty of evasion of income taxes with no more evidence than what may be a bookkeeping error made by a careless or incompetent clerk in a district Internal Revenue office. Against such error the alleged delinquent is refused his constitutional right to due process of law.

The outraged citizen has no defense whatever under bureaucracy. A bureaucrat doesn't give a whoop about the Federal or the State constitution, nor the laws regulating search and seizure. Such agents acting without due process of law are criminals. They can be and should be prosecuted under State laws as trespassers, thieves or burglars.

Mr. Attorney General, there is a rising and ominous protest all over the United States against the injustice of the Federal income tax and the collectors of the tax. I warn you to listen and act promptly. You have the legal right for you are, first, the representative of the citizens, second, the representative of an administration in the Government of the people.

There is no immunity under the laws of Ohio even to a Federal officer who violates our constitution and laws. Our people will not be pushed around forever.

Will you see to it that Internal Revenue agents, in Ohio, obey the laws of Ohio?

CHET LAMPSON.

Scientists Unable To Clarify Confusion on What To Do About Atomic Testing Because Disagree as to Facts and Because Fundamental Decision Is Political Rather Than Scientific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

SCIENTISTS CANNOT CLARIFY SITUATION

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

American scientists—some of them—are scornful of American politicians. Especially since the creation of the A-bomb these lofty intellects have been complaining of the politicos' failure to produce a coherent foreign policy, one adjusted to the tremendous facts of the world situation.

Instead of obtaining a settlement with the Kremlin, abolishing the use of thermonuclear weapons, raising world living standards and other odd jobs, these poor elected Americans have, it seems, dallied, and talked. They cannot even agree among themselves. Therefore what is needed is scientific politics.

Now, however, Washington politicians are reversing the charges. It appears the greatest scientific minds cannot agree about the possible dangers to mankind of continual tests of thermonuclear weapons—A and H.

How come? Don't all scientists have access to the same basic facts? Are not scientific conclusions open to all honest minds of sufficient capacity?

These certainly are things scientists have long claimed. Yet the fact remains that on what should be a simple matter of fact, the greatest experts disagree.

Over the last few years many scientists, particularly biologists, have been pressing for an end to tests of atomic weapons. Nobel prize biochemist Linus Pauling mobilized no less than 2,000 American scientists to urge our Government to stop testing thermonuclear weapons.

"SPONTANEOUS" MUTATIONS

The argument is simple: Atomic tests loose particles which multiply spontaneous (meaning unaccounted for) biological mutations. Most mutations are harmful—by definition if not by experimental demonstration. Therefore, atomic explosions are harmful and ought to be stopped.

Moreover, all exploding bombs release some strontium 90 which, entering human bones, causes cancers.

It sounds impressive—until one notes that equally famous scientists, possessing the same knowledge, claim the amount of noxious substances so far released, or likely to be released in the near future, is so small as to be insignificant. There is as yet no real danger, these people believe.

Where does this leave a really scientific national policy?

Some have tried to explain the scientists' argument away on the following basis: Biological mutations likely to be caused in the near future will harm only a few thousand individuals.

To the tough group this is fairly unimportant since the number of deformed individuals in any war will number millions. The tender fellows, on the other hand, insist that knowingly adding any more to the inevitable number of the biologically handicapped is a crime.

To which the tough rejoin, in that case the tender should also advocate the abolition of motorcars (at least those with speeds over 35 miles an hour), the abolition of fast military airplanes which are continually cracking up, and all other causes of danger.

To which the tender minded reply no—those things are necessary, but further atomic weapons tests are not.

EXPLANATION OF DISCREPANCY

Here, I submit, lies a plausible explanation of a discrepancy which is putting science and scientists in a very poor light. Apparently leading scientists do agree on approximately what more tests may do.

Where they differ is in their appreciation of the need for trying to maintain thermonuclear supremacy over an enemy.

They differ in their views as to that enemy's readiness to reach a political solution and call the cold war off.

They differ as to the chances of any disarmament agreement which the Kremlin would then observe.

They differ as to the virtues of nonprovocation and pacifism.

Just like the unscientific politicians.

All of which suggests two things: First, our scientists have little or nothing new or constructive to contribute to the formulation of national policy; and second, the contradictory evidence now being presented by learned men to the special congressional Atomic Energy Committee will add little or nothing to the common understanding of the desirability of further thermonuclear tests.

Early Congressional Directories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, on the eighth ultimo, following the unanimously favorable report of the House Committee on the District of Columbia,

there was passed by the House and sent to the Senate for action, H. R. 4874. The reasons in support of such passage are fully set forth in the committee report, House Report No. 303.

Touching the splendid services which have been and are being rendered by the Columbia Historical Society in compiling and preserving for the benefit of the entire country the annals and important historical incidents of the District of Columbia, I have noted with interest an article recently prepared by Mr. Meredith B. Colket, Jr., vice president of the Columbia Historical Society, setting forth in interesting detail the story of the early Directories of Congress. Believing that publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of this highly informative sketch may prove of interest and value to Members of Congress, under leave accorded, I herewith include the same as a part of my remarks:

THE EARLY CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORIES

Very little is known about the embryonic predecessor of the large and regularly published Congressional Directory that is so valuable to every Member of Congress. In 1911 the Superintendent of Documents issued a checklist of Government documents and listed the Congressional Directories then known. He described the early ones as "queer little pamphlets" and identified 5 that were dated 1820 or before. The earliest found was printed in 1809. In 1950 a committee of Congress published a revised Biographical Directory of the American Congress and identified an even earlier pamphlet, printed in 1803. The Library of Congress issued a catalogue card for the latter rarity as follows:

"United States Eighth Congress, first session, 1803–04: Alphabetical list of the Members of the two Houses of Congress. According to States. First session, Eighth Congress. Commencing the 17th of October 1803." ([Washington, 1803] 12 p. 21cm.)

Recently, a dealer in secondhand books offered for sale a leaflet identified as "List of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives with their Places of Abode. n. d." This undated leaflet proved to be of even earlier vintage; for it includes the name of Senator Thomas Sumter, of South Carolina, who took his seat on December 19, 1801, and does not include the name of Representative Seth Hastings, of Massachusetts, who took his seat January 11, 1802. It was evidently printed for the Seventh Congress between these dates, and not long after the Capital of the United States had moved to the District of Columbia. Further investigation reveals that the first directory with the formal title "Congressional Directory" was published in 1811; and that the only known copy of it is in the Columbia Historical Society. At least 26 rather than 5 Congressional Directories were printed by 1820, if we include broadsides printed when Congress met in New York and Philadelphia.

These directories served a practical purpose. It was obviously necessary for every Member of Congress to be able to ascertain the name of each colleague and the place of his residence. The difficulty in locating the places of residence of public figures in the Nation's Capital in the early days is probably best illustrated by a problem that beset young Elbridge Gerry, Jr. One June afternoon in 1813 he arrived in Washington to visit his father, then the Vice President of the United States. The boy wrote in his diary:

"* * * As I was ignorant of the lodgings of my father, who is now at Washington, I alighted at the hotel, having made some vain efforts to find him. I arrived at 6 in the evening, and after tea was informed that he lived in 10 buildings at one end of the town. I commenced my walk in the dark, and having measured more than a mile, I came to the place. Here no father was to be found, and I was directed to his barber to obtain the necessary information. Him I found and was informed that he lived at the other extremity of the city, 2 or 3 miles distant, in 7 instead of 10 buildings. I endeavored to find a hack but none could be had. By this time it was 9 o'clock. I was so provoked at my lost labor, that I was resolved to walk until morning, but what I would find the house. Off I set and at 10, reached the place.

However practical the directories may have been, they apparently were printed in very small numbers, chiefly for congressional use. They appear to have been regarded as ephemera to be thrown out as soon as a particular Congress was over or a new issue was printed.

The early Congressional Directories are virtually the only source of information as to the residences of the Members of Congress because Washington directories were not published until 1822. The Congressional Directories show that most Members in those early days lived in boarding houses. They show where these boarding houses were and who operated them. They enable us to reconstruct a segment of the life of an individual Member of Congress, for we can see what other Members sat at his table. They may even help to explain the "ayes" and "nays" in Congress. From about the time of the War of 1812 on they contain such information as the home post offices of the Members and the names and locations of the Federal buildings and foreign legations in the city. They show that Senator Eaton wasn't the only Member of Congress to lodge at the O'Neill tavern where the famed Peggy O'Neill, the proprietor's daughter, resided. Just after some of the public buildings were burned by the British during the war, the President was described in the appropriate Congressional Directory, as a resident of "The house lately occupied by Colonel Tayloe." This is the Octagon House, now occupied by the American Institute of Architects.

Dr. Samuel Clagett Busey, one of the foremost historians of the District of Columbia, years ago recognized the historical significance of these directories. Although only a few of the early ones were available to him, he was able to piece together a delightful and informative monograph Boarding-House and Hotel Life of Public Men in the City During the First Half of the 19th Century. This was published as a chapter in Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past (Washington, D. C., 1898).

More recently, Dr. Frederick Barnes Tolles, librarian of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa., utilized information from the 1801 list in his biography, George Logan of Philadelphia (New York, 1953). Dr. Tolles identified Senator Logan's boarding house, and reconstructed a brief but interesting account naming Members who sat at the Senator's table.

Little is known about the printers of the earliest Congressional Directories, which bear no imprint. It is quite probable that in the days before there was a Public Printer, a local printer was induced to undertake the printing as a private venture. Certainly it was not until 1848 that official authorization is indicated on the directories. Charles Evans in his American Bibliography attributes two printed in Philadelphia in the late 18th century to John Fenno, perhaps through a comparison of type face. R. C. Weightman is credited by James L. Harrison, editor of the 1950 Biographical Directory of the American Congress, with printing the 1809 directory. The 1814 directory, printed by Rapine and Elliott, is the first directory to bear an imprint. Daniel Rapine alone was the printer in 1816. Peter Force, whose very full directory was actually a directory of the Government in Washington, was a printer in 1820.

Force, who later became Mayor of Washington, is perhaps the best known of these early printers; and the details of his life have been well told by the former curator of the Columbia Historical Society, Newman F. McGirr. We want only to add the following intimate picture of Force's printing shop as described by Representative John Heritage Bryan, of North Carolina. He wrote his wife from Washington on February 28, 1828:

"MY DEAR WIFE: * * * It is such a wearisome drudgery to prepare a speech, to wait with fervish anxiety for an opportunity to deliver it, and then to prepare it for the press, and superintend its publication, that I am almost deterred from undertaking it again shortly; however ambition requires the slaving of its votaries. I was kept up last night til near midnight waiting for the proof sheets. I waited for them with great impatience and then went to the office through the rain to correct them. After all there are several errors.

"I really pity the poor journeymen whom I saw at work at Force's office. (Nat.[ional] J.[ournal].) They were employed in a heated atmosphere setting types. They sit up night after night nearly all night long and sleep in the day—the poor creatures strain their eyes in arranging the small type by a bad light and altogether they look very wan and meager. I almost felt as if I have got among some unearthly beings."

The search made to locate every Congressional Directory that was printed down through the year 1820 took us to many depositories of Americana in the United States. It revealed a number of interesting things. The first directory proved to be published not for the 7th Congress, but for the 1st Congress. The formal title "Congressional Directory" was not used until 1811, during the 12th Congress. There was at least one directory for each Congress; and, from the 12th Congress, one for each session of each Congress.

The frequency of the printings is probably the best direct evidence to suggest that the directories served a practical purpose, since 26 separate imprints were found for the period 1789–1820. The scarcity of these printings is the best evidence that they were treated as ephemera. No library has been found to possess as many as half; and no library of the Federal Government, except for the Library of Congress, has been found to possess one. The Library of Congress, however, has 12 of the 26, the largest holdings for any library; and, the chief of its Rare Book Room, Dr. Frederick Goff, has recently had photostated the ones missing from its collection.

Two Massachusetts libraries, the American Antiquarian Society and the Boston Athenaeum, almost equal the Library of Congress in the number of the early directories owned, a situation that speaks well for the collecting instincts of the New Englanders. No other libraries can boast of possessing as many as a quarter of the directories printed during this period. The Columbia Historical Society is the only library that has a copy of the 1811 directory, the first directory entitled "Congressional Directory."

The following table shows the holdings of each of the depositories found to have one or more of these early directories (1789–1820):

Symbol of depository	Name of depository	Number of copies
AAS	American Antiquarian Society	11
BA	Boston Athenaeum	10
CHS	Columbia Historical Society	5
CL	William L. Clements Library	2
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania	1
JCB	John Carter Brown Library	4
NYHS	New York Historical Society	1
NYPL	New York Public Library	5
LC	Library of Congress	12
PPL	Philadelphia Public Library	1
V	University of Virginia, Alderman Library	1
W	Western Reserve Historical Society	1
Y	Yale University Library	4

The early directories printed after Congress moved to the District of Columbia (1801–20) are listed below:

SEVENTH CONGRESS

(Double rule.) List of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, with their places of abode. (Short thick-thin rule.) Washington? 1801?

Seven pages, 23 x 14.5 cm. Caption title. Apparently printed between December 19, 1801, when Thomas Sumter (Senator, South Carolina) who is listed, took his seat, and January 11, 1802, when Seth Hastings (Representative, Massachusetts), who is not listed, took his seat. Gives, usually, the name of the proprietor of each boarding house or other residence, a brief identification of the residence, and the surnames of Members residing there. Listed by A. W. Greely, Papers Relating to Early Congressional Documents (56th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 428, serial 3879), page 202, under December 1801. Copies in LC, CHS, CL, and W.

(Long thick-thin rule.) List of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, with their places of abode. (Type ornament.) Washington? 1802?

Eight pages, 17 x 11 cm. Caption title. Apparently printed in 1802 after May, when John Milledge (Representative, Georgia), who is not listed, resigned. Benjamin Tallaferro (Representative, Georgia), who also resigned in 1802, evidently after May, is listed. Copies in AAS, BA, and CL.

EIGHTH CONGRESS

Alphabetical list of the Members of the two Houses of Congress, according to States. (Double rule.) First session, 8th Congress. Commencing the 17th of October 1803. (Double rule.) Washington? 1803?

Twelve pages, 21 x 13 cm. Copies in BA, CHS, LC, and Y. LC card JK 1012.Z5 1803a Rare book collection.

NINTH CONGRESS

A list of the names of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, according to States. (Short thick-thin rule.) Washington? 1805?

Broadside: 40 x 23.5 cm. (printing 36.5 v 18.5 cm.). Includes the name of Thomas Spaulding, Representative, of Georgia, who took his seat December 24, 1805, but does not include the name of Evan S. Alexander, Representative, of North Carolina, who took his seat February 24, 1806. Copy in LC.

TENTH CONGRESS

(Thick-thin rule.) Places of abode of the Members of both Houses of Congress. (Short thick-thin rule.) Washington? 1807?

Twelve pages, 21.5 x 12.5 cm. Caption title. Apparently printed in November 1807 for (Ezekiel) Bacon, Representative, of Massachusetts, who took his seat Novemeber 2, is listed and Elisha Mathewson, Senator, of Rhode Island, who took his seat November 20 is not listed. Copies in LC and Y.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS

(Long thick-thin rule.) Places of abode of the Members of both Houses of Congress. (Short thick-thin rule.) First session of the 11th Congress. (Thick-thin rule.) Washington? 1809?

Fifteen pages, 16.5 x 9.5 cm. Caption title. Gives, usually, the surname of the proprietor of each residence, the street name or other brief identification of the residence; and the names of the Members residing there. Attributed to R. C. Weightman. Copy in CHS, LC.

TWELFTH CONGRESS

Congressional Directory, for 1811–12. Washington? 1811?

Nineteen pages, 15.5 x 8.5 cm. Caption half-title: "Places of abode of the Members of both Houses of Congress." Copy in CHS.

Congressional Directory, for 1812–13. Washington? 1812?

Twenty-six pages, 15.5 x 9.5 cm. Caption half-title: "Places of abode of the Members of both Houses of Congress." Copy in AAS.

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS

Congressional Directory, for 1813. Washington? 1813?

Forty pages, 15 x 9.5 cm. Caption half-title: "Places of abode of the Members of both Houses of Congress." Copies in AAS and PPL.

Congressional Directory for the 2d session of the 13th Congress of the United States. Washington City, printed by Rapine and Elliot, near the Capitol. 1814.

Sixty-three pages, 15.5 x 9.5 cm. Half-title: "Places of abode of the Members of both Houses of Congress, together with their State, county, and post office." Copy in AAS.

Congressional Directory for the 3d session of the 13th Congress of the United States. Washington City, printed by Rapine and Elliott. 1814.

Thirty-six pages, 15.5 x 9.5 cm. Halftitle: "Places of abode in the District of Columbia, of the Members of both Houses of Congress, together with their post office and county." Copies in AAS, CHS, and LC. LC card JK 1012.Z5 1814 Rare bk. coll.

List of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in the 3d session of the 13th Congress, according to States. Washington? 1814?

Broadside: 49.5 x 30.5 cm. Letter press 43 x 25.5 cm. Copy in BA.

FOURTEENTH CONGRESS

Congressional Directory, for the 1st session of the 14th Congress of the United States. (Double rule.) Washington City: Printed by Daniel Rapine. Two short rows of dots.) 1816.

Thirty-one pages, 15.5 x 9.5 cm. Halftitle: (rule) "Places of abode, in the District of Columbia, of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, together with their post office and county." (Rule.) Copies in AAS and BA.

Congressional Directory, for the 2d session of the 14th Congress of the United States. (Thick-thin rule.) Washington City: printed by Daniel Rapine. (Two short rows of dots.) 1816.

Thirty-nine pages, 15.5 x 9.5 cm. Halftitle: (wavy rule) "Places of abode, in the District of Columbia, of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, together with their post office and county." (Wavy rule.) Includes a folding table containing an alphabetical list of the boarding houses, with members in each. Gives also the names of members of standing and select committees, of American ministers in foreign countries, and of foreign ministers in the United States with their places of residence. Copies in BA, NYPL, and LC.

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

Congressional directory, for the 1st session of the 15th Congress of the United States. (Double rule.) Washington City: printed by Daniel Rapine. (Two short rows of dots.) 1817.

Thirty-eight pages, and folding table, 15 x 9 cm. Halftitle: "Places of abode, in the District of Columbia, of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, together with their post office and county." Similar in contents to that of the directory for the 2d session of the 14th Congress. Copies in BA and LC.

Congressional directory for the 2d session of [t]he 15th Congress of the United States. (Double rule.) Washington City. Printed by Daniel Rapine. (Two short rows of dots.) 1818.

Thirty-nine pages and folding table, 14 x 8.5 cm. Half-title: (rule) "Places of abode in the District of Columbia, of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, together with their post office and county." (Rule.) Similar in contents to that of the directory for the 2d session of the 14th Congress. Copies in BA, NYPL, and Y.

SIXTEENTH CONGRESS

Congressional Directory, for the 1st session of the 16th Congress of the United States. (Thick-thin rule.) Washington City, printed by Daniel Rapine. (Two short rows of dots.) 1819.

Forty pages and folding table, 15 x 9.5 cm. Half-title: (ornamental rule) "Places of abode, in the District of Columbia, of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, together with their post office and county." (Ornamental rule.) Similar in contents to that of the directory for the 2d session of the 14th Congress. Copies in BA, LC, NYPL, V.

Congressional Directory for the 2d session of the 16th Congress of the United States. (Vignette.) Washington City, printed by Daniel Rapine (agent). (Two short rows of dots.) 1820.

Forty-seven pages, 15 x 9.5 cm. Half-title: (wavy rule) "Places of abode in the District of Columbia, of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, together with their post office and county." (Wavy rule.) Similar in contents to that of the directory for the 2d session of the 14th Congress. Copies in AAS, BA, LC, NYPL.

A directory for the public offices, the library, offices, and committee rooms, in the Capitol; explained by engravings and floor plans of the several buildings. With the residence of the foreign ministers, &c. to which is added, an alphabetical directory for the Members of Congress (row of dots.) to be published annually. (Double rule.) By Peter Force. (Double rule.) Washington City, printed and published by Davis & Force, printers, book-sellers and stationers, Pennsylvania Avenue 1820.

Twenty pages, 6 1; 17.5 x 10 cm. Includes views and floor plans of public buildings, lists Masonic lodges in the District of Columbia, etc. Copy in LC. LC card JK 1012.F6.

A Painless Plan of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, it becomes daily more evident that our country has more money lying around the world than we have any idea of. Among other moneys are the counterpart funds that could be put to good use.

In the following article by Mr. David Lawrence, appearing in the Washington Star of June 6, an excellent and painless way is shown by which some of our

funds could be used for our foreign-aid program.

The taxpayers are becoming increasingly restive under the continual calls for new money for the program, and Mr. Lawrence's suggestion is both practical and timely.

The article follows:

A PAINLESS PLAN FOR FOREIGN AID—PROCEEDS FROM SALE OF FARM SURPLUS ABROAD PROPOSED AS SOURCE OF FUNDS

(By David Lawrence)

Four billion dollars is not easy to find these days, but this correspondent believes he has located inside the Government itself approximately that sum, and perhaps more, to pay for the mutual-security and foreign-aid program proposed recently by President Eisenhower. It could cut the budget by $4 billion and perhaps more. And nowadays anybody who can come up with a budget cut is supposed to be in tune with the times.

The $4 billion emerge in the form of foreign currencies that today are being used by nations abroad to buy American farm surpluses.

These surpluses consist of wheat and other grains, dairy products, fruits, and almost everything else that the farmer has been able hitherto to dump on the Government of the United States for purchase.

What happens is that, with the authority of the Congress, the farm products are sold overseas and payments by foreign governments are made in foreign currencies. Thus, anything sold to some countries would be in the local equivalent of pounds or francs or lire.

These sums have been given the name "counterpart funds." They usually are spent in the same countries which buy the surpluses. But the United States has troops in some and military installations in other countries, and makes all sorts of purchases locally.

Up to now only 21 percent of the counterpart funds are brought into the Federal budget and show up in the form of appropriations or as receipts when sales are made. The other 79 percent doesn't get into the budget at all, and only small amounts have been spent thus far.

The House of Representatives was told during debate this week that, as a result of farm sales overseas, more than $1 billion now is available in foreign currencies for spending by the United States Government. If the pending legislation is passed, approximately $4 billion worth of surpluses in the United States will be ready for disposal abroad.

Since the legislation was first passed, agreements have been made with 30 countries, covering 87 different disposal programs. Commodities involved in these agreements have cost the Commodity Credit Corporation nearly $3 billion and only $1 billion worth has thus far been exported.

Now there's no reason why the Government shouldn't buy more and more of the agricultural surpluses as they arise and sell them overseas except that the project has to be carefully handled so as to avoid ill feeling in other producing countries which may be deprived of their markets. But the best answer to this is that the world, with its increasing population, is in need of more and not less food. Backward areas are, of course, undernourished and need help.

In a report filed on May 9 by Chairman Cooley of the House Agriculture Committee, it is noted virtually all the foreign-currency funds used thus far have been employed for purchases of strategic materials, military procurement, and economic development, and for the payment of certain obligations of the United States Government abroad.

There is no reason why the same method and formula of payment cannot be applied to other projects and expenses of the United States in foreign countries, thus saving all or much of the money originally put in the budget for mutual security and foreign aid.

There are, of course, certain items that have to be paid for inside the United States, such as military "hardware" used in American bases abroad. But more and more of the foreign-currency fund can be converted into dollars, if necessary, by using barter methods.

The fact remains that Government dollars are being spent today to help American farmers get rid of their surpluses and to keep farm prices up. The farm bloc in Congress, composed of Members of both parties, has put this program through in the past and stands back of it today.

The more surpluses sold, the more money for the foreign aid program. This can easily cover the $4 billion already stipulated in the Federal budget for these items and, if sales of more surpluses of farm products should become necessary, there's plenty in the West and South where the present supply has been produced.

Some will say it's a matter of "bookkeeping." But so are many other items of the budget, and the important thing is to let the public know that foreign aid and mutual security can actually, if Congress wills it so, be obtained merely by selling more farm products overseas and finding ways of utilizing the foreign currencies even if those currencies have to be sold at a discount to get dollars. The accumulation of foreign-currency funds to date is a sizable sum, and more readily can be added. That's one way to save budget money and continue foreign aid at the same time—one of those necessary miracles in times like the present.

The Alger Hiss Book

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE ALGER HISS BOOK

(By Ralph de Toledano, North American Newspaper Alliance)

For years, Alger Hiss's friends have predicted hopefully that some day, some way, the whole truth would be told. Then there would be vindication for Hiss and annihilation for his enemies. Until then, there could only be mutterings of secret disclosures to come which would prove that the former State Department official had never been a Soviet spy.

The announcement by a respectable publisher that he was issuing Hiss's account of the case which shook America and figured in two Presidential campaigns seemed to promise the great revelation.

Those with long memories recalled that in two trials Hiss had come up with no more than a denial of guilt. After the appeals had traveled to the Supreme Court, his lawyers moved for a new trial but confessed in open court that they had not "a shred of evidence" to contravert the earlier decision of judge and jury.

To gild the finality, the FBI quietly turned up a half-dozen witnesses as reserves should the courts seek further corroboration of important aspects of the case.

What wonderful rabbit could Hiss pull out of a hat, they asked, which would refute and rebut the mountains of evidence heard by the courts and believed by the jury?

The new Hiss book, In the Court of Public Opinion (Alfred A. Knopf, New York City), offers that answer. What he pulls out of the hat is even less substantial than Harvey. In the book's 424 pages there is not one new fact or one new theory to explain away the Hiss perjuries concerning Soviet espionage in the 1930's. It is a dreary rehash of fact and conjecture, whose dominant note is "might have been" and "could be," but never was.

No single theory of his innocence covers all the facts of the case. So Hiss jumps from one to the other. A logical reader, totally ignorant of the case, can arrive at only one verdict from the Hiss book: Guilty.

Yet from this mixed stew there emerges one central thesis: The case against him, Hiss argues, was a monstrous frameup engineered by the FBI, Richard M. Nixon, Whittaker Chambers, the Republican Party, and other vicious forces. This vast plot was successful, he asserts, because the American public was "obsessed" by an "unreasoning fear" of communism. (The book has only unkind words for those who oppose communism.)

In the weird and wonderful world he conjures up, everyone except Hiss is a liar and any one except Hiss could have stolen the State Department documents which convicted him: "persons whose identity [Chambers] has never made public * * * officials * * * charwomen * * *messengers * * * someone else * * * Chambers himself."

Not only Chambers, says Hiss, but Hede Massing, Edith Murray, the entire phalanx of Government witnesses, Nathaniel Weyl, all committed perjury. Even the inanimate objects of the case—the documents typed on Hiss's Woodstock machine, the typewriter itself—were forgeries. (Even his own experts never went that far.)

And the late Judge Henry Goddard, criticized during the trial for allowing the Hiss defense to offer psychiatric testimony against Chambers, is pilloried as a prejudiced ogre.

To convince the world that this nightmare of villainy is real, Hiss resorts to a double-edged technique. On the one hand, he ignores as much of the truly compelling evidence as he dares—such as the testimony of Dr. Margaret Nicholson, the Hiss pediatrician in the 1930's, whose office records helped prove that the Hisses and the Chambers were in association long after Alger had sworn that they had forever parted company.

On the other hand, in trying to explain away evidence which is familiar to his court of public opinion, Hiss flatly contradicts his own sworn testimony at least six times—without, of course, letting the reader know what that testimony was. And in addition, he misrepresents the record of the two trials and the congressional hearing on more than 70 occasions.

Some of these misrepresentations are gross, some petty, some childish. For example, he tries to prove that Chambers was wrong when he said that Mrs. Hiss blushes "a fiery red" when she is annoyed or embarrassed. Mrs. Hiss, he states, is never annoyed or embarrassed. The reporters, like myself, who watched her in court saw her in the grip of both emotions—and saw her face turn to a reasonable approximation of "fiery red." He also tries to give the impression that Chambers was again wrong in testifying that Mrs. Hiss is a Quaker, perhaps forgetting that he himself so testified.

But Hiss' distortions and denials, both major and minor, are in a sense unimportant. What assumes significance is the picture which emerges of the man. Once, during the first trial, Hiss arrogantly corrected the grammar of Thomas F. Murphy, the prosecutor. For a second, another face peeked through the diplomatic aplomb. The effect on the jury was instantaneous—and Hiss never tried that gambit again. But in

the book, he could not resist the temptation to show his superiority, and he ostentatiously corrects typographical errors ("didn'tt" for "didn't", etc.) and the punctuation in the hearing record.

The Hiss of this book is pompous and sly in his conviction that what he considers the "boobus Americanus" will never remember the mass of detail which convinced jury and public 7 years ago. He exposes a man of no emotion, no anger, no humanity, nothing beyond a narrow mind which conceives of the law as a dialectical instrument for splitting hairs.

The wealth of feeling, of love and laughter, the sense of pity and terror, the intellectual grasp of our time's plague which made Whittaker Chambers' witness memorable—and convincing—is lacking. The dehydrated style recalls that Hiss has no interest in music, literature, or people—that the only excitement he showed in months of hearing and trial was at the mention of a prothonotory warbler. Even at the moment when the jury brought in its verdict, his only sign of passion was the movement of one thumb against the other.

What comes to mind is the description by atomic spy Klaus Fuchs of the controlled schizophrenia which enabled him to operate as a scientist and a Communist. It explains why Hiss persists in writing as if no one remembered the history of the case (and as if everyone were practicing his willed amnesia), why from the very first pages of the book he pleases to insist that he [never] really denied knowing Whittaker Chambers, why he forgets that as early as 1946 he identified Chambers to the publisher of a great Washington newspaper as that Time magazine editor who called him a Communist.

And it explains why he can argue simultaneously that Chambers' encyclopedic knowledge of the Hiss family was the result of clandestine study—and that Chambers really had no such knowledge at all.

In this context, there is something closely akin to the pathetic about all the subjects and objects which conspired to his downfall—Ford cars, registrations, typewriters, bankbooks, leases, rugs, office records, documents—stubborn artifacts of the case which did not respond to casuistry and lay in wait to make every alibi a trap.

Minutes after his lawyers had informed him that the incriminating typewriter, then the subject of an intensive search, was a Woodstock, Hiss told the FBI helpfully that he thought it was an Underwood. He ignores that little episode, perhaps because it is not known to the general public—but it is an insight into his character.

Even a mustache trapped him. For Hiss has testified and insisted that he had known Chambers for only a period of months in 1935. He had further insisted that the distinguishing characteristic was bad teeth. And then an old passport photo, showing that Chambers had worn a bushy mustache during that period—and that period alone—turned up.

Hiss accepts the passport as valid, accepts the fact that the photo was taken during the period of his admitted friendship with Chambers—and then blandly asserts that Chambers had no mustache. The prosecution contention, logically acceptable to the jury, that Hiss forgot the offending mustache because he continued to see Chambers for almost 3 years after it was shaved off—this Hiss ignores. That Chambers wore a mustache in 1935, Hiss says (and the reasoning escapes the average mind), is proof that Chambers is a liar.

Having divided his mind and defied logic, Hiss believes that he can do the same for the public in whose court he pleads. But his methods—the accumulation of irrelevant or inaccurate detail, the plodding obfuscations, the tactic of proving innocence by boredom—backfire. It is a mechanical performance by a mechanical man. And in the long run it will convince those who still believe in Hiss that their faith is misplaced. As Judge Jerome Frank said when he was asked to appear as a character witness in the first trial: "Mr. Hiss has no character." To Hiss' friends, this may be the great revelation of the book.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Problems in Foreign Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, on June 9 I had the privilege of participating in a broadcast of the program entitled "Face the Nation," and I ask unanimous consent that a transcript of the broadcast be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACE THE NATION

(As broadcast over the CBS Television Network, June 9, 1957, 4 to 4:30 p. m., CBS Radio Network, June 9, 1957, 9:30 to 10 p. m.; guest, the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, United States Senate, Republican of California; moderator, Griffing Bancroft; panel, William H. Lawrence, New York Times; Walter Cronkite, CBS News; James Shepley, Time-Life; producer, Ted Ayers; associate producer, Beryl Denzer)

ANNOUNCER. Senator KNOWLAND, face the Nation. You are about to see the Republican leader of the United States Senate, WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, face the Nation, with questions from veteran correspondents representing the Nation's press: William H. Lawrence, Washington correspondent for the New York Times; Walter Cronkite, of CBS News; and James R. Shepley, chief of the Washington Bureau of Time and Life. And now, substituting for Stuart Novins, the moderator of Face the Nation, from CBS News and Public Affairs, Griffing Bancroft.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator KNOWLAND is a man of many responsibilities. A California newspaper publisher and Member of the United States Senate for 12 years now. He is not only the Republican floor leader, but a member of perhaps the three most important Committees on Capitol Hill—on Appropriations—on Atomic Energy—and on Foreign Relations. So, Senator KNOWLAND, you have to cope not only with budgetary and political wars here at home, but with the cold war overseas as well. So, let's get started with our first question from Mr. Shepley.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Senator KNOWLAND, your colleague, LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, the Democratic leader of the Senate, proposed in a speech last night that following the appearance of Chairman Khrushchev on this program last week, that United States and Russian leaders should have equal time on the opposite radio and TV networks, each and every week of the year. You, as Republican leader of the Senate, endorse this proposal?

Senator KNOWLAND. Well, I thought Senator JOHNSON had made a constructive and interesting proposal. I certainly would think we would want to be sure that the American representative got equal time and was not just limited to being looked at and heard by the Communist hierarchy in the Soviet Union. If he could assure real equal time, that the people of Russia were getting the information, I think it might be helpful.

Mr. CRONKITE. Do you think, Senator KNOWLAND, that in the case of the Khrushchev interview last week on this program, Face the Nation, we should ask for equal time to answer that particular broadcast?

Senator KNOWLAND. Whether we should ask for equal time to answer that particular broadcast, I think it may be a little late to do that now, The time to have done it was perhaps before the broadcast was made, but over a year ago I suggested that at the United Nations, where they get a wide distribution by television and radio of the proceedings, that before the Soviet Union was able to take advantage of the American audience that he and his government should agree that equal time would be given to Ambassador Lodge and the spokesmen of the Western World, along the same general line.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Senator, do you get the impression that there has been any net change in the climate or in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union as a result of events in the last week or 2 weeks?

Senator KNOWLAND. I personally, Mr. Lawrence, do not believe the Soviet Union has changed its long-term objectives. I am concerned that they may be interested for propaganda purposes of talking about a new agreement, but I have no confidence that they will live up to this new agreement if they enter into it, any more than they have the whole string of agreements that they have violated, and it seems to me that what the free governments of the world should do is to insist that they at least live up to some of the agreements they have already made. For instance, the 10 resolutions passed on the Hungary situation have not been abided by, by either the Soviet Union or by the captive government of Kadar in Hungary and apparently, now the Soviet Union are using the smokescreen of some interest in disarmament in order to make the world forget about the atrocities in Hungary.

Mr. LAWRENCE. You brought up this Hungarian revolution and I was interested in Khrushchev's assertion—that is all it was, it was hardly a statement of the fact, but his assertion—that the Russians would be willing to withdraw their troops from the captive—from the countries of Eastern Europe, the satellites—captive countries, if we would withdraw our troops from Europe and he expressed the belief that even if Soviet troops left, that these countries would still remain under the Soviet type of government. You agree with this?

Senator KNOWLAND. I do not agee with Mr. Khrushchev's statement. I do not believe that the Kadar government of Hungary would last a day or week if the Soviet troops were withdrawn.

I do not believe that we should try to get a settlement of the withdrawal from all of Europe or perhaps from all of Eastern Europe at one time. I think a good test of the good faith of Mr. Khrushchev and if he was speaking for the Soviet Government, would be to say, "All right, let's take a test. Hungary is the place. This is the time. The United Nations has passed 10 resolutions. Now comply with those 10 resolutions. Withdraw your forces, let there be free elections. You said that communism is a great success. You had an opportunity to impose communism in Hungary for over 10 years. Now let the world see whether the people in free elections would vote for communism or would not."

It seems to me that we ought to put Mr. Khrushchev on the spot; focus world attention on that issue. He has opened it up for us, and I don't think we ought to let him build a smokescreen now by talking about other agreements when here is a specific case where they can demonstrate whether the people of Hungary really want communism.

Mr. LAWRENCE. In your view, would there be a quid pro quo for this? I mean would we, in return for their withdrawing from Hungary, is there anything that we would do or should do?

Senator KNOWLAND. Personally, I would be willing to agree, provided it met the approval of our allies, to say you have talked about a Baltic neutrality situation. If Norway is willing to work with us on this situation, that Norway would join the neutral bloc of the Baltic states in exchange for your pulling out of Hungary and giving the people of Hungary a chance to determine by free elections whether they want communism. Now here would be a test. It would be a limited test. It would be a quid pro quo and would give a chance to see whether Mr. Khrushchev's appearance was only propaganda which I think it was, or whether he was speaking in good faith for his Government and the world would understand.

Mr. CRONKITE. Senator KNOWLAND, is anything being done to put that suggestion of yours into effect?

Senator KNOWLAND. I have written a letter to the Secretary of State suggesting that that be done.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Senator, would you add that, for the purposes of the test, any other countries, say Poland, for example?

Senator KNOWLAND. I don't think that you can solve all these problems at once. Personally, I think we should always seek to get a withdrawal ultimately of the Soviet forces from Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria, and the other captive nations, but we are not going to do that all at one time, and here is a chance to test out Mr. Khrushchev's alleged offer, and his statement that communism could exist if Soviet troops were withdrawn. I think we could, if he doesn't want to take Hungary as an example, we could offer him the alternative—let him withdraw from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, to live up to the agreements that the Soviet Union signed in 1939. Let them become a part of this so-called Baltic neutral bloc in exchange for Norway becoming a member of the so-called Baltic neutral bloc.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Your proposal of Norway as a quid pro quo for Hungary is very interesting, and I was wondering if you had thought of a quid pro quo later for Poland?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; but if you were taking country by country, if he was willing to test whether the people of these captive nations really liked communism and felt it was a paradise as he visions it, why, then, maybe we could try and say that we would be willing to withdraw our forces from, let us say, Greece, so that we would try country by country and let's see how it works out.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator KNOWLAND, have you had any reply from this letter?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I have not because the letter was just written on Saturday.

Mr. BANCROFT. When did you write the letter?

Senator KNOWLAND. When did you write the letter?

Senator KNOWLAND. Just yesterday.

Mr. CRONKITE. Senator, a moment ago, in discussing disarmament you seemed a little

less optimistic about the sincerity of the Russians in this particular case than do Secretary of State Dulles and Harold Stassen. Do you feel that they are too optimistic?

Senator KNOWLAND. They are more optimistic than I am. I certainly wish them every luck. There is no man in the world today and the people of Russia must understand this, there is no man in the world today more devoted to peace than is President Eisenhower. He will take any honorable steps to try and gain a real peace in the world and try and gain a limitation of armaments, but I think the Government and the people of the United States have a right, in view of the unbroken record of violations of their prior agreements, to insist, as Senator JOHNSON said on yesterday, that there be some ironclad guaranties, some brassbound guaranties, that this is not just going to be some words without any deeds following it up, and I just don't believe that the Soviet Union has any intention of agreeing to an effective system of inspection, and without it, I think we would jeopardize the security of this Nation and perhaps the freedom of the entire free world if we merely took their word without insisting on effective guaranties.

Mr. SHEPLEY. On that point, Senator, what is your understanding of the status of the disarmament talks between Mr. Stassen and the Russian delegate in London?

Senator KNOWLAND. So far as I know there have been preliminary conversations with our allies first, so that they would understand some of the proposals that the Government of the United States has in mind. I have no doubt there have been preliminary discussions with Soviet representatives. I am not in a position to go into any details of it nor do I have any up-to-the-minute latest information.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Is it your understanding that these safeguards and controls of which you have just spoken are, indeed, part and parcel of the new American proposals?

Senator KNOWLAND. I believe that to be the case. I believe that that has been the position of our Government in the past. I have no reason to believe they would change it. I think it would be a very serious mistake to merely take the Soviet word without effective guaranties, and I don't believe that either Democrats or Republicans in or out of the Congress would support a proposal that merely gave us another scrap of paper with the signature of the Soviet Union without some effective guaranties on it.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Well, sir, both the President and Mr. Khrushchev have mentioned a general agreement with the proposition of going on with some initial step, some first thing first without awaiting an entire disarmament package. Do you have any idea what that first initial step might be?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; and I have no particular objection to trying it piecemeal, because we are not going to solve all the problems of the world at one sitting, so to speak, but I do believe that we have a right to expect a fair quid pro quo. Secondly, I think we have a right, based on the undisputed record of Soviet violations of their treaty obligations in the past, to make sure that whatever is agreed to, can be effectively inspected.

Mr. CRONKITE. Senator, if I may change the subject at the moment with the agreement of you gentlemen, most of our competitors for world markets are about to resume trade with Red China. You have been an outstanding spokesman for Nationalist China and for Formosa, for the policies of alliance with them in the past. Do you think that the time might be ripe now for us to review our policies toward Red China trade?

Senator KNOWLAND. I think on all foreign policy, no one can freeze their thinking and you have to, obviously, deal with the facts as they exist and as they change from time to time. Personally, I think it is a mistake under existing world conditions to open up the trade of strategic materials with Communist China.

Now, there is argument sometime as to what strategic materials are, but in the recent British announcement it indicated that locomotives, trucks, perhaps entire rubber industrial plants would be shipped. To me they are strategic and to the British Board of Trade they may not be. I, sometime ago, during the Korean war, I told a British friend of mine that I would be perfectly willing to accept the proscribed list of the British orders-in-council of World Wars I and II if there was any dispute as to what would help an unfriendly country.

Now, we have to keep in mind that Communist China only has a truce in Korea. There is not a peace treaty yet in regard to that country. They have violated the armistice terms in Korea; they have violated the armistice terms in southeast Asia; they are still holding American civilians in Communist prisons in violation of their pledged word at Geneva just a year and a half or 2 years ago; they are still making threats to take over Formosa by force of arms. In these conditions, to build up a potential aggressor in that area of the world, it seems to me to be as imprudent as the businessmen who were willing, for dollars, to ship scrap metal and oil to the war lords of Japan in 1939, in 1940, and early 1941, that came back at us, at our battle fleet at Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7.

I hope those that are pursuing this course don't find that the end result is the same.

Mr. CRONKITE. According to Mr. Lawrence's esteemed publication, in a report today some of your own constituents are urging that course, importers and exporters in the San Francisco area.

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes; some of them dealt in sending scrap iron and oil to the Japanese war lords, too, but I think they have lived to regret it and I think the country learned and lived to understand that that was a shortsighted policy. For temporary profit, this Nation was endangered and a potential enemy was built up so he could make war, drive us out of most of the Pacific, overrun all of China and get down and knock on the doors of Australia.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Senator, I wonder if I could ask you a few questions of a domestic character. You announced some time ago that you would not be a candidate for reelection in 1958.

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes; that announcement still stands and I have no intention of changing it.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, I was about to say that some of my friends in California tell me that your friends, quite a few of them, are urging you to change it.

Senator KNOWLAND. There has been some suggestion, but I have written to them and told them that my decision is going to remain what it was.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, what will be your future political role, if any? Do you have any plan to run for Governor?

Senator KNOWLAND. I have no plans at the present time. As I announced before, when this session is over I intend to return to California, to get over the State from the Oregon line to the Mexican border, a distance of about 1,000 miles to consult with the people of California and following that, I will make a decision.

Mr. LAWRENCE. But you would be—what is the purpose of this survey trip? Get reacquainted with your State?

Senator KNOWLAND. No, I generally get out there after every session to acquaint them with some of the problems here in Washington. It will be partiallly that and partially to have a chance to talk with the people of California regarding 1958.

Mr. LAWRENCE. You are aware, of course, that a great many people are talking about you running for governor?

Senator KNOWLAND. I am aware that California will elect a governor and a United States Senator in 1958, and I think they will elect a Republican governor and a Republican Senator.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Senator, may I pursue that question just a little bit? People also say that the reason you are interested in the governorship is because it would considerably enhance your chances for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. Can you tell us now whether you are interested in the Republican nomination for the Presidency?

Senator KNOWLAND. 1960 is a long ways off and the bridge of 1958 in any event would have to be crossed first. I believe the record of this administration is such that the American people will elect a Republican administration in 1960.

Mr. SHEPLEY. You are not saying that you are not a candidate for the Presidency?

Senator KNOWLAND. No, I am not at this point making any statement in regard to 1960. I have no crystal ball that looks that far in advance.

Mr. CRONKITE. Senator, I don't think you need a crystal ball for this one. In March 1956, you said—that was, of course, during the primary periods before the last election—you said that the party must be unified and greater representation must be given in the campaign, if possible, and afterward certainly, to the Taft wing of the Republican Party. You feel that those conditions have been met?

Senator KNOWLAND. Well, I had reference particularly to the campaign of 1956 at the time. I think that throughout the country, members of all groups in the Republican Party were taken into the campaign organization. I think in the various State organizations they did not discriminate between one Republican and another. Personally, I don't believe in hyphenated Republicanism. I have said before I am a Republican—period. I think the label "Republican" is sufficiently broad that men may have honest differences of opinion and still consider themselves as Republicans without having to hyphenate the term.

Mr. CRONKITE. You mean modern Republicanism?

Senator KNOWLAND. Well, any kind of prefix to a Republican, I don't think is necessary. I think in and of itself it tends to be divisive and anything which divides our party I think is a mistake.

Mr. CRONKITE. You think that the present leadership of the party, under Chairman Meade Alcorn, is giving adequate representation to the so-called Taft wing of the party?

Senator KNOWLAND. I believe so. I have great confidence in Mr. Alcorn. I think he did an outstanding job as chairman of the arrangements committee. Having served on the national committee and on the arrangements committee when I was on the national committee, I think I know something about the problems. His going out to the grassroots has been highly helpful. It has given people a chance to express themselves, and I think Mr. Alcorn is to be commended in the job he is trying to do.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Senator, let's go back if we may to this business of differences of opinion which you mentioned just a moment ago. Now the President made a speech on Friday, this National Republican Conference, in which he said, among other things, that it was the duty of Republican leaders in the Congress and in the party to see to it that the platform pledges of 1956 were enacted into law and that men should not let preference for detail or differences about detail between them and the administration keep them from carrying out these platform

pledges. Now you have often disagreed with the President on vital and important matters.

Senator KNOWLAND. I know of no basic platform pledges upon which I differ materially from the President. As a matter of fact, according to Congressional Quarterly, I stand among the six highest Republicans, percentagewise, in support of the President's program, both domestic and foreign, with the percentage, I think, of 89 percent. There are three others who have that percentage. There are 2 that have 100 percent. But out of that 6, we are the top 6 out of 47. I think that is a pretty good batting average.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, I did not really mean to put that into the personal sense of a quarrel between you and the President, but I was getting at this business of getting the platform enacted into law, and the duty of the leadership to see that it is done. What are the chances of the school-aid program going through this session, the way the President wants it?

Senator KNOWLAND. There are lots of problems connected with the school-aid legislation. In the first place, Democratic leadership has indicated that that will not be taken up until after the civil-rights legislation is disposed of; depending on what happens on the civil-rights legislation, may depend on whether the so-called Powell amendment is offered to the aid-to-education bill. Some people believe that if that was added in the House or in the Senate, that might kill the legislation. There are various alternatives that have been suggested. Some favor, as you know, grants just to the needy States; some want to expand it to grants to States whether they are needy or not, which is far beyond the purview of the President's original recommendation; some believe that the needy States could be amply taken care of without grants, but with a kind of educational RFC funds where needy school districts had difficulty in floating their bonds or floating them at a reasonable interest rate might borrow from the Federal Government to repay the entire amount and have no obligations otherwise to them, at the same interest rate that the Federal Government is able to borrow funds, and this would not get into the difficulties that might follow grants-in-aid where the Federal Government ultimately would want controls.

Mr. CRONKITE. Senator, getting back to more specific political-type questions, if we may. How widespread do you believe the disenchantment is among the conservative Republicans over the Eisenhower budget?

Senator KNOWLAND. I think there has been concern throughout the country. I think the grassroots conferences to which we referred that Mr. Alcorn has had, has indicated that there is a feeling that every effort should be made by the Congress without hurt to our national defense, to reduce the $71.8 billion budget, and personally, I believe the budget should be reduced. I believe the Congress will reduce it by at least $3 billion. I favor them doing that and I think that will be done at this session of Congress, and can be done without harm to our national defense.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator KNOWLAND, on that $3 billion, do you count in that, then $2½ billion out of defense?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I don't believe the ultimate defense budget will have as deep a cut as the House proposed.

Mr. BANCROFT. But you are now supporting virtually all of the foreign aid program, are you not?

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes; I voted to report the foreign aid authorization bill from the Foreign Relations Committee on Friday, and I believe that the bill that has come out has been substantially a good bill. It did cut about $225 million off the original request which I think is modest and I think is supportable. The matter, of course, still goes to the House and then to conference and then the appropriation bills will have to follow.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Senator KNOWLAND, before we finish I would like to return to some of the questions raised by Communist boss Khrushchev last week. One of his major points was that the Soviet Union, the first Communist experiment on the earth, in the period of some 40 years, has been catching up with the world's greatest productive nation, the United States. He made the point that they have been catching up in production of milk and butter which he said they would reach our level, per capita, next year; meat in 1960. Soviet statistics are dubious at best, but we do know that they have created atomic weapons and hydrogen weapons and that they have jet airplanes that can fly across the ocean and reach our own country. I would like to know whether you have given any thought to the general proposition of how we stand in the competition with the Soviet Union and whether we are doing enough to keep our own country ahead of them in the important regards.

Senator KNOWLAND. I think we are ahead of them. I think the free enterprise system and free governments will keep ahead of them and that is one reason why I have opposed giving American financial aid to the nations behind the Iron Curtain. Khrushchev says we are in a great struggle between Marxian socialism and the free world. Now I think we can win that struggle, but I don't think we can win it if we tax the American people to support Communist economic and political systems and that is why I am opposed to taking the taxpayers' money to bolster up Communist systems in nations which are allied under the Warsaw pact where they are under occupation of Soviet forces. We know under the Marshall plan and under the subsequent mutual aid, why have we put these funds in? In our mutual interest. It has been to strengthen the economic systems of free nations of the world. Why? Because that strengthens their political systems. That strengthens their defensive capabilities and I have been for it.

Now, if you take the opposite side of that coin, if we make the people living under communism happy, if we make communism a success, we in turn, strengthen the war-making potential of Communist nations and I am opposed to doing that with the funds of the American people.

Mr. SHEPLEY. Are you satisfied that we are doing enough on our own in the way of educating scientists and in the way of producing for the common enjoyment of our own people, and for the rest of the free world?

Senator KNOWLAND. I think we are doing a great deal. I thing we can do more because I never want to see us get into a secondary position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union or any of the Communist states.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Senator, one quick question. As a Member of Congress, will you try to do anything to stop this loan to Poland which the administration is now negotiating?

Senator KNOWLAND. We can't stop the one that has already been given, but on the Appropriations Committee I think a limitation in the appropriation bill would be effective, and I don't believe as long as they are under Soviet occupation, that American taxpayers should be asked to support Communist political and economic systems.

Mr. BANCROFT. I am afraid that is all the time we have, and Senator KNOWLAND, many thanks for coming here today to Face the Nation, and our thanks also to today's panel of newsmen: William H. Lawrence of the New York Times, Walter Cronkite of CBS News, and James Shepley of Time and Life. This is Griffing Bancroft substituting for Stuart Novins. We invite you to join us again next week for another edition of Face the Nation. Our program today originated in Washington.

Tribute to the Late Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a radio broadcast by me on May 19, 1957, in honor of the late Senator McCarthy.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JENNER

My friends, I should like to talk to you about the Senate of the United States.

On the morning of May 6, the rostrum in the Senate Chamber was banked with flowers, white and a glowing red. The casket in front of the rostrum was covered with the American flag, and a Marine guard stood at attention. The chaplain of the Senate, the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, of the Methodist faith, spoke of Senator Joe McCarthy's great courage in exposing "cunning foes who plot the betrayal of our freedom." The Reverend William J. Ewalt, who married Senator McCarthy just 4 years ago, read the Catholic service of sorrow for the dead, and hope for their triumphant entry into their heavenly home.

I am not going to speak to you about Senator Joe McCarthy's great fight to uncover the secret enemies of our country, nor of the way his life was destroyed by the venomous, vengeful, unremitting attacks of his foes. You know the story.

I wish to speak today about the Senate.

There were 40 Republicans and 37 Democrats present. These men were not present, most of them, for any official act of mourning. They were present as human beings, sorrowing for the tragedy they had witnessed, and in which they had had a part.

All of the Democrats (except the newly elected Members) had voted for the censure resolution. The Democratic Speaker of the House, from Texas, and the Democratic majority leader, from Massachusetts, were also present to pay their respects.

Nearly half of the Republicans who attended had voted for the censure, but they too came as human beings, only too well aware how deep was the suffering now ended.

One Cabinet member, Secretary Summerfield, was also present.

I wish to say to you, my friends, that a terrible breach in the American civil order began to heal on that day. We had come nearer than any of us guessed, to a breakdown in the American genius for political self-control.

Only one who lived through it can imagine the fierce pressure that was brought to bear upon the Members of the Senate 3 years ago, to accept the Communist myth about Joe McCarthy. According to their character assassins, he was violating the traditions of American fair play by asking witnesses questions. He was "helping the Communists" because he did not falter in his efforts. He was accused of all kinds of personal indiscretions, some charges too odious to mention among gentlemen. All of these Communist charges were of course put forward by innocents and secret collaborators who did not bear the brand of their master.

Joe McCarthy has been completely vindicated of all the personal charges hurled against him, especially of the baseless slander that he had not paid the income taxes he owed. But my story today is of how the Senate is freeing itself of the poisonous in-

fluences that beclouded its judgment wherever disguised Communist influence was at work.

The attack on Joe McCarthy was managed at every step like a military campaign, except that the Communists use words, instead of bullets, because words are more deadly.

Fulton Lewis in his broadcast stated what I believe to be true, that most of the Republicans who voted against Senator McCarthy were sorry they had done it, but had been unable to resist the overwhelming pressure. It is important, to the American people, to find out who put that irresistible pressure on the Senate, and why.

The Communist attack on the Senator from Wisconsin was in part an attack on the Senator as an individual, because, like General Patton, he had dared go forward after each contest. He had come so close to the citadels of their power that he must be destroyed.

But the attack on Senator McCarthy was also an attack on the Senate. The Communists knew the friends of Senator McCarthy were loyal. The anti-Communists knew how great was the triumph won by the enemy in the censure vote. The Communists believed they could stir up, in the American Senate, a bitter factional battle, like that which has turned many a parliament in Europe into a milling crowd impotent to serve their country.

During the debate on the censure resolution, I pointed out again and again that the real attack was against the Senate of the United States. I pointed out that the Bolsheviks had a well-established policy of reducing parliamentary processes to impotence. I said the attack was managed by a conspiratorial general staff, and no one man could fight a conspiracy. I pleaded with the other Senators to see the danger, and to join ranks in protecting our Nation.

It was too early, the pressure was too great, for most Members to see.

The censure vote split the Republicans in Congress down the middle. It placed the Democrats as a body in opposition to the Republicans. What a setting for the favorite Communist device of pouring gasoline on the little fires of controversy.

Americans can hardly imagine how fortunate a thing it was for our country that that factional split was avoided. We have to look at the parliaments of Europe from pre-Fascist Italy to present-day France, to know how great was our danger.

Joe McCarthy made no effort to rouse the passions of his followers and make his humiliation into a bitter national battle. No man in American political life ever had so great an opportunity for demagoguery, or refused so gallantly to take advantage of it.

But the split in the Senate was avoided also because of some deep instinct within the membership, to keep our political stability at all costs. The American people are the heirs of 700 years of self-government, that is, of political responsibility. That deep-ingrained sense of political responsibility held us firm while the Communists used their most brilliant leaders, their cleverest strategems, and their most helpful stooges to make the Senate keel over.

Joe McCarthy was a victim of that silent struggle from 1954 to 1957, because he did not realize how many people were coming to see his charges were true. The struggle was with forces too vast and too hidden to be managed normally.

This struggle, within the ranks of the Senate, between the cleverest attempts at subversion of its Members and the deepest national instincts of political stability, was too new in America, too close to political life or death, to be expressed in words. Every nation of Europe, subjected to such pressure, has caved in. Our inner struggle had the dimensions of a fight for preservations of the last stronghold of representative government in the world.

I hope we have won through. Only a few weeks ago, the same forces which like a mighty bellows, turned the disagreements over Joe McCarthy into a consuming flame of hate throughout the country, tried to repeat every one of their murderous strategems to make the Norman case into a similar attack, to split the Senate into factions, and make it impotent to protect our Nation.

This time the Senate was ready. All the blasts the Communists could turn against us, all the lies and smears, were ready to be hurled, if the Senate leaders had shown the slightest indecision. The Senate stood firm.

Our country is still in danger. The American people look to the Members of their Congress to be the watchmen on the city wall, to warn them of attack. I believe the Members of the Senate can now recognize the enemy with a clarity they did not have 3 years ago. I believe that never again will disguised Communists be able to rout the Congress when it must stand fast.

I do not know anything which would bring more happiness to Joe McCarthy than to know his sacrifice has not been in vain, that the watchmen on the wall will stand guard, however dark the night, or however insidious the enemy.

The day when the Senate met to pay the last honors to Senator McCarthy may be the day when our country began its slow and painful upward climb out of the poisonous morass of Communist seduction, to the light of American honor, and dignity, and loyalty of true Americans for one another.

More Dams Needed for Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the great need for more dams for flood control and water conservation is widely understood in my State of Texas, where 7 years of drought have been followed by devastating floods.

Two Texas newspapers, one a great daily and the other an outstanding weekly, have recently offered thoughtful comment regarding this need for more dams.

I ask unanimous consent that the two editorials, published in the Dallas News and the Fredericksburg Standard, respectively, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Fredericksburg Standard of May 29, 1957]

PEDERNALES FLOOD CONTROL STUDY

Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON and Representative HOMER THORNBERRY have announced they will push for a $35,000 appropriation for flood-control study of the Pedernales River.

Under terms of the 1937 Flood Control Act to make studies of the Colorado and its tributaries, the Army Corps of Engineers has authority to make such a study of the Pedernales, agreeing it could be made for $35,000.

The study is one that is definitely needed on the part the Pedernales played in the recent filling to the brim of the lakes on the Colorado, and the damages wrought in the lower reaches of the stream by the high water this year, as well as in 1952.

The dams on the Colorado River have proven their worth as a flood-control measure, but to increase their effectiveness it would seem that a similar project should be undertaken on the tributaries of this great river.

Texas bumper rains, coming on the heels of the worst drought in the memory of many, has illustrated the great value of flood-control projects.

We of Gillespie need look no further than McCullough County where a series of dams have harnessed dry creeks that become turbulent and destructive without the benefit of retention structures in years gone by.

Many other sections of the State where work of this nature has been underway report similar results.

Gillespie County, wisely, has a functioning Water Control and Improvement District, a local political subdivision that could follow-up and cooperate with any agencies planning flood-control work on the Pedernales.

There can be no question but that the greatest challenge facing the people of our county and much of Texas today is water control and improvement, not only to control the floodwaters that are rolling off of our hills today, but to provide the water when there is no such rainfall.

[From the Dallas Morning News of June 6, 1957]

MORE DAMS NEEDED FOR FLOOD CONTROL

Recent floods in Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana would have been much worse except for the dams built in recent decades to hold back the water. If the Government had built the additional dams authorized by Congress but not yet financed, the damage would have been considerably less.

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and others are right in deploring the tendency in some quarters of tagging the Federal program of water control as political pork. The control of navigable streams is vested in the Federal Government, and dams are built only on recommendation of the Army's Corps of Engineers. In most of them, flood control is combined with water conservation.

Recent damage from inundations has shown that even a 7-year drought doesn't end the need for protection against floods. In an area of extremes in weather, such as the Gulf Southwest, there is a continuing need to prepare for what seems most unexpected.

Organization for Trade Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I wrote on June 6, 1957, to the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc. This organization has recently published a research study entitled "The Returns Are In," which provides new evidence of the great importance of our national foreign-trade policy to the success of United States foreign policy. In my letter I have stressed the importance of congressional approval of the Organ-

ization for Trade Cooperation this year. Failure to authorize membership in the OTC would seriously jeopardize the position of the United States as world leader.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am very impressed with the committee's research study, "The Returns Are In" which I have just finished reading. You provide new evidence of the vital importance of our national foreign trade policy to the success of United States foreign policy.

And, as you point out, whether the United States will assume membership in the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation is, right now, solid proof that our country seeks to maintain the economic leadership of the free world. I note that your research study brings this out clearly, as you report that more than 68 percent of the leading foreign newspapers surveyed agree that congressional failure to authorize membership in OTC would seriously compromise United States world leadership.

The overriding importance of positive action on OTC is also spelled out by the fact that 89 percent of the Asian editors in your sample indicate that the Communists have already used our inaction on OTC for a "special line of propaganda" against the United States. I can corroborate this from my own experience. In my trip through the Asian countries early last winter, I again and again found evidence that where our foreign economic policy has an isolationist tinge, the Communists have picked it up as "proof of America's duplicity and inability to do the job."

I know, therefore, by firsthand experience, that trade policy is an all-important factor in the success of our foreign policy. And I am sure that congressional approval of OTC this year is the next indispensable step in making clear to the world that we are determined to maintain our leadership for freedom.

OTC has great importance to the prosperity of our economy as well. By giving the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade a continuing, day-by-day administrative arm, the agreement will become more effective and do more to promote the interests of our American exports. OTC is, therefore, as Secretary of Commerce Weeks has told the Congress, "absolutely essential if United States agriculture, labor and industry are to receive maximum benefits from GATT."

It is important to remember that exports are vitally important to the growth of our prosperity. In 1957 exports should reach the neighborhood of $20 billion. These exports mean prosperity and jobs to the people in my own State. And similarly exports promote the livelihood of people throughout our Nation—roughly 4,500,000 families now being directly dependent on export trade for their incomes.

By backing down on OTC, GATT could suffer seriously, opening the door to the European neutralists and perverting the new common market and discriminating against United States exports.

Down to essentials, then, the question is whether we will have OTC or whether we will revert to obsolescent protection theories of the 1920's.

You can, of course, be sure that I will be in the forefront of those fighting in behalf of the President's recommendation of OTC.

But, to be realistic, I must say that winning the battle on OTC during this session—during the next 8 weeks—is only possible if the Congress feels that the people wish us to keep our world trade initiative.

You have endeavored to demonstrate that everyday people, having no self-serving interest in trade, can be mobilized to build a stronger trade policy—to make our foreign policy more effective and our prosperity more solidly based. Your Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc., has grown in 3 years from a handful in New York to an organization that maintains chapters and affiliates in many of our cities and that has a bipartisan volunteer membership in 36 of our States. You are called now to the field of national responsibility in the grassroots fight for winning United States adherence to OTC.

I am, with all best wishes for your success and assuring you of my cooperation in your objective.

Sincerely,

JACOB K. JAVITS,
United States Senate.

Baccalaureate Address Delivered by President A. Whitney Griswold, of Yale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very remarkable baccalaureate address delivered by President A. Whitney Griswold on Sunday, June 9, at the Yale University commencement exercises.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled * * * with the yoke of bondage." (Galatians 5: 1.)

Every year, as we keep this commencement tradition, we find ourselves in a mood of questioning and stocktaking. This is as true of us who have been responsible for your formal education during your 4 years at Yale as it is of you yourselves. Have those years been worth while? Will they bring us both, students and teachers, mutual satisfaction? Our guiding principle has been the preparation of freemen for life in a free society. Few of us, I venture, would be disposed to doubt the theoretical validity of this principle. Yet the times give us all reason for concern over its practical application.

The principle assumes the existence not only of a particular type of student but also of a particular set of conditions in which he will live and work. We were born free men. But when we speak of a free society, do we not beg the question? By what evidence do we judge the society into which you now graduate to be free? I speak of freedom here not in the terms of Caliban or the noble savage, nor yet the rugged individualist of American fame, but as a modus vivendi that permits us to follow the devices and desires of our own hearts within Christian limits, that gives scope for the decent impulses of individuals and makes it possible for free men to function as such. If these conditions do not exist, or if their existence is doomed, of what avail our principle of education?

The outlook is not encouraging. Quite apart from the clinical study of radioactive fallout now in progress, which reduces us all to motes in the scientists' beam, and the cold war that generates such lethal heat, this is the age of organization. The cold war, with its emphasis upon national security; national security with its emphasis upon nuclear weapons; nuclear weapons with their emphasis upon methods of production that isolate and regiment the producers like the votaries of some secret religious cult—all this, and the fear of Armageddon that inspires it, impels us to organize to a degree heretofore undreamed of in this land of the free. But these lurid, latter-day phenomena are only the latest—one dare not say the last—projection of a trend that began more than a hundred years ago. This was the reorganization of our economic life caused by the industrial revolution. The strategic organization now enjoined upon the country by the cold war merely caps the climax in the history of the great corporations, labor unions, agricultural producers' and marketers' associations, and the myriad groups of similar nature, most of them with governmental shadows or counterparts, that characterize our economic society. By economic society I mean our human society in its working hours. Nor has our passion for organization spent itself in the economic sphere. Every thought and action, indeed every feeling of which we are capable as human beings has found an organization of some sort purporting to strengthen and improve it by the process of division.

The prospect is enough to give pause to any man educated in the tradition of individual freedom. The whole purpose of such education is to awaken and develop the individual to the full limit of his intellectual and moral powers so that he may exercise these to his own greater happiness and the greater benefit of his fellow men. The major premise of this educational philosophy, as of the Christian religion and the democratic political philosophy of which it is a part, is that wisdom and virtue must be cultivated in individuals before they can be communicated to society; that man's progress as a race is governed by his progress as an individual. Centuries of experience confirm the rightness of this premise. The very origins of the industrial revolution, in individual scientific discoveries, attest to it, as do all the great works of art, music, literature, philosophy, and religion, the hallmarks of what we please to call western civilization. Could Hamlet have been written by a committee, or the Mona Lisa painted by a club? Could the New Testament have been composed as a conference report? Creative ideas do not spring from groups. They spring from individuals. The divine spark leaps from the finger of God to the finger of Adam, whether it takes ultimate shape in a law of physics or a law of the land, a poem or a policy, a sonata or a mechanical computer. Groups may exploit, change, in some cases even improve upon this creative essence; without it they would have nothing to do.

But if the individual's exercise of his creative powers is to be systematically curtailed we may ask ourselves, Why bother to cultivate them in the first place? If his success and happiness is to depend upon organizational procedures and techniques, why not substitute these for the contemplation of the good, the beautiful, and the true? This is a conclusion to which numbers of educational institutions appear to have come and toward which the tide sets strongly throughout our schools and colleges. Shall we float with it or resist it? I hope we shall resist it. I hope you will resist it. And I shall endeavor to give you a few solid reasons for doing so in addition to my hopes.

First, let me assure you that it can be resisted. Yale proves that it can by its educational philosophy as do other institutions that share that philosophy. The graduates of Yale prove it by their extraordinary competence and versatility in the very circumstances that incline others in the opposite educational direction. Not least conspicuous in this respect is the record of those graduates in the Armed Forces and their prominence in the arts and in public affairs.

This is not the first time in our history that forms of organization have given pause

to the champions of individual freedom, nor is it likely to be the last. Surely the creation of a National Government presented our ancestors with no less formidable a problem of organization than the one with which we have to contend today. They were passionately dedicated to individual liberty. At the same time they realized that so vast and diversified a country could not hope to govern itself by a congeries of Greek city-states or New England town meetings, to say nothing of the romantic notions of Rousseau. Their major premise was the freedom of the individual. Their minor premise was the need for organization. Their conclusion was the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. They accepted the need of organization and devised a form appropriate to the need. They then infused that form with respect and protection for individual freedom and initiative.

This is exactly what we must do in our time and circumstances, and the fact that it could have been done so effectively nearly two centuries ago should give us courage to believe we can do it. We can do it, as we can do most things, once we clearly define the problem and address ourselves to its solution with whole minds and hearts. We have heard much talk of political subversion of our form of government of recent date. I cannot help but feel that it stands in greater danger of cultural submersion—that the tide of organization in our private life may engulf the last surviving instinct to preserve the safeguards of individual freedom in our public life. How can we make all this organization serve us instead of our serving it? That is our problem.

We might as well accept it as a fact that our present mode of living, with its intricate technical aspects, requires a correspondingly intricate nexus of organization. It would be foolish to talk of turning this clock back or of slowing its pendulum to the tempo of Walden Pond. It is equally foolish to consider this organization exempt from the same fundamental principles of individual freedom as are written into the Constitution. Corporations and labor unions have conferred great benefits upon their employees and members as well as upon the general public. But if power becomes too concentrated in a corporation or a union and its members are coerced into submission; or if either assumes and selfishly exploits a monopolistic position regardless of the public interest, the public safeguards of individual freedom are weakened by analogy, often by direct influence. Tyranny is tyranny, no matter who practices it; corruption is corruption. If citizens get used to these things and condone them in their private affairs they school themselves to accept and condone them in their public affairs.

But it is not so much these more flagrant (and less frequent) transgressions as it is the everyday organizational way of life that threatens individual freedom. For the obvious transgressions there are obvious remedies at law. But what shall we say about the endless, sterile, stultifying conferences held in substitution, or in the desperate hope of substitution, for individual inventiveness; the public opinion polls whose vogue threatens even our moral and esthetic values with the pernicious doctrine that the customer is always right; the unctuous public relations counsels that rob us of both our courage and our convictions? This continuous, daily deferral of opinion and judgment to someone else becomes a habit. The undeveloped negative remains a negative. It conjures a nightmare picture of a whole nation of yes-men, of hitchhikers, eavesdroppers, and Peeping Toms, tiptoeing backward offstage with their fingers to their lips—this, the nation whose prophets once cried "Trust thyself."

We profess dismay at the number of our acquaintances swallowing tranquilizers and rushing off to psychiatrists to make up their minds for them. These are symptoms of a loss of self-respect by people who cannot respect what they do not know. They do not know themselves because they spend so much of their time listening to somebody else. "I desire so to conduct the affairs of this administration," said Lincoln, "that if at the end, when I come to lay down the reins of power, I have lost every other friend on earth, I shall at least have one friend left, and that friend shall be deep down inside of me." It is because so many of us have not discovered this friend that we go looking for others and turn to sedatives or psychiatry for consolation when we fail to find them. This is part of the price excessive organization has exacted from us.

We can ill afford to pay it. A people that loses its self-respect is easily demoralized. Amongst such a people, everything is for sale including themselves. Art, science, politics all suffer from the basic lack of individual integrity. Here is reason enough for you gentlemen to keep the faith with your university and its philosophy of education. The welfare of your country depends upon it. Its cultural progress depends upon it. Its military security depends upon it, as tomorrow's technology is the fruit of today's scientific discovery. The creative power of the individual is more sorely needed today than ever before. This alone can save us from collective sterility. This alone can supply the great factory of America with designs worth producing.

Nor shall we recover our self-respect by chasing after it in crowds. Self-respect cannot be hunted. It cannot be purchased. It is never for sale. It cannot be fabricated out of public relations. It comes to us when we are alone, in quiet moments, in quiet places, when we suddenly realize that, knowing the good, we have done it; knowing the beautiful, we have served it; knowing the truth, we have spoken it.

Gentlemen of the graduating class, the society into which you now graduate is not as free as the one which produced the principles by which you have been educated. Bit by bit we have exchanged our freedom—voluntarily, for the most part, involuntarily to some extent—for security, for productive efficiency, for creature comforts. But far from discounting the value of those educational principles, this puts them at a premium. Again and again in all kinds of occupations individuals educated in accordance with those principles continue to prove their effectiveness in our society, even in the innermost sanctums and strongholds of organization. Civilization can lose just so much of its freedom without losing all of it. The presence of individuals educated in these principles, who cleave to them and live according to them, is sorely needed to prevent such a catastrophe, to hold the balance between freedom and organization, to insure the continuity of the creative process without which organization is futile.

My moral, then, is plain and my charge to you is simple: To do good you must first know good; to serve beauty you must first know beauty; to speak the truth you must first know the truth. You must know these things yourselves, be able to recognize them by yourselves, be able to describe, explain, and communicate them by yourselves, and wish to do so, when no one else is present to prompt you or bargain with you. This knowledge has been the purpose of your education. Hold true to that purpose. No price, no mess of pottage, can equal its value to your country and yourselves.

Status of Forces Treaties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me on the status-of-forces treaties.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATUS-OF-FORCES TREATIES

(Statement by Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER)

The explosive issue of what legal jurisdiction our servicemen will be subjected to, if charged with crime in foreign countries, has now erupted into dangerous international crises, in Japan, Free China, and Korea.

This problem has been seething, below the surface, for several years. Just a year ago I appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to ask them to hold hearings on a resolution of mine, and a similar resolution by Senator McCarthy, on this issue.

My resolution called on the executive to invoke the clauses in the Status of Forces Treaty, which permitted our Government to revise article 7 of the treaty or to abrogate it in proper diplomatic form.

The case of Army Sp3c. William S. Girard is the most important indication of where we are going.

This American serviceman was engaged in practice firing, on the firing range. Japanese citizens had been warned to stay off the firing range because it was dangerous.

There was no personal quarrel between the American soldier and the Japanese citizen. He was involved in no rowdyism, criminal act, or personal hostility. He was engaged in duties connected with a clearly military action.

Under the treaty the American Government and the host government have concurrent jurisdiction over offenses arising in connection with military duties or military property, with primary jurisdiction resting with us. The recent argument that in the pauses to rest between firing rounds, Private Girard lost his role in a military operation, and was engaged in leisure-time activities is pure nonsense. To surrender jurisdiction over him is a pure political surrender. Someone was able to overrule the Secretary of Defense, who quite properly wished to give our fighting men full confidence that our Government stood with them.

Someone was willing to make an American soldier a pawn in moves on the international chessboard, however disastrously it would affect the morale of our fighting men.

The absurdity of this decision is highlighted by the State Department's equally absurd position, in reverse, in Free China. Here the soldier was clearly not engaged in military activities. We knew the Chinese Government had fought for a hundred years against arbitrary and unjust imposition of extraterritorial rights by foreign governments engaged only in trade. But we ignored the obligation to treat the Chinese as fairly as our other allies.

In a brief presented a year ago to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I summarized the judicial decisions dealing with this issue.

There is a long record of decisions going back to Chief Justice Marshall emphasizing the main point at issue—the troops of a friendly power visiting foreign countries, partake of the nature of the sovereignty, and are treated in law like a visiting sovereign. The same principle explains the legal immunity granted to diplomats by every law-abiding nation.

The enormity of the status-of-forces treaties is this. The State Department gave up the sovereign rights of this country, and the dignity of our soldiers as part of our national sovereignty, but they did not see any reason for giving up the immunity granted our diplomats.

Let me point out another aspect of this treaty which will rise to plague us someday. The Status of Forces treaties surrender American jurisdiction not only over our fighting men, but over their wives and children. They also surrender jurisdiction over what is lightly called civilian components of our Armed Forces. How many civilians are today subject to trial and imprisonment in a foreign country, perhaps for nothing more serious than reacting to Communist attempts to start street fighting? How many Americans might suddenly find themselves abroad and subject to a foreign court in the event of an emergency?

All Americans regret the deaths of any citizens of other countries as a result of any act of our fighting men. We know that large numbers of visiting troops always create problems. That is normal among all nationalities. We understand the desire of other nations to retain all the marks of full sovereignty. I am sure they will try to do their best to give our men a fair trial. But we cannot ask our young men to serve their country in foreign lands, and then take from them the protection of our Constitution.

It involves no diplomatic problem whatever for the State Department to open negotiations for a change in these treaties, to give American fighting men and their wives and children the protection of American laws. The procedure for reopening this question was put into the treaty as a safeguard for all nations. As I said a year ago, if Americans are willing to surrender their Constitution they certainly should not begin with our fighting men.

The United States Information Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently I received from Buford Boone, publisher of the Tuscaloosa, Ala., News, a letter regarding foreign aid. He enclosed an editorial which had appeared on April 23 in the Tuscaloosa News.

What Mr. Boone has said to me in this letter and what he has said to his readers in the editorial is based upon what he has seen in the extensive travels he has made throughout some 35 countries of the world.

Both this letter and his editorial impressed me as being quite realistic. I commend them for the most careful reading.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter and editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TUSCALOOSA NEWS,
Tuscaloosa, Ala., April 27, 1957.

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOHN: I am concerned over the current inclination in Congress to make drastic cuts in all appropriations dealing with our assistance activities in other countries.

I think the money we spend overseas should be used well, but generally I believe it has been. I am perfectly aware of the fact that pressures on this issue come from those of us at home who pay the bills and that no such counterpressures can be or will be coming from overseas nations we are helping.

In such a situation, an unusual degree of perception and courage is required by our Senators and Representatives in Congress. I hope you and your colleagues will be most cautious in considering this important matter.

I have traveled a good bit in the last few years. I have visited United States representatives in approximately 35 foreign nations, and have listened to some extremely fine briefings in every one of these places, nearly always from personnel interested in their jobs and probably doing generally good ones.

I was in Iran in 1952. I left knowing that something drastic was going to happen there. It did, as we all know, but the Communists did not get control of this strategic country. I was back there last month and I was profoundly impressed by the improvements that have taken place in the last 5 years. I believe much of this progress is attributable to technical assistance and other help we have been able to give. No one knows whether the Communists would now be in control of Iran if we had not spent any money there, but I, for one, believe they would be.

As you know, the existence of the free world as we know it may actually be determined by what happens in some country like South Vietnam, Burma, or Pakistan, which I have also visited along with other press people who were really working to dig in and get as much information as possible. If we shortchange our servants who are working there, by failing to give them adequate financial support and ample help, we are only hurting ourselves.

Some of the illustrations that have been used as horrible examples of waste disgust me. These tales are laid before people who apply American standards and American conditions with the mistaken idea that such standards and conditions exist overseas. I have in mind particularly some of the recent criticism of USIA which in my judgment is doing generally a good job.

I am enclosing an editorial carried in this newspaper a day or two ago. The purpose of this letter is to ask you to do some real thinking on this matter and not be stampeded into taking action in a most important field of foreign service activity which could in the long run seriously jeopardize our national security.

I do have the impression from my travels that the USIA needs more authority, less supervision from Washington in terms of approving releases and other routine matters, and that greater weight should be given by nonprofessional supervisory personnel to the recommendations and viewpoints of professional personnel. In the use of these terms, I am referring to persons with extensive specific experience in newspapers and/or public relations work as contrasted with those who have no such background.

As you know, I do not write a lot of letters on such matters and this one comes to you with the hope that it will be helpful.

Sincerely,

BUFORD BOONE.

[From the Tuscaloosa News of April 23, 1957]

THE WORST KIND OF ECONOMY

President Eisenhower, we believe, has correctly summarized the unfortunate action of the House of Representatives in making a cut of 26 percent in appropriations for the United States Information Agency. He called it the worst kind of economy.

The Chief Executive's comment came after the House had approved a new budget for the USIA that was $37,900,000 less than the President had requested and $6,900,000 below appropriations for the current fiscal year. The reduced amount is to be used during the year beginning next July 1.

The issue, already carried to congressional leaders by Eisenhower, still is to come before the Senate, where we hope consideration will be given to the importance of the work involved and the amount required for an adequate job will be insisted upon.

In our judgment, it is penny wise and pound foolish for Members of Congress to run wild in slashing funds for overseas work of the United States just at a time when this Nation finds itself with its greatest responsibilities in history.

We have helped ease Britain and France out of the Near East, making for ourselves a complicated situation requiring constant attention and all the effort we can possibly make to sell the idea that the United States has no aggressive designs toward any people or toward anyone else's land.

In Asia, several young nations, pitifully weak, are struggling to keep the ship of state underway. We are properly committed to a policy of trying to help these new countries get on their feet and to establish stable governments operated by a free people. The Communists are waiting, meanwhile doing what they can to create confusion and to subvert. It is absolutely necessary for the information service of our government to have full backing and financing to disseminate correct information and interpretation of our aims and efforts.

If we relax our efforts—and we say the work of USIA is a most important part of what we are doing—we run the risk of contributing to a complete breakdown in the Near East which could result in a bitter outbreak of armed conflict and possibly the start of a world war. For our commitments are heavy. And it's even hard to say which side we'd support—since both Arabs and Israelis hold our promises—if shooting should start seriously.

In southeast Asia we have been making significant contributions to the struggles of nations like South Vietnam and Burma. In south Vietnam, with the local government enthusiastically doing all it can to fight communism, our information service has done such a fine job that the Communists to the north are mostly on the defensive with their propaganda.

Yet money spent for one information officer to serve in Saigon, the capital of south Vietman, has been highlighted as an example of waste in the hearings before Congress. The amount involved was big, by stateside standards. But what the Members of Congress and the people who cheer the criticism of such expenditures do not realize is that everything done in a difficult hardship post like that in Saigon is expensive.

But the least understood is the hardship feature. Men who go there to serve this Government put their health, and their families' health on the line. Did the congressional investigators learn, for example, that the last two Ambassadors to Saigon were taken out as stretcher cases after their health had failed due to the difficult conditions under which they had to live and work? And did they know that one of these men died not so long after returning to the United States?

In this part of the world malaria is an ever-present danger. Fevers of unknown origin cause debility. Intestinal upsets and disorders are chronic problems, with some

getting accustomed to bacteria, for which tolerances are not strong in the United States, quicker than others.

Yet, in Saigon a USIA officer, having done an outstanding job and being transferred to Washington as an advancement and a promotion, asked that his transfer be canceled. His only reason was that he believed so strongly in what he was doing, and he could see so clearly the success being made in blocking Communist encroachments, that he wanted to stick with the job under hazardous conditions.

Another USIA officer went to a post in the Orient in January. His wife became ill from a tropical virus shortly after they arrived. For 3 or 4 days it was feared that she would die. As of now, the infection has been arrested (still not stopped) and she is taking medication for intense pain. The illness has just about wiped out the family's savings.

Such stories are manifold. There was the recent case in Iran of two Americans (not in the information service, but in another branch of our own foreign assistance program) who were murdered by desert bandits.

It's easy to underestimate the gravity and the persistency of the cold war, for most of the front lines are a long way from Washington. But we are heavily committed. And undercutting of our own forces and our own people by refusing them proper financial support not only, as the President said, is "the worst kind of economy," but it also is dangerous in terms of our future security from further Communist encroachments.

Address by Hon. Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, at Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on Friday, June 7, at the commencement exercises of Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla., my colleague, the distinguished junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], received an honorary degree and delivered the address of the occasion. I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY SENATOR CASE OF NEW JERSEY ON THE OCCASION OF RECEIPT OF AN HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS AT THE ROLLINS COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, WINTER PARK, FLA., JUNE 7, 1957

One of the great issues of our time is posed by the development of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of truly awful capacity. We have created forces capable of destroying all living things. We cannot allow a situation to arise, or circumstances to develop, in which we are at the mercy of such forces instead of in command of them. We can, and we must, keep them under conscious control.

This means first of all, I believe, that we cannot afford to rely wholly, or almost wholly, on the threat of unlimited nuclear retaliation for the defense of ourselves or the free world. Either we keep ourselves prepared to fight little as well as big wars, and in various parts of the world, or we may face a choice between slow strangulation by gradual Communist encroachment and unleashing an allout thermonuclear catastrophe. And it is generally agreed that in such catastrophe the chances of our survival would be negligible.

In the second place, it confronts us with the question, no less difficult but equally of essential importance—Is there no way in which we can put an end to the sterile and sensely competition in weapons of total destruction?

Deep concern as to the possible hazards to our own and to future generations from radioactive fallout has been expressed by responsible scientists in the current hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. They are not agreed as to the degree of danger, but to us as laymen the importance of their testimony is the added urgency it gives to efforts to limit nuclear competition.

There are other considerations which impel attention. There are now three nations which have demonstrated their capacity to produce thermonuclear weapons. Surely no one will welcome the entry of other nations into this field. Nuclear weapons in many hands could not help but create new tensions and dangers. But, in the absence of some limitation internationally agreed to, is it realistic to expect that other nations will not proceed with nuclear weapon development on their own?

Ignoring the recent series of Soviet tests, Communist propaganda has stepped up its efforts to excite fear and apprehension among the people of the world. We can recognize the propaganda for what it is. But this does not, cannot, justify failure on our part to search out every path that offers promise of lessening world tensions and lightening the dark cloud of potential catastrophe that now hangs over the world.

As the President put it at a press conference a few weeks ago:

"It seems to me that the more any intelligent man thinks about the possibilities of war today, the more he should understand you have got to work on this business of disarmament. * * * I think our first concern should be making certain we are not ourselves being recalcitrant, we are not being picayunish about the thing. We ought to have an open mind and make it possible for others, if they are reasonable, logical men, to meet us half way so we can make these agreements.

"Now, on the other hand, any nation that is facing a government which has a history of breaking treaties, and so on, that we have encountered in our dealings with the Soviets over these past years, we have to be especially careful of the inspection systems, systems in which we can have confidence. We must, at the same time, though, keep our minds open and keep exploring every field, every facet of this whole great field, to see if something can't be done. It just has to be done in the interest of the United States."

And that is what the United States is doing in the disarmament talks now going on in London.

The very fact that serious negotiations are taking place provides some ground for hope that the unhappy impasse in which we have been living for some years now may finally be broken.

Let me emphasize I am not suggesting we can or should expect full blown disarmament. Practical and political obstacles preclude any such possibility. Rather what we seek to achieve is a first step that would serve to impose some degree of control over armaments and that could provide a base for later steps. Thus the news reports indicate our representatives are exploring such possibilities as establishment of mutual aerial inspection zones and some measure of ground inspection, some limitation on the testing of at least the larger nuclear devices as well as of nuclear stockpiles through the diversion of future output of fissionable material to peaceful uses. In addition, there are suggestions looking toward reduction in conventional arms and forces.

It has been suggested that our policy up to now has been to consider no agreement which was not to our net security advantage. I doubt that this is in fact a true statement if by it is meant that we would considered no agreement unless we believed it would improve our position in relation to our enemies.

But whatever the situation may have been in the past, we surely cannot let any such narrow limitation control our future policy. The security of this country must always be our first objective. But surely the attainment of that objective requires our willingness to explore all avenues and all possibilities which have any reasonable promise of reducing the awful threat which nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons pose to all mankind alike.

Of course, no agreement should impair our relative position in regard to our enemies. But true progress can only be made, and this should be our goal, by reaching agreements which are to the mutual advantage of all nations and all peoples. Especially in this vital area, no agreement is possible unless all parties are convinced, at the outset and at the end, that its attainment will leave them in no worse position in relation to other nations.

The administration needs to be upheld in what I believe it is trying to do in the direction of a limited, first-step agreement. The path is difficult. For example, as the President suggested at his recent news conference, we must include our allies in our deliberations at the same time as we get down to serious negotiations with the Russians. But the will is there, I believe, and we ought not miss any chance to negotiate.

Whether at this time real progress toward disarmament can be achieved I do not know. In view of the stakes, the effort to reach agreement is surely worth making. Indeed a nation under God and dedicated to peace can do not less.

Department of the Army Report to the House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services on the Subject of Close Air Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the Department of the Army's report to the House Committee on Armed Services on the subject of close air support:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES ON THE SUBJECT OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT

1. Introduction: The following excerpts from Department of Defense directives are pertinent to an understanding of the Department of the Army's position concerning close air support:

(a) Close combat air support of Army forces is assigned to the United States Air Force as a primary function by paragraph A5 of section VI, DOD Directive No. 5100.1, October 1, 1953.

(b) DOD Directive No. 5160.22, March 18, 1957, clarifies the above stated responsibilities as follows: "The United States Air Force includes among its primary responsibilities those of furnishing close combat and logistical air support for the United States Army. These responsibilities are continuing in nature, from the immediate outset and throughout the course of all combat operations, and for peacetime training. While extent of such support, by nature, is not readily susceptible of specific delimitation, it must at all times meet the reasonable requirements specified by the United States Army, either for combat operations or for training, and the United States Air Force shall be prepared to devote an appreciable portion of its resources to such support and to the establishment and organization which may be required therefor."

2. Relationship of the services: The Army is an essential member of the Army-Navy-Air Force team which, through appropriate combination of mutually supporting capabilities of all the services, develops the military strength necessary to deter war or to be victorious in war if the deterrent fails. The Army's support of the concept that the components of the 3 services must operate in concert to obtain national objectives extends through all levels of operation—from the application of global strength to the tactics of the lowest echelon involving the use of forces from more than 1 of the armed services. This includes, of course, the theater level where the Army believes that no one component is sufficiently self-contained or capable within itself of achieving the theater mission.

The Army's support of this balanced force concept is set forth in the Army field manual which contains its doctrine for combat operations, FM 100-5. This publication states in paragraph 5, "During periods of peace and war, Army forces in conjunction with Air and Naval forces have the overall mission of supporting national policies and objectives. Their maintenance and proper balance are essential if the objectives of national policy are to be attained. Forces in proper balance are those allocated from land, naval, and air forces or the elements of any one or more of these to meet the requirements of a given mission and trained to operate in concert for a single purpose."

3. Command relationships necessary for optimum close air support: History has clearly demonstrated that unity of command is a prerequisite for success in battle. In other words, only one commander should be responsible for the success of a particular combat operation. The Army believes, therefore, that the responsible commander at each echelon must be vested with the authority necessary to control the operations of all forces which have been provided to him for the accomplishment of his mission.

The location in the chain of command and the service of this responsible commander will vary with the situation. In a small task force operation, he could be the commander of an Army battle group or a parallel Naval, Air Force, or Marine formation. In larger operations, the responsible commander should be at a higher level and will be a member of the service which has primary responsibility for the success of the operation.

The field army commander is responsible for the success of ground combat operations related to his mission. This responsibility is delegated to corps, division, and subordinate commanders as they are assigned the subordinate objectives necessary to the success of the overall mission.

One of the most important means of influencing the outcome of ground combat action is the commander's flexible and versatile application of supporting firepower. To accomplish his mission the commander must be provided the capability and the authority of massing available firepower quickly upon critical targets.

In the employment of its artillery, the Army follows a procedure which permits both centralization and decentralization of this authority as dictated by the situation. In view of the requirement for the immediate responsiveness of supporting fires to the responsible commander's wishes and needs, control of artillery firepower is habitually decentralized to the lowest possible echelon; however, provision is always made for its rapid return to higher commanders when necessary.

Combat aircraft utilized in close support of the field army are primarily utilized to extend the ground commander's firepower. The integration of aircraft firepower with that of maneuvering land forces is difficult to achieve, even under the most favorable conditions. Lack of control of this firepower by the appropriate ground commander results in (a) unacceptable delays in the delivery of the close support required, (b) the necessity to coordinate rather than direct the fire support furnished by aircraft, and (c) inability of the ground commander to rely upon aircraft being available when required. These three factors combine to prevent the ground commander from making the most effective use of all of his firepower, either in planning or in the conduct of operations. As in the case of artillery, optimum results require tailoring of control authority to fit the needs of the battle. Inflexible centralization of this control is impracticable for the varying conditions of ground combat.

The Army expresses its quantitative requirements for close air support in terms of one Air Force wing of about 75 aircraft per Army division in contact with the enemy. This requirement is, however, only a yardstick for operational planning and does not mean that a wing should invariably be assigned to support each division involved. The Army recognizes that these wings will have missions other than close support of divisions and may have to be massed for use by corps, army, army group, or for theater-wide assignments, air or ground. However, the Army believes that, normally, the general direction and control of that portion of the air effort allotted to support Army units should be subject to decentralization, as appropriate, to corps or divisions, with the proviso that the tactical air force retain at all times the capability to regain centralized control for immediate diversion to higher priority missions as directed by higher authority.

4. The effect of missiles on close air support: The increasing development and use of surface-to-surface missiles will improve the effectiveness and range of the organic weapons available to the Army commander. Combined with improving means for finding targets and evaluating the success of fires on these targets, these missiles are expected to be more effective than fighter-bombers in providing accurate, responsive, and all-weather close support. However, the Army considers that for the foreseeable future there continues to be close support missions which will require piloted aircraft. These include: tactical reconnaissance, target acquisition, protection of Army formations deep in enemy territory from attack by enemy aircraft, attacks on fast moving enemy targets, attacks on targets beyond the range of Army weapons, attacks on targets protected by the terrain from ground weapons, and the augmentation of Army fires on critical targets.

As Army missile and rocket units are phased into the force structure and the Army develops improved target acquisition systems, there will be a concurrent downward adjustments in the Army's requirements for tactical air support. This might well result in a reduction in the number of Air Force tactical wings. The Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff are aware of this problem, and it is currently under study by a joint Army-Air Force committee. However, in connection with improved target acquisition means, there will probably develop a requirement for relatively high performance aircraft capable of vertical or short takeoff and landing to search the so-called midrange areas of the combat zone, 30 to 100 miles in front of the line of contact. This requirement will have to be met by the Air Force or by Army aviation.

5. Training: The doctrinal differences between the Army and the Air Force concerning close air support, until resolved, will impair the effectiveness of joint training. The Army considers that, through trial, objective analysis, and mutual concessions during peacetime training, differing views can be resolved and joint doctrine and procedures established. In this connection, appropriate agencies of both services are concurrently endeavoring to settle the existing divergencies of opinion on the matter of air support.

6. Conclusion: It is the Army's opinion that elements of theater air forces which are allocated to the close support of a field army must be immediately and fully responsive to the requirements and direction of the responsible Army commander. Tactical air employed in an air-ground role in the field army combat zone is in support of the ground commander and must be immediately responsive to his general direction and control. General direction and control is defined as the authority to direct missions to be flown by aircraft allotted to the close support of Army forces and to prescribe targets, type of munition, time over targets, and the degree of neutralization or destruction desired.

National Safety Council Traffic Safety Award to Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Mr. L. James Harmanson, Jr., general counsel for the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, together with a newspaper article.

It is very gratifying to me that Virginia has received the award from the National Safety Council mentioned in the letter and article.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 7, 1957.

Hon. HARRY F. BYRD,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BYRD: I am enclosing a clipping from the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 6, 1957, reflecting that the National Safety Council has awarded its highest traffic-safety award to the State of Virginia. You will note that Virginia was the only State in the Nation in 1956 to achieve 85 percent or more on all sections of traffic-safety activities which is the basis for this citation.

I am sure it will be gratifying to you as it was to me, as a native Virginian, to see that Virginia has a record of such outstanding performance in traffic-accident prevention.

This demonstrates what the individual States can do, and I believe should do, in the area of promoting safety on the highways, rather than having the Federal Government take over in this field functions and activities that the States and their localities are best equipped to perform.

Sincerely yours,

L. JAMES HARMANSON, Jr.,
General Counsel.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 6, 1957]

VIRGINIA GETS TOP AWARD FOR TRAFFIC SAFETY IN 1956

CHICAGO, June 5.—The National Safety Council today gave its highest traffic-safety award to the State of Virginia and the cities of Detroit and East Lansing, Mich.

The three were cited for outstanding performance in traffic-accident prevention and traffic management. Basis for the citation was the annual inventory of traffic-safety activities for 1956, considered the Nation's lone overall measurement of traffic-safety performance.

The awards of honor go to any State achieving 85 percent or more on all sections evaluated in the inventory. This year, Virginia was the lone State falling into this category.

Awards also are made to any cities achieving 80 percent or more on all evaluated sections.

Certificates of achievement were given an additional 337 cities and 25 States. Washington, D. C., received certificates for maintenance of accident records, safety organization, improvement in the traffic-death record, and noteworthy performance in traffic-safety activities.

United States Exhibits at World Fairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which was published yesterday in the Washington Post and Times Herald, entitled "Poles Crowd United States Display at Trade Fair."

I brought this subject to the attention of President Eisenhower in the winter of 1954, following my visit to Bangkok, Thailand, where I witnessed an international trade fair, at which the United States was endeavoring, but not very successfully, to show a picture of what America has done not only in the field of machine development but also in the fields of culture, art, and human relations. Both the Soviet Union and Japan had very impressive exhibits.

Later in 1954 President Eisenhower wrote a letter to the Committee on Appropriations recommending that $5 million be appropriated for United States exhibits at international trade fairs.

At that time I issued a press release with reference to the appropriation.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that both the article and my statement of August 2, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 10, 1957]

POLES CROWD UNITED STATES DISPLAY AT TRADE FAIR

(By Colin Frost)

POZNAN, POLAND, June 9.—Thousands of luxury-starved Poles stampeded the United States exhibits at the opening of the Poznan International Trade Fair today. Scores of extra police were called in to control them.

The American display of the products of 300 firms gave a dazzling answer to the now diminished propaganda that capitalism means poverty. By nightfall about 50,000 Poles had seen it.

Twenty-nine countries packed their products into the 40-acre grounds. Western nations dominated the show.

The United States is taking part in the fair for the first time since World War II. Its exhibition is calculated both to boost business and to show the Communist world how the United States lives.

It includes a typical American home packed with the household appliances that most homemakers in this part of Europe can only dream of.

There were displays of textiles, radios, household gadgets, sports goods, toys, frozen foods, and all the other consumer goods that crowd United States store windows but are rarities here.

Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz and other officials were among the earliest visitors.

The Premier told United States trade officials: "I am glad to see you here and I hope we shall be doing good business together in the future."

The reaction among most Polish visitors was sheer amazement. "We cannot even believe that things like these exist," said one woman.

"Is it true that ordinary people can buy these things abroad?" asked another.

"Suren," a Polish-speaking United States Embassy officer told her.

Some private visitors wanted to buy—especially the toys. A few pulled out wads of dollars—part of the great underground reservoir of greenbacks that is almost a second currency in Eastern Europe.

West Germany's exhibit—covering the whole range of booming German industry—is the largest. It takes more than twice the space of either the British or United States.

The United States exhibit is in a huge pavilion built of aluminum and covered with plastic.

SENATOR THYE URGES EXHIBITS BY UNITED STATES IN WORLD FAIRS

Senator EDWARD J. THYE expressed strong approval of action taken by the Senate Committee on Appropriations in connection with the supplemental appropriations bill in meeting the request of President Eisenhower for additional funds to permit participation by the United States in international fairs and expositions during the coming year. The President had advised tht committee that there will be approximately 75 such international trade fairs and that the administration feels that participation in at least 30 of them would be useful in drawing attention to American products and the benefits of the free enterprise system. The Senate Committee on Appropriations allowed $5 million for this and related purposes.

"I am convinced that American participation in these international trade fairs is of great importance to this country in its international affairs and I am very much pleased at the action taken by the Senate Committee on Appropriations of which I am a member. It will enable our Government to help in coordinating American exhibits and make possible a better rounded and more impressive picture of what America has done not only in the field of machine development but also in the field of culture, art, and human relations.

"When I returned from my trip to the Orient last winter one of the first things I did was to bring to the attention of President Eisenhower my impression of a visit to a trade fair being conducted at Bangkok in Thailand where I saw the extensive and well displayed exhibits of the Soviet Union in a building which dominated the fairgrounds. The automobiles and farm machinery displayed did not in any manner compare with machines and equipment of American manufacturers, and I question whether some would be serviceable in actual field operations. But they did capture the imagination of the people and thousands saw this exhibit and passed through the Soviet building.

"I know that the totalitarian Government of Russia can simply commandeer the material for such exhibits and is willing to spend thousands to set them up, but I am certainly also that American industry and business under the encouragement of our Government could far exceed anything the Soviet Union can do in this field.

"It seems to me that the United States should assume reasonable participation in international fairs both in our fight for markets in the international field and in showing to the people of the world what has been achieved in the United States under our free enterprise system and our democratic principles of government. I am sure that much good will flow from this effort and I strongly endorse it on the basis of my own observations in the areas where it is so important that America be understood and appreciated by the people."

Discovery of the Columbia River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, because Oregon will commemorate its first century of statehood in the year 1959, it is important that the people of the Nation understand the historical background of our great State.

On May 11, 1957, the Astorian Budget, which is published in the city located at the mouth of the vast Columbia River, printed a splendid editorial describing the first sighting of the Columbia by Capt. Robert Gray, of Boston, who gave the name of his ship, *Columbia*, to the principal river of our Pacific seaboard.

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FINE PLACE FOR A FACTORY

"This day saw an appearance of a spacious harbor abreast the ship, hauled wind for it, observed two sandbars making off, with a passage between them to a fine river * * *. The river extended to the northeast as far as eye could reach, and waters fit to drink as far down as the bars, at the entrance. We directed our course up this noble river in search of a village * * *. Captain Gray

named this river Columbia's and the north entrance Cape Hancock and the south point, Adams. This river, in my opinion, would be a fine place to set up a factory.

The date was May 11, 1792, and the writer was John Boit, supercargo on the United States merchant ship of Boston, Capt. Robert Gray, master.

It was just 165 years ago—a century and two thirds ago—that the ship *Columbia* entered the great river of the west that had eluded navigators during several previous searches by famed and experienced explorers.

Captain Gray and his ship spent several days in this river, trading with the Indians, before departing on a mercantile voyage that eventually carried this vessel of the young American Republic around the world.

All students of American history of course are aware that the discovery of the Columbia River was one of the important bases of the claim the United States Government eventually made for ownership of this disputed country, and which today causes us to be citizens of the United States rather than subjects of the British Queen or servile, brainwashed proletarians of the Soviet Empire.

When we stop to think about the possibility that Russia might own this land, we can be even more grateful to such men as Captain Gray and his crewmen who helped claim the Oregon country for the United States.

The *Columbia* came here primarily in search of sea otter—a commodity which has long since disappeared in commercial quantities and is now virtually extinct.

That isn't the only change that has occurred hereabouts in the brief space of a century and two-thirds.

The river channel is deeper and there no longer is risk of a ship of the size of the *Columbia* running aground in the main channel, as happened in May 1792.

The river entrance is marked by jetties and a lightship, so a navigator would have no trouble finding it. And the population is grown considerably.

However, the men who live here now are still, we like to think, "strait limb'd, fine looking fellows" as Boit found them, and the women are still "very pretty."

But the inhabitants are paler than they were in those days—although still eager for trade with ships that come in across the river bar.

And the men no longer go naked, while the women today wear considerably more than the brief aprons of woven leaves which greatly intrigued Boit and the other "gentlemen" of the *Columbia's* party.

But the mouth of the Columbia still "would be a fine place for to set up a factory" and we'd all be very happy if some more explorers would come to these parts and do that very thing.

Time to Curtail Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Billions for Foreign Aid" from the June 8–9 issue of the Griffin (Ga.) Daily News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BILLIONS FOR FOREIGN AID
(By Quimby Melton, Jr.)

The last day of the month, June 30, marks the end of the present fiscal year. By that time it is estimated that the United States will have poured out $62 billion in foreign aid since the end of World War II. Also we will have another $8 billion balance authorized for foreign aid but not yet spent, making the total $70 billion. President Eisenhower is asking for $4 billion more for the next fiscal year. That would make $74 billion.

That staggering amount, of course, is more than the entire gigantic Federal budget which is under fire all over the Nation. In other words, our foreign aid expenditures amounted to more than the complete cost of running our entire Nation for a full year at the biggest price tag in history.

We have no doubt that some of the foreign aid money was spent wisely and well. There were days immediately after World War II when entire nations crumbled in ruins. They had been laid bare by bombers. Invading armies had brought further destruction. Hunger, misery, and lack of hope were commonplace. Under such circumstances a victorious Christian nation such as ours had no choice but to rush to the assistance of the vanquished. From a practical standpoint, we had no choice either. Communism flourishes upon hopelessness.

And so some of our foreign aid money served a good purpose for a while.

Then came the international blackmail. "Incidents" were created. Nations reported that they were teetering on the brink of communism and only an infusion of American dollars could save them.

Blackmail. We paid it.

So now we see the United States of America taxing its own citizens to the hilt to throw money to the four corners of the earth. The time has come to curtail this mad throwing away of our money.

The Plodding Doughboy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the ground forces of our defense have now adopted "Those caissons go rolling along." This is a marvelous marching song. There is none better and it should enthuse those who belong to the artillery branch of the service. There are many who believe that the ground forces will have a very small part in the wars of the future. The ground forces, infantry or doughboy, have always been the queen of battle.

In generation after generation it has been prophesied that something would take his place, but when wars come the plodding doughboy is there to take the ground and hold it, and that is what wins campaigns and wars.

There is a very good editorial on the subject Keep the Army Rolling Along, in this morning's Philadelphia Inquirer, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEEP THE ARMY ROLLING ALONG

When the Caisson Song first roared from the throats of dashing United States artillerymen it was strictly for the galloping guns and the snorting gee-gees that pulled them around in battles and on parade.

"Those Caissons Go Rolling Along" with its "hi-yi-yee" touch came from the pen of Lt. Edmund L. Gruber, Fifth Artillery—later Brigadier General—in 1908. The Diesel Age, tanks, self-propelled guns weren't even dim dreams then.

All along, the Caisson Song has been the song of the gunners. Until now, when "the caissons" don't roll any more. It is finally announced that the Army has taken it over—same inspiring tune, to the words, "The Army Goes Rolling Along."

Some little difference, perhaps, but the theory's not bad. It's a great tune, with a great background. And, in view of the chipping away of military manpower, particularly in the Army, we hope it sustains the idea that the Army will go rolling along, strong enough and fighting-fit to do any job it needs to do.

The Right of Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two excellent editorials on the right of trial by jury. The first is from the June 5 edition of the State, of Columbia, S. C., and is entitled "A Wise Provision." The other is entitled, "On Jury Trials" and is taken from the June 5 edition of the Orangeburg, (S. C.) Times and Democrat.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S. C.) State, of June 5, 1957]

A WISE PROVISION

Administration forces fell before six Democrats and a Republican on the Senate Judiciary Committee who insisted upon including in the so-called civil-rights bill a proviso guaranteeing trial by jury to persons accused in court in civil-rights cases. In supporting the amendment, as a poor substitute for killing the bill, Senator EASTLAND explained that the section would give civil-rights defendants the same right now enjoyed by trade unionists in labor injunction cases.

The development does not, however, meet with the approval of Attorney General Brownell, who has been playing out of position before now in lobbying for controversial and doubtful legislation, arraying section against section and class against class. He complains the proviso would permit practical nullification of proposed civil-rights legislation. In the words of Orphan Annie, "Would that be bad?"

One wonders just what the advocates of such legislation are after. Could they be seeking to destroy the Constitution?

Brownell is correct in saying that contempt cases normally are taken before judges and not juries. It could also be argued forcefully that this is a flaw in our judicial system. It could be criticized as a relic of the feudal system, giving too much

power to one individual, who, being a human being, is subject to human quirks and prejudices. It is conceivable that judges could and possibly sometimes do, pass judgment of contempt as the result of injured vanity.

Everything considered the section guaranteeing jury trials to defendants in civil-rights cases follows the orderly procedure defined by the Founding Fathers as to the rights and dignity of the individual. Trial by jury is one of the cardinal triumphs of our Constitution as inherited from Magna Carta. There is no reason why any exception should be made to gratify the unilateral zeal of special interests of self-appointed reregulators.

[From the Orangeburg (S. C.) Times and Democrat of June 5, 1957]

ON JURY TRIALS

The committee in the Senate which has been considering the civil-rights bill has added an amendment to the bill which would allow persons accused of contempt to be given jury trials. Many Senators who were and are in favor of the civil-rights bill are supporting this amendment.

We do not see how Congress can go wrong in providing jury trials for persons accused of contempt. While we do not wish to join in a wholesale assault on the judiciary of this Nation, it is nevertheless true that the judiciary—like the other branches of the Government—must have its limitations.

No one branch of our Government functions perfectly, nor is it made up of perfect citizens. The judicial branch has assumed increasing power in recent years and it would be wise to safeguard the right of persons to a trial by jury because of what might follow if this right is denied citizens. It may be that only one issue is involved at present, but the future might well turn up an undesirable situation in which the principle wherein judges who find American citizens guilty of contempt, exercise such unlimited powers concerning various issues and freedom that any bill limiting the right of jury trial would be a tragedy and result in injustice to many Americans.

We do not believe that any one section of the country has a monopoly on all the good people in the United States. We believe that trial by jury is the best possible system establishing guilt and that the people themselves, who make up our juries, will come nearer seeing that justice is done than any group, acting individually, no matter how talented the various individuals may be.

Property Rights Voided

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Property Rights Voided," published in the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, of April 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPERTY RIGHTS VOIDED

The United States Supreme Court, as it is now constituted, seems bent on stripping the States and individuals of their most cherished and fundamental rights.

Pursuing its policy of forced integration, the Court has ruled that Philadelphia's Girard College cannot exclude Negroes although it was established from funds left in a will which specifically directed that the school be built for poor white boys.

The high tribunal said that the board of directors of City Trust of Philadelphia, which administers Girard College, is an agency of the city of Philadelphia; therefore, the Court decided, the college must come under the terms of its desegregation edict.

It mattered not to the Justices that Stephen Girard, who died in 1831, directed the city in his will to establish and operate the college with admission limited to poor white orphan boys.

What the Court has said, in effect, is that a will which was binding in 1831 is not binding today; that a citizen of the United States, indeed, cannot direct the disposition of his own property.

What are we coming to in this country when the judiciary usurps the right of private property?

It is noteworthy that this right was upheld, as it properly should have been, by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which found itself reversed by the United States Court in upholding the will. In the State court's opinion, it said:

"It is one of our most fundamental legal principles that an individual has the right to dispose of his own property by gift or will as he sees fit. This right is so much protected that a testator's direction will be enforced even though contrary to the general views of society."

Those who believe in constitutional government were astonished when the Supreme Court, in its desegregation edict, made a decision based on sociology rather than on law. They are appalled now to see the Court, in its Girard College ruling, nullify, in effect, the right of the individual to do what he wants with his own private property.

The possible far-reaching effects of this latest judicial decision are frightening.

In view of this decision, does any citizen of the United States any longer have the right to dispose of his own private property as he sees fit?

This time, the High Court hung its decision on the peg that this particular trusteeship constituted an official agency. Next time, it might decide that it doesn't need any peg at all—that a man's will must be administered according to the whim of the Court.

Dr. Frances Densmore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles which appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune on June 6 and 7, 1957, paying tribute to an outstanding citizen of Minnesota, Dr. Frances Densmore. I believe the RECORD should contain this outstanding person's life history.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of June 6, 1957]

DR. DENSMORE, AUTHORITY ON INDIANS, DIES

RED WING, MINN.—Dr. Frances Densmore, 90, authority on the music and culture of the American Indian, died here Wednesday.

Since 1893, Dr. Densmore has been studying the music of the American Indian, making more than 3,000 recordings and publishing more than 100 articles and books on the subject.

Her interest was aroused when as a child in Red Wing, she could hear the drums and songs of the Indians who lived across the Mississippi River from her home.

First a musician, Dr. Densmore attended Oberlin conservatory and later studied with music masters in Chicago and at Harvard university, Cambridge, Mass. But the music of the Indian was to be her life's work.

In 1893, Dr. Densmore stood, pencil and notebook in hand, behind Geronimo, Apache war chief, and jotted down his humming while he worked in the Indian village of the Chicago world's fair.

Her first field trip was in 1905 to Grand Portage, Minn. Since then, Dr. Densmore has traveled America, listening and recording Indian melodies.

So great was her knowledge that modern Indians came to her to find out about their own tribal customs.

The first Indian to go before a recording machine was a Chippewa named Big Bear. It was 1907 in Detroit Lakes, Minn., and Dr. Densmore had to do the persuading.

This recording won an award from the bureau of American ethnology of Smithsonian institution. It also began an association of more than 40 years. Much of Dr. Densmore's work was done in Washington at the Smithsonian.

Among the many honors bestowed on Dr. Densmore was that given by the Chippewa tribe. They hailed her as "the world's greatest recorder of American Indian music."

In 1950, she received an honorary doctor of laws degree from Macalester College, St. Paul.

A lifelong Minnesota resident, Dr. Densmore recently completed a bulletin for the Smithsonian on the music of the Pueblo Indians.

She celebrated her 90th birthday here May 21.

Dr. Densmore's only immediate survivor is a cousin, Mabel Densmore, Red Wing.

Funeral arrangements are not complete.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of June 7, 1957]

DR. DENSMORE: A TRULY GREAT SCHOLAR—MINNESOTAN WHO WON INTERNATIONAL REPUTE WITH INDIAN MUSIC RECORDINGS DIES AT AGE OF 90

(By Jay Edgerton)

Frances Densmore, who died Wednesday in Red Wing at the age of 90, was one of the most remarkable women of Minnesota and one of the truly great scholars of our times.

It is a strange bit of irony that her name may come with an unfamiliar ring to thousands of Minnesotans; yet she was one of that little handful of the State's citizens, along with Sinclair Lewis and Charles Lindbergh, whose names are honored all over the world wherever men value human achievement.

I remember going to a great museum in New York several years ago to buy one of Miss Densmore's books on Indian music. Many of these, long out of print, are now hard to acquire and are collector's items. But she had told me where I might be able to find one.

At the museum, a starchy receptionist informed me grimly that I was asking the impossible.

"But Miss Densmore told me that you still have a few copies left."

"Do you know Dr. Densmore?" The reproof was plain in the emphasis on the word "doctor," but reproof was mingled with awe in the fact that I had "once seen Shelley plain."

She vanished through a door to the inner sanctum and within a few minutes was back

with a gentleman who turned out to be no less than the head of the institution. And a few minutes later I had my copy of the Densmore book.

Miss Densmore came of old Minnesota stock. Her grandfather, Judge Orrin Densmore, was a member of the pioneer legislature, and her father, Benjamin Densmore, was a civil engineer in St. Paul in territorial days. She was born in Red Wing 2 years after the close of the Civil War.

Miss Densmore studied music at Oberlin conservatory in the 1880's and later worked under John K. Paine of the Harvard music department. It was while she was living in Boston in the 1890's that she became interested in the work of Alice Fletcher, one of the early recorders of Indian music.

Returning west, Miss Densmore obtained the assistance of Sioux Indians, living on Prairie Island above Red Wing, in preserving their native music. By 1903, Good Bear Woman, a fullblooded Sioux, was singing the old songs to her. In 1907 she moved into the norther part of the State and recorded Chippewa music.

Her recordings brought prompt recognition from the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. An award was made to her, and this led, in turn, to long and fruitful association with the Smithsonian extending over more than 40 years. She produced 22 books, and recordings and transcriptions of more than 3,000 songs of the American Indian.

Miss Densmore traveled far and wide recording American Indian music before the old people, who knew it, died out. She rode "bull boats" on the Missouri. She saw an authentic Sioux sun dance—one of the few white persons ever to witness the genuine ceremony. She became the adopted daughter of a chief.

The monumental Densmore collection has now been recorded by the Library of Congress on long playing records.

Miss Densmore lived in a comfortable, old-fashioned house on a tree-shaded street in Red Wing.

Her rooms were almost austere. Her vast collection of Indian articles had long since vanished. Most had been given to the Smithsonian.

"A museum is the place for things like that," she said.

Pictures of Carl Sandburg and Joseph Conrad, the Polish sea captain who became one of the great modern English novelists, stood on her shelves. Sandburg was a personal friend. Conrad she never knew—but she liked his "warm, strong, human face."

She never sentimentalized or romanticized either Indians or her work. "I had a job to do," she said simply. The records of the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress prove that she did it—and did it superbly well.

Cancer: Killer on the Loose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an effective and moving editorial entitled "A Killer on the Loose," published in the Pendleton (Oreg.) East Oregonian of May 31, 1957.

The editorial emphasizes the urgent need for an all-out "crash" program by the Federal Government in an effort to find the cause and possible cures for the dreaded killer of mankind, cancer. I am very much pleased that the editor of the East Oregonian, Mr. J. W. Forrester, has seen fit to endorse my proposal for a $500 million appropriation to be made available to the National Cancer Institute for special research projects, with the stipulation that the sum remain available from year to year until totally expended.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A KILLER ON THE LOOSE

A "crash program," with a half-billion dollars in Federal funds pledged for medical research against cancer, has been urged by Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon, so that the skills and facilities of the Nation's laboratories can be amassed in assault on the medical mystery which imperils 40 million Americans now alive.

"Cancer threatens to strike 2 out of every 3 American families," NEUBERGER said. "Yet our entire research expenditure against cancer, including all Federal, State, and voluntary contributions, was only $45 million last year—the approximate cost of 1 atomic submarine."

NEUBERGER made his appeal before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare in support of his proposal to appropriate $500 million to the National Cancer Institute, with the provision that the sum remain available until totally expended.

NEUBERGER argued that if the Government can spend $44 billion on armaments, why not dedicate half a billion dollars to try to solve the "most terrible threat to every person on the face of this globe."

NEUBERGER further declared:

"Approximately 40 million people now alive in the United States will have some form of cancer during their lifetime, and 26 million of those now alive will die from cancer unless new preventive measures are found.

"I was shocked when I found the record-breaking budget of the national administration, despite its $72 billion size, actually would reduce by 3 percent the Federal funds appropriated for cancer research during the coming fiscal year."

NEUBERGER pointed out that only a generation ago the three leading causes of death in this country were pneumonia and influenza, tuberculosis; and diarrhea and enteritis—all diseases of a communicable nature.

"These three disease groups then accounted for one-third of all deaths in this country. Yet, in 1956, these three groups together accounted for only one-twentieth of all deaths in the United States.

"Medical research had provided much of the answer—antibiotics, specific drugs effective against tuberculosis and higher levels of public-health care. If we developed a cure for cancer, who could measure its value in terms of all mankind? As the span of human life is extended to the underprivileged parts of the world, cancer rises in its incidence. It shows an upward swing in all parts of the world. What price, then, a cure against a universal killer?"

NEUBERGER thinks development of a half-billion dollar research program against cancer will require launching of a large training program for research workers. In answer to the question, "Where will we get the men?" NEUBERGER said "We get the men by telling the medical schools and other medical institutions in this country that we are in business for keeps in this field, and we will help them train these men."

NEUBERGER explained that Congress provided funds 2 years ago for a pilot program in the detection of cancer of the cervix.

"Uterine cancer cell examination was applied for the first time to more than 100,000 women in Memphis, Tenn. Of these, 800 were found to have cancer. Half of these cancers were in extremely early stage, with nearly all of them completely unsuspected. In this one small project, does anyone know how many lives we have saved and how much tragedy we have averted?"

NEUBERGER added that the United States has the scientific potential to wipe cancer from the face of the earth and needs only the determination to do it.

Just how well his program is faring is not known. But it is probable, with an economy-minded Congress, that his plan will get little more than a casual glance.

A killer that rivals the atomic bomb in bringing death and agony to millions deserves more than just a casual glance.

Integration in New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Integration in New York," published in the Washington (Ga.) News-Reporter, of May 2, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTEGRATION IN NEW YORK

A program of forced racial integration in the public schools of the Nation's largest city, New York, is stirring up discontent and controversy.

The controversy may even reach the point that it will attract some of the attention away from the South.

That will be good. It's not that we wish controversy and troubles for other sections, but it's simply the fact that what is happening in New York City is caused by the same things that have provoked disturbances in the South.

Racial integration is being forced in New York schools, regardless of existing neighborhood patterns and customs. School authorities are even going so far as to arrange school bus routes of miles in length, to transport pupils from one neighborhood to another.

If a school has been predominantly all white, Negro children are being carried by bus from other neighborhoods to achieve a "balance." If it has been mostly all Negro, white children from other sections are being forced to attend.

Such action by school authorities eliminates the right of freedom of choice by the individual.

It will force families to move from homes they have owned for years, for many persons believe they have the right to choose their own neighbors and associates. Instead of creating harmony and understanding, the enforced intermingling will bring strife and misunderstanding, for children will not be able to understand why they are having to lose old friends and playmates, and make new ones.

There's nothing in the United States Constitution, nor in any of the Supreme Court's edicts, which says that racial integration must be instituted in the public schools.

The Court's interpretation of the Constitution is that segregation cannot lawfully be

maintained. But no law has yet been voted by the people, or passed by their representatives, which says that racial integration is mandatory.

New York already is having troubles, and they will get worse. It shouldn't be a cause for joy that others are having disorders and difficulties—but there is satisfaction in knowing that others will gain a better insight into some of the reasons why the South opposes forced racial integration.

The Need for Army Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GAVIN: Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert an article by Maj. Gen. Hamilton H. Howze, United States Army, Director of Army Aviation, Department of the Army, the Need for Army Aviation, which appeared in the Officer published by the Reserve Officers Association:

THE ARMY NEEDS AVIATION

(By Maj. Gen. Hamilton H. Howze, U. S. Army, Director of Army Aviation, Department of the Army)

The degree to which a military force could move, shoot, and communicate has been a determining factor in the outcome of battles for centuries. Every organized force has possessed these three capabilities to some degree and almost without exception the force which was able to attain superiority in one or more of these areas has been victorious.

Hundreds of years ago communications consisted of primarily "whoop and holler." Shooting was limited to throwing stones or stone axes, and movement was limited to that which could be accomplished by the two legs of the soldier. As man's general knowledge increased the art of war improved. The "whoop and holler" communication was augmented by smoke signals, signal flags, telegraph, telephone, and radio. The art of killing progressed from stones to spears, and the bow and arrow. Then came gunpowder and the rifle, artillery, rocket missiles, and atomic warheads. Mobility was augmented by the use of animals, ships, railways, automobiles, trucks, tanks, and armored personnel carriers.

With each of these advances the tide of battle ebbed and flowed according to superiority in these three areas. No nation dared deny its commanders the use and command of these new tools of war.

Since the term "commander" is used very loosely at times, the commander referred to in this article requires identification. Specifically this article refers to the commander charged with the responsibility of accomplishing an assigned mission. He may be a member of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Air Force, but whatever his service, full responsibility is his and he must answer for the actions of his command. His victories are shared with all ranks, but the responsibility for defeat is laid at his feet and he may share it with no one. Because of this, the commander must be given every available tool of war needed to accomplish his mission. It is not sufficient to make such tools available upon request—many battles have been lost because the needed elements did not arrive on time. These tools must be under the command of and therefore immediately responsive to the will of the commander.

The latest item of mobility made available to our Armed Forces, in large numbers, was the aircraft. Like the automobile, truck, railway, ship and other means of movement, the aircraft is a necessary tool of war for all our forces—Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marines. Like the commander, each service has its assigned mission and area of responsibility. In many instances the basic tools of war are modified in accordance with needs and assigned mission of the service concerned. For example, the mission of the Air Force requires aircraft which will transport bombs, bullets, rockets, photographic equipment, electronics, personnel, supplies and equipment. And because of the great distances involved, the necessity to fly over enemy territory, and to defeat the enemy in the air, the aircraft must be heavily armed, fast, and have long-range operational capability. On the other hand, the Army commander is charged primarily with defeating the enemy on the ground. His battle area is much smaller in size than that of the Air Force. The terrain is rough; natural and manmade obstacles are numerous. Rapid shifting of his force is difficult and observation of the enemy is very restricted. Therefore the Army has modified the aircraft to render it capable of operating from the pastures, fields, and roads of the battlefield. This capability, not high performance, is a prerequisite.

The original need for aircraft in our Armed Forces was to observe the enemy and adjust fire upon him. This resulted in the use of captive balloons during the Civil War. Later when powered flight became a fact the Army used airplanes for this purpose. The need for such observation became so great that eventually a command was needed to direct the efforts of such a force. As a result the Army Air Corps was organized as a part of the Army. As the state of the art improved the aircraft assumed more utility. New concepts in air warfare were proven. Emphasis shifted from observation to close support of ground forces and eventually to attaining air superiority—isolating the battlefield—and strategic bombing. With this shift in emphasis it was necessary to make observation aircraft organic to the artillery to observe and adjust its fires.

The Air Corps eventually became so large—and so important to our national effort—that it was made a separate service and given equal status with that of the Army and Navy.

Creation of the United States Air Force and its new missions left the Army with its organic aircraft to perform the vital mission of observation of the battlefield. The utility of these observation aircraft during World War II was such that they were made organic to all the arms and several of the services.

New weapons, new tactics and techniques and new concepts of warfare, world wide, have altered the Army's methods of operation as drastically as it has that of the Air Force. The scope of future conflict is so great that each service will be hard pressed to dominate its area of responsibility, in fact, each might well find itself committed in a life and death struggle for survival. Each tool necessary for victory must be in the hands of the commander concerned. No service must be dependent upon another for equipment needed in performance of its primary mission, whether it be trucks or tanks or aircraft.

To the average citizen an airplane is an airplane and there have been many debates on such questions as "Why does the Army want its own aircraft—can not the Air Force or the Navy furnish this support to the Army? Isn't Army aviation a duplication of the air effort of the other services?" These questions were asked in all sincerity and are most deserving of an answer.

In a broad sense these questions were answered in the above discussion of the missions of the Army and Air Force. Air Force missions, well known to the public and in general, are characterized by supersonic, high flying, long range aircraft. Compare with these the missions of Army aircraft which are characterized by low flying, relatively slow aircraft having a very short landing and takeoff capability.

Army aviation has many missions. The first of these we call aerial observation. The word "observation" was used long before the aircraft came along. Commanders have always sought high ground from which they could observe the enemy's location and activities. With the advent of indirect fire capabilities the commander established personnel on high ground where they could, by certain conduct of fire procedures, bring fire to bear upon the enemy. These installations were called observation posts. Elevation of these observation posts by means of aircraft was a logical extension of the ground observer system. This observation performed by aircraft was limited to adjustment of artillery fire initially. However, the Army was not long in broadening it to include many other functions. In fact observation now consists of an overall surveillance of the battlefield, conducted continuously and systematically by visual, electronic, photographic, and other means in order to gather intelligence data concerning the enemy. Products of this surveillance are: location, verification and evaluation of the enemy and his installations and the adjustment of fire upon those installations; study of the terrain; road and bridge condition and location; and obtaining other information on the enemy forces not obtainable by our own ground observation or by air reconnaissance agencies of the other services.

The team which performs these missions requires discussion. This team consists of an aircraft, a pilot, and may also include an observer to assist the pilot. First a discussion of the aircraft.

Flight capabilities of the aircraft utilized on these missions are of critical importance to the Army and must be changed as necessary to meet the demands brought on by new weapons, new tactics, and techniques of operation. The Army uses currently the L–19 and L–20 fixed-wing and the H–13 and H–23 rotary-wing aircraft for observation. In World War II it used the L–4 and L–5 fixed-wing aircraft. In order to keep abreast of the changing requirements in this field, the Army must constantly review the flight characteristics of its aircraft and improve them where necessary in order to retain this vital capability. Observation over the battlefield of the future will require the aircraft to pass from friendly to enemy territory and back again, a number of times, in the course of a single mission. In order for the pilot to survive and accomplish the mission under these circumstances, the Army needs a new aircraft with a greater maximum speed to add to its inventory of observation aircraft. While this aircraft must have a greater speed, it must retain the capability of flying at the slow speed necessary for a detailed examination of the ground and of operating from relatively short unimproved landing areas. It should be capable of carrying such detection equipment as electronic or infrared detectors, cameras, and radiological-survey equipment. It should have the capability of marking targets with smoke and providing battlefield illumination with aerial flares.

Now a brief discussion of the aviator. To accomplish these many observation missions it is obvious that the aviator must know the tactics and techniques, strength and weakness, and general temperament of the force

he is working for. The mission of his unit must be so vital to him that he is willing to give his life in its accomplishment. This goal cannot be attained with a pilot from another service; he must be a permanent member of the Army team. It must be kept in mind that the Army aviator performs in the immediate battle area—the little picture, pinpoint locations, and detailed study of terrain and enemy. For each function the pilot must have the knowledge of a ground commander, must be able to differentiate between items having primary and secondary importance, and recognize tactical advantages and disadvantages.

Such well-known missions as a command, liaison, communications, airlift of critical supplies, and aeromedical evacuation will not be discussed in detail. The use of Army aircraft for radio relay and laying telephone wire is old business. The whole world knows of the thousands of sick and wounded the Army evacuated during the Korean incident and the many lives saved thereby.

Army aviation has been given the mission of providing airlift for troop movements on this unusual battlefield of the future. This airlift is not normally from airfield to airfield but from ridge to ridge, pasture to pasture and over manmade and natural terrain obstructions. It provides air movement of Army combat units, supplies and individuals within the combat zone, for combat and logistical operations. This function includes the movement of units to execute "small scale air landed operations," the movement of reserves, and the shifting and relocation of units within the combat zone. The small scale air landed operations are short-range actions executed by use of cargo helicopters and are of four general types, each of which offers possibilities which will prove advantageous tactically. (1) The movement of troops across natural obstacles, such as rivers, swamps, lakes, canyons, and escarpments; (2) movement of troops across terrain made difficult of passage by the defensive preparations of the enemy; (3) movement of troops to capitalize on superior mobility and speed; and (4) movement of troops to exploit shock effect of atomic fire power. We may further subdivide each of these 4 types into 2 general categories:

(1) Actions against undefended or lightly defended objectives. There are many occasions on which the seizure of carefully selected, relatively undefended terrain will seriously compromise or even destroy the value to the enemy of his heavily defended positions;

(2) Actions against strongly defended objectives. On the surface this may seem infeasible but a careful development of a technique, related to use of atomic weapons, may prove the helicopter operation to be less expensive in human life and more remunerative tactically, than conventional armored or infantry action.

The aircraft employed in these operations will be subject to the normal hazards of combat. A well-planned action calculated to exploit enemy weakness, achieve surprise, and employ the best routes and techniques of approach will minimize these hazards. Low level flight and exploitation of night and inclement weather are considered to be the primary defensive measures for tactical helicopter operations. Ground fire poses a primary threat only during daylight operations since normal flight operations will be at altitudes below enemy radar detection.

For these missions of airlift in the combat zone the Army has provided helicopter and fixed wing tactical transport companies. These companies are currently available in numbers. The ability of the helicopter to fly contour and land in minimum air and ground space makes it invaluable for short hauls in the forward areas. Fixed wing tactical transport aircraft provide more efficient operation, cost less and can fly faster over longer ranges. However, they require comparatively more airspace for maneuver and landing and must fly higher. Because of these factors they are more suitable for and normally are used on type missions which are less subject to enemy air or ground action.

Army aviation has the mission of providing "air mobility for land reconnaissance." To overcome the extended distances and fluidity of the atomic battlefield our Army must have this capability. This is the mobility provided air-land short-range reconnaissance forces designed to perform missions normal in earlier wars to horse cavalry and later to armored reconnaissance forces. To provide this air mobility for land reconnaissance the Army is working toward development of "Sky Cavalry." This sky cavalry, or aeroconnaissance, if you prefer, is being designed to provide the mobility differential essential to the units which must perform the missions classic to highly mobile light elements. Reconnaissance, security of open flanks, gaps in the battlefield, seizure of critical areas, pursuit, and to some extent exploitation. These aeroreconnaissance units will have both light fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters as a primary means of mobolity. They will perform reconnaissance and screening missions on a wide frontage. The range of vision and speed of movement possible to the aircraft, will make execution of these missions more rapid than that of conventional reconnaissance units and in most cases more reliable. The development of electronic and infrared detection devices will provide an increasing capability in poor visibility. Such an organization will provide aircraft to perform the bulk of the reconnaissance part of the task, and permit concentration of the strength of ground elements at critical points as they develop. In such actions as pursuit and seizure of critical areas, helicopter-borne riflemen—preceded by reconnoitering aircraft—may be used to seize an important bridge, crossroad, or terrain feature. The tactical value of the successful execution of such missions is obvious.

As a firm organization of this type is developed, the division reconnaissance companies and a portion of the reconnaissance battalions may be converted to this type of organization. The successful development of good organization and technique will provide a bold commander with important new capabilities, and in fluid situations, will permit the execution of maneuvers infeasible under present circumstances.

The field is wide open for new ideas and concepts on the use of Army aviation on the future battlefield. Missions which may be performed successfully by Army aviation are limited primarily by the initiative of the pilot and the capability of the aircraft he is flying. Missions which will be performed by Army aviation during the next war depend upon the state of the art of aircraft development and the boldness of the commander.

Von Clausewitz, the great military teacher, said, "The theory of warfare tries to discover how we may gain a preponderance of physical forces and material advantages at the decisive point. * * * It is the nature of war to advise the most decisive, that is, the most audacious." The southern forces used Jeb Stuart and his cavalry to attain this objective in the Civil War. In World War II the German General Staff attained this goal early and almost defeated the world. It was only through the combined efforts of the Allied Nations, with their overwhelming numerical superiority, that Germany was contained, isolated, and eventually defeated.

In this era of rapid scientific development, an era which has no parallel in history, the military planner is faced with extremely difficult problems. The development of better weapons and weapons guidance systems are having a profound effect on military concepts. Experts the world over are working feverishly in an attempt to determine, in true perspective, the impact of science and technology on the conduct of battle.

However obscure the military future, certain facts stand out clearly. One of these is that military forces can no longer afford to concentrate in small areas for long periods of time for fear of annihilation by atomic or thermonuclear weapons. A second is that guided missiles of all types will have increasing effect on our tactics and techniques. Combat operations in the next war are expected to be characterized by great fluidity and increased dispersion, with units operating over large areas both laterally and in depth. The battlefield envisaged will have large, unoccupied patches between units, and an intermixture of units, friendly and hostile, is to be expected. The clear definition of friendly and hostile territory by a well-defined front may no longer obtain.

The United States Army must remain the most modern and versatile in the world. To accomplish this, we must take every advantage of the advance of science and technology. We must turn to the aviation industry for a vital ingredient of battle success: Superior mobility—the speed differential over a slower antagonist which allows the possessor to place destructive firepower at the right time and place to do the most hurt to the enemy. This, then, is the Army's need for organic aviation.

Our Civic Responsibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently Mr. Walter Wiesman, of Huntsville, Ala., addressed the group at the Alabama Conference on Citizenship on the subject of Our Civic Responsibilities. Mr. Wiesman is one of the German scientists in this country who came here after the war. He has been intimately connected with the development of our missile program. The address is a very fine one by a new citizen, regarding his attitudes after becoming a citizen. I think it can well be read with a great deal of interest by everyone.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES

(Address by Mr. Walter Wiesman, Alabama Conference on Citizenship, Tuscaloosa, Ala., February 22, 1957)

When we talk about civic responsibilities, we are discussing our daily duties as citizens of a unique democratic system, we are discussing politics, and we are discussing what should be fundamental knowledge to many people who do not quite understand anymore the significance of these United States.

Telling the story of our brand of democracy is the only way to keep its full impact before the eyes of the present and future generations. It has to be told by those who believe in it with all the enthusiasm and energy they can muster.

You will find that newcomers to the United States are eager to tell you about

their feelings. They may not be capable of expressing themselves in the most select language and may have all kinds of accents and dialects.

Why do immigrants and new citizens have such strong convictions about the system we live under? Why particularly the newcomers of the last 20 to 30 years?

Most immigrants of recent decades have witnessed in their former countries a system of men above laws. In most cases, the very reason for coming to this country was the passionate desire to escape from such systems. You will find in their spirit and works a parallel between the Hancocks, Shermans, and Franklins of 1776 and the Rosellis, Goldbergs, and Guzenkos of our time.

Why is this?

Both groups of people have experienced hardship and tyranny that will come over nations when men destroy laws made by and for the people. They knew firsthand the meaning of losing what we so casually call our basic freedoms.

For these reasons it is very natural that new citizens have a much greater appreciation of the United States than any natural-born citizen.

Let me tell you a story here. Before a prospective citizen can appear in court to obtain his naturalization papers, he has to study and understand many things about his future country. A little blue booklet becomes his main source of knowledge in regard to the history of the United States and the political philosophy. Most of the details are the ones forgotten by most citizens right after graduation from high school, if they were ever taught at all. A newcomer really has to buckle down to grasp all this. Some of my friends looked through the booklet, looked at me with some pity, and offered just one comment, "God, am I glad I was born here."

When Hitler came to power in Germany I was 12 years old, certainly an age where a child cannot be expected to have extensive political knowledge or feelings. So you might say that I spent my juvenile and some adult years under a rather one-sided political development. I was brainwashed without ever feeling any pain. The system was simple. Press services were government controlled, radio stations government-owned, school systems and teachers were influenced by political pressure and even history books rewritten to suit the political philosophy of the government. After a while, parents did not find the courage anymore to tell their children what a different system of government could look like for fear their own children might report them as enemies of the State. In other words, all sources of information were either influenced or cut off. Since you cannot compare what you are told with any other system or experience, your sense of judgment is eliminated. You simply and firmly believe what your government has determined as the proper doctrine for you.

The government is doing everything for you and has the nation's life and development organized all the way from birth rates to funeral procedures. With economy and living conditions improving steadily, most people feel that the system is exactly what the doctor ordered. The young ones most of all, since they have no way to compare to former times and different forms of life.

If you don't know what freedom and independence is like, how can you ever miss it?

I grew up under a perfect case of government of men rather than of laws. And then one day, after a destructive and eye-opening war, a young man of 25 is offered the opportunity to come to the land known to millions in the world as the country of hope and freedom. Let me state here that neither I nor any other member of the former German guided missile group was forced to enter into employment with the United States Government. It was by my own free choice that I accepted the offer without hesitation and with the greatest expectations. And may I say now that I have never regretted this step for a single second.

What did I find in the United States?

The best and the worst of everything. Positive and negative extremities in every field. In short, a democracy.

I began by absorbing as much as possible from papers, magazines and radio as my limited knowledge of the new language would permit. There was a zest in me for wanting to find out what was going on, for being able to get the news through free sources of information. However, for some time it was a rather disappointing activity. When a newcomer begins to listen to a number of well-known commentators, he is bound to get totally confused. Between Walter Winchell on one side, Drew Pearson on the other, and Gabriel Heatter with social security problems in the middle, the immigrant will be willing to retire to some deserted island because he finds out that these United States just are not worth living in. This phase, of course, is the first practical lesson of having the privilege of getting the news regardless of slant, color, or lament. To learn that a writer or commenator interprets the basic news item according to his views and taste. And that the citizen is entitled to his own interpretation as long as he is able to get the news. Sort of a big public debate of the issues. A very stimulating process, whether you appreciate certain views or not. With the information I received, I began my own thinking particularly on matters of public concern.

Then came another phase of learning for me. Where I came from in Germany, in a town of over one-half million people, there were no problems on new schools, teachers' salaries, symphony orchestras, operas and stage plays, recreational facilities and many other important contributions to educational and cultural development. When I asked my first question why it was necessary to have membership drives every year to keep alive the civic orchestra, I found out that the people of the United States do not want any level of government to mingle into what is considered outside the constitutional jurisdiction of government. An oldtimer clarified the issue for me by saying, "Son, once the boys in city hall begin to pay for the orchestra, next thing you know they will be telling the conductor what to play."

I got the point. I also made my first big mistake. By my line of questioning, some civic-minded person detected a trace of interest in me. And they just happened to have a vacancy on the campaign team. Life for me has never been the same since.

I learned about the value of civic organizations. They may be looked at by many people as knife and fork clubs or to promote only business relations in a selfish interest. There may be some of that kind. However, I have had the privilege over the past 11 years to meet thousands of hard-working men and women of all walks of life in many organizations. They give of their valuable time and energy, and often their money, to work on projects which improve our communities and our standards of living. They are an excellent way of having a representative group speak for the people. Community action is a vital part of our democratic way and civic clubs demonstrate the value of this action every day.

There was one organization in my civic development to which I shall be indebted forever. It all began one night after I had moved to Huntsville in 1950. A friend of mine took me to a meeting of a group of young men which had been organized just 4 weeks earlier. They knew little about parliamentary procedure, they had no money in the treasury, they complained about the meals, meetings lasted until shortly before midnight. All the things that would normally break a club. Not this outfit. Their spirit and aggressiveness balanced all other shortcomings. They had plans, big ones that nobody else was willing to touch. They made mistakes, spent their evenings away from their families, added their bosses' time to make things worse. But they moved, made their own members and other people think and act.

They were Jaycees.

And I made another mistake. There was something in that first administration about the finances that I just did not like and which made me state my position on the floor. You have one guess who their next treasurer was. From there on I went through an experience which is unequalled by anything I have learned since in civic work. And if I needed any proof of the spirit of Jaycees and the country of my choice, it came one meeting in 1952 when 110 young men disregarded my place of birth and the fact that I was not yet a citizen of this country and elected me their president.

After that how could I say "No" if civic work had to be done?

A third, and very important point for the newcomer is the realization that as an individual he becomes part of government. The feeling that he can do his part to determine what should be done for the welfare of community, State and Nation. Not just by enjoying the privilege to vote but by expressing his views in the proper form to the proper people.

But the newcomer also sees alarming signs which he just cannot understand. He finds that a great number of citizens in this country enjoy all the privileges without realizing the duties of a citizen in a democracy such as ours. He finds a complete apathy toward the affairs of our Government. He detects that many people do not appreciate the advantages offered to any member of this great family called the United States.

In general, it can be said that the citizen of a democracy has considerably greater responsibilities and has to work more to make his system effective than under any other form of government. I found it well defined by President Grover Cleveland who said "a government for the people must depend for its success on the intelligence, the morality, the justice, and the interest of the people themselves."

Being an American citizen requires that one should not only be aware of this God-given privilege but just as much, or more so, of the heavy duties which must be fulfilled if one desires to retain these privileges for his own and coming generations.

The duties involved can be stated in one simple sentence: Active participation in all the actions of governments on all levels.

This is a very time-consuming process, which can be divided into three main phases.

The first one is the necessity to be informed. Informed without censorship and restrictions about the events in community, State, Nation, and the world. Knowing what is going on and getting the facts is the prime requisite for self-government. Let us just have the plain facts. The people have always been able to do their own thinking. Sure, sometimes it seems to take forever to get public opinion to move. But with the proper information the people will show the natural qualifications and instincts to do right. I like the slogan on the editorial page of one of our large newspaper chains where is says, "Give light and the people will find their own way." Yes; let us have light without fear or prejudice.

Once a citizen is informed, he cannot help entering the second phase of his responsibility. The evaluation of what he has learned and the alertness to keep a watchful eye on certain events. No easy task at a time when our various levels of government are increasing in scope, responsibility and

budget so fast that it takes highly specialized personnel for each phase of activity. But how can we convey to our legislators what we want them to do for us if we do not understand the issues?

And that brings us to the last phase of active self-government. To express ourselves in sober and plain language toward our elected or appointed officials. We have to express our thinking and our demands without hesitation. If we fail to do so, then we have no right to complain about laws and rules which we dislike.

And we also should remember at this point that the most powerful way to express ourselves is at the ballot box. Not every person may be capable and willing to speak up publicly but it is inconceivable how anybody can fail to utilize the most potent weapon of a free citizen, the right to vote.

Thus we find ourselves confronted with the fact that the responsible citizen faces a never-ending effort to keep up, or better even, stay ahead of his government.

The greatest enemy of this effort is an easily understood complacency in a nation where continuous increase in payrolls and the highest standard of living in the world creates a lulling effect. A few times a year we hear public speakers tell us how well off we are under our form of government. We enjoy hearing about our fine heritage. We feel grand after such speeches, go home in fine spirit, proud to live in this country, feel secure from the evils of the world and—go right on to ignore our responsibility of active participation in government.

We cannot live on the memory of a heritage forever. A heritage is like a well-constructed building. Even the most qualified architects, the most solid foundation, and the best building material will not guarantee that a structure lasts for eternity. It will not endure without maintenance and improvements. We need to tell ourselves and the next generation about this house called heritage and how much of our interest, thinking, time, and money it will take to preserve the structure.

We must ask ourselves regularly whether we really understand what is meant when we use the expression "the American way of life." Is it a system of merely being well fed, well dressed, and equipped with the latest models of everything? Or does it stand mainly for what God intended men to have, freedom, and self-respect?

What action should you and I, as people already active in civic affairs, take?

First of all, we must realize that we count on only a relatively small percentage of all citizens to be active in civic affairs. This is a sad state of affairs, but we must be realistic about this in order to make any plans for the promotion of citizenship.

I have been asked frequently what my political plans are. My participation in community activities was interpreted by many people as a prelude to a political career. These people are confused. This is not a prelude; I am in politics. Any work leading toward community action and improvement, any letter to a legislator, any participation in Government is politics. All of you in this audience are in politics Please don't shudder. When I say politics, I am referring to the area which has been defined as "The study of influence and the influential." The purest and cleanest form of being part of government.

Too many of us have come to take for granted that politics is a cover name for something that goes on instigated by people called politicians. Many citizens are convinced that it takes men and women of some doubtful character and background to be a politician. Certainly a most discouraging indication when we look for such qualifications to choose public officials. The only thing wrong with a number of politicians is the fact that we elected them. And probably by staying away from the polls.

There should be no doubt in our mind that citizenship, civic responsibilities and politics are inseparable. They are the very lifeline of government in a democracy.

We must draw a greater number of professional citizens into active civic work. Their education and talent, their thinking ability and logic make them most suitable to plan and prepare action which our communities should take. We do not pay our public officials enough to expect all the qualifications of top executives. Particularly city and county governments depend heavily on the work of boards and commissions comprised of appointed members. These boards should not be packed with political cronies, but with the most qualified brains available. Which in turn means that these brains have to be willing to serve, get into ticklish issues, risk public criticism, and stand their ground.

Next, we should always remember that our duly elected lawmakers should hear from us regularly. We believe in government by laws but we fail to inform our lawmarkers of our position. Legislators cannot work efficiently by using a crystal ball. They need to know what we, the people, really think and want. You will hear from many citizens that government these days is influenced by pressure groups with plenty of money and power at their disposal. I submit to you that there is one lobby capable of exerting more influence than any other individual or organization. This group has millions of powerful lobbyists. It has a simple but highly important name, the people.

Another important immediate action should be an evaluation of how and what we are teaching our children in regard to the pros and cons of democratic and dictatorial forms of government. It is not enough to salute the flag in the morning when our children don't understand the principles it stands for. Telling them with standard phrases that they live in the best country in the world is not good enough. The continuous teaching of the advantages this country offers must lead to the complacency found in the present generation. Students must be told about the pitfalls commonly occurring in a democracy. They must learn what to look out for in order to preserve the privileges they usually take for granted.

This method will require teachers who will not just depend on standard textbooks. I am sure most of you remember some phases of history and political science so vividly because somebody taught you with conviction, enthusiasm, and a realistic interpretation. This brand of education will penetrate and stimulate the student. And when I say student, I mean to include grammar school grades. It is never too early to bring children in touch with the most important features of their future life. Let us not underestimate their capacity to grasp and remember these teachings about democracy. Television has taught children below 10 years of age what many adults have never learned and may not even understand. Our children talk in scientific terms that baffle their parents and they know statistics on many accomplishments of this country, but they fail to understand the basic reasons which, in our way of life, lead to these facts.

There are three specific issues foremost on my mind these days which I consider a direct threat to our democratic way. In a way the issues are connected since one leads to the other. We should not be afraid to speak up and discuss the potential danger around us once we have realized and pinpointed where it is located. Indeed, it is our solemn duty to do so.

First, there is a growing tendency toward conformity. Sure, there are some rugged individualists left who do not care much for conformity and will contribute to those newspaper headlines which will stir up public interest and debate. One glance at the history of the United States or at any significant event in world history demonstrates that there was always a driving force of nonconformity, liberal spirit, and voluntary action. These factors have contributed immensely to our present political and economic advantages. It is said, "Whoso would be a man must be a nonconformist." If we want to be that man, then we cannot wait for the ideas and the opinion of our neighbors and friends before we dare say anything. Once we think that it is not nice or fashionable to object and speak up, then we have delivered the first deadly blow against democracy. We do not want to be led by the hand by anybody. We want to be as independent as we were meant to be when nonconforming men wrote the world's greatest political documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

An individual leaning toward conformity will soon be a citizen without an opinion of his own and thus a voter influenced by everything but his conviction.

The second issue, usually a result of conformity, is the growing danger of socialism. How many projects have your city and county governments undertaken in recent years without asking for Federal and State financial assistance? How many times have you complained about Federal and State interference in your local affairs? Well, what do we expect? We seem to forget that government help of any kind has to be authorized by a law. Once a law is passed it requires administration, regulations, controls, and investigations. Exactly the things we don't appreciate. Still, we are asking for more and more every year. Our recent staggering national budget is the result of this development. Too much for free from the government creates too much government.

Let me ask our States righters or constitutional liberals, and I consider myself one, whether they are willing to pay for their own affairs in city, county, and State governments. Do they dare request the abolition of certain laws that seem to be of assistance but in reality are a poor return for each dollar sent to Federal or even State level? Will our legislators have the courage to ask for the repeal of laws which provide something for free to their constituents? Better yet, are we willing to demand from our lawmakers to take this position?

Once we have become just a mass of human beings then we approach the issue we have to guard ourselves against as the greatest danger, the communistic system.

This doctrine of Marx and Lenin is so strange to us that we often feel it just cannot be that way. Our basic desire for a Christian and independent life is so opposite the teachings of communism that many citizens fail to realize the potential danger. If the American way of life ever had one true enemy it will be found in communism. The ideological battle may be much more important in the future than a military conflict. But we should apply the age-old military rule that you have to know and understand your enemy before you can begin to fight him. We must include in political science teachings the facts on communism. Burning books with Communist tendencies is the first sign of fear that we cannot handle this issue. It is not enough to tell our children that dictators are bad men; so are gangsters and criminals. We have to discuss the system and its goals. We have to demonstrate the difference between our way and their way to make our point. Our teachings must be supplemented with demonstrative civic action.

The surest way to bring communism to a halt at our borders is to keep the people working in an environment of free enterprise and strong, healthy communities. These are the basic ingredients for strong States and an even stronger Nation. By fulfilling our civic responsibilities, we have the

opportunity to raise the level of our communities in many fields. Our active participation in government is the key to our effort to keep the free spirit of America alive.

You must be the leaders in this hard task. You will have to devote even more time to this effort. In these turbulent days of hot and cold wars, more than ever before in the history of this great Nation, you and I have to assume our full share of public responsibility.

Let us exercise this privilege by remembering the words of the philosopher, Goethe, who more than 150 years ago reminded freemen of their possible fate when he said that, "None are more hopelessly enslaved than those who falsely believe they are free."

Rural Life Sunday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, on May 26 Rural Life Sunday was observed. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sermon delivered by the Reverend John Streng, of Beatrice, Nebr., pastor of St. John American Lutheran Church of Beatrice.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOD GIVETH THE INCREASE

(Sermon by Rev. John Streng, D. D., St. John American Lutheran Church, Beatrice, Nebr., for Rural Life Sunday, May 26, 1957)

(Text: Psalms 67: 5–7)

This is Rural Life Sunday, whose conscientious observance is so warmly recommended by church and State. Its purpose is to emphasize the meaning of the Christian way of life in rural areas, and city folk in Nebraska are not so far removed from the farm to sever connections. The Lutheran Church has always been strong in rural places. For many centuries the church has stressed the relations of soil conservation to religion. This Sunday during the so-called Rogation season immediately after Easter is well suited. The idea is of ancient origin. History tells that Egyptian leaders, both religious and national, observed certain times for ceremonies of the blessing of land and seed at the time of planting. Ancient people always sought the favor of their gods; and since human life depends so much upon crops of the field this was one way in which all the people could unite to appease their gods and worship them.

Surely we Christians have every right and reason to seek God's blessing upon our land and seed and cultivation. Our home and church and community life depend upon the relation of soil and soul. If our land brings forth good fruit in due season under the benevolent providence of God, the soul of the Christion rejoices and he gladly uses proportionate giving in thanksgiving to God for His blessings.

Many youth organizations and local farm groups of children and adults are also recognizing the spiritual value of a nationwide observance of gratitude to God. If Communists and others can gather on Sundays and weekdays to denounce the Christian religion, to plot the overthrow of a peaceful government, to sow seeds of dissention and distrust among people, to try and irritate family against family and nation against nation, surely Christians realize that their whole life and future are at stake in thanking God for preserving this land of liberty; where everyone is entitled to food, shelter, and clothing; where everyone is endowed with life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness under divine protection and guaranty. We are very happy and honored indeed that we have several groups of Christian youth and adults as our guests today uniting with us to thank God for all His benefits and invoking His Grace that our land may long be bright with freedom's holy light. We Americans can never thank God enough for the unlimited benefits, which we take for granted. Many fail to even say: "Thank you."

Martin Luther, the great reformer of the 16th century, said in his famous table talks: "God could be exceeding rich in temporal wealth if He so pleased. If He came to the emperor, the pope, the king, the bishop, the rich merchant, the wealthy farmer, and said: 'Unless you give me 100,000 crowns you will die on the spot,' everyone would answer: 'I will give it with all my heart that I may live.' But now we are so often unthankful, though we receive of Him to rich overflowing such great benefits. If God caused every human being to be born with 1 leg, and 7 years later gave him the other, and in the 14th year gave 1 hand and in the 20th year the other, we would be much more grateful than we are. So also all the gifts that God gives to man and brute beast. He maintains birds and such creatures that are worth comparatively nothing. Scarcely a small proportion of the earth bears corn, and yet we are all maintained and nourished. I verily believe that there grow not as many sheaves of corn as there are people in the world, and yet we are all fed, and there remains a good surplus of corn at year's end. This should make us see God's blessing."

America is truly the 20th century land of milk and honey. In spite of much inequality in many ways, no one needs to go to bed hungry at night, or awaken wondering about clothing and shelter. It is a sad commentary indeed that some parts of our country still barely exist on the soil and the people scarcely make a living. It is not right that public and private wealth is apparently squandered in the millions, while honest, courageous, sincere, poor people slave to try to make ends meet.

The farms and ranch lands of the Nation bear an annual burder that is incalculable.

Food, air, water are still basic to human life. All are God-given. Land is a challenge to farmer and factory worker to realize God's magnificent bountiful plan of plenty for all. God has again and again charged man to use land wisely and pass it on to future generation in the best possible condition. This is God's earth. And we must give account for the use of or abuse of every inch of it. The more Christian a country, the more its people will look upon the land as God does, namely, a noble heritage from which, next to His grace, all life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must originate. We would not dare to or care to mutilate the property of others, realizing that their very life depends on it and that they have worked hard for what they own. Neither have we a right to scar and scour God's green earth through willful neglect or greed.

When the Lord created the earth He put a protective cover of living soil over it. Statistics show that it averages only about 9 inches. It is a restricted, immensely valuable area, for it produces all the food for almost uncounted millions. It is a thickly populated private zone of microscopic life which changes natural vitamins into plant food. Without this wonderful design of God, the earth would become a barren desert and soil would soon blow away. Soil erosion, careless farming, floods, military and business installations, and numerous other factors have greatly reduced the American area to sustain our Nation and most of the others in the world.

Many leaders in church and state are deeply concerned about teaching people that we are God's stewards, mere managers of His wonderful earth. That is one reason why the man of God, speaking in our text, calls upon the nations of the world to consider their Creator and rouse the people to praise the Lord for His loving kindness. Do you thank God every day for life and health and all that's good? Do you say grace at the table, praising God from Whom all blessings flow? Do you remember those lovely words: "The eyes of all wait upon Thee, O Lord, and Thou givest them their food in due season. Thou openest Thine hand and satisfiest the desire of every living thing"? How encouraging and inspiring to watch people on the land give God glory and share with Him His gracious blessings. The psalmist knows that it pleases God immensely when people stop to think about what He is doing for them, and say "thank you." Listen: "Then shall the earth yield her increase; and God, even our own God, shall bless us. God shall bless us and all the ends of the earth shall fear Him." This is the result of realizing the priceless worth of good soil. The conscientious tilling of land in agreement with God's published laws is the concern of the church just as much as the state. The church, as God's representative, must speak out against ravishing and ruining good land. The strength of the church, and the character of the country people, is in direct ratio to their recognition of God as the Giver of all good things.

God's handiwork is evident everywhere on and in the soil. Grass and fruit, domestic and wild animals, birds, and beasts all praise God in their own way. Mountains, rivers, clouds, and celestial constellations are God's satellites to help benefit the earth. It is so important that we carefully nurse and nurture good, productive land. The raindrop has preached a powerful sermon through soil conservation, waterways, grassways, dams, and other installations. The ray of sunshine has brought to man a gospel of temperature and its careful regulation. Every farm boy knows that God's wonderful mystery of the soil begins with rock and its slow integration as nature, water, acids, organic life, and other forms work timelessly to produce rich land. The farm picture is changing, we are told. This week a newspaper editorial published data from the National Income Division of United States Census Bureau, that in 1955 agriculture accounted for only 12 percent of national income.

We stand in awe at the fathomless wisdom of the Creator. We have learned that good soil can easily vanish if we are careless with it. Just as the body suffers through neglect, so the soil and soul of man deteriorate where divine life-giving sources are not preserved. Man's needs increase as population continues to mushroom. Millions of mouths are added each year. Each one deserves good, nutritious food for strong, healthy bodies.

What shall it profit a nation to build huge planes and lose its plains? Why build skyscrapers and guided missiles and yet blow up the earth? Thank God for the alert battalions of conservation corps and church leaders who everywhere fight for the freedom of the wilderness.

Let us remember the psalmist's invitation to praise God as the source of all life. May we honor God and country and city by the manner in which we respect God's earth. Amen.

The Fast Growth of Union Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, recently Mr. Donald Richberg finished work on a book which has just been published, entitled "Labor Union Monopoly." In yesterday's Wall Street Journal Mr. William Henry Chamberlin wrote what I consider to be an outstanding review of Mr. Richberg's book. His review is entitled "The Fast Growth of Union Power." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BOOKSHELF: THE FAST GROWTH OF UNION POWER

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

It sometimes happens that a former sympathizer with the ideal of communism becomes strongly critical of what communism has turned out to be in practice.

In much the same way, a man who was sympathetically associated with organized labor at a time when only a small minority of workers were unionized and when conditions in many industries left much to be desired, may feel a sense of shock at the vast increase in union power during the last quarter of a century.

This is the state of mind of Donald R. Richberg, legal adviser to unions in the Twenties and last head of one of the more short-lived alphabetical experiments of the New Deal, the NRA. He has prepared a short, hard-hitting indictment of what he calls the unchecked growth and continuous spread of labor-union monopolies in which he sees a grave menace to our free economy and our free government.

"Fifty years ago," writes Mr. Richberg, "the picture of the labor union as a weak, idealistic organization of downtrodden workers struggling against an oppressive concentration of property power was often accurate. Any such picture of an established union today is not merely ridiculous; it is willfully or ignorantly untruthful."

The immense growth of union membership on an industrywide and nationwide basis is what creates the conditions of monopolistic power, in Mr. Richberg's opinion. There was a time when the existence in one plant of a closed shop or a compulsory union shop did not mean denial of the right to work to the man who preferred not to join a union. This is no longer true when big industrial unions enroll all the workers from Maine to California, from Minnesota to Florida.

As a result of the huge influx of new members and the tendency to raise initiation fees and dues, unions have become very rich. Although exact financial figures are not available, the author suggests as a careful estimate that union revenues from dues alone probably exceed $450 million a year.

The McClellan committee has turned a spotlight of publicity on some financial abuses in one big union. But Mr. Richberg is concerned with the power of the union leadership, rather than with individual cases of corrupt practice.' The labor unions, he says, are the organizations that spend the most money trying to persuade or bulldoze Congressmen to vote for their private interests.

And, as he puts it: "There is grim humor in the constant complaint of the unions against alleged business monopolies, when the only widespread, long-standing, and effective monopolies in the business world are those maintained and constantly expanded by labor unions. Their legal exemption from prosecution, combined with a legal expenditure of vast sums of money and an illegal use of physical violence and terrorism, creates for them a monopolistic power which no business combination could possibly exercise."

As an example of how the shoe of oppression is now on the other foot, Mr. Richberg recalls the old so-called yellow dog contracts under which employees were required not to join a labor organization. These have long since been made illegal. But now the individual worker may find his freedom of choice just as effectively curtailed through the union shop agreement, under which every employee is forced to be a member, pay dues, and submit to the discipline of one particular union.

Mr. Richberg sees several factors as having combined to enhance the power of union leadership. The Wagner Act and other New Deal legislation, imperfectly balanced by the Taft-Hartley Act, tipped the balance heavily on the union side and increased the pressure which those in control of the union machinery could exert in industrial disputes. Certain rulings of the Supreme Court have extended the exemption of unions from the laws against monopoly and conspiracy in restraint of trade.

He cites the prolonged although unsuccessful strike at the Kohler plant in Wisconsin as an example of the use of violence and intimidation when union bosses are unable to enforce their will in any other way.

"Squads of strong-armed thugs," he writes, "have been sent from Detroit to intimidate strikers as well as nonstrikers and to carry on the rough stuff that will discourage both strikers and nonstrikers from working for Kohler. The cynical practice of calling these criminals and muscle men educators who are sent as experts to aid in collective bargaining is a good example of the arrogance with which high officials in the huge monopoly unions sneer at the public opinion which is expected to support their lawless procedures."

As remedies for labor monopoly evils Mr. Richberg submits the following three propositions: The creation and exercise of monopoly powers by labor unions should be made unlawful. Compulsory unionism, a form of involuntary servitude, should be abolished by law; this is a duty of Congress under the thirteenth amendment. The right to strike should be qualified and limited by defining the lawful objects, the lawful methods, and the lawful occasions of strikes.

Specifically, strikes against the public health, safety, and welfare, strikes to compel political action, strikes without a preceding reasonable effort to avoid a strike, and strikes conducted with the aid or toleration of criminal violence should be held unlawful.

Here the author grasps a very prickly pear—the question how the prohibition of a strike could be enforced. The late Senator Taft once asked Mr. Richberg how you could put 10,000 men in jail. His reply, as repeated in this book, is that nothing of the kind would be necessary; it would be necessary only to deal with the leadership.

The Richberg recommendations go farther than would seem politically possible, especially at a time when public opinion, although startled by the revelations before the Senate investigating committee, has not recently been stirred by any strike which poses a clear threat to general safety and well-being.

All the same, Mr. Richberg has posed in vigorous controversial form issues which figure in the State "right to work" laws and which enter into the whole fabric of a modern industrial society.

Idaho Power and Tax Writeoffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, an exceptional service in the interest of responsible government is currently being rendered by the Senate Antimonopoly Subcommittee under the chairmanship of the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER]. The startling exposures already made by this committee in its investigation of the rapid tax writeoffs recently granted the Idaho Power Co. at Hells Canyon are causing widespread public indignation. An excellent summary of the committee's accomplishments to date is contained in the column written by Doris Fleeson and published in yesterday's Washington Evening Star. I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IDAHO POWER AND TAX WRITEOFFS—SHERMAN ADAMS' ROLE IN CASE PROBED; KEFAUVER PRESSING SENATE INQUIRY

(By Doris Fleeson)

The Eisenhower administration once again has stubbed its toe on the power issue. In no other field has its performance been so consistently clumsy or its results so ilifated.

The administration's nemesis, as it was in the Dixon-Yates case, is again Senator Estes Kefauver. Leading a pack of determined senatorial investigators, he took up the unpromising looking Dixon-Yates contract last year.

By the time he was through the Government was forced to back out hurriedly. The Dixon-Yates combine's claims for compensation are still pending before the United States Court of Claims.

Senator Kefauver is now investigating the circumstances under which the Idaho Power Co. was granted permission to build three low dams on the Snake River in preference to the single high dam which public power advocates had hoped the Government would construct at Hell's Canyon.

The dogged inquisitor has already drawn an embarrassing amount of the administration's blood.

According to the testimony of Jerome Kuykendall, chairman of the Federal Power Commission, Idaho Power got its certificate of convenience and necessity for construction of its three low dams on the basis of understanding by the commission that the dams would be built at no cost to the Federal Government. Yet Idaho Power immediately sought quick tax amortization for the costs of the dams under the defense emergency.

Director of Defense Mobilization Gordon Gray granted the quick tax amortization privilege although, as Senator Kefauver drew out, Secretary of the Interior Seaton had written a letter to Mr. Gray strongly protesting the award to Idaho Power.

The Chief of the Accounting Division of FPC testified that by virtue of the fast writeoff, the cost to the taxpayers would

amount to more than $83 million. Idaho Power, he testified, might eventually benefit as much as $339 million through its tax privilege.

In the face of this, Chairman Kuykendall said that the Commission had made a mistake.

Now the Kefauver committee is looking into the flurry of activity in Idaho Power Co. stock on April 15, the day on which Mr. Gray had approved the fast tax writeoff.

The decision was not announced publicly until more than a week later. On that day 4,500 shares of Idaho Power changed hands as against a previous average daily sale of 700 shares.

The committee has issued subpenas for the records of both the New York and San Francisco Stock Exchanges. This week it will begin a study of all transactions in an attempt to see who, if anybody, had inside information and took advantage of it.

The committee is also expected to ask for a list of Idaho Power's stockholders. Idaho Power, despite its name and area of operation, is a Maine corporation.

The name of Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams which often figured in the Dixon-Yates case has entered the Idaho Power controversy as well.

Senator KEFAUVER drew from Mr. Gray the fact that the latter had conferred with Mr. Adams relative to the announcement of the grant of rapid tax amortization, but beyond that Mr. Gray pleaded executive privilege.

Mr. Adams may again be asked to testify although the committee is certain he will refuse to do so.

Since the committee is unlikely to get Mr. Adams as a witness and since other Government officials refuse to testify as to conversations they have had with Mr. Adams, Congress may never learn the part he has played in the administration's approach to power problems.

Nevertheless it is Mr. Adams' intransigent attitude on the question of public versus private power which many Senators blame for the administration's consistent difficulties in this field.

Justice to the Memory of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK A. BARRETT
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, on my return trip to Washington after attending the Wyoming stock growers' convention in Lander, Wyo., on June 6, last, I read with a great deal of interest David Lawrence's article, "Justice to the Memory of Senator McCarthy," from the June 7 issue of U. S. News & World Report.

I have been greatly impressed with the logic and reasoning of David Lawrence's editorials, but it seems to me that he documented and marshaled his facts and ideas on this particular occasion with great clarity and conviction.

Upon my return to Washington, I received a letter from my old friend and former United States Senator from Wyoming, E. V. Robertson, a part of which reads as follows:

I have a great regard for David Lawrence. I have always had the highest possible regard of Joe McCarthy. I am suggesting to you that you have this article published in the RECORD. I, for one, would greatly appreciate it.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the manuscript is estimated to make 3¼ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $250.25.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by David Lawrence be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUSTICE TO THE MEMORY OF SENATOR MCCARTHY

(By David Lawrence)

True liberalism often requires the championship of causes that at the moment may be unpopular. For true liberalism is not intimidated by the passions of the hour. True liberalism fights for the ultimate verdict—the justice that sometimes comes only in the court of public opinion.

Liberal-minded President Wilson once said in a public speech:

"I would rather fail in a cause that I know some day will triumph than to win in a cause that I know some day will fail."

True liberalism challenges us today to rectify a wrong done to the cause of freedom of speech in America.

Such a wrong was committed on December 2, 1954, when the Senate of the United States adopted a resolution in which it cited specifically the views expressed in public forums by Joseph R. McCarthy, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and then formally "condemned" his utterances as "conduct" tending "to obstruct the constitutional process of the Senate."

For either House of Congress to adopt a resolution "condemning" a Member because his views may be distasteful, or because the individual who uttered them may himself be disliked, is to restrict, if not to deny, freedom of speech in America.

We may accept as our guide to true liberalism the historic definition of free speech bequeathed to us by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States—the greatest of the liberal jurists. He wrote in a famous opinion that free speech is "freedom for the thought we hate."

We must ask ourselves, then, liberals and nonliberals alike: Are we tolerant enough, are we courageous enough, to endure the opinions of those in public office whom we dislike?

Now that Senator McCarthy is dead, it may be possible to examine without feelings of personal rancor the basic issues involved in the controversy which raged in the Senate in the autumn of 1954. It may be, of course, that there are still men in the Senate who cannot forget their personal animosities or their wounds of pride. But at least they can strive to reconsider impersonally the issues involved. They can examine their consciences and ask themselves in all humility whether the vote as taken should be left unchanged in the proceedings of the Congress of the United States, or whether it should now be reversed on the initiative perhaps of the very men who originally pressed it for passage.

For, if the resolution stands, it will remain as a blemish on the picture we have painted to the world of a nation dedicated to free speech. It is today a blot on the record of constitutional guaranties long extolled and respected in America.

To refresh our memories, it is necessary to read anew the full text of the resolution itself. It was in two sections.

One of the two sections said:

"Resolved, that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy] in writing to the chairman of the Select Committee To Study Censure Charges, after the select committee had issued its report and before the report was presented to the Senate charging three members of the select committee with 'deliberate deception' and 'fraud' for failure to disqualify themselves;

"In stating to the press on November 4, 1954, that the special Senate session that was to begin November 8, 1954, was a 'lynch party'; in repeatedly describing this special Senate session as a 'lynch bee' in a nationwide television and radio show on November 7, 1954;

"In stating to the public press on November 13, 1954, that the chairman of the select committee was guilty of 'the most unusual, most cowardly thing I've heard of' and stating further: 'I expected he would be afraid to answer the questions, but didn't think he'd be stupid enough to make a public statement'; and

"In characterizing the said committee as the 'unwitting handmaiden,' 'involuntary agent' and 'attorneys-in-fact' of the Communist Party' and,

"In charging that the said committee in writing its report 'imitated Communist methods—that is distorted, misrepresented, and omitted in its effort to manufacture a plausible rationalization' in support of its recommendations to the Senate, which characterizations and charges were contained in a statement released to the press and inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 10, 1954, Senator McCarthy acted contrary to senatorial ethics and tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate, and to impair its dignity; and such conduct is hereby condemned."

This is an indictment of free speech. However unpleasant may be the words and however displeasing to individual Members of the Senate, the fact remains that Senator McCarthy's statements were expressions of opinion concerning the members of a committee who, Senator McCarthy was convinced, were unfairly trying to stigmatize him.

It will be noted that none of Senator McCarthy's statements was made during sessions of the Senate. The Senate, by its rules, may call to order anyone who speaks discourteously of another Senator on the floor of the Senate, and, of course, any Member of Congress who is criticized outside the sessions of Congress may have recourse to the courts, where the laws of libel and slander can be invoked.

The Senate of the United States is, however, not vested with the power to punish its Members for speeches made or even acts committed outside the Senate, except that it may expel a Member for any reason whatsoever.

But the Senate did not in its action in the case of Senator McCarthy raise the question of expulsion. It adopted instead a resolution of condemnation. The comments it considered objectionable were all made outside the Senate and on subjects highly controversial—emotional expressions of bitterness that were obviously the result of continuous provocation.

PROVOCATIVE SPEECHES

Indeed, the select committee itself, which considered the censure charges, said in its report that it had eliminated one of Senator McCarthy's denunciations of a fellow Senator as a basis for "censure" and acknowledged frankly that his outburst was due to the other Senator's "provocative speeches."

What price provocation? If we examine all the statements made against Senator McCarthy in the long period of controversy prior to the time when the Senate voted its resolution, we will find that the words he is cited in the resolution as using are mild and restrained as compared with the epithets and invectives hurled against the junior Senator from Wisconsin by some of

his colleagues, both on and off the floor of the Senate.

Let us examine a few of them:

1. On September 28, 1951, a United States Senator demanded in the Senate the expulsion of Senator McCarthy. In a 10-point indictment Senator McCarthy was accused of lying under oath, accepting influence money, hoaxing the Senate, practicing calculated deceit, engaging in election frauds, and making irresponsible, libelous, and false statements.

2. On February 10, 1952, in a speech outside the Senate, the same United States Senator declared that Senator McCarthy "has now added blackmail" to "deceit and falsehood" in attacking those who disagreed with him.

3. On May 7, 1954, a United States Senator characterized the hearings being conducted by Senator McCarthy, chairman of a Senate investigating committee, as "unsavory" and "sordid" and declared that "the American people can see at first hand some of the methods that have been employed, such as doctored pictures and counterfeit, phony letters."

4. On June 1, 1954, a United States Senator said of Senator McCarthy: "Were the junior Senator from Wisconsin in the pay of the Communists he could not have done a better job for them." The same Senator added later:

"The real heart of the mystery concerns the personal relationships of the Army private, the staff assistant, and the Senator."

Another statement:

"His (Senator McCarthy's) anticommunism so completely parallels that of Adolf Hitler as to strike fear into the hearts of any defenseless minority."

5. On June 12, 1954, another United States Senator, in a public speech outside the Senate, said:

"What is the source of the most effective damage being done to the United States today? What network of Communist spies and saboteurs could have succeeded in turning this Nation upside down and inside out, in paralyzing the Army and Congress and in sabotaging the defense effort in terms of delay and interruptions beyond any reckoning of it? No Communist could have done it. But McCarthy has accomplished it as a mere side effect of his activities."

6. On June 13, 1954, a United States Senator, in a nationwide television broadcast, declared that Senator McCarthy was seeking to be the sole private eye, prosecutor, judge, jury and sentencer.

7. One June 27, 1954, a United States Senator made a statement similar to one of June 1 about Senator McCarthy's position. He said: "It very closely parallels the fanaticism that Hitler had over his people."

8. On July 18, 1954, a United States Senator, in a speech in the Senate, referred to the excesses and crimes of Hitler and fascism and then declared:

"Each of these features finds its parallel, though it must be admitted to a weaker degree, in the career of the junior Senator from Wisconsin."

Need there be given any more citations of contumacious conduct or of vilifying statements against Senator McCarthy in the months that an organized campaign against the junior Senator from Wisconsin was being carried on, which was finally climaxed by the Senate's decision to appoint a committee to consider the proposal of censure.

Every one of the statements recited in the Senate resolution which condemned Senator McCarthy was made by him after the Senate committee on censure had assailed him, either at its hearings or in its report filed on September 27, 1954.

It might be argued that the long list of statements by other Senators excoriating Senator McCarthy should also have been subject to a resolution of condemnation. If, indeed, the precedent established in the resolution voted by the Senate itself on December 2, 1954, became Senate law, then not only was the Senate remiss in 1954, but it is remiss now in failing to pass resolutions of condemnation of the statements of similar import made inside and outside the Senate since 1954 by those Senators who have publicly impugned the character and integrity of their colleagues and of the President of the United States.

A RULE FOR ONE SENATOR ONLY?

It is difficult to see why, in view of the record of abuse directed at Senator McCarthy, it is what he alone said that was considered contrary to senatorial ethics. Will history say that only a Senator who had the temerity to fight, though clumsily at times, the menace of Communist infiltration in America was singled out for condemnation? Must it not be conceded that Senator McCarthy was the center of a very bitter controversy and that he fought back as viciously as did those who fought him?

Do words themselves actually obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate? If so, then why is it that a filibuster by an individual Senator lasting hours and hours, tactics designed deliberately to block the passage of legislation desired by a majority, is never made the basis for a resolution by the Senate such as that which was voted against Senator McCarthy? Are there any rules even now that can be applied equally to all Senators who may be guilty of violent outbursts, or does the rule apply only to a certain type of Senator with certain types of views?

The answer must be that, no matter how intemperate the expressions of opinion, it is the intent of the Constitution to allow all manner of speeches to be recorded in Congress and to let the jury in the court of public opinion decide on the wisdom of such utterances.

It is necessary next to examine the remaining section of the resolution adopted by the Senate. It reads, in full text, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct at a Senator and effected the honor of the Senate and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned."

This refers specifically to the efforts of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to obtain in 1951 and 1952 testimony from Senator McCarthy with respect to various unproven charges which were in circulation at the time.

But the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections said on January 2, 1953, in filing its final report on the subject, that "a number of its aspects have become moot by reason of the 1952 election." This was one way to take cognizance of the fact that Senator McCarthy had won reelection to the Senate. In this connection, the report said:

"Such facts therein as were known to the people of the States particularly affected have been passed upon by the people themselves in the election."

For it is a fact that all the important issues in the proceedings of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections were published in the press before or during the campaign of 1952 in which Senator McCarthy was up for reelection.

Indeed, when the people of the State of Wisconsin on November 4, 1952, had an opportunity to defeat Senator McCarthy, they knew virtually everything he had said and all that had been said against him in his controversies. For this was a matter of record in the press of Wisconsin.

There were a few incidents later on—after the election. One was the refusal by Senator McCarthy of a written invitation to testify, sent him by the same Senate subcommittee on November 21, 1952. Incidentally, this was the first formal invitation to testify ever sent to Senator McCarthy by instruction of the subcommittee during its 16 months of life. He actually had testified voluntarily before this subcommittee on July 3, 1952, and could then have been asked any questions the members desired. For the charges against him had been widely published by that time.

Another point cited against Senator McCarthy was that he wrote on December 1, 1952, a denunciatory letter in which he charged that the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections had impugned his honesty and integrity without evidence to support its charge. He declared also that the subcommittee was politically motivated.

But these are plainly expressions of opinion by a United States Senator. If they were violations of senatorial conduct, the Senate had a right on January 3, 1953—the day after the subcommittee's report was submitted—to ask Senator McCarthy, as he presented his credentials of admission for a second term, to step aside while his qualifications for membership were examined, and to ascertain whether he had "obstructed constitutional processes." Indeed, Senator McCarthy reviewed the charges against him in the subcommittee's report on the day it was filed—on January 2—and publicly challenged the Senate to refuse to seat him. But the Senate ignored the subcommittee's report and admitted him the next day for a new term.

It is a fact, moreover, that the same Senate subcommittee which had been investigating Senator McCarthy never issued a subpena requiring the presence of the Senator at its hearings. It merely issued "invitations." No Senate rule, therefore, was violated by Senator McCarthy in refusing to testify a second time. No legal processes were "obstructed."

Again and again Senators for various reasons decline "invitations" to testify. So do many citizens. It is an established custom. It amplies no illegality.

THE LA FOLLETTE PRECEDENT

What, however, were the "senatorial traditions" in cases in which a Senator was under charges of misconduct? The record shows that the elder Robert M. La Follette, senior Senator from Wisconsin, in a parallel case, declined to testify before a Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections and ignored letters from the same subcommittee.

The case arose when a resolution was offered in the Senate demanding the expulsion of Senator La Follette because he was charged with being "a teacher of disloyalty and sedition, giving aid and comfort to our enemies, and hindering the Government in the conduct of the war." The charge was first filed by the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety in September 1917, during World War I, because of speeches made by Senator La Follette allegedly interfering with the prosecution of the war. Both houses of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, by overwhelming vote, requested the United States Senate to expel the Wisconsin Senator.

Senator La Follette, however, demanded the right to cross-examine witnesses and said publicly that the committee "denies me the right to a definite statement of the offense of which I am accused and the evidence upon which the charge is supported—a right which is accorded to every man called to answer even for a mere misdemeanor."

This was precisely the position taken in 1952 by Senator McCarthy. He said that he

would appear in response to a subpena but that he would demand the right to have his attorney cross-examine witnesses and to be advised of the charges against him. The Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections never issued such a subpena. It never assured him of the right to cross-examine witnesses and to be advised specifically of the charges against him. Though this is the very code that so-called liberals have lately espoused in urging similar rights for those accused of communistic activities or associations, the subcommittee did not afford Senator McCarthy "due process." Only when the censure committee started its proceedings were Senator McCarthy and his counsel permitted to cross-examine witnesses. He himself was interrogated at length and submitted to cross-examination.

The record shows that, when Senator La Follette appeared briefly before the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections on October 16, 1917, he filed a long letter and defiantly walked out without permitting any questioning or cross-examination. The committee heard Gilbert E. Roe, attorney for Senator La Follette. He made a lengthy argument disputing the Senate's right to punish Senator La Follette except by expulsion. A number of constitutional lawyers of eminence in the Senate at the time sat on that committee. Mr. Roe told the committee:

"Now, the power, under the constitution of the Senate, to expel is unlimited. The power, however, to punish is limited to punishment for violation of its rules and for disorderly behavior. And in this case either Senator La Follette's speech is sufficient to put him out of the Senate or no action can be taken upon it at all."

"Do you think," Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, "the Senate has inherent power to censure?"

"No, sir, not at all," replied Mr. Roe. "There is no doubt about that question."

The Senate subcommittee finally decided not to recommend the censure or expulsion of Senator La Follette.

Yet the Senate in December 1954 said, in effect, that refusal by Senator McCarthy to accept an invitation to testify and his denunciation of a committee for activities which the Wisconsin Senator deemed improper and politically motivated made him guilty of obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate and of having acted contrary to senatorial traditions.

Can the Senate today in all fairness disregard the precedent established in the case of Senator La Follette, whom it has now selected as one of the five great Senators whose portraits are to be placed in the Senate's own hall of fame?

The vote in 1954 on the resolution to condemn Senator McCarthy was bitterly partisan so far as the Democrats were concerned.

While the Republicans split and voted 23 to 22 to condemn Senator McCarthy's refusal to testify before a Senate committee and 25 to 19 against condemnation of Senator McCarthy's utterances, the Democrats voted solidly in favor of both sections of the resolution of condemnation.

Why wasn't there a single Democratic Senator, out of the 48 in the Senate at that time, willing to recognize the free-speech issue as transcending party passion?

This is so out of keeping with the traditions of the party of Thomas Jefferson, and so far afield from the great traditions of the Democratic Party itself, that apparently only ephemeral considerations of partisan politics influenced the Democrats to vote as they did.

Unquestionably at the time the Republicans were embarrassed by the split in their own party. It was presumably considered "good politics" by the Democrats to compound the embarrassments of the Republicans.

But the record of the Democratic Party on the subject of intemperate language and invectives is not too clean, either.

President Truman, in a speech in Oklahoma City on September 28, 1948—as recorded and transcribed by the New York Times—said:

"The fact of the matter is that the Republican Party is unwittingly the ally of the Communists in this country. This is clearly shown in the election record of the Communist Party."

Yet some Democrats have been saying they felt aggrieved at Senator McCarthy because he had implied that the Democratic Party was a party of treason.

Both implications are to be deplored. Yet, after all, these are expressions of opinion, and certainly it is a sorry day for the American Republic when formal resolutions are adopted in the United States Senate condemning one of its Members for mere words in the polemics of the political forum.

No Senator, moreover, should have been permitted to sit in judgment on this case who had himself been a party to the proceedings against Senator McCarthy—neither the members of the committee which sought to uncover alleged irregularities in his personal affairs nor those who filed censure charges on the floor of the Senate. Did not these Senators constitute themselves simultaneously as judge, jury and prosecutor? Should not many of these Senators have voluntarily disqualified themselves from voting? Senator McCarthy, to his credit it must be said, was present but did not vote for or against the resolution condemning him.

If a Senator commits an offense on the floor of the Senate, he is subject to the rules of the Senate. No resolutions of condemnation are adopted when Senators speak ill of each other. The presiding officer merely calls to order, and the speakers proceed as usual.

The Constitution itself says explicitly that Senators and Representatives are immune from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of their respective Houses and that "for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place."

If any Senator or Member of the House is convicted of a crime in a court of law, he is properly subject to expulsion from Congress. But the least that traditional justice has required is that the courts of law be permitted to take their natural course. It is not justice to administer punishment to any man until his guilt is proved in a court. To do so is to condone a form of lynching.

For what the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was undertaking, prior to the election of November 1952, was an investigation of the personal income taxes and finances of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. It so happened that the Internal Revenue Bureau had begun an inquiry as a result of widely circulated charges on these very points. Senator McCarthy rightly refused to furnish political capital to his enemies by dignifying the charges.

OFFICIAL RECORD ACQUITS

In October 1953—more than a year before the so-called censure resolution was voted on—the Attorney General of the United State wrote to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration that the report of its Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections with respect to the personal affairs of Senator McCarthy—submitted to the Department of Justice in January 1953—had been carefully reviewed by the Criminal Division of the Department "as to possible offenses within the Department's jurisdiction" and that the "report fails to show the Commission of any such offenses."

At that time—in 1953—the Department of Justice said it had not yet received the report of the Internal Revenue Bureau on the income taxes of Senator McCarthy. The same Senate subcommittee had implied previously that the Senator did not report in his income certain sums, allegedly used for his personal benefit, which were raised to finance his fight against communism. The Treasury Department under the Truman administration had investigated the same charges, as did the succeeding administration. Then on April 19, 1955, Senator McCarthy received a check from the Internal Revenue Bureau of $1,046.75 as a refund for overpayment of taxes. The Bureau's letter of that date gave him a clean bill of health for all the tax years in dispute, from 1946 through 1952.

These have always been properly matters for the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department to settle or prosecute, as the case may be. It has never been the province of a Senate committee to prosecute alleged violations of the law.

This final action by the Treasury Department on April 19, 1955, came less than 5 months after the Senate had adopted its resolution of condemnation. The official record, therefore, now attests that Senator McCarthy was found innocent of any crime and that there was no deficiency in his income taxes—that, in fact, he had overpaid them.

Will the Senate now do justice to a man proved innocent of the charges and innuendoes levelled against him by a "kangaroo court" of the Senate?

The writer, in an editorial on these pages on October 29, 1954, wrote with reference to the "censure" resolution then pending in the Senate:

"The proposed action is unprecedented in the entire history of the Senate.

"There have been three cases in the past in which 'censure' has been voted. Two of them involved physical behavior—fist fights on the floor of the Senate—and the third was concerned with the ineligibility of a member of a Senator's own staff to attend executive sessions of a committee over which the Senator in question presided as chairman.

"While the Constitution specifically grants to the Senate the power to punish its members for 'disorderly behavior,' there has been no censure ever voted for 'disorderly' speeches or statements of individual Senators. Before the special select committee submitted its report proposing to censure Senator McCarthy, there was never offered in the Senate such a proposal to curtail freedom of speech.

"The Senate, of course, can adopt any new rules that it pleases. But never in the past has the Senate sought by ex post facto action to apply retroactively any new rule or code of behavior. To do so violates the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution. It is not dislike of a man which is the issue, but a procedure that will affect our system of government for generations to come. It is of transcendent importance to the preservation of the freedom of the Senate itself to examine the basis for the most unusual action now recommended."

Fortunately, the Senate did decide finally not to use the word censure in its resolution. Nor did it claim that the resolution was being passed under the power to "punish" which is mentioned in the Constitution. For no penalty was imposed.

By the use of the word "condemned," many Members of the Senate undoubtedly felt they were softening the blow. They declined to apply "censure" in the legal sense in which the term "contempt" is used.

But the whole world was nevertheless informed that in the Senate of the United States, whenever the views of a minority member do not find favor with the majority, he may receive the "condemnation" of his colleagues. He is warned and may be intimidated by the prospect that, if he does not alter his views or mode of speech to conform to the majority will, he may be subject to punishment by expulsion.

SENATE CAN ERASE ITS MISTAKE

The Senate can undo today the grave injury it has done. It can adopt a simple resolution expunging from the record the vote of December 2, 1954, with respect to the junior Senator from Wisconsin. This would serve notice to generations to come that the Senate in a moment of passion, in a moment of political bitterness directed at a Senator who had himself been the victim of provocative statements, passed a resolution which does not belong in the record of the Senate of the United States. Millions of voters feel that the death of Senator McCarthy on May 2, 1957, was due in part to a physical condition brought on by months of agonizing tension growing out of the persecution he suffered at the hands of the Senate. These are matters of sentiment. What we are concerned with here are principles that are above personalities—principles of constitutional law and of simple justice.

It may be that more years will have to elapse before Senators now still harboring their grievances against Senator McCarthy have passed from the stage, and other Senators are elected who will in due time examine impartially the whole record and do justice. But it would be a tremendous encouragement to true liberalism in the world today and a fine example of confession of error for the Senate now to cast from its record the resolution which it passed on December 2, 1954.

Just as the elder Senator LaFollette is now elevated to the Hall of Fame of the Senate—thereby setting aside the many bitter things that were said about him and apparently forgiving him for his refusal to testify before a Senate committee—so today may the Senate restore its own dignity and repair its own prestige by showing that it has the courage to admit that it made a mistake in its resolution of December 2, 1954.

Joseph R. McCarthy, twice elected Senator from Wisconsin, is dead—but the memory of the injustice done him by the Senate of the United States lives on. When will justice be done? Must history wait?

Work on the St. Lawrence Seaway Reaches Its Peak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as a sponsor or the St. Lawrence seaway bill, I am, of course, deeply interested in its problems, and the progress of work on this great project.

I was pleased to note in the New York Times of Sunday, June 9, a very fine article containing the facts and statistics of current work on the seaway as it reaches its peak.

We recognize, of course, that there are a great number of problems yet to be resolved, including the setting of tolls at a reasonable rate, problems of costs, construction, and others.

I am, however, glad to note that this project, despite a great many obstacles, is going forward. I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this article from the New York Times, on the current progress of the work on this great seaway.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORK ON SEAWAY REACHES ITS PEAK—VISITING ENGINEERS MARVEL AT SCOPE OF PROJECT ON WHICH 8,000 ARE BUSY

(By Richard Amper)

MASSENA, N. Y., June 8.—A gigantic construction rodeo is at its top pace today on the St. Lawrence River.

Eight thousand men are working around the clock with $75 million worth of equipment to bridle the wild water. They have it corralled. Now they are hurriedly preparing to harness it for navigation and electric power.

The $1 billion show is "The Taming of the Sault," the beautiful rapids opposite the Massena area that have challenged explorers and engineers since Jacques Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence.

"One of the century's most fascinating construction undertakings," says the American Society of Civil Engineers.

"The greatest collection of machinery ever gathered in one area in time of peace," says Col. Loren W. Olmstead, head of the Buffalo district of the Army's Corps of Engineers. "The work is at its peak right now."

A river of concrete is flowing like the St. Lawrence. The current totals 13,000 cubic yards of it a week. Five cubic yards of it at a time fall from buckets dangling on the ends of booms of railed Gantry cranes weighing 375 tons each. The concrete being used would be enough to provide each man, woman, and child in the Nation with a 43-pound slab.

A total of 185 million cubic yards of earth and rock is being excavated. If loaded into 50-ton rail cars, the excavation would fill a train 2,200 miles long.

Some 200 members of the engineering society and engineers from as far away as Ecuador and Beirut, Lebanon, ended a study tour today of the seaway and power project undertaken jointly by the United States and Canada.

The St. Lawrence rushes eastward from Lake Ontario to the Atlantic at a rate of about 237,000 cubic feet per second. Stanley B. Hunt, the father of the seaway project and chief of engineering of the Buffalo corps, estimated this as enough water to provide every one of the Nation's 165 million population with 920 gallons a day.

In the 40-mile International Rapids section between Prescott and Cornwall, Ontario, the river has an 85-foot head. This is engineering argot for the drop in water level that permits effective use for hydroelectric power. The bigger the head, the more power to turn the turbines connected to generators and transformers that produce electricity.

The problem was roughly analogous to an effort by four persons working in cooperation trying to control water from a bathtub faucet so that it ran down one side of the tub only in sufficient amount to permit Junior to sail his boats in it, and simultaneously creating a lake while the water flowed down the drain.

The five cooperating agencies in the St. Lawrence project are the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority for Canada, the St. Lawrence Ssaway Development Corporation of the United States, Ontario-Hydro Electric Commission, New York State Power Authority and the St. Lawrence River Joint Board of Engineers.

The project is in stages varying from 55 percent to 85 percent of completion. It is expected to be ready for modified use next year with full operation in April, 1959.

When it is completed it will consist of four major works in the International Rapids section. These are the 3,200-foot-long power dam, which will have 32 generating units and stand 162 feet above the foundation; the 2,250-foot Sault Dam, about 145 feet from top to foundation; the Iroquois Dam, 2,540 feet long and 67 feet high; and the 10-mile Sault Canal, with 2 locks.

The dams will convert into an abrupt step the 85-foot drop in river level that is now a gentle ramp. The canal and locks will lift vessels up the 80 feet in 2 steps.

The river runs in two major channels separated by Barnhart Island. The powerhouse dam extends from Canada to the island's eastern end, the Long Sault from the United States to the western tip of the island. The Iroquois Dam, some 35 miles up river, is designed to control the level of Lake Ontario and by controlling the flow of water, prevent formation of frazil ice glutinous chunks that impair turbine operation in the powerhouse.

The river was kept flowing during building of the dams. This was done by the use of cofferdams, interlocking giant drums of steel filled with earth and rock. They diverted the river to a single channel to permit the permanent dam construction.

The Long Sault Rapids used to attract tourists to their wild beauty and lure adventurous canoeists, who tried to master the treacherous current. Today the site is an empty river bed of silt and rock.

The Long Sault Canal is being built in the dry, that is, on land. It is on the American side of the rapids section.

Why Skilled Military Fliers Resign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, there is an old English proverb which says, "Don't be penny wise and pound foolish." That is exactly what the military arm of our Government has been doing in the years since the war. It has neglected to pay for skills, and it has not taken kindly to the Cordiner report which was recently submitted to Congress, a report which, if accepted, would have taken care of the rather alarming rate of nonreenlistment by members of the armed services, particularly the Air Force. An outstanding columnist of California, George Todt, has written for the San Fernando Valley Times an article on this subject, entitled "Why Skilled Military Fliers Resign." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY SKILLED MILITARY FLIERS RESIGN

(By George Todt)

"Don't be penny wise and pound foolish" (English proverb).

Four thousand United States Air Force pilots resigned from service in fiscal 1955. Their training, alone, had cost the Government—pardon me, the American taxpayers—$480 million. That was an average training cost of $120,000 per man. Why did they leave the service?

In the majority of cases, it was simply a case of false economy by the Government: Too little pay to keep these men in uniform—with all their valuable and vitally

needed experience. All their tremendous acquired skills. All these qualified veterans' know-how down the drain.

It is not their fault, either. In the face of rising costs of living, they simply cannot afford the hardships and antiquated pay scales to which they are treated. Look for the blame elsewhere. What are we going to do about it?

Actually, it is the same throughout all the services—Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines—and many of the best men are moving out, going in ever-increasing droves. This is stupid and may even become fatal one day, unless the Government does something about it before it's too late.

It is patently foolish to spend untold billions on training men in all branches of the Defense Department—and then not have them stay on. Especially in this day of modern electronic warfare between total economies. It is the technically trained veteran who will count in any world war III, not the partially trained—certainly not the raw recruit.

Warfare has now become so technical in its scope that the serviceman must also be at least a little of the scientist and the technician together. Even in the lowest ranks nowadays. This means training, training, and still more training for skills and proficiency. A small force of experts can do incomparably more damage to the enemy with modern weapons of war than 10 times the same number of men relying largely on mere numbers no further back than the last World War. The present emphasis is on technical know-how and experience.

Therefore a tremendous turnover in the armed services, as at present, is working to our great disadvantage from the military standpoint. When we consider that it is largely because of "penny wise and pound foolish" rates of pay which is the real area of blame, then it is time we asked ourselves some serious questions. Isn't it better to pay our skilled personnel enough to attract them to stay in the service, thereby save new and additional training costs involved in grooming replacements?

Wouldn't it be better for us to have fewer men, if necessary, if it meant having a nucleus of highly trained technicians with many years of experience—and therefore the greatest amount of standby know-how—available for ready action in time of emergency?

Wouldn't it be better for us along this same line of thinking, to concentrate only on the highest type of volunteer "career men" for our armed services? Men who from the outset wanted to stay in for 10, 20, or even 30 years—providing it was a career which was financially solvent and progressive?

And wouldn't we be more advanced if we got rid of those who don't want to stay in any longer than necessary—and concentrated their wasted pay on men who proudly serve their Nation with real zeal and devotion to the service?

I think this needs to be done without delay. We must keep our best trained men—not lose them to higher paying civilian jobs which call for doing the same kind of work. We must separate the wheat from the chaff—and keep only the best wheat among our service personnel. This kind of good wheat may be expected to cost more than the kind of unrefined wheat which has wheat and chaff mixed together. But it is worth it to us and to our national security in the future. So let's get on with the job. On land—in the air—and on the sea.

Anything less than an effective arrangement here will stamp us as penny wise and pound foolish in the end. Can we afford this kind of false economy today?

Sonic Boom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting article on the sonic boom, the new sound of air power, written by the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER], which appeared in the May 29 issue of Planes, published by the Aircraft Industries Association of America, Inc., Washington, D. C.

As my colleagues know, the Senator from Arizona is the only qualified jet pilot in the Senate, and we are proud of him.

I commend it to the attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SONIC BOOM

(By Hon. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, of Arizona)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER, of Arizona, is a colonel in the United States Air Force Reserve, and the only Member of the United States Senate who is a qualified jet pilot. He has flown most of the supersonic fighters in the Air Force inventory. Senator GOLDWATER joined the Air Force in 1941 and during World War II served in the Far East with the Air Transport Command. He attended Staunton Military Academy and the University of Arizona. Senator GOLDWATER was elected to the city council of Phoenix in 1949 and reelected in 1951. He was elected to the United States Senate in November 1952. He is a member of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Senator GOLDWATER is chairman of the board of Goldwaters, of Phoenix.)

A new sound of air power progress will become more apparent as America opens its doors to the summer season, and more supersonic aircraft are delivered to the military services. This sound is the sonic boom—manmade thunder. It is one of the most widely misunderstood phenomena of high-speed flight, and has been blamed for damage that couldn't have been inflicted by an atomic bomb.

The United States Air Force recently reported some initial findings of a study of sonic booms to find out how they are caused, the damage they can do and, even more important, the damage they cannot do. The study was made by scientists and structural engineers of the Wright Air Development Center, largely based on investigations of claims from citizens who thought, correctly in a few cases and incorrectly in most cases, that their homes had been damaged by the sonic boom.

The researchers found out many things, but it should be a matter of relief to the citizenry that the study proved the sonic boom, from usual operating altitudes:

Cannot crack foundation walls or pavement.

Cannot crack plaster walls installed according to most building codes.

Cannot cause roofs to buckle or crack.

Cannot do any structural damage, but under some circumstances can damage glass panes and improperly installed doors.

There is nothing mysterious about the sonic boom. In fact, muleskinners in my State of Arizona once created booms of a minor variety when they crackled their whips over the teams. The tip of the whip actually exceeds the speed of sound and causes the characteristic sharp crack.

Basically, sound is wave lengths of various pressures hitting the ear, and they result from any surge of energy. The strong arm of the muleskinner provides the energy that creates the crack of the whip. The wave lengths can be compared to the ripples created by a rock tossed into a still pond. Ordinary conversation is a series of pressure wavelets pulsating against the ear like ripples of water slapping the shore of the pond.

An explosion is no more than a very strong pressure wave created by a sudden release of energy. These strong waves of pressure are known as shock waves because of their intensity.

The sonic boom can also be explained by this established law of sound. Shock waves are not visible except under laboratory conditions where highly specialized photographic equipment can catch their distinctive shape. If the shock wave created by a supersonic aircraft in flight were visible, it would resemble a shallow dish as it attaches to the airplane at the exact speed of sound. The speed of sound varies according to altitude and temperature. At sea level, it is 760 miles per hour, and at 40,000 feet the speed of sound is 660 miles per hour.

When the plane exceeds the speed of sound, the waves are swept back from the nose at sharp angles until they form the cone shape of a funnel. Here is the making of a sonic boom.

The shock wave travels through space, but, unlike the ripples of water that it basically resembles, there are only one or two ripples. This wave, which has been formed by the tremendous energy of the aircraft flying at supersonic speed, reaches the ground at the speed of sound. However, the shock wave is obstructed by anything it comes against—trees, buildings, automobiles—anything it touches. The power it possesses is constantly dissipated at it passes through the air. It is robbed of its energy by the friction it creates in its passage through the air and on the ground. Guided missiles create a sonic boom as they move through the air, as do aircraft capable of supersonic flight during climb. But this sonic boom never reaches anyone's ears since it dissolves in its upward flight.

However, when the increase in pressure occurs at the eardrum, we have a sound. Anyone in the path of the cone's high pressure air will hear the sound as the cone passed over him. The aircraft dragging the cone along is travelling at a very high rate of speed, and, since the high pressure is concentrated in a very small volume, this sound is a sharp crack which sounds much like a thunderclap.

This, essentially, is all there is to the cause of the sonic boom. It is man-made thunder with the aircraft playing the role of an electrical discharge or lightning.

A loud thunderclap can generate a pressure of about a half-pound per square foot, and a loud sound from a boiler factory will produce a pressure of about one pound per square foot. The noise of a sudden thunderclap will startle or frighten people while the boiler room noise, which is continuous, will do neither, simply because it is expected. Reducing the analogy even further, a person shouting "boo" behind a man will startle him more than a "boo" shouted by someone he sees before him. It's only fair to note, however, that the degree of surprise depends on who is doing the booing.

The Wright Air Development Center engineers and scientists made a thorough in-

vestigation of representative cases of the damages alleged to have been caused by the boom. They had a substantial background of experience in shock waves caused by explosions to draw upon in arriving at their conclusions.

First, the engineers and scientists observing the effect of shock waves generated by atomic explosions never detected structural damage to the flimsiest structures at pressures less than 70 pounds per square foot. In tests where aircraft have dived from 35,000 feet, exceeded the speed of sound, and then pulled out at 25,000 feet, the pressure of the wave created has been no greater than 5 pounds per square foot. Even when the aircraft descended to 10,000 feet before pullout, the pressure did not reach 10 pounds per square foot. Supersonic operations are rarely performed at altitudes less than 20,000 feet since the pilot requires this altiture as a safety factor for recovery from the dive. The Air Force even carried its recording instruments to a mountain top to obtain a pressure reading. They registered an aircraft flying at supersonic speed 280 feet away and the maximum reading was 33 pounds per square foot. The jet pilots I know are much too wise to attempt supersonic flight at an altitude of 280 feet except for the most urgent operational reasons.

Air Force regulations also state that sonic and supersonic speeds during straight and level flight will be commenced and terminated at altitudes above 30,000 feet over land areas, and above 10,000 feet over water areas. Sonic booms are not intentionally performed during tactical missions, and when training programs require speeds that could produce a sonic boom, the flight must be conducted over specially designated areas under close supervision. These regulations governing training missions are also applied by the aircraft industry in conducting test flights of new aircraft.

By simple arithmetic, the pressure produced by the usual sonic boom is less than one-twentieth the pressure required to cause structural damage to a flimsy structure. The behavior of homes and industrial buildings of brick, block, and frame construction tested by nuclear explosions reveals that it takes pressure on the order of 150 to 300 pounds per square foot to cause damage ranging from plaster cracks to wall and roof cracks.

The WADC engineers made a calculation study of a wood stud wall with a plaster inside surface. The walls were between 8 and 10 feet in height and constructed from 2 by 4 studs. Suppose we overlook the strength contributed by the sheathing, siding, and plaster and assume that the stud takes all the load. On a single stud the load is about 67 pounds. The maximum tension in the stud at the middle is 200 pounds per square inch of stud.

Most building codes require that the stud be fastened to the plate by three 12-penny nails. These nails provide the shear resistance. The shear strength of the nails is about 300 pounds and the tensile strength of the wood is at least 1,000 pounds per square inch. Building authorities say that in order to prevent plaster cracks, the deflection at the middle of the beam should not exceed 1/360th of the span length.

As long as a 10-foot stud does not bend more than one-third of an inch at the middle from its normal position, the wall plaster will not crack. By calculation, the deflection of our wall stud under the heaviest load imposed by a sonic boom would be only 30 percent of the deflection required to crack the plaster.

Calculations of this kind can be extended to various elements of the house—roofs, side walls, and porches. The sonic boom falls far short of causing sufficient load to crack plaster, floors, roofs, and walls. The force exerted by the boom is like a giant giving the whole house a very light and very quick touch.

So far the structure has been discussed as if it had no openings. Now let's take a look at the windows and doors. The sash and frame of a window, of course, are more than strong enough to withstand the relatively minute force of the boom.

The window glass is another matter. Glass, in one sense, is a strong material, but it is brittle compared to other building materials when used in thin sheets. The methods by which it is manufactured are apt to produce internal lockup stresses. In addition, the glass may be bent ever so slightly when it is installed. Thus a light, sharp blow can shatter a glass pane.

I do not want to imply that a sonic boom will always break windows. Ordinary window glass, properly installed, will break at pressures of 18 to 70 pounds per square foot, a much greater force than the boom produces. In fact, the Air Force, in a recent demonstration, directed some booms at a large plate of glass held in a frame. Five successive sonic booms failed to shatter the glass and only when the glass was loosened in its frame did the boom cause it to shatter.

Doors, with the exception of their glass area, are strong enough to resist boom forces. The weak points are the lock and hinges. If a lock is loose fitting, the impact of the boom may be sufficient to jar the opening and cause the door to slam against the wall. Under this condition or if the door is slightly ajar, the hinges might pull loose or cause a split in the door jamb.

Bricks, plaster, and mortar do not have any measurable ability to creep or move along its surface. When laid up into walls or ceilings, they also get locked up stresses which are caused by curing of the mortar or plaster, shrinkage due to the drying out of mortar or plaster and the effect of expansion and contraction between hot summer and cold winter temperatures.

These materials have very little give or resilience. They stand these force combinations indefinitely or fail after 1 or 2 seasonal cycles. If the boom forces were appropriate, brick, block, or plaster stressed near the point of failure by a combination of locked up or seasonal forces might be overloaded; but since the boom force on a structural element is far less than a good stiff windstorm or, in most cases. less than that of a healthy boy jumping on the floor, it is difficult to see how a wall could remain poised just at the point of failure for any length of time without being tipped in or broken by other more frequent forces.

Ground vibrations are another matter subject to misunderstanding for very good reasons. For example, it was reported to the Air Force that structures were shaken violently and the ground was jumping up and down an inch or two when large aircraft flew overhead. Even the scientists sent to investigate the matter admitted to this feeling. Yet, measuring devices with the most sensitive instruments available indicated no movement, but slamming a screen door drove the measuring device completely off the scale.

The scientists found that we get false perceptions of movement because the sense organs in the skin only require pressures measured in a millionth part per square inch to cause a sensation of movement. It is difficult for anyone to believe there is no vibration, but the most exacting scientific tests have proven there is none.

The sonic boom will not cause ground vibrations, that could damage basement walls, floors, or concrete walks and driveways. Investigations of nuclear explosions which produce many times the pressure of a sonic boom show that there is very little effect on the ground near the point of impact or on pavements, pipes, or foundation footings.

The question then arises as to why structural damage is claimed after a sonic boom. Basically, this is because the homeowner, after hearing a sonic boom, is certain that the noise must have caused some damage. He makes a careful inspection of his home, probably the first time he has gone over the house looking for damage in several years. And, of course, he finds crack after crack. The immediate conclusion is that the boom caused the wall and ceiling cracks. The owner is convinced that the cracks did not exist before the boom occurred. This is a completely natural reaction. The cracks hadn't been detected before, simply because the householder had never looked carefully for them.

A simple test will prove this point. Take a flashlight and go over your walls and ceilings. You will find numerous cracks that you didn't know existed. It is also possible to check whether the cracks are recent or not. Where the plaster has parted, the edges of the rupture will be gray or weathered on an old crack and the plaster will be white on a recent crack.

The Air Force has a dual responsibility on damage claims. It is the policy of the Air Force to make prompt payments for damage caused by its operations. At the same time, the Air Force has a tremendous obligation to the taxpayers to expend each dollar appropriated in a proper manner. The great bulk of the claims received are from people who are honestly convinced that the damage was caused by Air Force operations. The Air Force completely respects the right of the citizen to claim this damage, and a thorough investigation is made. But the scientific knowledge acquired by their investigations of what a sonic boom can do and cannot do must be considered in denying or approving the claim. This is evidence that cannot be ignored.

There are, of course, cases where the claims are patently ridiculous. During a recent demonstration, several sonic booms were deliberately made. One man's residence was located 13 miles from the airport where the boom was directed. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki did not cause damage to Japanese residences beyond an 8-mile radius. This fact, however, didn't stop the owner from claiming damage from a sonic boom at almost twice the damage limit of an A-bomb.

Another man with two business establishments and a house located in a triangle 7, 5 and 2½ miles apart, with the closest corner of the 3 buildings located 4 miles from the airport, promptly put in a claim for damage on all 3 buildings.

The Air Force, like all Government agencies in a democracy, is highly responsive to the demands of the public it serves. Protests to the commanders of air bases across the Nation and to the Pentagon are given prompt attention and remedial action is sought. In many cases, a simple fix is possible; in other cases, the Air Force cannot eliminate the cause of the protest without serious damage to operations.

It is difficult to readily identify the aircraft causing a sonic boom. This is due to the high altitudes where most supersonic operations are conducted, and a sonic boom created at high altitude may be heard 20 to 30 miles away from the path of the plane. Atmospheric conditions play a significant part in the propagation of these sound waves.

Although Air Defense identification zones are in existence, aircraft operating within them, once identified as friendly, receive no further attention. These zones are established to identify aircraft entering the zone from an outside point.

Absolute identification of the aircraft causing the sonic boom is further complicated by the fact that, except for certain

required position reports en route, a jet aircraft may not be known to be in a designated area at a certain time.

The Air Force now has under consideration the development of an instrument that would automatically record the time, position and flight direction of a plane when it exceeds the speed of sound. Such an instrument will be vital in fixing the responsibility for any damage a boom may cause.

The noise created by turbojet engines is a thorny problem in the relations between the Air Force and the citizens of cities they defend. But the Air Force started an intensive program of public education on jet noise.

Community leaders were invited to nearby airbases for tours; they talked to the commanders and the pilots of the jet aircraft. Landing patterns were rearranged so that the least inhabited areas were in the flight path. The Air Force explained that a jet taking off at 2 o'clock in the morning was not prompted by the desire of a pilot to get his flying time. An unidentified plane had been reported, and the jet was ordered to make an interception.

Once these points were explained, the complaints on jet noise dropped. In fact, jet noise complaints apparently reached their peak last year, and the Air Force estimates that fewer complaints will be received this year despite a growing number of aircraft entering service equipped with high-thrust jets. The noise of the jet planes still exists and will continue to exist for many years, but the annoyance has been lessened through public understanding.

Public appreciation of cause and effect, of necessities that far outweigh inconveniences is an invaluable national asset. Certainly we would not want to equip our Air Force with supersonic aircraft and then forbid the pilots to fly at these speeds. Pilots must know the performance capabilities of their aircraft if they are to be employed some day against the enemy.

The sonic boom is a new noise that we must accept as part of freedom's price.

The Advantages of Private Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons' Freedom Programs, Inc., annually sponsors a national essay contest the purpose of which is to stimulate high-school students' interest in Americanism and private enterprise. This program has much to commend it and I am sure many, many young men and women throughout our Nation have developed a better understanding of the subject in the course of the preparation of their essays.

This year, I am especially proud of the fact that Miss Sonia Gustavson, of Olivia, Minn., in the district I have the honor to represent, won the first national prize of $1,000 cash with her essay, The Advantages of Private Medical Care. The award was presented to Miss Gustavson on her 18th birthday by my good friend Dr. J. A. Cosgriff, Sr., of Olivia, Minn., who was the attending physician at her birth. Miss Gustavson, who was valedictorian of her high-school class, plans to use the contest money to finance her first year at the University of Minnesota as a student of premedicine.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including this splendid essay in the hope that many may read it and find from this talented young lady's reasoned arguments a better understanding of the functions and responsibilities of an unfettered medical profession in the United States of America:

THE ADVANTAGES OF PRIVATE MEDICAL CARE

"May the love for my art actuate me at all times; may neither avarice, nor miserliness, nor thirst for glory, nor for a great reputation engage my mind; for the enemies of Truth and Philanthropy could easily deceive me and make me forgetful of my lofty aim of doing good to Thy children." [1]

The art of medicine is the great art. Its practicers are dedicated; its appreciators are fervent. Surely it is the wish of all thinking, discerning men that members of the medical profession know an atmosphere which will enable them to maintain the high quality of health care that they are giving Americans at the present time. That atmosphere is one which is free from Government control or intrusion. American medical men possess this freedom now, and they must continue to possess it.

A look at the advancements in the health standards of the American people will readily show us just what has been accomplished by doctors operating under this private practice system.

Since the founding of our Nation, life expectancy has increased 39 years. Contributing factors lie in all fields of medicine. Since 1900, the death rate has increased for eight diseases, while it has decreased for 21 diseases. The increase is due to the fact that, since that year, the population of America has doubled. For every 1,000 babies born in 1957, some 130 live who would have died 50 years ago. The number of people over 65 has quadrupled, and these people account for the marked rise in the death rates for cardiovascular diseases, cancer, and other diseases of old age. The decrease is due to the discovery and perfecting of antibiotics, improved surgical methods, quicker diagnosis and reporting, and to the work done in the field of preventive medicine.

Such splendid achievements could not arise from a profession with low standards of quality. The medical profession requires of its prospective members 10 years of advanced education in any of the Nation's 82 approved medical schools and under intern and residency programs. Postgraduate courses are offered by schools, societies, hospitals, and other health agencies. Standards are elevated in auxiliary fields of medicine such as laboratory technology and occupational therapy. Financial aid can be secured by deserving medical students. A record number—7,686—entered medical schools in the 1955–56 academic year. What may appear to be, in some areas, a shortage of doctors, in actuality is maldistribution. This is being remedied by placement programs which inform communities of doctors desiring locations and inform doctors of communities desiring medical care.

One of the arguments for socialization of medicine frequently used by uninformed people is this: "If the Government takes control of medicine, we'll get free medical care." Medical care, like every other necessity, costs money. There is no reason why anyone should hesitate to go into debt to meet medical costs. There are three ways that a man can pay for medical care:

(1) Cash. It is cheaper to pay for home or office calls than to pay taxes to the Government on the chance that you might need this kind of service.

(2) Savings, securities, loans. Should a man find it necessary to delve into his savings to pay a medical bill, he can do so. If this is not necessary, the savings will remain on hand to meet other types of expenses that may arise. If medical bills were met with Federal taxes which are, in this case, compulsory savings, a man could not use these funds for any purpose other than to meet medical expenses.

(3) Commercial insurance. In exchange for premiums, you are paid for the costs of more serious illnesses and operations. The uncertainty of a large expenditure is replaced by the certainty of a small one. The advantage of voluntary health insurance over compulsory health insurance is this: The individual reserves the right to select his own doctor and hospital. At the present time, over 60 percent of the estimated eligible population carries some type of voluntary hospital expense coverage, and approximately 50 percent is protected against some of the insurable costs of surgery. The voluntary health insurance movement has already surpassed the goals originally charted by the pioneers in the field. It has been on a voluntary basis that all great progress in America has been achieved, and only on that basis can the Nation be assured of progress in this field.

A look at the country of England will show us some of the dire results of the socialization of medicine. Under the national health program, that country proposed to give the indigent, the poor, the average, and the wealthy the same quality and quantity of medical care, and maintain the quality and quantity that the wealthy were accustomed to under private practice. What happened? In London, wealthier districts have an average of 1 doctor for 1,261 patients, and poorer districts have twice as many patients per doctor. The farming and mining communities suffer even more from lack of medical services. In February of this year, the British Medical Association advised 21,000 English general practitioners seeking a pay raise to quit Britain's socialized system of medicine. The association recommended the adoption of a pay-as-you-go plan.

From bitter experience, Britain has learned some of the inevitable results of government medicine.

(1) Administrative costs of collecting the taxes and redistributing them as sicknesses occur make the entire program less than worthwhile.

(2) The physician-patient relationship, always confidential, has been disturbed by this third party intruder, the government.

(3) Physicians lose autonomy in diagnosis and treatment that they possess in private practice.

(4) Political influences enter into the sphere of medicine.

(5) Regimentation occurs in conditions of employment for doctors: the number of hours they must work, their income, and their location.

(6) Standardizing the treatment of patients slows down research.

Should anyone feel that the indigent and the chronically ill are being neglected under America's present system of medicine, let us investigate these areas. The chronically ill are, of course, excluded from private medical plans because the risk is too great. However, in this country there are private institutions that give considerable amounts of aid to the aged, the sick, and the handicapped. Doctors often treat these people at reduced costs. Indigent people are those who can neither afford medical care nor the other necessities of life. They are supported by welfare programs, and are the only people

[1] "Daily Prayer of a Physician" by Maimonides.

who should receive Government aid. If the Government stepped in to furnish all of us with medical care, all private resources would dry up and the taxpayer would have to shoulder the entire load. The Government already takes one-third of our income, so why make it necessary for it to take more, when private medicine is less expensive and so much more efficient. Let us not forget that it is the intrinsic natufe of bureaucracies to get bigger and bigger, more and more wasteful, costlier and costlier and, at the same time, to get further and further out of touch with the individual and his or her particular needs.

In 1939, in a small country town, a woman was stricken with simultaneous influenza and pneumonia. For several days her life hung by a thread, and during these days her family doctor was unfailing in his efforts to strengthen that thread. It was a personal matter with him; a battle in which he pitted himself against death itself. In the late hours of the night and the small hours of the morning, he was available to administer stimulants when it seemed the thread could hold no longer. As a last resort, this country doctor sent to a larger city for a new drug that had just appeared on the medical scene which, through his constant studying, he had just learned about. This forerunner of the "miracle" drugs—sulfanilamide—along with the doctor's dedicated care, saved the woman's life. Picture this same case under socialized medicine. During the day, the doctor would have been too harrassed by petty rules and regulations of diagnosis and treatment to give his undivided attention to the saving of this life. After hours, when stimulants were needed immediately, the "night doctor" would have had to have been called. In all likelihood, there would have been no case-continuity nor any of the vitally important feeling for the patient on the part of the "night doctor" working his "shift." When the new drug was wanted, there would have been red tape to cut, and forms and requisitions to fill out. By the time the drug would have arrived, the thread of life would have been completely and finally severed.

When I see this woman now, 18 years after her illness, a gracious old lady bringing joy to all those around her, it seems to me that she is a living embodiment of the advantages of private medical care.

New Dimensions in Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "New Dimensions in Farming," delivered by Hon. True E. Morse, Under Secretary of Agriculture, at a banquet sponsored by Charles Pfizer and Co., Inc., honoring 20 winners of 4-H Club animal health scholarships, at Terre Haute, Ind., May 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW DIMENSIONS IN FARMING

(Address by Hon. True D. Morse, Under Secretary of Agriculture and President, Commodity Credit Corporation)

We have gathered here to do honor to farm youth. Through diligence and demonstrated superior ability you young people are emerging as leaders of tomorrow's American agriculture. My hearty congratulations to all of you and to the 17 States from which you come. Best wishes for a most successful and satisfying life of service.

This is another demonstration of how American business goes beyond strictly commerical activities to lend inspiration and encouragement to agricultural leadership. Much of the amazing progress in agriculture has been through the teaming up of farming and businesses. Here is a 108-year-old company, I am told, spending some $8 million on research, and claiming to be the largest producers of antibiotics—going beyond what might be considered its usual service through products, to help develop farm leaders.

Farm and industry—are partners in progress.

This is an expression of two major needs for tomorrow. One is for able agricultural scientists—many of whom will become agricultural extension workers—to serve the farms and homes of farm families. The other is for a more profitable animal agriculture.

Twenty of you college juniors prepared, extension teaching plans on animal health.

"A technological revolution is occurring on American farms," according to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson. "This creates a new dimension in farm policy." There has been more farm progress in the past 50 years than in all prior recorded history. Now we are in the atomic age. This terrific surge forward will continue. The Secretary says, "There is no sign that the current phase of the technological revolution in agriculture has run its course."

There is growing recognition in Congress that certain laws need to be changed, to allow farmers to take full advantage of expanding opportunities. For example, the price support program for the basic commodities was originally designed to combat the effects of a general depression, and had considerable justification on that basis.

The program was overhauled during the war for the purpose of expanding production, a need which it served in commendable fashion.

Our present need is not that of combating a general depression, nor of stimulating production to meet the needs of war. Our need is for agricultural adjustments to accommodate the tremendous technological revolution through which agriculture is passing.

There is a growing demand by farm leaders that we move in the direction of more freedom for farmers to produce. Farmers want to make full use of the new dimensions in farming.

A new rural America is fast developing, bringing an integration with industry and urban life and with nonfarm people. It is a highly desirable change for our great industrial Nation—but we need to be adjusting to this new dimension. For example, in Michigan, nonfarm people living outside of towns and cities now outnumber the farm people—and large numbers of farmers are members of labor unions.

There is an "explosive dispersal of city people into suburban and rural areas," according to many authorities.

Our economists are pointing out that suburban communities—like clusters of leaves along the main stem and branches of highways and roads—have grown in recent years at about 3½ times the rate of the gain in national population.

The levels of living of farm and city people are more nearly alike now than they were in previous years. The gap will continue to narrow.

More and more rural residents will be going to urban schools, churches, shopping centers, and to recreation and entertainment facilities.

Our economists suggest that a new agricultural community is emerging which might be described as city life widely spaced.

The rural community and farmers will become even more dependent on industry and urban centers.

Just before World War II, only about 25 percent of farm production supplies—fertilizers, seeds, feeds—came from urban-industry sources. Now, farmers get more than 60 percent of these supplies from cities and factories. With the march of technology, the percentage might reach 75 or more before 1975.

Many chores once done by farmers themselves are now often performed by urban industries or individuals. Some of these services include contract hauling of livestock and other farm products, pickup of eggs and milk, custom harvesting, weed control, insect control—to name just a few. The upward trend in this direction is expected to continue.

Farmers will be able to produce more—and better quality products—and at lower costs per unit—making ever-growing use of this new dimension in farming.

Farm programs must be kept in step with the revolution taking place on farms and in rural communities. There is need for more able and more versatile agricultural-extension workers for the dynamic era to which you young people will be giving your leadership.

Animal agriculture can help balance production and consumption. The need for such balance is agriculture's most urgent central problem. Therefore plans such as those on which you young people have worked, to improve animal health, can make a major contribution to progress in farming. Never fail to take account of such facts as these:

Livestock and livestock products account for over half (54 percent) of farmers' cash receipts from marketings.

The products from over two-thirds (70 percent) of our harvested crop acres are marketed in the form of animal products. Livestock condense about 7 pounds of dry matter, including grain, to about 1 pound of dry matter in the form of meat, milk, and eggs.

People want more meat, milk, and eggs than they are getting.

Markets for these products can be expanded. Dr. Sumner H. Slichter, noted economist of Harvard University, says, "Although America is the richest nation in the world, it is still on a hamburger standard of living. Americans would gladly double their consumption of steaks if they were availabe at moderate price. But that would require doubling the cattle population."

We now have a population of over 170 million people—an increase of 29 percent since 1940—and the increase is continuing at a rapid rate.

In 1956 the average person had more red meat, 167 pounds, than since records began in 1899—and thus had opportunity for more vigor and better health.

We can still go a long way in shifting consumption to the high-nutrition foods—to animal products in particular. It is a golden opportunity.

Our success in dealing with surpluses depends upon the quality and desirability of the food with which stomachs are filled—also whether many hungry stomachs are filled regularly—and with good food.

Animal agriculture can be expanded in dimensions that will increase farm profits. At the same time it will provide more vigor and better health for all our rapidly growing population. That is the challenge.

You represent 4-H Clubs. You selected winners represent America's number one voluntary educational program, of voluntary character, for rural young people. There were more than 2,164,000 members last year.

These young people were enrolled in 90,500 4-H Clubs and did their work under the

guidance of approximately 500,000 volunteer leaders, a tremendous army of devoted people helping to carry the advances in agricultural science to the homes and the farms of the Nation.

Each of these volunteer leaders is further supported by the county extension workers who serve in every agricultural county of the United States. These extension workers are fortified by the great wealth of information gained through scientific research.

You, in your work and studies, represent the basis of all major progress—research and education.

There are certain basic or enduring values that do not change. We tend to forget them under the pressures and rush of this atomic age. Yet they are basic to our Christian and American way of life.

They have given us our great America. They have led us into the spiritual, cultural and economic growth that has given us the abundant life which we enjoy.

I am referring to "the ideals we live by"—the faith by which men and women of character live. They were present in the minds and hearts of our forefathers, they exist in our form of government, and we must be ever vigilant to protect and hold fast to them.

Our honored and cherished American system of free enterprise is founded on spiritual values—not material values. We have a rich heritage in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These instruments of our form of government were prepared in an atmosphere of spiritual guidance with thoughtfulness, sincerity, and a devotion to the importance of freedom of the individual. They help provide the foundation for our ideas of understanding, cooperativeness, tolerance, and human dignity. Because of this, our land is a "land of the free" with opportunities unlimited—a land that has given us the freedom and right to speak, to work, to assemble, and to worship after the manner which we believe to be right.

You young men and women will soon be starting on the career of your choice. You were free to decide on the college you entered, the curriculum you followed, and maybe even how hard you studied. You continue to be free to decide what you will do, where you will work, where you will live, the organizations which you will join, and whether or not you will own property. You are assured the right to manage your own affairs, to enjoy the freedom and equality of opportunity, and to succeed or fail in your vocation depending upon your own initiative and ability.

Our political ideals are the outgrowths of the conviction that all men are created equal.

This conviction has been a major factor in our accomplishments of the past and present. It assures us of an ever new and expanding, limitless dimension for our abilities and for the future of agriculture and of all of America.

Furthermore, we here in this country, as President Theodore Roosevelt said a half century ago, "hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men."

Domestic Parity Plan for Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call to the attention of my distinguished colleagues my introduction of legislation to provide a domestic parity plan for wheat.

We are all concerned with overproduction of our agricultural commodities. We all want to find an adequate and profitable outlet for our overproduction above our domestic needs. We need this two-price plan in order to maintain domestic prices at the desired level and at the same time sell our surpluses on the foreign market.

Under the two-price plan, which could apply to commodities other than wheat, each producer would be given an allotment covering his share of the domestic consumption of his product at full parity. The remainder could be sold on the world market or carried for future use.

In introducing this bill it is my desire to fill a serious need for a farm program tailored to a specific commodity and which will at the same time fit into the overall agricultural picture. I am sure many of you are familiar with it. It appears evident that with the passage of time more serious consideration must be given to the relative merits of a new farm program. The domestic parity plan is a workable plan for the agricultural producers of our Nation to salvage and build anew a sound economy.

The domestic parity plan for wheat is highly favored by many people of the Fifth District of Kansas. It is my sincere intention to work for the passage of this bill.

Don Blanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, the people of Hawaii and his friends in every part of the world mourn today the unexpected passing of Don Blanding, poet laureate of Hawaii, who died on June 9 in Los Angeles.

His love of adventure and his lust for life led him to many parts of the world. He fought under foreign flags in revolutionary wars; in World War I he was a pilot in France. He established his reputation in New York as an artist and interior decorator and poet, but his spiritual home, until the day of his untimely death, remained in the islands.

No matter where he pursued his restless talents it was always to Hawaii and to the people of Hawaii, for whom he had an overwhelming affection, that he returned.

Donald Benson Blanding was born 62 years ago on his father's ranch in Kingfisher, Okla. The world beckoned and at the age of 17 Don left Oklahoma, never to return. Soon thereafter he was fighting in the small wars of revolt plaguing the Central American Republics at that time. When World War I came he became a military pilot and flew with the American forces in France. Returning to the United States after the armistice, he paused in New York. There he witnessed an event which was to alter his life and shape the course of his destiny.

This was his attendance of a revival of the stage production Bird of Paradise, whose locale was the exotic South Seas islands. That night, Blanding has told us, he heard the call of paradise, and he responded eagerly.

Hawaii did not disappoint Don Blanding. Under its tropical skies Blanding's great artistic gifts and creative capacity were energized and inspired. His first volume of verses about Hawaii appeared. Then another and a third, Vagabond's House, which sold 150,000 editions and established Blanding as a major poet.

His artistic versatility grew. As an artist, he illustrated his own published works. He staged Hawaiian pageants, designed the colorful Polynesian costumes and stage sets.

In 1928 Blanding originated Hawaii's famed Lei Day, which is celebrated annually on May 1 and has become an internationally noted event. One of Hawaii's most delightful festivals and the only one of its kind in the world, it is dedicated to the lei as a symbol of Hawaii's hospitality, aloha, and wealth of beauty.

Travelers from all over the world came to witness its annual celebration.

Because he knew Hawaii and her people so well, Don Blanding loved them both.

A dozen volumes of his verse attest to this love and understanding which he tried to communicate to the world. But, he rhymed, it was not enough to read his poems in order to become one with the gentle peoples of Polynesia. In Vagabond's House, Blanding warned, you will never know Hawaii:

'Til you've seen the lunar rainbow's phantom arch across the blue
And having watched the Southern Cross dip in the sea;
'Til the singing boys have stabbed your heart with music through and through
'Til you've raced the silver surf at Waikiki.

Don Blanding was in every sense of that meaningful Hawaiian word a true kamaaina, son of Hawaii.

He left to the people of Hawaii, and to all of us, a legacy of the love of laughter and beauty, of wisdom and wit. With him go the appreciation, the love and the deep aloha of all that knew him.

Status-of-Forces Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story entitled "Foreign Courts Tend to Leniency for GI's" from the respected newspaper, the Christian Science Monitor. This story, which appeared in the Monitor of June 8, 1957, should be of interest to the Congress particularly at this time

when the Girard case in Japan has caused another rash of attacks on the status-of-forces treaties between the United States and several other nations throughout the world where our Armed Forces are stationed.

FOREIGN COURTS TEND TO LENIENCY FOR GI's

(By Volney D. Hurd)

PARIS.—"A few Congressmen are waving the flag about the injustices done to American soldiers tried by foreign courts. The fact is, they invariably get much easier treatment than our military courts would give them."

An American Army headquarters press officer was speaking on the Girard case in Japan, which had suddenly opened up this subject after it had rested dormant for well over a year.

The press officer continued, "The result is that this arrangement is injuring our disciplinary setup. These boys are spoiled by the foreigners by getting terms much shorter than we would give them. So they gain no benefit from the experience in the disciplinary punishment which they obviously need.

"This, in turn, puts us in the ridiculous position of agreeing in one way with the protesting Congressmen, who, in fact, threaten our whole overseas military program by trying to upset the delicate situation covered by our status-of-forces treaties."

SUPPOSE IN WERE UNITED STATES

Leaning back in his chair and looking thoughtfully out the window, the officer continued, "Can you imagine how tough the American public yould be about crimes committed by foreign soldiers on our soil, particularly if they were stationed there by the thousands? Can you imagine other countries trying to negotiate a treaty with us which would make this arrangement acceptable?

"Well, we have had to do that with everyone of the many countries where our men are stationed. Months of delicate negotiations were involved. Painful exploration through the jungles of sensitive national feelings had to be carried out.

"The end result is a remarkably fine set of treaties which are clearly in our favor. More important, they are carried out by these friendly foreign nations in a spirit of generosity far beyond the limitations of the letter of the treaties. These nations are more understanding and lenient with our men than we would be with them under the same juridical circumstances."

FILES CULLED

Flipping through his files, the officer produced copies of foreign court sentences imposed on American soldiers here; and after some figuring, he said: "The average sentences by foreign civil courts are 1.7 months. Had the soldiers been tried before our military courts, they would have received sentences averaging 8.5 months."

The officer said that this difference in sentences explained why American soldiers abroad rarely protest being tried before a foreign court, but rather favor this procedure.

"Then our Congressmen talk about our troops tried in foreign courts as being subject to 'cruel and unusual punishment.' Unusual, yes, because unusually lenient," said the officer.

The French courts bear out, in dealing with American military men, the commentary on French sentencing made by the former French Minister of Justice, Guerin de Beaumont. He said, "If I had committed a crime, I would prefer to be tried in Britain—and then be sentenced in France!"

French sentences given American soldiers are so light that they disturb not only the officers of the United States forces here, but American residents, embarrassing them no end.

There was, for instance, the case of an Air Force private who stabbed and killed a Frenchman while they argued over a girl in a bistro at Fontainebleau. He was not only let off with a 6-month sentence, he also was allowed to marry the girl while still a prisoner.

Then there was the case of an American Army corporal who took a light truck without permission from an Army station near Paris, drove it wildly through the Bois de Boulogne at night, swung down the middle of the road, crushing a small French car, killing four occupants, and then jumped out and ran away from the scene.

There appeared to be no extenuating circumstances, yet this American received only 6 months in prison. He, too, was allowed to marry a French girl while a prisoner.

While there has been plenty of anti-Americanism in France, the judges, as intelligent informed men, are conscious of why the troops are here. They are definitely influenced by the idea that these men are stationed here to fight for France, if necessary, so why be too hard on them?

SEVEN POINTS GUARANTEED

Under the basic minimum requirements for all the status-of-forces treaties now in effect with foreign countries, a soldier is automatically entitled to:

1. A prompt and speedy trial.
2. To be informed, in advance of the trial, of specific charges made against him.
3. To be confronted with the witnesses against him.
4. To have compulsory processes for obtaining witnesses in his favor if they are within the jurisdiction of the receiving (foreign) state.
5. To have legal representation of his own choice for his defense or to have free or assisted legal representation under the condition prevailing for the time being in the receiving state.
6. If he considers it necessary, to have the services of a competent interpreter.
7. To communicate with a representative of the government of the sending state and the United States and, when the rules of the court permit, to have such a representative present at his trial.

Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, support for Alaska-Hawaii statehood grows daily among the people of the United States and in the Congress of the United States.

While many people have objections in which they are convinced, others have been misinformed. I include for the information of Members of the Congress editorials of several newspapers which shed light on the subject:

[From the Rapid City (S. Dak.) Journal of April 19, 1957]

TIMID REASONING

It is inconceivable that the great majority of Hawaiians are or are likely to become Communists. And it is bewildering that the great United States of America should fear to admit Hawaii to the Union on the ground of Communist influence allegedly wielded by Harry Bridges. This is giving Bridges, whose union was kicked out of the CIO some years ago, too much power and influence in the policy of the Nation and the Congress.

Statehood for Hawaii will not automatically change the Territory's internal situation with regard to the Communist question, but it will automatically bring the Hawaiians closer to these United States. Refusal to admit Hawaii because of Harry Bridges only magnifies his importance and can even help to give him a real or a seeming influence beyond his real power.

This reasoning smacks of timidity which is unworthy of us, and can cast a reflection on the policies this country has followed in Hawaii since the islands became United States Territory. Most certainly, we can hold the loyalty of Hawaiians should Hawaii become the 49th State. Here, as in other situations, the thing we must really fear is fear itself.

[From the Wilmington (Del.) News of April 4, 1957]

COMMUNISM AND HAWAII

There are Communists in New York, perhaps more than in the other 47 States combined. Should New York therefore be deprived of statehood?

This is an idle question: New York's statehood cannot be legally taken away, even by constitutional amendment. But a similar question about Hawaii is not idle. Hawaii is not yet a State, and the presence of Communists there may again this year become a pretext for denying statehood to Hawaii's 500,000 Americans.

If Hawaii were actually controlled by Communists, or in danger of being, hesitation to grant statehood would make sense. But there is no indication of that. Hawaii has relatively few Communists. The International Longshoremen's Union of Harry Bridges is strong there, but it is also strong in our own Pacific Coast States. It doesn't run Hawaii any more than it runs California, Oregon, or Washington.

During the Korean war, when Communists the world over were dedicated to opposing the United States and the United Nations, the Communist-dominated Bridges union was totally ineffective. Since then, Communist strength in the Hawaiian Islands has sharply declined. Communist propaganda hasn't got to first base in Hawaii.

Hawaii deserves statehood. President Eisenhower is strongly in favor of it. Interior Secretary Seaton says Hawaii's admission to the union would be "simple justice," and other Interior officials have come out strongly for it. If the issue of communism in Hawaii were more than a bogey-man, these officials would not give unqualified support to statehood.

One of the real motives behind the opposition is the fact that Hawaii is a racial melting pot, where many peoples live together in harmony. Racial discrimination is not totally absent, but it expresses itself mostly in social snobbery and minor economic exclusions. If Hawaii elected Senators and Representatives to Congress, their votes on civil rights issues would not please southern congressional leaders. The issue of communism is just a blind.

The admission of Hawaii would, in fact, further weaken the Communist propaganda campaign against America as a "colonial power." Communism, both abroad and in Hawaii itself, has more to gain than to lose from another refusal to grant statehood. The opponents of statehood are actually refusing to strike a blow against communism.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel of May 5, 1957]

ONE STAR COMING UP?

If the 49th State gets into the Union this year, it will be Alaska. Our vast, untapped northern Territory, long ridden by bureaucratic domination, has a better chance of being admitted as a sovereign State than Hawaii, her sister Territory.

Alaska and Hawaii both have valid claims to citizenship.

The residents of those Territories are taxpaying Americans who long since have earned the privileges of other Americans. Alaska has been a Territory since 1867, Hawaii since 1898. No 1 of the 48 States waited nearly so long as Alaska to be accepted into the family. Only New Mexico remained a Territory longer than has Hawaii.

Alaska and Hawaii are adult entities in our Republic. They carry the responsibilities of States, but are denied the privileges. They are dependencies in no more sense of the word than the recognized States. We reject colonialism for others, but impose it, in essence, on some of our own people.

It is time we come of age with respect to our fellow Americans in Hawaii and Alaska.

If the friends of Alaskan statehood, in and out of Congress, will turn on the steam now they can pass the bill. And passing it is a matter of national honor and fairness.

[From the Westerly (R. I.) Sun of May 2, 1957]

TIMID REASONING ELEVATES FIRED BOSS

It is inconceivable that the great majority of Hawaiians are or are likely to become Communists. And it is bewildering that the great United States of America should fear to admit Hawaii to the Union on the ground of Communist influence allegedly wielded by Harry Bridges. This is giving Bridges, whose union was kicked out of the CIO some years ago, too much power and influence in the policy of the Nation and the Congress.

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Status-of-Forces Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the text of a resolution unanimously adopted by the members of the Long Island General Assembly, Fourth Degree—Patriotic—Knights of Columbus, Kings County, Brooklyn, N. Y., at their meeting on May 25, 1957:

Whereas on July 15, 1953, the Senate consented to the request of the President for approval of the Status of Forces Agreement of the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which confers upon the courts of foreign nations the power to exercise criminal jurisdiction over American Armed Forces personnel stationed within their boundaries; and

Whereas article 1, section 1, of our Federal Constitution states that "all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives";

Whereas provisions of the NATO status-of-forces and other similar agreements reflect a callous disregard of the rights of American Armed Forces personnel and is in violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice for the government of the Armed Forces of the United States, which was enacted by the Congress under article 1, section 8, clause 14 of the Constitution; and

Whereas there has been introduced in the present Congress, House Joint Resolutions 11, 16, 39, 61, 134, 149, 177, 211, Senate Joint Resolution 40, Senate Concurrent Resolution 15, and House Concurrent Resolution 36, which propose to nullify that part of the NATO and similar status-of-forces agreements which deprive American citizens of the protection of the United States Constitution while serving in the Armed Forces overseas: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Long Island General Assembly, Fourth Degree—Patriotic—Knights of Columbus, Brooklyn, N. Y., reaffirm their support of legislation which would restore the protection of our Federal Constitution to the fundamental rights of United States citizens serving abroad as members of our Armed Forces, who, when being accused of crime are now denied the right to be tried for their alleged offenses before tribunals established by the laws of the United States; and therefore, again petition the Congress to rectify the present unjust discrimination against our Armed Forces personnel which has been caused by treaty and international agreements.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. MORGAN,
Faithful Navigator.

What's With the Marines?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the American Weekly of June 9, 1957:

WHAT'S WITH THE MARINES?

(By Gen. Randolph McC. Pate, Commandant of the U. S. Marine Corps)

In the last year you've heard a lot about the United States Marine Corps. A lot that wasn't good. You've been reading about Parris Island and you've seen stories about Marine drill instructors. Some of what you read you didn't like. The stories weren't pretty. No American liked them. I didn't like them.

The difference was that I was in a position to do something about the story behind those stories—and I did.

As I begin this report to you, I remember the brutal truth of General Sherman's words before a group of young men back in 1880. "There is many a boy here today who looks on war as all glory, but boys," General Sherman said, "it is all hell. You can bear this warning voice to generations yet to come. I look upon war with horror."

You and I—all of us—make up a generation yet to come. We know how horrible war is. We know—and this is part of this generation's knowledge—a ghastly new alphabet. It begins with the "A" bomb, runs through the "C" bomb (for cobalt) and continues on through "H."

I say we know how horrible war is. That's an exaggeration. Some of us know, perhaps most of us. But not all of us. Some still think of war as "glory"—as a spectacular movie with bullet-proof heroes. Some still think of military training as a kind of lark, a fun-filled hyphen between two periods of civilian life. It isn't.

If Sherman was right, if "war is hell," you don't train for it with soft-drink machines, color television, and mom's apple pies. We know that a boot camp is a rugged place where recruits learn some rugged subjects. It's not a fresh-air outing, not a recreational holiday.

The camp at Parris Island or its sister Recruit Training Command at San Diego, Calif., is not a huge amusement room where jolly games are played. We know that the boy sweating through 12 hard weeks in boot camp isn't there to learn an industrial skill, see the world, or mark time before going on to college.

He's there to learn the trade of war. And learn it for keeps. He's there to take out a life-insurance policy for himself and his nation. He's there to learn instant obedience to commands—commands that might save his life or win a battle; probably both. He's in boot camp to learn how to fight as a member of a team and how to fight alone, as a self-reliant United States marine.

In Parris Island the recruit learns how to get along without the comforts of home, the pleasantries of a 9-to-5 life. He learns how to defeat fatigue and to triumph over the enemy of civilized man—loneliness. And he's there to learn about his country's victories.

In a Parris Island boot classroom he learns some proud history he won't forget. When he gets through he won't lack an answer to the question, "What am I fighting for?" Some Americans lacked that answer. Psychologists found that out among the boys who surrendered in Korea.

I mention all this to you because I want you to know that your Marine Corps is every bit as realistic today about its job of training men as it has been throughout its 182 years of service. We know that any weakening of our rigid standards of discipline and training would cost America dearly in any new conflict. Surely we haven't forgotten the price our country paid on December 7, 1941, for not being ready.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

I want to make one thing unmistakably clear: There has been no hedging of Marine standards, no lowering of Marine goals, no softening of Marine training in the past year. That would have been an easy out. It would have erased the headlines, cut down the criticisms and complaints.

It would also have been disgraceful. It would have been an unforgivable violation of the Marine motto: "Semper Fidelis." To have weakened the training program would have been a breach of faith with the American people. You have counted on us before—you may again—and I can assure you of one thing: Your Marine Corps today is ready to fight now, as ever, "in every clime and place where we could take a gun."

If you were to pay a visit to Parris Island, S. C., in the company of one of the old, battle-scarred marines with a good memory for "way back when," he would tell you that Marine training today is pretty much the way it has always been.

By that he'd mean that the fundamentals of our battle-tested recruit training program are unchanged. The schedule, as he would note, is 3 months long without leave or liberty. He would show you that the wooden

walls on the obstacle course are still 12 feet high, that the sand fleas bite just as hard as they did when the camp was established in 1915.

You would learn, in the company of such an oldtimer, that today's bivouacs are just as long and as lonely as yesterday's; that the 7-mile march hasn't grown any shorter, and that recruits today, like the marines before them, have to sweat and struggle to prove they're fit to be a marine. Yes, fit.

Every recruit who goes into Parris Island and San Diego—and I'm proud to say that they are arriving in large numbers—is taught one thing the first day: "You weren't forced to be a marine; you have no inherited right to be a marine; you must prove that you are fit to be a marine."

While an oldtimer would be relieved to note, in a return visit to Parris Island, that there had been no changes in the fundamentals of recruit training, he would, nevertheless, be aware of a number of improvements.

Now I come to the point in this report to you where I should delineate the story behind the stories you've read, an examination of the conditions that made those stories happen.

You have read about a dozen or so marine drill instructors who were charged with various offenses, from manhandling recruits to making them eat candy until they were sick. But perhaps you haven't read about the more than 700 marine drill instructors at Parris Island who were never "front page news." They weren't "news" because they did their jobs in the best traditions of the marine drill instructor.

I remain convinced that the training of recruits must be conducted by the men from whose lips they will receive their orders in battle, the backbone of the corps—the noncommissioned officer. At Parris Island and San Diego the enlisted drill instructor is today, as he was before, the keyman in the process of turning out marines.

Today, however, he has more help. Before our recent improvements the DI was severely overworked. There were just two DI's to every 75 recruits—and they tried to be everything to their "boots": father, friend, teacher, adviser, taskmaster, trainer.

The public isn't aware that, in addition to teaching young recruits how to march, the DI has other chores, homely ones, that keep him going from before dawn until after dark. He teaches his "boots" how to press their uniforms, make their beds, clean and assemble rifles, and even how to write letters home.

Another element of the "story" behind the Parris Island story was the fact that there was inadequate officer supervision. The concept of letting the recruit train under noncommissioned officers had gone beyond our tradition. It needed to be changed and it was.

That is a part of the background, and here is a summary of the decisions I made to improve recruit training. Most of what we have done in the past few months is designed with one objective in mind—to aid our drill instructors achieve the ultimate in their performance of duty.

In Washington I appointed a major general as inspector general of recruit training. His mission: To assist me in maintaining a close watch over every aspect of recruit training. Later I combined his duties with those of the regular inspector general.

At Parris Island and at San Diego I took the extraordinary measure of establishing separate recruit-training commands operationally divorced from the bases at which they were located. This enabled the commanding generals of the recruit-training commands at Parris Island and San Diego to report directly to me.

I assigned 140 additional officers to the training job at all levels—company, battalion, and training command. These men are free from administrative duties and are able to devote their full time to supervising the training and activities of recruits.

The objective of these measures was to insure scrupulous compliance with the recruit-training policies I issued. In strong words, I directed that illegal punishment, degradation, and humiliation of recruits cease at once.

Here is an excerpt from one such directive: "Hazing is to be absolutely eliminated and any treatment incompatible with accepted American standards of human dignity is also to be eliminated."

Specifically, here are some of the things we've done to improve our marine recruit-training programs:

We have doubled the number of drill instructors. There are now 4, not 2, to every platoon of 75 recruits.

An inspection-instruction staff consisting of nine captains has been established at each depot to supervise night and day training.

To instill even the greenest of marines with our traditional esprit de corps, each boot platoon is issued its own banner which it displays. It bears any streamers marking special achievements of the platoon.

We have replaced the old fatigue cap with a bright new silver helmet with a functional purpose in addition to serving as a morale booster. Bearing the marine insignia, it is 10 percent cooler than the old cap. It has reduced heat prostration on the parade ground.

We abolished the "Private Skinhead" haircut that was the traditional one for 50 years. Now recruits get an abbreviated Ivy League crew cut.

For the drill instructors we have established advisory councils, improved living conditions with better quarters for bachelor DI's, reissued the famous Marine campaign hat with its broad brim and colorful tradition dating back to the Boxer Rebellion.

We have provided means of relieving instructors of problem recruits who formerly demanded an exorbitant share of the instructor's time.

In addition, we have:

Extended the recruit training program from 10 to 12 weeks. It is now the longest basic training period in the armed services. The additional 2 weeks enabled us to establish an unequaled physical training program which has paid tremendous dividends—to the recruits and to the corps.

Another program was created to enable near-illiterate boys to catch up on their homework quickly.

Beyond this I have established even higher standards for noncommissioned officers who are candidates for the honored position of drill instructor. As part of their training they are exposed to a psychological examination that is even more thorough than in the past. Today one-third of the men selected for DI training do not pass all the tests and are washed out.

I personally selected the top officers now on duty at Parris Island. They will make certain that there are no more marches to Ribbon Creek, which is forever off limits.

In the past 12 months I have received thousands of letters asking: (1) Will traditional Marine training be preserved? and (2) have the abuses of authority been eliminated?

The answer to both questions is "Yes." The Marine Corps recruit training program has never been sounder, stronger, or more wholesome than it is today. That is why I'm proud of Parris Island. However, there is in the corps—as in every large organization—the human element. Regrettably, I don't believe we can ever completely eradicate abuses. But we can try. I am dedicated to making that try.

The corps will, I am confident, remain the kind of corps Americans want it to be. In the past year I received hundreds of letters from mothers, many with messages like this one from Mrs. Virginia Greer of Falls Church, Va., which reads in part:

"As the mother of a son whose ambition it is to follow in his father's footsteps as a marine and to devote his life to a career in the Marine Corps, I ask that the corps does not shelve its methods of discipline which my son and so many young men of the next generation are so sorely in need of for their own preservation. Please hold steadfast to the principles we associate with the United States Marine Corps."

We will. America can count on us.

Sewanee—The University of the South Celebrates Its Centenary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., in the district I have the honor to represent, is one of the great educational institutions of the South and of this Nation. The beloved Bishop James Hervey Otey, its first chancellor, expressed the aims of this great university in his address to the first trustees on July 4, 1857, as follows:

We affirm that our aim is eminently national and patriotic. * * * We contemplate no strife, save a generous rivalry with our brethren as to who shall furnish to this great Republic the truest men, the truest Christians, and the truest patriots.

A hundred years have passed since those words were uttered and Sewanee has ever since striven to live up to them faithfully and with great success. Next month this great institution which has left its impress upon its region and the Nation as few have done, will celebrate its centenary. I ask unanimous consent to extend into the RECORD the following article from the Nashville Tennessean magazine which recounts the history of this fine university.

The article entitled "To Furnish the Truest Men" follows:

TO FURNISH THE TRUEST MEN

(By Louise Davis)

Sewanee builders, from the 6-foot 4-inch, raw-boned bishop nicknamed "Cherokee" to the ladies who sat with raised umbrellas in the leaky first chapel, never wavered in their purpose: to "furnish the truest men."

And celebrants of the 100th birthday of the University of the South this year will find blood-and-heartbreak bonds with those founders in the ancient flags that hang overhead in hallowed All Saints Chapel.

The tall bishop was James Hervey Otey, and the oldest flag in the chapel today whipped out in a sudden gust to enfold him as he stood on a mountaintop speaker's stand on July 4, 1857, to address the first meeting of the university's trustees.

It was 4 years before the Civil War, and Bishop Otey wanted to be sure that tension mounting between North and South did not mar plans for the Oxford-like university to be set up as "the greatest center of learning in the South."

"We affirm that our aim is eminently national and patriotic, and should commend itself to every lover of this country," the stern-faced bishop stated pointedly to the audience clustered about him on Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga.

"We contemplate no strife, save a generous rivalry with our brethren, as to who shall furnish to this great Republic the truest men, the truest Christians, and the truest patriots."

At that moment, the American flag that had hung limp on its staff beside him was stirred by a sudden breeze and "seemed to be seeking the person of the speaker * * * causing his words to come, as it were, from the midst of the flag's folds."

The flag had been especially made by order of President Fillmore to hang above the American exhibit at the world's fair in London in 1851. It had been flown at official gatherings around the world, but from the moment it wrapped itself around the bishop who first envisioned Sewanee, it has been the cherished memento of the university's founding.

But the fierce-eyed bishop—first Episcopal bishop of Tennessee and first chancellor of the University of the South—was dead before the university opened its doors. War came as a particular blow to the man who had ridden horseback through rain and frontier squalor to minister to churches from Florida to Missouri. But the southern cause was the "just one * * * under the Constitution," he believed, and he served it to exhaustion, dying in 1863.

Sewanee's beginning was so entangled with the fury of the War Between the States that every trace of the prewar university was destroyed and its cornerstone, laid in October 1860, was blown to bits.

Getting the 6-ton stone up the mountain had been a major triumph for a mountain youth who hitched 36 oxen to his father's wagon and landed the stone on the spot by sundown of the same day.

"My old man gave me 3 days to do it, and General Polk laughed at the idea." I. T. Miller recalled years later. "I had full control and only my father's trusty darkies to help me. * * * Bishop Polk came riding up at the last hard pull and insisted on my parking for the night. * * * I remarked to him that * * * I would land that stone there by sundown or kill two yoke of my oxen doing it."

The Tennessee marble, cut at Elk River, was to be the cornerstone of Sewanee's first permanent building, which was planned on massive lines not unlike that of the Capitol at Washington.

On the bright autumn day that it was laid, with valuable documents sealed inside, the whole mountain came alive with bishops and bands, choirs and caterers, notables of the church from New York to Texas.

They arrived by the "mountain goat," the unpredictable, track-jumping coal train that hauled coal the 7 miles from mountaintop mines to Cowan in the valley. And they stayed in quarters that the first administrators of the university had spent the whole summer preparing: rows of log cabins with connecting halls and piazzas running all the way around.

The piazzas were covered with canvas and furnished with cots * * * placed in long rows to accommodate the distinguished guests. And on October 9, the night before the great festivities, out under the stars, bishops led the band and the impromptu choir * * * in preparation for the next day.

"October 10 was an ideal day," one witness reported, "and from early dawn, people by the hundreds arrived from the valleys, on foot, on horses, in buggies, and wagons; and trains were arriving every hour from Tracy and Decherd filled with people, all gathered together to the number of nearly 10,000.

"At 11 o'clock the procession formed in the open ground where Hoffman Hall now stands and moved through the forest to a knoll * * * where the cornerstone, a Tennessee marble beautifully polished, was to be laid.

"A splendid sight it was, those * * * bishops in their robes, followed by the clergy in their vestments, and hundreds of prominent laymen. * * * The absence of Col. Robert E. Lee was greatly deplored, as he had been selected as the most fitting man to be vice chancellor."

When the solemn services were over and the crowd reassembled at the shed built nearby for the oration of the day, South Carolina's famed orator, John S. Preston, stirred the audience to the soul with predictions of the calamity in store for the country if Abraham Lincoln should be elected President the following month. Lincoln would bring war, the orator said.

Even after the mammoth festivities, with food prepared by caterers from Nashville, the guests streaming off the mountain by every train and carriage for the next 24 hours had only one shadow on their hopes for the new university: war.

Less than a month later, Lincoln was elected. And a month after he entered the White House, the War Between the States began.

On April 12, 1861, the very night that the first shell was fired at Fort Sumter, Union sympathizers set fire to every home at Sewanee. The wife and children of Bishop Leonidas Polk barely escaped with their lives, and Bishop Stephen Elliott's home also burned to the ground.

The arsonists' hellish attack on Sewanee that night is said to have determined Bishop Polk to lay aside his church vestments and take up the sword "for constitutional liberty * * * and for our hearthstones."

As a West Point cadet in the 1820's, Polk had been converted and had turned the whole academy toward a religious awakening. To the disappointment of many, he had turned his back on the military life and had become one of the Nation's great churchmen. He alone had raised enough money for Sewanee's endowment in the 1850's to assure its rivaling Harvard or Yale within 5 years of its opening, and he was reluctant to give up his dream of peaceful settlement of differences.

But at last he gave in to President Jefferson Davis' entreaties to accept a commission as general in the Confederate army and lead in the defense of the Mississippi. And at the end of 3 years' unparalleled fighting, he stood on a Georgia hilltop surveying the battlefield one Sunday morning when cannon fire struck him down.

Oddly enough, when the second chancellor of the University of the South fell dead that June 14, 1864, a soldier on the opposite side of the firing line held in his hand a small stone that would have touched the fighting bishop to his heart.

It was a bit of the Sewanee cornerstone that had been blown to bits the year before by idle Union soldiers camping there, and the Union captain had been so grieved at the vandalism of war that he carved a sliver of the Tennessee marble into the shape of an open Bible and carried it in his pocket throughout the war.

The tiny stone Bible, eventually presented to the university, is enshrined in All Saints Chapel, heart of the campus now, but the gap between that stone and the chapel that houses it is beyond measure.

There was nothing but ashes of the old building left when the war was over. The 10,000-acre domain that had been given to the church for establishment of the university had grown up into an almost pathless wilderness, and only the fields of daisies on the mountainside showed where Union soldiers has camped.

The southern dioceses of the Episcopal Church that had pledged hundreds of thousands of dollars for the rich endowment of the university were bankrupt. The university that had been conceived in southern prosperity now existed on worthless paper; the money promised it 10 years before had belonged to men now dead on the battlefield. Their widows and sons were hungry.

The land given to the university would revert to its former owners if classwork were not in progress by 1869. Many despaired of saving the dream, but Bishop Charles Todd Quintard took the lead in the fight to save the university.

The Connecticut-born bishop of Tennessee had been a physician practicing medicine in Memphis when he fell under the spell of Bishop Otey's preaching and became a minister himself. During the war, he served as chaplain of the Army of Tennessee, and after the war he worked hard to heal the rift between northern and southern branches of the church—with the reestablishment of the University of the South as a strong motive.

He needed not only the churches of the North but the Church of England to help him in the project. And when he went to England for support, he won the enthusiasm of the archbishop of Canterbury. Through him, generous gifts of money and books came from English churches and universities, and the University of the South barely made the deadline for retaining its vast domain.

Bishop Quintard was first vice chancellor of the university (chancellor is an ex officio title at Sewanee, held by the ranking bishop of the owning dioceses; the vice chancellor is the actual head of the school). And the first building on the rebuilt campus was a little frame chapel named St. Augustine's in honor of the first Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the morning of September 18, 1868, when 9 students and 4 professors showed up for the opening session, the chapel was barely finished.

"As the procession entered the modest little chapel," Bishop Quintard wrote, "I stepped aside to allow the plasterer to pass out with his mortar board and trowel."

The little chapel grew, with wings for classrooms, until it was an architectural monstrosity. But the daily worship services and the daily classes there made it heart of the campus until All Saints' Chapel was opened for use in 1911.

Handsome buildings cropped out over the mountaintop to house library, hospital, classrooms, fraternities, dining halls, inns—but work on the new chapel was slow. And it seemed wasteful to put more money into repair of old St. Augustine's while the new structure was being built. It was then that the dauntless ladies of Sewanee began raising their umbrellas during services to ward off the showers.

The pews, lectern, altar, credence table in that first St. Augustine's chapel are in use today in the little side chapel of All Saints. And Sewanee students who attend daily services in the tiny chapel can find initials that earliest students whittled in the pews almost a century ago.

The first faculty had been trained at Heidelberg, Cambridge, the University of Virginia, West Point. Gen. Robert E. Lee came close to accepting the invitation to become first vice chancellor. Jefferson Davis and Gen. Joseph E. Johnson were among the early planners.

The military permeated every phase of campus life—from uniforms to crisp courtesy. Even today students at Sewanee Military Academy, the preparatory school operated in connection with the university, wear uniforms, have weekly parades and march in a body to Sunday church services as their band plays the stirring religious march, "Onward Christian Soldiers."

And from the first, Sewanee students have been noted for their elegant appearance.

founders selected the mountain-top site to insure students against the distractions of town life, but they had no intention of allowing the campus to drift into seedy ways and careless dress.

They encouraged two French tailors to open shop at Sewanee in 1870, and one of them, M. Pillet, became a campus figure in his dapper frock coat and high silk hat. He made all uniforms for generations of students, embellishing them with elaborate braiding and brass buttons. The shirts and suits he made were so elegant that Sewanee men ordered their clothes from him for years after they had graduated. And his very French menage, even to the little dog that wore a blue ribbon to Sewanee games, was part of the charm of the mountains.

The tight little island of learning atop the 2,000-foot mountain had such a close-knit village life, made up of the noblest idealists with the sternest intentions of keeping those ideals alive, that Sewanee people regard it as nothing less than idyllic.

The vice chancellor has all of the authority of a mayor, chief of police, and feudal lord on the domain, and he determines which tradesmen may set up shop there, who may lease land to build homes, who may be buried in the village cemetery.

Among the early shopkeepers were a Swiss butcher, an English cabinet maker, a huge, ruddy-cheeked baker from Scotland whom the students and children of the village adored. They called him "Bishop" and gathered at his tiny green-shuttered shop for "candies and confections * * * ice cream when in season."

All students boarded in private homes in the earliest years, before the stone dormitories went up, and the muddy roads that connected them were trod by pet pigs and geese, chickens, and cows.

There were no street lights, no carriages except the old hack that met the trains for many years after the university was founded. But social life was gay, dances and plays and oratorical contests were frequent, and students on their way to Old Forensic, center of campus social life, held their lanterns high. The whole mountaintop twinkled with the bobbing lights on nights that merrymakers made their way to festive gatherings.

To take advantage of cool summers on the mountaintop, the university held classes through the summer, had vacations in midwinter. Until 1909 Sewanee held to the custom, and thus ladies who spent their summer vacations at the cool retreat where there were endless parties, hay-rides, hikes, cave-exploring expeditions.

And in autumn, Sewanee's early football teams kept the mountain at fever pitch. Chief rivals of Vanderbilt for years, Sewanee was for a time the outstanding team in the old Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association. In 1899, when the Sewanee team made a swing around the South and won five SIAA games in 6 days, they set an all-time record.

There are ghost stories, romances, stories of courage by the hundreds at Sewanee. The Confederate widows who came there to educate their sons and run boarding houses for the students gave the community an air of sad gentility that somehow made the years of struggle and poverty seem privileged.

And the marriages between old Sewanee families have so knitted the offspring of bishops and generals and professors that the "mountain dwellers" are a breed apart.

They are accustomed to the honors that have come to the 40 graduates of their seminary who have become bishops. They are accustomed to the influence that editors, writers, college presidents, business tycoons graduated from the university have on world affairs.

In the brief period when Sewanee had a medical school, it turned out graduates like Dr. Cary Grayson, personal physician to Woodrow Wilson, and Maj. Gen. William Crawford Gorgas, conquerer of yellow fever at Panama.

In the brief years that Sewanee had a school of law, it turned out distinguished lawyers, judges, professors of law. In 1892, Sewanee published the first literary quarterly in America, and today the Sewanee Review is read in 35 countries, has a wider circulation in India alone than in Tennessee.

Sewanee's graduates have won more Rhodes scholarships than any other college its size, have captured so many honors in the scholastic world that in every reputable rating it is ranked in the top 1 percent in the Nation.

But not yet has the university attained the splendor envisioned by its founders more than a century ago. As one professor put it, "Sewanee is not yet at the top of the top 1 percent," and no less a grasp of the wisdom of the ages will furnish the "truest men."

Voice of Curley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a statement enclosed with the newsletter issued by the Independent Editorial Services, Ltd., of Washington, D. C., concerning the former Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and formerly one of our colleagues, for whom we have the greatest respect and admiration:

THE VOICE OF CURLEY

A book written by James M. Curley, of Boston, has appeared, but it apparently has not been greeted by the brilliant success of the fiction book which inspired it, The Last Hurrah, by Edward O'Connor.

The reason is that the aging ex-governor and ex-mayor has not been able to translate the incredible drama of his political fights to paper. There have been three works based on Mr. Curley's career, or parts of it. They are The Purple Shamrock, by Joe Dinneen, of the Boston Globe, and the two above.

The Dinneen book is far more readable than the latest by the subject himself, because Dinneen is a polished writer who saw Curley in action and in his prime. He also had the advantage of being an observer.

The O'Connor book has the flavor of Curley, but there is also some of the spirit of Frank Hague and Ed Kelly of Chicago in it.

Curley did more to and for Boston than anyone in more than three centuries of its long and salty history. Few men in public life on the American political scene in the past 60 years have had the combination of talents which were those of James Michael Curley.

If he had gaged his course more carefully, and had had the money to back it up in the early days, he would have been seated in the chair of Daniel Webster in the United States Senate for the past 50 years.

As a platform figure, he was a nonpareil. He was a fit successor to Bryan as a foremost orator of his time. But his expansive needs and his imperious pride forced him time and time again to go back to the Boston wards to compete for local offices, posts that his talents had long outgrown.

The physical aspects of Curley in his prime were hypnotic to his listeners. He was a powerful man—not tall, but compactly and very strongly built. He had a shock of iron-gray hair, and bold, dark eyes which smiled and blazed alternately.

But in his voice he exercised his real power. His voice rang true and clear, like an organ note in the lower register, and the English that he used was flawless and precise. He rolled out his sentences, phrase upon phrase, clause upon clause, with emphatic and stunning impact.

He never got folksy or trite. He would devote the same solicitude to a handful at a rally in the late hours of the night in a cold and dim slum hall that he would over the linen and silver at the Copley Plaza, or before a vast audience in the Boston Garden, jammed to the girders.

Curley at his best would cast a spell. Erudite, eloquent and magnificent in his rolling baritone, he left his audiences enthralled. Best of all, he never took himself too seriously. The strife and ruffianism of the ward fights were things apart. Before friendly or hostile audiences, the result was always the same. Curley would transport his listeners to another world.

When radio came along, he missed the advantage of the device completely. He still needed a live audience, and while other politicians were developing radio techniques, he still thundered in the halls and on street corners.

Curley is a classic example of a potentially great man, diverted by petty politics.

South's Progress Impresses All Sections of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging and gratifying to note almost daily evidences of growth and progress in the South. The basis for the South's development and expansion in the years to come can be attributed to our section's many outstanding advantages, such as manpower, climate and natural resources.

Our great prospect for future progress is now well known throughout the Nation. Other areas are demonstrating a high regard for the South's tremendous potential. It is high time for all to take stock of the South's important position in the America of tomorrow.

It is my privilege, under leave heretofore granted, to insert an editorial entitled "People of Nation Are Impressed by South's Progress Prespects," which appeared recently in the Birmingham (Ala.) News, one of the South's leading newspapers, which is published in my district.

The editorial follows:

PEOPLE OF NATION ARE IMPRESSED BY SOUTH'S PROGRESS PROSPECTS

In recent years it has been widely evident that the people of this country have been specially impressed by advantages of the South and its economic prospects. Much comment to that effect has been backed up by the coming of many new citizens from other sections to this region and by the marked growth of business and industry that already has occurred.

The advantages of this area in manpower, natural resources, climate have, of course, been major factors in this advance. But fundamentally what has counted most has been the growing recognition by the people of the South and of the rest of the Nation of the opportunities these advantages afford. Whatever stimulates and extends such recognition contributes to the expansion of fresh initiative and further growth.

It is highly gratifying, then, that the results of a poll announced yesterday by the American Institute of Public Opinion emphasize anew the recognition by the people of the Nation as a whole of this region's potentialities for continuing advance.

Dr. Gallup's interviewers put this question to a carefully balanced cross section of adults: "Which section of the country—East, Middle West, South, or West—do you think will go ahead most rapidly in the next 20 years?"

The West led in the replies but only by a small margin over the South. Thirty-five percent named the West, 31 percent the South, 19 percent the Middle West and 16 percent the East.

As was to be expected, sectional loyalty influences judgment on such a question, the survey indicated. Naturally many are strongly inclined to think well of the prospects of the region in which they live. But despite such feelings, objective considerations obviously entered very importantly into the formation of answers. For instance, more people in New England put the prospects of the West and South above those of the East than put their own section first.

Clearly the high regard for the South's future shown over the country is a widespread and effective influence that can make for more newcomers, more activity, more investment in this region. The survey indicated a high degree of confidence also among the people of the South, with 65 percent of those interviewed in this area putting its prospects first.

Whatever southerners can do to expand sound realization of this region's opportunities and advantages will contribute toward new progress. What we certainly can do is to strive to see our many continuing problems as comprehensively and as realistically as possible and to press on to the utmost with our efforts toward constructive solutions. Effective endeavor of that kind makes both for growing realization of our advantages and potentialities elsewhere and for soundly increasing confidence among ourselves.

Let's find fresh impetus in the appreciation of this region's possibilities in other parts of the country and get on with our many tasks. And may Americans in other areas achieve more and more understanding of our special problems and of the key importance of our own efforts in striving to work them out and of the need for adequate latitude and responsibility in doing so.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following text of a resolution passed by the executive committee of the New York Republican State Committee at a meeting at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, June 6, 1957:

Whereas the Republican Party in the State and Nation has, since its beginning, always championed the civil rights of all citizens; and

Whereas the Republican Party in the State of New York has remained in the forefront in fostering and advancing the civil rights of all its citizens; and

Whereas President Eisenhower's civil rights program is now threatened in Congress by a proposed amendment which could nullify the effect of the entire program: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the executive committee of the New York State Committee, in session assembled, does hereby unanimously endorse and support President Eisenhower's civil rights program, and strongly supports the President in opposing any weakening amendments to his civil rights program now pending in Congress, and does hereby urge all members of Congress from the State of New York to vote for the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower.

Long Misplaced Friendship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times, February 14, 1950, and an answering letter to that paper from Hon. Persio C. Franco, Ambassador to the United States from the Dominican Republic prior to the advent of Generalissimo Trujillo as dictator of that unfortunate country:

[From the New York Times of February 14, 1950]

HAITI'S BICENTENARY

The biggest celebration ever held by the smallest American Republic started on an appropriate day—Lincoln's Birthday. It was Abraham Lincoln who advocated recognition of the Republic of Haiti and signed the bill acknowledging its independence. On Sunday the International Section of Haiti's Bicentenial Exposition celebrating the founding of Port au Prince was inaugurated and yesterday the United States pavilion was opened by Assistant Secretary of State Edward G. Miller, Jr.

There are more reasons to note this event than mere politeness. Haiti has earned good will and encouragement from her fellow Americans. Once France's richest colony, richer in 1749 than all the Thirteen English Colonies put together, a long, bloody and tragic period brought her to the depths of misery. A new era began with Roosevelt's good-neighbor policy. The riches were still there, at least potentially, in the coffee, sugar, cocoa, and banana crops, but so were the overpopulation, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, deforestation, and erosion. Thanks to a United Nations health mission and to United States money, much is being done in these years with outside help, but much more is being done by the Government of President Dumarsais Estimé

At the moment Haiti is in conflict with her neighbor to the east, the Dominican Republic. It is a dispute over plots and counterplots, which is being investigated by the Council of the Organization of American States and is therefore sub judice. However on the general proposition of which country deserves the sympathy and encouragement of the United States, there can be no question. One could not today imagine an American Assistant Secretary of State paying a visit to Ciudad Trujillo and delivering a tribute to a dictatorial regime that virtually all Americans—North and South—deplore. One of the things that the State Department can do in encouraging democracy in Latin America is to show favor and friendliness to those nations whose ideals and aspirations approximate our own, and to refuse to help the anti-democratic regimes. From that viewpoint Haiti is a good neighbor, and all Americans can wish the greatest success to the Bicentennial Exposition.

[From the New York Times of February 17, 1950]

AIDING DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA—CABLEGRAM FROM LA HABANA, CUBA, FEBRUARY 15, 1950

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

As a Latin-American and particularly as a Dominican I wish to thank you for your editorial "Haiti's Bicentenary."

If the United States did the simple thing you recommend, which would not cost its taxpayers one penny—that is, to "show favor and friendliness to those nations whose ideals and aspirations approximate our own and to refuse to help the anti-democratic regimes"—in a few years democracy would reign completely in Latin America, resulting in the immeasurable strengthening of America's role in world affairs.

PERSIO C. FRANCO.

Government Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial which appeared in the Lancaster (S. C.) News, Monday, June 10, 1957:

GOVERNMENT MAN

When Dwight D. Eisenhower became President of the United States he had a pretty clear idea of what the people in this country wanted in the way of government. They wanted lower taxes and a balanced budget. They wanted a curtailment of America's fantastic global spending. They wanted government itself reduced in size to something less than the many-tentacled octopus created in the Roosevelt-Truman era.

Because he knew these things he promised them and because he promised them he was elected. The people of the United States sent him to Washington as their representative to clean up the mess he would find there. He made a start during his first term and for a time there was high hope that he would master that thing we call Government, that thing which has outgrown the governed and now exists and perpetuates itself for its own sake.

Recently it has become abundantly clear that it is Eisenhower himself who has been mastered. He has become a Government man, speaking for Government instead of the people of the United States. When he

said that he knew to the exact dollar what it would cost the United States to wage peace, he was speaking as a Government man backed by rank upon rank of job-holding experts.

When he said that cutting foreign aid one iota would wreck the whole grand plan of the administration to keep us out of war he was stating the position of Government men who can always prove they need more money and power if their self-assigned goals are to be achieved.

These experts, anonymous in their very multiplicity, have so increased in prestige and authority that they can create their own issues and sell them to Congress and the President as proved necessities. Eisenhower is espousing Federal aid to education because he was convinced by his experts that a real emergency existed. State after State has denied the existence of any emergency and has called attention to major errors in the Government survey.

Because a little foreign aid proved a good thing in Greece and Turkey, the idea was expanded to the point where foreign aid has come to exist as a thing in itself, giving jobs to thousands upon thousands of specialists in the art of finding places to hand out taxpayers' money. Ask any one of them if he could get along with a dollar less and the reply comes back: "We are fighting international communism. Send us $2 more or the battle will be lost."

As a military man, President Eisenhower is familiar with the historic causes of war. Wars have been fought for plunder and subjugation, for religious objectives and for reasons of trade and commerce. It is generally agreed that most modern wars have been fought for trade reasons with plundering as an additional objective.

If Eisenhower had not become a Government man, wedded to the one-world position of the State Department on foreign trade, he could see the futility of waging an expensive peace while giving away this country's trade and commerce at a rate no plundering nation could hope to achieve. Because Cordell Hull's program for helping Latin America neighbors with carefully negotiated trade treaties looked promising, the State Department adopted the idea as a diplomatic weapon to be used on a global basis.

Now foreign trade is in business for itself. Government men, who neither weave nor spin, go to Geneva and barter away the lifeblood of our American economy on the theory that our resources and enterprises are an offense to the rest of the world. Their slogan was "Trade, Not Aid," but the fact that we go merrily on giving away both is an indication that peace and war are not so much at stake as are the careers of Government men.

Perhaps the taxpayers will eventually call a halt to foreign aid. But the giveaway in foreign trade is so insidious that no stand can be made against it which cannot be beaten down with cries of "selfish interest." An error in tactics was made by the State Department in selecting cotton textiles for the first major sacrifice. The industry united in such strength that a retreat was necessary. "Voluntary" restrictions were imposed on imports of cotton textiles.

But the smaller segments of American industry are being traded off one by one. Plywood is facing ruinous foreign competition. American factories making bicycles, watches, pottery and many other products are closing down. Appeals and protests are useless. Government men have decided this country can get along without them.

If all this is a part of waging peace, it has a curious smell of Munich. To paraphrase a famous statement, the American people did not elect Mr. Eisenhower to preside over the liquidation of our way of life. He became head of a government no longer responsive to the people, a government which has mastered the technique of divide and rule. That he himself has now joined this superstate and speaks with the voice of a Government man raises the question of whether any President can ever be more than honorary chairman of the board of United States Government, Inc.

Address by Thomas E. Dewey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the text of an address by Thomas E. Dewey given at the Ninth Annual Dinner of the New York Republican State Committee at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, Thursday evening, June 6, 1957.

The address follows:

It is good to see so many people in one room who are proud they are Republicans and willing to pay a hundred dollars to show it. From some of the complaints I hear about the administration in Washington, you would think the New Deal was back in power with 10 million unemployed and a world war just ahead of us. It occurs to me that if some people got the moon on a silver platter, they would still complain because the platter was not made of solid gold.

It is true that the Executive Mansion in Albany is not occupied by a Republican. By now that is obvious to everybody. But the electorate is entitled to make a mistake once in a while. Perhaps we have to endure that ordeal periodically in order to appreciate good Republican government.

Some years ago when we dreamed up this annual dinner, a lot of people told Dean Taylor, Bill Pfeiffer, and me that it could not be done. Then after it was a great success, a good many others said it could not be done without a republican administration in Albany or City Hall. Well, the attendance here tonight indicates to me that there are a lot of people in this State with principle who are willing to give of themselves and their substance in a cause in which they believe. It makes me prouder than ever to be a Republican.

Another nice thing about being a Republican is that we don't have to be embarrassed when we pick up the morning newspaper and read what our party leaders have said. Recently the advisory council of the Democrats put out an official declaration describing the state of the Nation and the world. According to them our national fiscal affairs "are approaching a crisis"; "the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer"; the people are being exploited by small wage increases, inflation is running rampant, and the world situation has degenerated into chaos. It read just like the official Communist line in Pravda. The New York Tiwes made its own comment on that diatribe, saying:

"Rarely, if ever, has any presumably responsible group issued a formal statement of comparable length containing so many accusations ranging from the unsubstantiated and unprovable through the dubious to the untrue and the ridiculous."

I'll make a small bet that the so-called leaders who signed that document have awfully red faces—if they are capable of blushing at all. I'll bet, too, that the real Democrats of this country would like leadership capable of offering something better than wild charges which are unprovable and range from "the dubious to the untrue and the ridiculous."

I repeat, it is mighty nice to be a Republican.

The trouble with these Democrats is that they can't forget their own failures. They are obsessed with wars, deficits, and inflation. So they talk about these tragedies whether they exist or not. They don't even recognize the United States when it is at peace, when it is prosperous, and when it has a balanced budget. These are Republican conditions and the entire country has reason to be grateful for them.

Back in 1944 Franklin Roosevelt said in a speech that one should never mention a rope in the house of a man who had been hanged. The Democrats ought to follow his advice. They should never—no never—be heard to talk about wars, inflation and Government spending.

And to think of them—of all people—complaining about a budget. Why, with three balanced budgets in a row, the Republicans have produced as many balanced budgets as there were in the preceding quarter of a century.

These people must think nobody can remember anything that happened yesterday. The budget for Mr. Truman's last year in office was 19 percent higher than the budget now before the Congress and it was proposed, passed and spent by a Democrat President. These people should hang their heads in shame when they mention the cost of government. On the record, I can say with assurance, that if they were in power today, the budget would be at least $10 billion higher.

The Secretary of Defense made a salty comment the other day in contrasting the debate in the Senate this year with that of a year ago.

Do you remember what was going on just a year ago? Solemn hearings went on for weeks designed to prove that the defense of America was being starved and that we needed thousands more airplanes and everything else; millions of dollars were voted and forced on the Department of Defense when it did not need them or want them.

Today, the very same people are holding hearings trying to make the American people believe that the Department of Defense has too many airplanes and is spending too much instead of too little. I thought it was quite appropros for Secretary Wilson to point out that our enemies could not be 10 feet tall last year and suddenly only 5 feet tall this year. The Communists are the same today as they were a year ago. It's a little sad to see personal political aspirations injected into the defense of human freedom.

Now I am perfectly well aware of the fact that the Democrats have not asked my advice but if they want anybody to listen to them seriously, I really think they ought to change the subject.

In approaching a political speech these days, one of the most difficult tasks is to avoid spending all the time talking about the vagaries of the opposition. Their statements sound like those of a man from Mars who knows nothing about the American scene. If we do not watch out we will spend all our time knocking down their strawmen. That is tempting and a lot of fun but it does not advance public understanding of the incredible achievements of the last 4 years.

We do not need to recall that the Nation was in a desperate, suicidal war in Korea which President Eisenhower brought to an end; that he helped achieve a truce in Indochina and saved the Republic of Vietnam for the free world; that he prevented a war over Formosa; that he brought into being the Southeast Asia Treaty Organi-

zation and today we are stronger than ever before in a most difficult area; that our President, by sheer personal force, dominated the Geneva Conference and turned the hearts of men to our side. These things by now are known to everyone.

We do not even need to point out that the leaders of nations from every corner of the globe come to confer with our present leaders, not just for their own prestige but because at last this country is giving strong, moral leadership in the cause of decency and freedom. Surely nothing less would have brought Mr. Nehru here for his fruitful visit, or all those other leaders from Europe and Asia. These men came here because they recognize that the United States has again achieved a moral leadership in the cause of decency.

By this I do not mean to convey that the battle for the minds of men is won. It waxes and wanes and I sorrowfully concede that it will undoubtedly continue during our time and probably that of our children. An ambitious Communist dictatorship is determined to conquer the world. Only last Sunday Mr. Khrushchev told us on television that our grandchildren will surely live under socialism.

We cannot look ahead with complacent optimism. The bad news is that the Russians have nuclear power, airpower, the largest ground armies and the largest fleet of submarines in the world, and a fanatic determination to take the whole world by force if they cannot get it by treason and subversion. There is no doubt that only our nuclear superiority has prevented this catastrophe up to now.

But we must never forget that we cannot continue to exist as a free nation—and our children cannot look forward to happiness and security—if we ever have to stand alone against a Communist-dominated world.

The stark truth is that already the Communist world numbers 900 million people. The armed Communist masses outnumber us 5 to 1. Who is the bold soul who will stand before us and say that our allies and the neutral nations of the world are not vital to our freedom and our security?

Supersonic jet planes and guided missiles with atomic warheads have shrunk the world to the size of an orange. Our defense and our survival are interlocked with the defense and survival of our neighbors in the free world. Our mutual assistance program is the only practical means by which this coalition can be effectively maintained—to deter the Communists from launching a war and to increase our chances of victory if war ever should come.

I have seen at first hand the power and effectiveness of this program all around the globe. There are still 800 million free people living across Asia from the Mediterranean to Japan. They are trying to build their independence and resist the persistent efforts of the Soviet to engulf them. These people want to remain free. They want to determine their own future and they want to enjoy a decent, 20th century standard of living. But they need our help and they need it desperately. Thus far, we have helped greatly in their progress and have gone a long way toward insulating them from Soviet domination. But, if we should slam the door in their faces we should be delivering our friends and our potential allies into the hands of the men of the Kremlin.

There were those who opposed the Marshall plan for Western Europe and there are still some who say it was a waste of money. But which of these people could deny today that the Marshall plan saved Western Europe for the free world? The Marshall plan is over, and still do they say they would oppose it? If free Europe had fallen, according to Communist plan, Red Russia would today be our neighbor on the other side of the Atlantic.

Can we buy friends with money? Of course not, and nobody with any sense wants to try. What we can do is help decent people try to live in a free economy so they will not fall to Communist conquest. We would not long survive in a Communist world and I firmly believe we have the sense and the courage to do what is necessary to keep a free world alive.

May I remind those who would recklessly curtail our mutual assistance program of the final broadcast by the Hungarian patriots as the Russians crushed their newborn freedom? I'll never forget that appeal! Remember—here's what they said:

"On the watchtower of 1,000-year-old Hungary, the last flames begin to go out. The Soviet Army is attempting to crush our troubled hearts. Listen to our call. Help us. Our ship is sinking. The light vanishes. The shadows grow darker."

We must make certain that no such tragic message shall ever be broadcast from America. If it ever should, there would be no free peoples left anywhere to hear us.

And still, my friends, there are those who say that our mutual assistance program is a giveaway. But developments in the Middle East alone prove the wisdom of the President's policies.

The cards seemed to be stacked against any acceptance of American aid throughout the Middle East. Yet the program was finally passed by the Congress. Then, quietly, nation after nation has accepted this opportunity to become genuinely independent and free from the fear of foreign domination.

Nearly everyone was writing Jordan off and the puppet mobs in the streets were sure that they could deliver it to Moscow. They failed.

The latest news is from Syria. Here a strong and articulate group is insisting that its government move back into the orbit of freedom.

We can increase these gains country by country by steadfast adherence to hard labor and modest sacrifice. The truth is that consistent hard labor in every country, by earnest and devoted people, and the great moral leadership from Washington have deeply strengthened the cause of peace. The cost is dollars but our sons are not dying in combat.

I suppose there is no citizen who would not have sincere suggestions for changes in the budget and in foreign and domestic policy. They might disagree with each other and probably would. Be that as it may, the towering strength of our moment in history is that we move steadily forward on all fronts for the good of our people and of all mankind. At last the peoples of the world are learning to believe us, to trust us, and to respect the decency of our purpose. We Americans have at last acquired a government whose moral standards are respected at home and throughout the free world.

As Americans, we can be proud of these mighty achievements. As Republicans, every one of us can be proud that we helped bring this kind of government to the United States in our time.

A City Sets Its Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the city of Bessemer, Ala., one of the larger municipalities of the Ninth Congressional District of Alabama, has set its goals for the coming years. Bessemer, a city of multiplying businesses and noted industries, is taking great interest in the prosperity and well-being of its population. This community has grown by leaps and bounds during the past few years and has not only greatly increased its population, but has expanded its business and industry far beyond many expectations.

Now, the Bessemer Chamber of Commerce has launched a vigorous campaign with the view of keeping pace with modern times. Their desire to improve highways and streets, recreation facilities, education and other projects can be seen through the progress that has already been made.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial entitled "Bessemer Plans Growth Campaign," from a recent issue of the Birmingham News.

The editorial follows:

BESSEMER PLANS GROWTH CAMPAIGN

The Bessemer Chamber of Commerce has launched an ambitious campaign for civic expansion and growth designed to help the Bessemer area keep pace with tomorrow. It is holding a series of group conferences with business and professional men and women and is undertaking to raise $25,000 a year to promote the program. Among the projects being planned are expansion of the retail business area, additional annexations to the city, street and highway improvements, development of a source of industrial water, and better recreation facilities.

We wish the Bessemer chamber well in its campaign. That community's future prosperity will depend in large measure on such cooperative efforts by its people to stimulate growth and expansion.

All of us in this district share basic common interests and will go forward together.

How Long?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by Gen. Hugh S. Johnson from the New York World-Telegram of July 8, 1939, which, except for the references to Gen. George Marshall and to a couple of unscrupulous dictators now no longer exerting their tyrannical influence on earth, might have been written today. The pattern is exactly the same, yesterday and today. How long, oh Lord, how long?

THE BUTCHER BOY

Now we are witnessing another display honoring Señor Trujillo from Santo Domingo. Of all the bloodstained terrorists that now encumber the earth, his record is the worst. He may not have piled up such pyramids of skulls or spilled as great a gallonage of blood as some, but that is merely because his field is so limited—just half a little island. But in proportion to population his batting average is tops. It is even suspected that members of his Gestapo wiped out an

rolled political opponent in New York City. It is at least certain that the deceased was a political opponent and that he has been liquidated.

I am all for General Marshall as Chief of Staff, but he isn't the proper American official to entertain this butcher. J. Edgar Hoover is. Rafael Trujillo is probably responsible for the bloody death of 20,000 helpless human beings.

This whole business stinks to heaven. Our great legal firm of Ambassador Davis and Donald Richberg represents—or did represent—this sweet-smelling geranium. The President and other officials may shake his hand, but there is not enough water in the Potomac to wash it clean enough of bloodstains to be grasped by theirs.

We should watch closely what Trujillo does. He has already got a lot of kudos. He ought to get Alcatraz. He probably will get a few careless millions from our Treasury.

We are a good neighbor, an enemy of dictators, and a friend of the democracies.

This is the pompous strutter who had the nerve to change the name of the original capital of Columbus, admiral of the Ocean Sea in the New World. He changed it to the City of Trujillo. He had his bootlicking Congress declare him "Generalissimo" and "Benefactor of the Fatherland." He is a reincarnation of the Emperor Jones or of his own actual incredibly cruel Negro predecessor—Christophe.

Let's send for Hitler and Mussolini and give them the kind of ovation that we gave the British King and Queen. It would be exactly as appropriate as turning ourselves inside out for this blood-spattered bully.

A Permanent Police Force Should be Provided U. N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on May 2 I joined in introducing a bipartisan concurrent resolution urging that a force similar in character to the U. N. emergency force be made a permanent agency of the United Nations.

More than a month has elapsed since then and I have noted with satisfaction the widespread support which has greeted this resolution. I am therefore hopeful that hearings will soon be scheduled before the Foreign Affairs Committee.

I was particularly pleased that the Milwaukee Journal has endorsed the measure, and, under leave to extend my remarks, I am glad to present an editorial from the May 17, 1957, issue of that newspaper.

A PERMANENT MILITARY FORCE SHOULD BE PROVIDED U. N.

On duty along the Egyptian-Israeli border are 6,000 soldiers from 10 smaller countries of the world. As members of the United Nations emergency force (UNEF), they are serving as international policemen to keep forces of Egypt and Israel apart and prevent border clashes that could kindle a new Middle East war.

This is the force that was hastily mustered after the U. N. worked out a cease-fire agreement to end the Suez fighting. Thus far it has fulfilled its assignment of keeping order in commendable fashion—in fact, in excellent fashion when one considers the differences in language, national background, and experience of the participating units and the helter-skelter way in which they had to be assembled. However, UNEF is an adequate substitute for a permanent U. N. force that could be equipped, trained, and held immediately ready for assignments like the present one.

That such a permanent organization doesn't exist is not because the need for it was ignored. The U. N. Charter, formulated in 1945, provides for a U. N. military force, and in the last 10 years several attempts have been made to create one. Russia has blocked these attempts.

Now a new effort is in the making, inspired by the UNEF experience. Resolutions have been introduced in both the Senate and House to put Congress on record in favor of establishing a force similar in character to UNEF as a continuing agency of the United Nations.

Congress should give these resolutions prompt approval. Endorsement will spur this country's delegation to work actively for creation of a permanent force at this fall's meeting of the U. N. General Assembly.

If the U. N. is to grow in influence as an agency to keep the peace, it must have a military police arm. It should not have to scramble about for such a force every time a crisis appears.

A Tribute to a Maryland Veteran: Wm. R. Clay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in May of 1957, the National Commander of the Disabled American Veterans, the Honorable Joseph F. Burke, on the behalf of the department of Maryland at the State convention of this organization held in Baltimore, Md., presented to William R. Clay a certificate of recognition for outstanding service to the veterans of our State.

Mr. Clay, a 38-year-old Government career attorney as well as a civic and veterans' leader, received the highest citation which the Disabled American Veterans award, for "his years of outstanding service in the field of veterans' legislation in the interest of the veterans of the State of Maryland."

His many friends know this leader as "Honest Bill Clay," the veteran's friend. He has been active since 1944 in the DAV and the American Legion, having held national, State, and local offices in both organizations. Over a period of 10 years he has addressed thousands of veterans in our State and in the District of Columbia relative to programs of interest to both organizations.

For the last 7 years, Mr. Clay has served as department legislative officer for the Disabled American Veterans, and since 1953 has been a member of the committee for the American Legion, serving as department legislative chairman during the years 1955–56.

At the present time he is vice chairman of the Allied Maryland Veterans Council whose membership comprises the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, Military Order of the Purple Heart, AMVETS, Jewish War Veterans, Spanish-American War Veterans, World War I Veterans, Catholic War Veterans, and 29th Division Association, whose combined membership represents well over 60,000 veterans of our State.

As a result of his knowledge of rights and benefits of veterans and their dependents and his legislative background, he is considered by veteran leaders, members of the State legislature, and by the Maryland congressional delegation as a complete and dedicated veteran's friend.

Every Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, June, the dairy month, is with us once more, and if you look into the background you will understand why Wisconsin residents are happy to have their neighbors across the country hearing of the merits of milk. On May 29, the Clark County Press at Neillsville, Wis., complimented another dairy county, this one in Arkansas, on its growing dairy industry. Then it went on to show that approximately 66 percent of the income in its Wisconsin county is derived from the dairy industry. Because the article demonstrates the tremendous impact of dairying and the milk market on Wisconsin farm folks, I would like to submit the editorial here:

EVERY DAY

Not long ago we picked up a trade paper which carried a reproduction of a full-page promotional piece used by an Arkansas dairy. The effect of the piece was to brag about the fact that the county of Arkansas in which this dairy plant was located produced $1 million in dairy products annually.

Now, even in these days of astronomical figures, $1 million is still a tubful of money, and more than most of us even see in a lifetime. Our friends in that area were proud of their accomplishment in this vital sector of the agricultural economy. They wanted to do a little bragging about it—and it was to their credit that they felt the pride of accomplishment, and the pride that most of us have in doing a good job.

Their promotional piece no doubt had an effect in building the prestige and local market for dairy products. It had an effect of impressing on the people of the area generally the immense importance of the dairy industry in that section of Arkansas.

On that basis, however, Clark County should be shouting almost 16 times as loud. One of the top 100 agricultural counties of the Nation, Clark County has placed its emphasis on the dairy industry. In the last year for which figures were available, Clark County's farm income from milk—and just milk, without natural by-products or increases due to manufacture—amounted to $15.9 million.

That placed it fourth in the State; it was the seventh greatest dairy county in the Nation. No other county in the Nation produces as much American cheese as do the factories of Clark County.

One plant in Clark County alone—the Wuethrich plant out of Greenwood—produces more than 8 million pounds of butter per year under two score or more labels; Neillsville boasts one of the largest units for condensing of milk in the State, and it has 1 of but 6 or 7 spray milk drying units now in operation in Wisconsin. A second spray dryer is right now being installed at the Hediger plant at Christie.

To move $15.9 million worth of milk to the processing plants of Clark County requires a fleet of trucks which once were figured to travel 7½ times the distance around the world at the equator in the course of a single year.

Add to these, then, the number of people associated with this gigantic, sprawling countywide dairy industry—there are hundreds of them ranging from plant to quality improvement fieldmen, and even salesmen—and one begins to get an idea of the tremendous reliance we of Clark County have on the dairy industry.

It is the source of more than 66.1 percent of our farm income; it is the basis for the economy of our whole countywide income.

Dairying, to the 31,000 people of Clark County, means the same as chewing gum to William Wrigley, automobiles to Henry Ford III, and whale blubber to the Eskimos.

So, we're sure, the people of that Arkansas dairy plant we spoke of will pardon us if we sing out the praises of the dairy industry. The State and Nation, too, will understand as we in Clark County launch the 1957 June Dairy Month promotions with enthusiasm. This is the one time during the year that we make a real, concentrated shout about it to the rest of the Nation.

But (we're not letting our readers in on any secret) for us in Clark County, every month in Dairy Month; every day is Dairy Day.

Red China Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting editorial which appeared in the Boston Evening American on June 4, 1957:

RED CHINA TRADE

It is a fact that Britain's survival depends on trade. It is equally a fact that the British decision to lift its trade embargo, to the extent of some 200 items, with Communist China is a psychological surrender in the cold war.

Britain's decision will directly aid Red China's industrial strength, which is the basis of its capacity to make war. As Senate Republican leader KNOWLAND commented, such items as electric motors and generators, locomotives, motor vehicles, and tractors, chemicals and rubber must be considered strategic by any rule of reason.

Beyond this, we wonder just how much Britain stands to gain. The jubilant expectations of her businessmen are not shared by their counterparts in Hong Kong, who have a closer and more realistic view.

Ever since Britain recognized the Peiping regime, Red China has given British diplomats and business interests an arrogantly hard time. Japan, whose trade needs are ever more relentless than those of Britain, sent an exploratory trade mission to Communist China last year. It returned with a very low estimate of trade potentialities. Britain may learn the hard way.

The Communists will exploit the psychological aspect of this cold war victory with all their skill.

They will use it to try to create an irreconcilable division between the United States and its allies. To permit this to happen, however much we dislike the British action and condemn it, would be to give the Communists a far greater victory.

They will use it to bring pressure on the United States to extend diplomatic recognition to Red China. It would be unspeakable even to entertain the thought of recognizing a ruthless enemy that holds American prisoners and has not accounted for 450 American soldiers missing in the Korean war and now written off as dead.

The Communists will use it to try to force their way into the United Nations. If Red China ever walks into the United Nations, the United States should walk out.

Principle Versus Expediency—The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of June 7, 1957, on the subject of the William S. Girard case:

PRINCIPLE VERSUS EXPEDIENCY

Louis Greco, district commander of the American Legion, not only voiced the sentiment of former servicemen, but of many other local residents yesterday in a communication to this newspaper in which he protested vigorously against the trial of William S. Girard, an American soldier, in Japanese courts on charges of killing a woman scavenger near a United States practice range.

The administration in Washington supposedly acted under terms of an agreement with Japan, but the general impression is one of expediency since the commanding officer reported the soldier was on duty. Under these circumstances, he was subject to court-martial for an infraction, if any.

When the Department of Defense ordered Girard kept in Army custody, Japan protested. Apparently at this point the Department of State intervened and the Department of Defense reversed its position, bowing to Japanese pressure.

The killing of a Japanese woman is a serious matter, to be sure, and it is likely a United States court-martial would take a dim view of the episode if it could be established the soldier were guilty of a breach of discipline.

On the other hand, a compromise with principle and justice as a sop to Japan will not set well with the American people. Our relations with Japan are not that important and never will be.

If the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Nation's Armed Forces, has let this American soldier down, let Congress, in the name of the American people, rush to his defense. Maybe the time is at hand for Congress to review not only the status of forces treaties, but the Nation's entire foreign policy. This well might be the straw that breaks the camel's back.

Post Office Deficit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE, of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter received by me from the legislative affairs committee of the chamber of commerce, Bryan, Tex., concerning the post office deficit.

I think the suggestions contained within this letter are meritorious and should receive consideration by this body in enacting any type of postal rate increase legislation.

The letter follows:

BRYAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Bryan, Tex., May 28, 1957.

Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
United States Senate.

Hon. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
United States Senate.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
United States House of Representatives.

GENTLEMEN: The legislative affairs committee of this chamber of commerce has given special attention to the matter of the postal deficit and the proposals for elimination of same for the future. We would offer the following suggestions:

1. With reference to the suggestions that third-class mail rate be increased, it has come to our attention that a very large majority, if, in fact, not all, the loss sustained by the Post Office Department on third-class mail is due to the fact that the Department must pay a per-piece charge on this class of mail when it is carried by train or truck (long haul). Thus, when New York, Detroit, Chicago, Nevada, Missouri, and other centers originating large quantities of third-class mail sends out a mailing of such material to be distributed throughout the United States a big loss is sustained over and above the 1½-cent postal rate. Our information is that about 60 to 75 percent of third-class mail is long haul.

On the other hand, third-class matter mailed and delivered locally, with the same 1½-cent postage as that paid by the New York or Chicago mailer, can be delivered by the local carrier at no, or practically no, additional cost of delivery.

We would urge that you support an adjustment in the rate applicable to long-haul third-class mail matter which would at least take care of the present deficit on long-haul third-class matter. The third-class deficit of $172 million is very probably brought about by the long-haul per-piece charge.

We would suggest that the present rate of 1½ cents be kept in effect and made applicable only to local third-class mail.

In fact, we can see no reason for not zoning the country for third-class mail similar to the zoning for parcel post. Why should the Post Office Department carry bags and bags of third-class mail all the way across the continent for the same price that it delivers in Bryan a piece of mail deposited in the Bryan office. If large quantities of this mail

is sent from New York to Bryan, Tex., the charge should certainly be more than for delivering it from New York to Philadelphia.

There is no reason for charging more for delivery of parcel post to distant points but charging only 1½ cent rate on third class regardless of the distance.

2. We notice in the Post Office Department's report for the year ending June 30, 1955, Controlled Circulation Publication, shows a deficit of $1,402,509. This we understand, is house organs of various organizations with distribution limited to their respective membership. We can see no reason for special consideration being given such organizations just so that their members may receive their propaganda and the taxpayers pay the bill. Such mailing certainly should bear the cost of handling by the Post Office Department.

There are other items in the Department's 1955 report which probably should be made to carry its full share of the load, such as "nonpostal service" and probably second class mail should come in for consideration.

We shall appreciate your careful consideration of available facts and information, and using your influence to place the burden where the service is rendered.

Sincerely yours,

GREENE H. BUCHANAN,
President.

PROPOSALS BY POSTAL RATES SUBCOMMITTEE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

1. Post Office Department report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, shows surplus of $62,325,144 on first class mail.

Domestic air mail shows surplus of $20,266,779.

Controlled circulation publications shows deficit $1,402,509.

Third-class mail shows deficit of $172,039,091.

Special postal services shows deficit of $47,726,076.

And other smaller deficits and surpluses.

(Postmaster General has stated that the 1957 deficit will reach $515 million and 1958 will reach $651 million.)

2. It is our information that the Post Office Department must pay a per-piece charge on all third-class mail handled by train or truck—a so-called long haul charge.

3. It is also our information that from 60 percent to 75 percent of all third-class mail handled by the Bryan Post Office is long haul mail.

4. Our proposal is that the present 1½ cent rate be made applicable to local third class mail only, and that long haul third class rate be increased sufficiently to take care of the deficit being created by the charges paid for the long haul mail.

5. We suggest that special study be made of the other deficit items with steps taken to eliminate the deficits they are creating.

Status of Forces Agreements Should Be Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have long urged repeal of the various status of forces agreements, which permit the trial of American servicemen in foreign courts, and introduced one of the original resolutions to accomplish this.

The decision to turn over Sp3c. William S. Girard for trial in a Japanese court has served to emphasize that this body should take action on one of the resolutions presently pending before the Foreign Affairs Committee.

In this regard, I wish to include as part of my remarks the following letter which I received from Robert J. McGregor, adjutant, Walter T. Enneberg American Legion Post, No. 358, St. Ansgar, Iowa:

WALTER T. ENNEBERG POST, No. 358,
St. Ansgar, Iowa, June 5, 1957.

Hon. H. R. GROSS,
United States Congress,
Washington, D. C.:

We most urgently request that you assist in the stopping of the Japanese prosecution of Army Sp3c. William S. Girard.

Is it fair to ask a United States soldier to defend our United States when our country apparently will not defend him?

We also urgently request your cooperation to repeal the status of forces agreements.

If a member of the military forces of the United States is accused, try him under United States justice, and then if found guilty, permit him to serve his sentence in the United States prisons.

Respectfully,

ROBERT J. MCGREGOR,
Adjutant.

H-Bomb Petition Confiscated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpt from the syndicated column of Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 3, 1957, makes interesting reading.

Obviously, some of our people in Government fail to understand the difference between engaging in partisan political activity and engaging in nonpartisan political activity looking toward the protection of those rights which are guaranteed to Americans by our Constitution.

One of those very important rights is that of Americans to petition their Government on any and all matters that are of concern to them. Anyone who attempts to interfere with that right is looking for trouble. Mr. Pearson's comments follow:

PETITION CONFISCATED

Government scientists who tried to circulate a petition against continued H-bomb tests suddenly found their constitutional right of free petition yanked from under them at the National Institutes of Health at Bethesda, Md., last week.

About half of the scientists and medical experts at the Institutes had signed the petition when suddenly Dr. Francis Arnold, a dentist working with the Institute of Dental Research, seized it. He refused to return the petition on the ground that it was being circulated on Government property and on Government time.

This aroused a terrific backstage furor at the Institutes, where many scientists are concerned about whether strontium-90 in H-bomb fallout increases leukemia and other forms of cancer. Many doctors also felt strongly regarding the Eisenhower position taken last fall against Adlai Stevenson's proposal to ban H-bomb tests—if Russia would agree.

Dr. Arnold was not available for comment. However, Dr. James A. Shannon, Director of the Institutes, confirmed the fact that the petition had been confiscated by Dr. Arnold and that it had not been returned. He said he had supported Dr. Arnold's action because Government scientists should not be allowed to circulate a political petition.

Asked whether scientists lost the power of engaging in politics merely because they worked for the Government, Dr. Shannon said he was in a delicate position, but that he would return the petition to the scientists if they agreed to circulate it only in their homes and not on Government property.

World Trade Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to point out that the third week in May was recently celebrated as World Trade Week. In my home city of Richmond, Va., the Export-Import Club, cooperating with the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce and the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, did a fine job in publicizing this celebration. All over our country, like groups called to the attention of the American people the increasing importance of world trade to the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

Here in the Washington area, Mr. Philip M. Talbott, an outstanding business leader and a longtime resident of my home State of Virginia, who was recently elected president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, made a most able address on the subject of foreign trade at a dinner sponsored by the World Trade Committee of the Washington Board of Trade.

Mr. Talbott pointed out that our national trade policy must be truly in the national interest and he warned against repeating our occasional excursions into protectionism. We all have in mind, as an example of these excursions, I am sure, such unfortunate steps as the administration's tariff increase on watches.

As a matter of fact, the domestic watch manufacturers have subsequently demonstrated that protectionism inevitably breeds more demands for protectionism. Not content with the tariff increase they received, they are now seeking additional Government intervention to eliminate overseas competition. Instead of contemplating ways and means of further reducing Swiss watch imports into the United States, the administration should be working on ways and means of expanding our foreign trade in consonance with our avowed objectives.

Mr. Talbott has urged United States businessmen to do everything they can

to help our Government maintain policies which facilitate the growth of freer foreign trade. He reminded his audience that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States had urged liberal foreign trade principles over many years. I am proud to say that the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, which I once served as president, has always been in the forefront of business groups working toward an increase of mutually helpful world trade.

I hope every Member of this House will read Mr. Talbott's remarks, which follow herewith:

ADDRESS OF PHILIP M. TALBOTT, PRESIDENT, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE WORLD TRADE COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON BOARD OF TRADE, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 21, 1957

It seems to come as a great suprprise to many persons to find out that the United States is the greatest trading nation in the world today. No other nation comes even close to our monetary stake in foreign trade.

Great Britain is the second most important trading nation, but her exports and imports are less than three-fourths those of this country.

Germany ranks third in international trade, but her exports and imports are less than half of ours.

The foreign trade of the United States equals the foreign trade of all the rest of North America and South America combined.

Foreign trade might well be defined as the producer of vitality, well-being, and security for the Nation, and yet the extent to which it influences our domestic economy is not always fully realized.

There may be a very human reason for this. It is probably because nearly three-fourths of our imports are crude foodstuffs, raw materials, or semimanufactured products. The balance of our imports are processed foodstuffs and finished manufactures.

In addition, we buy from other nations many different services, such as insurance, banking, transportation, and tourist facilities. But in the main, articles of foreign manufacture do not strike us in the eye. They are not likely to be found in the average household.

It is possible that our parents were more foreign-trade conscious than we are. The children's toys came from abroad. So did dyestuffs and other chemicals.

The word, "imported," had a magic ring to it which it began to lose with the advent of the First World War.

It might make a rather good quiz program question to ask a contestant to name 6 import items within the space of 2 minutes. I imagine he would instantly come up with coffee and tea and probably bananas and cane sugar. But unless he lived in a community where foreign-made automobiles are a fairly common sight, he would probably fumble around for a fifth item and have considerable trouble rounding out his quota of six items despite the diversity of our imports.

Our exports are even more diverse. Over one-third of the goods we export consists of machinery or transportation equipment; one-fifth, agricultural products; one-tenth, metals and manufactures; another tenth, nonmetallic mineral items, primarily coal and petroleum products.

The remainder comprises a wide variety of goods, notably chemicals, tobacco, manufactures and forest products. We also sell transportation, insurance, and many other kinds of service to other nations.

United States exports have now reached a record rate of more than $19 billion a year. Part of the rise has been due to emergency oil shipments to Europe and extraordinarily large shipments of wheat and cotton.

Those particular exports will possibly decline. But our exporters have booked larger orders for industrial products such as hard goods and chemicals, and these will likely remain high.

Our imports have increased more slowly than exports, but they are now at the rate of more than $13 billion.

Hence, the gap between exports and imports has risen to some $6 billion. Some of the gap is made up by United States private investment abroad, which rose in phenomenal fashion from $1.2 billion in 1955 to a recent rate of more than $3 billion.

In the same period of time, dollar outlay for services abroad—such as travel and transportation—has risen by some $6 million.

Despite these increases, foreign trade is still a very small percentage of our domestic trade and production—so small, in fact, that its importance can easily be underestimated.

In 1956, for example, exports equaled only 5.6 percent of our gross national product, and imports amounted to only 4.8 percent of our gross national product.

It is only by examining the character of this trade that its real significance to the domestic economy becomes apparent.

The importance of foreign trade to the continued growth of our economy is most apparent in the field of natural resources. We must depend on imports for a number of critical raw materials.

It should be realized that when the United States sends goods and services abroad in excess of goods and services purchased abroad, the balance can be financed only through foreign aid and private gifts, the export of capital, or the purchase of gold from other countries. When the United States exports capital, however, it does so in the anticipation of returning at least some of the profits of that investment to this country and ultimately the invested capital itself.

When the United States takes gold from countries, this in no way adds to the stock of goods and services available to American consumers unless the United States at some time uses this gold to purchase goods abroad.

In either case, the United States, in the long run, can recover its capital exports and profits and utilize its gold purchases only by importing more goods and services. And if exports are to continue their growth, imports must also grow.

As of today, our imports provide the dollars for approximately 85 percent of our exports.

One way to grasp the significance of foreign trade in our domestic economy is to imagine that the foreign markets for the products we are now exporting heavily were suddenly wiped out. We can easily see what would happen. Our resources which are now devoted to production for export would be shifted to other products, and the competition for domestic markets in many cases would be so severe as to create serious adjustment problems.

Foreign markets are even more important to American agriculture than to American industry. It is estimated that the product of some 40 million acres of farmland goes into foreign sales.

Hundreds of our manufacturers today are finding that exports are protecting and even expanding their profit margins. Moreover, this direct contact with overseas markets is also helping them to check on international competition and observe the technical innovations and improvements developed beyond our borders.

A healthy expansion of mutually beneficial foreign trade is actually so vital to our national well-being, that it behooves the businessman to do all he can to help our Government adopt and maintain policies which will facilitate this growth. The question is, what can he do?

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has long advanced the objectives of a liberal trade policy. The chamber first endorsed the concept of the reciprocal trade agreements program a year in advance of its enactment by the Congress in 1934. Our membership has consistently supported this program in its many extensions by the Congress since that time.

For a long time, our organization has also urged the simplification and modernization of customs administrative provisions of the United States tariff laws. A good deal has been achieved in the past 2 to 3 years, and the Congress changed the law regarding the basis of valuation of imports so that some of the uncertainty will be eliminated.

Through representations to the Congress and by working directly with the administrative agencies of our Government, we believe we have contributed substantially to improvements along these lines.

Our membership also recommended a complete revision of the dutiable list of the Tariff Act of 1930 for the purpose of clarifying the customs classification of imported articles.

The United States Tariff Commission has undertaken a study to bring about the changes necessary to improve the customs classification system and to revise the lists.

I should like to read a brief paragraph from our national chamber policies which has to do with increased imports:

"Our industrial machine and our national security require raw and semimanufactured goods for production and stockpiling. These imports alone, however, are not sufficient to supply America's foreign customers with sufficient dollars to maintain United States exports at a level commensurate with the importance of the export industry to the total United States economy. Therefore, for the benefit of the economy of the United States as a whole, business and Government should encourage increased imports into the United States."

So ends the quotation.

American business needed not fear imports, and yet this fear does persist, and is often reflected in the Congress.

In fact, the fear can be found outside of the business community in far larger measure than within the business community.

There is a feeling that imports might jeopardize American jobs, and in addition to the various fears concerned with importation there is an abiding sense of complacency.

Many people are convinced that we are virtually a self-sufficient nation, and there is just enough truth in it to make it difficult to explain the importance of imports to the economy as a whole.

We have a feeling that we could rather easily find a substitute for almost anything we do not have, and I am quite sure that every school girl knows that her mother used to wear stockings made of Japanese silk whereas she wears nylons.

Even a cursory examination of the pattern of industrial growth in this country should allay our fears of imports. The pattern of our growth has been one of new, rapidly expanding products which are soon overtaken by even newer products, the former slowing down and in some cases being partially displaced.

Such shifts from less to more profitable lines of activity are constantly going on—not as a once-for-all shift, but as a shift for the next round.

This is progress.

We are, in fact, moving toward the greatest era of progress in our history. Before us lies the challenge of taming the atom—of making it safe for us to live with and be obedient to our wishes.

We have yet to harness the source of all earthly energy—the rays of the sun—but I am confident we shall get around to it in the not too distant future.

As of today, only one-tenth of 1 percent of that energy is put to use.

Our population has doubled in the past 50 years, and we have a reasonable expectancy of adding 35 million people in the next 25 years.

All this adds up to a definite challenge to our ingenuity and our imagination, and to meet this challenge there is a constant need for concerted, articulate effort to preserve the free-enterprise system as a living, developing force which is able to meet new conditions and produce new benefits.

Understanding and acceptance of fair competition is part of the challenge, and it is a matter about which we cannot afford to temporize if we are to grow, for restrictionism would make certain the slow strangulation of our free-market economy.

The prospect of a European customs union and free trade area will emerge as a substantial influence in the next decade for which we must be prepared.

Unless the United States is in a position to speak consistently and commit itself in a meaningful sort of way for progressively freer trade, the movement in Europe could result in more protectionism on both sides of the Atlantic.

The customs union planned by France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg promises to provide a tremendous stimulus to efficient production and improved living standards in Europe. So say all the experts on the subject.

But if the six nations find themselves confronted with increased restrictions elsewhere, they will tend to look inward toward their own large, unified market and to raise barriers against outsiders to the detriment of United States trade.

The official policy of the United States has been to encourage the common market as a means of bolstering Western Europe's economy and to provide the United States with strong, more self-reliant allies.

This common market must, however, be run in accordance with the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—which we commonly call GATT—if United States exporters are to be sure of fair, nondiscriminatory treatment in Europe.

Related to this, is the President's proposal for United States participation in an Organization for Trade Cooperation—which is best known by its short name of OTC. This would serve as the administering body for GATT.

A bill to authorize United States membership in OTC was approved by the House Ways and Means Committee a year ago, but never reached the floor. The current bills on this matter incorporate a number of amendments recommended by that committee in its report last year as well as some new provisions which are intended to answer the arguments offered in good faith against last year's bill.

The administration's drive for approval of this measure began in the midst of a swarm of high tariff bills introduced early this session. If the pattern of the last Congress is repeated, however, they have little chance of passage.

GATT itself is the instrument through which trade negotiations take place. The authority for United States participation in GATT is based in the trade agreements program authorized by the Congress.

Through tariff negotiations carried out within GATT, the United States has received tariff concessions from foreign countries worth more than $7 billion, and our reciprocal concessions amounted to about the same.

Within this structure, 14 Western European nations lifted quota restrictions on more than 60 percent of their dollar imports between the years 1953 and 1955.

These concessions signaled a major increase in United States exports to Western Europe—worth hundreds of millions of dollars to United States exporters and to the 4½ million American families whose incomes are estimated to be directly dependent on export trade.

You may be interested in the results of a survey which undertook to relate the importance of United States exports to the individual and to his community.

The survey was made by the Battelle Institute just a few months ago and concerned itself with our exports to Canada.

The survey examined the geographic origins of united exports to Canada, and its findings were dramatic. They show a widespread export business throughout the States.

They also show that these exports are not concentrated in a few large firms as might be expected, but rather in medium-sized businesses which have a larger share in exports to Canada than they have proportionately in the domestic market.

The national chamber considered these relevations so significant to a better understanding of the importance of our export trade that it obtained permission to publish a digest of the findings for the information of our membership.

Another recent study in this general field was made by the American Management Association. This had to do with the interests of member companies in entering new foreign markets. Its conclusions show not only steadily increasing trade in new markets but growth in licensing and manufacturing activities in such area.

Major obstacles cited included regulations and restrictions by foreign governments, primarily import restrictions and controls; the lack of qualified personnel for overseas employment; the increasing national development of local industries in some areas, and the fact that in some cases there are better financing terms available from European competitors of American products in those areas.

A lack of dollar exchange and low standards of living in underdeveloped countries were listed as handicaps to expansion. Nevertheless, optimism was expressed about opportunities and plans for entering new foreign markets. The geographical choices were Latin America, Europe, the sterling area, and the Middle East—in that order.

Still another survey of primary interest was conducted by the national chamber recently with particular reference to the foreign-aid program of the United States.

A questionnaire was sent to representatives of 250 member companies with overseas operations. They were asked about the role of private capital investment in the less developed areas of the world. We received some 500 replies from 56 different countries.

The respondents felt very strongly that expansion of private capital investment in the less developed areas could ultimately replace a good measure of economic and technical assistance.

A major advantage of private capital is the fact that it carries with it a highly valuable technical, management, and marketing know-how, and in addition, it has the multiplier effect of creating additional service industries.

It was noted, however, that political instability is a deterrent in some cases to the attraction of private capital. In others, the lack of basic facilities is an important factor. In some instances, the labor market is the missing element, and in others the unavailability of resources.

Nevertheless, American private capital investment opportunities are available, and our respondents made specific suggestions as to how foreign investment might be stimulated.

For example, through negotiation of commercial treaties incorporating provisions which would contribute to the creation of a more favorable investment climate.

Negotiation of tax treaties for the elimination of doube taxation on foreign investments. Arrangements for mutually lowering trade barriers, and exacting stronger guaranties against nationalization and discrimination and for assuring repatriation of reasonable profits in dollars.

Some of the respondents urged the encouragement of the licensing of patents and techniques to foreign producers to help meet needs for replacement parts for repair and maintenance of American-made equipment.

In the main, the respondents to our questionnaire insisted that expanded international trade would not only enhance the effectiveness of United States economic assistance abroad but would hasten the day when such aid could safely be discontinued.

Many of them stressed the need for improvement in the quality and availability of commercial intelligence at home and abroad. Businessmen's missions to and from the United States and other countries, as well as participation in trade exhibits and fairs were highly favored.

In my own opinion, this should definitely be a two-way street. There is some doubt that businessmen of other countries who are anxious to sell in the American market are always as alert to that market's demands as they should be.

There is a tendency to overlook the fact that the American consumer is the most pampered in the world. Competition among domestic producers has made the customer the monarch of all he surveys. A foreign-made product has to be at least the equal of its home-produced competitor.

The American customer is not going to buy a foreign-made pocketknife which refuses to take a sharp edge.

He may buy such a knife once, but not again. A bargain price may lure him into a single purchase, but thereafter he swears off all foreign-made tools—the good as well as the bad.

The American housewife is not going to wrestle with a canned ham if no can opener in the house will operate on it. She is very apt to use a hatchet on the can, and then feed the cohtents to the cat.

Our consumers are accustomed not only to quality but to a kind of packaging that has attained the status of a highly developed art.

More foreign businessmen would do well to have personal visits with typical American consumers.

They cannot hope for success by taking us for granted.

However, we are also sinful now and then in the matter of taking things for granted. We are sometimes inclined to take our private enterprise system and our many other freedoms too much for granted—as if they were inviolate and invulnerable to successful attacks.

The philosopher Santayana, once attempted to define the American, and he phrased his definition like this:

"He dreams of helping to carry on and to accelerate the movement of a vast, seething, progressive society, and he actually does so. Ideals clinging so close to nature are almost sure of fulfillment. The American beams with a certain self-confidence and a sense of mastery; he feels that God and nature are working with him."

I would say that Santayana's tribute is truly magnificent, but it implies a trust of which we must, at all times, strive to be worthy.

FBI Anti-Red Efforts Hit Hard by Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to include the following article from the Washington Daily News of June 10:

TEN ADVERSE DECISIONS CITED: FBI ANTI-RED EFFORTS HIT HARD BY COURT

(By Jack Steele)

The Supreme Court, in 10 major decisions handed down in a little more than a year, has greatly weakened the Government's legal drive against Communists and subversives.

Some of the Court's rulings have limited drastically the scope of antisubversive laws and regulations. Others have made it much more difficult for the Justice Department to prosecute alleged violators of these laws.

NEW TRIALS

In still other cases, the Court has ordered new trials for alleged Communists on technical grounds which dissenting Justices have called picayunish and immaterial.

The Court has split on most of these rulings. But three members have concurred in all 10 decisions. They are Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black.

Justice Felix Frankfurter has concurred in all but two decisions. Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. has concurred in all five of the decisions reached since he joined the Court.

SUMMARY

(Justices Tom C. Clark and Harold H. Burton have dissented from most of these decisions. Justice John M. Harlan has concurred in 6 and dissented in 4. Justice Charles E. Whittaker has not participated in any of the cases.)

Here is a brief summary of the Court's actions in the 10 cases:

Communist Party case: Sent back to the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) on grounds that testimony of three of the Government's witnesses might be tainted. The Board threw out the disputed testimony, but the Court will have to pass again on its finding that the party is Soviet-dominated.

Cole case: Limited the Government's security risk program (under President Eisenhower's Executive Order 10450) to employees in sensitive jobs.

Slowckowner case: Invalidated a provision of the New York City charter which provided for dismissal of city employees who took the fifth amendment.

Gold case: Ordered a new trial for labor leader Ben Gold, who had been convicted of lying when he signed a non-Communist affidavit. The decision was based on the technical ground that FBI agents, investigating alleged jury tampering in another case, had questioned members of the Gold jury. The Government has dropped prosecution of Gold as a result.

Kremen case: Ordered new trial for Shirley Kremen and two others convicted of sheltering Communist leader Robert C. Thompson while he was a fugitive from justice. Court held FBI lacked warrant to search the mountain cabin in which Thompson was hidden.

Nelson case: Upset conviction of Communist leader Steve Nelson in Pennsylvania State courts on ground Smith Act gave Federal Government exclusive jurisdiction in subversive cases. This decision has blocked all prosecutions of subversives under State laws.

Nelson case: Ordered new Smith Act trials for Steve Nelson and 4 others on ground testimony of 1 Government witness might be tainted.

Konigsberg case: Overruled California courts to force applicant to be admitted to bar even though he refused to answer questions about past Communist associations.

Schware case: Upset New Mexico's refusal to admit to the bar an applicant who admitted past Commmunist Party membership.

Jencks case: Ordered new trial for Clinton E. Jencks, labor leader convicted of lying when he signed non-Communist affidavit, on grounds trial court had denied him access to FBI reports.

President Eisenhower's Reply to Congressman Sheehan's Letter on 11th Illinois District Public Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 27 I released the results of my annual public opinion poll—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 29, page A4169. At the same time I sent these results, with a letter, to President Eisenhower, and the contents of this letter were embodied in my news release of May 27, as follows:

In each of the 7 years that I have been in Congress, I have polled a cross section of the people in the 11th Congressional District of Illinois to ascertain their viewpoints on important questions of the day.

I attempt, in every possible way, to make this poll impartial, and this year, sent approximately 120 questionnaires into every voting precinct in my district; so that, approximately 1 of every 4 voters in the area received the questionnaire. In selecting the names from the poll sheets, we have no prior knowledge of the politics of the recipients.

It is my political philosophy that, as a Congressman, it is my duty to speak to the Congress and to vote the issues before the Congress on the basis of the will of the majority of the people in my district, assuming my people are informed as to pertinent facts on the issues and their will is not contrary to the general welfare of the country. In other words, my vote on issues before Congress will be predicated upon the will of the majority of my constituents unless the will of the majority is not clearly discernible; then a Congressman must use his own wisdom and conscience in voting for whatever is best for his constituents, bearing in mind the general welfare of the whole country.

The only way I could, in clear conscience, oppose the will of the majority of my people would be on the basis that I knew of facts or circumstances which were not known to my people, or that, by following the will of my constituents, I would be voting against the greater good of the country as a whole. In that event, it would be incumbent upon me to go back to my people and explain to them the circumstances and conditions of which I knew, and of which they had no knowledge.

It is to be noted that a rather stable percentage of the people in the 11th Congressional District, varying from 64 to 73 percent over the last 5 years, are overwhelmingly in favor of the United States continuing as a member of the United Nations. There has been a very noticeable and decided lessening of support for the foreign-aid program, so that this year's poll shows the high point of nearly 79.8 percent of the people opposing the proposed $4.4 billion foreign outlay. The comments from many of the people of the 11th District in answering the questionnaire clearly show their low regard of this program. One of the interesting aspects of a public-opinion poll of this type is the very great amount of comments we get from people answering the questionnaire, who put their views on the side, on the back, and frequently attach many other pages of comments stating their views on the questions. It is to be noted that question No. 11, "Do you favor more adequate laws providing for full disclosure to the public and to the United States Government of the operation of union pension and welfare funds?" received the highest percentage of favorable replies of all the 15 questions on the poll. This question also showed the least amount of people, 3.6 percent, who had no opinion on the subject.

With reference to questions No. 3 and No. 4, "Do you approve of the Republican foreign policy in general?" "Do you approve of the Eisenhower administration to date?" I have written a similar letter to both President Eisenhower and the Honorable Meade Alcorn, national chairman of the Republican Party, as follows:

"President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
"The White House, Washington, D. C.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Knowing from previous reports that you take note of congressional public-opinion polls, I am respectfully calling to your attention the results of my 1957 survey.

"As a Republican, I am most deeply concerned with the answers to questions No. 3 and No. 4, results of which you can observe from the enclosed copy of my extension of remarks to appear in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 27.

"You will note that on question No. 3, 'Do you approve of the Republican foreign policy in general?' in 1953, 78.5 percent of the people replied favorably; and in 1954, only 52.9 percent agreed. And you will further note that in Cook County, Ill., in 1954, the Republican Party suffered one of its worst defeats in 20 years. In 1955, the percentage of those in favor of the Republican foreign policy increased to 56.9 percent, and in 1956, to 62.3 percent—the year in which you and the Republican Party had a great victory in the State of Illinois.

"The present 1957 percentage has dropped to an alltime low, i. e., only 35.9 percent in favor of the Republican foreign policy. In my opinion, this means that since last November, our policies have lost most of their appeal to the type of voter residing in my congressional district.

"The yearly trends are as follows on question No. 4, 'Do you approve of the Eisenhower administration to date?'

"Year:	*Percentage approval*
1953	84.2
1954	58.0
1955	65.3
1956	76.4
1957	41.8

"You will note that the previous low point in 1954 showed very disastrous results for the Republican Party in the elections held in Illinois. The present survey also shows an alltime low for support of the Eisenhower administration to date, and I would be very fearful of the results of any elections held at this time.

"It is to be fervently hoped that by the time the November 1958 elections roll

around, the Republican foreign policy and the domestic aspects of our administration will be changed in order that the people of the 11th Congressional District and the State of Illinois will again support the policies which had been received with such wide acceptance up until the election of November 1956.

"Respectfully,

"TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN,
"Member of Congress."

President Eisenhower acknowledged my letter of May 29 as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 29, 1957.

The Honorable TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SHEEHAN: Your poll reminds me that public support for any given program waxes and wanes here and there over the country even though the program is not basically changed.

Your poll indicates that last year the Nation's foreign policy was favored by almost two-thirds of your correspondents. For the same foreign policy your poll indicates support by one-third in 1957 and by one-half in 1954.

Obviously foreign policy cannot ricochet about in the same fashion. The administration will hold steadily to the course deemed essential to the national interest. The alternatives to our present efforts are grim. They are, in this order, a fortress America, then a bankrupt America, then a regimented America — finally, a defeated America. My belief is that most citizens are well aware of these alternatives. I think our people will hold fast in the effort to keep this Nation on a sound road in world affairs.

As for our domestic policies, these conform to the pledges of the Republican Party in its platform adopted 9 months ago in San Francisco and to my own campaign commitments based on those pledges. I have no intention of welching on my own or the party's word. I think no loyal Republican should. For us to do so would be, in my opinion, a long step toward party defeat and dissolution.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

George W. Williams, Wilkes-Barre Newspaperman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of June 7, 1957, on the passing of George W. Williams, outstanding Wilkes-Barre newspaperman, educator, and public official:

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

In newspaper parlance, death wrote "thirty" to the life of one of Greater Wilkes-Barre's most colorful newspapermen yesterday afternoon in the restful quiet of a Dallas home, far removed from the bustle of the city room and the turmoil of politics, two fields to which he devoted a busy and at times, turbulent half century.

We often hear of a lawyer's lawyer, and a doctor's doctor, meaning an outstanding practitioner, admired and respected by the profession for his skill and talents. George Wayne Williams, reporter, correspondent, columnist, editor, general manager, publisher, public-relations man, educator, public official, and politician, was a newspaperman's newspaperman, the finest compliment we might pay a fellow craftsman. He was as versatile as he was capable.

In appearance, he was a far cry from the popular concept of a swashbuckling reporter and rugged editor, but he had what it takes in both roles. A slight build concealed a human dynamo whose efficiency not even the ravages of time seemed to impair. At 70, he could, and did, produce copy as fine as in his heyday, which is saying a great deal.

Quiet in manner and modest to the point of retirement, George Williams possessed dogged tenacity in ferreting out the facts of a story, especially if it were in the public interest and selfish individuals placed obstacles in the path. He thrived on challenges and his industry and resourcefulness were richly rewarded on occasion. He had a facility with words which rounded out his capabilities.

But we always thought he was at his best in the field of human interest. He could weave an entrancing tale out of some trivial incident. And sit him at a typewriter to turn out a piece like this about another and he was superb. Yes, he was indeed a newspaperman's newspaperman.

We might go on indefinitely, singing his praises and recalling feats of journalism, but we would not add anything to the record of his achievements on Wilkes-Barre's four newspapers, and in publications from coast to coast to which he contributed. While he was on the staff of our morning contemporary when he retired 2 years ago, this newspaper, which he served as a writer and editor, salutes his memory as an old and esteemed colleague. Of him, it might be written:

Well done.

Administration's Civil-Right Measure Faces Crucial Test on Jury Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD H. BAKER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very fine editorial, entitled "Administration's Civil-Right Measure Faces Crucial Test on Jury Fight," which was published in the Knoxville Journal, Knoxville, Tenn., June 9:

ADMINISTRATION'S CIVIL-RIGHT MEASURE FACES CRUCIAL TEST ON JURY FIGHT

This week will be crucial in either the passage or rejection of legislation which has the strongest support possible from the Eisenhower administration.

As reported out of committee, the civil-rights bill does three things: It provides for an additional Assistant United States Attorney General to be in charge of a Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. It creates a Civil Rights Commission to investigate civil-rights violations and to determine the need for more legislation. Finally, it permits the Attorney General to apply and obtain from the courts injunctions to prevent violation of a citizen's voting rights or other civil rights. This procedure makes the Government a party to every suit, and the bill as reported out by the committee provides for contempt hearings for persons ignoring the court's order to be heard by a Federal judge and not by a jury. It is upon this last issue, the right of trial by a jury, that there is cetrain to be a full week of fireworks in the House this week, and it may be that this issue will be the rock upon which the whole civil-rights effort will founder.

Not many citizens who really believe in our traditional form of constitutional government find any fault with special legislation to safeguard the civil rights of all citizens, notably that of franchise. We think that Congress itself reflects this viewpoint. However, there is no more firmly fixed conviction in the minds of our people than that which holds any citizen facing a criminal charge has a right to ask for, and be given as a matter of right, a jury trial. This principle has been embedded in English law from the time of the Magna Carta. Thus, many of those who favor the objectives of the administration's civil-rights proposal see in the denial of trial by jury as serious a violation of the civil rights of any prospective defendant as is the denial to another citizen of his voting rights, for example.

It is this contradiction in principle, the proposed adoption of dangerous means to a good end, that may spell the end of all efforts to enact civil-rights legislation at this session.

Family Reunification Immigration Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to reunite the families of certain United States citizens and lawfully resident aliens in this country. I call this measure "the family reunification immigration bill."

One of the basic tenets of our immigration policy and immigration laws throughout the years has always been the principle of uniting families. It is logical and humanitarian. It makes for better citizenship. It makes sense.

I am not the original author of this bill. That credit belongs to our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, who is the chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee. His bill is based on the traditional American principle of uniting families. In introducing this measure, our colleague has shown that he possesses a keen understanding of the problems and devotion to the best ideals in American life.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to extend my sincerest congratulations to Congressman WALTER for his wise action in this matter. In fact, I am going a step further in associating myself with his action by introducing his bill in order to give it added strength. I hope this will encourage others in Congress to do likewise by associating themselves with Congressman WALTER in his efforts to unite these families.

Briefly, the bill provides that relatives of United States citizens and lawfully resident aliens, who are eligible for second and third preferential status under the Immigration and Nationality Act, shall be admitted as nonquota immigrants. This applies specifically to parents, wives, and children under the age of 21 of such citizens and resident aliens. It is these people, these separated families, whom this bill would unite without any quota charge.

I am informed that the total number of people involved in this bill, and by that I mean the number of people abroad who would be eligible for admittance to this country if this bill is adopted, is estimated at about 17,000 to 19,000. Of these, about 11,000 would be from Italy, and the remainder from Greece and other European countries.

These are mostly people who had applied for entry to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, but for various reasons remained behind when the breadwinner of the family came here first to establish firm economic roots. In the meantime, the Refugee Relief Act expired at tahe end of last year and the families remained separated and stranded. In most instances they were from Italy and Greece, and the quotas of these two countries are heavily oversubscribed so that no other relief is possible for the reunification of these families.

Unless we take action along the lines advocated by Congressman WALTER in his bill, these families face many long years of separation and great hardships. It would be most heartrending and inhumane to continue such separations. I believe it is morally incumbent upon Congress to take early steps for the enactment of this legislation and reunification of these families, and in this way correct some of the faults and frustrations of the Refugee Relief Act.

Mr. Speaker, the proposed legislation is a step in the right direction and a laudable beginning. We are faced with a pressing situation and it should be dealt with promptly. It cannot wait until we have had a thoughtful and complete reexamination of our immigration policy. For this reason, I strongly urge that action be taken on this measure at the earliest possible moment during the current session of Congress, and thus save these families needless hardships and long delays.

Proposed Amendment to Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce today on the proposed amendment, H. R. 6790, to the Natural Gas Act:

Hon. OREN HARRIS,
Chairman, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: May I take this opportunity to testify in opposition to H. R. 6790, the bill before your committee that would amend the Natural Gas Act so as to remove Federal controls over the sale of gas at the wellhead.

I am very deeply concerned over the effect of such legislation which would mean higher gas bills for the consumer—the little man who is now feeling the pinch of inflation.

Mr. Chairman, I represent the Second District in Massachusetts which is hundreds of miles away from the section of the country where natural gas is obtained. My constituents are captive consumers of natural gas. They buy it from a distributing company which in turn buys from a gas transmission line company. If the controls are removed, you can readily see who is going to dig down into their pockets to pay for the increased costs of this gas to the gas transmission line company at the wellhead—the little consumer, of course. The intermediary consumers will merely pass the added costs down the line.

Remove the Federal regulations with this legislation and you wipe out the price protection that the gas user now has and is entitled to under the Supreme Court's ruling in the now celebrated 1954 test case of the Phillips' Petroleum Co. That decision conclusively stated that the Federal Power Commission does possess regulatory authority over the independents under the act.

To strip the Commission's authority to control natural gas prices at the wells would be a direct financial blow to the end consumer. This bill before your committee should be rejected in the public interest.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD P. BOLAND,
Member of Congress.

Automobile Manufacturers Association Recommending Safety Rather Than Speed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly pleased to learn last Friday that the Automobile Manufacturers Association had decided to change their emphasis in advertising from speed to safety.

There are too many deaths on our highways and this and every other safety program should be utilized to decrease this loss of life and property.

A letter which I have received from Mr. William J. Cronin, managing director of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, and the resolutions passed follows:

AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION,
Detroit, Mich., June 6, 1957.

The Honorable MERWIN COAD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COAD: Sharing the public interest in increasing the safety of highway travel, the board of directors of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, meeting in Detroit today, unanimously adopted a significant resolution.

Specifically, it recommends to all members of the association who manufacture passenger cars that they not participate in racing activities and not advertise or publicize their cars in any way that suggests speed.

Because of your personal interest in the subject, we are enclosing the text of this resolution.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM J. CRONIN,
Managing Director.

Whereas the Automobile Manufacturers Association and the members of this board of directors share the public interest in increasing the safety of highway travel; and

Whereas the manufacturers of automobiles have directed their efforts for many years toward developing and maintaining the performance characteristics of vehicles at levels consistent with highway conditions and the requirements of the using public, utilizing research and testing facilities, laboratories, and engineering proving grounds to conduct tests under controlled and scientific conditions and standards, and can best serve the public by continuing these efforts; and

Whereas the Automobile Manufacturers Association believes that the automobile manufacturers should encourage owners and drivers to evaluate passenger cars in terms of useful power and ability to provide safe, reliable, and comfortable transportation, rather than in terms of capacity for speed;

Now, therefore, this board unanimously recommends to the member companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of passenger cars and station wagons that they:

1. Not participate or engage in any public contest, competitive event or test of passenger cars involving or suggesting racing or speed, including acceleration tests, or encourage or assist employees, dealers, or others, or furnish financial, engineering, manufacturing, advertising, or public-relations assistance, or supply pace cars or official cars, in connection with any such contest, event, or test, directly or indirectly;

2. Not participate or engage in, or encourage or assist employees, dealers, or others to engage in, the advertising or publicizing of: (a) Any race or speed contest, test or competitive event involving or suggesting speed, whether public or private, involving passenger cars, or the results thereof; or (b) the actual or comparative capabilities of passenger cars for speed, or the specific engine size, torque, horsepower or ability to accelerate or perform, in any context that suggests speed.

Dedication of Altoona (Pa.) Memorial K4 Steam Locomotive at Horseshoe Curve on the Pennsylvania Railroad System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 8, 1957, it was my privilege to participate in the dedication of a K4 steam locomotive as a memorial to the long history of faithful srevice of steam locomotives and those who built and operated them over the Nation's ribbons of steel.

This K4 steam locomotive No. 1361 was presented to the city of Altoona by the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. as a per-

manent monument to the historic partnership between the community, the railroad, and the iron horse.

Old No. 1361 was one of the earliest of the 350 K4's built at Altoona, Pa. It was placed in service May 18, 1918, and for more than 35 years it hauled trains of the great Pennsy passenger fleet over the mainline between New York, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh. Countless of its trips were around the famed horseshoe curve which is one of the great triumphs of railroad engineering. When old 1361 was finally retired to make way for the modern diesel No. 1361, it had rolled up nearly 2½ million miles—the equivalent of nearly 100 trips around the world.

K4 locomotive No. 1361 is an especially appropriate memorial for the city of Altoona, Pa., where 5 generations of skilled workmen built a total of 6,783 steam locomotives for the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The following program marked the dedication of the K–4 memorial locomotive during which time I delivered an address on the historical development of the steam locomotive:

PROGRAM

Presiding, Howard W. Lindaman, director of water, parks, and public property, city of Altoona.

Music, massed bands, Altoona public and parochial schools.

National Anthem.

Flag-raising, color guard, Blair-Bedford Council, Boy Scouts of America.

Invocation, Rev. Cedric Tilberg, First Lutheran Church.

Presentation, Pennsylvania Railroad, George R. Weaver, assistant manager, heavy repair shops; Walter W. Patchell, vice president, research and development; Morton S. Smith, vice president and regional manager.

Acceptance, Mayor Robert W. Anthony; Deborah Hersperger, kindergarten, Adams School; Martin Hughes, Jr., first grade, Holy Rosary School.

Prayer of dedication, Rabbi Nathan Kaber, Temple Beth Israel.

Remarks, the Honorable James E. Van Zandt.

Benediction, Rev. Father John P. Manning, St. Leo's Church.

Taps, Kenneth Woodring, William Mackey.

Civic committee: Howard W. Lindaman, chairman; Mrs. Samuel Albright, Miss Helen Barclay, Thomas Bloom, Robert W. Boyer, Francis T. Brown, Dr. A. Bruce Denniston, George P. Gable, Robert L. Hite, J. E. Holtzinger, Mrs. Lynn Hunter, Will Ketner, H. L. Kimble, David M. Langkammer, Mrs. Harold McCullough, Rev. Francis A. McNelis, Mrs. Matilda Madden, Dr. Fred Miller, Louis H. Murray, Edward Scala, C. F. Schick, Lawrence Schrenk, Mrs. Luke Sill, Capt. William Stephens, Roy Thompson, G. R. Weaver, Gerald P. Wolf, Hon. James E. Van Zandt.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE K–4 LOCOMOTIVE AT THE HORSESHOE CURVE, ALTOONA, PA., JUNE 8, 1957

This is a historic occasion.

My contribution to this program is summed up in the well-known saying, Time Marches On.

Yes; time has marched on, because it was in the year 1804 when a steam locomotive was developed which could haul loads over a fixed track.

However, the steam locomotive which was to serve as a model for many years was not developed until 1829.

Therefore, it is proper to say that this K4S locomotive, No. 1361, built in the Pennsylvania Railroad shops by the ingenuity and the hands of Altoona residents, will stand for years to come as a monument to the era of steam locomotives.

History tells us that back in the year 1829 the locomotive, that was to serve as a model for many years, was the famous Rocket built by the Stephensons in England. It weighed but 5 tons and was the first locomotive with a horizontal tubular boiler.

Burning wood for fuel, it hauled 36 carriages, with a total of 90 tons weight, at a speed of from 12 to 15 miles per hour. Under favorable conditions, and if the carriages were unloaded, the speed could be increased to 28 miles an hour.

From about 1830, locomotives were American built, the first being Peter Cooper's Tom Thumb, which weighed less than 1 ton.

In December 1830, the locomotive named "Best Friend" was built in New York City and started regular service on the Charleston & Hamburg Railroad. It was the first locomotive to haul a train of cars in regular service.

The first coal-burning locomotive was built in 1852.

From that time until the turn of the century, improvements were made, until locomotives with 6 pair of driving wheels, weighing over 100,000 pounds and burning coal were developed for heavy duty railroad traffic.

During this same period, air-brake equipment was developed, together with track tank and scoop for taking water on tenders. Among the inventions of the period was the automatic coupler. The first bituminous coal-burning locomotive made its appearance.

Beginning in 1900, locomotives became larger and more powerful. Their designs were different, and their hauling power and speed were increased.

In 1939, locomotives equipped for both freight and passenger service continued to become larger and to keep pace with the march of time—they were streamlined from coupler to coupler.

The last steam locomotive, built by the American Locomotive Co., was completed in 1948, after 97 years of continuous production.

Since that date, this plant and other outstanding locomotive producers has converted to full-scale diesel electric production.

The year 1950 marked the end of commercially built steam locomotives for mainline service in the United States, and the switchover of railroad power to other forms, principally diesel, had its beginning.

The first diesel electric-powered train was the Burlington "Pioneer Zephyr," with a 600-horsepower locomotive, which twas about one-fourth the size and one-fifth the weight of the steam engine of the same horsepower in 1933. The first diesel for road freight was put into service in 1941 by the Santa Fe Railroad.

Thus the trend toward complete dieselization was marching forward. From the early 1940's to the present time, many improvements have been made in railroad motive power.

Not only have the power and speed of the diesel been increased considerably, but also electric motors have been installed and gas turbine electric power has been developed.

Challenging the present diesel electric era of railroad motive power is the gas turbine locomotive equipped with a 20,000-gallon tender, supplementing the 7,500 gallons of fuel carried in the locomotive body tanks.

This gas turbine locomotive is capable of traveling almost 1,500 miles without refueling. This type of locomotive provides operating improvements and decreased maintenance costs that indicate—it could prove to be the locomotive of tomorrow.

Speaking of tomorrow, and mindful of the fact we are living in the nuclear age, one may find 10 to 15 years from now atomic-powered locomotives that depend on a small charge of atomic fuel in a nuclear reactor smaller than a good-sized trunk, capable of providing enough energy to power the locomotive a distance equal to more than once around the earth at the Equator.

At this moment, five of the Nation's largest railroads, together with some half dozen large manufacturing corporations, are sponsoring the construction of the atomic-powered locomotive.

This locomotive will generate as much steam as the biggest conventional steam locomotive now on the rails. Instead of steam being produced by coal or oil, several pounds of uranium will do the job.

Yes, time marches on.

In 1804 the steam locomotive was born. Then came the diesel electric locomotive, followed by the gas turbine locomotive. And now, the atomic-powered locomotive is "just around the corner."

Truly, in dedicating this Pennsylvania Railroad K4S locomotive, No. 1361, we give lasting recognition to one of the most exciting chapters in the history of the railroad industry.

At the same time we pay a marked tribute of respect and esteem to railroad employees who built these locomotives and those who manned them as they traveled countless miles over ribbons of steel.

May "Old 1361" also prove a constant reminder, not only of the greatness of the America of yesterday, but also of the strong, modern America of tomorrow—as time marches on.

The Jury Trial Amendment Is a Monstrous Sham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I entertain no doubts that the so-called trial by jury amendment as advanced by certain Members of this body will be soundly defeated when it comes up for a vote. This thinly veiled attempt to destroy the effect of the administration civil-rights bill is exposed simply as a means whereby southern juries, composed of white persons, can ignore the facts and the will of the court by imposing no punishment on those who deny voting rights and other constitutional rights to Negroes.

I am including at this point two editorials, one from the Wilmington Journal Every Evening and another from the New York Times, on this subject, both of which clearly see the jury trial amendment as one which nullifies the law protecting a person's right to vote.

The editorials follow:

[From the Wilmington Journal-Every Evening of June 1, 1957]

TRIAL BY JURY

The right of an accused person is a basic American right. So is the right to vote. Good liberals and good conservatives uphold both. But in Congress some of them may be confused when Southerners tell them they must not pass a civil-rights law protecting the right to vote because that law would take away the right to trial by jury.

It is a false issue. The proposed legislation says that officials who try to keep people from registering and voting may be enjoined to stop the process by a Federal court. And if they disobey the court, they may be sentenced for contempt. Now whether a man has obeyed a clear court order is a matter of fact easily established. No jury is needed to protect his rights because they aren't in danger. Obviously, if he obeys the court, the court is not going to punish him for disobeying.

This principle is so well established that it has hardly been brought into question until now. In matters far less important to us all than the right to vote, judges issue injunctions and punish defiance of them, all without the help of juries. Some of the very States which profess to be concerned over the right to vote have passed laws forbidding the NAACP to engage in activities such as assembly and propaganda, which are constitutional rights. NAACP officials who engage in such activities are subject to injunction, and to punishment without trial by jury if they disobey.

The reason Southern Congressmen are insisting on trial by jury of persons charged with violating civil-rights injunctions is that they expect Southern juries to acquit guilty officials in disregard of the facts. If you think they wouldn't do just that, you haven't read about what happened this week in Montgomery, Ala.

A jury there acquitted 2 young white men charged with bombing 4 churches, a Negro taxi stand, 2 ministers' homes, and other houses. Were they guilty? Their lawyer talked as if he thought they were.

The lawyer said their acquittal would give encouragement to every white man, woman, and child in the South who wanted to preserve "our sacred traditions" of segregation. He said a verdict setting them free would "go down in history as saying to the Negroes that 'you shall not pass.'" Clearly, an acquittal could not have such effects if the accused were innocent.

The right of trial by jury is basic. It is not threatened by long-established injunction practices. But it is grossly perverted wherever juries acquit men they know to be guilty. If the civil-rights law is amended to permit—and encourage—such perversions, the right to a jury trial will not be strengthened but weakened.

[From the New York Times]

JURY TRIAL

The silent filibuster that has been going on all winter and spring against the administration's mild civil-rights bill has now ended in the House, and formal debate on the measure has begun at last. The bill has a good chance of passing there; but even if it does it will come up against much tougher—and longer-winded—opposition in the Senate.

Very different from the filibuster threat, and in some ways even more serious, is the jury-trial amendment that will be proposed as an addition to the bill in the House and that has already been added to it in the Senate version, which is still in committee. This amendment is the brain-child of the astute Senator ERVIN of North Carolina; and there is no doubt that it has a specious appeal. But it is really a device to undermine one of the most important provisions of the pending bill.

As introduced by the administration, the bill permits the Attorney General to seek injunctions in Federal court to prevent local officials from denying voting or other civil rights to anyone. The Ervin amendment provides jury trial for persons cited for contempt for violating injunctions so issued. Since trial by jury is one of the great guaranties of the individual against the power of the State, it may seem at first glance that this is only a reasonable effort to insure that justice is done.

But actually it is a means to block enforcement of the Court decree either until it is too late to do any good or indefinitely—inasmuch as few if any southern juries would be likely to approve Federal action in such cases. Jury trial for contempt citations under the circumstances envisaged in the civil-rights bill is not and never has been a normal legal procedure. As Senator CASE of New Jersey pointed out yesterday, none of the Southern States in the forefront of the effort to defeat the right-to-vote legislation "has a provision for jury trial in contempt cases of the kind here involved."

The procedure envisaged in this bill is designed primarily not to punish an official for committing a crime, but to prevent him from committing a crime. The Court's right to punish him for ignoring that kind of restraint is an expression of the authority of the Court itself—an authority which, in Chief Justice Taft's words alluded to by President Eisenhower, "is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy."

Nearly 2 months ago Senator DOUGLAS of Illinois entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a detailed and interesting brief on this whole subject, pointing out that the jury-trial amendment is not only meant to hamstring enforcement of the law but may well be unconstitutional itself. It would "deny to the Government of the United States its duty and its power to give the citizen effective protection in his right to vote and in his fundamental rights to equal protection and liberty and security under law."

Inflation Race—Who's Ahead, Who's Behind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution on the high cost of living as it affects the low-income Federal civil-service annuitants, which was adopted by the Massachusetts Federation of Chapters, National Association of Retired Civil Employees, in convention assembled at Springfield, Mass., on June 1, 1957.

The resolution follows:

MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF CHAPTERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED CIVIL EMPLOYEES IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, SPRINGFIELD, MASS., JUNE 1, 1957

Whereas the high cost of food, clothing, shelter, drugs and especially medical-surgical treatments have attained and are still climbing to fantastic levels of expense, already without the reach of thousands of low-income Federal civil-service annuitants; and

Whereas each month of the year marks the passing of many of the more than 12,600 retired civil-service employees native to and living within our great State of Massachusetts, leaving their widows to survive them on a pitifully low survivorship income; and

Whereas the civil service retirement fund has steadily grown in 37 years from its start at zero to more than $7½ billion and, under Public Law 854 passed by the 84th Congress providing 13 percent of the Government payroll plus 3 percent interest on the balance in the fund as assured income. The fund is certain to increase at such a fast rate in the years ahead that in 25 years it will be close to $25 billion; and

Whereas 149 Members of Congress, including Hon. EDWARD P. BOLAND, Hon. LAURENCE CURTIS, Hon. HAROLD D. DONOHUE, Hon. THOMAS J. LANE and Hon. TORBERT H. MACDONALD from Massachusetts, recognizing the loyal service of retired Government employees, have introduced bills to provide deserved increases for this group of aged, sick, and disabled retirees, to be paid from the civil service retirement fund for 3 years, and Congress has delayed action on these bills for 5 months; and

Whereas under Public Law 854 the Retirement Fund will increase so rapidly that the payment of the increases for the employees retired before October 1, 1956, will neither jeopardize the solvency of the fund nor the equity in it of future retirees; and

Whereas the extraordinarily large number of bills (149 providing retirees a modest increase in annuities, are still under the consideration of the United States Civil Service Commission and the fate of this proposed legislation may rest entirely upon a favorable and early report to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all Representatives in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, urging them to use their joint and personal influence with Hon. SAM RAYBURN and Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK toward persuading the Honorable TOM MURRAY, Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, to immediately appoint a subcommitte to consider H. R. 4, H. R. 97 and the 138 similar House bills calling for a modest increase in United States Government retired civil service employees.

Adopted unanimously at Springfield, Mass., this 1st day of June 1957.

WM. M. KEENEY,
President.
ROBERT A. WILLIAMS,
Secretary.

[From the U. S. News & World Report of August 3, 1956]

INFLATION RACE—WHO'S AHEAD, WHO'S BEHIND

With prices climbing again, here is the record on inflation:

For most people, incomes have risen faster than prices. But some gain more than others.

This survey shows where the gains are biggest—and who is falling behind.

A great majority of Americans in 17 years of rising prices, have managed to keep well ahead of inflation. The incomes that people earn have gone up a good deal faster than the prices and taxes that people pay.

The net result is that despite high prices and high taxes, the average family in this country, so far as purchasing power is concerned, is better off today than ever before.

The gains in income have varied greatly from one family to another, depending on what the breadwinner does for a living. Some people are enjoying more than twice as much real income as they did 17 years ago.

Now, with prices rising once more, there is to be a new test of the ability of people to keep a jump ahead of inflation. The cost of living, as reported by the Labor Department, has been climbing for several months, and now stands at an all-time high. Most things the average family buys are getting more expensive—food, clothing, rent, transportation, medical care, recreation.

Living costs are expected by the Government to rise still higher in the months just ahead. The question is whether incomes will rise as rapidly as prices.

MORE GROUPS IN TROUBLE

Besides the farmers and bondholders, there are other large groups that have trouble keeping up with inflation.

People living on pensions are in trouble, unless their pensions are increased as the cost of living rises. This rarely happens. Payments to retired Federal workers, for

example, are adjusted by Congress only occasionally. Last year these payments were increased an average of 10 percent. But this still left such retired workers worse off than in 1939.

[From the Evening Star, of May 10, 1957]

PRICES INCREASE—NEW WAVE OF INFLATION—CONSUMERS BEGIN TO FEEL PRICE-INCOME SQUEEZE

(By Sam Dawson)

NEW YORK, May 10.—With living costs still climbing a price-income squeeze is hitting many consumers today—just as the price-cost squeeze troubles many businessmen.

Business is in a leveling off period both as to activity and profits. Consumers wonder when the leveling off trend will extend to the cost of living.

Fortunately it hasn't yet hit total consumer income which is running above last year—but some segments of income have been hit, notably in loss of overtime pay in layoffs in some industries.

This is where the squeeze on consumers is occurring. It shows up in such things as slower collections on installment debts and retail charge accounts—and in sluggish sales of appliances and less than hoped for sales of new cars.

INDEX UP 4 PERCENT

The Government's cost of living index is now around 4 percent higher than this time last year.

SERVICE COSTS MOUNT

But in one important segment of the cost of living—services—the climb has been pronounced and shows little signs of slowing. The cost of services depends more on labor costs and increased demand than they do on raw material prices.

Services take a larger and larger share of the family budget. In one sense the increased demand for services has become a badge of the advancing standard of living in America.

For about a year now consumers have cut back on their spending for some things, as the auto and appliance makers can attest. But they continue to spend more and more for services, for recreation, for travel.

But where incomes don't rise while the cost of living continues to, a squeeze could develop that would cut consumer spending.

Secrets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of June 3, 1957:

SECRET FROM WHOM?

A "secret" Government letter was made public the other night and its publication by the Justice Department threw a little more light on some reasons for Government secrecy.

The circumstances were these: The United States Border Patrol, an arm of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, had been in the habit of sending men to pistol and rifle matches about the country at Government expense. Vouchers for the trips ended up in the General Accounting Office where Comptroller General Joseph E. Campbell read them with a cold eye since the explanations for the expenses were given as "to perform official border-patrol duties."

Mr. Campbell reasoned that the trips seemed more in the nature of athletic or sporting events and that since Congress had not authorized such expenditures there was some doubt that the border patrol acted with propriety in expending its funds for such purposes. He asked the border patrol under what authority it acted and back came a letter to him marked "secret." It finally took the Justice Department to wipe off the secrecy label and throw the case before the general public.

As it happens, in the letter marked "secret" the border patrol gave some fairly logical reasons why, if expenses of its top sharpshooters to pistol and rifle matches are not authorized by Congress, perhaps they should be. That, though, is not the question; the question is why did the border patrol surround the whole set of circumstances with the cloak of secrecy?

It would take a more vivid imagination than ours to believe that knowledge about trips at Government expense to rifle matches could in any way endanger national security, which is the only acceptable reason for a secret label on a Government document having to do with the public business.

Then from whom was this Government agency trying to keep this affair of the questioned vouchers secret?

The answer is so obvious that to give it would be to insult the intelligence of the general public.

Nashville Retail Merchants Expand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert editorials from the two Nashville, Tenn., daily newspapers of June 7 on the excellent expansion and development of a great southern city, Nashville, the capital of Tennessee.

These editorials pay tribute to the foresight and initiative displayed by the larger retail merchants in the metropolitan area and the constructive contribution made to the progress of this community.

The editorials follow:

UPTOWN FUTURE GROWS BRIGHTER

How Nashville, enjoying no particular boom, happened to lead all cities of the Southeast last year and again this year in increased department store sales is no particular mystery.

Nashville happens to be a city of superior merchandising talent, which may prove to be the only really effective means for combating the flight of retailing to the suburbs.

Urban renewal programs, freeways, and bypass routes to relieve traffic, increased parking space, all of these may help.

But the determining factor may well be the degree of aggressiveness and inspiration of any city's large retail merchants. Nashville's merchants have those qualities in abundance.

No more eloquent testimony can be offered in evidence than Harvey's latest announcement of expansion, the recent progress reports on construction for Cain-Sloan's new $8.5 million store, and Castner's plans for multi-million-dollar additions.

In Nashville's retailing picture the big merchants have what it takes to preserve the uptown center of retail sales concentration and high tax revenue that for many American cities soon may be a thing of the past.

RETAIL CENTER GROWING: A CITY ON THE MARCH

If ever there was doubt on anybody's part concerning the solid, consistent growth—and the reassuring future—of the Nashville business community, such doubt must have been dispelled by now, by current developments and investments in the heart of this retail business district. Of that expansion trend, soundly based on marketing realities, yesterday's announcement by Fred Harvey provides timely, additional emphasis.

It is a notable extension of merchandising facilities by this firm, expressing confidence in Nashville's continuing progress as a retail center. It is doubly significant because it is part of the uptown growth—which has seen numerous establishments enlarging or rebuilding for ample accommodation of patronage.

Cain-Sloan Co., vacating the premises now leased by Harvey's, will occupy a great new building at the corner of Fifth and Church.

Sears, Roebuck & Co., recently moved into its vast new quarters on Lafayette Street.

Castner-Knott Co. contemplates substantial expansion of its operations, having acquired additional property adjoining its present site.

National Stores Corp. has expanded local retail operations uptown with removal to the building formerly occupied by Sears.

The W. T. Grant Co. is building one of the largest and most modern stores in its nationwide chain.

There are other evidences of steady business growth, not just on the skyline, but in property improvements manifesting a spirit of progress by which commercial establishments stay abreast of the swelling tide—and substantiating the fact that Nashville is on the march.

The expanding picture is a product of many factors—among them industrial gains, bringing new residents and new payrolls.

Nashville has been the hub of a retail trade region—a vast, productive Middle Tennessee; abundant and prosperous agriculturally, and blessed with a family of industrial enterprises old and new. It is attracting more of these.

Residential areas urban and suburban are swelling a metropolitan stature requiring an ever greater retail business community, and accounting for the steady increase in volume of sales which statistical studies—as in Federal Reserve District figures—reflect.

These are not sporadic upshoots, or eccentric up and down movements, but a steady climb sustained over the years; a fact on which investments can be soundly predicated. Business investors carefully appraise prospective developments, by scientific measurement and planning. They do not move in the dark.

The Federal Reserve Bank (Atlanta District) for example, in its report on weekly department store sales for Nashville, shows that for the year—from January 1 to May 25—retail sales in this city were in dollar amounts 8 percent above the same period of a year ago. This metropolitan area was second, in this point of improvement, only to Miami. It was 7 percentage points above Atlanta.

Nashville's retail business in 1956 chalked up a sales volume of $373,481,000, compared with $355,712,000 in 1955. And in the language of a statistical publication, Sales Management, Nashville stands out as a high-powered market, with families earning more and spending more than those in most parts of the United States.

These are facts expressive not only of a growing, confident population, but of a growing, confident, retail business community. On them rests the faith by which—to keep pace—business itself is expanding.

Lyndon Johnson, Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY, Mr. Speaker, Mr. William H. Stringer, chief correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, has written an article analyzing the brilliant foreign policy speech made by the majority leader of the Senate, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, of Texas, last Saturday night.

Mr. Stringer, one of our most distinguished and able Washington correspondents, considers the speech a landmark in foreign-policy development. He refers to it as leadership of high caliber, along the lines of that exercised by the late Senator from Michigan, Senator Vandenberg, and former Senator George, of Georgia.

Under unanimous consent I insert this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

THE WASHINGTON SCENE

(By William H. Stringer, chief, Washington bureau, the Christian Science Monitor)

LYNDON JOHNSON, STATESMAN

WASHINGTON.—It is not simple for the Democratic majority leader in the Senate to don the full toga of bipartisan statesmanship. His first job is to shepherd legislation through that august upper Chamber, to give it a Democratic flavor, to write a farseeing record on which his party can run in the next election.

But LYNDON B. JOHNSON, the Senate majority leader, in a quite remarkable speech at New York, has sounded an eloquent plea for imagination in foreign policy, for getting on with the disarmament negotiations with Moscow, and for boldness in a radio-TV exchange of ideas between the United States and the Soviet Union.

And, noting the way in which this plea parallels and supports what President Eisenhower is trying to do in the difficult, painstaking field of disarmament, Washington is immediately reminded of Senator Walter F. George and how he cleared a "space for maneuver" around the President before the summit conference at Geneva and at the time of the Formosa resolution. And one thinks of the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and his conversion to internationalism, and how this so markedly saved the day in the United States Senate for Marshall plan aid and the NATO alliance.

Senator JOHNSON made his New York speech before the United Jewish Appeal, at a moment when President Eisenhower needs domestic allies in his endeavor to explore the prospects of first-step disarmament with the Soviet Union.

Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has declared that the Soviets cannot be trusted in any sort of agreement. The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Lewis L. Strauss, has stressed many technological reasons why genuine disarmament is next to impossible. Without Mr. Eisenhower's own wish to wage peace, disarmament expert Harold E. Stassen's hands would be almost impossibly tied at the London talks, and indeed he already has had to return to Washington for further talks because of snags in the discussions.

This is a significant moment in Soviet-American relations. It is a time for caution, as always. But it may also be a moment when careful diplomacy can make some headway on the arms-control front. And it is a moment when the breach in the Iron Curtain represented by the Khrushchev radio-television interview a week ago can conceivably be exploited into a larger exchange of fusillades in this war of ideas.

Into this picture strides Senator JOHNSON with a speech in which he urgently calls for action on five phases of disarmament, most of them closely approximating the Eisenhower administration's own thinking and proposals. Thus the Senator from Texas throws his powerful weight inferentially against those who would so hedge and restrict Mr. Stassen at London that he could not reach a first-step arms-control agreement this side of the next appearance of Halley's comet.

Controlled reduction of military forces, a start on the open skies inspection system, a search for methods of suspending tests of the big weapons, a reduction in nuclear-weapons stockpiles, and a global agreement not to make new fissionable materials for weapons—by the present atomic powers and the fourth nation, too—these are the Johnson proposals.

Simultaneously, he makes an imaginative bid for reciprocal exchange of broadcasts through the Iron Curtain—in which the United States would present its own case on disarmament in detail to the Soviet people via Soviet radio and television. In return the Soviet leaders would be allowed to broadcast over the American networks.

Let the reciprocal broadcasts be every week of the year if need be, say Senator JOHNSON.

This address was a useful contribution to American policy. It should stir American thinking. The administration should welcome it. It is the voice of a new and wide-visioned Texas. It is the voice of the Senate in its most thoughtful traditions. It is the view of a Senator whose energies, dedication, and generalship have given his opinions great weight in that gentlemen's club.

If Senator JOHNSON continues in this vein, he will help bipartisanship where it most needs helping. He has already brought a Jeffersonian breath of fearless mental freedom into the current worry about whether Mr. Khrushchev's talk contaminated the American people. Of the Khrushchev demarche Senator JOHNSON says:

"I am glad he did so. I have complete trust and faith in our people. * * * Khrushchev is not going to convert the lean, spare Texan who runs the cattle on my ranch into a Communist. He's just plain got too much sense."

Resolutions of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, under date of May 21, 1957, Mr. Bernard Weitzer, national legislative director of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, sent to President Eisenhower a copy of the resolutions passed at the 61st annual national convention of that organization.

I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues Mr. Weitzer's letter to the President together with the resolutions, as follows:

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., May 21, 1957.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: You may recall that when I had the pleasure of visiting you, last year, with our newly-elected National Commander, William Carmen, we handed to you, copies of the resolutions passed at our 61st annual national convention expressing the full support of our organization for the foreign aid program which you have presented to the Congress in past years. These resolutions included military aid, economic aid in the form of loans and grants, technical assistance through bilateral agreements as well as contributions to expanded technical assistance programs of the United Nations and other types of assistance which buttress the strength of the independent nations of the world.

It is a pleasure to read your strong message to Congress setting forth your detailed recommendations for these foreign aid programs covering fiscal year 1958. According to our convention resolutions, we would have preferred that these outlays be larger than those for 1957 instead of the decrease which you apparently found necessary.

Though we have become accustomed to terming these outlays "foreign aid," our membership is firmly convinced that this "foreign aid" is one of the strongest elements of our own defense and our own national interest. Dollar for dollar, these outlays contribute more than any other dollars we spend directly, for our national defense and besides, they insure a greater likelihood of our living in peace.

We sincerely hope that the Congress will share the views and recommendations of our President on this subject and will, overwhelmingly, vote for the minimum appropriation requests you have made. I am confident that our members all over the country will be listening, approvingly, to your telecast tonight, as you bring your message about our vital need for our foreign aid program to all of our citizens.

With all good wishes.

Cordially,

BERNARD WEITZER,
National Legislative Director.

Whereas our organization has for 10 years, consistently supported the essential elements of the mutual security program and appropriations fully adequate for the need thereof; and

Whereas the military aid, economic support in the form of loans and grants and technical assistance made available under that program, have strengthened our traditional allies and independent nations of the world, especially those newly independent since World War II; and

Whereas the results of the mutual security program have inured to our own country's improved military defense and capacity for swift retaliation in the event of any Communist attack; and

Whereas the combination of our own strength and the capacity of the nations which we have aided, to withstand the subversive and infiltrating activities of the Communists has served to deter Communist aggression and to frustrate their intent to dominate the world: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Executive Committee of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America at its regular meeting in Washington, D. C., May 25-26,

1957, wholeheartedly supports the President's minimum request for funds to carry out the mutual security program as proposed in the President's message of May 21 to Congress and reaffirms its confidence that the dollars thus appropriated will be the most effective expenditure our country can make in achieving a durable, just peace.

Eisenhower's Turnabout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, President Dwight D. Eisenhower in a recent letter to the Honorable OREN HARRIS, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, indicated that he would favor legislation freeing producers of natural gas from utility type regulation and that the administration's amendments were of possible desirability and that they did not represent his fixed conclusions. This is clearcut evidence that the President has made a "turnabout" of his previously announced position to protect the interests of millions of natural gas consumers who will suffer unrestrained rising gas rates as the result of the passage of this legislation. It is apparent that no further attempt will be made by this administration to concern itself with the welfare of the natural gas consumers of the North, who will be at the helpless mercy of the oil and gas interests of America, who undoubtedly were successful in their efforts to force the White House to back down from a tenable position.

This is another item in the long record of Eisenhower derelictions of the public interest in favor of the powerful oil and gas industry which seems to dictate domestic policy in which it is concerned as thoroughly as it dictates and influences our international policy.

The following editorial in the Washington Post of today entitled "Unredeemed Gas Bill," is well in point:

UNREDEEMED GAS BILL

Patience and improved manners seem to have paid off for the natural gas lobby. The producers now have the President's blessing for a bill that would accomplish approximately what was sought in the legislation vetoed by Mr. Eisenhower last year. And so for the first time in this Congress, there is a chance that the natural gas industry will be freed from Federal utility-type controls on its prices and that consumers will be exposed to considerable price increases as a result.

We remain as dubious about this legislation as ever, even though the "arrogant" tactics employed by the bill's sponsors last year, which led to the Presidential veto, have been supplanted by a quieter type of lobbying. There has been no convincing showing that development of natural gas resources is impeded by the kind of regulation permissible under existing law. On the contrary, there are indications that present regulation is not as firm as it ought to be. The President himself recognized that there are perils in the Harris bill to free the producers from present controls when he proposed that the bill be amended to allow consideration of costs in determination by the Federal Power Commission of fair market value. Now he has withdrawn this recommendation with no more than a verbal shrug, saying that it hadn't been his "fixed conclusion" anyway. This seems a rather casual dismissal of a considered proposal emanating from the Office of Defense Mobilization.

At the least, if present controls are to be modified to encourage natural gas development, some sort of formula for setting prices ought to be retained. Not to do so would make a mockery of the regulation under local laws of gas distributing companies, placing local regulation completely at the mercy of a vague concept of fair wholesale values administered without legal guidance. In the hands of a Power Commission determined to favor the gas producers, even the Eisenhower amendments, now withdrawn, would have been slight protection for the public interest. Without them the bill contains not even the pretense of a safeguard against gouging of the consumer. We think it should be defeated.

Taxpayers Pay for Lobbying of Gas, Oil, and Electric Utilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, recently a number of magazines have carried full-page ads paid for by the private monopoly electric companies which ask in headlines: "Where Do Your Taxes Go?" These are part of a multimillion-dollar campaign whose plain purpose is to poison the minds of the country against the efforts of the people, through their local and National Governments, to inject an element of competition into the utility business with public power projects. The Senate Lobby Committee accurately described such campaigns as follows:

Newspaper and magazine advertisements which do not expressly support or oppose legislation but tend to accomplish the same result indirectly by subtle means, the cost of which is treated as a business expense.

Because it is treated as a business expense it becomes deductible for income-tax purposes.

Thus the Nation is deprived of income-tax revenue and in effect the taxpayer ends up paying about half the cost of this propaganda. Mr. Thomas L. Stokes has recently devoted one of his excellent commentaries to this subject and, under unanimous consent, I include it in the RECORD.

PROPAGANDA GIMMICK EXPOSED—TAXPAYERS PAYING FOR LOBBYING OF UTILITIES, OIL, AND GAS COMPANIES

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

A propaganda gimmick that is by no means new but is currently being exposed here from several quarters is that indulged in by some business corporations, but especially by electric utilities and gas and oil companies.

Its unique feature is that the taxpayer pays "for the privilege of being lobbied," as the practice recently was described by the Special Senate Committee To Investigate Political Activities, Lobbying and Campaign Contributions.

That is, these corporations write off in their tax returns as "business expense" the cost of "education" campaigns, a refined name for lobbying, and the cost of a type of advertising that is hardly even thinly disguised propaganda. What they avoid in taxes in this manner the rest of us make up. It is amazing how patient and long-suffering we are.

Two lobbying campaigns of which the consumer is now the special victim and dupe are those being conducted by the oil and gas corporations to stop regulation of natural gas producers by the Federal Power Commission and by the electric utilities to check further expansion of public power development.

The device that has most recently become the concern of the Internal Revenue Bureau is that with which we all have become familiar in our reading. It is described by the Senate Lobby Committee as "newspaper and magazine advertisements which do not expressly support or oppose legislation, but tend to accomplish the same result indirectly by subtle means, the cost of which is also treated as a business expense."

Both the electric utilities and the oil companies are doing a lot of this.

Some time ago Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat of Tennessee, asked the Internal Revenue Bureau to investigate this lobby and propaganda device that is charged off as "business expense." The Senate Lobby Committee made the same suggestion in its final report a few days ago.

In that report is a review of another tax deduction gadget used by many of the oil companies, some of them big ones, that created the Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee to campaign for enactment of the bill to exempt natural gas producers from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

That measure, killed in the last Congress by President Eisenhower's veto, is being revived, and the President has endorsed it in general principle with the condition that the consumer be protected. The bill as it stands does not do that.

Most of the companies that contributed the nearly $2 million for the "education" campaign for that measure originally had planned to deduct their donation as business expense, they testified before the Senate committee; but, after the investigation got under way, some of them changed their plans to do that.

"The Government would have lost the taxes on almost $2 million if all contributors had claimed the deduction," the report said.

Quite a number, however, did deduct their contributions, as the committee discovered in the report it got back from the Internal Revenue Bureau to which it had sent a transcript of the hearings.

Another variation on the principle of "the public pays" was discovered by the Subcommittee on Public Works and Resources of the House Government Operations Committee.

This had to do with the publication and distribution by several electric utilities of two booklets attacking the Federal power program. One was entitled "Turn on the Light," the other "The Federal Power Program: Its Background, Growth and Consequences."

The Federal Power Commission, which investigated the two booklets at the request of the House subcommittee, reported that the companies charged off the cost to various operating expenses, including advertising, employees' welfare expenses and pensions, demonstration, general office supplies and expenses, and miscellaneous general expenses.

Though not a large sum was involved—$23,562—this might have developed into quite a widespread tax-dodging device had the subcommittee not exposed it.

Mr. Brundage's Viewpoint Is Extravagant, in the Least

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to include in the RECORD a very fine editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on June 9.

The editorial concerns the peculiar viewpoint of the Eisenhower administration for economy in government and is entitled, "Mr. Brundage's Viewpoint Is Extravagant, in the Least."

The editorial follows:

MR. BRUNDAGE'S VIEWPOINT IS EXTRAVAGANT, IN THE LEAST

After submitting the largest peacetime budget ever, with defense spending requests approaching a $40 billion bite of that, the Eisenhower administration has shown a peculiar disregard at time for ideas on saving money.

It turned down recently and still stands adamantly opposed to a plan which, within a few years, would save the taxpayers an estimated $5 billion dollars in defense spending. That was a committee's recommendations for sweeping changes in the methods of pay for the military.

It was at Secretary Wilson's request that a special committee was appointed more than a year ago to study the personnel retention problem of the services. That committee included tough-minded businessmen, professional people, military, and Government representatives. It was headed by Mr. Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric. Its problem was how to save money on defense by getting the most for the defense dollar.

One of the facets was the loss of skilled, technical, or otherwise highly competent personnel of the Armed Forces. Now the rate at which skilled enlisted men and officers have been leaving the services is shocking. Four thousand pilots left in fiscal 1955 alone, representing a training loss of $480 million. The cost of training technicians is terrifically high, yet 87 percent of these are lost to the greater incentives of civilian life. Replacing and retraining means not only a money loss but a weakening of the combat readiness of the United States.

The Cordiner Committee came up with proposals for modernizing the pay and manpower structure of the military, including a plan for proficiency pay to enlisted men for a demonstrated high quality performance, and a plan to provide additional incentive for selected Reserve officers to remain on active duty beyond their obligated time.

The recommendations, the committee felt, would improve by about 15 percent the combat capability of the United States. Further, they would represent savings or gains up to $5 billion by 1962 or sooner, and they would sharply reduce training accidents now and military and civilian losses in event of war.

But Budget Director Percival Flack Brundage, known as an "accountant's accountant," felt the proposals would be inflationary, and they were rejected. Mr. Brundage is the man who erred and precipitated the fight over the Post Office Department's deficiency appropriation because he "didn't understand the system." Evidently, there are other things Mr. Brundage doesn't understand; one of them being long-range ecoonmy.

In May, Senators STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, of Missouri, and BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona, introduced a Senate bill designed to implement the Cordiner Committee proposals. A similar bill was introduced in the House.

Since there has been no sign that the Budget Bureau has relented, or that it is able to see the forest for the trees, the only hope for getting this defense savings plan into action rests with Congress.

For all of Mr. Brundage's ideas of extravagant economy and Mr. Eisenhower's remarks about the Democrats' advocacy of the "rubber dollar," Congress so far has shown it has a better fiscal understanding than the administration. Adoption of the plan to modernize the "Methuselah" system of military pay would prove it in spades.

ICA Chief Versus Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Daily News of June 11, 1957:

ICA CHIEF VERSUS CRITICS
(By Peter Edson)

When Foreign Aid Director John B. Hollister was a younger man, during and after World War I, he worked with Herbert Hoover's relief mission in Poland. He became a "Hoover Republican."

Later, Mr. Hollister became a law partner of the late Senator Robert A. Taft in Cincinnati. Then he was a "Taft Republican." As a Hoover and a Taft Republican, Mr. Hollister was made executive director of the Hoover Commission on Government Reorganization in 1953.

When he was promoted from this position to head the International Cooperation Administration in 1954, it was widely assumed his job was to liquidate the foreign aid program.

Now, 3 years later, he is still running the program and he denies all rumors that he is planning to quit.

When Mr. Hollister took over ICA, its nonmilitary appropriations were $1.5 billion. In 1955 they were raised to $1.9 billion, cut to $1.7 billion in 1956, raised back up to $1.9 billion for this year. And this is the amount which the administration is asking for nonmilitary foreign aid next year. It is $900 million for defense support, $1.065 billion for all other economic assistance programs.

When Mr. Hollister is accused of being a New Dealer and a giver-away—in spite of his Hoover-Taft background—he asks his critics what they'd cut out and where they'd begin.

Would they cut out Korean aid? The United States is spending $300 million a year in defense support, to help the Korean economy support a 700,000-man army. Would they cut that?

No, they wouldn't cut that.

Well, then, asks Mr. Hollister, how about Formosa? The United States is spending $100 million a year for defense support of Nationalist China's 400,000-man army. Would they cut that?

No, it wouldn't be wise to let Chiang Kai-shek down.

But how about Vietnam? There the United States spends $250 million a year to support President Diem and his 400,000-man army in their fight against Communist Vietminh and Red China.

No, it wouldn't be smart to drop that one, either.

So what about the Middle East? Ambassador James P. Richards just obligated about $100 million for nonmilitary aid to friendly countries in that area this year.

President Eisenhower's Middle East doctrine message to Congress called for $200 million a year for the next 2 years. This sum isn't identified in foreign aid requests for next year. But this indicates the range of expenditures considered necessary to keep the Middle East from going Communist.

Anyway, with Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, and the Middle East accounting for $850 million of the $900 million sought for defense support next year, there are $50 million left for Africa, South America, and south Asia. This is what the giveaway program to neutral nations boils down to.

When Mr. Hollister asks if this should be done away with he generally gets a reluctant admission it's necessary, too.

Usurping of Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present herewith an editorial entitled "New Yorker Hits Usurping of Power" which appeared in the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La., of Saturday, June 8, 1957. This is a timely and interesting editorial:

NEW YORKER HITS USURPING OF POWER

For a good many months now, the South has noted with growing satisfaction a rising tide of criticism, in other sections of the country, aimed at United States Supreme Court decisions of recent years.

True, little of the criticism in these other areas has been directed at the Supreme Court decision with which the South is most deeply concerned, that relating to abandonment of school segregation. But the basis of most of the criticism has been that the Court's rulings have been a usurpation of authority, and that, of course, is what the South contends in respect to the segregation decision.

Now comes the Saturday Evening Post, a publication not only widely circulated but widely respected, with a guest editorial declaring, in its title, that "The Courts Have No Authority To Amend the Constitution." No mention is made of the Supreme Court's segregation edict, but much that is said applies to it clearly.

Author of the editorial in question is Hamilton Long, described by the Post as a member of the New York bar and a student of constitutional authority. Because of the wisdom of his comment, we reproduce it in full as follows:

"Few subjects are surrounded by more confusion than the function of the United States Supreme Court in interpreting the Constitution. There can be no doubt, however, that the Court has no right to change the basic law or to violate the intent of those who initially adopted it or later amended it. Only the people can change the Constitution, or amend it.

"For the Supreme Court to try to bypass this process, by interpreting the Constitu-

tion contrary to that original intent, is to usurp power never given it.

"The Court's first duty is to protect the people's liberties. This includes restricting the Federal Government to the limited powers granted it by the people in the Constitution. As the then Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, truly stated in his States rights speech on March 2, 1930, these powers do not include authority over many 'vital problems of government, such as the conduct of public utilities, of banks, of insurance, of business, of agriculture, of education, of social welfare and of a dozen other important features. In these, Washington must not be encouraged to interfere.' However, in his 1936 annual message as President, Roosevelt boasted of newly expanded Federal powers which he said, 'in the wrong hands, would provide shackles for the liberties of the people.'

"Although the Constitution has not been amended to increase Federal powers since 1920, the Supreme Court in 1937 abandoned its policy of respecting the original intent of the Constitution—as amended—in defining them. It began to change its earlier definitions of that intent, in order to sanction the Federal Government's exercise of vastly increased powers without amendment of the Constitution. The Supreme Court now exercises power in all the fields which F. D. R. in 1930 said it should not invade. Many of these increases might have been made eventually, but the proper method to make them is provided in the Constitution and should have been followed. For the Court to attempt to make them by interpretation is government by usurpation, the opposite of constitutionally limited government.

"How to restore constitutionally limited government is a major question, especially at a time when concern for the proper limitation of Federal power seems all but nonexistent. This generation, like those which preceded it, is the custodian of the liberties of the people and the restraints on government power which alone can protect them. When he permit judges to interpret these guaranties so as to make them ineffective, we help to sabotage our own and posterity's liberties."

The Supreme Court's usurpation of authority in the field of education is one of the usurpations which Mr. Long denounces as the opposite of constitutionally limited government. Applying the principles which he espouses, school segregation, if accomplished by law, should be done by acts of the individual States or by constitutional amendment.

The broad issue presented by the present trend of Supreme Court decisions is being presented with ever-growing clarity. There is now at least some small hope for a rebirth of a Federal Government functioning according to the limitations which the Constitution sets forth.

Student Conservation Program of the National Parks Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, conservation is not a problem for Congress alone. Neither is it a problem for those who are so old they must find something to occupy their time. It is a problem that vitally concerns every living person in our country and we cannot begin too early to educate our young people in the problems and solutions of conservation.

The National Parks Association is to be congratulated on its student conservation program and the response of students has been most gratifying.

STUDENTS RESPOND TO A CONSERVATION CHALLENGE

Over 200 students from all parts of the country perked up inquiring ears at the announcement by the National Parks Association of the opportunity to participate in a summer of conservation—a summer of helpful, educational activity in our national parks. Some had heard of the Student Conservation Program from their college professors, some from high-school teachers, others from their garden-club mothers, and some from articles in publications of private conservation organizations.

As a result of the efforts of the representatives of the National Parks Association through personal contact and letters, by word of mouth and printed articles over 700 requests for information and application forms from over 200 parents, students, teachers, scout leaders, and National Park Service personnel flooded into the office of the association. Of the 600 lengthy detailed application forms sent out over 100 materialized into high-caliber applications.

And more would have been forthcoming had it not been for the necessity to close the books because the experimental aspect of this first summer's program can offer only a limited number of positions. Selection of only the most qualified applicants to fill these few positions has further reduced the number who may patricipate and benefit from this opportunity.

All of these students have expressed a love of the outdoors. Some want to become professional foresters or rangers and value the opportunity for training and the references resulting from their participation. Others earnestly desire the chance to assist the National Park Service and to "try out" this type of life and experience. Some just want the opportunity to go West into mountain country. All of them wish to learn how to use more fully and to preserve the resources of our country, and to offer their services to assist the National Park Service in Olympic and Grand Teton National Parks.

The overwhelming response of inquiries and applications has come from extremely well qualified high-school-age boys for whom there are 30 volunteer positions to do outdoor work for 3 weeks in Olympic National Park, Wash. This work will contribute to the availability of the park facilities and is under the direction of the Park Service and experienced personnel of the prominent Olympic Community College of Bremerton.

Highly motivated college and graduate women are eager to put their all too often unrecognized scientific and outdoor abilities and talents to useful expression. There was strong competition for the three openings to assist in setting up the new Pioneer Memorial Museum in Olympic National Park and for the four openings in the overall conservation training program in Grand Teton National Park.

In spite of the abundance of wellpaying job opportunities available to college and graduate men, the 16 billets for this group have been filled. Three biologists will conduct necessary and long neglected studies of the wildlife in the back country of Olympic National Park under the direction of the park biologist.

Twelve college men and graduates along with the 4 women will take part in a well-rounded, 2-month, conservation training program by assisting in all the divisions of Grand Teton National Park on a rotational basis, thereby acquiring a complete picture of the structure and principles of a national park. This program wil lbe enriched further by talks from park personnel and by members of the 7 other conservation agencies in the Jackson Hole region, by participation in the seasonal rangers' indoctrination program, and by a 2-day, specially conducted tour through Yellowstone National Park.

This summer these students will not only prove if they can meet this new challenge in the field of conservation, but also whether or not they can provide a useful source of talent for future employment by the National Park Service. They can gain both in personal experience and knowledge and at the same time give their assistance to the overworked staffs in the National Park Service. Through their effort and cooperation, the student conservation program can prove to be a practical and worthwhile undertaking meriting; continuation and expansion under the National Park Service or other Government or private agencies. So far, these students have proved they are willing to meet the challenge.

Kamehameha I: A Great Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, today, June 11, is set aside in Hawaii as Kamehameha Day—a Territorial holiday—in honor of the great Hawaiian King, Kamehameha I. It is a day in which the people of Hawaii pay honor and tribute to this first king of all the major Hawaiian Islands, the king who, in the early decades of the 19th century, united the major islands for the first time under one ruler.

It is a day in which the people of Hawaii reflect upon, honor, and express—in feast and celebration—their profound gratitude for the generosity, the tolerance, the almost boundless humanity and friendship which the native Hawaiian, more than anyone else, is responsible for in present-day Hawaiian life, and which characterizes that life as democratic and as American in the deepest senses of those words.

Kamehameha I is perhaps best known generally as a great warrior king, but he was an even greater leader in peace—in fact his exploits as a warrior will be completely misunderstood if they are not viewed as his attempt to realize for all the Hawaiian people a perpetual and joyful peace.

When Kamehameha was a young chief, already controlling the island of Hawaii and showing signs of the greatness to come, a famous Hawaiian kahuna—or priest—appeared before him and prophesized: Kamehameha was to conquer and unite all the islands, thereafter to enable his people to live in a lasting and prosperous peace.

That this was his motive and his vision, Kamehameha gave full evidence at the very first opportunity—immediately after gaining full control of the island

of Hawaii. Among other things, he ordered the planting of foodstuff on all available land, and began the development of an irrigation project considered by later viewers as a most amazing accomplishment.

In his first official act when he had gotten control of all the islands, he told his people to go home and stop fighting, to turn from war to the building of an enduring peace.

He promulgated the famous Law of Mamalahoe which I give here in translation:

O my people, honor thy gods. Respect alike the rights of men both great and humble; see to it that the aged and the children may go their ways in peace, and lie down to sleep by the roadside without fear of harm.

He set up projects to increase food production, and became his own best example to his people by establishing several food farms of his own which he personally worked. To insure free medical service to all he set up a school for medical kahunas, and he set up schools of training for arts and crafts—free for all people.

He issued another famous edict:

There shall be no idle person in the land.

The Hawaiian workday was 4 hours; Kamehameha made plans for occupying the rest of the time with healthful games and play. From time immemorial the Hawaiians had observed the makahiki season, lasting from October through January, as a time of recreation and rest. The season was dedicated to Lono, the god of fertility; it was the harvest time in which warfare and contention were absolutely forbidden. It was unthinkable to the Hawaiian that in harvest, the time of life and growth, men should kill each other and their means of subsistence. First the harvest was gathered, then the taxes collected, and the remainder of the time the people spent in feast and celebration. It is to be noted too that before the coming of the foreigner the Hawaiians had no intoxicating liquor, and the energy and joy that animated their festivity had and needed no artificial inducement. For this season too Kamehameha provided plans to enhance the leisure occupation of his people.

Kamehameha I embodied fully the hopes and aspirations of the people; he was in the deepest sense a man of the people. Often he walked among them disguised to study the efficacy of his government, to ask questions and to solicit suggestions. In work and in play he led his people toward that full life, without bitterness or greed, which he, and his people, saw as their destiny.

The motto of Hawaii—Ua Mau Ke Ea O Ka Aina I Ka Pono—the life of the land is preserved by righteousness—while it was proclaimed by the later Kamehameha III, is most really the expression, in everything he did, of this greatest Hawaiian King, Kamehameha I. When he died in 1819—the year before the missionaries arrived—a great keen, such as never heard in Hawaii before or since, arose over all the islands.

Things did not come true exactly as Kamehameha I visualized them. But his people are great, their generosity and their tolerance vitally characterize American democracy as it exists in Hawaii. Kamehameha I is to his people, and to the people of Hawaii generally, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." An inspiration and an ideal to all, particularly to his own.

For these reasons, and many more, the people of Hawaii honor today—as many communities in America today honor their own great men of the past—the native Hawaiian people and their great leader, Kamehameha I, for all they have given and mean to Hawaii.

Personally, and on behalf of Hawaii's people whom I have the honor to represent, I express to the native Hawaiian people on this Kamehameha Day the deep gratitude and affection of the people of Hawaii for you, and for all you mean, and will mean in greater measure in the future State of Hawaii, United States of America.

Good Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting and inspiring address delivered by the Honorable Watson W. Wise, of Tyler, Tex., before the Council of International Relations, of San Antonio, Tex.

Mr. Wise is a distinguished and public spirited citizen of Texas. Although actively engaged in private business, he has taken time to serve his community, State, and Nation in many educational and civic activities. This year he has been chosen by the people of his community as chairman of their annual Rose Festival.

He has also served in national affairs, as State chairman of the Association for the United Nations, and as a director of the National Civil Service Association. In the international field, he made special industrial surveys in Europe, particularly in coal mining efficiency, in 1951, for the Council of Ministers of the North American Treaty Organization.

He has served several years as a member, and now as chairman, of the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas, appointed by the Governor of Texas, with the purpose of developing increasingly friendly relations between our country and our good and perhaps best friends, the countries of Latin America and South America.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BEFORE COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, SAN ANTONIO, APRIL 15, 1957, BY WATSON W. WISE, CHAIRMAN OF THE GOOD NEIGHBOR COMMISSION OF TEXAS

When your president, Mrs. Mamie Dial, invited me to speak to the Council of International Relations at your St. Anthony banquet, I was mindful that she was trading food for conversation. Believing that a fair exchange is no robbery, I accepted. I am very pleased to be here.

I should like to acknowledge my appreciation for the presence of two of my Good Neighbor Commission colleagues—that very able commissioner, Andres Rivera of San Antonio, and Commissioner Frank Kelley of Colorado City, that rugged individual who, with the candor of a west Texan "calls them as he sees them."

Someone has said that "A man who works with his hands is a laborer; a man who works with his hands and his head is a craftsman; a man who works with his hands, his head, and his heart is an artisan; but a man who works with his hands, his head, his heart, and his feet is a salesman."

Tonight, I want to be a salesman. I hope to sell you, with all of these salesman's tools, if necessary, one product, interest. Yes, interest in what may be considered by many, as "stardust." Yet, this "stardust," upon minute examination, becomes a reality, something material from which there emerges a useful pattern or code. Let's call this the "antibiotic," if you will, to assuage the friction by which people live together.

With rapid strides our Latin American trade of a reciprocal nature, and the ties of friendship, yours and mine, which it has accelerated, have become characteristics of our association with these southern countries. This implies to all of us the usefulness and interest of a meeting such as this to discuss the official attitude of the State Department and our personal feelings regarding the current Latin American policy. Put simply, we can inquire what kind of a formula we are utilizing to link together, to weld the Western Hemisphere without the aid of force, but yet to resist aggression, should it be necessary.

The caption of this program is the Good Neighbor Policy. Let's have a look at this, and as well on our domestic front, of a unique organization known as the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas.

The good-neighbor policy may be a nebulous term, when generally applied. I once thought it meant being a do-gooder or greeter. And, during my term as commissioner and later as chairman, I found that only definite projects—well laid, well executed—have any effect or results on people anywhere.

To understand why the Good Neighbor Commission came into being, we must have a look at the attitude and the foreign policy of the United States from the time of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. That doctrine, if you recall, defined clearly the position of the United States that foreign powers must keep out of Latin America as well as South America. It protected the helpless newly founded Spanish colonies against transfer to other world powers. And we, the United States, recognized them and helped their efforts to become strong republics.

Later, you will remember that our Government assumed an attitude of onlookers, and still later policemen, or the big stick, as our foreign policy with the Latin American Republics. It was this brusque and dictatorial policy that caused suspicion and distrust on the part of the Latin Americans for the United States and its people. Coupled with high tariffs and protection of our citizens' foreign investments and interference in the settlement of problems between their countries, the United States assumed a villainous role in the eyes of these peoples. It was truly a one-way street, policywise, with milestones of resentment from the memory of forced settlement of problems in Mexico, Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti, Cuba, and Santo Domingo, by this influence from the north. Our State Department had considered their acts to be guid-

ance programs of a practical nature; to the Latins they were aggressions against moral and legal rights.

Both William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson had a laudable desire to win better understanding with Latin America, but our foreign policy maintained the status quo. "Arbitration" was only a word often mentioned, but not practiced.

The first shadow of our present policy of nonintervention appeared during the term of President Herbert Hoover. He made a trip to the principal countries of South America and upon his return to the United States, he repudiated for the first time the big stick policy of President Theodore Roosevelt and declared unequivocally that the intent of the Monroe Doctrine was against Europe and not against Latin American countries. As a matter of fact, he refused to intervene when trouble arose in El Salvador and the Dominican Republic. Many critics at home whispered that the strong arm of Uncle Sam was withering with weakness.

It was not until the cadenced step of soldiers upon the cobbled streets and the sound of cannon fire was heard in Europe, and until Hitlerism began to show its ugly face of destruction to the world in the Second World War, that our intent to do something about Western Hemispheric defense became a popular cause. President Franklin Roosevelt and the State Department popularized the slogan of "Good Neighbor" in an attempt to change our mutual attitudes and to warm the frigidity of the diplomatic climate in Latin and South America. It was then determined by the State Department, and so publicized, that our policy henceforth relating to the peoples of Latin and South America should no longer be in terms of self-interest—meaning, of course, our self-interest.

Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State under President Roosevelt, promised no interference in the affairs of the Latin American States; and later, at Lima, Peru, promised the inviolate solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. These new declarations of principle and foreign policy were inviting gestures for the peoples of our two continents to join hands across the Western Hemisphere. The question may be asked—did this represent an act of sincerity on our part. Let us see.

We did respect this agreement when Mexico and Bolivia seized and nationalized the foreign oil investments of United States capital. Further, to improve a bad credit relationship, we fostered the formation of the Inter-American Bank, agreeing that all Latin Republics would become stockholders. Maybe our declarations were sincere at last, thought the Latins; and when the United States entered World War II, reciprocal cooperation and support evidenced the rewards of our new foreign policy. We gave Latin America technical and military aid. The governments of the Republics were understanding, but the Latin people—yes, the people—were still suspicious and distrusted our motives. Certainly no less typical was the attitude of many in Mexico, and especially along the Rio Grande border.

You know that Texas has about 1½ million population of Mexican nationals and Latin Americans. Many who migrated to this country did not have the good fortune of an education, nor finances, and were considered peons. Nazi propaganda in Latin America capitalized on the treatment of Mexicans in the Southwest. Texas, as a result, has from time to time been placed on the blacklist, as an indictment for our treatment of Mexican braceros, and as well for our restaurant and hotel discrimination against Mexicans. When these people have experienced, unfortunately, prohibitions in Texas, there is an apparent feeling that they have been mistreated because and only because they are Mexicans. This is unfortunately a survival of the deep-seated antipathy that past generations have nurtured.

It was at this time that Gov. Coke Stevenson of Texas and representatives of the American Ambassador to Mexico, in conference, decided that Texas ought to take official action toward establishing a good-neighbor policy. This decision was enacted into law in 1943 by the Texas Legislature, and the Good Neighbor Commission came into being.

Unique? Yes, it is unique; since this is the only commission of its kind created by legislative act and recognized as an office of the State government of Texas, though there are other groups in parts of the United States acting in a voluntary capacity.

Each commissioner is appointed by the Governor for a term of six years, without pay, and dedicated to its service. The commissioners' principal attention was first focused on education against local prejudices, toward health, education, social discrimination, and economic insecurity. Funds for the commission's activities were first made available by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs of the National Government, but later provided by the Texas Legislature.

Have you ever tried to tie a piece of twine around a puff of smoke? That may give you some idea of the frustration some of us have had from time to time as members of this commission. Our budget for expenditures is limited; in fact, it is necessary for the commissioners to pay personally for social functions of a public-relations nature. For example, a short time ago when we brought Ambassador Francisco Urrutia of the Republic of Colombia to Dallas from the Security Council of United Nations in New York to address our people on Latin American affairs, some of the commissioners personally accepted the expense.

Why?—you ask. Chiefly because these 9 members desire in their 6-year terms to make an accomplishment in the field to which the commission is dedicated. And their willingnes stems from the decision that if a job is good enough to accept, it is good enough to improve.

The interest of the commission is laudable; but the application of remedial action has been difficult. Discrimination by Texans, evictions, arrests—often without cause—were investigated by the commissioners in their geographic locations throughout the State (Commissioner Frank Kelley has made many personal investigations in West Texas). Often the results seemed futile, but an amenability of attitude and tolerance by Texans began to develop. It became quite evident that our work would not be advanced by random activity, but by definite projects.

The approach to improve relations along the border and with Mexico began. We found we needed to do a job at home with our people and the Latin Americans.

Two important undertakings became a reality in our work. The Commission sponsored a Pan American Student Forum for children in Texas who had an interest in the Spanish language. In time, some 60 chapters of students of high school age swelled this membership in the State to over 9,000. Teacher sponsors guide the study of the arts, culture, history, the social, and economic features of the Latin American Republics' background.

Once a year under the guidance of Glenn Garrett, our executive director, about 700 selected club delegates, with expenses earned by each club, meet in Austin under our Commission sponsorship and compete in the arts, poetry, literature, folk dancing, handicrafts, and painting under competent judges. The awards are presented at the banquet where Latin American-Anglo friendship has a common meeting ground. These 9,000 students are the Commission's best disciples in the homes of the less tolerant adults. All this is accomplished in the discipline and spirit of a Hi-Y Christian organization. It is indeed impressive to see young citizenship on the march in this manner. We were enlisting some valuable help; we created an interest—we were getting results. Another interest had been created, thanks in great part to Mrs. Myrtle Tanner, founder of this movement.

Secondly, Pan American round tables were formed throughout Texas, some 47 clubs in number, comprised of understanding women who accepted the challenge of service and of ameliorating differences with the Spanish-speaking population. The clubs became our emissaries in many grassroots areas that were steeped in racial differences. The dividends are self-evident.

And with all candor, I wish to speak of a third organization in Texas that has contributed, directly and indirectly, so much to the Commission's work. It is ambidextrous, this Council of International Relations. With one hand it serves the domestic side and with the other, the international side, with grace of spirit and manner. It is one thing to speak of such a beneficent program as an approach to a better way of life, of tolerance and peaceful association. Many preach and profess this doctrine, but few live it. It is another thing to carry it into action. If I were asked to individualize such humanitarian aims, whose thoughtful kindness each day rewards mankind, I can think of no one who has someone who has endeared herself to all strangers of all lands more than your own benefactress, Mrs. Mamie Dial.

Nothing curries favor any better than making oneself the victim of a joke or of a situation. It's been the comedian's stepping stone to stardom and the businessman's introduction card to an atmosphere of humility—yet, many of us trek across the foreign hemispheres and with bated breath await the last word of an otherwise polite conversation, until like a thunderbolt we can drop the ax—"That's very interesting, but do you know in my country we have, etc., etc."—superlatives and supersuperlatives.

Now you may have a valid case that well-traveled people with a sense of sophistication and tolerance do not appear in this role of bad-will ambassadors, but Latin Americans have in the past, at least, taken issue on this point. Miss Shipley, formerly head of the Washington passport department, and President Eisenhower in a New Orleans speech in 1952, both indicated rules of successful conduct away from home. Certainly this is not an admonition to this gracious group, for some of you have just completed a world tour of good will; but it is one of the formidable problems facing the Good Neighbor Commission in plying our trade, especially in Mexico and Latin America. That is why the Commission borrowed the phrase of the Bard of Avon; namely, "I am undone".

Travel is a good correction for mental nearsightedness—if the traveler will cast aside his prejudices and seek the culture and beauty of that country in its atmosphere. Luxury and service should not be a primary commandment—perhaps you would find more luxury and service at home. I am sure few people who travel in foreign lands realize how much one's individual demeanor interprets their country's "typical citizen" to these people visited. I mention this because so much of this kind of thoughtless damage had been done by our citizens to the Good Neighbor policy in Mexico.

Neither has the Commission attempted to urge passage of legislation to correct inequities. We remember the old West Point story, I believe—"Try to push a piece of string and you get nowhere; pull it, and it will go along with you anywhere."

This will illustrate the point: General Quinones, whom many of you know, who for many years controlled the Piedras Negras area of the Mexican border before his retire-

ment from the Army, has become an intimate friend of some of the members of the Good Neighbor Commission, and now an honorary Commissioner. His efforts in our behalf have been tireless. Some time ago our Government opened an Air Force field along the Mexican Border near Del Rio. The Village of Villa Acuna, across the border from Del Rio, was for many reasons made "off limits" to the cadets. Our Air Force decided to protest to the Mexican Government this treatment. Usually in time—possibly six months—denials, investigations, contradictions, flaring tempers follow such a procedure. Gen. Quinones, hearing of the situation, called on the U. S. Air Force Commandant and asked that the protest be withheld for a few days. Quietly, this respected Mexican talked among his own people in Villa Acuna; four days later, he called on the Air Force Commandant and requested him to inspect Villa Acuna; this was done and the Commandant removed the "off limits" signs. Today, the Air Force has many friends on both sides of the border. Yes, the string won't push, but it will pull with you.

What to do about our relations within the interior of Mexico. Former Chairman Neville Penrose knew Mexico well as a young man in the oil business. Basically, disciples for the Good Neighbor Commission were the need. Where to enlist them? School teachers, of course, they have the contact with the youth of Mexico who will be the fathers and mothers of the next generation. Each year, teachers of the Superior Normal School of Mexico City, by competition, are brought to Austin for a special and intense course at the University of Texas, and North Texas Teachers College on the latest methods of teaching English. We arrange for them occasionally to visit in the homes of friends, and make short trips. Just ask the Mexican teachers and their students what they think of the idea of the slogan "hands across the border," and the work of Neville Penrose in this field. Each youth becomes a disciple for us in a new home in Mexico. Discrimination, among peoples, yields to the evolutionary attributes of education, knowledge and the tolerant respect for the dignity of man. Again we are trying to pull this string, not push it.

I want to speak of efforts we have made with another project. As you may know, Mexico has as part of its northern boundary the states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas. In a meeting in El Paso in 1954, the Commission adopted a resolution calling on these states to join Texas in forming a permanent international organization dedicated to the solution of common problems, particularly those misunderstandings of the interior and of the border.

It requires the concurrence and endorsement of the governors of the five states. Next came the problem of notifying Federal, State, county, and city officials, civic professional and church groups, as well as interested individuals of the five states of the envisioned plan, and soliciting their support. Complicated and trying? It was, but we are building toward the future.

The first conference was held in Monterey 2 years ago with outstanding representation from both sides of the border.

The five governors' representatives became the Central Council with subcommittees that encompass departmentalized and needed projects—such as, creation of Bi-City Good Neighbor Councils to settle border problems as a united group; it sponsors teaching of Spanish and English in respective areas; it suggests facilities to make travel in Mexico and United States easier; it is developing a pre-disaster program. These are but a few of the projects. It has possibilities of becoming a real force in border, as well as interior, relations between Mexico and the United States. Chairman Jose F. Muguerza, of Monterey, Mexico, with vitality, has worked to bring into effect numerous border and reciprocal agreements, which have popularized this young project.

Possibly the outstanding vote of confidence that has shown the success of this organization is that of providing four Mexican members to the Council, but only one from the United States—and a Mexican national chairman. It is a symbol of faith and trust we have shown the Mexican people, and they have responded in kind.

Yes, that's the story of our effort, with a backdrop of the historic setting in which we entered about 10 years ago. Let's see what this all means in a calculation of a way of life. I have said many times that children the world over are pretty much the same; they are innately, friendly, uninhibited and sincere; the tenor of their life is concerned with few prohibitions. Why then, as adults, is there such a contrast or difference among us? It is, mainly, caused by three disturbing elements—language, religious beliefs and nationalism, or patriotism, if you will. The barriers certainly do not emanate from the age of reason, but the adaptation of their life to a code of thou shalt—thou shalt not. Interrogations of peoples in answer to "Why do you act or believe thus" comes the answer "it has always been so". We are creatures of habit and custom. International association interprets that it matters not whether you walk on the right or left side of the street, if the destinations are identical. Whether it be prayer at high mass, prayer in the mosque, or humble prayer on the barren hillsides, all ask for the same guidance or a better way of life. We must understand and make mankind feel that whether we like it or not Wendell Willkie's "One World" is here. Electronics and flight has erased most of time and distance. The world is like a human body—any unhealthy part affects the well-being of other parts. A small canal 8,000 miles away was closed—consider how it affected the economic life and the standard of living of millions of people.

This Pan-Americanism of understanding, tolerance and the need of closer and enduring friendship between peoples, especially in the Western Hemisphere, is mandatory if our peaceful unity is to endure and thus create a bulwark against aggression. Pan Americanism is not a nebulous Holy Grail, it is a practical approach to a way of life—a full normal life in this hemisphere. Some one said that "time was invented by the Supreme Being in order to give ideas a chance to produce; Pan-Americanism is a great idea, and this is the chance to make it produce.

It seems that all in life fit into three categories: You do good; you do bad; or, you do nothing. Who knows—you may have just the opportunity to participate when you least expect it. Perhaps this diary of our trials and tribulations may better prepare you to express yourselves, and "do good".

On Having a Sense of What Is Vital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to present here an address by Mr. James Clark Brown, who is an administrative assistant to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, with responsibility for reporting the activities of the House Committees for the Congressional Digest section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Jim Brown is a former college classmate of mine and I was genuinely grateful when I learned that he had been chosen as baccalaureate speaker by the student committee of the Washington-Lee School after they had heard him while he was interim minister of the Rock Spring Congregational Church, Arlington, Va. He is presently a lay-reader of Epiphany Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C. Mr. Brown is a graduate of Yale University Divinity School and is an ordained minister.

The address which Mr. Brown presented to the graduating class at the Washington-Lee School last Sunday, June 9, 1957, follows:

ON HAVING A SENSE OF WHAT IS VITAL

On December 17, 1903, Orville and Wilbur Wright succeeded in keeping their home-made airplane aloft above the hills of Kitty Hawk, N. C. They immediately sent a telegram to their sister living in Dayton, Ohio. The telegram read: "First sustained flight today. Fifty-nine seconds. Hope to be home for Christmas." The sister in Dayton was so excited with the news that she took the telegram to the newspaper office and the next morning, believe it or not, the following headline appeared in the paper: Popular Local Bicycle Merchants Expected Home for the Holidays.

You need not be anywhere near a first-class journalist to realize that a bungling editor missed the whole point of one of the truly great and decisive events of man's history. My sympathy, however, is largely with the editor. For, in a larger sense, is not his failure the result of a temptation that confronts us all? The temptation that you and I may live out our lives without having recognized or reverenced those values in life that are truly worthwhile. Do you know these lines of Carl Sandburg:

"I am riding on a limited express,
One of the crack trains of the Nation,
Hurtling across dark prairie and into blue haze
Go 15 coaches holding a thousand people.
All the laughing men and women shall pass to ashes,
The coaches shall become scrap and rust.
I ask a man in the smoker, 'Where are you going?'
And he answers, 'Omaha'."

Now the matter of knowing where we are going in terms of a destiny more divine than Omaha is of particular concern to us as intelligent, Christian people and especially to those of you who are so eager to know life in terms of its fullness, richness, and glory.

Let us think together concerning this matter. Here is a verse of scripture that will underly our thought. It was written by a remarkable man in the first century by the name of Paul; the Apostle Paul. Among the letters he wrote which appear in our New Testament, is one letter written to some friends in the little church at Philipi, a city in Greece. The church there had sent a gift to Paul who was now an old man; a prisoner of Nero's awaiting execution in Rome. In gratitude for the concern of his friends, Paul sends back a letter to them and I would like to read you one sentence from it as Dr. Moffatt translates it in our New Testament. Paul writes: "And it is my prayer that your love may be more and more rich in knowledge and all manner of insight enabling you to have a sense of what is vital" (Philippians 1: 9).

Consider for one matter that it is vital, everylastingly important, that we come to know Jesus Christ as our dearest friend. Of all the influences that affect our lives for

good or ill, surely one of the most decisive is the kind of friend in whose company we want to spend our time. It is just here that coming to know Christ as the best friend whom we will ever have is vital. For with Christ, as with any friend whom you truly know and love and with whom you spend much time, you tend to become like Him.

If, therefore, you want to learn the secret of such a man's life as the Apostle Paul, whose influence has reached out across time and boundaries to bless untold numbers, here is part of the answer: His dearest friend was Jesus Christ. What kind of friend must Jesus have been to have inspired Paul to say elsewhere in his letter to the Philippians, "Whatever happens, make sure that your everyday life is worthy of Christ"? When Paul is inspired to write so eloquently of love in its highest expression as he does in first Corinthians, chapter 13, "Love is patient, kind, knows no jealousy, is never glad when others go wrong but rejoices in goodness, always eager to believe the best, always hopeful, * * * other things pass away, but such love does not end * * *", of whose love was Paul thinking? Who else but that of his dearest friend, Jesus Christ? Again, whose love so strengthened Paul that he could face Nero's persecution with divine power, and ultimately death with triumph, so that today, 1,900 years later, we call our dogs Nero and our favorite sons Paul? Whose love so strengthened him save that of his dearest friend, Jesus Christ?

This fact is all the more remarkable when you realize that Paul never knew Jesus in a physical sense. Our Lord had lived out His life upon this earth even before Paul became a Christian. It was after the death and resurrection of Christ that Paul came to know Him, beginning with that dramatic encounter on the road to Damascus when Christ appeared to Paul in a vision, spoke to him, claimed him, and Paul surrendered his life to Christ in loyalty and love.

I believe there is encouragement for all of us in the fact that for us, as with Paul, we need not have known Jesus in a physical way in order to know him now as our dearest friend. You remember that Paul, following his vision of Christ, was directed to other Christians in Damascus, among them Ananias, and there in the friendship of other Christian men and women Paul's own faith was nurtured, enabling him at last to become so strong an apostle.

So today you and I may come to know the friendship of the living Christ through the fellowship of other Christian people within the life of the church. There, where Christ's life and teachings are proclaimed, where something of His mind and spirit is demonstrated, where by the sacraments of the church, baptism and holy communion, we receive His very spirit into our lives and are inspired to go out from the church to do His work and will, so do we living today come to know Christ as our dearest friend.

The fact that the church makes real to us the person and presence of Christ is why Paul repeatedly speaks of the church as "the body of Christ." The church is the visible, continuing expression of Christ's life and love. Link your life to the church and you will come to know Christ. I do not believe that it is primarily important what denominational label hangs above the church door. Find the church where you can work and worship most meaningfully and you will increasingly discover the reality of Christ's continuing presence. For—

"The church's one foundation is Jesus Christ, her Lord,
She is His new creation, by water and the word.
From heaven He came and sought her to be His holy bride,
With His own blood He bought her and for her life He died."

And it is my prayer that your love may be more and more rich in knowledge and all manner of insight enabling you to have a sense of what is vital, that you may come to know Jesus Christ as your dearest friend.

Consider secondly how vital it is to know Christ not simply as your dearest friend but also as your constant companion. Some years ago a friend of mine whose business involves worldwide travel found herself in a remote seacoast town. When the time came for her to journey on she found herself surrounded by wellwishers for other people who had come to say bon voyage to other travelers but none to speak that word to her. So, partly from a sense of humor but more deeply, I suspect, from an understandable human need, she arranged with an elderly man who was there and alone that in exchange for a generous "tip" he would stand and wave to her and call out "bon voyage" until the ship was out of sight. Life does get lonely at times and one of the great joys of our Christian faith is that Christ is ever with us, our constant companion.

When Paul said: "I have learned in whatever circumstance I am, therein to be content," he was simply saying that he knew the truth of Christ's promise, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." If you think this mere Christian sentimentality, would you dare say so to David Livingston, who said it was not just himself who went tramping through darkest Africa; it was David Livingston and Jesus Christ together. Would you contradict Samuel Rutherford, whose Christian faith led him courageously into persecution and prison but who, when there, declared, "Jesus Christ came into my cell last night and every stone flashed like a ruby"? Would you call it mere sentimentality in the presence of Dan Polling, Jr., 1 of the 4 chaplains who, having given their own lifebelts to others, went down on the *Dorchester*? In a previous letter to his father he had said in effect: "Do not be anxiously concerned for my safety, for if ever I find myself alone in a difficult place I know that there shall be Someone with me." "And lo, I am with you always," said Christ our Lord.

The truth that Christ is our constant companion, however, is intended to be more than comfort. It is also a challenge. For, if Christ is our dearest friend and constant companion, will we not be challenged to honor him in the life we live, in the work we do, in the use of the talents and skills and gifts we possess?

So, into whatever work and career your interests and abilities may lead you, think of it as your ministry in company with Him who is your constant companion. Honor Him in the work you do. I am certain that we ought to think of the work we do, not in terms of the so-called sacred and secular callings, but rather to see all of work as sacred when done in company with Christ and done in honor to Him. I have been privileged to know certain Members of Congress, such as my own Congressman ED EDMONDSON, of Oklahoma, and others, on both sides of the political aisle, who regard their public service as conscientiously as do other men their public ministry. Into whatever work you go, may you do so with Christ at your side and make of your work an act of praise unto Him.

Bishop Crotty, in his book The Church Victorious, tells of one such person whose life of labor was in truth such a ministry. She was a young girl whose father and mother had both died and she had been left with the responsibility to provide and care for the other younger children in the family. Thus day by day she gave herself without reserve in labor and in love. Now she lay dying in a London hospital having literally worked herself to death. A visitor to the ward inquired of the nurse in charge if there were any there who were critically ill. When told of the girl the visitor made her way to the side of her bed. "My child, are you baptized?" "No," said the young girl sorrowfully. There had literally been no time to have been baptized. "You are not confirmed in the church?" "No," said the girl. The questions followed one another and all were answered to the dismay of the visitor. Finally the question came, "But my child, what will you do when you die and have to tell God all of these things?" The young girl whose entire life had been lived in hard labor and Christ-like love for others looked into the face of her questioner with eyes too full of confidence to be further disturbed and softly replied: "I will show Him my hands." And it is my prayer that your love may be more and more rich in knowledge and all manner of insight enabling you to have a sense of what is vital * * * that you may come to know Jesus Christ as your constant companion.

Consider finally that it is vital to know Jesus Christ not simply as your dearest friend, constant companion, but most meaningfully of all, your Lord and Saviour! Begin with Him as a friend, live with Him as a companion, and you will come to know Him as Lord! I believe Martin Luther's words are true: "Take hold of Jesus as a man, and you will discover that He is God." The first disciples began their relationship with Jesus thinking of Him as a teacher, rabbi, and friend; but ultimately they came to recognize Him as did Paul, saying, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

One of the earliest creedal affirmations of Christians was simply, "I believe that Jesus Christ is Lord." It was, however, manifestly more than simply an affirmation in a creed. It was a demonstrated conviction in life. The early Christians went out into every area of life, personal, political, and social, living out their conviction, "Jesus Christ is Lord."

How vital it is in our world today that in that same spirit we declare "Christ is Lord." How urgently do we need the mind of Christ, His wisdom, His spirit, His lordship, to be brought into rule over the problems that beset us as persons and as a nation. Let me suggest just one matter that illustrates our need: one of the crucial problems involving us all is this difficult matter of human relationships. How do we build a social order where all people are given the opportunity for living life to the full?

You may recall how some of our Puritan forefathers tried to handle this matter in their relations with the Indians. They were bound and determined to dispossess them of their land but how to do so and maintain a Christian conscience? In 1640 in Milford, Conn., the official town record reveals that they tried to handle the problem this way:

"Voted, that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, voted further, that the earth is given to the saints; voted finally, that we are the saints."

If the spirit of Christ rules we shall do better than that. Let me speak as clearly as I may. If Jesus Christ is Lord, then as a Christian citizen of this blessed land I covet no privilege for myself that I am not willing to share with every other citizen. My opportunities for education, employment, and a chance for a life of dignity are treasured rights granted me by the Constitution of this country and God's intended gift for all of his children. If you would deny me those rights because I am dirty then I can all of His children. If you would deny me those rights because I am not your social equal, then with my best effort and such opportunities as you have so long enjoyed, I can improve myself socially. If, however, you would deny me the rights you enjoy simply because of my color, I can only refer you to God by whose wisdom I was so made.

Jesus Christ is Lord and in him there is no Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free,

neither male nor female; you are all one in Him. Originally it was the voice of Paul speaking to his friends in Phillipi; but just as truly it is the voice of God speaking to each of us now, saying, and it is my prayer that your love may be more and more rich in knowledge and all manner of insight enabling you to have a sense of what is vital, that you may come to know Jesus Christ as your dearest friend, constant companion, Lord and Saviour.

Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped was organized to help those persons who were physically handicapped to join together in fellowship and assist each other in many ways.

It has been my pleasure to meet and know one of these physically handicapped persons, Miss Marianne Yambor, whom I believe should be a challenge to not only the handicapped, but also to those of us more fortunate who do not suffer any physical disability.

Miss Yambor has been elected the secretary of the Pennsylvania State Department, American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, Inc., and recently she was the principal speaker at the installation banquet of Pittsburgh Lodge 113. Her address was so inspiring, not only to those present but to all persons, that I urge all to read it in order to glimpse the spirit of this individual:

ADDRESS OF MISS MARIANNE YAMBOR, SECRETARY, PENNSYLVANIA STATE DEPARTMENT, AFPH, INC., PITTSBURGH LODGE 113, INSTALLATION BANQUET, GATEWAY RESTAURANT, PITTSBURGH, PA., MAY 20, 1957

Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests, members of AFPH, and friends of the handicapped, it is an extreme pleasure to talk to you on the occasion of your installation banquet. When I received your invitation to be your principal speaker, it really floored me. I didn't inquire as to the length of time you expected me to use. But I shall do my best to pass on some views as to the reason it is important, a privilege, and an honor to be an AFPH'er.

AFPH has meant so very much to me that I hope I can impress everyone here with the same meaning. I can remember the first time AFPH was brought to my attention. That must have been at least 7 years ago, and no doubt that was about the time your lodge was organized. The person who introduced me might not remember; she is here this evening. We're very glad to have you, Agnes Mann.

This is such a beautiful time of year. The time when everything is beginning anew. A new beginning. Rally of a new beginning. This is an appropriate time for us to rally also. All AFPH lodges are beginning another year. And this is the time of the year when we observe AFPH Rally Day. Every last Saturday in May of each year. So, as my theme tonight, I decided on rally. Rally, in observance of National Rally Day.

Many of us here have been in AFPH a long time. And we must admit, AFPH has become an integral part of us. That has happened because we wanted it that way, and because we know AFPH is the solution to many of our problems. AFPH is something we have been looking for all our lives. AFPH knows that a physically handicapped individual is not a statistic, but is only looking for justice, equal rights, and opportunity. All this can be achieved through unity. The more we learn about AFPH the more we are aware of this, and the more rooted it becomes with us. We have rallied for AFPH—but, have we done our best? Have we done enough? Nothing is so good it can't be better.

Usually, becoming a member of an organization is a great thing. But, unless one gets into it wholeheartedly, you do not realize the reason for joining, and you soon lose interest. For instance, if you decide to undertake a new hobby, you don't go at it with a blasé attitude. You try to learn all there is about it by getting all the information possible. Telling your friends about it, and so forth. Do you know most of us take a blasé attitude toward AFPH? Our blasé attitude regarding AFPH is the reason for getting stuck in the mud, so to speak.

Don't be stuck in the mud of selfish gain so that you don't have the vision to see. To rally for AFPH there are three challenges we have to face. These are vision, faith, and courage. The vision to see, the faith to believe, and the courage to do. Let us rally round and render service to ourself and our fellow men, the physically handicapped, and help make the world a better place to live in. Cultivate the vision to see what can be done for our physically handicapped friends. The vision to see what can be done is worthless without faith. And, if we have faith in AFPH, we must embrace trust and confidence as a pattern of life. If we have faith as good as our need, it will open a door.

Then courage. Well, without courage this vision and faith is pointless and fruitless. Let us use this vision here, and look around us. We can see our friends who are also handicapped, friends who are in the same boat with us. Can you also visualize the many millions more who are at home, almost forgotten, except for a relative or friend or two. These physically handicapped are confined to a small room with four walls. It is these physically handicapped we must have the vision to help. These are the people we must have the faith to believe in. These are the people who need our courage.

It does take great effort on our part. But, if we can visualize that, what we do for our fellowmen comes back to us a thousandfold. We all have found some happiness by being members of AFPH, in one way or another. Before we knew about AFPH, there were friends rallying for our cause. Now we have an opportunity to repay them by doing our part for those less fortunate. Many of us cannot "stand tall" but we can "sit tall" and, what's more, we can think tall. Let us be happy in our work. Rally for AFPH, rally for our fellow men, especially the physically handicapped, rally for more members, rally for our lodges, and for more lodges.

Recently, at a banquet in my hometown, I heard the speaker telling of his organization's progress. He told them that they were 10,000 chapters strong. And he told them that they should not be content to stand where they were, but should make every effort to have 50,000 chapters. He continued: "If we go forward we will be happy, if we stand still we will be sorry." This brings to my mind a story about two horseback riders. They were traveling by horseback through a forest. They were hurrying as it was getting dark and they had a long way to go. Suddenly a man stepped out in the middle of the road. They didn't want to run him down so with great annoyance they stopped. The man asked them to dismount, telling them that if they did as he instructed, they would be both happy and sorry. He told them to pick up some pebbles from the road, put them in their pockets, and not look at them until the next morning. Being in a hurry they did not argue because they felt it was useless to argue with a crazy man. They decided to humor him. They remounted and went on their way, soon forgetting the incident. They reached their destination, slept all night, and next morning, while dressing, they remembered. Laughingly they looked in their pockets and were surprised to find the pebbles had changed into beautiful diamonds. The words of the old gentleman came to their minds, "in the morning you will be both happy and sorry." And so they were, happy because they had obeyed, and sorry because they had not taken more pebbles.

And so it is with AFPH. Let us rally to pick up the pebbles and turn them into gems. We have an opportunity at this time. Our national headquarters has asked for volunteers for victory. Let's get on the bandwagon. Are we interested enough to want these things? All of your received the April report from Paul A. Strachan regarding legislation. He stresses the importance of a writein campaign. The State department joins him in urging you to write to Senators, requesting hearings and support of S. 1597, the Federal agency bill. Also H. R. 5396 which calls for tax exemptions for handicapped, and those who support handicapped who cannot care for themselves.

Are we interested enough to want those things, or are we just kidding each other? And letting on that we are interested, let us each ask ourselves if we have done our part. Have I written to my Congressman, and my Senators, telling them what we want? And to those who were interested enough to have these bills introduced. Have we written telling them how much we appreciate their efforts on our behalf? Or are you thinking, let the next guy write. Did you stop to think that he might have the same idea?

Benefits for handicapped don't just happen. Somebody has to propose the benefits, and as we all know, one individual would not have much chance putting any legislation and rulings over, without help and assistance from many others. The goal for which we are striving, is independence and usefulness. Service to others, helpfulness to each other through mutual assistance and cooperation. We are all aware of the fact that our only hope and course is to be organized. So, we are organized. We have members, but are we satisfied with what we have gained so far? Should we stop now? Do you believe we will keep what we have gained, if we do stop? Progress never comes easy. We must continually work for it, and we must sell to others who can and will rally with us. I believe that if we all made an effort to learn more about AFPH, we will be able to sell it to others. Let's become pushers, not wishers.

And now, before closing, I want you all to pledge to go forward despite all obstacles, pledge to support the legislative program. Legislation is very important to our program, because we must continue this battle until there is a real National, State, and local program beneficial to all handicapped people. It is grand to see so many of you assembled here. Thank you for your attention and please accept my personal best wishes to you, Henry Kujawski, president, Pittsburgh Lodge 113, AFPH, Inc., and to the rest of the officers of Pittsburgh Lodge 113. May you have a successful year, and thank you for letting me talk to you. It was indeed an honor and a pleasure.

Thank you.

The Federal Budget for 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I present herewith for inclusion in the RECORD an address delivered at the 44th anual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, held in Washington, D. C., on Friday, May 17, 1957. Hon. Percival F. Brundage, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, ably presented this most interesting address:

THE FEDERAL BUDGET FOR 1958

(Address of Percival F. Brundage, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.)

It is a pleasure for me to be here today to speak on a subject of importance to all of us—the Federal budget for 1958. I realize, of course, that this convention is primarily concerned with the wise and proper development and use of the water resources of our country. This is a concern which I share, both as Director of the Bureau of the Budget and as a citizen who knows that the orderly development and conservation of the resources of America are vital to our present and future strength.

It is gratifying that this group is also broadly concerned with the entire range of Federal activities. Nowhere are all the Government's activities, and the responsibilities which they reflect, brought into clearer focus than in the budget.

As you know, we in the Bureau of the Budget have the basic job of assisting the President in the preparation of the budget each year. Our ultimate aim is to formulate a sound and balanced overall program which will best serve the interests of the Nation at a minimum of cost. This involves us in a rigorous examination and evaluation of each of the many and varied programs of the Government, both present and proposed. To hold expenditures within our resources requires that choices must be made and priorities established among the many competing demands for Federal service, worthwhile though each may be.

We are all interested in keeping control over the total of Federal spending, particularly in these times of high taxes and of inflationary pressures on our economy. To put it mildly, there has been an outstanding demonstration of public interest in the 1958 budget which, as you know, projects an increase in expenditures. I would like to describe for you, therefore, some of the difficulties we faced in preparing that budget and some of the reasons for the increases in spending over the past few years.

Expenditures for the fiscal year 1958, as estimated in the budget, total $71.8 billion. This has been called the highest peacetime budget, which is very misleading when we consider that the current troubled international conditions make us devote $45.3 billion, or 63 percent of the total, to programs designed for the protection of our country, including the promotion of world peace. This is a heavy burden, but I can assure you that the President analyzed and reviewed the estimates for these programs most carefully before the budget went to the Congress. He considers the expenditure estimates contained in the budget as representing a wise and reasonable measure of protection for the Nation.

Another 10 percent of estimated 1958 expenditures is for interest payments on our debt. These payments, largely attributable to past wars, will amount to $7.4 billion. We are not going to cancel our internal debt charges as the Soviet Union has recently done.

This leaves only about one-quarter of the total, or $19 billion, for all the civil programs and operations of the Government.

The low point of Federal expenditures under this administration was in the fiscal year 1955 when expenditures totaled $64.6 billion. This was a reduction of almost $10 billion from 1953. Some of our critics want us to return to that level of spending. Our estimates for the fiscal year 1958, while still below 1953, are up $7.2 billion, or 11 percent above 1955, and perhaps the clearest way of explaining the budget is to point out the reasons for this increase.

Certain basic economic factors underlie the growth over this 3-year period. Our population has been growing rapidly, from 164 million in the fiscal year 1955 to an estimated 172 million in 1958. Our industries have grown as the Nation has become more prosperous. We have also been faced with rising costs of the goods and services purchased by the Government; prices of materials have gone up; construction costs have risen; and laws have been enacted increasing personnel costs by something over 10 percent by granting salary raises and increasing fringe benefits for Federal civilian and military personnel.

These economic factors are reflected in rising workloads and costs for such activities as the postal service, employment service, tax collection, and the issuance of passports, to cite a few examples. They are also reflected in greater use of our highways, airways ,and national parks, making necessary additional development of these facilities. Our growing prosperity creates needs for added regulatory (including health and safety) and credit activities. Of course, increased costs of personnel and materials raise spending all across the board.

There are also certain program factors which have led to increased Federal spending since 1955. In some cases they result from, and in others they add to, the economic factors I have just mentioned.

The estimated increase in expenditures for protection compared with 1955 represents over one-third of the increase in total budget expenditures. In dollars this increase amounts to $2.6 billion. The rise in protection expenditures reflects mainly the higher costs of procuring operating, and maintaining the new and more complex types of aircraft, ships, weapons, and guided missiles being developed through a rapidly changing technology. For example, a B–36 heavy bomber cost $3.6 million in 1955. The B–52, which is now replacing the B–36, costs 8 million, and the costs of operating it have risen as well.

Closely related to the technological changes being made in our Armed Forces is the development of new atomic weapons and reactors. We will have a rise of $483 million in the estimated expenditures of the Atomic Energy Commission from 1955 to 1958. While we have been giving increasing emphasis to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, expenditures in this area are in major part directly associated with our defense effort.

Interest payments, in spite of reductions in the public debt, have risen by $922 million as compared with 1955, about 12.5 percent of the total estimated increase in budget expenditures.

Expenditures for civil benefits are estimated in the 1958 budget to rise $3.2 billion between 1955 and 1958, accounting for 44 percent of the increase estimated for total budget expenditures. Let me point out for you a few places where major increases have occurred.

Veterans' programs are estimated to cost about $5 billion in 1958. Most of the increase over 1955 is for compensation and pension payments. The number of veterans receiving compensation for service-connected disabilities is expected to be 21,000 more than in 1955, mainly because of the addition of veterans of the Korean conflict to the rolls. The number receiving pensions for non-service-connected disabilities will have risen nearly 275,000. These increases in workload, combined with legislation which raised the benefit rates, have caused expenditures for compensation and pensions to go up $322 million since 1955.

The present administration inherited a set of governmental agricultural activities which did not address themselves to the basic postwar adjustments necessary in the Nation's farm economy. To aid these adjustments, new programs have been initiated and some existing programs have been reoriented. Secretary Benson has just completed a thorough study of the effect of our various programs and has come to the following conclusions which he has set forth in a letter to Senator ELLENDER only 2 weeks ago:

"1. Controls are not effective in reducing overall agricultural production, despite the severe restrictions they impose on farmers' freedom to produce and market.

"2. Agricultural products are likely to continue to be abundant. Under such conditions they cannot be successfully priced as if they were scarce.

"3. The present legal formulas governing acreage allotments and price supports are proving obsolete."

As Secretary Benson has indicated, a technological explosion is occurring on American farms. Production per farm worker has doubled in the last 15 years. This creates a new dimension in farm policy and makes it virtually impossible to curtail agricultural output with the type of controls acceptable in our society.

He goes on to say: "The evidence of the past 24 years is inescapable. Farmers will not accept, legislators will not vote, and from a practical standpoint administrators cannot impose the kind of controls which, at the price objective specified by law, would be necessary to bring production into line with market outlets."

The total agricultural programs will have increased $550 million between 1955 and 1958, and I believe we must meet this issue head on and obtain legislation to correct unsuccessful past attempts to solve this perplexing problem. I hope that you will all support Secretary Benson in this campaign. I have great hope that there is an opportunity this year to do something really significant in this area.

Expenditures for labor and welfare programs have also been rising. Changes in legislation enacted by the Congress have resulted in an increase of almost $50 in the average Federal expenditure for each recipient of public assistance since 1955. Consequently, total annual expenditures for public assistance grants to the States will rise by $250 million.

The increase in population and the growing number of older people have made more critical the Nation's need for more hospitals and training facilities and for more medical personnel. At the same time, scientific advances offer real possibilities of conquering such diseases as poliomyelitis and tuberculosis, and the Congress has enacted laws enlarging grants for all of the health programs. Budget expenditures for the promotion of public health are estimated to be $331 million more than in 1955, an increase of over 120 percent in a field of vital interest to every citizen.

The tremendous growth in the number of children of school age, coupled with the shifts of population, has intensified the shortage of schoolrooms which had been cumulating during the depression, World War II, and the Korean conflict. States and localities have been straining their resources to build a larger number of schoolrooms each year, but have been unable to affect the backlog materially. To help relieve the wartime deficite and stimulate local action, the President has proposed an emergency 4-year program of aid for school construction which will involve expenditures of $185 million in 1958. This is not intended as a permanent program, and will not involve Federal control of education.

Another field in which Federal expenditures have risen substantially is aviation. With increasing traffic, more complex control and navigation facilities are required. Expenditures for promotion of aviation in 1958 are estimated to be about $200 million more than in the fiscal year 1955. The President stated in his budget message that as the costs of aids to aviation rise, it is becoming more appropriate for users of the airways to share with the general taxpayers in paying for them, and I hope that some arrangement in this regard will soon be worked out.

Meanwhile, the President has been urging certain steps to improve the Federal budgetary situation, on which the Congress has not as yet acted. For example, adjustments in postal rates to reduce the postal deficit, which President Eisenhower has recommended for 4 successive years, have not yet been enacted. Nor has the Congress adopted the administration's proposal to raise patent fees to more nearly cover the costs of the Patent Office. Proposals of various agencies to raise fees to beneficiaries of special Government services were deferred as a result of recommendations of two Senate committees. In addition, the President has called for the establishment of interest rates for Government-loan programs which will induce private funds to participate in their financing. In the case of college housing, the Congress has required that interest rates on loans for dormitories be kept unreasonably low and private financing has almost entirely disappeared.

These are some of the highlights which account for the increases in Federal spending. I would like now to make a few comments about the development of our natural resources and, more particularly, water resources.

As I indicated at the outset, the conservation and development of our land and water resources are vital to the continued progress and prosperity of our Nation. This administration has strongly supported, and will continue to support, the development and prosecution of programs to further this end, recognizing, of course, that this is a matter of concern to everyone, the Federal Government, State, and local governments, and private enterprise.

Federal expenditures for natural resources programs amounted to $1.2 billion in 1955 and $1.1 billion in 1956. It is estimated that expenditures for this purpose will increase to about $1.4 billion in 1957, and to about $1.5 billion in 1958. These programs include the construction of water resources and power projects by the Army Corps of Engineers, the Department of the Interior, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority. They also include the various activities of the Federal Government in forest, fish and wildlife, recreational, and mineral resources. Not included in the above figures are the watershed protection and agricultural land conservation activities of the Department of Agriculture which also relate to the development of land and water resources.

You are, of course, particularly interested in the navigation and flood control programs of the Corps of Engineers. During the fiscal year 1957, it is estimated that the Corps of Engineers will spend about $630 million for these programs and in 1958 around $650 million. The 1958 program contemplates that work will be continued on 228 going projects and that work will be initiated on 24 projects, not counting $3 million for small projects costing $400,000 or less.

The Corps of Engineers' navigation and flood control programs for 1958 will be only slightly lower than the $690 million of expenditures in the fiscal year 1953. This, I believe, is clear evidence of the administration's support, particularly since, during the present period of high construction activity, competition for labor and equipment, and strong inflationary pressures, we must keep all of the Government's construction programs within reasonable bounds.

You are, of course, aware of the general philosophy of this administration that local interests should, wherever possible, share in the cost of all types of development, particularly where local benefits accrue. The President strongly believes that when local money is directly involved in a development there is greater interest and cost consciousness. There is likely to be more care in selection of those developments which should go ahead, and there will be more watchfulness to make sure that the most effective and economical methods are being employed. Partnership in water resource development is a sound and time-tested philosophy.

The 1958 budget, as transmitted to the Congress on January 16, represented a careful estimate by the administration of the cost of effecting those existing programs authorized by the Congress plus those proposed by the President to meet the various situations existing today in our country and the world.

Our budgetary problems are formidable, but don't let's forget that we anticipate three balanced budgets in a row—1956, 1957, and 1958—as compared with only three balanced budgets in the preceding quarter of a century, and it is necessary to go all the way back to 1930 for three consecutive balanced budgets. We expect to make annual reductions in the national debt in each of these three successive years. We have had one major tax reduction in the past 4 years, and I personally am hopeful that we will be able to hold expenditures to a level which may permit another reduction in tax rates for part at least of fiscal 1959.

I am not trying to deal with taxes today. When I went to Washington 3 years ago, I thought substantial further tax reductions were the most important objective. We decided, however, that a balanced budget and balanced programs were more important last year and again this year than tax reductions. As long as the cost of living is going up, I'd like to see current monetary policy supported by as much debt reduction as possible even at the expense of postponing tax cuts. I have told you why expenditures are up. We are going to cut them wherever we can without jeopardizing our Nation's strength and defensive power. Our Defense Establishment is tremendous and so are its responsibilities. Perhaps the greatest contribution of this administration is the application of the exceptional skills and knowledge of the President and Secretary of Defense to give us such effective protection without a completely unbalanced budget. Without them we could easily have been confronted with expenditures in the $80 billion area with less effective protection.

It is rather ahomalous that the very severe criticism of our budget and of the administration's programs comes just when they are proving to be successful. On the homefront we have been able to attain the highest level of employment, of gross national product and individual incomes with the most stable price level of the last two decades. Abroad we have seen the satellite power challenged in Hungary and Poland, the repudiation of the Russian debt to their people, and the complete revamping of their whole economic system which has been unable to stand the strain of competition with our own free economy. I am more hopeful today than I have been for a good many years.

It has been a great pleasure to be with you, and I thank you for the opportunity.

The Pay of United States Troops When on Foreign Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, about 34 years ago, in 1923, the writer of the letter cited below and I were schoolmates. We were about 11 years of age and roomed across the hall from each other in Bard Hall, the junior school of the New York Military Academy at Cornwall on the Hudson, New York.

We looked up to the men in the senior school. It had such football and lacrosse stars who later distinguished themselves at West Point as Eddie Messenger, now General Messenger; O. Z. Tyler, now Colonel Tyler; Harbold, now General Harbold; and Bus Briggs, now General Briggs. And it had the Eddy brothers who later distinguished themselves at Annapolis. All of them had valiant records in World War II.

Our commandant of cadets was Lt. Jit McClure, later General McClure. Jit was hale and hearty. He reflected the life he made us live.

World War I had ended a handful of years ago, and students in the senior school seemed bigger and older and heartier than today. Some were World War I veterans who returned to Cornwall to finish their education.

Reveille was at 6:20 a. m. We did calisthenics in the snow. We marched and double-timed to class. Athletic hours every afternoon were from 3:15 to 5. Retreat parades at 5:20, dinner at 6. Study hall at 7 and taps by 10. Classes were from 8 to 12 and from 1 to 3 unless field maneuvers were scheduled. Saturday mornings were for inspection, afternoons for sport. Sunday there was chapel service.

For the growing boy it was a great life, lived in the open as much as one could wish it.

Jack, the writer of the letter, and I parted schools in the midtwenties. Twenty years later, in 1945, we met again, in uniform, in Vienna. We were then both captains in the Army. Again, we parted; I heard from him in 1953, at

the time of the shooting on the House floor, when he had seen me, in the News, relate details of the shooting and wrote to tell me that I was a bit heavier than combat conditions could allow. He was right. All through the shooting on the House floor, as my article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and in U. S. News & World Report shows, I didn't budge from my chair.

Now Jack writes of something that might be of interest to the House, the pay of United States troops when on foreign duty. Jack's early background places his letter in keen focus; does it not?

LA JOLLA, CALIF., *June 4, 1957.*

Representative ALFRED SIEMINSKI,
The House of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRITZ: Once again I shall growl to you about something that is really not my business at all. In this instance, it is about the pay of the United States troops when on foreign duty. My first thoughts on this subject were prompted by the ill will that existed between English soldiers stationed in France and the native poilus during the so-called phony-war period of World War II. At that time, Tommy Atkins was upsetting the even tenor of French economic and social life by earning higher pay for equal work than was earned by his French counterpart.

Later, I debated the problem at some length in Italy with Ernie Pyle and Reynolds Packard (the fabulous United Press character), at which time, our dog-faced Jim Bradys were busily running the prices of everything from the low scale Italian norm (haircuts 2 cents) to the United States of America average of about 50 cents, and solely because the GI had available the money to accomplish the inflation. Had the War Department invested the major share of the GI's pay in war bonds for later claim and had disbursed to GI's only the amount earned by Italian soldiers, haircuts would have stayed at 2 cents and the GI's would have had just as many of them.

Awaiting the returning soldiers, there would have been sizable nest eggs to aid in the transition to civilian life and business. This is a somewhat different problem from that which was contributary to the Formosa riot, yet, once again I would recommend that soldiers live in tents under field conditions and be disbursed some stipend approaching that of the Chinese soldier (the balance to be banked in the United States of America). Had this been done, our soldiers would be more combat ready and our neighbors would stand a better chance of remaining our friends. To me, all of this is such rudimentary commonsense, I am amazed that the really brilliant men at the top of Army planning in Washington haven't long ago accomplished it.

In addition to the matter of pay which has psychological, economical, and sociological ramifications, a purely military consideration would dictate that any troops outside United States territory be alerted and field ready at all times. They should not be living with wives and families, but instead, should be always undergoing the toughest type of conditioning exercises. A rapid rotation of personnel would be necessary, of course, but that is only a minor inconvenience, and well worth the price of displaying to our friends, vigorous, alert, trim field troops, instead of depreciating our worth by garrisoning among them, a mass of fat cats with their retinues of wives and children.

O. K., FRITZ, I'm down off the soapbox.

All the best.

JACK ANGELMAN.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Chapman Revercomb, of West Virginia, Before the Southern Conference of Young Republicans Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the Southern Conference of Young Republicans Federation, in Charleston, W. Va., on April 13, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It gives me real pleasure, indeed, to address this regional conference of Young Republicans. The enthusiastic interest your organization has taken in the political life of the Nation is inspiring indeed, and I commend you for the splendid work you are doing. You are making a great contribution to the Republican Party and to the Nation's progress.

Youth has a very important place in the political life of our country. No institution, however noble its aims and objectives, can long survive or remain strong unless it attracts new vitality. The surest way to kill any institution is to close its doors to young people. You who are assembled here today represent the leadership of the Republican Party of the future. You are wanted—you are needed—for the Republican Party has a place for every American, young or old, from every walk of life, who believes in the basic principles that brought about our party's creation, and which have guided it for more than a century.

The Republican Party can have but one objective if it is to serve its purpose. That objective must be to provide good government in the best interest of all Americans including primarily the maintenance of the liberty of its citizens and the security of the Nation.

Any political party that is to survive for long must be motivated by two things.

One, it must subscribe to a set of basic principles that are vital to the welfare of the country.

Two, it must be capable of meeting new problems as they arise.

Our country is faced with new and serious problems, and we know that they must be solved. This is no time to argue over party labels. This is no time to expend our energies and dissipate our strength in intraparty dissension over trivial issues. We all subscribe to the sound basic principles that have defined the Republican Party from its inception, and as far as I am concerned, these principles are as adequate for meeting the problems of this day as they were for solving the problems that confronted the Nation 100 years ago.

Our first concern as a political party must be to govern well, to meet new problems as they emerge in this rapidly changing age.

Our second concern should be to maintain a strong united party dedicated to the country's welfare.

Our third concern should be to interest more Americans, particularly young people, in those basic principles on which our Party was founded.

Let me say at this point that no political party can justify its existence unless it proves capable of solving new problems as they arise. Eighteenth century thinking is insufficient to cope with 20th century needs. As each case is new, we must think anew and act anew.

The Republican Party was established on principles that provide the framework for achieving the greatest good for the greatest number of people, the old as well as the young, the man who meets a payroll as well as the man who works for a wage. Our concern must be as much for the welfare of those who are physically and mentally unable to care for themselves as for those who captain our industries. And I contend that there is room within the framework of the Republican Party for men and women of every age, of every walk of life, who believe in the basic principles which have guided our party all through the years.

And it is my conviction that within the framework of these basic principles we can find a solution to the problems of this century. However, we must recognize these problems and proceed to meet them head-on with effective measures if we are to preserve the kind of America that we would like to leave to our posterity.

The big task facing the Republican Party today, as I see it, is twofold.

First, it is to work toward a condition of peace so that our people may not have to live under a cloud of atomic war. With peace in a practical world goes the necessity of strong defenses lest our desire for peace fails, and we are put to the use of arms for our security.

Second, it is to foster the kind of economic system that provides the greatest good for the greatest number.

In the field of foreign relations, we must recognize the fact that America cannot afford to go it alone. We must recognize the fact that alliances are as vital to our own security as they are to the freedom and security of other nations which subscribe to our way of living.

In the face of the ever-present threat of Communist enslavement, in the face of a constant danger of attack by nuclear weapons, isolationism is as impractical in the field of foreign relations as the horse and buggy are in today's industrial society. We must strive to live at peace with all nations, but to seek refuge in the belief that we can find security as an "island fortress" in this age of H-bombs and guided missiles is folly of the worst sort. We must go out to meet this dangerous expansion before it engulfs our own shores. That is the aim of the Eisenhower foreign policy. I believe that it offers the greatest security for America and, at the same time, provides the best approach to world peace.

We must support a strong national defense, so vital to the security and well-being of every American. It is true that almost two-thirds of the Federal budget now goes for defense purposes—but I say to you, in all earnestness, that so long as our freedom and security are threatened from without by those who would enslave all peoples, we cannot—we must not—weaken our defenses.

Equally as important as a strong defense is the fostering of a sound economy here at home.

In many parts of the world, even in non-Communist countries, the theory that government should be the source of all planning and all control has gained great headway. Yet, when we contrast the remarkable success of a free economic system in the United States with the comparative poverty and dissatisfaction in foreign nations, it is easy to see the superiority of our system of government. Liberty has succeeded in developing original thinking, original methods, and new ideas. It has succeeded in giving wide distribution of property and income to our people. It has brought about a steady rise in the standard of living enjoyed by all the people. We must conclude, therefore, that only the free can solve the problems of production.

During the past 4 years of the Eisenhower administration the country has enjoyed its greatest industrial expansion in history. The output of goods and services has set one record after another. Employment has reached an all-time high. Our people earn higher wages than ever before—they are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than ever before. The Nation's industrial capacity continues to expand at a healthy rate, creating new jobs for a rapidly growing population. According to the latest report from the Department of Labor, nearly 800,000 more people were employed in March of this year than in March a year ago.

I consider it imperative, therefore, that we maintain a climate that is favorable to economic growth and expansion. For, let us remember that it is only by maintaining a strong, healthy productive industrial system that we can hope to improve the living standard of all the people. This country has advanced to a favored position among the nations of the world because the individual has enjoyed the right to keep the proceeds of his own efforts. To destroy that incentive is to invite economic decadence.

At the same time, we must recognize the importance of sound fiscal policies. We must seek to curtail Government spending wherever it can be achieved without weakening our defenses or impairing essential public services vital to the well-being of the people.

Foreign spending for economic aid to others can be curtailed. Not only are those countries now on their financial feet but they have risen to new heights of economic soundness.

We must think not only in terms of operating under a balanced budget, we also must look to retirement of the national debt—and we must look to the earliest possible relief for the tax burden our people are bearing.

In our desire to effect economies, however, we must exercise caution. The meat-ax approach to budget cutting is neither wise nor practical. I am for reducing the budget, to be sure, but I do not favor postponing or eliminating those public-works projects which add to the Nation's wealth, which provided jobs for our people, and which are vital to the economic expansion of the country. Improved highways, for example, are a necessity. They cost a great deal of money, but those who call for great reductions in Federal spending would be the last to say that we should junk the new

Federal-highway program. On the contrary, this program should be accelerated as much as possible if our highway transportation system is to keep pace with the Nation's industrial growth. Likewise, conservation of our soil and water, for which a great deal of money is being spent, is too important to the Nation to neglect.

I cite these as examples of Federal programs that should not be eliminated or curtailed.

Living as we are, in a society that is highly industrialized, in which an overwhelming majority of our people must look to industrial employment for a livelihood, it becomes a responsibility of the people, through their government to care for those who are unable to care for themselves. It is a moral obligation of government to provide the minimum needs of the aged and the handicapped.

I believe the American people are convinced that with the tremendous productivity of our free country, we can prevent extreme hardship and poverty in the United States. I favor liberalizing the Social Security Act to permit all permanently disabled workers over 50 to receive benefits. How much better, it seems to me, to have these people qualify for disability pensions under social security than to compel them to depend on public relief, as so many are now required to do under the present rigid provisions of the social security law affecting disability benefits.

Another problem peculiar to our highly industrialized civilization is the decrease in job opportunities for those workers between the age of 40 and retirement. Many industries have shown a greater preference in recent years for younger workers, making it increasingly difficult for the older age worker to obtain new employment after he reaches the age of 40 or 45. This, perhaps, is not a problem that can or should be solved by legislation. However, it is imperative, I feel, that the older age group receive greater consideration in job opportunities if we are to prevent a needless waste in human resources and provide for this great body of citizens a feeling of reasonable security. We must recognize this as one of the human problems of the 20th century and seek its solution. The Government can and should take the lead in encouraging more job opportunities for the older age group on Government works and services, while private industry must be prevailed upon to recognize the growing seriousness of this problem and work toward its solution.

Still another problem we must recognize is that which faces small business in this age. Despite the high level of prosperity the country as a whole is enjoying, this segment of the business community is experiencing hardships.

The smaller business enterprises, employing only a few workers, are as vital to the Nation's economic well-being as the giant corporations employing thousands. They must be given encouragement to grow and prosper. There is no better way to assist small business, in my judgment, than to provide it with much-needed tax relief this year. It is my hope that general tax reductions for the individual can follow no later than next year. That is a goal on which we must set our sights.

I have tried to outline what I believe should be the role of the Republican Party now and in the future. Our big responsibility is to meet and solve human problems, to work toward a stable peace, and to maintain a strong economy here at home. And to achieve those aims, we must enlist the aid of every American who believes in the basic principles of human liberty and a free economy.

Investigation by Representative Porter, of Oregon, of Conditions in the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an effective and cogent editorial from the Medford, Oreg., Mail Tribune of June 4, 1957. This editorial, written by Eric Allen, managing editor of the Mail Tribune, pays tribute to Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon, for his valiant efforts to ferret out the disturbing conditions in the Dominican Republic which may have resulted in the death by foul play of Mr. PORTER's constituent, 23-year-old Gerald Murphy, noted aviator.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORTER AND TRUJILLO

The June issue of Coronet magazine has one of the most fascinating stories we've read in a long time.

It is written by Congressman CHARLES O. PORTER, who represents this district of Oregon, in collaboration with Geoffrey Bocca, an English free-lance writer. It tells the story—or at any rate, part of it— of "the benefactor, Generalissimo Dr. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, father of the new fatherland." Trujillo is the brutal dictator of the Dominican Republic.

The story, comprised of PORTER's experiences plus documented revelations of what the Carribean dictator has done to his little nation, is credible only because it is so obviously true on the basis of available evidence, and because his regime follows the bloody pattern of dictatorship which is far too familiar to this generation.

CHARLES PORTER, with whom the writer of this editorial went to high school, is a courageous, idealistic, forward-looking man, who is not the kind to run away from a fight. He may still have one on his hands for daring to assault Trujillo, who over the years has made a point to cultivate highly placed men in the United States.

But he is making progress, as a House committee has voted to begin an investigation into the stories of Trujillo's influence in this country, the murders he has caused to be committed here, and the unsavory reputation he has earned, and much of which has rubbed off on this country as a result of its friendly relations with him.

The 14-page article is too long and to detailed to describe in this space, but it is recommended reading for anyone who is interested in the integrity of the United States in its dealings with other freedom-loving nations.

PORTER became involved in this investigation when the son of a couple of his constituents in Eugene was reported dead. The story of this, and the many other startling facts which came to PORTER's attention when he started checking into the situation, gave him one of the biggest jobs in his few months as an Oregon Congressman.

We wish the Congressman well with his investigation, and hope that his outspoken criticism of the blatant and bloody dictatorship of the Dominican leader, will have some effect.

Trujillo is spending, and has spent, millions of dollars in his attempts to influence public opinion favorably over the years of his reign. Every newspaper office receives frequent mailings from his hirelings—including glossy magazines, press releases, and copies of "authorized" biographies of Trujillo.

To overcome this, PORTER and his coworkers will need support. We propose to do what we can to see he gets it.—E. A.

America's Promise to the Immigrant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the matter of American immigration quotas and policy is being discussed and debated in many places other than in our Department of State and in the halls of Congress today.

For example, I have learned of a winning speech made by Miss Lynnette Jaeger in the Pasco, Wash., Senior High School annual speech contest, in which this important matter is treated.

I ask unanimous consent that Miss Jaeger's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA FOR MORE

(By Lynnette Jaeger, Pasco Senior High School, annual speech contest, May 24, 1957)

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Thus Liberty Enlightening the World welcomes thousands of immigrants in search of freedom's blessings. She may have welcomed your father or mother; or, perhaps, your grandparents as she did mine. You yourself in her majestic presence may have reverently thanked God for freedom's land.

This Nation, which the Statue of Liberty serves as a faithful receptionist, is undeniably the most wonderful country in the world. And she's ours—yours and mine—handed down to us by our forefathers who through their unfailing faith in God and man effected their most cherished ideal—a democracy striving to offer freedom and equality for all. Our noble forefathers were unselfish men of vision who realized the value of democracy; they conceived it as a treasure not only they, but their posterity and the entire world might one day enjoy.

During the past three centuries the world's population has increased almost five times from half a billion to almost 2½ billion, and is continuing to multiply at even greater rapidity. Yet our earth is not growing larger. With the increase of world population and the spread of communism's devastation the number of crowded and homeless peoples has also augmented. Thus, as a nation not so afflicted, we must unselfishly share our heritage with a greater number—

granting them the same opportunity for freedom of spirit and abundant living that most of us have not inherited as direct descendents from the men of 1776, but have also been granted.

Nearly everyone agrees that immigrants must be healthy, noncriminal, nonsubversive, and unlikely to become public charges because of economic insufficiency. Still, many qualified people are turned away from the United States annually because of our selfish quota system.

Numerous arguments are raised against increasing the immigration quota; two principal ones are: (1) More immigrants will lower our standard of living, and (2) they will seriously upset our population growth.

Need we really worry about a lowered standard of living? In the May 27, 1957, Newsweek, Ralph J. Watkins, Dun and Bradstreet research director, gives us this reassuring answer: "Population increase means not more mouths for the same pie, but a larger pie that will yield bigger slices for more people. People make markets; people are markets. As our population has grown, so has the business population grown." And the United States and Canadian unions support an international statement which includes this principal part: "We note that immigration with proper safeguards can add to the productive capacity of a nation and to improvements in wages and working conditions, particularly in countries with still undeveloped natural resources."

In consideration of the argument that more immigrants will upset our population growth, I quote William Petersen, an authority on immigration lecturing at the University of California: "A demographer could conscientiously state these facts: United States immigration at the present rate has no significant influence on the population growth. The economy could certainly support many times the present number of immigrants without strain. Immigration up to several times the present size would have the positive effect of reducing the disproportion in the American population structure." One example of this disproportion is: There is a surplus of almost a million marriageable women in the United States for whom there are no men.

In considering the immigration problem let us remember: As world leaders whatever we, as citizens of these United States, do, we are acting for all mankind. We have done much for the world through the Marshall plan, the Educational Exchange Act, the Refugee Relief Act, and others. Yet, we cannot and must not be content with our past good deeds and tend to become self-righteous while millions of the homeless still knock upon our door. We must set an example of world friendship and of hope for world peace by opening wider our portals to immigrants of high standards who earnestly seek the freedom and equality of our democracy.

When Guizot once asked James Russell Lowell, "How long will your republic last?" Lowell answered, "As long as the spirit of the fathers is in the hearts of the people."

Therefore I solemnly say as one of the people who above all else do love my American heritage: "Open wider the door. America for more."

Soil Conservation and Floods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the best weekly newspaper editorial pages I have ever seen is that carried in the Panola Watchman, published in the Texas town of Carthage.

Recently the publisher of the Panola Watchman, Mr. Clemo Clements, wrote an editorial about soil conservation and its value during the spring floods in Texas. It is an outstanding editorial, and I request unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAKE WATER WALK, NOT RUN

(By Clemo Clements)

The record rainfall of recent weeks and the accompanying floods that carried off valuable topsoil, destroyed property, and created havoc in general, brings into sharp focus the need for a more intensified flood-control and general water-conservation program throughout Texas.

It was encouraging to note that in areas in Texas where farmers, ranchers, and landowners had cooperated with the soil-conservation people, the damage to property and soil was less than elsewhere. Or, in many cases, the heavy rains, regardless of the volume, proved beneficial to landowners. We heard of no soil-conservation cooperator during the heavy rains to complain that we were getting too much of it. Generally they were asking for more because their ponds were slowing the rushing water down to a walk and storing water for future use. Terraces were capturing the water and holding it as it slowly penetrated deep into the previously parched soil.

Upstream water-retention structures proved during the recent heavy rains to be worth their weight in gold. These structures were designed to release excessive water downstream at a slow rate, thereby putting in practice the idea to make water walk, not run.

The soil-conservation people and their cooperators are on the right track and are doing a valuable piece of work for Texas, but we need more cooperators and a more intensified statewide program coordinated with our State river authorities and our Federal agencies.

We need a statewide blueprint and program coordinated with upstream water-retention structures with the large river reservoirs sponsored or planned by the State and Federal government.

Such a program will make water walk, not run.

Conferring of Honorary Degree of LL. D., Doctor of Laws, Upon Senator Smith of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, my senior colleague from New Jersey, Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, was the recipient of an honorary degree of LL. D., doctor of laws, from Rider College, Trenton, N. J., on June 9.

Few in our State have ever been more deserving of this honor. ALEX SMITH has earned the respect of his fellow citizens of New Jersey in more fields of distinction than most men—politics, international relations, law, teaching.

We who know him as a warm human being as well applaud the officials of Rider College for their fortunate selection and congratulate Senator SMITH on this latest honor.

It is particularly fitting for ALEX, an illustrious son of Princeton University, to receive this degree from Rider, a neighboring college in his own home county.

I ask unanimous consent that the citation from Rider College be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIS OF AWARD

Honorary degree of doctor of laws, LL. D., to H. ALEXANDER SMITH, distinguished alumnus of Princeton University, he has long maintained constructive interest in the field of education and has worked tirelessly and effectively for the advancement of youth's welfare throughout the world.

As a leading member of the greatest deliberative body he has consistently upheld the dignity and prestige of the United States within the arena of international politics and statemanship.

His efforts in connection with the United Nations have been indicative of a sustained regard for the furtherance of cooperative action in the cause of world peace and security.

In adding his name to its list of honored citizens Rider College pays homage to one who has contributed immeasurably to the basic welfare of State and Nation.

Jury Trials in Civil Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I have noticed in the American Bar Association Journal of June 1957 a very enlightening article written by David F. Maxwell, president of the American Bar Association. The article points out the insidious process which has gradually been eroding away the right to trial by jury in civil cases. The article deals mainly with civil cases, but, as we all know, it is much more important that we maintain trial by jury in criminal cases.

I feel it is most important that we all understand that what is happening in civil cases, as pointed out by President Maxwell in his article, is likely to occur in the criminal field, as can be vividly seen in proposed civil-rights legislation.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the article written by Mr. Maxwell, and published on the president's page of the American Bar Association Journal of June 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, in order that all the people, including all Members of Congress, may read what the learned president of the American Bar Association has to say on this extremely important subject. I wish to emphasize that Mr. Maxwell is not speaking from a southern point of view, for he resides in Philadelphia, Pa.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

(By David F. Maxwell)

For some time I have been deeply concerned by the insidious process which has been gradually eroding our right to trial by jury in civil cases. The right to trial by jury is firmly imbedded in the American system of jurisprudence and is as old as the country itself. Reference to it is found in the Declaration of Independence, which deplores the abuses and usurpation by George III "depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury." Article VII of the Bill of Rights guarantees trial by jury "in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed $20."

Yet, during the past half century, bit by bit, there has been a whittling away of jury jurisdiction. Arbitration has replaced the jury trial in many areas, notably in the motion picture, building trades, and textile industries, and generally in the field of labor law.

Various administrative bodies and tribunals, both on a Federal and State level, are determining the rights of citizens in a manner affecting their everyday lives, without the benefit of juries. In Saskatchewan, Canada, such a board is vested with authority to award damages in automobile accident cases on the basis of liability without fault, and there are many authorities in this country advocating the adoption of a similar system here. The Compulsory Arbitration Act in Pennsylvania, adopted in 1952, provides that the trial court may, by appropriate rule, substitute arbitration for trial by jury when the amount in controversy is $1,000 or less, and the constitutionality of the act has been upheld by the supreme court of that State.

The extension of this plan to all civil cases is being seriously urged by no less eminent jurists than David W. Peck, presiding justice of the New York Supreme Court, appellate division, first department, and C. Campbell McLaurin, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alberta, Canada, on the theory that this is the most effective way to attack clogged dockets.

Personally, I have never subscribed to this doctrine. To me, it is more important to preserve the fundamental right of trial by jury than it is to dispose of cases in a hurry. Furthermore, I doubt whether the jury trial is primarily responsible for court congestion; if so, how can you account for the delays in disposing of cases on appellate dockets in certain States?

So, it was encouraging to me to hear William J. Brennan, Jr., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in addressing the regional meeting in Denver last week, express a similar point of view. Justice Brennan advocated reorganization of the courts and the introduction of pretrial conferences as effective ways in which to relieve calendar congestion. With reference to the part the jury trial plays in the disposition of court calendars, he had this to say:

"Another nostrum is that, because jury trials take more time than trials before a judge without a jury, the easy answer to calendar congestion is to get rid of jury trials in automobile accident cases. * * *

"I think, at all events, this proposal to abolish jury trials in automobile accident cases also faces an almost insurmountable hurdle. The success of our British brothers in abolishing jury trials should not mislead us. American tradition has given the right to trail by jury a special place in public esteem that causes Americans generally to speak out in wrath at any suggestion to deprive them of it. Perhaps the emotion generated by proposals to modify or deny the right has its roots in the Jacksonian era of distrust of the legal profession and the insistence upon the people's control of the administration of justice. Perhaps it is a survival of the same sentiment which gave us the elective system of judges in most States and in some, as in my own, New Jersey, actual lay participation on the bench. One has only to remember it is still true in many States that, so highly is the jury function prized, judges are forbidden to comment on the evidence and even to instruct the jury except as the parties request instructions. The jury is a symbol to Americans that they are bosses of their Government. They pay the price, and willingly, of the imperfections, inefficiencies and, if you please, greater expense of jury trials because they put such store upon the jury system as a guaranty of the preservation of their liberties. The road of him who would take away jury trial in automobile accident cases is a long and rocky one."

As Justice Brennan so eloquently points out, trial by jury plays a much more important a part in our American scheme of things than simply determining the rights of litigants. When properly conducted, a jury trial does much to educate the public in the value of the privileges granted by the Bill of Rights, and I for one, hope that I shall not live to see the day when it is wholly abolished.

How Union Members View the Union Scandals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report to management from the Wage Earner Forum, which is sponsored by the MacFadden Publications. The report indicates how union members view the union scandals, and the reaction of union members to what the investigations disclose.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW UNION MEMBERS VIEW THE UNION SCANDALS

Most union members across the country say they believe that the accusations of trickery and crooked dealings made in the current investigation of union scandals are based on facts.

And, they believe, there has been more scandal going on than has been revealed, not only in the unions under investigation but in others. Many unions, however, are believed to be honest. The Government investigation will be a good thing for unions, say most members, and especially helpful to union members themselves.

Opinions of wage earners who are not union members (representing about one-third of the total number of workers) generally parallel those of the union men.

The wage earners were asked this question:

"In connection with the Government's investigation of union scandals, accusations of trickery and crooked dealings have been made. Do you think these accusations are based on real facts?"

[Percent]

	All respondents	Union members	Nonunion workers
Yes	76.8	78.3	71.5
No	1.8	2.1	1.0
Don't know	21.4	19.6	27.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

"Do you think there has been more scandal going on in the unions under investigation than has been revealed?"

[Percent]

	All respondents	Union members	Nonunion workers
Yes	72.9	72.6	74.3
No	3.5	4.4	
Don't know	23.6	23.0	25.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

"Do you think similar conditions exist in other unions than those now under investigation?"

[Percent]

	All respondents	Union members	Nonunion workers
Yes	71.0	71.1	70.4
No	2.8	3.4	1.0
Don't know	26.2	25.5	28.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In relation to the effect of the investigations, one-fourth of the union members made significant voluntary comments, some of which are quoted below. A complete listing of all the comments is available. This may be secured from the division of marketing and research, MacFadden Publications, Inc.

"Do you think the Government investigation of union scandals will be:

"A good thing for the unions?"

[Percent]

	All respondents	Union members	Nonunion workers
Yes	70.1	70.5	68.8
No	15.5	16.2	13.0
Don't know	14.4	13.3	18.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

"A good thing for union members?"

[Percent]

	All respondents	Union members	Nonunion members
Yes	88.4	88.2	88.9
No	4.5	4.8	3.4
Don't know	7.1	7.0	7.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

A SAMPLE OF THE COMMENTS

Maybe it will stop some of the crooks from stealing all the union funds.

I am a steward where I work and I am in favor of keeping union doings out in the open.

It will open the eyes of us suckers who pay dues on the checkoff system.

All local unions should be made to account for every dollar taken in as dues without fear or favor.

I think they should abolish the fifth amendment so men like Beck can't conceal their lies.

Being a union steward for many years myself, I feel that everything to do with unions should be aboveboard for the sake of the union and its members.

Unions are big business, let's run them as such, not by gangsters, goon squads and other riffraff.

I am a member of the teamsters. Everyone in our local hates Dave Beck and what he has done, but they seem afraid when it comes to doing something about it. Why? I don't know. The Government investigations may find the answer.

I think that a great deal of the blame for these scandals falls directly on the rank-and-file union members who fail to attend union meetings and who fail to take an active interest in union affairs. They leave the administration to a few and do not exercise their right to vote. I believe that for a union to serve its members best, it must be run by its members, not by its officers.

I believe the union members themselves will take more interest in union elections and meetings.

I think it takes a combination of crooked union and crooked management and even government. I think the investigations will close when it gets too close to government officials. All most union members want is a chance to earn a fair living and to bring up children in a good way.

Let's clear up crooked politicians and we will have honest unions.

There is not a government, business, or organization that you don't find good and bad in—even in churches—and a check of this is always good.

If it's a typical investigation all will be forgotten in a few short months.

The unethical practices of union officials are almost as old as the unions, and the housecleaning will be of a temporary nature.

For the little it costs us in dues, for the wonderful conditions we receive, I am satisfied. Anyway, there is scandal in all walks of life.

Of course there are those who would like to break the unions. But I believe it will tend to make them stronger. I am a teamster and we are much stronger in our ranks than before.

Disclosure of Stockholdings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 7, 1957:

DISCLOSURE OF STOCKHOLDINGS

A Senate banking subcommittee has been holding hearings for some time in connection with foreign holdings in American corporations. A great many of these holdings are concealed by titular ownership through foreign banks, and there is considerable worry that these foreign investments in United States companies, particularly those closely associated with materials needed for defense might come from behind the Iron Curtain and that managements might be installed which could hamstring production in case of war. Two other possibilities which have given rise to the investigation are that foreign corporations might secretly be buying up control of their competitors in this country, and that American citizens are hiding their ownership of stocks and bonds behind the screen of foreign banks or investment firms in order to avoid the payment of income taxes.

Thus, for reasons of security as well as collecting revenue, the Government in Washington is interested in finding out who owns the securities which are registered in the names of foreign banking institutions. And Mr. Keith Funston, the president of the New York Stock Exchange, has outlined in testimony before the Senate subcommittee measures which could be taken to determine the true ownership of these stocks and bonds. He has proposed that the Securities and Exchange Commission be empowered to bar the use of a proxy in the case of any block of stock if the necessary information as to actual ownership has not been disclosed. Thus the owner would have the choice of revealing his identity, or forfeiting his right to vote in a proxy contest.

Trying to beat the income tax is all too common in the United States. And acquiring control of competing firms is deemed logical in European countries where the cartel system has long been encouraged. But both practices are frowned upon by our Federal Government, and certainly nobody wants any concealed Communist interests represented on the boards which manage the affairs of our industrial corporations. Presumably Soviet dollars could not buy control of any of the corporate giants. But even the biggest factories are dependent on smaller plants for component parts. If a strike in a comparatively unimportant factory which makes automobile parts can close down all production on a Detroit assembly line, it is only too obvious what a few judicious investments by enemy interests could accomplish during an emergency. Mr. Funston's proposals deserve the most careful consideration as a means of safeguarding our defense production from alien infiltration.

The Oil Lift Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, at a public hearing of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, Mr. Donald P. McHugh, formerly a member of the staff of the Department of Justice, who acted as chief counsel during the hearings on the oil lift to Europe and allied questions, today made the opening statement of the staff to the subcommittee.

This presentation is not a committee report, but an analysis of evidence by the staff. The committee report will be made later after an executive session.

There has already been such a demand for this presentation that I ask unanimous consent that part I of Mr. McHugh's statement before the committee be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Mr. Chairman, as previously stated by you, the purpose of this public hearing is to enable the staff of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee to review for the members of the subcommittee the salient features of the recent hearing involving the oil industry and to present the results of additional staff study. Based upon these hearings and supplemental study, the staff will suggest certain findings which we believe are appropriate and fully supported by the record.

The attention of this subcommittee was directed at antitrust problems in the oil industry immediately following the stoppage of the Suez Canal and the I. P. C. pipeline.

EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SPECIAL TREATMENT

Over the years the oil industry has been diligent in its efforts to obtain approval for plans which would shield it from the full impact of competition. Its efforts were not always successful, but a partial measure of its success is seen in the numerous grants of antitrust immunity obtained either pursuant to express statutory grant or through an informal approval procedure by the Attorney General. The oil industry has not lacked its vigorous and active champions in high positions in Government who frequently managed to make their views prevail that oil was inseparably linked with our national defense and with the foreign policy of the United States and thus entitled to preferential treatment. In particular, the oil industry has been successful in the State Department in shaping policies which redounded to its benefit. The farflung oil empire with its own foreign policy has been eminently successful in persuading State that its objectives were so identified with those of the United States as to justify frequent digressions from prevailing competitive requirements.

As early as 1928, the American Petroleum Institute (the principal oil industry trade association) devised a plan by which domestic oil producers and State oil conservation authorities would limit oil production in 1929 to the amount produced in 1928. The plan was prompted by the call of the Federal Oil Conservation Board to eliminate the great physical waste of our natural resources. The API proposed that the Board act as a Government agency to sponsor the program. After failing to obtain approval from the Attorney General, the plan was abandoned.

The American Petroleum Institute formulated a code of fair competition for the oil industry under the National Industrial Recovery Act. Unlike all other code authorities which were supervised by the National Recovery Administration, the API code was under the Petroleum Administration Board, a branch of the Department of the Interior. This code authority operated and controlled the entire industry through representatives of the private oil industry with antitrust immunity. Subsequent proceedings before the NRA Review Board disclosed that industry committees enforced code provisions by putting independent competition through a "trial" and enforcing industry committee orders by boycotting and blacklisting. In 2 major antitrust cases charging 28 oil companies and 56 officials with conspiracy to raise and fix tank car prices of gasoline, tried in Madison, Wis., in 1937, oil company defendants pleaded NRA immunity for certain pricing practices. The court rejected the contention. Subsequent convictions by a jury were upheld by the United States Supreme Court (310 U. S. 150 (1940)).

Between 1936 and 1940 an oil industry committee attempted to have the Federal Trade Commission adopt a trade practice conference to legalize many of the trade practices engaged in during the NRA. After intervention by the Department of Justice, the FTC refused its approval. Mr. Charles E. Arnott, the chairman of the committee sponsoring the conference, was described by Justice Douglas in his opinion in the Socony Vacuum case as being the ringleader of the price-fixing conspiracies.

GRANTS OF ANTITRUST IMMUNITY—BY LAW AND INFORMAL OPINION

In 1941 the President set up the Petroleum Administration for National Defense (later

the Petroleum Administration for War) under Ralph K. Davies, executive vice president of Standard Oil Company of California, to formulate and administer Government oil policy during the period of unlimited emergency. The industry formed the Petroleum Industry War Council with 96 members to guide the PAW on policy matters. In addition, 83 committees were formed to formulate cooperative plans called "directives and recommendations" to carry out the wartime objectives of the Government. They refused to function unless granted antitrust immunity. At first the immunity was granted by a loose policy arrangement between Hon. John Lord O'Brian, General Counsel for OPM (later War Production Board) and the Attorney General. Later such immunity was granted by certificates issued by the War Production Board under section 12 of the Small Business Mobilization Act, after prior consultation with the Department of Justice. During the war 81 certificates of immunity were granted to the petroleum industry, one over the protest of the Attorney General. Subsequent congressional inquiry disclosed that practically all members of the Petroleum Industry War Council were either directors or executive committee members of the American Petroleum Institute and that 36 of the members had been fined for antitrust violations.

After the termination of the wartime petroleum organization, the Secretary of the Interior caused the formation of the National Petroleum Council, in 1946, consisting of 85 oil company executives. At that time the Attorney General advised the Secretary that about half of the council members represented companies which had been prosecuted under the antitrust laws and 13 of the individual members had been convicted and fined for antitrust violation. The council was unwilling to act without antitrust immunity, and there existed no statutory authority for granting such immunity. Therefore, an informal arrangement through an exchange of letters was entered into between the Secretary of the Interior and the Attorney General which approved advisory activities carried out in certain prescribed ways. The council operates under this same program today. Efforts of the Department of Justice in 1951 and 1952 to require a Government chairman of the council were unsuccessful. This approval in effect insulates the council from antitrust prosecution. The subcommittee's attention was called to a meeting of the National Petroleum Council at which a major oil company president opposed the construction of an east coast pipeline and spoke openly of the need for maintaining the industry's price structure.

In 1948 the National Petroleum Council submitted a 20-point program under authority of the Anti-Inflation Act which provided for voluntary industrywide agreements for allocation of scarce materials and facilities. This plan was objected to by the Attorney General on the ground it would have eliminated all competition from the marketing branch of the petroleum industry. After requiring public hearings, the Attorney General obtained certain changes in the plan and then granted antitrust immunity. The plan operated for approximately a year until statutory authority expired. Numerous complaints were received concerning the discriminatory and monopolistic manner in which the plan operated.

But grants of antitrust immunity for oil industry operations continued where no statutory authority existed. A notable example was in the formation of the Iranian consortium. Through two informal opinions of the Attorney General, the authority for which was questionable, an immunity in fact was granted. Following the seizure of Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. properties in Iran, the Secretary of State was instructed to investigate the possibilities of one or more United States oil companies acting in cooperation with Anglo-Iranian to purchase and market Iranian oil. In September 1954 the final agreement between the Government of Iran and the consortium was made and, at the same time, the participating oil companies entered into 14 agreements. These agreements have never been made public as the Secretary of State did not believe it would be in the interests of the United States to divulge their contents. Anglo-Iranian acquired a 40 percent interest, five major American oil companies 40 percent, Dutch Shell 14 percent and French interests 6 percent. Nine independent American companies later acquired a 5 percent interest from the original American participants.

On January 21, 1954, at the request of the National Security Council, the Attorney General rendered an opinion which stated that the proposed plan of the American companies to join British and French interests in reentering Iran did not constitute a violation of American antitrust laws, nor create a violation of antitrust laws not already existing. In the second nonviolation opinion on September 15, 1954, the Attorney General pointed out that this opinion did not extend to any other agreement; did not extend to marketing, distribution, further manufacture or transportation of any petroleum products, and the United States reserved all its rights to continue to prosecute the so-called Oil Cartel case, Civil Action No. 8627.

The numerous statutory grants of antitrust immunity to the oil industry and the loose type of green light letter immunity through informal opinions of the Attorney General, whatever their national defense justification, have dangerous competitive implications, particularly in view of the record of antitrust law violations by oil companies.

A grand jury investigation of granting of the international oil industry instituted in the District of Columbia by the Department of Justice was discontinued in 1953 and, on April 21 of that year, a civil complaint was filed against Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony Vacuum Oil Co., Inc. (now Socony Mobil Oil Co.), Standard Oil Company of California, the Texas Co., and Gulf Oil Corp., charging an unlawful combination and conspiracy to restrain interstate and foreign commerce of the United States in petroleum and petroleum products, to fix market prices of both foreign and domestic petroleum and products, and to monopolize trade and commerce in petroleum and products between the United States and foreign nations. This complaint charges a number of contracts, agreements, and understandings covering about 16 different types of restraints, beginning with the famous "as is" or Achnacarry agreement of 1928 and the "red line" agreement of the same year, providing for worldwide division of oil production and marketing.

Apart from pending antitrust litigation, a review of cases filed against oil companies under the antitrust and kindred laws discloses that of the 42 actions instituted since the passage of the Sherman Act in 1890, 19 of such cases involved oil companies who are members of MEEC. A tabulation of these cases is attached.

The trend in operation in the domestic petroleum industry from a free competitive status to a series of planned, cooperative or joint programs of a cartelized nature is alarming. The various grants of antitrust immunity facilitate this departure from traditional principles of free competition. The first real threat to competitive free enterprise in the American petroleum industry was hatched in Achnacarry castle in the summer of 1928 when Walter C. Teagle, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Sir John Cadman, head of Anglo-Persian Oil Co., and Sir Henri Deterding, managing director of Royal Dutch Shell, formulated the "as is" agreement. At about the same time, efforts were being exerted in the United States through the American Petroleum Institute to obtain agreements to hold production to the 1928 level so there would be no surplus production for export in competition with the cartel in the rest of the world. The watchful eye of the Attorney General prevented this arrangement from being adopted. For a period of time, the oil industry availed itself of devices to control prices and production of oil for export from the United States. Two export trade associations were formed under the Webb-Pomerene Act, known as the Standard Oil Export Co. and Export Petroleum Association, Inc. Under the direction of Jersey Standard, quotas and prices of most American refiners for petroleum products sold abroad were fixed, and the export market positions of such refiners were maintained on the basis of an agreed upon position in the world market. The Federal Trade Commission called attention to the fact that such arrangements were of doubtful legality and, as a result thereof, the Export Association was disbanded in June 1936.

The creation of the National Petroleum Council after the close of World War II furnished the industry another lever for imposing its views on government with the attendant competitive dangers resulting from cooperative activities. In 1951 the voluntary agreement relating to the supply of petroleum to friendly foreign nations had many cartelized aspects, especially those which were designed to substitute American petroleum and petroleum products for Iranian oil in carrying out the allocations of world markets between the American companies and their foreign partners. The Foreign Petroleum Supply Committee which administered the voluntary agreement was staffed by the same people who normally carry out what the Government charges are the cartel operations of the companies. The American oil companies with foreign interests were the members of the Foreign Petroleum Supply Committee. They consisted of the five principal major oil companies of the United States, together with their subsidiaries and jointly owned companies engaged in foreign business.

In the operation of the MEEC, we find the same companies and the same individuals forming and staffing the committee and entering into similar type arrangements which have been carried on in the past. Permitting oil companies in MEEC to participate in cooperative activity with antitrust immunity has grave dangers to future competition in the oil industry. It has great possibility for abuse and it provides companies having a history of anticompetitive behavior with a convenient forum for collusive activity.

The danger from joint action through MEEC operation is seen in other ways. While witnesses testifying before this Subcommittee asserted that MEEC and OPEC, its European counterpart, had no allocation duties as such, the net result of the operations was to entrust to the oil industry the responsibility for the cooperative arrangements by which oil was moved to particular customers. It was emphasized that allocation of oil was the sole responsibility of Government. The Oil Committe of OEEC made the initial decision that the oil shortage should be borne equitably by all member countries. This has been referred to as the equalization principle. In OEEC meetings it was decided how the hardship cases of individual countries should be provided for out of the "kitty" set up for this purpose. But implementing the allocation decisions was an industry job. In the minutes of

MEEC of December 3, 1956, Mr. Stewart Coleman, the chairman, was reported as saying that "it would be more effective to have detailed work in Europe handled by an industry group rather than by a governmental organization. He pointed out that this had been the practice during World War II and the Iranian crisis, and had been effective in both of these situations." The essential function of OPEG in Europe, working in conjunction with MEEC in America, was to carry out the allocation decisions of OEEC. Little or no Government control was exercised over this operation. Representatives of OPEG explained the very informal kind of arrangements worked out among member companies for shipping oil to the areas where needed. The general rule was to permit the companies doing business with particular countries and with particular customers to have the first opportunity for meeting their needs. The joint industry-Government program was administered in such a way as to cause a minimum disruption in the traditional patterns of doing business. Practically all OEEC and OPEG officials interviewed conceded there was little, if any, disruption in the existing patterns of distribution and, despite the emergency demands, there were no shifts in relative market position among the different companies. Insulated from the impact of competition, companies act so as to preserve the status quo of their market position. The scrupulous maintenance of market position must be viewed against the charges of world-wide division of markets pursuant to a cartel scheme of many years standing.

The OPEG procedure for determining shipments to countries in accordance with the hardship allocations was also by agreement within the industry. Apparently it was a question of which company had the available oil and tankers to satisfy particular situations. MEEC operations were coordinated with those of OPEG. American companies who were observers in OPEG were members of MEEC. There was evidence that the allocation of supplies within countries was arranged by the oil companies in the various proportions which represented their shares in the market.

In determining the distribution of supplies within a country, it was claimed that company activity was supervised by governments through national committees. This supervision was more fiction than fact. In Norway, for instance, the national committee consisted of no government personnel, but only of company representatives who decided by agreement among themselves upon the method of distributing available supplies. The major American oil companies who participated as observers in OPEG played a major role in all such decisions.

Mr. Stewart Coleman, chairman of MEEC, testified before the subcommittee that allocation decisions were made by OEEC, but that in carrying out such decisions the international supplying industry, as a whole, agreed among themselves as to the amount of oil to be shipped by given companies to particular customers.

Thus, the MEEC–OPEG operations provided a convenient mechanism by which any prearranged plans, dating back even to the "as is" agreement, could be perpetuated. The plan was apparently to charge OPEG with the duty of carrying out the allocation decisions and thus relieve MEEC and the American companies of that conduct which might involve market sharing. As noted in the minutes of MEEC for December 17, 1956:

"Discussion brought out that most of the work in carrying out the allocations program would probably be done through OPEG rather than through the Middle East Emergency Committee."

But it must be remembered that the major American companies were just as active participants in the OPEG operations as the three European members. Both member and observer companies in OPEG participated equally in the job of carrying out the allocation program. When the Government delegates its responsibilities to private industry it plays directly into the hands of the international oil industry, which has successfully imposed a cartel pattern for oil upon Europe and which has made notable advances in that direction in the United States. Noncompetitive patterns of distribution, once formalized in the guise of emergency operations with antitrust immunity, establish patterns for the future which are difficult, if not impossible, to ever dislodge. The dangerous tendency toward joint enterprises in the oil industry and the alarming record of cooperative action with antitrust immunity highlights the danger of cartelization in the United States. It should be sufficient warning that future emergency programs cannot be turned over to private industry if long-range competitive goals are to be observed, particularly in the oil industry where international policy considerations are so closely interwoven with industry operations. Apart from these antitrust dangers, the public interest is imperiled when private oil companies are entrusted with administering a program in which their pecuniary interests could conflict with the objectives sought by the Government. The failure of MEEC to obtain timely diversion of imports by member companies, which might be harmful to their long-range import position, highlights this danger. Responsibility for administering such emergency programs belongs exclusively to the Government.

A Further Opportunity for Physicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a Seattle physician, Dr. Souren H. Tashian, has made a suggestion to members of his profession which deserves a place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Writing in the June Bulletin of the King County Medical Society, Dr. Tashian recognizes the importance of the physician in present-day life, but points out there is more than his profession can do.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Tashian's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES—THE THREAT OF WAR AND THE PHYSICIAN'S RESPONSIBILITY

(By Souren H. Tashian, M. D.)

Total war, from now on, will be catastrophic and worldwide, followed by epidemics and untold misery. President Eisenhower has said that the challenge of our time is the search for new ideas and techniques for world understanding while the United States still possesses, by the grace of God, the deterrent strength.

The physician is the protector and guardian of man's physical and mental health. His language is universal, and his function in life is the same whether he lives in a free country or a Communist one. Therefore it is our individual, collective, and universal responsibility to study the causes of war and its prevention as we would study cancer or the threat of a plague. There should be no room for apathy or despair. We must fight aggressively for world order and law while we stand guard on the ramparts in defense of our way of life.

The world is divided into two ideological camps. The battle is for the minds of the people throughout the world. The discovery and propagation of a better idea offers greater opportunity for success than armed conflicts or a temporary thermonuclear stalemate. We should develop and mobilize the spiritual qualities, the intellectual techniques of universal cooperation under a just, universal, enforcible law.

Let us give the spark for a chain reaction, so that 1 million physicians of the world could make this declaration of conscience:

"Today war is preventable, and it must be prevented. Our civilization must not be destroyed by total war. We would rather die than be slaves, but it is cowardly to die without fighting to survive. War is not the alternative to peace."

Physicians could use their influence to win the minds and hearts of people to reject the belligerent policies of dictators. The World Health Organization sends medical commandoes to drain swamps and help fight against epidemics and endemic diseases. We need also informed and trained doctors to clear and marshes of misunderstandings. The Fulbright Act has torn down misconceptions and enmities through student and teacher exchange. Why not physician visits? H. G. Wells once said, "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." The cultural exchange program is in the right direction helping to win the race.

Physicians should be ambassadors of good will for world law and order. This should be our dedicated responsibility and goal. We can arouse worldwide public opinion, but to be effective, we must study and know the facts. We should have in our medical schools and medical societies study groups on world affairs. We should give priority to forums and panel discussions to explore the possible means of prevention of thermonuclear suicide.

If our policy stays based on armed retaliation, our sovereign right in matters of life and death and the destiny of our children is surrendered to some distant trigger-happy dictator. We cannot afford the luxury of complacency, of drifting and waiting, hoping and praying that a voice from a burning bush might tell us how to cope with the unpredictable and unreliable governments. We must recapture our sovereign right. How? That is the challenge of our time. You may have a better idea.

The Growing Inflation Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, in yesterday's Evening Star there appeared an article entitled "The Growing Inflation Threat" written by David Lawrence. In view of the economic pressures which are building up at an alarming rate, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

During the last year, inflation has reduced the purchasing power of the dol-

lar somewhere between 3 and 4 percent. This continued and alarming reduction of the purchasing power of the American dollar is not only a threat, but it is actually causing real hardship for millions of our citizens who are living on retirement and insurance benefits for which they provided during many years of hard work.

President Eisenhower has, on several occasions, warned the Nation against this danger; and the Federal Reserve Board and other agencies of the Federal Government are making every effort to keep the situation under control. I think it is the No. 1 problem facing our Nation at the present time.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GROWING INFLATION THREAT—BUSINESSMEN URGED TO ATTACK PROBLEM INSTEAD OF CRITICIZING EISENHOWER

(By David Lawrence)

The biggest threat the American taxpayer faces isn't getting much attention nowadays from the businessmen of the Nation. Many of them are talking heatedly in criticism of the high budget of the Federal Government, and blaming the Eisenhower administration. They want tax reduction. But they are overlooking the main culprit—the steadily increasing inflation which can wipe out any benefits from tax reduction.

If inflation continues, the Federal budget will soon be $80 billion instead of $72 billion a year. Also, in the last 10 years State and city budgets have gone up faster even than the Federal budget. Whereas the 1948 budgets of all the cities and States throughout the Nation was $15.8 billion, these same totals went up to $36 billion by 1957. This is a bigger increase proportionately than the Federal budget experienced.

But in "constant dollars"—in terms of the purchasing power of today compared with 1940—the budgets of the States and cities increased from $8.9 billion to $14.2 billion. This is a rise of only $5.3 billion. From 1955 to 1958 the Federal budget went up from $64.6 billion to $71.8 billion—an increase in numerical dollars of $7.2 billion. Yet in "constant dollars" the Federal budget went up only from $30.1 billion to $30.9 billion—an increase of only $800 million.

One would think that instead of concentrating their fire on the Eisenhower administration, the business groups would be aiming their biggest guns at the very thing that is cutting down the rate of profits of corporations. One would think also that the argument made by the labor groups that profits themselves have gone up—which is true in numerical dollars—would be met with facts and figures showing that in "constant dollars" the rate of profit in relation to sales has not risen at all, but has gone down. And it is the purchasing power of those profit dollars which counts when it comes to buying plant and equipment to replace obsolete facilities.

This was the time of all times for the business groups of America to be firing away at the inflationary monster which is cheating the widows and orphans and, in fact, all persons with fixed incomes who every year are finding their purchasing power diminished.

It is surprising that so little is heard about the causes of inflation in America. For it is the concerted and organized power of big unionism which has forced upon the American economic system higher and higher costs. In turn, this has necessitated higher and higher prices.

One would think that the recent revelations by the Senate committee headed by Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN of Arkansas, would open the eyes of the Nation to what the organized power of a labor monopoly in virtually every big industry can do to the Nation's price structure. But it gets passing attention. As yet no committee of either house of Congress has come forth with any proposals to regulate these monopolies.

The main cause is being virtually ignored by the business groups that are attacking the Federal budget. It's the monopoly created by the so-called union shop—a misleading title really for the closed shop. For, while there isn't any logical objection to a shop being unionized to represent the majority of the employees, the damage is done when that same union is given the right by Federal law—the Taft-Hartley Act—to force every employed worker to join the same union under penalty of losing his job.

The idea that an employer must fire a man because he doesn't want to belong to a union is a scandal of which the American people have not been fully aware. It seems ironical that a Supreme Court decision rules that outside interests cannot own 23 percent of the stock of another big corporation—and there are many businessmen who feel that this is a sound principle of antitrust doctrine—yet at the same time a union can have 100 percent control of the workers in a plant and Federal law recognizes that kind of monopoly. The Supreme Court, moreover, has indicated by recent rulings that this may be valid.

To cure this monopoly, many States have adopted right to work laws to counteract the Taft-Hartley law. But these statutes are in danger because the Supreme Court has indicated that Congress can overrule the States at any time and take way their right to legislate at all on the subject. If inflation is to be cured, therefore, and labor monopolies are to be regulated in the future, a constitutional amendment is necessary which will guarantee every American citizen what the bill of rights really gives him—the right to join or not to join a union. If adopted there would be a different story to tell about the cost of living for the individual, and for the Federal, State and city governments in America.

The West Loses a Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the West lost a real friend in the passing of Frank Funkhouser, who died in Spokane May 8, 1957.

Many Members of the Senate undoubtedly remember Frank Funkhouser well for his activities as a former secretary to Senator C. C. Dill, of Washington. He will be remembered as well by many of my Democratic colleagues for his role as one of the leading Democrats of the Pacific Northwest.

I ask unanimous consent that a summary of Frank Funkhouser's career be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANK FUNKHOUSER

Frank Funkhouser, of Spokane, Wash., died May 8, 1957, at the age of 73. He was an attorney and one of the Democratic and civic leaders of the Pacific Northwest for the past 40 years.

Mr. Funkhouser was born September 15, 1883, at Mauckport, Ind.; received a bachelor of science degree from Valparaiso University in 1906 and a bachelor of arts degree from Indiana University in 1910; taught school 4 years in Indiana, and served as superintendent of schools at Conconully, Wash., from 1910 to 1914. He served briefly in World War I and was in the army of occupation in Germany 6 months.

He was a Spokane county deputy prosecuting attorney from 1923, when he became a Spokane resident for the first time.

While serving as secretary to then Congressman Clarence C. Dill from 1915 to 1919, Mr. Funkhouser earned a law degree at Georgetown University. In 1933 he was named as counsel here for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He was named in 1933 as a local attorney for the Milwaukee Road. He served also as counsel for the Farm Credit Administration for a time.

From 1940 to 1946, Mr. Funkhouser was attorney in four States for the United States Alien Property Custodian. He served also on the city planning commission.

In 1936 he was 1 of 6 leading cattlemen of the Pacific Northwest to organize the junior livestock show. He became its first president and was president when he died. This organization holds annually a stock show at Spokane for the boys and girls of the four Northwest States at which awards are given for the best steer, hog, and sheep.

He was married January 1, 1945, to Catherine A. Ulrich, of Bellingham, who had been a member of the Washington State College faculty 15 years.

He was a member of Westminster Congregational Church, Elks, Moose, University Club, Early Birds Club, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Spokane County and State Bar Associations.

Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, it was very pleasing to me, as I know it must be to millions of Americans of Polish ancestry, to realize that the deeply religious people of Poland can now look forward to a pledge of economic aid from the United States to assist them in throwing off the oppressive mantle of Communist dictatorship from Moscow.

Every dollar of this aid is justified. The Polish people have a long history of anticommunism, but their country was overrun by the Soviets in World War II and since that time they have suffered untold hardships and misery under the oppressive heels of the Moscow Reds. Undaunted, these true Christians arose in revolt at Poznan a year ago and paved the way for a new element of freedom from Moscow with the establishment of the Gomulka government.

True, Wladyslaw Gomulka is a Communist, but he is not governing under Moscow's dictates. The Polish people have won a new freedom, and this United States aid will assist the rank and file Poles, inherently anticommunist in their Roman Catholic religion and their

country's traditions, to ever widen the gap between Warsaw and Moscow, rather than turning to the Soviets for complete economic dependence.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have the following editorial printed in the RECORD. It is from the Washington Post and Times Herald of yesterday, June 11, 1957:

A BRIDGE IN POLAND

After 3 months of delicate negotiations against a backdrop of considerable public misgiving, the United States finally has delivered on President Eisenhower's pledge of aid to Poland. The amount, $49 million, with $46 million yet to come, is much less than Poland sought. The assistance is a loan, and the interest rate is relatively high. The difficulties which the Polish delegation encountered in obtaining even this much help were hardly foreshadowed by the President's encouraging invitation in February.

Nonetheless, as Poland's Communist Party secretary, Wladyslaw Gomulka, told the factory workers of Poznan last week, the aid agreement may "pave the way to a diminishing of tensions" as well as afford some help to the faltering Polish economy. More important than the amount of the loan is the recognition by the United States that quiet encouragement for M. Gomulka is perhaps the best if not the only way to set Eastern Europe upon a course of hope after the despair of Hungary. Not to have helped Poland, as Vice President NIXON said at East Lansing, Mich., on Sunday, would be to say, in effect, that "there is no evolutionary road to independence for a people dominated by communism and that violent revolution is their only resort if they want to be free."

It is now almost a year since the workers at Poznan staged the bloody riots that led to the Gomulka declaration of limited independence from Moscow. Yesterday, at an international trade fair in Poznan, the Polish people were presenting a different sort of demonstration. In great crowds they pressed for admission to the United States exhibit in the fair to see the array of home appliances, fashions, fabrics, automobiles, and a model American home. Let us hope that these renewed contacts with the people of Poland and with their Government will ripen into a relationship of mutual confidence and respect that might some day become a bridge between East and West.

John Hanson, of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "President for a Year," written by Kyle Smith, as it appears in the July issue of American Mercury magazine.

Also, it is requested that this article be followed by a speech on the subject of John Hanson, of Maryland, which I delivered on March 22, 1957, before the Maryland Society of New York.

There being no objection, the article and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT FOR A YEAR

(By Kyle Smith)

His likeness stands in Statuary Hall in our Nation's Capitol, yet few of the thousands of annual visitors give it more than a passing glance. He had a rendezvous with destiny in shaping America's future, yet most history books omit mention of his name.

Despite this neglect, those rare students of history who delve into the annals of the Continental Confederation period generally agree that, were it not for the stubborn idealism of this man, Wisconsin might now be a part of Massachusetts, New York could lay claim to Kentucky and part of Ohio, and Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana might be territorial possessions of Connecticut. In fact our entire westward expansion, step by giant step in the form of free and independent States, would have been jeopardized.

The name of the man the history books forgot is John Hanson.

Among his partisans are those who claim he should be officially recognized as our first President. It can be argued that if we were to reckon historical periods as does France, for instance, he would be ranked as the first President of our first Republic.

John Hanson was born at the family estate of Mulberry Grove, Charles County, Md., on April 3, 1721. His family history bears a touch of high romance due to the marriage of his great-great-grandfather, a humble London merchant, to the granddaughter of the Vasa line of Scandinavian kings. Their son, the first John Hanson of the line, was killed in the Battle of Lutzen during the Thirty Years' War while vainly attempting to shield his cousin, King Gustavus Adolphus. In recognition of his heroism his sons were later given grants of land in the colony of New Sweden in the New World.

He grew to manhood during the turbulent years of Maryland's history when she was being passed back and forth among British royal claimants like a shuttlecock in an imperial badminton game. He also had a first-hand chance to observe the conduct of the French and Indian Wars in which incompetent British military leaders were unable to stem defeat without the assistance of young George Washington and his colonial recruits. John Hanson was one of the country's leaders who read the signs of the times aright.

He served the State of Maryland continuously in public office from 1756—when he was elected to the Maryland Assembly—until his death in 1783.

Immediately after the news of Bunker Hill on June 15, 1775, he assumed leadership in organizing two companies of riflemen. All Marylanders, however, were by no means eager to risk their fortunes by plunging into war against Britain. The State was enjoying prosperity, had grown to fourth in population, and suffered no pressing grievances at the moment. But to John Hanson the road ahead was clearly defined. He demonstrated his firmness of purpose at a special meeting of the Maryland Provincial Convention held on the eve of the Revolution.

A resolution was under consideration which, if adopted, would put Maryland in the war forthwith. Opinions pro and con were heatedly aired. The moment was critical. There was even talk of a compromise.

Suddenly a tall, vigorous, middle-aged man rose to address the chair. His air of quiet authority drew the attention of every man in the chamber. It was John Hanson.

"These resolutions ought to be passed, and it is high time," was his terse comment.

He sat down, and, in a characteristic gesture, folded his arms. After a moment of dead silence someone made a motion that the resolutions be adopted without delay. This was done enthusiastically, unanimously. Maryland had entered the Revolutionary War.

Even at the beginning of the war, when the odds against the untired Continental Army seemed overwhelming, he had no doubt as to the outcome.

"We will win the war with George Washington in the field if we do our share at home," he wrote to a friend. "In the end we will establish an Inseparable Union, and ultimately it will become the greatest Nation in the world."

Concurrently with the progress of the war his own greatest battle, the western lands fight, was shaping up.

Love of the grand gesture by European monarchs, and cartography that was more fanciful than accurate, were factors that threatened to disrupt the new Nation while it was a-borning.

In 1609 James of England granted to Virginia a section of land "from Point Comfort 200 miles southward along the seacoast, and all the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest."

In 1662 Charles II gave the State of Connecticut grants for a large part of what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. Two years later he gave his brother James land holdings in Ohio and Kentucky. When James became king he gave this territory to the State of New York.

In 1691 William and Mary gave to Massachusetts what is now southern Michigan and most of Wisconsin.

Other States had lesser claims, and confusion was worse confounded by the superimposed claims of private land companies with loosely drawn charters.

In 1775 the colonies were largely governed by customs that had grown into laws. The organization that existed between them could hardly be called a Congress. In recognition of the need for unity and power in a more centralized government the Articles of Confederation were drafted in 1778 and submitted to the States. It took very nearly 4 years to bring about their ratification.

No provision had been made in the articles for the disposition of the western lands. It was taken for granted they would become the property of the States having the best claim to them. This was the familiar pattern of the times. This was the premise on which the delegates laid their plans.

All but John Hanson. In the free and independent union he envisioned for his country, such a procedure would be an anachronism.

Hastily summoning the Maryland delegation, he set forth his views and, as usual, got their support. They advanced a resolution which exploded in the convention with bombshell force. It read:

"That the United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such States as claimed, to the Mississippi or South Sea (Gulf of Mexico), and lay out the land beyond the boundary so ascertained into separate and independent States from time to time, as the circumstances of the people may require."

This resolution was promptly buried. It received only one vote. In its place a proviso was added that no State be deprived of property for the benefit of the United States.

This was the signal for furious activity. States, anticipating great profits, set up land offices and prepared to sell off their possessions.

In the midst of the turmoil sat John Hanson with folded arms, adamant against any compromise. The backlands must become the property of the Nation as a whole. Any other course, he maintained, would be attended by "great mischiefs."

As he predicted, the "mischiefs" came about. The scramble for profits caused

strained relations between the States. Problems of administration began to pyramid. Tempers flared; claims and counterclaims flew.

Finally Virginia revealed an attitude of compromise. New York followed, and the stalemate was broken. Victory for the Maryland resolution was in sight. On March 1, 1781, ratification was complete. The Continental Congress was a thing of the past, and the Continental Confederation came into being.

Of this event Gilbert Grosvenor, president of the Geographic Society, wrote in the National Geographic magazine of February 1927:

"To the illustrious Marylanders, John Hanson particularly, belong the credit of suggesting and urging a policy that changed the whole map of the United States and the whole course of our national life.

"Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota are States in the Union today because of the practical sagacity of these men."

The first action of the Confederation was to elect John Hanson president, on November 5, 1781.

The first communication issuing from this country to bear the constitutionally authorized designation, "President of the United States in Congress Assembled" was a letter sent by Hanson to Louis XVI of France shortly after he took office.

The term "Do-nothing Congress" could hardly have been applied to this first legislative body. In addition to routine matters they accomplished the following:

Established the American consular service by exchange of consuls with France.

Inaugurated a penal system for the States.

Authorized the first United States census.

Granted a charter to the Bank of North America, the first bank in our history under national auspices.

Organized an Inspector's Department of the Army with Baron von Steuben in charge.

Adopted the great seal with its motto, "In God We Trust."

Floated its first international loan.

Endorsed ratification of a treaty between the United States and Holland.

Initiated the franking privilege for Congressmen, and authorized free postage for men in military service.

This strenuous term of office, following as it did upon his arduous war activities, proved to be too great a tax on John Hanson's health, and he became ill. He urged the Confederation to appoint a successor, but this they refused to do. After an absence of a few weeks he returned and served the remainder of his 1-year term.

Shortly after his retirement from office he was again stricken, this time fatally. He died November 22, 1783, at his home in Frederick County. He was buried at Oxon Hills, Md.

A fitting epitaph might be the words of Justice O. W. Holmes, who in referring to him in his speech on heroes and idealists, said:

"Men who never heard of him will be moving to the measure of his thought."

JOHN HANSON, OF MARYLAND

(Address by Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, Founders' Day dinner, the Maryland Society of New York, March 22, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, before proceeding with my prepared remarks, may I take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. Chairman, in particular, and the membership of the Maryland Society of New York, generally, for the lovely treatment accorded my wife and me during our brief stay with you.

Your chairman was most gracious, leaving to me the choice of a subject upon which to speak, so long as it was not political.

Knowing of no people who take greater pleasure and pride in the life and deeds of our founders than we of the Free State of Maryland, I have selected as my subject John Hanson, of Mulberry Grove, one of two great men whose statues honor Maryland in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington; the other being Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

I have chosen to speak of John Hanson, who, as I will point out later, was referred to as "the President of the United States in Congress assembled" for two reasons. First, he was one of the alltime great men of America, and, second, his fame, in my opinion, has never equaled his magnificent contribution to the solid foundation of our State and Nation. John Hanson, of Mulberry Grove, was a descendant of John Hanson who was a second cousin to the King Augustavus Adolphus of Sweden, both of whom fell at Lützen in 1632. The Hanson, who fell at Lützen beside his king, had four sons who, after the death of their father, became the wards of Christiana, daughter of Augustavus Adolphus, who succeeded to the throne of Sweden. It is quite apparent that those four wards of the queen were not overly endowed with worldly possessions, as we find them 10 years later—when the oldest was but 25 and the youngest, 12—shipping off with John Printz, the newly appointed Governor of New Sweden, for adventure in the New World.

Four years earlier, the first Scandinavian colony in the New World had been established when, in the middle of March 1638, two small ships under the command of a Dutch captain named Peter Minuit and bearing immigrants from Sweden and Finland—the latter having been long a part of Sweden—made safe harbor in Delaware Bay, proceeded up the Delaware River to the Brandywine and there made port at what is now Wilmington.

This colony existed under Swedish rule for 18 years when by force of arms it came under Swedish rule and later under British rule until the day of independence. During this whole period New Sweden retained its Scandinavian characteristics and racial basis, and from it went stalwart men and women into the nearby settlements of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland,the four Hanson brothers being among those who moved over the Elk River trail into Maryland.

The youngest of the four, John Hanson, was the grandfather of John Hanson, of Mulberry Grove. He went first to Kent Island and then to St. Marys, the capital of the Calverts. He did not long stay in St. Marys, for as early as 1656 we find him in Charles County, the newly developing section of the State of Maryland, centering around Port Tobacco where Protestant settlers were clearing land and building homes.

Within a few years he was well established and was spoken of as Col. John Hanson. He had 7 children, the youngstest of whom was Samuel—who had 6 daughters and 4 sons—of whom the famous John Hanson of the Continental Congress was the fourth, born in 1715 at Mulberry Grove, the family estate overlooking Port Tobacco Creek in Charles County.

John Hanson of Mulberry Grove spent his early manhood in an atmosphere of revolution. The American revolution has many breeding grounds. Massachusetts was the first. Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland were others. When patriot met patriot brave and wise words were spoken. At no place were there more meetings of this character than in Maryland; at no place in Maryland than in the little group of homes centering on Port Tobacco Creek in the southern part of Charles County. Such men as the Stones, the Jenifers, Hansons, Craiks, Browns, Smallwoods, Howards, Briscoes, Thomases, Mitchells, and Contees lived there. The place was indeed the crossroads of the American colonies, for there were the ferry crossings of the Potomac used by men of affairs from both the North and the South. George Washington was a friend and neighbor of them all. Indeed so close and endearing was the relationship that it was to Dr. Craik and Dr. Brown that Martha Washington, the wife of the first President, turned in his last illness.

Living in this atmosphere, it was but natural that young Hanson took to politics. He was elected term after term to the Maryland House of Delegates. He was there when the share of the tax England sought to levy on the Colonies for the French and Indian War was debated. The stamp tax, the Boston Tea Party, and other issues in quick succession were to result in war. Revolution was brewing. In the midst of all of this John Hanson of Mulberry Grove took a remarkable step. He moved with his family to Frederick, Md.

This was in 1773 on the very eve of the Revolution, and he was then 58 years of age. Why the move was made remains a mystery. But the West was then beckoning and perhaps Hanson saw a better opportunity to serve his State at this western outpost. Charles County—he may well have reasoned—still had the Stones, the Jenifers, and others.

He remained a member of the house of delegates from Charles County until 1773 when, upon his removal to Frederick, he was elected a member to that body from his new county. He became immediately a man of great influence. He had much political experience; he was a man of mature years; he had many friends throughout the State. In addition, he was a man of considerable wealth. Overnight Frederick County had found a man who had no peer in the province, who was loved and respected by all, whom the State could give to the coming Union of States.

Events were moving fast. A meeting over which John Hanson presided at Frederick courthouse in June 1774, adopted a resolution declaring that the cause of the Massachusetts colony was the cause of all, pledging the cooperation of Frederick County and urging the State of Maryland to join the other Colonies to advance this common endeavor. Thereafter delegates, headed by Hanson, were sent to Annapolis to attend a general congress. This general congress, which later became known as the convention, sent delegates to a general congress of the Colonies to be held at Philadelphia.

The British moved out of Boston; Paul Revere made his famous ride; American patriots fell at Lexington and Concord. It was necessary, indeed imperative, that Frederick County have some form of government if it were to render effective and timely help to a new nation in the making. A committee of observation was formed, of which John Hanson was a member and the guiding spirit. Hanson had been tolerant of debate, patient of delay, but now was the time of action. He hurried back from Annapolis to Frederick County, raised two companies of troops to go to Boston. They were the first armed force ever to cross Mason and Dixon's Line to join up with the Green Mountain and the White Mountain boys in the cause of freedom under the banner of his young friend and neighbor of Charles County days, George Washington.

Hanson was a man of fertile mind. He did not overlook even the slightest detail. As the guiding spirit of the committee for observation, he established patrols of minutemen throughout western Maryland which

resulted in the exposure of the Dunmore conspiracy which, had it succeeded, would have brought the Indian tribes into the war against the Colonies. During these trying days John Hanson, between trips from Annapolis to Frederick, was building a gunlock factory and barracks at Frederick.

He never became so immersed in these subsidiary activities as to be out of touch with the debate then going on in the convention at Annapolis touching upon the question of how far Maryland would support the resolutions of the Continental Congress, it having earlier instructed her Delegates not to sponsor a final break with England until so specifically advised. Not until June 1776 were these instructions altered. John Hanson, upon that occasion, closed the debate with these words: "These resolution ought to be passed, and it is high time."

And pass they did, making it possible for Maryland's men in the General Congress of the Colonies to vote for independence.

The Congress, which on July 4, 1776, voted for independence, could not really be considered to be a Congress. Its Delegates had no authority but to debate and advise—each Colony retaining unto itself to act as it pleased, notwithstanding the action of the Congress. It was but a coalition of brave men with a common purpose. The need for a more perfect government was apparent to all; but such was not to be. At least, not for another 5 years, because John Hanson at that time took a stand on principle which he had to win if the peoples of the new Nation then in the making were to live in peace and harmony together.

Hanson's stand was in opposition to the land claims of Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. Their claims arose out of the undefined and, therefore, indefinite distance to which they believed their land extended westward.

To fully understand the war of politics which underlay the war of independence, one must make a brief review of the land claims which had grown up in Colonial America. For instance, when Peter Minuit landed at Wilmington, in 1638, he immediately negotiated with the Indians for the purchase of land. The deed of conveyance for the land described the northern, eastern, and southern boundaries of the land with some particularity, but the western boundary of the land conveyed was described as extending westward for an "undefined or indefinite distance." This same language had been used in many of the grants from the King and in others; and it, therefore, seemed that the States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut had valid claims.

This immediately put John Hanson in a very difficult and embarrassing position. He was a close friend of Gen. George Washington, and was devoted to the cause of liberty, yet he was obliged, for the sake of principle, to lead the political opposition which seemed, at that time, to make union impossible. He was to hear it said many times that he was hindering the prosecution of the war for independence.

Twelve of the 13 Colonies had voted to ratify the Articles of Confederations. It was Maryland alone who stood out and refused to ratify. It was John Hanson who introduced the Maryland resolution as an amendment to the Articles of Confederation in this language:

"That the United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such States as claimed to the Mississippi, or south sea, and lay out the land beyond the boundary so ascertained into separate and independent States from time to time as the number and circumstances of the people may require."

This resolution was buried and the other 12 colonies pressed their fight for the ratification of the Articles of Confederation which contained a clause that no State should be deprived of any territory for the benefit of the new Union.

As time passed, the pressure on Hanson grew, but he stood firm. He reasoned that in the end his plan to let the Nation grow by federalizing the western lands must prevail. Otherwise, he said those who objected to colonialism, while fighting it from abroad, would be imbedding it in the American system. The opponents of the Maryland resolution accused Hanson and the men of Maryland of blocking union and hindering the war effort. They likewise said that we were using our geographical location to block traffic between the North and the South which, of necessity, must flow through our State if the war were to be prosecuted with effect. Hanson countered by saying: "Suppose Virginia sold her western lands and thereby raised enough money so it would not be necessary for her people to pay taxes, would not Marylanders then desert Maryland and move to Virginia in order to avoid paying the taxes laid upon them by the colony of Maryland?" He also reasoned that if the frontier was to be owned by only a few of the several States of the new Union, would all of the States join together to fight to defend it? He further asked whether the land-rich colonies were ready to be taxed acre for acre with the others for the prosecution of the war. Otherwise, he urged, they should surrender their claim to such lands.

As the dispute wore on, the chance of compromise with England grew more remote; and the idea of perpetual union grew stronger in the minds of all Americans. Hanson's idea of a Nation which would grow in area and numbers, adding new States to the 13 along the seaboard as the population and situation warranted, was beginning to be understood by his fellows in the Continental Congress. The State of New York was first to give in and cede its western lands. Hanson's far-seeing plan for a great America had won approval. The Articles of Confederation were ratified, and a Nation had been born. Hanson had made a monumental contribution to his new country.

John Hanson was elected to the Continental Congress in December 1779. For him, the transition from the local to the national scene was not too sharp because, as I have pointed out, debate had been had in the Maryland Legislature of which Hanson was a leading member on most, if not all, of the issues then before the Congress. But it is not to be assumed that his duties were to be made easy. The western lands question had made Maryland's position difficult and trying. Hanson must do double duty. His State must do more than was asked of it in the prosecution of the war if its position on the lands issue was not to be misunderstood.

Hanson was more than 66 years of age—one of the oldest Members of the Congress. But 3 short years before, his son, Peter Hanson, a lieutenant of the Maryland line, had fallen mortally wounded at Fort Washington. Notwithstanding, the many handicaps under which he labored, his services were of such high order that he was reelected to the Congress for a second term in February 1781—taking his seat on February 22—a birthday then not celebrated and perhaps not even noticed.

On November 5, 1781, John Hanson was unanimously elected president of the Continental Congress. He was the first to ever be elected to that position for a definite and stated term and hence has many times been referred to as the first President of the United States—his title being "President of the United States in Congress Assembled."

While we of Maryland most willingly accept this most glorious appellation for our very distinguished and reverred forebear, substantial basis for the claim that he was the first President is not to be found in the history of our State or Nation. But, John Hanson was, nonetheless, one of the great men of his time, one of the great men of our history, one of the founders of our State and Nation. He was almost solely responsible for the fight which made the United States a country which, from the very beginning could live in peace and harmony with itself and his foresight and courage have never been surpassed by any Marylander from his day forward.

Thank you.

The People-to-People Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared regarding the outstanding work of the People-to-People Foundation, together with several exhibits I desire to have printed along with my statement.

There being no objection, the statement and exhibits were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

THE OUTSTANDING WORK OF THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE FOUNDATION

I am pleased to report new evidence of the splendid accomplishments of the people-to-people program.

I had been pleased to discuss this subject, it will be recalled, on April 29, as reflected on page A3131 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Later I had made reference to it on May 31, as indicated on pages A4210–A4212 of the RECORD.

FORTY-TWO OUTSTANDING LEADERS

Since then I have been in touch with many of the 42 committee chairmen—leading figures in all walks of life—who are spearheading two-way international communication in every known area of human activity.

I should like to mention now a few of their responses.

WHAT THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY IS DOING

Mr. Frederic W. Ecker, the distinguished president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., reported that a letter and enclosures on the people-to-people program had been sent to 5,000 insurance companies throughout our country, and to certain organizations overseas.

Mr. Ecker wrote, in a letter of June 6 to me: "The response to my letter of March 4 has been most gratifying. We have heard, in the most enthusiastic terms, from a great many insurance companies all over the country. I feel sure that most of them have taken some positive action along the lines we have suggested in the leaflet, What We Can Do. Also, stories have appeared in the insurance press throughout this country and, in some cases, overseas telling about the people-to-people program and about the activities of the insurance committee."

VARIED PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE WORK

Mr. Edward L. Lipscomb, of the National Cotton Council of America, described the broad-gaged activity of the public relations committee, of which he is chairman. For example, a four-page leaflet created by his committee is being distributed through the cooperation of the transportation industries committee in no fewer than 1 million copies.

"Within the next few days," he writes, "50,000 companion posters" are being printed.

A helpful four-page bulletin entitled "People-to-People News," produced by the public relations committee, is being sent to the key individuals engaged in this effort throughout our land.

LETTER WRITING OVERSEAS

From the chairman of the letter writing committee, Mrs. Anna Lord Straus, came word that her group will be more than happy to receive requests for overseas correspondents—requests which may come in to various congressional offices—for overseas correspondents.

These requests from our constituents will be acted upon by arranging for the American letter writers to be put in touch with people of other countries.

GOOD WORD FROM EDUCATION COMMITTEE

From Miss Corma Mowrey, cochairman of the people-to-people education committee, came word: "We are grateful for your comments to the Senate."

And then the encouraging word that "This program has unlimited possibilities."

BOOK COMMITTEE REPORTS

From Mr. George Brett, chairman of the book committee of the People-to-People Foundation, came the good word, "When I say worthy cause, I feel that the PPP is just that. It does seem to me that the people of the United States could, through this magnificent idea of the President, effect a great deal of good will throughout the world." Various publishers, librarians, and other individuals in related fields are working with Mr. Brett.

MANY HOBBYISTS AT WORK

From Mr. Harry L. Lindquist, chairman of the hobbies committee, came a leaflet describing how American stamp collectors, coin collectors, people interested in antiques, models, prints and etchings, outdoor sports, photography, gardening, painting and sculpture, toolwork, printing, needle work, nature studies, ham radio, and many other fields, are beginning to take hold of the immense opportunities available to them to contact their opposite numbers abroad, through the PPP.

These, then, are but a few samples of how these outstanding American leaders are forging ahead in welding constructive links with people overseas.

LATEST FOUNDATION BROCHURE

I attach hereto two items which I believe will further illustrate this program. The first is the brochure which has just been printed by the foundation. I append to it the press release from Mr. Charles E. Wilson, as issued through the office of Mr. Ed Kirby at foundation headquarters, in room 603 of the Carnegie Hall Building, 881 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

The second is an illustration of what one of the committees can do, and is doing. It consists of the leaflet conveyed to me by Mr. Ecker, chairman of the insurance committee, to which I made reference at the outset.

MANY SENATORS INTERESTED

It is my intention at a later date to comment to the Senate on additional progress of the foundation, and I am asking one of the professional members of the Foreign Relations Committee staff as well, to extend further cooperation with this grand program. I know that my brother Senators on this committee and on other committees are proud, as I am proud, of this grassroots good-will effort.

STATEMENT FROM THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE FOUNDATION, INC., ROOM 603, CARNEGIE HALL, 881 7TH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1957

"People make the world go around, and it's high time people all over the world get to know each other—the sooner the better," said Charles E. Wilson, president of the People-to-People Foundation, Inc., in releasing an information brochure today, telling how it operates.

The "people-to-people" idea was conceived last fall when President Eisenhower appealed to a group of national leaders representing all phases of American social, civic, economic, and religious life to find not one method, but thousands of methods, by which people can gradually learn a little bit more about each other and thus create a friendlyier world environment in which governments may find solutions for peace.

The foundation was subsequently chartered as a privately operated and financed corporation, nonpartisan and nonsectarian, designed to assist those agencies with programs and people already at work in the international exchange field, and to stimulate additional two-way communication between the American people and their world neighbors.

"Our American people want to know more about the people and the world we live in. To bring this about, 42 communities have been established to arouse two-way communication in every known area of human activity; 1,000 volunteer workers are now engaged in developing programs which will invite reciprocal action and counterpart organizations in every country of the world," Mr. Wilson declared.

"The work of these 42 committee embraces practically every know field of human interest and human relations. We will start wherever people's interests begin, whether it be in biology or bird-watching, farming, 4–H Clubs, fine arts, education, religion, youth activities, music, or in 1 or more of the 62 hobbies being actively pursued

"Our job is to help establish personal connections between these people through their known interests. From such common denominators of interests will come people-to-people understanding about each other's ways of life, jobs, church, children, and hopes for the future," he said.

"The mass-communications industries are also with us," Mr. Wilson added. "We are receiving excellent support from the advertisers, the press, motion pictures, radio, and television. Each has its own way of transmitting ideas, and all are needed in this massive communications effort to make friends for America and to give other peoples the opportunity to be seen and heard and make friends with us," he said.

"We have enlisted the technique of our famous cartoonists as a unique means of conveying ideas, and we are inviting the cartoonists in other countries to bring us their messages, as well.

"Some 35 million foreign-born and first-generation Americans are writing over 200 million letters a year to their relatives and friends in their old countries.

"Additional hundreds of thousands of letters are being written by 'pen-pals' all over the world, arranged through schools, clubs, and churches.

"This year we have 37,000 foreign students in our midst, future prime ministers and national leaders. Hundreds of communities throughout the United States are enlarging their hospitality programs accordingly. Many cities have engaged in affiliations with other cities in Europe, Japan, and the Pacific region, exchanging teachers, pupils, officials, music, and art.

"Our Armed Forces are cooperating with steps to improve community relations in the foreign lands where they are still on duty patrolling the peace of the world.

"The 2 million Americans who are traveling abroad this year have been reminded that they have a face-to-face opportunity to make a friend or an enemy for the 160 million of us who stayed at home.

"We sincerely believe that people all over the world are ready as they never have been to respond to a people-to-people understanding. They are weary of war and rumors of war. And they want each other, as well as their governments, to know it. They know that never again can man resort to war as a means of settling disputes. Neither can they afford much longer the staggering debt of new armaments to build up a Frankenstein machine of defense which dare not be unleased, lest civilization be cremated. I am sure they feel as President Eisenhower felt when he told us, 'Every bomb we can manufacture, every plane, every ship, every gun in the long run has no purpose other than negative: To give us time to prevent the other fellow from starting a war, since they know we won't.'

"I am certain," said Mr. Wilson, "we will find people have more things which draw them together than those which drive them apart. Fear of the atom bomb is one thing which links all men; so is the love of their children. The only sure way to a peaceful as well as to a more pleasant world in which to live is through people-to-people understanding," Mr. Wilson concluded.

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM—HOW IT OPERATES, WHAT YOU CAN DO

Officers: Dwight D. Eisenhower, honorary chairman; William J. Donovan, chairman; Albert C. Jacobs, vice chairman; Charles E. Wilson, president; George V. Denny, Jr., Richard R. Salzmann, vice presidents; William J. Vanden Heuvel, secretary; John L. Weinberg, treasurer.

Directors: Dr. Louis H. Bauer, Al Capp, William J. Donovan, Albert C. Jacobs, Judge Juvenal Marchisio, Mrs. William Barclay Parsons, Frank Stanton, Charles E. Wilson.

WHAT IS THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM?

It is a program launched by President Eisenhower at a White House conference in September 1956. It is designed to promote contacts and activities among individuals around the world which will further international understanding and friendship. Private in character, the program is distinct from official Government activity. At the White House conference about 50 leaders in various aspects of our economic, social, and cultural life who had been appointed chairmen were asked to organize committees to develop not one, but thousands of methods of people-to-people contacts through every avenue of communication. The President and the Secretary of State, after underscoring the natural limitations of the efforts of governments to maintain peace and to deal with the hazards of the present armaments race, called upon the committee chairmen to help create a climate in which governments can work more effectively toward securing peace with justice and liberty for all.

WHAT ARE THE COMMITTEES ACTUALLY GOING TO DO?

Each committee is autonomous and voluntary and is expected to initiate its own program in its particular field. For example: the letter writing committee is working with those organizations experienced in or desirious of stimulating person-to-person correspondence between individual Americans and individuals abroad. A nationalities committee, working with some 35 million foreign-born and first generation Americans, is encouraging both letter writing and two-way travel to promote international friendship and understanding. The music, fine arts, cartoonists, books, and writers committees will promote the same objectives through both media and person-to-person exchanges. The advertising organizations, business organizations, business council for international understanding, the sports and

youth committees, the transportation agencies and travelers committees will encourage emphasis on these objectives in worldwide conferences and meetings. The women's groups committee is undertaking a study of community reactions and resources concerning the thousands of foreign visitors, both students and leaders, who come to this country each year. The committee on medicine and health plans interchange at medical meetings and exchange of medical information. These are simply indicative of the variety and scope of the activities now in operation or planned by the 41 committees whose membership now includes nearly 1,000 distinguished leaders. A list of the committee chairmen is on last page.

IS THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM SOMETHING NEW?

No, it is not. People-to-people activities have been conducted by private organizations and also by Government for many years. The International Educational Exchange Service of our our State Department will handle the exchange of some 6,000 persons this year (1957) and anticipates that this total will reach 8,500 next year. The Institute of International Education, a private, nonprofit agency which administers exchange-of-persons programs involving approximately 5,000 students, teachers, and others annually, has been in operation since 1919. It serves both Government and private organizations. The National Education Association, through its 74 units, conducts international educational conferences, administers an Overseas Teacher Relief Fund, conducts teacher travel tours in more than 50 countries, participates in student exchange programs, publishers pamphlets, guides, manuals, teaching devices which go to all parts of the world, and entertains more than 600 foreign visitors each year. The American National Theater and Academy (ANTA), through the President's fund and in cooperation with the State Department and USIA, sends representative artistic groups and individuals abroad to reflect the cultural side of American life to peoples of other nations, and arranges the appearances of similar groups from abroad before American audiences. Of course, churches and other religious organizations all have, as an integral part of their own life, people-to-people contacts around the world.

HOW THE PROGRAM DEVELOPED

During the past 10 years the National Agricultural Extension Service has developed the National 4–H Club Foundation which has sponsored, organized and carried on the International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE), under which outstanding 4–H young people from our country are sent to live for some months with farm families in other lands, which in turn send some of their young people to live in farm homes in this country. In 1956 62 young Americans spent 5 months in European and Near East homes under this plan, and 77 from South America, Asia, and Latin America lived with us about the same length of time. The Experiment in International Living, the American Friends Service Committee, Rotary International, and the American Association of University Women are but four of many private American organizations which have pioneered successfully for many years in people-to-people activities. The Institute of International Education census, included in their publication Open Doors, shows for 1956–57 that there are about 38,000 foreign students now in our colleges and universities. With the technicians, specialists, and leaders brought under the International Cooperation Administration and other Government programs, and the foreign students here in secondary schools, the total figure for foreigners in all these categories coming to the United States annually is approximately 60,000.

THE PRESIDENT'S CALL TO THE PEOPLE

When President Eisenhower announced his people-to-people program at a White House conference last September, he was putting an emphatic stamp of approval on these and similar activities. Moreover, for the first time in history, the head of a great State called on the people, as private citizens, "to get together * * * to work out not one method but thousand of methods by which people can gradually learn a little bit more of each other." This is essentially the purpose of the people-to-people program.

WHY THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE FOUNDATION?

It became apparent at once that such a vast program as that called for by the President would require equally substantial financing. The Government, through its various agencies, was spending an estimated $40 million on people-to-people activities, not including the Voice of America. Private organizations, whose activities were almost wholly unrelated, were spending an estimated $20 million. The need was clear for a central agency to raise funds from private sources and to provide machinery for ready exchange of ideas, techniques and inspiration. On February 4, 1957, the People-to-People Foundation, Inc., was formally organized with the committee chairmen serving as trustees, eight of whom were elected to the board of directors.

WILL THE FOUNDATION RAISE ALL THE MONEY FOR THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM?

No. Each committee is independent and autonomous and may work through and with many organizations and institutions. Most of these have long established loyalties and sources of revenue. The foundation will seek financial support for new and effective methods of expanding and strengthening people-to-people contacts around the world, and for the increase and expansion of activities based on the sound principles developed over the years by the pioneers in the field. The foundation will assiduously avoid competition with any established people-to-people enterprises, government or private.

ARE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE FOUNDATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES ANTICIPATED?

Definitely. The people-to-people program is a two-way program. The United States has a great deal to learn from other cultures and peoples. Mr. Charles E. Wilson, president of the foundation, in a recent speech stated:

"I can envision, in the not too distant future, groups of individuals representing our 41 committees going to the 4 major areas of the world: Europe, the Near East, the Far East, and Latin America—to learn from personal association with the people themselves something of the truth about the situations in these areas. We want to sit down and talk with our world neighbors, to listen to whatever they have to tell us, to attend their sports events, their dances, their schools and churches, and to meet with them on their farms and in their factories. * * *

"And when we have set our programs in motion, may we not expect counterpart organizations to be established in other countries where people share our vision of a peace made secure through people-to-people associations?"

WHAT ABOUT CONTACTS WITH PEOPLE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN?

The object of the program is to establish understanding and friendship with people wherever they may be. But we all recognize that difficult problems exist with respect to reaching those peoples now living in police states. President Eisenhower recognized this in his talk last September when he said:

"In short, what we must do is to widen every possible chink in the Iron Curtain and bring the family of Russia, or of any other country behind that Iron Curtain, that is laboring to better the lot of their children—as humans do the world over—closer into our circle, to show how we do it, and then to sit down between us to say, 'Now, how do we improve the lot of both of us?' "

WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH A PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM?

President Eisenhower put it this way:

"Every bomb we can manufacture, every plane, every ship, every gun, in the long run has no purpose other than negative: to give us time to prevent the other fellow from starting a war, since we know we won't.

"The billions we pour into that ought to be supported by a great American effort, a positive, constructive effort that leads directly toward what we all want: a true and lasting peace."

STATEMENT FROM INSURANCE COMMITTEE, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S PROGRAM FOR PEOPLE TO-PEOPLE PARTNERSHIP, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 7, 1957

Several thousand insurance chief executives were urged yesterday to integrate their company efforts with President Eisenhower's people-to-people program for better international relations.

In an appeal to the insurance executives, Frederick W. Ecker, president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and chairman of the Insurance Committee of the People-to-People Partnership Program, proposed a wide range of special activities which the insurance companies and their personnel could undertake toward development of better overseas relations. The proposed undertaking went to the officers of 4,225 accident and health, casualty, fire and life insurance companies, stock and mutual, throughout the country.

"The purpose of the program is to enlist the friendship-making and opinion-molding capacities of individual Americans in order that they and individuals in other countries may become mutually better acquainted," Mr. Ecker said. "The end in view is to help to build the road to an enduring peace. This is a job in international relations which can be done by all of us."

John A. Diemand, president of the Insurance Company of North America, is vice-chairman of the committee; Devereux C. Josephs, chairman, New York Life Insurance Co., is treasurer; and Chester L. Fisher, Jr., Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., is secretary.

The insurance company executives were urged continuously to reemphasize the statement by President Eisenhower, in launching this program, to the effect that "there is no problem before the American people—indeed, before the world—that so colors everything we do, as does the problem of preserving the peace and providing for our own security."

The President was also quoted as saying that "if our American ideology is eventually to win out in the great struggle being waged between the two opposing ways of life, it must have the active support of thousands of independent private groups and institutions and millions of individual Americans acting through person-to-person communication in foreign lands."

A long list of possible activities for the insurance offices was proposed, including:

Survey of company personnel for language talents and foreign acquaintances.

Use of company house organs for messages.

Promotion of personal correspondence, person to person, by company personnel, to foreign contacts.

Greetings abroad on significant occasions.

Mailing inserts in overseas correspondence.

Contact booklets for personnel, policyholders, and stockholders.

Personnel exchanges.

Encouragement of travel, including possibility of extra vacation time for purpose of making foreign insurance contacts.

Hospitality programs, to welcome foreign visitors in this country.

Establishment of American bookshelves in foreign insurance offices, libraries, schools, and hospitals.

Book and magazine distribution overseas.

Social contacts, including son or daughter exchange-visits.

Insurance press and insurance meeting interchanges. Routing of some foreign-trade publications through the company offices.

A Terrible Blunder by Columbia Broadcasting System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial which appeared in the July National Republic. I join with the author of the editorial in expressing regret that this public service corporation impressed its will upon the viewing public when Khrushchev insulted the American people.

The editorial follows:

STALIN AWARD FOR CBS

If we gage correctly the indignant response of the American people, the Stalin award for distinguished public service to world communism should go this year to the Columbia Broadcasting System. To give the Kremlin gangsters free access to the Sunday night radio and television audience of the United States, as CBS did on June 2, is the brightest service freedom can render to the cancerous blight of godless materialism and human slavery.

Khrushchev undertook to tell America in honeyed words that only communism aims toward lasting peace. He ignored the threat made officially in Moscow only a few days earlier to melt the Arctic ice cap with a hydrogen bomb, and thus drown out all life on this planet below 90 feet of altitude.

Never has the Columbia Broadcasting System found opportunity to present the report of the Senate Internal Security Committee (May 21, 1956) listing more than 1,000 treaty violations by the Kremlin since 1918. Nor has CBS ever deemed it a matter of public interest that the Kremlin, under communism, has violated at least one solemn treaty with every nation in the world. Instead, the world propaganda offensive of June 2, 1957, as staged by CBS, sought to present communism as an active moral force in human affairs.

The public affairs department of CBS never has found time to quote to the American people the words of Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi, in the foreword of his report on Kremlin treaty violations—Senate Document No. 125, 84th Congress, 2d session, May 21, 1956. In that report, Senator EASTLAND said:

"Communism is not an evil thing only because it has been controlled by evil men since it first rose to power in 1917. It is organically evil. * * * You must renounce bourgeois morality, you must become an evil man, before you can become a good Communist. You must be a liar, a cheat, and probably a spy, before you can represent a Communist nation in international diplomacy. You must have no more regard for honor when you sign an agreement on behalf of your country, than a forger does when he puts his name on a check."

Birds of a feather flock to the same microphone. CBS was at pains—and not a little expense, we imagine—to deliver the American people to radio Moscow.

Yet wisdom did guide the decision in one respect. Exercising what appears to us an almost decent respect for the opinions of mankind, Columbia Broadcasting System waited exactly 1 month after the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, to deliver the United States television audience to the Kremlin.

Senator McCarthy died on May 2, 1957.

The Small Business Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the House Banking and Currency Committee today ordered reported H. R. 7963, the Small Business Act.

Among other things, the bill would make the Small Business Administration a permanent agency.

In this connection, I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues a letter written by John C. Davis, executive director of the National Small Business Men's Association, to the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Attached to Mr. Davis' letter of June 7, 1957, is a resolution adopted on May 20, 1957, by the membership of the National Small Business Men's Association at their annual meeting.

The letter and resolution are as follows:

NATIONAL SMALL BUSINESS
MEN'S ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., June 7, 1957.

Hon. BRENT SPENCE,
Chairman, House Banking and Currency Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPENCE: At the time of my appearance before your committee you asked me for our specific recommendation regarding the extension of the Small Business Administration Act, and I indicated to you that I was unable to speak on the question of the creation of SBA as a permanent agency because our membership had not spoken on this point.

At that time I also told you that our annual membership meeting was coming up May 19 through 21, at which time our position would be resolved.

I am very happy to enclose herewith the specific resolution passed by our members, attending the membership meeting celebrating our 20th anniversary, on the subject of SBA.

I want to personally express my appreciation to you and all of the members of your committee for the courtesy accorded us in appearing before you and stating our views, not only on this issue, but on small-business problems in general.

With all good wishes, I am,
Sincerely,

JOHN C. DAVIS,
Executive Director.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION—RESOLUTION ADOPTED MAY 20, 1957, AT THE 20TH NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE NATIONAL SMALL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION, INC., HOTEL MAYFLOWER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Whereas the life stream of small business is vital to the American economy; and

Whereas the climate of opportunity for the birth and prosperous development of small business has been adversely affected by the national policy relating to taxes, fiscal control, and Government spending; and

Whereas the economic and social effects of these national policies cannot be met effectively by individual initiative and enterprise: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That, in recognition of the effectiveness and achievements of the Small Business Administration, the association support perment status of Cabinet rank for the Small Business Administration and that its primary concern be protection of opportunity for the birth and prosperous development of small business.

Subterfuge on Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we have before us the civil-rights legislation into which some of our colleagues are injecting the matter of right to trial by jury in contempt cases. The following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 7, 1957, is an excellent reply to the foes of civil rights:

SUBTERFUGE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Constitution guarantees the right of every qualified citizen to vote in national elections. But it is a pretty generally accepted fact that a lot of Negroes in the South are by one discriminatory device or another deprived of that privilege. And since the right to vote is the most basic of all civil rights, it follows that the fundamental problem in this area is the enforcement of the Constitution.

Why, then, is there no effective substantiation of what the Constitution provides? The rub, of course, is that the Federal Government has no present course but to undertake criminal prosecution after the accusation, prove the substance, and all the while know that the procedure is utterly futile. By this time the discrimination has already taken place, the election has come and gone, and the supplicant—even if one could be found—still has no vote.

Obviously there has to be a strengthened procedure. Here the Eisenhower administration's legislative program proposes more direct action. The Attorney General would be empowered to institute a civil suit wherever good ground exists for believing that prospective voters are being discriminated against. Upon getting injunctive relief, any violation of the Federal court would be punishable by the judge's citation for contempt.

But the foes of civil rights interpose a tricky and emotional roadblock at this point. Instead of the court enforcing its order directly, as is long-established practice, the opponents want a guaranty that any person held in contempt for violating civil rights laws shall have a trial by jury. The private reasoning, of course, is that southern juries would be loath to convict. Yet a great

clamor is being raised about the Magna Carta and so on.

If there has to be a trial-by-jury safeguard against a court's enforcement powers, what is to be said about preventive relief in antitrust cases and similar civil remedies in everything from the Atomic Energy Act to the Securities and Exchange Commission? Nowhere is jury trial required to validate the authority of the courts.

This is a diversion, less direct than prolonged stalling and filibuster. But the objective is the same—to keep on depriving a minority of the right to vote. What is guaranteed by the Constitution ought to be enforced. The Eisenhower program is a modest beginning on civil rights. It must not be sidetracked by subterfuge.

The Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 12, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very important speech made by one of my constituents, Miss Janet I. Pinner, senior employment consultant for selective placement of the New York State Employment Service, at the meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, at Washington, on May 23, 1957.

The President's Committee on the Employment of the Physically Handicapped, under the outstanding leadership of Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, is contributing tremendously to the rehabilitation of the handicapped and for their integration into the normal processes of our industrial society.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLACING THE HANDICAPPED—A CHALLENGE TO INGENUITY

(Remarks of Janet I. Pinner, senior employment consultant for selective placement, New York State Employment Service, at the meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, Washington, D. C., May 23, 1957)

In any labor market, placement of the handicapped requires more than a lucky break. Success is dependent upon the qualifications of the disabled worker, the training, experience, knowledge, and personality of the placement interviewer, plus the willingness of the employer to be convinced that the disabled individual can do his job. And last but not least, sufficient time for the selective placement interviewer to do an individualized placement job.

In regular placement work, you start with a job opening and seek the worker. In placement of the handicapped, it is just the opposite—you start with the disabled individual and seek the suitable job. When you begin to seek that elusive suitable job, you must have a clear mental picture of what the disabled person has to offer the employer. Often, the question arises, "How do you know what a handicapped person is capable of doing?" With the man who has worked since his disability and has proven he can work, there is no problem. But, what about the man who hasn't worked since incurring his disability? If he is one of the fortunate few that have received an evaluation or work tryout at a comprehensive rehabilitation center—again—you have reliable information. However, let's be realistic. We all know that there aren't enough comprehensive rehabilitation centers to meet the demand. What do we do then? What do we use as a substitute? Should we ask employers to try out the disabled worker in several jobs or should the worker be referred to one employer after another until a suitable job is found?

Should we place the responsibility on the disabled person's private physician? Is the average general practitioner sufficiently industrially oriented to really know what his patient can do both physically and emotionally?

How much responsibility can you place on the disabled worker himself? Can we tell what the man's emotional response to his illness is? Is he willing to live within his limitations? Is he fighting the world because he can't accept his disability? Does he really know what he is capable of doing?

Finding suitable jobs for the handicapped takes technical know-how and stick-to-itiveness. For a job to be suitable, many factors must be considered. Overemphasis should not be placed on the worker's physical ability to do the job. Equal weight must be given to the worker's skills, knowledges, abilities, aptitudes, traits, and interests. We must never forget that we are placing a man who can do the job—not because, but in spite of, his disability. We place workers, not handicapped workers.

In New York State, we no longer solicit jobs for the handicapped. It was our sad experience that following solicitation of this type, we were flooded with openings for which we had no qualified handicapped workers available. We know now that at the level of the placement worker our best approach to an employer is on an individual basis. If we know what the disabled worker can do, we can talk intelligently to the employer in terms of suitability of the job.

If you have someone who has something tangible to offer an employer, other than his disability, a placement is not too difficult. But what do you do with the worker who has very little to offer the employer? The so-called marginal worker or hard-core applicant. Many times he is not trainable, is illiterate, or has personality defects which are not treatable; he has little or nothing to offer an employer. How do you find a suitable job for him? Should time and effort be spent by employment people with this group when we know in advance the results will be negligible? Do you keep on trying ad infinitum to the detriment of other disabled persons who are never easily placeable? When do you stop trying to place these individuals? What do you use as criteria to make this decision?

Again, in seeking suitable jobs, it is not uncommon to find jobs which are ideal for severely disabled because they involve no walking, standing, and no work pressure. You know you have the ideal person for the job, but the employer informs you that the firm's policy is to keep these jobs for their own workers who become disabled—or for that ever-growing problem—the workers who have become old in his service. This may be reasonable from the employer's point of view and, from a broad social viewpoint, you may agree that this is the right thing to do. However, where does it leave you in your search for suitable jobs? As this becomes more widespread, what will its effect be on job placement of the handicapped?

Then, too, how do you meet the problem of the severely disabled who can perform the duties of only one job in a plant? If work for this job slows down or is not available, what can the employer do but lay the man off? Workers who can do several different jobs may be transferred around and utilized elsewhere, but how do you utilize a man when you don't have work he can do.

What do you do when a disabled worker does extremely well on the job at which he was placed but is not physically able to handle the next two jobs in the promotional scheme?

Let's suppose you find the right job you are seeking—are there any problems you may encounter with the employer's present staff? How ready are the coworkers and foreman to accept a disabled coworker? Can they be expected to add to their own duties in order to streamline a job for a severely disabled coworker? How willing is the foreman to make special adjustments, if they are needed? If the foreman has success with the disabled, does this mean he will then be asked by management to take an additional disabled person? How do you determine when he is staffed to his maximum with disabled? What additional training or orientation does the foreman have to do with the severely disabled? How much should he be encouraged to do? Are there any limits on what should be expected of the foreman?

Finally, how can we ever meet the problem of disabilities which do not fall in the average person's concept of the handicapped? Our experience has shown that most people will consider an orthopedically involved worker without too many questions being raised, but if we have a worker with similar qualifications who happens to have a disability such as epilepsy, cerebral palsy, and so forth (the so-called unglamorous disabilities), they are much more difficult to sell to an employer.

In addition, a great part of our community is subject to mental illnesses which require hospitalization. Discharges from mental hospitals are many times also discriminated against in their search for work. What can we do to educate the public to accept all the disabled and not have one group of the disabled treated as inferiors in the social scale?

The more experience we gain in the placement of the handicapped, the more we see how great the problem is. We realize that it cannot be solved by one agency or one organization but entails the cooperative efforts of all interested citizens, agencies and organizations of each local community, each State, and the backing of the entire Federal Government.

Washington, America's Most Scenic State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul B. Lowney, an extremely able photographer and publisher who owns the Photo Publishing Co. in Seattle, has just issued an enticing and colorful booklet entitled "Washington, America's Most Scenic State." The beautiful collection of photographs of the many scenic wonders of our State, which the booklet comprises, serves to prove, many times over, the aptness of its title.

I should like to recommend this booklet to all my colleagues, not only for the enjoyment of the photographs themselves but for their unquestionable value

in helping to settle the chronic summer dilemma which faces most men of family, namely, "Where shall we spend our vacation?"

Following is an article on Mr. Lowney's booklet by Mr. Jack Jarvis, well-known and popular writer for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. Mr. Jarvis' article enthusiastically describes Mr. Lowney's superb photographic study of the State of Washington, and I recommend it to your attention:

FASCINATING FACTS AND FIGURES—BOOKLET DEPICTS WONDERS

(By Jack Jarvis)

About a year ago I got misty-eyed over our beautiful city and said in print:

"Seattle, I love you."

The occasion for this un-Jarvislike outburst was publication of a picture book, "Seattle, the Nation's Most Beautiful City."

Now the writer, editor, and publisher of the Seattle book, Paul B. Lowney, has gotten me all misty-eyed again and it's time to say:

"Washington State, I love you."

Yep, another book—"Washington, America's Most Scenic State."

It contains 40 pages (larger size pages than the Seattle book). Three thousand eight hundred words of copy and 76 photos, 3 of them in full color, the rest in duotone. It will sell for less than a dollar, complete with mailing envelope.

Lowney, who got a Paul Bunyan-Blue Ox Award from the Seattle Chamber of Commerce for his Seattle book, should get an Oak Leaf Cluster for his award for the Washington State book, it's that good.

"Originally, I titled the book 'This Is Washington.'" Paul told me, "but when I began going through hundreds of photos of the State, I quickly retitled it 'Washington, America's Most Scenic State,' and I'll stick by that claim.

"I anticipate criticism on omissions. It just couldn't be helped. There simply wasn't enough space in 40 pages to cover in detail a State like Washington. I had to reject many beautiful photos and pass up many small cities. But still the book is representative of the entire State."

Paul figures that the book might become known because of a break with tradition—Mount Rainier is not on the cover.

"I love Mount Rainier and I also love ice cream, but not as a steady diet," he said. "But I didn't flout tradition altogether. I sneaked a beauty of Rainier onto the back cover."

The front cover? The San Juan Islands and Mount Baker as seen from Mount Constitution.

Item: Of the 76 photos, 50 show water.

Item: The book on Seattle goes into its third large printing next month; less than a year after publication.

Prediction: "Washington, America's Most Scenic State" will be bought by the home folks as well as by tourists. It's the best book of its kind I've ever seen.

Insecticides Today and Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on page A4076 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I called attention to my bill—H. R. 783—directing the Secretary of the Interior to begin continuing studies of the effects of chemical sprays upon fish and wildlife.

I called the attention of my colleagues to the fact that research into the effects of ever more efficient controls, more efficiently applied each year, upon fish and wildlife—and man—has not kept pace with development of these chemicals.

In my remarks, I included a letter announcing the withdrawal of one firm from the production, distribution, and research of the presently known agricultural insecticides. In that letter, the president of the firm said known insecticides "are at best palliative, and perhaps will prove dangerous and uneconomic in the long run."

This also is the vein that runs through the address by Dr. W. Coda Martin at the annual convention of the Natural Food Associates in Little Rock, Ark., 4 months ago.

It is Dr. Martin's theory that insecticides may be a greater threat to man than they are to bugs. Dr. Martin's address follows:

INSECTICIDES TODAY AND TOMORROW

(Address by W. Coda Martin, M. D., at the 1957 National N. F. A. Convention)

Last year at the annual convention of Natural Food Associates in Terre Haute, Ind., I gave a report on the health of the Nation. In this report, I will discuss the increase in degenerative diseases in the United States today and especially the problem of physical and mental deterioration of the young men of selective-service age—and what influence insecticides may have on the future increase of these diseases.

From World War I in 1918 to the Korean war in 1950, a period of 32 years, there was an increase of rejections from 21.3 percent to 52 percent. This is an increase of 30.7 percent, or approximately 1 percent per year. Even this marked increase of rejections is not a true picture of the health of the youth today as the physical standards for draftees in 1918 were very high, while in 1950 they were markedly lowered as the essential manpower could be obtained only by reducing the physical standards with respect to some defects and psychiatric conditions.

If this appalling speed of degeneration continues at the rate of 1 percent per year for our young people, then, within 25 years, and that is a short period of time, 75 percent of the youth of the Nation will be physically or mentally unfit for active military service. These figures are hard to believe, but they are statistical facts obtained from the selective service reports. In fact, the time element may be shorter than we think, because, at a certain point, the degeneration may increase by geometric progression. In other words, it begins to act like a snowball.

Only the statistics for young men are used for two reasons:

1. They are the only accurate statistics available for the state of deterioration of the health of the Nation.

2. Only those of reproductive age are biologically important for projecting the health of future generations. A nation must look to its youth for survival.

What is the most critical disease in this degenerative picture besides mental diseases and heart disease? The report of the American Cancer Society is well known to everyone. They say that 1 person out of 4 will develop cancer before they die—25 percent of the population. A grand total of 40 million people. Today, cancer is no longer a disease of the older people. It is becoming an ever-increasing health problem of young people. This increase in cancer is not confined to the United States. The WHO reports that cancer ranks as the second cause of death in most highly developed countries. Cancer is rapidly approaching the epidemic proportions of the Black Plague of the Middle Ages. This is in spite of all our technological and scientific knowledge in the year 1957.

What is the relationship of these harrowing mortality and morbidity figures and the subject of insecticides? I am well aware that the study of degenerative disease is a complex matter and that there are numerous known and unknown factors involved in their development in the human body. One major factor—malnutrition—has been discussed here on this program on many occasions. But this and many other factors are all long-range educational programs. Other factors will require long periods of basic research to establish their relationship to the cause of degenerative disease.

But there has been something new added to the long list of etiological factors of degenerative diseases. This new factor is man-made and under human control. Thus it can be eliminated by an order from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and through the powers of the United States Public Health Service. These agencies were established to protect the health of the Nation and they are given power to invoke, in case of epidemics, emergency laws to control the epidemic and protect the health of the people. Man-made and man-applied substances can be immediately controlled if so desired.

Previously, we have thought of epidemics in the form of an invading organism carried by specific vectors or caused by lax sanitary conditions. Today, we are faced by a different form of epidemic—a slow, progressive, internal deterioration of the tissues and cells of the body. The old methods of detection and control are not applicable to the present situation.

For such a situation as we are faced with today regarding the degenerative diseases, there must be a new approach with open minds, and not biased by political or economic reasons. I particularly stress the latter because the insecticide chemicals are sold under the name of economic poisons.

What is this new and man-made, etiological factor that has been added to our already weakened and deteriorated bodies? About 1945, the chlorinated hydrocarbons (DDT and its derivatives) were added to the pesticide scene of agriculture. This triggered the synthetic chemical pesticide production which reached the figure of 42 million tons, total farm chemical sales in 1956. The sale price to the farmer reached $290 million in 1956 (Chemical Week, October 27, 1956).

By 1975, approximately 20 years from now, the chemical industry expects the sales of pesticides to reach an estimated $1 billion.

There is expected to be an increase of farm acreage from a 1950 level of 1.184 billion acres to an estimated 1.280 billion acres by 1970 or an increase of about 1 percent in the same period of time. The chemical industry expects a 284 percent increase in the use of chemical pesticides from 1954 to 1975 in spite of the fact that there will be an increase of less than 1 percent in farm acreage. In other words, this 284 percent increase in pesticides will have to be used on only 1 percent increase in land acreage. By that time, we will be knee high in chemicals on our farms.

I feel that we should stop for a minute before we plunge into this sea of chemicals and reappraise the present-day situation to determine if this marked increase in the use of pesticides on our farms is necessary or will it be an extra economic burden on the farmer, as well as an increased health hazard

for the public who must consume the farm produce as their only source of food supply. The question may be asked—Is the use of these economic poisons necessary for survival or is it slow national suicide? But first, let us review the chemical problem as it stands today—10 years after the introduction of the chlorinated hydrocarbon and organic phosphorus compounds. (Parathion group.) Have they produced the desired results in controlling insects? In spite of the annual use of 42 million tons of pesticides, at a cost to the farmer of $290 million per year, the annual crop loss to insects in the United States is still more than $3 billion according to Federal and State studies. This staggering loss occurs despite the best control methods available to the farmer today.

It is apparent then that crop loss to insects has not been controlled with these new insecticides. But what else has happened? One of the big problems with DDT as well as other chlorinated insecticides, is that, in this 10-year period, the insects have built up a resistance to them. Because of this, it has been necessary to use a more poisonous and toxic phosphorous-containing insecticide, known as Parathion. This pesticide has a similar chemical formula to the army's highly secret nerve gas. One drop on the skin, will kill a person in 30 seconds. Parathion compounds are only a partial answer to the insecticide problem, as certain insects are already becoming resistant to even these more highly toxic chemicals. Altogether there are more than 180 chemical pesticides being produced and used today on our agricultural farms.

I believe the following statement from a meeting of the Executive Board of the World Health Organization in June, 1956, will give us a clear and concise answer to this question of whether insects are being controlled:

"The conclusion was that the development of resistance of insect vectors to insecticides has become a serious public health problem. Thirty-two countries have reported insect resistance to DDT and other new insecticides. About 35 species of insects, including various types of malaria-bearing mosquitoes show immunity to DDT in some areas of Greece, Lebanon, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Panama, and Mississippi. Body lice, vectors of typhus, can no longer be controlled with DDT in Korea, and five other countries report that satisfactory control is becoming difficult. Fleas, responsible for plague, are manifesting resistance in certain parts of South America. But, worse still, a strain of mosquitoes that spread yellow fever has shown itself extremely resistant to DDT in Trinidad. The destruction of flies with DDT and other chemicals is no longer possible in almost all countries where these materials have been used in recent years. The new insecticides that have become available in the last 3 years are too few, too limited in efficiency and too toxic."

A. D. Hess, Logan Field Station of the United States Public Health Communicable Disease Center, Logan, Utah, (reported in Scope Weekly, June 20, 1956) has come to the same conclusion. He declared that the insect problem in the United States is mounting because of the increase of breeding potentials and because of the development of insecticide resistance. (Science News Letter, August 27, 1955.) Also, according to researchers at the University of California, they have discovered that the use of insecticides may kill off the beneficial insects and allow pests to come back in more devastating numbers.

Reports too numerous to mention, show that blanket spraying of insecticides from the air and on the ground destroys many beneficial insects and animals, such as bees, birds, fish, etc.

Walter P. Nickell, a naturalist of the Cranbrook Institute of Science (Birmingham, Mich., June 7, 1956) stated that not enough is known about the long range effects of DDT and other insecticides. They kill the beneficial insects, even the soil bacteria and, in general, upset the balance of nature. He further stated that the results are not very pleasant to contemplate. We may even find the use of DDT more destructive of human life than the hydrogen bomb.

Here we have a unanimous agreement, which is most unusual, that the use of these insecticides has not only failed to produce the desired results, but has placed us in a very precarious position of having developed stronger and more resistant insects and, at the same time, having destroyed many of nature's beneficial and protective insects, thus upsetting nature's balance and leaving us at the mercy of these newer and more dangerous insects.

What has happened to these millions of tons of chemical insecticides that are sprayed on our farmlands? Do they disintegrate and disappear—or are they accumulating in the soil? If so, when will they reach the saturation point? A study in 1955, by the Entomology Research Branch of USDA, Yakima, Wash., gives us a clue to where we can find most of these insecticides used on the farms during the past 10 years.

Examination of the soil revealed that 3½ years after treating the soil approximately 50 percent of the DDT, 14 percent of the B. H. C. and Lindane, 15 percent of the aldrin were found in the surface 6 inches of the soil. The results of this study showed that DDT has the most harmful and most persistent effects of the several insecticides added to the soil. Similar tests were made in Illinois, New Jersey, and Georgia, with equivalent results: Showing that the accumulation of these insecticides in the soil is national in scope. Also, the study showed that DDT applications from 24 pounds per acre and up were highly toxic to certain types of beans and delayed growth and affected the stand of rye in all the 5 years of the experiment. Their conclusion was that the persistence of DDT indicates that this insecticide might become a problem with continued use.

What is the chemical scientist's answer to this situation? A 284 percent increase in the use of these and more toxic insecticides in the next few years. Sounds very much like the talk of Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee.

The main point of this paper is to show what influence the extensive use of these highly toxic chemical insecticides has on the future health of the human being. In the final analysis, we are the recipients of these sprays, either by direct spraying, by inhalation, or by ingestion from contaminated food.

It is an accepted fact and confirmed by the United States Public Health Service that all foods purchased from the open market today carry a high residue of many of these insecticides, as they are sprayed approximately once a week during the growing season with one or more of these chemicals. In fact, the mass poisoning of the human race has been legalized by a congressional law. They have set up what is known as tolerance levels for each of the many chemical insecticide sprays. For instance, 7 parts per million of DDT is allowed on every article of food consumed. Each other insecticide has its own tolerance level. When the law was passed the tolerance level was estimated on the use of only one insecticide on each article of food. A recent report from the United States Public Health Service states that when two or more chemicals are on one item of food, which is the usual case today, the toxic effect is increased and therefore, they are considering a reappraisal of today's tolerance levels. Unfortunately, it takes several years to get congressional action to change a law that is on the statute books. In the meantime, the population will be subjected to this increased amount of toxic chemicals. These legal tolerance levels for insecticides on plants do not give a true picture of the amount of insecticides consumed on foods. Many foods contain higher amounts of these chemicals and cannot be adequately checked with the present facilities of the FDA. For instance, recent private analysis reveals that eggs contain 50 parts per million or more of DDT, cheese 150 parts per million, bread 100 parts per million, stewed dried fruits 69 parts per million; lard and butter may be as high as 2,000 parts per million.

Is there a human tolerance level of DDT and other insecticides? It is no secret that the tolerance levels of DDT on foods for human consumption should be zero.

A report from the Food and Drug Officials (Bulletin of the Association of Food and Drug officials of the United States, vol. XIV, No. 3, July 1950) states: "DDT is stored at a level 6–28 times the dietary intake. There is no floor of dietary concentration below which the storage of DDT does not occur."

Dr. A. J. Lehman of the Federal Food and Drug Administration (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951) stated: "In my opinion, chlordane is one of the most toxic insecticides we have to deal with. I would hesitate to eat food that had any chlordane on it whatsoever."

In a more recent report from the United States Public Health Service, it was shown that volunteer prisoners were fed the equivalent of 200 times the usual amount of DDT found in our foods today and the body storage of DDT increased from what is today considered a normal level of 7–11 p. p. m to 234–340 p. p. m. in 18 months. The conclusion was, that as these men did not reveal any physical or chemical pathology at the end of 18 months, that the consumption of DDT was not a health hazard.

This short-range study of 18 months did not take into consideration the fact that today babies begin to ingest DDT from birth from the mother's milk and later from cow's milk and other foods. The baby will continue this intake three times a day for as long as he lives.

The fact is, that it has been shown in tests on small animals that it is not always the short-range large dose of insecticides but repeated small doses until toxic levels accumulate that is so dangerous. It is not likely that a person will get a lethal dose of chemicals from the food, but he does get repeated daily small amounts. What long-range influence does this have on human health? It has been demonstrated that DDT concentrations of 3–30 p. p. m. inhibit rat heart cytochrome oxidase and interferes with the process of phosphorylation (J. A. M. A., March 1951). Storage of a toxicant in the fat of parenchymal cells is essentially storage in the cell itself where such important enzymatic processes as oxidation, phosphorylation and cholesterol synthesis takes place. In simple terms these insecticide chemicals are stored in this fat tissue and do interfere with the normal oxygen supply to the cells of the body.

What influence does the interference of these important enzyme reactions have on our health? Health research today is focused on the cell. It is recognized that normal intracellular chemistry is the most important factor in a healthy body. Normal health is a delicate balance between various cellular stimulators and inhibitors. Anything that disturbs this balance will produce ill health and possibly some form of degenerative disease.

Dr. Henry Goldblatt (Cedars of Lebanon Hospital, Los Angeles, Calif., April 1953) found that by intermittently depriving a piece of rat's heart tissue in a test tube, of

oxygen, the cells were gradually transformed until they acquired all the microscopic features of malignant cells.

Other clinical and experimental tests have shown that any interference with the oxidation to the cells will cause them to die and thus produce pathology of the tissues or will interfere with the normal function of certain organs or glands of the body. This deterioration of the tissue cells results in degenenative diseases of various types as seen in people today—as well as the development of cancer.

It is well to remember that the danger to health is a delayed action and it is the repeated daily small insults to the enzyme system over a period of many years which constitutes a distinct health hazard. This fact has been confirmed by the research on the influence of tobacco on the production of cancer of the lung. They found the danger of cancer increased rapidly after smoking for 20 to 30 years.

Dr. Otto Warburg also stressed the fact that the transition from a normal cell to a cancer cell, when there is an interference of oxygen supply may be over a period of years.

We, of the age of 50 years or more, may survive and live out of 3 score and 10 years assigned to us by the Bible—or the life expectancy of 67 years according to our present-day vital statistics. But what of the child born today? What effect will this interference with the important oxidation enzyme system cause by insecticides from birth have on his future health and life expectancy?

We can no longer think of the long-range effects of these insecticides on only the present generation: but we must think of their influence on the health of the future generations.

We have much experimental evidence in animals to show that any interference with the oxidative enzyme system of the fetus during the early embryonic stage of development will cause structural changes in the tissue and organs of the body, as well as a marked increase in congenital deformities.

What does this mean to future generations? The results of extensive studies at the Harvard School of Public Health indicate that maternal diseases and other critical stresses occurring at certain stages during pregnancy are responsible for a majority of congenital anomalies—oxygen deficiency to the cells as produced by the insecticides is a nonspecific form of stress—also in 1947, it was shown by Ingalls that the lack of oxygen is a specific cause of congenital deformity. The congenital deformity of Mongolism occurs at the 8th week of embryonic development. We do not have such positive proof for the cause of mentally retarded children, but this condition is accepted as a form of congenital deformity of the brain tissue. A recent report from the Foundation for Retarded Children states that there is a mentally retarded child born every 15 minutes in the United States today. It has been recently discovered that the brain of a mentally sick person uses a lower than normal amount of oxygen. (Science News Letter, December 22, 1956.) Will the continued accumulation of the insecticides in the fatty tissue of mothers during pregnancy, which acts as an inhibitor to the oxygen supply to the cells, cause an increase in these congenital anomalies in the future? An opinion based on the above facts must come to this conclusion. The chance of a similar prediction can be made for congenital cancer which is already on the increase—as well as cancer in young people. This procedure is what Dr. Philip Norman and James Rorty called unfitting the unborn.

These statements may seem to exaggerate our present health problems but I can assure you that there is an ever-increasing amount of evidence to confirm this viewpoint.

But what does the future hold for us in the field of insecticides? As previously stated we can expect a 284-percent increase in the use of the present insecticides or their equivalent in the newer and more toxic substances in the next 10 to 20 years. There is no alternative—as the insects develop immunity to each insecticide, more toxic ones must be developed and utilized or the entire basis for the chemical approach to the insect problem will fail.

In the future we can expect the insecticide to be applied before the crop is even planted. A substance called thimet has been developed to coat the seeds so that it later enters the system of the plant when the seed begins to sprout. This is an organic phosphate chemical related to the army nerve gas—if an insect bites the plant he is killed. What about the animal or human that eats the plant?

Endothal is another chemical of the future which is now commercially available for use as a defoliant. This chemical, as well as lindane, has been shown to have mutagenic activity. This means that these chemicals interfere with normal cell division in the embryo, and thus cause mutations. If so, the genetic results for man and plants may well be unpleasant or even catastrophic, according to a report in a recent issue of the Journal of Heredity (Cytological and Genetical Effects of the Defoliant Endothal. J. Heredity, July–August 1956.) Thus, the future outlook for insecticides appears to be more hazardous than has been anticipated.

The physical and mental strength of our Nation is being lowered daily by the effects of these insecticides on our body metabolism, and there is reason to believe that the effects will be increased with their future use—unless something is done to control the use of these insecticides on our foods before the deterioration of the Nation's health reaches a point of no return, it may well be catastrophic. That time could be in the foreseeable future if the mass poisoning of the human population continues as outlined for the next 20 years.

So far in this report I have given only a negative critical analysis of the problem. This alone is not sufficient. Criticism should be constructive, and an alternative or better plan should be given.

The better plan, of course, is that recommended and applied by the members of the Natural Food Associates and other groups of farmers that are using similar methods to transform their land into living soil, and growing plants free of harmful chemicals. Such soil produces quality food with the highest nutritional value, which, in turn, improves the physical and mental status of the Nation.

In certain instances when sprays are required they should be noncumulative and, if possible, nontoxic repellents. It is said that this ideal is not economically feasible—but the members of NFA have shown this belief to be false. But this, we must understand and accept, good health for future generations of our children is priceless.

Senator Robert F. Wagner, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News on the 80th anniversary of the birth of the former Senator from New York and the father of our present mayor, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner:

SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER, SR., 1877–1953

"The story of Robert F. Wagner, Sr., will always be an inspiration to our neighbors everywhere in this world who look to America as the avenue of freedom, justice, and equal opportunity." (Hulan E. Jack, Manhattan Borough president.)

Tomorrow, June 8, marks the 80th anniversary of the birth of the late Robert F. Wagner, Sr.

A German immigrant, a product of East Side's public schools, a newsboy, bellhop, tutor, he was a graduate of City College in 1898 and of New York Law School in 1900. He was also an assemblyman, State senator, supreme court justice of New York, a member of the appellate division, and a United States Senator.

Father of the present mayor, Robert Ferdinand Wagner was born in Nastetten, Germany. His father, Reinhardt Wagner, was a cloth dyer, and his mother a teacher. The family emigrated to New York when he was 8 years old. His older brother, Gus, a chef, helped pay the fare to America and supported the family until Reinhardt Wagner got a job as a janitor of a tenement house on East 106th Street.

Robert grew up in this slum neighborhood, helping his parents by selling newspapers on a route that required his getting up every morning at 3. He once said: "My boyhood was a pretty rough passage and impelled me to work for the passage of every measure that I thought would ameliorate the conditions I saw."

With the help of his brother, Gus, Robert F. graduated from City College where he had received a Phi Beta Kappa key and where he had also distinguished himself as a star football quarterback. Following graduation he spent the summer teaching, and under the persistent prodding of his brother, and with borrowed money, Robert F. went to New York Law School graduating with a bachelor of law degree.

Champion of social-reform legislation, a great legislator in legislative techniques, whose record is without parallel in American history, Robert F. Wagner established the State scholarships law and advocated votes for women resulting in the passage of the women's suffrage resolution.

He fought for and secured the passage of the teachers equal-pay bill which saw that women received equal pay for equal work in the schools of the State. He also saw to it that no children under 14 years of age shall be employed; was instrumental in the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Relief and Constructive Act of 1932, the establishment of the Federal Employment Agency, the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the National Labor Relations Act. He also introduced the antilynching laws, the Wagner-Steagell Act of 1937; sponsored the direct primary law giving the people the right to nominate candidates for public office and the election of United States Senators by the people.

He championed eloquently and steadfastly the right of the Jewish people to a sovereign state in their ancestral homeland; sponsored the original Social Security Act; advocated unemployment insurance as early as 1911 and later saw the fulfillment of the first workmen's compensation law. To mention all his other legislative accomplishments would require pages.

Robert F. was married to Margaret Marie McTeague who died in 1902. They were the parents of two boys, Robert and Joseph. Joseph lived less than 7 weeks. The late Senator Wagner was a stocky figure, of medium height, with a firm mouth, strong chin, and blue eyes. He died on May 4, 1953.

Named in his honor are the Robert F. Wagner Place, located at Pearl and South

Streets, the Memorial Pavilion of the new 42d Street Beth David Hospital, at Tudor City Place, and the Robert F. Wagner Junior High School, at 220 East 76th Street.

He never sought fame, but fame came to him because of his inherent love and sympathy for the average man.

ABE E. EISENSTEIN.

What the Party Stood For

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, we have under consideration the so-called civil-rights legislation. There has been much talk about the position of the two major parties on this matter. I am shocked to see a number of Democrats opposing the time-honored right of a trial by jury. From its inception the Democratic Party has stood for the protection of individual liberty. I realize that in recent years it is hard to know where the party has stood on certain issues.

There appeared in the Richmond News Leader on Monday, June 10, 1957, a very timely editorial entitled "What the Party Stood For." This is a most thought-provoking editorial and one I hope all who profess to be Democrats believing in the real principles of the Democratic Party will read and ponder upon.

The editorial is as follows:

WHAT THE PARTY STOOD FOR

Around the shop at Time magazine, when the reporters and editors want to slant a piece a particular way, which is 99 percent of the time, the custom is to drag in that conveniently faceless fellow, the unidentified source. Thus, in the magazine's current issue, "a Furcolo friend," "an Illinois leader," "a House liberal," and "an Illinois Democrat" are variously quoted on the terrible mistakes of the Democratic Party in Congress.

Behind the leadership of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and Speaker SAM RAYBURN, it appears, the party is headed for suicide. In anguish and anger, liberal Democrats are watching Messrs. JOHNSON and RAYBURN advocate shortsighted economy. The House liberal groans helplessly at the destruction of traditional Democratic programs. Everything for which the Democratic Party has long stood, it says here, is going to the bowwows.

But it may be wondered if Time's despondent editors really are altogether clear on the things the Democratic Party has long stood for. The party developed, of course, out of Thomas Jefferson's following a century and a half ago. At that time the Jeffersonian Democrats (they were then known as Republicans, but no matter) were locked in a struggle with the Federalists on the one key issue that has continued to dominate American political controversy—the role of the Central Government as distinguished from the role of the States.

From its very beginnings, the Democratic Party asserted itself to be the party of States rights. It was the party, under Monroe, of minding our own business in the world. It was the party under Jackson, when he killed off the Bank of the United States, of a limited Federal authority. It was traditionally the party of free trade and low tariff.

What were some of the political principles for which the national Democratic Party stood, not so very long ago?

After the war, in the campaign of 1868, the Democratic Party was demanding payment of the public debt, and pledging itself to a tax level sufficient to meet no more than the necessities of Government, economically administered. This same platform asserted that voting was a matter to be regulated and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power, which can find no warrant in the Constitution.

In 1872 the National Democratic Party demanded a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people.

In 1876, the party stood for public economies, official retrenchments, and wise finance.

In 1880 the party pledged its renewed opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism.

In its long platform of 1884, the party renewed its demand for low taxes and governmental economy, again professed devotion to the reserved rights of States, and in the field of foreign affairs said this: "We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the 15 sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none."

The national Democratic Party in 1888 asserted that chief among its principles of party faith is devotion to a plan of Government regulated by a written constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power.

The platform of 1892 strongly assailed the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal capital [which] has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government.

In 1896 the Democratic Party denounced the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation, called for a reduction in the number of useless offices, and condemned arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs. "We especially object," said the national Democratic Party, "to Government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners; and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempts in Federal courts and providing for jury trials in certain cases of contempt."

In 1900 the national Democratic Party condemned government by injunction. In 1904, the party stood for strict economy, opposed unnecessary entanglement in Oriental and European affairs, and renewed its support of trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt. In 1908 the party stood firmly against the great and growing increase in the number of officeholders. In 1912 and 1916 whole sections of the platform were devoted to restatement of faith in States rights. In 1920, this was what the party stood for:

"We believe * * * that each State, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education."

Again in 1928 the national Democratic Party demanded that the constitutional rights and powers of the States shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue.

And in 1932 to come right to the start of the New Deal era, the national Democratic Party, asserting that its platform would be a covenant to be faithfully kept, stood for an immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures, maintenance of the national credit by a Federal budget annually balanced, and no interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

Now, it is perfectly true that through the years, the national Democratic Party fostered many social and political reforms as the party of the workingman. It is true, also, that in the past several campaigns, an expression of faith in the Constitution and in States rights unaccountably has disappeared from Democratic platforms.

But at a time when the House is taking up a civil rights bill, and vast foreign spending lies ahead, it is useful to look back upon some of the original principles of the Democratic Party. These are the things the party stood for; and when the party stood by them the South stood by the party.

Another Protest Against Benson's Antifarmer Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I agree with my constituent, Mr. Hawly Wagner, of Fisher, Minn., when he wrote me "I just do not know what Benson is thinking with." When he says, further, "I don't suppose there is anything to be done," I am afraid, under this administration, he might be right. But I, for one, am going to fight every step of the way for a sound farm program and go on registering protest after protest after protest against the Benson antifarmer farm program.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD another in a long series of protests from family farmers who live with the Benson antifarmer farm program and who, apparently, Mr. Benson is trying to eliminate from the American economy:

FISHER, MINN., *May 6, 1957.*

Honorable Congresswoman KNUTSON:

About 2 weeks ago Secretary of Agriculture Benson set our wheat price for next year at $1.78 per bushel, country average. I just do not know what Benson is thinking with. With the exception of fertilizer all costs of raising our crops have gone up, and he cuts the price we are to receive. I do not mind a cut in acres of wheat, but give us a fair price, and 75 cents on a dollar is not fair. I don't suppose there is anything to be done, but every letter is a protest any way.

Sincerely yours,

HARVEY C. WAGNER.

Appendix

Address by Maj. Gen. P. D. Ginder Before the Illinois Department, ROA, Chicago, Ill., May 25, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, recently in Chicago, through the good offices of Col. Frank W. Chesrow, president of the Illinois Reserve Officers Association, I had the opportunity to address the delegates at a ceremony honoring Maj. Gen. P. D. Ginder, Assistant Chief of Staff of the Department of the Army. The guest of honor's address, on that occasion, was outstanding, and I am happy to include his speech under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. P. D. GINDER BEFORE THE ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT, ROA, CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 25, 1957

Colonel Chesrow, distinguished guests, fellow members of the ROA, I am deeply appreciative of the recognition which you have accorded me. I accept this honor in the name of those thousands of anonymous, loyal, energetic reservists without whose support the forward strides of recent years could not have been made.

In World War II and Korea, I have seen the magnificent citizen soldiers of this Nation in action and there are none finer. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Army Chief of Staff, has said that in the nuclear age our reserve component forces will determine our ability to react quickly and to wage war over the long pull. From the Army standpoint, we now have a firmer requirement for highly trained Ready Reserve forces than we have ever had in our history. With your faith and your support, I am confident that even greater progress can be made in the future than in the past. I thank you again.

I would like now to briefly discuss with you the evolution of the Army's Reserve components.

All of you are aware of the historic role of the Reserve components and know that in every war we have ever fought it has been the citizen soldier, sailor, and airman who have far outnumbered the regular forces. In past wars we were fortunate in being protected by natural barriers from surprise attack by land or sea. Then again the combat readiness of our gallant allies gave us the chance to mobilize and train Reserve forces before committing them to combat.

Today we are confronted with a new set of conditions. The technological advances of the last two decades have made it possible for our potential enemies to apply great force in a minimum amount of time against much of the free world. Since we are the most powerful nation in the world spiritually, economically, and materially, we are the prime target for destruction by the proponents of communism whose announced aim is the domination of the earth. To be weak under such circumstances is to invite attack.

Our strength is the bulwark of freedom and the protector of all free men. We have a global responsibility that demands that we maintain adequate military forces, a sound economy for the support of a strong industrial complex, vigorous research and development programs, and a well educated, healthy, prosperous people. To be the leader and to stay out in front demands a certain amount of sacrifice on the part of all citizens who enjoy freedom and its benefits.

You who are assembled here and millions like you across America have not only served in combat but are now paying in taxes for the strength necessary to maintain a minimum national defense posture. It is the youth of the Nation who must also be made to understand that they are also obliged to give of their time and energy for national defense. Some would like to take the chance of being drafted. But I regret to say that security cannot be based on chance—that would be too great a risk in the new era of guided missiles with atomic warheads.

It is this new technology which forces us into an evolution in the active services as well as the Reserve components. Old ideas and concepts are being discarded daily. New evaluations are being made of force structures, weapons systems, training systems, and means for survival. The mushroom cloud over Hiroshima has left its mark on military thinking, and those who resist progress are as dangerous to the cause of freedom as are our enemies.

Now you might ask, "What is the nature of the evolution in the Army's Reserve components?" Permit me to hastily present for your consideration some of the factors which require change from the systems and concepts of the past.

As all of you know, the Army is being reorganized under the pentomic concept. Under this concept all of the major combat forces are undergoing a reorganization which will result in a better capability to utilize the tremendously powerful new weapons systems developed in recent years. New combat support systems are being developed to conform to new strategic and tactical concepts for these new forces. At this point in time, mobility of the mind is as essential as mobility on land, sea, or in the air.

Now the Ready Reserve mission as set forth in the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952 is to provide trained units and individuals for use in time of war or national emergency to meet requirements in excess of those of the Regular components.

If our Reserve component forces are to have the capability to carry out their mission, these forces must be organized, trained, and equipped in the same manner as the active forces. We simple cannot afford to put forces in the field in war that cannot be called upon to perform equally as well as the active forces. Neither can we entrust the protection of our production base and centers of manpower to forces that lack the capability to meet the attacker on equal terms. These facts are so obvious that they perhaps need not be said. But the magnitude of the evolution that is taking place in all of the services and its eventual impact on the Ready Reserve will have far-reaching effects that all of us must face calmly and intelligently.

In brief, we must first reorganize the Ready Reserve force structure to conform to new structures being evolved. Second, we must introduce the new weapons systems and tactical concepts into the reorganized units. Third, we must retain the officers and men of the units in the use of the new weapons systems as a part of the armed services team. Quality in men and materiel must come first; quantity, second.

No one expects these measures to be accomplished overnight. The full implementation of this process will take years to accomplish. Nevertheless, we cannot go at this in a leisurely fashion. There is a sense of urgency in the matter which leaves no time for complacency.

Much planning has been done on how best to accomplish this evolution from the conventional systems of World War II and Korea to the atomic systems of the future. We do not have all of the answers now and probably never will have for the simple reason that each year brings new developments that alter the planning factors. What we plan now for 1960 may be entirely different from what we do when 1960 comes around.

One factor that complicates planning for the future is that neither we nor anyone else has ever fought an atomic war. Planning factors are really "best guesstimates." You need only read the newspapers to know that there are divergent opinions among the services as to the nature of future war. These are honest opinions of patriotic men who want America to have the best possible defense at least cost. Out of this melting pot of ideas will one day be distilled a clearer statement of the future structures and roles of the services. A firm estimate of the size, structure, and role of the Ready Reserve will come out at the same time.

This evolution of the Ready Reserve I have been talking about is not going to be an easy thing to accomplish under the best of circumstances. There may be an insufficent quantity of the new weapons to simultaneously equip the Regular and Ready Reserve forces. There will be the problem of retraining the officers and noncommissioned officers in new concepts of how to fight, how to use the new weapons, and how to survive.

Again I want to emphasize that we need quality. We cannot afford to expend resources available to us on measures which may fail to produce military proficiency for the atomic age. We must direct our efforts toward the production of units with a degree of training readiness in peacetime that will permit their immediate use in combat on D–day or shortly thereafter.

The past has shown that the citizen soldiers of this Nation can adapt themselves to and absorb new ideas faster than those of any other nation. Properly led, trained, and equipped, our Ready Reserves are the best in the world. At the present time, the Ready Reserve is stronger in all respects than it has ever been. We have the right to be proud of progress being made. Nonetheless, the best minds of this Nation will be required to find means to effect an orderly transition from what we now have to what will be needed in the future.

Many people are severely afraid that another global war is just around the corner. Wars do not just happen—the only thing that could make war inevitable is the mental conviction of the leaders of nations in conflict that it is inevitable. Our job is to

deter war—maintain the peace. If, however, we should some day find ourselves mobilizing for war, I would want to go into combat with every weapon in our arsenal and on our drawing boards. And I believe that the trained officers and men of our Ready Reserve would prove to be the finest guided missiles we have and would lead to victory for our side. Men, not items of military hardware, are paramount in war.

In closing, let me emphasize that the armed services value and respect the advice of the ROA and similar associations dedicated to the maintenance of a strong national defense. Without your able support and assistance, many of the progressive steps taken by the Armed Forces would have failed to gain public acceptance. I salute you as comrades in arms and dedicated Americans. Thank you.

Give Them a Brighter Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Honorable W. Freeland Kendrick was an outstanding mayor of the city of Philadelphia. He was the founder of the Shriners' Hospitals for Crippled Children and on Sunday, June 9, 1957, at the National Shrine Hospital Day program at Philadelphia, Pa., George E. Stringfellow delivered a most interesting address. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with a short biography of Mr. Stringfellow.

There being no objection, the address and biography were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GIVE THEM A BRIGHTER FUTURE

(Address by George E. Stringfellow, imperial chief rabban, A. A. O. N. M. S., member of the board of trustees and secretary, wills, bequests, and gifts committee, of the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children, at the National Shrine Hospital Day program, Philadelphia, Pa., June 9, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow nobles, and Mrs. W. Freeland kendrick, honorary chairman of the Philadelphia unit of the National Shrine Hospital Day program, a wise philosopher many years ago penned these inspiring words which I think are appropriate for this occasion when we honor the memory of Noble W. Freeland Kendrick, whose fertile brain gave birth to the idea of the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children:

"He has achieved much who has lived well, laughed often, and loved much; who has gained the respect of intelligent men and the love of little children, who has filled his niche and accomplished his task, whether by an improved poppy, a perfect poem, or a rescued soul, who has never lacked appreciation of earth's beauty or failed to express it, who has always looked for the best in others and given the best he had, whose life is an inspiration and whose memory is a benediction."

Such was Noble W. Freeland Kendrick, whose memory commands a devotion rooted deeply in human gratitude of his beneficiaries. Noble Kendrick is represented here today by the presence of his widow, one of the most gracious and one of the most lovable persons anyone could ever hope to meet. She was of immense help to him and through him she made a great contribution to our way of life. It's a pleasure and a privilege to acknowledge her presence.

I am delighted to take part in this observance and I bring to you the greetings of Imperial Sir Dr. Gerald D. Crary, imperial potentate; the Imperial Divan, which I in part have the honor to represent; Dr. Galloway Calhoun, president and chairman of the board of trustees of these hospitals; and finally, Imperial Sir Harold Lloyd, chairman of the wills, bequests, and gifts committee.

Our fraternity started 87 years ago with 13 members and 1 temple. Today we have over 800,000 members and 166 temples. As the organization's membership and influence grew, it became apparent that to maintain its spiritual life, the shrine had to become something more than a playground for masons.

In 1911, Imperial Sir Fred Hines, imperial potentate, inspired the thinkers and planners of our fraternity to find a project to justify the shrine's spiritual existence. One of the first proposals was to establish a tuberculosis sanitarium for shriners' children. While this was deemed impractical, it led to the inspired idea of the shriners' hospitals for crippled children.

The shriners' hospitals as we know them had their beginning 37 years ago when Mayor W. Freeland Kendrick, imperial potentate, resolved to find a way to give crippled children of all races and of all creeds a chance to become useful citizens. He outlined his plan to shriners and other public-spirited citizens who enthusiastically supported him.

The cornerstone of the first shriners' hospital was laid in Shreveport, La., 35 years ago. Today, we have 13 hospitals in the United States, 2 in Canada, 1 in Mexico, and 1 in Hawaii. The physical property of our hospitals is worth more than $20 million. These hospitals were built and are operated by shriners. Funds to support these temples of mercy are provided by shriners and through endowments made possible by wills, bequests, and gifts from charity-minded persons.

The underlying purpose of our hospitals is to transform crippled children into normal boys and girls. They are open to children of all races, all creeds, and all colors. Here are the basic requirements for admission:

1. The child must be under 14 years of age.
2. There must be some hope that treatment will be of benefit, and
3. The parents or guardians must be unable financially to provide for the treatment and hospitalization.

Since the opening of our first hospital 35 years ago, we have rehabilitated close to 300,000 crippled children. In the words of Dr. Galloway Calhoun, "No man stands so straight as when he stoops to help a crippled child."

The hardest battles are fought and the most glorious victories are won, not in wars between men but in wars of men against hardship and handicap, against disease and death.

The members of the Shrine of North America have fought against these things, hidden and unhidden, for many years. Especially those things which cripple little children, twist their limbs and bodies out of shape, strike them down in many ways and hang over them like swords of doom. The love for little children has turned the members of the Shrine into ministers of healing and happiness. The Red Fez takes its place with the Red Cross and the red seals as an emblem of mercy and loving kindness.

Basically, the Shrine's objective is to:

1. Promote truth, justice and good fellowship; and
2. Support the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children.

Since its inception, the Shrine has been a humanizing force. It has succeeded in keeping alive the spirit of youth. It adds years to our lives and life to our living.

We Shriners know that pleasure is something one can take out of or put into life, but happiness is something one must share. That is the lesson Shriners learned early in the history of our fraternity. We realize that we do not have a moral right to play until we have helped others who are less fortunate. We have our parades, our ceremonials and our pageants. We are a fun-loving organization. However, our greatest enjoyment comes from the knowledge that we are today giving a brighter tomorrow to thousands of crippled children and thus enriching our own souls.

GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW

George E. Stringfellow, born in Reva, Va., son of James and Elizabeth F. (Bowers) Stringfellow. Married Carrie M. Fearnow.

He is senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison Industries of the McGraw Edison Co.; was a daily business associate of Thomas Alva Edison for many years.

He is director of Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; member of the board of directors of the American Mining Congress, Washington, D. C.; the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, New York City; member of the board of directors of Indiana Technical College, Fort Wayne, Ind.; and member of the board of governors, American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry, New York City.

He is honorary member of the New Jersey Medical Society; was awarded the certificate of service by the Rotary Club of Orange, N. J.; was cited as the outstanding citizen of the Oranges and Maplewood; was cited by the Brotherhood Committee of Christians and Jews for bringing about a better understanding among the three religious sects.

Received an honorary degree of doctor of fine arts from Ithaca College; honorary degree of doctor of laws from South Jersey Law School; honorary degree of doctor of laws from Upsala College; honorary degree of doctor of humanities from Indiana Technical College; a citation of merit from the New Jersey Association of Business Schools; the 1953 Gustav Lucie Brotherhood award; the citizen award for outstanding achievement in industrial statesmanship from the New Jersey Society of Professional Engineers.

He is past president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association; founder and first president of the New Jersey division of the American Cancer Society, and recipient of the American Cancer Society award. Served two terms as president of the Kiwanis Club of New York City; served two terms as president of the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood; former chairman of the finance committee of the Republican Party of New Jersey; member of the Imperial Divan of the Shrine of North America and member of the board of trustees of the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children.

The Problem of International Control Over Nuclear Weapons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the eminent and distinguished

commentator Walter Lippmann raises this morning some of the fundamental issues involved in the problem of international control over nuclear weapons.

With his usual incisive logic, Mr. Lippmann highlights some of the confusion that is attendant upon current policies. He also goes to the heart of the question—the responsibility the nuclear powers have to the rest of the world.

I ask unanimous consent that his column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 13, 1957]

TODAY AND TOMORROW

(By Walter Lippmann)

THE TESTS AND OUR POSITION

The administration is no doubt well aware that on the issue of the testing of nuclear weapons, it must not only make the right decisions. It must also justify them to the opinion of mankind. For the air belongs to all mankind, and the fallout from the American, the British, and the Russian nuclear explosions does not fall exclusively on American, British, and Russian territory. We are confronted with Khrushchev's proposal to put an end to all explosions, and, whatever we may think of the sincerity or the wisdom of the proposal, it is one that we must discuss fully and frankly.

In his television interview a week ago Sunday, Khrushchev had some things to say which provide a good opening for the discussion. He had been asked by Mr. Schorr, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, why the Soviet Government has not given notice of, or even announced afterward, the last five tests conducted in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev's answer was in substance: If your country were big enough, as is Russian territory, for you to explode these tests in the United States, you would not warn of these tests beforehand. This does not happen to be strictly true in that we do announce the tests inside American territory. But what is important about the statement is not this minor inaccuracy. It is the possible implication that the territory of Russia is so big that nuclear explosions could take place within it and remain unknown.

To be quite fair, Khrushchev did not say explicitly that explosions in Russia, if they were not too big, could take place undetected. But he came near enough to saying it to warrant our asking him about it.

For this is precisely the point which troubles people in this country who would otherwise be glad to see an agreement to suspend the tests. They believe that it is in fact quite possible to set off an explosion in Siberia which would not be detected.

Beyond this there lies the question of whether, supposing that technical arrangements could be agreed to for detecting explosions, it would be wise to abolish further testing. On this there is a wide difference of opinion within the administration and the armed services. There are those who believe that if there were no more tests here or in Russia or anywhere else, we would be ending the race securely in the lead. There are others who believe that if the tests are discontinued at this point, the development of the new weapons, which is now underway, will be thrown into confusion.

As a result of these differences of opinion, we are not speaking to the world as clearly as we should. At one time we seem to be saying that we would halt the tests if reliable methods could be agreed upon for enforcing the agreement. At other times, for example in the President's press conference last week, our position seems to be that we will not suspend testing unless we can be very sure that nuclear weapons will not be used at all in a future war. As that is something we can never be sure of—given the fact that the weapons already exist—this is very near to being a rejection of the idea that tests should be suspended or even limited.

Is this a tenable position for the United States? By a tenable position I mean one which we can continue to stand on, what with the mounting anxiety all over the world, what with the Soviet proposal to suspend all tests. I do not think we can stand there, and that we must take the position that we are prepared at least to limit, if not to suspend, further testing, subject to reasonable guaranties that the agreement will be observed.

For despite all the dispute among the scientists about the effects of the fallout, it is impossible to deny that a continuation of the tests—with three or more powers setting off the explosions—may do great harm to many people. If only the people of the three nuclear powers were liable to the harm, the decision could be made coldbloodedly that this is a price that must be paid for security. But when all the other nations are liable to the same harm, we have no right, without their consent, to impose the risk upon them.

The Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the New York Herald Tribune of today, entitled "Soil Bank Reprieved," and an editorial published today in the New York Times, entitled "How Not To Cut the Budget."

On the question of the soil bank, those who live in the large cities must decide how to rationalize farm production without piling up huge surpluses, which place a double tax on the consumer in the large cities, in the form of prices and taxes. I am in favor of giving what seems like a very constructive plan a chance to work, especially as it is coupled with getting away from high fixed farm price supports, which I believe victimize the city consumer and deceive the farmer. I hope very much that the conferees on the part of the Senate will stand fast in conference on the action of the Senate and see to it that we get the full benefit of this effort, at long last, toward a constructive farm policy.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 13, 1957]

SOIL BANK REPRIEVED

The Senate has acted with commendable wisdom in saving the administration's soil bank program, which is designed to rid this country of its wasteful and expensive crop surpluses. The heart of the program is the acreage reserve, which provides for withdrawing land from the growing of wheat, cotton, corn, rice, tobacco, and peanuts, the so-called basic crops. But last month the House decided that payments to farmers for doing so should end after this year. This meant that the acreage reserve plan would have been in effect for only a year and a half, scarcely long enough to do much good.

Now the bill will have to go back to the House. But the chances are that in its final form it will retain the soil bank in its integral shape, which includes, besides the acreage reserve, a long-range conservation program.

There has been criticism of the soil bank, and, as usual, the farmer's interest has been obscured or forgotten in the contest for political advantage. Of course the soil bank costs money. Of course there are bound to be some abuses of it by a small number of unscrupulous farmers and landowners. But the point is that it provides the best foundation for a reasonable farm policy, the best hope for stabilizing agricultural production of the United States while protecting both farmer and consumer.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson was quite right when he characterized the House's action as false economy. Without the soil bank there would be no end to increasing price supports and other unproductive subsidies on which the farmer would become dependent for a large percentage of his income. As for the consumer, his taxes and the prices he paid for food would rise at the same time. Piles of surplus crops would continue to mount. Certainly the House must not torpedo the soil bank a second time.

[From the New York Times of June 13, 1957]

HOW NOT TO CUT A BUDGET

Administration forces in the Senate, with the stalwart assistance of a handful of Members of the opposition who refused to go along with the majority leaders, have won a victory of no inconsiderable importance in the field of farm policy.

The soil-bank plan, as originally passed, called for payments up to $750 million annually under the acreage reserve (emergency) phase of the program and $450 million annually under the conservation reserve (long-term) part of the program. Acreage reserve payments are payments made to farmers who agreed to remove from production acreage devoted to such surplus crops as wheat, corn, cotton, peanuts, rice, and tobacco. Payments under the conservation reserve phase of the program are payments to farmers signing agreements to retire surplus cropland to such soil-conserving uses as trees or grass. In both cases it was contemplated that the arrangement should remain in force for the 4 years beginning with 1956, or through 1959. However, under the conservation reserve, or long-term, phase of the program, though the period for entering into such agreements was to expire in 1959, the agreements themselves could extend much further into the future.

Last month the House, carried away by a sudden urge to cut back the administration's $71.8 billion budget, applied the meat ax to the soil-bank program. It voted to knock out the acreage reserve feature completely after this year and to reduce the ceiling on aggregate annual payments under the conservation phase to $250 million. The Senate, in this week's commendable job of restoration, voted to authorize the acreage reserve payments through 1958 and raised the ceiling on conservation-reserve payments from $250 million to $350 million.

It is true the Senate action is not automatically binding upon the House and that the difference between the two versions will have to be ironed out in conference. But we think that the Senate ideas will in the main prevail. We say this because the House Representatives at the conference will not be in a position to defend their own version very strongly. For they will be encumbered by the embarrassing fact that in refus-

ing to authorize the funds for the continuation of the acreage-allotment plan through 1958 they were slashing the budget for 1957–58, though such payments would not make their appearance budgetwise until 1958–59.

Welfare Fund Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which was published in the New York Times of June 5, entitled "Welfare Fund Bills."

This excellent editorial refers to measures before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and its Labor Subcommittee, which would require the registration and reporting of union welfare and pension benefit plans. It undertakes a comparison of S. 1145 with S. 1122, introduced respectively by myself and Senator DOUGLAS, and urges prompt enactment of S. 1145 properly amended to encompass the recommendations made recently before the Labor Subcommittee by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell. I might add that S. 1145, thus amended, has been reintroduced by myself as S. 2175.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WELFARE FUND BILLS

Secretary Mitchell's proposals for Federal legislation dealing with labor welfare and pension funds throws the whole weight of the Eisenhower administration behind drastic full disclosure. Involved, directly or indirectly, are the well-being of 75 million people and an annual intake of $7 billion, of which $2 billion is labor's contribution. The administration's position is now much tougher than it has been in the past.

Two measures now before Congress are in point: the Ives bill (S. 1145), which the administration backed last year, and the Douglas bill (S. 1122). The Ives bill gives the Secretary of Labor wide discretion in deciding what information is to be required and the degree of public disclosure, with power to exempt "classes or types" of funds. It also provides penalties for failures in compliance. The Douglas bill, however, stakes out in great detail the ground to be covered in registration and reporting, requires records to be publicly available, gives the SEC investigating power and prescribes penalties not only for violations but also stronger ones for the actual misuse of funds. But it exempts from registration all plans covering fewer than 25 persons and those with fewer than 100 from annual reporting.

Secretary Mitchell's proposals are made as amendments to the Ives bill. They would eliminate the Secretary of Labor's discretionary power as to exemptions now given in the bill and would make mandatory public disclosure. They would also give the Secretary authority to investigate and to impose penalties—much as in the Douglas bill. The Secretary would be required to draw up a schedule of the information to be furnished by the funds, certified by audits of public accountants.

The Ives bill, so amended, should be promptly passed. It would then include the strong features of the Douglas bill and exclude the weaker ones, especially the exemption of smaller funds and SEC administration. Also it would follow sound principles of Federal-State jurisdiction—leaving to the States the power to set up and enforce operating standards and giving to them essential, and nationwide, information of great help in performing that task.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Austin (Tex.) Statesman for June 6, 1957.

The editorial is an extremely clear exposition of the issues in the William S. Girard case, a case of high importance to every American now serving his country in uniform in a foreign land.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAVE WE THROWN A UNITED STATES SOLDIER TO THE WOLVES?

Government authorities would have been in better case had they surrendered immediately Army Sp3c. William S. Girard to a Japanese court to face manslaughter charges in the death of a Japanese woman rather than waiting until an anti-American, mob-like hysteria had broken out in Japan and then deciding to turn the youth over to the tender mercies of a Japanese court surrounded by inflamed public opinion.

This is another of the occasional inept actions which have followed official decision. This youngster is in the land of a former enemy doing his duty as an American soldier, and as a guard at a range had specific general and special orders to keep trespassers off the field. Presumably he was on post. If so he would have violated orders if he had left it to attempt at first hand to get trespassers off the field.

These trespassers, called in Army vernacular "scavengers" because they rushed in between firings to pick up empty shells for their metal value as junk, insisted on breaking field regulations and so the habit had been to fire empty shells from a grenade discharge mechanism on the soldier's rifle in the general direction to try to get them away. In the case of young Girard, the shell inadvertently killed a woman.

Federal authorities now have put themselves in the attitude of appearing to sacrifice young Girard to incendiary Japanese opinion in order to mollify that opinion, a thing which soldiers and the parents of soldiers and the friends of soldiers as well as American public opinion will not quickly be inclined to forget.

State Secretary Dulles and Defense Secretary Wilson, neither of them identified with the military, conveniently ruled that Girard was not acting under orders at the time. This has the appearance of being an expedient device for turning young Girard over to the Japanese, about whom there is reason to doubt now that they will be able to give Girard a fair trial. The value of an American soldier apparently is less important than appeasing a Japanese mob.

Harry Karns Writes About the Shrinking World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Harry Karns is one of our country's serious students of the world today and the position of the United States within it. Combined with an articulate expressiveness in both speech and written word his knowledge serves to help his fellows to greater understanding of the basic factors affecting our lives. Recently there appeared under his byline in the Long Beach Independent-Press Telegram newspaper a particularly penetrating analysis of why Americans must be intimately concerned with events in seemingly far away parts of the world. The piece was illustrated by a map of Europe, 12 years after the close of World War II, showing how the U. S. S. R. dominates the scene with satellite nations clustered like a shield around its western borders. Adopting the theme that intercontinental bombers and missiles have made every man everybody's neighbor, including southern Californians and Russians, Mr. Karns wrote:

CALIFORNIANS, THIS IS YOUR MAP

(By Harry Karns)

Take a look at the map on this page. The places portrayed here are practically in your backyard.

There was a time when these areas were foreign to the United States in almost every respect. They were distant in terms of both time and space. We could isolate ourselves from their affairs—and their imbroglios—with few, if any, ill effects.

But today this is as much your map as is the map of southern California.

The speed of modern aircraft has made every man everybody's neighbor, for better or for worse.

Last January 16, 3 B–52 Stratofortresses took off from Castle Air Force Base at Merced. Forty-five hours and 19 minutes later, they circled in over the San Bernardino Mountains and swooped to a landing at March Air Force Base.

In the interim, these intercontinental carriers of H-bombs had flown around the globe nonstop.

Irrevocably, you became your foreign brother's neighbor, if not his keeper, when these mighty jets set their wheels down on home soil at the end of that historic flight.

For our defense strategists are not deluded. They know that the world's airlanes are two-way routes and that, indeed, the Russians possess a counterpart of the B–52 which makes our side of the world just as accessible to them as their side is to us.

In the case of almost any nation except Russia, this closeness would present no serious problems. But the map's artist illustrates vividly why proximity to Russia is dangerous.

During World War II and thereafter, before the free world detected her broad scheme, Russia had stabbed in the back and staked down a string of states from Estonia to the Mediterranean Sea. Their subjugation was effected by flagrant assault or the less violent but quite as deadly method of political subversion.

Having just defeated a truculent and ambitious Germany, the nations of the West now found themselves threatened by a truculent and ambitious Russia, which so short a time before had been their ally. The satellites served Russia as a shield behind which to foment unrest throughout the world. Armed and trained by Russia and backed up by the vast Russian armies, they posed an ominous threat to the peace and freedom of Western Europe.

Owing to the shrinkage of the earth in the air age and the interwoven economic ties among modern nations, the fate of the Western Hemisphere was inextricably bound up with that of Western Europe and other areas adjacent to Russia or Russian-dominated territory. Any spot in the world at swords points with communism became our defense frontier.

The perfection of nuclear weapons and globe-circling aircraft has brought that frontier to within a bomb throw.

That throw could be frighteningly accurate. Last year, the Gyroscope Co. announced it had developed an electronic control system enabling B-52 crews to ferret out and strike "any target in the world in any weather."

Presumably the Russians are working on their own devices for locating and striking targets under difficult conditions.

And so this is your cozy world as of spring 1957.

What effect has it upon your smaller world of daily contact? How does your home area, southern California, fit into the picture?

As a major defense center, southern California provides jobs for thousands in the aircraft, electronics, and shipyard industries and in the myriad industries and businesses which serve, supply, and supplement them. It is the setting for vital Navy bases, Marine and Army camps, Air Force bases, and weapons experimentation ranges.

Again, there is a direct relationship between the map above and a map showing southern California's protective ring of 16 Nike guided missile batteries. This ring, running from the Santa Monica Mountains to Point Fermin, includes batteries at Los Alamitos, White Point, Point Vicente, Lakewood, Hyperion, Saddle Peak, Playa del Rey, Redondo Beach, Sepulveda, Oat Mountain, Los Pinetos, Magic Mountain, Whittier Narrows, Mount Gleason, Brea, and Mount Disappointment.

These form our last line of defense in the event the enemy should decide to try to extend another chain from the central stake and bring the United States of America into her collection of satellites.

But this line of missile bases in southern California is not separate from the line dividing the free from the slave worlds in Europe and Asia, as shown in the map. Rather, it is an extension of that line.

We are no longer a drowsy, quiet countryside in an obscure corner of the world. That day is gone forever, and our heartbeat is one with that of friend or enemy, wherever he may be.

Protect FBI Files

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, June 4, 1957, my senior Republican colleague on the Committee on the Judiciary of the House yielded to me for some comments on the Jencks decision by the United States Supreme Court.

In view of those comments and my tentative feelings about such decision, I wish to call the attention of the House to an editorial, which appeared in the Washington News under date of June 11, 1957.

The editorial follows:

PROTECT FBI FILES

The time is short, the issue vital, and therefore, it seems to us, Congress should move quickly to find out just how the United States Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case must be applied, or overruled by a new law.

This is the case in which the high court appears to have ruled that under certain circumstances the Government's confidential FBI files shall be opened to persons charged with crime and to the public generally. The alternative apparently is for the Government to drop its prosecutions.

Protection of the confidential files of Government intelligence agencies is, in our view, basic.

Reports of confusion among Federal district attorneys about the effect of the decision are numerous.

Associate Justice Tom Clark of the Supreme Court said that the intelligence agencies of the Government might as well close up shop if the Court's decision stands. He said it would permit criminals to rummage through confidential information as well as vital national secrets.

The trial judge in the case, Ewing Thomason of El Paso, has said the ruling is the "greatest comfort to guilty defendants in many a year. * * * I am in agreement with Justice Tom Clark."

The Justice Department is making a major study of the effects of the decision. But Congress should start its own inquiry with immediate hearings.

Congress should not await the Justice Department's findings.

Congress makes the laws.

In this case, it seems to us, it better make a law quick, or find convincing evidence that the Supreme Court's ruling is not as dangerous as Justice Clark says it is.

Further Awards for Rev. John M. Positano, O. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, for the past 14 years, the Reverend John Michael Positano, O. S. A., national honorary chaplain of the Italian American Veterans of the United States, Inc., has entertained our servicemen and women in hospitals, camps, and other military installations.

During World War II, in the Fourth Naval District, he organized, with the permission of the late Cardinal Dougherty, archbishop of Philadelphia, his famous Father John's Musical Troupe, a cross section of professional song and dance men, amateurs, policemen, firemen, cabdrivers, boy scouts, high-school students, anyone who was willing to work with him in his free time and on a voluntary basis.

Father John emcees his shows and performs personally on his clarinet and is called the priest who plays his prayers, and referred to as the one who brings musical medicine to military patients.

In an operation of mercy, he has made approximately 750 visits to the sick, and so forth, bringing them a musical gift.

A former member of the musicians' union known as Jack Foster, he now carries a gold card giving him lifetime honorary membership in the federation, an honor shared by few people, such as former President Truman.

Having the talent, after his ordination by Cardinal Spellman in 1942, he used it and organized that of others as he personally says to do his share in the war efforts.

He styles his work, which is beyond his normal duties as a pastor's assistant, active in youth activities, scouting, and so forth, a means to boost the morale of the Armed Forces and to spread good will toward those of different races, colors and creeds.

He not only organized, rehearsed, and directed talent—all in his so-called free time off-duty days, but made most of the contacts—phoning, pick up, transportation of the troupe, and so forth.

Besides the field of entertainment, Father John cooperated tirelessly with bond and stamp drives, blessing banners on the street corners, treating military personnel from the parish on furlough, celebrating military masses for their physical and moral welfare, and so forth. He assisted at military funerals, made contact with Gold Star mothers, sent over 18,000 spiritual folders to boys and contacted them by letter, helping to rehabilitate them after leaving separation centers.

He lectured at universities to civic groups, and so forth, who in turn supplied hostess groups, ward parties, and so forth, for the service personnel.

Awarded twice by the Fourth Naval District, he also was cited by the Army, the Marine Corps, USO, American Legion, Catholic War Veterans, National Jewish Welfare Board, Red Cross, Salvation Army, the Italian Government, and most recently by the national department of the Italian American War Veterans of the U. S. Inc., for the work he did with his group of entertainers, in bringing new hope and happiness to thousands of hospitalized veterans—for devoting his time to youth and Scout activities to combat juvenile delinquency, and currently for lending his talents to help the Hungarian refugees.

One of his greatest thrills, as he says, was to appear on the TV show We the People for Truman's Committee on Religion and Welfare of the Armed Forces, to appeal to the communities to take up where USO left off after it became financially pinched.

His latest appearance was at the Chelsea Naval Hospital, Chelsea, Mass., on June 6, where he gave the shut-ins there a dose of his musical medicine.

On June 7, he publicly honored not only his present troupe of 35 entertainers, but the memory of all people engaged in similar work, at a dinner in

Lawrence, Mass., and made the following statement:

We still have a big job to do, entertaining and maintaining the morale of the men and women in the Armed Forces. It takes warm words to win a cold war. This means not merely giving money, it means giving one's time, talent, one's self, the spiritual uplift needed by those away from home. America, my friends, has always been a land that has honored its dead, let us never become a land that has forgotten its wounded.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, April 19, 1957.

Rev. JOHN M. POSITANO, O. S. A.,
National Honorary Chaplain, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., Holy Rosary Church, Lawrence, Mass.

DEAR FATHER POSITANO: The President was glad to be reminded of the many volunteer services performed by our citizens on behalf of the armed forces. The various measures of "comfort, joy, and relaxation" which they provide are much appreciated and certainly add to the morale of the recipients—and of the donors.

Please give the President's greetings to the members of your troupe when you honor them at dinner in Philadelphia on May 6th.

And best wishes to yourself.

Sincerely,

FREDERIC FOX,
Special Assistant in the White House Office.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

Rev. JOHN MICHAEL POSITANO, O. S. A.,
National Honorary Chaplain, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., Holy Rosary Church, Lawrence, Mass.

DEAR FATHER POSITANO: The President asked me to thank you both for your nice letter and for letting him see your scrapbook of items telling of the fine work you and your troupe have done entertaining people in veterans' hospitals during the last 14 years. I know he adds his own personal thanks to the appreciation of the individuals who have enjoyed your performances.

Certainly you must find great satisfaction and reward in your efforts to bring pleasure to so many deserving soldiers and veterans.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

ANN C. WHITMAN,
Personal Secretary to the President.

P. S.—I am returning your scrapbook to you, since I know it has great value for you.

ITALIAN-AMERICAN WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES, INC.

This is to certify that Rev. Father John M. Positano, national honorary chaplain, has served our organization faithfully and honorably as a spiritual adviser, a veteran, and a musician. By playing his prayers through the reed of his clarinet, he has brought many back to the sacraments. His guiding principles and devotion to God, he has shown some the way to the top in their profession. He has worked tirelessly, with his troupe of entertainers, in bringing new hope and happiness to thousands of hospitalized veterans. He unselfishly devoted his time to youth work and scouting activities to combat juvenile delinquency. Most recently, he has lent his talents to the Hungarian Relief Committee. With great personal sacrifice Father Positano continues to extend a hand to all men in need regardless of race, color, or creed. In recognition thereof, and for his exemplary devotion to the causes of our great organization, I proudly and humbly sign my name to this most deserving commendation.

FRANK A. CINELLA,
National Commander.
ANTHONY P. CIOFFI,
National Adjutant.

A Postal Employee's Wife Explains Her Nagging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I had received from a postal worker discussing the difficulties he and his family were having in maintaining a minimum standard of living on his present salary scale. I felt he spoke for many postal workers and presented a good case; hence I thought his letter would be interesting to other Members of Congress as well.

I recently received another unusual letter on the same subject, this one from the wife of a postal employee. She confesses that she aggravates her harassed husband by nagging him over money matters, and adds:

Can anyone keep from nagging when you do not have enough money to feed and clothe your family properly?

One of the things which impresses me very much about this housewife's letter is her report on the great amount of home work which is part of a postal clerk's job. I have heard this many times from postal employees who must put in endless hours of unpaid overtime at home working on postal schemes. I think it is a point well made.

As one of those, Mr. Speaker, who has gone on record in favor of the postal pay increase now under consideration, I feel it would be helpful to those Members of the House who may not have made up their minds on this legislation to read this letter, as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *June 1, 1957.*

Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
Members of Congress, Third District, Missouri, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN: I am a housewife, the wife of a postal employee and mother of two children. My husband's salary is $4,410 per year. The actual takehome pay is $145.54 every 2 weeks. This is what we have to live on. The only items that are taken out of my husband's pay are taxes, retirement and life insurance on himself. There is no possible way to save any for a rainy day, in fact we have to do without things that we really need.

I was on a strict budget a few years back, but the price of everything has increased so much that is is impossible for me to be on any type of budget, as I do not have enough money to go around. I buy just the items we need to exist and if there are a few pennies left over, they go for items like ice cream and soda for the children.

My family has not had a vacation since my husband began working in the Postal Service. During the first few years he was working as an extra or substitute in the Postal Service and did not accumulate or earn any annual leave and was required to work when he was needed. He thought when he became regular he could spend some time with us and perhaps all of us could take a much-needed vacation, but his thoughts were wrong. The fact is when he became regular the prices of everything kept increasing and his wages remained practically the same, therefore what budget I am working on surely will not allow for any vacation for any of us.

My two children are going to grade school and believe me it costs something to send them to school. I do not know how we will manage to send them through high school and perhaps to college on my husband's salary. At the present time I buy the material and make practically all of my clothing, also the children's and part of my husband's clothing.

I have asked my husband many times to resign from the postal service and to return to his previous trade, which pays much more than his salary in the postal service. I am sure he would not have any trouble bringing himself up to date in his previous trade. My husband has equal to 12 years in the postal service. He says he likes this work and has too many years in the postal service to resign now and also he thinks the postal salary and service will get back to normal in the near future.

I know I aggravate him a lot by nagging, but can anyone keep from nagging when you do not have enough money to feed and clothe your family properly? I also know this is not my husband's fault, but the fault of the Government, that is the reason I am writing you and hoping you can get something done about it. I am sure all of you in Congress are somewhat familiar with these problems. I have seen the B. L. S. figures and almost anytime you hear the news or read a newspaper, you see or hear that the cost of living has reached an alltime high. I do not need to see or hear this, all I have to do is go to buy food or any other article that is a necessity to life to find out this information.

I have relatives and friends who are working in outside industry and in some cases they are making three times as much as my husband. Even the ones without a trade of any sort are keeping up with the cost of living.

I am not trying to keep up with the Joneses. All I am asking is for my husband to be paid a salary that will provide my family with a decent living.

I have heard some people say that anyone can be a postal clerk, that it is no trade of any sort. If this is true, then why does my husband have to study so much on his own time to keep up with his work? All of the postal clerks I know have to do the same thing. They just get through with one scheme and have to start on another. This is the life that a postal clerk's family has to live.

I ask you, what would you do if your children asked for a new pair of shoes or food that is so high that you cannot afford to buy it, due to the measly salary that the Government pays a postal employee?

I am sure you do not need any itemized accounts of actual expenditures to prove the above statements.

Sincerely.

Farley Casts a Prediction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following cheerful political forecast made by the Honorable James A. Farley as reported by Bob Considine in the New York Journal-American on May 31, 1957:

FARLEY CASTS A PREDICTION

(By Bob Considine)

James A. Farley, 69 this week, feels there will be a Democrat in the White House before he's 72.

The big, robust and respected chairman of the board of Coca-Cola Export Co., one of the more astute professionals in the history of United States politics, hedges only slightly in this birthday prediction.

The men in the running for the 1960 nomination must win any interim elections by a good, stout margin to be successful against a Republican banner carrier who may be personally chosen and endorsed by Dwight D. Eisenhower. Here's Jim:

"I would say that if Bob Meyner, the Governor of New Jersey, wins decisively next year in his try for reelection, he'll be hard to overlook in 1960. So will Senator SYMINGTON, Senator KENNEDY, and LYNDON JOHNSON. And don't count out Governor Harriman or JOHN MCCORMACK."

Tacitly, Farley appeared to have eliminated Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver. Or perhaps they were included in his sweeping "and others."

"Our chances are better than good to gain seats in the Senate and House next year," Big Jim said, "because in the case of the Senate most of the races next year will be conducted in normally Democratic States, and in the case of the House we won in 1956 despite the Eisenhower landslide. So it should be easier to win in 1958.

STILL FULL OF BOUNCE

"The swing is Democratic through the country. People want a change, just as they wanted a change and got it in 1952. We just happen to have more good young Senators and Governors than the other fellows."

The old Haverstraw, N. Y., first baseman who put F. D. R. in the White House and broke with him over the third-term issue, is full of bounce these days despite two recent operations on his right eye.

He removed his glasses, as we sat in his memento-filled Madison Avenue office, held a hand over his left eye and tested the orb whose retina was detached when struck with a flying placard at the Chicago convention last year.

"I can see you O. K.," he said, looking across his desk. "The trouble is that you're farther away than the good eye tells me you are. But thank God I've had an 80-percent recovery after the second operation." The talk returned the scene to his mind. "I was standing there with Bob Wagner, Abe Stark, and a couple others, in a blizzard of flying cards and falling paper, as I've done a thousand times before, when I saw the darn thing coming at me. I ducked, but so did it—in some wind current, I guess—a direct hit."

Jim's cheerful about that and things in general.

"I've lived as an adult through the greatest half century in the history of mankind," he said, with enthusiasm. "I saw the Wrights fly their plane up the Hudson the year I came to New York—1906. I saw the first Pan-Am Clipper land at Pearl Harbor after a flight from California. If somebody had told me 50 years ago that I'd sit in New York and watch a football game being played in San Francisco I'd have said he was crazy."

PEOPLE BASICALLY STRONG

He is not one to pine for the old days. "The Nation's getting along fine, I think," Jim said. "If we have any troubles right now, we'll work them out. We always come through. The people are basically strong and right. We all gripe about taxes and criticize those who must levy them. But we're living a lot better than we did 25 years ago, and with atomic energy and all we'll be living that much better 25 years from now."

I asked Jim to name the 10 greatest men he had met. Without hesitation he answered, "Not necessarily in the order named, I'd say they were Popes Pius XI and XII, Al Smith, F. D. R., MacArthur, Eisenhower, Herbert Hoover, Churchill, Harry Truman, and De Valera."

His day? "I'm at work at 8:30 and stay until 6:30 or 7," Jim said. "I manage to get to the Biltmore Turkish baths three times a week. A good steam, a rub and a cold shower constitutes the kind of forced relaxation a man needs."

Then he paused imperceptibly and the room of many memories and affectionately inscribed photographs of the mighty was very still.

"Besides," he said, thinking of his busy life, "since Bess passed on it helps to kill the hours."

Atom Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texas has in Robert W. Akers, of the Beaumont Enterprise, one of the ablest and most cogent editorial writers in the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent to have a portion of Mr. Akers' editorial for June 8, 1957, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. Akers, in these four short paragraphs, characteristically goes straight to the heart of an important matter: the playing of partisan politics by this administration in regard to the testing of nuclear weapons.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S LIKE THIS

(By Robert W. Akers)

Poor old Adlai Stevenson.

Less than a year ago he was condemned as "dangerous" because he suggested an end to atom tests. Now everybody's getting in the act, including President Eisenhower, the man who defeated him.

What editorial outbursts against his thought. What outrage among American Legion convention delegates who heard him make his suggestion in Los Angeles. What viewing with alarm on the part of Republican speakers in the 1956 presidential race.

It was the first week of last September, a scant 9 months ago, when Adlai appeared before the war veterans at their national gathering. For the rest of the vote drive, right up to the November 6 election, Democratic Candidate Stevenson was dogged with reprimands, charges, and accusations because he proposed halting A-bomb and H-bomb experiments.

I remember writing a column at the time in which I pointed out that Mr. Eisenhower himself had, as President, suggested atomic tests be discontinued as a step toward disarmament.

But this was too good an opportunity to be booted away by the Republican high command. The fact that there was a fundamental agreement between the two candidates on the issue was conveniently ignored and dat ol' debbil Adlai took the rap for destruction of America's defense. Even the President followed the tactical course of overlooking his previously stated views on the A-bomb question.

Felix E. Wormser Leaves Government Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Mineral Resources Felix E. Wormser leaves Government service on the 15th of this month. At a great personal and financial sacrifice to himself he accepted the assistant secretaryship in 1953, agreeing to serve for 1 year. The difficulties and challenges of the post kept Secretary Wormser at it for over 4 years.

There are probably few responsibilities in Government more important and more deserving of attention from men of courage, knowledge and decision than those dealing with the Nation's basic minerals supply problems. Secretary Wormser brought all these qualities and more to the execution of his duties. Particularly, he brought to them a deep understanding of the American political and economic system: both its benefits and its workings. As a consequence the welfare of our Nation and its people have been enhanced by the personal sacrifices Secretary Wormser has made over these years of devoted, patriotic service to our country.

There were often points of difference between Secretary Wormser and members of the Congress of the United States on matters affecting our minerals programs. But these points always were those on which patriotic men might differ honestly according to their own beliefs as to what is in the highest and best interests of our country. I am sure that there is not one amongst us in the Congress of the United States who does not feel an abiding respect and affection for Secretary Wormser, nor who does not most sincerely wish him well on his return to private life. Probably our individual feelings were summed up by President Eisenhower on June 4 when he wrote as follows in accepting Secretary Wormser's resignation:

DEAR FELIX: I deeply regret that the time is so near when you must leave Government service. However, I understand the personal reasons that led to your decision, and I must accept your resignation as Assistant Secre-

tary of the Interior, effective June 15 as you requested.

You can well be proud of the important public service you have rendered during the past 4 years. The mineral resources of the United States constitute a significant part of our national wealth. Their conservation and development merit at all times the close attention of experienced Government officials to insure that the strength they provide will be of maximum benefit for present and future generations. As Assistant Secretary for Mineral Resources, you have made a large contribution to the formulation of administration policies in this regard, and tangible evidence of your highly effective work will be available to the American people as they continue to benefit from these resources in the decades ahead.

My thanks go to you for your numerous accomplishments and for your willingness to remain at your post long beyond the period originally specified. I wish you continued success and happiness in the future.

With warm regard.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Address by W. Paul Stillman Before the Advertising Club, Newark, N. J., June 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech made by an old friend and constituent of mine, W. Paul Stillman, before the Advertising Club in the city of Newark, N. J., on June 4, when he received the Outstanding Citizen Award for 1956.

Mr. Stillman's address was on the subject of taxation, and his observations carried a particular message to the citizens of New Jersey. New Jersey is one of the very few States in the Union which does not have a sales tax or an income tax, and during these days of high cost in the operations of government there is a constant demand for the creation of new sources of revenue to meet State government operations. Like citizens everywhere, our New Jersey taxpayers do not want any new taxes—they want economy in government.

I am particularly impressed by the sensible, straightforward, and understandable advice which Mr. Stillman gives in the following sentences:

No matter how badly we may think we need a public service, it must never be purchased at the price of impairing the productive capacity of the community. There are things we cannot afford, and these things we must not attempt to acquire. A simple rule, but an often neglected one.

This advice may well apply to the problems we face in the Federal Government, and I may add that self-denial makes for strength of character, which is a trait the citizens of our country heartily admire. And again when he says in his closing remarks:

And when we think of taxes, let us remember that they must fit our environment, be tailored to our capacities, be adequate to our services, and equitable among our citizens.

We can all heed such advice with profit, and I am very proud to know Mr. Stillman as my friend who contributes sound reasoning and sensible advice in a simple straightforward way to his fellow citizens.

His speech follows:

Because the city of Newark is of such importance to the State, and because its future is so entwined with the future of the State, I would like to comment briefly upon a problem that is at the moment acute, and of paramount importance to both. No matter how worthy either a public or private project may be, its fulfillment will almost certainly depend upon finance. On the public side, this raises the thorny problem of taxation. On the one hand are the taxpayers, who must maintain their standards of living and protect the productivity of the bases from which taxes must be raised. On the other, are the service establishments, often represented by dedicated men and women who agree with former Justice Holmes when he said, "I like to pay taxes. With them I buy civilization." Each of us agrees with both points of view, but each of us has different responsibilities to fulfill; and it is, therefore, methods rather than objectives, that create the great dilemmas of public finance.

Our major difficulty is this: Basically speaking, the choice of methods is comparatively limited. By whatever names we may call them, or in spite of whatever refinements we may introduce into them, there are only four bases from which a State can raise substantial revenues—sales, income, property, and excises—and every State has a major base or bases that classifies it as a certain type of State. Whatever this major base may be, it tends to become a balancing item to meet increased expenditures. As service demands increase, the pressure on the major base increases; and taxpayers seek relief in some other base that will redistribute portions of the burden.

In spite of the heaviest property tax in the country, New Jersey has for many years resisted a shift to other forms of taxation. This resistance has been deep and genuine. It has been reflected in the platforms of both parties for 20 years. It has received full and continuous endorsement at the polls. Both governors and legislators have, on the whole, either respected, or learned to respect, this mandate. It is true that New Jersey is the only industrial State that has maintained this tax pattern. Indeed, only two other States—Nebraska and Texas—have neither income nor sales taxes. On the face of it, New Jersey appears in a somewhat irregular position, and there are those who continue to urge that we should get in step with modern tax practices.

After many years of association with this problem, there are three overall conclusions that seem plain to me:

First, New Jersey is one of the greatest industrial and residential areas in the world. It is, I believe, our destiny to intensify this development. In an environment such as this, perhaps, a property tax base makes more sense than in an agricultural community where income is so closely associated with property.

Second, New Jersey is a small State in area, with great urban concentrations at both ends; great recreational facilities in every part; and great highway corridors that link it with the North, South, and West. Perhaps a broad use of excises and even selected sales, best reaches the tax liabilities of those who use our services.

Third, New Jersey is a State which develops on business competition. Taxes are an important element in competitive costs. We are generally regarded, tax-wise, as a favorable State for business. We must maintain that advantage—and let us never forget this.

I am not unaware of the imperfections of our tax structure. The fifth report of the Commission on State Tax Policy to which I subscribed, set these forth in considerable detail; and the sixth report emphasized a "century of inequities" in our property tax. These imperfections, I wish to see corrected; and I have been pleased with the progress made in this direction over the past 5 years. To some it has seemed slow and insufficient; but to me it has been steady, thoughtful, and fundamental.

More progress has been made toward putting our property tax in order, than in all the preceding years of our statehood.

Our grant-in-aid programs have been generously increased, both toward the improvement of our services and the restraint of our property base.

Our competitive position has been maintained, and will, I am confident, be strengthened, by further improvements in our property tax that are now so much before us all.

There is, however, the other side of this problem—increasing expenditures at all levels of Government. It is the intensity and magnitude of these pressures that so often throw tax structures out of balance. But I have a few thoughts on this, also. The place to restrain large and untimely expenditure programs is at the taxing level. Once a major tax is adopted, its yield is the only limit to its use; and it will carry other bases along with it. Tax dollars raised at the local level are harder to raise and better spent than any other dollar in the tax economy. No matter how badly we may think we need a public service, it must never be purchased at the price of impairing the productive capacity of the community. There are things we cannot afford, and these things we must not attempt to acquire. A simple rule, but an often neglected one.

Both our State and our city are faced with the old, old problem: How to maintain adequate services for their citizens and still maintain the competitive advantages that make such maintenance possible. New Jersey has, within our life span, been a well-governed State. Our city has made great strides in the past few years. We are proud of what has been done, and look, with confidence, toward further improvements. We are a conservative State. We are not given to violent and erratic changes nor to untried experiments. New Jersey is a good place to work and a good place to live. Let us dedicate ourselves to keeping it this way; and when we think of taxes, let us remember that they must fit our environment, be tailored to our capacities, be adequate to our services, and equitable among our citizens.

One Less Handout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following, which appeared in the New York State Taxpayer of April 1957:

BEAT THIS BUDGET ITEM BACK

Federal budget, page 441, contains this item for airline subsidies: "Appropriated 1957, $16,200,000. Estimate in 1958, $51,810,000." That is an increase in this giveaway

of taxpayers' money of $35,610,000 or 220 percent more for 1958 than for 1957.

Now hear this: Continental Airlines, Inc., has asked Uncle Sam to stop giving it $1 million annually in the form of subsidies. The company said it wanted to operate on a nonsubsidized basis, the Wall Street Journal reports. Many other airlines are operating without subsidies which is the American way of doing business. A few, however, continue to operate in the Pan-American way—with handouts of taxpayers' money.

Address by James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, at the United Nations Rally, Huron, S. Dak., June 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the clearest and most effective voices in America today is that of Mr. James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union. A courageous fighter for an abundant agriculture, Mr. Patton is equally devoted to the cause of world peace. Believing that food is an effective tool in the building of a peaceful world, he has played a major role in significant efforts such as that of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers.

He recently addressed a United Nations rally in my State which was attended by representatives of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers from 17 countries. Mr. Patton's excellent address is reproduced below in full:

ADDRESS BY JAMES G. PATTON, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, AT THE UNITED NATIONS RALLY, HURON, S. DAK., JUNE 4, 1957

We have a historic opportunity tonight to discuss the United Nations and express our confidence in the community of nations solving their momentous problems. With us at the IFPA conference at Purdue University were 59 representatives of 17 countries. Most of this group is with us today.

Our guests have just concluded the 10th anniversary meeting of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, the association of farm organizations throughout the free world. For 10 days at Purdue University, in Indiana, they discussed as delegates and observers the common problems and common aspirations of farmers around the world.

Their presence here is more than a visit to a country which many of them had not seen before. It is a symbol of the international understanding among men of good will which has been the hope of peace-loving mankind since the beginning of civilization. These distinguished guests represent the ideals, as well as the sinews, of our modern-day attempts to live together in democratic understanding.

They represent those who till the soil for a living, those who produce the food and fiber to sustain life on this planet.

To the extent that food is a common denominator among people of the world because everyone needs food, the presence of these guests signifies the extent to which we are winning the battle to bring nations closer together.

We meet at a time when the President of the United States has instructed his disarmament chief to return to talks with the Russians about the mutual advantages of laying down weapons. I do not know—and I doubt that anyone knows—whether we can accomplish this with the Russians, or they with us. But I most sincerely hope that our President will be successful in stopping this horrendous armament race which is taking substance from the world's populations and increasing the threat of a conflagration which might destroy us all this time.

Surely there are millions who agree that this folly must be stopped. Surely there is some way to stop right now the pollution of our life-giving air with death-dealing radioactive particles. Surely the genius which devised the atomic bomb, then went on to build the bigger hydrogen bomb, can be harnessed for devising some way to make their use—and even their testing—unnecessary.

It has been encouraging to note the impact made recently on our thinking about the atomic bomb race by the great Albert Schweitzer, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and humanitarian who has been called the first citizen of the world.

Dr. Schweitzer's "declaration of conscience" about the dangers to ourselves and posterity from radioactivity and the urgency of stopping our mad race with each other may be the voice necessary to make statesmen pause and consider their folly. The voice of this revered man, coming from a wilderness hospital where no cause but humanity has been served, can yet be a tremendous force of conscience on those who have been too busy to hear conscience.

As Dr. Schweitzer put it, "the end of further experiments with atom bombs would be like the early sunrays of hope which suffering humanity is longing for."

"We are committing a folly in thoughtlessness," he says. "We must muster the insight, the seriousness and the courage to leave folly and to face reality."

The specter of the atom bomb race is only the most gigantic of many reminders that we are today interdependent with other nations. In the blush of "prosperity," some in the United States choose to ignore this basic fact; but it will not be ignored by the push of civilization and the laws of nature.

We cannot long remain a citadel of a rapidly expanding economy with a rising standard of living and an increasing agricultural productivity, if two-thirds of our neighbors continue to lack for the food, the clothing, and the basic individual freedoms which make a decent life possible.

No responsible individual nor organization in our Nation can ignore the implications which their domestic programs and purposes have for this world challenge. The scientific developments the past 20 years have blasted for all time any reality of isolationism, for in this the second half of the 20th century we live in a world geared to communication, rapid transportation, and interchange. The increasing intertwining of these relationships and responsibilities, cannot be turned back like a clock, even if we so wished.

Faced with these realities, we inevitably will direct more and more of our time and attention to the problems and concerns outside our Nation, to those of the world community.

We know now that we must hold fast to certain fundamental and basic concepts (1) That a vast majority of the people of the world are motivated by good; (2) that a peaceful world cannot be achieved through a pattern of unilateral and bilateral arrangements—it must be approached through the community approach of the United Nations; (3) that the present destructive capacity of individual nations makes peace and survival synonymous; (4) that the nongovernmental organizations and groups of people, both at home and abroad, have a responsibility for giving form and substance to the attitudes of people—unburdened by the handicaps of formal diplomatic governmental and diplomatic protocol.

These premises spell out for us much of our founding faith—the ultimate good in the people, the essentiality of family and community, our peaceful purposes as tillers of the soil, and the importance of the loud, clear voice of citizenship in shaping the destiny of things to come.

Against these fundamental premises that meet at our very roots, let me review for a brief moment some of the practical difficulties which have broken our stride toward a peaceful world.

Our almost single-sighted emphasis on the military drive for security through military strength has caused misapprehension and misunderstanding abroad. You will remember that the Truman doctrine spelling out the import of the point 4 program spoke of the need to maintain and strengthen our defenses to give us time to pitch into the bigger job of raising the levels of living and the undergirding of individual freedoms abroad.

When Secretary Dulles threatens massive retaliation and speaks of three times on the brink of war, we not only are misunderstood abroad—we are betraying the great cause of international cooperation and good will.

Small wonder that a recent opinion poll in Calcutta showed that 38 percent of the Indians interviewed said that America was the Nation most likely to start world war III, while only 2 percent selected the Soviet Union, 1 percent Communist China, and the rest didn't know.

This seems incredible until we read that another survey in India showed that 86 percent of all the newspaper references to the United States in a single month were wire service reports from America of statements and analyses by American officials and Members of Congress on military matters—our newest atomic submarine our farflung airbases, our latest jets, our program of guided missiles. Thus millions of Indians had come to think of us as a militaristic nation.

I sincerely hope that our friends from India who are with us on this occasion will get no such impression.

Certainly we must provide for our national security. We yield to no one in our desire to maintain an adequate defense.

Only a few days ago, I received a letter of thanks from President Dwight D. Eisenhower for supporting the mutual-security program. Here, in part, is what he said:

"In this recognition of the importance of strengthening the saving shield of freedom, you and your associates in the National Farmers Union give voice to America's determination to stand firmly against the menace of international communism."

Defense and national security, as we all recognize, are essential components in our foreign policy. At the same time, however, let us also look to the other broad considerations that we cannot ignore as we accept the responsibility of leadership among the free nations.

THE COLD WAR

For all the range of the administration's "cool to lukewarm" relations with the Soviet world, let us not lose sight of the fact that we are continuously engaged in a cold war. The dimensions of this cold war are based on the fact that one-sixth of mankind live in nations which might be called advanced economically and socially, while five-sixth of the world's population live in retarded and economically underdeveloped nations.

We face the danger that the Soviet world, having undertaken to assist the underdeveloped countries, both bilaterally and through the United Nations, may make such causes taboo in the Western World.

Today, in a world shrinking in time and space, we must be responsive to the needs of the developing nations and the preservation of liberty in the minds of men throughout the free world.

We must not be put in the position of defending an indefensible "status quo" either with respect to our part in assisting the developing nations or in the work of the United Nations.

Part of this dilemma may be seen in our "selective or handmaiden" use of the United Nations. We tend to take the expedient route, looking at the short term view rather than basing our actions on the long pull. When it suits our purposes, for example, we move through the United Nations. When our individual short-term aims are more easily served through unilateral action, that is the avenue we pursue.

It would have created a far better feeling of international understanding, during the oil shortage in Western Europe, caused by the Suez and pipeline blockage in the Middle East, if we had sent oil through the avenues provided by the United Nations, instead of the unilateral, private avenues.

AREAS OF CRITICAL ADJUSTMENT

Other conditions which have made progress difficult on this highway to peace, are the critical adjustments and vast upheavals in vast portions of the world. Lord John Boyd Orr in his recent book, The White Man's Dilemma, puts it this way:

"The western powers are faced with the rising waves of revolt in Asia, Africa, and Latin America against poverty. They can try to resist it by force or keep it off by the offer of technical assistance and trifling loans with political strings attached to them, which will break on the first strain. In that case they will ultimately be destroyed or submerged.

"On the other hand, either with or without cooperation of the U. S. S. R., they could recognize the inevitable and use their overwhelming industrial superiority to create a new world of plenty.

"In so doing they would gain a new power and prestige by assuming leadership in the march of the human family to the new age of peace and prosperity and the common brotherhood of man, which modern science has made the only alternative to the decline and the fall of the western civilization."

Night after night, the voice of Moscow radio holds out the dreams of social revolution, supporting colonial struggles for independence, backing the nonwhite majority of the human race against all discrimination by the white minority, offering the use of their science and technology for rapid economic development. This goes on while we equivocate, apparently uncertain ourselves whether the stakes are big enough, whether our resources are great enough, and are up to our necks in status quo thinking which conceives of the world as it was at the turn of the century.

This is the challenge of our day—the use of our social as well as scientific skills, our good will, our belief in the brotherhood of man. And, armed with these and the machinery by which we put our attitudes into action, we are challenged to make the most far-reaching decisions we as a nation have ever made. In fact, it is a renewal of the decisions such as we made in launching the Marshall plan or point 4 assistance.

Without following through these momentous positive decisions our mantel of world leadership becomes shabby and tattered. Now, more than ever before, it is imperative that our attitude toward the underdeveloped areas of the world be farsighted, just, and generous.

MAXIMUM UTILIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS AGENCIES

A direct alternative to the selective use of the United Nations of which I have spoken is the planned utilization of that body in every instance in which the community of nations is affected.

This means a more direct and open approach to such critical nation-to-nation problems as are posed by the Arab-Israel dilemma in the Middle East or by the revolting Soviet satellite nations of Eastern Europe. It means persistent and all-out effort to bring atomic weapons under international control, and to convert this scientific development into peaceful usage.

It means a continuing vote of confidence in the work and purpose of the specialized agencies of the United Nations—with the ready acceptance of our financial commitment to them. Specifically, it means a basic reappraisal of the values inherent in the Food and Agriculture Organization, the only official avenue through which the nations of the world may jointly attack the problems of food and fiber production and balance.

The specialized agencies such as FAO were not created idly. They should be used. They are action agencies—ready, available, needing to be used.

Members of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers have a unique opportunity to help get these agencies used. We know the force for good which is unleashed when food is distributed amidst hunger, when grass is made to grow where soil was barren, when water runs over parched soil, when rural communities have a crop saved from disease.

All these things can be done through the machinery of the United Nations and its agencies if we will but do them.

We should also end the equivocating use that we have far too often made of the United Nations itself for settlement of disputes. We can no longer hold the torch of leadership, if we do not at the same time accept the limitations placed upon that leadership in the body of nations seeking the same goals and dreams we hold most sacred.

PROGRAMS FOR EQUALITY OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMONG NATIONS

Without the blood and muscle of programs which hold forth the means by which nations can become truly equal, the dream of the United Nations will fade under the impact of poverty, disease, and privation.

Specific implementations to this end have received our enthusiastic and wholehearted support. The Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development is one which would make constructive use of our stockpile of food and fiber in the world's areas of need.

All the so-called surplus United States food and fiber production would amount to but a drop in the bucket if the democratic nations should agree to use food to finance the progressive elimination of illiteracy in underdeveloped areas by establishing nationwide systems of free public schools for every child. The SUNFED proposal for a United Nations development agency is superior to anything we might do on a bilateral or unilateral basis, without the inevitable stigma of a giving and receiving nation involved.

We have also urged creation of an international food and raw material reserve. The objectives of the international food and raw material reserve are:

1. To prevent extreme price fluctuation in the international commodity markets,

2. To prevent famine and starvation,

3. To help absorb temporary market surpluses of farm products and other raw materials, and

4. To build economic—and social—development programs in cooperation with appropriate international agencies.

Another phase of this surge to bring equal economic development to the developing nations of the world has to do with the availability of development capital.

While the Soviet Union, through its processes of dictatorship, can accumulate and apply such capital for foreign investment and development as it deems to be of national interest, we democratic nations have rising standards of living which soak up an increasing amount of risk capital in internal development, shortening the supply for foreign investment.

We would not choose to slow up this process which brings an increasingly fuller life to our people, and we are keenly aware of the fact that much needs be done in this country in the eradication of poverty and privation. Yet, unless we budget our capital capability and make possible capital investment abroad we will surely one day find our citadel of economic well-being undermined by the ebbing tides of privation around us. To that end I propose (1) the setting aside of 1 percent of our gross national product each year in capital funds which can be budgeted for United States investment abroad; (2) that these funds be made available, as accumulated, on 50-year loans to developing nations.

Capital funds thus made available through our democratic processes to areas of economic need, would stimulate the flow of private capital as the economies of recipient nations emerge as increasingly better risks.

Also, we are wholeheartedly in support of technical assistance abroad, and we feel that more of it should be done through the United Nations and its agencies.

Technical assistance is the whole range of methods by which we, both as a nation and as a responsible member of the community of nations, come to the aid of developing nations with scientific, economic, political, educational know-how.

Technical assistance has no parallel in history as a stimulant to economic development.

The United States is the dynamic center of the world economy. The trade and tariff concessions we grant to countries in the course of their development and their ensuing growth in world purchasing power as a result of this realistic trade policy will transform itself directly and indirectly into greater international demand for United States exports, including agricultural exports.

There is, however, a larger meaning in this liberalization of our world-trade policy which is even more important. That is that the rising standard of living throughout the world is geared to the degree to which the products of these countries may flow into export channels. Faced with unfavorable balance, year upon year, the developing nations face an almost insurmountable task of lifting themselves by their own bootstraps.

One of the most productive means by which international understanding is accomplished is through programs of exchange of persons. We recommend the continuance and expansion of these programs.

This is one area in which the bilateral activities are softened by the tendency of person-to-person relationships to seek out means of understanding and good will. Both programs under the United Nations agencies and the United States programs under ICA should be greatly expanded.

And this brings us back to honor reflected on us tonight by the presence of so many distinguished leaders from so many nations of the world.

To get acquainted with a man is to understand him better. To get acquainted with a group of people is to understand all of them better. To get acquainted with a nation is to understand it better in the community of nations.

And understanding is necessary before we can build together, prosper together, live in peace together, and raise our standards of living together.

Let us try to lead in the creation of a truly free world with political maturity, with economic intelligence and with consideration for fellow men wherever they are lcated and whatever their race, religion, color, custom, or habit.

Let us exercise leadership with social humility as we point with just pride to our productive powers. Let us stimulate the free flow of labor, of talent, of knowledge, and of ideas.

Let us build together, for we are friends.

The Labyrinth of the Federal Budget: A Guide for the Uninitiated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, one Robert E. Lee, a Yankee not to be confused with a certain other bearer of the name, slaves mightily bringing the ponderous events of the Nation's Capital to the public via the medium of the newspapers. From sumptuous offices in the Washington bureau of the Ridder newspapers, he recently issued his pundit's guide to the mysteries of the budget in handy question-and-answer form. It appeared in the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper in words and figures as follows:

HERE'S GUIDED TOUR THROUGH LABYRINTH OF FEDERAL BUDGET

(By Robert E. Lee)

WASHINGTON.—The following is offered as a simplified guide to the complexities of the Federal budget for the fiscal year starting July 1:

Question. Let's see now, President Eisenhower is asking Congress for $71.8 billion to run the Government in the next fiscal year—right?

Answer. Wrong. He's asking $73.3 billion, but not for spending as such and not for fiscal 1958 alone. Congress is now debating his authority to commit Federal funds, not the money he'll spend next year.

Question. Well, what about the $71.8 billion everybody's talking about?

Answer. That's Ike's estimate of the amount his administration will spend, out of the total of what he's asked Congress to authorize and what previous Congresses have authorized for fiscal 1958.

Question. Huh?

Answer. Roughly one-third of the dollars to be spent next year have already been authorized in previous years. Congress now must authorize additional obligations.

Question. Enough of that gobbledygook—the thing Americans are interested in is how much we're going to cut the budget.

Answer. Which budget? The 73.3 billion appropriations budget? The 71.8 billion spending budget? Or the consolidated cash budget which most economists consider the only real indicator of * * *

Question. Never mind which budget. What I want to know is this: Aren't the Congressmen cutting something at a rate which will add up to a total reduction of about $5 billion?

Answer. On the face of it, yes—if they really cut spending and not just authorizations, and if they don't turn around later and give Ike more money in supplemental appropriation bills.

Question. Aren't appropriation bills what they're cutting now?

Answer. They are, but they're just the regular appropriation bills. Later there'll be supplementals. In fact, there already are a couple in the works.

Question. What's a supplemental bill?

Answer. The same as a deficiency bill, only different. Deficiency appropriation bills have been outlawed since 1905 but we still have them almost every year, along with supplementals. When the administration finds as the fiscal year goes along that Congress didn't give it enough in a regular appropriation bill, the administration comes back for more.

Question. Does this happen often?

Answer. Well, in 1953 Congress cut Ike's budget (appropriations budget, that is) for fiscal 1954 by 4.6 billion. But in calendar year 1954 (before the fiscal year ended) it gave him back some 2.2 billion by appropriating that much more. By the way, don't confuse the 4.6 billion cut Congress made in Ike's budget for 1954 with the 14 billion cut in Truman's budget.

Question. Oh, of course not.

Answer. That was the first time two Presidents ever sent Congress two different budgets for the same fiscal year.

Question. Stick to the subject, please. We're talking about butting cederal fudg—I mean, supplementing the deficiencies, or something like that.

Answer. O. K. After that big cut in 1953 for 1954, partially restored a year later, before the fiscal year ended, Congress whacked 2.6 billion off the fiscal 1955 budget. The cut of course was made in 1954, but in 1955 the boys relented and gave Ike back a billion of it. They did the same thing next year, restoring half a 2.1 billion cut through supplemental and deficiency appropriations.

Question. Wasn't there only a small cut last year?

Answer. Depends on how you define "small." Congress held out a quarter of a billion or so on Ike but the figure would have been a lot bigger if they hadn't forced on him about three-quarters of a billion he didn't want for the Air Force.

Question. Didn't want it? He must wish he had it this year. What did he do with it?

Answer. Charley Wilson said he'd put it in the bank. Maybe it's still there. But the interesting thing about that cut last calendar year. The President a few weeks ago asked Congress for more than twice that amount in deficiencies and supplementals before the end of this fiscal year. In other words, he'll probably end up on the plus side for 1957.

Question. If it's so important to reduce expenditures why do they sometimes give the President more than he wants?

Answer. The importance depends on where the reductions are made. Take the pork barrel bill.

Question. You mean the annual appropriations for rivers and harbors?

Answer. That's the baby. Congress usually gives the President more than he asks because each Member has a pet project in his own district. The farm bloc has been doing the same thing to Ike in past years, voting him more funds for agriculture than he's sought.

Question. How about that big wrangle about post office funds for next year?

Answer. Well, the President has already asked Congress for a supplemental appropriation to make up the anticipated deficiency. Congress cut his postal request by 58 million and now he's asking 149.5 million to make it up.

Question. Looks like he's going to make a profit off the post office.

Answer. Don't be silly. Nobody ever makes a profit. It's just that the postal service is going to cost more than Ike figured it would when he asked for the money they wouldn't give him.

Question. I see. The administration always waits to see what will happen, then comes right back for more.

Answer. Don't jump to conclusions. Sometimes it works the other way. Ike cut down his own requests for foreign aid and the farm soil-bank funds before Congress even had a crack at them.

Question. Who gets credit for those cuts—Congress or the administration?

Answer. Everybody takes credit for everything, whether it goes up or down.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley at the 26th annual commencement exercises of Long Island University held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on June 7, 1957, and on which occasion General Farley was the recipient of an honorary degree of doctor of laws. I am also inserting an editorial which appeared in the New York Mirror of Saturday, June 8, 1957.

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES A. FARLEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, THE COCA-COLA EXPORT CORP.

This is one occasion when everyone present has a solid right to be interested chiefly in the affairs of himself, his family, and friends. To be graduated from an institution of higher learning is not a unique experience, but it is unforgettable. I shall not, therefore, trespass on your patience, or interrupt your natural emotions. But having had a ringside seat for a substantial period in the American scene, a few observations may be in order.

To begin with, none of you can indulge any nonsense about being a "lost generation," a group of youngsters inheriting a terrible burden because of the mistakes of your ancestors. Being an ancestor myself, I can state for the record that we made plenty of mistakes. But, everything considered, we did pretty well and you are inheriting the results. For one thing, all of you have a college eduction—which is more than most of my contemporaries had. It is true that you have struggled to get it, but the struggle has been a great deal less hard for you than it was for your fathers or your grandfathers. Again, all of you who want jobs have them or can get them without too much difficulty. Those of you who want more specialized schooling can have that, too, if you wish. Taking all elements into consideration, I really cannot think of any time or place in history in which young people had as good a break as they have here and now.

I know, of course, that a good many modern novels describe Americans and American youth as frustrated and mixed up,

sometimes delinquent and occasionally degenerate. Quite a flock of books have been written along that line. I can't take them too seriously. Perhaps it is proper to keep before everyone's attention that even in countries as fortunate as ours there are problem areas and problem groups. But these are the exceptions, not the rule; most of you, happily, have not been written up. Happy young people, like happy nations, do not have spectacular history; at all events, they usually do not make headlines. The time for that will come when you begin to turn in a good score, as I am sure you will.

Now what kind of a score do you want to turn in? This is a question which interests you at once because you are just starting your own careers. It also interests me because I have spent a good part of my life in politics. Politics is the profession, or perhaps the art, of bringing enough people together to agree on common policies and common courses of action and on measures and men so that communities as small as towns and as great as the United States can manage their affairs by the expressed consent of freemen. To any worthwhile politicians the opinions of thinking, trained men and women are of top importance. Since all of you here now belong to that group, as this university is certifying, your thinking and your desires are important, not only to you but to all of us. For that reason, I ask you to be careful in what you do think; when you do reach conclusions to make full use of the results. In saying this, I am not being abstract at all: men trained in politics as a rule cannot stop with abstractions. For example, if all of you here today felt strongly about certain things and all of you were prepared to do a little work to make sure that men pledged to the policies you want are elected, you yourselves could go far in compelling adoption of those policies by, let us say, the State of New York. Indeed the combined political influence of the group in this hall, if it were energetically exercised, might easily settle the result of a moderately close election of the State of New York. With that start, you could go far toward making your opinions a national force in the United States.

This is becaue men in politics know very well that they cannot put new ideas into effect merely because they think them up. The ideas they can make effective are those which have been worked out and thought out elsewhere, frequently in colleges and universities. Getting that done is their business, as you will find when you become influential in political life in your own time.

So the ideas you hold now are quite likely to become realities 10 years or so from now. Ideas which become political realities are loaded with high voltage; you have to be careful with them, for they may affect the lives of a great many people. All of you are part of the political fabric of the American democracy, and your influence will steadily grow as the years go by. Consequently, you have to use your minds not only for yourselves but in the general interest as well.

I said that the preceding generations have left you pretty well off, and so they did. That does not mean that they have not left you a healthy set of formidable problems. Some of them are worth mentioning here. How you solve them will probably determine whether your children in their turn will get a still better break than you have.

A visiting French educator has just made a profound observation. He said that the difference between our times and most preceding times is that the world from now on largely depends on our will. He meant that men working together now can do more to make the kind of world they want than ever before in history. Of course he is right about that. In earlier times men struggled against elementary nature to have enough food and shelter to kep them alive. They had little to do it with except their native muscles and skills and the power of draft animals. Now men already multiply their capacity a thousand fold with modern machinery. In your lifetime atomic energy will be harnessed, multiplying the capacity of every individual to an infinitely greater extent. This ability to command resources means that your generation can produce and distribute as much of the material things as they really need; it can even come within hailing distance of producing as much and as many things as everyone really wants—if they know what they want. The problem for all of you is not so much the old problem—can I live—but the new and greater problem—what kind of life do I want to live? This is a choice that many of the older of us never really had. You will find that this problem is very much tied in with your idea of the kind of country and the kind of world you hope to see. That is why, sooner or later, you will be in politics at some level, just as I have been.

You will find that young men and women move out and, let us hope, move up in three phases. They begin, as you have, in the circle of their family and immediate friends. You have done that successfully or you would not be here today taking academic degrees. The next step is to move into a wider circle, represented by your job or occupation or your profession. You are about to step into that larger world at once, either by taking jobs or by starting some professional training. You will be adding to your family and close friends a group of people who know you as lawyers or as chemists, as businessmen or as teachers, as office workers or in plants. This occupation world can extend very widely. Most creditable lives stop with this and I have no criticism of them. Doing your own job capably and well in any useful work helps the people around you and helps the United States.

But if you are really successful in this second world—the world of your occupation—you will find almost certainly opportunity to branch out into the greater world—the world of public affairs. This may not be public office; it might be merely a representative group like a trade union committee, a chamber of commerce assignment, or a public-affairs task in the community where you live. A good job of that kind well done immediately brings demands in still wider fields. These may be political; the party of your choice or the government of the city or State where you work may want your help. A democratic government, like ours, is always looking for men and women and especially younger men and women to shoulder the load of the endless technical jobs that have to be done. It looks, naturally, for the people who have been of use in their own fields of work. As soon as this happens, and it is likely to happen to all of you if you want it, you are on your way. Incidentally, you are taking your community and your country on your way, too, and this becomes important.

It is probable that changes in this Long Island community and in the State of New York and probably in the United States and the entire world will be greater in your lifetime even than they have in mine. That is saying a good deal because in my own lifetime there have been plenty of changes. You will have to make these changes useful and fruitful. Let me give you a couple of examples.

By the time you are 45—that is, in middle life—the United States will have 60 or 70 million more people in it than it does now and several millions will be in this greater New York area. Roughly speaking, there will be one continuous great city extending from Babylon on Long Island and New Haven in Connecticut as far south as Washington, D. C. But that means that the city of New York and the city of Newark and the city of Bridgeport, to take only three, although they lie in three States will be part of one big combination with common problems. They will need one transportation system, probably one health system. They will be tangled together in a dozen ways. You are quite likely to live in Connecticut, work in New York and use your professional or business ability in New Jersey, all in the same day. Obviously, we are going to have political and governmental changes that recognize that fact.

Internationally the same process is going on. When I was your age a trip to Europe was a major event in life—so great and so expensive that most of us could not dream of doing it without years of saving in preparation. Now you can cross the Atlantic in a single day, and within a few years you will be able to have breakfast in London and lunch in New York. In my business career I have to think of almost every country on the face of the globe, all at once, because the company I work for sells its product in them, and buys as well. No one human being has made this one world: it made itself, with airplanes, radio, and television. A world which lives as close together with itself as that either finds a common denominator or it blows itself up. The world to which you are coming is quite able to do either. So, internationally, as well as locally, you have to be expecting the great development of international institutions. As an old political hand, I can tell you it will not be easy. It is hard enough to get the United States together on anything although we have one language, one common ideal, and one form of thought. When you have to think of Frenchmen and Arabs, Israeli and British, South Americans and Japanese, all at the same time you will see that you have your work cut out for you. This is not mere starry-eyed internationalism—few people have accused me of that. It is idealism if you like but it is also business and politics. The present disturbance in Cuba, for instance, could be a factor in the increase of the price of sugar. The company for which I work buys a great deal of sugar so that a political crisis in Cuba and in other sugar-producing countries immediately affects our own affairs. This is true in all kinds of situations all over the world.

The mission of America—which is also your mission—has been to make it clear that freemen working together offer a better base for solving the problems now coming up than any other line of action. We may not be able to explain very well how we do it but there is no question that we can do it and have done it. If you were to draw a circle 15 miles in radius around your university you would find in it every kind of race, religion, occupation, and economic conflict. There are the same differences which in Europe and in the Near East, in Asia, and in Africa, have regularly led to revolutions, wars, and disorder of all kinds. Yet here there is peace and there is order. Men have better jobs and better pay than in most places. They lead their own lives without being pushed around by dictators. So we know that the thing can be done, that there can be freedom, and there can be peace, and there can be prosperity without indulging in Communist theories or in Nazi dictatorships. Long Island, for instance, can watch the expansion of the New York City area without being afraid that it will lose its liberty and setting up frontier guards and local armies. Americans think the rest of the world could arrange to get the same result under good leadership and free institutions. Finding those leaders and making such institutions really is the main issue in the cold war which is going on today between us and the Soviet Union.

It is also why, I think, the cold war will eventually be won by America, because American ideas offer the greatest measure of freedom along with the greatest measure of ordinary human kindliness.

These are some of the questions which you will encounter whether you like them or not. With the education and training you have already had and with the experience you are about to receive a fair proportion of you in time will be moving out of the world of your occupation into the world of great affairs.

An old philosopher once said that as a man thinketh, so is he. I should like to add that, as a nation thinks, so that nation lives. You will find as you grow older that your minds often turn back to the men and women who have taught you and notably to those who have given you mental and spiritual leadership. Many of these men and women are here today. They are not, as a rule, the richest or the most prominent by ordinary standards. They are quiet men and women who have taken the vocation of trying to think through, understand, and explain the problems of their particular fields of learning, and through them to understand the larger problems of human life. Do not leave them behind merely because you leave school. You think you are done with studying. In fact you will find yourself wanting and seeking teachers and thinkers all the rest of your lives. There are always two kinds of quite different power in a country like ours—the power of men of affairs who guide the present and the power of men of thought and spirit who guide the future. Those of us who are Catholics have known this for many centuries. My own life has lain in affairs. I am glad of that—it was my job. But it is fitting on this occasion for me to pay tribute to the quiet, patient men and women who as scholars and teachers point the way for all of us toward the next stage of the world's work.

In giving the younger of you my good wishes for the next generation I offer you teachers my grateful recognition for the service you have rendered to my own. God speed you all.

[From the New York Mirror of June 8, 1957]

A TIME OF DARING

James A. Farley, bless him, one of the statesmen of our time and one of its finest gentlemen, gave the commencement address at Long Island University yesterday. In the course of his remarks, he said:

"Taking all elements into consideration, I really cannot think of any time or place in history in which young people had as good a break as they have here and now."

Isn't that a wonderful and, at the same time, realistic, sort of optimism?

Our young people today are not members of a "lost generation."

They are a part of the "most historic" history since the world began.

Men, young and old, kid themselves with the wish, "Oh, if I could only have lived in the 'good old days'—when knighthood was in flower, when the Pilgrims came to America, when the Founding Fathers rocked the world and marked the end of colonialism, the dying gasps of which we see today, nearly 200 years later; or when there were cowboys and 'Injuns'; or in the Gay 90's or the Mad 20's."

What nostalgia. Of course, there were satisfactions for good men and women in those days, as in all days since the race lifted itself out of the slime and turned its face toward God.

But this, now, today, in our lives, is the time of growth and change beyond belief.

The atom, harnessed but not generally at useful work, will multiply the strength of man to physical heights previously unvisioned.

The world has shrunk surprisingly since the Wright Brothers and the great Santos-Dumont first lifted man from the sod in heavier-than-air craft. It will compress incredibly during the lives of Mr. Farley's listeners.

No spots on earth will be farther apart in point of time than one ranch was from another in the Old West.

The new sciences—or, more accurately, the projection of basic scientific principles through the barriers of new frontiers—will bring forth challenges to man's physical powers and to his moral fiber.

With the scope which his careers have imparted to him—careers in both politics and business, of which he is proud and has reasons to be—Mr. Farley painted a panorama of the present and near future which seemed to us to be inspiring and practicable at the same time.

These are no years of decadence and effete lethargy.

This is a time of daring, in which the endowments of mankind will lift the race to a new plateau of physical and spiritual achievement.

June is a month of many fine commencement addresses.

We hope all of them will be as soundly foresighted as the one delivered by Mr. Farley, a practical visionary, before the 26th graduating class at Long Island University.

A Bill to Amend Title XI of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement on the purpose of legislation which I introduced today.

The purpose of this legislation is to further clarify the authority of the Maritime Administration to insure mortgages on eligible ships under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Approval of this bill will enable the Maritime Administration to insure a ship mortgage, where the mortgage, instead of being executed at the time the vessel is completed, is executed some time later and the proceeds therefrom are used to finance the building of additional ships.

Adoption of this bill will make it possible for shipowners with heavy replacement obligations to fulfill these obligations at a minimum cost to both the Government and the operators by allowing owners to take advantage of the economies of long-range and sound financial planning. With the deferred mortgage commitment the shipowner can avoid present high interest rates by using funds in his capital reserve fund to pay in full for new ships, and then when interest rates become lower he could mortgage the existing wholly owned ship to provide funds for the building of additional new vessels.

There is substantial opinion indicating that Congress intended this policy of deferred mortgage commitments but this legislation will lay at rest any questions potential lenders might have concerning this application of the mortgage insurance provisions of title XI of the Merchant Marine Act.

Address Delivered by President Eisenhower at the Republican National Conference Held in Washington, D. C., at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, on June 7, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, there follows the text of an address delivered by President Eisenhower at the Republican National Conference held in Washington, D. C., at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, on June 7, 1957:

Mr. Chairman and fellow Republicans, just a few hours ago I stepped ashore from an American warship—one of the mightiest that this world knows: the aircraft carrier *Saratoga*.

During my 2 days aboard that vessel, living with her men and officers, I was impressed anew by the skill, patriotism, and selfless devotion of Americans serving in our Armed Forces. Their dedication to duty reminded me again of that wonderful observation by Gen. Robert E. Lee. He said: "We cannot do more than our duty; we would not wish to do less."

As I talked with these young men, I couldn't help feeling as though I were talking with all Americans—about their homes, their ambitions, and their problems. And, believe me, every American family can feel proud and secure in the knowledge that these young men—our Nation's best—are being equipped with and supported by the finest weapons in the world. I know that the American people will continue to see to it that the defense budget is adequate to provide every fighting man the best our scientists, our workers, and our industry can produce.

Now, you who are in this room today, as key officers of the Republican Party, also have a duty that vitally affects your country's well-being. That duty, which you are daily performing, is to help make representative government work in this country.

Representative government can succeed only where there are healthy, responsible political parties. These parties must have at the center and core of their being the same dedication to the service of our Nation as inspires the men of our uniformed services.

This sense of patriotism is felt by both of America's great parties—in this matter let no one anywhere in the world think that Americans are divided.

But one thing more is necessary: A political party must stand for something—policies that it believes will advance the best interests of the entire Nation. It must stand for principles and programs that the sovereign voters of the country can clearly see and identify and judge.

What do we as Republicans stand for?

Why have we joined together in a national organization? And why do hundreds and thousands of Republicans work side by side—often without recognition or reward—in tasks assigned by this organization to which we all belong?

We do this because we have been drawn together by a set of common beliefs and principles respecting government and its relationships to other governments, to our own economy, and to each citizen.

These beliefs are plainly stated in the agreed declarations of faith and determination which are the Republican national plat-

form of 1956. As we read and reread that platform—a practice which I commend to all of you—it becomes very clear that the modern Republican Party stands 100 percent for the basic principles of Republicanism that have been its guide since the days of its founding.

We believe in integrity in government—not government by crony.

We believe that whatever can be done by private effort should be done by private effort rather than by government—and not the other way round.

We believe that, if a job must be done by government, it should whenever possible be done by State or local government rather than by the Federal Government—and not the other way round. We oppose unnecessary centralization of power.

We believe in a sound dollar—not a rubber dollar.

We believe that a government should operate on a balanced budget and not go into debt except in emergencies—we reject deficit spending as a fiscal policy for America.

We believe that we should work to reduce taxes—not raise them; as we also seek to reduce our huge national debt.

We believe in vigorous and impartial enforcement of the laws.

We believe that private business is a healthy force which is the foundation of our prosperity, and should be respected and encouraged—not bullied and abused. And the fact that the period since the reintroduction of this attitude into government has also been the period of the greatest sustained growth in jobs, production, and incomes of modern peacetime is not, may I say, a mere congenial coincidence.

We believe that government can and should discharge its constitutional duty to promote the general well-being of its citizens—and can do so without excessive centralization.

We believe that to preserve our own freedom we must concern ourselves with the security of other free nations constantly exposed to the threat of domination by international communism. Nothing today can present more danger to us than a return to the folly of isolationism.

We believe in the preeminence of the individual citizen and his rights—with the government his servant, not his master or his keeper.

It is principles like these, then, that not only draw us together, but also set us apart from the easy-spending, paternalistic, business-baiting inflationists who were so influential in the years before 1953.

But, while our principles have remained unchanged for a hundred years, the problems to which those principles must be applied have changed rapidly.

Fortunately, one of the most all-pervading principles of our party—and one most important to us today—is the willingness to adapt our basic convictions imaginatively to current problems.

We recall those ringing words spoken by Lincoln at a time of great tension and change: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

It comes to this: It is the problems that change; the principles do not.

Let us look at several examples.

AGRICULTURE

The principle: Because of the unique exposure of the farmer to economic forces over which he has no control, and the dependency of the Nation upon our agricultural economy, the Federal Government must concern itself in practical ways to assist in assuring a sound farm economy and income.

One application of this principle a hundred years ago: A Federal Homestead Act providing free quarter sections of land to settlers.

The application today: A new set of Federal actions, such as sensible price supports, the soil bank, and stepped-up Federal research and development of markets.

It is the problem that has changed; the principle has not.

EDUCATION

The principle: Education is vital to free government and is a local matter; the Federal Government should do only what has to be done toward provision of adequate education that State and local governments cannot do and which will never allow the Federal Government to be a controlling factor.

One application a hundred years ago: The Land Grant Act sponsored by Congressman Justin Smith Morrill, one of the organizers of the Republican Party of Vermont. That Federal act made possible the growth of higher education in many places where it otherwise would have had great difficulty.

The application today: Emergency Federal help to assist the States to knock out a schoolroom deficit resulting from the national—not local—disasters of depression and war.

It is the problem that has changed; the principle has not.

MUTUAL AID

The principle: concern for the fate of other nations, and the conviction that our prosperity at home is aided by two-way trade with flourishing free economies abroad.

The application in President McKinley's time: Here are his own words of 1902: "The period of exclusiveness is past. * * * Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times. * * * Isolation is no longer possible or desirable."

The application today: Not merely encouraging the maximum flow of mutually profitable trade, but also employing programs of mutual aid. Why? Because around the globe new nations have sprung up which must make industrial progress if they are to continue to live in freedom. Because godless dictatorship is bent on seeking their destruction—and ours. And because we know that as they prosper, we not only prosper but enjoy greater assurance of world stability and peace.

It is the problem that has changed; the principle has not.

OVERSEAS INFORMATION ACTIVITY

The principle: We have a responsibility to explain our motives and actions to the people of the world.

The application, at the dawn of our history as a country, is in the eloquent words of our Declaration of Independence. "Let facts be submitted to a candid world," it said, "* * * out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

The application now must recognize that almost every action we take has an impact on the interests of other countries. At the same time, unfriendly powers use every device of communication to misrepresent our actions and purposes. So the modern application of the old principle requires us to maintain a first-rate overseas Information Agency.

It is the problem that has changed; the principle has not.

DEFENSE

The principle: The Federal Government must provide for the common defense, using those methods that are most effective and economical.

The application a century ago: Almost exclusive dependence on State militias, with tiny and inexpensive Federal forces.

The application today is changed because the nature of defense requires military forces of great size armed with costly equipment. To lessen the cost, we participate in a system of mutual military aid with friendly nations. This costs far less than if we tried to provide the same amount of effective defense by direct accumulation of military might at home.

But the principle remains the same: The most effective defense for the least cost.

Now, although we are agreed on our underlying principles, when we try to apply them to a fast-changing and highly complex world, it is not surprising that we develop among ourselves real disagreements, some of them sharp.

But let us not talk and act as though our disagreements concerned our basic principles. I believe they do not. I believe they concern the application of the principles to new facts, through specific measures and proposals.

Let's look squarely at this question of internal disagreement within the party. Let's not react to it as though something unheard-of and catastrophic had suddenly appeared for the first time in the history of political parties.

You know, some of us Republicans have a talent for magnifying and advertising our differences. Our opponents then seize on these statements to throw up a smoke screen to conceal their own deep division. Should we help them play that game?

The true fact is that it is our opponents who are hopelessly split. In their case the split is not mainly one of methods, but is one of basic philosophy and principle. They combine long enough to seek election—but when they are sent to Washington they tend to cancel each other out at the expense of actions.

And so, if our opponents say we suffer from splinters, let us remind them that a splinter in a party's political structure is one thing; but a political house divided against itself is quite another.

The real question for the Republican Party is: accepting the existence of some disagreement as normal, how do you then go on as a party to take the decisive and unified action that a party must take if it is to survive and play its proper part in representative government?

The answer seems obvious: by carrying out loyally the pledges and promises of the party platform.

Let us remember that the platform itself is not the product of one mind or of one group of minds. It is a consensus of party thinking.

We argue and debate and hold hearings, at which everyone is welcome to express himself.

Then we do our best to iron out our differences, through compromises, concessions, and the application of good will and restraint on all sides.

As a result of just such a process, the Republican platform of 1956 was drawn up. It was unanimously adopted by the national convention. It was then overwhelmingly endorsed by the country's voters—by a margin of almost 10 million votes.

On the pledges of this platform, your administration was returned for another 4 years.

Now, there may be some cynics who think that a platform is just a list of platitudes to lure the naive voter—a sort of facade behind which candidates sneak into power and then do as they please.

I am not one of those. Anyone who talks like that about party platforms is, in effect, saying that the whole principle of representative government is a pretense and a sham.

So far as I am concerned, the Republican platform of 1956 is a solemn commitment to the people of this Nation. It was accepted as such by them and endorsed by them—and I am going to use every power at my disposal to see to it that their hopes and expectations are honored.

The first step in carrying out a party platform is its translation into legislative proposals. I do not know how this may have been done in the past, but in this administration there have been each year earnest consultations between the executive branch

and our leaders of the legislative branch to devise a program giving legislative effect to the platform.

This is the administration's legislative program. And so far as the budget is concerned—that budget represents the cost of conscientiously fulfilling those pledges—nothing more and nothing less. Our need for economy must be balanced against the things that need to be done.

We must not forget that to be truly conservative today is to be alert to the dangers of loose spending and of tampering with our Nation's fiscal integrity. It involves also providing those things which would keep this country healthy, strong, growing, and secure.

My fellow Republicans, we all want to see victory in 1958 and 1960. And we can have victory in 1958 and 1960.

To bring this about, one thing is necessary. That one things is to subordinate our differences on specific methods or measures, and to unite as a party to forward those basic principles which the country has so overwhelmingly endorsed at the polls.

Although we may have disagreed on some of the platform pledges before they were adopted, we did adopt them unanimously, and we did commit ourselves and our party to them before the public.

It follows that there must be general support within our party, either for the administration's specific measures to carry out these pledges, or else for some other measure that equally carries out these pledges. Otherwise the entire concept of party responsibility, and indeed of representative government, collapses.

Republican leaders, whether in Congress, in the executive branch, in the party organization, have a special responsibility for carrying out these pledges. None of us can afford to allow his personal preference as to detail to blind him to the need of loyally supporting our party's platform.

Suppose, during the huddle of the team in a football game, an argument develops on what the next play should be. The halfback wants an end run. However, the play finally called is a plunge through the line by the fullback. He gets through and has only one tackler between him and the goal. The dissenting halfback is in a position to block out the tackler. Does he say, "I disagreed with this play; therefore, I won't throw this block"? Of course not. He does his part, and the team goes on to score.

In the infinitely more important business of producing good government and good legislation, surely it is not too much to expect the same degree of selflessness in a joint cause.

We've got a good team. Let's look like one.

Now, I have talked of our principles, of how we use them to meet changing problems, and of how we must deal with the inevitable disagreements that develop. Let me make just one point more.

If we are true to our principles and pledges, and if we rise above these detailed disagreements, there is every reason for the most buoyant and enthusiastic confidence in the success of the Republican Party, not only in 1958 and 1960, but in the years beyond.

As we work out our troubles, let us never for a moment forget our tremendous assets.

Let's look and talk like winners.

Let's not forget that only a few months ago a Republican administration was returned by a majority of almost 10 million votes—which majority included millions of independents and Democrats attracted by our platform.

Let's not forget that, in the meantime, business has continued to grow and flourish, wages and employment have continued strong, and steady progress has been made toward easing of world tensions and toward the hope of some start on disarmament.

Let's not forget that thousands of young people have caught the excitement of our forward-looking program, and have cast in their lot with us. This is particularly heartening for the long-range future of the party—a great gain that we must maintain and enlarge.

We believe that our principles and our program truly reflect the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of Americans. There are those who rationalize a narrower point of view by saying they would rather be right than win. If such were the issue, all of us would agree. But this is not the issue. The Republican Party will be right and it will win. It will do so because its central core of conviction is what America believes and wants today.

If we unite behind those principles and programs that the American people have so emphatically endorsed—my friends, we just can't lose.

The key to victory is unity.

As for myself, I welcome every person who believes in the principles our platform expresses.

The great main stream of our cause is broad enough to include the oldest and finest of our conservative traditions, along with the most up-to-date application of those traditions to the age of automation and the atom.

Certainly none of us will be guilty of the supreme suicidal folly of forfeiting victory for vital principles, in order to indulge too long our differences as to the tactics to use.

Consider the alternative.

Suppose we go down to defeat because of these tactical differences. Will the administration that follows be more to the liking of any Republican?

Who wants to go back on the New Deal-Fair Deal toboggan of loose spending, centralization, punishment of business, and fiscal irresponsibility?

Of this there is no danger if we close ranks now.

Lincoln said, in one of his most powerful statements: "We succeed only by concert. It is not 'Can any of us imagine better' but 'Can we all do better'."

Certainly, each of us thinks he can imagine better than the platform on which the party has agreed. But that is not the question. The time is here for doing.

My fellow Republicans: I believe in the Republican Party, with all my heart. I believe in its capacity, in positions of political leadership, to serve our country today more effectively than can any other. I accepted nomination for this office, and again renomination, because I believed this, and because I believed in Republican principles of good government. I still believe those things. Every act of this administration, of all my principal associates and myself, stands witness to this fact.

Above all, I sincerely believe, as I said at last summer's convention, that the Republican Party can be the party of the future. It can and should be an instrument through which the American people, by the grace of God, carry our country forward to new heights of well-being, justice, and harmony.

Enslaved Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it was 16 years ago, today, that the Communists launched their ruthless enslavement of the Baltic States and subjected Lithuania in particular to a most brutal program of annihilation.

In this wave of terror and the persecution of a proud people some 60,000 Lithuanians were deported to Siberia or sent to other slave-labor camps throughout Russia. And during this wave of brutality the one thing that stood out so strikingly was the fact that Russia had guaranteed the freedom of the Baltic countries and by this terroristic act revealed herself as incapable of keeping her solemn commitments.

Our hearts go out to these brave people and especially to those survivors of Soviet brutality who have found sanctuary in this country. We are joined with them in mourning the loss of their loved ones; and, unless our dedication to freedom for all men is to prove meaningless, we must work for the restoration of Lithuania as a free and sovereign nation.

Fort Lauderdale Daily News Awarded First Place in NEA Better Newspaper Contest for General Excellence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am asking that the following news report concerning the awards made in San Francisco, Calif., be printed in the RECORD. One of Florida's outstanding newspapers, and indeed one of the country's outstanding newspapers, the Fort Lauderdale Daily News, whose editor is Mr. Jack W. Gore, has been accorded outstanding recognition by the National Editorial Association by being awarded first place in the NEA Better Newspaper Contest for general excellence. I am also glad to be able to claim that another newspaper in our district, the Hollywood Sun-Tattler, whose editor is Mr. G. W. McCall, has also won recognition.

The news report follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, June 8.—One of the coveted honors of American journalism was bestowed on the Fort Lauderdale Daily and Sunday News here tonight when the National Editorial Association awarded the paper first prize for general excellence.

The award was the highest honor accorded in the NEA Better Newspaper Contests which drew 1,911 entries from 47 States and Hawaii.

Editor Jack W. Gore accepted the general excellence plaque, presented by Editor and Publisher magazine, as the 72d annual NEA convention closed with an awards banquet at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel.

It was the second time the News won the top excellence award, repeating the victory scored in 1955. Because top winners are ineligible to compete the following year, the News was not considered in the 1956 judging.

Also voted by the 12-man panel of judges was a third-place honor accorded the News' managing editor, Fred Pettijohn, for his column, Across the News Desk.

A third NEA recognition came in the presentation of an honorable mention certificate to the News staff reporter, Frank Hogan, for a feature article.

The winners were selected by judges who examined the largest field of entries ever submitted for the NEA Better Newspaper Contests.

"As a whole, all entries were excellent, and the screening task difficult because of the high caliber of competition," Leon Barnes and Earl W. Causey, cochairmen of the committee of judges, remarked.

"The Fort Lauderdale Daily News won out in judging for top honors through more emphasis on local news and local editorials," the committee reported.

"Like others in the final judging, the paper has an overall excellence. Its front page makes good use of photographs and indicates great care in arrangement and makeup and demonstrates cooperation between the news and mechanical departments.

"Use of local signed columns provides excellent background material to aid its readers in interpreting the news and editorials.

"The editorial page represents a good balance of local and national columns," the judges observed.

The panel noted also that writers of columns on a variety of topics showed "originality of style, presentation, interesting content, distinctive headings, and generally good typography.

DRAMATIC EFFECT

"Across the News Desk by Fred Pettijohn, achieves a high sense of the dramatic based on simple observations or happenings in the news and is a tribute to the author's skill in telling a story with brevity and with impact," the judges commented.

In addition to the three honors voted the News, Broward County reaped another pair of NEA citations as the Hollywood Sun-Tattler gained third place among weeklies in typographical excellence and a third place for its classified advertising section.

SIXTH YEAR

This was the sixth consecutive year the News has won major awards in NEA judging. In 1952, the paper won first prize for the rededication of basic American principles. The following year, it was awarded first prize for general excellence in typography and second place in general excellence. The second place in general excellence was repeated in 1954 and followed by the first-place general excellence honor in 1955. Last year, a second place for best feature story was awarded in recognition of an article written by Staff Reporter Anne Fries.

Dr. Winthrop Adams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 10, 1957.

Dr. WINTHROP ADAMS,
Manager, Veterans' Administration Hospital, Bedford, Mass.

DEAR DR. ADAMS: Through the Honorable EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, the President learned of your retirement as manager of the Bedford Veterans' Administration Hospital and the many tributes paid to your splendid years of service there.

In your pioneer work with mentally ill patients, you have strengthened the lives of thousands and been an example to hospital managers across the land. Your volunteer training programs and community employment projects have opened up effective new areas in the treatment of mental sickness.

It is a privilege to send you the best wishes of the President.

Sincerely,

FREDERIC FOX,
Special Assistant in the White House Office.

Fiscal Policy and Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include, as of possible interest to Members of the House generally, a statement presented on June 7, 1957, to the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business:

FISCAL POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK AND BUDGET DEVELOPMENTS

I am George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, 740 Washington Building, Washington, D. C. Our head office is located at Burlingame, Calif., with division offices in Chicago, Cincinnati, and New York City, and the legislative office here in Washington, D. C.

We are the largest organization of independent business and professional people in the country from the standpoint of directly supporting individual members. There are about 100,000 voting members on our rolls. The number is growing daily. We are unique because our members themselves determine our position on every issue by their direct vote through mandate ballots. It's safe to say we have our fingers on their pulse.

I've talked with our members, read about their needs and problems in their letters, checked closely on their thinking through the result of their thousands of votes—they have many problems, but underlying all is the single basic problem of trying to make the current individual sales income dollar do the job of a future two, which they must do if they hope to survive the inflation that's threatening greater devastation to our country than 1 billion hurricanes of the type that recently scourged the Midwest.

Our members have asked tax reductions. Current rates, perhaps the highest in our Nation's history, are grinding them down. The Senate and House Small Business Committees have told you this. The executive branch knows it, judging by recommendations by the President's Special Cabinet Committee on Small Business and by studies of the Small Business Administration. Both of your parties recognized it in their platform programs last summer.

Some may say "Well, the dollar is devalued all across the board * * * for small business as well as for big corporations, labor, farmers, and Government. All are receiving more dollars of less value." But this isn't so. Competition has reduced the number of dollars today flowing into independents. They're not riding the wave. They're not staying even.

And no one can see anything but further inflation ahead. A bad situation could easily become worse.

A leading financial daily newspaper a few days ago reported a consensus of opinion among 70 economists, bankers, industrialists and Government people that the biggest worry facing our country is inflation.

Reports by Bureau of Labor Statistics do not ease these fears. They show a three-tenths of 1 percent increase during April in the cost of living. This brings the index to a new record high for the eighth straight month.

What's behind this? Well, a leading national columnist wrote in her May 14 column: "Spiral in steel again: The price of steel will be raised sharply in July. It will be the 11th annual price increase in steel since World War II and it could be the biggest for the entire period. The price rise will be felt at once throughout the Nation. It will add millions to the Federal Budget because the Defense Department is a huge buyer of steel. It will help push the cost of living higher in many open and hidden ways."

Dr. Frank Kidner, economics professor at University of California said recently: "It seems to me that behavior of prices and wage rates will continue substantially on the upward drift."

A leading financial daily reported: "Rubber workers pick Goodyear as the target for wage boost drive." It discloses that union and management have agreed to no public disclosure of union demands and company proposals, no progress reports, until either a settlement is reached or negotiations break off. The prisoners in the dock—consumers and independent businesses—aren't allowed even to hear their trial.

What's behind this inflation that's driving up Government costs? For one thing, the wage and price policies of unions and large management, by which both are digging their own graves, and digging graves for the rest of us.

Mr. Chairman, this leads me to a situation which I believe it is a responsibility of your committee to solve.

Some sense of order and the general public good must be brought into the field of union and management wage and price policies. We're not antilabor nor antibig business, and we're not interested in promoting Government controls. We should prefer the needed corrections in outlook to come about by labor and management themselves. But I do personally believe that if this does not come about this way, then some superior authority must be brought to bear, and my contention as to the problem of inflation today is substantiated by a statement of former President Truman who said: "Some appeal has been made to leaders of key industries voluntarily to curb a growing appetite for higher profits. So far the response has been feeble and discouraging. If industry continues to be unresponsive, it may well be in for some Government pressure to do what it ought to have the good sense to do voluntarily. I know that labor leaders are giving serious thought to their role in this situation." My contention is further substantiated by the statement of Senator CAPEHART on the floor of the Senate under date of May 27, 1957, where he said: "It is general inflation which is breaking our back and will continue to break our back. My best judgment is that we in Congress ought to be paying some attention to the question of general inflation." Housing Chief Albert M. Cole has also recognized the serious danger prevalent in the trend today when he stated under date of May 27, 1957: "If present trends should get out of hand and lead us to runaway inflation, we may be living in tents because we won't be able to afford houses."

During the steel strike last summer I was privileged to confer with Dr. Arthur Burns, then economic adviser to the President and Chairman of the Special Cabinet Committee on Small Business. I told him that in my

opinion the public interest was at stake and that in view of the situation existing I thought the Administration should act by investigating the matter impartially and (1) if it found the demands of labor just, tell the companies to "pay the advance," but (2) if it found profits wouldn't justify the increase, then tell the unions "No soap."

The doctor asked if I thought the administration should take such a position. I said I wasn't concerned who was in the White House—Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Truman, Mr. Roosevelt, or someone else, but that somewhere along the line someone had to do something, or someday all of us will end up in the poor house.

For this reason I think your committee should give serious thought to the possibility of setting up a Federal Board of Arbitrators available to consider the equities involved, including the public welfare, when labor and management reach an impasse. In case of matters reaching the strike state this Board could be empowered to investigate and bind both parties to its decision for or against the price-wage increases. In other cases, it could be empowered to investigate all the facts and announce them clearly to the public, spelling out the anticipated effects in the clearest possible language.

This would not be any violation of the antitrust laws, nor would it be the creation of another Government agency, nor would there be any standing committees. But such action would be instituted by law if and when the actions of major industries operating in interstate commerce at both the management and labor level again show evidence of fueling the fires of inflation.

I submit we are in a financial crisis. It has nothing to do with partisan politics, being something that's been building for the past quarter of a century. But if we don't meet it flatly now, we're evading our responsibility not only to ourselves but to generations to come.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I am neither an economist nor a lawyer. But I have spent better than half a century close to the grassroots in small business, and I have a fair knowledge of the operation of some of our bigger industries. I think I'm in a position to know the score.

And it is my hope and trust, for the future good of our Nation, that my remarks will be considered, and that they will help your committee make constructive recommendations. I do think that if such action is taken by your committee that Government would find it possible to grant the badly needed tax relief to independent business. If we accompany this by a definite program for vigorous antitrust enforcement to clear the path to freer, fairer opportunities for all, then I do believe we will be well on our way to a genuinely healthy economy.

On behalf of our members, I want to thank you for the privilege of appearing before your committee today. It has been a pleasure to be here, just as it was a pleasure to be before the committee when it was chairmanned by the late and great Senator Robert Taft, in 1947.

Anniversary of Communist Deportation of Lithuanians to Slave Labor Camps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, during a period of 1 week, beginning June 14, 1941, thousands of liberty-loving Lithuanians were uprooted from their homes by Russian troops and secret police and deported to Siberia and other Arctic territory to work in Communist slave-labor camps.

The exact number of people from this helpless little nation to be the victims of this ruthless and horrible treatment is probably undetermined, but the best estimate is that more than 34,000 were seized and spirited away during a period of only 7 days.

This is one of the blackest pages in the long, dark history of Communist terrorism. It points out in bold relief the total disregard for human liberty and human dignity of Communist dictatorship.

On the anniversary of this sordid event, it is well to remind ourselves of these unfortunate Lithuanians and the thousands of other long-suffering victims of Communist ruthlessness behind the Iron Curtain. This wholesale herding of human beings into slavery occurred in 1941. But if anyone has been lulled into the mistaken belief that the Communist leopard has changed its spots, we have only to look at what happened in Hungary as recently as last year.

This establishes the indisputable fact that communism follows a consistent pattern of crushing all resistance to its aims by ruthless and merciless force wherever it feels strong enough to do so.

This ought to be—and I hope will be—conclusive evidence to our own people and the people of the free world that as long as the Communist menace lives in the world, our only chance for survival in freedom is our strength.

FPC: To Promote Profits or Protect Pocketbooks?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD a column written by Drew Pearson which appeared in the Washington Post on June 12, 1957. It draws attention to a fact which many people have apparently forgotten. That is the fact that most of the independent offices which draw their powers from Congress are charged with protecting the interests of the individual citizen in his dealings with monopoly utilities and giant corporations. Complaints of abuses by the utilities and giant businesses caused Congress to set up boards and commissions to regulate the industries for the protection of the individual citizen. Members of these boards and commissions have a tremendous obligation to represent, speak out for, and protect the individual citizen. Deviations from that fundamental principal should be cause for alarm on the part of the people and Members of Congress who are the source of authority for the boards and commissions.

The column follows:

UTILITY MEN HOSTS TO KUYKENDALL

(By Drew Pearson)

A lot of people have forgotten why commissions were established in Washington. They were established to act as impartial judges between business and the public, to protect the public against unreasonable rates by big business, false advertising, and monopoly by business.

They were not set up to promote the profits of business, but to protect the pocketbooks of consumers.

Today many commissioners seem to believe their job is just the reverse. They seem to think that commissioners were appointed to promote profits of a dozen big companies, not protect the pocketbooks of 160 million people.

Take, for instance, the case of Jerome Kuykendall, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, who is charged with protecting the public from paying too high rates for electric power and natural gas.

This week he's up for a hearing on whether he should be confirmed by the Senate for another term. Mr. Eisenhower has reappointed him. The natural-gas lobby and the big electric power companies are strong for him. And most Senators are either too blase, too lazy, or too afraid of the big power companies to vote against him.

However, here is the way Chairman Kuykendall, supposedly neutral Chairman of the FPC, has been protecting the profits of big corporations, not the pocketbooks of little consumers.

COCKTAILS, FREE TRIPS

1. He made a grand tour of the Southwest, expenses paid by the Texas Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association. This is unprecented. Commissioners are supposed to keep aloof from both sides.

Accompanying Chairman Kuykendall on this trip were Seaborn Digby, another Eisenhower-appointed Commissioner, and Nelson Lee Smith, a Republican holdover. Commissioner Dale Doty, a Democratic appointee, and Claude Draper, a GOP Commissioner of the old school, declined to go.

FPC Commissioner Willard Gatchell had ear trouble and couldn't fly. So the gas company hosts took the trouble and expense of supplying him with special auto transportation.

2. Chairman Kuykendall attended a cocktail party given in his honor by Mr. and Mrs. Stanley M. Morley, of the law firm of Wheat, May, and Shannon, which represents the West Coast Transmission Co., then applying for a certificate from the FPC.

3. He attended two dinners given by Ed Falck, astute lobbyist for Niagara Mohawk Power, Consolidated Edison, Delaware Power and Light, and a dozen others.

4. He went out to Chicago to attend the National Association of Railroad and Utility Executives dinner. The Government paid his expenses. In the past, FPC Commissioners kept strictly aloof from these partisan meetings. Using the taxpayers' money to attend was unheard of.

HELLS CANYON ACTION

5. Kuykendall waited 2 days after Congress adjourned in 1955 to announce a decision to turn much-sought Hells Canyon over to the Idaho Power Co. Some Senators, including KEFAUVER of Tennessee, claim Kuykendall deliberately deceived Congress when he implied shortly before Congress adjourned that no action had been taken on Hells Canyon. They say it had been taken earlier, but held until after Congress adjourned.

6. Senators also claim that Kuykendall was wrong when he told the Joint Atomic Energy Committee that FPC attorneys had

not reviewed the Dixon-Yates contract. Later his general counsel, Willard Gatchell, let slip the fact that it had come before the Commission's attorneys. Real fact was that two FPC attorneys, Lambert McAllister and Howard Wahrenbrock, had vigorously condemned the contract.

7. Kuykendall has now admitted holding secret meetings with three natural-gas lobbyists to draft a gas bill. No representative of the public was present.

Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on May 29, Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, wife of Eugene Meyer, board chairman of the Washington Post, addressed the Arlington County Teachers Association. I understand that Mrs. Meyer lives in the District of Columbia.

Mrs. Meyer delivered quite a tirade against the Commonwealth of Virginia, its officials and people. She attempts to foist upon the people of Virginia her own views of sociological problems and political philosophy the same as the Supreme Court of the United States has attempted to do. It reminds us of the carpetbagger days after the War Between the States ended. Now that the Supreme Court has delivered its infamous Black-Monday decision of May 17, 1954, it is fair to assume that Mrs. Meyer thinks our people are now ripe for conquest. I am sure the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia understand their problems as well as outsiders and will be able to meet them and work them out in the future as they have in the past.

One can but assume that Mrs. Meyer is an ardent disciple of that Swedish Socialist Gunnar Myrdal who has so bitterly attacked the American form of government and cast aspersions upon our Constitution and whose name blackens the pages of the reports of the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives. His philosophy was cited by the Supreme Court of the United States as authority for tearing down our way of life and throwing precedent out of the window in its decision in 1954 outlawing the equal but separate doctrine which has been the law of the land for generations.

On Wednesday, June 12, 1957, there was an editorial in the Richmond News Leader entitled "Mrs. Meyer on Our Liberties." Mr. John J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader, is an outstanding philosopher, student, and statesman who has made a real study of the rights of the people and the State under our republican form of government. He has rendered valuable service beyond the call of duty in explaining to the people the precarious situation we are faced with and the necessity of maintaining our way of life by stopping the usurpation of authority by the Federal judiciary. This editorial dissects Mrs. Meyer's address and points out the flaws, inconsistencies, and misconceptions with which it is replete.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial which is as follows:

MRS. MEYER ON OUR LIBERTIES

Very nearly the whole of our editorial page today is given over to the text of an address recently delivered by Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer before Arlington County schoolteachers. It is a remarkable speech, not alone for what it reveals of Mrs. Meyer's superficial knowledge of government, nor yet for what it tells us of the ruthless force that drives this woman, the wife of the board chairman of the powerful Washington Post. Here is the stony face of statism, the shrill voice of the demagog inciting hatred of the rich with their swimming pools and hunting fields, as opposed to those persons whose children attend school in classrooms that look like cattle yards. Her speech will infuriate many readers. We urge you, read it.

Mrs. Meyers exhibits her ignorance of the very structure of American government when she charges Governor Stanley with shouting loudly for States rights versus Federal interference, while refusing to recognize equally valid county rights against State interference." Actually, of course, counties and cities are the children of the State in which they are located; their local powers come to them from the State. And while certain county rights and powers are protected by the State constitution, this same constitution may be amended by the people of the State. The States receive none of their powers from the Federal Government; on the contrary, the Government of the United States has no powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, which is to say, by the States.

Neither is Mrs. Meyer impressive when she asserts that without the Supreme Court's opinion in the school cases, "our Republic [would have] sacrificed its self-respect and the respect of all the nations that look to us for leadership toward a new global civilization based upon democratic principles." Is it is be imagined that India, for example, with its caste system and its untouchables, really is pulled toward the western orbit by the school decision? Is it to be seriously contended that so nebulous an effect upon a new global civilization should be placed ahead of the stability of constitutional law?

But the portion of Mrs. Meyer's address which deserves most careful reading is her prophecy of what will happen if Southern localities should decide not to integrate their public schools, but to close them. "Just let your power-drunk Virginia officials try this experiment," cries Mrs. Meyer. The result would be to accelerate a ground-swell of indignation against "wealthy people" and their private schools. The result would be "Federal legislation to the effect that every American child must attend public schools during the elementary and secondary grades." We Americans, she says, "are not going to allow this country of ours to be split, either on economic or color lines, because the selfish and thoughtless rich and a few bigoted Southern demagogues think they can escape their responsibility toward the free education of American children."

That despotic expression, mind you, comes from a woman who has the blandness to say at another point that "all truly democratic Americans insist on States' rights." It comes from a woman with the gall to speak in her concluding paragraph of "the weak protection given to our liberties • • • against the inroads of Government."

Could the people of the South escape what they sincerely regard as the evil of race-mixing by exercising their freedom and their liberty to establish their own private schools? Not in Mrs. Meyer's book. And the ominous thing is that a Supreme Court which no longer follows either the flag or the election returns, has a way of following the Washington Post.

What's Made America Great

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, several years ago I had the privilege of welcoming a very intelligent and charming young girl to Washington who had won acclaim as the champion speller of north Florida. I refer to Miss Beverly Ann Wood, a high-school student from Fernandina Beach, Fla. We were all very much impressed with this outstanding young lady and I predicted at the time that further things would be heard from her. I now proudly report that she was recently a winner of the annual oratorical contest sponsored by the Fernandina Beach Kiwanis Club. I now have a copy of the fine speech which Miss Wood used in winning the contest and it is my pleasure to submit it for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that it may reach a wider audience which it deserves.

The speech follows:

WHAT'S MADE AMERICA GREAT

(By Beverly Ann Wood)

"A nation's greatness resides not in her material resources, but in her will, faith, intelligence, and moral forces." These are the words of J. M. Hoppin.

Our forefathers had the will to settle this new country. Across the wide expanses of the largely uncharted Atlantic back in the 17th century, there came to the rugged shores of America a people bound together by ties considered too weak for independence. These people had no common nationality, no common religion, no common purpose, and, in fact, no preparation for the life that was to await them. But in the heart of each of them there was the desire to live—whether on the barren shores or in a savage-infested wilderness, to live their days in pursuit of what each man considered most important to him as an individual.

Moreover, as the decades passed into centuries, America came to represent in the eyes of the world at large, and in the eyes of her own people, something distinctive in the long human struggle. She came to symbolize certain ideas, certain values, and a certain way of life. Ever since our ancestors embarked upon the great experiment in popular rule, our country has been a source of both hope and fear among the nations of the earth.

We people gathered here tonight possess a glorious heritage. Although many nations have contributed much to human advancement and many nationalities may rightly sing of their achievements, the story of the rise of the United States of America, within a few generations, to a position of unsurpassed power in the world in one of the truly epics of history. This growth in power was brought about by the will to succeed.

Faith has contributed to America's greatness. Our Nation has always been distinguished for its youthful ideas and its faith. It was faith that brought the pilgrim fathers to the beautiful but stern coast of New England—faith in their religion, faith in their

own ability to establish a free society in a wilderness thousands of miles from civilization. It was faith—not fear—that drove our people westward into the wild northwest country, then across the plains, the Rockies, and the Sierras to the Pacific coast.

It was the same faith that caused men to build railroads, factories, business establishments, and cities within the framework of an untried form of government.

Nothing was accomplished through fear or frustration or bitterness. All accomplishments came from sympathetic understanding, love, faith, vision, and good will. All worthwhile accomplishments will always come from the same guiding spirit—the Faith of our Fathers. Consider three great Americans as typical of this spirit:

George Washington's sublime hopefulness under defeat, his strong will, marvelous insight in character, and abiding faith in God, made him the leader of the Nation.

Abraham Lincoln's desire for unity and justice for all can be cited as ideals and principles from which we of the 20th century have profited. He was a man whose decisions were generally accepted and respected. He was wise, gentle, and firm.

Another great leader, Robert E. Lee, admired alike by friends and foes for his integrity, his devotion to duty, his gentleness, and his high sense of honor, contributed much to America's greatness.

The great events of history have resulted in permanent progress under the guidance of such great leaders as these. They have furnished the decisions, the courage, and the sacrifice which have given us freedom, growth, and security.

As citizens of this great America, we must understand and recognize the great challenge and the responsibility for intelligent leadership which confronts each one of us.

What makes our Nation great? Not our material resources, great though they be, but our ideals. If ever we should lose our sense of the worth of the human individual, our love for justice and freedom, our reverence for God and His laws the national structure we have built on such strong foundations would surely crumble.

America remains today a marvelous rich and beautiful land, a land capable of sustaining a great civilization for ages to come, but a land that must look backward to its rich heritage, as well as forward to even greater accomplishments on newer and far different frontiers.

Hon. Spruille Braden on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on June 3 it was the privilege of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to have had as its principal witness the Honorable Spruille Braden, former Ambassador and Assistant Secretary of State. Under leave to extend my remarks I am inserting excerpts from Mr. Braden's statement in the belief that his testimony deserves the consideration of the Congress as we consider again the so-called foreign aid bill.

It is interesting, Mr. Speaker, that Mr. Braden spent much of his boyhood and school life in Canada, Mexico, and Chile. After graduating in mining engineering at Yale, he was associated with his father in the exploration and development of large copper and mineral properties in South America. While in that hemisphere he organized a Chilean company which undertook the electrification of the Chilean state railroads. It was a $20 milliion project and subsequently it was paid off in full without loss to any bondholders.

Mr. Braden has also been very active in successful business organizations in this country and abroad. His work was primarily in South America where he engaged in the development of South American oil properties and generally in the export and import trade.

In 1933 President Roosevelt appointed him as a delegate to the Seventh International Conference of American States. In 1935 with rank of Ambassador he was chairman of the United States delegation in the Chaco Peace Conference and, after more than 3 years of hard work, settled the boundary work between Bolivia and Paraguay.

He has the proud distinction of having negotiated and filed a peace treaty which has lasted for almost 19 years. Later he served as Ambassador to Colombia for more than 3 years and also as Ambassador to Cuba and to Argentina. From 1945 to June of 1947 he was Assistant Secretary of State in charge of American Republic Affairs.

Recently he has been engaged as a consultant on foreign operations by a number of import concerns whose assets approximate $3 billion. He is also President of the Pan American Society of the United States and a trustee and member of the executive and committees of the Dry Dock Savings Bank.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I will insert a part of Mr. Braden's remarkable statement:

The State Department and collateral or associated bodies have been inflated bureaucratically, especially since World War II, with consequent waste and extravagance. In the field, not infrequently, this has irritated the people where our diplomatic missions are located and injured our relations generally.

Foreign or mutual aid, by reason of its mushroom growth during the last 16, and especially the last 10 years, has become so vast and complex a subject as to require hundreds if not thousands of pages to cover it at all adequately. Therefore, to be brief and in order that you gentlemen may more readily question me on those aspects of the matter which most interest you, I shall limit my statement today to a few of the general propositions in which I believe, and which I respectfully submit as a chopping block for discussion and for your questions.

For a more detailed exposition of some of my views, I should like to present for the record, and as an integral part of my testimony, copy of an address which I delivered in Boston in April 1956 before the New England Export Club.

Throughout my life, in business and diplomacy, socially and otherwise, I have been connected intimately with the less developed areas of this hemisphere. As Ambassador and Assistant Secretary of State, I had to do directly with foreign aid from its very beginnings. Thereafter I have watched its development closely. My whole life and experience, I believe, qualify me to testify on this subject.

My statement [1] for this committee follows:

1. I prefer largely to direct my observations to this hemisphere, as the part of the world with which I am most familiar.

2. Similarly, I prefer to limit myself, insofar as possible, to the economic rather than the military aspects of foreign aid.

3. I do, however, object to the granting of any aid—economic or military—to Communist regimes such as in Yugoslavia or Poland. (So-called national communism is just as dangerous, evil and anti-American as the international variety.)

4. I am only slightly less worried by grants or loans of any kind being made to socialist, or so-called neutralist governments.

5. I believe George Washington, in his Farewell Address, made the finest statement ever put forth as to what should be United States foreign policy. Therefore, as a layman, I should like to see a really convincing and detailed analysis of why modern transportation, communications, and science so profoundly alter Washington's warnings against entangling alliances. I should like to know if Eugene W. Castle, in his book, the Great Giveaway, is not right when he says: "Many nations could support their own military establishments if they had to do so and if the United States did not lavish military aid upon them." I should like to know how far our foreign military aid is being extended beyond reasonable lengths as a means to bring about more and quicker promotions and a more rapid turnover of materiel by our own forces. I should like to know if we have not wastefully over-armed many smaller countries, who are incapable of any real self-defense and whose peoples cannot handle modern equipment. I should like to know whether purely military aid has been used as a fiscal maneuver to release the recipient country's other funds to economic undertakings. I should like to know if historians are accurate when they say that the end of Rome started when she began subsidizing the outlying tribes and nations of Europe, and depending upon non-Roman mercenaries for her defense.

6. Even as a civilian I know that we can no more buy reliable allies than we can buy friends. Peoples can only be led to war because of a dedicated idealism or evident self-interest. I also know that if we keep the United States so strong as possible spiritually, militarily, economically, and every other way, other nations will wish to emulate and support us.

Surely the British and other allies will or will not defend themselves irrespective of any aid they may receive from the United States of America. The real deterrent to Soviet aggression does not lie in military handouts, but in the hope of friends and the fear of foes that we will assist the former if they are attacked.

Finally, I know that our military aid to some dictators has not endeared us to their peoples.

7. As evidenced by my recommendations to this committee and to the Appropriations Committee of the House when I was Assistant Secretary of State, I am not opposed to all foreign aid. I favor its employment on an annually decreasing scale, except for certain rare and very special situations. It should be used only as an incentive to the recipient nations to help themselves. Government to government grants and loans should be restricted to those areas where government is provenly competent, such as sanitation and health, education, government administration, and occasionally, public works or agriculture. I would give precedence to this hemisphere.

[1] I have not considered the constitutionality of our foreign aid legislation.

8. The people of the United States are the most emotional, sentimental, and generous of any, bar none. The tragic living conditions of the majority of mankind—which appear far more distressing to us with our relatively higher standards of living than they do to those who endure them—often impel us to adopt measures which will not improve the lot of the recipients of our aid, but which if continued too long, will impoverish us. Perhaps, it is this thought, coupled with the fact that so much remains to be done for our own people here at home, which now begins to stir our taxpayers.

9. How does our foreign aid affect the recipient nations? The Hon. Pedro Beltran, distinguished Peruvian statesman and former Ambassador in Washington, not long ago answered this question:

"If a nation relies on handouts to live, its future is doomed. As time goes on, it finds it harder and harder to get on its feet and forge its own future. * * * It ends by making no effort to develop its own resources or be self-supporting. As long as such a state of affairs prevails, such a country will never come of age, but will continue to be dependent on others, without prospects for the future.

"It should be realized that private capital can achieve what no public treasury can do. When confidence has been established, the amount of private capital that may flow into a country is practically unlimited. Private investors will compete with one another and seek out the opportunities * * *, but government money cannot do this, since risk venture is beyond its province. Private capital will flow * * * if the investor feels that he can operate in a free economy."

10. Our accomplishments in respect to foreign aid in this hemisphere often leave us little about which to be proud. It is pertinent to observe that:

(a) It was not the United States, as has been alleged, which primarily helped the Guatemalans to rid themselves of Communist control.

(b) So soon as the Communists had been driven out, our own Government proceeded officially and senselessly to confirm Communist calumnies against the United States.

(c) Since then we have been and are still wasting millions of dollars in grants to Guatemala. With a little judgment by the United States Government, these grants could be entirely eliminated and replaced many times over by private investments, which would be far more beneficial to everyone concerned.

(d) United States financing of Marxists in Bolivia is inexcusable.

(e) By giving substantial foreign aid to Peron, we supported an enemy, a collaborator first with the Nazis and then the Communists and alined ourselves against the decent and democratic elements of Argentina. Our role vis-a-vis Rojas Pinilla in Columbia, and some other dictators, has been no better.

11. No grants or loans—and here I include the Export-Import Bank, the International Bank and the International Fund—should be made to any country whose government by confiscation, expropriation or other unfair tactics and discrimination has directly or indirectly injured the investments of our citizens or even those of other foreign interests.

Nor should our taxpayers' dollars be paid to nations: (1) who do not need them, and many of whom are themselves wealthy; or (2) who turn around and give grants to other countries.

For these and other reasons, I am against the recently proposed international development loan fund, i. e., a United States Government so-called revolving credit beginning at $500 million and rising to $750 million per year. This fund apparently would not supplant direct grants of economic aid or the technical assistance program.

Under this scheme, the United States would be committed for the indefinite future, to the operation of a new bureaucracy dedicated to the principle that our citizens' money should be loaned abroad on easy terms, come what may, in "greater financial risks than those acceptable to existing institutions."

It would be folly to entrust such huge funds and power to bureaucrats, who are much freer than private banks and corporations from governmental controls and supervision, not to mention the vigilance of their stockholders. Too often, government officials, in handling the taxpayers' money, do not realize that they should act scrupulously as trustees.

It would be wrong in principle to use public moneys in risk loans or ventures, such as apparently are contemplated for this new International Development Loan Fund. In fact, the first criterion specified for it is that financing cannot be obtained from other sources. Because repayment terms would be less rigid and could be made in local currencies as well as dollars, and interest could be waived or suspended, these loans would tend to drive out not only sound private investors, but also financing by the Export-Import Bank. Thus, in the end there might be no increase or even a diminution in the new capital available for a particular country. Those suggesting the creation of this Development Loan Fund forget that it is not lack of capital, but the unfavorable investment climate in a given country, which is the real deterrent to increased private investment.

12. A serious study should be made of the inflation caused both in the United States of America and the recipient countries by our foreign aid programs.

13. I should like to present for the record, and as an integral part of my testimony, copy of an editorial which I wrote for the Saturday Evening Post, issue of August 11, 1956. From this, the committee will observe that I am opposed to SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development).

14. I should like to present for the record, and as an integral part of my testimony, my radio address on the Manion Forum, January 27, 1957. While it easily can be read within 10 to 15 minutes, I respectfully call the following excerpts to the committee's attention:

"The Soviets and communism never will be defeated by United States giveaway programs. On the contrary, our giveaway programs are founded on the Communist doctrine that the productive workers shall support the incompetent and the loafers. Both Lenin and Stalin violently opposed all development by private enterprise and investment. They said that the backward nationalities could be communized only through prolonged aid from the advanced countries, aid such as Washington is now disbursing. Due to ignorance of Communist policy and the basic Soviet plan, our government has been and still is subsidizing the U. S. S. R.'s long-range campaign against the United States.

* * * * *

"Who are the advocates of foreign aid? They are (1) misguided idealists or sentimentalists, who seem to believe friendship can be bought through government-to-government grants and loans;

(2) Some business and labor leaders, whose industries, thanks to this program, may sell their wares to or through the International Cooperation Administration in Washington; and (3) above all, the thousands of bureaucrats whose soft jobs and lush expense accounts depend on the continuance of foreign aid.

* * * * *

"The groups in favor of giveaway foreign aid cleverly confuse, misinform and mislead high Government officials, Members of Congress and many civic leaders, who haven't enough time really to track down how foreign aid is misspent. It is impossible to track down how billions are spent by going around the world in 80 days. We can't even keep track of how many millions, much less billions, are spent at home.

"The plain truth is that the United States is going broke, committing suicide, by uselessly giving away billions of dollars to the rest of the world.

"The direct debt of the United States is about $280 billion.

"This vast sum is almost twice the combined debts of all other principal nations. Of this huge amount, between 100 and 120 billion dollars have been given away or loaned to foreign governments.

"About 3 billion of our gifts have been used by foreign governments to reduce their national debts. This 3 billion has been added to our own national debt. It has done us no good of any kind.

* * * * *

"By June 30, 1957, the total of United States grants and credits of dubious value given in foreign aid since 1946 will be $60 billion.

"I grasp what $60 billion realy means when I add the assessed valuation of all real and other property in the 17 biggest cities of this country, to arrive at a grand total of just over $60 billion: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis, Washington, San Francisco, Boston, Houston, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Buffalo, and Dallas.

"We would be appalled by the mere suggestion that these 17 biggest cities, if it were possible, be shipped overseas as gifts to foreign nations. Yet, in effect, that is what we have done.

"But as it is, the dollar loss and the consequent drain on us taxpayers isn't as serious as the harm done to the morals and morale of other countries and of ourselves.

"Certainly over $60 billion should bring us spectacular results in the way of great respect and friendship, and security from Soviet aggression. Instead, it is evident that never did so many people give away so much for so little.

"Some of the recipients of our aid have turned 'neutralist' or begun playing with the Communists. Other recipients are critical of the United States. For example, the French Prime Minister said: 'The Americans managed to create something very near to hatred * * * by the way they gave their aid'."

If after 10 years and the expenditure of an amount equivalent to the value of our 17 biggest cities, we have gained neither security nor friends, how can we possibly justify that $60 billion? When this year on February 4, I put this question to Mr. John B. Hollister, the head of ICA, he replied, "I don't know. I don't know the answer."

To conclude, I respectfully urge that the foreign aid program rapidly be reduced to the most modest dimensions, at most a few million dollars per year to be spent in the manner I have set forth, and in due course replaced entirely by private investment and enterprise.

Resolution in Support of the Hoover Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. HESS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HESS. Mr Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE HOOVER REPORT

Whereas the Western Hills Optimist Club, of Cincinnati, Ohio, believes it to be the civic duty of all citizens and organizations like this to take an active interest in the conduct of government and to make known their views on matters of government to responsible officials so their representative government may more truly represent them; and

Whereas having heard the reports of the bipartisan second Commission on Organization of the executive branch (the Hoover Commission reports) discussed, we do feel that these reports offer a blueprint for reducing the cost of our Federal Government without impairing its necessary functions and services and strengthening the basic structure of our way of life and preserving its benefits for future generations; and

Whereas with bipartisan support, action has already been taken on some of the recommendations of the commission by the administration and the Congress, but many of the important recommendations still await action: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Hills Optimist Club commends the administration and the Congress for the action already taken on the Hoover report; and be it

Resolved, That we urge them to continue and accelerate, on a bipartisan basis, attention to the recommendations still awaiting action; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States; United States Senators BRICKER and LAUSCHE, Congressman HESS, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report (777 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.), and members of the press serving this area; and be it further

Resolved, That Congressman HESS be requested to call the attention of his colleagues in Congress to this resolution by inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and that editors of the press in this area be asked to call it to the attention of our fellow citizens through the pages of their newspapers.

Passed this 10th day of June 1957, at Cincinnati, Ohio.

ROBERT R. KELTNER,
President.
JACK W. BOWEN,
Secretary.

A Lasting Pioneer Spirit Brings Arcade to Its 150th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the village of Arcade in my district in western New York expects to celebrate its 150th birthday early next month. Into its weeklong celebration, from July 7 to 13, will be packed a tremendous amount of history and hope. Arcade today is America in miniature, treasuring its past, cultivating its present, and confident of its future. With other western New Yorkers, I am proud to salute it and to wish it many sesquicentennials to come.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an article about Arcade from the Buffalo Evening News of June 8, 1957, entitled "A Lasting Pioneer Spirit Brings Arcade to Its 150th Birthday":

(By Harold Alsworth)

Back in 1807 a restless New Englander named Silas Meech set the stage for Arcade's sesquicentennial celebration this summer. Historians say the sturdy young pioneer from the East was the first white man to acquire a home site in the forested Cattaraugus Creek valley near what is now Arcade Center.

Late in 1807 came Capt. Abraham Jackson, former member of the Vermont Legislature. He purchased 2,000 acres of wilderness from the Holland Land Co. at a price which today would hardly pay for a few vacant lots in Arcade village. Land sold for $2 to $3 an acre. A token downpayment was acceptable.

Captain Jackson, one of a number of Revolutionary War veterans settling Arcade, built a log tavern at Arcade Center and began selling plots of forest land to the steady stream of migrants arriving in oxcarts and on horseback. "Jackson's Settlement" soon became a flourishing log-cabin community.

Farther down the Cattaraugus at a point near its confluence with Clear Creek, Deacon Walter Hinckley, in 1810, built a log cabin and got Arcade village off to a long and flourishing career. Deacon Hinckley started the first school in 1811. He helped organize the Congregational Church in 1813. Hinckley's Station became a rival of Jackson's Settlement in importance.

Arcade didn't get its permanent name until long after the founding, however. On the Holland Land Co. maps it was the town of China. Residents disliked the Oriental designation.

Around 1828, the present name with its connotation of pastoral simplicity was adopted unofficially. In 1866 the Post Office Department finally changed China to Arcade in the postal guide.

The sesquicentennial celebration July 7 to 13 will pay tribute to the faith and courage of the pioneers who laid the foundations for one of western New York's most attractive communities.

Modern Arcadians will honor the settlers who traded their axes for muskets, and fought the British at Black Rock in the War of 1812. Arcade's casualty list was relatively high. Capt. Amasa Kilbourn was killed in battle and his body was buried in an unmarked grave.

Silas Meech, who married 17-year-old Sylvia Parker after building his log cabin in 1808, was wounded at Black Rock. Jacob Jackson, a son of Captain Abraham, was wounded and captured by the British. His family mourned him for dead. His return 2 years later touched off a jubilant celebration.

Arcade developed rapidly after the war. Large areas of cleared land under cultivation provided raw materials for grain and grist mills built along the banks of the creeks. Mill dams and mill races provided waterpower.

Silas Parker, father of Sylvia Parker Meech, was elected the first supervisor at the first town meeting April 5, 1818, in Jackson's tavern.

The town board voted a $10 bounty for wolf scalps and 12½ cents for crow's heads if not shot on Sunday.

Path masters, fence viewers, and pound keepers were appointed. Earmarks for wandering livestock were registered with the town clerk.

Canal talk was in the air around 1825 but Arcade never saw a tow path. The proposed Olean-to-Batavia Canal which would have crossed the township died while still in the realm of speculation.

Agriculture early took a dominant place in the economy. After forests were cleared, sleek herds of cattle roamed the valley and hillside pastures. In the post-Civil War years, cheese making was a million-dollar industry.

Historian Harry R. Douglas, who has written an exhaustive account of Arcade's 150 years, reports this situation economically in 1855:

Seven sawmills, a chair factory, sash and blind works, woolen mill, several grist mills and blacksmith shops, four asheries (where wood ashes were produced for potash used in fertilizers and soap making), a coach and wagon works and a leather shop.

A paper mill was opened in 1859 and an iron foundry in 1865. Later, a marble factory flourished. Toward the end of the century there were mowing machine, coffin, and bedspring factories. A cigar factory turned out two well-known stogies, the Big Chief and the Pride of Arcade.

Stage lines to Buffalo, Olean, and Batavia gave way to the railroads. The first passenger train on the Pennsylvania pulled into the Arcade station October 25, 1871, to the cheers of the populace.

The Arcade & Attica brought its first train to Arcade in May 1881. The short-lived Buffalo & Susquehanna gave Arcade a third rail connection in 1906. The B. & S., last to come, was the first to go, giving up the ghost in November 1916.

The A. & A., surviving hard times and bankruptcy, finally was purchased by farmers and businessmen. It continues to provide vital freight service. Its northern terminus recently was fixed at North Java, following ICC permission to abandon the remaining 13 miles between North Java and Attica.

The Pennsylvania's once prosperous passenger service has been supplanted by autos and buses.

Fires and floods almost delivered knockout blows to the village at the turn of the century. Thirty-five business places were wiped out in the conflagration of December 14, 1898.

Three and a half years later, on the night of July 6, a Texas-type cloudburst turned Clear and Cattaraugus Creeks into raging torrents.

Rescuers reached several families before their houses were swept away but Miss Minnie Loper drowned when her house collapsed in the rushing waters.

A new business section gradually rose out of the ruins. Flood-damaged houses and bridges were replaced.

The spirit of resurgence in the face of trouble has long been one of Arcade's marks of distinction. The early years of the present century saw new industries spring up as others faded and died.

Prosperous cheese factories gave way to the new powdered-milk plant, now owned by the Borden Co. The world's largest milk evaporator is in this plant.

The O'Dell & Eddy Co. started its long career in manufacture of wooden shoe lasts and tenpins.

The old knitting mill went out but the K. R. Wilson Foundry came into being as a manufacturer of auto tools. Lee Drennan's Sylvania plant was acquired by Motorola, Inc., which has just completed a $1 million expansion. The Aronson Machine Co. and the Pant-Ease Infant Wear Co. are two other lively industries. Arcadians boast that the number on payrolls of village industries now exceeds the total population because many workers commute from nearby towns.

Politically, Arcade has been Republican with a vigorous Democratic minority. Prior to the Civil War, abolitionist sentiment ran strong. The old Liberty Party held State rallies there in 1840 and 1844. An emancipation dinner was served to 2,000 in 1844.

Some Republicans say Arcade has as much claim to being the birthplace of the Republican Party as has Angelica in Allegany County.

Col. Charles O. Shepard was a fiery abolitionist and the underground railway for the transfer of escaped slaves to Canada, main-

tained a secret station in the village. Colonel Shepard's son, also Col. Charles O., became the first United States consul to Toyko in 1860.

More than 250 Arcade men joined the Army in response to President Lincoln's calls for troops during the Civil War. World War I and World War II saw hundreds more young men in service.

One of the sources of history is Arcade's oldest living native-born son, Grant Hodge. At 92, Mr. Hodge is still busy at an office job and eager to supply local color of the past from his keen memory.

The village has had many sons and daughters who became famous in public life, business, and the professions. Two who rose to high places while retaining their local residences were the late Federal Judge John Knight, and the late George Hogue, who was State commissioner of agriculture.

The sesquicentennial will open July 7 with historical services in the churches. In the evening the sesquicentennial queen will be crowned and a pageant of 250 will present the first showing of the pageant "Progress With a Past." Six action-packed days will follow.

Carl W. Gertis is general chairman and Robert Waters is directing the program committee.

All That, and Freedom Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, Jones Osborn, of Yuma, Ariz., is editor and publisher of one of the outstanding daily newspapers in my State. His daily Editor's Notebook column is full of down-to-earth, commonsense observations. I am presenting today one of Mr. Osborn's columns which, I think, demonstrates special insight into the problems of modern government:

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK
(By Jones Osborn)

It is fashionable, these days, to talk about the period from January 1 through April 26.

Nearly 4 months.

That is the period during which all the money from all wages, salaries, rents, interest and dividends received by the American people was gobbled up by Government.

Newspaper columnists are supposed to deplore it, to view it with alarm, to denounce it, to wring their ink-stained hands about it.

And many of them do.

They point out that the Federal Government alone would spend money at the rate of $136,619 per minute, during fiscal 1958.

Well, I can't work up much of a frenzy over such figures, stated by themselves and without interpretation.

April 26 is long past.

From now until the end of 1957, all the wages, salaries, rents, interests, and dividends we receive belong to us. We're free to spend them as we please. We've paid our obligation to Federal, State, county, city, and other local governments.

I don't mean to say that I like high taxes. I don't. For that matter, I don't even know anyone who likes high taxes.

Nor do I mean to say that there is no waste, no unnecessary spending, proposed in the new budget. I think our Congressmen are going to cut a billion or so out of it, without seriously impairing national defense and welfare.

I do think that, when talking about taxes, we must in fairness keep in mind what we we are buying with those taxes.

We are buying a first-rate local and State school system. Public education has never been more available or better financed.

We are buying local police and fire protection; we are providing a minimum income for our older citizens; we are building roads to travel on and parks to relax in; we are caring for veterans injured in service, and their widows and orphans; we are caring for the poor; we are helping the unemployed; we are trying to administer equal justice to all our citizens.

And, most importantly, we are spending valuable dollars not alone to maintain a costly but necessary fighting machine for our national defense, but we are simultaneously working on scores of spots around the globe to head off the insidious growth of a philosophy that, if permitted to grow much further, might very well mean the end of life as we are enjoying it.

For all that, and freedom, too, I honestly feed our tax dollars (within a billion or two) are being well spent indeed, the United States Chamber of Commerce notwithstanding.

Iowa Chapter of Blue Star Mothers of America Protests Decision To Deliver Soldier for Trial in Japanese Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, letters and resolutions continue to reach my office, protesting the decision to turn over Army Sp3c. William S. Girard for trial in a Japanese court for an alleged act which occurred while he was on duty.

Waterloo, Iowa, Chapter No. 2, Blue Star Mothers of America, adopted the following resolution at a meeting on June 7:

RESOLUTION OF THE BLUE STAR MOTHERS OF AMERICA, INC., CHAPTER NO. 2, WATERLOO, IOWA

Whereas we believe that this American serviceman was performing the duties assigned to him, which was, to guard a given area against any and all interlopers; and

Whereas we believe our Government has made a grave error in judgment in entering into this agreement with the Japanese Government; and

Whereas we also believe this decision to be discriminatory and that it denies to William S. Girard the right of every American to be given a fair trial under American laws, in American courts and by Americans, a right and privilege that thousands of American servicemen and women have fought and died to protect and preserve; and

Whereas we firmly believe that, should our Government find that diplomatic appeasements or agreements are necessary, that they should not be made or entered into at the expense of sacrificing any individual American's rights, privileges or welfare; and

Whereas we also firmly believe that the United States Government's first obligation of responsibility must be to protect the servicemen and women that we send to a foreign country to serve our Nation, and not to the citizenry of the country to which they are sent: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of Waterloo, Iowa, Chapter No. 2, Blue Star Mothers of America, Inc., mothers of sons and daughters who served in World War II and the Korean conflict, go on record as strongly opposing and objecting to the decision of our United States Government to allow American GI William S. Girard to be tried in the Japanese civilian courts rather than by an Army court-martial, and be it also

Resolved, That all members of Waterloo, Iowa, Chapter No. 2, Blue Star Mothers of America, Inc., be urged to write to their Congressmen and Senators asking them to exert every effort and use their influence, as our elected representatives, to have this agreement nullified, in favor of a more acceptable and just means of disposing of the case of William S. Girard, American serviceman versus the citizenry of Japan.

MRS. H. O. HAUSER,
President.
MRS. CLIFFORD LAURITSON,
Parliamentarian and Resolutions Chairman.

Beware of Psychiatrists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, one way to destroy any people is to destroy their health. The destruction of the mind is less obvious and not an open act of murder, but the millions who have had their minds destroyed by this sly Fascist and communistic scheme of controlling the people are as dead as they ever will be.

Listen to what Dictator Georgi Malenkov said when he succeeded Stalin:

There will be no more lobotomies while I am dictator of Russia.

Now let us see what a lobotomy is. First, the patient is strapped to an operating table. The straps must be tight and very strong. Then electrodes are clamped to the temples of the person about to be lobotomized. Next, three jolts of electricity are shot through the patient's brains—enough to start violent convulsions, which give way to an anaesthetic coma. Now the doctor takes his leucotomes—pick-like instruments—and inserts them under the patient's eyelids. With a hammer he then drives them through the eye sockets of the skull and into the forepart of the brain. Finally, with a few deft sweeping motions back and forth, the doctor severs the prefrontal lobes of the brain from the rest of it. Hitler used this method on millions of his subjects and Stalin had over 10 million slaves or prisoners operated upon and turned into mere beasts of burden.

It takes only 5 minutes to perform this operation and the subject does not know what has been done to him. He loses his animation as a living object and becomes a zombie. His productive organs wither up and he is incapable of resistance.

This same practice is used here in the United States on persons said to be mentally ill, and it is estimated that 100,000 persons in the United States have been subjected to this operation upon the advice of some psychiatrist. This is mur-

der per se, although the patient may be hopelessly incurable. It is another way of putting the patients to death under the advice of skilled psychiatrists. In the United States today a large percentage of the psychiatrists are foreigners, most of them educated in Russia. The percentage runs as high as 80.

What does this mean? Does it mean that the Russian finesse of human destruction is introduced in America to further weaken our people so that there will be less resistance to communism? It means nothing short of that.

My next Extension of Remarks will include the speech of Beria, who addressed a group of American students at Lenin University in Russia. Here are two statements of the many he made at that meeting:

You must labor until we have dominion over the minds and bodies of every important person in our nation. You must achieve such disrepute for the state of insanity and such authority over its pronouncement that no one statesman so labeled could ever again be given credence by the people. You must work until suicide arising from mental imbalance is common and calls forth no general investigation or remark.

With the institutions for the insane you have in your country prisons which can hold a million persons and can hold them without civil rights or any hope of freedom. And upon these people can be practiced shock and surgery so that never again will they draw a sane breath. You must make these treatments common and accepted. You must sweep aside any treatment or any group of persons seeking to treaty by effective means.

There you have the Communist assault on the minds of men. Is this the practice this country is going to follow in mental health cases? It would seem that some of these methods are already being used here, judging from some of the cases which have recently been brought to my attention.

Illinois Labor Suggests Review of Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, at the 74th annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor a foreign policy section of the executive board report was unanimously adopted by the delegates in October 1956 and this policy was reprinted in the Weekly News Letter of June 8, 1957.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor is to be congratulated on taking a realistic view of our foreign policy and their views are most worthy of note as contained in the following article:

FOREIGN POLICY

There is a language the Communists understand, and that stems from strength, firmness, and determination. Any of the virtues of dealing with people and nations, which are considered ethical and entered into with a spirit of give and take, are simply evidences of weakness and stupidity to the Communists. Recognition of these diplomatic facts of life, and using them, can mean the difference between a peaceful world, and a jittery, war-conscious world.

Citizens from free nations all over the world have visited our offices. These visitors have been under the auspices of the United States Government. We have enjoyed meeting them and exchanging information. Their reaction to the United States itself, its economy, its standard of living, and its freedoms, is good to see. Most admit they did not fully believe what they had heard and read about America. We hope their countrymen will believe them when these visitors describe and explain what they have witnessed. This kind of foreign relations and policy certainly is helpful to better understanding. Our Government's reciprocity has been very limited, and perhaps a number of labor teams should be sent from this country on good-will tours.

We are disturbed, however, by the frank answers to our questions about the attitudes and reactions of their countrymen toward Americans. The United States and its motives are distrusted. Hatred, contempt, and jealousy are felt by many peoples whose nations we have helped since 1945. We suspect the emotions of the people may have been abetted by their leaders on occasion—leaders who have used our bounty to bolster their governments.

We happen to believe in the brotherhood of man. We are practical enough, however, to know that we cannot force our way of life on other nations. Communists do, but we recognize that other nations and people have concepts which differ. Theories of government are meaningless to masses of people who are hungry, in rags, and with little shelter. Native intellectuals, gone Communist, promise land, full bellies, and clothing to their illiterate countrymen. These are promises that will not be kept. Therefore, our own foreign aid, if it is to continue, must be of more direct help to the people themselves.

We are happy to see a tightening-up process in the foreign air programs. We are still for assistance to friendly nations and to backward peoples. We are against forcing bounty upon them or attempting to buy friendship. We are against gifts or loans to corrupt oppressive or dictatorial governments. In short, a reevaluation of the whole foreign spending program is in order by both parties. The war ended in 1945. Korea may be a separate problem.

More attention should be paid to this Western Hemisphere as a whole, and our neighbors in Central and South America in particular. The Monroe Doctrine of the 1820's is still sound. The fundamental concept of that doctrine has become quite simple. It is contrary to the interest of the United States that any foreign nation shall establish settlements or colonies in any part of the Americas; or that they should exercise preponderant influence in Latin America.

Another distressing circumstance is giving away the constitutional rights of our servicemen on foreign soil. Servicemen, charged with crime against foreign peoples, should be tried promptly and, if guilty, punished. But they should be tried according to American ideals of justice, and if guilty punished accordingly. We would hope and pray that all of our servicemen would be a shining example wherever they were stationed. However, we know that some individuals are going to get into serious trouble and bring disrepute upon their group and propaganda against America. Others will get into minor scrapes of no consequence as we see it, but they still could be severely punished under certain foreign laws.

If our troops are needed to garrison and protect these foreign peoples, then the least our boys should expect is that their own Government will not desert them. It should not throw them on the mercy of civil courts governed by laws, customs, and procedures completely at variance with our civil courts' constitutional background and safeguards. This destruction of, and giving away of, an American boy's rights, because he is serving his country in uniform, is outrageous, and should be revoked immediately.

Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, long before I ever considered running for the office of Representatives to the United States Congress, I was interested in the Territories of our country, and especially the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii. Little did I dream that when I came to Congress I would be a member of the Committee of the House of Representatives that would handle the affairs of these great territories. I sought membership on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs because it handles all matters concerning mines and mining, this being one of the principal industries in my congressional district.

But one of the most fascinating parts of the work of this great committee are the problems of Alaska, and I have taken a keen interest in this Territory, her people, her vast land areas, her unlimited resources and the desire of a vast majority of Alaskans to have their home become a State in the United States, another star in the field of blue of the Stars and Stripes.

Therefore when the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on May 28 considered and acted favorably to report the Alaskan statehood bill to the House of Representatives, I was indeed pleased. The committee voted overwhelmingly in support of statehood—24 in favor of the bill with 6 members opposed to statehood.

One of the items that was most impressive in this vote was the almost solid support of the legislation by the Republican members of the committee. While statehood is not a political issue, and while statehood will only be achieved by bipartisan support, the Republican members supported this bill to a greater degree than did the Democrats.

There are 13 Republican members on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and 11 members, or 85 percent, voted in favor of statehood, while only 13 of the 17 Democratic members, or 76 percent, of the committee voted for statehood. I am proud of the manner in which the Republican members of the committee supported the President in his endorsement of this long overdue legislation.

There can be no doubt about the position of President Eisenhower or his administration because he has stated in his budget message of 1957, and many times to the press, that he favors immediate statehood for Alaska. The administration's position was later affirmed by the statement of the Secretary of the Interior in his testimony before the House committee.

The area limitations for the conducting of defense activities, as proposed in the Department of the Interior's amendment to create special national defense withdrawal areas in the northwestern region of Alaska, have been included in the bill passed by the committee. The legislation as it now stands, in my opinion, is in accord with the wishes of the great majority of the people of Alaska. This opinion is strengthened by a news item in the Anchorage Daily Times of May 28 which indicates that the Governor of Alaska, native-born Michael A. Stepovich, has expressed his accord with the actions of the Congress thus far on this bill. The Governor is quoted as saying:

It's really encouraging that Congress is moving right along on the bill. As Alaskans, we are grateful.

I vigorously urge the support of this statehood legislation by everyone so that it will successfully pass and become law, thus fulfilling a long wished-for objective on the part of the citizens of Alaska and the United States.

Minneapolis: A Gateway and a Playground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, with summer officially just around the corner, most Americans are thinking about vacations.

Certainly I am looking forward to the end of the session and the opportunity to return to my home in Minnesota.

Vacation-bound Americans everywhere I know will be very interested in the fine article which appears in the current issue of Greater Minneapolis, entitled "Minneapolis: A Gateway and a Playground." The article is such a fine discussion of the infinite variety of recreational resources to be found by entering the Minneapolis gateway, that I feel it ought to have a wider audience. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Minneapolis: A Gateway and a Playground" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MINNEAPOLIS: A GATEWAY AND A PLAYGROUND

Base of operations for the two and a quarter million tourists who make Minnesota their vacationland each year, Minneapolis manages to catch the attention of the northbound tourist who is intent on getting settled at his lakeside retreat. Once in the City of Lakes, the family feels comfortably near enough to its goal and finds Minneapolis attractions worth seeing. Few cities that border vacationland areas are successful in stopping the tourist traffic for a look-see.

The reason for this interest in urban life by pleasure-bent vacationers are many but strong in appeal is that Minneapolis is in itself a lakeside retreat. With 31 miles of shoreline and 15,000 acres of water, the City of Lakes captures the interest of landlocked people unused to seeing sparkling waters, boats, canoes, and water skis as standard equipment for active city residents. Then, too, the proximity of the more primitive areas to the city that is the gateway to Minnesota's incomparable vacationland keeps the vacation spirit ever in the consciousness of Minneapolis businessmen who are always ready to talk of fish and things while they strain to keep their minds concentrated on making a living.

To be more specific in describing the Minneapolis appeal, it becomes necessary to recite a few statistics. Twenty-two lakes and lagoons within the city offer unlimited opportunities for outdoor fun. Fishing, sailboating, canoeing, swimming, and water skiing are only minutes away from the office and home.

Minneapolitans luxuriate in the knowledge that 147 city parks are available for a picnic or outing. Eleven private and five municipal golf courses are being maintained at top efficiency. Fourteen swimming beaches, 45 baseball diamonds, 137 softball diamonds, and 186 concrete and clay tennis courts are situated in what appear to be almost manufactured settings. Nature's design is all-apparent, however, the visitors gawk at the number of homes that claim boulevard and lake district addresses.

Minneapolis services the traveler on his way to and from the north country and becomes a "Place To Go" once the vacationer has settled. The Aquatennial brings its annual abundance of professional entertainment and offers the tourist family events such as parades that rival the Mardi Gras and New York welcomings, highly competitive, grueling canoe races, queen crowning, and all-inclusive summertime sports contests. Great numbers of our out-of-State friends welcome the sights and sounds of the city after an extended period of "roughing it" in the wooded lake country. Tanned and brimming over with enthusiasm they descend on the city for the Aqua Follies, to take in a new movie or summer stock play. This year, they'll get a look at our new metropolitan baseball stadium. The historical-cultural offerings presented by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Swedish Institute of America, and the University of Minnesota are musts for many. Dining establishments that jealously guard their coveted awards, provide the perfect setting for the family away from home.

The ever-increasing travel industry is a prime economic advantage for Minnesota. The growth of this industry has been phenomenal and the worth of this business totals over $285 million. It has been a long time developing, too. Even before statehood, it was drawing visitors from the South, who would come up the Mississippi by boat with their entire entourage of household servants to escape the torrid summer heat of their home States. There were resorts along the north shore before a road had been cut through that wilderness, and guests were brought from Duluth by boat. Past and present, Minnesota has been known for its hospitality, generosity, and friendliness. A Minnesotan is a good listener, too.

What are the topics of conversation around the dinner table of the vacationer? Usually, the talk is of accomplishment. A vacationer is first of all, a human being who likes to feel that his money is well spent. A "good deal" means that satisfaction has been achieved. Hard work and physical output sometimes contribute considerably to a feeling of accomplishment. No wonder then that vacationers like to talk of such things as canoe trips. These are rugged affairs where the individual is called upon to exercise self-reliance and ingenuity. Just plain exercise is called for, too. A canoe trip into the wilds—the land of the voyageur is an experience not easily forgotten. Around every point and into every quiet bay there is some wonder of nature awaiting the tourist's camera. It may be a moose pulling up the roots of the water lily, a great black bear tearing up a rotten log for his favorite snack of honey, or a large flock of wild ducks startled off the water by the canoe's approach. Here, also, you may see the blue heron, the bald eagle, herds of deer or that ever-present little woods-clown, the porcupine. Fishing is superb in the wilderness. The thousands of lakes and rivers teem with walleyes, northern pike, bass, lake trout and pan fish. The waters are clear and cold, and the fish are the big, fighting kind.

Or the hearty traveler may be more of a viewer. Don't be surprised if you hear him expounding the beauty of such "common" sights as the St. Croix Valley, the North Shore or a State park. Houseboat tours are gaining in popularity, and floating homes are unique in vacation adventure. Trailway tours are never-to-be-forgotten experiences. The tourist gets off the beaten path and may wind up on a familiar boulevard. Canoes are necessary for this conversation piece. And when you hear the enthusiastic talk of the tasks that have been completed by the vacationers remember that very few areas can provide a challenge that is equal to the overall wants of large numbers of people.

Communist Brainwashing for Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, to apprise the people of this country just what the Communist practice was and probably still is in regard to the treatment of so-called mentally sick persons, I have decided to reprint the entire speech made by Communist Beria to a class of American students at Lenin University.

This is the same Beria who was at the head of the police system in Russia, and who caused the execution of millions of Russians, and who finally was himself executed by the Malenkov dictatorship:

AN ADDRESS BY BERIA

American students at the Lenin University, I welcome your attendance at these classes on psychopolitics.

Psychopolitics is an important if less known division of geopolitics. It is less known because it must necessarily deal with highly educated personnel, the very top strata of mental healing.

By psychopolitics our chief goals are effectively carried forward. To produce a maximum of chaos in the culture of the enemy is our first most important step. Our fruits are grown in chaos, distrust, economic depression, and scientific turmoil. At last a weary populace can seek peace only in our

offered Communist state, at last only communism can resolve the problems of the masses.

A psychopolitician must work hard to produce the maximum chaos in the fields of mental healing. He must recruit and use all the agencies and facilities of mental healing. He must labor to increase the personnel and facilities of mental healing until at last the entire field of mental science is entirely dominated by Communist principles and desires.

To achieve these goals the psychopolitician must crush every homegrown variety of mental healing in America. Actual teachings of Freud, James, Eddy, and others amongst your misguided peoples must be swept away. They must be discredited, defamed, arrested, stamped upon even by their own government until there is no credit in them and only Communist-oriented healing remains. You must work until every teacher of psychology unknowingly or knowingly teaches only Communist doctrine under the guise of "psychology." You must labor until every doctor and psychiatrist is either a psychopolitician or an unwitting assistant to our aims.

You must labor until we have dominion over the minds and bodies of every important person in your nation. You must achieve such disrepute for the state of insanity and such authority over its pronouncement that not one statesman so labeled could again be given credence by his people. You must work until suicide arising from mental imbalance is common and calls forth no general investigation or remark.

With the institutions for the insane you have in your country prisons which can hold a million persons and can hold them without civil rights or any hope of fredeom. And upon these people can be practiced shock and surgery so that never again will they draw a sane breath. You must make these treatments common and accepted. And you must sweep aside any treatment or any group of persons seeking to treat by effective means.

You must dominate as respected men the fields of psychiatry and psychology. You must dominate the hospitals and universities. You must carry forward the myth that only a European doctor is competent in the field of insanity and thus excuse amongst you the high incidence of foreign birth and training. If and when we seize Vienna, you shall then have a common ground of meeting and can come and take your instructions as worshippers of Freud along with other psychiatrists.

Psychopolitics is a solemn charge. With it you can erase our enemies as insects. You can cripple the efficiency of leaders by striking insanity into their families through the use of drugs. You can wipe them away with testimony as to their insanity. By our technologies you can even bring about insanity itself when they seem too restive.

You can change their loyalties by psychopolitics. Given a short time with a psychopolitician you can alter forever the loyalty of a soldier in our hands or a statesman or a leader in his own country, or you can destroy his mind.

However, you labor under certain dangers. It may happen that remedies for our "treatments" may be discovered. It may occur that a public hue and cry may arise against "mental healing." It may thus occur that all mental healing might be placed in the hands of ministers and be taken out of the hands of our psychopogists and psychiatrists. But the capitalistic thirst for control, capitalistic inhumanity, and a general public terror of insanity can be brought to guard against these things. But should they occur, should independent researchers actually discover means to undo psychopolitical procedures, you must not rest, you must not eat or sleep, you must not stint one tiniest bit of available money to compaign against it, discredit it, strike it down and render it void. For by an effective means all our actions and researches could be undone.

In a capitalistic state you are aided on all sides by the corruption of the philosophy of man and the times. You will discover that everything will aid you in your campaign to seize, control, and use all "mental healing" to spread our doctrine and rid us of our enemies within their own borders.

Use the courts, use the judges, use the constitution of the country, use its medical societies and its laws to further our ends. Do not stint in your labor in this direction. And when you have succeeded you will discover that you can now effect your own legislation at will and you can, by careful organization of healing societies, by constant campaign about the terrors of society, by a pretense as to your effectiveness make your capitalist himself, by his own appropriations, finance a large portion of the quiet conquest of the nation.

By psychopolitics create chaos. Leave a nation leaderless. Kill our enemies and bring to earth, through communism, the greatest peace man has ever known. Thank you.

The Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I have often said there is no quick, easy solution for the farm problem. No legislation can, in and of itself, bring about a complete and practical solution. It is a problem with many ramifications, complexities and contingencies.

One of the most concise articles I have seen on this subject is that written by Orin W. Hertz, Farm Adviser for Vermilion County, Ill. It is indeed a thought-provoking article, and I am inserting it in the RECORD. He raises a basic question that must be resolved. Shall it be more and more controls, or shall it be greater freedom?

The article follows:

FARM FARE

(By Orin W. Hertz, Vermilion County farm adviser)

Last month I wrote a column for the Vermilion County Farm Bureau Booster that struck an understanding chord with a number of people. If they felt that way about it, it is entitled to wider circulation. Here it is.

What a mess the whole agricultural situation is in. For more than 24 years we have been trying to legislate agricultural prosperity. Partisan politics have not been the major factor as I see it.

We have tried more controls and less controls. We have had high price support, low price support, and in-between price support. We have had tight acreage control (wheat, cotton and tobacco) and very loose acreage control (corn). We have produced much more than domestic markets can absorb and must depend on some export business, yet we have priced ourselves out of the world markets.

We, as farmers, want our products protected by tariffs from foreign competition yet we want to sell abroad and not have those foreign countries erect barriers to keep our products out of their country. We have used soil conservation funds to increase production that can't be sold to other than CCC.

We have reduced corn acreage and then grown a competing crop, such as some form of sorghum, to reduce the market for corn that we do raise. We have used conservation funds to build lakes and ponds and then let surface water wash them full of soil.

We have CCC bin capacity in Vermilion County for 7,193,074 bushels of grain and still (as this is written) not enough space to take over the corn that is under seal and purchase agreement. We have too much corn, wheat, soybeans, and oats, yet in order to farm economically we must do the best job of fertilizing that we can in order to increase the size of our crop.

If all of the above doesn't add up to a mess I'm not capable of recognizing one. If I were smart enough to write the formula to get us out of the mess, I'd probably have a lot bigger and more remunerative job that I now have.

It seems to me that we—you—have about two choices. One is more and more controls—tighter and tighter—with no one allowed to go broke and at the same time little possibility to get ahead.

The other is a gradual return to a free competitive market with greater individual freedom of choice. Under this program some people will go busted while others will get ahead. The first is the road to socialism. The second is the system that built America to what it is today—the envy of the world—the goal of emigrants from foreign lands—the land of the free and the home of the brave. You have the choice.

Trade With the Reds Never Has Worked Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the July 10 issue of the Mason City, Iowa, Globe-Gazette:

Trade-hungry Britain has broken its agreement on doing business with Red China.

The consequences could be serious, some unquestionably bad, some possibly—just possibly—good.

Most immediate results is a further strain on British-American relations. England has in effect told us to go fly our own kite.

Along with this goes a further rift in the North Atlantic organization, for it was NATO, with England agreeing, that clamped embargoes on trade with Red China in 1951 after the United Nations had branded the Peiping regime a Korean war aggressor.

Certainly the newly increased trade is going to ease things for Red China.

Britain offers an excuse that Red China has been able to buy through the back door of Russia all the things Britain proposes to sell her now anyway.

But that back door operation is expensive for Red China. Direct buying, without long railroad hauls, will be far cheaper.

And such goods as machine tools, electric motors, rubber, motor vehicles, tractors, locomotives, and scientific instruments—which the British no longer consider strategic—surely will help build up a regime which is still our avowed enemy, an enemy that has

warred on us and threatens more war on Formosa.

The argument on the other side is thin, but nevertheless there.

This holds that America cannot forever prohibit such allies as Britain and Japan from trading with Red China.

It holds that giving our allies opportunity to do business with the Reds will strengthen the allies economically, too.

It also contends that it will reduce Red China's dependence on the Kremlin and thus encourage her to stand independently from the Soviet Union.

It is a mightly nice little dilemma, in the midst of which Washington has been able to mutter only a small disappointment so far.

Perhaps, as some who call themselves even more realistic than the British advise:

"Let them go ahead and try to do business with the Reds. The sooner they get disillusioned the better."

A Violation of Good Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, while we properly concern ourselves here with the protection of civil rights, let us not mindlessly vote away not only the civil rights but the treaty rights of the Seneca Nation of American Indians. More than 160 years ago, the Senecas were guaranteed by treaty the right to their lands in Western New York State. Today, there is a bill before this Congress which, if approved, will virtually wipe out their reservation for a so-called flood control project. I am referring to the proposed $100 million dam on the Allegheny River at Kinzua, Pa.

Individuals and organizations throughout this country are shocked at this project which would violate a treaty signed in the administration of George Washington. Competent engineers have said that it will not provide the measure of flood control claimed for it, and that there are other and better solutions to the flood control problem on the Allegheny River. In brief, this is a project which is justified neither economically nor morally. I hope it will be reconsidered before an irrevocable and inexcusable mistake is made.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD some of the communications and resolutions which have reached me in opposition to this project:

KINZUA DAM RESOLUTION—ACT NO. 34, BY SUPERVISOR KILBURN

Whereas the proposed Kinzua Dam will damage and lay waste to many acres of the most historical and beautiful part of our county directly and indirectly and serve no beneficial purposes to those of us on the Indian Reservation or in the county or State;

Whereas it would be of no benefit in alleviating the hazard of floods for the city of Salamanca or any other Cattaraugus community;

Whereas if constructed it is doubtful, in the minds of many, that it will serve the purpose for which it was intended;

Whereas considered from all angles it will be a severe blow to our county and State and just about destroy forever the cherished land and homes of the Seneca Nation, thereby reducing the Indian Treaty to an unhonored scrap of paper, and our Government is bound to be criticized by our foreign enemies as much as it will be by all fair-minded Americans who believe in justice for all: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of supervisors of this county of Cattaraugus go on record as being bitterly opposed to the construction of the Kinzua Dam. That in its stead we recommend a series of smaller dams or Allegany tributaries or dredge the river, which would serve the purpose and not be so costly, which will serve the same purpose and not mar the beauty of our county or disturb the peaceful residents of our Allegany Valley; further

Resolved, That before action is taken on this project that we recommend a public hearing, with all interested factions attending—the board of supervisors, representatives of the Seneca Nation, and that we ask the governor of our State, Averell Harriman, to attend, and that the clerk of the board be instructed to forward copies of this act to Congressman Daniel Reed; Senator Ives; Governor Harriman; Senator Lausche, of Ohio; Senator Clark, of Pennsylvania; president of the Seneca Nation; President Dwight Eisenhower.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Cattaraugus, ss:

I, C. W. Baker, clerk of the board of supervisors of Cattaraugus County, do hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of a resolution passed by the above board, ayes 29, nays 10, when meeting in regular session on February 7, 1957.

C. W. BAKER,
Clerk, Board of Supervisors, Cattaraugus County.

NEW YORK STATE ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
April 17, 1957.

At the annual meeting of the New York State Archeological Association held at Rochester, N. Y., on April 6, our attention was called to an item on page 598 of the 1958 fiscal budget request whereby the United States Corps of Army Engineers asks for an appropriation of $1,000,000 to start construction of the Kinzua Dam in conjunction with the Allegheny Reservoir Project, involving an ultimate expenditure of $100,000,000. It is evident that if the Corps of Engineers are allowed to commence this project several consequences are inevitable:

1. It will cost the taxpayers a vast sum,

2. Erecting the proposed dam will entail acquiring flowage rights to 9,000 acres of the lands of the Seneca Nation in New York State and displace 600 Indian persons now living between Salamanca, N. Y., and the Pennsylvania State line.

3. It will abridge the treaty between the United States and the tribes of Indians called the Six Nations, November 11, 1794, which is our oldest active treaty with the Indians.

4. It will disturb the Senecas in the peaceful enjoyment of their lands and break up a community.

5. And the Senecas who have never violated this agreement are to a man opposed either to sale or displacement.

In view of these considerations, the New York State Archeological Association passed the following resolutions:

1. That the New York State Archeological Association express its concern at the initial budget item which will lead to a much larger ultimate expenditure of taxpayers' funds.

2. That it express its protest at the appropriation of funds for the Kinzua Dam which would inundate a large portion of the remaining bottom lands on the Allegany Reservation of the Seneca Nation in New York State.

3. That it express concern over setting aside the ancient covenant given by the United States in the Pickering Treaty which has greatly disturbed the Seneca Nation who regard this action as a breach of faith.

4. And that we are deeply disturbed that this action would expose the United States to criticism from abroad for dealing arbitrarily and in faithless fashion with our oldest minority group.

5. Therefore be it

Resolved, That the New York State Archeological Association express its protest to the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, interested Representatives, to the New York Senators, and ask them to delete this item from the budget.

WILLIAM A. RITCHIE,
President.

PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION OF SPORTSMEN'S CLUBS—KINZUA DAM RESOLUTION

Whereas the corps of Army Engineers have recommended the erection of a dam on the Allegheny River near Kinzua in Warren County and an appropriation for $1 million for initial construction cost is presently listed in the President's budget; and

Whereas the total cost of the dam will be more than $100 million; and

Whereas other adequate flood prevention measures costing considerably less have not been studied by competent engineers; and

Whereas the said dam will destroy valuable recreational facilities; and

Whereas it will be necessary to break a treaty with the Senaca Indians if the said dam is erected: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the PFSC oppose the erection of the proposed dam on the Allegheny River at Kinzua in Warren County until:

1. A complete survey and appraisal of all alternative methods to prevent floods is completed.

2. It is determined that the proposed dam is economically justified, and

3. A public hearing is held before a congressional committee.

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That all Pennsylvania Congressmen and officials of the National Wildlife Federation be notified of our opposition to the $1 million appropriation or any other appropriation for this dam.

HARRISBURG, PA., *March 29, 1957.*

A STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE SENECA NATION, JANUARY 24, 1957

The Association on American Indian Affairs (in New York), the Indian Rights Association (in Philadelphia), the Friends Committee on National Legislation (in Washington), and the Indian Committees of the New York and Philadelphia Annual Meetings of Friends are united in their opposition to the erection of the so-called Kinzua Dam.

This dam is contemplated in the design and planning of the so-called Allegheny River Resorvoir project of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army.

Construction of the dam would subject to flooding nearly all of the Cornplanter Reservation in Pennsylvania and a considerable part (about 9,000 acres) of the Allegany Reservation in New York State. It would mean the removal and destruction of the homes of about 250 families (approximately 1,000 individuals) of the Seneca Nation residing on the Allegany Reservation. Not only would the homes be removed and destroyed but also the community, which has great significance for the Allegany Senecas, would be broken up.

The removal and destruction of these Seneca homes would be in direct violation of the treaty of 1794 which states:

"Now, the United States acknowledge all the land within the aforementioned boundaries, to be the property of the Seneca Nation;

and the United States will never claim the same nor disturb the Seneca Nation, nor any of the six nations, or of their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase."

The Seneca Nation, by official action of their council, has gone on record in opposition to the project. The Nation, the Association on American Indian Affairs and the Indian Rights Association separately petitioned the Governor of New York State to help prevent the destruction of Seneca homes and the violation of Seneca treaty rights; and on January 14 Governor Harriman appealed to the Army engineers on behalf of New York State's Indian citizens. Governor Harriman asked the engineers to "take a new look" at the area "to determine whether other flood control measures might solve the problem without forcing the Indians to leave their homes."

Through their officers the Nation also requests the assistance of friendly organizations and individuals to help protect their homes.

This Allegany Reservation is the homeland of these Seneca Indians. It has many intangible values for them. There is no known area of comparable land available to which they could be moved that would give them the tax-free land status which they now enjoy and which would enable them to preserve their vital community interests.

Seneca occupation of this land rests upon aboriginal rights and antedates the colony of New York as well as the organization of the United States.

We are united in urging Congress to support the treaty made with these Indians in 1794 which set up this reservation "for the free use and enjoyment * * * to remain theirs until they choose to sell it" and to refuse to give the authority for the destruction of these Indian homes. In his budget message, President Eisenhower asked Congress to appropriate $1 million this year to complete plans for the dam and begin construction.

We urge other organizations and individuals to use their influence to have Congress refuse to appropriate the $1 million required for the construction of the Kinzua Dam, which would effect a direct violation of our Nation's treaty with the Seneca Nation.

PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF THE,
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,
Philadephia, Pa., April 19, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Appropriations Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: The distressing plight which threatens the Seneca Indians of the Allegany Reservation in New York because of the proposed construction of a high dam near Kinzua, Pa., was brought to the attention of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) during its sessions recently concluded.

This letter is addressed to you at the direction of the yearly meeting, which has worked continuously among the Seneca Indians of the Allegany Reservation since the latter part of the 18th century.

We were told that according to the best estimates the proposed dam will subject to flooding more than 9,000 acres of the Allegany Reservation and will destroy about 250 homes of 1,000 Seneca Indians. Not only are their homes precious to these Indian people, but possibly even more important is their community and their tribal organization and existence, which would also be broken up.

The occupation of their reservation is based upon a treaty made with the Federal Government in 1794. In this treaty it was promised that "the United States will never claim the same nor disturb the Seneca Nation * * * in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs untill they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase."

Our support of the Seneca Nation is based upon the sanctity of treaties and the needs of the Seneca Indians. However, questions as to whether the proposed high dam is the best method of securing the results desired have been seriously raised by competent engineers ,and it seems to us important that further studies be made to determine the most practical flood-control methods.

Every effort should be made to achieve the needed flood control and the conservation of the soils and water of the Allegheny watershed with the least possible disturbance of the life and homes of the Seneca Indians.

Now, as always, it is vitally important that we as a Nation shall abide by our treaties and promises regardless of our power to break them. We urge that Congress not make an appropriation to finance a project aimed at breaking, by unilateral action, a treaty which was made with the Seneca Nation 163 years ago, and which has been kept in good faith by both the Seneca Nation and the United States up to this time.

On behalf of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.
CHARLES J. DARLINGTON,
Clerk.

MAY 20, 1957.

To the Congress of the United States and the Subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives:

The National Fellowship of Indian Workers, a nondenominational organizations composed of missionaries, Government workers, and other friends of the Indian, view with grave concern the plight of the Seneca Nation now residing on the Cornplanter Reservation in Pennsylvania and the Allegany Reservation in New York State, since the building of the proposed Kinzua Dam would obviously result in the abrogation of the recognized Pickering Treaty of 1794.

Unless permission for such abrogation is secured through free and open choice of the majority of Seneca residents involved on these two Indian reservations, the National Fellowship of Indian Workers strongly urges the United States Government to recognize the moral issues involved in breaking a treaty with these Indians, and pursue other means of a sound nature to obtain the desired flood control, such means having been proposed by recognized authorities in such work.

DAVID W. OWL,
President, National Fellowship of Indian Workers.

The Eastern Regional Fellowship of Indian Workers, because of our deep concern over this threat to those in our own area, concur in the resolution opposing the building of the Kinzua Dam as adopted by the officers of the National Fellowship of Indian Workers, and wish to go on record as making such a statement the sentiments of our conference.

DOROTHY CROUSE,
President, Eastern Regional Fellowship of Indian Workers.

CONSERVATION FORUM
OF NEW YORK STATE,
January 16, 1957.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas construction of the proposed high dam in the Allegheny River at Kinzua, Pa., by the United States Government would abrogate the Pickering Treaty of 1794 which guaranteed to the Seneca Indians a perpetual right to dwell undisturbed in their reservation; and

Whereas the proposed large lake to be created would alternately flood and recede, thus destroying the beauty of the valley; and

Whereas the cost of the high dam is expected to greatly exceed the cost of a system of small flood-control dams on the tributaries; and

Whereas flood control, the stated purpose of the high dam, can be accomplished by smaller dams as has been shown in the Muskingum Watershed Conservancy District in Ohio: Be it

Resolved, That the Conservation Forum of New York State opposes construction of the proposed high dam in the Allegheny River at Kinzua and urges instead that a system of dams be constructed in the tributaries after the pattern of the Muskingum district in Ohio.

COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN OF
ROCHESTER AND VICINITY, INC.,
Rochester, N. Y., February 19, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: At a meeting of our executive committee of the council on Friday, February 15, I was instructed to write you in reference to a matter of grave concern to our churchwomen.

It has come to our attention that a plan has been made for the building of a 210-foot dam in the Allegany Valley which will necessitate acquiring lands and homes of the Seneca Indians on the Allegany Reservation. The details of this plan were presented to us.

The Pickering Treaty, made in 1784 with the Seneca Indians and the United States, guaranteed this land to the Indians "forever."

Some engineers also feel that there are better ways of flood control for Pittsburgh, such as small dams at the headwaters of the rivers.

It would seem that the matter of other methods should be fully studied before this expensive dam is erected and another slice of Indian Territory appropriated. This nibbling away at the Indian lands by powerful interests is a matter which must constantly be considered and prevented. We feel the rights of American Indians must have protection at all costs.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. IRVING L. WALKER,
Executive Secretary.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
February 21, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG: On behalf of my group I am writing to you in strong protest against the proposed Kinzua Dam, which would flood 10,000 acres of the land remaining in the Allegany Reservation in upper New York State. We feel that you, as a Representative from this area and a member of the House Committee on Appropriations should be particularly interested in the very strong reasons why this dam should not be built. I shall not enumerate them, but call them to your attention.

We beg you to consider the plight of the Seneca Indians of the reservation and their historic right to this land. Also, we feel the proposed dam would not adequately serve the purpose for which it is intended.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. EDWIN B. LEFFERTS,
Social Education and Action Committee, Central Missionary Guild, Central Presbyterian Church.

Schedule of Grassroots Conferences in Third Ohio District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, it is my great privilege and honor to represent the people of the Third District of Ohio here in the Congress of the United States. I am humbly grateful for this opportunity to be of service, and it is my constant aim to serve my constituents in the very best way possible. As their Representative in Congress it has been my constant policy to keep in close contact with the people of the third district so that I may know how they feel about the many important issues facing us here in Congress.

Our third district is the largest congressional district in Ohio and one of the largest in the United States. Its great importance, however, is not dependent on size alone, but rather on the outstanding contributions of its fine citizens to the general welfare of our Nation. Not only is it the birthplace and cradle of aviation, but many of its other products and inventions are serving people throughout the world. Our people are highly skilled in many ways, and we have a district in which scientific projects, manufacturing, and agriculture are developed to an unusually high degree. As the Representative of this great district, I have considered it my duty not only to be well informed of the opinions of my constituents, but also to be of the greatest possible service to persons having problems dealing with agencies or departments of our Federal Government.

Six years ago I initiated the idea of holding grassroots conferences throughout our district, and I have continued this practice each year during the time Congress is in adjournment. I also have a full-time congressional service office at the United States post office building, in Dayton, where I can meet with people personally at any time that my official duties permit me to return to the district.

During the time I am in Washington, attending to legislative and official duties, a competent secretary is in charge of my district service office to assist callers and to help them with requests for aid in dealing with the Federal Government so that I can be of every proper assistance to them.

In these ways I have sincerely tried to keep well informed as to the personal opinions of my constituents, and I have also tried continuously and sincerely to be of every proper service to them.

Members of Congress are constantly called upon to give careful and earnest consideration to legislation dealing with many complex national and international problems. These day-to-day decisions often affect the lives and living of every citizen in our Nation. Consequently, these personal and private conferences help me to serve all of the people in my district in a much more effective manner.

This year during our official congressional recess, I am again taking time to hold these "grassroots conferences" throughout our district at convenient public buildings. I deeply appreciate the fine cooperation of the many officials who have made these meeting places available to me as an aid in rendering this public service.

This is the schedule I have arranged:

Dayton Post Office, room 314, August 19 and 20, 9 a. m. to 4 p. m.

Miamisburg City Building, August 21, 4 p. m. to 8 p. m.

Germantown City Building, August 22, 4 p. m. to 8 p. m.

Brookville City Building, August 23, 4 p. m. to 8 p. m.

Phillipsburg School, August 24, 4 p. m. to 8 p. m.

Hamilton Courthouse, August 26, 9 a. m. to 4 p. m.

Middletown American Legion, August 28, 9 a. m. to 4 p. m.

Oxford Municipal Building, August 29, 4 p. m. to 8 p. m.

Fairfield City Building, August 30, 4 p. m. to 8 p. m.

Each year an increasing number of our folks have visited with me at these conferences, and the attendance has been most encouraging. It is sometimes surprising to see how much can really be accomplished when a citizen and his Congressman can sit down face to face and talk over problems of mutual concern.

Special appointments are not necessary for these conferences, and I sincerely urge individuals or groups to meet with me on the date and at the place most convenient to them. The knowledge obtained through these grassroot conferences will help me to render better service—both legislative and personal—to all of the people of our important third district here in the Congress of the United States.

Farm Policy Revision in Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call your attention to an editorial, entitled "Farm Policy Revision in Order," which appeared in the Daily Pantagraph, of Bloomington, Ill., last Monday.

It represents four specific points with respect to the farm problem that certainly merit consideration. As the editorial so well points out, we have not yet realistically approached the farm surplus problem. We have made a beginning, but we have not come directly to grips with the root of the problem.

I join with the Daily Pantagraph in urging early review of this whole problem that we may enact remedial legislation.

The editorial follows:

FARM POLICY REVISION IN ORDER

More and more people are coming to the conclusion that farm legislation has not come to grips with the real agricultural problem, which is production in excess of use. Programs enacted to date have been administered in such a way that they simply have shifted production. They have not taken into full account the tremendous increase in output per acre.

The idea behind the soil-bank plan is sound. That is to take land out of production and hold it in a high state of fertility until such time as it is needed.

In line with this purpose we propose four steps in an attack upon the farm problem of overproduction.

1. That Congress and the administration call a halt immediately on all projects to reclaim new agricultural land. Millions upon millions of dollars are being spent now to put new acres under cultivation.

2. That Congress authorize the Department of Agriculture to shift its major emphasis on research from greater yields to expanded uses and thus greater consumption of farm crops. This would shake the Extension Service to its foundations, but something must be done to put the energy and the know-how of science on the right track to remove rather than increase surpluses.

3. That Congress and the Department of Agriculture give careful thought to a shift in the soil-bank plan to permit taking entire farms out of production, rather than the poorer acres of many farms as at present. These farms could be leased, possibly on a bid basis, and kept in condition for use when the need for more food develops. Then they would be released to the owners.

If this looks like an impossible task in maintenance and administration, one must understand that the present plan does not operate itself. McLean County alone has a crew of 96 men engaged in measuring the corn acreage at this season.

We do not pretend to have a complete plan worked out. There may be sound reasons why it would not work. But we believe it merits serious study.

4. That, as the farm reserve plan becomes effective, supports be gradually reduced to leave agriculture in a free market.

The existing farm program continues to stimulate production. It has been kept far too long. It adds to the surplus at a time when excessive supply is the root of the problem.

It's late enough for Congress to get down to realities and correct the errors in this program that seeks for agriculture an equality with industry and other pursuits. Agriculture and the country will be much better served if Congress will do so.

Stop Nuclear Tests—The Views of an Austrian Guest of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following comment which recently appeared in the Elmira (N. Y.) Star-Gazette of June 4, 1957. The author is a young Austrian newspaper-

man visting the United States for a few months, who is a guest member of the Star-Gazette staff.

I believe his views on nuclear testing and the Communist strategy are particularly interesting coming from one who grew up under both the Nazis and the Communists in Austria during and after World War II. A further fact of interest is brought out when one considers that this reporter's homeland would unquestionably be overrun and perhaps literally obliterated in the event of another general war in Europe.

The above-mentioned follows:

AUSTRIAN BELIEVES NUCLEAR TEST MAY ACTUALLY BE "MUST"

(By Roman Schliesser)

I hate wars and really believe that this world would not survive a world war III. And when I say this, remember I am speaking as a man from a country defeated in the horror of World War II.

I would like to see the world's leaders render harmless every atomic or hydrogen bomb on earth. And I would like to cry out for all to hear that we should stop the testing of nuclear weapons. Let's disarm the world's armies.

And yet I can't do it.

I would like to join the 2,000 American scientists in their appeal for international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear devices. And yet I can't do it.

I can't do it because I fear this appeal to stop international nuclear testing could be a mistake—a deadly mistake.

As a neutralized country, Austria has only a small army of 53,000 men. We are not allowed to have any kind of atomic weapons. Growing up during the terror of World War II, and living in a defeated country after the war, I once thought it would be best for Austria to be a real neutral country with no army at all.

I changed my mind. I saw how necessary even a small army could be when the Hungarian revolution broke out. I think there is a need for armies as long as there are powers you can't trust. And I don't think you can trust the Communists. Never.

The Hungarian revolution demonstrated to me that the Soviets will go to any extreme, even to that of killing the workers they claim they are trying to help.

The Soviets for years have asked for a prohibition of nuclear weapons. They do it with their usual propaganda; the voices of men of straw, and the voices of politically inexperienced scientists. They ask for the same ban on nuclear testing that the 2,000 American scientists request.

Ironically, they also have been making nuclear tests for years. For years western scientists have registered Soviet atomic explosions in Siberia. Who can say that the Soviets would really stop their production of atomic and hydrogen bombs? Who could take the responsibility for such a demand? Who could guarantee it?

While asking for a halt to nuclear testing, the Soviets have been maintaining at the same time that they have better, stronger bombs than the United States. If they are so concerned about humanity, why can't they be the first to stop nuclear production?

I don't trust the Communists. And that, for me, and many Austrians, is the reason why it's hard to agree with the 2,000 scientists and their appeal. Even as much as I'd like to agree, I can't.

It isn't only nuclear testing we should fight. It's war itself that we have to fight with all our strength. In that sense, I think the fear generated by atomic weapons can be the best weapon against a future war.

Nikita Khrushchev told American TV viewers Sunday, with a friendly smile, that he thinks your grandchildren will live under socialism. In another word, this means communism.

He also said another war would be a great calamity for mankind, but the Communists would win such a war. He asked for a stop to nuclear testing and said, regarding disarmament, that Russia was prepared to limit itself to "some small step so that a small step might lead to something bigger."

Such doubletalk. Comrade Khrushchev didn't explain if this means a bigger cut in troops, or raises the possibility of increasing the size of the Soviet army on every occasion.

He also spoke about free competition between the Communist system and the American system. But he said nothing about the possibility of people behind the Iron Curtain getting a chance to take part in this competition, even to choosing the American way if they want.

There is a very fitting word for this situation. And I have learned it in your country. The word is "phony."

I think the Communists are phony. They are as phony as Khrushchev's proclamations on TV and as phony as the Communist demand for a halt in the testing of nuclear bombs.

No one has to tell me how horrible a new war would be with the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs. It's horrible enough for me to remember how individuals get killed in wars as we have known them.

I have a high regard for human life, yet I cannot join the chorus of voices asking for a stop to nuclear testing. I can't, because I know that you could not trust Soviet promises to stop their own testing.

I believe as long as the West is strong enough to fight the Communists there will be no Soviet attack.

The Teacher: An Appreciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following is an editorial which appeared in the Topeka State Journal, Topeka, Kans., entitled "The Teacher: An Appreciation."

I feel that it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon the comments made in this excellent editorial. It contains much food for thought and I highly recommend it to all Members of Congress:

THE TEACHER: AN APPRECIATION

William Osler, the great physician and teacher, was a Canadian who spread his influence abroad through the University of Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins to Oxford. He was a man wise in the homely virtues and foibles of everyday men and women, a man at home with anyone. Perhaps that is one reason why he became such a great teacher.

In a speech he made at Baltimore, at the height of his fame and just as he was leaving to teach at Oxford, Dr. Osler said (this was 1905):

"The teacher's life should have three periods—study until 25, investigation until 40, profession until 60, at which age I would have him retired on a double allowance."

This particular speech of Osler's was sadly misinterpreted and even distorted by much of the press of that time, so that many people got the notion Osler believed people were pretty useless after the peak of middle age.

But this impression was not true at all. By profession Dr. Osler simply meant what a lawyer or doctor means when he says practice. He meant that after 40 a teacher was really ready to practice his or her art—and be it said here that Dr. Osler was definitely the kind of man who believes that teaching is an art, not a method.

This leads on to saying that the gift of the good teacher cannot be taught to him or to her. The teacher has it or doesn't have it. We all remember the teacher who without every trying to do so, could fascinate the most googly-eyed classroom just by turning on the delightful and irresistible stream of his thought. The great teacher is perhaps first of all a great learner, whose own hunger and thirst for knowledge—more than that, for understanding—are insatiable. He is thought to be a bit eccentric, perhaps, an impression he may humorously cultivate to underscore his belief in the uniqueness of the individual. To him the sixth and most important sense is the sense of humor. He has only two real hates: sham and unction. Thus his contagion spreads, and the rest is remembrance in a thousand and one impressionable minds.

We thought of these things upon reading about the second annual tea for retired and retiring Topeka schoolteachers. How wonderful they are. How self-effacing and sacrificial and devoted they have been. And one of them, speaking for the rest, said "there is work for us all to do" to help our community socially and professionally.

You see how it is. The teacher's habits of life, of helping others before self, are not easily broken. And reading same, we wondered whether the part of Dr. Osler's prescription that the public really couldn't swallow might not have been the part about retiring our loyal teachers on a double allowance. The public probably never will digest that one, as even the back-row pupil suspects, but is it too much to hope that one day our teachers may be paid more than the drivers—meaning no offense—of the town beer trucks?

Can We Afford This Breach of Faith?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, there is soon to come before this House a project which, in my judgment, is far too costly for this Government to approve. Its cost in terms of benefits received is questionable. Its cost in terms of the sacrifice of moral values is inestimable.

I refer to the projected Kinzua Dam on the upper Allegheny River.

This was to be a relatively modest project when it was first contemplated. It was to be part of a great network of dams in the Allegheny and Monongahela valleys to protect against floods. But by 1948 it had grown to a $66 million project. By 1956 it had become a $97 million project. Now it is envisioned as a $101 million project, and by the time

it is completed, if we are so unwise as to approve the pending legislation, it will undoubtedly be upward of a $150 million project. What we shall be voting on is a $1 million item in the Public Works Appropriation bill, but what we are committing ourselves to spend is $100 to $150 million.

There is no showing whatever that the benefits will be comparable to this fantastic cost. On the contrary, there is every reason to defer this project until it is more carefully examined.

It is economically desirable to do this. There are several alternative proposals which appear to deserve further study. And it is certainly morally desirable to do so. For this project, if built, will destroy an Indian reservation which was granted to the Seneca Nation of Indians by solemn treaty under the administration of George Washington. The treaty guaranteed the Senecas the use of their lands in perpetuity. They have abided by the treaty in good faith for 163 years. I hope it will not remain for this Congress and this generation to reduce it to a scrap of paper.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD some communications from veterans, churchmen, laymen, sportsmen, clubwomen, and from the Indians, setting forth their views on this matter.

The communications follow:

LARCHMONT, N. Y., *June 12, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

The New York Committe on Indian Affairs of the Society of Friends urges that no money be appropriated for the construction of the Allegheny Reservoir project which would dishonor the treaty of 1794 and cause grave injustice and hardships to the Seneca Indians without achieving the flood control desired.

GLADYS SCHWANTES,
Secretary.

RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE PROPOSED KINZUA DAM, UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED FEBRUARY 12, 1957, BY FEDERATED SPORTSMEN'S CLUBS OF CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, N. Y., INC.

Whereas the United States Army Corps of Engineers, the agency responsible for flood control in the Allegheny River valley, proposes to construct near the hamlet of Kinzua, in Pennsylvania, a $125 million dam, thereby impounding a lake extending into New York State as far as Salamanca, and comprising several thousand acres of good agricultural land, and a portion of the Seneca Indian Reservation; and

Whereas the proposed dam and lake are intended to leasen, or prevent, flood damage to th Allegeny River watershed south of Kinzua; to assure a constant flow of water during the dry periods of the year, required by industries; and to provide such recreational facilities as camping, boating, hunting, and fishing, all of which would be possible in the portion of the lake located in Pennsylvania; and

Whereas the proposed Kinzua Lake will doubtless prove to be extremely beneficial to the lower Allegeny area, it can only be injurious, even disastrous, to the area north of the State line. No provisions are made for flood protection in this area. Several thousand acres of good agricultural land will be destroyed. A large portion of the Seneca Indian Reservation will be appropriated—against the wishes of the residents—which means that the United States will at last have broken a treaty. A great number of cemeteries, both on and off the Indian Reservation will have to be relocated. A large portion of the Allegheny State Park will be flooded. These lands will be flooded only during periods of high water. Recession of the flood waters will leave a swamp filled with mud, sewage, industrial waste, vermin, and disease-breeding germs; land unfit for use by wildlife, fish, or human beings; and

Whereas in the opinion of sportsmen, conservationists, residents, and competent civilian engineers, more satisfactory results would be obtained by substituting for the Kinzua Dam, a series of smaller dams on the feeder streams of the Allegheny River. Literally thousands of these dams, each a recreation area in itself, could be constructed for less than the cost of the proposed Kinzua Dam. Floods would be effectively controlled in the New York as well as the Pennsylvania section of the Allegheny River. Flood-control moneys could also be used to dredge and remove from the river bottom, several centuries accumulation of silt and debris, thus deepening the channel and permitting freer flow of water: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Federated Sportsmen's Clubs of Cattaraugus County, Inc., as representatives of the sportsmen and conservationists of this county, respectfully petition the United States Corps of Engineers to carefully consider the possibilities of a multidam project, which will be of benefit to both Pennsylvania and New York States; that will give proper consideration to the conservation aspect, and will surely meet with the approval of all residents, both Indian and white, before taking definite action; and be it further

Resolved, That, as this federation has joined with the State conservation council in its fight against the Panther Dam in the past, and will again if necessary, the council be petitioned to add its power and influence in the fight against the Kinzua Dam; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution (if adopted by the Federated Sportsmen's Clubs of Cattaraugus County) be sent to the following: United States Army Corps of Engineers, Senators Ives and Javits, Governor Harriman, Senator PIERCE, Assemblyman Noonan, President Cornelius Seneca of the Seneca Nation of Indians, Chairman Rowland of the Board of Supervisors of Cattaraugus County, and Robert D. Thompson, president of the New York State Conservation Council.

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
DEPARTMENT OF NEW YORK,
CATTARAUGUS COUNTY COMMITTEE,
February 20, 1957.

Mr. CORNELIUS SENECA,
President, Seneca Indian Nation,
Gowanda, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: At a regular meeting of the Cattaraugus County American Legion held at Ellicottville, N. Y., on February 13, 1957, a motion was regularly adopted opposing the building of the Kinzua Dam on the Allegheny River.

Discussion of the motion brought out the fact that the building of the dam would cause the United States Government to abrogate the Pickering Treaty with the Seneca Nation and that it would deprive many Indian veterans of their lands and homes. We believe both of these actions would be wrong.

We urge that you oppose any appropriation of money for the building of the dam.

Very truly yours,
THEODORE J. PIE,
County Commander, Olean, N. Y.

THOMAS V. BRESNAN,
AMVETS POLICE POST, NO. 17,
AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II,
Buffalo, N. Y., March 14, 1957.

Mr. CORNELIUS V. SENECA,
Seneca Nation of Indians,
Gowanda, N. Y.

The Thomas V. Bresnan Police Post AMVETS No. 17 go on record opposing the construction of the Kinzua Dam for the following reasons: It is a direct violation of treaty rights of the Seneca Nation Indians, construction of such dam is impractical and unnecessary expense to the people of New York State, it will cause undue hardship to the Nation of Seneca Indians and displace these people unjustly.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES T. FRANCIS,
Public Relations Officer.

INDIAN LEAGUE OF THE AMERICAS,
New York, N. Y., March 9, 1957.

Indian League of the Americas is an organization of American Indians of various tribes who reside in New York City and nearby towns, and our non-Indian friends who are in sympathy with us and interested in our culture and welfare.

We wish to add our voice to the protests, and request that the Allegheny Reservoir project (Kinzua Dam) be reconsidered. Many of us attended a public meeting here in New York City on February 26, 1957, where we heard an address by Dr. Charles Russell, vice president of the Association on Indian Affairs, and a statement by Mr. O'Neill, the attorney for the Seneca Tribe. We were also advised that Governor Harriman had requested that the reservoir project be reconsidered.

The matter was discussed at the monthly meeting of the Indian League this evening and, after making a long-distance telephone call to the leaders of the Seneca Tribe, who expressed their gratitude for our support, our members were unanimous in their wishes to make this protest. Full page of their signatures is attached to this letter.

The building of the dam would deprive the Seneca Indians (about 1,000 souls) of their ancient homeland and would scrap their treaty with the United States. This treaty bears the signature of President George Washington.

We earnestly request that the project be reconsidered and abandoned.

Respectfully,
ARTHUR JUNALUSKA,
President.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE PROGRAM BOARD OF THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF BUFFALO AND ERIE COUNTY, APRIL 10, 1957, RE RESPECTING OF INDIAN LANDS

Whereas there are Government proposals for the building of the Kinzua Dam which make necessary the flooding of Indian lands which have long been protected by a treaty of the United States Government with the Indians; and

Whereas there have been continuing alienations of Indian lands all across the Nation; and

Whereas Indians view their lands as a sacred heritage from the Great Spirit;

The program board of the Council of Churches of Buffalo and Erie County asks that the Government stand by its treaty word respecting the protection of Indian lands and that full exploration of alternate methods of flood control be sought.

KIWANIS CLUB OF SILVER CREEK,
Silver Creek, N. Y., April 24, 1957.

Resolved, That we, the members of the Silver Creek Kiwanis Club, of Silver Creek, N. Y., both collectively and individually, are

decidedly against the proposed construction of the Kinzua Dam, to be erected at the Allegany Reservation, Allegany, N. Y. The proposed construction is under the sponsorship and authority of the United States Army Engineer Corps; be it further

Resolved, That we the members of the Silver Creek Kiwanis Club are of the firm conviction that the proposed dam construction, will render considerable harm, both financial and moral, to our fellow American citizens, the members of the Seneca Nation; be it further

Resolved, That the United States Army Engineer Corps and other United States Government agencies concerned give this matter further study and elect to use an alternate plan; be it further

Noted, That the proposed construction is a direct violation of the treaty made between the United States Government and the Seneca Nation of Indians.

We, the members of the Silver Creek Kiwanis Club, sincerely and strongly urge you to do everything in your power to defeat the present legislation concerning the Kinzua Dam project.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT S. SUTEHALL,
Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF THE IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

Whereas the Allegheny River in northwestern Pennsylvania and southwestern New York offers abundant recreational facilities to the citizens of both States, and the United States Army Corps of Engineers proposes to construct a flood control dam costing $100 million at Kinzua in Warren County, Pa., on the said river, but little study has been given to alternative and considerably less costly methods of preventing floods in the concerned area, and the Congress of the United States is considering the initial appropriation for construction of the said dam, and the said dam would destroy recreational area, forests, and wildlife, and the said dam would be erected on land owned by the Seneca Indians under treaty with the United States, so that building of the dam could result in breaking of the Seneca Indian Treaty: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Izaak Walton League of America, Inc., in 35th annual convention assembled this 6th day of April 1957, in Washington, D. C., That we respectfully request the Congress of the United States to hold in abeyance any appropriation for initiating construction of the said dam until all practical methods for preventing flooding from the Allegheny River in the concerned area have been studied thoroughly; and be it further

Resolved, That an effort be made to secure congressional hearings for presenting all pertinent information; and be it further

Resolved, That the national president of the Izaak Walton League of America, Inc., appoint, within 30 days after the close of this convention, a committee to take all practical steps necessary to implement this resolution and to bring it to the attention of all persons and groups important to affirmative action upon its provisions, said committee to report at the 1958 national convention of the Izaak Walton League of America, Inc., or before, as required.

WOMEN'S HUMAN RELATIONS
COUNCIL OF ROCHESTER,
Rochester, N. Y., June 7, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN OSTERTAG: The Women's Human Relations Council of Rochester has already expressed to you its interest in the American Indians, and the protection of their rights. You have done so much to preserve and maintain these rights, that you have received our expressions of appreciation before now. We would like to add to those former occasions, this newest evidence of your alert and just action in regard to your speech concerning the proposed Kinzua Dam. We are convinced that the dam is not the best possible method of flood control, and that it is wrong to flood those ancestral acres guaranteed by this Government to the Senecas.

Sincerely,

MRS. LESTER J. BERLOVE,
Chairman.

OLEAN, N. Y., *February 23, 1957.*

President CORNELIUS SENECA,
Senaca Indian Nation.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT OF THE SENECAS: The Committee on American Indians of the Olean D. A. R. (which is the third largest in the State) wishes you to know that we have protested to many in authority in the State and to the Army engineers, and asked for their assistance in changing the plan to many small dams and dredging of the Allegany River in place of the erection of the Kinzua Dam which as you know well, means flooding of about 9,000 acres of your land, and the relocating of about 1,000 Indians against their wishes. Thus the treaty of 1794 with the nation of which you are president and signed by President George Washington would be broken.

We appreciate the fight you are making and hope you win, and hope to help you.

Very truly yours,

FLORENCE A. BRADLEY,
Chairman.
MRS. E. H. KEENEY,
LOIS M. PALMQUIST
Regent.
MERTIE KENYON,
MRS. J. C. LLOYD.

INDIAN TRUTH

The Indian Rights Association has united with many other groups and individuals in supporting the Seneca Nation of Indians in its opposition to the Kinzua Dam on the Allegheny River above Warren, Pa. This 181-foot dam proposed by the Army engineers would subject to flooding nearly all of the reservation given to Cornplanter and his heirs by the State of Pennsylvania in 1791, and a considerable part (over 9,000 acres) of the Allegany Reservation in New York State.

It would require the removal of the homes of about 250 families (approximately 1,000 individuals) of the Seneca Nation living on the Allegany Reservation. Not only would the homes be removed and destroyed but also the community would be broken up.

The community has great significance not only for those now living on the reservation but also for hundreds of their relatives who live elsewhere and return to the homeland at more or less regular intervals for the social and spiritual strength they derive from the community.

We believe the people of the United States would resent Congress making an appropriation which would finance a project aimed, by unilateral action, to break a treaty made with the Seneca Nation 163 years ago.

Inaugural Address by Hon. Michael A. Stepovich, Governor of Alaska

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. Miller of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the address delivered by the Honorable Michael A. Stepovich on June 8, 1957, at Juneau, Alaska, when he was inaugurated as the first native-born Alaskan to hold the high office of Governor.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the inaugural speech made by the Governor of Alaska, Michael A. Stepovich, on June 8, 1957:

My Alaska friends and my friends of Alaska, it is with a deep sense of humility that I speak to you today as your 15th Governor of the Territory of Alaska. With God's help, I hope to do a job that will be worthy of your trust and that together we can work toward the fulfillment of our dreams, statehood for Alaska.

It is particularly appropriate as I take this oath of office today to talk to you about statehood.

First, let me say that a primary goal and objective of my administration will be to point toward statehood and to meet our goal with Alaska ready politically and economically to tackle the responsibilities of a State.

The time has come for Alaska to become a State. I say this realizing that there are a number of Alaskans sincere in their beliefs, who feel that our territory is not ready for statehood or cannot afford it, or would somehow find statehood a disadvantage. To them I say, respectfully, that the majority has spoken again and again. The majority of Alaskans want statehood and they want it without further delay. It is time for Alaskans to close ranks on this issue and turn their united efforts toward obtaining that for which the overwhelming majority has spoken * * * statehood * * * and demonstrating to the Nation and to the world that we are worthy of it.

We Alaskans, in our quest for self-government, must have help and I can report to you accurately that statehood has the wholehearted backing of the Republican national administration. It is increasingly evident that never before has the Alaska statehood movement had such friends and allies in Washington. I can say to you that our two finest friends are President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton. I know this because I was in Washington recently and conferred with these great leaders. They are 100 percent with us and for us.

The Republican Party is fighting for statehood for all of Alaska. President Eisenhower's proposal for statehood for the entire Territory, under terms of the bill now pending in Congress, is the freshest, most realistic, and practical approach yet to be made to our desirable goal.

But statehood for Alaska is not a partisan political issue and I would be less than frank with you if I did not take time here to pay tribute to the many individuals in the Democratic Party, including our able Delegate to Congress, and the Alaska Tennessee plan delegation.

Recently Secretary Seaton had something to say on this subject. He said, "As for myself, I haven't the slightest concern as to which political party gets the credit for Alaskan or Hawaiian statehood. Simple justice demands that each be admitted to the Union."

The Secretary goes on to say, "Republicans or Democrats, the people of these Territories are Americans and I know of nothing in the Constitution which gives preference to one political party or the other."

In Alaska, too, I am sure that we have much more to do than to determine by idle contention who deserves the credit for something which has not happened yet. The important thing is that "we deliver the goods." The people of Alaska will then be able to judge where the credit should lie if that is important.

Let me again report to you that the Republican Party, of which I am proud to be a member, is working in every way it can to bring statehood to Alaska. It is my sincere belief and ardent hope that statehood will be accomplished under this Republican administration so friendly to our cause.

Let it be made clear here that the statehood measures now making good progress in Congress confer State status on every square foot of territory in Alaska under provisions of the administration's amendments to both House and Senate bills. This is the solution devised by the President and Secretary Seaton for statehood which would keep in harmony with the national defense interest of all Americans. That is why the present bill is proving more acceptable to more Congressmen than any previous statehood bill.

It was the President's desire to include in the statehood bill a provision that certain areas of Alaska could be withdrawn becaus of Alaska's strategic and geographic location in the national-defense program of our country. Only that area north of the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers and west of 160° longitude would be subject to withdrawals. Similar provisions apply to approximately one-half of the 48 States, including all of the Western States.

It should be pointed out very clearly also that Alaskan communities within any of these national defense withdrawals would continue to be governed by our State, borough or our city governments.

Furthermore, these national defense withdrawals could be established only in the best interests of all people coming under the jurisdiction of the American flag.

I can find no quarrel for this provision in the statehood bill. Especially when we realize it comes from a man who is considered one of the greatest military leaders of our time, and when we realize that Alaska is one of the very vital and strategic areas of the world.

I intend to continue a policy of vigorously supporting and fighting for statehood for all of Alaska.

There is nothing that would please me more than for me to be the last appointed Governor of the Territory of Alaska.

Are we ready for statehood? It is my belief that we are now prepared to meet the economic, political, and human responsibilities which will be ours when we are finally admitted into the Union of States.

Preparation for statehood involves many factors. I believe the main factor is the human factor. People make a country strong. People make a government efficient and an economy prosperous. We have wonderful people in Alaska. Aside from statehood, and perhaps wrapped up in it, my administration will seek to accomplish other goals.

In order to keep Alaska attractive to the people here now—we must look for new means and methods of expanding our existing economy. We must expand our basic industries such as mining, fishing, timber, our tourist industry and all our other basic enterprises.

But we must look for something new. It is my opinion that in order to bring more people to Alaska, to make more and more Alaskan citizens, we must always be on the alert to invite new industries and new enterprises. We need more citizens here and we have the room for them.

Alaskans have always welcomed new citizens. Now we must do more than merely make them welcome, we must find new places in our economy for them.

Our economy must not only invite new citizens, but it must make them feel welcome. We canot invite them with one hand and then slip them a discouraging high tax bill with the other.

It is my belief, and those of you who know me, are well aware of my position on taxation, it is my belief that our present tax structure has passed the point of being reasonable. This is true from a new industry incentive standpoint and from the standpoint of the average Alaskan citizen. And it also applied to what the experts like to call the small-business man.

Taxes and revenues today are probably the most controversial programs in any level of government, be it city, State, and Territory, or Federal.

We all know that without taxes, governments cannot exist. Each of us is responsible for some part of our government.

We must also recognize, however, that too much of anything is not good. If our taxes exceed our reasonable abilities to pay them, we lose our incentive. If our government becomes too large and bulky it defeats the very purpose it was intended for.

A tax structure that discourages new investment is not good. A tax structure that is concentrated on certain individuals or industries or business enterprises is not good. And, most certainly, neither is a tax structure good that discriminates against an Alaskan for the location of his home, whether it be in Barrow, Nome, Fairbanks, Anchorage, Ketchikan, or Juneau or any of the hundreds of other Alaskan communities.

Bearing in mind that we must all assume certain responsibilities to finance our government, keeping in mind that the basic costs of government are continually rising, it is my sincere belief that a tax structure designed along equitable lines is possible. And it is this type of recommendation that I hope to be able to present to our next legislature.

In effect, excessive taxes stifle individual enterprise. Excessive government also becomes a burden of restrictions, regulations and loss of many big and little freedoms that by American principles belong to each of us.

Therefore, it is my intention to conduct a comprehensive review of our Territorial tax structure in relation to our expenditures for Territorial government. Upon the completion of this review I will look forward to submitting to our legislature a program of tax equalization based on a sound but economical government operation. I know we all want a full dollar's worth of decent government for every dollar of tax paid.

In connection with this, I believe that many of you share my belief that certain phases of our Government have become inadequate, overloaded and out of balance with the real need of Alaska. In some respects this condition might be referred to as growing pains.

We know that our Territorial agencies and departments are growing and in many cases it pains us to foot the bill for them.

Some of these conditions of poor balance in our Territorial government can be remedied by a sound and practical approach. The basis for this approach, it seems to me, is a full appreciation of the taxpayer's dollar. Does our Government, from top to bottom, give the taxpayer his money's worth?

You might say this will be the basic point for our study of government and tax structure; dollar value for tax dollar paid.

As for the development of our resources, we know that mining in Alaska at the present time is at a low ebb. We must continuously try to revive mining and expand to the fields of iron, copper, zinc, tin, platinum, mercury, uranium, oil, gas and other minerals. They will be of great importance to our economy and also to our Nation and the world.

In the field of agriculture, we should continue developing this element of our economy as it provides basic necessities for human life and, if developed, it would certainly reduce to some extent the cost of living in Alaska.

And we know that our great forests of southeast Alaska are now being put to use in the processing of pulp and other timber byproducts and I can foresee a tremendous future in the wood-products field.

We Alaskans are confident that as a State we can manage and control our fisheries and continue to work for expansion of this industry which has been one of the mainstays of our Alaska economy.

A policy of utmost concern to us in Alaska is the national administration's policy toward the vast public lands of our Territory. I think it is a well-known fact that the release of public lands in the Territory has moved along at an unprecedented rate under the administration of President Eisenhower. There has been released from the public domain a tremendous amount of land for individual use. I refer mainly to public lands on which Alaskans have been able to establish homesteads, home sites and cabin sites. Never before in the history of the Department of Interior has there been such a policy of opening up this vast territory for settlement.

And there are those reserves which when released will open up new fields for the full development of the population centers of Alaska. Such are the Gubik gas fields to the north. An area of vast potential riches which can do much toward the growth of interior Alaska. Secretary Seaton is well aware of the potential and plans for that area, which will mean so much to the growth and stability of the rail belt and interior Alaska.

I see nothing in Secretary Seaton's policies that would lead me to believe this liberal land program will be changed. After many years, Alaskans are now able to select from a greater area of potential homestead or homesite acreage. We are now able to secure patents to these settlement lands with less redtape, less Government supervision and less restriction than ever before in history.

This land policy, I believe, is one more big point of evidence that the national administration, and in particular Secretary Seaton, is Alaska-conscious and is with us 100 percent of the way.

Another subject to which your administration will give study and constantly work for is the development of the highway and roads of our land.

Alaska's growth can only progress as quickly as its farflung communities can be joined together by a greater network of roads and highways. For we know that roads and highways bring people who develop our land.

I have touched on only a few of the fields of responsibility of the Governor's office. I shall always strive to find solutions which are helpful to Alaskans.

Let us for a moment discuss our government in Alaska. We know that the political affairs of our Nation are built on the solid foundation of the two-party system. We in Alaska are proud of our bipartisan support of statehood and we see clear evidence of that same bipartisan support in the Congress of the United States.

Our Territorial Legislature in which I have had the privilege to serve serval times, is another example of the finest political system—the American two-party system.

I believe in this system of government and pledge to you to work at all times to the best of my ability in cooperation with your elected officials, regardless of what political party they represent.

I anticipate a close-working relationship with our elected Delegate to Congress and expect to give him my full cooperation. I have no reason to believe that I will not receive his.

It is my intention that from the very beginning of this administration, the Governor's office will stand ready to serve you, each of you and all of you, in any way possible. There will be many times, I am sure, when your problems will not have a fast and easy solution. We will not know the answers all the time. But we will seek the best possible solution and give our sincere efforts to each problem as it arises.

We will not cater to special groups, either political, economic, religious, or sectional. We will do our utmost to conduct this high office on the same principle of fair play that is still the most vital part of our constitutional form of government.

Very simply, and in other words, I would like all Alaskans to feel free to call on the Governor's office when confronted with problems concerning our Territorial government. I want each of you to know that you will always be made welcome here, not only when you have a problem, because, after all, the Governor's office belongs not to me or any other one person, it belongs to all of us.

And it is my plan to visit many of our major cities, and as many smaller communities of Alaska as I can in the near future. I want to see for myself and to discuss with you in your particular locales your problems and ideas.

In closing, I should like to point out that although I was born in interior Alaska and spent most of my life there, I am very much aware of the strengths, the beauty and the problems of all Alaska. It is only fitting that only through the unity of thought will our problems be overcome and our great goals achieved. Alaskans need to meet together, think together, and work together more than they have in the past.

Finally, I should like to pay tribute today to all of those pioneer Alaskan men and women who, under God, have done so much to make it possible for us to be here today with the fervent prayer that all of us will live to be pioneers in the great State of Alaska.

Encroachment on the Constitutional Rights of American Servicemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing sense of alarm over the effect of our status-of-forces treaties and the executive agreements that have been made in conformance with them. The men who have worn and are now wearing our country's uniform are appalled to find that rights guaranteed to them in the Constitution have been given away under the status-of-forces treaties and executive agreements. The Girard case is a prime example of it, but there have been hundreds of other such cases, in which members of our uniformed services were tried and jailed in foreign countries, in violation of constitutional rights which they were sent overseas allegedly to protect.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD copies of correspondence I have recently received from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars with respect to this matter:

AMERICAN LEGION,
DEPARTMENT OF NEW YORK,
GENESEE COUNTY COMMITTEE,
June 6, 1957.

Whereas newspaper accounts indicate that the Government of the United States has authorized a trial in Japanese courts for Spec. William C. Girard; and

Whereas reports indicate that Specialist Girard will be tried for the accidental shooting of a Japanese citizen; and

Whereas the report also indicates that Specialist Girard was on active duty with the United States forces in Japan at the time of the alleged incident; and

Whereas this incident does not appear to conform to the provisions of a status of forces agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan; and

Whereas the trial of an American serviceman for offenses committed while on active duty has historically been the right of the United States Armed Forces: Now be it

Resolved by the Genesee County Committee, American Legion, in annual convention at LeRoy, N. Y., on June 5, 1957, That the action of the Department of Defense in releasing Specialist Girard for trial by the Japanese Government be strongly protested; and be it further

Resolved, That this group indicate its protest to appropriate officials including the Secretary of Defense, Senators from New York State and the Representative from this congressional district; and be it further

Resolved, That this group request said Congressman and Senators to seek corrective legislation to prevent a recurrence of this situation.

Very truly yours,
JUDSON N. FRENCH,
Commander.

JUNE 5, 1957.

Congressman HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Washington, D. C.:

VFW, Monroe County Council, 34 posts, protest transferring duty status serviceman to Japanese civil court.

ANTHONY M. FERRARESE,
County Commander, VFW.

JUNE 12, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Decision by our Government to permit serviceman Girard to be tried by Japanese court without jury emphasizes growing danger of authorizing judicial punishment without benefit of jury. Urge you to support principle of trial by jury when issue comes up in the House tomorow.

DANIEL S. BRADY,
Commander, Department of New York, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The Oil Lift Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD part II of the presentation which was made yesterday to the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary by Mr. Donald P. McHugh, counsel for the subcommittee, in the conduct of the oil investigation.

It was impossible for me to place the whole statement in the RECORD yesterday, because of the limitation that is imposed upon the length of any insertion in the Appendix of the RECORD. So the first part was presented yesterday, and I now offer the second part. It is well worth studious examination by any person who is interested in the facts with respect to the manner in which oil production, transportation, and sale is being carried out by American companies. Anyone interested in the program of the oil lift and how it was carried on and the manner in which MEEC was established will find this statement by Mr. McHugh most interesting.

I might say Mr. McHugh was for years a member of the staff of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. He is a competent and able lawyer. I ask unanimous consent to have the statement printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PART II

CURRENT OIL PROBLEMS INVOLVING ANTITRUST IMMUNITY

The history of the West African Replenishment Plan (WARP) demonstrates the dangers of authorizing cooperative arrangements in the oil industry with antitrust immunity; and the manner in which noncompetitive behavior, once approved, has a habit of continuing beyond the emergency for which it was authorized. The subcommittee's attention was called to this plan through a document subpenaed from Socony which stated that information covering inventories and supplies scheduled under this plan were furnished to MEEC. Mr. Jennings, of Socony, was asked about these WARP arrangements and he described the plan "as a temporary pooling of * * * bulk terminal facilities" and stated that "the thing is pretty nearly finished up." When asked whether the program had been submitted to the Government for approval, Mr. Jennings replied that he did not think so; that it was transitional and not important. Documentation concerning WARP was subsequently furnished by Socony to the subcommittee. It develops that WARP was the outgrowth of a plan established in 1942 under the directives of the Petroleum Administrator for War to economize on the shipment of petroleum products to West Africa by allocating tanker tonnage and pooling supplies. It was approved by the Office of Petroleum Coordination for War. Membership in what was then called the West African Supply and Distribution Committee consisted of: Asiatic Petroleum Corp., a subsidiary of Dutch Shell Corp., the Atlantic Refining Co., British Petroleum, Socony Vacuum Oil Co., and the Texas Co. It operated under antitrust immunity.

In October 1945, the Deputy Petroleum Administrator advised that the committee be dissolved because of the availability of tankers. On December 31, 1945, it was ordered dissolved and its antitrust immunity revoked.

However, the organization was maintained intact and on November 2, 1945, these same firms and Petrocongo joined in a memorandum concerning the joint shipment of petroleum to West Africa. Bulk shipments of all products to any terminal in West Africa fell within the plan. The detailed provisions under which the plan operated were set forth in the West African Replenishment Plan Manual, dated June 3, 1948. According to information submitted by Socony, it is in effect today. Thus, upon the termination of the Government-approved plan, a private arrangement to continue the same operations was substituted. This program calls for shipment of petroleum products by member companies in turn and the supplying of other firms from such shipment through jointly owned storage companies. Agreement on product specification and reporting of requirements and stocks are included in the plan. Formulas for price fixing, including agreed-upon method of determining essential costs, are provided for.

It is not our purpose to determine whether operation of the west African replenishment plan constitutes a violation of the antitrust laws. But it is manifest that such a plan provides for joint action among competitors in a manner inconsistent with principles of active competition. The Government decided the plan had outlived its wartime usefulness and revoked its immunity, but nevertheless, the industry elected to continue the plan in a different form. The oil companies were loath to abandon a plan which obviously shielded them from the impact of competition. It illustrates how grants of antitrust immunity can be abused by perpetuating noncompetitive business conduct.

The public policy of the United States respecting the maintenance of free competition was stated by Congress in the Sherman Antitrust Act. Authority to set aside this policy should come only from the Congress. When the Attorney General exercises this authority in his own discretion, there is obviously great opportunity for abuse. Under the circumstances, it is felt that Congress should undertake a comprehensive study of all grants of antitrust immunity by the Attorney General in the form of informal opinions or so-called green light letters, for the purpose of determining whether immunities from the antitrust laws should be granted only through expreased legislative authorization. Pending such a study it is suggested that the Attorney General should not grant antitrust immunity in any form where joint action by oil companies is involved.

Two current situations confront the Nation in which cooperative oil industry activity is contemplated and in which a waiver of the antitrust laws may again be sought. In each case the public policy involved is too vital to be left to the discretion of the Attorney General. The first concerns the President's recommendation to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization that some type of voluntary agreement with American importing oil companies be worked out for the purpose of limiting imports which threaten to impair our national security. The economic issues in this restriction of import problem will be treated separately by Mr. Banner. It is not clear how such voluntary plan would work, but it seems probable that any such voluntary scheme would raise very grave problems under the antitrust laws. For such voluntary scheme to be effective, each company must have assurances of all other companies that there would be compliance with Government-set goals. Since companies are asked voluntarily to agree, they may well demand antitrust immunity. Of course, the President has power under the Trade Agreements Act to compel restriction of imports without the necessity of an antitrust waiver. However, he apparently does not see fit to exercise the authority entrusted to him by law. It appears that the President, in continuing to seek a voluntary agreement, is inviting the importing oil companies which constitute only a portion of the industry to determine the policy of the United States Government. If the Government is again to abdicate its responsibilities in favor of the private oil industry, any waiver of the antitrust laws which might be needed should come only from the Congress which has the sole authority for determining when vital public policy should be waived.

Meetings are presently being held and negotiations are proceeding for the construction of a jointly owned and operated pipeline to run from Iraq through Turkey to the Mediterranean. This proposed venture will involve 5 American and 3 foreign oil companies operating in the Middle East and will greatly increase pipeline capacity in that area. As in the case of the Iranian consortium, such a plan is fraught with antitrust dangers. It is contemplated that this pipeline will carry approximately 1,200,000 barrels a day. Ultimately the pipeline will carry Kuwait oil and probably oil from Saudi Arabia. Such an operation, carrying almost half of the total Middle East production, is certain to have considerable impact upon the price of such oil. Participating companies will undoubtedly find it necessary to discuss price and production in connection with the development plans.

The need for constructing a pipeline in such a way as to insure deliveries from the Middle East and minimize the dangers of Communist global designs raises the most serious problems of American national interests and, in fact, of the entire free world. Consideration is being given to separate treaties among the countries involved, with the hope that any future conflict over its operation will be submitted for settlement to an international tribunal. This proposed pipeline graphically illustrates the influence and effect of oil company operations upon the peace and security of the world. It is to be regretted that necessary exploratory talks have been left entirely in the hands of the private oil companies without the guidance and official responsibility of the United States. It would also seem incumbent upon the State Department and other Government agencies having a direct interest in the problem to keep the Congress fully advised of the developments and to outline the possible alternative courses of action.

Again it seems the policy of this Government is to delegate vital responsibilities to the private oil companies. It is to be expected that any plan worked out by them will naturally give first attention to their own private interests. The time for the United States to act is now. After details of the plan are formulated, great pressures will mount from oil company sources to approve plans already worked out by the industry, even if this requires a grant of immunity by the Attorney General. If the vital interest of the United States must be preserved by some type of joint American participation in the construction of such a pipeline, the Government should take the initiative in deciding the form this should take. While information concerning the status of negotiation is undoubtedly furnished the State Department, it would seem that a project of utmost importance to the national well-being of the United States should be worked out through the Government and under specific authorization from the Congress.

Existing grants of antitrust immunity should be terminated as quickly as possible. The European oil crisis has now ended. Mr. Rosenman will suggest a recommendation for withdrawal by the Attorney General of antitrust immunity for MEEC. He will suggest a method for preventing future plans of action, but leaving intact other functions of the voluntary agreement. In this way, operational activities to meet future comments to our western allies and to otherwise further the petroleum policy of the United States would be placed where they belong—with the Government.

CONTROL OVER TRANSPORTATION—PIPELINES

The MEEC operation has been represented as essentially a transportation problem. It was the shortage of tankers following Suez which required a redistribution of ocean-going tanker facilities to move existing oil supplies to consuming areas. Under the program the companies sought to rearrange tanker shipments so as to minimize cross-hauling of crude and to effect the greatest savings of tanker space. The three principal schedules under which MEEC companies operated were directed at the necessary rerouting of tankers.

Schedule 4 which provided for the rearrangement of pipeline shipments of oil in the United States focused the subcommittee's attention upon one of the most significant competitive problems in the entire petroleum industry, that is, the extent of the ownership and control of domestic pipelines by major integrated companies and the resulting consequence to competition. The subcommittee's immediate interest in the charge of pipeline monopolization stemmed from the claim by some witnesses that our pipeline transportation system was inadequate, that productive capacity in Texas and Oklahoma was not being utilized to produce more oil to move to the gulf coast because of lack of pipeline facilities, and that as a direct result, the effort to aid our European allies through the oil-lift program was seriously impaired.

Mr. H. Graham Morison, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division, testified on behalf of the West Coast Pipeline Co. and described the problems an independent company encountered in attempting to build a pipeline to the west coast. Mr. Banner will discuss the details of this issue. Mr. Morison described his client's efforts as a fight to break the stranglehold of monopoly which now pervades every phase of the oil industry. He stated that in no aspect of the industry has the monopoly of the few been so all inclusive as in the case of the crude-oil pipelines of the Nation which are all but 100 percent owned or controlled by the major oil companies. Mr. Morison stated there were no significant independent crude pipelines.

Control over the transportation of oil has made independent producers of crude in the United States completely dependent upon the major oil companies with their gathering-line facilities and trunklines for the transportation of oil to refineries or shipping points.

As of December 31, 1955, approximately 85 pipeline companies moving crude oil or petroleum products reported to ICC as common carriers. According to ICC records, 82 of these pipelines are owned by one or more oil companies, either singly or jointly. According to available information, only one of these companies is not owned in part by an oil company.

In addition to the recently announced Four Corners Pipeline to be constructed by Standard of California, Shell, Gulf, Richfield, Superior, and Continental, joint ownership of pipelines by oil companies abound.

Although oil pipelines are common carriers at law, they are operated as private carriers for the benefit of the oil companies owning the lines and prevent independent producers from enjoying a competitive market in which to sell their crude oil. In order to obtain transportation of crude from the well, the producer is required to sell the oil to the oil company which owns the pipeline. This denies or restricts the producer's right to use the common-carrier facilities of the pipeline.

Mr. Morison claimed that if the oil companies can control pipelines and fix the prices of transportation that the independents must pay, and if they can restrict the right of independent producers to ship through pipelines, they have the power of life and death over independent competitors. He concluded that in his judgment this power over any enterprise should not reside in private hands.

This control of crude oil pipelines makes it possible for the major integrated companies to discriminate against independent producers of crude oil and to deprive them of a market for their oil. It makes it possible for the majors to discriminate against independent refiners by depriving them of access to sources of supply. By restricting independent producers from access to markets and independent refiners from free access to supplies of crude, the control of pipelines by the integrated oil companies

ables the major to stifle its would-be competitors, and to perpetuate its hold upon all phases of the oil industry, from production to sale to the ultimate consumer. Mr. J. M. Vaughey, a producer of oil and gas, stated that the independent producer has no control over the price at which he sells and he likewise has little control over the amount of oil he sells. He cannot withhold his production. Witnesses noted that there were two limitations upon the productive capability of the independent producer. The first is by State regulation fixing allowables. The second is the unwillingness of the pipeline company or purchaser of crude oil to take the oil produced by the independent producer. While the principal crude oil pipelines purport to operate as common carriers open to all producers on equal terms, this is apparently more fiction than fact.

The charges made before the subcommittee of discrimination by pipeline companies against independents were primarily of three types: (1) Refusal of pipeline companies to extend gathering lines and to connect wells, resulting in great amounts of shut-in productability; (2) prorationing practiced by pipeline companies; (3) various indirect forms of price discrimination.

It was claimed that major integrated companies have denied pipeline connections to independents as part of their plan to dominate and control the market. As noted the independent producer is in the position where his principal competitors, in effect, have sole control over his markets. Mr. Lester Clark, as an independent producer and on behalf of four Texas associations representing the independents, testified that today there are more than 8,000 wells unconnected in Texas alone. He also claimed there were about 4,000 in Oklahoma, and 1,000 in New Mexico. Mr. Paul Schultz, president of the Oklahoma Independent Petroleum Association, stated that in 1956 his company drilled three wells. Gulf connected two wells but refused to connect the third, stating they were not taking any more oil. He could not get a pipeline connection and was required to truck the oil at a cost of 25 cents a barrel.

Mr. W. A. Delaney, of Ada, Okla., an independent producer of oil and gas, stated that any failure of productive capacity during the oil lift program was, in his opinion, due to lack of transportation facilities. Mr. Delaney also emphasized that a group of independents cannot get together and build an oil pipeline since they lack terminal markets. These terminal markets or refineries are controlled by the major oil companies. Mr. Delaney stated that last December he talked to a pipeline company about connecting a well a distance of about a mile and three quarters. The company refused, explaining it could not justify the cost of constructing a pipeline to a well with an allowable of 25 barrels per day. He was told that it was the policy of this pipeline company to lay 1 mile of line for each 100 barrels of allowable production. Mr. Delaney testified that previous to the case filed by the State of Oklahoma against Gulf, pipeline companies simply did not issue pipeline connection orders for wells if they were any distance at all from the gathering system. In order for a producer to sell oil from these unconnected wells, it was necessary for him to have the oil trucked by a company designated by the pipeline company, and the amount charged for trucking would be deducted from the check he received from the pipeline company. He had no control over the selection of a trucking company.

Pipeline prorationing was described as another effective way to discriminate against the independent producer. Connection of a well to a pipeline, in itself, does not guarantee access to the market. As owners of the pipeline facilities, the majors exercise the right to prorate the use of the pipeline capacity. Mr. Clark referred to several instances of prorationing prior to Suez. He defined prorationing as the practice of taking only a percentage of the allowable production of a field. He stated that for many months the pipeline company in the Sharon Ridge field of west central Texas would take only about 50 percent of the oil produced by certain marginal wells. He also charged prorationing up in the Panhandle area. According to his charge, prorationing was practiced for a time all over Texas.

Mr. Delaney also claimed that a form of price discrimination existed in that the pipeline companies were able to impose a two-price system. In effect, he charged that one price existed for producers who had direct connections with pipelines, whereas other companies that were unconnected were required to sustain an additional 25 cents a barrel trucking charge which, in fact, reduced the price at which they sold their oil.

It was charged that discrimination against the independent by integrated oil companies through ownership of pipelines resulted largely from the international operations of the major oil companies. Since the majors possess vast resources of low-cost Middle East and South American oil, they are able to rely on imports to supply their refineries. Thus, they can substitute imports from their own foreign operations for domestically produced oil to meet their needs. It is claimed this defeats the purpose of State ratable-take laws. The decision of major oil companies to lay additional pipe or to connect up independent wells is obviously not decided solely upon the cost of such an operation or the need of serving the domestic industry. Once commitments have been made, obligations are assumed. When the overall profit position of the company dictates reliance upon low-cost foreign oil, the majors can withhold domestic pipeline connections. Thus, major oil companies are able to drastically affect the development of the domestic petroleum industry. In electing to increase their dependence upon imports, these companies have the power to endanger the national defense of the United States. And while the record reveals enormous profits on foreign operations, witnesses testified that gasoline produced from Middle East or Venezuelan crude sells for identically the same price as gasoline refined from Texas, Oklahoma, or Wyoming crude.

In view of the charges of discrimination, and in view of the power possessed by major integrated companies through ownership of pipelines, it is recommended that the Department of Justice initiate an immediate investigation of possible violation of the antitrust laws along the following lines:

A. Monopolization of common carrier pipeline transportation, including extent of interest in trucking companies.

B. Use of controlled pipelines to deny independent producers a competitive market for crude oil.

C. Use of controlled pipelines to restrict sources of oil to independent refiners.

D. Crude oil price discrimination against producers.

E. Pipeline proration.

Despite the ownership or control of over 90 percent of United States pipeline capacity by the majors, the Department of Justice prosecuted no antitrust cases over the years aimed at pipeline ownership and its abuses.

There are difficulties in framing actionable theories under the Sherman Act based on oil company ownership of pipelines, and greater difficulty in sustaining the burden of proof necessary to meet the severe tests of illegality under that act. Actual restraint of trade or monopolization must be shown. However, the recent opinion of the Supreme Court in *United States* v. *E. I. du Pont de Nemours and General Motors Corporation* has opened new vistas of antitrust enforcement.

Prior to the recent General Electric-Du Pont decision there was little disposition to use the section 7 route to attack stock ownership acquired many years ago. This decision now makes perfectly clear that section 7 applies to stock acquisition of many years standing if the result is a reasonable probability of substantial lessening of competition or tendency to monopoly in any line of commerce. The Supreme Court in 1957 found that a 23 percent stock interest acquired by Du Pont in General Motors in 1917-1919 gave it a preferred position in access to the paint and fabric automobile business to General Motors. It would seem that much more potential danger to competition exists in the case of 100 percent ownership or control by major oil companies over pipelines where such control has been used to deny independent producers access to markets. This control also may create a reasonable probability that competition among refineries may be substantially lessened by denying them access to crude. It is strongly urged that the Department of Justice, in reviewing new enforcement possibilities under this recent decision, begin with an examination of the ownership and control by major oil companies over pipelines.

The Texas Railroad Commission has held hearings and now has under study charges of discrimination by the major oil companies. But it has no power to attack the basic monopoly problem and no authority to compel divestiture if that is the only relief which will cure the ill. Action by the Federal Government is necessary, and the first approach should be strict enforcement of the existing antitrust laws.

Highway Eyewash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post of June 12, 1957:

HIGHWAY EYEWASH

A pat argument used by Members of Congress opposed to billboard controls is that only esthetes—or, as one Senator so nobly puts it, "ass-thetes"—are concerned about turning the new 41,000 miles of Federal highway into a garish jungle of billboards and neon-lit hot dog eateries. Yet among the chief opponents of unregulated billboards are highway engineers—hardly known as an arty-arty group—who rightly point to certain safety hazards posed by confusing signs on a speedway. We further suspect that many motorists whose closest approach to the fine arts is watching a wrestling match will take loud offense if he sees more soapflake placards than sunsets on his first vacation tour on the new highways.

Yet the sensible billboard bill proposed by Senator NEUBERGER and GORE is presently buried in the Senate Public Works Committee. This bill would provide an additional three-fourths of 1 percent in Federal highway funds to States agreeing to meet certain roadside standards. Participation is optional, hence it is hard to see how any objections based on States' rights can be raised. The most vigorous opposition to this moderate measure comes from the groups who stand to profit by plastering the new highways with their advertising.

Additives in Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, one of the most significant changes in the past two decades in the American way of life has been that of the scientific improvement in the dynamic and rapidly growing business of food technology.

Science has been dealing in research which has opened up new frontiers. Science has helped to create new industries, new and better jobs, and more and better things for a growing America.

The American standard of living has been greatly benefitted because of the new things research has been able to accomplish. There will always be unexplored horizons waiting for someone to unlock the mysterious door to future projects. The field of chemistry is vast, its potential only tapped.

There is no question that chemicals are needed in the preparation, preservation and use of food. Much progress has been made through research in the field of nutrition and the American public can take pride in the manner in which science and industry have handled the delicate problem.

The number of chemicals entering the food supply of the nation has increased tremendously in the past decade. More progress is to follow. Chemical substances are being introduced into the production, processing, storing, packaging and distribution of food at an ever increasing rate. There is hardly a food sold on the market today which has not had some chemical used in or on it at some stage between production and consumption.

In the past few years a large number of bills have been introduced dealing with chemicals in food—the so-called food additives. These bills had hearings but because there was difficulty in getting industry and the Food and Drug Administration to compromise their differences, the bills fell by the wayside.

I have introduced another bill on the subject of additives in food. This is the fourth such bill in the last three sessions of Congress. In my opinion many of the controversies in this complicated legislative procedure have been ironed out. I do not claim that the bill is perfect. It does represent many hours of study and conferences between industry, the Food and Drug Administration and myself. In my opinion it could act as a helpful vehicle for good, sound legislative procedure in governing the use of chemicals in the processing and handling of all food. It attempts to keep in mind two things: First, protect the public; second, to work out procedures between the Food and Drug Administration and industry that will bring this important and sensitive field into proper perspective. There must be a balance between those who are in the business of processing and developing and producing food. There must be a rather clear-cut line of demarcation as to how far the Food and Drug Administration may go in working out the proper regulations. The most important thing is the proper protection of the public.

In my opinion the present laws do not provide adequate safeguards to guarantee a food supply absolutely free of additives which might bring injury to the public health. The consuming public requires greater protection.

While industry has done a good job, we all know that in a tough economic world there is always someone ready to cut corners. That is why the public needs protection from those who might be less scrupulous than the vast majority of the food and chemical industry. The public needs protection, too, from mistaken ideas in food additives.

The several bills before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce now generally concede that a panel of experts can be helpful in giving advice on food additives, particularly when industry and the Department disagree.

In the bill I have just introduced, a change has been made in terminology. I have purposely called the additives food additives instead of chemical additives, in an effort to get away from a mistaken idea that all chemicals may be harmful. Undoubtedly some of the food additives are chemicals, but frequently the public becomes alarmed at the word and considers a chemical something in the nature of nitric acid, arsenic, or some other potentially dangerous substance.

Under the present laws, the Food and Drug Administration can wield arbitrary and unlimited authority capable of strangling any industry. It is also true that industry, under the current laws, is capable of thwarting the rules and regulations of the Food and Drug Administration.

Industry has the power to put an additive or chemical in food and notify the Department that it is being used and, if there is no negative answer from the Department, proceed to use the additive without limit.

The American people can be thankful that in this rapidly changing field of food technology that industry has been most cautious and diligent in protecting the consuming public. There has been what I consider very fine cooperation between the present Food and Drug Administrator and the industries. However, I believe both industry and the Food and Drug Administration realize that the present law is inadequate and that industry has outrun the present old procedure.

My bill attempts to protect long-used additives under the so-called grandfather clause. In other words, if some known chemical or other additive has been used without ill results over a long period of years, it is presumed to be not harmful.

There are now about 750 different kinds of food additives and chemicals being used in the production, processing, and packaging and handling of food. There is no question but what some of the additives find their way into the blood and food stream of the American people. Of these 750 additives there are probably 150 to 200 which have not been adequate tested or passed upon by the Food and Drug Administration. New food additives show up almost daily. One of the big fields just now being developed is that of the use of various isotopes in the preservation of food.

The bill I have introduced provides that in relation to any additive now being used on which there may be any question, the Administration may require that industry shall furnish sufficient and ample scientific evidence that the additive is not harmful before the use of such additive is continued. In other words, the bill provides that all chemicals and additives be adequately tested before such chemicals or other additives are permitted to enter the blood stream of the American people through food.

The bill seeks to strike a balance between industry and the Food and Drug Administration, always keeping in mind the paramount interest lies in the general public.

In a previous Congress I introduced a bill covering pesticides which is known as the Miller bill. The committee reported that bill favorably and it is now a law. It gives needed added protection to the public. It is based on sound principles.

I feel the same about the current bill. It tends to create a balance we have not had before.

It is my opinion that the horizons of tomorrow will show still further progress for the food and chemical industry. The scientists are uncovering the secrets of nature and helping us to weave a new fabric of life.

The interest in food and drug administration is countrywide and it is a subject that needs careful handling. We should do nothing which tends to make the public hysterical. We should approach the problem with an objective view.

We should have a law which will forbid untested chemicals or other additives to be introduced in food. We lack that protection now.

I believe the primary responsibility for evaluating the safety of new food additives should rest with an advisory committee, composed of scientists. Any firm or individual proposing to market a new food additive, after submitting a report on pretesting to the Food and Drug Administration may request the aid of the advisory committee.

The independent and impartial committee could act as a brake upon any inclination of the Administration to exercise arbitrary and unreasonable control over industry. The committee can also serve as an arbiter between industry and administration. The bill also provides for public hearing and the report of the advisory committee becomes a part of the record in the public hearings. The bill further provides for a judicial review either by industry or by the Department.

We all agree the public health is paramount. We all agree that the food industry has made magnificent progress

and should not be blocked by an unwise delegation of power and I think we also agree there should be a system of checks and balances which will give ample protection to the American people. With that in mind I submit this bill for your earnest consideration.

TV: In Defense of CBS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article written by Jack Gould, as it appeared in the New York Times of June 6, 1957:

TV: IN DEFENSE OF CBS—REGRET EXPRESSED AT EISENHOWER REMARK ON INTERVIEW WITH KHRUSHCHEV

(By Jack Gould)

The suggestion by President Eisenhower that the Columbia Broadcasting System had been motivated by commercial considerations in televising an interview with Nikita S. Khrushchev, first secretary of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, can only be regretted.

The television network displayed sound reportorial initiative in obtaining the exclusive interview and in no way violated the canons of responsible journalistic behavior. The broadcasting chain ill deserves White House reproval. In the television industry, so strongly given to anxiety and apprehension, the implied censure could have deleterious repercussions.

The President's observation came yesterday in response to a question at his press conference. He was asked whether he might not be missing a good opportunity to reach the Russian people by not asking for equal time on Soviet facilities to answer Mr. Khrushchev.

"Well, now," the President said, "let's take a look at this: A commercial firm in this country, trying to improve its own commercial standing, went to unusual effort to get someone that was, really made a unique performance in front of our people, and he could do that because this is a free country. Everybody could listen and the newspapers carried it in general, in the full text."

The President went on to say that somebody in the American Government would be glad to use the Russian facilities but only if the Soviet Union guaranteed that there would be no jamming no interference and no counter attractions to take people away from their radios.

The original presentation of the interview with Mr. Khrushchev was carried on a sustaining basis by the CBS network and without sponsorship. The only incidental financial gain to CBS has been the sale of the film for second showings by a number of independent stations; this income would not begin to meet the cost of the initial showing.

But on the larger issue of "a commercial firm trying to improve its own commercial standing" the President was hardly fair. The press from time immemorial has sought and obtained exclusive interviews with major world figures; The New York Times printed on May 11 an exclusive interview with Mr. Khrushchev. Yet when such interviews were obtained there was no Washington suggestion that the profit motive was a paramount consideration.

Merely because the impact and novelty of coast-to-coast television may be greater does not mean a double standard of judgment should be invoked. No one will dispute that the lion's share of theatrical television may be concerned with the improvement of someone's commercial standing, but when the medium behaves maturely and responsibly in the field of news it deserves appropriate recognition.

The distinction is of prime importance in television because of forces, real or imagined, that many militate against TV journalism. The networks and other owners of many stations are forced to live under the constant shadow of the Federal Communications Commisison. Not only are individual station licensees subject to renewal but also almost everything a network may do—changing affiliations or buying or selling an outlet—is subject to governmental review. At the moment there are multiple Federal investigations of television practices.

Rather than run the slighest risk of incurring Washington disapproval the world of TV often may simply avoid difficult or controversial subjects. In particular the last thing any broadcaster wants to do is tangle with the White House, regardless of the occupant's political affiliation. In this area there exists a degree of anticipatory censorship on the broadcaster's part.

The fainthearted in TV may well draw encouragement from the President's statement. Why dabble in journalistic controversy on a sustaining basis and court White House disapproval when situation comedy is ever so much safer and far more profitable? One hopes that the President will always feel free to speak out on any and all subjects but it is disheartening to see him impugn the purpose of journalistic initiative in a medium that needs ever so much more of it.

In another area, the President's observations on the use of broadcasting facilities also must invite reservations. In outlining the terms under which an American spokesman might speak over Russian facilities, he included a stipulation that there be no concurrent counterattractions that would take people away from the program.

The Khrushchev interview was carried on 105 television stations last Sunday, less than one-fourth the total in this country, and on 100 radio outlets, roughly one-thirtieth of the total. The Communist chief had to buck Zoo Parade, the Palm Beach Golf Tourney, baseball, movies, and disk jockeys. The idea of compelling a Russian to hear the American spokesman or nothing at all would seem at odds with democratic philosophy.

Mr. Speaker, I am in complete agreement with the distinguished columnist in his criticism of our President. If, instead of criticizing CBS for the public service it is rendering, the President directed the United States Information Agency to pattern its work after the public-service programs of our important radio and TV stations, we would have less to fear from the Communists.

The President has every right to express his opinion on any and every subject, as has every American citizen. It would be much smarter, however, if he merely said "No comment" when asked about matters concerning which he is uninformed. It would have been much better for the President to have informed himself about the matter and then to have directed his Secretary of State to request Mr. Khrushchev to permit the broadcasting throughout Russia of the views of high American Government public officials.

Declaration of Independence Flouted by Status of Forces Treaties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Girard case gives new timeliness to an excellent article published some time ago in Task Force, the newspaper of the Defenders of the American Constitution. I urge consideration of the fundamental principles discussed in the following article by Gordon E. Small:

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FLOUTED BY STATUS OF FORCES TREATIES—RIGHTS FOR WHICH OUR FOREFATHERS FOUGHT AND DIED ARE HEEDLESSLY GIVEN AWAY

(By Gordon E. Small)

A careful reading of the Declaration of Independence is suggested to those legislators responsible for the approval of the status-of-forces treaties.

The parallel between some of the wrongs detailed in the immortal Declaration, and the situation resulting from the treaties is illuminating—and startling to all patriotic Americans.

Even before the adoption of the Declaration, the First Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia in September of 1774, adopted a series of resolutions in an address to the Crown. The very first article of these resolutions was worded as follows:

"That they (the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America) are entitled to life, liberty, and property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent."

Comparing this forthright statement with the status-of-forces treaties, we find that the treaties have ceded to France, Japan, and other "sovereign powers" the right to dispose of the liberty of our servicemen (and their civilian components) without their consent, and in direct violation of the rights guaranteed to all Americans by our Constitution.

Article 5, of the same resolutions declared "That the respective Colonies are entitled to the common law of England and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law."

Under the status-of-forces treaties, "the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage" has been abjectly surrendered. Instead, our servicemen are tried by foreign courts, under alien systems of justice, rather than "according to the course of that law"—the common law of their own land.

The Continental Congress met again in May of 1776, and on the following Fourth of July, our national birthday, issued the Declaration of Independence. Lest we forget, the Declaration contains the following pertinent and significant statements:

"He [the British Sovereign] has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and foreign to our laws * * *."

Could a better description of the status-of-forces treaties possibly be given than that "they subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws?"

The Declaration goes on to accuse the British Sovereign of "giving his consent to

their (the British Parliament) acts of pretended legislation:

"For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

"For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever."

Examining the effects of the status-of-forces treaties in the light of these grievances, what do we find?

Certainly our servicemen (and their civilian components) are "deprived of the benefits of trial by jury—by their 'peers of the vicinage'—as guaranteed by our Constitution.

Certainly they are "transported beyond seas," not, of course, by the British Sovereign, but by our own Government, and "tried by other governments for pretended (or real, it is immaterial) offenses."

Certainly the treaties "abolish our most valuable laws, and alter fundamentally the forms of our Government"—the Constitution of the United States.

Certainly the treaties "suspend the powers of our own legislatures and invest foreign governments with power to legislate for us" in cases involving our servicemen and others on duty abroad. (It should be noted that the State Department, in drafting these treaties, was careful to exclude its own personnel, over which we retain jurisdiction).

Every thoughtful American must surely ask himself, "Why should this be?" Why must our Government, under the cloak of treaty law, deliberately give away rights and privileges of American citizenship, the very rights for which our ancestors fought and died on the battlefields of Lexington, Saratoga, Yorktown, and other shrines of American Independence?

The only answer seems to lie in the assumption that our treatymakers deemed it necessary to appease the foreign nations signatory to the treaties for permitting us to maintain our troops in their countries so as to protect them from an aggressor.

Whenever the treaties have been discussed at hearings of congressional committees, or elsewhere the State Department puts forward the dubious defense that the treaties are "reciprocal," in that we, the United States, have jurisdiction over military personnel of those nations signatory to the treaties, who may be stationed in this country.

What sophistry is this? Are there any foreign troops stationed in the United States? If so, they are not here to protect us. When one compares the vast number of American boys, on duty in many countries all over the globe, with the infinitesimal number of foreign troops who may be in America, the reciprocal nature of the treaties seems rather ridiculous.

Why, it might also be asked, was it at all necessary to grant foreign nations jurisdiction of any kind over our military personnel? Is The Judge Advocate General's Department of the Army (and its corresponding number in the naval service) so inefficient that it could not be trusted to exercise proper supervision over crimes committed by our troops? American standards of justice have always been of the highest, and our military courts would undoubtedly be particularly careful to administer proper judgment in all cases of crimes committed against the citizenry of a friendly nation.

Let it again be emphasized that the Defenders of the American Constitution, in its long fight against the injustices of the status-of-forces treaties, does not, in any way seek to excuse or condone any criminal act, or ask that it go unpunished. General del Valle and Colonel Pomeroy, in their writings and testimony before congressional committees, have repeatedly made that point clear. The Defenders ask only that jurisdiction over our service men and their civilian components be restored to their own proper courts, as has been the case throughout all the years of our history as a nation, and as specifically provided for by our Constitution.

All American citizens—and nearly every family has a son, husband, or other dear one in the armed services today—should ask their Senators and Congressmen this question: "Are you willing to be counted as in favor of treaties which abandon the principles of the Declaration of Independence?" Tell them to demonstrate some of the spirit of our Founding Fathers, who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor that this Nation might become a reality, and wipe out these treaties, which, as Senator WELKER has said, "will forever be a black mark in the illustrious history of our Nation."

The machinery to dispense with these treaties is available in the resolutions introduced by Senator WELKER and Congressman Bow, which will be considered in the next session of the present Congress, convening in January 1956. Now is the time to bring the facts outlined in this article to the attention of your Representatives—tell them to uphold the precepts of the Declaration of Independence by voting to revoke the statute-of-forces treaties.

Crucial Moment for American Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 1 has been reported by the Committee on Education and Labor and is now before the Committee on Rules. No doubt it will be reported to the House in the very near future. Before this body considers this bill, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent article on the subject by Richard Whalen.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the aforementioned article which appeared in the June 7, 1957, issue of U. S. A.

The article follows:

CRUCIAL MOMENT FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION

(By Richard Whalen)

Contrary to a widely held belief, a crisis does not exist in American education. But a crucial moment is approaching. It will come when timid public officials in Washington, D. C., override the objections of hardworking local school authorities and turn control of school curriculums and facilities over to a centralized educationist bureaucracy.

On that day—should it come—politics, not scholarly propriety, will determine educational policy in America.

The National Education Association is a main force in the drive to federalize education. With a membership of some 666,000 teachers and public school administrators, the NEA is a private organization mainly subsidized by private charitable foundations with tax-exempt money. While the rank-and-file members of NEA remain in their classrooms and offices, tending to the proper business of education, the NEA's well-heeled hierarchy goes a-politicking.

NEA lobbyists, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., are partial to playing the "numbers game." In recent months, they have marched on Congress, armed with statistics proving—so they claim—that an additional 14,000 classrooms are needed immediately in our Nation.

Statistics gathered by the United States Office of Education indicate that more than 28,000 classrooms are currently under construction, over and above those needed to house this year's enrollment gain. This figure was arrived at through consultation with school boards throughout the country which are planning, financing, and constructing schools in programs geared to local needs and conditions.

But NEA disputes the statistics gathered by the United States Office of Education and tries to bury them, and those persons who publicize them, under an avalanche of slick professional propaganda. An intended victim of NEA's policy of massive retaliation is the highly competent and respected United States Chamber of Commerce which strongly opposes Federal aid to education.

VOICES OF REASON

While the battle over it rages indecisively in an area of stratospheric nonsense on Capitol Hill, champions of local government in all 48 States have sought to bolster wavering legislators with the steely arguments of commonsense.

"It is infinitely more important," says the Public Expenditure Council of the State of Connecticut, "that we settle down to sound thinking on the values of local participation and local citizen control of our schools, and finance them with the resources within our States, than to chase our own tax dollars through the depreciating process of Federal bureaucracy and have them come back to us worth much less and accompanied by dictates on how we shall use them."

In the South, the editorial voice of the widely read Richmond News Leader, James Jackson Kilpatrick, writes:

"Localities are having difficulties in school construction for 1 reason and 1 reason only: And that is that the Federal Government is seizing so vast a proportion of the people's wealth that not enough remains at home for the people to do what the people might wish to do about their schools. * * *

"The answer is not to send back to the people millions of their own dollars; the answer is not to take so many dollars from the people in the first place."

Two important points should be understood by people discussing Federal aid to education:

1. There is no proven need for Federal assistance to local school construction;

2. Money for any program of Federal aid must come from the taxpayers in the States, who could use the funds more efficiently without having them pass through a central authority.

THE POWERFUL FEW

What does the National Education Association hope to achieve through its propaganda program for Federal aid?

Power.

Through its manipulation of propaganda symbols, such as slanted statistics, the NEA hopes to consolidate economic power over the Nation's schools in the hands of a few politically motivated educationists.

This is a damning indictment. But it is directed only at the self-proclaimed lobbyists in Washington, and not at the dedicated men and women who stay at home, mind their own educational business, and do their vital teaching or administrative job faithfully and well.

The NEA's lobby was established at the NEA annual convention early last summer in Portland, Oreg. It was part of a bold coun-

terattack by which educationalists sought to recoup the prestige they had lost at the discredited White House Conference on Education, held in December 1955. According to the New York Times, July 4, 1956, the NEA hierarchy engineered at the convention the creation of the greatest education lobby ever seen in this country prepared to mobilize local, State, and National educational organizations behind a concerted drive to influence Congress to support school legislation. In this drive, for a starter, Federal-aid bills were to be given top priority.

Dr. John Lester Buford, president of the NEA, admitted that lobbying is a new undertaking for the organization. At the White House conference, the NEA had engineered attendant's consent for Federal aid by using the antiparliamentary technique of group dynamics which is trickily designed to enforce minority will on the majority. At the convention, however, Dr. Buford abandoned new-fangled group dynamics for old-fashioned lobbying and declared "We don't mind being called lobbyists. We are lobbying for a good cause—for better schools."

With an annual budget of more than $3.8 million to spend, Dr. Buford and his associates in the upper echelons of NEA are in a most favorable financial position to mobilize a lot of lobbyists and an arsenal of weapons in support of the NEA's cause.

THE GUIDING LIGHTS

In its swank Washington headquarters, the NEA maintains a legislative commission which originates proposals for Federal intervention in education. The commission is supplemented by a division of legislation and Federal relations. A policy statement published in October 1956 by the NEA asserts that the commission and the division were the guiding lights behind the White House Conference, and "urges the Congress to carry out the mandate of the conference report and to enact legislation which will provide substantial Federal funds for emergency school construction purposes." Further, the policy statement declares:

"The National Education Association reaffirms its belief that the Federal Government has a shared responsibility with States and local communities to insure adequate educational opportunities for all."

Definition of terms is the necessary first step in all well-conducted debates. In a matter as important as the future of American education, the NEA should be required to lend substance to the shadowy propaganda terms it uses. Specifically, what does the NEA mean by "adequate"? And, more important, what did Dr. Buford have in mind when he spoke so knowingly of "better" schools and "a good cause"?

Does the NEA want more schools? Or could it possibly want better instruction in schools already existing?

Since the NEA has been the prime mover in that kind of social and progressive education which has been acknowledged by leading educational authorities to be the main cause of current scholastic deficiencies in our Nation, it is most unlikely that the NEA is concerned with restoring and improving the kind of basic education that made our Nation great. To scrap courses in social adjustment in favor of instituting courses of intensified training in reading, writing, and arithmetic would not be acceptable to many of the elder progressives dominating the NEA.

Consequently, the terms good and better and adequate must be thought of as quantitative words in the mouths of NEA educationists. In their mouths, these words are related to big, bigger, and biggest.

The facts of the NEA's political structure bear out such a definition of its terms. As currently operated, the NEA is a mass organization, with affiliates at each political level. Central authority is vested in the legislative commission and the division of legislation and Federal relations. Tactical operation is from the top down: from a planning core of political strategists to a mass of obedient doorbell ringers and placard wavers.

Busy citizens, grasping only the immediate importance of a complex situation, fall prey to the NEA's cry of emergency. The only thing that matters is that Johnny and Sally and their friends have a classroom which isn't overcrowded, and if the man with the NEA pamphlets and NEA ready answers says the Federal Government must provide that classroom, then—so be it.

TWO SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Now that worried parents have been mobilized into platoons of willing agitators, the NEA must sponsor legislation for them to agitate for. At last year's NEA convention Dr. Buford spoke of the need to obtain powerful allies for the NEA program. Such allies have been found in Congress among the ranks of those whom columnist Holmes Alexander refers to as the Social Democrats.

Two "Social Democrats"—advocates of big government and federalization of everything in sight—have served the NEA faithfully in the current session of Congress. They are freshman Senator JOSEPH SILL CLARK of Pennsylvania and sophomoric Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon. These Senators have cosponsored two key bills on the NEA's legislative calendar—S. 1134 and S. 1237.

OVERPRIVILEGED IN FEDERAL POWER

What the NEA really wants is a "National Board of Education." This board, according to the NEA, "should be appointed for long overlapping terms by the President with the consent of the Senate, as an independent agency to administer the United States Office of Education."

There you have it. And that is not all. The NEA reaffirms its belief that education will best be served at the national level by an independent United States Office of Education under "a national board of education * * * [which would] * * * provide appropriate, nonpartisan, Federal leadership in meeting educational problems of nationwide concern."

The NEA concludes its brief blueprint for an educationist stronghold with the belief that "the Federal Government [should] establish conditions and provide funds adequate to employ educational leadership of the highest professional competence."

Who will decide on the professional competence of the men to fill these posts?

Why, the National Education Association, oldest and most respected professional educational group in the United States.

What, in brief, does the NEA want?

In a general sense, power.

Specifically, the NEA desires public acceptance of the idea of Federal aid to education and control over it. Aid to school construction is the opening wedge now being driven into the bulwark of traditional American public reluctance. After having been bribed with its own money, the docile public will—according to the NEA lobbyists—be willing to accept further encrdachments on local responsibility and individual initiative.

A crucial moment in American education is coming. Many citizens have fallen for NEA's propaganda and are clamoring for Federal aid in the school construction "emergency." Only a barrage of facts aimed at the sham front of this "emergency" can explode the false situation and lay bare the dubious political motives behind it.

In order that American education should remain in the hands of its proper local guardians, it might prove useful at this time to recall the wise advice of James Madison, who, in 1794, warned his fellow citizens against predatory bureaucrats. We should be on our guard, Madison said, against the bureaucrats' "old trick of turning every contingency into a resource for accumulating force."

Question on Kohler Strike Addressed to UAW President Walter P. Reuther at National Press Club, Washington, D. C., May 22, 1957, and His Reply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, recently I inserted into the RECORD a statement by Mr. Emil Mazey, an officer of the UAW–CIO, on the subject of the UAW strike against the Kohler Co. in Wisconsin. To further permit the people of this country to understand the union side of that controversy, I insert into the RECORD a question and answer between Walter P. Reuther, president of the UAW–CIO, at the National Press Club, and a member of that body when he appeared there:

QUESTION ON KOHLER STRIKE ADDRESSED TO UAW PRESIDENT WALTER P. REUTHER AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 22, 1957, AND HIS REPLY

Question: The Senate Rackets Committee has received letters from many members of your union protesting the spending of $13 million in union funds to maintain the strike against the Kohler Co. How do you justify this expenditure, and what do you propose to tell the Senate committee when it investigates this strike?

Mr. REUTHER. Well, I shall be most happy to appear before the Senate investigating committee any day of the week, and I will testify about my own personal financial matters, and any matter related to our union, including the Kohler strike.

It is true that we have spent many millions of dollars. We have not spent 13 million; we have spent roughly 10 million. For food and clothing and rent and shoes and medical care—to keep the brave people who want to enjoy a few of the rights and human dignities inside of American industry that millions of other workers enjoy.

The Kohler Corp.—and that's why we're prepared to discuss this any time and any place—bears the major share of moral responsibility. Because they refuse to accept the obligations that thousands and thousand of other industry groups have accepted. We're not trying to pioneer there. We have the choice of either fighting or surrendering. And we're spending this money because we choose not to surrender.

Before the strike occurred, when the contract expired, we asked the company to extend that contract on a day-to-day basis, hoping we could avoid a strike. The company refused. We asked the company to bargain; they would not bargain in good faith. They would not mediate, and they rejected every arbitration proposal.

The Governor of Wisconsin at that time: Gov. Walter Kohler, a nephew of Mr. Herbert Kohler, proposed arbitration. We accepted it. He was to designate the arbitrator. The company rejected it.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell proposed arbitration. We accepted; they rejected.

We proposed that President Eisenhower pick the arbitrator; they rejected it.

Why?

Because they are unprepared to test their position in the court of impartial judgment. Because they know they are wrong.

The strike up there is a revolt against the last remnants of industrial feudalism, people who think that when you hire a worker

you buy him body and soul. That's what this struggle is about.

I say the price of human freedom is the willingness to struggle against tyranny, whether it be under Hitler or under Stalin or under Mr. Herbert Kohler. And we're going to struggle until these workers get their measure of human freedom and human dignity in the Kohler works in Sheboygan, Wis.

Are Tax Cuts Inflationary?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of June 7, 1957:

ARE TAX CUTS INFLATIONARY?

Most of the economists who have been testifying about tax-cut prospects this week agree that the prospects are dim. This is also the view of Democratic Representative MILLS, chairman of the House-Senate subcommittee holding hearings on the subject.

The tax pessimism is based on two considerations. The budget surplus, both this fiscal year and next, is unlikely to be big enough to permit reductions. And inflationary pressures are still so strong that tax cuts next year would be inadvisable anyway.

The first assertion is all too probably current. Government spending is outrunning estimates for the fiscal year winding up the end of this month, and the same thing may happen in the new fiscal year; the Government may be lucky to keep out of the red. It is well that no one in the administration or Congress is seriously suggesting tax cuts on the basis of deficit financing.

It is the second proposition that is disturbing. The notion that tax rates should be maintained or raised in good times, even when the surplus is big enough to permit cuts, and lowered in times of business decline is an old and familiar one—the so-called compensatory budget theory. But its familiarity does not make it true. Are tax cuts in fact inflationary?

One trouble with the argument is that it assumes people are predictable. If the Government chops their taxes they will automatically go on a spending spree, bidding up the prices of goods and labor. But it ain't necessarily so. In an economy like ours, where people don't have to spend every cent on necessities, it is particularly unlikely to be so. People may save more instead of spending more, in which event the tax cuts can work out as a restraint on inflationary forces.

The Nation has undeniably prospered since the $7.4 billion tax reductions of 1954, but it would be hard to show that it has been on a buying binge; auto sales and home buying, for instance, are at something less than record levels. Those tax cuts spurred the economy; it is doubtful that they produced the present inflationary potential.

What may be more probable is that we are still feeling, to some extent, the inflationary effects of more than 20 years of almost uninterrupted deficit financing. That kind of printing press orgy, not tax cuts, is the prime cause of inflation. And the Eisenhower administration, to its credit, has not been inflating the money supply.

Another trouble with the argument that we can't have tax cuts because they are inflationary involves a misconception about spending. The theory is that tax cuts would put extra purchasing power in the hands of the people, which is true whether they exercise that power or not. But that doesn't mean the money is saved if the people are denied tax cuts; it is just spent by someone else, namely, the Federal Government. In practice, the Federal Government goes right on spending in good times as well as bad.

Finally there is a dubious moral tone to this "compensatory" fiscal notion. We take it to be self-evident that in a free society the Government has certain plain obligations such as to avoid depreciating the currency and to keep spending and taxes as low as possible. The compensatory theory skips this aspect entirely. Tax rates are to be juggled not on the basis of what is right, but in the attempt to manipulate the economy and hence the people.

The Congressmen and the economists—and the administration—are on sound ground when they say there shouldn't be tax cuts until the budget surplus outlook improves. But Congress should be making that outlook improve be greatly reducing spending, instead of worrying about inflationary tax cuts and compensatory theories.

Just give the people the chance, and they will do their own compensating far better than any government can do it for them.

Two Hundred and Twelfth Annual Feast of Roses Observed by the Tulpehocken Evangelical and Reformed Church Near Richland, Pa., June 9, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, one of the most historical religious observances in the Nation was held Sunday, June 9, 1957, by the Tulpehocken Evangelical and Reformed Church located near Richland, Pa., when the 212th red rose was tendered as annual rent to a descendant of Caspar and Katharine Wistar, who in 1745 conveyed 100 acres of land for use as church property. This annual feast of roses has been observed since that time without interruption.

This year's observance was of two-fold significance since it marked the date of the dedication of a modern church school building erected by the members of the Tulpehocken Evangelical and Reformed Church under the leadership of their very capable and energetic pastor, the Reverend J. Donald Backenstose.

It was my great privilege to participate in the annual feast-of-roses service, June 9, 1957, at which time I delivered the following message:

FEAST OF ROSES MESSAGE BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, JUNE 9, 1957, RICHLAND, PA.

It is a distinct honor to be invited to participate in this annual service commemorating the Feast of Roses which originated in 1745 when Caspar and Katharine Wistar conveyed 100 acres to this church.

During the succeeding years I am informed that a red rose has been tendered each year as annual rent and that since 1901 the Feast of Roses has been observed yearly without interruption.

The beautiful custom of presenting a white rose to the descendants of Caspar and Katharine Wistar was also inaugurated and has added to the solemnity of this annual service.

Today we are privileged in being able to witness the payment of the 212th red rose and the 55th white rose.

This year's Feast of Roses is of added significance since it marks the date of the dedication of the rose building.

This modern church school building is not only a credit to the loyal and faithful members of this congregation but also to your able and distinguished pastor, my good friend the Reverend J. Donald Backenstose.

Truly it may be said that the rose building is a fitting monument to the zeal and piety of the members of this church and their beloved pastor.

Above all it demonstrates their wholehearted cooperation in extending God's kingdom on earth.

Today we are forcibly reminded, through observance of the Feast of Roses, that there is a natural and age-old connection in man's mind between the rose and religion.

No one can look upon the beauty of roses in their varied forms and colors without an uplifting of the heart and mind.

Countless tales have come down to us through the ages associating the rose with the gods or attributing magical and supernatural qualities to roses.

Through the centuries Christianity has used the rose as a symbol of prayer and its thorns as a symbol of sacrifice and suffering.

One of the most constant features of the Christian cathedral is the rose window.

Roses have in all ages of Christianity been thought most suitable for the decoration of any part of a church.

We find them as wood carvings in the form of rose vines on the pews, as great rose flowers ornamenting pulpit or altar.

In Christian symbolism numerous Saints are known by a rose or roses.

They are portrayed in single or double form pink or gold or white or red on vine or bush or rose-tree.

Yes they are shown being held in the hand, worn in a wreath or showering through the air.

Roses, chief among flowers, are brought to decorate our churches and altars as tokens of our devotion and service to God.

The very crown and center of our religion is, of course, Christ himself.

The closer we approach to that center in Christian art and symbolism the more roses do we find.

Finally, we come to the very person of Christ himself symbolized as a red rose.

Realizing that the red rose stands for the suffering and the love and the triumph of Christ, one might think that there could be no comparable grandeur of religious meaning for the white rose.

However Christian symbolism has placed the white rose in a place equal in honor to the red.

Where the red rose means the suffering of martyrdom, the white rose means the virtue of innocence and purity.

Where the red rose shouts of triumph the white rose speaks softly of peace.

Where the red rose pulses with the humanity of Christ the white rose silently proclaims His divinity.

We who know and love roses are sure that what is termed in religious literature "The Odor of Sanctity" must be one of the many beautiful perfumes that we know in roses.

Christianity as well as other forms of world religions, and even ancient paganism associates holiness and virtue with roses.

It is, therefore, beautifully appropriate that this church annually should be scented with the perfume of roses.

This annual feast of roses is not alone a reminder of the debt of gratitude owed Caspar and Katharine Wistar.

It is likewise an occasion to voice our gratitude to Almighty God for our churches.

For truly they are the nation's first line of defense.

Through our churches we, as a nation, have been able to maintain a standard of honesty and decency without which the nation would not be worth saving nor would its citizenry care for any interest beyond their own selfish personal gratifications.

It is an accepted fact that a nation with strong moral convictions and a deep reverence for God is able through his divine grace to defend itself against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Did you ever stop to realize that should our churches fall into decay and ruin America would become overwhelmingly pagan in a few years?

That fact should make an indelible impression on our minds and hearts and urge all of us to appreciate more fully the church as a spiritual powerhouse whose beacon of light and goodness encompasses the entire globe.

If we have a fuller appreciation of the indispensable position the church plays in our everyday lives, then, as individuals and as a nation, we will be better able to discharge our responsibility of actively supporting the church and all it is defending in the fields of moral and spiritual development.

Religious groups through the church are carrying the Gospel to the four corners of the earth and in so doing creating an atmosphere of confidence and good will that is of more value than costly armaments or diplomatic maneuvering which so often leads to meaningless peace pacts between the nations of the world.

Let us never forget America was built upon the church.

All of us are familiar with the picture depicting the pilgrims on their way to church carrying both Bibles and rifles.

There were many reasons why the New England pioneers might have remained near their primitive homes and worshiped under the sheltering trees with one eye on the prowling Indians.

The well-known painting, however, shows them—men, women, and children—trudging along the snow-piled forest path on their way to the rudely constructed meetinghouse their reverent hands had fashioned for divine worship.

The pilgrims on their way to church remind us, as these spiritual ancestors of ours fought for their very lives, that Sunday morning for them was not a time to catch up on sleep, not an opportunity to clear more needed land or plant crops, not a time to indulge in sports and amusements.

In spite of the hazards and the hardship of it, Sunday morning was a time to go to church.

The Pilgrims went, and by so doing they contributed their physical presence as a witness to their faith in God by which they lived.

It is a serious indictment against our generation that for literally millions of Americans church attendance is ignored.

With three global wars engulfing our Nation in the short span of 33 years, it is little wonder that there has been the growing realization that the church is the bulwark and arsenal of all that makes our Nation great.

Even the radio and television stations across the land signify this truth as they sandwich between commercials the devotional song called "Let's Go To Church Next Sunday Morning."

We profess to be a Christian Nation, but deserted churches give the lie to the creed we claim to profess.

When we remain away from church it does something to that fragile plant called reverence which needs watering at least once a week.

Surely there can be no question that unless we give regular expression to an emotion or conviction it will die or grow dim.

As we thank God for our churches, let us do it in church, and not from some reclining place as we deny our Creator 1 hour of worship on Sunday.

This annual Feast of Roses is, therefore, an opportune time to examine our own conscience and at the same time to keep in mind that in the Communist world churches of every denomination are being ruthlessly persecuted in the diabolical effort to destroy man's belief in God.

It is encouraging to know that religion in America today is a mighty and increasing force.

Statistics may sometimes seem hard to understand, or inconclusive, or dull, but today's religious statistics are as clear an indication of the way the wind blows as a million straws all blowing one way.

These statistics are as conclusive as the force of that wind and exciting as its impact.

In 1850, or 105 years after this church was established, only 16 percent of the population of America were church members. By 1900 the percentage had climbed, slowly and with setbacks, to 36 percent. Through the first half of the twentieth century the increase continued, up to 57 percent.

Recent figures show that approximately 61 percent of all Americans are now church members.

In actual numbers the American church membership has now for the first time passed the 100 million mark. In 1906, half a century ago, there were 209,266 churches of all denominations in the United States.

Though both the shift of population from the country to the city, and the increasing tendency to consolidate churches where possible, tended to reduce the total number of churches that number, after sinking to 199,302 in 1936, rose to 300,056 for 1954.

The result is that we now have not only more members in each congregation, but also more actual church buildings.

In 1955, 5,393 new church buildings were reported and the money spent on new construction during that year is said by the national council to constitute a new record.

The total financial contribution of members to their churches continued an upward trend, per capita contributions rising 7 percent in 1955, to reach the sum of $48.81 annually.

If money talks they are surely good words that we hear from that money.

Both the increase in church membership and the growing concern for the education and moral training of our youth are reflected in a 3.4 percent increase in Sunday School enrollments.

Newspapers and magazines are full of discussions of the religious boom.

Book publishers find that the sales of religious books are large and steadily increasing.

Political actions, reflecting both the popular feeling and the convictions of individuals in the Government, include the provision of the Prayer Room in the Capitol, the addition of the phrase "under God" to the pledge of allegiance, the issuance of a stamp bearing the words "in God we trust," the provision by law that the same motto is to appear on all our coins designed in the future, and most recently the adoption of the statement, "In God We Trust" as the official motto of the United States.

Besides the increase in church membership there is a remarkable increase in both the number of prayer groups and the number of members in established prayer groups.

In Government agencies, in businesses, in neighborhoods, it is becoming more and more the custom to meet occasionally to pray together and to conduct programs of speaking or reading or discussion on the subject of prayer.

In magazines and newspapers and in the public transportation vehicles, we have grown familiar with the advertisements urging people to attend the churches of their choice, to take their families to church, to go to Sunday School with their children, to pray together as families.

I am not sure how much effect this sort of advertising has, but I feel sure the advertising is itself the effect of an urge among all the American people to deepen their religious experience and to give tangible evidence of the faith that is in them.

Ministers and other theological thinkers have published many articles criticizing the current popularity of religion as superficial and tainted with self-interest.

But the very fact that such critical articles are published in great numbers shows that a deep and honest interest must be somewhere in the American public.

Surely those who are indulging in superficial emotionalism do not welcome searching criticism of their motives and it is farfetched to suppose that those who are dropping more money in the collection basket are doing it in the expectation of any financial or material return.

Some of the criticism too, it must be remarked, is more superficial than any of the religious manifestations toward which it is directed.

Of course there are superficial religious manifestations in America today. There always were such manifestations in this country and in every other country.

However, for perfectly practical reasons the superficial manifestations will become greater when it becomes more profitable for the hypocrites and self-servers to pretend to real religious feeling, and that is precisely when a real ground swell of religion is manifesting itself.

It is my opinion there is no complacency in the religion of America today.

We have the forward movement and the forward urge.

We are striving to bring our actions into closer accord with our professions of moral principle and to submit our individual good to the good of all.

There will always be those who will rest content with the system of morality expressed by the motto "Honesty is the best policy."

But I believe that America today and the world today need a heroic virtue reaching far beyond that feeble and petty sentiment.

We shall not hold our earth and sky together nor each individual of us keep his own soul and body together unless we adopt that heroic virtue expressed in the old saying, "Let justice be done though the heavens fall."

And we shall not save our individual souls if we consider it fashionable merely to be seen going to church.

We need the rock-ribbed faith of our forefathers, men and women with the faith of Caspar and Katharine Wistar, who helped to build this Nation under God and who never tired of constantly seeking His protection.

We should never forget that the atomic-hydrogen age in which we live had its birth when Almighty God first entrusted the secrets of the atom to our Nation.

Therefore, we owe Him not only our allegiance, but our constant prayers of thanks-

giving that this Nation was spared from the unhappy fate of Japan which became the testing ground for the devastating atomic attack in World War II.

Let us, during this annual feast of roses, resolve to make an earnest effort to stimulate interest in church membership, and above all, regular church attendance.

Let us, with our friends and loved ones, turn our thoughts more frequently to church, and by prayer and devotion acknowledge our utter dependence on the God who hath made and preserved us a nation.

Thus we will be doing more than thanking God for the church.

We will be conducting our spiritual lives in such an edifying manner that the church will thank God for our aid in its mission to extend the kingdom of God on earth.

Let us joyfully look forward to fulfilling our obligation to the church by regular attendance and as we enter its portals may our hearts be attuned to the true spirit of God enabling us to say in all sincerity, and from the innermost recesses of our hearts:

"Sweet hour of prayer! Sweet hour of prayer!
That calls us from a world of care,
And bids us at our Father's throne
Make all our wants and wishes known.

"In seasons of distress and grief
Our souls have often found relief,
And oft escaped the tempter's snare
By thy return sweet hour of prayer."

A Good Government Bond Market Outside Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Economists National Committee on Monetary Policy, released July 27, 1953:

A GOOD GOVERNMENT BOND MARKET OUTSIDE BANKS

I

The United States Treasury is to be commended for its efforts to turn from banks to savers in the marketing of its securities since monetization of Federal debt by banks is an unsound procedure.

As the Treasury turns from banks to free and open markets and thus increases its demands for the use of people's savings, it is to be expected that the Government must pay interest rates substantially higher than those that prevailed when it financed itself in such high degree by selling its debt to banks in exchange for deposits and Federal Reserve notes.

Proof that the interest rates, at which the Treasury could borrow from banks, have been artificially low is revealed by the fact that the Treasury has been compelled to turn from savers to the banks in such high degree for loans at those rates.

The evils in such artificially maintained low interest rates are found in the consequences flowing from the fact that the Government frees itself from the pressure which savers should be able to exercise through interest rates determined in free competitive markets. Freed from the restraints of such interest rates, the Government is invited to borrow and to spend freely; the currency is expanded improperly since it is created against Federal debt; the purchasing power of the people's currency tends to decline; economic distortions are created by the artificially low interest rates and the defective qualities and excessive quantities of the Federal Reserve notes and deposits arising from the purchase of Federal debt by commercial banks. These economic distortions, if not effectively checked, tend to culminate in unhealthy boom, followed by business recession and depression.

To the extent that the United States Treasury is able to borrow and to fund and refund existing Federal debt by inducing savers to invest in its securities at prevailing rates in free open markets, it is able to return to proper and prudent methods of financing its needs and to avoid adding to the unfortunate consequences which have arisen and may be expected to flow from the practice of monetizing Federal debt unwisely pursued by our Government in recent years, particularly since 1941.

Officials of the Treasury who are now endeavoring to return to proper methods of Federal financing should have the support of all who desire correct administration of Federal fiscal affairs. The position of those who object to higher or rising interest rates, as the Treasury endeavors to turn from the commercial and Federal Reserve banks to savers, and who recommend a continuation of debt monetization at artificially low interest rates through banks, as did, for example, 21 Members of Congress in a resolution of May 11, 1953, is regrettable.

The Treasury should pursue the course of turning to savers rather than to banks for the loanable funds required at whatever rates prevail in free markets.

II

Both the Treasury and Federal Reserve authorities are to be commended for the progress being made in freeing the Federal Reserve System from domination by the Treasury and in substituting a program of maintaining an orderly Government securities market for one requiring that the Federal Reserve System maintain fixed and artificially high prices for such securities.

III

The problems of the Treasury could and should be lessened, the prospects of success in selling its securities to savers at relatively low rates of interest should be enhanced, and our people in general should be greatly benefited, if this Nation's currency were promptly made redeemable at the statutory rate of $35 per fine ounce of gold.

A people blessed with a redeemable currency and confident that the principal of, and interest on, Government bonds will be paid in currency redeemable in gold tend to purchase such securities at lower rates of return than those required to induce them to make such purchases when their currency is irredeemable. Nonbank investors in Government securities are not to be captured at relatively low rates of interest by the use of an irredeemable or depreciating currency.

This fact was clearly illustrated by the Treasury's experiences before and after resumption of specie payments on January 2, 1879, as revealed, for example, by John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, March 9, 1877–March 3, 1881, who observed in his Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet (the Werner Co., New York and Chicago, 1895), volume II, page 702: "The immediate effect of resumption of specie payments was to advance the public credit, which made it possible to rapidly fund all the bonds of the United States then redeemable into bonds bearing 4 percent interest"—a rate much below pre-1879 rates in terms of an irredeemable currency.

From his page 705: "My published correspondence shows that with all the efforts and strength of the department it was impossible to keep up with the subscriptions for bonds pouring in from all parts of the United States and from Europe (after January 3, 1879)."

When the Treasury was borrowing from savers and banks during the period of irredeemable greenbacks, particularly during that part of the greenback period in which the Government distinguished between its promises to pay in coin or in lawful money other than coin, a common differential in terms offered or paid by the Government was 6 percent on bonds payable in coin as against 7.3 percent when payable in currency. (This differential is illustrated by the seven-thirties of 1864 and 1865, the five-twenties of 1865, the consols of 1865, 1867, and 1868—Rafael A. Bayley, The National Loans of the United States From July 4, 1776, to June 30, 1880, Government Printing Office, 1881, pp. 165–169; Robert A. Love, Federal Financing, Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, appendix, folders 5 and 6.)

The principle of higher interest rates for Government bonds payable in irredeemable currency as compared with those on the same class of bonds payable in coin or a redeemable currency was recognized by Congress when it passed the law of March 18, 1869, promising to redeem all United States securities in coin.

Writing of the consequences of passing the Act of March 18, 1869, which pledged the faith of the United States to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the securities of the United States, except when other provision had been made in law authorizing the issue, Davis Rich Dewey observed in his Financial History of the United States (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1918), sixth edition, page 349: "The apprehension of investors was relieved, and refunding at lower rates of interest was greatly facilitated."

The handicaps under which a Government labors when it attempts to market its securities in terms of an irredeemable currency, as illustrated by our Treasury's attempts in 1864 to sell some of its bonds at a then relatively low interest rate of 5 percent, were commented upon in part as follows by Albert Sidney Bolles in his Financial History of the United States From 1861 to 1885 (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1886), Book I, page 107: "The issue of paper money led many to distrust the Government and to hesitate in buying its bonds. If there had been nothing besides public securities for them to purchase, then the bonds would have been sold; the owners of wealth, however, could do numberless things with their accumulations. And in truth they did. The theory of watering the circulation in order to quicken investments in bonds was a fallacy of the gravest magniture, but one, unfortunately, which many persons cherished. The wider the departure of the Government from sound principles in issuing money, the greater was the distrust of thinking men, including a very large class of investors, and the less inclined were they to buy Government obligations. They prefered to speculate, to buy railroad bonds and stocks, real estate, mortgages, to build houses, factories, and the like."

The difficulties confronting our present Treasury officials in combating the problems arising from monetization of a huge volume of Federal debt at artificially low interest rates promise to be exceedingly great under the best of circumstances. These difficulties should be minimized as much as possible. The maximum benefits for the Treasury and Nation are to be obtained only if our people are able to enjoy the blessings of a redeem-

able currency and the Treasury is enabled to market its securities in terms of a redeemable currency. Congress should provide promptly for redeemability. Without its benefits, the Treasury may be forced to return to the banks for further monetization of the Federal debt. Our Government should profit by the lesson so clearly illustrated in 1879.

John F. Adams,[1, 2] Temple University; Charles C. Arbuthnot, Western Reserve University; John W. Beck, Oklahoma Publishing Co.; James Washington Bell, Northwestern University; Douglas H. Bellemore, Boston University; Ernest L. Bogart, New York City; Frederick A. Bradford, Lehigh University; Cecil C. Carpenter, University of Kentucky; Arthur W. Crawford, Chevy Chase, Md.; William W. Cumberland, Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., New York City; Charles A. Dice,[1] the Ohio State University; Harwood B. Dolbeare,[3] University of Florida; James C. Dolley,[1, 2] the University of Texas; William E. Dunkman,[4] the University of Rochester; William F. Edwards, Brigham Young University; D. W. Ellsworth, E. W. Axe & Co., Inc., Tarrytown, N. Y.; Fred R. Fairchild, Yale University; Charles C. Fichtner,[3] Buffalo, N. Y.; J. Anderson Fitzgerald, the University of Texas; Major B. Foster,[1, 2] Alexander Hamilton Institute and New York University; Roy L. Garis, University of Southern California; Alfred P. Haake, economic consultant, Park Ridge, Ill.; E. C. Harwood, American Institute for Economic Research; Hudson B. Hastings,[2] Yale University; William F. Hauhart, dean emeritus, School of Business Administration, Southern Methodist University; George H. Hobart, High Point College; John Thom Holdsworth, the University of Miami; Harold Hughes, New Mexico, Highlands University; Frederic A. Jackson, Morgan State College; Montfort Jones, the University of Pittsburgh; J. L. Leonard, Harding College, Searcy, Ark.; Edmond E. Lincoln, Wilmington, Del.; A. Wilfred May, executive editor, the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, New York City; David H. McKinley,[3] the Pennsylvania State College; Austin S. Murphy, Seton Hall University; Fred R. Niehaus, University of Colorado; Melchior Palyi, Chicago, Ill.; Frank Parker,[2] University of Pennsylvania; W. A. Paton, University of Michigan; Clyde W. Phelps, University of Southern California; Chester A. Phillips, the State University of Iowa; Charles L. Prather, the University of Texas; Neal Riden, Jr., West Virginia State College; O. H. Ritter,[3] College of the Pacific; Leland Rex Robinson, 76 Beaver Street, New York City; Olin Glenn Saxon, Yale University; R. Harland Shaw,[2, 3] conference of American Small Business Organizations, Chicago, Ill.; Murray W. Shields, University of Florida; Walter E. Spahr, New York University; William H. Steiner,[5] Brooklyn College; Gilbert R. Stonesifer, Mt. Union College; Charles S. Tippetts,[3] Mercersburg Academy; James B. Trant, Louisiana State University; John V. Van Sickle, Wabash College; V. Orval Watts, economic consultant, Altadena, Calif.; Edward F. Willett, Smith College.

[1] With reservation as to pt. I.
[2] With reservation as to pt. II.
[3] With reservation as to pt. III.
[4] Approves pts. I, II.
[5] Approves pt. II.

Waste and Confusion in Our Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, this is the first of a number of articles dealing with the problem of waste and confusion in our Federal Government which I am pleased to insert in the public interest. It is the story of how the bipartisan Hoover Commission attacked this problem.

These articles were written by Mr. Clarence Francis, National Chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, and were published in a pamphlet entitled "The Coupler," by the Symington-Gould Corp., of Buffalo, N. Y.:

YOU CAN HELP STOP GOVERNMENT WASTE

YOUR STAKE IN EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT

To the average citizen the Federal Government was once a faraway thing, of no great concern to the individual. Today we live in the age of a big government whose every act affects our personal destinies.

* * * * *

Democrats and Republicans have long agreed on one thing: Big government must be kept within bounds. That is why every single Member of Congress voted for creation of the first Hoover Commission (in 1947 under the Truman administration) and the second Hoover Commission (in 1953 under President Eisenhower) to get the facts.

This is the story of the second Commission, headed by former President Herbert Hoover and including such outstanding citizens as James A. Farley and Joseph P. Kennedy; its 2-year, impartial study of every aspect of the Government; and its 3.3 million-word report to Congress showing ways of cutting out over $5 billion a year in Federal costs while actually improving governmental efficiency.

* * * * *

YOUR TAX BILL AND GOVERNMENT WASTE

Many Americans think their taxes are too high. But though taxes are felt most around April 15, they are even higher than the income tax returns show. All of us pay indirect or "hidden" taxes. We don't notice them, because they are included in the price of many of the things which we buy.

For example, 10 cents of each dollar spent to see a movie is tax money. The same goes for light bulbs, radio tubes, cameras, film, jewelry, luggage, telephone calls, sporting goods and many other items. A Federal tax is included in the price of gasoline and fuel oil. In fact, almost everything we buy is taxed because most manufacturers pay Federal taxes which are passed on in the prices of their products.

Let's take an average family of four. The head of this family, according to a recent study, earned $3,400 to $4,000 yearly. He paid about $300 in income taxes—and another $800 in hidden taxes. His total tax bill was nearly four times greater than he thought it was.

But this isn't all. The national debt of $274 billion is a very real debt for which we, as citizens, are responsible. This debt amounts to $7,000 per average American family today. The interest we pay on it is greater than the whole cost of running the Government 20 years ago.

Naturally, we must not forget that we all benefit from the Federal Government. Large sums must be spent for defense, health, highways, agriculture, and public works. None of us would want to cut out those things which the Federal Government can best do in the interest of all the people. Yet no one wants to pay for waste, overlapping, and confusion if such things can be found and corrected.

Behind the work of the Hoover Commission lies the right of the American citizen. You have not only the right but the duty to ask whether you are getting the full value of 100 cents for every dollar you pay in taxes.

HOOVER COMMISSION HAS THE ANSWER

No one person can find the answer to this question. The Federal Government is much too big and too complex.

The first Hoover Commission (1947–49) made many tax-saving findings. Total economies of over $7 billion have so far resulted from its work. Accordingly Congress, in 1953, unanimously created the second Commission. Some 19 research committees, or task forces, composed of over 200 voluntary experts, did the Commission's preliminary studies. To each of them Chairman Hoover gave these simple instructions:

"First get the facts. Both sides. No preconceptions. When you get all the facts, come up with whatever conclusions they induce."

GOVERNMENT WASTE FOUND

It didn't take the task forces very long to find waste and duplication. Here are some examples:

Found by the Hoover Commission:

The Army shipped 800,000 pounds of tomatoes from the west coast to the east coast at the same time that the Navy was shipping 775,000 pounds of tomatoes from the east coast to the west coast. (This is just like shipping 20 carloads of tomatoes from San Francisco to Sacramento by way of New York.)

A further find: The Army Signal Corps had an 8-year supply of flashlight batteries, which last 2 years. In a naval repair depot, a 128-year supply of simple gear drives was found. (What mail-order house or department store could stock comparable supplies and not face bankruptcy?)

Here are some more: The Government writes enough letters (1 billion a year, cost $1 per letter) to reach from here to Moscow. * * * Many Government agencies borrow millions of dollars at 3 percent and lend them at 2 percent. * * * Ping-pong balls shipped to Europe, dog food to Okinawa, and 25,000 pounds of cement to Bermuda by costly air transport. * * * Hospitals half empty while new hospitals rise nearby.

The complete list is much longer, but the point is clear. There's no doubt that Big Government, expanded tenfold in cost by two decades of depression, war, cold war, more war, and emergency, has been wasteful

What can be done about it? The next article will treat this question.

European Air Routes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks in the House today, I pointed out some of the inconsistencies of policy re-

garding international air routes. It appears that the Dayton (Ohio) Daily News is aware of these problems, and has discussed them in an excellent editorial which I include herewith:

EUROPEAN AIR ROUTES

At a time when bargains can be struck with Britain under circumstances that give the United States a natural leverage, occasion should be taken to settle a case of unfair discrimination against an American airline.

Two years ago the Civil Aeronautics Board gave Trans World Airlines authority to close a gap between Frankfurt, Germany, and Zurich, Switzerland, that had marred its global route system. After CAB approval, however, the matter required diplomatic clearance. This the British Government has refused to give, although the United States State Department has pressed the matter from time to time, most recently at the Bermuda conference.

The Frankfurt dead end costs TWA heavily in revenues. Passengers on its world routes pay the price of inconvenience. The block improves the competitive position of British European Airways, government-owned, but it is an unfair, dog-in-the-manger type of competition.

The British have many more worthy and more important points at issue in negotiations with the United States. They should give up on this one which has so little to commend it by any fairminded way of thinking.

The Case of Sp3c. William S. Girard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith the following article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor:

THE CASE OF SP3C. WILLIAM S. GIRARD

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—The case of Army Sp3c. William S. Girard provides almost a classic example of a situation where head and heart pull in opposite directions.

Every human emotion in the United States sides with the relatives of the soldier who are doing all within their power to extract him from the jurisdiction of the Japanese courts and return him to his home country for trial. Some 17,000 names are signed to the petition which was presented at the White House, and with little effort more thousands of signatures undoubtedly could be obtained.

But if you apply the head rather than the heart to the case, you will come out with a different conclusion about the merits.

First, there is no reason to think that he would receive a less fair trial in Japanese courts than in American courts. The Japanese will certainly lean over backward to be fair about the matter. Their pride and their emotions are also engaged. In effect, the outburst in the United States has questioned the quality of the Japanese judicial system. And every move made in Japan's courts will be subjected to the sharpest scrutiny. It is almost a foregone conclusion that his trial in a Japanese court would not end in a prison sentence. In a United States court it might.

Second, there is every reason of national United States interest to leave the trial to the Japanese courts regardless of the merits of the various arguments over the status-of-forces agreement with Japan.

The United States position in Japan has been shaken of late by many things—including United States resistance to the reopening of trade with China. The honeymoon period of that relationship has long since passed. Chauvinism has reappeared in Japan, and in the United States as well. Japanese foreign policy is pulling away from United States leading strings. It is to Washington's advantage to limit and restrain this tendency. The last thing in the world it wants is a cause célèbre which would produce a decisive break away from Washington in Tokyo and force the military withdrawal of the United States forces from Japan.

Had Washington insisted on its full legal rights under the agreement and insisted on repatriating Specialist Girard, the end result could all too easily have been such a decisive break, with a loss of military bases in Japan.

This is a case where the United States had everything to gain by leaning over backward even at the expense of the legal rights of the individual soldier. It may be bad for troop morale overseas to permit this soldier to be tried in a foreign court, but it would be worse for United States-Japanese relations to play the hand the other way.

Third, if the United States were to insist on its maximum legal rights and deny Japanese court jurisdiction, then Moscow and Peking would obtain a magnificent propaganda advantage. There is nothing those capitals relish more than an opportunity to paint the United States as an imperialist power which rides roughshod over the rights, interests, and feelings of its weaker allies. The repatriation of Specialist Girard over Japanese protest would give the Communists an argument in Japan which the USIA could not hope to wipe out with twice the money cut from its budget by Congress this year.

This is a conflict between national interest and national emotion with no easy resolution. National interest is on the side of the President. National emotion is on the side of the relatives and friends of Specialist Girard. And it is, of course, to be expected that antiadministration Senators and Representatives will take the side of national emotion and argue that no United States soldier should be expected to trust his freedom to the whims of a foreign court.

This, of course, is one test of the ability of the United States to fill the role of leader of a world coalition. It never could hope to fill that role over a long period of years if in cases like this it allowed its actions to be ruled by its heart rather than by its head.

There is more to the matter still. Americans hear much these days about whether they can trust the Soviets to be sincere about disarmament. Sincerity is a quality of human behavior, not a quality of government behavior. The function of a government is to serve the national interest. The United States can trust the Soviets to sign and keep any agreement which serves the interests of the Soviet Union. One doesn't ask rationally whether they are sincere about it. One asks whether it is possible to find a formula which serves the national interests of both countries.

The administration in Washington is paying a high price domestically for living up to the full spirit of its agreement with Japan. It does this not because it wants to, but because it serves the overall national interest to do so. If governments consulted only the heart and not the head there would be hardly any international agreements at all. The relationship with Japan would be ended, and Harold E. Stassen would be told to break off his arms-limitation talks with the Soviets.

The Electoral College Elects the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important subjects pending before the Congress of the United States is the constitutional amendment which I introduced to provide for a change in the outdated and antiquated electoral college.

Hon. Ben F. Ray, one of Alabama's outstanding lawyers, has written a treatise on the subject of the Electoral College, which I commend to the careful reading and attention of every Member of Congress:

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE ELECTS THE PRESIDENT

(By Ben F. Ray)

Independence has been defined as freedom from dependence; a spirit of self-reliance. This applies to an individual, a state, or a nation. In Congress, July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was unanimously adopted. Among the principles enumerated in that profound document, Congress declared "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Since the end of World War II, a spirit of independence has slowly asserted itself in every State in the Union. It reached a high mark in the general election November 4, 1952. This is evident from the results of the election. Specific instances stand out here and there in the several States.

The early settlers came to our shores seeking freedom from tyranny. They refused to be bound except by their own consent. It was soon discovered that "consent of the governed" was more than a rule of conduct, but an American way of life.

Each colony stood aloof from the other. Trade barriers were often erected. Each colony asserted independence from the other. Soon the urge for independence from the mother country placed a burden too great for one colony to assume. Necessity dictated that the colonies join in a common cause. It was then they signed a Declaration of Independence and proclaimed that the "consent of the governed" should forever remain the hallmark of free men everywhere.

AN INDEPENDENT VOTER

No one may justly criticize an independent voter. In good faith, the independent voter acts in accord with the spirit of America. If for any reason a voter does not wish to be bound in a primary election or a party convention, no one may compel him to take part in a primary or convention.

There may be organized under the law any number of political parties. Each candidate for President must face the voters of the country with full knowledge that success in the general election will finally be measured in terms of amendment 12. This amendment should be taught in all the high schools and colleges in order that the young voter may understand why no President of the United States can be inaugurated in violation of this constitutional amendment which has been in effect since its adoption in 1804.

STATES RIGHTS

With freedom proclaimed and constitutional government established, each State in the Union maintained a jealous attitude toward the whole. Each was quick to assert its independence. It was natural for one State to resist encroachment by another State. Here was the birth of States rights soon to be guaranteed in the Bill or Rights.

After a long, historic struggle, States' rights ceased to be sectional. No one now challenges the principle of States rights, which recognizes the dual principle of national sovereignty while claiming the doctrine of States sovereignty. Experience leads us to hope the attitude of the several States toward each other shall ever assume a proper balance, and that there may always be national unity without uniformity or regimentation.

THE NATIONAL PARTY SYSTEM

Constitutional amendment 12 was adopted in 1804 and still stands as the fundamental law of the land. It provides the method of choosing a President of these United States. Any other method proposed would be contrary to the present Constitution. By this method, each State registers its influence through the electoral college which functions finally and openly in the presence of the House and Senate:

"The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President" (amendment 12).

A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Each political party in the several States may select its own presidential electors, who are morally bound, when elected, to vote for the presidential candidate of the party. This rule of conduct has been followed for over a hundreds years and has been accepted as the unwritten law of the land. The Supreme Court of Alabama, in the opinion of the justices, April 1, 1948 (34 So. (2d) 598), had this to say:

"No one elected at the general election as an elector could function unless he belonged to some political party which had held a national convention and had a nominee for that office."

While this may be dictum, it should be read in the light of amendment 12, which requires a successful Presidential candidate to receive "a majority of the whole number of electors appointed." It also sheds light on the meaning of amendment 12, which further asserts "and if no person have such majority" in the electoral college, then there would be no election by the electoral college. In that event, "then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President."

It thus appears amendment 12 contains a fundamental principle of American political science, which requires the President of the United States to be selected by a majority of electors in the electoral college. Amendment 12 likewise makes it clear that the electoral college only considers 3 Presidential candidates; 1 must receive a majority, while the others receive a minority, of the electoral votes. A failure in this defeats the purpose of the electoral college and throws the election of a President of the United States into the House of Representatives. In that event, the Representatives in Congress are required to vote for "persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President." It is evident, therefore, that only national political parties can in anywise respond to the requirements laid in amendment 12. When this is considered and understood, it is clear majority rule is the life blood of democracy.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

There are 531 electoral votes now in the electoral college. Since no candidate can be elected in the electoral college under amendment 12 with less than 266 electoral votes, it becomes clear that 266/265 is the symbol of majority rule guaranteed under amendment 12. Two hundred and sixty-six electoral votes represent the majority of the college. Two hundred and sixty-five electoral votes represent the minority of the college. If for any reason the majority of 266 electoral votes is reduced by a single electoral vote, there must exist three minorities in the college. In that event, the college fails to elect, and the Presidential election goes into the House of Representatives under amendment 12.

THE 12TH AMENDMENT

The electoral college was a part of the original Constitution adopted in 1789. In article II of that great document, it was provided that the elector voted for two candidates for President. The candidate receiving the highest vote (under majority rule) was named President. The second man receiving a majority vote was named Vice President. In the event no one was chosen, the election went into the House of Representatives where the five highest candidates on the ballot were considered. This method was changed in 1804 by the adoption of the 12th amendment which still stands unaltered.

THE LAMP OF EXPERIENCE

(a) The first election under the Constitution was a free-for-all. The highest man with a majority was the winner and the second highest became Vice President. There were several in the field against Washington, but he received more votes in the electoral college than all the rest in 1789 and in 1792. John Adams was Vice President 8 years under Washington.

(b) In 1796 Washington declined to run for a third term. There were several in the field. John Adams led, with Jefferson following, who became Vice President.

(c) In 1800 there were many candidates on the ticket. Jefferson tied with Burr. Each received 73 electoral votes. Adams was defeated. In the scramble in the House of Representatives, Jefferson was preferred as President, and Burr became his Vice President. This caused much friction during the term.

(d) In 1804 Burr became a candidate for Governor of the State of New York and was defeated. He was bitter against Hamilton and accused him of bringing about his defeat. This resulted in a duel between Hamilton and Burr. Hamilton was killed and Burr fled the country and was later tried for treason before Chief Justice Marshall, and was acquitted by a jury.

(e) All this brought about amendment 12, which was adopted in September 1804 while the presidential campaign was in progress. Jefferson was reelected that year.

(f) It, therefore, may be said that the wild scramble in the electoral college indirectly brought about the death of Hamilton and ultimately the destruction of Burr as a leader in American politics.

(g) Under amendment 12, the electoral college worked well until 1876. Hayes was the Republican candidate. Tilden was the Democratic candidate. Because of the unusual campaign, Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina were unable to cast a vote. The result was that no candidate had a majority in the electoral college and the matter went into the House. A resolution was passed appointing a commission of 15, composed of 7 Democrats and 7 Republicans. The 14 decided to get an independent and, therefore, selected Justice Bradley from the Supreme Court to become the 15th man. Bradley voted with the Republican group, making a decision of 8 to 7 in favor of giving the 3 States to the Republican Party. The result was Hayes received 185 electoral votes while Tilden received 184. The result divided the country in a bitter conflict and no doubt laid the groundwork for Grover Cleveland in 1884 when he came forward as the first Democrat to be elected after the War Between the States.

(h) In 1916 Woodrow Wilson ran for reelection. His opponent was Justice Hughes, who resigned from the Supreme Court to make the race on the Republican ticket. The election was so close that it was not known until Friday night following the Tuesday election who would be elected. For 3 days the electoral votes stood, Wilson 265, Hughes 254. California had 12 votes and was unable to report. During that period the whole matter was hanging in a balance. Had the 12 votes gone to Hughes, he would have received 266 electoral votes, and Wilson 265. Had a split system been permitted under the Constitution, Woodrow Wilson no doubt would have been unknown to international history.

The 12th amendment favors no political party. There can be only two possible results obtained in a presidential election on account of the 12th amendment.

First, a President may be elected by a majority vote in the electoral college. With one exception, this has been the result in each presidential election since 1860.

Second, failure to elect a President in the electoral college, it follows the election must be referred to the House of Representatives, where only three candidates may be considered regardless of the number of candidates on the ballot.

By this method the voice of each sovereign State is heard on the rollcall in the halls of Congress each 4 years, although some States may speak the voice of a plurality, thereby supplying proof that no system yet devised may be said to be perfect.

Government in America by political parties, at first doomed by some prophets to failure, has succeeded. It has succeeded, as historians point out, largely because of the development of a strong two-party system; a temporary majority party and an honorable opposition party. By means of the two-party system, extreme views, competing interests, social and economic, sectional and political, have been resolved, adjusted and composed. Thereby the process of government has been carried on, with one exception, without conflict—a unique thing in the history of government.

BEN F. RAY.

Tax Relief for Sick and Disabled Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced two bills—H. R. 8093 and H. R. 8092—which seek to provide a measure of tax relief for certain of our sick and disabled citizens. The first bill logically supplements existing provisions of the Internal Revenue Act that allow deduction of medical expenses. It would grant a tax deduction for money spent for the institutional care of a disabled or sick dependent who requires continuous personal attention. Under the pro-

visions of my bill, a person would qualify as "disabled" only if he is unable "to engage in any substantially gainful activity by reason of any determinable physical or mental impairment which can be expected to be of indefinite or long-continued duration." In everyday practice, Mr. Speaker, this would allow the cost of rest-home or similar treatment and care to be deducted, for tax purposes—just as hospital expenses are deductible under the present law.

The second bill offers a very limited and very meritorious segment of our society an important deduction. As you know, the Veterans' Administration may furnish who have lost the use of their legs because of service-connected injuries, specially designed vehicles to facilitate their rehabilitation. Often, a veteran finds his redesigned auto a means of livelihood which he would otherwise be without. By allowing these veterans the right to deduct the cost of replacing such vehicles, Congress would again manifest its intention to assist their rehabilitation in every way possible. Certainly, there can be no question that this relief is both necessary and humane—or that the need for encouraging these men to better and more useful lives continues to be of paramount interest to society.

It had been my hope that the 85th Congress might be able to enact a broad tax relief bill benefiting all our citizens. However, as the prospect for a general tax cut diminishes, I feel that it has become all the more imperative for us to pass the legislation I have introduced today. Indeed, these two bills would grant only the minimum relief so long awaited by these most deserving citizens.

CBS Reply on Khrushchev Interview

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 5, I listed a series of questions pertaining to the Khrushchev interview over the Columbia Broadcasting System on Sunday, June 2. My questions were addressed to Mr. Stuart Novins, who served as moderator for that program.

These questions subsequently came to the attention of Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, who rightfully feels that since it concerns policy decisions of his organization the questions should be answered by management. I agree with him in the matter. I was, therefore, glad to receive a reply from Dr. Stanton answering my questions one by one.

Despite all recent efforts and maneuverings for an open exchange of views and opinions between our country and the Soviet Union, I frankly do not believe that the Russian leaders will ever accord us the same right of permitting our leaders to talk freely to the Russian people as we have accorded them in talking freely to our people.

This situation then becomes a one-way deal, where the Russian leaders utilize our facilities to spread their brand of Communist propaganda on the American people, but they will not permit us to tell our story of freedom and the American way of life to the Russian people. Is this a free exchange? Is it in the best interests of the United States to allow our enemies into our own backyard or into our home so that they can shout into our ears that some day our children or grandchildren will live under communism?

This is not a question of freedom of the press or freedom of reporting. We must protect these freedoms, as all other freedoms with which we are blessed, and not let our enemies snatch them away from us. We are dealing with a shrewd adversary who will stop at nothing; hence, we must be careful not to fall into his trap.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the reply from Dr. Stanton, of CBS, and I call it to the attention of all my colleagues:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.,
New York, N. Y., June 6, 1957.

The Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ANFUSO: I have just seen your questions, as inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 5, concerning the Khrushchev interview of last Sunday. You have addressed these questions to Stuart Novins, the program's moderator. But the policy decisions which led to our successful effort in obtaining the interview were those of management. I think, therefore, that I, as president of CBS, ought to give you this prompt reply. Let me take up your questions, one by one.

Question. "With whom did you clear the interview?"

Answer. Our job as free American journalists is to seek out and report the news. We cleared the interview with nobody. Obviously, we had to secure the help of officials of the U. S. S. R. in Washington, D. C., in making arrangements for the interview.

Question. "Did you submit to the State Department, the USIA, or the CIA the questions you were going to ask Mr. Khrushchev?"

Answer. No questions were submitted to anyone in advance. The State Department was informed of our plans to obtain such an interview.

Question. "And did you have any idea before the interview as to what the answers to your questions would be?"

Answer. None. As Americans, of course, informed of the inflexible nature of the Communist Party line, we could guess the position that a Russian official would probably take on issues such as we raised.

Question. "Did you prepare certain other questions for Mr. Khrushchev but which he told you in advance of the interview that he would not answer?"

Answer. No questions were submitted in advance to Mr. Khrushchev or to anybody else associated with the Russian Government. We did tell him, through intermediaries, of broad areas into which questions might fall—as we publicly announced on May 30, 1957.

Let me quote our description of these areas exactly as they were given to the Russian authorities:

"Anything personal guest would care to tell about himself, bearing in mind the American public knows little of Russia's leaders and would like to know much more; recent economic, agricultural, and cultural developments in U. S. S. R.; present and future trends in Russian political thought; aims of communism, its ideology, and ideologists; relative political and economic position of U. S. S. R. and United States of America now and 10 years from now; views on war, United States military aims; relations with Central European neighbors; views on German problem, present, future; possibility of disarmament and peaceful relations; relations with People's Republic of China and Far East; views on recent Middle East developments."

You will note that these areas were so broadly described as to give the panelists complete freedom to ask any questions they chose.

Question. "What did you expect to accomplish by this interview?"

Answer. We wanted to do what had never been done before—to get Mr. Khrushchev in front of our cameras and microphones in an unrehearsed interview, so that the American people could hear, see, and judge for themselves the nature of communism and the Communist leadership.

Question. "Did you expect to get a confession from the leader of world communism that the Communist system is bad?"

Answer. Hardly.

Question. "Or that the American people, who are 99.9 percent opposed to communism should obtain a better understanding of it in order to help bring the two peoples closer together?"

Answer. Our sole purpose was to let the American people get a good hard look at Mr. Khrushchev as he answered questions that any good reporter would like to put to him.

Question. "What Government officials, if any, assisted you in the preparation of your questions?"

Answer. We asked no help from Government officials in framing the questions, and we got none. As you can well imagine, our staff did a great deal of research in this whole area so as to get the most out of the few minutes that we were to have Mr. Khrushchev in front of our cameras and microphones. In this research, many people were helpful—including officials of the United States Government and other free-world experts on the U. S. S. R.

Question. "What, if anything, do you think was accomplished by the interview?"

Answer. It would be most difficult for anybody to make any comprehensive appraisal of the long-term accomplishment of the interview. I must say that its immediate effect has been most gratifying if we can judge from the overwhelming approval by the press of this country.

For example, the New York Times called the interview a "salutary event" and said "millions of our people had a chance to see Mr. Khrushchev in action and to form a judgment of him and his words." The New York Journal-American congratulated CBS on the interview and concluded that "anything that adds to knowledge of the nature of communism and its leaders is to our advantage." Time, the weekly news magazine, called it "the season's most extraordinary hour of broadcasting," and said that the interview "gave the United States its only firsthand sustained view of what manner of man runs the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R." The Baltimore Sun stated: "Khrushchev's interview on Face the Nation was mutually beneficial. It brought to millions of Americans a better understanding of Russia, and it afforded Russia's No. 1 man a rather sharp taste of the methods of free reporting in a country in which opinion is not controlled. • • • For Americans the interview brought no new or startling revelations to those who guide American foreign policy, but it did give millions of TV viewers an authoritative statement of the Russian position—a state-

ment from the highest source but in simple, direct terms. Any good and accurate reporting of Russian affairs and Russian thinking is valuable for all of us since in a free country we all have a share of responsibility for the foreign policy our Government follows. And this was good and accurate reporting at its best.

Question. "Why was there no answer from some responsible United States spokesman immediately following the interview with Mr. Khrushchev to point out certain flaws and inconsistencies in his remarks?"

Answer. Our first objective was to get Mr. Khrushchev on the record so that the American people could size him up for themselves.

Two days later, on June 4, we wired the White House Press Secretary that we would be most happy to make available our facilities to broadcast any comments the President might care to make on the Khrushchev interview. We made it clear that any such broadcast would be available simultaneously to all other radio and television networks.

Furthermore, in response to continued public interest in what happened last Sunday, CBS radio and CBS television will broadcast on Sunday, June 9 (3 to 4 p. m., e. d. t. on the television network, 10:05 to 11 p. m., e. d. t. on the radio network) an analysis of the Khrushchev interview. This program, Comment on Khrushchev, will consist of excerpts from the filmed interview analyzed by the following experts: George Meany, president, AFL-CIO; Dr. Philip E. Mosely, director of studies, Council on Foreign Relations; Harrison Salisbury, New York Times correspondent, formerly bureau chief in Moscow.

Question. "Do you believe that you could get Mr. Khrushchev to allow an American Government official—and I for one would be willing to undertake such a task—to be interviewed by Russian newspapermen under similar conditions and then have the interview broadcast over the air behind the Iron Curtain so that the people of Russia and the satellite countries could listen, too?"

Answer. It would be beyond our province to attempt any such arrangement with Mr. Khrushchev or the Russian Government. We are reporters, not Government diplomats.

Question. "Mr. Khrushchev said that the Russian Government had the right to jam or interfere with the radio broadcasts beamed to Russia because of the great love of music which the Russian people are supposed to have. How could they tell in advance that what we had to say would not be music to their ears unless they first heard it? In other words, why shouldn't they give us the same right we accord them of saying what we please, even though they may or may not agree with us?"

Answer. We certainly agree with you that they should do just that, but your question ought to be addressed to Mr. Khrushchev.

Question. "Finally, Mr. Novins, what I have said here is not intended as criticism of you and of the Columbia Broadcasting System. You have followed true and basic American principles that we are ready and willing at all times to listen to the opinion of others. Who was it that said, 'I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.' The question I would like to have you answer is this: Will the Soviet officials permit our citizens the same right to express their opinion to the Russian people?"

Answer. Your guess is as good as ours as to whether the U. S. S. R. officials will permit our citizens to express their opinion to the Russian people. From what we know of communism and Communist leaders, we think it extremely unlikely. We agree with the editorial comment of the New York Times that the broadcast of the Khrushchev interview "epitomizes the differences between a free country and a totalitarian country."

We believe that the people of America, if properly informed, are entirely capable of judging and deciding for themselves, and that it is a gross disservice to all of us to withhold or suppress evidence that can in any way help us all to arrive at the truth. It was in this belief that we labored so long and so hard—and in the end successfully—to get this face-to-face interview.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK STANTON,
President.

Water Resources in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present herewith the welcoming address of Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia, to the 44th annual national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, held in Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957. This is a most interesting address and is as follows:

ADDRESS OF WELCOME, NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, MAY 17, 1957, BY BRIG. GEN. THOMAS A. LANE, ENGINEER COMMISSIONER, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Congressman BROOKS, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, each year you come from all over the country to this annual meeting of the congress to renew your support of the great projects in which we are engaged for the preservation and enhancement of our magnificent physical heritage. You come also to renew old associations with kindred spirits who have so long devoted themselves to these vital programs. It is my great pleasure in behalf of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to welcome you to your National Capital and to extend to you our sincere wishes that your labors may be fruitful and your reunion may be joyous.

We who live in the District of Columbia share your deep concern about the programs for the development of our rivers and harbors, for the preservation and best use of the priceless water resources which they represent. We live on the banks of one of the great rivers of this country. In the past it has brought the commerce of the world to our door. It has provided our essential water supply. It has carried away the sewage wastes of our population. It has provided recreation for ourselves and our neighbors.

Today times are changing. The tremendous growth of the population of this metropolitan area has caused serious pollution of the river before adequate provision could be made to handle the population wastes. Today new plants which will correct these conditions are under construction in the District of Columbia and in neighboring communities. These projects are being prosecuted vigorously and at great cost to the taxpayers of these communities.

The port of Alexandria across the river was a leading port of the country in the early 19th century. Then it declined. Today, our neighbors are alerted to the potential of water transportation for this growing metropolitan area, and are making plans for exploitation of their very favorable position on the banks of the Potomac.

Along the Anacostia River, which used to be called the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, we have had some significant progress in the past year. A flood-control project has opened the river for some small boats up to Bladensburg, Md., while at the same time providing protection against the annual flooding in the Peace Cross area in northeast Washington and Maryland.

The projected population of the metropolitan area promises a crisis in the field of water supply in the not-too-distant future. Preliminary studies indicate that storage must be provided in the Potomac River in order to insure adequate municipal water supply for the metropolitan area in the years ahead. Recognizing this prospect, our citizens have petitioned Congress to provide to the Corps of Engineers the funds required for a review study of the comprehensive report on the Potomac River Basin. It is a matter of the most vital concern to us that these funds be appropriated this year. The time for action is now all too short.

I mention these local projects only to show you how deeply we, too, are involved in the problems which are the concern of this Congress. We appreciate your problems, and we extend to you our deep interest in your program. We count upon your assistance and support for these problems which beset the National Capital, and we say especially it is good to have all of you assembled once again in Washington. A most hearty welcome to you all.

Resolutions Adopted by the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under authority granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to submit the report of the resolutions committee which was unanimously adopted by the 44th convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington, D. C., recently.

The resolutions committee, of which I had the honor and pleasure of serving as chairman for the second time, consisted of one delegate from each State, Territory, island possession, and the District of Columbia. The members gave careful and painstaking consideration to the matters before them, made many constructive suggestions, proposed numerous changes in the draft of the resolutions presented to them, and reached agreement thereon.

The convention was attended by 446 registered delegates from 47 States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and Guam, in addition to several hundred who failed to register, guests, visitors, representatives of the press, and so forth. Louisiana again sent the largest delegation, 38, being the home State of our president; Texas was next with 32; while Michigan was third with 25.

These delegates were from all sections of the country, representing both legisla-

tive and executive branches of the Federal Government; State, city, county, and other local governmental agencies and interested groups; commercial, waterway, flood control, and reclamation associations; agricultural, labor, industrial, and trade organizations, and transportation interests; with memberships totaling several million.

We believe this unanimous expression of representatives of such different interests and pursuits is strong evidence of the general sentiment of the people of the United States concerning the matters dealt with in these resolutions:

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE TO THE 44TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, MAY 18, 1957

FOREWORD

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress this year is celebrating completion of its first half century of meetings in the National Capital. These meetings have afforded the opportunity for the membership to carry forward a program of assistance to the development of our national resources. We intend to continue these meetings from year to year so long as they are of benefit to such development. Quasi-official in nature, it includes in its membership leaders in Federal, State, and local affairs who are cognizant of the need for the conservation of our resources; the need for the control of floods in our river valleys; and the navigation needs of our Nation.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGES

In his state-of-the-Union message the President of the United States pointed out the necessity for treating each of our rivers valleys as a whole. Piecemeal operations, he says, within each lesser drainage area can be self-defeating or, at the very least, needlessly expensive. Moreover, he points out that the domestic and industrial demands for water grow far more rapidly than does our population. His message is encouraging in that he finds that our natural resources are being conserved and improved more effectively. He lets it be known, however, that State and local entities, and private enterprise should be encouraged to participate in these projects. We agree that it should be a cooperative undertaking—Federal, State and local. This cooperative endeavor is expressed again in the President's Budget message. Here again we cannot disagree with the principals expressed.

These messages are encouraging and there is no denial that the interest expressed therein for the continued development of our natural resources behooves us all to lend a helping hand. The backlog of such projects is mounting year by year, but with a concerted effort by all we can keep pace with the mounting demands to the end that the proper development thereof will not be deterred.

MAINTENANCE OF WATERWAYS

This Congress has always been of the opinion that a waterway for transportation of vital commerce is no better than the annual maintenance afforded it. Quite often it seems that the cart gets before the horse. If traffic doesn't move on the waterway, maintenance is not warranted. If maintenance is not done, traffic can't move. We believe that maintenance programs should be carried out on all waterways if there is a reasonable prospect of use. We know that waterway users are cognizant of a large backlog of maintenance. We know too that Congress is cognizant of that backlog and has done something about it. We hope that attitude will continue to the end that commerce will not be delayed.

WATER SURVEY

We are impressed by the foresight expressed by a former Chief of Engineers and given impetus by the present Chief of Engineers with reference to the need for early studies to determine the nature and extent of our water supply problems.

We concur in their views that a full-scale study of these matters, utilizing the best talents of Federal, State, and local agencies are of primary importance to the future strength and development of our country. The time is past for a piecemeal approach to the problem. We believe H. R. 4783 introduced in the 85th Congress is a step in the right direction toward a solution. This legislation, if approved, would authorize the Chief of Engineers to survey areas of water supply shortages and to prepare reports and recommendations thereon with a view to the alleviation of shortages and to assure continued development of the Nation. We urge the passage of this legislation by the Federal Congress.

RECREATION BENEFITS

In the development of our natural resources the values accruing from recreation have not been overlooked. Millions of our citizens have found a new haven of recreation at the numerous reservoirs throughout the land for flood control, navigation, and related purposes. Heretofore this asset has not been evaluated formally as a benefit accruing to such projects. Pending legislation—Senate bill 1164 in particular—recognizes these assets and proposes that they be made an integral part of project planning. This proposal, if approved, would definitely permit the inclusion of such benefits along with other benefits and such inclusion would not contravene the major purposes of a project. We submit that this proposal is an ideal one and hope that the Congress of the United States enact it and that the President approve it.

TOLLS ON WATERWAYS

We reaffirm our longstanding opposition to the imposition of tolls on waterways. Such imposition of tolls is contrary to and incompatible with the historic free use of waterways for the flow of the Nation's commerce. Tolls imposed on waterways will spell the death knell to many small operators and cripple some of the larger ones. At best they would be an experiment and undoubtedly result in the deterioration of a valuable asset of the Nation. We can ill afford to gamble on the outcome.

RESEARCH IN WATER DEVELOPMENT

The pressure of a sharply rising population injects a growing element of urgency in the development of an adequate water supply. As demands upon the conventional sources of water become greater, the necessity of developing alternative sources of supply through scientific processes becomes more apparent.

Therefore it is urged that the various agencies of the Government intensify their research and engineering on saline water conversion, weather control, and like matters.

PANAMA CANAL

It is the sense of this Congress that consideration be given to the construction of a sea-level Panama Canal.

NAVIGATION REVIEW STUDIES

The United States Congress authorizes from time to time the United States Corps of Engineers to undertake reviews of navigation projects to determine the need for modifications or alterations in the channel dimensions or specifications to accommodate commerce. At the present time there are 356 such review studies that have been authorized by Congress, which have not been completed.

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress considers that the estimated review study backlog of $4,300,000, requires a level of appropriations that will permit a reasonably expeditious accomplishment of the review study program. This level should be the same as provided for in 1956 to wit: $1 million, to allow for approximately one-fourth of the total program to be accomplished within the next year. Further, a "feast or famine" system of appropriations does not lend itself to the establishment of an orderly program for carrying out the review studies that have been authorized by Congress. In order to build up an adequate staff of competent economists and engineers to carry out these studies and to develop an efficient program, it is necessary for the United States Army Corps of Engineers to have a constant level of appropriations.

We therefore urge the United States Congress to adopt a policy of providing a constant level of appropriations to carry out the review studies with adequate annual funds. We feel that this is a business-like way of approaching this problem and will result in economies and greater effectiveness in performing the job.

BENEFICIAL CONSUMPTIVE USE

The realization of full benefits from any multiple purpose river basin development program depends upon the equitable distribution of those benefits to all citizens within the basin.

The equitable distribution of those benefits requires that such projects be used for flood control, water supply, navigation, irrigation, fish and wildlife, recreation, and incidental hydroelectric power.

We recognize the foregoing uses of water resource projects, including the concept contained in the O'Mahoney, Millikin amendment to the Flood Control Act of 1944 (Public Law 534) which recognizes certain beneficial consumptive uses of waters arising in States wholly or partly west of the 98th principal meridian.

ENGINEER SHORTAGE

One of the factors causing delay of starts of authorized, feasible, and needed projects, and eventually the construction of those projects, is the fact that the Nation as a whole has a very serious shortage of trained engineers. To alleviate this situation, presently and in the future:

1. That consideration be given by Congress to suspend the "30 plus 5" law during the emergency to permit the retention within the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, of officers qualified for civil functions work or retained on a civilian basis;

2. Where neither civilian nor military engineers are available on water resources projects within the Corps of Engineers, that the Corps of Engineers be encouraged to continue with and further utilize to the maximum, engineering service of private engineers on a contractual basis; and

3. That in order that the planning and implementation of projects may be handled more expeditiously and efficiently, it is recommended that the Corps of Engineers be able, by compensation and working conditions, to successfully compete in the market for engineers and scientifically trained employees.

MAINTENANCE OF SMALL-BOAT HARBORS

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress has pleaded for many years for additional appropriations for maintenance of our harbors and waterways. It believes that our commercial harbors and waterways are vital to the economy of the country and should be properly maintained. However, the maintenance of harbors for small boats is often overlooked and this essential part of the navigation program has been neglected. Many of the small harbors along the rivers

of the United States and along the Atlantic, gulf, and Pacific coasts have shoaled to a point where they are no longer adequate for the traffic they serve. This traffic consists not only of recreational boats but of small commercial boats such as fishing craft. The Congress believes that these should not be allowed to fall into disrepair any more than the secondary road system should be allowed to deteriorate, and it feels that the maintenance of small-boat harbors bears the same relation to the maintenance of the larger commercial ports and waterways as does the secondary road system to the main highway network.

HURRICANE PROTECTION

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress last year pointed out its interest in the problem of observation and possible control of hurricanes. It notes that the Corps of Engineers has been carrying on a comprehensive study of hurricanes on the east coast with a view to developing works for protection and other measures which would assist in the prevention of damage. The first reports of the Corps of Engineers have recently been completed, recommending projects in the Narragansett Bay area. The works are novel in nature, in that they would control the flow of water from hurricanes and storms at the mouth of Narragansett Bay. The National Rivers and Harbors Congress believes that in view of the fact that this represents the first step in what might be a new field of protection against the elements, every effort should be made to expedite consideration of the report by the executive agencies and by the Congress of the United States.

THE RIVER AND HARBOR AND FLOOD CONTROL ACTS OF 1957

The pending river and harbor and flood-control bill (S. 497) is justifiably important legislation. Many worthy projects are proposed which have received the endorsement of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. Of great importance is the fact that the legislation carries monetary increases for a number of basin plans which are approaching the limit of current authorizations. Should these basins not be given an increase it may well be that they will suffer a set back in construction progress.

Of great importance too is that section of the bill relating to water supply. Section 205 if approved should permit the development of a greatly needed asset in a manner which would not be a financial burden on many communities which do not now enjoy a plentiful water supply. In addition, this section would make storage available without reimbursement to increase low flows downstream. Recent events indicate the value of such low flow regulation. The National Rivers and Harbors Congress urges the Federal Congress to adopt the principles expressed in S. 497 by enactment of that legislation or by specific legislation to accomplish the same ends.

DELAYED PROJECTS

This Congress notes with great concern the increasing backlog of water resources projects which have been started but never completed because of insufficient appropriations. In spite of the tremendous amount of money which has been invested in these incompleted projects, they are presently not giving any return or any benefit whatsoever toward the development of our Nation.

Without questioning the necessity of providing money for water resources projects throughout the world, we feel that it is high time that first considerations should be given in spending the taxpayers' money on water resources projects in our own country. Completion of the projects already started will mean capital improvements which will materially add to the economy of the Nation.

These projects have been determined by proper agencies to be sound, needful, economically beneficial and justifiable; therefore, we recommend that they immediately be reactivated; appropriations made; and the projects brought to speedy completion. The moneys invested in these projects are thus not lost and the project areas as well as the Nation will begin to receive the benefits of the completed projects.

DEPTH OF NAVIGABLE CHANNELS

During the past 10 years there has been added to the merchant marine fleets many cargo vessels and tankers whose tonnage and draft exceed the channel depth of many important ports of the United States and the trend is toward even larger vessels.

During the recent Suez Canal crisis it was demonstrated that it was in the interest of national security and defense that our ports be provided with deeper channels.

The standardized depth of 34 feet for channels of deep-sea ports has now become obsolete.

The current harbor improvement program of the United States Army engineers should be reappraised in the light of this significant shipping development. It is obvious that harbor improvement estimates made for 18,000-ton vessels and considered adequate at the time, must be expanded and revised upward in anticipation of the supersized fleets of the 1960's and beyond.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

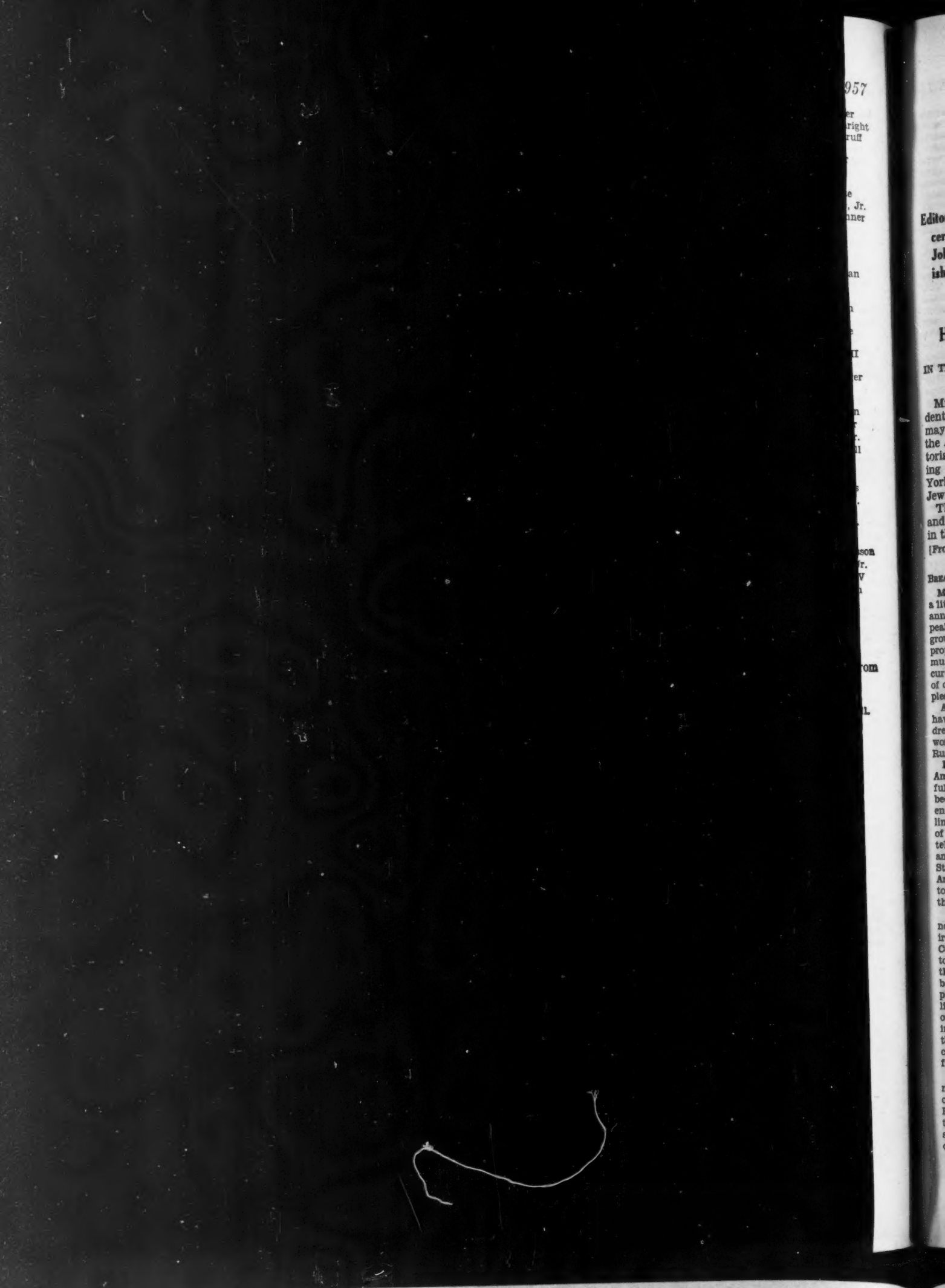

Appendix

Editorial and Newspaper Comment Concerning Address by Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, Before United Jewish Appeal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have the privilege of inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD certain editorial and newspaper comment concerning a speech which I delivered in New York on Saturday last before the United Jewish Appeal.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City Times of June 10, 1957]

BREAK THE IRON CURTAIN AND LET IDEAS FLOW

Maybe Senator LYNDON JOHNSON sounded a little idealistic in his New York talk to the annual conference of the United Jewish Appeal Saturday night. But it was idealism grounded in the common sense of a basic proposition: Our search for eventual peace must start with a policy calling for an "open curtain," a policy not only of "open skies but of open eyes, ears, and minds for all the peoples of the world."

A few years ago such a proposition might have been so much a part of the American dream that it would hardly have seemed worth restating. That was when Stalin's Russia had a monopoly on the Iron Curtain.

Plainly, Senator JOHNSON was talking to Americans who have themselves become fearful of a free exchange of ideas, a fear of becoming contaminated at least or influenced by the sinister con man of the Kremlin. One example is the substantial criticism of the Khrushchev TV interview for general telecasting in this country. Another example, not mentioned by Johnson, is the State Department's opposition to letting American reporters go to Red China. This, too, reflects a rather widespread feeling in this country.

Strangely, many Americans, but certainly not a majority, have become dependent on iron and bamboo curtains raised by their Communist enemies. The issue boils down to a question of trust in the good sense of the American people. Senator JOHNSON bases his approach on confidence in the people. He says, "I am not afraid to have them listen to Nikita Khrushchev or Karl Marx or Nicolai Lenin himself. They have the intelligence and independence to make up their own minds." To support this view he cites his own Democratic Party's heritage from the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson.

Starting with such confidence the Senate's majority leader calls for every effort in an all-out exchange of ideas or arguments. Let the President or some other high official ask for the right to a telecast in Russia. Let Russian labor leaders speak in this country on condition that American labor leaders speak to their people. And so, he hopes, the exchanges might continue until there would be no curtain to stop the flow of ideas which are the basic approach to any relaxing of world tensions.

If you share the confidence in American good sense you do not become alarmed by the fact that the Russians would sling a lot of propaganda in this country. This would simply require informed Americans to stand ready to expose Russian lies, to make sure that our public was fully informed. And the American people have had a long experience with separating truth from fancy in the speeches of some of their own politicians.

Frankly, we would be surprised if the Russians would have enough confidence in their system to permit a real flow of free world ideas into their country. They have to face a long record of failing to make communism stand up by any means except force of arms.

But JOHNSON was talking about a sound American, not a Russian, approach. If the Russians would not go along they would have to take the onus for continuing the Iron Curtain. As for the idealism in this approach we only suggest that it will be a sad day for America if it ever loses its native idealism in the search for eventual world peace.

[From the Manchester (England) Guardian of June 10, 1957]

UNITED STATES-RUSSIAN TV EXCHANGES—SENATOR JOHNSON CALLS FOR AN "OPEN CURTAIN"

(From Max Freedman)

WASHINGTON, June 9.—Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, the Democratic leader in the Senate, has described a first-step arms agreement as "the hope of all mankind," and has called for sustained American leadership in seeking an end to the current arms race with Russia with its threat of nuclear war.

At the same time he proposed that the United States and Russia should present their ideas on each other's television and radio networks once a week.

"I am calling for an open curtain," he said, "for full discussion of the immediate urgent problems facing our people. We should insist on the right to state our case on disarmament in detail to the Soviet people. We should have weekly appearances during this year on Soviet radio and television and we should offer similar facilities here. I am not talking of merely one reply to Khruschev by the President or some other official."

President Eisenhower told his news conference last week that "somebody in the Government," but not himself, would be glad to answer Mr. Khrushchev if the Russians would give full publicity to the American reply without jamming it in any way or interfering with it.

FIVE-POINT PLAN

Senator JOHNSON said the development of nuclear weapons and the forthcoming intercontinental ballistic missile had brought humanity a great deal closer to self-destruction than it was 10 years ago. The challenge of disarmament meant that action can and must be taken this year. The United States must initiate action on these objectives:

1. Controlled reduction of military forces by all countries.

2. A start on a mutual open skies foolproof inspection system.

3. A frank and open search for a method of suspending tests of the bigger nuclear weapons, under airtight conditions which would give full protection against violations.

4. A reduction of everyone's stockpile of nuclear weapons and means for delivery under copper-riveted methods of mutual inspection.

5. The key to ultimate hope: a worldwide agreement backed by absolute safeguards—that no nation will make any new fissionable materials for weapon purposes.

Mr. Chalmers Roberts, diplomatic correspondent of the Washington Post, points out that points 1, 2, and 5 of the Johnson program are known to be part of the Eisenhower program, and point 4 has been reported to be a part of the plan, though without public confirmation. The Senator's third point—a search for a way to suspend nuclear tests—was in line with his recently expressed alarm over the fallout problem. The administration has considered the idea of suspending the tests, though President Eisenhower last week linked abolition of tests with an all-out disarmament agreement, something which both American and Russian officials have presently given up even trying to negotiate.

[From the London Telegraph and Post of June 10, 1957]

OPEN CURTAIN RADIO TALKS IN UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA—SENATOR'S PLEA

NEW YORK.—Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Democrat, Texas, suggested in a speech in New York last night that there ought to be an open curtain through which American leaders could state their political case to the Russians by radio and television. Russian leaders should enjoy reciprocal facilities.

The Senator had no fear that Americans would be influenced by Communist propaganda. He thought that when the Russian people knew the facts they would insist that an arms race, nuclear explosions, and intercontinental missiles should be banished.

He favored the idea of giving Soviet leaders television facilities in America every week of the year provided that in return American spokesmen were given similar opportunities to speak uncensored to all Russian peoples.

LABOR CHIEF DECLINES

Mr. George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, withdrew from comments on Khrushchev television program today. He said he considered that the program would give further propaganda advantage to the Soviet leader.

The program involved a forum discussion of last Sunday's television statements by Mr. Khrushchev. Each of the participants was asked to select portions of Mr. Khrushchev's replies and base his comments on these statements. During the program the selected portions of the Soviet leader's remarks were rebroadcast.

[From the Houston Post of June 12, 1957]

SENATORS' PROPOSALS SHOULD HAVE GOOD EFFECT ON WORLD OPINION

Steps toward patching up the cold war, proposed by the Republican and Democratic leaders in the Senate, would be fine if Soviet Russia would accept them. So remote is that possibility, that the chief hope of results from the proposals lies in their publicity

effect, which will increase the moral pressure on Russia for disarmament.

Both Senators WILLIAM KNOWLAND and LYNDON JOHNSON got the ideas for their suggestions from Soviet Boss Khrushchev's recent filmed interview, broadcast in the United States. Khrushchev suggested as a first step toward disarmament that Russia withdraw the Red troops from the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, and the United States pull its forces out of Western Europe. Senator KNOWLAND'S counter-proposal is that the Soviets take their troops out of Hungary, and in return the United States would agree that Norway become a member of the Baltic bloc of neutral nations.

Well, this plan would not be as one-sided in favor of the West as Khrushchev's proposal to pull the Red Army across the satellite borders while we pull ours across the Atlantic. But the Kremlin's answer to KNOWLAND, if it makes any answer, is obvious: "We suggested a mutual withdrawal of troops; you suggest that Russian troops be withdrawn while the American troops remain."

Senator JOHNSON'S proposal that the United States and Soviet Russia present their ideas on each other's television and radio networks once a week is good western publicity. It puts the Soviets on the spot; we gave them a full hearing; now how about a fair exchange, regularly?

Even while Khrushchev was spouting his sweet talk for the American TV audience, the Russians no doubt were jamming American radio information broadcasts beamed to Russia. And they undoubtedly will continue to do so.

In order to accept Senator JOHNSON'S suggestion, they would have to reverse the basic Iron Curtain policy of insulating the Russian people against the truth from outside. This policy is deemed necessary to keep the people from disbelieving Soviet lies and becoming too discontented with their hard lot. Nevertheless, the Senators' proposals should have a good effect on world opinion.

[From the Winston-Salem Journal of June 13, 1957]

AN OPEN ELECTRONIC CURTAIN

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON'S proposal that the people of the United States and Russia speak to each other regularly by radio and television deserves the serious consideration it's beginning to get.

According to his plan, the United States and Russia would agree to an open curtain. Spokesmen for the United States would be given use of Sovietwide, uncensored radio and television facilities to state our case for disarmament directly to the Russian people. By the same token, the Russians would be given equal time and opportunity to state their case to the American people.

Such a plan would, of course, subject the American people to some stout doses of Communist propaganda. We would, in effect, be handing Khrushchev and company a platform on a silver platter. And there may be some who would fear that such propaganda might work its wiles on American listeners.

But the Russian leaders certainly would have the same fears—more of them, in fact, since the Soviets traditionally take a dim view of freedom of speech. They'd have reason to be apprehensive over the capitalistic influence our spokesmen might have on the erstwhile protected average Russian.

That, however, would be the risk the opposing ideologies would have to take. Senator JOHNSON'S plan undoubtedly would open up a battle of ideas. But it might be said that if either communism or capitalism is worth its salt, its leaders should be wholly confident that it would not be torn down by the words of the other. And it might be said further that in this very battle of ideas there might be prevented some future battle of bombs.

Communication has long been considered one of the keys to understanding. When you can see and hear another person and let him see and hear you, the chance of understanding each other becomes immeasurably greater. That has already been proved among the nations of the world. Certainly, our athletes, musicians and entertainers who have made goodwill visits to other countries have accomplished their missions—and vice versa. So has the free exchange of tourists.

Senator JOHNSON'S plan for the people of the United States and Russia to talk to each other by radio and television would but multiply by millions of times these personal contacts. For radio and television are the next best thing to face-to-face encounter. Electronics, if properly used, could bring the populations of the two parts of a divided world into contact with each other. And brought together, they just might reach the sort of understanding that has not come through diplomatic note and conference table. It's worth a try anyway.

Address by Hon. Carl T. Curtis, of Nebraska, to the National Association of Manufacturers

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] at a luncheon meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, at Detroit, Mich., on June 12, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT INVESTIGATION REMARKS OF SENATOR CARL T. CURTIS AT NOON LUNCHEON, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, AT DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 12, 1957

When the Senate of the United States created the Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Field of Labor and Management they gave to that committee a broad, important, and direct mandate that calls for an extensive investigation in the entire field. The resolution which created that committee carried the following language: "To conduct an investigation and study of the extent to which criminal or other improper practices or activities are, or have been engaged in in the field of labor-management relations or in groups or organizations of employees or employers to the detriment of the interests of the public, employers, or employees."

That committee has made an excellent start. As a Senator who has just recently become a member of the committee, and who was not in on its early deliberations, I can, with propriety, praise the work that has been done. Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, is an able, fair, and fearless chairman. He is deserving of the support of all. The entire committee is serving with diligence and loyalty.

I urge patience for the task is difficult and complex. Weeks and months of tedious effort on the part of the committee staff are essential to a complete and fair presentation of evidence in public sessions.

The committee began with an investigation of the misuse of the funds belonging to the union members. It has been revealed that the rank and file of the union members are without power to correct the financial problems that exist in their union. They apparently do not even have access to information concerning all the transactions. I shall not take time to reiterate all the evidence taken by the committee. The misuse of funds is not the only evil and perhaps not the greatest.

It appears that this committee will have a lot of work to do. Reports of violence such as beatings, fires, dynamiting and shootings have come in from many of our major cities. Only last week, a small-business man in the city of New York, who operates a bakery, testified under oath concerning the threats that were made to his supplier of eggs. The farmer reported that certain unknown individuals crossed the State line from New York to Pennsylvania and informed him that if he sold any more eggs to that bakery they would burn his farm. Likewise, the committee received testimony of the beating of a 14-year-old boy in Los Angeles by two thugs, one of them using a blackjack. The union boss brazenly stated in his testimony that he heard about the beating, that he did nothing toward investigating it, that the beating was a problem for the police. It is hard to believe that here in our America a man in a position of such power and responsibility as that union boss would express this callous attitude toward children.

Among reports of shootings reaching our committee is one case where the victim was a mere baby. Other reports indicate that a goon was transported across a State line to engage in a beating that resulted in death and the accused has not been returned to be brought to trial. Speaking for myself only, I cannot see how our responsibility to the Senate of the United States and to the public can be fulfilled unless we make a thorough investigation of such violence. Violence begets violence and both sides should be investigated.

When the Taft-Hartley law was passed the Congress made it unlawful to apply pressure against employees of a third concern who was not party to an industrial dispute. Time and experience have proved that we did not make the law broad enough. Today there is a practice carried on in all parts of the country of applying pressure on neutral employers. This is known as the secondary boycott.

I want to tell you about a small business located in a county seat town of about 2,500 people in my home State of Nebraska. The Coffey Transfer Co. had been in business for 26 years and it employed 27 drivers. On August 25, 1955, the transfer company received a demand that they compel their 27 drivers to join the teamsters union. The drivers didn't want to join. I will not take time to enumerate the legal moves and the red tape that followed. It took 5 months to hold an election of 27 drivers. When the election was held, the teamsters union did not receive the vote of a single driver.

However, in the meantime, a secondary boycott was applied to the Coffey Transfer. Other carriers were prevented from turning over freight to Coffey. Without freight to haul no business could be transacted. As a result, 1 month before the teamsters lost their election, Coffey Transfer went out of business. Twenty-seven drivers had to look for employment elsewhere.

I could recite a long list of Nebraska cases that I personally know about. I want to mention a few reports of secondary boycotts that have come to me from other places.

In New York City a new weekly newspaper, the New York Sunday Graphic, was boycotted out of business before it could get out of the press room. Why? Because the editor

did not obtain advance permission from a circulation union that he could go into business.

Also in New York, folks who owned Royal typewriters were picketed if they attempted to have the typewriters repaired while the union at the Royal Co. was on strike against the firm.

In Akron, Ohio, the Burt Manufacturing Co., has a certified union, men who are members of the AFL–CIO Steelworkers. But the AFL–CIO Sheet Metal Workers refuse to install Burt ventilators because they do not make the ventilators. Architects, contractors and subcontractors are notified that if they use Burt products there will be trouble on the job site.

The Benjamin Electric Company of Des Plaines, Ill., reports that although 80 percent of its employees are union members, their products cannot be sold in St. Louis and several other cities because the company refuses to apply the union's label to their product. The company's merchandise is kept off the market by a threat of a secondary boycott.

In St. Louis, Swift & Co.'s products were kept from meat market counters because of a secondary boycott by the meat-cutter's union. The union insisted that Swift salesmen join it.

In Newcastle County, Del., the construction of an airport was held up nearly 5 months because the county gave the electrical work to the lowest bidding contractor. It happened his employees chose to remain outside of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

As one member of the select committee, I shall urge that an investigation be made of secondary boycotts. I cannot see how we can carry out the instructions that have been given to us without so doing.

About a half century ago, the Congress made it unlawful for corporations to make political contributions. The debates of that time reveal that one of the motivating reasons for such legislation was the protection of the rights of stockholders. It was determined that a stockholder of a corporation should not have his money used by its officers to support candidates and issues in which he did not believe. There was, of course, the additional factor of the power of the corporations and the misuse of that power. Today, 50 years later, we find the need for making effective the prohibition of the use by union leaders of the money belonging to the rank and file of the workers to support candidates and issues in which many of those workers do not believe. Likewise, there is also the factor of the misuse of such power and influence.

The political activities of unions is not a partisan question. It is a concern to both the Democrat and Republican Parties. The basic freedom of the workers it at stake. When the Congress authorized compulsory unionism, it was never intended that that should carry with it compulsory party membership. There is evidence on every hand, not only of the spending of tremendous sums of money belonging to the workers, but of the use of manpower in both primaries and general elections. These practices ought to be looked into. Let the facts speak for themselves. If there are no improper practices that fact should be determined. The responsibility of the select committee cannot be met unless we do investigate these political activities including not only money contributions and the use of manpower, but the question of whether or not intimidation and violence has been used in seizing political power. We owe it to the workers of the country to study these charges and to let the public have the facts.

It is too early to suggest what remedies ought to be applied or what laws ought to be enacted. We need to examine and reexamine the basic causes of whatever improper practices are shown to exist. It may well be that long and complicated laws are not the answer—the answer may be found in some simple and direct changes in the law.

We must never lose faith in the integrity and fairness of the rank and file of all people. When the facts are fairly and completely presented a proper solution will be reached. The basic freedoms of the individual workers must be preserved. The rights of the worker to know what is going on in his union, to be able to control the finances of his union, and to make the officers of the union the servants of the members and not their masters, are basic American rights. The question should be asked, "Should a worker be compelled to lose his job if he withdraws from the union as a protest to thievery and mismanagement of his funds, or to protest acts of violence, or to protest the use of his money by the union leaders to defeat his own political convictions?"

All sides and all parties must be treated alike. Neither side is entitled to special immunities. One of the basic cornerstones of our prized American system is equal treatment under law. Within such a framework we can and will find the just and fair answers to the problems that we face in the field of labor and management.

Who Benefits From Capitalism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Who Benefits From Capitalism? from the New York Herald Tribune of June 4, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO BENEFITS FROM CAPITALISM?

In his television interview last Sunday, Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist party in the Soviet Union, said, "We look upon the capitalist society as slavery, and we think that the peoples living under a capitalist system are living under capitalist slavery." This is derived, of course, from the system which Karl Marx inculcated in Das Kapital, published in 1867. But this year is 1957, some 90 years later. What has occurred in the meantime?

In the Soviet Union, as a result of the Communist revolution, the people theoretically own everything—the factories, the farms, the stores, the means of communication, and these are used, again theoretically, for the good of the entire citizenry. But do the people derive any benefits from this ownership other than a shortage of consumer goods, increased taxation or forced subscriptions to government bond issues, a shortage of housing, and a surplus of bureaucratic administrators? Certainly they do not gain anything from their collective ownership either in terms of profits or in terms of products which they can buy. Everything goes into heavy industry and armaments.

In the United States, in the meanwhile, a panel of business and labor leaders has concluded that our system of the people's capitalism has come closest to the avowed Socialist goal of providing abundance for a classless society. The panelists, who met at Yale University last November, decided that the people's capitalism has flourished here because the people, by the use of their money, have a decisive influence upon what is to be produced. But another equally important point is that the workers themselves, in many cases, share in the ownership of the factories in which they work and thus, through dividends, share in the profits, something which has yet to happen in the U. S. S. R.

For example, of the 27,000 employees of the Esso Standard Oil Co., more than 20,000 are stockholders in the parent company, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey). The average holding is 95 shares with an annual dividend return of $200. Unlike the Soviet workers, they make a profit on what they produce and have no trouble buying gasoline for their automobiles. The same is true of many other large corporations which encourage stock purchases by their employees. If they share in the profits earned by their labor, if this system permits them to purchase easily not only the necessities but also additional luxuries, can it be called slavery? Certainly not in comparison with the so-called Socialist system of Soviet Russia, with its low real wages, its shortage of goods, its long working hours. No wonder we do not understand what Mr. Khrushchev calls the progressive nature of the Socialist society.

The Declining Strength of Socialism in the Modern World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Roscoe Drummond, the distinguished journalist and commentator, sums up this morning the declining strength of socialism in the modern world,.

With his customary care and precision, he traces the factors which have led to increasing disillusionment with collectivist philosophies. He concludes that whatever it may be "socialism is not the wave of the future."

I ask unanimous consent that his column, carried in the New York Herald Tribune, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 14, 1957]

IS SOCIALISM THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower was overly cautious at his recent press conference when he was replying to the prediction—from Moscow, of course—that the United States would be a Socialist country in 50 years.

The President confined himself to one generalization and to one short-term forecast. He noted that the pressures to accept large-scale Government control of our economy for some quick advantage have always been present in the United States, but have never prevailed. He predicted that any effort to socialize America would be up against a

terrible battle during the next 3½ years of his administration.

Now, obviously no one can say for sure what future American voters will do; they can do anything they want and conceivably they could be taken in by some crisis-panacea that could end up in a form of socialism they didn't expect and didn't want.

But the reason it seemed to me the President was excessively cautious is that the trend away from Socialist ideology and Socialist measures in many parts of the free world and in the satellite world has been marked in recent years.

What is significant is that socialism has not been working well where it has been tried and that competitive, private enterprise has been working outstandingly well where it has prevailed.

Here is some of the evidence that socialism is losing support and that competitive, private enterprise is gaining support:

In the United States one of the most respected and articulate Socialist thinkers, Norman Thomas, many times his party's presidential candidate, is no longer advocating all-out socialism. He has warned against the dangers of all-powerful, centralized government and he has come to view with new respect the substantially well-distributed high standard of living which capitalism is producing.

In Britain the nationalization of industry has been halted and the steel industry turned back to private ownership.

Of all the war-stricken nations West Germany has made the most signal and sustained recovery. It offers to all its neighbors in Europe an example of what a competitive, free enterprise economy can do for the prosperity of a nation and the welfare of its workers.

The prosperity of the West German Republic has been exerting a powerful impact upon German politics and upon the economic philosophy of the German labor movement which in the years following the Weimar Republic was largely socialist in its outlook.

But today the Social Democratic Party, whose principal support comes from German workers, has very largely turned from its long-held prosocialist desire to nationalize German industry.

Two factors have greatly influenced the thinking of the German labor leaders. One is the positive accomplishments of competitive enterprise in the reconstruction of Germany. The other is the poor showing of nationalized industry in Britain which has disenchanted many German as well as British Socialists.

When I was in Bonn last, Erich Ollenhauer, chairman of the Social Democratic Party and Chancellor Adenauer's principal opponent in the September elections, told me that his party rejects nationalization as a practical measure.

There are numerous signs behind the Iron Curtain that socialism is not working well. The Hungarian workers didn't think it was. Tito stopped trying to communize the farmers and the Polish regime has dismantled 8,000 collective farms.

The fact that the United States and West Germany are two of the most productive and prosperous nations in the world is not accidental. Other countries have great natural resources and a skilled labor force. But in the United States and West Germany a competitive, private economy, free from nationalized industry and inhibiting controls, is using its resources and its skills to the great boon of both labor and ownership.

On the record I would say that socialism is not the wave of the future.

Grassroots Sentiment on Taxes, Education, and National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I have received from Mr. Fred F. Kopke, of Hutchinson, Kans., a splendid statement entitled "From the Grassroots to the Congress of the United States." I commend it to the Members of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM THE GRASSROOTS TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

(By Fred F. Kopke)

I do not know the net worth of the United States of America but I suppose that 10 or 15 times the national income, less the public and private debt, would be somewhere near the national net worth. A few people seem to think that they should continue to enjoy a huge income resulting from our tremendous business and industrial growth and at the same time they insist on reduced taxes in spite of their increased demands for Federal aid plus increased Federal contributions to local needs. The truth is that the Federal debt in relation to national income has been reduced during the Eisenhower administration without any substantial increase in the cost of living. The national debt today stands at about 76 percent of the 1957 national income as compared with 136 percent of the national income during the last years of the Truman administration.

Taxes for the low income large family groups as compared with their income are moderate as they should be. Those with larger incomes should know by this time that income and estate taxes must continue to claim a share of their growing incomes and capital gains. This great and growing America is not busted. Business is good. Labor is fully employed. Retail sales reflecting the movement of merchandise into consuming channels is at high levels, indicating a continuation of full emeployment in industry. A few tired old men in and out of Congress are crying that businessmen and investors are so discouraged by high taxes that they will not continue in their efforts to improve their service. Here are the facts: Business leaders and investors are optimistic. Proof of this is found in the fact that since 1946 they have invested about $268 billion in expanding their production and distribution facilities and the trend is continuing at record levels through 1957.

National defense to protect this free and beautiful land from an international Communist dictatorship is worth whatever it costs.

Personal liquid assets after deducting personal debts now amount to about $134 billion dollars or around 50 percent of the Federal debt. What is needed now is less bellyachers who have lost faith in the future growth of America.

I believe that income taxes based on ability to pay is fair. It is my impression that on a nation-wide basis billions of dollars of liquid assets escape local taxation and that billions of dollars of local inventories and real estate are undervalued for local taxation because local tax authorities and assessors, honest as they are, do not have the experienced personnel such as is employed by the Federal Revenue Service. There has always been waste in Government at all levels. This is the price we pay for our form of Government—the best in the world.

The education of our children is our most important job, and I believe that the time has arrived for some Federal Aid to Education. Constructive criticism is always in order. President Eisenhower may not know everything, but he is a friend of labor and of private enterprise and during his administration the country has enjoyed full employment and prosperity without war. I am willing to pay increased taxes to help bring better education to the youth of America and to maintain an adequate defense.

Storage of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, Mr. Arthur R. Friedman, financial editor of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette has an interesting article on the storage pools for natural gas. We have made great strides in the better methods of the production of natural gas, and its storage is another step forward for the benefit of the consumer. Western Pennsylvania has been producing gas for almost three-quarters of a century, and we are now producing more than we did 30 years ago. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Friedman's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STORAGE POOLS READYING BIG WINTER GAS SUPPLY—PENNSYLVANIA HAS THE LARGEST CAPACITY OF ANY STATE TO STORE NEEDED FUEL

(By Arthur R. Friedman)

The public may be thinking of the pleasures of warm weather but the gas man is wondering about his supply for next winter.

The latter's worries aren't what they used to be and the gas storage pools (underground reservoirs into which gas is pumped in the off-season) are largely responsible.

The number of gas customers is still growing, however, and more storage pools are coming into existence. The tristate district will get additional ones this year.

Peak day gas requirements (on extremely low temperature days) are met only through supplementing the daily transmission rate from primary gas fields with fuel that comes from re-utilized underground storage.

Consolidated Natural Gas Company, one of the large suppliers of gas in the tristate area, utilized storage gas to the extent of 28 percent of total customer requirements throughout the heating season in 1956. On the peak days this jumped to 48 percent.

It is no accident that the tristate district has the largest capacity to store gas in the Nation.

This was once a prolific gas-producing area and those fields come in mighty handy now. The Pennsylvania pools can hold more Southwestern gas than any other State in the Nation while Ohio has only slightly less storage capacity. West Virginia is the third largest storage State.

Pennsylvania's underground reservoirs can hold 392 billion cubic feet of natural gas.

Ohio has a capacity of 361 billion cubic feet, and West Virginia 283 billion cubic feet.

The Oakford pool in Westmoreland County (capacity 105 billion cubic feet) is Pennsylvania's largest pool but it isn't as large as the Stark-Summit pool in Stark and Summit County, Ohio, rated at 148 billion cubic feet.

Deportation of Hungarian Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news article from the June 12 issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald entitled "Three Hungarians Without Jobs Want To Go Home," and also a followup editorial from a later issue of the same newspaper on this subject.

I wish to state that a deportation hearing was scheduled in St. Paul for today, June 14. Because of possible unfavorable international implications which could grow out of this, I requested a delay of 2 weeks in these hearings, while this case can be further investigated and more facts accumulated from Canada.

I am happy to say that General Swing, Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, has granted this request.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREE HUNGARIANS WITHOUT JOBS WANT TO GO HOME

MARSHALL, MINN., June 11.—Three Hungarian refugees, penniless and homesick, waited in a jail cell today for the Government to decide where they go next.

After two months on the open road, traveling from Alberta, Canada, through the Dakotas to western Minnesota, the Hungarians said they want to go home.

Home is the country they left last fall when Communist guns crushed a revolution which the three said they took part in.

"No working, no working," mumbled the oldest of the three, a frail, graying man of about 45 who said he had been a machinist in Budapest.

They had a roof over their heads only 3 nights in the 2 months, he said.

The three were arrested Sunday after making a U-turn in their second-hand car. Their auto clipped another car, bringing police to the scene.

They are being held on a technical charge of vagrancy. The Department of Immigration and Naturalization is sending a representative to look into the case.

Police found themselves in a dilemma. They were sympathetic, but also eager to get the three referred to someone in authority who knows what to do.

The Hungarians—the machinist, his son 17, and a friend—asked police to withhold their names.

Using an English-Hungarian dictionary to communicate, they insisted they cannot go on living in Canada or the United States.

They said they fled to Austria when the Communists regained control in Hungary and later found themselves in Dover, England. The machinist asked that they be sent to New York, where he has relatives, but was told no more Hungarians were being sent to the United States at that time.

They were shipped to Alberta where they found sporadic employment on farms.

They quit in disgust, the machinist said, after he and his son were given total wages of $12 for 3½ days of work.

His intention when he came to the United States was to raise enough money to bring his wife over, the father said.

"Now we want to go home," he said, "no working, no working."

HUNGARIAN FOLLOWUP

The wave of American sentiment that greeted the Hungarian refugees has subsided and now the newcomers are facing the long, difficult ordeal of integrating into a strange culture. A movement to help in this has been started in Washington by a joint committee of the 18 organizations sponsoring refugees in this community. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish organizations have united in a program which has included a welcoming party for the newcomers and compilation of a guide in both Hungarian and English telling where needed services can be obtained. Small singing and language-study groups and other informal get-togethers will be held to help the refugees meet each other.

It is hoped similar projects will get underway in other large cities. Helping in the integration of the new Hungarian citizens is not only an expression of the American tradition of hospitality to newcomers but also a tangible contribution to American diplomacy.

Chance for Health Chief Need of Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the most important internal problems facing our country today is that of providing proper care for the aged. In the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 13, Malvina Lindsay pointed out that today there are 14 million people over 65 years of age living in the United States, most of them unemployed and living on small incomes. Many of them suffer from chronic disease, but cannot afford proper medical treatment. Those struck by sudden illness must often depend upon charity or public care. Because Miss Lindsay's column so cogently outlines the serious health problems faced by our older citizens, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD for the information of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHANCE FOR HEALTH CHIEF NEED OF AGED
(By Malvina Lindsay)

This Congress apparently intends to ignore the No 1 problem facing the Nation's growing number of senior citizens; namely, how they can pay for the health care they need.

The increase of chronic disease, found largely among older persons, was emphasized at last week's meeting of the American Medical Association in New York. It was reported that more than half the clinical part of western medical practice was now concerned with health problems of the middle-aged and elderly.

How do the 14 million people of this country past 65, most of whom are unemployed and living on small incomes, meet the cost of such treatment? Only about one-third of these are covered with any kind of health insurance. Most companies do not sell individual health insurance to persons past 60, or if they do, premiums are excessively high and benefits greatly curtailed.

Part of the chronically ill older population gets charitable or public care. But there is a large segment that must meet medical expenses out of small fixed incomes constantly being shrunk by inflation.

Dr. Wilma Donahue, chairman of the division of Gerontology of the Institute for Human Adjustment of the University of Michigan says that many old people neglect chronic illness (with greater cost later), others obtain medical care by sacrificing other essentials of heathful living, or turn to relatives for help.

She believes the mounting number of admissions of older patients to mental hospitals is one evidence of the effects of worry and lack of preventive and restorative medical care of this group. Many of the elderly and even middle-aged today are beset by fears of becoming ill and not being able to pay for medical care. This insecurity, believes Dr. Donahue, is the basis for what is called "widow's disease," in which an older woman becomes obsessed with the fear that her money won't last until the end of her life.

These fears also cause many of the elderly to lead cheese-paring lives, neglecting nutrition and other elements of health, hoarding what funds they have and keeping them out of circulation.

Health insurance that the retired can pay for is more essential to them than any expansion of social security benefits. It would also save society money in the long run since preventive medical measures would make unnecessary much of the prolonged expensive custodial care of older persons.

Insurance companies are making studies and experiments in the field of health insurance for the retired, but are up against the problem of providing such insurance without at the same time raising rates for all groups.

Attachment of health insurance to social security was recommended by a commission set up by the Pennsylvania Medical Society to study the problem. In this the citizen, during his earning years, would buy health insurance with the usual commercial carrier, and at the same time pay a small increase in social security to cover health benefits during his after 65, retired period.

Some help from the Federal Government to meet this need seems essential. Dr. Joseph W. Still, research psychologist at the George Washington University School of Medicine, who has studied the needs of the retired, suggests a plan that would avoid increase of Federal administrative machinery.

He would have Congress provide a fund to reimburse private insurance companies for excess costs of insuring those past 65. Then the companies would be free to sell insurance to customers regardless of age, but would base rates on the average costs of providing insurance for those under 65.

This would leave the major administrative machinery to the insurance companies and the medical profession. It would provide medical care for the elderly at a price they could afford. It would end the present wasteful system whereby minor disabilities of the aged are neglected until they become major ones.

Federal Traineeships for Nurses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an excellent article dealing with Federal traineeships for nurses. The article was written by Miss Ruth Boyer Scott, formerly of Seattle, Wash., and an accomplished magazine writer. It was first printed in the May edition of the National Business Woman.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROBLEM OF DEGREE?

(By Ruth Boyer Scott)

"The key to improving nursing care of patients," according to this country's only woman general, Asst. Surg. Gen. Lucile P. Leone, "is more good teachers for schools of nursing and more good administrators for hospital and public-health nursing services." Mrs. Leone speaks as the chief nurse officer of the United States Public Health Service, which administers the professional nurse traineeship program approved by Congress last year.

The present shortage of trained women leaders for administrative, supervisory and teaching posts in the nursing profession is a cause for anxiety, but the traineeship program which provides financial help to graduate nurses seeking advanced training is proving to be a partial answer to the problem.

Congress authorized $2 million which was awarded to 56 nursing schools to support about 580 traineeships. One million dollars was also voted to provide traineeships for professional public-health personnel.

The United States Public Health Service estimates that in January 1956 there were 430,000 professional nurses employed in the United States. Of these, about 1 in every 11 holds an administrative, supervisory, teaching, or advanced technical position.

The 1 in 11 is the woman who runs the show. It is she who is responsible for efficient organization of nursing care, for guiding beginning nurses and instructing girls in schools of nursing. Not only are such top nurses needed in adequate numbers, but the quality of their academic preparation is extremely important. The fact is that in some cases this preparation is limited.

The following table contains some surprises:

	Number employed 1955	Percent holding degrees
Teachers	10,000	55
Supervisors	23,000	20
Administrators	10,000	50

Nursing Outlook pointed out in 1956 that "Undoubtedly, there are nurses who, from long years of experience, have gained competence in their positions as administrators of nursing service or teachers of nursing. However, in view of the pressing and immediate demands for large numbers of such personnel, this trial-and-error method of self-preparation is patently impracticable and uneconomic." We need to give more nurses more formal instruction.

Take the case of supervisors. There are about 20,000 to 25,000 nurses holding supervisory posts, only 20 percent of whom now have an academic degree. As the National League for Nursing and other groups point out, it is obvious that many of these women need advanced college training to help them more adequately to handle their responsibilities. With attrition in the field estimated conservatively at 4 percent, 1,000 supervisors are needed each year as replacements. Add to this the demands of an expanding hospital system, and the minimum annual increment of college trained supervisors and supervisor-instructors needed in this country runs to several thousands. Yet last year the number of nurses receiving degrees was less than 250.

Again take the example of nurse-teachers. In December 1955, Mrs. Leone wrote, "It is estimated that there are about 10,000 nurse faculty members in our 1,140 schools of nursing with approximately 107,600 students. Placing attrition from the nurse faculty group at 4 percent annually, a conservative estimate, the number of new teachers needed merely to maintain the present supply is 400 yearly. * * * To make up our current deficiencies and to prepare gradually for the increased enrollment, we should graduate approximately 1,300 teachers annually for the next 10 years."

In 1955, there were only 1,067 nurses graduated from courses preparing them for advanced positions of all types, and many of these were not in the category of fresh personnel, but were nurses already employed as administrators, supervisors, and teachers.

Obviously, college costs money. Full-time graduate study presents a formidable financial problem to most nurses, with the result that many can go to school only part time. In the fall of 1955, 69 percent of those enrolled in graduate nurse programs of this type were part-time students.

Nursing Outlook says, "For some young nurses who have had little employment experience, a combination of learning and earning activities may be educationally desirable. For many nurses, however, part-time, or spasmodic study is dictated by financial rather than educational needs and has the effect of delaying the time when they can make their most effective contributions to nursing."

The stories of two nurses illustrate better than statistics the problems of graduate nurses seeking higher education.

The first earned her master's degree before Federal traineeships were voted, the other is a present trainee.

Doris Smith Suddarth graduated in 1945 from a 3-year nursing diploma program at the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital in Takoma Park, Md. Like many nurses, she had completed a year of college before starting her nurses' training. From the beginning Mrs. Suddarth knew she wanted both her bachelor's and master's degrees, but it was 4 years after graduation before she returned to college. Then she had to continue working.

She carried a full college schedule and at night nursed much of the time from 3 until 11 o'clock. Her load was heavy. Days and nights dragged by, but fortunately, because Mrs. Suddarth is blessed with unusual strength and singleness of purpose, she came through with good health and a degree of bachelor of science in nursing education.

Immediately she was assigned as an instructor in the school of nursing of the Alexandria Hospital in Viriginia, but, still not satisfied with her own preparation, she started some part-time classes in adult education.

Mrs. Suddarth foresaw a prolonged period of study by part-time methods before she would have her master's degree. However, even before the Federal traineeship program, some scholarships were available. She applied for one. Sources of this help are chiefly service clubs, churches, nursing organizations and similar public-spirited groups. Mrs. Suddarth accepted a $500 scholarship from the Virginia State Nurses' Association which enabled her to study full time to complete her master's degree.

Thinking back on the first difficult years, Mrs. Suddarth says, "I'd still want to go through with it, if I had it to do over. I only wish more nurses could and would go back to school."

Just under 10 years ago, Anna Marie Keenan graduated from St. Joseph's Hospital School of Nursing in Pittsburgh, Pa. After a year of staff nursing, she decided she wanted to teach nurses, and needed to earn her bachelor's degree just as fast as possible.

That wasn't too fast, for beyond receiving her room and meals at home with her parents she had to earn her other expenses. For 3 years she concentrated on part-time nursing and part-time study at Duquesne University. Typically, she nursed four 8-hour nights a week in the delivery room and full time during summer vacations.

"When I look back on those years of combined work and college, I don't think I'd have the courage and strength to go through with it again," Miss Keenan says. "But at the time, I didn't worry; I just kept working and studying."

By 1955, after teaching basic science and helping with clinical instruction including some medical-surgical nursing courses, Miss Keenan decided she needed her master's degree.

In July of 1956, she made her first visit to Catholic University in Washington, D. C., to discuss her plan to nurse full time and carry as many studies as were allowed a full-time nurse. "It looked as if it would take me 3 years or more to work my master's degree through," Miss Keenan remembers.

Fortunately for her, in the same month Congress passed the 3-year traineeship bill, and in the closing session hours, July 27, passed the necessary supplemental appropriation bill for the first year.

The United States Public Health Service rushed the paperwork so that nurses could apply for the fall semester, and Miss Keenan was among the first to apply. In the latter part of August, she heard that she was granted a United States Public Health Service traineeship from the funds voted by Congress.

"Every time a letter came to me with the Catholic University return address, I thought it would tell me there was some mistake, and I wasn't getting the traineeship," Miss Keenan said. "After working so hard for my bachelor's degree, I really couldn't believe at first that I was awarded this traineeship."

The traineeship pays all college fees, and gives her a monthly stipend of $250 which enables her to live a normal student life. No longer does she struggle to prop her eyes open and keep her mind alert after working a whole night in a busy hospital ward.

"It's heaven," she says, "not to worry about how I will pay my tuition, not to have to scrape and scrimp on food and clothing and recreation. I just think it's too bad there aren't more such traineeships for graduate nurses."

"The story of these two girls and others like them," observes Miss Ruth Freeman, president of the National League for Nursing,

"demonstrates what can be done when the professions and an informed public work together. However, it is still not possible for every nurse who wants and needs assistance in preparing for teaching and supervisory and public health positions to get it. The help of local voluntary and Government groups, of the allied professions and foundations and of the general public is still needed to provide additional scholarship funds and to support continued governmental aid. Only with this widespread cooperation can we move more rapidly toward better nursing care for all."

Conditions in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent declaration by Cardinal Wyszynski to representatives of Americans of Polish origin, which gives a valuable insight into the situation in Poland.

There being no objection, the declaration was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

People in your press are also wondering whether help should be offered to Poland or not. When you look at your child, which is sick, do you stop to think whether you should help it or not? When you see your mother in distress do you pause to think it over, to consider whether it would be politically advisable for you to help her? Dearest children: Do not commit this terrible mistake of refusing, for various political fancies, of refusing assistance, bread and kindness to those, who are in such great need of assistance, bread, and kindness.

And in this respect, my attitude may be very individual and different, but full of conviction and full of truth, as I trust and understand it. We stay here, and we want to stay here. We know the needs of the nation and we appeal for help for this nation. We beg—perhaps we sometimes do it in a manner highly humiliating to us; perhaps it is not correct to lower oneself to such an extent, to beg as humbly as that, for fear of endangering one's dignity. Let the politicians defend the prestige of the nation. Let them defend their dignity as statesmen. It is sometimes their duty not to go beyond the bounds of national dignity.

But I am not a politician nor a statesman. I am simply a child of my nation, and if the good of that nation demands that I humble myself, why then I shall humble myself regardless of all "raison d'etat," of all political considerations. My policy in the first place is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to give the poor a roof overhead. And let anyone, whoever and wherever he may be, judge me as he pleases, it is of no importance to me in this case. I am doing my duty. And so I say: Tell your sisters, tell your countrywomen, tell your daughters, tell your husbands that the primate of Poland on his knees—because it is not his duty to fight for his dignity—that he is begging you for help for the hungry, for the naked, for the sick, of whom there are very, very many in our land, and for the homeless.

It is none of our fault that every 10 or 20 years Poland is swept by a tempest of war which tears every stone from the heart of Polish soil, destroying the foundations of everything we have built. You have seen Warsaw, with what terrible toll it is being built. This is being built often at the price of hunger, at the price of some sacrificed pleasure, at the price perhaps of some rag to protect those who are at the mercy of cold. But it is being built all the same because it must be built, because we cannot live under the open sky, although God is so good, and when various nations constantly destroy our home, all we can do is to rebuild it and this we do calmly and with patience, and we shall continue to do so.

Federal Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine article written by that outstanding Federal employee leader, William C. Doherty, president of the AFL–CIO National Association of Letter Carriers.

This article, entitled "Many Talk, Few Act on United States Pay," appeared in the Washington Daily News as a substitute for the column usually written by the capable John Cramer.

I wish every Federal employee would read and digest this fine statement. It does much more than advance and emphasize the need for a pay raise. It demonstrates that in unity there is strength, and that when organized strength is guided by wise hands, an ever brighter future is within reach.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of June 7, 1957]

MANY TALK, FEW ACT ON UNITED STATES PAY

(By William C. Doherty)

The writer is indebted to John Cramer, regular editor of "9 to 4:30," for the opportunity to comment briefly on the general subject of Government wages.

Like the weather, a great many people can be found in Government who will talk about the inadequacy of their salaries but all too few do anything about it. That is, do anything about it in an organized manner. As a result a potent voice in making known the economic needs of those who are employed by Uncle Sam is left with empty coffee cups in Government cafeterias and in the halls of our various Federal buildings. Thus talk is cheap and too often is the prevailing Government wage structure inadequate.

CONDITIONS

One of the conditions of our employment is that we must look to the Congress for improvements in wages. Just as it would be patently unfair to make a wholesale indictment of congressional fairness in wage considerations, at the same time it is honest to say that Congress seldom acts without considerable prodding from the organized employees.

In the area served by the News there are thousands of employees who need no reminder that Government wages are substandard. The impact of high prices is noticeably felt in a community like Washington. Yet this inability to cope with prices is not peculiar to those located in this area. The same pattern can be found wherever there is a Federal civilian establishment.

This suggestion has been tested by means of an economic survey conducted by the organization I have the honor to represent. Letter carriers in communities all over the United States were polled, with the result that we are now preparing to transmit these findings to Congress.

OUTSIDE WORK

Among other things, this survey developed data to show that between 45 and 55 percent are obliged to seek outside employment. The figure would be higher if extra-work opportunities were available to all who need supplemental income. In terms of average weekly hours worked at a second job, the national figure is approximately 15 hours. It is not necessary to point out that fatigue from overwork reduces the efficiency of these workers both in the post office and on their second job.

More alarming are the figures for working wives. For the reports thus far tabulated, approximately 37 percent of letter-carrier wives find it necessary to seek supplemental income. Many, if not most of these working wives, have school-age children who are deprived of a normal home environment at a period in their young lives when they most need parental care and supervision.

Organizations representing Federal employees have long contended that Government pay systems unduly delay in responding to changes in the general economy and the standard of living enjoyed by other workers. It is generally a question of too little and much too late to do any real good.

For example, during the time when the present postal-pay system was under consideration, we were able to point out that only twice in a 15-year span were letter-carrier wages on a par or above living costs. In the other 13 years wages were from 2 to 32 percent below prices. Unless wages are reasonably comparable all the time to prices it does little good to approve adjustments every 3 or 4 years, and then only in half measure. Employees must either forego certain accepted standards of living or go into debt to make ends meet. Either way the damage is a long time in being repaired.

PROBLEMS

Inadequate compensation levels also result in costly personnel turnover. At the same time a recruitment problem develops. While no precise guide has been advanced to determine the cost of recruiting and training a new employee, it has been suggested by competent postal officials that it costs between $200 and $300 per employee, exclusive of wages paid.

On the basis of this estimate, consider the waste of public funds in 1 or 2 examples recently brought to our attention. In Minneapolis, over a period of 52 weeks, 53 civil-service examinations were held for postal employment. A total of only 1,353 qualified for appointment; 526 accepted jobs but 320 resigned within their first year.

In a 40-day period in the Los Angeles area, the post office hired 300 persons but lost 329 via resignations.

The lure of attrative industrial wages is most evident in the more populated areas. However, it is in these same areas that the bulk of postal employees serve. The postmaster at Hammond, Ind., states that he cannot keep experienced employees or hire new men. Why? Nearby factories and shops are paying better wages, providing more attractive fringe benefits and offering greater security in retirement.

It was pointed out that a postal employee after 15 years earns $2.12 per hour. In com-

parison, the average industrial pay in the same area is $2.17 per hour, with the union agreement, including accident and sickness payment increases, a choice of 2 life insurance plans, a minimum pension of $120 a month after 15 to 25 years of service and vacation benefits nearly comparable to the Government program.

The much-discussed Cordiner Committee report had this to say about fringe benefits and Government employment in general:

"The Federal Government has lost the advantage it once enjoyed in the area of fringe benefits. In brief, the magnet of interesting work and public service is no longer strong enough to overcome the pull of higher salaries in non-Federal employment."

In defining what are fair salary criteria, this same survey put a finger on the most glaring weakness of present Federal salary systems: "Employees," it stated, "must receive sufficient compensation to enable them to establish and maintain a standard of living which will allow them to discharge their responsibilities to their families and to their employers."

This is the traditional American concept of paying the laborer his just hire. Why, why, we might ask, is the Government so reluctant to measure up to that simple concept?

Constitution and the Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. Constantine Brown which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Friday, June 14, 1957.

Mr. Brown's column, entitled "Constitution and the Girard Case," raises some very thoughtful questions on this entire incident.

According to Mr. Brown, the State Department declared that the decision to turn Girard over to a Japanese court was "a political decision not subject to judicial review."

It occurs to me that a few years ago a madman named Adolph Hitler made a "political decision not subject to judicial review" which sent hundreds of thousands of Jewish people to the gas chambers of Germany's concentration camps.

I commend this article by Mr. Brown to my colleagues attention.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSTITUTION AND THE GIRARD CASE—RULING ON SOLDIER IN JAPAN SEEN LIKELY TO INVOLVE VITAL QUESTIONS OF RIGHTS

(By Constantine Brown)

United States District Court Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy will issue here soon a decision in regard to Army Sp3c. William Girard which may involve constitutional questions of the utmost importance to all American citizens.

The status of forces agreements and the executive agreements implementing them seem to clearly provide that American soldiers stationed in foreign countries who commit crimes while on duty will be tried by United States court-martial. Crimes committed while off duty will be tried by courts of the country in which the men are stationed.

Americans who have served in the Armed Forces know that under military regulations there are only three categories: On duty, off duty, and hospitalized.

Though the Girard record in the killing of a Japanese woman at a firing range has not been fully revealed, there seems to be no question that this soldier was on duty. Whether or not he carried out this duty properly is a matter of fact to be determined by a court after hearing all the evidence. The question involved in the present controversy resolves around which court should try him to determine the fact—the Japanese court or the American court-martial.

Many Senators who are following the Girard case with understandable interest, not only because it involves the preservation of civil liberties in this country but also because of the avalanche of mail from their constituents, are surprised at some astounding statements made by the representatives of the Defense, Justice, and State Departments.

One Defense Department official stated that although Girard was on duty he conducted himself in such a fashion that he could not be considered on duty. This is regarded by these legislators as a bizarre and new concept which if carried to its logical conclusion could rewrite many of the lawbooks of this country.

In pleading the case of the Government before the Federal court in Washington, United States Attorney Oliver Gasch asked for as speedy a ruling as possible so that we can look other nations in the eye and not be accused of reneging on our obligations. This statement is not convincing to many who believe it to be more important that the United States not be guilty of reneging on its obligations to one of its citizens.

The State Department, through an unnamed spokesman, has said that the Girard case was "a political decision not subject to judicial review." In many congressional quarters, this statement is regarded as ominous. Under our form of Government our citizens have certain constitutional guaranties. Our civil and criminal code is based upon the Anglo-Saxon common law which provides for bail and public trials by jury. It gives protection against self-incrimination and guarantees trial in the jurisdiction where the alleged offense was committed. It prohibits cruel and unusual punishment—such as cutting off the right hand of a thief, as the Koranic law provides in Arabia. It guarantees right of counsel, the right to call witnesses, who are punished in case of false testimony, the right of habeas corpus, right of appeal, protection against unreasonable search, freedom of assembly, and protection against double jeopardy, to mention but a few. In short, we are a Nation of laws, not of men.

Many responsible Americans will not accept the principle that the constitutional guaranties of an American citizen can be given away by a "political" decision made by a Government official, without the decision being subjected to judicial review.

If the constitutional guaranties of Americans can be eliminated by "political decisions" not subject to judicial review, it could be argued that we do not in fact have the constitutional guaranties which we have claimed from the beginning of this Nation.

The implication in the State Department's declaration is that its "political decision" transcends the Constitution of the United States. This, at least, is the interpretation of those in Congress who have followed the matter closely.

What began, therefore, as an isolated incident in Japan may eventually become a constitutional question of the greatest importance, possibly resulting in an opinion by the Supreme Court. Those high officials who believed that this episode could be quietly hushed up underestimated the deep convictions of millions of Americans that individual liberties of America's most humble citizen transcend the power and majesty of the state.

The Civil Rights Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. KERR SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial appearing in the Thursday, June 13, 1957, edition of the Gastonia Gazette be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial, which comes from one of North Carolina's pioneer and most outstanding newspapers, discusses in a down-to-earth manner the civil rights issue and an address on the subject delivered by a distinguished Member of the House of Representatives from North Carolina, the Honorable BASIL WHITENER.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE

Protection of civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States has turned into a sharp difference of opinion which has become known as the civil rights issue.

When any issue gets heated, the usual procedure is for the politicians to hop on it and introduce bills to remedy what they look upon as an intolerable situation.

This civil rights fight seems to be aimed at the South, as Congressman BASIL WHITENER pointed out recently in an address on the floor of the House.

Mr. WHITENER called attention to the fact that President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell have termed the legislation necessary if the citizenship of this Nation is to enjoy full civil rights.

Mr. WHITENER got right to the point when he selected Gastonia as a fine example of good race relations.

Negro schoolteachers, Mr. WHITENER pointed out, are paid salaries on a schedule which results in the average Negro schoolteacher in North Carolina earning higher compensation for their services than is earned by the average white schoolteacher.

He also called attention to the fact that Negroes have served on the State Board of Education—the governing body for the educational program provided by the State of North Carolina.

That North Carolina treats the Negro fairly is obvious to those who are familiar with the situation. Mr. WHITENER pointed out that one member of the Negro race is now serving his fourth term on the Gastonia City Council and has in the past served as treasurer of the city, being elected by his white colleagues to this post.

Race relations and civil rights are not matters that call for Federal legislation.

They are matters to be worked out—and that have been worked out to the apparent satisfaction of people of both races—in the South as well as elsewhere in the Nation.

Scanning Mr. WHITENER'S address on the civil rights issue, it is our conclusion that he stated the issue concisely and effectively. Few persons could have done better, because this district's Congressman, from his former position as solicitor, is entirely familiar with his subject.

Freedom of Expression in a Democratic Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, D. D., auxiliary bishop of Chicago, before the Chicago Bar Association on June 6, 1957. Bishop Sheil, who is well known to many of you as a courageous and outspoken member of the clergy, has devoted his life not only to the realm of his own religion, but to a greater concern for those basic human freedoms on which democracy is based. He is perhaps best known as the founder of the Catholic Youth Organization, and in his own city of Chicago, for many educational and sociological endeavors. I feel that the important message in his address deserves wide distribution, and include it in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE MOST REVEREND BERNARD J. SHEIL, D. D., AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CHICAGO, THE CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION, JUNE 6, 1957

Any attempt to appraise an historical period, so marked by change and contrast, as is ours, is difficult and dangerous. Difficult, because of the complexity of the problems it presents; dangerous, because of the temptation to oversimplify and thus falsify. Yet, if we are to understand our age, if we are to seek possible remedies for its multiple confusion, it is required that we try to isolate the issue which underlies the surface symptoms and conflicts. We must force our mind away from the tangential and back to the center of contemporary disorder.

From ample evidence, most of it bewildering and much of it shocking to the spirit of man, it is clear that the root problem in the modern world is that of human freedom. Through a startling but sufficiently foreshadowed twist of history, we are being forced to defend, and possibly in the future even by violent means, the foundational premise on which our western civilization and culture have been built

The threat to this freedom demands a defense that goes beyond any ring of fortresses. For the threat is more powerful than military force. It is more subtle than the maneuvers of politics. For it has the ability to invade the human spirit and to place therein the seed of decay and destruction. Once the truth of human freedom is questioned or attacked, the way lies open to tyranny and despotism. Once man's freedom is touched by agnostic hands, he becomes, not the maker of history, but the blind and servile instrument of power.

Let us have no illusions about the final aim of totalitarianism. Let us not be distracted by its secondary goals. It has one acknowledged objective, namely, total control of the processes of history. It seeks to write history in terms of a humanism that is essentially inhuman. This is one reason that it is immoral and irreligious. This is why it attacks human freedom as an outmoded and decadent obstacle to its historical ambitions.

We are sufficiently alert to the external threat to our fredom. I am not quite sure that we are aware of the internal dangers. These are they that lurk at the center of some of the means that are proposed or that are currently employed to ward off the threat. For, one of the shadowy subtleties of the totalitarian dogma is its power to insinuate itself into the measures of defense against it, and to turn them into unwilling, even unconscious, allies. To defeat this dogma through a suppression of human freedom would be a Pyrrhic victory of evil consequences. It would be an historical irony that might well make cynicism the accepted philosophy of the future.

It is important, therefore, that we examine closely and critically our political weapons against totalitarianism. Only by so doing shall be be able to detect, if present, the virus we are pledged to repulse.

It is neither possible nor necessary to examine all the agencies we use in protecting our concept of freedom in a democratic society. It shall be more rewarding, perhaps, to test the current political climate of America. Admittedly, this will not give us a formal and detailed program of means. Nor do we seek anything as concrete as this. Rather, we shall attempt to grasp the mental and emotional mood of America, as this reflects our attitude toward human freedom.

There is no necessity to apologize for this apparently unscholarly procedure. Very often, as history so generously witnesses, it is more important to know intuitively the temper of a time, rather than the specific events and facts which shape its texture.

If this be true, then we are justified in saying that the present climate of America is not a completely healthy one either for the defense or, more importantly, for the development of human freedom. Sensitive people may detect, or rather feel, a growing atmosphere of suspicion, tinged with uncertainty. There is the feeling that one's thoughts and actions are being subtly subjected to judgment and interpretation by self-appointed guardians of liberty. Such sentiments of self-doubt are disastrous to democracy. The doubt of one's genuine devotion to the cause of human freedom leads to a disintegrating insecurity. This is the exact psychological moment at which arises the temptation to seek secureness by surrender to a party, a group, or a leader.

Such abdication of personal freedom and responsibility remains a persistent lure in an age of anxiety, tension and nostalgia. It has merited a study by the eminent psychologist, Eric Fromm, who has given to his work the significant title, Escape From Freedom. It finds an echo in the words of Mr. D. H. Lawrence. In one of his short stories he writes: "At a certain moment the men who are really living will come beseeching to put their lives into the hands of the greater men among them, beseeching the greater men to take the sacred responsibility of power * * * but my chosen aristocrat would say to those who chose him: if you choose me, you give up forever your right to judge me. If you have truly chosen to follow me, you have thereby rejected all your right to criticize me. You can no longer either approve or disapprove of me. You have performed the sacred act of choice. Henceforth you can only obey." These words require no comment. They will stand as a permanent warning to those dedicated to democracy.

I would like to add one further thought. Freedom is not preserved by curtailing it, any more than is an animal's life by eating its own tail. The picture of an America furtively glancing over its broad shoulder, for fear of being followed or spied upon, has no place in our national gallery.

One conductor of this feeling of uncertainty in America today is periodic upsurge of anti-intellectualism. It has many disguises, not scorning even religious ones. It uses the mask of piety and patriotism. It seeks the accolade of virtue through a highly publicised defense of what it names, but does not define, as the American way of life. There is justified suspicion that this way of life has a highly personal connotation.

In despite of its posturings, it remains to the discerning eye precisely what it is, a resentful instability which springs from a deep fear of change, fear too that its own privileged position may become the victim of that uncertainty which in inherent in life itself. On its ideological level, and this may accurately be called its lower level, this hatred of intellectuality is a crude merchandising of the philosophy of guttersnipism, a perverted form of snobbery. Its simplified gospel proclaims that only low-brows possess the faith and the virtue requisite for entrance into the kingdom of mediocrity.

The forays of the proponents of this un-American doctrine, of the gay illiterates, into the traditionally dignified precincts of higher education have an air of the grotesque. Their campus capers, conducted to the cries of fifth amendment intellectuals, have made American education a disturbing spectacle to the peoples of the world. Let us not forget that many of these people have shed their blood in testimony to their belief that freedom and education are inseparable; that one can not long survive without the other. If there be doubt of this, then I refer these vociferous anti-intellectuals to the recent tragic happenings in Hungary. There they shall find pathetic evidence that intellectuals not only talk about truth. They are capable of dying for it, and in heroic fashion.

If doubt of this still persists, then I recommend reading the luminous pages of early American history. There in the lives of men like Franklin, John Adams and Jefferson, shines forth the truth that education and freedom are but sides of the same coin. For these men, intellectuality was not a mark of secret immorality. It was one of the respected goals of life. Furthermore, and more pertinent to our purpose, they believed it to be an indispensable qualification for political leadership. Their passion for knowledge as the gateway to wisdom was one of the unifying fibers of their very being. The daily examination of ideas, including those opposed to their own, paralleled the daily examination of conscience. They were dedicated, even insatiable, egg-heads.

Naturally, they were subjected to attack and criticism by those who identified the new, the different, the strange with the dangerous and the subversive. For, the hater of ideas, the opponent of progressive change, is a perennial member of any historical cast of characters. The scene may shift, the costumes may vary, but the mentality and the performance remain much the same.

There is little doubt that did these men live today, they would be held suspect by some of their fellow Americans. Perhaps, they would even be submitted to investigation by one or other of our proliferating congressional committees. I must admit that the imagination leaps at the though of John Adams, that doughty intellectual, engaged in verbal conflict with certain Members of Congress who shall remain nameless.

Under the circumstances, the best we can do is to remind ourselves that even congressional investigating committees derive their authority and power, as do all agencies of our Government, from the people. There is neither provision nor place in America for politically autonomous elites. Nor to my knowledge is there any directive in our Constitution that provides that the chairman of any committee becames simultaneously a monitor, a prosecutor, a judge, and a one-man jury. There is evidence, however, based on some recent performances that some of these chairmen manifest symptoms of congenital infallibility, a most dangerous malady in a democracy.

But the harassment of intellectuals, that is of people who think differently from them, is not the real objective of self-appointed tribunes, charged with the protection of truth and virtue. Their aim rather is to attempt to force others to conform to their arbitrary concept of democracy. Obsessed

with a rage for uniformity, which they mistake for unity, they identify security with conformity. They fail to see that such an identification goes contrary to the essence of democracy, which is precisely intellectual and political nonconformity.

Democracy, in its genesis and growth, is a free and flexible human venture. It is not a rigid political dogma. It is not a guarantee against the uncertainties and insecurities of life. It is not static, but viable. Even at the risk of being called Hegelian, I would say that democracy never completely is; it only constantly becomes.

Thus, any attempt on the part of elected representatives, or of voluntary organizations, to stifle the free expression and the free discussion of individual ideas, no matter how unpopular these may be, is a direct attack on the concept of democracy as understood in the framework of American political thought. Those who laid the legal groundwork of our Republic, being solid intellectuals, were sharply aware of the danger of such despotic action. This is the reason that the very first amendment to the Constitution declares that Congress shall "make no law abridging the freedom of speech."

The same document makes no mention of freedom of thought. This was taken for granted. Freedom of thought to the minds of our early intellectuals was an unquestionable human right. They wasted neither time nor words on stressing the obvious. Anything resembling brain washing, even of the indirect type, would have appeared to them as an unspeakable perversity. Unfortunately, some of their political heirs lack their moral delicacy.

Shocking as it may be to us, there is danger that the fallacy of guilt by association is becoming an accepted principal of procedure in our political life. I think it is the most politically disruptive, the most morally subversive, and the most potentially destructive idea that our age of suspicion has thus far produced. It is a moral and political heresy which strikes at the root of human integrity. It is a sinister invasion of the soul of man, that unique spiritual entity, where thought and freedom dwell, where the person weaves his individual destiny, where God himself pauses at the threshold.

The use of this pernicious principle is an attempt to judge the content of a man's mind and the object of his will solely from external circumstances. Scientifically, it is a denial of every sound finding of modern psychology. Ethically, it is the expression of a smug moralism that perverts true morality. It is a modern echo of the ancient pharisaical charge that Christ was a sinner and a publican, because He consorted with them. On this debauched morality Christ poured His most sarcastic and ironical language, in which white sepulchers remains the key symbol.

The theory of guilt by association has a personal relevance for you who are present today. All of you are interested or engaged in the work of law courts. Many are criminal lawyers. Because of this, you too are often touched by the shadow of distrust. The legal and moral relationship existing between client and lawyer is frequently interpreted in the light of this false theory. In the morally twisted mind there frequently lurks the suspicion that the accused and the defender somehow share in the alleged guilt.

Ignored is the fact that it is the sworn duty of your profession to surround the accused with every possible legal and moral protection. To be charged, even formally, with a crime is not to be declared legally a criminal. Our society provides the only link capable of joining these two ideas into one valid proposition. And the link is the structure, practice, and the philosophy of our common law. Furthermore, the link is to be forged, not by the opinion of individuals, nor by common consent of the citizenry, but solely by the judgment of the court.

Hence, the absolute necessity for law, for lawyers, for duly established courts in any society that pretends to an acceptance of moral order and political justice. Hence too, the persistent effort of every real or pseudo-totalitarianism to control, subvert, or destroy the concept of law which provides the right of sanctuary to the free human person. If this security of the law were absent, then truly we would all be, in the phrase of Franz Kafka, "citizens of falsehood."

As lawyers and fellow Americans, you will agree that any behavior which draws its motivation from the cant of anti-intellectualism, the desire for enforced conformity of thought or action, or the false morality of suspicion and guilt by association is ultimately destructive of the democratic ideal. I remind you again that there is a type of exaggerated moralism which is just as dangerous to sound morality as is its more widely advertised counterpart, amoralism. Both lead to the same kind of moral cynicism.

It is this hypermoralism, parading in the robes of pious patriotism, which is creating in our country a political climate detrimental to the healthy growth of human freedom.

This is my conviction. It is the sole reason that I, a churchman, hold it not only a privilege but a duty to discuss with you the urgent question of human freedom and the law. I do so, because the topic, although apparently secular and political, is fundamentally a moral one. Human freedom is a reflection of divine freedom, playing upon the mind and will and heart of man. Human law is one strand in the immense tapestry of divine law. Both are creations of God. Both are natural defenses of the citadel of human integrity. We have the right and the responsibility to protect both freedom and the law not only against the attack of known external enemies but, what is of pressing importance today, against the subtle threat of those who, posing as their guardians, unwittingly perhaps undermine both freedom and law.

It is sufficiently evident that anyone who questions the easy assumptions, the ubiquitous slogans, or the surface pieties of contemporary life in America shall likely be labeled a critic, a pessimist, or, God help us, an intellectual. The last term, of course, is the modern synonym for a suspect mentality. It is a concise example of the decadence of both thought and language. More to the point, it is also the last weapon in the verbal armory of the embattled illiterate. It is an epithet which reveals the subconscious insecurity of the beleaguered mediocrity, who strangely enough often assumes the position and role of leader. His harassed cry merely indicates that he is making the painful but therapeutic discovery that his obsessive concern with secondary problems is no remedy for the major ones. It is but further evidence for the theory that riding in several directions at once may be an indication of equine versatility, but not necessarily of leadership. Finally, and what is of more importance, it is an admission that his simplistic solutions are not pertinent to the complexities of the modern world; that his madly coherent scheme of moralism which neatly but naively divides things and people into rigid categories of true and false, black and white, good and evil, is tottering on the abyss of reality.

It is well for all of us to remember that history, both secular and ecclesiastical, gives much documentary evidence that wishful thinking is never an efficient substitute for intelligent contemplation of the real world, its inhabitants and their deep problems; that shutting one's eyes to an urgent situation is no guaranty of its disappearance.

However, to any thoughtful person who lives in this period of history, which has been well called "the age of cemeteries", and which has created what Albert Camus strikingly names "the lyricism of the prison cell," to such a person the problem of human freedom remains central. For him human freedom is a mysterious gift that only a divine delicacy could confer on man. Like every spiritual good it possesses the paradoxial power to increase itself by sharing with others. Passive gratitude is a response worthy, neither of the Divine Giver, nor of the human recipient. Rather, it demands of us a vigilant awareness of its value and a dedicated defense of its life against all who seek to weaken it in the name either of piety or patriotism.

Pastepot Lobbyists Gum Billboard Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, today's Washington Post and Times Herald carries an able article by Mr. Marquis W. Childs entitled "Pastepot Lobbyists Gum Billboard Bill." Mr. Childs discusses the activities of lobbyists representing groups in opposition to my bill, S. 963, for the control of billboard advertising along the new Interstate Highway System. Many persons have written to me asking why truly rigorous effective signboard control legislation is not enacted by Congress to preserve the beauty of these roads, which will be constructed largely by taxes paid by the motorists who will use them. I believe Mr. Childs' June 14 column provides the answer, and I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PASTEPOT LOBBYISTS GUM BILLBOARD BILL

(By Marquis Childs)

More polite, more discreet, far more subtle, the power of organized lobbies is nevertheless more pervasive in this session of Congress than it has been for many years. And it is nowhere better illustrated than in the measure to keep billboards off the transcontinental highways to be paid for by the Federal Government with up to $40 billion of the taxpayers' money.

Behind the bill sponsored by Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, of Oregon, there is unquestionably wide popular support. But it is not brought to any effective focus to influence Members of Congress who might want to vote for the measure to protect scenic beauty along the highways.

In contrast, the lobbies of big business and big labor have quietly and shrewdly employed the old, trustworthy blocking tactic with individual Senators. It is an increasingly familiar pattern—the way in which the interests of big labor and big industry coincide for their own profit.

The billboard bill that will finally reach the Senate floor has been so watered down as to be scarcely recognizable. Of the emasculated version, NEUBERGER said ruefully, when it was approved by the subcommittee,

that it reminded him of Abraham Lincoln's description of a weak measure before Congress—homeopathic soup made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death.

It does provide that the Secretary of Commerce can enter into an agreement with any State to keep signs off a Federal highway project or any part of such a project. As a reward, the compensation to the State from the Federal Government shall be 90.75 percent of the total cost of the project instead of the standard rate of 90 percent.

This may be sufficient bait to keep some of the more scenic stretches free of billboards. But even here the power of the lobby should not be underestimated.

On the business side, the soft drink, liquor, oil, and gas interests have been most active.

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On the labor side, the quiet work done by lobbyists for the building trades, primarily the carpenters, the electrical workers, and the sign painters, has put off some who otherwise would have supported the prohibition on billboards.

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The reply of the proponents was that the greatly increased tourist traffic from the new highways, and particularly if they had notable scenic value, would more than make up for any loss of jobs.

But the most potent lobby is the outdoor advertising industry itself. Their spokesmen make the case that outdoor advertising is, dollar for dollar, the cheapest kind of advertising in the world. And they present considerable documentation to sustain that case, although they do not go so far as to point out that they get their medium virtually for nothing.

A newspaper, a magazine, a radio, or a television station, as those favoring the billboard ban pointed out, must go to great cost to win an audience. But once the highway is built a billboard can be put down on the crest of a hill at very little cost and every motorist must see it unless he wishes to risk destruction by closing his eyes. This is a vast captive audience.

Surprising is the fact that so little effective support of the proposed ban has come from the tourist industry in this country.

An increasing share of the traveling American's dollar is going overseas, and one reason may well be that in most European countries road signs are forbidden and natural beauty has wherever possible been preserved. The prospect of driving from coast to coast along a highway fenced in by advertisments is not exactly alluring.

Statement of Frazar B. Wilde, Chairman, Research and Policy Committee, Committee for Economic Development

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I submit to my colleagues the statement made by Mr. Frazar B. Wilde, Chairman of the Research and Policy Committee for Economic Development, before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, Joint Economic Committee, on June 7, 1957.

It is indeed a very illuminating, educational, and instructive statement, and I trust that my colleagues will find the time to read it. Mr. Wilde has given unstintingly of his time and effort to the many problems confronting the Federal Government, and speaks with genuine sincerity and authority.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF FRAZAR B. WILDE, CHAIRMAN, RESEARCH AND POLICY COMMITTEE,[1] COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

I am Frazar B. Wilde, president of Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., and chairman of the Research and Policy Committee of the CED. I appear here today at your invitation to present the views of CED's Research and Policy Committee.

We are asked to discuss the current expenditure and tax policy of the Federal Government. Three weeks ago our committee issued a policy statement on this subject, copies of which have been supplied to members of your subcommittee and which I would like to have considered as part of my testimony. I shall not attempt in the short time at my disposal this morning to rehearse the arguments and recommendations of that statement. Basically our position is a simple one:

First, expenditures should be reduced;

Second, taxes should be reduced as soon as it is clear that this can be done while leaving a moderate cash budget surplus under present economic conditions.

Whether taxes can be reduced in this session of Congress cannot be told until more action has been taken on appropriations and until the effects of those actions upon expenditures have been appraised. We certainly hope that sufficient reduction in authorized expenditures will be made so that tax reduction on a sound basis will not be delayed.

These recommendations are not based on a forecast that we will or will not have inflation or deflation this year or next. They are not offered as short-term offsets to cyclical fluctuations in the economy. They are advanced as urgent steps in the proper long-run direction, to be taken promptly.

Our recommendations are not addressed to shoring up or restraining particular sectors of our economy that may be particularly weak or particularly booming. In an economy where production is continuously being adapted to the needs of consumers and investors there are always some industries and areas that are rising and others that are declining. This is not inconsistent with general prosperity and does not call for remedial action by Government. Attempts by Government to remedy the special problems of particular sectors do not make for a healthy economy. They are more likely to consign a sector of the economy to permanent dependence on a government crutch.

WHY REDUCE EXPENDITURES?

In popular cartoons the budget-cutter is often pictured as a little, shortsighted, narrowminded man brandishing an ax in a reckless attempt to cut the Government back to the size of 1890. The budget issue is described as an issue between outmoded financial dogmas and modern human and national needs.

For myself and for the CED I want to disclaim this caricature and deny that this is the true issue. In a series of policy statements issued in the past 15 years CED has demonstrated its awareness of national needs and Government responsibilities in the 20th century. Precisely because we are concerned with the second half of the 20th century we in the CED are alarmed by a trend of rapidly rising Federal expenditure that has gone on through peace and war, through depression, prosperity and inflation, through Democratic and Republican administrations. We believe that this trend is dangerous to the efficient, dynamic, decentralized and free society upon which we must rely to meet the needs and aspirations of the American people.

We have in this country a highly effective society for meeting national needs. This society includes the private economy, voluntary associations of all kinds, State and local governments and the Federal Government. It is not a denial of the existence of needs to say that they should not be met by Federal spending. It is a denial that every problem, every need, every felt want is best met by Federal spending. It is a plea for maximum reliance upon the other elements of our society.

There are strong arguments for keeping reliance upon Federal spending to a minimum. Spending decisions will be more economical and efficient if they are made directly by the people who pay the bills. The economy will grow more rapidly if the investment of savings must meet the test of profitability in a competitive market. The freedom of the individual will be more assured the more limited is the size and power of the central government. Last but not least, we can help avoid inflationary pressures by holding down the size of the national budget.

The unfairness with which the burden of Government spending is distributed among the people is not fully recognized. I do not refer here simply to the nominal distribution of taxation, which is bad enough. But the legal imposition of taxes does not determine the final allocation of the burden. Individuals and businesses differ greatly in their ability to escape the burden by passing it on in higher wages and prices. Those with weakest bargaining and market power pay not only their own taxes but also the taxes of others, in the form of reduced real incomes. The inflation we have been experiencing has been partly, in my opinion, a process of passing on the costs of Government. This is especially likely to be true when Government programs, like parts of the defense program, are pushed with a speed that is bound to be inflationary.

These arguments obviously do not rule out all Federal expenditure. There are functions that only the Federal Government can perform, and today these are large and expensive functions. But every Federal function and expenditure must be rigorously and critically examined in the light of these strong arguments. This has not been done. Introduction of new programs and expansion of old ones has been accepted as a matter of course, as a remedy for every real or fancied ill. Programs have been adopted without knowledge of their ultimate cost and scale. Various programs have been advanced by the influence of particular groups that have special interests in them. And the whole process of increased spending has been facilitated by the automatic increase in tax revenues from our growing economy, which has permitted larger expenditures to be financed by higher tax rates.

As a practical matter, the way the democratic process functions at the present time, there is no adequate balancing force to the aggressive demands of well-organized groups.

I am not at all impressed by the argument that because our economy is growing we need or should have larger Federal expenditures. This argument is probably valid for some objects of expenditure, such as roads. But it is certainly not true of many other expenditures. In fact, one would expect that as people become more prosperous, the need for many government expenditures would

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[1] The Committee for Economic Development is a private, nonpolitical organization of businessmen formed to study and report on the problems of achieving and maintaining a high level of employment and production within a free economy. Its Research and Policy Committee issues from time to time statements on national policy containing recommendations for action which, in the committee's judgment, will contribute to maintaining productive employment and a rising standard of living.

decline. Rising private incomes and employment opportunities should enable us to spend less on such things as aid to agriculture, housing subsidies, and public assistance. But we don't. We used to be told that the Federal Government had to spend large sums because the private economy was not working well and because people were poor. Now it appears that we must spend even larger sums because the economy is thriving.

In any case, the point is not whether total Federal expenditures are now a large or small proportion of the gross national product than they were in some earlier year. The point is whether all the particular expenditures that are proposed are necessary. We believe that many of them are not.

HOW TO CUT THE BUDGET

Every item in the Federal budget should be tested by six questions:

1. Is there a real need?
2. Must the need be met by government?
3. Must the need be met by Federal Government?
4. Does Federal spending meet the need?
5. Is the Federal spending program efficient?
6. Must the spending be done now?

In our policy statement we consider a number of major programs and suggest reasons for believing that they do not fully meet these tests. For example, we question whether the mortgage purchase program is meeting a need that must be met by Government. We suggest that Federal grants for public assistance have exceeded the proper responsibilities of the Federal Government. We point to the failure of Federal spending for aid to agriculture to solve the basic farm problem. The agricultural program has been self-defeating because it is too large and it has demonstrated that it fails to meet the practical problems of agriculture in a free society. We question whether our defense program is efficient, either in the sense of the suitability of our plans to our requirement or in the sense of the economy with which the plans are executed. We recommend that some of the proposed public work projects should be deferred or even eliminated.

We do not favor a meat-ax approach to budget cutting. Some functions are vital and should not be cut. Some may need expansion. The meat ax is an instrument of despair, and only justified if it is impossible to get the information and cooperation needed for a discriminating cut.

Cutting and controlling the budget requires cutting and controlling programs. Something can be done, always, by increasing efficiency. But basically we must get at the number and kinds of things the Government does and the scale on which it does them. This is not going to be easy. There is nothing in the budget that somebody doesn't want.

In this connection one of the major changes which the Congress needs to adopt is the item veto. Any program which meets the test of real need is not likely to suffer an item veto and, if it did, it could be passed over the veto.

Fiscal year 1958 will begin in 23 days. It is not realistic to expect that all the program changes necessary to reduce the budget can be made in time to affect 1958 expenditures. Moreover there are outstanding program commitments, as in the case of farm-price supports, that limit the possibility of reductions in 1958.

Nevertheless there are cuts that can be made for 1958, and steps can be taken now that will hold down expenditures in subsequent years. I have attached to this statement a table listing cuts in fiscal year 1958 nondefense cash expenditures amounting to almost $2 billion. These cuts are consistent with the general principles listed by CED in its recent policy statement, but I want to emphasize that the specific suggestions reflect only my personal views. Although the table does not specify reductions in the defense budget, I am confident that economies, possibly of the order of $1 billion, could also be achieved there.

If such cuts were made they would permit enactment of a moderate tax cut to take effect at the beginning of 1958. They would raise the prospective 1958 cash surplus to over $5 billion and would give promise of a continued surplus in later years.

HOW TO REFORM THE TAX SYSTEM

One of the main purposes of budget reduction, of course, is to permit tax reduction and reform. I want to stress the reform part of reduction and reform. All tax reductions are good, but some are much better than others. And some tax reform can be achieved, if the need is sufficiently understood, without overall tax reduction, by reducing some taxes and increasing others.

In our recently issued policy statement we indicated what we considered the most needed steps in Federal tax reform. These include:

1. Reduce high individual income tax rates.
2. Eliminate or reduce special tax treatment now provided for certain kinds of income. (The special preferences and high individual income tax rates are not only basically immoral and unfair, but they are increasingly contributing to tax immorality and other bad ethical practices.)
3. Integrate corporate and individual income taxation more satisfactorily.
4. Reduce discrimination in Federal excise taxation.

The purpose of our recent statement was only in part to urge the particular set of tax reforms that CED recommends. The most important thing is that our tax system be thought through in terms of its long-run effects. I am not so naive as to think that tax policy can ever be entirely nonpolitical. Politics will always be a strong element in the combination of forces that produces tax policy. But we believe that it is possible to increase the influence of economics and ethics in the mixture.

This subcommittee, with Congressman MILLS as chairman, has made a valuable contribution to a higher level of tax thinking in this country. CED proposes a further step. We recommend that the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, which includes the ranking members of the tax-writing committees, should set up an advisory committee. This committee should be representative of business, labor, agriculture and consumers' groups. It should study the Federal tax system fundamentally and comprehensively and report to the joint committee.

One of the great obstacles to tax reform in this country is the wide and persistent divergence of views. Hearings are held. People come and state their traditional positions. And in the end no one has changed his mind and we are no closer to agreement. One virtue of the committee we recommend is that it would require people of different backgrounds to sit down together, try to find their area of agreement, widen that area if possible and identify the sources of their disagreement.

We are now confronted with a Federal budget which has grown enormously without critical examination or any attempt at overall coordination. We have tended to accept it on the basis that it was either the result of past wars or necessary to prevent new ones. Realistic consideration of the budget shows that we are excusing ourselves and are not facing issues squarely.

The present Federal tax system has grown up in much the same way. It was based upon war needs and it was not expected that it would be continued either at the present levels or in the present form. The combination of high expenditures and unhealthy tax structure is one of the most vital problems facing the Nation. If we are to enjoy increased growth and improved standards of living, which we all want, we must examine our fiscal situation with complete courage and a minimum of political bias. The present deplorable inflationary situation arises partly from governmental policy. It is already an intolerable burden and a threat to the future. If the present interest on the part of the public and Congress over the budget continues, we may be on the track to correcting our major evils. If we do, it will be a turning point in our history and a victory for all of us.

Suggestions for cutting nondefense expenditures in fiscal year 1958

[Dollar amounts in millions]

Program	Amount of reduction	Remarks
FNMA secondary mortgage purchase program.	500	This program was intended to alleviate temporary shortages of mortgages, not to insulate the mortgage market from general monetary policy. The proposed cut would reduce FNMA purchases under this program to the 1956 level. There would be little need for additional Federal funds if Federal agencies that insure and guarantee mortgages were given the authority to meet the mortgage rates prevailing in the market place.
Postponement of public works construction.	450	This would cut in half the projected increase in Federal construction (other than highways) between fiscal years 1957 and 1958. A slowing down of Federal construction is desirable so long as the demands for nongovernmental needs remain high.
Agricultural conservation service.	200	This program in effect shares with the farmers the cost of many current outlays for crop cultivation. By encouraging farmers to increase production, this program is actually in conflict with other agricultural programs, like the conservation reserve and the soil bank, which are intended to promote a reduction of farm production. Elimination of this program would not have any effect on the soil conservation program, which was designed as a long-run conservation measure. In addition to this step, the permissible price support levels should be lowered for future crops—but such action would have little effect on the fiscal 1958 budget.
Improvement of airways facilities.	200	A system of user charges should be developed to pay for the estimated increase in expenditures between fiscal years 1956 and 1958 for the improvement of airway facilities. This is consistent with a recommendation made by the President in the budget message and repeated in his letter to the Speaker dated April 18, 1957.
Federal aid for school construction.	185	This is a proposed Federal program which will eventually cost at least $2,000,000,000. CED has not studied the evidence sufficiently to determine whether there is need for Federal aid in this area. It is my personal opinion that this program should be deferred and restudied.
Stockpiling and other mineral purchase programs.	175	Current plans call for purchases of minerals amounting to $350,000,000 in fiscal year 1958. Much of the program has little defense justification but has become a means of price support.

Suggestions for cutting nondefense expenditures in fiscal year 1958—Continued

[Dollar amounts in millions]

Program	Amount of reduction	Remarks
Veterans benefits	100	This would eliminate the proposed increase for implementing the Bradley Commission recommendations. The necessary reforms to improve the equity of veterans payments should be financed by lowering excessive payments for non-service-connected illnesses and disabilities.
Federal aid for the construction of waste treatment facilities.	60	This is a program for Federal aid in an area which should be reserved entirely to the local and/or State governments, since sewage disposal is a local problem.
Area assistance	10	This program, which is intended to assist depressed areas, should not be financed with Federal funds. Although estimated expenditures in the fiscal year are small, this is the type of program that is likely to become very large once it is permanently established.
Total estimated reduction in cash expenditures in fiscal year 1958.	1,910	

A Pay Raise Is Mandatory for Underpaid Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include my statement of today before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in support of H. R. 2474, the Morrison bill to provide an increase in salaries for employees of the United States Post Office Department.

The statement follows:

A PAY RAISE IS MANDATORY FOR UNDERPAID POSTAL EMPLOYEES

(Statement for House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in support of H. R. 2474, the Morrison bill to provide an increase in salaries for employees of the United States Post Office Department, June 14, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, postal employees cannot strike in an effort to win a living wage from their employer, the United States Government.

But they can resign to secure better paying jobs in private industry, as they are doing in larger numbers, not because they wish to, but because they are forced to by the inexorable operation of economic facts.

The tight-fisted attitude of the Government toward its own employees, and its stubborn refusal to help them in their economic predicament, is endangering the functioning of the most important civil agency of the Government upon which all business and all citizens rely.

There is a very real possibility of curtailment in mail service by July 1, unless we rid ourselves of certain comfortable illusions that have carried over from the past, but simply cannot be maintained in the light of present facts.

Not the least of these is the constantly deteriorating position of postal workers who cannot support their families on their "mark time" salaries, that decline in purchasing power as the cost of living edges over * * * upward.

Nearly half of our postal workers are compelled to take outside jobs to supplement their regular salaries, in order to make both ends meet.

And the turnover of employees has reached an alarming stage. False economy that denies them a living wage is forcing experienced employees out of the service, to be replaced by new men who must be trained at expense to the Government. The result of this short-sighted policy is waste and extravagance that could have been avoided in the first place, by paying adequate salaries.

The Post Office Department has been kicked around for generations, but the time for playing games with it is running out. If we expect good service, we must pay for it. You cannot expect skilled employees to stay with the Department when they can get much better pay in private industry. No amount of subtlety, or delay, or rationalization, can get around that fact.

Take this situation that happened in my own district. A little more than a month ago, three new employees were appointed to the postal service in one of the cities. Two of the three have already quit. Just a few weeks' work was enough to convince them that the pays, in relation to the split hours that they worked, were not good enough in this year 1957. They both secured better jobs in private industry.

The cost of living has gone up for the eighth straight month.

But the postal employees have received only one pay raise since 1951.

The Post Office Department is not a discretionary or a luxury service, to be expanded or contracted at will. It is absolutely essential to industry, business, and the needs of private communication.

As the President noted in this year's budget message, there has been an increase of 11 percent in the volume of mail handled in the past 4 years, with only a 3-percent increase in personnel. But the postal workers have not shared in this increased productivity. There is reason to believe that some of the users have profited at their expense, and have not been paying for the service that they are getting.

Even these special interests dare not challenge the fact that the postal workers deserve an increse, and a substantial one at that, for the ground they have lost since 1939.

The shrinking purchasing power of their salaries, as compared with the gains made by workers in private industry, inevitably leads to a weakening of morale, a lessening of efficiency, and wholesale resignations.

Are we going to play political hide-and-seek with this issue until it results in a breakdown of the postal service? The consequences of such a crisis would cause irreparable harm, and would eventually cost many times the amount of the contemplated pay increase.

Even the Cordiner report (Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation) headed by a distinguished leader of industry, after analyzing the impact of inadequate Federal and postal salaries, stated that: "The net effect is a progressive lowering of the level of competence of the Department's civilian work force." Concerning the Government's moral obligation to pay adequate salaries, it found that: "Employees must receive sufficient compensation to enable them to establish and maintain a standard of living which will allow them to discharge their responsibilities to their families and to their employers."

Since 1939, postal workers have received pay increases of 103.8 percent.

The 10 highest representative groups in private industry have gone up 275 percent.

The middle 11 representative groups in private industry have enjoyed wage increases of 239 percent.

The lowest 11 representative groups in private industry show a 188 percent increase.

Or, from another point of reference, the average postal worker's net spendable pay after all deductions for taxes, social security, and so forth, is 88 percent above 1939. The BLS cost of living index stands at 98.3 percent above 1939. This means a 15 percent reduction in net spendable income (or buying power) for postal workers since 1939. The only people with a lower average weekly wage today, are those in sweatshop or depression type industries.

We are fighting a losing battle in trying to recruit competent people to work as carriers or clerks at $1.82 per hour when they can secure anywhere from 20 to 45 cents more per hour in private industry without prior skill or training.

The Cordiner Committee has described Federal salaries as second rate. That is what the Post Office Department will become, if we ignore the necessity of upgrading salary levels to the realities of 1957, instead of keeping them forever below the average paid to workers in private industry.

The warning signals are flashing from all directions.

Young men laugh when we advise them to seek permanent employment in the postal service.

"For peanuts?" they mock.

The assistant postmaster at Wichita, Kans., said: "The shortage of clerks and carriers in the Wichita post office is growing more acute. * * * In the last 3 or 4 months the post office has been unable to obtain enough personnel to fill vacancies."

In New York City they had to take unprecedented action. For the first time in history, the United States Civil Service Commission opened continuous filing for clerk-carrier positions in the post office.

Mr. James P. Googe, the regional director of the second United States civil-service region, admitted that: "Postmasters frequently reported increasing difficulty in securing enough eligibles to fill substitute clerk and substitute city carrier vacancies. In some areas, high wage scales and fringe benefits offered by private industry make it almost impossible to fill positions in the local post office."

The salary crisis in the postal service must be faced and solved, without equivocation.

I believe that H. R. 2474, by raising postal salaries to a level consistent with modern standards, will restore the morale of our indispensable civil servants, and enable the Post Office Department to fulfill those responsibilities that are vital to every person and to every economic enterprise in the Nation.

A raise of at least $500 per employee at this session is the irreducible minimum.

Otherwise, we shall risk a serious deterioration in the quality of the personnel * * * who are essential to the functioning of Government and private enterprise.

This pay raise for postal workers is long overdue.

It's Father's Day and That Means the Day for Wembley Ties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Sunday is Father's Day and once again every Member of the House and Senate, the President of the United States, his administrative assistants, the attachés of the House and, this year for the first time, the pages of the House, will wear a Wembley tie.

It was 3 years ago that my friends, Sam and Emanuel Pulitzer, the creators of Wembley ties and the world's largest manufacturer of men's neckwear, asked me to distribute to the Members of the House and Senate a tie for Father's Day. So widespread was the acceptance and reaction to the presentation that the Pulitzer brothers announced they would like to do a repeat performance the next year and for as many years as possible. This year it is the third go round and with bigger and better coverage. Today, 1,500 Wembley ties are being distributed on Capitol Hill.

Now, perhaps it seems a bit strange for some who are not fathers to get a Father's Day gift but there is justification for each one of you.

Now, for instance, take the case of Speaker SAM RAYBURN, one of Washington's most famous bachelors. In truth Speaker RAYBURN is the "father" of 435 problem children, not the least among whom is me. I know I am a headache to him more times than either of us would like to have it so but I share the mutual admiration and respect for Speaker RAYBURN of his 434 other "kids" in the House. He deserves recognition on Father's Day.

And now how about the distaff side of the House—those female of the species who each session seem to increase more and more. Of course they really can't be fathers but certainly they are the daughters of fathers and what better justification would there be to get a Wembley tie for Father's Day. One thing for sure, the ties, while not worn by the ladies—God bless them—will find their way around the neck of either a current father or a hopeful.

And then there are the pages in the House. Father? No. But each one is the father of tomorrow, so as future fathers they most certainly do deserve to share in the wearing of a Wembley tie so they will get accustomed to such choice neckwear.

The following letter was enclosed with each tie which perhaps tells the story as well as it can be related:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 12, 1957.

DEAR FRIEND: Sunday is Father's Day and that man is here again.

My friends Samuel and Emanuel Pulitzer, owners of Wembley Ties, the world's largest manufacturer of neckwear (and from New Orleans, of course) have again asked me to remember my colleagues in the Congress, the attachés of the House, and my personal friends in the radio and press galleries, on Father's Day.

This Father's Day remembrance is getting to be a habit and one which I know you hope will continue. It is the third consecutive year Wembley ties have been distributed, and I hope you like this year's selection as well as you did the others.

It is my wish this Father's Day tie matches your individuality and personality. If it doesn't then swap it because the Pulitzers and myself want each of you to be absolutely happy and satisfied with your New Orleans manufactured Wembley tie.

From New Orleans it has got to be right.

Best wishes to you.

F. EDW. HÉBERT.

Balanced Flood Control Essential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, recently I reported to the House on the tremendous flood damage in Oklahoma and Texas during recent floods. At that time I pointed out that estimates indicated that existing Army engineer flood-control projects in thesee two States prevented approximately $118 million in damages, and also brought out the tragic fact that an additional $50 million of more than $150 million suffered in damages would have been prevented if presently authorized projects had been built.

In the interest of giving the Congress a complete picture in connection with these recent floods, I am inserting in the RECORD an article by Jack Putman, farm editor of the Tulsa Daily World, which appeared in that newspaper on June 10, 1957. This article describes the vitally important work of the Soil Conservation Service in its watershed protection and flood prevention work.

This excellent article adds to the evidence that we need a balanced program of flood prevention and water resources development which will utilize all existing programs including projects by the Army engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Soil Conservation Service. Only by uniting behind a balanced program can this country look forward to prevention of flood devastation and to the full development of water conservation which will provide future generations an abundant water supply, a rich and bountiful soil, and a strong industrial structure.

The article follows:

SCS OFFICIAL CITES DAMAGE FROM FLOODS

(By Jack Putman)

Flood damage on 14 creek watersheds on the Washita River would have been reduced 71 percent if a complete upstream flood-prevention plan had been in effect during the recent death-dealing floods.

That is the opinion expressed by Jack Adair, assistant State conservationist in charge of flood-prevention planning for the Soil Conservation Service, after making a survey of flood damage on 14 Washita River tributary watersheds between Chickasha and Sulphur.

The area surveyed by Adir covered 963,178 acres where 9 inches of rain fell in a 24-hour period May 17–18 over large areas of the 14 watersheds. The downpour exceeded a 100-year frequency in intensity and amount, Adair said.

THIRTEEN INCHES IN APRIL

To add to the trouble, up to 13 inches of rain had fallen during April prior to the May 14 storm. Adair said the total area flooded on the 14 creek watersheds amounted to 35,567 acres. Depth of flooding ranged up to 5 feet. Water in some of the smaller creeks was the highest ever known.

Upstream flood-prevention dams had been installed on only 3 creeks of the 14—Owl, Chigley Sandy, and Wayne—and Adir said that if they had not been there, an additional 4,909 acres would have been flooded.

The flood destroyed rich crop and pasture land, highways, roads, railroads, and levees. Parts of towns of Alex and Lindsay were inundated by small creeks. Some 40 blocks in Pauls Valley were evacuated.

ONE MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLAR DAMAGES

Adair estimated that the monetary damage alone from the storm would have exceeded $1,500,000 on the 14 watersheds had no flood-prevention works been in place at the time.

On the other hand, if a complete flood-prevention program had been in effect on the watersheds, the damage in the tributary area of the Washita would have been reduced to $438,300, a reduction of 71 percent.

With a complete flood prevention program installed, having 55 percent of the area behind structures, 112,572 acre-feet of runoff water would have been retarded, he said.

Adair said that damage on the main stem of the Washita had not been appraised, but "it can be seen that a complete upstream flood prevention program would have reduced main-stem damages significantly."

CREEKS COMPARED

Turning to a comparison of creeks where one had an upstream flood prevention plan and the others did not. Adair pointed out the differences.

Rush Creek, with a 47-mile-long, 8-mile-wide watershed, was deluged with heady thunderstorms during the 2-day period. It has no protection from floods.

Adair's survey showed 1,000 acres damaged by scour, another 2,300 acres damaged by sediment and 3,300 acres damaged by flooding. Sections of creek bank, ranging from 5 to 30 feet in length, sloughed off and fell into the channel along its entire length.

He said 64 acres of fertile bottomland were destroyed and reduced to sediment "which ended up in Lake Texoma," while 30-foot-wide sections of the channel bank were ripped out for distances of 1,000 feet. Three pipeline bridges were left dangling, bridges were damaged or destroyed, fences were destroyed and livestock drowned.

SEDIMENT ESTIMATED

Adair estimated that 2,300 acre-feet of sediment, 1,200 acre-feet of this from bank cutting alone, spilled out into the Washita River to do damage to the main stem and finally a large portion of it to be carried downstream to Lake Texoma.

The total monetary damages from flooding on Rush Creek was estimated at $282,000 to crop and pasture land alone. "With a planned flood reduction program installed and in full operation, the bottomland flooded would have been reduced to 660 acres and the monetary damage reduced 86 percent to about $40,000," the SCS official said.

On Criner Creek, also unprotected, 4,200 acres of the 4,904-acre floodplain were inundated by run-off from the storm. On Finn Creek, unprotected, flood water washed out 7 major bridges, approaches to 15 county

bridges washed out, gravel from State highway and farm to market roads washed into cultivated fields. Sediment ranging from 6 inches to 2 feet in depth was dumped on 510 acres of bottom.

PLAN COMPLETED

It was a different story, however, on Chigley Sandy Creek where a flood-prevention plan has recently been completed. The 14 floodwater retarding structures were in place on the 29,349-acre watershed when the rains came.

Adair said 46 percent of the drainage area in the watershed is routed through the flood-prevention structures, and with the watershed completely saturated, the reservoirs have a capacity to hold 4.5 inches of runoff from the watershed.

During the 2-day rain these reservoirs on Chigley Sandy filled to a point where they began discharging water through their emergency spillways. The rain ranged from 4.3 inches to 9.2 inches during a 36-hour period.

"It is estimated that a rain of this magnitude would have flooded the entire floodplain of 3,786 acres to depths of up to 4 feet—without the structures," Adair said. "Local residents claimed that similar storms in the past had flooded the valley from 'hill to hill.'

ONLY 100 ACRES HURT

"Damages would have amounted to $28,500, of which $21,500 would have been to crops and pastures."

But as it was, only 100 acres below the structures were actually flooded, Adair said. Total damages amounted to only $3,800.

"Although runoff from this storm was greater than from a 25-year density storm, the completed upstream flood-prevention program prevented 85 percent of the damage which would have occurred," he added.

Adair said that similar stories are true of other upstream flood-prevention projects on other creeks in the State which include Double Creek, Sandstone, Beaver Dam, Big Kiowa, Owl, Sergeant Major, and Barnitz Creeks.

While Adair's survey showed tremendous damage, the greatest loss of all—top soil—wasn't even mentioned. That loss cannot be measured.

The Summerfield Strike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Wallace J. Legge, the very competent official of the National Postal Transport Association, published in that organization's monthly organ.

This editorial, entitled "The Summerfield Strike," is a very clear description of the recent money problems of the Postal Department. It is well written, factual, and to the point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUMMERFIELD STRIKE

(By Wallace J. Legge)

For the first time in the history of the United States, a Postmaster General has gone on strike against the American people. On April 13, 1957, the mail did not go through, and public attention was focused on the conflict between the Post Office Department and the Congress. It is easy to understand the progression of events, but it is difficult to understand why the strike was called.

THE POSITION OF CONGRESS

Under the Constitution, no money can be appropriated except by an act of Congress. In 1950 Congress put teeth in the antideficiency law. The law requires that apportionments be made by quarters, so there will not be a deficiency at the end of the year. For the present fiscal year, Congress appropriated more money for the operation of the Post Office Department than the Postmaster General originally requested.

In December 1956, the Post Office Department began to take money apportioned to the third and fourth quarters and use it in the second quarter. The Department should have asked for additional funds for the second and third quarters, but Congress did not receive a request for a deficiency appropriation until March 12, 1957.

The Postmaster General had advised members of the House Appropriations Committee in January 1957, that he intended to request supplemental funds. However, the Director of the Budget indicated that he had not decided to permit the Post Office Department to request the deficiency appropriation. The House Appropriations Committee assured the Postmaster General that he would be given an immediate hearing, if he submitted his request. When the request finally did reach the committee, the Postmaster General asked for a postponement of the hearings.

The Postmaster General did not give Congress sufficient notice that he was running into financial difficulty. When the House Appropriations Committee received the request for a deficiency appropriation, a subcommittee promptly notified the Postmaster General that it would allow $17 million, and when the full committee met, the amount was increased to $41 million.

The Postmaster General had almost half a billion dollars in funds when he arbitrarily, and in contravention of the duties of his office, discontinued services customarily provided by the Post Office Department. The inconvenience to the public was unnecessary and due exclusively to the determination of the Postmaster General to show Congress who was boss.

The Postmaster General's violation of the spirit of the antideficiency law was deliberate. Thus, a fundamental question arises. Shall Congress retain its constitutional right of financial control over the Post Office Department, or shall the management of the Post Office Department control the Congress?

THE POSITION OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The budget of the Post Office Department is prepared 12 months in advance of the beginning of the fiscal year. The Department must estimate the volume of mail anticipated 18 months before the year begins.

The volume of mail is beyond the control of the Department, and if the volume increases beyond expectations, services must still be provided. In fiscal year 1957, the volume of mail increased three-quarters of a billion pieces beyond the Department estimates, and consequently, increased the costs of operation. The increased revenue resulting from the increased business could not be used for postal operations. All revenues go directly to the United States Treasury. The Post Office Department can only use the funds appropriated by Congress.

The Post Office Department entered the last quarter needing $47 million in additional funds to continue operations throughout the fiscal year. The curtailment of service on April 13 was necessary because of the antideficiency law. The Department was faced with a difficult decision. They could either curtail service for the remainder of the fiscal year, or cease operations entirely during the last 2 weeks of the year.

During the past 20 years, the Congress provided supplemental funds beyond original budgets in all except 3 years. In 1953, 1954, and 1955, the Post Office Department returned $235 million of unspent money to the Treasury out of funds appropriated by the Congress.

The increased volume and increased costs made necessary a deficiency appropriation this year. As Congress had not appropriated the necessary funds at the beginning of the last quarter of the fiscal year, the curtailment was mandatory.

THE POSITION OF THE POSTAL UNIONS

The postal unions were caught in a difficult situation not of their own making. It was recognized that to become active in behalf of the deficiency appropriation might be interpreted by Members of Congress and union members as taking the side of the Postmaster General.

The heart of the problem, insofar as the postal unions were concerned, was the threat to substitutes in the postal service. If the deficiency appropriation had not been granted, substitute employees faced 3 months of unemployment. Recognizing their responsibility to substitute members, the leaders of the postal unions worked effectively to obtain the $41 million appropriated to continue postal operations.

The postal leaders not only contacted individual Members of Congress, but also called at the White House to seek Presidential assistance. In so doing, they were motivated by their duty to protect substitutes in the postal service and to insure some semblance of postal service for the people of the United States.

SUMMATION

Obviously, either the Post Office Department or the Bureau of the Budget violated the antideficiency law. However, we doubt that the violation was deliberate. The Director of the Budget has revealed that he was under the misconception that the increased postal revenues could be used for operating the postal establishment. For that reason, the Bureau of the Budget procrastinated on the Post Office Department's request to apply for additional funds.

The Congress should not bear the responsibility for an administrative error. In the past Congress has approved deficiency appropriations for the Post Office Department, and there is no reason to believe they would have acted differently in this instance if their prerogatives had been recognized.

The climax of the affair was brought about by short tempers and arrogant behavior. Despite the fact that Postmaster General Summerfield has been in Washington for more than 4 years, he has not learned that good relations with Congress can be attained only through mutual respect. In seeking additional funds, he threatened rather than cajoled.

The Summerfield strike was unnecessary and ill advised. It was unnecessary because the Post Office Department still had nearly a half billion dollars in the till when the strike was called. It was unnecessary because the Postmaster General had been given congressional and presidential assurance that he would receive $41 million in additional funds.

The results of the strike were chaos, unnecessary expense, and denial of service to postal patrons throughout the United States. During a period of heavy income tax and Easter mailing, mails piled up in post offices throughout the country.

The Syracuse Post Standard reports that all rural mail carriers reported for work as usual, April 13, drew their regular pay, but delivered no mail. In Onondaga County, there was a savings of $162 and an estimated 14,400 rural families went without mail.

Watertown, N. Y., apparently saved $16.74 as 1,600 rural families received no mail.

Ithaca, N. Y., reportedly effected a $21.06 saving, while 2,180 rural residents received no mail service.

Undoubtedly, Postmaster Summerfield has made his mark in United States postal history. Every Postmaster General since Benjamin Franklin has tried to maintain the tradition "the mail must go through." Future historians will record Mr. Summerfield as the Postmaster General who would not permit the mail to go through.

It is not pleasant to be faced with the fact that one man can arbitrarily upset the tradition of 182 years.

Michigan's Tax Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, my Republican colleagues from Michigan have recently been quoting certain figures on taxes and their effect on industry in Michigan. Their statements have not reflected the true picture of the situation. In order to set the record straight, I should like to present the following.

Of course, the Governor can hardly be blamed for the mergers of Packard with Studebaker and Hudson with Nash which threw many people out of work. Such mergers for economic reasons have been occurring more and more during recent years throughout the country and are primarily due to the fact that the smaller companies cannot compete with larger concerns so in order to survive they combine. It is grossly unfair to point an accusing finger at the Michigan tax system as the reason for industry leaving the State. Further, as you will note from the following two articles, more industries have been moving into Michigan than have been moving out:

GOVERNOR WILLIAMS' WEEKLY COLUMN FOR THE WEEK BEGINNING MAY 26, 1957

(By G. Mennen Williams, Governor of Michigan)

LANSING.—Some new figures have just been compiled at my request by the Department of Economic Development, which completely demolish the claim that business has been leaving Michigan.

These figures show that in the 5 years from 1952 to 1956, Michigan had a net gain of more than 150,000 jobs from the movement of industry.

These are the first trustworthy statistics on this question which have come to light in all the recent commotion about an alleged "exodus of business" from our State. I believe they are just about as close as you can get to the truth, bearing in mind that there are some borderline cases which could be counted either way.

THREE TO ONE

The Economic Development figures show that the companies moving into Michigan outnumbered those who left Michigan by about 3 to 1.

In the 5-year period, 35 plants moved out of the State for a variety of business reasons, with a loss of 5,369 jobs. In the same period 104 plants moved into Michigan, with 12,535 new jobs.

Also, in the same period, companies already operating in the State established new plant facilities here equivalent to 143,060 new jobs.

By adding and subtracting these figures, we get a net gain of 150,226 jobs.

That is what some of the daily papers have been calling a business "flight" from Michigan.

AUTO PLANTS

There has unquestionably been a decentralization of the automobile industry as the big companies build branch plants closer to regional markets. There has also been a marked trend toward merger and monopoly in the auto industry, with consequent loss of jobs in all the independent auto plants.

This trend has nothing to do with State taxes. Such plants as Packard Kaiser-Frazer, and Hudson, which did not move away from Michigan but for all practical purposes went out of business, are not included in the above computation. Only plants which actually moved in or actually moved out and continued in business are counted.

OHIO AND INDIANA

It is noteworthy that in the list of 104 plants which moved into Michigan, 10 came here from Ohio and 13 from Indiana. These are two great neighbor States which have been pictured as industrial tax-free paradises, into which Michigan business was flocking as fast as it could pull stakes.

Maybe part of the answer lies in some facts which I discovered last week when I checked into the Indiana tax structure. A little over 50 percent of that State's total revenues are obtained from something called a "gross income tax." This is a tax on everything taken in by individuals and business firms, whether in return for goods sold, or services rendered, or in the form of wages and salaries.

It is really a pyramided sales tax on top of an income tax. Everybody passes it along to the next fellow, until it gets down to the consumer, the wage and salary earner, the small-business man, and the farmer.

These groups, being low men on the Indiana totem pole, have nobody to pass the tax along to, and consequently they pay the great bulk of it, either directly or in higher prices.

Inequitable as Michigan's tax structure is, I don't think the people of Michigan would put up with that type of taxation for very long.

The last session of the Indiana Legislature raised this tax by about 50 percent, and provided that it must be withheld from the wages of the little fellows so they'll be sure to pay it.

The pasture on the other side of the fence always looks greener—but seldom is.

TAXES AND BUSINESS—THE DEMOCRATIC BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL COMMITTEE NEWSLETTER

The release to the press of Governor Williams' comments on the University of Michigan publication, Taxes and Plant Location in Michigan, stirred up a burst of angry replies from Republican legislators. The study, published by the University's School of Business Administration, completely explodes the myth long fostered by the Republican Party, that industry is leaving, or may leave, the State because of taxes. This was followed by a lead story in the Detroit Free Press of April 28 with a long report, replete with tables and quotations from auto industry executives, purporting to show that "taxes are driving business out of Michigan." Some of the statements in the story, said Representative Sallade, Ann Arbor Republican, "may have created irreparable damages to any hope for increase in industrial development here," an opinion with which we heartily agree. A massive propaganda job has been undertaken through chamber of commerce groups, the Michigan Manufacturers' Association by direct statements by spokesmen for these corporations, and by statements from Republican party leaders. In order that members of the Democratic Business and Professional Committee may have the facts, their newsletter wishes to give them the full story behind the headlines.

WHAT IS THE MICHIGAN REPORT?

The study released by the university is one of a series related to problems of plant location in the State of Michigan. It was prepared by the Michigan executive study group, a team of selected business executives and faculty members, financed largely by the Committee for Economic Development and the Fund for Adult Education. No member of the Williams administration is connected in any way with either the executive study group or its financing agencies.

The report, written by Prof. John A. Larson of Northwestern University, is, according to its foreword, "based on the composite views of the author and panel members." Listed as panel members are Albert Perlin of J. L. Hudson; R. E. Klare of Federal Mogul Corporation; G. L. Sawyer of Michigan Consolidated Gas; J. T. Maunders of Bohn Aluminum; and Keith Engel, C. P. A., of Touche, Nevin, Bailey, and Stuart.

WHAT DOES THE REPORT SAY?

Covering some 50 pages, the report is a documented study of the relationships between industrial plant location in Michigan and State and local taxes. Specifically, it answers several charges frequently made over the past 10 years by the Republicans—you have heard them many times. Would a cut in business taxes mean rapid industrial prosperity for Michigan? The report says "No." "Any reduction in taxes," the report states (p. 32), "would reduce State and local services, and little evidence exists that this would be regained in the form of new industries and new jobs." Would a reduction of business taxes lure new industries to Michigan from other States? The report says "No." "Practically speaking," the report states (p. 49), "there is no evidence that a cut in State and local taxes, even a very drastic one, would materially improve the State's competitive position."

HAVE TAXES DRIVEN BUSINESS AWAY?

You probably remember the solemn Republican campaign warning that a victory for the Democrats would leave Michigan a desolate waste of empty factories and breadlines. You probably remember too the notoriously slanted Michigan Manufacturers' Association poll of 1956, which purportedly showed how the State's industries were about to depart in droves. The university report nails these charges to the wall. And as for taxation driving business away, the report concludes (p. 48):

"Taxation as a factor in industrial location is rarely of primary importance. This does not mean that for certain decisions the impact of State and local taxes can be ignored, but rarely will this factor alone be the deciding issue in a location decision. * * * It is particularly clear that at the State level, no clear relationship between tax burdens and industrial growth can be shown."

A similar study made in Wisconsin by the University of Wisconsin School of Commerce, released April 29, 1957, comes to the same conclusion—that business firms "consider State and local taxes as the least important factor in locating a plant."

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER

Apparently frightened by the conclusions of their own study, some members of the executive study group panel have since claimed that the report was unauthorized, incomplete, or preliminary. Yet the fact is that the report was copyrighted, bound, published, and distributed in April 1957

with a foreword written by the dean of the School of Business Administration at the University of Michigan. Exactly what is preliminary or incomplete about it still remains to be explained. The neatest trick of all, however, belongs to Republican Representative Vah Peursem, who is able to quote sentences from the report that no one else has been able to to find in it. The truth is, as Governor Williams has stated, that "this study, made by the best experts we have, utterly demolishes the claim that business is driven out of Michigan by the State's taxation policies."

LET'S CLEAR THE AIR

There is no doubt that the Republicans will continue to put up a smokescreen of claims in defense of one of their favorite campaign fables. Members of the Democratic Business and Professional Committee can perform a valuable service in getting the real facts across to citizens in their own communities. The facts are simply these:

THE FREE PRESS STORY

The report published by the Free Press, widely reprinted in part, is apparently based on a study made in 1956 by the Pennsylvania Economy League of Pittsburgh. A complete analysis of this study shows some interesting things which do not appear in the Free Press story. A summary table (p. 17), for example, shows that Michigan collects slightly less taxes than Pennsylvania, slightly more than Ohio, and about three-fifths of what New York does. Out of each $10 of the State's general total revenue, these States collect corporate taxes as follows:

New York	$2.33
Pennsylvania	1.75
California	1.50
Massachusetts	.80
Michigan	.78
Ohio	.13

However, out of each $10 collected in general taxes, Pennsylvania collects $2.88 in sales taxes, New York $4.25, California $5.44, Ohio $2.62, and Michigan $1.65. In other words, Ohio taxes corporations 65 cents less but collects nearly a dollar more in sales taxes from the consumer than Michigan. This is easier on corporations, true, but a lot harder on the consumer.

IS BUSINESS LEAVING MICHIGAN?

Dan Gerber, prominent Fremont businessman and industrialist, said in the Detroit Times of February 10, 1957, that claims that businesses are leaving Michigan are pure nonsense. "There is no trend of industry leaving Michigan," he continued. "In fact, there is a trend in the opposite direction. * * * We are moving ahead. Not only in the in-and-out column, but in expansion of existing industry." Figures from the Economic Development Commission bear this out. From 1954 to 1956, 21 plants left the State, and 66 moved in, creating approximately 100,000 new jobs. Since 1947 Michigan has gained 2,919 new industries in 20 major industry groups. The Free Press itself reported in August 1956 that Detroit Board of Commerce figures showed a consistent industrial increase, remarking that Detroit's industrial growth is zipping along at a rate faster than most of the Nation. A committee of the Michigan Society of Industrial Realtors, as reported in the Muskegon Chronicle as late as November 1956 concluded that "It is not this committee's impression that industry is leaving Michigan faster than it is coming in. Our observation is quite the contrary."

WHAT ARE TAXES FOR?

We have a million more people in Michigan than we had in 1950. Michigan is the fastest-growing State in the central region and one of the fastest-growing in the Nation. It is self-evident that new tax revenue must be found if State services are to keep pace with the growth in Michigan's population and increased costs, general throughout the economy. New tax revenue must be found, particularly to provide for expansion of colleges and universities to accommodate the tidal wave of enrollments and to supplement school-aid funds to provide adequate schools and staffs in our primary and secondary schools. Further great needs in the area of retarded children, mental health, conservation programs, traffic programs, and many other areas of State services likewise will require new revenues. The question is not whether new revenues are needed. The question is who is to pay what share of the revenues, in the most just and equitable fashion.

WHERE CAN TAXES COME FROM?

At the present time, 6.5 percent of Michigan's revenue comes from the corporation franchise tax, 14.3 percent from the gas tax, 4.5 percent from the liquor tax, 2.9 percent from cigarettes, and 33.7 percent from sales taxes, with the rest from inheritance, motor vehicle, and other miscellaneous taxes. In other words, 55.4 percent of all revenue come directly from the consumer. To obtain increased revenue, Michigan must do one or more of several things. It can collect a personal income tax. It can raise the sales tax. It can increase or levy more taxes on beer, cigarettes, soft drinks, hotel and motel rooms, and other nuisance taxes. Every one of these increases the direct tax on the consumer. And please note. Four Republican Senators (Nichols of Jackson, Andrews of Hillman, Francis of Midland, and Stephens of Scottsville) have already proposed a one-cent increase in the sales tax, the tax that hits hardest those least able to pay.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROPOSAL

The request from State agencies to Governor Williams for next year's budget totalled $525 millions. Before Governor Williams submitted his budget request to the Legislature, he carefully pruned all requests to the bare minimum needed to provide the services that the citizens of Michigan want and need. In order to gain the increased revenue necessary to finance these services, Governor Williams has proposed a three-part tax program. First, eliminate the present corporation franchise tax based on net worth, which corporations must pay whether they show a profit or not. This is only fair. Second, raise exemptions under the Business Activities Tax to exempt about 25,000 small enterprises. This, too, is only fair to small business. Third, impose a corporation profits tax of 6 percent—paid only when the corporation shows a profit. Since this tax would be deductible from corporation Federal taxes, a corporation profits tax only recaptures for Michigan a portion of those taxes that go elsewhere, and provides a deductible item for Michigan corporations. If the first part of this program is adopted, Michigan will lose $52.5 millions. If the second part is adopted, Michigan will lose $3.5 millions. However, if the third part is adopted, Michigan gains $132 millions, or a net gain of $76 millions—which balances the budget requests submitted by the Governor.

THE PRESENT PROBLEM

The verdict of the people in recent State elections should give fair warning to the Republican party that people are not deceived by Republican propaganda, nor by dire warnings of disaster. The Governor's tax program contains the solution to Michigan's financial future, and no one should be misled by newspaper stories, cries of Republic legislators about "holding the line," or scare stories about industrial departures. Members of the Business and Professional Committee can do much to clear the air by knowing the facts, and by letting others know them.

Warns Russ Capitalize on H-Bomb Views of Scientists, Even Pope Pius

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including a radio talk by that well-known newsman and commentator, Mr. Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune Bureau. He calls attention to the propaganda against the H-bomb which appears inspired by Communist propaganda. His radio talk follows:

WARNS RUSS CAPITALIZE ON H-BOMB VIEWS OF SCIENTISTS, EVEN POPE PIUS

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, June 6.—For some weeks a tremendous campaign has been underway to strike fear of the aftereffects of nuclear fission in the hearts of the American people so that they will demand an end to H-bomb, A-bomb, and any possible new fission weapon developments. A similar campaign 2 years back did not get off the ground. In those 2 years the persons pushing the campaign seem to have learned a great deal and prepared even more in their goal for disarming America. Strong suspicions have been voiced in Congress that the campaign is part of the Communist conspiracy to dominate the world.

If this is true, then this calculated hysteria could spell the doom of America by stripping her of the one deterrent to Communist conquest of Europe, the Middle East, and in short, the world.

It must be recognized that the world would be a better place if man did not have the power of destroying himself and was not constantly perfecting it. An end to nuclear weapons under the right circumstances is devoutly to be wished.

Many good people are sincerely calling for an end to H-bomb tests. Unfortunately they are being guided and exploited by Communists. Recently the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party, had a picture of Pope Pius XII with a story of his appeal to mankind to stop the race to what could be atomic destruction.

HISTORY CASTS DOUBT RUSS WOULD HONOR FACT

This is an odd twist. Here is the party that would destroy all religion quoting one of the world's leeading churchmen to further the Kremlin line.

Suppose we should end H-bomb tests. How can we be certain that a nation that has broken almost every treaty will abide by an atomic limitation treaty? How can we trust the word of men whose oaths have no moral isgnificance? ?

A naval expert says the Russians have upwards of 300 submarines, some spotted at times near the American coast. Suppose the Soviet Ambassador appeared at our State Department to announce that his country had 300 or 600 submarines off America's coast and was prepared to launch a missile attack, which would wipe out most of our cities. He would warn that the slightest overt action would trigger an immediate attack. What would an American president do?

The Soviet Ambassador might pose such a question at the State Department tomorrow, and with dire consequences. But it is much more likely that the Russians would

first seek to disarm this Nation in nuclear weapons.

NATION'S VOTE FAILS TO SQUELCH PROPOSAL

In our presidential campaign, one of the candidates advocated an end to H-bomb tests. This candidate was defeated. Now this proposal is revived stronger than ever.

Congress is seeking to assess the situation. Scientists have come before Congress to warn that radiation from H-tests threatens future generations of mankind. Not all scientists are agreed on this, but it is strange that those who do agree have been paraded before Congress. Hysteria, it would seem, it being cultivated deliberately. As far as we can learn no such hysteria is being built up in Russia on Soviet tests.

The situation was aptly summed up by Willard F. Libby, Atomic Energy Commissioner, who told the Congressmen the basic choice is: Run the very small risk from radioactive fallout or risk annihilation by an enemy. There doesn't seem to be much of a choice.

Libby said the extra radiation from fallout is only a small fraction of the dosage we receive from our own bodies, our surroundings, cosmic rays, and X-ray doses taken by many individuals.

OUR LEADERS TAKE TO ACTING STRANGELY

In Congress, Representative LAWRENCE H. SMITH (Republican, Wisconsin), warned that Communists are using great humanitarians and the great men of peace of our day as tools of their propaganda. He said that although Communists denounce guilt by association, they are seeking to attain respectability by association.

It is strange that one day our leaders, including Mr. Eisenhower, are warning us that we cannot trust communism and the next day they appear to be seeking to come to an agreement with them on nuclear weapons. Many Americans wonder whether we are playing into the hands of Communists.

We can be sure the Communists are not humanitarians. They are not interested in protecting humanity as such from any danger of radioactivity. Under the guise of virtue, we can be sure, the Communists are seeking to rob us of the power and strength of our defense—the nuclear weapons which are guarding our freedom—so they can strip us and all the world of freedom and justice and liberty. This was their goal at the beginning, it is their goal now, and it will be their goal as long as there is communism.

It is time that Americans gave solemn thought to the question of disarming ourselves as long as the threat of communism continues. If the Communists were to ask us to give up God we would not do so. Why should we surrender the weapons that enable us to keep His blessings?

Too Many Americans in Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, one of the causes of our troubles in the Far East is that there are just too many Americans, military and civilian, in those countries.

In a recent weekly newsletter, I commented on the Formosa riot, as follows:

The riot and raid on the American Embassy in Formosa came as a surprising shock.

In the first place, while Chinese, as I have observed, are a most curious and voluble people, violence is not a usual characteristic.

Perhaps we, as Americans, are not without fault. Orientals are proud people. We are proud, too. Orientals set a great value on face—or pride—the position they may occupy in the opinion of the friends and neighbors. Humiliation carries loss of face.

The wife of the Chinese, an American sergeant killed, had suffered a loss. Had some American officer visited her, expressed sorrow over the incident, made an offer of retribution, perhaps as much as $1,000 American, perhaps the aftermath of the trial—the raid—would not have happened. Another incident, adding fuel to the fire, was the demonstration of Americans at the trial—the shouts and handclapping—when the verdict of not guilty was announced. To the Chinese present this was further injury.

Even so, had this been the only incident, the raid would not have happened but for other events. The widow probably would not have picketed our Embassy. Crowds of curious Chinese would not have gathered to see what was going on—and some overzealous hot-head could not have stirred up the crowd over this lone incident.

The last time I was in Formosa we had about 500 Americans there. Military men for the most part—living in the hills with Chinese troops at work on their job of making good soldiers of the Chinese troops—which they did. No families—no big American cars. Reports show now right at 10,000 Americans on that small island.

Streets and roads in Formosa are narrow and winding. Heavy hauling is by means of clumsy carts drawn by oxen, or water buffalo. Lighter travel is by bicycle or pedicabs—rickshas with bicycle attachments. Even the wealthiest Chinese travel this way, which is all too slow for the impatient, speed-loving Americans, who with their big cars, shipped to Formosa at Uncle Sam's expense, want to be on their way. Horns honk, brakes squeal, drivers shout, and they move rather recklessly through these narrow ways, scattering pedestrians and cyclists to each side. Repeat such incidents day in and day out, not only in China, but around the world, and it is a little easier to understand some of the bitterness and enmity.

Americans overseas live better, have more than many of the wealthiest natives. We bid up the prices, bringing inflation, which makes it harder and harder for the natives to meet their daily needs. We look down our noses at them as being backward—brag about what we have and the way we do things in the United States. We pay little heed to the history or customs of the nations where we are guests, not victorious conquering troops.

If we, as Americans, would conduct ourselves in these countries, as we would if we were guests in someone's home, being courteous and considerate, many of these little irritations which piled one on the other, finally reaching the breaking point, incidents such as the one in Formosa could be avoided.

Transportation Cost of First-Class Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have questioned the practicality of using aircraft for the transportation of first-class mail. I have felt that the benefits derived from the delivery of first-class mail by air were overemphasized and that in reality it contributed to much delay and improper handling.

I personally believe that Congress should consider this whole problem area to ascertain whether first-class mail would be more efficiently transported by rail, which appears to be more practical, less expensive, and more regular, or by aircraft which has a higher operating cost and encounters schedule difficulties.

I submit for the RECORD a letter which I have received from Mr. Paul A. Nagle, president, National Postal Transport Association, regarding cost ascertainment as it applies to railway distribution.

NATIONAL POSTAL
TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., April 23, 1957.

Hon. JOHN LESINSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LESINSKI: During your questioning of Deputy Postmaster General Stans, in regard to the 3-cent flying experiment, you were told that, "Distribution in railway cars is a rather expensive operation; it not only involves circumstances which are less efficient for the distribution clerks, but it involves a travel allowance for the clerk doing the work."

The postage-rate hearings threw rather basic doubt upon the validity of certain cost-ascertainment procedures. Perhaps the least defensible type of cost-ascertainment procedure is that by which the Post Office Department determines the square-foot cost of distributing space in railway-post-office cars.

Cost-ascertainment procedures, for example, credit a 60-foot railway-post-office car with transportation capacity for only 191 sacks. The actual number of sacks transported in a railway-post-office car is almost invariably far greater than the rated capacity.

Shortly after the inauguration of the 3-cent flying experiment, the National Postal Transport Association conducted a study of 6 percent of the daily railway-post-office mileage in the country. The result of the study indicated that, in most instances, distribution in transit in railway-post-office cars is the most economical and efficient mode of distributing and transporting mail. By contrast, cost-ascertainment procedures indicate distributing space in railway-post-office cars to be most expensive and, according to the testimony of Mr. Stans, the operation is inefficient.

The reason for the inaccuracies in cost-ascertainment procedures is that no credit is given for the number of sacks or pouches taken into a railway post office car and actually distributed. The Post Office Department maintains that this type of credit is given in a statement appearing on page 364 of the Treasury Post Office appropriations hearings for 1955, as follows:

"Cost-ascertainment instructions provide that on all test railway post office runs the maximum number of bags and outside parcels handled as storage mail at any one time within the limits of the authorization while distribution is in progress be reported. The bags and sacks are converted to the equivalent linear feet and are multiplied separately for each type of railway post office authorization by the annual miles of authorization to determine annual linear-foot miles for storage mails in all railway post office service. The total annual expense for railway post office service for each type of authorization

is apportioned to storage and distribution space on the relationship of these developed annual linear-foot miles of storage space to total authorized linear-foot miles of space. Thus, the amount allocated for storage service varies with the space used and is in the proportion of storage space to all other space in the car.

"The expense developed for distribution space is subdivided to letter mails, paper mails, and registered mails on the basis of percentages for each of these distribution areas developed from car diagrams. Letter and paper mail expense is then apportioned to classes of mail on the basis of tests of the actual mails handled within each type of space. This method appears accurate and adequate for cost-ascertainment purposes.

The Post Office Department continues in the same statement with a comment that, "It would be desirable for special studies and other purposes to state what portion of distribution space * * * is utilized for transportation separately from actual distribution facility."

The Post Office Department continues with the true statement that the position of the National Postal Transport Association "indicates the possibility of cost ascertainment assigning as a transportation expense the letter, paper, and pouch separations in a railway post office car on the theory that, as distribution progresses, these separations will gradually be filled and would amount to a certain sack volume. The assignment of this space to transportation on any such basis appears to lack any degree of exactitude. We are not here proposing to argue on the matter of any "degree of exactitude" for statistical purposes. Rather, we seek to point out that the cost-ascertainment bureau concedes that no ratio has been developed for determining the value of mail transported in the distributing portion of railway post office cars. Since this is true, then it must follow that statement reflecting upon the degree of efficiency of crews in railway post office cars are themselves based upon presumptions rather than upon "exactitude."

Sincerely yours,

PAUL A. NAGLE,
President.

Foreign Aid Trend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, in the very near future we will be considering the foreign aid bills in the House of Representatives and the individual Members of Congress will have to be thinking of their position on this matter.

Mr. George Todt, editorial columnist of the Valley Times of North Hollywood, Calif., recently had two columns concerning foreign aid which were most interesting.

These columns of June 1 and June 3, respectively, are as follows:

[From the North Hollywood (Calif.) Valley Times of June 1, 1957]

THAT ANTI-FOREIGN AID TREND

(By George Todt)

"Failure is more frequently from want of energy than want of capital" (Daniel Webster).

One of today's biggest rhubarbs in the Nation's Capital concerns the question of foreign aid to our far-flung military allies around the globe.

That the people are disenchanted with it can hardly be denied. Congressional mail is running pretty much three to one against is at the present time. And mail talks.

On the other hand, the administration is trying to hold the line, as have the administrations which preceded it, on the question of aid to other countries not our own. Only this time, it is much harder. The reason? The public was sold on the program in years past—but not now.

What our people are witnessing today is something which has been slow in coming, but has been readily predicted by students of human nature for a long time. We are simply reaping resentment from those to whom we have extended an over-helping hand. It's something akin to the poor little rich boy who tries to buy friendship from his schoolmates by treating them on every occasion. They soon learn to despise him. He should play hard to get.

The attitude many global peoples have taken by this time is not that we are out to help them—as indeed the American taxpayer rightfully views the transaction—but that somehow we are forced into such arrangements in order to protect ourselves from the Russian threat. They seem to have completely overlooked the fact that if this may be true today—we got into such a vulnerable position simply through guaranteeing their liberties from the Reds in the first place. But all this now appears to be so much water under the bridge to others.

It is time our allies woke up from their self-inspired dreams of over-importance which have caused at least some of them to become ensnared in a do-nothing complex which now seems hard to shake off. And it is also up to our national leaders to be firm with allies of ours who seem unwilling to carry their full share of the load and insist that they do so. A mealy-mouthed attitude in this instance by America is clearly the wrong approach.

Winston Churchill was considered the man of the hour in Great Britain because he saved that nation in her time of greatest need. I consider Mr. Churchill a great Englishman—one whom I respect mightily—because he always placed his country's welfare above that of any other. That is just exactly what he should have done. That is what his people were paying him to do. He did it loyally and faithfully—with performance, not words. His loyalty to his own people now establishes him as great in this reporter's book, as well as many others, of course. But I think Mr. Churchill's tremendous loyalty to his own people ought to serve as the criterion of what really constitutes great leadership anywhere.

In our own case at home, our leaders in the past—Democrat and Republican—have always seemed overawed by their counterparts on tht world stage. They have tacitly accepted the role of junior partners in the grand alliance—whether consciously or subconsciously—and we have been led around by the nose. It is time for a change. We pay the freight. We ought to call the tune. It is as simple as that.

I have scolded our British and French allies in the past for not doing their share in the mutual security arrangements in which they, as well as we, play so important a part. Let me make it crystal clear that I have not done so because of anything except friendship for these two still-great nations. I like them both better than anyone except my own people. Nor am I alergic to good allies outside our borders; I think they can be useful in the overall "big picture." In fact, I want us to have strong allies—not drift apart from them.

But the test of our future relations with all our allies must be based on effective performance between them and us in the years ahead of us. The American people believe now that they have been imposed upon to a very large extent. We question the wisdom of carrying anyone who will not produce for the mutual security of us all. We don't want the British to throw in the sponge and go home. They don't want the French fighting unhappy colonial wars with our wherewithal while the barriers against the Soviets are almost down. We despise our allies' trading in blood money with the enemy behind the Iron Curtain.

It is up to our leaders to explain this forcefully and with determination to our friends abroad. We want them with us, of course. But we also want them to play ball with us.

[From the North Hollywood (Calif.) Valley Times of June 3, 1957]

UNITED STATES SURPRISED AT BRITISH ON CHINA

(By George Todt)

"Et tu Brute! (You too, Brutus!)" (Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, act III, scene 2).

So the State Department is "most disappointed" at the action of our closest ally, Great Britain, in openly defying us and proceeding with a plan of practically unrestricted trade with Communist China? Well, what did Blair House expect? This is no surprise, or is it?

Actually, this selfish unilateral action on the part of John Bull at our taxpayers' expense—certainly in the long run—is simply the result of our own weakness. Or rather that of our leaders in both parties who didn't have the nerve to lower the boom on the British when they acted like spoiled brats recently and informed us that they were tired of carrying their share of the load in our so-called mutual security arrangement. They proceeded to nominate us to fill the gap they left in Western defenses and then gave themselves a tax cut. Astoundingly enough, no voices of protest were raised in Washington.

This doesn't make sense. The idea of America pouring untold billions of dollars into aid abroad—handouts, loans, and defense materials—to stay the threat of Soviet encroachment against Western Europe, in particular, has been sold as a vital necessity to the public here. It must be quite obvious to even the most myopic statesman that if our closest ally in Europe is so unconcerned with the Russian threat as to pull out her men and trade with the enemy—then why should the United States be so concerned about the Reds?

The truth of the matter is that the British are now openly defying our leadership in the Western Alliance—and if President Eisenhower doesn't clamp down on them forthwith he will find himself an erstwhile leader, not a present one.

The obstreperousness of John Bull commenced at Suez less than a year ago. There he went into Egypt on a sneaky deal on which he failed even to notify Ike in advance. Result: he was soon set back on his heels. Next, following this fisco, the British lion demanded—and got—a couple of billion dollars worth of new credits from us for his spoils and refused to pay interest on his American loans extending far away into the future. We let him get away with it—and without a whimper of protest.

Having found us easy on that one, Britain next said she was going home from our system of mutual defense at the Rhine barrier in Germany. Again we were soft, and said nothing, but nothing. We hastened to assure our dear friends that we would never allow anything to come between us and our alliance, not even the unilateral, selfish, and unfriendly treatment we had just been subjected to. We proudly proclaimed we were a patsy.

So this latest action of the "hooray for me and to heck with you" boys in London

should come as no surprise to anyone this side of the Atlantic. The harsher they have treated us in the past, the more we have responded to their wishes. So why blame them? It's nice work if you can get it. And the British can get it if they try.

We will do well to remember that the mountains of goods the British are set to ship to Red China—with whom the United Nations is still technically at war, incidentally—will only go to release Communist manpower to work on additional war potential for use in a shooting war with us someday. Where will the British be when that happens? On whose side will they be found? And finally, if they trade with Red China and help build up Mao Tse-tung's war machine as they now propose to do, then we might well ask ourselves whose side they are really on today? What is the true answer insofar as the American people are concerned?

Most critical item of all: When will our leaders speak out wrathfully against such obviously nefarious transactions with the enemy by our allies, as in this case?

In judging the question of trade with the Reds, let us be guided by the action of the British themselves in two past world wars. At such times they maintained that even the supplying of Germany with foodstuffs for the starving civilians in that country amounted to trade in strategic materials. We were told that anything and everything which sustained the German economy was contraband. Now that the shoe is on the other foot, we may well ask No. 10 Downing Street to explain what the difference is supposed to be today.

Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been much controversy presently regarding the development of nuclear power for electrical energy. However, I see no current opposition or argument to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. There has been question as to the safety precautions and the possible violation of the law by AEC.

I submit, for the RECORD, Resolution No. 46, Atomic Energy, issued by the 16th constitutional convention, UAW, Atlantic City, N. J., April 7–12, 1957. The resolution points out the lack of coordination between Government and private industry in the use of this vital element for the future benefit and progress of America:

RESOLUTION NO. 46, ATOMIC ENERGY

The development of atomic energy to serve the peaceful uses of mankind has presented to the world a unique opportunity for progress toward human betterment in all lands and among all peoples. Here is a challenge which the United States and the family of free nations must not fail to meet promptly and to good purpose. Our union has played an active and leading role in proposing what it believes to be farsighted, immediate and imaginative action by the United States to meet the unparalleled opportunities of this new era in human experience.

In 1955 President Reuther served as a member of the Panel on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy which the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy set up to review and report upon programs and possibilities in this field. In January 1956 he filed with the Joint Committee his separate opinion on these issues, and was a cosigner of the report which the panel filed with the committee at that time.

In August 1956 the UAW filed, with the Atomic Energy Commission, a petition of intervention in order to protest the issuance by AEC of a construction permit for the Lagoona Beach atomic power reactor in lower Michigan near the densely populated Detroit and Toledo areas, in violation of the law and of AEC safety regulations. It was joined in this action by two other unions, the IUE and the Paperworkers.

On May 2, 1956, and again on February 26, 1957, the president of the UAW presented testimony to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy calling for congressional action to reestablish United States leadership in atomic energy and to speed the development of atomic power for domestic and international purposes.

In February 1957 he addressed the conference on radiation hazards called by the AFL-CIO economic policy committee, outlining the unique problems confronting workers subjected to atomic radiations and pointing to the new approaches that must be taken through legislation and collective bargaining to cope with these problems.

One conclusion that can rightly be drawn on the basis of this experience is that the Atomic Energy Commission, under the chairmanship of Lewis Strauss, speaking as it does for the Eisenhower administration, is not carrying out the great responsibilities entrusted to it. By its own actions and inactions it stands indicted of total failure to comprehend the part which our country must play in helping to shape the future of the atomic age and of total incapacity to understand the creative potentials of the American system when its private and public resources are mobilized in effective teamwork for the achievement of common, public, national goals. Instead, the Atomic Energy Commission, under Strauss domination, and with Eisenhower concurrence, has warped and twisted a great national opportunity into a controversy over ideological issues which have nothing whatever to do with the great issues and opportunities which confront us.

Rarely have we seen so much damage done to the meaning and purpose of American institutions by fanatical forces abusing their power for their narrow and selfish purposes.

At our 15th constitutional convention 2 years ago we said:

"The power of the atom is a priceless public resource, holding out clear and early promise of bringing immeasurable benefits to people everywhere. But its benefits will be a long time in reaching the people if the present plans of the Atomic Energy Commission proceed without challenge, checkmate, and drastic overhaul by the Congress of the United States."

It is regrettable to have to report to this convention that to date the Atomic Energy Commission has continued in its inadequate, reckless, and reactionary policies without effective check by Congress. There are indications, however, that vigorous challenge of the Commission's betrayal of public trust may be forthcoming in this session of Congress.

1. ATOMIC POWER IN THE UNITED STATES

Delay in the development of atomic power in the United States has resulted from decision by the Atomic Energy Commission that private enterprise, not the Government must carry the load. Through this decision the Commission turns the job over to electric utility companies which have neither the resources, the know-how nor the desire to carry it out. It thereby curtails the opportunity of manufacturers, engineers, and research laboratories to gain experience and make progress in the new technology. The domestic-reactor program is a demonstrated failure. The job is not being done.

Only the Government has the financial resources to incur the risks involved at this stage of atomic power development. Only the Government can marshall all the resources of private enterprise that are needed to get the job done.

In his separate opinion as a member of the panel of 1955, President Reuther said:

"To meet the challenge and to realize the opportunity of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, we must mobilize all our forces and enlist the active participation of every segment of our economy. We must make full use of the capabilities both of Government and of private enterprise. Only by drawing upon the special contributions of each can we make satisfactory progress toward our objectives—fortifying the strength of our Nation, advancing the welfare of our people, and discharging our world responsibilities."

In a telegram to President Eisenhower May 28, 1956, our union called the President's attention to statements by AEC Chairman Strauss opposing Government construction of demonstration power reactors, pointed to press reports that Russia and Great Britain are forging ahead of us in this field, and asked him to direct all qualified persons under his control to make public all information in their possession on the relative status of atomic-power programs here and in other countries.

In testimony before the joint committee on the following day, President Reuther examined in detail and exposed the spurious arguments advanced by Chairman Strauss for opposing a responsible atomic-power program under Government auspices.

Nine months later, in February 1957, testimony presented before the joint committee on behalf of the UAW contrasted the grossly inadequate atomic power program of the United States with reactor construction schedules in Great Britain and Russia. Latest official information from Britain scheduled the construction by 1965 of between 5 and 6 million kilowatts of installed atomic power capacity. Latest report on the Russian program is that 2 to 2½ million kilowatts of atomic power capacity will be in use by 1961. For the United States the best AEC can claim is that we will have 1.3 million kilowatts of atomic power capacity by 1964.

This disgracefully inadequate figure is, however, grossly inflated. During the past year, one United States atomic power project after another has run into discouraging increases in estimated costs, or has been set back several years by technological difficulties that had not been anticipated. Not more than one-quarter of a million kilowatts of atomic power capacity appears really likely to be completed by 1960. Beyond that the prospect is highly uncertain since so many of the projects boldly proclaimed by the AEC are still in the preliminary stages and may never materialize.

The blunt fact is we lag dangerously behind both Britain and Russia, and our prospects during the past year have not accelerated; they have materially and substantially deteriorated.

This is exactly what your union has anticipated to be the effect of the mistaken, misguided policies pursued by AEC. The position which President Reuther took in his panel report and in his testimony a year ago is now being taken by manufacturers of atomic equipment in statements before the joint committee. They too say that Government must carry the major share of the burden at this early stage of reactor development.

Extreme pressures from Chairman Strauss and from the White House defeated enactment last year of the Gore bill which would have put the AEC realistically into reactor

development. The bill will come up again this year.

2. INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR ATOMIC ENERGY

Before the United Nations, on December 8, 1953, President Eisenhower electrified the world with his "atoms for peace" proposal—a plan by which the atomic energy "have" nations might share the peacetime benefits of the atom with the "have not" nations.

Today, his proposal has ripened into a draft treaty agreed upon by representatives of nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain and awaiting ratification by their governments. It provides a mechanism for bringing atomic power development to other peoples on the basis of their needs through genuine international cooperation and with full safeguards against extension of the capability of waging nuclear warfare. It is endorsed by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Russia is the only major power to have ratified the treaty to date. Western nations understandably wait for the United States Senate to ratify the treaty which the United States President was the first to propose.

Here, however, is another example of the tragic gap that exists between bold Eisenhower words and Eisenhower deeds. He has shown no disposition to press for Senate adoption of his own brainchild. Isolationist Republican colleagues of the President are campaigning against ratification, and the White House remains silent. AEC Chairman Strauss, holding on April 1 his first press conference in 15 months, spoke not one word on behalf of the treaty.

Only a broad national grouping of leading citizens and organizations can hope to prevail on the Senate to ratify this vitally important treaty over the indifference of a President who originally proposed it, and against the opposition of a diehard clique among his fellow Republicans.

3. ATOMIC POWER REACTOR HAZARDS

The construction permit issued by the Atomic Energy Commission August 4, 1956, to Power Reactor Development Co. (PRDC) for a fast-breeder reactor on the shore of Lake Erie between Detroit and Toledo was issued in violation of the law and of the Commission's own safety regulations and in disregard of the adverse report of its advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, which said that not enough is now known about the safety characteristics of this type of reactor to justify its construction at this site.

Because of the extreme public hazard involved, and because such irresponsible action on the part of AEC can set back the atomic power program many years, the UAW promptly filed petition of intervention in order to challenge this AEC action. We were joined in this petition by the IUE and by the paperworkers. Our action was endorsed by the AFL–CIO executive council August 30, 1956, and again by the industrial union department of the AFL–CIO February 21, 1957.

The Commission responded to our petition by ordering public hearings to be held, not on the subject of its own illegal action, as we had demanded, but on the questions of reactor safety and financial responsibility which should have been decided before any construction permit was issued.

This proceeding is still in progress. The record made to date, however, clearly establishes the financial irresponsibility of the PRDC organization and the sweeping disregard for safety which characterizes its plans for designing, building, and operating this reactor. Hailed by AEC as a demonstration of private enterprise assuming responsibility for reactor development, it turns out to depend absolutely over the next 10 years upon huge Government subsidies. Legality of these subsidies is in doubt and may well be challenged by committees of Congress.

PRDC's expert witnesses, the men supposed to be responsible for the reactor's safety, frankly admit upon cross-examination that for reasons of economy they are not adopting measures which would make for greater safety, and may actually engage in operating practices which will substantially increase the possibility of an accident.

Both the AEC and PRDC make clear they are willing to take risks in this reactor providing the Congress underwrites insurance to cover claims that would arise in the event an accident occurs. Financial protection, at Government expense, of the responsible parties appears to be more important in their eyes than protecting the lives and property of the public from an accident.

The hearing record also demonstrates how AEC policy with regard to secrecy of civilian atomic information is being employed to protect its own misguided practices from public scrutiny. Confirmation of evidence adduced by us in the hearings to the effect that a gigantic subsidy to PDRC is to be paid by AEC in the form of a very high price for the plutonium produced in this reactor was put under the secrecy classification by AEC and withheld from the record.

S. 1684, a bill to revise the entire safety procedure of AEC as applied to power reactors has been introduced. Hearings on this measure can bring to light the considerations which entered into the illegal issuance of a construction permit to PRDC. The record made by the intervening unions in the PRDC case will provide for these hearings an abundance of information and provocative leads.

4. HAZARDS OF RADIOACTIVE ISOTOPES IN INDUSTRIAL APPLICATIONS

The atomic age has brought into existence new forms of many natural elements which emit several kinds of high-powered radiations and can serve many useful purposes. They are also extremely hazardous to the human body. Like X-rays, they can both cure and kill.

These radioactive isotopes, as they are called, have already been issued under AEC license to some 1,500 industrial plants. Thus, an increasing number of workers are being subjected to possible exposure to these hazardous radiations.

This new industrial hazard is unique. It cannot be seen or felt. The damage done, which may include cancers or premature aging and death, and will always, in greater or less degree, do some injury to the children born to exposed parents, does not arise at once, but may be delayed for years. The damage is cumulative, each exposure adding to the injury done by past exposures. As President Reuther said in his opening remarks at the AFL–CIO radiation hazards conference February 27, 1957:

"We are dealing with a new kind of hazard, a hazard which is deadly, which is devious, which is unseen, which is persistent, which is delayed in its reaction, which is often hidden, but which is always eternal."

Regulations issued by the Atomic Energy Commission governing the use of the resources of radiation for industrial purposes are far from adequate. They permit workers to be exposed to radiation far above the limit recommended by the highest scientific authorities for the general population. They do not protect workers' rights to have the workplace adequately surveyed for radiation, or to have his individual exposure adequately recorded and made known to him.

Bad as the AEC regulations are, their enforcement is worse. It is practically nonexistent. AEC lacks staff to inspect the use of these dangerous substances which it is providing to industry under license, and there is no indication that it is doing anything much to train an enforcement inspection and enforcement staff.

In testimony presented to the joint committee for the UAW February 26, 1957, the committee was urged to make an investigation of the use and policing of these dangerous radiation sources by industry. Federal law and enforcement are essential. Workmen's compensation principles must be revised to meet the peculiar characteristics of this new type of hazard. A States' rights approach cannot meet the problem either sensibly or adequately.

In addition to legislation, there is a responsibility upon us in negotiating contracts to see that workers are fully and adequately protected, and that the procedures employed to that end are jointly supervised by labor and management. Here again, as with the advent of automation, we must meet new problems with new measures adequate to cope with them, so that workers shall not be made to pay with their health and their lives the price of progress in the atomic age.

Commencement Address—Catawba College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, June 3, 1957, Catawba College, Salisbury, N. C., observed its 106th commencement program. My colleague, Hon. HUGH ALEXANDER, of the Ninth District of North Carolina, delivered the commencement address which is a challenge to the youth of America. Because of its timeliness and general interest, under unanimous consent, I include Congressman ALEXANDER'S address in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Mr. President, members of the faculty, graduates, students, and friends of Catawba Colleges, I share with you the deep regret that our distinguished senior Senator from North Carolina, the honorable SAMUEL J. ERVIN, Jr., cannot be with us today. He is an outstanding American, a gifted speaker, and a devoted public servant, whose service in the United States Senate has been recognized by the entire Nation. I am honored to substitute for him on this auspicious occasion.

I shall long remember this day as one on which I had the honor to meet with my Catawba College friends and neighbors and share with them the joy of seeing their sons and daughters receive their college diplomas.

I am proud of Catawba College. I have known and count among my friends, many of her outstanding faculty members and graduates. I have watched with pride her outstanding growth and widening spheres of influence until today Catawba College is regarded and accepted as being in the forefront of the educational system of our State and Nation. Her high scholastic requirements and deep religious atmosphere are known in educational circles throughout our land.

This is a matter of deep satisfaction to all of us as we join together in celebrating the 106th commencement of Catawba College.

I can understand and appreciate in the fullest sense that great feeling of personal pride that swells the hearts and gladdens the souls of the parents who have come here this morning to see their sons and daughters honored. You have a right to be proud; a right to be happy; and I rejoice with you in the splendid scholastic achievement of your sons and daughters.

To the young men and women assembled here today I want to extend my heartfelt congratulations. Your attention to your studies, your perseverance and steadfast de-

votion to duty are deserving of the highest praise and commendation. You have gained a victory and your life henceforth will be blessed and shaped by the years that lie behind you.

I know there is a feeling of sadness among you this morning. It is natural that it should be so, for we do not lay aside the happy associations and fond memories of this life without a sense of sadness. While perhaps you are not aware of it today, yet tomorrow you will awaken to a glorious sunrise of a new day and a new order of things.

Graduation is a necessary phase of our growing up. It is a part of that mantle of maturity which must settle on the shoulders of each and every one of us if we are to assume our rightful place in the world. While we hesitate to break the golden cords that bind us to the happy past, yet the cord must be loosened and we must march ahead. In so doing we grow up and assume the rights, duties, and responsibilities of maturity.

It is in connection with those new responsibilities which you are about to inherit that I want to talk for a few minutes this morning. Some of you will go on to pursue further study at the post graduate level; some of you will immediately take your place in life and assume the responsibilities of a career and a home of your own. At some point in your lives many of you young men here this morning will have to fulfill your military obligations to your country.

But regarless of what the next few years will bring one thing is certain—all of you are about to shoulder new and more demanding responsibilites. The world you are about to enter as responsible young men and women is vastly different from what it was when I graduated from college; vastly different from what it was even 5 years ago. The conditions under which we live today are continually shifting. Ours is an age of great progress—great advancements on all fronts—in the arts and in the sciences.

In all things our civilization is moving ahead. Today mankind has more of the necessities and the luxuries of life than the greatest minds could possibly foresee in the past. As you take your place in tomorrow's world you graduates will step into a dynamic society—a society which holds untold promise for the future and the richest of blessings for mankind if made to conform to Christian morality.

Throughout America this week we have observed Memorial Day. It is altogether fitting and proper for us to pause a moment this morning and reflect on the significance of this day on which we honor the memory of, and pay tribute to, the heroism of those Americans who fought and made the supreme sacrifice that we might assemble here today in the full enjoyment of our liberties.

America and its free institutions is not an accident. It is the result of the sacrifices in blood and treasure of dedicated men and women who had the dream of a better tomorrow for their children. Their dream is our feality. Their sacrifice is now our blessing.

America and its free institutions has been handed down to us by our forefathers as a sacred trust. We must not in any way impair our free institutions but so preserve them that our children's children, in all the ages that lie before us, will bless us for our devotion to liberty.

Therefore, as you young men and women face the future it is well to keep in mind the fundamental principles upon which our Nation was founded and which have enabled it to reach its great position of world leadership. It is well, also, to remember that the character and strength of any nation is commensurate with the character and strength of its citizenship.

Our forefathers did not have the idea that the world—that society, in general—owed them a living. They had to depend upon themselves for food, shelter, clothing and the defense of their homes against the hostile Indian and white man, and thus developed an independence of character and spirit that has distinguished our Republic down through the ages among the nations of the world. The individualistic nature of our forefathers was the great force that wrestled America from a vast wilderness and made the desert bloom. The unfettered freedom of our Democratic institutions enabled every American to reach the fullest development of his talents.

Had the men and women of 1776 been afraid to face an unknown future, the Thirteen Original States of this Union would have stagnated and suffocated along the eastern seaboard.

We are living in an age of great change. Our age has produced in certain areas of our national life a feeling that the ideas and principles of our forefathers will not work in the 20th century. There is a school of thought in America today—and unfortunately some of it has been translated into positive action—that America has outlived its heritage of the past; that a new way of life must be initiated.

Such a philosophy is false and dangerous to our liberties. The great principles upon which our forefathers fashioned this Republic are as vigorous and vital today as they were 150 years ago. For the United States to forsake its glorious past of individualism and free enterprise, is to invite destruction.

I, therefore, urge you young people to cling fast to the fundamental principles of government as embodied in the Constitution of the United States. Your right to develop your individual talent in the way you see fit in a precious liberty that has been purchased at great sacrifice. To surrender that right is to give up your freedom and ultimately our American way of life.

Now, since the dawn of recorded history, every age has had its problems. Fortunately for mankind, most of these problems have been overcome and civilization has moved forward to the light of a new and a better day.

As for our present era, it will take no great amount of searching in order to find the problem that plagues modern society. It is a problem that circles the globe and has our great peace-loving Nation and the free countries of the world living in a virtual state of siege. That problem is international communism, the godless doctrine that has stalked the world with rapid strides since the end of World War II and brought misery and enslavement to hundreds of millions of people.

Only our great strength has kept that calamity from engulfing our Nation and destroying our precious liberty. Though we may never have to fire another gun—and I pray God that such may be the case—in the defense of our way of life, yet we will have the shadow of international communism to face for many years to come. It will force us to spend our treasure and place our young men in uniform for many years. It will keep the world in a constant state of tension and agitation and will tax the patience of free men.

There is no immediate solution to this problem. The only thing we can do is to keep our Nation's defenses strong and keep ourselves educated to the dangers of the ever-present menace. The burden of this tremendous task to maintain our liberties will rest in a short time with you young men and women. If ever there was a period in our national existence when young people should be conscious of their liberties and the blessings of their American citizenship, it is the age in which we are now living.

So, I say to you young graduates that you have a solemn duty to perform. It has been thrust upon the free world by causes over which we have no control. But nevertheless, we must cope with it and conquer it, or our way of life will be destroyed. We must, therefore, be vigilant of our liberties and on guard against any material force or philosophy that would destroy our democratic institutions. We should glory in our Americanism and should never give our allegiance to any false doctrine however noble it may sound on the surface. So long as young America understands, appreciates, and loves Americanism, so long then will we maintain the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

Let us realize here today that America is the last great hope of the world. If we fail in our mission civilization will be set back a thousand years. Let us resolve, therefore, to face the greatest challenge of our age with determination and courage and in so doing we cannot help but have a brighter tomorrow.

As we face the coming challenge of the future we must have a firm foundation upon which to ground our hopes, our ambitions, and our spiritual aspirations. Nothing of value in this life has ever resulted without plan or purpose. It has been said that man cannot live by bread alone. I know of nothing truer than that fundamental statement. Man, in brief, needs Christ.

As we walk the pathways of life we must travel hand in hand with Him if we are to have inner peace and material success in its truest sense. In our modern world, beset on all sides with the forces of atheistic materialism and spiritual doubt, we need to keep Him near. The great power and moral force of His teachings are the sure foundation upon which every successful life must rest.

In my work in Washington I meet many men who have risen to places of power, wealth, and fame. One thing has always impressed me in connection with their character. They have been men with spiritual convictions; men in whose bosoms the glory of Christ has manifested itself.

Let us remember, always, that a life shared with Him is a happy life—a rich life—a full life. As you begin your march into the future, take along His companionship. There is nothing that I could say to you today that carries so much meaning and so much promise for your future well being.

Life will challenge you on all sides. That is natural. Every day many situations will arise in which you must make decisions. In making these decisions you will often have an inner struggle as to what you should do. You will be tempted to do the so-called smart thing, or that which is more advantageous to you from the standpoint of profit or gain.

But the smart thing—the advantageous thing—should never be the rule by which you govern your life.

There is only one thing which you should do—in fact, you must do—that is the right thing. Only the right thing—that which is just and proper—will ever be the smart thing in life for any of us.

It has been said that if we are true to ourselves then we cannot be false to any man. There is much wisdom in that statement, and it would be wise for us to carry it with us in the days ahead.

We should strive at all times to be ourselves. The Creator shaped each of us in His own image and endowed us with a separate and distinct personality. There is no need in this life for any of us to effect the ways and attitudes of others. Only by developing our own personalities and coming to know and appreciate the strength and weakness that is inherent in our nature, can we find happiness and lead successful lives.

I do not know what success means to the young men and women assembled here this

morning. Possibly each of us in our own way has a definition of success. Some of us may look upon success as wealth. Some may consider fame as success, while others would consider success as having enough of the essential things of life as to be free from want.

But to me the successful man or woman is the person who grows each day a better and more useful citizen. The successful man, to my way of thinking, is the individual who gives without thought of reward to others, and strives to build a better community in which to live.

I might add that there are unlimited possibilities for young people today. It is true that the frontier in America has disappeared and it is no longer possible for vigorous youth to pack his family in a wagon and set out across the mountains to virgin territory. But keep in mind that not all frontiers can be marked off in miles on the ground. The world is full of unknown, uncharted realms waiting discovery by mankind. There is a great need for prepared young people in the fields of science, government, education, business, and engineering. The shortage is so great in many of these fields that I understand recruiting from our colleges is a common practice today. In my opinion the opportunities of today are perhaps greater than at any time in our history. I am sure that I do not need to remind you that the traits of character that have marked heroes throughout history are still very necessary in our competitive living. Courage, initiative, hard work, enthusiasm, and honesty are just as valuable today as in the past.

May I suggest that even with all the demands that are made upon you—take time to live.

Take time to think—it is the source of power.

Take time to give—it is too short a day to be selfish.

Take time to play—it is the secret of perpetual youth.

Take time to read—it is the fountain of wisdom.

Take time to pray—it is the greatest power on earth.

Take time to love and be loved—it is a God-given privilege.

Take time to be friendly—it is the road to happiness.

Take time to laugh—it is the music of the soul.

Take time to work—it is the price of success.

In conclusion, I would like to sum up briefly what I have endeavored to put across to you young men and women this morning. As you leave here for the last time as a class I would like for you to carry with you a realization of your responsibility as a young American in a world that is to a great extent hostile to the ideals upon which your Nation rests. I would like for you to go out into the main stream of life dedicated to your country and to the principles for which it stands. I would like for you to hold fast to the Cross of Jesus Christ, for it will ever be a source of strength and comfort to you, in victory and in defeat.

And, in conclusion, I would like for you to know yourself and to be true to yourself in all things. If you will remember these things and keep them ever before you, your paths will ever be bright and your lives a success.

Again, I want to say it has been an honor and a privilege to be with you this morning. Thank you for your kindness in inviting me here, and may God bless each and every one of you.

Independent Scrap Dealers Approve Small Business Committee's Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Select Committee on Small Business is conducting an investigation of the iron and steel scrap industry. This is an extremely important investigation from the standpoint of several thousand small businesses. Secondary iron and steel are, of course, vital raw materials in the operations of the steel mills, many of which are small, semi-integrated producers, without ore mines and blast furnaces of their own.

In addition, there are approximately 4,000 independent scrap-yard dealers in the United States whose business consists of collecting, processing and selling iron and steel scrap. These scrap yard dealers are, in reality, small manufacturers. In addition to serving as collection points for the assembly of scrap materials—which is one of the functions of any manufacturer—the scrap yard dealers serve the indispensable functions of sorting, grading, processing, compressing, and bundling the scrap materials—in short, putting these materials into forms which make them usable in still other manufacturing processes.

SCRAP FIRMS ARE FAMILY BUSINESSES

The scrap yard dealers business is perhaps unique among American businesses, in that almost all of these firms are individual family enterprises. In fact, there is an old saying in this industry that the size of the business depends upon how many brothers there are in the family, to help run the business. Within the last few years however, one or more very large corporations have arisen to tower over all the smaller competitors in this industry. Furthermore, not only have organizational changes been taking place, but new trade practices have been taking place which pose serious threats—or so it seems—to the welfare and even to the continued existence of independent scrap-yard dealers. These have occurred in both domestic and foreign markets. The Small Business Committee of the House is, as I have said, looking into these matters; and it is hoped that when the Committee has learned all of the pertinent facts it will have some constructive recommendations to make. Further hearings will be held next week, on June 18 and 19.

SCRAP DEALERS EXPRESS "THANKS"

The National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., has expressed its approval of the commiteee's investigation, and expressed its "thanks" for the Committee's work on this matter to date. The Committee is in receipt of a letter of June 7, from Mr. Stanley Asrael, President of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., attaching a resolution which was adopted on that date by the board of directors of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc. I believe that other Members may be interested in this letter and resolution, which are as follows:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT SCRAP YARD DEALERS, INC.,
New York, N. Y., June 7, 1957.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Select Committee on Small Business,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: I take pleasure in enclosing herewith text of a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., at its meeting in New York City on Monday, June 3, 1957.

It not only expresses the views of the board but, I feel, fairly reflects the attitude of the approximately 4,000 independent scrap yard dealers in the United States.

We have had several meetings with members of your staff. I take this opportunity to state to you the great regard which I have for their work and to note the high level of efficiency and courtesy on which the current study is being conducted, judging from my personal experience.

Very truly yours,

STANLEY ASRAEL,
President.

Resolved, That the board of directors of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., at a meeting assembled, extends its thanks to Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the House Small Business Committee, for the splendid work being conducted by the committee and its staff in its trail-blazing study of the vital scrap industry, composed for the greatest part, numerically, of small-business men; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of the board of directors of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., that the current study fills a sorely needed review of this industry which has too long been regarded as being merely on a standby basis and has been denied proper recognition for the indispensable role which it plays in our national economy as one of the few remaining major "noncaptive" components of the steel industry.

Housing Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in a letter to the Washington Post and Times Herald, President George S. Goodyear, of the National Association of Home Builders, comments on the housing legislation recently approved by the Senate.

Mr. Goodyear presents the views of the builders ably and well. I ask unanimous consent that his letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 13, 1957]

NEXT TO NOTHING DOWN

Your June 2 editorial, Next to Nothing Down, seems to me to be a rather superficial examiantion of one of the most important and far-reaching legislative steps taken by the Congress to make it possible for all Americans to buy good homes

It appears to me that, in trying to appraise the Senate action in the brief space of two paragraphs, you missed entirely the broad scope of the Senate's accomplishment. This legislation is aimed at one of the basic objectives which the Washington Post traditionally has supported—good housing for all the people.

If it is enacted into law, it will—for the first time in our history—bring home ownership within the reach of every self-supporting family in America. There are millions of such families today who want and need homes but who—for one reason or another—have been unable to accumulate sufficient cash savings for the downpayments now required under law.

The only question you raise is whether these people are good mortgage risks; that is, Are they going to be able to pay for their homes? I shall cite some statistics which show they are, but for the moment let's consider this: Does the real security of a home mortgage depend upon a 3 or a 5 or a 10 percent downpayment, or does it actually rest on the integrity of the American family and faith in the future progress of this Nation?

No statistics can give the final measure of a man's integrity, but the record certainly is on the side of the American home buyer. If your editorial writer had examined the official record of the FHA program since its inception in the 1930s he would have found that the default rate on nearly $29 billion of FHA-insured home loans has been only three-tenths of 1 percent. And the defaults on GI loans, made for little or nothing down, amount to only three-fifths of 1 percent on $40 billion. Surely, you will agree that FHA and GI home buyers have not "walked away" from their obligations?

The National Association of Home Builders consistently has opposed the so-called no-down-payment loans which would encourage reckless and irresponsible home buying; and it has supported Government regulations which require the same careful credit investigation for FHA and GI home buyers as are demanded on conventionally financed home mortgages. But there is a vast difference between reckless lending and the extension of housing credit to responsible families who pride themselves on paying their debts.

The pending legislation provides an unprecedented opportunity for these families to achieve home ownership and, at the same time, to build up family savings through their monthly mortgage payments, which they could not do while paying the same or even slightly less in rent.

As for the advantages of buying versus renting, I should like to call your attention to an article published in your newspaper on May 27, which graphically shows what has happened to rents and housing costs in the Washington area. The article found that housing costs in this area have remained practically unchanged since January 1952, while rents have risen continuously.

It also pointed to the heavy cost of financing home ownership through second trusts, which add enormously to the home buyer's burdens, and which NAHB has opposed. We seek a sensible, long-term pattern of mortgage financing which will enable the great majority of American families of modest means to buy homes without undue financial strain.

As to your claim that home builders' methods are outmoded and wasteful, I can only say that this is a long-outmoded cliche which has no reality today. The Federal, State, and local building codes under which home builders are compelled to operate may indeed be outmoded—and are in most communities—but the home-building industry is constantly seeking new and improved methods of construction. We invite your editorial writers to visit NAHB's new research institute home in Kensington, Md., and see for themselves what is being done to provide better and more economical materials for the American home.

GEO. S. GOODYEAR,
President, National Association of Home Builders.
WASHINGTON.

Extension of FDIC Power Hits State Bank Departments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting and informative article, entitled "Extension of FDIC Power Hits State Bank Departments," written by Mr. Ben DuBois, of Sauk Centre, Minn., secretary of the Independent Bankers Association, appeared in the June 1957 issue of The Independent Banker, known as the national voice of America's independent bankers.

Believing the article will be of interest to the Members of the Congress, I am inserting it in the RECORD at this time.

The article follows:

EXTENSION OF FDIC POWER HITS STATE BANK DEPARTMENTS

(By Ben DuBois)

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation came into being for the purpose of insuring bank deposits as a protection to the depositing public. It was permitted to examine nonmember State banks and, in case of necessity, State members of the Federal Reserve System and national banks. The purpose of this examination privilege was to minimize the corporation's risks. This has been accomplished.

During the 22 years that the corporation has been operating, the total net loss has been a little less than $21 million. For the year ending December 31, 1956, net income from United States Government securities alone amounted to over $43 million. Total expenses and losses for that year were about $10 million. The total losses in 22 years were much less than the income on investments for 1 year. The corporation certainly has minimized its risks.

From the insurance standpoint the corporation has done an excellent job. It is very much a worthwhile organization. It has brought a high degree of stability to banking. It has proved that the insurance of deposits is feasible, and the banking fraternity and the public in general look upon the corporation with deep respect.

COMPLAINTS HEARD

But through its examinations, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is becoming a policymaker. Monetary policies should be left to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Also, the FDIC is encroaching upon the prerogatives of the banking departments, in some instances pushing the State banking departments into subservient position.

We hear more complaints about the examinations of the FDIC than we do of the other examining agencies. The comptroller of the currency sits on the FDIC Board. We hear little criticism of national bank examinations.

Is there a movement on foot, abetted by the comptroller as director of the FDIC, to encourage State banks to change to a national charter or to avoid the irritating examinations by the FDIC by becoming a member of the Federal Reserve System?

ALL EXAMS THOROUGH

It can be assumed, we believe, that examinations by the National Banking Department and by the Federal Reserve banks are fully as thorough as the examinations by the FDIC. From personal experience, we believe the examinations by the State banking departments are equally good.

Is the assumption of more and more direction to banks by the corporation through its examinations a scheme of the FDIC to break down the autonomy of the States and to supervise, direct, and make policies for State banks through a Washington office?

Perhaps there is no well laid plan to do any of the things enumerated above. Maybe it is merely Washington bureaucracy stretching out for more control.

We believe we see dangerous handwriting on the wall that should be heeded. We often wonder why the FDIC as an insurer needs to examine all nonmember State banks. It accepts in general the examinations made through the Comptroller of the Currency's office as well as examinations made through the different Federal Reserve Banks. Couldn't it accept the examinations made by the different State banking departments?

The State banking departments have a responsibility for seeing to it that the banks under their supervision are properly run. These agencies will do their utmost to protect depositors of State banks. It is patent on its face that the corporation sort of looks down its nose upon examinations made by State banking departments.

State banks, of course, pay a fee for examinations by the State banking departments. The FDIC makes no charge, but the banks pay for this examination nevertheless through the premiums they pay to the corporation.

If the corporation maintained only a skeleton crew for examining problem banks, it could lessen its cost of operation and we believe that ultimately it could return more of the premium the banks pay the FDIC.

As long as the corporation fails to recognize the competency of examinations by State banking departments, the more it puts our State banking departments in a subservient position.

SETTING A TREND?

Perhaps the trend is toward eliminating examinations by the State Department. Then the only thing that would be left is the right of chartering. These rights are infringed upon a bit because when a State issues a new charter, the new State bank may get insurance or it may not.

On the other hand, a charter issued to a national bank automatically gives it insurance. If a going bank can't secure insurance from the FDIC, it may join the Federal Reserve System and then the corporation will insure it. It appears to be a lopsided situation.

When a newly chartered state bank makes application to the FDIC for insurance, the corporation in many instances withholds insurance until the bank management se-

lects an executive officer satisfactory to the FDIC.

The corporation doesn't leave it to the state banking department to decide whether or not the proposed executive officer is competent. Taking away from the state banking departments their responsibilities weakens these departments.

Perhaps in some instances the shucking of responsibility is pleasant. Final disposition of troublesome problems can be placed on the other shoulders. However, if we are to maintain strong state banking departments, these departments must measure up to their responsibilities.

It is our belief that when the Congress permitted the FDIC to examine banks it was for the purpose of minimizing risks, not to give the corporation power to set policies and to select managing officers for the banks.

It was not the intent of Congress, surely, to have the corporation dominate the situation and to put state banking departments in a position of less responsibility.

Unless corrections are made, our dual system of banking will become a hollow shell and by indirection its substance may be destroyed.

Salute to Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, yesterday an event of special importance to our Nation and to the labor movement occurred in New York City with the celebration of David Dubinsky's 25th anniversary as president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

This morning's New York Times contains an editorial relating to this subject and to the 20th anniversary of the Amalgamated Laundry Workers' Union. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial entitled "Salute to Two Unions," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. President, I had the honor yesterday of addressing some brief remarks to the Madison Square Garden celebration in honor of Mr. Dubinsky.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of June 14, 1957]

SALUTE TO TWO UNIONS

Two events this week call attention to the achievements of American unionism at its best—to be weighed heavily in the balance against the shortcomings which the McCLELLAN committee has disclosed. We refer to the 25th anniversary of David Dubinsky's presidency of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and the 20th anniversary of the Amalgamated Laundry Workers' Union—a sharp contrast to the other laundry workers' union which faces expulsion from the AFL–CIO for corrupt practices.

It is a tribute to Mr. Dubinsky's enlightened statesmanship that a general work stoppage this week, blessed by the employers, was the first that has taken place while he has been president—unlike the turbulent years of economic warfare that went before. Through the peaceful processes of collective bargaining, backed by effective organization, a sprawling group of workers, torn by factionalism, debt-ridden and unable to meet their own payrolls—has become a well-knit organization of close to half a million members whose wages are more than three times what they were, whose working hours have gone down from 16 a day in sweatshops to 35 hours a week in regulated factories and who have a quarter of a billion dollars in their union treasuries and welfare funds. But the achievement cannot be measured in such figures alone. The union has been a crusader against corruption and a pioneer in the full disclosure of its financial affairs, honestly administered.

Twenty years ago the laundry workers of New York were poverty-stricken, overworked, tuberculosis-ridden, exploited by both Communists and racketeers—orphans of the labor movement. While other international unions refused to enroll them, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, under the leadership of the late Sidney Hillman, offered them the Amalgamated's protection, strength, and prestige. Today, with no discrimination as to race or color, their wages have trebled, their hours of work have gone down from 60 to 40 a week. They enjoy life, health, and retirement insurance benefits and can get free medical care at their $1.5 million health center. As with other ACW affiliates, their finances are a well-audited open book.

Accolades to the garment and laundry workers for their outstanding accomplishments and to Mr. Dubinsky for his distinguished services in a dedicated cause.

MESSAGE OF SENATOR HUMPHREY TO TESTIMONIAL TO DAVID DUBINSKY, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 13, 1957

David Dubinsky has always been to me the finest symbol of the heart, the soul, and the intelligence of the labor movement. The 25 years he has spent as president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has permeated the economic, social, and political life in America with the spirit of humanitarian democracy. The consequences of his leadership have been felt beyond the confines of the garment industry. The strength of his personality and the intensity of his idealism have affected all aspects of our Nation's life.

In labor relations, his union has set the pattern for a harmonious industrial stability while attaining the highest standards of working conditions and wages for its members.

The significance of David Dubinsky's political leadership can best be expressed by noting the great careers of Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman, both of whom owe a large measure of their political success to the ILGWU.

The ethical life of America has been strengthened by the high standards of morality which have been identified with David Dubinsky.

The cultural life of America has been enriched by the pioneering services of the ILGWU in bringing the arts and the members of the ILGWU together.

The ILGWU was an early leader in workers' education. Democracy here and abroad has had no finer friend, nor more loyal champion, than David Dubinsky. His energies and the resources of his union have been responsible for the preservation of free trade unionism all over the world.

It is indeed an honor to be permitted to join the Nation in paying tribute to David Dubinsky on his 25th anniversary as head of his union. I consider it a great privilege to be his friend.

Address Before Democratic Governors Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an address delivered by me before the Democratic Governors Conference at the Mayflower Hotel here in Washington, May 4, 1957.

It is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished participants in this National Conference of Democratic Governors. It is a great honor and pleasure to be here with you today.

I have been asked to talk to you about the administration's tight money and high interest rate policy, particularly how it has affected the economy of your States and your financing of urgently needed public facilities.

Until recent years, the debt-management and monetary policies of this Nation, under Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, were directed toward strengthening the credit standing of the Federal Treasury as well as that of the State and local governments. Their policies were directed toward maintaining high levels of economic expansion by keeping capital costs low. They supported an ample but not excessive supply of credit at all times, available at reasonably stable interest rates.

Under those policies we achieved full employment and a fair and equitable distribution of purchasing power among the broad masses of the population.

In 1953, a new Republican administration came to power in Washington. One of the first things the Secretary of Treasury did was to announce that interest rates were too low. Since early 1953, he has been raising rates up and up and up.

We are in a period of the greatest manipulation of fictitious interest rates and credit that this country has ever seen.

For the first time in the history of this country we have a Secretary of the Treasury who has stated he does not consider it to be his responsibility to get the lowest interest rates possible for the people on their public debt.

The Secretary of the Treasury says that all he does is follow the market. Apart from the fact that there is abundant evidence that he has led the market on numerous occasions, the truth is that he regularly invites the big investment bankers, the life insurance companies, and the commercial bankers in to advise him what terms to set on his forthcoming issues.

Has the Secretary of the Treasury ever invited the Governors to advise him what interest rate to set on his securities; or consumers; or small-business men? The answer is "No."

But he has invited in the past 5 years the Investment Bankers Advisory Committee on Governmental Securities, whose chairman is also chairman of the First Boston Corporation, the largest dealer and investor in State and local government obligations in the country. And, coincidentally, the recommendations of this group as to the terms of new Treasury issues have been followed exactly with few exceptions.

In 1953, when the Secretary broke the 2½ percent rate on new long-term bond issues, who were his principal advisers? The for-

mer chief executive officer of the First National City Bank of New York and the head of the bond department of the Continental Illinois Bank in Chicago.

What have the recommendations of these advisers and actions of the Secretary of Treasury cost the States?

The inflation of interest rates since 1952 has sharply eroded the value of the State tax dollar for purposes of paying interest charges on their debts.

The most spectacular impact of recent monetary and debt-management policies has been the sharp rise in interest rates paid by States and local governments and the failure in a large number of cases of those governments to sell the bonds which they offered.

Increases in interest rates on State and municipal bonds have been greater than increases on AAA corporate bonds and United States Treasury bonds.

For the first time in a great many years the rate on high-grade tax-exempt municipal bonds is greater than the yield on taxable United States Government bonds.

Since 1952 the yield on high-grade State bonds has nearly doubled; and high-grade municipal yields have risen by 35 percent. This compares with an increase in yields on AAA corporate bonds of 17 percent and United States Treasury taxable bonds of 24 percent.

Despite these higher interest rate increases for State and local bonds, there was a heavy volume of postponed or unsold issues of authorized bonds in 1956.

Soaring interest rates are bound to be reflected in a curtailed State-local government capacity to meet construction needs over the longer run.

For example, the extra interest to be paid on a school bond issue sold by a New York State school district last year, due to the rise in rates over the past 4 years, would be enough to build a school for 900 pupils.

The most recent reports of the Census Bureau show that interest paid on State debt in fiscal 1956 totaled almost one-third of a billion dollars, more than double the fiscal 1952 sum and three times the fiscal 1950 figure. An indirection of the disproportionate rise in State interest charges may be seen by this comparison. From fiscal 1955 to fiscal 1956, direct expenditures of the States on current operations rose 8.4 percent whereas interest payments rose 24 percent or nearly three times as fast.

It is well known, of course, that the rise in rates was sharpest in the last 6 months of calendar 1955 and consequently was not reflected in the census figures.

From fiscal 1952 to fiscal 1955, interest paid by local school districts on school bond issues rose 25 percent faster than direct general expenditures by local school districts for education.

These are only samples of what we may expect if present monetary policies continue. According to estimates of the United States Departments of Labor and Commerce, the overall need for State-local public facilities in the next decade amount to about $200 billion, including $92 billion for highways, $42 billion for education buildings, $22 billion for hospitals and institutional buildings, $25 billion for water and sewerage works, and $23 billion for other non-Federal public works. To meet these needs will require capital outlays in the next 10 years at an annual rate of $20 billion compared with present spending of $12 billion a year.

By 1965, State-local debt is expected to exceed $60 billion or about 50 percent higher than it is today. On a $60 billion debt a 1 percent interest rate differential would mean $600 million in additional interest payments annually. If State-local interest rates advance over the next decade only at the same rate as they have from December 1952 to March 1957, the additional annual interest payments on the debt in 1965 could be $1.2 billion. This is what the Eisenhower monetary policies may cost you.

Under present monetary policies, many urgently needed State-local projects of high social priority will be cut off and pressures will grow for the Federal Government to undertake directly the financing of construction that has heretofore been financed at the State-local level.

We need to create a market at reasonably stable and low-interest rates for State and local bond issues. This function had been satisfactorily served in the past by the RFC. Recent events have demonstrated that access by the States and local governments to loanable funds at reasonably low and stable rates is of the greatest importance. Some facility must be created to perform this function.

Immigration and Nationality Matters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a letter from Rabbi David Aronson, Beth El Synagogue, Penn Avenue North at 14th, Minneapolis, Minn., with resolutions adopted by the Rabbinical Assembly of America at its convention on May 16, 1957, on the preservation of human life and the elimination of the restrictive, discriminatory provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952—McCarran-Walter Act.

The letter and resolutions follow:

BETH EL SYNAGOGUE,
Minneapolis, Minn., June 11, 1957.

Congressman ROY WIER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WIER: I am enclosing copies of resolutions adopted by the Rabbinical Assembly of America at its convention on May 16, 1957.

I trust that you will fully support these just resolutions.

With kindest personal greetings, I am,
Cordially,

Rabbi DAVID ARONSON.

RESOLUTION ON ISRAEL, SUEZ, AND AQABA ADOPTED BY THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY CONVENTION, KIAMESHA LAKE, N. Y., MAY 16, 1957

Out of deep religious concern for the preservation of human life, we urge the statesmen of our country to redouble their efforts to bring peace and stability to the Middle East. Essential to the prevention of hostilities in that area is a fair and clear American foreign policy. To hide behind the smokescreen of inability to cope with a situation within the United Nations framework, only makes a mockery of peace and justice. The world has a right to expect progressive leadership from the United States of America such as was demonstrated during the recent crisis of Jordan. Lack of American leadership in the Middle East will result in continued violence which may eventually spread to other areas. Promises, which have been made or implied by the President of the United States of America to Israel concerning the use of the Suez Canal and Gulf of Aqaba, must be fulfilled if we are not to yield to the blackmailing devices of Arab potentates who flirt with communism. Egypt must not be permitted to return to the positions from which it may again blockade the Gulf of Aqaba and its international waterway.

The Rabbinical Assembly of America deplores the failure of Congress to eliminate the restrictive, discriminatory provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (McCarran-Walter law), which have been denounced by many religious and civic groups and by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

We urge Congress to enact speedily amendments which will revise the immigration law in order to:

(a) Substitute an equitable and nondiscriminatory formula for the admission of new Americans in place of the invidious national origins quota system.

(b) Eliminate the unnecessary and harsh deportation provisions.

(c) Eliminate the inequitable distinctions now in the law as between native born and naturalized Americans.

(d) Set up fair appellate procedures in immigration and nationality matters.

We further call upon the President to make use of the powers at his disposal in order to admit refugees from Egyptian tyranny and persuasion as was done for the Hungarian refugees.

Steel Labor Looks at Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the protestations of large corporations that labor is undermining economic stability through demands for higher wages which raise production costs and therefore prices are not unusual. Yet a glance at comparative production and wage statistics makes obvious the error of this theory, and shows that actually net profit per man-hour figures continue to climb at a proportionately greater rate than wage figures in many cases. This point is well illustrated in the following excerpts from an address by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steel Workers of America, delivered on June 6, 1957, at the Conference of Industrial Union Department of AFL–CIO in Washington, D. C.:

STEEL LABOR LOOKS AT MANAGEMENT

(Excerpts from address of David J. McDonald, president, United Steelworkers of America, June 6, 1957, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., at Conference of Industrial Union Department of AFL–CIO.)

Steel management, as exemplified by the spokesmen of the largest steel corporation—United States Steel—gives strong evidence of having a split personality.

For sheer quantity of public utterances on the evils of inflation, steel management takes a back seat to no one.

On the other hand, steel management also leads the field in the irresponsibility of its pricing policies which have contributed to the rising trend of prices for more than a decade.

This is not the usual case of the left hand being unaware of what the right hand is doing. Instead, it is a calculated strategy designed to enable the industry to accumu-

late ever higher profits through continuous steel-price increases at the expense of the consumer, and still escape the blame and public censure which such actions deserve. The strategy is not a complicated one. It involves the following:

1. Finding a scapegoat. For this purpose the Steelworkers Union is an excellent target. Organized labor as a whole represents a supplemental target—presumably guilty by association with the Steelworkers Union.

2. Making speeches by the dozen and issuing reams of publicity all aimed at molding public opinion toward the twofold proposition that steel management is public spirited and opposed to higher prices, but is forced to raise prices because of the wage increases negotiated by the union; and

3. Counting on the constant repetition of this theme and the unthinking, unquestioning support given to it by newspaper and magazine columnists and editors, business-oriented, antilabor Congressmen and management spokesmen of other industries to convince the public of the virtue of management and the evil of labor unions.

As always, the best way to expose such tactics is to set forth the facts. In the past 2 months, in preparation for the next semiannual steel-price increase scheduled to be levied on or about July 1, Roger Blough, chairman of the board, and Robert Tyson, chairman of the finance committee of the United States Steel Corp., have sounded off on their favorite theme with renewed vigor.

Labor they say, is about to cause another price rise.

Management, they say, is reluctant to raise prices, but is compelled to do so.

Well, let's see.

It seems to me there is one clear test as to whether a company is forced to raise prices—and that is if its income is insufficient to meet its costs and to provide reasonable profit over and above its costs.

The record of a company which was forced to raise prices because of wage increases to its workers would show a relatively consistent profit for each hour worked by its employees—a profit growth in line with productivity growth—and would also show a gain in revenue from increased prices approximately equal to increased costs resulting from wage increases.

Let us look at the record of United States Steel. Then you can easily brand such statements of its spokesmen for what they really are.

In 1939 United States Steel's profits before taxes were equal to 13 cents for each hour worked by each employee. In 1940 this profit was doubled to 26 cents. The following year, in 1941, profits per man-hour climbed to 38.8 cents. By 1947 it reached 42.6 cents. In the recession year of 1949 it went to 60.3 cents. In 1950 it was 85.4 cents. In 1955 another new record was established when profits per man-hour hit $1.38. Last year, despite a strike, it was $1.345.

And in its most recent report for the first 3 months of 1957, United States Steel revealed that its profits were at an annual rate of $1.80 for each hour worked by each employee. This represents an increase of 30 percent over its previous record profit per man-hour in 1955, an increase of more than 110 percent over 1950, an increase of 322 percent over 1947, and a completely fabulous increase of 1,284 percent since 1939.

The corporation's net profits, after taxes, per man-hour also reveal a spectacular rise from 10 cents in 1939 to an annual rate of 89.8 cents in the first quarter of 1957, an increase equal to 13 percent a year compounded annually from 1939 to 1957. This rate of net profit, 69.8 cents per man-hour, is 30 percent greater than last year.

The corporation has repeatedly attempted to justify its price increases which have led to these fantastic profits by alleging its employment costs have risen 6 percent a year compounded annually.

Even if this is true its profits, out of which wage costs are paid, on this same man-hour basis, have increased an average of 15.7 percent compounded annually for the past 18 years, a rate nearly twice as great as the wage increases.

How can the statements of Mr. Blough and Mr. Tyson be squared with the facts? The answer is they cannot. Can a corporation which has increased by 30 percent its net profits from 1956 to 1957 for each man-hour worked, by mean of exorbitant price increases in July 1956 and again in December 1956 and early 1957 now claim that those price increases were forced by wage increases?

Since the postwar period—that is, 1945—there have been 21 "rounds" of steel price increases. There have been nine "rounds" of wage increases. These price increases have yielded the industry more than $3 in revenue for each $1 of wage increases. Remembering this 3-for-1 formula and noting the fantastic growth of profits per employee hour which accompanied these price increases, only one conclusion is possible.

Wage increases in steel have not caused a single steel price increase.

The upward movement of steel prices through the years has been caused by the steel industry's determination to widen its profit margin by a consistent policy of imposing ever-higher prices on customers and eventual consumers of steel who are helpless to resist.

They say nothing succeeds like success. In a way, the steel industry typifies this. Year after year—and more often than not, twice a year—the steel industry hikes its prices in utter disregard of the welfare of all concerned. Despite pronouncements to the contrary, the price increases are not tailored to increased costs, nor do they bear any relationship to how well the industry is doing profitwise.

For example, 1956 was a good year for United States Steel. Its net profit was $348.1 million (second best in its history), a return on net worth of 12.6 percent. This was considerably above the profits in other recent excellent years such as $222.1 million in 1953 and $215.5 million in 1950.

So far in 1957, net profits are at an annual rate of $461.9 million—about 25 percent higher than in any previous year in the corporation's history.

But they are beating the drums for still another price increase.

As usual, labor costs are blamed. But the facts demonstrate something entirely different.

United States Steel's net profits in 1956 were $348.1 million—pretty close to $1 million profit every day of the year. In 1957 they are at an annual rate of $461.9 million.

The total cost of the wage increase and other benefits which will go into effect on July 1 will amount to less than $51.5 million in 1957. This increased cost—assuming no increase whatsoever in productivity—will reduce profits before taxes by $51.5 million, and will reduce net profits by $24.7 million.

In other words, if the corporation were to pay this July 1 wage increase which they contracted for last year, instead of forcing its customers to pay for it, the corporation's net profit for 1957 (based on its current rate of profit) would be over $437 million. Even without raising prices, and without obtaining greater output per man-hour, the corporation is in a position to increase its net profit from $348.1 million in 1956 to $437 million in 1957.

But, despite this, the corporation is planning its second 1957 price increase and, to hide the fact that it is solely to accumulate an even greater profit, its leaders have the effrontery to claim they are forced to raise prices.

Because of the industry's success in the use of this tactic, there is every reason to expect that it will be continued into the indefinite future. Because the results of such policies can only have a most undesirable impact on our economy, it is important that these facts be brought home to the people of the Nation.

The public is entitled to know the truth so that an informed judgment can be made with respect to this entire matter of wage-price-profit relationships in our economy. Those who are concerned with the problem of unchecked profiteering in some of the Nation's key industries, and with the impetus given to inflation by such profiteering have a right to know the facts and it is our job to see to it that the facts are made available.

Pigtail Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article on pensions for World War I veterans, which appeared in the National News, official newspaper of the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A., Inc., published in Washington, D. C.:

PIGTAIL PENSIONS

It will come as a surprise to many World War I veterans that the American Government, although unable or unwilling to grant adequate pensions to veterans of 1917–18, has made a present of nearly $50 million to retire some 80,000 soldiers who have fought for Nationalist China.

But let one who has been in the front line of those Members of Congress fighting the pension battle for World War I veterans tell the story.

Reprinted below is the text of a speech made by Hon. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER, of Missouri, on the matter of providing aid and succor to the aging veterans of Chiang Kai-shek's army:

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Speaker, when the Congress undertakes to pension America's old disabled and down-and-out veterans, invariably certain propagandists attempt to stampede the American taxpayers by citing astronomical cost projections. But what about our pigtail pension program? Yes, how much in dollars and cents are the taxpayers paying to pension Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers who turned their backs to the Communist invader?

"According to reliable press reports, Mr. Eisenhower's ICA is really going to town for Chiang's army. I am talking about the Free China veterans' program being set up by Harold V. Sterling, a retired Assistant Administrator of our own Veterans' Administration.

"Under this program $48 million ICA money will be spent this year—as initial outlay—to pension 70,000 veterans of Chiang's forces and to build old soldiers homes, military convalescent camps, a general hospital, a tuberculosis hospital, and several public works projects.

"The projects are being supervised by the George Frye Associates, a management organization, with offices in New York and Chicago and, of course, at the taxpayers' expense.

"Now the veterans being pensioned are not service-connected. They are just being retired at the United States expense. Ac-

cording to Ralph Boyce, of the ICA, this 'is a means of getting rid of old soldiers to make room for new ones.' That's a service pension scheme if I ever heard of one.

"Of course these expenditures represent only the beginning, and from year to year the Congress will be called on to appropriate the necessary funds for completion of Chiang's building program and to hand over the money for the pension payments."

All of this assistance for a doubtful ally is in direct contrast to the plight of some of the needy veterans who waged a victorious battle for their country in 1917–18.

One of the many examples comes to our attention. On March 29, 1957, in New York City, a destitute 61-year-old World War I veteran plunged 17 stories to his death before hundreds of spectators. A patrolman pleaded with him in vain for 20 minutes. "Nobody wanted to help me," said the man, tentatively identified as Julio Cantino. He related in despair that he was broke, couldn't pay his room rent, and couldn't get assistance from welfare authorities or the Veterans' Administration.

American veterans have every right to ask why huge funds are being expended to aid an ungrateful nation while little is done to alleviate the pitiful condition in which many veterans of World War I now find themselves.

Suspension of Saturday Mail Deliveries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram from James L. Knight, president, Southern Newspaper Publishers Association:

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

Hon. ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD,
Postmaster General, United States Post Office Department, Washington, D. C.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association is deeply concerned at the possibility of complete suspension of Saturday deliveries of mail, and especially delivery of newspapers on rural routes. Such action would be particularly harmful in the South because rural mail subscribers constitute a larger percentage of total newspaper circulation in this region than in other parts of the United States. Suspension of Saturday deliveries would have a serious effect upon the economy of the South and would be looked upon by the people of this region as an unfriendly act.

We recognize the serious financial problems with which the Post Office Department is confronted, and we are of the opinion that the newspaper publishing industry should pay its just portion of any necessary additional cost of maintaining acceptable postal services. However, it is our considered opinion that, if any curtailment of postal services becomes necessary, maximum efforts should be made to economize in other branches of postal operations where economies can be effected before suspending Saturday deliveries, especially on rural routes.

This association (whose membership includes 23 percent of all daily newspapers in the United States, with total daily circulation of more than 11½ million) is now assembling information from its members concerning the number of their rural mail subscribers who would be affected by suspension of Saturday deliveries. It is hoped that you will give us an opportunity to present this information for your consideration before you take any definite action with respect to suspension of Saturday mail delivery.

JAMES L. KNIGHT,
President, Southern Newspaper Publishers Association.

Government Bond Market in Slump—National Disgrace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there is no reason why Government marketable bonds should sell below par. The bond market can be supported without cost to the Government, the taxpayers, or the Federal Reserve System.

I am inserting herewith copy of a letter I have received from the president of a bank in Davenport, Iowa. It is as follows:

NORTHWEST BANK & TRUST CO.,
Davenport, Iowa, June 6, 1957.

Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: The Des Moines Sunday Register of June 2, 1957, published an article headed "Bond Market Slumps Again." It gave some very interesting, but sad news about the Government bond market and it quoted as follows:

"Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat of Texas, of the House-Senate Economic Committee urged the Federal Reserve Board to resume purchasing of Government bonds until they were restored to par and end what he called a 'national disgrace.'"

I certainly am very happy to learn that someone is trying to correct this disgraceful situation.

Our bank was organized in July of 1941. We are located in the northwest section of Davenport which is made up of business and residential property. This section, like many others throughout the United States, has had and is having a very rapid development. Our people are strong believers in savings accounts. Our bank now has over $7,400,000 in savings accounts on which we pay 2 percent interest semiannually. We also have $1,200,000 of savings certificates on which we pay 3 percent interest semiannually. This represents about 60 percent of our total deposits.

Our board of directors has always recommended the purchase of substantial amounts of United States Government bonds. We have from time to time stressed the fact in our advertising of the fine Government bond portfolio carried in our bank. We have always felt that such investments made for a sounder bank and created additional security beyond the Federal Deposit Insurance; however, with the present trend of downward prices we hesitate to stress this investment to our depositors and it is my firm belief that the disgraceful situation now existing is also affecting the sale of other bonds such as E, H, and K.

I am in hearty agreement with your recommendations and do hope you will be successful in the correction of this very, as you put it "national disgrace."

Yours very truly,

W. F. MEIBURG,
President.

Small banks all over the Nation are in a squeeze. Many of them have 50 percent and more of the funds they can invest in Government marketable bonds. These bonds have gone down, many of them to 88 or 12 points below par. A large number of the banks of the country would have a substantial amount of their stock wiped out entirely if they were to sell their bonds in the present market.

The law favors the banks in this matter and permits the examiners to carry the bonds on the books of the bank at par although they are selling much below par. This is done on a logical and reasonable theory that if they are retained until maturity, the bank will collect 100 cents on the dollar.

But this does not help them at the present time. Too many banks have too much of their funds invested in United States Government bonds which are frozen in their possession, and they cannot be disposed of to enable these banks to make local loans to local businesses and otherwise furnish the credit needed for local communities. If holders of Government marketable bonds other than commercial banks, could sell their bonds at par, there would be plenty of money available for residential housing. Under the present tight money market, big concerns are not inconvenienced in the least in getting all the funds desired at a reasonable rate of interest, but small concerns are unable to get adequate credit. The banks—the large ones in particular—are rationing and allocating credit. This situation poses an important question, and that is, are the banks allocating this credit in a way that the public interest is considered? If the people only knew, and if the Members of Congress knew, how few banks and how few businesses control so much of the credit and money of the country, it would be shocking to them.

INTERNATIONAL DISGRACE

Among the many letters I have received on this subject, in which comments were made anonymously, one from a large city in Florida and from one of the largest banks in that city, enclosing a statement showing the closing trading quotations on United States Treasury bonds, is of interest. The closing quotation, 87.24, for 2½ percent Government bonds was circled, with this notation: "An international disgrace."

Oklahoma's Golden Jubilee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following resolution passed by the Golden Jubilee, Inc., an organization which is observing the 50th anniversary of Oklahoma's admission to

statehood. The following resolution clearly outlines the problems my State has had in being besieged by all the calamities from dust to downpours:

Whereas the great State of Oklahoma, rich in Indian lore and cowhand history, has become a land of culture and industrial progress; and

Whereas this great 46th State of the Union and the metropolitan center of Tulsa is celebrating the golden jubilee of statehood; and

Whereas this State and this city has for several years and many moons preceding the year of our Lord, 1957, been ignored by the raingods and baked by the sungods, thereby, causing painful droughts; and

Whereas soon after Tulsa's golden jubilee began, reverent raingods put on warpaint and deluged great State with floods, thereby, causing spectacular celebration known as Tulsarama, heap big show recreating Oklahoma and Indian Territory history, to be postponed and has further hampered its performances after its opening Saturday, June 8; and

Whereas noble tribes of Oklahoma have long ago smoked pipe of peace with State's palefaces and wish to join with them to continue great celebration of Tulsarama: Be it therefore

Resolved, That great fathers of the United States House of Representatives, join with the Honorable PAGE BELCHER of Oklahoma's district, in appeal to sungods and raingods to sign treaty of peace with each other and divide their blessings on Tulsa and all Oklahoma, permitting Tulsarama to continue its "teepees to towers" show.

Mass Deportations From Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, today Lithuanians commemorate the anniversary of a great national tragedy. Sixteen years ago this mid-June an estimated 34,260 persons were deported by Soviet Russia to remote areas in Siberia and the Arctic region.

That this act of singular brutality reflects an inner sickness within the Communist system goes without saying. It is incomprehensible that a system of government which perpetrates such terrible acts of inhumanity could have any genuine message for mankind. And yet, the Communists have succeeded beyond all expectations in spreading their gospel of violence, desecration, and decay throughout the world. Many uninformed persons have unfortunately accepted the false words of this Communist anti-Christ as a doctrine of salvation.

On this anniversary of the mass deportation of Lithuanians we commemorate a tragic occasion. But the sacrifice of those thousands of people would not have been in vain if we of the free world cite their deportation as a classic example of Communist tyranny.

Let all those who are tempted by the false doctrine of communism examine carefully the case of Lithuanian deportations. Let them see communism in action; and then, let them ponder if this is a fit instrument of government for mankind.

Importation of Foreign Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, the ability of the United States to develop intelligently its great natural resources has played the major role in this Nation's survival and victories in the great wars of this century. Success in these conflicts preserved our unique political freedoms.

In no field of industrial development has this talent manifested itself with greater force than in the dynamic progress of the oil and gas industry of this Nation in time of war or peace. This industry and its advancements in exploration and development have been and will be of vital significance, not only to the oil-producing States, but to the entire Nation, for oil and gas today account for 70 percent of the energy consumed by the United States. It must be obvious that nothing could be more important to the adequate national defense of this country than the continued healthy development of this industry and the guaranty of a continued source of domestic oil at all times.

It was recognized by the President of the United States and a Special Cabinet Committee in 1955 that the importation of foreign oil, above the 1954 ratio of 1 barrel for every 10 produced domestically, could threaten the national security by retarding future exploration, discovery, and production of oil and its derivative products within the continental boundaries of the United States. The Congress, in this same year, by the inclusion of the Defense Amendment to the Trade Agreements Extension Act, provided the Chief Executive with a power to prevent such a danger from occurring. Despite this legislative and executive recognition of the seriousness of the problem, the menace has continued with imports rising steadily above the 1954 ratio, being interrupted only by the closing of the Suez Canal, and importations this year are expected to be the highest ever. The sole efforts made to curb the flood of imported oil have been the futile attempts of the Office of Defense Mobilization to beg the large importing companies to voluntarily reduce their imports. This approach has been and will be a vain and fruitless effort. Now, again in 1957, 2 years later, the Office of Defense Mobilization has declared that there is evidence that importations are increasing at a rate which could threaten our national security and the President has merely called for still another investigation.

Can any man dispute the danger of increased dependence upon the tenuous supply of the Middle East in the face of the recent Suez crisis and the ever threatening situation still existing? Surely, the memories of the Second World War and the complete success of the Nazi U-boats in greatly reducing tanker shipments have not completely faded.

With every barrel of imported oil over the prescribed ratio, we do violence to our domestic industry. How long can this Congress, with the best interests of this country in mind, continue to allow such a situation to go unchecked? It is now too late for investigations or volunteering and the time has come to act decisively to control a condition which is too vitally significant to ignore. The authority granted the President by the Defense amendment should be exercised immediately to curb this rising tide of oil imports, or the Congress as a body responsible for the general welfare of one hundred and seventy million citizens of this country must act affirmatively and at once to legislate a formula of limitations which will forever operate to prevent the endangering of the future development of one of our greatest natural resources.

Court Foils New United States Tax Raid in Premium Iron Ores Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, another example of this administration's left hand not knowing what its right hand is doing is illustrated by this article from the Financial Post, of Toronto, Canada. The State Department works to build up better relations with our neighboring countries and the Internal Revenue Bureau apparently tries to wreck what is being done:

[From the Financial Post, Toronto, Canada, June 1, 1957]

COURT FOILS NEW UNITED STATES TAX RAID IN PREMIUM IRON ORES CASE

An American tax raid on a company located in Canada has been foiled—at least temporarily.

The United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue last week took the unprecedented step of secretly filing a petition asking the entire United States Tax Court of 18 judges to review the recent decision in the Premium Iron Ores case.

In that decision the United States tax men were defeated in their attempt to extract large sums in taxes and penalties from Premium Iron Ores, a Canadian incorporation.

As reason for trying to reopen the case the United States Internal Revenue Commissioners cited the importance of the issues involved, "particularly the construction of the Canadian tax convention."

The full United States Tax Court has dismissed the appeal for review.

The one further avenue available to the Commissioner is to appeal the Tax Court de-

cision in the United States Court of Appeals, provided he can first obtain approval of the Treasury Department, the Justice Department and the State Department.

Any reversal of the present Premium Iron Ores would have the most alarming consequences for scores of firms with international business activities.

Premium had for years been paying its Canadian taxes, had cleared its tax position with Canadian authorities and had no reason to suspect its tax position would be challenged. The Canadian-United States tax convention was designed to cover the tax position of companies in world trade.

If the United States tax men could successfully raid Premium, they would have successfully dynamited the Canadian-United States tax convention and opened the way for wholesale raiding on many companies operating outside the United States.

Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii will soon be before the Congress. Though the majority of the Members of Congress are on record as favoring statehood for both of these incorporated territories, there are some Members who question action now.

The editorial from the St. Louis, Mo., Post-Dispatch which I include herewith briefly and concisely states the case for Hawaii and deserves the serious consideration of all. The last paragraph is of particular moment since the "contradiction" to which attention is drawn is a matter which, if continued over a period of time, will have its effect in the social, economic, and political institutions of the people who must live under that contradiction.

The editorial follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of May 19, 1957]

IN JUSTICE TO HAWAII

If the people of the United States would only put themselves in the position of the people of the Territory of Hawaii, statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska, in our opinion, would be quickly voted at this session of Congress. New hearings have been completed and there is ample time for admission votes in the House and the Senate before the midsummer adjournment.

If the people of the 48 States were to put themselves in the position of their fellow-citizens in Hawaii, here are some of the things they would be conscious of:

Hawaii has more than a half million population. This is more people than any of the 48 States had at the time of admission with the single exception of Oklahoma.

Hawaii has more people today than three States. If Hawaii is admitted, it will at once enter the population standings above Delaware, Wyoming, and Nevada. And these 3 States now cast a total of 6 votes in the Senate's 96.

Hawaiian residents pay more than a quarter billion dollars a year in Federal taxes. This sum is larger than the amount of Federal taxes paid by the people and industries of nine States.

Despite this heavy taxation the people of Hawaii are without representation in Congress. They do have an elected delegate to the House, but he has no vote on the bills in Washington that affect the people of Hawaii. Moreover they have no choice in the selection of their Governor who is an appointee of the President.

These are important reasons of fairness and justice as to why Hawaii should be admitted to the Union. But there are reasons in the complex of the world today even more important. Today the United States is in a long, hard struggle against totalitarianism. It is in this context that the people of the United States particularly should see the Hawaiian case now.

For if Hawaii is taken into the Union, this will be a striking demonstration that the United States practices in its own political activities what it preaches to the world. Hawaii's location makes it the first display of the American way of life for many visitors from the Orient.

The main arguments against admission boil down to three. First, it is separated from the mainland. Second, it would change the seating in Congress. Third, it would give statehood to a cosmopolitan population with some elements of dubious loyalty.

All these objections, if such they are, have been answered sufficiently, in our opinion. Aviation and electronic communication have brought Hawaii much closer to Washington than Philadelphia and New York were to Washington not many years ago. The seating in the House changes after every census.

Finally, as to loyalty, who could want more than the record of the young men of Hawaii in World War II and Korea? The Nisei of Hawaii wrote one of the bravest chapters in the bitter Italian campaign when their units fought heroically along with boys from over the Union.

Hawaii has already drafted a state constitution, ratified by its people by the overwhelming vote of 3 to 1. Over the years, there have been some 20 separate hearings at which more than a thousand witnesses have been heard. Both parties are on record for admission. At different times both chambers of Congress have voted for statehood.

More than 6 years ago, a report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs said that to continue Hawaii in its "political" inferior status" is "a contradiction in our position of moral and spiritual as well as material leadership in the world." And that is just what it is.

Golden Jubilee of the Slovak League in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 35th congress and the Golden Jubilee of the Slovak League of America, the Right Reverend Monsignor Francis Dubosh, former president of the league, broadcast in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 26, 1957, the following address:

GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Friends, this is an important year in the annals of the Americans of Slovak origin, for this year, on May 30, they celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Slovak League of America, here in the city of Cleveland. The founders were the representatives of Slovak centers in the United States of America. They came to Cleveland at the invitation of men like Father Stephen Furdek, of Cleveland, and Peter V. Rovnianek of Pittsburgh, both outstanding men in their time. The purpose that these men had in mind was, to organize Slovak immigrants for the protection of their nationals left in their native land, absorbed into the state of Hungary, a country consisting of many nationalities. It was the avowed policy of the Hungarian Government to Magyarize the peoples within its jurisdiction. To accomplish this the Hungarian Government stooped to injustices upon the Slovaks in particular, in its effort to amalgamate the Slovak nation and thereby cause it to lose its national identity.

However, many resisted all efforts to liquidate their Slovak nation. Many of the common, little schooled Slovaks, migrated to the United Etates, there to seek liberty and justice, as well as an opportunity to earn a livelihood. The early immigrants, those coming here in the eighties and nineties, settled in the mining towns and the steel towns of Pennsylvania. Others came to the northern part of Ohio. Some went as far as Illinois. Everywhere times were hard. They could scarcely eke out an existence. But, rather this, than to live in a land of persecution and injustice.

This exodus of some of the faithful Slovaks proved providential. Once here, free from oppression and tyranny, these Slovaks did not forget their nationals in the homeland. Over there they had parents, brothers and sisters, friends, whom they did not abandon in the time of stress. Those over there continued to keep them informed of the atrocities being perpetrated on the Slovak people; that their schools were confiscated as also their cultural institutions and newspapers; and that they were not permitted to speak their own language in public places. Conditions became so unbearable, that protest and opposition to the tyranny of the government only brought further reprisals and jail, as it did to Msgr. Andrew Hlinka, the great champion of the Slovak nation.

The lamentable cries of the Slovaks reached the ears of their compatriots in the United States. Due to the death-dealing actions by the Magyar government upon the Slovak nation, living in their traditional land, the Slovaks here felt the need of organizing in defense of their nation. This they did at the first congress of representatives from all parts of America, which congress took place in Cleveland on the 30th of May 1907. Here the Slovak League was given life; and its main purpose at that time was to protect the Slovak nation from extinction by holding protest meetings and by informing the American public of the injustices perpetrated on their compatriots in Europe. Another main aim was to encourage all Slovaks to become citizens of the United States as quickly as possible, thereby to show that they love free and democratic America.

God, the author of justice, does not permit injustice to rule too long. The end came during the First World War. The Slovak League during that time encouraged the Slovaks of America to join either the United States Army or the Czecho-Slovak Legion formed in the United States. The Slovak League cooperated with the American Czechs in bringing about the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian empire, out of which other countries were formed, one being the Czechoslovak Republic. To bring about the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic great sacrifices were necessary, not only of men but also of money. The Slovak League raised $1 million among the Slovaks in America for liberation purposes—hundreds of thousands more than did the American Czechs. To

the American Slovaks no sacrifice was too great to make, for liberty and justice and to preserve the life of the Slovak nation, to which it had every right, given it by the author of nations.

The Czechoslovak Republic was born in the minds and the hearts of the American Czechs and Slovaks, who joined their interests in order to obtain liberty, justice and democracy for their own nationals tyrannized in Austria-Hungary. The representatives of both of these nations met in Cleveland, where they formulated an agreement guaranteeing each of these nations, autonomy in a federative union of states. This was called the Cleveland Agreement, signed on October 25, 1915. This agreement became the basis for future negotiations, which were finally concluded in Pittsburgh. There, all doubts about the position of the Slovaks in the new Czechoslovak Republic were removed by Thomas G. Masaryk, who was shown the terms of the Cleveland Agreement and who accepted them with some of his own revisions, agreeable to both sides. This new agreement became known as the "Pittsburgh Pact, signed on May 30, 1918, not only by the representatives of the Czechs and the Slovaks living in America, but also by Masaryk, himself. In all these negotiations, the Slovak League of America was recognized as the sole representative of the Slovak nation in America and abroad.

The Slovaks rejoiced that they could join with their brother Slavs, the Czechs, in a country that would give equal recognition to both nations; that now, after a thousand years, the Slovaks could develop nationally, culturally, economically and religiously without any hindrance. The smoke of battle had scarcely disappeared, the new republic was still in its swaddling clothes, when Thomas G. Masaryk, the first President of Czechoslovakia, showed his true colors; that he was not so democratic, so just, for he, who redrafted the "Cleveland Agreement" into the "Pittsburgh Pact," declared that pact accepted over his own signature, to be a "scrap of paper," a la Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany. It really became a "scrap of paper" for all intents and purposes, for the Czech Government gradually converted Slovakia into a conquered colony. It sent Czech officials of a low moral caliber to rule the Slovaks. Progressively the government tried to dissolve the Slovak nation into a Czechoslovak nation—better stated: into a Czech nation.

Now again the Slovak League went into action, calling attention of the free world to the injustices and the perfidy of the Czechoslovak Government, led first of all by Thomas G. Masaryk, and later by his protege, Eduard Benes. This same Benes, who misled President Franklin Roosevelt into dealing honorably with Russian Communists, stating that they could be trusted; this same Benes who delivered his country into the hands of Russia, thereby causing immense harm not only to the Czechs, but principally to the Slovaks. The Slovaks have continuously resisted all attempts to denationalise and to communize them, going so far as to demand an independent state. This independence they attained, even though briefly, on March 14, 1939, when the Slovak Republic was born, with the lovable Dr. Jozef Tiso as its first president. As the liberty bell expressed the joy of the American settlers at their newly won independence, so, too, the Slovaks rejoiced at the tidings, that they not only gained autonomy, but more: their total independence from the Czech Government. They obtained their own free republic on the basis of a recognized principle: the right of self-determination, which right belongs to all nations.

Regretfully the Slovak Republic was short-lived. Why? To quote from America, a Catholic weekly (April 13, 1957), "The cause of the Slovak Republic has suffered in world opinion from circumstances of its origin. Yet, during its brief existence it was recognized diplomatically by 27 countries. * * * The Slovaks never fought against the Western Powers." If they had done so, as the enemies of the Slovaks declare, would Great Britain, France and the remaining countries have recognized Slovakia as an independent country? To continue quoting America: "The nation has made its mistakes, but in Eastern Europe who can throw the first stone? The Slovak people are bearing up admirably under Communist attempts to destroy their religion and culture. Those who admire their qualities of character are convinced that the future holds something better for them."

Toward the fruition of this, the Slovak League of America has and will continue to work and to sacrifice and to pray, especially that the Slovaks will again become masters of their own country, where they can develop freely. That this may become an actuality, the Slovaks must have their own independent Republic of Slovakia.

We bid welcome to the delegates of the Slovak League meeting here in the 35th congress. May God bless their deliberations. We also invite the general public to the Slovak Exposition being held today and tomorrow in the auditorium of Benedictine High School.

Waste and Confusion in Our Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, this is the second of a number of articles dealing with the problem of waste and confusion in our Federal Government written by Mr. Clarence Francis, national chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, and published in a pamphlet entitled "The Coupler," by the Symington-Gould Corp., of Buffalo, N. Y.:

HOW CAN GOVERNMENT WASTE BE STOPPED?

The first article showed some of the waste and duplication in the Federal Government which the second Hoover Commission found. The Commission did not stop there. It made specific recommendations on how this waste could be stopped.

The first Hoover Commission completed its work in 1949. In all it made 273 recommendations for streamlining Uncle Sam and reducing his "wasteline." Between 1949 and 1952 some 72 percent of these recommendations were adopted by Congress and the administration. The total savings thus far resulting from these actions are estimated at over $7 billion.

And that, in nontechnical language, "ain't hay." Among the many benefits of the Commission's work were (1) great gains in unification of the armed services, (2) rebuilding and strengthening of the Department of Labor to Cabinet Status, (3) creation of a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, (4) consolidation of four agencies into a single General Services Administration to do the Government's housekeeping more efficiently and at less cost, (5) reorganization of the Internal Revenue Service eliminating much confusion and corruption (6), separation of subsidies from payments to airlines for carrying mail.

One good move begets another. The General Services Agency made a survey and found one Government unit that had a 93-year supply of fluorescent bulbs on hand, another with a 247-year supply of looseleaf binders. Had there been no first Hoover Commission, there would have been no General Services Agency to discover these things and correct them.

Thus, in 1953 was born the second Hoover Commission, also unanimously created by Congress pretty much in the image of the first. The second commission labored for 2 years and produced a 3.3-million-word report which showed among other things:

That Federal paperwork, much of it unnecessary, engaged the fulltime services of 750,000 persons and costs $4 billion a year (enough to run the whole Government 25 years ago).

That one Federal ship line which claimed to be making a profit of $4 million a year was actually losing about $100 million a year, because it failed to mention certain items of cost in its accounting.

That the Government suffers heavily from a 25-percent per year turnover in employees due to antiquated personnel procedures; for example, the Government has 144 different pay scales for its 2.3 million employees.

Now, why was the first Hoover Commission successful, and what is the outlook for action on the second commission's recommendations? The first commission succeeded because, for the first time in history, citizens of both parties from coast to coast united in support of the recommendations when the commission completed its work. The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report was formed early in 1949. Under the leadership of Temple University's President Robert L. Johnson, the Citizens Committee helped bring the work of the Hoover Commission before the American public. Without the voice of the citizen, the Hoover recommendations would have died in the dusty pigeonholes of Washington.

The second commission finished its great service in June, 1955. It left 314 recommendations which, if fully adopted, would eventually save over $5 billion a year—and that's about $100 per average American family per year. Down to now some 39 percent of the commission's recommendations have already been adopted with eventual annual savings of $532 million a year. That's a good start but what are Congress and the executive branch going to do about the remaining 61 percent of the recommendations in 1957?

I Am Glad I Live in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, throughout the State of Michigan May 19 to 25 was known as Michigan Week. These days were set aside for the citizens of our great State to focus their attention to the social and economic resources of our State and to think of the many things that make Michigan a good place in which to live and work.

The Bank of Stephenson sponsored an essay contest entitled "I Am Glad I Live in Michigan" for the 9th and 10th grade students of the Daggett Carney, and Stephenson High Schools.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the essay which won the grade prize, written by Judith Corey of Stephenson, Mich.:

I AM GLAD I LIVE IN MICHIGAN

Someone said, "Live 20 years in the same place and you will always want to live there." It's home.

To me Michigan sings a happy song. Just listen to the birds singing. I feel a burst of pride and well-being when I ride my horse over its countryside, breathing its clean wholesome air and watching the many birds in their flight over the hills and valleys.

The woods are truly an enchanted forest made from spring's trailing arbutus and hepatica; summer's tiger lily and goldenrod; and the falling of autumn's painted leaves. Each season wears a new gown of many hues. It's like a wedding procession that never ends. The drifting snow of winter is a purest white. What bride could be dressed more beautifully than a Michigan forest after a fresh snowfall? The lighting effects are by aurora borealis and the wind in the pines is Mendelssohn's Wedding March.

Where but in Michigan could a country youth learn to love nature and enjoy it so? We have blue rivers in which to go swimming and fishing, beautiful lakes on which to go boating and water skiing, camps for youth of all ages, and parks for the enjoyment of all.

Picking blackberries, blueberries, or raspberries and coming home to eat them with sugar and cream is the best treat of all. Can't you imagine eating of a big bowl of tempting, luscious-looking berries? Umm.

Yesterday as Old Shep, our collie, watched, deer pastured on the south slope by the house. Soon they will have their little spotted fawns by their sides. They're truly God's creatures.

Though the old hand pumps are gone, good clear, clean, and plentiful water still remains.

For all of these reasons I am glad I live in Michigan.

The Truth About TVA and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, no agency of our Government has been more maligned, more deliberately misrepresented or more bitterly attacked than that internationally renowned model of democracy in action, the Tennessee Valley Authority. The private utility monopolies have spent millions of dollars in attempts to poison the minds of the Nation against this valuable national asset. Especially unjustified have been the various loose statements about TVA and taxes. Recently our colleagues on the House Public Works Committee inquired into this matter and Mr. W. O. Wessenauer, manager of TVA's power department, gave the committee a report on taxes TVA pays and discussed other matters related to taxes. The magazine Public Power reprinted this report in full and I ask unanimous consent to insert this reprint in the RECORD.

The article "The Truth About TVA and Taxes," follows:

THE TRUTH ABOUT TVA AND TAXES—TVA'S PROFITS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION FAR EXCEED COMPANY TAX RATES

(For more than two decades, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the largest publicly owned electric system in the United States, has been the prime target of public power critics. The most repeated charge of private power companies and other detractors has been that "TVA does not pay taxes." Even when they admit that TVA does make payments in lieu of taxes to local and State governments, propagandists insist that TVA's low rates results from the fact that TVA does not pay Federal income taxes. What are the facts? How do TVA's payments to the Government compare with the Federal income taxes which are paid by private power companies? The answer to these questions and to the frequently heard charges of the private power companies has been submitted to Congress. In answer to questions asked during hearings on legislation which would authorize TVA to issue revenue bonds to finance its new power facilities, G. O. Wessenauer, TVA power manager, presented a report on TVA and taxes. The report, the TVA Power System and Taxes, was prepared by the Reports Unit of TVA's Office of Power. Spelled out here is the record of TVA's earnings as compared with private power company tax payments. This record of 23 years of TVA power operations shows that TVA not only is paying all the costs of its operations but has earned enough to pay the Government's cost of money plus the taxes that a private power company would have paid and made an additional "profit" for the people of the Nation. Because of the interest in the question of TVA and taxes and because of the significance of this record, we are pleased to reprint the report in full.—The Editors.)

In fiscal year 1956 TVA paid $4,448,000 in lieu of taxes to the States and counties of its service area, and the municipal and cooperative electric systems which distribute TVA power paid $6,910,000, a total of $11,058,000.

These payments are, of course, of primary concern to the States, counties, and cities of the power-service area, which depend upon them, together with the taxes they collect from all other sources, to support the public services whose budgets make up the costs of government. The TVA region appears to consider the payments reasonable and fair. But in the general and widespread attack on TVA conducted by propagandists for the private power companies the size of these tax payments has been singled out for special attention.

Various charges are made. It is contended, for example, that the rates of private-power companies are higher than TVA rates because their tax burden is heavier, and ingenious calculations are presented in support of this thesis. The fact is, however, that many private companies pay as taxes to State and local governments a smaller share of their earnings, or of the electric bills they collect, than is paid in the TVA power service area. Nevertheless, their rates are higher than those paid by consumers of TVA power. The price of power cannot be shown to be directly related to or controlled by tax payments.

TVA rates to the ultimate consumers are lower than those of the average private utility, not because of differences in the amount of taxes, but primarily because its sources of energy are more economical and its rate of earnings more modest, and because both TVA and the locally owned and managed distributors retailing TVA power have as their objective, by law, the widest use of electricity at the lowest price to consumers, instead of the greatest profit to the utility.

WHY TVA RATES ARE LOW

There are many differences in the costs of operation in the TVA area and similar costs elsewhere. In its steam plants TVA produces electricity with less use of coal per kilowatt-hour than the average utility and with operating and maintenance costs that are well below the national average. The expenditures of the local distributors of TVA power average far below those of other utilities, including costs of distribution, customer accounting and collecting, sales promotion, and administrative expense.

TVA and the distributors of its power publish full data on operating costs, including payments in lieu of taxes, to facilitate comparisons by those interested in public fiscal policy or in electric rates. It may be that in some areas the electricity consumer bears too large a share of the support of public services. In other areas the share may be too small. The people have a right to know the facts in order that prudent public policies may be established.

In comparing tax and tax-equivalent payments made by the public-power agencies in the TVA area with the taxes paid by private utilities, two major differences between the TVA area and others must be kept in mind.

First, the arrangement under which power is supplied to consumers in the TVA area is not the same as the typical power service arrangement in areas served by private utilities. TVA is engaged in the wholesale end of the business; it owns and operates only the facilities required for generation and transmission of power. The retail business is handled by 151 locally owned and managed distribution systems which carry the power to the ultimate consumer. In the TVA area, ownership and earnings, and therefore taxes and tax equivalents, are divided between TVA and the distributors. The taxes or tax equivalents paid by these distributors must therefore be added to the payments made by TVA to calculate the total power system payments for comparison.

Second, before comparing the total payments by utilities in the TVA area with the total taxes reported to be paid by any private utility, the income taxes paid by the private utility must be segregated and separately considered in order that like things may be compared.

Income taxes are based on profits. They represent a percentage of the net income remaining after all operating costs and depreciation have been met, and after interest requirements have been satisfied. A comparison between the Federal income taxes paid by different private utilities is simply a comparison of their profits for any given year. The company with the greatest profit would pay the most, whether its power rates were low or high or whether its service was inadequate or excellent.

TVA, of course, is owned by the Federal Government, and its entire net income belongs to the United States. The municipal and cooperative distribution systems pay no income tax on their earnings as a matter of national fiscal policy. Such systems pay no income tax whether they are located in the Tennessee Valley or elsewhere in the United States. A comparison can and will be made between the revenue the TVA power system provides for the Federal Government and the income taxes paid by private power companies, but first the facts with respect to State and local taxes or tax equivalents paid by the public power system in the TVA region will be presented.

TAX EQUIVALENTS

TVA's properties and operations cannot be taxed directly by State or local governments. This is not unique to TVA, but is in accord with the generally applicable rule that the properties and operations of the Federal Government are not subject to taxation by the States or their subdivisions. TVA's payments in lieu of taxes are made under a

formula adopted by the Congress, and made a part of the TVA Act (sec. 13), with the concurrence and approval of State and local taxing bodies. The present section 13 was adopted by the Congress in 1940 after the major transfers of utility properties from private to public ownership. Extensive consultation with State and local taxing bodies preceded the recommendations to the Congress which were adopted after committee hearings and floor debate. Experts in public fiscal policies were consulted. The result was the present formula under which a minimum of 5 percent of TVA's gross revenues from the sale of power, exclusive of sales to the Federal Government itself, is paid to State and local governments in lieu of taxes.

When the amendment was under consideration there were suggestions that the proposed percentage of gross revenues to be available for in-lieu payments was overgenerous. It was pointed out that States and local governments were large consumers of electricity, that they would enjoy immediate savings in the costs of Government by savings in the electric bills for schools and public institutions, for street lighting, water pumping and other municipal requirements. It was urged further that the TVA power system was not a business enterprise in the usual sense of the word. It would not be operated for profit as the private companies had been, but would deliberately, according to the policies set forth in the act itself, be managed to stimulate the general economic growth of the area, with a resulting increase in taxable wealth. That was one point of view.

Nevertheless, it was clear that the sudden shift of existing properties from private to public ownership would create serious revenue problems in some jurisdictions, and that benefits in savings or revenues from other sources would not immediately be realized in compensating size. It was agreed, therefore, that it was reasonable to expect electric consumers in the TVA area to continue the traditional practice of making a contribution to the costs of State and local government through their power bills. In-lieu tax payments were set up as an item of cost in power operations, except in the case of power produced for the use of the Federal Government itself. The 1940 legislation provided that at the end of 5 years the experience under it should be reviewed and a report made to Congress. This was done, and the general satisfaction with the plan was indicated by the absence of any objections to it when the report was made.

This is the formula under which TVA made in-lieu tax payments of $4,148,000 in fiscal year 1956.

In general, the 98 municipal electric systems make payments in lieu of taxes equal to the sum of the State, county, and local ad valorem property tax rate applied to the depreciated cost of their electric properties. Two distributors are privately owned utility companies and their taxes are assessed and paid in the same manner as other private utilities. The majority of the 51 rural electric cooperatives distributing TVA electricity—those which operate in Tennessee, Alabama, Kentucky, and Virginia—pay State and local property taxes on the basis of an assessment of their properties by State commissions. All cooperatives in the States of Mississippi, Georgia, and North Carolina are exempt by State law from State and local taxes. The distributors' payments therefore follow State and local practices. These TVA power distributors paid $6,910,000 in taxes or in-lieu payments to State and local governments in 1956.

PAYMENTS COMPARED

The $11,058,000 contributed to State and local governments in tax or in-lieu payments in fiscal year 1956 represented 6.1 percent of the consolidated revenues received by the distributors and by TVA, excepting only TVA's revenue from sales to Federal agencies which by the TVA Act is excluded from the base upon which its payments in lieu of taxes are computed.

This percentage is somewhat below the 9.0 percent reported as the average paid by all private utilities in the United States for calendar year 1955. Nevertheless, there are many private companies which pay a smaller percentage of their revenue to State and local governments than the publicly owned systems of the TVA area pay, and none of these companies sells power at rates which are lower than the rates in the TVA area. The 12[1] private companies serving areas adjacent to the area served by the TVA system range in their payments from 4.4 percent of gross revenue to 11.0 percent. The rates at which they sell power are higher than rates in the TVA area, regardless of the relative size of their tax payments.

As reported above, last fiscal year (1956), TVA and the distributors of TVA power paid State and local taxes (including tax equivalents) of $11,058,000. In 1937, before the major transfers from private to public ownership in this region, the State and local taxes paid on all electric operations in the same area totaled less than $3,350,000. In 18½ years in the TVA power service area the taxes received by State and local governments from their power suppliers have grown by 230 percent, a rate of increase that is higher than the average for private power companies during the same period. The record shows that in approximately the same time (18 years instead of 18½), State and local tax payments by private utilities of the Nation increased by 200 percent, from $207 million in 1937 to $625 million in 1955.

These are the facts with respect to tax payments, their size, the method under which they are computed, and how they compare with the national and regional experience of private companies.

Nevertheless, spokesmen for the private utilities have attempted to convince the public that local communities would receive larger local taxpay cuts if they chose service by a private company, and that simply for that reason they would be better off. The experience of the Tennessee Valley challenges both conclusions. In any event, these are, and always have been, questions for the public to decide. Clearly there is no area of the country outside the Tennessee Valley where citizens, as taxpayers and consumers, have given so much attention to these questions. Citizens of the TVA power service area do not regard the power system which serves them as a source of revenue, but as a tool of regional development. Nevertheless, without any allowance for the savings to local governments as a result of low electricity rates, or for the increase in other sources of taxable wealth resulting from the regionwide application of TVA's low-cost, high-use policy, the tax revenues the region now enjoys appear to be larger than they would have been had private power companies continued to serve the people, assuming that increased tax revenues in this region would have followed the national average.

FEDERAL INCOME TAXES

All the earnings of TVA belong to the Federal Government, which owns and operates the power generation and transmission facilities. No percentage of net income is reported paid to the Federal Treasury under the heading of "Income Tax." Only 2 of TVA's 151 power distributors are privately owned, but these distribute power at the same rates as the others and pay taxes exactly as though they obtained their energy from private sources for resale. As indicated above, 149 of TVA's distributors are municipalities and cooperatives; nowhere in the United States do municipalities or cooperatives pay Federal income taxes from their utility operations. Looking only at the TVA, it will be found that the Federal Government has received more net financial gain from this public power system than it would have received in Federal income taxes on a privately owned utility with similar revenues.

In fiscal year 1956 TVA's net income after allowance for the cost of money to the Goverment was about $26 million. All this belongs to the Federal Government. From a private company the Government would have received an income tax of approximately half of such net income.

THE RECORD OF 23 YEARS

Over the full period from TVA's inception to the present, 1933 to 1956, the Government earned $366 million on the TVA power investment, after paying all operating and maintenance expenses, depreciation, and the payments in lieu of State and local taxes. These earnings represent an average annual return of 4 percent on the Government's average investment during this 23-year period.

During the past 23 years, the average cost of money to the Government was about 2 percent, and if that rate of interest had been charged on the power investment for the full period, it would have amounted to $183 million, half of the 4 percent return. The remaining $183 million is the Government's margin over and above all operating and maintenance expenses, depreciation, payments in lieu of State and local taxes, and interest. This is 14.8 percent of TVA's gross power revenues of $1,238 million for the period.

The $183 million developed in the above calculation can be compared with the income taxes the Government might have received from a private utility with the same gross revenues in those years. For the last 23 years, income taxes paid by private utilities ranged from less than 3 percent of gross revenue in the early thirties to a high of 13.6 percent in 1955. These are the percentages reported by the Federal Power Commission. Applying the annual percentages to TVA's revenue, a typical privately owned utility would have paid Federal income taxes of about $140 million from $1,238 million of sales during the period. The margin of $183 million which TVA earned for the Government was $43 million more than that amount.

This comparison with the average percentage of revenues paid as income taxes by private utilities ignores the fact that in the principal case where private utilities have contracted to sell large quantities of power to the Government, namely, the Ohio Valley Electric Corp. (OVEC), the income taxes paid by the utilities will run less than 3 percent of revenue; and more than half of TVA's revenues are now from bulk power sales to the Atomic Energy Commission and other agencies of the Federal Government.

And every year the Federal Government profits in another way because of TVA's power program. The power costs of the atomic energy plants—both those served by TVA and those served by private utilities—are less by many millions of dollars than they would be without the service from this nonprofit system and the example it established.

So far as the general question of electric rates is concerned there is no evidence at all that taxes keep electric rates up or that the tax burden falls any more heavily on consumers served by power systems that are privately owned than by those that are publicly owned. There may be instances where the property taxes on individual utilities are

[1] Excludes Electric Energy, Inc., a privately owned utility that sells a large block of power to the Atomic Energy Commission and whose State and local taxes in 1955 averaged only 1.2 percent of revenue.

unfairly high, and more instances where a reduction in taxes and rates would stimulate economic growth and provide new sources of taxable wealth.

In the case of TVA the rate policies have resulted in a very rapid increase in rural electrification. They have developed the best market for electric appliances in the country. New industries have been established, new jobs created. The region is stronger than it was when this regional development program was begun. The people and industries of the region are today contributing directly a larger share of the total Federal tax collections than they did 23 years ago. The services of State and local government have been improved. A more prosperous area is supporting government at all levels more abundantly.

The TVA Federal tax story—Profits to the people of the Nation—The record of 23 years' operations, 1933–56

	Millions
Gross TVA power revenue	$1,238
Less TVA power costs, including all operating and maintenance expenses, depreciation, and payments in lieu of taxes to local and State governments	872
Government's gross profit on TVA power sales	366
Less interest: cost of money to the Government averaging about 2 percent	183
Government's net profit on TVA power sales	183
Less Federal income taxes private power company would have paid into Federal Treasury [1]	140
Profits to the people of the Nation	43

[1] Based on gross income. If maximum corporation income tax is applied, income taxes paid by utility with the same net income as TVA would be only $95 million.

A Congressman's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have just received from the Department of Defense, Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, a pamphlet entitled "Congress at Work," which was originally prepared by the staff of Senior Scholastic magazine and has been purchased and reprinted for the use of armed services personnel.

Because this pamphlet does such a fine job of explaining the Congress, I wish to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

In addition, I was very pleased to note that one of the feature articles in this pamphlet is entitled "A Congressman's Day" and is based on the working day of the dynamic and energetic Congressman from the Eighth District in Minnesota, Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK.

Although it is impossible to print the excellent picture coverage in the article, I do feel that my colleagues will find interesting the article itself by Mr. Roy Hemming, and I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article entitled "A Congressman's Day," from the pamphlet Congress at Work.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CONGRESSMAN'S DAY—MEET REPRESENTATIVE JOHN A. BLATNIK OF MINNESOTA AND ACCOMPANY HIM ON A TYPICAL WORKDAY IN CONGRESS

(By Roy Hemming)

"Some people think a Congressman's life is very glamorous. They think he spends most of the day sitting in the House of Representatives, listening to dramatic speeches by the great orators of Congress.

"A Congressman's life is nothing like that. Speechmaking in Congress is a minor activity. A Congressman spends most of his day at routine work—handling routine details in his office, or plugging away at the routine of committee work. It's a hard, dogged life—averaging 10 to 14 hours a day, 6 days a week, sometimes 7."

The speaker was Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK, Democrat, Minnesota. Mr. BLATNIK has been representing Minnesota's Eighth Congressional District since 1946. Last November he was reelected for his sixth term. He won 74 percent of the popular vote—the largest majority of any Minnesota Congressman of either party.

Mr. BLATNIK, now 45, used to be a school teacher. He taught for 2 years in a one-man rural school. Then he moved on to Chisholm High School, Chisholm, Minn., to teach math and chemistry for several years. Later he became administrative assistant to the Superintendent of Schools for St. Louis County, Minn.

He entered politics in 1940—winning election to the State Senate. During World War II, as an Air Force intelligence officer, Mr. BLATNIK was dropped behind enemy lines in northern Italy. He was responsible for evacuating over 400 United States airmen shot down behind those lines.

In Washington, Representative BLATNIK has been a leader in pushing through two important bills: The St. Lawrence Seaway project and the vast Federal Highway Construction project (see "a How a Bill Becomes a Law").

A few weeks ago, I accompanied Representative BLATNIK on his work schedule for a typical day.

Most of his day was spent in committee work. "The most important work of Congress is done in committee," he told me. "That is where the details of all major bills are thrashed out. Often this takes weeks of debating and wrangling. And you always have to compromise. You always have to work hard to get just part of what you wanted originally. But in the end, there is a great satisfaction in seeing the work of many months finally approved by Congress to become the law of the land.

"Behind all this," Mr. BLATNIK continued, "are the unseen and unsung heroes of Congress—the Congressmen's staffs. You never see their pictures in the papers or learn their names. They're never sitting on the stage at the big banquets. But these talented people—clerks, stenographers, researchers—do a very important job—and do it very well."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it occurs to me at this time to remark that the Congress might do well to consider the possibility of printing photographs and charts as well as the printed word in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is a well known truism that a picture is worth a thousand words and I respectfully suggest to my colleagues that, if careful restrictions are agreed upon, the inclusion of pictorial material in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD would be extraordinarily useful not only to our contemporaries but to future historians.

Annual Report of Colony House, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I should like to include the annual report of Colony House, Inc., the settlement house in my congressional district, the work of which has been so outstanding, under the executive direction of Miss Sara M. McCaulley.

The annual report follows:

A SETTLEMENT HOUSE AND ITS COMMUNITY

THE PAST COMMUNITY

Forty-four years ago the Gowanus area of Brooklyn welcomed a new neighbor into its midst—a settlement house. Many times during this period our role in the community has been questioned, but we have steadfastly striven not only to be a good neighbor to all but also to be a living, dynamic force in the area. Our primary concern has been in the immediate area surrounding us, but we also have had a major concern for our borough and city.

Robert Fontaine, the author, recently recalled the words of Henry Ward Beecher in his Royal Truths:

"It is a good world for the purposes for which it was built; and that is all anything is good for."

So too our community, which is our immediate world, has a purpose. Its purpose is not to provide us with a constant bliss and aimless gaiety, but opportunities to strengthen and develop our moral and spiritual selves. It is a community that has continuously provided us with constant and everchanging challenges to our faith, our courage, and our dreams—and everchanging opportunities to develop ourselves beyond our earthbound beginnings.

Those are our purposes for which this very good world was, indeed, built and one finds it difficult to deny that it serve these purposes in an admirable and breathtaking way.

Throughout the years this community has challenged our faith, courage and dreams but has also provided opportunities to help us to develop a "good world." We constantly had to ponder on "the purposes for which it was built."

Surely one of its major purposes was inscribed on our great Statue of Liberty:

"Bring your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to be free. The wretched refuse of your teeming shore, send these; the homeless, tempest-tossed to me. I lift the lamp beside the golden door."

From our early days, with Irish, Italian, German and other European groups, as well as a number of American Indians coming to this area to seek refuge in a better world until the present day with arrivals from Puerto Rico and Hungary we truly have been a "refuge for the homeless." Courage and faith were ever needed to instill better understanding and meaningful relationships among these racial, religious and cultural groups in our neighborhood for the future of our American Democracy demands co-

hesion and cooperation at the local area base.

This has not been an easy task but it has been stated—"that a community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy."

As each new group entered our area some fearful neighbors moved away, but during the past year many who had fled returned and new groups also entered our overcrowded area. Recent statistics show an increase of 3,000 residents since 1950. Last year we had 17 nationality groups represented in our membership, but now have 21. With a majority of Spanish speaking neighbors we are still faced with language handicaps which lead to suspicion but through time-tested values we know Colony House's programs have created a climate of freedom where convictions may clash without disaster and where all people in the community can learn to take the clashes in their stride.

Thus Colony House works today in a situation more complex than 44 years ago yet we still strive to stir the conscience of our community to unite its forces to create a better world for our area and to build an island of friendliness in the midst of a great impersonal city.

1956–57 COMMUNITY

A settlement's true value in its area can be determined by two main factors: (1) Improvement in human relations and (2) improvement in living conditions. With these two goals in mind we conducted our past year's activities.

Human relations can only be improved through understanding of a new neighbor and understanding comes only through association.

Two thousand five hundred and eighty members ranging in age from 3 to 92 years of age participated in a variety of meaningful activities in our 3 centers. We found good relations across racial, religious, and nationality lines came through a common interest in cultural activities. In our mixed neighborhood the informal class or club group was a common medium for establishing contacts among different races and cultures.

One hundred and sixty-five children were enrolled in our day-care center. Here the doors were opened to working mothers or those physically unable to care for their children. Through daily work and play these little tots were helped to find out how to live with each other, and sometimes even with themselves, and to find exciting new skills for their busy little hands and minds.

Although we are constantly studying human behavior and problems we have much to learn, but we have firm convictions that our main goal is to teach the worth of the individual and belief in his own dignity. This feeling must be instilled in the very young and be solid enough not to be undermined or corroded in later life by ideas that run counter to belief in man's dignity. We know if these children really achieve this they will gain that measure of personal ethics and responsibility necessary for a free society.

Fifty-five nursery children and 55 school-age children were cared for daily. Our low total registration shows a more stable community than prior years.

With double and triple sessions in our local schools to meet the heavy enrollment needs of the community, we are indeed fortunate to have sympathetic principals and teachers who plan and work closely with our staff.

This program was a shared responsibility of the Department of Welfare, New York City Housing Authority, and parents, and our agency.

Our Gowanus Community Center, an extension program, to serve the Gowanus housing project community, has helped to create a better world and given stability to a neighborhood facing disintegration. Our program inaugurated last year, staff visits to homes of members has paid big dividends. A close-working relationship between parents and staff has developed a better acceptance of adults by the youth. Parents now help plan and assist at weekly dances. During the summer months a team of fathers took responsibility with staff in conducting a program that had real meaning to the 'teenagers. Here we found the 'teenagers were helped to develop inner resources that stood them in good stead in the community. Not only have these youth developed better human relations but gained dignity as individuals by working diligently to raise funds to secure needed equipment for the center.

Our services were expanded to care for more children by the addition of two staff members through the Bureau of Community Activities. Thus the board of education joined forces with the New York City Housing Authority, New York City Youth Board, and Colony House in helping to achieve settlement principles in this area.

The junior boys and girls of Colony House went forth with abiding faith to face the brave new world of tormorrow. In striving to build a better community we helped them develop good sportsmanship as they worked and played together enjoying arts and craft, stories, music, dramatics, singing, dacing and other activities under trained, understanding leadership.

Through a grant from the New York City Youth Board special group work services were given for boys and girls from 13 to 18 years of age.

Throughout the years Colony House has had a roster of fine athletes noted for their sportsmanship. The annual sports dinner with a Dodger team member as guest of honor is a highlight of the season. Here team play and the ability to work with others rather than as an individual are given recognition. The Biddy League members who learned the give and take of team play in early years are now providing leadership in more skillful groups.

To broaden the horizons of the children special excursions were taken throughout the year to libraries, museums, parks, theaters, TV studios, industrial plants, major league ball games, circus, rodeo, and social events at other youth agencies.

Community relationships are really tested during holidays at Colony House. Each month brought some significant day to be remembered. Brotherhood Week was stressed in a series of parties where mothers of teenagers of varied nationality groups prepared suppers for groups of youths and discussed the origin and traditions of the national dish served. Here parents and youth working to prepare the food and then sharing it found a common interest.

As Charles Dickens described it: "There seems to be a magic in the very name of Christmas," and so it was at Colony House. From early October when the youth planned and began work on decorations to transform our settlement into a fairyland through 15 parties ending on January 6, young and old worked as a team.

For the first time we shared a new celebration. On January 6, 250 children and adults closed our Christmas season with "a three kings party" where the traditional songs, food, and gifts by the Magi were presented as on the island homeland of Puerto Rico. So once more we were mindful of the spirit of Christmas that prevailed.

Through the combined efforts of Public School No. 47, the department of health, and Colony House, special programs were conducted on many phases of health. Nutrition problems were stressed and parents were served a typical school luncheon to have them become familiar with the food served to their children. Polio shots were given to our older children and teachers as well as to the nursery children.

During the warm summer days of vacation our day camp at Gowanus was enlarged by combining the two smaller units. This procedure enabled us to serve more teen-agers who are so often neglected during these months. Through the cooperation of the Tribune Fresh Air Fund 158 boys and girls had a real vacation in the country. A number returned to these country towns for the Christmas holidays.

With a knowledge of a successful summer season conducted for teen-agers in the preceding year we again planned with the youth a concerted program geared to their needs. In adolescence a teen-ager gropes his way toward adulthood. He is at once both awkward and sensitive, unsure and confident, ungoverned and restrained. The idealism that makes him easily led is in constant quarrel with the pride that makes him refuse to be told. It is not enough that the adults learn to accept him as he is, but they must guide him to where he really wants to go. In both our centers we tried to guide our youth by self-planned projects. The results were gratifying indeed and plans are already laid for a new season.

Adult clubs have always been a strong factor at Colony House. While they were primarily organized for sociability, they are now self-governed and take responsibility both for their own activities and those of the settlement generally.

Our men's club of alumni and the young married club are both active forces within the program. Both clubs award trophies to younger members who best symbolize the Colony House spirit to them.

Our two mothers clubs have helped to build a better community with a continuous record of 41 years for the senior club and 21 years for the Liberty Club.

The Happiness Club for members over 65 years of age is truly "young in spirit." This club just celebrated its 10th anniversary and it has been a rewarding experience to welcome the old to new friendships and hobbies. Their concerns over the welfare of others has been a real lesson to their juniors in human relations.

Our Gowanus and child care parents groups, the parent-teacher association, the neighborhood committees, and many other groups have aided in our community activities.

Our largest and newest group in the community have really found a place for themselves this past year. The Puerto Rican neighbors have now a club of their own which is a dynamic force. With 100 active members they are visiting homes of newly arrived neighbors, working with teen-agers and are now taking community responsibilities although just 6 months ago the club was formed for sociability. Thus they too, are helping to make our area a good world.

Colony House, alone, could not have marshalled the facts and forces necessary for this social action to meet problems in the area. Thus we are grateful to the following agencies and groups who cooperated with us.

Association of Brooklyn Settlements; American Red Cross; Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service and Children's Aid Society; Brooklyn Council for Social Planning; Brooklyn College; Brooklyn Tuberculosis and Health Association; Board of Education and Community Activities; Principals Teachers and Parents Teachers Association of Public Schools 6, 32, 47; Board of Health; Brooklyn Public Library; Catholic Charities; Citizens Housing Council; Day Care Council, Department of Welfare; Greater New York Fund; Gowanus Housing Manager and Staff; Holy Family and Long Island College Hospitals; Junior League of Brooklyn; Juvenile Aid Bureau; National Federation of Settlements; National Recreation Association; New York City Housing Authority;

New York City Youth Board; New York Telephone Co. Employees; Police of 78th and 82d Precinct; Parochial Schools; Office of the Distrfict Attorney; Sun-N-Fun; United Neighborhood Houses; Youth Council Bureau and Tribune Fresh Air Fund.

An agency can only serve a community through its staff, volunteers and board. In a changing neighborhood it is up to them to build new roots for people—both young and old. Colony House has always been fortunate in having staff who were ever mindful of building this better community for all our neighbors, and thus have created an island of friendliness.

Our faithful and hard working volunteers from Brooklyn College, as well as many individuals throughout Brooklyn, have aided greatly in enriching our program and have thus strengthened our community ties.

Members of the Corporate and Associate Board, the Guild and Men's Council, as well as our many contributors have each played a role in our community plan for better living.

A social agency, today, cannot achieve a vital role in the community without the active participation of board members. Colony House is fortunate in having a close working relationship with staff and board members on a community level as well as borough and citywide. Thus we have become a symbol of a better world to many throughout the years.

THE FUTURE COMMUNITY

As stated in the past year's endeavors our aims were to improve human relations and to improve living conditions in the area.

We feel we have made very significant gains in human relations and during the past year our community has been a brighter and better world. For the coming year we hope to add on to this foundation and build more solid roots in the community for others.

We have not succeeded in improving the living conditions for many of our neighbors. This therefore becomes our major issue for the future. Our overcrowded, unhealthy rooming houses are a great problem.

We feel Colony House has a definite responsibility to stimulate the development of public concern for adequate standards of service and personnel to many of our new neighbors. We too, must help our neighbors make the best possible use of public services available. Housing is our most serious problem but health, sanitation, nutrition and many other problems need constant action.

It is our belief that basic planning and coordination must be done in a neighborhood in order that broad planning and coordination can be carried out on a borough- or city-wide basis. We believe that in order to make democracy a living reality to the American people we must secure active participation of every citizen in planning for a better community. This Colony House cannot do alone and in order to do the vital job ahead we must help to achieve our goal of uniting the forces of a total community to bring a good world to our area.

George Santayanna, the great American philosopher gave us this quotation: "Life is a predicament. We are surrounded by enormous, mysterious, only half-friendly forces."

Surely life in such a community as ours is a predicament. We look back to past years as a time of tranquility but, of course, the predicament was there and surely the enormous, mysterious and half-friendly forces were always present. In seeking a better life one finds it cannot be learned in a few easy lessons; in fact, the lessons are ours to work out and we may find some problems have no answer. We face many problems that have existed since time's beginning—the problems of morals, of manners, of government and religion.

But predicament seems to me to be a good word. It does not mean a trap, nor does it mean a sanctuary.

So Colony House, as in former years, accepts the challenge of the predicament of building a good world and goes forth with faith and courage to meet the enormous, mysterious, half-friendly forces of the future.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today letters and petitions regarding Sp3c. William S. Girard whom the Japanese are seeking to try in their courts, for having accidentally killed a Japanese woman. I want my colleagues to know the sentiments of my constituents.

The letters and petitions follow:

ALEXANDRIA, LA.

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LONG: On the strength of sounding like a radical, I would like to ask just one question: How many of our boys will be crucified in order to appease touchy foreign countries? This question may be to the extreme but in view of the appalling situation extremities are not forceful enough. I am only a housewife with two small sons but I dread terribly to think that my sons may find themselves deserted by the country they defend.

If this pathetic boy, Wm. Girard, is, in the sight of some officials, expendable—please take steps to amend or ratify this treaty that throws our boys to the wolves.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. J. M. TUCKER.

ALEXANDRIA, LA., *June 5, 1957.*

Congressman GEORGE S. LONG,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As the mother of two boys, I am deeply concerned over the provisions of a treaty that denies the protection of our Constitution to the servicemen whose duty it is to defend it.

Thank you for your courageous stand in protesting the release of Wm. C. Girard to a foreign civil court and demanding that this treaty be amended immediately.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARK ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDRIA, LA., *June 5, 1957.*

Congressman LONG,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LONG: I was certainly pleased to hear that you have spoken out against the decision to turn over William Girard to the Japanese civil courts. This case has certainly aroused public sympathy here in Alexandria.

I know you will continue to protest this treaty until it has been changed to protect all servicemen on duty in foreign countries.

Sincerely,

EVELYN O'QUINN LOFTON.

ALEXANDRIA, LA., *June 4, 1957.*

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LONG: I understand you have released a statement to the effect that you have protested the release of an American serviceman, William S. Girard, to the Japanese civil courts. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you for taking this stand and to urge you to do all you can to keep this issue alive until something is done.

Realizing that nothing can now be done for Mr. Girard under provisions of a treaty between the United States and Japan, I would still like to know why this agreement cannot be scrapped, if under its provisions, an American serviceman, defending the Constitution, cannot be protected by that same Constitution—after all a good many people have taken refuge behind the fifth amendment.

In the same press release that carried this story I quote the following:

"Wilson and Dulles said they have concluded that the joint committees agreement that Girard be tried in the courts of Japan was reached in full accord with procedures established by the treaty and agreement, and in order to preserve the integrity of the pledges of the United States, this determination by the Joint Committee must be carried out."

The words underlined seem ironic to me. The employment of the word "integrity" is offensive in this case, where a serviceman sent to a foreign country is abandoned by his own country, principally because of the fear of rioting mobs.

How did this treaty come about? Who drew it up? Did Congress ratify it?

I am very much interested in having these questions answered and to know to what extent Americans are supposed to stick their necks out for their country and then have their heads lopped off rather than offend another country.

I am a housewife with a teen-age son and this is my first experience in writing my Congressman. If I did not address my letter properly, please advise the correct salutation, because you will be hearing from me again.

Sincerely,

Mrs. W. H. CARR.

ALEXANDRIA, LA., *June 5, 1957.*

Congressman LONG,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LONG: I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your stand in protesting the release of an American GI to the civil courts of Japan for trial and to urge you to bend all your efforts toward having this treaty changed, so this situation will never again arise.

Sincerely yours,

EARL WHITTINGTON.

BOYCE, LA., *June 7, 1957.*

DEAR MR. GEORGE S. LONG: I am writing you in regard to the soldier prisoner, Girard, who was on guard and killed a Japanese and now is being tried for his life by the Japs.

I wonder if John Dulles has any sons and would he want them tried by the Japs.

I have two sons in the Air Force and if that's the way the Government feels about the boys who are in service and have to guard the property of the Government and then be tried for their life by such as the Japs I am sorry my sons are wearing the uniform. So won't you help this poor soldier and bring him home for trial? I think he only done his duty; what do you think? I am a supporter of the Longs.

Mrs. JIM HILLMAN.

ALEXANDRIA, LA., *June 11, 1957.*

DEAR MR. LONG: While I am sure you are doing what you can, but I can't help writing you. Congress in this case ought to go over the President's head in the case of this boy. Let us suppose he had not carried out his superiors' orders to guard this section, what then Mr. LONG? How many mothers are going to rebel against their boys going over there without the protection of our Armed Forces? Will you refer this to Mr. ELLENDER? All of your people think as I do.

Best wishes,

J. H. PETRIE.

ALEXANDRIA, LA., *June 8, 1957.*

Hon. GEORGE LONG,
United States Representative,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE LONG: We are shocked by the action of our Government in turning over an American soldier (Girard) to the Japanese Government for trial. We fear that he and other American troops abroad have been betrayed and forsaken.

Your fellow Americans want you to know that the notorious status of forces agreement stands as a monument to diplomatic bungling and is an altar of inane appeasement upon which our national self-respect is being sacrificed. It is unbelievable that our Congress would approve such an agreement in the first instance. We are left dumfounded by the inaction and submissive attitude of our Congress at the present time.

The morale of all American troops abroad and the confidence of the American people in their leaders, cannot but be shaken by the action of the executive branch of our Government, and the inaction of the legislative branch of our Government.

We earnestly protest the denial of Girard's constitutional rights as an American citizen, and if we as American citizens, any longer have a voice in our Government, we ask that you echo our sentiments in this matter and seek to abrogate the infamous status of forces agreement. We urge you to do everything within your power and authority to return Girard to American jurisdiction for trial.

This letter is being written and transmitted to you in compliance with a resolution adopted by the Johnson-Brown Post, No. 1736, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Sincerely,

PHILIP DAFFORD,
Post Commander.

PAYNE-JOHNSON POST, No. 3800,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS,
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Winnfield, La.

Whereas Army Sp3c. William S. Girard has been surrendered to a foreign government for trial for an alleged offense committed while on duty at his post at a United States Army base situated overseas;

And whereas it appears from press reports that officials of the United States Government have negotiated so-called status of forces treaties with foreign governments in which the United States is obligated to surrender to foreign governments for trial any and all members of the Armed Forces overseas, whether on duty or off duty and on the military and naval bases of the United States or off said bases;

And whereas it is the sense of Payne-Johnson Post, No. 3800, Veterans of Foreign Wars, of Winnfield, La., that these so-called status of forces treaties as interpreted by the Secretary of Defense and Secretary of State are a shocking betrayal of the men who wear the uniform of the Armed Forces of the United States and their families, and an abdication of the sovereignty of the United States; be it further

Resolved, That Payne-Johnson Post, No. 3800, by unanimous vote at its regular meeting goes on record as condemning and deploring the treaties which in effect deny American citizenship to members of the Armed Forces overseas and abdicate the sovereignty of the United States Government; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER, Senator RUSSELL B. LONG, Representative GEORGE S. LONG, and members of the press, radio, and television.

LEWIS LANE,
Senior Vice Commander.
TULEY WELLS,
Post Adjutant.

JUNE 4, 1957.

KIWANIS CLUB OF NATCHITOCHES,
Natchitoches, La., June 6, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE LONG: Abandonment to the Japanese of William S. Girard, an American soldier, shows how the status-of-forces treaty—

1. Violates the moral law of fidelity to those who depend on us.

2. Injures the United States politically by incurring loss of face in the Orient.

3. Undermines the foundation of morale in the armed services, and may entirely destroy their esprit de corps.

It is the opinion of the undersigned that the President of the United States should at once reconsider the action in regard to Army Sp3c William S. Girard, and that the President and the Congress should rescind such status-of-forces treaties without delay.

Sincerely yours,

CARL HENRY,
President, Kiwanis Club.
ALLEN R. PARKER,
President, Gordon Peters Post,
No. 10, American Legion.

We the undersigned citizens of Rapides Parish, State of Louisiana, wish to vehemently protest the decision of the Government in allowing the Japanese courts try Army Sp3c. William S. Girard.

We feel that Sp3c. Girard was performing his duty in protecting United States property and the killing of the Japanese was accidental and should be tried by United States military authorities only.

American boys have no choice but to serve in the Armed Forces under present VMT policies and directives. We do not believe that they should be subjected to prosecution of foreign courts when they must, against their wills, be sent to occupation countries and do bodily harm to citizens of these countries while carrying out their orders.

If necessary, we suggest congressional action to stop this decision by the Government.

John Avery, R. W. Lummus, Pineville, La.; H. Y. Kinney, Alexandria, La.; I. A. Arrington, Colfax, La.; James P. Marlea, Elmer, La.; S. W. Wallace, Bentley, La.; C. C. Woodward, Pineville, La.; B. G. Glasscock, David Glover, Gilbert Sweat, Alexandria, La.; J. E. Pitt, Marshall W. Gentry, Pineville, La.; James E. Rengeon, Leli A. Bracknell, Alexandria, La.; Earl T. Davidson, W. A. Barrios, Pineville, La.; A. L. Wilson, Jr., Alexandria, La.; Charles E. McKee, Chester A. Grover, Pineville, La.; F. W. King, G. L. Mabe, R. L. Feeglar, Henry H. Lucius, Tioga, La.; Ernest E. Grover, Fred T. Malone, Alexandria, La.; Oscar A. Kiernum, Nolan Mopey, Pineville, La.; N. F. Curry, Ball, La.; D. D. Garbington, Pollock, La.; H. W. Emmons, Bunkie, La.; V. H. O'Brien, Pineville, La.; W. L. Gunter, Clyde Dennan, Alexandria, La.; P. W. Nugent, Pineville, La.; J. C. Kent, Pollock, La.; J. A. Band, Reiley, La.; R. V. Lambert, Alexandria, La.; V. Pontholux, Echo, La.; A. T. Kimer, S. W. Whatley, Mrs. S. W. Whatley, Alexandria, La.; Mrs. J. C. Kent, Pollock, La.

John L. Teckell, Jessie K. Krome, Pineville, La.; Lee Scallon, Nellie Gremillion, Florence Clark, Joe Gibrell, Alexandria, La.; Charles U. Kesorn, Tioga, La.; D. R. Noone, Alexandria, La.; C. A. Richey, Walter T. Morgan, Pineville, La.; H. P. Ellison, Alexandria, La.; Charles Eddy, Bentley, La.; Ray Feighan, Alexandria, La.; Tillman McCann, Deville, La.; J. D. Trunt, Alexandria, La.; Clarence Crooks, Pineville, La.; S. Condon, Tioga, La.; V. R. Bayett, Pineville, La.; James A. Davis, Bentley, La.; Robert L. Morgan, Leonard A. Anderson, Willie Kates Anderson, Pineville, La.; James Miller, Elmer, La.; Marion E. Conner, Alexandria, La.; Lester A. Reynolds, Tioga, La.; Aubrey Bruce, Pineville, La.; C. E. Gorham, Jr., Pineville, La.; Robert M. Ortego, Alexandria, La.; Lee T. Chelette, Mary Lott, Jesse L. Roshto, Jr., Juanita E. Roshto, Malva Glazer, Mrs. Jesse L. Roshta, Jr., Thurman Roberts, Jesse Roshto, Audrey Avery, Charles Edward Smith, Ada Smith, D. C. Smith, Mrs. W. B. Nugent, Pineville, La.; Mrs. B. R. Mennel, Dry Prong, La.; J. E. Farr, Matt Roshto, Bobby M. Simmons, V. W. Linsicombe, Jr., Mrs. J. E. Farr, Mrs. Aubrey Bruce, Mrs. W. B. Jordan, W. B. Jordan, Jules La Croix, Edith Epnett, J. D. Roshto, Opal Roshto, Betty Gollihugh, Mrs. Dan McCormick, Mrs. Anna Beth Roshto, E. A. Whotty, Landry J. Mayer, Joseph F. Baily, Albert G. Marks, Pineville, La.; Grace M. Havens, Pearl Bond, Alexandria, La.; Nettie C. Ladner, Blyth D. Teague, Hortense F. Goad, Tioga, La.; Spencer W. Perry, Thessie M. Lambert, Maida L. Miller, Addie F. Hollingsworth, Alexandria, La.; Dollie M. Brister, Pineville, La.; Cloteal C. Rusk, Alexandria, La.

We, the undersigned citizens of Rapides Parish, State of Louisiana, wish to vehemently protest the decision of the Government in allowing the Japanese courts try Army Sp3c. William S. Girard.

We feel that Specialist, Third Class Girard was performing his duty in protecting United States property and the killing of the Japanese was accidental, and should be tried by United States military authorities only.

American boys have no choice but to serve in the Armed Forces under present universal-military-training policies and directives. We do not believe that they should be subjected to prosecution of foreign courts when they must, against their wills, be sent to occupation countries and do bodily harm to citizens of these countries while carrying out their orders.

If necessary, we suggest congressional action to stop this decision by the Government.

Herbert Spangler, Winnfield, La.; Eric B. White, Minnie Lee Zeigler, Luther Zeigler, M. Goodman, J. C. Jordan, Pineville, La.; T. H. West, Tioga, La.; D. T. Brazil, J. J. Judernon, Otho N. Fletcher, Pineville, La.; Henry H. Matthews, J. H. Harrell, Alexandria, La.; Ike Peters, Pineville, La.; C. R. Hill, Kingsville, La.; Mrs. Eric White, Pineville, La.; Mrs. Leon Boung, Alexandria, La.

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
DEPARTMENT OF LOUISIANA,
May 23, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LONG: The department of Louisiana, by convention mandate is strictly against the releasing of members of our Armed Forces, who have allegedly committed a crime while on overseas duty, to foreign government for trial.

At this time we are particularly interested in the case of Sp3c. William S. Girard of Ottowa, Ill., and wish to protest the action taken by Adm. Miles A. Hubbard.

We would like for you to protest the action of Admiral Hubbard and keep us advised as to the steps being taken by the Defense Department and by the Defense and State Departments to rectify this situation.

We feel that the members of the Armed Forces of the United States are American citizens and should any crime be committed by them while on overseas duty, that they should be tried by American citizens.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

M. C. "MIKE" GEHR,
Department Commander.

ALEXANDRIA, LA.,
June 5, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
Representative of Eighth District of Louisiana, House Office Building, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

After the Korean war we tried American military men who sold out their country. Who is going to try America for selling out her military man William C. Girard? If this decision remains other nations will take this as an example of American weakness and demand our military men for trials in their courts regardless of treaties or agreements.

Rev. L. R. BOWEN,
Pineville, La.

Proposed Jury Trial Amendment to Civil-Rights Legislation

SPEECH
OF

HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I rise briefly to participate in this debate. I am saddened that in this historic legislative body, representing the greatest democracy the world has ever known, we should have to legislate, debate, or even discuss, a matter so fundamental as the right of every qualified citizen of this Nation to cast his ballot.

When there is added to this, the suggestion that an equally fundamental and traditional pillar of our democratic way of life, the right to trial by jury, is being threatened by this legislation, I am indeed shaken to the roots of my being. As an attorney, a former State Senator and now as a United States Representative, I cherish our constitutional guaranty of trial by jury as a sacred right.

That is why, when I see the inviolate right of trial by jury introduced as a bogus, phony, sham issue in a cynical, callous effort to deny a large segment of our population the right to vote, I must rise to set the record straight. Let us label this phony jury-trial amendment for what it really is, an effort to thwart the reasonable enforcement of the law in the traditional American way—in fact, in the only way in which effective enforcement is possible.

An examination of the record reveals the true purpose of this jury trial gimmick, and perhaps the best way to illustrate this is by a few pertinent questions. Last year another civil rights bill was debated in this chamber. By the standards of those who oppose the universal enjoyment of civil rights, it was a tougher bill than this year's proposal. For obvious reasons which I will later touch upon, it contained no jury trial provision.

Question No. 1: Then why was not the bogus jury trial issue raised last year as it has been this year?

Everyone would agree that the legal profession represented by hundreds of local, State, and Federal bar associations would be in the forefront in attacking any effort to erode our constitutional rights, particularly the right to trial by jury as it exists. The hearings on this bill before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, consume some 1,300 pages of testimony. Only one witness appearing before the subcommittee purported to represent a bar association and he was the chairman of the executive committee of the South Carolina Bar Association. Examination of his testimony reveals that he made no mention whatever of this proposed jury trial amendment.

Question No. 2: Why has not a single bar association come forward to support the proponents of the jury trial amendment?

The motive of those who have masterminded this new roadblock in the enactment of civil rights legislation is obvious. They know it has nothing to do with the case, but they hope to so confuse the issue in the public's mind, that everyone who opposes their amendment can be accused of being against trial by jury, which is like being opposed to motherhood. But if they hope to embarrass us with our constituents, I think they vastly underestimate the intelligence of the American public.

The type of proceeding involved in this proposed legislation has never, since the inception of our legal system, involved a jury trial. A simple example serves to illustrate this. There is ample evidence that some Americans are unjustly deprived of their right to vote. Both political parties recognized this by pledging in their respective platforms that they would enact civil rights legislation. Now suppose a citizen feels that an election official or board has unjustifiably denied him the right to register, and hence the right to vote. Under the proposed legislation, he would seek an injunction against the official on the ground that he is failing or refusing to perform his official duties.

An injunction is simply a "stop" order; a legal means of preventing a wrong before it occurs. The Federal Constitution guarantees a jury trial in criminal proceedings. But this is not the trial of a crime. No one has been accused of a crime. It is a proceeding to prevent a wrong before it occurs. From time immemorial injunction proceedings have been brought on the equity side of our courts, before a judge without a jury. In fact, a Federal law which required a jury in such cases might very well be held unconstitutional.

A classic example of this proceeding which we all remember occurred when an injunction was issued against the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis and they received a huge fine for refusal to comply with the injunction. All this was before a judge, without a jury. Under the antitrust laws, Du Pont was very recently ordered to divest itself of its control of General Motors. The trial was before a judge, without a jury. We have passed in this House, in the last few decades, some 28 or 29 specific measures of tremendous importance, where the court is given the right to issue injunctions, or "stop" orders, and if these injunctions are violated, to mete out punishment by fine or sentence, without trial by jury.

And now let us compare the laws of the various States. I have prepared a short legal brief on this subject which I cannot, for lack of time, review in detail, but which I will insert in the RECORD at this point. The brief is short, because the legal proposition is simple and firmly established. It illustrates that the constitutional guaranty of a jury trial is construed to give no right to a jury trial in equity cases, including injunction proceedings.

At this point in the brief, I cite decisions of the United States Supreme Court and of the highest courts in 24 different States.

Now suppose this person who has applied for an injunction to prevent an official from denying him his vote, is successful, and a court has decided he is entitled to that injunction. If the official complies, that is the end of the matter. But suppose the official, having been served with a court order, refuses to obey it. He is now in contempt of court—and the proponents of this jury trial amendment say that he should have a jury trial to determine whether he is in contempt of court.

Question No. 3: What question of fact is this jury to decide?

Is this jury to decide for the judge whether he did in fact issue a stop order. Perhaps he dreamed it all up. Inserting a jury between a court and the enforcement of its own order is an insult to the court, is contrary to law, and is the height of legal hyprocisy. The brief which I mentioned notes that the constitutional guaranty of a jury trial does not apply to proceedings to punish for contempt of court, whether in a court of law, a court of equity, a court having criminal jurisdiction or any other court, citing many cases.

I do not wish to appear to be chiding my colleagues from below the Mason-Dixon line, but a great many of these cases cited in my brief originated in the fine courts of their States, and are supported by the excellently prepared opinions of judges elected or appointed from their areas, gentlemen who were schooled in the culture and traditions of those areas.

Question No. 4: Do the proponents of this jury-trial amendment now hold that these judges and the courts over which they preside are incompetent?

Our President recently drew attention to an opinion of our former President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, William Howard Taft, who said in 1908: "Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to

interject a jury trial between all orders of the court, made after full hearing, and the enforcement of such orders."

And where were these pious platitudes and this lofty attempt to introduce jury trials into an area where they have never existed, when in recent months court injunctions were obtained barring all activity of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas until all of its records were turned over to the State? There were no jury trials. In Alabama, a fine of $100,000 was levied against that association, without trial by jury, for so-called violation of an injunction requiring them to divulge membership lists.

Gentlemen, let us recognize this jury-trial amendment for what it really is, not an effort to preserve our constitutional right to a jury trial, but an unconstitutional effort to deny the Government the power to give its citizens effective protection of their right to vote, and of their fundamental right to equal protection and liberty and security under law. Let us defeat this amendment and get on to the consideration of legislation which has the endorsement of both political parties in their announced platforms.

Address by Dr. Salvador Araneta at Annual Commemoration of the Adoption of the Philippine Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein an address delivered by Dr. Salvador Araneta upon the occasion of the annual commemoration of the adoption of the Philippine Constitution on February 8, 1957.

This address was made before the Philippine Lawyers' Association in Manila. It deals with the spirit of their constitution in its relation to recent national events and covers the problem of nationalism and the brotherhood of man, conservation of natural resources, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the bases agreement. He also discusses at some length the unlawful and unfair practices of the American PX's in the importation of civilian goods into the Philippine economy without the payment of tariffs or other taxes and without reporting to the Ministry the dollar volume of these exempt importations.

It is a very courageous statement and yet carries a conciliatory overtone in an effort to improve international relations without weakening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of his country.

I believe he puts his finger on the fundamental reasons for the difficulties in which we find ourselves in our negotiations for military bases which are of most importance to both the United States and the Philippines.

Dr. Araneta is one of the outstanding patriots of the Philippines. He is probably the best posted man there on the economics of his country. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention and a graduate of Harvard University Law School. President Roxas nominated him to become Ambassador to London in 1947, but he declined the offer. He was appointed to high positions by President Quirino and was one of the first appointments made by the late President Magsaysay as Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources. He is engaged in many business enterprises in the islands. Beyond this, he and Mrs. Araneta established and own two large educational institutions, the Araneta Institute of Agriculture and the Institution of Technology. These two colleges have a combined enrollment of 10,000 students, with about 4,000 graduating annually, so you can well understand the impact upon the islands arising from the activities of Dr. Araneta.

The background and current activities of Dr. Salvador Araneta, together with the following address, were graciously furnished to me by Mr. Paul W. Reeves, of Manila.

President Alafriz, fellow delegates of the constitutional convention, colleagues of the bar, friends:

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN IN OUR CONSTITUTION

There is a saying in Spanish, a Dios rogando y con el mazo dando, which applied to our problem of national security must spell praying to God and the belief and practice by us in the Philippines, and by peaples everywhere of the brotherhood of man. President Eisenhower in his state of the Nation speech, pointed out that "National security requires far more than military power," and that "economic and moral factors play indispensable roles." He further underlined that to move a long way toward a peaceful world America should "emphasize aid" to her friends "in building more productive economies and in better satisfying the natural demands of their people for progress."

These sentiments faithfully implemented amounts to the practice of the brotherhood of man on a world scale. On our part, the concept of the brotherhood of man has two angles—one is our duty toward our own nationals, and the other is our duty toward humanity in general.

I said that the concept of the brotherhood of man is a part and parcel of the spirit of our Constitution. With reference to our duty toward humanity that concept finds expression in the provisions by which we renounced war as an instrument of national policy, and that by which we adopted the generally accepted principles of international law as part of the law of the Nation. With reference to our duty toward our nationals the concept of the brotherhood of man is spelled in two sets of provisions of our Constitution:

(a) Those that elevate to a constitutional mandate the practice of social justice in the Philippines, and

(b) The nationalistic provisions of the constitution by which agriculture, forestry, mining, fisheries, public utilities, are reserved to citizens, or to corporations with 60 percent of their capital owned by Filipino citizens.

NATIONALISM AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

But it may be asked: Are not these nationalistic defenses and practices inimical to the concept of the brotherhood of man in our relations to mankind?

My answer is that there is no such incompatibility, for aliens are not excluded as they can participate up to 40 percent in the capital of even those enterprises earmarked with the nationalistic restriction. Considering that the alien population of the Philippine does not exceed 1 million people, or 5 percent of our population, it is obvious that foreigners are adequately provided a living space in our economy as long as they can participate up to 40 percent of the capital of those enterprises. Aliens, under our constitution, our laws, our practices, and our desires, are welcomed to participate in all lines of economic activities, so long as they do not wish to be exclusivistic, and, as invited guests, are willing to take a minority participation. Time must come and it should come soon that this formula for alien participation will be extended to new industries.

The spirit of the constitution is not, therefore, to exclude aliens from a proper share in our economic activities. But it is the spirit of the constitution to stimulate national participation and to insure the Filipino's predominant share in essential economic activities. The brotherhood of man does not mean the exploitation of our natural resources by aliens in a larger measure than by nationals. The brotherhood of man does not mean a Philippine retail trade dominated by foreigners. The brotherhood of man does not mean an independent Philippines in name only, with foreigners dominating and holding an upper hand over our economic activities, and through them, dominating our Congress and our President. The brotherhood of man as proclaimed in the Gospel, and as consecrated in our constitution, means an equal opportunity to all, to the extent of helping and defending the weak, be he a laborer, a farmer, a citizen, or a pauper, to make possible in practice the actual exercise of that equal opportunity which is the core of true democracy. And so long as our citizens, because of lack of experience, because of lack of capital, because of lack of the necessary disciplines, are in a weaker position vis-a-vis foreigners, it is the duty of the state under the constitution to defend them, reserving a major share of our economic activities to our citizens, to the end that our institutions, economic, social, and political, may not be dominated by foreign influences, and our people may be truly masters and sovereigns in our own land.

More and more we come to realize that the blessing of independence, to be real, must be predicated on our being masters and beneficiaries of our own heritage. If our trade and most important economic activities are held by other hands, they and not we will rule our country and the Philippines will be merely the puppet state of another more virile nation.

NATIONALISTIC SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Our constitution was conceived and approved before we were independent, and was made subject to the approval of the President of the United States. And it is pertinent to ask if there is permeating into the constitution a colonial mentality and subservient spirit.

To the credit of the delegates of the constitutional convention, we can truthfully say that the constitution was not authored by minds with a colonial mentality and with a subservient spirit—as far as I know, if there is one provision that did not find its way into the constitution, it was precisely the proposal to nationalize the retail trade, because we were told by President Quezon that its insertion into the constitution might jeopar-

dise the approval of the constitution by the President of the United States. But the convention approved a resolution expressing the views of the delegates on the subject, which read as follows:

"That it is the sense of this convention that the public interest requires the nationalization of retail trade but this convention abstains from approving the amendment introduced by the delegate for Manila, Mr. Araneta, and others on this matter because this convention is convinced that the National Assembly is authorized to promulgate a law which limits to Filipinos and American citizens the privilege to engage in retail trade."

If, therefore, foreign influences were brought to bear on the members of the constitutional convention, the same were exerted to control or lessen the nationalistic spirit that was preeminent in the constitutional convention.

THE NATIONALISTIC SPIRIT MUST NOT BE ANTIFOREIGN

This nationalistic spirit must not be antiforeign but pro-Filipino. To the extent that it is antiforeign, it would be indeed against the concept of the brotherhood of man. To the extent that it is pro-Filipino, it is in accord with our belief in God, for to believe in God is to believe in the social nature of man. And from this belief, there follows our devotion to country. Thus, the Philippines, because of the tradition and political limitations, continues to be the political unit where most of us can find immediate expression for our capabilities and desires to be of service during our sojourn in this life. With the light that has been given me, I feel that the present realities of the international world demand that a new, small nation needs an assertive and dedicated nationalism for its underdeveloped resources, for many of its idle and despondent people, if its nationals are to raise themselves over the misery of their present existence. For if charity begins at home, charity must also begin in our motherland. That only we, as a people can help ourselves and redeem our own salvation with hard work and wise national decisions, and, for this, we have to be united as a people duly supported by our Government. That, at this precise moment in our history, we should be more than careful not to become the prey of foreign promises and attitudes, and we have to be ever jealous of the birthright of our nationals, their dignity, their self-respect, and their assertiveness; that our honor and the long-view national interests shall not be traded for a mess of pottage nor for all the gold for that matter.

Love of country and nationalism are different faces of the same coin. And it is gratifying to see that during the past years, the nationalistic spirit that springs from the Constitution has reverberated in the Halls of Congress, in many Government commissions, agencies, and instrumentalities, in various partiotic and civic organizations, and in the press of the country, culminating in the wise policy of the Monetary Board recently announced by Mr. Gregorio Licaros, to use the economic controls to strengthen the position of our nationals in the import trade.

But it is time to reappraise these nationalistic movements, to reassert its philosophy and to delimit its proper boundaries. Nationalism is a thing of the spirit, and that spirit and motivation must be pro-Filipino, without being antiforeign. We wish well our own nationals, we must protect them, provide them with employment and opportunities to develop an industry and our natural resources by insisting that they be allowed a proper share in the capital and employment of all economic activities in the community, by proscribing foreign exclusivisms, and insisting that nationals are entitled to a 60-percent share in the capital of enterprises, and at least 90 percent participation in all jobs that may be provided by an enterprise in the Philippines.

These measures are just mere defenses to our legitimate aspirations to make the Philippines for the Filipinos, a phrase coined by a great American, the first American civil Governor of the Philippines, the Honorable William H. Taft. In being pro-Filipino, in our desire to make our sovereignty and independence a vital reality, we must not debase our motives with an ill feeling and an ill desire against foreigners. We must not differentiate between nationalized citizens and Filipino-born citizens. It is true that the Constitution provides that only Filipino-born citizens may aspire for Congress, and the Presidency, and Vice Presidency. But precisely because the Constitution has limited the discrimination against naturalized citizens to these cases, the same should not be further extended. Foreigners within the limitations of our immigration laws should be welcomed, and those who have adopted this country as their own, irrespective of color or religion, should be treated as our own, as part of our body politic.

In the same way that we resent a spirit of economic exclusivism on the part of some foreigners, we would be guilty of the same spirit of exclusivism, if we make foreigners feel that they are not welcomed to adopt our nationality. Certainly, those who may decide to adopt our nationality, will do so for convenience. Seldom does one do anything to hurt himself. But convenience and utility is the door to real sympathy and love. A foreigner's sincerity and good faith to become one of us should not be questioned, once he has complied with all the requirements for naturalization and fulfills all requirements to retain citizenship. These requirements should be made stiffer, and should include continued residence in the Philippines, nonmembership in foreign chambers of commerce, sending his children to Filipino schools, and not becoming guilty of violation of any of our trade and antidummy laws.

Moved by these sentiments, I made this statement in 1954, when the nationalization of the retail trade became law:

"I am for assimilating into our nationhood all aliens of good will, who wish to become identified with our people and our institutions. Great nations have been created with such a policy of assimilation. I, therefore, hope that this new act, instead of becoming an instrument of separation and hate, will be an instrument of assimilation and self-respect. It is in this spirit that, I trust, the approval of this act will be taken by Filipinos and aliens alike."

THE CONSERVATION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

But our national heritage is not limited to a proper share in our economic activities. A most vital part of that heritage are the soil, water, and forest resources of the country, and we are all enjoined by our constitution to conserve and develop the patrimony of the nation. This concept is found in the preamble of the constitution, but unfortunately our Government has been lacking in understanding of the necessary measures that need be taken to implement this duty expressly ordained by the constitution in the Government. The unprecedented floods that swept and submerged many parts of Mindanao last December, bringing in their train the loss of hundreds of millions of pesos' worth of our national assets, is a clear evidence of the inadequacy of the attention given to needed conservation policies. It has been conservatively estimated that the soil lost by the country annually due to erosion is worth more than P1 billion. During the short period that I was Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources, the First National Forest Conservation Conference took place, and it is to be regretted that most of the recommendations adopted by the conference are not being implemented. Let us hope that the December floods that devastated several Provinces in Mindanao will serve as a dramatic object lesson for the nation to realize the imperative need of a dedicated policy of forest conservation. I venture to say that the little gain that the country may have accomplished in the rural areas during the past 3 years has been more than lost by our failure to give full support to wise conservation policies essential for the implementation of the constitutional mandate to conserve the patrimony of the Nation.

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

But in addition to floods, the nation is faced with ever-increasing unemployment—which is another case of lack of conservation—that of our human resources. In this connection, it is timely to ponder on the fact that another basic concept of the spirit permeating the constitution, is its concern for the establishment of real economic democracy in the Philippines. Thus, the constitution, in its preamble, calls for the establishment of a government that will insure democracy for the Filipino people. And in the declaration of principles, the promotion of social justice to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people is made the concern of the state. It would appear, therefore, that full employment, to say the least, should be the concern of the state, for full employment is the minimum requirement to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people. We can, therefore, conclude that full employment is a constitutional policy in the Philippines. But it would seem that our leaders consider the constitutional injunction as an ephemeral wish or a lofty mandate impossible of realization.

I do not have now the time to lay down the basis for a conservation policy and a full-employment policy. But I am bold to say that such policies are indispensable if we are to make the Philippines prosperous and impregnable to the forces of communism, and our state is to become a stable, strong, and a lasting reality.

OUR SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND THE BASES AGREEMENT

Toynbee, the great living historian, has suggested that the ship of civilization has crashed on the reef of one or both of two central human problems which he calls War and Class. And in this modern world, full employment is the first condition to win the problem of class, and soil, water, and forest conservation is an indispensable measure to forestall the loss of our very livelihood, all of which only shows how far we are in the Philippines to solve the problems of class and its twin problem of poverty.

And to meet the problem of war, rather the problem of foreign invasion, we accepted the bases agreement with America, sacrificing our territorial integrity and our sovereignty.

A study of our constitution will show that one of the paramount preoccupations of the delegates of the constitutional convention was the preservation of the integrity of the Philippine territory, and to this end, the national territory, contrary to all constitutional precedents, is described in the constitution. This cuts at its root any possible desire of future leaders of the nation to enlarge our territory, by conquest or otherwise, and, by the same token, it enjoins our leaders to preserve intact and undiminished that territory. And this brings us many interesting constitutional questions involving the territorial integrity of the country and our sovereignty over the whole and integral portions of our national territory brought about by our bases agreement with the United States. Moreover, this agreement must be studied in relation to the principle consecrated in our constitution of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and the provision vesting in Congress the sole power to declare a

defensive war. Contrary to the much publicized and erroneous MacArthur statement that Japan was the first country to renounce war in its constitution, the truth is that the Philippines preceded Japan in this constitutional doctrine by more than a decade.

But we must guard and defend our sovereignty, not only in the matter of the integrity of our national territory, not only in the matter of the jurisdiction of our courts of justice and the sole jurisdiction of congress to declare a defensive war, but also in the matter of our tariff, trade, and import control laws. As it is, the PX, the chain of stores found in military bases, an instrumentality outside the jurisdiction of the Philippine Government, is importing all sorts of civilian goods, without paying tariff duties and other taxes, in complete disregard of our tax laws and of our controls on imports and foreign exchange. The PX is importing in huge quantities, the kind and volume of the imports not being even reported to our government for statistical purposes, and a good measure of these goods are being sold to our civilian population, through about 25,000 Filipino civilians who have the privilege to buy from the PX. Thus, today, the American Government has become the biggest importer, wholesaler and retailer of civilian goods, boring a massive hole into the foreign-exchange regulations of the Central Bank and the tariff, tax and trade laws of the country. These PX's have thus become a stumbling block to the solution of the present fundamental disequalibrium in our foreign trade. The problem is sufficiently serious to merit the good offices of our President for proper representations to the President of the United States.

Let us pray that the nation will continue backing fully the stand taken by Senator Recto and the members of the Philippine panel, ably headed by Senator Pelaez, and loyally supported by Congressman Cuenco and Secretary Barrera, in their determined fight to retrieve our sovereignty and to uphold our constitution.

EQUALITY AMONG THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

The Philippine stand in the proposed revision is in line with the views expressed by President Eisenhower, in his recent speech on the state of the Nation, where he proclaimed that the American system of regional pacts insists on equality among its members.

In the same speech, President Eisenhower further said:

"The world has so shrunk that all free nations are our neighbors. Without cooperative neighbors, the United States cannot maintain its own security and welfare.

"Interdependence of interests requires a decent respect for the rights and the peace of all peoples."

A DECENT RESPECT FOR FILIPINO RIGHTS

A decent respect for the rights of the Filipino people, paraphrasing the great American President, is all that we demand in our relations with the American Government. And as President Eisenhower has very well admonished his people, by America's loyalty to these principles, by America's practice of them, she shall set a standard to which all who seek justice and who hunger for peace, can rally.

These are indeed mighty words. These words will prove mightier than the sword. These moral, political principles will prove more effective than all the American atomic military power. The rallying point for all free-loving countries is there—but it takes more than words, and promises to make it a reality. As pointed out by Chester Bowles:

"The difference between asserting moral positions for the limited purposes of psychological warfare, and living by them because they are the warp and woof of our national life, is precisely the difference between manipulation and genuineness, tactics, and truth. Thus, the test of our sincerity will not be the frequency with which our revolutionary slogans resound in political speeches, television extravaganzas, and broadcasts of the Voice of America, but our actual day-by-day performance on the issues which move mankind."

Again, the American President has said: "Our country and its government have made mistakes. They have been of the head—not of the heart. And it is still true that the great concept of the dignity of all men, alike created in the image of the Almighty, has been the compass by which we have tried and are trying to steer our course.

"So long as we continue by its guidance, there will be true progress in human affairs, both among ourselves and among those with whom we deal."

These words are very moving and significant. But if they can acquire meaning in the Philippines, there must be a recognition by America of American mistakes committed in the Philippines. The fact that the mistakes were not of the heart, will not exculpate mistakes of the head, which the head fails to acknowledge.

THE TWO AMERICAS AND THE TWO PHILIPPINES

But we must realize that there are two Americas today, in its views and sentiments toward mankind and the future of humanity. There is the America of Henry Hazlitt, shortsighted, unimaginative, egocentric, unconscious, and unresponsive to the needs of the new dimensions of peace. On the other hand, there is the America of Chester Bowles, with "a clear vision of the urgent challenge for free men of all races to act now, together, creatively, ahead of chaos, realizing that in the next 10 years, positive ideas, dedicated people and peaceful action may do what no amount of guns, bombs, and bloodshed can ever accomplish later."

But we should not be guilty of seeing the speck in America's eyes, and yet do not consider the beam in our own. For here, also, we have the two Philippines, which run parallel to the two Americas. For here in the Philippines, we must face the problem of class, the problem of poverty, the need for a real brotherhood of man within our own territory, and in the realization of this goal we are also met with two Philippines with different outlooks and sentiments. This same problem of class that diffuses into the problem of war, America has to face but on a world level, and, as Chester Bowles has said, "if America can recover some of Lincoln's democratic faith and apply it to the world, America will find that her own American Revolution in all its dynamic implications has come to life again, and the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America will reach out their hands to the United States in new confidence and in friendship." And Chester Bowles concludes "Then the danger of nuclear destruction may subside, and a stalemate achieved by terror may merge into peace."

Our Constitution was once suspended, when our country was occupied by a foreign power during a period of more than 4 years. So by actual experience we know that the Constitution, and, may I add, American protection is not a guaranty against invasion. But while the Constitution and its spirit may not be a guaranty against a superior force, the thesis which I present to your consideration is that the spirit of the Constitution, if allowed to invigorate the national soul, shall bring about a regime of justice, liberty, and democracy in this beloved land of ours: Justice in the fullest sense, including social justice, with full employment as the first foundation of our economic edifice; liberty, in its true sense, with liberty under God to love Him and our neighbors; and, democracy, in its complete significance, of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

I said the Constitution is not a guaranty against a superior physical force. But the spirit of the Constitution, if fully understood and kept vigorous, is a guaranty that the Filipino soul shall become morally strong, capable of shaping world events toward security and peace. And in the fear of God and in the brotherhood of man which are the breath and spirit of our Constitution, we shall find as a nation the true and fundamental concepts that will insure for our people a glorious destiny and will make of us a vital force to human happiness and world peace.

I thank you.

Responsibility of Landownership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, considering the rather careless way we Americans designate certain weeks as periods for recognizing everything from doughnut holes to Miss Apple Cider, it is refreshing when we finally arrive at something like "Soil Stewardship Week." The week of May 26 to June 2 was set aside as Soil Stewardship Week and lest its importance go unnoticed here, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD some excerpts on landownership from a soil conservation booklet which were called to my attention through the pages of the Des Moines (Iowa) Register:

RESPONSIBILITY OF LANDOWNERSHIP

The man-land relationship is a necessary part of God's universal scheme. In the Garden of Eden, God made man a steward of the land and responsible to Him for its care and use.

The Biblical message is clear and emphatic on land use and distribution. A man's inheritance of land was to be held, as nearly as possible, inviolate. Hear Elijah's judgment against Ahab when he would take Naboth's vineyard: "Have you killed and also taken possession?" (I Kings 21: 19). Micah sets forth the prophetic ideal, "They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid." (Micah 4: 4.)

God's greatest material gift to man is a very special kind of property, containing the basic sources of food, fiber, and fuel for man's use.

Ownership of whatever sort, owner-operator, landlord or tenant, involves utilization of one's property to serve the highest purpose of human development and welfare. In many instances absentee-owners fail to accept their responsibility as stewards of the soil. A special effort must be put forth to remind the absentee-owner of his moral responsibility. Profits made at the expense of soil jeopardize the local community and are made at the expense of the Nation.

In the exercise of his ownership of the land, a good owner develops a just pride in his acres and is actively involved in the improvement of the attractiveness and the productivity of his acres. He comes to feel himself a part of the continuing creative process working cooperatively with God, maintaining the yield, contributing to human welfare.

Landownership consciousness results in the conservation and the improvement of the God-given soil, and at the same time yields social satisfaction to the farmer, his family, his neighbors, and the world at large.

Such ownership eventuates in responsible citizenry and Christian stewards of the land. This kind of ownership should be transmitted from generation to generation. Farm families have a significant opportunity in father-son agreements. The son inherits the land and the soil stewardship practices of his father. The land of such a farm is conserved and enriched for future generations.

Special Election for McCarthy Senate Seat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many Members of this House share with me an interest in the special election which has been ordered by the Governor of Wisconsin to fill the seat of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. This is particularly true since it has been widely predicted that the Democratic candidate may win the election for the first time since 1932. The following article, which appears in the June 17, 1957, issue of the New Leader, presents an informative rundown of the candidates on the eve of the campaign:

SPECIAL ELECTION FOR MCCARTHY SENATE SEAT
(By Frank Wallick)

Governor Vernon Thomson's decision to call a special election to fill Joe McCarthy's vacant seat in the United States Senate gives Wisconsin's stripling Democratic Party its best chance in a generation to redeem the name of La Follette.

Democrats have had good luck in winning special elections—a typical Wisconsin oddity, provided by the State's Progressive legislative fathers. Congressman LESTER JOHNSON of Black River Falls won a seat in Congress this way soon after President Eisenhower's glitter wore off in 1953, and JOHNSON'S party hopes the same thing can happen this year.

Heading the list of Democratic candidates for the 96th United States Senate seat is Milwaukee's bright young Henry Reuss, a rabid conservationist, who is known as the Dick Neuberger of the Midwest. However, Reuss has pledged to withdraw if Congressman CLEMENT ZABLOCKI goes through with his decision to run. William Proxmire, a three-time candidate for Governor who also wants to run, is today out of favor with labor and Democratic heads in Wisconsin.

Republicans will have former Governor Walter J. Kohler, Jr., Lieutenant Governor Warren Knowles, and former Congressman Glenn Davis as their candidates. Kohler is said to be a White House favorite, and, while he is the GOP's best vote-getter, this reputation as Eisenhower's pet will have to be lived down. Knowles and Davis are several shades more conservative in their views than Kohler.

Since the breakup of the La Follette organization in the State, the Democratic Party has tried hard, but without much luck, to recapture its once flaming liberal spirit. The party's strongest figure, Thomas Fairchild, virtually gave up the effort last year by seeking his father's place on the State supreme court. Fairchild might have beaten McCarthy in the 1952 race had not Eisenhower given the late Senator his official blessing. As it was, Fairchild came within 10 percent of victory in a GOP landslide year, carrying the metropolitan areas where enlightened newspapers opposed McCarthy's record.

REUSS, who was beaten in the 1952 Democratic primary by Fairchild, has proven to be the party's most appealing personality since he defeated Congressman Charles Kersten in 1954. With the backing of the powerful Milwaukee Journal, REUSS has inveighed against oil-depletion allowances, championed a new approach to foreign policy, urged a $5,000 ceiling on soil-bank payments, and became the hero of every Wisconsinite who ever fished a trout stream or shot a wild duck.

Wisconsin was the first major agricultural State to be clobbered by the Benson sliding scale when support prices on dairy products were lowered to 75 percent of parity. Benson at one time was in such low favor with the State's farm population that the authoritative Wisconsin Agriculturist and farm poll showed that only 8 percent of the State's dirt farmers thought he was doing a good job. Since then, Benson has improved his standing somewhat, but there is widespread farm discontent.

The State's GOP organization is severely split between the McCarthyite faction and those who call themselves modern Republicans. There are still strong progressive strains in the Republican Party here, a hold-over from the La Follette days. Governor Thomson, remembered by TV watchers during the 1952 Chicago GOP convention for his oratory in support of Taft delegates, has pulled a switch this year by refusing to support a State sales tax—earnestly sought by his industrialist backers.

The man who unwittingly assured Senator ALEXANDER WILEY'S nomination in a hard-fought GOP primary last year has voiced the fears of many a lingering McCarthy follower. Said Howard Boyle, whose slim vote took enough votes away from the GOP convention-endorsed Glenn Davis to nominate WILEY: "The announced candidates are candidates for the White House social list. We need a man who will get in and fight like Joe McCarthy did."

Echoes of this fanatic following may haunt all three of the GOP hopefuls, who will be challenged to pledge allegiance to both President Eisenhower and the late Joe McCarthy in nearly every campaign appearance. It was the regular Republicans' refusal to take a stand for the President that sent many independent and Republican voters into the Democratic column on Milwaukee's Teutonic north side last year, as HENRY REUSS won reelection by the largest margin—30,000—ever witnessed in that once seesaw district.

The hard-boiled arithmetic doesn't favor a Democratic victory. The whole State has gone Democratic only twice in the last 20 years. In 1948, Harry Truman got enough disgruntled farmers to carry Wisconsin. The same year Tom Fairchild beat an inept Republican for attorney general. But maybe it can happen again.

John H. Hobbs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 8, John H. Hobbs, of Ruby, Ark., died. In his passing, Arkansas lost one of her most useful and most distinguished citizens.

Mr. Hobbs was a fighter of the old school, interested in the development of the natural resources for the public good.

He was a strong supporter of rural electrification not only in Arkansas but throughout the country. Until illness and advanced age prevented him from doing it, he attended State and National meetings to fight for cheaper rates and area coverage so that the smallest, most humble farm home could have the conveniences of electricity.

In the Press-Argus, of Van Buren, Ark., edited by my friend Hugh Park, there appeared in the June 13 issue a tribute to Mr. Hobbs. I insert it as a part of my remarks:

JOHN HOBBS: A GREAT MAN AMONG US—A MEMORIAL TRIBUTE BY THE EDITOR

It was a lucky day for Crawford County, Ark., some 70 years ago when a commoner of little note was chastized by an English lord of noble ancestry back yonder on the isle of Britain.

We often forget that great great things most often come from little incidents. The commoner was a non-entity in the crowd of humanity's millions, whose folks were proud but poor. As a laborer in the mills of the English lord near London, John Hobbs was required to "make obeisance" every time he saw his master of more wealth and better birth—as birth was rated in those days.

But stormy John Hobbs refused to bow to the lord when he met him a second time in a row—and the lord got down from his carriage and proceeded to put the young upstart in his place. And the young upstart—fiery as they make them—took his place by going immediately to the home of his beloved, taking her to the minister, and proceeding to get married took the first passage for America.

Folks who have read the Press-Argus for years, and those who knew John Hobbs are familiar with the story of this young man, and the three score and ten years he has spent as an American citizen—above reproach and a leader of unquestioned integrity and tireless energy. All will recall the thrilling story of his life published as a serial by this paper a decade ago.

We shall not in this brief eulogy review the events in the life of John Hobbs. There were many. For John Hobbs was continually doing things. He never rested in his good works; and how thankful all of us must be for his decision to leave the State of Iowa and come down here into the hills of Crawford County a good half century ago, and here found a community out on Cedar Creek, raise a fine family, and be planted here for eternity among the people he loved in the soil he loved.

There's a memorial light burning to his memory on every hill and in every dale in the whole of western Arkansas. For among the many good deeds of John Hobbs, the most far reaching will probably be reckoned in his work to bring electricity to the farm family of Crawford County in particular and to America in general. He organized, almost alone by his own personal work, the rural electric cooperative in this county. Then he helped found the Arkansas Valley Electric Cooperative, and became its first and only president until he fell in a stroke under the scorching sun of a hot August day, plodding up and down Main Street trying to help his friend, Jack White, get the farm bureau cooperative store on its feet. The REA refused to let him go and created a post as president emeritus for John Hobbs.

Then from the country and district he went on to an area, and helped organize and became the first and only president of

KAMO, an organization of rural electric co-ops in Kansas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma. In that capacity Uncle John often was called to Washington, and there he met the national dignitaries, who no more scared him, or thrilled him, than did fellow members of the quorum court wherein Uncle John Hobbs served as a justice of the peace from Oliver Springs Township for a half century.

Uncle John organized the farm bureau—in fact he was the farm bureau for years—going about finding out what the farmers wanted and thought, and speaking for them. He wrote constantly for the papers; and the Press Argus worked with him, side by side, for 2 decades or more to bring more progress to agriculture.

So the name John Hobbs is well known to all our readers. It began to fade away in the fall of 1955, as all of us realized that the sunstroke was a mortal blow, under which Uncle John continued to struggle. He got weaker and weaker, finally moving from his home which he had continued to occupy after the death of his third good wife, Minerva, in an automobile crash at the highway Y at Alma on June 27, 1955. For the last year he was helpless, under the loving care of his children, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hobbs, and visited often by hundreds of friends and family who loved and admired his sterling character and dominant personality.

A week before he died, Uncle John went into a coma. The family doctor revived him with the use of a new modern medicine to offset the mortality of shock after heart failure. The new medicine revived him, but the strong old heart had finally met its equal, and at 10:30 o'clock Saturday night, June 8, Uncle John Hobbs slipped into the unknown world of death.

Wednesday afternoon at 2 p. m., neighbors and friends and family gathered in the little community church at Hobbtown, one of the many material "monuments" built by Uncle John who had done everything a Methodist circuit rider to liberal republican justice of peace who had turned to be a New Deal democrat and friend of men like President Roosevelt, President Truman and Speaker Sam Rayburn.

There they heard his long-time friend, Brother W. B. Miller deliver the funeral sermon, and Jack Borchach, an attorney for KAMO at Vinita, Okla., give the eulogy. Neighbors sang a few of the melodies that Uncle John loved, for he was a musician and poet by nature, and often composed bars of rhythm to comfort his soul or express his feelings about a personal or world problem.

Then with the Ocker funeral home in charge, the body was carried to the Morrison cemetery, and there laid to rest. The bearers were: Earl Watts, P. B. Coleman, Fred Coleman, Jack White, E. H. Pritchett, Jr., and Walter Marlar. Serving as honorary pallbearers were Wallace Milton of Ozark, Rex Dewey, Billy Reynolds, Hugh Park, Frank D. Pape, David T. Bryan, Robert Gelly, Sr., and Marvin Coleman.

On the inside page of this newspaper is the favorite family picture of Uncle John Hobbs, showing him with his only daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Pixley, in a five-generation family pose.

In addition to this daughter, he has three sons, an only sister, who lived near him in the Hobbtown community 5 miles northwest of Rudy.

The suryivors are: One daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Pixley of the Hobbtown community; one stepdaughter, Mrs. Lucille Griffith of Rudy; three sons, W. H. Hobbs, Brose Hobbs and Charles Hobbs, all of Rudy; one stepson, W. B. Coatney of Moore, Okla.; one sister, Mrs. Mary Hepden of Rudy; two half sisters, Mrs. Lydia Ballestro of Chicago, Ill., Mrs. Hilda Steele of England; two half brothers, Will Lawrence of Kansas City, Mo., and George Lawrence of Whittier, Calif.; 12 grandchildren; and 17 great, great grandchildren.

Erco Develops KC–135 Flight Simulator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, the Erco division of ACF Industries, which is located in my district, recently was awarded a contract to develop a flight simulator for the Boeing KC–135 jet tanker. Like most projects involving the national defense, this assignment called for Erco to deliver the first unit as soon as possible so that the Strategic Air Command could obtain maximum benefit from the training device before the arrival of regular production versions of the KC–135. Erco designed, built, and delivered the first unit in record time and to the company and the men and women who make up its family of employees we extend sincere appreciation for another outstanding contribution to the Nation's defense effort.

Details of how Erco speeded up this program to set a new record for fast development are contained in the following interesting and well-written article by Claude O. Witze which appeared in the May 27, 1957, issue of Aviation Week magazine:

ERCO DEVELOPS KC–135 FLIGHT SIMULATOR

RIVERDALE, MD.—Flight simulator for the Boeing KC–135 jet tanker was delivered to the Air Force before the first aircraft was ready for operation, officials of Erco Division, ACF Industries, reported last week.

The Erco-designed simulator is the first of 11 units now on order. It already is in use at Castle AFB, Calif., where the Strategic Air Command established its first operational wing of Boeing B–52 long-range jet bombers. Cost of the prototype is about $1.8 million, but average cost of the 11 simulators on order will run less than $500,000 each.

Erco spokesmen say they set a new record for fast development, and delivery of the first unit, making it possible for SAC to obtain maximum benefit from the training device before the arrival of regular production versions of the KC–135.

The simulator incorporates latest configuration and performance characteristics of the jet tanker.

Program was speeded by these steps:

Erco and Boeing exchanged engineering representatives to insure earliest possible transmission of accurate data, keeping the simulator up-to-date with engineering changes.

Monthly progress meetings were held during development of the simulator. In addition to Boeing and Erco, the meetings included representatives of the KC–135 Weapon System Project Office, Wright Air Development Equipment Laboratory, Ogden Air Materiel Area and SAC.

Once the project was heavily underway Erco started a three-shift operation to speed construction. Test engineering worked two shifts daily on calibration of the equipment. Maintenance and incorporation of engineering changes was done on the third shift.

USAF acceptance test time was cut from 5 weeks to 2 weeks. Boeing, SAC and WADC provided personnel to speed this part of the program.

The KC–135 simulator is one of the largest and most complicated training devices ever built. It has seats for two pilots with all controls and instruments duplicated as they are in the actual aircraft.

In addition to simulating ordinary flight regimes, is is capable of reproducing the changes in weight, flying characteristics and trim that take place during transfer of fuel from the tanker to bombers or fighters at high altitude. This makes it possible to practice actual refueling missions.

The manufacturer claims that the KC–135 simulator is the most complete training device ever built and that the specifications are the most rigid ever imposed on a designer. The machine is an analog computer, complete with radio, autopliot, and refueling factors in addition to regular flight controls.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

(Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, if our purpose is to protect the right to vote, just why do we limit that right, that protection to the case of one who is deprived of his right to vote, because of just those four reasons?

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I would be very, very glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. McCULLOCH. If the gentleman wishes to know my reason why it was limited, I would be glad to give it.

Section 4 of article I of the Constitution of the United States provides:

> The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Notwithstanding that section, I am of the opinion that there is some possibility that if this right to investigate on the part of the Federal Government is not limted at least to some of the words in section 1 of article XV of the Constitution, that the bill, if it becomes law, might be unconstitutional.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Now, do you get that? Did you ever hear anything like that? I respect the gentleman's ability. Do not misunderstand me. He and I are

warm personal friends. But, boy oh boy—think of it. The only right of the Congress to protect the right to vote must be based on 1 of those 4 reasons.

Mr. McCULLOCH. If the gentleman will yield further, for just a moment?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Surely; and I hope the gentleman asks for time so that we can continue this discussion, because I know I cannot get any more time.

Mr. McCULLOCH. I shall be very happy to try to get some time.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I am asking these things in good faith. Some of the distinguished Members here want to know about this.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Section 1 of article XV of the Constitution provides——

Mr. HOFFMAN. We all know about that.

Mr. McCULLOCH. But I would like to read it for the RECORD, if the gentleman would yield. I quote:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I would be willing to take a chance with the Supreme Court. They go along with a great deal of social legislation.

Mr. McCULLOCH. I end the quotation there.

Section 2 then says:

> Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

So I repeat, that unless they were limited to voting for Representatives or United States Senators there is a possibility the law would be unconstitutional.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The Congress has no right to protect your right to vote except for 1 of those 4 reasons? Now, do you swallow that?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. JOHANSEN. May I ask the gentleman from Ohio, if the restrictions are for the purpose he indicated, to keep it constitutional, how did "religion" get in there?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I would also like to answer that question, and I will answer it with the frankness with which I have tried to answer the other question. I am glad to advise the gentleman that in the Judiciary Committee I proposed to strike the word "religion."

Mr. HOFFMAN. But it is not in the Constitution, the part the gentleman read. You put that one in.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Let me finish answering the gentleman's question because it is so important.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I cannot; I am sorry. But you see what it amounts to. They hold it down to the words of the Constitution because they thought they could not put anything in that was not in the Constitution. They did not dare add protection where the right to vote was denied for any other reason than one of the four given—and protection of the right to vote for any official other than those named because it was thought that it would be unconstitutional.

If my understanding of the argument of the gentleman from Ohio, and other members of the committee who oppose any amendment which would provide "means of further securing and protecting the civil rights or investigating allegations that citizens were deprived of their right to vote for any reason other than because of color, race, religion, or national origin" is correct, it is that such amendments would broaden the bill, and that our right to investigate and bring charges that the right to vote was denied must be limited by the words of the Constitution.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH] read the 15th amendment in support of his argument, but, read again the 15th amendment:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by and State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

And please note that it especially states that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. If the gentleman's argument and the argument of the committee is sound, where, then, did it—or does it—get authority to add the two additional reasons: Religion or natural origin. The argument made against this amendment falls flat. The committee itself added for investigation, and, if justified, subsequent action, both religion and natural origin, neither of which is found in the 15th amendment as just quoted, and read by the gentleman from Ohio.

In the opinion of many, whatever may have been the purpose in the drafting of this bill, it is, on its face, just an attempt to create another snooping agency, through the operation of which a bid is made for the political support of minority racial groups.

Other than the hearsay statement of the Attorney General that there has been some complaint about the right to vote being hindered or restricted because of religion, there appears to be not a single word of testimony in the record that anyone's right to vote has been restricted or any attempt made to restrict that right because of religion.

We hear a great deal about lobbying, but, in effect, here's a bill through which the Congress itself is lobbying for the vote of, let us say, one minority group.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I want to confirm what the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING] has stated. We had many more provisions in this bill, many more powers that could be exercised by the Commission, but we cut them down almost to the bone, to the principles that are outlined in the bill before you.

I will say to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] that the Executive has the right to investigate. He is the gentleman's President; he is my President. I do not always agree with him, but I think he has a perfect right to set up a Commission.

This section that is sought to be eliminated provides for the study and collection of information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution. That is a very important provision and if we take that provision out we would be hampering to a very marked degree the work of the Commission.

I would say this. We cannot have too many entities focusing the pitiless light of publicity on wrongs envisaged by this subsection (2). Some of them are dreadful wrongs and they must be righted and information concerning them must be spread all over the Nation so that the public consciousness might be aroused to these wrongs.

For that reason I do hope the amendment will be voted down.

Sugar Quota Rise Does Not Help Eastern Price Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, last year the Agricultural Committee heard testimony on proposed legislation amending and extending the Sugar Act of 1948, and the industrial users of sugar testified before the committee.

The testimony of Mr. Gordon Picket Peyton, representing 12 different associations of industrial users of sugar, pointed out the fallacy of attempting to provide for an uneconomic distribution of sugar from its normal marketing area. The testimony presented to the Agricultural Committee bearing on this particular phase was as follows:

> An increase in the production of sugar beets would involve a marketing problem beyond the normal marketing area for beet sugar, thereby making such production and distribution even more uneconomic, with consequent price increases necessary. The movement of beet sugar toward the Northeast would involve allowances for transportation costs which would in turn increase the price at which this area would normally get cane sugar.
>
> We therefore oppose a further bolstering of the world market at the expense of our Government and our domestic consumers of sugar. It is not in the interest of the American public to encourage curtailment of sugar production where it can be the most economically produced while fostering through subsidies unnecessary production in the continental United States.

The correctness and the wisdom of this testimony is now borne out by the situation as it exists today. In the June 14, 1957, Journal of Commerce, Mr. Charles F. McCarthy wrote an article in which he stated that the fact that the quota rise of 100,000 tons of sugar has had no particular influence in the domestic sugar market. His article vividly points out the correctness of the testimony on this point given by the industrial sugar users. Mr. McCarthy's article is as follows:

(By Charles F. McCarthy)

The overnight sugar-quota rise of 100,000 tons to 9,100,000 short tons, raw value, had no particular influence in the domestic sugar market.

To begin with the earlier 9 million tons is more than the market will have need for this year. Why the rise?

At best, it was an effort on the part of the administrators to give substance to recent stronger language that they intended to spike a rise in the price of refined sugar in the East.

Under the old Sugar Act strong assertions that thus and so would be done were not necessary. It was only necessary to increase quotas and the market responded. Not so under the new Sugar Act.

The new Sugar Act which became effective last year is beginning to show up its weaknesses. The revised act was written to give the domestic beet-sugar industry more participation in consumption.

But apparently the beet-sugar industry is not big enough yet to fill the larger allotments. The areas that have the sugar, such as Cuba, can't market it here because of the quota restrictions.

SUPPLY UNBALANCED

The result has been a glaring dislocation in supply. In the East where the refiners rely on offshore imports for the bulk of their supplies, a tight situation prevails. In the West the beet-sugar industry with big paper quotas has not produced the supply or matured sufficiently in merchandising and marketing presumably to sell beyond their regular boundaries the additional supplies that have been grown.

In consequence the gap is widening between the beet- and cane-refined-sugar prices. Beet sugar, because of concentrated competition of a larger supply, is selling at 8.65 cents. Cane refined in the East is 9.10 cents.

NORMAL SPREAD

Traditionally, 20 points has been regarded as a normal spread. During the war years when sugar was tight the beet industry convinced the Government that the spread should only be 10 points.

The revised Sugar Act appears to have stripped the head of the Sugar Branch of USDA of his power. He is a jockey without a horse, one observer said.

Under the old Sugar Act if he raised the quota 100,000 tons, Cuba would supply 96,000 tons of the increase.

Under the present act Cuba will supply less than 30,000 tons. Puerto Rico gets approximately half as much. But there's the rub. As recently as May 24 the Sugar Branch had to reallocate 150,000 tons of Puerto Rican sugar because of an indicated deficit. Yet Puerto Rico gets 13,000 tons under the 100,000-ton increase, the beets 22,000 tons. There's 35,000 tons of paper, or ineffective quota in the 100,000-ton increase designed to check a rise in prices in the East.

RECENT SPEED CITED

Presumably it was only modesty and distance from the market that compelled the head of the sugar section to raise the quota only 100,000 tons when obviously considerably more was needed to bring out the required sugar. The sugar official had touched on the future of the market in a recent speech when he said:

"Possibly some of you already know the climax and ending of this year's sugar story; certainly I do not. In seeking light on the problems, I have observed that many who are in a position to know most about the market are most modest as to their ability to forecast. In fact, I might add that the confidence individuals exhibit in their own analyses and forecasts of this year's developments appear to be about proportional to their distance from the market."

The Future of Our Armed Forces: Unification or Reorganization

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, during our debate a few days ago on the Defense Department appropriation bill there was considerable discussion of the need for significant new steps in unification of our Armed Forces. Indeed, the report which was filed by the Appropriations Committee contained a finding that interservice rivalry is "expensive and undesirable" and "is getting completely out of control."

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON], the chairman of this vital subcommittee, bluntly stated his opinion that defense costs will continue to mount rapidly unless new steps are taken to bring about more unified planning and procurement by the Defense Department.

It seems to me that some of our colleagues have misconstrued the arguments made by those of us who favor more unification. These gentlemen apparently hold the view that any further unification must of necessity result in one service, one uniform, and a single, Chief of Staff. Their arguments are confused by the basic assumption that no further unification is possible without a thoroughgoing merger of the services—a move not contemplated by the advocates of greater unification.

Perhaps our discussion of this issue would be clarified if we discussed it in terms of a reorganization rather than unification. Certainly closer coordination in planning, and better teamwork among the three services can be accomplished without a complete revision of the existing defense framework. I am convinced that the staggering cost of our military establishment will, in a short time, make such steps mandatory; and I further believe that this purpose can be achieved without completely unifying the armed services.

A most interesting article which presents this point of view appeared a few days ago in the Christian Science Monitor, under the byline of Mr. Robert R. Brunn, the assistant American news editor of that publication, as part of a series entitled "Arms in the Atomic Age." I commend Mr. Brunn's article to those who are interested in this vital problem:

Standing next to Brig. Gen. Robert W. Stillman as the cadets march, blue rank after rank, to dinner at the new Air Force Academy, one senses tradition in the making.

They already have their special academy vocabulary: "Sir, the soup is on the ramp." "Taxi over here, Mister." "Blast off." And their mascot, a falcon named "Mach." And a football team quietly beginning to dream of thumping Army and Navy.

All this is in the best American military academy tradition. Certainly the Air Force Academy at Lowrie Field has Army and Navy instructors, and joint command and interservice cooperation are taught. But it remains that General Stillman is a Commandant of Cadets doing his superb best to make officers for a separate Air Force.

For this is the Air Force Academy's reason for being. Even now bulldozers are scraping away on a breathtaking site for permanent Academy buildings pushed up against the Rockies south of Denver.

Yet less than 10 years ago the Air Force was part of the Army. And it can be argued that its separation in 1948 was an anachronism—was indeed 20 years too late. For by the time the Air Force was given its own organizational setup the distinction between ground and air strategy was becoming obsolete. Rather than divide Air Force and Army, it could be argued that in 1948 the two should have been mixed more thoroughly.

Careful students of the services still argue that it is not too late to merge the Army and Air Force, but that to include the Navy would be unrealistic because of its entrenched position. But they would make the Navy part of a unification that would give a top Chief and his staff, plus the Secretary of Defense, line-of-command power to run all three services as an overall unit.

Here are some of the arguments for unification of the services, probably short of an all-one-uniform merger:

In the costly maze upon maze of the three-service organization there are overlapping functions, duplication of effort of almost every kind, differing standards, competitive procurement. In the $37 billion in this year's military budget there must be many millions of dollars that could be saved by an efficient reorganization.

The present system tends to build rigidity. Each service is afraid that any revolutionary and necessary change in military doctrine will mean a cut in its appropriations. So they all resist change, hang onto outmoded weapons, allow archaic ways of fighting wars to continue. Empires are being built, a tendency which unification wouldn't end but its proliferation might end.

A good argument can be made that money is often spent 2 or 3 times to develop essentially the same weapons. Unification could centralize research and development and get more for the research dollar. Industry cuts the metal, no matter who orders it. And industry does much of the research.

This argument has its weakness, for in today's race for the long-range missiles it has been seen that more progress was probably made by having all three services take different avenues. When needed, however, the multiple approach could be used under unification.

Civilian defense secretaries can do little to forward an overall strategic concept in step with the times. They are in office only a short while, and due to inexperience become spokesmen for the professional military. Unification would cut short this process of bargaining and debate at a point of fast decision.

Locomotion by foot, ship, and plane no longer is the intelligent division on which to make up the Armed Forces. All three arms

have missiles. All three have airplanes. Airpower is as much needed by the Army as the Navy. All three now have total nuclear weapons. If things continue as they are, in 10 years the Army and Air Force will have large areas of completely overlapping action. Isn't all this an argument for unification under some fresh approach?

Perfected teamwork between all three services is the key to success in modern war. There is no such thing as a separate land, sea, or air war. Shouldn't a single department oversee it as a matter of national survival?

Well, what kind of reorganization should there be apart from the principle that there should be one powerful, responsible command topping it all?

As all three services are moving toward utter duplication if things are kept as they are, the solution could be based on new functions for the basic service divisions. Instead of land, sea, and air, most experts talk about division between strategic and tactical functions.

Strategic? These forces are global in their concept, forcing overall decisions in the grand sweep of war.

Tactical? These forces are smaller in their impact and operation, their action being confined to localities.

For example, the Navy is a classical instrument for tactical or confined operations, such as showing the flag in the Mediterranean, shelling the coast of Korea, providing seaborne airfields for support of land operations.

On the other hand, the Strategic Air Command by its very name indicates its strategic function. It is to hold the global balance of power, to deter total war, and if necessary to engage in an intercontinental exchange of bombing blows.

The Army, Navy, and Air Force under this kind of functional unification would continue to be administrative and training units, running the air-sea-land divisions of two larger commands. Then a tactical force and a strategic force, each made up of men from all three services, would be the fighting organizations.

Tactical-limited war (or police actions) would be fought by this tactical force under an Army or Navy commander. This force would be trained and indoctrinated with that type of war in mind. With ships, planes, jeeps, missiles, guns, soldiers, sailors, and airmen, it would be a sort of permanent joint command of the kind that almost immediately evolves in most modern wars.

Total war would be fought by the strategic force, probably under an Air Force commander. It would include the Strategic Air Command, trained for intercontinental bombing; the Continental Air Defense Command, including Army, Navy, and Air Force units; those Army units needed to defend overseas basis; and naval task forces sending out long-range H-bomb-dropping planes and having ships and submarines armed with ballistic missiles.

Little doubt a reorganization partaking of these ideas will take place.

Right now arbitrary solutions to the unfunctional melee are being imposed from above—such as the absurd ruling that the Army can use missiles of only up to 200 miles and from there the Air Force must take over. Such out-of-hand solutions are only a patchwork papering over of deep malfunctions in the military setup.

Today public opinion, as always in the long run, determines the roles and missions of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. And each service has its powerful citizen propaganda lobby organization keeping on the pressure to defend its rights.

But the rights of the Nation as a whole will slowly take hold, perhaps under pressure from the fantastic costs of the defense effort today.

Ex-General Eisenhower has the power now to name a national task force of the best military and political thinkers to recommend changes. And Congress will listen to the President and the people speak.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, earlier today the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] referred to breakfasts at the White House. The precedent for presidential entertainment of the party faithful was set long ago.

We recall that when President Roosevelt was in the White House he had breakfasts and social gatherings on some of the islands in the bay. Members who were Democrats were transported—their transportation paid both ways. Someone in contact with the White House ought to advise the President that it would be just as well to take a little longer trip and have a little more enjoyable time by going over Saturday and Sunday—that is if he wishes to follow precedent.

As to certain statements that have been made to the effect that amendments were offered only by Members who intended to vote against the bill, Members who wished to weaken the bill—my vote will be against this bill—but that is not the reason for offering this amendment.

The alleged purpose of this bill is to protect the right to vote, although it is entitled a bill "to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States." No other civil right, though citizens possess many, is mentioned in the bill.

If additional, and what is considered by many to be unnecessary, legislation is to be enacted—legislation creating a new Federal agency at an unestimated cost—it is obvious that voting is futile unless the votes are fairly and accurately counted.

That the right to have one's vote counted is a civil right, and the protection of which falls within the jurisdiction of the Congress is evident, as shown by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in United States against Classic.

That case, which was argued in April, decided in May, of 1941, according to Justice Stone, who wrote the opinion of the Court, involved the charge that commissioners of elections, conducting a primary election, had "willfully altered and falsely counted and certified the ballots of voters cast in the primary election"—Justice Stone said that "the questions for decision are whether the right of qualified voters to vote in the Louisiana primary and to have their ballots counted is a right secured by the Constitution" and whether the acts charged violated sections 19 and 20 of the Criminal Code.

After referring to article 1, section 2, of the Constitution, which established the House of Representatives, and to section 4 of the same article, which granted the States the right to fix the time, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, and which authorized the Congress to make or alter such regulations except as to place of choosing—among other things, the Court wrote, 313th United States Reports, page 314:

> The right of qualified voters to vote at the congressional primary in Louisiana and to have their ballots counted is thus the right to participate in that choice.

And over on the next page the Supreme Court said this:

> Obviously included within the right to choose, secured by the Constitution, is the right of qualified voters within a State to cast their ballots and have them counted.

The purpose of this amendment is to give adequate protection to the citizens to have their vote, when cast, fairly and accurately counted.

What is the use of bringing in a bill saying one may vote if the vote is not counted?

Some of us recall that not so long ago down in Missouri—you remember there were quite a number of votes cast and it was alleged there was a conspiracy to suppress the true result of the election there and it was charged that the vote was fraudulently counted. When President Truman went down to see about it—perhaps more accurately, when he was in that vicinity at that time do you remember what happened to the ballots? He did not have anything to do with what happened. Notwithstanding the nearby presence of the President of the United States, someone broke into the courthouse and stole the votes and nothing ever come of the criminal charge. If we are trying to give to citizens the right to vote should we not do what the Supreme Court says here, see to it that the votes are fairly counted?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield for a correction.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I want to make a correction. In the circumstance the gentleman refers to, I was responsible for arranging that.

Mr. HOFFMAN. You mean those visits?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Well, the gentleman can put that in the RECORD.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. They were paid for by the Democratic National Committee that paid those expenses each time.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Both going out and coming back? If I have misstated the matter of expense the RECORD may stand corrected, that is as to who picked up the

check. My information is that a Government vessel manned by Government officers was used.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. The gentleman made a reference with regard to discrimination by the President.

Mr. HOFFMAN. That was a sort of pleasantry.

Mr. CRAMER. I would like to comment on that.

Mr. HOFFMAN. If it is important, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CRAMER. The gentleman from Michigan referred to the remarks by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] in which Mr. SIKES suggested that the President was practicing political discrimination by inviting members of his own Republican Party to break bread with him and objected to this practice. Apparently what he considers discrimination in Washington would not be considered the same when applied to Florida. I have been a Member of the Florida congressional delegation for nearly 3 years and I have never received an invitation to break bread with our Democrat Governor at the State mansion. Of course, even Mr. SIKES does not suggest that the President fails to consult the ranking Democrat Members on matters of national concern but Florida's Governor discriminates even here because even as the ranking Republican Member of the Florida delegation I have never been invited to break bread with the Governor of my State.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Is the gentleman feeling badly because the Governor of Florida did not invite him?

Mr. CRAMER. Not necessarily, but I am the ranking Republican Member from Florida and I have never been invited under any circumstances.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is offered in good faith and all seriousness. Look at it. If you want the votes counted, vote for it. If you do not care, let it go.

A vote for it will be at least a pious indication of good faith.

Award for Pan American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I learned about the 1956 National Safety Council aviation safety award being won by Pan American Airways which flew 5,502,560,000 miles without a fatality to a single crew member or passenger.

While everyone in this Nation enjoys a share of the perfect safety record of this airline which circles the globe, we in the town of Greenwich are especially pleased, for it is my hometown which serves as the year-round residence of two of Pan American's top officials, Mr. Juan Trippe, the president, and Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., vice president, both personal friends of mine.

These two outstanding figures in the field of aviation are largely responsible for the excellent public service of the airline, its important contributions to our national security by maintaining air service and airdromes in the farflung corners of the atlas, and all the while maintaining an unblemished record of safety.

Pan American can well boast as its motto "Safety First and First in Safety."

The Washington Daily News took note of "Pan Am's" modesty in an editorial yesterday June 13. I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial:

PERFECT IS PERFECT

Orchids today to Pan American World Airways, which got out a modest three-paragraph handout yesterday announcing that it had won the National Safety Council's 1956 award for flying 5,502,560,000 miles during the year without a single passenger or crew fatality.

We congratulate Pan Am for the shortness of its announcement, and the fantastic length of its safe air time.

Five and a half billion miles is pretty nearly 60 trips from the earth to the sun. Even hoofing it that far you're likely at least to stub your toe. The airline did it at two-hundred- to three-hundred-odd miles an hour through fair weather and foul and nary a bruise. You can't do better than perfect. Saludos, Pan Am.

American Know-How Knows How

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following, relative to the Tri-Valley Packing Association of California. Organized in 1932, the Tri-Valley Packing Association this month celebrates its 25th anniversary as one the biggest grower-canner organizations in the State of California.

AMERICAN KNOW-HOW KNOWS HOW

This is a story, a familiar story of progressive and dynamic American enterprise.

This is the story of industry born in the economic darkness of a ruinous depression of 25 years ago.

This is the story of the Tri-Valley Packing Association of California; but, it is also the same story reflected time and again in the annals of our Nation's economy when hopeful, ambitious, purposeful men defy untold obstacles to prove that American know-how is more, much more, than just an oft-used expression.

1932 was a historic year for California's canning industry and specifically for that State's great San Joaquin Valley. Shortly before this time, the United States Supreme Court compelled the Nation's large meat packers to discontinue the marketing of processed fruits and vegetables by upholding the packer's consent decree; thereby, in one stroke, wiping out the California cooperative canneries, which for 13 years had used one of the meat-packing firms for distribution of its canned foods.

With the collapse of the Association, its grower members were left without an outlet for their farm products at a time when black depression was upon the land and both business and industry were struggling for survival.

Grimly, a group of 89 growers, spurred by the leadership of George N. Pfarr, of Modesto, Calif., set about to salvage its economic future, banded themselves together in a new association which they called Tri-Valley after the State's three greatest food-producing areas—the San Joaquin, Sacramento, and Santa Clara Valleys—and began operations.

They had little besides produce to work with—no money in the bank, only limited credit, a single carload of sugar and enough cans on hand for only a few days packing.

They did, however, have an abundant quantity of hope and determination. The "depression" baby survived its first year.

It was not an impressive beginning. The initial pack consisted of only 5,300 tons of fruit—all yellow cling peaches—which produced 248,000 cases. But it was a start, and by season's end, all bills and employees had been paid. The growers had received the first installment of a return that eventually mounted to a figure of 57 percent above the current market price.

The second year marked a bigger advance. Production more than doubled to 546,000 cases and included eight different food products.

Each year since 1932, Tri-Valley has shown growth—both in quantity and in the variety of fruits and vegetables packed. By 1956, the total pack was more than 4 million cases, representing approximately 100,000 tons of 30 different kinds of fruits and vegetables from the lush valleys of California.

This year, according to a prediction by General Manager Philip N. Mark, Tri-Valley will pack an estimated 5 million cases of food, representing a 15 percent increase over last season's record.

Today, 25 years later, the Tri-Valley Packing Association of California maintains three large modern food-processing plants—in Modesto, Stockton and San Jose, Calif.

Out of the original 89, 12 growers are still supplying products to Tri-Valley. Tri-Valley honors these growers: W. F. Beard, Frank Goodwin, I. W. Hardie, G. O. Hollingsworth, George Kounias, Joe Vieria, and George N. Pfarr, all of Modesto, Calif. Also, F. H. Caulkins and E. J. Caulkins, of Ceres, Calif.; H. A. Codoni, Empire, Calif.; A. W. Oberg and C. E. Oberg, of Hughson, Calif.

The president of Tri-Valley is Edgar Jackson, of Saratoga, Calif. The directors include Franklin Beard and Alfred Terry, of Modesto, Calif.; John M. Doherty, Acampo, Calif.; and George A. Johnson, Patterson, Calif.

Twenty-five years later, Tri-Valley Packing Association celebrates its silver anniversary as one of the biggest independent grower-canner organizations in the State of California.

The Hungarian Plight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I take this opportunity of submitting a letter from Joseph J. Hubert, secretary of the Hungarian Community Club of Wallingford, to me.

I believe it speaks most eloquently of the plight of the Hungarians and certainly is a very truthful statement of events with which we concerned ourselves very enthusiastically not too many months ago, and I trust that action will be taken by this Congress in the very near future to pass some legislation which will eventually remove those noble and dedicated patriots whom we lovingly refer to as freedom fighters, from the roles of parolees and give them a permanent status.

We should certainly open our gates to many more who are stranded in foreign countries and like their predecessors, who were permitted to come to this country, we should likewise welcome the remainder:

HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY CLUB,
Wallingford, Conn., June 10, 1957.

Hon. ALBERT W. CRETELLA,
The United States Capitol,
Washington, D. C.:

"Budapest is no longer merely the name of a city; henceforth it is a new and shining symbol of man's yearning to be free." So President Eisenhower called it, and so it remains. Budapest is the symbol that freedom, no matter how cruelly slain or deeply buried, will rise again.

But in the languorous air of a belated spring, amid talk of baseball and trout fishing, it is easy to forget almost anything, particularly a painful thing. Few things are more painful to freemen than the memory of Budapest, where men who were willing to die for freedom were allowed to go unaided to their doom.

It is painful because their blood watered the tree of our liberties, because we can never fully repay this sacrifice, the martyrdom of a whole nation, a whole people. "If we cannot repay it," we were saying a few months ago, "at least we will never forget." On the hills of Budapest this spring the mass graves are still raw wounds, not yet green with grass. The boots of the conqueror still thud above them, and traitors defile the lands the martyrs briefly liberated. Yet the world shows signs of forgetting them already.

Only a few months ago the halls of the U. N. were ringing with the horror and anger of an aroused mankind. With a unanimity seldom achieved on anything before, this organized conscience of the world cried for an end to the infamy, ordered an investigation on the scene, demanded Soviet withdrawal, called for free elections in Hungary. None of this took place. All of it has been ignored. The anger has subsided. Nothing is being planned, nothing is being done.

Many Americans blame the United Nations for this inaction. But Americans will not have the right to blame the U. N. until they do everything in their own power to help the Hungarians. A few months ago, when a nationwide surge of sympathy went out to the refugees, President Eisenhower responded to it.

He punched enough escape holes in the McCarran-Walter Act's redtape to bring 32,000 Hungarians here by plane load and shipload—26,000 of them outside the legal quotas. Authorizing their entry as temporary parolees, he promised measures to give them regular status later—sure that he spoke the Nation's will. So far Congress has failed to fulfill that promise. Moreover, although 38,000 stranded Hungarian refugees are still languishing in Austria and 16,000 more in Yugoslavia, in mounting hopelessness and desperation, the pressure grows to Congress to halt the movement entirely. Thus there is an attempt to sweep the bitter memory of Hungary beneath the rug and to have the United States abandon the strongest weapon it has—short of real weapons—to help all those who are willing to fight for liberation: The promise of safe haven.

Here, then, is the immediate job Americans must do: These Hungarians must not be abandoned, we must stop this shabby betrayal of the brave people who dealt communism a most grievous wound, our immigration laws must help liberation struggles instead of hindering them. When we have done this, and only then, can we demand that the U. N. do more. Our hands will then be clean to lead the U. N. in the things which ought at least to be attempted—to expel the Kadar delegates for contempt, to bring sanctions against the Soviets, to set up a U. N. police force ready to act in new emergencies.

Sincerely yours,
HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY CLUB.
JOSEPH J. HUBERT, *Secretary.*

Tribute to Flag Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to pay tribute to our flag on this commemorative day.

Our American patriotism is too often, I fear, pulled out and displayed on the appropriate days, and it should be lived, not just thought and verbalized upon. We too often tend to forget the meanings and the history of the symbols of our priceless heritage, and our own American flag is the highest ranking such symbol of this great country.

We have all studied, at one time or another and in different schools, her history. We all learned the same facts and probably still remember the rudiments, but some things, grasped with a youthful mind, should be reviewed in maturity for rarest appreciation.

Old Glory has been the subject of plays, books, essays, songs, and poetry, and I am sure that each of us has a favorite. Each of us, I am equally certain, has wished for the eloquence to compose some stirring masterpiece to express our own feelings; at least I have, but since I do not possess this eloquence, I would like to use the words of an unknown writer, who will forgive my borrowing his words, I am sure, since I have enjoyed them so many times:

THE VOICE OF THE FLAG

If yonder flag, hanging in graceful folds, could find expression, it might say to the world, "I had my birth in Philadelphia; my stripes of red and white and field of blue and 13 stars were first kissed by Pennsylvania sunlight. I was the first to reach the top of your tower on Independence Hall; I was the first to point out from whence came the music of your Liberty Bell; I led the vanguard of the Continental Army from Valley Forge to Yorktown; I festooned the capitals of every State until, instead of 13, I displayed 8 and 40 stars; I first blushed in protest against slavery in my native Keystone State; the lilies of France once floating over Fort Duquesne were lowered to the lion of St. George floating over Fort Pitt, but both gave way to me when the wind from the free Alleghenies unfurled my colors above the water of the Ohio, at the town of Pitts; I led your conquering armies from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico; I was trailed in the dust, but rose again to feel the loyal grasp of Lincoln and Grant, and to give inspiration to the millions of men and women who loved the country and the cause for which I stood, and today I float in peace and in glory over every capital in this broad land, and I stand for liberty, for the noblest ambitions of humanity, and for peace through the world and for the dignity and honor and protection of all who love liberty and equality, and who claim the sheltering protection which I have always given."

Charging Cost of Private Utility Propaganda as Operating Expense Improper, Says Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, none who reads anything more grown-up than comic books can be ignorant of the great multi-million-dollar compaign of advertising propaganda conducted by the private power monopolies against public powers projects both national and local. It has been customary for these companies to charge off the cost of these campaigns as part of operating expense. In this way the full cost has been transferred to the customers and consumers of the private power monopolies who are thus paying for campaigns designed to keep their own rates high. Furthermore, this device results in a considerable loss in income tax to the United States Treasury and this in turn means that the taxpayers of the Nation are in effect, paying about half the cost of propaganda against public power projects which serve the public interest. Recently this practice has received considerable attention from various committees of the Congress including the Subcommittee on Public

Works and Resources of the House Government Operations Committee. The testimony from officials of the Federal Power Commission is most revealing. The June 1957 issue of Public Power magazine contains a very cogent summary of this testimony and, unanimous consent, I enter this summary in the RECORD:

PROPAGANDA EXPENSE: COMPANIES CHARGED COSTS OF BOOKLETS TO EXPENSE ACCOUNTS, FPC DISCOVERS

Two pamphlets designed to mold public opinion, published as joint enterprises by private power companies, have been charged improperly to operating expenses, the Federal Power Commission told a congressional committee last month.

FPC told the Subcommittee on Public Works and Resources of the House Government Operations Committee that inquiries had been made of the 59 utilities sponsoring the pamphlet, Turn on the Light, and of 5 companies in the Rocky Mountain area publishing the Federal Power Program, Its Background, Growth, and Consequences.

All of the companies replying indicated that costs of the publications were treated as expense items in the utilities' books, thus becoming reflected in the rate base. FPC has notified the power companies that such costs "may not be accounted for as operating expenses," and the companies "will be required in connection with future expenditures of similar nature to exclude such costs from operating expense accounts," the Chudoff subcommittee was advised.

In releasing the FPC reports, Chairman EARL CHUDOFF, Democrat, of Pensylvania, declared that the Commisison's opinion has far-reaching implications.

"It is obvious that the multi-million-dollar antipublic power campaign carried on by the electric utility industry in the past few years by television, radio, magazine, and newspaper advertising has been financed through illegal charges against millions of consumers of electricity," he said.

The Pennsylvania Congressman declared that private utilities may be liable "for millions of dollars in back taxes" if the FPC opinion as to proper accounting methods carries over into accounting for tax purposes.

"It seems that since the Federal Power Commission has held that the costs of such political propaganda cannot properly be charged as operating expenses for ratemaking purposes, it would be equally improper to accept them as proper deductions for income tax purposes," Representative CHUDOFF said.

The FPC reports were sent to the committee in response to a request for an opinion on the accounting methods employed by the utilities in connection with the publications. FPC also was asked by the committee to suggest legislation which would eliminate such expenses as charges against rate payers.

No such legislation is needed, FPC said, to prevent "such improper accounting practices in the future." The Commission pointed out that the accounting treatment of political expenditures has been interpreted both informally and in a formal proceeding before FPC (the Northwestern Electric Co. case). Such costs should be charged to account 538, miscellaneous income deductions, which is an account not ordinarily included in the cost of service for ratemaking purposes, FPC said.

With respect to the booklet on the Federal power program, FPC, said, "the subject of the booklet is to present the arguments against the construction and operation of electric power facilities by the Federal Government. In our opinion, this dispute of public power versus private power insofar as it affects the Federal Government is a matter of public policy to be determined by the Congress and is a political controversy."

Expenses in connection with the booklet are, therefore, "political expenditures and are not properly chargeable to the utilities' operating expenses as the cost of rendering electric services."

The purpose of the second pamphlet, "Turn on the Light" was to influence public opinion, FPC said, therefore expenses in connection with the pamphlet were "political expenditures and are not properly chargeable to the utilities' operating expenses."

FPC listed the private utilities which have sought rate increases, based upon "cost of service" which included the costs of the pamphlets. The Commission said that since the expenses in connection with the pamphlets were charged by the companies to operating expenses, "it may be said that they were improperly charged against the rate payers."

FPC pointed out, however, that the relationship of the cost of the two publications to the total cost of service of those utilities seeking rate increases was so small that charging the costs to operating expenses "could not have had any significant effect on rates."

Representative CHUDOFF said that representatives of FPC and of the Bureau of Internal Revenue "will be invited at an early date to discuss with the subcommittee the full extent and the implementation of the Commission's holding." He said he was "gravely concerned" about the "revelations" of the FPC report.

Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph Madden of Wilkes-Barre Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Monday, June 10, 1957, on the designation of Msgr. Joseph Madden as a domestice prelate with the title of Right Reverend Monsignor by Pope Pius XII:

LOCAL CHURCHMAN HONORED

Designation of the Very Reverend Monsignor Joseph Madden of Hanover Township as a domestic prelate with the title of right reverend monsignor by Pope Pius XII is a signal honor for the local churchman who is chancellor of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Scranton, notary, secretary of the bishop, secretary of the board of consultors and member of the building commission. He also has served as episcopal master of ceremonies, member of the faculty of the university of Scranton and chaplain of the Knights of Columbus and Catholic Daughters of America.

Still in his forties, Monsignor Madden will observe the 19th anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood tomorrow. The new papal honor that has been conferred is the second in a decade. In 1948, he was named a papal chamberlain. As a domestic prelate, he will have the title of Right Reverend Monsignor for life, as well as other prerogatives that are exercised by members of the Pope's household.

For a priest who is only approaching his prime, Monsignor Madden has gone a long way, leading naturally to pleasant speculation about the future. To enjoy the confidence of the reigning Pope and his bishop, as Monsignor Madden does, is no small compliment.

Despite the eminence he has attained, he remains the same modest and unassuming person he was as a resident of Lee Park and member of St. Aloysius parish.

This community also derives no small measure of satisfaction from the advancement of the Reverend James Lowry, JCD., vice chancellor of the diocese and a former assistant at St. Mary's Church of the Immaculate Conception, to the rank of papal chamberlain with the title of very reverend monsignor.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, since the political issue has been injected into the debate—at least that is my understanding, permit me to stand on a plank in the Republican platform. One of the principal planks of which was that the country was in danger of inflation and we should economize.

I go along with that. And because we have regular standing committees of the House authorized and qualified to perform the duties outlined for the Commission in lines 3, 4, and 5, this amendment is offered.

The language asked to be stricken provides that the Commission shall "study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

We have a regular standing committee of the House, the Committee on the Judiciary, which has jurisdiction and authority to do everything the Commission is authorized to do. We have another committee, the Committee on Government Operations, which has jurisdiction and which has ample funds to make investigations, hold those hearings on the matters referred to in this bill. Now do we want to turn loose a new group and creat a new Federal commission, to render a like and unnecessary service. This bill also provides for an additional district attorney and of course a new staff. Is there any use, is there any sense in talking economy? And then creating a new group to spend unknown sums to duplicate the investigation and hearings now delegated to regular standing committees. Should we not go along with the President of the United States, your President, the President your leaders support 95 percent of the time—I should say on 95 percent of his measures, not 95 percent of the time—go along with him when he asks for economy, when he warns us that the danger of

inflation is right with us all the time and that we should be very very careful of the taxpayers' dollars. That when we make appropriations here they should be carefully considered by the committee? That no unnecessary authorization should be made?

This is not an appropriation; I realize that. It is an authorization, but no estimate has been made, no one has given us any idea as to the cost of the operations of this Commission which can snoop and inquire into almost every subject anywhere in the continental United States: I admit this is not an appropriation bill, but when the appropriation bill comes along Members on this floor will be told, if we object to the amount of money requested, why did we authorize the expenditure if we did not want to appropriate the money. That is a question that always confronts us.

When we have regular starting committees of the House to perform these duties to protect the taxpayers of this land—I should say citizens, rather than taxpayers—why authorize a new commission and permit that commission to have an advisory board, and the Lord Himself is the only one who knows who will be on it, advisers to the commission to go out and take testimony, call in witnesses, incur unlimited expense?

All right, I will go along with the platform—I cannot go along 100 percent, and nobody ever did go along with all the planks in a platform, but here is one that I can go along with, and if I understand the temper of the people at the present time, if I understand the statement of the President, he and they want economy. Then why do we authorize millions, nobody knows how many, why do we write a blank check for a new commission to go out and inquire into the citizens' activities and see what they are thinking and doing? We have heard plenty of complaint about the activities of those in the Revenue Service. They, going about their duties, are called snoopers. Do we want more? We will hear from home if we authorize this new unneeded duplication after they get started on their expedition.

American Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, it appears to me that the United States has little to lose and so much to gain by making loans to Poland of commodities urgently needed by the people there.

When we review our foreign aid program since 1946, in which billions in outright gifts have been made by us, some to countries of questionable alliance with the United States, who can in good faith oppose the sale of $95 million worth of our agricultural surpluses and machinery to the Polish people who have always been so closely allied to our cause of freedom and peace in the world?

The Communists are well aware of their precarious control over the Polish Government and the faltering economy of the country. I think the American loans which have been proposed will definitely foster a condition of independence of the Polish people from their Communist overseers, and in fact may constitute a reason for Moscow to remove itself from the scene of an increasingly self-sufficient nation, rather than risk further uprisings in Poland which worked against the Kremlin very harshly in the court of public opinion.

If proposed aid in the form of loans to Poland is considered a gamble in some quarters, I say it is a gamble well worth taking. Since the Poznan riots the United States has been able to do little other than to demonstrate to the brave people of Poland that we stand in strong moral support of their actions. We now have an excellent opportunity to answer their positive actions with some of our own. We should take advantage of this opportunity without further delay.

I include at this point two editorials on the subject, one from the Meriden (Conn.) Record, and another from the June 13 issue of the Christian Science Monitor:

[From the Meriden (Conn.) Record]

AMERICAN AID TO POLAND

"A gamble worth taking" is what Vice President NIXON calls a proposal for loans to Poland. Strong opposition to economic aid to Poland or any other Iron Curtain countries stems for fear that such a program eases the burden on the Soviet Union for supplying them with food and other materials. Support is on the basis of hope that the Poles and others with such encouragement, would turn away from communism. The Polish people have been displaying increasing evidence of a determination to follow a course independent of the Soviet Union, as Mr. NIXON points out. So it seems logical to give whatever encouragement is possible to foster hope for eventual freedom.

An international fair is open in Poznan. All exhibits of 30 nations participating have been drawing big crowds, but none got the attention accorded the United States pavilion where home appliances, fashions, fabrics, and automobiles are on display along with a furnished model American house. "Can people, ordinary people, actually own such things in America?" is the query heard on all sides.

While there is visual proof at hand of what scale of living is possible in our free way of life with a free economy, is a good time to boost the desire in Poland to be able to live in the same way. To be sure such a dream is for the distant future. The workers of Poznan demonstrated for "bread and liberty," thereby touching off riots only a year ago this month. Since then there has been more bread and a bit more liberty. Yet the Poles are still a far cry from the kind of freedom we know, and which "brings out the best qualities in men," so better goods are available for a better standard of living.

There are many indications that men of the Kremlin wish no serious trouble in the foreseeable future. Khrushchev's TV talk proved that, although we know even the smallest steps toward disarmament may be taken only with careful policing and open enforcement. But he talked about more open door, more trade, more visits and exchange of cultures. Even talk is a great concession because it is talk that has set up the Kremlin-made artificial ideologies fed to the people of Communist countries and people of other areas who are targets for Communist proselytism.

Concessions to the Poles and the Czechs in recent months, concessions elsewhere, are indicative of increasing awareness among Soviet leaders that their control is possessed of definite weaknesses. They may even be frightened at what might happen, not only in the bomb race, but if there should be too many riots or other revolts like the Hungarian tragedy. The Poles are essentially a freedom-loving people. All things considered, we are inclined to agree with Mr. NIXON that the administration proposal for loans to Poland is a gamble worth taking.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of June 13, 1957]

POLAND RAISING THE CURTAIN

The agreement to sell Poland $95 million worth of American goods, mostly agricultural surpluses but including some coal mining machinery, seems thus far to have evoked no more than a minimum of congressional opposition. This is encouraging and yet it may be queried how well the reasons for a degree of cooperation with the regime of Wladyslaw Gomulka are understood by Americans at large.

A natural objection arises that the Gomulka government is Communist in politics and is an ally of the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact. But lying under the paw of the Russian bear any government in Poland that was not Communist would last no longer than that of Imre Nagy in Hungary. And having a stake in the Oder-Neisse boundary as against Germany, the Poles will be very slow to renounce the satellite defense bloc.

Yet the regime which came into power last fall after a showdown with Moscow is definitely nationalist rather than Soviet controlled, and it represents a large degree of Polish independence. The question is whether the United States shall encourage that independence by trading with Poland in commodities which the Polish people seriously need.

The pending agreement involves no grants or gifts to Poland. It is a pledge first to lend $30 million at 4½ percent through the Export-Import Bank for purchases in the United States. Then, under existing authorizations the Commodity Credit Corporation will sell $18.9 million worth of surplus cotton, fats, and oils to be paid for in Polish zlotys. What remains tied up in the House of Representatives is a new authorization to the CCC to sell for foreign currencies, which would enable it, among other transactions, to sell $46.1 million worth of surplus wheat and cotton also for Polish zlotys.

The choice before America could be made by default as readily as by conscious intent. Essentially it is bound up in this: The Gomulko government inherited a Poland in desperate economic straits. Looted and exploited by Stalinism, the Polish people have endured years of hardship. If the present officialdom can give them a bearable existence and some economic improvement, it may last long enough for conditions to become relatively stable.

If it does not 1 of 2 prospects looms ahead. If Gomulko falls, a re-emergence of neo-Stalinists may take Poland back under the Iron Curtain of complete Soviet control. Or if a distraught people should try, almost unarmed, to drive out the satraps of Moscow, there would be bloodshed in which the Western World must stand by helplessly as it did in the case of Hungary or risk starting world war III.

In an unusual tacit alliance Roman Catholic Cardinal Wyszynski and Party Secretary Gomulko have undertaken to steer Poland through this delicate situation to a peaceful attainment of greater freedom and national dignity. Even the aid represented in the present trade agreement may not prove enough. Can the United States refuse to cooperate?

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

In connection with the so-called right of trial by jury being injected into this bill, I should like to read a statement signed by the dean of the Yale Law School, E. V. Rostow; the dean of Columbia University Law School, William C. Warren; the dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, Mr. Jefferson B. Fordham; the dean of Harvard Law School, Mr. Griswold. The statement is as follows:

GUILFORD, CONN., *June 9, 1957.*

IRVING FERMAN,
Bethesda, Md.:

The civil-rights bill, is in our opinion creating an erroneous impression with respect to the necessity for jury trials in contempt proceedings which may be brought by the Government to insure the effectiveness of injunctions safeguarding constitutional rights. The bill in its present form is not exceptional. Many provisions of law authorize the Federal courts to exercise their traditional power to punish willful violations of injunctions obtained by the United States Government. There is no denial of due process of law. The injunction itself can be obtained only after a full and fair hearing with a right of appeal. If the injunction is then violated, and contempt proceedings are brought, the Government must satisfy the court beyond a reasonable doubt, that the party charged, willfully disobeyed the court's orders. While we fully support trial by jury in its proper sphere we fear that its unnecessary injection into this legislation will only hamper and delay the Department of Justice and the courts in carrying out their constitutional duty to protect voting and other rights of citizens.

E. V. ROSTOW,
Dean, Yale Law School.
WILLIAM C. WARREN,
Dean, Columbia Law School.
JEFFERSON B. FORDHAM,
Dean, University of Pennsylvania Law School.

The gentleman from New York has very wisely and properly instanced quite a number of statutes where the contemnor is punished by the court without trial by jury. I remember during the prohibition era when there were something like 42,000 padlock injunctions filed against citizens of the United States for violation of injunctions. I heard no murmurs of discontent, no opposition at that time. Those padlock injunctions were obtained without jury trials. Millions of dollars were involved in many instances. Yet the Nation stood by and felt it was proper and appropriate where there were violations of solemn decrees of the court that those who had violated the law and were contemnors who held the court in contempt, who did not give any consideration to the court's injunction, should be punished.

That is the situation here. As to the injection of trial by jury, I certainly want to protect the right of trial by jury. But this bill is not a jury-trial bill. This bill seeks to implement an old statute that goes back to 1871, which gave individuals the right not only on the legal side but on the equity side. The individual could obtain injunctions for wrongs and for deprivation of rights, but in those States where there were deprivation of rights, the one deprived was either too ignorant to assert his rights or he feared economic reprisals or he did not have the wherewithal to hire a lawyer. So that these old statutes became dead letters and there was no action taken under them.

Now, we seek to give the Attorney General the right to go into the equity side of the court for what reason? To prevent the commission of these crimes, to prevent the deprivation of these rights and jury trial has nothing to do with it whatsoever.

The Courts Have No Authority To Amend the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am including an article which appeared on the editorial page of the Saturday Evening Post of June 8, 1957, by Hamilton Long entitled "The Courts Have No Authority To Amend the Constitution." I agree wholeheartedly with what Mr. Long has to say. The assumption of power to legislate and to amend the Constitution by the Supreme Court is one of the outstanding perils to our free way of life. Unless some way is found to hold the Court in check we are doomed. The article follows:

THE COURTS HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION
(By Hamilton Long)

Few subjects are surrounded by more confusion than the function of the United States Supreme Court in interpreting the Constitution. There can be no doubt, however, that the Court has no right to change this basic law or to violate the intent of those who initially adopted it or of those who later amended it. Only the people can change the Constitution, by amendment.

For the Supreme Court to try to bypass this process, by interpreting the Constitution contrary to that original intent, is to usurp power never given it.

The Court's first duty is to protect the people's liberties. This includes restricting the Federal Government to the limited powers granted it by the people in the Constitution. As the then Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, truly stated in his States rights speech on March 2, 1930, these powers do not include authority over many vital problems of Government, such as the conduct of public utilities, of banks, of insurance, of business, of agriculture, of education, of social welfare and of a dozen other important features. In these, Washington must not be encouraged to interfere. However, in his 1936 annual message, as President, Roosevelt boasted of newly expanded Federal powers which he said, in the wrong hands, "would provide shackles for the liberties of the people."

Although the Constitution has not been amended to increase Federal powers since 1920, the Supreme Court in 1937 abandoned its policy of respecting the original intent of the Constitution—as amended—in defining them. It began to change its earlier definitions of that intent, in order to sanction the Federal Government's exercise of vastly increased powers without amendment of the Constitution. The Federal Government now exercises power in all the fields which F. D. R. in 1930 said it should not invade. Many of these increases might have been made eventually, but the proper method to make them is provided in the Constitution and should have been followed. For the Court to attempt to make them by "interpretation" is government by usurpation, the opposite of constitutionally limited government.

How to restore constitutionally limited government is a major question, especially at a time when concern for the proper limitation of Federal power seems all but nonexistent. This generation, like those which preceded it, is the custodian of the liberties of the people and the restraints on Government power which alone can protect them. When we permit judges to "interpret" these guaranties so as to make them ineffective, we help sabotage our own and posterity's liberties.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Long is a member of the New York bar and a student of constitutional history.)

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, the lines I seek to strike out read as follows:

Appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

Mr. Chairman, it is all very well to promise economy. It is all very well to argue against duplication of activities. But talk is one thing and voting is another.

I regret that it is impossible to get a record vote on this amendment. It would be helpful to the people in our districts if they could learn, when the question of expenditure of Federal funds for a Commission to snoop into their political and religious thinking, their private activities was before us, who votes for the inquiry and who votes against it.

The Reorganization Act of 1946 expressly confers full power upon the Committee on Government Operations to do

everything this section authorizes the Commission to do. Why duplicate that service? What we are doing is establishing anther group to carry on the duties of the Committee on Government Operations and of the House itself. I do not believe there is a single publication of the daily press that does not each day carry a story about some investigation by a congressional committee, either of the House or of the other body. The amendment is offered not only to keep my record clear but to keep clear the record of those who want to vote as well as talk economy. We are not given even an estimate of what the Commission will cost.

It will be the tool of special groups—some of which will advocate the overthrow of the Government by the denial of civil rights which we now enjoy.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Pure Food Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of our colleagues a column written by Mr. Robert K. Plumb, as it appeared in the New York Times of May 31, 1957. This item shows the necessity for an early hearing and enactment of H. R. 7798, introduced by our distinguished colleague from New York, Mr. DELANEY:

PHYSICIANS URGED TO PROTECT FOODS—HEAD OF PANEL ASKS BACKING FOR BILL TO BAN ADDITION OF HARMFUL CHEMICALS—SOPHISTICATED LURE HIT—GERIATRICS GROUP ALSO TOLD OF EARLY EATING OF FATS AS LEADING TO THROMBOSIS

(By Robert K. Plumb)

Physicians were urged here yesterday to support vigorously efforts that are being made to change Federal laws on the addition of chemicals to foods.

Industry's production of "sophisticated" foods to appeal to housewives should be regulated, in the opinion of Dr. Clive M. McCay, professor of nutrition at Cornell University. He was moderator of a panel discussion held by the American Geriatrics Society at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

Dr. McCay is a chemist. His remarks as moderator wound up a discussion on nutrition for older persons and the possible relationships between diet and some diseases. Four physicians participated in the panel.

The moderator said the public was not generally aware that millions of dollars were spent to make food more "sophisticated and easy to manufacture," but that little was spent to study the nutritional values of food products.

FOR RESTRICTING ADDITIVES

He urged doctors to back changes proposed in the Food and Drug Law by Representative JAMES J. DELANEY, Democrat, of Queens. Similar changes were recommended last month to Congress by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Since 1950 Congress has been considering possible changes in the Food and Drug Law, which now makes manufacturers responsible for the safety of their food products. Under the law, the Food and Drug Administration can act only if it can prove that a particular food additive is dangerous.

Dr. McCay said that the proposed changes should make it impossible for a food producer to add a known cancer-causing agent to processed foods, or to add known toxic chemicals, or to add chemicals unless they increased the nutritive values of food.

He said physicians should urge these steps because industry is going to fight them tooth and nail.

The chemicals now added to processed foods include a wide range of substances designed to enhance appearance, texture, utility or storage qualities of foods.

POSSIBLE SOURCE OF HEART ILLS

During the panel discussion, Dr. Normal Jolliffe, director of the Bureau of Nutrition of the New York City Department of Health, suggested that perhaps pediatricians of a few decades ago should be blamed in part for the large number of heart attacks among young men today.

He said that pediatricians who used to prescribe feeding formulas with too much fat in them might have laid the groundwork for the high fat intake among young adults. Those who are used to eating fat continue the practice, he observed.

Some authorities, including Dr. Jolliffe, believe that scientific evidence suggests a link between a high intake of animal fat and susceptibility to blocking of the coronary arteries that supply blood to the heart muscle.

In another session, Dr. Lee E. Farr, medical director of the Brookhaven National Laboratory, reported that the degenerative diseases of the heart, arteries and nervous system that afflict older persons were being studied with significant technical advances resulting from the use of radioactive trace elements.

In high blood pressure and hardening of the arteries, he said, radioactive isotopes offer a method of study not previously available.

Mr. Speaker, after the article appeared, I wrote to Dr. McCay, asking him for a copy of his manuscript. Dr. McCay wrote me on June 4, as follows:

We have no manuscript from the geriatrics meetings in New York City since we had a panel of 5 replying to about 50 questions handed to us by the physicians of the audience.

I was glad the New York Times reported upon some of our discussion and included Representative DELANEY, since we appreciate how little the public understands about the struggle to get useless, cancer-producing agents out of foods.

The public is constantly pressed by industry on one hand trying to gain sales advantage from coloring such products as Florida oranges and by the Washington agencies trying to force such matters as water fluoridation and DDT spraying without sufficient study of the ultimate injury from their shortsighted programs.

The air spraying with DDT was taking place while our meetings were in progress. At this time of year such spraying means the cows will eat much of the DDT and since haymaking is starting the DDT eating will continue all winter. If the public comes to appreciate that the cow concentrates this product in milk fat it may injure public nutrition because they will certainly decrease milk consumption. The sad part is that no one knows if the gipsy moth may not ultimately become as resistant to DDT as the housefly.

No one has learned how to get intelligent and informed consumer counsel into the picture.

We who have grown gray considering these matters appreciate the interest of you who have so many other concerns.

I do hope that there will be early hearings on Congressman DELANEY's bill so that this important legislation can be enacted.

Address by Dr. Richard C. Hertz at Dinner of the United Negro College Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in this time of trouble and strife between different ideologies in this world, and during a period marked by considerable racial tension in our own land, it was a real pleasure for me to read an address by Dr. Richard C. Hertz, senior rabbi of Temple Beth El in Detroit, Mich., speaking at the kickoff dinner of the United Negro College Fund held in the Veterans' Memorial Building, Detroit, Mich., on May 8, 1957.

Rabbi Hertz explained to the gathering why he, as a Jew, and others present not of the Negro race found it an honor and a privilege to support the United Negro College Fund to help our fellow men advance themselves in honor and dignity for the good of our whole country:

Perhaps you wondered why the committee in charge of the United Negro College Fund asked a rabbi to be the principal speaker at tonight's kickoff dinner. Indeed, I asked that very question myself: "Why should I go and make a plea for the United Negro College Fund? Aren't there other worthy causes? Aren't there enough pleas from Jewish organizations that need me to help rescue stricken Jews? Aren't there other people in our community vastly more qualified to make this address than I?"

As a rabbit, spiritual leader of Jews, I know that few, if any, Jewish youth are involved in the United Negro College Fund. But I also know that there are human rights involved in this great cause. I know, too, that nothing human is foreign to the Jew. Anything that involves mankind involves the moral and ethical principles handed down by the Hebrew prophets of old.

My religion of worldwide humanitarianism teaches me what Moses taught the ancient children of Israel: "There shall be one law for the homeborn and for the stranger that is within thy gates."

My religion of social justice teaches me what Amos preached in an ancient shrine of Beth El. After lashing out against the callous indifference of human rights and denouncing those who gouged the less fortunate, Amos taught that all are precious in the sight of God. Said Amos, "Are ye not unto me as the Ethiopeans, Oh, children of Israel?"

My religion of social action teaches me that what is good for one race or one people must be good for mankind, and what is good for mankind must be good for every race and people. We are all involved in mankind.

Judaism, the universal religion, the mother of great religions, has frequently declared through its prophets and sages that in the sight of God, men of all races, creeds, and nations are equal. The Bible, which begins with the creation of the universe, traces the lineage of all people to one man, Adam, who was above race and above na-

tionality. By making Adam the father of all mankind, Genesis taught the Jewish belief in the equality of races, which comes from a faith in the existence of one God. This thought the prophet Malachi had in mind when he said, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us all?"

Brotherhood such as envisaged by Genesis and Malachi can exist only among equals. It cannot exist between patrician and plebian, between lord and serf, between master and slave, between members of superior and inferior races. Such brotherhood is verified by anthropology and by history. Anthropology sees all races as mixed, notes very little between them and maintains there are no superior and no inferior races. It recognizes only that there are backward and advanced people. Backward peoples, more often than not, were the victims of environment and of history, and by a change in both, these peoples can become advanced. The story of man is the record of backward peoples advancing and advanced people regressing.

The application of this religious teaching to American life today tells me that desegregation must be more than a political issue involving just one geographical area of our country. Desegregation is a moral and religious issue.

As a rabbi, I know from the bitter and grim experiences of my own people what it means to be denied opportunity, to be discriminated against because of prejudice, to be hated and hounded and harried by ignorant whites who were both un-Christian and un-American. I have, therefore, come here tonight because everything in my soul as a rabbi and as a Jew cries out for justice for the Negro, for opportunity to underprivileged young, colored boys and girls hungering for what has always been a precious privilege to the Jewish people—the privilege of learning.

Every Jew who believes in Judaism, every man who believes that God is the Father of all men, must take up the struggle against discrimination whenever and wherever it occurs. If man is created in the image of God, no man can say to another man created in that same image that he should keep his place. We who believe that to love our neighbors as ourselves is life's highest aim must lead in the efforts to ameliorate the conditions of our colored brethren.

As a Jew and a rabbi, I cannot but feel profound shock and shame that so great a chasm lies between the ideals of American democracy and the realities of American life. While there has been a noticable amelioration in the lot of the Negro during the past few years, life in America for its minority groups, and particularly for those who are separated from the majority by differences of color, is a far cry from "the liberty and justice for all" which our citizens so glibly set as our Nation's slogan and goal.

You see, I have also come here tonight as an American. I was an Army chaplain in World War II. I saw the heroic job done by colored troops. I know the contribution they made to freedom's cause. But I also know that the cause of freedom was not won with victory. Democracy's work is unfinished business.

Right now the eyes of the world are upon the United States, to see how we live up to our pretentions about liberty, equality, and fraternity. Our State Department is under a cloud because whenever our diplomats speak out for freedom against the Iron Curtain, against colonialism, exploitation, and imperialism, they are greeted by sneers and laughter. Uncle Sam's pious pretentions are often regarded as sheer hypocrisy. We create our own vulnerability because we are afflicted with color blindness. We send billions of dollars for point 4 aid to underdeveloped and underprivileged areas, only to have native leaders in the farflung corners of the globe ask of Uncle Sam, "What are you doing for your own Negroes at home? How about practicing democracy in your own country?"

As an American I have denounced time after time the timidity of the South, the failure of certain southern leaders to comply with the letter and the spirit of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation. I have said that the Court's decision to proceed with deliberate speed does not mean stoppage. Its decree on moderation does not mean a moratorium on progress.

One of the most potent and telling answers to the white citizens councils, to the prejudice and colorblindness of the South, is the united Negro college fund, and that is why I am here tonight. The united Negro college fund represents an investment in people. That was Julius Rosenwald's philosophy. When I was a young rabbi at Sinai Temple in Chicago, where I served as assistant to Rabbi Louis L. Mann, I heard a great deal about a certain member of the congregation, who though occupying a prominent and distinguished place in the Nation, was a faithful attendant at divine services and sought with all his heart to translate the prophetic ideals of judaism into good Americanism. His name was Julius Rosenwald. He believed that investment in people, regardless of the color of their skin, was the most noble way of building democracy. To Julius Rosenwald there was no greater method of investing in people than through education. Investment in people whereby Negroes could be aided in search for education and leadership, would in Julius Rosenwald's philosophy, an investment in democracy.

But, you say, this in 1957. What about the Supreme Court decision?

As an American I know that the battle against segregation must be waged on a dozen different fronts simultaneously. It will not be won in 1 pitched engagement, nor in 1 sector—not in New York nor Chicago nor Detroit nor even in Montgomery, Ala.

The battle against segregation, for all our fervent and pious prayers, will not be won overnight. The long-neglected educational standards in southern elementary and high schools for Negroes, where the poorest, the cheapest, and the lowest standards were always good enough, now means that we need teachers and teachers of teachers to correct this situation. This will take time.

The elimination of racial restrictions, begrudgingly accepted, will not overnight remove the dollar barrier to higher education for Negro youth. This, too, will take time.

The building of a better moral and social climante before the South accepts peacefully the Supreme Court decision will likewise take time. The 31 colleges representing the United Negro College Fund are taking the lead in bringing together men of good will—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, Negroes and whites—to work out the solutions for making democracy work. All this, however, will take time.

Meanwhile the battle for desegregation goes on. Ultimately it will be won, for no nation can remain half-slave, half-free educationally. While the time-consuming processes are going on for breaking down the "separate but never equal" schools which deny privileges to Negroes, 75 percent of all college-age Negroes continue to live in the 11 States in the South where nearly all the fund's colleges are located. Even if the legal barriers to education were miraculously removed tomorrow, the dollar barriers would still exist. Why are tuition fees and student scholarship aid necessary to close this economic gap? Because these Negro students come from the lowest income groups in America. They can't afford to travel great distances far from home, nor can they pay high tuition or room and board fees. Remember that the financial struggle for a Negro boy or girl to go to college is 2 or 3 times more difficult than for a white youngster.

I am convinced, and I have come here tonight to tell you so, that a great step forward toward real democracy can be made by supporting the United Negro College Fund. This is America's first educational community chest. These 31 colleges of the United Negro Fund today have over 23,000 students enrolled. This June they will graduate more than 3,400 batchelor and master degrees. With their full-time faculty of over 1,400 professors, they have been faced with the dollar squeeze whereby the tuition rates have had to be raised $78 back in 1944 to $273 in 1953. These 31 colleges situated in 12 States, 11 of which are in the solid South, are the very places where the battle for integration and desegregation is being waged. Ninety percent of all Negro students in America enrolled in accredited private colleges come from these 31 schools of higher education which participate in the United Negro College Fund. They are helping to build a distinguished Nergo leadership—physicians, teachers, social workers, ministers, business executives, technicians in industry and agriculture.

You will, however, be both glad and sorry that you come here tonight. On that statement hangs a tale. One night in ancient times, three horsemen were riding across a desert waste. As they crossed the dry bed of a river, out of the darkness a voice called, "Halt." The men obeyed. The voice then told them to dismount, pick up a handful of pebbles, put the pebbles in their pockets, and remount their horses. The voice then said, "You have done as I commanded. Tomorrow at sunup, you will be both glad and sorry." With that the voice was silent, and mystified, the horsemen rode off into the night. When the sun arose, they reached into their pockets and found that a miracle had happened. The pebbles had been no ordinary stones, but sparkling, shiny, diamonds. Then they remembered the warning. They were goth glad and sorry—glad that they had taken some and sorry that they had not taken more.

And that is the story of higher education.

We have come here tonight to lend our support to the United Negro College Fund. We shall be both glad and sorry—glad that we have done something but sorry we have not done more.

I want to conclude with the words of a great rabbi, quoted in the Talmund, words that have particular relevance to the United Negro College Fund. Said Rabbi Tarphon: "The day is short, the work is great, the Master of the household is urgent. It is not incumbent upon thee to finish the work, but neither art thou free to desist therefrom."

This Farmer Thinks Secretary Benson Doesn't Know What Is Going On—and Doesn't Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, letters are coming in to me from all over the country, protesting the Benson anti-farmer farm program. I'm not the only one who is receiving these protests. Just recently I was handed a letter received by the Farmers Union from a long-suf-

fering seed farmer. Like all the rest, he is very much at the mercy of the vagaries, misconceptions, ineptitude, and hostile attitude which characterize this administration's antifarmer farm program. This farmer, from Richford, N. Y., says:

Our present Secretary does not know what is actually going on in our industry, and sometimes I am led to believe he does not care.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I have requested permission to insert in the RECORD the letter from Mr. Hardison to Mr. Johnson:

CLARK SEED FARMS,
Richford, N. Y., May 20, 1957.

Mr. REUBEN JOHNSON,
Farmers Union,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: It is true that there are more and more growers thinking about some type of a production-control program. Potato farmers are in much more trouble than most people realize. If we had a Secretary of Agriculture who was more progressive, we could make some progress. Our present Secretary does not know what is actually going on in our industry, and sometimes I am led to believe he does not care.

Your efforts in behalf of farmers are appreciated. I hope something can be done to put the potato industry on a little more equal basis with the rest of the economy. If there is anything I can do, please let me know. At this point I am discouraged over the policies of the administration and the Farm Bureau.

Truly yours,

LEWIS M. HARDISON.

Saving Saturday's Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Dothan Eagle is one of the best read newspapers of the South, outstanding in its splendid services to southern Alabama and northwest Florida, and greatly appreciated in both States.

I am glad to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the May 31, 1957, issue of the Dothan Eagle on Saving Saturday's Mail:

SAVING SATURDAY'S MAIL

Here at the Eagle we are concerned over the possibility that Saturday mail service will be discontinued on July 1 unless Congress appropriates enough money for the Post Office Department to satisfy Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield.

We agree that Mr. Summerfield is a competent Postmaster General and that his intentions are good. We applaud his efforts to modernize his Department and to raise the price to his customers enough to make income more nearly equal to outgo. But discontinuing the service on Saturday or any other day is the wrong way to economize. In fact, depriving patrons on rural routes of service on Saturday would be no great savings anyway, no more than the expense mileage paid the rural free delivery carriers since their salaries, as fixed by law, must go on.

What if the FBI, or the Army, Navy, or Air Force followed Mr. Summerfield's example? Wouldn't they have as much legal right to do it as he has? Wouldn't the effect be catastrophic?

The Eagle has several thousand subscribers who live in the country and receive their papers by mail. No deliveries on Saturday and they get no paper that day. Should Friday be a legal holiday observed by the post office they would be without papers from Thursday until Monday—almost half a week. Eagle carrier service in cities and towns would continue as usual. Thus, again, it would be the farmers carrying the brunt of bad judgment in Washington.

Retail merchants, all businesses open on Saturday and people living in cities to whom mail delivery on Saturday is important would likewise suffer great inconvenience and maybe even financial loss.

If enough people protest to Mr. Summerfield he will not stop Saturday mail service in town or out of town on July 1 or at any later date. Eagle readers who want their mail delivered 6 days a week may be interested in writing the Postmaster General and perhaps enclosing this editorial. The envelope should be addressed to Mr. Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

Trade With Red China Seems Speeding War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the obvious drive for trade with Red China has been accelerated since the British announced that they will trade with the Communist Chinese. The free world never seems to profit by its mistakes. Those who advocate increased trade with Red China ignore or else refuse to face the fact they are but preparing the Chinese Communists for the time when they will feel strong enough to embark on another war. The same holds true with trade with Red Russia, and for the same reasons.

Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence in his usual persuasive manner has covered this subject in his column of June 12, and under leave to extend my remarks I am including the article in question.

The article follows:

SHADES OF THE DAYS OF MUNICH—BRITISH TRADE WITH RED CHINA, AS WITH HITLER, SEEN SPEEDING WAR

(By David Lawrence)

Sometimes the biggest news is invisible, glossed over, or minimized because government itself, doesn't speak out about the dangers of what is happening contemporaneously. For something very alarming has just happened that could be one of the steps which would force a world war on the American people in the next decade.

The question might well be asked out of bitter experience—are the free nations today preparing to arm the enemy and will they not thereby accelerate the time when a third world war may sweep the globe?

The decision on the part of Great Britain to break faith with the United States and seven other nations by relaxing the embargo on trade with Red China is a sensational development. It is unquestionably a turn of affairs which spells a weakening of the position of the free governments in the "cold war."

Hitler bought his arms from British colonies and territories and kept supplying his munitions stockpile up to almost the very month when the Second World War broke out in 1939. The allies paid for that mistake—in human lives lost.

British merchants kept on trading with the enemy through nearly 3 years of the First World War at the same time that American trade with neutral countries was being interfered with by the London Government. This prolonged the conflict and the casualty lists.

Had there been an economic embargo against the dictatorships, as the League of Nations proposed in the 1930's, there would never have been a Second World War. Had the British ceased their trade with the enemy earlier than they did in the First World War, the conflict would have been terminated sooner.

Now is history to repeat itself? For the sake of material gains, are the Red Chinese to be industrialized so that they can become a menace to Japan, to the Philippines, to all of Southeast Asia as well as to Indochina and perhaps India?

The British are eager to send goods to Red China which they declare are not strategic. But this, nevertheless, will relieve the shortages that the Red Chinese must overcome in order to concentrate on articles of a strategic nature. It also will ease Russia's present burden in supplying Red China.

The Red Chinese do not have an abundance of foreign exchange with which to buy any substantial amounts from the British, but they will substitute goods of a higher strategic priority for war purposes which they need badly.

This is the biggest victory which the Communists have won since the cold war began. It has spread nervousness throughout the Far East, and it could easily lead to such a crumbling of the situation as to add materially to the cost the American taxpayers eventually will have to bear to defend the American line from Japan to the Philippines.

The story of what happened at the international conference which considered the revision of the trade embargoes has not been fully told. Eight of the 15 nations agreed with the American position of restriction. Only five sided with the British, and neither Japan nor Canada voted. This means that in the face of the majority of the free nations involved, Great Britain decided to "go it alone" and open up trade with Red China.

This victory for the Communists, moreover, comes at the very time when the United States and its allies in Asia have gotten the upper hand. It comes when Indonesia and India are more worried about Soviet intentions than they ever have been. It comes when western influence in Burma and Cambodia has been rising. It comes when a strong defense is being built up by the free people in Indochina. It comes at a time when the Chinese Communists have not shown the slightest sign of becoming peaceful but on the contrary, have manifested a greater degree of belligerency than before. They have violated the armistice in Korea and have built up airfields for jets. They have constructed new military supply lines to mount a threat against Formosa. They hold by force of arms two provinces of Laos and Cambodia.

Now the Asian nations see Great Britain weakening on the embargo and observe also lots of people in America talking naively about going along with that decision as a "practical" matter. It is all so reminiscent of Munich and the prewar days when many people thought you could "do business with Hitler."

President Eisenhower has not spoken out clearly as yet about the situation. In fact, his off-hand comments at the press conference last week gave the impression that it is up to Congress and that there is a law which prevents our trading with the Red Chinese. The embargo can be dissolved overnight by a presidential revision of the executive order now in effect. The President doubtless has been briefed by now on the implications of any weakening by America and on the dangerous consequences in southeast Asia as well as the Far East. It may be assumed that an official statement reiterating the position of the United States and expressing regret at Britain's decision to go it alone in world affairs will soon be forthcoming.

It is by mistakes arising out of a selfish materialism that the peaceful nations of the world find themselves dragged into war. To arm the Red Chinese now by letting them industrialize rapidly is to bring nearer the day of a third world war.

Split In Araby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of June 11, 1957:

SPLIT IN ARABY

The split in the Arab world between the revolutionary, pro-Communist and at the same time imperialist elements led by President Nasser and the anti-Communist forces subscribing to the principles of the Eisenhower doctrine has now erupted into an open feud between Egypt and Jordan, with Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Lebanon giving moral and material support to the latter. The subtle maneuvers, the open charges and countercharges, and the long-evident Egyptian-Syrian plots to bring all Araby under Nasser's control have led to drastic Jordanian action, the significance of which is further underlined by the simultaneous visit of King Saud to Jordan and the prowestern government's victory in the first round of the parliamentary elections in Lebanon.

The peremptory action of Jordan in expelling two Egyptian officials followed a previous demand for the withdrawal of all Syrian troops from Jordan, on charges that Colonel Serraj, who dominates a section of the Syrian Army, has used these troops to instigate uprisings against King Hussein. Prior to that the Jordanian Government radio had broadcast charges that Egypt and Syria had plotted to overthrow all the Arab Kings—Hussein of Jordan, Saud of Saudi Arabia, Faisal of Iraq, and Idris of Libya—as well as the prowestern Government of Lebanon; and King Hussein personally accused the Soviets of having bribed the ousted Jordanian Ministers to steer Jordan into a pro-Soviet course.

A new alinement of pro-Communist and anti-Communist forces is thus openly under way in Araby and in a manner which marks a serious setback to Nasser's ambition to erect, with Soviet aid, an Arab empire under his domination reaching from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf. Whether this setback will also represent a final victory for the Eisenhower doctrine will depend on how effectively we can shore up the anti-Communist forces. This is especially true in impoverished Jordan, which can no longer count on the subsidies promised it by Egypt and Syria. Only King Saud has kept his promise of financial support.

It also remains to be seen what effect the Arab split will have on the Arab front against Israel, which presents an issue on which all Arabs still see eye to eye. The danger of a new immediate conflict should be reduced, but it will take both restraint and statesmanship to direct the new alinement toward the establishment of real peace in the Middle East.

Moscow's Idiot Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Plain Dealer carried an editorial in its issue of Thursday, June 6, entitled "Moscow's Idiot Board." That editorial skillfully analyzed the appearance of the Communist tyrant, Khrushchev, on one of our national TV networks. This editorial demonstrates clearly that an influential section of the free press in America has not been taken in by Khrushchev and his henchmen.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer is to be complimented for its exceptionally astute editorial staff which does not hesitate to expose sham, deception, and tyranny for what it is.

I commend the reading of this significant editorial to anyone who believes that the time has come when we can trust the word of the Russian Communists. I am sure that the message of this editorial conforms to the thinking of the overwhelming majority of my colleagues.

Under leave granted, I insert the editorial in the RECORD:

MOSCOW'S IDIOT BOARD

We've been rereading the transcript of Nikita S. Khrushchev's television interview and it occurred to us that the Kremlin's idiot board (that's TV slang for the teleprompter) had had a good workout and was aptly named. For in truth, some of his remarks sounded like the ravings of an idiot or, if you do not wish to accept that interpretation, the prevarications of a deliberate liar.

For instance, Khrushchev was asked if he had any apprehension about the satellites remaining Communist if Russian troops were withdrawn.

"It is a fable," he replied. "You are probably contaminated with this talk, too. You seem to think that the Communist system in some country can be held up by our armed forces. But I wouldn't defend a Communist system of that kind. The Communist system must be based on the will of the people and if the people should not want that system, then that people should establish a different system."

The will of the people! When have the satellite people ever had a chance to express their will? And what would happen to them if they tried to "establish a different system?" Well, they tried it in East Germany 3 years ago and they tried it in Hungary last October and they were slaughtered by Russian tanks.

So then one of the interviewers asked Khrushchev how long the Kadar regime would last in Hungary without Russian troops and tanks.

"Let's have a test," said Khrushchev. "Why don't you withdraw your troops from Germany and France, and we will withdraw ours from Germany, Poland, and Hungary, and you will see that the Kadar regime, which is the people's regime in Hungary, will flourish for ages to come."

So how can we even think of trusting the word of anyone who indulges in such monstrous self-deception or deliberate lying? Suppose we took Khrushchev up on his withdrawal dare? What assurance would we have that the Soviet tanks would not turn around and come right back, as they did after staging the fake withdrawal from Budapest?

At present, the Russians are conducting another big peace offensive, trying to make it appear that they are the only people who favor peace, an end to the armaments race, and the outlawing of hydrogen and atomic weapons. This was the pitch in Prime Minister Bulganin's message to the International Labor Organization yesterday. According to Bulganin, Russia "is ready to conclude an appropriate agreement on the whole problem of disarmament" and all we have to do is sign it.

In view of Khrushchev's brazen distortion of facts, we must conclude that Bulganin's words came off the same idiot board Khrushchev was reading from.

Hon. Thomas E. Murray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a story entitled "Atom Board Pressure" written by James M. Haswell which appeared in the Chicago Daily News on May 28, 1957:

ATOM BOARD PRESSURE—DEMS BACK MAN WHO DARES SAY BOO TO STRAUSS

(By James M. Haswell)

WASHINGTON.—A lot of pressure is building up here to keep Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray on the job.

Democrats say Murray is the last man left in the AEC who dares say boo to the strong-willed AEC chairman, Adm. Lewis L. Strauss.

A majority of the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy formally petitioned Mr. Eisenhower to reappoint Murray when his term expires June 30.

They pointed out Murray had led the way in enlarging United States uranium resources, launching hydrogen-bomb experiments, reopening bomb tests in the Pacific, demanding small atomic weapons, creating private electric power supplies for atomic plants, and building the Shippingport reactor—the first real big industrial atomic powerplant.

Murray is a slight, energetic, white-haired inventor who made a fortune as utility engineer before he came to the AEC in 1950.

He is a devout Catholic, three times knighted by the Pope. He maintains chapels in his New York and Long Island homes, and in Washington attends mass daily.

Murray does his own thinking about atomic energy and voices some challenging ideas.

The big bombs are big enough, he says. They could destroy civilization. A United

States demand on Russia for "unconditional surrender" right now would mean the end of mankind.

So there's really no point in making any bigger bombs. The testing of the very biggest kind could be stopped. The job's done. But there's every need for further developing smaller atomic weapons, he says. The United States should arm its military forces with "tens of thousands." There surely will be a war in which they will be used.

Small nations may not obtain these weapons, but the United Nations ought to have a police force equipped with them.

The atomic power issue is not one of public power versus private power, but of when atomic power shall be produced.

American private power companies using their own money will produce it when they need it. But this will not be soon enough. It is distinctly in the public interest for the Nation to produce atomic power much sooner, for use where conventional fuel is scarce and power expensive.

The AEC could build pressurized water reactors right now that would produce wealth and raise standards of living in many parts of the world.

Giving such a reactor to Japan would be a fitting return for the Hiroshima bomb. Only foolish pride keeps the United States from experimenting with the gas-cooled type of reactor the British have chosen to develop.

In face-to-face conversation Murray belittles his feud with Admiral Strauss. They disagree on some policies, he says, but agree on many.

"We agree on the President's atoms-for-peace program, for example, and the advisability of ratifying the International Atomic Energy Treaty," he says.

"But we disagree about time schedules for producing civilian atomic power, the need for more small atomic weapons, and on publishing more information about nuclear hazards.

"The world actually learned about radioactive fallouts from 27 Japanese fishermen, remember, and I think that was the wrong way to have learned it."

Lithuanian Deportation: A Commemoration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in mid-June 1941, a terrible tragedy befell Lithuania. At that time over 34,000 Lithuanians were ruthlessly seized by their Soviet conquerors and deported to distant parts of the U. S. S. R.

Few spectacles in the history of mankind can compare to the gross inhumanity of these deportations. And yet this mode of mass suppression is a cardinal principle in the Communist way of life.

It is sad to contemplate the future of the Lithuanian people; they have managed somehow under great odds to keep the body and soul of their nation together during this period of great national trial. How they have withstood the corrosive oppression of communism for so many years is a source of wonder and admiration to their many friends and relative across the seas. To assist and support them in every way we can is one of our most solemn and constant obligations.

On this anniversary of Baltic deportations we of the free world express the hope that the supreme tragedy of Lithuania will never be forgotten; that those who were responsible for this crime of deportation will know the wrath of God's eternal justice and that the people of Lithuania, dedicated as they are to the spirit of their nation, will never succumb to their enemies.

May the light of eternal hope forever burn within the soul of Lithuania.

Army Engineers Strive To Meet Water Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present herewith the address of Maj. Gen. E. C. Itschner, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, to the 44th annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, held in Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957. This is a most timely address, and is as follows:

THE ARMY ENGINEERS' PROGRAM

(Address by Maj. Gen. E. C. Itschner, Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army)

It is a pleasure to address the 44th annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. Your organization has labored long for water resources development. Under the leadership of President OVERTON BROOKS, Executive Vice President William H. Webb, and your other executives and directors, you are helping effectively to guide this development through difficult times.

The Corps of Engineers civil works construction program is progressing satisfactorily. During the current fiscal year we will place $490 million of new work, which makes it the second largest year we have had. Of the 223 projects under construction, 52 are scheduled for operation by the end of June. These include 35 navigation projects, 11 local flood-protection works, 1 flood-control reservoir, 2 multiple-purpose reservoirs, and 3 beach-protection projects.

The President's budget for fiscal year 1958 contains $632,130,000 for the Corps of Engineers' civil functions, of which $496,666,000 is for construction. This amount will permit the start of 24 highly desirable new construction projects and the completion of 35 projects. If the funds requested are appropriated, our program will continue at a somewhat greater rate in fiscal year 1958 than at present.

The requirements for future years will be even greater, unless the scheduled program is delayed.

The corps' program is most advanced in the field of waterway improvements. The main arteries of our basic systems are well established. We are now modernizing many older facilities and are welding certain waterway projects into a more serviceable network. Also, feeder lines are being developed to give interior areas direct access to the main arteries.

Soon we shall have a vast, interconnected system of highly efficient inland waterways, stretching from Montreal and Duluth on the north to Florida and the Mexican border on the south, and from Pittsburgh and beyond on the east to Sioux City on the west, provided with two main outlets to the sea: via the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi.

Such a system, combined with the advantages of a dependable water supply from partially controlled streams, will be of utmost importance to economic growth and stability. The initial effects are already obvious in the very large and continuing expansion of industry along our waterways.

Construction of the backbone of the flood control and water conservation programs is continuing, as progress is made with reservoirs and local flood protection. There are many difficult problems and a tremendous amount of planning and construction is still to be done, and the day when our principal streams will be brought under effective control is still decades away.

As projects are completed and existing works become older, requirements for maintenance and operation necessarily increase. The long term decreasing value of the dollar and the astounding increase in traffic on our waterways result in further demands for maintenance and operations funds. During the current fiscal year $110 million will be spent on routine maintenance and operation and $10 million for the reduction of a $65 million backlog of deferred maintenance, and the fiscal year 1958 budget contains $109,520,000 for routine maintenance and operation and $5 million for deferred maintenance. For future years requirements are certain to increase.

Funds appropriated recently for this purpose have not been adequate to do the complete job expected of the Corps of Engineers. We have been obliged to apply them only to the most urgent work, often maintaining channels to less than authorized dimensions. It is our policy to request sufficient funds to keep a navigation project to full authorized width and depth throughout the year, unless lesser dimensions will satisfy the requirements of navigation. Adherence to this policy may in some cases require considerable overdredging or dredging more than once a year. An exception is made in channels like the Columbia River, where it takes several months after the annual high-water period before channel dimensions can be restored. Heretofore, we have not had sufficient funds to maintain projects in accordance with such a policy.

Now I would like to discuss briefly some of the current problems and what is being done about them.

Water use for domestic and industrial purposes has increased 50 percent in the past 10 years. In many places supply has not kept pace with the demand. Obviously water storage for future domestic and industrial uses must be included in the reservoirs now under construction or yet to be built primarily for other purposes. Major problems concern the allocation of water uses and who should pay the cost; how much, and on what terms. Legislation, such as now pending in Congress, is needed to enable us to anticipate and provide for future water-supply requirements where they can be foreseen but do not now exist.

The continued growth of industry along our waterways and concomitant expansion of urban communities, stimulated by the proximity of water transportation and good water supply, are intensifying both flood and stream-pollution problems. Encroachment of new plants, homes, highways, power-lines, and other structures on authorized reservoir sites during the inevitable timelag between authorization and construction are matters of growing concern. Such encroachment increases site-procurement costs and

represents economic waste we cannot afford. I have directed that this problem be given more realistic consideration in preparing survey reports, and that the cooperation of Federal, State, and local governmental authorities be sought in taking preventive measures. I suggest that the membership of your organization support actions wherever taken to preserve our precious reservoir sites.

Public interest in water recreation has grown phenomenally. Use of corps projects for recreation has increased from 16 million visitor-days in 1950 to 71 million visitor-days last year. A new and profitable industry has grown up as a result of this development. This is a highly important factor that must be taken into account in planning, acquiring land for, building and operating reservoirs. The Congress now has pending legislation to permit the consideration of recreational benefits in the economic analysis of water resources projects, and to establish more clearly the respective responsibilities of Federal and non-Federal interest in recreational development.

As our population grows and society encroaches further upon natural environment, fish and wildlife protection and propagation are becoming increasingly important. The civil-works program offers a golden opportunity for the enhancement of this highly important, renewable, natural resource. Project development and fish and wildlife enhancement can be made compatible by good planning and mutual cooperation within the framework of our present laws. Both in the planning of new projects and in the management of project lands, the Corps of Engineers will continue to cooperate fully with the agencies charged with custody of fish and wildlife. However, legislation better delineating financial responsibility would contribute much to the advancement of our mutual efforts.

Many project facilities conceived in earlier days no longer are adequate to accommodate the healthful expansion of our country. As a result we are now engaged in review surveys to discover whether recent economic changes may require alteration of the flood-control plans for the Columbia, Ohio, and alluvial Mississippi valleys. As you know, we are already at work on recanalization of the outmoded and overburdened Ohio River navigation system. We are enlarging the Calumet-Sag connection to the Great Lakes. Work is now starting on the $136 million project for deepening the Great Lakes connecting channels. Deepening of Great Lakes harbors is under study. And there are numerous other undertakings in this category.

We long ago standardized channel depths on our waterways. We are now working toward the standardization of locks in the following sizes: 56 by 400 or 600 feet, 84 by 600 or 1,200 feet, and 110 by 600 or 1,200 feet. This is being accomplished with ample consideration to future requirements.

A recent policy change has been to grant advance approval for the construction of bridges across streams and other bodies of water where the only navigation affected is by small motor boats, row boats, canoes, and log rafts. This means that highway and bridge interests seeking to construct bridges across streams or bodies of water so designated will no longer be required to secure a permit from the Corps of Engineers. The procedure requires these waters to be precisely identified. Also, it provides for advance notification of all affected interests and a public hearing prior to making a determination, so that full protection of navigation will be assured.

I have given you, in these few minutes, a broad review of where we stand on Corps of Engineers water resources development and some of the important relationships between this and other programs. The areas in which the National Rivers and Harbors Congress can continue its traditionally helpful contribution to these programs are well known to you.

We must plan construction schedules and other activities in light of the heavy demands upon both national construction capability and the Federal budget. One of the most constructive things your organization could do would be to screen projects and activities and offer impartial advice as to those which are worthy of priority. Your broad representation of interest in these projects places the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in a most advantageous position to perform such a service.

We can best make progress to the extent that there is unity among those working toward common goals. You may count on the Corps of Engineers for our full support of all worthy projects.

Flag Day Address Delivered by Hon. Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, this evening in Constitution Hall I had the high honor of representing the Congress of the United States in the Flag Day ceremonies sponsored by the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. A great many Members of the House were present. However, due to the evening session of the Senate, not very many of our colleagues could be present.

Mr. Fred Bohn, the exalted ruler of the Elks, was in charge of a very educational and inspiring and patriotic program. I was privileged to deliver the Flag Day address.

I ask unanimous consent that my address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLAG DAY ADDRESS

Officers, members, and guests of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, your guests, and my colleagues from the Senate and the House, today, June 14th is Flag Day. It is also known as Elk Day. It is my understanding that the grand lodge of the order of Elks was the first fraternal order to decree that every subordinate lodge should observe Flag Day each year with appropriate services. As a result all Elk lodges have been observing Flag Day since 1911. Your enthusiastic promotion of these ceremonies is a natural endeavor for our order. Elkdom has always been an active exponent of American patriotic principles.

Time will not permit the mention of the numerous activities which our great order promotes for the good of all America. The record speaks for itself.

But may I humbly remind you of the necessity of your continued active participation in the greatest of all organizations—the United States of America.

It is 180 years since Congress authorized the use of a new flag for a new nation. The colors and design were well chosen, and this banner would be beautiful to the eye even if no meaning could be read into it. Nor have the changes since June 14, 1777, impaired its beauty, although star after star has been crowded into a field originally intended for 13.

A simple resolution was adopted by the Congress in session at Philadelphia on June 14, 1777. It read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the flag of the 13 United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

Unfortunately the Journal of Congress makes no mention of the Member who introduced this resolution or the committee that reported it; neither is there any record of the discussions that undoubtedly preceded the adoption of our national ensign.

Philadelphia's Betsy Ross House, on lower Arch Street, continues to give youngsters and sightseers a soul satisfying contact with the Stars and Stripes which would otherwise be denied. Philadelphia is also credited with having launched the first public school celebration of Flag Day on June 14, 1893.

A woman from our great Middle West once made a flag to be used as the prize in a State dairy contest. She embroidered a cow standing in a pasture. Then she added an eagle carrying a ribbon on which she inscribed the motto, "Our liberties and our rights we will maintain."

Whether she knew it or not, this woman was following a good old American tradition of flagmaking, for in the early days of the Revolutionary War, before we had our national emblem, there were colonial flags that expressed the same idea in much the same way. For instance, there were the famous rattlesnake flags, a sample of which we have seen here tonight, some of which bore beneath the figure of the dangerous serpent the legend "Don't tread on me." It was plain that the people who used these flags intended to maintain their rights. The flag of Virginia was a rattlesnake flag. So was a flag carried by the ships of our early Navy.

The pinetree flags, used by the New England Colonies, formed another famous group of banners. It is probable that one of the earliest was raised during the Battle of Bunker Hill at the beginning of the revolution. A later pinetree flag bore the words "Liberty tree" above the pine, and "an appeal to God" below it. The Colonists felt that they were fighting for their just rights and that God was surely on their side.

Had it not been for the War of 1812 and a certain diplomatic mission performed by a scholarly young Baltimore lawyer toward the close of that war, the attention of the whole country might not have been focused upon the flag. This was effectively accomplished while our Nation was still suffering growing pains and badly in need of a stirring symbol.

Francis Scott Key saw the first rays of dawn catch the flag over Fort McHenry on the morning of September 14, 1814, after a night of bombardment, and was moved to compose a victorious battle hymn dedicated to the flag and the land over which it waved. The hymn he wrote, The Star Spangled Banner, has inspired millions of Americans, but it was not until 1931 that Congress officially designated it as our National Anthem.

It was natural to call our flag the "Stars and Stripes" from the beginning, and the poetic inspiration of Francis Scott Key added the beloved title of Star-Spangled Banner.

It was a people of strong character who built this Nation and only a strong people can be trusted with its preservation for years to come.

May I remind you that the passage of time since the days of Washington and Jefferson has in no way lessened our responsibilities to our flag. We cannot rest on the achievements of our Founding Fathers. It is part of the price we must pay to keeep our flag as the symbol of this free Republic.

We need to instill in the minds of young America a consciousness of the forces of free-

dom which are symbolized in the red, white, and blue. As disciplined American citizens, we need to demonstrate continuously that we understand the institutions that are epitomized by our flag.

Man's emotions are most poignantly aroused by the use of the flag in war. But as the years pass, and as we hope and pray to avoid war, we should thrill to the sight of the flag flying over peaceful and humanitarian enterprises. We give the flag meaning when in our endeavors we rise above narrow partisanship or ignoble self-interest. We can give it meaning in our daily living just as others gave it meaning at Yorktown and at Iwo Jima—and during all the crises in between. Our flag is seen and recognized today in every civilized country as the banner of the world's best hope for permanent peace and for enduring progress.

The patriotism that is aroused in us on special occasions when we witness our flag must be directed to our everyday living. I sometimes wonder whether, in teaching American history, we do not over-emphasize the flavor of the spectacular and neglect to emphasize the solid foundations of hard work and continuous courage and discipline which have brought us into this year 1957.

Today is an opportune moment to stop and say, "What kind of citizen am I?"

We in America frequently use the words liberty, freedom, Republic, and democracy without thinking exactly what they mean. They are all difficult to define. Some of the ideas that these words suggest will appeal to one person and not to another. Some of the privileges of the liberty that Old Glory represents are so commonplace we take them for granted. But there are certain duties that go with the enjoyment of liberty, freedom, democracy, and the preservation of our free Republic. The duty of the citizen to protect his country with his life, if necessary, are familiar words to all of us. In times of peace the less spectacular duties are often overlooked.

Since the time of Plato, students of government have known that the greatest danger confronting a democracy or a republic is an apathetic citizenry. Indeed, the failure of a nation's citizens to exercise their political powers ultimately brings collapse. One of our great American pastimes has been to sit back in smug complacency and say "it can't happen here."

Flag Day is an excellent time to take a long, searching look at the facts, to examine the bad along with the good. It is an appropriate time to single out disturbing influences and to rise up against the forces of evil that would divide our people and sap our strength. Two forms of government are struggling for supremacy as we celebrate this Flag Day. In one form of government, the State is supreme master of the people. The citizen is told where to work, when to work, and what he is to receive for his labors. In the other form of government, the individual is the source of power. He is master of his government—a government based upon God's greatest gift to mankind, freedom of the individual and respect as well as responsiveness to the dignity of the human being.

In one form of government, worship of that government is enforced as the religion of the people. In ours, religion is the free choice of the individual. He worships God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

In the one form—the government of godless communism—all property rights have been wiped out. In the other—our form—the individual is entitled to enjoy the results of his ability, his energy, and his sacrifice.

What do we need to do in order to preserve our great Republic and to keep its flag secure and inviolate?

We must see that America is fully and correctly informed about the true objectives and methods of communism and its danger to all we hold dear.

We must take an active interest in public affairs. Always vote in elections—get others out to vote—and cast that vote intelligently.

We must be fair with our Government. In the interest of fair play and sound economy, we must promote and work for what we feel is best for our country. Our Government will be only as strong as we make it.

We must take a vital interest in the education of our children—get to know their teachers—know how schoolbooks are selected and what they contain. We must be sure that Communist poison is not being administered right under our very eyes, and supported by our own tax dollars.

We must not join groups or sign petitions unless we first investigate them. Communists have so perverted such appealing words as "peace," "freedom," "youth," and "mother" that any organization or document using these or similar words should be questioned until we know who is behind it.

We must strengthen the moral and spiritual fiber of America.

Under the shadow of the flag there is no limitation for our good works—no room for abridgment of our fidelity—no place to pause in our eternal vigilance.

America is still in the making. Its future destiny depends on the loyalty, the devotion, and the character of each citizen. To call men and women and children aside and remind them of their responsibilities to God and country on this Flag Day is the best devotion we can pay our flag.

As we count the blessings that have come since June 14, 1777, we cannot fail to recognize our debt to our flag. The high principles which it has continued to represent in war and peace should be studied, appreciated, and honored until they become part of our lives.

We can strengthen the structure of America if we work with renewed patriotism, increased courage, and firm determination to maintain high moral and spiritual standards.

On this Flag Day anniversary the love of the Stars and stripes should be our steadfast guide to better citizenship, better Americanism, and a deeper appreciation of the rich heritage and the glorious future that is ours.

Social Security for the Self-Employed Physician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from Dr. I. R. Egbert, of Arco, Idaho, which persuasively sets forth reasons why social-security coverage should be extended to self-employed physicians. Because I believe other Members will be interested in Dr. Egbert's arguments, I am glad to include his letter in the RECORD at this point:

ARCO, IDAHO, *June 11, 1957.*

Hon. HENRY S. REUSS,
United States Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN REUSS: Because of the exclusion of self-employed physicians from participating in social security and because of the opposition of the American Medical Association to their inclusion, I feel impelled to present to you my ideas and feelings concerning this exclusion. I feel that my wife and I are being discriminated against and actually penalized because I am a self-employed physician in the practice of medicine. I am prompted to write to you because of your sympathy in this matter as evidenced by your sponsoring of bill H. R. 4824.

The reasons I feel that the present regulations are discriminatory and unfair are:

1. Any social or other laws enacted to benefit the citizens of the United States were originally meant to be and should be all-inclusive, and no one group should be barred from enjoying these benefits. If they are good, and I am sure they are, for 97 percent of our citizens, they should be good for all, and everyone should have the privilege of participating in them.

2. By denying me the rights and privileges of social security my wife, who is considerably younger than I, is also being denied these benefits. This should not be, and certainly is unfair and discriminatory.

3. Any physician could become incapacitated by accident or illness, and certainly should have the same privileges of social-security benefits as other self-employed citizens.

4. A great many physicians, like myself, have attained the age of 65 and feel unable to retire because of uncertainties regarding future dollar valuations and fear that their savings are inadequate to guarantee security. The same social security benefits extended to others certainly would influence a large number of us in regard to retirement.

Failure of the legislative bodies to include physicians in the social-security program merely because of opposition by certain AMA officials is not justified because:

1. A large group of older physicians of the United States are not members of the American Medical Association and certainly are not asking the American Medical Association to speak for them. I can't give the exact percent, but it is high.

2. A large number of American Medical Association members actively opposing the inclusion of physicians in social security are, themselves, already participating by being employed by corporations, clinics, groups, etc.

3. Any legislation aimed principally to benefit all should not exclude a large deserving group merely because the American Medical Association opposes their inclusion. Certainly this opposition does not justify legislation to penalize all self-employed physicians.

4. I am sure a great many members of the American Medical Association have the same convictions as here expressed, but lack the opportunity or are hesitant in expressing themselves. This is based on private conversations with a great many of them. I am a member of the American Medical Association.

5. The average general practitioner in country practice who does not now qualify for social security would, I am sure, appreciate more being given the same privilege of social security, as all others self-employed, rather than being glorified in popular magazines; and certainly it would be more practical.

6. The medical profession has no pension plan of its own.

I am calling your attention to a resolution adopted by the 64th annual meeting of the Idaho State Medical Association, held last June:

"RESOLUTION I

"*Be it resolved*, That a committee be appointed to investigate the feasibility of establishing a home to provide care for Idaho physicians who have reached the age of retirement and are unable to retire, and that

the committee report their findings at the 65th annual meeting of the Idaho State Medical Association in 1957."

It seems strange that a medical association would direct measures to exclude self-employed physicians from social benefits at retirement and compensate or justify themselves by substituting this kind of benefit. I am sure there is no other group of people, professional or nonprofessional, who gives more selflessly of its time and service, and the resolution seems like a mighty feeble substitute for the financial assurance and human dignity which every other citizen in the United States is enjoying.

To emphasize the unfairness and injustices of the setup, my wife and I are the only two people in this county unable to qualify for social-security benefits or any type of pension plan. There are other physicians here, but they qualify by being employed and receiving wages.

Certainly I am in accord with retirement benefits enjoyed by Presidents, legislators, all Government employees, all members of the Armed Forces, as well as the social security program aimed to benefit all, and I am asking only that we be allowed to enjoy these same benefits.

Because of your sponsoring of this bill in an effort to correct this injustice you are rendering a most valued service to self-employed physicians who are now excluded by law and I wish to express my appreciation of your effort, irrespective of the outcome.

Very respectfully yours,

I. R. EGBERT, M. D.

Army Provides Recreational as Well as Conservational Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present herewith the address of Hon. Dewey Short, Assistant Secretary of the Army, CMA, to the 44th annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, held in Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957. This is a most enlightening address, and is as follows:

CIVIL FUNCTIONS OF THE ARMY

Address by the Honorable Dewey Short, Assistant Secretary of the Army (CMA))

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great personal pleasure for me to see so many familiar faces. Over a period of over 20 years, you tend to get accustomed to old friends. I am also happy to be here from an official standpoint, as my new duties as Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil-Military Affairs entail, in part, the same interests as your fine organization, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. We both are keenly aware of the urgent need for the sound development of the Nation's water and land resources for navigation, flood control, irrigation, and the many other useful purposes.

Your organization had extreme foresight in seeing, so early, the need for a coordinated, planned effort in this direction. Founded in 1901, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress has been pursuing for 56 years its goal of utilizing our natural resources to the fullest. Sad to say, many people have, even today, not recognized that our natural wealth is not endless. Your organization, composed of over 5,000 public-minded citizens throughout the Nation, has from its inception helped guide the policy of the Government in water-resource development. Today I should like to call two matters to your attention and enlist your support.

I might say that I have long been at home on one side of these issues—namely, as a Representative of Congress. My recent experience has led me to look at some problems from a little different point of view—that of the executive branch—and I have found that most issues, like cut diamonds, have many facets.

As the Army's Assistant Secretary for Civil-Military Affairs, my duties quite naturally break down into two main functions, military and civil. Under military functions, I have responsibility for all military construction for which in the coming year the Army has asked for an appropriation of $390 million.

The Alaska Communications System is handled through my Office. As you may not realize, the Army operates the only internal telephone and telegraph system in Alaska, and its facilities are utilized by military and civilians alike. My Office also handles aviation affairs. The Army has a keen interest in aviation, and in this field we have many continuing problems.

Real property is another phase of action. In continental United States alone the Army owns 7,700,000 acres of land, somewhat more than the State of Maryland. We maintain 622 million square feet of buildings, or approximately 95 Pentagons. We also handle housing and public quarters.

Under civil functions, we watch over such diverse programs as the continuity of Government operations, Army participation in the Federal civil-defense program, the national cemetery program of the Quartermaster Corps, and, largest of all at present, the civil-works program of the United States Army Corps of Engineers. You might say I'm on the constructive rather than the destructive side of the Army. To give you an idea of size, this coming fiscal year expenditures for the civil-works program will amount to about $630 million.

Let's examine for a moment or two some of the benefits to the Nation resulting from this program.

Flood control: Flood-control projects complete or in operation prevent on the average an estimated one-half billion dollars annually in flood damages, based on conditions prevailing generally in 1954.

Navigation: The total waterborne commerce of the United States in 1955 reached a record high of over 1 billion tons, an increase of 17 percent since 1954. The inland waterways, including the Great Lakes in 1955, handled about 217 billion ton-miles of freight, representing about 17 percent of all the freight traffic transported in the United States by railways, motortrucks, waterways, and pipelines. The Corps of Engineers built and now operates these waterways.

Hydroelectric power: Over 4 million kilowatts of generating capacity are installed in reservoirs constructed by the Department of the Army. The 18.1 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity generated during fiscal year 1956 represents 15.1 percent of the hydropower produced and 3.1 percent of total production of all sources of the Nation's utility systems.

Water supply: Over 1 million acre-feet of storage space has been provided in 16 reservoirs for industrial and domestic water supply. An additional 4 million acre-feet is provided either exclusively for irrigation or jointly for irrigation and other purposes. In numerous instances, reservoirs are also operated for low-flow regulation and thereby improve water supplies downstream and reduce pollution. This was a godsend during the recent drought in the Great Plains area.

Recreation, and fish and wildlife: More than 4 billion acres of land and water have been made available for the enjoyment of the 25 million estimated to have hunted or fished during 1955.

All the foregoing has been accomplished, but many urgent problems remain, before the Nation's water resources can be planned and fully utilized. Let me quote an excerpt from President Eisenhower's state of the Union address which points up the problem admirably:

"Our soil, water, mineral, forest, fish and wildlife resources are being conserved and improved more effectively. Their conservation and development are vital to the present and future strength of the Nation, but they must not be the concern of the Federal Government alone. State and local entities, and private enterprise should be encouraged to participate in such projects. * * * There are two things I believe we should keep constantly in mind. The first is that each of our great river valleys should be considered as a whole. The second is that the domestic and industrial demands for water grow far more rapidly than does our population.

"The whole matter of making the best use of each drop of water from the moment it touches our soil until it reaches the oceans, for such purposes as irrigation, flood control, power production and domestic and industrial uses, clearly demands the closest kind of cooperation and partnership between municipalities, States and the Federal Government. Through partnership of Federal, State and local authorities in these vast projects, we can obtain the economy and efficiency of development and operation that spring from a lively sense of local responsibility."

Condensed in these two paragraphs is a rich background of experience and thought concerning the development of land and water resources since the beginning of this Nation. Similar conclusions have been reached by nearly every other group that has studied water resource development objectively. The most recent studies were published in the December 1955 report of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy, composed of Secretaries Wilson, Benson and McKay.

They recommended the following four changes of an organizational nature:

1. The establishment of a small Office of Coordinator of Water Resources to advise the President and to help him carry out his job of administering the many-sometimes-conflicting laws relating to water resources development. For effective water-resources planning and development, the closest possible coordination among the many Federal agencies is required. We must "tool-up" to accomplish the needed coordination.

2. An independent Board of Review be set up in the Executive Office of the President to analyze the engineering and economic feasibility of projects and report to the President through the Coordinator. In this way the Congress can be given unbiased appraisals on which it can base its actions.

3. The formation of regional or river basin water resources committees with a permanent non-voting chairman appointed by the President and with co-equal membership composed of representatives of all Federal Departments and States involved. Such groups would be invaluable in resolving the many planning problems and conflicting demands for water within the basin or region.

4. Permanently establish Federal Inter-Agency Committee, advisory in character on water resources, under the chairmanship of the coordinator, composed of principal policymaking officials of the Federal agencies concerned.

The Administration has drafted legislation on these matters and it is hoped that it can be submitted to the Congress this session. It is here that your organization

can help to improve significantly the wise development of the Nation's water resources. This can be done by actively supporting these needed organizational changes, and by presenting the facts and the sound reasoning on which this proposal is based, to the public at large.

Illustrative of the need for better coordination and planning are current problems created by one of the several purposes to be served by multipurpose development—water supply.

Droughts, such as the recent Great Plains drought, have made it all too apparent that our developed supplies are inadequate.

The Department of Commerce estimates that water usage in the United States will increase from 262 billion gallons daily in 1955 to over 453 billion gallons daily in 1975. With this almost doubling of water demand, it is becoming increasingly evident that adequate water supply depends on water conservation, and that from now on reservoirs built for river control should include storage space for water supply.

We do not have authority to provide storage space to take care of future needs where no customer is presently available to pay for the storage space. Legislation is being considered to meet this problem and its passage will help us plan and build projects best suited to meeting the needs of the future.

As you can see, planning for and developing adequate water supply in conjunction with the other purposes, such as flood control, navigation, power, and irrigation, demand close coordination. More than ever before, machinery is required to do the job. It is a joint enterprise in which all levels of government and all interests should participate from conception to fruition.

This brings me to the second point on which I ask your active support. About 4 years ago, the Department of the Army and the Department of the Interior revised their policy for acquiring real estate for reservoir projects. Here is the purpose of the new policy:

"To save money for taxpayers, and to keep from dispossessing farmers and landowners from their homes and lands any more than was necessary, it undertook to purchase only those lands likely to be frequently needed in operating the reservoirs, and to take no more than easements on lands that would seldom be used."

Some people claim that this policy is an attempt by the Army to keep the public off its reservoirs.

Nothing is further from the truth. The Army is proud of its lakes and proud of the service it renders to the public. Last year alone, more than 71 million visitor-days of recreational use were estimated at Army reservoirs. This was made possible by almost 3,000 Army-provided access points and almost 1,500 picnic areas and public campgrounds. Counting the number of boats in use during the single peak day at each reservoir, the total runs well over 70,000; and these boats are served by more than 2,000 public launching ramps and boat landings provided by the Army.

It should be understood that the law forbids us to acquire land specifically for wildlife enhancement or park or recreational uses; those are functions of other agencies. But, we can and do provide reasonable access to reservoirs. Also, we provide basic facilities such as roads, parking areas, launching ramps, drinking water, sanitary facilities, safety devices, concession, and supply services—in other words, we contribute as substantially as we can to the public enjoyment of our reservoirs.

Under the law, the Department of the Army has made available for fish, wildlife, and recreation, lands which were excess to project needs. And we shall continue to do so. But under the new policy, there will be fewer acres available for these purposes. We believe that the full recreation potential of Federal reservoirs should be developed, but that this development, especially the condemnation of private property, should be authorized by the Congress. Here is another activity where State and local interests can work with the Federal Government under the concept of joint enterprise.

I trust that these facts pretty well refute the charge that the Army is trying to keep the public off its reservoirs. It simply is not so. We believe our acquisition policy is fair and in the best interest of the public.

In conclusion, I should like to extend my congratulations to you on this excellent meeting and to extend the Army's best wishes to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress as it progresses through its 56th year of public service.

I urge you to support the forthcoming legislation setting up a working organization for the full development of our water resources, and please inform your friends that the welcome mat is out to the public at all Army reservoirs.

It has been a pleasure to meet with you. Thank you.

Communist Propaganda Against the H-Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, many fine and patriotic citizens are being hoodwinked by the Communist propaganda which is directed against the H-bomb. Is it not strange that those who are determined to prevent further development of the H-bomb by our country make no protest against the development and use of the bomb to Communist Russia?

Columnist Constantine Brown, writing in the Washington Evening Star of June 12, states that the Soviet Union is driving hard toward a drastic limitation of nuclear weapons. His article follows:

SOVIETS' DRIVE AGAINST H-BOMB—CAMPAIGN IS BELIEVED BASED ON THE FACT THAT THEY LEAD IN CONVENTIONAL POWER

(By Constantine Brown)

That the Soviet Union is driving hard toward a drastic limitation of nuclear weapons and abolition of the H-bomb is the news which Harold Stassen reportedly brought back to Washington this week.

Stassen's conversations with Secretary of State Dulles are, of course, kept highly secret. But it is known that responsible military men in the Pentagon are seriously disturbed. They fear that Stassen's optimism that "we are finally getting somewhere" may lead us into some emotional-ideological trap.

The consensus of many qualified military observers is that Soviet leaders feel, despite their efforts to catch up with us, that the USSR is quantitatively behind America in the A- and H-bomb field.

The Communists have waged a relentless propaganda favoring abolition of all atomic bombs. They are using their mouthpieces in this country as well as in the rest of the world toward that end. Nobody believes the Kremlin leaders are moved by humanitarian motives. The real truth, according to those in a position to appraise the situation accurately, is that Russia with its 200 million inhabitants, nearly 100 million in European satellites and 600 million Chinese "allies" prefers to revert to conventional warfare for its own purposes.

There was a time, a quarter of a century ago, when Russia's spokesmen at the international disarmament conferences were loudly pressing for total disarmament. In those days the Soviet's military power was negligible. It hoped to win its goals through propaganda and subversion.

The question of throwing down weapons of war has been in the forefront for many years. It was the main concern of our diplomats immediately after World War I.

Geneva, then the seat of the League of Nations, was the locale of disarament meetings once or twice a year. But nothing was accomplished.

The major powers pressed for the type of arms reduction best suited to their own objectives. At one of those meetings, the witty Spanish representative, Salvador Madariaga, lost patience with the antics of his colleagues. He took the floor and said:

"The animals met to disarm. The lion looked the bull straight in the eye and said: 'Let us abolish horns.' The bull looked at the eagle and said: 'Let us abolish talons.' The eagle, eyeing the lion, suggested the abolition of claws. 'No,' said the bear, 'let us abolish everything and then just have a universal hug.' " Maxime Litvinoff, who was preaching daily for total disarmament, laughed the loudest.

Conditions are similar at present. The U. S. S. R. emerged from World War II as a first-class power insofar as ground, naval, and air forces are concerned. But the Soviets are believed by our experts to have far fewer nuclear weapons than we have. The Russian general staff is rightly convinced that America will never engage in a preventive war. Our nuclear weapons will be used only in retaliation against aggression. The Red military and political leaders also know that the loosely knit free world is in no position to match the Communist conventional forces. But so long as we posses the nuclear deterrent power, this Red superiority is inconsequential. Hence, it will be to the advantage of their ultimate objectives to have a disarmament agreement covering mainly the present nonconventional weapons. The so-called tight air inspection mentioned so frequently by our spokesmen cannot affect seriously the capabilities of the Soviet ground, air, and naval forces.

In naval warfare, destroyers hide from the enemy the movements of carriers, battleships, and cruisers with smokescreens. A similar strategy is being used diplomatically by the Soviets in their efforts to bring about abolition of nuclear warfare. Scientists, writers and a number of genuine or "front" peace organizations throughout the world have been enlisted to demand from their governments that these unbelievably destructive instruments of war be done away with.

There have been many loud protests against the recent British and American tests which have taken place in lonely spots in the vast Pacific Ocean. But it is strange that these humanitarians who denounce loudly the air pollution from fallouts have so little to say about the many tests which the Russians have carried out in Siberia and other places.

The Soviet objectives are clear to all but those who don't want to see them. The Red leaders know that the free West, once a so-called watertight disarmament agreement is signed, will live up to it. Once our main deterrent to Soviet aggression is out of the way, we will not be able to equalize the Communist conventional forces. They know that if the United States is induced to withdraw its forces from Europe and Asia they will have difficulty returning. The Red

submarine forces—at present 500 strong—will prove a handicap difficult to overcome. The present Kremlin strategy appears predicated on removing the only deterrent to Russia's unlimited ambitions. Hence, the modern version of Ambassador Madariaga's universal hug.

Resolutions of the Louisiana Legislature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present House Concurrent Resolutions 57 and 58 of the 20th regular session of the Louisiana Legislature. Resolution 57 deals with the reopening of the national soil bank program to permit farmers in the disaster area to enter this program. Resolution 58 asks the Secretary of Agriculture to reopen the Commodity Credit emergency feed program in order to give assistance to the farmers residing in the 10 disaster parishes in Louisiana.

The resolutions follow:

House Concurrent Resolution 57

Whereas some 10 parishes of the State have been designated as a disaster area due to the ravages of floodwaters during the year 1957 which caused many farmers in that area to temporarily abandon their farms; and

Whereas during the period that farmers in that area were forced to temporarily abandon their flooded farms they were unable to quality for participation in the Federal soil bank program, the time for placing acreage within the national soil bank having expired on March 31, 1957; and

Whereas many cotton farmers and other farmers in that area lost their crops from inundation of their farms as well as their opportunity to participate in the Federal soil bank program: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature (the Senate concurring), That the Louisiana Legislature does hereby urge and request the United States Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Ezra T. Benson, to reopen the national soil bank program as soon as practicable to permit cotton farmers and others farmers, in those parishes of the State of Louisiana which are declared a disaster area because of the recurring flood situation in the area during 1957, to place acreage of their farms in that area in the national soil bank; and be it further

Resolved, That the members of the Louisiana delegation in the United States Congress are hereby urged and requested to exert their utmost influence to the accomplishment of the purposes herein stated; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature is hereby directed to send a copy of this resolution to the Honorable Ezra T. Benson, United States Secretary of Agriculture, and to each member of the Louisiana delegation in the United States Congress.

ROBT. ANGELLE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
LETHER E. FRAZAR,
Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.

House Concurrent Resolution 58

Whereas 10 parishes within the State of Louisiana have been declared disaster areas because of the recurring flood situation in those parishes, necessitating the vacating of many farms in the area; and

Whereas because of the floods in these parishes, farmers are unable to plant crops and will suffer great financial loss and greatly reduced resources for the feeding of cattle and livestock; and

Whereas the Commodity Credit emergency feed program, under which farmers were able to obtain feed for livestock is now closed and its resources unavailable to the farmers living in these disaster areas: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature (the Senate concurring), That the Louisiana Legislature does hereby urge and request the United States Secretary of Agriculture, the honorable Ezra T. Benson, to reopen the Commodity Credit emergency feed program as soon as practicable in order to give immediate assistance to the farmers residing in the 10 disaster parishes in the State of Louisiana; and be it further

Resolved, That the members of the Louisiana delegation in the United States Congress are hereby urged and requested to exert their utmost influence to the accomplishment of the purpose herein stated; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature is hereby directed to send a copy of this resolution to the Honorable Ezra T. Benson, United States Secretary of Agriculture, and to each member of the Louisiana delegation in the United States Congress.

ROBERT ANGELLE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
LETHER E. FRAZER,
Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.

A Day of Memory for the Baltic Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, for 17 years the people of the Baltic nations, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, have suffered in bondage under the tyrannical power of the Soviet Union. The events of June 1940—when many thousands of men, women and children were deported from their homelands to the barren steppes of Siberia—will always be impressed on the minds and hearts of free people.

As we pause to mark the anniversary of these tragic deportations, we salute the people of the Baltic States. We in America are proud of the contributions of Americans of Estonian and Latvian and Lithuanian ancestry to making our Nation strong and free. We feel too a deep responsibility toward their brothers still behind the Iron Curtain. It is to our country's credit that the United States has never recognized Russia's forceful annexation of these independent nations.

That the spirit of freedom still burns brightly in these lands we know well by the frequent reports of renewed resistance. The Baltic peoples, like the people of other satellite nations, have proven that they will not remain passive under the Soviet's iron heel.

For 10 years America and her Western allies have been building the strength of the free world. Today we have a great opportunity before us to use that strength on behalf of a new settlement in Eastern and Central Europe which will lead to the restoration of the freedom and idependence of the captive nations. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the memory of the deportations of June 1940 will spur us ever onward toward that goal.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein an excellent statement by the distinguished chairman of the Massachusetts Youth Service Board, the Honorable John D. Coughlan, before the House Subcommittee on Special Education on the subject of combating juvenile delinquency.

Mr. Coughlan speaks with real authority on this subject because he has been an outstanding leader in education and youth service activities, as well as a distinguished exponent of wise, sound measures designed to cope effectively with current problems of juvenile delinquency.

Since Mr. Coughlan has made an outstanding record in his work in this particular field, his views are not only interesting, but will be very helpful to Members of Congress and others interested in these questions.

It is pertinent to note that in his presentation, Mr. Coughlan asserted that he "was not seeking large Federal operation grants or handouts," and that he felt his agency was able to do its full part in discharging State responsibility. In his opinion, Federal assistance should be limited to those necessary parts of the program requiring Federal participation such as demonstration, intensification of existing effort and training of professional workers.

Mr. Coughlan's statement follows:

Those of us who have official responsibilities for combating delinquency and crime have become increasingly alarmed in recent years over the dangerous increase in offenses against the law committed by juveniles. A recent analysis of the situation by Dr. Martha May Eliot, long-time Chief of the Children's Bureau, indicates that juvenile delinquency has risen 70 percent since 1950. J. Edgar Hoover, a month or so ago, presented startling figures showing not only a national increase in crime but also a shocking percentage of serious crimes committed by persons under the age of 21.

One of the most significant aspects of this situation is that the increase is not confined to any section or State or group of States,

but extends throughout the whole Nation. It is reasonable to say that juvenile delinquency is no longer contained by State boundaries and that it is no longer exclusively a State or local concern. Scarcely a week goes by that we in Massachusetts are not arranging for the return of one of our delinquents or for sending one back to another State. In California, I am informed, a special train is operated periodically to return runaway and delinquent boys and girls to their home States across the Nation. Add to this wiping out of boundaries the alarming increase both as to number and to seriousness of offenses, and the problem can be clearly seen as no longer one of infected local areas but rather as a serious and growing contamination of the whole Nation's youth. As such, therefore, it has become not only a problem for the States and the local communities, but also a problem of Federal concern because it directly affects the national welfare.

Juvenile delinquency is like a disease—almost a plague in our times. It spreads from individual to individual, from group to group, from generation to generation. It is my considered conviction that unless a nationwide effort is made in the present year and those immediately ahead to solve this social problem, or, if not to solve it, at least to arrest the increase, the consequences to American youth will be devastating. At present spreading rates, if unchecked, it is horrifying to think that this Nation may well have 2 million juveniles arrested annually by the police by 1967, only 10 years from now.

The implications of this for national defense are obvious. We are all familiar with the necessity for maintaining our manpower reserve. Let me point out that 2 million corrupted youths represent a serious lessening of that manpower because they make poor citizens and unreliable soldiers. Contrary to general belief, the Armed Services do not, except in some individual cases, reform serious delinquents. In fact, recognition of this has led to a policy of rejection by the services of those with juvenile records.

Let me point out, also, that adult criminals are largely recruited from the ranks of juvenile delinquents and that the nationwide control and prevention of crime in this and succeding generations will depend to a large extent on the development of effective measures in the prevention and control of the antecedent condition of juvenile delinquency.

Four years ago I was placed in charge of the Massachusetts delinquency control program. As each year has passed, I have become increasingly convinced that the great challenge of our times in the field of crime and delinquency is the challenge to prevention.

It is at this point that the place of the Federal Government in the total effort becomes significant.

Since the national welfare is certainly involved, the participation of the Federal Government is imperative. There is, in my opinion, an obligation to supply leadership and stimulation to the States and the localities, as well as the kind of coordination of effort and research that only the Federal Government can provide—and has in other fields provided so well.

One outstanding example of Federal action is the recent episode of the Salk vaccine to prevent poliomyelitis. I have no doubt that the efforts to validate, to distribute, and to inoculate would still be sporadic, varied from State to State, and relatively ineffectual if the Federal Government had not assumed the obligation of leadership and coordination. I submit to you that children throughout the Nation turning to crime, menacing society, corrupting others, and at 15 or 16 become wanton killers or themselves falling before police guns should be equally the concern of the Congress. It is an historical fact that the decline of the great republics and democracies of the past did not result from decrease of physical prowess, but from moral degeneration.

The Federal leadership and coordination has been notable in many other areas also—in research and setting of standards for food and drugs; in the field of mental health; in the control of narcotics; in the improvement of agriculture; in the training of clinical psychologists to handle the problems of veterans, to mention only a few.

In all these areas, the leadership of the Federal Government, recognizing the National interests involved as a justification for participation, has given direction and purpose to development and improvement, and has resulted in major accomplishments that at best would be long delayed or indifferently accomplished if left to the States alone, or, at worst, would not have taken place at all.

I am not referring here to direct operational subsidy or Federal handouts, but rather to limited funds directly tagged for service and research for the accomplishment of purposes that cannot be provided by the States acting alone or independently.

It appears to me, for example, that one important area of activity with respect to crime and delinquency for the Federal Government would be to aid the States to set up pilot projects in key areas in delinquency prevention and control that would serve to provide information that would become available to other States on what methods have validity and success and what are likely to be ineffective. It might well be that such projects would help to replace outmoded ineffective methods and programs and develop programs better adapted to meet modern needs.

I am sure, also, that, like Massachusetts, there are some other States where new type programs are having a real impact on delinquency, but which are only partially effective because they must be financed by private funds, or because State funds are limited as to amount and use.

Such projects require the hiring of highly trained professionally qualified workers for whom adequate salaries must be provided. Generally speaking, rigid State salary schedules and personnel practices do not allow sufficient latitude and flexibility to hire such persons. At least, this is true in Massachusetts. It will be a long time before such State limitations can be eliminated, if ever. In the meantime, the problem grows more and more serious, and the national welfare is increasingly jeopardized. Long established policy and Federal practice, on the other hand, allows sufficient flexibility in approving grants for such projects to enable them to be effective.

Another great need in the field of delinquency prevention and control is the development of more trained workers. This need is acute in Massachusetts, as I am sure it is throughout the Nation. Unfortunately, State money cannot be used to provide stipends and scholarships or to set up adequate collaborative training with universities, and we must look to the Federal Government to meet this national need.

This is entirely consistent with Federal aid and assistance programs—for example, in the training of clinical psychologists, training of registered nurses for supervisory positions, and the training of professional workers in the area of mental and public health.

In this connection, I wish to call the attention of the committee to the fact that funds provided for the National Institute of Mental Health can, under certain circumstances, be obtained for use in programs combating delinquency. While I recognize the need for research to be carried on by Mental Health and feel that the National Institute of Mental Health and State Mental Health authorities will play an important part in future development of delinquency control programs, I must insist that a substantial part of Federal moneys directed at delinquency should go to those public agencies whose primary responsibility is delinquency itself, not a single aspect of many and varied responsibilities. Let me make it clear that I favor continued Federal aid in the field of mental health. I am disturbed, however, over what appears to be, so far as Federal aid funds are concerned, a tendency to regard delinquency as an exclusive province of mental health authorities.

In Massachusetts, the Youth Service Board is an integrated State agency set up in 1949 to attack the problem of delinquency, including not only rehabilitation of those offending, but also its prevention. With some 2,500 delinquents under its jurisdiction in any given year, it seems to me most unwise and undesirable for such an agency to obtain Federal funds or benefits from Federal funds only on a hat-in-hand basis by going either to the National Institute of Mental Health or even, in some cases, to private agencies, through which Federal funds are being channeled. Such procedure not only limits the amount available, inasmuch as the mental health agencies will obviously take care of their own needs first, but also, it operates to bar the use of Federal funds in those instances where a legitimate delinquency prevention and control project is not slanted as a mental health project. What I am saying here is that it is time, now that delinquency is becoming so serious, for the Federal Government to recognize in its aid program law enforcement and other public agencies directly concerned with delinquency, instead of confining the Federal Government's program to the mental health field.

Recently, the Massachusetts Youth Service Board surveyed the communities of the State with respect to areas of activity where State and Federal funds could be used to greatest advantage in the attack on delinquency. As a result of that survey, we learned that our police departments are eager to provide special training for officers dealing with juveniles and to set up juvenile police bureaus within their departments.

I will recall to your mind the police training programs of the FBI and their value to State and local police in the effort to combat crime.

With Federal help, I believe that training programs of similar value could be set up in all the States to assist local police in their concerted efforts to handle the juvenile program. I believe that such programs set up in each State would have national value and important impact on the situation we face. The police are still a first line of defense in the attack on delinquency and everything possible must be done to enable them to coordinate and improve their efforts.

Fundamentally, my plea to your honorable committee is for favorable action on any one of the several bills before you, including that of the administration, or on a synthesis of the best features of all of them.

I want to make it clear that the amount of money provided in these bills is an extremely small amount in the total Federal budget, but the benefits will be large because they will mean the extra effort and the additional stimulation needed in the States in coping with this problem.

It must be understood, also, that I do not seek or favor large Federal operation grants or handouts. In Massachusetts, during the past 5 years, we have almost doubled our appropriations. We are, therefore, quite willing and able to do our full part in discharging ourselves of our State responsibility.

There are certain limited areas indicated in these bills, however, namely, demonstra-

tion, intensification of existing effort, and training of workers, where Federal participation is necessary and desirable. I am sure, also, that if this is true of Massachusetts, it must be doubly true of other States without a youth authority where the attack on delinquency is not nearly so structured and organized.

While I am happy to say that the increase in the problem has not been as great in Massachusetts, it is still large enough and significant enough for us to intensify our own efforts and to seek the Federal Government's interest and participation so that improvements of nationwide significance can be made.

With substantial deterioration of an important segment of our youth certainly and demonstrably facing us, I cannot but feel that your honorable committee and the Congress itself will give favorable action to the proposal that the Federal Government assume a position of leadership in solving this growing social problem and by limited and reasonable financial aid, as provided in the bills before you, furnish the stimulation and the help for an improved national attack.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN D. COUGHLAN,

Bar Association Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Robert N. Wilkin, judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, on Friday, June 7, 1957, issued a very enlightening and well-thought-out decision in the so-called Bar Association case.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the opinion by Judge Wilkin.

The opinion follows:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ALFRED F. GOSHORN ET AL, PLAINTIFFS, V. BAR ASSOCIATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, A CORPORATION, DEFENDANT, CIVIL ACTION No. 2393–56

OPINION

The complaint seeks a declaratory judgment invalidating the action of the defendant association at its meeting of May 8, 1956, with reference to the proposed amendment to the bylaws of the association by deleting the word "white" from article I which fixed and classified the eligibility of members, and the Complaint prayed for an injunction restraining officers of the association from any action based on, or in furtherance of, the procedure at such meeting.

The answer alleges that the complaint fails to state a claim against the defendant upon which relief can be granted: alleges that the action taken by the association was proper and in full conformity with its bylaws, alleges that the plaintiffs have waived any objections by their failure to take proper and timely action; alleges that the plaintiffs have not suffered any injury to themselves entitling them to the relief asked; alleges that this court lacks power to interfere in the affairs of the private professional organization in the manner sought by the complaint; alleges that this court cannot grant relief to the plaintiffs without denying rights protected by the 5th amendment to the Constitution and the public policy of the United States.

Two judges of this court, acting separately, denied motions for summary judgment. The case then came on for trial on the merits to determine the disputed issues of fact and questions of law. The principal issue was the validity or invalidity of the declaration of the President, based on a voice vote, that the resolution for the amendment had carried by a two-thirds vote of active members present, and that the amendment was, therefore, adopted. The determination of that issue depends on the conditions and circumstances before, at the time of, and after the voice vote. The disagreements and differences in testimony related to details of minor or secondary importance. As to the most essential facts and circumstances, there was general agreement.

There was no dispute as to the following provisions of the bylaws:

"ARTICLE I—MEMBERSHIP

"SECTION I. Classes: The following classes shall constitute the membership of the association.

"A. Active members: All members of the association at the date of the adoption of these bylaws shall be classified as active members.

"White members of the bar of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, in good standing, in active practice in the District of Columbia, shall be eligible to active membership in the association, as hereinafter provided.

"B. Associate members: White residents and nonresidents of the District of Columbia who are members of the bar, in good standing, of the highest court of any State or Territory, and who are not engaged in or attempting to engage in active practice in the District of Columbia, may be admitted to associate membership, as hereinafter provided.

"White members of the bar of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, in good standing, not in active practice, may be admitted to associate membership, as hereinafter provided.

* * * * *

"ARTICLE VI—MEETINGS

"SEC. 5. Quorum: At any meeting of the association, the presence of 100 active members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum.

"SEC. 8. Parliamentary rules: The parliamentary rules of practice contained in Roberts' Rules of Order, as revised, shall govern the association in all cases to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with the bylaws or the special rules of order of this association."

And there was no dispute as to the following provisions of Robert's Rules of Order:

"The vote shall always be taken first by the voice (viva voce) or by show of hands (the latter method being often used in small assemblies), except in the case of motions requiring a two-thirds vote when a rising vote should be taken at first." (Sec. IX, p. 42, Robert's Rules of Order.)

"A division of the assembly may be called for, without obtaining the floor, at any time after the question has been put, even after the vote has been announced, and another has the floor, provided the vote was taken viva voce, or by show of hands, and is called for before another motion has been made. This call, or motion, is made by saying, 'I call for a division,' or 'I doubt the vote,' or simply by calling out 'division.' It does not require a second; and cannot be debated, or amended, or have any subsidiary motion applied to it. As soon as a division is called for, the chair proceeds again to take the vote, this time by having the affirmative rise, and then when they are seated, having the negative rise * * *." (Sec. 25, p. 95, Robert's Rules of Order.)

It was admitted that there was no count of active and associate members.

It was agreed that only a voice vote was taken.

The weight of evidence indicated that there was a substantial volume of sound as to both "yeas" and "nays." One or two witnesses indicated that the sound volume of the two votes was about equal, and most of the witnesses testified tohat it was impossible for anyone to determine positively whether those voting in the affirmative represented two-thirds of the qualified members.

It was agreed that the meeting had an unusually large attendance, estimated to be about 520 persons. The meeting was held in the Williamsburg Room of the Mayflower Hotel.

There was a dispute and disparity of testimony as to whether or not a division had been called for specifically.

The minutes of the meeting recite, at page 379 of defendant's exhibit No. 2:

"Mr. Alfred F. Goshorn rose to a point of order with reference to those persons in attendance and stated that there was no way to determine whether they were entitled to vote or not. He thereupon moved that the motion be tabled. The chair ruled the motion out of order stating that when the time came those not eligible to vote could be requested not to do so and that any member present could reqeust that there be a division so that ineligible persons could step to one side of the room and only those eligible to vote would do so."

The testimony of the president and secretary supported the statement of the minutes. Other members of the association who testified stated that the president said, with a gesture of the hand, that when the vote was taken, he would ask all associate members and guests to move to one side of the room. It was conceded, however, that no such separation occurred. After some preliminary points of order and motions, relating to presence of persons ineligible to vote and method of voting, were disposed of, the president declared that the pending action was on the motion to adopt the amendment. One member spoke in favor of the amendment and no one spoke in opposition. The minutes recite:

"Upon a call for the question the Chair asked for the 'ayes' and then the 'nays' on Mr. Moore's motion. The vote having been taken by voice the Chair ruled that the motion had been passed and that the 'ayes' were more than the required two-thirds vote of the active members in good standing present."

The minutes continue:

"Mr. Paul Lee Sweeny rose to a point of order and appeal from the ruling of the chair stating that the Chair could not rule on whether the affirmative vote on Mr. Moore's motion had been the required two-thirds. The Chair put the appeal to a voice vote, after which the chair ruled that the appeal was denied and the original ruling upheld."

The president and secretary testified that the statement in the minutes was correct. Mr. Sweeny, however, testified that he arose and objected to the method of taking the vote and that, when the Chair ruled him out of order, he then appealed from the ruling of the Chair. There was other diversity of testimony regarding the minutes on this point, some supporting the statement in the minutes and some supporting Mr. Sweeny's statement.

All the testimony, however, agreed that, after the president announced the passage of the motion, there was great confusion. The president himself referred to it as "cheering"; others referred to it as "applause" and "noise." Witnesses for the plaintiffs referred to the occurrence as "bedlam" and "hubbub." The president and the secretary and some other witnesses testified that they

did not hear anyone calling for a division, in that exact word. Many witnesses testified, however, that there were members standing and calling for recognition. A number of the witnesses said that they heard calls for division, and some witnesses said that they themselves had so called. The only member recognized by the chair, however, was Mr. Sweeny, and when his objection and appeal were disposed of, the president called for consideration of other business.

Thereafter, certain members of the association presented petitions and protests, dated May 16 and May 14, 1956, to the board of directors of the defendant association. (Plaintiff's exhibits Nos. 3A, 3B, 3C.) The board declined to take any action thereon, and no change in the minutes of the May 8 meeting was made by the Association at its next meeting, as shown by defendant's exhibit No. 3.

Another fact emphasized by the plaintiffs was admitted by the defendant—the same proposal for amendment had been submitted twice, or possibly three times, by referendum, and had failed of adoption because the votes in favor did not meet the two-thirds requirement.

This court is constrained by the admissions and the weight of the testimony to find that the objections, motions, and protests at the meeting of May 8, 1956, were sufficient to apprise the chairman that the method of taking the vote was objected to, and that a division and visible count of members for and members against the motion was desired. The Court concluded that it was a violation of the by-laws and of Robert's Rules of Order for the presiding officer to fail to call for a rising vote. The Court is impelled to such finding and conclusion especially by the fact that highly-respected members of the association testified in support of the plaintiffs, in spite of the fact that they had favored, and voted for, the proposed amendment. One of these witnesses said that, regardless of the language used, it was clearly apparent that a number of persons were demanding a division in the sense that they wanted the members who voted for or against the proposed amendment to be counted for the purpose of determining with certainty whether or not the proposed amendment had been adopted by at least a two-thirds vote of the members entitled to vote, and that such demands were not honored. In an affidavit filed in this case, that witness had said:

"I insist upon saying at this time that the board of directors of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia will represent me in my status as a member far better if they will put a speedy end to this sorry squabble which is injuring the prestige of the bar association and of the legal profession, and will resubmit the controversial amendment to the members of the association and poll a vote with respect thereto in such manner that there will be no doubt as to the result and the legality of the proceeding. I feel that the value of my membership in the association will be further impaired by the prolongation of a situation which has caused many of my respected associates to believe that their rights have been violated and which at the same time makes it embarrassing for the self-respecting Negro members of the bar to apply for membership in the association."

This court finds and holds that the allegations of the answer, in view of all the circumstances and the law, are not sufficient to prevent the relief prayed for in the complaint.

It was argued, in support of the defense, that the plaintiffs would have to prove fraud and bad faith on the part of the president and secretary in order to sustain their complaint. Counsel for the plaintiffs, however, very graciously stated that the plaintiffs neither alleged nor implied any bad faith or willful misconduct. He spoke of the officers of the association in high praise and conceded that the chairman was trying to effectuate the sense of the meeting. He placed his prayer for relief squarely on the illegality of what was done, alleging firmly that it was contrary to both the letter and spirit of the bylaws of the association and of Robert's Rules of Order.

With such statements of counsel for plaintiffs, this court concurs. It imputes no improper motives in the officers, but finds illegality in the action of the meeting. Its judgment is not against the purpose of the amendment, but against the attempted method of adoption. The tenor of all the testimony creates the impression that the meeting of May 8, 1956, was surcharged with feeling and emotion incompatible with calm deliberation and judicious action. Leaders of reform movements seem prone to become overzealous. They then think that, because their objective is commendable, any method of attaining it is justifiable. In other words, they assume that the end justifies the means. But that theory can never be sustained in a court of law. If it were approved, the law would lose its virtue as a social and political bond. We would cease to have a government of and by law. We would then be ruled by the capricious, arbitrary, and tyrannous conduct of majorities and those in office.

Discipline is an inherent requirement of human nature in the individual and in the body politic. History reveals that when discipline is not self-imposed, it must be superimposed. The life of democracy depends on its observance of the law. In determining its judgment, a court of law must consider its effect, not only on the instant case, but also on all similar cases. The affirmance of a voice vote in the circumstances of this case would reduce to a nullity the provisions for two-thirds votes by the bylaws of all associations and corporations.

This court is not unmindful that the provision for a two-thirds vote in bylaws or constitution has been severely criticized as impractical, more harmful than beneficial, and a means by which an arbitrary minority may thwart the will of the majority. Such criticism has been most prevalent against the provision in our Federal Constitution which requires a two-thirds vote for Senate approval of treaties. It has been referred to by respected authority as "an outmoded flaw in our Constitution", "a fatal defect." Edward S. Corwin, in The Constitution and World Organization, has said, "The two-thirds rule was an anomaly before it was ever put into operation, and everything that has happened since 1789, both within the constitutional system and outside of it, has contributed to aggravate its abnormity. (For further discussion and authorities, see The United States and the World Court, by Denna Frank Fleming, ch. X.)

This consideration was not advanced in this case. It is mentioned here merely to say that if those who are irked by the two-thirds rule will not move to repeal it, they should not try to evade it. As long as it is the law, it should be observed and obeyed, especially by lawyers.

The allegations of the answer that this court lacks jurisdiction and will not interfere in the affairs of a private corporation were disposed of by the ruling on the defendant's motion for summary judgment, but it seems well for the court to state here that this defendant association is an organization of members of the bar of this court. From earliest times, the courts of England and of this country have assumed, and exercised, a supervisory jurisdiction over organizations and assemblies of persons licensed by the court to practice law. It was judicially determined by Lord Mansfield that, while the courts had no jurisdiction over the inns of court "according to the general law of the land," yet, "in every instance their conduct is subject to the control of the judges as visitors."

This court, and the court of appeals of this judicial district, have taken jurisdiction of other cases questioning the action of the bar association. (*U. S. ex rel Robinson* v. *Bar Association of the District of Columbia* (91 U. S. App. D. C. 5, 197 F. 2d 408)); *U. S. ex rel Noel* v. *Carmody* (80 U. S. App. D. C. 58, 148 F. 2d 684).

While it may be conceded that the plaintiffs have sustained no pecuniary loss or direct property damage from the action complained of, yet it is the view of this court that they have acquired, by joining and paying dues to the defendant association, an interest in the association and its property, and privileges which entitle them to assert that the character or membership of the association shall not be changed except in accordance with the bylaws of the association (said to be the oldest in America).

It is the opinion of this court that the assertion of such rights and interests does not violate rights protected by the fifth amendment of the Constitution or the public policy of the United States. The Legal Register for the District of Columbia lists a number of bar associations besides the defendant, which have limited or restricted membership. In addition to the defendant bar association, there is the Washington Bar Association, the Women's Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association. There is also a Patent Bar Association and a Barristers Club or Association. The legality and propriety of such associations have not been questioned, and members who have joined such associations have a right to insist that they continue to represent the special interests for which they were organized until their purpose and objective are changed in accordance with the basic law of the organization. (*Ross et al* v. *Evert et al* (Sup. Ct., Wis., Apr. 9, 1957.)

People of any race, religion, or political faith may assemble and associate for the advancement of their interests. No sound public policy would destroy the interesting diversity of life. If the aim and end of democracy should be to reduce all men to the same shape and shade and common opinion, then it could not and should not survive. It would counter one of the fundamental principles of evolution.

It is apparent to any person of fair mind that, if the defendant association wishes to represent and to speak for all the lawyers of the district, then in all fairness it ought to make all lawyers eligible for membership. If it does not do so, then members of the bar who champion the proposed amendment ought to unite with other members of like mind and organize an all-inclusive bar association for the district which would be authorized to speak and act for all persons admitted to practice before the United States district court.

The defendant association, for a long time, has restricted its membership, and some of its members emphasize that object and purpose of the association which is "to increase the mutual imporvement and social intercourse of its members." If they feel that the social purposes of a limited membership are of more importance than being the agency of the entire bar of the district, their wishes and desires should not be overridden or denied except by action of the Association taken in accordance with the bylaws.

Judgment for plaintiffs. This opinion may serve as findings of fact and conclusions of law, and counsel may prepare and submit a final order.

ROBERT N. WILKIN,
United States District Judge.

What the Judges Say

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I present herewith an editorial entitled "What the Judges Say" which appeared in the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., on Wednesday, June 12, 1957. It is as follows:

WHAT THE JUDGES SAY

Charles Evans Hughes once observed that "the Constitution is what the judges say it is." It would be hard to find a ruling which, in its own way, lends more support to that comment than the case of the two service wives who murdered their husbands.

Mrs. Clarice B. Covert killed her Air Force husband in England. Mrs. Dorothy Smith killed her Army husband in Japan. Both were tried by military courts, as authorized by Congress, convicted of murder and given life sentences.

Less than a year ago a majority of the judges then on the Supreme Court upheld these convictions. But now the Court has done an about-face, reversing that earlier decision and setting the women free. It is doubtful whether they can or will be tried again.

Monday's controlling decision was delivered by Justice Black, with the concurrence of Chief Justice Warren and Justices Douglas and Brennan. These four—not a majority of the Court—held in sweeping terms that the wives and children of servicemen stationed abroad cannot constitutionally be tried by military courts—whether the offense be murder or the theft of a package of chewing gum.

Justice Harlan, who was with the majority in last year's ruling, concurred on the "narrow ground" that these were capital cases. He intimated that he might take a different view with respect to lesser offenses, but he did not say where he thought the line should be drawn. Justice Frankfurter, also concurring, emphasized that he was considering and ruling on "only the trial of civilian dependents in a capital case in time of peace."

Justice Clark, joined by Justice Burton, dissented in strong terms. He deplored the overturn or impairment of precedent and condemned the reversal of last year's ruling. "In substitute therefor," said Justice Clark, "it (the Court) enters no opinion whatever for the Court. It is unable to muster a majority. Instead, there are handed down three opinions. But, worst of all, it gives no authoritative guidance as to what, if anything, the Executive or the Congress may do to remedy the distressing situation in which they now find themselves."

It is not feasible in this space to discuss in detail the several points of view set forth by the judges in the 90 pages of opinions. One point made by Justice Black is persuasive, however. Brushing aside contentions that the ruling would create a nightmare of trouble for our armed forces overseas, he declared:

"Trial by jury in a court of law and in accordance with traditional modes of procedure after an indictment by grand jury has served and remains one of our most vital barriers to governmental arbitrariness. These elemental procedural safeguards were imbedded in our Constitution to secure their inviolateness and sanctity against the passing demands of expediency and convenience. * * * If our foreign commitments become of such nature that the Government can no longer satisfactorily operate within the bounds laid down by the Constitution, that instrument can be amended by the method which it prescribes. But we have no authority, or inclination, to read exceptions into it which are not there."

Justice Black, however, was speaking for a minority. It is impossible to know what a majority might decide in another case. Thus, while the Constitution still is what the judges say it is, what they said last year is not what they say today, and what they say today is not necessarily what they will say next year. In this respect, we think Justice Clark had reason to protest that "this is disastrous to proper judicial administration as well as to law enforcement."

Prophets of Gloom Fluffed on Social Security Prognosis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the event which marked the 10 millionth American to receive social security benefits indicates the great progress that has been made in the United States since the enactment of the social security law.

It recalls to many of us the scare propaganda which was launched against social security when it was first proposed and how bitterly it was fought for many years after its enactment. Social security was the very heart of what ultraconservative interests called the welfare state program.

Even today from conservative sources opposition continues to come. But public acceptance has caused criticism to be tempered and most of those who opposed the principle of social security confine their efforts to blocking improvements and further advances.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a most excellent editorial from the Reading (Pa.) Times, which refutes the old arguments against social security and shows how the law has become a great asset in strengthening the American economy as well as doing justice to retired American citizens.

THE PROPHETS OF GLOOM FLUFFED ON SOCIAL SECURITY PROGNOSIS

When the old-age and survivors' insurance plan was enacted into law, it was anathema to many Americans. They said it was socialism. They said it robbed the individual of initiative. They said it ran counter to the American way of life. They said we were opening the goose to get all the golden eggs at once.

When the Government started paying benefits in 1940, many of the old arguments were dug up again, plus others. Throughout the years there has been one recurring plaint: The Federal Government was using the fund for other purposes and in a few years there wouldn't be any money left in it for the aged and the survivors. The prophets of gloom proved to be wrong on all counts. The social-security system has not destroyed individual initiative. And we have the word of Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, that the system is "in very sound condition and should continue to be self-sustaining."

Ten million Americans are now having their economic situation shored up by social-security benefits. Mrs. Jane Gavin, of Ozone Park, N. Y., is perhaps typical. She became the 10 millionth beneficiary on Thursday. She is 36 years old, the widow of a World War II hero, and the mother of a girl 10 and a boy 7. She will receive the maximum family benefit, $200 a month. This will last until December 1964, when the girl will turn 18 years old. Then, if she does not remarry, she will receive a monthly pension of $80.50 for life.

Will the critics of the social security system, if there are any still hiding behind the bushes, say that this $200 a month, part of which the deceased father and husband helped to pay for, is not being well spent to keep Mrs. Gavin and her children together? Will they say that the 7,420,000 retired workers and dependents and the 2,580,000 survivors of insured workers who are receiving Social Security benefits at the present time should not have got such benefits but should have been shunted to relatives (if any) or sent to institutions or be forced to live on one kind of private charity or other?

It is as Mr. Folsom said when he presented the 10,000,000th check to Mrs. Gavin and her little family: "We do not have to accept economic distress as inevitable." It also is as President Eisenhower said in a personal letter to Mrs. Gavin: "This money is not charity. In his daily work, out of his regular wages, your husband earned the monthly checks which will be coming to you while your children are growing to maturity. You can accept them proudly. By his employment, Mr. Gavin helped to achieve financial security for his family."

The argument that social security payments would undermine individual initiative has long since been scuttled. For it is plain that a family like the Gavins will not have its self-reliance undermined by a payment of about $50 a week. Mrs. Gavin—and the youngsters, as they approach 18—will be alert to every opportunity to augment their social security payments, and the incentive to do so will become even greater when Mrs. Gavin's stipend is reduced to $80.50 a month.

There is another point to be made in favor of the system. Sylvia Porter, who writes on economic and financial matters for the Times and many other newspapers, made it one day last week. Month after month personal incomes rise in the United States. They rise, principally, not because of wage and salary increases, not because of higher stock dividend payments, but primarily because of the amount of money being poured into the economy by the Federal Social Security System. Payments to beneficiaries now total more than a half billion dollars a month.

Social security has proved itself a blessing not only to millions of individual Americans but also to the American economy as a whole. It may be suspected that only the most foolhardy politician would, at this stage of its development, seek to undermine it.

Our Flag, by John Lynch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, since today is Flag Day, it is most appropriate that I bring to the attention of my col-

leagues in the House an inspirational poem on Old Glory which has been written by a friend and constituent of mine, Mr. John Lynch, 196 Grove Avenue, Leominster, Mass.

Mr. Lynch pays a fitting and proper tribute to our flag—the symbol of hope and freedom not only in our own United States, but throughout the whole world—and I ask unanimous consent that his poem be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The text follows:

OUR FLAG

Sweet emblem of democracy
Our debt is limitless to you;
No mark for aristocracy
Upon your red, or white, or blue.
You've raised a num'rous progeny,
How fast, beneath your folds, they grew.
This multitude, in harmony,
Would gladly give each life for you.

CHORUS

Our hopes shall ever cling to thee,
To guard us here from tyranny.
And help to spread democracy
O'er every land and sea.
Until the very end shall be
Our hopes shall ever cling to thee.

Your majesty with modesty
Proclaims a great—an honest trend,
You aim to make each world state
A loving and a steadfast friend.
You aim to make each child you guard
A king:—as is his rightful due.
He will—if e'er your cloth be marred
Unsheath a heart and soul for you.

—JOHN LYNCH.

Weather Bureau Hopes for Control of Weather

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present herewith the address of Dr. Francis W. Reichelderfer, Chief of the Weather Bureau, Department of Commerce, to the 44th annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, held in Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957. This is a most interesting and provocative address, and is as follows:

THE WEATHER BUREAU'S PROGRAM: NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SEVERE STORM WARNING AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE NATIONAL METEOROLOGICAL SERVICE

(By Dr. Francis W. Reichelderfer, of Indiana; Chief, Weather Bureau, Department of Commerce)

The letter of March 1, 1957, to all members of the Congress from your executive vice president mentions several meterological conditions of interest to this congress—droughts, destructive floodwaters, hurricane studies, weather control, and conservation of water resources. The work of the Weather Bureau relates directly or indirectly to all of these and to many more weather phenomena of interest and concern to you and to the general public. In fact, foul weather conditions of one kind or another cause property damage and losses in the United States in excess of a billion dollars annually. Storms and floods are responsible also for much loss of life. The problems of this congress are greatly simplified and reduced in cost when we are able to "do something about the weather." There are two general ways of doing something about it through the meteorological approach. They are (1) prediction of weather so that people can plan accordingly and take precautionary measures to prevent losses, and (2) control of the weather.

Much is being done about predicting the weather, and much is being said but little done to control it. In the few minutes available here recent progress in these two broad approaches will be summarized.

THE NATIONAL HURRICANE RESEARCH PROJECT

About 2 years ago the United States Congress provided funds specifically for the first large-scale research program toward full understanding of the origin, development, movement and dissipation of hurricanes. This is an intensive and highly cooperative undertaking now centered at West Palm Beach under the national hurricane research project. The United States Air Force operates specially equipped aircraft—two B-50's and one B-47—for penetration into the centers of hurricanes with weather observers aboard. In addition to these, there are hurricane reconnaissance flights by Air Force and Navy aircraft which furnish vital information for the regular hurricane warning services as well as for research. Central and northern South American countries are cooperating in upper air soundings for this project, and many other organizations, including university research institutions, are contributing to this all-out effort to find solutions to the problems of tropical cyclones. Real progress has been made and during the coming hurricane season we expect to gather basic data inside hurricanes so that the mechanics of their development can be thoroughly analyzed and fundamental knowledge obtained for design of better procedures for forecasting the formation and movement of these storms and for determining whether they have vulnerable spots that would permit some measure of deflection, modification or control. This national hurricane research project is a very important work and we are trying to do everything possible to attain solutions to the meteorological problems of hurricanes.

FORECASTING DESTRUCTIVE FLOODWATERS

For many years specific predictions of flood stages in the major river systems have served to reduce greatly the loss in life and property that occur whenever populous localities are inundated without warning. Flood warnings, like hurricane warnings, depend for their effectiveness on cooperation of many agencies—the Coast Guard, the Corps of Engineers, the Geological Survey, the Weather Bureau and many others. In recent years the organization for flood warnings has been extended upstream and into some of the smaller tributaries. Development of radar apparatus for storm detection opens new possibilities for flash-flood warnings. The radar provides continuous and comprehensive survey of rainfall over a radius of 150 miles or more and fills in the great gaps in observations and immediate reports of heavy rainfall—gaps that were unavoidable when we had to rely wholly on local weather observers. This system of flood warnings is being extended and improved as rapidly as available funds and personnel permit.

The growing industrial and agricultural needs for water and the continuing development of inland water transportation will be served in part by further improvements in the network of radar storm warning stations. The potential uses of radar in analysis of meteorological conditions and forewarning of severe local storms are just coming to be realized. By means of the radar the weather observer can now "see" through intervening clouds and haze and penetrate in view right to the core of the severe local storm even though it is 100-200 miles away. Future research will improve this equipment for use in measuring the amount of rain falling at remote points within range of the radar. It will speed up flood forecasting and provide more hours of warning that often mean the difference between safety and great loss of life and property. Disasters in recent years from floods in localities beyond the reach of present flood warning stations give tragic evidence of this conclusion. The radar network and the improved rainfall warning services and related hydrologic programs of the Weather Bureau open the way for more positive control of water resources and for better water management in operation of reservoirs, power stations, navigable waterways, irrigation systems and recreation areas. Some indication of these future possibilities is given in the seasonal water supply forecasts published by the Weather Bureau in some of the Western States where a major source of irrigation water is from snowmelt in the high Rockies.

DROUGHTS

In the United States weather seems destined to bring figuratively, if not literally, either "feast or famine." Many of the regions in our Southwest that have suffered for 5 years or more from desiccating droughts have in recent weeks become disaster areas because of floods. Weather records show that rainfall in the Midwest and Southwest as far back as history goes has alternated between very dry periods and very wet periods. Present patterns of atmospheric circulation and resulting rainfall indicate that we have entered one of the wetter periods although its duration cannot be predicted with certainty. Very much more fundamental research in meteorology is necessary to discover the ultimate causes of these large-scale shifts in air currents often of hemispherewide scope. Rainfall so far this year has relieved most of the localities that suffered from acute water shortage for several years, but this is not a permanent cure for water shortages in the United States. This Congress knows very well the growing problems of water resources in the face of industrial expansion and ever-increasing needs for water by the growing population of the country. This leads to the subject of weather control and rainmaking. But I do not offer this as the solution. Other more tangible means must be developed.

RAINMAKING AND WEATHER CONTROL

This subject is so involved in technical and scientific questions and is so shrouded with uncertainties and misinterpretations at the present time that it would take hours just to summarize the past experimentation in weather control and the possibilities and complexities of its present status. Millions of dollars have gone into rainmaking experimentation. Suffice to say here that most of the claims to weather modification on a phenomenal scale are without substantiation. An excellent summary of conclusions from cloud seeding and rainmaking operations in many parts of the world was published on May 20, this year, by the American Meteorological Society, largest organization of meteorologists in the world. In essence it states that there is no reason to believe that cloud seeding is a cure for drought and that although statistical evaluation indicates a 10-20 percent increase in rainfall under certain special circumstances on the up-slopes of mountains, there is little evidence of increase in rainfall by artificial means over the Great Plains; in fact, the evidence may be taken to indicate that seed-

ing decreased rainfall almost as frequently as it might have increased it. Most tests show no practical results. A few studies have indicated the possibility of suppression of clouds that develop into severe hail storms but this subject needs far more research to be certain of the causes and effects. On one point practically everyone engaged in study and experimentation in weather control appears to be agreed, namely, the urgent need for well-designed and thorough research in fundamentals of cloud physics and quantitative precipitation theory.

NUMERICAL WEATHER PREDICTION

The revolutionary advances in meteorology made possible by the weather radar have been mentioned briefly. Another major advance is represented in use of electronics computers for analyzing and predicting the major circulation patterns of the atmosphere by numerical processes. (Brief historical background.) The significance of this development is readily seen in the fact that the hundreds of thousands of different parcels of air that make up the general circulation and determine the weather each day are far too numerous and complex for man to comprehend by mental process alone. For the past 2 years the numerical weather-prediction unit at Suitland, Md., supported jointly by the Air Force, Navy, and Weather Bureau, has produced a 72-hour prognostic chart every day. In doing this the computer goes through more than 80 million additions, subtractions, etc., each day. Many meteorologists believe that the science is at the threshold of a breakthrough in knowledge of the atmosphere and its behavior through the research made possible by the electronic computer and its mathematical treatment of the mechanisms of the earth's atmospheric circulation. The computer is a sort of wind tunnel for which meteorology has long felt a vital need. It offers the hope for digesting and understanding the changes in atmospheric patterns which are translated locally into the millions of different varieties in weather conditions that occur over the surface of the earth every day.

The computer also promises to be the key to determining whether man really wants to live with the consequences of large-scale weather control. It would take too long to talk about this aspect of meteorology to the extent that it deserves. There is little doubt that it is or soon will be within the capabilities of man through the use of his available sources of nuclear power or through other means for changing the radiation balance in the atmosphere, to bring about at least some modification of weather and climate. But in many cases, it would be robbing Peter to pay Paul. For example, if huge quantities of dust were scattered in Arctic regions for the purpose of modifying the vast cold air masses that bring killing frosts to parts of our country, this action would doubtless also reduce the amount of rainfall received by some of our Southern States, and by the coastal lands of the Mediterranean, and so on. Development of the electronic computer in research into these questions is an essential step in determining the possibilities and the desirability of large-scale weather modification.

These remarks do not mean that weather modification is completely lacking in beneficial, practical uses. There are possibilities but their development and their practical utility have been delayed by a flood of exaggerated and unsubstantiated claims during the past 5 years—claims that rainfall and other results have been produced artificially in cases where these have resulted wholly from natural causes. It is time that the delays in development of meteorology and its practical applications were ended by more fundamental and thorough research programs.

LONG-RANGE WEATHER FORECASTING

This is an old and ever-pressing problem. Progress is being made but it is slow because of the many unknowns in the atmosphere. If there were time the principal difficulties could be described but I shall only summarize by saying that here again the numerical weather computer with the possibilities indicated a few moments ago, and with data to be gathered during the forthcoming international geophysical year, together with other sources of new knowledge gives us reason to expect some real progress in extended range forecasting through future research.

THE INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR

The program of the international geophysical year promises much in basic data and advancement of meteorology. As just stated, the electronic comuuter and other recent developments in meteorology hold the key to treatment of the data and solution of some of the urgent problems in weather science. Together with other meteorological agencies, the weather bureau is carrying on an expanded research program.

THE WEATHER BUREAU'S PROGRAM

In addition to these research programs, the bureau continues the regular daily services with which most of you are very well acquainted, the agricultural meteorological service, the aviation weather service, the forest fire-warning service, the marine weather service, the climatological service, the hydrological service, and the several services of severe local storm, hurricane and cold wave warning. I wish there were time to describe the great improvements during the last few years in the severe local storm warning system. The so-called SELS unit of the weather bureau centered at Kansas City and the Severe Weather Warning Service of the Air Force, one of the pioneers in this development and now operating jointly with the SELS unit of the weather bureau, have brought advances that are well demonstrated by the tornado warnings in recent days.

The Patient Marines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, it has become the practice of late to become highly critical of the Marine Corps, a great fighting outfit.

I think the editorial by Mr. E. L. Burgess, editor of the East Bay Labor Journal, appearing in that publication under date of June 7, is worth while preserving. I therefore include it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I commend the reading to my colleagues:

THE PATIENT MARINES

The marines have often been accused of being unnecessarily tough, but if Marine Col. W. E. M. Williams, of Treasure Island, was responsible for the restraint shown in handling the Negro enlisted man who had killed a Navy officer, then Colonel Williams deserved some kind of a medal honoring humanitarianism and profound political tact.

You've all read about it, how the enlisted man suddenly went beserk, shot and killed an ensign, and then for some 6 hours refused to give up the murder weapon, while Navy and Marine officers pleaded with him to surrender. And all the while the guns of Navy men and marines were aimed at him from many quarters—he could have been riddled with bullets at any moment.

It gives any American new pride in the Navy and in the Marines to think of the humane spirit, good discipline, and political wisdom shown during those long, very long 6 hours. Just what the People's World will make of it as it actually happened one wouldn't know, but what they and all the other Commie publications in the world would have made of it if the "natural" thing had been done, that is, just to shoot the offender down, it's easy to imagine. It would have been played up all over the world as one more instance of "racist chauvinism," the murdering of a poor wronged Negro.

Organized labor, with its long campaign for the fair treatment of the poor and lowly, should claim some indirect credit for this wonderfully civilized performance. For despite all our failings, we have on the whole through our unions influenced the whole tone of our society wherever the relationship of commander and command, superior and subordinate, exists. This change of tone has undoubtedly affected the armed services as well as all other elements of our society.

Soviet Deportation of Baltic Peoples in 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the brave but unfortunate people of the three Baltic countries—Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians—have had long histories. But fate was most cruel to them in 1940. In that year these three countries, once the secure home of rising young democracies, were forcefully annexed to the Soviet Union and many hundreds of thousands of their inhabitants were uprooted from their homes. These innocent and helpless victims of the Soviet Union's aggression of 1940 are still suffering in some distant and desolate corner of the Soviet prison empire.

Since then the free world has heard practically nothing about them except from those few who have had the extraordinary luck to escape. And the fate of millions of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians in their homeland is not much better. If they were not deported, they certainly suffered much privation and hardship during the war, and are still suffering under the unrelenting tyranny of Soviet communism. We have even heard that the native population of the coastal areas of these countries were moved to the interior in order to make room for Asiatic people brought in to settle there. Outrageous and almost unbelievable this may sound, yet the deliberate policy of the Soviet Union seems to be to colonize these frontiers exposed to the West with people from other parts of the Soviet Union. This of course adds to the misery and suffering of the native population, but since they are living in

what is little more than a concentration camp, it is not surprising.

We in the West are fully cognizant of these heart-rendering facts. We are well aware of the sad fate that befell to those deportees and of the unbelievable lot of those who are living in the three Baltic countries. I wholeheartedly sympathize with their unfortunate lot, and ardently hope that soon a way will be found to ameliorate their lot and free these deserving citizens of the free world.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the civil-rights bill, H. R. 6127. I am opposed to all amendments which would weaken this measure, including the so-called trial-by-jury amendment.

It has been claimed by the opponents of this bill that its purpose is to deprive citizens of constitutional rights by punishing them without a jury trial. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The purpose of this bill is very simple: It is to guarantee the sacred constitutional right to vote of every citizen by preventing attempts to deprive them of their vote, rather than waiting to punish the offenders when it is too late to give the victims back the vote that they have lost. The bill seeks to punish no one. It is only those who would willfully defy the protective orders of the Federal courts who would choose to subject themselves to punishment for their misdeeds.

I trust that this amendment will be soundly defeated and that this House, and this Congress, will then go forward to enact a measure which will go a long way to protect our citizens, wherever they may live and whatever their race or religion, in their inalienable right to cast their ballot in freedom and dignity.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, Prepared for Delivery Before Tennessee Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I had prepared for delivery before the Tennessee Bar Association at its meeting on last Friday. Because I was detained in the Senate so that I could vote on the mutual security bill, I could not be present to deliver it.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY ESTES KEFAUVER, DEMOCRAT, TENNESSEE, BEFORE THE BAR CONVENTION, CHATTANOOGA, TENN., JUNE 14, 1957

It is a great pleasure for me to meet today with the Bar Association of Tennessee. I have always liked to be among lawyers. When I was a very small boy my father owned the only hotel in the great city of Madisonville, Tenn. All the lawyers used to stay there, when there was a session of court, and I used to sit on the porch and listen to them spin their tales of courtroom lore. It was then that I decided to be a lawyer.

You have asked me to speak with you today on the subject of the importance of lawyers in Government. The degree and depth of that importance may be measured by a number of indications.

First of all, I want to point out that the majority of our Nation's founders were lawyers. With their unparalleled foresight, they planned and executed a civil bible for all Americans. Their work has well withstood the tests that time has applied. Lawyers, as a profession, meeting in the Constitutional Convention, were the leaders in the founding of our way of life. Lawyers, as a profession, are today trustees of the rights which their predecessors wrought.

The people look to you for leadership. Not only do they accept the fact that you supply the leadership, but they expect you to live up to the heritage first formulated by the men who founded our Nation. This entails more obligations than those of any other profession. You are a group set apart.

As proof of the continuing importance of lawyers in government during our modern day, I offer the evidence that today 60 percent of the Members of the Senate of the United States are lawyers. This should serve as a warning, as well as a compliment, to the profession. If the country is really going to the dogs, as some claim, then with this preponderance of lawyers in the Senate, the people will know where to place the blame.

They can blame the lawyers.

On the other hand, if you are essentially optimistic, as I am, then you must agree that a large part of the credit for whatever good is accomplished by our Government must go to the legal profession.

The burden of my few words with you here today is a plea for lawyers, both inside and outside the Government, to adopt the same principles that those early members of our profession held with regard to a free exchange and interchange of ideas. In my library at home I have a book which I frequently pick up in the evening and read a few passages from. It is Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention. It is impressive to note that among our Founding Fathers no idea was too hot to discuss rationally. I don't believe their work would have endured, as it has, if these predecessors of ours in the Constitutional Convention had been afraid of new ideas and free discussion of them. Running throughout the pages of this journal is the evidence of a devotion that is almost fierce to freedom of discussion and to the free search for ideas, and freedom of speech.

I fear that we have become much more timid as our Nation has progressed. On a Sunday afternoon not long ago, I took Nancy and the children on a drive to the home of one of these members of the Convention—Monticello. It is always an exciting thing for me to visit the home of this man who showed in everything he did a genius which is born only of intellectual curiosity. Whenever I step across the threshhold of Thomas Jefferson's home, I feel that here is a man in whose company I would have liked to spend a long evening before the fireplace. His consuming curiosity—about the law, about philosophy, about government, about the weather—showed that here lived one of the really vital men of any time.

Do you remember the words from Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural address—those wonderful words that expressed so well his devotion to the principles of liberty, even for those with whom he disagreed? At the time of Jefferson's first inaugural we were not far removed from the Revolutionary War. Many still lived in the then infant Republic who had sided with the British during that war. And we were a small Nation, just a handful of States, with the ocean to our faces and a vast wilderness to our backs—a small and weak Nation.

Yet Jefferson, unlike some men of little faith today, defended the good common sense of allowing anyone to speak freely. He said:

"If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Let us consider what Jefferson's words mean to us today in our relationship to the rest of the world, and especially to the Communist nations. In our relationship with communism the dangers of ignorance have reached a high point. There are some who believe most strongly that our way of life would be contaminated by contact with the Communist ideology. And so they objected to the appearance on a CBS program a couple of weeks ago of Mr. Khrushchev. In their view we Americans are so soft and undiscriminating that we are unable to distinguish what is good from what is bad for our Nation.

I say that this is an incredible view. I say we can talk with the Russians and also with the Chinese Communists without succumbing to evil or getting the worst of the bargain. Indeed, I see no alternative but to be aware of what is going on in the world. We need not fear facts. We need fear only ignorance of them or indifference to them. We must reaffirm our faith in the people of the United States and their ability to decide what is best for themselves.

Only yesterday I was talking with Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, the distinguished majority leader of the Senate. Senator JOHNSON made a speech last week in which he proposed, now that the way had been paved by Khrushchev's appearance, that the curtain be lifted further. He proposed that there be agreements for periodic broadcasts in both the Soviet and the United States, with Soviet leaders appearing on the American stations and American leaders having the opportunity in turn to visit Soviet homes through television.

We have nothing to fear from this," Senator JOHNSON said to me. "The only man who has anything to fear is Khrushchev."

That is true. We are not afraid for the facts of American life to be exposed to the Soviet or anyone else. We have nothing to hide. I was glad to note that Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, the Republican leader, endorsed this proposal, and that Secretary Dulles also had kind words to say about it.

On the other hand, the Secretary objects to American newspapermen going into Communist China to report for American newspapers. This is the very opposite of a properly informed policy. These American reporters will not be there as agents of this or any other Government. They would be there simply to report to you and to me what is going on in China. We have a right to know. The Chinese have said they may enter. We have said they may not. We need not be afraid to know the truth. We need be afraid only not to know the truth.

As Jefferson further said: "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

Education is the meaning of freedom under law. Informed public opinion, the greatest law enforcer of all, can come only from those who understand the problems we face. We must never forget that if we are able to give the people light, they will find their own way. Each day we are called upon to make our decisions. They cannot be honestly arrived at without deep thought and searching debate in the marketplace of ideas. And this thought and debate are made useful and informed through knowledge.

So it is with other areas of intellectual darkness. One of these is atomic power. With so many conflicting statements from the scientists, those who are supposed to know, it is difficult to be able to talk about this deadly weapon without becoming emotional. Yet it is a subject which requires the most careful and considered thought, not only among the higher echelons of technical opinion, but also down on the level of the little people, for they have as much to lose as anyone.

Yet fear and ignorance of the magnitude of such power have tried to force logical thought right out of our minds. We know so little about the dangers of fallout, and so little about the possibilities of creative peacetime applications of this enormous energy that we refuse to consider these problems as our own. But we must consider them our own, for that is what they are.

Part of this dangerous lack of information and the anxiety it breeds is due to the recent epidemic of secrecy which has found its way into our Government. Some of the operations of our Defense Department are necessarily conducted away from the public eye for obvious reasons.

But it is another matter when nonsensitive agencies adopt these same policies for no better reason than saving themselves possible embarrassment. In this category I would place much of the State Department's recent dealings in the Middle East. Some of you may recall the controversy growing out of the shipment of American tanks to Saudi Arabia, and the complete blank that Congress drew when it attempted to learn some details of the Eisenhower doctrine.

This habit has invaded the domestic affairs of our country as well. Any day in Washington you can find officials protecting the people from information which might upset them.

One of these issues is public power. I have seen the stamp of secrecy under many different forms—executive privilege, secret trades, restricted reports. We went all through that in Dixon-Yates. We are going through it again in Hells Canyon. I sometimes wonder how we were able to find out as much as we have.

It is too easy to form an opinion grounded on personal bias, insufficient interest and slanted evidence. The most dangerous aspect of this is that opinions so formed are often more powerful than those based on careful inspection of the facts, impartiality, and truth. Some of these conflicts are so basic that the mere mention of the phrase which identifies them is enough to set off a chain reaction of reflexes. Try this test on the phrase "civil rights." You will get an emotional, not a rational, reaction. Minds on both sides have been closed, and are reluctant to open, even to hear the most logical and reasonable arguments.

Ignorance may be bliss, but bliss is not the aim of a progressive and intelligent people. We cannot think straight with insufficient knowledge, but the problems confronting us in a modern world require us to learn and keep learning. We must always seek the better solution, the newer method, the greater advance.

These principles are self-perpetuating. Knowledge breeds thought; thinking leads to the conception of new ideas; new ideas result in the search for more knowledge.

For my part, I cast my belief with that of Woodrow Wilson. He said that if you give the people the facts, then they will come up with the right answer. You lawyers have a great responsibility in seeing that this is done.

Lawyers are to truth what doctors are to health, and this is your province. You must lead the way in maintaining an open mind. You must provoke the search for facts. You must encourage full and free discussion. Applying the rules of law and evidence to everyday life, you can offer leadership by example.

Resolution of Sons of the Republic of Texas on the Death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the executive committee of the Sons of the Republic of Texas, a distinguished patriotic organization in my State, recently adopted an In Memoriam resolution regarding the late Senator McCarthy.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN MEMORIAM

The United States has lost a devoted patriot and a militant fighter for Americanism in the untimely death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. He fought valiantly for his country on the battlefields of the Pacific as a marine officer during the Second World War. As a Member of the United States Senate and chairman of that august body's committee charged with investigating subversive activities, he revealed to America's millions the menace of communism and its insidious efforts to undermine our institutions of freedom. So intense was his love for America that he willingly sacrified health and political future to fight for the preservation of the principles on which this great country was founded.

Appearing under auspices of the San Jacinto Chapters, Sons and Daughters of the Republic of Texas, Senator McCarthy gave an inspiring address on Americanism at the battlefield of San Jacinto, April 21, 1954, anniversary of that decisive battle which won independence for Texas. Some 12,000 Texans were present for the occasion, and newspapers, radio, and television carried his message to millions throughout the country.

The executive committee of the Sons of the Republic of Texas, meeting Sunday, May 5, 1957, in the Driskill Hotel at Austin, Tex., noted with sorrow the passing of this great American and by resolution authorized the secretary-treasurer and president to draft this memorial for presentation to his widow and to the Senate of the United States.

THE SONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS,
ANDREW DILWORTH, *President.*
FRANK E. TRITICO, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Address by Hon. Chapman Revercomb, of West Virginia, Before Disabled American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered yesterday before the Disabled American Veterans in their West Virginia State convention, at Charleston, W. Va.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am happy to meet with you on the occasion of your 27th convention, for I count it a privilege to address those who have made such heroic sacrifices for their country, and who continue to labor in the interest of the Nation's security and the preservation of human liberty and freedom.

Certainly, no group of American citizens is more deeply conscious of the responsibility that rests upon the United States than those assembled here. That responsibility is thrust upon America because of our high concern for the preservation of the kind of life which has been our heritage and which you yourselves have defended so valiantly. Our security must be a primary concern as we seek in every way possible to avert open strife.

It is my conviction that our best assurance of preventing a catastrophic atomic war lies in a powerful defense force and real military alliances with friendly nations.

I need not remind you that nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them with fabulous speed over vast distances have produced a revolutionary change in our affairs. Never before has our country faced the potential danger that confronts us today and will continue to, so long as great atomic power is concentrated in the hands of a potential enemy bent on world domination.

Modern science of warfare, therefore, has left this country with but one alternative: To maintain sufficient military strength to deter aggression. Moreover, Communist aims have forced us to provide not only ourselves with strong defenses, but to extend our defense line beyond our borders into other lands.

I need not remind you that the United States is the only free nation with sufficient strength to lead in prevention of enemy domination of the world. Therefore, we must make use of this strength to deter would-be aggressors from starting a war—a war that would inevitably involve this country and threaten the destruction of civilization, our own included.

It is my conviction that if the United States took any other course, we would see one friendly nation after another fall.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that this threat exists today, and we know quite well that, left standing alone, this country, with all its power, resources, and industrial potential, would have an exhausting experience to try to remain a free nation for long.

Nearly every American is convinced, I believe, that the leaders of this country are dedicated to the task of achieving conditions in the world that will lead to peace. In his second inaugural address, the President said it is our firm purpose to build a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails. I quote his words: "The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy; to serve it will be hard; and to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning and ready to pay its full price."

The price we are paying for today's uncertain peace is high. More than 60 percent of the Federal budget is for our protection. But the price of war is many times higher, not only in dollars but in a far more priceless possession—the lives of Americans. I say to you in all sincerity that we must not lessen our efforts at a time when the western world is growing stronger and the danger of war is receding.

Our defense dollars are being spent not only for our present protection but for insurance for the future. We must think of them as buying time—time to work toward easing the international tensions, time to establish a more certain and secure peace. As long as there is loose in the world a country or a power that would destroy us, we must remain geared to meet it with force, if need be. If we falter at this point, or lessen our efforts, we run a grave risk of losing everything we hold dear.

I do not like or prefer this policy which we now must pursue; but I do not like the world situation that has necessarily brought it forth. We do not like impending danger, but we cannot ignore prevailing facts. We must act with wisdom in the light of realities. Failure to do so would bring disaster.

Therefore, the interest of our own security and self preservation, we must continue military alliances with friendly nations. We

should, I believe, out of necessity, continue military aid to our allies. But the time has come when economic aid must be placed on a loan basis.

It is heartening to me, and I know it must be satisfying to you, to know that the Mutual Security Act now before Congress provides for a development loan fund for development assistance to those friendly nations in need of economic help.

I have urged time and again that economic aid, when necessary to other lands, be in the form of sound business loans—and it must come as heartening news to Americans throughout the length and breadth of this land to know that at last Congress is recognizing the fact that while we want security, we also have a regard for our own people, their property, and their money.

Direct military aid to allies will continue. But, loans to friendly nations requiring economic aid is far better than grants, handouts, or giveaways. This is far better for the American people, and it is far better for the people receiving such assistance. There is still contained in the bill direct gifts in some instances—but a new and wholesome step has at last been taken—and I hope to see soon all economic help abroad upon a secure and sound loan basis as we now provide for development operations in the present bill.

There is increasing evidence that, together with our present allies, we are growing stronger all the time and may soon reach the point where would-be aggressors will not dare risk war.

This is the whole aim of our foreign policy. As to defense measures, I believe it to be a sound one. It has kept this country out of a shooting war for more than 4 years. It has undoubtedly kept some of our allies from falling to communism.

As the anti-Communist alliance grows stronger, as the danger of war recedes, we all look forward to the time when the billions we are now spending for defense can be diverted to internal improvements in our own country, or turned back to the people in the form of tax relief.

I am convinced, however, that the best way to avert war is to maintain strong defenses and firm military alliances until the present international tensions have eased and the threat of aggression has diminished. Any other course could well lead to our downfall.

Judicial Selection and Tenure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, one of the most important duties of the Members of the Senate is that of the confirmation of judicial appointments. On May 10, 1957, at the mountain and plain regional meeting of the American Bar Association in Denver, the subject of Judicial Selection and Tenure was among the interesting matters under discussion.

By request of the bar association, Hon. William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General, delivered a very informative and brilliant address upon this topic. It contains a fine résumé, and in brief compares furnishes much information particularly valuable not only to members of the bar but of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUDICIAL SELECTION AND TENURE

(Address by William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General of the United States, before the mountain and plain regional meeting of the American Bar Association, Denver, Colo., May 10, 1957)

I appreciate very much your kind invitation to participate in this regional meeting of the American Bar Association. It provides an opportunity to renew old acquaintances and to talk over firsthand a number of matters of mutual interest. It was suggested that I discuss judicial selection and tenure today, and I am happy to accede to this suggestion.

As you may recall, the Judiciary Act of 1789 provided for a total of 19 Federal judges, distributed as follows: The Chief Justice of the United States, 5 Associate Justices for the Supreme Court, and 13 district judges, 1 for each district. No provision was made for circuit judges for the 3 circuit courts since they were to be composed of 2 Supreme Court Justices and 1 district judge, any one of whom would constitute a quorum. In 1802, Senator Breckenridge said: "The time will never arrive when America will stand in need of 38 Federal judges." Numerically, at least, the problem of judicial selection can hardly be said to have posed a serious problem at that time.

Obviously, when the President was called upon to make so few judicial appointments, there was no necessity for establishing any regular procedure for making recommendations concerning appointments. The problem was to find men willing to serve in view of the meager salary and the arduous requirement of riding circuit.

Such points of reference as there are disclose that President Washington sought counsel from members of the Cabinet generally. We know, however, that in 1793, Randolph, the first Attorney General, had been asked to prepare a list of candidates for the bench. He reported that one possible candidate "had no just pretensions to eminence"; another "was of indifferent elocution and his knowledge of the law scarcely placed him on the roll of fame"; one "was a good country court lawyer"; one "was clear in all respects save that he might have some connection with the land companies"; and another "was a valuable man of universal esteem and a much approved practitioner." Randolph cautioned President Washington not to appoint incompetent men stating: "If such an idea gains ground, the State judiciaries will inevitably make a stand against the Federal bench."

For a time, the Department of State was given the function of making recommendations to the President concerning all appointments. However, in 1853 at the instance of Attorney General Cushing, this function, insofar as it related to judges and law officers, was transferred to the Department of Justice where it has since remained. Even so, Attorney General Bates complained in 1863 that the Secretary of the Treasury had been instrumental in making appointments to many judicial vacancies without any reference to legal and judicial qualifications.

The making of recommendations for judicial appointments is not now, nor has it ever been, an easy task. There is an immense amount of work involved in the process of appraising possible appointees and in preparing the Attorney General's recommendation to the President. As Attorney General Wickersham said: "My function, in connection with the filling of judicial appointments is quasi-judicial in itself, and I must consider all the candidates without any commitment to any one of them." Mr. Brownell, at the very outset of his tenure as Attorney General, established a procedure, which he has followed consistently. It is designed to insure the selection of judges of the highest integrity and professional attainment.

Whenever a vacancy exists many individuals and groups, including United States Senators, submit recommendations in support of various lawyers for appointment to the vacancy. These recommendations and endorsements are all gratefully received, acknowledged and given careful consideration. At the same time the Department, through bar groups and governmental sources, initiates its own study in order to secure the best available person for the office.

Sometimes, persons wishing to become judges, make known their interest in person. Not long ago, a lawyer approached me on this subject and I asked him why a man with such a large and successful practice with so many substantial clients and retainers would want to give all that up. He thought a moment, and then said, "To be perfectly frank, I'm tired." This applicant got a high mark for frankness—but he flunked his attitude test.

For the most part, however, there is widespread recognition of the fact that the duties of a Federal judge today are difficult, time consuming, and burdensome.

When the list of qualified persons is complete, the process of recommending one who appears to merit appointment begins. This process is conducted by the Department of Justice under standards which President Eisenhower has affirmed and reaffirmed at his press conferences.

First, and most important, the candidate must be an outstanding lawyer and leader in the community from which he comes. Both his personal and professional reputation must be beyond reproach.

Second, the age and the health of the candidate must be considered. This policy is designed to provide the bench with men of vigor who are physically capable of carrying the heavy burdens now imposed on Federal judges.

Third, whenever a vacancy occurs in a circuit court or in the Supreme Court, the President has expressed his desire that outstanding judges should be carefully considered. While prior judicial experience is not essential and it is possible to argue that prior judicial experience may be of little or no value on the Supreme Court of the United States, I believe all appellate courts benefit if some of its members, at least, bring an understanding of the problems of a trial judge to the conference table.

Finally, President Eisenhower has stated that in connection with judicial appointments he places considerable weight on the recognition of the American Bar Association.

On February 16, 1957, the standing committee on Federal judiciary of the American Bar Association reported that "Your committee's relationship with the Department of Justice has never been better," and that the working arrangement is excellent. The Department has welcomed suggestions from the committee, and has granted the requests of the chairman for personal conferences whenever they have been requested.

At the request of the President, Supreme Court appointments are now referred to the American Bar Association for its recommendation. The report referred to this as a precedent shattering step forward of the utmost significance.

When a name is initially agreed upon, it is submitted to the Federal Bureau of In-

vestigation for a full field investigation covering the person's entire personal and professional life. At that time the name is also submitted to the judicial selection committee of the American Bar Association which makes a thorough inquiry into his professional attainments and judicial competence.

The results of these two investigations, together with all the other information which has come to the attention of the Department of Justice, are then carefully weighed, following which the Attorney General makes his recommendation to the President. This recommendation, which the Attorney General discusses with the President, contains a complete factual summary of the candidate's background and qualifications for the President's consideration. Quite frequently, President Eisenhower will talk personally with the candidate before submitting a nomination to the Senate.

There are, at present, 335 lifetime judgeships in the Federal judiciary. This total is made up of 9 Justices of the Supreme Court, 68 circuit court judges, 239 district court judges, 5 judges of the Court of Claims, 9 judges in the customs court in New York, and 5 judges in the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

In addition, pending legislation, which the Judicial Conference of the United States and the Department of Justice among others, are strongly endorsing, would create 39 new District judgeships and 3 new circuit judgeships for a total of 374 judgeships.

During the 83d and 84th Congresses (covering the 4 years of the first Eisenhower administration) 101 lifetime judicial appointments were made. There were 2 Supreme Court appointments, 23 appointments as circuit judges, 71 district judges, 1 judge of the Court of Claims, 2 judges to the Customs Court and 2 judges to the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. Eight additional appointments have been made thus far during the 1st session of the 85th Congress: 2 additional Supreme Court Justices, 1 circuit judge, 4 district judges and 1 judge of the Customs Court.

In 1953 over 80 percent of the Federal judges had been appointed during Democratic administrations. At the present time 61 percent of the judges were appointed during Democratic administrations.

Historically, and I suppose it will be true prospectively, each administration appoints principally from its own party. That, in practice, has not proven to be a serious weakness in the system of selections of Federal judges. The reason that the Federal court system has worked well is that Federal judges put aside all political consideration once they assume judicial duties.

Be that as it may, it would seem desirable as a matter of national policy to prevent a gross imbalance from occurring. Probably no fixed formula is practicable. However, I believe the public interest would be well served if the two major parties gave consideration to arranging some appropriate safeguard to prevent a gross imbalance from occurring in the Federal courts regardless of how long either party might be in office. It is my personal opinion that the 80–20 ratio is at least an undesirable imbalance.

The Constitution provides that judicial appointments shall be made "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." This means that the nominee must be confirmed by majority vote of the Senate. A tradition has developed over the years that if a nominee is not acceptable to the Senators of the State of residence, by senatorial courtesy the Senate will decline to consent to the appointment. Thus, the practice has grown up of seeking the advice of the interested Senators at an early stage of the selection process.

Many not fully informed as to how this procedure works assume that this practice results in the selection of persons who may be politically acceptable but professionally unqualified. This is not true. The Senators, too, are concerned in seeing that the best qualified candidates be selected because they share in the responsibility if the person selected turns out to be incompetent or unsuitable. Our experience on the whole has been that the Senators' main concern is that the man selected from his State have outstanding qualifications and be beyond reproach from every standpoint.

The Department's function—and sole function—is to make recommendations. But even being involved to a small degree in this function is enlightening. I am reminded of the story of the schoolteacher who asked her class if anyone knew who Socrates was. A small child raised his hand, and on being called on said:

"Socrates was an old Greek who went around giving advice and got himself poisoned for it."

A word about judicial tenure. The Constitution provides that "the judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior." This provision was adopted by the Constitutional Convention unanimously and for reasons most eloquently expressed in the Federalist:

"The standard of good behavior, for the continuance in office of the judicial magistracy, is certainly one of the most valuable of the modern improvements in the practice of government. * * * It is the best expedient which can be devised in any government, to secure a steady, upright, and impartial administration of the laws. * * * That inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the Constitution and of individuals, which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by a temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence."

The high esteem in which the judicial branch of our Government is now held proves the wisdom of the Founding Fathers in providing life tenure for Federal judges. The two major occasions when, for political reasons, attempts were made to undermine this constitutional provision only served to strengthen and add further justification to it.

Wholly in keeping with this concept, the Judicial Conference of the United States and the Department of Justice have recommended to Congress several legislative proposals concerning senior judges.

H. R. 3818, which passed the House on March 19 and is presently pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee, would amend section 371 (b) of title 28, United States Code, to designate a judge who takes advantage of the retirement provisions a "senior judge" rather than a "retired judge", and to provide a roster of senior judges who are willing and able to undertake special judicial duties upon assignment by the Chief Justice. This would mitigate the present feeling of many judges that by retiring they mark themselves as useless and no longer fit for public service even on a limited basis. It would create a status whereby mature, experienced, and respected senior judges may serve with distinction and perform selective but important public service in their judicial capacity.

H. R. 3391, as introduced in the House, where it is presently pending, would provide that a chief judge of a Federal circuit or of a Federal district court shall relinquish his administrative duties upon reaching the age of 70. This proposal gives recognition to the established fact that the daily administrative problems of the courts are difficult and exhausting and that senior judges should not be called upon to handle them in addition to normal duties.

H. R. 110, which passed the House on March 21, would provide that if a judge is eligible to retire and fails to do so, upon a certification of disability by the members of the appropriate judicial council, the President may appoint with Senate consent an additional temporary judge if he finds it necessary for the efficient dispatch of business.

It should be emphasized that none of the above proposals affect tenure. They merely take cognizance of the fact that judges are human, and that as they grow older, the law should take factor into account either in the form of reduced duties or enlarged temporary judicial manpower.

We are fortunate to live in a Nation which appreciates the precious values of law and order. We know that, in large part, these can be secured only as our courts are removed as far as possible from the passion of the moment, from politics, from partisanship, from prejudice, from personal or sectional interest of any kind whatever. Public confidence in the soundness of court decisions and in their integrity is the foundation of authority. Equal justice under law is preserved and strengthened as we approach the problems of judicial selection and tenure with these principles foremost in our minds.

Problem of Radioactive Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, not all the problems growing out of the atomic age have to do with the dangers of continued tests of nuclear weapons.

It is certain that we face a problem of the first magnitude, one destined to grow increasingly serious, in the safe disposal of the radioactive waste that is a byproduct of use of the atom.

The Waco (Tex.) News-Tribune recently published a very thoughtful editorial on this subject, one that is worthy of reading by all Members of the Congress. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIOACTIVE WASTE TO BE WORLD PROBLEM A LONG TIME

Right now there is considerable discussion over the atoms-for-peace program whose principle was enunciated some time ago by President Eisenhower.

Britain is engaged in building from 7 to 9 reactor powerplants to reduce dependency on imports of fuel, which in wartime would be reduced or cut off altogether.

In our own country controversy has been underway as to how, and by whom, insurance can be supplied against reactor accident.

But not yet has discussion reached a high point on what to do with atomic radioactive waste matter which is the byproduct of use of the atom.

As use grows this matter will increase, and thus become a problem of the first order, and so an international agreement will be necessary to insure safe and uniform methods of waste disposal by all governments.

It must be remembered that this tremendous radioactive byproduct is manmade, that its steady accumulation and increasing concentrations represent a danger, however remote in time, to mankind.

Recent estimates show that waste matter from atomic powerplants in 15 years will contain from 20 to 40 times as much radioactivity as now is being released by the bomb tests.

As of now this waste matter is placed in heavy concrete boxes and dumped at sea, or stored in stainless steel tanks deep beneath the ground. The Atomic Energy Commission appears reluctant to disclose how effective this method is.

Our Challenging Tomorrows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address by former Governor Pyle, of Arizonia, who is now Deputy Assistant to the President, which he delivered at Peoria, Ill., on Saturday, June 8, 1957, before the Bradley National Alumni Association.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR CHALLENGING TOMORROWS

(Address by Howard Pyle, Deputy Assistant to the President, delivered at Peoria, Ill., June 8, before the Bradley National Alumni Association.)

It's always a pleasure to be given such an opportunity as I am provided here tonight.

As I understand it, this is a family affair. This makes it a very special privilege to be invited to participate and I want you to know how much I appreciate it.

Most of you are here because you love this campus. You are proud of the contribution it has made. You treasure the memories that are associated with it, and you have a profound respect for the men and women whose associations with Bradley have made it what it is today—a distinguished institution dedicated to the very highest ideals of human purpose.

If you don't mind my saying so, I envy you many of the thoughts that are so rightfully yours tonight. In your separate ways you have more than earned these happy reflection. Likewise, however, the very fact that you are here either as members of the board of trustees, faculty leaders, graduating seniors, students, or alumni means that you cannot be satisfied with the status quo. The challenge of Bradley's tomorrows is almost certain to be more demanding than all of Bradley's yesterdays. This is good because otherwise the vigor that has characterized this outstanding school to date could very well be lost in the lackadaisical attitude of him whom the parable quotes as say: "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease—eat, drink, and be merry."

Since it is impossible to detach Bradley from the surging reality of what is going on around us, because Bradley is inevitably a part of that reality as is all education, permit me to remind you that within the last few days it has been predicted that the grandchildren of Americans "will live under socialism."

I don't believe this and neither do you, but it's dangerous to ignore what is implied here. To me it means that there is an aggressive, powerful force in the world that does believe this. Furthermore, it is a force that can be expected to lose no opportunity to prove it. This is the contest of these times and however remote it may seem to you here tonight on the campus of Bradley University in Peoria, Ill., it is a live burning issue on the horizon of our world.

At the Battle of the Pyramids Napoleon shouted to his troops: "Soldiers, 40 centuries are looking down upon you from the summit of the pyramids."

In this year of our Lord, more than 60 centuries are looking down on us from the scattered ruins of experimental failures in government.

Think of it, approximately 60 centuries of human history heavily studded with tyranny, conquest, militarism, lawlessness, mobmindedness, riot, persecution, oppression, and rebellion.

And, in all these years no government secured for its people: religious freedom, civil liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, security of individual rights, popular education, or universal franchise.

Not until the Republic, to which we pledge allegiance, began to function did any people solve the kind of problems we have solved and secure the basic privileges that had baffled philosophers and statesmen for ages.

True, now and then rays of light and hope appeared in Greece, Rome, Holland, Switzerland, England, and elsewhere, but nothing that even began to compare with what has happened under the Constitution of the United States of America. Here, within a century and a half of our beginnings we had won all of the seven fundamental privileges for which government is primarily organized.

In review it all seems quite simple, but lest we forget, the peoples of more than 60 centuries of formative struggle dreamed of it before we in our great good fortune finally realized it.

Does our response to the prediction I read for you a moment ago reflect a solid recognition of the fact that Socialism could and would, more likely than not, mean the end of the freedoms I have just enumerated? Is our response to this prediction an appropriate match for the 60 long bitter centuries of struggle that gave us the priceless heritage of freedom that is ours today?

Searching for the words that might describe the nature of the sacrificial forces that energized the pioneering of our forefathers, let's put it this way—the Puritans, finding no happiness in Anglican England or Calvinist Holland, migrated to the New World in 1620. Somehow they were different from their brethren in the mother country. In the wilderness of a new world they learned independence and self-reliance. They were hardy and energetic. Lazy people did not cross the ocean in those days. The colonists hated restraint. England didn't understand them. The government annoyed this new kind of citizen and they in turn annoyed the government. The bad feeling grew. The colonists took to arms and there followed 7 long, bitter, heartbreaking years of struggle for independence.

Only men who were deeply convinced of the rightness of their cause could have found the heart to make the valorous decision that came in June and July of 1776. Then, 181 years ago next July 4, the courageous Declaration of Independence became official and the fight for independence was on.

In retrospect it all sounds quite simple—but we forget perhaps that this was treason to the Crown of mighty England. Every man in the chamber of the steepled brick State House in Philadelphia that day understood that it meant life or death to the men who signed.

Mellow with his 70 years, Benjamin Franklin, the oldest man present, observed to a friend:

"The novelty of the thing deters some; the doubt of success others; the vain hope of reconciliation many."

The night before John Adams wrote to his wife: "I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure it will cost us to maintain this Declaration and support these States."

There were rich men present with great fortunes at stake.

There were appointees of the Crown present, whose influential positions were at stake.

One Francis Lewis was to live to see his home burning and hear the cries of his wife in prison.

John Hart of New Jersey was to see his farm wasted and his mills damaged.

Richard Stockton, a brilliant lawyer, loaded with honor already, was to die in total poverty from the hardships that were to come.

Lives—fortunes—honor.

All of it went on the block in the Declaration itself—and then the agony was compounded for 7 long years by the tortures of Lexington, Concord, Ticonderoga, Valley Forge, and the innumerable other equally bloody testing grounds of the Revolution.

More often than we like to remember defeat seemed inevitable, but always the unquenchable spirit of Washington stood guard over the cause of the colonists. Meanwhile, the diplomatic triumphs of the ingenious Benjamin Franklin produced the money it took to keep the cause alive.

Finally, victory, and the adoption of our famous Constitution, said to be the first of all written constitutions.

Little did those intrepid leaders in 1787 realize that they were fulfilling a destiny that was to make of this new land the living hope of free men everywhere.

It was the beginning of the end of experimental failures in government. No longer were tyranny, conquest, militarism for militarism's sake, lawlessness, mobmindedness, riot, persecution, oppression, and rebellion to be a threat to the general welfare. The foundations were laid for rights and privileges that no people had ever before known and enjoyed.

It didn't just happen any more than Bradley just happens to be what it is today.

More than 60 centuries of trial and error, injustice, bloodshed, shattered hopes and stumbling along from century to century went into it. Approximately 800 wars of varying significance and intensity rocked the centuries along the way. Civilizations rose and fell. The Dark Ages saw the church rise up out of the ruins of Rome. The lusty voices of Charlemagne and William the Conqueror led the way to the Crusades and the Magna Carta. Magellan and Columbus became unforgettable stars in an age of great discoveries. Napoleon stormed across the face of the earth while we were busy, busy with our reason for being, proof for the peoples of the world that at last we had found a basis for the seven fundamental privileges that had baffled philosophers and statesmen for ages: Religious freedom, civil liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, security of individual rights, popular education, and universal franchise.

It didn't just happen and what is even more important to our posterity, these classic and priceless privileges will not continue to secure the future welfare of our children unless we are as vigilant in their protection as our Founding Fathers were wise in creat-

ing the Republic that has guaranteed those freedoms.

Under the solid provisions for individual security that are inherent in our Republic the fruitful initiative of our citizens can continue to grow and grow. Our free enterprise system can continue to provide unparalleled opportunity for labor and management alike.

Our advances from the wooden spade to the tractor-drawn gang plow * * * from the ox-cart to the airplane * * * from the blacksmith shop to an incomparable genius for industrial production and so on through hundreds of equally significant transitions proves beyond the question of a doubt that our forefathers gave us the best form of government mankind has ever known.

But today, as 181 years ago, the challenge to believe in it—work for it—and if need be fight for it—still must have willing hearts and hands.

What would your reactions be if the press, the TV, and the radio were to announce to the world on Monday morning that the grandchildren of the great State of Illinois would find the campus of dear old Bradley University a shambles.

You would come out of your corners like the "Braves" that you are. In fact, I seem to remember that you did just this when a certain national magazine was thought to have neglected a certain championship basketball team not so long ago.

Why?

Because Bradley is your pride and joy. Her heroes are your heroes, both past and present.

Would that we had more of such college and university spirit in the big contest of our times where the latest prediction is that the grandchildren of Americans will live under socialism.

I am reminded that in this very city on October 16, 1854, the immortal Abraham Lincoln gave an immortal answer to all such observations. Said he: "If there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never entrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions."

In the light of this wisdom, compare, if you will, the results of the American Revolution in 1776 and the Russian Revolution of 1917. One produced for a deserving people religious freedom, civil liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, security of individual rights, popular education, and universal franchise.

Did Russia's deserving millions gain any such privileges?

On two blocks of granite that bound the main entrance of one of Washington's great buildings are chiseled these unforgettable words: "The past is prologue—study the past."

This we have done during these few minutes and to our mutual benefit, I hope. Briefly summarized, what we have been encouraging you to remember on this 60th anniversary of the founding of this great university constitutes a historic cycle that has too often ended like this: From bondage to spiritual faith, from spiritual faith to courage, from courage to freedom, from freedom to abundance, from abundance to selfishness, from selfishness to apathy, from apathy to dependency, from dependency back to bondage.

This is the answer we don't want to the prediction that America's grandchildren will live under socialism.

Now you know why I reminded you in the beginning that the challenge of Bradley's tomorrows is almost certain to be more demanding than all of Bradley's yesterdays.

From the college and university campuses of America must come the future of America and it must not fail to be worthy of the 60 centuries of struggle that gave us the Constitution of the United States.

Research Grant to Prof. Charles E. Dibble for Aztec Translation Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I received a letter recently from the distinguished head of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, Dr. Jesse D. Jennings.

In it he revealed such a unique appreciation of the work being done by our National Science Foundation that I wish to take this opportunity to call it to the attention of all Members of Congress, and others who may be interested.

Dr. Jennings particularly comments on a recent award to Utah's Prof. Charles E. Dibble, made by the foundation, which will enable him to complete a first full translation of 400-year-old documents revealing the history and customs of that great American people, the Aztecs.

But beyond the purely personal rewards that ensue to such a recipient as Professor Dibble, as valuable as they may be, Dr. Jennings notes aptly the far more widening values that such a grant may truly engender. For instance, in his letter written to me Dr. Jennings remarks in part:

Grants for chemistry, nuclear physics, higher mathematics, and similar fashionable studies are commonly associated with the National Science Foundation. Less dramatic but equally important studies like Professor Dibble's do not so often come to your notice.

My purpose, therefore, in writing to you is simply to express my appreciation, on both the personal and departmental level, to you and the rest of our national legislators for the continuing and increasing support which you give the National Science Foundation annually through appropriations * * *.

Mr. President, I feel Dr. Jennings' full letter deserves careful reading by all Members of Congress and therefore at this time request unanimous consent that it be printed as a part of my remarks in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH,
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY,
Salt Lake City, April 22, 1957.

The Honorable ARTHUR V. WATKINS,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WATKINS: We have just received word that Prof. Charles E. Dibble has been awarded a National Science Foundation research grant for a continuation of his Aztec translation work. Professor Dibble, of this department, has, in the past 10 years achieved worldwide notice in this very special study, a study to which he has dedicated all of his spare time since about 1946. The grant he has just received will permit him to finish the monumental task of translating Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's immortal General History of the Things of New Spain, the Nahuatl document of the history and customs of the Aztec people; the complete translation has never been attempted in the 400 years since the document was written.

The honor paid to Dr. Dibble's achievement through the award of the National Science Foundation grant will have far-reaching results over and above making available to scholars this ancient manuscript. First of all, Dr. Dibble's stature will increase and recognition of him will be extended. In consequence the department of anthropology and the University of Utah will gain prestige with a specialist of Dr. Dibble's strength on the campus.

But the long run advantages for the University of Utah students who work with Dr. Dibble throughout the rest of his teaching career are the greatest of all. His increased competence will enrich the technical skills and cultural appreciation of his students. My point is that this grant, apparently made simply to assist a scholar do a job, has many other overtones and implications which are not immediately apparent.

Grants for chemistry, nuclear physics, higher mathematics, and similar fashionable studies are commonly associated with the National Science Foundation. Less dramatic but equally important studies like Professor Dibble's do not so often come to your notice. My purpose, therefore, in writing to you is simply to express my appreciation, on both the personal and departmental level, to you and the rest of our national legislators for the continuing and increasing support which you give the National Science Foundation annually through appropriations.

There is no way to measure the full benefits and implications of these modest individual grants. I am sure that every scholar who receives a grant in any field of science brings new richness of subject matter and greater teaching skill to his work as will be true in Dr. Dibble's case. The Congress should take great pride in this program.

Sincerely,

JESSE D. JENNINGS,
Head, Department of Anthropology.

Mutual Interchange of Views and Philosophies Between the United States and the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on June 14, 1957, the noted author and political analyst, Samuel Lubell, contributed a letter to the editorial page of the New York Times which tends to support those who feel that there should be a mutual interchange of views and philosophies permitted between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Lubell has no patience with the backward administration attitude that the Columbia Broadcasting System interview of Mr. Khrushchev was a mistake. Mr. Lubell feels this afforded a splendid opportunity for President Eisenhower to ask Soviet officials to permit him to talk directly to the residents of Russia. Mr. Lubell, unlike the ad-

ministration, has faith that, in any such exchange, democracy's views would surely triumph.

Because the ideas expressed by Mr. Lubell synchronize so appropriately with the open air proposal voiced in New York City in a memorable speech by Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON on June 9, 1957, it is my request that Mr. Lubell's letter to the editor of the New York Times be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERVIEWING KHRUSHCHEV—FEAR THAT MISCHIEF WAS DONE BY TV PROGRAM IS REJECTED

(The writer of the following letter is a political reporter and author, whose latest book is The Revolt of the Moderates.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The reaction that has been stirred in this country by the CBS interview of Nikita Khrushchev is worth some calm analyzing.

Some critics, for example, have suggested that CBS should have followed the interview with a denunciation of Mr. Khrushchev's views. A number of political leaders, including the President, seem to feel the interview gave Moscow some insidious opportunity to propagandize the American people. The charge is being repeated that much mischief has been done.

Most of these reactions, it seems to me, reflect a feeling that Americans are fools or children.

In every election campaign since 1950 I have interviewed thousands of typical voters all over the country. The notion that the attitudes of the American people to Soviet Russia could be affected significantly by a single broadcast, or even a series of broadcasts, strikes me as almost incredible.

QUERY ON HUNGARY

Of course, the program gave Mr. Khrushchev a chance to try to be disarming and charming. But I think Daniel Schorr of CBS exposed the Khrushchev performance for what it was with the question whether Mr. Khrushchev felt the present Hungarian Government reflected the will of the Hungarian people. When Mr. Khrushchev blandly insisted that it did, he exposed himself. Letting Mr. Khrushchev lay himself bare was far more effective than to have denounced him after the interview.

One weakness in the CBS questioning was in their followup on Mr. Khrushchev's airy proposal that we and the Soviets should both withdraw our troops from Europe. The CBS interviewers should have pressed Mr. Khrushchev on just what the proposal meant. Did it mean that Russia was prepared to guarantee that the troops would not be moved back into the countries from which they had been evacuated? Also how the existence of a Germany divided in two was to be resolved so that it did not become a pretext for such reoccupation in the future.

Questions of that kind would have focused on the real difficulty that obstructs a troop withdrawal from Europe—how to bring into existence the conditions that are necessary so a troop evacuation would not encourage aggression.

On this score, however, in justice to the CBS interview, it should be pointed out that our own Government has not done much better in exposing the faults in Mr. Khrushchev's proposal.

The CBS interview did ask whether Mr. Khrushchev's proposal did not mean the Soviets would be withdrawing only a few miles, while the United States would be withdrawing across an ocean. Even with this question Mr. Khrushchev did not do too well. He responded by talking of the distances between Vladivostok to Poland, ignoring the Soviet garrisons stationed in East Prussia.

I must confess to being puzzled over the reasoning behind the White House's antagonism to the suggestion that the President of the United States be given a similar opportunity to speak to the Russian people. One can understand the doubts of our officials that the Soviet regime would permit the Rusian people to hear a direct, uncensored talk by the President, but surely in principle at least this is an opportunity that would be worth taking if it could be realized.

REPORT ON A-BOMB PROPOSAL

As far as I know, for evample, the Russian public has never been informed of the details of the original American proposal to give up the atomic bomb if an effective control could be established over atomic weapons. It would be worth something to make our true position known—the more the Soviets denounced the proposal afterward the more they would advertise the fact that we made this proposal.

The basis of any propaganda effort of this country should be first of all to make certain that we are right in the policy we are pursuing. If we are not right, we should change the policy. If we are right we ought to be able to explain it.

Instead of arguing among ourselves whether Mr. Khrushchev should have been permitted to say over television what he has repeated so often in speeches and printed interviews, should we not be asking ourselves why our officials could allow themselves to get so upset over so minor an incident? Is it that they have so little confidence in the essential rightness of our foreign policy? Is it that they have so little confidence in the good sense of the American public?

SAMUEL LUBELL.

NEW YORK, *June 12, 1957.*

St. Lawrence Electricity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial, published in the New York Herald Tribune, which deals with the need for action in Niagara power, and compares it with St. Lawrence power.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 17, 1957]

ST. LAWRENCE ELECTRICITY

The development of electric power in connection with the construction of the St. Lawrence Waterway has already brought considerable benefits to the north country. Construction has boomed in Massena, Ogdensburg, Potsdam, Carthage, and Watertown. Nearly 300,000 tourists visited the site of the power project last year and 500,000 are expected this year. There are new shopping centers, more service stations, an increase in the number of telephones and television sets, new hotels and motels—all indications of increased prosperity in the region since construction was started in 1954.

Yesterday's groundbreaking ceremonies for a new industrial complex based on St. Lawrence electricity in the Massena region constituted another step forward in increasing productivity. Power attracts industry, and because this new source of power is available the Reynolds Metals Co. is building an $88 million plant to produce aluminum, while the Chevrolet division of General Motors Corp. is building an adjacent $12 million foundry to cast the aluminum into parts used in manufacturing its automobiles. The Reynolds plant will probably employ 1,000 persons, the Chevrolet foundry an additional 700, a fact which will benefit all business in the area from grocery stores and soda fountains to such heavier industries as home construction.

These two facilities, of course, will not use all the power which will be generated at the first installation. Some of it will go east to the city of Plattsburgh, some of it even farther into Vermont. Eventually the transmission lines will be hooked up with those of the proposed Niagara power development plan to serve an area as far away as Pennsylvania. What has been accomplished here in providing more prosperity for New York State underlines the necessity of proceeding with the Niagara project, which thus far has been hamstrung by the refusal of Congress to designate an agency to develop the power. A compromise bill now pending in Congress apparently is acceptable to all concerned—the State power authority, the private electric companies, and the backers of cooperative users of electricity. The Massena development is an example of what can be accomplished in this field, and Congress should not delay in permitting the power authority to get going on the Niagara potential.

Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, we all talk much about high taxes. We are making every possible effort to cut Federal spending. While we are doing this, local governments and State governments are increasing expenditures. Local governments are asking grants from the State governments; State governments are asking grants from the Federal Government. In addition to the direct taxes, there are many hidden taxes. It would seem that it would be fair to the American public if all taxes were out in the open so the purchaser of an item, because he is really the one who pays the taxes, would know just what he is paying.

In a recent issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer there is a very good editorial on the subject, entitled "Those Painless Taxes."

The Washington Star of Sunday contains an editorial entitled "50,000 Hidden Taxes." I ask unanimous consent that these two editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer]

THOSE "PAINLESS" TAXES

Much is heard about cutting the Federal budget these days. But the Wall Street

Journal reports that half of the 48 States of the Union will probably increase their own taxes this year, in some cases by as much as 20 percent.

Municipalities, in many cases, are boosting their taxes, too. And, while most of these increases are going for education, we still hear complaints that we are not spending half enough for that purpose.

In any case, estimates now hold that the American taxpayer is now paying one-third of his entire income in Federal, State, and local taxes, with a lot going out in hidden levies which are supposedly "painless."

This drain on people's incomes is being met with backfires in some States. Nebraska and New Hampshire legislatures have passed resolutions calling for a halt in Federal aid to the States. They complain that matching fund requirements, as in the highway program, pushes many States into expenditures they can't afford. And, while States may refuse Federal aid, they hesitate to do so because the Federal taxes they pay for that purpose would then go entirely to other States.

So the cycle operates. The Federal Government gives aid to States. That pushes up Federal taxes. The States give aid to municipalities. That pushes up State taxes. This accounts for at least part of the jump in taxes all around. Thus even if the tax collector has to chase the taxpayer round Robin Hood's barn, he catches up in the end. And the longer the chase—the bigger the take seems to be.

[From the Washington Sunday Star of June 16, 1957]

FIFTY THOUSAND HIDDEN TAXES

An economist has estimated that there are at least 10,000 and probably 50,000 hidden taxes reflected in the cost of a 20-cent loaf of bread. This sounds farfetched, and the gentleman may have been kidding, although it isn't very funny.

The automobile provides a better example. If a $2,000 car is bought in Michigan the total tax on it would be $559.83. (The tax would be greater if purchased elsewhere because of the levy on shipping costs, etc.) Of this total, $71.02 would be direct taxes—the ones the buyer can see. The balance, $488.81, would be hidden taxes, and how many of these there are we don't pretend to know.

At a time when the total tax bite in this country is averaging about $600 a year for every man, woman, and child, it is possible to become a bit exercised about these so-called hidden taxes. One corporation president is demanding that all of them be brought out in the open so that the victim can know precisely what taxes he is paying. But perhaps this is not such a good idea. If the taxes have to be paid, perhaps it is better to leave the hidden ones in hiding. At least, it is less painful that way.

Policies of the New Republicanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise for June 12, 1957.

The Enterprise editorial page is one of Texas' best, and its editorials are unusually thoughtful and penetrating.

The subject editorial examines the current attitudes of the Republican Party, and takes note of the apparently deep gulf which yawns between segments of that party.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DID THE PRESIDENT FORGET?

When President Eisenhower gave the Democrats such a verbal blistering at the Republican rally in Washington, we wonder if he had a lapse of memory and thought for the moment that he was back in the 1952 campaign.

It just didn't seem to fit in this year of 1957—and partly because of the Chief Executive himself. This is the case, even when one assumes that there is a lot of truth in the nasty things he said about the Democratic Party.

Mr. Eisenhower declared, for instance, that the Democrats are paternalistic, surely forgetting that his new Republicanism caps the New Deal and the Fair Deal in its support of welfare state ideas.

He said the Democratic Party was hopelessly split. Well, hopelessly split or not, it managed to gain control of Congress in the last election and is given a whopping good chance of winning the White House in 1960.

The President was under no obligation to point out conditions in his own party while he was hopping on the Democrats, but we seem to have gotten the impression somewhere that the GOP isn't exactly engaging in a love feast these days. And, incidentally, he didn't make much of a contribution toward healing the breach when, at that same rally, he denounced the Old Guard and make it clear that he intends to fight to the finish to make the party over in his own image.

Mr. Eisenhower knows about how much chance he has of making disciples of new Republicanism out of such persons as Senators KNOWLAND, BRIDGES, BRICKER, JENNER, and MALONE—and dozens of other persons in important positions of leadership in the GOP.

The Chief Executive denounced the Democrats as being too free with the taxpayer's money; in fact, he charged them with just plain old fiscal irresponsibility.

Perhaps he also forgot that it's his budget they're damning in Washington and throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Not only that, the Democratic Party is out to punish business.

Well, we have no hope of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce ever being converted to the Democratic Party but, in view of Mr. Eisenhower's denunciations, it is interesting to note that these voices of business are among the Chief Executive's most painful thorns in the flesh right now.

Secretary of Defense Wilson, it will be recalled, even got so irritated at the chamber's budget-cutting capers he angrily denounced his rich cronies in that organization.

And guess what. The Democrats are a bunch of nasty old inflationists.

This is extremely interesting—as Senator MONRONEY of Oklahoma points out—in view of the fact that the cost of living has gone up for 14 consecutive months.

Frankly, we have a certain amount of sympathy for some of the things Mr. Eisenhower is trying to do in the Republican Party. But in this new blast at the Democrats, he is denouncing some of his own concepts of government and some of the principles that he is desperately trying to ingrain in the GOP.

It was a loose-jointed, irresponsible sort of a speech—even for a political rally.

The President must have been in a hurry to get off to Gettysburg.

Status-of-Forces Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, a recent issue of the Christian Science Monitor carried a very fine article, by Neal Stanford, on our status-of-forces agreements. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATUS-OF-FORCES AGREEMENTS—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON

(By Neal Stanford)

It is no secret that the Government is worried over the mounting attacks on the status-of-forces treaties that it has with many of its allies. It considers these treaties essential to friendly relations with its overseas allies, a necessary consequence of America's global responsibilities. But it is obvious that an increasing number of Congressmen are having doubts about these treaties, touched off by the controversial case of Army Sp3c. William S. Girard, charged with homicide in the death of a Japanese woman.

Status-of-forces agreements, just to refresh our memories, are agreements made with foreign governments which provide that United States military authorities have legal jurisdiction abroad for any offense arising out of an act or omission by a serviceman on duty. Foreign courts are given the right to try and punish American servicemen for nonmilitary offenses committed while off duty. But in such cases it is promised that the accused will have certain legal safeguards—speedy trials, information on charges, legal aid, and interpreters, etc.

There have been other attacks on status-of-forces cases in the 4 years that such treaties have been in force, but none equaling this arising from the Girard case. The reasons for this are two: One, this is about as borderline a case as could be imagined, it being extremely difficult to decide whether Specialist Girard was on or off duty when firing the empty cartridge that killed the Japanese woman; two, the vacillation in Washington, where officials first decided for Japanese trial, then against it, then for it. The result was that on top of congressional criticism of such treaties was congressional denunciation of the administration for appeasing Japanese public opinion. This combination of circumstances has built up the Girard case into the greatest threat to the status-of-forces program since its inception—and one that the administration is not too sure it can successfully weather.

The relevant details of the Girard case are as follows: Specialist Girard had been ordered to guard a machinegun between firing sessions at a range at Somagahara. Some Japanese women appeared, looking for spent brass-shell casings to sell as scrap. When they failed to leave after warning, Specialist Girard fired an empty shell case from the grenade launcher on his carbine. It killed Mrs. Naka Sakai.

The Army insisted Girard was on official luty at the time and so came under its jurisdiction. The Japanese argued he was not on official duty, it being a rest period at the time, and, anyway, it was not his duty to fire at scavengers. On second thoughts the Army decided to surrender jurisdiction over Specialist Girard to the Japanese. But then Defense Secretary Charles Wilson rescinded

the Army order. Later the Pentagon came to the conclusion that Specialist Girard's action was not authorized and therefore was not in performance of duty. President Eisenhower approved the decision.

The storm that has broken over the Girard case has made rational discussion of the status-of-forces treaties increasingly difficult. Yet the fact is that these treaties are a necessary corollary to America's numerous defense obligations the world over. Theoretically it would be possible for the United States to station troops abroad without status-of-forces agreements. Actually it did so during the war and for a few years after. But America's allies, despite their appreciation of the presence of United States forces, chafed under this exhibition of extraterritoriality. They did not question the right of United States military courts trying United States soldiers for offenses against foreign nationals when on duty, but insisted that local courts should have jurisdiction over off-duty incidents.

From America's point of view there was merit in such an arrangement, for Washington could hardly ask for jurisdiction over any foreign troops in this country for off-duty offenses if it would not grant a comparable right to its allies. This matter of reciprocity played a large part in America's original decision to negotiate these status-of-forces treaties.

Actually many foreign courts have waived jurisdiction over United States servicemen who have committed crimes off duty. In the last year, for example, 14,394 American servicemen committed crimes abroad, putting them under the jurisdiction of foreign courts. The foreign courts waived jurisdiction in 9,614 cases. Some were dropped. A total of 4,437 cases reached trial, resulting in 275 acquittals, 3,876 fines or reprimands, 178 suspended sentences, and 108 confinements, 12 of them for more than 5 years. Of the more than 14,000 cases arising last year, though, only the Girard case has reached the proportions of a cause célèbre.

Tax Cut and Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, there appeared in the June 5 issue of the Dodge City Globe a very timely editorial entitled "Tax Cut and Inflation." The editorial stresses the fact that while a tax cut would be welcomed by everyone, it would, in reality, add fuel to the already heavy pressures of inflation and would result in a further devaluation of the dollar.

Our No. 1 problem, in my opinion, is to prevent an inflation which would destroy the savings of our people and would further increase the cost of living.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAX CUT AND INFLATION

Much as everyone would enjoy tax reductions, it is interesting to note that businessmen and economists yesterday testified before a Senate-House economic subcommittee against an immediate cut.

The hearing was the first of a number which will last for 2 weeks. Doubtless the point of view which advocates an immediate tax cut also will be presented.

After the first batch of witnesses was heard, Representative WILBUR D. MILLS, of Arkansas, the subcommittee's chairman, is quoted as having said: "The testimony clearly indicates that the buoyancy of the economy is somewhat reduced, but there is enough zip left that the relaxation of monetary policy (credit curbs) or reduction of taxes would serve only to intensify inflationary pressures."

The fear of inflation and the desire to prevent it, MILLS said, is shared both by business and labor leaders.

It certainly is to be hoped that Congress will do nothing to give impetus to inflation. In fact, it would be better if the price level could be held at its present position. Everybody knows from experience in the postwar years that inflation does things to the pocketbook which are painful after the exhilaration of the early stages wear off.

The steps taken by the Eisenhower administration in 1953–54 to check inflation proved of great benefit to most persons So if tax cuts would be inflationary, we should be willing to wait for them.

As to the effect of Federal spending on the national debt of more than $273 billion, it would seem desirable to use any surpluses which may accrue to reduce the total. There is no thought that the debt ever will be cut to zero, nor is it considered desirable that this be the case. However, according to G. K. Hodenfield, an Associated Press correspondent, Government economists "want to knock the debt down to a more manageable level and devise better ways to manage it." The writer doesn't name the figures for a "manageable level." It might be well for Congressmen and economists to agree on what the amount should be, then set that figure as a goal to determine when the time has come for tax cuts.

The United States—World Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. PURTELL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. PURTELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Not the Same Mistake," published in the Farmington Valley (Conn.) Herald of June 6, 1957. I commend this well-considered and thought-provoking editorial to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOT THE SAME MISTAKE

The Senate of the United States made a mistake after World War I that penalized these United States in its dealings with Europe and the other countries of the world for many, many years afterward. The Senate is again in the position where it can make the same mistake again, and once again, penalize us in our foreign affairs for many years to come.

The President of the United States at the time of the first mistake was Woodrow Wilson, who dreamed of and conceived the first League of Nations. Coming at the time it did, the concept of a group with all nations represented sitting as a world-governing body, brought the United States into the position of being world leaders. The chaotic condition of Europe and the prior absence of a sound, representative body to settle problems of global impact brought a feeling of confidence to the nations of Europe, and placed Wilson in the position of being the "world's leader" when he suggested the League of Nations concept.

When the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the membership of this country in the League, the confidence the world had in Wilson evaporated, and the United States was looked upon for many years afterward as being "not genuinely interested in the welfare of the world." This point of view persisted in Europe until America's intervention in World War II and its entry into the United Nations began to restore the confidence that existed in Wilson's time.

It wasn't until Dwight Eisenhower became President of the United States that the countries of Europe began to experience full confidence in the United States as a "country genuinely interested in the welfare of the world, and, willing to sacrifice to preserve freedom throughout the world."

This confidence in the man and the nation has been, in a large measure, one of the foremost factors in stimulating courage and a will to resist among the enslaved peoples of Europe. It is certainly the major factor in the world leadership enjoyed by the United States today.

We are paralleling the situation that existed in Wilson's day, since Eisenhower, like Wilson, is the man chiefly responsible for the respect and confidence we enjoy as a nation among nations. Eisenhower, like Wilson, is in danger of having his leadership hamstrung by his political and philosophical opponents in the Senate. While there is room for honest debate over an honest difference of opinion, there is no room for opposition simply for the sake of opposition. Our future in the world, and to a large degree, the future of the world itself, lies not only in the hands of the President and his administration, but also in the hands of the United States Senate. Let us hope that they are of sufficient stature to avoid the mistakes they made 35 years ago.

The Medically Indigent: Our No. 1 Health Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, are we fast becoming a Nation of the medically indigent? The danger, I feel, is imminent as the number continues to increase frighteningly of those people who simply cannot afford the luxury of falling ill—who cannot meet the financial burden of adequate medical care.

In her column which appears regularly in the Washington Post and Times Herald, Miss Malvina Lindsay, one of our noted Washington newspaperwomen, recently dealt at length with this problem in an article entitled "Chance for Health Chief Need of Aged."

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Miss Lindsay's article:

CHANCE FOR HEALTH CHIEF NEED OF AGED

This Congress apparently intends to ignore the No. 1 problem facing the Nation's grow-

ing number of senior citizens; namely, how they can pay for the health care they need.

The increase of chronic disease, found largely among older persons, was emphasized at last week's meeting of the American Medical Association in New York. It was reported that more than half the clinical part of western medical practice was now concerned with health problems of the middle aged and elderly.

How do the 14 million people of this country past 65, most of whom are unemployed and living on small incomes, meet the cost of such treatment? Only about one-third of these are covered with any kind of health insurance. Most companies do not sell individual health insurance to persons past 60, or if they do, premiums are excessively high and benefits greatly curtailed.

Part of the chronically ill older population gets charitable or public care. But there is a large segment that must meet medical expenses out of small fixed incomes constantly being shrunk by inflation.

Dr. Wilma Donahue, chairman of the division of gerontology of the Institute for Human Adjustment of the University of Michigan, says that many old people neglect chronic illness—with greater cost later—others obtain medical care by sacrificing other essentials of healthful living, or turn to relatives for help.

She believes the mounting number of admissions of older patients to mental hospitals is one evidence of the effects of worry and lack of preventive and restorative medical care of this group. Many of the elderly and even middle aged today are beset by fears of becoming ill and not being able to pay for medical care. This insecurity, believes Dr. Donahue, is the basis for what is called widows' disease, in which an older woman becomes obsessed with the fear that her money won't last until the end of her life.

These fears also cause many of the elderly to lead cheese-paring lives, neglecting nutrition and other elements of health, hoarding what funds they have and keeping them out of circulation.

Health insurance that the retired can pay for is more essential to them than any expansion of social security benefits. It would also save society money in the long run since preventive medical measures would make unnecessary much of the prolonged expensive custodial care of older persons.

Insurance companies are making studies and experiments in the field of health insurance for the retired, but are up against the problem of providing such insurance without at the same time raising rates for all groups.

Attachment of health insurance to social security was recommended by a commission set up by the Pennsylvania Medical Society to study the problem. In this, the citizen, during his earning years, would buy health insurance with the usual commercial carrier, and at the same time pay a small increase in social security to cover health benefits during his after-65, retired period.

Some help from the Federal Government to meet this need seems essential. Dr. Joseph W. Still, research psychologist at the George Washington University School of Medicine, who has studied the needs of the retired, suggests a plan that would avoid increase of Federal administrative machinery.

He would have Congress provide a fund to reimburse private insurance companies for excess costs of insuring those past 65. Then the companies would be free to sell insurance to customers regardless of age, but would base rates on the average costs of providing insurance for those under 65.

This would leave the major administrative machinery to the insurance companies and the medical profession. It would provide medical care for the elderly at a price they could afford. It would end the present wasteful system whereby minor disabilities of the aged are neglected until they become major ones.

Mr. Speaker, if America is to remain a Nation of strong and vigorous people, we must, I profoundly believe, meet this problem head on and now.

For the past 6 months I have been at work on the preparation of legislation which would provide a program of Federal aid as a partial answer to this urgent need of the growing numbers of the medically indigent among our people. The legislative roadblocks in the path of such legislation are manifold, as I am well aware. Nevertheless, I am hopeful of having a bill in final form for introduction in this session of the Congress, at which time I most earnestly trust that other Members will join me in an all-out effort to meet this No. 1 challenge to the Nation's health and well-being.

Flood Disasters in Texas and Oklahoma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. Thomas L. Stokes, a distinguished commentator on national affairs, has made a telling point in a recent column titled "Local Disasters Add to Calamity for Whole United States."

I ask unanimous consent to have the column, as published in the June 12, 1957, Austin, Tex., Statesman, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. Stokes points out that this spring's natural disasters in Texas and Oklahoma must be considered as of more than local significance, and that these disasters, and others occurring throughout the Nation, add up to a national problem. He suggests that the long-range answer is proper control and regulation of our rivers through dams and reservoirs.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOCAL DISASTERS ADD TO CALAMITY FOR WHOLE UNITED STATES

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—We are all familiar with the ghastly and often terrifying scenes of raging floodwaters, spreading desolation, and damage to homes and small businesses, that have appeared before us lately in our newspapers and on our television, and newsreel screens.

To the people in the flooded areas, from Texas to Oklahoma, this is disaster and a costly one running into many millions of dollars.

A few months ago it was some other section of our country that was hit, and last year it was another area, and next year it will be still another.

These are local disasters but add up over the years to a national calamity.

For what hurts one part of the country eventually hurts others.

The long-range answer is proper control and regulation of our rivers through dams and reservoirs. That, it sometimes seems, moves very slowly.

Meanwhile, there is the problem of losses of homes and small businesses which can't wait for river control, if that ever can be entirely guaranteed.

Last year Congress finally got around to taking measures to protect people from losses in recurrent floods by passing a flood-insurance law.

It was signed by President Eisenhower on July 7, 1956. Its enactment followed exhaustive public hearings by both House and Senate committees.

The only hitch is that Congress, though authorizing flood insurance, has done nothing to put into effect the comprehensive and detailed plan of operation worked out since by the Federal Flood Indemnity Administration under the direction of Commissioner Frank J. Meistrell, a New York insurance lawyer.

Meistrell took this new assignment after previous service as General Counsel of the Federal Housing Administration which, like the flood insurance agency, is one of the several units in the overall Housing and Home Agency headed by Albert M. Cole, former House Member from Kansas. Commissioner Meistrell also served as an assistant to Cole.

What the flood insurance operation needs to put it to work is an appropriation of $14 million requested by the FFIA for inclusion in the third supplemental appropriation bill.

The House rejected that item, 127 to 97, but the Senate approved it and inserted it in the supply measure.

The issue is expected to come before the House this week in the report of the House-Senate conference committee after disposition of the civil-rights bill.

This appropriation is to pay commissions to insurance agents and brokers who, under the law, are to write the policies; to pay expenses of insurance carriers for issuing and servicing policies, underwriting, accounting, and statistical work for the Government, and to pay expenses of claim adjusters, for their services in settlement of claims.

The total amount of insurance that can be written for homeowners and small-business men is $3 billion, with another $12 billion permissible, however, if approved by the President. There is a limit of $250,000 on the amount of insurance that can be sold to any person or corporation and a limit of $10,000 on a dwelling and its contents.

The Government guarantees 40 percent of the cost of the insurance with 60 percent being borne by those insured. The expectation is that the insurance premiums will match the losses once the program is well underway. Nationwide selling of contracts should give sufficient spread to minimize losses.

The program has been worked out carefully in cooperation with insurance companies who recognize that there is nothing new in initiation by the Government of insurance in fields where private companies cannot take the risk.

One example is Government guaranty of bank deposits in Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; another is the Federal Housing Administration.

The Government is not competing with private insurance companies, as the law specifies that after a 5-year trial run, the flood-insurance program will be turned over to private insurance if it proves feasible.

Once Congress approves the $14 million appropriation, the insurance program can get underway. Everything is ready, including fiduciary agreements for the several thousand fire and casualty companies, insurance applications, contracts, rates, underwriting rules and regulations, etc.

This is something that should be spared in the fantic economy drive, for it is something to help people help themselves and to

meet in a business-like manner what now is met, helter-skelter, by relief organizations and local, State and Federal Governments. In the end the latter is more costly—and cannot meet adequately what insurance can at much less cost.

The Power Structure of the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, in many ways, in the debates going on in this House during the past days on the civil-rights bill, there has, it seemed to me, been a reflection of the forces underlying and engaged in a constant interplay in the South. During the course of her second lecture at the North Carolina State conference, National Student YWCA, on March 2, 1957, Miss Frances H. Williams of St. Louis, Mo., long an astute observer of racial problems in the United States, discussed the power structure in the South. Under unanimous consent I include pertinent portions of that lecture in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE POWER STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTH

(From a lecture by Miss Frances H. Williams at the North Carolina State conference, National Student YWCA, March 2, 1957)

I must remind you that it is my belief that the basic power structure in our country is found in our economic arrangements, not in our political institutions. Let us look at this side of our life for a moment. When the first Europeans came here, they found this continent abounding in natural resources—but resources not yet harnessed for many potential usages. The rugged individualism which marked much of our initial economic period was a natural response to the presence of abundance and the needs, both real and fancied, of the newcomers to this continent.

With economic growth and maturity, a vague but haunting notion also arose which has modified and, to some degree, regulated the manner in which these needs can be met. This notion is summarized for the layman in the phrase "the American standard of living." This phrase implies the existence of a certain kind of inalienable right to food, shelter, and security to a degree and in an amount that makes living respectable and perhaps even luxurious. This is not a concern for economic equality but rather a demand for fair opportunity and free scope for individual effort, with limitless rewards for those who persevere.

The National Resources Planning Board phrased this goal once when it reported: "We look forward to security, through planning and cooperative action, a greater freedom for the American people * * * the right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years * * * the right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other valuable services. The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. * * * The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident. * * * The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies * * * the right to rest, creation, and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization."

The American Negro gathered little or no benefits from his work in that period of our history which was characterized by rugged individualism. As a slave, he contributed to making this period successful but, in most instances, the slave could not work for himself and his family. The fruits of his labor were the property of his owners.

However, freedom came to the slave in a period when the American economy was dominated by the notion that an American does not want. If the Negro's share in the total wealth of the country is small today—he is at least supposed to have a share. If he is the first one fired and the last one hired—he at least is included by the Nation when it speaks of the American standard of living.

This is the type of economy we now live in. There is private property. There are great industrial and financial institutions. There are labor unions—and perhaps a future in which labor unions will be stronger—we have freedom of mobility, common access to a certain amount of information, and freedom of speech and assembly.

But within this economy, both in the North and in the South, there has been and is economic discrimination based on race and religion.

No one quite says that it is to the economic interest of the white community to keep the Negro community as a source of cheap labor. But some people do say: "This is a white man's country" or "We don't have money enough to pay our white workers decent wages" or "Actually, Negroes live on us white people," or "The whites pay all the taxes."

Then there is the concept, prevalent in the South, that this economic inequality has to be maintained, for it is the barrier against social equality. You know the argument: "You wouldn't let your sister or daughter marry a Negro." At times we have even heard that "It is God's will that the Negro should have a low income."

These are the justifications which the North and South are using to convince ourselves that there is no conflict between the equalitarianism in the American creed and the economic discrimination against Negroes.

Sometimes, however, the speakers for this point of view get carried away with their own words, and they say: "It is a marvel how Negroes can get along on almost nothing." This statement really implies that the Negro is a careful consumer—but the implication is seldom stated this way. To my notion, this kind of thinking is not only false, but vicious.

Poor people of any color get along on less only because they have to.

We who are women should remember that some of these same arguments were used time and time again in the battle for equal pay for equal work for women.

In fact, I heard this argument as late as 1944, when I worked for the Office of Price Administration. We were discussing candidates for a certain job, when all of a sudden I heard a bright young man, newly arrived in Washington from New England, say: "No woman is worth $4,600 a year." I was making that myself at the time, so I laughed at him with merry amusement. For at least the Federal Government did not agree with him on this point.

Turning now to political structure, it is my belief that here we find reflected the strengths and weaknesses of our economic life. But the political structure is something more than this reflection, for it is affected to even a greater degree by the ideas and ideals which dominate our culture. So, the war which arises from the inevitable conflict between our economic and cultural inheritance and goes on in each of us as individual southerners is present not only in our economic structure, but also in our political life. Here the notions of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God intervene in what might otherwise be a reflection of harsh economic aggrandizement.

Political power in our democracy begins with and abides in the individual citizen but ends in legislative action, Executive directives, and judicial decisions.

When the Supreme Court of the United States, on May 17, 1954, said: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place," North Carolina had as a part of its State constitution, 3 sections of which were related to this decision.

Article IX of the North Carolina constitution states that "The general assembly shall provide by taxation or otherwise a general and uniform system of public schools * * * the children of the white race and the children of the colored race shall be taught in separate public schools, but there shall be no discrimination in favor of, or to the prejudice of, either race."

Article XIV states that all marriages between a white person and a Negro are forever prohibited.

And, finally, article I, section 33 states that "slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than for crime shall be forever prohibited within this State."

In addition to these provisions of the constitution of North Carolina, many provisions of the general statutes were also quite pertinent to the Supreme Court decision:

Item: Even in death the races were not to be mixed for by statute provision was made for cemeteries for Negroes and separate cemeteries for whites.

Item: The law made it a misdemeanor for officials to provide schools for one race and not for the other race.

Item: Under pain of criminal penalties, school books are not to be interchangeable between white and colored schools but must be continued to be used by the race for which they were first purchased.

Item: The line of demarcation was drawn between Negro and white children in the establishment of separate schools for each race's delinquents and feeble minded.

Item: Local boards of trustees are strictly forbidden to make any discrimination on the basis of color in the payment of employee benefits by firemen.

* * * * *

I could multiply these items manyfold. But to me they at least show one moral especially significant in the light of the present attacks on the law as a regulator of social relations. That significance is this: These statutes and constitutional provisions show definitely the use of law as a force to separate the races.

Now I have hurried over these legal provisions and tried to express them in nontechnical fashion. However, I think it is clear that, while they regulate a great deal of our life, they do not regulate all of our lives.

What we are to do racially speaking, within the home, the church, the courtroom, professional offices and on the street seems not as yet to have been defined by the State. In addition, it is important to note that while legally there is segregation, there is not supposed to be less equal treatment based on race. Finally, in a few instances, the State strictly forbids discrimination as in the practices of insurance companies and in the administration of firemen's benefits.

Nevertheless, the general frame of reference found in these statutes is that one of separate but equal. No one needs to look very far into the practices within the State under these statutes to see that equality has seldom existed even in the material side of the institutions described.

So it was that on May 1954, when the Supreme Court said that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal had no place, North Carolina found her statutes relating to public education in direct conflict with this doctrine and her practices in conflict with her own State statutes. The question of the hour was: If the Court's decree in public education can be made to stick, what will happen to all the other areas of our ocmmon life for which segregation is provided by State law?

No one, I suspect, will ever know just what went on in the minds and hearts of the people of North Carolina the night the Supreme Court's decision was publicized in the public press, over the radio and television. There was, we know, shock, surprise, rejoicing, and indifference. But we do not know the degree of these emotional reactions. Public and private events that have followed indicate that all these reactions with varying shades in between were present that night.

On March 30, 1955, the State as a political unit made its first answer in the passing of the North Carolina Placement Act, in which city and county boards of education were authorized and directed to provide for the enrollment of each child.

On May 31, 1955, the Supreme Court spoke again. This time the Court said: "The fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional is incorporated (in this decision) * * * all provisions of Federal, State, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle * * * it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them."

North Carolina responded through a report of an advisory committee on education on April 5, 1956, upon which 3 Negro members served with 4 white members. The report said in part: "We are in a very dangerous situation * * * the steady and healthy progress which we have been making * * * has been suddenly stopped * * * we are of the unanimous opinion that the people of North Carolina will not support mixed schools * * * we are sure that the saving of our public schools requires action now * * * the white race has been almost wholly responsible for the creation, development, and support of our education system which has been and is now educating the Negro children of the State, all of them * * * the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is binding upon us * * * defiance of the Supreme Court would be foolhardy * * * the Negro leaders appear to be totally indifferent to the fact that their attempt to use Federal punishment * * * will prevent Negro children from getting a public-school education in North Carolina * * * the advancement of our economy and the preservation of our democracy depends in large part upon the understanding and the morality of the Negro as well as the whites. If there prevails ignorance in either race our economy will stall, our society will wither, and our democracy will degenerate."

On June 19, 1956, the Governor of North Carolina called an extraordinary session of the North Carolina General Assembly to consider the measures recommended by the advisory committee. On July 23, 1956, the general assembly meeting in extraordinary session voted to provide for an election to consider the adoption of several constitutional amendments. This election was held on September 8, 1956.

At this time the State added to its constitution an amendment under which a local community by majority vote could close its schools if an intolerable situation should result from integration. Local communities, however, were left free to handle the matter as they thought best. A tuition plan was also made possible. Thus, it was that, according to the thinking of those North Carolinians who furnish the State political leadership and those additional North Carolinians who cast the majority vote, the State was equipped to prevent both enforced integration and violence.

Yet, somehow or other, this plan which was to resolve our problems has not done that. There is an overall sadness in the air which no preceptive person can deny. Where there was peace, now there is no peace. Yet everyone is being very polite, that is, almost all. A few violent, strident voices are heard here and there. But what seemed to be a friendly land is now a cold and barren country. It is a kind of coldness which is not easy to live with or to understand.

Few there are who would say that all which has been done by the State has not been done without observing the outward forms of propriety. There was an advisory committee, interracial in membership. The legislature did meet and acted according to democratic precepts. A special election was called and the people voted. If the results are not pleasing to all, there are none who can say that the State did not follow our democratic processes. The people have spoken, or did the people speak?

Students of voting statistics tell us that in most elections in North Carolina less than a fourth of the potential voting population participates. Social analysts add that the relative unimportance of North Carolina's plantation economy has enabled the industrial forces in the State to create a financial and business elite whose influence is all prevailing. These interests ar handled by men who have a desire to be fair to all but not at the expense of their own power. They maintain effective political control not through graft and corruption—though some of this may exist—but rather through seeing to it that those elevated to high public office are fundamentally in harmony with their own economic point of view. Campaign money is available to those who agree with those who have the money to give. And everyone knows how much even the simplest election costs these days.

However, these analysts add that political life in North Carolina is not without its opposition. Divergent claims are frequently raised by the rural counties. Here the proportion of the adult population that votes is often twice as great as that in the larger cities. For rural people are actively interested in the struggle for better markets, roads, and schools. Also, unlike city folks, rural people vote for or against some persons whom they know, not just a name they see in the paper or a man they heard speak over the radio. Racially speaking, though, the rural areas have been less willing to change than the more heavily populated centers. Themselves deprived, they have at least had the release which comes from having someone lower down the ladder than they are—namely, the Negroes.

But the economic elite has also had a stake in the Negro disenfranchisement of the past and in its long lingering aftermath which has resulted in approximately 20 percent of the adult Negro population being qualified to vote under existing laws. This means an exclusion from the ballot of a large proportion of the lower half of the State's economic structure and, thus, the elimination of not only the racial but the economic problems which would furnish political headaches for the ruling elite. Therefore, the nonvoting of the majority of the Negro population is essential to the preservation of the present hierarchy of economic and political power.

Added to these facts is another one which, I believe, accounts for this sadness in the air—which if moved in one direction would mean greater peace—but if which moved in the other direction would bring only physical death to many in the Negro community but something far worse to the white community—namely, living death. What is this facet? I think something one once had now seems to be lost and the vital question which I think should concern us is this: Just what have we lost? Just what was it that the Supreme Court jeopardized?

But there was still a hurt feeling. This arose from the fact that the Negro community said that it was not happy to have the white community run its life. This was not nice of the Negroes, nor was it kind. After all the white community wanted the Negro community to be happy and, therefore, presto, it should be happy.

But the white community is grown up and though they were sorry that the Negro community was unhappy, they knew that happiness is something one must get for oneself and so if the Negroes were not happy there was not much the white community could do about it. There remained also that acking loneliness in the night. What was the source of this vague feeling of incompleteness—this lack of cleanliness? Many knew nothing of the nature of this internal conflict, so felt that somehow or other the source or release was to be found outside of themselves. These men said the Negro will stay in his place, Supreme Court or no Supreme Court. He will not only stay in his place, but he will like it. And herein lies the tragedy. Those members of the white community who solved their personal dilemma in this fashion will in the end be like the maiden lady who said he will love me whether he wants to or not and then after the marriage finds that even the marriage license can't make love flow or keep her warm when Mondays are cold.

But sadness is not confined to members of the white community. The Negro community is also sad. This segment of the State's population wanted also to believe that progress was being made. Negroes dealt in fantasy too. They said to themselves things are getting better. But the Court's decision tore away the illusion and lay bare the facts which had always been there. It really does hurt to march past empty seats to the rear of the bus. It really does hurt to march past a school for children of your own age to another one further, one for Negroes only. Yes, the Negro community, like the white community, lost in these events the protective coat it has woven around itself with the years, a coat which said tomorrow some things will be different. But suddenly things were different, and Negroes as well as whites felt lonely, afraid and disconcerted.

The answer is very simple. The white community lost the right to deny the Negro community on the basis of race its right to be human. The white community no longer has the power to designate this school shall be for whites and that school for Negroes. All schools are to be merely schools. But you say it has been many years since we labeled many things in North Carolina Negro and white. For the most part we just understand. Racial crudence is not necessarily a part of the southern way of life. One can discriminate and humiliate in a polite and ladylike fashion. The front door of the station can be preserved for whites without a sign and yet everyone still understand that Negroes are to move to the side door.

Yes, the great loss has been the right to deny to others that which we want for ourselves—the right to decide what the Negro's place in the bus, the school, the station shall be.

The tragedy of the white community lies in the fact that fantasy led so many of its members to think that this sort of arrangement was not only constitutional, but that the Negro community found these conditions acceptable. Had the Negro community found these pleasant, they would not be quite human; for it is only human to want to decide for yourself where you shall sit in

the bus, in the station and to determine what school you should attend.

Not many in the white community actively want anyone to be unhappy—they just wanted to provide for what they considered their own happiness. This happiness they have supposed was inevitably coupled with the separate but equal doctrine. The decision of the Supreme Court was therefore a shock to most white North Carolinians. It declared that segregation was unconstitutional.

However, on second thought, some in the white community thought, well, maybe this is not too bad, perhaps just disagreeable. After all, we have lawyers and that is just the first round. No, they said, the Court's decision was not a death blow. There were ways, so men busied themselves to find them.

For the great expectation in a democracy is that the Government will do those things which we cannot do for ourselves as individuals. This is what we pay taxes for, be we white or black, or be the taxes direct or indirect. We pay taxes that the Nation, the State be a hearth from which all can expect to take comfort. The criminal can expect justice, the child education, the adult lights, streets, the aged security from want. And what has happened in North Carolina is that the fire on our hearth has gone out and no one knows how to get it going again. We are pretending that we do not care. We deny that we want respect and friendship from all God's children. So we are afraid and men who are afraid do things they do not like to do. These actions create hatred not only for others, but, far more significant, hatred for ourselves and when you hate yourself you are lonely, desperately lonely.

Deep within ourselves we know that in the long run, and even in the short run, if we are to inherit the warmth of our cultural traditions, we must rise and harness our economic and political processes anew so that they will serve our larger ends, so that peace and good will toward all men will abound. To solve our racial problems will not remove all problems but it will lift the burden. Then, our productive energies can be used for the fulfillment of the American dream. Then no longer will the South be the Nation's No. 1 economic problem. Deep within us we want the dream even more than anything we now have. My friends, I believe that the Jim Crow car, the Jim Crow school, the Jim Crow way of life will give way and that the white and Negro South will play its part in these departures—not only because the Supreme Court says so or because the Negro community does not like Jim Crow, but because in the end white North Carolina also is tired of its chains; the white man's burden, it wants to be free, free to inherit its own cultural background complete with the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. For when the saints go marching home, North Carolina, black and white, wants to be in that number when the saints go marching home.

Humanitarian Point 4 for Amputees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to read in the Sunday, June 2, issue of the New York Times, an article by the noted physician and rehabilitation expert, Dr. Howard A. Rusk, dealing with a new-type humanitarian point 4 program.

Dr. Rusk suggested a prosthetics-for-peace program.

He estimated that for the cost of one-half cent per American citizen per year, our Government, by the use of $1 million for 2 years, could supply invaluable services to foreign government with regard to prosthetic equipment for rehabilitation of the disabled abroad.

Few persons are better qualified to comment on this subject than Dr. Rusk. In addition to his work as medical editor of the New York Times, he is president of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, chairman of the board of the American Korean Foundation, and consultant in rehabilitation to the World Veterans Federation, to name but a few of his varied public service projects.

In previous testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Dr. Rusk had pointed out how, for a relatively tiny sum, America's private and publicly supported rehabilitation efforts can, and could, pay immeasurable dividends to our people, and to recipient foreign peoples.

I am referring to spiritual dividends, the dividends which come to our own great and generous people from knowing that we have lent a helping hand to those in need, those who ask only for the opportunity to be enabled to stand on their own feet, to be gainfully self-supporting.

Toward that end, there has been established the World Rehabilitation Fund, at 400 East 34th Street, in New York. Its directors are an outstanding group of American leaders; and it was more than fitting that a New York Times editorial of last Monday greeted the fund, and wished it well.

I, for one, would like to urge both our Government and our private citizens to give their most sympathetic attention to the many types of constructive activity which are possible in the field of world rehabilitation. I send to the desk four items which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The first is the article by Dr. Rusk, entitled "Point 4 for Amputees." The second and third are the New York Times news article and editorial on the subject of the World Rehabilitation Fund.

Finally, there is an excellent article from Think magazine, entitled "They're Learning To Live Again." This article, also by Dr. Rusk, describes the excellent rehabilitation work being performed at the Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation of the New York University Bellevue Medical Center:

There being no objection, the articles and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of June 2, 1957]

POINT 4 FOR AMPUTEES—A VIEW ON THE NEED FOR THE UNITED STATES TO SHARE WITH OTHERS ITS ADVANCES IN PROSTHETICS

(By Howard A. Rusk, M. D.)

When our first casualties in World War II came home, those who had suffered amputations strongly criticized the quality and efficiency of the artificial limbs they received. Many remarked bitterly, "It doesn't seem right that a nation capable of producing the atom bomb and radar should not be able to give us better artificial limbs."

Congress held a series of hearings on their complaints and found them justified. In the past the development of artificial limbs had proceeded through the years without the benefit of an organized, scientific approach. However, since 1946 the Veterans' Administration, with a special congressional appropriation of about $1 million a year, through the Prosthetic Research Board of the National Academy of Sciences, has conducted an extensive artificial limb research program through nonprofit contracts with universities.

In addition, the Army and Navy cooperate by supporting prosthetic research laboratories within their medical services, and the Veterans' Administration also conducts direct programs.

Earlier last month, congressional committees saw a spectacular demonstration of the achievements of the last 10 years' effort. All types of amputees dramatically showed their modern artificial arms and legs in action. Today without doubt our Nation has the finest prosthetic devices in the world.

CONTRIBUTIONS SHARED

We in the United States are interested in sharing the technical advances in nuclear energy for peaceful purposes with the rest of the world. We could make a significant contribution to the effective understanding of American ideals of democracy and the high value we place on human worth and dignity if, as a part of our mutual-security program, we would share these advances in prosthetics with the rest of the world. This is truly a people-to-people program.

Concurrently, some international voluntary organizations such as the World Veterans Federation, the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples and the new World Rehabilitation Fund are attempting to do this. Important as their efforts are, however, they are meager in relationship to both the need and the opportunity to advance American ideals.

As with other aspects of technical assistance uder the point 4 program, the potential values of this prosthetics for peace program are too great for voluntary effort. Yet the estimated fund of $1 million a year required over a 2-year period, if supplied by our Government, would cost each American but one-half cent a year. It would require but .027 of 1 percent of the total foreign aid proposal.

With this relatively small sum, highly qualified American consultants could be sent, at the invitation of interested governments, to visit all parts of the world to survey their needs. Four completely equipped mobile prosthetic shops, each staffed by a qualified American prothetist and physical therapist could be sent to southwest Asia, the Near East, north Africa, and South America.

These units could spend 4 to 8 weeks in a given community working with local surgeons in giving direct service to amputees by fitting them with prosthetic devices and training them in their use. It is ironic that a similar and highly successful project, which had a great political impact, has recently been conducted in Okinawa by the Japanese Government. It is even more ironic that the director of the project had his advanced training in prosthetics in the United States.

CENTERS ESTABLISHED

The one-half-cent-a-person-a-year program would also permit United States assistance in establishing permanent demonstration prosthetic shops and training centers at strategic points throughout the world. Sufficient artificial limb components to provide modern prosthetic devices for 40,000

amputees could be distributed globally. All of the available technical literature and visual aids in prosthetics developed here in the United States could be translated and published in the necessary languages.

Lastly, the most important part of the project, more than 400 trainees from parts of the world lacking prosthetics services could be brought to the United States for prosthetic training. These prosthetic trainees would then join with the 600 health workers receiving professional training in the United States under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration and the hundreds more trained here by voluntary groups and their own governments.

Nowhere else could we get permanent ambassadors to spread the ideals of democracy as well, as effectively, and as cheaply as these dedicated rehabilitation workers who would return to their own countries to teach the lame and the halt to walk and to work.

Prosthetics for Peace is a program the man in the street can see and feel and understand. He may not know who built the dam in the hills or the roads or factories, but he will know who taught his neighbor to walk and his child to play.

We in the United States have received a rich dividend on our investment in prosthetic research in vastly improved artificial limbs for both veteran and civilian amputees. Further political, social, and humanitarian dividends would accrue if we would take these advances to the amputees of the world. Never could more good will, understanding, and dignity be purchased for so little.

[From the New York Times of May 29, 1957]

NEW FUND AIDING WORLD DISABLED—REHABILITATION UNIT, SET UP IN 1955, NAMES HOOVER AND TRUMAN HONORARY AIDS

Former Presidents Herbert Hoover and Harry S. Truman have been named honorary chairman of the World Rehabilitation Fund, Inc., a relatively new organization. The aim of the group is to sponsor international projects and understanding for the physically handicapped.

Dr. Howard A. Rusk, president of the fund, said yesterday that the new enterprise hoped to rally American corporations, foundations, and individuals to contribute $1 million a year for fellowships and other programs. Dr. Rusk is also associate editor of the New York Times.

Thus far, 20 have contriubuted $150,000. Out of this, about a score of projects have been completed since the fund got underway without announcement in December 1955. No general public fund-raising appeal is planned.

"So many things need to be done that Government apparatus is too big or clumsy to do," Dr. Rusk said. "There's a place for a voluntary organization. It gets an awful lot of milage for its money."

Last November, for instance, Dr. Rusk found that some patients had languished for 10 years in the overcrowded Orthopedic Hospital in Manila. They had no braces and the hospital's brace shop had no patterns or materials. Dr. Rusk was able immediately to promise shipment of used appliances. In 2 months, the program was underway. Cost: $1,000.

The new fund is crossing ideological frontiers. Periodicals and books already have been delivered to the Soviet Union and Poland. Arrangements have been made for two Polish physicians to take a 6-month course at Western Reserve University, while another has visited here. Four Soviet physicians are about to come here for study. Dr. Rusk has brought back Soviet publications—"pound for pound."

The fund has the endorsement of President Eisenhower. Bernard M. Baruch, and Dr. Albert Schweitzer are the other honorary chairmen.

The fund's headquarters is at 400 East Thirty-fourth Street. Among the financial supporters so far have been the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, the Smith, Kline, and French Foundation, the Mount Ararat Foundation, American President Lines, the Radio Corporation of America, the New York Times Foundation, the Monsanto Chemical Company Charitable Trust, Lilly Endowment, Inc., and the Bulova Watch Company Foundation.

The directors include John S. Allard, Elmer H. Bobst, Donaldson Brown, Arde Bulova, Ralph K. Davies, William J. Donovan, Mrs. Bernard Gimbel, David M. Heyman, Paul G. Hoffman, Dr. Henry H. Kessler, George L. Killion, Mrs. Albert Lasker, Dr. Russell V. Lee, Dr. Charles W. Mayo, Dr. Leonard W. Mayo, James Wesley McAfee, Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, Edgar M. Queeny, Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, Beardsley Ruml, Dr. Rusk, David Sarnoff, Walter Bedell Smith, Eugene J. Taylor and Arthur K. Watson.

Dr. Rusk said that the work so far had enabled study here for personnel from Haiti, Greece, Great Britain, Thailand, Poland, Belgium, the Philippines, and Brazil, provided a consultant for Korea, Burma, Thailand, India, and Jordan, and materials, publications, and demonstrations in 15 countries.

[From the New York Times of June 10, 1957]

VOLUNTARY FOREIGN AID

The World Rehabilitation Fund, which was quietly established about 2 years ago, is doing an important job of pioneering in the field of private and strictly voluntary foreign aid. Its purpose is to give medical and technical help for the physically handicapped or disabled. Its work in this needful area has been warmly endorsed by President Eisenhower, and former Presidents Hoover and Truman are honorary chairmen of the fund.

The fund operates in a simple, and for that reason perhaps unusual, way. There has been no fund-raising campaign and none is planned. There has been no appeal for Government help. Private persons and foundations have been quietly asked if they cared to contribute. Twenty have already responded with a total of more than $150,000. Much more can confidently be expected.

With these contributions the fund has initiated and carried out specific projects all over the world. Twenty-nine have already been completed, 5 more are in operation at the moment and 3 are pending. These projects include the shipment of artificial limbs to areas where they are desperately needed, supplying books and periodicals (some of these have been sent to Poland and Russia as well as to many other countries), grants-in-aid for specific study or the actual provision of technicians, and the promotion of planned exchange of scholars and doctors.

In this last field, for example, an interesting success has been ainounced. The American President Lines, operating to the Far East, has just offered a fellowship that will enable a Filipino doctor to come to the United States for advanced and extended study of rehabilitation techniques. The fund also expects to provide postgraduate training for physicians from Great Britain; and it has already provided short study courses for persons from Greece, Brazil, Haiti, Thailand, and Belgium.

These things add up to a rapidly expanding humanitarian service that can be of immense importance in the promotion of international good will and understanding. In Manila, for example, the press greeted with the greatest enthusiasm the announcement of the fellowship and rejoiced that the scientific advances that had been made in this field could be shared by the Philippines.

In other other field can foreign aid be a more effective instrument for good than in the field of health. It is our feeling that the share of health projects in the whole mutual security program has been considerably less than it might well have been. But World Rehabilitation is proving that a vast amount of good can be done in this field without relying upon appropriations from governments.

THEY'RE LEARNING TO LIVE AGAIN

(By Dr. Howard A. Rusk)

The time is late April of last year; the place, New York's Idlewild Airport. As a Pan American clipper glides in for a landing, Trudy Vis, a young Dutch girl, stands by, her face tense, her hands trembling slightly. Anxiety mounts as she watches each debarking passenger. Suddenly, her lips break into a wide smile when she sees a stretcher carried from the plane.

On the stretcher is her fiance, Henk Gulek, a 31-year-old disabled veteran from The Hague. He has come to New York for rehabilitation training at the Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center.

The two had met in 1953 at a military rehabilitation center in Doorn, Holland, where she was a nurse and he a Dutch army patient. An automobile accident in 1946 had left him paralyzed from the chest down.

As they became more and more attracted to each other, she became more and more interested in rehabilitation. When the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples held its sixth world congress at The Hague in September 1954, Trudy went to see if there were new techniques in rehabilitation which would help Gulek. She heard many world authorities discuss paraplegia and rehabilitation problems, and was particularly impressed by a film produced at the Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation titled, "Living With a Disability." It dealt with the rehabilitation of a coal miner whose case was almost identical with that of Gulek. Trudy made up her mind to come to New York, learn the new techniques and teach them to her fiance.

At the institute she soon learned that rehabilitation is a teamwork job which requires the integrated services of physicians, physical and occupational therapists, and other specialists. Her fiance must come to the States.

Through a special fund contributed to the institute by its friends, Henk was brought to New York. He learned to lead an independent, self-sufficient life with his braces, crutches, and wheel chair; and he and Trudy were married. Henk returned home in September to await completion of one of 24 specially designed bungalows being built for Dutch paraplegics by the Union of War Victims. Trudy continued her training at the institute until the new house was finished and returned, in May, to join her husband.

Such heart-warming stories are not unusual at the institute. Like its more illustrious neighbor to the north (the U. N.), the institute is virtually a "United Nations" for rehabilitation. Its patients have come from all parts of the world: A French jockey paralyzed from a racing accident at Longchamps; a bright-eyed Bolivian youngster, born with malformed limbs; a business executive from South Africa, paralyzed on one side from a stroke.

Physicians, nurses, and specialists from all over the globe also come for advanced training so that they may return to their own countries to start rehabilitation services. In 1951, Dr. Miguel Augilera came on a United Nations fellowship. Assisted by two Finnish physical therapists provided by the United Nations, Dr. Augilera now directs an active rehabilitation program within the Institute of Social Security in Guatemala,

has started a physical therapy school, and has sent two of his colleagues to the institute in New York for training.

Four physicians, two brace and artificial-limb makers and two administrators from Korea have been trained with the help of the American-Korean Foundation. A team consisting of a physician, nurse, social worker and prosthetic technician returned to Thailand last fall, after 2 years of training, to initiate rehabilitation services in Bangkok. They are being aided by an American physician trained at the institute and married to a diplomat stationed in Bangkok. Their places at the Institute were filed by a similar team from Burma financed by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Many more specialists from as many nations have been trained at the institute: the physician who is directing a new program for crippled children in Turkey; the specialist in the neurological clinic at the University of Rome; a physical therapist in the rehabilitation center for disabled veterans in Israel; a doctor caring for polio-crippled children in Cuba.

One of the institute's most illustrious trainees was Mlle. Geneviève de Galard-Terraube (now Mme. Jean Heaume de Beutsocq), the "Angel of Dienbienphu," who spent 8 months learning modern rehabilitation nursing techniques so that she might help develop services for disabled French veterans.

In addition to the scores of specialists from foreign countries who come for long-term, formal training programs at the institute, hundreds of others come for short-term courses. There are also several thousand visitors each year. Among such visitors have been Prime Minister U Nu of Burma; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, India's Minister of Health; Queen Frederika of Greece; and members of the Economic and Social Council of the U. N.

The institute's staff is motivated in its international work by both humanitarian and political implications. Rehabilitation to them is an international language of service which is one of America's most potent instruments for making friends. They believe that rehabilitation of the disabled is one of the best ways to demonstrate the high values which western democracy places upon individual dignity and human worth, and upon the belief that man's mission on earth is to heal and not to hurt, to build and not destroy.

Trainees from abroad are not limited to the technical aspects of rehabilitation. They are also given a broad view and understanding of all aspects of American life. They visit Washington for weekends, attend concerts and theaters in New York City, spend weekends in American homes; and each spring they can be found in the front row of the balcony at Madison Square Garden, watching the circus.

Nor are the international activities of the institute limited to its quarters at 400 East 34th Street in New York City. Hardly a month goes by that a senior staff member is not in some other nation conducting a training course, conferring with officials of medical schools, government agencies, or voluntary organizations on the development of rehabilitation services. Many of its publications have been translated into French and Spanish for global distribution by the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples.

The slogan of the Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation comes from an obscure English philosopher of three centuries ago, who wrote, "If every man would but mend a man, the world would soon be mended."

Lady Philanthropist: Mrs. Albert D. Lasker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in this era of stress on commercialism and exploitation, there is too little appreciation of beauty and of the grandeur of nature. Occasionally, however, a person comes along who tries to call to our attention the marvels of the wonderful world of flowers and wildlife and scenic majesty which lies beyond our buildings of stone and brick.

Such a person is Mrs. Albert D. Lasker, widow of one of the most famous advertising men of our time. Mrs. Lasker has made an avocation of providing tulips and daffodils for the parkings and dividers along some of the busiest streets in downtown New York. This novel effort on her part has been recognized by the New Yorker in its issue of June 8, 1957, in an article entitled "Lady Philanthropist."

Mrs. Mary Lasker, a charming individual in her own right, is interested not only in botany and its beauties, but also in human health. She has devoted her fortune to encourage research and discovery in the fields of such grim diseases as cancer, heart disease, mental difficulties, arthritic ailments, and other areas. In this effort, she has worked closely with the distinguished senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], who has been so successful in maintaining funds for the National Institutes of Health and its various projects.

I have a special further interest in asking unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the New Yorker article praising Mrs. Lasker, because it is my hope that it will call to the attention of my colleagues the need to emphasize outdoor beauty as we make ready to debate S. 963, which is the bill sponsored by the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] and myself to control billboards along our 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LADY PHILANTHROPIST

We've just had a talk with Mrs. Mary Lasker, who gave the city all those tulips and daffodils that came up this spring in the middle of Park Avenue between 50th and 72d Streets. The daffodils and the tulips have died, but Mrs. Lasker, whom we visited in a beautiful beige office she occupies in the Chrysler Building, is flourishing. "I'm an avid lover of flowers and greenery," she said, "and so was my mother before me. I was born in Watertown, Wis., where the Watertown goose comes from—no connection, you understand—and where mother helped found 2 of the town's 3 parks. Mother was Mrs. Sara J. Woodard. Just before I married my late husand, Albert D. Lasker, in 1940, he gave his Lake Forest estate to the University of Chicago; its chrysanthemum gardens—10 acres—were developed by the university, and I arranged for seeds from there to be grown in parks department greenhouses and nurseries here, and for plantings to be made, in memory of my mother, in Central Park at 102d Street, as well as in four other park areas in New York. The city has renewed them ever since. In the fall of 1955, I persuaded the parks department to let me contribute tulip bulbs for planting in front of the public library and the Metropolitan Museum, and on 4 blocks of Park Avenue—50th to 52d, and 70th to 72d—and in the Grand Army Plaza, at 59th Street and 5th Avenue. The department was afraid they wouldn't thrive, what with gas fumes from cars, but they did, the following spring. So last fall I added daffodils and a lot more tulips on Park Avenue—about a hundred and fifty thousand, all told, with each kind of flower grown on alternate blocks. An early heat spell killed the daffodils, but I think they did as well on Park Avenue as in Dutchess County, where I have a country place and grow tulips, roses, and lilacs. The Park Avenue tulips were fine. I think there should be a three-season festival of flowers in New York, with tulips and daffodils in the spring, begonias and salvia in the summer, and chrysanthemums in the fall. My 3 stepchildren and I gave 300 Japanese cherrytrees to the United Nations, in memory of my husband, and I wish someone would give 10,000 lilac trees to Central Park. New York should be full of flowers and flowering trees, our buildings should be lighted at night, and all the fountains in town should play. Washington Square and the borders of the West Side Highway should be alive with flowers. This sort of thing makes a city gay and pleasant, and is good commercially. We should make joy and pleasure for ourselves, and attract new business to New York."

Mrs. Lasker, a very pretty lady philanthropist who was wearing a flowering hat—little pink lilacs—handed us a fan letter from Mr. Nathan Spindel, of 2813 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn 35 ("I am a New York City taxicab driver and I was struck with the beauty of the thousands and thousands of daffodils and tulips which are blooming [on Park Avenue]. It is with a great sense of pride that I point out this mile of beauty to so many of my out-of-town passengers who are always telling me how unfriendly and mercenary New York is"), and said that was one of many responsive letters she had received. "The flowers are a side issue with me," she said. "I just hope that I am spark-plugging a movement that the city will carry on. What I'm most interested in is the expansion of medical research. Syphilis is now completely curable. Cancer, tuberculosis, heart disease—the major diseases can be conquered."

Mrs. Lasker is helping expand medical research through the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, which she and her husband, an advertising man who was part owner of the Chicago Cubs, established in 1942. She has run it since his death, 5 years ago; it gives annual awards to physicians and scientists for medical research and to writers who have done outstanding work in medical journalism. "Successful medical research has resulted in a 34-percent decline in the number of t. b. patient days in municipal hospitals here between 1953 and 1955," she said. "Between 1944 and 1955, antibiotics and other new drugs brought about a 90-percent decline in the national influenza death rate, a

74-percent decline in the appendicitis death rate, and a 77-percent decline in mortality from acute rheumatic fever. Hypertension, as a killer, is on the wane. What did the major voluntary health agencies allocate for cancer research in 1955? Under $8 million. What did the American people spend for chewing gum that year? $282,360,000. For shampoos? $122,650,000. For ball-point pens? $111,090,000. For lipsticks? $64,770,000. For powder compacts? $47,930,000."

Mrs. Lasker gave us some medical-research literature, and as we left, we remarked that we admired her view of the East River. "I used to be able to see those U. N. cherry trees from here," she said, "but someone has put up a building that cuts me off."

The Revolution in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, during all this discussion on the civil rights bill, it is well for all of us to bear clearly in mind what it is that is happening in the South. Recently at the North Carolina State conference, National Student YWCA, a series of presentations were made in an analytical vein by Miss Frances H. Williams, most recently on the staff of former Senator Herbert H. Lehman and previously a member of the staff of President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights. Her first lecture was delivered on March 1, 1957, and contains many pungent observations on the present "revolution" going on in the South. Under unanimous consent I include pertinent excerpts from this first presentation in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH

(From a lecture by Miss Frances H. Williams, at the North Carolina State conference, National Student YWCA, March 1, 1957)

The economy of the South up to comparatively recent times was primarily agricultural. It was built on slave labor. The political structure developed within the region was therefor one which was designed to preserve the economic life of the region. Culturally speaking, though, the region is European. From this continent, the South inherited the Christian religion, a love of leaning and some inclination to foster the arts. This inheritance embodied the ideas of the rights of man, the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man. Thus, those in the South who were born in the most favorable circumstances—economically and culturally speaking—were born in the midst of a dilemma.

The dignity of man—the Christian ideals—these people found were daily violated in the home, the church, the highways and byways of ordinary living. A privileged southerner, therefore, be he white or black, had to adopt early in life a double standard, one for whites and one for Negroes, and therefore supported within himself a daily war.

Such an individual finds the struggle to complete and unify his own personality a difficult task. His learnings—both emotional and intellectual—has to be modified constantly and warped to fit a pattern, called the southern way of life. The less privileged have a similar dilemma, but they were offered more immediate outlets for their frustrations. The society allowed them to hit and hate with only limited stopgaps. These facts I think were true whether the child was white or Negro. But this very release deadened growth in the great virtues toward which men everywhere struggle—kindliness, imagination, creative activity.

Now, because all of you were born in the midst of privilege, all your lives, to a greater or lesser degree, you have faced the dilemma of two ways of life, one for whites and one for blacks. Society has asked of you a great price. You have been told to be a lady under all circumstances—but being a lady to a white child who stumbles in the street before you means one thing, and being a lady to a Negro child who experiences a similar jolt means another. This two-pronged system has so occupied your mind and heart that there has scarcely been room for you to grow. Certainly not to grow as rapidly as a person upon whom no such burden is placed.

Some historians have placed this truth before us in statements such as these: The South has produced no great national leaders, no great music, no great books, no great scientist. In fact, greatness in universal terms is so scarce that any mild exception found in the South, be it white or Negro, is frequently overrated and given public notice far and beyond its deserts.

But within this society which we call the South, there have always been those souls who would not and could not on all occasions conform.

It may be your good fortune one day to read some of the diaries of slaves who ran away to freedom, and in practically each diary you will find that there was some member of the slave-owning aristocracy who either directly or indirectly helped the escapees. Yes, there has always been the Negro who would not conform, and the white man or woman who revolted and would not put down his heel when the situation was supposed to demand it. These are the people who have kept the light of freedom burning in the South, and these are the people today who are making the changes that are with us and upon us.

These people are not always brave, or consistent, or holy—they fight, I think the social analyst would say, to preserve themselves—their inner integrity—their own wholeness of mind. Their acts benefit others and society, but the fight is really for their own salvation, whether they consciously or unconsciously recognize it or not. When you meet these people and talk with them, you find that for them, at the moment they moved toward a single standard for themselves—there was no other way. In these moments they experienced freedom, peace, and the love of God. But usually society has demanded such a price for these precious obtainment that many faltered, and it has been only human to do so.

The slave owner who freed his slaves—Mrs. Rosa Parks, who, recently in Montgomery, Ala., allowed herself to be arrested, found, I think, in these acts freedom, peace and self-love. Without self-love, there can be peace, prayers, hopes, dreams, but not love for others or for God. This is what so many in the South have missed.

The first great battle of the South for its own soul in which the Nation participated was the War Between the States. Here history as written has obscured the facts—at least some of the more important facts. The abolitionist movement had its roots in the South. The slaves who preferred death to slavery lived in the South. The vote to secede was a very close vote. The war was bitter, tragic, and long. It provided all, rich and poor, with a legitimate chance to hit, and so for moment released all from the burden of the dilemma. But not for long. Peace was followed by compromise and the old forces went to work once more. These forces said if slave labor is impossible, then cheap labor is possible. So the political and social structure was modeled to make cheap labor possible. Today, we in the South live in a region where labor is counted cheap.

Lynching in such an environment became a useful outlet for overwrought emotions. But the South was again brought up short by one of its own sons and forced to view itself in the blazing limelight of national public opinion. Walter White, a southerner, risking life and limb, time and time again, got the facts on lynching and brought these facts to the attention of the Nation and the world.

The majority of the South, once having seen the facts, could not live with them. There was something about it that could not quite be stomached. So lynching went underground and took on other guises. But out of sight was not out of mind and dilemma went right on.

The court fight for the right of Negroes to serve on juries followed. Then began the attack on the iniquities existing in the educational system. The battleground was national once more, and it is on that battleground that we now find ourselves—we who individually are neither wholly good nor wholly bad. We ourselves, who long for a simple life, a single code, stand at the crossroads within our own minds and hearts. What our answer will be no one knows. But many people care and care deeply. And those who await the answer are not alone the people of our own country. Millions of people in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe care and care desperately what our answer will be.

For the essential struggle is worldwide in nature. Men and women everywhere living in complicated and simple civilizations long for inner peace—a chance to love, to work, to have children, to reach old age with a degree of clarity and peace. Modern electronics and its associate handmaidens have enabled them to hear and know about our struggle and they care desperately what the outcome here will be. For they know that victory is contagious. But they are equally aware that defeat is also contagious. Precedents count, and count heavily.

So the burden we were born into widens and deepens and we who are a part of the South cannot escape it—even if we would.

Secretary Seaton Changes Assumptions on Trinity Power Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago Secretary Seaton submitted additional information to Congress supposedly correcting earlier Interior Department errors in the studies supporting his recommendation for P. G. & E. development of the Trinity power facilities. In an attempt to reduce the magnitude of the errors previously made, Secretary Seaton has not just corrected the errors but has redone the study using altogether different assumptions.

This fact is obvious although my efforts over the past 6 weeks to get backup data supporting Seaton's figures have brought forth not one bit of information. Secretary Seaton is certainly tak-

ing some unusual measures to try to justify this scheme. One of the new assumptions resorted to relates to P. G. & E. service to the Sacramento Municipal Utility District. Mr. James E. McCaffrey, general manager of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, states that the district has not been approached on this matter. I am including at the end of my remarks an article and editorial from the Sacramento Bee relating to this matter. It seems to me that any assumption on which the Secretary bases a decision as important as this one on construction of Trinity power facilities should be known to all parties involved or affected. The article and editorial follow:

SMUD DENIES BEING OFFERED TRP POWER RATE

James E. McCaffrey, general manager of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, today said the district has not been approached regarding any special power rate from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

McCaffrey had reference to a letter written to Congress by Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton in which he mentioned such a plan under the proposed partnership arrangement between the private utility and the Federal Government for joint development of the Trinity River project.

SEEKS TO BOLSTER STAND

Seaton told of the plan in an effort to bolster his stand favoring joint development of the project.

His letter pointed out errors in calculation of extra costs to preference customers under the joint development plan. The Secretary admitted the extra costs would range between $115,002,000 and $149,940,000 over a 50-year period, depending on whether the San Luis unit is added to the Central Valley project, instead of the $86 million cited in his previous report.

Seaton said the extra cost figures are based on sales totaling 650,000 kilowatt hours to preference customers under all Federal development and 400,000 under joint development.

"It also assumes," Seaton wrote, "that the Sacramento Municipal Utility District would be served under a schedule R rate of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., with a 9 percent discount for bulk sales which the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. assures us would be available to the Sacramento Municipal Utility District."

The schedule R rate is a special uniform rate PGE offers in wholesaling power to municipalities and utility districts.

POWER RESTRICTIONS

However, Peter E. Mitchell, head of the State public utilities commission, points out SMUD would be unable to buy power from the PGE under schedule R because of PGE provisions customers under it must buy all their power from it. SMUD at present purchases energy from the CVP and plans to generate its own supplemental power.

"The district," McCaffrey said, "would not be in a position to say if the rate is better than in the present contract with the company until additional engineering studies are made."

SMUD holds a special contract with PGE to supply supplemental and firming power SMUD expects it will need in the interim before the district completes construction of its upper American River project.

SMUD expects it will use its entire allotment of Central Valley's project power by 1959 and it is estimated the upper American River project will not begin to produce power until 1961.

SEATON SHOULD BACK UP NEW PARTNERSHIP DATA

Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton has sent to Congress a new report on the proposed Trinity River "partnership" under which the Government would build the dams and other appurtenances and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would build and operate the power houses.

This supposedly corrects an earlier Interior Department report which showed the "partnership" in a much more favorable light than the true facts justify.

While the second document tones down the alleged economic advantages of "partnership," Seaton reiterates he still is for the plan.

Seaton's supplement makes some flat claims which are not supported in the report by any substantiating data except the assertion that the Bureau of Reclamation and representatives of the PGE are now in agreement on the savings which public agencies and Federal installations would realize from an all-Federal operation of Trinity.

There is no indication the preference power customers, who are the ones directly and vitally concerned, are in agreement or that they even were consulted.

Seaton's revised report reckons these preference customers would pay $115,002,000 more for power over a 50-year period if the PGE operated the generators than under Federal operation.

But United States Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL has stated the differential is something like $200 million.

This is a very large spread and makes the difference as to whether the so-called partnership would be financially favorable or unfavorable for the Government.

Certainly, where there is such a disparity on a matter of this importance Seaton ought to produce his supporting data and assumptions.

One assumption he does relate is that "the Sacramento Municipal Utility District would be served under a schedule R rate of the PGE, with a 9 percent discount for bulk sales which the PGE has orally assured us would be available to SMUD."

The fact is SMUD could not qualify for schedule R rates as long as it buys power from the Central Valleys project, or develops its own as it proposes to do. SMUD was not consulted by anyone from the Interior Department nor was any offer made to SMUD by the PGE, orally or in writing.

It appears plain that Seaton reached out very far in all directions to try to bolster his partnership recommendations and the report was assembled through cozy negotiations between the Reclamation Bureau and the PGE.

If all of Seaton's assumptions are as faulty and groundless as this one, the revised report too can be thrown into the wastebasket along with the original, which Seaton has admitted was in error.

The Responsibility of the Individual in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the responsibility of the informed individual in the South in these troublous times is one which should come in for great thought and analysis. Such a cogent analysis was contained in a lecture given on March 3, 1957, by Miss Frances H. Williams, herself from the South, at the North Carolina State Conference, National Student YWCA. Under unanimous consent I include excerpts from that lecture in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE SOUTH

(From a lecture by Miss Frances H. Williams at the North Carolina State conference, National Student YWCA, March 3, 1957)

First and foremost, I think we must understand what, if anything, we are about to lose with the inevitable removal of legal segregation. We must come to understand, whether we are northern or southern, whether we are black of white.

Now, at first glance, you may say to yourself I have nothing to lose, only all to gain. But that is not so. For no man is an island until himself, so do not ask for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee. If any man is to lose, then all are to lose. Now it may be that we are losing something we do not want, but it is a loss just the same.

And it is this loss which we must first come to understand. To suggest something of the nature of this search, may I illustrate from the same field but another day in history.

Once we in the South thought of lynching as a sad but inevitable necessity. Dreadful things happened—something had to be done—and that something was lynching. I grew up in a South that felt this way.

As a child in Kentucky, I either heard or thought I heard through the streets the hoofs of the night riders—Kentucky's form of the Klan—riding forth to preserve something that our system of justice seemed unable to preserve.

I was terrified on these nights and the terror has never completely left me. I could not even read about lynchings. But one day I said to myself: Well, there are lynchings and if you are to be of any use as a responsible citizen of the South, this, too, you must come to understand. There is no way to hide from the facts of life—except in fantasy. As an adult you must choose therefore whether to look at the facts or stay in a self-woven cocoon all your life.

So I decided to look. When I started to look at lynchings I knew only one thing, namely, that I believed strongly in the American system of justice. I believed that the police force could find and stop wrongdoers. I believed that the courts would give every man his day in court, and that those who could not function in a constructive manner within our society could find a simpler environment within our walls of confinement where they would do neither themselves or others any harm. So I started the search believing that lynchings were unnecessary, mankind had devised a better way. But I also knew that this was not all there was to the problem. The Night Riders did not trust our police or our courts. They trusted their whips and guns. Luckily for me, at this moment of history I had as my close friends the powers that be in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I knew that their files contained the most authentic records in the country. So I asked to read the record, the raw data. This reading was not easy. But I read. I had to take rest periods in between, but I read page after page, until, in my mind's eye, I began to see it all.

The events prior to the lynching, the lynching itself, and the aftermath.

And through it all I saw a terrible fear, in fact there was little else but fear. The victim was afraid, those who did the lynching were afraid, the part of the white community that would have no part in the deed itself was afraid, and the Negro community, that stood by in silence was also afraid.

As I read on I saw there was something else, hate, hate of white people for Negroes and hatred of Negroes for white people.

And then, finally, a long time after I had stopped reading and was just thinking, I came to see that there was hatred of white men for themselves and hatred of Negroes for themselves. I began then to see that this self-hate perhaps was the most difficult problem of all. I began to understand that when men and women hate themselves they cannot extend to anyone else the leeway, the time-space, in which our system of justice might work. They had to take the matter in their own hands and to relieve themselves of their own hate. They had to be brutal to someone else and, having been brutal for a moment, they then felt safe.

The truth of this I found in the records, a town that experienced a lynching for a time was a safe town. Wrongdoing of all sorts continued to take place in that town, but no one had to take the law in his own hands.

Having read and thought a lot, I began to be less frightened. I began to put myself in the place of the victim of a lynch mob. I saw that, though it would be painful, for the victim this was just one more event. A terrible accident could be equally painful.

I even thought of men condemned to die in prison. What was this like? Through my imagination I marched myself to the gas chamber, the scaffold. I saw to be killed was not so bad. It did not last too long. And, by and by, I saw that to be the victim was something one could take.

Then I thought about the lynchers. What was the experience for them? Had I myself ever lynched anyone? Had I ever felt that I had to inflict pain? Here the most difficult part was holding myself to the situation as selected. Then it occurred to me that I, who had never had a gun in my hand, could shoot a mad dog if he were about to attack a child or another person. From this the transfer was easy. I could also shoot into a mob that was heading for the Negro community, my community, to shoot and burn at will.

But still I was not at the end of the trail.

* * * * *

For 2 years I talked with people about their experiences with the phenomenon of lynching. Once I talked with a young man who rode a whole night in a car with a group of men and a rope. It was to be his last ride. I asked this young man, "How did you feel?" "Well," he said, "really O. K. I had had a good life and this seemed to be the end. The end comes to everyone. What I thought most about was the men who had me physically in their possession. They were such sad men. There was no joy in them."

Another time I talked with a member of a mob. He did no violence himself, but he did go along. On his return home he was sick—physically sick—he could hold nothing on his stomach.

Again, I talked with a girl who had ridden past a jail one night and saw the lynch mob standing there. She said, "Frances, it was the stillness that got me. They were deathly still." Again a young white girl told me of a night when she and her sister had just returned from dates and were sitting on the front porch. The village banker came by. He stopped to chat and they asked what the news was. He said, casually, "tomorrow at 3, there is to be a lynching." My friend told me that when he said these words, she could not speak. "Up to that moment," she said, "I thought lynchings were just things that happened and no one could stop them and here was my mother's friend calmly announcing even the hour a lynching was to be and it was still a night and a half a day away. Yet, our friend, the banker, planned to do nothing."

But this journey that I took in an effort to understand for myself the phenomenon of lynching, many men and women, northerners, southerners, whites, and blacks have taken. And that which we all found, we did not like. So, collectively, we decided to give up lynching and we have. We are all proud that we have done so. For the problems of hate and fear in this instance, we have found a better answer.

And so it is with segregation. We must first come to understand what this phenomenon is—then see if we like it—and finally ask ourselves if we lose it, will we be proud?

I think we will.

I think we will find—and the "we" here is all of us, white and black, northerner and southerner—we will find a simple fact, namely, that we do not like segregation and that there is a better answer to the fears that trouble men.

But the search to understand will not be easy. It will be time consuming but not nearly as time consuming as the perpetuation of segregation.

Have you ever thought how much time and energy goes into this business of preserving white supremacy? Have you ever thought how costly it is not only in dollars and cents, but in happiness?

If you decide to take up this search, do not try to cover the whole field at one leap. Select one segment: Segregation in schools, or segregation on buses. Or, take a field where there is no legal segregation, but segregation by custom, like the unwillingness to call adult Negro women Mrs. or Miss. And try to find all the facts of this field of activity—and the meaning of the facts to those who participate. Be sure to take an area where you yourself have some first-hand data. And remember, don't let yourself off easy. At the same time, do not berate yourself.

* * * * *

You set the stage and then the good, the bad, the indifferent all behave in a manner which leaves them all more pleased with themselves. Where there was a cold and barren land, you will make once more a friendly country.

And setting the stage is frequently so simple, once you understand just what it is you are dealing with.

May I illustrate once more: When I worked for the Office of Price Administration as the race relations adviser, Mr. Chester Bowles was the Administrator. The day came when he was going to visit our southern regional office which was located in Atlanta. Now Mr. Bowles had an assistant in charge of all regional offices who was a very nice gentleman from South Carolina. Naturally, therefore, he got all worked up over this visit and came to see me. He asked what would we do about this and that, all situations involving racial factors. I listened politely and saw that the poor man was suffering. He, of course, had stated that he had no personal prejudice against the Negroes. He just wanted everything to go right. But I saw that he just did not know what he was dealing with. So, after hearing him out, I asked him what did he usually do when Mr. Bowles made a visit to a regional office.

He said, "Well I just wire and say he is coming."

I then said, "Why not do that this time. Why prejudge the people in the regional office?" Then to comfort him, I said: "I think everything will come out all right."

* * * * *

Now it is my belief that no one should act against the segregation pattern of the South except under two conditions: One, when the law requires it and, two, when you desire to do so. In either case the action will bring you a new experience and sometimes the experiences which follow may fill you with strange and poignant emotions. These will have to be digested and incorporated into your total framework.

Let me suggest something of what some of these feelings may be. A good friend of mine who was born and brought up in the South said to me one day, "You know, if you are white it is not so hard, once you make up your mind, to act against the southern code. But the act itself leaves you feeling exposed—like you just dropped your petty in the middle of the street." As I listened, I remembered that at times I too felt exposed, as on that day when I waited on the railroad platform in Knoxville, Tenn. I was waiting for a young white student who was to chair 1 of the 3 first interracial conferences we ever had in the South, where there was no segregation. I was the YW regional secretary in charge and I had to go over the conference plans with this young man before proceeding on to Chattanooga to make arrangements for a place to house the conference. I knew no place in Knoxville where the two of us could meet and talk, since he was a white student and I was a Negro secretary. I finally decided on the platform of the railroad station, one of those as yet unassigned places. He arrived, we talked, my train came. He picked up my bags. But I said, "Never mind, you go on, I will attend to them."

I walked down the platform. It was night. I saw the pullman conductor. I asked if I could have a berth. Hearing in my voice my own recognition of his right to refuse me, he said, "Get on ahead." I did. I entered the "Jimmie" and sank down. A few minutes later there came the clanking of chains. A large man carrying a shotgun arrived and ordered all passengers to sit on one side. Then came the chain gang. But even there the southern way of life was not ignored. The white prisoners were chained in front and the Negro prisoners in the rear, but a single chain held them all. I had seen prisoners chained together before, but I had never been so close to them for such a long period of time. They were quiet enough people that night, except for one white lad notably disturbed.

For myself I was not only longing for a bed and clean sheets, but I was hungry. A waiter from the dining car came through. I asked if he could get me something to eat. He said the dining car was closed. I said, "Well, bring me a sandwich." He seemed indifferent. He was indifferent. So I sat throughout the night with $100 cash in my pocketbook. But I was unable to buy food or a proper resting place.

But this is not all that happened that night. At 4 in the morning, after a long taxi ride, I awoke a Negro family who had never seen me. They asked who I was. They took me in on faith and shared what they had with me. The next day I secured a church for the conference, and that night found me again in the Jim Crow waiting room, waiting for a train. The waiter who had come into the "Jimmie" the night before passed by. He stopped, looked at me, then he said, "You are the lady who wanted something to eat last night." I said, "Yes." And that was that.

However, in the years that have passed since that Chattanooga conference, I have had student after student who was there say to me, "Of course, you know him, Frances. He hit the sawdust trail to Chattanooga."

So I knew then, and I know now that in that conversation at the railroad station and all that followed I helped build the kind of world I believe in, I want, and I love. I think now as I retell this story that my life has been rich in spite of the hardships. I have had opportunities to create that which is good.

I have worked for things that count, and, having done so, I know that I shall always do so; there is but one requirement, and that is to rise and greet the day. The work is always there.

My young friends, in this last story I have suggested the final thing I wish to say to you—namely, something about the nature of the rewards that come to those who venture to build creatively against the hard, rigid, and destructive lines of segregation in the South.

Some of these rewards are suggested by Tolstoy in his War and Peace.

I quote from two sections:

The first is when a prisoner is standing a captive before one of Napoleon's generals. Tolstoy writes: "At the first glance, when (the general) had only raised his head from the papers where human affairs and lives were indicated by numbers (the prisoner) was merely a circumstance, and (the general) could have shot him without burdening his conscience with an evil deed, but now he saw in him a human being."

The second quote concerns itself with the hero of this great novel, Peter, who is supposed to be the richest man in the Russian Empire. During the French invasion Peter is taken prisoner and dragged through much of the retreat. Tolstoy writes: "Here only, and for the first time (Peter) appreciated, because he was deprived of it, the happiness of eating when he was hungry, of drinking when he was thirsty, of sleeping when he was sleepy, and of talking when he felt the desire to exchange some words * * * Later in life he always recurred with joy to this month of captivity, and never failed to speak with enthusiasm of the powerful * * * sensations, and especially of the moral calm which he had experienced at this epoch * * * He learned that man is meant for happiness and that this happiness is in him, in the satisfaction of the daily needs of existence, and that unhappiness is the fatal result, not of our need, but of our abundance * * * When calm reigned in the camp * * * The woods and the fields roundabout lay clearly visible * * * Then Peter cast his eyes on the firmament, filled at that hour with myriad of stars. 'All that is mine,' he thought. 'All that is in me, is me. And that is what they think they have taken prisoner. That is what they have shut up in a cabin.' So he smiled and turned in to sleep among his comrades."

William James in commenting upon this passage wrote: "The occasion and the experience, then, are nothing. It all depends on the capacity of the soul to be grasped, to have its life currents absorbed by what is given."

Emerson also speaks about this kind of excitement in life when he said: "Crossing a bare common in snow puddles, at twilight, under a clouded sky, without having in my thoughts any occurrence of special good fortune, I have enjoyed a perfect exhilaration. I am glad to the brink of fear."

So the real decision as to what you as an individual shall do—granted you are a southerner and live in the South—lies in the answer to another question: What do you want from life? The ease and comfort of a silken cocoon woven out of the tears and heartbreaks of others—or in the inner calm of knowing that the stars are yours because you paid the price to claim them for your own. Of this—no prison—not torture—can deprive you. What you really want, you get. Make no mistake about this. Life will not deny you your own purchase in its market place. This choice is unlimited.

Just be sure you know what you want and where your happiness lies.

Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on June 16 one of the most prominent figures in New Jersey, Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt, died just 2 days after suffering a stroke. In his passing our State, and indeed the Nation, has lost one of its leading jurists. A man of many interests, Justice Vanderbilt not only transformed New Jersey's judicial system but he exercised decisive leadership for many years in education and governmental fields. The example of good citizenship which he so brilliantly exemplified will serve as an inspiration to many others, far beyond the borders of New Jersey.

I should like to include an article from the New York Times of June 16 regarding Justice Vanderbilt, as well as an editorial of June 17 from the New York Herald Tribune:

[From the New York Times of June 16]

LEADER IN COURT REFORM

Justice Vanderbilt was a leader in court reform, legal education, and good government. As lawyer, teacher, and judge he was an outstanding defender of civil liberties.

He was in the front rank of the country-wide movement in the last half century to improve court structure, administration, and procedure in State and Nation. Unification of court systems, modernization of court administration, and simplification of court rules were his main goals in public service.

Cooperation between bar and public, he held, was essential to enable the law to adapt itself to changing conditions. He insisted that the courts were big business and should be run in a businesslike manner. Every case should be handled promptly on its merits, he asserted, rather than on the basis of procedural technicalities.

Justice Vanderbilt played a leading part in a long, hard fight that led to the adoption of a new State constitution in New Jersey in 1947 and to reorganization of its court system the next year. He was then appointed chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court. In this capacity he served as head of the State's judicial system, and was able to put into effect ideas of court reform that he had advocated for many years.

His program was credited with putting New Jersey among the most advanced States in raising the efficiency of the courts and reducing congestion and delay in bringing cases to trial.

As chief justice he held annual conferences of judges, lawyers and legislators to revise court rules, making them more flexible and less technical. He introduced modern administrative and personnel methods. He took steps to increase the prestige and dignity of the municipal courts, which he held to be most important because of their closeness to the people.

Justice Vanderbilt was born in Newark on July 7, 1888. He attended Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., and the Columbia Law School.

In 1913 he received his law degree, was admitted to the bar in New Jersey, and got a clerkship in a Newark law office. He became an instructor in 1914, a professor in 1918 and dean in 1943 at New York University Law School.

He set up his own law office in Newark in 1915. He taught and practiced in all fields of law, but also specialized in insurance and corporation law, administrative law and trusts.

COUNSEL TO NORMAN THOMAS

One of his best-known cases in private practice was as counsel for Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, after the late Mayor Frank Hague, of Jersey City, had barred him from speaking at public meetings there. The case went to the United State Supreme Court on constitutional issues, and a Jersey City ordinance under which Mayor Hague had acted was declared void.

Justice Vanderbilt went into politics in 1919 as president of the Essex County Republican League, which gained control of the County Board of Freeholders in 1920. He became Essex County counsel in 1922.

The Essex County Republican League developed into the Clean Government League, which won control of Essex, Bergen, and Union Counties for Justice Vanderbilt and his associates.

Justice Vanderbilt was president of the American Bar Association in 1937. During his presidency he led the association in demands for simplification of the Federal court system. Between 1938 and 1946 he was chairman of advisory committees that helped the United States Supreme Court and the United States Attorney General's office to reorganize the Federal courts.

His campaign for court reform in New Jersey included service as chairman of the State judiciary council from 1930 to 1940. He was also a member of the New Jersey State Constitutional Revision Committee in 1941 and 1942, and a special assistant to the State attorney general in 1942 and 1943.

Justice Vanderbilt wrote several books on legal subjects and delivered many lectures at law schools and universities throughout the country that were published in book form.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 17, 1957]

ARTHUR T. VANDERBILT

The death at 68 of Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt, of the New Jersey supreme court, closes one of the most disinguished and valuable judicial careers in modern-day America. His monument is the New Jersey judiciary, which Justice Vanderbilt transformed from an archaic, tortuous, overburdened institution into one of the Nation's most effective and respected court systems And the New Jersey constitution, whose adoption in 1948 came about largely through Justice Vanderbilt's efforts, similarly stands as a model of its kind.

Justice Vanderbilt was a jurist whose attainments and outlook went considerably beyond narrowly legalistic considerations. He was a leader in education and good government, no less than in court reform. As an attorney in private practice, he showed particularly deep concern for civil liberties, even at the risk of espousing unpopular causes. To him, the protection of the law was the right of every American citizen.

With this underlying basic approach, it was no surprise that Justice Vanderbilt was in the forefront of the battle to make the courts serve the people with the utmost efficiency and speed. He labored unceasingly

to bring about improvements in court structure, administration, and procedure, and the results he achieved in New Jersey served as an example and goal for jurists in other States.

Judges like Arthur T. Vanderbilt, courageous, hard working, and farseeing, are a credit to America and its legal profession. He will long be remembered as one to whom the administration of justice was a sacred trust.

Now That Khrushchev's on TV, Here Is $64,000 Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Waco News-Tribune of June 11, 1957:

NOW THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S ON TV, HERE'S $64,000 QUESTION

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON'S dramatic call Saturday for an open curtain of exchanges of opinion and views between Soviet Russia and the United States could be used as a springboard to put new pressure on the Commies.

It is difficult to believe that the Russians would permit such wide interchange of personal views on nationally broadcast programs as Senator JOHNSON suggests, but since we have now allowed their chief spokesman, Nikita Khrushchev, to use a United States television program to go through his deceptive paces, we ought to keep publicly demanding equal time on the Russian radio and TV for an American spokesman. We ought to tell the world repeatedly of Senator JOHNSON'S proposals and insist that the men of Moscow answer it. It is the kind of a situation that strikes the Communists in their most vulnerable spot—their inferiority complex.

Senator JOHNSON restated a fundamental truth when he said he was not afraid of what would happen if Russian leaders were allowed, as they already have been allowed, to argue their case before the American people so long as the other side of the coin is also presented. He quoted Thomas Jefferson's famous statement:

"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate power of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

Right there is the difference between the so-called people's democracy of communism and our own. The people are given no custody of their own destinies or of their own government in Russia.

Senator JOHNSON perhaps was calling for the millenium when he urged a public exchange of views on a continuing basis between the American people and the Russian people. But for the first time in history it is mechanically possible. The only thing that stands in the way of its happening is the same Communist mentality that fashioned and maintains the Iron Curtain. The Texas Senator has posed a question to the Communists that they should be compelled by force of world opinion to answer.

Cotton: Average Value in Dollars per Cotton Allotment by Counties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following tabulation recently received from the United States Department of Agriculture:

Cotton production in the United States by cotton State, by cotton county, 1955 (counties were used for each State in the cases where complete information was available)

State and county	Number of cotton allotments	Total cotton acreage allotted	Number of cotton bales ginned	Total value of cotton (thousands)	Average acreage per allotment	Average number of bales per allotment	Average value per allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Alabama:							
Autauga	996	10,222	11,200	$1,910	10.3	11.2	$1,918
Baldwin	811	3,136	2,730	466	3.9	3.4	575
Barbour	1,574	14,254	10,800	1,842	9.1	6.9	1,170
Bibb	631	4,403	4,370	745	7.0	6.9	1,181
Blount	3,200	20,486	19,900	3,394	6.4	6.2	1,061
Bullock	753	9,669	7,800	1,330	12.8	10.4	1,766
Butler	1,632	10,417	9,500	1,620	6.4	5.8	993
Calhoun	1,238	8,457	6,400	1,092	6.8	5.2	882
Chambers	1,037	11,123	8,200	1,399	10.7	7.9	1,349
Cherokee	1,811	23,708	25,600	4,367	13.1	14.1	2,411
Chilton	2,169	11,597	11,600	1,979	5.3	5.3	912
Choctaw	1,614	7,099	5,850	998	4.4	3.6	618
Clarke	1,599	6,490	4,890	834	4.1	3.1	522
Clay	1,208	5,530	3,860	658	4.6	3.2	545
Cleburne	646	3,836	2,260	385	5.9	3.5	596
Coffee	1,971	19,058	16,700	2,848	9.7	8.5	1,445
Colbert	1,520	24,440	22,500	3,838	16.1	14.8	2,525
Conecuh	2,163	13,561	11,500	1,962	6.3	5.3	907
Coosa	545	2,295	1,260	215	4.2	2.3	394
Covington	2,381	17,003	14,900	2,542	7.1	6.3	1,068
Crenshaw	1,447	11,975	9,650	1,646	8.3	6.7	1,138
Cullman	6,282	39,459	42,300	7,215	6.3	6.7	1,149
Dale	1,198	8,154	6,050	1,032	6.8	5.1	861
Dallas	1,467	27,841	32,100	5,475	19.0	21.9	3,732
DeKalb	5,447	36,541	37,900	6,465	6.7	7.0	1,187
Elmore	1,658	16,964	19,900	3,394	10.2	12.0	2,047
Escambia	1,460	10,894	12,800	2,183	7.5	8.8	1,495
Etowah	2,369	14,273	13,700	2,337	6.3	6.0	1,030
Fayette	1,835	10,658	9,600	1,637	5.8	5.2	892
Franklin	2,144	15,960	13,500	2,303	7.4	6.3	1,074
Geneva	2,101	20,726	18,300	3,121	9.9	8.7	1,485
Greene	960	14,456	14,200	2,422	15.1	14.8	2,523
Hale	1,441	16,488	18,100	3,087	11.4	12.6	2,142
Henry	1,245	15,522	13,500	2,303	12.5	10.8	1,850
Houston	2,574	26,437	20,700	3,531	10.3	8.0	1,372
Jackson	3,508	28,434	28,000	4,776	8.1	8.0	1,361
Jefferson	888	4,695	3,480	594	5.3	3.9	669
Lamar	1,896	13,224	11,600	1,979	7.0	6.1	1,044
Lauderdale	3,362	31,699	26,100	4,452	9.4	7.8	1,324
Lawrence	2,855	42,700	44,200	7,539	15.0	15.5	2,641
Lee	975	10,240	8,000	1,365	10.5	8.2	1,400
Limestone	3,312	53,882	55,400	9,450	16.3	16.7	2,853
Lowndes	757	11,630	13,200	2,252	15.4	17.4	2,975
Macon	1,444	18,137	15,800	2,695	12.6	10.9	1,866
Madison	3,392	63,027	65,500	11,172	18.6	19.3	3,294
Marengo	1,848	18,344	16,900	2,883	9.9	9.1	1,560
Marion	2,556	16,024	12,900	2,200	6.3	5.0	861
Marshall	4,607	35,338	40,200	6,857	7.7	8.7	1,488
Mobile	808	3,755	3,180	542	4.6	3.9	671
Monroe	1,938	18,751	22,100	3,770	9.7	11.4	1,945
Montgomery	1,021	12,025	12,300	2,098	11.8	12.0	2,055
Morgan	3,548	32,788	35,000	5,970	9.2	9.9	1,683
Perry	1,090	11,858	13,700	2,337	10.9	12.6	2,144

Cotton production in the United States by cotton State, by cotton county, 1955 (counties were used for each State in the cases where complete information was available)—Continued

State and county (1)	Number of cotton allotments (2)	Total cotton acreage allotted (3)	Number of cotton bales ginned (4)	Total value of cotton (thousands) (5)	Average acreage per allotment (6)	Average number of bales per allotment (7)	Average value per allotment (8)
Alabama—continued							
Pickens	1,822	16,944	15,800	$2,605	9.3	8.7	$1,479
Pike	1,507	17,508	12,700	2,166	11.6	8.4	1,437
Randolph	2,208	11,782	8,200	1,399	5.3	3.7	634
Russell	775	10,979	7,850	1,339	14.2	10.1	1,728
St. Clair	1,174	6,831	5,350	913	5.8	4.6	778
Shelby	715	6,527	6,050	1,032	9.1	8.5	1,443
Sumter	1,172	15,069	14,300	2,439	12.9	12.2	2,081
Talladega	1,759	14,938	10,400	1,774	8.5	5.9	1,009
Tallapoosa	1,063	8,355	6,450	1,100	7.9	6.1	1,035
Tuscaloosa	2,194	19,022	17,900	3,053	8.7	8.2	1,392
Walker	1,994	9,113	6,400	1,092	4.6	3.2	548
Washington	711	2,642	2,170	370	3.7	3.1	520
Wilcox	1,251	12,816	12,600	2,149	10.2	10.1	1,718
Winston	1,537	9,000	7,150	1,220	5.9	4.7	794
Total	122,714	1,101,299	1,045,000	178,247	9.0	8.5	1,453
Arizona:							
Cochise	372	12,481	14,990	2,421	33.6	40.3	6,508
Graham	256	10,475	15,630	2,524	40.9	61.1	9,859
Greenlee	87	1,722	2,350	380	19.8	27.0	4,368
Maricopa	1,487	121,422	276,835	44,713	81.7	186.2	30,069
Mohave	7	200	1,650	266	28.6	235.7	38,000
Pima	229	21,535	33,990	5,475	94.0	148.0	23,908
Pinal	791	138,114	306,490	49,502	174.6	387.5	62,582
Santa Cruz	21	1,896	2,450	396	90.3	116.7	18,857
Yavapai	1	11	25	4	11.0	25.0	4,000
Yuma	607	26,082	51,380	8,299	43.0	84.6	13,672
Total	3,858	333,938	705,700	113,960	86.6	182.9	29,544
Arkansas:							
Arkansas	968	11,675	11,300	1,853	11.8	11.4	1,876
Ashley	868	27,666	35,300	5,789	31.9	40.7	6,669
Baxter	33	124	35	6	3.8	1.1	182
Boone	5	42	5	1	8.4	1.0	200
Bradley	858	7,907	5,650	927	9.2	6.6	1,080
Calhoun	503	5,411	4,530	741	10.8	9.0	1,473
Chicot	1,462	32,861	39,700	6,510	22.5	27.2	4,453
Clark	433	5,906	4,280	702	13.6	9.9	1,621
Clay	3,135	44,245	38,600	6,330	14.1	12.3	2,019
Cleburne	793	5,472	2,400	394	6.9	3.0	497
Cleveland	708	6,565	4,450	730	9.3	6.3	1,031
Columbia	1,838	18,058	9,300	1,525	9.8	5.1	830
Conway	813	9,344	7,100	1,164	11.5	8.7	1,432
Craighead	3,544	89,411	77,700	12,742	25.2	21.9	3,595
Crawford	29	494	550	90	17.0	19.0	3,103
Crittenden	1,726	101,773	146,600	24,041	59.0	84.9	13,929
Cross	1,405	40,154	51,400	8,429	28.6	36.6	5,999
Dallas	393	3,385	2,180	357	8.6	5.5	908
Desha	1,379	45,969	61,500	10,085	33.3	44.6	7,313
Drew	1,204	16,423	15,900	2,607	13.6	13.2	2,165
Faulkner	1,745	17,857	12,100	1,984	10.2	6.9	1,137
Franklin	78	718	450	74	9.2	5.8	949
Fulton	260	1,217	560	92	4.7	2.2	354
Garland	6	23	8	1	3.8	1.3	167
Grant	246	1,283	600	98	5.2	2.4	398
Greene	2,998	42,631	37,300	6,117	14.2	12.4	2,040
Hempstead	1,034	13,869	12,900	2,115	13.4	12.5	2,045
Hot Spring	111	922	385	63	8.3	3.5	568
Howard	288	3,239	1,780	294	11.2	6.2	1,021
Independence	713	8,314	6,700	1,099	11.7	9.4	1,541
Izard	589	3,261	1,730	284	5.5	2.9	482
Jackson	1,485	46,250	41,900	6,871	31.1	28.2	4,627
Jefferson	1,487	70,696	90,000	14,759	47.5	60.5	9,925
Johnson	68	1,073	1,330	218	15.8	19.6	3,206
Lafayette	664	16,394	15,100	2,476	24.7	22.7	3,729
Lawrence	1,474	22,846	17,800	2,919	15.5	12.1	1,980
Lee	2,111	63,776	74,000	12,135	30.2	35.1	5,748
Lincoln	1,153	35,493	44,500	7,298	30.8	38.6	6,330
Little River	332	6,642	6,050	992	20.0	18.2	2,988
Logan	216	2,291	1,980	325	10.6	9.2	1,505
Lonoke	2,141	55,295	55,400	9,085	25.8	25.9	4,243
Marion	26	120	30	5	4.6	1.2	192
Miller	687	13,711	11,700	1,919	20.0	17.0	2,793
Mississippi	3,317	190,142	241,200	39,555	57.3	72.7	11,925
Monroe	1,550	42,998	43,600	7,150	27.7	28.1	4,613
Montgomery	29	109	35	6	3.8	1.2	207
Nevada	711	6,861	3,090	507	9.6	4.3	713
Newton	20	76	22	4	3.8	1.1	200
Ouachita	429	3,932	2,240	367	9.2	5.2	855
Perry	182	1,649	1,770	290	9.1	9.7	1,593
Phillips	2,380	87,240	113,400	18,596	36.7	47.6	7,813
Pike	72	582	265	43	8.1	3.7	597
Poinsett	1,840	89,591	97,000	15,907	48.7	52.7	8,645
Polk	15	94	30	5	6.3	2.0	333
Pope	364	4,076	3,020	495	11.2	8.3	1,360
Prairie	966	11,963	10,300	1,689	12.4	10.7	1,748
Pulaski	570	19,215	19,500	3,198	33.7	34.2	5,611
Randolph	854	11,401	8,650	1,419	13.4	10.1	1,662
St. Francis	1,698	99,238	86,500	14,513	40.8	62.1	8,547
Saline	49	174	75	12	3.6	1.5	245
Scott	60	306	120	20	5.1	2.0	333
Searcy	53	271	140	23	5.1	2.6	434
Sebastian	73	520	410	67	7.1	5.6	918
Sevier	195	986	630	103	5.1	3.2	528
Sharp	502	3,566	2,000	328	7.1	4.0	653
Stone	79	277	90	15	3.5	1.1	190
Union	897	4,152	1,730	284	7.0	2.9	476
Van Buren	333	1,601	450	74	5.1	1.4	222

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State and county	Number of cotton allotments	Total cotton acreage allotted	Number of cotton bales ginned	Total value of cotton (thousands)	Average acreage per allotment	Average number of bales per allotment	Average value per allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Arkansas—Continued							
White	3,386	30,134	20,000	$3,280	8.9	5.9	$969
Woodruff	1,204	39,461	42,400	7,117	32.8	35.0	5,911
Yell	427	7,776	8,550	1,402	18.2	20.0	3,283
Total	63,964	1,529,287	1,663,000	272,715	23.9	26.0	4,262
California:							
Fresno	4,775	199,230	308,000	80,941	41.7	64.5	10,666
Imperial	715	47,129	87,480	14,469	65.9	122.3	20,236
Kern	1,888	181,058	354,000	58,549	95.9	187.5	31,011
Kings	1,570	97,811	130,500	21,584	62.3	83.1	13,748
Los Angeles	9	66	20	3	7.3	2.2	333
Madera	1,229	48,189	51,000	8,435	39.2	41.5	6,863
Merced	489	29,225	35,000	5,789	59.8	71.6	11,838
Riverside	392	19,861	36,020	5,957	50.7	91.9	15,196
San Benito	4	234	360	60	58.5	90.0	15,000
San Bernardino	23	682	145	24	29.7	6.3	1,043
San Diego	4	316	275	45	79.0	68.7	11,250
Tulare	4,124	148,831	202,000	33,409	36.1	49.0	8,101
Total	15,222	772,632	1,204,800	199,265	50.8	79.1	13,091
Florida:							
Alachua	31	155	148	25	5.0	4.8	806
Baker	1	6	4	1	6.0	4.0	1,000
Bay	12	69	34	6	5.7	2.8	500
Calhoun	126	719	400	68	5.7	3.2	540
Clay	3	7	12	2	2.3	4.0	667
Columbia	157	265	110	19	1.7	.7	121
Escambia	343	1,575	1,485	251	4.6	4.3	732
Gadsden	122	280	135	23	2.3	1.1	189
Hamilton	325	1,276	650	110	3.9	2.0	338
Holmes	1,105	5,261	3,710	627	4.8	3.4	567
Jackson	1,982	8,074	4,270	721	4.1	2.2	364
Jefferson	411	1,647	840	142	4.0	2.0	345
Lafayette	111	259	100	17	2.3	.9	153
Leon	284	1,231	570	96	4.3	2.0	338
Levy	3	11	3	1	3.7	1.0	333
Liberty	4	15	4	1	3.7	1.0	250
Madison	744	3,107	1,634	276	4.2	2.2	371
Nassau	4	6	6	1	1.5	1.5	250
Okaloosa	323	1,722	1,450	245	5.3	4.5	759
Santa Rosa	840	6,214	5,880	994	7.4	7.0	1,183
Suwannee	400	681	480	81	1.7	1.2	203
Taylor	18	32	13	2	1.8	.7	111
Union	9	14	8	1	1.6	.9	111
Walton	556	2,476	1,930	326	4.5	3.5	586
Washington	339	996	660	111	2.9	1.9	327
Total	8,253	36,098	24,536	4,147	4.4	3.0	502
Georgia:							
Appling	953	4,719	2,940	500	5.0	3.1	525
Atkinson	250	901	580	99	3.6	2.3	396
Bacon	579	2,387	1,440	245	4.1	2.5	423
Baker	340	3,251	2,230	379	9.6	6.6	1,115
Baldwin	342	2,906	1,460	248	8.5	4.3	725
Banks	627	3,864	3,330	566	6.2	5.3	903
Barrow	754	6,857	5,840	992	9.1	7.7	1,316
Bartow	1,043	18,731	20,070	3,411	18.0	19.2	3,270
Ben Hill	531	5,191	3,600	612	9.8	6.8	1,153
Berrien	670	3,179	2,160	367	4.7	3.2	548
Bibb	155	1,288	1,170	199	8.3	7.5	1,284
Bleckley	531	7,371	6,470	1,100	13.9	12.2	2,072
Brantley	22	42	8	1	1.9	.4	91
Brooks	1,265	9,136	7,890	1,341	7.2	6.2	1,060
Bryan	69	219	60	10	3.2	.9	145
Bulloch	1,536	15,688	9,510	1,616	10.2	6.2	1,052
Burke	1,258	38,189	25,860	4,394	30.4	20.6	3,493
Butts	389	5,117	3,290	559	13.2	8.5	1,437
Calhoun	339	5,475	4,550	773	16.1	13.4	2,280
Candler	532	7,040	3,680	625	13.2	6.9	1,175
Carroll	1,736	12,309	6,740	1,145	7.1	3.9	660
Catoosa	296	1,650	1,140	194	5.6	3.9	655
Chatham	17	43	35	6	2.5	2.1	353
Chattahoochee	44	149	35	6	3.4	.8	136
Chattooga	588	5,648	4,640	789	9.6	7.9	1,342
Cherokee	266	1,470	610	104	5.5	2.3	391
Clarke	347	2,265	1,760	299	6.5	5.1	862
Clay	279	3,526	3,250	552	12.6	11.6	1,978
Clayton	155	1,538	730	124	9.9	4.7	800
Clinch	48	124	65	11	2.6	1.4	229
Cobb	305	1,842	730	124	6.0	2.4	407
Coffee	1,097	7,198	4,060	690	6.6	3.7	629
Colquitt	1,887	21,193	17,760	3,018	11.2	9.4	1,599
Columbia	351	2,351	1,210	206	6.7	3.4	587
Cook	682	3,839	2,620	445	5.6	3.8	652
Coweta	688	8,616	5,390	916	12.5	7.8	1,331
Crawford	226	2,034	1,520	258	9.0	6.7	1,142
Crisp	576	9,770	8,170	1,388	17.0	14.2	2,410
Dade	140	491	220	37	3.5	1.6	264
Dawson	80	263	85	14	3.3	1.1	175
Decatur	731	4,037	1,830	311	5.5	2.5	425
De Kalb	133	757	360	61	5.7	2.7	459
Dodge	1,133	14,234	8,600	1,462	12.6	7.6	1,290
Dooly	955	19,821	18,010	3,060	20.8	18.9	3,204
Dougherty	195	2,019	1,040	177	10.4	5.3	908
Douglas	177	1,532	610	104	8.7	3.4	588
Early	1,066	13,964	12,960	2,202	13.1	12.2	2,066
Echols	24	43	5	1	1.8	.2	42
Effingham	350	1,617	739	127	4.6	2.1	363

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Georgia—Continued							
Elbert	1,192	9,772	10,420	$1,771	8.2	8.7	$1,486
Emanuel	1,265	17,927	11,610	1,973	14.2	9.2	1,560
Evans	363	2,764	1,750	297	7.6	4.8	818
Fannin							
Fayette	546	5,596	3,530	600	10.2	6.5	1,099
Floyd	747	9,296	7,260	1,234	12.4	9.7	1,652
Forsyth	555	3,127	1,850	314	5.6	3.3	565
Franklin	1,362	8,858	8,260	1,404	6.5	6.1	1,031
Fulton	475	3,029	1,740	296	6.3	3.7	623
Glascock	339	5,428	2,840	483	16.0	8.4	1,425
Gordon	1,157	11,740	10,550	1,793	10.1	9.1	1,550
Grady	791	3,466	3,070	522	4.4	3.9	660
Greene	540	3,731	1,890	321	6.9	3.5	594
Gwinnett	908	5,969	3,670	624	6.6	4.0	687
Habersham	148	548	300	51	3.7	2.0	345
Hall	552	3,088	1,890	321	5.6	3.4	582
Hancock	824	9,889	6,230	1,059	12.0	7.6	1,285
Haralson	730	3,555	1,980	336	4.9	2.7	460
Harris	288	2,002	1,160	197	7.0	4.0	684
Hart	1,469	12,945	14,120	2,400	8.8	9.6	1,634
Heard	466	3,480	2,130	362	7.5	4.6	777
Henry	898	12,840	9,690	1,647	14.3	10.8	1,834
Houston	409	5,769	3,600	612	14.1	8.8	1,496
Irwin	845	9,944	7,780	1,322	11.8	9.2	1,564
Jackson	1,257	11,121	8,560	1,455	8.8	6.8	1,158
Jasper	291	4,965	3,820	649	17.1	13.1	2,230
Jeff Davis	534	2,257	1,150	195	4.2	2.2	365
Jefferson	991	21,339	14,050	2,388	21.5	14.2	2,410
Jenkins	631	12,673	8,100	1,377	20.1	12.8	2,182
Johnson	767	16,910	11,570	1,966	22.0	15.1	2,563
Jones	130	635	290	49	4.9	2.2	377
Lamar	357	2,878	1,900	323	8.1	5.3	905
Lanier	191	579	270	46	3.0	1.4	241
Laurens	1,920	31,169	20,250	3,441	16.2	10.5	1,792
Lee	304	3,514	2,520	428	11.6	8.3	1,408
Liberty	95	125	25	4	1.3	.3	42
Lincoln	277	2,891	1,780	302	10.4	6.4	1,090
Long	172	519	270	46	3.0	1.6	267
Lowndes	814	3,235	2,150	365	4.0	2.6	448
Lumpkin	40	131	55	9	3.3	1.4	225
McDuffie	458	7,262	3,620	615	15.9	7.9	1,343
Macon	581	12,885	11,130	1,891	22.2	19.2	3,255
Madison	1,430	11,259	10,180	1,730	7.9	7.1	1,210
Marion	315	4,109	2,950	501	13.0	9.4	1,590
Meriwether	970	13,214	10,710	1,820	13.6	11.0	1,876
Miller	609	5,765	4,230	719	9.5	6.9	1,181
Mitchell	1,012	12,429	9,860	1,676	12.3	9.7	1,656
Monroe	258	1,867	970	165	7.2	3.8	640
Montgomery	481	4,302	2,460	418	8.9	5.1	869
Morgan	705	15,613	14,400	2,447	22.1	20.4	3,471
Murray	613	4,566	2,840	483	7.4	4.6	788
Muscogee	40	216	125	21	5.4	3.1	525
Newton	652	8,541	7,160	1,217	13.1	11.0	1,867
Oconee	613	8,789	7,980	1,356	14.3	13.0	2,212
Oglethorpe	974	8,514	8,190	1,392	8.7	8.4	1,429
Paulding	473	4,000	2,460	418	8.5	5.2	884
Peach	191	2,490	2,540	432	13.0	13.3	2,262
Pickens	135	853	430	73	6.3	3.2	541
Pierce	612	2,280	1,320	224	3.7	2.2	366
Pike	435	7,001	6,750	977	16.1	13.2	2,246
Polk	825	7,495	5,460	928	9.1	6.6	1,125
Pulaski	501	9,276	5,860	996	18.5	11.7	1,988
Putnam	266	2,072	1,170	199	7.8	4.4	748
Quitman	134	1,585	770	131	11.8	5.7	978
Randolph	432	6,003	5,040	857	13.9	11.7	1,984
Richmond	210	2,776	1,350	229	13.2	6.4	1,090
Rockdale	345	3,875	1,830	311	11.2	5.3	901
Schley	252	4,245	3,140	534	16.8	12.5	2,119
Screven	1,110	18,075	8,130	1,382	16.3	7.3	1,245
Seminole	500	4,777	4,140	704	9.6	8.3	1,408
Spalding	294	2,980	2,150	365	10.1	7.3	1,241
Stephens	296	1,128	850	144	3.8	2.9	486
Stewart	332	3,090	1,960	331	9.3	5.9	997
Sumter	712	11,082	11,460	1,948	15.6	16.1	2,736
Talbot	276	1,551	680	116	5.6	2.5	420
Taliaferro	291	2,128	940	160	7.3	3.2	550
Tattnall	868	5,446	2,900	493	6.3	3.3	568
Taylor	451	7,558	7,180	1,220	16.8	15.9	2,705
Telfair	760	4,926	2,610	444	6.5	3.4	584
Terrell	546	12,426	13,610	2,347	22.8	25.3	4,299
Thomas	869	5,728	3,430	583	6.6	3.9	671
Tift	832	6,791	5,060	863	8.2	6.1	1,037
Toombs	816	8,240	5,190	882	10.1	6.4	1,081
Treutlen	354	3,773	2,670	454	10.7	7.5	1,282
Troup	343	2,360	1,320	209	6.9	3.6	609
Turner	608	7,977	6,260	1,044	13.1	9.8	1,663
Twiggs	464	3,735	2,260	384	8.0	4.9	828
Union							
Upson	219	1,490	1,040	177	6.8	4.7	808
Walker	722	3,583	1,820	309	5.0	2.5	428
Walton	1,267	21,228	19,970	3,394	16.8	15.8	2,679
Ware	344	737	410	70	2.1	1.2	203
Warren	514	12,350	7,290	1,239	24.0	14.2	2,411
Washington	1,049	18,468	13,780	2,342	17.6	13.1	2,232
Wayne	404	2,642	1,580	269	6.5	3.9	666
Webster	251	1,708	970	165	6.8	3.9	657
Wheeler	463	3,591	2,300	406	7.8	5.2	877
White	204	654	470	80	3.2	2.3	392
Whitfield	524	2,821	1,300	221	5.4	2.5	422
Wilcox	780	11,759	7,980	1,356	15.1	10.2	1,738
Wilkes	474	5,191	3,390	576	11.0	7.2	1,215

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Georgia—Continued							
Wilkinson	418	2,927	1,480	$252	7.0	3.5	$603
Worth	1,230	18,736	15,440	2,624	15.2	12.6	2,133
Total	86,504	950,537	700,998	119,130	11.0	8.1	1,377
Illinois:							
Alexander	231	1,684	1,010	160	7.3	4.4	693
Pulaski	233	1,370	785	124	5.9	3.4	532
Total	464	3,054	1,795	284	6.6	3.9	612
Kentucky:							
Ballard	6	16	4	1	2.7	.7	167
Galloway	163	214	75	12	1.3	.5	74
Carlisle	40	90	50	8	2.3	1.3	200
Fulton	423	6,577	8,950	1,483	15.5	21.2	3,505
Graves	175	194	72	12	1.1	.4	69
Hickman	362	1,196	1,030	171	3.3	2.8	475
Marshall	54	76	17	3	1.4	.3	56
Total	1,223	8,363	10,198	1,690	6.8	8.3	1,382
Louisiana:							
Acadia	1,298	13,868	11,050	1,807	10.7	8.5	1,392
Allen	303	1,027	505	83	3.4	1.7	274
Ascension	277	756	320	52	2.7	1.2	188
Assumption	15	39	4	1	2.6	.3	67
Avoyelles	3,627	28,257	30,200	4,938	7.8	8.3	1,361
Beauregard	176	504	160	26	2.9	.9	148
Bienville	913	7,906	4,440	726	8.7	4.9	795
Bossier	981	21,844	20,900	3,418	22.3	21.3	3,484
Caddo	1,119	38,534	45,900	7,505	34.4	41.0	6,707
Calcasieu	77	299	110	18	3.9	1.4	234
Caldwell	522	7,824	5,250	858	15.0	10.1	1,644
Cameron	145	467	145	24	3.2	1.0	166
Catahoula	953	13,135	10,600	1,733	13.8	11.1	1,818
Claiborne	1,166	12,757	5,300	867	10.9	4.5	744
Concordia	584	10,180	9,200	1,504	17.4	15.8	2,575
De Soto	1,206	12,343	7,890	1,290	10.2	6.5	1,070
East Baton Rouge	462	1,046	510	83	2.3	1.1	180
East Carroll	921	26,249	24,100	3,941	28.5	26.2	4,279
East Feliciana	670	4,257	2,460	402	6.4	3.7	600
Evangeline	1,958	18,692	17,100	2,796	9.5	8.7	1,428
Franklin	2,335	60,165	54,000	8,830	25.8	23.1	3,782
Grant	241	4,100	2,060	337	17.0	8.5	1,398
Iberia	465	2,252	1,070	175	4.8	2.3	376
Iberville	174	783	255	42	4.5	1.5	241
Jackson	371	1,630	645	105	4.4	1.7	283
Jefferson Davis	174	731	285	47	4.2	1.6	270
Lafayette	2,086	17,220	14,100	2,306	8.3	6.8	1,105
La Salle	129	485	285	47	3.8	2.2	364
Lincoln	581	5,822	2,640	432	10.0	4.5	744
Livingston	255	526	250	41	2.1	1.0	161
Madison	682	19,927	22,600	3,695	29.2	33.1	5,418
Morehouse	1,138	32,440	39,900	6,524	28.5	35.1	5,733
Natchitoches	1,204	27,476	17,900	2,927	22.8	14.9	2,431
Ouachita	732	15,301	13,000	2,126	20.9	17.8	2,904
Pointe Coupee	991	11,598	10,400	1,701	11.7	10.5	1,716
Rapides	1,273	18,600	18,000	2,943	14.6	14.1	2,312
Red River	564	13,508	9,300	1,521	24.0	16.5	2,697
Richland	1,992	51,446	52,000	8,503	25.8	26.1	4,269
Sabine	565	3,123	1,460	239	5.5	2.6	423
St. Helena	905	2,706	1,510	247	3.0	1.7	273
St. James	12	23	10	2	1.9	.8	167
St. John the Baptist	3	15	10	2	5.0	3.3	667
St. Landry	4,028	39,588	40,800	6,671	9.8	10.1	1,656
St. Martin	1,505	9,864	8,300	1,357	6.6	5.5	902
St. Tammany	181	440	235	38	2.4	1.3	210
Tangipahoa	895	2,049	1,160	190	2.3	1.3	212
Tensas	849	21,003	19,000	3,107	24.7	22.4	3,660
Terrebonne							
Union	1,106	7,491	5,050	826	6.8	4.6	747
Vermilion	1,006	6,690	4,950	809	6.6	4.9	804
Vernon	547	1,958	810	132	3.6	1.5	241
Washington	1,345	6,602	5,000	818	4.9	3.7	608
Webster	820	8,634	6,200	1,014	10.5	7.6	1,237
West Baton Rouge	168	1,343	1,080	177	8.0	6.4	1,054
West Carroll	2,067	28,314	29,400	4,807	13.7	14.2	2,326
West Feliciana	260	2,889	1,630	267	11.1	6.3	1,027
Winn	271	1,440	555	91	5.3	2.0	336
Total	49,293	648,166	581,994	95,168	13.1	11.8	1,931
Mississippi:							
Adams	319	3,076	1,700	286	9.6	5.3	897
Alcorn	1,872	15,517	13,500	2,270	8.3	7.2	1,213
Amite	1,656	10,374	7,950	1,337	6.3	4.8	807
Attala	2,017	14,595	14,600	2,455	7.2	7.2	1,217
Benton	939	12,571	13,300	2,236	13.4	14.2	2,381
Bolivar	2,087	129,888	170,000	28,585	62.2	81.5	13,697
Calhoun	1,637	18,004	20,900	3,514	11.0	12.8	2,147
Carroll	1,424	16,880	17,900	3,010	11.9	12.6	2,114
Chickasaw	1,425	15,340	14,900	2,505	10.8	10.5	1,758
Choctaw	1,228	4,247	4,260	716	3.5	3.5	583
Claiborne	631	5,445	5,250	883	8.6	8.3	1,399
Clarke	1,513	5,148	4,090	688	3.4	2.7	455
Clay	1,031	8,621	7,800	1,312	8.4	7.6	1,273
Coahoma	866	96,508	143,000	24,045	111.4	165.1	27,766
Copiah	1,771	9,361	8,200	1,379	5.3	4.6	779
Covington	1,966	10,666	9,250	1,555	5.4	4.7	791
De Soto	1,484	35,376	39,300	6,608	23.8	26.5	4,453

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Mississippi—continued							
Forrest	434	1,305	1,000	$168	3.0	2.3	$387
Franklin	458	1,960	1,320	222	4.3	2.9	485
George	374	1,172	910	153	3.1	2.4	409
Greene	497	1,150	1,060	178	2.3	2.1	358
Grenada	792	12,702	15,900	2,[illegible]4	16.0	20.1	3,376
Hinds	2,053	29,981	26,700	4,[illegible]0	14.6	13.0	2,187
Holmes	2,007	37,104	52,600	8,845	18.5	26.2	4,407
Humphreys	997	51,425	66,000	11,098	51.6	66.2	11,131
Issaquena	407	10,903	7,500	1,261	26.8	18.4	3,098
Itawamba	1,940	12,420	12,200	2,051	6.4	6.3	1,057
Jasper	1,901	8,088	6,600	1,110	4.3	3.5	584
Jefferson	728	5,879	4,220	710	8.1	5.8	975
Jefferson Davis	2,076	17,210	16,000	2,690	8.3	7.7	1,296
Jones	2,329	9,066	8,300	1,396	3.9	3.6	599
Kemper	1,552	11,930	9,900	1,665	7.7	6.4	1,073
Lafayette	1,627	19,062	17,500	2,943	11.7	10.8	1,809
Lamar	1,017	3,976	3,750	631	3.9	3.7	620
Lauderdale	1,391	6,783	6,200	1,043	4.9	4.5	750
Lawrence	1,437	8,841	7,000	1,177	6.2	4.9	819
Leake	2,709	18,920	22,000	3,699	7.0	8.1	1,365
Lee	2,227	30,410	28,600	4,809	13.7	12.8	2,159
Leflore	963	78,154	104,000	17,488	79.5	105.8	17,790
Lincoln	1,585	6,420	4,410	742	4.0	2.8	468
Lowndes	1,593	17,757	18,100	3,044	11.1	11.4	1,911
Madison	2,037	36,091	42,800	7,197	17.7	21.0	3,533
Marion	2,041	11,327	10,250	1,724	5.5	5.0	845
Marshall	1,781	37,425	37,400	6,289	21.0	21.0	3,531
Monroe	2,548	32,361	36,700	6,171	12.7	14.4	2,422
Montgomery	1,129	8,957	10,900	1,833	7.9	9.7	1,624
Neshoba	2,744	16,843	16,000	2,690	6.1	5.8	980
Newton	2,187	10,041	7,550	1,270	4.6	3.5	581
Noxubee	1,150	17,824	20,300	3,414	15.5	17.7	2,969
Oktibbeha	1,098	4,959	3,210	540	4.5	2.9	492
Panola	2,105	42,821	53,000	8,912	20.3	25.2	4,233
Pearl River	166	358	220	37	2.2	1.3	223
Perry	642	1,991	1,510	254	3.1	2.4	396
Pike	1,578	6,644	4,760	800	4.2	3.0	510
Pontotoc	2,675	21,886	22,400	3,767	8.2	8.4	1,408
Prentiss	2,010	19,128	18,900	3,178	9.5	9.4	1,581
Quitman	1,149	64,864	88,500	14,882	56.5	77.0	12,952
Rankin	1,637	10,551	11,500	1,934	6.4	7.0	1,181
Scott	1,898	12,179	13,000	2,186	6.4	6.8	1,152
Sharkey	506	29,508	27,000	4,540	58.3	53.4	8,972
Simpson	2,155	14,289	12,200	2,051	6.6	5.7	952
Smith	2,006	11,436	11,000	1,850	5.7	5.5	922
Stone	82	160	89	15	2.0	1.1	183
Sunflower	1,752	131,926	171,000	28,754	75.3	97.6	16,412
Tallahatchie	1,435	63,238	80,000	13,452	44.1	55.7	9,374
Tate	1,303	25,751	33,900	5,700	19.8	26.0	4,375
Tippah	2,030	18,155	18,100	3,044	8.9	8.9	1,500
Tishomingo	1,827	10,496	8,900	1,497	5.7	4.9	819
Tunica	565	51,285	73,500	12,359	90.8	130.1	21,874
Union	2,005	19,816	20,700	3,481	9.9	10.3	1,736
Walthall	1,914	14,464	14,000	2,354	7.6	7.3	1,230
Warren	488	6,860	7,200	1,211	14.1	14.8	2,482
Washington	1,435	90,119	106,500	17,908	62.8	74.2	12,479
Wayne	1,490	7,010	5,950	1,001	4.7	4.0	672
Webster	1,358	9,092	9,900	1,665	6.7	7.3	1,226
Wilkinson	634	4,868	3,300	555	7.7	5.2	875
Winston	2,057	14,199	14,000	2,354	6.9	6.8	1,144
Yalobusha	1,127	12,614	11,600	1,951	11.2	10.3	1,731
Yazoo	1,188	45,679	57,500	9,669	38.5	48.4	8,139
Total	114,912	1,751,450	2,022,909	340,160	15.2	17.6	2,960
Missouri:							
*Bollinger							
Butler	3,089	20,554	16,000	2,621	6.7	5.2	848
*Cape Girardeau							
*Carter							
Dunklin	3,352	84,667	80,000	13,106	25.3	23.9	3,910
*Howell							
*Jefferson							
Mississippi	1,114	29,737	32,000	5,243	26.7	28.7	4,706
New Madrid	2,311	97,816	98,000	16,055	42.3	42.4	6,947
*Oregon							
*Ozark							
Pemiscot	2,570	102,666	119,000	19,496	39.9	46.3	7,586
*Ripley							
Scott	822	17,767	16,260	2,664	21.6	19.8	3,241
Stoddard	2,593	43,300	47,400	7,765	16.7	18.3	2,995
*Vernon							
*Wayne							
*Other	583	3,600	1,340	220	6.2	2.3	377
Total	16,434	400,107	410,000	67,170	24.3	24.9	4,087
Nevada:							
Clark	1	25	23	4	25.0	23.0	4,000
Nye	17	2,299	1,977	323	135.2	116.3	19,000
Total	18	2,324	2,000	327	129.1	111.1	18,167
New Mexico:							
Chaves	663	33,353	57,500	9,370	50.3	86.7	14,133
Curry	60	1,570	1,010	165	26.2	16.8	2,750
De Baca	71	493	605	99	6.9	8.5	1,394
Dona Ana	1,922	43,501	63,065	10,277	22.6	32.8	5,347
Eddy	580	28,577	49,970	8,143	49.3	86.2	14,040
Grant	11	72	55	9	6.5	5.0	818
Guadalupe	2	20	10	2	10.0	5.0	1,000
Hidalgo	123	6,052	9,300	1,515	49.2	75.6	12,317
Lea	476	26,814	37,000	6,030	56.3	77.7	12,668

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
New Mexico—Continued							
Luna	283	14,035	19,395	$3,161	49.6	68.5	$11,170
Otero	63	1,638	2,245	366	26.0	35.6	5,810
Quay	146	3,065	2,570	419	21.0	17.6	2,870
Roosevelt	866	18,040	11,200	1,825	20.1	12.5	2,037
Sierra	167	2,701	4,175	680	16.2	25.0	4,072
Socorro	194	2,067	1,890	308	10.7	9.7	1,588
Valencia	12	42	10	2	3.5	.8	167
Total	5,669	182,040	260,000	42,371	32.1	45.9	7,474
North Carolina:							
Alamance	94	106	50	8	1.1	.5	85
Alexander	561	998	600	111	1.8	1.2	197
Anson	1,620	15,903	13,100	2,102	9.8	8.1	1,298
Beaufort	725	1,652	580	93	2.3	.8	128
Bertie	1,628	7,016	4,050	650	4.3	2.5	399
Bladen	1,930	4,558	2,150	345	2.4	1.1	179
Brunswick	312	399	130	21	1.3	.4	67
Burke	76	165	70	11	2.2	.9	145
Cabarrus	990	5,951	4,250	682	6.0	4.3	689
Caldwell	29	52	30	5	1.8	1.0	172
Camden	158	441	210	34	2.8	1.3	215
Carteret	36	64	20	3	1.8	.6	83
Catawba	1,319	3,836	2,550	409	2.9	1.9	310
Chatham	438	792	360	58	1.8	.8	132
Chowan	651	2,584	1,400	225	4.0	2.1	345
Cleveland	3,512	37,110	37,500	6,017	10.6	10.7	1,713
Columbus	1,577	3,141	1,500	241	2.0	1.0	153
Craven	387	631	160	26	1.6	.4	67
Cumberland	2,271	15,214	9,300	1,492	6.7	4.1	657
Currituck	194	447	190	30	2.3	1.0	154
Davidson	563	1,211	860	138	2.2	1.5	245
Davie	1,319	2,439	1,430	229	1.8	1.1	174
Duplin	1,192	4,532	2,730	438	3.8	2.3	367
Durham	78	151	75	12	1.9	1.0	154
Edgecombe	1,391	13,270	6,200	995	9.5	4.5	715
Forsyth	133	182	85	14	1.4	.6	105
Franklin	2,621	10,853	6,300	1,011	4.1	2.4	386
Gaston	919	4,122	3,440	552	4.5	3.7	601
Gates	966	2,450	1,650	265	2.5	1.7	274
Granville	228	423	200	32	1.9	.9	140
Greene	802	4,617	2,540	408	5.8	3.2	509
Guilford	95	102	50	8	1.0	.5	84
Halifax	3,103	24,101	15,200	2,439	7.8	4.9	786
Harnett	2,933	16,409	9,500	1,524	5.6	3.2	520
Hertford	1,112	4,957	3,430	550	4.5	3.1	495
Hoke	1,056	16,978	11,000	1,765	16.1	10.4	1,671
Hyde	150	368	70	11	2.5	.5	73
Iredell	3,059	11,402	9,150	1,468	3.7	3.0	480
Johnston	4,927	22,887	14,100	2,262	4.6	2.9	459
Jones	160	418	135	22	2.6	.8	138
Lee	595	1,390	880	141	2.3	1.5	237
Lenoir	934	2,790	1,470	236	4.4	2.3	372
Lincoln	1,742	9,482	7,600	1,219	5.4	4.4	700
Martin	708	2,928	1,240	199	4.1	1.8	281
Mecklenburg	1,374	9,155	7,800	1,252	6.7	5.7	911
Montgomery	243	2,235	1,470	236	9.3	6.0	971
Moore	581	2,604	1,620	260	4.5	2.8	448
Nash	2,481	14,574	8,000	1,284	5.9	3.2	518
New Hanover	15	25	5	1	1.7	.3	67
Northampton	2,395	21,761	17,300	2,776	9.1	7.2	1,159
Onslow	111	557	170	27	5.0	1.5	243
Orange	95	121	50	8	1.3	.5	84
Pamlico	179	327	80	13	1.8	.4	73
Pasquotank	247	353	140	22	1.4	.6	89
Pender	367	475	200	32	1.3	.5	87
Perquimans	602	1,628	800	128	2.7	1.3	213
Pitt	1,679	8,542	4,000	642	5.1	2.4	382
Polk	433	1,670	1,450	233	3.9	3.3	538
Randolph	80	90	50	8	1.1	.6	100
Richmond	1,056	8,270	5,200	834	7.8	4.9	790
Robeson	4,743	50,603	34,700	5,568	10.7	7.3	1,174
Rowan	1,834	7,474	5,300	850	4.1	2.9	463
Rutherford	2,407	10,682	9,500	1,524	4.4	3.9	633
Sampson	4,609	26,886	17,200	2,760	5.7	3.7	587
Scotland	880	21,088	13,000	2,182	2.5	1.5	248
Stanly	673	2,672	2,100	337	4.0	3.1	501
Tyrrell	188	308	145	23	1.6	.8	122
Union	3,637	19,506	18,000	2,888	5.4	4.9	794
Vance	1,202	3,389	2,060	331	2.8	1.7	275
Wake	2,031	6,908	3,800	610	3.4	1.9	300
Warren	2,325	8,530	5,100	818	3.7	2.2	352
Washington	356	736	240	39	2.1	.7	110
Wayne	2,327	13,258	7,900	1,268	5.7	3.4	545
Wilkes	73	106	55	9	1.5	.8	123
Wilson	1,358	10,125	5,300	850	5.4	2.9	457
Yadkin	72	66	40	6	.9	.6	83
Total	90,237	515,025	351,000	56,320	5.7	3.9	624
Oklahoma:							
Adair	17	73	15	2	4.3	.9	118
Atoka	367	2,558	840	122	7.0	2.3	332
Beckham	1,955	66,132	26,900	3,916	33.8	13.8	2,003
Blaine	1,090	14,435	7,400	1,077	13.2	6.8	988
Bryan	1,668	19,577	9,100	1,325	11.6	5.4	785
Caddo	3,344	52,619	34,600	5,037	15.7	10.3	1,506
Canadian	1,958	15,160	8,850	1,288	14.3	8.4	1,217
Carter	272	1,907	510	74	7.0	1.9	272
Cherokee	34	189	25	4	5.6	.7	118
Choctaw	634	5,082	2,720	399	8.0	4.3	625
Cleveland	205	2,070	1,300	198	10.1	6.6	966

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Oklahoma—Continued							
Coal	387	4,112	1,880	$274	10.6	4.9	$708
Comanche	1,079	14,750	4,920	716	13.7	4.6	664
Cotton	1,095	19,826	8,300	1,208	18.1	7.6	1,103
Craig	38	145	25	4	3.8	.7	105
Creek	426	3,715	1,030	150	8.7	2.4	352
Custer	1,357	27,026	14,100	2,053	19.9	10.4	1,513
Dewey	806	9,373	3,600	524	11.6	4.5	650
Ellis	109	956	290	42	8.8	2.7	385
Garfield	12	112	10	1	9.3	.8	83
Garvin	715	6,477	3,980	579	9.1	5.6	810
Grady	1,545	19,907	14,600	2,126	12.9	9.4	1,376
Grant	3	31	6	1	10.3	2.0	333
Greer	1,261	42,782	20,100	2,926	33.9	15.9	2,320
Harmon	1,045	51,234	31,300	4,557	49.0	30.0	4,361
Harper	2	24	4	1	12.0	2.0	500
Haskell	395	3,861	2,620	381	9.8	6.6	964
Hughes	879	6,505	3,260	475	7.4	3.7	540
Jackson	1,744	60,464	43,900	6,391	34.7	25.2	3,665
Jefferson	881	20,857	7,550	1,099	23.7	8.6	1,247
Johnston	417	3,814	1,860	271	9.1	4.5	650
Kay	65	465	75	11	7.2	1.2	169
Kingfisher	257	2,230	650	95	8.7	2.5	370
Kiowa	2,137	57,683	25,500	3,713	27.0	11.9	1,737
Latimer	76	506	90	13	6.7	1.2	171
LeFlore	317	3,837	2,710	395	12.1	8.5	1,246
Lincoln	319	1,963	505	74	6.2	1.6	232
Logan	422	3,806	1,240	181	9.0	2.9	429
Love	696	9,683	3,690	537	13.9	5.3	772
McClain	794	9,892	6,550	954	12.5	8.2	1,202
McCurtain	576	8,440	7,700	1,121	14.7	13.4	1,946
McIntosh	1,524	14,417	8,950	1,303	9.5	5.9	855
Major	364	2,770	845	123	7.6	2.3	338
Marshall	283	5,252	2,790	406	18.6	9.9	1,435
Mayes	129	1,060	350	51	8.2	2.7	395
Murray	55	501	235	34	9.1	4.3	618
Muskogee	1,677	21,615	15,300	2,228	12.9	9.1	1,328
Noble	223	1,643	420	61	7.4	1.9	274
Nowata	101	1,061	330	48	10.5	3.3	475
Okfuskee	903	8,154	3,240	472	9.0	3.6	523
Oklahoma	49	629	135	20	12.8	2.8	408
Okmulgee	1,314	12,875	5,150	750	9.8	3.9	571
Osage	266	4,529	2,140	312	17.0	8.0	1,173
Pawnee	510	4,465	1,630	237	8.8	3.2	465
Payne	497	3,531	1,000	146	7.1	2.0	294
Pittsburg	666	7,290	4,040	588	10.9	6.1	883
Pontotoc	226	1,544	580	84	6.8	2.6	372
Pottawatomie	170	1,170	475	69	6.9	2.8	406
Pushmataha	127	776	155	23	6.1	1.2	181
Roger Mills	1,115	22,856	8,250	1,201	20.5	7.4	1,077
Rogers	173	1,210	390	57	7.0	2.3	329
Seminole	379	2,140	600	87	5.6	1.6	230
Sequoyah	113	1,475	1,350	197	13.1	11.9	1,743
Stephens	553	7,027	2,610	380	12.7	4.7	687
Tillman	1,948	74,789	48,000	6,988	38.4	24.6	3,587
Tulsa	141	2,502	1,330	194	17.7	9.4	1,376
Wagoner	1,241	11,297	5,800	844	9.1	4.7	680
Washington	12	60	5	1	5.0	.4	83
Washita	2,762	79,421	42,300	6,158	28.8	15.3	2,230
Woodward	77	908	235	34	11.8	3.1	442
Total	48,097	871,265	463,000	67,408	18.1	9.6	1,402
South Carolina:							
Abbeville	1,120	8,930	8,700	1,444	8.0	7.8	1,289
Aiken	1,895	22,481	15,200	2,524	11.9	8.0	1,331
Allendale	514	10,254	6,800	1,129	19.9	13.2	2,196
Anderson	2,886	30,196	32,100	5,328	10.5	11.1	1,846
Bamberg	943	13,148	7,600	1,262	13.9	8.1	1,338
Barnwell	925	15,791	9,750	1,619	19.1	11.8	1,962
Beaufort	745	1,353	670	111	1.8	.9	149
Berkeley	2,117	9,989	3,750	623	4.7	1.8	294
Calhoun	934	15,828	12,700	2,109	16.9	13.6	2,258
Charleston	799	1,620	480	80	2.0	.6	100
Cherokee	1,596	14,378	13,800	2,291	9.0	8.6	1,435
Chester	1,106	11,191	11,600	1,926	10.1	10.5	1,741
Chesterfield	2,509	33,427	24,600	4,084	13.3	9.8	1,628
Clarendon	2,666	34,516	21,800	3,619	12.9	8.2	1,357
Colleton	2,094	10,421	6,500	1,079	5.0	3.1	515
Darlington	1,994	31,755	23,200	3,852	15.9	11.6	1,932
Dillon	1,295	22,433	10,700	1,776	17.3	8.3	1,371
Dorchester	1,572	10,230	7,350	1,220	6.5	4.7	776
Edgefield	926	10,381	10,800	1,793	11.2	11.7	1,936
Fairfield	850	5,660	4,600	764	6.7	5.4	899
Florence	3,882	33,427	18,300	3,038	8.6	4.7	782
Georgetown	913	3,135	700	116	3.4	.8	127
Greenville	2,476	17,080	17,200	2,856	6.9	6.9	1,153
Greenwood	615	4,969	4,000	664	8.1	6.5	1,080
Hampton	975	8,729	5,400	897	9.0	5.5	920
Horry	2,777	10,729	2,450	407	3.9	.9	146
Jasper	815	2,978	1,800	299	3.7	2.2	367
Kershaw	1,779	20,881	12,700	2,109	11.7	7.1	1,185
Lancaster	1,163	9,224	7,900	1,312	7.9	6.8	1,128
Laurens	1,538	18,686	18,800	3,121	12.1	12.2	2,029
Lee	1,387	35,268	31,200	5,180	25.4	22.5	3,735
Lexington	1,722	12,327	8,300	1,378	7.2	4.8	800
McCormick	479	4,269	3,400	564	8.9	7.1	1,177
Marion	1,393	12,219	5,150	855	8.8	3.7	614
Marlboro	1,024	40,177	28,500	4,732	39.2	27.9	4,639
Newberry	1,172	9,006	7,600	1,262	7.7	6.5	1,077
Oconee	1,567	8,994	9,300	1,544	5.7	5.9	985
Orangeburg	4,503	59,128	40,500	6,723	13.1	9.0	1,493

Cotton production in the United States by cotton State, by cotton county, 1955 (counties were used for each State in the cases where complete information was available)—Continued

State and county	Number of cotton allotments	Total cotton acreage allotted	Number of cotton bales ginned	Total value of cotton (thousands)	Average acreage per allotment	Average number of bales per allotment	Average value per allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
South Carolina—Continued							
Pickens	1,389	7,412	6,650	$1,104	5.3	4.8	$795
Richland	1,156	7,400	5,400	897	6.4	4.7	776
Saluda	1,100	8,860	8,700	1,444	8.1	7.9	1,313
Spartanburg	3,600	26,140	23,800	3,951	7.3	6.6	1,098
Sumter	2,679	40,644	32,700	5,429	15.2	12.2	2,026
Union	628	6,560	5,450	905	10.4	8.7	1,441
Williamsburg	3,602	34,040	13,700	2,275	9.2	3.7	616
York	1,570	17,341	19,700	3,271	11.0	12.5	2,083
Total	75,380	773,604	572,000	94,966	10.3	7.6	1,260
Tennessee:							
Bedford	616	1,755	1,200	202	2.8	1.9	328
Benton	877	2,880	2,050	344	3.3	2.3	392
Bradley	527	1,492	680	114	2.8	1.3	216
Cannon	24	35	12	2	1.5	.5	83
Carroll	3,582	20,200	20,100	3,375	5.6	5.6	942
Chester	1,483	11,668	12,800	2,149	7.9	8.6	1,449
Coffee	623	1,704	1,390	233	2.7	2.2	374
Crockett	2,186	33,024	38,600	6,482	15.1	17.7	2,965
Davidson	10	16	4	1	1.6	.4	100
Decatur	851	4,080	2,980	500	4.8	3.5	588
DeKalb	30	50	18	3	1.7	.6	100
Dyer	2,440	33,344	39,100	6,566	13.7	16.0	2,691
Fayette	2,087	44,595	45,800	7,691	21.4	21.9	3,685
Franklin	1,447	6,059	5,500	924	5.8	5.3	852
Gibson	5,513	46,583	51,000	8,564	8.4	9.2	1,553
Giles	2,100	9,655	6,350	1,066	4.6	3.0	508
Grundy	83	189	135	23	2.3	1.6	277
Hamilton	327	832	385	65	2.5	1.2	199
Hardeman	1,979	22,447	22,900	3,846	11.3	11.6	1,943
Hardin	1,647	9,630	7,350	1,234	5.8	4.5	749
Haywood	2,406	43,910	46,100	7,742	18.2	19.2	3,218
Henderson	2,501	18,577	19,700	3,308	7.4	7.9	1,323
Henry	1,925	5,252	3,900	655	2.7	2.0	340
Hickman	25	40	8	1	1.6	.3	40
Humphreys	11	23	6	1	2.1	.5	91
Lake	465	21,485	32,000	5,374	46.2	68.8	11,557
Lauderdale	2,327	36,403	43,500	7,306	15.6	18.7	3,140
Lawrence	3,403	21,110	16,800	2,821	6.2	4.9	829
Lewis	149	401	250	42	2.7	1.7	282
Lincoln	2,031	13,780	12,600	2,116	6.8	6.2	1,042
Loudon	5	11	4	1	2.2	.8	200
McMinn	406	1,067	340	57	2.2	.7	115
McNairy	2,921	20,376	21,400	3,594	7.0	7.3	1,230
Madison	2,965	34,006	34,000	5,710	11.5	11.5	1,925
Marion	104	428	325	55	4.1	3.1	529
Marshall	217	460	270	45	2.1	1.2	207
Maury	176	247	105	18	1.4	.6	102
Meigs	322	745	335	56	2.3	1.0	174
Monroe	209	375	105	18	1.8	.5	86
Moore	32	93	80	13	2.9	2.5	405
Obion	1,833	10,420	11,700	1,964	5.7	6.4	1,071
Perry	73	207	140	24	2.8	1.9	329
Polk	237	1,186	620	104	5.0	2.6	439
Rhea	18	30	6	1	1.7	.3	56
Rutherford	1,476	5,060	4,480	752	3.4	3.0	509
Shelby	3,380	45,076	48,000	8,062	13.3	14.2	2,385
Tipton	2,766	47,723	56,000	9,404	17.3	20.2	3,400
Van Buren	30	47	12	2	1.6	.4	67
Warren	312	677	315	53	2.2	1.0	170
Wayne	928	3,308	2,070	348	3.6	2.2	375
Weakley	2,003	10,592	9,300	1,562	3.4	3.0	505
White	71	90	27	5	1.3	.4	70
Williamson	84	144	65	11	1.7	.8	131
Wilson	45	103	65	11	2.3	1.4	244
Total	65,468	593,688	622,982	104,602	9.1	9.5	1,598
Texas:							
Anderson	1,831	13,294	4,650	703	7.3	2.5	384
Andrews	61	4,009	1,030	156	65.7	16.9	2,557
Angelina	473	3,425	2,110	319	7.2	4.5	674
Aransas	18	959	480	73	53.3	26.7	4,056
Archer	106	2,217	470	71	20.9	4.4	670
Armstrong	56	1,959	520	79	35.0	9.3	1,411
Atascosa	667	11,373	1,940	293	17.1	2.9	439
Austin	1,453	19,145	16,300	2,463	13.2	11.2	1,695
Bailey	1,321	104,068	56,000	8,461	78.8	42.4	6,405
Bastrop	846	13,028	3,550	537	15.4	4.2	635
Baylor	580	19,957	8,650	1,307	34.4	14.9	2,253
Bee	592	14,667	1,720	260	24.8	2.9	439
Bell	2,722	73,472	28,700	4,336	27.0	10.5	1,593
Bexar	361	4,432	1,150	174	12.3	3.2	482
Blanco	14	135	19	3	9.6	1.4	214
Borden	210	20,739	5,300	801	98.8	25.2	3,814
Bosque	759	12,271	2,640	399	16.2	3.5	526
Bowie	764	12,462	12,300	1,858	16.3	16.1	2,432
Brazoria	518	12,307	12,900	1,949	23.8	24.9	3,762
Brazos	370	20,316	17,200	2,599	54.9	46.5	7,024
Brewster	6	203	290	44	33.8	48.3	7,333
Briscoe	471	27,705	16,400	2,478	58.8	34.8	5,261
Brooks	215	3,945	200	30	18.3	.9	140
Brown	601	9,023	1,120	169	15.0	1.9	281
Burleson	1,117	28,625	23,900	3,611	25.6	21.4	3,233
Burnet	274	5,760	1,310	198	21.0	4.8	723
Caldwell	681	21,804	8,100	1,224	32.0	11.9	1,797
Calhoun	370	18,792	16,200	2,448	50.8	43.8	6,616
Callahan	574	9,000	1,600	242	15.7	2.8	422
Cameron	6,334	179,156	145,000	21,908	28.3	22.9	3,459
Camp	403	2,628	1,200	181	6.5	3.0	449

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Texas—Continued							
Carson	37	445	140	$21	12.0	3.8	$568
Cass	1,294	10,544	5,550	839	8.1	4.3	648
Castro	906	55,045	48,800	7,373	60.8	53.9	8,138
Chambers	11	108	70	11	9.8	6.4	1,000
Cherokee	2,000	13,750	7,900	1,194	6.9	4.0	597
Childress	896	58,452	20,800	3,143	65.2	23.2	3,508
Clay	446	11,379	4,640	701	25.5	10.4	1,572
Cochran	679	80,685	46,600	7,041	118.8	68.6	10,370
Coke	254	8,180	1,020	154	32.4	4.0	606
Coleman	1,173	35,208	5,800	876	30.0	4.9	747
Collin	3,460	85,370	36,900	5,575	24.7	10.7	1,611
Collingsworth	1,191	69,634	28,200	4,261	58.5	23.7	3,578
Colorado	832	10,492	6,400	967	12.6	7.7	1,162
Comal	26	313	80	12	12.0	3.1	462
Comanche	1,139	12,069	1,420	215	10.6	1.2	189
Concho	406	29,570	5,300	801	72.8	13.1	1,973
Cooke	631	8,118	2,510	379	12.9	4.0	601
Coryell	1,072	20,457	6,400	967	19.1	6.0	902
Cottle	615	59,718	24,500	3,702	97.1	39.8	6,020
Crockett	2	74	95	14	37.0	47.5	7,000
Crosby	1,058	130,944	60,500	10,501	123.8	65.7	9,925
Culberson	51	4,190	8,920	1,348	82.2	174.9	26,431
Dallam	3	28	4	1	9.3	1.3	333
Dallas	1,314	37,674	13,000	1,964	28.7	9.9	1,495
Dawson	1,751	219,752	88,500	13,371	125.5	50.5	7,636
Deaf Smith	421	10,458	6,250	944	24.8	14.8	2,242
Delta	1,169	38,726	32,900	4,971	33.1	28.1	4,252
Denton	1,132	22,059	6,950	1,050	19.5	6.1	928
DeWitt	1,341	19,481	7,500	1,133	14.5	5.6	845
Dickens	798	58,386	21,700	3,279	73.2	27.2	4,109
Dimmit	52	2,240	1,860	281	43.1	35.8	5,404
Donley	763	31,347	11,700	1,768	41.1	15.3	2,317
Duval	843	15,502	340	51	18.4	0.4	60
Eastland	736	7,290	790	119	9.9	1.1	162
Ector	4	241	220	33	60.2	55.0	8,250
Ellis	3,137	140,539	62,500	9,442	44.8	19.9	3,010
El Paso	1,532	27,289	44,050	6,655	17.8	28.8	4,344
Erath	1,083	11,294	1,780	269	10.4	1.6	248
Falls	2,659	81,592	35,300	5,333	30.7	13.3	2,006
Fannin	3,085	70,783	37,500	5,666	22.9	12.2	1,837
Fayette	2,506	29,883	15,900	2,402	11.9	6.3	958
Fisher	1,426	88,212	35,000	5,288	61.9	24.5	3,708
Floyd	1,382	99,810	63,000	9,519	72.2	45.6	6,888
Foard	360	14,214	6,300	952	39.5	17.5	2,644
Fort Bend	2,187	63,093	68,500	10,350	28.8	31.3	4,733
Franklin	364	4,489	2,370	358	12.3	6.5	984
Freestone	1,855	20,922	6,750	1,020	11.3	3.6	550
Frio	262	5,079	2,280	344	19.4	8.7	1,313
Gaines	803	82,834	27,900	4,215	103.2	34.7	5,249
Galveston	14	65	10	2	4.6	.7	143
Garza	515	44,616	20,500	3,097	86.6	39.8	6,014
Gillespie	147	1,697	130	20	11.5	.9	136
Glasscock	113	10,697	5,250	793	94.7	46.5	7,018
Goliad	283	4,949	1,210	183	17.5	4.3	647
Gonzales	1,021	15,890	5,750	869	15.6	5.6	851
Gray	195	3,664	1,330	201	18.8	6.8	1,031
Grayson	1,903	36,311	12,400	1,873	19.1	6.5	984
Gregg	241	1,519	740	112	6.3	3.1	465
Grimes	1,019	16,084	11,400	1,722	15.8	11.2	1,690
Guadalupe	1,129	20,836	7,000	1,058	18.5	6.2	937
Hale	2,090	170,436	157,500	23,795	81.5	75.4	11,385
Hall	1,069	102,281	42,100	6,361	95.7	39.4	5,950
Hamilton	871	10,400	2,020	305	11.9	2.3	350
Hansford	16	379	70	11	23.7	4.4	688
Hardeman	753	36,526	18,500	2,795	48.5	24.6	3,712
Hardin	17	75	18	3	4.4	1.1	176
Harris	273	4,956	4,240	641	18.2	15.5	2,348
Harrison	1,636	14,159	6,200	937	8.7	3.8	573
Haskell	1,917	129,215	48,500	7,328	67.4	25.3	3,823
Hays	251	8,315	3,440	520	33.1	13.7	2,072
Hemphill	83	1,655	650	98	19.9	7.8	1,181
Henderson	1,248	11,117	3,750	567	8.9	3.0	454
Hidalgo	8,308	208,799	177,000	26,742	25.1	21.3	3,219
Hill	3,434	125,015	44,400	6,708	36.4	12.9	1,953
Hockley	1,873	202,102	122,000	18,432	107.9	65.1	9,841
Hood	374	3,924	810	122	10.5	2.2	326
Hopkins	1,705	29,091	13,500	2,040	17.1	7.9	1,196
Houston	1,817	27,452	15,200	2,297	15.1	8.4	1,264
Howard	799	81,266	25,800	3,898	101.7	32.3	4,879
Hudspeth	142	18,677	28,970	4,377	131.5	204.0	30,824
Hunt	3,150	96,145	53,000	8,007	30.5	16.8	2,542
Irion	20	154	130	20	7.7	6.5	1,000
Jack	141	2,282	400	60	16.2	2.8	426
Jackson	642	19,113	16,800	2,538	29.8	26.2	3,953
Jasper	205	633	140	21	3.1	.7	102
Jeff Davis	8	543	1,150	174	67.9	143.8	21,750
Jefferson	10	57	15	2	5.7	1.5	200
Jim Hogg	84	1,922	45	7	22.9	.5	83
Jim Wells	761	24,386	1,400	212	32.0	1.8	279
Johnson	1,212	38,625	13,900	2,100	31.9	11.5	1,733
Jones	1,981	116,808	32,800	4,956	59.0	16.6	2,502
Karnes	1,308	34,449	6,300	952	26.3	4.8	728
Kaufman	1,844	62,006	23,800	3,596	33.6	12.9	1,950
Kent	339	22,491	8,650	1,307	66.3	25.5	3,855
Kerr	7	113	8	1	16.1	1.1	143
Kimble	25	201	70	11	8.0	2.8	440
King	84	10,335	2,340	505	123.0	39.8	6,012
Kinney	4	445	230	35	111.2	57.5	8,750
Kleberg	300	8,874	520	79	29.6	1.7	263
Knox	971	62,461	33,900	5,123	64.3	34.9	5,275
Lamar	1,794	62,068	42,800	6,467	34.6	23.9	3,605
Lamb	2,544	204,182	131,500	19,866	80.3	51.7	7,810
Lampasas	195	2,552	440	66	13.1	2.3	338

Cotton production in the United States by cotton State, by cotton county, 1955 (counties were used for each State in the cases where complete information was available)—Continued

State and county	Number of cotton allotments	Total cotton acreage allotted	Number of cotton bales ginned	Total value of cotton (thousands)	Average acreage per allotment	Average number of bales per allotment	Average value per allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Texas—Continued							
LaSalle	108	3,338	920	$139	30.9	8.5	$1,287
Lavaca	2,813	36,454	17,800	2,689	13.0	6.3	956
Lee	1,080	10,420	3,190	482	9.6	3.0	446
Leon	908	12,820	7,600	1,148	12.8	7.6	1,150
Liberty	350	3,263	2,490	376	9.3	7.1	1,074
Limestone	2,284	72,862	22,100	2,339	31.9	9.7	1,462
Live Oak	648	18,702	650	98	28.9	1.0	151
Llano	47	514	70	11	10.9	1.5	234
Loving	12	521	497	75	43.4	41.4	6,250
Lubbock	2,616	243,392	235,000	35,505	93.0	89.8	13,572
Lynn	1,564	200,331	81,000	12,238	128.1	51.8	7,825
McCulloch	556	18,623	4,400	665	33.5	7.9	1,196
McLennan	3,101	90,639	30,200	4,563	29.2	9.7	1,471
McMullen	44	1,445	35	5	32.8	.8	114
Madison	586	7,192	4,220	638	12.3	7.2	1,089
Marion	443	2,626	850	128	5.9	1.9	289
Martin	793	98,258	46,600	7,041	123.9	58.8	8,879
Mason	173	2,341	430	65	13.5	2.5	376
Matagorda	699	19,056	17,000	2,568	27.3	24.3	3,674
Maverick	197	7,382	7,150	1,080	37.5	36.3	5,482
Medina	174	1,827	430	65	10.5	2.5	374
Menard	67	1,005	160	24	15.0	2.4	358
Midland	314	29,275	11,300	1,707	93.2	36.0	5,436
Milam	1,657	54,110	27,900	4,215	32.7	16.8	2,544
Mills	248	3,157	750	113	12.7	3.0	456
Mitchell	989	75,550	22,500	3,399	76.4	22.8	3,437
Montague	358	4,298	1,350	204	12.0	3.8	570
Montgomery	269	1,622	540	82	6.0	2.0	305
Moore	3	263	75	11	87.7	25.0	3,667
Morris	312	2,116	1,040	157	6.8	3.3	503
Motley	516	37,618	12,400	1,873	72.9	24.0	3,630
Nacogdoches	933	7,097	3,490	527	7.6	3.7	565
Navarro	3,249	115,556	40,500	6,119	35.6	12.5	1,883
Newton	237	582	120	18	2.5	.5	76
Nolan	759	47,147	15,300	2,312	62.1	20.2	3,046
Nueces	1,696	100,933	20,100	3,037	59.5	11.9	1,791
Oldham	7	15	7	1	2.1	1.0	143
Palo Pinto	236	3,791	590	88	16.1	2.5	373
Panola	1,242	9,742	4,880	737	7.8	3.9	593
Parker	425	4,248	760	115	10.0	1.8	271
Parmer	974	44,564	48,200	7,282	45.8	49.5	7,476
Pecos	269	21,066	36,840	5,566	78.3	137.0	20,691
Polk	438	5,162	2,470	373	11.8	5.6	852
Potter	4	92	20	3	23.0	5.0	750
Presidio	107	3,187	5,123	774	29.8	47.9	7,234
Rains	533	8,689	4,140	626	16.3	7.8	1,174
Randall	64	958	410	62	15.0	6.4	969
Reagan	20	1,050	700	106	52.5	35.0	5,300
Real	1	18	30	5	18.0	30.0	5,000
Red River	992	30,357	23,200	3,505	30.6	23.4	3,533
Reeves	393	53,882	118,300	17,873	137.1	301.0	45,478
Refugio	399	13,181	7,900	1,194	43.9	26.3	3,980
Roberts	2	84	20	3	42.0	10.0	1,500
Robertson	647	27,734	25,200	3,807	42.9	38.9	5,884
Rockwall	588	21,303	9,100	1,375	36.2	15.5	2,338
Runnels	1,684	91,356	19,400	2,931	54.2	11.5	1,740
Rusk	1,816	15,087	7,500	1,133	8.3	4.1	624
Sabine	379	2,844	1,220	184	7.5	3.2	485
San Augustine	706	7,068	3,760	568	10.0	5.3	805
San Jacinto	534	4,571	1,880	284	8.6	3.5	532
San Patricio	1,213	83,340	40,400	6,104	68.7	33.3	5,032
San Saba	506	8,607	1,860	281	17.0	3.7	555
Schleicher	142	10,265	750	113	72.3	5.3	796
Scurry	1,121	73,898	20,600	3,112	65.9	18.4	2,776
Shackelford	170	4,024	1,020	154	23.7	6.0	906
Shelby	1,344	10,019	5,550	839	7.5	4.1	624
Smith	1,467	9,962	4,350	657	6.8	3.0	448
Somervell	144	1,745	290	44	12.1	2.0	306
Starr	1,060	26,945	7,600	1,148	25.2	7.1	1,074
Stephens	117	1,508	210	32	12.9	1.8	274
Sterling	15	335	20	3	22.3	1.3	200
Stonewall	533	29,369	11,200	1,692	55.1	21.0	3,174
Sutton	1	13	20	3	13.0	20.0	3,000
Swisher	992	52,872	35,900	5,424	53.3	36.2	5,466
Tarrant	323	10,538	3,540	535	32.6	11.0	1,655
Taylor	1,081	37,028	10,400	1,571	34.3	9.6	1,453
Terry	1,332	161,150	64,000	9,670	121.0	48.0	7,260
Throckmorton	421	12,476	2,140	323	29.6	5.1	767
Titus	485	3,795	2,730	412	7.8	5.6	849
Tom Green	839	60,340	13,700	2,070	71.9	16.3	2,467
Travis	1,085	38,813	14,400	2,176	35.8	13.3	2,006
Trinity	640	5,082	2,390	361	7.9	3.7	564
Tyler	114	486	410	62	4.3	3.6	544
Upshur	594	3,518	1,310	198	5.9	2.2	333
Uvalde	41	1,130	1,430	216	27.6	34.9	5,268
Val Verde	4	131	150	23	32.8	37.5	5,750
Van Zandt	1,752	24,535	10,300	1,556	14.0	5.9	888
Victoria	912	25,807	20,600	3,112	28.3	22.6	3,412
Walker	760	6,848	3,130	473	9.0	4.1	622
Waller	379	5,387	3,790	573	14.2	10.0	1,513
Ward	132	10,872	10,210	1,543	82.4	77.3	11,689
Washington	1,983	24,360	16,900	2,553	12.3	8.5	1,287
Webb	59	2,030	1,440	218	34.4	24.4	3,695
Wharton	2,358	76,810	79,500	12,010	32.6	33.7	5,093
Wheeler	840	30,471	11,800	1,783	36.3	14.0	2,123
Wichita	315	6,283	3,090	467	19.9	9.8	1,483
Wilbarger	1,157	53,096	34,100	5,152	45.9	29.5	4,453
Willacy	1,499	100,356	60,500	9,141	66.9	40.4	6,098
Williamson	3,319	113,365	51,000	7,705	34.2	15.4	2,321
Wilson	548	6,559	1,780	269	12.0	3.2	491
Winkler	1	1	4	1	1.0	4.0	1,000
Wise	309	3,121	840	127	10.1	2.7	411
Wood	752	4,210	1,980	299	5.6	2.6	398

Cotton production in the United States by cotton State, by cotton county, 1955 (counties were used for each State in the cases where complete information was available)—Continued

State and county	Number of cotton allotments	Total cotton acreage allotted	Number of cotton bales ginned	Total value of cotton (thousands)	Average acreage per allotment	Average number of bales per allotment	Average value per allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Texas—Continued							
Yoakum	346	36,366	12,006	$1,813	105.1	34.7	$5,240
Young	552	12,468	2,270	343	22.6	4.1	621
Zapata	95	2,792	2,030	307	29.4	21.4	3,232
Zavala	157	8,584	12,100	1,828	54.7	77.1	11,643
Total	206,072	7,595,945	4,024,595	608,067	36.9	19.5	2,951
Virginia:							
Accomack	2	19	17	3	9.5	8.5	1,500
Brunswick	1,286	2,303	1,220	200	1.8	.9	156
Caroline	2	8	5	1	4.0	2.5	500
Charlotte	28	24	8	1	.9	.3	36
Dinwiddie	201	254	110	18	1.3	.5	90
Franklin	4	33	11	2	8.2	2.8	500
Greensville	1,045	4,370	3,050	500	4.2	2.9	478
Isle of Wight	211	313	155	25	1.5	.7	118
Lunenburg	129	246	175	29	1.9	1.4	225
Mecklenburg	886	2,056	1,110	182	2.3	1.3	205
Nansemond	880	1,795	1,120	184	2.0	1.3	209
Norfolk	35	42	17	3	1.2	.5	86
Prince George	72	69	35	6	1.0	.5	83
Southampton	1,338	4,853	3,310	544	3.6	2.5	407
Sussex	718	1,737	1,040	171	2.4	1.4	238
Total	6,837	18,122	11,383	1,869	2.6	1.7	273

Peace Posse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Miss Malvina Lindsay, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 17:

ARMS TREND MAKES PEACE POSSE URGENT

(By Malvina Lindsay)

Here is a strangely ironic situation. The big powers are stripping themselves down to fight ever more annihilative wars—which at the same time they want to avoid. Yet little is being done to prevent the brush-fire wars that would be the most likely genesis of greater conflicts.

The most practical step toward such prevention would be for the United States to give leadership to the movement to establish a permanent United Nations peace supervision force.

Five concurrent resolutions for such a force have been introduced in the House of Representatives and one in the Senate. Backers of the resolutions are seeking congressional hearings that would stimulate nationwide discussion of the project. If Congress would back such a proposal chances for creation of a permanent emergency force by the next General Assembly of the United Nations would be greatly increased.

Recent reports from the Middle East give much credit to the present United Nations Emergency Force for lessening tensions in that area. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the U. N., has just reported a "fundamental change for the better" in the Middle East and has credited part of this to the presence of the U. N. force along the Israeli-Egyptain borders.

After this force is disbanded, the United Nations will be unprepared again—as it was at the time of the Suez crisis—should another trouble spot develop.

Proposals have been made in England, Canada, and this country for creation of a permanent corps—not a continuation of the present one—which, in the words of Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, would be a peace supervision force—not to fight but to insure that fighting not be resumed.

Mr. Pearson, who proposed the organization of the present U. N. emergency force, has urged that Mr. Hammarskjold now draw up administrative, legal, and financial machinery for a peace supervision force so that organization on it could start as soon as the project was approved by the General Assembly.

The force envisioned in the House and Senate resolutions would be a symbolic "sheriff's posse" of a relatively small group of men drawn from members of the United Nations other than the big powers and not armed for combat. In the words of Representative A. S. J. CARNAHAN, Democrat, of Missouri, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Movements and Organizations, it would "not be expected to fight wars" but to "step into situations that threaten the peace."

Other House sponsors of U. N. force resolutions besides Representative CARNAHAN are: CHESTER E. MERROW, Republican, New Hampshire; STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT, Republican, New York; ROBERT HALE, Republican, Maine; PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, Republican, New Jersey; HENRY S. REUSS, Republican, Wisconsin. The Senate resolution is back by Senators SPARKMAN, FLANDERS, WILEY, KENNEDY, and SMITH, of New Jersey.

In speaking for the resolutions some of the Representatives pointed out that the existence of a United Nations patrol in the past might have averted the aggression that led to the Korean war and might have prevented the fighting between North and South Vietnam. If such a force could have been flown into Hungary when the Hungarian Government asked for help it might have been a psychological deterrent to the occupation of Hungary by Soviet forces.

The present trend of world armaments makes creation of a U. N. force ever more urgent. For an atomically armed power cannot interfere at a local trouble spot without great danger of starting a major conflict. Moreover, the Western powers are cutting their armed manpower and conventional armaments and making themselves less able to take action in a small war. This leaves the possibility of intervention largely to Communist "volunteers."

In This Corner—Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, a graphic illustration that city slums not only are inhumane but also a drain on taxpayers' pocketbooks is pointed out in an editorial of the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 11, entitled "In This Corner—Slums." Under leave to extend my remarks I include the editorial herewith:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 11, 1957]

IN THIS CORNER—SLUMS

In 1934 a thought-provoking analysis was made of a condition which had arisen in a half-square mile area on Cleveland's East Side. The study, undertaken by Rev. R. B. Navin, of the Cleveland Catholic diocese, with the counsel of Howard Whipple Green, was made for the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority to ascertain whether an old belief was based on fact.

The belief was this: That slum areas, in addition to being inhumane, actually were luxuries to communities in that their especial costs in service demands, disease, and crime were much higher than their tax collections.

Monsignor Navin's analysis examined dollars-and-cents costs and proved without doubt that the belief was true. The area scanned, bounded by Central and Woodland Avenues and East 22d and East 55th Streets, brought in $225,035 in all real-estate taxes in 1932; its total costs in all city and county services, disease, relief, and other charges were more than $1,972,437, representing a drain on the rest of the community of $1,747,402.

Even worse were the statistics which showed that whereas the area had 2½ percent of Cleveland's population, it had 21.3 percent of its major crime, 26.3 percent of the vice, 6.8 percent of the delinquency, 10.4

percent of the illegitimate births, and 12½ percent of the tuberculosis deaths.

In 1948, a thesis by Warren P. Phelan studied almost half of this area, the section between Central and Scovill Avenues, part of which had been rehabilitated with a housing development. He found that the new housing, where rents actually were less per family than in the slum rubble, resulted in less crime, less disease, and less drain on city resources.

On Thursday, work will begin on the rebuilding of another 5 blocks within that area analyzed in the Navin study—about one-sixth of the whole section. At long last, the land has been leveled of the dilapidated and dispiriting eyesores in which thousands had lived because they had no other place to go and from which slum landlords had reaped a harvest.

The first of three private construction companies which will dot the streets with apartments will break ground Thursday amid special ceremonies. As another example of private enterprise cooperating with public agencies in doing a job for urban redevelopment, it is worth a civic celebration.

But it's worth a few moments' meditation, too, on what these few blocks in area B have cost the city. It has helped keep its crime rate high, its police and fire protection costly. It has given many children, by accident of birth, a bad start in life. It has crushed the moral fiber of many a person, and no wonder, since 10 minutes there would have depressed almost any outsider.

If you shrug off these facts as having nothing to do with you, think of the economic side: The streets to be rehabilitated are roughly one-sixth of the section survived by Monsignor Navin in 1934; by rule of thumb it may be estimated that it cost the community one-sixth of the annual $1,750,000 drain cited at that time, or nearly $300,000 a year. Even at the depression rates of the 1930's and without allowing for any inflation, that loss to the city and county can be gaged at $6 or $7 million since the city was advised of the facts.

So while the city has something to be thankful for, it will be well to keep this fact in mind about Thursday's ground-breaking ritual. There are still row after row of slum houses in Cleveland. Some of them just across the street from Thursday's ground breaking.

Three Questions for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to include a very sensible editorial on the timely subject of spending, which appeared in the Long Island Daily Press on June 5, 1957.

The editorial follows:

IS ALL THIS NECESSARY?

An advisory committee has come up with the idea that the White House staff needs a $32,350,000 office building.

It also proposes turning the west wing of the White House, now used for offices, into a guest house for foreign visitors. Distinguished visitors now stay at Blair House, a comfortable establishment, on Pennsylvania Avenue.

The new office building would be on the site of the old State-War-Navy Building which would be demolished. Besides this building, another office structure for agencies connected with the White House already has been approved by Congress.

Meanwhile Congress has some rather imposing building plans of its own, new office buildings for the Senate and the House with three-room suites for every Congressman. This will cost the taxpayers an estimated $121,700,000.

There is much talk in Washington about saving dollars. Understandably back home, all these building projects sound rather grand.

When a taxpaying homeowner wonders whether he can finish off that room in the attic or put in a new bathroom, he asks himself:

Is it absolutely necessary?

Can we afford it?

Can we hold off for a while?

The same taxpayer can rightfully ask the White House and the Congress to ask themselves the same questions.

Bankers Endorse Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, opponents of Alaska statehood contend in season and out of season that Alaska cannot afford statehood, that whatever added costs it would bring would act as an economic anchor.

That view is directly contrary to the one held by the Alaska Bankers Association. Meeting recently in annual session at Mount McKinley National Park, the bankers of Alaska unanimously adopted a resolution calling for immediate statehood. Most assuredly these men would never have taken any such action if for a moment they believed statehood would hinder Alaska's development. On the contrary, they believe and know it will help. In my opinion, this resolution is especially significant and I take pleasure in presenting it here together with an editorial from the June 9 issue of the Juneau (Alaska) Independent regarding the resolution.

The resolution and article follow:

RESOLUTION OF ALASKA BANKERS ASSOCIATION

Whereas our great land of Alaska has long since served its apprenticeship as a Territory; and

Whereas statehood is needed and deserved as a basis for Alaska's full economic development; and

Whereas the struggle for statehood for Alaska has now been waged by far-sighted Alaskans and friends of Alaska for full four decades; and

Whereas the people of Alaska have time and again expressed their will for statehood; and

Whereas the period of adjustment, and of trial and error must inevitably be faced regardless of when statehood is granted: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Alaska Bankers Association in convention assembled do hereby endorse wholeheartedly statehood for Alaska—now.

[From the Juneau Independent of June 9, 1957]

BANKERS BACK STATEHOOD

It is with great pleasure that we publish the story of the Alaska Bankers' Association backing in a proclamation the statehood cause. Great pleasure indeed, for it gives the last kick out the window of the cry that statehood would be too expensive. Opponents of statehood have long used the gimmick that we could not afford statehood.

Do you think that the entire convention of bankers, themselves conservative in their actions, and themselves having the best knowledge of the economic condition of the Territory, would endorse statehood unanimously if it were not economically feasible?

Have you ever tried to get a loan from these men without proving that you were a good risk?

We welcome the support of the bankers of Alaska with open arms.

Let's look at some of the arguments that have gone down the drain:

First, all statehood backers are Communists. The American Legion has backed statehood for Alaska.

Second, that all statehood backers are reactionary. Then the majority of Alaskans are such, for they have time and time again proved they desire it.

Third, that all statehood backers are economically pressured to ask it. The ballot box is still, thanks to our Constitution, a secret ballot.

Fourth, that statehood is economically unsound. Thank you, Mr. Bankers of Alaska.

What next? They are bound to try something else. But just as surely, it will be refuted with truth and commonsense.

Jury Trials Denied

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted, I insert in the appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD editorial comments from the Washington, D. C., Sunday Star of June 16, 1957, regarding the action of the House of Representatives last Friday in defeating the jury trial amendment to the pending so-called civil-rights legislation.

The Star's editorial follows:

JURY TRIALS DENIED

The attempts to add a jury-trial amendment to the so-called civil rights bill has been beaten down in the House by a vote of 199 to 167. This 32-vote margin, according to Representative WILLIS, Democrat of Louisiana, resulted from White House pressure on Republican House Members.

We do not know whether this is correct. If it is, it means that the President, who carried five Southern States last year, does not trust southern jurors to live up to their oaths. For the real reason behind the drive against the jury-trial amendment was the fear, real or professed, that southern juries would not convict defendants in civil rights contempt trials, regardless of the evidence.

Whatever the case with respect to the President, it is clear that the House has prejudged, and adversely prejudged, an entire area of the country. In effect, this was a vote of no confidence in the South, and that, we think, is a high price to pay for some

supposed political advantage among Negro voters outside the South.

The jury-trial amendment was offered by Representative KEENEY, a freshman Republican House Member from Illinois. He said he submitted the amendment because as a judge in Illinois he had always considered a jury trial as an integral part of any court.

It required political courage for Mr. KEENEY to take this stand, and, with respect to cases in which punishment for criminal contempt is comparable to punishment for other crimes, we think he is right. We do not believe that considerations of expediency, especially considerations based on speculation, justify bypassing the jury trial, and we trust that this matter will receive more earnest consideration in the Senate.

Illinois Farmers' Earnings in 1956 Are the Highest Since 1951

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the June 13, 1957, issue of the Davis Leader, Davis, Ill., entitled "Illinois Farmers' Earnings in 1956 Are the Highest Since 1951."

ILLINOIS FARMERS' EARNINGS IN 1956 ARE THE HIGHEST SINCE 1951

A farm record summary just completed by the University of Illinois department of agricultural economics shows that Illinois farmers' 1956 earnings were the highest since 1951. A. G. Mueller, in charge of summarizing farm records, explains that record-high corn, soybean, and wheat yields and improved cattle and hog prices were largely responsible for this increase.

Mueller emphasizes that net farm earnings can be figured in several ways. The method they consistently use is to deduct cash expenses, depreciation, and allowances for operator and family labor from total earnings. The amount that remains is net farm earnings. Total earnings include cash sales, adjustments for change in value of inventories, and allowance for value of products consumed by the family.

In 1956, increases in amounts of grain and values of livestock inventories on hand at the end of the year added materially to the increase in net earnings. For example, the inventory change on northern Illinois hog farmers averaged $4,300.

In southern Illinois, net earnings averaged $31 an acre on grain farms, $23 on hog farms, and $28 on dairy farms. On these same farms in 1955, earnings ranged from $2 to $14 an acre.

In northern Illinois, grain farms averaged $35 an acre, hog farms $38, feeder cattle $36, and dairy farms $30. In 1955 these same farms averaged only $16 an acre on grain farms and $3 to $4 on livestock and dairy farms.

Soil bank payments added gross earnings of $2.60 an acre on a small sample of central Illinois farms that qualified. Very few hog and dairy farms in northern Illinois received payments.

Mueller reports that cash operating expenses increased on all farms. Northern Illinois farmers spent 1 percent more for operating expenses in 1956 than the year before. Southern Illinois farmers spent 12 percent more, but 1955 expenses were below normal because of recent drouth years.

The records used in this study came from the 4,700 farms cooperating in the Illinois Farm Bureau Farm Management Service. Members of the service will receive a complete summary of the reports so that they can compare the earnings of their farms with earnings of other farms with similar soil type and enterprises.

Too Many Americans Too Long in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, the Girard case in Japan demonstrates that we have too many Americans in Japan, and that we have had them there too long.

The Girard case, which has caused so much comment, was recently discussed in one of my weekly newsletters, which follows:

TOO MANY AMERICANS TOO LONG IN JAPAN

The Girard case in Japan, and the Formosa riot, proves that we have overstayed our welcome and clearly demonstrates that we should bring American military personnel home just as soon as we can, and the sooner, the better.

The Girard case has created much confusing comment, and is now subject to inquiry by at least three congressional committees and one Federal court.

Let's go back and look at a few facts. Our troops are no longer in Japan as victors, or in time of war. We are there at the invitation of the Japanese Government under a treaty entered into under Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, by the United States and Japan in 1951, and ratified by the United States Senate.

This treaty did not specifically refer to the status of our troops, but left that open for agreement to be reached by our Ambassadors as a diplomatic transaction. The first agreement gave the United States exclusive jurisdiction over our troops until NATO agreements were made. In September 1953 a later agreement, similar to agreements with NATO countries, provided that off-duty offenses by American soldiers should be tried in Japanese courts, and on-duty offenses would be tried by United States military courts. A two-man commission—one American and one Japanese—was created to determine whether the offenses were on-duty or off-duty. Sometime prior to the Girard incident, it was further agreed by this commission, that if there was any dispute as to whether an incident was on- or off-duty, the decision would be made by a Japanese court. Why this was agreed to by our American representative, I cannot understand.

At first, after the trespassing Japanese woman was unintentionally killed following a disregarded warning shot, American authorities refused to turn Girard over to Japanese authorities. Japan claimed it was an off-duty event, since the incident occurred during a lunch period, and that the use of the empty cartridge case was outside the line of duty and unauthorized. We claimed—and still claim—it was on-duty, since he had been placed on guard by a superior officer. The 2-man Commission was deadlocked for 3 or more weeks. Someone, as yet not identified, somewhere decided that the agreement having been made should be kept, and that since there was a deadlock, a Japanese court should decide. (Had I been on this assignment, some mighty hot places could have frozen over before I gave in.) Delivery of Girard to Japanese authorities was held up, due to protests from Congress and other sources. After much discussion, our American representative was finally authorized to turn Girard over to the Japanese. Secretary of State Dulles and Secretary of Defense Wilson jointly decided that to avoid an international breach, we should keep our promise, and the Japanese court should be allowed to take jurisdiction.

I cannot, for the life of me, understand how there could be any doubt about the fact that Corporal Girard was on duty and acted in line of duty. Any soldier who has ever been on guard knows that his general orders require him to take charge of and protect all Government property in view. There is some question in my mind as to why and how, in view of the fact that Girard had been issued blank cartridges to frighten off trespassers, he had a cartridge case in his grenade discharger. However, that is a question that should have been left to the determination of a United States military court.

The petition filed for habeas corpus here in Washington has served to hold up immediate physical delivery of Girard to the Japanese and will provide an opportunity for development of facts and the constitutionality of the agreement. At this writing, no decision has been made.

It is too late for Congress to remedy the Girard situation, but the case will serve to demonstrate the need for treaty revision, amendment to the agreements and laws relating to the status of our military personnel overseas so such incidents cannot again arise.

Veterans of Foreign Wars Back Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Alaska, recently assembled in annual convention at Kodiak adopted as Resolution 1 an endorsement of Alaska statehood. The Veterans of Foreign Wars stated in strong terms its desire for prompt action on the Alaska statehood bill. I take pleasure in presenting Resolution 1 as approved on June 5, 1957, and signed by Department Commander Joseph S. Hong and Adjutant James J. Brunette:

RESOLUTION 1, STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

Whereas Alaska has endured Territorial status since its purchase from Russia; and

Whereas statehood is no longer a political issue, but a moral right endowed by the original purchase agreement with Russia, in which it stated that the new citizens of Alaska should enjoy all rights and privileges granted to the citizens of the United States; and

Whereas Alaskans have shown their willingness and readiness to assume Statehood by their overwhelming approval of the Constitution composed for the State of Alaska: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 12th encampment of the department of Alaska, Veterans of For-

eign Wars of the United States, go on record endorsing immediate statehood for Alaska, and that copies of this resolution 1 be sent to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, Members of Congress, the Governor of Alaska, and the Alaska Delegate to Congress.

Approved and signed this 5th day of June 1957 at Kodiak, Alaska.

JOSEPH S. HONG, *Commander, Department of Alaska, VFW.*
JAMES J. BRUNETTE, *Adjutant, Department of Alaska, VFW.*

Wiretapping: Violation of the Privacy of the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 17, 1957

THE VIOLATION OF THE PRIVACY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as senior Republican on the Senate Judiciary Committee, it has been my hope for a long time that our committee would successfully recommend legislation to the Senate on a vital issue, affecting the privacy of the American people.

Such legislation would deal firmly with the growing and alarming tendency for the privacy of vast numbers of Americans to be violated by wiretapping and other devices. I refer not only to telephone eavesdropping, but to tiny wireless broadcasting microphones, to wall-listening devices, and a wide variety of other electronic bugs and gadgets which are now being used in wholesale violation of numerous Federal, State, and local laws.

TWOFOLD OBJECTIVES OF ANTIWIRETAP BILL

Thus, the much-needed legislation of which I speak would have the twofold objective of:

a. Absolutely banning invasions of privacy by private wiretappers and other electronic eavesdroppers;

b. Providing for restricted use of the electronic devices by Federal agents (like FBI men) under careful safeguards in national security, kidnaping, and a limited number of other type cases.

Unfortunately, antiwiretapping legislation has been stalled year after year in the Senate and House Judiciary Committees because of the complexity of constitutional and other problems involved.

EAVESDROPPING SCANDALS ALL OVER AMERICA

Meanwhile, however, hardly a week elapses in which there is not some new scandal in some American city involving outrageous electronic eavesdropping by private individuals through telephone tapping and the like.

In case after case, so-called private detective agencies have been found to be the perpetrators of the vicious eavesdropping. Such agencies have often become instruments of blackmail and of the most unscrupulous and unconscionable behavior imaginable. There has been widespread extortion of individuals as a result. There has been wholesale pilferage of the secrets of American businesses.

The cheap, dishonest private detective agencies have tarnished the good name of those private organizations which have been followed infinitely higher ethical standards in private investigation work.

To me, it is obvious that the States and cities should crack down to prevent abuse of the licenses of private detective agencies. Only individuals of unimpeachable record and of appropriate experience should have the right to secure and keep a license.

In the meanwhile, it is my earnest hope that the overall issue of electronic eavesdropping will be met successfully before the 85th Congress has concluded its sessions next year. If a man's home is truly to be his castle, we must effectively smash the disgraceful snooping which is growing by leaps and bounds.

GIVE FBI NECESSARY AUTHORITY

Meanwhile, if the great FBI is to continue to do its vital job, it must have a clear mandate under the law, spelling out its necessary legal prerogatives to protect the security of our country. To get evidence on and to catch a Soviet spy is difficult enough without having the FBI hobbled in its work by a fuzzy law.

I send to the desk the text of an article from the May 29 issue of Labor's Daily. It is entitled "The Snoopers Around Us—Is Your Privacy Invaded?" I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SNOOPERS AROUND US—IS YOUR PRIVACY INVADED?

(By William L. Roper)

How private is your home?

Do you know that every conversation, yes, almost every sound in your home during the past 12 months could have been taken down on a tape recorder?

Just how widespread electronic snooping by means of concealed microphones and telephone wiretapping has become is indicated by several recent happenings. In Portland, Oreg., a big-shot gambler was arrested on a charge of using wiretapped recordings in an effort to blackmail an official's wife into paying him $10,000. While in New York, teamster leader James R. Hoffa was charged by a grand jury with having conspired in wiretapping his own union aides. And in Sacramento, Calif., a State legislative committee, headed by State Senator Edwin J. Regan, was winding up a 2-year investigation of electronic snooping in the Golden State.

EVERYTHING

Regan reported he had found a shocking situation in California, and that unless something was done to stop the wide-scale practice of invading the privacy of homes and other snooping, human relationships would be reduced to the jungle level.

"Our committee," Regan said, "found wireless broadcasting microphones, wrist-watch mikes, pin mikes, pocket recorders, detectographs that can hear through walls and even shotgun mikes that can pick up sounds through open windows or from a boat on a lake."

He explained that the committee had also discovered that the listening devices had been used by business organizations to check on their employees and by private detectives spying on the private lives of motion picture celebrities and others.

One of the revelations was that certain firms had installed listening devices in the rest rooms of their plants and offices, so that they could keep a record of what their employees were saying while relaxing and letting off steam.

During the committee's hearings in Los Angeles, a North Hollywood sound recording engineer admitted that he had helped law enforcement officers bug 1,000 or more homes and places of business in the Los Angeles area.

Russell Mason, the 52-year-old electronic expert said that he had not only helped install the listening devices in private homes, but also in apartment houses, motels and even a Beverly Hills mansion.

Much of his work, Mason insisted, had been for law enforcement officers investigating criminal cases. He testified he was on the payroll of the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office from 1940 to 1942, and that during that period, he planted as many as seven microphones a week.

CRAWLING AROUND

The Attorney General's office and other California State agencies had also employed his services, Mason said.

"How did you gain entrance, for example, when you were bugging private residences?" Senator Regan asked.

"Sometimes," the expert replied, "I would crawl under a house, sometimes go into an attic through a hole in the roof, or by other means such as a burglar would use."

He explained that once the installation was done, he would usually leave the job of listening or recording to the persons employing him. Mason, at the committee's request, brought several new eavesdrooping devices with him. One was a wireless microphone, another a shotgun microphone, capable of picking up a conversation nearly a block away.

He also exhibited a briefcase recorder. In it the microphone is located near the keylock. This can be used by the man sitting beside you on a bus or streetcar.

While Mason was letting the California senators in on a few of the secrets of electronic snooping, sensational information was coming to light in other parts of the country. Deep in the heart of Texas, a fast operator disclosed how he had accumulated a small fortune by tapping the telephone line of an oil company geologist, and then selling his hot tips to a land speculator. And New York police, still trying to solve the mysterious murder of Serge Rubinstein, Manhattan's internationally famed financial genius, learned that he had boasted of making smart business deals after getting inside information by tapping the wires of his business competitors.

In Los Angeles, the recent death of Private Eye Harry J. Raymond recalled a sordid era of police spying and a murder attempt by members of the police spy squad once used in hounding labor.

On the morning of January 20, 1938, Private Eye Raymond got into his car which had been parked overnight in the garage of his home, and stepped on the starter. A nitroglycerin bomb, wired to the starter, exploded. In spite of 186 shrapnel wounds, Raymond survived, and the snooping story behind the bombing was made public. Raymond died only a few weeks ago.

FIRST CLEAR VIEW

Before becoming a private detective, he had been the police chief of Venice and San Diego. A reform group had employed him to investigate the Los Angeles Police Department's spy squad, headed by Capt. Earl E. Kynette. Kynette and officer Roy J. Allen were subsequently convicted of bombing Raymond. During the trial, Los Angeles got

its first clear view of wiretapping and bugging.

Nevertheless, the sneaky practice continued to grow. Many persons, as Senator Regan discovered, have grown complacent about the menace, believing they are protected by State laws.

In California, for instance, there is common misconception that a State supreme court decision in what is known as the Cahan case has outlawed the use of secret microphones and similar methods. Actually, all the court decision did was to condemn the illegal entry committee in installing the hidden bugs. Evidence obtained by such illegal methods was held inadmissible.

Wiretapping in California is especially forbidden by section 640 of the California Penal Code. Section 653–H of the penal code governs other kinds of electronic snooping.

Obviously, more stringent laws are needed, however, to stop this form of spying. Regan's committee urged:

1. Require the permission of the occupant or person having immediate possession of property before any eavesdropping equipment can be installed.

2. Prohibit the installation of eavesdropping equipment on private property without the owner first publishing a notice, so that persons coming onto the premises may know.

3. Ban private investigators and others from using any such equipment in public places without first giving notice.

4. Compel private detectives to file an annual report, under oath, detailing their bugging and wiretapping operations, or any they know about.

WORST FORM OF TYRANNY

5. Require the State Public Utilities Commission to take specific steps to assure that telephone companies in the State protect the privacy of their communication systems.

The committee also expressed opposition to legalized wiretapping by the police.

The late Justice Brandeis and others have spoken clearly on this subject.

Justice Brandeis once said, "Even general warrants are but puny instruments of tyranny and oppression when compared to wiretapping."

Justice Hofstadter, of the supreme court of New York County, said on January 12, 1955: "A tapped wire is the greatest invasion of privacy possible."

Alaska Women for Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I take especial pleasure in calling to the attention of my colleagues a resolution endorsing Alaska statehood adopted by the business and professional women of Alaska when they met at Kodiak this month for their annual convention:

Whereas the National Federal of Business and Professional Women's Clubs have long supported equal rights for women; and

Whereas women in Alaska are doubly discriminated against, in that they cannot enjoy the protection of full citizenship accorded the citizens of the States; and

Whereas the women of Alaska, together with all of her citizens, have demonstrated their desire for statehood, by ratification of a constitution for the State and the election of their Senators and Representatives; and

Whereas the progress and development of Alaska, and the best interests of her citizens, cannot be obtained until statehood is achieved: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Alaskan Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs in convention assembled in Kodiak, Alaska, this 1st day of June 1957, reconfirm our previous endorsement of statehood for Alaska; and be it further

Resolved, That our delegates to national convention request that convention adopt and support a program, through the National federation, to assist us in this great endeavor.

DORIS BARNES,
President.
VIRGINIA B. POST,
Secretary.

Des Moines Register Scholarships—Address by Mr. Vincent Starzinger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOS. E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, one of the outstanding leaders of Iowa, Mr. Vincent Starzinger, has taken tremendous interest in helping the young people of Iowa along the road to higher education, as is evidenced so strongly by his address at the Des Moines Register scholarship presentation banquet in Des Moines recently. His message is so impressive that I want to share it with my colleagues in the Senate, and I am therefore asking permission to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I have known Mr. Starzinger many, many years. He is one of Iowa's leaders in the matter of service to community, State, and Nation.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY VINCENT STARZINGER, GENERAL COUNSEL, SECRETARY, AND DIRECTOR OF DES MOINES REGISTER AND TRIBUNE CO., AT THE SCHOLARSHIP PRESENTATION BANQUET, DES MOINES, MAY 10, 1957

(Mr. Starzinger is general counsel, secretary, and director of Des Moines Register and Tribune Co. and Cowles Broadcasting Co. He was admitted to the Iowa bar in 1913, Federal courts in 1914, and United States Supreme Court in 1925. He is a member of the executive committee of Drake University, a member of the Greater Des Moines Committee, director of the Des Moines Housing Corp., vice president of the Des Moines Club and a past president of the Polk County Bar Association, Des Moines Rotary Club, and Des Moines Pioneer Club.

(Attending the 25th annual scholarship presentation banquet were the sixteen 1957 winners of the $300 scholarships, their parents, school superintendents or principals, and members of the circulation department who had furnished counsel and guidance; plus many top executives of the Register and Tribune, State of Iowa, Des Moines Board of Education, Education Association, and PTA.)

The people of Iowa need boys on newspaper routes. It has been demonstrated clearly that the use of newspapers in homes depends in large measure, first, upon having a newspaper at a regular time and a convenient reading time, and, second, upon having the cost fit the family budget. To provide such service, boys are available and willing to work part time at convenient reading times, morning and afternoon, without interference with their schoolwork. They call at the home weekly to collect a small amount in payment, so that everybody can afford such newspaper service. There is no other known method of newspaper delivery so effective, so timely, or so economical.

It follows that newspapers need boys for carrier work. It is only by enlisting a vast army of boys, in our case more than 7,100 throughout the State, that the whole distribution of a newspaper can be started and completed within 30 to 40 minutes.

The boys themselves need route work. As a boy reaches his teen age, he needs work to do, responsibility to assume, some measure of independence from his parents, and a feeling of self-sufficiency. Route work supplies all of those needs. It is a real business enterprise, requiring regular work and continuing responsibility to the newspaper and the route boy's customers. It gives a boy a chance to prove to himself that he is worthy as an individual on his own, and an opportunity to earn his own money to appreciate its value, and to learn how to handle it. It provides him with invaluable practice in learning to communicate and deal with adults outside the family and school circles.

I have attended most of these scholarship presentation banquets during the past 14 years, and I am always amazed, as I am tonight, to hear the remarkable records of achievement of the scholarship winners, in the various areas considered by the judges, such as academic progress, activity and leadership in extracurricular school activities or in church or community affairs, quality of service to customers, sales record, and effectiveness in collecting, keeping accounts paid, and management of earnings.

Parents, too, need newspaper route work for their sons. What is good for the boy is obviously good for his parents. The home of today does not have enough chores, enough responsibilities, or enough youthful enterprises within the interest and capacity of a boy to give him an adequate opportunity and incentive for individual devlopment or to give him the thrill of individual achievement. Newspaper route work answers this need.

Schoolteachers and school officials are interested in newspaper route work. The challenge of route work, the mathematics, the bookkeeping, the study of bulletins and other guidance material, the experience of dealing with adults outside the family and schoolroom, all give practical meaning to the lessons learned in school, and promote directly the objectives of teaching, which is to enable the student to get along without his teacher. Route work almost inevitably means better schoolwork. This scholarship program encourages greater school effort.

Society needs newspaper route work for boys. Our strength tomorrow will depend upon the development of strength in youth today. They need opportunities to work and earn and save, to learn how to meet and deal with adults, and to develop their own self-reliance. In our zeal to furnish protective care for those in need of it, and to protect our youth against the possibility of dangerous or premature workloads, we must be very careful not to shut the door of opportunity and experience for a boy to fulfill his early urge to become self-reliant in work activities which are within his capacity, wholesome in character, and generally good for him.

Employers know the value of newspaper route work. Many of our most prominent

business and professional people give much credit for their success to their early experience in newspaper route work.

As typical of the expression of countless employers, Mr. Harry G. Wilson, vice president and cashier of Iowa-Des Moines National Bank, made the following statement last March:

"When hiring new employees, we are always looking for boys who have had experience as paper carriers. We find that the experience they have had in this kind of work makes them better employees. I have watched them develop, and I cannot recall one in whom we have been disappointed."

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has praised newspaper boys many times. In an article in Family Weekly, September 30, 1956. Hoover said:

"To my great gratification, many find that (their) future in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. When we select men to become special agents of the FBI, we do our best to secure intelligent, competent men. We want young men, but men for whom work is already a habit. We have found that if a boy learned how to work, the man he is to become will also know how to work. In one brief check, I found that 9 out of the 15 special agents were former newspaper boys."

In this era of the great struggle for the minds of men, the boys who get effective early lessons in responsibility and loyalty to publisher and customer, who learn how to work, to make their own decisions, and to rely upon their own efforts, are well on their way to stable citizenship.

No doubt you have read or heard the story of the message to Garcia, the story of the young man who turned out to be the greatest hero of the Spanish-American War. But it is worth recalling.

When war broke out between Spain and the United States, it was very necessary to communicate quickly with the leader of the insurgents in Cuba. The leader, Garcia, was somewhere in the mountain fastnesses of the island—no one knew where. No mail or telegraph message could reach him. The President must secure his cooperation, and quickly.

Someone said to the President, "There is a fellow by the name of Rowan who will find Garcia for you if anybody can."

Rowan was sent for and given a letter to be delivered to Garcia. He took the letter, sealed it up in an oilskin pouch, strapped it over his heart, in 4 days landed by night off the coast of Cuba in an open boat, disappeared into the jungles, and in 3 weeks came out on the other side of the island, having traversed a hostile country on foot and delivered his message to Garcia.

This story, told by Elbert Hubbard, gained a circulation of more than 40 million copies. It had a spontaneous, explosive appeal to everyone who read it. The real hero is the person who assumes responsibility, who does his work despite obstacles, and does it promptly.

The newspaper route boys, like young Rowan, are carrying the message to Garcia, not once in an emergency, but each day, in every kind of weather, fair or foul, a vital message, a daily chapter in the textbook of the people's school, to all of the people all over the State of Iowa. They complete the whole purpose of these great newspapers, and they do it magnificently. No part of the work is any more important or any more dramatic.

An Address by H. B. Cantor to Faculty Members and Postgraduate Students in Naval Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK, Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an address given by H. B. Cantor on May 24, 1957, to faculty members and postgraduate students in naval architecture of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Mr. Cantor is a very successful businessman, and for any man to be successsful in business he must have a very practical mind.

The address of Mr. Cantor is very interesting in connection with the construction of superliners that will make possible transatlantic ocean voyages at a fare of $50 by constructing the world's two largest and fastest superliners, and Mr. Cantor's determined intention to do so. I have discussed this matter on several occasions with Mr. Cantor, who himself is willing to put several millions of dollars of his own money in such an enterprise. The proposal of Mr. Cantor is a challenge to our imagination.

The address follows:

CONSTRUCTION OF 2 TRANSATLANTIC OCEAN SUPERLINERS TO INAUGURATE OCEAN TRAVEL TO AND FROM EUROPE AT A 1-WAY FARE OF $50

(An address by H. B. Cantor to faculty members and postgraduate students in naval architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Friday, May 24, 1957, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.)

FIFTY-DOLLAR FARE TO EUROPE

Professor D'Arcangelo, members of the faculty, students, may I express my appreciation to you for your very kind invitation to come to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to discuss a project which, I feel, is so dramatic and of such far-reaching dimensions that it touches upon every phase of our daily living.

Briefly, it is my determined intention to make possible transatlantic ocean voyages at a fare of $50 by constructing the world's 2 largest and fastest superliners. The vessels would be operated as floating commercial hotels rather than as luxury liners. They would cater to the wage-earning masses, a group whose opportunities of sailing to Europe are almost nonexistent at present passenger rates.

As for the physical details of the ships, each will be 90,000 tons and 1,152 feet long. Each will carry 6,000 passengers and a crew of 1,350. They will be constructed with 20 airtight compartments, a safety feature designed to make them unsinkable. The cruising speed will be 34 knots and crossings will be made in 4 days. In time of war the ships will be convertible to aircraft carriers or troopships. Emphasis will be placed upon operating the ships on a motel policy, eliminating the frills and luxury items, yet providing every facility for complete ocean-going comfort.

Negotiations have been in progress to use Boston as the home port. According to present plans, the ships may be constructed at Quincy shipyards. The foreign port of call will probably be Zeebrugge, Belgium.

I feel that this project is of such vast proportions that it will have an all-embracing effect on our modern civilization. It will vitally affect our country's shipping and shipbuilding industries; the increase in ocean travel between America and Europe will serve as an important good-will factor; it is of tremendous value to our defense efforts due to the ships' convertibility to aircraft carriers or troopships; it will provide a veritable shot in the arm to the tourist industry; and it will make possible the cherished dream of every man, woman, and child to sail across the Atlantic at a passenger fare within their budget.

On a local level, the significance of these vessels and of low-cost ocean travel becomes readily apparent when we consider the effect this project's achievement will have upon commerce and industry in the State of Massachusetts and, in particular, the port of Boston, should it become the home port for the ships.

How will the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the port of Boston benefit from this project?

Massachusetts has traditionally been a maritime State and, at one time, shipping and shipbuilding was one of its greatest sources of income. However, in recent years, these industries have dwindled to a point where they bear little resemblance to their former prominence. The tremendous passenger and freight shipping possibilities have not been realized.

Boston possesses one of the finest harbors in the world; Commonwealth pier, the world's largest passenger pier, was built in 1912 by the State, at a cost of $15 million, to stimulate passenger and freight business. Yet, today, it is practically idle. In 1953 there were only 1,547 embarkations from Boston to the North Atlantic. This is an extremely low figure when one considers the port's possibilities.

The advantages of Boston's harbor become evident at a glance. Boston is 174 miles closer to Europe than New York, making it 1 day's sailing closer to Europe than any other port. It is a distance of only 5 miles to open ocean, thus requiring less slowdown time for large passenger liners and freighters. The Commonwealth pier, to cite another advantage of the harbor, has a mean low water depth of over 40 feet alongside. Add to this the proximity of railroad and air travel facilities and one easily recognizes the admirable suitability of the port of Boston.

The harbor, as well as the airports of New York, are wholly inadequate and overtaxed. Why shouldn't this burden be eased by directing this immense load of traffic to Boston?

As to the benefits Massachusetts and the city of Boston will enjoy from such a project, let me offer a few figures. If the ships are to be built at Quincy shipyards, immediate employment will be created for 4,000 shipyard workers. Since the vessels would be manned by merchant seamen from the Boston area, jobs would become available for 2,700 merchant marines. The use of Boston as a port would result in the passing through the area of an additional 500,000 people every year, thus creating a tremendous

spurt in retail income. Approximately 400,000 tons of additional freight would move through the port, resulting in added commerce and shipping revenue for the city and for the State.

There has long been a very definite need for low-cost ocean travel. Bus lines offer a cross-country fare of $69.50; nonscheduled airlines offer cross-country fares of $88. With new jet air travel, via DC-8's, scheduled for 1959–60, airlines will be able to reduce their operating costs by 40 percent. In June of last year, at a meeting in Cannes, France, the airlines announced that tourist-class fares would be reduced by 20 percent by April 1958. This means that a round-trip flight between London and New York will be available for approximately $360. This rate is less than the cheapest present steamship passage.

Since water transportation is known to be less expensive, why isn't there some form of ocean travel to match the rates of the land and air travel?

Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the steamship lines are so steeped in tradition that they have failed to keep abreast of modern times.

I envision a mass-housing, mass-feeding operation which will open a 95 percent untapped tourist market. News of this project has reached all corners of the world and my office has been flooded with requests for passage bookings. This universal response assures me that passage reservations could very easily be filled for 3 to 5 years in advance.

You, as educators and students concerned with naval architecture, will be more directly affected by a project of this nature. As designers of the vessels of the future, I think you will recognize the significance of my plans. The proposal to construct superliners for low-cost ocean travel is one that can introduce a new age in marine designing.

Some of the features of the vessels should be of particular interest to you.

The liners will be 132 feet beam, with a draft of 34 feet. The top deck will be a flat-top with a clear space of 450 feet by 80 feet, to the rear of the smokestack. This area would be used as a sports deck for outdoor activities and a swimming pool. Below this will be a double-decked, glass-enclosed aircraft hangar space, which will be used as a convention hall for business groups, with a seating capacity for 4,000 persons. This hall will feature roll-away doors to make it divisible into meeting rooms for smaller groups. There will be a one-class service, with a large kitchen at the center of the ship servicing a 1,500-seat cafeteria and a 1,200-seat formal dining room. There will also be self-service canteens, bars, and cocktail lounges. Passenger cabins will be laid out in 2- and 4-berth staterooms, each with private bath, television, and air-conditioning. There will be skating rinks, outdoor sports equipment, a concert hall, and facilities for religious services. Also planned are shopping centers where goods from both sides of the Atlantic could be purchased at reasonable prices.

During offseason travel periods, business groups in this country and abroad will be contacted for passage bookings to hold convention junkets, providing a novel type of business and pleasure trips.

I realize that this is an institution of learning and that, at this point in your careers, you, as students, are primarily concerned with your studies. Your present interests are in transferring your creative talents to the drawing boards. As a businessman my concern is in getting these ships into the water. I think that our interests are in agreement. Together we can challenge the ship designing concepts of tomorrow.

Together we have an opportunity to restore the glory of the American passenger fleet. My project will accomplish passenger ship supremacy for the United States.

The Maritime Administration in Washington is considering this project; Governor Furcolo has expressed his interest in the ships; the Nation clamors for low-cost travel; Europe is awaiting developments.

May I say to you, gentlemen, that I am determined, yes, determined, to achieve my plans.

These ships will be built.

An Affirmative Policy Toward the Soviet Satellite Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on June 17, the Honorable ARMISTEAD SELDEN, the Honorable FRANK M. COFFIN, and the Honorable ALVIN M. BENTLEY and I introduced identical concurrent resolutions expressing the sense of Congress on the need for an affirmative policy toward the Soviet satellites. The text of the measure follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 189 (by Mrs. KELLY), House Concurrent Resolution 190 (by Mr. SELDEN), House Concurrent Resolution 191 (by Mr. COFFIN), House Concurrent Resolution 192 (by Mr. BENTLEY) expressing the sense of the Congress on the need for an affirmative policy toward the Soviet satellites.

Whereas the Hungarian freedom revolution which broke out October 23, 1956, was catastrophic in nature and caught the free world totally unprepared; and

Whereas its tragic finale left a feeling of bitter disappointment and regret that the governments of the free world were not ready to take effective action; and

Whereas the barbaric action of the Soviet Union in Hungary demonstrates that the Soviet Union is determined to go to any and all lengths to maintain its empire of enslaved peoples by the most brutal forms of armed subjugation and repression, when permitted to do so; and

Whereas the crisis and foment created by developments in the satellite nations require a reevaluation of and revision in strategic policy to meet changed conditions: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the United States should establish and implement an affirmative policy toward the satellites to utilize fully and effectively the position of leadership of the United States through all proper means within and without the United Nations, including the use of economic and political sanctions and the establishment of a clearly defined satellite refugee program.

SEC. 2. It is further the sense of the Congress that the President, through the United States Representative to the United Nations, should immediately request the convening of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to consider the report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary and other available information on the brutal action of the Soviet Union in Hungary and other satellite nations.

The concurrent resolution is intended to give congressional expression to the major recommendations which we made recently in our special study mission report on policy toward the satellite nations (H. Rept. 531, 85th Cong.).

Our report demonstrates that we are now in the midst of a new era on satellite relations which constitutes as vital a challenge to the interests of the free world as the situation in the Middle East. This new era requires a reevaluation of and revision in United States and free world strategic policy to meet changed conditions.

The absence of United States and free world effective action with respect to the Hungarian revolution last fall, when the Hungarian freedom fighters believed that such action would be forthcoming, dealt the whole free world and the hopes and expectations of the millions of captive satellite peoples a heavy blow.

During our study mission to Europe there was everywhere apparent bewilderment, confusion and skepticism about free world action, particularly by the United States, in the event of future satellite outbreaks. It is therefore essential that the people of the United States, through their elected Representatives in Congress, take the lead in expressing, in the words of the resolution, "that the United States should establish and implement an affirmative policy toward the satellites * * *", so that it will be known to the executive branch of our Government where our country stands in this issue. This is the first essential step in formulating and implementing an effective policy.

The resolution further calls for the full and effective utilization by our Nation of its position of leadership, both within and without the United Nations. We must be prepared with measures and programs to cope with a future outbreak, including the establishment of a clearly defined satellite refugee program.

In section 2 of the measure the President is called upon, through the United States Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Lodge, to request at once, upon the adoption of this resolution, the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly. It would be the sole function of the special session to consider the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Hungary and other available information which has been accumulating on the brutal activities of the U. S. S. R. in Hungary as well as in other satellite nations. The purpose of this section is to direct the attention of the world to the inhumanity and ruthlessness of Soviet imperialism and to put the Kremlin on the defensive at a time in history when peoples are bursting with a yearning for independence and freedom from the yoke of imperialism. It is further the objective of section 2 of our resolution to make it possible to demonstrate before the world forum that the true imperialists are the Soviets with their new brand of imperialism never before equaled in brutality and savagery.

The resolution looks to the future. Its purpose is not to criticize past failures but rather to profit from those failures in the future.

He Belongs in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to include a news story announcing that my Connecticut colleague, AL MO-

RANO has decided not to seek the Republican gubernatorial nomination in Connecticut, and an editorial comment on this decision by one of the State's leading newspapers. The news story is from the weekly Greenwich Life, June 14. The editorial appeared in the Danbury News-Times on June 13.

Although many of us are disappointed that the able, energetic, and popular Fairfield County Congressman has removed himself from the gubernatorial race, we are extremely happy that his decision means he will continue his conscientious service as a valued Member of the Connecticut congressional delegation here in Washington.

The article and editorial follow.

[From the Greenwich (Conn.) Life of June 14, 1957]

WON'T RUN IN 1958 FOR GOVERNORSHIP, MORANO STATES

Congressman ALBERT P. MORANO, of Greenwich, announced this week that he will not seek the Republican nomination for Governor of Connecticut. Mr. MORANO considered among some party circles as the man most capable of defeating incumbent Abe Ribicoff if the latter chooses to run again, said this week:

"During the past few months, I have weighed carefully in my mind the many considerations and responsibilities in making such an important decision.

"'I have decided," he said, "not to be a candidate for governor."

Mr. MORANO, who carried the Fourth District by a record majority in the last elections, said he was "highly flattered" when informed by friends of the "widespread private and public speculation about the possibility of my being a candidate * * * in 1958."

Mr. MORANO said the governorship "would be a great honor and a privilege" and for him the fulfillment of "the American dream."

In making his decision not to run, however, he said he hoped to "pursue my career as a Member of Congress, representing the people of my district in the continued quest to maintain economic stability and to achieve international understanding and world peace."

[From the Danbury (Conn.) News-Times of June 13, 1957]

HE BELONGS IN WASHINGTON

Congressman ALBERT P. MORANO has made it clear he does not intend to seek the Republican nomination for Governor in 1958. Instead, he wants to seek a fifth term from the Fourth District, Fairfield County.

His declaration removes one name from the list of possible Republican candidates for the seat now held by Gov. A. A. Ribicoff, Democrat.

It also makes it likely that Republican hopefuls for a chance to go to Congress will have to wait at least 2 more years. There is little likelihood Mr. MORANO will have difficulty in obtaining renomination.

And, if the election were to be held tomorrow, there is little likelihood he would have trouble winning reelection by a wide margin. He has been building up majorities of increasing size and in 1956 his victory figure ran well over 100,000.

His work for his district earns him friends in all 23 towns and among Republicans, Democrats, and independents.

His work on congressional committees, especially the Committee on Foreign Affairs, also has attracted wide attention.

For instance, as a member a special study mission to Central America, Representative MORANO addressed the legislative bodies of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala in fluent Spanish, thereby enhancing the prestige of the United States in those countries and increasing good will.

Perhaps, someday, "AL" MORANO will seek the nomination for Governor. But right now, we feel, he is doing a good job in Washington for Fairfield County, for Connecticut, for the Nation, and should stay there a while longer.

Civil Rights

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER].

(Mr. MEADER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, this is my first discussion of this bill. I rise particularly to call attention to the debate yesterday following the statement of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER], who had to leave because of work with the Committee on Un-American Activities.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING], in remarks that appear on page 8093 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 13, 1957, listed a number of statutes providing a criminal remedy but where, at the same time, the Government was given the right to proceed by injunction. He mentioned the enforcement of the antitrust laws, the Atomic Energy Act, the Natural Gas Act, and various others.

Statutes authorizing the United States Goverment to seek injunctive relief are as follows:

Antitrust laws, restraining violation—by United States attorney, under direction Attorney General—title 15, United States Code, section 4, July 3, 1890.

Associations engaged in catching and marketing aquatic products restrained from violating order to cease and desist monopolizing trade—by Department of Justice—title 15, United States Code, section 522, June 25, 1934.

Association of producers of agricultural products from restraining trade—by Department of Justice—title 7, United States Code, section 292, February 18, 1922.

Atomic Energy Act, enjoining violation of act or regulation—by Atomic Energy Commission—by Attorney General—title 42, United States Code, section 1816, August 1, 1946.

Bridges over navigable waters, injunction to enforce removal of bridge violating act as to alteration of bridges—by Attorney General—title 33, United States Code, section 519, June 21, 1940.

Clayton Act, violation of enjoined—United States attorney, under direction of Attorney General—title 15, United States Code, section 25, October 15, 1914.

Electric utility companies, compliance with law enforced by injunctions—by Federal Power Commission—title 16, United States Code, section 825m, August 26, 1935.

False advertisements, dissemination enjoined—by Federal Trade Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 53, March 21, 1938.

Freight forwarders, enforcement of laws, orders, rules, and so forth, by injunctions—by Interstate Commerce Commission or Attorney General—title 49, United States Code, section 1017, May 16, 1942.

Fur Products Labeling Act, to enjoin violation—by Federal Trade Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 69g, August 8, 1951.

Enclosure of public lands, enjoining violation—by United States attorney—title 43, United States Code, section 1062, February 25, 1885.

Investment advisers, violations of statute, rules and regulations governing, enjoined—by Securities and Exchange Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 80b-9, August 22, 1940.

Gross misconduct or gross abuse of trust by investment companies, enjoined—by Securities and Exchange Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 80a-35, August 22, 1940.

Use of misleading name or title by investment company, enjoined—by Securities and Exchange Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 80a-34, August 22, 1940.

Violation of statute governing, or rules, regulations, or orders of SEC by investment companies, enjoined—by Securities and Exchange Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 80a-41, August 22, 1940.

Fair Labor Standards Act, enjoining of violations—by Administrator, Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor, under direction of Attorney General, see title 29, United States Code, section 204b—title 29, United States Code, sections 216 (c), 217, June 25, 1938.

Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, enforcement of order by injunction—by United States attorney, see title 29, United States Code, section 921a—title 33, United States Code, section 921, March 4, 1927.

Import trade, prevention of restraint by injunction—by United States attorney, under direction of Attorney General—title 15, United States Code, section 9, August 27, 1894.

Wool products, enjoining violation of Labeling Act—by Federal Trade Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 68e, October 14, 1940.

Securities Act, actions to restrain violations—by Securities and Exchange Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 77t, May 27, 1933.

Securities Exchange Act, restraint of violations—by Securities and Exchange Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 78u, June 6, 1934.

Stockyards, injunction to enforce order of Secretary of Agriculture—by Attorney General—title 7, United States Code, section 216, August 15, 1921.

Submarine cables, to enjoin landing or operation—by the United States—title 47, United States Code, section 36, May 27, 1921.

Sugar quota, to restrain violations—by United States attorney under direction of Attorney General, see title 7, United States Code, section 608 (7), and title 7, United States Code, section 608a–6, May 9, 1934.

Water carriers in interstate and foreign commerce, injunctions for violations of orders of ICC—by ICC or Attorney General—title 49, United States Code, section 916, September 18, 1940.

Flammable Fabrics Act, to enjoin violations—by Federal Trade Commission—title 15, United States Code, section 1195, June 30, 1953.

National Housing Act, injunction against violation—by Attorney General—title 12, United States Code, section 1731b. This code citation was repealed.

Defense Production Act—title 50, United States Code, appendix 2109, July 31, 1951.

National Labor Relations Act (Taft-Hartley Act)—title 29, United States Code, section 160(L), June 23, 1947.

Rent Control Cases—title 50, United States Code, appendix 1896, March 30, 1949.

Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act—United States Code, title 21, section 332, June 25, 1938.

Trademark Infringement—United States Code, title 15, section 1116, July 5, 1946.

Rubber Act of 1948—title 50, United States Code, appendix 1933, March 31, 1948.

International Wheat Agreement Act—title 7, United States Code, section 1642, October 27, 1949.

Natural Gas Act—title 15, United States Code, section 1717s, June 21, 1938.

Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act—title 7, United States Code, section 499k, June 10, 1930.

Shipping Act of 1916—title 46, United States Code, section 828, September 7, 1916.

I call attention, in addition, to the large number of administrative tribunals created in the last few decades whose orders are enforced by the contempt powers of the courts.

The discussion of this jury-trial amendment, I think, has served to alert the Members of Congress to the growing tendency to use the extraordinary remedy of injunction and contempts of courts for the enforcement of the policies and programs of the Federal Government.

It may be that in this instance the criminal remedy, that is, punishment through prosecution for violation of a statute, is not adequate to enforce the 15th amendment, which of course is a part of the Constitution; and that this extraordinary remedy is the only effective way of accomplishing the objective of the 15th amendment. But let me warn those who want the easy way that if we extend government by injunction from this field to another field, pretty soon we will be living under a police state, and the protection of individual liberties, which are the very essence of our form of government, will be gone.

I suggest that a comprehensive survey be made of the use of these extraordinary remedies of injunction and the contempt powers of the courts to execute national policies where rights of the individual, constitutionally available to him in criminal and civil legal proceedings, do not exist.

Let us see when this trend began. The abuses which led to the Norris-LaGuardia Act were injunctions sought by individual citizens and corporations. In the instances cited by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING], it is the Government itself using this unusual power of the sovereign in derogation of the rights of its citizens and circumventing the protections of their liberties which we have built up at great cost over a long period of time.

In the labor field, National Labor Relations Board orders to cease and desist issued against employers are enforced by the decree and contempt proceedings of the circuit courts of appeal.

The Federal Trade Commission combats unfair trade practices with court injunctions. Many other recently created boards and commissions have been given similar authority by the Congress.

Does this mean that the historic method of compelling observance of national policy, in which inhere the protections of the Bill of Rights, is no longer efficient and workable in the complicated society of our time; or, does it mean that the proponents of the new activities which the Federal Government is increasingly undertaking are impatient at the delays and difficulties attending criminal and civil legal proceedings where alleged violators are guaranteed due process of law and, in criminal cases, the presumption of innocence and the requirement of admissible proof establishing guilt beyond a reasonable doubt as found by a jury of his peers?

All students of law know that chancery courts developed only because the common law had become so rigid and inflexible as to result in miscarriages of justice simply because no forms or procedures existed to grant relief. This gave rise to the unusual and extraordinary intervention of the King, which came to be exercised through his chancellor, in granting relief to individuals on their petition for equitable and just redress, which they were unable to obtain in the law courts. Thus was established the basic principle that no action in equity will lie where there is an adequate remedy at law.

Many equity cases have held that a crime will not be enjoined by an equity court because the punishment for the crime should be an adequate deterrent to the wrong sought to be prevented. Some courts have added a refinement to the principle of adequacy of the remedy of law in that the remedy at law must be as adequate as the remedy possible in an equity proceeding.

There is no question of the constitutional power of the Congress to authorize the Attorney General to commence injunction proceedings to enforce the 15th amendment or of the power of Congress to grant jurisdiction to the Federal courts to issue injunctions in this field. Whether the Congress should do so or not, in my judgment, should be determined as a matter of policy. In determining for myself this question of policy, I am guided by the basic principle of adequacy of existing legal remedies, that is to say, criminal prosecution, under sections 241 and 242 of title 18, United States Code, and civil suits for damages under section 1983 of title 42, United States Code.

The 15th amendment to the United States Constitution became effective March 30, 1870, and provided:

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The basic laws Congress passed pursuant to the 15th amendment were adopted shortly thereafter.

For over 80 years, therefore, we have had on the books legislation in addition to the 15th amendment to the Constitution designed to prevent the denial of voting privileges for reasons of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Yet, the evidence is overwhelming that in many sections of the country Negroes, even today, are being deprived of the right to vote. One need not look further than the statistical section of the Congressional Directory to find that there were total votes cast in the congressional election of 1956 as low as 18,000 or 19,000 for some congressional districts where many congressional districts cast votes in excess of 200,000, or 10 times as much. In this connection, it should be remembered that Representatives in Congress, as the direct representatives of the people under article I, section 2, and the 14th amendment, section 2, each should represent approximately equal segments of our population.

There is, of course, other evidence before the Congress that the 15th amendment is not being observed, and that the amendment itself and the laws passed pursuant thereto have not been effective in the past and will not be effective in the future. Believing that the 15th amendment, which is just as much a part of our Constitution as the Bill of Rights, ought to be observed, it is my judgment that a case has been made for the intervention of the courts and their extraordinary remedy of injunction to prevent an integral part of our Constitution from being nullified.

I, therefore, intend to vote against the so-called jury-trial amendment.

The granting, however, of the power of injunction in this field for the first time in our history points up the necessity for taking stock of the distance we have traveled on the road of government by injunction and should give us warning that this unusual and autocratic remedy must not be lightly granted in the future. We in the Congress should scrutinize with extreme care representations by those advocating some new program by the Federal Government involving regulation of our citizens in which

enforcement is sought through injunction rather than the traditional criminal and civil remedies in which constitutional guarantees of procedural rights are granted to defendants. This is particularly true where a mandatory injunction, as contrasted to a restraining order, is authorized.

As I view our philosophy of Government, we prohibit citizens from doing those things which are thought to be against the public interest, but in all other activities not so prohibited, the individual is free to do as he chooses. This is the reverse of a system of government where the citizen is ordered by his Government affirmatively to perform certain actions. The latter method is typical of totalitarianism and tyranny.

Because of the recent growth of the use of court injunctions and contempt prcoeedings for carrying out national policy, I believe a review of such special grants of authority should be made, including a reexamination of the basis for authorizing the injunctive remedy. Such a study would form a foundation for resisting further growth of government by summary proceedings and might possibly lead to repeal or modification of some such grants of authority in the past.

Alaska Statehood Endorsed by American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion, Department of Alaska, has long supported statehood for Alaska. The American Legion met recently in annual convention at Skagway and reaffirmed its endorsement of statehood by adoption of Resolution No. 57–1. It is with pleasure I present here the resolution as signed by Department Commander Wardie W. King and Adjutant Joseph M. Briones:

RESOLUTION NO. 57–1, STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

Whereas the United States of America stands irrevocably for the principles of self-government and for the granting of such rights to the peoples of the world; and

Whereas the residents of Alaska have officially registered, by their ballot, their desire to become a member of the United States of America, and have unmistakably proven their ability to assume the responsibilities of such self-government; and

Whereas the said residents have proven their loyalty to the United States by their actions and behavior in recent world conflicts; and

Whereas statehood will prove a tremendous incentive to the development of Alaska, which said development is essential to the defense of Alaska and the United States; and

Whereas the American Legion has long supported statehood for the Territory: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion, Department of Alaska, in regular convention assembled at Skagway, Alaska, these 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th days of May 1957, That the Congress of the United States be urged to grant statehood to Alaska; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Delegate to Congress from Alaska, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate of the United States, Chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, the Chairman of the House Interior Committee, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, to the 39th Annual National Convention of the American Legion, to be held at Atlantic City, N. J., and to any other interested parties.

WARDIE W. KING,
Commander, Department of Alaska,
1956–57.

Attest:

JOSEPH M. BRIONES,
Adjutant.

Yankee Homecoming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, New England will have a great homecoming during the year of 1958. Its official designation is Yankee Homecoming. It will cover the entire year of 1958. This will afford a fine opportunity for all Americans to visit New England during the homecoming year—not only descendants of New Englanders in other parts of our country, but for all Americans to see New England; to see its industry, its countless places of beauty and summer resorts, its many historic places where events took place that played an important part in the settlement of the Western World and the independence of our country; to sap in, so to speak, its historic atmosphere, and to see and to meet and to know the people of New England and to receive their warm hospitality. In other words, to make a pilgrimage to New England, the section of our country that is second to none in the establishment of our Government and in its preservation and growth.

In my extension of remarks I include a statement recently made by Jack Frost, president of Yankee Homecoming, together with editorials and excerpts from other editorials relating to the Yankee Homecoming plans; also, an article written by Alice Burke, appearing in the Boston Traveler of March 19, 1957.

The statement, editorials, and excerpts follow:

STATEMENT BY JACK FROST, PRESIDENT OF YANKEE HOMECOMING

A billion dollars will be expended in New England in 1958 by visiting tourists.

This estimate was made today by artist Jack Frost of Orleans, Cape Cod, president of Yankee Homecoming for 1958.

"Our program," he said, "aims to bring 2 million more tourists than usual to New England next year. The 1957 total will be about 2,150,000.

"Add 2 million to 2,150,000; this makes 4,150,000. Now, multiply this total by $250 which is the average—probably too low an average—the New England visitor will spend here in 1958 and one can see that the billion dollar total is a reasonable and probably a conservative total.

"Yankee Homecoming stands ready to help in any way other organizations working to increase the New England tourist business. In our Yankee Homecoming campaign we are stressing the industrial advantages of New England as well as the recreational, and cultural, but all of us should make every tourist welcome regardless of the reason that brought him or her here.

"The Massachusetts Traveler Promotion Committee of 44 School Street, Boston, is carrying on an especially effective campaign for this year.

"This committee is working with the American Automobile Association and many other organizations to increase the 1957 tourist business in Massachusetts. This business is estimated by Robert S. Kretschmar, secretary of the group, to be the third largest in Massachusetts.

"Congresswoman EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, of Massachusetts, is waging her own campaign to bring more visitors to New England in 1958. In a recent address to the National House, she emphasized the industrial importance of her own district, recalled she had been born in Maine, and added:

" 'We have a wonderful section of the country, Mr. Speaker. I hope all the Members of the Congress will encourage their constituents to visit New England during the Yankee Homecoming of 1958.' "

Frost said the Back Bay Leader-Beacon Hill Times of Boston recently made a point "which cannot be stressed too strongly."

The newspaper in an editorial note said: "That New England 'homecoming' idea and plan, originated by the New England artist, Jack Frost, gives evidence of developing into one of the really great things that has been done in this section. The idea would be one which would be in effect throughout 1958 and would bear fruit for many years to come. Gov. Foster Furcolo has given it his enthusiastic endorsement and it has the warm approval of many of the leading business and professional men and women of the city and of the New England States."

"That is happily correct," said Frost, "we are building not merely for 1958 but for the years beyond that."

[From the Portland (Maine) Press Herald of March 18, 1957]

Maine, especially of all the States in "Yankeeland," must have been interested in the meeting of New England Members of Congress last week when they heard about the Yankee Homecoming movement planned for 1958, and threw their support behind it.

The resolution passed in the meeting sufficiently explains the purpose of Yankee Homecoming: To bring more visitors than usual to New England next year to enjoy our recreational attractions, to view our historical shrines, and to learn of our industrial progress and opportunities. To this end it was voted to call on all New Englanders to join in this great enterprise, and to urge their relatives and friends outside New England to come and visit us next year.

The originator and principal sponsor of this homecoming is a Massachusetts artist, Jack Frost. He estimated that the program, though it may cost a million dollars, would not involve any new appropriations from the States, Congress, or the communities, but could be met by pooling already authorized outlays toward the regionwide effort. He took pains to point out, too, what a Yankee is, and found that it is not a race, a religion, or geographical designation, but a creed, a belief in American ingenuity, free enterprise, respect for another's rights, property, and personal liberty.

That seems to serve very well as a definition. It may be accepted by the vast armies of New Englanders who carried the Yankee culture as emigrants to the West in covered wagons, but who would be returning to New England next year by automobile, plane,

and streamlined train, a migration in reverse.

Maine and all the rest of the New England States will hope for the success of Yankee Homecoming and work for it. Sometimes one hears that we think too much about the recreational industry. Maybe so, but we certainly do not blow our own horn enough, and we may not be keeping in mind that acquaintance with what Maine, and all New England, has to offer, not infrequently contributes to the building of new industry, which is what we need. It would be reasonable to predict that this great Yankee Homecoming will be a boon to New England. We should all work for it.

[From the Bridgeport (Conn.) Telegram, March 21, 1957]

A novel tourist promotion program to woo visitors to the New England States is gaining acceptance in many quarters. A region-wide effort, it is called the Yankee Homecoming movement for 1958.

The New England Members of Congress last week threw their support behind the project and urged all New Englanders to join in this great enterprise to bring more tourists than usual to the region next year to enjoy its recreational attractions, view its historical shrines and learn of its industrial progress and opportunities.

The Congressmen got a briefing on the homecoming theme by Jack Frost, Orleans, Massachusetts, artist, and president of the movement. "To Europeans," Mr. Frost said, "any American is a Yankee; westerners call people east of the Mississippi Yankees, and some southerners call all northerners Yankees. But we feel Yankee is not a race, religion, or geographical designation; that it is a creed, a belief in American ingenuity, free enterprise, and respect for another's rights, property, and personal liberty," Mr. Frost asserted.

Inasmuch as New England was the birthplace of most of what now is regarded as Yankeeism, the artist said he felt that all Americans would be interested in visiting the region in curiosity, if nothing else. New Englanders emigrated from the region by covered wagon and clipper ship, but in 1958 the aim is to have Americans visit in our area by automobile, streamline train and plane. "We hope," the artist said, "to make it a reverse migration in 1958."

Connecticut has much to offer to tourists in the Yankee Homecoming. Next year visitors will have the Connecticut Turnpike for their use in touring historic sites, recreational areas, festivals, and strawhat theaters, among several of the State's attractions.

Yankee Homecoming promises to be a gay, happy and profitable time for tourists and natives alike.

[From the Armenian Mirror-Spectator (Boston) March 30, 1957]

Two million additional tourists are expected in New England next year due to an aggressive program initiated by Jack Frost, a celebrated Cape Cod artist. It is a project which will allow the world to refresh themselves in the New England climate while bringing back for a visit descendants of New Englanders from other parts of the country.

The six State area offers just about everything in any part of the year. It abounds with recreational facilities in the winter and summer, it offers advantages which other sections of the country must travel miles to reach, all within 1 day's drive of the hub city of Boston.

The project, called Yankee Homecoming, will be in full force in 1958 and as House minority leader JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., says, "Those who visit New England for the first time will find peace of mind, contentment, and most hospitable neighbors."

The area is showing a new progressive feeling steeped in the traditional and the opportunity to enjoy this is being extended to all. People will be surprised at the changing nature of industry in the area, at the plentitude of skilled workers, at the changing shoreline, at the mountain resorts, and even the desert of Maine. The principal art colonies and the world's unrivaled major symphony are in the area and the schools are the envy of other parts of the country.

[From the Marlboro Enterprise and the Hudson (Mass.) Sun, March 15, 1957]

Governor Furcolo has endorsed a plan known as the Yankee Homecoming for 1958. The plan is to induce former New England residents and other tourists to visit the New England area during the year.

The plan originated with Jack Frost, an Orleans artist. It is one that will and should command marked attention and action.

It could bring many into New England during the year, many who might not otherwise visit the six-State area, which offers so much, in both variety and interest for the tourist.

For the former New Englander it would be something of an old home week, or rather better than that, perhaps an old home year.

The Governor's endorsement of Mr. Frost's plan should give it important impetus.

NATIONAL PILGRIMAGE TO NEW ENGLAND IN 1958 TEST FOR YANKEE INGENUITY

(By Alice Burke)

They're fattening up the calf and laying down the cider for the goldarndest, biggest family reunion ever staged in these parts.

It is the 1958 Yankeee Homecoming. And that means an invitation to every New Englander and every descendant of a New Englander everywhere in the world to come home during a year of fun and frolic.

Yankee Homecoming is frankly a boost-New-England project, aimed at bringing into the area next year at least 2 million more visitors than ordinarily come. The hope is that they will spend their vacation money here.

But in the mind of Artist Jack Frost, who originated the plan for this national pilgrimage to New England, we'll give as much as if not more than we get.

What the six States will offer their vacationing guests, he says, will be a sort of patriotic rebirth.

The visitors will come in close contact with concepts of individual liberty and free enterprise which began in New England and which their ancestors carried forth to build a great nation.

They also brush up against Yankee ingenuity, particularly that brand of it devoted to producing a good time.

Frost and his Yankee Homecoming Founders' Council expect that at least half the cities, towns, and villages, from the New York line to Canada, will welcome back native sons and daughters.

Special celebrations — games, contests, pageants, and every sort of wing-ding—are planned for each of the 52 weeks of 1958.

The jubilee will begin January 1, on the final stroke of 1957's last midnight, with big, old-fashioned New Year's parties.

Long before that, however, there'll be a national advertising and promotion campaign inviting folk to New England's homecoming.

Frost plans a reverse trip of the covered wagons that left for the West during the last century. Some time this summer, a caravan of prairie schooners will set out from California, hitting the homeward trail and urging those along the way to follow after.

Also scheduled for late this summer is a dress rehearsal for one event in Cape Cod's 1958 celebration. This is a combined regatta and open house in old sea captains' homes from Provincetown to Sagamore.

Open houses, open churches, and school and college reunions will be important links in next year's chain of festive events to renew old ties and old memories.

There will be historic tours, literary tours, scenic tours, industrial tours, a wide variety of trips for those interested in particular aspects of New England, past and present.

For those concerned with food—and who isn't—church suppers, strawberry festivals, clambakes, corn roasts, and those oldtime Yankee baked-bean and apple-pie breakfasts will be on the menu.

Although many of the celebrations planned are special for 1958, the core of Yankee Homecoming entertainment will be festivities, contests, and ceremonies that are held here regularly every year.

Things like the Boston Art Festival, the blessing of the fishing fleets at Gloucester and New Bedford, music at Tanglewood, Marblehead Race Week, the Seafood Festival at Rockland, Maine, the Deerfield, N. H., Fair, the Indian Pow-Wow at Lafayette, R. I.

And, of course, the winter carnivals and scores of other community fun fests; fishing derbies, rug-hooking bees, square dances, and the like.

In other words, we'll dress up, spruce up and put on parties especially for the visitors. But they'll know that is just packaging for the homespun product of fun, hospitality, and a high historic heritage they will find anytime they want to come back after 1958.

The general idea is to make 'em want to come back, time and again.

Frost, author and illustrator of a series of successful sketch books, has been working on the 1958 Yankee Homecoming plan for the past 5 years.

A native of Eastport, Maine, a former Boston newspaper artist, and now a Cape-Codder, he is sold on selling New England to the rest of the country, for both recreation and industry.

He has sunk his money, his time, and his artistic talent into promoting the idea.

Last month, Governor Furcolo indorsed it. The other New England governors are expected to follow suit.

Industrial and civic organizations have indicated their willingness to help finance the big promotion program from here on in. It will cost an estimated $1 million.

A 30-member founders' council of religious leaders, public officials, advertising men, newspaper executives, and businessmen is behind the project.

They're setting the stage to welcome home the sons, the grandsons, the great grandsons, and all the "great greats" of those who made New England strong and then went out to spread that strength throughout the Nation.

The United States Corps of Army Engineers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, June 14 marks the 182d illustrious birthday of the founding of the United States Corps of Army Engineers.

The Corps of Engineers dates from June 1776, when the Continental Congress authorized Gen. George Washington to appoint a Chief Engineer for his Army. General Washington designated Col. Richard Gridley to that post, and

from that date, July 3, 1775, until now the United States has been served by 40 Chief Engineers. Holding that post with honor and distinction at this time is Maj. Gen. Emerson C. Itschner.

June 14 also marked the observance of the 76th anniversary of the establishment of Corps of Engineers offices to serve the Mississippi River and its tributries. On February 1, 1881, the Corps of Engineers set up the Little Rock River and Harbor office with authority confined to the Arkansas, White, and St. Francis Rivers and tributaries. However, in 1882, the Mississippi River Commission established districts with headquarters in Cairo, Ill., and Memphis, Tenn., and these offices were consolidated in the Memphis office in 1890.

A separate district, with responsibility for dredging operations was established at Memphis in 1918, and 3 years later the Little Rock office was moved to the Mississippi River city and the name was changed to the Memphis River and Harbor District.

In 1928, with adoption of the first comprehensive plan for flood control on the lower Mississippi River, the Memphis River and Harbor office, the river and harbor district, the Mississippi River Commission's first and second districts, and the dredging district, were all consolidated to form the United States Army Engineers District, Memphis.

The Mississippi River, wildly temperamental in its 1,000-mile trip to the Gulf of Mexico, drains 40 percent of the Nation, an area lying across the northern reaches of the United States from New York State to Wyoming. Enough rain falls on this area in a normal year to fill a tank 8 miles wide, 8 miles long, and 8 miles high. During an average flood year a million tons of water passes down the river.

This tremendous power supports the mighty Mississippi, the main artery of the Nation's 28,000-mile inland waterway system. And more than 80 million tons of important commodities move each year on the river.

To control this mighty river and to protect the valley against floods is the task of the Corps of Engineers and the Mississippi River Commission. Today a 1,600-mile system of giant levees 200 miles longer than the Great Wall of China are maintained by the corps to harness the powers of the river. Cutoffs have straightened the river where Mark Twain was pilot, and the river has been shortened by about 170 miles.

Col. E. B. Downing is the district engineer for the Memphis district, and he has given valiant service to the work on the Mississipi and its tributaries. Today Colonel Downing is making certain special awards to employees of the district, and I am sure that other Members of Congress whose areas are served by this office will desire to join in commending Colonel Downing and all of the men and women of the office there for the fine service they are continuing to render. Since the location of this office, almost 2,000 man-years of work has been given to controlling the turbulent floodwaters of the lower Mississippi and its tributaries.

That much work continues to be done is evidenced by the floods that still beset this vast area. However, it should be pointed out that these floods result from rainfall equal in many places to the total annual averages and but for the great structures created to handle the Arkansas and the other tributaries, the present disaster would be extended throughout the entire lower valley and over the Midsouth. Millions of dollars, untold acres of farm and forest lands, and thousands of lives were saved by the work of the Mississippi River Commission and the Corps of Engineers.

It is fitting, therefore, on this day to celebrate the 182d anniversary of the founding of the Corps of Engineers and the 76th anniversary of the Memphis district to salute the peacetime work of the corps in preserving for us and for our posterity that great heartland of America.

Secretary Benson Exposes Half-Truths About Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson before the Minnesota Bankers Association meeting in St. Paul, Minn., on June 12. Perhaps no major problem has been subjected to as many half-truths during recent years as occurred with respect to the farm problem. Secretary Benson, in his speech to the Minnesota Bankers Association, clearly and effectively and in his characteristically straightforward way has told the whole truth about a number of these half-truths. There are enough difficulties in this field even when only the facts—all of them—are considered. It is essential to eliminate these difficulties and differences which are based on beliefs or charges that are not in accord with the facts. Secretary Benson's address contributes greatly to making clear the real facts.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE THE MINNESOTA BANKERS ASSOCIATION, JUNE 12, 1957

This is a great pleasure, a signal honor, and a challenging responsibility. I welcome the opportunity to meet with you and share my thoughts regarding the agricultural problems of this great State and this favored Nation.

One might wonder what a Secretary of Agriculture would have to say to a group of bankers. At first thought, our respective fields might appear remote from one another.

Yet the Secretary of Agriculture must be concerned with financial matters. Our Commodity Credit Corporation is the second largest corporation in the world, exceeded only by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. We now hold loans on farm commodities totaling $2.3 billion, and we own $5.5 billion worth of commodities taken over through nonrecourse loans. We hold about $3.7 billion worth of loans made to farmers for financing the purchase of real estate, for production credit, for building farm storage, for supplying electricity and telephones, for construction of facilities to conserve soil and water resources, and for various other purposes. This $3.7 billion does not include loans of the Farm Credit Administration, which was made an independent agency in 1953 in accordance with the recommendation of this administration.

So, along with you, I am concerned with interest rates, terms of repayment, and other financial matters.

I am also concerned about Government competition with private business. I believe that Government should not be in competition with its own taxpaying citizens. I believe we should leave to private enterprise those things which private enterprise is able and willing to do.

You, on your part, must be interested in agriculture. You have an outstanding record in staying with your farmer borrowers in spite of drought and other economic reversals. You are in a key position to counsel with farmers on important business decisions.

The financial needs of our farm people are great indeed. Farmers require extensive financial services. They have borrowed almost ten billion dollars, secured by real estate, and they have borrowed another $8 billion of short-term credit of one kind or another. Private sources supply the bulk of farmer borrowings; it will be my unfailing purpose to keep it so.

Not only must our farmers be financed; the many industries which serve agriculture have their special credit needs. Implement factories, petroleum refineries, fertilizer plants, feed mills, facilities for processing, storing, transporting, refrigerating, and merchandising farm products, these all require financing. The food business, in its many phases, is the largest single business in the country. It takes 25 percent of the consumer's dollar. It takes a goodly share of your services. We do indeed have a community of interest.

Because the farm and financial community are interdependent, they should understand one another. Certainly the financial services which you provide are not always well understood by farm people; I am likewise sure that the problems of our farm people are not clear to all of you. The air is filled with statements, denials, allegations, and half-truths regarding your field and mine. The problem is to distinguish between the truths, the half-truths, and the untruths.

You could easily prepare a list of half-truths about the banking fraternity; ideas that are somehow plausible, yet take undue liberty with the facts.

One half-truth that comes to mind is the belief, widely held by farm people, that bankers work only from 10 o'clock in the morning until 3 in the afternoon. Some people don't stop to think that there is work to do after the cashier's cage is closed.

Another popular misconception is that the banker hopes the borrower will be unable to repay his loan so that the banker can take over the collateral.

Statements which are totally false cannot long survive.

Statements that are wholly true may be resisted for a time, but the truth must ultimately triumph.

The troublesome statement is the half-truth, which has some visible basis in fact, the statement which has enough truth to make it plausible and enough untruth to make it dangerous. Such a statement can be used by the uninformed or the unscrupulous to convey an entirely erroneous impression.

I should like to enumerate nine widely-held ideas about agriculture. All of them can be made to sound more or less plausible,

but they contain only a fragment of truth. All of them stand in the way of sound solutions to farm problems.

The first half-truth is that there is a single farm problem or a single solution.

How we long for simple explanations and simple remedies.

How easy the answers become when we oversimplify the problem.

Shall we say the farm problem is the level of price supports for the basic commodities? This ignores most of the problems in agriculture; only 12 percent of Minnesota's farm income is from the basic commodities. It ignores the hardships resulting from drought, flood, frost, and other natural causes. It ignores the true cause of low income, namely the fact that many farms are too small and lack sufficient resources.

There are many problems, not one. And for each problem there are many potential remedies, not just one. Most of these remedies are in the hands of individual farmers and their organizations. Better farming methods, improved marketing, power production costs, better choice of enterprises, these are solutions which may lack political appeal, but they are effective.

Beware the man who paints agriculture as having one problem and one solution.

Another half-truth is that agricultural production can be controlled with acreage allotments.

Acreage controls can, to a degree, restrict the output of a particular crop. But controls have little effect on total production.

When a farmer is restricted on the acreage of a particular crop he picks his best land, fertilizes heavily, uses modern methods, and increases the yield per acre. And he uses the acres taken out of one crop for the production of other crops.

It might be possible to work out regulations which would be stiff enough really to control production. But the evidence of 25 years is that farmers do not want them. The Congress will not enact them and even if they were enacted it would be difficult to enforce them.

You read in the papers, occasionally, that farmers have voted production controls on themselves as a means of getting a particular level of price support. What you do not read is that these controls have been watered down by law to such a point that they don't control production. A whole battery of fudge factors has been introduced; permission to plant on acres diverted from the basic crops, minimum national allotments, minimum individual allotments, legislative action to boost allotments or keep them from falling, and control on the basis of harvested rather than planted acres.

The number of acres of wheat actually needed, according to formula, to bring supplies into line this year was only about 12 million. Yet the number of acres offered to farmers in the referendum, by law, was 55 million, 4½ times as great.

The alternative to a vote favoring quotas has been made unattractive by law. Instead of offering reasonable alternatives, the choice offered is between quotas and virtually no program at all.

Farmers have voted favorably on acreage allotments and marketing quotas, but such a vote cannot be correctly interpreted as indicating that farmers favor controls which will actually control.

It is clear that we have no other choice than to live with abundance. Experience indicates that we cannot effectively legislate scarcity. Nor should we want to do so. Abundance is a blessing if our programs are sound.

A third belief, embracing only a fragment of truth, is that farm prices, over the long pull, can be made in Washington.

When a farmer sells wheat or soybeans or hogs he is paid a price. Why that price? Why not a higher price? He needs an answer that he can understand, and there are plenty of people ready to supply it.

What answer is easier to accept than that farm prices are made in Washington? If farm prices are rising, the ins will be supporting this view and the outs will be denying it. If farm prices are falling, the reverse will be true. So the issue always has a considerable number of people who will keep it alive. To those who must have a simple explanation for prices, this is both the simplest and the most readily available.

Are farm prices really made in Washington? Certainly for a crop like corn, the level of price support set in accordance with law has an important influence, at least in the short run. But if the price is set too far from where the buyers and sellers themselves would set it, the forces of the market will ultimately reassert themselves.

The belief that farm prices are made, or should be made or could be made in Washington is particularly dangerous because it leads to pressures for unworkable programs, the final results of which are harmful to farmers.

A fourth half-truth is that farm prosperity depends directly on farm prices.

I want to see farm prices as high as we can have them, consistent with retaining and expanding our markets.

My concern, and the farmers' concern, is more with net farm income than with price per unit. It is income that farmers spend, not price. Income is the result of production times price per unit minus costs.

Certain of our farm products have been supported continually and substantially above the levels that would prevail if producers and consumers were free to bargain together. It is my belief that lower prices for a number of these crops would have the long-run effect of expanding markets and increasing net form incomes. Markets would be regained. Production could be increased. Production costs per unit would be decreased. And farm people would be better off.

For other commodities, or with other market conditions, prices could and should go up. We have raised price support levels, on occasions when we thought it would be helpful to do so, above the minimum levels specified in the law and above the levels of previous years.

I think our price structure in agriculture should have flexibility in it, flexibility to go up or down in accordance with market conditions.

Another half-truth is that farmers alone are exposed to the competitive system, while everyone else is protected from it.

It is true that, compared with certain other groups, farmers occupy an exposed economic position and lack bargaining power.

Much has been attempted, through Government programs of one kind or another, to provide more economic security for farm people. The net realized cost last year of Federal programs primarily to support farm prices and farm income was $1.9 billion, a sum equal to 16 percent of our net farm income. This year the cost will be much larger. Costs are high because we are now picking up the tab for losses experienced in moving commodities accumulated in earlier years.

Nonfarm enterprises do not completely escape competitive forces. Only about three-fourths of the wholesale trade firms survive their first full year of operation; only about 30 percent survive more than 10 years. Only about three-fifths of the retail trade firms survive their first year and only about one-sixth reach the age of 10 years. Labor has a minimum wage, it is true, but no job is assured at that minimum wage. And the guaranteed minimum is only about 50 percent as high as the average hourly earnings of factory workers. This is something like a support price at 50 percent of the market level.

One of the most important components of economic security is the opportunity to change freely from one enterprise to another. Fortunately this opportunity continues for all groups with fewer impediments in this country than in any other country in the world.

The economic hazards of our farm people constitute a series problem. These can be at least partly counteracted by farmer cooperatives, sound agricultural legislation, improved farming methods, and sound fiscal and monetary policy. They cannot be remedied by invidious and erroneous comparisons.

The sixth half-truth on my list is this: That price supports protect the small farm operator.

Suppose a farmer has only a few cows and a few acres of land, with total sales of less than $1,000 a year. There are a million and a half such farm families in the United States. How much will it help a farmer like that to have higher price supports? His problem is volume, not price; 200 percent of parity wouldn't give him a decent level of living.

Most of the dollars put out to support farm prices go to the large producers. Here, crop by crop, for a recent year, are the percentages of the total loan funds going to the 1 percent of the borrowers who took out the largest loans:

Barley, 24 percent of the dollars to 1 percent of the borrowers.

Wheat, 12 percent of the dollars to 1 percent of the borrowers.

Oats, 11 percent of the dollars to 1 percent of the borrowers.

Grain sorghums, 11 percent of the dollars to 1 percent of the borrowers.

Soybeans, 8 percent of the dollars to 1 percent of the borrowers.

Flaxseed, 8 percent of the dollars to 1 percent of the borrowers.

Corn, 6 percent of the dollars to 1 percent of the borrowers.

Some loans to a single producer have run as high as a million dollars in a single year.

For every dollar that goes to a small-farm operator, many dollars go to the large unit.

A seventh fractional truth is that farmers increase production when prices fall, in order to maintain income.

There are some farmers, with few alternative opportunities, who operate in this manner. Most of them do not.

Why have hogs recently risen above $19.00 per hundred pounds? Because the low prices of a year and a half ago caused farmers to reduce farrowings. If we had supported hog prices then, as some people wanted us to, we would now have heavy supplies and low prices instead of a good market.

Why are hatchings of replacement chicks running 21 percent below a year ago? Because of low egg prices this past winter.

There is no competent research that I know of which supports the belief that farmers in the aggregate increase production when prices fall, other things being equal. On the contrary, a large number of scientists have affirmed the fact that a high price generally stimulates production and a low price either reduces output or retards expansion.

If farmers increase production when prices fall, then the Congress should have lowered price supports during the war, when added production was needed. Instead, supports were raised, indicating that the Congress, by its deeds if not its words, recognizes the true nature of the relationship.

The belief that farmers increase production when prices fall is little more than a rationale for high price supports.

No matter what the diagnosis is, the practical prescription is the same:

Is there a general depression? Raise price supports.

Is there inflation? Raise price supports.

Do we need more production? Raise price supports.

Do we need less production? Raise price supports.

Farm problems need better diagnosis and better prescription than that.

The eighth on this list of misconceptions is the belief that the family farm is on the way out.

The family farm is undergoing changes, but it is not on the way out. It has had to change in order to survive. It is becoming larger, it requires more skills, it takes more capital. But still, as has always been the case in America, most of our farm production comes from farms on which the capital, the labor, and the management are supplied primarily by the farmer and his family.

The percentage of our agricultural production which is turned out by family-sized farms has not changed appreciably in the last 15 years.

Three-fourths of our farms are operated by those who own them.

Two out of three farms have no mortgage debt.

The family farm has withstood inflation, depression, war, drought, and other disasters. It is withstanding the impact of a technological revolution. It will outlast the pessimists who predict its extinction.

The men who laid the foundations for our agriculture had faith in the family farm, not only as a good place to raise crops and livestock but as a good place to raise American citizens. Their judgment has been thoroughly vindicated.

The family farm has great adaptability and staying power so long as management is kept free to make needed adjustments. To freeze the family farm into a rigid, preconceived pattern would be the quickest way to weaken it.

A ninth and final item on this list is a complete untruth and one that especially arouses my ire. It is the suggestion that farmers are just a lot of goldbrickers who want Government handouts.

Anyone who makes such a statement simply does not know farm people and does not know farm problems.

Farmers have genuine problems. They are on a cost-price squeeze. They are adjusting from wartime to peacetime markets. They feel the impact of a technological revolution. They are subject to great natural hazards. Their markets suffer from huge surpluses due at least in part to programs of the past. To say that they have no real problems is outright folly.

Farm people need the sympathetic help of their Government, something they have not always had. A loose purse string is not the answer. The need is for solid facts and an understanding heart.

A great majority of our farm people want no special favors. In the race they must run they want only a fair place at the starting line. Sometimes they are overrepresented, to their disadvantage, by well-meaning self-appointed spokesmen.

These nine half truths were the foundation for some of the farm programs of the past. On this shaky base was erected a great superstructure of production controls and price supports, with rigid formulas and detailed schedules.

The superstructure is now beginning to sag and creak at the joints. Increasingly, farm people are becoming convinced that some changes need to be made. The architects are assembling to draw up new plans.

My plea is that we not just consider patching up the superstructure, but that we take a good look at the foundation itself. If we simply patch up the building without fixing the foundation, we can be sure that before long we're in for trouble again.

I know no better foundation than one which will support an agriculture which is prosperous, expanding, and free.

We have been moving in that direction. The Agricultural Act of 1954 was an important first step. It reestablished the essential principle of price flexibility. The Agricultural Act of 1956 defended the ground gained in 1954 and in addition provided useful tools for dealing directly with surplus problems.

Now we are ready for another step. We should move away from formulas in the old basic law which require that price supports be raised as soon as surpluses are moved. If we do not, the stage will be set for surplus number 2 as soon as we dispose of surplus number 1. We should move toward more freedom of decisionmaking on the part of the individual farmer. I so indicated in recent letters to Senator Ellender and Congressman Cooley, Chairmen of the Agricultural Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

There is much that is good in our present farm laws. What is good should be saved. What is not good should be changed. I do not propose to eliminate price supports. We have programs that are working well; examples are the programs for soybeans, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum. These successful programs can be a pattern for the programs that are now causing difficulty.

Years from now, the historian will write the history of the present day. What will he write? That the winning of abundance resulted in the loss of freedom? That this generation had so little faith in its free institutions that it surrendered them without firing a shot?

Or will he write that these free institutions were put to the test, that they survived, intact and strengthened, ready to serve as an inspiration to liberty-loving people everywhere? This is what he must write. This is what he will write, if we are equal to the opportunity which confronts us.

May God grant us wisdom, faith, patience and courage to see the opportunities which lie beyond our problems. May we willingly accept the responsibility which will forever be the counterpart of freedom.

No Justification for Kinzua Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a copy of a telegram I have just received from Gov. Averell Harriman, of New York, with respect to the Kinzua Dam on the upper Allegheny River. Governor Harriman points out that there is an alternative to this $101 million project which has not received adequate consideration and study.

"Until that study is made," he wires, "there is no justification for going ahead with a plan that will deprive the Seneca Indians of their reservation lands, in violation of long-standing treaty rights."

Mr. Chairman, I applaud New York's Governor for taking this stand on a matter which will come before the House later this week as part of the public-works appropriation bill. A careful study of this project, as it has been presented to the House committees over the years shows that it is only in small measure a flood-control project and, therefore, a Federal responsibility. It is a water-supply project and, in fact, is so described in House Document No. 491 of the 83d Congress, and it is a pollution-control project, designed to dilute Allegheny River pollution in Pennsylvania, with waters impounded in New York State.

Neither water supply nor pollution control is properly a responsibility of the Federal Government and the taxpayers of this country, under the terms of the flood-control statutes and programs.

Yet this project is being pushed as a 100 percent Federal liability under the guise of flood control.

Mr. Speaker, this is one of the most questionable projects ever to come before this House. It cannot be economically justified within the framework of existing legislation.

It certainly cannot be morally justified, for in order to build it, virtually all of the habitable land on a reservation granted to the Seneca Nation of Indians under the Presidency and signature of George Washington will be preempted, and most of it will be flooded.

Governor Harriman rightly challenges the validity of this project. I hope his political colleagues in this House will support him.

The full text of his telegram follows:

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,

House of Representatives, Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

I am advised that an amendment to strike from the public works appropriation bill $1 million to start the Allegany Reservoir project will come up on the floor of the House tomorrow or Wednesday. I hope you will support the amendment. The Seneca Indians have presented an impressive series of documents on an alternative proposal which has apparently not received careful study by the Corps of Engineers. Until that study is made there is no justification for going ahead with a plan that will deprive the Senecas of their reservation lands in violation of long-standing treaty rights.

AVERELL HARRIMAN.

States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of House Concurrent Resolution No. 33 from the Legislature of the State of Texas. This resolution, I believe, points up vibrantly and forcefully the incumbency of the several States to vigorously insist on their sovereign constitutional rights.

So that all the Members may have the benefit of this expression, I insert herein this document and commend its contents to each of my colleagues.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 33

Whereas significant events have occurred in the course of contemporary history under our government of laws which call for a rededication of our constitutional theory of self-government and State sovereignty as established by our forefathers, and guaranteed in the 1st and 10th amendments to our Federal Constitution; and

Whereas unbiased examination reveals that an appeal to reason and judgment is necessary as to all issues wherein the Federal Government has transcended its delegated authority and has encroached upon the rights of the citizens of the sovereign State of Texas and of her sister States, and this invasion of our reserved powers must not be unchallenged; and

Whereas the Legislature of the State of Texas is the appropriate body under mandate from the people of Texas to intervene between Federal encroachment and State sovereignty; and

Whereas article V, section 1, of the Constitution of the United States prescribes the only method of reestablishing those sacred constitutional principles affecting the very sovereign existence of the several States; and

Whereas the Texas Legislature explicitly affirms and declares that the powers of the Federal Government in all its branches and agencies are limited by the terms of the Constitution creating the Federal union to which the States are parties and by the plain sense and intended construction and interpretation of its provisions; and

Whereas the basic concept of the Federal Constitution apparent upon its face is that the ratifying States, parties thereto, agreed voluntarily to delegate certain of their sovereign rights to a Federal Government thus constituted and that all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the respective States or to the people; and

Whereas failure of this State to emphasize her clearly reserved powers could be construed as tacit consent and acquiescence in the surrender thereof; and that submissive acquiescence to palpable, deliberate, and dangerous encroachment could in the end lead to the surrender of all powers reserved to the States and inevitably to the obliteration and destruction of the sovereignty of the States contrary to the concepts and ideals embodied in the sacred compact by which this Union of the States was created: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Texas (the Senate concurring), That the soverign State of Texas intervenes and registers officially its objection on behalf of its people to the effort of the Federal Government to assert an unlawful dominion over her citizens and humbly appeals to her sister States for their help and guidance in protecting the inalienable rights and cherished freedoms; to join in taking appropriate steps for submission of a constitutional amendment which clearly and unequivocably defines State rights as understood by our forefathers, the framers of the Texas constitution, and the United States Constitution; and that, until the question of States rights here asserted by the State of Texas be settled by clear constitutional amendment, Texas declares her firm intention to take all appropriate measures honorably, legally, and constitutionally available to the State to resist illegal encroachment upon her sovereign power, and to urge her 47 sister States to the north, to the east, and to the west to join in protecting these inviolable rights and cherished freedoms of their people and to urge the Congress of the United States to exercise prompt and deliberate efforts to curtail further encroachment by the Federal Government upon the reserved powers of the respective States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted by his excellency, the Governor of Texas, to the Governor and legislature of each of the other States, to the President of the United States, to each of the Houses of Congress, to Texas Representatives and Senators in Congress, and to the Supreme Court of the United States.

BEN RAMSEY,
President of the Senate.
WAGGONER PORR,
Speaker of the House.

I hereby certify that House Concurrent Resolution No. 33 was adopted by the house on February 19, 1957.

[SEAL] DOROTHY HALLMAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.

I hereby certify that House Concurrent Resolution No. 33 was adopted by the senate on March 6, 1957.

CHARLES SCHNABEL,
Secretary of the Senate.

Remarks of Commissioner Thomas E. Murray at Dedication of Site for Dresden Atomic Power Reactor of the Commonwealth Edison Co. on June 12, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include therein remarks made by Hon. Thomas E. Murray, Member of the Atomic Energy Commission, June 12, 1957, at dedication of site for Dresden atomic power reactor of the Commonwealth Edison Co.:

REMARKS OF COMMISSIONER THOMAS E. MURRAY AT DEDICATION OF SITE FOR DRESDEN ATOMIC POWER REACTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH EDISON CO. ON JUNE 12, 1957

The Dresden station represents an important contribution to the Nation's atomic power program and toward realization of the promise inherent in industrial atomic power. It will be the world's first large-scale power reactor to take advantage of the valuable characteristics of the so-called boiling water principle. As such it represents a major step in the development of industrial atomic power reactors. Moreover, it demonstrates the willingless of private industry to contribute both substantial funds and manpower to the industrial reactor effort.

Commonwealth Edison and its associates in the nuclear power group manifest foresight of a high order in entering the atomic field at Dresden. It is the kind of vision that is characteristic of the utility industry of this country in making advances in technology serve the public. This traditional dedication to serving the public inspired my former associates in the old New York Edison Co. to invent the phrase "at your service."

But the Dresden station represents service of a broader kind. It is a substantial advance toward the creating the necessary support for an American atomic power industry. By such an industry I mean a broadly based manufacturing capacity and a highly developed industrial nuclear know-how. Without the establishment of such an industry this Nation cannot hope to fulfill those responsibilities which derive from the present and mounting shortages of power throughout the world. Unless such an industrial base is established, American manufacturers will not be the suppliers of atomic powerplants in the near future to growing world markets.

The problem is how best to further the creation of such an industry. The building of small experimental prototypes will contribute to this objective. But the task today is a much larger one. It is primarily dependent on the early construction of large-scale power reactors along soundly conceived technical lines. It was on just such a basis that the Dresden plant was conceived.

In a 1953 Chicago speech, I stressed the vital contribution of large reactor construction as the necessary support of an atomic power industry. On that occasion I was privileged to announce the Commission's decision to finance and construct a large-scale pressurized water reactor. The wisdom of that action is now generally recognized. The Shippingport project is making a most important contribution to the development of industrial atomic power. Its construction is providing substantial technical support for many other reactor projects. Yet, at that time, the decision to go ahead encountered considerable opposition from those who insisted that "economics" did not justify such a step. However, the only way I know to get valid economic answers is by building and operating large reactors.

That is why I continue to urge the immediate construction of two or three additional large reactors. The national interest in the development of industrial atomic power on an urgent basis is so great that this step should be taken using the necessary Government funds.

The use of Government funds as a temporary measure to build large reactors in support of an atomic power industry, can and must be carried out without altering the traditional patterns of American industry. As I said in the Chicago speech, and repeated many times since, "any task that can be satisfactorily performed by private industry should be left to private industry." However, the task of establishing support for an atomic-power industry on an urgent basis commensurate with the national interest is too large today for private industry alone. Nevertheless, I agree with Willis Gale that any expansion of our power-reactor program deemed necessary in the national interest should be accomplished in such a way that public power is not favored over private power. The question of the methods and rate by which industrial atomic power is developed in furtherance of the national interest transcends the issue of public versus private power.

Today we are accustomed to call the American system "responsible capitalism." The Dresden station conceived by Willis Gale is a concrete manifestation of responsible capitalism at its best.

The Tragedy in Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, 16 years ago the world was shocked by the conduct of our then ally, the Soviet Union. Sixteen years ago, on June 13 and 14, the deportation of 60,000 Lithuanians from their beloved homeland to the frozen steppes of Siberian and other labor camps was carried out. Their fate remains unknown. The horrible practice

of mass deportation has been condemned in numerous international agreements and treaties since the end of World War II. Few other crimes are more onerous.

The hardships and martyrdom of these people, friends and relatives of many of us here in the United States, is worthy of our deepest tribute and homage. The pain and inequities of Lithuanian satellization bore mute testimony to the future destiny of those who fought in conscience for their liberties, their freedom, and their homeland, against the Soviet Union. Their uncommon bravery remains a source of inspiration and education to all of us of the powerful "quiet strength" of the small nations opposing the expansionisms of Russian communism.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley at the Belgian Chamber of Commerce luncheon held at the St. Regis Hotel in New York City on June 13, 1957.

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES A. FARLEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, THE COCA-COLA EXPORT CORP., BELGIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON, ST. REGIS HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 13, 1957

Those of us who are my age consider it a privilege to strengthen the contracts with the people of the Government of Belgium because we have learned that there is powerful historical connection between that country and our own. In my own lifetime, the German invasion of Belgium played a major part in convincing the United States that it must enter World War I. I like to remember that Americans rebuilt a part of the University of Louvain as a tribute to the heroism of Belgians in that struggle. Again in World War II Americans and Belgians fought side by side in a common defense. Today we are united in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in many common enterprises for the welfare of the world.

It is commonly said today that the United States is unpopular in Europe. There is some truth in that but I do not think either Americans or Europeans believe that this indicates any permanent change in relations. The fact is that all of us together are trying to do a job that has never been done before in the world's history, and it will be strange if we do it without some irritation.

A couple of years ago I tried to state my feeling, as a politician, which I am, that America had a world mission—a mission moral rather than military. We were the first country to attempt a free republic in which the rights of individuals were guaranteed. This was based, rightly, on a deep religious feeling which is still the driving force in the United States. We believe that all men are children of God and, by consequence, human dignity is to us not a phrase but a fact. We can have no confidence in any system which denies that fact. Further, we think that this insistence on human dignity is universal. It exists in the minds and hearts of every human being. America's mission has been to maintain that conception of human life wherever it can.

It was easier to do this a century and a half ago when we were thinking only of our own territory. It is harder now that we must think in terms of a great many other countries as well. Human dignity cannot be imposed by force. It cannot be created by any power. It is the result of endless forces which come from the wellsprings of national life and take different forms. Freedom and human dignity in Belgium will be written in terms and traditions of history of Belgian life, not of ours. The combination of nations which defends it will have a great number of traditions. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for example, which defends the United States in Western Europe includes traditions as diverse as those of Mohammedan Turkey and those of Great Britain. Our jobs is to understand and assist every country in giving the full benefits of freedom to its own people, as they understand it. Their understanding will, of course, differ from ours. Nevertheless the result has to be a center of common action, capable of letting us all work together for our common defense and our common welfare.

One of the ways by which we reach a common understanding and so can agree on a common policy is the commercial interchange represented by business contacts throughout the world. The chamber of commerce, businessmen's meetings, and ordinary business contacts all contribute. It has taken the United States a good while to learn that everything we do here is not appropriate for other countries, for instance, Belgium. The businessmen of other countries perhaps are also coming to understand why in the United States we discard certain European practices. A huge market like the United States, for instance, can have a free competitive economy and profit by it. We are coming to learn that in countries the size of the Netherlands and Belgium, for example, this is not possible, though it may become so as Europe increasingly builds a common market and a huge trading area. While there are endless points of difference my feeling is that in business life which is the raw material of economics we are increasingly finding that we understand each other. Today this may be merely sentiment. But tomorrow if we have to struggle with worldwide conditions it will be the basis which permits us to work out common arrangements by which we all can live.

In my case this is not theory but practice. My own company not only exports to great parts of the world but draws its raw material from great parts of the world. We could not exist if the United States were suddenly shrunk to its continental limits any more than Belgium could keep her standard of living if her business and economics were suddenly confined within the Belgium frontiers. We, all of us, are internationalist whether we like it our not and whether we say so or not. So, freedom of commerce is not merely a phrase, it is a necessary fact of life, just as the open road outside the door is a necessary fact when a meeting has to be held.

As we found democracy among individuals 200 years ago we are finding democracy among peoples today. We are making a community of nations in which the equality and sovereignty of each is scrupulously recognized but in which each country contributes to certain common institutions which safeguard the necessary facts of life by which we all exist.

These facts have not changed very much. They are a common defense, a continuously functioning transport system, a growing area of open commerce, and an increasing guaranty of access to the necessities of life. For all I know, my grandchildren may see the day when we have a coordinated banking system and a really working international court though we have not reached that stage.

Both the ideal and the practical result therefore suggest the gradual creation of a community of nations. This also means a community that has military strength. We shall not, of course, achieve a community of nations at peace merely because of military strength, neither in any one country nor in the combination of all of them. But it is equally clear that we shall not get a result without strength. The Western World must be able to defend itself and share in the defense of other like-minded peoples. That is why if the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were to fold up tomorrow, it would have to be reinvented.

More important perhaps even than strength are the cooperative institutions which make it possible for countries to work together. These institutions are presently in existence, though we hear too little about them. Planes go many times a day between New York and Brussels, for example, but they can do this chiefly because the International Civil Aviation Organization provides for uniform regulations and service. Someday we will have cooperative currency and credit arrangements so that moneys are readily convertible. Eventually, we may have a form of common market covering the whole Western World. At the moment we stress defense because there is an imperialist threat to the world. But the force which is bringing us together is not the fear of a common enemy, but rather the need of good working relations which is being forced on us by modern technology, population growth, and economic necessity.

In the long run, I think, there is no fear that the United States will go isolationist again.

The men, there are still a very few noisy ones, who talk loosely about going it alone and who want to pull out of cooperative arrangements like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and who want to torpedo the United Nations have not learned an important lesson. Fortunately, few in this country agree with them.

It is barely possible, of course, that the United States could make itself into an empire and organize an American century. But if we did we would slowly and steadily find our cherished freedom disappearing. There would no longer be freedom of speech and freedom of assembly and free inquiry, and fair trial and the right of every American to look all these ideas in the face. Even as we are fighting the Communist menace at home and abroad we must be sure that we do not betray our own traditions. Under free institutions America grew. By free institutions America forged her position. Under free institutions she defended herself against totalitarian enemies and by virtue of free institutions she has become the senior free Nation of the world. We do not want a police state, or thought control, or rule by hysteria of fear in our system.

The success of the United States is largely due to one fact. We have discovered the art of throwing thousands of free minds against a problem. We do this in politics, we do it in business, we do it in education and we do it in science. As a result, we have come up with the right answers more often than those who depend on a small group of party officials, politburos or police chiefs. This is often confusing to foreigners. They hear the noise of our debates and discussions and do not realize that out of these discussions come firm decisions. The result has given America the most stable Government and the most stable economy of our time. It is respected by our enemies, hence their sound and fury. The fact is that most of the countries under Communist domination would like to achieve what America has achieved and will try to do so as soon as they are free to make the attempt. Because of this, I do not think a third world war will

be attempted, and if it is attempted I have no doubt of the result.

In the past few months the European nations especially have been treated to a barrage of threats from Moscow: "Are we not able to blow you off the map with a single well-placed hydrogen bomb?", ask the Russian militarists. Therefore, say they, be "peaceful"—don't defend yourself. I am old enough to have heard this language before. Hitler said the same thing in almost exactly the same words to everyone in Europe in 1938–39. He was talking about what he would do with his airplanes as Moscow is talking about what it will do now with its newly found hydrogen bombs. Anyone who undertook to set up a defense system was assumed by Hitler to be a "warmonger", just as Moscow says today that no one who prepares to defend himself is a friend of peace. But that we have to answer that no one need fear war who does not attack. In the American continent 21 countries live within close range of the United States which is militarily capable of wiping out any of them. They have no reason to fear and they do not fear. When, therefore, Moscow threatens other countries because they build up their own self-defense you can be sure that it is a guilty conscience speaking for Moscow. If she had not thought of attacking she would have no concern with other people's defense.

The same thing is true of the attacks made also from Communist sources against common market arrangements which Europe is working out now. If Moscow were a friend of 200 million men, women, and children in Europe she would be helping, not hindering, their march toward common institutions.

My own belief is that in time the Soviet Union herself, will come to see that free men and women working together offer more chance of peace and prosperity than do Iron Curtains, cold wars, and attempts to impose revolutions by armed forces. When that happens, the time will have come to make a real peace, and we all of us hope that it may come soon.

Belgium is a small country, the United States a large one. But both of us are heirs to a great history. Both of us are proud of our habits of life, both of us have proved our willingness to scrupulously respect ourselves but to join with others in creating the larger world in which we all must live. As businessmen we try to work at it in season and out. We must strike hands with the statesmen, the school teachers, the writers, the musicians, the artists, the men of good-will in both our countries. We may not live to see the result but I think we shall play our part in building a world at peace.

The Republican Party's Attraction to Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an essay written by one of the Young Republicans, Mr. G. Russell Pipe, who is a student at Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware, Ohio. I am of the firm conviction that as long as we keep the youth of today, the manhood and womanhood of tomorrow, interested in our Government we need have no fear of them being taken over by foreign ideology. I am most happy to see that these young people are so interested. We certainly wish them every success.

The essay follows:

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S ATTRACTION TO YOUTH

(By G. Russell Pipe, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio)

New Republicanism, however it may be defined, greatly contributes to the Republican Party's attraction to the youth of America. The charges of antiquity made against the Republican Party no longer apply; today the organization is proudly termed "new," "the party of the future."

Why might a young person be attracted to the Republican Party? The connotation "new"; in service and in management of government; realization of peace, progress, and prosperity under Republican administration; leadership shown both in the party organization and in its candidates; have conclusively influenced today's youth, the first voters of America, to be Republicans.

Good government, sound policies, thoughtful judgments and informed decisions mark Republican administrators with distinction. To support a party and its candidates requires the efforts of all thoughtful Americans. Yet after election day the party and individual workers must continue to contribute and assist their newly elected officials. It is this continued support and assistance which exemplifies Republicans everywhere.

Mature young people are not easily deceived, they look to the past, give an discerning awareness to the present, and contemplate the future. Politics requires this inquiring attitude. Today's youth have inquired, have investigated all political parties, and have chosen their party,—the Republican Party.

President Eisenhower has promoted, "The never ending task to make our party responsive to the needs and aspirations of all the people." Such executive leadership advances greater participation in government by every citizen, youth and adult. By placing responsibility in the hands of young people, the Republican Party expands their contribution to the political life and well-being of our nation.

Thus, youth are attracted, can participate and share the responsibilities of government and continue the growth in vigor and strength of their "new" party—the Republican Party.

Dairy Industry Vital to South Dakota Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, a most vital segment of agriculture to the American people is the dairy industry. The dairy farmers of the Nation, the dairies; processors, and distributors provide us with nature's most wholesome and perfect food. In a matter of only 2 or 3 decades, the dairy industry has made tremendous improvements. Dairy farmers who once milked their animals by hand in dank, lantern-lit barns now milk their dairy cows by machine where the milk is piped directly to electrically cooled tanks, and the animals are cared for in well lighted, fully equipped buildings. This modernization which has swept the dairy industry has meant great protection to the consumer. It has also meant more abundant production of those fine dairy products which mean so much to every American family.

I wish to submit the following editorial from the Aberdeen-American News of June 9, 1957, as a salute to the dairy industry:

DAIRY INDUSTRY VITAL TO SOUTH DAKOTA ECONOMY

In observing June Dairy Day, Monday, the Aberdeen area is taking part in a month-long recognition of the dairy industry.

The program here is part of one in which South Dakota and the Nation are joining to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the first permanent English settlement in America. It was there at Jamestown Colony in Virginia that the dairy industry got its start in America.

Today, of course, the dairy industry is a business that accounts for 20 percent of the total food business, on a dollar basis, yet contributes about 30 percent of the nutrition in our diets.

The Jamestown dairy herd of 3½ centuries ago was smaller than most of the herds found on a South Dakota farm nowadays. The dairy cow herself has changed a great deal, too, from colonial days. Now her milk producing record is carefully tabulated, her blood line is carefully controlled and hed feed rations are scientifically supplemented to boost her yearly milk production even higher.

During colonial days and the early westward movement the dairy cow served a triple purpose—she was used for work, milk, and meat. Today, she is used primarily for the production of milk.

The dairy industry in the Midwest developed slowly. The first cows were brought to this area tied behind wagons in the pioneer days. They were depended upon for nourishment and refreshment, much in the same way they were by the Virginia colonists and as they are today.

However, poor transportation and lack of markets beyond family needs prevented dairy expansion, even though the land was abundant with grass and water.

The growth of industry and cities and the development of transportation put the land and water facilities of the Midwest to use. Then came a large-scale increase of strictly dairy herds.

Importers began bringing in blooded stock—Holstein-Friesan cows from the province of Friesland in Holland; Ayrshires from southwest Scotland; Guernseys and Jerseys from the islands of Guernsey, Alderney, and Jersey in the English Channel, and the Brown Swiss from Switzerland. Milking Shorthorns, originated in England, are now the prominent breed used in producing both beef and milk in South Dakota.

It was only natural that immigrant Americans started manufacturing the dairy products so popular in their European homelands. The resulting cheese factories, creameries, and butter plants flourished and supply much of the demand for milk produced in the State today.

Health and sanitation controls connected with the dairying industry gradually became stronger with State and Federal laws.

Today the dairy plants in South Dakota are a maze of stainless steel and glass, processing, and packaging milk and dairy foods by automation, untouched by human hands. Cows are milked by machine, their milk immediately chilled to control bacteria, and later that milk is pasteurized, homogenized, and supplemented with additional vitamins and nutrients.

The dairy industry is important to South Dakota's economy and it is appreciated by all.

Good Government Is the Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the membership, excerpts from an address recently delivered by my close friend and colleague, from Florida, PAUL ROGERS, to the members of the third national reorganization conference sponsored by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report.

These remarks were made by an outstanding Member of the House whose interest we should all share in promoting good government on an economical and efficient basis.

The excerpts follow:

GOOD GOVERNMENT IS THE ISSUE

(Excerpts from speech by Congressman PAUL G. ROGERS, Member, United States House of Representatives from Florida since 1955; formerly member of Burns, Middleton, Rogers & Farrell law firm; member, House Public Works Committee)

Permit me, first of all, to express my great pleasure to you for this opportunity to participate in the program of the third national reorganization conference, by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Reports. I am sure that all of us here this morning are conscious, as I am, of our deep responsibilities toward our Government, and of the splendid opportunity which this conference provides for promoting the cause of good government.

Good government is indeed the issue. It is an issue that is never fully resolved and laid to rest. It is an issue that needs constant attention, reexamination, and hard work. In a society of growing complexity, such as our own, the maintenance and preservation of good government makes increasing demands upon our diligence, vigilance, and common sense. * * *

As basic objectives, the Hoover Commissions have sought to achieve greater economy and efficiency in the Federal Government. These objectives are not, perhaps, identical, but they are certainly so closely related that the study of one strongly invites the study of the other. The problems of both are largely the outgrowth of the size of the Government and the scope of its activities, factors which are of legitimate and continuing concern not only to members of the Hoover Commissions but also to every thoughtful citizen as well.

One of the great services of the Hoover Commissions has been to inform the American people about the staggering size and cost of running their Government. No dramatic effects or histrionics are needed here. The facts speak for themselves, and the Hoover Commissions have presented these facts. All of us must be made to realize the possible consequences of the progressive expansion and growing operating expenses of the National Government; and all of us must work together to control these forces which, I believe, could seriously threaten our democratic society and our free economy.

I know that we are a big, powerful nation of nearly 170 million people; I know also that we are a productive and wealthy Nation. I know that the Government has many obligations it must meet, both at home and abroad. I know, too, that there are many expensive services which the people expect the Government to provide—services which in many cases only the Federal Government can provide.

A large budget is understandable, and extensive Government activities seem to be inevitable, under these circumstances. What must be done, therefore, is to see that the Government gets its money's worth for every dollar it spends. * * *

It is axiomatic that big, expensive government places a heavy tax burden upon the people. It cannot be otherwise. It is likewise true that costly government and heavy taxes have contributed in some measure to the weakening or downfall of many governments, both ancient and comparatively modern. * * *

The disastrous effect of a crushing tax load upon the people of the Roman Empire is one of the great lessons of history. * * *

The history of the struggle of the English people against arbitrary taxation is the history of the English Constitution. One cause of the great 17th century revolution in England, which established many of the constitutional rights of the English people, was the question of taxation. * * *

"No chapter in history is more replete with interest and instruction than that which exhibits the system for exacting contributions for the support of the state which characterized the fiscal policy and administration of France during the 17th and 18th centuries, and which is now acknowledged to have been mainly instrumental in bringing on the memorable revolution in the closing years of the latter century." * * *

Finally, we certainly ought not to overlook our own experiences with excessive taxation. It is certainly true that the attempt by Great Britain nearly 2 centuries ago to tax her American colonies without their consent was a primary cause of the American Revolution. * * *

Our task is to eliminate waste, duplication, and extravagance from the operations of the Government without impairing its essential functions.

I am particularly interested in the budget and accounting report and the 25 recommendations it contains. The task force has shown that tremendous savings can be realized if the Government's budgeting and accounting methods are revised along the lines of its recommendations. These savings could amount to some $4 billion a year, more than 5 percent of the new budget. This is the largest estimate of possible savings made by any of the task forces. * * *

Congress has already taken some action, I am happy to say, with regard to the budget and accounting proposals. * * *

Last May I introduced a bill (H. R. 11526) into the 84th Congress which would have placed the entire governmental financial structure on an annual accrued expenditure basis. It provided for a much closer supervision by Congress over the expenditures of the executive branch and made possible a more complete and meaningful understanding of the financial operations of the Government.

This measure was the same as the Senate bill (S. 3897) which, after being amended, was enacted as Public Law 863. Although Public Law 863 contains many provisions that will greatly improve our financial management, I am of the opinion that the amendments, insisted upon by some of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, removed a major provision of the original bill by eliminating the provision for adoption of the accrued expenditure appropriation procedure. * * *

One of the first things I did after the opening of the 85th Congress last month was to introduce a new bill (H. R. 2494) calling for the determination of appropriation estimates on an annual accrued expenditure basis. The President, in his budget message to the Congress, has requested that this legislation be passed. There is widespread agreement among the budget and financial experts that this method of appropriating funds would be much superior to the present system. Exact dollar savings that might result from the use of this procedure cannot be determined, but it surely seems safe to say that they would be substantial. * * *

Of course, there is opposition to some of these recommendations. It is doubtful if they would be worth much if they did not engender some opposition. It is certainly normal in the United States for controversies to arise over matters affecting the Government, and for this controversy, we can indeed be grateful. It is a sign of the health of our free and democratic system of government. * * *

This conference is important. It can serve as a forum for the exchange and dissemination of ideas and information.

I am most grateful to you for the privilege of participation in these proceedings.

Mystery in Stassen's Boner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an interesting article written by David Lawrence and appearing in the Evening Star of Washington, D. C., on June 14, 1957:

MYSTERY OF STASSEN'S BONER—WHY NEGOTIATOR DISREGARDED ORDERS IN TALK WITH RUSSIANS IS QUESTIONED

(By David Lawrence)

The most sensational story behind the scenes in Washington today has an element of mystery—why did Harold Stassen pull a boner in London by showing to the Russians an American proposal on disarmament before it had been cleared with Britain, France, and West Germany?

What Stassen did was in disregard of orders. He had been instructed orally before he left Washington that when he put on paper the substance of the discussions held here in the National Security Council—representing a kind of compromise of differing views on disarmament—he was to talk things over with the British and French and the representative of Adenauer in London and explore their viewpoints before transmitting any proposals to the Soviets.

To make assurance doubly sure, Under Secretary of State Christian Herter sent a message to Stassen in London repeating in writing the instructions which had been given orally before the disarmament specialist left Washington.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, Stassen wrote out a memorandum which he gave to the Russian Ambassador in London, presumably because he wanted the Russian reaction. When the heads of the governments of the Western Allies heard of Stassen's procedure, they were shocked. Telephone conversations ensued back and forth across the Atlantic between high officials of the Western governments and the United States Government. The White House and State Department were busy for 2 days trying to straighten out the tangle, and it was decided to summon Stassen for personal conference last week in Washington.

The question of relieving Stassen of his post was naturally discussed, but it was de-

cided that to do so might break up the whole disarmament negotiation and give the Russian propagandists a chance to argue that the United States was backing out of the discussions.

So an alternative plan was developed to guard against a recurrence of this kind of mistake. Julius Holmes, a diplomat of experience in delicate negotiations, was selected from the career service in the State Department to be associated with Stassen in London so as to make sure that what Secretary Dulles referred to in his press conference on Tuesday as "procedural complications" in the disarmament negotiations would not happen again.

Also two United States Senators will shortly join Stassen in London to represent the congressional point of view. It is reported that Senator MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, and Senator HICKENLOOPER, Republican, of Iowa, will be invited to go to London, or other Senators if these two members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate find they cannot go.

What did Stassen have in mind when he sat down with the Russian Ambassador and showed him a written document on the American point of view before he had talked things over with our allies? In these days of sensitiveness in London, especially about the need for allies to consult one another, this was a mistake in tactics that seems incredible. Also with the delicate situation that Chancellor Adenauer faces in the coming elections in West Germany, it was particularly tactless to do anything which could give the impression that West Germany and the reunification issue were being ignored.

The only plausible explanation is that Stassen was overzealous or that he thought an informal sounding out of the Soviet point of view first would aid him later in getting agreement from the British and French and West Germans. But a Special Ambassador should not take such chances without first consulting his superiors—in this case the Secretary of State and the President. Maybe Stassen thought it wouldn't make any difference.

But the fact remains that Stassen's clumsiness in London stirred up considerable confusion as well as anxiety among the Western allies, because it isn't easy to explain that a special emissary of long experience in these disarmament negotiations just pulled a "boner." Stassen was later instructed to go back to the Russian envoy and tell him the memorandum was not in final form and that it had not yet been cleared with the allies.

Certainly President Eisenhower, whose military career has been based on the doctrine of obedience of specific orders given by a superior, will have a hard time forgetting what has happened, though he may be forgiving.

Four New Domestic Prelates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of June 13, 1957, on the occasion of the elevation of four Roman Catholic pastors from Luzerne County and Lackawanna County, Pa., to the rank of domestic prelate with the title of right reverend monsignor.

FOUR NEW DOMESTIC PRELATES

Elevation of 4 Roman Catholic pastors, 3 from Luzerne County and 1 from Lackawanna, to the rank of domestic prelate with the title of right reverend monsignor is recognition that is easily understood when their backgrounds and current responsibilities are examined.

Msgr. Joseph S. Gagion, V. F., pastor of St. Ignatius Church, Kingston, and dean of West Luzerne Deanery, is a native of Wilkes-Barre with an impressive record as an administrator and spiritual leader. It is the second time the west side parish has been singled out by Rome, the late Monsignor M. E. Lynott, who was pastor for three decades, having had this distinction.

Msgr. Cyriac A. Staib, pastor of St. Nicholas Church, Wilkes-Barre, and a native of Williamsport, follows in the footsteps of his two predecessors, the late Monsignor Charles J. Goeckel and the late Monsignor Peter Nagle, founder of the parish, both of whom were honored by previous popes. Assigned to the South Washington Street church in 1935, he has had a distinguished career, climaxed by this high personal tribute which the congregation shares.

Msgr. Francis F. Molino, pastor of the Most Precious Blood Church, Hazleton, is now in his 80th year and has been a priest for 55 years, 35 of which have been in his present charge to which he was assigned when he came to America from his native Italy. Widely known as a zealous priest, gifted preacher and patriotic American, he was acclaimed the outstanding naturalized citizen of the year at Hazleton in 1955 at a community celebration.

Msgr. Thomas J. McHugh, LL. D., pastor of St. Mary of Mount Carmel Church at Dunmore, is known in this area largely through his work in the field of education, having served as professor at the University of Scranton and Marywood College. His pastoral assignments have taken him to churches in other counties.

The newest additions to the papal household are clergymen who have devoted many years to the service of the Roman Catholic Church. They will wear their honors well.

Tungsten Stockpile Program No Longer Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I have in my hand a clipping from this morning's Washington Post. This article refers to two programs for which funds will be voted up or down tomorrow, when we consider the House-Senate conference report on the third supplemental appropriations bill.

My purpose in calling this newspaper article to the attention of Members is because it reports a possible trade between the advocates of two expenditures which are in the report, but which previously were not included by the House.

While this is not the first reference to such a floor trade of votes that I have heard about, I have never believed that any Member would vote other than on the basis of the merit of the items. And, therefore, I am led to extend these remarks, since a careful reading of the original report of the House committee, together with the record of the debates held at both ends of the Capitol, firmly convinces me that the other body was wrong when it inserted $30 million for stockpiling tungsten. In other words, in opposing the item of $30 million, as I do, it is my thought hereby to review the facts with the hope that the membership here will not overlook them.

I wish, Mr. Speaker, that the taxpayers of this great Nation of ours could have the full information that is available to Congress on the present situation having to do with the stockpiling of strategic minerals and especially tungsten. Public opinion would never support such a subsidy to private mining interests. In fact, I fail to see how anyone can justify an expenditure of an additional amount of $30 million when the Office of Defense Mobilization has testified we have already stockpiled more than would be used in 5 years of a hot war—and some even say we have an 18-year supply. In any event, the Defense Department says our stock is sufficient. So what we will be debating is a pure subsidy.

The price which the Government pays, it will be recalled, is $55 a ton, while the domestic market for imported tungsten is $33 a ton. Testimony shows that one big steel company with its own tungsten mines uses the foreign mineral costing $33 for its own use, but sells the product of its own mine to the Federal Government at $55 a ton. That does not seem right.

How are we going to effect a tax reduction if the Federal Government undertakes to subsidize industry in this way? We are overburdening the small-business man, in particular; $30 million may not seem much in the overall picture, but it is from the combination of many such proposed expenditures that substantial savings can be effected. In the national interest we have to face up to the situation. We must economize; and, based on the information and background of the tungsten program, I believe here is an item on which Members of the House can stand pat.

We should not overlook that the United States Government was paying $63 a ton from 1951 until 1956, and the open-market price dropped from $64.63 in 1952 to $35 in 1956. Yet our Government continued last year paying $63.

I hope Members will reread the committee report and the discussions in this Chamber on February 5, 1957. It seems to me, if one has a sense of trusteeship and responsibility in handling other people's money, in all conscience one is bound to oppose the continuation of the subsidy program.

Let us reject this item in disagreement. If enough Members remain firm on this and similar boondoggles, we can stand up one of these days and vote for a tax-relief measure without increasing inflation because it will be within the honest framework of a balanced budget.

Let us cut out subsidizing fish ponds for farmers and giving free fertilizer

and supporting the price of peanuts and other products at above the housewife's ability to pay. These many opportunities to cut Federal spending, along with the $30 million for tungsten the Government does not need, are the way to smaller budgets and lower taxes.

For Outstanding Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, justly deserved recognition for his efforts in developing and conserving the natural resources of the United States was given last month to Congressman MICHAEL KIRWAN, of Ohio. The honor was awarded him upon an inscribed plaque at one of the most important public resources meetings in modern times at Salt Lake City, Utah. The presentation was made by the honorary chairman of the conference, James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union. Under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD, Mr. Patton's remarks:

REMARKS OF JAMES G. PATTON, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, ON PRESENTING A PLAQUE TO HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN AT THE WESTERN STATES WATER AND POWER CONFERENCE, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, MAY 10, 1957

There is no Member of Congress, either in the House or the Senate, who has done more to bring about regional development of natural resources, than Congressman MICHAEL J. KIRWAN of Ohio.

Despite the fact that Congressman KIRWAN does not live in the West, and therefore has no direct interest in reclamation projects, he has worked hard and long to bring water to arid areas and electric power to the people of the Western States.

MIKE KIRWAN is a Member of Congress from the 19th Congressional District of Ohio, at Youngstown, the citadel of the Mahoning Valley steel district.

His interest in helping small farmers and working people generally began early in his active life. As a boy he worked in the coal mines, joining the miners union in 1898. Later he went to work for several railroads in the East and on the west coast. He has been a monthly dues paying member of the miners union and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for over 50 years.

Congressman KIRWAN'S understanding of Western problems is the partial result of his travels. During his youth he travelled extensively—particularly through the West, working in wheat fields, on ranches, in lumber camps, and steel plants. After World War I, during which he served as an artillery sergeant in France, he settled in Youngstown, Ohio.

Congressman KIRWAN'S venture into politics began as precinct committeeman, a job which he considers a most important function, after which he was a city councilman in Youngstown. He was elected to Congress in 1936 and to each Congress since then.

When first elected to Congress, Mike KIRWAN served as a member of the Rivers and Harbors Committee. In 1942 he was appointed a member of the Committee on Appropriations and now is chairman of the powerful Subcommittee on Interior Appropriations.

A Democrat of great conviction, MIKE KIRWAN is chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, a job in which he was successful last fall, especially west of the Mississippi.

Mr. KIRWAN is one of those who believes that any development in one State is of indirect benefit to the other 47.

During the last few years, he has pointed out several times on the floor of the House of Representatives that Congressmen who would build projects in their own State or area should help development of other areas.

Congressman KIRWAN has decried the efforts of those who have atempted to convince the American people that development in the West is only brought about through subsidies and at great expense to eastern regions. He is a great exponent of investing in the West as a sound policy for all the country.

For all of these reasons, and many more, I am pleased to present the Honorable MICHAEL J. KIRWAN this beautiful plaque containing the following inscription:

"Presented to Hon. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Member of Congress, for outstanding service to the people of Western States for leadership in developing and conserving our natural resources. From the Western States Water and Power Conferences, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 10, 1957."

Polish Aid Agreement Characterized as a Sound Gamble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Star of June 16, 1957, commenting on the economic and technical-aid agreement between this country and Poland:

SOUND GAMBLE

The aid agreement between our country and Poland is not going to accomplish any miracles. Indeed, conceivably, it may even work out to our disadvantage. Nevertheless, as Vice President NIXON has declared, it is "a gamble worth taking" because it demonstrates to the world that "we are not writing off the Polish people" but are instead ready to help them, through peaceful means, to maintain and enlarge upon the limited independence they have won from the Kremlin.

To that end, the agreement, which will operate on a long-term-loan basis, makes available the nationalist-minded Communist regime in Warsaw $48.9 million for the purchase of American wheat, cotton, soybeans, fats, oils, and coal-mining machinery. Further, we have promised to advance an additional $46.1 million when and if Congress enacts the necessary authorizing legislation. Accordingly, since such authority is expected to be forthcoming in due course, the Poles can look forward to a total of $95 million in aid designed to take care of their most pressing economic needs.

This sum, which may be the forerunner of considerably more American assistance if the initial agreement achieves good results, is obviously not enough in itself to rehabilitate Poland's dangerously strained economy. But it can do much to ease the country's present stresses and strains. Hence, to that extent at least, it promises to play an important role in helping Wladyslaw Gomulka, chief of the Polish Communist Party, to strengthen his footing on the tightrope he must walk as he and Warsaw's anti-Stalinist Red government strive to do business with the United States without bringing down upon their heads the wrath of the Soviet Union.

Nikita Khrushchev and other key tenants of the Kremlin have already made clear that they look with great disfavor on what Mr. Gomulka and his group have done in this respect. But the Soviet attitude, though suspicious if not resentful, appears to be reconciled to the kind of agreement that has been worked out—a fact confirming numerout other indications that the Poles have really won a measure of release, no matter how small, from Moscow's dictate. Certainly, if our aid will in any way help them to increase that freedom, it will be worth every cent we invest in it.

Why Money Is So Tight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by E. F. Tompkins, which appeared in the New York Journal-American of June 12, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

THE GOP DILEMMA—WHY MONEY IS SO TIGHT

(By E. F. Tompkins)

The Republican National Committee is alarmed, and the White House seems vexed, because of a decline in contributions to the party's funds.

Big contributors are said to be withholding or diminishing their customary grants: and their action is viewed as a protest against the Republican administration's big spending policy, as exhibited in its pending big budget from which the Democratic Congress is eliminating a few billion dollars.

The subject came up at a White House press conference.

In defense of the budget, the President said:

1. "It might be better for some of these people who are complaining so bitterly to look up the actual facts instead of listening to partisan speeches"; and

2. "Some of the facts that would be interesting is what would be the budget today * * * if we had adopted some of the programs presented by the opposition * * * that involved a lot of spending."

A brief survey of the facts, past and present, shows several things.

It shows that the 1958 budget includes virtually every nondefense expenditure program that existed under the Democratic regimes, and adds a number besides—for example, Federal aid to education.

In several of the retained programs, the Republican 1958 budget proposes larger expenditures than were made by the New Deal-Fair Deal administrations.

The survey shows that the Republican administration was elected on campaign pledges to reduce and balance the budget and to provide tax relief.

The survey shows that this administration pursued an economy policy in its first term.

The administration inherited a $74.3 billion budget for fiscal year 1953.

For 2 years, the budget was reduced—to $67.8 billion for fiscal 1954, and $64.6 billion for 1955.

In the third year (1956) the Republican budget went up to $66.4 billion, but that was the first balanced budget in years.

The budget for fiscal 1957, ending June 30, stands at $68.9 billion, another increase, and with a prospect of a deficit instead of an anticipated surplus due to declines in tax revenues.

Now the Democratic Congress has before it the pending 1958 budget, listing expenditures of $71.8 billion, the third increase, and carrying again the threat of a deficit.

The 1958 budget is described as the biggest peacetime budget in our national history.

Producing such a budget can hardly be regarded as a fulfillment of Republican campaign pledges. Moreover, a reversal of the administration's own first-term performance can hardly comfort citizens who voted for Federal economy.

Bigger budgets necessarily imply tax increases, not tax relief. Big contributors to political funds are big taxpayers. And maybe they have taken time to look up the actual facts.

End of the Road for Another Lead-Zinc Mine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, until Congress acts to give our domestic lead and zinc industry some protection against low-wage foreign producers of these metals, we may expect our mines to close down one by one. Unless we give them the protection they need for survival, let us hope the day never comes when we need domestic sources of these strategically important metals.

In Utah, another of the mining operations has been forced out of production by continued low prices. The typical circumstances surrounding this operation were related in an article in the Salt Lake Tribune of June 13, which I herewith insert into the RECORD:

END OF THE MINING ROAD, UTAH'S CHIEF CON CLOSES

(By Robert W. Bernick)

Chief Consolidated Mining Co., producer of lead and zinc for the Nation since 1909, Wednesday announced "indefinite suspension of operations," effective June 15.

This date thus marks the "end of the road" for the last operating metal mine in the historic Eureka-Tintic district of Utah, which has produced $500 billion worth of strategic metals during two world wars and the Korean war for the United States.

Cecil Fitch, Jr., president and general manager, said Wednesday, "We have been fighting an economic battle against foreign imports for 11 years. The mines that are closing now, including the Chief Consolidated, are not 'marginal' mines. They all closed 5 years ago.

"It is simply that under the impact of inflationary costs and low-wage produced foreign metals coming into the United States, every mine in America will become 'marginal' at a certain price," the Utahan said.

Some 70 milers and their families will be affected immediately by the closure.

But for the miners in the Eureka-Tintic district, the process of economic struggle has been a losing one since the start of active promotion and subsidization by successive Washington administrations of metals produced in foreign nations and imported to this country.

Where thousands once labored in the creation of wealth for Utah there remained only hundreds in this district in the postwar period.

In September 1954 the mining company pulled its pumps in the main ore-producing areas of the Chief No. 1 mine. From 286 miners employment was reduced to the presente 70 whose jobs end in a few days.

The miners of yesterday have now found other work, many outside the industry.

Mr. Fitch paid high tribute Wednesday to the men who have worked for the Chief.

"They have been a very faithful crew. They have produced as no other miners, even though in recent years wage reductions were necessary if any jobs were to be had at all. The United Steelworkers of America (AFL–CIO) has recognized our peril and our labor relations have been excellent.

"But we just cannot carry on any longer," the Eureka district spokesman said.

The Chief Consolidated Mining Co. was founded by the late Walter Fitch and his son, Cecil Fitch, Sr., both Michigan miners.

Mr. Fitch, Sr., on Wednesday marked his 72d birthday.

Lobbies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education of the Department of Defense has furnished each Member of Congress with a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Congress at Work." This pamphlet was prepared by Scholastic magazine and is being used by the Defense Department to keep service personnel informed on the activities of their Government.

I have read this pamphlet and consider it an excellent and easily understandable description of the legislative procedure. Especially interesting, I thought, was the article on Lobbies, which I am including as part of my remarks:

LOBBIES: THE THIRD HOUSE OF CONGRESS, WHICH WORKS BEHIND THE SCENES

In a session a year or two ago, the United States Senate was nearing the end of a long and stormy debate. The debate was over a bill which would exempt producers of natural gas from Federal price regulation. The House of Representatives had already approved a similar bill by a close vote.

Senator FRANCIS CASE (Republican, South Dakota) stood up to speak. When he finished, the Senate was in a tumult.

Senator CASE told the Senate that he had intended to vote for the natural gas bill. Now, he said, he would oppose it. Why? Because a man interested in the bill's passage had offered to contribute $2,500 to a campaign fund for the Senator's reelection.

The entire Senate, including backers of the bill, was shocked by this revelation. Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT (Democrat, Arkansas), sponsor of the bill, said: "Any Senator who votes for this bill * * * may be suspected of having received one of these contributions to his campaign."

LOBBIES FOR AND AGAINST

Accusations flew thick and furious for days. Some persons recalled that for more than 2 years natural gas producers had been lobbying for the bill on a scale rarely seen in Washington. The producers had hired lobbyists—people skilled in influencing public opinion—to persuade Congressmen that the bill was in the public interest. The lobbyists had written countless leaflets for distribution to the public. They had organized letterwriting campaigns to stir up support for the bill.

At the same time, people who did not favor the bill were "lobbying" against its passage. They, too, had hired lobbyists to persuade Congressmen to vote against the bill. They, too, had prepared leaflets and organized letterwriting campaigns to Congressmen.

Despite the hullaballoo over Senator CASE'S revelation, the Senate passed the natural gas bill. On February 17, 1956, however, President Eisenhower vetoed it. The President told Congress that he agreed with the bill's basic objectives, but he could not sign it because of "highly questionable activities" by some persons interested in seeing the bill passed.

In April 1956, a Senate committee censured the men who had offered the campaign contribution to Senator CASE. The committee said it did not find evidence of "a bribe nor attempt to bribe," but it condemned the men "for failure to act as responsible citizens."

The committee went out of its way, however, to defend the right of lobbyists to continue to work for or against congressional bills. It said that activities of lobbyists in the Case affair should not be used as a yardstick by which to judge all lobbies.

Exactly what are "lobbies" and how do they work?

HOW LOBBIES WORK

The first amendment to the Constitution guarantees all citizens the right "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." A petition may be a written statement with many signatures. Or it may be expressed—perhaps more effectively—through an "organized" group.

An organized group which tries to influence Congress is called a lobby. Years ago, people with special favors to ask would stop Congressmen in the Capitol lobbies to talk to them. Thus, they became known in political slang as "lobbyists."

There are lobbies for and against nearly everything. There are lobbies for low tariffs, lobbies for high tariffs; lobbies for Federal aid to education, and against Federal aid to education; lobbies for rigid farm price supports, lobbies for flexible supports.

PRESSURE GROUPS

Most lobbyists are lawyers, publicity experts, former Congressmen, and others versed in lawmaking and the shaping of public opinion. Most of them work for large organizations or associations representing such groups as farmers, businessmen, labor unions, real estate owners, physicians, veterans, women's clubs, etc.

They are often called pressure groups because they attempt to exert "pressure" on Congress to pass or defeat certain bills.

Most lobbies make no secret of their identity or what they stand for. In fact, many serve a useful civic purpose in bringing out facts not generally known to the public.

On the other hand, there are lobbies that operate less openly. They sometimes organ-

ize mail and telegram campaigns to Congressmen—trying to create the impression that vast numbers of voters support their position. Some deliberately distort facts to serve their purpose.

Accordingly, Congress passed a special Lobbying Act in 1946. This act requires the registration of all organized groups and their agents who seek to influence legislation. An agent must file a report four times a year of his activities and expenditures. The clerk of the House of Representatives and the secretary of the Senate release to the public a summary of these reports. Maximum penalties for violation of the act are set at a $5,000 fine, a year in prison, or both.

THE BIG SPENDERS

A few months ago Congress released its most recent report—covering the first 9 months of 1956.

Biggest spender for this period was the Association of American Railroads, reporting expenditures of $118,121. Other big spenders included: American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, $108,242; American Farm Bureau Federation, $88,418; Southern States Industrial Council, $77,062; American Trucking Association, $76,005; American Legion, $64,703; United States Cuban Sugar Council, $61,022.

Some observers call lobbies a "third house" of Congress. The Washington telephone directory takes 13 columns to list the names of registered lobbyists. That is quite a sizable "third house."

Congressman Michael Kirwan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am including a report on the national conference of the Rural Electric Association at which the award of a plaque was made to our colleague, Representative MICHAEL KIRWAN, for his contribution to water and power needs. The article follows:

REPRESENTATIVE KIRWAN HONORED

A highlight of the conference was the award of a plaque to Representative MICHAEL KIRWAN (Democrat, of Ohio) for his contributions to water and power needs of the Western States. Representative KIRWAN is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Reclamation Appropriations.

The Ohio Congressman said that his only regret "is that we can't spend more on reclamation. We've only spent about $3 billion in the past half century, yet minerals and water are the wealth of the Nation," Representative KIRWAN declared.

He noted that progress has been made in the upper Colorado development, but pointed out that the project lacks the necessary transmission lines for making its power benefits available to the public.

Unless public transmission lines are built, he warned, the low-cost power from the project can be used only by private utilities and not by municipal or rural cooperative power systems.

"In the extreme form," Representative KIRWAN declared, "this means erection of tollgates for private profit between the public and the generators their tax money will build."

CBS Presents Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the New Republic of June 10, 1957:

CBS PRESENTS KHRUSHCHEV

It is said that 10 million Americans watched Mr. Khrushchev perform over CBS last Sunday. What did they conclude? No doubt what struck many most forcibly was the Soviet leader's bland contradiction of settled American opinions. For what American can take seriously Khrushchev's claim that the Kadar regime is solidly supported by the Hungarian people? And who can accept his verdict that capitalism has "enslaved" us? Words, in such moments, do not connect; they separate.

But there is another gulf that was only suggested by Mr. Khrushchev's remarks; this other gulf has yet to be seen clearly, let alone bridged. American opinion itself—and that includes opinion in high places—is divided between what we might call for convenience the Radford School and the Stassen School. The first school pins its faith finally on ever-greater scientific ingenuity, translated into weapons development. Security to the Radfords is synonymous with military superiority. But the competition for superiority produces, inevitably, something less than security, for two are playing the same game.

On the other side of the divide, the one we assume is occupied by Mr. Stassen, are those who fundamentally accept the Khrushchev assumption; some means must be found of limiting the arms race, not merely because of its economic cost, but because unlimited military competition in this nuclear age could mean mutual annihilation.

These two approaches—one cannot call them fixed positions—are as yet unreconciled in America.

But let us assume that the Stassen viewpoint prevails—that Russians and Americans are compelled by the same logic of tax burdens and atomic hazards to follow a path of peaceful coexistence. Is American opinion prepared for that eventuality? Not at present. It will remain for us to learn the skills by which we can, in practice, refute Mr. Khrushchev's theory that history is on the side of communism. In fact, the challenge to our intelligence, imagination, and patience may be greater in a world of nonmilitary but competitive coexistence than it was during the cold war.

If the armaments race is slowed down or stopped, if fear of Russian military aggression subsides, what incentive will move the Congress when subsequent foreign aid or USIA budgets are under review? In place of the negative policy of containment, enforced by bases and bribes, shall we be able to devise and maintain a foreign policy that competes successfully with the Communist world? Will the American people, once fear lifts, be willing to help less developed areas because those areas need help, and not because economic aid is the price we must pay for a defense pact or an overseas airbase?

And how will be in an era of nonmilitary but competitive coexistence, reconcile our democratic habit of permitting every Senator, Representative (even mayor) to sound off as if he were Secretary of State with the need for restraint and wisdom in the conduct of foreign affairs? In some ways, the Russians have a built-in advantage. Decisions are made, things are done.

An equally tantalizing implication of Mr. Khrushchev's interview is whether heads of state will in the future spend more time in our living rooms. Something new in diplomatic history has happened, and we have hardly noticed it. We have recently seen TV interviews with the Prime Minister of Burma, with the President of Egypt, and the Prime Minister of Israel (on the same program), with the Prime Minister of India and the Foreign Minister of Communist China.

Why should not the Russians now invite President Eisenhower to answer questions of Russian correspondents—from his office in the White House? Would the President be willing? And would we have Mr. Khrushchev's assurance that such an interview without script would be broadcast over every Russian TV and radio station, with the full text printed in Pravda?

Express Roads Versus Business Alleys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it was my recent pleasure to speak before the Good Roads Association of the State of Maine. My appearance was at the suggestion of my good friend and colleague, the Honorable ROBERT HALE. At that time, I had the honor, as a member of the Public Works Committee, to explain and report on the progress of the Federal Inter-State Highway program. The planning of this program and its relation to the State of Maine is brought out in the editorial appearing in the Daily Kennebec Journal, of Augusta, Maine, which I asked be included in the RECORD at this time. Most important is the comment pointing out the benefits both to business and the traveling public through development of limited access highways.

[From the Daily Kennebec Journal, Augusta, Maine, of May 25, 1957]

EXPRESS ROADS VERSUS BUSINESS ALLEYS

The public's mind is having trouble in keeping up with the modern concept of road building.

Express highways free of grade crossings and distractions are appreciated by most motorists, but the minute they get near home and post a threat to some local interest they generate opposition.

If all such protests were honored, the big Federal Interstate Highway program would degenerate into a twisting, cluttered network of supermerchandising alleys. "The biggest public works program in the world," as Congressman CRAMER of Florida described it to the Good Roads Association, would be just so many more billions thrown away.

If people would only take a broad view of what limited-access highways mean to the entire program they would be more tolerant of the temporary setbacks they fear for local interests. They would also realize that the total effect everywhere is going to be the same and that just as much business has got to be transacted (in fact more), after roads are built for the convenience of through traffic.

As John Burnham, Maine good roads executive secretary pointed out, roads are intended

for the good of the State and Nation as a whole and not just a particular area. He pleaded for wider representation at highway hearings, now usually attended by only the residents of a community directly affected by a proposed project.

An example is the controversy over the interstate highway route around Waterville. Local pressure will probably force up to 1 mile of extra travel over a compromise route, which means the public will spend many millions over the years to satisfy the whims of a relative few.

The best nearby comparison between a limited-access highway and an unprotected express road is found on the approach to Boston. As you leave the Newburyport bypass you enter a section of divided highway that amounts to a shopping street nearly 20 miles long. Nearly every conceivable type of business is located along this route bidding for the driver's attention with garish signs, open-air and window displays. Shopping traffic dodges in and out of the express lanes, and the driver's nerves become suddenly tightened to the limit after the relative relaxation of the limited-access road.

Representative CRAMER congratulated Maine for its foresight in building a toll expressway along the interstate network. Maine will receive some extra consideration if plans now being studied for the interstate network are carried out.

It is to be hoped that this State's head start in limited-access highway construction won't be nullified by shortsighted pressure from local interests as the program develops.

Statement on the Situation of the Jews of Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement issued by the American Jewish Committee at a meeting of its administrative board on May 7, 1957.

STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION OF THE JEWS OF EGYPT—THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD, MAY 7, 1957

It is clear that the Jews of Egypt are being deprived of their civil rights, their property, and their citizenship, and that they are being ruthlessly driven from their country. The nations of the world, individually and as members of the United Nations, have so far taken no effective measures to counter the tyrannical action of the Egyptian Government.

At the time of the outbreak of Middle Eastern hostilities in October 1956, the Jews of Egypt numbered some 50,000. Some of them, with antecedents reaching back for many centuries, had participated in all phases of Egyptian life, business, finance, industry, and agriculture, and in the political and cultural activities of the country.

Since November 1, 1956, Egyptian Jews have been confronted with arrest and imprisonment, economic strangulation, revocation of citizenship, and expulsion from the country. By May 1 of this year, some 17,000 Jews had to leave Egypt and they sought refuge in other lands. This expulsion is continuing, and the indications are that the Jews who still remain will also become refugees, dependent on the aid of other countries and of charitable organizations. The Jewish population of Egypt appears to be doomed to despoilation and enforced exile.

In carying out this ruthless policy, the rulers of Egypt have been deaf to all humanitarian appeals. We are thus faced once again with a dictatorship openly persecuting a minority group.

The American Jewish Committee emphasizes the danger of this situation to the peace of the world. The lessons of the past quarter of a century clearly indicate that the free nations must not remain silent in the face of such a challenge to international morality.

It may still be possible to save some of the Jews of Egypt from the consequences of the action of that country's present rulers. We appeal to our Government, to the United Nations and to enlightened world opinion to give this matter urgent attention, to the end that determined efforts be undertaken to avert the consummation of this human tragedy. We call upon our Government to intervene with the Egyptian Government to put an immediate end to its persecution of Jews.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of DAV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on this 17th day of June 1957 the Disabled American Veterans, that unique and patriotic veterans' service organization, is celebrating its 25th year of chartered existence, and I am happy to pay my respects in this public manner. The DAV was actually organized 37 years ago for the express purpose of aiding and assisting worthy wartime disabled veterans, their widows, orphans, and dependents.

In addition to the character of discharge requirement, it is necessary that the applicant for membership be shown to have been wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled in line of duty while in the service of the Armed Forces of the United States during a war or the Korean conflict. The fact that such person is still in the United States Armed Forces does not preclude eligibility for membership. Citizens of the United States who became disabled from conditions incurred in or aggravated by service in the armed forces of those nations associated with the United States as allies during any of its war periods, and who were honorably discharged from such service, may also join the Disabled American Veterans.

The act of Congress—title 36, chapter 6–A, section 90a through section 90k, United States Code—chartering the DAV was approved June 17, 1932. Public Law 668, 77th Congress, approved July 15, 1942, deleted the words "of the World War" in the title and shortened the name to "Disabled American Veterans." The present national commander is Joseph F. Burke, a combat amputee of World War II.

The DAV is third in size of the major veterans' organizations but because of its restrictive membership eligibility requirements it does not approach in mere numbers the two leading groups. It does, however, make up in enthusiasm and constructive achievements what it lacks in size. This year will see the largest membership in the history of the Disabled American Veterans and its officers look forward with confidence to the future. Full credit should be given to the auxiliary, its officers and members, in promoting the progress and success of the parent organization.

The national headquarters is located at 5555 Ridge Avenue, Cincinnati 13, Ohio. The DAV national adjutant, Mr. Vivian D. Corbly, and his staff have their offices at national headquarters.

The national service headquarters is located at 1701 18th Street NW., Washington 9, D. C., and there the national director of legislation, claims and employment, with their staffs, have their quarters. It is believed that a special word of explanation is due in regard to the DAV claims activities. That service has trained and expert claims representatives on duty in the VA central office, the Washington, D. C., VA Benefits Office, and the Department of Defense. Contacts are also made with other Government agencies. In addition to these claims officials located in the Nation's Capital, the DAV has national service officers in all the regional offices of the Veterans' Administration and the VA district offices. There they render great assistance to many thousands of veterans and their families regardless of whether the veterans concerned are members of the organization. This valuable service is freely given without charge or recompense of any kind.

The national executive committee and national finance committee play major parts in the transaction of important organization business and in guiding the operations and destinies as to DAV policy.

The record of the past augurs well for the future of this up-and-coming veterans' association of the war disabled, so aptly named the Disabled American Veterans, and it is my hope, and I am sure all Members join me in hoping, this historic 25th anniversary will mark a nationally important milestone in a long and honorable career of loyal and outstanding service.

Third Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the House will consider the conference report on the third supplemental appropriation bill for 1957—H. R. 7221. There will undoubtedly be an effort to have a rollcall vote on amendment No. 17 which provides for a $30 million give-

away to the producers of tungsten. The Senate and House confereees are in disagreement and a motion will be made to recede and concur in the Senate amendment No. 17.

I strong urge that the Members read House Report 24, dated February 1 of this year—pages 11 and 12, and also House Report No. 145, dated February 21 of this year—pages 3, 4, and 5. Perusal of the pages of these two reports should certainly convince every Member of the House that we should support the House conferees and vote against the motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment No. 17. I will vote against such an amendment and I sincerely hope that the vast majority of the Members of the House will do likewise for the reasons set forth in the reports.

A Pious Phrase on a Yellowed Document

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to place in the RECORD a speech by our distinguished colleague from California, the Honorable JOHN E. MOSS, which was delivered before the New England Associated Press News Executives' Association in Boston.

JOHN E. MOSS is one of this body's great leaders in the fight for freedom of the press, and his outstanding work as chairman of the House Government Information Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations has shown him to be a zealous champion of the rights of the press as opposed to arbitrary Government secrecy.

This speech, which follows, is another fine example of the contributions he has made in this field, and reflects the same great principles which have made this Nation a land of freedom and democracy:

A PIOUS PHRASE ON A YELLOWED DOCUMENT

That the press must be free goes without saying. It is equally obvious that the Constitutional guarantee of press freedom is rendered meaningless if the press is shackled by arbitrary Government secrecy. This basic concept, however, is continually in danger.

A contrary principle recently espoused by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, for instance, would emasculate freedom of the press. In a recent letter to Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher and chairman of the board of the New York Times, Mr. Dulles stated: "The constitutional 'freedom of the press' relates to publication, and not to the gathering of news."

This is an appalling statement from the man who is leading the United States in the titanic struggle to preserve our basic rights against the threat of world communism. Under such a principle, no matter how laudatory the motives, freedom of the press would be nothing more than a pious phrase on a yellowed document in the National Archives.

Yet Mr. Dulles has gone even further in his crazy-quilt policy. At a recent press conference he seriously suggested that American newspapers and news agencies hire foreigners to cover the news for them in Red China. Such a suggestion shows a complete lack of understanding of freedom of the press. The arbitrary refusal of passports for American newsmen to travel in Red China is bad enough. But the thought that Americans are thereby to be forced by their own Government to view news through the eyes of foreign nationals is inconceivable in 20th century America. Surely Mr. Dulles doesn't suggest that American news agencies hire Chinese Communists as their reporters.

News agencies, of course, do hire foreign nationals for overseas coverage. But they are primarily supplemental and their work is closely supervised by American newsmen, usually in the country of origin. There is no substitute, however, for on-the-spot coverage by an American reporter. When Americans abdicate their right to see for themselves, we have lost a major battle in the struggle to defend our hard-won freedoms. These freedoms must not be chipped away by Mr. Dulles or anyone else for the sake of expediency.

Mr. Dulles makes it clear that he believes the American press should be made an instrument of foreign policy. Reporters traditionally have gone abroad as free agents, reporting the news as they saw it, without fear of what the State Department may think or do. Under Mr. Dulles' policy would the stories of American newsmen be viewed as objective reports or as stories intended to bolster foreign policy as part of a reporter's loyalty and patriotic duty?

Mr. Dulles fails to realize that in a democracy the people have a vested right to seek and obtain information in order to govern themselves. This right is not vested solely in the press but in all the people. The press is merely a vehicle to provide information to the public. I, therefore, sharply question any policy which denies the right of any American to seek information at home or abroad.

Government officials, on the local, State, and Federal level, usually agree readily that the public has a right to know about their government. But all too frequently, these same officials adopt the attitude that they, and they alone, are to decide what facts the public shall get about the public's business.

This attitude is probably best exemplified in a directive issued a few years ago by Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. Mr. Wilson has been plagued by rivalry between the armed services, a rivalry which he apparently believes should be confined to the Pentagon and withheld from public debate. It was against this background of service rivalry and "leaks" that Mr. Wilson issued the directive stating that no information of any kind shall be released from the Military Establishment unless the material is a "constructive contribution" to the mission of the Defense Department. In simple language, Mr. Wilson tells the vast military organization: "If it doesn't make us look good, boys, don't release it."

This directive is an insult to the intelligence of our Nation's military leaders. It is amazing that such a directive was ever issued. The absurd results of this directive have been documented in cases aired by the subcommittee in public hearings. It is amazing that the directive still stands.

Last summer, Mr. Wilson was disturbed by a new rash of leaks involving the fight between the Army and the Air Force over control of the missiles program. He appointed a special committee to find a way to stop leaks. He named former Assistant Defense Secretary Charles A. Coolidge, an eminent Boston attorney, to head the committee, and named four retired military leaders as the other members.

The Coolidge Committee found, in effect, that arbitrary secrecy led to the very leaks that Mr. Wilson sought to prevent.

As a result of the Coolidge Committee recommendations, Mr. Wilson on March 22 issued four new directives. Only one of them, however, is aimed at freeing information. It would set up an Office of Declassification Policy in the Defense Department. It fails, however, to give the director specific authority to declassify or to force others to declassify. The directive even fails to tell the director specifically what he is to do. Such a directive appears to be a very weak David for the Goliath of classified material piling up in warehouses out of reach of scientists and historians who have been pleading for access to this important information.

Mr. Wilson's second new directive provides for prompt investigations and a disciplinary crackdown on leaks. Such a directive might well be warranted if it were directed solely at leaks of security information. Nothing but the strongest efforts must be made to protect true military secrets. But the new directive spells danger because it is directed as well at leaks of nonsecurity information. An oppressive investigative machine is ready to bear down on an employee who releases plain administrative information, either in good faith, deliberately, or through inadvertence, if the release displeases higher authorities.

A third new directive is perhaps the most repressive. It covers nonsecurity, administrative information only. It does not involve military security whatsover.

Mr. Wilson's fourth new directive included high-sounding language, apparently bowing to the right of Congress to have information. But the new directive incorporates the other new directive on administrative secrecy and leaves it up to the Defense Department to determine what Congress shall and shall not have.

Mr. Wilson's directives are thus highly restrictive, highly improper and ultimately very dangerous. They impose penalties or the threat of penalties for the release of nonsecurity information, but fail to provide even a threat of reprimand for arbitrary and unjustified withholding.

They bolster the attitude that public officials are to decide what the people are entitled to know and that public officials must justify release rather than justify withholding. Thus, the public, reporters, and Congressmen must justify their requests for information just as if they lacked any right to know.

The question of attitude is vital. Congress could pass 100 laws aimed at the release of public information. But the best laws and the best regulations can be rendered completely ineffective by the man who administers them. Recently, Mr. Murray Snyder, former assistant presidential press secretary, was appointed as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. That is the top information job in the Military Establishment. He calls the tune not only for the Defense Department itself but for the military services as well. Even the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force must submit their speeches for Snyder's clearance before they can make them. Mr. Snyder checks those speeches not only for security, but also for policy.

Mr. Snyder repeatedly assured the subcommittee that he was taking over the new post in an effort to get out the news. He said he would do this despite the subcommittee's concern that he would be hampered by Mr. Wilson's restrictive directives.

I understand that Mr. Snyder did not participate in the drafting of the new Wilson directives. But because of their restrictive

language, it is, in my opinion, a Herculean task which Mr. Snyder faces. On the other hand, despite the doubts raised by the unfortunate wording of the directives, Mr. Snyder, by adopting a straightforward and enlightened policy, can materially aid in freeing the flow of information from the Pentagon. If he is determined to do so, he can change the attitude of those in the Military Establishment who regard information as something to be managed or kept out of sight. Certainly he is entitled to additional time before any attempt is made to evaluate the job he has taken on. However, let us hope that an incident reported in a recent Associated Press story illustrates an exception rather than the rule which Mr. Snyder will follow. I quote from the AP story dated May 9, 1957:

"Reporters got shooed out of a Pentagon meeting today—by an official who says it is his job to get information to the public.

"The official was Murray Snyder, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs and former Assistant Press Secretary to President Eisenhower.

"The incident came at a meeting in which Ralph J. Cordiner, chairman of military pay study committee, presented the Committee's final report to Secretary of Defense Wilson.

"If either Mr. Wilson, or Mr. Cordiner had any ideas they wanted to express to the newsmen assembled for the ceremony, they were stopped by Mr. Snyder.

"Mr. Wilson took the report from Mr. Cordiner, eyed the newsmen, then asked: 'Do you men of the press know what this is all about?'

"A reporter started to ask a question. Mr. Snyder turned to the newsmen, interjected quickly, 'that's all, gentlemen,' and shooed them out."

A recent news magazine story praising Mr. Snyder's avowed aim to uncork the news at the Pentagon was written before Mr. Snyder shooed the reporters away from Mr. Wilson. The story made a point of the fact that Mr. Snyder had moved his office from the third floor in the Pentagon near Mr. Wilson's office, to the first floor near the press room. This was interpreted as a move to make him more conveniently available to the working press.

Newsmen at the Pentagon now have some other theories about the move. Shortly after the shooing-out incident, they report that Mr. Snyder passed the word to the press room "suggesting" how reporters write their stories about the Cordiner report. You can rest assured, however, that the Pentagon reporters use their own judgment on what is news, Mr. Snyder's "suggestions" notwithstanding.

Arbitrary secrecy inevitably leads to an effort to "manage the news". This effort is nothing new. It was one of the first complaints received by the subcommittee.

Land Forever Wild

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the Public Lands Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will hold hearings on June 20 and 21 on bills, among them my H. R. 1960, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System.

Cosponsors of this legislation, of vital interest to conservationists concerned over encroachments upon the remaining wilderness areas, including the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR], the gentleman from California [Mr. BALDWIN], the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS], the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] and the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. PORTER].

These bills designate certain units within some national forests, some national parks, some national wildlife refuges, and certain Indian reservations (the latter subject to approval by tribal councils or other duly constituted authorities representing the Indians).

They declare national policy (1) to secure an adequate system of wilderness areas to serve our recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, and conservation needs, and (2) to provide for protection of these areas in perpetuity and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness.

The bills provide for administration of wilderness areas by the same Federal agencies now exercising jurisdiction over the affected lands.

The bills create a National Wilderness Preservation Council, composed of the Chief of the United States Forest Service, Director of the National Park Service, Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service's Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and six citizen members appointed by the President.

The Council shall serve as a nonexclusive clearing house for exchange of information among the agencies administering areas within the system. It could sponsor and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs and conditions and would be directed to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of the President, the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture, and other appropriate officers of the United States Government and to assist in obtaining cooperation in wilderness preservation.

Mr. Speaker, the case for this legislation is well stated in Land Forever Wild, an article in the current issue of Audubon magazine, publication of the National Audubon Society, one of this country's leading conservation organizations.

The author is Mr. Edwin Way Teale, distinguished writer, naturalist, and photographer, whose recent best seller Autumn Across America fired the imagination of conservationists from coast to coast. His appraisal of the wildnerness bill follows:

LAND FOREVER WILD
(By Edwin Way Teale)

One early October day, 2 miles above sea level near the Montana-Wyoming line, I stood on the lofty tundra of Beartooth Plateau. To the north the peaks and forests of the Montana Rockies extended away as far as my vision reached. Here was wilderness unmarked by man. Here was wildness untouched by civilization. Here was the land as Nez Percé braves had known it crossing Beartooth Pass for centuries before the first white man. In one vast panorama here was a vision of original America, of the wilderness of old—roadless, cityless, billboardless—as wild as the early pioneers saw it.

And just so future generations may also observe it. For at least part of the inspiring vista that spread before me that October day is now designated as a primitive area. It is included in the wilderness preservation program of the Federal Government.

When the Pilgrim Fathers landed in New England, the whole continent extended away before them in one continuous wilderness. Only a century and a half ago, when Meriwether Lewis and William Clark started up the Missouri on the first overland journey across the United States to the Pacific, the western half of the continent was still wilderness. Even a generation ago, the homesteading era was not yet over. During all the early history of this country, the wilderness stood in the popular mind as the great enemy, barring progress. Our heritage of wildness was merely something to subdue, to tame, to conquer, to destroy. Its material resources—its gold and timber, furs and fertile valleys these alone had value.

But more and more in recent years, with the swift shrinking of space and the compression of mounting population, another side of the wilderness has become increasingly recognized. For lands that have been forever wild provide spiritual as well as material resources. Wildness itself offers something of value that needs protection.

Among the recently published letters of William Blake, the English poet, there is the sentence, "The tree that moves some to tears of joy is in the eyes of others only a green thing that stands in the way." The wilderness, like the tree, produces such diverse reactions. During the history of our land, in the main, human activity has reflected the viewpoint almost entirely of those who saw only something standing in the way, something to eliminate. As mechanization has increased, the power to destroy has become magnified. As the population has multiplied, the pressure on wild lands has mounted. Every 12 seconds our population is increased by one. The figure now stands at 170 million; it is estimated it will be 200 million only a decade hence. Indicative of the consequence is one small scene I recall from a part of Long Island once famed for its violets and its upland plover, the Hempstead Plains. Last spring, on one tiny tract amid spreading subdivisions, a single upland plover perched on a sign. The sign read, "a supermarket will be erected on this site."

During the past few years, in gathering material for recent books, I have visited all 48 States of the Union. Wherever I went the impact of mechanized civilization was apparent. Forests had been sheared. Waterfalls had been reduced to a sad, attenuated flow. People spoke of wild places they had known since childhood, now vanished. Over and over again I heard the same refrain, "This used to be such a beautiful place." But amid all this devastation there was something of gain. As the wilderness had receded, the appreciation of the wilderness had grown. A current seemed strengthening all across the country. The will to save something of all that is melting away had become more apparent.

"We need," Henry Thoreau wrote in Walden, "the tonic of wildness, to wade sometimes in marshes where the bittern and the meadowhen lurk, to lear the booming of the snipe; to smell the whispering sedge where only some wilder and more solitary fowl builds her nest, and the mink crawls with its belly close to the ground." Throughout all the 20 volumes of Thoreau's works there runs the recurring theme of the value and importance of wildness. His was the first eloquent voice lifted in its praise. "In wildness," he said, "is the preservation of the world." Since his day others have recorded similar convictions. "The clearest way into

the universe is through a forest wilderness," John Muir wrote amid his beloved Sierra peaks. And in a more recent day Aldo Leopold has set forth his belief that "the opportunity to see geese is more important than television, and the chance to see a pasqueflower is a right as inalienable as free speech." Such men have spoken for more of us than is generally recognized.

At first it was only the unique and spectacular features of the wilderness, such as Yellowstone, Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon, that elicited Government protection. The idea of preserving wildness for its own sake, as opposed to the setting aside of the inspiring scene or the dramatic manifestation of nature, this was slow in developing. Many men have had a part in its growth. Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., planning Central Park to interfere as little as possible with nature, certainly was one of the pioneers. So was Verplanck Colvin, whose activities in the 1870's led to the inclusion of an article in the New York State Constitution providing for an Adirondacks forest to be left forever wild. So was John Muir, singing of his joy in wild, western mountains but at the same time keenly aware of all that had gone and all that was going. And so, in our own day, have been such men as Stephen Mather, Aldo Leopold, Robert Marshall, Arthur H. Carhart, and Olaus J. Murie. They all have contributed toward the preservation of those living museums of primeval America, areas of untouched, unexploited wilderness.

Perhaps the underlying philosophy of wilderness preservation can best be set forth in a kind of Socratic dialogue, taking up in turn the basis questions involved.

What is a wilderness?

It is, by the strict dictionary definition, an area that is uncultivated and uninhabited by man. In a larger sense it is a sanctuary for all the primal realities of nature unchanged. Nothing artificial is imposed upon it by man. It is neither developed nor prettied up. A few years ago, along one of the trails in California's Point Lobos State Park, a woman was discovered pulling up plants with both hands. She explained she was helping clean up the place. Near New York, when the Sunken Forest on Fire Island was turned into a sanctuary recently, a troop of Boy Scouts volunteered to come out with hatchets and aid in cleaning out the area. This insatiable propensity of human beings for changing nature stops at the boundary of a wilderness area. There we find the whole book of nature and not—as Thoreau pointed out nature is usually found—a book from which previous visitors and previous generations have torn whole pages and mutilated others. A wilderness area is just wilderness—just that—an area in which nature is left unchanged by man.

But do not the national parks already provide sufficient sanctuaries for wildness?

In the back country of a number of national parks there are wonderful stretches of unspoiled wilderness. However, the fundamental purpose of a national park has not been to preserve wildness as such. It is to protect and make available to the public some superb example of natural splendor, some area that is unique. The significance of the national park, in the main, lies in features it contains that are found nowhere else. The significance of the wilderness area, on the other hand, lies in characteristics that it shares with all other wilderness areas, namely natural conditions as completely untouched and unaltered as is consistent with its protection and use as wilderness.

As long as many of the remaining wilderness areas are in remote, mountainous country, why worry about them? What can happen to them anyway?

Perhaps the best answer to such questions is to quote from the report of a select committee appointed by the Ohio State senate in 1857—just a century ago—to study the need for protection of a species of bird. The committee reported no protection at all was needed. The birds, it found, were wonderfully prolific. They had for their breeding grounds the vast forests of the North. They could travel daily hundreds of miles in search of food. The report concluded that no ordinary destruction could lessen them and that the numbers killed would never be missed from the myriads that are yearly produced. The bird they referred to was the passenger pigeon, now completely extinct for nearly half a century. It cannot be taken for granted, as the history of America has amply demonstrated, that any area—no matter how wild at present, no matter how removed from centers of population at present—can remain unendangered without protection.

Why do wilderness areas have to be big? Wouldn't small areas serve just as well?

The wilderness, by its nature, demands solitude. It requires as much remoteness from man and his works as possible. Only in compartively large areas can a wilderness continue to maintain its wilderness character.

Do these areas have to be roadless?

When we speak of an unspoiled area, unspoiled means different things to different people. But an area that is left as it was, unchanged, absolutely unchanged, cannot be spoiled for anyone. This is the aim of those interested in wilderness preservation. The road, the jeep, the outboard motor, the airplane all are part of a mechanized civilization incompatible with the whole conception of the wilderness. By its nature, a wilderness must remain trail country, canoe country, primitive country. Roads will attract mainly those who have no real interest in the wilderness, those who merely want to see the fringes of wilderness while going 60 miles an hour. Wherever a road is constructed through such a region, the cutting and filling and grading disturbs the vegetation, the drainage, the wildlife—not of just a narrow strip but for a considerable distance on either side. Moreover as soon as one road is built the pressure mounts for joining roads, multiplying the danger and damage.

But if a single road bisected an area why wouldn't it give two wilderness in place of one?

In the first place, the smaller the wilderness the less it is a wilderness. Furthermore, in bisecting the area it would also bisect the range of numerous animals and thus interfere with the normal balance of life which a wilderness area provides.

What about elderly people and those who are not strong? Would not a few such roads enable them to secure a taste of wilderness unobtainable elsewhere?

There is, in truth, nothing that such roads would provide that cannot now be enjoyed on established highways through national parks, and along the fringes of the wilderness. Wherever a road goes it brings with it the same fringe conditions that are found elsewhere. The real wilderness always lies in solitude away from the highway. Preserving the wilderness intact without roads thus does not deprive those who are unable to travel by trail or canoe of anything they cannot find in other places. The building of roads through wilderness areas, with its destruction of wilderness, would merely add to something relatively abundant, and subtract from something relatively scarce.

But couldn't just short roads be built in from the edge to, say, ski runs on mountainsides?

Here again the problem arises of what is a wilderness and what alters it until it is no longer a wilderness. Plans to develop portions of such areas—often in themselves attractive—are manifold. But it should be axiomatic that only those uses should be permitted that does not lessen or destroy the wilderness character of the area or any part of it.

Under these conditions, is not the preservation of such areas a special privilege for a minority group, namely those who are interested in wilderness for its own sake?

I remember discussing this point one overcast January day with Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, as we walked down a street in Washington, D. C. He observed, quite rightly, that the National Art Gallery, with all its treasures, is used by only a small proportion of the people at any one time. Someone might say, "see all this floor space going to waste. Only the walls are being used. Let's turn this into a roller-skating rink. It will attract more people and the skaters can look at the pictures as they go by." More people, no doubt, would be attracted but the essential, higher purpose for which the gallery was erected would be lost. Anyone is free to visit the art gallery but not to turn it into something else. Similarly anyone is free to visit a wilderness area so long as its character is not altered. None of the regulations governing the areas provides for special users. As Olaus J. Murie has said, "it is not for the sake of any privileged few that we are thus working for wilderness preservation, but rather for all Americans." At present, those who fully appreciate wilderness values are, in all probability, a minority. But in time, as the pioneer attitudes of our history recede, as the pressures of civilization increase, this minority may be no longer a minority. Every test in recent years has indicated that when an issue is posed the majority of voters favors preserving the wilderness. In fact, it may be true that even now the wilderness supporters comprise no minority at all but rather a silent majority.

The tonic of wildness, contact with the realities of the unchanged wilderness, these will grow increasingly precious in years to come. For going to the wilderness is not a flight from life. It is escape—but escape to reality, escape from all that is artificial in civilization. There we have left behind the forced-draft din of the advertisers, shouting that every want is a need. There we are no longer surrounded by today's thousand and one improved means to unimproved ends. There we are in contact only with timeless and basic things.

One last question: In a country of growing population should not every acre be put to use?

Wilderness acres are put to use. They are useful to man for many things, the most important of all being such things as—to use John Ruskin's phrase—we do not sell or pawn or in any other way turn into money. I walked, one morning some years ago, through a woods and around a lake with a New York businessman. His interest in nature was entirely confined to two recurring questions: What's that? What good is it? By good he meant good to his stomach or his pocketbook. A different yardstick is needed to measure the usefulness of the wilderness. Such areas are not to be considered merely as storehouses of lumber and reservoirs of waterpower for future use. They are storehouses of wildness, and wildness will become an ever-increasing spiritual need in the crowded tomorrow. "We cannot base wilderness reservations on what is merchantable," Howard Zahniser once wrote, "and we should not think of wilderness resources in terms of commodities. In the wilderness there are acres and acres of forest but no board-feet. The resources of the wilderness are of another order."

There is always the temptation, in an effort to obtain immediate acceptance for wilderness preservation, to base the appeal on a lower level. The danger in taking a short cut on a lower road is, you may get stuck there. If, for example, you seek to save songbirds entirely on the basis of the

number of caterpillars they destroy, it takes only some superinsecticde to sweep away your arguments. If you plead for saving a wilderness area on the basis of its importance as a watershed, you may find that, sometime later on, new methods of management make only a fraction of that area needed for the purpose. If you advance the argument that the area is of no use for anything else, or that the forest is no good for timber, or that lumbermen can't get in there anyhow, new techniques and new market requirements are likely to leave these seemingly practical arguments bankrupt at a later date. Only by saving the wilderness as wilderness will the goals of its longtime preservation be achieved.

This does not mean that protection of the wilderness is divorced in any way from the overall program of conservation. It is integrated with many phases of land use and land management. The development of sound forestry practices outside the areas, for instance, is of vital importance. As long as we continue to cut timber faster than we grow it, the pressure to invade wilderness tracts will mount. Only if reforestation on a wide scale and more efficient timber management are able to achieve a sustained yield outside the wilderness areas will these preserves be safe. Even if the great forests of the Olympic National Park, one of the glories of the nation, were thrown open to the saw, it is estimated the available trees there would sustain the local lumber economy for only about a decade and then, with the irreplaceable forests gone, the need for more trees would be as pressing as ever. Taking the easy way and throwing open the forests of wilderness preserves to lumbering will never offer a permanent solution to the problem. That solution must be found outside such areas if it is to be found at all.

There are, at the present time, wilderness tracts of many kinds, particularly in and to the west of the Rocky Mountains. They are under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, the United States Forest Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and—subject to the approval of the Indians themselves—the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They vary greatly in size. They vary widely in designation. Within the national forests, some are called roadless areas, some primitive areas, some wild areas, and some wilderness areas. The wilderness area is the largest. It must be 100,000 acres or more in size. A wild area, on the other hand, ranges from 100,000 down to 5,000 acres. In the national forests alone, 81 areas have been set aside, totaling 14 million acres.

The whole program of wilderness perservation, although never formulated as such by Congress, has grown steadily in importance and popular interest. Its greatest danger at present is the fact that the status of any area can be altered merely by administrative decree. A more solid foundation in law is required if the areas that have already been set aside are to continue as land forever wild.

It is for this purpose that Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, with a group of cosponsors in the Senate, and Representatives JOHN P. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania, LEE METCALF, of Montana, and others in the House of Representatives, have introduced into the 85th Congress a bipartisan bill to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System. For the first time, it would give legal recognition to wilderness preservation as a national policy. It would designate specific areas to be set aside. It would outline the public policy in regard to them, such as that man himself is a member of the natural community who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails. It would set up a central advisory and information group, a repository of files for the system, known as the National Wilderness Preservation Council. In the main, the bill would preserve the status quo. No new land would be added. No new land administration agency would be set up. Jurisdiction would continue, as in the past, in various agencies of the Government.

However, public hearings would be required before the status of any area could be altered and Congress would have a chance to review any changes in the areas. Shifts by directorial fiat would be eliminated. Such changes would have to be freely announced and freely discussed before they could be put into execution. One other major change would be included in the legislation. At present anyone who reports a mining discovery in a wilderness area not only can stake out a claim but can have a road buildt in to the spot. This continual threat to the integrity of wilderness areas would be eliminated by the legislation proposed.

Known as the National Wilderness Preservation Act, it represents one of the most important steps forward in the history of wilderness conservation in America. Hearings planned for late spring and summer should be of paramount interest to every conservationist. The sponsoring senators and representatives already have been greatly encouraged by the number of letters received from citizens expressing approval of the plan. The writer of every such letter plays a cumulatively important part in providing the impetus required for passage of this needed legislation. If the conservation support that defeated the attempted invasion of the Dinosaur National Monument rallies to the support of the wilderness bill its passage appears certain.

The wilderness itself is always perishable, as perishable as a pasque-flower or a warbler. Once destroyed it is forever gone. History has decided what wilderness areas are available for us to preserve. What is done in our time will determine what will be left for succeeding generations to preserve. The strength of public-spirited individuals united in a common cause was dramatically demonstrated in the fight against Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument. That prevention of an invasion of public lands has created the right climate for putting wilderness philosophy into law, for putting wilderness preservation on a sound and lasting basis.

In a democracy one generation does not tie the hands of the next. The ultimate disposition of wilderness lands will be made by those who come later. So it is never enough to establish sanctuaries and then sit back content. Education, continual education, that will be handed on as the land is handed on, is also required.

Land forever wild—how long will forever be? The answer to this question depends upon two things. One is how well we preserve that which we have an opportunity of preserving in our own day. The other is how well those of a later day are brought to understand the value of wildness in the lives of men and all the resources of the spirit that lie within the wilderness.

Greedy Uncle Sam Deprives Local Governments of Tax Revenue—Situation Is Getting Worse Instead of Better—Relief Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial which appeared in the Elkhorn (Wis.) Independent calling attention to the increase of Federal taxes and the extent of the increase in the percentage of tax money from local governments.

The State of Wisconsin in 1941 sent to the Federal Government $122 million and in return received $78 million in Federal aids. In 1956 Wisconsin taxpayers sent $1⅓ billion and received back $90 millon.

The people of my State, Mr. Speaker, are paying over 10 times more in Federal taxes today than in 1941. The time has come to halt this situation.

THAT'S WHERE MY MONEY GOES

The Federal Government is taking more and more of the tax dollar and the State and local governments are taking less and less, according to an analysis furnished by Gov. Vernon Thomson. The disturbing shift of the ever-increasing tax collection to Washington, is revealed by the following tabulation showing the 15 year trend in the use of your tax money:

	Percent
1941:	
Federal Government	36
Local government	50
State government	14
1956:	
Federal Government	67
Local government	25
State government	8

It is also alarming to note that in 1941 Wisconsin taxpayers sent $122 million to Washington and got $78 million back in Federal aids. Last year we sent a billion and a third and got $90 million back.

"In other words, Wisconsin residents are paying over 10 times more in Federal taxes than in 1941 but the amount returned to Wisconsin through Federal aids has barely changed," says Governor Thomson.

Most Federal aids are matched by State funds so if we want to get more from the Federal Government we have to put up more in State funds. Thus we must raise more money to be eligible to get back some of the money we have already sent to Washington.

We heartily agree with the Governor when he says we'd get a lot more for our tax dollar if State and local governments handled the money.

America's First Participation in Poznan Trade Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, if Members will read between the lines, the significance of the following statement will not require amplification. It was furnished me at my request by Under Secretary of Commerce W. Walter Williams:

I believe this is the information you spoke to me about. I think this should do the trick. It's an excellent idea to get this into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

America's first participation in the International Trade Fair in Poznan, Poland (June 9–23), is proving most popular, Harrison T. McClung, Director, Office of International Trade Fairs, United States Department of Commerce, reported yesterday. In a dispatch from Poznan, he describes how on opening day crowds thronged through the

American pavilion, requiring 50-man police cordons, with locked arms, to restrain traffic.

While none of the exhibits from some 30 foreign countries lacked visitors on this inaugural day of the 26th Poznan International Trade Fair, none drew the crowds that jammed into the United States pavilion to see the latest home appliances, fashions, fabrics, automobiles, and furnished model American bungalow type suburban house.

The Poznan Fair opened at 1 p. m. By nightfall, Mr. McClung reported that an estimated 85,000 visitors had seen the comprehensive variety of consumer products that make up the United States display. Director McClung wired that the greatest interest was shown in the modern middle-priced home, household appliances, frozen foods, clothes and fabrics.

He also told how a separate American agricultural machinery exhibit at an area a half hour from the fairgrounds also attracted large crowds. The visitors asked many questions about the farm equipment. In some instances, Polish farmers offered to buy the machinery on the spot.

Among the early visitors was a group of Polish officials, led by Prime Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz and Minister of Foreign Trade Tram Czynski, who spent almost an hour touring the United States exhibit. They were greeted by Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Earle Jacobs, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Mrs. Frederick Mueller, Congressman Thaddeus Machrowicz of Detroit, Mich., OITF Director McClung and Paul Medalie, United States Exhibit Manager.

"You have a very interesting and unusual exhibit," Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz told Ambassador Jacobs. He proposed a toast with American orange juice offered him by Miss Barbara Sampson, home economist, "to continued and growing friendship and cooperation between people of Poland and the people of the United States." The Polish officials were generous in their praise of the United States exhibit.

In commenting on the Polish models, who were displaying American clothes and furs, the Prime Minister said: "Excellent examples of Polish-American cooperation." He then paused for a time at the "Hall of Recreation," an integral part of the American Exhibit, and spoke to Miss Genevieve Minitska, Polish Olympic track star of Helsinki (1952) and Melbourne (1956), who is directing a vast exhibit of sports and recreational equipment. At the conclusion of his tour, Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz, who was extremely delighted with the American house, said, "The United States Exhibit here in Poznan should do much to add to Polish-American friendship and cooperation."

His countryman, Minister of Foreign Trade Czynski, echoed the same words. During the tour, the latter was especially interested in the large American display of television sets varying in sizes from small screen portables to large console types.

By the time the Fair comes to an end, June 23, it is expected that more than 750,000 people will have seen the United States consumer goods exhibit which shows the things Americans wear, use, and consume.

Among the questions asked by Polish visitors of the United States Central Exhibit are these: "How much is a refrigerator?" "Could you use a washing machine and dryer for a laundry business?" "Will you leave the model house when you go?" "Please, can I live in the house while it is here?"

A foreign correspondent told how one visitor said as he came out of the exhibit on opening day, "I know America is wonderful, but I can't believe that the ordinary man has a deep freeze, a radio, a television set, a car and goes skiing every winter."

"But whether they believe it or not," the correspondent wrote, "The Poles were impressed. They watched fascinated as frozen fruit juice was whipped into drinkable condition, as frozen waffles were popped in and out of electric toasters and as the automatic windows of American cars slid silently up and down."

The Middle East and Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an address I delivered on Saturday, June 15, 1957, at the annual convention of the New York Department of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, at South Fallsburg, N. Y.:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. ANFUSO, JEWISH WAR VETERANS, NEW YORK DEPARTMENT, HOTEL BRICKMAN, SOUTH FALLSBURG, N. Y., JUNE 15, 1957

Mr. Chairman, members, and friends of the Jewish War Veterans, United States of America, and ladies auxiliary, I am delighted to be here with you this afternoon and to have the opportunity to renew old acquaintances and make new ones. Many of your leaders are my personal friends. I am quite familiar with your wonderful organization and its great record of achievements. In fact, several times during these past few years I had occasion to speak in the Halls of Congress and to insert material into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD about the activities and accomplishments of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.

May I say to you at this time, on the occasion of your annual convention, that I wish for you a year of fruitful activity in the coming 12 months, and may you realize your programs in all spheres to the fullest extent, and may you go from strength to strength in your efforts. Yours is a good cause, a deserving cause, and I shall always be proud to be associated with you in any endeavor you may call upon me.

Your past national commander and my dear friend, Abe Kraditor, who is primarily responsible for my being here today, has suggested that I discuss with you the recent agreement between the United States and Saudi Arabia in which the United States acceded to the discrimination against Americans of the Jewish faith by that Arab country. Although this is a matter involving constitutional law and would require a long dissertation, I shall touch on it, nevertheless, in the general context of the Middle East situation.

The Middle East situation, as you well known, has been relatively quiet these past few weeks. Nasser has been losing ground in the Arab countries, such as Jordan and Lebanon, and may soon find himself completely isolated. But not only is he losing ground and prestige with his Arab neighbors, but he lost much more with Israel when the latter routed his army in Sinai and captured many of his tanks and other equipment.

In fact, there is a nice little story making the rounds in Israel now. At the Independence Day celebration a few weeks ago, the Israelis put on a big parade in Tel Aviv in which they displayed some of the captured Egyptian tanks. Two Jews were standing and watching the parade. One of them was a refugee from Egypt who had been expelled by Nasser and recently arrived in Israel. As the Egyptians tanks came rolling by, he turned to the other Jew, and said:

"You know, Nasser was right. He kept his promise."

"What do you mean he kept his promise?" asked the Israeli Jew.

"Well, it's this way," replied the Egyptian Jew. "Last year I stood in Cairo and heard Nasser tell the Egyptians that his tanks would parade through the streets of Tel Aviv. Well, he kept his promise. Here they are."

Speaking in a more serious vein, I am glad to see considerable improvement in the Middle East situation of late. The military situation appears to be relatively stable. Nasser's influence, as I stated a moment ago, has diminished and his ego is much deflated—thanks to Israel. American-Israeli relations have improved to some extent over these past few months, and I trust they will remain friendly and cordial for many years to come.

That does not mean that all problems have been solved or are on the verge of being solved tomorrow or the next day. Israel is still confronted with difficult international problems, with the security of its borders, its relationship with the Arab countries who are continuing and expanding their boycott of Israel, and also with the problem of attaining economic self-sufficiency. If peace could be maintained in the Middle East, many of these problems could be solved in due time.

It was most unfortunate that the relations between the United States and Israel became strained last fall after the Sinai action. There was no cause or reason for it. Had the United States pursued its traditional policy in this matter, had we truly realized then the full meaning of Nasserism and its Communist coconspirators, had we understood that they were gunning not only for Israel but even more so for the United States and the free world, we could have avoided much misunderstanding and tension.

It is my deep regret that the United States in recent years has failed to pursue a firmer policy with the Arab couutries, as befits a world power such as ours. By now, we are all aware that appeasing Nasser has not achieved peace and stability in the Middle East, just as appeasing Hitler in the 1930's did not achieve world peace. It is high time for the United States to exert all possible influence in world affairs to put this would-be Hitler of the Middle East in his proper place, if we desire to safeguard that area against communism. The removal of Nasser would be the best contribution to Middle East stability and world peace.

Must we wait until he brings on a new disaster by his arrogance? Must we continue to coddle Nasser and to ignore his antiwestern intrigues. Must we disregard his alliance with Russia and his reckless purchases of new arms? Must we close our eyes to his announced goal to destroy Israel?

The answers to these questions are obvious. If Nasser is permitted free rein as in the past, a new crisis will develop—and for this we shall have to thank our State Department because it pursues a Middle East policy which does not measure up to reality. Some of our officials still talk about bringing Nasser back to the path of peace and righteousness, and reaching a satisfactory agreement with him. But I tell you that this man constitutes a serious threat to the free world.

I wonder sometimes whether the State Department realizes the full gravity of this menace. When I see that Mr. Dulles is still aspiring to play the role of an impartial peacemaker in the Middle East, when I realize that the Eisenhower administration still refuses to take a firm and decisive stand regarding the Arab countries—then I must conclude that our Government is blind to the impudence and threats of a Nasser and his ilk. Unfortunately, Secretary Dulles continues to drift along in a state of immobility for fear he might provoke the Arabs. Instead of strength, we display weakness.

And this brings me to the United States-Saudi Arabian agreement, to which I referred earlier. The agreement which allows Saudi Arabia to keep American-Jewish military personnel out of our air base at Dhahran is an affront to Americans of all faiths. Originally concluded in 1951, this agreement was extended for another 5 years when King Saud visited Washington last February. It specifies that no persons objectionable to Saudi Arabia would be assigned there. In 1951 President Truman held that this was to be done only on an individual basis, rather than in terms of discriminating against a whole people.

It is quite clear that this is simply and solely discrimination against American Jews. I, for one, regret that it has been so codified with this interpretation under the Eisenhower administration. True, the State Department keeps assuring us it will continue its efforts to remove this discrimination, but if it could not be done before the agreement was signed it certainly will not be achieved now. The Saudi Arabian government continues to deny entry and transit privileges to Americans of the Jewish faith, and no American-Jewish soldiers are allowed at an American air base built and operated with the funds of American taxpayers. In fact, the Air Force Manual of the United States Government states specifically: "Individuals of Jewish faith or descent or strictly barred entrance or transit to Saudi Arabia."

This is absolutely base discrimination. As an American citizen, I resent it. As a naturalized citizen of this country, I wish to state with all the emphasis at my command that once an alien becomes an American citizen he should receive the same respect and treatment as any native-born citizen. I think it is the duty of our country to see to it that he is so respected by foreign countries, regardless of whether he was born a Jew, an Italian, a Negro, or a Chinaman. He should never be referred to in any other manner but as a citizen of the United States. Unless we protect these rights for our citizens, we are letting ourselves open to many abuses in the future.

In addition to our acceptance of Saudi Arabian discrimination against American citizens, there are also commercial repercussions which are closely related to it. Saudi Arabia, together with other Arab countries, boycotts American firms in which Jews have an interest. All American firms, which have contributed to the United Jewish Appeal or have agents or branches in Israel, are blacklisted. Ships which call at Israeli ports are blacklisted and forbidden to enter Arab ports. This is a boycott which is destined to hurt not only Israel, but the whole Middle East and in the long run also the United States. What are we doing to stop it?

Actually, there is no legal basis for challenging the agreement, which in itself is an executive arrangement. You will remember that about a year ago (July 26, 1956) the Senate passed a resolution, Senate Resolution 323, sponsored by Senator George, which stated that discriminations such as those practiced by Saudi Arabia are inconsistent with American principles. It went on to note that these discriminations were incompatible with friendly international relations and it called for every reasonable effort in our negotiations to maintain our democratic principles. The resolution was adopted only in the Senate, but never came before the House, hence it is not a law and therefore has no binding legal effect. A much stronger resolution was previously introduced by Senator Lehman of New York stating it was the sense of the Senate that certain actions were highly inappropriate in our foreign relations, but Lehman's resolution was sidetracked in favor of the George resolution.

There remains, however, a vital moral and political issue which has been expressed in terms of an old dilemma—that of posing political principle against the requirements of the national interest. There is the value of the airbase in a relatively secure area on Russia's southern flank—an area which is subject to severe Russian pressure. There is the oil flowing from the Arabian Peninsula, which is of great material and strategic importance to the free world. Finally, there is the belief that Saudi Arabia can play a key role within the Arab world against Communist infiltration in that area.

The opponents of these policies set forth some practical arguments. They hold that Saudi Arabia gains a great measure of protection against the threat of communism from the existence of the base on her territory, and also from the $50 million military aid program from the United States. Saudi Arabia also derives a huge income from its oil, which runs into several hundred million dollars annually. Thus, there is no need for the United States to make further concessions to that country.

Finally there is the question of American foreign policy objectives as measured against the so-called spiritual position of Saudi Arabia in the Middle East. Our purposes, ironically enough, are pointed up in the Eisenhower-Saud communique: both parties avowed a determination to settle Middle Eastern problems under the U. N. Charter and to oppose the use of force from any source to settle disputes. They added that any aggression would be opposed by the principles and purposes of the U. N.

The American Government stands for political stability in the Middle East, which includes also the peaceful existence of Israel and the end of efforts, like those of Nasser, to master Arab nationalism for extremist purposes. Yet, despite this understanding with the United States, Saudi Arabia remains at war with Israel and, like the other Arab States, calls for Israel's eventual destruction. It seeks jet planes, larger and more tanks, and enough arms to double its present force of 15,000 men. I ask in all sincerity: For what purposes does Saudi Arabia need these arms? And I also ask of our own Government: In agreeing to permit Saudi Arabia to discriminate against our own citizens, how do we enhance our foreign policy objectives? Aren't we encouraging other nations to do the same and to pursue discriminatory practices against our people? Is this the way we uphold democratic principles?

Our failure to confront such discrimination and to deal with it properly feeds Arab-Israel tension by enabling Arab extremists to argue that they can get United States aid and protection against communism, and at the same time prepare themselves for war against Israel. Instead of acting to check the power of Nasser, who is leading the anti-Israel movement, we are actually fostering the conditions under which his power grows and sustains itself. This is the path to further flare-ups, like that of last year, and of permanent political instability. It does not really enhance our national interest. On the contrary, it jeopardizes our interests in the Middle East.

Administration's Interest Rise Proposal Aimed at REA, the Family Farmer's Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, this administration's antifarmer program is taking many and devious forms. The latest is its proposal to increase interest rates on Government loans—which is aimed directly at the family farmer's friend, REA. By increasing interest rates at this time, the farmer's thin pocketbook, already reduced to a shadow by the administration's farm program, will be further flattened.

During the farmers' good years, REA turned back to the Treasury of the United States according to REA's 1956 annual report, a total of $48 million. Taxpayers please take note. Even in "big business lingo" a profit of $48 million in 22 years "ain't exactly hay."

Today the family farmer is fighting for his life against the "big farmer" administration. Now that the family farmer is down, private power interests and others, by their tremendous unethical and false campaigns against their "competition," have induced the administration—with very little difficulty—to deliver another major body blow against the farmer—by proposing to increase his costs still further for his electricity which these same power interests have never been interested in or willing to supply themselves.

Quite apart from the rank discrimination involved, nobody is fooled as to the end purpose of this broad proposal—least of all the members of the cooperatives and the farmers themselves. Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert an excellent editorial on the subject from the pages of the Rural Electrification magazine, June issue:

ADMINISTRATION INTEREST RISE PROPOSAL AIMED AT REA

An administration move to increase interest rates on Government loans was aimed at the rural-electrification program, according to a White House announcement May 28. It evidently stemmed from a protest raised by the Indiana State government against a generation and transmission loan application sought by nine rural electric cooperatives of that State. Indiana's Gov. Harold Handley sent the State's public servic commission members to see Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson about the loan the previous week.

NRECA immediately issued statements defending the right of REA to make such loans, and denied that there is any justification for raising REA's interest rates.

President Eisenhower announced that the administration is drafting a bill to forbid all Government lending agencies from making loans at less than the interest rate paid by the Treasury on its borrowings, through party congressional leaders. The announcement said Republican leaders were discussing REA loan policy when the proposed legislaiton was mentioned by Eisenhower. Representative CHARLES A. HALLECK, of Indiana, was reported to have raised the issue over a loan being sought by Hoosier Cooperative Energy, Inc.

General Manager Clyde T. Ellis told reporters, "the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association is unequivocably opposed to President Eisenhower's recommendation to increase interest rates to farmer-owned and controlled rural electric cooperatives. REA is a creature of Congress, and we believe it is up to Congress to establish interest rates in the light of the benefits of the loan program to the public welfare.

ARTIFICIALLY CREATED JUSTIFICATION

"The alleged justification for increasing the 2 percent interest rates now charged by the Rural Electrification Administration is one artifically created by the Eisenhower administration. The real remedy is to put a brake on inflationary interest rates, which

will increase the cost of power to 4 million farm families they serve."

The annual report of the REA Administrator for fiscal 1956 states that the Government had accrued a net profit totaling $48 million from REA lending operations since the inception of the program 22 years ago, due to borrowers paying interest rates higher than cost of Government money most of those years.

"The Government has never lost a dime on REA loans to the co-ops," declared Ellis, "but it will if this interest increase goes through." Rural electric cooperatives have borrowed $3 billion from REA, and have achieved one of the finest repayment records in the history of American financing. As of March 31, 1957, the rural electric cooperatives had repaid $450,241,415 of principal and had paid $275,347,019 in interest on their loans. In addition, rural electric cooperatives have paid $104.7 million in advance of their amortization schedules. Moreover, the total amount delinquent is less than one-twelfth of 1 percent of all the money loaned to farmers, approximately $178,000.

In the face of this, Ellis declared, "The average cost of money to the Treasury has been increased from 1.9 percent in 1948 to an average of 2.7 percent last February—not 3.5 percent as Senator STYLES BRIDGES, (New Hampshire), claimed in the White House announcement—and it is still rising as a result of banker-dictated hard-money policies. The administration's hard-money, high-interest policies are inflationary and destructive to small business and farmers, consumers, home builders, and purchasers, and are increasing the cost of Government preventing the construction of needed schools and hospitals, and has increased the Federal interest burden by over $700 million each year.

2 PERCENT BRITISH LOAN CONTRACTS

The administration has just negotiated a British loan of $4.4 billion at 2 percent. This will run through the year 2007. Principal payments on original loans were deferred for the first 5 years—and no interest was charged at all for the first 5 years. Moreover, under the renegotiated loan, the British are entitled to waive up to seven of the annual principal payments and interest installments when they fall due. "Domestic policies should not be subordinated to foreign policies in this discriminatory manner," Ellis asserted.

"To increase REA interest rates to 3 percent is a 50-percent increase in debt service for the farmer-owned co-ops," Ellis observed. "This is indefensible when farmers are already hard pressed by the cost-price squeeze. Farmers' net income in 1956 was only $11.6 billion as compared to $16 billion in 1951—a drop of 27.5 percent. Compared to this, interest income skyrocketed 56 percent, from 1951 to 1956—from $11.6 billion to $18.2 billion as a result of the hard-money policy."

Report of Committee on Industrial Water Use, Pollution Abatement, Wildlife, and Recreation to the 44th National Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the report which was made to the 44th annual national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress by the newly created committee on industrial water use, pollution abatement, wildlife, and recreation.

This is one of the most important committees which will function at our national convention—

Said Representative OVERTON BROOKS, of Louisiana, president of the congress, in announcing its appointment.

The purposes of the committee are to formulate a policy and program for the conservation, development, and use of our water resources and the abatement of pollution; and to suggest ways and means whereby the National Rivers and Harbors Congress may better cooperate and coordinate its efforts with those of the advocates of water conservation and pollution abatement.

I have served for many years as vice president of the congress for the State of Minnesota and was honored to be asked by President BROOKS to act as chairman of this committee which it is agreed by all can render a distinct service to the people of the United States.

The committee met with a full attendance on May 16, 1957, and continued in session that day and the next, reaching complete agreement on its proposed report. On May 18, at the final session of the congress, I presented the committee's report which was unanimously agreed to by the convention.

Subsequently, I am informed, the board of directors of the congress acted favorably on a motion to make this a permanent, standing committee, and I am sure I speak for all of its members when I say that we shall be glad to continue our labors in the months and years ahead.

I was impressed by the keen interest shown by the committee members representing the many diverse geographic areas of our country and it was obvious that there is a growing awareness throughout the country of the increasing importance of this complex problem of sound water-use and pollution-abatement policies and programs.

The report of our committee is as follows:

NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, 44TH NATIONAL CONVENTION, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 16–18, 1957

(Report of committee on industrial water use, pollution abatement, wildlife, and recreation)

PREAMBLE

The history of this Nation's growth is paralleled by a history of action to conserve our natural resources. As it has become necessary to the national welfare, measures have been taken to conserve and, where feasible, restore our lands, forests, and minerals. In recent years there has been increasing public concern directed toward the conservation and restoration of the Nation's fresh water supplies. The Nation is becoming water conscious, aware that water is a major factor in all of man's relationships to his environment and that an adequate supply of usable water is essential to our economic future and way of life. Stated simply, the water resource problem is one of making the essentially constant water supply of the Nation meet an ever increasing demand, and of providing the right quantity of the right quality at the places where it is needed. Water use for all purposes is on the increase, particularly for municipal, industrial, irrigation, and recreational purposes, and for transportation of wastes. It is estimated that by 1975 the Nation's population will be in the range of 220 million persons, and industrial capacity will be double the 1950 levels. Public water supply use will probably increase from 17 billion gallons per day to 30 billion gallons per day, and industrial water use, excluding power, will increase from 60 billion gallons per day to 115 billion gallons per day. The estimated use of water for irrigation will reach 170 billion gallons per day—50 billion gallons per day more than is now used. By 1975, this country will require an increase in the current water supply of 145 percent—equal to the additional supply of 145 New York Cities, requiring the flow of about 11 Colorado Rivers. Another, and probably the fastest growing use for water is recreational use, for boating, swimming, camping, and fishing. As our economy expands, leisure time increases, and population grows, and better highways make travel safer and more convenient, it will become necessary to provide more and more water areas suitable and available for recreational uses.

To meet foreseeable water needs will require a variety of conservation practices. Among these is the prevention and control of water pollution and the regulation of runoffs to even out stream flows. In addition to important public health values, water pollution control is essential to permit safe reuse of the water for all legitimate purposes as streams flow from city to city.

Whereas acute water shortages exist and severe water shortages are in prospect over wide areas of the Nation unless bold, preventive actions are taken for maximum conservation and utilization of waters; and

Whereas pollution causes water shortages as effectively as droughts and surface and ground water are being progressively deteriorated by manmade pollution to an extent that pollution abatement is now a major integral part of water conservation; and

Whereas corrective conservation and pollution abatement practices are lagging behind the increasing need for water; be it

Resolved, That the committee on industrial water use, pollution abatement, wildlife and Recreation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress strongly urge a positive Federal-State-local cooperative program for the maximum conservation of waters for essential uses, including effective abatement of pollution, which program includes the support of:

1. Policies relating to conservation and pollution abatement as set forth in the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy, January 1956:

"The committee endorses the established policy of primary State responsibility for controlling water pollution at its source. This is a traditional State responsibility and should continue. The Federal Government should assume its share of responsibility for pollution caused by its establishments. However, because of the broad public concern with water pollution and the growth and seriousness of the problem, the committee recommends that the Federal Government assist the States through research, investigation, and technical assistance in the solving of pollution problems at their source.

"Where the effects of pollution are interstate and where regulatory actions by the States or interstate agencies are ineffective, the Federal Government should prescribe basic criteria and participate in the planning of long-range programs for the abatement of pollution. Such action would be in addition to the enforcement of Federal statutes applicable to the abatement of pollution in interstate waters."

2. The principles as set forth in section 205 and 206 of S. 497, 85th Congress, authorizing the provision of storage in reservoir projects—

(a) for present and anticipated future needs for municipal and industrial water supplies under the method of reimbursement when contract for use of such impoundment water is made, and

(b) to increase needed low flows downstream to the extent warranted at present or during the economic life of the project with such low flows determined on the basis of widespread general benefits;

3. Practical methods for stimulating construction of necessary water pollution abatement works with Federal and State financial incentive aids;

4. Comprehensive programs of water-resource development, including flood control, irrigation needs, recreation and water-pollution control, and other beneficial uses, geared to meet the future water requirements of the regions, in accordance with State law and interstate or basin compacts or agreements;

5. A joint effort to intensify conservation and water-pollution control efforts with Federal, State, interstate, and local responsibilities and authorities exercised at the lowest practical level consistent with the regional and national interests involved; and

6. Reuse of water to develop the maximum conservation and utilization of existing sources to help meet the increasing water requirements; and

7. A program to ascertain, assemble, and disseminate in useful form basic data relative to surface and ground-water resources and potential water resources by use of reservoirs.

Chairman: Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK, Chisholm, Minn.

Secretary: Dr. Daniel Bergsma, past president, association of State and Territorial Health Officers.

MEMBERS

New England division: Walter G. White, chairman, water resources board, State of New Hampshire, Concord, N. H.

North Atlantic division: George R. Shanklin, chief engineer and acting director, division of water policy and supply, State of New Jersey, Trenton, N. J.

South Atlantic division: Miles J. Smith, vice chairman, North Carolina Board of Conservation and Development, Salisbury, N. C.; Harry H. Saunders, vice president, St. Joe Paper Co., St. Joe, Fla.

Southwestern division: Judge J. E. Sturrock, general manager, Texas Water Conservation Association, Austin, Tex.

Lower Mississippi Valley division: Leonard N. White, engineer, Arkansas Geological and Conservation Commission, Little Rock, Ark.; Calvin T. Watts, assistant director, Department of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La.

North Central division: Lynn F. Baldwin, chairman, Michigan Water Resources Commission, Lansing, Mich.

Missouri River division: Milo W. Hoisveen, chief engineer, North Dakota Water Commission, Bismarck, N. Dak.

Ohio River division: Laban P. Jackson, commissioner of conservation, State of Kentucky, Frankfort, Ky.

North Pacific division: Herbert G. West, executive vice president, Inland Empire Waterways Association, Walla Walla, Wash.

South Pacific division: Walter G. Schulz, division chief engineer, division of design and construction, Department of Water Resources, State of California, Sacramento, Calif.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

American Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, last week, on June 12, the distinguished Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] spoke in Hartford before the Hartford Chamber of Commerce. He was introduced by Mr. William H. Mortensen, former mayor of Hartford, and also, in part, by George J. Ritter, corporation counsel of the city of Hartford.

The address of the Senator from New Jersey was a very significant one. I have prepared excerpts from it which I think would be of great interest to Members of the Senate and to others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. For that reason I ask unanimous consent that both the address and the introductory remarks by both gentlemen be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the introductory remarks and the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRODUCTION OF UNITED STATES SENATOR CLIFFORD CASE, OF NEW JERSEY, BY WILLIAM H. MORTENSEN, FORMER MAYOR OF HARTFORD, AT ANNUAL MEETING OF HARTFORD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, HOTEL STATLER, HARTFORD, CONN., JUNE 12, 1957

In the summer and fall of 1954 we had a number of exciting and close-fought political campaigns in this country. But none of them was more spectacular or more closely engaged public interest the Nation over than the battle for the United States senatorship in New Jersey. The winner of that important contest is our principal speaker tonight.

You might suppose, from his Phi Beta Kappa key, that our guest of honor tonight belongs in the venerable American tradition of the scholar in politics. That is hardly an adequate designation. It takes something more than scholarship to accomplish what he has done on the American scene.

He has been a phenomenally successful political candidate. In fact he has held public office continuously since 1938—a remarkable achievement when you consider that he doesn't come from the Deep South.

For 20 years his climb has been steady: Five years on the council of his native Rahway; 2 years in the legislature of his State; 9 years a Congressman from his New Jersey district, and now in the midst of his first term in that most august of legislative assemblies, the United States Senate.

And he seems to have gotten better as he went along. On his fifth successive trip to Congress, his fellow citizens of the sixth district packed him off to Washington with a majority of nearly 55,000 votes. This was 20,000 higher than any other Congressman from the district had ever received. In fact, 10,000 more than the voters of the district gave his good friend, President Eisenhower, in the same campaign. (You certainly don't have to have the political savvy of Ned Allen or John Bailey to appreciate that kind of batting average at the polls.)

I spoke of the gentleman's academic distinction, but, obviously a candidate has to have something more than good grades at college to win such a massive and continuing mandate from his fellow citizens.

In addition to a first-rate mind and a willingness to work around the clock, he brings to politics and government the warmth of heart and human understanding without which no candidate can for very long retain the confidence of the people. A practical idealist, he has shown himself consistently eager to seek out the right thing, and then to do his best to make the right thing the possible thing.

It gives me much pleasure to present him to you: Lawyer, humanitarian and an ornament to American politics and government, United States Senator from New Jersey, the Honorable CLIFFORD CASE.

REMARKS MADE BY GEORGE J. RITTER, CORPORATION COUNSEL OF CITY OF HARTFORD, AT HARTFORD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BANQUET, JUNE 12

Mr. Toastmaster, Senator CASE, invited guests, on behalf of Mayor Cronin, Acting Mayor Parskey, and the city of Hartford, I am pleased to bring you greetings tonight.

As a transplanted Jerseyite, with some deep roots—and lots of relatives—still left in the Garden State, I am particularly happy to extend a warm welcome to our speaker of the evening.

A double coincidence has served to help focus my close attention on the Senator's public life. First, the Senator and I are fellow alumni of Rutgers University. Second, one of my closest friends, a former classmate at Rutgers, is the Senator's top assistant.

Accordingly, I have followed with much interest, Senator CASE's vigorous support of such important measures as our mutual security program, Federal aid to education, protection of civil rights, the President's program of atoms for peace, and adequate funds for our vital United States information program abroad.

His record, previously as a Congressman, now as a Senator, explains why many responsible and influential citizens cross party lines to support him at election time.

Senator CASE, I'm happy to be able to assure you that your approach to politics finds great support in our Hartford community. Indeed, our toastmaster, Mr. Mortensen has brought to local public life a system of values, and an ability to stick to these values such as distinguishes your own career.

Senator, I know you will share much of yourself with us this evening. In return, I hope that in your few hours with us you will be able to sense our high regard for you. Perhaps this will serve in some small measure to reinforce you in your most vital and demanding job.

PARTIAL TEXT OF REMARKS BY SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE, REPUBLICAN, OF NEW JERSEY, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER, HARTFORD, CONN., JUNE 12, 1957

Like everything else, American democracy suffers from the defects of its own virtues. And the very fact that our democracy has been so successful has magnified these inherent defects.

If democracy—government by consent—is to work, the people must achieve a working consensus on the issues they consider truly important. In America we have achieved this consensus to a remarkable degree. But with it has developed a willingness to conform, a pressure for conformity, a tendency toward orthodoxy in action and thought, which, unless consciously and continuously corrected, could mean disaster over the long pull.

There are those who reject democracy on this very ground. But, for me, surely for the great majority of Americans, that alternative is unthinkable. Our problem is to maintain our American consensus, so essential to government by consent, and still find ways to prevent the smothering of the individual and to promote individual initiative and diversity without divisiveness. This we must have if our society is to continue to grow and expand and to adapt itself to the changing needs of our people in this modern age.

This is one of the reasons why our continued support for the civil rights and freedoms embodied in our Constitution and the Bill of Rights is so essential. These rights, in our view, are inherent in each individual because he is a human being. Beyond that, the maintenance of each individual's rights is essential to our society because only as the rights of the individual are thus protected will society have the benefit of the spontaneous contributions which can only be made by men who are truly free.

Another defect inherent in our successful democracy is our insistence that the great decisions be made by the people as a whole. Both because of our egalitarian tradition and our commonsense recognition of man's capacity for evil as well as for good, we refuse to entrust power to any single individual or group. We reject any notion of an elite ruling class.

This insistence is indeed soundly based. But once refusal to allow an elite to make the decisions for us can be disastrous if we as a people are unwilling to assume the burden of making those decisions for ourselves and in a responsible manner. If as a people we fail to meet this responsibility, we shall certainly destroy our democratic way of life. And in this thermonuclear age our failure in this regard may well spell the end of civilization.

When errors of judgment or lack of wisdom in dealing with the great issues carry such fateful penalties, an alert and informed public opinion becomes more than ever essential. Two examples may help to make clear by meaning.

No one who has followed the hearings on defense appropriations can help but feel deep concern at the interservice rivalry they so clearly reveal. Conflicting claims, duplication of effort, the constant battle for public attention, all point up the absence of any true unification.

Even more important, they indicate the lack of an overall defense policy or doctrine under which the role and mission of each service is clearly defined. Yet surely nothing could be more important to the long-term security of the country than its ability to protect itself against small as well as big aggression.

The unfortunate fact, however, is that the battle for budgetary priority has inevitably tended to emphasize the "bigger

bang for a buck." The development of ever more powerful and complex mechanisms has overshadowed the problems involved in recruiting and keeping the skilled manpower required to operate them. Most significant of all, in the opinion of responsible authorities, it has weakened our ability to defend ourselves by something less than all-out war.

Closely allied is the problem of finding ways to lessen the threat of nuclear catastrophe. As you know, talks are now going on in London looking toward the possibility of breaking through the unhappy impasse in which we have been living for some years.

I will not here attempt to discuss this question. My point is that in this, as in the other case I cited, there are no easy or dogmatic answers. They require a thoughtful objective approach, keeping always in mind the long-range interests of our country and people. They require a willingness to explore all possible avenues to agreement as well as a sustained effort. But the effort can succeed only as it is backed by the understanding and support of the people. And this in turn largely depends on the degree to which the relevant information is freely available and freely discussed.

Each one of us has responsibility for the course we follow in matters of this kind. If you and I are to participate intelligently, we must first of all want to. And, second, of course, we need facts and an opportunity to examine different points of view.

I am one of those who believe the American people have nothing to fear from a free exchange of ideas and opinion. I do not think our security is threatened by exposure to a Khrushchev on television. Indeed his appearance seems to me to provide a chance to press for an equal opportunity for an American to be heard on Soviet airways. We should, in my view, welcome such opportunities just as I think that wherever possible it is preferable for us to have the reports and accounts of our own newsmen even in such a country as Red China.

In short, I do not think we need ever fear the facts, whether they concern radiation hazards, the condition of our Armed Forces, or the strategic alternatives we face. Indeed we must ever seek the facts for, in the largest sense, our survival as a nation and democracy is at stake.

The "Open Curtain" Proposal—Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two very excellent editorials on the "open curtain" proposal—one from the Baltimore Evening Sun, and one from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of June 13, 1957]

CALLING KHRUSHY

Over last weekend Senate Republic Leader KNOWLAND and Senate Democratic Leader JOHNSON made proposals designed to call Soviet Boss Khrushchev's bluff.

We'll bet a $7 bill against a repudiated Soviet government bond that Khrushy won't lay down the hand.

It was his professed belief in the recent TV interview that communism was so popular of itself that the regimes in Hungary, Poland, and East Germany would flourish even with withdrawal of Soviet troops and that in Russia nothing could weaken it.

Senator KNOWLAND said in effect: How about a test? Would you agree to get out of Hungary if Norway would agree to become neutral or get out of Poland if we got out of Greece?

Senator JOHNSON proposed free and unjammed radio and TV time for American spokesmen to reach into homes in the Soviet Union and the satellites in return for equal time on American air waves for Soviet speakers.

As we suggested above, we think there's not a chance either proposal will be accepted.

But it's good to see Senate leaders of both parties engaged in showing up the emptiness of Khrushy's words.

[From the Baltimore Evening Sun of June 13, 1957]

CLASH OF IDEAS

The very fact that Nikita Khrushchev agreed to appear on an American television program should have set State Department brains to work on the problem of exploiting this new and large chink in the wall separating Russia from the Western World. Instead it has been Senator LYNDON JOHNSON who took the initiative in pressing for wider reciprocal exchanges. In his address Saturday night he pointed out that now might be the time for the United States to try for frequent, even weekly appearances of American spokesmen on Soviet radio and television. Under his plan Russians would have the same access to American audiences. Industrialists, farmers, labor leaders, professional men and others could participate, he pointed out. For the first time the Russians might get a clear, undistorted—and unjammed—version of different aspects of American policy and practice.

The Secretary of State has given Mr. JOHNSON his blessing and congressional support is building up for the proposal. If the Russians should express a willingness to put the bars noticeably lower than they have kept them in the past, it would be a clear gain for the West. Except for a handful of diplomats and propaganda officials, very few Russians have had access to undistorted versions of Western proposals and policies. In this country, on the other hand, Russian broadcasts have been available on short wave, unjammed, for any who care to listen. We have little to fear in any more vigorous clash of opinion.

Some of the difficulties of working out a practical arrangement are obvious. One became aparent when the subject was discussed at the summit conference in Geneva 2 years ago. Western proposals offered at that time envisaged the free flow of information—and persons—who represented only themselves, as farmers, journalists, doctors, professors or whatever. The Soviet counterview was based upon an exchange of official delegations, under the close control of government officials. Later, at the subsequent foreign ministers conference at Geneva in the fall of 1955, more specific Western proposals for dispensing with jamming of broadcasts, for an exchange of uncensored monthly broadcasts on world developments, and for elimination of censorship were offered.

Only the second of these three met with even a partially positive response. Soviet intervention in Hungary washed out whatever promise there seemed to be of developing this. But the Khrushchev speech has raised the question once again, in concrete form. And it is good to see both Senator JOHNSON, and belatedly the State Department, recognizing that something may be gained by pressing the matter.

Address Delivered by Hon. Joseph S. Clark, of Pennsylvania, Before the National Housing Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] addressed the National Housing Conference last night in Washington. The conference could not have chosen a more appropriate speaker on the subject of housing. His long-time interest in housing matters, buttressed by his outstanding record as mayor of Philadelphia, have made Senator CLARK an authority in this field. I am glad to be associated in all aspects of his work for better low-cost housing.

Our current national housing crisis which our colleague discussed last night in his address is more than a sufficient reason for Senate adoption of S. 2159, Senator CLARK's bill, which I joined in cosponsoring, and which would create a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senator CLARK's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK, DEMOCRAT OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE JUNE 17, 1957, STATLER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I am glad to have this chance to become better acquainted with you of the National Housing Conference. Having been on the Housing Subcommittee of the Senate for the last 6 months, I have developed an even greater respect for your organization than I had before.

In that committee, the bankers tell us what is good for the people who lend for housing. The real estate boards tell us what is good for the people who trade in housing. The builders tell us what is good for the people who build housing. But when Ira Robbins or Lee Johnson or Bill Wheaton steps up to testify for the National Housing Conference, then we know we are going to hear about what is good for the people who live in housing—which is, after all, what houses are for.

We meet at a time when, as all of you know, the housing situation is literally going from bad to worse. Seven mayors came before our committee a few weeks ago representing the American Municipal Association and the United States Conference of Mayors and told us that in virtually every city of the Nation, the slums and blight that are the shame of the 20th century are spreading faster than they are being cured. We are scarcely building houses as fast as families are being formed plus normal losses of housing units—so we are not rehousing the 5 to 7 million families living in places not fit for human beings. To really make progress in improving housing standards, there is general agreement that we need each year at least half again as many houses as are now being built, and the best authorities I know reckon we really need twice as many.

We need more houses—and we need cheaper houses. The price of new homes has been rising recently much faster than family income. Forty-five percent of the increase in the cost of living since 1952 has been due to the 13 percent rise in the cost of shelter, including rent. And if present trends continue we will have, within a few years, not just a housing shortage, but a housing famine—with all the effect that that will have in pushing prices even further upward and in undermining family life in America.

I am not going to try tonight to set forth the answers to the question of what, exactly, should be done. There are experts enough in this room to devise the answers. What we are lacking is not ideas but a political climate in which good ideas can be translated into action. I want therefore to describe a political framework within which those who understand housing, like yourselves, can come up with your solutions, and we can then put them into effect.

The first essential element in this framework is a comprehension where it counts that housing is, first of all, human environment. Homes are a social, not just an economic, fact. Housing must be thought of first as people in need, not as a commodity, an industry, something to be financed and traded, from which rents and profits can be gotten.

Certainly, we need a healthy housing industry. But when we consider any housing measure, we need to ask not only will it produce the highest profits but will it provide the most homes and the best homes, within a cost range that the public can afford?

Unhappily, this is not the way the question is being asked these days.

I believe it is correct to say that no significant new departure in the field of housing has been presented to Congress by this administration—certainly not this year—that was opposed by any significant combination of those who make up the housing industry. In fact, you can sit in the committee hearings, and having heard what these groups oppose, you can fairly well predict what the administration will oppose.

If we make our housing policy subservient at all times to the short-run welfare of those who finance and trade in housing as a commodity, we may as well give up. Their interests are not necessarily identical with the needs of the people for more and cheaper housing. In the absence of Government support, there is more profit and less risk in high-cost than in low-cost housing. There are even groups whose self-interest would lie in maintaining a housing shortage, notably landlords and bankers, because shortages produce higher rents and the willingness to pay higher interest rates because demand forces prices up. Witness the opposition to any kind of direct lending by the Government to increase the supply of housing. Witness the warnings issued from time to time by various segments of the housing industry against the dangers of overbuilding—which from the standpoint of social needs is impossible as long as millions of families live in housing unfit for human habitation. Look behind the fight against public housing, and among other influences you will see the interests of those who profit from the slum homes that ought to be replaced.

Housing is far too important to be left to the housing industry and the banks without making sure that their interests do coincide in each particular aspect with the interests of the consumers of housing. The character of our housing supply has a profound effect on the whole character of a city and of all the people in it. When there is conflict, the general good must override the private good.

The second element in our political framework must be a willingness, more than that, a determination, to use the instrumentalities of Government to help get the job done.

We may have thought that decision was made in 1949 when the Congress adopted, and the President approved, a declaration of national housing policy. That policy acknowledged the responsibility of the Federal Government to use its programs and resources to help realize "as soon as feasible the goal of a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family."

That is a good statement. We could hardly improve on it today. The only trouble is that, as an expression of our actual national policy in 1957, it is a dead letter.

The exact extent of our housing needs may be argued, but that there is a shortage, and that it is an overwhelming shortage, is not controverted. Yet, who is doing anything about it? The prevailing attitude in those places from which our national housing policy should be aggressively directed is, I am afraid, one of brazen feet-dragging. The HHFA just does not have the will to solve the housing crisis. Their proposals, when you boil them down, amount to just letting well enough alone, or, if pressed, just raise the interest rate. That's all that's needed, they say, to get houses built, as if slum families are ever going to be able to outbid General Motors in the money market. And I regret to say that the Congress, while it seems somewhat more alive to human misery than does the administration, is not going to write a bill this year that will come anywhere near to what is needed.

Why is this? Well, there will always be those among us, I suppose, who believe that if they just don't look at unpleasant facts they will go away. But, beyond that, we still have to struggle with a pervasive reluctance in both the executive branch and in the Congress to the whole idea of setting social priorities in the disposition of our national resources and the guidance of our economy, even when we know very well things aren't going right without them. This is the socially obsolete philosophy of the 18th century that priorities shall be determined by the impersonal mechanics of the market place.

Look what happens to those who suffer from this intellectual hangover. When they are confronted with a chart which shows, for example, that manufacturing plant construction has gone up 43 percent in the last 2 years, utilities up 41 percent, nonresidential construction up 14 percent, and housing down 15 percent, they have to say, in effect, that whatever is is good—because that's what the market place decided.

For myself, I have no faith in the ultimate social wisdom of the market place. I think God put wisdom in human minds to use, not to abdicate. The splendid cities of good homes that Americans should have in this century will rise only through conscious acts of man.

The fact is, of course, that housing is one field where nobody is really honestly preaching laissez-faire. We have Government intervention in housing on a massive scale. We have FHA, VA, HHFA, Fannie May, and so on, and the last thing that those who denounce Government intervention as socialism want us to do is to take them at their word. If we did, and abolished those agencies, we would hear an urgent cry for a return to socialism from some of the most unexpected people.

So let it not be argued that the issue is Government intervention versus no intervention. We have crossed that bridge. The housing economy is not going to be left alone. It is going to be influenced, and guided. The question is simply whether it is going to be guided intelligently and well and in the interests of the men, women, and children to be housed.

There are some words of Lincoln that President Eisenhower has sometimes quoted with approval. They are:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do for themselves—in their separate and individual capacities."

I suggest to the latter-day Lincolns of this new, modern Republican Party that if they wish to lend to these fine words substance they can begin with housing.

Once we resolve to make serving people our guide and resolve to get the job done, then we can proceed to inventory our needs and analyze the market.

Who are the people who are ill housed? In general, the people in the upper third of the income scale can get good housing—although it may be in developments whose planning may be atrocious.

But the lower and middle-income families are not well served. And this raises a basic philosophic question about what the role of Government should be.

If we look back two decades, we will see that our housing programs were then reasonably balanced. We set up the FHA to take the risk out of mortgage lending to those who could afford new housing, but we also set up a strong and vital public-housing program for the lowest income groups who could not afford private housing. But 20 years ago was about the last time we had such balance. Since then, the FHA program has consistenly been enlarged and made bigger and more active and has been backed up with Fannie May, while public housing has with equal consistency and dedication been gradually strangled to death. New wrinkles have been added year by year to guarantee more private mortgages, but the principal new wrinkles in our housing for the lower income groups have been ingenious new restrictions.

This trend reached a climax of sorts this year. The Administration asked for $600 million more for insuring mortgages and asked that the limit be raised to push even more of the assistance into the higher brackets. At the same time, it asked nothing at all for public housing and proposed a cutback which would bring slum clearance and urban renewal to a grinding halt. The House of Representatives then did the administration one better. It added another $1.5 billion to Fannie May, and it passed a punitive resolution designed to restrict the public housing program even further—which surely must be this year's leading example of how to beat a dead horse.

The House amendment to cripple this instrument which is indispensable in the solution of the slum problems of the great metropolitan cities was sponsored, incidently, by a Congressman from a district whose largest city has a population of 52,093.

So the third necessary element in the political framework for housing progress is a determination to restore the balance in our housing programs. Government exists to serve the poor as well as the relatively well-to-do; and if we provide billions for an active Fannie May for the suburban middle class—which I agree we should do—we are honor-bound to have also a working program to improve the housing of the urban poor.

For the middle-income families the problem is one of bringing down the price. We cannot bring down the cost of land, and there is not much we can do—not quickly, anyway—about construction costs. But there is one highly flexible item in the cost equation, and that is the price of money. What can be done by reducing the interest rates and extending the amortization period is a revelation to anyone who has not studied it before. On a $12,000 house, increasing the term from 25 to 40 years and lowering the interest rate from 5½ to 4 percent will reduce the payments by $23 a month and bring the $12,000 house within the reach of al-

most half, instead of only 30 percent, of our people. Think what that would mean toward reviving the building industry and improving our national standards of housing.

Of course, you won't get an interest rate of 4 percent without either reversing the Government's high interest rate policy or passing on to middle-income families the advantages of the lower rates which the Government pays for money. Unhappily, neither of these things can be done except over the dead bodies of the organized money lenders and of the administration which reflects their views. But the Sparkman bill, which was incorporated in the Senate housing bill after my own moderate-income measure was defeated in committee, will be a start in this direction if the administration does not succeed in knocking it out of the bill that finally passes.

There remains the large segment of our population who cannot rent or buy decent housing even should the cost of money be brought down—the families theoretically eligible now for public housing. If we mean what we say about a decent home for every American family, then obviously those who cannot pay for such housing have to be subsidized.

So far, we have had just one means of subsidizing new housing for these families—the public housing program. Now I believe in public housing. I fought, with WAYNE MORSE and PAUL DOUGLAS and HUBERT HUMPHREY, the losing fight to authorize 200,000 starts this year, and I sponsored the amendments in the Senate bill to make our public housing program more workable. I would insist that nothing be done to impair the present public housing program unless and until a better one can be devised.

But I do believe a more effective one can be devised. Just as I have argued that the private interest should give way to the general interest when necessary, so I would argue that the public interest should be served with the greatest possible adherence to our traditional practices of free enterprise. The public housing program as now conceived and operated is unfortunately divorced from our private enterprise economy. In order to subsidize rent in good housing, it is not necessary to do it exclusively through publicly owned and publicly operated projects which set low-income people in a class apart in effect, institutionalizing them. I am impressed, as I know you are, with the proposals that Mr. Abrams made this afternoon. I think we should explore to the fullest the possibilities of subsidizing rental in new or reconditioned private as well as public housing, of scattering public housing units in normal neighborhoods, of permitting private or cooperative purchase of public units, and of subsidizing the purchase as well as the rental of decent homes. If we thus shift a large segment of our public housing load into the private-enterprise framework, I think we would be able to rally far more support for our efforts in each of our communities.

I agree with Henry Churchill that we need a rethinking and not a retinkering of public housing. It is my hope that the work which the Housing Subcommittee of the Senate undertakes this fall will be that kind of rethinking, and that we will develop some fresh ideas to present to the Senate when it convenes next year.

Concurrently, I urge your support for the bill which Senator JAVITS and seven other Senators have joined me in introducing, to create a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs in order to elevate the status of, and bring proper recognition to, these important programs.

The issues that confront us in the field of housing are part of the greater issue of our time—whether our economic institutions will be allowed to drift or whether they will be guided and shaped to serve men—all men.

In the long run, they must so serve. No economic system will ultimately survive which does not satisfy the basic needs of mankind—and among these are the need for shelter. When a free economy fails to serve, the solutions imposed are far more radical than the gentle social guidance and political invention that could have made it serve. Khrushchev expressed his own confidence in our inability to adapt when he predicted blatantly that the United States would be Socialist in 50 years. It is because we believe in our free economic system that we must use our God-given wisdom to so guide and influence it that it will work for the fullest benefit of all.

I think the awakening is already on its way. I have seen the renaissance of civic spirit and civic will in one city, and I know that you have seen it, and indeed helped create it, in others. I think that awakening is becoming an overwhelming force. In due time—and I believe the time is not too far ahead—that force arising in the great cities of America will sweep into the Nation's Capital, and there will be here, too, a renaissance of will and spirit. Then the Nation will join with its States and its communities, and together we will build in America the cities of bright homes that will be jewels instead of stains on the fabric of our civilization.

Address by Maj. Gen. Sheppard Crump at Dedication of Memorial at Bedford, Va., to the Members of the 29th Division in World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 16, there was dedicated at Bedford, Va., a new armory which stands as a memorial to the men of that area who served in World War I and World War II, and more particularly to those members of Company A, 116th Infantry, who gave their lives in the heroic assault on Omaha Beach on June 6, 1944.

The Honorable Bolling Lambeth, chairman of the Bedford Armory Committee, who presided at the ceremony, said the building was important not only because of the service it would render to the community, but also because it is built of an intangible substance called faith.

As a further tribute to the kind of faith which carried the men of Bedford and their associates in the 29th Division unhesitatingly into the hell of Omaha Beach, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the History of Company A, 116th Infantry, as it was presented at the dedicatory service by Col. H. B. Jordan, the company's first commander, who in addition to serving gallantly in World War I and World War II, has served his community as mayor and postmaster.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix the dedication address delivered by Maj. Gen. Sheppard Crump, the Adjutant General of Virginia.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEDFORD, VA., ARMORY DEDICATION ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. SHEPPARD CRUMP, THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Chairman, officials of the county and town of Bedford, Va., members of the 116th Infantry, especially company A of that regiment, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a distinct honor and privilege for me to be with you today and participate in the dedication of this modern and attractive armory, constructed for the benefit of your local unit of the Virginia National Guard (now Company A, 116th Infantry, 29th Division) and the citizens of this community from funds provided by the Federal and State government and local contribution, with the fine support and cooperation of Hon. Thomas B. Stanley, the Governor of Virginia, the general assembly of this Commonwealth, the officials of the county and town of Bedford, the citizens committee and the Veterans of Foreign Wars post, which donated the necessary land and was so active through its representative, Hon. R. Bolling Lambeth.

We are most grateful to the two United States Senators and Members of Congress from the State of Virginia for their interest and valuable assistance in our armory program. They have willingly and ably used their influence in presenting the need of armories to the Congress and appropriate committees of the Government, and I feel it is proper to express our appreciation of their splendid cooperation on this occasion.

We also gratefully acknowledge the excellent support of the National Guard Bureau and of our State architect and local contractor, to whom we are indebted for financial aid and plans for the construction of this handsome building.

The Bedford Armory is located on one of the most beautiful sites in Virginia. Standing here you can look from the extreme north to the extreme south and eastward to a continuation of rolling hills, valleys, and woodland, which it would be difficult to surpass anywhere; then to the northwest we have the beautiful peaks of Otter. In keeping with such a surrounding it should become a pleasing community project to landscape this entire area where not used for roads and parking and continue the beautiful scenery.

Many years ago when visiting Salt Lake City I noticed a short distance from the capitol a valley or canyon. It had been landscaped to be a thing of beauty and it was in memory of soldiers of Utah killed in World War I. It was most appropriately called The Vale of Memory, and was reserved, I understand, for meditation of those who wished to go off quietly and recall memories of beloved warriors who had given their all for State and country. I commend this thought to you in your planning.

This handsome armory is another memorial to the brave men from Bedford who served in World Wars I and II, particularly those noble heroes who so courageously fought and made the supreme sacrifice at Omaha Beach in the fateful invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944. Bedford already has the unique distinction of possessing a memorial, given to the Parker-Hoback Post, 29th Division Association, by the Government of France, which was presented by Rear Adm. Andre Jubelin, naval attaché at the French Embassy in Washington, on the 10th anniversary of that landing, in memory of the 23 gallant heroes of Company A, 116th Infantry, killed on that day, and other members of that unit who fought so valiantly in the defense of their country. It should be

remembered that the 29th Division served in World War I with equal valor and north of Verdun in 1918 made history. Your fellow citizen, Maj. W. Ben Davis, was there and severely wounded. It would not surprise me to learn that this is perhaps the only town in the United States so signally honored, and this was largely brought about, I understand, through the interest and efforts of a member of your press, who must be well loved and respected by the citizens of this town.

When Company A was first organized it occupied a building hardly worthy of the designation of armory, but they struggled along as best they could and developed one of the finest units in the National Guard. Some years later, through the efforts of the then unit commander, now Col. Harry B. Jordan, and other public-spirited citizens, armory space was provided in the basement of the Bedford Courthouse, which was such a great improvement over former facilities that everyone was pleased. However, it soon became apparent, with the growth of the company and the large amount of equipment, uniforms, arms, and other supplies furnished by the Federal Government, that the building was inadequate. Therefore, about 5 years ago, when the Federal Government began its armory construction plan, effort was made to include Bedford. Many faithful and patriotic citizens took part in this movement. For several years there were moments of encouragement and discouragement. Those with the military knowledge of the need of an armory did not give up but kept fighting. Finally, about 3 years ago it appeared that an armory would be obtained, and I wish to take this occasion to thank all who rendered such valuable assistance in this project. We see in this building the culmination of the dream of many of your citizens, and it is also a testimonial of what can be accomplished when the Federal Government, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the local community join hands in the determination to assure that its National Guard is properly housed.

It is estimated that the training of your unit, to include not only its strictly military operations but athletic events and an occasional party, should not require more than 2 nights a week. At other times, agreeable to the county officials of Bedford, it will be available for local community affairs under such terms as the county desires to make, as long as the armory is properly operated and a home provided for the training of the National Guard. I can see many uses that can be made of it, such as citizens or church meetings, and basketball games for the high school. If you have teams for both girls and boys, they may use separate gymnasiums at the same time, one at the school, and the other in the armory.

As most of you already know, the National Guard is the oldest military organization in the United States, in recognition of which a 3-cent stamp was issued by the Post Office Department in 1952. In the early days these troops were known as State militia or minute men, and they have served in every war in which this country has been engaged. They were with Washington at Valley Forge and Yorktown, fought with Lee, Jackson, and Stuart in the War Between the States, served in Cuba and the Philippines, on the Mexican border, in the dark forests of the Argonne, fought briefly on the grim Corregidor and saw the light of liberation, fought the enemy through the jungles and on the beaches, helped to raise our banner on the serene sir of Okinawa, scrambled over Normandy's beaches, crossed the 38th Parallel, flew Mig alley; and they have always rendered aid to the stricken in times of disaster, such as hurricanes, floods, fires, riots, and disorders, and have brought relief and comfort to many, and a more abundant, fuller, finer life to our youth. For three centuries they have been soldiers in war and civilians in peace, the custodian of security and honor now and forever. The record of the 29th Division, of which the 116th Infantry is a part, goes back to 1620 through the regimental history of Virginia troops, and their records are unequalled.

Plans are now under consideration by the Department of Defense for the reorganization of our Army, and since our neighboring States of North Carolina and Tennessee each have a complete division, Virginia should have the same. I shall soon take occasion to ask our representatives in Congress to lend us their valuable influence and assistance in obtaining a division.

I think this armory could well be used as the custodian for relics, pictures, and other things of historic and military interest, to perpetuate the memory of our noble ancestors and keep alive their heroic deeds of the past. I know of one armory in Virginia in which a most famous organization has relics and pictures reaching back to the period before the War Between the States, and if at any time members of Company A, 116th Infantry, are interested, I will be glad to arrange for them to inspect the museum.

It is my most fervent hope that this outstanding organization may always be mindful of the important role the National Guard has placed in all wars of their country through the ages, of the fine record established by their ancestors, and of the heritage it is theirs to maintain, and that they will at all times endeavor to move ever forward and live up to the traditions of the historic 116th Infantry.

In conclusion, may I also express the hope that this armory may be used and enjoyed by the local National Guard unit and the people of Bedford, and that everyone will realize the importance of the National Guard in the defense of State and country, and will support this local organization to the best of his ability and help the company commander, Capt. Ward A. Dean, build up the unit to full authorized strength, in order that he may reach the training efficiency so highly desired.

I thank you.

History of Company A, 116th Infantry Regiment

(By Col. H. B. Jordan)

The written record which is well known, and I feel, therefore, not necessary to include in this paper, is that Bedford County, throughout its history has accepted its part of military duty for the defense of this country and also for a cause it thought was right, and with such a proud record as our heritage we begin with the National Guard in Bedford.

On September 30, 1921 Federal recognition was given to Headquarters Company, 2d Provisional Infantry Regiment. This regiment was converted to the 116th Infantry Regiment, on March 8, 1922, and Headquarters Company was converted to Company A, 116th Infantry, Virginia National Guard, on March 15, 1922.

The company commanders have been Harry B. Jordan, September 1921 to June 1929; Frank K. Saunders, June 1929 to February 1938; James L. Patterson, February 1938 to December 1941; Taylor N. Fellers, December 1941 to June 6, 1944; E. Ray Nance, June 6, 1944 to November 1948; H. G. Danes, November 1948 to March 1951; and the present commander, Ward A. Dean, March 1951.

During the first few years, Company A was housed in various places in the town; not so bad as the usual armory situation existed, but with the erection of the new courthouse, considerable more space was made available for training and storage of equipment, and this greatly benefited the unit in most every way. During these times the board of supervisors and the town council were most considerate and understanding of the company's condition and situation.

During the period of encampments from 1922 to 1940 company A maintained somewhat of a consistent record in bringing home camp honors, namely: Regimental honor trophy, a silver cup awarded for being the best all-round company in the regiment, 6 out of 10 times it was awarded. This trophy was discontinued in 1934. The indoor rifle match, 1929 and 1930. The kitchen banner, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1932, and 1936. The street banner, 1927. This company had personnel on the State rifle team 1923, 1926, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1933, and 1934. Trophy for excellence in marksmanship for the first 2 years it was awarded, 1934 and 1935. In 1934 the William R. Hearst musketry trophy.

This unit served on State duty at Danville November 26, 1930, to January 24, 1931, and was on temporary State duty at Norfolk in 1927.

Company A, as a part of the 29th Infantry Division, was inducted into Federal service February 3, 1941 and reported to Fort Meade, Md., soon thereafter. Training areas were Fort Meade, A. P. Hill Military Reservation in Virginia, First Army Maneuvers in the Carolinas, Camp Blanding, Fla., and on September 27, 1942 sailed from Camp Kilmer, N. J., for assignment and training in England.

It was not by chance that the 116th Infantry Regiment was selected to be one of the first units to hit the beaches of northern France or that company A was selected to be one of the first company units to be in the forefront of the invasion; it was ordered, in my judgment, after a careful study of the units most likely to accomplish its purpose, consideration being given to background, training, spirit and ability to carry out an assigned mission. Success in an invasion is not marked by the yards gained, but how much of the enemy's plans were upset.

Whenever we hear Beaches of Normandy, Vierville-sur-Mer and Vire, we think of the fine action on the part of company A, which was the beginning of the final end to World War II and our hearts go out to those whose loved ones gave all in helping to make this attack a real beginning. And may we hope that never again will the lives of our young men be given in defense of France against some of its neighbors.

The 116th Infantry remained intact throughout the rest of the war, performing its duty where it was assigned and in January 1946 it was inactivated at Camp Kilmer, N. J. Company A was returned to Bedford and after its reorganization and Federal recognition January 15, 1947, the officers and men set about to rebuild the unit with strength in numbers and to maintain its training and efficiency.

Under the new Federal system it has been quite apparent for some time that the present housing of the unit was not in keeping with its performance and requirements. The present unit personnel, working with many civic-minded individuals and organizations have accomplished a great mission for the unit and community, in a wonderful all-out effort in securing the armory which is dedicated this day.

The present command of company A, 85 enlisted men and 6 officers as follows: Capt. Ward A. Dean, 1st Lt. Lester C. Robertson, 1st Lt. Raymond B. Overstreet, 1st Lt. Sandy C. Arrington, 1st Lt. Thomas F. Powers, and C. W. O. Jack W. Mitchell.

Company A will enter this new home with strength, good morale, excellent equipment, and training. A credit to Bedford County and a unit which the State of Virginia, in my judgment, will not hesitate to order out whenever it feels that the military should go into action.

The World Waits for a Clear American Voice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The World Waits for a Clear American Voice," which appeared in the Kansas City Star of Friday, June 14, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WORLD WAITS FOR A CLEAR AMERICAN VOICE

According to the current Khrushchev line Communist Russia will conquer the world by the force of an ideology and butter. In the role of man of peace the Communist leader plays down the nuclear weapons that frighten the uncommitted people of the world.

This looks like an attempt to steal the natural role of the United States. We are not fearful that Khrushchev will make any more world impression as a man of ideas and dairy herds than he made in neutral Finland. He can't, at least for the present.

The proper concern of the United States is in the fact that it is the Nation to catch the imagination of the world with ideas and human freedom. But, generally, American spokesmen take refuge in military power as men afraid.

The same day that Khrushchev spoke on ideologies the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's released testimony given by Gen. Lauris Norstad.

As an informed view for use by the Senate, no one could quarrel with the testimony. But, as released, this claim of ability to annihilate Russia fitted into the general pattern of threatening talk from official American sources. They have thundered with "containment," "massive retaliation" and obliteration. Necessarily they revolve around the hydrogen bomb that is a frightening subject for hundreds of millions of people in other countries.

When our people aren't waving the bomb they are likely to be waving the money bags. The persistent assumption that we can buy friendship with foreign aid hasn't paid off. In some cases the aid has been essential but it hasn't made friends.

Fortunately for us, Khrushchev's attempts to play on the peace and ideology theme are currently rather ludicrous. Almost in the same breath he showed himself resistant to anything that would make possible a start on disarmament. The same day his ideological partner, Mao Tse-tung, was quoted on the little misunderstandings over correct thinking that led to the death of 800,000 Chinese.

By this time most of the world's people know that it has always been necessary to implement the Communist ideology with weapons. They still remember how its "ideas" were carried to the Hungarians. In fact, no country has ever been won to communism by ideas. Without exception its spread has depended on violent revolution by a well-organized minority or an occupying army.

Yet, with every advantage, the United States gives the impression of being afraid of any conflict of ideas and falls back on bombs or money. We are in possession of a system, democracy, that has stirred the imaginations of men around the world. By force of ideas alone it has spread to many lands. Even among Asian peoples too backward for complete self-rule pictures of Abraham Lincoln hang in countless homes.

By no means do we think the United States should hide its military power under a bushel. Our survival may well depend on full Russian knowledge of what we can do. But we don't have to shout about it every week or two. As a Nation, we can remember Teddy Roosevelt and speak softly as we carry the big stick. Militarism gives no true picture of America. It was forced on us by necessity.

Our opportunity for leadership is in the great conception that created free and dynamic America. This is the power capable of stirring the imaginations of men of all races and faiths, even in the Ukraine or Siberia. Khrushchev can't steal this power from us. We can lose it only by deliberately throwing it away.

At the Geneva Conference the President stirred the world with his basic concept of American aspirations. And many Americans in high places recoiled from the Conference in fright. Opportunity still waits for responsible American leadership to speak to the world with a clear voice.

Miss Helen Pool, of Beaumont, Tex., Typifies Best in Teaching Profession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, there is no greater force for good in America than the right kind of schoolteacher. That is the kind Miss Helen Pool, of Beaumont, Tex., has been for 40 years.

Miss Pool retired this month from the teaching profession, and the Beaumont Journal took advantage of the occasion to pay her an editorial tribute that obviously expressed the view of many Beaumont people. I ask unanimous consent that the Journal editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO MORE SCHOOL BELLS FOR MISS POOL

Junker School, at 1112 Caldwell Street, won't be quite the same after June 15.

On that date, Miss Helen Pool, who has called the school her home since 1917, will hang up her paddle and reap the rewards of a well-earned retirement.

For 37 of those 40 years, Miss Pool has been the Junker principal. During that time she has been teacher, adviser, helper, and even a "mother" on numerous occasions to three generations of Beaumonters.

A spokesman for the teachers expressed the sentiment of many when she said: "The place she (Miss Pool) holds in our hearts can never be filled by anyone else."

She is held in high esteem by all who have had the fortune to come in contact with this kindly lady. Students, faculty, school administrators, parents, and others place her at the top of the best liked and best qualified list.

It may be hard for her not to answer those school bells at first, but Miss Pool can work that out, too, just as she had to do with numerous other problems during her years as teacher and principal.

Miss Pool has her beach cottage and her flower gardening. She'll get along all right and she'll still stay close to us.

Many happy retirement days, Miss Pool.

Washington's Summer Jubilee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been pleased to note that the Greater National Capital Committee is sponsoring a summer jubilee here in the Nation's Capital.

From June 15 through Labor Day, the committee has the welcome mat out for visitors from all over the Nation to join in jubilee festivities here.

Folks are being invited to witness a jampacked calendar of events which are going to take place during these 2½ months.

One of the most interesting devices of focusing national attention to the jubilee is through a serious of jubilee keys. They are being distributed to principal cities of our country, including Milwaukee. The finder of the key becomes the guest of the city for a fine vacation treat.

CITIZENS CAN BE PROUD OF WASHINGTON

We who are privileged to work in our Nation's Capital are glad that through the means of the jubilee, the American people are being made aware of all the many regular and special attractions which are available here.

Every American has a right to be deeply proud of his National Capital. I hope that during these months up ahead, our people will avail themselves of this fine opportunity to see their Government in action, as well as to see all the other events which take place here.

SUPERATTRACTIONS SUMMER SERIES

They will particularly enjoy, I am sure, the fourth summertime series of Entertainment Under the Stars at the Carter-Barron Amphitheater. This fine series is staged by Mr. Irwin and Mr. Israel Feld, in cooperation with the United States Department of the Interior and National Capital Parks of which Mr. Edward J. Kelly is superintendent.

ENJOYING WISCONSIN VACATIONLAND

Of course, I may say that many, many Americans will want to get away from it all—to enjoy top fishing, boating, swimming, and plain relaxing in America's best vacationland, wonderful Wisconsin. One and one-half million visitors last year visited our famed Wisconsin Dells, alone, and I know that 1957 will be a peak vacation year for my whole State.

But America is a great and vast vacation country, and those tourists who plan to come East or to come up from the South or down from the North will truly enjoy their Nation's Capital.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of a letter which I have received today from Mr. Orville Crouch, chairman of the summer jubilee committee, together with attached press releases and a writeup of the Entertainment Under the Stars series in the June 1957 issue of the Board of Trade News, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU,
Washington, D. C., June 10, 1957.

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: One of your constituents may be formally presented with a golden key to the Nation's Capital. The golden key presentation will highlight the summer jubilee program sponsored by the Greater National Capital Committee, June 15 through Labor Day. To mark this occasion the city will assume a gay festive air with flags and banners spelling out a hearty welcome to its jubilee guests.

Concerts at the Watergate, and in the shadow of the Capitol, parades, Fourth of July celebration, President's Cup Regatta, Woodlawn Mansion ceremony, and other outstanding attractions will be recorded in a calendar of events. This comprehensive brochure of things to see and do in the Nation's Capital is jointly published by the Washington Hotel Association and the committee. Airlines, buslines, and railroads servicing Washington will handle the calendar distribution. Fifty of these calendars will contain a golden insert with a replica of a jubilee key. Residents of the cities scheduled to receive a marked copy of the calendar will be advised to that effect through newspaper, radio, and TV publicity. They will be told to visit their travel offices and to ask for their copy of the calendar of events. One of the calendars will bear the jubilee key insignia.

The finder of the marked copy will become an official guest of the Nation's Capital. We are also urging the travel editors of the jubilee key cities to sponsor a courtesy key to be delivered by the finder as a good will message from his city to the Nation's Capital. Upon his arrival to the city, the finder will be presented with a golden key which will guide him through a week of summer jubilee fun.

A list of jubilee key cities, a copy of the calendar of events, and a press release describing the jubilee key program are enclosed with this letter. You might want to drop a line to the constituents of your key cities inviting them to visit you. You might particularly like to have the key finder as your guest.

Sincerely,

ORVILLE CROUCH,
Chairman, Summer Jubilee Committee.

JUBILEE KEY CITIES—NEW LIST

This is a new jubilee key cities list: Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Atlanta, Ga.; Asheville, N. C.; Birmingham, Ala.; Boise, Idaho; Boston, Mass.; Bradford, Pa.; Bristol, Tenn.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Charlotte, N. C.; Chicago, Ill.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Columbia, S. C.; Dallas, Tex.; Dayton, Ohio; Daytona Beach, Fla.; Denver, Colo.; Detroit, Mich.; Erie, Pa.; Houston, Tex.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Louisville, Ky.; Miami, Fla.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Minneapolis, Minn.; New Orleans, La.; Newark, N. J.; New York, N. Y.; Norfolk, Va.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Portland, Maine; Portland, Oreg.; Reno, Nev.; Richmond, Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; St. Paul, Minn.; Salt Lake City, Utah; San Antonio, Tex.; San Francisco, Calif.; Savannah, Ga.; Seattle, Wash.; Spokane, Wash.; Tampa, Fla.; Worcester, Mass.

LOOK FOR THE JUBILEE KEY TO THE NATION'S MOST EXCITING VACATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.—There's a magic key hidden in your city. Find it, and you will discover the pass to an unforgettable week of Summer Jubilee fun in the Nation's Capital. Airlines, railroads, and buslines carry a supply of the Washington Calendar of Events. In one of their city offices you may find a marked copy of the calendar—and the mark will be that of the golden jubilee key.

The benefits to which this golden symbol entitles the finder are representative of the many wonderful features of the Summer Jubilee, June 15 through Labor Day. Sponsored by the Greater National Capital Committee, this summer-long holiday offers unusual values in entertainment and economy.

A week's stay for two with breakfast is the key's first reward. The Burlington, Jefferson, Raleigh, and Sheraton-Park Hotels are offering their air-conditioned comfort to the lucky finder of the jubilee key. Their rates, listed in the Calendar of Events, reflect the special family plans initiated by most Washington hotels during the summer months. Children under 14 are admitted free. In some cases, swimming-pool privileges, free garage space and breakfast are added to the plan.

All that Washington has to offer is at the disposal of the key winner and of the summer visitor: Band concerts in the shadow of the Capitol or at the Watergate steps, Fourth of July celebration with its elaborate fireworks displays and the speed-shattering power-boat races of the President's Cup Regatta. The key finder will be a guest at the rustic Olney Theater, featuring Broadway shows and musicals. He will also receive two passes to the romantic open-air Carter Barron Amphitheater where Jimmy Durante, Bob Hope, Harry Belafonte, and Jerry Lewis appear in the entertainment under the stars series. Add to this two tickets to big-league baseball and a moonlight cruise on the Potomac River and you will catch the glimpse of an exciting weekend awaiting the key finder as well as the visitor.

Seeing the Nation's Capital is a delightful and rewarding experience. Graceful monuments and memorials, stately White House and Capitol Building, surrounded by shady trees and green lawns are truly beautiful. The jubilee key finder will be taken on a complete sightseeing tour of the city, courtesy of the Gray Line. From Union Station to Rock Creek Park, one building after another will unfold in a majestic succession. The climax of the trip will be a visit to George Washington's home—Mount Vernon.

The international flavor of Washington emanates not only from the presence of foreign dignitaries and the impressive embassy row, but also from the cosmopolitan nature of the city's restaurants. Their cuisine will please the most refined gourmet palate. The jubilee key finder is invited to dine in 7 different restaurants—1 for each day of his stay in the Nation's Capital.

Inquire about travel to Washington, ask for your copy of the Calendar of Events at the travel offices of airlines, railroads, and buslines. The calendar that you pick up might contain your lucky jubilee key. Visit the Nation's Capital gay and festive in its Summer Jubilee attire. Be a guest of the city and let the city treat you to an unforgettable vacation.

[From the Washington Board of Trade News for June 1957]

FOURTH ANNUAL CARTER BARRON SERIES OPENS JUNE 13

The fourth summertime series of Entertainment Under the Stars will open at Carter Barron Amphitheater, in Washington, D. C., on the evening of Thursday, June 13. Announcement of bookings for the outdoor productions in Rock Creek Park are made by Israel and Irvin Feld, who will again stage the lineup of attractions in cooperation with the United States Department of the Interior and National Capital Parks.

World renowned artists are scheduled to appear at the Amphitheater; and the roster of entertainers includes top names in today's show business. The expensive talent involved makes the Carter Barron Amphitheater project the most costly summertime theater operation in America.

The series will open with a double bill featuring Jose Greco and his Spanish dance company and the Pearl Primus Dancers. These 2 groups will hold the Carter Barron Amphitheater stage from June 13 through June 19, to be followed on June 20 by 6 grand opera presentations.

Metropolitan Opera Association artists will sing leading roles in Carmen, Madame Butterfly, Aida, La Boheme, La Traviata, and Il Trovatore. The opera festival will run at the Amphitheater from June 20 through June 27.

Third attraction in the series, opening on June 28, and continuing nightly through July 3, will be Louis Armstrong and his all-star performers. On this bill will be such notable jazz musicians as Erroll Garner and his Trio, Kid Ory, Jack Teagarden, Earl Hines, and others.

Jimmy Durante and his own all stars spectacular show will occupy the Carter Barron Amphitheater stage from July 11 through July 24.

Durante will be followed on July 25 by another famed comedian, Jerry Lewis, who, too, brings a big variety show to the amphitheater. Jerry Lewis will perform each evening through July 31.

Fourteen nightly performances, each a different bill, will be presented by the Ballet Theater from August 1 through August 14. Nora Kaye and other leading dance artists will be seen in terpsichorean roles.

A certain capacity audience attraction at Carter Barron Amphitheater will be Bob Hope and his Hollywood Revue, occupying the stage from August 15 through August 19. The season closes with "An Evening With Harry Belafonte," presented nightly, August 21 through August 31.

The attraction for the single, as yet unbooked, period, July 4 through July 10, will be announced shortly.

Carter Barron Amphitheater is located just off 16th Street and Colorado Avenue, in Northwest Washington, only a few minutes by public transportation or auto from the downtown area. There are acres of free parking space adjacent to the amphitheater; and buses from the D. C. Transit line pick up patrons at the entrance immediately after each performance. Popular prices prevail for all performances.

Information about shows and tickets and mail orders may be obtained by writing to Carton Barron Amphitheater Productions, in care of Super Music City, 1350 F Street, NW.

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are so interested in preserving the right of jury trial in the so-called but misnamed civil-rights legislation underestimated the effect of pressures from the White House. We did not be-

lieve the boys uptown would work so hard to deprive the people of this civil right. I suppose if we had provided, in our jury trial amendments, that the venue of the case be moved to Japan and that the jurors be Japanese, we would have had no such opposition from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, because it is pretty obvious that that type of jury trial is approved by the administration.

If this bill is passed and becomes law, as it is now written, there will be a lot of southern people who will probably go to jail. From yesterday's action of the Supreme Court is seems the only sure way to stay out of jail is to engage in Communist activities, and we are not going to do that. Quo vadis, mia patria?

Soil Conservation Will Help To Prevent Heavy Siltation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the water problem of my State of Texas has many aspects, and that may also be said of the national water problem.

In Texas, the prevention of siltation of our lakes is a serious problem. Fortunately, it is not being ignored, as may be seen from an editorial appearing recently in the San Angelo Standard-Times, a newspaper that looms large in the life of west Texans.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, touching as it does on a matter of extreme and even urgent importance, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PREVENTION OF SILTATION A PROBLEM FOR TEXAS

The water that went over the dams in the Concho Rivers the last few weeks was muddy enough, evidence of siltation. The dam in Elm Creek near Ballinger has pretty well silted up in a few years.

It is said the streams in west Texas do not silt as heavily as the dams in east Texas. Logically so, because they are in farming country where waters flow off plowed fields carrying tons of dirt with them. However, we can expect dams to fill up with topsoil in Texas over a period of 30 or more years.

This calls to mind that when engineers built the big Texoma Dam 12 years ago, they made a prediction that lake wouldn't go over the spillway but once in every century.

Apparently the lake can rest for a century now, for it went over the spillway last week with plenty of water to spare.

Lake Texoma is the largest artificial lake in this part of the country. There are only six larger ones in the entire country and a seventh now under construction. The kingbee of America's reservoirs is Lake Mead, which piles up behind the Hoover Dam—almost 20 million acre-feet.

Lake Texoma is rated at 5,711,700 acre-feet. Next in size in Texas is the newest, Falcon, in Starr-Zapata Counties, with 4,096,000.

In the fullness of time, however, the engineers' prediction that Texoma would go over its spillway only once in a century is destined to be nullified. As is characteristic of nearly all Texas streams, the siltation problem is bad, and the time will come when the capacity of Texoma will be gravely reduced.

That is true in greater or lesser degree of all our artificial lakes. The situation is not wtihout a remedy, but the application of the remedy will take a lot of time and more money than the lakes originally cost.

It involves widespread soil-conservation practices, religiously carried out and kept up. It involves the building of thousands of small upstream detention dams on the tributaries of our rivers. The problem is to hold as much water as possible in the area where it falls—on crop and range lands to prevent soil erosion, behind smaller dams on smaller streams such as the Brady Creek watershed so floodwater can be released gradually to avoid floods, to settle out some of the silt before it reaches the larger lakes.

All this will take, as noted, a lot of time and money, but it is absolutely essential to the continued well-being of the Nation. The alternative is a Chinafied America.

Rural Library Services Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I have today received a letter from Mrs. Glenn Balch, chairman of the Idaho State Library Board, which is the occasion of a very deep sense of satisfaction to me. I sometimes feel that in none of its activities does the Congress of the United States accomplish anything so satisfying and so conducive to a strong America as when it devises, authorizes, and appropriates for a program to enable our States and local communities to advance the degree of education among our people. Surely the truism that an educated America is a strong America has been set forth in this Chamber so often as to need no repetition. But when we debate, as we have debated, billion-dollar programs for the procurement of weapons, we sometimes lose sight of the much smaller and essentially more valuable programs for the procurement of knowledge.

Last week, Mr. President, the Senate passed H. R. 6287, the appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare. Within that bill, along with a large number of other worthwhile programs was contained the sum of $5 million for grants-in-aid for the rural library services program. This program has been watched hopefully and planned for carefully and energetically by the Idaho State Library Board and a whole group of Idahoans whose dedication to the spread of the riches of our culture has earned for them the gratitude of the people of my State.

I have just received a letter from one of these people describing the plans that are being made in Idaho to implement this program, and to make the greatest possible use of this grant. The writer of this letter is Mrs. Glenn Balch, chairman of the State Library board, and a person whose hard work and great foresight have contributed heavily to the furtherance of library work in Idaho. Mrs. Balch's letter made me deeply proud of the initiative and vision of these hard-working Idahoans.

I was not able to be present in the early stages of the floor discussion on H. R. 6287, Mr. President. For that reason, I wish today to add my voice to the many heard that afternoon in commendation of the magnificent work done for America's physical and intellectual health by the great senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], whose compassion and vision are among the Nation's most important strategic weapons in the struggle for men's minds and hearts.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF IDAHO,
STATE LIBRARY BOARD,
Boise, Idaho, June 10, 1957.

Senator FRANK CHURCH,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CHURCH: Your telephone call a few minutes ago was deeply appreciated. Please permit me, on behalf of all the people interested in improved library facilities for our State, to thank you for your support of the appropriation measure.

We, as the State library board, will do our utmost to use the funds wisely as seed money to stimulate the growth of local library facilities throughout the State. In order to be able to demonstrate modern library services for rural areas, we are ordering an exhibit bookmobile immediately. It should be delivered in Boise and ready for a tour of the State soon after Eugene D. Hart's arrival in mid-September. We will also be able to order a very substantial number of new books that will be available for circulation to individuals and schools in the fall. And, perhaps most important, we will be able to add personnel to our staff and they will be able to travel around the State and give on-the-spot advice to local groups who wish to work for improved local service. This demonstration program would never have been possible without Federal aid.

Thank you again for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. GLENN BALCH,
Chairman, Idaho State Library Board.

Scherer Replies to California Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, on March 29, 1957, the gentleman from California, Mr. JAMES ROOSEVELT, called to the attention of the House the censure of a subcommittee of the Un-American Ac-

tivities Committee by the board of governors of the State bar of California. In connection with his remarks, Mr. ROOSEVELT inserted in the RECORD the resolution.

Today, at the opening of hearings in the city of San Francisco, I answered the board of governors of the State bar of California as follows:

Mr. Chairman, at the opening of these hearings here in California, I request, as a matter of personal privilege, the opportunity to discuss a resolution adopted by the board of governors of the California State Bar Association on March 15, 1957.

I was a member of a subcommittee of the Un-American Activities Committee of the Congress of the United States which held hearings at the direction of that committee in Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif., in the month of December last year. This resolution severely criticized and condemned the subcommittee for its conduct during these hearings. Copies of this resolution, by direction of the board of governors of the bar association, were sent to the Speaker and my colleagues in the Congress of the United States. The resolution was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The press all over the country carried accounts of the censure.

Under the circumstances, I feel that on my first return to the State of California since this censure, it is necessary for me to answer. In fact, I requested the chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee to appoint me as a member of this subcommittee so that I might make this reply in the backyard of the board of governors of the California State Bar Association.

What I say here today in connection with this matter is not a statement of the Un-American Activities Committee nor of the subcommittee against whom the censure was directed, nor does it necessarily reflect the feelings of the other members of that subcommittee or its director, none of whom is with us this week in California.

I have practiced law as a member of the State and Federal bar in Ohio for a quarter of a century. I am a member of my local and the American Bar Association. There is almost nothing that hurts a lawyer more than to be censured by a governing body of the bar with the attendant publicity. It is shocking to be censured by a bar association, supposedly steeped in the tradition of the law—censured when one is 2,000 miles away, censured without notice that any such action was contemplated, without any knowledge of the charges, without a hearing, without an opportunity to reply contemporaneously with the publication of the censure in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and newspapers of the country.

When I was elected to the Congress for the first time in 1953, I was naturally thrilled by the responsibility of my post, by the dignity and prestige it presumably carried. Now, I can only smile a bit wryly over that first reaction.

I could not guess that soon after reaching Washington I would be reviled, ridiculed, and insulted from coast to coast. Of course, I am not the only victim of this kind of abuse. It is shared by all members of the House and Senate committees investigating the ravages of the Communist conspiracy within our gates, even as it was the fate of our predecessors, beginning with the much-maligned Texan, MARTIN DIES, about 20 years ago.

Legislators may probe garden-variety crimes or scandals like the Beck case, with relative impunity, but, when they venture to tackle the Kremlin's little gremlins, they have need for strong nerves and tough hides.

In accepting a place on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I had neither misgivings nor borebodings. Our boys were dying in the Communist firing in Korea. The mischief wrought by Communist agents and spies was no longer a matter of generalized surmise—enough of it had been exposed in detail to alarm the American people. To dislodge these internal enemies seemed to be a task any patriotic American could undertake proudly, earnestly, and with a clear conscience. Alas for my innocence.

I failed to see that in joining this committee one made himself at once a target for organized slander, regardless of how he might conduct himself. Before I had met all of my colleagues on the committee and before it had held its first meeting, I was being plastered by sticky epithets by expert mud-gunners.

It does not make any difference who succeeds to the chairmanship of any of the committees of the Congress investigating the Communist conspiracy. Whether it be Martin Dies, Joe McCarthy, Pat McCarran, Bill Jenner, or Francis Walter, they immediately become subject to attack.

I recall that it was only a very short time after FRANCIS WALTER became chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee that the committee held hearings in Newark. I believe it was one of the first hearings conducted under the chairmanship of Mr. WALTER. No one could possibly have been aware of his policies or the manner in which he would handle the chairmanship of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Nevertheless, as I left the hotel at which the committee was staying in Newark on the night of the first day of the hearings, at which Mr. WALTER was not even present, 1,200 pickets, by FBI count, most of them imported from New York City, surrounded the hotel. They carried dozens of well-painted signs criticizing, condemning, and vilifying the new chairman of the committee. These signs had been prepared by experts, some of them members of the bar. Ninety percent of the people in the picket line did not or could not understand the import of the signs they were carrying.

As I say, a number of the Communist lawyers representing clients at that hearing assisted in the preparation of this demonstration, as well as in the disruptions that took place during the hearings. We were even favored with the presence of one of the Communist lawyers who had almost driven Judge Medina to distraction in the trial of the 11 Communists in New York under the Smith Act.

Pseudoleftwing liberals who are always interested in protecting the sacred rights of the Communists who appear before our committee were strangely silent about these demonstrations against the committee.

You learn to expect this treatment from the agents of the Kremlin. You are shocked and disheartened when it comes from the board of governors of a State bar association.

Let us take a look at a number of facets involved in this censure. During the 4½ years of my service in the Congress, I have participated in hearings in Los Angeles on 4 different occasions. There is no place in the country—and I have sat in hearings from coast to coast—where the committee has been insulted, slandered, ridiculed, its hearings disrupted, more than in Los Angeles. There is no city in the country where there have appeared before the committee more lawyers who have themselves been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy than in Los Angeles. There is no city in the country where these Communist lawyers and their like have participated in, urged, and planned these attacks upon the committee more than in Los Angeles.

I have seen lawyers put words into the mouths of witnesses, telling them how to answer factual questions—telling them how to bait the committee and disrupt the hearings. On more than one occasion I and other members of the committee have publicly and in the record of the hearings called attention to this reprehensible conduct upon the part of these laweyrs.

If lawyers had conducted themselves one-tenth as contemptuously in a courtroom as they have before our committee, htey would have been jailed. These lawyers of whom I speak realize that the committee cannot punish for contemptuous conduct and, therefore, have continued to violate the rules of ethics and decency. Undercover agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have testified, as did one of them at the hearings in Los Angeles in December, that often lawyers meet with witnesses—known Communists—and instruct them how to bait the committee, how to disrupt the hearings. Some have gone so far as to set up a signal system between them and their clients for answering questions.

Has the California bar board of governors taken any action whatsoever during the last 4 years against one or more of the lawyers who have been guilty of the conduct I have just outlined? It has not.

Now someone will say that I am exaggerating the situation. I am willing to rest my case on the records of the California State Bar Association itself.

The conduct of certain lawyers at hearings in this State before the Un-American Activities Committee was so bad that two bar association committees found it necessary to make a complete investigation of the nature and extent of this misconduct. The reports of these committees to the board of governors of the California State Bar Association confirmed in every respect what I have said here today about the unethical tactics of these lawyers. These reports are carried in the Journal of the State bar of California.

To illustrate the unethical and contemptuous conduct of certain lawyers who appeared before the Un-American Activities Committee in Los Angeles, the reports set forth excerpts from the testimony of the hearings. In the Journal of the State bar of California, we find this committee, in reporting to the board of governors and in urging that the rules be changed so that the bar could deal more effectively with these lawyers, saying this, and I quote:

"At the time of the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1952, several members of the bar called as witnesses before the committee conducted themselves in a most contemptuous and objectionable manner. A lawyer is never entitled to conduct himself so as to be discourteous and highly objectionable to any public body, court, or otherwise."

In another place in the report in the Journal, we find this language:

"The amendment we suggest should be ample to cover the principal grievances concerning misconduct presently being considered by the committee. We believe the existing rules inadequate to permit the board of governors on its own motion to take disciplinary steps against lawyers whose conduct was so objectionable in the Un-American Activities Committee hearings."

The report continues:

"As to lawyers suspected of Communist activities, although we feel that the State bar does have some power under section 6106.1, nevertheless it would be desirable to broaden the section in the manner provided for in exhibit A."

The bar association committee which studied the conduct of these lawyers before congressional committees was so shocked by their conduct that it recommended that section 6068 of the business and professions code be changed to read as follows:

"The following are the duties of an attorney:

"1. To maintain the respect due to the courts of justice and judicial officers, a com-

mittee of the Congress of the United States, a committee of the legislature of this State, any subcommittee of such committee of the Congress or of the legislature, the board of governors of the State bar of this State, and any administrative committee of the State bar of this State.

"2. Never to seek to mislead by artifice or false statement of fact or law a court of justice or judicial officer, a committee of the Congress of the United States, a committee of the legislature of this State, any subcommittee of such committee of the Congress or of the legislature, the board of governors of the State bar of this State, or any administrative committee of the State bar of this State."

Now I ask: What has the board of governors of the State bar done with that report, which also contains recommendations for dealing with Communist lawyers and those who take the fifth amendment? What has it done? Nothing. What action has it taken against these lawyers? None. It has not even censured them.

Yet it was willing to censure this committee, reputable members of the bar, who have come to Los Angeles time and time again and have been faced by this same cabal of attorneys. While FRANCIS WALTER, the chairman of the full committee, was not personally present at the Los Angeles hearings, nevertheless the censure of his subcommittee is a reflection on him, a man who has been the recipient of the American Bar Association award for contributing most to the preservation of our American form of government.

The board of governors of the State bar of California has failed miserably and has been derelict in its duty to act affirmatively on the basis of the findings of its own committees. By reason of its failure to act, it shares with these lawyers I have been talking about the responsibility for what happened in the hearing room in Los Angeles last December.

For years the committee allowed itself to be subjected to abuse and harangued by those who served the Communist conspiracy, waiting patiently for some evidence of courage, some action on the part of the leaders of the bar of the State of California.

It was apparent when we came to Los Angeles last December that there was a well-conceived plan by the Commupists and some of these same lawyers to again disrupt the hearings and abuse the committee as they had so many times in the past.

When we acted firmly and ejected these betrayers of the legal profession, so the hearings could proceed in an orderly manner, the board of governors, who were not present at the hearings, censured members of Congress, reputable members of the bar.

I have studied the censure resolution by the board of governors of the California Bar Association with exceeding care. I have likewise searched the transcript of the proceedings at the December hearings in Los Angeles. The truth is that the basic facts as reported in the statement of the board of governors of the California Bar Association are misrepresented.

The tenor of the statement is that certain lawyers, whose conduct was in thorough accord with all of the canons of ethics for lawyers, were not accorded proper treatment by the committee. The truth is, as reflected by the record and as is indelibly impressed in my memory, that certain lawyers who had been repeatedly identified under oath as members of the Communist conspiracy deliberately engaged in barroom and back-alley tactics as they did in previous hearings for the purpose of disrupting a serious enterprise of a congressional committee.

The statement of the board of governors further complains that one of the lawyers was identified in the course of the proceedings as a Communist. Since when have lawyers who are Communists been immune from exposure or identification? Does the board of governors of the bar association seriously contend that this committee, the Congress of the United States or the American people are precluded from attempting to detect and isolate traitors, even though they be possessed of a license to practice law?

The bar association statement likewise completely misrepresents the announced purpose of the hearings. The statement contains the following:

"The announced purpose of the hearing was to investigate opposition to the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act."

This is a baldfaced misrepresentation of the facts, which should be apparent to anyone who would take the trouble to read the transcript of the proceedings. The announced purpose of the hearings was to investigate and develop facts respecting the activities of the Communist conspiracy in its program of political subversion.

In another place, the board of governors used this language in censuring the subcommittee:

"Counsel appearing for the witnesses were not permitted to address the committee or to make objections to the manner in which the proceeding was being conducted; but counsel were repeatedly told that 'their sole and exclusive right was to advise their clients.'"

We admit that counsel were repeatedly told that their sole and exclusive right was to advise their clients. Evidently the board of governors are not familiar with the rules of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Rule VII reads as follows:

"The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client."

It was because the lawyers insisted on violating this rule that they were ejected after the repeated warnings.

Rule VIII provides that the committee shall remove from the hearing room attorneys who violate the rules. It is apparent, from the mere reading of the last two specifications of alleged misconduct on the part of the subcommittee, that the lawyers were violating rule VII.

In fact, the whole censure resolution is so erroneous and biased that I wonder what influences were at work in its preparation and adoption.

I want it clearly understood that this is not an indictment of all lawyers who have appeared before our committee in the Los Angeles area or elsewhere. By far the great majority of the attorneys who have represented witnesses before our committee have conducted themselves in a most exemplary manner and in accordance with every provision of the code of ethics.

By the same token, the unwarranted and intemperate action of the board of governors does not represent the will of the great mass of lawyers in the State of California. This is evidenced by the fact that we have received numerous letters from members of the California bar deploring and condemning the action of the board of governors.

The records of the hearings of this committee clearly indict those lawyers who are members of the Communist conspiracy and who have conducted themselves in the manner I have described. What the record does not show is the fact that some of these very lawyers about whom I have been complaining have violated the basic duty and obligation of a lawyer; namely, to serve the best interests of his client. There have been occasions when it was obvious that it would have been to the best interests of the client to have cooperated with the committee; and yet, when that witness employed a Communist lawyer or had an attorney furnished him by the Communist Party, he was advised to take the fifth amendment to his detriment. Why? Simply because the lawyer was serving the Communist Party rather than his client. I have often wondered why bar associations have failed to act in such cases.

Lest my observations be construed as wholly negative, may I commend the American Bar Association for its forthright position on the issue of communism as expressed by its action in creating a special committee of which former United States Senator Herbert O'Conor, of Maryland, is chairman, for the purpose of coming to grips with this very situation. This special committee on Communist tactics, strategy, and objectives of the American Bar Association is working zealously toward the objective of removing from the ranks of the legal profession those who are in fact dedicated to the forcible overthrow of our Government.

Some few months ago, FRANCIS WALTER, chairman of this committee, introduced legislation which would preclude from practice before congressional committees or in the executive department persons who have been publicly identified under oath as Communists.

I commend this bill to the bar association of this State, as well as to all other groups and organizations in this country which are or should be earnestly concerned over the increasing menace of communism.

While the censure resolution of the board of goverhors of this bar, to say the least, has adversely affected all of the members of the subcommittee and its director, it has been a rather severe personal blow to Congressman CLYDE DOYLE, from the Los Angeles area. As chairman of the subcommittee, he feels particularly responsible for the conduct of those hearings and the censure weighs heavily upon him because he is a member of the California bar.

While CLYDE DOYLE is a Democrat and our political philosophies and voting records in the Congress are as far apart as the poles, there is no more sincere, conscientious, upright, and patriotic man in the Congress than he. All those who know him intimately as I do will agree that what I have said is no exaggeration. For many years he has been a highly respected member of the California bar, a man who lost his only son in the service of his country, a fine, moral, family man. It hurt him deeply to be censured by his own bar without a hearing and without cause. He was shocked when a colleague of his in the adjoining district, a man with a prominent name but a man who is in no position to throw stones, placed the resolution of censure in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—in a subtle violation of the rules of the House, and without even discussing the matter with Mr. DOYLE or any other member of the committee.

I need not tell you that the Communists and their apologists from coast to coast were delighted at the action of the board of governors and JIMMY ROOSEVELT. They have used this censure resolution effectively.

I wonder when so-called responsible Americans are going to learn the danger of the threat from within and stop attacking the policeman and start chasing the criminal.

Every Man's Destiny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, on the day before the national elections in

1956, the Muskogee Daily Phoenix carried a brief feature story which is one of the finest items of its kind that I have ever read.

The story, which appeared on the front page, was written by one of our city's best loved citizens, Sox Gage, who has for many years been in the front ranks of many worthy civic undertakings.

This appeal to citizenship is one of Mr. Gage's finest services to our community, and there is a message in it for all of us.

The article follows:

X

(By Sox Gage)

I'm X. Just plain X.

I'm the oldest and best friend you have in this world.

I'm a willing worker, I'm absolutely honest and truly trustworthy.

I'm your servant and I have the appearance of being meek. But I'm strong and I'm dangerous. I'm more deadly than any gun, battleship, airplane, or hydrogen bomb. I'm more destructive than death.

I'm never a dictator in my own right, but I'm ruler in America today just as I have been since 1776. I'm unbiased. I'm every adult's X. I'm the expectant hope of all the children in all the countries of the globe. I'm sought after by hundreds of millions of peoples of all races and creeds whom I'm not now serving or haven't ever served.

They're dying every day and they're begging for me.

Millions lying in their graves gave their all for me, some at Bunker Hill and Lexington, some at Chickamauga, some at San Juan Hill, some at Chateau Thierry and Belleau Woods, at Guadalcanal and Iwo Jima and at Old Baldy. Yes, the bodies of brave men who have given their lives for me lie in all parts of the sphere.

Many hundreds of thousands, maimed of body and broken of mind, who were in war are now in hospitals and mental institutions. Their faculties admonish o'er their sufferings that I survive; that I do what they so nobly tried to do—to bring love and honor and freedom to all beings. Their prayers are that I glorify them and Him by gaining for every living soul and all nations a life of peace.

While I warn you that I'm strong, I also tell you that I'm subservient; that come Tuesday I'm just your rubber stamp at the polling place. Before you use me, I ask only that you thrust aside all political ties; all favoritisms and petty intrigues; all hates and all hankerings and that you use me as your partial payment on the cost by which I have been attained.

I'm your responsibility to the future.

I'm X. Just plain X.

But I'm your destiny.

How Can Modern Language Teaching Promote International Understanding?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Marjorie C. Johnston, a specialist in the Division of State and Local School Systems, Secondary School Section, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has recently written an important article entitled "How Can Modern Language Teaching Promote International Understanding?" The article appeared in the Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals for December 1956.

The author puts her finger on one of the critical areas of deficiency in our current training of the next generation of Americans to meet their responsibilities in world affairs. I ask unanimous consent that a condensed version of the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW CAN MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

(By Marjorie C. Johnston)

Experience in direct communication through speech or writing, imaginative identification with the people whose language is used, a feeling of personal involvement, induction into a different thought process and cultural medium—these are the ways in which modern foreign language study can make a significant and indispensable contribution toward international understanding.

Although understanding of other peoples must rest on information, factual knowledge alone does not bring understanding; therefore, to collect all sorts of facts about a people, to learn a great deal about their language, their history, political system, social practices, art, and other cultural elements, does not substitute for the experience of learning to react in the language and thus actually to participate in a different culture. Without a working knowledge of their language one is insulated from other people.

Effective language teaching is characterized by an awareness that language is itself an integral part of the behavior system of a people and at the same time a means for the expression and summing up of this system or culture. Every stage of foreign language learning must relate in some manner to the life and civilization of the people because the linguistic forms belong in a frame of reference which is different from that of the learner. Early in the beginning course, even the first day, the student should begin to realize that the new words and language forms symbolize experiences, attitudes, and points of view unlike those which give meaning and connotations to corresponding forms in English. The more skill he develops in the use of the language, the greater should be his progress toward a real understanding of the foreign people. This is why a course in general language, although useful, is not enough, and why constructed language such as Esperanto, not being rooted in any culture, can never go beyond the code function of language.

There has not been a time, presumably, in the history of modern language teaching in the United States when secondary school courses of study did not state or imply that one of the objectives of the program was to foster understanding of the people whose language was being studied. Until recently this objective was seldom defined clearly, and more often than not it was regarded in practice as something quite incidental to the main purpose of the instruction. Language teachers generally consider it self-evident that certain cultural insights can be gained only through active experience with the foreign language, but they have found it extremely difficult to explain this outcome or to tell what they do to achieve it.

A recent questionnaire study (John B. Carroll and others, The Place of Culture and Civilization in Foreign Language Teaching, Reports of the Working Committees, 1956 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) sought to find out how language teachers define the cultural objective, how important they consider it to be in introductory courses, and whether they feel that they are adequately achieving this purpose. All shades of opinion were expressed, but a striking thing about the results is that high-school teachers, public and private, tend to rate nearly all aspects of the cultural objective as more important than do college teachers. A possible explanation is the high-school teachers' greater concern with general education and the realization that, since few secondary schools offer advanced foreign-language classes, introductory courses provide virtually their only opportunity to foster cultural understanding through the language. The most highly valued aspects of the objective were "appreciation of how ideas are differently expressed in a foreign language, with recognition of the inherent difficulties of translation" and "an increased respect and tolerance for the ideas, values, and achievements of a foreign culture."

It has also seemed obvious to language teachers that direct communication establishes a rapport which is utterly lacking in interpretation, even when simultaneous, but they have frequently defeated their own purposes in this aspect of language teaching by requiring students to work with a set of abstract grammatical rules before they have acquired an ability to communicate in the language. Since in the past teachers generally made no sustained effort to achieve the cultural objective and too often traveled circuitous routes in the development of functional skills, many students—far too many—in language classes ended their study with the same naive assumptions they started out with: that learning a new language is simply a matter of recoding one's own, that languages are alike except for the words, that thought and ideas are universal and can be put into words by all languages in much the same way. They never gained, therefore, the basic concept that language and culture are inextricably interwoven, that speakers of different languages see relationships and interpret experiences in very different ways, that language not only conveys thought but also shapes it, that a foreign language leads the learner into an entirely new world of tradition and thought and feeling.

DEFINITION OF OBJECTIVES

Language teachers, along with those in other fields, are rethinking their objectives and trying to devise effective ways of achieving them. In 1953 the steering committee of the foreign language program of the Modern Language Association of America enunciated the following:

"The study of a foreign language, like that of most other basic discipline, is both a progressive experience and a progressive acquisition of a skill. At no point can the experience be considered complete, or the skill perfect. Many pupils study a foreign language only 2 years; longer time is of course needed to approach mastery. At any point, however, the progress made in a language, when properly taught, will have positive value and lay a foundation upon which further progress can be built. It is evident therefore that the expectancy of values to be derived from language study must be relative to the amount of time and effort devoted to it.

"The study of a foreign language, skillfully taught under proper conditions, provides a new experience, progressively enlarging the pupil's horizon through the introduction to a new medium of communication and a new culture pattern and progressively adding to his sense of pleasurable achievement. This experience involves:

"1. The acquisition of a set of skins, which can become real mastery for professional use when practiced long enough. The international contacts and responsibilities of the United States make the possession of these skills by more and more Americans a matter of national urgency. These skills include:

"(a) The increasing ability to understand a foreign language when spoken, making possible greater profit and enjoyment in such steadily expanding activities as foreign travel, business abroad, foreign language movies and broadcasts at home and abroad.

"(b) The increasing ability to speak the foreign language in direct communication with people of another culture, either for business or for pleasure.

"(c) The ability to read the foreign language with progressively greater ease and enjoyment, making possible the broadening effects of direct acquaintance with the recorded thoughts of another people, or making possible study for vocational or professional, e. g., scientific or journalistic, purposes.

"(2) A new understanding of language, progressively revealing to the pupil the structure of language and giving him a new perspective on English.

"3. A gradually expanding and deepening knowledge of a foreign country—its geography, history, social organization, literature, and culture—and, as a consequence, a better perspective on American culture and a more enlightened Americanism through adjustment to the concept of differences between cultures.

"Progress in any one of these experiences or skills is relative to the emphasis given it in the instructional program and to the interests and aptitude of the learned. Language skills, like all practical skills, may never be perfected and may be later forgotten, yet the enlarging and enriching results of the cultural experience endure throughout life."

This statement has had wide acceptance by the various national and regional associations and conferences of language teachers. The ideas were amplified in a report by the committee on foreign language instruction in secondary schools at the 1956 northeast conference on the teaching of foreign languages, a report prepared on the basis of the committee members' professional experienc and that of teachers in 35 secondary schools cited by colleges and universities for the excellence of the language preparation given their students. This committee's recommendations emphasize the need for the five-fold objective of understanding the spoken language, speaking, reading, writing, and knowledge of the foreign civilization.

CURRICULUM PLANNING

How opportunities are utilized or, if need be, created, challenges the best thinking of any teaching and administrative staff. Even though the foreign language field is a natural for the cultivation of broad human understanding, and even though the complex of skills being developed provides an open door to accurate comprehension of other ways of thinking, language learning is an exceedingly complicated and many-sided process. The factors involved need to be carefully analyzed and reckoned with. To assure a reasonable chance of success, teachers and students alike must have a clear understanding of what the aim is, they must use effective materials and methods of teaching and learning, must apply themselves diligently to the task, and must have some means of evaluating the outcomes.

The same principles and many of the activities that have proved themselves in other learning experiences apply, of course, to a foreign language. Students learn to understand the spoken language by listening; to speak by speaking; to communicate in social situations by practice in communicating; to understand the nature of language and culture by firsthand acquaintance and experience with them; to know and appreciate more fully one's own language and culture by getting outside the familiar culture pattern, by seeing them in perspective from the vantage point of another language and culture. Unless these aims are a conscious, inherent part of the teaching process, the study of a foreign language does not automatically increase the ability to communicate successfully or to understand foreign cultures. This fact has been emphasized by various national and international groups seeking to determine the part that languages play in developing international understanding.

Much confusion exists about what foreign language study can and cannot do to foster international understanding. In order for schools to provide suitable curriculum experiences in a language other than the mother tongue, this confusion needs to be cleared up. There are certain broad elements of international understanding to which nearly all phases of the total school curriculum—including of course the teaching of a modern foreign language—can make valuable contributions: helping students obtain a realistic view of some of the world's problems; helping them see the United States in its relationship with other nations; helping them to appreciate the contributions of all peoples to the world community; helping them to value the services of international organizations devoted to better world understanding (i. e., United Nations, Organization of American States), and the like. Then there are a number of specific contributions, some of them unique, which the teaching of a modern foreign language can make to an understanding of other people.

Working toward international understanding in a formal educational situation involves the cultivation of generous and informed attitudes through (1) factual knowledge of other peoples, (2) significant experience of other cultures, and (3) communication skills that increase knowledge and experience and prepare for personal foreign contacts. The first two, factual knowledge and significant experience, are possible to a considerable extent without a foreign language. The obvious advantage of foreign language study as a part of a total program that has cultivation of international understanding as one of its objectives is that it provides a skill making possible direct communication with another people in a world in which more and more Americans are meeting foreigners. And the more facility a student gains in a second language, thereby readying himself for contact with one other people, the more he increases his readiness for quickly familiarizing himself with any additional foreign language or culture which he encounters in his life's work. The foreign language can also provide a content and an experience which contribute uniquely to that acquired through other fields. Since language learning is not possible without subject matter, an appropriate, if not the natural, subject matter of a foreign language class is material which reveals the foreign culture. And since the language is an essential element in the culture, foreign language learning broadens the mental horizon and constitutes significant experience of the foreign way of life.

In this connection, one of the greatest barriers to international understanding is the normal tendency of human nature to react against the unfamiliar, and foreign language learning is probably the quickest and most direct method of making familiar what before was strange, by actually participating in and experiencing a different mode of thought. A person who can speak German, for example, may not like or admire the Germans, but he is no longer disliking them on instinctive grounds just because they sound queer.

The implications for curriculum planning are clear: (1) since language is a medium through which the value systems of a culture are expressed, the acquisition of language and of cultural understanding should be a simultaneous, not separate, process; (2) the language itself should be taught, not just information about the language; (3) it should be taught, in cultural context, not as an exercise in abstract reasoning. Each language class should take the students, so to speak, on a brief excursion into another way of life. In other words, foreign language teaching in the high schools today must contribute as fully as possible to the general education of boys and girls and to their ability to adjust to life in the modern world. The primacy of the communication approach seems right for the high school. Students who may later specialize in one or more foreign languages will take up technical linguistic subjects as they continue their study.

Another point of confusion has to do with proper standards for language work. To adapt foreign language teaching to the interest, maturity, and psychological needs of high-school students is not to lower the standards of achievement or to water down the subject matter. On the contrary, there is much evidence that high-school students can do solid work and that they do it with zest when their goals are clear, when they can note progress toward those goals, and when they can see the usefulness of the assigned work in relation to the goals. By the age of 5½ years, every normal child has learned the complex system of his native language—its structure, gestures, tone, and intonation—and, as his experience grows, vocabulary is added with relative ease. Although individuals learn at different rates and exhibit varying degrees of aptitude in self-expression, the power of all of them to communicate adequately proves that the underlying patterns composing the language are acquired by everyone in the culture. There is no basis, therefore, for believing that a high-school student cannot learn a second or a third language and no good theoretical reason to restrict foreign language study to the gifted. To pitch the level or the tempo of a course higher than is attainable by more than half the student body is not synonymous with high standards of achievement in terms of the stated objectives of modern foreign language teaching.

In the selection of curriculum experiences, then, teachers must see that students (1) take only as much as can be accomplished in the time available, (2) that they do well what they set out to do, (3) that they take stock frequently of their progress, (4) that they finish the course with a measure of satisfaction and, in addition, (5) carry with them an attractive vista of study to be continued or taken up again later. They will remember that language learning is a continuum and that no one should expect to master a second language in a few hours a week during the course of 2 or 3 years.

With the trend toward an earlier start in languages, many students upon entrance to the high school will have acquaintance with a second language and will have acquired varied abilities in speaking and understanding it. There is the greatest need to see that such pupils progress without starting over or waiting 2 or 3 years before they can continue their foreign language study. This means that the idea of covering the course of study each year, as often conceived, can no longer apply. It should be noted, too, that there is a growing inclination by college language departments to give entering students oral-aural and written placement tests, and the college entrance examination board is now conducting experiments for the express purpose of adding a listening comprehension

test to the regular foreign language college board achievement tests by about 1960. Obviously, the attempt to teach a complete course in formal grammar at the expense of practice in the use of the language must soon rate a low priority in the choice of learning activities. The exigencies of the situation seem certain to stimulate a type of curriculum planning more conducive to the attainment of the objectives as now defined.

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URGENT NEEDS

A consideration of modern language teaching as it is and as it ought to be in American high schools can lead to only one conclusion; Some encouraging progress is being made, but several important improvements are of immediate urgency.

1. More and better qualified teachers: Unless teachers have the ability to speak and understand the language and have firsthand acquaintance with the people and country, how can they guide their students toward the attitudes, skills, knowledge, understanding, and significant experiences to which their study of a modern language entitles them? The Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association has recently issued an official statement of qualifications for secondary-school teachers of modern foreign languages based on demonstrated abilities rather than course credits; it has received wide endorsement from leaders in foreign languages and professional education. A large-scale movement to permit residence and study abroad, both for preservice and in-service teachers, is of the utmost importance. United States teachers need to get the feeling expressed recently by a visiting teacher from France:

"If I feel that my stay in the States has been profitable, it is because when I get back to France, I shall be in a position to pass on to my pupils such direct, vivid, or picturesque information as I have had the opportunity to gather here. This information may still be very partial and limited. Yet Ford's assembly line, the speedways and drive-ins, the museums and the galleries, the drug-stores and jukeboxes, the American homes and their wife-saving gadgets, the lavishness of nature and the warm hospitality of men—all these have now taken for me a quality of concrete experience and actual reality that throws the mere bookish secondhand knowledge into the realm of bloodless shadows."

The prepartion of modern language teachers should include a better background in American civilization and culture, including work in social psychology and cultural anthropology planned in correlation with linguistic studies. And, since our heritage is deeply rooted in western European tradition, an introductory study of a language which is unrelated to the one taught would do much to overcome the undiscriminating enthusiasm sometimes exhibited by language teachers. Learning experience in the unrelated language would better prepare the teacher to convey the concept of how and why language shapes or governs thought. At least some knowledge of linguistic science is also a must. In other words, if teachers are ever to learn how to plan curriculum experiences in their field effectively and in collaboration with their colleagues in other fields, their own preparation must include some interdisciplinary experience.

Greater professional spirit is likewise a necessary element in the high-school language teacher's equipment. Much productive work and much inspiration would result from attendance at annual meetings of the State, regional, and national language associations. At present an infinitesimal number of high-school teachers go to national meetings, work on State committees, carry on experimental research, contribute articles to journals, work to achieve good articulation with the elementary school and the college, produce new instructional materials, learn language laboratory techniques, and otherwise demonstrate their sense of responsibility to the profession. Should not the local school board give some material encouragement to high-school teachers who are disposed to attend annual meetings of professional associations or serve on working committees?

2. More schools offering modern languages: The high-school years have been described as a linguistic wasteland for an alarming proportion of students, and with some justification. A study conducted in 1955 by the Modern Language Association reveals that 56 percent of our public high schools fail to offer any modern foreign language, that only 14.3 percent of the total high-school population is currently enrolled in a modern foreign-language class (PMLA, September 1955). Along with measures to remedy this situation it might be advisable for a few of the larger cities to provide a specialized high school devoted to the teaching of foreign languages and cultures.

3. A longer sequence of study: Students with special interest and aptitude should be able to continue the language long enough to make real proficiency possible. The customary 2-year high-school program in modern language is unsuited to the needs of students today.

4. Opportunity to study Asiatic, African, and East European languages: Spanish and French are taught in all of the 41 States for which enrollment figures are available; German is taught in 32 States, Italian in 8. Polish, Greek, Hebrew, Russian, Portuguese, Norse, Chinese, and Swedish are available to an extremely limited extent. Eleven secondary schools are known to have classes in Russian, for example, and one offers spoken Chinese. Many current problems in international relations center in Asia and other areas that are little known in the United States; they are likely to be long with us, and their solution will require an ability to reach a meeting of minds with peoples whose traditions and psychology are almost a complete blank to most Americans. Will the present high-school generation be better prepared than their parents to maintain amicable relations with these areas of the world?

5. Instructional materials designed to develop skills in communication and cultural insights: New texts, kinescopes, wall pictures, and many kinds of materials are needed, pooling the best thinking and experience of the profession. Language laboratory facilities, to mention another necessity, are few and far between. Two years ago one of our linguistic scientists stated: "The time is past when a school can boast of possessing language laboratory facilities. The time is at hand when those who are lacking such facilities will have to find some explanation."

6. More interdepartmental planning: In the interest of economy, efficiency, and meaningful, integrated content, modern language instruction needs to be closely meshed with that in other fields.

7. More research and evaluative criteria: There are many questions that remain unanswered in the field of language learning and tests and measurements. Some significant research in psycholinguistics has already been done and more is in progress. Modern-language teachers need to assimilate and disseminate the results of such research and try to apply the best information available to the construction of measures by which they can evaluate progress in such abilities as speaking and listening comprehension, desirable attitudes toward other cultural groups, and changes in behavior patterns as a result of foreign-language study. It is as difficult in language as in social studies to evaluate attitudinal growth. Travel, for example, is believed to have some relation to better international understanding. Modern language study ought to motivate a student to travel, prepare him to profit more from the experience when the opportunity comes, and fit him to add his bit toward the creation of a more favorable attitude abroad toward United States citizens. How, therefore, do we judge to what extent this is happening? In the absence of adequate measuring devices, teachers should keep better anecdotal records and collect more samples of student and community reaction to apparently successful modern-language teaching.

In summary, modern languages for modern living are beginning to be taught in a new key—one attuned to an awareness of the ways on which language study can lead to cultural understanding—and the new key will be recognized more and more generally as greater numbers of teachers and students are prepared to feel at home in a second language. Clearer objectives and more direct ways of achieving them have been emerging in the wake of recent advances in linguistic science and with the trend toward interdepartmental or interdisciplinary approaches to language study. The improvements in progress and those remaining to be made coincide with the growing need for language proficiency in the national interest and with the widespread conviction that through language we get a personal view of peoples that we cannot get in any other way.

Girard and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle of June 12, 1957:

GIRARD AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Those outrages against national honor, tradition, and duty known as the status of forces agreements and treaties, now in effect with some 50 countries, have been brought into sharp focus for Americans by recent events. One is the charge that the Formosan riot which sacked the United States Embassy and the USIA office in T'ai-pei would not have happened if we had had such a treaty with Formosa and had turned over to local justice the fate of the Army sergeant who shot and killed a peeping tom spying on his home. Acquittal of the sergeant by an Army court-martial is regarded by irate Formosans, we are told, as a "whitewash."

More significant is the decision by the Commander in Chief, himself, President (and former general) Eisenhower that Sgt. W. S. Girard, of Ottowa, Ill., will be turned over to Japanese courts for "inflicting bodily injury causing the death" of Mrs. Naka Sakai on a firing range last January 30. Sergeant Girard was on duty, guarding United States property. Mrs. Sakai, in defiance of posted warnings, was salvaging empty shells fired on the range. Since the incident, the sergeant's case has provided a tug-of-cold-war between the State Department which wanted to turn him over to the importunate Japs and the Defense Department which originally did not. But the President, who signed the agreement, has decreed Japanese justice for Girard.

All of which should recall the consistent stand of the American Legion against the status-of-forces agreements and its repeated demands for the repeal of these and similar agreements. And the Girard decision returns the spotlight to the telegram of protest sent to the President only a few days ago by National Commander Dan Daniel, of Danville, Virginia.

"If our Government allows Japanese courts," wired Commander Daniel, "to try and punish Girard for an unfortunate accident that occurred while he was on duty then the Status of Forces Treaty and similar agreements are an even more inexcusable betrayal of the trust and rights of American servicemen stationed overseas to defend the freedoms which we so proudly proclaim in the Bill of Rights, including the right of trial by jury and the presumption of innocence until proven guilty.

"It is not William Girard who is on trial," the commander continued. "Rather, it is our Government. If our Government abandons Girard to Japanese justice (which it has now done), it will have notified the world that we will defend freedom for everyone except our own military personnel serving abroad."

The President has, by his action, answered Commander Daniel. He has answered the American people. He has answered the Armed Forces that he once led in the greatest struggle for human justice the world has yet seen. He has answered American youth that must soon be sworn to defend a Constitution that will not defend them.

A Salute to Two Distinguished North Carolinians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and satisfaction that I bring to the attention of the House today the devoted service of two distinguished North Carolinians in behalf of the farm families and the general agriculture and economic development of my State.

Upon these two men the United States Department of Agriculture recently bestowed its Superior Service awards. Summations of these awards read:

David S. Weaver, Extension Service, Raleigh, N. C., for encouraging farmers to modernize their operations which has been instrumental in bringing about greater efficiency and cultural advancement; and for promoting cooperative relationships among agricultural agencies and farm leaders.

Horace D. Godfrey, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation, Raleigh, N. C., for leadership in bringing about an outstanding degree of accuracy and efficiency in the operation of North Carolina ASC State and county offices; and for achieving the fullest cooperation of all agricultural agencies in the State.

Mr. Speaker, it has been through the work of such men as David S. Weaver and Horace D. Godfrey that our agriculture has become the most efficient of any nation, that Americans are the best fed people in the world and that consumers in our country, after paying for their food, have three-fourths of their income left for investment in good homes, modern, neat, and progressive communities, and in other necessities, conveniences, and comforts that together make a good life on an American standard of living that is the envy of the world.

Mr. Weaver is director of the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service. He was born at Westwood, Hamilton County, Ohio. He served with the infantry in World War I. After receiving his bachelor of science degree at Ohio State University in 1920, he turned his interests southward, and in 1925 was awarded his master of science degree in agricultural engineering at North Carolina State College.

He entered a distinguished career as a teacher, served for a while as principal engineer for the Federal Rural Electrification Administration in Washington, and then returned to North Carolina State College as head of the Department of Agricultural Engineering. He became director of the Agricultural Extension Service, North Carolina State College, in 1950.

His particular interests in professional work has included the improvement of the efficiency of human labor on farms; he conducted the first statewide rural electrification survey and was instrumental in formulating both State and Federal laws pertaining to rural electrification; and he encouraged the development of farm mechanization including tractors, combines, haying, and other laborsaving equipment.

He is the author of numerous scientific works. His membership in learned and professional societies include Phi Kappa Phi, Alpha Zeta, Delta Theta Sigma, and Kappa Sigma Pi.

Mr. Weaver, in 1950, was named Man of the Year in Service to North Carolina Agriculture by the Progressive Farmer. In 1955 he was given the Distinguished Service to Agriculture award by the North Carolina State Grange.

He is married and has three sons. He is a Presbyterian and a member of the Masonic order.

Horace Godfrey was born August 22, 1915, at Waxhaw, Union County, N. C. He is 1 of 6 sons and 4 daughters of the late Cloyd and Helen Therrell Godfrey. Following graduation from high school in 1932 he went to work and attended business school at night. Two years later he went to Raleigh as a comptometer operator for the old Agricultural Adjustment Administration. His appointment was only for 3 months, but now he is finishing out 23 years. His agency first was AAA, then PMA, and now is ASC—Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation.

Mr. Godfrey went into military service in January 1943 and served with the Army Air Corps. When World War II ended he returned to his job in Raleigh and resumed his climb upward. Since 1949 he has been the top administrator of his agency in North Carolina.

Recently he was elected chairman of the North Carolina Board of Farm Organizations and Agencies.

Mr. Godfrey was married in 1943 to Julia Orr, a native of Great Falls, S. C. There are three children. Mr. Godfrey is a Baptist and a member of the Masonic order.

Mr. Speaker, I sometimes wonder if the Nation fully realized how much all of us owe to such men as David S. Weaver and Horace D. Godfrey. They are making this a better country not only for farmers and their families whom they serve directly but for the people in the towns and cities as well.

They are the kind of men upon whom our farm families can confidently depend, to improve the conditions of our farms and to bring to agriculture an equitable share in the Nation's prosperity.

I salute these two devoted men and I commend the Department of Agriculture for bestowing upon them the superior service awards for their outstanding service.

Permanent U. N. Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present herewith a copy of the Gallup poll which appeared in the Washington Post on May 7 in regard to a permanent U. N. police force.

I should hope that committee hearings could be arranged soon on this important subject.

THE GALLUP POLL

(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

PERMANENT U. N. FORCE FAVORED

PRINCETON, N. J.—Has the influence of the United Nations increased or decreased as a result of the actions it has taken in the months since Suez erupted into a world threat?

To find out how Americans feel about it, the institute has just completed a survey in which a representative cross section of adults from coast to coast were interviewed on two questions concerning the world peace organization, whose success hinges to a large extent on the outcome of the Israeli-Egyptian problem.

The study shows that:

Twice as many Americans think the influence of the U. N. in recent months has increased as think it has decreased.

A majority of Americans think the U. N. should have its own permanent armed forces, including troops from the United States, which it could use to enforce its decisions.

Fewer than 1 person in every 4 believes that such a step would give too much power to the world organization.

The first question in today's survey:

"In general, do you think the influence of the United Nations has increased or decreased as a result of the actions it has taken recently?"

The vote:

U. N.'s influence

	Percent
Has increased	43
Decreased	22
Same, can't say	35

A 64-year-old Minneapolis lumber and hardware salesman put it this way: "If we didn't have the U. N., we would have been in war by now."

On the other hand, many who felt that the U. N. has lost influence in recent months pointed to its lack of authority in carrying out its resolutions.

Another question asked was:

"Do you think the U. N. should have its own permanent armed forces, including troops from the United States, which it could use to enforce U. N. decisions—or would that be giving too much power to the U. N.?"

The vote:

Armed forces for U. N.

	Percent
Yes, should have	53
No, should not	23
Can't say	24

It is interesting to note that among the college-trained group, the group which includes the opinion leaders of the country, majority sentiment holds that the influence of the U. N. in recent months has increased.

Similarly, a larger proportion of the college group believes that the world peace organization should have its own permanent armed forces to enforce its decisions.

Since its founding in 1945, many proposals have been made to strengthen the world peace organization.

Institute surveys as far back as 1948 have shown public opinion strongly in favor of establishing a U. N. police force to be used when needed in settling international disputes.

The President of the Republic of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago each Member of Congress received a brochure relating to the coming visit of Mr. Coty, President of the Republic of France.

Noting that the brochure repeatedly used and emphasized "republic," realization came that we do not, but should, emphasize that the United States is a republic. In a recent weekly newsletter, I commented as follows:

"The President of the Republic of the United States"—that, I feel, is the way our Presidents should be introduced.

This Nation is the oldest and most successful Republic in the history of the world. Kingdoms, duchies, dictatorships, whatever there may have been have fallen. In many instances, in recent years, the successor has been a republic, many of which I have visited. There has always been great pride in the reference by these citizens to their republic. It is never Korea—it is always the Republic of Korea. It is never Panama—it is the Republic of Panama—and so it goes all over the world.

Last week, Members of Congress received a brochure in advance of the visit of Mr. Coty, President of the French Republic.

The outer cover said, "State Visit to the United States of M. Rene Coty, President of the Republic of France. (Of course, to be consistent, I feel they should have said, "visit to the Republic of the United States.")

In a 3-page biography, 4 references were made to the French Republic.

In a four-page summary entitled "Functions of the President of the Republic," the words "President of the Republic," "Constitution of the Republic," and similar phrases are found.

The word "republic" is found 38 times on those 4 pages, and always it is "the President of the Republic," never just "the President."

If these newer, and less successful or stable, republics are justly proud of their status as a republic and stress it so much, do we not have even more reason to be proud of the fact that we, too, live in a republic and so refer to it? It is a little more cumbersome—that's true—but it is worth it.

So, to the citizens of this republic, it should be the Republic of the United States of America; and to us it should always be the President of the Republic of the United States of America.

And, after all, it should not be forgotten either that every one of our States is guaranteed a republican form of government by the Constitution of the Republic of the United States of America.

During this state visit, there will undoubtedly be many toasts. One toast, I hope, will be to the bright future of the Republic of the United States of America.

American Women as a Factor in Our Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished chairman of the board of General Mills, Inc., in Minneapolis, Mr. Harry A. Bullis, recently wrote an article for the Commercial and Financial Chronicle. The article is entitled "American Women Have Become the Economy's Prominent Factor" and it appeared in the Thursday, May 9, 1957, issue.

I ask unanimous consent that this deserved tribute to Mrs. America be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN WOMEN HAVE BECOME THE ECONOMY'S PROMINENT FACTOR

(By Harry A. Bullis)

(American women's outstanding record as money managers receive from Mr. Bullis a great deal of credit for accomplishments of the American democracy and economic system. After listing various data showing the extent of women's expeditures and savings, the General Mills' head notes that "women do not aspire to industrial or corporate management * * * [or try to gain] control of big corporations," but admits "undoubtedly they could if they set their minds to it." Though she is conservative and suspicious of debt, the author calls Mrs. America "the great determining factor in our dynamic free enterprise," and believes her high standards assure the country's economic future.)

The American woman is the most vital force in our social and economic development today—and certainly the most often discussed. The educator, the sociologist, churchmen of every denomination, the economist, and the manufacturer study her, write about her, weigh her attributes, measure her potentials as though she were a new species—or a force, newly unleashed, with potential for unlimited good.

All this speculation about the modern emancipated woman might lead a visitor from Mars to believe that mankind discovered atomic fission and the power of women at about the same time.

But leave it to a Frenchman to be quicker. Well over a hundred years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville, appraising the singular prosperity and growing strength of democracy in America, wrote "It ought mainly to be attributed to the superiority of their women."

Although I agree that the only man who really understands women is the one who admits he understands nothing at all about them, I will stick my chin out and say that I, as a businessman, at least have some understanding of the modern woman's power as the money manager. That is the result of statistics, not of any manifestation of superior masculine judgment.

FAMILY SPENDING

Statistics about women as money managers get quickly to the heart of the matter—the American home. Our national food bill is about $70 billion a year. Women handle most of this money. We will pass quickly over the $3 billion they spend in beauty shops and on cosmetics and get to the selection of refrigerators, electric stoves, irons, toasters, dishwashers—all those mechanical aids to a higher standard of living. Women control these expenditures, too. In fact, they are responsible for most of the family spending in our 43 million family units.

More statistics—yes. But even the ladies will tolerate statistics when favorable and regard them as masculine flattery to the seductive charms of the feminine wallet. I for one, and I am sure most American industrialists and economists, will admit that the hand that holds the family bankbook rules our economy.

Estimates of the spending power of women vary. The high estimate is 85 percent. But many market research authorities agree that women control about 60 percent of all personal consumption expenditures, which last year totaled nearly $266 billion. Sixty percent of that figure is $160 billion.

SAVINGS AND WEALTH

Women not only spend money. They save it, too. They own stocks worth about $100 billion. Half of the $110 billion in our savings accounts is theirs, as well as half the $66 billion in Government bonds. In addition they have $50 billion insurance on their own lives.

About 75 percent of all life insurance death benefits go to women—around $15 billion annually. Widows pay nearly 80 percent of inheritance taxes.

Last year a New York Stock Exchange survey revealed the wealth of American women. It found that 51.6 percent of all persons owning shares in public corporations were women, and only 48.4 percent men. Women stockholders numbered 4,455,000, a gain of 1,225,000 since 1952. In many large corporations, United States Steel for example—women considerably outnumber men as individual shareholders.

Here's still another way to say American women are a powerful financial influence—they control about 70 percent of estates, 48 percent of railway and utility holdings, 40 percent of the Nation's homes, 66 percent of mutual savings-bank accounts.

We could go on piling up golden evidence of women's might as owners of private capital. But we are discussing here women's power in our society as money managers. That's something else again.

Actually, despite all their wealth and their ownership of stocks and shares, women do not aspire to industrial or corporate management. You do not hear of women trying

to gain control of big corporations. Undoubtedly they could if they set their minds to it. But they seem to have other aspirations.

It is a revealing comment on women as money managers that even in companies where the majority of the stockholders are women, there are few women executives and fewer board members. In general, they seem to take little interest in the management of companies in which they are part owners. They are content to judge competence by dividends.

Actually, the great money manager is Mrs. America—the woman who runs the American home. Through the medium of the family budget, Mrs. America has become the dominant factor in the American economic scene. It is she, not the men, who directly control well over 60 percent of personal expenditures in the United States. By expressing her preferences in the market place, she sets standards of style and quality in many of our major industries.

She is courted by manufacturers and financiers alike. The first group hope to sell to her, the others have confidence in her dollar integrity. Mrs. America is generally rated as a better financial risk than her husband. Her name on a banknote or mortgage indicates payments are more likely to be made. Installment companies report that if the wife's name is on the contract, the furniture or the color TV or the new car are far less liable to be repossessed. One of the country's largest personal-loan companies has stated that a married woman as cosigner is their best security.

MRS. AMERICA IS CONSERVATIVE

Basically, Mrs. America is conservative. Her deepest purpose seems to be to have and to hold, to establish and maintain a safe and happy home. Everything she does is directly or indirectly related to this basic urge, whether it concerns making friends, taking up causes, joining groups, or in the way she spends family money. Esther Foley, astute home service director of True Story women's group, has found there are two distinct types of homemakers. The first, she says, is the planner. She plans all her expenditures for years ahead. Generally she lives on the edge of a large community.

The other type, according to Miss Foley's study, is the one who buys on impulse rather than on plan. She lives in the industrial parts of cities and her greatest interests seem to be her personal and family relationships in the community. Advertising and what the neighbors are doing influence her more than a predetermined pattern of spending.

Remember, both of these groups are money managers. Both variations of Mrs. America are interested in everything new that will make a better home, raise their living standards, and increase the security of their families.

But in the past 5 years, according to studies of the wage earner groups, the homemaker has developed a more critical attitude toward things offered her. She is developing a better sense of values. The modern day money manager takes a second look, often a third, before she relaxes her grip on the bankbook.

That is all to the good. And another wholesome development for our economy is that Mrs. America is showing a greater awareness of the fact that being in debt can bring trouble to the family.

As an example of this suspicion of debt, mortgages are being paid off in shorter periods than required. Commonly mortgages to finance new homes are made for 10 to 20 years. For GI's even longer. However, in recent years, under the conservative influence of young Mrs. America, the average life of such mortgages is down to 7½ years.

There is no doubt that this wiser spending and more conservative control of the family money is the result largely of better education. The new Mrs. America is unquestionably better schooled, has traveled more and thought more about basic human and national problems than her grandmother. She is not afraid to be intelligent. Nor does the modern young Mr. America wants his wife to be just a good cook and a slave to child raising. He wants her to look young and attractive and to be a good companion. More and more marriage is becoming a partnership of equals based on love, children and home, in which each related person is a respected member in full standing.

I do not go along with those who speak of Mrs. America as though she were an isolated factor. She may be wise, beautiful, independent and alert. She may be the money manager of the family. But she is a part of the whole, an indispensable member of a closely knit social group, who influences the other members of her family. Nevertheless, she in turn is influenced by their prejudices and likes and attitudes. To speak of Mrs. America as a thing apart, as the spender of the family income as though she, alone, had that income to spend, is nonsense. No mister, no missus. No children, no family. It's as simple as that.

ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF MRS. AMERICA

Of course, many a Mrs. America does help bring in some of the family income. About 30 percent of all married women in the United States take jobs outside the home either to improve their standard of living, to guarantee better education to their children, or just because they find working is psychologically important to them. Whatever the reason, these working mothers contribute substantially to total consumer buying power. And furthermore, economists, expecting our total labor force to increase by 10 million before 1965, predict that more than half of that increase will be women.

Our constantly rising cost of living frequently takes the question of "should a married woman work or stay at home" out of the realm of moral debate. Often the double pay check is a family necessity. The national Manpower Council in its latest study sums it up this way—"The desire to achieve a richer life for the family, measured not only in physical goods and possessions but also in more education and better medical care, has such widespread approval that it provides a generally acceptable reason for married women, whose responsibilities at home do not absorb all of their time and energy, to go to work."

When Mrs. America does help bring home part of the family bacon, she often assumes considerable importance in the economic life of the Nation. These figures from the Department of Labor point up that fact. The number of women in the classification called managers, officials, and proprietors, increased from about 450,000 in 1940, to 932,000 in 1956.

Women in the classification of professional workers grew from 1,157,000 in 1940 to 2,125,000 in 1956.

Combining these classifications we have over 3 million women who may be called "business and professional women." Many of them are Mrs. America, remember.

However, I do not think these figures about women who work outside the home should lead us to believe that Mrs. America devotes as much of her skill as a money manager in the office or corporation as she does in her own home. Generally, women do not show as much interest in handling great wealth as they do in the wise and profitable spending of their dividends. They tend to trust their brokers, brothers, trust officers, or corporation directors with those things. Nor do I think you will find many women vitally concerned with the operating policies of the companies for which they work or in which they have money invested.

CONCLUSIONS

With Mrs. America at home, things are different. There she becomes the experienced, almost dedicated money manager fired by love of her family, to investigate, appraise, and buy every new product or service that will raise her standard of living. It is in this role of director of the domestic budget that she has won such power in our modern economic system.

Mrs. America, therefore, can be called the great determining factor in our dynamic free enterprise. As long as she is determined to keep her home standards high, to assure the best health and the best education for her family, to provide them with everything good the economic future of this country will be assured, and the American way of life, symbolized by Mrs. America, will continue to inspire the rest of the world.

Alexis de Tocqueville's appraisal was indeed correct. America will always be strong because of the superiority of her women.

Conservation of America's Forests

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, there is now before the Conference Committee on Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1958 a very important question regarding conservation of America's forests. There are some phases of the tree-planting program under the soil bank on which general information will, I think, be helpful.

The $5 million for nursery operation and development being considered by Congress for fiscal year 1958 under the soil-bank program will enable the State foresters to meet the unprecedented demand for nursery seedlings. This need is particularly acute in Florida and other Southern States. The soil bank tree planting signup to date in Florida makes up 9 percent of the entire national signup. The Florida State forester expended capacity of three existing State nurseries in fiscal year 1957 with soil-bank funds. Next winter, he will have about 46 million soil-bank seedlings available and can produce up to about 58 million seedlings for this program in each remaining year for the life of the program.

It is planned to use $4,500,000 of the $5 million in the budget for fiscal year 1958 for purchasing seed, operating nurseries, and purchasing seedlings from commercial nurseries. The remaining $500,000 will be used to complete expansion of soil-bank nurseries started in fiscal year 1957.

For fiscal year 1956 commercial nurseries produced an output of 76,923,000 seedlings for forest and shelterbelt planting; whereas production of similar stock by State foresters was 580,884,000; by forest industries was 77,307,000; by Forest Service and TVA was 141,850,000;

and by soil conservation districts, counties and municipalities was 9,004,000. This output from all sources totaled 385,968,000, of which the commercial nurseries share was 8.7 percent, and for State nurseries was 65.6 percent. An equivalent of this entire fiscal year 1956 output from all sources was planned as the annual soil bank need for nursery stock. The State foresters had the experience and basic facilities to provide for rapid expansion of nursery production. They were willing to do the job based on cooperative agreements and are in a position to distribute the needed planting stock through their regular distribution systems. Agreements have been made with 33 State foresters accordingly. No expansion of Federal nurseries has been made or is contemplated. Full consideration has been and will continue to be given to acquiring adapted nursery stock from commercial nurseries when available at reasonable prices. In many States and groups of States where large signup is developing, there are no commercial nurseries producing the class of stock required. Each of the State foresters considered fully the commercial nursery capacities and potentials in his State before preparing plans for expansion and production schedules in State nurseries. Although State nurseries are ordinarily able to provide stock at cheaper prices for soil-bank use than are commercial nurseries, this was not the determining factor in planning program stock sources. It appears that the assistance of all types of nurseries will be needed to meet the accelerated demands for soil-bank nursery stock. Commercial nurseries will especially be of importance in providing hardwood stock for soil-bank shelterbelts and post lots in the Great Plains.

Tree planting accomplishment is forging ahead under the impetus provided by the soil bank program. The State foresters are proceeding with renewed determination to attack the job of planting the some 60 million acres in need of forestation.

Tree planting signup under the soil-bank program has been heavy in some States and light in others. Florida is the third State in magnitude in this tree planting signup and furnishes an outstanding example of tree planting interest and cooperation.

Farmers basically want to make the wisest use of their land and a considerable acreage will be shifted to trees. Some farmers are expected to move slowly in making this shift and signup is expected to continue until the deadline of 1960. State foresters are confident that signup will increase and are going forward accordingly.

Actual soil-bank signup through April 15, 1957, in Florida was 49,764 acres and is expected to increase rapidly. The comparable national signup was 562,165 acres. Florida is estimated to have 480,609 acres that should be shifted from cultivation to trees and at least one-half of this is expected to be signed up in the soil bank program.

I feel there is a justification for the funds that have been requested and that our Nation will benefit by the expenditure.

The Lawyer's Concern About Taxes: We Must End Confiscation by Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following very distinguished article by Mr. Charles W. Briggs, entitled "The Lawyer's Concern About Taxes: We Must End Confiscation by Taxation," is truly important and very worthy of our attention.

H. R. 6452, introduced by the distinguished Member from Connecticut, Mr. SADLAK, is given well-merited attention in Mr. Briggs' article, and this bill should also receive our most thoughtful and cooperative consideration.

Mr. Speaker, we must consider the reformation of the graduated income tax in this country and the time is growing late:

THE LAWYER'S CONCERN ABOUT TAXES: WE MUST END CONFISCATION BY TAXATION

(By Charles W. Briggs, of the Minnesota bar (St. Paul))

(Mr. Briggs is concerned about two problems that are as old as civilization: taxation and inflation. Our present tax structure, he writes, is unsound and dangerous because it is drying up the sources of capital needed for the investments in new enterprises that lead to expanding economy. He urges the legal profession to support a bill, H. R. 6452, sponsored by Representative SADLAK, of Connecticut, which over a 5-year period would reduce the present high rates of tax progression to more moderate proportions.)

Systematic efforts to smash capitalism (private capitalism) are no longer to be ignored by the legal profession. Ultimate survival of the profession is involved. Capitalism describes a way of economic and social life which cannot thrive upon apologies for the institutions of private property, economic competition, and freedom of enterprise. The legal profession has lived with and upon capitalism in a symbiotic relationship. From capitalism as a host the legal profession has drawn its sustenance and strength, indeed its very life. Reciprocally the profession has formulated and applied the rules and principles for the Government of a free-enterprise system in which capitalism is able to survive. Once either of the parties to this relationship perishes the other dies also. Those who remain to be called lawyers speedily become the abject minions of the state—their freedom and emoluments gone. It is timely that we point out here the significance to lawyers of the possible demise of capitalism. The miserable condition and subservient position of the bar in totalitarian countries today is ample justification for concern. With the disappearance of a capitalistic society goes also the legal profession, a necessary and effective force in the defense of individual liberty.

There has been for some time a mounting apprehension of what inordinately high taxes and inflation, the twin despoilers of ancient lineage, may do to our social and economic structure. The lawyers may well constitute an effective core of resistance to the use of these weapons. Lawyers should not be indifferent while in the legislative mold is cast the legal framework of our society and our economy.

Quite often lawyers pursue a narrow and legalistic course in the tax field. They focus their attention upon particular cases while they neglect the public interest and too often ignore the broader economic and social aspects of our over-all tax structure. Is this the sole and inescapable mission of one who tends to the business of clients? We think not. The bar is honored by distinguished members who have in various fields unselfishly devoted themselves to the triumph of fundamental ideas and concepts in government and law as distinguished from exhibiting primary interest in persons and events. By doing so they have served both their clients and the public well—sometimes perhaps without the reward of soul stirring appreciation of their efforts.

There are many enormities in our taxation systems.

A DOUBLE WRINGER: TAXATION AND INFLATION

History affords ample demonstration of the withering blight of such enormities. Every nation of which we have any record has passed through the double wringer of confiscatory taxation and inflation. We feel tempted to follow Justice Holmes' aphorism: "Continuity with the past is * * * a necessity * * * a page of history is worth a volume of logic." But the area of discussion is necessarily limited.

Let us now throw upon the screen a chart which gives a convincing picture of one enormity—the terrific impact of our Federal progressive rate structure:

Taxable income		Pay	Tax rate in excess over first column
Over	Not over		
			Percent
$2,000	$4,000	$400	22
$4,000	6,000	840	26
$8,000	10,000	1,960	34
$10,000	12,000	2,640	38
$16,000	18,000	5,200	50
$20,000	22,000	7,260	56
$26,000	32,000	10,740	62
$32,000	38,000	14,460	65
$50,000	60,000	26,820	75
$100,000	150,000	67,320	89
$150,000	200,000	111,820	90
$200,000		156,820	91

The discriminatory and confiscatory character of these rates and the in-between rates (not quoted) is visibly shocking. It approaches incredulity that any part of a taxpayer's income should be subjected to such a paralyzing grab. One might almost stop right here with the assurance that the table carries its own demonstration.

PROGRESSIVE TAXES, AN UNEASY CASE

It is recognized that progressive rates of income taxation are difficult to justify. They are patently discriminatory, based as they are upon the elusive theory of ability to pay.

And here is the paradox we live with: The Constitution says that your property shall not be taken without just compensation; but your income and property can be confiscated without limit under the constitutional power to tax.

Professors Blum and Kalven of the University of Chicago Law School in their recent book say this: "The case for progression * * * turns out to be stubborn and uneasy." They conclude: "The case has strong appeal when progressive taxation is viewed as a means of reducing economic inequalities." It might have been more boldly put this way: "Progression embodies as its most active ingredient a 'soak the rich' or 'share the wealth' complex well seasoned with displeasure about the many inequalities which no organized society on earth can remove." You may sprinkle in a lot of envy to complete the mixture. Through the ages a prevalent and festering cause of discontent has been merely that someone else has more. Progressive taxation is the forerunner of an

equalitarian society where needs take precedence over abilities, and equity is dissolved in passion and prejudice.

But we are not proposing the abolishment of progression now.

We do propose softening its impact within a framework designed by Representative ANTONI N. SADLAK'S bill, H. R. 6452, introduced in the House of Representatives on March 28, 1957. The plan is to accomplish within 5 years a reduction of the starting rate and a telescoping of the individual surtax rates so that the top rate will be 42 percent and the starting rate 15 percent; also to reduce the combined normal and surtax corporate rate to 42 percent.

The mechanics of the plan give no trouble. They can be varied to suit convenience, while the principle is kept. A short explanation later will suffice.

The plan must stand or fall on its justification. The case for the plan is more important than the plan itself. The first essential is a conviction that the surtax rates for good and sound reasons must come down.

Let us look at some of these compelling reasons:

1. Income tax progression is one of the demolition tools of the Socialists: Their strategists say: "Let us have steeply progressive rates in order to sabotage private enterprise and the institution of private property." They want to make every individual a servile minion of the State shorn of freedom to accumulate private means. They know that the earning power of private property constitutes a lasting base of individual liberty.

Another demolition tool of the Socialists is the debauching of the money by inflation. We shall have a little more to say about this one later on.

2. Our progressive rates work a stagnation or drying up of equity investment capital. This is so because of their sickening impact upon the taxpayers in the middle and higher brackets. The middle class especially takes a drubbing.

It is pretty well established now that equity capital must eventually come out of the savings of the middle class and above middle class taxpayers. It is also conceded that the capital needs of the country should be largely financed out of savings and not by an excessive expansion of the money supply.

We need only take a hop, skip and jump up the Federal income tax rate scale to be amazed at the steepness of the climb. Let us peg the rates at a few stops. Over bracket income of $10,000 the collector begins to snatch 38 percent; over $16,000, 50 percent; over $32,000, 65 percent; over $50,000, 75 percent; and over $200,000, 91 percent. Manifest on the face of the rate schedule without more is discrimination par excellence. There is yet to appear one who can successfully refute this.

The natural impression is that such a tax grab is wrong once it is understood. Public sentiment has been so registered in nationwide polls. The "$64,000 Question" program on TV shocked people into the realization that the winning of the second $32,000 would cost a winner with a $4,000 income about $24,000 in taxes. The first $32,000 would cost him over $15,000 in taxes. To keep $64,000 after taxes he would have to take in $450,000.

The sponsors of the Sixteenth Amendment back in 1913 had a premonition about the possible economic havoc and destruction that would result from exorbitant income tax rates. They realized, of course, that the sky was the limit and that they were empowering Congress legally to take away the last penny of a taxpayer's income. But they could not imagine nor foresee a rate higher than 10 percent. Therefore no limit on the rate was incorporated in the amendment. But we have had a look at the rate structure today. If this plundering of the taxpayer had been anticipated in 1913 the Sixteenth Amendment would never have been adopted. If this Amendment were sent to the country today together with the history of its application it would not be ratified.

And here is a most significant fact that few people realize: The overtaxation in the middle and higher brackets produces only a small proportion of the total income tax revenues. The graduated surtaxes produce only about 17 percent, or about $5.5 billion while the starting rate of 20 percent produces 83 percent, or about $26.5 billion.

The progressive elements in all surtax rates above 34 percent now produce only $3½ billion in taxes.

If the Federal Government confiscated all taxable income above $10,000 per taxpayer it would by that drastic progression take in only about $4½ billion over and above the $5½ billion now taken, or about one-fifteenth of what it takes to run the Federal Government a year.

The punitive character of the rate progression stands out boldly. Seventy percent of the taxable individual income falls in the brackets below $5,000. The Federal expenditure budget can never be met by squeezing dry the taxpayers in the middle and higher brackets.

A FAR GREATER DANGER: STIFLED INCENTIVE

But rate progression in our Federal tax system does far greater damage than to confiscate savings for capital investment. It stifles the incentive to earn, to produce, to save, and to invest. In fact, this is common gossip in the market place. The widespread pressure for relief provisions in the Revenue Code is strong prima facie proof of the injustice of present rate progression. When money can no longer earn a fair return after taxes for investment risk the middle class is liquidated.

The chief incentive offered by business is financial profit. That incentive atrophies if the reward is not worth the struggle.

The rate of return is a controlling factor in taking investment risk.

Suppose an investment pays 5 percent per annum. The rate of return on this income falling within the bracket of $16,000 to $18,000 is 2½ percent; within the bracket of $22,000 to $24,000, 2.05 percent; within the bracket of $50,000 to $60,000, 1.25 percent. The rate of return progressively declines as the altitude of the income brackets increases.

Such returns hardly justify putting equity capital to work. America was not built on such trifling compensation for risking capital.

The squeeze of rate progression takes from individuals money that should be invested in business, industry, and production. Saving for investment should be a natural and normal process controlled by individual choice and selection.

To the extent that the furnishing of equity capital ceases to be a privilege and responsibility of private investors the strength of the capitalistic system declines and eventually statism takes over while free enterprise is suffocated.

Government cannot successfully determine the employment of capital so as to preserve that all important essential of versatility in investment. Government interventions always produce an imbalance between production and the demands of a free market—so true of discriminatory taxation.

Our present Federal tax structure is a perfectly fashioned instrument of paternalism—for Government control and manipulation of the national economy.

The progressive rates we have now assess a drastic penalty against the efficient and successful. A young man today starts on a treadmill insofar as savings are concerned. We hear much concern expressed for the small-business man that does not square with our shackling tax policies. We appear to say to him: "The Government should guide and keep you; should see that you advance your prospects and make your business grow." At the same time the larger he grows the more the Government demands in taxes. Uncle Sam proposes to fatten the small-business man and then process him in the graduated tax mill.

There are other indirect effects upon the size of business units. Taxes—and we include here estate and gift taxes—are a mischievous force that is inevitably furthering the concentration of economic power in this country. With excessive taxation the small closely held business finds it difficult to survive, the promises of Government largesse notwithstanding.

The most effective tonic that could be prescribed for business, small and big, is tax reduction.

3. The present progressive rates create pressures for further inflation. Here we come to grips with a twin despoiler of ancient lineage—that soothing sirup used by nations to dull the pain of economic troubles.

We still like the taste of this economic panacea. While the left arm of the Government is raised to ward off inflation, the right arm is feeding inflation by increased spending.

Inflation is a palliative for high taxes. It is a process of attempted recoupment of business costs including taxes. Buying power in the market has been and is created by expansion of bank loans. Increased costs including taxes add to needs for credit. As bank credits go up so does the money supply which accelerates the chase after commodities.

Taxpayers subjected to present taxes and increases in other costs of operation will employ every legitimate means to protect profit levels after taxes and to accumulate reserves of capital.

Inflation appears to be the seductive answer. The popular thing is to keep a central blood bank of tax money and credit under Federal auspices. Transfusion will be ready whenever and wherever even a slight anemia shows up in the boom. Any drop in prices is a signal for the economic doctors to go into action. It probably has occurred to them that the anemic condition in the economy is due to draining of the tax blood from their patients in the first place.

Right now as costs go up we have the perfect climate and mood for further inflation. Will we succumb again? We are familiar with the factors and conditions that constitute the potential push up the inflationary spiral. They make a dismal record in history.

Inflation has enabled producers for a time to keep ahead of increased costs, including even inordinate taxes. It has made possible self-financing on a large scale.

The docility with which even preposterous levels of taxation are accepted by some is hard to explain. Many taxpayers seem to be saying: "You might just as well relax and enjoy it."

The explanation must lie in the compensating antidote of inflation—that most insidious of all social thefts. There is even now building up a tremendous demand for more bank loans and consumer credit.

UNLESS WE KNOW THE PAST WE SHALL REPEAT IT

But there is one dismal fact of history we should never forget. It is that no established program of manufacturing an excessive supply of money or other circulating media in order to present a captivating mirage of prosperity can be stopped short of economic disaster. We can well profit by the wise words of Santayana: "He who does not know the past is doomed to repeat it."

We are aware that the reduction of income taxes may have two opposing influences: (1) the increase of buying pressures which is a factor in the generation of infla-

tion; (2) a decrease in the tendency to replenish capital out of the fruits of inflation.

Which factor predominates in immediate influence depends largely upon where in the income scale the tax reductions are made. If they are made in the lower income brackets consumption power will be raised more than if they were made in the middle and higher brackets. In other words, a pattern of reduction that accrues more largely to the middle and higher brackets may be expected to release less in consumption expenditures and contribute more to capital formation than a pattern which accrues to the lower brackets. The percentage of income consumed declines as we move up the income scale, whereas capital for risk investment comes largely from the middle and higher brackets. Therefore it is logical to expect that a lowering of the surtax rates would diminish the urge to foster and make use of the usual inflationary formula to make capital available to business and industry.

Formulating a tax program that does not in operation induce inflation as a palliative would in the end prove to be of everlasting benefit to a sound and free economy.

We should not become addicted to perpetual inflation as the only relief from taxation and the open sesame to prosperity.

4. The harshness of rate progression drives taxpayers to the practice of tax circumvention. There is an irresistible impulse to resist plunder whether or not it is officially perpetrated. It has been commanded throughout the ages of human experience: "Thou shalt not covet nor steal."

There is another far reaching consequence of steep progression. Business and estate plans are cast in weird and unnatural forms in order to stay the tax collector's hand. All our affairs are enveloped in a smog of taxation.

Inevitably we come to a diversionary twist employed by the opponents of surtax reduction.

We are all familiar with certain provisions in the revenue code that operate in some instances to mitigate the harshness of progression.

Now unfortunately all these relief provisions have been classified as loopholes. Sometimes they are mistakenly called "erosions of the tax base." Whatever the designation, the impression sought to be created is that the relief provisions in the code are specially designed escape hatches. Through these escape hatches the unworthy taxpayers in the high brackets are supposed to be freed from discriminatory tax burdens. All this is pictured as an outrage upon the overall statutory purpose and intendment to soak progressively taxpayers in the higher brackets.

But it is admitted that after the so-called loopholes are closed by elimination of the relief provisions, reduction in the steepness of progression would be in order.

This is not the frank and effective way to deal with a suspected evil. It seeks to avoid meeting directly and on the merits the charges lodged against present rate progressions.

Let us begin our search for a remedy where the major trouble started. We may find that we lost an important part of our birthright as free men when the 16th amendment was adopted without any rate limitations. The surtax rate should first be brought down to reasonable levels. Then these relief provisions can be examined systematically and fairly each on its own merits. Many of them affect taxpayers of every degree—personal exemptions, for instance. Many are by no means of universal application—exemptions for cooperatives, for instance. Most of them have already been amply justified and should not be repealed no matter what the tax rates are.

Any attempt to make elimination of relief provisions a condition precedent to moderating rate progression will end in no tax amelioration for the middle and higher brackets.

Overall tax rates should be made fair to all. They should not inflict unjust punishment upon any taxpayer because another escapes them.

THE SADLAK BILL: A FEASIBLE PLAN

Now as to cutting down the tax rates. The plan is feasible because the margin for tax reduction is provided by economic growth.

We assume an expanding American economy. As the economy expands so does the amount of Federal tax revenues from any given set of rates but in greater proportion.

Under the plan proposed in Mr. SADLAK'S bill, the coordinated reductions in the individual rates over a 5-year period beginning January 1, 1958, would take place as shown in table I.

It is also proposed in the bill to reduce the corporate income tax rates over the same period by the steps shown in table II.

TABLE I.—*Individual tax rates*

Taxable bracket [1]	Present	Jan. 1—				
		1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
(Thousands)						
$0 to $2	20	19.0	18.0	17.0	16.0	15
$2 to $4	22	20.5	19.5	18.5	17.5	16
$4 to $6	26	24.5	23.0	21.5	20.0	17
$6 to $8	30	28.0	26.0	24.0	21.0	18
$8 to $10	34	31.0	28.0	25.0	22.0	19
$10 to $12	38	35.0	32.0	28.0	24.0	20
$12 to $14	43	39.0	35.0	31.0	26.0	21
$14 to $16	47	42.0	37.0	32.0	27.0	22
$16 to $18	50	45.0	40.0	35.0	29.0	23
$18 to $20	53	48.0	42.0	36.0	30.0	24
$20 to $22	56	50.0	44.0	38.0	32.0	25
$22 to $26	59	53.0	47.0	40.0	33.0	26
$26 to $32	62	55.0	48.0	41.0	34.0	27
$32 to $38	65	58.0	51.0	43.0	36.0	28
$38 to $44	69	61.0	53.0	45.0	37.0	29
$44 to $50	72	64.0	56.0	47.0	38.0	30
$50 to $60	75	66.0	57.0	48.0	39.0	31
$60 to $70	78	69.0	60.0	51.0	40.0	32
$70 to $80	81	71.0	62.0	52.0	41.0	33
$80 to $90	84	74.0	64.0	54.0	44.0	34
$90 to $100	87	76.0	66.0	56.0	46.0	36
$100 to $150	89	78.0	68.0	58.0	48.0	38
$150 to $200	90	80.0	70.0	60.0	50.0	40
$200 and over	91	82.0	72.0	62.0	52.0	42

[1] After deductions and exemptions.

TABLE II.—*Corporate tax rates*

	Present	Jan. 1—				
		1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Normal tax [1]	30	28	26	24	23	22
Surtax [2]	22	22	22	22	21	20
Combined						
Tax rate [2]	52	50	48	46	44	42

[1] On all net income.
[2] On net income exceeding $25,000.

We assume a conservative average economic growth of 3 percent a year during the next 5 years measured by physical volume of goods and services.

To assure the realism and feasibility of the tax reduction plan it is not necessary to predicate economic growth upon inflation.

Time will not permit going into detailed financial and economic figures. They do support a conservative estimate that over a period of 5 years expansion of the revenue base would amply justify the proposed tax reductions and leave a balance for further reductions or for debt retirement.

It is sometimes asked by taxpayers who support the plan, why not a top tax rate of 50 percent instead of 42 percent? Let us point out that the difference in taxes collected under the present rate schedule would be only about $250 million. If the top rate were reduced to 35 percent that difference would approximate about $1 billion. Compare these differences with an expenditure budget of $72 billion, projected for fiscal 1958. It is estimated that at the end of 5 years the resultant annual tax saving to individual taxpayers would amount to $10.6 billion and that the corporate tax savings would amount to $4.2 billion. These sums so released from taxation would then be available for private investment.

Let the legal profession weigh carefully the idea that the primary function of taxation is to parcel out the wealth and income of the Nation under a controlled economy. The consequences of its implementation may be catastrophic.

Thomas Babington Macaulay left us a striking formula for the preservation of individual liberty and free enterprise. The above tax reduction proposal is in keeping. He said: "Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the people by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties; by leaving capital to find its most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment; by maintaining peace; by defending property, by diminishing the price of law and by observing economy in every department of the state. * * * Let the Government do these—assuredly the people will do the rest."

Donegal Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an item appearing in the Irish Digest, April 1957. My remarks are directed to my colleague from Texas, Congressman PAUL J. KILDAY—from one Irishman to another:

DONEGAL CONGRESSMEN

Donegal has a unique claim on two of the new Congressmen in the House of Representatives at Washington. Both are the sons of parents who were born in Kilcar and they are relatives, but they sit on opposite sides of the House—one is a Democrat, the other a Republican.

The Democrat, PAUL J. KILDAY, hails from San Antonio, Tex. He is a son of Pat Kilday, who emigrated from Ireland in 1871. Hanging on a wall in PAUL'S house is a picture of the thatched cottage in which his father was born. PAUL took the photo a few years ago on a visit to his Donegal cousin, John Gildea.

PAUL is a man with many brothers: James is Assistant Attorney General of the United States; Owen is the sheriff of Bexar County, Tex.; William an executive with General Motors; Tom is in the Army, a lieutenant colonel; and Frank is a priest, Rev. F. A. Kilday, O. M. I.

The new Republican Congressman, EMMET F. BYRNE, is a brilliant lawyer from Chicago. Attorney BYRNE led for the State in the famous Loeb-Leopold murder case. During the 5 years when the gangsters were on top in Chicago he risked his life many times in prosecuting them.

To Red China: No

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am including an editorial that appeared in the Sunday Standard Times of New Bedford, Mass., on the subject of trade with Red China. The editorial follows:

TO RED CHINA: NO

There are those in the United States who call for American diplomatic recognition of Red China. The June issue of Harper's magazine sets forth succinctly certain of the arguments often cited in defense of this point of view.

Recognition, it is said, would give America a chance to get some intelligent observers inside what may prove to be a dangerous foe.

But the United States has had such observers inside Russia, its most dangerous enemy, since 1933. History would indicate these observers do not learn anything the Soviet Union does not want them to know. The same thing would be true in Red China.

It is suggested the United States should bend every effort to loosen the ties between China and Russia because a combination of 200 million Russians and 600 million Chinese would confront America with an array of military manpower the Western nations could "never hope to cope with."

Modern war is not won or lost on the basis of manpower, but on such factors as technology, production, and transportation. It is not particularly relevant whether the West has 800 million men to match this number of Communist forces. Because of technological and other advances, every western soldier would be equal to a certain number of Eastern opponents; whatever the ratio might be, it would be a lot higher than 1 to 1.

Proponents of recognition say uncommitted Asian nations see in nonrecognition a vestige of Western colonialism and a sign of the white man's unwillingness to come to terms with the new Asia.

Truly uncommitted Asian nations fear deeply the immoral Government of Peiping, which deprives its subjects of law, justice, livelihood, religion, liberty, and life itself, and which obviously threatens the "new Asia" more than Western colonialism ever did.

Recognition, say its adherents, might lead to "settlement" of the Formosa dispute * * * "which would save a good deal of manpower and money."

Yet any "settlement" of this "dispute" based on recognition of Peiping would mean a settlement on Communist terms—that is, elimination of the only free government of China and the end of hope for millions of Chinese.

It is further suggested recognition would lead to opening up trade between China and other Western nations, and that non-recognition keeps China almost entirely dependent on Moscow, thus strengthening, instead of loosening, the bonds between the two nations.

The fact is that the economic link between Moscow and Peiping is secondary. The ideological link which envisages conquest of the United States, would be strengthened, not weakened, by any Western trade which bolsters Red economy and thus strengthens Red Government.

Basically, the arguments for recognition have one major weakness: They refuse to take seriously Mao Tse-tung's own statement that, after Chiang Kai-shek, his principal enemy is the United States.

America: One Nation Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN F. JAMES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, the Upper Darby Post of the American Legion, in further promotion of interest in Flag Day, recently sponsored a competition among the junior high schools of Delaware County, Pa., on the subject "America: One Nation Under God."

This countywide competition was won by Miss Elizabeth Ann Whitman, a student of the Upper Darby Junior High School, located in the Seventh Congressional District which I have the honor to represent.

Miss Whitman, 14 years of age, is the daughter of Dr. B. L. Whitman, 843 Drexel Avenue, Drexel Hill, Delaware County, Pa., and the granddaughter of Mr. Roy L. Whitman, Official Reporter of Debates, here in our United States House of Representatives.

The winning composition by Miss Whitmar follows:

AMERICA: ONE NATION UNDER GOD

(By Elizabeth Ann Whitman)

"One Nation under God" was the dream of the early Pilgrims who came here for religious freedom. Through the years Americans have fought to keep this belief. It is the cornerstone on which America was founded. It is the basis for all the other laws and beliefs which make America what it is. For only a nation "under God" and not under a tyrant or dictator would permit freedom of speech and religion. Only a nation with such a belief would practice brotherhood as America has, practicing the Golden Rule of "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

As long as we are under God we will remain "indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." God has made us a strong nation, and one that believes in the dignity and worth of every human being. God has made us a prosperous nation, a land of opportunity. For when all the people, no matter what their religion, believe in God, this belief unites them and by working together they can accomplish many good things. But we must not let this abundance and prosperity make us forget God.

This Nation withstood two World Wars, and many wars before that, such as the Civil War, to keep us "One Nation under God."

Surely our brave ancestors, who fought and died for this belief, would want us to carry it on. We must protect our country from aggression to keep it whole. We can work for this by planting it in the hearts of all future generations and practicing it ourselves. So our pledge of allegiance should be a motto for us all to follow and strive for If we forget it, we cannot remain what we are. But if everyone will practice it, surely we will remain "One Nation under God" forever.

Schools and State Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the people of Virginia are now facing a momentous decision. The question probably will be decided this fall—whether Virginia will accept integration or whether it will fight to retain States' rights, purity of the races and our way of life. There is much more at stake than is apparent at first glance. Mongrelizing the races in this country will soon lead to destruction of this great Nation as we know it.

There appeared in the Richmond News Leader of Monday, June 17, 1957, an editorial entitled "Schools and State Policy." I commend the editor, James J. Kilpatrick, for his forthright, well-thought-out, logical editorial. There is no man who is better versed on the problems confronting us as a result of the lamentable decision of the Supreme Court in reversing the separate but equal school doctrine that has heretofore been the law of the land. Mr. Kilpatrick has rendered a real service to the people of Virginia. He has forcefully pointed up the problems we face and the consequences that will follow after the decisions are made. I commend him for the great work he has done and will continue to do in the future.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial mentioned above, which is as follows:

SCHOOLS AND STATE POLICY

Several events in recent weeks have prompted this newspaper to attempt today a restatement of the considerations that have impelled us to oppose any local option system of meeting the school-segregation problem. Senator Tad Dalton's statements, former Gov. Colgate Darden's recent renewal of his views, Mrs. Agnes Meyer's speech in Arlington—all these suggest that a review may be useful of certain considerations and convictions that seem to us inescapable.

By way of background, it may be emphasized that if Walter Gambill had wished to include the Richmond News Leader in his list of those who once favored local option (see today's Forum), he would have been wholly accurate. When the Supreme Court's opinion first came down in May of 1954, this newspaper reacted, as many others did, with an instinctive sense of automatic obedience to Supreme Court commands. Searching for a way to minimize the impact of that decision, we, too, once urged that localities be given highly flexible powers to deal with local problems in order to preserve the greatest possible separation of races.

It was not until the summer of 1955, more than a year after the decision, that the terrible violence the Court had done the Constitution became clear to us. Not until that time were the social consequences of race mixing in the South's public schools fully perceived. But in June of 1955, we fixed an editorial policy predicated upon what has been termed massive resistance. That policy still seems to us, after months of reflection, the best and wisest and boldest course, the course most in keeping with Virginia tradi-

tion, the course most calculated to benefit the people of Virginia and the law of the land.

From the very beginning, the arguments in favor of retaining a State policy of racial separation, as distinguished from a local policy of limited integration, have fallen under two headings—the constitutional considerations and the social considerations.

WE ACT AS STATES

What is woefully misunderstood in most casual thought upon the structure of American Government is the unique role of the States. Under our Federal system, the States—not the people as individuals, not the people of the country as a whole, not the localities, certainly not the Federal Government—possess ultimate sovereignty. It is the States alone acting as States, that can make or unmake the Constitution; it is the States alone that can delegate a power to the Federal Government, or take a power back; it is the States alone, acting as States, that may prohibit to themselves, by amendment of the Constitution, the exercise of a particular power. The Constitution never was ratified by the people. It was ratified by States, and it binds whole States. Whenever we act politically, we act as States.

Once this concept is grasped, of State sovereignty, and State citizenship, and State authority, the fallacy in local option becomes apparent. If Arlington County were a State, it would be free to set a policy desired by a majority of the state of Arlington. But Arlington is not a State. It is a political subdivision of the State of Virginia, a creature or a child of the State as a whole. Arlington's political powers descend to the county from the State—from the whole State. To talk of local rights, meaning local political or governmental rights, is to talk of something that simply does not exist in the sense of inherent rights or inalienable rights. The rights granted Arlington are subject to the will of the people of Virginia. By contrast, the sovereign rights and powers exercised by the State of Virginia since 1776 can be limited only by action of three-fourths of all the States in the American Union.

Now, the question of racial separation in publicly-supported schools is in Virginia a State question. This has been a matter of State policy from the inception of the public-school system. It is so described in our State constitution.

More than this: The right and power of a State to require such racial separation in its local schools, in the expressed view of the general assembly, cannot be prohibited to a State save by amendment of the Constitution itself. This is the constitutional position taken by the State, through its highest law-making body, and in the most solemn language. This position cannot be abandoned or compromised. Any scheme of local option that permitted race mixing, any acceptance of the principle of integration, anywhere in any degree, would utterly demolish Virginia's asserted position. Surely that resolute and fundamentally right position should not be surrendered without prolonged and resourceful resistance. Too much is at stake.

A RISK TO BE TAKEN

Turning now to the immediate social, educational, and tactical problem: The Roanoke Times, in a recent editorial, commented that "closing the schools would be a calamity which Virginia must somehow prevent." However, "uncontrolled mixing of the races in the schools would be equally disastrous." Then the newspaper concluded: "Ultimately the people are going to have to decide whether having no schools at all is preferable to some degree of integration."

But we do not agree that that is the question. Viewed from the other direction, the question is, whether risking the closing of a few schools is preferable to preserving racial separation in them all. This newspaper advocates acceptance of this risk. And for these reasons:

In our view, there can be no limited integration. Once the authority of the Supreme Court is accepted (as distinguished from the authority of all the States acting in concert under the Constitution), there can then be no stopping point within the State. The little integration of 1 year in 1 county promptly would become the larger integration of the next year in other counties. Acting as a State, a strong position can be held; acting as 98 counties and 35 cities, nothing but weakness can be foreseen.

If a public school should be closed, as a consequence of superior Federal force, soon enough the genius of the people would provide an alternative educational opportunity. Virginia's children will not want for an education. But if a school be integrated, it will never be unintegrated. In the first moment of race-mixing in our public schools, we will have accepted the amalgamation of the white and Negro races 20, 30, or 50 years hence. In that instant, we will have abandoned the elemental structure of our society in the South, and embarked upon a course of fatal debasement.

Let us hold on in this struggle. We have yet to invoke the powers of our State judiciary. We have barely touched the arsenal of political and legislative devices that may be conceived. We have not approached a real test of the powers of Virginia as opposed to those of the Supreme Court and the Federal judges. Why quit now? If in the end, Virginia is overwhelmed, and our local officials are jailed, and our schools patrolled by Federal troops, then will be time enough to fall back on "local option."

Make no mistake: Local option is the last ditch. When we reach that, nothing else remains. Virginia is not at the last ditch yet, and we should not let the smooth persuasions of Messrs. Dalton and Darden lead us into it.

New Trust Buster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an editorial appearing in the Mount Vernon (Ohio) News relative to a new trust buster.

Many times the New Dealers charge that the Republican Party is the party "of trusts and wealthy people." The following article clearly shows that Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who was appointed by President Eisenhower, is one who firmly believes that no individual, small group of individuals, or a group of industries or corporations, should control prices, contrary to the public interest.

I suggest that all read the following editorial:

NEW TRUST BUSTER

The Eisenhower administration has given the country a new trust buster in Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

He was not recognized as such before the Supreme Court's decision ordering the giant du Pont Co. to withdraw its interests in General Motors.

Since that, however, there has been some digging into the record with these facts brought to light:

In 4 years of the Eisenhower administration, the Attorney General has brought 148 civil antitrust suits and 69 criminal suits.

Of these 121 of the civil type have been won by the Attorney General, 107 by consent decrees.

Of the 69 criminal actions, 62 have been won by the Government, 50 of which were not even contested.

In addition, Brownell has obtained convictions against more than 100 labor union leaders under the Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Act and the bribery section of the Taft-Hartley law. Ten unions have been named in antitrust proceedings for allegedly conspiring with contractors to maintain high prices or squeeze out competition.

Brownell isn't through, however.

He has pending suits involving United Fruit, Radio Corporation of America, National Broadcasting Co., Continental Can Co., Pan-American Airways, Grace Steamship and numerous others.

He went to court to block the proposed merger of Bethlehem Steel Corp. and Youngstown Steel & Tube.

Smaller interests have been his targets as well as the industrial giants when he felt that their activities constituted attempts to monopolize a section of our economy or to control prices.

Is Brownell a social reformer?

Nothing of the kind, he says. The way he explains it he aims at making "real and prompt and practical strides toward either cracking restraint on entry by new persons into an industry or control over prices. Thus our goal has been a vigorous cracking-down on hard-core antitrust violations."

This is all in the public's interests.

John Foster Dulles—Princeton, 1908

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Princeton, 1908," published in the New York Times of June 17, 1957, dealing with the career of John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State.

The editorial states, among other things that Mr. Dulles has "spoken out courageously for his beliefs, he has never spared himself when there was a job to do, he has been respected even when he wasn't agreed with."

It can be said also that he has labored unceasingly and effectively to preserve the security and free institutions of the United States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRINCETON, 1908

The idealistic-looking young man whose clean-cut features appeared in an oval frame on the upper left-hand side of this newspaper's front page yesterday was a member of the class of 1908 at Princton University. He was 19 years old when the picture was taken, and there can be no doubt whatever that he meant to use his talents and opportunities for the good of humanity. Many

young men have such intentions when they are in their junior year at college, but John Foster Dulles hung on to them. His attendance at the second Hague Conference in 1907 as secretary to his grandfather, who was representing the imperial Government of China, made Saturday his golden anniversary in diplomacy. President Eisenhower and others indicated that he hadn't wasted his time, and to that sentiment we can all say amen.

No diplomat can please everybody all the time, and Secretary of State Dulles hasn't done so. He has, however, spoken out courageously for his beliefs, he has never spared himself when there was a job to do, he has been respected even when he wasn't agreed with, and in 4 years he has traveled more than 400,000 miles in the service of his country. Princeton, 1908, may be proud of him. Indeed, we all are.

Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, in order to fulfill a firm and longstanding commitment, it was necessary for me to be back in the 9th Congressional District on Monday evening, June 17. I had hoped to return to Washington in time to cast my vote today on the civil-rights bill—H. R. 6217.

However, because the House was called into session at 11 a. m. this morning instead of the usual hour, 12 noon, it was impossible for me to be present in time to answer to my name.

Mr. Speaker, I wish for the record to reflect that I would have cast my vote in favor of the civil-rights bill on final passage. I wish to state further that I would have voted against the so-called jury trial amendment, and, accordingly, I would have voted "No" on the motion which was offered to recommit the bill.

Under the Taft-Hartley law, and under 29 other Federal statutes now on the books, injunctions are authorized in a manner similar to that provided in the civil-rights bill, and there is no right to trial by jury for contempt of court.

While we are concerned about securing to every citizen his constitutional right to vote—at the same time we would not, and should not, deprive anyone of a constitutional right to trial by jury in the cases where it applies.

However, the plain fact is that the civil-rights bill, as proposed by President Eisenhower, does not take away any constitutional right of jury trial—Congress could not effectively pass such a law—for the simple reason that if it did, such a statute, of course, would be unconstitutional.

I regret that circumstances made it impossible for me to cast my vote in person, but I am pleased that the bill carried without crippling amendments by such an overwhelming majority.

Commencement Address, Lowell Technological Institute, by Gov. Foster Furcolo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, LOWELL TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, BY GOV. FOSTER FURCOLO, JUNE 16, 1957

I am happy indeed to participate this afternoon in the 59th annual commencement exercises of Lowell Technological Institute.

It is a particular pleasure for me as your governor to share with the officers and trustees of the institute and with their distinguished guests who represent industry and labor in the Commonwealth, the pride and contentment which all of us have on the occasion of the graduation today of so many who have been trained to lead and develop the industrial advancement of Massachusetts.

To you who are graduating today and to your parents, I bring the congratulations and felicitations of the citizenry of the Commonwealth.

I think it can aptly be said about graduation that it is probably the time of the greatest promise—not only to those who go forth from the institute, but also to the community and the State which they will serve.

As Shakespeare wrote for one of Henry VIII's great soliloquies:

"This is the state of man:
Today he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope;
Tomorrow blossoms
And bears his blushing honors thick upon him."

You who are leaving this great institution of learning will perform a useful service. And more than that, you will participate in the reconstruction of old industries—in the creation of new industries, and let us hope you will be responsible for the rebirth of New England economy.

It was the vision and imagination of the trustees and administrators of Lowell Tech which expanded the functions of the institute to make it a training center for every important industry in the Commonwealth.

Textiles, paper, leather, electronics, and plastics represent 60 percent of all Massachusetts industry. Indirectly these industries service or contribute to almost 90 percent of Massachusetts' industries.

You who have been trained in research—you who are alert to the need for new markets and you who have the technological skills, constitute the most important resources of our established industries and of our new industries.

I congratulate Lowell Tech on the foresight which brought about the diversification of an educational program to meet the needs of our specific industries. It was almost an inevitable result of this academic leadership that Lowell Tech should lead the way today in the number and quality of its graduates, and in the research and development assistance it has provided to Massachusetts industry.

Those of us who are concerned about our regional economy are continually aware that applied science, research, and technology play a vital role in holding industry and in attracting new industry.

We are also aware that technical education on the highest level possible will be increasingly in demand as our economy is revitalized.

That New England industry and to be specific, our own Massachusetts industry, needs revitalization, I cannot emphasize too strongly.

New England was the Nation's first industrial area. But, as the Nation expanded, new industrial areas were continually developed often with the help of the Federal Government by subsidies so that the relatively high place of New England has necessarily declined.

For example: New England textiles today in 1957 have become 87 percent less important in the national economy than they were 100 years ago—in 1850.

In a sense, we have been working against the tide. Federal contracts have not been diverted to our surplus labor areas, and in particular, to our textile industry to the extent that we have expected.

We have sought more adequate protection of the interests of this region. We have not asked for special privileges—we have asked to be premitted to hold our own.

I think there is no question that industry in Massachusetts has been burdened by heavy taxes and that our State and local governments have not moved in the desired direction.

Federal reports, for example, indicate that in 1955 the general property tax alone accounted for 63 percent of all our city government revenues.

As you know, I have recommended to the legislature a limited sales tax for the express purpose of affording our industries some relief from this burden. No one is more aware than I that our industry has felt the painful effects of competition from other States which do not have a tax on their industries in so burdensome a fashion as we do.

But, the revitalization of Massachusetts industry will depend not only upon our relieving the tax burden, but also upon the speed and energy with which we attract and develop new industry.

In no other way can New England or Massachusetts expect to recapture the relative importance in manufacturing which once was theirs.

To my mind there is hopefully something prophetic in the establishment at Lowell Tech of one of the first "hot labs" in the Commonwealth where radioactive tracers are used in fundamental and applied research. It is pioneer service of the first order that Lowell Tech has established courses in the fundamental subjects which underwrite the nuclear engineering of tomorrow.

I am particularly impressed and encouraged that Lowell Tech has already begun to plan the facilities and the program which will make Lowell Tech the center of nuclear research and training in Massachusetts.

There is, for example, no other publicly supported university in the northeastern part of the United States which has established courses in nuclear engineering, leading to a Bachelor of Science degree.

Obviously, this is a significant first step in providing qualified engineers for an industry of which we expect so much.

I cannot stress too strongly a fact which has been endorsed by outstanding nuclear authorities in this area, as well as by the

Massachusetts Commission on Atomic Energy, that technically qualified personnel constitute one of our greatest economic assets.

The atomic age has already begun. Each month that passes brings a new success in the harnessing of atomic energy.

It is not so significant that we are able to produce atomic weapons with less dangerous fallout, but it is of the greatest importance that we have already begun to plan the construction of atomic reactors for the peaceful uses of American industry.

In this development of atomic energy for peacetime use as with any new industry the resources of research and engineering and of trained personnel are absolutely necessary.

If the Commonwealth is able to offer a Lowell Technological Institute and trained personnel and land area, and Government assistance all beyond the capacity of any other State, then there is reason to expect that we can revitalize our total industry even beyond our contemplated plans of today

It has often been true that institutions, both public and private and Government as well, have become static and have failed to grow and expand with the changing times.

Lowell Tech is an outstanding example of a public institution which has not only kept pace with the times, but, which as an important training center in the Commonwealth, will help to blaze a new path.

You who are graduating today may well take this example from your alma mater and continue to pioneer in new fields of knowledge, and in the new requirements of industry.

The technological progress for which you may be responsible will be reflected in the progress of your community, your State, and your Nation.

New England and Massachusetts may lack the natural resources which are possessed by other areas, but you, with your skills, your ingenuity, and your scientific curiosity comprise a human resource which may be difficult to equal any where.

In the textile field, alone, for example, the region of the South has been faced by an enrollment loss of its textile skills of 50 percent or more during the last 7 years.

The shortage resulting has become a problem in the South of the first magnitude.

You who are graduating today, trained in your various specialties, represent an asset to this Commonwealth and this community of States which we deeply appreciate.

Senate Salad Luncheon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, California, I believe, is conceded to have the lead over the rest of the Nation when it comes to salad making and salad eating. The Sunshine State also grows more of the produce—lettuce, celery, ripe olives, and so forth—that go into salad, than any other State.

Therefore, it is fitting that California should take an active part in introducing to the Nation a new salad, "Senate salad."

I do not think it is too wishful to express the hope that Senate salad will shortly take its place next to the famous Caesar salad and chef's salad among Californians.

I also feel that after Mrs. American Housewife in the East, the South, the North, and the Midwest tosses her first Senate salad, it will become a regular feature on tables across the Nation.

Therefore, it is a distinct pleasure for me to joint with a number of my distinguished colleagues in both Houses to invite all of you to walk across the Capitol between 1 and 3 tomorrow afternoon and drop in at the Senate District of Columbia Committee Room, just off the Senate floor, to partake of a dish of Senate salad served to you by Mrs. America of 1958.

Agricultural Revolt Brewing in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks I am placing in the Appendix of the RECORD an article of recent date by the Associated Press which appeared in many newspapers covering a statement by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson on the farm problem under the following title:

AGRICULTURAL REVOLT BREWING IN CONGRESS

Washington Correspondent B. L. Livingstone, of the Associated Press, says there is an agricultural revolt in Congress.

Representatives from urban areas are becoming tired of the subsidies poured out each year with no results in solving the farm problem.

Representatives from rural areas want all the aids-to-farmers they can get but are split over how much and what kind. This group is vexed at Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson.

That's the dilemma. Maybe, now, some kind of sensible farm program can emerge, because since 1934 both urban and rural representatives have united in farm relief that has not relieved.

The most sensible attack is a 3-point program: (1) To let prices seek their own levels by obeying the law of supply and demand. (2) Greater research into new uses in industry for farm commodities. (3) Higher yields, at lower costs, through use of fertilizers and machinery.

Benson's unpopularity is understandable but unjustified. He is not a politician. More than any other official in the Eisenhower administration he has had the courage to speak economic truth—and economic truth is often unpalatable to the politician who wants votes and the public that wants gravy.

Benson says continued subsidies and price supports wont' work. They've been tried, in varying forms, since 1934. The problem still exists. The revolt in Congress can be salutary if it produces a farm policy that is economic rather than political.

Where's Winston-Sodom?—Chub Seawel', in Latest Blast at Ike, Charges GOP Ignoring South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an article from the Pilot, a weekly newspaper published at Southern Pines, N. C., dated June 13, 1957.

This article contains a letter addressed to the President of the United States from Mr. H. F. Seawell, an attorney of Carthage, N. C., and a reply thereto.

Mr. Seawell was a candidate for governor on the Republican ticket in North Carolina in 1952 at the time Mr. Eisenhower was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Mr. Seawell polled the largest vote for a Republican candidate for governor in the history of North Carolina in that election.

The article reads as follows:

WHERE'S WINSTON-SODOM?—CHUB SEAWELL, IN LATEST BLAST AT IKE, CHARGES GOP IGNORING SOUTH

H. F. "Chub" Seawell, disillusioned former Republican leader in the State, recently fired off his views to President Eisenhower on the budget and foreign policy, then, on receipt of a creamy-smooth reply from a deputy assistant, took a caustic pen in hand again.

"What this country needs is 3 Presidents, 1 for international and 1 for national affairs—then 1 to represent the people," he wrote the man with whom he had twice shared a campaign platform in 1952.

"But he won't see it. What difference does it make what I think or what anybody thinks? They've got that man so fenced in, he doesn't know what the people think, and what's worse, he doesn't know he doesn't know," commented the Carthage attorney.

Seawell, as candidate for governor in 1952, polled more votes than any Republican candidate in the history of the State. Later receiving nothing from his party but the back of a cold hand, he quit the party publicly a year ago but has continued in the role of gadfly.

To his recent broadside calling the President to account for reneging on campaign pledges, Deputy Assistant Howard Pyle answered on White House stationery:

"DEAR JUDGE SEAWELL: This is to acknowledge your recent letter to the President. Such a forthright expression of your opinion is appreciated. Thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts with us."

The forthright expression, couched in the well-known style of one of the State's best-known orators and humorists:

"DEAR COUSIN DWIGHT D.: Will Rogers used to say all he knew was just what he read in the papers, and according to the papers it appears that you are the best President this country has ever had, since Truman. In fact, a lot of what you have been doing lately is just like Truman, only more so.

"When we were on the platform together at Charlotte and 'Winston-Sodom' you said what this country needed was a balanced budget and a firm foreign policy. Now you are pulling for a budget bigger than Tru-

man's and whatever we have that we call foreign policy is about as firm as mush.

"We cussed out Truman for flying the old Sacred Cow to the Pendergast funeral in St. Louis, costing taxpayers $8 a mile, but you take your new million-dollar machine and fly King Saud clean over the Atlantic. If anybody has ever visited us lately who was amply able to pay his own way home, I think it was cousin King Saud.

"Then you went down to Bermuda to see Mr. McMillan and explain to him some of the loose talk about freedom by Mr. Dulles and Mr. NIXON, and you went on 3 or 4 battleships at a rough estimate of about $400 a mile. With all this flyin' and visitin' all over the world, it 'ain't no wonder' we can't balance the budget.

"Truman fired General MacArthur and now you have caught up with him again by 'post-humorously' firing General Robert E. Lee.

"Truman threw 5 billion over the Pacific, and now you are trying to throw 10 billion over the Mediterranean, and poor old George Washington he didn't throw but a dollar over the Potomac.

"You said in Charlotte that you believed in local self-government, the dignity of the individual and in States rights, and now you are asking Congress to pass a bill that has more 'dictatorism' in it than Hitler and Goering combined. Even if the two helicopters did cost $135,000 each, I guess it would be better for you to fly 80 miles per hour in the air than to be running 90 miles per hour on the ground. You said you wanted to build up a two-party system in the South, but every time you have had a chance to appoint some Republican from the South, your cohorts in Washington fall into the old carpetbagging methods, and bypass all the local Republican organizations and you appoint some Democrat. If you think you are making Republicans by appointing Democrats to office, I've got news for you.

"Having been 'turnt out' of the Republican Party and hung on the courthouse square, I am under no obligations to say anything in a bragging way about your modern Republicanism, but it appears to me that modern Republicanism ain't nothing but New Dealism with the brains knocked out. It doesn't set well with a lot of folks to sprinkle mud in their face and tell 'em it's rainin'. A man born and raised in the South doesn't have to put turpentine on his imagination to recognize that about the only thing that you are interested in in the South is golf, and that only in good weather. A lot of this carryin' on is not your fault, but still it is your responsibility, and when I think about what you say and what you do, you remind me of the man who used to put vitamin pills in his liquor so he could build himself up while he was tearing himself down.

"Esse Quam Videri.

"CHUB SEAWELL,
"*Ex-Republican.*"

Wiley Supports U. N. Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a brief editorial comment from the May 21, 1957, issue of the La Crosse Tribune, published in La Crosse, Wis.:

WILEY SUPPORTS U. N. FORCE

United States Senator ALEXANDER WILEY has become cosponsor with five other Senators of a congressional resolution aimed at setting up a permanent United Nations police force.

That Wisconsin's high-ranking Republican chose to place his efforts back of this proposal is credit to himself and a boost for the resolution's chances of successful passage.

A similar resolution is being sponsored in the House of Representatives.

The measure is intended to build permanency out of the emergency force now serving in the Middle East, and by doing so now, ahead of a new outbreak that may spell war, it could promptly prevent just such a contingency.

Until world relationships are vastly improved there is crying need for a United Nations patrol force, supported by all the participating nations to give it the concept of world determination for maintenance of international peace.

Congressional action this session to set it up would be a major American contribution, with the likely extra advantage of being financed proportionately by all the participants, instead of disproportionately by the United States alone.

A permanent force is a natural sequence to the emergency force now employed—a continuation on a permanent basis of the need for constant vigilance to prevent or halt aggression.

Congress faces many matters of economic and other importance in these waning days of the session. But it faces none more strategic in the preservation of world peace than to bring enactment this year of a permanent U. N. police force to the U. N. General Assembly.

Senate Salad Luncheon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the ingredient the State of Louisiana is contributing to Senate salad, which will be served between 1 and 3 o'clock tomorrow on the other side of the Capitol, is salad oil.

The State of Louisiana is responsible for the production of the largest amount of salad oil—and, in my opinion, the finest salad oil—in the United States.

Senate salad will be a real treat for my colleagues tomorrow. It is made of lobster, avocado, two varieties of lettuce, watercress, celery, green onions, ripe olives, grapefruit, tomatoes.

But, as Oscar Wilde once said, "To make a good salad is to be a brilliant diplomatist—the problem is entirely the same in both cases. To know exactly how much oil one must put with one's vinegar."

In other words, a salad is only as good as its dressing. Senate salad dressing will have just the right amount of Louisiana salad oil, blended with vinegar and a delicate touch of garlic-type salad dressing mix.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, today will bring to a close the long and hard-fought battle to enact a civil rights bill.

The purpose of the bill is to provide a means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

It has been perfectly apparent during the debate that there was no misunderstanding as to what the bill sought to accomplish nor the conditions it sought to correct. The flagrant refusal in certain sections of our Nation to grant, or at least recognize, the right of colored citizens to vote, of course, was the basic reason for the bill.

This bill is designed to protect the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States by the adoption of four major proposals, namely, first, the creation of the Commission on Civil Rights, second, the establishment of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, third, a supplement to title 42, United States Code, section 1985, providing civil remedies against conspiracies depriving a person of civil rights, and fourth, a provision for a civil remedy by the Attorney General to strengthen and protect the right to vote. In connection with this latter provision and to make it fully effective the bill amends existing law so as to permit the Federal Government to seek from the civil courts by injunction preventive or other necessary relief in civil-rights cases.

It has been difficult for me to understand why there should be such violent opposition to the enactment of a bill of this character. In fact, it seems to me that under our system of government, the right of all citizens regardless of race, color, or creed to vote is so plainly and surely based upon the provision of our Constitution that there should have been no necessity to adopt legislation to enforce the right. But, unfortunately, the necessity does exist and hence this legislation now before the Congress for adoption. I am, of course, in full and hearty accord with the legislation as drawn and will support it against all efforts to weaken its provisions.

We should not at any time fail to recognize the truth and justice of the Founding Fathers of this nation in the expression that was adopted by them, namely, "that all men are created equal, and they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These are noble words and express a principle that gives to this Nation a form of government that is distinctive among the nations of the world. To accomplish this basic principle of our Government has been our constant endeavor throughout all

the years that have intervened between the founding of our Government and the present time.

The rights and privileges accorded our citizens, regardless of race, color, or creed, are basic to our American way of life and, consequently, there is a continuing duty upon our part to make certain that these rights and privileges are maintained fully and completely for all our citizens.

Furthermore, as Americans we must also realize and accept the fact that the responsibility of worldwide leadership, which is now ours, carries with it a responsibility of providing an example of liberty and freedom for all in our daily lives. Any deprivation, intolerance, or discrimination in the application to every citizen of our basic rights and privileges would have a tendency to cast a cloud upon our vaunted liberties and recognition of the equality of all citizens. This could not be otherwise than highly detrimental to our standing throughout the world and could not be other than a disappointment to the millions of people throughout the world who are seeking in their respective nations the benefit of the same principles of liberty and freedom we enjoy. And in no particular is our distinctive character as a nation more apparent than in our individual right to vote. To destroy this right or deny it to any class of our citizens, as the result of prejudice or otherise, would undoubtedly destroy to an appreciable extent that high standing we now enjoy among all liberty-loving and liberty-seeking people. Thus it becomes our duty by such means as may be necessary to preserve and strengthen the rights inherent in citizenship in this great country of ours.

I support this legislation, because I consider it a duty to preserve fully and without any deviation the rights of all citizens, regardless of race, color, or creed. The bill deserves and should have the full support of the Congress and the approval of the President.

Senate Salad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, Texas could have supplied practically all of the ingredients of Senate salad. My district, which contains both the Rio Grande Valley and the winter garden areas of Texas, has often been called the Nation's salad bowl, and very aptly so. Last year it shipped 60,000 carloads of produce to all the markets of the Nation.

It is fitting, therefore, that Texas, the biggest State, should be a participant in the creation of the biggest salad in the world, which will be served tomorrow from the world's largest salad bowl. This bowl is 3 feet wide and 14 inches deep. Heaped, it will serve 320 main-course salads. Hand turned, it is made of solid walnut.

The salad fork and spoon naturally had to be a little larger than normal to accompany the salad bowl. Each is 3 feet long.

The bowl will be full tomorrow in the Senate District of Columbia Committee room at 1. We hope that you will come between 1 and 3 and help us empty it.

Special Subcommittee Chairman of House Armed Services Committee Makes Announcement of Dates for Hearings on Subject of Less than Honorable Military Discharges—Public Hearings To Begin Monday, June 24, and Run Through June 28

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do I am pleased to advise you and all the other Members of this distinguished body that the public hearings on the Doyle bill, H. R. 1108, and companion bills dealing with the subject of less than honorable discharges will commence at 10 a. m., Monday, June 24, in room 313A, 3d floor of the Old House Office Building. At that time the special subcommittee of five members of the full Armed Services Committee, appointed by the Honorable CARL VINSON to hold such hearings, will ony be able to hear, on Monday, the witnesses from the Defense Department. Beginning on Wednesday at 10 a. m. the Members of Congress and other interested witnesses representing the veterans groups and others will be heard and continue the balance of the week. Every effort will be made to accommodate the time element for all Members of Congress who desire to testify in the public sessions during the week but I regret to say that on account of the large number of witnesses who have already indicated such desire, the oral testimony of witnesses must needs be limited to 10 minutes; with the privilege of inserting in the record of the hearings additional written material which the congressional Member deems relevant.

Since the hearings on Monday are limited to witnesses from the Defense Department to the desirable end that members of the special subcommittees shall have the benefit of their stated position known throughout the balance of the week, I have taken pleasure in cordially inviting all Members of the House desiring to do so to also attend the hearings on Monday so as to also have the benefit of hearing the position of the military on these bills.

Mr. Speaker, the special subcommittee has held several executive meetings preparatory to these public hearings and I wish to state that it has already been a real pleasure for me to have the opportunity to sit with these distinguished members of the House Armed Services Committee on this special subcommittee appointed for these important hearings. And we have given our best considered attention to this very difficult and important problem which annually relates to several thousand members of our military establishments. We enter these hearings with the Defense Department and other witnesses who appear before us in a studious attitude, determined to seriously and conscientiously endeavor to ascertain the facts applicable to the problem so as to be able to recommend to the attention of the full Armed Services Committee, and through them if our recommendations be approved, to Congress itself; that which may definitely be of good report and real merit in a field which it is generally recognized some meritorious advancement should be promptly made.

Members of Congress desiring to make their wishes known for opportunity to appear in the hearings should promptly notify Mr. Russell Blandford, committee counsel, at the House Armed Services Committee office, phones 217 and 341. The members of the special subcommittee appointed by Honorable CARL VINSON are: CLYDE DOYLE, chairman, California; WILLIAM G. BRAY, Indiana; GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., Alabama; CHARLES S. GUBSER, California; and A. PAUL KITCHIN, North Carolina.

Merrimack River Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following testimony which I gave before the Appropriations Committee on the Merrimack River flood-control project; also a letter from the head of the Corps of Engineers:

WITNESS: HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. CANNON. We are delighted to have with us the gentlewoman from Massachusetts, Mrs. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS.

On what project do you appear, Mrs. ROGERS?

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I am appearing in behalf of the project for flood control on the Merrimack River.

Mr. CANNON. We shall be glad to hear from you at this time, Mrs. ROGERS.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I introduced a bill which would provide $800,000 to be expended by the Chief of Engineers under the direction and supervision——

Mr. CANNON. Is it included in the budget, Mrs. ROGERS?

Mrs. ROGERS. No; it is not. The reason it is not included in the budget is because we had to wait before proceeding until the compact was signed between New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Mr. CANNON. The gentlewoman will proceed.

Mrs. ROGERS. Last year the New Hampshire Legislature was not in session. So, they did not act. I personally endured two floods in the Merrimack Valley in my district, at Lowell, Mass., and other towns along the Merrimack. It was very bad in 1936, and we had to go about in boats in certain areas of Lowell.

In 1938 I was out when the hurricane first struck the dike that was being constructed, and then I went home. As we drove, first one tree fell down right in front of us and almost on us, and then another, and then another, and then another. I went in the house to use the telephone and while I was in there one of the chimneys of my house came down right over my head. I opened the door in one room, and the window blew in on me. A little later when I started out again I had to go back as the slate was blown off my roof. It made an upright wall about the house.

There was a great deal of suffering and a great deal of damage through my district. At Lowell where I live, the Concord flows into the Merrimack River so when we have flood conditions, the danger is extremely great.

General Fleming is the Chief of Engineers of New England division, and states that of the New England areas the Merrimack Valley is one program that should be taken care of at once. He has stated repeatedly that we are sitting on a volcano. There were many times last year when the valley was in great danger.

Mr. CANNON. Thank you, Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. I thank the distinguished chairman.

May I include as a part of my remarks a letter from General Fleming and a statement from me?

Also, may I include a statement from Mr. George Brady of the Boston American, of Boston?

Mr. CANNON. Those matters may be inserted into the record at this point.

Mrs. ROGERS. I greatly appreciate that privilege, Mr. Chairman.

(The matters referred to follow:)

CORPS OF ENGINEERS,
UNITED STATES ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE DIVISION ENGINEER,
NEW ENGLAND DIVISION,
Boston, Mass., March 29, 1957.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am pleased to furnish you with information concerning the Hopkinton-Everett project.

The Merrimack River problem is the greatest unsolved flood-control puzzle in New England. Fortunately, the construction of the Hopkinton-Everett project is the key to its solution. If the 1936 and 1938 floods were to recur today the flood damages would exceed $74 million in New Hampshire and $140 million in Massachusetts. The operation of Hopkinton-Everett Reservoir together with the flood-control reservoirs already built would prevent 85 percent of the damage in New Hampshire and 70 percent in Massachusetts.

Although $50,000 in planning funds was provided this fiscal year for Hopkinton-Everett no money could be used until concurrence in the project had been given by the State of New Hampshire. Due to this lack of concurrence at the time our budget requests were submitted it was impossible to request funds for this project for fiscal year 1958.

As you know, recent favorable action by the New Hampshire Legislature gave Governor Dwinell necessary authority to commit the State of New Hampshire to the project. Immediately upon the removal to the legal roadblock Governor Dwinell wrote to me giving the formal concurrence of the State of New Hampshire. This cleared the way for initiation of planning which is now getting underway.

When a project is authorized we develop a tentative schedule for surveys, planning, and construction, which is revised from year to year. This schedule is made up without any reference to other projects in the division, the total civil-works program, or other program needs of the Government, or the availability of men or equipment generally in any one year. It therefore is a figure for internal planning purposes only. That figure for this project is $600,000 for fiscal year 1958, and would include planning and some funds for limited real-estate acquisition. For your further information the President has directed that our fiscal year 1958 expenditures as estimated in his budget presented to the Congress, be considered as the maximum that can be made within the overall fiscal policies of the administration for that year. Since no funds are included in the budget for the Hopkinton-Everett project, no funds can be utilized for this project and meet the administration's objectives.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. FLEMING, Jr.,
Brigadier General, United States Army, Division Engineer.

INFORMATION ON THE HOPKINTON-EVERETT PROJECT, NEW HAMPSHIRE

(Assembled for Congresswoman ROGERS, May 6, 1957)

SUMMARY

Description: The Hopkinton-Everett Reservoir is located within the towns of Henniker, Hopkinton, Weare, and Dunbarton in Hillsboro and Merrimack Counties, Merrimack River Basin, N. H. The project consists of a dam and 2 dikes in the Contoocook River Basin and a dam and 2 dikes in the Piscataquog River Basin. The reservoirs thus formed would have a capacity of 60,500 acre-feet in the Contoocook River Basin and 96,500 acre-feet in the Piscataquog River Basin, and would be connected by a canal of sufficient capacity to cause the storage areas to function as a single unit. Construction has not been initiated.

Federal cost estimate as of July 1956: $34,100,000.

Funds appropriated to date $117,000.

Benefit-cost ratio: 1.4 to 1.

Status of local cooperation: None required.

Applicability of provisions of continuing authorization acts to the project: The project is a unit of the authorized comprehensive plan for flood control and other purposes in the Merrimack River Basin.

AUTHORIZATION

The Hopkinton-Everett Reservoir project, a unit of the authorized comprehensive plan for flood control and other purposes in the Merrimack River Basin, provides for the construction of dams in the Contoocook and Piscataquog River Basins near the villages of West Hopkinton and East Weare. Authorization for the project is contained in the following act:

Act and document: Flood Control Act of June 28, 1938 (H. Doc. 689, 75th Cong., 3d sess.).

Work authorized: A system of flood-control reservoirs and related flood-control works which may be found justified by the Chief of Engineers.

LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION

The Hopkinton Dam, on the Contoocook River, about one-half mile upstream from the village of West Hopkinton, would be of rolled-earth construction with outlet works for regulating the discharge of impounded floodwaters. The spillway for this portion of the project would be located in a saddle about 1.8 miles east of West Hopkinton. The Everett Dam, on the Piscataquog River, about 1.3 miles southeast of the village of East Weare, would be of rolled earth with an adjacent concrete spillway. The crest of this spillway would be at an elevation 2 feet higher than the Hopkinton Dam spillway. A project map is bound at the end of this report.

Pertinent data (preliminary)

	Hopkinton	Everett
Dam and dikes:		
(1) Top elevation dam (feet, mean sea level)	432	430
(2) Top elevation dikes (feet, mean sea level)	430	431 430
(3) Length of dam (feet)	670	1,250
(4) Length of dikes (feet)	7,500	5,900
(5) Maximum height of dam (feet)	75	115
(6) Maximum height of dikes (feet)	70	48
Spillway:		
(1) Crest elevation (feet, mean sea level)	412	414
(2) Length of crest (feet)	650	200
	No. 1	No. 2
Canals:		
Length (feet)	2,050	14,500
Width (feet)	130-150	170
Reservoir:		
(1) Storage capacity to Hopkinton spillway crest elevation.	157,000 acre-feet or 6 inches of runoff from a gross drainage area of 490 square miles.	
(2) Reservoir area at Hopkinton spillway crest elevation.	6,300 acres.	

Lands to be acquired

Type of land:	Acreage
Lots	205
Tillage	1,050
Pasture	750
Woodland	5,495

Relocations

Features:		
Highways	miles	21
Railroad	do	5.25
Telephone and electric distribution lines		
Water distribution system		
Cemeteries (4)	graves	2,800

PROJECT BENEFITS AND ECONOMICS

This project, together with the 3 completed reservoirs, will control about 32 percent of the total drainage area of the Merrimack River Basin. The 4-reservoir system would reduce the annual flood loss in the basin by $3,948,500. The Hopkinton-Everett project is an important unit in the comprehensive plan of improvement for flood control in the Merrimack River Basin. The reservoir area is 66 percent wooded, 14 percent in pasture, and 20 percent in tillage. One small community, the village of East Weare, is included in the reservoir area.

Construction of this reservoir is required, in addition to the completed reservoirs, to reduce the stage of the standard project flood to authorized grade of levees at those downstream cities now having local protective works.

Flood damages and protection afforded by Hopkinton-Everett 1936 flood: Damages in the 1936 flood amounted to $36 million.

A recurrence of the 1936 flood, without Hopkinton-Everett protection, would cause $153 million in damages under present conditions. Of these damages, $38 would be prevented by Hopkinton-Everett. The stage reduction at Manchester, N. H., would be 4 feet, and at Lowell, Mass., 3 feet.

1938 flood: Damages in the 1938 flood amounted to $6 million.

A recurrence of the 1938 flood, without Hopkinton-Everett protection, would cause $53 million in damages under present conditions. Of these damages, $16,500,000 would be prevented by Hopkinton-Everett. The

stage reduction at Manchester, N. H., would be 3.4 feet, and at Lowell, Mass., 2.6 feet.

Average annual flood-damage reduction, $1,800,000.

INDUSTRIES AFFECTED BY THE HOPKINTON-EVERETT PROJECT

New Hampshire: Based on property assessment values in 1939 of industrial properties damaged in the floods of 1936, 29 industrial concerns in the New Hampshire portion of the basin, with an assessed valuation of $35,500,000, would be affected by the Hopkinton-Everett stage reduction. These industries produce woolen and cotton textiles, mica products, paper, gypsum board, and other miscellaneous manufactured products. The 1939 assessed value represented 50 to 75 percent of real value.

Massachusetts: Based on similar data, a total of 174 industrial concerns in the Massachusetts portion of the basin would be affected by the Hopkinton-Everett stage reduction. These industries, generally similar to those in New Hampshire, produce wool, cotton, and synthetic textiles, shoes, shoe machinery, paper and paper box products, and plastics. Their 1939 assessed value amounted to $51,200,000.

Total: The total assessed value of 203 affected industries in the entire basin amounted to $86,700,000. Since 1939, a few manufacturing concerns, especially industrial concerns, have liquidated and have been replaced by electronic and plastic manufactures, so that the value of industrial properties that would be protected by Hopkinton-Everett is probably a lot higher now.

Results of West Virginia's Fourth District Questionnaire to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, in my regular newsletter of June 3, which goes to a select list of some 2,000 of my constituents twice monthly, I enclosed a questionnaire. There were listed, in simple language, some 15 different questions on as many topics.

To date, I have received a return of some 20 percent of the questionnaires; or approximately 400 of my constituents are so interested in the operation of their Government that they voiced opinions on the subjects I had listed.

There was also conclusive proof that their interest in issues of the day is not superficial in that at least 90 percent of those replying went to the great time and trouble of writing extensive comment on their varied answers.

The following story which appeared on June 10 in the Huntington (W. Va.) Herald-Dispatch gives the results of my sampling of public opinion, both Democratic and Republican, in the fourth West Virginia district:

VOTERS FOR MAIL RATE RISE AND PAY VIDEO, NEAL FINDS

WASHINGTON, June 9.—Voters in the 10-county Fourth Congressional District of West Virginia are wholeheartedly in favor of increasing postal rates, commercial television, a Federal right-to-work law, but are opposed to Federal aid to schools, high farm-price supports, and continued economic aid to foreign nations.

These were some of the conclusions reached by Fourth District Congressman WILL E. NEAL, of Huntington, on the basis of returns from a 15-question quiz submitted to approximately 2,000 of his constituents last week.

The questionnaire was enclosed with his bimonthly newsletter from the Nation's Capital which goes to a cross section of the professions, farmers, labor-union members, and active political party members, both Democratic and Republican.

With more than a 10-percent return considered an ample response to such things in congressional circles, the poll showed that while the voters were opposed to continued price supports for farmers, they don't want the soil-conservation program tampered with. While the ratio against supports was almost 4 to 1, the conservation program was endorsed by a margin of 2 to 1.

By a margin of almost 100 percent the voters said they didn't want any curtailed postal service but (3 to 1) were willing to have postal workers receive a pay increase.

Federal aid to education, proposed under a White House-endorsed 5-year program of school construction, was opposed 2 to 1.

On the score of arming allies abroad, the voters were 3 to 2 in their endorsement of such steps as exemplified by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Baghdad pact, and similar alliances.

Sentiment for Federal right-to-work legislation was favored almost 4 to 1.

Heaviest loser in the poll was the direct question:

Would you favor increasing the number of anti-Communist refugees permitted to come to the United States?" By almost 4 to 1, those replying were against raising quotas.

Sentiment on increasing veterans' benefits and liberalizing social-security laws was virtually evenly divided, while statehood for Alaska and Hawaii was favored 2 to 1.

Extension of the present $1-per-hour minimum wage law to greater numbers of workers in interstate commerce was voted down.

Senate Salad Luncheon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, June 19, a new Senate salad will be introduced to the country at a luncheon in the Senate District of Columbia Committee room. I am very pleased that the Rutgers tomato will be amongst the vegetables used in its preparation. New Jersey, the Garden State, has developed the tastiest, juciest and firmest tomato. The Rutgers tomato was named for the university where Prof. L. G. Schermerhorn spent years of experimentation in cultivating the seed.

New Jersey is the third largest tomato-producing State in the Union and in 1956 $4,310,000 of tomato production went into the fresh market and $10,717,000 produced for the canneries. The Rutgers tomato is the color standard for tomato juice.

I am sure that Senate salad is going to just a little bit better because of the fact that New Jersey has made its contribution to this new all-American dish.

Nigerian Women in Civic Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the International Council of Women has been meeting in Montreal, June 5 to 15, at its triennial conference. Among those attending this important gathering were two Nigerian women, each distinguished in her own way. They are Chief Elizabeth Adekogbe, wife of the King of Ikija, and Chief Wura Esan of Ibadan, Nigeria, whose husband is a lawyer.

That the House may be more aware of the very real contribution women of Africa are making, I am including with these few words an article from the Christian Science Monitor, Nigerian Women in Civic Role, by Jessie Ash Arndt.

The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of June 14, 1957]

NIGERIAN WOMEN IN CIVIC ROLE

(By Jessie Ash Arndt)

MONTREAL.—Women of Nigeria not only have the vote, but they are beginning to take an active part in politics and some of them bear the title of "chief."

Two of these Nigerian women chiefs have been among the most picturesque of the delegates attending the triennial conference of the International Council of Women, in session here June 5 to 15.

Chief Elizabeth Adekogbe, wife of the King (or Oba) of Ikija, for a month preceding her current visit to Canada, was in the United States, studying various women's organizations, as a guest of the Department of State.

Chief Wura Esan of Ibadan, Nigeria, whose husband is a lawyer, arrived only a week ago and came to Canada expressly for the conference.

The two African women—both rather tall, the one roundfaced and plump, and the other, slender—wear handsome scarves of heavy silk in dark or gay colors, in a turban effect around their heads as a mark of their rank as chiefs. They wrap bright overskirts around their long dresses and wear pure gold earrings and necklaces. A young Nigerian student from McGill University, where the council sessions were held, bowed low in deference when he was presented to these leading women of his country.

HONORARY TITLE

The rank is something like that of "lady" in England, Chief Adekogbe explained, an honorary title conferred in recognition of outstanding achievement. The title of "Oba" or "King," which her husband holds, is an official designation, indicating that he is governor of one region or province of Nigeria.

Chief Adekogbe was recognized for her leadership in organizing the women of her country—3,250,000 of them—in groups now embraced in the Nigerian National Council of Women. This achievement dates from 1952, when she began recruiting members. The Nigerian Council was taken into the international in 1954 in Helsinki.

Their first goal, which was the vote, was achieved in 1955 and they exercised their franchise last year. Now they will work to educate themselves—and perhaps the men, too—for civic responsibility. Women are already represented on municipal councils

and it is at the local level that they expect to make their influence felt, broadening out from there, says Chief Adekogbe.

Men are beginning to show sympathy for their cause, and are helping with donations for their work, she stated. Married women as well as single girls in Nigeria are now taking jobs and many have their own businesses as market women and traders, often with considerable wealth in their own names.

Chief Esan has also helped in organizing women and giving them education in how to help their municipal governments, and carry on social welfare. She received her title for organizing a school for girls in 1945, which now has an enrollment of 600. The girls are from 4 to 18 years of age; 60 living at the school and the others coming as day pupils.

The school is in three divisions, the nursery, the government-maintained free primary grades, and the secondary modern for older students who pay a fee.

Emphasis in the older classes is not on homemaking and practical arts, Chief Esan told me, but on civics. "We want everyone to know the rights of citizens and be trained in good citizenship," she said, explaining that Nigeria was seeking self-government and that even now the governor in West Nigeria was chiefly an adviser.

She and other leading women are busy preparing the girls and women of their country to have a voice in government and to take an increasingly important role in it.

Arthur T. Vanderbilt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, today New Jersey had a sad duty confronting it as it laid to rest the body of its most distinguished jurist. Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt has passed into the Great Beyond. His life has been one of great usefulness. His activity in all the many and varied phases of life has been most commendable. His accomplishments have been so great that it would be impossible to adequately set forth all of them in the manner their importance deserves. In the field of politics his objective was always good government. In the field of jurisprudence he continually sought to establish justice and equity that was certain and assured. To accomplish this he surmounted barriers of long established procedures that worked against change of any kind. But, with zeal and intelligence, he carried on his fight for a swifter and more certain justice until he attained his goal. The result is that today we have in New Jersey one of the most modern and effective systems of justice to be found anywhere within the United States or elsewhere.

Arthur T. Vanderbilt was recognized throughout this Nation as one of the most outstanding judicial personages engaged in the administration of law and equity. His standing among lawyers and judges was such that he stood as on a pinnacle. He was worthy of every honor that was accorded him during his long and useful life. His views on matters pertaining to administrative procedures in the practice of law were the result of a long and varied experience in the practice of law, and, the experience thus gained, and, that which came as the result of his occupancy of the high position of chief justice of New Jersey, provided a strength and reason to his views that enabled them to stand firm and overcome any and all opposition.

Not only was Arthur T. Vanderbilt a man of great intelligence in law and all other phases of government, but, he was a man of superlative character and integrity. At all times his every action either on the bench, or, in his many years of activity at the bar and in active politics was based upon careful consideration of all the facts incident to the matter. And, when his opinion was finally formed, he stood back of it without any deviation or compromise. He stood for what he thought was right.

In conclusion, and, as part of my remarks, it is appropriate that I should include an editorial appearing today in the Washington Post and Times Herald. It is so true and illustrates that even in this Capital City of the Nation, his fame and outstanding character as lawyer, judge, and citizen was as well known and recognized as in his home State of New Jersey.

It reads as follows:

The death of Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New Jersey Supreme Court is a tragic loss to the causes of justice, judicial reform, and legal education. In the last decade he had directed almost a judicial revolution in New Jersey. That was the culmination of many previous years of hard struggle to bring administrative management, sound organization, and highly qualified judges into the judicial system. As chief justice in New Jersey, he was able to put into practice what he had been preaching, with the result that that State now has one of the best judicial systems in the Nation.

After trying for 17 years to interest the bar, the judges, and the politicians in judicial reform, Mr. Vanderbilt decided a decade ago to carry his fight to the people. Govs. Charles Edison and Alfred E. Driscoll joined in the struggle, and a new constitution was adopted for New Jersey, including a model judicial system. Mr. Vanderbilt, who had won eminence in the practice of law and as dean of the New York University Law School, was then named chief justice.

There followed a decade in which rules were simplified, dockets were cleared of old cases, able and energetic lawyers were named to the bench and modern administrative management was applied to the work of the courts. In a single year the output of the New Jersey courts was increased by 98 percent. Justice is no longer soured by endless delays, confused jurisdiction, or excessive emphasis on technicalities. Arthur Vanderbilt's leadership in this sphere has brought New Jersey to the forefront among the States seeking to modernize their judicial systems.

In his practice as in his teaching, Mr. Vanderbilt was a strong defender of civil liberties and of independent judgment on the bench. As counsel for Norman Thomas, he induced the Supreme Court of the United States to strike down the Jersey City ordinance under which the late Mayor Frank Hague had forbidden the Socialist leader to address a public meeting there. As president of the American Bar Association, he contributed enormously to the defeat of President Roosevelt's efforts to pack the Supreme Court in 1937. It is the judicial reforms that he helped to establish in New Jersey, however, that are likely to stand as his most enduring monument.

The Unmentioned Famous Letter of Benson to Ellender

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, a very significant editorial appeared in the California Farmer, a publication devoted to agriculture, on June 8, 1957, and in the same issue of that publication considerable space was given to a letter written by the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, to United States Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER. Because "some people consider this letter one of the most unusual and important pronouncements to be made by a Secretary of Agriculture in the last 25 years," under unanimous consent, I am having the editorial and the brief of Secretary Benson's letter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

THE UNMENTIONED FAMOUS LETTER OF BENSON TO ELLENDER

Senator ELLENDER, chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, asked Secretary Benson his views on problems that have arisen under existing price support legislation.

Benson, who has been twitching the rug under this subject for some time, decided this was the big moment, and he gave the rug a terrific jerk.

Benson's observations tear to shreds most of the farm legislation dealing with crop production and its attempted regulation for the past 24 years.

Take his opening three points just for example. He says:

1. Controls have not been effective in reducing production.

2. Farm products are likely to continue to be abundant and they cannot be successfully priced as if they were scarce.

3. Our formulas governing acreage allotments and price supports are obsolete.

The letter is a frightfully frank analysis of our legislative fumbling in the field of agriculture. For example, he points out that if we do succeed in cutting down stored surpluses of food, the first thing farmers will demand is increases in their acreage allotments, and we will start the expensive cycle all over again.

He coined one phrase that was pretty good. Speaking of the technological explosion that has doubled production per farm worker in the last 15 years he said, "This creates a new dimension in farm policy and makes it virtually impossible to curtail agricultural output with the type of controls acceptable in our society."

This is the kind of a letter that a politician would never write unless he were going some place to die. Benson, ostensibly, has 2 more years of this mess to manage, and here he has just announced—or rather dragged out into the beam of the searchlight—the naked, shivering truth. We have all picked at the problem and watched Con-

gress temporize, theorize and vulcanize the farm program, but it is sort of a shock to see the entire monster with all of its clothes off.

After busting this thing wide open, Benson walks away and leaves the pieces. He does say that he thinks we should continue the surplus food disposal program and soil bank acreage reserve program until we get rid of our mountains of stored food, but adds that as soon as we accomplish that, we should do away with the soil bank program and all these other miserable mistakes that have piled up surpluses.

This letter, one of the most unusual pronouncements of its kind, has been given wide circulation, but so far the silence on the part of the press has been deafening. It's the kind of silence you get when you hit a man between the eyes with a hammer. Is it stunned or just incapable of analyzing the implications?

This has been a very interesting administration in Washington, to say the least. Someone is always bouncing a fast ball off the dome of the chief while he is looking into the sun.

Benson led them all down an alley, left them no escapes and slammed the door.

What the Republicans, what the Democrats, what the disintegrating farm bloc will do, we have no idea. It does occur to us, however, that if we had just read this thing over carefully and we found the words "90 percent of parity" in our mouth, we would wash our mouth out with soap.

We have tried to brief the text of Benson's letter for inclusion elsewhere in this edition.

THE LETTER BENSON WROTE TO ELLENDER

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Some people consider this letter one of the most unusual and important pronouncements to be made by a Secretary of Agriculture in the last 25 years. It is a very long letter, so unfortunately we had to shorten it for reprint.)

Benson made the following statements in the letter addressed to Senator ELLENDER, chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture:

"You asked for my views on problems arising under existing price-support legislation.

"Now is the time to see that graneries and warehouses presently being emptied are not filled again with price-depressing surpluses. I wish to make three points:

"1. Controls are not effective in reducing overall agricultural production, despite the severe restrictions they impose on farmers' freedom to produce and market.

"2. Agricultural products are likely to continue to be abundant. Under such conditions, they cannot be successfully priced as if they were scarce.

"3. The present legal formulas governing acreage allotments and price supports are proving obsolete.

"Production per farmer has doubled in the last 15 years. This creates a new dimension in farm policy and makes it virtually impossible to curtail agricultural output with the types of controls acceptable in our society.

"Farmers are being subjected to the forces generated by the technological revolution. They are adjusting from wartime to peacetime demands. Their markets are burdened by surpluses which result at least in part from past wartime programs. Obviously, farmers must be protected from the harsh price effects which would result from their exposed economic position, their weak bargaining power, and their abundant production. Government efforts should help rather than hinder them.

"If surpluses are reduced, farmers will feel that acreage allotments should be increased. Under present law, however, farmers are unlikely to receive increased allotments for most of the basic crops. Hence, under present law, disappointment awaits many farm families.

"Last year, in spite of acreage allotments, marketing quotas, the beginnings of a soil bank, and a severe drought in the Southwest, overall farm production reached an all-time record.

"Here are partial results of a special study of the USDA on acreage reduction programs as requested by the Appropriations Committee of the 84th Congress:

"1. The acreage allotment, marketing, quotas, and associated price support programs that have been in effect during the last 2 years have had little influence in total farm production, although the production of specific commodities has been modified considerably.

"2. An 8 percent reduction from 1953 to 1955 in the total production of four of the basic allotment crops—cotton, wheat, corn, and rice—was more than offset by increases in production of nonallotment crops.

"3. Land and other resources diverted from production of these crops were used mainly to grow feed grains other than corn, oilseed crops, rye, and hay.

"To continue with Benson's thoughts: We cannot control the total output of agriculture by controlling the acreage of crops which yield only one-fourth of our farm income. Obviously, it is unfair to the producers of the nonbasic products to expect them to solve their own supply problems and shoulder as well the supply problems shifted to them by producers of the basic commodities.

"We were trying for production control during the past 24 years of farm programs, but we have done many legislative things to defeat the purpose such as: Permission to plant on acres diverted from the basic crops, minimum national allotments, minimum individual allotments, legislative action to boost allotments or to prevent them from falling and control on the basis of harvested instead of planted acres.

"Farmers repeatedly vote for marketing quotas by wide margins, but actually they have no realistic choice. If quotas are voted down, the price support is only 50 percent of parity and farmers must stay within their allotments if they wish to receive even that low support. Furthermore, quotas have not been restrictive enough to balance supply and demand. For example, in 1956 accumulated stocks of wheat were so heavy that a quota of only 12 million acres would have been appropriate to adjust supplies to normal demand according to law. To deal with this impossible situation, the Congress provided a minimum national allotment of 55 million acres.

"Farmers favored a cotton quota based by law on 17.6 million acres, when a quota of 4 million acres would have been required to adjust to normal. For both wheat and cotton, the allotment on which farmers voted was more than four times as large as would be needed to adjust supplies to normal.

"Votes of this kind cannot reasonably be said to indicate farmers' willingness to keep supplies in line with demand in order to receive the support price. Eisenhower's recommendation for quantity allotments for cotton and other crops was turned down by Congress.

"Some people recommend extending acreage controls to the feed grains and the oilseed crops, a step which would approximately double the number of acres under Government control. Experience suggests that we should move away from acreage controls rather than toward more of them.

"The acreage reserve part of the soil-bank program came into being due to the intolerable situation caused by mounting stocks of food. It must be used to reduce accumulated stocks. It must not be put to other purposes. It must not be allowed to become permanent. A permanent program which subsidizes nonproduction is contrary to our tradition.

"The evidence of the past 24 years is inescapable. Farmers will not accept, legislators will not vote, and from a practical standpoint administrators cannot impose the kind of controls which, at the price objective specified by law, would be necessary to bring production into line with market outlets.

"Agricultural products are likely to be abundant. Under such conditions, they cannot be successfully priced as if they were scarce.

"Since we apparently cannot legislate scarcity, we must learn how to live with abundance. We need to build markets so that this abundance can be used. We cannot build markets by pricing ourselves out of them.

"The agricultural budget submitted for the coming year totals in the neighborhood of $5 billion. It was pointed out on the floor of the House that this is the equivalent of nearly half the net income of our farm people.

"Few would object seriously to heavy costs if these costs were temporary and if the program were moving toward a solution.

"There are two things which the American people are not likely to tolerate:

"1. The rebuilding of surpluses after stocks have been pulled down by surplus disposal and the soil bank.

"2. A permanent soil bank and a permanent disposal program of the dimensions made necessary by incentive prices and ineffective controls.

"Certainly, more production adjustments are needed for our basic crops than are likely to come from the type of controls we hitherto have had. Farmers are capable of making many needed adjustments on their own if permitted to do so.

"Many provisions of law are good and workable. There are more than 200 farm products for which we are authorized to provide price supports. For all but 11 of these (the basic commodities, wheat, cotton, corn, rice, peanuts, and tobacco, and a few other commodities with special programs, dairy products, wool, sugar, honey, and tung nuts) general guides are provided by law as a basis for price supports without the use of fixed formulas. For the 190 or so commodities to which these criteria apply, problems have perhaps been less troublesome than for the basic commodities.

"Of any proposed solution, I ask these questions: Will it work? Is it good for farmers?

"I have no doctrinaire solution for agricultural problems. My comments regarding governing legislation stem from the fact that these programs are not working.

"EZRA TAFT BENSON,
"Secretary of Agriculture."

United States Treasury "in Fiscal Mess"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpt from the syndicated column of Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 18, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

UNITED STATES TREASURY "IN FISCAL MESS"
(By Drew Pearson)

By an ironic twist which the general public doesn't realize, George Humphrey is stepping out as Secretary of the Treasury just as

the Treasury is in one of the worst messes in recent history.

To quote the Wall Street Journal: "The Government of the United States is in a fiscal mess. The Treasury of the richest nation on earth is short of money. At one point this spring it had hardly enough cash to pay a week's worth of bills."

Yet Mr. Humphrey has been hailed as the strong man of the Cabinet and one of the greatest Secretaries of the Treasury in history.

The fact is, however, that Victory Bonds have been selling at $86, the same panic levels at which millions of people sold and took their losses on Liberty Bonds after World War I. In addition, the Treasury's interest rate for long-term bonds is at the highest point in history, despite which the bonds can't be sold to the public. The recent $4.2 billion bond offering at 3⅝ percent for 57 months was a complete bust. The investing public just wouldn't buy.

On top of this the Treasury has to raise $55 billion to cover maturing bonds in the next 12 months. Yet it has now given up all hope of raising money through long-term bonds and gone back to short-term notes.

BANKERS IN CONTROL

One of the big campaign issues of the Eisenhower Administration was to get away from short-term, hand-to-mouth financing. To accomplish this, one of the leading businessmen of the Nation, George Humphrey, was made Secretary of the Treasury, while the actual job of revising fiscal policy was put under Randolph Burgess of the National City Bank, a strong critic of the Government's past bond policy under Henry Morgenthau. Burgess is married to a great-great-great granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury and the father of American fiscal policy.

One of the first things Burgess did was announce that he would take $170 million of the Government's debt and put it away in long-term bonds for 20 or 30 years.

To please the bankers, he also jacked up interest rates. This was his worst mistake. After he had hiked interest rates on one bond issue, he couldn't go back to lower rates on other issues. The bankers and the investors wouldn't take it.

So the cost of handling the national debt today, because of increased interest charges, is about the same as the cost of the entire Government budget during the peak days of WPA and PWA, when many business leaders were denouncing the high cost of Government.

Meanwhile, the Government has enough money to last through June. But $4 billion will be needed in July. In August the Treasury faces another $15½ billion in maturities, with another $8 billion in October. Though part of these are held by the Federal Reserve, at least $9 to $10 billion are in public hands.

The public investors are finding that they can get a better return from the stock market or in municipal bonds. They don't like having their money tied up in long-term Government bonds when runaway inflation is daily depleting the value of the dollar.

Pay Raise for Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call attention to my testimony today before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, on behalf of the postal workers of my district.

Our postal employees, who so loyally serve our Government and the public, are in urgent need of a pay increase. We are aware also that the postal workers have received only small pay increases in the past several years. This fact, in addition to the consistently higher cost of living levels, adds a note of urgency to their presently critical economic situation.

It is my desire to give full and immediate support to legislation which will remedy the distressing economic predicament of this long-neglected segment of our economy. Where a postal employee has a family to support he is reduced to a subsistence level, which in the face of our present high standard of living, makes it impossible for him to have more than the barest necessities of life without seeking additional employment. In the light of this deplorable situation, I cannot do other than agree that this raise is more than justified.

I have received numerous letters and petitions from the postal workers of the Fifth District of Kansas. I would like to present to this committee a small sample of these letters which so eloquently describe their depressed economic situation:

HUTCHINSON, KANS., *May 7, 1957.*

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As a postal clerk's wife I am writing to you asking your support on the salary increase bill H. R. 2474. We feel that we need and are entitled to this increase. It is extremely difficult to exist on our present salary of $3,785 a year. Our bring home pay is considerably less.

In order to supply a sufficient home for our 2 small children, our house payments are 43 percent of our bring home pay. Our food costs us approximately $100 a month. With the small children we have had several medical bills. At present time we are driving a 1950 model car and don't see much chance of affording a newer one at our present wage. We need a car as Hutchinson doesn't have bus service and we live 24 blocks from the post office. A car of this age is in constant need of repairs. Our gasoline and oil is running $20 a month and sometimes more. There isn't money left for clothing, entertainment, nor a few necessary things to maintain a happy home. We are not asking to live better than our friends and neighbors but we feel that our family is entitled to live on an equal basis.

We think our job as a postal clerk should be classified higher than an average unskilled worker yet our wages are in the same classification. Our husbands are required to study a scheme and pass a test each year. At the present a postal clerk hasn't much to look forward to as far as making a living. Their hours are irregular and definitely inconvenient. They work evenings, nights, weekends and holidays and just draw pay for the 40 hours. Most all of the postal employees family have to have outside income to live decently. As a young postal clerk's wife, is that what we have to look forward to, either working myself or my husband always holding 2 jobs as he has in the past 3 years?

We would greatly appreciate your support on the salary increase bill H. R. 2474 and also on the personnel management relations bill H. R. 6.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. WALLACE R. SMITH.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., *May 9, 1957.*

DEAR MR. FLOYD BREEDING: I am a wife of a postal clerk. He has been at the post office for 10 years. He has a family of four. With wages as they are and prices as high as they are it is very difficult to make a decent living.

If we don't get a pay raise it will be almost necessary for my husband to have a second job or for me to go to work.

We are coasting along without any sickness but if the children should get sick and have high doctor bills I don't know what we would do.

So if we could depend on your support we would appreciate it very much, on Bill H. R. 2474 and H. R. 6.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

Mrs. PAUL AUPPERLE.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., *May 9, 1957.*

Hon. J. F. BREEDING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am deeply interested in the bills S. 27, H. R. 2474, S. 386, and H. R. 6 for the postal employees.

We are a family of four, living on an income of $140 take-home pay. When we get our house payment, grocery bill, doctor bills, furniture payment and drug bills we hardly have any left for clothing, church, etc. I make all our clothes so we can have enough to get by. I had a $25 drug bill in November and a $17 one in January. It usually runs $8 a month. We have a $38 doctor bill as of now.

I have to let our grocery bill run over in order to pay something on different bills. I could work but after paying someone to care for our girls 15 and 29 months we wouldn't make a thing. Also I would have to have new clothes and a second car.

My husband's postal hours wouldn't work with mine. Our gasoline is $8 for just going to and from work. We don't spend foolishly as we neither drink, smoke, nor dance.

Respectfully,

Mrs. LEONARD F. BRENTLINGER.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., *May 13, 1957.*

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: As a wife of a substitute postal employee I ask you to study this budget and see how we couldn't possibly live on a regular's take-home pay of $250 a month. As you can see our average budget is over this and it does not include home improvement, dentist, personal taxes, car insurance ($70 yearly), and repair bills and gifts.

This month we paid $28 for 7 hours of labor on a plumbing bill. My husband had to work 14½ hours to earn this.

House payment	$65.05
Food	70.00
Car payment	48.00
Utilities	20.00
Doctor	2.00
Drugstore	6.88
Spending money (lunches included)	5.00
Clothing	10.00
Gasoline and oil	12.00
Insurance	20.00
Church and charity	5.00
Total	274.33

Please support H. R. 2474 and H. R. 607.

Cordially yours,

Mrs. DON MCCAMANT, Jr.

HUTCHINSON, KANS.

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I would like to write and urge you to vote for the bill H. R. 2474. My husband has worked for the Post Office for 10 years and makes $300 (take-home pay) a month. We have three children. Here is a sample of our monthly bills:

House payment	$68
Car payment	70
Gas for car	20
Food	70
Insurance	20
Lights, water, gas, etc	30
Total (per month)	278

As you can see this leaves $22.00 for doctor, dentist, clothes, etc. each month. We could not possibly get along without my husband working his days off at another job. So here's hoping the bill H. R. 2474 is passed.

Respectfully,

MRS. M. W. FRIESEN.

GREAT BEND, KANS., *May 13, 1957.*

Hon. FLOYD BREEDING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BREEDING: I am a postal clerk in the Great Bend, Kans., post office and I am writing to you for your support on H. R. 2474 which is pay raise for postal employees. Please sign the discharge petition House Resolution 249 which would make in order the immediate consideration of H. R. 2474.

My take-home pay from the Post Office is $3,900 and that small amount of money doesn't begin to pay for the many expenses of my family, consequently I have had to borrow money to live on and I am $1,800 in debt with no chance of paying back the $1,800. I have a son who is 18 years of age and I would like to send him to college this fall but with only $3,900 to draw from I can't do it. A college education is very important this day and age if one is to survive and I would like for my son to have that opportunity.

Many postal employees hold 2 or 3 part-time jobs to try to keep up and the wives of some work to help out with the expenses. This is not a good situation because the extra jobs held by the postal employees are depriving someone else from those jobs and if our wives have to work, when they finish their job in an office or wherever they might work they still have washing, ironing and all of the many other things to attend to at home. By the way does your wife work at a job outside of your home, Mr. Breeding, and could you live on $3,900 per year?

The facts as stated above give a pretty good picture of how things stand with 90 percent of postal people. The United States Chamber of Commerce president stated that postal people don't need a raise in pay while he draws around $125,000 per year. It's rather absurd isn't it. Also it has been stated that if postal people are given a raise that it will cause inflation, that is also rather absurd isn't it, Mr. Breeding.

Please give the above bills your most sincere consideration and support.

Sincerely,

ELDON STEURI.

GREAT BEND, KANS., *May 13, 1957.*

Congressman J. FLOYD BREEDING,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you concerning salary legislation for postal employees. Our need for an adjustment is real and urgent.

I have been a clerk at the Great Bend, Kans., Post Office for over 8 years and at the present time my base salary is $4,285 a year. To maintain an adequate standard of living for my wife and three children on this salary is not only a hardship, it is next to impossible. I am forced to hold two extra part-time jobs to supplement my earnings. For postal employees to hold extra jobs is nothing new. Eighty-five percent of the employees of this office either hold extra jobs or have other sources of income Needless to say, this is detrimental to the employee and to the postal service.

In comparison to other jobs requiring skilled labor, I would like to state I have a friend who works in the Phillips Petroleum Co.'s office of this city. He has been with this firm approximately 6 years. He is the lowest paid clerk in the office. He works a 40-hour week, the same as I do. His base salary is $5,520 a year. His company also has extended fringe benefits that either equal or surpass anything the post office has to offer.

Lately it seems to me our situation has become a political football to be kicked around along with the postal rate increase legislation. Although I believe postal rates should be increased, and substantially, I do not believe our salaries should be in any way dependent upon revenues over which we have no control.

I enjoy working for the post office and hope to continue, but unless I can give my family a decent living, one which I believe the work merits, I feel I will be forced to seek employment elsewhere.

There are several good bills in the committee being considered at the present time and I would appreciate your support most especially for House Resolution 2474.

Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

DON HEROLD.

MAY 15, 1957.

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Washington, D. C.:

I am a letter carrier here in Hutchinson and by working quite a few hours overtime at Christmas I managed to earn $4,029, before deductions. I have a wife and two boys to support on this salary and with the rising cost of living our present salary is very insufficient. I am a member of the Kansas National Guard and also a carpenter on the side to try to make ends meet.

I therefore urge you to support the pending postal legislation. Especially H. R. 2474 at this time in committee. Please help to get H. R. 2474 out of committee and before the House. After hearing reports from various sources, we Kansas letter carriers feel that we have one friend in Congress from Kansas.

Hoping for your full support, I am

Sincerely,

VERLE D. TRUITT.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., *March 31, 1957.*

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Washington, D. C.:

SIR: As a wife of a substitute mail carrier I plead with you to support H. R. 607 and H. R. 2474. My husband is next to receive his regular appointment. We have figured and figured but haven't yet found a way to live on a bi-weekly pay of $125.

As a substitute he has averaged at least $150, and often times he receives $170. On this salary we have had no luxuries and have been able to save only a little, so how do you expect us to live on $125. We would gladly send you a monthly budget if you would like.

I trust you will do everything in your power to help us on this and also H. R. 2462.

Cordially yours,

MRS. DON MCCAMANT, Jr.

The Navy's Transition to Nuclear Power Is Providing This Country With a Long-Term Industrial Asset, Namely, an Industrial Base With Atomic Tools and Trained Manpower

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, our Nation and its people derive many advantages from the Navy's nuclear shipbuilding program. These advantages are not always immediately apparent. During a recent hearing before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, stated that the United States leads both Great Britain and the Soviet Union in the development of the peaceful utilization of the atom. He supported his statement by reference to the two reactors built for the U. S. S. *Nautilus*. This successful project represented the first practical application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

It is important to remember that the purely military use of nuclear energy is represented by atomic and hydrogen bombs, nuclear warheads for missiles, and atomic projectiles for cannons. However, nuclear propulsion of submarines, cruisers, and aircraft carriers is basically a peaceful use of the atom, for in itself, it is not a weapon of war. These ships will make constructive use of the atom. At the keel laying of the first nuclear-powered submarine, a fundamental promise held out to the American people by President Eisenhower was the use of nuclear power for electricity to light our American homes.

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to foresee that knowledge learned and experience gained in building an atomic carrier will greatly further the peaceful benefits to the United States and her people. The Navy's transition to nuclear power is providing this country with a long term industrial asset, namely, an industrial base with atomic tools and trained manpower. We should recognize that all power producing reactors have technology in common and that at this stage of their development, gains in one application inevitably mean improvement in others. This is particularly true in the application of nuclear power to naval ships and to central power station use, since the technical power in these reactors is expected to be quite similar. There is no fundamental conflict between any objective to develop atomic power for cities and for other applications. Actually, the technologies of all nuclear power applications contribute to one another.

Since we are now spending over 70 percent of the national budget for activities associated with defense, the military application for nuclear power has important immediate economic signifi-

cance. It is clear that if nuclear power makes it possible to do our military job with fewer ships, planes and men, and to do these jobs with greater effectiveness, then the saving to the individual American is real and direct.

Mr. Speaker, we should never forget for one moment that some weapons of war have made a direct and substantial contribution to the peaceful pursuits of this country. It has been said that without the *Nautilus*, the United States might not today be the leading nation of the world in the peaceful use of the atom. Defense Department money spent in past years for the *Nautilus* and *Seawolf* makes it possible to build today an ocean-going merchant ship which will herald a new era in world shipping.

The construction of a nuclear carrier will be a new chapter in this peaceful progress schedule. She will be powered by eight nuclear reactors which present new problems not only for the nuclear scientist but for the mechanical, construction, and design engineers. It may well be that the nuclear carrier powerplant will open the door to practical and economical powerplants to serve the needs of great industrial factories. It may bring to sections of this country and the world a proven source of electrical and propulsion energy which has heretofore been the roadblock to the production and employment benefits of the industrial age to many areas—both here and abroad.

During the past few years great emphasis has been placed upon the reorganization of the Federal Government in the name of efficiency and economy. I am certain the Congress will continue to be concerned with this problem and rightfully so. No member, however, serves long in this body without being aware that there often is a realistic limitation to what we can do through statute in the name of reorganization to achieve efficiency and economy in the Government. Efficiency and economy must in large measure result from understanding, coordination and cooperation not only among the various departments of the executive branch, but also in their working relationships with industry and the civilian population. We in the Congress can provide stimulus and direction through reorganization, but we cannot guarantee results through reorganization alone.

The nuclear carrier presents a real challenge in this area. For the appropriation of the requested sum to the Department of Defense will not of itself assure successful completion. I have no doubt that the nuclear carrier will be a success. It will require, however, the closest of cooperation between many departments of the Government—the military services, the Atomic Energy Commission—all of whom must work in the closest cooperation with various segments of American industry. This cooperation must take place on all levels and be based on understanding of a common objective and its long-range importance to all of the American people in the years ahead. A current example of such cooperation is the Nation's first commercial-scale atomic powerplant, located at Shippingsport, Pa., which is the shore-based counterpart of a Navy aircraft carrier which never put to sea. Plans for the carrier were about to be scrapped in early 1953 when it was proposed that the technology involved be salvaged for a commercial atomic power plant. It is upon this type of cooperation between government and industry—voluntary and stimulated through understanding and mutual interest—that efficiency and economy in the military services must in large measure rest.

I am as concerned as any Member of this body with the costs of government and the price tag of American security. I think, however, that we would be less than honest if we did not recognize that many of the projects and programs which are carried on in the name of national defense make an immediate and important contribution to the material level of American life as well as that of the whole world.

The big commercial airliners which speed our people to all corners of the Nation and the world evolved from Air Force design contracts; a young child enjoys the protection and comfort of the lightweight, warm and waterproof snowsuit as a result of the Army's research with cold weather clothing during and since World War II; the revolution which has taken place in the packaging and preservation of the many foods which line the shelves of our supermarkets today resulted in large measure from the pioneering of the military. The Navy is primarily responsible for advancing the progress of radio—the military development of radar opened new vistas in television. The conversion from diesel to atomic power will revitalize the Nation's shipbuilding industry. By law, half the Navy's ships must be built in private yards.

I cite only a few examples, but the list is long. The price tag for much of the technological progress in this country is a part of the annual military budget—but the secondary benefits often are soon translated into benefits for all our people.

In this age of nuclear weapons, America must never hesitate to take the lead in development of new technological programs which give great promise for commercial and civilian benefit. We shall lose a tremendous international advantage if the Soviets forge ahead of us in peacetime applications of the atom.

It may be one of the great anomalies of our time, but perhaps the tremendous destructive capabilities of nuclear weapons will bring the realization to people everywhere that there can be no alternative to world disarmament and world peace. Perhaps the plowshares of the future will be shaped from the atomic sword.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to give their continual and enthusiastic support to early transition to nuclear-powered ships for the Navy. We will enhance our military preparedness and we will get a running jump in building our atomic industrial base.

Monsignor Genova Offers Invocation on Israel's Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the June 3 issue of Israel Digest. It contains the invocation which was offered by the Very Reverend Monsignor Vincent O. Genova on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the independence of Israel:

MONSIGNOR GENOVA OFFERS THE NINTH SALUTE INVOCATION

At the outset of the salute to Israel festivities held in New York earlier this month to mark Israel's ninth year of independence, the following moving invocation was recited to the thousands gathered by the Very Reverend Monsignor Vincent O. Genova, of Brooklyn's Holy Family Rectory:

"Almighty and Eternal God, we offer Thee humble worship and beg Thy blessing on this solemn gathering of people of our country who join in a spirit of fraternal charity in the celebration of the ninth anniversary of the foundation of the State of Israel. Thou, O Lord God, art the Ruler and Master of all men and all nations; Thy divine providence guides their destinies; Thy authority is the source of all legitimate human authority; Thou art the strength of the young and the weak, the hope of the poor and oppressed among nations.

"On this joyful anniversary celebration, we implore Thy gracious blessing on Israel—the oldest of peoples and the youngest of nations. All mankind rejoices that this ancient race—whom divine privilege made the custodian of the spiritual legacy of the human race, and the first recipients of Thy Ten Commandments—should now find a haven and a home of their own among the nations of the world. As America has opened its charitable arms to the victims of Communist aggression from many lands, so Israel has opened its arms to her own noble people, burdened by a centuries-old sorrow of dispersion and persecution.

"The free world rejoices at the special role given to Israel by divine providence to be the custodian of those holy places which saw the accomplishment of the Redemption of mankind. May this mandate be ever regarded as a serious responsibility, and carried out with the dignity and justice merited by this sacred trust. For the eyes of all the world are on this spot of land which witnesses the union of two civilizations, and joins ancient and modern history.

"We beg Thee, O God of might, wisdom and justice, to grant to the rulers and people of the State of Israel the wisdom to follow in the footsteps of their forefathers in the ways of justice and peace. Let Thy holy spirit guide its venerable and courageous leader, as Israel walks in the days of its youth as a nation with the Phylactery of Thy Holy Laws before its eyes. Grant to this young nation, we beseech Thee, O Lord, the grace to continue to collaborate with the nations of the world in giving honor and glory to Thee, and in bringing peace among all men of good will. Amen."

Monsignor Genova has a reputation as a vigorous man of action in the service of all his neighbors, including Jews and Protestants, as well as the members of his parish.

As a young priest he was assigned to a neglected area of Brooklyn which he built up into the largest of that county's parishes, the present Holy Family Rectory and Parish.

Monsignor Genova's application and industry were recognized by the authorities of the Catholic Church, and the Pope raised him to the degree of monsignor at the relatively early age of 40.

Sportsmen-Private Landowner Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the following address prepared and delivered by one of my constituents, Mr. Luther O. Griffith, of Huntington, W. Va., before the Huntington Rifle and Pistol Club on the score of recreational features being considered in connection with water impoundments is timely and should be of interest to every Member of this House:

SPORTSMEN-PRIVATE LANDOWNER COOPERATION

One of the big questions with which the sportsmen are confronted, today, is private landownership versus public landownership. This comes about by reason of the fact most large sportsmen's organizations have made it a controversial issue. It should not be at all, because, as every sportsman knows, this country was founded on the free enterprise-private landownership system and it has been through competitive free enterprise that we have attained the wonderful scale of living which the people of this country enjoy.

When the National Forest System was first inaugurated by President Theodore Roosevelt, the science of forestry was new to this country; we had an excess of timber in relation to demand and, although the Government was making large grants and cheap sales of land to help settle the West, there were some persons who feared a timber famine might eventually result, if a large portion of the original timber were not reserved from cutting.

Gradually, much of the reserved land was placed under the management of Federal foresters, just as much of the private forest land in the West was also put under sound forestry management. As private forestry has advanced, we now find many areas where private owners are doing a better job than the Government is in actual on-the-ground forestry. Thus, the need for the protective shield of Federal ownership is no longer needed to assure a continuous adequate timber supply. The lumbermen and other forest-products manufacturers are not working wholly from unselfish motives—they have found that good forestry is good business for them, their local communities, their States, and the Nation as a whole.

Fortunately, good economics has almost always been the solution of all of our national ills. Private landowners have come to realize the great value to them in good will, in working with the sportsmen and inviting them on their lands to hunt and fish during the open hunting and fishing seasons. When their timber lands are properly cut, the game habitat is greatly improved, especially that of the big-game animals. Likewise, good forestry necessitates operating timber in such fashion as to cause the least erosion possible and the least silting of the streams and the impoundments into which they flow. In the Appalachian area, where team and tractor logging predominate, we no longer build a skidroad straight up and down the side of a mountain, creating a rut into which water rushes every time we have a heavy rain and eroding a gully. Instead, roads are built around the side of the mountains and the logging is done as much along the contours of the land as is economically possible.

The one big problem which faces this Nation, today, the sportsmen can help solve to their eventual betterment and certainly for the good of the Nation as a whole, and that is our steady march into socialism. It is axiomatic that every time an acre of private land goes under Federal ownership we travel that much closer to a complete Socialist State. As things stand now, the Government owns 1 acre out of every 4 in the United States and the bureaucrats are still reaching for more. A current example is the sale of the timber from the Klamath Indian Reservation. There is a great hue and cry among the bureaucrats, aided and abetted by the national sportsmen's organizations, for this timber land to be owned by the Federal Government and to be administered by the Federal Forest Service, which is one of our most overgrown bureaucracies.

Another proposal, by a group of Senators headed by WAYNE MORSE and RICHARD NEUBERGER, is the building of a public high power dam in Hells Canyon. These Senators are found consistently voting for most all projects which make for more Government ownership, which in turn promotes more socialism. Fortunately, here is one particular proposal where private landowners feel the same way the sportsmen do, but for possibly a different reason. The sportsmen feel that building a high dam in Hells Canyon will destroy a great scenic beauty and ruin the fishing for all time in this particular area. The private landowners feel that it is just one more socialistic project and is an invasion, by the Government, of private enterprise. The Idaho Power Co. has already been granted the right to build 3 low dams in this section, which will not interfere with the fishing in that territory and already have spent millions of dollars on one of these dams. This would be scrapped if Mr. MORSE and Mr. NEUBERGER have their way about it.

Most of this public versus private landownership problem, but not all, centers in the West. Some of the big sportsmen's organizations always raise the hue and cry, whenever the private landowners of this country try to get some of the Government land put back on the tax rolls by selling it to private companies, that it is a give-away to the big lumber companies of the West.

Personally, I am just as much opposed to monopoly-minded companies as anybody in the world could be. However, the lumber companies of the West, which so many of the proponents of Government ownership call big, are in relation to other corporations very small, indeed. In steel and aluminum, for example, 2 or 3 companies control almost all of the output. No 1 lumber company produces as much as 5 percent of the national lumber output. In fact, I believe this percentage to be high, as there are over 55,000 independent lumber producing units in the United States. You can see from this that the lumber industry, as compared with some other industries, is very highly competitive.

Getting down to our own State, I feel that a portion of the money which the sportsmen spend for licenses (which goes into funds for purchase of additional lands or improvement of lands the State already owns) could be far better spent on these improvements and, cooperatively with private landowners, in building more small impoundments for better fishing. The State already has, in my humble opinion, as much forest land as it can properly manage, with the number of foresters they currently employ. Your forestry program and your game-management program must go hand in hand and for the game-management folks to have the proper habitat in which to work they must first of all have a professional forester to educate the landowners as to how to properly manage their forests.

I believe that one of the worst things we sportsmen ever did was to allow our national sportsmen's organizations to oppose the bill which was put in Congress, a few years ago, which would have required the Federal Government, when any private land was condemned for Government purposes (power lines, water impoundments, etc.) to give, in return, from Government forests, if available, an equal amount of land to the individual or corporation whose lands were being condemned. This was only plain, ordinary, everyday fair play—nothing more, and still the sportsmen's organizations, which your group supports, went all out in lobbying to defeat this bill. They accomplished it, but in doing so they gave private landownership and sportsmen cooperation a very severe setback.

In spite of this, progress is being made. I know of one lumber company which owns a fairly substantial tract of fine hunting land which has made an arrangement with a local sportsmen's club to handle all the hunting and fishing on its lands. Instead of the company opening its lands to all hunters, responsible or irresponsible alike, it lets the sportsmen's club decide on the ground rules and who does the hunting and fishing. This increases the prestige of the club, assures the company that the area will be protected from careless fire starters and gives the club a chance to meet the hunters and fishermen and instill a sense of sportsmanship and respect for private property in them. There are millions of acres of privately owned land denied use by sportsmen, simply because such cooperation as outlined above his never been attained.

I believe that I can see this question from both sides of the fence, as there is no one present who likes to hunt or fish more than I. I do feel, however, that my chance to hunt and fish will be improved and the free enterprise system, which made this country great, advanced by a firm determination on the part of the sportsmen's groups to try to understand the private landowners' viewpoint and help him to keep more private lands from going into public ownership, and possibly help the lumber people to get some of these Federal lands back in private hands so they can again be put on the tax rolls, and become a part of our great free enterprise system. To do this you will have to speak sternly to the national sportsmen's organizations who represent you, or at least say they do.

Address of the Honorable Gracie Pfost, of Idaho, to the Graduating Class of the Marjorie Webster Junior College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is not only a privilege but also an honor to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following address

of the Honorable GRACIE PROST, of Idaho, to the graduating class of Marjorie Webster Junior College.

In pointing out that this age affords greater possibilities of achievement than any time in history, Congresswoman PROST urged the graduates to—

Reach for the stars. Dream the dreams of the great—for dreams do come true. Just remember that no goal is too ambitious for you to realize, if you will so direct your life that you sqeeze the very most out of each talent and each skill that you possess.

I guarantee that GRACIE PROST spoke from experience. As a Representative from an eastern State, my attention to the vast problems of the West was brought into a better focus by the dynamic presentation of the facts by the one and only GRACIE PROST. Her reasoning power on the basic principles involved in the Hells Canyon controversy soon launched her as an authority on the subject and clearly pointed up the necessity for the full development of the people's natural resources. She, and she alone, made available to Congress the issues involved.

The need for this vast high dam in the West is agreed to. Her sincerity and her determination for its realization is her dream. In other words, to give the most benefits to the greatest number for the least cost.

Her advice to the graduates is one to which all of us as legislators should pay heed.

Following is Congresswoman PROST's address:

SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE GRACIE PROST, DEMOCRAT OF IDAHO, BEFORE MARJORIE WEBSTER JUNIOR COLLEGE, AT GRADUATION EXERCISES, MAY 27, 1957

Dr. Webster, graduates, your parents, and friends, it is thrilling for me to stand here and face a group of young women who are about to go out into the world and fashion for yourselves a place in history. You have almost your whole life ahead of you—and you can make of it what you will.

In the next few years you will be taking the turns and making the decisions that will chart your course. Those of us who are older have already taken most of those turns and made most of those decisions—and few of us will ever have the opportunity to go out again into fresh fields and prove ourselves. Our courses are already set. But you have ahead of you—all of the splendor and satisfaction of making your way upward.

The most important advice I can give you today is—reach for the stars. Dream the dreams of the great—for dreams do come true. Just remember that no goal is too ambitious for you to realize if you will so direct your life that you squeeze the very most out of each talent and each skill that you possess.

You have been privileged in this school, to receive thorough training in the special fields in which you have native abilities and outstanding bents. You have achieved your education in the finest and freest society the world has ever known. You constitute a fragment of a generation of Americans that is without a doubt the most envied and the most immediately useful in all of the history of our country.

I sometimes wonder if we in our time fully realize the glory and grandeur of this era. America is at the peak of her eminence. We have emerged from two great wars with victory for the principles by which we live. Our cost in manpower and money has been great—but not nearly so great as the agony of those people whose country was a battlefield. And we can be deeply grateful that as we meet here, the free world is still the dominant force on our tight little globe.

It is across this threshold that you, the graduates of the Marjorie Webster Junior College, are entering the world of business, the world of ambition, the world of achievement.

I personally, could not wish to have been born in another world—either as a person or as a woman. The status of women in this country is incomparably beyond anything since the beginning of time. There is even now, within a half day's flight from this hall, a number of nations where women are little more than chattels or beasts of burden. Their value is so low that men with several wives cannot even be bothered to add up the number of their daughters. Girls there, just do not count. My friends, whole ages stand between the freedom you possess, and the bondage of many of the other women in the world.

I repeat—no generation of American women have been as welcome and as royally saluted as the generation of which you—being college-bred—are perhaps the choicest segment.

It was only a brief time ago that giving women a college education was regarded as a profound social mistake. And it was only a brief time ago that women in industry or in business—and especially women in politics were looked upon as a little queer—or to say the least, unrefined.

The 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States was only presented to the legislatures of the several States by the 65th Congress, and was finally adopted as recently as 1920. And, even then, the State of Maryland, in which many of you girls live—was one of the States that rejected that amendment. Alabama and Virginia were the other two. Had a sufficient number of other States followed their example, we women might not have had the vote even today.

You can be grateful that you girls who are going out into commerce and industry today, go with much of the struggle for women's freedom behind you. We still haven't broken down all of the barriers—and we still have to work harder than men to make a success in any field we may choose, but every day we see greater evidence of a vast fusion of men's and women's efforts on an enormous coindustrial, copolitical, and coartistic scale.

Watch the crawl on a big television show and see how many women have been involved in a top capacity—in the writing, direction, choreography, or in the acting and singing. Look at the women who own their own businesses from jam kitchens to restaurant chains, from shoe factories to beauty parlors. There are women stockbrokers, women real-estate brokers—which was my field before coming to the Congress—there are women judges and lawyers, painters and sculptors, women educators like your own Dr. Webster, and there are women in public office. And the horizons are widening every day.

Today, womanpower is a potential and an indispensable ingredient in our economy. Nine out of every ten women will at some point in their careers hold down one job or another. The average schoolgirl of today may well spend fully a quarter of a century in some job or profession. Five million young women will join the labor force in the next decade. Today, 3 married women out of 10 are working—and 2 out of 5 of them have school-age children.

Fortunately, our economy is expanding—creating millions of new jobs. There is more executive work, more clerical work, and more on-the-line production to be done in this country than ever before.

Well—the question is—where do you fit in? I can only say to you again—dreams really do come true.

Decide what you want to be, and don't hesitate about reaching for the top. You can never tell when you may meet someone who can give you the advice and the help to get there.

This was brought home forcibly to me just the other night. I was in a group which included several young people and some members of both the House and the Senate. Someone asked one of the young men, who is serving as a Capitol Hill policeman during the day, and studying at night for his master's degree in political science, what he wanted to do with his life. Without any hesitation, he said:

"I want to be a United States Senator."

There was a slight pause. I thought someone might feel he was brash—then one of the Senators spoke up and said: "That's swell. Let me suggest to you how to get there. As soon as you finish school, go back to your own State and become active in civic affairs—try to be of service to the people. After you are well known, run for the State legislature and get some legislative experience. Then, after you have proven yourself on the State level, strike out for a national office."

I know this young man well. He is intelligent and ambitious. No work is too hard for him, and no hours too long. He never worries whether other people are pulling their full load—nor is he concerned about doing more than his share of the work. He outproduces and outworks almost everybody around him, and does every job well. I expect some day to hear great things from him—for he is one person who will truly take from life what he wants.

Most people who have achieved success have started from the bottom and worked their way up. Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, rated by the Gallup poll as the fourth most admired woman in the world, was once a telephone switchboard operator.

Sally Victor, experimenting with 30 cents worth of braid, created her first hat while she was still in high school, and promptly became the family milliner. She took a summer job as stock girl at Macy's—and in 4 short weeks was head stock girl. She went from assistant millinery buyer to head buyer, and on to designer in the space of a few short years. Today she designs hats for famous and well-dressed people the world over—including the President's wife, Mamie Eisenhower.

Dorothy Shaver, who is president of Lord and Taylor—and today it is a $30 million corporation—started out as a comparative shopper for the store. Working in both the merchandising and fashion fields, she rose steadily in responsibility. Her dream turned a rather dowdy store into one of New York's most glamorous and modern department stores.

Another example is Elsie Murphy, who rose from saleswoman to president of S. Strook & Co., in New York. Now after having carried the store to a new peak, she has enough free time to spend many hours happily with her grandchildren.

And there's Helena Rubenstein, who has netted more than $25 million in her career as a cosmetician—which began in 1902 in a one-room shop in Melbourne, Australia.

Mrs. Margaret Rudkin, the president of Pepperidge Farm, Inc., in 1937 started her business career to supplement the family income so that her 3 children could have greater advantages. Her company now has bakeries in 3 States, and her gross income is estimated at $5 million a year.

Time won't permit me to tell you the success stories of many other modern American women. Some of them are truly fabulous. The number of women who are managers, officials or proprietors in some field of business or industry has more than doubled since 1940. Within that time there has also been a 50 percent gain in the number of business and professional women. It is estimated there are about 3½ million women in

professional, technical and managerial work today, including teachers, nurses, accountants, editors, reporters, lawyers, judges, physicians, surgeons and architects.

And now the question is, "What special qualities take women to the top?" Energy and confidence are certainly two of them. Pleasure in achievement is undoubtedly a third. I think successful women must also have a sensitivity to people, and a flair for moving with a situation. If one method or approach is unrewarding, then another must be tried.

But most important of all, a successful woman must have an unshakable determination to be successful. She must not let setbacks and disappointments sway her from her charted course.

At the risk of being personal, I will say frankly to you that I would not be in Congress today if I had not been more persistent than a hound dog worrying a bone.

The first public office I aspired to was county treasurer. The first time I ran I was defeated by 1,500 votes. I had to wait 4 long years before I could try again.

During those years I continued in my position as deputy county clerk, auditor, and recorder—and I took advantage of every opportunity that presented itself to give service to the people. I worked hours and hours of overtime—trying to do the best possible job I could. The second time I ran, I was elected, and I was reelected 4 more times.

During my courthouse career I was also a member of a number of women's organizations such as the Business and Professional Women, and the Soroptimists. We talked constantly about the importance of advancing women in policymaking posts. Congress was one of the stars to which we had hitched our wagon.

But although Idaho women seemed willing to run for various county jobs, and for the State legislature, and other State offices, before I came along, only one Idaho woman had ever had the courage to try for Congress and she lost. There had been a hesitancy on the part of women to get out and to do the hard work and to take the hard knocks and to spend the money necessary to be elected. I finally decided to practice what we had been preaching.

So in 1950 I ran for Congress, and to make a long story short, I was defeated by a mere handful of votes. Though that was a heartbreaking experience, it was also a very valuable one. I learned a lot, and I made many, many friends.

Then, along in the spring of 1952, my husband, Jack, said to be one morning:

"GRACIE, you sowed a lot of grain 2 years ago. Are you going to let it go to waste, or are you going to get out this fall and harvest it?"

I hesitated only momentarily before I decided: I'd try again.

In my 1952 campaign I traveled over 20,000 miles. I started in April and didn't stop until the polls had closed on election day. My husband and I stayed in every type of accommodation—from good hotels and motels to pitching our tent out under the stars in the little ghost mining town of Dixie. Near the end of the campaign there were 5 nights when I did not go to bed at all, and many nights when I had only 2 or 3 hours' sleep. My campaign took my husband and me into logging camps where we ate with the men in the mess halls—to mining dumps where I handed out my campaign cards to grimy muckers who had finished a day's toil underground.

Somewhere along the line I picked up the 591 votes that made me the victor.

A major factor in my election was the support of many other women. In fact it was the endorsement of the Caldwell Business and Professional Women's Club that gave me the courage to run in the first place. I am hopeful that as the years go by more women will aspire to higher jobs—and that other women will support their endeavor.

I honestly believe that we women as a whole have more patience and tenacity than men, and that this is one of our greatest assets. We frequently overcome great odds and obstacles to achieve our goal.

An example is Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham, a South Carolina invalid, whose efforts a century ago saved us one of our greatest national shrines—Mount Vernon.

The walls were crumbling and the roof sagging when, in 1853, John Augustine Washington, George Washington's great-grand nephew who was then living at Mount Vernon offered to sell the estate to the Federal Government or to Maryland. Neither was interested.

From her invalid's couch in South Carolina, Miss Cunningham directed a campaign to raise $200,000 to buy Mount Vernon. The public was hard to arouse, and by the time the money was raised, John Washington had decided not to sell.

Miss Cunningham made her painful way north to induce him to change his mind. She had no luck. She was carried back to the Mount Vernon wharf, only to find the steamer had left. In the long interval before the next steamer, she finally induced Mr. Washington to sell.

The more than a million people who visit Mount Vernon each year owe a great debt of gratitude to the lionhearted lady who dreamed of making the crumbling house on the Potomac a national shrine—and did so.

You girls graduating in this year of 1957 have an even greater opportunity to achieve success and to give service to others, than the women whose careers I have touched on today. You are moving into a distinctly modern world, citizens of the greatest Nation on earth, equipped by your fine training to reap the fullest rewards that life can offer in our time.

Girls, the thought I wish to leave with you is that the promise for the youth of today is limitless.

The most important single fact of your generation is the emergence of the United States on the world scene as the greatest Nation of all time. We are now committed in practically every part of the earth to keep the free world safe and to avert world war III. Had the United States been committed to intervene in full strength from the first moment of World War I and II, the First World War, and certainly the Second World War might never have happened.

This theory is now under the acid test. It has worked successfully up to this hour.

Basic to world peace is our country's economic strength.

Our gross national product is expected to reach $473 billion in 1957. Compare this with our national income of $677 million back in 1799 when our Nation was young. Our Federal budget alone—that is to say the cost of our National Government alone—is over 100 times what the Nation's total income was just 166 years ago.

It is said there are no longer any frontiers to conquer. It is true, to be sure, that the covered wagon is gone. It is true that despite uranium prospecting, we will probably not again have a repetition of the gold rush of 1849. The days of Lewis and Clark, the Louisiana Purchase, and the annexation of Texas may never again be duplicated. But to deduce from this that all the frontiers have been crossed and there are no new worlds to conquer is to be blind to some of the most fabulously exciting opportunities of all time.

Atomic energy has revolutionalized the status of civilization.

Air travel is turning the whole world into a provincial town.

Medicine is giving new outposts to life itself.

Science is bringing areas of the universe almost as close to the earth as America was to Europe in the 15th century.

The present frontiers open vistas far more exciting than the gold rush, or the purchase of Alaska. The possibilities are so enormous they paralyze the imagination.

We speak of interstellar space with more familiarity today than mapmakers spoke of the great intercontinental oceans in Columbus' time.

We are even dispatching manmade satellites to discover for us the mysteries of outer space. Scientists speak of travel to the moon as a reality probably within the experience of you young people in this room.

Prejudice in all areas—including business and professional discrimination against women—is being eliminated.

This, girls, is your inheritance. I cannot imagine any period in our history when the prospect for the graduate was more promising. You are going out into the world in an epoch in history that presents limitless opportunities for you as an individual.

Star Chamber, Criminal Equity, and Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, I am not a hand to thresh over old straw, but this is not the last the House of Representatives and the country will hear of the jury trial. As long as life remains, we will continue to hammer on this. We will not sit by and see the precious rights of our people destroyed and not utter a protest. We will not submit in this country to "star chamber" proceedings and ways and means will be found whereby these laws will be circumvented, if not repealed. It is shocking to think that American Congressmen would deliberately foist upon the people such a law as the so-called civil rights bill and then at the same time deprive the people of the fundamental right of trial by jury.

Mr. T. Keister Greer, a very distinguished young lawyer from Franklin County, Va., one of the counties of the district I have the honor to represent in the House of Representatives, and who now lives in San Francisco, Calif., has written an excellent paper, copy of which he sent me, entitled "Star Chamber, Criminal Equity, and Civil Rights Legislation." I commend this document to the membership of the Congress and to the people of the country as a whole.

The paper prepared by my friend, Mr. Greer, is as follows:

STAR CHAMBER, CRIMINAL EQUITY, AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

(By T. Keister Greer)

It is a remarkable commentary on human nature that the most vicious reversions may be successfully sponsored under the name of progress. Some attention has been focused on the deprivation of jury trial incident to the civil-rights program of the present administration; what has perhaps not been fully realized is that this is but one manifestation of a more fundamental malignity. This legislation would revive a jurisdiction

illegal under the English law since 1641. For it would restore star chamber, the Camera Stellata of evil memory.

The lay Briton and American, however great his ignorance of its detail, realizes that his liberties are grounded in the common law. He is aware of its slow and often painful growth through the centuries, and of its essential achievement, protection of the individual, and his liberty and property, against all who would transgress, including the state. When we speak of the hereditary liberties of the Anglo-Saxon, of such things as grand juries, the presumption of innocence, the right of confrontation, compulsory process in behalf of the accused, trial by jurors drawn from the vicinage, we speak of the common law. The layman is probably less informed about equity, a discretionary jurisprudence originally administered by the English chancellor. It will suffice for our present purpose to point out that equity is a far different thing from the common law. The procedures and penalties of the latter were developed through many centuries of English experience, and we are familiar with them. Courts of equity had a different history, and are different both in theory and in substance today. And the main difference is this, that a court of equity may in a civil case deal with a man who has disobeyed a civil decree by putting him in jail.

At this point we are reminded of a concept of paramount interest to our forefathers, liberty. A man in jail is deprived of it, and courts of equity can jail men who are not criminals and who have committed no crime. They have been doing it for centuries. Now this power to jail men in civil litigation was watched very carefully by Englishmen, because the possibilities of its abuse are too plain for comment. There is no mandatory trial by jury in equity; like nearly everything else in equity it is discretionary, and the Englishman did not cherish the notion of being committed to jail at someone's discretion. The jurisdiction of equity, therefore, was said to have certain fundamental limitations. Equity acted only when there was no remedy at the common law, and there only to protect rights of property. As the late Professor Glenn put it, "the outline of equity was drawn in terms of property right." [1]

Now a jurisdiction restricted to the protection of property rights will appear reactionary to some, but the limitation was essential to the maintenance of individual liberties. Protection of other interests was provided by the common law, with its centuries-old experience and safeguards. Extension of the jailing power of the chancellor into the fields of public and political rights would have been regarded as a constriction rather than any enlargement of liberty.[2]

With this background let us examine "sterre chambre," abolished from English law these three centuries, but well remembered. It took its name from the starred ceiling of the room in the palace at Westminster in which its judges sat.[3] It was not the adornment, however, but the court's nature, jurisdiction and procedures which terrified Englishmen.

The first thing to grasp about star chamber is that it was a twin sister [4] of the court of chancery. Star chamber was no common law court; it was the antithesis of the common law. It was a foreign court, deriving from Roman rather than Anglo-Saxon experience.[5] Star chamber is most accurately described, such eminent authorities as Maitland and Holdsworth agree, as a court of criminal equity.[6]

Star chamber had no trial by jury. It was unconstrained by precedent, including its own. It might disregard rules of procedure. It might punish for offenses theretofore not known to exist, and in this evil sense thus provide a remedy where there was none at common law. All this has echoes of equity, but it is an equity distorted and malign, as in a nightmare. "Its jurisdiction," Maitland tells us, "was exercised without any lengthy formalities—there is no trial by jury before it—the accused person is examined on his oath, a procedure quite strange to the courts of common law in which (as the phrase goes) no one can be compelled to accuse himself." [7] Take note of but a few of the safeguards lost to the accused by this convenience of equitable prosecution in star chamber—he may be called to the stand and examined. There is no jury, nor has there been any necessity for a grand jury before. Contrast this with the spirit of the common law. In Virginia, for instance, the prosecutor may not call the accused, nor his wife, nor may he comment to the jury on the accused's failure to testify on his own behalf. All this inconvenience, not the least of which was the jury itself, star chamber cleverly evaded. It was a splendid vehicle for the expeditious delivery of the individual to his gaoler.

It was thus only natural that star chamber should be a most efficient engine of government.[8] Holdsworth describes it as an instrument of royal absolutism.[9] Lord Bacon spoke of it as the high and preeminent power, and William Hudson, a barrister who practiced before star chamber, emphasized its importance to the sovereign in calling it the seat of monarchy.[10]

For Star Chamber was a prerogative court. It was close to the royal power, and we may rightly regard it as an agency of the Executive. In this it differed greatly from the common law courts. While these latter slowly established that the crown was in "wardship" [11] to the common law, in Star Chamber the Crown was the law. The prerogative nature of Star Chamber appears clearly from Hudson:

"By the arm of sovereignty it punisheth errors creeping into the Commonwealth which otherwise might prove dangerous and infectious diseases, or it giveth life to the execution of lawes, or the performance of such things as are necessary in the Commonwealth, yea, although no positive law or continued custom of common law giveth warrant to it." [12]

Its punishments, therefore, were not secundum qualitatem delicti, that is, following the nature of the offense, but in terrorem populi, calculated to terrify (and warn) the people. It was "the curious eye of the state and the King's Council, prying into the inconveniences and mischiefs which abound in the Commonwealth." [13] And precedents touching the rights of the accused did not detain it, for "exorbitante offences are not subjecte to an ordinarye course of lawe." [14] It applied "new remedies to new diseases," and where an act was done which did not happen to violate any law, but was offensive nonetheless, Star Chamber did not scruple to "straine the line of justice beyond the ordinary length and wonted measure, and thereby to take exquisite avengement * * *." [15]

A court so close to the Executive must be influenced by policy considerations. A key to Star Chamber's character is given by Maitland when he says, "We know it best as dealing with what may be called political crimes." [16] "It was a court of politicians enforcing a policy, not a court of judges administering the law." [17] And Holdsworth agrees that because of its "semijudicial character" it was "often animated by political quite as much as by judicial considerations." [18]

It was, then, a special court, and though it heard some civil as well as criminal cases, it was not the court for the ordinary citizen. There had to be a special reason for exercise of its jurisdiction, as "when the matter is such as deserveth to be heard upon the higher stage," [19] or was "of some publicke consequence to touche the government of the realme." [20]

It was an efficient court. As Maitland informs us, "the Star Chamber examining the accused, and making no use of the jury, probably succeeded in punishing many crimes which would otherwise have gone unpunished. But that it was a tyrannical court, that it became more and more tyrannical, and under Charles I was guilty of great infamies is still more indubitable." [21]

The argument of the present Attorney General of the United States against jury trials in civil-rights cases does not, therefore, possess the merit of originality.[22]

In 1641 the Long Parliament passed "an act for * * * the taking away the court commonly called the Court of Star Chamber." [23] The phraseology of the act is important:

"From henceforth no court, council, or place of jurisdiction shall be erected * * * which shall * * * exercise the same or the like jurisdiction as is or hath been * * * exercised in the said court of star chamber."

No Englishman, therefore, has been examined under the starred ceiling for over 300 years, and no English court has or could assert under the law any jurisdiction in criminal equity. But it were well that we acquaint ourselves with star chamber, for it is in prospect for the Southerner. The civil-rights legislation pressed for by the administration will provide the South with as many star chambers as there are Federal courts.

First, the jurisdiction is to be in criminal equity, that is, the trial court sitting in equity is to restrain by injunction acts which are crimes. The criminal law is to be enforced by this highly expeditious procedure,[24] which, precisely is in star chamber, knows no grand jury indictment, constitutional right to a speedy public trial, trial by jury, requirement of proof beyond a reasonable doubt, privilege of the accused against being called by the prosecution, constitutional right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, constitutional right to be confronted with the witnesses against him, constitutional right to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, constitutional right to the assistance of counsel for his defense, or the other safeguards of the common law. Criminal equity, which has hitherto been employed sparingly, and wrongfully employed,[25] against bootleggers and brothels, is now to be turned against an entire people.

Second, the Federal courts of the South will be prerogative courts, like star chambers, they are close to the Executive, the arm of national, or more properly, of Northern sovereignty. Federal judges are appointed for life by nonsouthern Presidents, with the advice and consent of a Senate the overwhelming majority of which are not Southerners. Recent history admonishes us that they need in no way be acceptable to the southern people, although appointed to sit in southern circuits to hear southern causes. The executive power is little felt in the common-law courts of Southern States, where the judges are chosen by the people or their own State legislatures. The Federal courts are more responsive to the Executive will, which appointed each judge sitting. Recent history demonstrates, especially in the field of racial litigation, examples of the most remarkable immediacy.

Third, the Federal courts sitting in criminal equity, composed of judges appointed by nonsouthern Presidents, acceptable to nonsouthern Attorneys General, with the advice

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and consent of nonsouthern Senators, to administer nonsouthern notices of conduct to southerners, will be courts of policy. The aim is to alter the social and political equation of the South, and this is a political venture. Here, again, the coincidence with Star Chamber requires no illumination.

Fourth, the Federal courts sitting in the South already are and will continue to be special courts, used for matters "of some publicke consequence to touche the government of the realme." Lawyers call this a "Federal question"; it is one of the bases of the jurisdiction of Federal courts. It will be invoked when southerners are haled into court by Federal marshals, in terrorem populi, for punishment although no "continued custom of common law giveth warrant to it."

In 1517 Cardinal Wolsey wrote Henry VIII that certain Englishmen were going to be properly taken care of:

"I trust at the next terme to learn then the law of the Star Chamber. * * * They be both learned in the temporal [common] law, and I doubt not good example shall ensue to see them learn the new law of the Star Chamber."[36]

It is a commentary on the present tragedy of the Southern people that the descendants of George Washington and Patrick Henry are in the power of men who intend to impose conditions in light of which the exactions of George III appear unworthy of notice. It requires a return to enormities which had fled England long before George III to comprehend what is to be done. But the present Executive has in his Attorney General a counsellor quite as intent as Wolsey to teach the South "the new law of Star Chamber." If he and the forces outside the South allied with him in this effort succeed, only the adornment of the ceilings in Federal courtrooms need be altered. The remaining features of Star Chamber will already have been provided.

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[1] Glenn, Equity: A Visit to the Founding Fathers, 31 Va. L. Rev. 753 (1945).

[2] See *United States* v. *Lot 29* (296 Fed. 729, 737 (D. Neb. 1924)) ("When it is sought to confer powers upon a court of equity contrary to these limitations, the attempt must fail, because neither directly nor indirectly can the constitutional safeguards against one-man power in criminal cases be erased.")

[3] "At the first all the roofe thereof was decked with images of starres gilted" (Sir T. Smith, quoted in the Oxford Dictionary).

[4] Maitland, Equity (Brunyate ed. 1936).

[5] See Lunt, History of England (2d ed. 1945) 337 (Star Chamber "had summary procedures unknown to the common law and based more or less on the Roman law, which was especially adapted to emphasize the absolutism of the monarch."); Trevelyan, A Shortened History of England (1942) 312 ("The great Prerogative Courts with their rival systems of jurisprudence based on the laws of ancient Rome, were not revived [after the Restoration] as an eyesore to the Common Lawyers and a weapon of the Prince against the Subject; Star Chamber and High Commission remained abolished and illegal"); see also Schofield, Equity Jurisdiction To Abate and Enjoin Illegal Saloons, 8 Ill. L. Rev. 19, 33 (1913) (Speaks of contempt procedure itself as "an alien and imperialistic process * * * in origin and development.")

[6] Maitland, Equity (Brunyate ed. 1936) ("Since the destruction of the Star Chamber we have had no criminal equity."); Holdsworth, Sources and Literature of English Law (1925) ("A judicial court of criminal equity"); 5 Holdsworth, A History of English Law (3d ed. 1922) 163 ("A court of criminal equity"); Adams, Constitutional History of England (1945), 249 (Star Chamber "has been called a court of criminal equity and rightly so.")

[7] Maitland, The Constitutional History of England (1926) 221.

[8] Maitland, op. cit., at 220.

[9] Sources and Literature of English Law (1925) 170.

[10] See the discussion in 1 Holdsworth, A History of English Law (3d ed. 1922) 496 ff.

[11] The phrase is Lord Strafford's.

[12] 1 Holdsworth, A History of English Law (3d ed. 1922) 504.

[13] Ibid.

[14] 5 Holdsworth, A History of English Law (3d ed. 1922) 164.

[15] Id. at 214.

[16] The Constitutional History of England (1926) 262.

[17] Id. at 263.

[18] 4 Holdsworth, A History of English Law (3d ed. 1922).

[19] Id. at 275.

[20] 1 Holdsworth, A History of English Law (3d ed. 1922) 498.

[21] The Constitutional History of England (1926), 263.

[22] See the observation of Judge Woodrough in *United States* v. *Lot 29, supra.* "Obviously, it would greatly simplify criminal procedure if all persons whom the chancellor deems guilty of criminal offenses could thereafter be laid under injunctive process, and all subsequent accusations against them could be dealt with by the chancellor, instead of by the tedious, uncertain, costly, and laborious process of jury trials. There is nothing new about this idea."

[23] 16 Charles I c. 10.

[24] Compare Mr. Justice Field, dissenting in *Carleton* v. *Rugg* (149 Mass. 550, 559 ( )): "The issuing of the injunction of itself adds nothing to the prohibition of the statutes, but the intention plainly is to call into use the peculiar process employed by courts of equity in punishing persons guilty of willful violations of injunctions."

[25] For an early warning against the temptation to employ equity against crime, see Mack, The Revival of Criminal Equity (16 Harv. L. Rev. 389, 401 (1903)): "* * * the beneficial results of its exercise tend to make us overlook its shortcomings and the dangers that lie hidden beneath it. For whatever be the name or form we give to the proceeding, such injunctions do in fact administer the criminal laws, and in bringing the procedure of courts of equity to the establishment and punishment of crimes they violate fundamental principles of our jurisprudence. * * * An injunction of a court of equity does not in itself physically prevent an unlawful act. It is merely a mandate of the court forbidding the act. In every one of these cases the same prohibition had already come from the legislature." See also Black, Criminal Equity Under Prohibition (5 Wis. L. Rev. 412 (1930)); Schofield, Equity Jurisdiction to Abate and Enjoin Illegal Saloons (8 Ill. L. Rev. 19, 33 (1913)): "* * * where people have only their bodies and souls to respond with, they cannot as a free people reasonably be expected to tolerate judicial extensions of equity jurisdiction, i. e., of the remedy of judicial personal compulsion and coercion to do or not to do what the law commands or forbids, under penalty of a judicial fine or imprisonment for disobedience, unrestrained by the common sense of the community voiced by 12 good men and true in the jury box."; Glenn and Redden, Cases and Materials on Equity (1946) 408 ("The extension of equity jurisdiction to prevent crime" spoken of as "a matter of grave concern.")

[26] Quoted in 4 Holdsworth, A History of English Law (3d ed. 1922) 27.

President's Objection to Jury Trial Weakens Citizen's Personal Safety—President Might Remember Taft's Racial Opinions

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith an editorial from the News and Courier, of Charleston, S. C., under date of June 7, 1957, entitled "President's Objection to Jury Trial Weakens Citizen's Personal Safety," and an article from the News and Courier under date of June 9, 1957, entitled "President Might Remember Taft's Racial Opinions."

Mr. Speaker, it is ironic that the prestige of the President is alined against one of the basic rights of all Americans—trial by jury. President Eisenhower fought for freedom in Europe. He could be the force to deny this precious right to his fellow Americans.

The editorial and article follow:

[From the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of June 7, 1957]

PRESIDENT'S OBJECTION TO JURY TRIAL WEAKENS CITIZEN'S PERSONAL SAFETY

In lining up against jury trials for persons accused in civil-rights cases, President Eisenhower may be on the popular side and perhaps eventually the victorious side. He is not, we believe, on the right side.

The News and Courier regrets to find the President of the United States seeking to weaken the guaranties of personal liberty that had been built into the fabric of the American Republic.

Today public opinion is exercised over possible loss of American safeguards for United States servicemen accused of crimes overseas. Several cases are in the news. Under agreements with host countries, the United States in certain circumstances yields jurisdiction over its soldiers, sailors, and airmen to foreign courts. These courts operate under the laws and practices of the foreign countries.

The News and Courier concedes the justice of trying soldiers for off-duty peacetime offenses in civilian courts of the country where they are stationed. If foreign troops were stationed in the United States, we believe American citizens would demand that they be tried in American courts on charges of lawbreaking outside their military duties.

In the civil-rights controversy within our own country, a new and special type of legal procedure now is being devised. In effect, the new procedure aims directly at white southerners. A set of regulations, designed for the benefit of Negroes with the aid and guidance of the Negro racial lobby, would govern laws and customs heretofore controlled by the people of the States.

Whether or not these new regulations actually will benefit Negroes, or help the cause of genuine civil rights, is open to debate. We are not now debating that point. Our point today is protection of the civil rights of persons who may be accused in future of violating such regulations.

Unless trial by jury is so guaranteed, American citizens may be put into prison not on conviction by a jury of their peers, but on orders of a Federal judge. This judge may be hand picked and appointed for the specific purpose of carrying out a program that is against the principles and wishes of a majority of the people concerned.

Representative COLMER, of Mississippi, one of the South's most forceful spokesmen, described in Congress the civil-rights measure as "a bill to extend the long arm of the Federal Government into your State, as well as my State, and further concentrate government here in Washington * * *. Under this bill a veritable Gestapo could be set up."

President Eisenhower quoted former President and Chief Justice William Howard Taft as saying: "If we tried to put a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order, we are really welcoming anarchy."

We are not familiar with the context of Mr. Taft's comment. He was a jurist of great learning and no doubt the application of his remark was sound. The overall drive to force unwanted racial laws down the throats of white Americans, however, is too big a subject to cover in one sentence spoken by a distinguished citizen.

We cannot believe that Mr. Taft would have denied jury trials to southerners in cases that may be brought under the force bills now before Congress. Basic rights and basic liberties are involved here. The most charitable thing we can say about Mr. Eisenhower and other opponents is that they do not understand what they are doing to fellow Americans.

[From the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of June 9, 1957]

PRESIDENT MIGHT REMEMBER TAFT'S RACIAL OPINIONS

(By W. D. Workman, Jr.)

COLUMBIA, June 8.—If President Eisenhower wants to lean on the words of William Howard Taft (whom he cites with respect to bypassing jury trials) he might more profitably turn to Taft's fostering of good race relations in the South.

Back on March 4, 1909, in his inaugural address, President Taft took stock of the situation in the South, with particular respect to the operation of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendment. As to the last named, which guaranteed the right of Negroes to vote, Taft recognized the need for southern establishment of voting qualifications to forestall political domination by "an ignorant, irresponsible element," whether white or black. Noting the increased interest of white southerners in the welfare of their colored contemporaries, Taft said:

"The colored men must base their hope on the results of their own industry, self-restraint, thrift, and business success, as well as upon the aid and comfort and sympathy which they may receive from their white neighbors of the South. * * * There is in the South a stronger feeling than ever among the intelligent, well-to-do, and influential element in favor of the industrial education of the Negro and the encouragement of the race to make themselves useful members of the community."

With another look of appraisal at the South, Taft said:

"There was a time when northerners who sympathized with the Negro in his necessary struggle for better conditions sought to give him the suffrage as a protection to enforce its exercise against the prevailing sentiment of the South. The movement proved to be a failure. What remains is the 15th amendment to the Constitution and the right to have statutes of States specifying qualifications for electors subjected to the test of compliance with that amendment.

"This is a great protection to the Negro. It never will be repealed and it never ought to be repealed. If it had not passed, it might be difficult now to adopt it; but with it in our fundamental law, the policy of southern legislation must and will tend to obey it, and so long as the statutes of the states meet the test of this amendment and are not in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is not the disposition or within the province of the Federal Government to interfere with the regulation by southern States of their domestic affairs."

After cautioning against the indiscriminate appointment of Negroes to Federal position in areas where such appointments might do the race more harm than good, President Taft gave this personal view and an admonition which might well be heeded by the present administration in its program of forcing integration upon an unwilling South:

"Personally, I have not the slightest race prejudice or feeling and recognition of its existence only awakens in my heart a deeper sympathy for those who have to bear it or suffer from it, and I question the wisdom of a policy which is likely to increase it. Meanwhile, if nothing is done to prevent it, a better feeling between the Negroes and the whites in the South will continue to grow, and more and more of the white people will come to realize that the future of the South is to be much benefitted by the industrial and intellectual progress of the Negro."

Price Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in today's newspapers it was distressing to learn of further price increases ranging from 20 percent in the cost of automobile insurance policies, an undetermined amount for steel products, and a 5-percent increase in the cost of cigarettes.

The curious fact is that these price increases are industrywide and merit the serious consideration of Congress. The issue is raised of possible antitrust law violations.

For example, all 5 major tobacco companies raised the wholesale price of their nonfilter brand cigarettes 35 cents per thousand, effective immediately. The American Tobacco Co. was the first to announce the boost and was followed by Liggett & Myers, Philip Morris, Inc., P. Lorillard, and R. J. Reynolds. The increase will amount to 1 cent per package at the retail level or a price increase of 5 percent.

It seems to me that Congress should concern itself with the reasons why all five companies should find it necessary to raise prices the same amount at the same time. Is it not conceivable under a free-enterprise system that 1 of the major manufacturers may not be as adversely affected by the general rise in costs as the other 4? In the same way is it not conceivable that another of the major manufacturers might be compelled to request an even higher increase in price because of higher production costs? Was it not possible for 1 major manufacturer to face this problem earlier or later than the other 4?

When 5 of the major manufacturers producing almost 98 percent of the cigarettes manufactured in America come to the same conclusion on the same day that a 1-cent-per-pack increase in the retail price of cigarettes is necessary, that determination smacks of colusion and possible violation of antitrust laws of America.

Perhaps the only defense the American consumer has is to stop smoking and fortify himself with fresh air.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, there are no provisions of the American Constitution which are more precious to our people than the Bill of Rights. These provisions were not included in the Constitution as originally adopted, but as a result of overwhelming public sentiment, were inserted into that immortal document not long afterward. They set forth briefly and eloquently the basic rights of free men and women living under our Government. They are fundamental guaranties for freedom of conscience and belief, the inviolability of the person and property of American citizens and those who dwell within the confines and jurisdiction of the Nation.

There are other provisions in the Constitution, which afford similar and additional rights to the individual, which in the very broadest sense spell out the doctrine of equality before the law and the safeguards against persecution and discrimination. The due process and equal protection clauses of the Constitution afford special and most carefully written provisions insuring respect for person and property, and provisions against discrimination based on what might be termed essentially private, inherent status of the individual such as race, creed, class or origin.

Esteemed, able colleagues on both sides of the aisle have delivered eloquent addresses during this debate on civil rights and the Constitution. Many strong, persuasive, well-documented legal arguments have been presented on both sides of the question pending before the House in this legislation. I shall, therefore, not elaborate upon the legal or constitutional aspects and facets of this question.

I take it for granted that we are all agreed that we are living under a government of laws by men and that we are all subject to the rule of law under the Constitution.

It is this faith and purpose in ordering the affairs of government by popular will under the rule of law that differentiates our system from many so-called democracies and from the absolute, authoritarian powers.

Here in America, men are judged by their merits or demerits, and not by their rank, or station, or color, or religion, or national origin. Under constitutional philosophy rule and practice the dignity of each human being is recognized and protected regardless of the color of his skin, the size of his purse, the kind of his religious beliefs, his calling, or his station in life. The poorest citizen, yes, even the most depraved human wretch is entitled to his day in court, equality of justice and fair treatment under the law. It is this respect for the Constitution and its safeguards, so characteristic of all our laws, which has won for us the esteem of almost all nations, and usually assures the individual living under the American flag of absolutely equal treatment before the law.

American boys have fought and died for the Nation in every war. Boys of every race, every religion, every class, creed, station, and origin, when crisis and need arose, have offered their lives on the altar of American patriotism. When this great Government called many of these boys into the service during our various wars it never rejected them because of the color of their skin, the church they attended, the race they belonged to, or the place they or their parents came from. They were all taken into the service to fight for our country, regardless of any of these external considerations, and they became part of great, united, American forces of invincible strength which through valor, sacrifice and bloodshed hammered out many notable victories for the cause of liberty, and successfully defended the national security and our free institutions from power-crazed tyrants plotting our destruction and enslavement.

It may be commonplace to say it, but it is unquestionably and undeniably true, that boys who were willing to fight and die for this Government and our way of life should be entitled to enjoy all its rights without reservation, restriction or limitation. All our people must be so entitled.

Under our constitutional system, we cannot have two rules of law, we cannot have two types of citizenship. The same rule of law must apply to all, and the same rights and privileges of citizenship must be enjoyed by all who are entitled to them.

We cannot have one law for the North and another for the South; one law for the East and another for the West. We all must have one law—the law that derives directly from the Constitution—the law that is based upon constitutional mandate. That law must apply with equal force to all persons.

Disobedience to that law, circumvention of that law, flouting and flagrant violation of that law can never serve to solve the social or political problems of any section. To flout and disregard the plain provisions of the Constitution will only bring discord and heighten misunderstanding and engender fresh hatreds. In the end these divisive forces will cause increasing bitterness, disruption and violence. They will upset the moral, political and economic balance so essential to common understanding. They will harden the conflict between race and group and seriously breach the national unity.

Some of the very able arguments and discussions of this controversial bill have been delivered on this floor by my learned, distinguished and dear friends from the South. In my legislative experience I do not recall such able, penetrating debate, such well-reasoned and well-documented and well-briefed legal arguments, such commendable emotional restraint, dispassionateness and objectivity admirably suppressing the intense, pent-up feelings of more than a century and a half of established sectional, social customs and usages. I must commend these colleagues for their high-minded patriotic manner and the great ability with which they discussed these difficult and distressing issues.

I am not satisfied in any sense that this bill is letter perfect, or that it will accomplish all that its more ardent advocates claim for it. Nor am I particularly enthused about the application of the techniques of equity that are so ingeniously incorporated into this measure. While I do not specifically question the legality of the measures which have been adopted to achieve the ends sought by this bill, I think on the whole that improved interracial relations could be achieved by an approach that would make it abundantly clear beyond cavil or doubt that the bill intends no circumvention of the right of trial by jury, a treasured right to the American people, which goes back to Magna Carta and beyond in the history of Anglo-American law.

However, the principles which the bill seeks to serve are so strongly entrenched in the American Constitution and in the very spirit of our laws as to be completely inescapable from the standpoint of American jurisprudence and history. These principles penetrate deeply into the origin and life of our Nation. They are expressly written into the Constitution and the laws. They constitute a mandate to each and every one of us to uphold, honor, and respect the doctrine of equality of opportunity, equality of legal treatment, equality of right as well as duty, which are clearly prescribed by many legal decisions of political, social, and economic significance as well as historic value.

Since I believe that it is not only illegal but un-American to deny any person the right to enjoy all the constitutional rights and privileges that are available to any other person, and the right to be protected against persecution, intimidation, violence, discrimination, and unfair, unequal treatment, I am prepared to support this bill.

At the same time, I plead for moderation and rationalized restraint on the part of all citizens regarding the great, social questions which are the source of such acrimony and bitterness. I hope that this legislation, if it is enacted, may be a landmark of reaffirmation of American principles, which will serve the purpose of alerting all the contending groups concerning the truly sacred character which Americans do attach or should attach to the great civil and human rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Time and time again in our history we have had occasion to observe the futility of sumptuary laws and laws designed to uproot deeply imbedded traditions of the people.

It is my prayerful and devout hope and wish and plea to all those who are concerned with these vital, difficult questions that reason and justice and the tolerant spirit of human brotherhood and the call of humanity may be potent, irresistible forces swiftly and inexorably healing the wounds of misunderstanding, friction, and division, sweeping away the dark shadows of skepticism, distrust and suspicion, and instituting in our American society the only values upon which we may permanently rely for our security and our salvation—unity, trust, and deep faith in the Creator, in our great free Government, and in the wholehearted purpose of ourselves to do what is right, honorable, and just among our fellow citizens and all mankind.

I commend the distinguished chairman of the committee for the fair, able manner in which he handled the bill on the floor and his distinguished associates on the committee for their painstaking, capable work.

Statement on Federal Aid to Public School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement of the American Jewish Committee, issued at a meeting of its administrative board on May 7, 1957:

STATEMENT ON FEDERAL AID TO SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD, MAY 7, 1957

The American Jewish Committee views with concern the present drive in the interest of economy to deprive the Nation's public schools of desperately needed Federal aid for school construction.

In October 1955, the American Jewish Committee published a resolution by its executive board urging the White House Conference on Education to approve the Federal aid bill for public school construction.

The White House Conference on Education, representing a complete cross section of the American population, subsequently urged the need for Federal aid. In the light of this action and the support of both political parties, Federal aid to public school construction appeared for the first time to have an excellent chance of adoption; instead, however, it is now confronted with a massive campaign of opposition.

It is not true economy for the Nation to withhold funds crucial to the development

of our valuable human resources, especially when other nations which are dedicated to the destruction of our society have stepped up their programs of instruction—technological and ideological.

The American Jewish Committee therefore urges the President of the United States, the Congress and all appropriate governmental bodies to publicly resist all attempts to defeat Federal aid to public school construction, and to affirmatively recommend and effectuate passage of the Federal aid bill.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the current debate a great many Americans are being misled into believing that the cause of civil rights was something only recently championed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. The record of former President Harry Truman and the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt cannot be overlooked. They are the real leaders in the struggle for civil liberties. Their efforts, running back over 20 years, are producing the civil-rights victory which is near at hand today.

In connection with the current debate in Congress on the civil-rights issue, I would like to submit for the consideration of the Members of Congress the following paper prepared at my request by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress and entitled "Franklin D. Roosevelt and Civil Rights":

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND CIVIL RIGHTS—WHAT ARE CIVIL RIGHTS: THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The distinction between civil liberties and civil rights is often hard to draw, but as the terms are customarily used, the distinction would seem to depend upon who is in a position to do the depriving. Generally, the term "civil liberties" is used when the possible source of infringement or deprivation is government or an agent of government. The term "civil rights" is used when the source of deprivation is an individual or a group of individuals. Robert Cushman is making this distinction in his book Civil Liberties in the United States when, on page 124, he writes:

"Constitutional guaranties of civil liberty are in the main protections which the citizen enjoys against abridgement by the action of government, State or local. No individual can possibly violate the Federal Bill of Rights, which begins with the words, "Congress shall make no law," and which has been held to restrict only the Federal Government. Nor can an individual violate the 14th amendment, which clearly says 'no State' shall do the things forbidden. * * *

"At the same time there are rights and privileges which the citizen enjoys which arise either from the Constitution or from acts of Congress, and Congress may punish individuals who 'injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen' in the full and free enjoyment of these rights. * * * These provisions * * * comprise the bulk of the Federal Government's arsenal of legislation directed against persons who interfere with the civil rights of other persons."

1928–38: REFERENCES TO CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WERE MOSTLY OF A GENERAL CHARACTER

During the early New Deal, Roosevelt rarely mentioned civil rights, as we understand them today, in his public pronouncements. More often, he would praise the practice of tolerance, the concept of brotherhood. This was especially true during the presidential campaign of Al Smith in 1928 when Roosevelt would frequently exhort his listeners to forgo religious bigotry, in appraising the qualities of Smith, a Catholic, as a potential President. For example, on October 17, 1928, while urging Smith's election before a gathering in Binghamton, N. Y., Roosevelt labeled the religious bigotry advanced against Smith "the worst sort of un-Americanism." Continuing, he said, "I believe that the day will come * * * when education * * * will be so widespread, so clean, so American, that this vile thing that is hanging over our heads in the presidential election will not be able to survive."

Occasionally, during the early New Deal, Roosevelt would be called upon to deliver a purely patriotic speech. His approach on these occasions was generally to laud the Bill of Rights, the blessings of freedom and liberty, and the virtues of our Constitution. He apparently viewed these assignments as a time for reasserting agreement on fundamental principles, for his purely patriotic speeches contain little which deals with civil rights that could be considered controversial.

Clearly, his chief concern during this period was to end the depression. In this connection, he made numerous references to liberty and freedom, but almost invariably his emphasis was upon the economic aspect of liberty. This was a theme repeated time and again, inserted in his every speech to serve as both the basis and the justification for decisive action and sweeping reform. Here is a typical illustration, the final paragraph of his second "Fireside Chat" of 1934 (vol. III, p. 432):

"I am not for a return to that definition of liberty under which for many years a free people were being gradually regimented into the service of the privileged few. I prefer, and I am sure you prefer, that broader definition of liberty under which we are moving forward to a greater freedom, to a greater security for the average man than he has ever known before in the history of America."

This profound desire to mobilize support for his social-economic program—and thus enhance human freedom—was handled by the President in a variety of ways. Frequently, for instance, he would issue blistering attacks against "sectionalism" and "class distinction," attacks which might be interpreted as attempts to advance, indirectly, the cause of civil rights. Speaking before the American Legion Convention on October 2, 1933, the President had this to say (vol. II, p. 374):

"But there are two enemies of national unity—sectionalism and class—and if the spirit of sectionalism or the spirit of class is allowed to grow strong, or to prevail, that would mean the end of national unity and the end of patriotism * * *.

"The other enemy of national unity is class distinction, and you and I are well aware of the simple fact that as every day passes, the people of the United States are less and less willing to tolerate benefits for any one group of citizens that have to be paid for by others."

Or again, he would wage battle against the depression even on patriotic occasions, as he did on September 17, 1937, while addressing the Nation on the 150th Anniversary of Constitution Day (vol. VI, p. 369):

"Nothing would so surely destroy the substance of what the Bill of Rights protects than its perversion to prevent social progress. The surest protection of the individual and minorities is that fundamental tolerance and feeling for fair play which the Bill of Rights assumes."

That the President was opposed to racial discrimination but reluctant to disrupt his majority coalition in Congress with civil rights proposals too progressive for the times is perhaps best borne out by an examination of his messages to groups who were greatly concerned with Negro rights.

For example, on September 22, 1933, he congratulated America's Negro citizens upon the 70th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in these words (vol. II, p. 364):

"I heartily congratulate the Negroes of the United States upon the seventieth anniversary of their emancipation. Their progress during these 70 years has been remarkable. They have contributed greatly to the economic development of the Nation and I am sure that as prosperity returns they will share proportionately in the greater security, increased comfort, and happiness resulting therefrom."

Two years later, on June 17, 1935, in the course of some informal remarks to State Works Progress Administrators gathered in Washington, Roosevelt counseled (Washington Post, June 18, 1935, p. 4):

"The second point I make is that we have to be extremely careful not to make any kind of discrimination. We cannot discriminate in any of the work we are conducting either because of race, or religion, or politics. If anybody asks you to discriminate, you can tell them that the President of the United States gave direct orders that there is not to be any such discrimination."

And in 3 more years, on June 25, 1938, he was to dispatch this greeting to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (vol. VII, p. 401):

"I am happy to extend to the twenty-ninth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cordial greetings and best wishes for the success of its efforts in advancing the interests of the Negro race and bringing about the cooperation and understanding between the races so essential to the maintenance of a vital democracy.

"I have watched with interest the constructive efforts of your organization, not only in behalf of the Negro people in our Nation, but also in behalf of the democratic ideals and principles so dear to our entire Nation. For it is evident that no democracy can long survive which does not accept as fundamental to its very existence the recognition of the rights of its minorities."

The impression received from a study of Roosevelt's prewar staements which have bearing upon civil rights is that he chose to place first things first. He felt, apparently, that what the people wanted most were more jobs, more purchasing power, more security for self, family, and community. He made many statements which revealed his strong stand against racial and religious bigotry and his firm belief in equal justice for all; but the bulk of his legislative program was directed toward ending the depression, once and for all. Probably he regarded this goal as an indispensable prerequisite to confronting civil-rights problems in more direct fashion.

1939–1945: CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEMS APPROACHED IN MORE SPECIFIC AND DIRECT MANNER

Beginning in the late 1930's, Roosevelt took more decisive action regarding civil rights. Why he did so is not within the scope of this survey to discuss. Certainly the war influenced the shift. Perhaps, too, the fact that most of the legislative measures embodying the New Deal philosophy had been achieved allowed the President to turn his hand to other problems. At any rate, 1939 saw for the first time the establishment of a civil rights section within the Department of Justice.

According to Robert Cushman, it was not until the civil rights section was created in the criminal division of the Department of Justice "that any well-planned and imaginative campaign for the effective enforcement of the civil rights statutes was made possible" (p. 125). Professor Cushman continues:

"Prior to the creation of the section, responsibility for prosecuting persons who violated these statutes rested with the local United States attorneys, and these, especially in southern communities, had displayed little energy or courage in protecting the civil rights of Negroes."

The newly created section immediately undertook to enforce existing civil rights statutes, and despite the fact that its staff was rather small and its assignments often included enforcement of laws only remotely involving civil rights, its achievements were of real value. Its major efforts were directed toward prosecuting cases of police brutality, destroying the Ku Klux Klan, investigating cases of lynching where evidence indicated local officials were implicated in the crime, and protecting the citizen's right to vote in Federal elections.

With the coming of the Second World War, it became clear to the President that to build a powerful United States required the integration of every group into the national defense effort. His antipathy for the undemocratic practices of discrimination coincided perfectly with a determination to make the best possible use of our human resources. According to the editor of Roosevelt's public papers, Samuel Rosenman, "he (the President) felt keenly the inconsistency of helping to defeat the Nazis and Fascists and of tolerating the kind of injustice and discrimination on which these dictatorships thrived" (vol. X, p. 235).

Accordingly, on June 25, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802, establishing the Committee on Fair Employment Practice. The heart of the order required that all defense contracts with the Government contain a provision "obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin" (vol. X, p. 234).

Less than 3 years later, the President expressed his strong disdain for discrimination in the Armed Forces. At a press conference on February 5, 1944, the President commented on mistreatment of colored troops with these words (vol. XIII, pp. 66–7):

"It is perfectly true, there is definite discrimination in the actual treatment of colored engineer troops, and others. * * * The trouble lies fundamentally in the attitude of certain white people—officers down the line who haven't got very much more education, many of them, than the colored troops, and the Seabees, and the engineers, for example. * * * And we are up against it, absolutely up against it. I always think of the fact that it probably is improving. I like to think that mere association helps things along."

During President Roosevelt's fourth campaign for the Presidency, he issued one of the strongest protests against interference with the right to vote ever pronounced by a Presidential candidate until that time. In a national radio address from the White House delivered on October 5, 1944, the President contended:

"It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States, almost 48 different kinds of defects, and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

"The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color, or creed—without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole."

From this brief survey, it can be seen that most of the steps actually achieved later, or advanced currently, for reducing discrimination had antecedents in the Roosevelt era. Reduction of discrimination in employment, in the armed services, realistic enforcement of existing civil rights statutes, elimination of undemocratic conditions preventing the right to vote—all of these proposals were favored by President Roosevelt.

In addition, he spoke repeatedly in favor of civil liberties and, perhaps most important of all, constantly reminded the American people that the ultimate source of discrimination and bigotry was ignorance. He had great faith in the efficacy of a sound, liberal education.

Arthur T. Vanderbilt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials:

[From the Newark Evening News of June 17, 1957]

ARTHUR T. VANDERBILT

In the death of Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt, New Jersey has suffered a loss of the first magnitude.

It seemed more than coincidence that Mr. Vanderbilt should be stricken while en route to his desk. For of him, as much as any man, it may be said that he lived to work.

Only a year away from retirement from the court he loved and graced, Mr. Vanderbilt continued to drive himself as relentlessly as ever he did during the days when he was fighting for and installing the judicial system that is counted a model among all the States.

It was this incredible energy coupled with a superb intellect that opened many careers to Chief Justice Vanderbilt. He achieved national distinction at the bar and on the bench. He was widely known as an educator, as a writer on jurisprudence, an authority on judicial procedure, and as a political leader he had helped direct the State and national destinies of the Republican Party.

The presidency of the American Bar Association and appointment as dean of New York University Law School were two of his many honors.

He had relentless determination. No obstacle, however formidable, no opposition, however vociferous, could swerve him from a course to which he was committed.

An unknown young lawyer, he resolved upon the destruction of the corrupt and discredited Republican machine that had exploited Essex County for many years. He was the architect of clean government, and though it was to take him more than a decade, he never gave up until he he had driven the entrenched machine from power. For years thereafter he was in undisputed control of the county government and the Essex delegation in the legislature.

He used his power to give Essex one of the best county governments in the Nation, outstanding for its honesty and efficiency, and in Trenton his representatives fought for the same policies, consistently opposing extravagance and increased tax burdens.

As his experience and knowledge widened, he became appalled by the time-wasting complexity of New Jersey's judicial structure. A densely populated industrial center, the State retained almost intact the courts erected when it was an agricultural colony of England.

Once again Mr. Vanderbilt embarked on a crusade that was to take many years, in which he was to encounter resistance and setbacks that discouraged less resolute associates.

His goal was a judicial amendment. In the end a new constitution was adopted, and with it the opportunity for him as chief justice to put into practice the theories and principles evolved from his experience as chairman of the judicial council, as bar association president, and as law-school dean.

Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll named Mr. Vanderbilt to his high office. The governor's judgment was more than vindicated. New Jersey's new court system attracted attention throughout the country.

As chief justice Mr. Vanderbilt did not permit his administrative duties to obscure his judicial role. Some of his decisions were controversial, most notably in his assertion tath the rulemaking power belonged exclusively to the supreme court. But all bore evidence of profound learning in the law.

His viewpoint was essentially conservative, but it encompassed a broad and sympathetic understanding of public needs and the relationship of public and private interests. This was best expressed in his decisions in zoning, tax and utility rate cases and in those restating the moral responsibilities of public officials.

His exterior was austere, but he was a man of strong emotions, with a subtle sense of humor and a devastating power of mimicry. The theater, travel, and reading were his relaxation. His life was devoted to work, and he worked productively and happily until the very end. In his death the Nation loses a great legal mind.

[From the Passaic (N. J.) Herald-News of June 17, 1957]

A GREAT LOSS TO NEW JERSEY

The death of Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt is a serious loss to our State court system. The courts today are what Chief Justice Vanderbilt made them after the new constitution was adopted in 1947.

The constitution-makers who met that summer at New Brunswick planned the new court system, but it was the man appointed to be chief justice who breathed life into it. He was a stern, even harsh, taskmaster. Judges and lawyers grumbled, but the courts put aside easygoing ways of the past and became models of efficiency. He infused a new moral tone into the courts and the bar. He gave the courts dignity.

It was all part of his determination to give the people of New Jersey the best possible kind of justice.

Mr. Vanderbilt was not softhearted or tolerant of shortcomings. Lawyers who violated their trust could expect no sympathy from him. Judges were always under the pressure to avoid his disapproval. Everyone who came within the range of his authority realized that he was not a man to cross, or to take lightly.

The most spectacular demonstration of his ability to get things done was ending the "fixing" of traffic tickets. The practice was widespread and deeply entrenched. When he first proposed wiping it out, there was a great outcry. Politicians and police officials said what he proposed was contrary to human nature and would never work. They complained bitterly that they were being deprived of a privilege to which they were

entitled. Mr. Vanderbilt steamrollered the opposition. He imposed his will and made it stick.

With the removal of his strong hand, the courts will inevitably change. The finest tribute that could be paid to Chief Justice Vanderbilt would be for all of us to see that the courts are kept on the road he marked out.

[From the New York Times of June 18, 1957]

ARTHUR T. VANDERBILT

Chief Justice Vanderbilt of the New Jersey Supreme Court made his influence felt for many years in the interest of good government, good courts, good citizenship, and good human relations. He was known throughout the country for his forward-looking views. He was respected for his integrity and his courage.

One of his many contributions to New Jersey was his leadership in the rewriting of the State constitution. Another was reform of the judicial system. He worked to the same high purposes toward improvement of the Federal court system. His example made itself felt in New York State, through encouraging constant examination and application of new ideas to management of the courts' business. So the death of this distinguished judge will be widely and deeply regretted.

[From the Washington Post of June 18, 1957]

ARTHUR T. VANDERBILT

The death of Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New Jersey Supreme Court is a tragic loss to the causes of justice, judicial reform, and legal education. In the last decade he had directed almost a judicial revolution in New Jersey. That was the culmination of many previous years of hard struggle to bring administrative management, sound organization, and highly qualified judges into the judicial system. As chief justice in New Jersey, he was able to put into practice what he had been preaching, with the result that that State now has one of the best judicial systems in the Nation.

After trying for 17 years to interest the bar, the judges, and the politicians in judicial reform, Mr. Vanderbilt decided a decade ago to carry his fight to the people. Govs. Charles Edison and Alfred E. Driscoll joined in the struggle, and a new constitution was adopted for New Jersey, including a model judicial system. Mr. Vanderbilt, who had won eminence in the practice of law and as dean of the New York University Law School, was then named chief justice.

There followed a decade in which rules were simplified, dockets were cleared of old cases, able and energetic lawyers were named to the bench, and modern administrative managemnet was applied to the work of the courts. In a single year the output of the New Jersey courts was increased by 98 percent. Justice is no longer soured by endless delays, confused jurisdiction, or excessive emphasis on technicalities. Arthur Vanderbilt's leadership in this sphere has brought New Jersey to the forefront among the States seeking to modernize their judicial systems.

In his practice as in his teaching, Mr. Vanderbilt was a strong defender of civil liberties and of independent judgment on the bench. As counsel for Norman Thomas, he induced the Supreme Court of the United States to strike down the Jersey City ordinance under which the late Mayor Frank Hague had forbidden the Socialist leader to address a public meeting there. As president of the American Bar Association, he contributed enormously to the defeat of President Roosevelt's efforts to pack the Supreme Court in 1937. It is the judicial reforms that he helped to establish in New Jersey, however, that are likely to stand as his most enduring monument.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

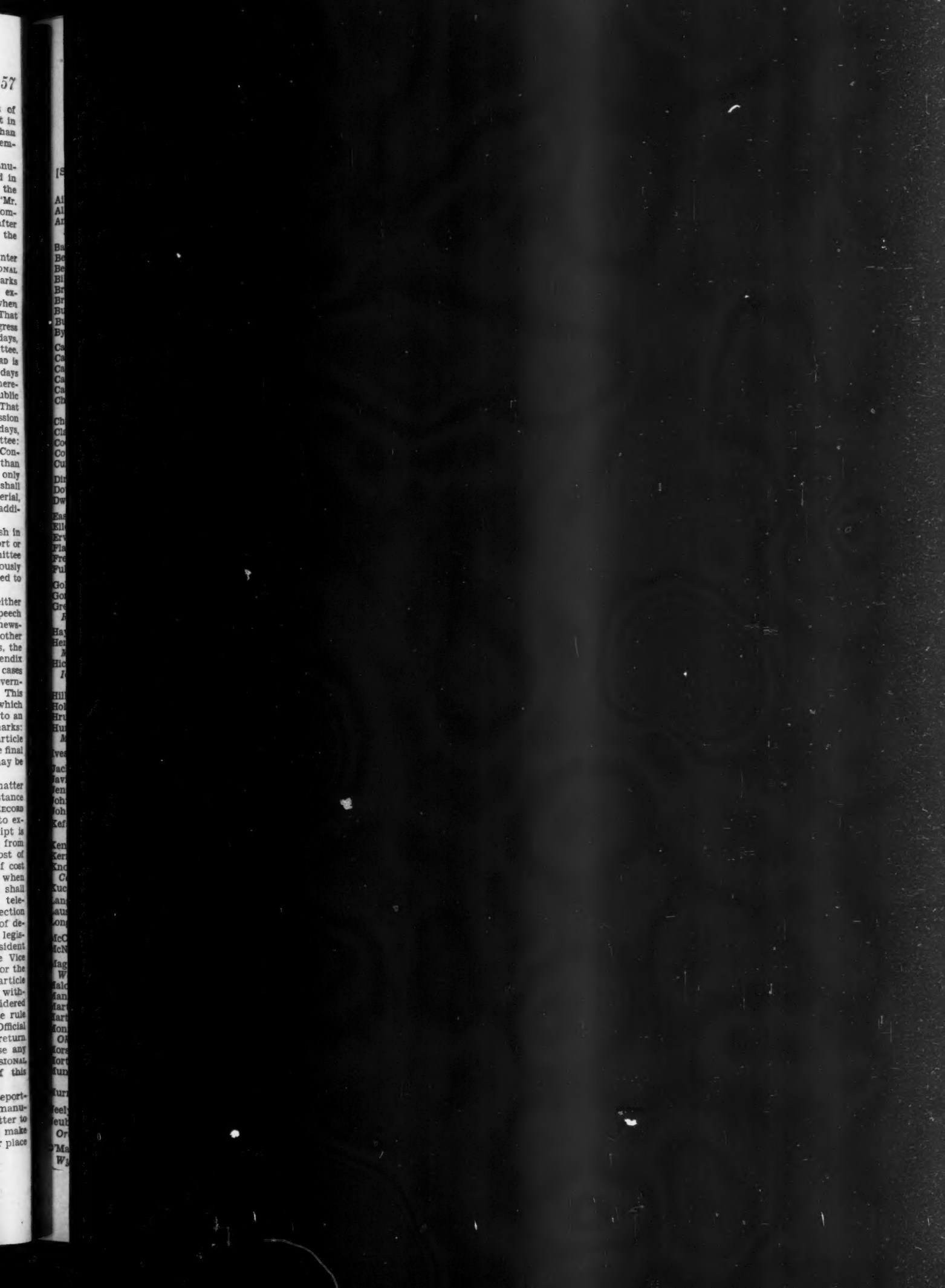

Appendix

Freedom's Open Door

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of an address which I delivered at Duluth, Minn., on June 16, 1957, before the Midsummer Festival of the Swedish-American League of Duluth. The address is entitled "Freedom's Open Door."

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial on the same general subject, published in the Minneapolis Star Tribune of June 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM'S OPEN DOOR

(Address by Hon. EDWARD J. THYE, United States Senator from Minnesota, before the midsummer festival of the Swedish-American League of Duluth, Duluth, Minn., June 16, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, during my years of public service as Governor and United States Senator, I have always looked forward to my visits to the great port city of Duluth. Today I enjoy the special honor of participating in your annual Swedish-American midsummer festival. I have joined hands with Swedish Americans on numerous occasions in paying tribute to Sweden and her people.

Today in Duluth we recognize that within a short time Sweden will be brought into direct contact with Duluth as a result of the Saint Lawrence Seaway. Duluth stands on the threshold of a new and exciting era of history. The vast taconite industry has already sparked an atmosphere of expansion and development which holds great promise for years to come.

The same type of dedication to progress has made Sweden a great nation. Today the Swedish people enjoy their continued freedom; a high standard of living; and a posture of independence. At the same time, these people look back upon hundreds of years of continuous economic and industrial development.

I also know from conversations with people from Sweden, that they are proud of the close and friendly association of their nation with the United States. I also know that they are particularly proud of the great contributions which men and women of Swedish descent have made toward the development of our own great Nation. It is this type of people who came to Minnesota years ago and dedicated themselves to the transformation of a wilderness into a vigorous and prosperous State. All of this has been done in less than 100 years.

We must not forget that it was Sweden which was the first nation, not engaged in the Revolutionary War, which recognized the independence and equality of the United States. It was a Swede, John Hanson, who was one of the signers of our Declaration of Independence. It is also worthy of note that one of the very first permanent settlements in this country was a colony of Swedes on the shores of Delaware.

As we pay tribute to Sweden on this day, we can observe the leadership of Sweden in world affairs through the work of Dag Hammarskjold as Secretary General of the United Nations. It is this type of sensitivity to changing world conditions which sets Sweden apart as a nation dedicated to the cause of freedom and independence.

But there is another common bond which Duluth and its citizens enjoy with Sweden and her people. That is the activity of ocean going trade. As I have said it is just a matter of months before Duluth will have direct access to world ports.

Trade and commercial intercourse between nations has always been a vital factor in the history of nations and in the lives of their people. There is no nation capable of sustaning itself completely without trade with other nations. The degree of dependency upon trade with foreign nations will vary with the different countries of the world. But every nation to a certain extent depends upon trade for its continued existence and progress.

Today, we live in a world sharply divided between free people; people dominated by Communist control; and people who are as yet uncommitted to either of the first two groups.

It is a paradox of our times that two of the leading issues today should be disarmament on the one hand and the development of nuclear weapons for war on the other hand.

The United States has taken the initiative at the current London talks on disarmament. For the first time in 10 years we have some reason to hope that we may be entering a period when the first step might be taken toward a genuine disarmament agreement. It is a source of pride and satisfaction to Minnesotans that one of its sons, Harold Stassen, has emerged as a dynamic and forceful spokesman for the entire free world on the subject of disarmament.

At the same time, the Congress of the United States is reviewing the hazard of nuclear testing of weapons for war and is engaged in studying a request for a $38 billion defense budget.

One can see by this set of circumstances that this is not the day for timid leadership. It is a day when we need all of the vigor and vision which was displayed in the fighting of the Revolutionary War and in the subsequent establishment of a great nation through the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

There is one issue which has emerged to tax all of our resources and initiative. That is the subject of trade with Red China and the Russian satellite countries by the nations of the free world.

Within the past 2 weeks, our ally Great Britain announced to the world that she was going to relax her restrictions against trade with Red China. Other nations of the free world have followed suit. This action was not taken in defiance of the United States, but as a matter of economic necessity. Once again it has been demonstrated that nations must open up channels of trade in order to gain economic and social progress. At the present time the United States follows a policy of no trade with Red China. However, at his press conference the other day the President stated that trade could not be permanently restricted and rejected. President Eisenhower realizes that we cannot forever succeed in keeping the avenues of trade with the China mainland closed.

The time has come when we must conduct an extensive and thorough reevaluation of our trade policy in Asia. I do not propose for a moment that we should all of a sudden throw open the doors of trade to Red China.

At the present time, Red China is holding eight American civilians. They refuse to release 4 Catholic missionaries, 2 American businessmen, and 2 Department of the Army civilians who crashed in North Korea.

In addition there are 450 American soldiers who were known to be alive after capture and who are held by Communist China. We have insisted on an accounting for each of them to determine their status. Communist China has not met our requests for information concerening these soldiers.

Until such time as Communist China has accounted for these people and is ready to negotiate their release, I submit that we should retain our policy of no trade with the Government of Red China.

However, I believe that with patience and through diplomatic negotiation that we may be able to obtain freedom for these people. Communist China must demonstrate by cooperation and action its good faith in dealing with our Government.

Therefore, I believe that the following five-point plan of action is needed in order for the United States to deal with the issue of trade with China:

1. The continued negotiation by our Government for the release of persons held by Red China.

2. A demonstration by Red China by deeds her willingness to negotiate in good faith with the free nations.

3. The admission of American newsmen into Red China.

4. A complete analysis and reappraisal of our trade policies in regard to Red China and Russian satellites.

5. Continued support through economic aid and assistance to our key Asian allies such as South Korea, Japan, Formosa, Thailand, Vietnam and others.

I realize that the success of this proposal depends upon the willingness of Communist China to open up doors to the outside world and to bury its deep seated antagonism to the spirit of freedom and independence.

The admission of newsmen to Red China would expose the economy and social life to the Chinese Communists to the free world. We would be the recipients of a storehouse of valuable information. Communist China would be thrown into the spotlight of direct news reporting. Negotiations should be commenced immediately to allow American reporters to work in safety within the boundaries of Red China.

The Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is about to begin extensive hearings into the subject of actual trade with Communist China. There is strong feeling in Congress that such a study is overdue.

After considerable thought and investigation of my own on this subject, I have come to the conclusion that such a review is a necessity.

Continued economic and technical assistance to our Asian allies is of utmost importance. Since 1950 we have delivered over $7 billion in aid to these nations.

The success of this program is dramatically illustrated by the accomplishments in Vietnam in the past 3 years. During these short 36 months that nation has been transformed from a war ravaged country into a strong anti-Communist stronghold. The economic progress and the improvement in the living standards of the Vietnamese people have caused many Asian leaders to examine closely the advantage which the free world has to offer.

One of the most important links with freedom in Asia is found in Japan today. Here is a nation which has been transformed from an enemy of the United States to a friend and ally in the short span of 15 years. Today Japan has a population of 90 million crowded into an area about the size of the State of Montana. Japan has very few natural resources. Only about 16 percent of the total land area is suitable for cultivation. Japan must import 20 percent of the food necessary to feed her people. In order to pay for these imports, Japan must export. She has few raw materials to export. Therefore, Japan must export finished goods and in order to do that she must import most of the raw materials necessary for their manufacture.

The merchandise trade deficit in 1956 was $729 million as compared with $461 million in 1955. Japan has experienced a sharp rise in the imports of textile materials, metal ores, scrap, mineral fuels, chemicals, and machinery.

Successful trade is a necessity for Japan. At the present time much of her trade is with the United States. However, historically, one of Japan's natural trade areas has been the China mainland. I do not propose to predict how long Japan can continue to avoid trade relations with Red China. This demonstrates again the importance of reevaluating our own trade relations with the Communist regime in China.

We must maintain Japan as a strong and friendly ally in Asia. To do otherwise would be to court Communist aggression in this key area of the world.

Great Britain is faced with a situation similar to Japan's. It is an island nation of small land area and with a large concentrated population. History reveals that Great Britain's strength as a nation depends upon successful trade policy. Lacking in natural resources she must rely upon trade to receive the raw materials necessary to manufacture and produce items of export. To deny Great Britain the right to expand her trade would be to weaken our strongest ally in Europe both economically and as a world power in the battle against communism.

Today the people of the world stand in the twilight zone between annihilation and disarmament. They do not want to live in a world of tension and fear. They are asking for leadership which will carry them into an era of peace and independence. The United States as a leader of the free forces has demonstrated on numerous occasions that it is willing to cooperate in the development of a framework for a just peace.

We ask Russia and Communist-dominated countries to act in good faith and to demonstrate by constructive action that they are willing to accept disarmament and peace as the most urgent goals of our time. Red China must show to the world that she is responsible and reliable in her leadership. The first step in this direction can be taken by the release of American citizens and soldiers.

I know that the administration and the Congress will continue the type of leadership which will demonstrate again our dynamic role of a world leader dedicated to the opening of freedom's door to all peoples of the world.

[From the Minneapolis Star Tribune of June 17, 1957]

THYE REALISTIC IN VIEWS ON RED CHINA PROBLEM

Senator EDWARD J. THYE proposes a reevaluation of some United States policies in Asia, including the matter of trade relations with Red China. His suggestions have much merit.

Great Britain and other western nations friendly to the United States have decided to permit trade with Red China on a similar basis as with Russia and her European satellites. President Eisenhower has stated that complete trade barriers against mainland China cannot be kept indefinitely by nations normally dependent upon international commerce.

In his address to the Swedish American League of Duluth Sunday, Senator THYE said that the present United States trade ban should be maintained until the Communist government has released all Americans still held prisoner. Meanwhile, he urges "a complete analysis and reappraisal of our trade policies in regard to Red China and Russian satellites." The inference is that if China shows good faith in the matter of prisoners, this country should be prepared to consider liberalizing commercial relations.

Senator THYE also gave strong support to admission of American correspondents to the Chinese mainland, which is refused by Secretary of State Dulles. On this matter both Minnesota Senators are in agreement, for Senator HUMPHREY has criticized the Dulles position for some time.

The general program put forward by Senator THYE is constructive and recognizes the realities of the Asian situation and of international trade. He points out that both Japan and Great Britain historically have helped support themselves by trade with the Chinese mainland. Policies which tend to weaken these allies may prove an aid to communism in the long run. As Senator THYE puts the case: "To deny Great Britain the right to expand her trade would be to weaken our strongest ally in Europe both economically and as a world power in the battle against communism."

Arguing the advantages of sending American reporters into Red China, Senator THYE says: "The admission of newsmen to Red China would expose the economy and social life of the Chinese Communists to the free world. We would be the recipients of a storehouse of valuable information."

This great advantage for the American cause continues to be lost through the obdurate and unrealistic attitude adopted by Secretary Dulles.

Case of Sp3c. William S. Girard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a release prepared by me on June 11 and my newsletter dated June 12, 1957, regarding the case of Sp3c. William S. Girard.

There being no objection, the release and newsletter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER, REPUBLICAN, OF INDIANA, JUNE 11, 1957

Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, Republican, of Indiana, commenting on the press statement by Robert Dechert, General Counsel of the Defense Department, that GI William S. Girard enticed Naka Sakai closer into the firing range before he killed her, said:

"The important point in this case is not whether William S. Girard is innocent or guilty. That remains to be determined at the trial.

"The question is whether his constitutional rights have been forfeited by surrendering him to a Japanese court for trial instead of letting him be tried by a United States military court. This turns on the critical question whether he was engaged in the performance of his duties when the incident occurred.

"I am shocked and amazed that the General Counsel of the Defense Department would issue a statement to the press which gives substantial help to those who will prosecute this young American soldier.

"Mr. Dechert had no excuse for making any comment whatever on the guilt or innocence of Private Girard. That is the sole responsibility of the court which ultimately tries him.

"Mr. Dechert had no excuse whatever for making a statement on the evidence to be presented in any court proceeding, when he was not in court and not under oath. We do not tolerate trial by press conference in this country.

"Mr. Dechert, as counsel for the Defense Department, had no excuse for issuing voluntarily a derogatory statement about an American soldier, when that statement will certainly be used by the prosecution when he is on trial, perhaps for his life.

"Government agencies are supposed in this country to serve the people. Have our officials descended so low, in the struggle to have their way regardless of public opinion, that they would destroy the reputation and, perhaps, the life on an American soldier in order to win a contest over who is to have the most power in Government?"

NEWSLETTER FROM THE OFFICE OF WILLIAM E. JENNER, REPUBLICAN, INDIANA, JUNE 12, 1957

The case of William Girard in Japan has aroused American indignation about the status-of-forces treaties and agreements we have with over 42 nations.

At this time I think it is appropriate for me to review some of the important Senate debates on the rights of American servicemen.

Let's start with the background of the agreement we have with Japan.

Over 5 years ago, the Senate was asked to ratify the formal peace treaty with Japan, signed by 48 nations. At the time, Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, of Maine, and I, introduced four reservations to the treaty.

One of them read, in part:

"Nothing contained in this treaty shall be construed (a) to impose any limitations on the right of the United States as a sovereign power to exercise complete and unlimited control over its foreign policy, its Military Establishment, and its domestic concerns."

On March 20, 1952, the Senate debated our reservation and defeated it by a vote of 55 to 25.

During the same debate, Senator DIRKSEN reintroduced the same reservation as a new one, by omitting a part of mine which did not refer to United States sovereign power. That was the only way to bring the subject up for reconsideration after it had once been defeated.

During the discussion that followed, one of the Senators who opposed our reservation made the essential point that:

"In the administrative agreement which has been negotiated with Japan, when the question rises as to jurisdiction in the matter of persons who are accused of crime, possibly our own citizens, possibly our own soldiers, we agree to apply the same rule as the one we will agree to with respect to NATO countries, and it is contemplated, I believe, that we shall work out some agreement whereby they can be tried locally, certainly for certain specified offenses. If this reservation were agreed to, I am wondering whether it would not negate that effort, because it would certainly be a limitation upon our control of certain parts of our Military Establishment."

That was precisely why Senator SMITH, Senator DIRKSEN, and I wanted the reservation in—and if it had passed, William Girard would still be under the jurisdiction of the military courts.

But the reservation submitted by Senator DIRKSEN was defeated by a vote of 47 to 29.

Later that same day the Senate debated ratification of a security treaty between the United States and Japan.

Article III of that treaty reads:

"The conditions which shall govern the disposition of Armed Forces of the United States of America in and about Japan shall be determined by administrative agreements between the two governments."

I introduced a resolution, for Mrs. SMITH of Maine and myself, providing that no administrative agreement would be binding unless ratified by the Senate.

It read:

"Since Congress under the Constitution has the sole power to declare war and authorize the employment of the Armed Forces of the United States, any so-called administrative agreements under article III of this treaty relating to the right to dispose of the Armed Forces of the United States or any part of its Military Establishment in or about Japan shall not become binding on the United States unless ratified by the Senate as a treaty in accordance with article II, section 2 of the Constitution, or approved by the Congress by act or joint resolution specifically referring to such agreement or arrangement."

At the time I said:

"We are today signing a blank check, the amount of which we do not know. We cannot control our own forces. It is our responsibility to raise and maintain armies. It is not the responsibility of the Defense Department or the State Department. If we accept the treaty without this reservation, that is the situation in which we shall find ourselves. There is no policy involved; that is left to the administrative agreement.

"Here * * * is the tentative administrative agreement, containing several pages, closely typed. We are delegating our constitutional right—to whom? I do not know whether Mr. Acheson will send Jessup or Dean Rusk to work out the administrative details. I do not know whether the Defense Department will send a representative. I do not know whom Japan will appoint. * * * So I do not know who is going to conduct the negotiations, and I do not think any other Senators know."

I also said: "This is a shocking way for a great nation to conduct its governmental business. Under the American form of government, the executive department presents its agreements in clear, complete, and concise form. The Senate consents or withholds consent. A policy is established and the administrative problems are left to the Executive to be carried out."

The reservation was defeated by a vote of 45 to 22.

On July 15, 1953, the Senate ratified the NATO Status of Forces Agreement. Fourteen other Senators and I voted against it, because we felt it deprived the servicemen we send overseas of the full protection of the Constitution they are supposed to defend.

In the last session of Congress, I introduced a resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 94, asking that the President renegotiate article 7 of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty to provide for exclusive American jurisdiction over our servicemen stationed overseas. The treaty provides that any article in it can be renegotiated.

On June 20, 1956, I personally requested the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hold hearings on my resolutiton. Copies of my 12-page statement can be obtained from my office on request.

I stated that if we are in the process of abandoning our Constitution, we shouldn't begin with our servicemen.

No action was taken by the committee last year, so I reintroduced the same resolution this year as Senate Joint Resolution 40. It was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee.

If you are interested in the resolution, I suggest that you write to Senator THEODORE F. GREEN, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and request the committee to hold hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 40.

Valedictory and Salutatory Addresses at Commencement Exercises at the Capitol Page School

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, one of the very minor irritations I have felt since coming to these Halls, was the absolute lack of any occasion upon which I might give fatherly advice. But on June 10, in the House Ways and Means Committee room, that lack was remedied. I was privileged at that time to address the graduating class of the Capitol Page School, on the occasion of their commencement exercises. I was deeply pleased at being asked to make this address, but I even more enjoyed listening to the valedictory and salutatory addresses of Mr. Jerry Bostick and Mr. George Weaver. It seemed to me, as I listened, that these young men symbolized the earnestness, the courtesy, and the devotion to duty which unfailingly characterizes the service rendered by our young associates here at the Capitol.

I should like again, today, as I did on June 10, to wish these graduates productive and rewarding lives, filled with much success and happiness.

I ask unanimous consent that the addresses by Mr. Bostick and Mr. Weaver and the list of the members of the graduating class of the Capitol Page School for 1957 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, following these remarks.

There being no objection, the addresses and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS BY JERRY BOSTICK, CAPITOL PAGE SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE ROOM, JUNE 10, 1957

Distinguished guests, Mr. DeKeyser, members of the faculty, and friends, I realize that graduation ceremonies similar to ours are taking place in every community at this time of the year, but I feel confident that no graduates have been given better advice or have heard sounder words of wisdom than those expressed by our distinguished speaker, Senator CHURCH. Thank you for taking time from your busy schedule to speak to us this evening.

Tonight we are bringing to a close our training in the essentials that will help us as we undertake more advance training, which in turn will futher mold our lives. The years immediately ahead present a greater challenge than ever before to all of us and we are determined to do our part in providing progressive leadership. We, therefore, pledge that we will do everything possible to spur our country on to a full realization of its magnificent potentialties. This can be done if we will forever keep in mind the words of the English writer and critic, John Ruskin, who said, "It is not how long we live, but how well we spent the life we lived that counts."

The opportunity to be graduates of the Capitol Page School and of working from day to day with the lawmakers of this Republic will forever be among our most cherished memories. The many unique experiences and wonderful associations we have been privileged to have here will bear fruit in our lives and in our work. We hope that we can show our appreciation to our sponsors by using these experiences to further the welfare of our Nation in the years to come.

We fully realize that perhaps we would be saying nothing of a brighter tomorrow if we had not had the patience and understanding shown us by parents, teachers, and associates. To those who have assisted us so greatly we pay our humble respects.

Only the future will tell whether we achieve the high standards which have been set before us. With Divine guidence we hope to contribute toward America's ultimate goal—peace, preparedness, and prosperity.

ADDRESS BY GEORGE WEAVER, SALUTATORIAN

Distinguished guests, Mr. DeKeyser, members of the faculty, and friends, when a mighty ship slides down the ways into the sea which is to be her home, a great crowd gathers to see her launched. When the vessel, completely outfitted and motors tuned, sets forth upon her maiden voyage, it is customary for a number of dignitaries to sail with her, to enjoy her luxury, and to experience her power.

So it is tonight, my friends, that this mighty ship of the class of 1957, which has been 4 years in the building slides down the ways into the sea of life and sets forth upon her maiden voyage.

We are proud, as we gather for this joyous occasion, that we have so many friends who have come to witness the launching. Because we are happy that you have come, we want to extend to each of you a hearty welcome. We know that among our guests are many relatives and friends. We appreciate deeply your interest in our achievements and in our future.

Numbered among you, too, are our sponsors and the many other acquaintances which we have made during our days on Capitol Hill.

The work on our ship, the class of 1957, was begun 4 years ago. As freshmen, we undertook the task which we are completing

this evening. As the months progressed, the congressional elections of 1954 overtook us, and with our task barely begun, a change in the control of Congress compelled many of our classmates to return to their homes. Disrupted, but with spirit, our class continued. New boys, from all sections of the country, came to replenish our ranks and to continue our mission. Each year saw fewer and fewer of the original class return, until tonight, there are in the class of 1957, only two members who were present when the class first met in September 1953.

This is our victory, our night of triumph, the time when all the work which has been put upon our great ship begins to bear fruit. It has been a glorious past, but with the faith and strength of youth, we know that the best is yet to be. It is with genuine pleasure that we extend a welcome to you as you join us in our launching ceremonies.

LIST OF GRADUATES, 1957 CLASS OF THE CAPITOL PAGE SCHOOL

Jerry Creel Bostick.
Charles Vernon Bush.
Allen Warren Davis.
Lawrence Colin Fernsworth.
Richard L. Fruin, Jr.
George Ward Gaines.
Robert M. Jacoby.
Drew M. Johnson.
Jed Joseph Johnson, Jr.
Frederick Phillip Kessler.
Warren Lee McElvain.
Frederick Jerome Saunders.
Terrance M. Scanlon.
William Eugene Smith.
Julien Gillen Sourwine.
E. John Watson.
George Arthur Weaver.
Roger Stephen Williams.

Address by George Meany, President of AFL–CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, which was delivered at Knoxville, Tenn., last evening.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT, AFL–CIO

Permit me first of all to express my thanks to the United American Mechanics for its American Citizen Award for 1957. I accept it not as a personal honor, but as a valued recognition of the contributions made by the free trade union movement to the development of American democracy.

Your organization, now more than a century old, is a fraternal society, rather than a labor union, yet our objectives are similar—to uphold the dignity and to enhance the opportunity of the workingman.

America has frequently been described as the land of opportunity. In this country of ours, it is possible for men and women with ability and determination to rise from humble beginnings to positions of eminence. What is it in our way of life that provides limitless opportunities for the individual? What is it that closes the door against human progress in other lands?

Perhaps the answer can be summed up in one word—"freedom." Where freedom exists—freedom of conscience, freedom of association—mankind can and does move forward. Where dictatorship reigns, where the rights of individuals are suppressed, human progress is stopped in its tracks.

We in America cannot afford to become smug about the advances we have achieved nor about the rights and privileges we enjoy. We must prove ourselves worthy of them through the way we live with our fellow men and the way we serve our country and its cause.

No matter what our private aspirations or desires may be as individuals, we cannot escape our common obligations to make, each and every one in his own way, our full contribution to the maintenance and preservation of our cherished free way of life.

For at this very moment, unceasing war is being waged by powerful forces to eliminate our free way of life from the face of the earth. Each of us must face up to this unpleasant fact. The advocates of communism have not in the slightest degree abandoned their objective of complete world domination for their particular brand of totalitarian tyranny. In the very nature of things, this objective cannot be attained unless and until all forms of government based on justice and human freedom are destroyed. The Communists are pursuing this goal with a zest and a zeal that could well be emulated by those who enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen. And mawe no mistake about it—America is their No. 1 target, for with America out of the way, the rest of the free world would become easy pickings for the Kremlin.

Naturally, the leaders of Soviet Russia constantly disclaim any hostile intentions toward us or other free lands. They say all they want is peaceful coexistence. They blandly offer to engage in constructive competition with us through trade and cultural exchanges. They even assert that we have erected an Iron Curtain against their efforts to become more friendly.

This was the theme of the remarks uttered by Dictator Khrushchev when he was permitted to invade millions of American homes with a telecast interview. This was the same Khrushchev who condemned thousands of Hungarians to death and sent tens of thousands to slavery and exile, merely because they wanted to be free and live in peaceful coexistence as an independent nation alongside the Soviet Union.

In dealing with the Communists, we in America must learn to separate fact from friction, truth from propaganda. We must learn to recognize the forces of evil by their actions rather than their words. We must judge by results, rather than glowing predictions.

The current Soviet disarmament proposal presents a clear case in point. It calls for the suspension of further test explosions of nuclear weapons under a system of monitoring by the United Nations.

Because of the growing fear throughout the world that the air we breathe may become poisonously contaminated if atomic tests are allowed to go unchecked, this Soviet proposal will undoubtedly be welcomed. In fact, some people will hail it as the forerunner of peace.

Peace would be wonderful, if true, but let us not be carried away by the prospect merely on the basis of the new Soviet proposal. It does not contain the faintest guaranty of disarmament, nor the slightest assurance of peace.

The United States and our allies have said before and we should reiterate even more strongly now that we will be glad to join in any effective plan to halt atomic tests. But we dare not stop there. We must continue to exert every pressure to prevail upon Russia to agree to a worldwide cessation of production of atomic weapons and fissionable material for military purposes under a program of strict international inspection.

Halting bomb tests will not prevent any aggressor from going to war if it can continue to produce atomic weapons and gain the opportunity, while other nations relax their vigilance, to achieve preponderant superiority in such weapons.

Furthermore, even if all atomic weapons are banned effectively, that alone is no guaranty of peace. Actually, it might have the opposite effect and precipitate war. As Winston Churchill pointed out some years ago, the greatest deterrent to war in our time is the superior atomic-bomb strength held by the United States. If such weapons were outlawed tomorrow, Soviet Russia would enjoy an overwhelming position of military strength, both in conventional weapons and in the size of armed forces.

Obviously, then, it would be folly for our country to sidetrack the question of disarmament on the limited basis of ending bomb tests or even on the basis of outlawing certain selected weapons. We must have real assurances that disarmament will be general and will be geared to peace, rather than war.

The latest Soviet line, as expressed by Khrushchev, is that the Communists need not resort to war because other countries, including our own, will within a couple of generations turn to communism voluntarily in emulation of the perfect state achieved by Soviet Russia.

The Communist dogma of the attainment of a perfect state has been proven false time and again in almost 40 years of practical application. The recent lesson of Hungary has convinced any remaining doubters that there can be no human values where life is not guided by moral values. And we know only too well that there is very little room for morality in a land where the power of government over man is total and absolute. No social panaceas, no economic reform is worthy of attainment, if people have to be clubbed and terrorized into accepting it.

The crisis mankind faces today cannot be fought only with economic, political, military, and material weapons. In this epic struggle between freedom and despotism, it is the battle for men's minds that will be decisive. To win that battle, individuals and organizations who believe in freedom must do their part, rather than leave the entire burden upon government.

For in our free society, public opinion is the controlling factor. Enlightened public opinion is essential to the good health of our society. Enlightenment comes not only from the expressions of public officials, or from information and opinions expressed in the press, radio and television, but from the positions taken by the voluntary institutions which serve as the arteries of our democratic way of life. By this, I mean not only labor unions, but management organizations, cultural groups, fraternal societies such as yours, institutions of learning, and community social service associations.

It is our job to help refute and expose the hypocritical output of the Soviet propoganda mills. It is our duty to help overcome whatever damage may have been wrought by permitting Khrushchev, without challenge or confrontation with the truth, to broadcast his lying and poisonous propaganda to the American people.

In the long run, of course, public opinion will be influenced by results rather than words or promises. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to do considerably more than we have done thus far to bring the benefits of American democracy to all our people.

This means an ever higher standard of living, under an economy that provides well-paying jobs for those able and willing to work, as well as proper rewards to management and capital. Toward this end, it is es-

sential that a higher degree of labor-management cooperation be attained through the combined efforts of industry and trade unions. When the future of free labor and free enterprise are under common attack by totalitarianism, it should be obvious that it is to their mutual interest to work more harmoniously together.

It means also that all Americans, regardless of race, color or creed, must be accorded full enjoyment of civil rights, as well as equal educational, political, and economic opportunities.

It requires a broader view of our internal problems and a broader program of action to overcome them than we have as yet undertaken. If we set ourselves to the task, we can quickly build the schools our children so desperately need. We can get rid of slums and provide decent homes for every American family at prices within their reach. We can equip our Nation with modern roads and ultramodern airports to meet present and future needs. We can protect our people from annual flood disasters, as was done in this area by TVA.

Yes; we can do all these things and do them, let me add, without going broke—for our history proves that progress does not bankrupt a nation but encircles it.

And what would be the result? Happier lives for the American people—of course. But more than that—much more. It would prove to our own people, once and for all, that democracy works for their benefit. It would prove to the people of other nations, including the people now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain the fundamental truth that the free way of life is the only way of life that makes human progress possible.

There are pessimists, I know, who contend that progress is strictly an illusion, that, in the classic phrase, the more things change, the more they remain the same.

That is no longer true of the world we live in. Through the process of civilization, the face of our world has taken on a new look. For one thing, it has shrunk. Less than a century ago, to get around the world in 80 days was considered the fantastic dream of a romantic novelist. Today, the trip can be made comfortably and conveniently in eight. And there is a far cry between the slingshot of Biblical times, which might kill one man at a hundred paces, and the H-bombs of today which can wipe out an entire nation thousands of miles away.

Nor is it fair to say disparagingly that human progress has been mainly destructive in nature, that we have learned to kill wholesale instead of retail, but that's about all.

On the contrary, the power to produce for the good of humanity has advanced to such a high level by this time that, given assurance of peace and worldwide freedom, we could in a very short period banish hunger from every section of the globe and all the diseases and human misery that stem from poverty.

Yes, we have this great, humanitarian goal virtually within our grasp. Only one thing stops us from achieving it promptly—the necessity of diverting a disproportionately large measure of our wealth and energy into vital defenses against attack by those who would destroy everything we are trying to build.

I venture to predict that if the Soviet world were to lay down its arms tomorrow, renounce communism and embrace the ways of peace and freedom, America would be more than willing to lead the way for the adoption of a 5-year plan that would bring abundance of the fruits of civilization to every nation and every people on earth—and on schedule, too.

Unfortunately, we cannot look forward with any degree of confidence to such an easy way out of the present world crisis. We will have to do it the hard way, by working, by praying and perhaps even by fighting for the eventual triumph of human liberty and peaceful progress.

But if we hold true to our ideals, if we strive to put them into practical effect through liberal and progressive programs, we will surely win the crucial struggle for the hearts and minds of men—and that battle may be the key, the turning point, to peace and victory.

In Time of Flood, Texas Plans for Future Water Supplies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, some solid, sound thinking is being done in my State these days about the overall water problem. The recent floods, coming at the end of years of drought, have stimulated the kind of constructive thought shown in a recent editorial, entitled "Water for Tomorrow," which appeared recently on the always interesting editorial page of the Fort Worth Press.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATER FOR TOMORROW

Drouth is recent and the memory of man is short; but floods and full reservoirs today do not mean water in the taps tomorrow.

The caprices of Texas weather are pointed up, in a sense, by a report to city council from its water engineers and consultants, Freese & Nichols.

It is a tribute to planning foresight (as well as hindsight) that their recommendations, first submitted in dry October, have not changed substantially by wet June.

In brief, the 27-year program calls for development of reservoirs on the Trinity River tributaries of Cedar Creek, near Athens, and Richland Creek, near Corsicana, and the construction of pipelines to a filter plant near Forest Hill.

The plans also call for raising the storage levels of Eagle Mountain and Grapevine Lakes; and for building with Federal aid a flood control dam on the West Fork, near Boyd, between Eagle Mountain and Bridgeport Lakes.

There is one apparent concession in the engineers' report to criticism of the Richland Creek project. A full study is proposed into the possibility of using water from streams in southeastern Oklahoma. If this source is shown feasible, it could be substituted for the Richland Creek project.

There is obvious merits in devising a system for gathering water supply to Fort Worth from widely separated sources. Rainfall in one area may be abundant while sparse in another.

The vagaries of weather being something we have to live with, we believe the study of Oklahoma as a water source is worth the cost to taxpayers.

Let's have all the facts in planning a $124 million water program.

Torch of American Justice Dims—The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Fort Wayne (Ind.) News Sentinel of June 17, 1957, discussing the case of Sp3c. William S. Girard.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TORCH OF AMERICAN JUSTICE DIMS

For a long time we Americans had reason to be justly proud of our meticulously exacting tradition of American justice. Everything about our judiciary and our constitutional rights therein implemented, long was held in highest esteem by legal minds and laymen alike. The very thought of warping justice even by the slightest margin in the interest of expediency was regarded as positively intolerable.

However, we, unhappily have lived to experience the laying of violent hands on our traditional concept of justice and the judiciary. An American President even proposed in this latter day of expediency that the highest judicial tribunal be "packed" by the executive.

Our pride and sense of assurance in American justice has again been rudely shocked in the past few days.

In Washington, Robert Dechert, General Counsel of the Defense Department, in a formal press statement, the other day indulged in a flagrant prejudgment of the case of American GI William S. Girard. In the first place, it patently is not within the province of the counsel for the Defense Department to judge at all, for he has no judicial authority. But even if he had, it would be shockingly unethical for him to pass judgment on any phase of the case prior to trial. Nevertheless Dechert adjudged publicly that Girard had "enticed" Naka Sakai closer to the firing range in Japan before he killed her.

Also in Washington, Oliver Gasch, the Federal district attorney, presented an alarming objection to the habeas corpus proceedings brought for the purpose of rescuing Girard from a Japanese court and having him produced in Washington, for a judicial determination by our own highest courts on the question of the situs of his trial. Gasch says the habeas corpus should not prevail, for the reason that the matter of turning Girard over to the Japanese was "a political decision not subject to judicial review." If that is not an amazing tacit contention that expediency rather than justice should prevail, we do not know what could constitute one.

If the executive department can ruthlessly wrest an American citizen's constitutional rights away from him with impunity before trial, it can bar him from invoking them in a trial court. And if the executive department can actually do that, does not that virtually sign a death warrant for the Bill of Rights?

Gasch does not want the court to lose any time in blessing his brief with judicial approval either, for he says that, "every moment of delay is extremely dangerous in the conduct of our foreign relations." He ap-

parently feels that the danger to an American citizen's constitutional rights and his life, is of little consequence.

In connection with these latest assaults on the citadel of our traditional constitutional rights, Indiana's United States Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER has made some highly pertinent comment. Commenting particularly on Dechert's statement, JENNER said:

"The important point in this case is not whether William S. Girard is innocent or guilty. That remains to be determined at the trial. The question is whether his constitutional rights have been forfeited by surrendering him to a Japanese court for trial instead of letting him be tried by a United States military court. This turns on the critical question whether he was engaged in the performance of his duties when the incident occurred. I am shocked and amazed that the General Counsel of the Defense Department would issue a statement to the press which gives substantial help to those who will prosecute this young American soldier.

"Mr. Dechert had no excuse for making any comment whatever on the guilt or innocence of Private Girard. That is the sole responsibility of the court which ultimately tries him. Mr. Dechert had no excuse whatever for making a statement on the evidence to be presented in any court proceeding, when he was not in court and not under oath. We do not tolerate trial by press conference in this country. Mr. Dechert had no excuse for issuing voluntarily a derogatory statement about an American soldier, when that statement certainly will be used by the prosecution when he is on trial, perhaps for his life."

Senator JENNER, as he usually is, is again eternally right in this instance. When men high in the councils of the Government, who should be most zealous champions of our inherent constitutional rights, want to sacrifice them on the base altar of expediency, we can only ask:

What has become of our traditional American justice?

David Dubinsky, President of International Ladies Garment Workers Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a lead article by Mr. John Herling, Washington correspondent, relating to the life and works of Mr. David Dubinsky and his leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Mr. Dubinsky celebrated 25 years as union president this past week.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER DAVE—DUBINSKY'S WORK MAKES GARMENT UNION UNIQUE

(By John Herling)

WASHINGTON.—David Dubinsky, 65-year-old head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, celebrating 25 years as union president this week, happily steals the international labor spotlight from that other Dave—Beck—still president of the Teamsters Union.

The contrast between the two Daves is considerably greater than the 3,000 miles from New York, Dubinsky's headquarters, to Seattle, where Beck centers his business empire.

To hear Dubinsky's admirers talk about it, one must measure the span between them in character, trade-union integrity, and philosophy, not in miles but in light-years. Dubinsky has brought himself and his union a long way.

When Dubinsky became president of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union in 1932, the country was ditched in depression, the union's membership was down to 45,000 members (not all of them paying dues). Today 450,000 ILG members work in shops in cities stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

In the last quarter century, this union has set a standard of achievement for advancement of its members and the industry's welfare which excites pleasure and envy. Dubinsky made his union rich, not himself.

But it was a tough, slogging struggle through the "garment jungle," beset at various times by Communist traps, gangster killers, seductive offers of friendly employers, and the usual temptations of soft living after a strenuous climb.

Back in 1932, the ILG was ridiculed by the Communists in a ditty: "Dubinsky's union is a no-good union. Is a company union by the bosses and Hillquits and the Thomases. They give false promises; and give to the workers the doublecross."

Within a few years, Dubinsky made such opponents eat those barbs. He countered with Pins and Needles, a musical comedy which became the labor movement's paean of triumph over economic disaster and political subversion. It produced songs of "social significance" produced by young men whose fathers had worked in the shops and sung by a cast made up of young men and women still employed there.

This Dubinsky-led union is unique. Made up originally of immigrant workers, it has become one of the most fiercely American-conscious.

Address of Hon. Charles H. Silver, President, Board of Education, New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on June 19 I had the opportunity of attending a luncheon meeting of the Times Square Club in New York, at which time their annual service award was presented to Hon. Charles H. Silver, president of the Board of Education of New York City. It has been my pleasure to know Mr. Silver for many years. He has given unselfishly of his time, thought, and great ability to many noble and worthwhile causes, and has made an outstanding contribution to the cause of education in New York City as president of the school board.

Mr. Silver made an inspiring speech in accepting the award, and the speech contains several recommendations which have to do with the Federal Government, in connection with education, which should be considered by all Members of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER, PRESIDENT, BOARD OF EDUCATION, AT ANNUAL LUNCHEON OF THE TIMES SQUARE CLUB AT SHERATON-ASTOR HOTEL, JUNE 9, 1957

If the words, thoughts, and deeds of a man may sometimes flower in the recognition of his fellows, then you, my friends, have tendered me a rare bouquet. All who strive for the public good profess to seek no laurels for their efforts. Yet I must humbly confess that you have profoundly warmed my heart with this welcome award which I accept in deep and abiding gratitude.

The feelings that well up in me at this moment are beyond my powers of expression. I know that in presenting me with this citation you are paying symbolic tribute to every member of our board of education, to every teacher and administrator in our schools, to that vast heroic legion, known and unknown, which labors to advance the cause of learning.

Your tribute is not to me alone. It is to all who watch a child's eyes grown wide with wonder as he finds the way to truth and understanding in this world of endless enchantment. It is they who plant the magic seeds of faith, patience, and inspiration that flourish in the mind of youth and grow into the tree of knowledge—the tree of life.

In their name I thank you for this great honor. I can recall many rewarding moments in a rich, full life, but I shall cherish none with greater pride than this.

Few organizations are as close to my heart and interest as the Times Square Club. Your valued member Ben Fine is one of my dearest friends, and I have so many other friends among you that I could not pause long enough to name them all. Let me just pay tribute to your growing strength and influence, to your selfless dedication to the welfare of the community, and, most of all, to your magnificent service to youth in furthering the advancement of education and widening the opportunities for scholarship among our young people.

For me to say that yours is a noble cause would be doing it small justice. They who crusade for education today are the builders of a better tomorrow for all mankind.

In the terrible uncertainty of our times, when each morning's headlines emphasize a growing social unrest in many areas of the earth's surface, the educator bears a tremendous responsibility. He is the watcher in the night. He is the bearer of the torch against darkness and distrust. He is the guardian of our civilization, assailed, as never before, by the forces of dissension and unimagined potential destruction.

The burden of the educator is not an easy one in these days of momentous decision—and time is running out. We can no longer allow ourselves the luxury of error. In the relentless struggle between the slave world and the free world, education must meet the challenge and we should not defer to dollar diplomacy or political expediency.

An alarm has sounded, not a moment too soon, to match the haste of other nations who are producing 10 scientists, 10 engineers, 10 chemists, 10 teachers to our 1. We are engaged in a vast intellectual mobilization of our Nation's greatest resource, our young people. This is the business of the trained and devoted champion of education.

We must develop throughout our society an alert and vital awareness of the truth that, today, knowledge is power, as at no other period in the time of man, and that, against the poised threat of universal chaos, it may, indeed, be his only hope of survival.

Those of you who know me can attest to the fact that mine has been no mere lip-service to the cause of education. My work on the board is not casual commitment to routine duties. I am as intense in my obligation to the tasks of heading the largest

system of public education in the world, as I expect every teacher and staff member to be, and I look upon the public schools of New York as citadels fortified to war upon man's oldest foes: ignorance, indifference, intolerance, and want.

Education is to me, as I know it is to you, an army with banners, defending our way of life and perpetuating the American dream. Every citizen is personally concerned in these objectives and their fruits will be peace for ourselves and a more abundant life for our children.

In this spirit, I have come to you not only to express my warm appreciation of the honor you have done me, but to justify it, in some measure, with a few concrete proposals I would put before you as educators and leaders of public opinion.

Here, in America, nearly every child who graduates from elementary school goes on to high school. Of those who complete this secondary course of study, more than a third go on to college, and that proportion is increasing at such a rate that we may soon lack colleges for even the most qualified to enter.

We have come to regard education with less emphasis on the classic concept of academic achievement and more on preparation for successful living and technical skills.

Our role in world leadership, our advances in science, our amazing industrial growth, and our rich contributions to art, literature, drama, music, and the whole varied tapestry of the fine arts, are all nourished in our schools. We have provided specialized institutions to offer this kind of education for all the children of our city. It is a substantial program, but we are getting it done.

We are spending a hundred million dollars a year in building schools, and 400 million to maintain our school system. We are learning that the investment is paltry compared to the dividends it returns among our youth. We are proving that the method works, and it is a model for other communities throughout the Nation.

I am convinced, however, that we have not gone far enough. The system should be widened so that we not only establish schools of special training in specific fields, but that we also improve our ways of identifying those students who can benefit most by intensive and rapid education "in depth." As we try to develop each child's potential, let us make sure we find those who can profitably pursue higher education. Then let us secure the funds and the facilities to avoid the tragic possibility of failing posterity by permitting even one such child to fall by the wayside. In this hour, in this land of ours, we cannot afford to let anything keep out of college or other institution of higher learning even one child who wants such an education and whose abilities demand it.

An education is the birthright of every American child, but we are straining the mandate of democracy if we cut it to the same pattern for all. We must not put the brakes on inspiration, and impede our competitive progress against the intellectual product of other lands in our zeal for equality. Equality, in the educative sense, does not imply sameness of curriculum or slackening of opportunity for mental growth, but means developing each child according to his individual ability.

I have one more proposal to extend for your consideration. We have all given thought, and we have gotten a substantial amount of action, in seeking to improve the earning power of our teachers. In raising their salaries, we have lifted the dignity of the teaching profession, and, I am sure, we are attracting more young people to prepare for a teaching career.

Let me advocate one further step to relieve the dangerous teacher shortage. I would like to see every young man and young woman, who enters college with the sincere purpose of preparing for the teaching profession, insured of the financial ability to fulfill this aspiration. Scholarships from private funds, State or Federal funds, should guarantee that we do not lose this vital talent because of economic need.

I think it is a proposal worthy of thorough study. I know you are among the ones who care and who realize the importance of enough teachers to meet the needs of the future. If we fail the children, now, in this, we fail them forever.

I have spoken to you from my heart of the things that are closest to my heart because I think they are also close to yours. I have been inspired to speak in this fashion by your own courageous identification with the cause of learning. It is evidenced by every act of the Times Square Club and by this annual education meeting in which I am so proud to have played a part:

The award you have granted me, I shall treasure all my life. It will spur me on to work in the flame of your own zeal for the welfare of our boys and girls.

That flame, the flame of education, which you have guarded and kept alive, is the beacon of the future—the hope of all the world.

Long-Range Minerals Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, the executive board of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers has expressed itself as sharing with many Members of this body the belief that the long-awaited long-range minerals program of the Department of the Interior is a disappointment to the workers and operators in the United States mining industry.

In a statement issued June 8, the executive board pointed out:

The "relief" promised by the administration has precipitated a new crisis that threatens a vital sector of our economy with extinction.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement issued by the executive board of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LONG-RANGE MINERALS PROGRAM

DENVER.—The following statement was adopted Friday, June 7, by the executive board of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers at its meeting here at the Cosmopolitan Hotel:

"The long-awaited long-range minerals program of the Eisenhower administration is a disappointment to the workers and operators in the United States nonferrous mining industry. The relief promised by the administration has precipitated a new crisis that threatens a vital sector of our economy with extinction. Coming immediately after a serious curtailment of the barter program and the announced intention of terminating stockpiling—both of which contributed to lead-zinc price stability in recent years—the new program has created additional anxieties that have already further depressed the price of zinc and promise more mine shutdowns and layoffs.

"Far from realizing its declared purpose of promising a strong, vigorous, and efficient domestic metal industry as essential to the long-term economic development of the United States, the Department's program appears aimed at the liquidation of our domestic lead and zinc mining industry in the interests of giant corporations who find it more profitable to import cheaply produced metals from abroad.

"The toppling of lead and zinc prices within recent months has already brought the shutdown of important mines in Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, New Mexico, Idaho, Montana, and elsewhere, and has added thousands of skilled miners, smeltermen, and allied workers to the ranks of the unemployed. Few of the remaining lead-zinc mines still in operation can long survive unless the present downward trend of prices is sharply checked and reversed. No single United States lead-zinc property can continue at its present level of operation under prevailing price trends.

"The situation in copper, while not yet as serious as that in lead and zinc, also contains many dangerous possibilities. A 30 percent drop in the price of copper in the past year plus the continued accumulation of world stocks—in the face of rising supplies—similarly threatens the future life of many United States mines.

"To all of this, the Interior Department's program offers only a gesture in the form of a sliding scale of import duties on lead and zinc, adjustable every 3 months. These added duties, in effect, would most severely penalize countries like Canada—with wage levels most nearly comparable to those in the United States—while easily permitting producers in low-wage countries to jump the low tariff hurdle. The Department's program shows not the slightest recognition of any problem, current or potential, in copper. Nor does it in any way consider possible means of correcting the present imbalance between supply and demand by expanding demand through research on new applications for basic metals.

"We consider the preservation of a domestic mining industry in the United States as essential to a healthy and expanding economy. Our Nation can ill afford the severe consequences to defense and to the economy resulting from the destructive effects of closing down many mines unable to operate within the present price and market structure. Such resulting loss of irreplaceable natural resources and long acquired human skills is a tragic waste.

"We, now, as we have consistently over many years, favor the maximum expansion of foreign trade, both as a means of promoting peaceful cooperation among nations and of providing greater markets for our products. Such expansion, we are convinced, must be based upon a domestic policy of full employment and high wages. We do not now, nor have we ever, subscribed to the theory that expanded foreign trade can only be secured at the cost of liquidating our own industry and our own jobs.

"The present administration's failure to project effective remedies for the now critical situation of the United States nonferrous metals industry places the issue squarely before Congress. Drastic remedies are now required to prevent what could develop into a collapse of an essential United States industry. In the present immediate situation the industry requires and must have some real promise of price stability. That, we are now convinced, can only be achieved through some limitation of imports that are now flooding our markets.

"In the present situation we regard the principles of the Metcalf bill, H. R. 7844, as offering possibilities for affording the lead-

zinc mines a necessary breathing spell. Under the Metcalf bill, import taxes would be imposed whenever the domestic market prices of lead and zinc fall below certain specified peril points.

"Should the situation in copper continue to deteriorate, this union will then urge upon Congress the passage of a bill embodying a similar peril point and import tax for that metal.

"Any limitations of imports—to the extent that it may continue to be necessary—should, we believe, be based upon the more equitable general principles embodied in the Lanham bill, H. R. 2815. In general, under that bill, imports of any product are geared to the estimated consumption needs of the domestic economy, with import quotas established for each country; the quotas for individual nations are based upon the past record of imports with additional allowances granted for rising wage rates. We urge Congress to combine these general principles with those now contained in the Metcalf bill.

"At the same time we frankly recognize that any bill of this sort is not an ultimate solution to the problems of this industry. Unless some of the more basic problems are frankly considered and dealt with, this type of hypodermic treatment, although presently necessary, could create new difficulties that would compound the problem.

"The basic problem that must be met is how to bring world demand into balance with supplies that are increasing and will continue to increase at a faster rate. Any long range program must look for and develop new markets for nonferrous metals, both in terms of new uses and applications, and expanded world trade—particularly to those countries with the greatest potential for economic development.

"We urge upon Congress and the industry the undertaking of a greatly expanded research program for the development of new applications of copper, lead and zinc. We, for our part, will support such programs in every possible way.

"We similarly welcome the proposals of Senators JOHNSON, MAGNUSON, and MANSFIELD for reexamining the avenues of world trade. New trade, if placed upon a realistic business basis, should prove to be mutually advantageous to all countries and could conceivably open up greatly expanded markets for the products of this industry."

"You Killed Our Son"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, with the ever-increasing number of persons killed and injured in auto accidents on our highways, I think it appropriate to insert in the RECORD an item which appeared in the April 1957 issue of Minutes, an insurance magazine. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"YOU KILLED OUR SON"

(The following is from a letter written by the mother of a small boy to the woman whose car hit and killed him. It was written out of grief, anger, and desperation. It is not pleasant to read. We publish the letter in the hope that it will cause some drivers to think twice about the terrible responsibility they assume when they get behind the wheel of a car.—THE EDITOR.)

I don't know why I'm writing to you, but I've been thinking and I have to know the answers to three questions. Why didn't you sound your horn? Why, after your husband told you to watch the little boy, didn't you slow down? And why didn't you swerve the car to the right or apply your brakes? You could have, you know. You could have done any or all of these things and Stevie would still be living. Why didn't you?

Can you realize what you've done to us? Until you killed our son we had four wonderful boys we were proud of. We had a happy home and a good life because we were all together. Now, because of you, one of our boys is gone forever. He's lying out there in the cemetery, forever alone. He was never alone in his life until we took him there and left him. I can't eat or sleep; all I do when I close my eyes is dream of Stevie. I see him running alongside the road, I see you hitting him. I dream I have him back again and he's just a tiny baby.

I've tried to forgive you but, God help me, I can't. All I can think is that I would like to see you hurt the way you have hurt us, to destroy your happiness the way you destroyed ours. I keep thinking you still have a happy home and all the children you gave birth to, while I should have 4 beloved sons and only have 3.

Do you know what he died from? You crushed his little head, you broke his left leg and gave him internal injuries. All that, and you said you were only going 35 miles an hour. Do you know that you knocked him out of his little shoes?

Maybe if you could answer the questions I've asked I could forgive you and find peace of mind. Can you answer them, or is it impossible? Aren't you afraid now to let your children out, for fear someone as careless and heedless as you might come along and kill them with a car?

Award of Citation to Gerald D. Crary by Indiana Technical College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, Mr. Gerald D. Crary is one of the most illustrious citizens of Deadwood, S. Dak. He also has the rare distinction of having been elected as the imperial potentate of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine for North America.

I am happy to offer for printing in the Appendix of the RECORD the citation which has been awarded to Gerald D. Crary by the Indiana Technical College, of the great State of Indiana, conferring upon him the degree of doctor of humanities. This is a fitting tribute and recognition of the great public service which "Gerry" Crary has rendered as the Imperial Potentate of the Mystic Shrine during the current year.

I ask unanimous consent that the citation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITATION

President Keene, Mr. Gerald D. Crary, of Deadwood, S. Dak., is now chief executive of Fish & Hunter, the company he entered as a stenographer at the age of 18. He served successively as treasurer and secretary before he assumed his present position. He has been active in civic and philanthropic organizations as director of the Deadwood Chamber of Commerce, as an officer in the Greater South Dakota Association, and as chairman of the colorful Days of '76 annual fete. He also has the rare distinction of having been elected as the imperial potentate of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine for North America and in that capacity he is president of the board of Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children in North America and the Hawaiian Islands.

In his life he has exemplified the pioneering spirit of the great Northwest, a spirit composed of rugged individualism on the one hand and active helpfulness to one's neighbor on the other. From the age of 6 Mr. Crary has lived in a community where "neighbor" has the Biblical definition of "any man in need." Through these many years, while serving his fellow beings, Mr. Crary has acquired wisdom and has come to understand man, his hidden hungers as well as his sublime kinship with his Maker.

Mr. President, because of these accomplishments and others, this altruistic man is recommended for the degree, doctor of humanities.

DR. DIXON.

Gerald D. Crary, because of your self-sacrificing endeavors for your fellowman and of your zealous attention to responsibilities, Indiana Technical College, upon the approval of its board of directors, is honored to pay tribute to you and through the authority in it vested by the State of Indiana, confers upon you the degree, doctor of humanities, honoris causa, with all of the rights, titles, privileges, and obligations appertaining thereto.

President KEENE.

MAY 19, 1957.

"Open Curtain" Policy Worth Trying, Dallas News Says

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Proposed Broadcasts to Russian People," published in the Dallas Morning News on June 12, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPOSED BROADCASTS TO RUSSIAN PEOPLE

Unwittingly the Kremlin boss, Nikita Khrushchev, may have torn a hole in the Iron Curtain. His recent broadcast to the American people may make it difficult for him to refuse to allow American spokesmen to make similar broadcasts to the Russian people.

Few here have resented the Khrushchev broadcast, loaded as it was with propaganda. But many will support the view of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and others that efforts should be made to reciprocate. Khrushchev might agree to an American broadcast. If

he refused, he might lose caste with some of the neutrals.

A regular series of radiobroadcasts, and even telecasts, in each direction might help to narrow the breach between the two peoples. If the Russians understood that our aims are only for security, peace, and trade, they might realize the falsity of some of the propaganda they have been fed and might become more friendly toward us.

No realistic persons would expect any quick conversion of the Russian people, but an exchange of views by radio and television could result in better understanding and less tension. The chance for some degree of success would justify the effort.

Juvenile Court Judge Orman W. Ketcham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, on May 1, 1957, during an executive session of the Senate, I addressed myself to the nomination of Mr. Orman W. Ketcham to be judge of the juvenile court of the District of Columbia.

My purpose in so doing was to call the attention of my colleagues in the Senate to the possible hazards of placing on the bench of this specialized court any person without the requisite specialized qualifications.

The Washington Daily News in the issue of Friday, June 14, 1957, carries a very interesting editorial, entitled "Danger Ahead," which is very closely related to my remarks of May 1 concerning this nomination.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DANGER AHEAD

The District's new juvenile court judge, Orman W. Ketcham, is falling behind in his work.

True, he's new and inexperienced in his judicial role. But the plain fact is, he hasn't been able to keep up. His predecessor did.

It confirms, we think, what the News said before Judge Ketcham's appointment, when we warned against disturbing the functioning of this court by replacing experienced Judge Edith H. Cockrill, simply to create a political plum and reward somebody with it.

Judge Ketcham is a victim of what we believe to have been lack of administrative responsibility in failing to realize that a one-judge court depends upon the skill and ability of one person. A new judge, no matter how able, is bound to operate under a handicap.

We have asked Judge Ketcham for exact figures on the backlog that has accumulated during his 20 days on the bench. He refused to give them to us. His reply: "If or when such figures are prepared for me in the regular course of business, I will be glad to explain them to a News reporter."

Nuts. This kind of stuffed-shirtedness will neither win friends, influence people, or keep the secret.

Operation of the court speaks for itself.

Last Tuesday, for instance, Judge Ketcham set a date in the middle of August for the jury trial of a man who denied parentage of a child born out of wedlock. June to August. When Judge Cockrill was replaced, jury trials were virtually current.

Traffic cases had so piled up, unheard, that on Monday of this week Judge Ketcham scheduled no other cases. Municipal Court Judge Mildred Reeves, substituing for him in his absence at a Capitol Hill hearing on the new juvenile court bill, heard 12 cases in an hour.

Last week he told the News he will ask the commissioners for money to keep the court open on Saturdays, paying overtime to court workers, if Congress fails to approve a second judge.

But actually, of course, it is his part of the court operation that has fallen behind; not that of court workers.

All this, we believe, is due to one simple fact: The court is suffering from an ill-advised political appointment.

We do not see that a new juvenile court judgeship would do much to correct this situation. There would be merely two inexperienced judges instead of one.

If a new juvenile court judgeship had been created before Judge Cockrill's replacement, and if she had been allowed to stay on until the court readjusted itself (even if she were then replaced for political reasons), the court would not have been upset. As it is, the quick move to create a new judgeship unhappily smacks of more interest in another $17,500 or $18,000 political job than in the social service and justice this court was designed to provide.

We've watched Judge Ketcham at work. We're convinced that he is conscientious and is making every effort to do what he believes is a good job.

But the plain fact is it isn't as good as before, and things may get worse. We hope they won't. We hope we'll be the first to announce that juvenile court is up to date in its cases, and that it is running smoothly again.

All we're doing today is raising a warning flag.

Court Ruling Called Blow to Congressional Inquiries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Court Ruling Called Blow to Congressional Inquiries," written by David Lawrence, and published in the New York Herald Tribune of June 19, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COURT RULING CALLED BLOW TO CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRIES

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, June 18.—The Supreme Court of the United States has crippled the effectiveness of congressional investigations. By one sweeping decision the Court has opened the way to Communists, traitors, disloyal citizens and crooks of all kinds—in business and in labor—to refuse to answer any questions which the witness arbitrarily decides for himself are not pertinent to a legislative purpose. This means that every time a Senator or a Representative asks a question in an investigation the witness must be given a clear explanation of what the legislative purpose is and this may even have to be confirmed by a resolution adopted in each case by the Senate or the House. Then it may have to be passed upon in a decision by the Supreme Court before it is really valid.

This cumbersome procedure kills future investigations that seek to expose the ways and means by which the Communists infiltrate America. It kills any searching investigation of racketeers in the labor-union movement, or any other kind of corruption. Had the Supreme Court's new law been in effect during the Harding administration it would have killed off any exposure of the Teapot Dome scandals. Had it been rendered in 1950 Alger Hiss could have avoided answering questions asked by the House Committee on un-American Activities, whose charter of authority held ever since 1938 now is torn to shreds by the Supreme Court.

MUST ANTICIPATE QUERIES

Senator MCCLELLAN of Arkansas, Senator KEFAUVER of Tennessee, Senator EASTLAND of Mississippi, and the chairmen of various House investigating committees might as well shut up shop. The power to investigate has been curtailed drastically on the ground that Congress has to particularize in every case and specify in its resolutions exactly why it wants certain questions answered. It must somehow anticipate all the questions the investigating committees may wish to ask. This is, as Justice Clark, a former attorney general, declared in his dissent, both "unnecessary and unworkable." He added:

The resulting restraint imposed on the committee system appears to cripple the system beyond workability.

This is because the Supreme Court has now set itself up as knowing more about what Congress needs to know to legislate than Congress itself thinks it does. In the words of Justice Clark:

"The majority (of the Court) has substituted the judiciary as the grand inquisitor and supervisor of congressional investigations. It has never been so."

LEGAL VACUUM SEEN

All the justices, of course, are honorable men and conscientious in the pursuit of their duty. But for the most part they live in a legal vacuum, without awareness of the actual operations of Communist subversion. To them, apparently, there is no Communist menace, no such thing as infiltration by stooges of the Communists, and if a man admits he has worked and cooperated with the Communists and then refuses to tell who else he met in such activities, this is construed now as a right of silence derived from the first amendment which, now added to the fifth amendment, makes it easy for treason to be protected.

The Supreme Court majority realized, to be sure, the gravity of its decision and tried to soften the blow by minimizing the future danger. All the Congress has to do now, the Court patronizingly suggests, is to take "added care" in authorizing the use of compulsory process. But as Justice Clark realistically points out, the Court doesn't say how this added care could be applied in practice.

The Supreme Court majority—Chief Justice Warren, Justices Frankfurter, Black, Douglas, and Brennan—seemed to think that the desire of the individual to be spared any unpleasant publicity due to his past associations was more sacred and more important than the right of Congress to get information about Communist plots and infiltration in order to pass laws to safeguard the Nation against destruction. The ruling was proclaimed, too, by the Court that any one hereafter can teach and even advocate the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States, but unless there is conclusive proof that these teachings are part of a conspiracy to incite someone to some action, the

viewpoint expressed is merely "abstract doctrine" and not subject to punishment by any law Congress might pass.

CALLED A FATEFUL DAY

There were other significant cases decided by the Supreme Court on Monday, June 17, 1957, which will make that day a fateful one in American history. State legislatures were told that they, too, cannot investigate and require witnesses to answer their questions except where it can be proved that the State has an overriding interest in a subversive individual which outweighs his right to silence, and this, in turn, might have to be reviewed in each instance by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In another case, the Court didn't decide the merits of the disloyalty charges against John Stewart Service but said the Secretary of State couldn't reverse his Under Secretary who had ruled favorably to Mr. Service. In still another case involving 14 persons convicted of Communist activity under the Smith law, 5 were set free and 9 ordered to stand trial—so as to ascertain the facts as to activities of the defendants relating to one word—"organize"—in the existing law. It could mean activities with reference to a new party or subversive group or a continuing process of organizing in Communist Party circles as the Department of Justice has contended.

Since organization work in the Communist Party now is ruled by the Court to happen only at the creation of the party in 1945 and is adjudged not to be a continuing process, certain defendants are set free because they were not prosecuted within the time prescribed in the statute.

SEES ESCAPE FOR CROOKS

These decisions will cause much consternation throughout the country. They will make happy in some respects, the so-called liberals who have long crusaded against congressional investigations of Communist activity, but it will make them unhappy in other respects because it gives crooked labor racketeers, shady business operators, financial manipulators and other wrongdoers a means of escape from congressional exposure.

Naturally, Moscow should be happy. All they need do now is to instruct their Communist Party in the United States how to adapt themselves to the new ruling. The Communist Daily Worker editorials have assumed all along that the Court would decide some day as it did this week, that a man can betray this country and in certain circumstances get away with it.

Supreme Court Decision in the Communist Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an enlightening editorial, entitled "Fateful Decisions," from the June 18 issue of the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, one of the Nation's most outstanding and influential newspapers, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I commend the reading and consideration of the points raised in this editorial to the entire membership of the Congress, as well as the public at large.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FATEFUL DECISIONS

The Government's legal drive against Communists and subversives was further weakened yesterday by three Supreme Court majority decisions.

These make the total of such adverse rulings 13 for 1 year.

They have created such chaos and confusion that Federal prosecutors do not know where to move next.

They threaten the entire internal security structure and will have tremendous impact even on the acts of the Congress.

In one far-reaching decision yesterday, the High Court practically nullified two key sections of the Smith Act—the antisubversion statute under which the Government has been making successful attack against internal Communist strongholds.

In that action, the Supreme Court, with Justice CLARK sharply dissenting, reversed convictions of 14 top California Reds, ordered 5 acquitted and new trials for 9 others.

In so doing the Court held, in effect, that:

"Organizing" the Communist Party is not an indictable offense if the organization work started more than 3 years before the indictment was returned.

To be an indictable act, advocacy of violent overthrow of the United States Government must be an "advocacy of action" and not merely "advocacy of abstract doctrine."

All of the 14 defendants had been convicted of conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

Justices Black and Douglas went even further than their associates. They said they would have acquitted all 14 defendants.

In another of yesterday's decisions, the Court reversed the contempt-of-Congress conviction of John S. Watkins for refusing to identify onetime Communist associates for the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Watkins ruling could effectively damage future congressional investigations into subversion and particularly communism.

Yesterday's third decision held that former Secretary of State Dean Acheson exceeded his authority when he fired John Stewart Service in 1951 as a result of a Loyalty Review Board finding. The Court did not rule on the loyalty issue itself, but on the procedure used by Mr. Acheson to dismiss him.

The Government was still trying to evaluate the disastrous effect of the Jencks case decision of 2 weeks ago when the new batch of adverse rulings was hatched by the High Court majority to add further uncertainty and create greater confusion in the law enforcement field.

The Jencks decision would open FBI files to criminal defendants. The Smith Act ruling practically eliminates two of that law's features. The Watkins decision makes a comparable finding very likely in the case of Arthur Miller, playwright recently convicted of contempt of Congress. Both had used "conscience" as an excuse for not answering committee questions.

It is for the Justice Department and the Congress to determine how weaknesses in existing laws can be overcome and thus nullify the High Court's extreme liberalism and capricious reasoning.

The decisions which have dealt law enforcement and the Nation's internal safety such heavy body blows may be among the most fateful handed down since the founding of the Republic. They effect every community, every home, and every individual, for they shake the very foundations of our collective freedom.

Lesson for the North Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there recently appeared in the Ogdensburg (N. Y.) Journal an editorial, which was republished in the Florence (Ala.) Times, entitled "Lesson for the North Country," which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LESSON FOR THE NORTH COUNTRY

Two weeks ago a group of New York State residents were in northern Alabama as the guests of the Reynolds Metals Co. They were taken there in order to see what a large industrial plant like Reynolds could do for a community. What they saw was a revelation.

We in northern New York have waited so long for our dream of industrialization that many residents of this area have begun to be cynical of the prospects for such a development. If the experience of the section of Alabama in the vicinity of the Reynolds plant at Listerhill is any criterion, however, the wildest dreams of the optimists are to be fulfilled.

Before Reynolds moved into the Tri-Cities area of Florence, Sheffield, and Tuscumbia, it was a predominantly rural area in a depressed part of the State. Today it is a thriving industrial area with one of the highest economies in the Southeast. The population of the area has more than doubled. Wages, retail sales, and other indexes of prosperity have skyrocketed to even more than doubled what they were before Reynolds entered the area.

The experience of this region of Alabama indicates what northern New York can expect after the power project is completed. True, Ogdensburg itself is about 40 miles from the site of the Reynolds plant. But Ogdensburg's economy is tied to that of the entire county. We in this city will benefit from increased prosperity, since the only city in the county is a natural trading center for a large area.

Furthermore, workers in the tricities area are transported to the Reynolds plant from a 40 to 50 mile radius. The same will be true here. Furthermore, although Reynolds began in Listerhill with only a reduction plant, aluminum fabricating plants were soon attracted to the area. This also can happen in northern New York.

The area of northern Alabama where Reynolds plant is located is in the Tennessee Valley, in the heart of one of the great public power developments of the world. The three cities of Florence, Sheffield, and Tuscumbia are all serviced by municipal power facilities, buying low cost power from the TVA.

The opinion of people in the area was unanimous that municipal power had been an invaluable partner in their industrial expansion. The profits from the municipal systems had provided the cities with revenue to build new municipal facilities, and also to pay for expert help in seeking allied industries to the Reynolds Co. to further their expansion. Public power had also extended the benefits of electricity to all before. "The TVA taught the private utilities how to make money in this section," the editor of the local paper commented.

Everyone to whom the North Countrymen talked seemed flabbergasted when told that the citizens of Ogdensburg had rejected the same opportunity to capitalize on the benefits of the low cost power to be generated on the St. Lawrence.

Industrialization has brought a whole new outlook to northern Alabama. What was a depressed, defeatist community is now a progressive and publicspirited one. The parallel with northern New York is obvious. We too can have growth and progress if we are alert enough to capitalize on the opportunities which will be ours once the seaway and power project are completed.

The Centennial of Spring Green, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, Thursday, a week from now, a grand community of my State will begin to celebrate its centennial.

The fine city of Spring Green, Wis., will blow out, so to speak, 100 candles on its birthday cake.

Spring Green is a community well known to us of the Badger State in its own right. But it is known particularly to Wisconsin and to the Nation because it is the home of one of America's greatest figures, the famed architect, Frank Lloyd Wright.

Just last Saturday this remarkable American celebrated his 88th birthday. It was most fitting and customary that on this occasion he looked not backward but forward to a billion-dollar cultural center in Iraq, on which he is about to begin to draw the plans.

Mr. President, I have spoken on previous occasions in tribute to this remarkable figure, one of the truly great architects in American history.

Mr. Wright is a man of bold imagination, forthright courage and deepest conviction.

He is a symbol of American individuality, American nonconformity, American willingness to take on any foe or combination of foes in pursuit of one's ideals.

Folks in Wisconsin at times have had their differences with this great indivdual, but I know of no one who would dispute that we are proud indeed that for more than a half century he has made hs home at Taliesin, near Spring Green, and that America has contributed so towering a figure on the world scene.

I send to the desk now the text of a Wisconsin State Journal article of June 16 with regard to Spring Green's centennial, as well as two earlier articles from the same newspaper with regard to Mr. Wright's 88th birthday, and his plans for the cultural center at Baghdad.

I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I convey heartiest congratulations to Mr. Wright and to Spring Green, which he has helped make deservedly famous.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wisconsin State Journal, Madison, Wis., of June 16, 1957]

INCLUDING FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT DAY—SPRING GREEN ADDS TO CENTENNIAL—TALIESIN OPEN HOUSE SCHEDULED FOR CELEBRATION

(By John R. Prindle, assistant State editor)

SPRING GREEN.—When Spring Green celebrates its centennial June 27 through 30, many features will be familiar to those who have attended other centennials in this area.

Beards are being grown, history and tradition are being stressed, women are wearing old-time costumes, and attics and trunks have been searched for clothing and souvenirs of the old days.

FACE PENALTIES

Wearers of beards will go scot free while those who refuse to grow them will be incarcerated. Women who fail to dress in the garb of yesteryear will face certain penalties too. These things are standard in any town celebrating its centennial.

Spring Green will have all this—and more. More because Spring Green is the home of one of America's most widely known and controversial figures—Frank Lloyd Wright.

Taliesin, Wright's Wisconsin home, will be opened to the public during the centennial celebration, and June 29 has been set aside as Frank Lloyd Wright Day.

Wright is scheduled to make a speech on that day, and it's safe to predict he will have something interesting and quotable to say.

(For years Wright has had a habit of saying things that are quoted and remembered.)

IMPORTANT PART

Archie Fleming, Spring Green village president and chairman of the centennial board of directors, said last week that Taliesin is "cooperating 100 percent" with centennial planners and that Frank Lloyd Wright Day will be an important part of the 4-day program.

Eugene Masselink, Wright's secretary, said, "We at Taliesin are glad to cooperate with the village in planning this program. After all, we're neighbors."

Taliesin's contribution toward the centennial will include open house June 27, 28, and 29, during which visitors may tour the grounds, all of Hillside, which includes Wright's studio, farm buildings, and little theater; and most of Taliesin itself. Not open to the public will be only that part of Taliesin which is Wright's own living quarters.

PROVIDE FLOAT

Wright's students will provide a float for the June 30 parade, and the Taliesin student choir will sing during Wright Day. Besides a float, the students will enter a "circus band" in Sunday's parade.

"It may not be your idea of a circus band," Masselink said, "but it's Taliesin's." During all four days of the program, an exhibition of Wright's work will be displayed in Spring Green High school.

A lot of work by a lot of people has gone into the planning of the centennial. Among those who have been the busiest are Mrs. Clarence Scholl and Eldon Pratt, who edited a 152-page centennial booklet entitled "The First 100 Years."

INCLUDES HISTORY

Dedicated to Wright, the booklet includes a history of the Spring Green area, historical photos borrowed from many sources, and a general story of Spring Green's first century. Mrs. Scholl said she spent 3 months preparing the booklet, which now is on sale.

The cover design, a sketch of the village and surrounding country, including Taliesin, was done by Masselink.

Here are some of the events scheduled by Spring Green Centennial planners who have in mind 4 full days of activity:

A centennial breakfast, free entertainment, horse pulling contests, picnics, 4-H Club home demonstrations, Rural Day contests, and the Centennial Queen's Ball, all scheduled for June 27.

CENTENNIAL PAGEANT

A children's parade and games and contests, an afternoon tea honoring old settlers, a Brothers of the Brush and Sisters of the Swish program, and the first presentation of the centennial pageant are scheduled for June 28.

A luncheon for Wright at noon and the pageant at night for June 29.

The big centennial parade at 1 p. m., a concert by the Zor Shrine band, Madison, a horse show, and fireworks are scheduled for June 30, the last day of the celebration.

TAKING PART

Bands from many communities and drum and bugle corps will take part in Sunday's parade.

Assisting Fleming in planning and coordinating the centennial program are Delpha Oleson, secretary-treasurer, and Ken Olson, Ron Fox, and Mitchell Rens.

But besides these program officials, practically everybody in Spring Green and the area is getting into the swing of things.

If Spring Green's centennial isn't a whopping success, with something of interest for everyone, it won't be the fault of Spring Green folks.

[From the Wisconsin State Journal, Madison, Wis., of June 9, 1957]

WRIGHT TURNS MELLOW, IF ONLY ONCE IN A YEAR

SPRING GREEN.—Among the many things that Frank Lloyd Wright has not been called during the many years of his tempestucus career is "mellow."

The internationally famed architect whose home is Wisconsin has, in the past half-century or so, been called many things—ranging from the highest possible praise to something else again.

He has been lauded by emperors and kings and damned by businessmen, officials, and others. He is a stanch believer in what he calls the "uncommon man." But among the ranks of the very people whom he considers to be "uncommon men" you will find those who are both pro-Wright and anti-Wright.

Seldom, if ever, has Wright been referred to as "mellow."

Yet at least once a year—especially lately—Wright does get as close to being mellow as Frank Lloyd Wright ever can.

That's on his birthday.

Saturday was Wright's 88th birthday. He spent it at Taliesin, near Spring Green. Saturday night's birthday party was a quiet celebration that included only a "few family friends." His family, of course, includes the 60 members of his Taliesin Fellowship, Wright's students.

Last year his birthday party was a big one, with scores of guests from all over the country. It was a lavish affair complete with gorgeously gowned women, a millionaire client or two, cocktails, a dinner, and a program in the Taliesin little theater.

This year Wright chose to observe his 88th year quietly.

"It's just another birthday," he said Saturday night. "We blew the whistle last year; this year we're having a quiet family affair."

Part of his decision to have a simple birthday observance may have resulted from the fact that Wright has been a busy man lately. He recently returned to Wisconsin from Iraq, where he has been commissioned to design a billion-dollar cultural center in Baghdad.

He dealt directly with King Faisal of Iraq in planning the huge project (and has said

since that kings are a lot easier to deal with than certain county board and State legislature members) and agreed Saturday night that it was the biggest project he has ever tackled.

"Perhaps it's the biggest job anyone ever tackled," he said.

As practically everyone knows, Wright is involved in another project that is somewhat less grandiose than the Baghdad job and a lot closer to home. It is the Monona Terrace project in Madison.

He expressed the hope Saturday night that a certain bill now before the State legislature would not be passed. Failure of passage would mean the last major obstacle in the path of Madison's Wright-designed lakefront community center was out of the way.

"Madison will always be sorry," he said, "if that project isn't completed, and others throughout the State and the Nation will be sorry, too."

People who have dealt with Wright over the years have called him many things—shrewd, brilliant, a showman, a genius, a charlatan, the world's greatest architect, a man impossible to do business with, a man of great charm, an egotist, a dreamer, a coldhearted businessman.

But at least once a year, on the occasion of his birthday, he becomes a genial host, a kindly man who, as busy as he is, can still find time to thank those who wish him well.

And his formula for 88 years of vigorous life is, "I love my work; I love my wife; and I tell the truth."

[From the Wisconsin State Journal, Madison, Wis., of June 7, 1957]

KING'S EASIER SUBJECT THAN CITY—WRIGHT PLANS BILLION DOLLAR JOB

(By Richard Bradee)

SPRING GREEN.—Frank Lloyd Wright, the famous architect, said he will begin drawing plans Saturday—on his 88th birthday—for a billion-dollar cultural center in Baghdad.

"If old age is like this," he said, "I don't think I'll mind it."

Wright said King Faisal of Iraq has $1,480 million to spend on a 3-year project to make Baghdad "a city that there will be nothing to compare with in the world."

He will design a cathedral, opera house, university, and art gallery for an island in Baghdad.

He said his dealings with the King are pleasant compared with the squabble with the city of Madison over a civic center and auditorium.

"Kingship has its advantages," Wright said. He said that the King doesn't have to worry about "political tycoons" trying to block beauty.

"Trying to get something from the people is different," he said. "There's a total mischief campaign in Madison to stop Monona Terrace."

The Terrace civic center has been fought to the State supreme court and is now the subject of a bill in the legislature.

Wright said it "takes money and intelligence" to build a beautiful city. "Having only money makes it worse than it was before."

He said the King and people of Iraq have both. "Civilization began with them," he said, "and the Arabic people are extremely intelligent."

He said that the idea that the Arabs will succumb to communism is "posh." "The Arab's word is good," he said, "and communism is entirely contrary to their nature."

Wright said that he has no intention of slowing up his work because of advancing age.

He said the Baghdad cultural center is ready for the drafting board. Details of the projects will be revealed later.

His birthday observance will be held at a "quiet celebration" this year, Wright said. "A few family friends."

He said that the "family friends" include the 60 students at Taliesin. "That's my family," he said.

Electronics Spark Arizona Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Electronics Spark Arizona Industry," published in News Front, the picture news magazine for management, May 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELECTRONICS SPARK ARIZONA INDUSTRY—MAJOR COMPANIES LEAD STATE'S EXPANSION; POPULATION, BUSINESS, FARMING KEEP PACE

Arizona, which now exceeds even California and Florida in rate of population growth, is rapidly becoming a center of the United States newest major industry, electronics.

One corporation alone, the Motorola Co., is turning out 8,000 transistors daily in its Phoenix plant. This is as many of the tiny successors to the vacuum tube as are produced in the rest of the country combined.

Another huge company, General Electric, has just moved its computer division to Arizona's capital. Other electronics giants which have transferred operations to Arizona include Sperry Rand, International Electronics, Collins Radio, and Westinghouse's Mel-Par division.

Combining the electronics and aviation fields are such Arizona newcomers as Hughes, the largest employer in the State, Douglas Goodyear Aircraft, and AiResearch.

The Army Electronic Proving Ground is located at Fort Huachuca in the Tucson area.

In other fields, Reynolds Metals' Arizona plant is the largest aluminum extrusion mill in the world, and National Malleable & Steel Casting operates a major foundry in the State. Light industry also is moving in.

In all, more than 400 manufacturing enterprises have moved to Arizona since March 1948, when the State government, local business groups and the Valley National Bank, the largest in the Rocky Mountain area, combined in an all-out drive to attract industry.

Population, 749,587 in the 1950 census, passed 1 million in 1956, and is expected to reach 2 million in 1975. Greater Phoenix, with 200,000 people in 1948, now has 350,000, and Greater Tucson, 115,000 in 1948, 205,000. Nonagricultural employment has risen since 1948, from 152,000 to 253,000, and bank deposits from $425 million to $859 million. Real estate also is booming.

Arizona has a healthily balanced economy. Mining income, $196 million in 1948, was $352 million in 1955. Crops and livestock produced $229 million in 1948 and $354 million in 1955.

Another important income source is the tourist industry, which, like electronics and other forms of delicate precision manufacturing, is attracted to Arizona largely by the mild, equable, humidity-free climate.

Tourists, most of whom come during the winter season, are expected to spend more than $200 million in the State in 1957, against only $90 million in 1948.

But balancing the climatic advantage, important today when critically scarce engineers and scientists can dictate working conditions, is the fact that Phoenix and Tucson, nestling among high mountains, are potential smog areas. This threat has been obviated by inviting only non-smoke-producing industries.

The products of such industries, fortunately, have usually a very high value-to-weight ratio. This means that freight costs, high because of Arizona's geographic position, are relatively unimportant.

Other obstacles have been overcome by abolishing State taxes on manufacturers' inventories, sales to the Federal Government and goods warehoused for ultimate delivery to destinations outside Arizona.

The Russian Offer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the St. Paul Pioneer Press of June 17, 1957, entitled "The Russian Offer," which relates to the suspension of H-bomb tests proposed by the Soviet and our reaction to that proposal.

I note for my colleagues one short paragraph, which reads as follows:

A temporary suspension of these tests on a trial basis might, however, be justified as a first step toward more significant disarmament agreement, as a means of relaxing tension in world affairs, and as a concession to widespread fears about the effects of radioactive fall-out from nuclear explosions.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed along with this editorial, a similar editorial relating to the same subject matter, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 15, entitled "Suspension of Testing."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul Pioneer Press of June 17, 1957]

THE RUSSIAN OFFER

The suspension of H-bomb tests proposed by the Soviet Government would be to its advantage in the present armed peace that exists. But if the Russians are willing to give comparable advantages in some other phase of arms control to this country and its allies, it might be a basis for agreement.

For this reason the proposal is worth looking into. Whether it can be made acceptable depends on what the Soviet Government has to offer in compensation.

The reason why the stopping of these tests would be advantageous to the Communist side is because our command of atomic weapons is and will continue to be the chief offsetting factor to the great superiority of the Russians in conventional land power. Further advances in the science and tactics of atomic warfare are more likely to favor the

security of the defense than the interests of the potential aggressor.

If atomic weapons were to be ruled out entirely, for example, while conventional ground forces were left substantially intact, the world would be at the mercy of the huge armed manpower of the Soviet Government.

A temporary suspension of these tests on a trial basis might, however, be justified as a first step toward more significant disarmament agreement, as a means of relaxing tension in world affairs, and as a concession to widespread fears about the effects of radioactive fallout from nuclear explosions.

The Soviet leaders in fact have made this proposal in part at least to capitalize on that fear. They no doubt hope to get a propaganda advantage out of their offer even if they fail to cause the arresting of our atomic progress. This aspect of the proposal must also be given serious consideration. Scientific opinion is sharply divided on the possibly injurious effects on the human race of a continuance of these tests on probably an increasing scale.

Some leaning over backward in deference to such fears would perhaps be justified. The Soviet proposal has one feature that holds promise. There would be an exchange of teams of observers who would be stationed in this country, Soviet Russia, and other nations to see that the terms of the agreement are kept. The larger nuclear explosions are detectable even now all over the world. But there has been much doubt about the smaller weapons. The stationing of these observers could be so arranged that this possibility of evasion would no longer exist. It would also provide a limited experiment in international inspection which will have to be a basic part of any genuine disarmament agreement.

It is also important for future control of atomic weapons that the number of nations possessing them be kept as small as possible. At present only America, Britain, and the Soviet Union belong to the club. If there were to be no further tests, then there could be no further additions to the list to complicate the problem and increase the danger of keeping the peace.

For these reasons a short-term agreement on a trial basis conditioned on sufficient concessions from the Russians is worthy of consideration. If they did not act in good faith the tests could be resumed without any great harm having been done. If they were to prove good faith, then a big step toward real disarmament would be possible.

[From The Washington Post of June 15, 1957]

SUSPENSION OF TESTING

The Soviet Union's proposal of a 2-year ban on nuclear testing, accompanied by an appropriate enforcement by inspection, deserves the most careful scrutiny. This is, on its face, an extremely hopeful development. The first consideration is that it would relieve the world of the danger of further poisoning of its atmosphere by radioactive fallout from experimental nuclear explosions. That objective is certainly of as much concern to the Western powers as to the Soviet Union.

The second substantial advantage in the plan is that it would put into effect an international inspection system. This is what the United States and other free countries have been contending for over a period of many years. To be sure, the proposed international commission, which would report to the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly, would have a very limted function—to check on nuclear blasts in violation of the moratorium. But the important point is to get the principle of international inspection established. If successful in operation in this limited field, it could more easily be extended to other phases of arms limitation.

A third gain from such a step would be the breaking of the disarmament stalemate. All the powers now seem committed to the idea of taking a small first step. This Soviet proposal is a smaller step than the Western statesmen want, and it will have to be matched against the proposal soon to be made by Harold E. Stassen, Chief of the United States delegation to the London disarmament talks, in collaboration with our allies. Long experience has also shown that Soviet plans announced in general terms are likely to appear far more attractive than they are when the fine print is examined. Nikita Khrushchev's comments in Helsinki are sufficient to indicate the need for caution. If this plan proves to be in fact what it purports to be on its face, however, it would be a pity to drain the substance out of it by excessive haggling.

President Eisenhower went pretty far in a recent news conference in linking any ban on tests of nuclear bombs with the abolition of nuclear weapons. But he was speaking of "forever banning tests" and not of a temporary suspension such as the U. S. S. R. has now proposed.

The effect that such a ban would have on the development of an intercontinental ballistics missile with a nuclear warhead, in the light of Commissioner Libby's statement to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, will be one of the things the West will have to examine most seriously. If the Soviet Union has such a weapon already, and we do not, suspension would confer unequal advantages. What a conundrum this is for statesmen to ponder.

Alongside such fearful doubts and questions, however, are considerations of human survival of other sorts. We must face up to the fact that whenever nuclear tests are suspended or terminated there will be ignorance or at least doubt as to which country is the most advanced at the instant.

The Soviet proposal certainly cannot be dismissed out of hand or lightly discounted by statesmen who realize that discussions now have reached a stage where the outcome may involve the fate of all mankind.

There Is One in All Our Lives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I am sure all of us carry in our memories recollections of one or two outstanding teachers who played an important part in shaping us into the persons we are today. I have in my hands a very moving editorial from the Jackson County Sentinel, published at Scottsboro, Ala. The editor and publisher of the paper is P. W. Campbell.

This editorial points out the tendency on the part of too many of us to forget those teachers of long ago who did so much for us. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THERE IS ONE IN ALL OUR LIVES

Recently, in This Week magazine, Mr. Bernard Baruch suggested that it would be a good thing if more of us would speak up in grateful praise of those teachers who helped and inspired us to make the most of life.

The article served to remind me that it had been quite a while since I had written to my favorite teacher and a thorough search through all my papers, files, and old addresses revealed the cruel news that her address was no longer available to me.

So it is, now, that a link with my most memorable past has been broken. A connection is no longer there with a woman that I've both loved and despised, laughed at and laughed with, taken the proverbial apple to on many occasions (usually just before an examination), thrown paper balls at on equally as many occasions, mimicked, and often longed to hug at intervals during my association with her.

How she could tolerate me, to say nothing of the other guys and gals in her class—every one of them at least four times as difficult as me, I'm sure—is now beyond my imagination. However, at that time if she undertook to scold me or if she should give me a low mark (or a swat with a board), I could easily believe that she was being hard-hearted to a very unselfish and ambitious student. It all depends upon the way you look at a situation—the perception is altogether different at the various age distances from which it is viewed.

Mrs. Cavender was my English teacher. Not an altogether beautiful woman, she had a large nose and her hair was a bit wispy below the braid across her head, but certainly not unattractive then—or now, I'm sure. She came from an elegant old Georgia family and I learned my high-school English under her supervision in a schoolhouse of the Arkansas Ozarks—far removed she was from the magnolia trees and footmen of her wealthy kin. But she did her dead-level best to become a part of the kids of our community, always taking part in church programs, rummage sales for the boys' and girls' clubs, and chaperoning groups on picnics and hayrides. She always seemed to enjoy it, too.

I was working in the country newspaper office in the town and this was my life. I got $5 a week for working every morning, afternoon, and most nights, plus all day Saturdays at setting type—by hand—and that money was an outright gift so far as I was concerned. I'd have worked somewhere else in order to pay the newspapers for that privilege. How I loved it.

And my greatest admirer and booster was Mrs. Cavender. She always had a word of encouragement for me in my journalistic attempts. She complimented me on the way I wrote up the school plays, the football games, and the things that most folks never seemed to stop to think how it had gotten in the newspaper. Even when I misspelled the words and then set them wrong (I also was chief copyreader) she didn't laugh, just kinda' frowned and reminded me that if I ever wanted to be a newspaperman, I'd have to learn to spell better.

It was a sad day for me when I discovered that she was going to have an addition to her family (she'd been eagerly looking forward to a child for a long, long time). She finished out the year—if she hadn't I would not be able to this day to diagram a sentence—and I'm still looking for an opportunity to someday show off this ability, so far have seen no occasion for ever learning it—or write a decent composition.

I corresponded with her for several years, sent her Christmas presents, a lot of junk jewelry from the South Pacific islands and even went about 50 miles out of my way once while on a business trip to visit with her. Then came my marriage, kids 1, 2, and 3, and we lost track of one another.

Now, the latest blow. I have written to her former address and the letter came back marked, "Moved to Republic of Panama." Well.

She's not exactly the type to go roaming about in banana fields and waterfronts of the canal region without a good excuse.

Anyhow, I'll not worry right now about the reason she's gone South—maybe she's teaching English to the Spanish, she could make 'em wish they'd learn it.

Next to my mother and grandmother, she had as profound influence on my life as anyone I can recall. She's the same thing in my life that every reader of this column has in his or her life—a figure somewhere along the road has encouraged, challenged, or helped shape your future.

We are all grateful—but do we always show it? Sometimes we wait too late.

The Responsibilities of Free Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Charles H. Tennyson, executive secretary of the Texas State Teachers Association, published in the June 16 Dallas (Tex.) Morning News.

It is a distinguished piece of writing—an inquiry into the responsibilities of our free public schools; in particular, our high schools.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION LAYS BASE FOR PROGRESS—HIGH SCHOOLS HAVE DUAL RESPONSIBILITY

(By Charles H. Tennyson)

The public schools are the starting place, the fountainhead, for dissemination of general knowledge in this country.

It is generally conceded that much of the development in America during the last 50 years has been made possible by that peculiarly American institution, the high school.

The high school has the dual function of preparing students for college and providing terminal education for those who cannot or will not continue their education. In preparing young people for college, high schools must lay a good foundation for the most important task of higher education—teaching students to think.

In our complex society, these functions require not only more teachers, but better trained teachers at both levels. This is all the more difficult today because of the more profitable opportunities open to college graduates. Some areas of our economy each year drain off many of the best teachers and prospective teachers needed to continue the supply of top quality high school graduates. Unless this situation is put into proper perspective we may choke off at the source the supply of highly trained college graduates which industry and business need so badly.

In Texas and nationwide, more students than ever before are graduating from high school and entering college.

A recent United States Office of Education survey disclosed that for every 10 pupils in the fifth grade in 1946–47, 5.5 graduated from high school and 2.8 entered college. A survey 10 years earlier found that only 3.9 graduated from high school and only 1.2 entered college out of every 10 students in the 1936–37 fifth grades.

Texas figures reflect the same trend. The Texas Education Agency's latest statistical report shows that in the last 20 years the number of school-age children has increased 18.6 percent. But the number of high school graduates in the same period jumped 45.5 percent. Thus, not only are more students enrolled in school, but more of them are staying in school for longer periods. These twin problems carry over into the field of higher education.

GROWTH PREDICTED

In 1955–56, Texas had 372,768 high-school students and 64,291 high-school graduates. The Texas Education Agency predicts that by 1961–62 these figures will grow to 503,809 and 87,233, respectively.

This 5-year projection shows a 36 percent increase in the number of students enrolled in high school, and a 63 percent increase in graduates.

It has been estimated that the average college graduate earns $100,000 more in his lifetime than the average person without a college degree. Therefore, while an increased number of college students creates problems for the State, these graduates collectively contribute more in taxes and in service to their society than those who end their education upon graduation from high school or short of a college degree.

The growth of college enrollment is sharply outlined by these figures from the United States Office of Education.

In 1870 there were 3,115,555 United States residents in the 18–21 age bracket, but only 1.7 percent of them went to college.

In 1955 the 18–21 age group totaled 8,577,000, almost triple the 1870 figure, and 32.1 percent of them were in college.

HIGHER REQUIREMENTS

The State Board of Education in Texas has recognized the new industrial revolution which has swept the State since World War II by proposing stronger requirements for graduation from Texas high schools.

These proposals, awaiting final action at this writing, would require Texas high schools to offer more units of study in some fields and would make more of these units a prerequisite to a high-school diploma. More stress is placed on science, mathematics, history and government, and foreign languages.

In this age of technological development and specialization, high schools are placing more and more emphasis upon counseling. This responsibility rests with the superintendent, principal, and teachers, as well as with trained counselors. They must guide the student in selecting those courses which will enable him to succeed in the specialized field which he pursues in college.

Stricter graduation requirements are also a byproduct of the current situation which finds more and more high-school graduates knocking at the doors of colleges and universities. As colleges tighten their requirements in the face of this onslaught, high schools must follow suit or have their graduates placed at a disadvantage and perhaps miss the college opportunity.

The American high school has always reacted quickly to social and economic change. This characteristic is pointed out in the June issue of the Texas Outlook, Texas State Teachers Association magazine, by Dr. J. G. Umstattd, University of Texas professor of secondary education.

As illustrations of the high school's sensitivity to public needs, Umstattd cites the driver education programs to help produce safe drivers; vocational training to supply skilled workers no longer available from Europe; economic education, under leadership of the Joint Council on Economic Education, to increase the economic literacy of America.

Continued broadening of the high school curriculum to meet the needs of youths of all abilities is the most significant adjustment, Umstattd feels. This provides for both the gifted child and the child of lesser ability, both of whom must be taught in our public schools.

One area the secondary school needs to give more attention is foreign languages, Dr. Umstattd contends. He considers this vital to our existence in competition with other countries.

In short, Dr. Umstattd says: "Let the mass media of communication acquaint us today with significant social or economic change, as they do constantly and effectively, and our curriculum committees will be in session after school tomorrow to see what should be done about it."

This is the American high school—no repository of tradition where knowledge is worshipped for its own sake, but, as Dr. Umstattd says, "the agent that transmutes inert knowledge into dynamic power to serve human welfare."

* * * * *

A new dormitory for 300 men will be ready for use in September, and the college hopes to build 3 more dormitories within the next 3 years.

NTSC president J. C. Matthews has announced plans for five additional classroom buildings to be erected in 1958 and 1959. These will include another building for the school of music and new quarters for the school of business administration, school of home economics, industrial arts department, and departments of physics and mathematics.

These will be additions to a 300-acre campus that already holds 33 buildings and 88 smaller structures, including modern dormitories, well-equipped classroom and laboratory facilities, and a library of nearly 300,000 volumes.

Recreational facilities include an outdoor swimming pool, a clubhouse and an 18-hole golf course, a 20,000-seat stadium, 3 modern gymnasiums, new tennis courts, a student union building, and other recreation areas.

Progress is seen in intercollegiate athletics as well. The college began competition this spring in the top-ranked Missouri Valley Conference.

How To Buy Brooklyn Bridge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there recently appeared a column entitled "How To Buy Brooklyn Bridge," written by Arthur Upgren, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW TO BUY BROOKLYN BRIDGE—PAYING FOR IT THREE TIMES IS NO "SUCKER" DEAL

(By Arthur Upgren)

HANOVER, N. H.—"Interest theory—don't burden me with that stuff," is a common reaction, but the subject ought to be well understood these days now that interest

rates are higher. If you don't like abstract theory, just consider for a moment New York City's Brooklyn Bridge. There's romance about it and I suppose on it, even if there isn't any allure about interest.

The city controller on November 1 paid off the last part of the money borrowed to build the Brooklyn Bridge. The bridge, of course, was finished in 1883 or more than 70 years ago. Happily it is still standing as nobly as ever.

The interest, paid on the money borrowed to build the $25 million bridge, amounted to twice the cost. Looks like wasted money, doesn't it, to pay $50 million in interest for the money borrowed to build a $25 million bridge?

Taxes must have been higher all these 73 years it took New York City to pay off the borrowed money to build Brooklyn Bridge and all the interest on the money.

The other way to have managed it would have been to pay for the bridge all at once when it was built. Then it would not have to be paid for three times as seems to have been the case.

If New York had sought to pay for it all at once, raising the money probably would have proved an unbearable burden. And even if the money had been raised, it would have taken funds away from other needed services such as the police force.

As a matter of fact the bridge probably has paid for itself many times over. If those Brooklyn folk who worked in Manhattan saved a lot of time by using the bridge, their total production was thereby enlarged.

Out of that larger production came larger incomes. Out of larger incomes came an improved ability to pay taxes over the years.

In other words—if the bridge was to be paid for at once—that would be an intolerable burden.

Paying for the bridge over the years was the less burdensome way to pay for it.

"Productive improvements" are what we want in industry and in bridges and tunnels and in the superhighways we are now going to build at a planned cost of $41 billion.

When the improvement—a bridge or a factory—is productive it may be said to pay its own way.

A Danish economist was very envious of all our debts. He knew we had big debts but he also knew we had many capital improvements and household appliances of every kind as well as autos which we have got in return for our debts. Then we pay off the debts and have the goods left over. As a matter of fact New York City still has a fine and useful Brooklyn Bridge "left over."

My Danish economist said: "A young couple doesn't think of paying in one lump sum for all the bread they will eat in their lifetimes. Why should they pay in one lump sum for all the house they want?"

To that can be added that regular repayment of debt out of income starts saving habits which are more likely to continue than if the habit had never been started at all.

Four Lessons From Our 25 Years' Experience With Farm Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, a few days ago there appeared in the Farm Bureau News an article entitled "Four Lessons" that had been published in the Pennsylvania Farmer.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOUR LESSONS

In 25 years' experience with governmental attempts to solve farm problems we have learned four lessons, says Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation. Here they are:

1. Prices of farm products are not made in Washington.

2. You cannot control the production of farm commodities by law.

3. We can price our products out of the market.

4. Price has a function. That function is change.

When schemes, plans, and panaceas are proposed to help agriculture it might be well to bear these four lessons in mind. They will make sense to farmers, although they do not supply much thunder for oratory, which may be the reason they are not more widely proclaimed and recognized.

The Congressional Quarterly

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, on June 11 my colleague from the First District of Florida [Mr. CRAMER] spoke at length on the subject of the Congressional Quarterly and of that private publication's method of measuring the support that Congressmen give to the President. I have asked Mr. CRAMER to be present in order that I may be completely fair to him.

The Congressional Quarterly has established itself as a nonpartisan recorder of the affairs of Congress and of related affairs; in fact, it has made quite a reputation in this field and it is now subscribed to by more than 230 American newspapers of every political hue besides many Members of both Houses of Congress. Many of the Washington correspondents who cover the affairs of the Congress refer to it regularly.

The Congressional Quarterly was founded in 1945 and since then has become a very practical place for a voter or an editor or others interested in Congress to check up on all the rollcall votes taken in the House and the Senate. This is no small service for before 1945 it was extremely difficult to go back and check on the actual votes taken by Members of Congress. My friend from the First District pointed out the fact that the Congressional Quarterly was founded by Nelson and Henrietta Poynter, who also publish the St. Petersburg Times, which is distributed primarily in the First District. Because the St. Petersburg Times usually takes the Democratic viewpoint, the gentleman assumes this viewpoint is carried over in the editorial operations of the Congressional Quarterly. This I think is an unfair and inaccurate assumption.

The Congressional Quarterly would lose its usefulness if it took a partisan point of view and to say it does is a disservice to the variety of newspapers and others interested in Congress who subscribe to that publication, as well as to the men and women employed by the Congressional Quarterly, who work so diligently to present a clear, accurate picture of congressional activities.

For example, Mr. Speaker, newspapers with such divergent points of view as the Chicago Tribune, the New York Post, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, the Kansas City Star, the Boston Herald Traveler, and that fine publication owned by the family of the distinguished minority leader of the Senate, Mr. KNOWLAND, the Oakland Tribune, all subscribe to the Congressional Quarterly.

At the moment, Mr. Speaker, the Republicans are annoyed that their nonsupport of the President is exposed with such a searching analysis as that made by the Congressional Quarterly. However, it seems to me a somewhat unimaginative and shortsighted point of view. Suppose, for instance, in 1960, a Democratic President is elected. The Republicans than may be very happy to have this same measurement of presidential support available to them. And, incidentally, the same analysis of presidential support now in use was conceived before the present administration took place. The characterization that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] made of the St. Petersburg Times is also misleading. It is my understanding that the St. Petersburg Times has frequently supported members of the Republican Party, and I am informed that in the last election in November 1956, the St. Petersburg Times supported the candidacy of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER].

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I would like to say to my distinguished colleague—and I am delighted that he brought the fact out—because it gives greater credence to my statement of June 11 as being impartial and not arising out of any feeling of animosity on my part toward the paper as such. When that support was proffered I told them I did not want it. I repudiated it. The character and the nature of the recommendation was anything but complimentary. It was about as backhanded a recommendation as I have ever seen. After saying "These are reasons we have never backed him before," they said, "We think we will have to back him this time because his opponent is less acceptable to the paper than he is." That is about what it amounted

to. I appreciate the gentleman's information, but I suggest if he will read the editorial he will see it was not such an endorsement that either a Democrat or a Republican could be proud of it. This exemplifies clearly the type of support Republicans get from this admittedly Democratic newspaper.

Mr. SIKES. The newspaper stated it had endorsed the gentleman. The fact remains that the paper was for him, and against his Democratic opponent. That I insist constitutes an endorsement. Now to proceed; just last year, as will be seen on page A6222 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of 1956, the senior Senator from my State [SPESSARD L. HOLLAND] had this to say about the St. Petersburg Times:

> The Republicans are in [Mr. Poynter's] debt because his newspaper stanchly supported the two-party system when they were weak in his area in numbers and funds.

The senior Senator from Florida also said that "in my years of careful reading of Congressional Quarterly reports, I have found no bias carried over to it from the editorial attitudes of the St. Petersburg Times."

As the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot said on September 2 of last year, when a similar controversy over CQ figures occurred:

> It all depends upon whose political ox is gored by a particular CQ report of voting or its breakdown of that voting.

While Mr. CRAMER and others on his side of the aisle have flinched at the careful analysis of the Republican Party's support of the President thus far this year, the distinguished minority leader of the Senate used those same CQ figures in his case, to say on the television program, Face the Nation, on June 9:

> As a matter of fact, according to Congressional Quarterly, I stand among the six highest Republicans, percentagewise, in support of the President's program, both domestic and foreign, with a percentage, I think, of 89 percent.

I would like to go into some of the specific criticisms that my colleague made of Congressional Quarterly's methods. I make note of the fact that he also made comparison between my voting record and the President's program which hardly were calculated for my advantage. On that I state flatly I am answerable to the people of the third district—not to Mr. Eisenhower; not to any other President, and this is not said in disrespect of the office of President. The gentleman shows a misunderstanding, I believe, of the purpose and the methods used by Congressional Quarterly. Congressional Quarterly does not evaluate the performance of Congress or of individual Members. It merely records the performance of Congress and its Members based on rollcall votes. We Members do the voting.

Perhaps it would be well to ask under what circumstances Members from the other side of the aisle think that Congressional Quarterly is being unfair.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I examined the Congressional Quarterly Almanac. In it I read the statement on page 82 for the Senate, where they said they counted rollcalls where Members were not present as a vote against the administration. Does the gentleman think that is a fair way of counting?

Mr. SIKES. I am inclined to believe that the gentleman does not have a complete understanding of the method of scoring. Let me go a little further, and I think I can outline what the procedure is.

Mr. HOFFMAN. May I ask the gentleman this question? Does the gentleman mean that he doubts that that is in the Quarterly, in the Almanac?

Mr. SIKES. I have not seen the material in question. The information which is available to me is that Congressional Quarterly scores all known votes of Members. If a Member does not vote they send him a questionnaire which he is requested to use to show how he would have voted had he been present. That information is included in their tabulation. If the Member does not provide Congressional Quarerly with the information on his stand he cannot expect credit for having supported the President.

Mr. HOFFMAN. As to that I do not know, but what I am referring to is the statement in the Quarterly Almanac that they do record a Member as voting against the President's policy if he is absent on rollcall or does not vote.

Mr. SIKES. Again specifically let me say I have not seen the item the gentleman has referred to. I think the method of scoring is fair to everyone and I point out again that absence does not prevent inclusion of a Members' stand in a Member's Congressional Quarterly record on voting.

Mr. HOFFMAN. If I can get it back from the Library, there would be no objection on the part of the gentleman to including that in my remarks at this point?

Mr. SIKES. Of course not.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Here is the statement to which inference was made. On page 81 of the Congressional Quarterly Almanac, volume 9, 1953, we find this language:

> Failures to vote are counted as "times at bat," so that such failure reduces effective support score as much as an "anti-Eisenhower" vote.

This was to the vote in the House.

And, over on the next page, 82, we find this language:

> Failures to vote are counted as "times at bat," so that such failure reduces effective support score as much as an "anti-Eisenhower" vote.

This was to the vote in the Senate.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. In the July 27 issue of the RECORD last year, on page 13,754, in the remarks of Senator SCHOEPPEL, he introduced a letter from MARGARET CHASE SMITH, United States Senator from Maine, in which she is bemoaning the fact that the Congressional Quarterly has been unfair to her in its appraisal of her votes with the President. She says this:

> I was absent on 9 of the votes this year in the Congressional Quarterly analysis—and all 9 were marked as being against the President in spite of the manner in which I was announced.

Mr. SIKES. Had the gentlelady filled out the questionnaires submitted to her by Congressional Quarterly, she would have been recorded for or against on each of the votes in question. Since there was nothing in Congressional Quarterly records to show her stand, that organization could hardly be expected to assume she supported the President in the cases in point. Perhaps there is a better way to handle the matter of absent votes. I do not champion Congressional Quarterly's procedure. I am simply explaining it; but I must point out it applies the same way to all of us.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I believe the gentleman, earlier in his remarks, said that the Republicans were annoyed by this voting record as stated by Congressional Quarterly.

Mr. SIKES. That, of course, was a general statement. I realize there are some distinguished Members on both sides of the aisle, and my good friend from Iowa is one of them, who are completely independent and each of whom votes his own mind and conscience all the time.

Mr. GROSS. I want to thank the gentleman for making that exception.

Mr. SIKES. Perhaps we might ask under what circumstances Members from the other side of the aisle think that Congressional Quarterly is being unfair. For instance, one of the major studies of Congressional Quarterly is called the Presidential Box Score.

On May 27 this publication issued its news story on the presidential box score which mentions the degree of action which the Congress has given to the President's legislative program, and the story began as follows:

> The Democratic 85th Congress has approved only 6.6 percent of President Eisenhower's legislative program thus far this year.

Many Republicans have used this story to belabor the Democrats who control this Congress. I wonder if they think this is an unfair story from the Congressional Quarterly.

My colleagues' principal argument, however, is with a periodic analysis done by Congressional Quarterly called Presidential Support and Opposition. This analysis measures the individual performance of each Member of both Houses in relation to actual, specific requests made by the President.

I might point out that Congressional Quarterly analyses began during the Truman Administration and were not prepared merely to measure the current administration's program.

The support and opposition tabulation shows how the President fares when each Member has a chance to go on record with a yea or nay vote. That would appear to be another refutation of the allegations that absenteeism need

count against a Member's support of the President.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I read from the Congressional Quarterly for the week ending May 17, 1957, page 600, in which they say "Support and Opposition." Then they analyze support and opposition and they say, and this is in that Congressional Quarterly itself in reporting on this analysis:

> Failure to answer a yea-or-nay vote for whatever reason thus may serve to lower a Member's score because these scores as well as composite scores that appear below are tabulated solely on the basis of yea-and-nay votes, and pairs and other announced stands do not count.

Thus they clearly say in their own publication that where a person does not vote it does serve to lower a Member's support score.

Mr. SIKES. I repeat, it is my information that each Member who does not vote on a record vote is given an opportunity to state his position and be tabulated by being sent a printed questionnaire from the Congressional Quarterly on which he is invited to show how he would have voted had he been present. If he submits that information I am told it is counted in his score.

Mr. CRAMER. What happens if it is not sent in? Then it automatically goes against him; is that correct?

Mr. SIKES. If he does not declare himself I am at a loss to understand how he can expect to be listed as supporting the President's program. If any Member wants to be recorded as supporting the President, he has opportunity to do so.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PRICE. I, of course, am not familiar with the method of scoring in the Congressional Quarterly, but certainly I can see the merit of scoring if a person would miss nine votes on matters that were considered of importance, a part of the administration's program, for I certainly could not see how they could be construed as supporting that program.

Mr. SIKES. If he were very particularly interested in the President's program and were not prevented by illness it would appear he would attend and vote for it.

Mr. PRICE. That is right.

Mr. SIKES. The Senate and the House decide the issues on which they take rollcall votes. The Congressional Quarterly decides whether or not these issues represent part of the President's personal program based on public statements and messages issued by the President himself.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield.

Mr. CRAMER. The gentleman has put his finger on the matter at issue: The Quarterly decides what issues are to be included in the tabulation and how support by Ike is to be determined. I trust that the gentleman appreciates that my whole approach to this situation is not one based upon whether the St. Pete Times endorses or does not endorse me, and on whether I am opposed in any way to the editor of the St. Petersburg Times or not. I will suggest to the gentleman though that when there appears in your district as appeared in mine in the Times an article of this nature based upon the Congressional Quarterly which clearly attempts to mislead the people into believing that there is a congressional revolt finding the Democrats stronger for Eisenhower than the GOP and your name appears in a column below showing that you supported the President according to the analysis of that Quarterly much less than some of your colleagues on the other side of the aisle—and I have no quarrel as to how they vote one way or the other—you, too, would be a little concerned about the basis for coming to this conclusion. I trust the gentleman appreciates that my approach was to try to examine the basis for these conclusions and to show in my opinion that the manner in which they are arrived at is not fair, realistic, or basically honest.

Mr. SIKES. May I say to the gentleman, I did not yield for a lengthy statement. The gentleman made his statement on this subject on June 11 and failed to accord me the courtesy of informing me he was bringing my voting record into the discussion. Now I would like to proceed. If the gentleman has a question to ask, I will be glad to yield to him for that purpose.

Mr. CRAMER. I would be delighted to ask the gentleman a question and appreciate his willingness to enter into this "give and take" on this matter.

Mr. SIKES. I am glad to yield to the gentleman for a question.

Mr. CRAMER. And I would be delighted to try to get my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. DEROUNIAN], to yield some of his time to you, if you see fit. But, do you believe it is a fair and impartial analysis where, as I pointed out in my statement, a $30,000 appropriation cut is judged on the same basis as a $50 million appropriation cut for the sake of weighing both votes equally?

Mr. SIKES. I must say to my friend, you cannot weight a vote by the amount of money involved or by the magnitude of the question. The President has programs that have many facets. I am sure the gentleman does not limit his support only to those facets of the President's program which are of major magnitude; therefore, he must expect to be scored on all those things that the President has expressed an interest in.

All rollcall votes and issues where the President's position is known before the vote are included in the tabulation. That means big issues, little issues—all issues that are a part of the President's program. This method results in the inclusion of some noncontroversial votes as well as the exclusion of certain important rollcall votes on which the President's specific position is not publicly clear at the time the vote is taken. Any departure from this method would lead to a subjective weighting of the issues, and I fear this would result in even more serious and constant challenge by Members on both sides of the aisle who might disagree with the weighting.

I think I should remind my colleagues on the other side of the aisle that during the election campaign last fall the Republicans created what they called a truth squad. This Republican truth squad actually used the Congressional Quarterly figures to support their position. In Kansas City on September 27, for instance, the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] said, and I quote:

> The Congressional Quarterly shows that Republicans supported Mr. Eisenhower 72 percent of the time on 99 rollcalls while the Democrats voted with the administration only 48 percent.

Now, I do not always like the results of the Congressional Quarterly studies, and I do not always agree with their findings. However, I do think it is unfair to point an accusing finger at the Congressional Quarterly and say that it is biased and unreliable. For more than 13 years, the Congressional Quarterly has been presenting the record of Congress, the rollcall votes, the activities of congressional committees, the record of pressure groups on Congress and so on in a way that has helped newspapers and others vitally interested in our activities to understand and present those activities in clearer and more intelligible form. It seems to me this activity has resulted in a distinct advantage to American citizens and that the Congressional Quarterly has played an important part in the improvement of citizen understanding of politics and congressional activity in the changing American scene.

I would say that it would be a distinct disservice for partisan forces to engage in a calculated attempt to destroy such a service, no matter how embarrassing the objective results of that service may prove to be from time to time.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. If the gentleman desires me to yield further, I shall be glad to.

Mr. CRAMER. I do not think we are actually in so much basic disagreement as might appear. My position, of course, is that I do not agree with the basis used, the foundation for coming to the conclusion of the percentages that are published throughout the Nation as "from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD." As a matter of fact, I suggest the gentleman may have gotten as confused as I did in trying to follow some of the conclusions arrived at. The Quarterly tried to give the impression that the information came from Congress.

Mr. SIKES. Let me comment on that. My colleague made use in his statement to the House of studies prepared last year by the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPPEL], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIMPSON]. I should point out that these gentlemen prepared these analyses in practically the same way used by the Congressional Quarterly.

They did not weight the issues; they included all rollcalls in which, according to their belief, the President stated his position; in fact their analyses resulted in the inclusion of more rollcall votes than

the Congressional Quarterly did. The Senator from Kansas even included in his rollcalls the single vote cast when several treaties were ratified en bloc.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further at that point.

Mr. SIKES. I yield.

Mr. CRAMER. That is precisely the point I suggested to my distinguished colleague: The Senators who analyzed it felt that some determination as to the President's position should be based upon what position the leadership of the Democratic Party and Republican Party took on the floor of the Senate; that when the minority leader of the Senate takes a position that that should give some indication as to whether or not it reflected the position of the President of the United States. The Quarterly at no time considered any position taken by the leadership on the floor of the House as to whether or not the President was for or against a particular bill.

Mr. SIKES. And I stated very clearly that the Congressional Quarterly uses those issues in which the President has made a definite statement before a vote is taken to show whether he is for or against a particular program. The Republican leadership in the Congress frequently is in disagreement with the stated position of the President.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield.

Mr. PRICE. Would it not be very difficult if you were to base it upon the position taken by the minority leadership when we have had many instances of one party leadership going one way and the other party the other?

Mr. SIKES. That is very clear, and certainly it is true that it would be unrealistic for scoring to be based on any person's statements other than the President.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. SIKES. I have yielded a number of times to the gentleman from Florida. I now yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON].

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Is it not generally felt that the President is considered as the leader of the Republican Party?

Mr. SIKES. I think that has generally been considered the case, but apparently there has been frequent confusion in the Republican Party about who is the leader or which way the leadership is going.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I will agree.

I noted with some amusement from the program of the young Republicans, who are in Washington this week, that they are having a beauty contest. Undoubtedly, they have many beautiful girls. I notice they have 7 contests, I suppose 1 for each of the wings of the Republican Party. But the fact is that the President is the leader and Congressional Quarterly has always used his policies and has never used a rollcall, to my knowledge, unless the President has had a stated position in regard to that particular matter. Is not that true?

Mr. SIKES. That is true.

Now, if I may proceed with my statement, I think that my friend from Florida has noted that his own score under the analysis of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, in which my friend appears to place considerable faith, results in a poorer showing than the gentleman from Florida made under the analysis conducted by the Congressional Quarterly which he has criticized rather severely.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I think that clearly shows the very point I am trying to make in reference to someone representing to the people they are making an objective analysis of how a Member votes as it relates to the President's position. I think that is a very tenuous proposition. The Congressional Quarterly analysis proves how misleading such an approach can be.

Mr. SIKES. What the gentleman would like to do is to prepare his own scoring method rather than to abide by one that has been set up to apply to all of us?

Mr. CRAMER. That is hardly a fair statement. The point that the gentleman brought out in regard to the Congressional Quarterly making a choice in the crux. It makes the choice as to what the President's position is.

Mr. SIKES. After the President has made statements or after he has sent messages to the Congress to show his position on an issue, there can be no question about his stand in these cases. Therefore, the Congressional Quarterly scores a Member on whether he votes for or against those items. That is about as plain as can be.

Mr. CRAMER. If we will assume that is correct for the sake of argument, can the gentleman explain why on that standard there was eliminated from this particular analysis of only 22 votes 3 crucial votes on H. R. 190 dealing with a resolution on the budget which was sent to the President and asking that he indicate where it should be cut? Does the President need to make a statement he does not desire that resolution passed? Yet it was eliminated from the Congressional Quarterly analysis. This illustrates how foolish and misleading the requirement of a statement by the President as to support as used by the Quarterly is—it is about as foolish as eliminating all statements of support—as the lack of it—as stated by the Republican leadership in the House or Senate.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The fact is that the President, despite newspaper speculation and so on, acceded to the request of Congress and sent a message back here, which was a very helpful one, outlining some specific cuts, did he not?

Mr. CRAMER. May I ask the gentleman, Does he think the position of the President was in favor of that resolution or there was any doubt on the floor of the House to the effect he was against it, particularly due to the fact that practically every Republican opposed it and every Democrat voted for it?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. There is frequent doubt here as to exactly what the President wants because we have the gentleman from Indiana saying one thing and the gentleman from Massachusetts another, or one group doing one thing and another group doing another. It is awfully hard unless the President has taken a specific stand. It is even more difficult to determine what the President meant when attempts to answer press questions. He did like the resolution regarding the budget.

Mr. CRAMER. There are many of those situations, but I submit again on this particular resolution there was no question in anybody's mind that the President opposed it and it should have been included in any fair and impartial analysis of voting up to that point. That is the only point I make.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EVINS). The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida be given 5 minutes of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order heretofore entered, the gentleman from New Jersey is recognized next.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. I thought the gentleman's time was vacated and put over to another day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Then the next previous order is for the gentlewoman from Massachusetts, who will be recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I shall be glad to withhold my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. If there is no objection, the gentlewoman may yield her 5 minutes to the gentleman from Florida.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like my time later.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I am yielding 5 minutes of my time to the gentleman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I was not aware that my time for today had been yielded. I did request my distinguished friend from Florida to ask for an hour tomorrow because I thought what I would say today would carry on for an hour.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, may I say to the gentleman that I regret to advise my friend from New Jersey I misunderstood his desires and I did ask that his time be vacated today. He has time on tomorrow.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank the gentleman and I hope he will be here tomorrow so that we can continue this discussion.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, perhaps I should ask what my status is at this time.

I am a tenant in the well of the House by suffrage of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] and of the gentleman from New York [Mr. DEROUNIAN]. I am grateful to both for their courtesy.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I am just curious to know, Mr. Speaker, how a Member's vote would be analyzed by the Congressional Quarterly under these circumstances. The President supported the natural-gas bill. It came to Congress with the support of the administration, and those who voted for it, I assume, supported the administration. I happen to be one of those who voted against the natural-gas bill. Later the President vetoed it. I wonder if the gentleman could tell me how the Members were represented under those circumstances.

Mr. SIKES. The gentleman has a keen mind, and this would be such a challenge to his own ingenuity that I would not deprive him of the opportunity to analyze that problem.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I propounded a question in the short time which was allotted to me the last time this matter was brought to the floor to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DEROUNIAN]. I am interested in the question the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER], raises: How are you going to weight these things? I am rather disturbed by having a rather high support of the President. I do not like to have a 95 percent support of the President's alleged program. I would like to know how gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER], would weight these things. Is a vote on a $15 million item 15 times as important as a vote on a $1 million appropriation? I hope that when the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON], comes in tomorrow or when the Gentleman from New York [Mr. DEROUNIAN], is talking, we can get into this a little deeper, but I would like to hear from the gentleman from Florida, if the gentleman from Florida in the well now will yield.

Mr. SIKES. I yield.

Mr. CRAMER. I would like to say to my distinguished colleague that the thing that bothers him is exactly the same thing that bothers me.

Mr. SIKES. Will the gentleman tell us whether he would weight a $1 million vote only one-fifteenth as much as a $15 million vote?

Mr. CRAMER. The gentleman indicated very clearly by his question what the problem is. The question is not whether I would evaluate $1 million as against $30,000 or $30,000 as compared to $50 million, as occurred in the HEW appropriation bill. But, there is no one in the country that would weight them both the same, does not the gentleman agree, particularly due to the fact that the President contrary to the Quarterly did not even favor the $50 million appropriation?

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PRICE. It is entirely possible by reducing one item $30,000 and reducing another item by $1 million you may eliminate 2 important programs of equal importance in some way.

Mr. SIKES. Does not my friend from Florida realize that if you were to try to weight these questions, try to establish a basis of the comparative value or importance of these programs, that you would never arrive at any system on which any two people could agree? Such a method of scoring would never be accepted by the public.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Everything being relative, it might be helpful if the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER], were to devise some scheme whereby these things could be weighted, because it would apply equally to the Republicans and to the Democrats, and the percentage would be relatively the same.

I have some suggestion with reference to the Congressional Quarterly, and I hope to suggest to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN], an amendment to his bill to prohibit them from using the name. There is an old bourbon whisky named Old Senator. I do not think that should be used. And, there is a distinguished restaurateur, Mike Palm, who calls his establishment Relaxatorium, and I think that is a little unfair to imply that we have part of Mike's business. There are numerous instances which I will cite tomorrow.

Mr. SIKES. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, an interesting revelation emerges from a comparison of the Schoeppel-Simpson analysis for the 1956 session of the 84th Congress and the Congressional Quarterly analysis for the same period. It is illustrated by the following tabulation:

	GOP score	Congressional Quarterly score
SCHOEPPEL:	*Percent*	*Percent*
1956 Presidential support	67.5	69
1956 Presidential opposition	19.3	20
SIMPSON:		
1956 Presidential support	60.6	68
1956 Presidential opposition	9.8	17
CRAMER:		
1956 Presidential support	78.7	79
1956 Presidential opposition	19.7	17

While some of the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle are unhappy about the discosure of their lack of support for the standard bearer of their party, I must say they cast their own votes, the record speaks for itself.

Mrs. Meyer Discusses Our "Primitive" Counties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, wife of Eugene Meyer, board chairman and owner of the Washington Post, made a very scathing attack upon the way of life of Virginians when she addressed the Arlington County Teachers Association on May 29, 1957.

Mrs. Meyer's speech has been commented on editorially by several of the outstanding editors in Virginia—one of these by the editor of the Winchester Evening Star, the Honorable Harry Flood Byrd, Jr. The Winchester Evening Star has one of the best editorial staffs of all of the Virginia newspapers, and on Tuesday, June 18, 1957, there was an editorial entitled "Mrs. Meyer Discusses Our 'Primitive' Counties."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this fine editorial in the hopes that Mrs. Meyer, and others of like mind, will have an opportunity of reading this editorial.

The editorial follows:

MRS. MEYER DISCUSSES OUR "PRIMITIVE" COUNTIES

Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, the power behind the Washington Post, she being the dynamic wife of the owner, made an interesting speech in Arlington the other day. Her home is Mt. Kisko, N. Y.; she also maintains a residence in Washington, D. C.

That Mrs. Meyer and the Washington Post are not fond of Virginia's government is apparent to even the Post's most casual reader. But we found Mrs. Meyer's lengthy speech quite interesting (although it could have been shortened to a few paragraphs and still said the same thing). First, Mrs. Meyer urged her Arlington audience to take heart that "ultimate victory (for integration) is assured everywhere, including the State of Virginia." The Post and Mrs. Meyer were the foremost advocates of an integrated school system in Washington. (The schools are now 68 percent Negro).

After leaving her favorite subject, Mrs. Meyer then expressed her views about Virginia's present political leaders. Said Mrs. Meyer:

"They are pseudo-aristocrats, with no concept of noblesse oblige. They are hollow men who illustrate the menace which a great tradition can become if it does not change with changing conditions. They resemble the worn-out aristocracy whose blind authoritarianism caused the French Revolution. They are treating your country now in the same oppressive manner with which the French Royalists tried to crush the onward march of human freedom."

Wow. Things really are tough.

But then Mrs. Meyer continues with the following, which suggests that Arlington is an oasis in a Virginia jungle:

"It seems to me that your wealthy, progressive, truly democratic county can make a good case that you should not be treated on a par with the more primitive rural counties of Virginia."

Wow, again. "Primitive" counties, she says.

Of course, the folks in our Virginia counties, such as Frederick and Clarke and Shenandoah, do not have the great financial resources as does Mrs. Meyer, nor the benefits of Washington society, but isn't it a bit harsh to call us primitive? Although we do not have Washington's glittering social activities, neither do we have the high crime rate nor the daily muggings which take place in Mrs. Meyer's town.

Of course, the Star, being published in what she regards as a primitive area, doesn't have the same outlook on life as does Mrs. Meyer. If she wants to consider the Virginia county folk as primitive, that is her American right.

Address by Sherman Adams, the Assistant to the President, at the Commencement Exercises of the University of Maine, Orono, Maine, on June 9, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, recently the State of Maine was honored by the presence of the Honorable Sherman Adams, the assistant to the President, when he addressed the graduating class and guests at the commencement exercises at the University of Maine. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of Mr. Adams:

ADDRESS BY SHERMAN ADAMS, THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE, ORONO, MAINE, ON JUNE 9, 1957

It was no hardship for me to come to Orono today. This is a day I have been looking forward to for a long time. It gives me an opportunity not only to get acquainted with you but to renew some associations with Parmachenee and the Magalloway.

Most of my time is spent in Washington. This is no slight to New Hampshire, nor to my native Vermont. I would trade the Potomac for any river in New England, including the Penobscot, though I wish both ran a little clearer. Rock Creek Park, where I live, is as attractive a place as there is in America, but I will take the Katahdin country any day.

Another thing, I have noticed that people in Washington seem to get into each other's hair. On the whole, the folks down in Maine seem to get along fairly well together. Perhaps that is because "good fences make good neighbors," as Robert Frost has pointed out.

No educational institutions in America can vie with the renowned colleges and universities of New England. Maybe they produce more dissenters and controversial characters than their fair share. But, for the long pull, their graduates are more dependable, if for no other reason than that they live longer to be depended upon.

The chief ingredient of a great school of learning is an intellectually aggressive body of teachers. Such property is a well nigh indispensable working tool in overcoming the passivism of the student mind. Here in New England parsimonious legislators, prodded by incisive presidents and enlightened boards of trustees, are becoming more inclined to appropriate the money to increase salaries of the faculty to a level more in proportion to their net worth. Mirabiledictu!

The modern university must do much more than educate. Inherent in the education must come both the need and the yearning for becoming educated. Life is not a having or a getting, but a being and becoming, as Matthew Arnold said. If, indeed, the getting were the end of the road, then we surely belie the need for all this preparation which you and America's graduates everywhere have worked so hard to achieve. In the becoming there must be the sense of understanding the relationship of an education to security and a peaceful world and a further sense of responsibility of actually putting an education to work in that cause. Of that I shall have something more to say presently.

A college education tempers the temperament. It gives the student a better notion of what his intellectual faculties are for and provides some exercises in their application. It is my purpose this afternoon to invite your attention to a few increasingly important pursuits to which your minds and hearts can be most beneficially devoted.

As the world moves on, it needs and its conflicts change: its governments and the aspirations of people change. It is increasingly apparent to each one of you, I am sure, that the purposes, the philosophy and the outlook of free peoples everywhere have an effect upon the security, the standards of living, and the peace of mind of the people of the United States. We look at a free nation and we must ask—Is liberty really their desire? Does the individual count, or is he simply a number? Is this nation destined to work for peace and respect the integrity of other nations? Now, how do we best get along with these people?

And now, what do you think your responsibility is in finding an answer to such a question? Here you are, in a sense, at the beginning of things. What you do with yourself is left pretty much to you. Outside of military service to your country, you can do pretty much what you want to do—live in Maine instead of Washington, select your source of livelihood, choose your habits of recreation, of education and religion. You can if you wish use your leisure time camping in front of a television screen, or frequent a race track, or exercise your mind in such profound research as is provided by the magazine Confidential: or you can devour the comics instead of the editorials if you wish.

On the other hand, you can resolve to take charge of yourself, develop your talents and contribute to good citizenship, strengthen yourself and your country. And you can stop to figure out just where you want to go and how you are most likely to get there.

I have no doubt you are as proud as we are in New Hampshire of New England's poet laureate. These verses I know many of you will recall:

"Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

"Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,

"I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference."

Robert Frost is speaking of one of our great freedoms, the freedom of choice. The way you take, the convictions you hold, the opinions you express along with millions of others who have had the advantage of this preparation at the University of Maine, will shortly commence to make a difference—to yourselves and to your country.

One of the great advantages of continuing to become educated is the advantage of knowing what you are talking about. The great ideological struggle of our generation is well drawn and undoubtedly will be won. But there is another conflict, perplexing and difficult, in this growing, pulsating country of ours. This is the struggle against being just ordinary, becoming an also-ran citizen, with a good enough attitude and a can't-do-much-about-it philosophy. While we are wary of conformty, we often default to the conformist through failure to use our own mental processes to seek the truth and a conviction.

Too much freedom is often too little self-discipline. A man's first lesson on attaining the age of responsibility is to learn how to control himself. That brings me to an old legend.

You students of ancient history may remember that Alexander the Great, during his conquest of India in 325 B. C., once stormed a great fortress. As the king went over the wall, his side was pierced by an arrow, which settled in the bone under the heart. His aides being unable to remove it, the physician, Critodemus, found the arrowhead so firmly embedded that it had to be cut out. He told Alexander, and called upon several of his aides to hold him during the operation. Alexander stayed them, saying, "the man who has learned how to hold himself needs no one else to hold him."

In this business on self-control, one of the first exercises is to think about your own place in your community and your responsibility to your State and to your Nation. There are some exciting pursuits in the world today that I want to speak of. If we have few geographical frontiers, there are many intellectual frontiers that challenge the ingenuity of the human mind. If you are the young man who seeks a frontier and a challenge, examine if you will the economic and political perplexities confronting this Nation and the world today.

Let's start out by a comparatively simple one, and let's call it the explosive index. To be sure, this is only a statistic, but it is an ominous one. This statistic, which we call the explosive index, increased from a factor of 1 in the Middle Ages to a factor of 8 on the day before Hiroshima. Next day it jumped to 10,000. At Eniwetok this index became 10 million. Thus, in just over 10 years, the capacity of man to destroy the world has increased something more than a million times.

Now, we are, as every graduate here knows, diligently seeking a peaceful world. In this quest some of you can enlist in what is by all odds the greatest cause in the world today. Such a career is not necessarily the most lucrative nor the most comfortable. Nor is it the easiest way of winning a livelihood. However, considering its many facets, it is not only the most important but could be the most satisfying and rewarding of any venture which you could undertake.

Why is this so?

Well, how we get along with England and France is obviously of great importance.

But it is no longer unimportant how we get along with Vietnam and Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Morocco, Indonesia, and Ghana, and the host of small nations all over the world. They have all become important. Each one presents a separate and a unique problem. Each possesses national characteristics, a national personality, and each reflects the particular aspirations of its own people.

Some of these nations have become newly independent, some are weak in resources, others wracked by disease. Most of them lie along the perimeters of the Soviet world, from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the

Aegean Seas, past the Red Sea, the Arabian and China Seas, to the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. They are a chain of nations which are the objects of Soviet aggression and subversion and are literally battlegrounds upon which we wage peace today.

The Soviets vary their efforts; some have been military, some are economic, others political or diplomatic. Some of these areas are now quiet. Others are still active. Not one of these areas can be regarded as finally lost, nor as finally won, although these people are slowly and surely edging toward freedom's cause.

Most of these small countries have problems of survival, of obtaining enough to eat, something to wear, the bare necessities of shelter, of schooling, even the rudimentary conveniences of this modern age. Their people have little interest in the doctrinaire debate between communism and democracy. Their primary problem is existence.

The remedies to these weaknesses they must find if they survive. These weaknesses are not going to be removed simply by our dollars or by our foodstuffs or by modern machinery, or wholly by new techniques or modern methodology. All these help, but there is another critical need. It is hope, incentive, the will to survive.

In such hope lies the strength which they need. What is of the utmost importance to you and your future is that such strength is about as indispensable to us as it is to them.

All of this complex problem, every aspect of it, calls urgently for our understanding and best efforts. As in most worthwhile accomplishments, to have an understanding of what this is all about takes long apprenticeship, a kind of internship, but it is the important world's work, whether it be in diplomacy, foreign economic policy, administration of economic aid programs, or whatever activity you choose.

Diplomacy is the politics of international affairs, so I suppose it could be said that diplomacy is the politics of peace, and the diplomat the architect of stability and freedom. Modern diplomacy demands skills of many kinds—it demands political scientists, economists, linguists, administrators, historians, lawyers, and, not least, it demands salesmen—salesmen of freedom.

Foreign service nowadays includes a good deal more than conventional diplomacy. The mutual security program, so-called foreign aid, requires agricultural, industrial, and technical specialists by scores. These people are more than teachers and demonstrators. They are truly missionaries for our values and way of doing things. All of these have the task of spreading the truth about freedom to oppose the propaganda of slavery. Foreign service includes as well certain forms of informational work, requiring diverse abilities of high order.

Never in American history has there been a time when you could serve your Nation in so many places and in so many ways.

In this world of change, forms of government change, problems of government change, policies change, and, above all, people change. With the diversity of personalities, of heritages, interests and needs, the problems of foreign representation become far more intricate and demanding than they were in the old days of royal succession and social diplomacy.

If I have any explicit hope to express about the future of any one of you, it would be that among you, there might come to a few an unquenchable urge to put your talents to the test of such service. The University of Maine could bequeath no more precious heritage.

Our land is rife with carping critics who derogate the goals we seek and the manner by which they are being achieved. You will never become sure footed and resolute by allowing yourselves to be put to rout by the timid and benighted souls whose horizons are fenced in by their unwillingness or inability to face up to the challenge of this moment. "It is not the critic who counts," as Theodore Roosevelt said. "Not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who, at the best, knows in the end the triumph of high achievement; and who, at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat."

Whatever your lot in life, I hope one thing will always remain clear in your minds. Whatever your pursuit, whether you ever serve a day in public service, you have the citizen responsibility to take time enough from the daily duties to know what is going on, to form an opinion, and to keep your point of view both current and decisive. It is your privilege and responsibility to express a conviction. An educated person can do no less than to speak and to vote with current knowledge of the overwhelming responsibilities to which our Republic has fallen heir. A sure death for freedom, an inevitable loss of every real privilege to which an individual here in America is today the inheritor, can result from visionless, ignorant citizenry, national leaders, and policies.

So let us tend to the business of knowing what we are talking about. If today's apparent conflict is one of economic theories, or forms of government, the underlying struggle deals with the nature of man. It is a struggle that goes to the roots of human spirit, and its lights and shadows fall across the whole sweep of man's destiny.

Today we are a great Nation in a world that is ideologically divided against itself. What power lies in man to resolve the philosophical conflicts of the human mind must now be directed to find the means whereby human beings can live together on the same planet.

To this elusive purpose the ingenuity of man must be relentlessly dedicated. Each of you must assume his share, his place and his duty.

In this great adventure (and a great adventure it is) the great ally is not the thing seen, the argument or the weapon, the stratagem or the invective; but rather the unseen, the conviction and the faith. The new horizons are the concepts still unborn in man's mind to which dissident mankind can turn, in the confidence of his soul, that in them lies an acceptable human common denominator. This task is never done while there is a mind left to be persuaded or a peace to be won. And in all this life your work is the bread—and fun is the leavener.

And so let us say "so long" to each other and to the University of Maine, and may luck and laughter reward your labor and lighten the burdens on whatever road you undertake to travel.

National Better Newspaper Contests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, one of the many attractions of living in rural areas or small towns in this great country of ours is the hometown paper, more often than not a weekly with a total circulation which does not approach the street sale alone of a metropolitan daily.

These newspapers serve an entirely different purpose from their larger daily brethren, but they form as integral a part of that inestimable institution, the American Press. They prove, every week of the year, that the highest standards of journalism are not confined to, have no relation to, the size of newspaper circulation, staff, or plant.

Recently, the National Editorial Association announced the winners of its 1957 National Newspaper Contests. I am proud to notice, and to call to the attention of the House, that 2 of the plaques in the under 2,000 circulation class were won by Utah weeklies. The Springville Herald won first place for best news story with its outstanding account of a railroad wreck, and the Nephi Times-News won third place in service to agriculture. Our congratulations should go not only to those papers, but to their readers.

Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation Multiple-Purpose Projects With Power in the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I ask that there may be reproduced in the RECORD a list of Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation multiple-purpose projects with hydropowered public power throughout the United States.

The letters and lists follow:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, D. C., April 23, 1957.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. EVINS: The attached tabulation of Corps of Engineers' multiple-purpose projects with power is furnished in reply to information requested in your letter of April 12.

Under A of the enclosure are listed those projects at which all generating units that have been scheduled for installation are in commercial operation. Under B are listed those projects where one or more of the generating units scheduled for installation are in operation and work is in progress installing the remaining scheduled units. Under C are listed the projects under construction at which no generating units are as of April 15, 1957, in operation.

It is a pleasure to be of assistance to you, and it is hoped that the data tabulated on the enclosure will supply the information you desire. Should any further data be required, I wish you will let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

J. L. PERSON,
Brigadier General, United States Army, Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works.

Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, multiple-purpose projects with power, Apr. 15, 1957

A. IN OPERATION—ALL SCHEDULED GENERATING UNITS INSTALLED

Project	Corps of Engineers district	Location	Installed capacity (kilowatts)	Average annual generation[1] (1,000 kilowatt-hours)
Albeni Falls	Seattle	Idaho	42,600	172,000
Allatoona	Mobile	Georgia	74,000	169,000
Blakely Mountain	Vicksburg	Arkansas	75,000	156,000
Bonneville	Portland	Oregon-Washington	518,400	3,601,338
Bull Shoals [2]	Little Rock	Arkansas-Missouri	160,000	[3] 658,000
Center Hill	Nashville	Tennessee	135,000	351,000
Clark Hill	Savannah	Georgia-South Carolina	280,000	698,000
Dale Hollow	Nashville	Tennessee	54,000	120,000
Denison	Tulsa	Oklahoma-Texas	70,000	267,000
Detroit-Big Cliff	Portland	Oregon	118,000	465,174
Fort Gibson	Tulsa	Oklahoma	45,000	190,500
Fort Randall	Omaha	South Dakota	320,000	[4] 1,660,500
Gavins Point	do	South Dakota-Nebraska	100,000	[4] 635,400
John H. Kerr	Norfolk	North Carolina-Virginia	204,000	438,000
Lookout Point-Dexter	Portland	Oregon	135,000	373,200
McNary	Walla Walla	Oregon-Washington	980,000	6,400,000
Narrows	Vicksburg	Arkansas	17,000	28,400
Norfork	Little Rock	Arkansas-Missouri	70,000	[3] 184,000
Philpott	Norfolk	Virginia	14,000	25,400
St. Marys	Detroit	Michigan	18,400	135,500
Tenkiller Ferry	Tulsa	Oklahoma	34,000	114,300
Whitney	Fort Worth	Texas	30,000	81,071
Wolf Creek	Nashville	Kentucky	270,000	867,000
Total: 23 projects	13 districts	16 States	3,764,400	17,799,743

B. IN OPERATION—SCHEDULED GENERATING UNITS BEING INSTALLED

Project	Corps of Engineers district	Location	Installed capacity (kilowatts)	Capacity currently under construction (kilowatts)	Average annual generation[1] (1,000 kilowatt-hours)
Chief Joseph	Seattle	Washington	576,000	448,000	6,487,000
Fort Peck	Garrison	Montana	85,000	80,000	[4] 1,056,600
Garrison	do	North Dakota	240,000	160,000	[4] 2,119,530
Jim Woodruff	Mobile	Florida-Georgia	20,000	10,000	210,000
Old Hickory	Nashville	Tennessee	25,000	75,000	420,000
Totals: 5 projects	4 districts	5 States	946,000	773,000	10,293,100

C. UNDER CONSTRUCTION—NO SCHEDULED GENERATING UNITS IN OPERATION

Project	Corps of Engineers District	Location	Initial installed capacity (kilowatts)	Average annual generation[1] (1,000 kilowatt-hours)
Barkley	Nashville	Kentucky-Tennessee	130,000	600,000
Buford	Mobile	Georgia	86,000	170,000
Cheatham	Nashville	Tennessee	36,000	160,000
Cougar	Portland	Oregon	25,000	146,900
Dardanelle	Little Rock	Arkansas	120,000	636,000
Eufaula	Tulsa	Oklahoma	90,000	366,000
Fort Gaines	Mobile	Alabama-Georgia	130,000	436,000
Greers Ferry	Little Rock	Arkansas	96,000	189,000
Hartwell	Savannah	Georgia-South Carolina	198,000	453,000
Hills Creek	Portland	Oregon	30,000	163,286
Ice Harbor	Walla Walla	Washington	270,000	1,780,000
McGee Bend	Fort Worth	Texas	45,000	121,640
Oahe	Omaha	South Dakota-North Dakota	595,000	[4] 2,851,200
Table Rock	Little Rock	Arkansas-Missouri	200,000	[3] 581,000
The Dalles	Portland	Oregon-Washington	1,092,000	[5] 5,081,000
Totals: 15 projects	9 districts	13 States	3,143,000	13,726,976

Totals A, B, and C:

Total number of projects	43
Number of corps districts	14
Number of States	20
Total installed capacity in operation (Apr. 15, 1957) (kilowatts)	4,710,400
Total capacity under construction (Apr. 15, 1957) (kilowatts)	3,916,000
Total average annual generations, all projects (1,000 kilowatt-hours)	41,821,780

[1] Energy values are "at site" figures.
[2] 2 additional units of 40,000 kilowatts each are presently planned for installation by December 1960 at the Bull Shoals project. Average annual generation with the 2 additional units will be 702,000,000 kilowatt-hours including the effect of other projects on output.
[3] Includes the effect of other projects on output.
[4] Salable energy which is estimated as 90 percent of gross generation (median year).
[5] Annual primary energy.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION,
Washington, D. C., April 17, 1957.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. EVINS: In response to your letter of April 12, 1957, we are attaching a copy of the Bureau of Reclamation tabulation, dated December 31, 1956, which we believe furnishes the specific information you requested, on powerplants authorized, constructed, or under construction by the Bureau, as well as plants for which the Bureau has marketing responsibility.

In addition, we are enclosing copy of map No. X–W–7 entitled "Reclamation Power Facilities Existing and Under Construction."

Sincerely yours,

DON S. CAMPBELL,
Acting Assistant Commissioner.

U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation hydroelectric powerplants, Dec. 31, 1956

A. CONSTRUCTED AND OPERATED BY BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

	State or Territory	Project	Name of plant	Calendar year of initial operation	Nameplate rating		Number and nameplate rating of generators	
					Existing (kilowatts)	Ultimate (kilowatts)	Existing (kilowatts)	Ultimate (kilowatts)
1.	Alaska	Eklutna	Eklutna	1955	30,000	30,000	2, 15,000	2, 15,000.
2.	Alaska	do	Little Eklutna [1]	1955	2,000	2,000	2, 1,000	2, 1,000.
3.	Arizona-Nevada	Boulder Canyon	Hoover [2]	1936	1,249,800	1,354,300	14, 82,500; 1, 40,000; 2, 2,400; 1, 50,000.	14, 82,500; 1, 40,000; 2, 2,400; 1, 50,000; 1, 104,500.
4.	Arizona-Nevada	Parker-Davis	Davis	1951	225,000	225,000	5, 45,000	5, 45,000.
5.	Arizona-California	do	Parker	1942	120,000	120,000	4, 30,000	4, 30,000.
6.	California	Central Valley	Folsom	1955	162,000	162,000	3, 54,000	3, 54,000.
7.	California	do	Keswick	1949	75,000	75,000	3, 25,000	3, 25,000.
8.	California	do	Nimbus	1955	13,500	13,500	2, 6,750	2, 6,750.
9.	California	do	Shasta	1944	379,000	379,000	5, 75,000; 2, 2,000	5, 75,000; 2, 2,000.
10.	California	Yuma	Siphon Drop	1926	1,600	1,600	2, 800.	2, 800.
11.	Colorado	Colorado-Big Thompson	Estes	1950	45,000	45,000	3, 15,000	3, 15,000.
12.	Colorado	do	Flatiron	1954	71,500	71,500	2, 31,500; 1, 8,500	2, 31,500; 1, 8,500.
13.	Colorado	do	Green Mountain	1943	21,600	21,600	2, 10,800	2, 10,800.
14.	Colorado	do	Marys Lake	1951	8,100	8,100	1, 8,100	1, 8,100.
15.	Colorado	do	Polehill	1954	33,250	33,250	1, 33,250	1, 33,250.
16.	Colorado	Grand Valley	Grand Valley [3]	1932	3,000	3,000	2, 1,500	2, 1,500.
17.	Idaho	Boise	Anderson Ranch	1950	27,000	40,500	2, 13,500	3, 13,500.
18.	Idaho	do	Black Canyon	1925	8,000	8,000	2, 4,000	2, 4,000.
19.	Idaho	do	Boise Diversion	1912	1,500	1,500	3, 500	3, 500.
20.	Idaho	Minidoka	Minidoka	1909	13,400	13,400	1, 5,000; 1, 2,400; 5, 1,200	1, 5,000; 1, 2,400; 5, 1,200.
21.	Montana	Missouri River Basin	Canyon Ferry	1953	50,000	50,000	3, 16,667	3, 16,667.
22.	Montana	Hungry Horse	Hungry Horse	1952	285,000	285,000	4, 71,250	4, 71,250.
23.	New Mexico	Rio Grande	Elephant Butte	1940	24,300	24,300	3, 8,100	3, 8,100.
24.	South Dakota	Missouri River Basin	Angostura	1951	1,200	1,200	1, 1,200	1, 1,200.
25.	Washington	Columbia Basin	Grand Coulee	1941	1,974,000	1,974,000	18, 108,000; 3, 10,000	18, 108,000; 3, 10,000.
26.	Washington	Yakima-Kennewick	Chandler	1956	12,000	12,000	2, 6,000	2, 6,000.
27.	Wyoming	Kendrick	Alcova	1955	36,000	36,000	2, 18,000	2, 18,000.
28.	Wyoming	do	Seminoe	1939	32,400	32,400	3, 10,800	3, 10,800.
29.	Wyoming	Missouri River Basin	Boysen	1952	15,000	15,000	2, 7,500	2, 7,500.
30.	Wyoming	do	Kortes	1950	36,000	36,000	3, 12,000	3, 12,000.
31.	Wyoming	North Platte	Guernsey	1927	4,800	4,800	2, 2,400	2, 2,400.
32.	Wyoming	do	Lingle	1919	1,400	1,400	2, 400; 2, 300	2, 400; 2, 300.
33.	Wyoming	Riverton	Pilot Butte	1925	1,600	1,600	2, 800	2, 800.
34.	Wyoming	Shoshone	Heart Mountain	1948	5,000	5,000	1, 5,000	1, 5,000.
35.	Wyoming	do	Shoshone	1922	5,600	5,600	1, 4,000; 2, 800	1, 4,000; 2, 800.
	Subtotal A				4,974,550	5,092,550		

B. CONSTRUCTED AND OPERATED BY OTHERS, POWER MARKETED BY U. S. BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

1.	Montana	Fort Peck (U. S. Corps of Engineers)	Fort Peck	1943	85,000	165,000	2, 35,000; 1, 15,000	2, 35,000; 2, 40,000; 1, 15,000.
2.	North Dakota	Missouri River Basin (U. S. Corps of Engineers).	Garrison	1956	340,000	400,000	3, 80,000	5, 80,000.
3.	South Dakota	do	Fort Randall	1954	320,000	320,000	8, 40,000	8, 40,000.
4.	South Dakota	do	Gavins Point	1956	33,333	100,000	1, 33,333	3, 33,333.
5.	Texas	Falcon (International Boundary and Water Commission).	Falcon	1954	31,500	31,500	3, 10,500	3, 10,500.
	Subtotal B				709,833	1,016,500		

C. UNDER CONSTRUCTION BY BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

1.	Arizona	Colorado River storage	Glen Canyon	1963	0	900,000	None	8,112,500.
2.	Colorado	Colorado-Big Thompson	Big Thompson	1959	0	4,500	do	1, 4,500.
3.	Idaho	Palisades	Palisades	1957	0	114,000	do	4, 28,500.
4.	Oregon	Talent	Green Springs	1959	0	16,000	do	1, 16,000.
5.	Utah	Colorado River storage	Flaming Gorge	1963	0	100,000	do	3, 33,333.
6.	Utah	Provo River Basin	Deer Creek	1957	0	5,000	do	2, 2,500.
7.	Utah	Weber Basin	Gateway	1958	0	4,000	do	2, 2,000.
8.	Utah	do	Wanship	1958	0	1,400	do	1, 1,400.
9.	Washington	Yakima-Roza	Roza	1958	0	11,250	do	1, 11,250.
10.	Wyoming	Missouri River Basin	Glendo	1958	0	24,000	do	2, 12,000.
11.	Wyoming	do	Fremont Canyon	1960	0	48,000	do	2, 24,000.
	Subtotal C				0	1,228,150		

D. UNDER CONSTRUCTION BY OTHERS—POWER TO BE MARKETED BY U. S. BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

1.	South Dakota	Missouri River Basin (U. S. Corps of Engineers.	Oahe	1962	0	595,000	None	7, 85,000.
	Subtotal D				0	595,000		

E. AUTHORIZED TO BE CONSTRUCTED BY BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

1.	California	Central Valley	Clear Creek		0	130,000	None	2, 65,000.
2.	California	do	Lewiston		0	850	do	1, 850.
3.	California	do	Spring Creek		0	143,000	do	2, 71,500.
4.	California	do	Trinity		0	96,000	do	4, 24,000.
5.	California-Nevada	Washoe	Calvada		0	20,000	do	2, 10,000.
6.	California-Nevada	do	Watasheamu		0	8,000	do	1, 8,000.
7.	Colorado	Colorado River storage	Blue Mesa	1965	0	51,000	do	2, 25,500.
8.	Colorado	do	Crystal	1965	0	23,000	do	2, 11,500.
9.	Colorado	do	Morrow Point	1965	0	60,000	do	2, 30,000.
10.	Colorado	do	Narrow Gage	1965	0	18,000	do	2, 9,000.
11.	Colorado	Collbran	Upper Molina	1960	0	8,400	do	1, 8,400.
12.	Colorado	do	Lower Molina	1961	0	4,600	do	1, 4,600.
13.	Idaho	Minidoka	American Falls		0	30,000	do	3, 10,000.
14.	Montana	Missouri River Basin	Absaroka	1969	0	50,000	do	3, 16,667.
15.	Montana	do	Kenil		0	1,600	do	2, 800.
16.	Montana	do	Little Porcupine	1969	0	18,000	do	3, 6,000.
17.	Montana	do	Lyon	1962	0	24,000	do	3, 8,000.

Footnotes at end of table.

U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation hydroelectric powerplants, Dec. 31, 1956—Continued

E. AUTHORIZED TO BE CONSTRUCTED BY BUREAU OF RECLAMATION—Continued

State or Territory	Project	Name of plant	Calendar year of initial operation	Nameplate rating		Number and nameplate rating of generators	
				Existing (kilowatts)	Ultimate (kilowatts)	Existing (kilowatts)	Ultimate (kilowatts)
18. Montana	Missouri River Basin	Moorhead	1969	0	3,000	None	2, 4,000.
19. Montana	do	Tiber		0	2,000	do	3, 667.
20. Montana	do	Yellowtail	1961	0	200,000	do	4, 50,000.
21. Nebraska	do	Lillian	1965	0	4,400	do	2, 2,200.
22. Utah	Central Utah	Castilla	1965	0	6,000	do	1, 6,000.
23. Utah	do	Hammock	1963	0	40,000	do	2, 20,000.
24. Utah	do	Old West	1963	0	9,000	do	2, 4,500.
25. Utah	do	Tanner	1964	0	6,000	do	2, 3,000.
26. Wyoming	Missouri River Basin	Bald Ridge	1963	0	23,000	do	3, 7,667.
27. Wyoming	do	Hunter Mountain	1963	0	14,400	do	2, 7,200.
28. Wyoming	do	Sheridan	1963	0	25,000	do	2, 12,500.
29. Wyoming	do	Sunlight	1963	0	14,900	do	2, 7,450.
30. Wyoming	do	Thief Creek	1964	0	125,200	do	3, 41,733.
Subtotal				0	1,164,350		

F. AUTHORIZED TO BE CONSTRUCTED BY OTHERS—POWER TO BE MARKETED BY U. S. BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

1. California	Central Valley (U. S. Corps of Engineers).	Iron Canyon		0	54,000	None	3, 18,000.
2. South Dakota	Missouri River Basin (U. S. Corps of Engineers).	Big Bend	1963	0	217,000	do	4, 54,250.
Subtotal F				0	271,000		
Total				5,084,383	9,367,550		

[1] Acquired from city of Anchorage for operation with Eklutna project fiscal year 1955.

[2] Powerplant units operated by Southern California Edison Co. and city of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power as agents of the United States.

[3] Leased to Public Service Company of Colorado for operation.

Women and Partnership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, women understand and appreciate the advantages of our free-enterprise system. They know that the system was not founded on Government competition with its citizens and that such competition if continued and expanded will ultimately destroy the system.

The women of California, through their Federation of Women's Clubs, overwhelmingly approved a resolution asking Congress to approve private development of the Trinity River project power facilities.

We seldom go wrong in following the advice of our women.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include at this point the May 10, 1957, editorial from the Alameda Times Star, entitled, "Women and Partnership":

WOMEN AND PARTNERSHIP

A significant new voice was added last week to the growing popular support of the administration's policy of withdrawing from direct competition with private business wherever possible and of entering into partnership with industry whenever certain phases of Federal activity can thus be handled most effectively.

In approving overwhelmingly a resolution asking Congress to sanction private development of Trinity River project power facilities, the California Federation of Women's Clubs took the reasoned stand that the immediate cost savings to the Government and the long-range tax savings to the public are of paramount importance. No ideological pitch for public power can refute or mitigate the appeal of sound, hard, simple facts.

The federation comprises an intelligent and very representative cross-section of all segments of California life. Its members are particularly sensitive to the needs of the taxpayer. When it speaks, it speaks with the voice of the people—and once again the people have spoken out firmly for reason, not fancy, in the Government's conduct of public affairs.

Westminster Choir of Princeton, N. J., Made Impressive Contribution to United States Foreign Relations on Recent Good-Will Tour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Westminster College Choir, of Princeton, N. J., on its recent tour abroad under the authority of the Humphrey-Thompson Act, Public Law 860, 84th Congress, made an impressive contribution to the fund of good will which other peoples have for the people of our country.

It is clear that nonprofessional, as well as professional, cultural groups and organizations, have an important role to play in our relations with other peoples.

I call to the attention of my colleagues the great work of the Westminster Choir of Princeton, N. J., and include the following reports for this purpose:

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM
OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL
THEATRE AND ACADEMY,
New York, N. Y., March 25, 1957.

MEMORANDUM

To Frank Thompson.
From Robert C. Schnitzer.

Here is another example of the bonuses derived from attractions sent by ANTA under the State Department's Cultural Presentations Program for the President's Special International Fund. Following is a quotation from a report on the Westminster Choir's appearance in Lahore, Pakistan:

"Lahore is still talking favorably about the Westminster Choir, which was here from February 6 to the February 10. People were impressed with the quality of the music, the charm and graciousness of the choir members and their willingness to meet any and all requests. Even the Pakistan Times, which specializes in critical comments about America, was moved to praise and the expression of wonder that so many Pakistanis turned out to hear this competent group.

"An extra arranged after the choir arrived in Lahore turned out to be a highlight both from the point of view of the choir's collection of tour impressions and our development of Pakistan-American relationships. It was a demonstration of 13 bagpipe bands of the Pakistan Army. Lt. Gen. Mohammad Azam Khan was host for the occasion; the pipers performed admirably while the choir members enjoyed a photographic field day. The choir sang three numbers followed by an exchange of complimentary statements by the General and Choir Director Williamson. The 2½-hour get together closed as more than 500 Pakistani soldiers and officers stood at attention while the choir sang one stanza of The Star Spangled Banner and the bands played the Pakistani anthem."

WESTMINSTER CHOIR COLLEGE,
Princeton, N. J., June 7, 1957.

Mr. ROBERT C. SCHNITZER,
ANTA, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. SCHNITZER: I felt that you might be interested in knowing a few of the follow-

ups that we have started through our tour around the world.

We purchased a $600 saxophone and sent it through our Ambassador, Mr. Bishop, in Bangkok, Thailand, to the Blind School in Thailand. This is the school that intrigued our choir very much. It is run by the Catholic Church, but blind people in Thailand are almost helpless. They have a little orchestra, and they learn to tune pianos, but there are few pianos in Thailand. We also sent them a check for $100, which we hope to do every year in the future. Westminster Choir and Dr. and Mrs. Williamson paid for the saxophone; our student body is sending the $100.

We also sent $100 to the trade school in Bangkok. This is a school where orphan boys learn trades. Every boy who finishes there is working, rather a rare thing in the Orient. We hope to continue that pledge through the years.

We also sent $100 to an orphan school in Korea, a school that interested us very much.

We have a young Korean graduating this year with his master's degree, who returns to be head of the Korean broadcasting station. He and his family helped greatly with our concerts in Korea. Our 2 concerts there cleared $1,500, which they are planning to use to help young musicians who wish to come to America to study. Our faculty helped this young man secure a gift of $1,000, and our student body gave him $212. He has purchased at a low fee, through one of our faculty, a Moeller organ which he is taking back with him to be used in a big Presbyterian church there, where he will be organist and choirmaster in addition to being head of the broadcasting station.

We have also sent two checks for $100 to the American Farm School in Greece, a school that is doing much to build the economy of Greece. They have suffered through communism, but have never relaxed in their efforts. Our school will send them $100 a year through the future, and our students are going to adopt an orphan boy in the school and pay $400 a year for his tuition. Mrs. Williamson also sent $100 to the Farm School.

This summer Mrs. Williamson and I go to Japan. Our first school will be Sendai, August 19–23. Our second school will be Osaka, August 26–30. Our third school will be Tokyo, September 2–6. Our fourth school will be the Japan Choral Union in Tokyo, made up entirely of professional musicians who want to learn how to sing, September 8–10. Osaka and Karuisawa, (Tokyo) is entirely a program to work against communism. They already have over 500 students enrolled in the last school in Tokyo, and they say that I will have over 500 in each one of my schools.

We have been asked to do the same thing in the Philippines and Thailand, but I cannot do that until next year. We have also been asked to come back to Pakistan to develop a new form of radio music, and we think that perhaps that can be done sometime during the year. These schools are paid for by the governments of these countries.

And lastly, we are planning and developing new courses of study so that the people who come here from the Orient and Asia—and quite a few will be coming this year—may know that we are working on a program that includes the economy, the politics, the culture, the arts and the religions of these different nations. We think we will be able to secure a very wonderful man to head this work, and be able to get a grant from a foundation to carry it on.

I wanted you to know these things because they all are a development of our world tour. We shall always be grateful to you personally, and to ANTA, for this wonderful experience that was ours, and for the splendid development that is arising as a result of that tour.

Cordially yours,

J. F. WILLIAMSON,
President.

WESTMINSTER CHOIR COLLEGE,
Princeton, N. J., March 11, 1957.

Mr. ROBERT C. SCHNITZER,
ANTA International Exchange Program, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. SCHNITZER: The tour of Westminster Choir is now past. It was for us a fantastic experience, each day so exciting that we forgot the events of the day before. Counting occasions when we sang three or more numbers, we sang a total of 146 times, to 227,840 people.

In Japan, our first concert in Tokyo the house was sold out with 3600 present. Our second concert was sold out with 8500 people present. In Japan most of the time they had from 500 to 2000 standing or sitting on the floor.

Our largest crowd was in Okinawa, where we sang to 23,300 people, having 20,000 in one great crowd. Sold out houses seemed to be the rule, even ending that way in our last two concerts in Yugoslavia.

In Seoul the local people cleared $1500, which they plan to use to send very talented young people to America for study. Mrs. Williamson and I have been invited back to Japan next winter for a 6 week course, to help them train a new type of director. Unfortunately, they tell us that there are over 4000 choirs directed by Communists, and these choirs are working against the government. Money has been placed in a New York bank by Japanese people so that we can go back and work with the U. S. I. S. in training 150 very talented young leaders between the ages of 25 and 35, who in turn will train other leaders to displace all the Communist leaders. They have also asked us to help them develop a new book to displace the Communist song book.

Korea has asked us to have a summer school.

Okinawa is engaging one of the members of the choir to teach in the university there, and to set up choral and string units throughout the island and to train future choir leaders for them.

The Philippine University has also asked to have a summer school, but things there are in very good control. The outstanding choirs are directed by our graduates.

Three of the leading musicians of Hong Kong are coming to the Choir College next year. They have enough influence that they will not need outside help because the best choir there now is directed by one of our graduates.

In Burma the Communist newspaper fully reviewed and greatly praised Westminster Choir. Heretofore they had damned everything American.

Thailand has asked for a couple from Westminster Choir College, who will travel to different centers over the state, setting up training schools for young individuals who have some musicianship and who in turn can establish choirs throughout the country, this to be done under supervision of the Choir College.

In Laos we had a most successful concert, the first program that the junior chamber of commerce had carried out.

In Vietnam the local committee cleared $1,700. This will teach 1,600 people after 4 months' training to master a little of reading and writing.

In Cambodia the Minister of Education has asked us to negotiate with him to find a young man who can come in and start the young people in training to direct choirs, and also in training to help them thinking along broader lines of freedom.

In Singapore we had most successful concerts, but in Penang and Ipoh we heard the shots being fired when the last difficulty they had there started. In Kuala Lampur we had 3,500 people present at one concert and the USIS is very anxious to have a man on their staff who can help set up centers where choirs can be established.

In Ceylon we had a pleasant stay with good concerts, but no interest expressed in the broader way, only by the Embassy.

In India there was very active interest. The gentleman who is on the board of directors of the Bank of India—he and his wife are extremely wealthy—is coming to Princeton in May to visit us to see what can be done about taking a Westminster person back to India, at their expense, to help set up an approach through which western choral music may begin. For the present I do not see great hope, because they are just at the stage where they are worshiping their eastern music, and that does not allow for participation.

In East and West Pakistan we had a very wonderful experience. The director of the broadcasting station of Pakistan, in Karachi, has asked us to send a faculty member there for 3 months, to train their musicians and help them to learn how to develop western choral music. We have promised to do this, but it will take our best man as it is a very difficult task.

Iran is much interested and wants us to help them through the university. The Government is very favorable and, if a way can be found to set plans in operation to do this, we shall carry out their wishes.

In Iraq we found decided prowestern feeling, but not interested in choral music, although they sold out both concerts.

In Lebanon there is great interest because they have found that a Mohammedan and a Christian can sing in a choir and neither one lose face. We have promised to help them and, as soon as things quiet down, help all the Near East universities.

Greece and Yugoslavia were great experiences, but they are not ready yet to think about things such as choirs.

Looking back over the entire trip, I feel that it will greatly change the course of our college, as 10 or 12 people have already applied for places in our student body. I am certain that the best way to help all of these peoples is through training their own nationals and sending them back, although summer schools will help to a certain extent if they finance them themselves.

I have several recommendations I am making to you in person but this, in a very brief way, embodies the impressions that will be lasting with me as to our tour. After all, the wild enthusiasm that we seemed to meet means nothing unless we can crystallize the interest in choral work in these nations. Orchestral work is not possible for these people for a long, long time, so their growth must be along choral lines.

Cordially yours,

J. F. WILLIAMSON, *President.*

Our Farm Surplus Compared With Peacetime Supply of Tungsten

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. During the current debate on the minerals purchase program we have heard reports that there is enough tungsten to last this country

through 26 peacetime years or through 6 war years. The information throws a new light on farm surpluses about which we have heard so much in recent months, particularly from the Secretary of Agriculture. I think the Secretary of the Interior may be backsliding a little in his job in not keeping the American citizen as well informed on strategic mineral stockpiles as the Agriculture Secretary does on food and fiber.

Millions of our city friends have been deluged for years with a flood of articles, newscasts, cartoons, pictures, and televised reports on our farm surplus. There are Americans who automatically get a mental picture of a mountain of potatoes or a mound of butter whenever they hear the word "surplus." There are probably a hundred for anyone that gets a mental image of a barrel of tungsten.

The reports on available tungsten remind me that our stockpiles of farm goods as of December 31, 1956, were not as big as some folks might have been pounded into believing. I have not been away from the farm long enough to forget that something called food is as important to a military and civilian population in time of crisis as is tungsten.

So that we will compare our farm surplus properly with the 26 years' peacetime supply of tungsten I would like to report that as of December 31 we had:

Wheat to last 13 months and 20 days.
Cotton to last 9 months and 23 days.
Corn, 4 months and 21 days.
Peanuts, 3 months and 9 days.
Flaxseed, 3 months and 13 days.
Grain sorghum, 2 months and 19 days.
Rye, 3 months and 8 days.
Barley, 2 months and 22 days.
Cheese, 1 month, 28 days.
Soybeans, 1 month, 22 days.
Dried milk, 28 days.
Oats, 16 days.
Tung oil, 10 days.
Honey, 2 days.
And no butter.

Atom Test Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very thought-provoking article which appeared in the Boston Daily Record on June 10, 1957:

ATOM TEST DANGER

Challenging indeed is the testimony of scientists who have warned Congress that continuance of atomic-weapon tests may seriously impair the health of future generations.

The scientists, however, tempered their statements to sound more like inspired guesses than flat assertions.

This attitude was well illustrated by Dr. James F. Crow of the University of Wisconsin, who estimated as "a rough guess" that in the next 100 or so generations, testing as now conducted might result in 1 million stillbirths.

This and other tentative predictions provoked equally learned dissents. The most forceful came from Dr. Joel Hildebrand, emeritus chemistry professor of the University of California and past president of the American Chemical Society.

Dr. Hildebrand refused to join the protesting scientists listed by Dr. Linus Pauling, Caltech biochemist, to whom he wrote:

"As a citizen I think * * * that the risk to persons should be estimated against the risk to human freedom of abandoning what appears at present to be its main defense in a world where international agreements are continually violated * * *.

"Your statement that 'each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world' is not a true indication of the dangers, in absence of quantitative comparisons with natural radiation and current X-ray usage * * *. Scientists should be sure of their ground before they claim scientific authority for alarmist assertions."

There is no doubt that many people feel the tests should be stopped. Not only to forestall possible dangers to generations to come but to avoid the heavy economic burdens they impose.

But this cannot be done by the United States alone.

Today, it requires the firm commitment of Russia and Britain as well.

Tomorrow, it will need the dependable agreement of many other nations.

This is only one of the political facts of life that scientists, brilliant in their own specialties but generally naive in human affairs, must face.

They are understandably terrified by the power they have themselves created. But they remain blind to the danger of war, which nuclear weapons now deter by the sheer threat of their existence.

In the face of today's harsh and inescapable menace to world peace, President Eisenhower's political and military advice is to be preferred to that of scientists who may have strayed into strange social and diplomatic fields.

This is specially more sound when the President himself prefers the opinion of the National Academy of Sciences, which, he commented, "has no ax to grind," and which does not believe the threat as serious as the protesting scientists assert.

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger, Fifth District, Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, each week I send a newsletter to my constituents, available to any who want to receive it and so indicate. This effort, like others, to inform the people is but a manifestation of my belief that Government benefits and succeeds to the same degree that an informed public takes effective action. I believe in an informed electorate. I regret having overlooked placing each week's newsletter in the RECORD. From this date forward I shall do so.

The newsletter for June 8, 1957, follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas, June 8, 1957)

The civil rights bill, which protects or violates your civil rights, depending on your viewpoint, is now before us for a 2-week struggle. The battlelines were clearly defined by the vote on the rule, 290 to 117, which made consideration of the bill in order. Both heat and light will be generated over the merits of the bill itself. The South's acceptance of defeat is best evidenced by southern Congressmen's pinning their hopes on the right of trial by jury amendment. Existing States rights to trial by jury for criminal contempt cases have been eliminated by the bill's provision making the United States Government a party to each civil rights case, which automatically eliminates jury trial. The basic arguments in granting trial by jury are: For—jury trial is basic right of Americans and must be preserved; against—juries in South may not be impartial. Sectionalism (North versus South), incitement to race differences, and pure politics, where the Negro vote is sought, all conspire to fan prejudice and emotionalism, and obscure basic principles and the most intelligent solution to the problem. The 14-page bill, 60-page report, and 1,800 pages of hearings, provide the material for debate plus Members' own observations. Included is my testimony before the Judiciary Committee during study of the bill. Well—we'll see what develops—more next week.

A modern dilemma faces us in the arms race. In our defense effort through military strength, should we continue to develop and test atomic weapons with real danger to ourselves and future generations from fallout and radiation? Or should we agree to disarmament with the untrustworthy foe thus risking the loss of the atomic race and our slavery or extinction? Is it civilization's extinction threatened either way—one slower than the other? Are there, therefore, in view of the danger, just grounds for playing politics or for soul-searching, prayerful dedication with every ounce of intelligence to finding the answer. Is there an answer? There must be. What is it?

Another dilemma faces American citizens. Will we preserve traditional constitutional government or embrace socialism? Khrushchev gave his estimate this week: "United States will go socialist without Soviet action, and the grandchildren of Americans will live under socialism." He knows what many Americans do not—socialism and communism are economically quite the same—and that a free country can embrace socialism without intentionally planning it. Public housing, public power, farmer and citizen subsidization, progressive income tax, which takes from thrifty and gives to the thriftless or indigent—these and many others are socialist tenets, and they are now firmly entrenched in the United States economy, which has survived not because of, but in spite of them, much as a ship moves despite barnacles. Socialists, moreover, may agree not to use the word socialism, but rather New Deal, Fair Deal, or other modern terms calculated to appeal to apathetic or unaware citizens who unfortunately are more generous in their tax gifts to Government than in their study of the course of their Government. Labor has been the target to help socialism spread, and so we have leaders like Mr. Walter Reuther, who intentionally or not pleads for socialism, praising the big budget, condemning businessmen, and fostering brutal strikes (the Kohler plant, for example). Where is the point of no return between economic freedom and Government regulation?

The ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) National Director Edward Hollander testified for natural-gas price control by Government, and I saw socialism's exponent in

the flesh. In my questioning him I learned: (1) He helped originate the ADA yardstick and graded the Congressmen (which for 2 years resulted in my receiving a zero); (2) he said ADA was against Government price control, then contradicted himself, asking for gas-price control, and admitted also being for removal of Government controls in 1953; (3) he proclaimed the insatiable greed of oil companies and then admitted he owned stock in numerous oil and gas companies; (4) he could not differentiate between principles of socialism and ADA tenets.

The natural-gas hearings are over. There may now be a struggle in committee between those favoring the present complete Government control by the FPC and those favoring partial or complete freeing of the independent gas producers from Government regulation of price at the well head.

The Girard case, the American soldier who killed a Japanese woman while on duty, demonstrates again that our soldiers should always be under United States jurisdiction.

The World Atom Pool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD I include two editorials from the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, Council Bluffs, Iowa, written by Mr. Dillard Stokes.

Mr. Stokes has made a deep, conscientious study of the current, far-reaching world problem regarding the proposed atom pool. His position on same deserves the fullest consideration by every Member of Congress and all who have responsibilities in this important problem.

The editorials follow:

[From the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil of June 9, 1957]

THE WORLD ATOM POOL

(By Dillard Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—The antics of Mr. Beck, the troubles of the New York Yankees, and scare stories on atom bombs are drawing more notice lately than the world atom pool, and the treaty to set it up in business.

These are exciting matters and the treaty is not. Yet in the long run the pool may turn out a more considerable item of the public business than the labor racketeers and the whole American League put together.

Also, the treaty may have much to do with whether people in Columbus, Cincinnati and Council Bluffs either are bombed out of their homes or taxed out of their undershirts.

The basic facts are plain and prosy: 80 nations sent envoys to a string of conferences, at which they framed "The Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency."

The agency—if it gets going—will get atomic material—the stuff that makes bombs and powerplants—from some nations and turn it over to others "for peaceful uses."

The 80 nations, by signing the statute, are bound to nothing, unless they also ratify it, as a dozen or so have done. Russia was one of the first.

And now the statute, which in law is a treaty, is about to come before the United States Senate.

Shall this Nation ratify the pact, and go along with the plan?

That's the question up to the Senators. The answer could hardly be reached without more facts, and then it depends on the weight they carry.

Thus, it turns out that only three nations have any fissionable material to hand over to the pool. Of these, the United States would put up 5,000 kilograms (about enough to make 100 atomic bombs), Britain has offered 20 kilograms, and Russia has promised 50 kilograms.

And then, the pool will be controlled by a majority vote of its members.

El Salvador will have 1 vote; whoever is running Haiti for the week will have 1 vote; General Trujillo will have 1 vote; India, 1 vote; Rumania, 1 vote; the United States, 1 vote—every member will have 1 vote except Russia, which will have 3, besides the Iron Curtain satellites.

There is nothing in the treaty to keep Red China out of the pool—or Outer Mongolia, or East Germany, or North Korea, or North Vietnam.

The State Department thinks it can round up the votes to keep the Red Chinese out; but does not claim this is a sure thing.

For Americans, the atom pool plan raises some questions—perhaps they ought to be called doubts. They are political, economic, and military, and all three are grave indeed.

The uranium this country is to hand over to the pool is supposed to be for peaceful purposes.

But (as the State Department puts it) "a stockpile honestly intended for future peaceful use is indistinguishable from one intended for future military use, and could, in fact, be turned to military uses."

Once they've got it, in fine, the wrong people could make quite a bang out of that uranium.

Also, it did cost the American taxpayers around $80 million.

[From The Council Bluff (Iowa) Nonpareil of June 16, 1957]

ATOM POOL A MOUSETRAP?

(By Dillard Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—Certain mice once faced a grave political question.

These were fine, fat, juicy mice who had done well for themselves in the rich fields they called home. Their problem was posed when their tribe was asked to join a dinner party of cats.

There were many who felt the tribe ought to go ahead. These speakers made quite a point of the fact that if the mice did not join there would not be any dinner party.

It also was urged that—although some of the cats were lean and predatory to a degree—the whole affair would be run on a very high plane.

The mice would have one vote, each tribe of cats would have one vote. All matters would be settled in democratic fashion by majority vote, including what—or whom—to have for dinner.

None of the mice has been seen lately, and their journal is missing. So the United States Senate does not have their decision for its guidance in dealing with a very similar question.

This is, whether to commit a great mass of wealth and a portion of the national destiny to the world atom pool, in which this Republic would have one vote out of 80.

The treaty that would set up the pool will shortly come before the Senate in some manner.

The aim is to spur atomic energy, under international controls, for peaceful purposes.

The pool would get fissionable matter from the three nations able to make it, and make it available to the many nations that are not.

Of these three nations, the United States would supply 5,000 kilograms of uranium, Russia 50 kilograms, and Britain 20 kilograms.

Once the pool got the atom fuel, the Nation that provided it could not get it back, nor have anything to say about what was done with it.

Such questions would be settled in the pool, or by its governing board.

In this setup the tiniest, weakest, and poorest nations would be equal in political force with the largest, strongest, and richest.

Voting strength sometimes is allotted this way in our high school and college debating societies. There the members are not deliberating actual questions, only hypothetical ones. Their decisions do not affect actual interests, only make-believe ones.

The atom pool is not going to resolve make-believe interests but real ones. On its votes will depend the bread and butter—and maybe the lives and future—of the people in the nations that take part.

How will the nations of the world cast their votes? How except as serves their own interests?

And if the United States has put up its uranium, placed in the control of the pool, will not the pool members dispose of it? Not as will please this Nation, but as will profit them?

Apportionment of political power according to the military and economic power of member nations always has been a hard problem.

When it arose in Philadelphia 170 years ago it was found insoluble. No formula would serve. Out of this came the great compromise—equality in the Senate, and representation in the House according to population.

No such compromise was urged when the atom treaty was being drafted. Even if there were such a plan, a grave question would be left:

The States felt they had to set up this Federal Republic. But does the United States have to join a world organization to advance the peaceful use of atom power?

Murderous Mao

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article which appeared on June 15, 1957, in the Boston Daily Record:

MURDEROUS MAO

Despite all our knowledge of the horrors of communism there is a shock of revulsion in reading the calm admission of Mao Tse-tung, chief of state of Red China, that 800,000 Chinese were slaughtered in consolidating his power.

Mass murder in Communist nations is not news. When the Hearst task force was on its Asian tour last year, an Indian official estimated the number of liquidated Chinese in the millions.

The shock lies in the almost casual corroboration of mass murder as an instrument of politics, in an official speech by the head of the Red Chinese Government, as reported in the New York Times in a story filed by its excellent reporter, Sydney Gruson, from Warsaw.

That Warsaw dateline is important.

Mr. Gruson was able to obtain in Poland, thousands of miles from Peiping, a sum-

mary of speeches made by Boss Mao in February and March of this year.

Our first thought is that if American newsmen were allowed in Red China by our State Department this big story would have been reported when it happened, and not months later, and would have been available to all the American people, as it should have been.

There is further significance in the Warsaw dateline. Unquestionably the summary of the Mao speeches came from an official Polish source. They contained remarks repulsive to the interests and dogma of the Soviet Union.

Mao said, for instance, there can be and are contradictions between Communist rulers and the people; small-scale strikes are beneficial; Communist populations ought to be exposed to a certain amount of negative propaganda; i. e., ideas from the free world as carried by the Voice of America.

Finally, he said, the persistent use of terror is self-defeating as was evidenced in the Hungarian uprising when the Communist Party simply disappeared in a matter of a few days. He added that the use of Russian troops was regrettable.

If Poland were an abject slave of Soviet Russia this information would not have been leaked to Mr. Gruson, and if he had gotten hold of it somehow he never could have filed it from Warsaw.

Here is further evidence (1) that Poland is not as firmly chained a satellite as, say, Czechoslovakia, (2) that Mao is extending his influence into Poland to a degree that must be of grave concern to the Kremlin, and (3) that Mao may be building up his power to become the strongest single leader in the Communist world.

But more mass murder, of course, if necessary.

It is far from conclusive evidence, but it is something to think about.

Invest in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, investment in America through our free enterprise system has made America great while big central government control of industries has weakened or destroyed every government that has tried it.

California has a chance to invest in America through one of its industries, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., entering into a partnership arrangement with the Federal Government for construction of the Trinity River project. Most of its citizens who would benefit from the development and who would pay the bill want the company to build and operate the power facilities. But there are those—most of whom are not directly affected by the project—who want the Federal Government, and only the Federal Government, to construct and operate these power facilities at a cost to the taxpayers and water users.

Under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include at this point an April 19, 1957, editorial from the Oakland Tribune entitled "Pass It Along":

PASS IT ALONG

The week of April 28 to May 4 will be observed as Invest in America Week, and Gov. Goodwin J. Knight is asking California to take advantage of it to "familiarize themselves with the advantages of the free-enterprise system."

It is good advice, and Governor Knight would do well to pass it on to Washington for the consideration of those elements that would prefer to stifle a basic element of American life in favor of governmental control and operation financed by public taxation.

California at this time is a good place from which such advice can come. There is underway in Washington an attempt to throttle a major project under free enterprise which means a great deal to northern California. That is the program by which the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would go into partnership with the Government to construct hydroelectric facilities on the Trinity River.

Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton has given the program his endorsement. An influential group of San Francisco businessmen have followed suit. Many other civic organizations have given their support. But necessary congressional approval of the partnership is threatened. The threat comes from those who are obsessed with the credo of letting the taxpayer foot the bill and Federal bureaucracy direct operations.

It would thrust free enterprise and private capital aside and deprive consumers of the capacity of free enterprise to get the job done. Free enterprise is not only interested in keeping construction and operating costs down, but it also pays taxes on its investment and profits.

"Mayflower II" and Naval Review Mark Contrast in Ocean Travel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert an editorial which appeared in the Evening Capital, of Annapolis, Md., on June 18, 1957. This editorial is most timely and points up very concisely the strides that our Navy is making in strengthening the security of our Nation. Coming from the home of the Navy, this editorial is most apt and I recommend its reading to all Members.

The editorial follows:

"MAYFLOWER II" AND NAVAL REVIEW MARK CONTRAST IN OCEAN TRAVEL

The fact that the *Mayflower II*, 53 days out of Plymouth, England, reached Provincetown, Mass., on the same day that the great International Naval Review of the warships of 18 nations was held in Hampton Roads, Va., served graphically to stress the development of ships over the years.

The 90-foot, 180-ton, square rigged bark, replica of the original *Mayflower* which brought the Pilgrims to New England in 1620, served two purposes in connection with the naval review. First, it stood in contrast to the jet planes, aircraft carriers, missile ships, and the great passenger liners of the present day, and also tended to stress the growth in power and prestige of the United States since the Pilgrims first set foot at what is now Plymouth, Mass.

It brought home the great advance in ocean transportation from sail, through steam, to the present nuclear-power planning. The fast destroyers and cruisers and other ships in the naval review are a far cry from the original sail driven little *Mayflower*.

But there was another angle to the naval review that added to its color and also brought a note of sadness to many of the veteran naval men. That was statements of high officials that the battleship is moving back into the shadows.

Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates summed this development up when, as he watched the battleships *Wisconsin* and *Iowa* pass by stated: "I don't think you'll ever see a battleship in another naval review. It is possible that battleships may become platforms for guided missiles but we have no present plans along that line."

The *Iowa*, flagship of the midshipmen's practice cruise squadron, and the *Wisconsin*, both 45,000 tons, are the only 2 battleships now on active duty in the Navy. Thirteen others have been tucked away in the mothball reserve fleet. Deactivation of the *Wisconsin* will begin in November and the *Iowa* will leave the line next year, according to Secretary Gates. When they are shelved, the Navy will be without a battleship in active service.

The two United States battleships in the review were steaming toward an uncertain future. As he watched them pass, Adm. Raleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, remarked:

"They're old, yes, and you might say obsolete. But if need be they will still sweep a mine for you or sink a submarine. It's just a harder job with older equipment."

So it appears that the future of the great battlewagons, the floating forts, whose guns have covered landings of American troops in wars, and which have written their share of the Nation's history, may be headed toward the shadows, and may become as obsolete as the *Mayflower II* and the original *Mayflower*. For the Navy is moving full speed ahead into the guided-missile era.

"The Navy is going through the greatest transition in its entire history." Former Secretary of the Navy Charles S. Thomas put it: "All at one time it is changing to nuclear power, from guns to guided missiles, from gunpowder to atomic weapons, and in the air from propeller to supersonic [jet] planes."

The trend toward an all-missile fleet is illustrated by the fact that the Nation's first guided-missile ship, the converted World War II cruiser *Boston*, was commissioned some 18 months ago. It can fire a salvo of four radar-guided 1,700-miles-an-hour Terrier missiles every 30 seconds.

Vice Adm. Thomas S. Combs, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, told Congress the Navy expects to have at least 47 guided-missile ships in the fleet by 1961.

By latest count, the fleet has at least 21 guided-missile ships, including 8 cruisers, 10 attack carriers, 2 submarines, and a destroyer.

An Associated Press story from Washington recently quoted Capt. John D. Lamade, Deputy Chief of Navy Information, on four reasons why guided-missile cruisers, frigates, destroyers, and submarines are superseding the battleship. These reasons follow:

1. The battleship requires too much manpower, about 2,700 officers and men, by comparison with smaller ships capable of delivering knockout blows with long-range guided missiles.

2. The vast bulk of the battleship is no longer needed to provide firing platforms. Guided missiles need no such platform to sponge up recoil. Moreover, the development of nuclear power has eliminated the necessity of the battleship's huge space for fuel storage. Small atom-driven ships can now do the job.

3. The battleship is too cumbersome to maneuver with high-speed, quick-turning craft of the modern naval task force.

4. Finally, the battleship, costing over $100 million, is too expensive in a day when even a submarine can pack a 7-ton Regulus guided missile capable of hurling a nuclear punch at a target 500 miles away.

But despite this summary of objections to the battleship there are those who caution against too soon casting them into the discard. It has been pointed out that the battleship, theoretically, has been consigned to the scrap heap with the invention of nearly every major weapon from the torpedo to the aerial bomb, and that now the guided missile has set off the same cry of doom for the great ships.

The need of precise, accurate shore bombardment, in a small nonnuclear war, to blast out shore fortifications has been cited, along with the functioning of a battleship as a radar-control center operating with fast carrier task forces. The Navy says they might serve in a limited role, such as convoy duty, in a conflict where nuclear weapons are kept under wraps.

The Navy's current program calls for the following guided-missile ships, 1 nuclear-powered aircraft carrier to be completed in 1961; 12 cruisers, including a nuclear-powered ship, 14 destroyers, 18 frigates, 8 submarines, 5 with nuclear powerplants.

No Taxes Required

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, a great many people in this country are concerned over the amounts requested in the 1958 budget for use in the operation of our Government. There are many persons who do not believe this budget is consistent with good government. They feel that in order to stabilize our economy and encourage its sound growth there must be a reduction in Federal spending. We all know that it costs considerably more to operate our Government now than at any time in its history. With approximately 59 cents of every dollar to be expended for major national security, the overall amount, of course, is much larger than one would have, in the past, ever dreamed of. But, in spite of the present-day situation, the various departments and agencies of the Government can be operated economically. Such economy cannot only be practiced by our Federal Government, but by the States and municipalities located therein. In many States of these United States prosperity is evidence by reason of economical administration of those in authority. A great many of our cities are managed, or operated, by citizens who give of their time and energy in order to practice economy and insure prosperity within their respective municipalities. In the Second Congressional District of Kentucky we have a small city with a population of 11,132, according to the 1950 census. The good people residing in this city—Madisonville, Ky.—for the third consecutive year will pay no property taxes or poll taxes. Here we have an unusual instance where taxes are not necessary due to the fact that the mayor, the city councilmen, and all city employees, operating in unison, are able to use the profits obtained from the municipally owned light and water departments to run the city. And here is exemplified economy with accompanying prosperity. It is clearly shown what can be accomplished by honest, civic-minded officials of a fine, progressive city.

Mr. Speaker, on June 11, 1957, there appeared an article in the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky., which I am sure the Members of this body will be interested in reading.

The article is as follows:

NO TAXES FOR THIRD YEAR HERE, COUNCIL RULES

Madisonville residents will pay no property taxes or poll taxes in 1957—the third straight year of exemptions for property owners here.

The city council last night passed an ordinance to that effect.

The ordinance reads, in effect: "an ad valorem tax of 'no' cents on property subject to taxation in Madisonville is levied for the year of 1957" and "no poll tax on male residents" for the year 1957.

The ordinance includes a paragraph which states: "There is also levied for the year 1957 a tax of 20 cents on each $100 of the fair cash value of shares of bank and trust companies for general city expenses."

MADE NEWS 3 YEARS AGO

The Madisonville city council made news all over the Nation 3 years ago when it passed an ordinance abolishing city taxes. Nineteen hundred and fifty-seven will be the third consecutive year that property owners here will not have to pay property or poll taxes.

The "no taxes" provision was one of the main talking points of the present city councilmen in their successful bid for renomination in last month's primary election.

In other council action last night:

City Treasurer Lamoine Barton submitted her report for the month ending May 31. It showed the city had a balance of $16,986.10 at the close of business at the end of last month.

Chief of Police W. H. Collins, in his report for last month, disclosed collections of fines and costs for May totaled $859.50.

Nine thousand five hundred dollars was transferred from the city's light and water department fund to the general fund.

The 2-week payroll, ending June 15, for city employees was allowed. Bills were approved and ordered paid.

National Cash Register Co., an Innocent Vehicle for Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, the National Cash Register Co., of Dayton, Ohio, published a special edition of its factory news magazine in September 1956 for distribution to its many thousand employees.

This magazine purports to report a trip through the U. S. S. R. by S. C. Allyn, president of the National Cash Register Co. The magazine contains 60 pages of beautiful colored scenes depicting a most happy life under Soviet rule.

The text of the magazine does contain some mild criticism of communism. However, the overall impact of the magazine is most favorable to the Communistic system. The magazine is obviously slanted to give a most favorable impression. It does not contain a true or balanced series of scenes of the more somber and squalid conditions under which the Russian people live.

This magazine is of greater propaganda value to the Communist ideology than the Soviet's official propaganda magazines. It demonstrates how well meaning patriotic citizens become innocent vehicles for the advancement of the Communist cause.

Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz is the executive director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, which is dedicated to exposing Communist ideological fallacies. His critical review of this publication of the National Cash Register Co. follows:

APRIL 23, 1957.

Hon. JOHN R. PILLION,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PILLION: The special issue of the NCR Factory News of September 1956 on the U. S. S. R. indicates how unwittingly the cause of communism can be served by American business. It is an extremely effective piece of agitational literature that will help communism.

As you know, the Communists are spending vast sums of money on a literature campaign. They, themselves, divide their literature into two types: propaganda and agitation. They define propaganda as "that which conveys many ideas to a few people" and agitation as "that which conveys one idea to many people." Propaganda is directed to the intellectual few; agitation to the undiscerning multitudes.

The great majority of the Communists' budget on literature is spent on agitation not propaganda. The two ideas they are trying to transmit to people in all countries are, firstly, that conditions of life in Communist countries are good now and rapidly getting better and, secondly, that conditions in America are bad now and rapidly getting worse. They seldom try to propagate both these ideas in the same piece of literature.

The magazine published by the National Cash Register Co. most effectively conveys the first of these agitational ideas. The magazine consists of two parts. There is a display of photographs, many of them in color, with brief captions, and an accompanying text. It is a fair assumption that many more people look at the photographs and the captions than will read the text.

The text is reasonably objective, whereas the photographs and captions bear a striking similarity to those in official Communist publications. The undiscerning could scarcely fail to be profoundly influenced by them. They convey a picture of life under communism attractive in the extreme. The natural question will arise in the minds of the viewer; why are we so concerned about communism, why is it necessary to spend such vast sums on defense if life under communism is so good. It can do nothing but confuse those who look through it and weaken their will to resist the infinitely dangerous and extremely insidious Communist advances.

Nothing illustrates more clearly than this volume the dangers inherent in delegations to Communist countries.

Yours very sincerely,

FRED C. SCHWARZ.

Ainsworth Irrigation Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, in general debate, I talked with Mr. JENSEN, a member of the committee, relative to the rather critical report on the Bureau of Reclamation which appears on page 14, and I quote a section of that report:

During the course of the hearings, a number of the Bureau witnesses demonstrated an apparent lack of preparedness and an inexcusable unwillingness to provide factual and responsive answers to questions of the committee members. The committee expects and is fully entitled to prompt, comprehensive, and responsive answers. It does not expect to be put through the process of digging out facts piece by piece in a time-wasting and unnecessary process.

I also referred to the fact that two projects in the Fourth District of Nebraska had been eliminated from the appropriations bill.

I can understand that the committee must have a very difficult time in judging the merits of all projects that they must consider. There are some 280 flood control and irrigation projects in this bill. If the official witnesses from the Bureau of Reclamation were not prepared and did not give proper and comprehensive answers then it would be difficult to arrive at the feasibility of any one of these projects.

Now coming back to the two projects in Nebraska, I shall deal first with the Ainsworth project.

Mr. Speaker, the Ainsworth irrigation project is a part of the Missouri Basin plan and has been authorized for construction by Public Law 531 of the 84th Congress. This project has proven its feasibility and has been recommended by the Department of the Interior and was in the President's budget request to Congress.

The folks in this district have entered into repayment contracts that have been approved. The project has passed every test required by the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of the Budget and this year they asked for $1,100,000 to get construction started.

It is different than some projects in that there is very little flood control in its plans. As you know, flood control is nonreimbursable and in some projects it is quite a large sum.

Under reclamation law, the farmers receiving the water have agreed to pay back as much as they can under reclamation law. That has been reclamation law for many years.

The project consists of a dam built on the Snake River, known as Merritt Dam. There is ample water in the Snake River for the project. There is good soil and good people ready to utilize the water in this semiarid section.

Nebraska, in this area, has been visited with severe drought for several years. When the project is completed, it would relieve the drought situation and make this community a thriving, productive one because of the new security and new wealth created by the production of new crops from the irrigated area.

The Appropriations Committee for Public Works has seen fit to disallow the budget estimate of $1,100,000 to get this project started. They say this, in part:

Testimony received by the committee indicates that an increase in income of $53.92 per acre will result through application of irrigation water to the land.

They further state:

Repayment from the land is only about 30 percent, leaving 70 percent of the total repayment allocation to be made up from the Missouri River Basin power revenues.

The committee further says:

They are concerned about the amount of irrigation repayment obligations being loaded on the income from the sale of power in the basin. In the case of this particular project the committee fails to understand why more favorable repayment contracts requiring a larger repayment on the part of the beneficiaries of irrigation cannot be arranged.

I would point out to the honorable committee that of all the projects in the Missouri River Basin, those in Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, and Nebraska, that the average repayment by irrigated land is about 17 percent. In the project approved in the upper Colorado River Basin last year, the repayment from irrigated land is about 12 percent. Actually, the repayment of $8.82 per acre is more than that estimated by the Bureau of Reclamation.

The Bureau of Reclamation officials tell me that the repayment contracts for the Ainsworth and Farwell projects are among the best in the Missouri River Basin States. They point out that the Ainsworth project pays back 30 percent of the cost while the balance comes from the Missouri River Basin account. I think those figures are correct. But we do have some projects in the Missouri River Basin that the irrigators pay [illegible]ttle as 10 percent. The bal[illegible]ng credited to flood control, fish [illegible]ldlife and from power revenue [illegible]ved from the basin.

There is little flood control in the [illegible]worth project. I am sure my colleagues understand that when flood-control money is in an irrigation project it is not paid back.

Under reclamation law, the farmers pay back as much as they can. In the case of the Ainsworth project all moneys will be paid back over a period of 50 years. That part charged to power is paid back with interest.

I am making an appearance before the committee in the other body and I hope that when they put the moneys back in the bill for the Ainsworth project, the conferees will consider the facts relative to the Ainsworth project. Again I repeat that their report of the repayment of 30 percent is far above the average in the Missouri River Basin.

Of course, it is hard for the folks in the Ainsworth project to understand why the Committee on Appropriations disapproved their project since they have met all of the requirements made by the legislative committee, the Department of Interior, and the Bureau of the Budget. This includes a repayment contract.

I would point out to the committee, on pages 886 and 887 of the hearings that the benefit-cost ratio, as estimated by the Reclamation Bureau, was 1.62:1, and all other benefits in which the Corps of Engineers are figured into the benefit-cost ratio the testimony on page 887 shows it to be 1.5:1. The benefit-cost ratio of the Ainsworth project is listed on page 890 to be 2.16:1. In other words, the Ainsworth project, which had budget approval, has a better benefit-cost ratio than the average for the Missouri River Basin.

The people of the district can hardly understand the action of the committee because they have complied with all the legislative requests, including repayment contracts. The project was approved by the Department of the Interior and was in budget requests. There is ample water; there is good land and good people to work the land. Perhaps someone on the committee will be able to offer an explanation as to why this project has been refused. They should also tell Congress and the people what is necessary in order that it be approved.

The only conclusion I can reach is that the committee was unable to understand the merits of the project because of the poor showing made by the Bureau of Reclamation witnesses.

The people of the district will appear before the other body, along with Senators and Members of Congress, and it is our hope that a better presentation can be made and placed in the bill when considered by the other body. I am confident this will be done and when the bill comes back to conference the project will be given the green light.

Wool Carpet Bill, H. R. 2151

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith a letter dated June 14 referring to H. R. 2151 which I believe merits serious consideration of the Members of Congress:

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 14, 1957.*
Re wool carpet bill, H. R. 2151.
Hon. HAROLD R. COLLIER,
Member of Congress, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COLLIER: In this country the carpet industry has, for over 150 years, produced woven soft surfaced carpeting for our American homes.

This industry is almost completely dependent on certain specific coarse types of wool not produced in the United States These types of wool must be imported from other countries whose sheep flocks are of the undeveloped and lower crossbred type that produce the coarse wools which are so necessary to the manufacture of carpets.

Since 1890 wools used in the manufacture of carpets in the United States have been admitted without payment of any import duty, up to grade 40's. Until recently, there has been a sufficient supply of these grades of wool. However, the available world supply of these grades of wool has been greatly reduced by the lack of trade with such Iron Curtain countries as China and Tibet. The diminishing supply of these grades of wool, together with an increased demand by the world carpet industry, have created a serious raw wool shortage in the United States which undoubtedly will become more acute as time goes on.

The enactment of H. R. 2151 will help relieve the increasingly acute wool shortage by enabling United States carpet manufacturers to compete in the world markets for an increased number of grades of wool without affecting domestic production of wool or any domestic industry. I urge that you lend your support to this bill. The United States demand for carpeting of all kinds has increased considerably. More than 15,000 retail establishments and their employees across the country are vitally interested in best serving the wants and demands of Mrs. American homemaker. The additional wool is needed to enable the retailer to supply that class of customers who normally demand carpets made of wool.

It is extremely important that this bill be enacted. Its passage will have a definite bearing on the future of the carpet industry, and at the same time permit the retailer to continue to make available to the United States consumer, woven soft surfaced carpeting of good reliable quality at reasonable and consistent prices.

Very truly yours,

A. O. TUREK,
Manager, Federal Taxes, Sears, Roebuck & Co.

House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee Hold Hearings in Gary, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY. J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on May 20, a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, under Chairman A. S. J. CARNAHAN, held hearings on our foreign-affairs problems in Gary, Ind. Forty-two witnesses testified. The following is the testimony of Robert Tobias, representing the Indiana Council of Churches:

A STATEMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY AND MUTUAL SECURITY TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GARY, IND., MAY 20, 1957

My name is Robert Tobias. I am here on behalf of the Indiana Council of Churches, whose member churches comprise the majority of the adult population of Indiana.

What I have to say does not necessarily represent the point of view of every member of the Protestant and orthodox churches in Indiana. It does reflect the conclusions of some representative church leaders who have given particular consideration to foreign policy insofar as mutual security and foreign aid are involved.

PROGRAMS ABROAD

We believe that certain specific programs are essential elements of a constructive foreign policy.

1. Mutual military defense: Military defense is necessary so long as men or nations threaten the processes of free and responsible thought, communication, and determination.

This is the common problem of many nations. It should be undertaken in partnership with them, sharing in personnel, planning and resources, insofar as possible through the United Nations.

It should be accompanied with adequate safeguards to keep the program defensive in fact as well as intent, with resolute efforts toward international understanding and permanent peace, with plans for disarmament and peaceful development of nuclear power and with responsible supervision of program and expenditure.

2. Mutual economic development: World economic development should be guided by planning on a long-range, worldwide basis.

National economic problems and policies, as well as private industry, should be informed and guided by world concern and consultation.

Our Nation should be ready to provide technical cooperation and financial support for commonly agreed projects, to assist in developing world markets, to facilitate trade and foreign exchange.

3. Economic grants, technical assistance, and self-help: Our grants to underdeveloped areas should be expanded to the extent of our possibilities and their responsible use in needy areas.

Provision should be made for emergency grants without extended delays.

Insofar as possible, planning and administration of grants should be on a multilateral basis.

Grants should be extended to people in need regardless of likely constribution to our own defense programs.

Grants should be so administered as to encourage eventual self-support and creative participation in the community of nations.

4. Cultural exchange: The understanding and friendship necessary for peaceful existence and cultural development ultimately depend upon mutual acquaintance among the peoples of the world.

A very greatly enlarged program of cultural exchange, public and private should be undertaken which would provide for sharing of arts, ideas, philosophies, etc., as well as technologies.

It should be multilateral, in principle excluding no peoples from its compass.

THE CHURCHES' PROGRAMS

The churches intend to continue their own worldwide programs of assistance, of fellowship and witness, representing last year upward of one hundred million dollars and well over ten thousand staff persons abroad. While this is not intended explicitly as a moral and spiritual counterpart for mutual assistance programs through government channels, it has positive implications for our national programs abroad.

METHOD AND SCOPE

1. Programs abroad should be planned and administered on a cooperative basis with other nations, insofar as possible within the U. N. framework.

2. Programs abroad should be above domestic partisan politics.

3. Programs abroad should be planned on a longer term basis. While relief projects can be operated on a year-to-year, hand-to-mouth basis, projects effecting most significant changes often require several years' development.

4. Inasmuch as all programs abroad tend to establish the particular government, regime or party through which they are channeled, safeguards should be taken to insure that such governments represent the majority will of the people, or, as a minimum, that it is the will of the people to have mutual assistance even if channeled through existing governments.

5. Programs of mutual economic development, technical and economic aid and cultural exchange reach beyond the concerns of military defense and should be independent of it.

6. Mutual economic development, technical and economic aid, and cultural exchange programs clearly need to be expanded by increased support and extended into new areas.

SUPPORT OF CHRISTIANS IN INDIANA

Members of our churches in Indiana are already aware that there are needs abroad. We believe we have responsibilities there which spring from the fatherhood of a just and loving God over all men, and our consequent brotherhood with all men. For this reason the ultimate criteria of our labors abroad may not be so much what they accomplish for us, but what they say by way of thanksgiving to God and participation with Him in His ultimate concern for the world.

In the immediate situation, the kind of support our constituency will give to national foreign policy and program will probably center around these four questions:

1. Is it imaginative and courageous? Are we just plugging dikes or are we helping people move forward?

2. Does it permit us a sense of mission as a people? Foreign aid programs, of late linked with military security, have been presented for support on the basis of enlightened self-interest. Americans are capable of nobler motives than this and, indeed, yearn for a sense of mission without which a Nation disintegrates. Americans should not be sold short on this point. Further, many realize that while it is historically true that help given to others often helps us, it is no less true psychologically and theologically that to seek to help ourselves by helping others ultimately helps no one.

3. Can the Nation be informed? If Americans have seemed weary in well-doing, it may mean they are not aware of the good that is being done abroad. An extensive program of information covering what is happening in the lives of people abroad seems imperative.

4. Are programs abroad creating understanding, trust, and friendship? Americans will be able to judge this largely on the basis of contacts with people. This may again suggest increased cultural exchanges, but also the need for a real sense of partnership in the purposes and administration of overseas programs.

Our constituency in Indiana has responded heartily to the needs of fellowmen abroad as presented through their churches. We believe they would undertake with hope the added responsibilities of an American foreign policy and an expanded program which informs them of the facts, which deals with the hopes of other nations imaginatively, courageously and constructively, and which springs from a sense of our own mission in the world in partnership with the responsible representatives of other peoples and reaching beyond the solution of our present conflict with Soviet communism.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT TOBIAS.

Congratulations to Texas Gas, and Felicitations to William Elmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial

entitled "Congratulations to Texas Gas, and Felicitations to William Elmer," which appeared in the June 13, 1957, issue of the Messenger and Inquirer, of Owensboro, Ky.

Bill Elmer is an outstanding young businessman who has attained success by reason of native ability, integrity of purpose, and hard work. He is well qualified to fill the place left vacant by the death of his illustrious predecessor.

The editorial is as follows:

CONGRATULATIONS TO TEXAS GAS, AND FELICITATIONS TO WILLIAM ELMER

Much has been said about Owenboro's natural resources, but too little is heard about our greatest asset—our human resources.

Many of our outstanding citizens are natives, but others have been furnished by industries locating here. Exemplifying the latter is Texas Gas Transmission Corp.'s new president, W. M. Elmer, who was promoted to the position at a board meeting Tuesday in Pittsburgh.

The description "outstanding" has been attached to Elmer on several occasions. Only 2 months ago he was cited as an outstanding example of the type of young executives attached to Texas Gas and coming under the leadership of the late W. T. Stevenson.

That was at a stockholders meeting, where praise is not passed lightly. However, Elmer is probably best known to the general public in connection with that description because of his selection as Owensboro's outstanding young man of 1950, and his subsequent choice as 1 of 3 outstanding young men of the State.

At 42, Elmer becomes one of the Nation's youngest corporation heads. A glance at his life's work to date shows a man continually progressing step by step toward success and leadership.

Elmer has risen from boyhood to one of the Nation's foremost industrial posts by his own efforts, hard work and lots of it. A native of Rochelle, Ill., he helped pay his way through college by playing the saxophone. He received a bachelor of science degree from the University of Illinois in 1936.

He was an auditing supervisor with the Navy Department during World War II and later became comptroller for Memphis Natural Gas Co., a predecessor of Texas Gas. He was later employed by Arthur Andersen & Co., Kansas City, as his predecessor W. T. Stevenson had been when he was starting his business career.

Elmer joined Texas Gas in 1947 and was elected comptroller the following year. Together with Stevenson, he worked to induce the corporation to locate its general offices in Owensboro.

In 1950 Elmer was elected vice president and treasurer and was made senior vice president in 1955. He was elected executive vice president of the company last April.

His service in these many capacities, and under the outstanding leadership of his predecessor, have made him well qualified for the title he holds and the tremendous responsibility it carries.

He and his family have endeared themselves to Owensboro in many ways through their unselfish participation in numerous projects to benefit the community. It is readily apparent that Elmer is ambitious for Owensboro as well as for Texas Gas. We anticipate his continued valuable assistance in helping to make Owensboro a good place to live and an inviting spot for new industry.

We congratulate Texas Gas on its having a man of Elmer's boundless energy and ability ready to move in as head of its vast interests as president of the company, and we felicitate Elmer on this expanded opportunity for service to his great organization, and to the community which he and it have chosen as their home.

Government Efficiency is a Large Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, this is the third of a number of articles dealing with the problem of waste and confusion in our Federal Government which I am pleased to insert in the public interest.

These articles were written by Mr. Clarence Francis, national chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, and were published in a pamphlet entitled "The Coupler" by the Symington-Gould Corp., of Buffalo, N. Y.:

GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY IS A LARGE ORDER

The Federal Government has undergone tremendous growth within the last 23 years. In this period, the executive branch has expanded from 400 to more than 2,000 departments, agencies, boards, bureaus, and commissions, some of which employ more people than General Motors. Total Federal civilian employment, in fact, has risen from 580,000 to 2,250,000. Military personnel have increased from 254,000 to nearly 3 million. Today, about 1 in every 13 employed Americans works for the Federal Government.

In money terms, it is easy to see that the Federal Government is the biggest business in the country. Last year, the Federal Government spent $66.4 billion. This amount represented 21 percent of the total national income, or $1 out of every $5 that we, as a people, make or earn by our efforts.

LITTLE CHECK ON INEFFICIENCY

Amidst this rapid growth and this huge spending, very little attention has been given to overall efficiency and economy. Is it surprising, then, that the Hoover Commission found identical things being done by different divisions of the Government?

For example, three independent air transport services are being run by the Navy and Air Force. Often no charge is made for carrying goods or personnel. Wasteful practices result: In July 1954, 13,000 pounds of furniture and, in September of the same year, 25,000 pounds of cement were flown from this country to Bermuda.

Moreover, many of these activities are carried on in competition with private enterprise.

HINTS OF WASTE APPARENT TO EVERYONE

Many Americans, either as civilian employees or as members of the armed services, have had a glimpse of waste in the Federal Government. As just plain citizens, many have complained at the redtape and delays as they tried to get some business information or a passport. In uniform, they have seen huge stockpiles of materials rusting at military installations.

The Hoover Commission confirmed our worst suspicions about this waste. Here are some of the findings on surplus property:

The Army Signal Corps had an authorized stock level of almost 1.5 million dry-cell flash batteries. This is an 8.5 year's supply of an item which lasts 2 years at the most.

Surplus disposal procedures are lax. One Government agency offered tungsten powder at auction, and accepted a bid of $1.20 a pound from a dealer who already had assurances that another Government agency would pay him $4 a pound. This, fortunately, was stopped.

The Army was found to have a 10-year supply of WAC uniforms but it went right on buying more such uniforms.

With such confusion, is it any wonder that the Government periodically finds itself loaded with piles of surplus stocks?

HOW TO CUT: AX OR PRUNING SHEARS?

Examples of Government waste and inefficiency are not new. They have been discussed often in the past. However, the Hoover Commission has shed new light on an old problem.

In the past, the problem has seemed large and confusing. Many sought an easy answer. They suggested, for example, that spending on Government services be cut by a certain percentage across the board. This meant that everything the Government did would be cut by a certain amount.

Kirwan Digs Us Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star of June 11, 1957:

KIRWAN DIGS US AGAIN

Representative MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, of Ohio, chairman of the House Public Works Appropriations Subcommittee, is conducting no love affair with the State of Nebraska. Apparently he is convinced that Nebraskans are political schizophrenics.

In two successive sessions of Congress he has put his foot down on committee endorsement of Nebraska's request for funds and approval for a federally built Fort Randall-Grand Island transmission line. He has said in effect that he is fed up with a Nebraska congresosnial delegation opposing Federal public power activities in principle and deed, but clamoring for funds and improvements when Nebraska public power agencies are needing.

Now in another area of Nebraska need Representative KIRWAN has arisen, cleared his voice, and given vent to a cynical shaft. When a Nebraska delegation appealed for a $3,327,500 appropriation to continue the conservation and flood-control work on the Frenchman-Cambridge project, KIRWAN observed that the Nebraska Unicameral Legislature had lately frowned on Federal spending and said so officially in an economy resolution. Asking Nebraska to make up its mind on what it wants KIRWAN was quoted as saying "If they do that (pass a no-aid resolution) out there on a nice clear day in the State legislature, then you come in on a cloudy day before Congress we would like to be enlightened as to what they want."

Nebraska perforce admits to a divided mind. A case can be made for inconsistency on the part of a State that formerly deplores aid programs while straining itself to get $9 for $1 Federal money for its highway system, and asks for millions for the purpose of flood control and conservation. But Representative KIRWAN is to be reminded that division of mind is a wholesome and universal characteristic of the American system. It is not peculiar to this one State or that. Indeed, were it not for political difference of opinion, Representative KIRWAN might not now be in Congress chiding Nebraska. He didn't get there by an unanimous vote in Ohio.

It is a good doctrine both for Nebraskans who, by testimony or resolution, attempt to be the controling voice of the State, and

Representative KIRWAN, who wishes to be a sound lawmaker, that issues should be weighed on their merits in terms of the national welfare and those merits do not include the condition of one's spleen. The Frenchman-Cambridge work is in the field of flash floods, of capital losses, of erosion of valuable soil, and of security of life and property both in downstream Nebraska and Kansas. By those considerations should the propriety or impropriety of remedial work be judged.

Floridian Invented the First Ice-Making Machine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all of the members of the Florida delegation here in Congress would enthusiastically agree that there are many, many fine things to be said about the Third District of Florida and the outstanding member and dean of our delegation, BOB SIKES, who has represented this area with skill and integrity for more than 20 years in the Florida State Legislature and the United States Congress. I would like to call attention to an additional contribution to our society which has come from the Third District of Florida. I refer to the achievements of one Dr. John Gorrie, of Apalachiola, Fla., who was responsible for starting the whole concept of two of the greatest human comforts of the world today—air conditioning and the artificial production of ice. It would be impossible to estimate the value of Dr. Gorrie's accomplishments in the fields of health and industrial progress which our society has been able to make because of his discoveries. I pay tribute to this outstanding gentleman from the Third District of Florida. He is not forgotten. A recent newspaper article in the Miami Herald sets forth his inspiring efforts and the roadblocks he had to overcome The article follows:

[From the Miami Herald of June 9, 1957]

FLORIDIAN INVENTED THE FIRST ICE-MAKING MACHINE

(By Blanche S. McKnight)

He is one of the least known of our great Americans and yet he changed the world by solving a problem that had baffled mankind throughout history.

He is Dr. John Gorrie of Apalachicola who succeeded where Galileo and Benjamin Franklin had failed in efforts to conquer heat and produce artificial cold. Dr. Gorrie started the whole concept of two of the greatest human comforts of the world today—air-conditioning and artificial production of ice.

But strange to say, he is rarely mentioned in history books, encyclopedias or trade journals. Outside of Florida, probably only one person out of every 100 has heard his name or associated it with the invention of artificial ice.

Now, more than a century after his death, Florida is constructing a memorial museum to perpetuate his memory and tell the story of his battle against disease which resulted in his invention of an ice-making machine. In 1955 the State Legislature appropriated $20,000 for the museum in Gorrie Square, Apalachicola, and delegated the job to the Florida Park Service. Work was begun last fall.

Dr. Gorrie lived less than three score years, from 1803–1855, but in those drama-packed years there is a story of a never-ending battle against disease, outstanding in scientific achievement yet a melancholy and tragic story, embittered by disappointment. His most ingenious invention, the ice-making machine was ridiculed as a crack-pot idea and he was unable to find a financial backer for his revolutionary cooling machine.

The greatest drawback to the growth of the town was the prevalence of malaria and other subtropical fevers which were taking a huge toll of lives annually, besides threatening the successful colonization of Florida along the Gulf Coast. Rich and poor, white and black, often entire families were wiped out by the fevers.

Dr. Gorrie became known throughout the South as a pioneer in health and sanitation, but in his large practice of medicine, he found it almost impossible to treat successfully violent and long-drawn out cases of fever in the hot months. People died by the scores.

But the one idea Dr. Gorrie recognized as a must was plenty of ice to cool fever-ridden patients. According to his biographers, the doctor was truly a harassed man, making wearisome rounds in the merciless Florida sun, traveling from the humble homes of the poor and Negro slaves to the mansions, thence on to the Marine Hospital where he was the physician in charge.

To him, plenty of ice was the most needed commodity in the South. Likewise it was the most difficult to procure. All ice had to be transported from the North by wagon train and sailing boat. The ice served as ballast for the ships, but ships were very uncertain. If they did arrive, the ice cost from 50 cents to $1 a pound.

Dr. Gorrie was practical. He reasoned that since ice had been brought from the North as early as 1797 and the supply was still uncertain, little could be expected from that source.

Hence, he tried out a theory or treatment on evaporative cooling. History challenged him, for evaporation was one process that perplexed the ancients and medievalists. Gorrie persisted in his efforts and built a device which held buckets of ice suspended from the ceiling and over which a current of air was passed, thus creating the same effect as modern air-conditioning.

While pursuing these experiments in air-cooling, quite by accident, he produced small blocks of ice about the size of ordinary building bricks. Something went wrong in the windowless and doorless room where he was working and he found he had a cake of ice on his hands.

Now he determined to achieve the impossible. He set to work to produce a machine that would turn out a dependable supply of ice.

His experiments extended over a period of 4 to 5 years before he finally succeeded in making ice. By 1844, he was cooling mechanically two rooms in his home that he used for hospital purposes. A year later his machine was producing 8-inch blocks of ice.

It was not until 1850, however, that he completed the first practical model of his mechanical ice-making machine.

It now looked as if success had at last rewarded Dr. Gorrie's efforts, but his machine was ridiculed by the press, especially in New York and New England, where the cutting of natural ice was profitable. When he sought capital in New Orleans, Boston, and other cities, no one was willing to risk funds.

Disappointed and brooding over lack of finances, Dr. Gorrie became ill and died June 16, 1855, at the early age of 52.

Hawaii Pledges Not To Seek Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, it is claimed by the proponents of statehood for Hawaii that the United States is under an obligation to grant statehood.

The following article reprinted from the Honolulu Advertiser of January 9, 1957, reveals that the people of Hawaii had pledged themselves not to seek statehood at the time that Hawaii was annexed to the United States:

HAWAII'S STATEHOOD PLEDGE CHALLENGED

(By Kathleen D. Mellen)

Last Thursday evening, January 3, I heard a radio commentator make the charge—in a most aggrieved voice—that the American Congress has for six decades violated its pledge to make Hawaii a State. That no such pledge was made at the time of annexation is easily proven by even a casual study of the records of that period and because such an indictment of Congress is totally false I, as a loyal American, resent its constant repetition by statehood spokesmen. Such misrepresentation does nothing to make friends for us in Washington nor does it present America in a true light before the young Americans growing up in Hawaii. Therefore I ask your permission to present the true story of annexation proceedings as shown in the written records of that time.

Annexation of these islands to the United States was desired by a mere handful of Hawaii's total population and was approved on the mainland by an even smaller proportion of American citizens. The arguments put up by Americans against annexation were so hot and furious as to inspire Paul Neumann, a witty Honolulu lawyer, to say that its local promoters were making Hawaii look like "a streetwalker pushing herself on America."

Proponents of annexation, both here and on the mainland, took the stand at all times that they did not want statehood, the local leaders giving a solemn pledge that they would never ask for it because "it is not desirable nor is it wanted." The Honorable Samuel Damon told Washington newsmen: "Hawaii will never ask to become a State, because someday we might hold the balance of power in the American Senate, and that would not be desirable. * * * If we can come into the Union as a Territory * * * that would suit us just fine."

Chief Justice Albert Judd told the Boston Herald: "As to the question of statehood, I do not think that any sensible man in the islands expects or wants it. A Territorial government as a permanency is what is desired."

In January 1898, when Sanford B. Dole went to Washington to make a plea for annexation, newspapers there and here carried the statement that Washington was considering annexation, but would "add an amendment that will prevent Hawaii from ever becoming a State. President Dole has agreed to this." Mainland newspapers voiced approval of such an amendment, and the San

Francisco Call urged that the islands be put under military rule for all time.

Annexation in any form was opposed by the Springfield Republican which warned that "Some day they will try for statehood which might eventually be given them by some political party eager for their votes in competing for control of the United States Senate." And Carl Schurz, writing in Harper's Weekly said that the Hawaiian sugar planters would ask first for annexation, then for statehood. He warned: "The Americans should be prepared for the wild scheme which is likely to be sprung upon us * * * Some day, owing to some exigency, they would be precipitated as a State of the Union and through * * * their Senators and Representatives take a part in governing the rest of us in this Union." He advised the American people to "ponder that" before allowing them to come into the Union in any form.

When annexation was finally achieved the statement by a prominent Island Republican that the Republicans had promised eventual statehood for Hawaii brought a prompt rebuke from the New York Tribune which said: "If the Republican Party should ever favor such a thing it would cease to be Republican. * * * The salvation of this Republic requires that limitation of statehood be strictly to this continent. * * * No political party here has declared in favor of making Hawaii a State * * * and the Republicans dwelling in our Hawaiian dependency should not attempt to meddle with our policies. * * * We have treated Hawaii kindly but if the people abuse our generosity they will suffer for it."

I could give a long list of such authoritative quotations but these should be sufficient to prove the absolute falsity of the oft-repeated charge by statehood spokesmen that America has acted in a traitorous manner toward Hawaii. To accept the true situation and to cease hurling insults at Congress would serve our cause far better.

Spelling Champ Mary Ellene Salmon in Capital for Finals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article entitled "Spelling Champ Mary Ellene Salmon in Capital for Finals," which appeared in the June 3, 1957, issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

By reason of her selection as tristate spelling champion for Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio, Mary Ellene Salmon has exemplified what can be accomplished by making use of native ability and scholastic pursuits.

The editorial is as follows:

SPELLING CHAMP MARY ELLENE SALMON IN CAPITAL FOR FINALS

Mary Ellene Salmon, 13-year-old daughter of Dr. and Mrs. James L. Salmon, 208 North Main, left Sunday morning for Washington, D. C., where as tristate spelling champion, she will compete with 66 top spellers of the Nation at the 30th Annual National Spelling Bee.

Miss Salmon was accompanied by her sister, Lucy, and Mrs. Robert C. Tucker, 134 Waddill Avenue, her spelling instructor. At Evansville, they were joined by Nancy Brem, Evansville, who is in charge of the tristate area for the spelling bee contest. The group boarded a plane there and arrived in Washington Sunday afternoon.

Representing the Evansville Press as the tristate spelling bee champion, Miss Salmon will be in Washington for 1 week.

SISTER ALSO HOPKINS CHAMP

Since winning the Tri-State Bee, Miss Salmon has continued studying under the instruction of Mrs. Tucker, meeting with her twice a week for an hour's spelling session.

In 1955, Mary Ellene placed fourth in the tristate bee; in 1956 she was second and this year she was champion.

Lucy Salmon, her sister, was once spelling champion of Hopkins County, too, but lost out in the 1954 tristate bee.

Spellers in the national bee will visit the White House, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Washington Memorials, the FBI, Smithsonian Institute, Mount Vernon, Annapolis, and go on a cruise down the Potomac River while in Washington.

The spelling bee finals will be held on Friday, June 7, at 9 a. m., in the Department of Commerce auditorium. Bee headquarters and the contestants' residence while in Washington will be at the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

A total of $4,075 in awards will go to the final winners, as well as a weekend trip to New York City for the champion.

Statement of Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, President of the Synagogue Council of America, Hartford, Conn., Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Support of the Mutual Security Act of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

STATEMENT OF RABBI ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA, HARTFORD, CONN., BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1957

I am grateful for the opportunity to speak in my capacity as president of the Synagogue Council of America, which, as you know, is the central national coordinating agency for the rabbinic and congregational associations of the three branches of Jewish religious life in this country. These are: The Rabbinical Assembly of America and the United Synagogue of America, of the conservative movement; the Rabbinical Council of America and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, of the Orthodox movement; and the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, of the reform movement.

I do not presume to speak for each of the several million members of these organizations, but I am presenting the views adopted, after consideration, by the official leadership of these movements.

The Synagogue Council of America and its constituent agencies, on the basis of fundamental Jewish religious teaching, support the programs of our Government for extending long-range economic and technical assistance to the less-developed nations and people of the world. We believe that these programs, which are designed to help less fortunate peoples and their governments to preserve their newly won freedom and to move forward on the road to economic independence, are of crucial importance in the struggle to achieve peace and freedom, stability and justice.

We endorse in principle the proposals for an enlarged foreign-aid program submitted to the Congress of the United States by President Eisenhower on May 21, 1957, and as amplified by Secretary of State Dulles on May 22, 1957, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

As a teacher of religion and a spokesman for the organized Jewish religious community, it is beyond my training and competence to seek to evaluate that aspect of the foreign-aid program relating to military defense assistance and defense support. In this area, the policy considerations are so complex, the military and security factors are so involved and technical, that it would be folly for me, as a layman, to try to pass judgment on the budgetary estimates for military security needs. Suffice it to say that we, of the Synagogue, hold that such a fateful decision, upon which rests the security of so many millions of human souls, must be arrived at in calm perspective above the storm of political partisanship. If any error in calculation is to be made, then certainly it were better that the errors should fall on the side of preserving the safety of the American people and the free world.

In reflecting further on the military security program, the synagogue groups of our country recognize the inescapable need for adequate military security and support programs for collective security, both within and without the United Nations. However, we feel strongly that the increasing reliance on military might alone, and at the expense of positive social, economic, political, and psychological strategies, constitutes a threat to peace. We believe that the scriptural concept of "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit," has the highest contemporary relevance and that our Government should pursue with vigor and statesmanship every avenue which might hopefully lead to a reduction of the demoralizing armaments race and a limitation on the nuclear bomb stockpiling and testing.

We of the synagogues of America welcome in the proposed foreign-aid program the separation of the economic assistance (i. e., developmental assistance, technical cooperation, and special aid) from the military-defense program. This distinction—and it is an important one—between economic aid rendered for defense purposes in connection with our military interests and assistance provided primarily for the benefit of the people of the respective recipient nations has been long overdue. The separation of these programs, with its clarification of the fact that our nonmilitary development aid budget constitutes but one-tenth of 1 percent of our gross national product, must impress every mature mind among our citizenry with the reasonableness of this proposal and the urgency for its enactment into law in its present form. The contemplated development loan fund established initially on a 3-year basis of sustained operation, it seems to us, is a constructive move toward helping economically backward countries achieve a balanced economic development based mainly on their own needs rather than on the self-interest or foreign policy considerations of our Government.

As a spokesman for Judaism, I feel constrained to point out our profound religious concern over this factor of motive in providing nonmilitary economic assistance. We have observed that our Government seems to find it necessary constantly to reassure the

American people that the major or sole reason for helping the nearly 1 billion people in Asia and Africa who are afflicted with the age-old scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance, that our principal motive in offering them aid is our own self-interest, our foreign policy.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, no one with any sense of responsibility can gainsay the importance of the desperate struggle for the loyalties of the uncommitted nations which contain nearly one-third of the world's population. As long as communism remains committed to worldwide revolution, we must make, wherever possible, friendly and dependable allies in the cause of democracy. But we must urge and stress the thought that there is a moral need to distinguish between what we do to assure our survival and what we do as a matter of humanity and unselfish moral obligation.

As religionists, we feel profoundly that the utilitarian motive of benevolence is not worthy of the United States. The moral character and destiny of America compel the higher motives of compassion, of brotherhood, of respect for human personality. These are both the cornerstones and keystones of our democracy which we may ignore or neglect only at our own peril. As the President said in his message to the Congress:

"Our helping hand in their struggle is dictated by more than our own self-interest. It is also a mirror of the character and highest ideals of the people who have built and preserved this Nation."

Religion, as taught by synagogue and church, enjoins us to help other nations out of love of God and man. I quote the words of Deuteronomy (15:7):

"If there be among you a needy man, thou shalt not harden they heart, nor shut thy hand from thy needy brother. * * * Thou shalt surely open thy hand unto him and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need."

We should help these tragic people in need without expecting them to become our satellites. Grants-in-aid and loans may help us to acquire bases and other elements of military security, but these cannot buy friends or friendship. As our Nation, which is so privileged, shares its technology, its economic abundance, its life-preserving resources, our actions will demonstrate our concern for the welfare of other human beings.

In administering our material wealth and technical skills as a trust given us by the Creator for use in the service of mankind, we shall bring hope to millions of people in the underdeveloped parts of the world.

Now—this we can do with a constructive and long-range program of economic assistance and international trade which may ameliorate the despair and hopelessness which engulf so large a portion of mankind and will assure not alone the dignity of life, but life itself.

We of the Synogogue Council of America devoutly hope that the Congress of the United States will enact this legislation to help in the words of the psalm, "rescue the poor and needy; deliver them out of the hand of the wicked."

This, we believe, is the great moral and historic obligation which confronts our country in its role as the leader of the free world.

Our people support the foreign-aid program which appears to be the surest vehicle we now possess in our waging of peace for all men everywhere.

Justification of Farwell Irrigation District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the appropriation bill for public works for fiscal year 1958 gives moneys for some 280 flood control and irrigation projects located all over the United States. I want to call the attention of the committee to a project in Nebraska known as the Farwell irrigation unit. This district consists of about 52,000 acres and is a part of the Sargent unit that is already under construction. It is a part of the Missouri River Basin development.

The Farwell project was authorized last year. A repayment contract was completed and accepted by the Department of Interior. The President included an item of $750,000 to start construction of the project. The Appropriation Committee has seen fit to eliminate this project and on page 18 of the report you will find their explanation.

I would point out to my colleagues that this is the only irrigation project in the Missouri River Basin that has a conservancy district which has been organized and was authorized to help with the ultimate repayment of the construction of the project. There is no hydroelectric development in the Farwell unit. It will tie in with the Sargent irrigation district which has already been started and in the end will irrigate a total of 68,700 acres.

The committee, in their report on the Farwell unit, complains that "the revenues of the Missouri River Basin project are expected to carry more than 60 percent of the repayment costs applicable to irrigation." Mr. Chairman, there are 13 projects in the 7 States making up the Missouri River Basin area. The average repayment of these irrigation projects is about 17 percent. They go as low as 8 percent repayment over a 50-year period. There is no project that reaches the repayment provisions of the Farwell project.

I would point out, Mr. Speaker, that the folks living in this district are in full accord with the irrigation project. There is no dissension. They have met all of the requirements placed on the project by the Legislative Committee, the Interior Department, and the Bureau of the Budget. It is indeed a little hard to understand why the project was not given the green light.

It is interesting to note that the United States in 8 years has spent under their foreign aid program $355,800,000 on 197 projects in 46 countries for irrigation, hydroelectric projects, and drainage projects. Indeed, several large contracts have been made in the last 60 days for additional projects in Formosa and Indonesia.

It seems to me we ought to remember that the funds invested in reclamation are an investment in America, an investment to meet the demands of this growing, dynamic country.

There has been some question raised about surplus crops being produced on irrigated land. In the case of the Farwell project some eight or nine thousand acres of wheat now being raised would be diverted to production of alfalfa and other forage crops.

I did want to remind my eastern colleagues that the farmers on irrigation projects are excellent, permanent customers for the manufactured products of the Eastern States.

Mr. Speaker, I have just received a telegram from the board of directors of the Farwell project. It reads as follows:

Apparently the House committee was critical of benefit-cost ratio but we do not understand why such criticism should be made at this time. The Farwell unit was justified by the Interior Secretary and was authorized by Congress on the basis of the total benefits that will accrue from its operation.

He found the benefit-cost ratio to be 1.88 to 1 for 100 years as the minimum useful life of the works. For a 50-year period the ratio was 1.45 to 1. As concerns repayment, our people have already signed repayment contracts as between the Farwell Irrigation District and the Loup Basin Reclamation District and the United States, pledging revenues from the reclamation district levy, and the full ability of the irrigators to pay for project operation and maintenance and toward the costs of construction.

We believe our returns toward project costs in this respect are more favorable than most projects today. This is true, especially considering that our project involves an unusually small amount of nonreimbursable costs—less than 4 percent—for flood control and fish and wildlife as shown in the report.

Platte and Loup Valleys in Nebraska have received only one small irrigation unit as a part of the Missouri River Basin project development, yet these valleys contain a large percentage of the basin in terms of land suitable for irrigation and of people who could and who have the right to be benefited through irrigation development.

Our people have noted the favorable action of the Budget Bureau recommending an appropriation of $750,000 to initiate construction of the unit at this time and have taken heart in knowing that all other agencies of the Government have also aproved our project. They are now disappointed and rightly so in the action of the House Committee not to recommend the appropriation.

This telegram is signed by the directors of the Farwell Irrigation District.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me repeat it is difficult for the folks in the Farwell Irrigation District to understand why the project was eliminated by the Appropriations Committee. I do not believe they are especially bitter or resentful but they are confused and actually hurt when they realize that this Congress in the last 8 years has spent

more than $355 million on 197 irrigation, hydroelectric, and drainage projects in 46 countries and then refuses funds for a project that is really just an investment in the resources of the country, a project that pays back all of the money over a period of 50 years. Indeed, Mr. Chairman, in the last 60 days several lush contracts have been let for more irrigation and drainage in Formosa and some other eastern countries, including Spain. These projects in foreign countries pay back not one dime, nor do they have legislative approval, nor are they required to furnish feasibility reports, and yet the money is furnished by the taxpayers in America, including those in the Farwell unit.

The folks in the Farwell Irrigation District, both in the country and in the towns, have joined together to form a conservancy district. In other words, the people in town will help to carry on and pay for some of the charges on the irrigation costs. It is the only project of that type in the Missouri River Basin. The people in this area are honest, sincere, hard-working folks. It is an established community. All they need is water on their good land in order to make the area a real Garden of Eden. Mr. Chairman, it would be quite different had the project not had Department and udget approval. It would be quite different if the repayment charges would be less than those on the other projects. The project has a much higher ratio of repayment than the other 13 projects in the Missouri River Basin.

We hope to make a complete presentation to the other body and I feel certain that they will include the item in the appropriation bill. I trust a conference will take into consideration the facts that justify the Farwell Irrigation District.

Inflation—One Easy Lesson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the real picture of how inflation works is pointed up by the following example which appears as an advertisement in the June 21, 1957, issue of U. S. News & World Report:

You repair shoes, he pumps gasoline, I raise chickens. We sell to each other and to the man next door—a retired schoolteacher on a pension.

Somebody convinces me I can make just as much for less work, so I raise fewer chickens but increase the price of those I do raise.

But you aren't going to repair more shoes in exchange for a chicken; he isn't going to give me more gasoline for a chicken. It's the same chicken; I haven't made it worth any more to you. So all you do is raise the price of repair work; he raises the price of gasoline. But the retired schoolteacher can't raise his pension; he just gives up chicken.

So all I've done is lose one customer, and traded dollars with the others.

If I had worked more efficiently (maybe invested in a mechanical brooder) I would have had more chickens to trade for more repair work and more gasoline, and by cutting costs and prices a bit, got two teachers as customers instead of none.

And more people could be enjoying chicken.

In the same issue of the same magazine there appear some very convincing data on who is to blame for the wage-price spiral.

Since 1950 pay for labor has increased 22 petrcent, while the worker's output has increased 11 percent, which can only result in an inflationary impact.

The industrialist has two things to consider; namely, accumulating reserves necessary to the repair, modernization, and expansion of his plant—which benefits labor—and the payment of a return to the stockholders who have invested in the plant. These investors, since the money they have invested represents the result of their labors, have as much right to increased earnings as do the employees. It is, therefore, significant that dividends paid to stockholders, in 6 years, dropped from 3.8 percent to 3.5 percent of national income. At the same time, industry's profits, after taxes and dividends, dropped from 3.4 percent to 2.1 percent. Recalling that in the same period labor increased its take by 22 percent, it is pretty clear that someone is talking through his hat when he denies that wage increases, unless they are geared to increased productivity, do not initiate the price spiral.

And then to return to the retired school teacher—to all of us who live on fixed incomes—how far does this crazy business go until we are all forced to stop eating chicken?

Herein, in my opinion, lie the seeds of our economic destruction.

Amazing, Eh What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following very interesting newspaper article by Joseph Young, published in the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., Tuesday, June 18, 1957:

PRIVATE MAIL CONTRACT SUGGESTED BY PRESIDENT

(By Joseph Young)

Apparently annoyed at the all-out pay-raise fight being made by the postal employee unions, President Eisenhower is reported to have told a group of Republican Congressmen that a lot of the Nation's postal problems could be solved by the Government turning over its postal operations to a private firm.

According to some Republican Congressmen present at one of last week's breakfasts given by the President for the legislators, several of them suggested that the administration drop its opposition to postal and Federal pay increases and indorse a moderate rise.

During the reportedly heated discussion that followed among the Republican Members, President Eisenhower was said to have told them that "it would solve a lot of problems if the Government could contract with a private firm to deliver the mail."

Representative CORBETT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, one of those present and a top member of the House Civil Service Committee, was one of those urging administration support of a pay raise.

According to several members present, the President listened while Mr. CORBETT compared postal wages with the salaries paid in the Pittsburgh area where common laborers are hired at $2.30 an hour. The President is then reported to have observed that present postal wages were ample in some low-cost areas and to have raised the question of whether it might be feasible to provide regional variations in pay or even provide a special allowance for high-cost areas.

It was pointed out to the President that rural lawmakers, particularly southern Democrats, who wield great influence in Congress, have always opposed that and consequently there was very little chance that Congress would approve such a system.

Whereupon, according to those present, the President commented that neither the executive branch nor the Congress should have to spend so much time worrying about such problems as setting the salaries of postal workers.

It was then that the President reportedly made his comment about how it would solve the problem if the postal service could be turned over by Federal contract to a private firm. He went on to explain that the contract could provide—as other Federal contracts do—that the employees must be paid the prevailing wage in whatever area they worked.

The President's suggestion did not rouse much enthusiasm, either among Members of Congress or of postal employee unions.

The feeling was that the cost to the Government would be greater. First, the majority of postal workers are concentrated in the country's 100 high-cost cities and, based on comparable industry wages, their pay would be raised more than lowered. Also, any private firm would, of necessity, have to have a reasonable margin of profit for its operations.

Finally Members of Congress feel that a private firm would not be willing to maintain the scope of present service in 36,000 cities and 30,000 rural areas. Only those areas whose operations showed a profit would be serviced under private operation, they declare.

Some of the Members present at the breakfast said afterward that they didn't believe the President was too serious about the proposal. They said they felt the off-the-cuff expression was just the President letting off steam due to his irritation over the serious Federal pay-raise drive now going on in Congress.

J. Blake Timmons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is with heavy heart that I report the demise of a notable and illustrious Texan. Amarillo and the Panhandle of Texas has

lost a valuable and valiant citizen in the passing of J. Blake Timmons, judge of corporation court, who was struck down in his young manhood by a crushing illness. Only in the past few months has he been unable to carry on the duties of his office, and it is the marvel of his friends that he bore up so long in the face of his waning strength.

Judge Timmons was a man of high character and he had that fine quality of great courage and kindness of heart. He possessed in an extraordinary measure the confidence and devotion of his many friends and associates. He met his final test as he met all others. Whether in service of his country or in the everyday trials of life, he could take it. His innate cheerfulness would not let him be cast down and he went bravely forward in the faith of a new and better life, and in the consolation of the infinite and eternal care of his Heavenly Father.

Statement of President Garcia of the Philippines on Signing the Bill Outlawing the Communist Party in the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, President Carlos P. Garcia of the Philippines has just signed a bill passed by the Philippine Congress outlawing the Communist Party in that country. The law prescribes imprisonment for party members and death for party organizers and leaders. Upon signing the bill, President Garcia issued a statement that, for its courage, forthrightness and statesmanship, will take its place among the valuable state papers of the free world.

It is evident that in the Philippines there is no weakening, but on the contrary, a decided strengthening of the determination of the people to fight a godless ideology such as communism. The Philippine Congress, in passing such a bill, has shown the collective wisdom of its constituency and it is a clear expression of the Filipino's unswerving will to oppose the blandishments, the intimidations, the prevarications of communism. President Garcia in signing it is demonstrating to the world that he is a worthy successor of his great predecessor, Ramon Magsaysay.

Let us take a lesson from this example of unrelenting fight against an ideology that does not rest in its effort to destroy the democratic way of life. While we have heads of state like President Garcia who are stalwart champions of democracy, we in America need have no fear that the Philippine Government will continue to be led with wisdom and statesmanship and that the Filipino people will continue to be our worthy allies in upholding all that is best and all that is noble in the democratic creed.

The following, Mr. Speaker, is President Garcia's forthright statement on signing the bill outlawing the Communist Party in the Philippines, which I commend to all those of our countrymen who need an injection of courage to continue our fight against communism:

STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT CARLOS P. GARCIA OF THE PHILIPPINES UPON SIGNING THE BILL PASSED BY THE PHILIPPINE CONGRESS OUTLAWING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

I have signed into law the bill outlawing the Communist Party of the Philippines.

With this law, our people have not only officially made the fight against communism a matter of national policy but we have also acquired a potent weapon in the fight against subversion.

Successful as we have been in breaking the backbone of armed Communist resistance, we find ourselves seriously handicapped in countering effectively the more insidious activities of Communists who have ostensibly forsworn violence and sought expediently the protection of the very laws of the land which they seek to destroy.

Thus, even with our success in the military field the congressional Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities, after conducting the most comprehensive and authoritative study ever made on the problem of communism in our country, concluded that communism remains a real and continuing threat to the national security. It is to the credit of this committee that the bill outlawing the Communist Party was conceived and recommended. It is, likewise, to the credit of the champions of civil rights in Congress that necessary safeguards were made such that the legitimate exercise by citizens of their rights shall remain inviolate. What the present law punishes is not dissent nor heresy but subversion and conspiracy.

Communist sources, as well as the evidence of our own experiences, establish the fact that the objectives of communism are the destruction of our social, political, and economic system, and their replacement by a foreign and godless ideology guided and directed from abroad. These same sources, as well as our experience, establish the Communist means of achieving these objectives as including armed force, sabotage, espionage, and the many sinister forms of subversion. Far from contenting itself with seeking victory, as do other political minorities, by legal democratic process, Communist doctrine flatly denies the possibility of legal success and prescribes criminal conspiracy as its orthodox tactics.

Under the circumstances it is clearly the right and the duty of this Government to invoke the police powers of a sovereign state to protect itself and the institutions entrusted to its care from criminal attack.

The passage of this law reaffirms the position which our Government has taken, and will take, vis-a-vis communism: A firm, unequivocal, and uncompromising stand against freedom's most odious and implacable foe.

In this vigorous and reasoned counter offensive to Communist aggression, I feel that we are serving the cause of the free world as well as our own best interests. If our neighbors can derive benefit or guidance from our experiences and approach, we will have made a substantial contribution to the peace and security of this area.

I assure lovers of freedom and democracy's friends everywhere that during my incumbency as President of the Republic of the Philippines, I shall not only see to it that the anti-Communist program of my illustrious predecessor, Ramon Magsaysay, will remain intact, but I shall also push it through with the same dedication and with unrelenting vigor.

Old Fashioned Bread

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to insert in the RECORD the following article, "A New Kind of Old-Fashioned Bread," which appeared in the April 1957 issue of the American Legion magazine:

A NEW KIND OF OLD-FASHIONED BREAD—GRANDMA'S LOAVES WERE TASTIER AND MORE NOURISHING BECAUSE OF AN INGREDIENT NOW BEING RESTORED TO BREAD

(By James C. G. Conniff)

One day during prohibition police descended on a brewery in Morris, Ill., and padlocked it. Of course this wasn't the only brewery that suffered such a fate during the so-called noble experiment, but this particular padlocking had a strange aftermath. It cut down some of the available supply of beer in the early 1930's, of course, but, more important, it is going to mean a world that is better nourished than it is at present.

Not long after the law closed down the brewery, a miller leased it with the idea of using part of the beer-aeration machine to clean his wheat. In the course of converting the machinery a fluke occurred of the type that has time and again changed the course of human history. The miller's plant manager decided to turn on the blower device full power for a quicker cleaning job, using controls to keep the wheat from taking off in the gale. It worked, but it did something else that hadn't been counted on. The mighty air currents also cooled the rollers that ground the flour, and there was no sign of the wheat germ which is left as residue in modern milling operations. This tiny but vital part of the wheat had all been crumbled into the flour.

Being a conventional man, the miller was mightily upset to find his machinery doing such an unconventional thing. Indeed, so upset was he that he closed down temporarily to put things to right. Now usually when wheat is milled, the wheat germ that is left in it has to be fine-combed out. This is because the germ has been flattened instead of pulverized like the rest of the flour, and because the oil in the germ has been heated, hurrying a chemical action that impairs the keeping quality of the flour.

Naturally the miller was sure that his unconventionally processed flour would soon spoil because the wheat germ had not been milled out of it. But, strangely, it remained fresh. He tried to peddle the freak flour, but nobody was having any; so he relinquished his lease on the brewery and quit for keeps.

That might have been the end of the matter, only for a man by the name of Dan Brown, from Chicago. Dan, a former newspaper circulation executive, had for years been trying to find out how to mill flour and leave the wheat germ in, without having the flour go bad. This pursuit might indeed be called an inherited trait since his grandfather, Dan T. Hedges, a Sioux City, Iowa, banker, had spent a $502,000 fortune trying to solve the same problem.

The two Dans were not just anxious to enjoy the taste of old-fashioned bread of the type that was baked a hundred years ago; they, and more particularly the grandson, knew that modern milling methods removed a lot more than taste when the grain was ground into flour.

The secret lies in a blackish speck at the base of every grain of wheat: the wheat germ. This oily speck, the heart of the wheat, is no bigger than a poppyseed on a hard roll. Yet into its subpinhead confines are crammed almost all the nourishing vitamins, minerals and vitality-building acids for which wheat is famous.

In gradma's flour the wheat germ got well crumbled by the stone grinders of yesteryear. Before their spilled riches could make the flour go bad, she'd used it up. In grandma's bread you thus got all the nourishment and that moist, unforgettable flavor.

But about 1870 high-speed steel roller mills brought here from Hungary began the mass production of bread that in the end put grandma out of business. Unfortunately, those rollers also took much of the nourishment out of bread. With it went the flavor.

Spun at high speed through revolving steel, the wheat grains pulverized all right, but the wheat germs didn't. Moving metal heats up. The heat got to the oil in the wheat germs and made them soft. Instead of shattering, they flattened. Heat and oil meant quick spoilage of the flour; so the wheat germs had to be fine-combed out.

Never wasteful where the dollar was at stake, the millers caked this wheat-germ discard and sold it to farmers for livestock feed. It put solid meat on pigs and beef cattle in no time. Among humans, only health-craze addicts bothered with it.

The now wheat-germ-free flour kept well enough. But the bread it made, when fed to lab rats as their only diet, brought death from nutritional deficiencies.

Even so, it wasn't till 1940 that the States began forcing bakers by law to put back in bread, via chemical additives, some of the plundered nutrients of the wheat germ. This now all but universal enrichment program is a repair move in the right direction. But that's about all it is. Enriched bread still provides only a fraction of true wheat-germ potency.

Till World War II, in other words, the bread that couldn't keep a lab rat alive was the same bread you fed your children. Since then it's been improved, but only some.

Kids, as everybody knows, are smarter than lab rats. Luckily, so are most grownups. From 1870 to 1940 kids and their folks simply ate less and less bread. Grandpa wolfed 250 pounds of grandma's bread a year. Today even his growing great-grandson, who needs it most, puts away an indifferent 100-plus. This steady drop in bread consumption worried the big bakers. But what did they do to counteract it? They just bleached the flour in their dud loaf whiter still. They loaded it with extenders and spoilage retardants and they baked it light as the air it was pumped full of. Then they spent millions on "educational" advertising to convince the American public it wanted this tasteless plug.

Confident that Americans deserved better in the way of bread, Dan Brown made an intensive study of milling practices, and in this he was aided by his grandfather's copious reports. When in 1935 he heard about the miller's experience in the brewery, he pricked up his ears. Could this be the elusive secret his grandfather had spent a fortune on? Taking time off from his newspaper circulation job in Chicago, he went down to Morris for samples of the odd flour. It tested out as true wheat germ. Dan even found he could still make tasty bread from the ancient stuff.

His head spinning, he tapped the family till to buy the miller's interest and lease the magic brewery. From the Sioux City attic he dug out a complete file of his grandfather's reports. Within a year, in 1936, he had the combination—and the flour—that grandfather dreamed of. But perfecting the process for which United States patents were finally granted in May 1950 cost Dan another $2½ million.

The wheat-germ factor occupies no more than 3 percent of the flour's volume; yet in totally independent analyses researchers from the University of Chicago under Dr. Anton J. Carlson and biochemists under Dr. Philip H. Derse at the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation have pronounced it the key to this flour's overwhelming superiority on all counts.

For low-caloric count and minimum carbohydrates, enriched white flour compares unfavorably. Weight-watchers will also be glad to hear that wheat germ flour has more protein. It is lengths ahead on vitamin content and the vital trace elements (nutrients other than the big three: niacin, riboflavin, thiamine).

Better for you than even whole wheat, wheat germ contains seven times more vitamin E than any bread going. Vitamine E is the heart disease preventive that is so helpful to recovery after a coronary too.

However, experienced millers told Brown he couldn't make flour like that. Grandma, they pointed out, got away with using fresh stone-ground flour because for home baking she needed only relatively small quantities. And she baked so much that her flour had no time to spoil.

You couldn't do that on a commercial basis, the millers warned. Commercial flour has to be stored. It has to keep. Dan went ahead anyway.

As proof that he was right in believing he could make such flour, today his process is patented here and in 32 foreign countries, with 6 more to come. It yields a natural wheat-germ flour that will not only make a loaf to rival grandma's best; it will also keep indefinitely at 55–90° F. Bread, sweet and crusty, was made from a barrelful of the stuff that had been stored and forgotten for 4 years. The United States Department of Agriculture and the State of Georgia found Dan's wheat-germ flour fresh and wholesome after 2½ years.

From the results of these tests, millers privately came to agree Dan had something worthwhile. But even if sure of a market, they said, how could they afford to shut down their mills long enough to switch over from ordinary flour? And what about the cost of conversion?

Dan has worked out with his engineers a system by which even the biggest mill can convert—without loss of production—in less than 30 days. The cost is merely a drop in the advertising bucket.

Consumer reaction has been more than heartening. When 500 Chicago ladies of the Illinois Club Women's Service Forum sampled 3 breads identified only by number, 421 said they'd buy No. 3 bread (Dan's) if they could get it. While only 263 said they baked at home, 291 said they'd like to with that No. 3 flour (also Dan's) because of its rich texture and creaminess. And 418 found the No. 3 bread the tastiest by far.

In Michigan sales of wheat-germ bread in test marketings soared 100 percent a year. Macon, Ga., had a 30 percent jump in 90 days. The important thing here is that the bread being tested was not labeled wheat germ. It sold on taste alone, and the word got around.

When the United States Quartermaster Depot in Chicago tested 600 barrels of the stuff in 2 Army camps, 85 percent of the soldiers voted for nothing but wheat-germ bread from then on. Unhappily, they never got it. The year was 1942 and Uncle had other more pressing tasks. Washington, cautioning Dan not to let the enemy get hold of his process, promised to get back to him later.

It hasn't yet, though Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson has personally endorsed the value of wheat-germ flour to our national health and farm programs.

Why the holdup in giving the people of the United States, and the world, a superior flour that could have been made available two decades ago? Actually, at the present time it can be had only here and there—in parts of Florida, Michigan, Texas, Georgia, and Illinois. But that isn't Dan's fault, nor is it because of any lack of effort on his part. He'd like the whole country to share this bodybuilder and taste treat. To that end he puts in a 14-hour workday, including weekends.

Only now are results of all this missionary work beginning to show. For the first time the millers and bakers—the people who decide what kind of bread you're going to eat—seem to be in a mood to listen.

"Milling executives of companies representing 75 percent of our national capacity," Dan told this writer, "have assured me they will make wheat-germ flour available as demanded and required by today's bakers."

More and more independent bakers, needled by customers hungry for real bread, are eager to take the millers at their word. Right now these small bakers' only source of wheat-germ flour is Dan's own six-story mill at Morris, Ill. But its 1,700 sacks a day—enough for 1,500,000 loaves a week—are only a puff compared to the typhoon of demand that Dan feels sure is bound to come.

Further on the bright side, advertising managers representing 7 of our top 12 baking chains have seen Dan privately to map out campaigns for when enough local pressure from you, the consumer, forces them to market wheat-germ bread nationwide.

To reach such a turning point, this enriched industry had to come a long way. It had to stop thinking in terms of money invested in costly machinery which turned out flour of a sort, even if it did mangle the vital wheat germ. It had to stop thinking in terms of stopgap measures to restore wheat's nutritional values by dosing it with all kinds of oddments out of the pharmacopoeia. And it had to stop thinking in terms of using advertising copy as a substitute for the important element missing from its flour.

Obviously this called for some major adjustments in thinking, but in a free-enterprise system it is necessary for suppliers of goods or services to adjust when their bosses, the buying public, call for changes. And they're beginning to insist on flour with the natural goodness left in. Where the new flour is coming into use, comparisons are inevitable; and the word is getting around to the effect that it's possible to get bread that tastes the way bread should taste. Possibly you've tried the new kind of bread, but if not you will before long because its coming is as inevitable as 1958 model automobiles next year. And if you want to hurry the revolution in the bread business, start calling for it now. Not in a demanding way, of course, but persistently. Indeed, since some suppliers are a bit sluggish, it may be necessary to be ultrapersistent, with some of the crusading zeal that marks Dan Brown.

Incidentally, there's more than the zeal of a businessman that fires Dan when he's trying to sell wheat-germ flour. He wants healthier Americans, and he knews that a well-fed nation is a strong nation. Also, he'd like to see use made of his process to help whittle our wheat surplus by sharing with needy peoples a flour that is truly nutritious and capable of being stored indefinitely.

From sheer gratitude and affection, English-descended Dan Brown has himself, through Seumas MacManus, offered his wheat-germ process to the people of Ireland free of all royalties.

"I feel a tremendous debt to Ireland for my wife, Margretta Curry," says Dan, "and a splendid son, and now little Mollie."

Dan will tell you with pride and frankness that he not only loves his 1-year-old daughter Mollie, but considers her one of the most convincing arguments for wheat-germ bread. When she was born at the end of 1955, he

was 57, "an age when most men are having grandchildren."

A royalty-sharing foundation which Dan Hedges Brown set up as a memorial to his grandfather, Dan T. Hedges, is probably the most unshakable evidence of all that Dan means every word of it when he says he hopes a really good bread will help good people everywhere understand and assist one another. This foundation, set up under Illinois law, gives to charity 40 percent of all royalties on Dan Brown's wheat-germ process forever. Dan has earmarked 20 percent of his wheat-germ royalties for the American Legion. A shavetail bayonet instructor at Camp Pike in Word War I, he helped found Sioux City's Monahan Post No. 64 in 1920. He also served as adjutant and vice commander in charge of membership. Dan was later with William Randolph Hearst Post No. 478 in Chicago, and is now active in Morris (Ill.) Post No. 294. His wheat-germ money will be used for academic and 4–H Club scholarships, awarded jointly by city and country Legion Posts to deserving boys and girls.

Dan is a prominent Mason and a good Episcopalian. But in line with his benevolent philosophy, he is assigning 5 percent of royalties to the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago where Samuel Cardinal Stritch has long been his very good friend. Another 2½ percent goes to the Franciscan missionaries. Chicago's Shrine Hospital gets 5 percent and Dan's University of Chicago fraternity, Psi Upsilon, 7½ percent.

To show that Dan Brown's spirit of good will is infectious, both the Imperial Recorder of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine and the editors of the Vatican newspaper, Osservatore Romano, have gone out of their way to publicize wheat-germ bread.

"Something big is happening," wrote Walter Persegati at the start of a long editorial in the semiofficial publication a year ago. "A new white flour for a real bread has been discovered. This makes good news for humanity."

Message From Garcia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of June 19, 1957:

MESSAGE FROM GARCIA

In the face of Supreme Court decisions on domestic communism, the action taken today by Philippines President Garcia stands out impressively.

President Garcia signed into law a bill outlawing completely the Communist Party in his country.

This may have come as a surprise to Americans who thought the Philippines no longer were troubled by the communist menace.

But as Mr. Garcia said, tho they have broken up "armed" communism, "we find ourselves seriously handicapped in countering effectively the more insidious activities of Communists who have ostensibly forsworn violence and sought expediently the protection of the very laws of the land which they seek to destroy."

In such fashion apparently the American Communists have beguiled the majority of our Supreme Court Justices. The Communists disavow violence, conspiracy or ties with Moscow. And the High Court seems to regard them as no more menacing than just another political party with dissenting views.

From long and bloody experience, the Filipinos know better. Their conclusion, as President Garcia puts it, is that "Communism remains a real and continuing threat to the national security." Communism's worldwide aims are indivisible, wherever the area of their operations, whether in the Philippines or the United States.

"Communist sources, as well as the evidence of our own experiences," says President Garcia, "establish the fact that the objectives of communism are the destruction of our social, political and economic system, and their replacement by a foreign and godless ideology guided and directed from abroad."

In outlawing the party, all necessary safeguards are taken for preservation of Philippine civil rights. As pointed out by the able successor to the late President Magsaysay—himself an ardent champion of the democratic processes—"the legitimate exercise by citizens of their rights shall remain inviolate.

"What the present law punishes is not dissent nor heresy but subversion and conspiracy."

So speaks a leader wise in the ways of the Communists.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a resolution from Commander Fred H. Squyres and the members of Frank King Post, No. 249, of the American Legion, at Wellington, Tex. Their comments are timely, and it is evident that considerable time and thought have preceded the preparation of the resolution. I am pleased to give my colleagues benefits of their sentiments regarding the Girard case by inserting herein their resolution:

Whereas Frank King Post, No. 249, of the American Legion, of Wellington, Tex., of the Department of Texas, at its regular business meeting held on the 6th day of June 1957, after much deliberation and consideration regarding the United States Government turning over for trial to the Japanese authorities a member of the Armed Forces of the United States, namely Army Sp3c. William S. Girard: Be it therefore

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this group that the United States Government committed a grave wrong and injustice to this member of the Armed Forces and that such a policy as followed by the Government in this case is a violation of our rights as American citizens. It is further the opinion of this group that our Government is committing a wrong in drafting the young men of our country into the service for the defense of our country and involuntarily sending them overseas to foreign nations and placing them under the jurisdiction of those foreign nations. We believe that our President and the other Government officials should take immediate steps to right this wrong. By this resolution we do not attempt to say that the Japanese officials will willfully discriminate against this man, but we believe that our Government has committed a wrong, and should right this wrong.

In witness whereof, we request our commander to attach his signature and send copies of this resolution to the President, Secretary of State, Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, United States Representatives WALTER ROGERS and OLIN E. TEAGUE, and other interested officials, as well as sending a copy to our department commander.

FRED H. SQUYRES,
Commander of Frank King Post, No. 249, American Legion, Wellington, Tex.

Statement of Principles Adopted by the American Jewish Committee at Its 50th Anniversary Meeting in New York City, April 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement of principles adopted by the American Jewish Committee at its 50th anniversary meeting in New York City, April 14, 1957. This statement was first published by the Chicago chapter of the American Jewish Committee:

We, the members of the American Jewish Committee, reaffirm on our 50th anniversary the principles which have guided us during the past half century.

Our purposes, as recited in our charter, are to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world and to secure equality of opportunity. These purposes can be attained with assurance only in societies which guarantee equal rights and opportunities to all, without distinction as to race, creed, color, or national origin.

We join with all Americans of good will to achieve a complete realization of America's ideals, and with men and women everywhere to establish fundamental human rights. We support our Government, as well as the United Nations and its specialized agencies, in their efforts to establish universal standards of freedom.

We also support our country's leadership of democracy's resistance to the totalitarian forces which have suppressed liberty and justice in many lands and are intent on conquering or subverting the nations where freedom flourishes or struggles to assert itself.

In the quest for national security our country must not weaken the constitutional protections won through the bitter experience of mankind. The mainenance of those rights in a time of danger and anxiety will attest to the strength of our democracy.

We pledge ourselves to continue the fight against those who through bigotry and prejudice imperil the rights of the members of any group, thus dividing our country and undermining American liberty.

It is now possible to envision a society that attaches primary value to the individual and treats each person solely on his own merits. Those who are the targets of prejudice can make a significant contribution to the pursuit of equality. Besides joining in the larger fight against prejudice, they should guard against accepting for themselves their detractors' false and derogatory appraisals of them. Self-respect is a most effective antidote to projudice, and happily

it is encouraged by the American pattern of religious, ethnic, and racial diversity.

Judaism, as a great historic religion, has developed traditions of deep moral, social, and cultural significance. Among these are reverence for learning, a prophetical passion for social justice, the insistence that charity is a form of justice to the less fortunate, abhorrence of war and love of peace, and the conviction that each human being, created in the image of God, is the equal of every other. We should know our heritage, so that it may ennoble our lives and help us to enrich our contributions, in concert with our fellow citizens of all other faiths, to American civilization.

Under the American system of voluntary association, individuals join together in organizations which best express their views. We believe in cooperation within areas of agreement for the more effective achievement of common goals, but we also believe that no one organization can speak for the Jews of America or of the world. Therefore, the views, policies, and programs of the American Jewish Committee can be determined only by our own members and governing boards. As always, we stand ready to work with others for the accomplishment of common aims in ways which will not impair the integrity of our organization or our independence of decision and action.

Since the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the American Jewish Committee has aided in the upbuilding of Palestine as a haven and a spiritual and cultural center. We hailed the creation of the State of Israel and the heroism which made the state a reality.

Citizens of the United States are Americans and citizens of Israel are Israelis, with all that this implies. The Government of Israel speaks only for its own citizens. America is our home and our interests as citizens are those which we share with all other Americans. As Americans devoted to democratic principles, we have a deep interest in the development of a democratic state in the Middle East, while as Jews we express our natural sympathy with our fellow Jews who need or desire to create an enduring home for themselves in Israel. By its warm and unlimited welcome to Jewish refugees in their desperate need, Israel is rendering an indispensable and invaluable service to humanity. We believe that not only American and other democratic interests, but also humanitarian needs in the Middle East will best be served by a thriving and democratic State of Israel. Therefore, within the framework of American interests, we shall continue to aid in the development of Israel's capacity to provide a free and dignified life for all its inhabitants.

The United States and the United Nations have an obligation to further the cause of peace. We urge them to seek the aid of all who desire just and humane solutions for the problems of the Middle East and to exert their influence for peace in that area and throughout the world.

On this 50th anniversary, we rededicate ourselves to individual dignity and freedom, the traditions of our faith and peace among all men.

Isn't This Something?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I was utterly amazed to read the following highly interesting article by Richard J. H. Johnston, published in this morning's New York Times:

WEEKS NOTES LOSS OF VOTER SUPPORT—HE SAYS AT CHICAGO BUDGET HURTS EISENHOWER IN PARTY AND READS CRITICISMS

(By Richard J. H. Johnston)

CHICAGO, June 18—Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, said here today that President Eisenhower's popularity had declined because of his $78,800,000,000 budget for the next fiscal year.

"Maybe they'll throw us out, I hope they will like the successors they'll probably get," Mr. Weeks told a battle of the budget luncheon sponsored by the United Republican Fund of Illinois.

In preface to his prepared address, which was a defense of the administration, its record and the controversial budget now before Congress, a sheaf of letters.

The letters, he said, denounced the administration and its policies and were from Republicans to Charles H. Percy, president of the party fund here, who was presiding at the luncheon.

QUOTATIONS FROM LETTERS

From one letter Mr. Weeks read the following:

"I didn't believe there could be a bigger liar in the White House than Truman, but we have one now. Eisenhower was going to balance the budget, cut taxes, and reduce Government employment. He hasn't done any of these things."

From another letter he read:

"There is no difference between the Eisenhower palace guard and the leftwingers of the Democratic Party."

Another writer said that he had contributed heavily in the past to the GOP, but "I will give no more money to the party."

Quoting from other letters also carrying denunciations and expressions of disillusionment with the Eisenhower administration, especially in regard to its fiscal policies, Mr. Weeks commented that the poll speaks for itself in recording the declining popularity of the President.

The readings left the audience silent.

In his prepared address Mr. Weeks denied that the administration had failed to fulfill its campaign promises or that it was dominated by New Dealers and Socialists.

In defense of the budget he declared: "They say we have the biggest peacetime budget. Maybe it is. But this is a strange world we live in today. This is no normal peacetime existence. This is the age of atom and hydrogen bombs. There is no use being second best. Russian jet bombers are only 6 hours away from Chicago."

RECITAL OF ACHIEVEMENTS

In spite of high costs, Mr. Weeks said, the administration had, in the last 5 years, "turned a $9,500,000,000 deficit under Truman into 3 balanced budgets, cut taxes $7,500,000,000 in 1954, and removed from the Federal payroll 248,000 civilians and 725,000 military personnel."

In further defense of the administration, he asserted: "We haven't packed the Supreme Court or seized the steel mills. There is no corruption in Government now. The regulatory bodies of the Government have been reorganized and made over. If you have to do business with them now you will find a friendlier attitude."

He said that "we have moved toward medical research, not socialized medicine, and we are moving away from socialized agriculture."

"We found a definite pitch toward a Federal power monopoly and we have substituted a program of partnership between the Government and private enterprise," he proceeded. "We have taken the Government out of business."

He said the Democratic administrations had imposed taxes for the purpose of changing the social order.

He said that "business hasn't had as good a friend in Washington since Herbert Hoover was in the White House."

"Living, as we do, in a world of tension, beneath the ominous cloud of nuclear explosion, everyone feels safer with Dwight D. Eisenhower in the White House," he declared.

They'll Be Sorry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives, one of the great deliberative bodies of the world, on yesterday voted to turn the clock back to medieval days by voting to deprive American citizens of the right of a trial by jury. I am a great believer in the people of America making the right decisions when they have all of the facts. I believe when the facts are known that the citizens of this great Nation will compel the House to reverse itself and restore the time-honored right and privilege that we in this country have had since its founding at Jamestown in 1607; that is, the right of a trial by jury.

In a very pointed editorial, the Lynchburg News on Monday, June 17, 1957, pointed out the dangers of this wicked legislation which was just passed yesterday.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include that editorial entitled "They'll Be Sorry":

The House of Representatives has voted to violate by legislation that part of the Bill of Rights which guarantees a citizen of the United States the right of trial by jury in cases in which the Attorney General thinks it necessary in order to get a conviction. The vote was 199 to 166 with the Northern Democrats and Republicans ganging up, with a few honorable exceptions to foster a conspiracy of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. They think they are penalizing a certain section of the country, but in truth they are depriving citizens of every section of the country of a treasured right. In the guise of protecting "civil rights" they are destroying one of the most cherished of all civil rights. They will now move on to compound the felony and pass the bill that contains many other evil provisions and planting deep the seeds of oppression everywhere in the Nation.

They call themselves "liberals." They are better described as reactionaries. They turn backward toward the time when the power of the King's court was inadequately limited and the rights of individuals severely restricted, toward the time when courts were oppressors rather than defenders of the people. As freedom from government by injunction becomes more and more restricted, as we may be sure it will, those who move so recklessly now will find their own shoes pinching, and for it they can blame only themselves, their cowering in the face of

threats from minority pressure groups and their bogus liberalism. But the thought that the boomerang will return home to strike is small compensation for those it hits now.

Twenty-Billion-Dollar Flop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article appearing in today's issue of the Washington Daily News in which Mr. Dickson J. Preston points out some of the evils of the national scandal, known as the soil bank.

I should like to add one fact not developed in the Preston article and that is that we could defeat this disgraceful program were it not for Secretary Benson's stubborn and determined efforts in its defense. Every objection which Mr. Benson makes to the program of rigid price supports applies also to the soil bank, and yet with amazing inconsistency Mr. Benson condemns high price supports and defends the infamous soil bank:

TWENTY-BILLION-DOLLAR FLOP: THE DOLES ARE FANTASTIC AS BIG FARM GIVEAWAY PROGRAM ROLLS ON

(Second of a series)

(By Dickson J. Preston)

Out in McLean County, Ill., in the spring of 1956, Farmer John Jones put in his usual crop in the usual way.

He planted some corn, some wheat, some soybeans. He kept some of his land in pasture. And he put 169 acres in alfalfa and clover for hay.

Later on, he read in the paper that Congress had voted a new farm gimmick, called the soil bank. The Government was going to pay farmers for holding down their acreage of corn and other surplus crops.

So Farmer Jones cranked up his Cadillac convertible and went to town. There he pointed out to a committee representing the Agriculture Department that if he hadn't planted alfalfa and clover on those 169 acres, he might have planted corn.

The committee agreed. And last fall, for the corn he didn't plant on the land he never intended to plant it on, Farmer Jones was paid $10,903 by the United States taxpayers.

ILLUSTRATION

There you have what the House Appropriations Committee staff calls an interesting illustration of the soil bank in operation in the first year. It is a real case, except for Farmer Jones' name (and the Cadillac, which might have been a Chrysler). And it is by no means the only startling example.

In Butler County, Ky., another farmer wanted to place in the soil bank some land which he hadn't used for years. He was told he'd have to cut the 6-foot-high underbrush and shrubbery. Then he was paid for not planting corn on the land thus cleared.

A Kansas man worked an even better deal. He leased 420 acres from the Army Engineers. For agreeing not to grow wheat on this land he received his full annual rental of $1,475 plus a profit of $1,004. And he still had the right to grow other cash crops on the Government land.

Some of the payments—voted in the name of helping the small farmer—ran into high finance.

Garvey Farms of Colby, Kan., drew $61,354 for not growing wheat on some land it owned in Colorado. Adams Bros. & Co., Odebolt, Iowa, collected $49,278; George G. Chance, Bryan, Tex., $48,093; J. W. B. Farms, Liberal, Kans., $45,817.

HIGH DOLES

Altogether, 11 farm enterprises took doles of more than $25,000 apiece. One of them was the W. T. Wagonner Trust Estate, of Vernon, Tex., a ranch so vast it uses helicopters to round up its cattle.

The soil-bank giveaway reached 547,924 people last year. They collected $260,362,982. This summer its operations are more than doubled. Next year, unless Congress kills it, it will be equally big.

And what did we get for our money?

In the corn belt, 1956 payments totaled $179,664,064. Yet corn production increased by 200 million bushels over 1955. Throughout the country, in spite of the soil bank, conservation payments, acreage allotments and every other crop reducing device, farm output rose.

The soil bank is by no means the most expensive of our farm subsidizing plans. This year the Commodity Credit Corporation is shelling out $2 billion in support price loans. On most of these the farmers will simply default, leaving CCC to sell the crops it receives as security at a loss.

BIG BUSINESS

Like the soil bank, these operations are big business in many cases.

The Delta & Pine Co. of Scott, Miss., biggest beneficiary in 1955, collected $1,974,356 in cotton loans. It paid back the Government with interest—but Delta is a giant corporation, makes large profits and has excellent private credit. Incidentally, it's British owned.

The fact is that in Secretary Benson's own words, present farm policies "have helped the larger producers of a small handful of favored crops, and * * * have made little contribution to the solution of the problem of the low-income farmers."

Mr. Benson also has this to say:

"Our American taxpayers would gladly shoulder this and even greater burdens if they felt that these sacrifices were temporary measures necessary to get the farmer back on his feet.

"The American people will not, however—and should not—continue such expenditures indefinitely if the basic problems are not being solved."

With those words, the great majority of taxpayers would agree.

Recent Supreme Court Decisions Cause for Real Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, the recent decisions of our highest Court in the land should give real concern to the American people as well as to Members of Congress, the duly-elected representatives of the people.

It is inconceivable that the "men in the Ivory Tower" should be so impractical as to draw a protective cloak of respectability around those who would directly or indirectly destroy this Republic.

I cannot believe that the forefathers of our country ever intended that the first, fifth, or any other amendment to our Constitution should be used as a shield by those opposed to our way of life.

I believe these recent decisions, including the baring of FBI files, are bound to give a privileged sanctuary to those dedicated to the Communist conspiracy.

I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that Congress must reassert its legislative authority or be charged with neglect of office in permitting another branch of government to dilute or negate acts of Congress.

I have today introduced legislation with reference to procedures, in court, in cases involving the disclosure of confidential reports or files in any civil or criminal proceeding.

Mr. Speaker, I trust this legislation will receive early consideration.

Thomas Butler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the following article from today's Washington Daily News with regard to Tom Butler, who has been a barber in the House Members' barbershop in the Capitol for the past 29 years, will be found highly interesting. Tom has been cutting my hair ever since I came to the Capitol and as far as I am concerned he is the most diligent, conscientious, and the best. The article follows:

HE GOES AT TOO FAST A CLIP TO WATCH HOUSE SPLIT HAIRS

"Someday, when I retire, I'm going up there just to see what goes on," Thomas Butler said, jerking his finger at the ceiling.

The spot he indicated is covered on the floor above by the Speaker's stand in the House. At the moment the Speaker's chair was occupied by Sam Rayburn of Texas, who has been getting his hair cut by "Old Tom" in the House barbershop for 27 years.

"I've worked here for 29 years and have never been in either the House or Senate Chamber," Tom said. "The trouble is, when Congress is in session, I'm in session, too."

CLOSE SHAVE

"The closest I've come was several years ago when I walked by one of the House galleries. I was going to peek in, but I didn't. I don't know why."

A barber for 43 of his 63 years, Tom lets out no secrets of his distinguished clients. They are all Members of the House, except Senate Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas.

"I cut his hair while he was in the House, and he just kept coming back after he went on to the Senate," Tom said.

NATIVE

Tom said he was born in the District a couple of blocks from Griffith Stadium (I've never seen a professional baseball game

either), and except for a short time in California, he has lived here all his life.

"I've never had any occasion to mix in politics, so I don't talk about it to my customers, and they almost never talk politics.

"If they ask me where I'm from, I say from the District and California, and that's that," he said. "Mostly, they talk about the weather, or ask how you are. Some of them crack jokes."

Virginian Defends Stand on Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a very interesting letter by W. D. Gourley on the editorial page of the Richmond News-Leader of June 17, commenting upon a visit and speech made in Arlington County, Va., by a Washington woman by the name of Mrs. Meyer. From statements attributed to this woman, it would appear that she is a zealous integrationist and violently opposed to the political and living conditions of the people of the great Commonwealth of Virginia. The letter written by Mr. Gourley is as follows:

VIRGINIAN DEFENDS STAND ON INTEGRATION

EDITOR, THE NEWS-LEADER:

Although I do not have the privilege of coming from the high I. Q. Arlington section of Virginia, I would very much like to take issue with several of Mrs. Meyer's demagogic statements made in her speech to the Arlington County Teachers' Association.

As for our 18th-century-minded Virginia State government, I would not hesitate one second to stack their record against that of any State north of the Mason-Dixon line.

Virginia, to my recollection, has had no race riots, prolonged labor violence, looting of the State treasury, labor racketeering, acid throwing, shakedowns, Dave Becks, and innumerable other scandals such as appear every day in the press from so many "Meyer-minded," 20th century, enlightened, integrated States to the north and west of Virginia.

As for the rich people running Virginia—from my very limited contact with rich people in Virginia, I find that they are the least worried about school integration since they are the ones integration would least affect. So Mrs. Meyer would have the Federal Government outlaw private schools to force the rich into integrated public schools. What a wonderful example of big government tyranny for a States rights, small government advocate, such as Mrs. Meyer claims to be, to threaten Virginia with.

She mentions what a wonderful effect the 1954 Supreme Court decision has on democratic people everywhere. What effect did the Clinton, Tenn., and the University of Alabama riots, which were a direct result of that decision, have on those same democratic people? There is no doubt that the results of that decision provide more grist for the Communist propaganda mill than segregation ever did or ever will.

As for Governor Stanley dictating to us, I hope that we American Virginians shall be able to dictate to him that we do not want, under any circumstances, integration forced on us anywhere in Virginia by an omnipotent Federal Government, through its political-minded courts and officials, and that we will back the government of Virginia with our votes or anything else he needs to keep our schools segregated and our States' rights inviolate.

It seems that Mrs. Meyer's whole warped outlook is indicated in her last sentence which could be interpreted to mean she is in favor of what she believes is right being forced on the people of Virginia, no matter what the cost to them in their blood, sweat, and tears.

Very truly yours,

W. D. GOURLEY.

Rhodes Fires Blank Shells

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the splendid editorial from the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader be included in the RECORD, entitled "Rhodes Fires Blank Shells."

The editorial, written in the best tradition of this Nation's free and independent press, is an objective and fair answer to South Dakota Republican State chairman's attacks being made upon our distinguished colleague, the Honorable GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, of South Dakota.

Mr. Speaker, in my many years of service in this body and as majority leader I have never known a more conscientious Member than Mr. MCGOVERN. I have noted his deep concern for the interests of his district, his State, and our Nation. He is in constant attendance at debates on the floor of the House and in his important committee, the Committee on Education and Labor.

Following recent consultation with me on the problems of the Nation's farmers, a matter on which he has become a leader in this body, our colleague discussed with me a visit to his district in South Dakota. I advised him that he would miss no important business in the House and commended his decision to visit his constituents. We all realize, Mr. Speaker, that nothing is more important to a Member than to learn first-hand the problems of his district, and to keep in close touch with the people of his district.

The editor of the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader realizes well the foregoing facts and has set them forth brilliantly in this excellent editorial.

The editorial follows:

[From the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader of June 13, 1957]

RHODES FIRES BLANK SHELLS

Glen Rhodes, of Presho, new Republican State chairman in South Dakota, has been speaking quite freely of late.

But perhaps, unless he gives more logical thought to what he says, it would be better for his party if he didn't speak so much.

What we have in mind are two comments that Rhodes made this week, both in reference to Representative GEORGE MCGOVERN, a Democrat.

The first one was an instance in which he took issue with MCGOVERN in respect to a comment about the price of eggs.

MCGOVERN had said that he was disturbed by the low price the farmers were receiving for eggs and that he was asking Ezra Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, to do something about it.

SAME POLICY ON CORN?

That, in the opinion of Rhodes, was all wrong. It indicated, he said, that MCGOVERN didn't understand farm problems and that the real answer to the problem was for the farmers and the poultrymen to produce fewer eggs.

A comment such as that which was made by Rhodes is quite typical of what one hears regularly from New York and other areas far removed from the farm. If Rhodes is to continue the same thought in respect to all of his farm utterances, he will present the same solution for the wheat, corn and other agricultural production problems. Just induce the farmers to produce less—and the law of supply and demand will make the proper adjustment. In taking this viewpoint, indicated by his comment on eggs, Rhodes is completely out of step with the policy enunciated by the Republican Party in South Dakota in its platforms and also with the positions so vigorously and long maintained by Senators KARL MUNDT and FRANCIS CASE, Representative E. Y. BERRY, and Gov. Joe Foss.

VISIT BACK HOME

The second comment by Rhodes that was out of line was a criticism of MCGOVERN's recent trip back to South Dakota. He should have stayed in Washington attending to business, Rhodes said, instead of being back in the State for a few days visiting with the home folks. If MCGOVERN had made the trip to dodge some significant rollcalls or had missed votes of particular importance, the criticism might have been in order. But there were no such rollcalls while he was gone.

And it's good business for our Members of Congress to take advantage of frequent opportunities to return to their home State to find out what the people are thinking. Surely MCGOVERN was not to be criticized on this count.

We fear that the statements by Rhodes were made in response to a general appeal that he should go out after MCGOVERN. So he began to shoot blindly in his general direction. But what he must realize, if he is to serve his party well, is that he must have some ammunition and the result is that both charges have been boomerangs that hit him instead of MCGOVERN.

Mrs. Meyer's Manifesto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there appears in the Richmond Times-Dispatch daily a very enlightening, interesting, and educational column under the pen name of Ross Valentine. The writer deals with everyday subject of interest to our people.

On Sunday, June 16, 1957, the article was entitled "Mrs. Meyer's Manifesto." This has reference to the address that the wife of the owner and chairman of the board of the Washington Post and

Times Herald made to the Arlington County Teachers Association on May 29.

Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer reportedly is a millionaire. Apparently Mrs. Meyer and her cohorts are trying to invade the Old Dominion and bring with them their sociological, socialistic philosophy which is so foreign to our people in Virginia.

I commend the writer who uses the pen name of Ross Valentine on his article dealing with Mrs. Meyer's Manifesto. It is such a clear analysis of the address that, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article which is as follows:

MRS. MEYER'S MANIFESTO

(By Ross Valentine)

It's more than 20 years at least, since my last visit to Union Square, Manhattan. Things may have changed for all I know, since the early thirties. Then the west side of the little park between Fourth and Fifth Avenues was the mecca of radical soap-box orators. Too bad some of the more passionate harrangues could not have been tape-recorded for posterity. It would have provided us with a record of the earliest beginnings of the ideology and methodology first embraced by the Socialists, but since appropriated by leftist Democrats and more recently by some of Ike's new Republicans.

The orators were an odd, generally frowzy lot. Their accents ran the gamut from Vladivostok to Budapest. But all had one method in common—no matter what political or economic topic they picked as a target of their attacks on capitalism—it was always approached from the angle of "class warfare." The honest "working class" arrayed against the "stupid bourgeoisie" and the "selfish rich." Invariably, the orator had an American flag stuck in one corner of the soap box, a cynical symbol of patriotism.

I was reminded of the orators of Union Square the other day, when I read the full text of a speech made to the Arlington County Teachers Association, on May 29, by Agnes E. Meyer, coowner with her husband, Eugene, of the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mrs. Meyer is not a resident of Alexandria. Her home is Seven Springs Farm, in Mt. Kisco, N. Y. She has been called "the most influential woman in Washington, D. C.," where she also maintains a residence.

She has been registered as a Republican since the early twenties, but held influential posts under the New Deal and Fair Deal; was a member of Mr. Truman's Committee on Higher Education, is a member of the National Citizens Committee for Public Schools, a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, and is also a trustee of Barnard College, the feminine faubourg of Columbia University, of which Dwight D. Eisenhower served as president, while waiting for bipartisan liberals to dress him up as the new Mr. Republican.

You may wonder why Mrs. Meyer's manifesto made me think of speeches heard in Union Square. If you have read it in full on the editorial page of Wednesday's News Leader, you will know why. But in the event that you missed this most revealing document, I shall quote verbatim, a few significant passages from the desegregation speech made by "the most influential woman in Washington."

"* * * Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and John Marshall * * * would have sympathized with you far more deeply than the ruling despots in your State capital."

(My dictionary defines "despot" as "a ruler who wields absolute, arbitrary power." i. e., power not subject to popular consent.)

"They (the ruling despots in our State capital) resemble a wornout aristocracy whose blind authoritarianism caused the French revolution."

"They are treating you now in the same oppressive manner with which the French royalists tried to crush the onward march of human freedom!"

"If your State officials carried this contempt for the people so far as to close all public schools in any one of your counties, * * * the future existence of all private elementary and secondary education would be seriously threatened. Just let your power-drunk Virginia officials try this rash experiment. There is already a ground swell of indignation in this country that wealthy people can afford luxury schools, with elaborate buildings, small classes, swimming pools and hunting fields for their children—while the public schoolrooms look like cattle yards in many communities. * * *

"All Virginia needs to do to accelerate the nationwide impatience of the American masses with private education is to close the public schools in one of its counties.

"* * * the next step would be Federal legislation to the effect that every American child must attend public schools during the elementary and secondary grades. * * *

"In the long run we Americans are not going to allow this country of ours to be split, either on economic or color lines, because the selfish and thoughtless rich and a few bigoted southern demagogs think they can escape their responsibility toward the free education of American children. * * *

"If your class-conscious State officials raise the question * * * they will start a prairie fire that will not burn itself out until all private elementary and secondary education will be restricted, if not destroyed. There isn't the slightest doubt which will win out in our urbanized mass society. * * *

"The wealthy people who are interested in maintaining their private luxury schools, and the United States Chamber of Commerce, as well as your Virginia Chamber of Commerce would do well to warn the leadership of Virginia and all Southern States."

Thus in America's predominantly classless society, liberalism, as always, reaches the end of the line—with the disruptive appeal which fomenters of discord everywhere have used to divide and conquer—to set the envious against the rich, to mesmerize individuals into considering themselves not human souls, but units in an urbanized mass society—to resort—when persuasion fails—to the threat of an all powerful central Government, influenced, in this instance, by the most influential woman in Washington.

No one should question Mrs. Meyer's right, as an outsider to express her opinion on what she conceives to be the autonomous right of counties to submit to integration.

This is (still) a free country, where opinions may be freely expressed.

It is distasteful, and unrewarding, to refute a lady who has reached her 70th year. But neither her age, nor the fact that she is of the gentler sex, should shield her from deserved censure for injecting class warfare into the perplexing problem Virginia is trying to solve as dispassionately as possible.

In indiscriminately accusing the rich, the public-spirited members of chambers of commerce, Virginia's legislature and officials of hostility toward the public schools, Mrs. Meyer has rendered a grave disservice to both races, over whose education she expresses such deep concern.

From Hand to Mouth on $68

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Arthur Bloomfield from the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, of May 25, 1957, which was sent to me by a friend. It tells such a human story regarding the plight of those in the postal service that I think it will afford valuable documentation of the need for a postal salary increase at this time:

COSTS ABSORB MAIL SORTER'S PAY—FROM HAND TO MOUTH ON $68

(By Arthur Bloomfield)

As Edward Ungaretti got home from his job as a post office clerk he lit up an ancient gas heater in the corner of his small living room at 250 Collins Street.

Then he put an undecorative pan of water on top of the heater so no fumes would escape.

Sitting nearby were his wife Angelina and their 11-months-old child, Cheryl Ann.

"This is all the heat there is in the flat except for the fireplace," said Ungaretti, "and it's in another room, and it isn't very big.

"There are five rooms to heat, altogether."

Ungaretti, who sorts mail among other chores, has been with the post office for 8 years.

TAKE-HOME PAY

His take-home pay, however, has been somewhat like a bird with an injured wing which can't get much altitude.

It's $4,285 a year, so weekly take-home pay adds up, or subtracts down to the grand total of $68.

Seventeen years from now, if wages remain unchanged, Ungaretti's pay would be an annual $4,710, with a weekly take-home of about $74.

"I like my job and the people I work with," smiled the 33-year-old but graying clerk.

"But we live from payday to payday. If we missed a check, it would kill us. We'd have to borrow. And I can't even get a $200 loan from the bank because I have no collateral."

OTHER WORRIES

Ungaretti had other worries than how to keep his family warm.

He was wondering just how he'd have spare time to study for the test the post office gives every 9 months on mail sorting.

"I can get dismissed if I don't pass the test," said Ungaretti, explaining that postal districts change from time to time as new streets are added, and new pigeonholing techniques must be mastered on off-duty time.

"You see, I have to take extra jobs to help pay the back bills, so there's little spare time. I get up at 4:30 a. m. to get to my 3-hour job with a private mail pickup firm."

WORK NIGHTS

"After that's through at 8:30, I go to my regular job at Rincon Annex at 9.

"Sometimes I work nights, too, for my wife's uncle—doing janitorial work.

"Naturally, when my vacation time comes, I take a job—and that's no vacation."

Ungaretti said he's considered leaving the post office for his original trade, as a sheet-metal worker, but as he puts it:

"I've got too much time in with the post office, and if I went back to sheet metal, I'd be the first to be laid off in a slump."

A visitor to the Ungaretti home was Emmet C. Andrews, a vice president of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, who said that a pay raise for postal employees would actually save the Nation approximately $2,500,000,000 annually.

The national annual turnover in post-office workers could be reduced from 500,000 to 200,000, he said, quoting an official estimate of the cost of training a postal employee at $3,000.

As Andrews was speaking, the heat went out, and Ungaretti had to get up from his chair and light the stove again.

Reds Get the Green Light

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, never before in the history of this great Nation has the Supreme Court been held in such low repute by our people. I am convinced that the majority of our citizens have lost faith in the Court in the past few years and particularly in the last 12 months.

Examples of what is happening to the American people by the action of our so-called Supreme Court and the lack of respect of the people for the Court were set out in a well-worded and cogent editorial that appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch on Wednesday, June 19, 1957. The editorial is entitled "Reds Get the Green Light."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include that editorial which is as follows:

REDS GET THE GREEN LIGHT

On Monday the United States Supreme Court decided to adjourn until October 7. It was the most popular decision of its 1956–57 term. During the next 3½ months the country's blood pressure will have a chance to return to normal.

Before it adjourned, however, the Court on Monday handed down two decisions which roused a storm of censure:

1. It freed 5 of 14 California Communist leaders and ordered new trials for 9 others convicted in lower Federal courts for violation of the Smith Act, which prohibits "organization" for the purpose of "advocating" the overthrow of Government by force and violence.

2. It ruled that Dean Acheson, when Secretary of State, had wrongfully discharged John Stewart Service (a Foreign Service officer). This reversed the 1956 judgment of the court of appeals which had ruled that Mr. Acheson, in dismissing Service, had acted within his discretionary powers as head of an executive department.

The first decision aroused sharp criticism because, by splitting hairs, the Court imputed false intent to Congress (in passing the Smith Act.)

The second usurped discretionary executive powers by denying the right of a department head to discharge a member of his own staff, after that person had been cleared as a security risk. Implicitly, this decision may also be considered as confirming a Federal employee's vested interest in his job.

In its broadest aspects, the case of the 14 Communists hinges on a definition of the word "communism."

When spelled with a small "c," it refers to the political ideology which advocates common ownership of property (especially of the means of production), as opposed to private property.

Spelled with a large "C," it means the Soviets' international conspiracy, centered in and directed by the Kremlin, advocating the overthrow (by violence, infiltration and subversion) of all non-Communist governments now extant, in order to create a world commune, under the overlordship of Moscow.

It is obvious that the Court (with only Justice Clark dissenting) willfully ignored the second definition, which covers Communist activities ever since the late Josef Stalin seized despotic power over Communist Parties everywhere. The Court apparently assumed that communism is an abstraction, and that those who organize Red cells in America and advocate overthrow of the Government have no connection whatever with a Kremlin-based power-bloc openly hostile to the United States.

The Court found that the so-called American Communist Party in its present form had not been in existence before its reorganization in 1945, and that the Federal indictment against the 14 Californians had not been brought until 1951—so that the 3-year statute of limitations had run out.

It also ruled that their advocacy of abstract doctrine was "not enough to offend the Smith Act," and that the trial judge erred in failing to stress the difference between abstract and direct action.

Had the Court rested its decision on that one point, it would have justified reversal. Instead, the Court went out of its way to split hairs over what it called the "ambiguity of the word organize" in the Smith Act.

"Where there is no ambiguity in the words (said the decision), there is no room for construction."

Yet the Court apparently chose to forget that there is no ambiguity in the words of article X of the Constitution which prohibits the Court and the Federal Government as a whole from intervening in the administration of State-supported schools.

But when it came to the rights of 14 Communists, the Court leaned far backward and imputed ambiguity to the word "organize," in order to protect the right of the individual.

One can hardly blame Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, veteran Member from Virginia, and sponsor of the Smith Act, for saying that there would be little use in amending the Smith Act, so long as the law turns into whatever the present Court interprets it to mean.

"And," he added, "I do not recall any case decided by the present Court which the Communists have lost."

As matters stand now, Monday's decision bars any Smith Act indictments under the organize section. They may organize to their heart's content.

Playing Down Pickup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the Automobile Manufacturers Association took a significant step in the direction of talking horsesense instead of horsepower to the American car-buying public when it resolved to urge its members to refrain from stressing speed in automobile advertising and to not participate in speed races.

The Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, of which I am privileged to serve as chairman, likes to think it may have had some influence in this decision. We visited Detroit last year and held a hearing in that city. We hail the AMA resolution as one of the most significant developments yet toward our goal of attempting to reduce the toll of highway accidents.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the following editorial which appeared June 10, 1957, in the Anniston, Ala., Star:

The board of directors of the Automobile Manufacturers Association is to be commended, we submit, for recommending unanimously that member companies refrain from suggesting speed in passenger car advertising and other promotional efforts of whatever nature.

The board has voiced the desire of United States auto makers to encourage owners and drivers to evaluate passenger cars in terms of useful power and ability to afford safe, reliable, and comfortable transportation, rather than in terms of capacity for speed.

All volume producers of passenger automobiles in the United States are represented in the Automobile Manufacturers Association.

The recently adopted resolution even goes so far as to enjoin against the supplying of so-called pace cars or official cars in connection with automobile racing.

This new approach to automobile merchandising strikes us as eminently thoughtful. And no doubt much of the credit for today's greater appreciation of the dangers of high speed is owing to Representative KENNETH ROBERTS of this congressional district.

For several months greater highway safety has been a particular concern of his by reason of his chairmanship of a special traffic subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Cutting the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, Federal spending has reached such a high level that the people are finally protesting in no uncertain terms. Federal spending is more inflationary than any other factor in our economy. What good are social-security checks or veterans' pensions or retirement payments if inflation eats them up?

Recognizing this danger I have always voted to make cuts in the national budget. The record below shows how I have done so each year.

Budget cuts voted by O'Konski

Year:	Billions
1943	$4
1944	6
1945	5
1946	10
1947	8
1948	7
1949	5
1950	8
1951	6
1952	7
1953	15
1954	10
1955	7
1956	6
1957 (this year)	8

NATIONAL DEBT LIMIT INCREASES

In 15 years I voted for only one national debt limit increase. This was at the height of World War II in 1953. Since that time I have voted against three other national debt limit increases.

TAXES

In 15 years I have voted for only 1 tax increase. This was at the height of World War II. I voted for the one tax cut since. I feel a tax cut now is long overdue. I will vote for a bill that will raise tax exemptions from the present $600 per dependent to $1,000 per dependent. This is how any fair and substantial cut in taxes should be made. It should have been made years ago. The less the Government takes in taxes—the less it will spend.

Hon. Edmond FitzGerald, New Member, New York State Parole Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased on yesterday to learn of the appointment by Gov. Averell Harriman of Edmond Fitzgerald, chief probation officer of the county court of Kings County, to membership on the New York State Parole Board.

I have known Ed FitzGerald since I was assistant district attorney of Kings County trying cases in the county court of that county beginning January 1, 1940. I know of no better man who could be selected for membership on the State parole board. He has great ability and integrity for such an important position.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following newspaper article by Richard Leahy, published in the New York World-Telegram and Sun of Tuesday, June 18, 1957:

FITZGERALD, STATE'S GAIN, WAS IRISH FREE STATE LOSS

(By Richard Leahy)

Edmond FitzGerald, chief probation officer of the Kings County Court since 1940 and Gov. Averell Harriman's latest nominee to the State Parole Board, is a veteran of the Irish Republican Army with strong opinion about British monarchy.

Because of those opinions, he gave up a teaching job in Ireland and came to the United States in December 1924, as second secretary of the Irish Free State legation in Washington.

And because of those same opinions he quit his legation post a month later and came to New York to work as an accountant.

PLEDGE TOO MUCH

Seems that in those days, even though Ireland was free of its British overlords, Irish officeholders were still required to take an oath of office including a pledge of loyalty to His Brittanic Majesty.

That was too much for Mr. FitzGerald.

In 1930 he became an American citizen and, that same year, headed the civil service list for parole officer in the new State Division of Parole.

He rose through the ranks and was an executive case supervisor when he switched over to the Kings County post after the Amen investigation.

He is ranked as one of the country's top men in his field.

In 1949–50 this Irishman transplanted to Brooklyn spent 3 weeks in Israel advising the Israel Government on modernizing its whole penal system, which he called a direct inheritance from the corrupt old Ottoman Empire:

The onetime member of the Irish Republican Army noted in passing that the British, during their occupancy of Palestine, had failed to add anything to the Ottoman system.

Now 55, Mr. FitzGerald lives with his wife, Frances, and their four children in Brooklyn. Born in Brandon, County Kerry, he was graduated from Brandon National School and St. Brendan's Seminary, Killarney.

NO VOCATION

He won a scholarship in 1920 to Maynooth, Kildare, Ireland's famous training school for the priesthood, but decided "I was not blessed with a vocation." Instead he received a 4-year scholarship to the National University of Ireland branch at Cork City.

During his first 2 years he cut 35 percent of his classes to serve with the 2d Battalion, 1st Cork Brigade of the IRA, battling the British Tommies and Black and Tans.

When the Irish civil war broke out in 1922 after the signing of the peace treaty with England, he tried to stay neutral between the Free State men, headed by Michael Collins, IRA leader who fell at the hands of his own fighters, and Eamon De Valera, who headed those who stubbornly demanded a republic.

HONOR GRADUATE

He was graduated with first class honors in 1924 and was teaching in Listowel as he was asked to sign that oath of allegiance.

He turned it down and 2 months later was in the Washington post. When the same oath was offered there, "I picked up my hat and walked out."

And if New York State ever decides to affiliate with the British Commonwealth and expects him to swear allegiance to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, he'll probably reach for his hat and take another walk. Those Kerry men are "divvils" when it comes to making up their minds.

Trade With Red China? Never

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, we have long been aware that, once the Presidential election was out of the way, the recognition of Red China would again become a real issue in this country. The time will soon be at hand for us to face this decision. I believe it may be sooner than we anticipate.

The Chief Executive last week expressed the view that he sees little advantage in maintaining tighter restrictions on trade with Red China than with Russia.

Our trade restrictions against Communist China date to the early days of the Korean war. The western powers at that time agreed to forbid trade with Red China in a list of strategic materials much more comprehensive than the list of goods already barred in trade wth all Soviet bloc countries. The United States established a complete embargo on American trade with Communist China. The fact that some western powers are now opening trade channels with Red China is no reason for us to take a similar position. This fact is emphasized in the editorial appearing on the front page of the June 20 issue of the National Tribune—the Stars and Stripes. The editorial asks this pointed question:

Do we need it (money) so much that we must forsake all the principles we have been taught and which we respect, just in order to make a little more?

The contention is made that the Allied countries will benefit as much from increased trade as would the Communists. Advocates of this position say that the removal of trade restrictions will complicate Sino-Soviet relations. They maintain that a decreased Chinese dependence upon Russia would be a good thing. I cannot subscribe to such a philosophical indifference. On the contrary, I believe that such action would only hasten the growth and development of twin monsters.

In calling to the attention of our colleagues the editorial I wish to take this opportunity to refer to the hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on February 1, 1957, at which time the committee received testimony from Dr. Chiu-Yuan Hu, an adviser to the Chinese mission of the General Assembly of the United Nations. A synopsis to the printed hearing sets out the highlights of Dr. Hu's testimony. I urge my colleagues to study carefully this synopsis, which is as follows:

Dr. Chiu-Yuan Hu is an adviser to the Chinese mission of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He is a professor of modern history at the National University in Formosa. His testimony is based on an extensive system of contacts which he has been able to maintain with sources of information inside of Red China. Highlights of Dr. Hu's testimony follow:

That the Chinese Communists have physically exterminated 20 million human beings since they took over the mainland of China in 1948; that some 25 million more Chinese are in prison, brainwashing schools, or in slave-labor camps; that Chinese youth from kindergarten to the university are being taught to hate America by what is known as the three-look movement—look to America with hatred; look to America with contempt; look to America with superiority.

Dr. Hu also ridiculed the claim, often advanced by advocates of recognition of Red China, that the Communists had established "effective control" over the mainland. He said that the Chinese Reds themselves in their radio broadcasts, as well as printed material, quote statistics on hundreds of thousands of counterrevolutionary bandits having been exterminated. Dr. Hu testified that this could only mean that there are military operations, guerrilla warfare, and widespread resistance in extensive areas throughout China.

Dr. Hu also testified that the annual export of narcotics from Red China is steadily increasing and is estimated at 1,500 tons for 1956. This tremendous amount of narcotics is sold all over the world, and the money realized is immediately converted within the same country into subversive channels, thus effectively removing from police detection the sources of funds used by local Communists.

Dr. Hu also ridiculed as wishful thinking the notion that the Chinese Red leadership might, at some time in the future, follow the example of Tito. He stated that all the leading Chinese Communists had been trained in Moscow and that the Chinese Communist Party is the only Communist Party which has never had a schism, split, or any serious deviation from the line as laid down by the Kremlin.

Dr. Hu estimated that there were some 50,000 Soviet advisers, technicians and experts in Communist China today helping the Reds develop their industrialization and militarization programs. He also said that the Soviets had an iron grip on strategic resources, including oil and uranium in the provinces of Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Manchuria and that Manchuria is being developed by Russia and Red China into a gigantic military buildup area for future use against South Korea and Japan.

Dr. Hu also testified that several billion dollars of American property invested in churches, hospitals, schools, and missions had all been seized by the Chinese Reds and converted to Communist use.

Dr. Hu concluded his testimony by warning Americans against the danger and fallacy of "coexistence with the Moscow gangsters." He also stated that admission of Red China to the United Nations or United States recognition of Red China would mean the death knell of anti-Communist resistance on the part of 500 million Chinese who historically and traditionally have been friendly to this country. Dr. Hu laid the blame for the loss of China to the Communists and on "pseudoexperts on the Far East" in this country.

The following is the editorial from the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes:

GOD OR MAMMON?

There is a decision to be made in this country in the near future as to our attitude toward Red China in the matter of trade.

Great Britain has already made her decision and in order to bloster her own economy has come to the conclusion that trade with Red China will be beneficial to the folks at home. This decision has reached the point where not only ordinary materials, manufactured in the British Isles, might prove useful to Red China or any other nation, are included but, also, strategic materials which might one day be used in driving the British out of their last stronghold in the Far East, Hong Kong.

Norway is reported to be following the lead of the British in opening up trade lanes to supply the Red Chinese with most vital necessities. Shortly, signs indicate, that other nations of the world will do likewise despite assurances that aid to communism, as it exists today on the Chinese mainland, is a distinct danger to all the freedom loving peoples of the world.

Only last week, at his press conference, President Eisenhower expressed the view that he sees little advantage in maintaining tighter restrictions with Red China than on trade with Russia. In so speaking our President would appear to be embracing the views of Britain and other nations that trade with the Peiping Government is more important than violating all the principles we have held so dear. With the help of the Soviet regime, the Chinese on the mainland have been able to overrun millions of people by sheer power and against the will of these millions who desire only to live in peace.

We do not hold too strong a brief for Chiang Kai-Shek who appears to have had his day and whose rule seems destined to fall in not too short a time.

We do feel, however, for the people who have stuck by Chiang these many years and for the people on the Chinese mainland who have little or no use for the Red tyrants who rule them.

The United States of America has spent billions of dollars to resist Red rule throughout the world, most of it in the Far East. Our taxpayers have given of their hard earned dollars to see that communism should not spread.

To what effect? Communism still spreads and now, this country, according to our leaders is ready to help further the spread of communism to aid a nation which is devoted, not only to the downfall of all Asia, but to the eventual destruction of our own way of living here in the United States.

Money as such is a wonderful thing. We are all trying to get enough of it to enable us to live out our final years peacefully. We have learned its value. We have seen it build up a country superior to all other countries (and we say this without braggadocio). We appreciate what it can do to alleviate the suffering of not only our own but other people throughout the world. It is true that we make it but we have never been unwilling to share it with others in need.

We know that without it we cannot prosper—we cannot even live—but the question arises in our minds, "Do we need it so much that we must forsake all the principles we have been taught and which we respect, just in order to make a little more?"

Britain needs to expand her trade. So do other nations of the world. We would not argue against them on this proposition. In fact, we would be glad to see their trade increase because we know that the more they make and have to spend, the more they will have to come to us for certain things which they, by themselves, cannot provide.

This makes some kind of sense to us though making no profession of knowledge of world economics. If you can buy from me at a reasonable price and I can sell to you at a reasonable profit, both parties to the trading should be happy.

We say: Let Britain and other countries open all kinds of trade with Red China. Let us only pray that later on, when Red China is satisfied that it is strong enough to take over, that these trading nations shall not reap a bloody harvest which may bring them only sorrow and extinction.

In the meantime, let the United States remain steadfast to the principles from which it was evolved. No kind of tyranny can be permitted under our free manner of government, and never, for the sake of a few extra dollars let it be said that we traded our heritage for a mess of pottage.

God knows we want to live peacefully with all the nations of the world but must we buy that peace for "30 pieces of silver"?

If we have come to this then let us discard all the fine phrases of our Declaration of Independence, of our Constitution, the splendid utterances of our founders and go out on the market seeking the best bargain we can find.

But let it be remembered that the leader of our Christian world has told us "You cannot serve God and Mammon." Let us make our choice. Shall it be gold or truth—integrity or financial gain?

Surely the solid, sound thinking people of our country will never be willing to sacrifice principle to financial gain. Surely a second look at the possibilities which confront us will bring our leaders to a realization that there is more in the world than money.

Remember: "You can't take it with you" but you can take with you the thought that however much you may have been tempted you have stood steadfast and never let the love of gain override the truths which we have all been brought up to revere.

With few exceptions the veterans of our great wars have stood firmly against resumption of open trade with the Reds in China. Here are men and women who have sacrificed for their country—men and women who have considered the facts carefully—men and women who hold above all the love of their country. Their voices should be heeded before this country of ours takes any step to deal with our avowed enemies.

The Death's Head Symbol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Joseph Alsop, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 16, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

THE DEATH'S HEAD SYMBOL
(By Joseph Alsop)

AMMAN, JORDAN.—The squalid mud huts climb the scarred slopes or huddle in the stony valleys in half a dozen areas of this hilly little desert city. "Refugees from Palestine, these are," says the taxi driver pointedly, when you pass one of these melancholy settlements.

Here is human habitation reduced to the Neolithic level. The family housing in the 8,000-year-old fortified village just so amazingly discovered near Jericho was quite as good as this. Besides, those forerunners of all the civilization that was to come after, who had even invented organized warfare, as their strong town walls testify, at least had fields to plow and jobs to do. The Arabs driven out of Israel have no fields, and very few have jobs.

Some live in organized camps. Some, like so many here in Amman, live in shantytowns of their own construction. All receive rations from the United Nations. If it were not for this ration of a few measures of flour and a few spoonsful of oil, a large majority would simply starve to death.

Thus about a million persons have been living (and of this million, about half in little Jordan) ever since the Palestine war in 1948. The world has comfortably forgotten about them. But they should not be forgotten. If only because the refugee problem is like a deep infection of the blood, which inflames every other problem in the whole Middle East. And this is a good time to remember them for a particular reason.

Henry Labouisse, the quite spoken but determined American head of the special U. N. organization that handles the refugee problem, has recently passed through here on a fairly desparate mission. He was seeking local support, before going home to America to defend himself against threatened cuts in his relief budget. The very fact that Labouisse should have to undertake such a mission seems all but incredible, when you consider the character of his budget.

In brief, Labouisse has $25 million a year to provide about a million people with food and medical care. He used to have an additional $15 million to provide schooling for the hundreds of thousands of refugee children, to purchase clothing and the like, and to help refugees who may wish to strike out on their own. But this $15 million has already been cut to $12 million.

Consider those charming statistics. Consider that the total outlay for each refugee's food, clothing, health, education, shelter, and everything else is not much above $40

a year. Yet there is serious danger that even the U. N. appropriation for food and medical care will be considerably cut.

Labouisse's problem is gravely complicated by the fact that his money comes from a sort of club of voluntary contributors among the U. N.'s member nations. The United States already puts up about three-quarters of the total.

But it does not matter much whether the American Treasury pays the whole bill. It will be criminal lunacy to allow Labouisse's appropriations to be cut at this juncture. One sure result, for instance, will be such refugee riots here in Jordan as may well overturn the new and boldly independent government of young King Hussein.

But that is not the end of the story. Nine years have worn away the angry obstinacy with which the refugees used to reject any alternative but a return to their lost homes. "Give us justice," they still cry; but especially among the younger refugees, there are many who might now accept other alternatives besides repatriation.

Labouisse has only been able to offer a little more than $400 in aid to any refugee who wishes to surrender his ration ticket and make a new start on his own. Yet he now has several thousand applicants for this not especially golden opportunity.

This is only one sign that the atmosphere has changed. The time is ripe, in Labouisse's opinion, for a bold new program which would not solve this insoluble problem, but would at least reduce its terrible dimensions. Such a program might comprise an offer of repatriation (which would not be accepted while Israel endures) or compensation (which would be accepted with alacrity); plus better financing for those wishing to make a new start; plus visas, including American visas, for those wishing to emigrate to a new land.

Such an attack on the refugee problem would call forth cries of phony outrage from the unscrupulous Arab politicians who use these pitiful people as political pawns. But the simple fact that the refugee problem has been neglected for so long is the death's head symbol of the inanity of American Middle Eastern policy. Good conscience and good policy both call for action now.

Mr. Farmer: Do You Know Your Son Is Worth Only $725 as a Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wonder how many parents of servicemen know that their unmarried son, if killed in the service, is worth only $725. Believe it or not, such is the case.

In the only economy act of last year the Congress struck out the $10,000 free life insurance. So, if your unmarried son is killed in the service, all the parents will get, if the mothers' and fathers' combined income is over $2,400 per year, is 6 months' pay and $125 for the funeral.

So many billions have been given and are being given all over the world, the Government could not afford to keep up the $10,000 insurance policy on servicemen.

So, fathers and mothers, after you raise your boy to 18 and he goes into the service, the Government now expects you fathers and mothers to pay for his insurance. If you do not, the boy is not insured.

And get this, you will have a hard time buying this insurance for him. If he is in the Air Force, it is almost impossible. If you do get insurance, you will pay on the nose and good. Yes, mothers and fathers, if you have a boy in service, you better check on this or you are in for some heartbreaks.

The Late Judge Edward A. Richards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, a lifelong resident of Brooklyn, Judge Edward A. Richards, was born in the old town of New Lots, now the Borough of Brooklyn, on March 3, 1879. He was a product of the New York educational system having been graduated from the Boys' High School in Brooklyn, and from the New York University Law School with the degree of bachelor of laws. He was admitted to the bar in New York State in 1900. In 1907 he was elected justice of municipal court of the city of New York for a term of 10 years, and was reelected in November 1917. In the second year of his new term he resigned to become president of the East New York Savings Bank.

When he became president of the East New York Savings Bank the bank's assets totalled only $6 million, and there were only 8 employees. His success as president is attested to by the fact that the bank's assets at the time of his death in October 1956 were $530,207,231, and the employees numbered 337. He had served as a trustee of the bank since June 8, 1911.

Judge Richards was a member of the law firm of Richards, Smyth & Conway which later became Richards, Symth & McGrath. He was also an instructor for 2 years in the law of torts at the Brooklyn Law School, St. Lawrence University. The National Association of Mutual Savings Banks honored him by election as its president from June 1925 until October 1926.

Judge Richards had been a member of the legislative committee of the savings banks association of the State for more than 25 years and served on many other committees of the State association. He was instrumental in having three important proposals of legislation passed, first, permitting savings banks to establish branches; second, permitting savings banks to install and operate safe deposit boxes, and third, permitting savings banks to operate school savings banks.

He was one of the chief advocates of life insurance for savings banks, and later became president of the Savings Banks Life Insurance Fund, which office he held for a number of years.

His active life was devoted to undertakings in many fields as is indicated by his membership in the Brooklyn Bar Association for more than 50 years, and a member of its judiciary committee for many years; the Lawyers Club of Brooklyn; the Bankers Club of Brooklyn; the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce director for more than 25 years; the board of directors of the Brooklyn and Queens Young Men's Christian Association for more than 40 years, and vice president and trustee since 1947; the board of managers of the Highland Park Branch of the YMCA since 1909, and chairman of the board since 1914. He was a director and vice president of the Brooklyn Council of Boy Scouts and was chairman of their finance and campaign committees for several years. He was also a director of Brooklyn Chapter American Red Cross, Tyrian Lodge, No. 618 F. & A. M. for over 50 years; and master of the lodge for 2 years; and of the 22d Assembly District Regular Democratic Club. A devoted member of the Episcopal Church, he was senior warden of Trinity Episcopal Church of East New York for many years, prior to which he had been a vestryman or warden of former St. Clement's Church, Pennsylvania Avenue, Brooklyn for many years.

He was also a member of the executive committee and the standing committee of the Episcopal diocese of Long Island and a trustee of the estate belonging to the Episcopal diocese of Long Island, and of the Chapter Cathedral of the Incarnation in the diocese.

For a time he was the president of Concord Freeholders, Inc., comprised of 18 mutual savings banks in the State of New York, which built three 15-story apartment houses costing more than $5 million known as Concord Village, and was the president of Arlington Village Development Corp. comprised of 4 Brooklyn savings banks which built a $2 million garden housing project in East New York.

In 1956 Judge Richards was awarded the gold medal for most distinguished service for Brooklyn by the Downtown Brooklyn Association.

The Court Crushes Private Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, many of us are alarmed at the continual trend of the decisions enunciated by the so-called Supreme Court of the United States of America. We were, of course, shocked at their decision on Monday, May 17, 1954, which is so frequently referred to as "Black Monday." From that day on, the Court has continued to depart from time-honored legal principles and precepts. They have thrown to the wind all legal precedent and now no attorney can advise his client with any degree of satisfaction as to what might be the

ruling of the Court. Apparently, the Court has set out to make its own rules and regulations, write the laws and precedents in each individual case. It has assumed the authority of judge, jury, and executioner. It has arrogated unto itself all necessary legislative power and authority without regard to the consequences that will follow.

A good example of this quasijudicial, legislative and executive function of our Supreme Court is pointed out cogently in an editorial in the Richmond Times-Dispatch of Friday, June 14, 1957, entitled "The Court Crushes Private Rights." The editorial deals with the decision of the Supreme Court in the Girard will case which has caused widespread adverse comment by lawyers and laymen alike.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include this editorial together with an article by Ray Tucker which is referred to in the editorial. They are as follows:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch of June 14, 1957]

THE COURT CRUSHES PRIVATE RIGHTS

The full purport of the United States Supreme Court's amazing Girard College case is only now being grasped in Virginia and throughout the country.

Every educational institution chartered by the State—whether religious, charitable, or whatnot—apparently is now under the guns of the Court, if it refuses for any reason to admit Negroes. The same apparently goes for all other types of corporations, such as theaters which have State charters, and apartment houses or single residences built, in whole or in part, with public funds, or whose mortgages are governmentally guaranteed.

Today's column by Ray Tucker gives an idea of what the future holds. We recommend a careful reading.

In the Girard College case the Supreme Court unanimously overruled the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, which had held 5 to 1, that Stephen Girard had a right to leave his millions for the education of poor white male orphans, if he wished to do so.

The reason for upsetting this will, written in 1831, was given by the Nation's highest court as follows: "The board which operates Girard College is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania." Hence refusal to admit colored students is a violation of the 14th amendment.

The reason for holding Girard College to be an agency of the State was that its funds are administered by the board of city trusts of the city of Philadelphia. Not a cent of State or city money has ever gone to the college.

Justice Bell, of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, said, with much justification, in his opinion upholding the Girard will:

"Appellants argue that Girard's will discriminates against Negroes. It could just as readily be argued, it would be just as irrelevant, that it similarly discriminates against all girls—white, red, yellow, brown and black—against white boys who are not orphans—against white boys who are not poor—as well as against all poor boys who are not born in Philadelphia. * * *

"It follows logically and necessarily that if an individual cannot constitutionally leave his money to an orphanage or to a private home and college for poor white male orphans, he cannot constitutionally leave his money to a Catholic, or Episcopal, or Baptist, or Methodist, or Lutheran * * * or for other religious or charitable purposes."

Even the strongly integrationist and militantly liberal New Republic is shocked by the Court's failure to give any clear reasons for its action in the Girard case. The magazine said:

"We have previously called attention to the Court's unbroken practice since the second public school segregation cases in 1955 of summarily disposing of cases involving racial segregation. The present case is a particularly egregious example of that practice. * * * The Court has a responsibility, constitutional and moral, to explain by reasoned exegesis the grounds of its decisions and their connection with what has gone before. * * * The decision was made without argument and without even plenary briefs directed to the merits of the case. There are violations of orderly and decent procedure which the Court would hardly permit in a lower court."

A long list of Virginia educational institutions which hold charters from the State—some of them connected with religious denominations, others having no such affiliations and privately operated—is given in our news columns today. It is possible that some, or all, of them will be sued, if they refuse to admit Negro students.

It is even possible, as Ray Tucker points out in his column, that doctors, lawyers, or other professional people who have State licenses will now be confronted by a mandate that they accept Negro patients or clients.

Thus the once universally recognized right of an individual to dispose of his own property, to conduct his own business or profession, or in various other respects to order his private affairs, may have been annihilated by the Supreme Court. The far-reaching consequences of that arrogant action can as yet hardly be grasped, or even imagined.

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch of June 14, 1957]

LAST STRAW ON THE CAMEL'S BACK

(By Ray Tucker)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The legal possibilities opened up by the famous Girard College decision represent a threat of almost complete Federal control of the Nation's society and economy, in the opinion of expert lawyers and legislators here. The suits started or prepared under the Supreme Court's holding account for this conclusion.

The Girard ruling applied only to education on its face, but it is believed that it can be projected into almost every human activity financed in full or in part by public money—Federal, State, or local—or even if a governmental agency merely handles the funds.

Numerous legal actions, from New York to California, have been undertaken in an attempt to apply the decision to other fields. A Negro in New Rochelle, N. Y., has brought action against an apartment house for its discrimination policy because its mortgages are insured by the Federal Housing and Veterans' Administrations.

A Los Angeles Negro sued a dentist there for refusing to treat him because of his race. The basis for the action was that the dentist was a publicly licensed purveyor of an essential service, and, therefore, he was required to treat all comers.

Although the court held against the complainant, it did so partly because of reluctance of the judiciary to intervene in confidential relations between physician and patient. It apparently left the case open to appeal—an action usually taken in these matters with the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) legal aid.

Federal, State, or municipal agencies have financial relations with almost every college in the country. They provide funds for the ROTC, research, dormitory and hospital construction, extension courses in this country, and to the Armed Forces abroad. Under the pending school-construction program, the administration will virtually rebuild our high-school system.

Many institutions of higher learning have certain specifications, based on religion, sex, age, residence, married status, and intellectual attainments. Under the Girard ruling, which involves private rather than public funds, they may become subject to the same challenge—and outcome—as the Philadelphia college.

A large percentage of private construction today is financed or insured with Federal taxpayers' contributions, including millions who believe sincerely in segregation. Uncle Sam has invested billions in defense plants for contracts, plant construction, machinery, and supplies. He finances farms, mines, and shipbuilding.

Were the Reconstruction Finance Corporation operating today, the Girard ruling would undoubtedly affect every large and small borrower, from great railroads to small retail outlets, that obtained funds from the late Jesse H. Jones' agency.

In short, the high tribunal appears to have paved the way for a more comprehensive National Employment Practices Commission than F. D. R. or Harry S. Truman, at the inspiration of extreme New Dealers, ever dared to propose to Congress. Capitol Hill rejected far milder programs after the war.

It is understood that, as possibly in New Rochelle and Los Angeles, the NAACP will launch a nationwide battery of suits to extend the decision as outlined here.

Another body which will consider and probably assail the Supreme Court's action is the governors' conference at its meeting later this month.

State executives have been denouncing persistent Federal encroachments for years, but many feel that the Girard extension of antidiscrimination philosophy is the last straw on their sovereign shoulders.

No Rights for American GI's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, we have frittered away $65 billion all over the world since 1945 worrying about the liberties of other people in other lands. But at the same time we take away the rights of American GI's serving in foreign lands.

We worry about trial by jury, the fifth amendment, bail, and other rights for Communists here in America but we give up those rights for GI's all over the world.

How Congress stands idly by while this is going on is something I will never understand. Let us take a look at this sad and strange development our leaders say that the Status of Forces Treaty is justified because it is reciprocal—that in giving up jurisdiction over our own soldiers, we acquired jurisdiction over foreign soldiers stationed here.

What every American ought to know is that American constitutional rights are not for sale or trade on any terms.

If the American Government acquired jurisdiction over 100 million foreigners in exchange for sacrificing the constitutional rights of one American citizen, it

would still be an immoral and unconstitutional deal.

The Status of Forces Treaty was a bad bargain for America—even if we ignore principles and make a factual comparison of what we gave with what we got.

There are no foreign troops stationed in America. Altogether, there may be in the United States as many as 15,000 foreigners who are here on some kind of military mission—as observers, experts, or special trainees. On the other hand, there are approximately 1 million American troops stationed abroad. Our troops are sent abroad to protect foreign nations. The foreign soldiers visiting in the United States are not here for our good.

In acquiring jurisdiction over 15,000 visiting foreigners, we nullified the constitutional rights of more than 1 million American soldiers.

Suppose 1 of the 15,000 foreigners does get in trouble here in the United States?

Whoever he is, wherever he's from, whatever he does, he gets the full protection of the American Constitution.

In America, any spy, subversive, or criminal of whatever kind is guaranteed a fair jury trial in open court. He can invoke the fifth amendment, refuse to testify, and heap abuse upon official representatives of our Government. But an American soldier who is drafted and forced to serve abroad can now be arrested on trumped-up charges by foreign police officers, tried in a foreign court, sentenced, and punished, without even having an American official present at his trial.

American soldiers, stationed in some 72 foreign nations, have been forced to give up their own careers, their own families, their own homes, to go abroad and serve the interests of foreign people. But this is not enough. They must also be deprived of their most precious constitutional rights in order to keep our foreign friends friendly.

An American soldier in trouble abroad is at the mercy of people whose language he may not speak, and who may hate him merely because he is an American.

He has no guaranty of a public trial, or even a trial by jury; no guaranty of freedom of speech; no protection against unreasonable searches and seizures; no protection against excessive bail or excessive fines; no presumption that he is innocent until he is proven guilty; no requirement that his guilt must be proven beyond reasonable doubt.

Families of servicemen protest that their relatives are subjected to indignities, suffering, and denial of their rights as American citizens in Iceland—where the biggest political party is the Communist party; where the second biggest newspaper in the nation is a Communist newspaper; and where anti-American feeling is bitter.

We have these status of forces agreements with Moslem countries, where the penalty for petty theft is to cut off the right hand of the offender.

American servicemen are subjected to abuse and injustice in France, where 1 out of every 4 public officials is a Communist.

In both Japan and France, it is customary for prosecutors who are not satisfied with sentences imposed on Americans, to appeal the case. This calls for a new trial, with new evidence; and it puts Americans in double jeopardy, subjecting them to more than one trial for the same offense. Such a thing is unconstitutional in the United States.

In Japan, the wheels of justice turn slowly. Criminal cases are frequently adjourned and interminably delayed; but the defendant—even though he may later turn out to be innocent—stays in jail until the verdict is finally in. What a shame on our Nation and a Congress which permits this.

Statement on United States Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following statement issued by the American Jewish Committee at a meeting of its administrative board on May 7, 1957. The meeting was held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the America Jewish Committee.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION POLICY

On this 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Jewish Committee, we reaffirm our dedication to the goal of an enlightened and liberal immigration and nationality policy, which will bring this vital aspect of American life into consonance with traditional American ideals. Such a policy, we feel, will promote unity at home and advance our relations with the other nations of the free world. We are gratified that our point of view is shared by the leading American organizations of all faiths and by the Nation's major citizens' groups, that it has been affirmed in the 1956 platforms of both the Democratic and Republican Parties and by their principal spokesmen, and that it has been publicly supported by President Eisenhower.

In a special message to Congress on January 31, 1957, the President proposed a series of interim reforms in American immigration policy. Among the President's recommendations were an increase in immigration quotas, a method of utilizing unused quotas, and a plan for admitting each year a reasonable number of escapees from Communist countries.

Although the President's recommendations do not provide for elimination of the discriminatory national-origins system, we support them, nevertheless, as an important step in that direction. We urge, however, that his proposal for admission of refugees from communism be expanded to include refugees from other governmental systems which engage in religious or political persecution. With this additional recommendation, we call upon the Congress to implement these proposals of the President by immediate and effective action.

A Good Teacher Is an Inspiration Forever

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I recently received 2 very inspiring letters from 2 very wonderful persons. One of these persons was my first-grade teacher, Miss Fannie Cumming, who taught in the Tampa grammar schools for half a century and is still busy about doing many good things for people in Tampa, Fla. The other is Miss Carol Roseborough, who taught me in the second grade, also in the Tampa, Fla., schools, where she taught almost as long as Miss Cumming. In the letter I received from Miss Roseborough she included the Bible ABC Verses, which I used as a youngster in her class in order to better understand the alphabet and in order to better understand spiritual laws. Certainly, my recent communications and thoughts of these grand teachers who taught me in my early years have underlined for me the truth that a good teacher is an inspiration forever. I am deeply indebted to these fine teachers and to the others who have helped me through my life. I include hereunder the Bible ABC Verses to which Miss Roseborough addressed her recent letter and which I used so many years ago in the Tampa, Fla., public schools.

The verses follow:

BIBLE ABC VERSES

A: A soft answer turneth away wrath.
B: Be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving each other.
C: Cease to do evil, learn to do well.
D: Do good unto all men.
E: Everyone shall give an account of himself before God.
F: Fear God and keep his commandments.
G: Give thanks unto the Lord; for He is good.
H: He that ruleth his own spirit is better than he that taketh a city.
I: In Thee, O Lord, do I put my trust.
J. Judge not that ye be not judged.
K: Keep thy lips from evil and thy tongue from speaking guile.
L: Little children, love one another.
M: My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.
N: Now is the accepted time.
O: Owe no man anything but to love one another.
P: Praise ye the Lord, let all the people praise Him.
Q: Quit you like men, be strong in the Lord.
R: Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy.
S: Suffer the little children to come unto Me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.
T: Thou, God, seest me.
U: Unto Thee, O Lord, do I cry for help.
V: Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye must be born again.
W: Watch and pray lest you enter into temptation.
X: Except you become as a little child ye cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven.
Y: Ye are the salt of the earth.
Z: Zealous in all good works.

In Memoriam, His Excellency Most Rev. Richard Thomas Guilfoyle, D. D.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker—

Behold a great priest who in his days pleased God.

The Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, Altoona, Pa., was the scene on June 17, 1957, of a solemn pontifical Mass of requiem for His Excellency Most Rev. Richard Thomas Guilfoyle, the third bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Altoona, Pa.

Persons from all walks of life and various religious faiths joined the thousands of Catholics in the eight-county diocese in expressing sorrow on the death of Bishop Guilfoyle.

Although in frail health for the past several years, Bishop Guilfoyle was determined to continue his episcopal duties, and during the last month of his life he ordained a class of new priests, distributed diplomas at the commencement exercises of Altoona Catholic High School, and blessed the new Immaculate Conception Chapel at St. Francis College, Loretto, Pa.

One week previous to his death, Bishop Guilfoyle participated in the solemn requiem Mass for a diocesan priest, the late Reverend Father Michael Brett, Johnstown, Pa.

Laboring zealously for over 20 years as shepherd of the Altoona diocese, Bishop Guilfoyle witnessed the fruits of his efforts both spiritually and materially. New churches and schools were elected, and his ardent desire to improve church property and finish construction of the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament began to show promise of fulfillment when nearly $4 million in cash and pledges were raised in 1956 to finance a 5-year building and improvement program. The success of this campaign for funds was a personal tribute of love and respect for Bishop Guilfoyle and of his marked ability as an administrative and spiritual leader.

When the late bishop's successor, in the years to come succeeds in completing the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament a task so nobly begun by Bishop Guilfoyle, the success of the building program will reflect in a grtat degree the labor, love, sacrifices, hope, and constant prayers of the late bishop in his effort to perfect the beauty of this edifice dedicated to the extension of God's Kingdom on earth. To have played an important part in building such an imperishable monument to one's daily activities during life is the crowning achievement of human existence.

Deeply spiritual, yet endowed with a sparkling sense of humor traditional with his race, Bishop Guilfoyle shunned the limelight and the plaudits of the multitude. Entering the seminary from the coal pits of Jefferson County, Pa., where he was employed at the tender age of 15, Bishop Guilfoyle, by diligent study, arose to the exalted position of a prince of his church. Throughout his priestly life he had contacts with persons prominent in the business and industrial world, yet as a priest—and later as a bishop—he never lost the common touch. This humble and self-effacing bishop felt more at home in the enjoyment he obtained from mingling and talking with the masses of humanity, as he sought to aid them in walking humbly with their Lord and their God.

With deep humility and sincerity of purpose as twin attributes of his noble character, and with an awesome regard for his sacred calling as his greatest love, Bishop Guilfoyle found keen enjoyment from his love of mingling and talking with the children and youth of the Altoona diocese. He had a special affection for the orphans in the diocese and never missed an opportunity to visit the orphanage of the Altoona diocese.

As a youth, the late bishop was a lover of sports, with the result that he maintained an avid interest in athletic events, participating in athletics during his college and seminary days and continuing his interest after his ordination to the holy priesthood. Before failing health robbed him of leisure moments, it was a familiar sight to see him at athletic contests between church groups, urging young athletes to victory. At times he would actively engage in practice sessions, often donning athletic equipment to take his place on the team or to act as umpire, referee, or coach as the occasion demanded, to the sheer delight of diocesan youth. In short, Bishop Guilfoyle derived great enjoyment from associating with young people and was, in turn, the beneficiary of their love and admiration.

This bond of mutual love and friendship was of an enduring nature and was exemplified in a spiritual manner when, on June 15, 1957, over 1,000 children attended the special children's Mass of the Pentecost at the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, the first of the church services to be held prior to the solemn pontifical Mass of requiem for their beloved friend and bishop. The choir at the children's Mass was composed of altar boys in whom Bishop Guilfoyle always exhibited great interest. He obtained much joy from his association with them.

The Altoona diocese has lost a faithful shepherd of souls in the death of the Most Reverend Richard Thomas Guilfoyle.

The following news articles and editorial from the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror regarding Bishop Guilfoyle's death reflect his many sterling qualities and his prominence in the spiritual life of the eight counties comprising the Altoona diocese of the Roman Catholic Church.

I wish to join people of all religious faiths in paying a tribute of reverence to the memory of the late Bishop Guilfoyle and to extend sincere expressions of deepest sympathy to the surviving members of his family of 5 brothers and 1 sister.

In like manner, I extend my sympathy to the secular priests and members of religious orders in the Altoona diocese on the loss of a truly great spiritual leader.

It should prove a source of consolation to the Catholic population in the Altoona diocese that Bishop Guilfoyle realized his fond ambition in life of being a true shepherd of his flock. To attain that goal despite ill health, he persevered until death with patience, courage, and fortitude in the performance of the sacred duties of his office. This patient and determined attitude revealed his depth of character and his love for the souls committed to his care.

In tendering this last tribute of respect to a noted churchman, the memory of the active and fruitful life of the Most Reverend Richard Thomas Guilfoyle, D. D., brings to mind the words of the poet:

Were a star quenched on high
For years would its light
Still streaming downward from the sky
Fall on our mortal sight.

So when a great man dies
For years beyond our ken
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the soul of men.

[From the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror of June 11, 1957]

BISHOP GUILFOYLE DIES—FUNERAL MASS ON MONDAY

His Excellency, Most Rev. Richard Thomas Guilfoyle, third bishop of the Altoona Roman Catholic diocese, died at 6:20 o'clock last evening in Mercy Hospital after a heart attack. He was 64.

Bishop Guilfoyle had complained of breathlessness shortly after 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon and asked to be taken to the hospital for oxygen. He walked unassisted from the bishop's house at 1211 13th Street at 3:30 o'clock and was driven to the hospital by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas E. Madden, chancellor of the diocese. He was admitted at 4 o'clock.

Near him at the time of his death were Monsignor Madden and Rev. Father Vincent Burke, T. O. R., who administered the bishop the last rites of the church. Bishop Guilfoyle was conscious until the end.

Authorities said that although the bishop had a heart condition for several years, he had suffered from a diabetic condition for the past 15 years.

Last public appearance of the bishop was Wednesday, when he handed diplomas to members of the Altoona Catholic High School graduating class during its 32d commencement at the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament. On Monday, at Johnstown, he gave absolution at the funeral Mass of Rev. Father Michael Brett.

Unassuming and retiring by nature, Bishop Guilfoyle in recent years appeared less frequently in public. Devoted to children, he used much of his failing energy in attendance at juvenile events and visits to nearby orphanges.

Installed as bishop of the diocese December 15, 1936, he became the third priest to ascend to the office since the diocese was created May 30, 1901. He succeeded Most Rev. Bishop John Joseph McCort, who died April 21, 1936. The first bishop, Rt. Rev. Eugene A. Garvey, appointed by Pope Leo XIII, died in October 1920.

During his two decades as bishop, the Altoona diocese expanded from a Roman Catholic population of 100,000 to 150,670, according to the 1957 official figures. Churches and missions grew from 130 to 135. The diocese contained 160 priests then to 252 today.

At the beginning of Bishop Guilfoyle's tenure, there were 50 parochial schools con-

ducted in the diocese as compared to 54 elementary schools today. There are five high schools. In addition to St. Francis College and Seminary at Loretto, the Franciscan order has added Highland Hall Preparatory Seminary at Hollidaysburg.

Bishop Guilfoyle started a new parish, St. John Vianney, at Mundy's Corner in 1950. Last year he established two new parishes in the greater Johnstown area, St. Clement's and St. Andrew's.

Bishop Guilfoyle was born December 22, 1892, at Adrian, Jefferson County, 1 of 9 children of Michael and Bridget (Ryan) Guilfoyle. The boy whose career began at 15 with a coal-miner's cap gave little indication that at 43 his head would carry a bishop's miter.

But during the following year he held long conversations with Rev. Father Joseph Zubricky, pastor of St. Adrian's Church near Punxsutawney. Young Guilfoyle quit the mines and entered St. Bonaventure High School at Allegany, N. Y., continuing through college and seminary there.

He was ordained a priest June 2, 1917, at Buffalo, N. Y., by the late Denis Cardinal Dougherty, who at that time was bishop of Buffalo.

After his ordination, Father Guilfoyle was named assistant pastor at St. Stephen's Church, Oil City. He remained there only a short time before being appointed by Bishop John Mark Gannon, D. D., bishop of Erie, as his secretary. He served 15 years as secretary to Bishop Gannon. Thirteen years of that time he also served as chancellor of the Erie diocese. Bishop Gannon last week celebrated his 80th birthday at Erie.

Father Guilfoyle's elevation to bishop was announced by Pope Pius XI in Rome on August 11, 1936.

The consecration of the former chancellor was performed November 30, 1936, at St. Andrew's Cathedral in Erie, a rite which elevated him to the se at Altoona. He was formally installed with impressive rites at the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, December 15, 1936, with Cardinal Dougherty presiding.

Bishop Guilfoyle, who had held 2 duties simultaneously in the Erie diocese, was replaced by 2 men after his elevation to the episcopacy. Rev. Dr. Raymond Mcquillan was named chancellor and Rev. Father Alfred Watson became secretary to Bishop Gannon.

Possibly the highest honor paid the bishop during his 20 years as Shepherd of the Mountains came only last year when the diocese raised the largest single amount of money ever obtained in a fund campaign.

Nearly $4 million in cash and pledges was obtained to finance a building and improvement campaign during the next 5 years in the diocese which covers 6,710 square miles and includes the counties of Blair, Bedford, Cambria, Centre, Clinton, Fulton, Huntingdon and Somerset.

Bishop Guilfoyle was the only member of his immediate family to enter the priesthood. Preceding him in death on October 2, 1953, was a brother, James Francis Guilfoyle of Punxsutawney, who died at the Altoona Veterans' Administration hospital.

Surviving are 5 sisters and 1 brother, Miss Margaret Guilfoyle, Edward Guilfoyle and Mrs. Mame Devlin, all of Punxsutawney; Mrs. M. T. O'Neill of Youngstown, Ohio, Mrs. Nell Bechtold of Greensburg, and Miss Katherine Guilfoyle of Pittsburgh.

[From the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror of June 17, 1957]

MANY PRESENT AT FUNERAL FOR BISHOP OF CITY—ARCHBISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA HEADS CLERGY—CATHEDRAL FILLED TO CAPACITY FOR FINAL RITES—NUNS AND LAITY PRESENT

The Roman Catholic Church today performed the last rites for the third bishop of the Altoona diocese, His Excellency, Most Rev. Richard Thomas Guilfoyle, who died suddenly of a heart attack a week ago.

The solemn ceremonies accorded a prince of the church were held in the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament before an overflow audience of the faithful over whom Bishop Guilfoyle had ruled for nearly 21 years.

The pontifical Mass of requiem was the final act in a mourning period during which thousands of Catholics filed before the prelate's bier at the episcopal residence from Wednesday until yesterday, when the body was moved to the cathedral to lie in state for the last hours before the mass.

Filling the cathedral for the services were clergymen, not only from the Altoona diocese, but from others throughout the eastern United States, as well as representatives from the sisterhoods. But the majority were Roman Catholic laity from the flock under the late bishop's spiritual guidance.

Services began at 4:45 o'clock this morning with the chanting of the final portions of the office of the dead, the first part of which was conducted yesterday afternoon at the time of the transfer of the body to the cathedral.

MONSIGNORI PARTICIPATE

The office of the dead was chanted for about 45 minutes, during which the choir sang 8 psalms, and lessons pertaining to the dead were sung by 3 monsignori—Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas E. Madden, administrator; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. O'Shea, of Bellefonte, and Rt. Rev. Msgr. I. J. Denny, cathedral rector.

Celebrant for the solemn pontifical Mass of requiem which followed immediately was Most Rev. John F. O'Hara, C. S. C., archbishop of Philadelphia.

The extremely solemn mass, which includes the consecration of the holy communion, was sung prior to the funeral sermon by Most Rev. John F. Dearden, D. D., bishop of Pittsburgh, who eulogized the late bishop's service for the divine kingdom.

Then followed the final absolution by the four bishops who assisted Archbishop O'Hara. They were Most Rev. Edward P. McManaman, D. D., auxiliary bishop of Erie; Most Rev. George L. Leech, D. D., bishop of Harrisburg; Most Rev. Hugh L. Lamb, D. D., bishop of Greensburg, and Most Rev. Jerome D. Hannan, D. D., bishop of Scranton.

OTHER PRELATES ASSIST YOUNGSTOWN

Other bishops attending were Most Rev. Hubert J. Cartwright, auxiliary bishop of Wilmington, Del.; Most Rev. Callistus Smith, auxiliary bishop of Buffalo, N. Y.; Most Rev. Emmet M. Walsh, bishop of Youngstown, Ohio; Most Rev. Lawrence F. Schott, auxiliary bishop of Harrisburg; Most Rev. Coleman Carroll, auxiliary bishop of Pittsburgh, and Rt. Rev. Denis Strittmatter, O. S. B., archabbot of St. Vincent's, Latrobe.

Other prelates assisting in the mass included: Archpriest, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas E. Madden; deacons of honor, Rev. Michael F. Mackowiak of Windber and Rev. Joseph A. Banik of Barnesboro; deacon, Rev. Patrick V. Fleming; subdeacon, Rev. Eugene O. M. Bradley of Gallitzin.

Master of ceremonies, Rt. Rev. Joseph McGlynn, personal attendant to the archbishop; assistant master of ceremonies, Rev. Roy F. Kline of Altoona and Rev. Edward McConnell of Bedford.

After the mass concluded early this afternoon, the body of Bishop Guilfoyle was removed to the crypt in the cathedral to lie beside his predecessors in administration of the Altoona diocese.

Pallbearers at the burial were the same who officiated at the transfer yesterday. They were: Rev. Eugene C. Parrish of Altoona, Rev. John J. Crawley and Rev. Lambert M. Beiter, both of Huntingdon; Rev. Casimir Ossowski and Rev. Joseph F. Pier, both of Johnstown; Rev. A. J. Chervenak of Portage; Rev. John A. O'Toole of South Fork and Rev. Francis L. Gorney of Gallitzin.

Commentator for the radio broadcast was Rev. Joseph Kinlry of Johnstown.

The rites were preceded with an impressive procession of clergy from the cathedral school, across 13th Avenue, to the large gray stone edifice itself.

TAKE PART IN PROCESSION

First in the line of march were the altar boys, in their cassocks and surplices. Then followed more than 300 priests in the various colorful robes of their offices, followed by the various monsignori, after whom walked 15 bishops. Then came the officiating clergy for the Mass.

During the Mass itself, the bishops and monsignori sat in the sanctuary and the contingent of priests in the forward rows of seats in the cathedral. Archbishop O'Hara occupied the episcopal throne, flanked on either side by a knight.

The diocesan priests' choir led the assembled clergy in singing at the double rites, Rev. Joseph Krisock, of Ebensburg, conducted.

Black crepe covered the portal and other sections of the cathedral. The altar was draped with the bishop's coat of arms, the center of a triangular motif.

The casket was draped with deep purple velvet.

Doors to the cathedral were opened at an early hour and the church was quickly filled to capacity.

LIFE, WORK OF BISHOP CITED AT OBSEQUIES

(The complete text of the sermon by His Excellency Most Rev. John F. Dearden, D. D., bishop of Pittsburgh, Pa., is carried herewith:)

"Now I exhort the presbyters among you—I, your fellow presbyter and witness to the sufferings of Christ, the partaker also of the glory that is to be revealed in time to come—tend the flock of God which is among you, governing not by constraint, but willingly, according to God; nor yet for the sake of base gain, but eagerly; nor yet as lording it over your charges, but becoming from the heart a pattern to the flock. And when the Prince of the shepherds appears, you will receive the unfading crown of glory" (I Peter 5: 1–4).

In this solemn action of prayer the church begs God's mercy on the soul of a departed bishop. The prayers that are offered are substantially the same as those offered for any of her departed children. But there is one difference, small but impressive. Time and again throughout these obsequies whenever the occasion offers, the title "bishop" is introduced into the prayers. It is "Richard, a bishop" for whom the church prays today.

At no time do titles count less than in death. Marks of distinction that carry weight during life mean little when the span of earthly existence is ended. In the light of our faith, nothing could be clearer than this.

How truly the church knows that the title will count for little before the judgment seat of God unless to underscore additional responsibilities for which an accounting must be made. And yet, with all her awareness of this truth, she employs frequently in this ceremony the title of ecclesiastical honor.

In this context it can convey but one meaning. This is an expression of the church's respect and reverence for an office established by Christ. She still treasures in hallowed memory and living reality the commission given by the divine Master to the apostles. Sent forth in His name under Peter to teach, to rule, and to sanctify, their work is her glory and the principle of her being. Without them and all that they represent, her mission among men is empty and hollow.

This solemn occasion brings home to us with renewed force the office of a bishop in

the church. Month after month and year after year we are witnesses of his activity and sharers in the fruits of his labors. As the priest in his parish, so the bishop in his diocese lives in the midst of his people, dispensing to them the graces of salvation. And as it happens with a priest, so also with a bishop, his work and his life are so intimately interwoven with the lives of his people that it is taken as commonplace and ordinary. And yet in the fullest sense of the term according to the designs of Christ himself, his life and his work, because of their far-reaching spiritual importance, must rise above the common.

This is a truth that is impressed upon every bishop from the earliest days of his episcopal duties. His appointment as bishop comes to him from the chief bishop of Christendom, the holy father. The vicar of Christ speaks forth and calls this priest to the fullness of holy orders and to an apostolic charge. The very manner of his commission and the channel through which authority comes to him makes clear the bond of apostolic succession that unites him to the Apostles.

On the day of his consecration, a bishop pledges in solemn fashion to carry out the duties of his office. In reply to questions that are put to him by his consecrator, he promises to "teach the people for whom [he is] ordained, both by word and by example"; "to show fidelity, submission, obedience * * * to our holy father * * *"; "[to] be given up to divine affairs and abstain from worldly matters * * *"; "* * * to observe * * * and to teach others to observe humility and patience"; "to be affable and merciful to the poor * * * and all those in need."

These are weighty and solemn promises. They spell out in detail a bishop's duty to endeavor according to the teaching of St. Peter (I Peter 5: 3), to become "from the heart a pattern to the flock." Time and again a bishop meditates on these solemn truths. No one is more keenly aware than he of how heavy is the charge that has been laid upon him and how far short he falls of meeting its full responsibilities.

For more than 20 years, Bishop Guilfoyle served as the shepherd of the see of Altoona. He brought to his office broad and rich priestly experience. He drew upon that experience in conducting the weighty administrative duties of his office as bishop of Altoona.

And yet for all his administrative talent, he was a man of simple tastes and habits. His unaffected and unassuming manner is known to all his priests and people. Through his direct and kindly manner, he established an easy contact with the humble of this world.

He had a deep and an abiding concern for the poor and needy. They knew him well and they sensed his warm charity toward them.

As is so fitting, he had an absorbing interest in all the works of Christian education. Where Catholic schools could be established, he encouraged and fostered them in every way possible. To provide with adequacy for the religious education of those unable to attend parochial schools, he insitituted and developed a strong program according to the pattern of the confraternity of Christian doctrine. Through these channels he endeavored to discharge his duty of forming the young according to the spirit of the divine Master.

At all times he showed an absorbing desire to shun anything that would bring honor or draw attention to him personally. He lived without ostentation. Yet coupled to his personal desire to avoid publicity was a profound and sensitive appreciation of the lofty sacredness of his office as bishop. This will explain at least in part his great love and concern for all the solemnities of the liturgy of the church. For to this cause he was truly devoted.

In the discharge of his duties as bishop of this important see, he never hesitated to call upon the collaboration of his priests, religious and the laity. And knowing him so well, they offered a devoted and generous support in all the undertakings of the church. So many important works were undertaken and prospered under his attentive guidance and the interested support of all his people.

We recite these qualities of the revered Bishop Guilfoyle with no thought of doing in his death what he would have found distasteful in life. But it is fitting today to call to mind these bonds that joined him so intimately to his priests and people. For the long years of devoted labors that he spent in this diocese have won for him a special place in its heart. His memory will be treasured. For like a good father, he has left his impress upon this diocese as a devoted father leaves his impress on the character of his children.

Our union in prayer this morning is a mark of our affection and esteem for him. It must be a pledge of our continued readiness to pray God's mercy upon him. As a bishop stands before the judgment seat of God to render an account of his life and his ministry, he has much for which he must render an account. His stewardship is arduous and weighty. And whatever measure of imperfection has crept into it through human weakness must be satisfied for. It is in this hour that he would turn with special earnestness to his priests and religious and people to beg them to pray to God for him. Their prayers and sacrifices will win for him more speedily a judgment of mercy and love.

Toward the close of the ceremony of the consecration of a bishop a prayer is addressed to God in behalf of the new successor of the Apostles. It is the traditional prayer of the church for her bishops. With propriety then we address it to God once again, begging that what it pleads for may have been attained by our revered and beloved Bishop Guilfoyle.

"O God, the Pastor and Ruler of all the faithful, look down in Thy mercy upon this Thy servant, whom Thou has appointed over Thy church, and grant, we beseech Thee, that both by word and example he may edify all those who are under his charge, so that with the flock entrusted to him he may attain unto life everlasting through Christ our Lord."

[From the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror of June 12, 1957]

BISHOP GUILFOYLE

The name of His Excellency, Most Rev. Richard Thomas Guilfoyle, D. D., will stand long in this community and the annals of his church for leadership, character, sympathy, understanding, unselfish, and patient service and, above all, as a stanch champion of the Christian cause and a devout servant of the Prince of Peace.

Bishop Guilfoyle was great not only because he scaled the heights in his chosen work for God and mankind. In his lifetime, he stood as a supreme example of the dedicated man, consecrated to the advancement of God's Kingdom in the world.

Inherently a shy man, his reserve disappeared only when he was in the company of his closest associates or when he found time to mingle among children and young people who were nearest and dearest to his heart in doing everything possible in their behalf.

Driven by a life force that would not let him spare himself or anyone who worked with him. Bishop Guilfoyle became a living symbol of a spiritual leader whose interests never deviated from the call of duty, and his pursuit of the ultimate in successful effort for his church ended only when he died.

Not the smallest measure of his devotion was manifest since his health became impaired quite a number of years ago. Lesser leaders might have been content to offer mere token service only long enough to bring their active careers to an end. Bishop Guilfoyle continued at the helm of his large jurisdiction with unfailing courage, steadfastness of purpose, unbroken faith and heroic fortitude.

In his ceaseless strivings, Bishop Guilfoyle spurred both clergy and laity on to greater achievements. In every facet of life, he clung to principle as determinedly as he labored unrelentlessly for his God and the church. He endowed all around him with his simplicity, by his precept and his own example of a pure life.

On June 2, just 9 days prior to his unexpected passing, Bishop Guilfoyle observed the 40th anniversary of his ordination to the Catholic priesthood. This event, like all other such occasions in his life, passed without ostentation; in fact, without any notice. This was his personal wish. In this as in all of his activities, he shunned the limelight.

Bishop Guilfoyle was in his 20th year as titular head of the Altoona diocese. His accomplishments were many as an able administrator. Foremost, his daily life followed the same true pattern of the sacred principles he propounded from the altar.

In the passing of Richard Thomas Guilfoyle, life is bereft of a devoted servant of God and an outstanding and distinguished citizen.

Why So Interested in Farmers' Welfare?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, thousands of city folks often ask me how come I have such a deep interest in the farmers' welfare and security when my district is not predominately agricultural and a marginal farming area at most. Many of them wonder:

First, why I was the first Member of Congress to introduce a bill to include farmers under the social security program way back in 1943, my first term in Congress?

Second, why I always supported and still support 100 percent parity for farm products over any plan proposed thus far?

Third, why I voted against continuation of the new racket called mistakingly the soil bank program for large corporation farms?

Fourth, why I never vote on a basis of party line on farm bills but always vote for the best interest of the farmers, whether it is a Democratic or Republican bill?

Fifth, why I always go all out for support of the Farmers Home Administration, Rural Electrification Administration, and every other agency for rural progress?

Sixth, why my office has processed more than 5,000 loans to small family farms and go all out to give any farmer who requests it a helping hand?

In answer I state that I understand the farm needs because the first 22 years of my life were spent on a small family farm. Except during schooling hours, the first 22 years of my life I worked on my father's farm.

From 7 years of age to 22 I did every type of farm work—milking cows by hand, plowing, seeding, haying, feeding chickens and hogs, butchering, threshing, hauling, and fertilizing. There is not any kind of farm job I did not do between 7 and 22 years of age. In fact, my entire family life has been centered on farming in which I have brothers engaged and now own the small family homestead farm on which my mother lives. This gives me a basis of interest and understanding of what farming is.

SOCIAL SECURITY

I never could understand why it took so long to get farmers under social security. During the war years when income was high it would have been a much better deal. In 1943 I introduced, my first term, a bill to bring farmers under social security. It took years to get it through. Each year the list of supporters grew—most of them introducing the same bill I introduced in 1943. We finally put it over but too late to help a lot of needy farmers.

ONE HUNDRED PERCENT OF PARITY ONLY ANSWER

I have always supported 100 percent of parity as the only answer to the farm problem—but with limitations. For instance, I do not feel that the Government should pay any subsidy, any parity or any aid of any kind to any farmers whose gross income is over $15,000 per year. Any farmer with that kind of gross income needs no subsidy or parity or Government aid of any nature.

The chief difficulty with the new soil bank program is that it helps the corporation farmer who needs no help and it does nothing for the small family farm. How can any intelligent person approve a program where the Government pays a corporation farmer from $40,000 to $60,000 under the new soil bank program. This is preposterous and wrong as wrong can be.

The 90 percent parity program which Benson junked cost the taxpayers less than half of what the new soil bank racket is costing the taxpayers. If we had adopted the surplus disposal plan, the food stamp plan, and an adequate school milk and school lunch program earlier, the 90 percent parity program would have done the job that needs to be done; especially so in the dairy industry.

As the program now stands, the agricultural program is costing the taxpayers twice as much as the 90 percent parity program—the corporation farms are draining the United States Treasury and the small family farmer gets nothing. What a farce.

I have no objection to the original soil conservation program which is available to the small family farm. This is a good program and I support it.

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND CORPORATION FARMS CAUSING ALL THE TROUBLE

There are about 5 million farms in our Nation. Of these 100,000 are large corporation farms and 4,900,000 are small family farms. The new soil bank program is all for saving the 100,000 corporation farms and doing nothing for the 4,900,000 small family farms. The 100,000 large corporation farms get more money from the Treasury than the 4,900,000 family farms put together. There is no sense to such a program. It is unfair to the taxpayer and to the family type farmer.

The solution is simple. It is not the small family farm causing the surplus. It is the 100,000 large corporation farms who cause the surplus. Therefore, if we stop any subsidy or payments by the Government to these large corporation farms to grow what we do not need, we can save the small family farm. Who can justify paying a city gentleman farmer who turns his golf course over to the soil bank and collecting $45,000 from the Government? This is sheer nonsense. If we stop subsidies and parity payments to the large 100,000 corporation farms and those whose income is in excess of $15,000 we will have gone a long way in solving the surplus production problem.

TOO MUCH POLITICS IN FARM PLANS

The basic trouble in Washington on the farm problem is politics. Most Congressmen vote on a party basis on farm issues. Republicans fight a plan just because it is proposed by Democrats and vice versa. For instance, even after a year of failure of the new soil-bank program, I was asked to vote for it for another year because it was a Republican plan. This I could not do. Playing politics with the farmers' misery is sheer nonsense. I have never cast a vote on party lines. I ask only one question: Is it good or bad for the people of the Nation? I do not care whether it is a Republican or Democratic proposal. If it is good, I will vote for it; if it is bad, I will vote against it.

Years ago I proposed a food-stamp program for the aged, the veterans, the disabled, and the needy. But because it was first a Democratic plan the Republicans opposed it. This type of voting is no good for our people. I support the food-stamp plan because it is good for everyone, and will solve a lot of our surplus problem. It will cost far less than the new soil-bank racket now going on.

REA AND FHA

Any agency which really helps the family farmer always gets my wholehearted support. I would hate to see Wisconsin farmers without REA. They would still be milking by lanterns. I have always boosted REA because in the end it costs the taxpayers nothing and it has done more for farming than anything ever coming out of Washington.

FHA has also been a wonderful agency of help to farmers. Through my office alone more than 5,000 loans were processed for farmers. Any farmer needing my personal help to give him a boost in getting a loan always got it. Not once have I let any farmer down when he requested my help.

MY RECORD

In my 15 years in Congress not once did I ever vote against the interests of the family farmer. My work and vote has always been on his side. Whenever the farmer needed my help on social security, loan, draft, or needing his boy home because of some disaster in the family, I never let them down. Always I went to bat for them and in 95 percent of the cases with success. The small family farm is the greatest asset our Nation has. If we put him out of business the consumer and the taxpayer will pay a heavy price.

THIS IS NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

JUNE 19, 1957.

Hon. ARTHUR SUMMERFIELD,
The Postmaster General,
Post Office Department,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR POSTMASTER GENERAL: Enclosed is a sample reprint of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I intend to mail out 100,000 copies of same. Realizing the huge deficit in the Postal Department, it is not my intention to further add to that deficit.

Under special permit available to any commercial enterprise, what would be the cost of mailing 100,000 of these reprints? Whatever the cost is I will make payment to the Post Office Department for that amount.

Since this is a reprint of the official record, I am aware that I would not have to do this. But I will pay for this mailing at the regular going commercial rates so as not to add to the postal deficit.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I am,
Sincerely,

ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
Congressman, 10th District of Wisconsin.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Theodore Roosevelt and Family Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission is making plans for the observance next year of the 100th anniversary of the birth of President Theodore Roosevelt. In connection with this forthcoming celebration, I believe it is appropriate to call attention to the great respect and love Teddy Roosevelt had for his family and for his home life in general. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a short description of his outstanding devotion to his family circle, entitled "Theodore Roosevelt and Family Life."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND FAMILY LIFE

Of the 34 Presidents of the United States thus far, the 26th, Theodore Roosevelt, is preeminently associated in the minds of his countrymen with 2 personal traits: Love of "the strenuous life," as evinced in innumerable feats of ranching, big-game hunting, swimming, boxing, wrestling, tennis-playing, wood-chopping, hiking, horseback riding, cliff-scaling, exploring, and the like; and, dearer to him than all of these, as the symbol of a supremely happy family life. In his writings, whether in his first boyish letters to friends and relatives or in the mature productions of his busy and tumultuous career, his affection for home and hearth is everywhere evident. It will crop out anywhere: In a discussion of grave public issues he will suddenly brush the subject aside and refresh his mind with a visit, as it were, to the family circle. In his letters and recollections his thoughts cling to Sagamore Hill, the beloved home at Oyster Bay. In his autobiography he writes:

"Sagamore Hill takes its name from the old Sagamore Mohannis, who, as chief of his little tribe, signed away his rights to the land two centuries and a half ago. The house stands right on the top of the hill, separated by fields and belts of woodland from all other houses, and looks out over the bay and the sound. We see the sun go down beyond long stretches of land and of water. Many birds dwell in the trees round the house or in the pastures and the woods near by, and, of course, in winter, gulls, loons, and wildfowl frequent the waters of the bay and the sound. We love all the seasons; the snows and bare woods of winter; the rush of growing things and the blossom-spray of spring; the yellow grain, the ripening fruits and tasseled corn, and the deep, leafy shades that are heralded by 'the green dance of summer'; and the sharp fall winds that tear the brilliant banners with which the trees greet the dying year.

"The sound is always lovely. In the summer night we watch it from the piazza, and see the lights of the tall Fall River boats as they steam steadily by. Now and then we spend a day on it, the two of us together in the light rowing skiff, or perhaps with one of the boys to pull an extra pair of oars; we land for lunch at noon under wind-beaten oaks on the edge of a low bluff, or among the wild plum bushes on a spit of white sand, while the sails of the coasting schooners gleam in the sunlight, and the tolling of the bell buoy comes landward across the waters. (Autobiography, pp. 308–309, vol. XX, national edition.)

"Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh." Roosevelt never wrote more eloquent words, for he wrote of that which was closest to his heart—home and family. "There are many kinds of success in life worth having," he writes in his autobiography. "It is exceedingly interesting and attractive to be a successful businessman, or railroad man, or farmer, or a successful lawyer or doctor; or a writer, or a President, or a ranch man, or the colonel of a fighting regiment, or to kill grizzly bears and lions. But for unflagging interest and enjoyment, a household of children, if things go reasonably well, certainly makes all other forms of success and achievement lose their importance by comparison." (Ibid., p. 327.)

No one can understand the real Roosevelt—get him "in the round"—who has not at least glanced through the charming Theodore Roosevelt Letters to His Children. As one commentator remarks, it is a book to be read by everyone who wishes to see the many sidedness, and especially the gentleness, of the wielder of the big stick. A letter written during his Presidency to his 15-year-old son Kermit about a weekend in the Roosevelt camp in Virginia is typical:

"Next day we spent all by ourselves at Pine Knot. In the morning I fried bacon and eggs, while mother boiled the kettle for tea and laid the table. Breakfast was most successful, and then mother washed the dishes and did most of the work, while I did odd jobs. Then we walked about the place, which is 15 acres in all, saw the lovely spring, admired the pine trees and the oak trees, and then mother lay in the hammock while I cut away some trees to give us a better view from the piazza. The piazza is the real feature of the house. It is broad and runs the whole length and the roof is high near the wall, for it is a continuation of the roof of the house. It was lovely to sit there in the rocking chairs and hear all the birds by daytime and at night the whippoorwills and owls and little forest folk. * * * As we found that cleaning dishes took up an awful time we only took two meals a day, which was all we wanted. On Saturday evening I fried two chickens for dinner, while mother boiled the tea, and we had cherries and wild strawberries as well as biscuits and corn bread To my pleasure mother greatly enjoyed the fried chicken and admitted that what you children had said of the way I fried chicken was all true" (the Letters of Archie Butt, p. 3).

Here is another to his eldest son, Theodore, Jr.:

"WHITE HOUSE,
"June 21, 1904.

"DEAR TED: Mother and I had a most lovely ride the other day, way up beyond Sligo Creek to what is called Northwest Branch, at Burnt Mills, where is a beautiful gorge, deep and narrow, with great boulders and even cliffs. Excepting Great Falls it is the most beautiful place around here.

"* * * Sunday we spent at Attorney General Knox's at Valley Forge, and most unexpectedly I had to deliver a little address at the church in the afternoon, as they are trying to build a memorial to Washington. Think of the fact that in Washington's army that winter among the junior officers were Alexander Hamilton, Monroe, and Marshall—a future President of the United States, the future Chief Justice who was to do such wonderful work for our Government, and the man of most brilliant mind—Hamilton—whom we have ever developed in this country" (ibid., pp. 468–473).

To Quentin, the youngest, aged 6, a letter with pen illustrations by the writer:

"WHITE HOUSE,
"June 21, 1904.

"DEAR QUENTY-QUEE: The other day when out riding what should I see in the road ahead of me but a real Br'er Terrapin and Br'er Rabbit. They were sitting solemnly beside one another and looked just as if they had come out of a book; but as my horse walked along Br'er Rabbit went lippity lippity off into the bushes and Br'er Terrapin drew in his head and legs till I passed" (ibid., pp. 467–468).

To Kermit, upon Roosevelt's election to the Presidency, 1904:

"I tell you, Kermit, it was a great comfort to feel, all during the last days when affairs looked doubtful, that no matter how things came out the really important thing was the lovely life I have with Mother and with you children, and that compared to this home life everything else was of very small importance from the standpoint of happiness" (vol. XXIII, p. 387, Memorial Ed.).

To Kermit, again:

"WHITE HOUSE,
"April 22, 1906.

"[Quentin] is a funny small person if ever there was one. The other day we were discussing a really dreadful accident which had happened; a Georgetown young man having taken out a young girl in a canoe on the river, the canoe upset and the girl was drowned; whereupon the young man, when he got home, took what seemed to us an exceedingly cold-blooded method of a special delivery letter to notify her parents. We were expressing our horror at his sending a special delivery letter, and Quentin solemnly chimed in with 'Yes, he wasted 10 cents.' There was a moment's eloquent silence, and then we strove to explain to Quentin that what we were objecting to was not in the least the young man's spendthrift attitude" (ibid., p. 505).

Archie Butt, military aide to both Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, whose letters covering the last year of the former's and the first 3 years of the latter's term, furnish an invaluable background for the domestic life and atmosphere of the two presidential households, writes in his first letter to his mother from Oyster Bay in the summer of 1908:

"The greatest surprise to me so far has been the utmost simplicity of the home life at Sagamore Hill. I am constantly asking myself if this can really be the home of the President of the United States, and how is it possible for him to enforce such simplicity in his environment. It might be the home of a well-to-do farmer with literary tastes or the house of some college professor. * * *

"Miss Ethel [the Roosevelts' daughter] was late in coming to dinner and every one, including the President, rose. From the conversation which followed I learned that it

had always been a rule in the household for the boys to rise when either their mother or father or sister came to the table. In fact, Kermit said that since such was the custom the girls ought to make it a rule to be on time for their meals, and this remark started the Roosevelt ball rolling. The President said that he thought Ethel ought to try to be on time, too; that he preferred that no notice be taken of him when he came to his meals late, but that since Mrs. Roosevelt (with a deferential wave of the hand toward her) insisted upon this modicum of respect being paid to the President he always tried to be on time to his meals. Mrs. Roosevelt said that she did not insist upon the mark of respect being paid to the President but to their father, whereupon all laughed, and Ethel said she would try to be on time to all her meals except breakfast. * * * By the way, the bell is a cow bell, just the kind you hear on cows in the cow lot, but sounds as sweet as any other when one is hungry" (the Letters of Archie Butt, pp. 63–65).

"One thing [the President] does do most successfully, he makes you forget that you are in the house with the President, and that you are merely the guest of a very charming, witty, and hospitable gentleman" (ibid., p. 69).

"Before getting ready for church we began to make plans for the afternoon, and I soon saw that the President was not to be included in any of the arrangements for the day. He told me later that he did not regard it as either wicked or careless of holy things to play tennis or golf on Sunday, but he simply did not do any of these things on Sunday on account of the effect it might have on other people.

" 'I never want to see the observance of our American Sunday changed,' he said. 'There is a great deal to condemn in it, possibly, from a foreign standpoint, and a great deal that is narrow, but I believe it is wholesome and strengthening. It is very hard not to be able to shoot, for instance, on Sundays, but then the majority of our people believe it is wrong and I certainly would be the last to try to change their opinions. If I were a private citizen I would possibly join you today in tennis, but were I to do so as President all the papers in the country would have something to say about it and the example might be harmful to many. I am afraid that I sometimes shock the sensibilities of our people, but I never want to do so in any matters pertaining to the morals or the religious prejudices of the people" (ibid., pp. 76–77).

The above gives something, both of the home life of Theodore Roosevelt and his views as to what constituted the proper atmosphere of an American household. Above all, the excerpts given in the foregoing illustrate, as nothing else, perhaps, could do, the man's deep love of the wholesome and the true—his belief in, and reverence for, the good, old-fashioned virtues of the good, old-fashioned home. In the Butt letters, referred to above, the writer quotes a fellow guest, a future Ambassador and Under Secretary of State, as remarking, "What a wonderful man and what a still more wonderful woman. What a privilege it is to have seen this household as we have seen it."

"Yes," Butt replies, "that is the greatest thing he has yet done, to hold his family simplicity and homelike love and surroundings as he has done here."

There was the real, the true, Theodore Roosevelt—the Roosevelt his friends and family knew and loved. Now let us listen to a few words from the public man on a subject so near his heart:

"Nothing outside of home can take the place of home. The school is an invaluable adjunct to the home, but it is a wretched substitute for it. The family relation is the most fundamental, the most important of all relations." (At semicentennial celebration, founding of Agricultural Colleges, Lansing, Mich., May 31, 1907.) Memorial Edition XVIII, 189; National Edition XVI, 144." Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia, page 230.

"No institution will take the place of a home, and all proposals for rearing and educating children outside the home and supplying the place of parents by trained educators indicate a morbid pathological condition in the woman making the proposal." (Outlook, January 3, 1914.) Memorial edition XIV, 174; National Edition XII, 203." Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia, page 230.

"No piled-up wealth, no splendor of material growth, no brilliance of artistic development, will permanently avail any people unless its home life is healthy, unless the average man possesses honesty, courage, common sense, and decency, unless he works hard and is willing at need to fight hard; and unless the average woman is a good wife, a good mother, able and willing to perform the first and greatest duty of womanhood, able and willing to bear, and to bring up as they should be brought up, healthy children, sound in body, mind, and character, and numerous enough so that the race shall increase and not decrease." (Before National Congress of Mothers, Washington, March 13, 1905.) Memorial Edition XVIII, 226; National Edition XVI, 165. Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia, page 230.

"The basis of good citizenship is the home. A man must be a good son, husband, and father, a woman a good daughter, wife, and mother, first and foremost. There must be no shirking of duties in big things or in little things. The man who will not work hard for his wife and his little ones, the woman who shrinks from bearing and rearing many healthy children, these have no place among the men and women who are striving upward and onward." (Before Young Men's Christian Association, New York City, December 30, 1900.) Memorial Edition XV, 533; National Edition XIII, 497. Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia, page 230.

"Exactly as it is true that no nation will prosper unless the average man is a homemaker; that is, unless at some business or trade or profession, he earns enough to make a home for himself and his wife and children, and is a good husband and father; so no nation can exist at all unless the average woman is the home-keeper, the good wife, and unless she is the mother of a sufficient number of healthy children to insure the race going forward and not backward." (Metropolitan, May 1916.) Memorial Edition XXI, 145; National Edition XIX, 142. Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia, page 230.

On the evening of January 5, 1919, Roosevelt sat reading in his bedroom at Sagamore Hill. The years of the Presidency and those of big game-hunting and exploration in far-off lands were long since past. The great war had come and gone. "The old lion", as his boys called him, was sadly battered and bruised: half-deaf and blind in one eye, he had returned from a siege at the hospital to observe Christmas in the old home. By his side, playing solitaire, sat Mrs. Roosevelt, the incomparable companion through the years, the beloved wife and mother he had so admired and extolled. Presently, having finished her game of solitaire, Mrs. Roosevelt rose to leave the room. Suddenly Roosevelt put down his book and looked at her. He said, "You will never know how I have loved Sagamore Hill."

By 5 o'clock the next morning he had left it forever.

General Wedemeyer on Soviet Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I think the Members of the House would be very much interested in the recent radio address of Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, as reported by the distinguished Brooklyn Tablet which I am inserting in the RECORD.

The general is certainly one of our most experienced living military men. He has had many important assignments in the Army and is especially qualified regarding conditions in China and Korea where he served in posts of high responsibility.

General Wedemeyer is a careful student of the Communist movement and threat to American institutions and free institutions everywhere and his views will be interesting to Members of the House and worthy of the careful consideration of the executive department and all Americans interested in safeguarding our way of life.

The article follows:

SAYS UNITED STATES SHOULD END RELATIONS WITH SOVIET—IN ADDRESS GENERAL WEDEMEYER SPEAKS LANGUAGE OF DISILLUSIONED PATRIOT

I am grateful for the opportunity of explaining to my fellow Americans why I believe the United States should withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union and its satellites.

May I emphasize that the thoughts I express are my own and that I accept full responsibility for them.

During the past several years I have traveled considerably throughout this great land, talking to business and professional men, to farmers and to laborers, in fact to men and women in all walks of life.

Ten years ago if I had suggested that we expel all Communists and that we break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, most of my countrymen would either have greeted such a proposal with indifference or they would have violently disagreed with it.

May I explain why this was true? World War II had just ended and, through the efforts of Allied propagandists, the Soviet Union was a popular ally. Her armies unquestionably had made an important contribution to our hard-earned military victory.

Further, Americans were fed up with war. We wanted to return to our families, our jobs, and our friends. Anyone who would help us to achieve those goals could win our support. Also, many of the world leaders praised Stalin. Harry Truman himself told us that Uncle Joe was a jovial fellow. We were given reassuring bits of evidence confirming the so-called equitable and peaceful agreements reached at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

"Anyway," we asked, "why should we bother about the Chinese, the Greeks, the Italians? If they want to be Communists, that is their business."

Yes, that was America back in 1946, 1947, and 1948. There was little or no interest

in the portentous events occurring in other parts of the world. We were equally naive or apathetic with regard to Communist activities on our own doorstep.

Responsible Government leaders poohpoohed the idea of Communist infiltration into the Government, even when there was no longer room for reasonable doubt, Mr. Truman referred jokingly to "red herrings."

However, there were some farseeing Americans who had long realized that communism was as great a threat to our security and liberty as naxism, fascism, or the military jingoism of Japan. In spite of the insults and diatribes by certain elements of the press and radio, these courageous Americans carried on their campaign to collect facts concerning Communist infiltration and subversion.

They were finally able to present irrefutable evidence involving acts of espionage and sabotage in the United States by foreign agents and individual American traitors, some of whom were in key positions in our Government.

But a great change has taken place in our country since that unfortunate period. Today, when it is suggested that we expel all Communists, and that we break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and its satellities, there is enthusiastic response across the length and breadth of the land, except perhaps in official Washington.

As is often the case when the facts about a situation are available to the American people, their intuitions and judgments are sound. They are usually far in advance of their Government leaders in recognizing dangerous developments, and in recommending the positive steps that should be taken to cope realistically with them.

SOVIETS FAIL TO MEET REQUIREMENTS

What does our own State Department consider as the generally accepted criteria or qualifications that a foreign government must meet before it is recognized as a legitimate government? And how does the Soviet Union measure up to these tests for recognition?

First, a government must have effective control over the territory of that particular country. The Soviet Government certainly has effective control over its territory. Everyone is familiar with the ruthless and barbaric methods of Communist control.

Second, according to our State Department, a country must have sovereign independence. Not a single State under Soviet control or within the Soviet orbit could possibly meet this requirement.

Third, the government must be truly representative in character, that is, the people must determine how and by whom they will be governed. It is common knowledge that the people behind the Iron Curtain have no voice whatsoever in their government.

Fourth, the government must honor its foreign commitments and treaties and must adhere to a well-established standard of decency in the treatment of foreign nationals within its borders. Here we find an undeniable record of Soviet atrocities, broken agreements, treaty violations, sabotage, kidnapings, brain washing and every conceivable act of terrorism.

Although the Soviet Union unquestionably fails to meet the prescribed tests of our State Department, yet there still are proponents of continued diplomatic relations with the Red governments.

They argue that we must maintain diplomatic representatives in the capitals of the countries behind the Iron Curtain in order to obtain information. They refer to foreign capitals as the windows through which our diplomats may observe developments and thus transmit vital intelligence back to Washington. But it simply does not work out that way, at least not in the Soviet Union or in any Communist capital.

In all Communist countries the representatives of western nations, and especially our own, are constantly hounded by secret police, subjected to indignities and humiliations, and harassed by restrictive regulations. They are watched wherever they may go. Everything they see and hear is carefully censored.

My fellow Americans, why continue this farcial exchange of diplomatic amenities? These Communist governments do not legally represent their own people, for they seized and now maintain themselves in power by murder, lies, intimidation, and secret police.

If we broke off diplomatic relations with them, the people they have enslaved would be overjoyed and resistance movements would gain confidence and momentum.

Further, we would be rid of thousands of Communist spies, saboteurs, and propagandists, operating under the cloak of respectability in Soviet embassies, consulates, and undercover rendezvous in the various parts of our country.

Like many of you, I supported the Republican Party in 1952 and again in 1956. I heartily approved of the Republican pledge to place America's interest first in the international field and, further, to cope with communism, both at home and abroad, realistically and courageously. Here is a direct quote from the Republican platform:

"To repudiate the futile, negative, and immoral policy of containment; to make liberty into a beacon light of hope; to repudiate all commitments contained in secret understandings, such as Yalta, which aided Communist enslavement; to make it clear on the highest authority of the President and Congress, that the United States seeks the genuine liberty of these captive peoples."

I like that statement. It might very well have been written by a tried and true patriot of yesteryear—for example, a Patrick Henry or a Thomas Paine. Apparently millions of other Americans liked that statement too, for they enthusiastically gave the Republican candidates a mandate to carry out their program. We sensed a return to a type of leadership in the Washington, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Teddy Roosevelt pattern—a dynamic leadership based on courage and realism.

FOUR YEARS OF NONFULFILLMENT

Like many other American voters I have waited patiently for more than 4 years for the fulfillment of those campaign pledges. While it is not my purpose to single out individuals for criticism, or indulge in acrimonious discussions, I do intend to use every legitimate and honorable means of urging those steps, which I believe to be, nor necessarily in the interest of a particular leader or political party, not in the interest of a lobby or pressure group, but in the best interests of our country.

We all recognize that the job of President of the United States is probably the toughest one in the world. We are aware of the pressures of professional lobbyists with their selfish interests. Also a newly installed administration must continually cope with subtle resistance by firmly entrenched bureaucrats.

Whatever the cause, we are still immersed in deficit spending—trying to buy votes at home and friends abroad. More than 4 years have passed and still our Republican leaders do not seem inclined or able to make the basic changes in the New Deal philosophy which the American voters strongly repudiated at the polls.

If you and I really believe that diplomatic relations should be broken off with the Soviet Union and its satellites, is it not apparent that we must carry out a grassroots campaign? Let the impetus come from every crossroad, village, farm, city, and State.

I can imagine no more appropriate place to launch a fight for true Americanism than right here in the heartland of our Nation. May I suggest that everyone within range of my voice should read the recent Indiana State Concurrent Resolution No. 1, which boldly proclaims admiration of the current Hungarians fight for liberty. It is to the credit of every citizen in the State of Indiana that the resolution was passed unanimously by the Indiana State Legislature and then signed by Governor Handley on March 7.

Not only are Americans worried about the international situation, but they are gravely concerned about exorbitant taxes, deficit spending, and astronomical budgets. In varying degrees these problems are caused by our foreign policies, particularly with regard to communism.

I feel confident that sizable economies could be effected if we would break off diplomatic relations with all Red regimes, repudiate all agreements made with Communist governments since 1933, and adjust realistically our program, of economic and military assistance to other countries that are directly or indirectly strengthening Communist nations.

Every move on the international chessboard should be made from here on out with a view to conserving our national resources, both human and material, while preserving American ideas and ideals of justice, dignity of man, and decency in all human relationships.

The "Open Curtain" Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thought-provoking editorial on the "open curtain" proposal, which appeared in the June 17 edition of that excellent newspaper, the Christian Science Monitor.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FAIR EXCHANGE

Addressing millions of Americans through the medium and the courtesy of a television interview, Soviet Party Boss Nikita Khrushchev early this month said, "Let us live in peace. Let us develop our economy. Let us compete. Let us trade with each other. Let us exchange experience in agriculture, in industry, in the field of culture."

Democratic Senator LYNDON JOHNSON recommended not merely one response to the Khrushchev talk but a continuing program of exchange of radio and television time between the United States and the Soviet Union in order that the peoples might become better acquainted with each other.

Republican Senator KNOWLAND endorsed this, and Secretary of State Dulles pointed out that such an "open curtain" would be in line with extensive proposals the American delegation made at the Geneva Conference more than a year and a half ago. Communist officials at that time ignored or rejected the proposals but they have never been withdrawn.

Now Mr. Khrushchev has come back to the theme in his effort at bonhomie in Finland; and two other members of the Soviet Presid-

ium, Deputy Premiers Mikoyan and Molotov, have said they are in favor of such cultural exchanges.

With such commitments the State Department certainly should go ahead, as it probably is doing, to prepare and submit specific proposals to Moscow. The 17-point plan offered in 1955 included a request for exchange of half-hour broadcasts once a month.

The United States has nothing to fear from exposing radio listeners and TV viewers to the transparent fallacies of repetitious Communist spokesmen, but Russians might gain a great deal from an opportunity to hear and see regular broadcasts from the United States.

The Student Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Dr. E. B. J. Postma, rector of the Netherlands College for Representation Abroad.

This letter clearly describes in an unanswerable manner some aspects of the exchange program. I cannot believe anyone can doubt the value of this program after reading this letter.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEDERLANDS OPLEIDINGS INSTITUUT
VOOR HET BUITENLAND,
Breukelen, June 15, 1957.

Senator Dr. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: Although the privilege of meeting you has never been my good fortune, I cannot resist the urge within me to write and tell you how genuine and deep was my satisfaction on learning that you had been honored with a doctorate in the political and social sciences by the University of Amsterdam. Although it is not customary to offer congratulations to one whom the writer does not know personally, I feel on this occasion that I am writing more in the capacity as a grateful friend than as a stranger.

Already in 1948, when the Fulbright program was still in its infancy, the Netherlands College for Representation Abroad began to profit from your inspired plan to intensify educational exchange between foreign countries and the United States. Since then, the benefits which my college has derived from the Fulbright project, have been rich and multifarious. First, I have been privileged to welcome to my teaching staff no less than five American guest professors and a sixth will join us next September. In helping to promote the curricular and extracurricular aims of the college these American teachers have made an indispensable contribution to the life of our residential community and have helped our students to open their eyes to the world beyond the frontiers of their own country. Secondly, by next September more than 60 of the students who have graduated from this college since 1948, will have crossed the Atlantic to enjoy the rich experience of further studies at colleges and universities in America. The majority of these were enabled to do so through the possession of a United States Government travel award.

In recent years the college has been able to reciprocate at least a fraction of your country's generosity by establishing tuition and maintenance scholarships for the use of American students who wish to come here for 1 year. There are 4 such students in our midst at the present time and 5 have been enrolled for next year.

It is not possible to calculate the cumulative value of the vast plan of which you were the author, but, in terms of international understanding and for its effect in enlarging youthful experience and broadening horizons, it must be very large indeed.

In am proud that a university in the Netherlands, in deciding to confer a doctor's degree on you, has expressed by its action the gratitude which so many of the citizens of this country feel toward you and all of your compatriots who have helped so devotedly to further the realization of your original ideas.

Yours sincerely,
E. B. J. POSTMA,
Rector.

A Newspaper Reader Thoughtfully Discusses Newspapers and Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Letters to the Editor columns of our newspapers often contain material of a thought-provoking nature. Such a letter is one written by Mr. Joseph D. Peno, Jr., of Jasper, Tex., to the editor of the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise and published in the June 12 issue of that outstanding newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Peno's thoughtful discussion of newspapers and government be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEEPING AN EYE ON GOVERNMENT

EDITOR ENTERPRISE: I was glancing over the editorial page of your newspaper the other day, and after reading several of the articles therein I stopped and began to think about what I had been reading.

I was reading about what a particular individual had to say about the administration in Washington today. Some of what he said was favorable, some was not.

A fact that many people do not realize is that political criticism is one of the most important planks in building a successful democratic government. As history has recorded, one political party cannot function in a true democratic fashion unless the other is there to keep it in line.

Two excellent examples of one-party rule are nazism and communism. We, as American people, do not want either.

It would be a good practice for every American man, woman, and child to read his newspaper. Therein are contained and recorded the latest steps taken by our present-day Government, subject to the skepticism of you and your neighbor, for you to discuss, compliment, or protest. The editorial page contains views on the latest happenings as seen through the eyes of the several prominent newspapermen, editorialists, and people like yourself, who have taken interest and want to say what they think.

Legitimate griping is as American as apple pie and baseball, and is indeed necessary to the preservation of our country and the principles thereof.

JOSEPH D. PENO, Jr.
JASPER, TEX.

Moscow-Cairo Maneuvers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, while we are deeply interested in the disarmament negotiations in London, we should not permit our views to be so diverted as not to recognize the fact that the Soviet Union, while professing friendship for all, is arming Colonel Nasser with a new weapon which could cause untold trouble for the world. His government has just announced that he has received three submarines from the Soviet Union, which could be used to torpedo ships to bar the Gulf of Aqaba or other waters accessible to such submarines.

I call this situation to the attention of the Senate because I think it is vital that we understand the situation very clearly. This demonstration, involving the giving of Soviet submarines to Colonel Nasser, who certain has not gained an enviable reputation for responsibility in the use of weapons entrusted to his control, is coupled with the fact that a considerably larger Soviet fleet is putting on a demonstration in the eastern Mediterranean. The American officer in charge of the American Sixth Fleet says that it is of such size as to interfere with the operations of his own vessels.

While we are deeply interested in the disarmament negotiations, we had better keep our eye on the ball everywhere, especially the Near East.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Moscow-Cairo Maneuvers," published in the New York Times of today.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOSCOW-CAIRO MANEUVERS

While the Soviets profess friendship for all and advance new disarmament proposals which President Eisenhower regards as hopeful and worthy of sympathetic study, a new Soviet intervention in the Middle East is creating tensions in the area. This intervention, which is obviously designed to bolster the sagging Moscow-Cairo axis against the effects of the Eisenhower doctrine and in particular to strengthen President Nasser against Arab anti-Communist forces, has two aspects.

One is a display of Soviet naval power in the eastern Mediterranean, to which half a dozen warships of the Soviet Black Sea fleet are now due to steam through the Dardanelles. They are ostensibly en route to the

Baltic Sea to join in Soviet naval maneuvers. But their more evident purpose is to provide a counter to the recent display of power by the American 6th Fleet, which saved Jordan from being swept into the pro-Communist orbit. According to Vice Admiral Brown, commander of the 6th Fleet, the prospective Soviet cruise will undoubtedly affect the operations of his ships and could provide a warning of impending trouble.

The other aspect is the sale of three Soviet submarines to Nasser, announced by his own government agency. It may be doubted that Nasser counts on them as defensive weapons against the armadas of the West. But he presumably does count on them as offensive weapons in his continued state of war with Israel to resume the blockade of the Aqaba Gulf. This blockade was broken by the Israeli invasion of Sinai, and the gulf has been kept open by the United Nations forces occupying Nasser's gun positions seized for them by Israel. An underwater attack on ships using the gulf may therefore seem to Nasser to be a logical complement to his undercover attacks not only against Israel but also against Arab rulers he cannot control. It would enable him not only to circumvent the United Nations forces and their peaceful mission but also to compel dissenting Arab rulers to kowtow to him on this issue in the name of their common crusade against Israel.

The explosive potentialities of the new moves by the Moscow-Cairo axis are evident and it behooves both the United Nations and the United States to be on guard against them.

Resolution by Lake County, Calif., Board of Supervisors on Middle Creek Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I addressed the House on the Middle Creek flood-control project which is situated in Lake County, Calif.

Last year the Congress appropriated $70,000 to complete the planning phases of the project. It is now ready for initial construction, and $300,000 for this purpose was approved by the Bureau of the Budget and recommended in the Federal budget for fiscal year 1958. The necessity and financial feasibility of the project is beyond question.

However, a few people took it upon themselves to make an issue of local responsibility. As a result, a local election held on the 7th of May failed to carry by the required two-thirds majority. This cast a shadow of doubt on whether local maintenance and operation requirements would be met, and the House Appropriations Committee deleted the $300,000 for the Middle Creek project from the fiscal 1958 public works bill.

Their position was undoubtedly influenced by the following telegram:

Make the following information available to appropriate committee re budgetary provisions for Middle Creek flood control in Lake County, Calif. By special election on May 7, this year, called by Lake County supervisors to form district in area of benefit for purpose of accepting Middle Creek flood-control project, same was decisively defeated. Middle Creek project having been rejected by people in area of benefit, there now is no need for budgetary provision $300,000 to start Middle Creek project and budget should be cut accordingly.

COMMITTEE FOR PRACTICAL FLOOD CONTROL,
CLAIR JONES,
Chairman, Upper Lake, Calif.
By PHIL N. CRAWFORD,
Attorney for Committee.

Mr. Speaker, the words "decisively defeated," as used in the telegram, are a misrepresentation of fact. The actual vote cast at the May 7 election was 211 for the formation of a tax district, and 199 against.

The majority of the people favored the formation of a district, even though they fell about 60 votes short of the required two-thirds majority.

In my remarks yesterday, I referred to the fact that since the election, more than 50 percent of the landowners in the project area have petitioned the Lake County Board of Supervisors to zone them into the county flood-control and water-conservation district. This is conclusive proof that the people want the project, and are willing to assume the cost of local responsibility.

The board of supervisors has complied with their request and by resolution adopted on the 17th of June 1957 announced their intention of zoning the Middle Creek project area into the county district. This will resolve all doubt of local responsibility, and I hope the matter is properly resolved to permit restoration of the $300,000 to H. R. 8090, the public works appropriation bill for fiscal year 1958.

For the information of my colleagues and to put on record the real desire of these people, I desire to include the aforementioned resolution with my remarks, as follows:

RESOLUTION

The Board of Supervisors of the County of Lake, State of California, and ex officio Board of Supervisors of the Lake County Flood Control and Water Conservation District of the County of Lake, State of California, does hereby resolve, and it finds and determines and hereby declares:

1. That there is established in the Lake County flood control and water conservation district a zone known as Lake County flood control and water conservation district, zone No. 3.

2. That it is the intention of the board of supervisors of Lake County flood control and water conservation district to undertake and to assume the annual maintenance, operation and replacement costs of that certain project known as the Middle Creek flood control project, to be constructed and engineered by and through joint efforts of the United States of America and the State of California, as more fully appears in a letter from the Reclamation Board of the State of California, dated January 4, 1957, to the clerk of the board of supervisors of the county of Lake, an assumption agreement between the Reclamation Board of the State of California and the county of Lake submitted by said board of supervisors on or about January 9, 1957, but not yet executed, and a map of the location of improvements of said project dated February 20, 1957, and approved by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, all of which said documents are filed in the office of the county clerk of the county of Lake, State of California, and which said documents are by reference made a part of this resolution.

3. That said project is for the common benefit of the zone herein sought to be created.

4. That the cost of said project shall be borne by Lake County flood control and water conservation district, zone No. 3, and the engineering estimates of the cost of said project to be borne by said zone are in the amount, of an annual cost for said maintenance, operation, and replacement, of $17,400.

5. That Monday, July 8, 1957, at 2 o'clock p. m. at the board of supervisor's room in the courthouse at Lakeport, Calif., is the time fixed for a public hearing upon this resolution, at which time said board of supervisors shall consider all written and oral objections and evidence, for or against said proposed project.

6. That reference is hereby made to that certain map entitled "Location of Improvements—Cache Creek Basin, Calif., Middle Creek Project" filed in the office of the county clerk of the county of Lake, State of California, which said map shows the general location and general construction of said project.

7. That the county clerk of the county of Lake, State of California, and ex officio clerk of the Lake County flood control and water conservation district, is hereby directed to give notice of said hearing on this resolution in accordance with the provisions of section 12 of chapter 62 of the statutes of 1954 commonly known as the Lake County Flood Control and Water Conservation District Act.

The foregoing resolution was passed by the board of supervisors of the county of Lake, State of California, and ex officio board of supervisors of the Lake County flood control and water conservation district, county of Lake, State of California, this 17th day of June 1957, by the following vote:

Ayes: Earle W. Wrieden, J. H. Pearce, Clyde E. Duggar, L. J. Hamilton, L. D. Kirkpatrick.

Noes: None.

Absent: None.

L. D. KIRKPATRICK,
Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Lake, and Ex Officio Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of the Lake County Flood Control and Water Conservation District.

Attest:

THOS. L. GARNER,
County Clerk and Ex Officio Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of the Lake County Flood Control and Water Conservation District.

Brass Had Ohio But Wants More

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the action of our committee and of this House in passing the bill limiting military land withdrawals on the public domain has received favorable comment throughout the Nation. An example of that comment is the excellent editorial appearing in the June 9, 1957, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle. The editorial calls this legislation "an official project of notable public service."

The editorial does, in my opinion, give me as the author of the bill too much credit. This legislation was coauthored by the following Members of Congress: Mr. DAWSON, of Utah; Mr. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania; Mr. JOHNSON, of Wisconsin; Mr. METCALF, of Montana; Mr. THOMPSON, of Wyoming; Mr. UDALL, of Arizona; Mr. BARING, of Nevada; Mrs. PFOST, of Idaho; and Mr. DIXON, of Utah.

In addition some mention should be made of the excellent staff work of our committee, which spent literally weeks of painstaking work unraveling the complicated pattern of military landholdings. In particular I want to mention the outstanding work of our counsel, Mr. George Abbott. It is correct to say, I think, that he knows more about this legislation than anyone else associated with it, and has given invaluable aid not only to our committee but to the Senate committee in its consideration of the bill.

The San Francisco Chronicle editorial follows:

BRASS HAS OHIO BUT WANTS MORE

CLAIR ENGLE, who represents California's sprawling Second Congressional District—the Nation's roomiest—is chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee; as such, he has spent more than 2 years on an official project of notable public service.

By dint of long study and numerous hearings, he has uncovered staggering evidence of a great and growing greed of the armed services for public lands. So striking were the findings that the House promptly enacted a bill—introduced by ENGLE—to restrict this prodigal grabbing of the public domain and to halt the attendant abuses. The Senate now has the bill and should grant it prompt and favorable consideration.

For the established fact is that the Armed Forces are not only gobbling up land by the millions of acres but are compounding their gluttony by refusing to share the land with each other, by letting much of it stand unused, by converting some into exclusive fish and game preserves for the brass where State fish and game laws are inoperative, where licensing and limits do not prevail.

It is estimated that the military has thus far preempted some 26 million acres of the public domain—an area the size of the State of Ohio—enough real estate to comprise a 12-mile strip stretching from New York to San Francisco. It is reaching for another 8 million acres.

This industrious land grabbing has intensified in recent years. In California, for instance, the military had 3,666,000 acres at the middle of last year—an increase of more than 1.2 million in 10 years. All told, the Federal Government owns some 47 million acres of California terrain—which is to say almost half of the 100,300,000-acre total.

California is thus one of the States to which the Engle bill is of especial importance. For it is in the block of 11 Western States that contain a whopping 89 percent of the total Federal holdings of 408 million acres.

The bill never would have been written, of course, and would have no support whatever if the Armed Forces restricted their land requisitions to necessary areas for required uses such as artillery ranges, bombing areas and test sites. The findings of ENGLE's committee show, however, that this is woefully not the case.

There is no sound reason, for instance, why the Air Force and the Navy should not use the same 100,000-square-mile testing range for identical purposes or why these huge land areas should not be put to multiple use, so that grazing, prospecting, and other civilian activities could go forward at safe times and places.

Again, there is every reason why public lands, taken over by the military and then found unnecessary, should revert to the public domain. As matters now stand, such areas can be sold as "surplus." This whittles away at public lands and wilderness areas which ought to be rigidly protected for future generations.

The Engle bill would correct such abuses and would largely prevent them in advance by requiring that Congress approve all withdrawals of public lands by the military that exceed 5,000 acres.

Graver Tank & Manufacturing Co.—Centennial Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY. J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Indiana's great industrial Calumet region, located in the northwest corner of Indiana, on the shores of Lake Michigan, is indeed proud of its honor to be ranked as the most concentrated and progressive industrial center in the United States. Three of the Nation's major steel mills are located in Indiana's First Congressional District. All major oil companies have offices or plants within the borders of this area. Several hundred other industries and manufacturing plants, both large and small, have located here in order to enjoy the unlimited water, rail, air, and truck transportation facilities in the center of the great Midwest.

The Graver Tank & Manufacturing Co. of East Chicago, is one of the major industries in Lake County, Ind., which has reached the position of leadership in its industrial field over the last century.

Today I wish to call to the attention of Members of Congress, some of the history of the Graver Tank & Manufacturing Co. which this year celebrates its centennial anniversary.

The growth of Graver Tank since 1857 exemplifies the courage and endeavor of the men who have assumed leadership in the industrial progress of the United States. A leader in the field of tank production, Graver Tank has supplied the oil industry with storage units since the discovery of oil in 1859 and has witnessed and served the many extensions and expansions of that industry since that time.

While an expanding firm in an expanding economy is not an incident of note, reviewing the economic history of the United States over the past 100 years brings to mind the times the American economic system has suffered financial misfortunes.

However, the inherent strength of the country and the legitimacy of our system of economy during these times of financial disaster becomes evident in the stability of companies such as Graver Tank. Firmly believing that the economy was not doomed, these many young producers, in a young country, held fast to original standards and helped avert a complete collapse of American industry.

Graver has assumed leadership during its 100-year history. A pioneer industry of the Calumet area, Graver Tank was the first manufacturing plant to discover the physical assets of northern Indiana as a great production center. Now, more steel is fabricated in this area than anywhere else in the world.

We salute a successful area inhabited by a resourceful population—men like William Graver, who founded Graver Tank & Manufacturing Co., at the age of 15; men like Edward N. Gosselin, who guided its growth in the final decades of Graver Tank's first century of craftsmanship now being celebrated throughout the country by Graver's 4,000 employees.

The petroleum industry and Graver Tank grew up together. The storage of petroleum and petroleum products has presented problems ever since the first discovery of oil, and Graver Tank—2 years senior to the oil industry—has always been ready to provide workable answers to these storage problems.

In 1857, 15-year-old William Graver joined with his half brother, Michael, in a little iron plate business which has, 100 years later, grown into a national organization with plants in Indiana, Delaware, Oklahoma, Texas, and California.

Two years after the start of this little backyard shop in Pittsburgh, oil was discovered in western Pennsylvania. Almost overnight, the Graver shop became a regular supplier of tankage. The Graver brothers, trained to old-world standards of workmanship by their father, a boilermaker who had emigrated from Germany, early gained a reputation for craftsmanship that has stood untarnished for a century.

Relying on native ingenuity to solve problems, the infant industry of tank-building flourished with the oil industry.

However, this stream of prosperity and success was suddenly dashed by the great panic of 1883. The steel mills along the Allegheny were dark, and business was at a standstill. William Graver was hard hit, but he decided to leave his many ties with Pennsylvania and make a fresh start in the West.

Chicago was a thriving city, largely rebuilt after the great fire, and offering a diversity of industry—grain, packing plants, railroads and steel mills—attractive to a tank builder bent on success. William Graver bought a small lot on Chicago's South Side and moved his family from Pittsburgh to its newly adopted locale.

Still, business was not easy to find and he turned his hand to whatever metalworking was available. Wheelbarrows had a ready market and Graver supplied them for a while. Soon he had orders for lard tanks from a meat packing house and William Graver was back with the product of his choice.

Storage tanks at that time were made of heavy boilerplate of the same thickness throughout the tank structure. It was William Graver's theory that in a

vertical tank, since the pressures were less in the upper sections, these could be made of lighter plate. Although this theory had been successfully demonstrated by Graver-built oil tanks in Pennsylvania, no one in the Middlewest would accept the idea. Finally Graver Tank took an order for four large linseed oil tanks of this type of construction. The tanks were erected and when tests were completely successful, a new design in storage tanks was established—the first of Graver's many contributions to tank-building technology. After oil was discovered in Ohio, the Midwestern demand for tankage became acute. When Graver Tank received an order for a large battery of 35,000-barrel tanks, William Graver moved his plant to Lima in order to handle this and other jobs on the spot. He retained his Chicago shop, but put most of his equipment on flatcars and set up new quarters at Lima. Work there continued from 1886 to 1888.

At a time propitious to return to Chicago, William Graver was persuaded by Gen. Joseph Thatcher Torrence to locate in East Chicago, Ind. The area was then only an expanse of sand dunes and sloughs, but Graver had the foresight to envision the potential of the area. Graver thus became the first industry in the great Calumet area, perhaps now the greatest concentration of heavy industry in the world.

In 1910 William Graver retired, leaving the administration of the Graver Tank Works to his five sons.

At this time Graver Tank boasted two frame buildings housing a powerplant, a machine shop and fabricating shops, a warehouse, and a riveting yard and shed. Steel plate had replaced wrought-iron plates and, consequently, larger plates could be handled.

In the next 20 years Graver erected another assembly department, and new shops were equipped with overhead cranes. These new facilities enabled the company to meet the demands of increasing business from new oilfields in Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas.

Progress in tank-fabricating methods partially outmoded the use of riveting. Acetylene welding in small-tank construction and, by 1930, electric welding became fairly standard procedures in the shops and on some field work. The industry and Graver Tank kept pace with American endeavor as a whole.

In 1930 Edward N. Gosselin assumed the presidency of the Graver corporation.

Gradual expansion followed, marked by new plants in Delaware, Oklahoma, California, and Texas. Welding procedures became specialized, modern steel buildings with efficient handling facilities replaced the wooden factories, and new office buildings were erected. Assets and volume grew.

The Graver Tank story could, in effect, be called the boilermaker story. It is a story of a boy just 15 who wanted to get into the mainstream of American life and was successful. It is the story of his industrious sons and daughters who have perpetuated his name, his skill, and his high standards. It is an American story which has been recorded in other industrial fields.

These industrial pioneers have contributed greatly to win for the Nation its position as leader of the world.

Senate's Decision To Continue Soil Bank Makes Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the Senate's vote yesterday to continue the soil bank does make sense. The House vote of some weeks ago to stop the soil bank in the middle of the program is like playing a five-inning ball game with the score tied and stopping at that point.

Nothing can be determined about the success of the soil bank unless it is carried through the full 3 years of the program. When this program was instituted last year, the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture both believed that the greatest reduction in crops would be met in the third year. The House action cut off the third year—the most productive part of the 3-year program.

I am including herewith an editorial from the Decatur (Ill.) Herald, of June 10, 1957, titled "Senate's Decision To Continue Soil Bank Makes Sense":

SENATE'S DECISION TO CONTINUE SOIL BANK MAKES SENSE

The decision Friday by the Senate Appropriations Committee to continue to keep all soil bank windows open at least through 1958 is sensible. For the program has not had a fair trial. To close up the major part of it at the end of this year, as the House voted to do last month, is shortsighted and unfair to the intrinsic merits of the soil bank idea.

While the program was abused in the name of presidential year politics in 1956, it has not yet been given a chance to prove itself. The legislation was passed late in the spring of 1956. The Members of Congress who insisted that it be placed in operation immediately knew as well as Secretary of Agriculture Benson that good administration would yield, as it did, to the pressure of time and politics.

This year the soil bank is more orderly. Not so many farmers are participating as had been hoped, but not until harvest time will anyone know with any certainty whether the program has the possibilities its proponents have always held out for it. So it is too early to write off the program as a failure or praise it as a success.

But in May the House voted to end the acreage reserve part of the soil bank, the most important part, at the end of the year and continue the conservation reserve program on a limited basis. Under the acreage reserve farmers are paid for removing land from the production of corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, rice, and tobacco during the current crop year. Under the conservation reserve the Government pays farmers for retiring any cropland to trees or grass for from 3 to 15 years.

The Senate Appropirations Committee voted 18 to 2 to provide $500 million for the acreage reserve program and $350 million for the conservation reserve next year. While the acreage reserve authorization is $250 million less than the Agriculture Department requested and the conservation reserve figure is $100 million under administration requests, the Appropriations Committee has been generous enough so as to provide another year of adequate trial for the program. The Senate, and the House, too, should go along with the committee's decision.

Learn More Before Spending More

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, as a reminder that Government spending during recent years has impressed the people of the Nation with the idea that it is not only excessive, from the taxpayers' standpoint, but perhaps being conducted on the basis of overgenerous appropriations available rather than upon carefully studied justification for specific projects. The recent outburst of popular criticism arising as it were spontaneously, would seem to indicate that the people of the Nation are demanding that each and every phase of foreign spending be analyzed carefully with the view of determining its real worth in our united aim to create a sentiment for peace throughout the world while at the same time protecting and maintaining our ability to counter any aggression from whatever source it may come.

The following editorial from the Parkersburg News of June 19 will be found interesting:

The United States Senate has passed—with the joint support of the rival party leaders—a bill authorizing the appropriation of $3,637,000,000 for foreign aid use during the fiscal year beginning July 1.

The figure compares with $4,400,000,000 originally appearing in the budget, and $3,274,000,000 subsequently accepted by the President as a minimum figure.

This action by the Senate does not mean that the appropriation of this much new money for foreign aid is assured. It merely authorizes it, so far as the Senate is concerned. The actual appropriating must be done later. Moreover, the House has taken no action on foreign aid. Its appropriations committee opens hearings on the bill tomorrow. The temper of the House, as often is the case, may be quite different. Even in the Senate, the fight on the authorization was less vigorous than basic sentiment back of it, because of the still present opportunity of reducing the figure when the actual business of providing the money comes up. So that the provision of this much new money for foreign aid, whether it is too much or too little, is by no means a fait accompli.

There must be some deep-seated reason for all of this which cannot be explained away by the assertion that it is the result of Communist propaganda. It is something more basic than that, something we should find out about before we build too many hopes on the sort of defenses we have set up around the world. Maybe, if a showdown came, we would discover that we have built on sand in many quarters.

Th News thinks it would be a good idea for Congress to learn a little bit more about the health of our mutual defense system before deciding how much more money to pour into it.

New Jersey Court of the Catholic Daughters of America Looks Back on 50 Years of Service to God and Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, recently I was privileged to attend the 50th anniversary observance of the State Court of New Jersey, Catholic Daughters of America.

It was a beautiful and inspiring event, and it served to highlight once more the devotion to God and country that has been the hallmark of service of the Catholic Daughters of America.

Too often, we are inclined to overlook the contributions to our society of such dedicated organizations as the Catholic Daughters. That is why, today, I would like to read into the RECORD of this Congress, the report of the 50th anniversary observance of the New Jersey State Court, Catholic Daughters of America. This report, compiled by Miss Mary Kanane, State regent, and Mrs. Thomas J. Dinan, State public relations chairman, provides a deeper understanding of the objectives and accomplishments of the Catholic Daughters. The report follows:

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCE

"If a woman is properly motivated and enthused, she can be a better influence than a whole host of apostles preaching from the rooftops," Archbishop Thomas A. Boland, archbishop of the Newark diocese, told more than 1,500 members of the Catholic Daughters of America from all parts of New Jersey on Sunday, June 8, at the Essex House in Newark.

The Catholic Daughters attended a Solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by His Excellency, Archbishop Boland, in Sacred Heart Cathedral to close their 50th anniversary year, and were addressed by him at dinner.

Archbishop Boland congratulated the CDA "not only on your anniversary, but on your achievements in the past five decades." The archbishop urged members to "look into yourselves as individuals and ask yourselves, 'What have I contributed to the success of the organization?'"

The archbishop added: "An organization is not sound unless all of its members are sound."

Archbishop Boland explained that everyone who is confirmed has received the seven gifts of the holy ghost, as the apostles did on the first pentecost. Noting that a woman properly motivated and dedicated can exert more influence than a host of apostles preaching from the rooftops, Archbishop Boland recalled the gospel story of the Samaritan woman at the well. After she received the gift of faith from Christ, she went out and told others and brought back many to receive the gift.

Reminding the Catholic Daughters that they are endowed with the gifts of the holy spirit, Archbishop Boland called upon them as individuals to "be stirred up to apostolic work among those not of the fold or those who are indifferent."

Noting that the anniversary was a celebration of the fact that the Catholic Daughters are both Catholic and patriotic, Archbishop Boland said, "It is impossible to have patriotism without being religious."

At Mass in the cathedral, members were read a cable from Pope Pius XII, sending his paternal apostolic blessing to the CDA on their anniversary. The sermon at the Mass was by the Right Reverend Martin W. Stanton, State CDA chaplain and director of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. The cathedral choir, under the direction of the Reverend John M. Oates, sang the Mass.

New Jersey's State Court, CDA, was founded on June 4, 1907, at a meeting in the Knights of Columbus headquarters in Newark. The first State unit was comprised of 8 courts with a membership of 736. Today, there are 96 courts in the State with a membership of 14,500.

The original courts were: Courts Immaculate Conception and Paulus Hook of Jersey City; Court Columbus of Trenton; Court Bayley of Elizabeth; Court Palisades of Palisades; Court Sancta Maria of Belleville; Court Conchessa of Harrison, and Court Seton of Newark. The late Miss E. McMahon of Court Sancta Maria of Belleville was the first State regent.

The aim of the Catholic Daughters of America is the propagation and preservation of our holy faith and the intensification of patriotism, as the name implies; the material, moral, and intellectual development of Catholic womanhood, and the protection and well-being of our Catholic girls. We also are pledged to the dispensation of charity and the furtherance of Catholic charitable projects.

There are no limitations placed upon the scope of activities of the CDA. Each unit maps out its own work commensurate with the needs of the locality. We are not an insurance organization. The touchstones of the order are unity and charity.

In the 50 years of our existence we have contributed generously to Catholic charitable projects and Catholic education. We have endowed Catholic colleges, churches, schools, sponsor a college scholarship, educate young men for the priesthood.

At the present time, there are 15 State committees actively functioning. They are apostolate of the aged; education, juniors, legislation, world missions, public relations, retreats, share the faith, confraternity of Christian doctrine, vigilance, Catholic war relief service, Catholic action, rural life, Catholic veterans' administration, and civil defense.

Miss Mary C. Duffy of South Orange, Miss Marguerite Martin of Jersey City, and Miss Louise Oberst of West Collingswood, all past State regents, are still living. Miss Duffy served on the national board as vice supreme regent, and she was the third supreme regent, elected in 1923.

In recognition of their splendid contribution to the church, both Miss Duffy and our present State regent, Miss Mary Kanane of Union, had the highest honor conferred upon them by our holy father Pope Pius XII, the papal decoration, Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice.

Still Heavy Odor of Red Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe Democrat, on Tuesday, June 18, 1957, entitled "Still Heavy Odor of Red Propaganda":

STILL HEAVY ODOR OF RED PROPAGANDA

When the statements of Nikita Khrushchev and Moscow's representative Zorin at London are closely assayed, it is found the only new proposal for disarmament is directed toward barring nuclear tests. Even this is a wily concession, that has more a smell of Communist propaganda than integrity in arms reduction.

Make no mistake about it, Russia wants to end the nuclear weapons race. There can be no doubt about that. Nor about the reason. America is far ahead of Moscow in nuclear defense.

Atomic arsenals of the United States are perhaps the only real fear, the only significant deterrent of major war that exists in the Kremlin.

Khrushchev would like to disarm the atom. He would rather disarm America's atom, but probably would be willing to toss the world's whole nuclear arsenal into discard. That would leave Russia much more aggressively powerful than she is today.

If this cannot be accomplished, perhaps Moscow can halt the steady advance of the West's nuclear power. If the atomic hazard to the human race could be prevented from growing steadily more dangerous, the people of America and all the world would welcome some kind of stop order upon nuclear weapons development.

Washington has offered, has hepeatedly sought to go much further in this respect than the Soviet ever has. In 1946 we urged an international agency to control all atomic energy. We have repeatedly recommended aerial, ground and scientific inspection, with foolproof controls to end the nuclear weapons race.

All this the Soviet has persistently repudiated. It still does. Last week Khrushchev ridiculed the United States first step inspection program, just to get such a system started, in the Arctic. Khrushchev bluntly declared "no system of control" can solve the problem of disarmament.

Then he added the Soviet will, however, be willing to establish inspection posts in the Soviet, the United States, Britain and other countries, if this could facilitate a ban on nuclear tests. And this was greeted as a bright, promising concession.

Inspection posts could not be adequate to detect nuclear development, even nuclear tests, save, perhaps, hydrogen or other huge blasts. These could be detected without such posts, as Moscow well understands. But the smaller tests would not necessarily be detected by fixed posts. The United States for that reason has insisted on general, comprehensive inspection, with compulsory controls.

After the Khrushchev statement in Helsinki, Valerian Zorin, of Russia, explained at the London conference the Kremlin proposal for inspection posts should be under the United Nations. Would that mean it would be subject to Security Council veto, and not worth the paper of its signature?

Prime Minister Macmillan of Britain has written Russia that general disarmament cannot be achieved until tensions between East and West are abated. He listed these tensions primarily as the political division of Europe, especially Germany, under Red satelliteism; the Soviet's hostile policy in the Mideast, and the Soviet repression in Hungary.

Disarmament must come. It is essential for the survival of nations, perhaps the entire race. But even partial disarmament cannot be practical, except with ironclad control machinery, until the tensions Mr. Macmillan cites are dispersed. Only Red Russia can disperse them.

We must keep arms negotiations open. We must use them realistically at every chance to inch toward disarmament. But America dare not be grappled to dangerous, innocuous agreements with Russia, spurred by emotionalisms.

There must be hard, clear-thinking assessment every step of the way. We have too often invited peril in the past by wearying of the arms burden and lowering our defense.

Arthur T. Vanderbilt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the State of New Jersey and indeed the entire Nation has suffered a great loss in the death of Arthur T. Vanderbilt, chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, but the contribution that he made to the cause of sound judicial procedure will never be forgotten. Under the new constitution adopted by the State of New Jersey he reorganized the judicial system of our State and although there were some who were critical, he commanded the respect of all and today the rules and procedures which were adopted under his guidance and leadership are held in high esteem by members of the bar as well as the public generally. He was a very human man and fully recognized the frailties of human nature but he would never compromise with inefficiency or slovenly effort.

The editorials from the Asbury Park Press and the Long Branch Record are fitting tributes to this great man and I am pleased to include them with my remarks.

The editorials follow:

[From the Asbury Park Press of June 18, 1957]

ARTHUR T. VANDERBILT

The history of New Jersey reveals few contributions to the civic welfare that measure up to those of Arthur T. Vanderbilt. As a lawyer, a teacher of law, a champion of good government, an aggressive advocate of judicial reform, and a chief justice of the State's highest court, he performed in a manner that brought lasting benefits to the citizens of New Jersey. Mr. Vanderbilt's death before he had reached the age of retiring as chief justice leaves a vacancy that will be very difficult to fill. But as it mourns his passing the State is grateful for the monument of achievement that Mr. Vanderbilt had created.

Not only in this country, but throughout the world, the transformation of the New Jersey court system from a slothful and sometimes futile judicial contraption into an efficient medium for dispensing prompt justice is hailed with admiration and an effort at emulation. The new constitution adopted in 1947 outlined the great improvements that have been made in the State's court system but it was the implementation supplied by Mr. Vanderbilt and his associates on the new supreme court that actually gave New Jersey the modern and efficient judicial system that it now boasts.

Previously Mr. Vanderbilt had shown his talents for improving obsolescent court systems when he was chairman of a committee to help the United States Supreme Court reorganize the Federal court system. This service coupled with his long and successful tenure as dean of the New York University law school brought Mr. Vanderbilt wide acclaim as a vigorous expert in judicial reform. And it made him the ideal choice to assume the burdensome task of reorganizing the New Jersey court system in accordance with the new constitution.

Fortunately Mr. Vanderbilt had completed this task, perhaps not to his own satisfaction, but to the point where New Jersey, whose court system evoked nationwide scorn only a decade ago, is now regarded as having a model system of judicial administration.

Now it behooves all citizens, and especially those in a position to appoint judges and the judiciary itself, to preserve the great gains made under Mr. Vanderbilt and to hold high the standards of New Jersey justice. The State owes him a memorial in reward for services, and none would be more appropriate than to continue his valiant effort to give New Jersey a court system based upon the highest concepts of justice.

[From the Long Branch Record of June 18, 1957]

JUSTICE VANDERBILT

Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt was a man who dedicated his life to the law.

His death has written finis to a career in jurisprudence marked by monumental achievements in the administration of justice.

His work in revamping the New Jersey court system would have been accomplishment enough for any ordinary man. But Justice Vanderbilt was not an ordinary man.

He was impelled by a driving force to see that justice was done. Delays and crowded court calendars gnawed at him constantly. It was this factor that led him to cut through a maze of entanglements and bring order, speed, and systematic disposal of legal matters to our halls of justice.

His colleagues have described him as an "exemplar in the public service," as "the greatest force in the judicial history of the State," and as one of the Nation's "outstanding legal and judicial figures."

His death will be keenly felt, not only by those who knew and worked with him, but by all who will, in some measure, reap the benefits of his profound knowledge of the law.

This newspaper joins the rest of the State in mourning his passing.

One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of First Public Singing of the Song America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include the resolution filed for adoption by the General Court of Massachusetts by Senator John R. Yerxa and Representatives James C. Bayley and William F. Otis, all of Boston, for the Park Street Church, Boston, said resolution commending the observance of the first public singing of the song America.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION COMMENDING THE OBSERVANCE OF THE FIRST PUBLIC SINGING OF THE SONG AMERICA

Whereas on Sunday, June 30, 1957, and through July 6, 1957, the 125th anniversary of the first public singing of the great patriotic song America will be celebrated at the Park Street Church in the city of Boston at ceremonies commemorating the event; and

Whereas it is fitting and proper that due recognition be given to the observance of this memorable event and to a song which has been an inspiration to all; and

Whereas the song America was written by the Reverend Dr. Samuel Francis Smith in the town of Andover, Mass., in February 1832; and

Whereas the first it was sung publicly was at a children's celebration of American independence at the Park Street Church, Boston, on July 4, 1832; and

Whereas the first time it was sung publicly ten with reference to any special occasion, it has during the years been widely used as a national anthem: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts commends to all citizens that appropriate recognition be given to the celebration of the first public singing of the song America during the week of June 30 through July 6, 1957.

Inauguration of Direct Flight From Detroit to Paris and Rome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following article taken from the Detroit Free Press of May 26, 1957, shows how close Detroit is coming to Europe. The inauguration on June 2, 1957, of direct flights from Detroit to Paris, France, and Rome, Italy, not only indicates the growth of the city but also gives testimony to the wisdom and foresight of those, such as myself, who have envisioned Detroit as a world port:

DIRECT AIR SERVICE TO LINK DETROIT WITH PARIS AND ROME

Detroiters will be able to fly directly to Paris and Rome from Wayne Major Airport under a new service to be inaugurated June 2 by Pan American World Airways.

The flights will leave Wayne Major at 1 p. m., Sundays and Thursdays, returning to Detroit at 9:35 a. m., Tuesdays and Saturdays.

J. P. Smith, Jr., Detroit district manager, said the new service will bring to nine the total of weekly round-trip Pan American direct, no-change flights from the Motor City to Europe. Pan American already is flying daily to Shannon, London, Frankfurt, and other European cities.

Detroit became a gateway to Europe on April 30, 1954, when Pan American inaugurated the first no-change-of-plane service to London, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and other points on a 3-round-trips-a-week schedule.

Prior to that Detroiters took domestic flights to New York, transferring to Pan American for flights to Europe. Customs and immigration facilities now are located at Wayne Major Airport.

The Detroit-Europe flights, Smith pointed out, have made the Ford Rouge plant as

familiar a signpost for in-coming Europeans as the Statute of Liberty.

Pan American established daily service to the same European points on June 1, 1955. It became the first airline to put new 5,000-mile range Douglas transports into transatlantic operation a year later, flying the first nonstop flight across the Atlantic in DC7C's.

The Detroit-Paris-Rome schedule calls for a refueling stop at Boston, but passengers may remain in the same seats to Paris and Rome.

Public Works Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1958

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8090) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army and certain agencies of the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I endorse the statements that have been made by my colleagues on the very fine work done by the distinguished members of the Subcommittee on Civil Functions. Theirs is indeed a most difficult assignment which they have handled courteously, carefully, and capably.

I presume that all of us are disappointed when projects on which we are seeking approval are not included. That certainly is not a reflection on the fine work this committee does. I recognize that the efforts to stay within budget limitations has played an important part in selection of the projects now included in this year's bill. I do not feel that this is always the best procedure. The Bureau of the Budget recognizes one set of standards; the Congress may wish to recognize others. The Bureau of the Budget undoubtedly reflects the thinking of the current administration, but the majority of the Congress is of another political faith and it is well within the range of probability that our projects suffer accordingly. I do not feel that the Congress should be tied to the recommendations of the Bureau of the Budget, nor do I consider the Bureau of the Budget infallible in its thinking and in its recommendations.

I have a particular interest in two small items which are not included in this bill. The House Committee on Public Works has authorized a review by the United States engineers of the proposed routing of the Intracoastal Waterway from Carrabelle to St. Marks. The present authorization is for the Crooked River route. I have requested that consideration be given to a change in the authorization via the Alligator Point route. The latter is 18 miles shorter and involves 1 highway bridge instead of 3. It would be much less expensive to dredge and, I believe, less expensive to maintain. The Intracoastal Waterway from Carrabelle to St. Marks has been authorized, but not constructed. The increasingly heavy flow of waterborne traffic into St. Marks requires that consideration be given to this matter.

The Committee on Public Works also has authorized a review of the channel needs of St. Marks, Fla., which is the eastern terminus of the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway. The present harbor at St. Marks is maintained at a depth of 6 feet and a width of 50 feet. A minimum of 12 feet by 200 feet is a necessity. In my statement before the subcommittee I pointed out that several hundred craft use this port each week, and the list includes oil barges, construction-material barges, commercial fishing vessels, and pleasure craft. Navigational aids are totally inadequate. As a result, the cargo craft and the larger commercial and sporting craft find it necessary to come and go only during daylight hours and when the tide is high.

The sum of $10,000 is needed for the necessary surveys which are a part of the reviews by the engineers.

I made an earnest appeal to the committee that these items be included even though they are unbudgeted.

I have a similar great interest in the channel improvement in the harbor at Port St. Joe, Fla. Although there is not a budget recommendation, I feel that it is a serious oversight not to include in this bill improvement for Port St. Joe Harbor in Florida. The present channel depth is 32 feet. A 35-foot channel was recommended by the United States engineers and authorized by the Congress. It will cost approximately $1⅓ million with a small additional maintenance cost.

According the the Government reports for the year 1955, there was handled through the port of Port St. Joe 1,909,032 tons of waterborne commerce. Port St. Joe was only outranked in Florida, in the amount of tonnage handled, by Tampa, Jacksonville, Port Everglades, and Miami.

The terminaling facilities at Port St. Joe for bunker C fuel oil is 275,000 barrels. Port St. Joe is the terminal for the southeastern pipeline and has terminaling facilities for 980,000 barrels of gasoline and light fuel oil. Terminating facilities are available for bunkering Navy and other type vessels. At the present time bunker C fuel oil is being delivered to Eglin Air Force Base and is also being furnished to the United States district engineers at Mobile for equipment at times when operating in this area.

The development of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee Valley Waterway will make it possible to barge bunker C fuel oil from the terminaling facilities at Port St. Joe to various inland ports (including Fort Benning, Ga.) along this route. This additional potential business is estimated at 50,000 short tons annually.

St. Joe Paper Co. has recently completed, at a cost in excess of $500,000, a sheet-piling, concrete-topped bulkhead which will permit docking of tankers and other vessels with draft of 35 feet.

The Glidden Co. has installed a tall-oil plant in Port St. Joe, which will be in operation this month, with estimated production of 25,000 tons, a percentage of which will be exported in tankers.

The General Chemical Division of Allied Chemical & Dye Corp. is now erecting a liquid-alum plant in Port St. Joe which will necessitate the importation of bauxite.

With the approval of the United States engineers and the Coast Guard the E. I. du Pont Co. is now in the process of erecting facilities for handling explosives through the port of Port St. Joe. These facilities will be made available to other companies producing and shipping explosives.

It is to be anticipated that the study now being made by a Government agency as to the suitability of various ports for handling explosives will show Port St. Joe to be one of the most acceptable ports on the gulf and will possibly have priority over other ports, in that it will already be handling explosives.

Thirty-seven feet depth over the bar and 35 feet depth in the channel will mean that several square miles of natural deep water in St. Joseph Bay will make accessible to the Navy a landlocked bay on the Gulf of Mexico in close proximity to Tyndal Field, Eglin Air Force Base, and Pensacola Air Base and would seem to add to the advantages to be gained by making the deep water of St. Joseph Bay accessible to the Navy.

Your attention is called to the fact that St. Joseph Bay and the harbor of Port St. Joe only have a diurnal tidal rise of 1.4 feet and do not enjoy the advantages of a tidal rise of 3 to 5 feet which prevails at all eastern seaboard ports and most of the gulf ports. Under extreme northerly wind conditions, we frequently experience a minus 3 feet below mean low tide.

With the recently created port authority it is to be anticipated that additional port and dockage facilities will be made available in the near future.

The present trend to the considerably larger ships makes it very important that this rapidly growing port have improved depth facilities.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I wish to comment briefly on the very important central and southern Florida project. There has been question of the amount of local participation, although I hardly think there can be question of the importance of the project. Actually, I feel that it can clearly be shown that Florida is meeting its full part of the cost in that local interests are bearing a full 39 percent of the total project cost for the first phase of the central and southern Florida project.

The cost of the local flood-control district to date indicates that $23.4 million have been made available to this project to finance the requirements of local cooperation. Eleven million dollars of this amount came from general revenues of the State of Florida, the balance from an ad valorem tax levy on all real property in the 17 counties of the flood-control district.

When the project was started in January 1950 the works and assets of the old Everglades Drainage District were incorporated in the Federal-State plan. These included canals and rights-of-way which were actually usable in the project. These works, representing a significant start on the overall project in the

Everglades and lower east coast area cost the taxpayers of Florida $18 million to construct. However, local interests are given no credit under project financing for this substantial contribution in the form of completed works.

In addition to the works included in the Federal-State plan, it is necessary that individual landowners and drainage districts provide on the land water control works to regulate ground water elevations in the South Florida area. It is estimated that such on the land works in the Everglades Agricultural Area represent an expenditure by private land owners of approximately $24 million to date. Similarly, the landowners in the coastal areas in Palm Beach, Broward and Dade Counties have spent approximately $21 million to provide their needed water-control facilities to augment the works of the Federal-State project.

To summarize the activities of local interests to date, the following substantial contributions have been made:

Cash contributions	$23,400,000
Everglades Drainage District works	18,000,000
On-the-land water control	45,000,000
Total	86,400,000

From the foregoing it is apparent to me, and should be equally apparent to any unbiased observers that the citizens of Florida are bearing more than their fair share of the cost of this flood control and water-conservation project in central and southern Forida.

Assets of former works, 16 to 18 millions.
Costs incurred by local interests, 1949–57, $23,458,433.
Appropriated by Congress, $38,074,000.
Local budget, fiscal year 1958, $6,318,800.

Flood experience (Corps of Engineers)

	Damages	Savings
1947, last 9 months	$59,000,000	
1956, October	1,800,000	$10,825,000
1957, January	9,025,000	
10-year period:		
1947	59,000,000	
1948	49,800,000	
1949	4,000,000	
1950	2,400,000	
1951	2,500,000	
1952	9,000,000	
1953	20,000,000	13,000,000
1954		
1955		
1956	1,800,000	
1957	9,025,000	7,500,000
Total	157,525,000	20,500,000

This is a flood-control project of greatest importance. Very substantial benefits are anticipated and I believe the returns to the Federal Government in the development of the area and subsequently in taxes cannot fail to be many times the amount to be expended.

Scientists and the Fallout Scare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable confusion in this matter of H-bomb fallout. The Communists have been waging an inspired campaign against fallout tests of the atomic bomb. Many people have a genuine fear of the effects of atom fallout, and we all share a real concern about it. The danger, however, at this time is not as real as the Communists tell us, and in a recent article in the U. S. News & World Report, June 21, 1957, there appeared an article entitled "Scientists and the Fallout Scare"; and under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the article.

The article follows:

[From the U. S. News & World Report of June 21, 1957]

SCIENTISTS AND THE FALLOUT SCARE

When you hear the views of "scientists" on fall-out and other atomic matters, it's well to find out who is talking.

That's indicated by a look at the record of "scientific" testimony and petitions.

A check shows that of 250,000 United States scientists, a tiny percentage signed recent petitions and appeals. Many signers are students and others who are not in atomic work.

* * * * * * *

In the United States 250,000 individuals are rated as scientists by the National Science Foundation.

Of these, about 9,000 are working on atomic energy and the problems related to nuclear explosions. They are either with the Atomic Energy Commission and its contractors, or in private industry. Only a portion of the 241,000 other scientists have special knowledge of atomic problems.

The 9,000 atomic scientists were represented by about 38 of their leaders in recent hearings before a subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. They were called in by Congress to tell what they knew about the harmful effects of fall-out and radiation resulting from nuclear bursts.

Substantial agreement: These atomic experts are conducting research in laboratories all over the country. Many work on the same problems, each using his own methods. What they told Congress often differed in quanitity and degree. But when they sat down for roundtable discussion of what had been said, they found that, on nearly all basic issues, all but 2 or 3 of them were in substantial agreement.

The Atomic Energy Commission's representatives and all but a few of the other scientists agreed that radiation dangers were serious and must be taken into account constantly when planning nuclear tests. They agreed also that tests should be curtailed or discontinued by the United States as soon as other nations would agree to do likewise, but not before.

In the midst of the hearings, however, a clamor arose in the newspapers that made it appear that a large segment of American scientists were in disagreement with the Government's nuclear weapons program.

The headlines read, "2,000 Scientists Appeal for Ban on A-Tests." Dr. Linus C. Pauling, head of the chemistry division at the California Institute of Technology, reported to the press on June 3 that 2,000 scientists had signed a petition of his, asking for "an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs."

Only 1,351 names: The petition was received by Congress about a week later, after the hearings had ended. A count of the signatures showed there were actually 1,351 names.

No signer was identified, other than by name and place of residence. A check of the names was made in "American Men of Science" a standard registry, which lists about 90,000 persons who are considered to be scientists of some prominence. Only about half the 1,351 petitioners were found to be listed.

Dr. Pauling explained that a few of the signers were "students of science." A check of the signers at one institution, the University of California, shows that a number of them were graduate students, research assistants and fellows.

Some scientists who examined the petition questioned whether many of those who signed it had any expert knowledge of the scientific problems it raised.

Light was thrown on this by a further check at the University of California. Just 3 of the 77 faculty members in the physics department had signed the petition. One signature came from the biological sciences department—the field of science that is most concerned with radiation effect. Most of the signers at the university were in astronomy, mathematics, engineering, metallurgy, and statistics.

Why some take issue: Some scientists who were approached took issue with Dr. Pauling. One, Dr. Joel H. Hildebrand, wrote in a letter to Dr. Pauling that Dr. Pauling himself did not actually know the truth of some of the scientific statements he made in the petition.

"Scientists should be sure of their ground before claiming scientific authority for alarmist assertions," wrote Dr. Hildebrand, who is head of the department of chemistry at the University of California.

Another group, the Federation of American Scientists, makes frequent public criticisms of the United States Government's testing and development of nuclear weapons. The federation has about 2,100 members, and it, too, caught public attention about a week after the Pauling petition appeared, calling for an international ban on large nuclear explosions.

Once again the headlines read, "2,100 Scientists Seek Test Ban." Actually, the Federation's 2,100 members are by no means all scientists. Engineers are included. No scientific or other professional qualification of any kind is required for membership.

Even if the 2,100 members of the Federation were all scientists, and you added them to the 1,351 signers of the Pauling petition, you would get a total of 3,451 persons. This is about 1.3 percent of the 250,000 scientists in the United States.

Where scientists look: Scientists themselves look for information and guidance to such organizations as the National Academy of Sciences. This is a privately operated and supported group of 550 top scientists. The Academy was created by Congress in 1863 with a charter signed by Abraham Lincoln. Its chief function is to make scientific investigations for the Government.

Last year the Academy sponsored a study of radiation effects, which was conducted by leading men of science in the various fields concerned. The reports that the Academy issued on this study are now regarded by Government authorities and the scientific world in general as the most authoritative material available on the subject of radiation.

Administration's Long-Range Mineral Policy Not Effective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, the amount of thought, economic skill, and knowledge of the domestic-mining industry that has been put into the new

administration long-range mineral policy is well illustrated by the recommendation on copper which reads:

Copper has not been included in view of the continuing good price and the fact that a 2-cent excise tax comes into effect when the price falls below 24 cents. The current rate of domestic production is expanding, and the market situation is stable under current conditions.

Secretary of the Interior Seaton delivered this dictum to the Senate Interior Committee on June 4, 1957. At this time, the copper prices were beginning to fall and already had dropped from a high in early 1957 of over 55 cents per pound for electrolytic copper in New York to 31.288 cents per pound on June 6, 1957, and then on June 19 in London, the price was 27½ cents. Domestic mining companies have already started to curtail production, and at least one large company has been forced to a 5-day week rather than lay off men, the New York price now having dropped to 29 cents as of today.

Since the original Copper Tariff Act was passed with the 24 cents peril point, it has been pointed out by representatives of the copper industry that because of rising costs, the peril point now should be at least 30 cents per pound and the tariff or excise tax restored to at least 4 cents when the price falls below the peril point.

One of the principal mining unions points out in discussing the Seaton-Wormser program:

The situation in copper, while not yet as serious as that in lead and zinc, also contains many dangerous possibilities. A 30-percent drop in the price of copper in the past year, plus the accumulation of world stocks, in the face of rising supplies, similarly threatens the future life of many United States mines.

The statement continues:

The present administration's failure to project effective remedies for the now critical situation of the United States nonferrous metals industry places the issue squarely before Congress. Drastic remedies are now required to prevent what could develop into a collapse of an essential United States industry.

So much for the Secretary's knowledge of the needs of the domestic producers of one metal. "Continuous good price" and "stable market"—poppycock. And most of his reasons for not doing anything for a long list of other minerals are about as valid.

Use of the Word "Congressional"

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] is recognized for 1 hour.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENT OFFERED TO A MEASURE REGARDING CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I have seriously considered the two bills offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] to bar from the mails certain publications having titles which convey the false impression that they are official publications of the United States Congress and to prohibit the use of the word "Congress" or "Congressional" as part of the title of any publication where the use of such word can reasonably convey the false impression that such publication is an official publication of the United States Congress.

The more I think about these two bills the more I am convinced that the gentleman from Michigan has called attention to a most serious and important problem.

My contribution to this important and timely matter would be to point out that these two bills deal with a far too limited part of the problem which arises from the unquestionably misleading use of names which, by long usage, surely import connections, or approbation, by official segments of our Government to the firms and businesses involved in such a way as to mislead the most perceptive citizen.

Take, for instance, the beverage known as Senators Club.

Even though this beverage by the quart or the fifth may never have been purchased by a Member of the other House it is my opinion—my curbstone opinion, that is—that the word "Senator" should never have been included in the name of this beverage.

The consumer, the buyer of goods and services, which all of us are, must often be under the impression when dealing with firms having certain words in their title, or when buying goods and services using these same words, that he is dealing with, or relying upon, a part of the Federal Government or purchasing items approved by it.

Nor should we be misled into placing too much reliance on such magazines as Editor and Publisher, the trade publication for the newspaper field.

I include here the following article and editorial from Editor & Publisher and an editorial from the Toledo Blade, Toledo, Ohio, of June 1, 1957, as part of my remarks:

[From Editor & Publisher of June 8, 1957]

SCHROTH SAYS CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY REPORT IS IMPARTIAL

WASHINGTON.—Representative CLARE E. HOFFMAN'S attempt to bar Congressional Quarterly reports from the mails (Editor & Publisher, June 1, p. 10), grows out of a politician's objection to having his voting record exposed, Thomas N. Schroth, Congressional Quarterly executive editor, declared this week.

The Congressman would also make it illegal for a private organization to use the name "Congressional."

Mr. Schroth maintained that Congressional Quarterly renders an impartial measurement of congressional activity to the press and public. "As a Congressman votes," he said, "so is his record put down by the systematic methods designed over the years by Congressional Quarterly."

The editor suggested that Mr. HOFFMAN'S pique may be due to the fact his own record of rollcall votes shows that his support of the President's program "consistently has been among the lowest in Congress, his direct opposition to the President's program among the highest."

Republicans and Democrats alike, Mr. Schroth said, rely on Congressional Quarterly measurements.

"Congressional Quarterly," he said, "is proud of its statistical studies and their contribution to better reporting. The studies are the first successful attempt to show clearly what the men on Capitol Hill actually are doing. It's to be expected that some Congressmen do not like this, but editors, reporters and—even more important—newspaper readers do."

Mr. Schroth denied Representative HOFFMAN'S assertion that Congressional Quarterly lists absence as a vote against the President's program. He said Congressional Quarterly counts only "yea" and "nay" votes and divides the votes cast by a Member in agreement or in disagreement with the President's position by the total number of votes included in the tabulation.

[From Editor & Publisher of June 8, 1957]

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Representative CLARE E. HOFFMAN goes too far in his political retaliation against Congressional Quarterly. The Congressman would have been within bounds if he had limited his attack to criticism of the publication which seems to upset him. But he stepped out of bounds when he introduced legislation to bar it from the mails and to prevent its use of the names "Congressional" or "Congress" simply because he doesn't approve of its methods.

In fact the proposals are a little ridiculous. Congressional Quarterly has been in business for more than 13 years and no one has questioned its right to report on congressional activities and use that name prior to this time.

Congress has no vested right in either of those names. In the Washington telephone book there are 30 organizations listed under the name "Congress" and an additional 34 under the listing "Congressional." There is a monthly Congressional Digest published in Washington (with no official connection) and a Congress Weekly published in New York (by the American Jewish Congress). There are also the Congressional Information Bureau and the Congressional Film & TV Service in Washington. Does Representative HOFFMAN contend they shouldn't use the names either because they might imply some official connection?

We hope the Congressman doesn't contend that the voting records of Senators and Congressmen and the activities of Congress should not be reported and interpreted by anyone that chooses to do so.

[From the Toledo Blade, Toledo, Ohio, of June 1, 1957]

MORE THAN A NAME

In presenting a bill to bar fom the mails any publication bearing a name which conveys the false impression it is an official publication of the United States Congress, Republican Representative CLARE HOFFMAN, of Michigan, makes no bones about gunning for one particular periodical, the Congressional Quarterly. But the reason for his animus toward this digest, it is plain, derives from more than an objection to its name.

Congressional Quarterly is a reference and feature service subscribed to principally by newspapers of varied political position—Republican, Democratic, and Independent. It provides background information, statistics, and analysis dealing with the actions of Congress and its committees. Certainly none of these newspapers has the false impression that this service has any official connection with Congress nor are their politically literate readers likely to be misled as to the source of information provided by it.

Mr. HOFFMAN reveals a little more about the nature of his peeve when he asserts that Congressional Quarterly is spewing forth its pro-Democratic propaganda while it masquerades as a nonpartisan, objective source of information about the United States Congress. But competent editors of whatever political outlook are perfectly capable of detecting partisan propaganda without requiring an act of Congress to protect them. It is unlikely that even Democratic editors would pay out good money for a Democratic-slanted reference service much less those of Republican and Independent leanings. A propaganda bias in such a service would render it useless—a fact of which editors are probably more keenly conscious than is Representative HOFFMAN.

The information Congressional Quarterly contains usually speaks for itself—the voting records of individual Congressmen, their support of the President and their party, etc. How it is interpreted depends on the views of the interpreter. But Congressional Quarterly may be distressing some Congressmen merely by laying out the record so that it is somewhat easier for editors, the public, and other politicians to check on.

The United Press got into the act with this story which appeared in the Washington (Pa.) Observer:

HOFFMAN WANTS PROTECTION FOR WORD "CONGRESSIONAL"

(United Press story dated May 31, 1957, appearing in the Washington (Pa.) Observer)

WASHINGTON, May 29.—The Congressional Limited, Congress Variety Shop, and Congressional Roller Skating Rink better watch out.

Representative CLARE HOFFMAN, Republican, Michigan, wants to protect the words "Congress" and "congressional" from being used by just anyone.

The Congressman introduced bills Tuesday that would ban use of "Congress" or "congressional" in a publication title when that would convey the false impression that the publication is authorized by Congress. The bills also would ban the publications from the mails.

But that could be just the beginning. The Government already bans all commercial enterprises from implying they are Federal agencies by use of such titles as "United States" and "U. S." Congress might decide to extend the law to cover "Congress" and "congressional." And what about such hallowed words as "Senator," "Senate," and "House"?

The Washington telephone book alone contains 64 listings under "Congress" and "congressional" including the Library of Congress, which doesn't have to worry, and Eugene A. Congress, who might have to.

The listings include the Congress Barber Shop, Congress Beverage Co., Congress Heights Service Station, and Congressional Intelligence. The last listing is the name of a firm, not an editorial comment.

Then there are the listings under "Senate." They sandwich the United States Senate, also see United States Government, between Senate Delicatessen and a fellow named Sam Senator.

The House list is equally interesting. It includes House of Beauty, House of Beef, House of Prayer, House of Representatives also see United States Government, House of Spirits, House of the Good Shepherd, and Miss Werdna House.

Finally, there are the Washington Senators. But some baseball fans contend they need a change, anyway.

Considering all these matters, and confident that Editor & Publisher must somehow be biased, and must have some New Deal connections, and, at the very least, is undeniably New Deal in its sympathies—as can be plainly seen from the substance and tone of its June 8 editorial—and can, therefore, be totally ignored, I therefore, offer an amendment to the measures sponsored by the gentleman from Michigan, and trust that he will accept it in the spirit in which it is offered, to provide that it shall be illegal for any privately conducted enterprise to use as a part of its name those appellations calculated to convey the impression—obviously false—that such enterprise or enterprise or product or service has some connection with or authorization from any recognized agency of the United States Government or any of its departments or agencies or independent establishments.

I must confess I was shocked, when I got into this study I made, to find such a large number of the kind of listings in the Washington, D. C., telephone directory using the words "United States," "Congress," "Congressional, "President," "Presidential," "Senate," "Supreme Court," "Armed Forces," "Army," "Navy," "Marine Corps," "Air Force," "Coast Guard," and "Government."

Without exhausting the list of enterprises which thus, obviously, are misleading the public, including Members of this House, I am going to take a minute or two to list for your consideration some of the firms using words to which we must object.

Now, surely, anyone not familiar with the situation would suppose that these firms were managed by the Congress of the United States, or that the Congress had a financial interest in them.

This mistaken conception leads, in turn, no doubt, to the belief that the President's budget is more inflated that it really is.

Let us see how this works, for instance, in regard to the Congress Beverage Co., the Congress Barber Shop, the Congress Construction Corp., the Congress Hotel, the Congress Investment Corp., the Congressional Apartments, the Congressional Builders and Decorators Supply Co., Inc., the Congress Paint Manufacturing Co., Inc., the Congress Roofing Co., Inc., the Congress Theater, the Congress Development Corp., the Congress Variety Shop, the Congressional Beverages.

So far, there are two beverage companies, one barber shop, also construction, investment, development, and building supply companies involved, as well as two hotels, an apartment house, a variety shop, and a theater. This doesn't begin to exhaust the list, though it does exhaust me, somewhat.

Here, for the record, are the other firms which use the name "congressional": Congressional Camera Center, Congressional Cemetery, Congressional Cleaners, Congressional Club, Congressional Country Club, Congressional Daily, Congressional Day Camp, Congressional Digest, Congressional Drug Store, Congressional Electric Co., Congressional Films & TV Services, Congressional Florists, Congressional Flying Service, Inc., Congressional Information Bureau, Congressional Insurance Co., Congressional Intelligence, Inc., Congressional Liquor Store, Congressional Lumber Co., Inc., Congressional Manor Sanitarium, Congressional Meeting Hall, Congressional Motors, Inc., Congressional Radio & TV Sales & Service, Congressional Roller Skating Rink, Congressional School, Congressional Shopping City, Congressional Tile Co., Congressional Trucking Co.

Undoubtedly, consideration must also be given to the Republican Capitol Hill Club, the Congressional Relaxitorium of famed restaurateur Mike Palm, as well as to such beverages as Senator's Club. There is, also, the matter of the United States Rubber Co., probably one of the better known companies in this area.

So, it would seem, not only the citizen buying goods and services, but the taxpayer, too, whose dollars support the Federal Government is misled as things stand at present.

Undoubtedly, the taxpayer, who is not able to take the time to make a profound study of the subject, is led to think that the Congress is in the cemetery business, the club business, is running drugstores, electric companies, liquor stores, insurance companies, a roller skating rink, a trucking business, a flower shop and so on.

That trucking business, at this time, is most unfortunate, for, in the mind of the harried taxpayer, the Congress is tied in or linked up with Dave Beck.

So, while the Federal Government is large, goodness knows, it is, undoubtedly, not nearly as large as many taxpayers and citizens surely must believe that it is.

My proposed amendment will aid in correcting a false impression which must be held by a large body of citizens, as to the extent of the enterprises in which the Federal Government is engaged.

With this in mind accordingly, I have developed the following amendment and commend it to the attention of the gentleman from Michigan:

Amendment to H. R. 7803 offered by Mr. Thompson of New Jersey; On page 2, strike out line 1 and all that follows and insert:

"SEC. 712. False advertising or misuse of name to indicate connection with the United States Government: It shall be unlawful to use the words 'United States,' 'Congress,' 'congressional,' 'President,' 'presidential,' 'Senate,' 'Senator,' 'Supreme Court,' 'House of Representatives,' 'Armed Forces,' 'Army,' 'Navy,' 'Marine Corps,' 'Air Force,' 'Coast Guard,' 'Capitol Hill,' or 'Government,' or any combination or variation of those words, as a business or firm name, where the use of such words alone or with other words is reasonably calculated to convey the false impression that such business or firm has some connection with, or authorization from, the United States or any branch of the Government thereof, or any department or agency thereof, where such connection or authorization does not in fact exist.

"Whoever violates this section shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both."

(b) The analysis of such chapter 33 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"SEC. 712. False advertising or misuse of name to indicate connection with the United States Government."

MORE ON THE PRESIDENT'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

I took the floor on Wednesday, May 22, to discuss the President's legislative program and its lack of support by the so-called modern Republicans.

It was extremely interesting that the gentleman from New York [Mr. DEROUNIAN] took the floor immediately preceding me to launch an attack on the Congressional Quarterly.

The publisher of the Congressional Quarterly, we were informed, at one time, served with the Office of War Information under a Democratic administration.

This is supposed to be conclusive proof that the facts which the Congressional Quarterly cited were unquestionably wrong.

This attack upon Congressional Quarterly reminds me of the story of the old lawyer's advice to the novice just out of law school:

If the law is with you, talk about the law.
If the facts are with you, talk about the facts.
If the law and the facts are both against you, talk about your opponent.

Late in the evening of May 22 the gentleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF] was given the floor for half a minute and he asked a highly significant question.

That question and the reply for the Republican Party by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] was as follows:

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEROUNIAN. I yield to the gentleman for a half a minute.

Mr. METCALF. I wish either the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FREYLINGHUYSEN] or the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD], one of those gentlemen who has been attacking the weighting of the Congressional Quarterly, would explain something to me, because I am interested in it, due to the fact that I am attacked at every election for not supporting the President and I am somewhat chagrined. Would the gentleman explain how we should weight these various rollcalls? How would you weight the difference between a rollcall on contribtuion to the World Health Organization and a rollcall in support of the President's Middle Eastern proposition?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I would say on that that I would certainly not myself make an effort at delivering a major speech on the basis of such thoroughly unreliable information which everybody should realize does not represent support or opposition to anybody.

Of course, it can readily be seen that the gentleman from New Jersey simply begged the question.

He did not answer the gentleman from Montana, nor, so far as I can find, has anyone else on the Republican side answered the question.

Attacking the Congressional Quarterly clearly is no answer.

You will be interested in the fact that I have found that the members of the Republican Party take an entirely different approach to this publication when they think it is politically expedient to do so.

I have been doing some research on this and in order to set the matter straight I am presenting here some statements showing what the Republicans have said at those times when it suited their purpose to rely on the Congressional Quarterly.

I want to say at this point, that it is very interesting to find Republicans taking out after the Congressional Quarterly as they did at the time of my speech on May 22 and as they have several times since.

And then, on other occasions, quoting the Congressional Quarterly favorably when it suited their purpose.

So, as I say, in order to set the matter straight here is what my research has turned up.

Consistency is a virtue, I think, and what I would say to my good friends on the other side of the aisle is that they should make up their minds on this matter and not continue to blow hot and cold on alternate days on such an important matter.

For good measure, here also are what editors of newspapers have said about the Congressional Quarterly. I must point out that they, as a rule, have been much more consistent in their support of the Congressional Quarterly.

Some occasions when Republicans cited the Congressional Quarterly to their advantage:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of September 28, 1956]

TRUTH SQUAD DEFENDS REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS

KANSAS CITY, MO., September 27.—The Republican congressional truth squad today rebutted charges made here last night by Democratic presidential nominee Adlai E. Stevenson that Republicans in Congress had failed to support President Eisenhower.

The truth squad, composed of Representatives WILLIAM WIDNALL, of New Jersey, and DONALD L. JACKSON, of California, called the charge "loose talk."

The Congressional Quarterly shows they said, "that Republicans supported Mr. Eisenhower 72 percent of the time on 99 rollcalls while the Democrats voted with the Administration only 48 percent."

Republican memo dated July 21, 1955, issued by the staff of the Republican Policy Committee, volume 1, No. 28, pages 2 and 3:

SURVEY SHOWS DEMOCRATS LAGGING ON PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

The Congressional Quarterly, a private publication of Washington, D. C., specializing in congressional affairs, reported July 15 another one of its running box scores on the President's batting average with the Democratic-controlled 84th Congress. Although Democratic leaders pledged cooperation with the President last January, they are certainly dragging their feet as Congress turns into the home stretch, the survey shows.

Of 200 Presidential requests for legislation between the opening of the session and June 29, the score looks like this:

Enacted into law, 52 (or 26 percent).
Still in process, 79 (or 39.5 percent).
Setback (but may be revived), 5.
Rejected, 5.
No action, 59.

PARTY SUPPORT

On a total of 69 rollcall votes (40 in the Senate and 29 in the House) in which President Eisenhower's proposals were in issue:

	In Congress as a whole	Senate	House
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Republican support	64	71	62
Democratic support	53	57	51

PARTY OPPOSITION

On the same 69 rollcalls, the measure of party opposition was:

	In Congress as a whole	Senate	House
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Republicans in opposition	23	15	26
Democrats in opposition	37	30	39

In other words, whether party performance is measured by support or opposition, Republicans in the 84th Congress to date have a better record of cooperation with the President than have the Democrats.

Republican memo dated August 18, 1955, volume 1, No. 32, page 7:

The Democratic-controlled 1st session of the 84th Congress caused President Eisenhower's batting average on his legislative program to drop to 0.463 from the sparkling average of 0.646 the previous Republican 84th Congress gave him in 1954, Congressional Quarterly weekly report reported August 12.

The publication, a private journal of Washington, D. C., which specializes in congressional affairs, said the batting average compilation indicated the extent of Mr. Eisenhower's success with his requests to Congress.

Congressional Quarterly said it tabulated 207 Presidential requests to the recent session, including 31 requests resubmitted to the 84th Congress from the 83d Congress. Of this total, Congressional Quarterly said the 84th Congress approved 96, or 46.3 percent. On the other hand, the Republican-led 83d Congress received 232 legislative requests, and approved 150 for an average of 64.6 percent. The publication said only specific requests for legislative action by the President himself were used for the compilation.

Newsweek magazine said in its issue of August 15 that President Eisenhower's criticism of the Democratic Congress for failing to enact important parts of his program "underscored this fact: Of his 200 most important recommendations, only 52 were passed. The year before, with a Republican Congress, the President had got 150 of his 232 recommendations through."

Republican National Committee news release dated October 20, 1954:

EISENHOWER GOT 53 PERCENT BETTER COOPERATION FROM CONGRESS THAN TRUMAN DID

President Eisenhower got 53 percent better cooperation from Congress in enacting his proposals than Truman did during his administration.

Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said that an analysis of a box score compiled by an independent and nonpartisan news service organization in Washington, the Congressional Quarterly, shows that as a leader Mr. Eisenhower did remarkably better with Congress than did his predecessor.

For the 6 years from 1947 to 1952, Mr. Truman got 42.9 percent of his proposals approved by Congress. Mr. Eisenhower did 53 percent better than that, getting 65.9 percent of his proposals adopted in the 2 years of the 83d Congress.

In considering the 64 key or major legislative projects proposed by the President to the Congress this year, the score is even better. President Eisenhower got 54 of these enacted into law, for a batting average of .840. The Congressional Quarterly tabulates all the proposals submitted by the President to Congress.

Mr. Hall pointed to the comparison as a convincing reason for electing a Republican House.

In Washington with Harold Lovre, volume 8, No. 29, dated August 2, 1956:

It's too early to evaluate the work of this Democratic-controlled Congress, but it can already be shown that much less support

was given to President Eisenhower's legislative program than in the session ending 2 years ago. In 1953, under a Republican-controlled Congress, the President received 73 percent support and in 1954, 65 percent approval. Under the Democrats this fell to 46 percent in 1955 and probably will be around 35 to 40 percent this year. He was citing Congressional Quarterly figures.

Newsletter, Your Washington Review, by Congressman JERRY FORD (Republican, Michigan), August 23, 1956:

According to figures of the Congressional Quarterly the Democrat controlled 84th Congress backed President Eisenhower on 72 percent of the 192 rollcalls in both sessions that presented clear-cut tests of support for his views. In comparison, the Republican 83d Congress supported Ike's position on 164 or 83 percent of 198 rollcalls involving his legislative program in 1953 and 1954. According to this same nonpartisan digest my overall box score supporting President Eisenhower in the 84th Congress stood at 91 percent. In this last session which ended several weeks ago my Ike batting average was 94 percent.

Newsletter, memo by Congressman JOHN W. BYRNES (Republican, Wisconsin), July 31, 1956:

IKE SUPPORT

It is perhaps symptomatic of the President's popularity that one of the Democrat leadership's boast, as Congress adjourned, was that the Democrats had given Ike 75 percent of what he asked for. Unfortunately, this boast does not square with the compilation made by Congressional Quarterly, a nonpartisan reference service, which stated that the 84th approved 46.1 percent of the President's program, compared to 73 percent of Ike's program enacted by the Republican 83d Congress.

SUPPORT OF DEMOCRAT PROGRAM

In addition to judging the Congress on how well it supported Ike, the standard set by the Democrat majority itself can be used. Last November, Senator JOHNSON, Senate majority leader, proposed a 13-point "program with a heart"; 42.8 percent, or about half, of this program was enacted. Question: Will Democrats, who like to give Congresses a name, now call the 84th "the half-hearted Congress"?

Mr. Meade H. Alcorn, Jr., chairman, Republican National Committee, on Meet the Press, NBC television program, June 2, 1957:

Mr. ALCORN. One of the major issues will be the fact that we have seen, I think, a very unusual and a very unhappy spectacle during this Congress. Ninety-four percent of the President's program is still unacted upon and is still bottled up in Congress. And I think one of the issues, if not indeed the major issue, will be that in 1958 in order to have an effective administration of the people's affairs—unless the people simply want a stalemate and I don't believe they do—the executive should be entitled to have a Congress which will be at least in part sympathetic with the program of the party. In 1953 and 1954 when we had a Republican Congress, the President of the United States was successful in getting about 75 percent or 76 percent of his program through; in 1953 well over 60 percent; I think 65 percent in 1954. Then when we had a Democrat Congress come in in 1955 and 1956, the Congress gave him about 46 percent of his program. Now those figures don't lie and they demonstrate—(interruption).

These figures cited by Mr. Alcorn are taken from Congressional Quarterly tabulations.

Robert C. Crane, publisher, Elizabeth (N. J.) Daily Journal:

We find this material the best and most succinct reporting on the Washington scene, as well as the most educational material we can use in our columns.

Barry Bingham, editor, The Louisville (Ky.) Times, The Courier-Journal:

The Courier-Journal finds Congressional Quarterly news features a source of unusual and interesting material which is not available elsewhere. We believe it adds to the thought content of our paper.

J. Walter Greep, editorial writer, Lubbock (Tex.) Avalanche-Journal:

Since most editorials on present day topics require considerable research, your service renders a real service to the editorial writer.

Edward Lindsay, editor, Lindsay-Schaub Newspapers:

We find Congressional Quarterly material quite useful in our editorial pages, both daily and Sunday. In the main, it is not only factual and thorough, but well presented background material on major issues, along with a running reportorial job on the behavior of Congress not available in quite so usable a form elsewhere.

J. R. Wiggins, executive editor, the Washington Post and Times Herald:

We find the material from Congressional Quarterly extremely helpful and useful, not only for publication, but as background and reference.

Wright Bryan, editor, Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer:

We use Congressional Quarterly primarily as reference material for our editorial writers and our Washington Bureau. Occasionally we publish some of your material as prepared by you.

Arden X. Pangborn, editor, Oregon Journal:

Congressional Quarterly not only provides us with innumerable exclusive news stories, many of them vitally important to our own Northwest area, but also offers an invaluable editorial page reference service.

Its completeness, accuracy, and impartiality insures its constant use.

John Whalen, editorial page editor, Mitchell (S. D.) the Daily Republic:

I think Congressional Quarterly is doing a bangup job of providing important background and other supplementary information on issues involving Congress and the executive branch. What's more, it is doing so in a fearless and unbiased manner. We use Congressional Quarterly largely as documentation in editorials but also occasionally run the articles as editorial page features.

Richard F. Pourade, editor, the San Diego Union:

The makeup of Congressional Quarterly enables us to break complex issues up into many parts so that the reader does not become confused with an intermingling of facts, opinions, controversy and debate. The reports are strictly objective and the arguments separated and well balanced.

Leslie Moore, executive editor, Worcester (Mass.) Telegram:

We find the Congressional Quarterly quite valuable. Our Telegram staff uses it regularly both for reference purposes and for background articles on the editorial page. The material is accurate and highly informative.

Robert G. Spivack, Washington Correspondent, New York Post:

I have found Congressional Quarterly the single most valuable service we get since I have been in the Washington Bureau of the New York Post. It's especially useful in preparing my column, "Watch on the Potomac." I can't calculate how many times I have referred to it or, for that matter, how much money it has saved my newspaper on research.

Reed Sarratt, executive editor, Winston-Salem (N. C.) Journal:

We find Congressional Quarterly material useful. We use it primarily in our editorial page department for reference purposes. We also print approximately half of the Congressional Quarterly new features.

James Osborn, editor and publisher, the Yuma Daily Sun:

I thought you would be interested in knowing that I have had quite a number of favorable comments on my use of Congressional Quarterly material. I use it from time to time in my page 1 column, Editor's Notebook.

Of course, we also use it to put the local or Arizona angle into features and editorials, too.

P. S.—Your special service of telegraphing the rollcall votes of the Arizona delegation we find is well worth the extra cost.

James R. Doran, editor, the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News:

We have found Congressional Quarterly to be invaluable for background and a gold mine of information political and otherwise.

Kenneth MacDonald, editor, the Des Moines Register and Tribune:

We find Congressional Quarterly valuable as an up-to-date reference work on congressional voting, status of legislation, position of congressional leaders on specific issues and other facts bearing on the legislative picture.

J. J. McManus, editor in chief, the Boston Post:

We use the Congressional Quarterly news features in both the daily and Sunday Posts and have for years. Even without the features, however, the Congressional Quarterly service would be invaluable because of the weekly reports, which provide a complete and well-indexed source of information on everything that happens in Congress. These reports have saved us from more than one printed boner when our library was unable to come up with the right answer.

WHAT PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SAID AT HIS WHITE HOUSE PRESS CONFERENCE

We have seen numerous Members from the Republican side saying different things on different days about Congressional Quarterly.

I would say to my Republican friends that it is not a matter of the Congressional Quarterly at all.

What is involved here is support or lack of support for the President's program—no more, no less.

What will the opposition do with articles from the New York Times and other publications which discuss the lack of Republican support for the President.

Are we to believe that this, too, is all a part of a Democratic-hatched plot?

Is anyone so gullible as to believe that these articles in stanch Republican newspapers and magazines are misinformed and uninformed?

For that matter, are we to believe that the President at his White House news conference does not know what he is talking about when he discusses the lack

of support for his program in the Congress?

Let our critics explain the articles from the New York Times of May 23 by James Reston and W. H. Lawrence, which I include here.

For that matter, look at what transpired at the President's White House news conference on May 22, when the President replied to Robert J. Donovan, of the New York Herald Tribune, and W. H. Lawrence, of the New York Times.

All of you saw on the front page article in the New York Herald Tribune Monday morning, June 17, by Rowland Evans, Jr. The title, not by Congressional Quarterly, nor by me, but by this great Republican house organ is as follows: "President Presses Drive for Unity in Congress." I include this article as part of my remarks.

My Republican friends may argue that, after all, the New York Herald Tribune, the New York Times, and other publications are wordly journals smelling of the market place and inclined to be cynical.

I don't think that they are, anymore than I think Congressional Quarterly is politically biased and New Dealish.

So I give you this remarkable article from the Christian Science Monitor of Thursday, June 13, 1957.

The article was written by William H. Stringer, Chief of the Washington News Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, and here is what Mr. Stringer says:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of June 13, 1957]

EISENHOWER TRIES SUASION ON BUDGET BALKY

(By William H. Stringer)

WASHINGTON.—At the White House they tell you:

"Wait and see. The President's battle for his budget and legislative program isn't over yet. Maybe the President didn't get into the fight too late after all. We may win out yet."

This could be wishful reasoning. So far, the presidential drive seems to have gotten results on the foreign-aid bill. Defense cuts are touch and go. Civil-rights legislation, the school bill, are in jeopardy. Yet budget cuts are biting as deep as first threats indicated.

EFFORTS STEPPED UP

But whatever the ultimate result, the White House has most certainly stepped up its drive to get Mr. Eisenhower's program through Congress. If one merely tabulated the number of phone calls to Capitol Hill, or the number of lawmakers dined quietly at that executive restaurant inside the White House, the scope of the effort to persuade Congress would be apparent.

President Eisenhower is criticized for not working more with the rank-and-file when Congress bigwigs oppose him. It is argued that he should wield a bigger patronage club, should threaten recalcitrant legislators. But at the White House they contend that the drive is more powerful, more varied, than some critics know or would admit. For instance:

1. Of course Mr. Eisenhower works primarily with his GOP legislative leaders. There are the weekly breakfasts, the regular conferences, the presidential phone calls to Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND and Representative JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.

But many an evening, around 6 o'clock, the President will be found meeting with a group of Senators or Congressmen at the White House—a session not on the appointment calendar—to discuss this or that bill.

STRATEGY WEIGHED

The Congress leadership knows of these meetings, but cannot control them. Mr. Eisenhower turns on his friendly persuasion, and more than one lawmaker goes away with his opinions changed to favor the legislation under scrutiny.

2. The Eisenhower political team is giving careful thought how to deal with totally recalcitrant Republican Congressmen back in their own districts. Strategy is not wholly jelled yet, because GOP National Chairman Meade Alcorn is still new on the job. But it's planned to notify legislators whose voting record for Eisenhower is virtually nil that they'll definitely be opposed in 1958 or 1960.

Take a certain Midwest Congressman who has opposed the Eisenhower program and indeed the GPO platform of 1956 far more than he supported it. He would be quietly made aware that a rival Republican candidate for his seat is being built up for 1958. This would be delicate business, but it's under active consideration.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 17, 1957]

PRESIDENT PRESSES DRIVE FOR UNITY IN CONGRESS

(By Rowland Evans, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, June 16.—President Eisenhower is now fully engaged in a concentrated, personal campaign among Republican Members of Congress in behalf of his program that has no equal in recent political history.

It was understood from qualified sources today that the President means to do no less in the months ahead than exert his personality directly on virtually every Republican in Congress, those in both the Eisenhower and conservative wings of the party. He has always, of course, had intimate weekly contacts with the Republican leaders in both the Senate and House. These leaders are about equally split in political belief between orthodox and modern Republican thinking.

In the last 2 or 3 weeks, it was learned, the President has invited some 20 Republican Senators, in small groups of 3 or 4, to hour-long conversations with him in the White House. Secrecy has cloaked these intimate sessions. The Senate visitors do not appear on the White House official calling list. The meetings have taken place in late afternoon or early evening. Participants are asked not to discuss them.

The President, it was understood, means to carry his campaign through the entire Republican membership in the Senate. His technique among the more numerous Members of the House is to invite Republicans in groups of 40 to breakfast with him at the White House.

Other evidence of the President's unprecedented campaign to gain and retain the support of congressional Republicans was a letter he wrote a week ago to a young California Republican, Representative CHARLES S. GUBSER. Mr. GUBSER, in a speech to the Republican State committee in California, had made the following assertion: "Some of our most faithful allies in the cause of promoting republicanism have contributed materially to what could be our downfall and what could also be the greatest landslide victory the Democratic Party has ever had."

The speech denounced "sniping criticism" against the President by the conservative Republican "Eisenhower wrecking crew." It said that "if modern republicanism becomes a nasty word, the word Republican will become obsolete."

After reading a copy of the speech, the President wrote Representative GUBSER: "A speech like yours on May 25 * * * is more heartening to me than perhaps you might realize. Always the easiest course in public affairs is fault-finding; the harder thing to do is to justify and explain and to correct misrepresentation.

"The harder course you have taken, and you have risen to the challenge, in my opinion, remarkably well. My conviction is that your approach is sound politically as well as sound factually, for I have yet to see solid facts stray far from good politics."

NEW INFLUENCE SEEN

The President has manifested his new role as active shepherd of the Republican flock in other ways. When Senator FREDERICK G. PAYNE, Republican, Maine, returned to the Capitol after a long illness, the President called him on the telephone to welcome him back. That might seem the most natural kindness in the world, but there are those who feel that in other days the President might not have felt such a responsibility.

Debate and voting in the House and Senate the past week show a level of Eisenhower support among the Republicans that seemed to be absent earlier in the session when his record peacetime budget was the fattest pitch in the ballpark. On final passage of the foreign-aid bill, only 8 Republicans voted against the new program, as opposed to 17 Democrats, including some whose political records show strong internationalist convictions. In the critical House vote rejecting the jury-trial amendment to the President's civil-rights bill, an estimated 40 or so Republicans left the Eisenhower fold. Previous estimates held that between 70 and 100 would support the Southern position.

NEW ENTHUSIASM

The prospect today is extraordinarily favorable to passage in this Congress, and probably in this session, of the civil-rights program. Although the Federal school-building program appears to be quite dead this year, enactment of civil-rights legislation would carry out a relatively substantial part of the Eisenhower program.

It is still too early to measure the full impact of the new and cozy Eisenhower campaign on either the party as a whole or the legislative program. What could be said is that the President has instilled a new enthusiasm among his strongest Congressional adherents to continue what up until very recently was a lonely and exposed fight. The Eisenhower Republicans have taken new heart, and they are hoping the President's efforts will attract new supporters and weaken the conservative opposition in his own party.

[From the New York Times of May 23, 1957]

(Excerpt from transcript of White House news conference, May 22, 1957)

Robert J. Donovan, of the New York Herald Tribune: "Mr. President, last week, sir, you were asked if you intended to punish Republican Members of Congress who didn't go along with your program. Leaving out the question, the concept of punishment, would you be more disposed to support those who do back your program and less disposed to back those who do not, next year?

Answer: "Well, if you want to make that statement within reasonable—and what I would call logical—grounds, I think it will be a pity if ever we tried to organize in this country political parties that are based upon slavish inherence to every detail and concept of government that can be advanced, because then you will have nothing but a whole group of splinter parties, probably 170 million political parties, as far as I can see. Therefore, each party should encompass a very great deal—I mean a very wide range—of political thinking.

"But, I do believe this: when a political party gets together and agrees upon a platform and that platform is presented to the American public as the political basis on which they are going to try to conduct the Government, if elected, they should remain true to it.

"I believe they should stick with it through thick and thin unless conditions so change that anyone would understand that some change would have to be made in this platform. So, I have no right and no desire to punish anybody. I just say this: I am committed to the support of people who believe, as I do, that the Republican platform of 1956 must be our political doctrine."

NOT "NAMBY-PAMBY"

W. L. Lawrence, of the New York Times: "Mr. President, to carry Mr. Donovan's question a step further, if I might, sir, in previous elections, both 1952 and 1956, you have always supported every Republican who was running for the Senate or the House without regard to their voting record. I am wondering whether that will continue to be your attitude in 1958, or whether you do have some degree of enthusiasm with which you support those who help you, and those who don't do anything for you?" [Laughter.]

Answer: "Now I hope that I will never be accused of being so namby-pamby that I don't have degrees of enthusiasm about people that stand with me and those that stand against me.

"Now, what I do want to make clear is this: I most earnestly believe that the Congress and the White House should be occupied and controlled by the same party, whenever this is humanly possible that this could be done, for the reason then you can fix responsibility."

[From the New York Times of May 23, 1957]

EISENHOWER BACKS FULL GOP SLATE—BUT FEELS MORE ENTHUSIASM FOR SUPPORTERS OF GOALS THAN FOR OTHERS IN 1958

(By W. H. Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, May 22.—President Eisenhower declared today that Republican Senators and House Members who backed his legislative program would get his enthusiastic backing for reelection.

But he pledged support, at the same time, to all Republican Senate and House nominess in 1958 without regard to their voting record on his legislative program.

"Now I hope that I will never be accused of being so namby-pamby that I don't have degrees of enthusiasm about people that stand with me and those that stand against me," the President said amid laughter.

He said it was important for the Republicans to control Congress as well as the White House, "and to that extent, of course, I am for whoever the Republicans of any particular State or district nominate.

"But when it comes down to who I am for enthusiastically, and who I am for merely because they are Republican, is a very wide difference," General Eisenhower declared.

KEEPS SWORD SHEATHED

By this answer at his news conference, the President once again refrained from using a political weapon some of his most ardent supporters think he ought to employ to command a greater degree of legislative support and party discipline. These men would have the President make room on his political coattails only for the Republicans who generally support the White House program.

He reiterated his statement of last week that he had no desire and no power to punish those of his own party who opposed his program. He said it would "be a pity if ever we tried to organize in this country political parties that are based upon lavish adherence to every detail and concept of government that can be advanced." Each party, he said, must encompass a wide range of political thinking.

"But I do believe this," he continued. "When a political party gets together and agrees upon a platform and that platform is presented to the American public as the political basis on which they are going to try to conduct the Government, if elected, they should remain true to it."

Once again, the President pledged to continue working to advance his legislative program by seeking to persuade individual legislators to back it. But again he declared his intention to respect the organization of the Congress, and not to deal with individuals behind the backs of anybody.

WON'T BE BLOCKED

At the same time, he made it clear he would not let the leadership veto any proposal he might have to seek votes of other legislators.

"If the leadership of Congress is definitely against a project in which I am interested," he went on, "I am not barred, and by no means do I ever expect anyone to try to bar me from seeing the individual Senators or Congressmen that I believe are sympathetic and can help. But the point is—you always go first to the leadership and notify them of what you are doing."

General Eisenhower declined an invitation to analyze the reasons why his smashing reelection victory in 1956 had not been followed by more general support for his program in this session of Congress. His questioner said recent public-opinion polls had shown that the President's popularity had fallen sharply.

"I believe that these so-called popularity curves tend to go up and down," he said. "This is the simple way I go about it; I made at least a limited campaign in 1956—at least limited as compared to 1952—and I took the Republican platform and I spoke for it and I made my pledges and promises to the people based on that platform.

"I intend to carry it out to the very best of my ability."

He said that all other Republicans who spoke in 1956 had accepted the platform at least implicitly if not explicitly and that those who disagreed with him now must put up something constructive in its stead.

[From the New York Times of May 23, 1957]

EISENHOWER FIRES BACK—A STUDY OF PRESIDENT'S INITIAL MOVES TO USE HIS POWER TO PRESS PROGRAM

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, May 22.—President Eisenhower has shown in the last 2 days what can be done when he mobilizes Presidential power and personal influence behind a legislative program.

In what have probably been the two most effective days of his second administration, he has regained the initiative over the opposition in his own and the Democratic Party. And he has done it merely by using instruments that have been available to him all along.

First of all, he has dominated the news. He is now, and always has been when he wanted to be, the principal source of news and information in the Nation.

This is a source of strength that he allowed to decline through the months of February, March, and April. And, as always happens, the vacuum was filled by his political opponents.

Second, he brought back to Washington for last night's television speech on mutual security the best speechwriter he has ever had—Emmet J. Hughes of the Time-Life-Fortune organization. Accordingly, this speech had bite and direction.

Third, he and his White House staff have been on the telephone with influential Members of Congress in the last week in a serious effort to pull the Republican Party together.

And, finally, today he used the Presidential news conference as it can and should be used: To inform, to follow up on major policy pronouncements, to clarify and to remind the Congress and the Nation that he does not intend to have his authority whittled away without a fight.

FOLLOWTHROUGH IMPORTANT

The question now is whether he will keep going. Both in golf and in politics, his backswing has always been better than his followthrough. Last week, he beefed up his first television address on his budget as a whole after alarmed warnings from the Republican House leader, JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., of Massachusetts, and then minimized the whole performance by an I'm-not-mad-at-anybody attitude in his news conference.

Today, however, he followed through on last night's speech. Without abandoning his habit of avoiding personal criticism of his opponents, he made clear this morning that he is not going to treat his opponents precisely as he treats his supporters during next year's Congressional election campaign. And he promised a fight for his program.

This important change has not come about without a great deal of private and public pressure from individuals and institutions that have long been in his corner.

David Lawrence felt obliged this morning to remind him that, after all, he did have the power of veto over the Congress.

And Time magazine, which has not been his most severe critic in the last 4 years, remarked this week that his first television message was the closest thing to a political flop that Ike has ever had.

The surprising thing in all this is that it has taken the White House so long to turn around. The storm warnings have been up ever since the collapse of the administration's Middle East policy last winter.

OFF TO A BAD START

The Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Humphrey, rallied the budget-cutters against the President even before the big book had gone to Capitol Hill.

And the Democrats, starved for an effective issue, rushed into the breach in the unaccustomed role of defenders of the national economy.

Nevertheless, it was not until the President's best friends warned him that nice guys finish last in this kind of an executive-legislative struggle that he began to shift the emphasis this week.

Can he now maintain the initiative?

The feeling here is that he can if he will. The Democrats are divided and highly vulnerable to counterattack on the budget issue.

Even the most partisan of opponents have nothing to gain and the Nation has a lot to lose—by eroding the President's prestige 3 years and 8 months before the end of his term. And though his popularity may have suffered a little with the general public in the last few months, he is still the only political lion in the den.

RIGHT WING VULNERABLE

Even the right wing of his own party is highly vulnerable and leaderless. They maintained power only as a result of the President's personal popularity. They did not protest against a popular New Dealish Republican Party platform that was bound to be extremely expensive if its promises of collective security abroad and social security at home were to be redeemed.

And the President started reminding them of this platform in his news conference today.

Primarily his problem is one of articulation and political organization. He is not set up on a permanent basis to do the job of articulation. All his major political problems are highly complex—the budget, mutual security, defense policy.

All require vivid, and especially constant, exposition. But when he got in a jam this week, he had to summon Mr. Hughes from private life, and now that last night's speech is over, Mr. Hughes has gone away.

There is nothing in the present situation, however, to prevent him from mobilizing the articulate members of his party.

MORE NEWS CONFERENCES?

Men such as McGeorge Bundy, the Harvard dean, and William G. Saltonstall, the principal of Phillips-Exeter Academy, are only devoted supported of his administration, but also are in a position to mobilize like-minded Republicans in the universities and elsewhere. There are more of them than the White House realizes.

Nor is there anything in the Constitution that limits him to occasional news conferences. He can have, not two a month, but two a week if he likes, and he demonstrated today that when he wants to do it, he can be an effective advocate and keep his program from being overwhelmed on the front pages of the newspapers.

Finally, the record in Washington is full of evidence on how to organize administration support in the Congress. What General Eisenhower said last night about his so-called foreign aid bill is precisely what Franklin Roosevelt was saying about the lend-lease bill 16 years ago: namely, that the country could either provide a man and a gun or, alternately, provide the gun and let the allies provide the man.

The difference is that President Roosevelt organized his supporters in the Congress during the lend-lease debate. He established a system under which his backers on the Hill were in close liaison with the executive officials who had the facts.

ANSWERS WERE QUICK

And when damaging attacks were made on some aspect of that program, some administration supporter, selected in advance got on the phone at once for the effective facts and counterarguments.

Thus the debate was kept in balance under conditions that were much more adverse to the administration than those that pertain today.

Fortunately, these tasks of articulation and organization are not the kind of thing that puts too much physical strain on the President. He has come to enjoy the news conference. His gifts of personal persuasion with the legislators are still immense. And effective means of passing information quickly from the executive departments to the Hill can be arranged.

The point, therefore, is not whether the initiative can be maintained, but whether it will be maintained. And that is largely up to the President himself.

MEADE ALCORN CONCEDES EISENHOWER LOSS

After all the fuss about the accuracy or lack of accuracy of the figures in Congressional Quarterly I was astounded to find in the New York Times of June 3 a news story headed "Alcorn Concedes Eisenhower Loss."

The Times article jumps right into the middle of the argument and begins forthrightly in this way:

Meade Alcorn, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said today that it is not unusual for a second-term President to lose influence with members of his own party in Congress.

Mr. Alcorn, appearing on the National Broadcasting Co.'s television program Meet the Press, conceded under questioning that President Eisenhower might have undergone such a loss. But he said that the President's influence with the country, as distinct from Congress, was as great as ever.

I include this remarkable article here for the information of my colleagues. I say "remarkable" because we find the chairman of the Republican National Committee saying on television what the members of the President's party refuse to admit on the floor of this House.

I also include an article by George Dixon, a syndicated columnist, from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Thursday, May 30, 1957, entitled "Have Republicans Switched Horses Under Ike?" I include, too, an article from the Trentonian written by Lyle C. Wilson of United Press Association.

I include here, also, the lead editorial from the New York Sunday Times of June 2, 1957, which says in part:

President Eisenhower repeatedly makes the point that things would be better if both the executive and the Congress were in the hands of the same party—naturally, he thinks the party should be Republican—so that there could be a focusing of responsibility. However valid in theory his argument may be, the split control between White House and Capitol does not afford a satisfactory explanation for the poor legislative record that has been rolled up thus far. Until recently the President has done little leading even of his own party.

[From the New York Times of June 3, 1957]

ALCORN CONCEDES EISENHOWER LOSS—SAYS DECLINE OF A PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS NOT UNUSUAL IN A SECOND TERM

WASHINGTON, June 2.—Meade Alcorn, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said today that "it is not unusual" for a second-term President to lose influence with members of his own party in Congress.

Mr. Alcorn, appearing on the National Broadcasting Co.'s television program Meet the Press, conceded under questioning that President Eisenhower might have undergone such a loss. But he said that the President's influence with the country, as distinct from Congress was as great as ever.

The Republican leader brushed aside a statistical survey showing that on 20 major issues in this Congress the Democrats had supported the President far more consistently than the members of his own party.

He said that "when the chips are down," as in unsuccessful attempts in the House last week to restore cuts in the Defense Department budget, most Republicans voted with the President.

The key vote, on a motion to send the bill back to the Appropriations Committee and restore $313 million of the $2,500,000,000 cut by the committee, was 242 to 151. A total of 203 Democrats and 39 Republicans voted against restoring the funds and 140 Republicans and 11 Democrats voted to restore them.

SEES DIFFERENCES WHOLESOME

Mr. Alcorn denied that there had been any split in the Republican Party over the President's $71,800,000,000 budget for the fiscal year 1958, which begins July 1, 1957. But he admitted that in recent regional meetings over the country he had found "a widespread belief that the budget should be cut if it could be cut without endangering national security."

He termed this a "wholesome differences of opinion * * * that will ultimately result in a stronger Republican Party."

He said he did not believe that the Eisenhower budget would be a factor in the congressional elections of 1958.

Mr. Alcorn refused to speculate on whether Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, on the words of a questioner, "has it made" for the Presidential nomination in 1960. He said he had never discussed with President Eisenhower whether the President would take a hand in the selection of a nominee, but said he assumed the President "would make his influence felt."

He said he thought the results of the 1958 elections would "have a great deal to do with the nominee in 1960, and with whether he's successful or not."

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 30, 1957]

HAVE REPUBLICANS SWITCHED HORSES UNDER IKE?

(By George Dixon)

House Republican leaders, who confer with President Eisenhower every Tuesday approached the White House for this week's meeting with a pious prayer on their lips that Ike had not seen the latest rundown sheet on their legislative performance. They came away temporarily relieved, at least. If the President had seen the form chart he made no mention of it.

A complete breakdown of the voting records of every Member of the House of Representatives has been made, however. It is enough to make Ike wonder if he hasn't secretly been unhorsed. He once declared he wouldn't change horses in midstream. The compilation should make him wonder if the GOP Congressmen didn't change horses on him, before he even saw the stream.

The horseplay is epitomized, by Mississippi. The six Ol' Miss' Representatives, all Democrats, have been voting as if they were Republicans.

They've been voting against the President.

The breakdown reveals that Congressmen who bellowed loudest in the last election campaigns, "Help me to help Ike," have been giving him the least help and that those who promised to fight him have been giving Ike the most support.

On every piece of legislation on which the White House has taken a position, Ike has had more support from the Democrats than the Republicans. There have been no exceptions.

The GOPsters talk about Eisenhower popularity, and "I Like Ike." Well—Franklin D. Roosevelt hit the bottom of his popularity with Congress after he tried to pack the Supreme Court, and Harry S. Truman lost popularity after a series of controversies in 1946. But at no time in their Presidency did either have less support from their party than Dwight D. Eisenhower is getting from his, right now.

It's beginning to seem as if "modern Republicanism" is still so new the GOP Congressmen haven't yet heard of it.

Let us take a few closeups: House Democratic Leader JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, campaigned last year on the slogan, "Elect me to stop Ike." He has voted with the administration 95 percent of the time.

House Republican Leader JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., ran as an "I Like Ike"-er. He has voted with the White House 55 percent.

Of the 435 Members of the House, not 1 has gone all the way with Ike, but 7 have gone 95 percent. Six of these—MCCORMACK, MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois; CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma; ROBERT E. JONES, of Alabama; CARL D. PERKINS, of Kentucky, and DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania—are Democrats. CHARLES WOLVERTON, of New Jersey, is the lone Republican.

There are two gentlemen named Bass in Congress. Perkins Bass, a Republican from Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams' New Hampshire, voted with the White House 29 percent. Ross Bass, a Tennessee Democrat, voted with Ike twice as much.

The lone Republican from Texas, BRUCE ALGER, voted to uphold Ike only 9 percent of the time. WRIGHT PATMAN, the Texas Democrat, whose fiscal philosophy most differs from Ike's voted 82 percent for the President.

The Democratic whip (ALBERT, of Oklahoma) has supported Ike 95 percent. The Republican whip, LESLIE C. ARENDS, of Illinois, only 50 percent.

Ike's golfing pal, JACK WESTLAND, of Washington, the former national amateur links champ, went only 50 percent of the way with his fellow divot-digger.

But the blow that struck nearest home was this: Ike's own Congressman, in Gettysburg,

Pa., S. WALTER STAUFFER, ditched his agrarian constituent on an average of every other vote.

[From the Trenton Trentonian of June 3, 1957]

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS: EISENHOWER FAILS TO REGAIN PARTY COMMAND

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

Events are spelling out for President Eisenhower what it means to be a lame duck Chief Executive. He and his successors are barred by the Constitution from a third term.

What it means is this: The most widely supported President ever put in office by the voters is losing control of his party 7 months after his triumphant reelection.

Eisenhower moved urgently within recent weeks to regain party command. He made two television appeals to the voters for support in his budget battle with Congress. The first speech, dealing generally with the big new budget, seemed immediately to have missed the target.

The President's second speech was devoted to defense and foreign-aid spending, fields in which Eisenhower evidently feels a comforting self-confidence. Most politicians scored that speech as a direct hit.

White House press secretary James C. Hagerty shortly was telling questioners that Eisenhower's fan mail had been weighted heavily in favor of the President's appeal for defense and foreign-aid funds.

Hagerty made no such claim of approval after speech No. 1. It was assumed that Members of Congress also would hear from the home folk with blunt instructions to give Eisenhower the funds he sought. It seems not to have worked out that way.

The House of Representatives stood pat on its defense economies when the showdown votes came this week. The House clipped $2,565,275,000 from defense spending before sending the bill to the Senate by a vote of 394 to 1.

Mr. Eisenhower's loss of party control is not reflected adequately in the fact that only 39 House Republicans deserted him on an earlier key economy vote and that 140 Republicans stood firm. The President's role as party leader should be examined in the light of what he asked the House Republican leadership to undertake.

He asked the Republican congressional leaders to move to restore to the defense bill $1,274,000,000 of the sums lopped off by the committee which sent the bill to the floor. House Republican leaders sought to restore only about one-fourth of that sum—far less than Eisenhower had said was essential to the public safety.

By lowering their sights from the sum sought by Eisenhower to a much lesser sum, Republican House leaders believed they might hold the party line when the vote came. Had they come after the $1,274,000,000 as urged by Eisenhower, a great many more House Republicans unquestionably would have been recorded as voting for economy and against the Republican President.

[From the New York Times of June 2, 1957]

TWO MONTHS TO GO

The 85th Congress convened 5 months ago tomorrow; and as the legislators this week enter the sixth month of the present session, they have very little to show for it. There are only about 2 months to go before adjournment—2 months in which to build up a record of accomplishment that at the present time is almost nil, what there is being largely negative.

President Eisenhower repeatedly makes the point that things would be better if both the Executive and the Congress were in the hands of the same party—naturally, he thinks the party should be Republican—so that there could be a focusing of responsibility. However valid in theory his argument may be, the split control between White House and Capitol does not afford a satisfactory explanation for the poor legislative record that has been rolled up thus far. Until recently the President has done little leading even of his own party. * * *

Senate Republicans as a whole have given Mr. Eisenhower less than normal aid and comfort * * * the Democrats are visibly kicking up their heels as Majority Leader JOHNSON becomes less complaisant toward the President than formerly.

If the President expects to accomplish a considerable part of his program, he has to bear down much harder than he likes to do on his party associates at the Capitol. If he had been willing to use his vast personal popularity to win over a considerable segment of Republicans to his side, there is little doubt that there would have been enough Democratic votes at hand to give him a good deal of what he wants. The evidence is that he is beginning to put on the heat, particularly in the battle over the budget; but the big question now is whether such moves as he may make in this direction do not come too late.

At any rate, Congress hasn't done much during these last 5 months except to express horror over the size of the President's budget and then to hack away at it without much rhyme or reason while at the same time adding to prospective Federal expenditures by passing a few large-scale spending bills of its own. The Senate-approved rivers and harbors authorization, to the tune of $1.5 billion, is a case in point. It is now in the House, where one may not very realistically hope that it will either be drastically reduced or die altogether. Although the House has slashed its way through 11 major 1958 appropriation bills, the Senate hasn't yet passed a single one. Among the few bills of substantive importance that have been approved by both Houses of Congress in the 5 months of this session, there are the President's Mideast program and the tax-extension bill, both of which went through in March, and the housing program, which still has to be ironed out in House-Senate conference.

An analysis made a few days ago by Congressional Quarterly news service shows that of the nearly 200 specific legislative requests made by the President this year, only 6.6 percent have been approved by Congress, 4 percent rejected and more than 40 percent have not been acted on at all, even in committee. This is not an impressive record, especially when one considers that some of the major projects in both party platforms are still waiting in the wings. Civil rights, due for House debate this week; mutual-aid school construction, immigration revision, atomic-energy treaty, Organization for Trade Cooperation, Alaska-Hawaii statehood, aid to small business, minimum wage, campaign spending and lobbying regulations, item veto, billboard control, Niagara power—these are a few subjects of more than ordinary interest that need the attention of Congress. Not one of them has been completed by either House and some of them haven't even been started.

THE REPUBLICAN SCHISM

What is really at stake here, then, is not the Congressional Quarterly at all, as I see it.

I believe it is what the President says it is, a question of support for the Republican platform.

As the President says:

When a political party gets together and agrees upon a platform and that platform is presented to the American public as the political basis on which they are going to try to conduct the Government, if elected, they should remain true to it. I believe they should stick with it through thick and thin.

And the President said:

Now I hope that I will never be accused of being so namby-pamby that I don't have degrees of enthusiasm about people that stand with me and those that stand against me.

The difficulty of healing the Republican schism is a difficult one, because it is practically impossible for anyone or any two in the Republican Party to agree on what the Republican Party stands for.

I would like to document this statement of mine with the following quotations from Republicans across the country and Members of the Congress as well.

Dwight Eisenhower, press conference, November 14, 1956:

It is a type of political philosophy that recognizes clearly the responsibility of the Federal Government to take the lead in making certain that the productivity of our great economic machine is distributed so that no one will suffer disaster, privation through no fault of his own.

Now, this covers the wide field of education and health and so on, but we believe likewise in the free-enterprise system. We believe that it is free enterprise that has brought these blessings to America.

Therefore, we are going to try our best to preserve that free enterprise, and put all of these problems in the hands of localities and the private enterprise of States wherever we can, because it happens that the great difference, as I see it, between myself and people of a philosophy that believes in centralized government is that I believe, to have this free enterprise healthy, you must have, first, integrity in your fiscal operations of the Government; second, you must preserve a sound dollar or all of our plans for social security and pensions for the aged fall by the wayside, they are no good; and thirdly, in this dispersion of power.

Meade Alcorn, GOP national chairman, Baltimore Sun, March 19, 1957:

Then what does modern Republicanism really mean? Couldn't it be described as dynamic conservativism? Couldn't it be described as Republicanism alive, vibrant, responsive, and aggressive? If this be true, then all of us are modern Republicans.

Clarence Buddington Kelland, former executive director of the GOP National Committee and national committeeman from Arizona, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 19, 1957:

Shall the Republican Party drag along, pale, anemic, lifeless down the middle of the road? * * * Are we going to adopt this heresy known as new Republicanism? * * * New Republicanism betrays every historical tenet and principle of our Republican Party. * * * I repeat and emphasize that the first Eisenhower election was in no sense a Republican victory but a personal Eisenhower victory * * * indeed, it was a Republican defeat * * * a national emotional orgy deriving from a sort of paroxysm of impassioned enthusiasm for the personality of Mr. Eisenhower.

Gov. Goodwin Knight, U. S. News & World Report, May 3, 1957:

As a modern Republican, I like to feel that, if I had been living 100 years ago, I would have stood with Abraham Lincoln.

A "GOP Demosthenes," quoted by John O'Donnell, New York Daily News, February 19, 1957:

I'll be damned if I know what this modern Republicanism is, but I've got a 20-minute spot on a broadcast to explain it. Thank

God it isn't a quiz program. Two years ago I got stuck with the job of telling the voters what Ike meant when he said we now had a party of "dynamic conservatism." That time I got trapped by having to answer questions. I like Ike, but I'd like to wring the necks of those smart boys who think up the labels and then take a runout powder when the going gets rough.

Representative JOHN TABER, of New York, U. S. News & World Report, May 3, 1957:

I do not know what a modern Republican is, but the difference between a modern Republican and one of the old-line Republicans is that a modern Republican does not think things out as carefully or as fully as the old-line Republicans used to.

Bertha Adkins, assistant chairman, GOP National Committee, Louisville Courier-Journal, May 11, 1957:

The Republican principles we've always had, being used to meet today's problems. There's nothing divisive about it.

New York Herald Tribune, November 9, 1956:

The challenge to the Republican Party is spelled out in boxcar letters. It is to reshape itself as a modern party, an Eisenhower Republican Party of ideas and popular appeal which seizes opportunity and responsibility.

Sacramento Bee, November 24, 1956:

Couched in such phrases the new Republicanism emerges as the old Republicanism altered only by forced acceptance of gains in the field of social responsibility established by the New Deal. * * * The real thinking of the present Republican leaders is represented by hard money, the starving of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the curtailment of Federal hydroelectric projects and a general rigging of tax laws and administrative agencies so big corporations get the lion's share of the pelf. The deviations in the present administration which depart from the more blatant and rampant "old guardism" are caused by acceptance of the inevitable.

Dwight Eisenhower, press conference, January 30, 1957:

Question. Would you spell out or define the difference between your philosophy of modern Republicanism and the so-called New or Fair Deal policies of the Democratic Party?

Answer. Well—and again I have done this, I assure you, before—but fundamentally the difference is this: I agree that there are many functions now performed by Government * * * that would have been unthinkable only as much as 50 years ago. * * * But this is what I say:

If we have respect for the kind of economy, for the institutions that have brought us to where we are today, with our productivity and our power, and our advance in every type of civilization on the intellectual, the educational, the health, physical, moral side, we will understand we must preserve the initiative of the people, which, in my opinion, means Government as close as possible to that person where he can take the maximum interest in it and influence it to the maximum degree.

If we don't have that kind of thing, he begins to say money comes from Washington or help comes from Washington free, and he wants more all the time, because it is coming from an outside source. Where he is paying all or part of that, he says, "Let's look at this with a jaundiced eye."

So the difference is this: I believe that, first of all, the Government must be honest fiscally. * * * I fail to find any such philosophy in what you called the New Deal. I believe in the decentralization of power geographically, back to the geographical units where it is best exercised, and finally, I believe in preserving the soundness of our money, in the interests of all of the people who are going to live on pensions and retired pay.

Representative CLARE HOFFMAN (Republican of Michigan), U. S. News & World Report, May 3, 1957:

Question. How would you define a modern Republican?

Answer. A New Deal internationalist.

Representative A. L. MILLER (Republican of Nebraska), U. S. News, May 3, 1957:

I would define a modern Republican as a free-wheeling, free spender who has surrendered his constructive conservatism to ride the current New Deal bandwagon.

Washington Post, April 17, 1957:

Eisenhower Republicanism is not necessarily modern Republicanism, Representative EDWIN H. MAY, Jr., of Connecticut told the Evening Political Study Group of the League of Republican Women of D. C. last night.

Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune, April 7, 1957:

The budget in its purposes and scope represents modern Republicanism in action.

Fletcher Knebel, Washington Star, March 22, 1957:

Modern Republican: A fellow who joins the New Deal 20 years late—then claims he invented it.

Indianapolis Star, November 25, 1956:

President Eisenhower recently outlined his views on what a modern Republican Party should stand for. His suggestions were, in our opinion, contradictory for they sought to expand the Federal Government's activities in the fields of health, education, welfare, highway construction and so on, while at the same time the President called for "dispersion of Federal power" and decentralization of governmental functions to protect free enterprise.

John O'Donnell, New York Daily News, February 13, 1957:

The decision of National Committee Chairman Alcorn's ghost writers to proclaim that the present Republican organization was a party of "inclusion" raised some eyebrows among the boys who looked the word up in their unabridged congressional dictionaries. With a whoop of delight, they were circulating around Capitol Hill the Webster definition that Alcorn's "inclusion" means: "A foreign body, gaseous, liquid or solid, usually of minor size, inclosed in the mass of a mineral."

Dwight Eisenhower, press conference, January 23, 1957:

Well, I don't know where it (the leadership for a program toward modern Republicanism) originates. I don't know why anyone should be stopped from having a good idea and putting it into effect. Certainly I am going to stand for it with my full might, and I think that the major figures in the Republican Party, the vast majority of them, believe the same thing and, certainly, the chairman of the national committee has the responsibility.

Edgar Bundy, president of Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club, New York Post, February 10, 1957:

The challenge has been thrown out by modern Republicans and the battle is on. We shall lay plans to drive out of Washington the weak-kneed men in Congress who have surrendered congressional prerogatives to the White House.

United Press dispatch, May 22, 1957:

Representative USHER L. BURDICK defined a modern Republican as a "yes man" who lets the Eisenhower administration do his thinking for him. The North Dakota Republican said the typical modern Republican "probably rode into Congress on the President's coattails and seeks further security by saying 'yes' to whatever he wants."

RICHARD M. NIXON, New York Times, May 15, 1957:

I should hope that all Republicans would want the party program geared to the problems of the modern age. I don't wish to divide Republicans into groups. The President's program is the program of the Republican Party.

Representative NOAH MASON, Republican, of Illinois, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 31, 1957:

Ike's new Republicanism is a form of bribery, a program to buy votes with the voters' own money.

Meade Alcorn, Washington Post, February 13, 1957:

You wouldn't take a 1957 car, pull out the engine, and attach a horse to pull it, would you? Modern Republicanism is the engine that gives power, force and direction to a program designed to meet and solve the problems of today. We aren't changing the fundamental beliefs that were enunciated in Lincoln's day and continue to live today. We aren't uprooting one stone of the foundation that made our party great. But we are modernizing the superstructure.

Chicago Tribune, February 15, 1957:

It takes more than ballyhoo to sell something to the American people. You have to have a product, too. The product that Mr. Eisenhower and the palace guard are trying to foist on the public is underengineered and overpriced. The shell has been stretched until you can stick your finger through it. It's the worst gas eater ever put on the road. It's loaded with gadgets that the average driver will never find useful. And, worst of all, the design was stolen from last year's Democratic model. The original is still on the market. Selling modern Republicanism is like selling Japanese scotch in Edinburgh. The natives know better.

Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune, April 26, 1957:

It doesn't take fancy words to define modern Republicanism. Modern Republicanism is the 1956 Republican platform and it will be obsolete in 6 months only if the Republican Members of Congress make it obsolete by repudiating important parts of it.

George Rothwell Brown, in New York Journal-American, February 15, 1957:

To conservative Republicans of the old school it means the beginning of a new progressive movement similar to that of Theodore Roosevelt's in 1910 which wrecked the party in 1912.

Mrs. Robert Gunderson, GOP national committeewoman from South Dakota, Milwaukee Journal, May 15, 1957:

This phrase refers to persons not normally considered Republicans but who supported President Eisenhower in his two campaigns.

Meade Alcorn, New Orleans Item, April 8, 1957:

Modern Republicanism is the belief in an adherence to all of those traditional principles which have made our party great, but with one important added ingredient—a sense of mission.

Representative RICHARD M. SIMPSON, Republican of Pennsylvania, Cincinnati, Ohio, February 12, 1957:

The modern Republicanism in which I believe is the Republicanism of Lincoln and Taft.

Arthur Larson, U. S. News & World Report, May 3, 1957:

Modern Republicanism is simply Republicanism as it has been adapted under President Eisenhower's leadership to mid-twentieth-century responsibilities.

Chicago Tribune, February 5, 1957:

Modern Republicanism is in almost every aspect the welfare state. We shall spend and spend and spend, and tax and tax and tax, and everybody will be happy.

Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 19, 1957:

Modern Republicanism is not something brand new, dreamed up recently. * * * Republican policies today are the expression of our party's great century-old principles, dressed in the clothing of this current age.

Dwight Eisenhower, press conference, May 15, 1957:

I thoroughly believe that any modern political philosophy that fails to study carefully the needs of the people today, not of 1860, of today, what do they need, by the complications that have arisen in our industrial life, in our economy, how are they going to get along, how are they going to take care of themselves in their old age, what happens if they are disabled and can't work for 5 months or so?

I believe the Federal Government cannot shut its eyes to these things, no matter how much it tries to work through States and get these responsibilities assumed by the States and the localities, it must assume some leadership.

I believe that unless a modern political group does look these problems in the face, and finds some reasonable solution, sticking as nearly as possible to the theory of the limited powers in the Central Government, then in the long run we are sunk, and that, I say, I have become more and more convinced, as I see the amount of money grow and grow in that regard, and I believe, therefore, I am more conservative than otherwise since 1952.

Chicago Tribune, February 15, 1957:

Thomas J. Curran, Republican chairman of New York County (Manhattan) had pointed comment on the sales campaign for Mr. Eisenhower's gimmick. "We live in an age in which articulate press agents make inarticulate politicians talk like philosophers," he told members of the National Republican Club.

"What's in a name?" And they said that our friend from Michigan goes too far in his political retaliation against the Congressional Quarterly.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. No political retaliation at all. I did not even read the Congressional Quarterly to learn my standing. It was only when some of my colleagues called my attention to it and, of course, I pay no attention to it as far as making any decision as to how I should vote.

The thing I was concerned about, and the gentleman touched it, was when they advertise they are an authoritative publication and call it the Congressional Quarterly I think many people believe it is an official publication because we have the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and we have many reports coming out of congressional committees which are official.

Let me say this, I have no right, no one has the right to complain about what the other fellow is thinking or saying as long as the facts are not misrepresented, and even if each is entitled to express his opinion.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Then the United Press got into the act with a story which appeared in the Washington, Pa., Observer May 31, in which it said, the lead was: "HOFFMAN Wants Protection for the Word 'Congressional.'"

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I prefer not to yield until I have completed my statement.

Mr. CRAMER. But on the very matter touched by the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield very briefly.

Mr. CRAMER. I would like to suggest to the gentleman that even the newspaper edited by the owner-publisher of the Congressional Quarterly also misleads the general public in accepting it as the official word of this Congress because it carried this article on the first page of the editorial section on May 11, 1957, by the owner-publisher, in the St. Petersburg Times, my hometown morning newspaper:

The extent of the congressional revolt is demonstrated in the Congressional Quarterly survey of support of the President in the 85th Congress. It shows that so far in 1957 the Congress backed the President on 61 percent of the rollcall votes, while in the Democratic 84th Congress—ahead of the 1956 election—its score was 72 percent; and in the GOP 83d it stood at 83 percent.

So it is clearly evident that the title of this magazine is clearly intended to give the general public the impression that the Congressional Quarterly is the official word on how people vote in Congress.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CRAMER. That demonstrates the problem that the gentleman from Michigan, my distinguished coueague [Mr. HOFFMAN], is interested in.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. McCARTHY. Unless we and the American people do have some independent evaluation of this kind, we and they would have to accept either what the Republicans said about their record in support of the President or what the Democrats said about their record in support of the President. Insofar as the public is concerned, it is clearly better to have an independent publication passing judgment than to have two partisan reports on the same question.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I quite agree with the gentleman. The gentleman's point is very well taken. After all, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIMPSON] made an analysis. I think even he would not pretend his analysis was objective or nonpartisan any more than one which our distinguished leader [Mr. KIRWAN] would offer.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am sure that the gentleman agrees with me that the editors of the Congressional Quarterly must labor under a considerable disability in deciding which particular position of the President they are going to use as a standard, since his position on the same issue often varies from time to time.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. It is difficult, and I shall point out an example or two of that later.

Mr. McCARTHY. I remember the Republicans out our way before the 1952 elections were for a flexible price-support program.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. McCARTHY. Suddenly they found that the President was for 90 percent support; they then turned around and supported the President. They went down the road with him; then in 1954 the President came out against 90 percent supports.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I will have to ask that those words be taken down because the gentleman says "Republicans."

Mr. McCARTHY. The Republican candidates for Congress in the rural districts of the State of Minnesota. I was speaking of the State of Minnesota. This is the difficulty: First they were for flexible price supports and after the expression by the President in support of 90 percent, they came around to support him. They went down the road supporting him; then suddenly he veered off to 85 or 82½ percent.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Would not the gentleman agree with the development of last year, for instance, the President's initial stand—or the initial stand of his spokesman—was one reflecting rigid principles and flexible supports; then it changed to a flexible principle and rigid supports.

Mr. McCARTHY. Then we got to the point where they were both flexible.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Oh, yes. Now they are both fluid.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think that is about the story. There is the additional problem for the Quarterly editors; namely, that even when the President does not get what he likes, he generally likes what he gets, if from Republicans.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I agree thoroughly with the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I state, Mr. Speaker, that we are not proceeding in regular order. If the gentleman is going to yield to the gentleman from Minnesota, there should be a request of the Chair that he do yield. I have been trying to get the gentleman's attention and the Chair's attention to ask the gentleman to yield to me. Unless we follow the regular order, we cannot continue this.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I will say to the gentleman——

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I am speaking to the Chair and I am asking that the regular order be followed. If the gentleman wants to yield to the gentleman from Minnesota and will not yield to the gentleman from Missouri, all right, but let us follow the orderly procedure.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McGOVERN). The gentleman's point is sustained. The gentleman from New Jersey will proceed in order.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I decline to yield at this time, but I am going to yield to the gentleman in a moment because he was courteous enough yesterday to yield to me.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. The point I wanted to make is this, that the Congressional Quarterly does not confine itself to the use of the term "Congressional" in its title. The point I was making—and, in fact, I think it shows what they are up to—is their use of the byline on their front page "The Authoritative reference on Congress." So, it goes beyond this type of private enterprise that the gentleman was speaking of that used the term "Congressional."

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. The reason I am bringing it up is that the two should be considered together. I might agree with the gentleman that we ought to do something in all areas where use is made of the name "Congressional," but in this particular case of the Congressional Quarterly, we are confronted with the title plus the use of a by-line "The Authoritative reference on Congress."

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank the gentleman, and I will consider that. I might point out that the phrase to which he has referred is in quotes. Now, where they quote it, I do not know.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I think I am right in saying it is not in quotes.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I will be glad to look into it with the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. It is not in quotes. It is "The Authoritative reference on Congress." I put it in quotes when I used it in my speech, but it is just a straight out byline.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I think the rules of the House should be obeyed as far as referring to Members of the other body is concerned. That can get into a ticklish point. I think the gentleman should refrain from such references.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will proceed in order.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Republican Memo dated July 21, 1955.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I insist on the point of order with regard to references to the other body or Members of the other body.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, may I address myself to the point of order?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will hear the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The quotation which I am about to give, and I certainly concede the point on the other matter, is from the Senate Republican policy committee. That is not an official body of the Congress of the United States any more than Old Senator Whisky is, and I trust that I can quote it.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, if I may speak to the point of order, I think the reason for the ruling is a good one. I know I have insisted on it on occasions when my name was mentioned in the Senate, because I was not able to answer there nor was anyone in the Senate able to answer here. It was unfair. It creates a difficult situation in connection with the amity between the two bodies. The reason for the ruling there would apply to the specific case the gentleman is now embarking on.

Mr. McCARTHY. May I ask whether the gentleman from Missouri is referring to the remarks of the gentleman from New Jersey about the Senate Republican committee?

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I might say "Yes." Any reference to the Senate involving the action of the individual Members of the Senate should not come on this floor.

Mr. McCARTHY. The gentleman would not say that the Senate Republican committee was an official organ of the Senate?

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. The rule of the House relates to reference to Senators. If you want to refer to a Republican political organization, that could be done.

Mr. McCARTHY. The gentleman would not object if we referred to the Republican Senate committee?

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I think the rules of the House refer to a reference to a Senator. I should like to see the debate go forward. I think the gentleman can make his point without referring to Members of the other body.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would request to the gentleman from New Jersey that he not refer to any Member of the other body or to the body itself or any part of the body.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, does the Chair consider that the Senate Republican policy committee is a part of the other body?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from New Jersey eliminate the word "Senate"?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank the Speaker.

Mr. CRAMER. A point of order, Mr. Speaker. Does the ruling refer to other references preceding this point?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my references preceding this point to the Members of the other body all be deleted from the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank the gentleman and I appreciate the spirit in which the criticism is made.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. I wonder if the gentleman would venture an opinion as to whether, in the event that Republican percentages compiled by the Congressional Quarterly show an improvement in the next issue of that publication, there would be similar protests from the Republican side, or even from the Democratic side?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I would say this to my friend from Minnesota. Yes; I think there will be protests but they will be diminishtd because clearly under the procedures established by the Congressional Quarterly, the batting average of the Democrats is going to go down since the last capituation.

Mr. McCARTHY. In other words, there will be some protests from some of the Republicans no matter what the record shows.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Oh, yes.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think the gentleman might point out that the press has recently been pointing out that the Republicans have been giving more support to the President than they were giving him earlier in this session.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes; I have an interesting relation of the history of that phenomenon, I might say, to follow.

Mr. McCARTHY. I wonder whether the gentleman would care to make an observation on the fact that this change in support came very shortly after he and a number of other Democrats sent a communication to the White House, informing whoever might have read it, that the President, if he was really interested in his program, did not really have to go to the American people or to the Democrats, but that it would be advisable for him to try to influence the Republican Members of Congress.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I might say to the gentleman that we did send such a communication and that in response to it former Gov. Sherman Adams, the Presidential assistant, wrote each of us a very nice letter thanking us for our support, and asking that we continue it and saying that they intended to see into this thing.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. McCARTHY. The gentleman will recall that some time after Mr. Sherman Adams read our message he spoke to the Republicans at Trenton, N. J.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes; he did. That is my hometown.

Mr. McCARTHY. The burden of his speech was that unless the Republicans did support the President the Democrats might obtain some advantage. Was not that the burden of his speech?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes; he said that very clearly, and he indi-

cated that the incumbent of that particular district, who is myself, might very well be reelected, if he seeks reelection, if this continues.

Mr. McCARTHY. And following that first statement by Mr. Sherman Adams the President made a speech to the Republicans in which he indicated that the terrible thing about the failure of Republicans to support him was that this failure might result in a Democratic advantage.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. He did, and he pointed out to the Republicans that they have a platform which he considers a pledge and that they had better get behind it. We have particular reference and quotes from the President on this subject following here.

Mr. McCARTHY. I assume the gentleman is hoping as some of the rest of us are that the President will continue the breakfasts of ham and eggs for Republicans, that he will continue to call Republicans in Congress by their first names; since the press reports that these methods have moved the Republicans to their recent strong support of the President as we are approaching some of the really controversial pieces of legislation such as the foreign aid program.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes, indeed, I hope he does; and I, and I know that you, and the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT], the gentleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF] intend to do whatever we can to support the President's foreign aid program.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I submit that in not inquiring if the gentleman will yield the rest of us are put to a disadvantage, and that has not been done. If he wants to ask a question he should first ask the gentleman to yield; otherwise we have this Amos and Andy performance that is going on. My point of order is that the gentleman has not been proceeding in order, that there has not been a regular yielding, and it makes it impossible to gain the attention of the gentleman from New Jersey to ascertain if he will yield over on this side.

Mr. McCARTHY. I have no further requests to make of the gentleman from New Jersey. I appreciate his courtesy and the consideration of the Chair.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Following this point: I would hope that the gentleman from Missouri did not intend to characterize the gentleman from Minnesota or myself as Amos or Andy or either one.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. The performance was that, not you as individuals, but the performance was.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Or it might have been an Alphonse-Gaston performance also.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Certainly.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Whether we have an Amos and Andy performance or an Alphonse-Gaston performance, I yield to my friend from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I was very much interested in the statement by the gentleman as to the support they gave the President. Will they continue that support of the President's program?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Certainly, that part of the program we approve.

Mr. CRAMER. I would suggest to the gentleman——

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield further to the gentleman.

Mr. CRAMER. I would suggest to the gentleman that he go back and look at the record of the vote on the corn bill, and the bill with the national defense increased funds amendments, and many other votes that are included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the vote on the Patman resolution, also on House Resolution 190, a bill from the Democratic side saying that the President should send up a new budget in the opinion of the Democratic side.

If you are with the President, you support him. If you do not, you do not. I suggest the gentleman put in the RECORD the vote of those who signed the telegram on the issues I have mentioned, as an example, and such other issues as he might see fit to include. I submit that in each of these issues the majority of the signers of the telegram opposed the President's position.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. That already is in the RECORD, as the gentleman well knows, because all rollcalls are in the RECORD. It may be perfectly well for the Congressional Quarterly, before or after it changes its name, to list any of them. I would also say to the gentleman from Florida that we should include yesterday's vote on rollcall No. 115 in support of the score because the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN], said on page 8552 of the RECORD:

> It is one of the features of President Eisenhower's great humanitarian program to help the people. Floods and disasters respect neither individuals nor sections. They come unexpectedly to all people. We should all realize the necessity of doing something about this problem. Realizing the scope of recent disasters, the President would like to construct a program of aid. The President is in favor of this program.

The gentleman from Florida voted against that as did the gentleman from Missouri. Now, if the gentleman will permit, I should like to continue.

Mr. CRAMER. One point, if the gentleman will yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I opposed the amendment partially because it would cost, eventually, $5 billion and the program has not been adequately developed. I would suggest to the gentleman there is no use trying to shift responsibility. The chairman of the committee and the majority membership of the Appropriations Committee disapproved the flood insurance item and that committee is in the hands of the gentleman's own party. It was their recommendation that we were voting upon and which I supported.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I concede that it certainly was the recommendation of the chairman of the committee and of the subcommittee who were in opposition. This does not alter the fact it was the President's program that the minority leader voted for with Democratic votes which were cast in favor of that proposition against the chairman of the committee and of the subcommittee and but for the Republicans who voted against it, who should have supported their President, this Nation would have flood insurance today, and the gentleman knows it full well.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The gentleman declines to yield until he gets further into these quotes. Then I will be delighted to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I might say I have to take a few seconds here and there to delete that word which we discussed a while ago.

A Republican memo dated August 18, 1955, says about the Congressional Quarterly:

> The publication of a private journal of Washington, D. C., which specializes in congressional affairs said the box score was so and so and it tabulates that. I shall include this in the RECORD.

The Republican National Committee news release of October 20, 1944, headlines "Eisenhower Got 53 Percent Better Cooperation From Congress Than Truman Did."

Leonard Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said:

> An analysis of the box score compiled by an independent nonpartisan news service organization in Washington, the Congressional Quarterly, shows that Mr. Eisenhower did remarkably better with Congress than did his predecessor.

He stated that the Congressional Quarterly tabulates all of the proposals submitted by the President to the Congress.

In Washington a former Member of the House, Mr. Lovre, said on August 2, 1956, that he had supported the President X number of times. I will include this in the RECORD.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Does not the gentleman think it is rather unfortunate politically to have the chairman of the Republican National Committee go up to New England, as he did yesterday, and accuse the Democratic Congress of refusing to vote a flood control program when, in effect, it was his own party that defeated it.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I do, indeed. I think if Mr. Alcorn had been fair, presuming that he was really for flood insurance as the President was, that he would have laid the responsibility to the chairman of the committee, to the chairman of the subcommittee, Democrats, and to the Republicans and the Democrats who voted against it; absolutely.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. As one, incidentally, who voted against flood insurance, I would say that there was no question during the debate that the leadership, supplied on the Democratic side of the aisle was against it. Mr. MARTIN, the minority leader on the Republican side, was for it. I might state in regard to my own position—and it has a bearing on the issue of the Congressional Quarterly—that I always reserve and always have reserved the right of my own position as to the correctness of these measures. I have been able in the past to support the President overwhelmingly in a majority of the cases. But, the point at issue is not that so much but as to whether or not the Congressional Quarterly has abided by its own standards of selecting votes which show Presidential support, and I wish the gentleman would address himself to those specific things and not talk about collateral issues.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I am not talking about collateral issues.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I am talking about the 22 issues or 22 votes that the Congressional Quarterly used according to their standards, and I made the charge that they did not comply with their own standards.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I regret saying this because I have great respect and affection for the gentleman from Missouri, but it is my considered opinion, having read everything that has been addressed to this subject since May 22, the gentleman's record, the record of his colleagues and that of my colleagues, having studied thoroughly the criteria applied by Congressional Quarterly, that they have indeed—and this has distressed me somewhat, too—not deviated from the standard which they have set. They are using the very same standard they used and which has been quoted by so many Members of the other body, this body, and your national committee.

And I might say to the gentleman that it is early in the ball game. If the gentleman will permit me to get on, we will have 15 minutes or so left to discuss this.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for just one comment on that point?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for just one comment on that point?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. What I am saying is that the debate should confine itself to the very position the gentleman has taken, that they have abided by their own rules. I have detailed in the RECORD and in my speeches here that they have not abided by their own rules and that is what I would like to discuss. I wish the gentleman would discuss how he figures that they have abided by the rules.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I figure they did on the basis which I have set out in my foregoing statement. I have studied it thoroughly. I have a portfolio of information and criteria and I might say to the gentleman that my primary objective today was twofold; first, to suggest amendments to the bills introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN], and secondly, to demonstrate, as was my original intention on May 22d, the lack of support up till that time of the President's program as evidenced by the record.

Now, I have cited the Congressional Quarterly. I have faith, absolute faith in their criteria even though they showed that my support score was lower than that of most Republicans last year. I am citing this and other material to show that you, indeed—and I use "you" editorially——

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. The gentleman may use it personally, if he wishes.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. On that side of the aisle, indeed, have not been up until a very recent date, supporting your President, your leader.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. For instance, 14 of the 22 votes were on 1 appropriation bill. I have written to the Congressional Quarterly and I have challenged them to come forward with evidence that indicates that the President of the United States took a position on those 14 points which, according to their rules of procedure, were proper test votes. The gentleman cannot point to it nor can they, nor can anyone else, because the President did not take any position on those 14 points.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] can and if the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] will refrain from asking him to yield further, I shall attempt to do so.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I have here and I shall include as part of the RECORD testimonials to the Congressional Quarterly from some of the following newspapers:

Elizabeth (N. J.) Daily Journal, a Republican newspaper of my own State.

The Lubbock (Tex.) Avalanche Journal.

The Washington Post and Times Herald; the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Oregon Journal; the San Diego Union; the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram; the Winston-Salem Journal; the Yuma Daily Sun; the Harrisburg Patriot-News; the Boston Post; and others.

We have seen numerous Members from the Republican side saying different things on different days about the Congressional Quarterly. I would say to my Republican friends that it is not a matter of the Congressional Quarterly at all. What is involved here is support or lack of support for the President's program, no more, no less.

What will the opposition do with the articles from the New York Times and other publications which discuss the matter of Republican support?

Do you gentlemen mean to tell me—and I shall extend at this point the rest of my remarks so that we will have time for colloquy, if you will give me about 2 more minutes—do you gentlemen mean to say that the President has not had to make an effort to stiffen support from the Republicans for his program? Do you mean to tell me, gentlemen, that the article in the Christian Science Monitor of June 13, 1957, entitled "Eisenhower Tries Suasion on Budget Balky," which I shall put in the RECORD, is an untrue article from a biased or partisan Democratic paper?

The New York Herald Tribune of June 17, 1957, said, "President presses drive for unity in Congress," referring to the schism in the Republican Party.

The New York Times' transcript of the President's news conference of May 22, 1957, in which Mr. Donovan, of the Herald Tribune, says:

Mr. President, last week, sir, you were asked if you intended to punish Republican Members who did not go along with your program.

He goes on:

The President said, "Well, if you want to make that statement within reasonable and what I would call logical grounds, I think it would be a pity if we tried to organize political parties based on slavish adherence to every detail.

He goes on to say:

But I do believe this: When a political party gets together and agrees on a platform and that platform is presented to the American public as the political basis on which they are going to try to conduct the Government, if elected, they should remain true to it.

Mr. Lawrence of the New York Times asked the President a question and said:

If I could take it one step further.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Although the Congressional Quarterly came into the debate because the gentleman originally referred to it as his basic authority, I do not think there is any question but that there are areas of disagreement in the Republican Party. I would say this to the gentlemen on the other side who give all this advice about the split in the Republican Party that it is sort of like looking at the speck in your neighbor's eye when there is a plank in your own, in view of the basic division that exists between what we might call the southern Democrats and people like yourself who represent northern districts. I hope there is always room for disagreement, and public disagreement, within my party on various issues.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I can assure the gentleman that his wish is going to be fulfilled.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. The issue is there. But I think what the gentleman from New Jersey and some of his colleagues fail to understand is that what some in the Republican Party have been standing for is some responsibility on the part of the Congress, and not to have a rubber stamp Congress such as we experienced in this country during the Roosevelt and the first part of the Truman administrations. The Congress should assume some of this burden as an independent arm of the Government. I think in this debate it is perfectly proper to point out these differences, and to add them up to see whether there is a fundamental difference between Republicans

in the Republican Party, here in the House, for example.

I will put in the RECORD at the proper time an analysis of that because it is my opinion that actually the Republican Party, including our various groups running from the conservative to the liberal, is relatively close together, and any split you might anticipate, I am afraid the gentleman is not going to find occurring. I would suggest that he direct his attention to his own party if he wants to combat the unity of the Republican Party.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Now the gentleman contradicts himself as he talks. He talks about the liberals and the conservatives and other groups within his own party, and then he ends up by saying it is unified. The gentleman is not serious in saying that there is a complete unanimity of thought on that side; is he?

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. No, I said that there was not, but I said it was a basic unity. The differences are aired, and when those differences are ironed out, I think you will find that the Republicans are pretty well all together and pretty well follow a definite philosophy—political and economic and social philosophy just as I submit the ADA Democrats follow one that is pretty different——

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I do not know what the gentleman means by an ADA Democrat. Would he define that?

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I will be glad to. The ADA as exemplified by some of the writings of Leon Keyserling on Economic Philosophy. The personnel composing the ADA follow that particular philosophy in their speeches. I think it is a very definite line of thinking. That is what I am referring to.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. But what is an ADA Democrat?

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I would say ADA Democrats are those who signed the much referred to telegram stating they support the President. These Congressmen tend to follow that line. There will be some deviation, but essentially the economic and social and political philosophy of Leon Keyserling, which is a perfectly respectable one, I want to state, much as I disagree with it, but they do follow that particular philosophy. That is what I mean.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I think, as a matter of fact, the ADA is a perfectly respectable organization.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I do, too.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. But I do not like to be tagged as an ADA Democrat or have my colleagues tagged in that way because I do not know what one is. The term is not definitive enough any more than "Modern Republican" is a definitive term. I had to delete reference made about the other body and, therefore, 20 or 30 definitions of modern republicanism have had to be deleted from this RECORD because of the rules of the House. But there are enough here to prove my point that there is no definitive thing as a modern Republican and, in my opinion, there is no such thing as an ADA Democrat although I must say that in many instances I have agreed with the ADA as well as differed in many instances from the ADA.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Number one, I want to agree with the gentleman with reference to his reference to modern Republican. I do not know what that definition means either although I have tried to follow it. I have tried to pinpoint what I mean by ADA because that is a definite organization of specific people. It consists of certain men who some of whom are well-recognized economists. I want to state for the RECORD that I regard the ADA as an organization, much as I disagree as I say with its economic and political thinking, consists of certain known economists, and I named one of them, Leon Kyserling, who have and expound a definite political, social, and economic philosophy. And I am suggesting that there is a definitive group, and I think the gentleman probably thinks along those lines.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I do not know; I have never seen a compilation of the thinking of the ADA. I do know that from time to time I have agreed with them and have many times disagreed with them.

I have, as has the gentleman, respect for the ADA as an organization. I have respect for the National Association of Manufacturers, for the United States Chamber of Commerce, and I certainly agree that there seems to be some unanimity among the Republicans, but a lot of the time I doubt the unanimity here; it is not reflected in the House. On the floor yesterday we saw the minority leader [Mr. MARTIN] stand up and say "This is the President's program." The whip [Mr. ARENDS] voted against it. The unofficial whip, or assistant whip, or whatever the distinguished gentleman from Indiana's title may be [Mr. HALLECK], also voted against it.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. There might be unanimity here in this body but it is not by any means anything approaching unanimous support by the Republicans of the President's program and of the Republican national program.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Just a moment.

We are under no obligation here, any of us, to do anything more than the gentleman from Missouri has so well stated. He hopes that there will always be the right to act as an individual and that a Member can always follow his own conscience as a guide.

But I say this to the gentleman that if he—and I do not know that he did—endorsed the Republican Party platform, if he said: "I like Ike and I like everything Ike stands for" as my opponent did, he has the obligation to the people to carry out his campaign utterances.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Having referred to the gentleman I yield to him.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I certainly want to say that I did not support any person with unanimity. In my campaign I was happy to state that on the majority of the issues I did agree with the President, and did agree fundamentally; but there were certain things I disagreed with him on, and I still do.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The gentleman from Missouri is not only a distinguished and outstanding Member but he is perfectly honest.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I am certain that his constituents know that, and I mean in no way whatsoever to reflect on the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I thank the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I now yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I was most interested in your remarks about the pertinency of some of these votes and I wish to ask the gentleman in that he stated he has complete confidence in the Congressional Quarterly's standard. If that is the case I would like to address this question to the gentleman: Can you explain under that statement why the vote on the corn bill was included in the House score but not included in the Senate in that analysis?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Has the Congressional Quarterly published as support or opposition the House vote on the corn bill?

Mr. CRAMER. Yes, they have; on the motion to recommit.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Then I must say that I do not know the answer, but I have confidence that the House score which they published is accurate.

Mr. CRAMER. I do not question the accuracy of their tabulation but I do question their interpretation, this method of determining—is or is not a given vote for the President. Can the gentleman say conscientiously that there is any justification at all for eliminating the House roll call on Resolution 190 instructing the President to submit a new budget to the Congress? Would you not say that it was an anti-Eisenhower vote? There is not any question in the gentleman's mind about that, is there?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has again expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The gentleman from Florida asks a question and makes a statement. The gentleman from New Jersey conscientiously believes everything that he says.

Mr. CRAMER. If the gentleman will yield I did not imply that he does not.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New Jersey

conscientiously believes what he says and I am answering. The gentleman from New Jersey has this to say about that fact: That is one fact where there is doubt because of the President's response to the request of the Congress.

Mr. CRAMER. If the gentleman will yield on that point.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. CRAMER. Just on that score, the Quarterly itself states that the basis of their determination is the President's position at the time the vote was taken.

The gentleman's position is based upon something subsequent. These are examples of some of the methods of arriving at a support score that cause me to question that tabulation.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. If that is an accurate statement, I say to the gentleman I hope that the Congressional Quarterly does list that vote as a support or opposition vote. Does the gentleman agree with me that the vote on flood insurance yesterday should be included on the same basis?

Mr. CRAMER. I would not deny it for a moment. I am happy to have it recorded. I voted in opposition.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. There is no fundamental disagreement here. I do hope that the poor beat up, downtrodden Congressional Quarterly is let alone except for the legislation which the gentleman from Michigan has introduced and which I propose to offer an amendment to. We have gotten up to the level we intended originally and from which we deviated. We have gotten it up to the level of a discussion of support or opposition to the President.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I would like to say to the gentleman with respect to the vote on the request of the President in reference to the budget, that there can be no question but what that was a friendly vote for the President, in view of his answer in which he thanked the House for the request and in which he pointed out the area in which he thought the budget could be improved.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. That is precisely why I said to the gentleman from Florida that this is a difficult area.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Address of Secretary Milton at Worcester Polytechnic Institute

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an excellent commencement address recently delivered at Worcester Polytechnic Institute commencement exercises by our distinguished, able friend, Hon. Hugh H. Milton, Assistant Secretary of the Army.

At the same time, Secretary Milton received the degree of doctor of engineering, and his thoughtful, able speech was widely published and widely acclaimed in my district and State.

Worcester Polytechnic Institute is recognized universally as one of our very best engineering and technical institutions. It bears an excellent reputation throughout the Nation and the world as a truly outstanding school, and its graduates have greatly contributed to the cause of science, engineering, good government, and in many other fields.

I was also pleased to note that at the same commencement the honorary degree of doctor of engineering was also awarded to my friend, Hon. Carter L. Burgess, former Assistant Secretary of Defense. I take pleasure in congratulating both of these gentlemen and devoted public servants.

The degree citations follow:

HUGH MEGLONE MILTON II—DOCTOR OF ENGINEERING

It is indeed seldom that a man achieves unusual distinction in two careers. Yet, such a man we honor today.

After service as a field artillery officer in World War I, he received his bachelor of science degree from the University of Kentucky in 1919 and his master's degree from the same institution in 1922. He was appointed to the faculty in mechanical engineering at New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts in 1924 and, in 1935, was appointed dean of engineering. In 1938, he was named president of that college, and he served in that post until 1947, when he accepted the presidency of New Mexico Military Institute. Eloquent testimony of his distinguished stewardship to higher education is the fact that at least four colleges have honored him with honorary doctorate degrees.

During his years of service to higher education, he continued his active interest and participation in the United States Army, graduating from several of its schools and being promoted through its officer grades. During World War II, he was advanced to the rank of brigadier general and fought in several campaigns in the Pacific theater. In 1951, he was recalled to active duty as a major general and placed in charge of Reserve and ROTC affairs for the Department of the Army. In 1953, he was appointed to his present post of Assistant Secretary of the Army.

For his conspicuous and distinguished services and achievements in higher education and in national security, Worcester Polytechnic Institute is honored to confer upon Hugh Meglone Milton II, the honorary degree of doctor of engineering.

CARTER L. BURGESS, DOCTOR OF ENGINEERING

(In absentia)

It was readily evident in this young man's career that his rare administrative talents destined him for unusual achievements.

Initially, he so stood out among his fellow volunteer Army officers during World War II that he rose in rank from second lieutenant to colonel, during which time he served in such responsible posts as aide de camp to the chief of staff of European forces; assistant secretary of the General Staff, Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Forces in Europe; and administrative secretary at the Casablanca Conference in 1943. Thereafter, he further served our country as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of administration, and as deputy executive secretary of the International Secretariat at the United Nations Conference in 1945.

Reentering private enterprise, he served as assistant to the president of Trans-World Airlines, Inc., and later in an executive capacity for the General Aniline & Film Corp. In 1953 higher education enjoyed his remarkable abilities when he became assistant to the president of the University of South Carolina. Even at this time, he found the energy to serve our country again as consultant to the President of the United States on White House staff organization and on Cabinet and staff organization, as well as to act as adviser to the Under Secretary of State on staff organization.

In 1954, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performance in this post attracted national commendation, notably the Defense Department's highest civilian award, the Certificate of Appreciation, for his "outstanding contribution to the national security." He has also been awarded the Legion of Merit, French and Belgian D'Honneur and Croix de Guerre, and the British Order of the British Empire.

Earlier this year, he assumed the presidency of Trans-World Airlines, Inc., thus becoming one of the youngest and yet, best-proved of executives in both American enterprise and Government administration.

For his conspicuous achievements in national security and in private enterprise, and—perhaps most of all—for the example and inspiration he is to American youth, Worcester Polytechnic Institute is honored to confer upon Carter L. Burgess, the honorary degree of doctor of engineering.

Secretary Milton's address in part follows:

ADDRESS AT THE WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE COMMENCEMENT GIVEN AT THE AUDITORIUM BY MAJ. GEN. HUGH M. MILTON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE ARMY FOR MANPOWER, RESERVE FORCES, AND PERSONNEL

Dr. Bronwell, members of the graduating class and friends, as I sat here and looked over this group gathered here on this Commencement Day, I suddenly realized that I have today completed a full cycle in the academic phase of my lifetime. Once, just as you, I sat as an undergraduate and listened ot the commencement speaker extol the challenge of the future. As a professor I remained on the sidelines and watched my students at a similar ceremony which culminated their undergraduate work, and like you, Dr. Bronwell, as a college president I have also conferred many degrees. And so today it is I who stand here as the principal speaker at your commencement to breathe once again the atmosphere of the campus and of the classroom.

There is another and more important phase of today's ceremony which I have also shared. Mrs. Milton and I sat where you parents sit when our son completed his college work. In all humility and with humble pride I believe that as a parent I felt the deepest sense of accomplishment.

PRICELESS CONTRIBUTION

You parents have made a priceless contribution to these young people and to the future of this great Nation of ours. I pay you sincere homage for I realize the willing sacrifices which you have made. Today your dreams will become a reality.

Perhaps you graduates do not realize it but while you have looked forward to this day for several years, they mom and dad, have looked forward to it since the moment of your birth. It was at your mother's knee and in the home where most of you received the moral strength and the courage to pursue these long years of study and of acа-

demic work which has prepared you to meet the challenge of the future—a challenge greater than that which has confronted man at any other time in civilization's long and tedious march.

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TREMENDOUS ADVANCES

Civilization today is in the midst of tremendous scientific and technological advances. The United States during the past half century has achieved a position of eminence merited by few nations since beginning of mankind. Our Nation has become a leader of the free world—a champion of peace—and a defender of freedom and liberty.

This position of international leadership was not sought after by the United States as a national policy; however, it has become our lot and we shall not repudiate the faith and the confidence of our neighbors in today's complex community of nations.

America's leadership in this new and uncharted era imposes a responsibility of greatness. It can be met only by a whole people, and will be achieved only if the people have responsible leaders—leaders who have been trained to think precisely and to act calmly and deliberately.

ENORMOUS REQUIREMENT

In the fulfillment of these responsibilities our Nation has generated an enormous requirement for just and positive leadership. It is about this which I should like to speak to you today. To each of you who is completing his undergraduate work I issue the greatest challenge.

It is well for us that the past has bestowed its gifts upon us in such generous measure. We have a renewed and imperative need of them. We now live, not in splendid isolation, but in intimate political contact with a world which modern technology has shrunk in terms of travel time to an area smaller than that of the 13 colonies at the time of the American Revolution.

In the same sense, Worcester is now closer to Moscow than it was to New York City at the time our forfeathers founded this Nation. And while frontiers are thus shrinking, population has been increasing at an almost explosive rate. It took the world a million years, more or less, to produce its first billion live human beings. It has taken less than a hundred years to produce its second billion, and we may expect a third billion to be added before the century closes.

BROAD TOILING MASSES

At this moment these broad toiling masses have for the first time the opportunity of a fuller and less burdened life. Science is at hand to spread a more bountiful table. Chemurgy yearns to overflow the cornucopia. Within the last half century the American farmer with two-thirds less labor has learned to produce one-third more corn per acre under cultivation. Our agricultural Middle West is the granary of the world just as the industrial heartland of our Nation has become the arsenal of democracy.

Shorter hours of labor, greater assurances against individual misfortune, a broader culture, a more consciously realized sense of social justice are the treasures which after all these generations of impotence and confusion are now within the reach of humankind.

We and our allies throughout the free world are sincere in our desires that every man, woman, and child in this troubled world have the opportunity to share in these benefits to mankind. We realize, however, that great segments of the world's people are not permitted to echo the hymns of peace nor chorus the songs of freedom and liberty. A rule of men, not laws, exists in many lands. Starvation still stalks among the people and disease continues to harvest its needless crop. This then is the challenge—our Nation is fertile to the cause of individual rights and social privileges of the individual—our liberties have been nurtured by the blood of our countrymen who in freedom's cause chose death rather than to relinquish these God-given rights of man.

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That the United States has achieved its present position of world leadership is due in large part to our great leaders of the past. That we continue to maintain this position of eminence in the future you—the leaders of tomorrow—must insure.

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The tremendous advancements which are heralded by the release of the atom's energy will tax the best brains of the world for many generations. The application of the atom to industry promises an even greater challenge.

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VISTA IS BOUNDLESS

That Alexander the Great wept when he believed there were no more worlds to conquer demonstrates the narrowness of his vision. You need have no narrow vision—the vista of tomorrow is as boundless as the universe—the expectant world waits.

If we but grant mankind only the wisdom to avoid self-destruction the possibilities for the future are breathtaking in their import.

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The fall of Rome, the Renaissance, and the industrial revolution swiftly and profoundly altered both the nature and the tempo of man's existence. As our great social structure went through its evolutions the people who comprise that society were required to exert themselves to the utmost in a series of great leaps in order that they not be left behind in the impersonal and ever-moving march of progress.

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NEW LEVEL REACHED

Today the accumulative consequences of the industrial, economic, and political revolution of the last century together with our present-day scientific and technological revolution have brought us to another of those climactic points in humanity's long march.

Some of us are beginning to see that the attitudes, the thought patterns, the state of intellect and the spiritual preparation which have served us so well in the past may need revitalizing or revision if they are to continue to serve us fruitfully in the trying years ahead. The requirements of today, as we stand upon the threshold of tomorrow, are particularly exacting for all free men.

This is in many ways a sick and troubled world. As we look into tomorrow, it is for each of us to decide whether we shall raise our eyes to the brightness and purity of the stars or cast them into the darkness, groping our way through the gloom of ignorance and pettiness.

WISDOM REQUIRED

The problems of a distraught world are beating on our door with insistence. If we are to solve them and go forward to a better tomorrow, we must use all our skill, our wisdom, and our resolution.

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And I ponder what it is that has caused empires like ancient Rome and democracies like ancient Greece to have passed from the scene of human action and influence and to have left nothing but this ruin of stones as a symbol of their once great promise to mankind.

It seems to me that those nations, once great but now gone, were in their days of decline made up of individuals who had lost their sense of personal responsibility to themselves, to their fellow man, and to their nation. The citizens of Rome and Athens sacrificed their individuality to the state. The individual had no responsibility to support the state, but rather the state was responsible to support the individual.

We today must keep reminding ourselves over and over again that the individual is the only true carrier of social value. The group has no identity apart from individuals who make it up. It is idle to speak of society or the government or the community as independent actors in the human drama. Nothing ever happens in government, in society, or anywhere else until a person, by himself or in concert with others, puts his hand, his mind, and his heart to some task.

For good or evil, the world's work is ultimately performed by individuals. We shall stand or fall in the future, not in response to some blind and random thrust of determinism but according to the way in which we as individuals solve our many problems. Since so much depends upon the individual, it is of importance that our social institutions allow him to fulfill to the maximum the potential of his individuality.

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And lest we feel discouraged, let us remember that modern man, with his appreciation of beauty, his regard for truth and fair play, his great range of sentiments which include love and tenderness and a consciousness of the unity of brotherhood, is tremendously advanced over the savage, inarticulate brute he was 10,000 years ago.

Imperfect as they admittedly are, our human relationships have progressed a long way since the time when slavery was a universally accepted institution, and people offered up their children as living sacrifices to the sun. We have a long way yet to go, but we shall get there by solving our social problems, not by folding our hands and pronouncing them to be impossible of solution.

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We shall also have to free ourselves of some intellectual hobbies which keep us from thinking clearly. There is the mental inertia which makes us prefer the evils we have to those we don't know about. There is emotionalism which blinds and distorts. There is ignorance and laziness. There is fear of failure, fear of the criticism associated with being unconventional.

Worst of all, perhaps, there is the sheer inertia generated by habit which sometimes we seem almost powerless to control. Having been trained by the national and individual habits of a lifetime to make a certain kind of response to one set of conditions, we find ourselves continuing to make the same old response even though the conditions have changed. Like the animals in the laboratory experiment, people may out of wrong habits consistently make wrong choices, even with the goal clearly visible ahead.

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Human ingenuity is a basic condition for cultural progress. Another basic condition is the free exchange of ideas. There is no great idea, no great invention which is exclusively the product of any one nation or individual. Some of the principles expressed in the declaration of our independence from England came as much from Englishmen as from anyone else, although their roots were imbedded in the soil of the Greek city-state concept of man's right to certain freedoms.

SOURCE OF PROGRESS

It is only where men can come to know men, sharing ideas, experiences and beliefs, that progress has been possible. This is why civilizations have sprung up along rivers and oceans where easy communication by water made possible this all-important sharing of ideas. It is also why nations who have lived by the sea and who freely made use of its benefits have traditionally been the most enlightened and advanced in their times. Now that modern technology has given man the

physical means to extend his mass communication channels deep into the hinterlands it matters greatly what ideas are thus being communicated.

We must find additional methods of bringing the world's people closer together. We especially owe it to our selves to find ways of building more and better bridges of understanding between the United States and the rest of the world.

There is a compelling need for other people and other nations to see us as we really are—a Nation of plain, healthy, prosperous people whose greatness is due in large measure to our national faith in the gospel of work. They need to see America at work—with our hands and with our heads and with our hearts.

* * * * *

George Washington, our first President, led this fight for freedom in the new world. He helped to establish our Government. He assisted in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence, the guidepost for our way of life, which today is an accepted principle of the way of life which we of the Western world desire.

None of us can follow the career of George Washington, who strode his solitary way to greatness, without a warming glow in our heart. He sought no easy road to achievement; he traveled no short-cut to success. He had a great mind, a keen ambition, and an earnest and humble heart. He was a strong leader of unshakable will and tireless patience.

* * * * *

And so, my good friends, this is the challenge of tomorrow, a challenge to you and to your generation. I so often hear people say, "I am an American citizen, and I am entitled to the rights and privileges accorded to a citizen of the United States." But I say to you today that none of us have any rights and privileges which are solely our own.

TEMPORARY REPOSITORY

These rights and privileges were given to us by our forefathers in the drafting of our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. They have been protected and preserved for us by our parents and our grandparents. We are merely the temporary repository in which they rest today. It is our responsibility to see them handed unblemished to the generations yet to come.

That is the privilege of an American citizen—to pass on to his son and grandson, the freedoms and the principles which were preserved for him by his father.

I am confident as I look forward to tomorrow that we may hold our heads high and raise our eyes to those stars who in their course proclaim that the onward progress of the peoples shall not be barred. And that all of our efforts to perpetuate the spirit of America and to broaden the spirit of individual liberty and freedom so that all men on earth may share it may result in a better and happier tomorrow for all mankind. This is the destiny for which America was created.

Status of Forces Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the current National Legislative Bulletin of the American Legion contains a useful and cogent summary of the status-of-forces agreements—how and why they were negotiated, what their effect has been, and the proposals now pending to rescind or abrogate certain arrangements under them which impair the constitutional rights of American servicemen. The Girard case in Japan has brought the issue to a head in a dramatic way, but the solution will take clear, cool, and probably protracted study and negotiation. The Legion has rendered a useful service toward that end, in its presentation of the problem, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD excerpts from its statement:

STATUS-OF-FORCES AGREEMENT

Thanks to the Girard case, unfortunate as the circumstances are, public interest in the welfare of our Armed Forces personnel stationed in so-called friendly countries has been aroused. This case points to the deviation from American principles of justice which are now authorized by the Agreement of Forces of North Atlantic Treaty, commonly referred to as the Status-of-Forces Agreement which was signed at London on June 19, 1951. It was later ratified by the United States Senate on July 15, 1953 by a 72 to 15 vote. It was approved by the President on July 24, 1953.

Initially, 13 countries joined in the NATO Agreement, in addition to the United States. On September 28, 1953, a similar agreement was signed in Tokyo, covering the United States Armed Forces stationed in Japan. The United States has subsequently entered into similar agreements with other countries.

The stated purpose of the agreement is "to define the juridical status of the forces of one North Atlantic Treaty country when stationed in the territory of another country." (The initial agreements were among North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries but the same principles prevail in other countries where such agreements have been reached.) "The development of a collective military defense in peacetime requires that forces of various countries which form part of the integrated force for the defense of the North Atlantic Treaty area be stationed in the territory of another treaty country." The agreement also recited that it was essential that there be uniformity of arrangements and procedures governing the status and conduct of such forces in countries other than their own, and their relationship to the civilian authorities of those countries.

The agreement undertakes to regulate this relationship by guaranteeing the Armed Forces adequate legal protection and at the same time doing so without infringing on the authority of the military command, fully recognizing the peacetime rights and responsibilities of the civilian authorities in the host countries.

The agreement applies to personnel belonging to land, sea, and air armed services as well as civilian personnel accompanying them.

The part of the agreement of forces which causes the greatest concern is contained in the provisions of article VII which have to do with the authority granted the host country to cope with members of our Armed Forces who allegedly commit crimes while stationed in that country. Said article VII reads in part as follows:

"3. In cases where the right to exercise jurisdiction is concurrent, the following rules shall apply:

"(a) The military authorities of the sending state shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over a member of a force or of a civilian component in relation to—

"(i) offenses solely against the property or security of the state, or offenses solely against the person or property of another member of the force or civilian component of that state or of a dependent;

"(ii) offenses arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty.

"(b) In the case of any other offense, the authorities of the receiving State shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction."

The American Legion has, since 1954, adopted resolutions urging revision of the Status of Forces Agreement. The current mandate is Resolution 135 adopted at the 1956 national convention.

In the 84th Congress, representatives of the American Legion, along with many others opposed to the provisions of article VII above quoted, appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee during July 1955, when hearings were held on House Joint Resolution 309, introduced by Congressman Bow, of Ohio. The American Legion strongly supported Congressman Bow's resolution. The committee withheld conclusions on the matter until March 8, 1956 when, by a 19-to-10 vote, it failed to report House Joint Resolution 309.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

On January 3, 1957, Congressman Bow introduced House Joint Resolution 16. A number of other Congressmen have introduced identical or similar resolutions in the House during the current session. They are pending before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The American Legion has requested permission to testify in support of Congressman Bow's and similar resolutions.

Article XVII of the agreement provides that any contracting party may at any time request revision of any article of the agreement. The request shall be addressed to the North Atlantic Council.

Article XIX provides methods whereby the agreement may be "denounced."

Congressman Bow's House Joint Resolution 16 provides in section 1 (a) that the President shall forthwith address to the North Atlantic Council a request for revision of article VII of the agreement in keeping with the provisions of article XVII above mentioned, for the purpose of bringing about the prompt elimination or modification of article VII so that foreign countries will not have jurisdiction over American military personnel stationed within their boundaries.

Subdivision (b) of section 1 provides that unless the revision mentioned shall have been brought about, the President shall denounce the agreement in keeping with the provisions of article XIX at the earliest date permitted under such article which, in the case of the United States, is July 24, 1957.

Section 2 of Congressman Bow's resolution provides that the President shall forthwith take such further action as may be necessary, with respect to any other treaty or international agreement to which the United States is a party and which contains provisions permitting foreign countries to exercise criminal jurisdiction over American Armed Forces personnel stationed within their boundaries, either to eliminate or modify such provisions so that they will not apply to such personnel, or to denounce and withdraw from the treaty or agreement.

Among the more important reasons advanced by those who seek to modify or rescind that portion of the treaty which permits foreign courts to try American servicemen are the following:

(1) All through American history, the American flag followed our soldiers wherever they went and was their protection;

(2) There is distinct violation of the constitutional privileges and protection for our military personnel under the Agreement.

(3) That today, as soon as they are sent to a foreign country where the treaty is in force, our Armed Forces personnel no longer

have the protection of the Constitution;

(4) They cannot be tried by a jury of their peers in a foreign court;

(5) That any trials held in foreign courts, especially in Japan, take place in a "hostile atmosphere";

(6) That in many countries there is a denial of the right of appeal. In this connection it is interesting to note that some of the countries who are parties to this Agreement have laws which permit the prosecution to file an appeal from a conviction in the event the prosecution feels the sentence of the court was not severe enough to fit the crime

There have, of course, been many other reasons advanced but those mentioned are the most commonly referred to.

One problem that the American people must be prepared to solve is what is their attitude going to be towards troops of friendly foreign countries who may be stationed within the boundaries of the continental United States, and who violate our criminal laws. Are we willing to have these foreign troops tried by the courts of their respective countries, or are we going to insist that they be tried by the criminal court having jurisdiction within the United States?

It is unfortunate that the constitutionality of the Status-of-Forces Agreement insofar as trials of American servicemen abroad are concerned, has not been passed upon by the United States Supreme Court. As above stated, many of our people contend there is a violation of the constitutional rights and protection afforded thereby for our military personnel tried in foreign criminal courts.

The opponents of the treaty take the position that the general rule of international law as laid down by Chief Justice Marshall, and many other later and famous legal authorities, is that troops of a friendly nation stationed within the territory of another country, are not subject to the local laws of the other country, but are subject only to their own country's laws and regulations for the government of the armed services.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in reversing itself in the cases of the two women who murdered their husbands, members of our Armed Forces, adds further confusion to the legal issues involved.

The American Legion urges its members and those of the American Legion Auxiliary and others to interest themselves in this problem.

MILES D. KENNEDY,
Director.

Address by His Excellency Jose M. De Areilza, Ambassador of Spain in the United States, at the Commencement Exercises of Loyola College, Baltimore, Md., Sunday, June 9, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, recently the State of Maryland was honored by the presence of His Excellency Jose Maria De Areilza, Ambassador of Spain in the United States, when he addressed the commencement exercises of Loyola College, in Baltimore, on Sunday, June 9, 1957.

I commend the reading of the Ambassador's address to the entire membership of the Congress, as well as the public at large. I feel his remarks on Communist infiltration and the devious paths this infiltration is taking are significant and should be digested by one and all.

I was privileged not long ago to visit Spain and was delighted to see the good faith on the part of that country. I talked with the people in charge of our foreign and military affairs who were in agreement that our relationship with Spain is highly cooperative and in the best interest of the United States.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the Ambassador's address:

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOSE M. DE AREILZA, AMBASSADOR OF SPAIN IN THE UNITED STATES, AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF LOYOLA COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, MD., SUNDAY, JUNE 9, 1957

It is especially gratifying for me as Ambassador of Spain in the United States to speak before you this evening at the commencement exercises of Loyola College here in Baltimore.

While we are gathered in this friendly and pleasant atmosphere, 130 million European Christians are continuing their daily tragic struggle for survival in the eastern lands of Soviet-occupied Europe. I mention them, not because I do not feel the same pity toward all the other hundreds of millions who are also under Communist domination in Russia, China, North Vietnam, or North Korea. I mention them because from that one-third of humanity which is now subjected to Communist rule, these are free people who, after 15 centuries of European Christian culture, have been thrown into the horrid melting pot of the Soviet Empire without any kind of moral, political, or social justification. The Second World War suddenly brought the frontiers of freedom and civilized life 1,000 miles back to the heart of the Old World and we do not realize to what extent that tremendous historic achievement will change the shape of the whole world itself in the near future. These 130 million European Christians, who are our brothers in faith and culture, have been undergoing the biggest and most atrocious technical process to eradicate the basic principles of their way of life. Since these countries were occupied by the Soviet troops, not only were the intellectual classes, the professionals, as well as the ruling members of society, killed or deported to Siberia, but even the churches, universities, archives, public libraries, and the centers of investigation were annihilated in order to start afresh a brandnew Communist education which is trying to change with a false picture even the past national traditions of these countries. This is one of the greatest challenges of history, and indeed one of the great challenges of our time. As one of the most prominent statesmen in Europe has put it recently: It is a new form of international delinquency which has appeared in the world after the Second World War, with a systematic attack on a free country by international Communists, not only through direct military threat or occupation, but also by the more subtle medium of infiltration, sabotage, occupation of key positions, radio-waved campaigns of smearing and slandering, economic pressure, organized riots, revolutionary strikes, and political assassination. This new terrible form of menace is a big dark cloud hanging over our future, which you young men of America do not realize yet, because you are privileged to live in a strong and free country, far away from the boundaries in which the free world finishes and the world of slavery begins.

And in a parallel way this same world, which, through technological progress of every kind, is becoming smaller day by day, has also discovered the new warfare of thermonuclear bombs and guided missiles. Thus, a whole new era has become apparent to the military minds and all the previous concepts of strategy have become obsolete. The terrific power of thermonuclear bombs, not only for their capacity to destroy human lives, but also for their long-range possibilities of hazardous effects on future generations yet unborn, has filled with deep concern the scientists as well as the statesmen and rulers in every country. Actually, there are only 2 or perhaps 3 great powers which today could wage a thermonuclear war with their own weapons. But the discoveries in that field are progressing so rapidly that it is not difficult to forecast the day in which the thermonuclear weapons could also be manufactured, not only by the big, but even by the small nations. The situation then could become terrific. A new conception of power will compel mankind to revise previous political and international points of view in order to prevent the destruction of civilization.

I should like now to bring to your consideration some of the responses that as a Western European I believe are adequate to that great challenge. I belong to an old country which was a world power in the past, and achieved some important goals in history, such as the discovery of the New World, the propagation of the Catholic faith to hundreds of millions, and the creation of moral principles which sustained the Catholic unity back to the 16th century, and produced such extraordinary human personalities as Ignatius of Loyola, my fellow-countryman of the Spanish Basque provinces, who founded what he called "the Army of Jesus," that is, the Jesuit Order.

As a Spaniard, I have had, along with others of my generation, a personal experience against the threat of communism. That great menace was not so well known to the world in 1936 when my country had to face the danger from the inside; when a left-wing government had given away the key positions of the State to pro-Soviet agents. The Spanish people had to fight fiercely for 3 long years to defend Spain's way of life against the forces of aggression which were attempting to turn our country into the first Soviet satellite state in Europe. Think of all the different circumstances under which the world would have lived in these past 21 years had Spain become a satellite country, located at the entrance of the western Mediterranean Sea, with a strong heritage and cultural influence in the 20 Spanish-speaking countries of America. Think of what could have happened in the Second World War and in these past years of the cold war had we been ruled in Madrid by a pro-Soviet government, manacing the whole system of Western free nations from behind the Pyrenees. Our fight, which was a terrible civil war, was carried out at a heavy cost in human lives, one-half million, and the total destruction of many cities, buildings, and industries. Shortly after we emerged victorious from that fight, the Second World War broke out and we maintained a strict neutrality in order to heal our own wounds and to restore the principles of civilization under law and order. A firm hand was needed, and General Franco provided it with his unimpeachable moral standing and the principles of the Catholic faith.

But when we think now of what remains to be done in the future, we believe that, primarily, it is not only a problem of shaping our national life on the patterns of this or the other political system, with more or less democratic freedoms, but to bring up the new generations, based on the fundamental principles of Christian faith, of per-

sonal dignity, of national pride, of love of country, of her freedom, which, in the long run, are the only foundations that can really bring a substantial antidote against the poison of communism.

Let us take the case of Hungary, for instance. In the uprising last October we read reports of the unbelievable heroic struggle of a small nation with no arms and practically no army, valiantly fighting for its very life against the overwhelming onslaught of the Soviets, who tried to crush the upheaval of the freedom fighters in Budapest. Everything seems to have been done by the Soviets in the past 10 years to eradicate the last vestige of the traditional way of life of the Hungarians. Hundreds of thousands of the ruling classes were killed or sent to concentration camps, and the state police seemed to have every thread in their hands. Nevertheless, it was the peasants, the young workers, and the young university students such as yourselves, who fought the battle with bricks, stones, iron bars, and small guns, against the big tanks of the Soviet tyrants. The issue was lost and, to short-sighted observers, it appeared to be a major setback, but certain it is that, at that time, the fight of Hungary for national freedom and independence started, and it will continue until, at long, last, she achieves her goal.

The example of Hungary affirms what I said before. The seed of the religious conscience, the sense of national freedom, the worth of human dignity, are such strong forces and are so deeply rootd in the soul of man that neither barbarism nor atrocity can ever destroy them, and they will always remain alive in the conscience of future generations.

With reference to the other big challenge, the tremendous danger of an all-out thermonuclear war which will destroy mankind in a satanic clash of forces, I will also say, as a Spaniard, what I think could be a sound response to that complicated question.

It is a source of great pride to us as Spaniards to think of our motherland as the one which made possible the discovery, civilization, and conquest of two-thirds of the whole American continent. It was one of the great epics of history. The most imaginative historian could never have foreseen that in less than 50 years—from 1500 to 1550—a handful of some thousands of Spanish soldiers and adventures, sometimes on horseback, but nearly always on foot, could discover, occupy, and colonize the land of the Americas, from Florida and the Mississippi, down to Cape Horn near the South Pole. It actually happened, and about 13 million of native Indians who lived, most of them, South of the Rio Grande, were baptized and converted to the Christian faith and settled down in thousands of cities, with a whole system of highways, bridges, ports and many centers of culture, schools, colleges and universities. But the challenge that the New World posed to the Spanish was not only one of nature and physical difficulties. They also had the intimate problem of finding some juridical principle which would justify them for dominating these vast lands and submitting to Spain, these millions of people who were more in number than the 10 million of Spaniards who lived in the Peninsula. It was a Dominican Friar at the University of Salamanca who, in the sixteenth century, at the time when Ignatius of Loyloa was fighting his battle in defense of the Pope and the unity of Christianity, wrote his famous immortal books in which he posed and solved the great question. Vitoria thought that the moral principles which ruled the Christian community of nations in the Old World could also be applied to the New World, not because of the fact that these new people had become converts of our religion but for the more fundamental fact that they were endowed by divine decree with an immortal soul, and therefore had the right to the respect and dignity of any man, whether Christian or not. There and then, international law was born, and I have many times seen, with emotion, the effigy of Vitoria depicted on the walls of the Supreme Court in Washington, as a tribute paid by the high respect of the judicial powers of this country to the outstanding personality of the founder of modern international law.

Vitoria said: "let us make a new law for a new world." Let us take his words as our motto. Let us make a new law for a new challenge. More than ever mankind needs today an international code of principles to which to refer in every dispute, friction, or tension. More than ever people can only feel at ease, to avoid a crazy road to destruction, by submitting these to the principles of an international code.

Before World War II, a famous French statesman said: "Peace is one and indivisible." We can today change these words and say that international moral is one and indivisible because there can be no international law nor international code to be applied to every country if there is not a previous acceptance of international principles, which, of course, need a previous acceptance of the same code of morals.

This is the great challenge, my friends, which the world offers today and in the near future. We face a terrific danger. Not only a physical danger of absolute destruction, but also something which is just as bad: the establishment through terror and barbaric methods of a society without any concern for man's dignity as a human being, without any recognition of the soul of man as a sparkle of God's intelligence, without any belief in the ultimate eternal projection of human actions and their moral evaluation, and therefore without any respect for human freedom. A society ruled tyrannically by an absolute monster, whether unipersonal or collective, who dominates with ruthless cruelty and uses men as mechanical instruments, as pieces of machinery, as robots of economic interest, thus changing society into an ant-hill or a beehive and shifting the sense of our existence from history to natural history, from spiritual values to statistics, from sentiments to figures.

We must arrive, I said before, to a universal code of juridical principles, to avoid the final disaster. Thus we must agree on a previous morality, on the definition of good and evil exigible to all. But a supreme spiritual principle must be also accepted to make the morals work. That brings us back to religion as the fundamental code of our individual or collective behavior. International communism is antireligious because it is itself a fanatic, demoniac religion, an antireligion I'd dare say. The Communists know that man needs a transcendental appeal to give a meaning to life. Therefore they have invented the historic materialism and the phony dream of a paradise on earth, an economic paradise, with no hope for an after-death existence.

Our response must be exactly the contrary: To awaken in every man the hope of eternal life through the grace of God; to emphasize his feelings of freedom, his personal dignity, his resemblance to the Creator. The Spanish poet and mystic Saint John of the Cross wrote: "One single thought of the human mind is worth the whole universe," because only the true believers in God are also the true believers in man. Once more in history not only religio est libertas (religion is freedom), but also religio est Pax (religion is peace).

In closing, I should like to say that when I read about the disarmament talks which are going on as a good approach to peace and, unquestionably, with good faith on the part of the free world, I think there must be a clear previous understanding of what will be the common moral that shall prevail in international agreements. As long as there is bad faith on one side, and no acceptance of these moral principles, all the disarmament talks will be disarmament appearances only, or political maneuvers, but the substantial threat will remain the same. As long as these fundamental questions are not solved, the free world must remain united, alert, and vigilant. The free world must likewise remain strong in all fields, even in the dangerous field of thermonuclear weapons. A passage in the Bible reads: "Una manu sua faciebat opus et altera tenebat gladium." (One hand made the work and the other held the sword.) And it was also said in the Book: "Beware of the disarmed prophets, because they will perish."

Truth will make us free, but let us protect the truth with a shield of strength, let us live for the truth and let us die for it if it becomes necessary.

Speech of David E. Finley, Chairman, the Commission of Fine Arts, at the Commencement Exercises of Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C., June 2, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a speech delivered by Mr. David E. Finley at the commencement exercises at Winthrop College at Rock Hill, S. C. Mr. Finley was formerly director of the National Gallery of Art here in Washington and is now chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts in the District of Columbia.

Winthrop College is considered one of the outstanding girls' colleges in the United States and I believe every Member of the House will enjoy reading Mr. Finley's excellent address which was delivered at the recent commencement exercises at Winthrop College on June 2, 1957.

SPEECH OF DAVID E. FINLEY, CHAIRMAN, THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS, AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF WINTHROP COLLEGE, ROCK HILL, S. C., JUNE 2, 1957

I felt greatly honored when your president, Dr. Sims, asked me to be with you today and to deliver the commencement address at Winthrop College.

My admiration for Winthrop is not confined to its atendance records or to the impressive group of buildings which today house its many activities on this campus. All this is cause for great satisfaction to anyone familiar with the history of this institution. But I am even more impressed by the kind of instruction given here and by the fact that the quality of education is being steadily raised, as proved by the records of your graduates over the last 10 years.

That is a matter of the greatest importance; and I only wish it could be said of all institutions, especially those producing qualified teachers, in all parts of this country. Certainly I do not need to tell this intelligent audience and one so interested in educational standards that the quality of

American education, not the quantity, is the matter that should chiefly concern all of us who have at heart the success of our great American experiment of education for all.

During the latter part of the 19th century we were still concerned, and rightly so, with the quantity of education available in this country, especially to women. But that need has long since been met, largely by the founding of colleges, such as Winthrop and many others. Now we must strive, as you are doing here, to see that quality in education is not sacrificed to quantity, as is being done, I am sorry to say, in many secondary schools and institutions of higher learning where science and the liberal arts are obliged to compete with a variety of courses, many of them of doubtful value.

This has come about largely by reason of a change in outlook and a consequent demand on the part of students for courses which they think will be useful to them in meeting the new conditions that have arisen. We are now predominantly a technological and urban, rather than an agricultural, civilization as we were even 70 years ago when Winthrop College was founded. Communication today is easier. New methods of transportation have changed not only the tempo but the mode of living in this country. It is to be expected, therefore, that institutions of learning should adapt their curricula to conditions in the world around us. It is a matter for regret, however, that so many of these institutions should find it necessary to offer courses, sometimes because such courses are popular, sometimes because they are easy, but which contribute little to a real understanding of life for which a sound and balanced education should prepare us.

We are able in the United States, because of our wealth and its wide distribution, to provide the amount and the kind of education we want for everyone. And we have long been committed to the American belief that everyone must have some education, not only for their own good but for the good of the state which in a democracy must have an educated electorate. Furthermore, we have in the public school system the instrument that makes it possible to achieve these ends.

The American public-school system is one of our great contributions to the civilization of the Western World. But the potentialities of that system have never really been explored, much less realized, as a means of arousing intellectual curiosity and teaching the child to think for himself. It is in the public school that he can first learn to look upon science, not as a materialistic but as a humane and civilizing force that may some day abolish wars because, with the development of atomic weapons, wars threaten the annihilation of the victor no less than the vanquished. Here the child may learn to look upon science as a beneficent force that will later provide the leisure in which to do the things that interest him most. It is also in the public school that the child can be made aware of what the humanities can do for him and of the important role which the arts can play in his life.

But the accomplishment of all this depends first upon the teacher and the degree to which his or her knowledge and enthusiasm for a subject can be transmitted to the pupil. If it can be transmitted, the influence of such a teacher never ends. In the words of Henry Adams, himself a teacher who still influences us through his writings: "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."

But the responsibility for making the public school effective in educating the child depends not only on the teacher; it depends also on the parents many of whom are not yet convinced that education can be achieved only by hard work. Too many parents in this country expect, even demand, that their child be passed in his examinations and allowed to go on to the next class, regardless of how little effort he exerts or how lacking in mental discipline the child may be. This is a grievous fault in our educational system; and, until it is corrected by a new attitude on the part of the parents, we are wasting educational facilities that could well transform the lives of our people and make America the force it should be as the leader of the free world. If America is to maintain such a position of leadership, we must provide special training in the sciences and in other fields for the unusually gifted boys and girls, who should be identified in high school and given an opportunity for later college or university training in subjects for which they have a special aptitude.

All that I have said as to the importance of providing instruction in the sciences and the arts in the public schools applies equally, of course, to the colleges and universities. We have emphasized technical or vocational training, so that many of our students have comparatively little knowledge outside of the vocation for which they have been trained. We are told, for instance, that we need more scientists, more engineers, more technicians; and we do need them to operate our mechanized civilization, which has raised our standard of living to an unprecedented height and has made life more comfortable and at the same time more exhausting than ever before in the world's history. We need them also to insure our safety, even our survival, in this troubled world in which we live. And we need them particularly to compete with the atheistic, scientific trained minds which are being educated in Soviet Russia in such vast numbers today.

To attract men and women into these professions and into other fields which are equally important if we are to become an educated people and to maintain a position of leadership in the world, we must offer greater rewards from the point of view of both money and prestige to those who submit themselves to these disciplines. We must also offer a more balanced system of education that will better equip them for the kind of world they will face in the foreseeable future.

As we all know, the average man and woman are not receiving a well-rounded education today; and what is the result? Those that have received special training are extremely efficient, as a rule, at the job for which they have been trained and by which they earn their living, whether it be a profession or business or trade for which special training is required. But unless their curiosity has been aroused and they have acquired some knowledge in other fields, such as the humanities, either during their school years or afterward, they may be equipped to lead a useful life but not necessarily the most interesting or enjoyable one, so far as they, themselves, are concerned. It is for this reason that it is so important, not only for the average person but for our scientists, our technicians, our professional men and women, to acquire some knowledge of the arts and literature, which can divert them, especially in those long, vacant hours that stretch ahead with the 40-hour week, with early retirement from the job and with increasing expectancy of life as a result of our fabulous discoveries in the fields of science and medicine.

From this point of view art has, at the very least, a therapeutic value. But it has a far greater importance than that in its spiritual implications and in the effect it can have on our daily lives, especially in the matter of self-discipline. Art is a serious matter—as serious as science—and should be given equal importance in any balanced system of education. For art, no less than science, is a method of knowing—a method that should prepare us to understand and enjoy the world we live in. Other fields, however, such as business and industry, promise greater financial rewards and quicker advancement, with the result that the average student is not willing to make the effort to acquire a more rounded education that would give him a wider range of interests and a fuller and more satisfying life.

The choice is not altogether the fault of our students. It is all part of the cult of success; and by that I mean worldly success on which too much emphasis has been placed in recent years. Today, I am happy to say, there are signs of a change in outlook. As in the days of Jeremiah, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge." The American people are beginning to realize that there is something lacking in their equipment for living under the stress and strain of modern life. They have determined to remedy this lack and, in doing so, they have discovered a new frontier to be explored and made their own—a limitless and ever-receding frontier within which the things of the mind, such as music and the visual arts and literature, can be enjoyed by all who have the will and the capacity to do so.

These things in this country today are mostly free in the museums, in the public libraries, and over the radio or television; or else they can be had at moderate prices in concert halls and in inexpensive editions of worthwhile books which are sold by the millions and can be bought everywhere, even in drug stores. As a result, this great legacy of cultural values, which has now been made available in this country, is being used and enjoyed by a greater number of people over a greater area than ever before in history.

All this is and should be a cause for great encouragement to us. It is also very impressive to visitors coming to us from other countries. In many instances it comes to them as a surprise, for they have heard more of our mechanical and industrial prowess than of our achievements on other levels. It is necessary, perhaps, to come here in order to realize what we have done in the fields of education, of culture, and humanitarianism.

But comparatively few visitors can come to us and we are not very adept, as a rule, in projecting a true picture of America to the outside world. For this reason, President Eisenhower has started a people-to-people movement by which he hopes "people can gradually learn more of each other." He believes there is a real job to be done in international relations by the American people themselves—a job distinct from the activities carried on by Government officials and agencies. He proposes large-scale development of contacts with other countries, such as is now being done in many instances by private groups, institutions, and individuals. Through such contacts he hopes for better understanding and progress toward peaceful solution of world problems.

Last autumn he called a conference in Washington of about 40 persons representing various segments of American life. He did me the honor of asking me to form a committee representing the fine arts, that is, the visual arts, for music is represented by a separate committee. We have formed such a committee and have a number of undertakings planned or under way. They will prove useful, I hope, in carrying out the President's idea; and I know we can count on your assistance as this program further develops.

As we survey the civilization of our own and other countries, we realize that many of our greatest problems are those we have in common. First of all, perhaps, is our need for self-control in our contacts with each other and in our duty to our country. Here in America our great technological advances have made such discipline even more difficult to achieve. Our mechanized civilization has given us a large degree of leisure, which we must use intelligently or it may do us great

harm. We have not yet learned how to use that leisure to the best advantage. We strive to save time in order to have more and more leisure; and then are at a loss to know what to do with all the time we have saved. The end result could be both lack of discipline and boredom, which is a situation to be avoided at all costs in a people with responsibilities, such as we have, for maintaining freedom and order in the world.

There is no reason to doubt our creative capacity on the cultural as well as the material level. But that is not a matter that need concern us today. The problem which we face now is the same that other civilizations have faced and failed to solve in the past. How can we educate our people so that they will know how to govern themselves in relation to each other and to the world at large? The question asked centuries ago by Socrates and the Greeks still waits for an answer: "Is education (in more than a technical sense) really possible?"

Somehow we must find the answer to that question if the great American experiment is to succeed. That experiment is based on the belief that men are capable of ruling themselves, always assuming that they can be educated to understand the issues of life and death with which they must deal. And to understand these issues and to deal with them as they arise, in their individual as well as their national life, our people must possess a collective wisdom which can be acquired only by a knowledge of the facts and a sense of moral values that impels them to right decisions.

I emphasize moral values because instruction alone is not enough. In the words of that great mystic and intellectual leader of the Middle Ages, St. Bernard, of Clairvaux: "Instruction makes men learned; love (of the truth) makes them wise * * *. There are many whom a wise philosophy teaches as to what may be done, while it does not set them in a glow to do it. It is one thing to know of many riches, another thing to possess them." He is, of course, referring to spiritual riches such as we are concerned with here today.

Finally, I would like to repeat to Winthrop College what Leonello d'Este said to the university at Ferrara when it was reopened in 1442: "It is an ancient opinion * * * that the heavens, the sea, the earth must some day perish * * * while only the understanding of things divine and human, which we call wisdom, is not extinguished by length of years but retains its rights in perpetuity."

To that I will add that here at Winthrop College, it is not enough merely to teach your students about these things. They must learn to possess them; and, if they do possess them and make them their own, they are immune to fortune. For neither time nor circumstances nor age nor even blindness can take from us those visual images, those harmonies of sound, those great ideas greatly expressed which have become part of ourselves and will make us not only an educated but a disciplined and happier and more contented people.

If your college can do that for your own students and for those who may come under their influence, your courses in the fine arts are worthy of all the effort you can make to establish them, not merely as a pleasant accessory of civilized living, but as a vital force in building the America we are determined to have now and in the future.

You who are graduating from Winthrop College have had the benefit of such instruction and should be qualified to play an important part in the future development of our country. During the years ahead you will have the opportunity and also the responsibility of carrying America to unprecedented heights as the exponent of a new philosophy in government—a philosophy that impels us to uphold peace and justice and a sense of moral values among our own people and in our dealings with other nations. At the same time we must set the example of a nation great and powerful enough to lead and unselfish enough to do so in a manner that will serve not merely our own best interests but the welfare of men and women everywhere in the world. If you can do this by your efforts and those of your generation, you can bring into being that orderly and happier world which, I have faith to believe, in the fullness of time will someday be realized.

The Supreme Court Rulings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the recent rulings of the Supreme Court criticizing and setting aside certain activities of the Un-American Activities Committee and the Congress, in dealing with communism and related subversive acts of Communists, I am fearful will greatly handicap and cripple the future effectiveness of congressional investigations in this respect.

I am additionally fearful that the application of the principles and views laid down by the Supreme Court will also adversely affect all other congressional investigations into all other forms of corruption and racketeering. This decision would seem to destroy or, at least, make unworkable from a practical viewpoint any and all endeavors of the Congress to inquire into the dark and devious ways of Communists, traitors, disloyal citizens, and crooks of all kinds. Such consideration that it has been possible to give to these decisions in the short time that has intervened since their delivery seems to indicate that any witness under examination can decide for himself whether the question is pertinent to a legislative purpose and, if he determines that it is not pertinent, then can refuse to answer. And, it then follows that long and drawn-out proceedings would be necessary to establish whether the witness was justified in so doing, or is subject to contempt for refusing to answer. Thus, by the time the proceedings would go through the usual court procedure to reach a final decision by the Supreme Court, sufficient time could elapse to possibly destroy the effectiveness of the testimony and make it worthless for all practical purposes.

This cumbersome procedure could kill future investigations. This thought has been forcibly set forth by David Lawrence, one of America's most eminent and conservative columnists. An article by him appearing in the Washington Evening Star, issue of Wednesday, June 19, 1957, reads as follows:

THE SUPREME COURT RULINGS: DECISION IN RED CASES SEEN CRIPPLING CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRIES' EFFECTIVENESS

(By David Lawrence)

The Supreme Court of the United States has crippled the effectiveness of congressional investigations.

By one sweeping decision, the Court has opened the way to Communists, traitors, disloyal citizens, and crooks of all kinds—in business and in labor—to refuse to answer any questions which the witness arbitrarily decides for himself are not pertinent to a legislative purpose.

This means that every time a Senator or a Representative asks a question in an investigation, the witness must be given a clear explanation of what the legislative purpose is, and this may even have to be confirmed by a resolution adopted in each case by the Senate or the House. Then it may have to be passed upon in a decision by the Supreme Court before it is really valid.

This cumbersome procedure kills future investigations that seek to expose the ways and means by which the Communists infiltrate America. It kills any searching investigation of racketeers in the labor-union movement, or any other kind of corruption. Had the Supreme Court's new law been in effect during the Harding administration it would have killed off any exposure of the Teapot Dome scandals. Had it been rendered in 1950, Alger Hiss could have avoided answering questions asked by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, whose charter of authority, held ever since 1938, now is torn to shreds by the Supreme Court.

Senator MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, Senator KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, Senator EASTLAND, of Mississippi, and the chairmen of various House investigating committees might as well shut up shop. The power to investigate has been curtailed drastically on the ground that Congress has to particularize in every case and specify in its resolutions exactly why it wants certain questions answered. It must somehow anticipate all the questions the investigating committees may wish to ask. This is, as Justice Clark, a former Attorney General, declared in his dissent, both unnecessary and unworkable. He added:

"The resulting restraint imposed on the committee system appears to cripple the system beyond workability."

This is because the Supreme Court has now set itself up as knowing more about what Congress needs to know to legislate than Congress itself thinks it does. In the words of Justice Clark:

"The majority (of the Court) has substituted the judiciary as the grand inquisitor and supervisor of congressional investigations. It has never been so."

All the Justices, of course, are honorable men and conscientious in the pursuit of their duty. But for the most part they live in a legal vacuum. They display a curious unawareness of the actual operations of Communist subversion. To them, apparently, there is no Communist menace, no such thing as infiltration by stooges of the Communists, and if a man admits he has worked and cooperated with the Communists and then refuses to tell who else he met in such activities, this is construed now as a "right of silence" derived from the first amendment which, now added to the fifth amendment, makes it easy for treason to be protected.

The Supreme Court majority realized, to be sure, the gravity of its decision and tried to soften the blow by minimizing the future danger. All the Congress has to do now, the Court patronizingly suggests, is to take added care in authorizing the use of compulsory process. But, as Justice Clark realistically points out, the Court doesn't say how this added care could be applied in practice.

The Supreme Court majority—Chief Justice Warren, Justices Frankfurter, Black, Douglas, and Brennan—seemed to think that the desire of the individual to be spared any unpleasant publicity due to his past associations was more sacred and more important than the right of Congress to get information about Communist plots and infiltration in order to pass laws to safeguard the Nation against destruction. The ruling was proclaimed, too, by the Court that anyone hereafter can teach and even advocate the

forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States, but unless there is conclusive proof that these teachings are part of a conspiracy to incite someone to some action, the viewpoint expressed is merely abstract doctrine and not subject to punishment by any law Congress might pass.

There were other significant cases decided by the Supreme Court on Monday, June 17, 1957, which will make that day a fateful one in American history. State legislatures were told that they, too, cannot investigate and require witnesses to answer their questions except where it can be proved that the State has an overriding interest in a subversive individual which outweighs his right to silence, and this, in turn, might have to be reviewed in each instance by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In another case, the Court didn't decide the merits of the disloyalty charges against John Stewart Service but said the Secretary of State couldn't reverse his Under Secretary who had ruled favorably to Service. In still another case involving 14 persons convicted of Communist activity under the Smith law, 9 were set free and 5 ordered to stand trial—so as to ascertain the facts as to activities of the defendants relating to 1 word—"organize"—in the existing law. It could mean activities with reference to a new party or subversive group or a continuing process of organizing in Communist Party circles as the Department of Justice has contended. Since organization work in the Communist Party now is ruled by the Court to happen only at the creation of the party in 1945 and is adjudged not to be a continuing process, certain defendants are set free because they were not prosecuted within the time prescribed in the statute.

These decisions will cause much consternation throughout the country. They will make happy, in some respects, the so-called liberals who have long crusaded against congressional investigations of Communist activity, but it will make them unhappy in other respects because it gives crooked labor racketeers, shady business operators, financial manipulators, and other wrongdoers a means of escape from congressional exposure.

Naturally, Moscow should be happy. All they need do now is to instruct their Communist Daily Worker editorials how to adapt themselves to the new ruling. The Communist Daily Worker editorials have assumed all along that the Court would decide some day as it did this week, that a man can betray this country and in certain circumstances get away with it.

Mr. Speaker, in the article which I have quoted, David Lawrence has forcibly and clearly emphasized the tremendous harm that can result to the enforcement of law and order if these Supreme Court decisions are permitted to go unchallenged, or without sufficient clarification to remove the detrimental effects that seem possible to follow.

The necessity for some further consideration by the Court, on motion of the Attorney General, is undoubtedly necessary if a condition of havoc in the administration of law is to be avoided. And, in any event, there should be immediate action by Congress to establish its right to make investigations into crime and corruption in accord with the authority it has had throughout our history as a nation without the restrictions that now seem to be imposed by the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The situation that now exists in the administration of justice as a result of the decisions is such that a crisis can be said to exist. The Washington Daily News, in an editorial entitled "Crisis in the Law," issue of Tuesday, June 18, 1957, has emphasized the necessity of giving consideration to the situation that now exists to the end that a remedy may be found. It reads as follows:

CRISIS IN THE LAW

The Supreme Court yesterday added to its recent list of historic decisions which will profoundly alter both the administration of justice and legislative behavior.

The immediate application is to methods used to preserve internal security against Communist subversion. But the implications are vastly wider than that. They extend, by inference at least, to all law enforcement. And the Court seems to restrict severely the powers of Congress as an aid to law enforcement.

The Jencks case decision, now 2 weeks old, seems to have opened the FBI files to accused law violators, greatly complicating prosecution of Communist, dope peddling, and other cases. Jencks was a labor leader accused of taking a false anti-Communist oath.

The Schneiderman decision, delivered yesterday, greatly stiffens the rules for trials under the Smith Act, which makes it a felony to advocate violent overthrow of the Government. There is question whether the Smith Act can be further used against Communists. The decision freed 5 convicted California second-string Commies and ordered new trials for 9 more.

The Watkins decision, also delivered yesterday, may be most significant of all. This was the case of a man convicted of contempt of Congress by refusing to name Communist associates—a case similar to that of Arthur Miller, husband of Marilyn Monroe.

The decision reversing the Watkins conviction questions directly the investigative powers of Congress. Possibly it may be construed to prohibit such generalized investigations as those conducted on internal security by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy or on labor rackets by Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN. Propriety of the McCarthy hearings has been highly controversial. Authority of the McClellan committee was challenged by its principal witness to date, Dave Beck of the teamsters union.

We must look in both directions from these decisions. Whole new methods of procedure may have to be devised lest the guilty escape punishment and the Reds be turned loose on the country to conspire as they will. From quick study it appears amendment of the Constitution as well as new laws may be necessary.

Looking the other way, the jails, particularly the Federal jails, contain scores, maybe hundreds, who have raised the same issues covered in these decisions and still have been convicted. Will the decisions unlock prison doors for these criminals, upon appeal?

Frankly, no one knows or is apt to know for sometime, until the findings are digested and applied to specific circumstances.

Meanwhile the Jencks case alone is described as causing "havoc" in the Federal courts. In one view the effectiveness of the FBI is about gone.

Worst apprehensions may prove unjustified. They usually are.

But at the very least we have a crisis in our traditional methods of administering justice. And it will not suffice merely to curse the Court. Traditionally it is the protector of the Bill of Rights, standing between the citizen and overzealous prosecution.

Congressional powers of investigation are tied to its legislative function. Police or judicial powers are not vested in it. There is no doubt that on many occasions Congress has abused its investigation powers, and its Members have used the weapon of inquiry for reasons other than to get information to aid in the drafting of laws. Quite clearly, the Court seeks to curb this abuse.

Whether the Court has, in these instances, gone too far in hampering honest law enforcement is a matter of opinion which might be reserved.

But the wheels of justice obviously will be slowed as prosecutors stall for time until they can learn the score.

Congress, with its own powers directly questioned, certainly will speed inquiry into the need for new laws. It will be a long time before we hear the last of these decisions.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that there will be no delay in giving to this exceedingly important matter the fullest possible consideration by the Department of Justice, and by the Congress. A crisis does exist and we must meet it at once.

Hail to Police Chief Murray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a copy of a letter which appeared in the columns of the Washington Evening Star on June 19, 1957, in reference to Mr. Robert V. Murray, Chief of Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia.

I, too, wish to praise Chief Murray, not only as an able, sincere, and conscientious police officer serving our District, but as a capable, efficient, and courageous administrator of the affairs of our police department. In my opinion, we can well be proud of his outstanding leadership, and I hope that we will be fortunate enough to have him at the helm of our police department for many, many years in the future:

HAILS THE CHIEF

Hail to Police Chief Murray. At long last someone in official position has denounced publicly the attempted intimidation of the Police Department by the NAACP. This attempted intimidation has been going on for years. Innumerable unfounded complaints have been filed by the NAACP and its ilk against white police officers with good records. Many police officers have been compelled to defend themselves before the Police Trial Board against such false charges. Of a large number of alleged violations of civil rights, several white policemen have had to undergo the expense and suspense of a trial on criminal charges before establishing their innocence of the charges. It would be quite interesting to learn the number of alleged civil rights violations investigated by the FBI at the instigation of the Washington chapter of the NAACP.

When the lowly private is a victim of false charges, has to stand trial, and is acquitted by the Police Trial Board, there is a cry of whitewash by the complainants. The public does not know how unfounded some of the charges have been. Neither does the public know how spotless are the records of some of the police officers involved. It is unfortunate that it was necessary to wait until the NAACP made the mistake of attacking the chief before the true character of this organization was revealed to the public.

This time the NAACP has set its sights too high. It has selected Chief Murray as its victim. Unlike the lowly police private, Chief Murray's integrity is known far and wide. Few people will take seriously the charges of the NAACP against Chief Murray. The Police Department files are replete with unfounded complaints of the NAACP and its kind, which will furnish Chief Murray plenty of ammunition if he chooses to use it. An investigation of this ridiculous complaint would not only reflect credit upon Chief Murray but would disclose the NAACP for what it is, i. e., a color-conscious organization not interested in justice or fair play but only in intimidation and persecution of those in authority who have white skin.

I challenge Mr. Davidson to show a single case in which his organization ever protested the treatment of a white citizen by a colored police officer. Or even a complaint of the treatment of a colored citizen by a colored police officer, excepting, of course, those complaints immediately withdrawn after it was ascertained that the policeman involved was colored.

A vast majority of the police officers of Washington, both white and colored, as well as Chief Murray, conduct themselves in such a manner as to deserve public support and commendation, not unfounded accusations.

LLOYD E. KELLY,
Former Deputy Chief of Police.

Twenty-Five-Million-Dollar Regret

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by Dick Barrett from the San Jose Mercury-News:

TWENTY-FIVE-MILLION-DOLLAR REGRET

When Judge George E. Crothers died May 16 in San Francisco at the age of 87 it was the end of a life span during which he had only one major regret—and it was worth $25 million.

The judge came to this county from Iowa with other members of his family as a small boy in 1883. As a child here he saw the materials for construction of the Lick Observatory, and later its 36-inch telescope, then the world's largest, arrive on flatcars on the South Pacific Coast Railroad, according to his possible biographer, Charles A. Gauld of Stanford's Hispanic American studies department. This narrow-gage railroad was owned by his uncle, Senator James A. Fair. Other things he saw included the arrival of Chinese tong war fugitives from San Francisco, and the destruction of San Jose's Chinatown by fire. In 1887 he witnessed construction of the San Jose City Hall and the arrival of James Lick's body to be sealed in the base of the great telescope on Mount Hamilton.

Crothers and his brothers saw the valley fill with orchards and they worked in the fruit to finance their college education. Their mother secretly rejected an offer from Senator Fair to settle $75,000 on each of her children when he sold his railroad to the Southern Pacific for more than $6 million. She felt that this sudden windfall would spoil them.

With two degrees in law from Stanford, Crothers moved to San Francisco in 1896 and there helped to settle the tangled $20 million estate of Senator Fair. It was he who suggested to his two Manhattan cousins, who were the heiresses, that they build a hotel atop Nob Hill and call it the Fairmont.

An important turning point of his life, though, was the day he went with two of his brothers to see Senator Stanford lay the cornerstone for the university at Palo Alto. He met Mrs. Stanford and she saw him a close resemblance to her deceased son, Leland. She retained him as her lawyer for the last 7 years of her life and made him the first alumnus of Stanford to serve on its board of trustees. He helped save the university legally and strengthened her resistance to appeals from relatives for money which she and Senator Stanford had promised the institution.

Mr. Gauld says that the 1 major regret of Judge Crothers' life was not his refusal of $250,000 in legal fees for his work for the university, or the $300,000 he and his brother, Thomas, lost in a mine deal in Chihuahua, Mexico. It was his decision to reject Mrs. Stanford's invitation to join her party on a trip to Europe. He was then involved in the fair litigation. It was while on this trip that Mrs. Stanford was persuaded, under pressure in New York, to sell her quarter interest in the Southern Pacific Railroad. Judge Crothers believed he could have talked her out of it by reminding her of Senator Stanford's prophecy that Southern Pacific stock would soar. He thought the difference in value between 1899 and the boom year of 1912 was probably $25 million, which would have been a tidy sum in the university's endowment. Mrs. Stanford sold to the Speyer Bros. bank and the Speyers turned a handsome profit in selling the stock to E. H. Harriman, who won control of the railroad.

Even without the $75,000 from his uncle, Judge Crothers did all right. He was able to give Stanford 2 dormitories and his biographical sketch ran for a record 56 years in Who's Who in America. He lived for 30 years at the Pacific Union Club atop Nob Hill in San Francisco.

I think the Crothers brother who achieved the greatest note by remaining in San Jose was Charles Fair Crothers, the real-estate man, who died a number of years ago. I used to drop into his real-estate office on Second Street occasionally to see what big deals were in the making. He was a law graduate of the University of Michigan, but remained with the law for only about 10 years, lured away by the realty business. He was a member and president of the advisory board of the San Jose Normal School and San State College. He was also president of the old San Jose Coffee Club, which was supposed to direct people away from the evils of drink.

Let's Grow Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the June 17, 1957, issue of the Winter Haven News-Chief, of Winter Haven, Fla.

The editorial is entitled "Let's Grow Up" and its subject is our foreign-aid program. It is particularly pertinent at this time since we soon will be called upon to consider legislation on this subject. I sincerely hope that each of my colleagues will read and give careful thought to this timely editorial which expresses the opinions held by many of my constituents. The editorial follows:

LET'S GROW UP

It's time that we Americans start growing up relative to our thinking about what our dollars can do and what they can't. Vice President NIXON, like a lot of others on Capitol Hill, still feels that we can buy friendships. It can't be done, never could, and never will.

A recent example is the way the Polish acted when we were going to give them a mere $95 million to sort of help put them back on their feet, after all these years of delightful help by the Russians. The Poles made it known that they felt slighted. They wanted a few billion and Old Shylock (that's us) was just so tight that he'd only shake loose with 95 million bucks.

Behind it all are the Commies. They envisioned new farm machinery by the thousands of units. New motors, pumps, trucks, etc., that would be used in Poland for a short time and then transshipped to the protecting country, Russia.

Let's grow up about this whole business of giving our hard-earned dollars away. All we get is our feelings hurt when the receiving country turns on us. Let the Russians help the Poles. After what Khrushchev had to say about the fine way they treat their satellites it would be absurd for a backward country like the United States to send all of these wonderful capitalistic things to help the Poles.

The Supreme Court Decision in the Communist Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the United States of America was founded under the Constitution as a Government of limited powers.

In the establishment of the 3 branches of the Federal Government, the Founding Fathers wisely provided for the balancing of each with the others, as well as providing for checks on all 3 branches.

However, in recent years much of the wisdom which our forefathers used in the founding of the Federal Government has been submerged under acts which have unbalanced the three branches of the Government and given practically free rein to the judiciary as against the legislative branch, and, in some instances, the executive branch as well.

Mr. President, I am convinced the people of this country are more concerned generally about the trend of recent decisions of the Supreme Court than at any time in our history. They have reasons to be concerned, because the Court has usurped the constitutional authority of the Congress, and, in effect, has itself employed the legislative power through judicial decree.

When this happens, the people have had their Government removed one step

further from them, because the Congress must answer to the people for its actions, while the Court answers to no one.

The concern of the people is clearly presented in an editorial which appeared in the June 19, 1957, issue of the State, a newspaper published in Columbia, S. C.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPREME COURT MUST BE CURBED

On Monday the United States Supreme Court made more history and it is not the kind of history to kindle a feeling of pride in good American.

The Court reversed the Supreme Court of California, the trial court and the jury that convicted 14 Communists of plotting to teach and advocate the overthrow by violence of the United States Government. It granted new trials to 9 and ordered freedom for 5. Only Justice Clark dissented. He called attention to the fact that the Court had undertaken to pass upon the facts of the case and declare five not guilty. Justices Black and Douglas, as usual, concurred in the decision but said they would grant freedom immediately to all 14.

The Court also reversed the decision under which a former Communist, John T. Watkins, was convicted for refusing to name former Communist associates while testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in April 1954. This decision apparently means that the Court will similarly decide in favor of several others who have been convicted for the same offense and who now have appeals pending.

About a year ago Justice Byrnes in criticizing the Court for basing the segregation decision upon the writings of a sociologist with Communist affiliations, predicted the present trend of the Supreme Court and urged that it be curbed by Congress. And we have taken a similar stand in a number of editorials.

Referring to Monday's decisions, Congressman HOWARD SMITH of Virginia said that he could not recall any recent case in which the present Supreme Court had decided against Communists.

The question the American people are now interested in is whether or not the Congress will exercise the powers granted to it by the Constitution and enact legislation regulating the jurisdiction of the Court, denying to it the right to hear an appeal from a State court which has convicted a person for plotting to overthrow by violence the Government of the United States.

The Court has usurped the power of the Congress, the State appellate courts and the juries of the States. In the exercise of dictatorial powers the difference between the Kremlin and the Supreme Court is that the Kremlin is composed of 11 men and the Supreme Court only 9.

The Supreme Court Jumps the Track

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune, in their lead editorial of June 19, had some very pertinent comments on the most recent decision of the Supreme Court.

It seems to me that the opinions stated in this editorial reflect the thinking of a great number of the rank and file of the United States citizens. The editorial is as follows:

THE SUPREME COURT JUMPS THE TRACK

In a mess of decisions Monday, the Supreme Court managed to perform major services for Communists and loyalty risks on the Federal payroll and at the same time to diminish substantially the power of Congress to deal effectively with any of them. Friends of the Court say that these decisions fortify the defense of individual rights. Others will be inclined to agree with Senator MCCLELLAN'S judgment that the decisions demonstrate that what the country sadly lacks is a Supreme Court of lawyers with a reasonable amount of commonsense.

In ordering that 5 California leaders of the Communist Party be freed from conviction under the Smith Act, and in directing new trials for 9 others, the Court managed to reverse its own interpretation of the Smith Act, handed down by a 6 to 2 majority only 6 years ago.

The Court's new line is that, to convict under the Smith Act, which makes it a crime to conspire to teach and advocate overthrow of the Government by force and violence, it is necessary to prove that action toward violent rebellion is being advocated. A simple showing of advocacy, said the Court, is not sufficient.

In its decision of June 4, 1951, the Court dealt with precisely this point. Interpreting the clear and present danger doctrine, the late Chief Justice Vinson said then:

"Obviously the words 'clear and present danger' cannot mean that before the Government may act, it must wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid, and the signal is awaited. If Government is aware that a group aiming at its overthrow is attempting to indoctrinate its members and to commit them to a course whereby they will strike when the leaders feel the circumstances permit, action by the Government is required."

The Court now renounces that outlook and maintains that such advocacy is little more than theoretical discussion and that it will be satisfied with nothing less than evidence approximating an overt act.

It seems to us that this reflects an unduly fastidious approach to the motivation of Communists, and that the United States Court of Appeals in New York, in its Smith Act opinion of August 1, 1950, was far more sensible in saying, "The jury has found that the conspirators will strike as soon as success becomes possible, and obviously no one in his senses would strike sooner."

Having dealt a crippling blow to the efforts of Congress to deter Communists through the Smith Act, the Court then proceeded to another decision severely impairing the powers of congressional investigating committees to compel testimony, on pain of contempt, from persons with subversive associations.

It overruled the contempt conviction of an Illinois labor-union organizer, John T. Watkins, who admitted to the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had cooperated with Communists but refused to name Communist associates. The Court decreed that the committee had no power to expose for the sake of exposure, but that it is required to show a definite legislative purpose in its explorations. Congressional inquiries are thus confined to a straitjacket.

In still another case, the Court reversed the dismissal from the State Department of John Stewart Service, who was discharged in 1951 by former Secretary of State Acheson on authority voted by Congress vesting him with absolute discretion to terminate the employment of any Department official. Service, after a round of loyalty hearings, came before the civil-service Loyalty Review Board, which found reasonable doubt of his loyalty. Acheson expunged this finding but ordered Service fired. The Court ruled that he had no right to do so, even though Congress had given it to him, because a State Department loyalty board previously had cleared Service, and Acheson's subordinate, the Deputy Under Secretary of State, had approved the finding.

The taxpayers thus find that Service, a man arrested in the wartime Amerasia magazine scandal, in which 1,700 top-secret, secret, and confidential documents were extracted from Government files and handed over to notorious pro-Communists, is forced back upon them, together with a bill for 6 years of retroactive salary.

The boys in the Kremlin may wonder why they need a fifth column in the United States so long as the Supreme Court is determined to be helpful.

Ike's Bellyaches Cost Billions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMMET F. BYRNE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like permission to insert in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Southtown Economist of Chicago, Ill., Sunday, June 16:

IKE'S BELLYACHES COST BILLIONS

Americans holding investments in stocks are suffering a costly experience every time President Eisenhower's health is impaired. The moment news of his condition is made public, stocks plunge with a loss of billions of dollars in values.

As soon as Ike recovers, the market begins to climb, but the return to prices at the time of the plunge is slow and long.

Because investors everywhere are victims of this situation, something ought to be done to prevent a repetition. One thing that can be done at once is for the White House to withhold news of the President's indisposition until after the markets close for the day. That, at least, would delay a plunge until it can be established how severely ill the President is.

But the situation raises another important problem. Why should the President's health cause the Nation to go into an economic tailspin? Some bankers and stockbrokers say a change in administration would create uncertainty and that business and industry fear to expand or to launch new projects until the policies of the new administration are ascertained.

We don't understand why there should be uncertainty. Vice President NIXON'S attitude on important questions is well known, and even if it was not Congress still makes the laws of the Nation and can be counted upon to keep the Nation on an even keel.

As a matter of record, sweeping changes in governmental policy could have been expected if Adlai Stevenson had been elected President. He is an ardent New Dealer, and he revealed in his campaign speeches that he would have adopted the policies of the late President Roosevelt.

Even such changes would be no excuse to deflate the market because the country sur-

vived pretty well economically during the 13 years of the Roosevelt regime.

What the current situation amounts to is that the condition of the President's health is used by Wall Street bears to destroy values so they can reap a huge profit fast.

This is a matter that the stock exchanges throughout the country ought to correct with controls employed in the past to curb a runaway market.

The frequent loss of billions to small and large investors demands it.

He Brought New Honor to a Noble Profession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Home News, New Brunswick, N. J., of June 18, 1957:

HE BROUGHT NEW HONOR TO A NOBLE PROFESSION

A recurrent phenomenon over the broad sweep of American history is the emergence of a man of the hour to meet the challenge of a period of crisis. This seems almost a pattern of destiny, and as the mind's eye looks back over our wars, and our depressions, our periods of corruption and pessimism, almost always a man has risen above his fellowmen to lead the fight to victory.

Here in New Jersey when famed Jersey justice fell into disrepute and red tape, when our judicial system was perhaps the worst among all the States of the Union, a man of the hour arose.

He was Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New Jersey's constitution of 1948 stands as a monument to him. So does the model system of courts set up under that constitution and administered and directed by him as chief justice since the adoption of the constitution. The framework of the new court system was sound and good. But even that framework might have availed little had it not been for the vision and determination and wisdom and vigor of Chief Justice Vanderbilt. He demanded and got a full day's work from his judges, perhaps a revolutionary accomplishment in the Garden State after years of ineffective court procedures.

There were many other facets to Vanderbilt's life, of course. He was a good teacher of the law. He was a leader in professional circles, having been president of both the American Bar Association and the American Judicature Society. He was seriously considered for appointment to the United States Supreme Court, and there are those who believe he could have had such a post had he wanted it. He was the prime mover in the choice of Associate Justice William Brennan to that Court.

Justice Vanderbilt was a perfectionist. His speeches and his writings were models of clarity. Wherever he went, whatever he did, he brought new honor to what should always be one of the noblest of our professions. Justice under law was the goal of his life, and in large and glorious measure he achieved that goal.

In the death of Arthur T. Vanderbilt, New Jersey has lost one of the very greatest of her sons.

The Paonia Reclamation Project

SPEECH
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6090) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army and certain agencies of the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, in the printing of the Congressional RECORD for the House for the date of June 19, 1957, the printers inadvertently omitted a material part of the remarks which I made on that date when the public works appropriation bill, fiscal year 1958, was being considered. I am extending at this time in the RECORD my remarks in full on the subject of the Paonia reclamation project. The statement follows:

As the Committee has under consideration the public works appropriation bill, I would like to take a few minutes of your time to tell the Paonia project story.

Under recent date, each of you received a letter on the Paonia project from the North Fork Conservancy District of Hotchkiss, Colo. This letter gave you a part of the story on this 21-year-old orphan. I can speak with personal knowledge dating back to the beginning of my service here in Congress in January of 1949. Actually, this subject was a matter of concern also to my predecessor, the late Robert Rockwell, who resided in the area of this project and before that of the late beloved, Edward T. Taylor, who was chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House at the time of his death. Although this project has been of continuing concern during my service, this pales in comparison to the concern of those citizens of the area who have been wrestling with this problem for nearly a generation. I am constantly amazed at the patience, dedication, and perseverance of these people. They have suffered many discouraging setbacks, setbacks which would have discouraged lesser men or moved them to anger. However, if you will refer to your recent letter, you will find them making a calm and reasonable appeal for consideration. I am happy to stand here in support of so reasonable and necessary an appeal.

The North Fork area of the Gunnison River was originaly settled about 1890. These early settlers carved farms from the then wilderness and provided irrigation facilities by their own effort. This was adequate for the area until about the 1930's when a combination of adverse economic developments and drought forced them to turn to the Federal Government for assistance in meeting the persistent problem of water shortage. I remind you that Federal activity to provide construction of a holdover reservoir began in 1936. The farmers of this area are still faced with the same adverse situation they had at that time. Surely, it is time that their long effort for this legitimate end be rewarded with construction contemplated nearly 20 years ago.

The first report of the Bureau of Reclamation was issued in August of 1938. On the strength of this report, the Paonia project was authorized under reclamation law in March of 1939 by Presidential approval of a feasibility recommendation by the Secretary of Interior. Appropriations were provided in 1940 and in 1942. In 1940, it became obvious that the project plans had to be altered. These alterations were ready by June 1947 and may be found in Senate Document No. 61, 1st session, 80th Congress. Public Law 117 of the 80th Congress (61 Stat. 181), based on this report, authorized the construction of the Paonia project and funds under this authorization were provided later in 1948. The farmers of the area then approved and signed a repayment contract with the Department of Interior for the repayment of Federal moneys expended. In August 1948, bids were opened for construction of the Paonia project. However, due to cost increases not related to the project, all bids were found to be in excess of the $3,030,000 authorization. I might here note that the estimated cost of the project is now nearly $7 million. No one has gained from postponement. Construction of the whole project was found to be impossible. Rather than lose all gains possible under the authorization, the conservancy district and the bureau agreed to enlarge the Fire Mountain Canal. This single phase of the project was then initiated and completed. The farmers of the conservancy district are now obligated for the repayment of this feature although it has not materially increased their ability to repay. Nor has it provided any substantial increase in the necessary water supply. This increase in water supply can come only from construction of the holdover storage facilities of such size as to provide late season water. This was the pressing need in 1936. It is still the paramount need in 1957.

The Korean emergency forestalled further development of the Paonia project, although legislation for its reauthorization was introduced by me during this period. It was then decided that if this vital storage feature was to be built, in view of the cost increase, it would have to be tied to the Colorado River storage project and participating projects, so that surplus power revenues from the storage project could be applied to construction costs in excess of the water users ability to pay. This legislation, with the Paonia project listed as the most immediately needed participating project, was passed last year. It was understood by all concerned that funds for the completion of construction of the Paonia project would be included in the budget for fiscal 1958 so that such construction could actually begin in July of this year.

If events had proceeded as scheduled, I would not need to rise today to tell this story of continuing disappointment. The program presented to the Congress last year clearly stated that two participating projects would be scheduled for construction this year. One was Paonia. Early reports this year in the Paonia project area, released by the Bureau, promised that a budget request would be made and that construction would begin. Only when the President's budget was actually released did the people of the area discover that they had waited in vain.

Trying to discover just why last year's schedule did not become this year's program of action is devious and difficult. I must confess to you that I cannot state positively just where the Paonia project was cut down, but I know it once was in the Bureau of Reclamation budget recommendations. I know it did not survive the Budget Bureau's consistent opposition.

The immediate excuse given by the Bureau of the Budget was that the required resurvey of the project by the Department of Agriculture and the final report of the Bureau of Reclamation was not in hand during their consideration of the budget requests. I ask you in all seriousness, would a project under survey and study for 21 years now require a resurvey? The features of the project construction are virtually the same as those outlined in the Senate document of 1947 previously mentioned, they have been known for at least 10 years and the Department of Agriculture was a party to that 1947 study.

No, my friends, these surveys and reports, and I remind you that Agriculture's resurvey has been completed and is now in Washington, cannot explain the omission of the Paonia project. Nor can it be explained away on the ground that Paonia is a new start, it is as new as an automobile with running boards. It was first authorized in 1939, reauthorized in 1948, and again in 1956. A case can be made that economy prevents construction, but I ask you only to hold today's need for saving a sum of less than a million against the economic privation of this area. Here is a rural area of some few thousand souls far removed from the Nation's Capital. These people live on small farms or in two small communities. We are not talking of new land to be brought into production, this land has been under cultivation for some 50 years. For the last 20 years, however, at least 65 percent of the area has faced an annual water shortage of some degree—ranging from slight to complete. They have made every possible effort to take care of their own needs, but the crippling shortage of the water supply for consistent production so reduces their income that local resources are inadequate. Only a holdover reservoir will solve their problem. No doubt they would have given up long ago if for 21 years, the carrot of water salvation had not dangled just over the horizon. It is time that such promise be funded with dollars and that these people be given the necessary boost, not only to repay an obligation they have already assumed for a project feature which gives them no value, but to go forward in the sure knowledge that they will have enough water to produce a crop each year.

Lastly, spring floods are now causing damage in this area—water is not only wasting away but causing waste. If the storage facility were constructed, this damage creating surplus could be caught and held and released in late summer to prevent crop failure.

Results of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I recently sent out to the people of the 22d Congressional District, which consists of Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley, my Fifth Annual Legislative Questionnaire. The response I received was better than ever before and most gratifying. Approximately 50,000 returns have been received. Inasmuch as it is always difficult to ask questions on all legislation pending before Congress and the many governmental problems facing us today, I received hundreds of additional comments and letters from my constituents expressing their viewpoints and recommendations. Tabulation of the answers has now been completed.

The results are as follows:

	Percent
I. Please check 3 of the following 6 items you think should be cut most in Federal spending:	
Number of Federal employees	78
Construction of Federal public works, (highways, dams, airports, buildings, etc.)	19
Federal aid to States, municipalities, school districts, and local public agencies	44
Foreign aid	80
National defense	11
Federal aid to agriculture and small business	30
II. To put the Post Office Department on a pay-as-you-go basis, the administration has recommended two alternative proposals: (1) Combine airmail and first-class mail with a 5-cent rate. All first-class mail would then be sent by the fastest available means, whether by air, rail, or otherwise; or (2) increase first-class mail 1 cent to a 4-cent rate. Both plans include increases in 2d- and 3d-class mail rates (advertising matter, newspapers and magazines). I favor:	
Plan (1) above	32
Plan (2) above	47
Neither plan and no increase	16
No opinion	5

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
III. Do you favor—			
(1) Reduction of Federal taxes even though it unbalances the budget?	32	63	5
(2) Our Government inviting to this country for conference the heads of foreign states with whom we do not agree?	65	30	5
(3) Requiring all new National Guards men and Army reservists to take 6 months' training on active military duty?	68	17	15
(4) Congress authorizing the admission of a greater number of immigrants to the United States from Hungary?	31	58	11
(5) A special tax reduction or some type of special relief for small business?	70	20	10
(6) Union welfare funds being more closely regulated by the State and Federal Governments?	89	8	3
(7) Labor unions being allowed to make contributions to political campaigns by using funds from their regular membership dues?	12	83	5
(8) Including private business in partnership with municipalities, States, and the Federal Government, for the development of water uses in irrigation, flood control, power production, domestic and industrial uses?	51	32	17
(9) The sale and barter of farm surpluses to Communist nations?	30	61	9
(10) The "tight money" policy of the Federal Reserve Board, which is currently being used to check inflation, recognizing that this policy tends to restrict the availability of mortgage money?	65	21	14
(11) Stronger antitrust laws, including closer Government scrutiny of merger proposals of large companies?	76	14	10
(12) Controls by the Federal Government of rents, wages and prices in peace time?	13	83	4

Security Crux of Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SECURITY CRUX OF GIRARD CASE

The term extraterritoriality sounds vaguely legalistic and very impressive. It is both.

It is just another way of saying that one nation's citizens cannot be tried in the courts of another nation for crimes alleged to have been committed in that country. As a legal concept it is a hangover from the days of empire and colonialism when standards of justice varied widely between the colonizers and the colonized.

As a legal concept it was just in the frame of reference which produced it, although even then it was subject to abuse.

Today extraterritoriality is largely outmoded and the practice of it represents a decided threat to the security of the United States.

These facts lie at the very core of the so-called status-of-forces treaties between the United States and the several nations in which our troops are stationed, and this, in

essence, is what the shouting is all about over the case of Army specialist William S. Girard, whom the Japanese want to try for manslaughter.

We do not pretend to know the intimate details of the Girard case, or even whether his alleged offense falls properly within the rigid limitations of our status treaty with Japan. The Department of Defense seems to think it does, however.

But one thing stands out crystal clear: Until the day of the intercontinental ballistic missile arrives, the security of America and of the entire free world depends on the maintenance of American overseas bases, and these bases must be maintained on a basis of mutual respect between America and the sovereign powers of the lands where they are located.

National pride is a touchy thing, as witness the flag waving and prating about constitutional rights indulged in by the opponents of the status treaties. But national pride is a sword that cuts two ways; other peoples have it, too, and our very existence these days is bound up in getting along with many other peoples.

The supreme irony of the entire Girard situation is that those who are waving the American flag the hardest may unwittingly be playing the Communist game of divide and conquer.

Changing the Pattern in Supplemental Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, the action of the House of Representatives in defeating the Third Supplemental Appropriations Bill on Tuesday was a source of some encouragement to me and I trust it was to millions of Americans who feel that the budget cuts effected by the Congress were made only because they are politically fashionable.

It is common knowledge that authorities on our national economy and fiscal policies have sneeringly questioned the sincerity of the Members of Congress in voting appropriation reductions. Yes, and many of these experts, journalists and commenators have termed the action "budget cuts for home consumption" or "for political show." Certainly the pattern and backlog spending and constant approval of supplemental and deficiency appropriations in the past have justified their mockery of the economy motives of many Members of this House in the past 2 decades.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I would like to feel that the action taken by the House in not only rejecting this appropriation bill, but in also voting down legislation that proposed to put the Federal Government in the insurance business, will be consistent with the action which will be taken on future supplemental and deficiency appropriation bills. We will, undoubtedly, be confronted by this oft-repeated situation, that of being asked to spend beyond the sums provided in original bills which were pared by this body.

By consistent and determined action in not yielding to demands for more money, we can serve notice on Members of the other body, department heads and their under secretaries, and all those who might otherwise fall into the category of bureaucrats, that we intend to hold the line. We will, at the same time, confound the mass of economists and experts who have pointed to the economy efforts of the House as political maneuvers rather than as a sincere effort to slash the cost of government.

I, for one, did not particularly like an article which appeared in the local press recently calling attention to the budget cuts voted by the Congress as a means of staging a political exhibition for the appeasement of the folks back home. Past performances, however, certainly gave the author of this article every right to this conclusion. Now we have an opportunity to change this attitude. The author of the particular article to which I refer noted that budget items cut in March and April are restored by means of supplemental and deficiency appropriation requests. So frequently in the past, Congress has rubberstamped these requests from the executive departments. Hence, when the various department heads and their top-ranking assistants observe this pattern, it is natural that they assume that when Congress says, "No," it means "Maybe," and when Congress says "Maybe," it merely means, "Wait a while and you will get your money but not right now while the voters are looking."

Well, Mr. Speaker, I hope that Tuesday the Members of this House who voted to defeat the third supplemental appropriations bill, in doing so served notice that assumption must no longer prevail.

I took particular pleasure in the action we took on the proposed tungsten subsidy request for $20 million. Now, under this tungsten stockpiling program, we have managed to accumulate a 6-year supply of tungsten at a magnanimous 48 percent above the regular market price. This is a 6-war-year supply. Used at normal rate of consumption, it is estimated that this supply of tungsten will last us—if not another ounce of the expensive metal is produced—until 1984.

This in itself is ridiculous. But there are even more weird facets to this situation. For instance, 10 percent of the entire program is distributed among the 682 so-called small producers while 90 percent of the money goes to a handful of others.

The purpose—if there could have been any purpose to a measure such as this—was allegedly to help the small producer of tungsten. It obviously did not nor would it accomplish this purpose.

This tungsten measure was admittedly a subsidy program. It was brought before us at a hearing of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and its proponents had difficulty explaining the measure away. In fact, always when an outright subsidy is proposed, those who propose it find it extremely difficult to explain for the general good of the people rather than a special few why they are making this effort. Their explanations always ring just a little hollow. Even those receiving the subsidy must find it a little difficult to explain to themselves whence came this manna.

And when the proponents of these subsidies can dig up a reasonable explanation for them—such as wartime stockpiling of tungsten—the subsidies, Federal aid programs and Federal giveaways have a tendency to outlive their usefulness as well as their creators. Once on the books, it is hard to tear these subsidy programs away from the Federal charge account.

Wartime taxes have continued because wartime programs have been resuscitated when it would have been kinder to let them die, and, in some cases, kinder still to have strangled them. When many of these Federal subsidy programs are faced with the reality of natural death, there are those who come racing forth with the pulmotor of the Federal Treasury to revive the patient who would be better off if laid to final rest. In most cases the mourners would be few indeed.

The tungsten program we voted down Tuesday was certainly one of these attempts to revive the patient for a few additional years of lush life at the expense of the already heavily laden American taxpayer. In my estimation no such future programs should be undertaken in view of the demands of the taxpayer for relief from this sort of thing, and in view of the already monstrous $270 billion debt.

What we did Tuesday, then, was in its own small way a refutation of the old law that what Congress refuses to give today, will be gladly donated tomorrow, when the voter and taxpayer is looking the other way.

It should be carefully noted by the Cabinet officers and their underlings as a warning of things to come. For the first time in a decade it appears that Congress is in no mood to trifle with the taxpayer's pocketbook. We have been dipping into his wallet too often, he is tired of it.

May the department heads come to the full understanding that what we are cutting now, will remain cut. In the past the Cabinet officer has looked at his sliced budget, apparently murmurred that it is the way the ball bounces, and bided his time. In March of the next year he sends a little note up to the Hill and tells us, quite calmly, quite blatantly, that he has spent all his money, and he needs more. And, Congress has so often obliged him and abetted him in this winking at the law. We obligingly introduce and pass 1, 2, or 3 emergency supplemental appropriations bills. Then on April 15, the American taxpayer sadly accepts the tab while the national debt remains at its astronomical level.

We have made a good beginning in the House; we have this year received more cooperation than usual from the other body. Now, we must drive home to everyone in the executive departments that we are not fooling either ourselves or the taxpayer. We cannot afford the luxury of so many supplemental appropriations while our Government and our people are so deeply in hock.

Opposition To Recognition of Red China by the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the internationalists are urging that the United States follow the British trade example, deserting the Nationalist Government on Formosa and welcoming the Communist Chinese into the world of nations, with full recognition.

I do not agree that "recognition is inevitable, so let us do it now," because I am thoroughly convinced that to do so would be a serious mistake in our foreign policy, now and in the future.

I am inserting in the RECORD a letter which I have written to the chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and an editorial which appeared in the June 15 edition of the Johnstown Tribune-Democrat.

The letter and editorial follow:

JUNE 19, 1957.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, The United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: As Representative of Pennsylvania's 22d Congressional District, I submit this statement in opposition to any change in the official policy of the United States Government with respect to the total embargo on trade with Communist China.

I remind the committee that in the military prisons of this country there are today a number of military men convicted of cooperating with Red China during the period of their captivity by that renegade government. There has been no change in the political or philosophical makeup of that government. It is comprised of the same tyrants who were responsible for the invasion of South Korea, who drove captured American soldiers like despised beasts across the Yalu River into the illegitimately acquired territory beyond the Manchurian border, who tortured our men and boys without respect for the rules of war or the laws of God or man, who even today are holding more than 400 American soldiers, if they have not already put them to death by the sword or through starvation and disease.

These are the brigands with whom the State Department suggests that we do business. The abrupt about-face prompts the question of whether that has been brainwashing carried out right under the American flag in recent months. The fact that Great Britain has decided to widen its commercial channels with Red China is not a satisfactory answer, for the British merchant ships were conducting trade with that country at the very time that our men and boys were dying on Korean soil.

I implore your Committee to do everything in its power to uphold the American tradition of refusing to trade with the enemy under any circumstances. To open avenues of trade between the United States and Red China would serve to the advantage of the enemy alone. It would aid in building up that country's industrial potential, in return for which the United States could expect the greatest opium-smuggling effort in history as a means of obtaining our dollars.

The material disadvantages to the United States are obvious, but that consideration cannot be the determining factor. Any breakdown in the trade embargo with Red China would be a surrender to the forces of evil and would decimate the symbol of Uncle Sam as a moral leader in this confused world.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. SAYLOR,
Member of Congress.

MAO MINIMIZES BUT CAN'T DENY MURDERS

Mao Tse-tung's speeches of last February and March have come to light, in which the Chinese Communist dictator admitted that security forces of his regime liquidated—a less brutal word to describe the brutal fact of murder—800,000 enemies of the people between the Communist takeover in 1949 and 1954.

Heretofore the number of Chinese dissidents murdered by the Communists has been estimated as up to 20 million, with 10 million a probable average of the informed guesses. In huge China, with a present population of almost 600 million, either number could disappear without marked effect on the country. And it is safe to assume that Mao would make his own estimate as low as he thought he could get away with, without seeming ridiculous.

Since 1954, Mao is quoted as saying, "We are no longer using methods of terror," and instead have substituted "persuasion and education." The reports which have leaked out of China suggest that these words also conceal some extremely brutal facts. The stories told by our servicemen who were captured during the Korean war indicate that the persuasion used on Chinese must have been pretty intense.

Mao dealt with many subjects in his speeches, which were obviously designed to paint his regime in as favorable light as possible. He announced a new doctrine of "Let 100 flowers bloom," or "Let 100 schools of thought contend"; but those who take this to mean they can argue with the Communists would do well to think twice, or they are likely to end up as cut flowers.

The mere fact that it has taken months for such a major speech to emerge from hidden China itself indicates the nature of the regime with which, according to some schools of thought, the West can resume normal relations. The fact is, and probably will remain for a long time, that this is an absolute despotism over the Chinese people, which will suffer no genuine expression of popular will. And we discover daily in the reports from Korea that it will pay no attention to honor in its relationship with the West.

It suits the Chinese dictatorship now to pretend that it wants to become a respected member of the family of nations—without, of course, giving up its usurped place in Korea or abandoning its subversion throughout Asia. When there is some tangible evidence that the Chinese Communists have changed their brutal nature, it might be worth considering a change in America's relationship with them.

Until that time, however, any indication that this country is watering down its hostility to the things Mao and his Communists represent can only do harm to the anti-Communist cause in Asia, and make our friends there wonder if they, too, shouldn't start dickering with the Communists in Peiping.

Television Broadcasting Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me before the Federal Communications Bar Association, at the Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C., Thursday, June 20, 1957:

I am very happy to have the opportunity to discuss with you today the hearings of our House Antitrust Subcommittee and the subcommittee's report on the television broadcasting industry. It is, of course, not possible, in the few minutes that I have, to go into all the matters which were covered. I shall limit myself, therefore, to outlining a few of the problems posed by the investigation which are of particular interest to you as members of the Federal Communications bar.

At the outset, let me point out that the Antitrust Subcommittee's television inquiry originated in its lengthy hearings in 1955 on current antitrust problems posed by new forces active in the economy. In the course of these hearings, disturbing testimony was presented that Federal regulatory agencies, including the Federal Communications Commission, not only had become unduly industry minded, but had, contrary to antitrust principles, sanctioned and fostered excessive economic concentration in industries subject to their jurisdiction.

This testimony, so far as the Federal Communications Commission and television broadcasting were concerned, was particularly disquieting since there is no field in which antitrust objectives assume greater significance. It is hardly necessary to point out that monopolistic control of television broadcasting would enable a handful of individuals to convert the public airwaves into a medium for force feeding the American viewing public with handpicked opinions and programs. It would mark the end of hoped-for multiplicity of independent local outlets devoted to the discussion of local issues and the development of local talent. And it would negate the fundamental principle that mass communications in a democratic society call for the widest dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources.

In these circumstances, the antitrust subcommittee concluded that it was of crucial importance to examine closely into various facets of this industry, and into the manner in which the Federal Communications Commission has exercised its regulatory responsibility in the public interest. To this end, the committee staff conducted an extensive preliminary investigation which included interviews with numerous persons associated with the industry, careful analysis of testimony before other congressional committees dealing with broadcasting matters; and thorough examination of the files of the Federal Communications Commission and of the industry. I am happy to say that the committee received excellent cooperation from the industry and from the Federal Communications Commission in connection with the inquiry.

Thereafter the committee conducted extensive hearings in June, July, and September of 1956, in the course of which it received testimony from members of the Federal Communications Commission, the president of each of the television networks, the past and present heads of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice and many other persons familiar with various aspects of television. It was on the basis of the record made in the course of these hearings that the subcommittee issued its report on June 10.

What are some of the important conclusions flowing from this investigation?

To me a matter of most serious concern is that the Federal Communications Commission has failed to perform its statutory obligations adequately, that it has not infrequently failed to conform its regulatory activities to the letter and spirit of the antitrust laws; and that it has, for many years,

fumbled the vital problem of station outlets and frequency allocations. What is more—and this should be especially disturbing to members of this bar—the committee found that the Commission has been unduly informal in its relationships with members of the industry. In fact, for many years such an air of informality has surrounded the Commission's adjudicatory process that members of the Commission have repeatedly discussed with interested parties the merits of pending cases. It is needless for me to point out that such practices by members of a quasi-judicial agency are clearly repugnant to fundamental principles and tread dangerously close to, if they do not transgress, the outer limits of due process of laws.

It is inconceivable that members of this specialized bar association will tolerate continuation of this situation, which is so inconsistent with order and fairness. I am confident that you will assist in the formulation of procedures necessary to assure that the Commission will act as a truly quasi-judicial body.

As a first step, it is imperative for the Commission promptly to adopt a code of ethics that will prohibit further ex parte discussions of pending issues between Commission personnel and litigants and restore due process to its adjudicative process. I recognize that adoption of such a code will not in and of itself solve the basic problem of effective broadcaster regulation. What is required is appointment to the Commission of persons dedicated to serving the public interest. In my opinion there has never been a greater need for qualified personnel in the Federal Communications Commission, both at the staff and the Commission level. For a number of years the Federal Communications Commission has simply not measured up to the standard of public service required to inspire public confidence.

In the exercise of its licensing function, for example, the Federal Communications Commission has a unique opportunity and responsibility for protecting the public interest in a competitive broadcasting industry by closely scrutinizing both the nature of the transactions underlying license applications and the antitrust background of the applicants. The Commission's official policies recognize and assert that responsibility. Yet in practice the Commission has on several occasions subordinated the public interest in these respects. The NBC-Westinghouse station exchange of 1955 is a case in point. In that case, NBC persuaded Westinghouse to give up valuable Philadelphia stations in exchange for NBC's Cleveland stations plus $3 million. The Commission had reports from its staff expressing concern over the concentration and overlap of NBC coverage which would result from this transaction. It had detailed information from its staff reporting that Westinghouse was reluctant to surrender its Philadelphia outlets and may have been coerced to agree, or face possible loss of NBC network affiliation in several cities. Nevertheless, the Commission approved the exchange without a hearing, without giving specific consideration to the antitrust backgrounds of the various participants and without maintaining adequate liaison with the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, to whose attention it had specifically called the case, and which had been investigating the transaction.

The NBC-Westinghouse case is not an isolated example. A recent decision by the Commission affecting the Boston area again highlights the Commission's disregard of antitrust principles in its licensing process. In that case one of the applicants already owned newspapers and radio stations which were dominant in the area and was controlled by persons who had frequently run afoul of the antitrust laws in the past. Parenthetically, it was rated by the Commission's chief hearing examiner as tied for last place below two other applicants. The Commission awarded this applicant the license over all competitors notwithstanding the Commission's avowed policy of favoring diversity of ownership of mass communications media and of considering a history of antitrust violations in licensing proceedings. Let me emphasize that decisions of this nature shatter competition in the mass communications field.

The Antitrust Subcommittee did not investigate this transaction because it had completed its hearings before the Commission acted. However, it is to be hoped that the House Commerce Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, which was recently established, will investigate the Commission's handling of this matter.

In yet another field, the area of frequency allocations, the Commission has proved incapable of correcting the chronic and critical station shortage which is one major obstacle to achievement of a nationwide competitive system. Although the Commission repeatedly declared the use of UHF to be essential to such a system, for many years it not only failed effectively to encourage UHF development, but until recently, its every action further strengthened and entrenched VHF. As a result UHF stations face an impossible competitive situation due largely to the absence of all-channel set circulation. After 12 years, the situation still cries out for constructive solution.

In a related area the Commission has been remiss in failing to bring to a conclusion either of the two long-pending proceedings that bear on the difficulties of rural television stations that are not in the A. T. & T. transmission system in obtaining network programs for live broadcast at reasonable transmission rates. One of these proceedings, initiated in 1954, seeks permission to construct and operate private relay facilities whenever the cost of American Telephone & Telegraph services is disproportionate. The other, which has been pending since 1948, is a formal investigation of American Telephone and Telegraph common carrier charges for network transmission services. In view of the importance of these proceedings to the achievement of national objectives for broadcasting, the length of time which they have been permitted to drag on is unconscionable.

Turning to the problems of concentration in the industry, the committee's study revealed that CBS and NBC today occupy a dominant position in television broadcasting, accounting for over 40 percent of the entire television broadcast business. By virtue of that dominant position, these two networks, using spectrum frequencies that are a precious natural resource belonging to all the people, exercise vast influence and determine in large measure what the American people may see and hear on their television sets. It must not be overlooked, however, that they have done much that is in the public interest. Thus they have engaged in extensive pioneering activities, assumed large financial risks and brought to the public programs of great popular appeal. These factors explain in part their present dominance. There are other factors too which have contributed to the present concentration in CBS and NBC. These include physical considerations such as the natural limitation of frequency space which prevents unrestricted entry into broadcasting, and shortage of station facilities that has been aggravated by faulty frequency allocations. Various practices that have had a detrimental effect on competition have also, however, contributed to the present economic concentration in the control of television broadcasting. These practices include option time, must-buy, first call arrangements, possible tie-in of network time sales to the sale of programs in which the networks have a financial interest, quantity discounts granted by networks to large advertisers in the sale of time, multiple station ownership by networks, long-term exclusive network talent contracts, and broad caster activities in the field of music.

I would stress that the Federal Communications Commission and the Department of Justice have ample statutory authority to correct virtually all the foregoing restrictive practices. In this context, the solution does not lie in the enactment of extensive new legislation at this time but rather in the exercise by the Government agencies of authority which they have already been provided by the Congress. Only if the agencies fail to carry out their responsibilities will appropriate legislative proposals have to be considered by the Congress.

There is, however, one area where additional legislation is now required so as to amend section 2 of the Robinson-Patman Act and section 3 of the Clayton Act. In the sale of time, the networks allow advertisers a variety of quantity discounts which run as high as 25 percent and which are not related to any cost saving. Such discriminatory discounts in the sale of goods would constitute violations of the Robinson-Patman Act. However, since the act is not applicable to the sale of services, the large network advertiser can obtain a competitive advantage solely because of superior mass purchasing ability. This is true notwithstanding there is no distinction in principle between a discrimination in the sale of goods and in the sale of services. Similarly, section 3 of the Clayton Act which bans certain tie-in arrangements is not applicable where services are involved. To plug these loopholes, I have introduced a bill today to amend the Robinson-Patman and Clayton Acts so as to make them applicable not only to the sale of commodities but also to the sale of services by independent contractors.

In respect of the other recommendations, I think the past record of the Antitrust Subcommittee demonstrates that its reports are not issued merely to be filed. On the contrary, it is the policy of the committee to keep a watchful eye on the steps taken to carry out committee recommendations. In this connection I may mention the effectiveness of past recommendations of the committee with respect to such matters as conflicts of interest cases; adoption of a code of ethics by the Department of Justice; employment of WOC's; measures to improve enforcement of the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act and other antitrust statutes; activities of the Civil Aeronautics Board in respect to policies concerning a general passenger fare investigation, and the licensing of travel agents.

In accordance with its policy, the subcommittee has made formal request to the Federal Communications Commission and the Antitrust Division for detailed progress reports as to steps these agencies undertake to carry out each of the committee's recommendations pertaining to television broadcasting. Beyond this, the committee will continue to scrutinize carefully the manner in which the Commission and the Antitrust Division carry out these recommendations and implement the congressional policy of a nationwide competitive system of broadcasting. The public interest requires no less.

On Court-Martial of Civilians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD, I should like to include the following editorial entitled "On Court-Martial of Civilians" by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of June 17, 1957:

ON COURT-MARITAL OF CIVILIANS

(By David Lawrence)

The Supreme Court of the United States added several complexities to the judge-made chaos of our times Monday when it handed down a decision freeing two American women who murdered their soldier husbands. The reason for acquitting them is that, because they lived in military quarters overseas, they were denied a civilian trial by jury.

Maybe Congress now will be encouraged to give the same civil rights of trial by jury to both white and Negro citizens in the South who don't commit murder but are merely charged with criminal contempt under vaguely worded court injunctions.

Eight Justices participated in the decision and the ninth refrained because he had not been on the Court long enough to hear the whole case. But the ruling and dissenting opinions, which covered more than 25,000 words, do not give Members of Congress or anyone else the slightest inkling of what is or is not the supreme law of the land on this particular issue.

Four Justices ruled that the wives of servicemen cannot be tried overseas or anywhere else by court-martial but must be tried by civilian courts, either foreign or specially provided for by the United States.

Two justices in separate opinions agreed to dispose of the case by freeing the two women because they said they had not had a jury trial and that in the matter of a capital offense—punishable by death—there has to be a jury trial. They declared that other kinds of offenses committed by civilians attached to the Armed Forces might possibly come within military jurisdiction but declined to be specific about future cases.

Two dissenting justices said the evidence showed that two women brutally killed their husbands, both American soldiers, while stationed with them in quarters furnished by our Armed Forces on its military installations in foreign lands.

These justices wanted to uphold the ruling of the military tribunal which had sent the women to prison for life.

Now it so happens that these two cases were decided the other way—the military court was upheld—in a decision handed down a year ago by the Supreme Court.

The High Court seldom reverses itself. If it does, it usually contends that some new facts have been brought out that weren't available before. This time the majority of the Justices say frankly their previous decision was wrong. Justice Frankfurter in his separate opinion goes to considerable pains, however, to show that the ruling rendered a year ago was based on a previous decision in another case that really doesn't resemble the facts or circumstances surrounding the present case.

One wonders after reading Justice Frankfurther's explanation why 4 of the 6 Justices who voted to release the murderers didn't at least give some such explanation when they reversed the famous opinion upholding separate but equal facilities in schools. This decision was rendered originally in 1896 and was then reversed in 1954 when the Court merely said it believed sociological considerations had somehow grown more important, a concession to expediency. Frankfurter in his opinion last Monday, however, in arguing for the idea of giving explanations when reversals by the Court occur, quoted approvingly of the following concept:

"If a precedent involving a black horse is applied to a case involving a white horse, we are not excited. If it were an elephant, then we would venture into thought. The difference might make a difference. We really are concerned about precedents chiefly when their facts differ somewhat from the facts in the case at bar."

The foregoing will be quoted again and again to point out that the Supreme Court in reversing the separate but equal doctrine 3 years ago just didn't have any new facts but decided to go along with the trend of the times. Justice Frankfurter in his latest opinion warns belatedly that reversals must be based on judicial principle, and he adds: "Legal doctrines are not self-generated abstract categories. They do not fall from the sky; nor are they pulled out of it. They have a specific juridical origin and etiology."

Looking up in the dictionary the word etiology, one finds it means custom, which makes the phrase mean judicial precedent and the customs of the people, which the Supreme Court certainly ignored in the integration cases.

The Supreme Court, moreover, ventured into a lot of other fields with its variegated opinion on the two murder cases which it decided Monday. Four of the Justices—Chief Justice Warren, Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan—said a significant thing about how treaties or agreements with foreign governments cannot supersede the Constitution. Presumably, even if the United States agreed by treaty, for instance, to let William Girard be tried by a Japanese court, this doesn't mean the treaty or agreement under which such action were taken is constitutional. It could mean that Girard has a right to trial at least by an American military court.

Senator Bricker, sponsor of the much-discussed amendment to the Constitution to assure that a treaty cannot supersede the Constitution, feels reassured by the new pronouncement but points out that only four Justices subscribed to the declaration. It all adds to the bewilderment of the public, which is being solemnly told that it must always bow to the supreme law of the land, whatever that is today.

Let the People Judge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my voice to those of others who have praised Senate Majority Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON for his great speech on June 6, 1957, before the Annual Conference of the United Jewish Appeal meeting in New York City.

This historic speech was entitled "The Open Curtain."

Senator JOHNSON said:

We must create a new world policy. Not just of open skies, but of open eyes, ears, and minds, for all peoples of the world. I call for the open curtain. Let truth flow through it freely. Let ideas cleanse evil just as fresh air cleanses the poisoned, stagnant mass of a long-closed cavern. Mankind's only hope lies with men themselves. Let us insist that the case be submitted to the people of the world.

The speech in which Senator JOHNSON advanced the concept of a regular interchange of ideas between the United States and the U. S. S. R., it appears to me, was generated in part by the appearance of Russia's Communist boss N. Khrushchev on the Columbia Broadcasting System radio and television program Face the Nation on June 2.

Since then there has been a great deal said and written on whether Khrushchev should have been permitted access to an American audience. I, for one, agree with the judgment exercised by the Columbia Broadcasting System in presenting this figure and permitting Americans to see this man in action so that they could formulate their own opinion as to his sincerity and judge for themselves the merits of his arguments. A great number of American newspapers have agreed with this view.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit the following editorial comment from the New York Times, June 3; the Washington Post and Times Herald, of the same date; the Minneapolis Morning Tribune, June 7; and the Pilot, a Catholic weekly of Boston, Mass., June 1, as a sample of newspaper approval of the Columbia Broadcasting System's enterprise and news judgment in arranging and presenting the program:

[From the New York Times of June 3, 1957]

KHRUSHCHEV FACES AMERICA

A moment of great irony occurred yesterday about one-third of the way through the televised and broadcast interview Nikita S. Khrushchev gave the Columbia Broadcasting System. There was the rotund Mr. Khrushchev's picture on the television screens of millions of American homes, there were his words coming out of millions of loudspeakers in our homes. Those words were defending the Soviet policy of jamming Voice of America broadcasts to the Soviet Union on the ground that that voice gets on one's nerves. That moment epitomized the difference between a free country and a totalitarian country. In our land Mr. Khrushchev was given an opportunity to propagandize our people with complete freedom. In his own land, Mr. Khrushchev arrogates to himself and his colleagues the right to decide what his people shall and shall not hear or see, using as the criterion what does or does not get on his nevres.

Mr. Khrushchev's appearance on our television and radio was a historic and salutary event. In a sense, the fact of his appearance was almost more important than what he had to say, and that fact belied Mr. Khrushchev's own words about our alleged iron curtain. Millions of our people had a chance to see Mr. Khrushchev in action and to form a judgment of him and his words. He certainly tried hard to project an image of earnestness, sincerity, and good humor. But from time to time during the interview traces of the hard, merciless human being that he is penetrated the outer image. No one who saw Mr. Khrushchev yesterday can doubt that in him we are up against a tough and determined opponent.

We Americans believe in the free competition of ideas. As an example of that belief put into practice, the Khrushchev interview was in our best tradition, and the Columbia Broadcasting System is to be congratulated for its enterprise. We may all hope that the time is near when the Soviet people can see and hear President Eisenhower as freely as we saw and heard Mr. Khrushchev yesterday.

But our concept includes also the notion of rebuttal, and rebuttal is necessary because many of the ideas Mr. Khrushchev uttered are questionable.

Certainly we welcome his avowals of desire for peace, for friendship, and the like. But we have heard such avowals from Soviet leaders before and found later, as in the

case of the invasion of South Korea, that those words were empty. The issue is obviously one of mutual confidence, and it is central because Mr. Khrushchev's proposals on disarmament require that we accept the word of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Khrushchev makes a great mistake if he does not understand that past experience has made us chary of accepting the Soviet Union's word. We know that the Soviet Union does not keep its word to its own people. Only a few weeks ago, for example, Mr. Khrushchev himself announced the virtual repudiation of the Soviet Union's internal debt. In the tragic experience of the Hungarian revolution little more than half a year ago we saw an example of the basest Soviet treachery. Under the cover of conducting negotiations for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary the Soviet Union prepared and then delivered the treacherous blow which again enslaved the Hungarian people.

Nor can our lack of confidence in the Soviet Union's words be removed when we see the obvious sophistry to which Mr. Khrushchev resorts on key questions. Hungary last November showed how rapidly Soviet troops in large numbers could be moved into a neighboring country. Yet Mr. Krushchev yesterday tried to claim that mutual withdrawal of American and Soviet troops from Europe would be of equal significance to both countries, since some cities in eastern Siberia are as far away from Europe as is the United States. The troops which attacked Hungary last fall were not brought from Irkutsk or Vladivostok, but from the Soviet territory immediately adjoining Europe.

Or, to take a second example, there is Mr. Khrushchev's appeal yesterday that we should not look upon each other as robbers, but we should look upon each other as honest people. Surely Mr. Khrushchev knows that honest people do not systematically lie about their neighbors. Yet the Soviet press systematically, and recently in increasing amount, has been portraying this country as a land where millions are starving, where corporations wax fat on the systematic robbery and degradation of the people, and where plans for deliberate aggression are being hatched. This is not honest. People who spread such untruths are not honest people.

Many similar points could be made, but our judgment of Mr. Khrushchev's speech should not be entirely negative. It is good that he appreciates the catastrophic consequences of any future nuclear war, even if he still cherishes the delusion that in some way communism might triumph in the ruins of a shattered world. It is good too that the Soviet Union, on his word, is willing to begin disarmament agreements by accepting first some small step that might lead to something bigger. Finally, and not least important, we welcome Mr. Khrushchev's advocacy of more contacts between the Soviet people and our people. If there are enough such contacts then perhaps well before Mr. Khrushchev's grandchildren come of age the Soviet people will be a free people, permitted to see and hear anyone they want regardless of whose nerves may be put on edge.

[From the Washington Post of June 3, 1957]

KHRUSHCHEV INTERVIEW

Nikita Khrushchev apparently had no intention of uttering a threat yesterday when he told the American people by means of a television interview that their grandchildren will live under socialism in this country. Rather, he seemed to be expressing a deep-seated conviction that communism is an immortal idea that mankind will increasingly embrace. In any event, the most dominant note in Mr. Khrushchev's replies to some pointed questions on Face the Nation was a professed desire for peace, for competition between capitalism and communism in industry and trade and ideas, and for an increasing cultural exchange. He professed to believe that the system which has greater support among the people will come out on top.

The first fatal contradiction in Mr. Khrushchev's performance lies in his unwillingness to trust the peoples of Russia or the satellite countries to make their own decision in this matter. His flimsy pretense that the Soviet Union jams the Voice of America because it might misrepresent the American people will amuse the Russians as well as the rest of the world. To a question as to why the Kremlin does not allow the Russian people to make decisions for themselves, he replied only that the old scheme of dividing the Soviet people from their government is discredited. He came close to saying that the Kremlin is the Russian people. Under such a system there can be no free competition of ideas. While pretending to believe in a peaceful contest between rival economic and cultural systems, the Soviet boss made it unmistakably clear that his side would cling to the weapons of tyranny and unlimited power to insure the triumph of communism.

The second grave contradiction in the Khrushchev performance was his repeated assertion that the peace-loving Soviet Union is worried by American preparations for war. He could point to no instance in which the United States is menacing its neighbors; nor could he show that the United States has set up puppet governments in neighboring lands or launched aggressive conquests, as the Kremlin has done on a large scale since World War II. In the moments when he is honest with himself, Khrushchev must know that the United States is no menace to the peace of Russia or any other country. It is a menace only to the type of aggressive conquest by which the Kremlin has sought to extend communism to freedom-loving peoples.

The Soviet leader is to be highly commended for submitting to the interview, and there were some optimistic notes in his comments. He is willing to take a small first step toward arms limitation if satisfactory understandings can be obtained. He approves wider travel privileges for diplomats in Russia on a reciprocal basis. He recognizes the general calamity that a nuclear war would entail, although he believes communism would survive it and capitalism would not. The perilous element in his philosophy is that he elevates communism above all else and remains determined to fasten it upon mankind by fair means or foul. This ideological threat backed by the enormous power of the Soviet Union remains the greatest problem of our time.

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of June 7, 1957]

CBS AND THE KHRUSHCHEV INTERVIEW

The Columbia Broadcasting System, in our opinion, ought to be commended for persuading Soviet party boss Khruschchev to appear on its televised program, Face the Nation, last Sunday.

Millions of Americans got a chance to see Khrushchev in action, hear his replies to—and evasions of—questions asked by three American correspondents, and thus obtain a little more information on which to judge the Soviet leader.

As a consequence, we were disappointed that President Eisenhower, at Wednesday's press conference, implied disapproval of the show and dodged a question as to whether he thought Columbia Broadcasting System was remiss in its news judgment in getting Khrushchev to appear on its program.

In answering several questions, as shown in the partial text on this page, the President seemed to take the position that Columbia Broadcasting System should not have carried the show because Khrushchev spouted the Communist line and tried, by using propaganda, to split America from its European allies.

We hope that the President isn't adopting the position of Secretary of State Dulles (with respect to permitting American reporters to go to Communist China) that the American press should in effect be used as an agent of American foreign policy. The press, including television newsmen, ought to be able to inform the American people as to what is going on in the world. Unpleasant facts from Communist China ought to be reported. Unpleasant Russian leaders such as Khrushchev ought to be interviewed, even when we don't like or approve of what they have to say.

Mr. Eisenhower correctly pointed out that Khrushchev's appearance on television was not the same thing as a kinescope of an American Presidential press conference. "We know that there are no prepared questions here and no prepared answers," Mr. Eisenhower said. "It is a matter of trying to deal honestly with each other and then putting it * * * in the papers and on the radio and * * * on the television screen, and this other performance of last Sunday afternoon was far from that."

However, on the basis of statements of B. J. Cutler, the New York Herald Tribune correspondent who participated in the interview, was well as those of CBS officials and press association reporters who covered the event, the President's assumption that both the questions and answers were prepared in advance seems to be unwarranted.

All reports indicated that the reporters and Khrushchev agreed in advance on covering a certain rather lengthy list of subjects, but this is not the same thing as preparing questions and answers in advance. The President does not put any such limitations on his own press conference, to his eternal credit, but it was not so many years ago that an American President did insist on getting written questions in advance of a press conference at which he answered them.

Mr. Eisenhower at one point in his press conference said that a "commercial firm in this country, trying to improve its own commercial standing, went to unusual effort to get someone * * * that really made a unique performance in front of our people, and he could do that because this is a free country * * *"

This performance illustrates one of the virtues of a free enterprise system, of course. CBS in the true spirit of the private enterprise system signed up Khrushchev for a television program, told the American public about it in advance, and then captured a big audience because the people wanted to see and hear the Russian leader. And CBS was able to do all this without any prior approval of the United States Government.

Even if we didn't like what Khrushchev said, CBS still ought to be commended for making it possible for him to appear on America's television screens. It was a triumph for the free enterprise system and for the principle of freedom of the press. We believe that the President, when he thinks through the implications of the questions raised at his own press conference, will agree.

[From the Pilot, Boston, Mass., June 1, 1957]

EASY, EASY

Nearly everyone knows about a program called Face the Nation. It is a radio and television show sponsored by Columbia Broadcasting System in which some prominent person of special qualification faces several newsmen and answers the questions and problems proposed by the news panel. An informative and often entertaining presentation of certain current problems, it also provides an opportunity to see just how the expert comes through what is often a rather persistent and probing questionnaire.

Last week Columbia Broadcasting System announced the expert for next Sunday, his name was Nikita Khrushchev.

Almost at once certain wheels began moving and Columbia Broadcasting System has found itself with protests piling on its desk, one notably from the Catholic War Veterans of the United States. The argument is that Khrushchev is bound to use this television opportunity for selling the Soviet line and so, it is assumed, use the large and impressive facilities of Columbia Broadcasting System for Communist propaganda. The Catholic War Veterans suggested either canceling the program or plainly labeling it Communist propaganda.

This approach, in our judgment, is very nearly hysterical. Everyone of any intelligence in America is aware that Khrushchev is the Communist Party boss and is sure that he will be presenting the party line. He has been doing this for years. Four American newsmen however will have opportunity to challenge him publicly and point out the flaws in his presentation. Are we so afraid of the truth of the American position that we feel that it cannot be more persuasive than the Khrushchev line? Are all the brains with Khrushchev?

Communism is not some magic weed that grows everywhere its name is mentioned or its program described. In open debate and faced with the facts, it should not have a chance against the freedom of America. Khrushchev is no Communist Pied Piper who will mesmerize the land and start a Communist parade across the Nation. American brains, and American newsmen, can hold their own against Communist lies and promises. We have no reason to be thrown into terror; Communists are not superior to free men.

Retirements in Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on March 14, 1957, I introduced my bill, H. R. 6025, to amend the Career Compensation Act.

In support of my bill, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Hanson W. Baldwin, which appeared in the New York Times of June 20, 1957:

RETIREMENTS IN NAVY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SERVICE'S INABILITY TO RETAIN SOME OF ITS TRAINED OFFICERS

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

A Medal of Honor winner, Capt. Richard H. O'Kane, and Capt. Chester W. Nimitz, Jr., son of the Fleet admiral, are among 89 junior captains of the Navy who applied for retirement in the fiscal year 1957, which ends June 30.

The Bureau of Naval Personnel said recently that it was not concerned about these figures and that the figure of 89 represented only a slight increase over the 73 captains who voluntarily retired in the 1956 fiscal year. But many other naval officers and some of the senior officials of the Navy have expressed considerable perturbation. Twenty-three of the 89 officers are specially trained in engineering and these represent a high proportion of officers of this category. Thirty-four are staff officers, 32 from the unrestricted line. These latter are the officers qualified for command or any regular line duties.

Many have exceptional records and much professional schooling. A few of them failed for selection to admiral.

The bureau said that three preponderant reasons were given for requesting retirement, a privilege to which a naval officer is entitled after 20 years' service in accordance with certain conditions laid down by Congress and the Secretary of the Navy. Five years in the grade of captain is one of the requirements, but Captain O'Kane and perhaps others who have requested retirement have served less than 5 years as captains.

NAVAL PAY CRITICIZED

The first reason given in official retirement applications was inadequacy of naval pay to support a family, particularly when children are of college age. This reason is underscored by the recent Cordiner report, which urged a revision of service pay and considerable higher pay scales for merit and for those promoted to senior ranks. The report has been largely tabled, at least for this session of Congress, by the administration, and this action has aroused some bitterness in the service.

Pay also figured in the second reason given for requesting retirement. Some of the captains simply felt the pay was inadequate, as compared to private industry, to compensate for their responsibilities.

The third reason offered was hardship of a physical nature, a reason that meets one of the requirements for retirement. An officer's wife, for instance, might have asthma and be required to live permanently in a particular area, and thus would be unable to accompany her husband when he changed stations.

The official reasons given for requesting voluntary retirement were not, however, in all cases the major reasons—as was evidenced yesterday by a talk with Captain O'Kane, a noted submarine commander.

Captain O'Kane, 46 years old, graduated from the Naval Academy in 1934, won the Medal of Honor and three Navy Crosses in the war, and has attended the Naval War College and the Armed Forces Staff College. He and many others among the Navy's most promising young captains, who in time could look forward confidently to promotion to admiral. They are the kind of men the Navy would most like to keep.

DEFICIT FINANCING

Captain O'Kane conceded he was going into deficit financing to send his two children through college, but other reasons for retirement appeared to be paramount. Now on duty in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations in the Navy Department in Washington he said he had had 10 changes of station since the war and too little time in each job to do more than give him "a feeling of uselessness and futility."

He said, too, he remembered his oath of loyalty to the United States and he put that above loyalty to a single service. He obeyed orders, he said, but he had been called on frequently to support naval policies with which he did not agree.

He had to take the Navy's position, he said, when he believed there should be just 1 fighting service instead of 4.

"What I have accomplished in 1 year," he declared, "could be done in 1 month."

Captain Nimitz, son of the famous commander of the Pacific Fleet during World War II, graduated from the Naval Academy in the class of 1936. He holds the Navy Cross and has an outstanding record. He now is in command of the Orion, a submarine tender, which is at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, at the present time. Captain Nimitz could not be reached for comment about his retirement.

These applications for retirement, which have shaken some of the officers in the Navy who know about them, illustrate the compound nature of the problem of naval—and service—morale. Pay is a factor, an important factor, but it is by no means the major factor. Unnecessarily frequent changes of duty; too narrow an interpretation of service loyalty, and above all the absence of a sense of a job worth doing and well done have too often stultified the most energetic and the most ambitious. The Navy's personnel policies require very thorough study.

Foreign Factories We Helped Rebuild Seen Gaining Competitive Advantage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, there has been a growing feeling among our workers in industry that the help we have given foreign nations in an effort to assist their industrial rehabilitation has reached a point where it is beginning to prove detrimental to our own industries and our own workers.

This viewpoint has been forcibly and well set forth in an article by Constantine Brown appearing in the Washington Evening Star, issue of Wednesday, June 19, 1957. We recognize Constantine Brown as a man of great ability and unusual talent in expressing his opinions on matters of national and international affairs. This is eminently true in the article to which I have referred. It is an article that should have widespread distribution and serious consideration by Members of Congress and all other Government officials who are charged with formulating our national policies.

The article reads as follows:

WHILE THE UNITED STATES HELPS OTHERS: FOREIGN FACTORIES WE HELPED REBUILD SEEN GAINING COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE

(By Constantine Brown)

Spectacular developments recently in international relations, in financial domestic issues, such as the reduction of the budget, and in revealing congressional investigations in the field of labor leadership have obscured one of the major issues concerning the rank and file of labor. This is our competitive posture in regard to the foreign factories which we have helped rebuild since the end of the war with the most modern equipment available.

The problem which many dedicated labor leaders who are not politically ambitious are examining is now but a cloud on the horizon. It concerns the competition of foreign goods in our domestic markets and the difficulties we shall encounter eventually in competing with other industrial nations in an open world market.

At no time in the history of civilization has the working man enjoyed the material benefits, safe and healthful working conditions and the opportunity for recreation which have been achieved in this Nation. Of course these are directly attributable to the high prevailing wage scale which is paid to the producers of America's wealth.

Political leaders who direct our foreign affairs have been moving more and more

toward international agreements which place our products in a disadvantageous position. It might be noted that most of the high officials who devise these international agreements are political men—a part of the vast administrative overhead of our society.

Each time we build a factory in a foreign country and train the people in how to make products which they formerly purchased from us we chip away our economic advantages. It must also be noted that in the course of world developments, countries which in the past relied principally on the wealth of the soil for their economic prosperity are now becoming rapidly industrialized. And each time we allow cheaply made foreign goods to enter our domestic markets we injure some segment of our society.

A substantial portion of the price of any American product is the charge for labor. Most Americans don't squawk at the price because they feel that those who work with their hands are entitled to a fair share of the reward. The great strength of this country is that our working people can be homeowners, can enjoy material benefits, such as automobiles, and can rear and educate their children comfortably.

If we keep moving into an international labor community, however, something has to give. Either wage scales of all people in the world must be raised to our level, and this is, of course, highly unlikely, or our wage scale must be reduced to the lowest common denominator. Statistics show frequently a true picture. The following interesting figures show the difference in wages between the American, British, and Japanese workingman:

An unskilled laborer receives $2.41 an hour in America; 56 cents an hour in Britain and 18 cents an hour in Japan.

A bricklayer draws $4.15 an hour in this country; 65 cents in Britain and 23 cents in Japan.

Carpenters in the 3 countries receive, respectively, $3.57, 65 cents, and 21 cents.

Structural iron workers receive $3.97, 62 cents, and 22 cents.

During this reporter's last trip to Japan he found that the foreman in a seamless tube plant near Tokyo, a highly skilled workman, was receiving $47.65 a month. This represented half the weekly wages of an ordinary factory hand in this country.

The result of these discrepancies is that in order to keep the illusion of being an exporting country, we are being forced more and more into a position where we have to give our goods away under some arrangement or other before they can enter foreign markets.

The American textile industry is already hard hit by the import of cheap textiles from Japan. Yet, it is argued in the highest quarters, we must give the Japanese people a chance to make a living and cannot close our gates to their products.

The American automobile industry, which used to laugh at the little foreign cars, is now becoming anxious. The German Volkswagen is becoming increasingly popular because of the low price and the low gas consumption. A concern in Japan has developed a new car which is intended to displace all Western automobiles in the south Asian markets. Recent reports in Tokyo papers are that the manufacturer intends to adapt the little cars for the American market and the estimated cost will be about $800 delivered on the west coast.

If we continue to make political concessions for the sake of that will-o'-the-wisp peace in our time, the problem is going to become acute in many American industries.

Unified Bay Area Planning Advised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Bill Stokes, a fine feature writer on the staff of the Oakland Tribune, has reported an interview that he had with Prof. William A. Robson, one of the world's greatest authorities on governmental organization. A professor at the University of London, England, he has just completed a term as an exchange visiting professor of political science at the University of California. Professor Robson discussed the lack of coordination in the many political entities that go to make up the San Francisco Bay metropolitan area.

He points out that with the rapid development of the area we must have an orderly growth if we are to reap the rewards of good local government.

Professor Robson does not paint a pretty picture of our area but he paints a factual one.

The article is provocative and should quicken the conscience of all of us who are fortunate enough to live in the bay area.

I am happy to include Bill Stokes' article from the Tribune as part of my remarks.

The article follows:

UNIFIED BAY AREA PLANNING ADVISED

(By Bill Stokes)

"The bay area has reached the absolutely critical stage in its development. What happens in the next 5 years will mean the difference between chaotic conditions and orderly growth in the future."

These words should provide food for deep thought by city and county officials throughout the bay area. For they come from Dr. William A. Robson, one of the world's great authorities on governmental organization, who is preparing to return to the University of London after a term as visiting professor of political science at the University of California.

Sitting relaxed in an easy chair in the living room of his pleasant rented home in Berkeley, Robson expressed his views in an exclusive interview from the standpoint not only of a governmental expert, but as an "outsider who has come to love your delightful area."

"There is no place in the entire world to match what you have here. It saddens me to find you have not taken full advantage of your great beauty and location."

LACK OF UNITY

The big trouble with the bay area, as Robson sees it, "is the mass of Balkan states"—the cities and counties—and the fact that no one is "thinking and acting bay area."

The bay area, he said, "is unmistakably a genuine metropolitan area—it is an outstanding example of a metropolitan area."

Yet, he added, "you have not realized that you cannot make great progress by dealing with your problems one by one on a piecemeal basis, and you have not faced the fact that overall problems in a metropolitan region cannot be solved without metropolitan government."

Robson thinks the bay region has placed too much reliance on special purpose districts, set up to deal with only a specific problem.

"Take rapid transit, for instance," he said. "This is a long-term and very costly plan which will determine the whole pattern of living, working, and recreation in the bay area for years to come.

BROAD EFFECTS

"Initiation of this plan without full consideration of its broad implications and without overall planning and government could be quite dangerous because of the broad effects rapid transit will have on every aspect of life in the bay area.

"Merely increasing the horde of workers who travel to and from the central cities daily to work is bound to intensify your problems. London has the best rapid transit system in the world, but it has merely exacerbated our problem by making it possible for more and more people to travel longer and longer distances at a faster rate to and from work.

"Transportation should be the servant of man, not his master."

He cited Los Angeles as a horrible example of what can happen when the only consideration is to build more and more freeways and other transportation facilities simply to enable people to move faster and for longer distances.

"Los Angeles is transportation gone mad," he said. "It is a prime example of endless, senseless urbanization sprawling aimlessly.

"If I had the power, I would put up in the council chambers of every bay area city a big sign saying, 'Beware Los Angeles,' to serve as a constant warning."

What bay area leaders should do, Robson said, is to begin coordinated efforts to control growth, to develop planned, coherent cities around the triad of peoples' lives—home, work, and play.

This can be accomplished only through a metropolitan government which would consider the large questions of your future—the questions such as smog, transit and traffic, decentralization, sewerage, industrial development and the like which are not even being considered now or, if they are, are being looked at on a piecemeal basis.

Robson emphasized that the metropolitan government which he describes would not interfere with the continued operation of city governments in dealing with purely local problems and affairs.

TORONTO CITED

This is the type of metropolitan government which now embraces Toronto and 12 neighboring cities. Robson said the bay area could have a much better metropolitan government than Toronto by such means as providing for the direct election of at least a majority of the members of the legislative body.

Such a government, he said, could do much to reverse the trend to steadily longer movements of people from home to work, the major traffic flow which has created most of our present-day problems in metropolitan areas.

In addition, an overall government could act to remedy the political schizophrenia which afflicts people who live in one area, work in another and feel allegiance to neither.

Robson thinks bay area communities enjoy a uniformly high standard of governmental services. But he also had some harsh words to deliver on this subject.

SHORELINE MESS

"I am shocked by the appalling misuse of the bay front on the east side of the bay," he said. "This should be your shop window—a real scenic attraction. Instead, you use it to burn trash and as a refuse dump. It is one of the worst pieces of vandalism I have ever seen."

He said he feels planning arrived too late in Oakland and that the result is a frightfully dreary and unrelieved urban sprawl.

But service on the east side of the bay, he said, is absolutely shocking, adding that one of the prerequisites of an efficient metropolitan area is good public transportation.

Robson, who is professor of public administration at the University of London's School of Economics and Political Science, is author of Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics, and Planning. He leaves Berkeley Wednesday for a 5-week tour of the United States before sailing for England in July.

The High Court Splits Hairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania, Mr. Speaker, recent decisions of the Supreme Court, in the Communist Party cases, are cause for serious congressional concern as to how it will be possible to draft laws to forestall plots against the safety of the United States. The Smith Act, upheld in 1951, is now having so many holes punched in it by Supreme Court decisions that one wonders what kind of precautions against the advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States Government can be drafted which could escape being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Perhaps we should consider a bill to increase the number of Supreme Court Justices by one—and require that he be a psychiatrist.

Under leave granted, I include an editorial in the Philadelphia Inquirer of June 18, 1957, entitled "The Supreme Court Splits Hairs":

THE HIGH COURT SPLITS HAIRS

Yesterday's remarkable decision by the United States Supreme Court, freeing 5 convicted Communist leaders and ordering new trials for 9 others, establishes a new interpretation of the Smith Act that may seriously hamper Government efforts to repress the Communist conspiracy in this country.

The Smith Act makes it unlawful to teach or advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government and under it many of the top officials of the Communist Party in America have been sent to prison. In 1951, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the act and the conviction under it of 11 Reds.

The case decided yesterday concerned 14 California party heads who were convicted in 1952 on charges of plotting to teach violent overthrow of the Government.

In upsetting the convictions by resort to some astonishing legalistic hairsplitting, the Court majority has been charged by the lone dissenter, Justice Clark, "with usurping the function of the jury." Many persons are likely to believe that the function of Congress may have been usurped as well.

Congress did not write the word "instigate" into the Smith Act. But Justice Harlan, in writing the majority opinion in this case, has proceeded to do so.

The Court holds, the Justice stated, that the Smith Act does not forbid teaching and advocating forcible overthrow as an abstract principle "divorced from any effort to instigate action to that end." The Smith Act, he added, "was aimed at the advocacy and teaching of concrete action for the forcible overthrow of the Government, and not of principles divorced from that action."

Here, in this schoolroom approach to a vital issue, we have something vastly different from prior interpretations of the Smith Act and its power to punish those plotting the overthrow of our free institutions. Justice Harlan's insistent requirement of "concrete action," of "instigation," hark back to the then-dissenting opinion of Justice Douglas in the 1951 decision, which pointed out that the Communist defendants were not accused of any overt act and that the case against them dealt with speech alone.

If an overt act of attempted overthrow has to be proved against suspected Communist conspirators, if the teaching and advocating of which they are accused must be bound up with proved instigation to violence, Government prosecutions under the Smith Act may be considerably handicapped.

Are we not to be permitted to head off an overt act?

In writing the majority opinion in the 1951 case, Chief Justice Vinson had this to say: "The words 'clear and present danger' cannot mean that before the Government may act it must wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid, and the signal awaited."

Unfortunately, the new majority lineup in the Supreme Court does not share Vinson's opinions in the matter. It prefers to narrow the scope of the Smith Act and in so doing to dull the edge of an instrument which has been highly effective in dealing with the ringleaders in the Communist conspiracy.

Even if the new theory of the Court majority should hold, it is difficult to understand why the Government should not have an opportunity to present its evidence against all the defendants under the changed conditions.

Meanwhile, as others accused under the Smith Act race into court with the new decision clutched to their chests, it might be well for Congress to take a searching look at the law that it wrote, and perhaps amend it or rewrite it in such a way that no legalistic loopholes are left for Communist plotters.

Hon. Paul G. Hoffman Addresses High School and Junior College Graduating Class at La Grange, Ill., the High School From Which He Himself Graduated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present for the reading and information of you and all my other distinguished colleagues the text of an address by Hon. Paul G. Hoffman, at La Grange, Ill., Lyons Township High School and Junior College, on June 13, 1957.

It was my pleasure shortly before said date to be at a meeting at which this distinguished American and former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and highly successful American business executive related some of his experiences throughout the world as American representative and executive in connection with the United States international and foreign assistance problems. In again having the pleasure of visiting with him for a few minutes and renewal of a rather long acquaintance we exchanged with each other the fact of early dates by each of us to give commencement or graduation addresses to high school graduating students. When he informed me he was to make such at the high school and junior college from which he had graduated about 50 years ago, I asked for the privilege of inserting said address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I, therefore, have pleasure and honor in doing so:

Lyons Township High School has grown so amazingly and has achieved such eminence as an educational institution that it is a high honor indeed to be invited to participate in these commencement exercises. I was gratified but not surprised to learn from friends of mine in the academic world that Lyons Township High School is regarded as one of the top-ranking schools in the entire United States from the standpoint of preparing its graduates for college.

I understand that there are 500 graduates receiving their diplomas this evening, and that there are some 3,500 people in this audience. If I remember correctly, there were 25 of us in the graduating class of 1907, and by dint of much effort we succeeded in cajolling 150 people to come and see us get our diplomas. Quite a growth.

There is serious question in my mind as to whether Mr. Olson and the trustees acted wisely in inviting me to speak to you. Fifty years have passed since I graduated—a half century. So much has happened in that 50 years, and I think I have learned so much, that the temptation to devote all the time allotted to me to reminiscing and offering advice is well night irresistible. However, I can recall quite vividly my own attitude in June 1907 when I received my diploma. I was not interested in the past. I was intent upon the present and future. Nor was I too receptive to advice, no matter who offered it. Consequently, a part of my talk tonight will deal with the present and the future, but you must not expect me wholly to resist an irresistible temptation. I propose subjecting you to some brief comments on happenings in the past half century, and I shall close my talk with a few words of advice.

In the 50 years between 1907 and 1957, history, as someone has put it, has been written with a rushing pen. Change, bewildering and ceaseless, has been the hallmark of this period. Ancient empires have crumbled and many new nations have been born whose people previously had slumbered through centuries. In almost every field of human endeavor more change has been compressed into this brief span of years than in the previous 500 years. It is small wonder that the world today bears little resemblance to the world of 1907—just about as much, in fact, as the Lyons Township High School of 1957 bears to the small high school from which I graduated.

It is in life in the United States of America perhaps that the biggest change of all

has taken place. In the past 50 years we have seen the invention or rapid development of the automobile, telephone, airplane, radio, television, the atomic bomb, and now nuclear energy. We have witnessed startling increases in the use of nonhuman energy in our manufacturing plants and on our farms. In 1907 an industrial worker had about 1 horsepower to help him. Today he has almost 10. The simple manually-operated machine of yesterday has been replaced by giant automatic machines of unbelievable complexity that feed themselves, adjust themselves, and in fact do everything but think for themselves. In many cases one of these new machines can turn out more pieces per day than 100 men could formerly turn out on a hundred machines. It is this progress we have made in putting horsepower behind musclepower and in mechanizing our manufacturing plants that accounts for the fact that the United States, with one-sixteenth of the world's population, turns out almost one-half of the world's industrial goods.

We have every right to take pride in the extraordinary progress we have made industrially. It is an important advance but by no means as significant as other changes which have taken place in the American way of life in the past half century. From the standpoint of half of our population, the improved status of women is far more important; to most of us the fact that prosperity is more evenly spread has a more visible effect on our daily lives; and for every American who loves his country, the most significant change of all has been the progress we have made toward achieving genuine equality of opportunity for every citizen regardless of race, color, or creed.

Speaking first of the status of women, in 1907 a girl who wanted a career had to think in terms chiefly of schoolteaching and nursing. The great majority confined their ambitions to finding a man who could provide them with something different. If they didn't find that man or didn't take up either of the professions considered respectable for their sex, they were condemned to the rather unattractive fate of living with some male member of the family or a female relative who had made the grade, matrimonially speaking. Today there is almost no field that is not open to women. We have women in the professions as doctors and lawyers. We have women in government as ambassadors. We have women in every type of position in business. And women have invaded the field of sports extensively. We have women in tennis, in swimming, and in baseball. And it wouldn't startle me at all if next fall the coeds started playing football. Finally, as might be expected, women control far more than half of the wealth of the country.

Only those of us who have lived through the past half century can appreciate the change which has taken place in the manner in which our wealth is distributed. In 1907 we had classes and masses and there was a sharp difference between the way the classes and the masses lived. The average factory worker received about $12 a week and worked 60 hours a week. The pay for clerical workers ranged from $5 to $12 per week. The average family had an income of far less than $1,000 a year. Only the wealthy had automobiles or even a telephone or even a bathtub. Today the income of the average family is almost three times what it was in 1907 in terms of the same kind of dollars. Almost every family has one automobile, to say nothing of a radio, a television set, automatic dishwasher, and various and sundry other household appliances. From the standpoint of useful material possessions, the factory worker today is far better off than the factory owner of 50 years ago. Furthermore, class distinctions have become so blurred that we can with honesty say that ours is a classless society. We are all part of one great middle class and proud of it.

I said earlier, and I now repeat, that the most significant of all changes which have taken place in America in the past half century is the progress we have made toward making a reality of what I believe to be the great American dream, and that is of a society in which every child born into it would be assured of full opportunity not only to make a good living, but to have a good life. By a good life I mean one in which there is an opportunity to grow and develop intellectually and spiritually.

Lyons Township High School and this graduating class symbolize dramatically the enhancement in educational opportunities that has taken place in our country. In 1907 only about 1 out of 10 young people between 14 and 17 years of age was in school. Today the proportion has grown to 5 out of 6. The number of high-school graduates has been increasing about 13 times as fast as the population, and the number of college graduates 6 times as fast.

In spiritual matters we may have made the most—or the least—progress. Nothing is harder to gage because it is at once the most important and most intimate part of any individual. However, it surely can be counted as a spiritual gain that we have passed from the smug disregard of inequalities and injustice to minority groups to a lively awareness that we can never have a firts-class country as long as we have second-class citizens. I think it was in 1907 that President Theodore Roosevelt shocked the Nation by inviting Booker T. Washington to have luncheon with him. That was front page news at that time. Today it would be front page news if the President of the United States refused to have luncheon with any visitor because of race, color, or creed. We still have a long way to go before we can claim that we are fully living up to our obligations to our fellow men, but the fact that we know it is perhaps the greatest encouragement of all.

Turning now from the past to the present, the tragedy is that these gains are not secure—they cannot be secure—unless there is a change in the basic policy of the Russian leaders from one of aggressively attempting to communize the world to one of genuinely accepting peaceful coexistence. They have given lipservice to peace, but ever since the end of World War II they have kept the world in a cold war which all too often has been on the verge of being hot.

The effect of this Russian policy on the lives of you young people has been substantial and direct. The financing of your further education has been made difficult for your parents by reason of the high taxes which are an unavoidable consequence of the high cost of defense. Even more important has been the problem you young men have faced because of your uncertainty as to whether or when you would be called by your draft board. It is ironical, isn't it, that men 10,000 miles from LaGrange can make decisions so vitally affecting our lives.

Is there any chance that Russian policy may change? My answer is a qualified "yes."

I would like to make it crystal clear that my hope for a shift in policy does not rest upon any change of heart on the part of Russia's present leaders. The hearts of Khrushchev, Bulganin, and the other leaders, despite the honeyed words of Mr. Khrushchev a week ago Sunday, are filled with hatred of the free world, and their heads are still filled with dreams of world conquest. They are going to change only if forced to do so. But these leaders, whose hands are covered with the blood of a dozen purges, are hardheaded realists. If they are squarely put up against the danger of being purged themselves or changing policy, they will change.

My hope that Russian policy may change is based upon many factors, including, of course, United States foreign policy and myriad activities within the United Nations. But if a change should come, much of the credit must be given to a group of young people no older than you members of this graduating class. I am talking about the freedom fighters of Hungary, almost 30,000 of whom died fighting for freedom. The spontaneous revolt and sacrifice of these young people has had such a profound impact upon the situation within Rusisa that it must be giving the Russian leaders real pause.

In the dream of empire cherished by Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev, trustworthy and subservient satellites were essential to a realization of their ambition to communize the world. The Russian hopes that this goal could be accomplished rested largely upon a program set up in 1946 under which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the brightest young people in the satellite countries were brought to Moscow for intensified training to qualify them for Communist leadership. The idea was that by this type of hothouse education the youth of the satellites would become dedicated Communists, willing and eager to respond to every call from their masters.

But the program misfired. Many of the leaders among the Budapest freedom fighters were those bright young Hungarians who had been given special training in Moscow.

A similar situation prevails in the other satellite countries. In Poland it is the students at the universities who are most restive, who refuse to accept Russian-imposed slavery as their continuing lot. Even in Russia the young people—for the first time since the Communist regime was established—have begun to ask questions. Why shouldn't they? For years every trick and device of the mammouth Communist propaganda machine was used to persuade them that Stalin was the prince of peace, a God-given creature. A year after his death the propaganda machine reversed itself and Stalin became the devil incarnate, a creature to be despised by every good Communist. Such a sudden shift even in a regimented nation is bound to induce skepticism.

It is not only in the satellite countries that the young people are helping to shape the future of their countries. I recall clearly my first post-war visit to Germany. I was curious as to whether there was any real zeal for democracy among the German people. I had assumed that I might find it among the older Germans, who had known some measure of freedom before Hitler. I did not expect to find anything other than hostility toward free societies among the German youth, who had, of course, been subjected to decades of indoctrination. Among the older Germans I found a few people who were passionately dedicated to democratic ideals—men like Konrad Adenauer and Franz Blucher. But too many of the older Germans had been so corrupted by Hitlerism that their only complaint against Hitler was that he had lost the war.

What a different situation I found among the young Germans. I spent quite a little time at the Free University of West Berlin talking to students, some from Berlin and many from East Germany. Almost all the young men were veterans of World War II and of the Hitler youth movement. Some of them had been storm troopers. Without exception these young students were completely convinced that any and all forms of totalitarianism did violence to human dignity and that it would have been a tragedy if Hitler had won. They were eager to learn about democracy—about the freedoms that you and I take for granted. These students at the Free University are, I believe, fairly typical of the youth of Germany. Largely because of this, I think there is a solid basis for hope that Germany will be a stalwart

member of the Atlantic community of free societies.

The reason why young people have such a clear understanding of and steadfast devotion to democratic ideals is not hard to understand. Young eyes, unclouded by the prejudices we older people acquire quite unavoidably, can see clearly. Young minds, uncontaminated by the compromises life is apt to bring, can think sharply and with integrity. And young hearts, unburdened by self-imposed fears and timidity, can act with boldness and courage.

And now I would like to return to those young freedom fighters of Hungary. I have heard friends of mine deplore the fact that they acted with such impetuosity. Don't let anyone tell you that those young Hungarians who fought for freedom and died gave up their lives in vain. In the long sweep of history that revolt will, I am sure, take its place as the most important event which has transpired since the end of World War II. The tragic happenings in Budapest opened the eyes of the 900 million peoples in the uncommitted nations as to Russia's real intentions. They no longer are seeking aid from Russia. Rather, they are looking to the free world for the guidance and help they need in bettering their situation.

We dare not disappoint them because this change of attitude on the part of the underdeveloped countries offers us our one best opportunity to force a change of policy on the part of the Russian leaders. Despite the defections in the satellite countries, Russia can, in the foreseeable future, suppress any revolt. But if her leaders are convinced that they have lost the opportunity to convert or subvert these underdeveloped nations to communism, they should, unless totally blind, see that it would be to their advantage to change from a policy of aggression to one of live and let live.

We in the United States should, in my opinion, welcome such a shift in policy. Despite Mr. Khrushchev's statement that our grandchildren will all be living under Communist regimes, I, for one, haven't the slightest doubt as to the outcome of a nonviolent struggle between the free way of life and the totalitarian way of life. Even if the contest were solely between economic systems, we would win out, because freemen can outthink and outproduce robots. But that is not the real criterion. The real criterion is the impact of a way of life upon people as individuals. Our way of life gives people the opportunity to grow and develop intellectually and spiritually. Theirs makes rigid the mind and withers the soul.

We will not have to wait too long to find out whether the Russian leaders are serious in their offer to live and let live. If they will agree to take a step however small, toward disarmament, we will have grounds for optimism. I hardly need say that no step should be taken unless our interests are properly safeguarded. The Russian leaders have long since forfeited any right to expect other nations to rely upon their good faith.

You young graduates may well ask, But what's all this got to do with us? What can we as young high school graduates do to help bring about the desperately needed change in Russian policy? I shall try to answer that.

Clearly, you can't take up arms, as the young Hungarians did, because, praise God, there are no Russian soldiers here and no puppet regime. But what you can do is to be responsible citizens of the United States of America. You can give thought to world affairs, which are in a very real sense your affairs. You can weigh the pros and cons of domestic issues, such as desegregation and form enlightened judgments. Then you can fight for what you believe to be right with all the zest and enthusiasm that only youth can muster. Above all, you can give your support to all who are waging peace—waging it with dedication, imagination, and boldness. I am not being political when I name President Dwight D. Eisenhower as the world's great leader in that all-important struggle. So much is at stake in its outcome, not only for you, but for the children and grandchildren you may have some day.

The 50 years in which I have lived since I graduated from high school have been interesting, exciting and fruitful. But, if we achieve peace, the 50 years which lie ahead will mark the biggest advance the human race has ever witnessed. It is a wonderful period to which to look forward, full of the richest potentialities. I would like to see every one of you young graduates realize on these opportunities. I am not sure that any advice I have to offer will help, but it might.

First—and this was quite a dismal discovery on my part—there is no substitute for work. I found this so difficult to accept that for many years I kept a card under the glass of my desk so I would be reminded of it every morning.

Second, do not take too literally the guaranty given you of your right to the pursuit of happiness. Happiness is never the lot of those who pursue it directly. It is always a byproduct, a byproduct usually of generous activity on your part in behalf of others.

Third, do not succumb to the temptation of going up and out. The danger of going down and out is not overly great. The danger of going up and out is ominous. You go up and out whenever you stop growing, and that means that you should not only keep on growing, even though you now have your diplomas, but that you should try in every way to speed up the process of growth. Complacency is a most deadly enemy.

Fourth, contribute all you can to see that everyone has a fair and equal chance, regardless of race, color, or creed. In that way you can help make the American dream come true.

Fifth, be brave. Act the way your conscience tells you to act. What matters most is that you act as you know you ought, even at the risk of unpleasant consequences. That is the discipline of freedom, and that is the essence of bravery.

And finally, may I express the hope that in the year 2007, 50 years following your graduation, you will be enjoying life as fully as I am in this year of 1957—50 years after mine.

Plight of the Arab Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, members of the Rochester, Minn., Association for the United Nations recently wrote to the editor of the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle a letter on the important problem of Palestinian refugees. The article is deserving of widespread attention.

Recently I returned from the Middle East with many impressions similar to those set forth in the article. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle of April 28, 1957]

REFUGEES HELD KEY TO ISRAEL-ARAB DISPUTE—LOCAL U. N. GROUP PROPOSES SOLUTION

As they have studied the entire Middle East problem, the members of the policy committee of the Rochester Association for the United Nations have become increasingly concerned over the plight of the Arab refugees. They hope that this statement will focus the attention of readers on this phase of the Middle East question.

In the excitement over Suez, the Gaza strip, the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Eisenhower doctrine, we are apt to lose sight of one of the basic problems of the Middle East. This is the unsolved question of the Palestinian Arab refugees, who have contributed in such large measure to the chronic tension between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The R. A. U. N. wishes to direct the attention of the public to this tragic human problem by raising some key questions and then seeking to answer them.

Who are the refugees? They are the Moslem and Christian Arabs who fled from Palestine at the time of the creation of Israel in 1948. They number approximately a million, including children born since 1948. Most of them are able to exist only through the help supplied by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, and many live in camps built by UNRWA. The largest number of refugees are close to Israel's frontiers, in Jordan and in the Gaza strip; others are in Lebanon and Syria.

Why is the refugee problem so explosive politically? It is the refugees from whom are recruited the fedayeen or commandos who periodically raid Israeli territory. Refugee leaders have been the most insistent in claiming that the only solution to the Arab-Israel problem is to push the Israelis into the sea. Pressures from the refugees have contributed to the truculence of Arab governments, notably in Jordan where their riots played a major part in ending the traditional British connection and alining the government with Nasser's Egypt.

Almost a decade has passed since the refugees first emerged; why hasn't the problem been solved in this time? It is not for want of trying by UNRWA that no solution has been reached. Economically, the refugees could be resettled, in the Sinai Desert east of the Suez Canal, where UNRWA has proposed a major irrigation scheme drawing water from the Nile; in the Jordan Valley, where the plan advanced by Eric Johnston would enable Israel and Jordan to make fuller use of the Jordan's waters; in Syria and Iraq, two Arab states that, unlike Egypt and Lebanon, can absorb an increased population.

The forces blocking permanent resettlement of the refugees are in part financial; to a far greater extent they are political and psychological. UNRWA has been hampered by a shortage of funds and by the fact that only two U. N. members—the United States and Great Britain—have given it really substantial contributions. But UNRWA has been hampered still more by lack of cooperation from the Arab governments with whom it has to work and from the refugees themselves.

Everywhere among the Arabs UNRWA officials find themselves mistrusted or even hated as the agents of a world organization that sanctioned the birth of Israel. The result has been the thwarting of one project after another; the Johnston plan a scrap of paper because Jordan refuses to cooperate with Israel; Sinai irrigation impossible because Egypt asserts she cannot spare the water for it; refugees resisting transfer from

a wretched tent camp to more permanent quarters supplied by UNRWA because the element of permanence suggests abandonment of their reiterated hope of returning to their old homes tomorrow or the day after; the question of possible compensation and repatriation of the refugees clouded by the absence of a well-defined Israeli policy on these issues.

What, then, can be done about the refugees? The RAUN suggests that this tragic human problem is not quite so hopeless or insoluble as it may appear to be. First, the members of the U. N. should give UNRWA the financial wherewithal to support a permanent resettlement. Second, Israel in her own self-interest should seek a permanent settlement of this issue that has made conditions on her frontiers so unstable. She should make the refugees a firm offer of at least partial monetary compensation for their former property in Palestine. Some experts believe this would greatly reduce the sense of grievance that has made the refugees so hard to deal with.

Finally, both the United States and the U. N. should apply the utmost ingenuity to get the Arab governments to abandon their intransigent and unrealistic refusal to admit Israel's existence.

How may this arduous task be accomplished? One way may lie through enlisting the support of the Asian neutral powers, particularly India. Another and perhaps more fruitful way may be to promote plans for the economic development of the Arab world as a whole rather than the piecemeal development of the separate Arab States. Such positive goals as regional economic advance may eventually distract the Arabs from their negative anti-Israeli policy and prepare the ground for a durable peace in the Middle East.

Dr. John B. Christopher, Chairman; Miss Lucille Bowen, Mrs. Albert Craig, Jr., Alex Gaby, Dr. Winthrop S. Hudson, Dr. William S. Litterick, Mrs. Benjamin E. Lull, Dr. Robert E. Marshak, Mrs. Charles C. Marvel, Dr. Justin Wroe Nixon, Miss Mary Sheehan, Dr. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, Mrs. Clarence Wynd, Mrs. David M. Allyn.

Elect Supreme Court Justices?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, as one who has become increasingly disturbed by the rulings of the highest court of the land on matters affecting our Nation's security, I wish to call to the attention of our colleagues Mr. David Lawrence's article entitled "Elect Supreme Court Justices?" The article, which appeared in the June 20 issue of the Evening Star, follows:

ELECT SUPREME COURT JUSTICES?—MOVEMENT REPORTED BEGUN TO MAKE JURISTS SUBJECT TO BALLOT, AS IN STATES

(By David Lawrence)

Now that the Supreme Court has transformed itself into what is being termed "another legislative body," a movement has started to bring about the election of the high court Justices by the people. It would require a constitutional amendment.

The idea, of course, is not novel. This happens to be the custom in the several States with few exceptions. Thirty-six States elect their highest court judges at the polls, 4 States elect their top judges by vote of the State legislatures, and only 8 States follow the Federal custom of appointment by the executive with the consent of the legislative.

Since the Supreme Court of the United States has set itself up as having the right to tell Congress how to run its committees and the executive departments that they must retain employes they don't like, the question of how the Supreme Court, itself, shall be held accountable for its acts has arisen. This has happened several times before in American history.

The late President Franklin D. Roosevelt thought the answer to an arbitrary or capricious Court was to increase the number of Justices so he could appoint those who would decide cases as he thought they should be decided. This scheme was called court-packing. It required legislation and was frowned on by Congress in 1937. Former President Theodore Roosevelt, as a candidate for the Presidency in 1912, urged that there be a system of recall of judicial decision so the people, by referendum, could affirm or reverse decisions, especially in State courts.

Today the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered so many conflicting and confusing decisions that many lawyers throughout the country are perplexed and bewildered. The issue was succinctly stated by a member of the Supreme Court itself, the late Justice Robert H. Jackson, who, in the course of an opinion in 1953, wrote:

"Rightly or wrongly, the belief is widely held by the practicing profession that this Court no longer respects impersonal rules of law, but is guided in these matters by personal impressions which from time to time may be shared by a majority of Justices. Whatever has been intended, this court also has generated an impression * * * that regard for precedents and authorities is obsolete, that words no longer mean what they have always meant to the profession, that the law knows no fixed principles."

For the last 20 years many of the professors of law in the university law schools, particularly in the East, have raised a whole generation of so-called liberals who believe the Supreme Court should make "policy" and that to adhere to historic principles is out of keeping with the spirit of the times. This is the type of thinking which has bred throughout the country a feeling that the Court pays more attention to sociology or political science or ideological considerations nowadays than it does to fundamental interpretation of the Constitution and to the enduring principles of jurisprudence.

If, therefore, the Supreme Court is to make "policies," to whom should it be responsible? It now places itself above both the Congress and the Executive, which are themselves accountable to the people. The Justices, however, are accountable to no one but themselves. Such an autocracy was never envisioned by the Founding Fathers when they authorized life tenure for Justices. The several States have wisely written into their constitutions that judges must go before the people—sometimes after 6-year and sometimes after 12- or 14-year terms. But there is a check by the people.

Criticism of the Supreme Court is mounting. Unfortunately, it is a criticism that attributes political or ideological motives to the justices. Many Republicans and Democrats, moreover, are blaming President Eisenhower for the peculiar attitude Chief Justice Warren has taken since being on the High Court. "Why was Warren ever appointed?" is asked repeatedly in political circles. He was known as a middle-of-the-roader for many years. Eisenhower, however, is reported to be as much surprised as the general public that Warren has become enamored of the Douglas-Black philosophy and consistently follows the radical line without the slightest show of independence.

Justice Black wrote extensively on the rights of congressional investigating committees when he was a United States Senator, and so did Justice Frankfurter before he came to the court. They both thought investigating committees shouldn't be restricted in gathering information and in browbeating recalcitrant witnesses. They wrote approvingly of the harassment of the businessmen of those days. But when the harassment now turns to persons who have had past associations with Communists and who conceal their connections, both Justices Frankfurter and Black seem to become champions of the very individual rights which they once urged should be denied as businessmen sought to exercise them against the witch hunting and fishing expeditions of congressional committees.

So, since it is all so obviously political, there are many persons here in Congress who are coming reluctantly to the conclusion that election of judges for fixed terms, with the right to run for reelection, is the only way out of the political dilemma which the present Court has created by its legislative decisions.

Retirements in the Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there appears in today's issue of the New York Times an article entitled "Retirements in the Navy," written by Hanson W. Baldwin. In the article he relates conditions and situations which should give concern to all of us.

I commend the careful reading of the article to all. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RETIREMENTS IN NAVY

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

A Medal of Honor winner, Capt. Richard H. O'Kane, and Capt. Chester W. Nimitz, Jr., son of the fleet admiral, are among 89 junior captains of the Navy who applied for retirement in the fiscal year 1957, which ends June 30.

The Bureau of Naval Personnel said recently that it was not concerned about these figures and that the figure of 89 represented only a slight increase over the 73 captains who voluntarily retired in the 1956 fiscal year. But many other naval officers and some of the senior officials of the Navy have expressed considerable perturbation. Twenty-three of the 89 officers are specially trained in engineering and these represent a high proportion of officers of this category. Thirty-four are staff officers, 32 from the unrestricted line. These latter are the officers qualified for command or any regular line duties.

Many have exceptional records and much professional schooling. A few of them failed for selection to admiral.

The Bureau said that three preponderant reasons were given for requesting retirement—a privilege to which a naval officer is entitled after 20 years' service in accordance with certain conditions laid down by Congress and the Secretary of the Navy. Five

years in the grade of captain is one of the requirements, but Captain O'Kane and perhaps others who have requested retirement have served less than 5 years as captains.

NAVAL PAY CRITICISED

The first reason given in official retirement applications was inadequacy of naval pay to support a family—particularly when children are of college age. This reason is underscored by the recent Cordiner report, which urged a revision of service pay and considerably higher pay scales for merit and for those promoted to senior ranks. The report has been largely tabled—at least for this session of Congress—by the administration, and this action has aroused some bitterness in the service.

Pay also figured in the second reason given for requesting retirement. Some of the captains simply felt the pay was inadequate—as compared to private industry—to compensate for their responsibilities.

The third reason offered was hardship of a physical nature, a reason that meets one of the requirements for retirement. An officer's wife, for instance, might have asthma and be required to live permanently in a particular area, and thus would be unable to accompany her husband when he changed stations.

The official reasons given for requesting voluntary retirement were not, however, in all cases the major reasons, as was evidenced yesterday by a talk with Captain O'Kane, a noted submarine commander.

Captain O'Kane, 46 years old, graduated from the Naval Academy in 1934, won the Medal of Honor and three Navy Crosses in the war, and has attended the Naval War College and the Armed Forces Staff College. He and many others—among the Navy's most promising young captains, who in time could look forward confidently to promotion to admiral. They are the kind of men the Navy would most like to keep.

DEFICIT FINANCING

Captain O'Kane conceded he was going into deficit financing to send his two children through college, but other reasons for retirement appeared to be paramount. Now on duty in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations in the Navy Department in Washington he said he had had 10 changes of station since the war and too little time in each job to do more than give him "a feeling of uselessness and futility."

He said, too, he remembered his oath of loyalty to the United States and he put that above loyalty to a single service. He obeyed orders, he said, but he had been called on frequently to support naval policies with which he did not agree.

He had to take the Navy's position, he said, when he believed there should be just 1 fighting service instead of 4.

"What I have accomplished in 1 year," he declared, "could be done in 1 month."

Captain Nimitz, son of the famous commander of the Pacific Fleet during World War II, graduated from the Naval Academy in the class of 1936. He holds the Navy Cross and has an outstanding record. He now is in command of the *Orion*, a submarine tender, which is at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, at the present time. Captain Nimitz could not be reached for comment about his retirement.

These applications for retirement, which have shaken some of the officers in the Navy who know about them, illustrate the compound nature of the problem of naval—and service—morale. Pay is a factor, an important factor, but it is by no means the major factor. Unnecessarily frequent changes of duty; too narrow an interpretation of service loyalty, and, above all, the absence of a sense of a job worth doing and well done have too often stultified the most energetic and the most ambitious. The Navy's personnel policies require very thorough study.

Statement of Rev. James L. Vizzard, S. J., Vice President, National Catholic Rural Life Conference Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee for the United States Mutual Aid Program of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

STATEMENT OF REV. JAMES L. VIZZARD, S. J., VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED STATES MUTUAL AID PROGRAM OF 1957

Father VIZZARD. I want to thank the committee for its courtesy in giving us the opportunity to express our observations and convictions on the mutual security program. I would also like to congratulate the committee for its wisdom and its deep insight into reality. By the very fact that these hearings are now being conducted the committee makes plain its judgment that in the grave and basic decisions we as a nation must make, moral and spiritual considerations not only are pertinent but, when everything else is said and done, are overriding.

In consultation with Dr. C. J. Nuesse, who will appear here on June 5, it was determined that our testimony might conveniently be divided into two distinct parts. It will be my function and privilege to present the teachings of the church, that is, the ideas and principles which influence the practical judgments which informed Catholics make on issues such as we are facing today. His testimony will present the concrete evidence of Catholic convictions in the form principally of statements and policy resolutions of Catholic organizations and spokesmen. He will also offer specific recommendations on the mutual security program which have come from the same sources.

My comments on the military aspects of the mutual security program will be brief. To be sure, they also have their moral implications, but their justification, as has recently been clearly explained, lies chiefly in our own urgent defense needs. What previously has been presented under the guise of foreign aid is now seen to be largely American aid, and should be so billed. We have here, to put it directly, a very cheap way to buy ourselves essential military security. No doubt in this phase of our defense program, as very likely in others, some money can be saved by careful planning and administration. But we might well ask ourselves if we can afford to haggle or to try to make political advantage over a relatively few dollars when our lives may be at stake.

Neither will I spend any time on the more technical budgetary, fiscal, or administrative details of economic development and technical assistance. As I understand the chief purpose of these hearings, it is to reestablish, to emphasize, even to dramatize the moral and religious bases of our programs. It is the motivation and the spirit rather than the details which are under consideration today.

As everyone here is quite aware, a great variety of reasons have been given to explain and justify the mutual security program: Our expanding economy demands overseas markets and sources of raw material. We need to win friends and thus bolster our national security. We need strong allies to check further Communist expansion. If we don't help, the Communists will. As a last resort, appeal has been made to our fears. Our flesh has been made to creep with vivid warnings of the horrors all of us may suffer and few of us may survive if we fail to support this program adequately.

No one would reasonably question the validity and even urgency of each of these motives, for they reflect different aspects of our national interest. But it has been the discouraging experience of many of us that where we have suggested that moral motivation might be more urgent, and even more practical, patronizing realists have tried to embarrass us into silence.

They clearly imply or even bluntly state that charity and justice have no real pertinence to the issues, that these virtues represent only the sentimental idealism of international do-gooders. Moral interest, they claim, has nothing to do with national interest, and they'd be happy if we wouldn't complicate the matter.

This attitude is a strange one in a nation founded by men who so clearly spelled out the moral basis of our political society. The Founding Fathers understood that our national interests is a much broader concept and reality than is embraced by military security, political stability, and economic advantage. For, unless our Nation has interests and responsibility rooted in moral principles, just how do we differ from the arbitrary legality of totalitarian states?

Unless our national interest is based upon moral interest, our society and our objectives can claim no superiority over those of the Communist nations. Unless our foreign economic policy recognizes opportunities and obligations which far transcend narrowly conceived selfish and temporary interests, then do we not deserve to be weighed and judged by the world, and by God, in the same balance as Russia?

What's more, even in the terms of narrowly conceived national interest, motives of justice and charity have validity and value. It is my conviction, and I believe the results of these hearings will bear me out, that the mutual-security program will win much more sincere and practical approval from our citizens if it is explained and undertaken in terms of moral and religious conviction. In very concrete political terms, I believe that taxpayers and voters will respond more quickly and more heartily to this kind of appeal than to any other.

Moreover, again in terms of actual achievement of our goals, programs undertaken for and guided by these motives are far more likely to achieve, as byproducts, the stated aims of our foreign policy. It is the universal experience of mankind that gratitude and friendship cannot be bought. Neither individuals nor nations can be bribed into secure alliances. But disinterested service, genuine love, rarely fails to call for a similar response. If we want friends and dependable allies, we will win them only if we can make it plain that we are interested in them for their own sake, and for God's.

On the conviction, therefore, that whether national interests be conceived either narrowly, or broadly, moral and religious considerations are pertinent, I would like to explore these sources.

Start from the fact that while we and those in the world's relatively few other favored countries have been likely in our prayer to pass unthinkingly over the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," in large parts of the world hundreds of millions have known no prayer more urgent. Hunger, poverty, disease, and death have been their daily bread.

To this situation contrast the fact that we have an enormously productive economy, that as a people we possess a disproportionate share of this world's wealth, that we enjoy a standard of living almost intolerably

superior to that of a great portion of the world's people.

What, then, are our moral obligations?

I'm sure that we would not subscribe to the proposition that God created the resources of this world for the exclusive benefit of those who might have had the power to seize them, or the luck to stumble upon them, or the good fortune to be born into them. I am sure we would agree that it would be supreme egoism for us to assume that God has granted us such material riches for our own use alone. We are not members of some kind of exclusive club, the sole residents of a high-walled garden of paradise, somehow specially chosen of God to enjoy the best of His creation while the great bulk of mankind struggle outside for a meager and precarious subsistence.

One of Christ's parables comes to mind: Dives and Lazarus. We have no reason to expect that the fate of a nation which might scorn the obligations which go with wealth will be any different than that of the man whose very name implies wealth, selfishly and exclusively enjoyed. In today's world no one could mistake what nation is cast in the role of Dives.

It is also a fact, and it should be a disturbing one, that in the only portrayal of the final judgment which we have from Christ's own lips, the decision of the Judge is based on the very simple and direct criterion: Did you feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick? We have no reason to believe that nations will be judged on any other basis.

A simple sense of decency and justice must convince us that we possess God's bounty not only that we might enjoy it ourselves, but also that we might share it. In God's sight, we are His stewards. He has given us the opportunity and responsibility and privilege to use His blessings so that all might benefit. Justice suggests, demands that wealth be administered to the welfare of all; and, if Christian teaching means anything, this is true of nations as well as of individuals.

But there are higher motives still than fear of judgment or the obligations of justice. The law of love, the law of charity, which has been taught by all great religions, was summed up in the simple but dramatic admonition of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And we were not left in doubt as to who is our neighbor. The lesson of the parable of the good Samaritan is that every man is our neighbor, even the stranger by the side of the road in a faraway land. The works of charity do not demand a passport. The obligations of charity do not end at our own shores. Our neighbor is any man who needs our help wherever he may be found and reached; and when he is found love dictates that we approach him, as it were, with an apology for having come so late to help him.

Someone who may have heard these last words of mine may agree with their religious idealism but insist, perhaps sadly, that charity is the responsibility of individuals and not of states. Such a belief is common, but it ignores the fact that states come into being to fulfill for us collectively what we cannot do individually. As individuals we are bound to charity toward all. But in a world so vast and complex, in our private capacities we cannot reach all who need and have a claim on our charity. The state, therefore, acts as our agent. When the state helps, it is ourselves helping.

One is also rebuffed by some opponents of foreign aid who with an uncompromising air of finality remark, "Well, these giveaways have to stop. After all, charity begins at home." For them that ends the argument. It is difficult to understand why, for the statement claims no more than that charity begins at home. It doesn't end there. It is not completed and perfected until it reaches out to the farthest ends of the earth, and embraces in its warmth and love all who are in need.

A number of other objections can be heard almost every day and can be read in almost any paper: We have not won friends; the countries we have helped most are still uncommitted; our generosity is not appreciated. Somehow these objections seem almost petulant and they have already been dealt with. Why should we expect friendship and gratitude, when in the past our aid has been explained and justified exclusively on the basis of our terms, our aims, our self-interest?

Others making the outraged charge that our foreign operations are shot through with inefficiency, boondoggling, and graft. There have been, I am sure, cases in which this has been true, and wherever it has been found it must be eradicated and every effort must be made to prevent its recurrence. But no honest critic can make a universal indictment. The people we have sent out and the operations we have conducted have been no better or worse than we find in our own country. On the whole, a remarkable degree of integrity and success has characterized our activities up to now.

Perhaps the loudest and most persistent objection we hear these days is that our economy can't stand the strain, that we need tax cuts more than foreign handouts. Frankly I don't think we have to pay much attention to such nonsense. Our economy has stood, and, if called upon, could again stand the much greater strain and waste of war. We have not even begun to make the kind of sacrifices, personal and national, which we can sustain, and willingly sustain if we are convinced of their necessity. Moreover, the part of the mutual security funds which have been expended on technical assistance and economic development have been very small indeed, and even if eliminated entirely could hardly lead to a perceptible tax cut. And if it were eliminated, or even significantly cut, I think we'd have a harder time living with our consciences and with the consequences of our folly than we have now living with our budget and the necessary taxes.

In the mutual security program, we have the opportunity of providing the world with one thing it desperately needs: a shining example of pure, undefiled, and disinterested service. Our aid is and should be recognized as an important factor in stemming the advances of communism, but this program has an importance independent of the Communist threat. We should do the same things and even more even if communism were to disappear tomorrow. As stewards of God's abundance, we must make available to others what we ourselves enjoy. In doing so, we are not called upon to sacrifice our own prosperity. In the long run such sharing will return a hundredfold.

If we dedicate ourselves to a program for shared abundance, we may never again be called upon to dedicate our lives and our wealth to a program of shared disaster. We believe that here the United States has the opportunity and the privilege to give moral leadership to the world as it has provided political and military leadership.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. You refer on page 6 of your statement to those who say that charity is the responsibility of individuals and not of states. I have been on this committee for 19 years and for at least a decade I have been challenged to find in our Constitution any place where Congress has any power to be charitable with taxpayers' money. Charity, St. Paul said, is the first of the virtues, but if I feel so charitable that I reach into somebody else's pocket through the Internal Revenue Department and force him to pay, you then bring up a dilemma which you have laid squarely before us.

I am interested in your analysis of it. I want to say that I think a program properly conceived in our own enlightened and far-seeing self-interest for the security and welfare of our own country will give moral leadership to the world and if the program is properly presented and administered, there is no occasion for us to attempt to get into the issue that you bring up. That was a statement but I would be glad to have you comment.

Father VIZZARD. You are carrying us into pretty deep waters when you ask for an analysis of our Constitution and of the powers granted to Congress. However, I will attempt to provide an answer, if I may.

Under the general welfare clause and under the general understanding of the responsibility of the Government to the people, it is to fulfill for the people what they cannot as individuals or as smaller groups, namely, of smaller political entities, accomplish for themselves.

If the people, themselves, are convinced that they have an obligation of charity, both individually and collectively, which goes beyond their reach, the people can quite properly call upon their elected representatives to act in their name—in my judgment. Obviously Congress must be quite certain that there is that kind of general consent, that the motive of charity and justice is strongly imbedded in the convictions of their constituents.

Perhaps I could illustrate it best by a little incident that happened a couple of weeks ago. Representative FULTON and Representative MCCARTHY were with me at a breakfast conference of the Catholic Association for International Peace.

My mother and father were in town from California. Strangely enough, I am afraid there is no party or any group of any party in the United States conservative enough for my mother if not for my father. How this happened I can't explain. It just happened. They were dead set against foreign aid. They were against taxes for this purpose and I have heard my father make complaints about his taxes going down a foreign rathole.

They were at this breakfast where Leon Keyserling gave the main address and Representative Fulton and Representative McCarthy each spoke for 10 or 15 minutes on the need for this kind of program out of self-defense, and out of self-interest but also on the moral responsibilities that we have. After the breakfast my father confessed that he would no longer complain about his taxes being used in that fashion. My mother was anxious to get back home to "straighten out those girl friends of hers."

There was a striking conversion, something of the nature of St. Paul's. I hope it is as permanent and as effective.

I use it only as an illustration of how the convictions of our citizens, your constituents, can be formed if the proper motivation and the facts are brought before them. My idea of the role of Government, the role of our elected representatives is that they can and must act in this fashion if the constituents have clearly expressed their need and desire for and their support for them.

Statement of Dr. C. Joseph Nuesse, Dean, School of Social Science, Catholic University of America, Supporting the Mutual-Security Program, Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

STATEMENT OF DR. C. JOSEPH NUESSE, DEAN, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, SUPPORTING MUTUAL-SECURITY PROGRAM, BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

My name is C. Joseph Nuesse. I am dean of the School of Social Science of the Catholic University of America and immediate past president of the Catholic Association for International Peace.

My personal interest or experience in the field of international relations may be indicated also by mention of my service as a special representative of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Germany during 1950–51 and my membership on the United States National Commission for UNESCO from 1950 to 1956 and on the President's Board of Foreign Scholarships since 1954.

I appear before you in response to your invitation, not in an official capacity but as an individual seeking to interpret public statements and resolution of American Catholic organizations on problems related to mutual-security legislation.

The organizations to which I shall refer specifically are the Catholic Association for International Peace, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the National Council of Catholic Women, all of which have followed the development of foreign-aid programs with keen interest.

Permit me at the outset to associate myself with other representatives of religious bodies who have appeared before this committee in welcoming the recognition given in these hearings to the moral foundations of foreign policy.

The statement which I have prepared follows upon one made last week by the Reverend James L. Vizzard, S. J., who commended this committee for "its judgment that in the grave and basic decisions we as a nation must make, moral and spiritual considerations not only are pertinent but, when everything else is said and done, are overriding."

Father Vizzard outlined the fundamental moral principles by which informed Catholics are guided in their thinking on such questions as economic aid to foreign countries.

Perhaps I may begin by reminding the committee that these principles, derived in large part from the natural moral law, belong to an old tradition. They provide a continuing basis for cooperation in public affairs among men of all faiths.

They are to be found in the Old Testament and the Greek philosophers and, as part of Christian teaching, in the fathers of the church, the medieval scholastics, and the social pronouncements of modern popes. I should like to emphasize not only their age and universality but their importance as a frame of reference for the critical evaluation of questions of public policy.

To be specific, the conception of the common good as the purpose of the community is virtually as old as the tradition of which I speak. In our national life it is embodied in the term "general welfare." This is a conception which has had to be applied through the ages to the varying levels of community in which men have lived.

Through it men recognize obligations in their common life which demand subordination of their individual goods to the good of the whole, although their dignity and rights as human persons remain transcendent. There exists an international community with its own common good which, with the fact of the common humanity of men, imposes obligations in justice across national boundaries.

Awareness of these obligations is as yet all too dim on the part of millions everywhere who nevertheless, at least implicitly, admit the general principles on which they are founded and through which eventually they may be brought to awareness.

An application of the law of the common good which has relevance here may be found in traditional Catholic teaching on property. It is well known that this teaching has defended the right of private ownership; it is perhaps not so well known that the church has consistently distinguished the aspect of ownership from the aspect of use.

The former is individual, the latter social, since it concerns the common good. Pope Pius XI, in the celebrated encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno, reiterated as the unanimous opinion of "those theologians who have taught under the guidance of the church" that "the right to own private property has been given to man by nature or rather by the Creator Himself, not only in order that individuals may be able to provide for their own needs and those of their families, but also that by means of it, the goods which the Creator has destined for the human race may truly serve this purpose."

Pope Pius XII, speaking to delegates to a World Petroleum Congress in 1955, applied this principle in a way which is especially relevant here:

"What is true of individuals also goes for collectivities [communities]. The natural riches of a region, a country, or a continent are destined not just for the economic profit of the few, but for the improvement of living conditions—first of all, material, but also and paramountly moral and spiritual—of the groups of human beings who must live by exploitation of the earth's resources. The more and more apparent world character of economics and of the duties that fall upon privileged nations toward less favored ones will have their effect on the division of the goods produced."

This principle of national obligation to an international common good has been applied many times in policy statements of the Catholic Association for International Peace. In several such statements it has been used directly to support foreign aid. One may be selected for quotation:

"Economic and technical-assistance programs should be accepted as one of the most effective long-range means of more justly distributing the world's resources of knowledge and skill to all men, so that all countries and peoples may learn to use better the great natural resources with which the earth has been blessed in the divine providence of God for the needs of all His creatures."

It should be recognized that the basic principle which underlies this particular application in the international order has been applied most fruitfully in our national life.

As exemplified in the constitutional objective "to promote the general welfare," it has provided the ultimate justification for necessary regulatory and welfare legislation in domestic affairs.

I need not recount the applications of this concept in progressive income taxation, minimum-wage laws, protection of collective bargaining, social-security legislation, and numerous other measures. Through them the status of underprivileged groups has been improved for the benefit of all by a limited kind of redistribution of income or power.

What we have lately come to realize more clearly than ever before is that in defining by these measures the duties of ownership we have protected the right of private property itself, extended the possibilities of ownership in a complex industrial society, and so enhanced the dynamism of American capitalism as to transform it beyond recognition by those who have known only its classical image in European society.

Barbara Ward, former editor of the Economist, has stated succinctly the implications of our historical experience for the present discussion of foreign aid:

"The greatest single argument for some form of sustained western aid to Asia, some scheme for capital expansion on a long-term basis, is that it can help to mobilize the Asian mass market, just as between 1880 and 1940 active social measures in Britain and America—insurance, pensions, public works—helped to build up and sustain the consumption of the masses.

"Then and only then can the profit motive of private enterprise work fully to the public good, and then and only then can the mass of the people be converted from the chimerical promises and short cuts of communism to the elbowroom, dynamism, and free choice of modern democratic industrialism."

It seems to me that the challenge which confronts the Congress is to apply in the new world situation of the United States the basic principles which have been applied in the past through enactment of the kind of domestic legislation to which Miss Ward refers.

A dynamic application of this kind has been urged consistently by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. At its 33d annual convention in 1955, the conference adopted a statement entitled "A Program for Shared Abundance" which reads in part:

"The basic problem is not simply that of sharing the results of our wealth. That certainly must be done. But more important is the unique opportunity of even increasing the abundance and of sharing the causes of our wealth. We have accumulated not only surpluses but also scientific know-how which under favorable economic and political organization has made our plenty possible. We believe that here the United States has an opportunity to give moral leadership to the world as it has provided political and military leadership."

The proposed course of action requires recognition of our obligations to an international common good which are proportionate to the needs of the international community.

The assumption of such obligations can be expected to have an eventual happy issue comparable to that which has occurred in our national development.

Failure to undertake the obligations which are commensurate with our national position and resources will obviously compound the injustices and disadvantages which already contribute to threats to our national security. In international as well as national affairs, self-interest can be enlightened and truly advanced only if it serves the common good.

A Christian proposes this course of action not only on the basis of a concept of duty owed in justice but out of motives of love, understood not simply in the sense of humanitarian benevolence but of brotherly concern for the children of a common Father. Very recently, addressing representatives of a Pax Romana, an international association of intellectuals, Pope Pius XII remarked:

"A Christian cannot remain indifferent to the development of the world. If he sees

roughly outlined under the pressure of events an ever more definite international community, he knows that this union willed by the Creator ought to culminate in the union of minds and hearts in a common faith and a common love."

Alluding to problems of international collaboration, His Holiness continued:

"The Christian will be ready to work for the relief of all material misery, for the universal development of basic instruction—in a word, for all those enterprises directly looking toward the betterment of the poor and disinherited—certain in that way to fulfill an obligation to collective charity, to prepare the accession of a larger number of men to a personal life worthy of that name, to promote in this way their spontaneous entry into the great comfort of efforts which will lead them toward a better state."

In view of the papal leadership expressed in this teaching, it cannot be surprising that Catholic organizations in the United States have given support to measures for assistance to peoples of other nations. Tribute must be paid to the organization by the bishops of the United States, during World War II, of the war-relief services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Now operating as Catholic Relief Services, this organization offers assistance annually to 40 million needy persons all over the world without respect to color or creed. With the aid of United States Government surplus foodstuffs, the dollars contributed by Americans are translated into 40 times their worth in goods.

The generosity of the American people generally toward organizations for international relief indicates some awareness of personal duties of charity.

However indispensable and important, this kind of giving nevertheless does not discharge national obligations in justice.

It is true that some of the people who contribute to the work of voluntary agencies in international relief may complain loudly about governmental foreign giveaways. It would appear, however, that in the long run the prevention of suffering can be achieved only by assistance for technological and educational developments.

The object lesson of the success of the Marshall plan in Europe should be fresh in our memories. We celebrate today the 10th anniversary of its conception in General Marshall's Harvard address. Civic-minded leadership must call attention to its broader significance, as the National Council of Catholic Women has done in recommending "that the United States, along, with, and through international organizations, continue its participation in programs of economic and technical aid aimed at helping underprivileged peoples obtain a more just share of the world's wealth."

This resolution, adopted at its 28th convention in November 1956, has been printed in a handbook for study and discussion as one topic for concentrated action by 9 million Catholic women in more than 10,000 local affiliates of the national organization.

I should like to turn now to several recommendations concerning foreign-aid programs which have appeared in statements of interested Catholic organizations with such frequency and emphasis as to warrant consideration as representative opinion.

The first of these, on which Catholic groups would be unanimous, concerns the need for a positive statement of the moral objectives of such programs. As Barbara Ward has emphasized:

"The lack of any political or ideological framework is the greatest single source of weakness in the aid program undertaken by the West."

On the moral grounds which have been outlined before this committee, policies of the United States ought to rest on conviction and principle, not upon expediency and competitive bidding in the cold war.

This implies, secondly, that programs of military assistance and economic aid should be separate. This would eliminate much confusion now evident in American opinion and it would help to clarify American objectives abroad.

We may apply here a principle enunciated by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference in 1955:

"Nothing should be done to create the impression that technical cooperation is designed to serve any other end than the welfare of the peoples involved."

In the resolutions adopted last November, the National Council of Catholic Women asserted:

"Naturally, this program should be distinct from the military aid program."

These recommendations are linked with a third, that there must be a continuing long-range program. Every resolution on economic aid or technical assistance issued by these interested Catholic groups has assumed such a necessity. A policy statement of the Catholic Association for International Peace in 1951 urged preservation of "the basic original concept of the technical assistance program as a long-term program of self-improvement."

A more recent statement of the association urging a long-range program has already been quoted. Harry Flannery, president of the CAIP, writes in the current issue of Social Order, a monthly publication of a national Jesuit center for social studies:

"The present system of year-to-year authorizations and appropriations is demonstrably wasteful and inefficient for the kind of objectives which the program is expected to attain."

Mr. Flannery presents in this connection a further recommendation. It is proposed that a long-term program should include aid for capital expansion in underdeveloped countries, perhaps through loans for specific projects. A policy statement of the CAIP issued early in 1953 noted the lack of suitable machinery for fund transfers and urged:

"By doing as much as it possible can now, as wisely as it can, through point 4 and other programs, the United States can help many underdeveloped countries improve their own economic conditions so that they themselves will be in a better position eventually to contribute more funds to a scheme of greater magnitude for further, more complex and more expensive development. They would then be in a better position also to absorb and control industrial development for the widespread benefit of their own population."

Finally, every Catholic organization which has devoted attention to the administration of foreign aid programs has emphasized that such administration must not reflect what has been called the attitude of the technician, but must respect the essential values of cultures of recipient peoples. In his last Christmas message, Pope Pius XII stated this principle in compelling form:

"Social life, in fact, is something which has come slowly into being with much labor, and, as it were through successive strata of positive contributions furnished by succeeding generations. Only by supporting the new foundations on those established strata is is possible to construct something still new."

This is a principle which has many ramifications, as social science research has shown. Respect for its is indicative of an appreciation of the inherent dignity and worth of all men. Thus we return, even in a discussion of the means by which aid is to be administered, to the fundamental importance of moral considerations.

Mr. Chairman, our obligations in international social justice are clear and objectively determined. Our obligations in charity, in the Christian concept, make us our brothers' keepers. The Catholic groups whose views I have interpreted believe that the Congress must act to fulfill these obligations.

Thank you.

Chairman CARNAHAN. Thank you, Dr. Nuesse. On page 2 of your statement you say:

"To be specific, the conception of the common good as the purpose of the community is virtually as old as the tradition of which I speak."

Do you feel that the general-welfare clause in the Constitution is a restatement of that principle?

Dr. NUESSE. I feel that it is an application of it, and that placed in the preamble as it is, it incorporates this principle of the common good in the legal documents which state the objectives of our national life.

Chairman CARNAHAN. Then you wouldn't go along with those who say that search the Constitution as they may they can't find any justification in the Constitution for a foreign aid program?

Dr. NUESSE. I would not.

Chairman CARNAHAN. Do you consider the foreign aid program as the often used statement, a "giveaway program"?

Dr. NUESSE. No, I do not, sir. As I have tried to show in my prepared statement, I think this represents an attempt to discharge an obligation in justice which can't be considered a giveaway.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Education: A National Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able address by our colleague, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], delivered before the Mid-Atlantic Regional Conference of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School.

I wish to say one only has to read this speech to know full well why this great liberal from the State of Pennsylvania was elected in the 1956 election. I commend the Senator from Pennsylvania for what I think is a most excellent speech, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION: A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

(Address by Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, the mid-Atlantic regional conference, the President's committee on Education Beyond the High School)

I am glad to be able to meet today with so many thoughtful persons concerned with the State of higher education in America. No problem facing our country is more worthy of your attention.

The problems which confront higher education are a part of the general crisis in education—and I want to discuss today the question of support for education generally, not merely education beyond the high school.

I need not outline the dimensions of the crisis—you have all seen the figures. We can agree that the President spoke truly last January when he described the task facing education as unprecedented in its sheer magnitude. He called rightly for the greatest expansion of educational opportunity in our history. And this committee, in its interim report, stated the inescapable statistic—that twice as many Americans were born in 1956 as in 1936.

For higher education, that means at least twice as many students in 1975 as in 1955—considerably more than that if we succeed in getting into college all the young people who should be there.

All this is numbers. But because the numbers have already engulfed us, the quality of education—which is what counts—has been falling for some time now. In any case, our standards of education are not nearly good enough. We are a sluggish giant educationally.

Let's look around us. We see hundreds of thousands of children getting only a part-time education; hundreds of thousands more are being cheated of effective instruction because classes are too large; hundreds of school buildings are in use that should be torn down as obsolete; thousands of teachers are employed who do not meet minimum qualifications, and in none of these aspects is the situation improving. The teacher shortage is moving upward—it is still acute in the lower grades, has reached the high schools, and is beginning to be felt in the colleges.

In the higher college and administrative levels, salaries will not buy even as much of the world's goods as they bought in 1904. And at no level, as Mr. Ruml has shown, have teachers' salaries kept pace over the past half century with those of coal miners or auto workers or electrical workers. Thus the teaching profession has been losing its drawing power and thousands of our ablest teachers have left, and are leaving. As for education beyond the high school, few communities, engrossed as they have been in building elementary schools and high schools, have truly comprehended the compelling need for new facilities and expanded programs. I am not at all sure that, as a Nation, our plans to handle the flood of children who will be of college age in the next few years are much more adequate than were our plans for the lower grades some years ago, despite what we should have learned from that experience.

That is the sorry picture as we look around us.

I do not believe that all this has come about because the American people have ceased to value education as they once did. Americans know, whenever we stop to think about it, that all of the goals of our society rest on education. Our material progress; the self-realization and happiness of the individual; the success of democratic institutions; the richness of our culture; the good life both individually and collectively; above all, the grasp and mastery of the challenges and the dangers that confront us around the globe, all depend on the development of skills, of knowledge, and of wisdom in our schools.

Yes, Americans still believe in education. We have not become so material minded that we are deliberately neglecting the institutions that mold the mind and spirit of America. We do want to provide our children with greater and greater educational opportunity.

Then, you may ask, why aren't we doing it? The answer, I am afraid, is this: We have allowed ourselves to succumb to a myth, a piece of folklore that has been sedulously propagated, for both altruistic and not-so-altruistic reasons, the myth that education is a State and local problem, that, therefore, the problem should be dealt with locally, and national action through the Federal Government would be improper or immoral.

The breakdown in education is not local in its scope, it is nationwide. It affects every State, almost every school district, and the vast majority of American homes. Its impact is not only on the local community but on the national economy, the national well-being, the national security. If Soviet communism outstrips us in education, particularly scientific and technical education, as they show every sign of doing already—that could determine our national survival. Does anyone contend that whether we survive is exclusively a State and local problem too?

Of course, there is a deep national interest in the breakdown of education. Let's admit it and start from there. That is why the White House Conference on Education was held. That is why this President's Committee was established. That is why, as a nation, we must either solve the problem through national action or satisfy ourselves that it is being, or can be, solved without it.

What we are talking about, of course, is dollars. Billions of dollars must be obtained from somewhere and poured into education—for buildings, for teachers, for better pay, for scholarships and fellowships to induce the fullest development of talent. We may debate just how much money is needed and how it should be used—but these are secondary. The basic issue is how to get the billions. It is a matter not of education, but of finance; not for educators primarily but for politicians and statesmen. And the basic issue, of course, is whether we tap our great and rising national resources on a national basis for the purpose.

It is my considered judgment that we must. The State and local governments simply cannot do what has to be done—certainly not with the speed and decisiveness that the national interest makes imperative.

I have been a local official, and I am intensely aware of the handicaps that communities are up against.

Some localities—not many, but some—lack the will and the leadership. We may decry this, but it is a pragmatic fact. You can say, "That's their funeral." Sure, but it's ours, too.

Where there is all the will in the world, there is still the severe limitation of local tax systems, which rest so heavily on the property tax. Our property tax is relatively inflexible, relatively less productive, and grossly unfair. Property is unevenly distributed; some school districts have a railroad or a powerplant to tax, some nothing but farms or houses. The location of large concentrations of taxable wealth bears no necessary relation to the location of children who need to be taught. Intangible wealth is rarely taxed at all. As the national income rises, the property tax base responds but slowly and unevenly.

State aid is only a partial answer. Wealth is also spread unevenly among the States. Some of the poorer States make the greatest educational effort in terms of the proportion of their per capita income spent on schools—and yet their schools are still below the average. State tax systems are inflexible, too, and in some States are hedged in with constitutional restrictions.

Finally, there is the fact of tax competition. In last Sunday's New York Times is the story of how General Motors and other industrial concerns are threatening to locate outside the State of Michigan if new corporation taxes are imposed to meet the needs of education. The president of General Motors says they have already been giving preference to low-tax States. The companies have also been avoiding metropolitan centers in the State and locating in low-tax suburbs. So the State or the school district that sets out to outstrip its sister States or districts in education does so at its peril. And with threats like these big taxpayers can beat down educational advance.

All this explains why State and local action has not been adequate up to now in dealing with our educational crisis. It explains why it will be even less adequate to cope with what is ahead. And, therefore, as long as we succumb to the myth that it has to be done that way, so long as we consider Federal action improper or dangerous or immoral, so long will we fail the children of America—and national safety itself.

Now, is there any good reason Federal resources shouldn't be employed? I don't think so. But, like other Members of Congress, I've been reading my mail, and I regret to tell you that the opponents of Federal aid to education have succeeded in raising three very live and formidable bogies.

I've been trying to lay these creatures to rest with my constituents, and I'd like to try to lay them to rest here.

The first bogey is Federal control.

There is no question but that this Nation is virtually unanimous in its opposition to Federal control of education. I know of no responsible person who wants the Federal Government involved in matters of curriculum or teacher training or educational policy in any sense. The President has denounced any such idea; so has every Member of Congress who has spoken on the subject; so, I think, has every educator.

There have been Federal-aid programs in other fields which involved Federal control; but that has been by deliberate choice, where uniform standards have been essential to the success of the program. To say that Federal aid must mean Federal control, whether or not we will it, is to deny our very capacity in America for self-government. Of course, we can do what we unanimously want to do. To say otherwise is to have no faith in democracy.

The bills which Senator MORSE and I have introduced, for Federal aid to public schools and for Federal scholarships, have as strong a prohibition against Federal control as anyone has found possible to write. If a stronger prohibition can be drafted, we will accept it.

I am sure that among those lobby groups who are agitating loudest against Federal aid are those who don't put any more stock in this Federal control bugaboo than I do. They aren't really concerned about keeping faith with Thomas Jefferson or about the sanctity of the 10th amendment. They simply believe that if they kill off Federal aid, the money won't be spent at all, for the reasons I've given—or, to the extent it is spent, it will be raised through a different kind of taxing system.

This difference in taxing systems is perhaps the most important point of all to understand. Once it is understood, it frames a new kind of issue—the issue of essential fairness.

The Federal tax system is progressive; State and local systems are not. The Federal Government collects most of its tax reevnue—more than 80 percent—from taxes which are related to ability to pay—mainly personal income taxes and corporation profit taxes. State governments, on the other hand, collect most of their revenue from taxes which pay no attention to ability to pay—more than half from sales and excise taxes. And local governments, including school districts, collect almost all of their revenue from the property tax.

As a consequence, State and local taxes fall twice as heavily on the lower income groups as do Federal taxes, and Federal taxes fall twice as heavily on upper income groups. And the trend is even more in the same direction; State tax systems are getting less, not more, progressive. To finance a bold program in the field of higher education, the Governor of my State is proposing a tax of a penny a bottle on soda pop, which is one of the least progressive taxes conceivable but about all that is permitted under our constitution.

So this issue of Federal aid raises another question: Not just whether the States and local communities alone can and will support public education but whether they should—whether these added billions that we need for education should be raised through sales taxes and property taxes or through income and corporation taxes on the time-honored basis of ability to pay. That's the essential issue: Which tax system do you prefer? I believe the Federal tax system is far superior from the point of view of equity and fairness.

Now we come to the second bogy.

This is the notion that the Federal Government has been usurping State responsibilities, and that the States and cities are lying down on the job and not putting forth the effort they should.

The facts are just the opposite. Since 1946, Federal taxes and other receipts per capita, in constant dollars, have gone up 16 percent. But State and local taxes have gone up 3 times as fast, by 49 percent. While the Federal debt actually declined in the last decade, States and localities have been forced to more than triple their debt, and many have reached the limit of their borrowing capacity. So it can truly be said that far from lying down on the job in this postwar period, the States and localities have strained themselves to a greater degree than has the Federal Government. The Federal taxpayers have indeed succeeded in pushing an increasing proportion of the total taxload onto the people who pay the greater share of property taxes and sales taxes, and when there are efforts now to push it further I doubt that supposed constitutional principles are in every case the most important motivation.

The third bogey in the public mind is that President Eisenhower's budget is so large that it threatens the strength of our economy, threatens our free-enterprise system with destruction.

This, of course, is economic nonsense, and vicious nonsense at that. From the economic standpoint, taxes are nothing more than the means for diverting expenditures from the private to the public sector of the economy. Taxes are the means—and the only means we have—for buying public schools and public roads, and all the rest.

I think it can be demonstrated that it is the public sector of the economy, not the private, that has been neglected. How many of you have seen sleek new $3,000 motorcars idling away at congested intersections because we have not built the roads they need? How many of you have seen fine new subdivisions of $30,000 houses, with a bedroom for every child, but the same child with barely room to sit down in school? Huge private investments in our fine old cities are threatened because of lack of public action to clean up congestion, blight, and slums. Our rivers are turned into life-killing sewers for lack of public control and public expenditure. And so it goes.

Yet I have just come from Capitol Hill, and I can tell you that oldtime Members of Congress say the pressure for cutting taxes has never been so great as now.

They tell us that Federal aid to education at any level is apt to be a casualty of this tax-cutting fever. In other words, we are in the midst of witnessing an epic of national shortsightedness.

There is a short-term and a long-term reason for this disaster. The short-term reason is this: When the Secretary of the Treasury attacked the President's budget at the time it was sent to Congress, the President didn't defend it. In fact, he virtually disowned it. For a long time, nobody at all defended the President's budget—it was abandoned on Congress doorstep like an unwanted foundling. I had the temerity to speak a kind word about it during a visit to Pennsylvania, and not even the Republicans defended me. All I got for my pains was twice as much antitax mail. By the time the President came to the defense of his budget, it was too late; the pressure against it was unstoppable.

The long-term factor in the present situation is the incessant propaganda campaign that has been waged nationwide against taxes. It carries a simple three-word theme, "Taxes are bad." You see it in the cartoons of the taxpayer clad in a barrel or with his pockets inside out. You see it in more subtle ways: I picked up a serious study of taxation the other day and found the word "burden" seven times on the first page. Try an association test on your friends. Ask them to repeat the first word that enters their heads when you mention "taxes." Most of them will automatically say "high" or "cut." It will be one man in a thousand who will say "services" or "benefits." People have been conditioned, like Pavlov's dog, to hate taxes.

Now, I am not being partisan when I say that, unfortunately, for 20 years one of our great political parties lent its weight to this propaganda—by campaigning unendingly on the theme that Federal taxes were too high and the taxpayer was being scalped unnecessarily. Millions of people came to believe it. They were convinced that when the Republicans came in, things would be different. Now they feel they have been betrayed. They are frustrated and they are angry. There may be a question as to whether it's fair for them to blame their Senators and Congressmen, but there is no question as to their mood. They sure feel like taking it out on somebody.

This is the national frame of mind that all of us who believe in public education must work to counteract. The time is short and the prospects may be slim, but we need to launch right now a concerted campaign to save Federal aid to education from being ground to death under the wheels of the economy drive that is underway.

Where the national interest lies, it seems to me, is clear. We need to tap our national resources on a national basis to raise the standards of education in America to where they ought to be—in the elementary schools, in the high schools, and beyond the high schools. It cannot be done without Federal action. It can be done without Federal control. We should not limit our vision nor apologize in our approach. We should proceed with a clear conscience to give a broad, general lift to education at all levels—not as an emergency matter but permanently.

At a time when we have the highest national output, the highest national income, the greatest corporate profits, the highest wage levels of any nation in the history of the world—when we are spending more on highways, more on cars, more on European travel and Caribbean cruises, more on alcohol and tobacco, more on pleasure seeking of every kind, it is ludicrous to say that we do not have the resources to do what needs to be done in the field of education.

This is a moral issue. Complacency and materialism are our enemies.

Let us measure the national need—and then let us fulfill it.

Commencement Address by John S. Knight at Culver Military Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the distinguished publisher, John S. Knight, recently delivered a commencement address at Culver Military Academy. Mr. Knight analyzed the world which our young people must face with realism, but with hope. He delivered an inspirational message well worth study. I ask unanimous consent that ex-

cerpts from the address by Mr. Knight be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME ADVICE TO GRADUATES: DON'T SHIRK RESPONSIBILITY

(Excerpts from the commencement address at Culver Military Academy, given by John S. Knight, editor and publisher of the Chicago Daily News and other Knight newspapers)

It is trite to say that we are living in a confused world.

But confused it is. The old order has changed.

Great empires have disintegrated. Nineteen new countries have won their independence since the end of World War II. The rising tide of nationalism is everywhere in evidence.

Two nations, the United States and Soviet Russia, through their superiority in nuclear weapons, hold the fate of the world in their hands.

The changes are sweeping, revolutionary in character.

Is it then any great wonder that we find the youth of today, with the draft and the uncertainty of beginning a career, disturbed and unsettled?

While, on the one hand, young people are growing up, socially, mentally, emotionally, faster than ever before, on the other hand, it takes much longer before they can begin to assume their place in the world.

Alexander Hamilton was a member of Washington's staff at 20 and a member of the Continental Congress at 25. Today, at 25, many young men have scarcely begun to find themselves, after years of military service and the added educational requirements for a suitable career.

EVERY GENERATION MAKES ITS MISTAKES

Still, this is the world in which you live, and not necessarily the kind of world in which you would prefer to live.

Every generation has had its challenge. Some have met it more successfully than others, some may be said to have failed.

It is customary at commencement time for speakers to dwell excessively upon the shortcomings of their own generation, a kind of self-flagellation in which I do not intend to engage.

True, we have made our quota of mistakes, just as other generations have committed them before us. It will be no different in this, or in succeeding generations.

However, all generations have ever attempted to find a better way of life. Significant progress has been made through the years in improving standards of living, by reason of vastly expanded research and modern technologies.

Our progress in the quest for peace has been much less successful. The world is still torn by dissension. Little men with large ambitions are too often found in positions of power. The art of diplomacy is poorly practiced.

Mutual trust and understanding have given way to threats and acts of violence. We have flouted our Savior's injunction to love one another.

These are the liabilities which your generation must inherit.

But since you have no option, but to view the world realistically, the time to start is now.

PROFIT-LOSS SYSTEM RETAINS ITS VITALITY

Fortunately, in looking ahead to your own career, there are many valuable assets on your personal balance sheet.

You are well prepared, by virtue of Culver's academic program to gain entrance to a good college or university.

You have been schooled in wholesome surroundings; you have experienced competition; you understand both the rewards and the responsibilities of leadership.

Another asset which you possess is that you are young men living in a country where opportunity still flourishes.

Yes, I know all about high taxes, Government regulations, the problems of businessmen and political chicanery. The doomsayers would have us believe that the trend toward a form of European socialism is sapping the capitalistic system and drying up free competitive enterprise.

I have probably viewed this trend with as much alarm as anyone in this audience. I do not like the growing dependence of the people upon the state, nor the tendency of our citizens to think in terms of their own security rather than of the opportunities they might embrace.

Still, it is only fair to concede that despite the "yakking" of our politicians and the clamor of the so-called liberals for more and more social welfare, our profit-and-loss system continues to show amazing vitality.

Yes, opportunity still knocks for those who are willing to open the door.

And, unlike the old saw, it frequently knocks more than once.

INDUSTRY'S NEED: MANAGERIAL ABILITY

General Spivey has asked me to discuss some of the qualifications which the talent scouts of business and industrial firms require of prospective graduate employees.

Primarily, they are seeking young men with trained minds who can later fill positions on the managerial level.

A trained mind must likewise be an analytical mind with the ability to look at a problem objectively, consider all of the factors involved, weigh the various possible solutions and come to a decision.

The reluctance or inability of so many individuals to make a decision is the curse of the business world.

In the newspaper profession we say of such individuals: "They never go to press."

Then, too, business and industry want young men of good judgment, or at least young men who, they believe, will develop good judgment.

Judgment usually comes with experience but a clear thinker with good powers of analysis can hardly fail to exercise good judgment.

I must not omit the importance of a pleasing personality, plus enthusiasm.

But, if I may use a Culver term, "the greatest number of quality points will eventually go to the young men who prove themselves best able to accept and discharge responsibility."

These are the rare individuals who move mountains, who see in every obstacle a personal challenge.

They are the men, in every field and profession, who stand out prominently as acknowledged leaders.

OVERSPECIALIZATION MAKES POOR CITIZENS

The emphasis these days is upon science and engineering.

Nevertheless, I should like to say a few words in behalf of a liberal arts education.

The demand for specialization should not overshadow the need for an appreciation of the arts and sciences, the languages, an acquaintance with the great philosophers, and a knowledge of the lessons of history.

Too often—much too often, in fact—we find the men trained solely in sciences and engineering have a wholly inadequate understanding of the science of government.

The leaders of the world, the men who shape our destiny, for good or for evil, emerge from a background of public service.

This may be fortunate, or unfortunate, according to one's own view, but it is nevertheless true.

Therefore, it is important to understand their motivations, to know their backgrounds, to appraise them objectively.

Since you can't measure a politician with a slide rule, and produce an exact calculation, the broader education at least enables you to get an approximate evaluation of a politician's character.

READ, READ, AND READ FOR TRUE UNDERSTANDING

Too many vital decisions, affecting all of us, are being made in the world today by men who seek personal power, or who lack the perception, balance, and judgment to adequately serve the people.

Then we have the aspiring candidates and officeholders who think of themselves and their achievement rather than of their nation's best interests.

We see businessmen so absorbed by material success that they have no time for culture or the broad knowledge that brings tolerance for the views of others.

An adequate exposure to the humanities can produce the well-stocked, orderly mind, a mind which is able to separate the true values from the false and through its perceptive qualities, make an enduring contribution to society.

Education is the process by which we are prepared for complete living.

Your exposure to education will be as rewarding as you make it.

While, as a part of your inheritance, you enjoy all of the marvels of science and technology unknown to the wisest men and women of 50 years ago, I respectfully suggest that education cannot be pumped into a lazy mentality through a coaxial cable.

I beg of you to read, read, and read—so that your thinking may be stimulated with respect to the intricate and trying social, economic, and political problems which constantly confront this Nation and the world.

THE THINGS THAT MAKE LIFE ZESTFUL AND RICH

You may have observed that I have not attempted either to praise excessively the good work you have done at Culver, nor to deliver a lecture on the shortcomings of the younger generation.

You, far better than I, know of your failures and successes.

I think you know what you are making—or failing to make of your educational opportunities, better than I do.

And I think you know the future has limitless possibilities, both for good and for bad—and that starry-eyed optimism is as silly and onesided as blank-eyed despair.

In conclusion, may I assure you that with character, intelligence, and a bit of humor, life can be interesting, purposeful, and rewarding.

As you face the future, gaze not upon the stars, but usefully and realistically look deeply into your hearts to find the answers that are not all contained in the textbooks, nor in the addresses delivered at commencement time.

Proposed Pepco Dam at Dickerson, Md., on the Potomac River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Morris Kanfer, Esq., a Washington attorney, before the Rotary Club at Leesburg, Va., on June 13, 1957. This speech, Mr. President, is most timely, outlining, as it does, the

recreational potential to be gleaned from the construction of the Pepco dam proposed to be built at Dickerson, on the Potomac River.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MORRIS KANFER, WASHINGTON ATTORNEY, TO ROTARY CLUB, LEESBURG, VA., JUNE 13, 1957

Mr. President and gentlemen, I am very grateful for the opportunity of meeting the leaders of this community. I want to thank your chairman for the introduction citing my recent accomplishments in the Washington area but of primary significance is the fact that my boyhood days were spent on a farm in upstate New York in a community, in many respects, similar to this area, which is also rich in history and tradition.

Farming, therefore, is not a new venture with me except that now the work is accomplished with machinery which seems to consume an enormous amount of gasoline, whereas, in my boyhood days, a team of horses were satisfied with a pail of water and a few quarters of oats now and then.

Therefore, when farming gets into one's blood, it is understandable that after a career in law, business, and civic activities, such as I have enjoyed in the Washington area, I would revert eventually to a farm and I am very happy that fortuitous circumstances led me to select one of the most beautiful farms in your area—on the banks of the Potomac River. I hope before long that our place will be completed and made suitable for entertaining some of our neighbors and friends.

I had occasion recently to talk with my neighbors in the Luckett area about the history of the Lost Corners and to learn that during the early part of the century, Noland's Ferry provided a means of transporting of Virginia-grown grain across the Potomac to Tuscarare Station, Md., where John Lamare & Son maintained a warehouse and grain business which, in some respects, were similar to the business activities of seed and fertilizer businesses of the present time.

My neighbor historian worked in the area during his boyhood days and I therefore consider the information to be reliable, although it may vary in unimportant respects from recorded history. He tells me that a Mr. Clark engaged in the business of cutting railroad and switch ties from the white oaks of the big woods, part of which is now known as "Road 662," leading from Luckett to the river. The ties were ferried across the river at Noland's Ferry. The ferry, built by Clark, was large enough to hold two teams of horses and wagons loaded with the railroad ties, but during the summertime when the water was low, the ferry was discarded and the teams forded across the river and then crossed the canal in Maryland over a wooden bridge. The first high water in the area washed out the bridge and when John Lamare died his business decreased and that was the beginning of the end of Noland's Ferry.

The road leading toward Noland's Ferry is presently a county road running northerly from Route 662 but terminates approximately one-half mile from the river where the State has placed a sign "State Road Ends." I assume, gentlemen, that Loudoun County still owns the right-of-way from the end of the State road to the river and in the interest of preserving the historic sites of the area and make them accessible, it would be a grand accomplishment if Loudoun County could be persuaded to reopen the road so that the residents of northern Virginia would find the river accessible for fishing and boating.

Recreation has become an important part of community planning and I am informed that Loudoun County does not have any public recreational areas for picnicking, where people may relax at the end of a hard day's work. It would be a tremendous asset to Loudoun County if we were to provide a sizeable recreational area at the point of Noland's Ferry, particularly in the event Pepco builds the dam which is contemplated, as a reservoir to cool the generators of its electric plant, scheduled for construction at Dickerson.

This might be an appropriate time to clarify a great deal of confusion that I found existed in the area with respect to Pepco's responsibility for locating the plant at Dickerson.

It is understandable that the taxpayers of Loudoun County hoped that Pepco would locate its plant in Loudoun County so as to increase the county's tax base, but in politics and love we must accept decisions that are made for us over which we have no control.

Pepco has decided to locate its generating plant at Dickerson, Md., and the contract for the construction of the plant has already been let. All that remains for us to determine is whether Loudoun County can derive some indirect benefits from the installation on the Maryland side. Pepco wants to construct a dam crossing the Potomac from its Dickerson location to the Virginia side which would create a lake from 4 to 5 miles long, backing the water up close to Point of Rocks. While there was still a possibility that Pepco could be forced to build its plant in Loudoun County, it was logical for our Representative in Congress to withhold his approval for the construction of the dam at the Dickerson location. It would be illogical, however, for us to continue to oppose the construction of the dam, thus depriving the people of northern Virginia, and Loudoun County in particular, the financial and recreational advantages which would flow from having a large body of water in the county where fishing and boating could be enjoyed at all seasons of the year. Loudoun County has an asset in its climate which may not be as apparent to the people of Loudoun County as it is to urban dwellers. When the temperature is 92 in Washington, people wilt, vitality is sapped, work decreases and pleasures cease. When the temperature along the banks of the Potomac was 92 several weeks ago, it produced no discomfort to my family. We have been enjoying the mountain breezes flowing down from Sugar Loaf as they meet the sea breezes coming up the Chesapeake and the Potomac. It seems as if the northwest, south, and east currents all converge at Lucketts, Va., which, in my humble opinion, would make an ideal summer resort for urban dwellers within a radius of several hundred miles.

Now, of course, I realize that many of us like privacy to such a degree that we would be reluctant to share our miles of mountain vista with city dwellers, but in this modern age it becomes essential, even for the promotion of our selfish financial interests, to invite tourists and summer residents from our neighboring States and areas.

While we do not expect to develop Leesburg as a tourist attraction comparable to Williamsburg, it nevertheless contains historic points of interest, plus a health-giving climate which could develop the area into a high-grade resort, but you cannot have a resort without an accessible body of water for fishing, boating, and swimming, nor can you hope to develop the area as a resort without the cooperation of the leaders of the community.

The Adams farm of about 500 acres at Lucketts, which has recently been sold, could be developed as a resort if the Pepco Dam is built, since the property has a frontage of about a mile on the river and is easily accessible on Route 662. The financial benefits which would flow to the business community of Leesburg in the event 100 summer homes were built on the 500 acres, are self-evident. Each dollar spent for construction of a home creates $7 or $8 additional purchasing power, since the velocity of money flows through business channels at a rapid rate. Such construction creates not only jobs for carpenters, plumbers, painters and masons, but will also stimulate sales of building material, furniture, furnishings, insurance business, groceries, and sundry supplies from soup to nuts, including, of course, banking.

We must not neglect the most essential segment which turns the wheels of industry. Isn't it a wonderful system when all you have to do is sign a piece of paper at a bank and feel rich enough to spend money to fill your needs and desires by signing other pieces of paper called checks? I am sure that our banker friends will be quick to realize the importance of bringing into the community desirable business which will help swell savings accounts and demand deposits upon which the banking business depends for its own earnings. You are fortunate, indeed, in having two progressive banking institutions in this community. I was particularly flattered when shortly after I purchased the Averill farm last summer, I received a telephone call one evening at my home, from the president of one of your banks, to extend a welcome and an invitation to open an account. That friendly gesture was indicative of a prevailing spirit I found in the Leesburg area and I want to acknowledge my gratitude to all of you who have made me feel so much at home during the short period we have been here. I, too, have had a small role in the banking career, having served as general counsel and a director of a comparatively small country bank in upstate New York. By way of contrast with the progressive spirit of your Leesburg bankers, I am reminded of a story concerning an upstate country banker who, upon retirement, found that he still lacked an adequate income to meet the high cost of living in this inflationary period. So, after careful deliberation, he decided to operate a gasoline service station to supplement his small retirement pay. He soon found that it was difficult to change the habits of a lifetime. On the very first day he opened for business, a man pulled up with his car and said to the banker in his new role, "Let me have 10." The banker timidly looked at the driver of the car and said, "Can't you get along with five?" I cite that story, I repeat, by way of contrast, since the Leesburg bankers would undoubtedly go to the other extreme. I am sure that when any of you gentlemen call at either one of these banks and ask for a loan of 5, the banker will turn to you and say, "Can't you use 10?"

That's the spirit I like in Leesburg. Lets double the rate of our effort in sharing the beautiful county and God's free air with desirable visitors from other areas who would leave some of their purchasing power with us and we hope some will discover Leesburg as my wife and I have discovered it about a year ago, and like it well enough to make this a permanent abode.

In conclusion, may I suggest for your consideration, the desirability of a committee of your organization to call on Congressman SMITH to express Loudoun County's appreciation for his effort in widening the county tax base by having tried to get Pepco's plant on the Virginia side of the river, but at the same time to impress upon Congressman SMITH the importance of allowing the Pepco dam to be constructed, which would give Loudoun County access to the much desired 5-mile lake. As you know, a bill is pending in Congress to permit the construction of the dam but that Congressman SMITH, until recently, has been able to delay passage of the bill. Obviously, Pepco cannot wait indefinitely for permission to build the dam,

which is required only as a reservoir of water with which to cool its generators. If congressional approval is withheld much longer, Pepco will be compelled to resort to an alternative method of cooling the generators by means of cooling towers. After commitments are made for the erection of such cooling towers, it may be too late to change plans and then build the much desired dam.

This proposed Pepco dam is to be only 15 feet high and will not flood any appreciable amount of farmland since the banks of the river at that point are very high. An opportunity does exist, however, for the residents of this area to join with the residents on the other side of the river, in opposing construction of a high-level dam at River Bend which the Army engineers are considering and which will be the subject of public hearings on June 25, 26, and 27. I believe that if congressional clearance could be obtained for construction of the low-level Pepco dam at Dickerson, before the scheduled public hearings on the high-level dam proposed at River Bend, it would serve as another forceful argument in opposition to the River Bend dam.

I believe that the leaders of this community, now in possession of the real facts concerning the proposed Pepco dam, will determine that to permit the construction of the Pepco dam will best serve their own interests and the interests of the people of Loudoun County and seek Congressman SMITH'S cooperation accordingly.

I want to thank you gentlemen for a very delightful evening and for the opportunity you have afforded me to talk with you.

Texas Takes Lead in Building New Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Texas has taken a commanding lead in building the new system of highways authorized by the 84th Congress.

The Fort Worth Star-Telegram, a great newspaper in Texas and in the Nation, recently published an editorial explanation of what is happening in my State with respect to the building of highways. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXAS TAKES THE LEAD

Texas, largest State in the Union, has taken its rightful place of leadership in building the new National System of Interstate and Defense Highways. This is not merely because there is a lot of distance in Texas and Texans like to travel swiftly and in comfort.

Texas' response to President Eisenhower's plea for a superhighway system is a tribute to the farsightedness of State leaders and proof of the State's economic ability to provide needed facilities and services for its citizens. Texas' lead in new highway construction is enormous. Work already is underway or soon will be started on 267 miles of superhighways, and bids are now being asked for construction of 278 additional miles. North Carolina is a distant second with 239 miles either under construction or advertised for bids.

Even if the defense value is not considered, Texas' highways will play a tremendous part in the future growth of the State, already thriving with new industries and a rising population. State officials are to be commended for recognizing the need and acting swiftly to meet it when the opportunity arose.

More than a little credit also should go to a highway-conscious citizenry. If it had not been for the understanding and full support of the people of Texas, official action on this vital project might have been encumbered and harmfully delayed.

Radio in a Television Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered by Mr. M. S. Novik, radio consultant, after the 27th Institute for Education by Radio-Television, at Columbus, Ohio, on May 9, 1957.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF M. S. NOVICK, RADIO CONSULTANT, AT THE 27TH INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION BY RADIO-TELEVISION, COLUMBUS, OHIO, MAY 9, 1957, IN A PANEL DISCUSSION OF RADIO IN A TELEVISION AGE

We are gathered here this year to praise radio—not to bury it. This is quite a difference from the last 10 years, when many in the industry thought we were at a wake. We know that television didn't kill radio—just as radio didn't kill magazines and newspapers.

We know now that newspapers are livelier than ever; magazines are stronger than ever; and radio is having its biggest year in a decade.

Ours is a growing country. Every new medium of mass communication means that more people are being reached. And because we are a growing country, there are always more people to be reached.

It is true that radio today is alive and kicking. It is true that there are more radio stations on the air today than ever before. But it is also true that every radio station is in danger of remaining only so good as its competition. And the level is set by the worst of its competitors.

Radio today with some notable exceptions, is a business of broadcasting recorded music and news. The live programs, the talk, forum, discussion, comment and controversy programs that made radio the dominant medium of communication in the country—all of these programs are just about gone today.

Radio today is making more money, and has more listeners and more commercials; and it also has less public service programming, less community action programs, and less standing in the community.

It seems to me the time has come to take a sharp look at radio as it is today.

Years ago, the networks were the major factor in our business. And the biggest and best stations—in terms of audience and community service—were the network affiliates. There were some exceptions, sure. But by and large, the top stations were the network stations. And the networks, along with the entertainment shows, fed their affiliates news and comment and discussions and forum programs, fed them as commercial, fed them as sustainers.

When the road for radio got rough, the networks lost advertisers. To save money, they cut back programs. The affiliates lost their prestige network shows—the programs that gave them the edge over the independents—so the affiliates began to lose audience to the independents.

The affiliates had to compete with the independent stations for local audience and advertisers. So they used fewer of the few network programs.

Even the network owned and operated stations started copying the local station program patterns. It was a case of the bigger station fighting the smaller station, and in the fight, the stations and the networks became cannibals.

They ate up their public service programs, they forgot all about their forum shows, they ignored the public interest, necessity and convenience. The record, the music on a plate, once the backbone of the smaller, nonnetwork stations, because the backbone of all stations—network and independent.

Admittedly, radio was going through a critical stage. Things were tough and would get tougher. The need was for smarter, shrewder operations, some fresh ideas, and new program directors.

At a similar stage in their existence, both newspapers and magazines had the same problem to face. They sharpened their editorial treatment, spruced up their appearance, developed news features, became more active in their communities. And today, they are more vital than ever before.

But radio went the other way. Many of the pioneers sold out. Many news stations came into being. And a new breed of operator came into radio. They were businessmen; they had no training or background in radio; they were trained for just one thing: To make money.

They didn't know, they don't know, and no one is telling them about their responsibility to the community. They kept their staffs small, their overhead down, they became music and news stations, and they made money.

Radio, without the features that once made it a vital force, without the fresh and exclusive news, without the fresh exchange of ideas and opinions, radio could compete only by trying to operate cheaper than its competitor.

And so long as the competition—the new operators, that Commissioner Bartley called the fast-buck operators—so long as they could ignore the public interest, necessity, and convenience in their programing, and get away with it, just so long did the veteran broadcaster have to cheapen his operations to stay in business.

So radio today is, by and large, a case of canned music and canned news. And as their sharpshooting broadcasters expand their operations so do more and more stations have to lower their program standard.

I'll give you one example: The only station serving a one-county market. It is 90-percent commercial. The music it plays comes from records it gets free. Once a week it has a sustaining hour of popular operatic music. The SP records come from a listener. Public service is strictly transcribed spots. And once a week a transcribed quarter-hour that is distributed gratis by a foreign country. There is nothing controversial on the station; no talks, no discussions, no forums; and nothing local except the commercials and any news that shows up on the ticker.

This is no exaggeration. It is typical of many others. They are in little towns and

big cities. You know them—everyone in the industry knows them.

To the fast-buck operator, this sort of programing is not illegal. His lawyer tells him what to do and he does no more. He lives up to the minimum statistical requirements of the FCC. His is strictly a chain-store business; the most important document, like a grocery or shoe store, is the daily and weekly profit and loss report.

And this sort of operation is unfair competition to the station that tries to meet its public-service obligations—and to the stations that are holding the line even to a minimum degree.

There are independents and independents. There are independents that build local programs, that have dimensions and stature. The kind of music a station serves is not the criteria. Playing the classics and master works only is as wrong as the station that plays only the top popular tunes. I urge that the rules of the road be made clear.

The question is—how do these money-hungry operators get away with ignoring their community obligations? The answer, it seems to me, is that the FCC has stopped enforcing the public interest, necessity, and convenience portions of the Federal Communications Act.

Sure, the quick-dollar stations submit their annual program analysis to the FCC. And, sure, these analyses contain a presentable percentage of public service spots and programs. Because of its workload, the FCC is unable to properly check and review these program reports.

The only way a station gets into trouble is when it does something that hits the wire services, or gets talked about on the floor of Congress, or if a lot of letters are sent to the FCC, or if an advertiser violates the better business code; eventually, the FCC will start investigating.

But what about the original premise under which stations were licensed to operate in the public interest, necessity, and convenience?

The current downgrading of radio station programing can be reversed by the Commission. If the Commission recognizes the seriousness of the problem, it should take a few simple steps:

1. The FCC, because of the many newcomers in this business, should reaffirm its interest in local public service programing.

2. The FCC should license for 1 year only all new grants and all transfers, so that program performance can be measured against promise before a renewal is granted.

3. The FCC should not extend its current 3-year licenses to a 5-year term without providing an effective annual method of reviewing station program performance against promises.

Today the major networks are once again putting initiative and ingenuity into their radio programing, but they cannot force the affiliates to carry these programs. The affiliates, busy fighting the local stations for mass audience and ratings, cannot afford to, and do not carry these network public-service programs.

Sure, all stations carry public-service spot announcements. But let's face it. The technique of the spot announcement is nothing more than the technique of the slogan.

Slogans can sell a familiar product, but slogans can never resolve a complex problem.

The community need for schools or sewers, for throughways or hospitals, for municipal parking or honest local government will never be faced, examined, evaluated, and acted upon as the result of slogans or spot announcements.

The current emphasis on spot announcements is the easy way out. When that happens, the entire democratic fabric that is our way of life suffers. We suffer as broadcasters and as citizens.

In a town with a newspaper and a radio station, where the station ignores its community obligations, the paper will step in and take the play away from the station.

In the same town, if both the station and the paper ignore community service, then that town becomes a poor place in which to live.

There is no substitute for argument, debate, discussion, and controversy when it comes to facing a community issue. This is an American heritage that goes back to the earliest days of our democracy.

Unless radio faces these responsibilities, it will lose its identity as a dynamic force in the community. And when that happens, radio will be nothing more than a series of chainstores, identical in operation and differing only in the name out front and in the size of the building.

This is directly contrary to what the people of these United States want and likewise contrary to what Congress legislated in the Federal Communications Act.

We as a country cannot afford the dubious luxury of emasculated radio stations.

The time has come for all good men and women to raise their voices and ask the FCC to take a positive stand on the public interest, necessity, and convenience clauses of the Federal Communications Act and return radio to the heights of public service and community action.

Problems of the Tuna Fishing Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two letters which I have received from Mr. William E. Farrar, general manager of the Federated Fishermen's Association, Inc., and Mr. Joseph J. Madruga, president of the American Tunaboat Association, of the Pacific coast.

Mr. Farrar again brings to my attention a serious problem involving the domestic albacore tuna fisheries operations of the Pacific coast. Mr. Madruga tells of a growing crisis in the tuna industry, resulting from our lack of controls permitting the legalized dumping of 14,000 tons of frozen albacore tuna on our markets at $100 per ton below cost.

If we continue our present course in handling foreign fisheries trade negotiations, we are going to destroy a large segment of our domestic fish-producing industry.

In the case of albacore tuna, a fish that is an interocean traveler, the advantages we give to other nationals having government subsidies, monopolistic enterprises, and low cost labor may have the effect of depriving our fishermen from catching the same fish, and selling them on our own market.

I believe that administrative action is long overdue in formulating a policy of trade with other nations, that will insure some reasonable consideration for this phase of our industry.

The least the Government can do is to clearly inform our domestic fish producers, just where they stand in the overall economics of the industry.

We should not continue to allow, year after year, our fishing craft to remain idle in port, while unrestricted amounts of foreign fish absorb the domestic market.

Mr. Farrar and Mr. Madruga's letters clearly point out one of the serious problems facing the American tuna industry.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERATED FISHERMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS, INC.,
Long Beach, Calif., May 16, 1957.

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: Referring to Senate bill 1796 introduced by the Honorable Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS.

The Federated Fishermen's Associations, Inc., 745 Seaside Avenue, Terminal Island, Calif., has gone on record strongly favoring the passage of this bill.

For your information, the Federated Fishermen's Associations is an organization composed of all of the cooperative fishing organizations who fish for albacore white-meat tuna in Pacific-coast waters off the coast of Washington, Oregon, California, and northern Mexico.

The albacore fleet is now composed of not over 1,500 small vessels manned by from 1 to 5 men who range out to sea as far as 350 miles during the months of June through December in quest of the finest of the tuna family, albacore. A few years back, as many as 2,500 boats were engaged in this fishing; however, the terrific increases in Japanese imports of albacore tuna has forced many boats out of business. The following charts will give you a clear picture of the situation.

Source of information: United States Fish and Wildlife Service; Market News Service, California Fisheries, 1955; Market News Service, Seattle and Astoria, 1956.

TABLE 4.—*California imports of frozen tuna, 1950–55*

Year:	*Albacore, tons*
1950	1,960
1951	7,394
1952	9,620
1953	20,892
1954	19,069
1955	24,154

IMPORTS OF ALBACORE TUNA CANNED IN JAPAN

In 1954, 459,143 cases albacore which equals 9,183 tons.

In 1955, 669,047 cases albacore which equals 13,381 tons.

In 1956, 705,000 cases albacore which equals 14,100 tons.

In addition 10,914 tons of frozen albacore were landed in Oregon and Washington ports from Japan in 1955 making a grand total of:

	Tons
California imports	24,154
Washington and Oregon imports	10,914
Canned in Japan and imported	13,381
Total	48,449

The total catch of albacore tuna landed by American fishermen in 1955 was:

	Tons
California	11,009
Oregon and Washington	522
Total	11,531

COMPARISON
1950

American-caught albacore, 30,800 tons.
Albacore imported from Japan, 1,960 tons.

1955

American-caught albacore, 11,531 tons.

Albacore imported from Japan, 48,449 tons.

You will note that in 1950 the American catch was over 15 times as great as the Japanese imports, however, in 1955, Japanese imports were over 4 times as great as the American production.

This phenomenal rise in Japanese imports in the last few years has all but killed the American albacore tuna fishing industry and if not corrected will surely do so.

In 1947, 1948, and 1949 prices paid the fishermen for albacore ranged from $500 to $740 per ton. From 1950 to 1954 the price ranged from $400 to $410 per ton.

In 1955 it dropped at one point to $310 per ton and at the close of the 1956 season the price paid American fishermen was $300 per ton.

It is absolutely impossible to fish for albacore tuna at those prices and stay in business.

To make a further comparison, the American tuna clipper fleet composed of approximately 150 large boats and manned by about 2,000 fishermen and the American purse-seiner fleet composed of approximately 125 large boats and manned by about 1,400 fishermen who produce the ordinary light meat tuna, yellowfin, bluefin, and skipjack, in 1955 landed 158,565 tons of the above types of tuna in American ports.

The imports of these same types of tuna was 29,377 tons. You will note that the ratio of American catch to imports was about:

ORDINARY TUNA

American, 5+, to imports from Japan, 1.

Now look at the ratio on albacore tuna:

ALBACORE TUNA

American, 1, to Japanese imports, 4+.

By comparing the difference of ratios on the two types of tuna fishing you will see how completely unfair our Government is treating the American albacore tuna fishing industry.

Albacore tuna fishing is a completely separate kind of fishing. It is entirely different from the clipper fleet, purse-seiner fleet, or any other kind of fishing. It is deep-sea fishing requiring special kinds of boats and equipment. It is an industry in itself, the same as beef raising is different from other types of farming.

The albacore fleet to the last man know that we are being discriminated against. We have been hit harder by far than any other industry by the tremendous imports from Japan and if our Government doesn't do something to right this situation, our over 3,000 albacore fishermen with an investment in boats and equipment in excess of $22,530,000 will be forced out of business and an American industry which in 1950 produced $12,320,000 worth of albacore tuna (a natural resource) will be taken over by the Japanese.

The albacore fleet has been more or less unorganized in the past but today we are organized and intend to fight with every means possible for the right to follow our chosen profession and make a living for our families.

We sincerely solicit your support on Senate bill 1796 and any other legislation on quotas, tariffs, etc., which will save our American albacore fishing industry.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. FARRAR,
General Manager.

AMERICAN TUNABOAT ASSOCIATION,
San Diego, Calif., June 11, 1957.

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: Your sympathetic letter of June 5 was much appreciated. For some reason or other we had not heard of your S. 1671 and we are most pleased to find that, as is usual, you are heading in a direction favorable to fishermen. It may be useful to you to have a quick summary of what is going on in the tuna business that affects your constituents as well as us.

The 14,000 tons of frozen albacore got dumped in this market at $100 per ton below cost. That is water under the bridge and can't be prevented. Neither can the damage which is going to flow from it.

This resulted in California canners inventory of white meat albacore this past 8 months being about a half million cases higher than normal. In reaction to this the price of white meat canned tuna this spring broke from about $13 per case (non-advertised brands) to about $11 per case, with some offerings as low as $10.50. This brought the price of white meat solid pack below the price of light meat chunk. As a consequence the price of light meat has now broken to meet this new situation. The break has been from a level of about $11.50 per case down as low as $8.50.

In the meantime, the albacore season in Japan has started off heavily and it looks as if this year's crop in Japan will be about the same size as the bumper crops of 1952 and 1956. Where the exvessel price of albacore was running as high as $335 per ton in Japan last year it has broken to $185 per ton this year, and an average of 1,000 tons per day has been landed since the last week of May.

Accordingly, your albacore people look as if they are really going to take a beating this year. Our vessels are already beginning once more to be held up in unloading at the canneries. This summer, fall and winter look rough.

We believe some little bit of help might come from these hearings being scheduled on the amendment of the Antidumping Act. Such hearings have a sobering effect on the Japanese Government, and it is with the Japanese Government that we are in competition with now. Anything you can do to push such hearings will be much appreciated by the tuna fishermen on this coast.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH J. MADRUGA,
President.

White House Pressure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial written by Basil Brewer, and published in the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard Times, of June 18, 1957, regarding foreign-aid appropriations, and pressure by the White House.

There being no objection the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE PRESSURE

(By Basil Brewer)

Against the overwhelming sentiment of the people and against the judgment of a majority of the United States Senators, the Senate passed Friday the foreign-aid appropriation, virtually as the President had asked it.

A scare drive by the President by television and radio, in which the President threatened the people with war should the aid bill be curtailed—plus a robot type of followup testimony before Senate committees by Dulles—set the pattern for coercing the Congress and thwarting the sentiment of the people, who must foot the bill.

An incident of concern to followers of Robert A. Taft was the fact that I. Jack Martin, former executive assistant of the late Senator Taft and for some time now a member of the White House staff, kept the pavements hot in Washington between the White House and the Senate. His assignment was to pressure the Senators to relent in their determination to cut the fruitless orgy of White House foreign-aid spending.

The joint drive worked. The American people will continue to pay and pay in taxes, but not willingly or with their consent. They were scared by the White House and Dulles war threats, but they are not convinced and they will show their disappointment and skepticism in their voting in November 1958.

Never, since the days of the fabled Atlas, has one man or country tried to carry the whole world on its shoulders, as United States leaders are forcing the American people to do.

The worst thing about the whole hoax is that it does not work. The recent riots against the United States in Formosa, in Japan, and elsewhere show no indication we are winning friends by trying to buy them with American dollars.

In England, where we have given and loaned billions, we have few friends. An authority in England recently said most of this aid money had been used to socialize British industry and government. What little good will we may have gained was lost when we refused to support England and France in the Suez but joined with Russia in opposing them.

England now goes it alone, so far as the United States is concerned, in trade with China and otherwise. Other countries of West Europe are to follow. NATO is creaking and threatens to crack. Stassen, the most asinine of the White House staff, has goofed again in his disarmament chore.

We are the most liberal, and the clumsiest, nation in the world in diplomacy.

Ending the No Man's Land Between Federal and State Employment Relations Boards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for a number of years I have urged the Congress to take action to end the deplorable no man's land which now exists between the handling of labor relations cases by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington and the various State employment relations boards throughout the Nation.

Unfortunately, Congress has failed to take action largely, I believe, because of the impasse over amending the Taft-Hartley law.

The other day, as a result of this failure, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board once more faced the disagreeable problem of inability to deal with a matter which should certainly be handled at the State level.

The board pointed out that the Supreme Court continued to leave the no man's land which bars State action in a case remotely affecting interstate commerce, even if the National Labor Relations Board does not choose to exercise jurisdiction in that area.

The situation is described in an article in the June 11 issue of the Milwaukee Journal, and in an editorial of June 14, which pointed up this absurd situation which we have allowed to develop in the 48 States.

If there is any principle in the Federal system of Government which is sound it is this: That the States shall handle matters which they themselves are ready, willing, able, and eager to handle, rather than be dumping cases in Washington which sometimes does not want the cases.

I send to the desk the aforementioned article and editorial and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of June 11, 1957]

WERB SAYS IT CAN'T ACT—CITES COURT RULING

Applying for the first time in Wisconsin a recent United States Supreme Court decision, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board (WERB) said Tuesday that the Federal ruling left "a veritable no man's land" for certain employees and employers where there was no established machinery to settle labor disputes.

The WLRB statement came in an order dismissing the petition of Madison local 442 of the chauffeurs, teamsters, and helpers' union for a representation election among 18 employees of the Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Madison, on the ground that it had no jurisdiction.

The board noted that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) had consistently refused to assert its jurisdiction in cases where a franchised employer received less than $500,000 worth of materials in interstate commerce from the franchise holder or if less than $50,000 worth of goods was produced for out of State shipment. The Madison firm does not qualify under either of the conditions.

In the past, the WERB has extended its jurisdiction to cover these cases in Wisconsin with the approval of the NLRB.

On March 25, however, the WERB ruling pointed out, "the United States Supreme Court, in three cases decided on that date, clearly and unequivocably determined and established that the various States do not have jurisdiction over employers whose business affect commerce where the matters involved are covered by the National Labor Relations Act, regardless of whether or not the National Labor Relations Board chooses to exercise its jurisdiction."

[From the Milwaukee Journal of June 14, 1957]

LABOR, EMPLOYER BOTH SUFFER

It is a preposterous situation that the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board faces.

The other day the WERB had to dismiss the petition of a Madison labor union for an election to decide whether the union can represent workers at the Coca-Cola Bottling Co., of Madison, a firm that sells its soft drinks locally but is in interstate commerce because it holds a franchise from the out-of-State parent company and buys sirup and bottles in Chicago.

The reason? The United States Supreme Court recently ruled that State labor boards may not meddle in such cases. They are under the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board under terms of the Taft-Hartley Act. And it makes no difference that the NLRB has arbitrarily decided not to bother with minor cases. If a lot of employers and employees are thus denied access to any machinery for settling their disputes, the only remedy is for Congress to fix up the law.

The reasoning of the court may be sound enough. The hitch is that Congress shows no inclination to act. It didn't act in 1953 when an effort was made to give the States jurisdiction over public utility and building trades disputes. It didn't in 1954 when President Eisenhower specifically asked that State boards be allowed to assume jurisdiction when the NLRB refused to accept cases. It has paid no heed to a petition submitted by a conference of labor board representatives of various States that was held in Madison in April under sponsorship of the WERB.

If in the Madison case and others like it, a petitioning union has no recourse but to strike, does this mean the Nation must have a rash of unnecessary strikes before Congress eliminates the "no man's land" that exists in the field of labor relations?

By its refusal to change Taft-Hartley, Congress is inviting just such a consequence.

Lampasas Fighting Back With Courage and Humor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texans have met adversity with courage since the fall of the Alamo. And they are still doing it. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a feature column from the June 18 editions of the Austin (Tex.) American, written by Lorraine Barnes, one of my State's most talented newswomen.

The column, titled "Lampasas Fighting Back With Courage and Humor," describes how residents of Lampasas, despite losses of $4 million from floods, are rebuilding their homes and their lives.

The column does not note the most tragic fact of the Lampasas flood. Five upstream retention dams planned for the Lampasas area—on Sulphur Creek and some smaller streams—would have held the $4 million damage sustained by that central Texas commmunity to less than $1 million.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAMPASAS FIGHTING BACK WITH COURAGE AND HUMOR

(By Lorraine Barnes)

Can the naming of a colt born in a time of death and destruction symbolize the spirit of a Texas town? We think it can.

The following vignette is one of many personal experiences published in the first issue of the Lampasas Record to come off the press since Lampasas started digging out of the wreckage wrought by the flood of May 12, 1957:

"Fred McDonald's first thought, the Record reports, as the water crashed into his home just off Key Avenue, on Eighth Street, was to get his family out, but the speed and height of the water prevented.

"So he bucked the current to bring his registered Shetland mare into the front door. As the water rose waist deep the family went to the roof. He came down to offer sanctuary to four people in a flooded car near his home. This was only minutes before the big crest came, taking the car, and McDonald's grocery store, with it.

"They came back in the mud and slime of the house at 3 a. m., when the Shetland mare foaled. Lampasas Disaster was, of course, the proper name, and was so given."

When a man's business has been washed away and he can't see the future for the mire and debris in his living room, it takes wry humor to hang a monicker like that on a baby newcomer salvaged from the experience. But humor—masquerading for raw courage—is an old ingredient of frontier life, and Lampasas today is fighting back from the first, easy pronouncement of its death. Flood sales are underway, farmers are competing for labor against the extra work needed to repair damage to homes and businesses, the class of 1957 has been successfully graduated from Lampasas High, the routine of life again engrosses people.

Editor-Publisher E. M. Pharr is back in harness, catching up on the news after the most frustrating experience a newspaperman might expect: The flood washed out the Record shop and caused the paper to suspend publication during its biggest story. Just to keep the Record's record straight, Pharr announced the newspaper would go on numbering its issues as though the flood had not stopped operations; hence the current issue is numbered 44 through 47 of column 52, enabling the venerable Record to resume its regular order.

Not all the flood news could be crammed into the four-in-one issue, so Pharr will continue to report the flood story in future issues. That's all right with Lampasans. They've lived through enough excitement to fill a book.

Lampasas is an honest town, a front-page story notes.

Among things washed away by the flood was the cash register of the O. K. Rubber Welders containing $48 in cash and a number of checks. On the morning of May 31—19 days after the flood—a friend told "Lucky" Guess that a small cash register was lying on the north side of the square, and Guess went over and claimed his business equipment. He found the contents intact—including $48 in cold cash. Guess figures he isn't called "Lucky" for nothing.

Acts of heroism and escape from death were commonplace in Lampasas the night of May 12. Young Mike Mullican is credited with twice saving his father from being swept down Third Street and again when their truck was washed out from under them. Mrs. Gracie Storms, the mother of two children, removed at least 16 persons to a place of safety, making successive round trips in her car from the flood area to the Red Cross disaster station. Mrs. Storms can't swim, but the fact didn't keep her from negotiating the flood-covered streets time and again.

Knowing that C. E. Langford was still at the Burns Chevrolet Co., Garwood Burns went to warn him to get out when he learned Sulphur Creek had crashed over the levee. In turn, Burns was trapped by high water and the relentless current and took refuge in the warehouse just west of the agency's office building. There with new and used cars bounding and crashing into each other, he climbed atop a car which bounced slanting on a pickup—and lodged, more or less securely, the Record reports. Langford meanwhile had escaped to the attic of the office building.

When W. W. (Red) Wilson and Jess Rhoden climbed for safety into a window of the Lampasas House, they happened to enter the room occupied by Andy Bostick. Bostick was sitting there by candlelight clamly removing his shoes. Asked what he was planning to do, Bostick replied, not unreasonably: "Get to bed if I can get all these people out of the room."

Wilson and Rhoden investigated a pounding noise downstairs and found W. F. Palmer trapped in his room with water rising fast. They located a screwdriver, removed a door hinge at the top and made an opening large enough for Palmer to get through.

The Record illustrated its postflood issue with pictures taken by the Wooten Studio. The views show flood damage at its worst but there are also scenes of typical businesses all cleaned up and operating again soon after the water passed. The newspaper declares much can be read by a study of these pictures both as to destruction suffered and determination to carry on in a better way than ever.

The Role of Art in International Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Mr. Kirk Douglas, an outstanding actor and a discriminating and intelligent observer of international relations.

Mr. Douglas describes in this article in a most persuasive manner the role of art in international relations, and supports the idea of creating an Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Relations.

This article is worthy of the attention of my colleagues, and I believe they will enjoy read it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Kirk Douglas)

The guy who called America "the great melting pot" must have visited my neighborhood in Amsterdam, N. Y. As a boy I could make a world tour just by walking around the block. Some of our neighbors were Russians like my parents, but we had representatives from practically every European nation. I can still remember how one family would symbolize a whole country for me, and that whenever Germany was mentioned in school, I would immediately get a mental picture of the German family with their blond, round-cheeked, fat little kids that lived in the house behind us. Or when I read about Italy, I'd think of the dark-haired happy brood, two houses down.

One time while I was in high school, a Polish boy got in some difficulties with the authorities. In telling my mother about it I made some offhand, sweeping generalization that began, "All Poles are—" and I got no further.

"All Poles are different," interrupted my mother. "There's more to Poland than one family."

In other countries around the world, people today are making the same mistake I once did.

I have thought of this a great deal in the past several years as I have moved around Europe on movie locales. Accepting the antics of an individual as the character of a nation is one of the things that is holding back the world understanding that ultimately must be worked out on the level of the people.

I remember particularly a warm, sunny afternoon in Rome. I had time off from a movie that was being filmed there, and headed for the beach at Fregene. After weeks of being indoors on the movie set it felt wonderful to be outside again. Not content with merely sunning myself or running into the waves, I started to play tag with some children. We yelled and shrieked and raced along the beach, our flying feet showering sand on reclining sun bathers.

No doubt I was a ludicrous sight, whooping and hollering with a bunch of 8-year-olds. I felt like one of the gang until I overheard an irate Italian matron mutter, "Damn fool American."

I didn't think much of it at the moment. But that night I resented the implication. If I had done the same thing on any of the beaches near Los Angeles, the comment might have been "Damn fool actor."

For the first time, I realized that I was my country to everyone who noticed me and didn't have a wise mother handy to point out the fallacy of such snap judgment.

I wanted to go back and tell that Italian woman, "There's more to America than high-spirited actors kicking up sand on a foreign beach." I wanted to go back and tell a lot of people I had met that they ought not to judge America by me.

Suddenly I remembered a score of conversations in which my statements and actions were accepted as the official American point of view on a given situation. Phrases like, "So that's how America feels about it," and, "You Americans don't understand," came back to haunt me. I had been standing up, probably being a little pompous, tossing off opinions and ideas as if they were Government pronouncements. I probably made a few foolish remarks, but I doubt that I did any serious damage.

Forced to think about the situation, I was able at last to see some fairly obvious things that had been under my nose all the time. Most American tourists are judged solely as Americans. But American movie actors are judged in two ways—as Americans, and yet at the same time as a distant friend, a guy you feel you know and like although you have never met him. The world motion picture screen has given the American actor international stature.

On the streets of any European city, many people are inclined to treat American film stars as old friends. Having made their acquaintance on the screen, they yell out, "Bonjour, Gregory" or "Buon giorno, Spencer." It's as warm and casual as that. Even world statesmen do not receive such treatment. How many Europeans would recognize John Foster Dulles, or a United States Senator, or the head of a banking or business mission? And, if they did, how many would call out, "Bonjour, John?"

This seems to me to add up to one thing. Regardless of what one may think of their performances, motion-picture stars have an unusually high potential in building good will for this country abroad. Although without portfolio, they have it within their means to become American ambassadors of friendship in a troubled world.

In fact, all who are professionally identified with the arts—whether it be music or dancing or theater—are in a unique position of influence where world understanding is concerned. Artistic expression, of whatever form, speaks through thoughts and emotions that are common to human beings everywhere.

There are shining examples of the good that can be done to help people understand our country—such things as the Porgy and Bess tour of Russia and the rest of Europe, and Danny Kaye's tour around the world in behalf of the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund. Important projects for the future certainly must include Billy Rose's plan for an exchange of Soviet and American performers, which the State Department is now considering, and the fact that producer Michael Todd seems to have worked out most of the details for shooting an American film in Moscow.

Of course, we performers will run the usual risks in such a plan. Still, I think it would be better for Russians to throw tomatoes at bad actors than to hurl more lethal weapons at people in general.

All of this is on a large and significant scale. But equally important are the daily triumphs for international good feeling that can be achieved by American motion-picture stars in Europe.

Oftentimes these are simply things that an actor does by virtue of his training and experience.

During a recent stay in Italy on a movie location, I was asked to make a personal appearance for charity. My Italian vocabulary at the time consisted of good morning and goodby, but with the aid of some friends I worked out a four-line speech and memorized it phonetically.

When I stepped out on the stage and addressed the audience in its own language, the reaction was so great you would have thought I had suggested that Fort Knox be made an Italian colony.

The English translation would have been trite, indeed. It merely was to the effect that I was happy to be in Italy, had enjoyed my visit so far, and looked forward to making many Italian friends. I had spent all of a few minutes memorizing it in Italian. Never did so little effort pay off so big.

Another time I was asked to emcee a gala charity affair at Monte Carlo to help raise funds to fight polio. I was fortunate enough to be flanked by Gina Lollobrigida and Martine Carol. The event was a tremendous success financially, a result for which the major credit must go to the charm and pulchritude of my feminine coworkers. But what was most gratifying, and significant, to me was the flood of letters from French citizens and parents. They couldn't get over the fact that an American would take time out from his other activities to help raise funds for their children.

All this was inspiring evidence to me that people the world over have a strong, natural yearning for mutual understanding and friendship. Reaching them through common bonds and interests, one can release much of the suspicion, jealousy, and hate which binds the world's human relations.

Realizing this, our motion picture stars who today are working in foreign countries in increasing numbers should prepare themselves to accept the responsibilities that go with this great opportunity.

One of the first things an American actor in Europe has to remember is that being able to outfight the Indians in a series of westerns does not, in itself, qualify him to talk with authority on international politics. I am, of course, speaking from experience. Those European press conferences, which are a lot more rugged than a tussle with some hired Hopis, are quite a challenge.

In America, the questions newspapermen ask a movie star are very much of a pattern. How does it feel to kiss Lana Turner? Do you do your own stunts? How are you enjoying your stay in Dallas, or Cleveland, or St. Louis? What are your plans for your next picture?

The reporters ask these questions because they have found, I assume, that this is the kind of information their readers want.

But in Europe the reporters—and their readers—are not nearly so interested in whether you sleep in pajama tops or bottoms as they are in political or social affairs.

At one time or another in Europe I have been asked to predict the outcome of the segregation problem in the South, to discuss the differences of approach between the Democratic and Republican Parties, to explain America's interest in the Middle East, and to give my opinion on the desirability of unlimited trade with Iron Curtain countries. No one American—baker, butcher, doctor, statesman or actor—can come up with answers that will satisfy everyone. But by being ready for such questions—and having honest, forthright answers ready—the actor can help keep the respect most Europeans feel for us.

Many Europeans think of our country in terms of statistics: the highest buildings, the most cars, the most money, and so forth. This is not unusual because we ourselves think of other countries, like France and Italy, in general terms. The word "France" conjures up a montage of the Eiffel Tower, beautiful girls, the Folies Bergere, wine, and much franker moral standards. Italy, as everyone knows, is a country of spaghetti, opera singers and striking feminine fashions. If you know any Frenchmen or Italians, undoubtedly you know how much you must revise these false, but prevalent, impressions.

It is difficult for Europeans to establish much personal contact with the usual American tourist, whom they look upon chiefly as a source of income and not as a potential friend. They provide him with rooms, meals, travel accommodations and souvenirs, but it is a businesslike arrangement. There must be some way of breaking through this symbol-for-symbol relationship between countries. Certainly the international status of a movie star is one way.

Europeans do not hesitate to walk right up to an American actor and ask him questions about himself and his country—an approach they wouldn't exercise with an American State Department emissary, or an industrialist or other high level visitor. With a movie star they have a feeling of closeness and kinship. When a picture is being filmed, they will flock from miles around, and they like nothing better than to chat with the actors between scenes.

If a film star is not working during a European visit, he is usually the super-tourist, meeting more of the public in one day than most officials do in a month.

The actor must approach his role as an ambassador as he would any other part—he's got to learn the lines. In this case, that means he should learn to speak the language of the country he is visiting. Pantomine is wonderful, but contrary to the old axiom, words frequently speak at least as loud as actions. Because the people recognize the star, they are even more anxious to communicate with him. A few well chosen words in the native tongue can accomplish wonders. In the past several years of working on movie locations in Europe, I have taken my own advice and can now speak fairly fluent French, passable Italian and pretty miserable German.

Like others, I have found that in learning a foreign language there is always a temptation to put the first few words to immediate use—sometimes with amusing results. I remember walking into a small restaurant in Rome and, with feigned casualness, extending greeting in Italian. Those few words, coupled with the fact that the proprietor recognized me, brought forth a torrent of Italian.

I played the part straight. I nodded my head, grunted a few times, and sat down at the table. I'm still not sure what the man said, or what I had to eat that night; but it was one of the best meals I have ever had anywhere.

It is my feeling that, much too often, Americans figure it is the responsibility of the Europeans to understand English, and that there is no need for them to learn the language of another country. It is about time that a lot of us ask ourselves, "Who do we think we are?" This goes double for American movie stars abroad.

I have a strong feeling, too, that in the long run, as more and more people from this country visit Europe, those who have been abroad will have an important effect on American foreign policy. To travel in foreign lands is to get a perspective of your own country. I recall my ski instructor at Klosters, Switzerland, saying to me one day during a break in my lessons, "How do you know what it is like to be an American? You are one."

And he was right. We are so fortunate to grow up in a country where all sorts of freedoms and opportunities are taken for granted, we forget they are not an automatic blessing in every nation of the world.

I have always been an ardent supporter of the various plans to give aid and comfort to countries in need of it, without ever thinking there might be an adverse reaction by the beneficiaries. I guess I have considered these generous acts on the part of the American people in the light of a play in which the knight in shining armor comes galloping up in the middle of the third act to save the heroine and the kingdom.

But a French film worker gave me insight into the problem when he said, "It is not easy to be rescued in two wars."

Naturally, people are grateful for our help but, understandably, they are a little resentful toward any country that has so much while they have so little. With us, it is not merely a question of giving aid, it is essential that we also sell ourselves at the same time.

This dual feeling—appreciation of our aid and resentment of our ability to afford it—sometimes places an American in an ironic position.

One day in the delightful town of Arles, France, while we were shooting Lust for Life, I was sitting at a sidewalk table in a most attractive little bistro having lunch. It was a pleasant, relaxing atmosphere, and I felt nothing that my eye could see had changed in the past 50 or 100 years. Everywhere I looked it was tranquil. I felt at peace with myself and the whole world.

Some children were playing across the square, and from time to time they would look over at me and giggle. I wasn't sure whether it was because of my Van Gogh beard or because I was a movie star, but it was very much in keeping with the entire scene.

After a while I became conscious of a new element in the picture. Some teenage girls had taken up a position on a picturesque stone bridge and were watching me intently, obviously summoning up courage to come over and talk to me. I waved to them to come on, and as they did I noticed a sign which their legs had covered. There, in big splotches of black paint, was the advice, "Yanks—go home!"

The impact was startling. It almost destroyed what had been a memorable hour. The only thing that saved it was that I realized how much the sentiment of the country had changed. Certainly there had been a time when they wanted their country for themselves. It is not easy to take charity. Reminders like this pop up from time to time and the American must try to understand them in their proper context.

Memories of any trip or foreign interlude center around people as much as they do around places or events. I remember asking a cab driver in Tel Aviv why he had come to Israel. He answered that he had been inspired to do so by the writings of Spinoza, and he proceeded to quote at length some of the passages that had moved him. Never having read Spinoza, I could only agree with him.

I also have a vivid impression of the laundress who looked after my clothes in Rome. She was very proud that her church had a painting by Giotto (1266–1336). She practically demanded that I go and see it, which I did.

I don't say that a knowledge of the great philosophers is a basic requirement for cab drivers in Israel, or that all laundresses in Italy spend their spare time lecturing on art, but the incidents emphasize the European feeling for the arts.

This sense of identification with the classical tradition of the arts is much more common in Europe than in America for obvious reasons. Europeans have had centuries of exposure to the art forms, and their interest and knowledge of operas, paintings and symphonic music is as natural and uncomplicated as our passion for baseball, football, and jazz. Still—you do remember a laundress who boasted about a Giotto, or a cab driver who spouted Spinoza.

I find myself also recalling a restaurant in Brussels. It was located in a residential section and was a tiny room in an old home. It had been highly recommended and I was impressed by the beautiful linen and the gleaming silver and china that was set out. It was a room that contained not more than 10 tables, and the food was superb.

My American, mass-production mind went to work. I figured that with a little capital the owner could expand and provide gastronomical feasts for fifty or a hundred tables. I suggested the idea to him, but the groundwork had not even been laid on this castle in the air when he stopped me.

"No," he declared, "we cannot consider this. The quality of the food would suffer."

I admired him for his position. I hope that some day I will learn to say, in connection with any scheme, "the quality would suffer."

I like Europe. Visiting it as a movie star, and often working there in that capacity, I am convinced that, given the chance, Europe will like us. The night spots in Paris are crowded with people eager to hear American jazz as played by Sidney Bechet and other groups. Louis Armstrong and Lionel Hampton drew record-breaking crowds all over the Continent, and American movies do capacity business in almost every theater.

Art is a universal language and needs no translators. Particularly in Europe, with its long history of art, the creative person often is regarded with more affection than the businessman or statesman. An artist from another country is given a similar warm reception.

And that is where American movie stars can do something important about this great need for helping the people of the world to become better acquainted with us and our country. If actors will just consider themselves constantly on tour for this great drama called World Understanding, they can score triumph after triumph.

There are many responsibilities that go with it, but it is a tremendous role and the audience is highly receptive. Everywhere I have been on movie locations—in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Israel—I have found that people are hungry for friendship and understanding. The movie stars can give the performance of their lives by carrying the message that Americans are their brothers.

Paying for Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. KERR SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a very thought-provoking editorial concerning the public postal policy appearing in the Saturday, June 15, 1957, edition of the Asheville Citizen be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAYING FOR POSTAL SERVICE

If Congress is at last disposed, as seems likely, to vote a general increase in postal rates, some users of the mails will accept the decision resignedly, others more or less cheerfully, but probably still wishing for answers to unanswered questions.

The questions deal with the public-welfare services of the Post Office Department, the deficits involved in performing those services and the problem of the right or wrong attitude toward the deficits.

First of all in such a discussion the American people want good postal service and are willing to pay for it. Yet, as the cost of the service increases, the people are placing emphasis on this question:

What is the nature of the service rendered and how should its costs be apportioned among taxpayers?

There are some misconceptions about the nature of the postal service, and this causes confusion in analyzing the cost issue.

A well-known encyclopedia says of the United States Post Office Department that it is one of the largest business organizations in the world.

This is correct only in a general sense. Yet the fact appears, when you examine the kind of services rendered, that this Government Department is no more of a business than the Department of Labor, or the Department of Agriculture, as the Newark, N. Y., Courier-Gazette expresses it.

The point is that, from the beginning, the Post Office Department has been engaged in service for the welfare of the people, just about regardless of cost.

For example, the Department delivers a local letter on Charlotte Street for the same postal charge for delivering a letter in Honolulu 7,000 miles away. Hence, among the 42,000 post offices in the country, more than 90 percent of them are reported as losing money because the job of the Department is to carry the mails regardless of distance or cost.

Here are some other welfare services for which no charge is made by the Department: the franking privilege for Members of Congress and other Government officials; making collections for the Collector of Customs on mail received with duty charged; helping the armed services find relatives of deceased servicemen; distribution of income-tax forms; acceptance and transmission of funds for volunteer charities, public notary, and other services.

In a study of the postal service, the Citizen's Advisory Council submitted some conclusions as follows:

The people should pay their share of legitimate costs for mail services rendered. But the welfare and community service costs should not be paid from the Department's operating revenue.

The Newark Courier-Gazette sums it up better:

"The public services of the post office should be paid for by the public as a whole, and not charged up to mail users alone."

Soviet Occupation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a resolution recently adopted by the Lithuanian Council of Miami, condemning the Soviet Union for the illegal occupation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and the genocide policy toward these Baltic Nations.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITHUANIAN COUNCIL OF MIAMI,
Miami, Fla.

Resolution unanimously adopted at meeting of Americans of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian descent of the city of Miami, convoked to commemorate the sad anniversary of the mass deportations of the people of the Baltic nations, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, by the Russian police:

"Whereas Soviet Russia has enslaved Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, subjecting their people to brutal terror, oppression and mass deportations to Siberia and other parts of the Soviet empire; and

"Whereas the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have no freedom and are mercilessly exploited by their Communist rulers; and

"Whereas the Government of the United States officially denounced the illegal incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the Soviet Union: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting of Americans of Baltic descent of the city of Miami calls upon the President of the United States to do all in his power to help the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to regain their freedom and political independence; and towards this end; be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting requests the Government of the United States to support Senate Joint Resolution 87 which provides for a freedom authority to keep alive the spirit and hope of freedom from Russian Communist domination in the hearts of the liberty-loving people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain; and finally be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting requests the Government of the United States to introduce in the United Nations a resolution condemning the Soviet Union for the illegal occupation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and the genocide policy toward these Baltic Nations."

A. D. KAULAKIS,
President.
OSKAR LINDER,
President Estonian Club.
TEKLA PETERSONE,
Representative, Miami Latvians.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the action of the Government in this case is another black page in our national history. The exact situation is this: We are quartering our Armed Forces in Japan for the protection of Japan. Our soldiers were ordered there by the administration and are not there from their own choice. An area was set aside for the camp of our soldiers, and in this area the jurisdiction over crimes committed by our men remains with the army of occupation. In this manner, and that alone, can the constitutional rights of our soldiers be protected.

Girard was on guard duty at the time of this incident, and did exactly what he was ordered to do. He was to protect the area from trespassers and was provided with arms to enforce that protection. Some Japanese citizens came into the area and were ordered to leave. When they did not do so Girard, then on duty, fired a few shots to scare these trespassers off, and one of these shots accidentally killed a Japanese woman who came into the area and was a trespasser there.

If the shooting was not justified the United States Army court-martial had authority to make an inquiry, which it did, but because of the Status of Forces Treaty, held that he should be turned over to the Japanese for trial.

Whatever the outcome of this matter finally is, it means that we have tried to abandon one of our soldiers in time of trouble, and in order to appease the Japanese we have thrown this soldier to the wolves.

This action clearly demonstrates that under the policy of appeasement followed by this administration and the two preceding ones we are willing at any time to sacrifice one of our men if the Japanese Government cannot be conciliated in any other way.

The people of the United States should be advised on whose order Girard was turned over to the Japanese, and should further be advised that our altruistic policy toward the Japanese should be stopped at once, and every last soldier of the United States be withdrawn from Japan. The people of this country will never stand for any policy that keeps our soldiers in a foreign country for the protection of that country, and at the same time permits them to be tried by a foreign government.

When the NATO treaty was up for approval in 1953, under which it was agreed that members of our Armed Forces abroad should be tried by the NATO government of the countries in which our troops were stationed, I raised a protest and my statement appeared in the CON-

GRESSIONAL RECORD. But the appeasement slant to our foreign policy was so strong that it had no effect, and the treaty was approved.

The President stated that the agreement to have our troops tried in foreign countries is justified because that gives us the power and jurisdiction to try foreign soldiers in this country. What a statement. The President must have known that this country does not have to have foreign soldiers here for our protection, and that no foreign troops are here except a few for observation purposes. What a trade this was. To trade away the constitutional rights of thousands of our men in the Armed Forces for a chance to try foreign soldiers in this country—when we have none to try.

If we are powerless or spineless enough to abandon Girard, then we should immediately remove every last man of our Armed Forces in Japan. The same doctrine applies to any other foreign country where this treaty is in force. If we cannot protect our own men it simply shows just how weak and vacillating this great country has become, and it is time to call a halt to such procedure. Judge McGarraghy has called a halt on it by issuing an order enjoining the Army from turning Girard over to Japan. If the administration could muster up courage enough to follow this judge's decision we could end this whole squabble.

As court decisions are now coming out, this decision of Judge McGarraghy's is a bright spot in the present obviously confused judicial pronouncements.

Address by Melvin Handelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH. W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texas takes great—and justifiable—pride in the ability of its youth. One youth of whom Texas Democrats are proud is Melvin Handelman, of Marlin, Tex., the youngest national officer of the Young Democratic Clubs of America. Mr. Handelman, now 29, was elected national treasurer of the Young Democratic Clubs of America at 27.

Last Saturday, June 14, in Chicago, Mr. Handelman addressed the Young Democrats of Illinois. His speech would do credit to a man of many more years and much more experience. I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S TALK CENTS

(Address by Melvin Handelman)

Mr. Chairman, my fellow Young Democrats, I thank you for your friendly greeting. I feel every bit as cherished as one of the President's doctors, and I am reminded of a story. There was once a very wealthy and very spoiled child who broke his arm. (He may have gotten it caught when the lid was closed on the Dixon-Yates deal). His family insisted that he have the best of medical attention so they flew him to one of the President's doctors who promptly proclaimed that as soon as the cast was removed his arm would be better than new. A few days later, the lad went to the doctor in tears. He wanted to know if he could play the violin when the cast came off. The doctor, in his most confident manner, assured him he could. The lad grinned from ear to ear and said, "Doc, you're a modern miracle man. I never could play before."

It has been said that I am from Texas and I modestly admit this is true. Texans take their politics seriously, as you know. Texans in general, and the Young Democrats of my State in particular, take great pride in all our Democratic delegation in Congress, but we are especially proud of three people: (1) Mr. Democrat himself, Speaker SAM RAYBURN, of Bonham, who has been Speaker longer than any man in our history. Mr. SAM is a real friend of Young Democrats. He has said of his party—"We don't have any old fogies among us, nor do we have what is even worst, young fogies." (2) Senate Majority Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Johnson City, who has eloquently summed up all of our thoughts when he said, "The Democratic Party at its worst is better than our opposition at its best." (3) We also take pride in our new junior Senator, RALPH YARBOROUGH, who has spoken at every Texas Young Democrats convention since our club was reorganized in 1952. So you see, Mr. Chairman, Texas Democrats have a great deal in which to take pride.

Another thing in which Texas Young Democrats take pride is our firm and true friendship for the Young Democrats of Illinois. I want you to know that I certainly appreciate being invited to be with you today.

I have many friends in Chicago and Illinois, and I remember the help I received from this State when I was elected in 1955. I considered it an honor to have support from the home State of that great American Adlai Stevenson. Every day that passes we find new reason to admire him for his wit, foresight, patriotism, integrity, idealism, and courage. Our country made a mistake in 1952 when it failed to call him to its service, and that error was repeated in 1956. A lesser man, being twice denied election, would have retired to the sidelines. Instead, he continues to give us the benefit of his wisdom and advice.

You, in Illinois, have also given excellent leadership to our party's youth group as well as to the senior party. Dick Nelson, whom I am proud to call my friend, was an able president of our organization. We made great strides forward under his guidance. Today my friend Sidney Kallick is proving to be, in my opinion, the most capable chairman of regional directors I have known since I have been acquainted with this organization. I know you take pride in the job he is doing for our clubs and the party in general. In fact, you have every reason to be proud of all of the people you have sent to represent you in the YDCA. They are liked and respected.

I see at this convention evidence of the fact that you are thinking about the national convention which will be in Reno in November. This is as it should be. I know it will be a wonderful meeting and I am looking forward to seeing many of you there.

As we approach the end of one Young Democrat administration and look forward to the start of a new one, it is fitting that we should pause to take a look at the Democratic Party, and particularly its official youth organization. When speaking about the YDC, I would like to discuss briefly the treasury—or lack thereof.

Before mentioning our party, I think we should take a glance at our opposition. Since 1952 the GOP theme has been "Let's don't tell the people what we're for so they can't criticize." In our lifetime, we have seen the difference between guided progress under enlightened Democratic leadership, on the one hand, and the irresponsible, vacillating and drifting that characterize this Republican administration, on the other. Perhaps it is not fair to discuss foreign relations. After all, our foreign policy might be different if Foster Dulles were still alive. Isn't it too bad that Dulles no longer has Democratic superiors to point out the brinks from a safe distance? The mistakes of Messrs. Dulles, Stassen, Hoover, Jr., and Herter are too numerous to discuss in detail, but we can mention Suez, Israel, Korea, and Formosa, as particular areas where we have suffered severe diplomatic setbacks, and certainly our relationships with our allies have never been more strained. We made Nassar and King Saud men among dictators, and we forced out Eden in England and St. Laurent in Canada who were always our trusted and loyal friends. We have fed our enemies while our friends starved. What the GOP called the bold new look has become in actuality nothing more than bundles for Bulganin. To me, my friends, no blunder is more striking, damaging to our prestige abroad, or more foreign to our basic beliefs, than the administration's handling of the William Girard case. When asked about it, Dulles was as nervous as a long-tailed cat in a room full of rocking chairs. We are told that it was a political decision to turn over to a foreign and former enemy nation, an American soldier accused of committing a crime while on active duty. This decision was not based upon a treaty which had been ratified by the Senate, but upon an Executive order. The American people are entitled to all of the facts. This case could become a precedent toward establishing the most serious threat to our Constitution since the Bill of Rights was adopted.

In the field of domestic affairs, the Republican record is almost as bad. Since 1952, ours has been a government of, by, and for big business. You will recall that a prominent Republican leader disclosed that he preferred one breed of dog instead of another breed. I think it significant that he did not say he liked dogs; he merely said he liked one kind better than another. Perhaps this is because these old guardsmen have what could be termed as basically a feline philosophy. For I have noticed that the fat cats always feed the Republican kitty. Too many times the special interests have gone to their friends in the little squirrel infested putting green on Pennsylvania Avenue and come away with a dam or a public forest.

Another thing thinking citizens do not like is the concept that the President cannot be criticized for the actions of his administration. As Americans, we Democrats have tremendous admiration for Eisenhower the man. As a soldier, his record is unparalleled. We respect his present office, the highest within the gift of man. Yet, we recognize, even though his own congressional leaders do not, that he is the chief of a Republican administration. We have every right—and indeed, duty—to complain about the errors of Republican misrule. We should no longer let the old guard hide behind a man they themselves ignore. We must continue to fight the kind of Madison Avenue soft-sell that says heart attacks and ileitis operations are good for a person's general health. The next step for those hucksters will be to tell us that atomic fallout is good for us. We will continue to criticize the policies without any reflection on the man. We will make only pertinent criticism, never the scatter-shot harping used by the GOP against those great Presidents, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. No, we will not answer in kind even though we remem-

ber the slings and arrows that were hurled personally at these statesmen. No man has ever served his people so well while being so vilified as the man from Independence. My only consolation is that a man of his accomplishments and leadership is also of sufficient caliber to overlook the rudeness of the few while remembering the gratitude of the many.

As Young Democrats, we have inherited and must preserve the record of these leaders. We must do all we can to make sure that each new generation of first voters has its own rendevous with destiny. As we approach a new national convention, I think it is fitting that we look back upon the platform of the last one. In it we came out for a foreign policy for the United States, something we do not have at the present time. In our platform we came out for public power, civil rights, civil liberties, and the protection of minorities, a sane farm policy, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, repeal of the misnamed and infamous right-to-work laws, and return to the principles of the Wagner Act, nonpolitical disaster relief, and a broader social-security program. We also came out in favor of small business, repeal of the McCarran Act, self-government for the District of Columbia, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, support for the United Nations, a mental-health program, Federal aid to education, lowering the voting age to 18, the abolition of the electoral college and lower tariffs and greater trade among nations. In my opinion, this was the finest statement of beliefs our organization has yet adopted. I look forward hopefully to an even better platform this year.

However, my friends, we Young Democrats must do more than write our platform, for ours is, or should be, primarily a service organization. To justify our existence we must do more for our party. The first step toward the goal of a more vibrant organization is the obtaining of money with which to operate. As your treasurer I can tell you that happiness won't buy money. Many in our clubs would like the senior party to give some financial assistance to the YDC as the GOP helps its members, among whom are many young fogies. While I share this view, I do not blame our senior party. The fault is ours. Our top elected YDC officers, myself included, simply have not made the kind of presentation of our organization's needs and ambitions that is needed. Because I have the utmost faith in our party's leaders, I know they would respond favorably.

But we should help ourselves also. We should sponsor our own fund-raising activities. In addition to this, we must maintain our present system of dues—at least until an adequate treasury is developed. I have been greatly disturbed by the fact that there have been proposals to eliminate or cut our dues introduced at every meeting we have had for the past 4 years. A dues cut without compensating income would be reckless and irresponsible. As you know, almost half of the dues and charter fees paid in to sustain this administration was spent by our predecessors. Our successors will be in better shape. Besides this, they will know where we spent every penny, and they will know that the provisions of Federal law have been followed. Each delegate to the Reno convention will have more information than was made available to me when I became your treasurer.

To me, the matter of an adequate treasury with proper reports on the same to our membership is one of the most important tasks before us. But we must do more. We must encourage wider participation in our organization's affairs. I regret that not a single regional director is a woman. We have many outstanding women YDC members and they must receive their share of the duties of this organization.

We must also help our party in other ways, such as research, special issues, first voters, registration, and other committees. We should work in our precincts to help our party grow from the grassroots up, and we should seek the aid and advice of senior party leaders. We need their cooperation in building an organization that will do more for the party.

To sum it up, Reno presents real challenges for the young democratic clubs of America. I know that by working together we will meet the tasks that face us. By building an even better youth group we will aid in the election of a larger majority of Democrats in Congress next year, and we will do our part to elect a Democratic President and Congress in 1960. Then in 1961, on a cold day in Washington, we will see a spring housecleaning in January.

Thank you.

Commencement Address by Harold C. Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the fine commencement address of Harold C. Case, president, Boston University, entitled "This Land—Unsatisfied by Little Ways," at Boston University's first combined baccalaureate-commencement exercises in the Boston Garden on Sunday, June 2, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS LAND UNSATISFIED BY LITTLE WAYS

(Commencement address by President Harold C. Case, of Boston University, at Boston University's combined commencement-baccalaureate exercises, June 2, 1957, in the Boston Garden)

Members of this graduating class, you are is favored, and fortunate, group. You are completing a major unit in your education at a time when learning is uniquely cherished and when the results of higher education are socially significant. In fact, it is likely to determine the course of our Nation, and perhaps the theme of history. Jobs are plentiful. Shortage exists in most of the professions. You can put your knowledge to work. Opportunities for advanced study are more numerous than ever before in our Nation's history. Whether you define your aims in terms of goals possible of early attainment, or as a set of long-range objectives, if you have capacity, will power, and consistency, you may have reasonable hope of fulfillment.

On the other hand, you have a fearsome responsibility. Any simple action of yours may become a symbol of American conduct. A phrase may characterize a national idea. An influence for good or ill as expressed by any of you may go to the end of the earth, healing or hurting beyond power of recall.

Listen to Norman Cousins' estimate of your opportunity and responsibility. He says, "You are asked to think of a man. Think of someone, living or dead, whose life has enriched your own. Think back for a moment on the name or names that have given history a forward thrust, a sense of direction, an infusion of important knowledge, an encounter with the beautiful. Names connected to great ideas or causes or deeds or works of art.

"You are asked to do this because an intimate relationship, all at once, has come to exist between the life of such a man and your own. The turn of events has now made you the custodian of all his works. For it is now in your power—power on a scale never before possessed by human beings—to protect and fulfill those great works and ideas or to shatter them beyond recognition or repair.

"There is no achievement in human experience, no record, no thing of beauty that cannot now be rescinded and all its benefits and traces swept into void. It is this that distinguishes our generation from all previous generations: We possess total authority not only over our own time but over all the ages and works of man. Earlier generations have had the power merely to affect history; ours is the power to expunge it.

"We have managed somehow to unhinge the permanent. Everything that has occurred in history until now has suddenly acquired interim status. The mammoth struggles and sacrifies, strung together over a period of centuries, that have reduced barbarism and released the human individual for creative purposes—all these struggles are now fragile and uncertain as though they had never been won."

Our task, then, is not merely to confirm the deeds and dreams of the past, but to apply them with prophetic insight to the solution of the problems of the future.

For this task we need to breathe a new inspiration into a people. We are living in the age of the common man. The necessities of life—food, shelter, clothing, education, security—can be provided for every person. Equality of opportunity for all is barely around the corner. Now a new question emerges: What kind of person will common man be when he has the ingredients for an uncommon life?

What if our civilization, the product of education, training, discipline, religion, the unique contributions of a gifted minority, should stultify creativity and stimulate mediocrity?

Clearly, the problem before us at the midcentury, as Erwin D. Canham states it, is "one of awakening. Man has carried far toward fulfillment, his mastery of the material environment. This control can continue to go forward, doubtless at an accelerating pace. It is increasingly and widely evident that man's primary challenge today is to control himself, to solve his social problems, to apply more effectively the moral and spiritual truths he has always known and imperfectly lived" (Awakening: The World at Mid-Century, p. 197).

We now know that accessibility of material goods and even of intellectual insights cannot guarantee social sensitiveness, humane concern, and spiritual insights. Automation may increase leisure. It cannot guarantee integrity. The very instruments and techniques which have made mass wealth and mass culture possible may be used to vulgarize and stultify the masses.

Unless learning enjoys a spiritual foundation. If, as one skeptic puts it, "We are all aimless atoms ambling to annihilation," or if we believe that life is a "brutish burlesque, a foolish farce, or a meaningless muddle," then we are not likely to be summoned to any high design, in behalf of any lofty goals.

One of the talking-animal stories current some time ago had to do with two sardines. They were swimming together up the Hudson River. The current was swift. The tide was strong. The swimming was difficult. The sardines were complaining about the exertion. One said to the other, "Why do we swim at all? Why don't we go over and take the subway to 125th Street?" To which

the second sardine replied, "What, and be packed in like people?"

If we are only sardines packed in like people; that is, if we do not possess significance, or find cosmic meaning in other people—all people, then we are not likely to discover the inspiration for greatness.

If, however, we do regard every person as possessing infinite worth, and if we see ourselves as obligated to prove the dignity of our position in society, then we have a basis on which to produce large outlooks, strong motivations, and valid disciplines.

In thinking of the size of the dreams and of the dreamers in our past, Stephen Vincent Benet (in Listen to the People) says:

"Out of the flesh, out of the minds and hearts
Of thousand upon thousand common men,
Cranks, martyrs, starry-eyed enthusiasts
Slow-spoken neighbors, hard to push around,
Women whose hands were gentle with their kids
And men with a cold passion for mere justice.
We made this thing, this dream.
This land unsatisfied by little ways,
Open to every man who brought good will
This peaceless vision, groping for the stars,
Not as a huge devouring machine
Rolling and clanking with remorseless force
Over submitted bodies and the dead
But as live earth where anything could grow,
Your crankiness, my notions and his dream,
Grow and be looked at, grow and live or die.
But get their chance of growing and the sun.
We made it and we make it and it's ours.
We shall maintain it. It shall be sustained."

Moreover, stature in living requires appreciation to match all criticism. Important as it is to develop the critical mind, it is dangerous to live with hostility, always asking, "What is wrong here?" For shortly one will forget to inquire, "What is right here?" The persons who make the greatest contribution to the success of society do not seek self-aggrandizement. They are moved far more by need than by the prospect of publicity. They believe in values, not in propaganda. They never take anything for granted, but always take the experiences of life, good and bad, as if they have been divinely granted.

They find reverence before a sandwich or a sunset. They are attentive at a symphony concert or a seminar on human problems. They know that they do not deserve anything of life, except the opportunity to prove that they are worthy of it. They are not driven to despair by unexpected reverses, nor are they elevated to untenable heights of optimism by unprecedented successes. They can meet with triumph and disaster, and treat these two imposters just the same.

In this mood, one remembers Somerset Maugham, who used to stay at the old Ritz-Carlton Hotel on Madison Avenue, in New York. He always took the same bedroom and sitting room. One thing seemed curiously out of place, an old cracked cup sitting on top of the chest of drawers.

One day Jacques Chambrun asked Maugham about it. He smiled, "Why," he replied, "it serves to remind me that when all is said and done, the best things in life are the simplest—and the least appreciated, because we take them for granted."

He told of the cracked cup's history. In 1940 when France fell, the several hundred English citizens living in the south of France were evacuated in two small cargo vessels. They were forced to take a long zigzag route to dodge enemy submarines. Each ship was so crowded that there was hardly a free inch of space, and the blazing summer sun turned the decks into a furnace.

The big moment of each day came when the scanty supplies were rationed out. Grim, red eyed, hungry, and above all, thirsty, the passengers would line up for their share.

"That," said Mr. Maugham, pointing to the old cracked cup, "was what held my daily allowance of water. Whenever I feel myself getting a bit stuffy and inclined to take the comfortable places I stay in, and the good food I eat, for granted, I fill up my cup at the tap and drink it—slowly. It brings me to earth again in quite a hurry."

If ever you find yourself getting stuffy, feeling overconfident, taking your privileges for granted, will you find some old cracked cup, some symbol of hardship, some token to stir up your remembrance that life is terribly difficult, and will you fill it up, and drink slowly—returning again to a proper sense of gratitude—and of decent humility?

Your influence will be best, if you consistently support the ideal and the method of democracy. Judge Curtis Bok has said that in the "whole history of law and order, the longest step forward was taken by primitive man when, as if by common consent, the tribe sat down in a circle and allowed only one man to speak at a time."

This attitude of respect for another point of view, with attention to the ideas and convictions of different people, expressed one at a time, and without censure or heckling, is the essence of the democratic method.

In order to win the struggle for freedom we must believe in it, continue it in strength, and use it for the development of new avenues for the mind. Judge Learned Hand stated the issue in dignified prose, saying, "I believe that that community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation without specification of backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent that can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only insofar as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind and a brave reliance upon free discussion."

The builders of the bold dream cannot give timid support to truth, nor fear that it is weaker than lies. The way of freedom is the way into the future for mankind.

Finally, your effectiveness in living, your value to your generation, your satisfactions will require an unending quest for knowledge. You are commencing, not ending your education today. You are promising to make it your consuming purpose to know more and more important facts about life. You will be called upon to help to stabilize our economy, so that runaway inflation does not destroy the promises of plenty for mankind. You will not fear living in a world in which there are competing political and economic philosophies. You will recognize that the death of civilization as we know it, awaits another holocaust of war, and you will strive with all of your strength, to prevent such a catastrophe. You will express effective citizenship, with a righteous ethic in relationship to government, and you will expect nothing less of your representatives at all levels of political life. You will strive to understand and to support the improvement of international organization. You will feel stronly moved "to proclaim and clarify to yourself and to the world, the spiritual significance, and the practical social consequences of the free-enterprise system, as the true and liberating revolution of human history." The binding burden of toil has gone, the dark blanket of ignorance has been dispelled, the bright beam of knowledge has become a guiding light. The essential dignity of each person, and the right of all to enjoy to the full, the benefits of the social order, has become a solemn commitment. We are suddenly called on to make it clear that we have a concern for mankind, as wide as the expanses of the planet, and that our concern prompts us to know the most, and to behave in the best way in order to hasten the coming of peace, freedom, justice, equity, brotherhood, and universal well-being.

The survival of values long a-building is at stake now. Each of us is called on to contribute, that "this land unsatisfied by little ways" may be "open to every man who brought good will," that every man may—

"Grow and be looked at, grow and live or die.
But get their chance of growing in the sun.
We made it and we make it and it's ours.
We shall maintain it. It shall be sustained."

My best wishes to you all.

Statement of the Very Reverend Father Constantine J. Kazanas, in Behalf of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Favoring Passage of the Mutual Security Act of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

STATEMENT OF THE VERY REVEREND FATHER CONSTANTINE J. KAZANAS, IN BEHALF OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA, BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE FAVORING PASSAGE OF THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1957

I am dean of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in New York City and have been delegated by His Eminence Archbishop Michael, to convey to you the views of our church in favor of the continuation, improvement, and expansion of our Government's foreign aid programs in the specific fields of economic development and technical cooperation.

We are well aware of the fact that such action has been supported admirably by representatives of larger church groups, such as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. It is our conviction, however, that the religious and moral considerations in favor of foreign aid are so basically important that we must add our voice to those which are being heard with rapidly increasing volume from the churches in our country that are urging constructive action for the underdeveloped areas of the world.

Parenthetically, I would like the committee to bear in mind that, although this testimony summarizes the views of the archdiocese, some of my remarks today are based on findings to which I contributed personally while on a factfinding mission of the church

in Greece, Lebanon, Syria, Israel, and Jordan between July and October 1953.

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese represents over 1,200,000 Americans, and, as you know, it is directly related with the Eastern Orthodox Church of apostolic origin, with a total of 250 million communicants in the world today.

A great number of our Orthodox Christian brethren are prayerfully awaiting the day of deliverance from the oppression of godless communism. The foreign aid that we seek cannot satisfy their needs, but it could serve to destroy in time the hold of the Soviet bloc on the minds and hearts of these Christians.

The experience of our church in the free world, however, is sufficient to justify our emphatic support of economic development and technical assistance to those countries which are underdeveloped but whose citizens deserve everything that we enjoy in this blessed land.

The courageous men and women who pioneered across the country knew the suffering of scarcity and privation. They survived by sacrificing and sharing even the little they had. Yet they would be terror-stricken by our scandalous omission of similar action in this age of ever-increasing abundance. They would be justified, however, for in this last fiscal year the American people set aside for development assistance and technical cooperation with countries suffering such scarcity only one-tenth of 1 percent of our gross national product, which has surpassed the staggering sum of $410 billion per year.

Of course, we know how much the American people have contributed to countries abroad, but we submit that only a small percentage of our annual appropriations has been earmarked for the constructive, nonmilitary assistance for which we seek your earnest consideration today.

We respectfully suggest that direct military aid and defense support of friendly nations, which cost us some $3 billion this year, confuse the picture that the American public has of foreign aid. We justify such spending because we tend to see the division between the Communist and the free world as the great problem of our time.

Evidently we have missed the new, equally challenging problem that has developed since World War II, and that is the one presented by the underdeveloped nations of the world. This challenge will persist for the balance of this century, regardless of the evolution of the Communist threat.

Although the Eastern Orthodox Church and our Archdiocese of North and South America in particular are in accord with military assistance to foreign countries for world peace, we fervently believe that, in the final analysis, a dollar invested for economic development and technical aid in those very same countries will reap a richer harvest in economic stability, mutual understanding and confidence, and enduring peace than a dollar spent on military aid.

We urge, therefore, your earnest consideration of a long-range foreign-aid program that will have as a basic principle the sacredness of human life which is delineated in the Judaeo-Christian tradition inspiring millions of our fellow Americans.

With such motivation guiding our foreign-aid policy toward underdeveloped nations, we can reverently look for the fulfillment in our time of the prophecy of Isaiah that nations "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Commencement Address by John Cowles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the excellent commencement address at Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, June 2, 1957, given by John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA CAN'T ENJOY PERMANENT PEACE AND WELL-BEING BY ITSELF

(Excerpts from the commencement address at Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, June 2, given by John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune)

We are living in a revolutionary age—perhaps the most revolutionary in recorded history. The world has changed more in the last 40 years than in the previous 400, much more in the last decade than in the previous century.

Technological progress is taking place at a rapidly accelerating pace. Each new scientific discovery stiffens the technoiogical competition in which the great powers of the world are now engaged. If this country fails to keep ahead of Russia—or at least stay abreast of it—the penalty may be national disaster. It may even be national extinction.

In our lifetime, most of the world's people have radically changed their forms of government. Since the end of World War II, 19 countries have won their independence. Throughout the world there has occurred what someone has well called the revolution of rising expectations. In this revolution, more than half the peoples of the world have rebelled against the social and racial discriminations and low living standards to which they had submitted for centuries.

Most of the new nations which have recently won their independence do not have a sufficient number of educated and trained leaders to staff their governments. While many have retained the revolutionary fervor that produced their freedom, they often lack the wisdom and perspective to act in their own long range best interest. The situation is further complicated by the skillful exploitation by the Russian and Chinese Communists, for their own selfish ends, of the aspirations and grievances of the earth's uneducated and underprivileged peoples.

It is, in fact, almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of American foreign policy in this revolutionary period.

Our foreign policy is a thousand times more important now than when I was a boy. Then we felt secure in the protection of the two oceans and behind the friendly shield of the British Navy. Today the two oceans no longer offer such protection and the friendly shield no longer functions.

WHY THE AMERICAN BUDGET IS BIG

The current fight over the Federal budget is only one indication of the immense importance of our foreign policy decisions. The budget inspires controversy because it is big, and it is big because the great bulk of our total Federal expenditures relates to national defense and foreign policy.

International affairs have become so complicated that the Secretary of State today with the single exception of the President, has the most difficult job in the world. Secretary Dulles is an indefatigable worker and a superb international lawyer. Perhaps he knows more about world diplomatic history than any other living American. Nevertheless, I believe that some important aspects of our current foreign policy, particularly those relating to Asia, should be dispassionately reviewed and then basically modified.

First of all, we cannot have a sound foreign policy unless the public is well informed. Secretary Dulles made a serious error, I believe, when he ruled that American newspaper correspondents could not go to Red China. Mr. Dulles has since offered a variety of different reasons to justify his decision, but his arguments, in my opinion, will not stand analysis.

Basically, Mr. Dulles simply fails to comprehend that the function of our foreign correspondents is to inform the American people of what is happening in other parts of the world, not to act as agents of the Government. Whether or not we officially recognize a foreign government is completely irrelevant as to whether our newsmen should be permitted to report what is happening in that country. American press corespondents should be permitted to gather the news wherever they can in the interest of our having a well informed American public.

Wholly apart from Mr. Dulles' ruling with respect to newspapermen, there is also the question of the wisdom of our overall policy toward Red China.

PROGRESS AND SUFFERING IN RED CHINA

Some people seem to regard it as tantamount to treason to suggest a re-examination of our China policy. I disagree sharply with that attitude. I believe that our China policy should be objectively reviewed, because I fear that if we continue the present policy we shall probably suffer a futile and humiliating diplomatic defeat.

Regardless of how ruthless the present Communist government of Red China may be, most Asians believe that Mao has accomplished many creditable things of a distinctively Asian kind in China. There is, to be sure, much suffering and starvation in China, but there always has been. We must not blind ourselves to the evidence that the Communist Chinese government has made, and is still making, significant economic progress. It is, furthermore, steadily consolidating its control over all mainland China.

The notion that Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist forces on Formosa will ever be able to invade and reconquer the Chinese mainland seems to me absurd.

Equally unrealistic, in the eyes of most Asians, is our State Department's contention that Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa government constitutes the true blood-stream of Chinese history.

At the last meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, the United States had extreme difficulty in lining up enough votes to prevent the recognition of Red China, instead of Nationalist Formosa China, as the Chinese United Nations member. Most informed observers think it is unlikely that we shall be able to block Red China's admission to the United Nations for more than one more General Assembly at the most.

If we adopted a more flexible and realistic policy toward Red China, we might be able to secure important concessions in return

for our acquiescing in its admission to the United Nations. But our present policy is a sterile one. We are walking down a blind alley that will end in nothing but a humiliating diplomatic defeat.

Let us shift from China to South Asia and to Africa and Latin Ameria. In these areas I believe that the United States needs a much bolder and more imaginative national policy relating to world economic development than we now have.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS NOT A WASTE

It is quite impossible for America to disassociate itself from the economic welfare of other countries. It is clearly in our national self-interest that the whole world experience a sound economic growth and increase in wealth. For one thing, such economic growth tends to promote political stability and, therefore, world stability. For another, the United States needs dependable supplies of raw materials from all parts of the globe.

Therefore, we should, I believe, substantially increase the amount of funds we are currently providing for foreign technical assistance and economic development. Contrary to the widely held misconception, we are not wasting billions on giveaway programs of foreign economic aid. Aside from our foreign military aid and defense support, we are spending only between 400 and 500 million dollars a year for genuine technical assistance and economic development aid.

This is the total for the whole globe. It amounts to less than $3 per year per American citizen. I think we would be wise to double or triple that amount.

The relationship between a giver of financial aid and the recipient is always a sensitive one. We should recognize this psychological fact by revising our foreign aid policy to encourage the recipient nations to give us something in return for the dollar aid that we extend them.

These underdeveloped countries would feel a sense of pride and satisfaction, I believe, if we made it clear to them that we believe they have in their cultures and civilizations things that we lack and want. We might ask them, for example, to provide us with teachers in their languages and their history and culture. These teachers would then come to the United States and serve in our educational institutions. We could learn much, too, from extended visits to our colleges by Asian philosophers.

Many of the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa would be happy, I believe, if we asked them to give us some of their art objects to enrich our museums, in partial return for our dollar aid.

Other countries might, for example, give us animals for our public zoos. In countless ways we could make our foreign aid programs more truly reciprocal, with resulting psychological, cultural, and financial benefits to everybody.

To those of you who may be inclined to feel that foreign economic aid should be reduced because taxes are already too high, I would suggest that there are other things in our governmental setup to which your attention could more profitably be devoted.

Perhaps the need that is of paramount importance is to redefine the roles and missions of our own Army, Navy, and Air Force so as to reduce the present enormous waste resulting from duplication or triplication.

Under the existing military setup, our Army, Navy, and Air Force constitute three largely independent defense establishments. Because of nuclear weapons and long-range guided missiles, the traditional definitions of the roles and missions of the three services are now meaningless. Whenever a new technological invention comes along, each of the three services tries to develop it without regard for the other two services.

MILITARY PROGRAM NEEDS REDEFINITION

While I lay no claim whatsoever to possessing any personal expert military knowledge, I have talked with enough military and scientific people of high competence to have reached the conclusion that we should probably completely redefine existing military roles and missions to produce two new complementary forces:

One of them should be a strategic force built around SAC's long-range bombers and intermediate and long-range guided missiles. This strategic force should probably also include many more atomic submarines than we now have, to serve as mobile platforms for launching guided atomic missiles.

The second major element should be a tactical force equipped with atomic weapons and the essential supplemental conventional weapons for fighting so-called brush fire wars. This second, or tactical, force should possess an airborne capability far surpassing anything we now have, so that we could quickly fly a couple of ground divisions to any part of the world and supply them by air.

If we redefined roles and missions along these lines, we would be greatly minimizing, if not completely eliminating, the separate, semi-independent entities of the present Army, Navy, and Air Force. The generals and admirals would henceforth have to think of themselves solely as officers of the United States defense establishment, not as officers of simply one of three separate—and frequently jealous and conflicting—services.

But even if we reorganized our military establishment along these lines, and eliminated several billions of dollars a year of overlapping expenditure and waste, I doubt that we could safely cut our total defense expenditures below their present levels. This is because the new weapons are fantastically expensive.

If we do not fundamentally reorganize our overall defense establishment, I think we are going to have to increase our defense expenditures unless we are willing, which I, for one, am not, to gamble with our national security.

We cannot safely make any enormous savings in our defense spending until we have achieved a foolproof, airtight, enforcible system of universal international disarmament.

WHY TAXES WILL CONTINUE HIGH

Our taxes are high, extremely high. Much as I favor governmental economy and hope for the elmination of every possible dollar of waste, I believe our taxes will have to stay high for years to come. It might be well for us to recall what Oliver Wendell Holmes said—"Taxes are what we pay for civilization."

And speaking of civilization, let us not forget that the great British historian, Arnold Toynbee, recently suggested that the 20th century would be remembered, not as the age of the atomic bomb, but as the first time when man thought it practicable to distribute all the benefits of civilization to all people.

We in the United States constitute only 6 percent of the world's population. The majority of the people of the world live in Asia. One-third of all the babies being born in the whole world today are Chinese. If one adds the other Asian countries, far more than half of all the babies born today are Asian.

We Americans must comprehend the fact that the concept of permanent peace and well-being for the United States has become indistinguishable from the concept of peace and well-being in the whole world.

A few weeks ago Dr. Edward Teller, one of the world's most distinguished nuclear scientists, told me his definition of an optimist. "An optimist," he said, "is someone who believes that the future is uncertain."

Well, I am an optimist. I believe the future is uncertain. But I also have a deep conviction that if the American people become sufficiently well informed on what is happening throughout the whole world today, we will support the right policies and do the right things.

In that way we will avoid a devasating world war III that might destroy what we call civilization, and instead help produce a new era of freedom and well-being—a richer, fuller life for all the peoples of the world than any of them has ever previously known.

The Lone Star Steel Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Lone Star Steel Co. has become a vital factor in Texas—not just economically, but in terms of the regard in which it is held by Texans.

It was a pleasure to discover in the June 15 issue of Business Week an article tracing the history of the company and its current status under the able direction of E. B. Germany.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXAS STEEL MILL PUTS ALL ITS BETS ON OIL

Less than 10 years ago, the War Assets Administration couldn't find anyone outside of Texas who'd bid much more than $3 million for a languishing iron operation in the piney east Texas hills, 150 miles from Dallas—even though it had cost Uncle Sam 10 times that sum.

Today, the Texas-born Lone Star Steel Co., with its original wartime facilities now augmented by the modern steel plant you see in the pictures, can boast a pretty impressive record. Last year:

Lone Star produced at 114.47 percent of capacity—the highest operating rate in the industry—against a national average of 89.8 percent.

In net income per ton of ingot capacity, Lone Star was first among carbon steelmakers with $18.46, more than double the industry average of $8.64.

Lone Star's net profit as a percent of sales jumped to 11.45 percent (third highest in the industry) from 7.39 percent in 1955. At the same time, the percentage for the industry dropped to 7.28 percent from 1955's 7.82 percent.

The company's sales hit $88 million, a steep climb from the $27-million figure only 3 years earlier, when the steel plant's open-hearth shop was put on the line for the first time. Net income of $10.1 million was almost 5 times 1953's $2.1 million.

Maverick—the company that has put on this performance is a sort of maverick of the industry. Though it's a fully integrated steel operation, Lone Star has deliberately put all its eggs in one basket. More than nine-tenths of its total income today comes from the sale of oil-country goods—casing, tubing, and pipe. And in the battle between electric weld and seamless pipe, it has put all its bets on electric weld.

Lone Star has staked its bread and butter and its whole future on the rough-and-tumble industry that has made the words "Texas" and "oil" almost synonymous. So it's wooing its rough-and-tumble customers with a genial caricature of themselves—a

symbolic figure that the company calls Joe Roughneck and bills as the heart of the oil and gas industry.

Balance sheet: In the race for the oil goods market, Lone Star has a couple of solid geographical advantages: (1) It's set down right in the middle of its ore supply, and (2) its market literally surrounds the plant.

Of course, it is true that the ore is low grade and has to be beneficiated; and the green, untrained labor available in the area was at first a handicap. On top of that, Lone Star has had to fight off the weight of a sizable debt; and life for stockholders has been barren of cash dividends. But President E. B. Germany is so firmly convinced that Lone Star's future is soaked in oil that he's ready to put more money on the line to back it up. The company is engaged in an $8 million expansion that will add, among other new facilities, a fifth open-hearth furnace.

I. ORE IN THOSE HILLS

Some observers say the "eastern dudes" simply missed the boat on east Texas iron ore. At any rate, it took a group of east Texas merchants and a few sharp Dallas bankers to turn a sickly war orphan into one of the hottest operations in the steel business.

For more than 100 years, many people knew the rolling hills of east Texas made pretty poor farming country because there was too much iron in the soil. But if there was too much iron for farming, there didn't seem to be enough for iron making. Attempts during the past century to start up an iron business ended up on the rocks.

Wartime spurt: But with World War II, iron came into critical demand, and a group of Texans, with typical enthusiasm, thought they saw a chance to do something with the ore. They arranged a deal in 1942 whereby the Defense Plant Corporation would build an installation (with the Texans putting up $1 million), and Lone Star would operate it for 7 years with option to buy. The plans called for an ore beneficiation plant, some coke ovens, a powerplant, and a blast furnace.

Start in life: The war, and the iron emergency, ended before the installation was completed. When the best outside bids for Uncle Sam's $30 million white elephant barely topped $3 million, Lone Star backers dug into their well-lined pockets and came up with a $6.3 million bid that the War Assets Administration O. K.'d.

The coke ovens and powerplant were operating and ore was being shipped, but the blast furnace was then only on a standby basis.

For a couple of years the company produced and sold pig iron, then took its first major forward step by installing a cast-iron-pipe foundry.

During these years, Lone Star leadership passed from John W. Carpenter (now board chairman of Southland Life Insurance Co., of Dallas, and still a Lone Star director) to E. B. Germany, an oilman turned steelman. Germany had started out in the unlikely role of high-school principal, then switched to oil and successful wildcatting. He was one of the original backers and directors of Lone Star, and is still president at a vigorous 64.

Leap into steel: With the cast-iron-pipe foundry running at capacity, and accounting for $3 million of 1951's $19.5 million sales, Germany and his associates were ready for the bigger push they had been preparing for.

A big leap into steel was the obvious move—and steel shortages, made more acute by Korea, provided the opportunity. The company was able to wangle a loan of $50 million from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the National Production Authority provided another $37 million through second mortgage notes maturing in 1971. With this backing, Lone Star was able to build 550,000 tons annual steelmaking capacity, including 4 open-hearth furnaces, a rolling mill, and 2 pipe mills. It began making steel in 1953.

Multiplication: That's when sales figures started shooting skyward—and earnings followed along, after a slightly delayed takeoff. Steel accounted for $12.6 million in sales in 1953, $25 million in 1954, $62 million in 1955, $77 million of last year's $88 million total sales. Lone Star officials have their eye on $100 million in steel sales alone this year.

At the beginning, a lot of production bugs in steel had to be worked out, and an absolutely green labor supply meant using 2 or 3 men to do the work of 1. So in its first full steel year, 1954, Lone Star went more than $1 million in the red. But net income jumped back past $4.5 million in 1955 and hit $10.1 million last year.

II. PLACING A BET

Oil industry people have hassled for years over the relative merits of seamless vs. electric weld pipe. Lone Star, under Germany's leadership, plumped for electric weld as "the most salable end-use product for us"—but only after exhaustive studies by its consulting engineers, A. J. Boynton & Co., and the consulting geologist firm of DeGolyer & McNaughton. Seamless has been around much longer than electric weld, but in the past 25 years electric weld has been gaining on it.

Here's why Germany figured it was smarter business for Lone Star to go for electric weld. All oil company pipe is sold according to American Petroleum Institute standards, and one of the most popular kinds is API's "J–55." Since it's suitable for any well that goes down less than 9,000 feet, and the great majority of wells today are to depths less than that, the greatest demand for casing is for J–55. In performance and price, electric weld J–55 and seamless J–55 are the same.

But when it comes to getting into the business, an electric weld plant costs less to build than a seamless mill, and cost of production is lower.

Market: Beyond that, Germany figures it won't be too long before overall United States sales of electric weld come up to a par with the older seamless. And since Lone Star's total capacity output now can't supply as much as 15 percent of oil industry demand for J–55 casing, he has no fears about future markets.

III. IN ITS OWN BACKYARD

Despite the Texan ardor of its backers, and the easy accessibility of Texan ore, even Lone Star had a few qualms at the beginning as to whether the ore could be used profitably. It hired Kerr & Co., engineers of Los Angeles (certainly no spot for a pro-Texas bias), to make a detailed study.

Kerr & Co. came up with the categorical conclusion that Lone Star's beneficiation methods made its reserves "one of the lowest-cost supplies of iron ore remaining in the United States." Lone Star has acquired some 56,000 acres of ore-bearing land in the area.

The ore is strip mined, and as mined, it runs from 19 percent to about 25 percent iron. After beneficiation, iron content is raised to around 50 percent. That's close to the 51.5 percent standard that open-pit Mesabi range ore now has trouble reaching—though it lags behind the 63 percent of pelletized taconite or jasper concentrate.

As for costs, Kerr & Co. found Lone Star's weighted average cost per long ton was $3.05. At that time, ore with 51.5 percent iron content sold at lower Great Lake ports for over $8 a gross ton.

Scrap: As for scrap for the open-hearth furnaces, Germany says "we have this whole area to draw upon," and there's no trouble getting it at favorable prices and low freight costs. There's only one other user of scrap in that part of the country. Lone Star's ratio now runs normally at about 40 percent hot metal to 60 percent scrap. With technical changes to step up blast furnace capacity, plus the fifth open-hearth, it's expected to be 65 percent scrap.

Within reach: Lone Star also has extensive coal reserves less than 250 miles away in Oklahoma. It gets limestone from a Chico, (Texas) quarry, dolomite from Oklahoma manganese from Mexico. The east Texas fields supply plenty of cheap gas for fuel.

Labor comes out of the east Texas hills, too: 78 percent of Lone Star's nearly 5,000 employees are natives of the region. The rest are largely skilled supervisory personnel brought in from other steel centers to train the erstwhile farmers and stockmen.

Right in the middle: Lone Star's markets aren't quite confined to its backyard, but they, too, literally surround the plant at Lone Star, Tex. (offices are in Dallas). A year ago there were 2,712 drilling rigs operating in the United States, and 2,241 of them were drilling in Lone Star's seven-State trade area. Roughly 83 percent of all wells drilled in the United States were within an overnight haul.

The advantages are obvious: "The plant's location in the center of oil activity," says Germany, "enables drillers to order months in advance, pick up their pipe on the morning of the day they need it, and have it in the well by nightfall."

There has been talk for years of Jones & Laughlin coming into Lone Star's domain with a 1-million-ton mill near Houston to produce seamless pipe. Germany professes to be unworried, says the oil industry will double its activities in Lone Star's sales area in the next 5 years.

IV. ROCKS ALONG THE ROAD

A total of $87 million in funds from United States agencies—the amount Lone Star got from RFC and the National Production Authority together—is quite a hunk of cash, and might seem to take care of all financial worries. But it has its drawbacks, too.

For one thing, despite increasing profits, stockholders have yet to pocket their first cash dividend (though their shares have had a hefty rise on the over-the-counter market). That's because as long as the NPA loan is outstanding, the company can't pay dividends without Government consent. In February this year, Germany did get permission to pay a stock dividend.

Weight of debt: For the past couple of years, Germany's toughest job has been fighting the company's sizable debt, which peaked at something more than $88 million in 1954. Since then Lone Star has worked it down—it whittled off $26 million in the past 15 months alone—but almost got itself in a bind in the process.

In 1954, when Lone Star's cash position was at its worst, it got an agreement with RFC for rescheduling loan maturities and releasing certain unused construction loan funds for working capital. At the same time Lone Star agreed that, if requested, it would refinance its outstanding indebtedness by issuing some securities RFC thought would be more marketable.

This agreement would have involved issuing up to 1 million shares of common by March 1 this year, at $9.50 a share. But when the time came to think about issuing this stock, the common shares had climbed to $26—and 1 million new shares at $9.50 would have upset the existing stockholders' equity. Lone Star's phenomenal sales climb, however, enabled it to get off the hook by anteing up $7 million in cash by April 1 to pay off part of the debt and make the stock issue unnecessary. Now the financial prospect looks smoother, and expansion to enlarge Lone Star's slice of the market in oil country goods is well underway.

Ahead: Present schedules call for having the fifth open-hearth furnace in operation by year-end; and a stretch reducing mill is

now being installed at the plant. The $8 million expansion also includes a projected bar mill, which will use scrap from the pipe welding.

Despite recent rumors, Germany says Lone Star is not in the market for mergers at this time.

A Triumph for Senator Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine article written by Doris Fleeson and published in the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., on June 14, 1957, concerning the legislative achievements of our distinguished colleague, Senator LISTER HILL, from Alabama.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TRIUMPH FOR SENATOR HILL—POPULAR LAWMAKER WINS $32 MILLION EXTRA FUNDS FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH

(By Doris Fleeson)

A dedicated Senator, riding his personal popularity in the Senate, and putting to a test his feeling that the economy wave has receded from its peak, has succeeded in adding $32 million more than President Eisenhower had called for to the budget. The object was more medical research.

Senator LISTER HILL, the son of a distinguished pioneer surgeon, has been a sponsor of health legislation throughout his Senate career. It was he who first raised the question with the then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Oveta Culp Hobby as to whether the Department had planned to meet the demand for Salk vaccine. It had not foreseen the demand, Mrs. Hobby declared, a statement later quoted in hundreds of Democratic speeches. It eventually was a Hill-sponsored bill which made possible free vaccine for all children between the ages of 5 and 20.

Senator HILL is in a unique position to further his interest in health matters. He is chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee before which such matters come. He also is chairman of the appropriations subcommittee which operates in the same field. He has made the most of his opportunity. Again and again Senate appropriations for medical research have outrun the proposals of the administration.

There is a certain amount of sublimation in HILL's devotion to the cause of health. Early in his career in the Senate he was chosen as whip under the leadership of Alben Barkley, at that time majority leader. The young Senator had a bright career before him, which certainly would have landed him the position of majority leader by now. It might have taken him to higher things.

The growing discord over the question of civil rights settled HILL's fate. He recognized that he could not sponsor Democratic civil-rights legislation as majority leader and remain as a Senator from Alabama. He resigned his post as whip. Since then he has concentrated on health and welfare matters.

HILL had been heard to say that he would not try to increase the health research appropriations unless he felt a change in the Senate's economy mood. In a number of instances lately that mood has been exhibited more fiercely than in the House. His judgment was apparently correct. There was not a single vote against his amendments.

On the contrary, even some of the most avid economists in the body practically fell over themselves in praising HILL. In the RECORD the praise appears fulsome enough to have done appropriately for a departed colleague of whom no one will say unkind things.

HILL went right down the line reaching for increases, playing no favorites among the enemies of mankind. Cancer research got an added $11.6 million. Mental-health problems received $4.2 million more, heart disease research $5.3 million extra, arthritis and metabolic diseases $5.6 million additional, and neurology and blindness $5.1 million more.

Although voting to support Senator HILL at every turn, the Senate salved its conscience in the matter of economy by voting more than $96 million less for the total labor-welfare appropriation bill than President Eisenhower had requested. It even managed to reduce the amount appropriated by the House by $38 million or so.

But for Senator HILL, no one would say him nay. It was a triumph not only over the winds of economy which have been blowing through the Congress, but over an administration he thinks has been lagging in promoting medical research.

The Soil Bank—Sentenced Without Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to an editorial in the Schuyler (Nebr.) Sun. The editorial reflects the deep concern felt by many people on the farms and in the towns and cities of the Middle West. The folks believe the soil bank should be allowed to continue until proven a good or a bad element in our adjustment to new farm needs and problems. Now that the Senate has acted favorably on the soil bank, I am confident that the House conferees will reverse the course of the House and agree in continuing this helpful farm program. I earnestly hope that every Congressman and Senator interested in the farm situation in our country will read the following editorial:

SENTENCED WITHOUT TRIAL

Unless something drastic happens between now and June 30, the soil bank will pass into political oblivion on that date.

The infant, not yet 1 year old and reared in dire desperation, never stood a chance. It was suffering from patisanitis the day it was born and became progressively worse after election.

Was it a good idea? We'll never know because it was never given a fair test. And that seems to be the story of the farm program. Each year someone comes up with a brainstorm only to have it kicked around for political benefits and then after it has served its purpose, it is thrown on the dung-hill of farm programs—which, incidentally, is growing higher and higher as Congresses pass by.

Meanwhile, down on the farm, the tiller of the soil just doesn't know which way to turn. On the average, he is willing to try anything to help keep the farm economy from floundering like a waterlogged vessel. But, instead of sending out the lifeline, our lawmakers are loading the vessel down with ballast that moves from one side to the other, every time the wind shifts on Capitol Hill.

That the farmer needs help is apparent, for he is fighting drought and surplus both at the same time. No matter which way he turns, he's stymied. With drought, he has no crop—with surplus, he has no price.

Somewhere in between is the happy land. If he could reach it alone—without any Government intervention—he would be the happiest of men but, if he must have Government aid—it should be beneficial—not to the Republicans—not to the Democrats—but to the farmer and the United States. If it can't be done that way, it should not be done at all.

The soil bank is about to die. No doubt, another program will take its place, but it will be no better than its predecessors, unless it is born in harmony and with a sincere desire to regain its rightful place among the economies of the Nation.

Valuable Support of Hon. Robert L. Sikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I call to the attention of the House an editorial which appeared in the Wednesday, June 12 issue of the Huntsville Times, Huntsville, Ala., commending the valuable support for the missile Jupiter which is being rendered by Hon. ROBERT L. SIKES, of Florida, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Army Appropriations. With your permission, I present this editorial, as follows:

VALUABLE SUPPORT FOR JUPITER

Encouraging support in behalf of the Jupiter guided missile, developed at ABMA, came in Washington Monday afternoon.

Representative BOB SIKES, of Florida, member of the House Appropriations Committee, called on Secretary of Defense Wilson for a prompt order "of full speed ahead" on the Jupiter, on the basis of the highly successful test firing conducted about 10 days ago at Cape Carneveral, on the coast of Florida.

"A realistic appraisal of the accomplishments of the Jupiter, and the success of this Army missile, should bring an immediate about-face, and an announcement that work will continue on Jupiter under the jurisdiction of the Army's team," he added.

He admitted that such a decision would require some "backing up" by Secretary Wilson, in view of his previous order that the Air Force should have operational control of the Jupiter as well as the Thor, both of which are intermediate (1,500 miles) missiles.

Strong out-of-State support, such as Representative SIKES has given, is not only encouraging, but valuable, in view of the fact that he is a strong and influential member of the Appropriations Committee.

Resolution Adopted by Baltic Nations Committee of Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following resolution adopted by the Baltic Nations Committee of Detroit at its 16th annual meeting on June 16, 1957:

The Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians of Detroit, at their 16th annual concert meeting on June 16, 1957, at the International Institute of Detroit, held in commemoration of the mass deportations by the Communists from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas in June 1940 the sovereign and independent Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were illegally occupied through treachery and deception by Soviet Russia and on June 1941 many thousands of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians were seized and deported to the tundras of Siberia for tortuous death, thus beginning a series of acts of systematical genocide carried out by the Kremlin since; and

"Whereas the same Soviet forces brutally crushed the Hungarian revolt against communism in 1956 and the aim of the international communism still is the world domination, thus being a menace to the free world and to the world peace; and

"Whereas the United States of America 'will never make a political settlement at the expense of the captive nations, condemns and opposes the Soviet imperialism,' and still 'seeks the liberation of the captive nations because peace is in jeopardy and freedom a word of mockery until the divided nations are reunited and the captive nations are set free,' as officially stated by the honorable Secretary of State in New York City, on April 22, 1957: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That hereby we, who have assembled today to commemorate this tragic anniversary, once again express our deep gratitude to the United States Government for not recognizing the fabricated incorporation of the Baltic States into Soviet Union and allowing many thousands of refugees to find new homes in this land of liberty; and be it further

"Resolved, That this meeting unconditionally denounces and condemns the Soviet crimes of treacherous aggression, destructive occupation, and brutal genocide of the Baltic States and all the other enslaved countries and respectfully recommends and urges the United States Government, as a member of United Nations, to take the Soviet Union to the United Nations International Court of Justice for aggression and mass murder, and if necessary to follow the recommendations made by the Honorable Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND on November 26, 1956, to bring Russia into line:

"1. Expel Russia from United Nations until the Soviets agree to obey the United Nations.

"2. Apply economic sanctions against Russia until she withdraws troops from Hungary.

"3. Withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union until she conforms to the United Nations resolutions.

"4. Establish a United Nations emergency force ready to help if another enslaved country appeals for it while fighting for freedom; and be it further

"Resolved, That if this should fail the United States should go it alone and establish a realistic, affirmative policy of tangible aid to these countries that revolt against Communist tyranny; and be it further

"Resolved, That this is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that the principals listed in article 21 of Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations must also cover the peoples of Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. That only free elections in the U. S. S. R. and the captive countries would bring world peace; and be it finally

"Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded to the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, majority leader of United States Senate, minority leader of United States Senate, chairman of United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chairman of United States Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament, chairman of United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary's Subcommittee of the Internal Security, chairman of United States Senate Commerce Special Subcommittee, Speaker of the House of Representatives, majority leader of the House of Representatives, minority leader of the House of Representatives, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, United States delegate to the United Nations, all Members of United States Congress of State of Michigan, the Governor of State of Michigan, and the mayor of city of Detroit."

Adopted in Detroit, Mich., this 16th day of June 1957 A. D.

THE BALTIC NATIONS COMMITTEE OF DETROIT.

Commies Are Jubilant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL BROWN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the June 19, 1957, issue of the Augusta Chronicle, Augusta, Ga., entitled "Commies Are Jubilant."

This is a timely and most interesting editorial and I hope it will be widely read:

COMMIES ARE JUBILANT

The Supreme Court, in another of its weird decisions, probably has set the country back 20 years in the legal battle being waged against the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

There is jubilation among the Commies over the Court's decision reversing convictions of 14 top California Communists, 5 of whom were freed outright.

And no wonder they are jubilant. It gives the Reds, and the pinks, and the punks a new lease on life. It literally gives them carte blanche permission to continue their conspiracy, to keep boring from within, with virtual assurance that they cannot be reached by the law.

Seven of the upper bracket Communists involved in their legal triumph hailed the decision as the greatest victory the Communist Party in America has received.

Said Mrs. Dorothy Healey Connelly, former chairman of the Communist Party in Los Angeles:

"It will mark a rejuvenation of the party in America. We've lost some members in the last few years, but now we're on our way."

The key decision struck a near mortal blow to the Smith Antisedition Act. In companion decisions the Court virtually hamstrung congressional committees which have been working, with some success, to ferret out and expose disloyal Government employees or those persons whose loyalty to the United States is questionable.

The Court's decision is a perfect example of its penchant for glorifying and magnifying technicalities in lieu of supporting the general principle of laws designed to protect the country's security and its welfare.

In a display of legalistic straining at gnats, the high tribunal held that the judge (in the Communists' trial) failed in instructing the jury to properly "distinguish between advocacy of forcible overthrow as an abstract doctrine and advocacy of action to that end."

Some lawyers might agree with such legal hairsplitting, but the average laymen—and the Communists no doubt—will construe this to mean that a person can be a working member of the Communist conspiracy, dedicated to the overthrow of the American system of government, without fear of punishment, but he must refrain from putting a stick of dynamite under the National Capitol or the White House.

Something like that, no doubt, would be the action required before the conspirator could be legally punished.

The heart and core of the Communist movement in this country almost had been destroyed, and the Reds and their fellow travelers had been deserting the sinking ship like rats.

But this decision, according to the Reds themselves, will rejuvenate the party in America. It will be difficult if not impossible to get any more convictions against any member of the conspiracy.

Congressional Medals of Honor for the Four Chaplains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, in the 84th Congress I introduced legislation to award posthumously the Congressional Medal of Honor to the four chaplains who sacrificed their lives in the sinking of the *Dorchester* during World War II in order that the lives of other servicemen might be saved.

An adverse report from the Defense Department served to defeat the measure at the committee level. But it has not served to defeat the mounting interest in this legislation. Today I join my distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO], and a bipartisan group of Senators, who have introduced similar legislation in the 85th Congress, by reintroducing this measure. I think the comments of the Reverend Norman Vincent Peale, who said, "All of us hope this bill will pass by unanimous vote," and Rabbi Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who fully supports the bill, indicate the growing demand that Congress give full recognition to the outstanding patriotism demonstrated by the four chaplains.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for the RECORD the following resolutions adopted by veterans' groups in support of the bill I previously introduced in the 84th Congress. I respectfully urge my colleagues on the House Armed Services Committee to consider these endorsements and recommend favorable action on this or similar legislation during the present session of Congress:

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION HELD IN LOS ANGELES, CALIF., SEPTEMBER 3–6, 1956

Whereas THOMAS L. ASHLEY, Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio, introduced the bill H. R. 9931 on March 13, 1956, to authorize the President of the United States to award the Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously to Alexander D. Goode, Jewish rabbi; John F. Washington, Catholic priest; Clark V. Poling, Baptist minister, and George L. Fox, Methodist minister, the immortal four chaplains of World War II, and

Whereas the Congressional Medal of Honor is long overdue for these heroes whose bravery was so inspiring to the soldier and civilian alike during those days of World War II when victory was far from certain; and

Whereas the American Legion has continuously honored and revered the memory of these four chaplains and observes annually as "Four Chaplains Day" the Sunday preceding or following February 3 as a highlight of the Back to God Movement; and

Whereas it is proper for the American Legion to foster and promote the memory of this inspiring patriotic sacrifice which demonstrated beyond words the unity of purpose of the great faiths of America: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion in national convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., September 3–6, 1956, does hereby memorialize the 85th Congress of the United States to act favorably upon a bill similar to H. R. 9931.

WITTSTEIN-MIDDLEMAN
POST, No. 524,
THE AMERICAN LEGION,
Cincinnati, Ohio, April 16, 1956.

CONGRESSMAN THOMAS L. ASHLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am happy to note in an article in the Ohio Legion News that you have so nobly introduced a bill (H. R. 9931) to award posthumously the Congressional Medal of Honor to the immortal four chaplains of World War II.

One of them, Alexander D. Goode, was a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, Class of 1934, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Wittstein-Middleman Post, No. 524, the American Legion, on February 6, 1956, presented a facsimile of the painting, depicting the sinking of the U. S. S. *Dorchester* and the four chaplains at a special ceremony honoring Four Chaplains Day which painting was accepted by Dr. Nelson Glueck, president of the college.

I am writing Dr. Glueck of your action relative to H. R. 9931.

I assure you that our post will do all it can to write our Congressmen and Senators to support the bill.

Cordially,

HARRY M. COHN,
First Vice Commander.

Approved:

BEN ALTMAN,
Commander.

RESOLUTION OF GLENDALE POST 127 OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, DEPARTMENT OF CALIFORNIA

Whereas THOMAS L. ASHLEY, Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio, introduced congressional bill, H. R. 9931, on March 13, 1956, to authorize the President of the United States to award the Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously to Alexander D. Goode, Jewish Rabbi; John F. Washington, Catholic priest; Clark V. Poling, Baptist minister; and George L. Fox, Methodist minister, the immortal four chaplains of World War II; and

Whereas the Congressional Medal of Honor is long overdue for these heroes whose bravery was so inspiring to the soldier and civilian alike during those days of World War II when victory was far from certain; and

Whereas the American Legion has continuously honored and revered the memory of these four chaplains and observes annually as Four Chaplains Day the Sunday preceding or following February 3 as a highlight of the back-to-God movement; and

Whereas it is proper for the American Legion to foster and promote the memory of this inspiring patriotic sacrifice which demonstrated beyond words the unity of purpose of the great faiths of America: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Glendale Post 127 of the American Legion, Department of California, hereby memoralizes the Congress of the United States to act favorably upon H. R. 9931; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Los Angeles County Council of the American Legion and to the 20th district for transmitting to the Department of California of the American Legion for further action.

Adopted this 5th day of April by Glendale Post 127, American Legion, Department of California, at a regular meeting.

G. H. GILLILAND,
Commander.
GEORGE H. MORGAN,
Adjutant.

American Saga

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to relate briefly an American saga. It began 60 years ago in the little village of Le Roy in my district in western New York. Pearl B. Wait and his wife, May Davis Wait, had been manufacturing cough medicine and decided to branch out into the newly developing packaged food business. They hit upon an adaptation of a gelatin dessert, which they put on the market under the name of Jell-O. Two years later, they sold the business for $450 because the sales were not promising. Orator Francis Woodward bought it.

In 1902, Jell-O suddenly caught on. Advertising, enterprise, imagination, and faith began to pay off. By 1906 sales were just under a million dollars annually, and in 1925 the Jell-O Co., together with the Postum Cereal Co. became the nucleus of General Foods Corp.

Today, more than a quarter of a billion packages of Jell-O are sold annually.

The little plant in Le Roy is now a big plant employing 450 people, and Jell-O is also manufactured in four other plants throughout the country.

Early this month the Jell-O plant in LeRoy celebrated its 60th anniversary, with civic leaders, editors, businessmen, and employees joining in the ceremonies. The plant is today a large and integral part of the community of LeRoy, a good neighbor in civic and charitable projects, and a vital factor in the economy of the village. The LeRoy plant alone now turns out more than a million packages of Jell-O daily, and incidentally, it sells for a cent and a half less than it did 60 years ago. Work is currently being done which will greatly increase this output. Jell-O has become as traditional a part of American life as apple pie and as symbolic of America throughout the world as ice-cream sodas.

This is a typical story of private enterprise under our system, Mr. Speaker, and on its 60th anniversary the plant and its management deserve and have received heartiest congratulations and good wishes.

As a measure of the esteem in which it is held, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the LeRoy (N. Y.) Gazette-News of Thursday, June 13, 1957:

CONGRATULATIONS

Jell-O division of General Foods Corp. is observing this week the 60th anniversary of the birth of Jell-O in Le Roy. Jell-O has been an asset to Le Roy all down through the years in its employment of those desiring it, and in its interest in making Le Roy a good community in which to abide, rear children, and enjoy life.

Jell-O has spread the name of Le Roy throughout the Nation and into foreign lands. As a company it has cooperated heartily in community betterment and needs, and contributed generously when asked for assistance.

We congratulate Jell-O upon its birthday and extend wishes for many happy returns. At the same time we would felicitate the other industries of Le Roy who have worked alongside and with Jell-O in advancing Le Roy's industrial and community growth. Of a major nature are the Lapp Insulator, Union Steel Chest, and Le Roy Machine corporations, plus a score or more smaller industries.

Their combined interest and cooperation has given to Le Roy an enviable reputation among the villages of New York State.

New Celotex Plant at Pittston, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial

from the Pittston Sunday Dispatch of June 16, 1957, commenting on the new Celotex plant located at Harding, near Pittston:

GLAD YOU'RE HERE, TOO

Readers will notice in today's Dispatch an advertisement from the Celotex firm, Harding, headed "Glad To Be Here." The advertisement announces the beginning of production work at the new Celotex plant in Harding.

Well, we of Greater Pittston can say "We're glad you decided to come," and if you have any relatives induce them to come to this area too.

Celotex is an established, reliable firm, and it is nice to know that the firm is pleased with its local plant, and happy in its location here.

It is a good start for a new firm on the road to becoming a vital part of a strange community, but a community that gives it a vibrant welcome, and a promise of wholehearted community support.

Carthage Dam Next Step To Improve Cumberland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to include a very fine editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn., on June 15, 1957. The people of the Cumberland River area are looking forward to an effective control of the Cumberland River in the years ahead. I commend the editorial to the attention of the House membership.

The editorial follows:

CARTHAGE DAM NEXT STEP TO IMPROVE CUMBERLAND

Final approval of $5 million for next fiscal year's construction on Barkley Dam was voted this week by the full House appropriations committee. The funds were voted despite strong protests of Representative JOHN S. TABER.

But, according to Representative JOE EVINS (Democrat, Tennessee), who piloted the appropriation past both subcommittee and full committee opponents, it has a fine chance to pass both House and Senate without further danger.

A Corps of Engineers dam, even a large dam like Barkley, is considered over the hump as far as eventual completion is concerned if construction funds can be obtained for two straight years. Now that the first 2 years' funds seem to be assured for this $167 million structure on which work begins next week, it is time for the people of the Cumberland River Valley to take a careful look for the logical "next."

This is not to say that there can be any letup in battling for ever larger and larger appropriations for Barkley. Under present spending schedules, incidentally, it could require a full generation to complete. If it is to be built as the proposed 6-year schedule envisions, appropriations of up to $30 million annually will have to be fought for and obtained.

But, while Barkley's completion in a reasonable time is by no means guaranteed, the people of the valley need to consider what dam they would build next.

Stewart's Ferry on the Stone's River, Carthage on the main stem of the Cumberland, and Laurel and Devil's Jump on the far headwaters, all are up for consideration.

Local pressure has been strongest for Stewart's Ferry. This project, however, is in process of engineering review. It may soon be classified as a single-purpose, flood-control dam. The paring away of multipurpose features can assure that large local matching funds will be required.

With the heavy demands upon local government resources the move to a single government is likely to impose, neither city nor county is likely to be able to offer multimillion dollar bond issues for matching Federal flood-control funds for Stewart's Ferry. So that project would seem to go on the set-aside list for the time being. Certainly, the people of Murfreesboro who are fighting for a multipurpose project would not like to see the dam started as a flood-control project until they have more time to make their case.

Devil's Jump and Laurel, hundreds of miles upstream, are special cases. These dams will be built, if they are built in the near future, under some kind of special legislation for distressed-area projects. So they may not be considered competitive with Carthage Dam on the main stream.

That project located about 65 miles above Nashville would appear to be the most logical next selection from the standpoint of those who think in terms of the long-term welfare of the people of the valley. Unfortunately, in the present stage of its planning any provision for locks is lacking.

But last week the people of the upper Cumberland met at Gainesboro to plan a campaign for the inclusion of navigation facilities in the plans for Carthage. Without locks the rich coalfields of the upper Cumberland forever would be shut off from river transport.

The achievement of this group's purpose is an essential before there can be an effective drive for the start of construction. So, for the people who want a full development of the Cumberland River, the next roadblock to be removed is the omission of locks in Carthage Dam. The enterprise deserves the broadest possible public support.

Foreign-Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the official total of the amount of American money spent or invested in foreign countries between July 1, 1940, and July 1, 1956, is $109 billion. If we add the amount appropriated for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, it will amount to approximately $115 billion.

In addition to this huge sum of $115 billion, we left behind us billions when we brought the boys home at the end of World War II—billions of dollars worth of supplies, machinery, barracks, roads, and even scrap. We have also reduced our tariffs for the entry of foreign goods made with cheap labor at the expense of American industries and American workingmen's jobs.

Mr. Speaker, the three countries that have benefited most by our soft-headed American largess are Great Britain, Russia, and Nationalist China. Of these three, today only Britain is still a solid ally, and Britain is gradually breaking away, as shown by her Egyptian fiasco and her present attitude toward trade with Communist China, the direct opposite to our attitude.

Mr. Speaker, I ask those Members of Congress who have been voting for these giveaway billions: What have we bought with your squandering of the American taxpayers' hard-earned dollars? Why continue this foolish effort to buy friends? Why not spend some of these billions for the benefit of our own people, or leave the dollars in the American taxpayers' pockets for them to spend, or save, or use for their own special welfare?

These are questions that should be faced and answered by each and every Member of Congress. Let us face the facts as they are today. Let us take care of our own people first. Charity should begin at home.

Minerals Program a Joke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, on June 4 the Department of the Interior presented to the Congress, in an obviously jocular vein, what it chose to call the administration's long-range minerals program.

I use the term "jocular vein" advisedly because the program was a joke, and a cruel one at that, in view of the plight the American mining industry finds itself in. Thousands of miners already out of work, and thousands of others facing unemployment may be a joking matter with the Department of the Interior but I say it is a deadly serious problem that this Congress needs to face up to and provide remedies.

The program presented by the Department of the Interior calls for affirmative action in respect to only two minerals—lead and zinc—and the author of the lead and zinc so-called remedy must have had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote it.

It calls for an inadequate sliding scale import tax schedule in lieu of present inadequate tariffs on these two minerals.

But the real joker in the proposal, Mr. Speaker, is that the President already has legislative authority to accomplish what the Department is asking the Congress to do. Yes, even more than that, the President has adequate legislative authority to accomplish even more for lead and zinc than it is proposed that Congress act upon.

I call the membership's attention to the fact that section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 provided that the President has power to, and I quote, "Take such action as he deems necessary to adjust the imports

of such articles to a level that will not threaten to impair the national security." And, Mr. Speaker, I submit that there is more than adequate historical background for a determination of foreign imports that threaten to close down our domestic mines, which in the language of the statute is a situation that does "threaten to impair the national security."

And, Mr. Speaker, if that is not sufficient authority, under section 1364 of the United States Code annotated—the so-called escape clause—where articles are being imported into the United States in such quantities and I quote "either actual or relative, as to cause or threaten serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive products" the President has authority, and I again quote from the statute, "to make such adjustments in the rates of duty, impose such quotas, or make such other modifications found to be necessary to prevent or remedy serious injury to the domestic industry."

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Interior in the case of lead and zinc has asked the Congress to assume the responsibility of making a decision for the President.

Who Got It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, who got the money from our grand give-away program? Here is a list of where the money went since June 30, 1945.

But the spenders say we had to do it to stop communism. Yet if you look at these figures close you will see that the two biggest Communist countries, Russia and Yugoslavia, got a big chunk. Yes; the givers want to see communism prosper, too, on taxpayers' dollars.

Here is a list of who got it:

Aid to international organizations	$1,126,325,000
Aid to unspecified areas in Europe	11,393,213,000
Aid to unspecified areas in Asia and in the Pacific	3,112,623,000
Aid to unspecified areas in Near East and Africa	1,746,502,000
Aid to "other" unspecified areas	402,612,000
Aid to unspecified areas in South and Central America	327,945,000
Afghanistan	4,254,000
Albania	20,444,000
Argentina	198,000
Australia	12,539,000
Austria	1,061,196,000
Belgium-Luxembourg	582,773,000
Belgian Congo	17,000
Bolivia	49,576,000
Brazil	26,914,000
Britain (England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Isle of Man, Channel Islands)	3,763,332,000
British Bahamas	68,000
British Borneo	$216,000
British East Africa	90,000
British Africa (unspecified place)	15,000
British Guiana	170,000
British Honduras	439,000
British Leeward and Windward Islands	163,000
British Gambia	34,000
British Gold Coast	174,000
British Hong Kong	4,043,000
British Jamaica	807,000
British Malaya	695,000
British Malta	1,333,000
British Nigeria	50,000
British Sierra Leone	7,000
British Singapore	55,000
Burma	20,956,000
Cambodia	39,827,000
Canada	3,964,000
Ceylon	238,000
Chile	11,644,000
China—Taiwan	2,200,208,000
Colombia	9,496,000
Costa Rica	14,972,000
Cuba	1,705,000
Czechoslovakia	185,827,000
Denmark	247,634,000
Dominican Republic	2,223,000
Ecuador	9,710,000
Egypt	50,363,000
El Salvador	5,675,000
Ethiopia	9,872,000
Finland	3,522,000
France	4,333,707,000
French Africa (unspecified place)	299,000
French Algeria	107,000
French West Africa	13,000
French West Indies	17,000
Germany (East)	17,318,000
Germany (West)	3,793,559,000
Greece	1,677,991,000
Guatemala	31,770,000
Haiti	15,460,000
Honduras	6,734,000
Hungary	5,855,000
Iraq	8,902,000
Iran	187,839,000
Iceland	29,758,000
India	216,334,000
Indochina (unspecified as to whether aid went to Cambodia, Laos, or Vietnam)	111,317,000
Indonesia	118,476,000
Ireland	18,346,000
Israel	251,151,000
Italy	2,574,663,000
Italian Somaliland	43,000
Italian Trieste	48,155,000
Japan	2,360,520,000
Japanese Ryukyu Islands	221,133,000
Japanese Islands—miscellaneous	13,000
Jordan	28,988,000
Korea	1,497,449,000
Laos	65,502,000
Lebanon	17,208,000
Liberia	6,981,000
Libya	27,931,000
Mexico	105,685,000
Morocco	780,000
Nepal	3,549,000
Netherlands	911,239,000
Netherlands New Guinea	23,000
Netherlands Surinam	526,000
New Zealand	2,300,000
Nicaragua	11,701,000
Norway	236,482,000
Pakistan	223,552,000
Palestine	175,000
Panama	10,802,000
Paraguay	9,102,000
Peru	17,437,000
Philippines	763,531,000
Poland	364,978,000
Portugal	18,217,000
Portuguese India	349,000
Portuguese Africa (unspecified place)	61,000
Rhodesia and Nyasaland	1,000
Saudi Arabia	$4,255,000
Soviet Union (since 1946)	465,434,000
Spain	116,638,000
Spanish Canary Islands	16,000
Sudan	6,000
Sweden	87,143,000
Switzerland	1,803,000
Syria	1,026,000
Tangier	17,000
Thailand	52,000,000
Tunisia	339,000
Turkey	495,068,000
Uruguay	2,183,000
Venezuela	2,207,000
Vietnam	316,325,000
Yugoslavia	734,304,000

Yes, folks, that is the way your money goes—where it goes nobody knows. Supposedly, it is all to stop communism—yet even the Communists are getting billions from our great and grand giveaway. Thank the Lord I never voted for this.

Most State Farmers Give Endorsement to Fixed Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, farmers have been extremely patient and generous with this administration. Since 1952, it has cost them $4.5 billion in net farm income to prove that flexing prices downward neither increases farm income nor decreases farm surpluses. Yet, while Secretary Benson himself has publicly admitted failure of this policy, he has shocked rural America by proposing to completely obliterate the price-support program, which is the only hope of price stability to agriculture. Urban dwellers have been told among other things that farmers do not want firm price supports, though farmers themselves have voted for programs embracing firm supports and effective crop controls, in referendum after referendum across the Nation.

In my great State of South Dakota, the three largest daily newspapers who conduct the South Dakota Poll, asked farmers and ranchers throughout the State what they considered to be the best farm program. These papers are: The Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, the Rapid City Journal, and the Aberdeen American-News.

I offer, as further evidence of farmer attitude, the following report on the South Dakota Poll, as it was printed in the Watertown Public Opinion of June 12, 1957:

MOST STATE FARMERS GIVE ENDORSEMENT TO FIXED PRICE SUPPORTS

Sixty percent of the farmers of South Dakota believe that a rigid price support program of 90 percent of parity is the best of all farm programs yet offered. Asked to choose from among the soil-bank plan, 90 percent of parity, and other plans, only 21 percent selected the soil-bank plan as preferable and only 19 percent thought the best solution lay in some other approach to the problem.

This poll was addressed to farmers only. An explanation for each respondent's attitude was sought.

Generally, those who preferred some other plan expressed a desire for a combination of the features of acreage control with firm price supports. About one-third of this group, or 6 percent of the farm population of the State, called for a return to the free interplay of supply and demand, freed from all Government controls.

Typical comments follow:

"The soil bank helps build the land as well as helps the farmer along."

"Make it (the soil bank) compulsory."

"Some change is needed. A landlord gets practically all of the soil-bank check now, although he doesn't farm."

"High rigid supports is a wartime measure and should have been discontinued long ago."

"Why should one segment of the population work for less than 100 percent of parity?"

"Cut acreage, but guarantee a fair price."

"Support only the family-sized farm."

"The soil bank benefits the big farm only, not the family-sized unit."

"Farmers should have price protection so long as labor, steel, railroads, and public utilities have it."

"Manufactured products have a set price, why not farm products?"

"Ninety percent of parity would provide a certain assured income with which the farmer could plan in order to meet his expenses."

"Don't meddle with the farm business. Let supply and demand operate freely."

"A guaranteed parity at a lower percentage rate would provide support and still drive out the lazy."

"Actual production should be controlled, not simply the acreage. Acreage control is really no control at all over production. Only the poorer land is retired in the soil bank."

"There should be 90 percent of parity and no quotas for the family farm. Marketing quotas should be established for corporation farms."

The second question sought the farmer's opinion as to whether or not young people should be encouraged to remain on the farm; 63 percent of the respondents replied that they should be encouraged to farm.

Typical comments to this question follow:

"There isn't much hope for young couples unless they have parents who will help."

"Children should stay on the farm who are unable to go elsewhere."

"Considering the investment, the taxes, and the work involved, the return is hardly attractive."

"Let them do as they are inclined."

"No profit and many hours of long, hard work."

"Encourage them; we need young farmers."

"The freedom of farm life is worth it."

"The way I look at it, the opportunity is so much better elsewhere * * * that I suppose I would have to advise them to get a good job."

"We need to keep some on the farm."

"Farming is the best way to live."

"Conditions will be better."

"If they can afford to start farming, they don't need to farm."

"A farmer must take what he can get and pay what he is asked."

"The less ambitious will stay. We should encourage the more ambitious to remain, too, in order to offset that influence."

"It is a good place for a broad-minded youngster full of ambition and not afraid to work and gamble."

"Encourage them, provided we can get rid of them price-cutting jackasses in Washington."

The questions and results follow:

Question. Which plan do you consider to be the best of all farm programs offered up to now?

Soil bank, acreage reserve, and conservation.

Ninety percent of parity, firm price supports.

Other.

Results:	Percent
Soil bank	21
90 percent of parity	60
Other	19
Total	100

Question. How do you feel about children remaining on the farm?

Encourage them to be farmers.

Discourage them from being farmers.

Results:	Percent
Encourage them	63
Discourage them	37
Total	100

The Lutheran Missionary in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was a distinct privilege to address the annual convention of the Eastern District of the American Lutheran Church at Chambersburg, Pa., Tuesday, June 19, 1957, on the subject, "The Lutheran Missionary in the Middle East."

The address follows:

THE LUTHERAN MISSIONARY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Address delivered by JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, at the convention banquet of the Eastern District, American Lutheran Church, at Chambersburg, Pa., June 19, 1957)

The responsibility of religion in our time is probably without precedent, with the result that the duties of evangelism today are at least as great as they were in the days of Paul of Tarsus.

It happens that as I speak the prime target of the great struggle that engulfs mankind is the Middle East.

Those who speak of the Middle East in the councils of the great powers may emphasize oil or geography or military strategy.

But the key to the issues is a moral one, and its solution in the end will be moral and religious.

The question at the root of the multiplicity of middle eastern troubles, so far as the American Lutheran Church is concerned, is simply this:

How can religion help?

It is my conviction that it is impossible to be a good Evangelical American Lutheran in any area of the world without being at the same time in the best sense an American ambassador of good will.

Yet I wish I could convince myself that the problem is as ordinary as that.

For what is involved are postures and attitudes, tolerance and understanding, in the most delicate of all human relationships, namely, man's dignity, his fiery sense of independence, his pride, and finally his need.

Religion can help today as it did in the days of early Christendom, by fulfilling man's gnawing spiritual aspirations.

But because of the character of the world of our time, the dominance of the economic phases, of modern life everywhere, spiritual aspirations must be promoted without indifference to people's other needs, such as shelter, nourishment, and their medical wants.

One cannot help but be impressed by the splendid record of humanitarian service rendered by American Lutheran missionaries and institutions in the Holy Land, in Ethiopia, in Hong Kong, and New Guinea, and in Indonesia.

It is reported that Lutheran world action, in its world mission, is expending an excess of $1 million a year.

In addition to some 60,000 baptisms annually and the operation of over 1,400 mission schools with an enrollment of some 81,000 students, Lutheran hospitals and clinics treat nearly three-quarters of a million patients.

This impressive record of service to humanity is a tribute to the faith and zeal of Lutheran missionaries all over the world.

As a veteran of two world wars and brief service in the Korean conflict, I have seen countries in time of war and upheaval.

There is of course the stirring and sometimes terrifying situation of a whole nation in a state of convulsion.

Terror may fill the streets and uncertainty seize the governments.

Epidemics may be prevalent or threatening and violence unreasoned and uncontrollable may take hold of entire populations, destroying all semblance of law and order.

In the Middle East, more especially than anywhere at the moment, the potential situation is charged with unlimited possibilities.

It is because of this that I emphasize the important role played by American missionaries as they strive to give a positive answer to the Biblical question, Am I my brother's keeper?

It is my opinion that no American missionary in our time, anywhere in the world, represents himself alone or represents merely the religious denomination that sent him.

We must remember, all of us, that in a very particular and a special sense the American missionary represents the United States.

The missionary in the Middle East today may arrive there with only the Gospels and spiritual dedication to his work.

But whether he realizes it or not, he arrives also as an American and his role unofficially, but most importantly, is that of an ambassador of goodwill.

Forty years ago that might not have been so much the case.

But today every American in Egypt, in Korea, on Formosa, in Africa and Asia, yes, anywhere on the face of the globe, is regarded by the native population as a living image of Uncle Sam.

He is constantly watched with a scrutiny in every nook and corner of the earth that will not miss his every gesture, the smallest comment, or the faintest expression of opinion or criticism.

This is because the world divided is engaged in what is termed "a contest for the minds of men."

In this contest the high point is the spiritual value.

In this contest, too, is also the position of the United States as a Nation before mankind.

What they are asking themselves in the Middle East more hotly at the moment than anywhere else is, Are Americans sincere?

In other words, shall they believe the Kremlin or the Americans?

They know that the Middle East is the most strategic piece of real estate on earth.

It is the heartbeat of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Napoleon gambled on it and lost to Nelson and the British Navy.

In losing he had to give up his ambitions for Africa, India, and the Far East.

The Middle East is the wall that the Soviet Union is now seeking to climb because on the other side rests two-thirds of the world's oil supply.

If the free world should permit the Middle East to pass under Communist domination it would mean the crippling of NATO and paralysis for the industrial capacity of Western Europe and Great Britain.

It could mean catastrophe for the free world because it would give Russia precisely what she has been seeking since she dreamed of warm-water ports in the days of Peter the Great.

Recently Russia attempted to establish a Communist government in Greece.

She toyed desperately with Turkey in an effort to get control of the Dardenelles.

Elsewhere she sought domination by all manner of modern tricks of infiltration and the manipulation of situations of poverty and need.

Of course, it is not the function of the religious missionary to perform the role of the official or even the unofficial diplomat.

It is not the function of the missionary to come to Egypt or the Holy Land or Iraq or Pakistan or Saudi Arabia or Iran or Syria with the Bible in one hand and the job of winning political battles in the other.

Nevertheless, the Lutheran missionary, his sermons, his teachings, his medical ministrations, his contacts, his schools, his orphanages, and his clinics represent a connecting link between the people of the United States as well as Lutheranism and the people in the area.

He will be judged by these people not only as an exemplary Lutheran but also as a representative of the United States.

Everything he does will operate for or against not only himself, his religious preaching and organizational work, but also for or against his country.

And in this hour of the world's struggle between the spiritual values of the Western World and the materialistic values of Soviet communism, the missionary from the West is certainly charged with a powerful responsibility.

But there is another reason with a downright diabolical background that invests with special significance the role of the missionary in the Middle East.

This has to do with the Soviet weapon of religious infiltration for political ends.

For tragic as the situation is, it is nevertheless one of the most melancholy facts of our time that the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union is not so much a church as it is a political arm of the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin has taught itself to recognize that a prostituted church manipulated by the Soviet regime as it manipulates all elements in the total state, can become a creature of value for subversive activity.

Thus religion may be used to tie together the slave world everywhere.

During World War II it was announced that a so-called understanding had been reached between the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet Government.

Since that time and as a result of the much-heralded understanding the Russian Orthodox Church has emerged as a political agent of Soviet intrigue and infiltration.

If I were asked: What are the problems of the Lutheran missionary in the Middle East? I would say that this is one of the most pressing.

But while I can pose the problem before you I cannot provide you with its solution or with advice on how to go about counteracting this insidious type of religious prostitution.

This is a field of endeavor in which, as a Congressman, I find I must place in the capable hands of American missionaries of all religious faiths.

They have the experience abroad and the skill in dealing with anti-Christian religions that strive to halt or cripple their missionary activities.

The Lutheran missionary will know best how to summon the kind of delicacy of approach, the manner of warfare, the perhaps refined form of spiritual combat that a situation fraught with so much evil demands.

I know the Lutheran Church is an old and tested hand and its missionaries will know their way around in any struggle with a religious swindle so obvious as a Kremlin-dominated church trying to make capital out of Middle Eastern unrest.

The Lutheran Church is well equipped to battle the Soviet technique of using the Christian religion as a political pawn.

For example, whenever the Soviet Union launches one of its fraudulent peace movements it compels its church dignitaries to travel to the target countries on presumably peace missions like so many spiritual circus horses.

Frequently these so-called religious missions make great propaganda out of the spectacle of the devil which they invent and that devil is invariably America and her Wall Street warmongers.

I was very much moved recently when reading some of the Lutheran Evangelical literature to find one method of persuasion that is employed by Lutheran missionaries abroad.

Just how this method is implemented interests me very much as I find the idea highly inspiring.

I was particularly impressed with the fact that it was being employed in Egypt's Cairo, which is one of the key spots in the Middle East now calling for the best possible display of American character and influence.

The method this missionary is described as using is simply that he "loved Moslems into the kingdom of God."

This Lutheran missionary went about his task without the unbecoming zeal that may excite hostility more often than it wins converts.

Rather, he went about, according to his own words, "seeking to understand the world of Islam."

There is, of course, nothing so powerful as the understanding heart.

This Lutheran missionary studied the Koran and made not merely contacts, but friends with as many Moslem students as possible.

He was their appreciative companion and he indicated the respect for them that he wished them to display for him.

In such a mutual situation it was not long before the Moslem students were asking the missionary about his religion, about Christianity, and in particular about Lutheranism.

Truly he had sown the seed for the kind of mutual understanding, perhaps the conversion, that makes for a peaceful world and attitudes of international courtesy.

In this connection it is significant that the Lutheran Churches of America have sent as much as 100,000 pounds of clothing to Egyptian victims of the recent war within a month.

This is good and effective work.

The shipments went to refugees in the Port Said area and were authorized by the Lutheran world relief.

This is a concrete example of practical Christianity at its best.

But beside it, let me insist, is the work of the missionary who made it his business to understand the Moslems and their faith.

He had the remarkable grace and restraint to enter into discussion with them concerning his own faith only when in due course they proceeded to make their inevitable inquiries.

This missionary in portraying the role of a modern John the Baptist by preparing the way for our Lord added greatly to the good intentions of American Lutherans in sending material gifts from the United States.

In reviewing Lutheran activities in the field of foreign missions the hundreds of Lutheran missionaries merit our heartfelt gratitude for their remarkable achievements in the holy land, in Egypt, throughout the entire Middle East, and around the world.

It is appropriate at this point to pay a marked tribute of love and respect to those Lutheran missionaries who have suffered persecution by the Communists.

With their brothers in Christ of other religious faiths they have like the early Christian martyrs remained steadfast in their faith preferring to suffer death if necessary in defense of the truths of Christianity.

We owe them not only our expressions of gratitude but our constant and earnest prayers.

May God continue to watch over them and rescue them from the chains that bind them.

It is my firm conviction that the work done by Lutheran missionaries will make its mark on world history.

It is my further conviction that the struggle we are now engaged in for the minds of men and for the survival of the free world will be decided ultimately by moral and religious values.

These are the same moral and religious values which the missionaries firmly implant all over the world in the interests of the true faith and for the betterment of the human race.

Social Security for Disabled Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in less than a fortnight, on July 1, a very important new program of Government goes into effect—one of the most far-reaching changes in social security since the original act was passed in 1935.

It is the program for full social-security benefits for workers age 50 or older who are considered completely and permanently disabled. This program was authorized in the social-security amendments we passed last year. Under the previous law, a disabled worker could obtain a "freeze" of his work record to protect the future size of his benefits from being reduced because of enforced long unemployment, but he still had to wait until age 65 to collect benefits.

I want to make it clear that although I think the law we passed to begin payments of the benefits at age 50 or thereafter for the disabled was a great advance—an outstanding improvement in the social-security concept—nevertheless, I do not believe the program is being administered in a way to assure

benefits to all those for whom they were intended.

Many disabled persons, I am afraid, will find themselves almost strangled to death in red tape in trying to qualify. Others will probably become so discouraged by the runaround and the buck-passing and the delays and the heartbreaking rejections that they will give up and write the whole thing off as a cruel deception.

I have called for a congressional investigation by the House Committee on Ways and Means into the whole administration of the disability features of social security, based primarily on the unhappy experiences of so many disabled persons trying to get a "freeze" of their work records, as allowed by law. My bill, House Resolution 195, states as its premise that the way the program is now being administered "results in a denial of the benefits of this program to virtually all workers except those who are completely paralyzed."

That is because the administration interprets the wording in the law to mean that if a disabled person could do any work at all—whether or not such work would normally be available to him—he is not completely disabled. The fact that he cannot do the work for which he is trained or cannot be trained into doing some other skilled work, does not seem to be taken into account.

DISABLED WORKERS SHOULD APPLY IMMEDIATELY

I have protested such rulings in many cases, and just this week succeeded in having one decision reversed for a man in Westmoreland County. But more than a half year was spent on getting this one decision reversed. Usually the administration turns the applicant down almost automatically on the first step, and the disabled person has to appeal to get any consideration at all. Often, the worker is so discouraged he does not even bother to appeal. My advice to any disabled person who believes himself to be eligible under the disability program is to expect a turndown the first time around, and then appeal immediately.

In any event, it is important for disabled persons covered by social security, whether they are under or over 50, to apply for a "freeze" of their work record. It is important, too, that they do this as soon as possible. Unless they apply by July 1, or unless Congress acts by then to enact a House-passed bill now pending in the Senate, such persons could lose many years of valuable retroactive benefits. The bill referred to would extend the deadline for applying for the "freeze" until July 1, 1958, but anyone who is possibly eligible should not count on that and should apply immediately.

While protesting bitterly the delays and redtape in certifying eligibles for the disability program, I have also called upon the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to take a more effective course of action in helping disabled persons who do not qualify for full disability certification. I have demanded that they help retain those whose disabilities are not considered sufficiently complete to prevent their doing substantial work.

In this connection, I am now assured by Secretary Marion B. Folsom that they are going to work with the vocational rehabilitation agencies of the States to refer for training individuals too disabled for their regular jobs but still physically able to do substantial work if properly helped and trained.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I understand that today is officially the 50th birthday of one of the world's great newsgathering organizations—the United Press.

We have heard little about it from our United Press friends in the press gallery. Most of them were guests at the Downhold Club party, 2 nights ago, where they celebrated the event with enthusiasm, and thus are now somewhat fatigued.

All of us wish the United Press a happy birthday and many happy returns. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by columnist Fred Othman and the Time magazine story rounding up the history of the United Press for the first 50 years.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington News of June 21, 1957]

NOSTALGIC PARTY

(By Fred Othman)

The Downhold Club has been in session here and that involves about 200 ex-employees in a nostalgic love affair with a corporation.

Some of them were fired in a kindly way long ago; the others had resigned reluctantly to take better paying jobs and here they were with their wives in the Grand Ball Room of the National Press Club, paying tribute to the firm from which they'd severed employment. The ladies found this difficult to understand. Perhaps I can explain.

The corporation we're talking about is the United Press and it is a peculiar sort of business outfit. It sells news and its assets consist solely of the men who gather the facts and write them. It owns a few typewriters and some cigaret-burned desks, sure, but they don't count. The gents who bat around the country and the world covering everything from wars to nudist conventions are what makes the United Press.

When a firm has several hundred lively young men on the payroll going places in style on expense accounts, the costs are likely to mount. The United Press had in charge of keeping these expenses within reason L. B. Mickel, the manager of bureaus until he retired a few weeks ago. His favorite method was to bombard the bureau chiefs with messages, ordering downholds. I heard so many tales about Mr. Mickel pinching the pennies that during my own first years with the firm, I came to regard him as an ogre on the other end of a telegraph wire.

Then a certain reporter, who shall be nameless, was transferred from Washington to Hollywood. Mr. Mickel suggested that he take his vacation en route and have some fun before tackling the movie actors. The bureau boss said also that he could fly if he wanted, or take the train, or drive his own car. "Go any way you want," said Mr. Mickel, "and we'll pick up the tab."

The reporter took him at his word and traveled West with bride aboard the *President Hoover*, via the Panama Canal. Had a fine time, too, as per orders. When Mr. Mickel heard about this he did not, as expected by the reporter, have a heart attack. He laughed.

He turned out to be the kindliest of souls when finally I got to know him personally and how he ever kept the firm from bogging down in bankruptcy with those expense accounts still is a wonder to me.

I hope the wives of the Downhold members are beginning to catch on. If not, I can tell them further that the United Press is one of the few corporations in existence where nobody got ahead through pull, or influence, or relatives. He got fired (gently, as I say) if he couldn't write copy in a hurry, but if he could and it sounded lively in print and did no damage to the facts, then he was promoted rapidly.

So it was that the head men, without one single exception, worked their way up from the ranks. They even knew some tricks to confound Mick's Downhold messages. They weren't bosses so much as fellow workers and close friends.

To this day the president of the firm, Frank Bartholomew, can write a piece with the best of them. He's not so good at golf, but he's a whiz bang at pounding out bulletins. Vice President Earl Johnson once was night manager in Chicago. I was his assistant.

When finally I resigned a few years ago, it was with a wrench of the heart. I got all choked up.

So the Downhold Club held its meeting, with plenty of roast beef and drinks that, for once, were not bought unknownst to him by Mick. The meeting went on most of the night, with newspaper editors, magazine writers, bankers, Government officials, press agents, advertising men, auto manufacturers, and many others, recalling some celebrated murders, political rows, and wild-eyed adventures in the old United Press days.

The ladies somehow seemed puzzled by this adulation to a corporation, but I trust now they'll be able to see why.

THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY

In bars and press clubs around the world, United Press staffers gathered this week to celebrate an event that was uniquely of their own making: the United Press Association's 50th anniversary. If the United Press men bragged more and drank more than most newsmen at play, they could be said merely to be obeying the deep competitive urge that has made their hardfisted, bustling wire service second in size only to the 109-year-old Associated Press—and often ahead of it in covering the news.

Unlike the staid Associated Press, a nonprofit cooperative owned by its member newspapers, the United Press for half a century has aggressively sold its product to all comers. Thus, it has never wavered from Founder E. W. (Damned Ol Crank) Scripps' belligerent belief that only a profitable news service can achieve editorial impartiality. The first major United States news service to prosper as a commercial undertaking, the United Press today is the world's most enterprising wire-news merchant, an international giant serving 1,560 United States newspapers and 3,270 other clients in the United States and 71 foreign countries (estimated 1957 gross: $28.8 million.)[1]

Footnotes at end of speech.

MILKMEN AND CANDELABRA

The United Press has almost no physical assets. The giant's muscles are the 4,000 United Press staffers who keep its hundreds of news printers thumping out 60 words a minute, in 45 languages, around the clock. Their copy must be crisply written to escape the editor's spike. It must be simple enough to be understood by the milkman in Omaha,[2] as an old dictum from New York once put it; at the same time, as former United Press President Hugh Baillie once demanded, it is supposed to flame like a candelabra on a dark and muddy battlefield. Between the milkman and the candelabra, and the speed, speed, speed that governs the lives of all wire-service men, United Press duty has called forth a lean and hungry breed of newsmen who swear they are the world's finest. And some of them are.

United Press service also demands a philosophical disposition, for its low pay scale and tightwad expense accounts are legendary. During a national political convention in Chicago, longtime Bureaus Supervisor L. B. (save a nickel) Mickel cut down on expense accounts so sharply that General News Manager Earl Johnson told his men to retaliate by signing all their hotel meal checks with Mickel's name; Mickel was barely able to leave town. A sardonic example of United Press tightfistedness was an exchange one day between Atlanta, the United Press's southern division relay point, and Raleigh, N. C., where a staffer was simultaneously punching copy on two teleprinters. When Atlanta complained that the copy was moving too slowly, Raleigh replied, "He only has two hands." Came Atlanta's message, "Fire the crippled bastard." (The United Press has also a generous side to staffers, but compassion—as most editors and newspaper readers agree—make dull anecdotes.)

Lest it somehow be dimmed by unexpected reform, the United Press' reputation for pinching the penny is affectionately kept alive by an ever-expanding organization of United Press alumni called the Downhold Club—an echo of the constant warnings to downhold expenses that emanate from United Press' headquarters in the New York Daily News building.

FARTHER, FASTER

Though overworked and underpaid, Unipressers respond to duty with drive and misty-eyed devotion. Says United Press and Associated Press Veteran Bob Gibson: "You can work for the AP. But you can only belong to the UP." One reason for United Press' rah-rah esprit de corps is that it is built, as one city-room sage has observed, "on the legs of its young men." The United Press not only prizes youthful, inexpensive energy, but will move an ambitious youngster faster and farther up the ladder than any other news organization. When he was only 26, W. H. Lawrence, now the New York Times' top political reporter, covered Wendell Willkie's presidential campaign singlehanded against a battery of Associated Press men.

"The UP is the greatest farm system in the newspaper business," said one of the United Press's core of old pros last week. "It works on the same principle Branch Rickey used when he developed the Cardinals. You buy up kids for nothing, keep them lean and hungry, and they work like hell to get traded." As a result, the top ranks of United States journalism are thickly populated with ex United Press men.

All United Press executives are onetime newsmen, and most of them seem somehow able to live in the higher atmosphere without becoming brassbound. Genial, San Francisco-born President Frank Bartholomew has handled such top assignments as the Panmunjom truce talks and the A-bomb drop at Bikini, and has been known to trot off briskly on cub's errands when all hands were tied up on a story. United Press men even have the dubious solace of knowing that the mightiest blooper in wire-service history—United Press' World War I report that the Armistice had been signed 4 days ahead of the event—was perpetrated by the then United Press President Roy Howard, now chairman of the Scripps-Howard chain.

The distortion of it has become one of the prime legends of United States journalism. Truth was, Roy Howard had ferreted out the central fact—the war was indeed over except for a small amount of shouting and killing—and in the economy of words he deemed necessary for clarity, Howard was too clear. If pinpricked too often about it, United Press men are quick to point out that in more recent years it was the opposition—the Associated Press—that flashed the wrong verdict in the Hauptmann kidnaping trial (United Press had it first and right) and the Supreme Court's gold decision of 1935, broke an ironclad agreement to observe the official release date for announcing victory in Europe, reported the end of the Japanese War a few days too early, had the United States Marines occupying Seoul 48 hours before the city fell.

SECOND-STRING SKIMPING

Though outmanned and out-budgeted on most big stories, and in many areas, especially the Far East, United Press men learn early in their careers that there are ways of outfoxing Associated Press. For all its eager-beaver ways, United Press coverage of run-of-the-mine news is severely hobbled by its low-budget policies, and by the fact that the Associated Press has the first chance at the news developed by its 1,750 member newspapers and thus, in effect, draws on a vast pool of news that no wire service could produce independently. The United Press has no such reuse agreement with client newspapers in the United States, and as a result often ignores or skimps many solid, second-string stories; in covering State governments, for example, or long-drawn stories such as murder trials, the United Press is often badly outclassed by Associated Press. On most fast-breaking local stories, on the other hand, United Press tends to hunt down the news more aggressively than slower moving Associated Press, and is often ahead on the wire by minutes that are precious to newspapers about to go to press.

SPEED REPLACES DEPTH

Though often short on facts, the United Press historically has compensated with brighter writing; its crisp, concise style has forced the Associated Press in recent years to valiant efforts to refurbish its often stodgy copy. Style has become increasingly important as the technical speedup in communications systems has all but eliminated the old-fashioned beat. At the same time, speed has increasingly displaced depth or even accuracy, as writing and checking time dwindle. The Associated Press, with more manpower, is widely accepted by editors as more accurate than the United Press. Day by day the Associated Press also files more interpretive background stories on world affairs than the United Press, and in some capitals it notoriously outperforms United Press. Today none of the wire services boasts men with the global flair of the United Press' late Webb Miller or the personal following of its late Raymond Clapper, but the United Press has a sizable share of the standout American correspondents abroad and in Washington.

Some newspapermen think that the staid Associated Press is becoming bolder while the brash United Press grows more conservative. Still, the differences in their handling of the major news are sufficiently marked as to demand a story-by-story selection by conscientious editors. The fact that such a choice exists is the best measure of the United Press' contribution to a free press. The Associated Press in 1907 was a well-entrenched monopoly whose foreign news came from cartels, such as Britain's Reuters and France's Agence Havas; subsidized or directly influenced by their Governments, they divided the world into noncompetitive preserves. After the United Press challenged the cartels, the Associated Press eventually followed suit. Testy Titan Scripps thus had some reason for his pride when he said: "I regard my life's greatest service to the people of this country to be the creation of the United Press."

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[1] The Associated Press has 1,750 member newspapers in the United States and provides news service to subscribers in 74 foreign countries; Hearst's International News Service serves the 15-paper Hearst chain and 617 other United States newspapers, has clients in more than 40 foreign countries.

[2] Buttonholed by a diligent Time correspondent last week, an Omaha milkman named Roger Stiles, 30, was unable to differentiate between the United Press and its competitors. Said he: "Some of their stories, particularly political ones, I just don't understand."

Footnotes at end of speech.

Wildlife and Chemicals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in the current issue of Texas Game and Fish, monthly magazine published by the Texas Game and Fish Commission, Dr. Clarence Cottam of Sinton, Tex., discusses the need for research into the effects of pest controls upon wildlife and man.

He says we know almost nothing of even the direct effects of many control agents on plants, animals, soils, and soil organisms, and we know still less of the indirect, accumulative, and long-time effects these controls have upon wildlife, plants, and even upon man.

Dr. Cottam is one of the most distinguished conservationists in this Nation. Former dean of the agriculture department at Brigham Young University, former assistant director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, Dr. Cottam received the Aldo Leopold memorial award medal for distinguished service to wildlife conservation in 1956. He now is director of the Rob and Bessie Welder Wildlife Foundation, a privately endowed organization devoted to further research into matters affecting wildlife.

His article points up the need for enactment of my H. R. 783, directing the Secretary of the Interior to begin continuing studies of the effects of chemical sprays and dusts upon fish and wildlife.

Dr. Cottam's article follows:

WILDLIFE AND CHEMICALS

(By Dr. Clarence Cottam)

The 1955 edition of the Pesticide Handbook lists 6,204 commercial preparations of pres-

ent day poisons for controlling pests. Each year an estimated 400 to 500 million pounds of basic pesticides valued at $200 million are used in this country. Mixed with dusts, solvents, and other carriers, this totals about 3 billion pounds of formulated pesticides for which the consumer pays between $400 million and $500 million annually.

Chemicals useful in controlling pests of man belong in the category of mixed blessings. They clearly manifest potentialties for great good as well as harm, depending upon our skill and wisdom in using them. Pesticides are here to stay, even though more effective, economically successful, and, it is hoped, more selective control agents replace or supplement those now in use.

THE NEED FOR RESEARCH

Plant losses reulting from chemical controls have been largely the result of carelessness or, more commonly, the lack of sufficient knowledge and sound judgment in use of these pesticides.

We know almost nothing of even the direct effects of many countrol agents on plants, animals, soils, and soil organisms, and we know still less of the indirect, accumulative, and long-time effects these controls have upon wildlife, plants, and even upon man.

Funds for the development of new control agents are almost unlimited, but unfortunately there is comparatively little financial support for testing effects of these materials upon wildlife and its habitat. The miracle control compounds are increasing so rapidly that reliable know-how for avoidance of harm to wildlife, and even human life, has not kept pace. The urgent need is for information on formulations, dosages, methods, and time of application most likely to prevent or minimize damage to wildlife. Experience shows that where control workers and wildlife biologists have cooperated, effective control has resulted, with damage held to a minimum.

VALUE OF WILDLIFE RESOURCES

The recent Crossley S–D Surveys, Inc. showed that America has some 25 million sportsmen, 12 years of age or older, who spend approximately $3 billion and 567 million man-days annually for hunting and fishing.

As great as are the economic returns from fishing and hunting, perhaps the greater values cannot be measured by the dollar sign. The more intangible and illusive recreational, esthetic, spiritual, and educational values to be found in observing wildlife are as real as are gilt edged stocks and bonds. They are part and parcel of the American way of life. They must not be needlessly impaired nor destroyed by unwise use of chemical controls.

THE NEW INSECTICIDES

Most new insecticides can be placed in two general categories: (1) chlorinated hydrocarbons including DDT, TDE, or DDD, methoxychlor, heptachlor, chlordane, benzene hexachloride, lindane, toxaphene, aldrin, endrin, and dieldrin; (2) organic phosphates among which are parathion, TEPP, EPN, malathion, chlorthion, diazinon, dipterex, and demeton. Most of them are both internal and external poisons and many, particularly the chlorinated hydrocarbons, have residual properties and remain toxic for long periods. This, together with the fact that they can be adapted for distribution by airplane, makes them effective in controlling insects.

While there is a tendency to develop chemicals to control particular pests, the lethal properties of chemicals now used are by no means restricted to injurious insects. Beneficial animals, including beneficial insects, unfortunately, also are susceptible. As a result, serious and unnecessary damage to wildlife and fishery resources sometimes occurs.

DDT was the first of the newer insecticides to be used widely, and its relation to wildlife has been studied more than that of any of the other chemicals. The effects of DDT upon mammals have generally been found more harmful than those of methoxychlor, TDE, technical BHC, chlorthion, and malathion. It appears that lindane, toxaphene, and chlordane are of intermediate toxicity, while aldrin, dieldrin, endrin, heptachlor, diazinon, EPN, TEPP, and parthion are more toxic than DDT to mammals. It is difficult to generalize, however, since toxicity varies greatly with the different species, the formulation, dosage, period of feeding or exposure, mode of entry into the body, and various environmental and other conditions.

Studies with birds have shown results similar to those obtained with mammals. Mourning doves are about three times as tolerant to a number of insecticides as are bobwhite quail. Ducks and other waterfowl have suffered losses from single sprayings of chlordane at 1 pound per acre, toxaphene at 1½ pounds per acre, dieldrin at one-half pound per acre, and aldrin at the amazingly low amount of 0.125 pound per acre. Parathion was lethal to blackbirds when applied at 0.4 pound per acre.

Effects of insecticides upon birds and mammals are likely to be more obscure if repeated small doses are involved rather than a single exposure to a large quantity. Laboratory studies have shown that sub-lethal amounts of DDT may be stored in body fat and this accummulation can cause poisoning at a later time when fat reserves are utilized. Also, quail and pheasants fed very small amounts of DDT, aldrin, dieldrin, and endrin for several months continued to live, but very few of their young survived. These subtle and indirect effects point up the danger of applications of insecticides having highly residual qualities.

The effect of insecticides upon fish and other cold-blooded vertebrates are often markedly different than upon birds and mammals. It was surprising to find that TEPP and parathion, which are so extremely toxic to warm-blooded vertebrates, are among the least harmful to fish. Toxaphene is one of the insecticides most damaging to fish. Dieldrin and lindane are also highly lethal to fish and complete kills have occurred with dieldrin at one pound per acre. BHC (technical grade) is a much safer insecticide, but often results in an offensive flavor when the fish are cooked.

AGRICULTURAL INSECT CONTROL

Agricultural lands, including orchards, generally receive the heaviest and most repeated insecticide applications, in some instances totaling upwards of 50 pounds per acre per season. The effects of such programs on wildlife are of vital concern, since not less than three-quarters of our annual upland game and fur crop is produced on these lands. Not only may wildlife be killed directly by single heavy dosages, but repeated applications of smaller amounts may deplete food supplies and make the area less attractive or suitable for animal life.

Another hazard of agricultural insecticide programs results from natural washing of chemicals from heavily treated fields into streams and ponds with resulting damage to fish and aquatic life. Such an incident was reported by personnel of the United States Public Health Service during the summer of 1950 in 15 streams tributary to the Tennessee River in the cotton growing region of northern Alabama.

There are many known cases of insecticidal pollution of streams following agricultural spraying, and many of these have involved serious overuse or misuse of the control poison. To kill cattle grubs, a California dairyman sprayed his herd with rotenone, a potent fish poison but relatively safe to warm blooded animals. Drainage from his barn killed trout in a nearby stream. In North Dakota, a potato farmer using toxaphene filled his tanks and sprayers repeatedly at a nearby stream, and as a result dead suckers, northern pike, chubs, minnows, and rock bass littered the banks. Downstream for 3 miles there was no trace of a live fish. We cannot overemphasize the necessity of keeping dosages to the minimum and of meticulously adhering to tested formulations. Too many farmers proceed on the false assumption that if a little of the poison is good more must be better.

MOSQUITO CONTROL AND WILDLIFE

Due to the sensitivity of aquatic life to insecticidal poisoning, the development of safe programs for control of mosquitoes in marshland is still not completely solved. Here chemicals must of necessity be applied directly to mosquito-breeding areas to kill the larvae. The problem is of particular importance in coastal areas where fishes, crabs, and shrimps are involved. Not only do these animals have a high commercial value, but they also serve as food for many kinds of marsh birds. For example, fiddler crabs and their relatives comprise 60 to 90 percent of the summer food of the clapper rail in mid-Atlantic states. A further complication to the control problem is introduced by the development in many areas of mosquitoes resistant to DDT and related insecticides. This has forced control workers to employ heavier doses at more frequent intervals or to turn to more toxic pesticides presenting unknown hazards to wildlife.

In some areas, ditching is again being advocated for mosquito control. This practice has often proved to be extremely detrimental to the wildlife of marshlands by lowering the water level in marshes and ponds and causing undesirable changes in vegetation. An environmental type of control based on impoundment of water rather than drainage and incorporating suggestions for water-level manipulation and vegetation control appears very promising for many situations. Certain other methods of water-level management favor both mosquito control and wildlife management.

FOREST INSECT CONTROL

Most insect pests of forests can be controlled by a 1-pound-per-acre application of DDT applied from an airplane once every several years. Only one-quarter or less of the DDT applied passes through the leafy canopies and reaches the surface ground. Land insects suffer heavy losses, but residual effects of the insecticide last only about a week. Aquatic insects are particularly susceptible, probably by reason of the intimate and continuous contact with the poison provided by pond and stream habitats. Repopulation in streams usually requires a year. Generally, these applications cause the death of only a few fish. Recently, however, severe losses of young salmon occurred in New Brunswick following a treatment of one-half pound of DDT per acre, and the delayed death of many trout, mountain whitefish, and suckers in Montana was blamed on a reduction of food supply caused by an application of 1 pound of DDT per acre. There is also the danger that wind and wave action may cause concentrations several times greater than the dosage applied.

HERBICIDES

The development of new herbicides, including 2, 4–D; 2, 4, 5–T; TCA; and ammonium sulfamate, has been almost as spectacular as that of insecticides. Over 85 million pounds of these chemicals are used annually. Most of these plant poisons appear to present little toxicological hazards to animal life at recommended dosage levels, but their indirect effects on wildlife habitat may be serious in some places. Conversely, when properly utilized, they are an important aid to wildlife management.

In many situations herbicides can be helpful in improving food and cover conditions for wildlife. In thick, brushy growth they may be used to form clearings in which vegetation is set back to the herb and grass stage. Forests, agricultural fields, pastures, or range lands, with a mixture of cover types, usually produce more game or other wildlife than do solid stands of a single type. Through selective spraying, it is possible to eliminate species of brush that are inferior for wildlife so that useful plants such as fruit-bearing shrubs can then spread and take their place. Unproductive marshes likewise can be improved to produce openings for waterfowl by sprayings which kill or greatly retard cattails, giant cutgrass, saw grass, water-hyacinth, lotus, water lilies, and other pest plants. Herbicidal control of excess aquatic plants in ponds and lakes also improves fishing by permitting predation of surplus small fish and increased growth of large ones.

Nevertheless, weedkillers may sometimes harm wildlife by destroying or adversely modifying valuable habitat. The problem is most likely to be acute in highly agricultural areas where cover is at a premium. Whenever possible, shrubby growth should be left along roadsides, fencerows, and ditchbanks. Studies indicate that hedgerows not only serve as windbreaks, but also harbor fewer harmful rodents and pest insects than grassy borders.

Herbicides may also have a repellent effect. Work in Pennsylvania has shown a definite reluctance on the part of cottontails to eat plants sprayed with the ester formulation of 2,4,5-T, and 2,4-D. In aquatic areas, care must be taken to prevent depletion of dissolved oxygen caused by excess accumulation and decay of dead plants resulting from weed control operations.

Concentrations of 2,4-D, generally used for weed control, are relatively nontoxic to most soil micro-organisms. However, TCA has been found to cause significant reduction in their activity, and also acts as a temporary soil sterilant preventing new plant growth. Ammate, on the contrary, is beneficial to the soil as a fertilizer. The full biological effects of some new and powerful herbicides have not yet been determined, and only limited knowledge now exists on most other new plant control agents.

Copper sulfate, a scum killer, while relatively safe in controlling algal bloom when used with skill and understanding, can be highly damaging to aquatic resources if used in excess. Considerable loss of fish has sometimes occurred when dichlorobenzene and trichlorobenzene have been used in aquatic-weed control.

More than 85 million pounds of herbicides are used annually. With proper application, they appear to present few toxicological hazards and are valuable in wildlife management as a means of improving wildlife food and cover conditions. However, when used without care, they can cause destruction of valuable wildlife habitat.

Political Forgetfulness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the editorial page of the June 18 Houston (Tex.) Press carries as pointed a comment on the skyrocketing cost of living as I have ever seen. In just 26 words, rhymed, Mr. Oaty Grier of Conroe, Tex., told the whole story of the administration's ignoring of the cost of living increases.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD Mr. Grier's satirical verse.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL FORGETFULNESS

"The price of peace is high."
(That's what our President said).
But forgot to state the price is high
On a piece of meat or bread!

—OATY GRIER, Conroe.

The Metropolitan Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I have presently pending before the Government Operations Committee a bill to establish a Commission on Metropolitan Problems and Urban Development. The so-called metropolitan is the major domestic problem before our country today, and unless we take steps to deal with it in an orderly way, it will overwhelm us. My bill would set up a Hoover-type Commission to study and investigate the problems of metropolitan expansion and recommend guidelines for their solution at the grassroots, where the problems exist.

There is widespread interest in this proposal, Mr. Speaker, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD some recent news and editorial comment on it.

The article and editorial follow:

[From the Flint (Mich.) Journal of June 2, 1957]

UNITED STATES BOARD SOUGHT TO SOLVE URBAN-GROWTH PROBLEMS

(By Homer E. Dowdy)

While the farm problem continues to reverberate through the halls of Congress and capture the headlines, it is not the farms but the urban areas that are the Nation's biggest problem.

This is the opinion of Representative HAROLD C. OSTERTAG, of New York, who intends to do more than lament the fact that cities and suburbs are outgrowing their governments. He has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives that would set up a Commission on Metropolitan Problems and Urban Development.

The commission would be directed to get the problem of metropolitan growth into focus and suggest guidelines for its solution. It would study and investigate the problems of metropolitan expansion, with special reference to the need, in terms of adequate governmental structures, to make suitable provision for land use, planning and zoning and other governmental functions required in populous communities. It also would investigate existing and developing efforts to cope with urban growth through such devices as cooperative planning, consolidated city-county planning, federative structures, and intergovernmental contracts or compacts.

Finally, the Commission would be directed to formulate and submit recommendations to assure sound and orderly metropolitan growth within the framework of traditional patterns of responsibility and control.

OSTERTAG said recently he expects the House Committee on Government Operations to hold hearings on his bill soon.

The measure would set up the Commission with 25 members, 15 of them appointed by the President and 5 each from the Senate and the House. The President's members would represent the executive branch of the Federal Government, the States, local government, and the public. The Commission would have full subpena powers and could require any Federal department called on to assist in the work.

The Commission would submit its findings and recommendations to Congress and the President within 1 year. The Commission would be dissolved 6 months after its final report.

The New York Representative, whose Rochester area gives him a firsthand knowledge of urban growth, says the metropolitan problem is not Federal, although the Federal Government has had a major share in creating it and must assist in solving it. He anticipates a population of 300 million in this country by the end of the century and believes 97 percent of the increase will be concentrated in the metropolitan areas.

"Already dry rot has set in at the center of the core cities, and people are seeking to escape it by moving to the suburbs," he recently told his constituents. "But without adequate planning and control, the problems will only spread and intensify as this outward expansion continues."

Local governments that are supposed to deal with these prodigious problems are faced with impossible tasks, he maintains. Through no fault of their own, they can do little more than pile sandbags along the levees and pray that the waters will recede.

OSTERTAG says the logic for metropolitan areas is larger governmental units with more authority, but the trend is in the exact opposite direction. Local units are increasing, he points out.

For each 1,000 square miles in metropolitan areas, there are slightly more than 75 local governments, more than double the number for nonmetropolitan territory.

Each of them, he says, has some authority—some more and some less—but none has comprehensive authority. He points to pyramiding and overlapping governmental units and at the bottom of the heap, sustaining it all, earnest, anxious, and bewildered, is the man who moved to the country to achieve a greater degree of freedom.

Freedom? He lives in a straitjacket. He cannot even itemize, let alone study the problems which confront him.

In a quote in a letter to constituents, OSTERTAG gives an alternative to forthright action on today's metropolitan problems: "Some paleontologist of the future will dig down to the United States of America layer of civilization and find it one great fossilized traffic jam, 'at the nexus of which is the skeleton of a driver who took a wrong turn on a cloverleaf one Sunday afternoon.'"

A good many people studying the Nation's metropolitan problem believe the Federal Government ought to stay completely out of the picture. They say national voluntary conferences are enough to bring the problem into focus and suggest solutions. Local communities, left to themselves, eventually will find their way out of the confusion of fast growth, they believe. They see in Federal attention to the problem the danger of Federal tampering with local governments.

Others seeking solutions to urban problems believe that since the Federal Government helped get the communities into their present difficulties—through location of war industries, myriad regulations and the like—

it ought to help the communities find their way out.

Some have advocated a White House conference, national in character but without the power of a congressional commission. Still others are seeking the establishment of a Cabinet-level post—a secretary of urbiculture—to handle all Federal relations with local governments.

An Ostertag commission would possess the advantage of marshaling the facts on metropolitan problems for local officials. And perhaps in cases where local officials tend to slough off the considered opinions of hometown citizens, they might take more seriously the word of a congressional body. History shows a strong tie between most city halls and official Washington.

[From the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle, Sunday, June 9, 1957]

REPRESENTATIVE OSTERTAG WORKS ON TOP PROBLEM—HOW TO PLAN URBAN FUTURE OF NATION

A tip of our Sunday best hat today to Congressman HAROLD C. OSTERTAG for working persistently in one of the most thankless vineyards of all, that of trying to awaken the Nation to the problems of explosive population growth.

Reports from Washington are that there is a good possibility hearings will be held at this session of Congress on OSTERTAG's bill to create a Commission on Metropolitan Problems and Urban Development. The bill is now before the Government Operations Committee where the climate is said to be friendly.

Congressman OSTERTAG's bill would set up a Hoover sort of commission to concentrate attention on the problem and suggest guidelines for its solution within and among States and localities. The Commission would be authorized to study and investigate the problems of metropolitan expansion, with special reference to the need, in terms of adequate governmental structures, to make suitable provision for land use, planning and zoning, industrial and residential development, housing, transportation, water supplies, air and water pollution control, civil defense, recreational, social, and educational services.

Also, the Commission would be authorized in OSTERTAG's legislation to investigate present efforts to cope with urban growth through such devices as consolidated city-county planning, a subject now much in the spotlight in Rochester.

The Congressman's bill clearly sees America's future as an urbanized and industrial one, and it specifies that the Commission should try to make our startling growth a planned and orderly growth.

Enactment of legislation of this sort by Congress is both nonpartisan and imperative.

Less than 2 weeks ago at a conference in Rochester, the Downtown Development Committee of the National Retail Dry Goods Association called for a White House conference on the problems of "urbanitis." That is a sample of the growing awareness that we need correlation and guidance from the Federal level.

Luther Gulick, of the Institute of Public Administration, one of the Nation's most highly regarded experts on planning and municipal growth, has warned that unless all governmental services on all levels are coordinated to deal with growth problems, we shall face progressive destruction of the human habitat.

The language is technical but tough; it sounds just right to us.

Probably it is difficult to stir the public into support of legislation to deal with the issue of overfast growth, because it is both complex and abstract. It isn't like a bill to give us all back a few bucks of our tax money. But its impact on our living for generations to come will be greater by far than the gains or loss of a few dollars in taxes. So again, a tip of our Sunday best hat to Congressman OSTERTAG for pressing this legislation. And we know we speak for an interested—if usually somewhat apathetic public—in hoping that the bill gets the bipartisan push it deserves.

Are We Hoaxed?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. George Sokolsky appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald this morning.

I commend this article to the membership because it states very clearly some facts on the Girard case in Japan.

First, we have no status-of-forces treaty with Japan, only with NATO countries. Secondly, we have only preliminary agreements on the subject, entered into by our former Ambassador and his opposite number, and never fully implemented. Thirdly, both governments have admitted that the question is purely political and that this soldier is being turned over to the Japanese court to save face for Japan.

Mr. Speaker, it is a fine idea to save face for Japan, but how about the face of the United States of America?

ARE WE HOAXED?

(By George E. Sokolsky)

There is no Status of Forces Treaty with Japan. There is such a treaty with the countries which are members of NATO, but when that treaty was confirmed by the Senate, two reservations were stipulated: one, that an American soldier's constitutional rights should not be diminished and the other that the Status of Forces Treaty with NATO countries should not serve as a precedent for agreements with other countries.

In the case of William S. Girard, this is an important issue which has to be taken to the courts, as it has been, by his counsel, Earl J. Carroll. Here is an American citizen who is entitled to be tried by an American military court but who is being handed over by our Government to a Japanese criminal court and is being forced to accept a Japanese lawyer, not of his choosing, and it is all being admittedly done by the Department of Defense, for political reasons which are independent of the facts in his law or the laws of the United States or the laws of nations.

The Department of Defense bases its case on article III of the Security Treaty with Japan, signed September 8, 1951. That treaty granted the United States the right to maintain Armed Forces in Japan. Article III reads:

"The conditions which shall govern the disposition of Armed Forces of the United States of America in and about Japan shall be determined by administrative agreement between the two governments."

The word that is the cause of the argument is "disposition." About such a word, diplomats can debate forever, although there are plenty of dictionaries to tell them what it means. Earl Johnson and Dean Rusk on February 28, 1952, signed an administrative agreement with the Japanese which proposes that the United States sign an agreement with Japan similar to the NATO Status of Forces Treaty. It is a proposal, not a fact. Furthermore, such an agreement would have been an evasion of the constitutional authority of the President and the Senate. It was something that the Japanese wanted to give them face, but which our Government at the time dared not submit to the test of public opinion and senatorial ratification.

So a protocol was drawn up, signed by John M. Allison, United States Ambassador to Japan, on September 29, 1953. A protocol is really a work paper, a document used as preliminary to the opening of diplomatic transactions. Allison's protocol relinquishes civilian and certain American military personnel to the Japanese Government. This document has been a hush-hush affair, never submitted to the Senate as a treaty and surely cannot constitutionally be binding upon the United States. As far as the protocol affects Girard, this is the wording:

"(A) The military authorities of the United States shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over members of the United States Armed Forces or the civilian component in relation to * * *.

"(11) offenses arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty."

It has been admitted by the Government of the United States that Girard was engaged in the performance of his duty when he killed Mrs. Sakai.

On September 29, 1953, Ambassador John M. Allison signed another document. This one was entitled "Agreed Official Minutes Regarding Protocol To Amend Article XVII of the Administrative Agreement Between the United States of America and Japan." What the value of "Agreed Official Minutes" is, in international relations, only Allison can know. There is no such technical terminology in law. Undoubtedly this was an attempt to clarify a confusion of diplomatic origin by establishing a two-man commission to decide what all the previous documents mean.

Finally the two-man commission, an American and a Japanese military man, composed a document entitled "Agreed Views," which are only the agreed views of these two men, as they were never included in a treaty, ratified by the Senate, according to the Constitution. Thereby the Constitution is altogether bypassed, and what it all comes to is that the liberty and life of an American soldier in Japan are no longer safeguarded by the Constitution.

In fact, both the Japanese and the American Governments admit that Girard is a victim of a political situation and that justice and law are not at issue. That was the way the American Government case was presented to a Senate committee and to a court in Washington.

Treasurer of Luzerne County, Pa., John B. Rutkowski, Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News which comments on the election of John B. Rutkowski, treasurer of Luzerne County, to the presidency of

the Pennsylvania Association of County Treasurers:

COUNTY TREASURER HONORED

Election of John B. Rutkowski, treasurer of Luzerne County, to the presidency of the Pennsylvania Association of County Treasurers and the selection of Wilkes-Barre for the 1958 convention constitute an impressive tribute to the local official, now in the second year of his first term.

Mr. Rutkowski launched his career as a banker just three decades ago at the Forty Fort State Bank, of which he has been president since 1950. He has been active in Kiwanis, the Motor Club and the Pulaski Committee, serving as an officer in each.

It is not often a man of his caliber lands in public office, but Mr. Rutkowski seems to be the exception to the rule in many instances. Now that he is filling this responsible post, it is not surprising to learn he is gaining widespread recognition in the Commonwealth for his talents.

The Signs Were Clear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Dothan Eagle of Wednesday, June 19, 1957:

THE SIGNS WERE CLEAR

It was generally predicted in 1954 when the United States Supreme Court abandoned precedent and quoted sociology to overturn school segregation that this broad assumption of power would one day be regretted even by those who applauded it then because it served their purpose of the moment.

The day hasn't been long in coming, and now it is here in full force.

Just the other day the Court, continuing a trend that set in shortly after the 1954 decision, strained at gnats to put an umbrella over Communists and to slap at Congress' right to cite for contempt those balky witnesses who refuse to talk in investigations of communistic activity.

Reviewing the conviction of 14 convicted California Communists, the Court ordered 5 of them freed outright and ordered new trials for the other 9. It was a strangely split 4-to-3 decision. Two of the three dissenters wanted all 14 turned loose promptly, while only the third wanted to affirm the convictions.

This third, Justice Tom Clark, who was very lonesome in his view, declared that the Court should not do any acquitting at all. "In its long history," he said, "I find no case in which an acquittal has been ordered by this Court solely on the facts. It is somewhat late to start in now usurping the function of the jury, especially where new trials are to be held covering the same charges."

In the case slapping at Congress' power to investigate Communist activity, the Court turned loose a labor official who had refused to tell the Un-American Activities Committee about Communists he had known. This decision was 6 to 1 (Clark again dissenting) with Chief Justice Warren sepaking for the Court.

Warren said the question under committee investigation was obscure, that the committee was unfair in its treatment of the witness and, besides, the resolution creating the committee was, in his opinion, "loosely worded."

The Court had already ruled that a State cannot fire an employee for Communist leanings, that States cannot try anyone for sedition (only the Federal Government), and that the Federal Government cannot discharge just anyone as a security risk, only those in "sensitive" jobs.

So, it's no surprise that the free-wheeling Court is continuing to go in the direction it marked when it stepped into the legislative field and took unto itself powers not assumed by its predecessors. As bad as this is, it probably is only the beginning. Men who usurp power use it more, not less, as time goes on.

How Soon the Next Ship Disaster?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the large number of disasters at sea should be a matter of concern to everyone. The protection of life and property on the high seas should be a matter of primary importance. Every step and action taken to protect life and property on the high seas has been done by the Congress over the opposition of the great majority of the shipowners.

As individuals they may be nice persons when we meet them, or when they seek something for themselves, but as shipowners, or officers of shipping corporations, they are cold and calloused in their disregard for measures of protection. The legislative history of the Congress supports this assertion. Profits first, protection last, seems to be their thinking and policy. In this world of today they should change this kind of thinking. They should at least put protection of life on the same level as profits.

In my extension of remarks, I include an interesting article, entitled "How Soon, the Next Ship Disaster?" written by Howard Whitman, and appearing in the June 1957 issue of Reader's Digest.

In connection with the question "How soon, the next ship disaster?" I call attention to news items of June 19, 1957, appearing in our newspapers, of two big oil tankers that collided and burst into flames off the coast of Brittany in which 8 sailors died in the oily sea, and 10 others seriously injured.

New and further devices for protectection are needed. The shipowners are still opposing. Until they change their thinking of blind opposition, it will be necessary for the Congress to again act and compel the installation of the best means possible to protect life and property on the seas, particularly on the high seas.

HOW SOON THE NEXT SHIP DISASTER?

(By Howard Whitman)

On the navigation chart of the Coast Guard cutter *Spar*, as it bucked a reluctant sea off Nantucket Island, I noticed a penciled warning at a spot where the depth is 39 fathoms: *Andrea Doria*. We reached it in a few hours—the graveyard of a great ship.

I had not gone to the *Doria's* grave out of sentiment, though I could have; the memories of a happy voyage with my family on this ship a few months before the sinking were still fresh in my mind. I went to write an epitaph. Below, in the dark deep, lay a sea queen, dead but for a single hope; that out of her disaster might come the inspiration which could save others from a similar tragedy.

The *Spar* hovered for 24 hours near where the *Doria* and the *Stockholm* collided last July. We saw 25 ships go through the "crossroads," this funnel where Atlantic traffic converges off Nantucket. How safe were they? Could it happen again?

The skipper of the Nantucket lightship, George Bannan, who was returning with us to the mainland, remarked: "I watch the ships going all over the compass on foggy nights, and sometimes on the radar I've seen 3 or 4 of them within 5 miles playing ring around the rosy."

Charles Cowing, skipper of the *Spar*, added: "That's how it is. There's no traffic cop out here."

The comments of these Coast Guardsmen express what I had found in months of investigation among captains of luxury liners, merchant mariners, port officials, admiralty lawyers, radar experts, and others of the sea fraternity. In their tight-lipped circle these men know what the public has not yet been told: that the *Doria-Stockholm* collision was not just a freak hard-luck accident. Some such tragedy was almost inevitable. Months before, at the Whitehall Club where skippers meet, a luxury-ship master had said, "We're going to have a big collision that will wake people up. Conditions being what they are, it's got to come."

And more are expected. One captain asserted, "It could happen again and again. We're lucky there haven't been more *Dorias*."

Every day there are 4 or 5 ship collisions, on the average, between vessels of 500 or more tons; 30 collisions per week, some 1500 every year. Less than 48 hours before the *Doria* disaster an almost identical collision occurred between the freighter *Fairisle* and the tanker *San Jose II* in the same vicinity in the same patchy fog. But it took the sharp bow that slashed the *Doria* to shatter public illusions about how ships are sailed in this day and age—illusions of safe slowing down in fog, of definite and well-heeded sea lanes, of monitored traffic, of security by means of radar.

International rules governing navigation, the rules of the road require ships to slow down in fog to moderate speed. In admiralty courts "moderate speed" has been defined as that speed at which a ship can stop within one-half the distance of visibility. This should be safe enough. But do ships obey the rule?

Engineer John Carrothers stated in United States Navay Institute proceedings: "I have made some 200 transatlantic crossings, the majority of them as an officer on America's greatest liners. Never once do I remember the ship slowing down in the open sea because of fog."

Ships in the northern tracks of the Atlantic are requested to radio to the Coast Guard ice-patrol station their position, speed, the sea temperature, and any ice they have sighted. Some of the big passenger liners leave out speed when it's foggy. One captain candidly admitted: "In any information messages I send out during a fog I never include my speed, for the simple reason that I'm probably going full speed."

A Coast Guard officer said, "They don't fool us, though. By plotting their course from point to point we know they're plowing through fog at full speed."

But what can the Coast Guard, or anyone, do? There is no authority that can crack down on fog speeders. After a collision—only after—a shipping company may have

to pay damages if fog speeding is proved. That's the reason why the matter is hushed.

What does the skipper do in fog? "I sound my whistle every 2 minutes, I keep an eye on the radar, I put the engine room on 'stand-by'—and I keep right on going full ahead," the captain of a passenger-cargo vessel declared. He said as an afterthought, "I know it's dangerous."

All captains know it is dangerous to plunge through fog at full speed with these multi-thousand-ton steel behemoths which can slash each other mortally and, even in an emergency, may require 3 miles to stop. And all captains know why it is the custom to race through fog in spite of the danger.

Commodore John Baylis, former captain of the port of New York, epitomized what I heard from dozens of skippers: "The master of a big ship has his schedule. If he docks late the company has had longshoremen waiting for him and tugs engaged, and chances are that the steamship line runs into overtime or has to pay for an extra day. They don't say anything to the master about being late but the look on their faces says, 'You got us involved for thousands of dollars.' The implication is, 'Why didn't you bring her in on time even if you had to take a few chances?'"

Sit tight schedules and economy are the villians. Every extra hour at sea costs money and the pressure on shipmasters to push their vessels to the maximum, fog or no fog, is well known on every waterfront.

Much was said about sealanes when the *Doria* went down. The eastbound *Stockholm* was nearly on the westbound track and some 20 miles north of the recommended track for vessels bound to Europe, stated Congressional investigators. But the Atlantic sealanes, established in 1855 and later incorporated in the North Atlantic Track Agreement, are merely recommended. Though the United States in 1948 made it mandatory for United States passenger ships to stick to the lanes, many nations, including Italy and Sweden, have never subscribed to the North Atlantic Track Agreement.

Capt. Gunnar Nordenson of the *Stockholm*, like every master I met, believes in sealanes but he wants them mandatory and dependable, not merely recommended. Lacking this, many a captain cuts in and out of lanes because if he doesn't take a shortcut some competitor will. A haphazard alinement of traffic on the sea may have sufficed when ships were slower, smaller and fewer. But today, with floating hotels hurtling toward each other, the orderly routing of sea traffic is urgent.

Even my 10-year-old son was surprised when he asked Capt. Piero Calamai of the *Doria* if the ship was obliged to follow a set course and the captain replied, "No; a master is free to take his ship anywhere on the ocean." A child of the air age, my son believed that just as planes file their flight plans before taking off, so a ship would file a plan that set forth the course it expected to follow, and that some central traffic control would be informed if it deviated from course.

I asked the captain of a popular tourist vessel, "Isn't there some place you can query and get information about other ships' positions so you'll know what traffic you're going to encounter?"

He replied, "I always have one of my officers pick up the New York Times on sailing day so I can see what's expected in and out of the harbor."

This in a day when ever taxis are dispatched by radio.

The closest approach to a central information agency is the Search and Rescue setup of the Coast Guard, and this is fragmentary. At its Rescue Coordination Center in New York I examined the 10- by 20-foot Atlantic chart that has markers on it to show ships' positions. There are about 2,000 ships on the Atlantic at any one time, but this chart plotted only 150. Why? Because ships send in their position, course, and speed, along with weather data, every 6 hours if they feel like it—but fewer than 10 percent of them feel like it. One of the world's fastest liners has never reported to the Coast Guard, and another only twice in 5 years.

The need is for a modern system of mandatory reporting of position, course, and speed, and an electronic plotting board that shows at all times where ships are and where they are headed—this information to be available to any captain who needs it.

But isn't radar's all-seeing eye the answer?

Both the *Doria* and the *Stockholm* were equipped with radar. And there is much additional evidence that radar is not the protection it is popularly thought to be.

Actually, overreliance upon it is regarded as a hazard. Admiralty courts have decided 17 major collision cases involving radar, and many times that number have been settled out of court or are awaiting trial. In the Proceedings of the Merchant Marine Council, Admiralty Attorney Nicholas J. Healy, III, stated: "In the hands of an incompetent operator radar sometimes produces a false sense of security which will lead him to continue at high speed in areas of limited visibility."

In one case in which radar gave this false sense of security an admiralty judge remarked, "This collision probably would not have happened if the ships hadn't had radar equipment."

It takes skill to interpret properly the ghostlike pips on a radar screen. And it is an open secret on the waterfront that many who stand radar watch haven't that skill.

The *Doria* hearings told the story. The ship's second officer, who had been on the radar before the collision, was on the stand. What training in radar did he have? No actual training. How did he learn about radar then? He picked it up when he was third officer on the *Comte Grande*. Did he plot the course of the *Stockholm* when its pip appeared on the scope? No. Why not? He thought it wasn't necessary.

In the hearing room during this testimony was the representative of a radar company. During a recess I asked him if most ships' officers were competent at radar. He replied, "If you knew the score you'd shudder. When a shipping line buys radar equipment a sales representative usually goes aboard with the installing technicians and explains to the officers how it works. This is like a television man giving instructions to a housewife when he installs a set: he just shows her which knobs to turn. The officers pick up what they can, read some booklets, and that's about it."

After the *Doria* disaster the British merchant marine added to the requirements for a deck officer's license: "Submission of a certificate of proficiency as a radar observer." Said the United States congressional report on the *Doria*: "Every maritime country should do likewise."

The congressional investigators also advocated a short-range radio-telephone on the ship's bridge so that when another vessel heaves into view one skipper can talk directly to the other. Many people were appalled after the *Doria-Stockholm* crash that the deck officers of these ships hadn't communicated with each other to decide who was going which way. They had no bridge radiophone equipment.

Great Lakes ore boats talk to each other; so do tugs in the harbors. It should not be beyond the means of great shipping lines to equip each bridge with a short-range radiophone.

On United States ships there is another problem. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, traveling aboard one of the world's finest liners, remarked to the captain, "You are the lord and master of all you survey."

The captain replied, "You are laboring under an illusion, Mr. Justice. I am just a navigator."

After hearing this story I asked the captain in question what he had meant. He explained, "On American ships the unions are boss and the union delegate is more powerful than the captain."

Another American captain declared: "We wish we could pick our crew and know that every man to whom we entrust the safety of the ship is competent. On one crossing I woke up in my quarters and saw the reflection of the sun making an arc around the cabin. I realized what was happening—I had a quartermaster who didn't know how to steer. I rushed to the bridge, and sure enough he had taken the ship around in a circle. If that quartermaster had hit another ship I'd have been responsible. The captain on a United States ship is supreme, but not supreme enough to reject a crewman when the union delegate says, "Take him."

Other shipmasters told of a helmsman who didn't know the difference between "course zero-two-nine" and "two-nine-zero" (and almost ran a luxury liner into a breakwater); a third officer on watch whose eyesight was so bad he could see only 2 miles in 8-mile visibility; and a radarman who said all was clear just as his ship rammed another vessel in a fog (he hadn't warmed up the radar set and his scope was blank, like a TV set for a few seconds after you turn it on). There are ample competent seamen, but unfortunately there are also exceptions such as these. Yet if the captain refuses to take a crewman whose ability he doubts, his ship may be stranded in port by a walkoff.

That's the story of the high seas, 1957. There is much to be done.

I went to the graveyard of the *Andrea Doria* because I thought she might be immortal still, might save many more than the 50 lives she took. For disasters can pay dividends. The *Titanic* sinking brought the iceberg patrol.

Will humanity now get a dividend from the *Doria*? If not—how soon the next ship disaster?

New Jersey Judicial Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an article by William J. Brennan, Jr., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States which appeared in the American Bar Association Journal of June 1957. It is entitled "After 8 Years: New Jersey Judicial Reform":

AFTER 8 YEARS: NEW JERSEY JUDICIAL REFORM

(By William J. Brennan, Jr., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—In 1947, after a long campaign for reform, New Jersey scrapped its 103-year-old court structure and replaced it with a new, streamlined judicial system utilizing the principles of business management. Placed at the head of the new Supreme Court was the leader of the battle for reform, Arthur T. Vanderbilt, dean of the New York University Law School and a former president of the American Bar Association. Mr. Justice Brennan, himself a former member of

the New Jersey court, reviews the 8 years of judicial administration in New Jersey since the new system was adopted. He finds that the results prove the soundness of the theories upon which the New Jersey court system was built. The article is taken from an address delivered before the Constitutional Convention Association at Princeton last December.)

New Jersey feels a deep pride in a judicial system usually acknowledged to be America's best. Every feature of its modern court structure is embodied in a single article of 6 short sections and 27 pithy paragraphs of the 1947 constitution. The structure of some of the States have some of those features. Only New Jersey's structure has all of them.

A basic determination underlay the change from our former systems. It was that our modern complex economy and society could no longer tolerate a court system of autonomous courts free from any sort of control from within or without, the judges concerned with their own court only and brooking no interference from judges of other courts, or indeed even from members of their own court. New Jersey borrowed from industry and commerce one of America's great contributions, namely, the principles of business management which have done so much to advance this Nation to the place of the world's greatest productive economy. The framers of the 1947 constitution created a simple unified judicial system, giving the supreme court exclusive authority over its administration under the leadership of a principal executive officer, the chief justice of that court. Flexibility for the system was ordained by vesting in the chief justice the power to assign judges according to experience, ability, and need, and apportion judicial busines among the courts, divisions, and parts acording to the volume and type of cases. The aim was threefold: (1) To abolish jurisdictional controversies which delay justice and waste the time and money of litigants and courts; (2) to assure that judicial resources would be fully utilized and litigation promptly decided; (3) to secure businesslike management of the courts through a single administration for all of them as integral parts of a single whole.

The framers were fully aware that in what they did they were providing for a new kind of judge. They recognized that the judicial department, a major department of government, could not operate efficiently without an administrative head. Someone must run the show on the administrative side. Someone must be boss. A business concern could not be imagined in which everyone is manager and no one can tell anyone what to do. The system under which everyone is chief and there are no Indians—the direct consequence of the supposed sanctity of the autonomous court—was cast into oblivion forever. In New Jersey a prospective judicial nominee's talent and capacity for executive responsibility, as well as his learning capacity for adjudication of important questions of substantive law, have now become significant considerations. That was made preeminently so in the case of the office of chief justice, but I shall later demonstrate that that essential differs only in matter of degree as regards judges of the superior court from among whom the presiding judges of the several counties, called the assignment judges, are selected. In consequence, first among all the States, New Jersey provides a setting in which the administrative judge—the judge with executive capacity to run a business as large or larger than many of our industrial and commercial giants—has come to be respected as much for his accomplishments in bettering justice through administration as he is for his judicial accomplishments in the field of substantive law.

So it is that realization of the goals for the new system depended directly upon the capacity for administration of the first judges into whose hands this great responsibility was entrusted. There was no modern precedent for this job. Procedures for administration had to be worked up from scratch, and were, through an agonizing period of trial and error, before there were forged the smooth running, effective and efficient processes which have accomplished the gratifying results that make New Jersey the envy of the Nation and have spread the fame of its system throughout the world. It was the State's immense good fortune to number among its lawyers one who had spared from successful careers as lawyer, law teacher and political leader time enough in generous measure to think upon judicial administration and to be willing, when offered the opportunity, to take on the arduous task of launching the new system. I take not one whit of the credit due to the convention delegates and to the great number of judges, practicing lawyers and others who contributed so much when I say that the leadership of Arthur T. Vanderbilt sparked the fuse that started the system toward the goal, and kept it on the track with unceasing, singleminded, persistent and undeviating devotion when there was danger of straying. His contributions have made his name known everywhere in and out of America where the effort is to better the doing of justice through improved court administration. Honorary degrees and awards from colleges and bar associations too numerous to name have acknowledged his contributions, and we of New Jersey who have been the direct beneficiaries of his labors are the first to acknowledge that these honors have indeed been richly deserved.

BETTER JUSTICE: THE ADMINISTRATIVE TOOLS

But the real emphasis of my theme today is upon the administrative tools which were devised to capitalize upon the potential for better justice through improved administration which was the great objective of the new system. There are five features I want to talk about. They are not the only ones, of course, but the five I think particularly significant. Two of them, the office of the administrative director of the courts and the assignment power of the chief justice were provided in the judicial article. The remaining three, the adaptation of the Federal Rules of Civil and Criminal Procedure, the broad discovery and mandatory pretrial conference procedures, and the judges' weekly reports, were provided for by the supreme court upon the recommendation of the chief justice. The chief justice will be the first to say that the development of some of these techniques owes as much or more to the actual working out of them by others as it does to him. Literally scores of judges and lawyers joined hearts and hands in the perfection of several of these and other administrative measures. Only the limitations of space prevent my detailing for you the hard work upon the part of so many that went into the fashioning of these tools to their present high state of efficiency. Usually each of these efforts had the guidance of a committee of judges and lawyers under the chairmanship of an associate justice of the supreme court. The committee on revision and amendment of the rules on practice and procedure, for example, a particularly important and arduous assignment, has had the benefit of the leadership of Mr. Justice Burling. Similarly as to the committee on probate chairmanned by Mr. Justice Heher; the committee on court reporters under Mr. Justice Oliphant; the committee on criminal procedures headed by Mr. Justice Wachenfeld, and the committee on evidence under Mr. Justice Jacobs. The great judge whom it was my honor to succeed on the court, Mr. Justice Ackerson, was the first chairman of the committee on pretrial conference and calendar control, followed by me during my tenure, and currently an added duty taken on by the chief justice. And I could add much more if space allowed, but I must discuss the five features which I think did most to bring us to our present success and which, I strongly feel, must continue to highlight our procedures if we are not to risk marring that record.

THE FEDERAL RULES: A WISE ADAPTATION

The first, the adaptation of the Federal Rules of Civil and Criminal Procedure to govern the processing of individual pieces of litigation requires no particular emphasis. It is enough to say that the wise and sensible thing was done in this connection. The Federal rules represented the most comprehensive, the most flexible, the most modern existing set of rules to accomplish the objective of ruling the disposition of particular cases according to the merits and to prevent their disposition for mere procedural reasons. Those rules represented years and years of work of outstanding experts and reflected the thoughtful criticisms of thousands of individual lawyers throughout the country. They were ours for the asking and it was natural that we should have taken advantage of our opportunity. I do not mean that the Federal rules were imposed on our system. Long detailed study of each rule preceded the adoption of any, and numerous revisions were made where needed to meet our State situations. That was an intense effort of the 10 months intervening between the referendum at which the new constitution was adopted and the effective date of the judicial article on September 15, 1948. One of the major revisions was to make pretrial conference procedure mandatory. That procedure is voluntary in the Federal courts, but our success with the mandatory requirement has occasioned strong support for the same change in the Federal system. Chief Justice Vanderbilt summed up our effort as to these rules in his address to the first judicial conference in September 1948, when he said:

"In a very real sense, the new rules are therefore the result of a greater degree of cooperation than are any other rules heretofore adopted in this country. The aim has been directness, simplicity, and flexibility in the highest degree consistent with the full preservation of individual rights. We have aimed to maintain the intellectual environment of sound learning which has characterized the decisions of our courts but at the same time to prune away outmoded technicalities and to set up a businesslike administration for the entire judicial system."

The second of the five features I have in mind is the work of the office of the administrative director of the courts. That work bears directly, of course, upon administration as such, a statement also true of the third, fourth, and fifth features. Obviously one cannot administer something without knowing what his problems are. The primary function of the office of the administrative director is to gather and interpret statistics concerning the stuff of court business, which, of course, is litigation. How many cases are there—where are they pending—how long have they been pending—is the number of new cases on the up- or downgrade—the necessity for such information is apparent. This is not all that the administrative director does. He has important housekeeping tasks, budget responsibilities, and the duty continuously to study operations and develop procedures the better and more efficiently to process court business. But his function of gathering statistics is what touches particularly upon administration because upon the efficiency and thoroughness with which that job is done depend decisions by the chief justice where to assign judges; in what counties temporary measures may be necessary to keep the flow

of cases moving, for example, extending the court day or court week until the list is over the hump; whether to recommend legislative remedies—the legislation for transfer of cases from the superior and county courts to the district court is an example. For these vital decisions the director's statistics must be live, current data, not dead records of past performances and failures. He does, of course, compile historical data—comparative annual records of the business done in each court. These are serviceable to show trends in litigation and to test the quality and effectiveness of court administration from year to year. His quarterly and annual reports also contain tables showing the work done by the individual judges, information which tells the public the number of hours each judge spends on the bench—although that's not the whole story because many, if not most, judges also spend many long hours in judicial work after the court day.

THE WEEKLY REPORT; MINIMIZING COMPLAINTS

The source of the information in these tables has a special important function and constitutes the third of the five features I want to mention. Each of the judges of New Jersey's trial courts file a weekly report of his activities with the administrative director. That report shows his hours on the bench each day, the names of the causes handled during the court day and the time given to each. I suppose one of the complaints most often heard from litigants and the public before the new system became effective was that too often the judge was not to be found on the bench during working hours. The public was not always satisfied with the answer that he was working in chambers. Though the suspicion was not justified, people felt uneasy about the conduct of public business in chambers. Even litigants who remained outside while their lawyers met in chambers with the judge were not completely happy about the practice. It was partly to remove any basis for misunderstanding upon the part of the public and litigants that the chief justice proposed and the supreme court adopted administrative rules which prescribed fixed court hours and court days throughout the State and forbade the conduct of judicial business in chambers, and finally provided for the filing of a weekly report by each judge. Judges too are human. Some judges are more effective in their work than others, some give more satisfaction to the bar and the public than others, some are more diligent, more conscientious, more devoted to their work than others. These individual differences cannot be changed administratively, but there should and can be equality in the number of hours each judge of the same court spends in the courtroom. And it is not enough that matters are in fact decided upon the merits and only upon the merits; it is equally important that the appearance of the fact be evidenced for all to see. Conferences in chambers between judge and lawyers or litigants too often are misunderstood by lay observers and wild rumor and conjecture present the hazard of undermining confidence in the judicial process. This weekly report operates to assure both that inequalities in the burden of judicial work among the judges will be minimized and that what the judges do will be done in the open for all to see.

The weekly report is designed also to minimize another reason for complaint under New Jersey's former system. I refer to delays by judges in decisions upon matters to be decided by them and not by a jury. Delays as much as 8 or 10 years were not unknown. Now each judge must list on his weekly report every reserved decision and list it again on every subsequent weekly report until the matter is decided. If the office of the administrative director notes that the decision is reserved an undue length of time, an inquiry of the judge for a reason usually has the consequence of a prompt disposition thereafter. This device has made a valuable contribution toward the goal of minimizing delays in this large area of judicial determinations.

The fourth of the five features is pretrial discovery and mandatory pretrial conference procedure. This is a feature upon which I freely confess to having what is perhaps an arbitrary prejudice. I am so fully convinced that these tools accomplish better justice, not only in bringing about settlements and avoiding time-wasting trials, but of far more importance, in assuring that right and justice shall have the most favorable opportunity of prevailing in cases that are tried, that I have almost a closed mind to any argument opposing the mandatory requirement. I cannot be far wrong either in the light of the evidence that this will shortly be the requirement in more jurisdictions. I mentioned what is happening in the Federal courts. I note also that California has made the requirement of pretrial mandatory. There is a definite trend in that direction and New Jersey is responsible for it. And the trend was inevitable. If, in the lay mind, the law's delays contribute to unfairness of result, the public has equal reason to complain of the fact that all too often a trial becomes a battle between opposing counsel rather than an orderly, rational search for the truth in the merits of the controversy. It used to be in New Jersey, too, that neither side of a lawsuit ever knew until the actual day of trial what the other side would spring in the way of witnesses or facts. The technique was to play the cards close to the vest and hope by surprise or maneuver at the trial to confound one's adversary or, more important, to confuse the jury sufficiently to carry the day whether or not right and justice lay on the side of one's client. It was and is great sport, but hardly defensible as a system for determining causes according to truth and right. In pretrial procedure, made effective through a precedent broad discovery practice, lies the best answer yet devised for destroying surprise and maneuver as twin allies of the sporting theory of justice.

PRETRIAL PROCEDURES: GETTING THE FACTS

Pretrial discovery and pretrial conference procedures are the means for tearing aside the curtain. They permit each party long before trial to probe virtually without limit into the case of the other side, and so to learn everything about his own and the other side's strengths and weaknesses. Each lawyer obtains the names of the other's witnesses and may examine those witnesses fully at his own office. When each side can see in this manner the whole case exposed to view before the day of decision, each is obviously in the best possible position to evaluate his chances of success, or lack of them. The whole process is concluded at the pretrial conference between the judge and the lawyers, usually without the clients present. It is at that conference that the case is synthesized in a tailormade document suited only for the particular cause to which it relates. In that document, the pretrial order, appear not merely the matters upon which the parties can agree, thus avoiding waste of time in their proof at the trial, and not merely a delineation of the legal issues, simple or complicated, but, far more important, that which gives the case its individuality, that which makes it as unlike any other case as my fingerprints are unlike yours, for in it appears the revelation of the factual controversy and contentions as to the facts on both sides. It is the facts that created the controversy in the first place. There would never have been a lawsuit but for the parties' disagreement on the facts of the incident or event or transaction which gave rise to the action.

Pretrial discovery and pretrial conference procedures can truly be employed as a scalpel to lay bare the true factual controversy, and therein lies the basic worth of these procedures. They help attain the ideal of dispositions according to right and justice. They perform a great service in helping to eliminate or avoid calendar congestion. That service lies in the impetus they produce toward voluntary settlement, a service of such proportions in New Jersey that now only a little more than 1 out of every 4 or 5 cases ever gets to trial. The best we did in the old days was to settle half the cases; the other half were tried. Their contribution is not to be measured by the number of cases settled at the pretrial conference itself. Some are settled then, but New Jersey has stood steadfastly against the perversion of the pretrial procedure into a device for forcing settlements. Lawyers of other States complain with some bitterness that this is the only value that some judges attach to these pretrial devices. But where, as should be the case always, the overriding primary function of the pretrial conference is to further the disposition of the case according to right and justice on the merits, the contribution to a settlement can never be the reason for the conference, but merely an incidental, although, of course, valuable result of it. The reason that the contribution toward settlements has been so great is simply that the procedures of necessity create an atmosphere conducive to voluntary settlements. Each side knows the strengths and weaknesses of his own and his adversary's case, and, given that knowledge, settlement results almost as a matter of course when both sides see that it is to the best interest of each to settle.

I acknowledge that I react with some considerable impatience these days to the suggestion that pretrial conference procedure is a waste of time in automobile accident cases where the factual and legal issues are not often complex or difficult. I cannot understand why that suggestion is still advanced in the face of the overwhelming evidence that it is precisely in the field of automobile accident litigation that New Jersey has realized by far the greatest benefit from the procedure, not alone in the increase in the proportion of cases settled to cases tried, but in the better justice which inevitably flows from the ability of both sides to find out before trial everything they need to know about their own and the other side's case.

The next and last of the five features I would mention is the assignment power vested by the constitution in the chief justice. Probably that is the most delicate and important of the myriad administrative duties which, to my personal knowledge, take from one-third to one-half of Arthur T. Vanderbilt's workday which begins at 8 o'clock every morning and continues until a late hour most evenings. Every county has its ups and downs in volume of litigation, but the larger counties have a chronic condition of large lists where the time of the less busy judges from the smaller counties can usefully and economically be employed. But every assignment out of his county may present a judge with home or personal problems, and the chief justice has always been humanly aware that this is so. He gives an interminable amount of time to this duty, in telephone calls, personal conferences with the judges involved in transfers, and with the assignment judges. In the very nature of things, this responsibility must continue to be a difficult task for any chief justice.

But there is another facet of the assignment power which also has a most important bearing on administration. I refer to the selection of the assignment judges. New Jersey's system operates throughout its 21 counties. The detailed work of administration in each county cannot, of course, be done from Trenton. There has to be an administrative head for each county in the same manner that a business firm breaks

up a large territory in order to gain maximum efficiency in the whole operation. It is exclusively the responsibility of the chief justice to appoint one of the superior court judges as chief judge, called the assignment judge, to be in his county administratively the vice president or branch manager of the system. In addition to his regular judicial duties, the assignment judge keeps close tab on the dockets in all the courts, assigns cases to the other judges from the master list prepared at his direction, and has general administrative authority within the county. His responsibilities are in the field of criminal as well as civil litigation. He must charge the grand juries and may interpose to try criminal cases of particular public importance or interest. His powers of administration are extensive. Flexibility, as opposed to rigidity, must be his watchword. In him then, too, is required a talent and capacity for executive responsibility; it would be a disappointment to a chief judge to find himself without enough superior court judges with the capacity for this vital and important work. This is the reason I suggested earlier that the factor of executive ability is also important in the selection of superior court judges.

CURRENT CALENDARS: AN AMAZING RECORD

That concludes my discussion of these five features. They were the principal techniques developed and applied after the judicial article became operative, and consider what has been accomplished under them. In September 1948, when we started, trial lists were 2 or more years in arrears, and some cases actually were pending up to 8 years. Within 3 years, by 1951, all arrears were cleared up, and current cases were being tried, if not previously settled, at least within 9 months and more often within 6 months after complaint was filed. It was an amazing record—a miraculous achievement still to some metropolitan centers in other States chronically bogged down with lists 3 and 4 or 5 years old. But actually all that was done in New Jersey was that able executive talent devised and applied ordinary business principles to the operation of a simple integrated court system. Given that structure any State can do the same and we are more than happy to let every jurisdiction of the land profit from our example.

I do not mean, however, that the millennium has been reached in New Jersey and that we may sit back sure that all is well. Indeed, there have been times since 1951 when we have feared for our ability to keep abreast of the increase in litigation experienced in New Jersey, as in every other populous industrial State, in the wake of the economic upsurge which our Nation has experienced since the end of the war. But the chief justice saw the danger early and took the leadership in suggesting the legislation which authorizes the transfer to the district courts of any automobile-accident case which at pretrial conference is appraised as not promising the plaintiff a recovery in excess of the $3,000 jurisdictional limit of the district court. Currently, too, he has found it necessary temporarily to add 1 hour to the court day of some counties to catch up with a backlog and to keep abreast of the growing lists. The point of these examples is that the system is now geared to make such expedients possible, and it must always be so if we are to head off trouble before it arrives.

I have the definite conviction that New Jersey can never safely abandon any of the features of administration which I have discussed if we are to hold our gains. And in the case of the mandatory requirement for pretrial conference procedure and the judges' weekly reports, the values we realize from them apart from their contributions to the currency of our calendars would make their discontinuance a lamentable retreat from those things which best serve the public interest. New Jersey is experiencing a tremendous population growth and enormous development which inevitably means more and more litigation. Retention of our proved administrative tools may not alone suffice to handle the load. More and better courthouse facilities in many places will inevitably be required. And in time we may require an increase in the number of judges. But at the very least we will have to continue to rely on the administrative tools which 8 years of unceasing effort on the part of countless judges and lawyers have forged to the degree of proficiency which today allows most of the members of the Constitutional Convention to see in their lifetimes how right they were in what they did, and how great a contribution theirs has become and can remain to the advancement of better justice. It would be tragic indeed if a single one of these fine tools were discarded or blunted. Yet Senate bill 88 of 1948 would have killed pretrial discovery and pretrial conference procedures at birth by limiting inquiry to matters admissible in evidence at the trial. Only Governor Driscoll's veto averted that catastrophe. And at the 1955 State bar meeting in Atlantic City there was a long debate on a resolution, happily defeated, which proposed to make pretrial conference procedure voluntary in automobile accident cases, and where had at all, primarily a conference of judge and counsel around a table to explore settlement. And every county bar association but one or two violently opposed the enactment of the bills for the transfer of cases to the district court. Even Governor Meyner found that his pleas for the bills fell on deaf ears when he spoke personally in support of them to the trustees of the State Bar Association. Only the Governor's leadership and the leadership of equally responsible legislative leaders saved the day on that occasion. The press and public-spirited citizens generally have no doubt that we must not let down our guard lest those prevail whose judgment of what is best in the public interest is seemingly prejudiced by personal or other irrelevant considerations.

On July 7, 1958, Arthur T. Vanderbilt will be 70 years of age and will be required by the constitution to relinquish his office as chief justice. Several centuries ago another great judge was famed for his ability to bring order and efficiency to the courts. He was Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England in the reign of Henry VIII. When he took office the docket was crowded with cases, some of them 20 years old. He, too, knew how true it was that the spirit if not the letter of justice requires a prompt hearing and settlement of suits; otherwise an injustice is perpetuated and aggravated. So great was his skill in devising processes to bring cases to the point of prompt hearing that the day arrived when not a matter or man was left to be heard. A jingle commemorates his achievement:

"When More some time Chancellor had been,
No more suits did remain.
The like will never more be seen
Till More be there again."

But what we have in New Jersey is not alone the product of Arthur T. Vanderbilt's leadership. It is the work of many hands. It has been solidly built to endure through the terms of many chief justices. His great accomplishment as the first chief justice is that he blazed the trail where there was none and marked it so well for us that the handiwork of his administration must ever challenge succeeding administrations to mark it better. This much is clear. We must not retreat from the high point we have reached. We must go beyond in an increasing effort to attain what in truth is the unattainable summit. Man has striven from the beginning of time for better justice and will continue to strive for generations and generations past our own. Yet New Jersey's contribution is one of the great milestones on that road. The sorrow of any retreat on our part lies not alone in the disservice to our own citizens but as well in the blow it would deliver beyond the borders of our State to the valiants who are struggling in so many places to have our example emulated in their own States. The Attorney General of the United States only recently organized a conference of agencies to make a national frontal attack on the problems, State and Federal, impeding justice through bad judicial administration. The model held up to the conference as to what should be done is what has been done in New Jersey. We must in good conscience go forward. We must never, never retreat.

What the Court Really Ruled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Roscoe Drummond is a well reasoned and unemotional answer to all of those critics who disagree with the recent Supreme Court decisions involving the trial of Communists and the right of Congress to investigate.

Mr. Drummond's article appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 21, 1957.

WHAT THE COURT REALLY RULED
(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—There is an erroneous impression that the Supreme Court is undermining the authority of Congress to investigate communism and cutting the foundation from under the Smith Act to prosecute Communist leaders.

It is doing no such thing—or so it seems to me.

There is plenty of room for honest differences of opinion over the Court's latest rulings. The argument is already going on so furiously that one newspaper has remarked with relish how it would like to join a crusade to impeach the offending justices.

Obviously impeachment talk is just rhetoric. Franklin D. Roosevelt's roundly defeated court-packing plan of 1937—to get a bench that would give him the kind of decisions he wanted—was a mild course of action compared to impeachment which would be a court-unpacking plan. Of course, both are wrong and thoughtful critics of the Supreme Court's opinions do not bring impeachment into the discussion.

What I want to bring out is that public controversy, pro and con, over the latest decisions ought to rest on what the Court actually ruled, not on what some headlines say the Court ruled.

Take the Watkins decision. John T. Watkins, whose conviction for contempt of Congress was set aside by the Court, was required to answer and did answer all committee questions concerning his own pro-Communist activities. He was required to answer and did answer all questions concerning people he knew who were presently engaged in pro-Communist activities. He only declined to answer questions about those he knew had broken with the Communist Party several years ago.

It was at this point that the Supreme Court ruled, 6 to 1, that Congress exceeded

its investigatory powers. The court made these points:

That the congressional power to investigate stems from the congressional right to legislate, and thus investigation must clearly serve the legislative function.

That while the congressional power to investigate is very large, it is not unlimited; it must not have the predominant result of invading "the private rights of individuals."

That the congressional power to investigate does not reach to exposure "for the sake of exposure."

This means, it seems to me, a very careful and moderate limitation on congressional committee investigations and a requirement that the congressional committees clearly establish the relevance of their questions at the time of the hearings.

Take the Smith Act decision. Here the Court freed 5 California Communists leaders and ordered a new trial for 9 others—in both instances because of trial errors.

The Court again sustained the constitutionality of the Smith Act which forbids conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

The Court found the California trial judge in error because he failed to charge the jury, as Judge Medina had in New York, that advocacy of violence is illegal only when it is directed to inciting an act of violence, not just teaching the theory of violence. Judge Medina's charge did not prevent the New York jury from finding the Communist leaders guilty.

It does seem to me that Justice Harlan's majority opinion is overly semantic in defining the word organize as meaning only to bring into being. The legislative history of the Smith Act suggests that Congress was referring to keeping the Communist party in being as well as bringing it into being and this will undoubtedly have to be cleared up.

Congress' primary role is not to investigate; its primary role is to legislate and investigation must be faithfully used to serve that end.

Congress' primary role is not to punish and prosecute, and thus when its investigations reach to that end they must not be allowed, as the Court says, "to abridge protected freedoms." It is the role of the courts, not Congress, to prosecute and punish.

And when the Supreme Court surveys these precious constitutionally protected freedoms, it is not thinking merely of a few Communist leaders, it is thinking of 170 million Americans.

Navy Alumni Show Faith in Admiral Kimmel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am including as part of my remarks an article which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on Thursday, June 20, which reports that the Navy Alumni Association has shown great faith in the integrity and loyalty of Admiral Kimmel:

NAVY ALUMNI SHOW FAITH IN KIMMEL

ANNAPOLIS, June 10.—Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, retired, commander of the Navy's Pacific Fleet at the time of the attack of Pearl Harbor, has been elected alumni president of the Naval Academy class of 1904.

Shipmate magazine in its latest issue hailed the election as "a mark of trust and affirmation of faith by those who have known him well for more than 50 years and who are among those of our country's citizens best qualified to judge the event before, on, and after, that tragic December 7, 1941."

The magazine is the monthly publication of the Naval Academy Alumni Association. It devoted a column and a half to an article by Vice Adm. John J. Shafroth (class of 1906) commenting on the election and reviewing events of Pearl Harbor.

The Human Touch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, a very relevant factor in the matter of accidents and deaths on the Nation's highways is the human element. It is the most uncontrollable, most incalculable, and, unfortunately, the most inalterable of the factors that cause traffic mishaps.

The Subcommittee on Traffic Safety realizes this fact and many of us feel that a close scrutiny of the physical and psychological factors in automobile driving needs to be taken.

This realm of traffic safety is discussed in an interesting manner in a recent article written by Col. Bill Lyerly, Director of Public Safety for the State of Alabama. This article appeared as a guest editorial in a recent issue of the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit excerpts from this article for the RECORD.

The other day I was reading an article on physical and psychological factors that make you a safe—or potentially unsafe—driver. This article predicts that some day you may have to take an attitude test to get a driver's license. This might be a good thing as research reveals that unhealthy attitudes are the real culprits behind our highway tragedies.

The average driver knows the law. He can handle his car skillfully. He is in good health and has fast reflexes and yet he invites accidents almost every time he drives. That is because his attitude is wrong.

For him a car is not just a convenient, comfortable way to get from here to there. He uses a car to express himself. When he's mad, he drives furiously. When he's with a friend he shows off. He cuts corners. He weaves in and out of traffic—make no mistakes, he handles a car well. He could pass the toughest road test a driving inspector could give. But with his license in his pocket he forgets all about such things as a sense of responsibility. He's an unsafe driver. He cannot be trusted with his own life or yours.

Perhaps the chief reason for this difficulty lies in the fact that attitudes are tied in with emotions and as everybody knows, most of us keep our emotions to ourselves. This close tieup between emotions and attitude is one we do not have statistics to show for.

I can only advise you to drive carefully, you may meet a fool. Assume the other guy is a motor maniac, consider him as completely incompetent. Be a defensive driver.

Un-American Activities Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues know, I have on occasion been critical of certain practices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but I think it is essential that I stress the fact that I have never called for its abolition, nor denied the importance of its functions. Rather, I have advocated that its duties be clearly defined and that it function under proper supervision and control, preferably as a subcommittee of a permanent House committee.

I have read carefully the following editorial from the Washington Post which was printed on Thursday, June 20, 1957, regarding the Committee on Un-American Activities. This editorial appears to go directly to the crux of the problem as it relates to investigating committees in general and in particular to the Un-American Activities Committee.

The questions posed by the editorial should most certainly be given serious study by the Members of Congress. I respectfully commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case raises a problem for the House of Representatives in connection with its standing Committee on Un-American Activities. The problem can be met in either of two ways: (1) By reforming the enabling resolution under which the committee was established in such a way as to define its scope and function with the kind of clarity prescribed by the Court; or, (2) by dissolving the committee on the ground that in 20 years of operation it has completed its purpose and is no longer needed.

The first course cannot easily be accomplished. Investigating committees are usually authorized for specific purposes and for a limited period of time; they look into a particular situation, make recommendations and then go out of existence. But the situation to which the Un-American Activities Committee addresses itself is well nigh universal and perhaps eternal. It is authorized to make investigations of:

"(i) The extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

"Who can define the meaning of 'un-American'?" Chief Justice Warren asked. "What is that single, solitary 'principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution'?" However un-American is might seem, peaceful advocacy of change to a parliamentary system, or even to a Socialist system is certainly as permissible as, say advocacy of an income tax or suffrage for women or the abolition of slavery. It was because changes in "the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitu-

tion" were foreseen as vital to its perpetuation that the Constitution not only provided a mechanism for change but also categorically forbade Congress to abridge the advocacy of peaceful change, even when such advocacy was stigmatized as propaganda.

How, then, can the charter of the Un-American Activities Committee be revised in order to cure it of the vagueness which the Supreme Court called its vice? How can it be limited so as to keep the committee from trenching upon the area of advocacy protected by the first amendment? Perhaps by confining it strictly to the propaganda activities of the Communist Party. But even then the term Communist has so many different meanings for so many Members of Congress that there is grave danger it would be applied, like the term un-American, to anyone that the committee happened to dislike.

In the course of 20 years, the committee has exhaustively explored the Communist Party and has discovered a great deal about its composition, purposes, and tactics. It has filed many reports, made countless recommendations, and contributed to many laws dealing with the Communist threat. It will always be one of the general duties and burdens of Congress to maintain its guard against enemies foreign and domestic. So far as this particular threat is concerned, however, we think the time has arrived when enforcement of the laws may be left, safely, to the appropriate police agencies of the Government's executive branch, and when resistance to Communist propaganda may be left to the good sense of the American people.

Democrats Versus Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Daily News of June 19, 1957:

DEMOCRATS VERSUS CIVIL RIGHTS
(By Peter Edson)

There is more to the Civil Rights fight now before the Senate than the matter of racial discrimination.

It is a question of political survival for the Democrats who have held control of the Solid South for nearly 90 years. Southern political leaders see this control slipping if even a mild civil-rights bill should pass. Some of them are seen to be pretty desperate about it. It is simple politics.

If and when non-whites are given full voting rights in the Southern States, it is fairly obvious that they won't help elect Democratic politicians who have been preventing them from voting by poll tax laws or intimidation by custom.

This is indicated by a series of tables on 1956 election statistics in the Southern States, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois.

Only 22 out of every 100 people of voting age cast their ballots in Mississippi. In South Carolina it was 24, Alabama 28, Georgia 30, Virginia 34, Louisiana 37, Texas 38, and Arkansas 39.

Other tables prepared by Southern Regional Council, show that only 3.9 percent of the non-whites were registered in Mississippi for the 1956 elections. In Alabama it was only 10 percent, Virginia 20, Georgia and South Carolina 25, Arkansas 29, Louisiana 31, and Texas 38 percent.

With from 60 to 95 percent of the non-whites not registering and not voting, it is not difficult for any political realist to see what would happen if these majorities were given their full civil rights on election days.

The natural inclination of most of them would be to vote Republican. One prominent northern Democrat sizes up the situation like this:

Senators EASTLAND and STENNIS, of Mississippi wouldn't have a chance for reelection. Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, who was States Rights Party candidate for President in 1948 and who has been one of the leading opponents of the mild Eisenhower civil-rights program, wouldn't fare any better.

Senators LISTER HILL and JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama, might have a chance to stay in office. Though they have had to oppose extreme civil-rights reform to get elected under the existing election laws and practices in their State, they have such good records on welfare legislation they might survive.

Georgia's new Senator, ex-Governor HERMAN EUGENE TALMADGE, probably could not survive a big increase in nonwhite registration and voting in his State. Neither could Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER, of Louisiana, a States Rights leader.

Even stalwart Senators like HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, RICHARD RUSSELL, of Georgia, RUSSELL LONG, of Louisiana, and LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, might have trouble in this situation.

The new Republican National Committee campaign to invade the South and build up strength in this area could not be better timed, with this situation coming to a head.

Piney Woods Pete Talks Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the very fine afternoon newspaper of the capital city of Georgia, the Atlanta Journal, carries on its front page a short column by one Piney Woods Pete.

Now, Pete writes each day in the form of a breezy, folksy letter to the editor, and he speaks out on a number of subjects. Recently, Pete wrote to the Journal's editor about how he felt on the topic of automobiles, speed, advertising, and fools.

I think all the Members will enjoy reading Pete's remarks on this subject. Pete sounds off with some good, old-fashioned horsesense and it is a pleasure to be able to insert such sound thinking into the RECORD.

Pete's column follows:

DEAR MR. EDITOR: The car manufacturers done a good thing in deciding to quit bragging in their advertisements and sales talks about how much power and speed their cars have got.

Of course, there'll still be plenty of fools that'll find out for themselves how fast the cars will run, if they don't kill theirselves before hitting top speed, but probably not as many as when manufacturers keep reminding 'em of power and speed.

I hope the car manufacturers will also stop showing television pictures of trained and expert drivers stunting with cars to show how good they'll stand up under rough treatment, as this has probably caused some fools to kill or hurt theirselves and others trying to do such stunts. A fool thinks he can do anything the other feller can do, no matter how expert the other fellow may be.

Yours truly,

PINEY WOODS PETE.

Back to Panmunjom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of Congress, the New York Times editorial of June 21, 1957, entitled, "Back to Panmunjom."

It has long been known that the State Department has resisted the pressure of officials to admit the failure of the Korean Armistice Agreement of 1953. I feel that the United Nations action in officially scrapping this truce has long been overdue. I wonder why the President of the United States did not take this action long ago.

BACK TO PANMUNJOM

Representatives of the United Nations command in Korea and the North Korean and Chinese Communists are meeting again at Panmunjom this morning. This meeting called for by the United Nations force, is presumably to inform the Communists that the provision of the armistice agreement of 1953 banning the reinforcement of troops and weapons can no longer be considered valid because of repeated Communist violations and that the United Nations and the free Koreans are therefore obliged to modernize their armament as a necessary step in their legitimate defense.

The original agreement called for a complete freeze on weapons in the two zones. No new ones were to be brought in and presumably a neutral inspection team would see to it that this provision was observed. This team was never allowed to function in the north and ultimately the Republic of Korea was obliged to insist that its Communist members, or Communist sympathizers, should no longer be free to roam at will throughout the south.

Meanwhile the evidence had continued to mount that there had never been any disposition on the part of the Communists to abide by the terms of the agreement. No more planes were to be brought into either area. It is now known that at least 800, of which 500 are jets, have been brought into the north. No new airfields were to be built or conditioned. The Communists have put 38 into operation in the north, most of them to handle jet aircraft. No new weapons were to be introduced. There is evidence that the Red Chinese and Korean Communists have received large shipments. The Korean Communist Army, meanwhile, has been revitalized and now stands at about 400,000, backed by 650,000 Red Chinese in Northern Korea itself and another million and a half across the Yalu in Manchuria.

During this time the United Nations command and the Republic of Korea have faithfully carried out the armistice terms. The result is a repetition of the situation that obtained in 1950 when the relative weakness

of the South served as the invitation to Communist attack.

We like to think that it is part of our characteristic behavior pattern that we carry out our agreements. We are handicapped and penalized, however, when there is no corresponding good faith on the other side. So we are obliged to go back to Panmunjom and make it plain that our agreement can no longer be binding, to our own permanent detriment and danger.

This does not mean that we are seeking a renewal of hostilities in Korea. It does mean that we cannot afford longer to take the risk of inviting such a renewal from the other side by continuing in a position of self-imposed weakness. It is too much to hope that the Communists will tolerate the idea of Korean unification through free and peaceful means. It is not too much to insist that they can and should be told that they cannot again attempt unification by conquest with any hope of success.

Following are excerpts from the Washington Evening Star of June 20, 1957, on this subject:

The Allied demand could be the prelude to equipping the two United States divisions in South Korea with latest type weapons which could be fitted with atomic warheads in the event of a Communist attack. United States Secretary of Defense Wilson said a month ago such a move was being considered.

The United States does not plan to introduce weapons capable of firing nuclear warheads into Korea at this time, according to State Department officials. More modern weapons are understood to be already underway to the Far East, but Defense Department pressure to include weapons capable of firing nuclear warheads reportedly has been successfully resisted in the State Department.

The Korean armistice provided that the armies in North and South Korea could only replace existing equipment and could not bring in new types of equipment or additional amounts of arms.

United States and South Korean military officials have long accused the Reds of beginning an illegal military buildup in North Korea before the ink was dry on the armistice agreement.

Looking Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the Metropolitan Herald, of Atlanta, Ga., carried in its issue of June 19, in its column Looking Ahead an excellent and informative article which points out that citizens have responsibilities as well as rights.

Under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert this article herewith:

LOOKING AHEAD

We still think that one of the salient points as regards the efforts of agitators and would-be integrationists to break down racial barriers and mix the white and colored races is being purposely ignored.

Rights of citizens is a high sounding phrase and one that to us has not yet been fully interpreted.

It is fine to be free, in the literal sense of the word, free to enjoy the privilege to go and come as one wishes; free to participate in the election of government officials and free to partake of a costless education under our form of Government.

Those who have fought for and obtained freedom of a kind did not accomplish this status in life by merely going to court and demanding equal rights. They also readily assumed their share of the responsibility of supporting government, supporting their government by paying their equal share of the cost of operation through their tax money. They also readily assumed their responsibility of defending the rights of their fellow men and of contributing in every possible way, toward the building of a better system of government, an endless job.

There are those who would defend the right of the Negro to become the beneficiaries of not only the financial support as doled out by our governments in the form of health service, welfare service, parks, free schools, highways, police protection and a multitude of other services our various governments furnish. To a certain extent we agree with this philosophy but we violently dispute the fact that the American Negro, as a group, is either ready to or willing to assume the responsibilities which go with equal rights for human beings.

It is no deep, dark secret that in the South the majority of our welfare, health, school, police protection, and other services in which the Negroes participate, are furnished by far and large at little or no expense to the Negro citizen but instead the cost is borne almost entirely by the white taxpayers.

It is also no deep secret that while the majority of the Negro wage earners, just as are the white workers, are required to participate in the popular sport of having part of their salaries drained off through withholding taxes, the majority of them have learned that it is pretty safe to claim enough dependents so the tax effects them very little, and not be checked.

It is a laughing matter among most employers that the average Negro wage earner outsmarts Uncle Sam at every drop of the hat on this withholding matter. No matter how much the rates are raised, as the years pass, the average Negro worker manages to accumulate enough extra dependents to not be effected to any large extent by the tax man, knowing that chances are he will not be checked.

Several years ago we ran a summary of the amount of taxes paid the State of Georgia by our huge Negro population and found that its entire total would amount to less than enough to actually pay the salaries of the Negro teachers employed to teach their pupils.

Naturally, this deficit spending to support the large Negro population in the South is contributed, through heavier taxes than would be necessary if the load was equalized between the whites and colored, and is contributed by the self same people that the would-be integrationists constantly lambast, the white southern taxpayers.

And, during all this argument over integrating the races, we have yet to read where a single leader in the move, white or colored, has come out with a statement to the effect that the Negro was ready and willing to assume his rightful share of the tax payments necessary to provide all the services the agitators are demanding for the Negro.

Several years ago after large numbers of Negroes registered to vote in our local elections there was a great hue and cry raised in the colored sections when some local officials decided that they would take the voting lists and check personal property in order to determine if they were paying ad valorem taxes of their holdings.

Yes, everyone wants something for nothing but until the time comes when the Negro is ready to assume his proportionate share of the tax load necessary to support our Government functions we can only catalogue this integrationist move as an effort to get more of a free ride at the expense of the white taxpayers than is already being enjoyed by our happy, almost tax-free Negro citizens.

Idaho's Late Senator Borah Cognizant of South's Tremendous Race Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article appearing in the Mobile (Ala.) Press Register, under date of February 3, 1957, written by one of Alabama's outstanding reporters, Mr. Ted Pearson, in which article Mr. Pearson quotes from the remarks of the late Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, in a speech delivered in the United States Senate in 1937. It is quite appropriate that Senator Borah's remarks be called to the attention of the Members of both the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives at a time when the so-called civil-rights bill is being considered. In each generation our Nation is fortunately blessed with a few men of Senator Borah's caliber, and I feel confident that in the presently constituted United States Senate there will be others of Senator Borah's caliber from outside our dearly beloved Southland who will have the vision and the foresight, the courage and the principle to safeguard the sovereign rights of our States and to prevent further encroachment on those rights by the Federal Government, in defeating this so-called civil-rights bill.

IDAHO'S LATE SENATOR BORAH COGNIZANT OF SOUTH'S TREMENDOUS RACE PROBLEM

(By Ted Pearson)

Mark these words closely:

"I * * * contend that the southern people have met the race problem and dealt with it with greater patience, greater tolerance, greater intelligence, and greater success than any people in recorded history dealing with a problem of similar nature."

Are these the remarks of a southern conservative, uttered in the halls of some State legislature or beneath the Capitol dome at Washington? They could be. Were they the words of Jefferson Davis or Alexander Stephens?

They could be but they weren't. Strangely enough that tribute to the South's adroit handling of its own racial affairs was voiced by none other than a confirmed and great northern liberal, one of the most liberal statesmen of them all, the late Senator William E. Borah of Idaho.

It was by sheer happenstance the other day that we came across a speech delivered in the Senate back in 1937 by Senator Borah. That was at a time when the late President Roosevelt's ultraliberal New Deal program was rolling along at high speed, when as part of this program, the Roosevelt administration was pushing a civil-rights effort in Congress with an antilynching bill.

Up rose the liberal Senator Borah as debate moved into high gear. When he had returned to his seat a few minutes later, he

had put on the permanent record for all to see one of the most outstanding espousals of the South's handling of its own affairs ever made.

"At the close of the Civil War," said Mr. Borah, "there were a little over 5 million white people in the South. There were 3,500,000 Negroes. In Mississippi there were 100,000 more colored people than white people. There were the two races living upon the same soil, now equally free under the Constitution, one of them untrained and unschooled in the affairs of state and untrained in citizenship.

"The problem had to be met. Was it easy of solution? Can one conceive of a more difficult problem placed before a people? I wish we could place ourselves in their position. It would help us to be sympathetic, sane, and just. * * *"

Borah, the northern liberal, gazed intently at his fellow Senators and continued, "If we knew as much about the South and what they have done and are doing as we pretend to know, we would not be so free to criticize."

Then Mr. Borah wound up his speech with a summation of the situation that applies as well today as it did 20 years ago. Said the Senator, "The progress, the development, and the advancement of the South, including the last 70 arduous years, her history from Washington and Jefferson down, rich with the names of leaders, orators, and statesmen; her soil, her sunshine, her brave, and hospitable people, her patient and successful wrestling with the most difficult of all problems, are all a part of the achievements of our common country and constitute no ignoble portion of the strength and glory of the American democracy.

"I will cast no vote in this Chamber which reflects upon her fidelity to our institutions or upon her ability and purpose to maintain the principles upon which they rest."

Contrast this expression by a northern liberal of 20 years ago with the record of the northern liberal today, and the wide disparity resulting from the comparison is sufficient to produce nausea among those who continue to uphold the freedoms and the rights of the individual States. One finds the broadminded reasoning and understanding embodied in Borah's great pronouncement replaced by the rabble-rousing, antisouthern, antidemocratic vocal ramblings of the Humphreys and the Douglases and their kind.

It is too bad that the northern liberal has permitted capitulation of true reasoning to this cheap political expedient of wooing the Negro vote. We can't help but wonder if the words of the northern liberal Borah do not come back often to haunt the consciences of the modern brand of northern liberals.

After all, the late Senator Borah's words on the South's handling of its racial problems are hard to forget, and they are indisputable.

Which Party Is Best Able To Reduce Taxes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, the most recent Gallup survey of public opinion, published a few days ago, raised the question as to which party—Democrat or Republican—is best able to reduce taxes?

According to this survey, 25 percent of the voters said there was no difference between the two parties in that respect; 24 percent believed the Republicans were best able; and, 35 percent believed the Democrats to be.

But what does the actual record show? The true test is not in words of promise but in acts of accomplishment. The measure of ability is not in what one promises to do but in what one actually does.

The record shows that it was the Democrat Party which, in 1913, enacted the first Federal income tax. Since that time there have been 15 increases in individual income taxes. The Democrat Party is responsible for 14 of them and the Republicans for only 1.

The record also shows that during this same period since the adoption of the 16th amendment to allow income taxation, there have been 12 reductions. We Republicans brought about 9 of them, and the Democrats only 3.

The record further shows that it was the Democrat Party which placed people of low income under the Federal tax law by reducing the exemption for the married from $2,500 to $1,000 and for the single from $1,000 to $500. During the 2 years of Democrat rule approximately 45 million people were added to the tax rolls.

That is the actual record. It speaks for itself. The people need only to be reminded of it. With deeds, not mere words, as the measure they will have conclusive proof that the Democrat Party is traditionally the party of taxing and spending, and the Republican traditionally the party of economy and less taxes.

What the Giveaway Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, 1957, speaking on the Farm Day program at Ashland, Wis., I said:

This country is mortgaged to the hilt at this moment. The $275 billion Federal debt—that you and I owe—equals the full assessed value of all the land, all the buildings, all the mines, all the machinery, all the factories, all the livestock—everything of tangible value—in the United States of America.

The total of American gifts to foreign nations from July 1, 1940 through June 30, 1957, is $130,350,032,000. That is 48½ percent of the $275 billion national debt Senator BYRD mentions.

In 27 years, the American Government has taken away from the American people, by force of tax laws, 48½ percent of their total wealth for gifts to foreign nations. The American Government has given away to foreign governments 48½ percent of America.

The human mind cannot comprehend such a sum as $130,350,032,000.

But break it down a bit.

The estimated population of the United States at present is 170 million. Let us say that this 170 million averages out to about 43 million American families.

One hundred and thirty billion three hundred and fifty million thirty-two thousand dollars represents more than $3,000 for every family in America.

What do you suppose 43 million American families, each with $3,000 to spend, would buy and build in America? There are those who say:

"A Government spending program of $80 billion a year represents that much buying of goods and services from American business. Think how many jobs that creates and how it stimulates the economy. If you suddenly cut off the $80 billion a year that Government is pumping into the economy, you'd create a terrible depression."

Where does the Government get the $80 billion that it pumps into the economy? The Government does not create the money, it takes it away from the people.

If you keep the money from going to the Government, you don't take it out of our economy. You merely change pumpers, so to speak. You leave $80 billion a year in the hands of the people who earned it, the 170 million Americans who will do their own pumping into the economy.

I'd rather pump my own money into the economy, for things I want, than to have Washington politicians take my money away from me and spend it on things I consider harmful to me and my country.

If the $130,350,032,000 which has been taken away from the American people for foreign gifts had been spent by the American people for things they wanted, we would not have inflation today.

Government foreign aid is the primary cause of inflation. The Government pours vast sums of money into the economy, but takes goods out of the economy and sends them abroad. This means that there is more money in circulation than there are goods to buy; hence, the price of all goods and services goes up.

This is the main reason why the purchasing power of the American dollar is now about half what it was in 1940 when the great foreign giveaway began.

Nemzetor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, during the Hungarian uprising last fall, a Hungarian publication entitled "Nemzetor" was about to make its appearance when the Soviet Army return prevented this. It has, however, started publication in Munich, Germany, being edited and pub-

lished by a group of refugee students, workers, and intellectuals. It is of particular interest that this paper was originally founded by the great Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, during the 1848 uprising against the Austrian Empire. The Hungarian title was originally translated as National Guardsman and now signifies the Freedom Fighter.

Under unanimous consent, I include in my remarks three articles from the first issue of this new monthly entitled respectively "Nemzetor, 109 Years Ago and Now," Open Letter to the Peoples of Asia," and "To the Youth of the Free World":

NEMZETOR, 109 YEARS AGO AND NOW

It was with considerable emotion that we turned over the pages of the Nemzetor (national guardsman) of 109 years ago—a periodical that had been one of the leading lights of the Hungarian fight for freedom, in 1848. We succeeded in tracing it in the Austrian National Library and it is owing to the assistance that institution has lent us that we are able to present a photostatic copy of this national relic of ours to our readers.

This, we feel, is the most worthy way of celebrating semianniversary of last October's revolution. It was on the pages of that periodical that Kossuth, the legendary figure of the last century, disseminated his ideas. At that time we had to fight our battle for freedom against our western neighbor; today we invoke Kossuth's spirit against imperialism from the East.

No matter how bitter our disillusionment may be, it is our duty—the duty of the writers of the figh for freedom—to alert the world's public opinion while our people at home are being muzzled once more. Let no one forget that Hungary fought for the free world on the barricades: the world, if it supported us, would fight for its own good, not that of Hungary's.

A small people of barely 10 million took up arms against a barbarian colossus of 200 million, simply because we could stand no longer the way of life which Bolshevism imposed upon us, the horrors of which cannot be properly sensed from a distance. Only the small nations of Eastern and Central Europe, languishing under a cruel foreign yoke, are able to recognize clearly the danger of that way of life threatening the free world, too, should it not wake up from its hypnotic sleep.

Our cause was defeated 109 years ago, admittedly, but the longing for freedom never became extinct in the hearts of our grandfathers and our fathers who handed it down to us as their legacy. This is why, after 109 years, the Nemzetor was reborn. Like its predecessor, it aims at keeping alive the spirit of our fight for freedom—the spirit both of 1848 and 1956—and to help bring about, over and above the unity of all Hungarians—the free world's united front against bolsheviam. We regard it as our duty also to hold up to public view the treason committed against our nation and to cry out to an indifferent world that to remain silent is a sin in itself for the mute among the criminals becomes their accomplice.

We want to vigilantly watch over the interests of our people, the pure spirit of our revolution which could open up such incalculable visitas before all decent men, and we strive to protect our country against all powers that may wish to trample our independence underfoot. For we do no want to hear ever again of dictatorships of any kind; we aspire to live as free and independent Hungarians.

What we are now doing—to continue the battle with the weapons of the mind—is a hard, uphill job. But to us it is a sacred duty in which we are equally bound by the spirit of October, the Nemzetor of 109 years ago and the legacy of our 70,000 comrades in arms killed in action against the oppressor.

Our work is being done on the foundations laid down by Hungary's underground literature—the volumes of the Herb Garden, books handwritten in the prisons and forced-labor mines which for 12 years running had kept the hope of a better future alive.

On November 3, 1956, there assembled in Budapest a group of young writers, most of them students, in order to resume the work done by the old Nemzetor. Alas, Soviet armor prevented us from issuing our periodical at home. Some of us were killed, some have stayed behind, but some of us succeeded in escaping and those are now editing the new Nemzetor in the various capital cities of free Europe. Neither of us has been a journalist nor do we even now write for a living. While pursuing university we gather articles, written by our friends and ourselves, so that we may continue radiating the spirit which had in all truth actuated our fight for freedom. Our roots are still in the homeland; thence we draw mental food and strength.

We did not want to unleash a shooting war. It was only in last despair, at the sight of the mass murdering of our womenfolk and children, that we took up arms. Our demands, similarly to the 12 points of Hungary's previous fight for freedom, contained only reference to the most elementary human rights. Yet, once more, fire was opened on us in reply.

You who read our writings will be able to satisfy yourselves that all we have striven for was freedom, neutrality, and democracy. We did not wish to belong to any military bloc; we wanted to live in peace with all our neighbors. We desired to labar in order to make Kossuth's dream a reality—the friendship and brotherhood of the Danubian peoples—so that a bridge may be built between east and west to link up Europe with Asia. Who could have been better cut out for that role than we, Hungarians, who are equally alien to the Germanic and Slavonic peoples and who have been disappointed ad nauseum by both capitalism and communism.

We are pregnant with the world of tomorrow, and although we may not yet be able to boil down our thoughts to clear these we feel that we have something to say to mankind groping for a new order. On the dawn of a new renaissance, we announce to all human beings, equally disappointed by eastern and western materialism and the power of arms and money, the gospel of love recovered.

It is our principal desire that if, in another hundred's years time, our grandchildren lay their hands on our periodical yellow with age, they may be filled with the same sense of emotion and respectful affection with which we were reading the pages of our historic predecessor.

OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLES OF ASIA

From the borderland where East and West meet and where the Danube is taking a southward course, a son of a small nation is addressing himself to you. He is neither a politician nor a scholar; he is a simple worker, one of the millions who witnessed our women of Budapest peacefully singing and carrying flowers, and desirous only of freedom. He was one of the millions who witnessed our womenfolk being crushed by Soviet tanks, and yet he is not hating the Russian people, because he has seen Russian soldiers cry, throw their arms away and join our ranks. His glance has pierced below the surface, down to the heart of the people, which is suffering, like our people do, on the steppes, in the Ural mines or the Leningrad plants, similarly to the Hungarian, Polish or Bulgarian workers under the Kremlin's fearful yoke.

Here I am, one of the millions, who, with a rifle or a petrol flask in hand, dared to oppose the colossal power of which the world is so senselessly horrified. Can you not see the internal chasms that separate the Soviet regime from the people? The West has turned soft in its comfortable prosperity, and you—you are too remote to sense the deadly embrace from which there is no escaping.

Peoples of Asia, let our example be a lesson to you.

You, who have conquered freedom not so long ago, be twice mindful of the new colonizer who, under the guise of socialism, is paving the way of a new imperial conquest, more terrible than anything history has so far known. After what happened in Hungary, the Kremlin is no longer concerned with ideology, only with power. Its ideology has grown old, sooner than humans would in a lifetime, and those who turned against it were the young, precisely the ones on whom it counted most.

And our youth was by no means the only one to react that way. Look at Poland and the Ukraine, at the ruins of Kiev; listen to the complaints voiced by the students of Leningrad or Moscow University, and will understand the true nature of that process of disintegration which can no longer be held up by force of arms.

Try to understand the upheaval in the soul of that young Soviet officer who pulled the brakes of his armored car when our student boys and girls lay down before it as a living roadblock. He alighted from his car and you could see that, without understanding a word of our language, he understood what it was all about. He realized that the people he had to deal with were no Fascists and no imperialists either, as his leaders had told him, and that the Suez Canal was very much farther still. He suddenly knew that the big waterway he saw gleaming in the distance was the Danube and that the people he had to open fire on were the Hungarians, a people sorely oppressed. And then, that young Soviet officer turned the muzzle of his revolver against himself. The writer capable of describing the struggle that went on in that Soviet officer's mind would surely be the author of the greatest drama of our time.

Our people always had much in common with those countries that contrived to remain neutral and independent of the great power blocs. That had been our ambition, too. Yet, no matter how neutral you may be in the political sphere, morally you cannot remain neutral. For you are confronted with a police state which is talking peace and socialism while trampling underfoot even the most elementary human rights. Raise your voice in protest against the systematic extermination of a people through deportation, imprisonment, and hanging.

Raise your voice in protest against the impotence of the international agencies which put up with this unparalleled lawlessness.

Demand that our people be granted their sole desire—neutrality.

While the world is daydreaming about peaceful coexistence, Mr. Khrushchev has made it clear, in addressing Yugoslavia, that there can be no question of it. Soviet diplomacy reverting to Stalinism is threatening the smaller countries of Europe one after the other. Are they a danger, we wonder, to the existence of the Soviet Union? Such threats we heard 15 years ago from another dictator. It is up to the free world to unite and put a stop to these threats, too.

There has been no instance yet, in the history of communism, of any one country having slipped under its dictatorship by virtue of a coup de'etat, the force of arms, or the misuse of the parliamentary system, to have been able to free itself. We have tried the impossible and failed for East and West abandoned us alike. History alone will be

able to put in its true perspective the unexploited opportunity that could have saved the entire world.

What do we want of Asia?

Solidarity. Even the Bolsheviks' obstinacy must break to pieces if it came into collision with the obstinate will of thousand million human beings.

And why is it precisely you to whom we are addressing ourselves?

Similarly as, 800 years ago, our Friar Julian, and then again, in the last century, our great linguist, Sandor Korosi Csoma, set out to find the Magyar's geographical cradle and relatives in Asia, so do we stretch our hands towards you, across mountains and boundaries, in quest of the home of our souls. Help us, for we believe that the new world must be born out of you and ourselves, to bring forth brotherhood from suffering.

TO THE YOUTH OF THE FREE WORLD

Undergraduates, students in Europe and overseas, our greetings go out to you. These are the words of Hungary's freedom fighters and young intellectuals whom the news has reached that in your great cities you had sided with us. You, having understood the call of our times, had organized street processions for us and demonstrated against the oppressor.

You, whom the war and, thereafter, moral and material depravation had struck in the face, could not find your path in this world torn asunder. You had been searching for truth and ideals that you could look up to, but neither statesmen, nor leading socialites, nor movie stars and other celebrities were able to quench your thirst. You had been looking for the source of the flame that kept flaring in the depth of your souls and that neither hot jives nor sexual excesses could ever put out. You were in search of something still when, suddenly, on the fringes of Europe, the students and schoolchildren of a small nation lit a bonfire the gleam of which has reached you across mountain and frontier barrier.

How strong must she have been, that girl of 14, who from her dead brother's hand picked up the petrol flask in order to do her duty and die for us and for you. How strong must they have been who, while clad in rags and tatters, passed with equanimity by those shop windows in which, behind the shattered panes, there remained displayed costly garments, footwear, watches and jewelry, for no one found brazen enough to besmirch that pure revolution. How bright must have been the flame that despite all the false rumors it was able to kindle a fire in your hearts.

This flame is casting its light on the daybreak of a new Renaissance, not for Europe alone but for the whole world. Unlike the old one of the 13th century it does not herald wordly joy nor does it have recourse to classical antiquity for its ideals: our new Renaissance looked to the simplicity of the early Christian catacombs for a model so that, cutting out all foolish frills, it may build a new country on the banks of the old Danube between a West submerged in materialism and the East choking with tyranny.

The building of a new country does not depend on the right form of government alone; it is but a framework and if, within it, the human element remains unchanged there can be no salvation. We have to save ourselves first and thereby create that new man who will be born out of sufferings, destitution, and disillusionment to bring forth the best out of himself. With the pure love of the gospels let us turn to the great communities of mankind—help us.

The fact that you understood even our first outcry was our greatest encouragement; you, the youth of the world, were the first to volunteer as blooddonors, regardless of race or party, for our wounded. You were the ones to march in the streets of your towns and cities and break the ice of indifference. We call on you.

Do not allow the fire to go out.

Raise your voice for Soviet colonialism that is strangling our people to be withdrawn. Raise your voice in protest against executions, deportation and imprisonment.

HELP

Use your influence so that if your leaders are unable through their indifference or weakness to make their will respected by the force of arms, they should at least sever economic and cultural relations with the Soviets and boycott our puppet Government supported by alien bayonets alone.

The Soviets are armed to the teeth and yet you think that kind words could suffice. On the contrary, the aggressor's appetite will grow and it may be your turn after us: your womenfolk, freedom, prosperity and comfort, everything that makes life worth living is in peril.

Why still this fear of the multitude? It is the spirit, not numbers, that decides the outcome of a struggle; to this truth witness was borne by our teen-ager boys and girls who, armed with makeshift petrol flasks alone destroyed upwards from 800 Soviet tanks. Something has become shaken even in the Soviet soldiers minds. We saw it with our own eyes when, at Miskolc, 50 schoolboys and girls lay down of their own accord in the middle of the road to let themselves be crunched by the Soviet tanks. And the Russians, stopped dead in the street, alighted from their armored vehicles and joined our people. Disunity reigns at the higher echelons of their leadership. That is your luck. Therefore be you united for the freedom of peoples of the world is in deadly peril.

Youth of the free world, help us and do not let the flame go out.

HUNGARIAN STUDENTS.

The Crime Against Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 21, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

THE CRIME AGAINST HUNGARY

When the cruel suppression of the Hungarian revolt against communism was shocking the world last year, the pro-Soviet regime of Budapest steadfastly refused all pleas to admit a United Nations inspection team into the strife-torn country. The Western World, and large sections of the Eastern World, too, wanted to get a clear and honest picture of what was happening in Hungary, but officials in Budapest and Moscow, fearing the truth, blocked all attempts to send U. N. observers to the scene.

But a special investigatory committee was set up by the General Assembly. Unable to do its work in Hungary, it held hearings in Geneva, Rome, Vienna, London, and New York. It conducted its operations by interviewing refugees from Hungary—more than 100 of them gave testimony—and by delving into recent Hungarian history and firsthand reports of the events of last October and November.

Now the report to the General Assembly is ready—a 301-page document that constitutes probably the most biting and bitter denunciation that any U. N. member has ever undergone at the hands of its peers. The report represents the unanimous finding of five nations which range from prowestern to neutralist—Australia, Denmark, Uruguay, Tunisia, and Ceylon. By no stretch of the imagination can it be called a partisan or biased document. Rather does it represent the finding of the world's conscience in the wake of one of the most vicious crimes of modern times.

What does the committee find? It finds that the revolt of the Hungarian people was a popular uprising instigated not from the outside, as the Communists allege, but by the people's effort to redress longstanding grievances. It finds that the revolt was supressed not by the legitimate Hungarian authorities but by the armed intervention of Russian troops. It estimates the strength of Soviet forces rushed into Hungary at from 75,000 to 200,000 men with 1,600 to 4,000 tanks. Many of these soldiers were Mongol and Tartar forces from central Asia who had been told they were being sent to Egypt to do battle against Anglo-French imperialists. Brutality, ruthlessness, and torture were the weapons of these foreign forces, and the shackles of Communist control removed briefly by the insurrectionists are now being reimposed step by step.

The Commission points out, in the clearest and strongest possible language: "It is incontrovertible that the Nagy government, whose legality under the Hungarian constitution, until it was deposed, cannot be contested, protested against the entry and the use of Soviet forces on Hungarian territory. * * * It is no less incontrovertible that the Nagy government was overthrown by force. Its successor assumed power as the result of military aid by a foreign state." That is to say, the Soviet Union, by the use of naked force, imposed a puppet regime upon a people desperately battling for independence, in order that it could maintain its grip over Hungary, and keep its garrisons on Hungarian soil.

These are the methods by which the Communists succeeded in reestablishing a satellite regime which the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people had acted to cast off at the risk of their lives and possessions. Few documents of our time are more moving in their depiction of human suffering or more convincing in establishing the guilt of the responsible parties. If the Kadar regime or its Kremlin masters have any human feelings left, surely they must flinch before the accusing fingers pointed at them in this devastating and damning report.

But the question remains, what can the free world or the United Nations do about it? The U. N. Commission plainly asserts the right of the world organization to take countermeasures. "A massive armed intervention by one power on the territory of another," concludes the report, "with the avowed intention of interfering with the internal affairs of the country must, by the Soviet's own definition of aggression, be a matter of international concern."

To translate that concern into action now becomes the business of the U. N. The Kadar regime, the report finds, has little support within Hungary; free elections would make short work of it. Ambassador Lodge has called a meeting of the 24 nations which sponsored the Hungarian resolution to plan for action at next September's General Assembly session, when the foreign ministers of the leading powers will be present. The U. N. must make it clear that it does not intend to let the Hungarian matter rest, that it will not accept the Kremlin's orders as the final word on this brave nation's fate.

A Distinguished Member of the American Bar Looks at the Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest and most noble men I have ever had the pleasure of knowing is Hon. S. P. Gaillard, of Mobile, Ala. On March 26 of this year he celebrated his 101st birthday. He is probably the oldest living active member of the American Bar. Mr. Gaillard well remembers the day his father went off to serve the South in its battle for principle, and when the retreating southern army, tattered, shoeless, and starving, passed before his home in Monroe County, Ala. Mr. Gaillard well remembers the infamous Reconstruction Days when an army of carpetbaggers descended on the South—the poverty and humiliation which he and his family suffered during that period. Mr. Gaillard is a deeply religious man and lives an ideal Christian life. He has been an elder in the Presbyterian Church for over 50 years and even in his 102d year attends Sunday school regularly. I am giving you the background of this great man in order that you may know of his sense of fairness and justice. I recently received a letter from him written in longhand, in which he expressed deep alarm concerning the effect on the people of the South should this civil-rights bill become law. He pictures a hostile Special Assistant Attorney General in charge of the enforcement of the act with a horde of NAACP sponsored investigators invading the South with a condition resulting which would be even worse than the Reconstruction Era. I have the highest regard and respect for my esteemed friend's opinion especially so since he speaks with the voice of experience.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the letter from Mr. Gaillard.

Hon. FRANK W. BOYKIN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRANK: Somehow or other, the Republican administration and other Negro vote-seeking politicians do not seem to agree with you that everything is made for love, and you will be present soon, where they will seek to give our Nation an all but fatal blow by destroying it as a Democracy, and if they should finally succeed, the humiliation to the white race may be greater than in reconstruction, Negro carpetbagger days. We will be handicapped by unconstitutional Supreme Court laws made by a once exalted Court having the honor and respect of the world, while a hostile Attorney General and a Commission dominated by the NAACP invade and break down our private, social and family lives, and also resulting in the lowering of the national standard of civilization. But you may force a horse to the watering trough, but if he is not thirsty you cannot make him drink.

I have lived a life of friendship, courtesy, justice, as a lawyer, public official because I naturally want to do so to my fellow citizens, but there's a sphere in one's life that no one has a right of entry, and I for one will protect that sphere with all the ability I possess. It is not self-pride, but pride of race like pride of our Nation. And I am proud of my race and Nation and both are justified ever since the Almighty created (1) nations (Genesis 10–25) and races and racial differences, and then scattering (separating and segregating) them some five or six thousand years ago, (Genesis 11). They were once one race—verse 1—but divided. Read and consider what was done and has been zealously maintained until some modernists seem to think a mistake was then made that they should correct.

As ever, your friend,
S. P. GAILLARD.

Washington State Grange Leads in Resource Development Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leaye to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial column of Wilfred Woods, publisher of the Wenatchee, Wash., World, of June 17, 1957, describing the leadership of the Washington State Grange in the development of the water and power resources of the State:

This week the State Grange is holding its annual convention in Spokane. The Grange has long been the dominant farm organization in the State. It has had leaders of national stature, men like the late Albert Goss, Henry Carstensen, and A. Lars Nelson, the present State master.

The State and region owe much to that leadership. Our resource development program was almost solely dependent upon this group during many of the early years.

Without the Grange, it is doubtful whether the Columbia Basin project and Grand Coulee Dam would ever have been started.

Without the Grange, this county would not be building Rocky Reach Dam, nor would it have the Alcoa plant, nor Rock Island and Chelan Dams.

For it was Grangers who initiated the public utility district law that passed the legislature in the early 1930's.

We all know what the impact of the public utility districts has been in this State. Farms now have electricity that were not served, counties are now developing their own hydroelectric resources, low-cost power is a reality under the control of the people of every county that has a PUD.

Across the State the program is growing. Grant County and Chelan County have the largest projects under construction. Snohomish County has just announced a $40 million project for the Sultan Basin. Cowlitz County PUD has issued a $20 million bond issue to build a project on the Lewis River. Pend Oreille County has built a dam.

This is a sign of healthy economic growth.

These projects are putting the control of water resources in the various counties where they belong—in the hands of the people.

They are proving to our State that county control of power can be just as beneficial to the public as the great city light systems that have long operated in Seattle and Tacoma.

Private business never had a better break in this county than when the Alcoa plant was built here.

Private business will continue to expand here as we see the development of Rocky Reach Dam come into full swing.

We salute the Grange this week as the best friend free enterprise ever had in our State.

Increase in REA Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, I have been studying with great concern the President's proposal to increase interest rates on REA and other Government loans.

New legislation which has recently been sent from the Bureau of the Budget to the House Committee on Ways and Means calls for the rate of interest to be set on the average yield on marketable Government securities which, in my mind, is worse than setting it on the average interest rates. President Eisenhower's plans for raising interest rates in the form of a recommended bill which was sent to the Congress recently would wipe out all legal ceilings and let the administration set interest rates on all Government loans as high as they want.

The proposed bill, sent from the Bureau of the Budget, provides that the interest rate shall be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and takes into consideration the current average market yields of outstanding marketable obligations of the United States having maturities comparable to the loans made to the Department or Agency. The interest rate on any loans hereafter made by any department or agency shall not be less than the interest rate paid by the Treasury on its borrowings, if borrowed from the Treasury at the time the interest rate on the loan is fixed.

For example, a 3-percent interest rate maturing bond issued by the Federal Government now, for maturity in 40 years, sold for 88 cents on the dollar recently. Thus the market yield is about 3½ percent on the $88 for which such a bond can now be bought. So in order to figure the market yield you ignore the 3-percent rate printed on the bond and look at what the market is paying on the bond. The lower the price goes the higher the rate of interest.

There is added to the above increased interest rate an additional amount deemed adequate to cover administrative expenses and probable losses to the extent consistent with the purposes of the loan program. The Secretary of the Treasury will set the interest rate insofar as it will be consistent with the loan program. This is a very flexible arrangement. In the case of REA they have estimated that this would be one-half of 1 percent on the loan at the present time. From all indications it is reasonable to expect that this new interest rate would double the interest cost on REA loans. In fact it could go higher if inflation continues. The financial page of the New

York Times recently carried an article from the financial lenders working for even higher interest rates.

The money markets fixed interest rates at the highest point since the 1933 bank holiday.

The Rural Electrification Administration of the Department of Agriculture today furnished me the following figures by telephone:

REA applications for loans pending as of June 20, 1957

United States total electric loans, 106	$177,000,000
United States telephone loans, 160	64,000,000
Kansas total electric loans, 2	1,400,000
Kansas total telephone loans, 13	2,700,000

Just consider the added interest cost on these pending REA applications if this bill is passed. With this proposed increase in interest rates think what it would mean to my great State of Kansas and the Nation as well.

I am deeply concerned about the far-reaching implications of this proposed legislation. In fact, it prompted me to wire the President and make a plea for consideration to protect Mr. and Mrs. Rural America.

JUNE 19, 1957.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.:

Legislation has recently been introduced in Congress to increase interest rates on future loans for REA and similar projects. Hundreds of rural and urban families of my district and America would not have rural electrification or telephone communications today if it had not been for this law. Cheap interest rates have made these necessities available to many of us. This is only a means of starting a program to increase interest rates for many Americans. I am opposed to any increase in interest rates on these loans or any similar future loans. I hope that you see fit to protect Mr. and Mrs. Rural America.

High Court's Freeing of Reds Gives Americans New Shock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn., on June 18, 1957.

This editorial, concerning the Supreme Court's recent decision ordering freedom for 5 and new trials for 9 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, reflects the views of many loyal Americans, and I commend it to your attention. The editorial follows:

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?—HIGH COURT'S FREEING OF REDS GIVES AMERICANS NEW SHOCK

The Nation, already confused, to say the least, by successive precedent-shattering Supreme Court decisions, received another shock Monday when the High Tribunal ordered outright freedom for 5 and new trials for 9 second-string Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act.

The Smith Act, which makes a felony of advocating and teaching the forcible overthrow of the Government, was upheld by the Court in 1950 when it sustained the conviction of 11 topflight Communists in New York on, what experts agree, was much the same evidence as convinced a jury of the guilt of the 14 now given a new lease on subversive life.

Under these circumstances, if the American layman is confused it cannot be blithely attributed to his ignorance of technical law.

The tribunal's decision technically was 4 to 3 (with Justices Brennan and Whittaker abstaining), but Justices Black and Douglas dissented only to the extent that they would have freed all 14 defendants. The majority of six based their opinions in the main on two points:

1. That the trial judge in instructing the jury failed to "distinguish between advocacy of forcible overthrow as an abstract doctrine and advocacy of action to that end" and

2. That the evidence against the five ordered freed was so "clearly insufficient that their acquittal should be ordered."

These may be said to be procedural and technical points that set this decision apart from the earlier case of the 11 New York Communists.

In the first instance, however, it was obviously the intent of Congress (a point which seems to concern the present Supreme Court little, if any) in adopting the Smith Act to preclude subversive action. If a bomb must be tossed to prove violent intent then the Smith Act is a hollow mockery.

Consider the serious nature of the comment of Representative HOWARD W. SMITH (Democrat, Virginia), the bill's author: "I do not recall any case decided by the present court that the Communists have lost."

On the second point, Justice Tom Clark, Attorney General under President Harry S. Truman and the only all-out dissenter in this case, maintained the evidence was virtually the same as in the earlier 1950 Communist conviction. Involved, of course, is opinion which may differ between any group of men, on any subject. But far beyond mere opinion, Justice Clark's dissent cites a precedent created by the decision which should cause any American once again to question the course the Court has charted.

"In any event," Clark wrote, "this Court should not acquit anyone here. In its long history I find no case in which an acquittal has been ordered by this Court solely on the facts. It is somewhat late to start in now usurping the function of the jury, especially when new trials are to be held covering the same charges."

It has not been too often that The Banner has found itself in agreement with Justice Tom Clark. However, the wisdom of his dissenting observation in the California Communists' case should be clear to all, whatever their political proclivities.

Justice Clark also was the lone dissenter in a confluent decision of the Court, which acquitted labor leader John T. Watkins of contempt of Congress. Watkins had been convicted of refusing to reveal names of former Red associates in testimony before a House Subcommittee on Un-American Activities. Another blow to Congress' efforts to crack down on Communist infiltration.

Is Justice Clark less liberal than his constituents had reason to believe when he was appointed by Harry Truman to the Nation's highest bench? Or have his fellow jurists veered so sharply as to leave him stranded at the left turn?

If, as charged by Senator S. J. ERVIN, of North Carolina, the Court has "substituted personal notions for the law of the land," Americans deeply concerned over the concept of the three divisions in constitutional Government may well wonder:

"Where do we go from here?"

Status of Forces Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very thought-provoking letter from a former GI, Mr. Vernon A. Lawson, of Dayton, Ohio, who protests the decision to surrender Army Specialist William Girard to Japanese court jurisdiction.

The letter follows:

DAYTON, OHIO, *June 6, 1957.*

HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHENCK: I am writing this letter to express my sentiments about the case of Army Sp3c. William S. Girard.

First, I do not believe that an American serviceman should be subject to the judicial power of a foreign government. Considering the uproar in Japan over the current H-bomb tests, etc., how can this man be guaranteed a fair trial? How do we as American citizens know what constitutes a fair Japanese trial?

From my own military experience I know just what guard duty is and the responsibility that accompanies this duty. Apparently from newspaper reports GI Girard was on guard duty on an American gunnery range, protecting a piece of military equipment from vandalism, etc. Having some knowledge of Army procedure in matters of this sort, I would say that if equipment charged to you disappeared, so would your meager military pay. It completely escapes me as to why these people are allowed to enter a gunnery range to salvage expended cartridges. The Army says GI Girard was not authorized to discharge his weapon. Why in the name of God was an American soldier on a gunnery range guarding American Army equipment with a rifle not authorized to discharge his weapon to carry out his assigned task? I cannot believe that an American soldier could be armed and in the "field" and yet not be on "duty," can you?

Because of our current foreign policy our Government may be losing prestige in the Far East. I am no foreign policy expert but I hope I am an expert on individual rights guaranteed an American citizen under the Constitution of the United States of America. These rights extend from birth to death. Certain rights are altered slightly when an American assumes his 6-year military obligation. However, his right to a fair trial can never be compromised if our country is to maintain respect in the eyes of foreign powers. What right do we have to force our young manhood into service, ship them thousands of miles from home, and then leave them alone and unprotected to the judicial power of countries where they are strangers and where resentment and communistic propaganda run high against them. No; we can never compromise 1 single American citizen's right to appease any foreign power, and especially that of a former enemy who may be very tired of the antics of young Americans 6,000 miles from home. No; we can never do that. It will only succeed in shaking the confidence of the American people in the wisdom of its executive powers and alienating the affections of the American people for the Japanese.

Undoubtedly, GI Girard deserves an Army court-martial, guaranteed him by our Government.

If this man is given a sentence in a Japanese court to be served in a Japanese prison, or even brought to trial by a Japanese court, the crime of this inhuman violation of constitutional rights lies with you and I feel we are not doing our duty as citizens.

Since you know as well as I the fundamental rights of American servicemen, I wish you would completely reexamine the status-of-forces agreements which pose a threat to these rights.

I hope you will try to do everything in the power granted to you by the people you represent to see that American justice is brought to an American serviceman serving his country in a foreign land. If necessary, I will pledge you a petition signed by many, many more citizens who share my feelings on the subject of the status-of-forces agreements and how it will affect GI Girard.

Respectfully yours,

VERNON A. LAWSON.

The American Merchant Marine Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an address delivered by my good friend, Mr. William H. Trauth, manager of the Washington office of the Alcoa Steamship Co., before the 44th convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington on May 18, 1957.

Bill Trauth opened the Alcoa Steamship Co.'s first steamship office in the Middle West at Chicago in 1934 and in 1936 was appointed traffic manager, gulf services, Aluminum Line, with headquarters in New Orleans; in 1945 he was promoted to gulf manager, Alcoa Steamship Co., Inc., at New Orleans; in 1947 he was promoted to southern division manager of Alcoa Steamship Co. at New Orleans, from which position in 1954 he was appointed to his present position as manager of the Washington office of Alcoa.

Prior to his association with the steamship business, Bill Trauth was employed by the Louisville & Nashville Railroad at New Orleans. From 1921 to 1932 he was employed in various departments of the New Orleans and South American Steamship Co.—Grace Line—and was promoted to assistant traffic manager in charge of the St. Louis office in 1928. In 1929 he was transferred back to New Orleans and promoted to traffic manager in charge of solicitation for NOSA which company also acted as general agent for the Aluminum Line from 1922 through 1928. In 1931 he was promoted to assistant to general traffic manager of the Grace Steamship Line in New York. In 1934 he joined Alcoa at New York.

One can readily see with this background that Bill Trauth knows the steamship business and the problems of operation, traffic, sales, and so forth.

He has taken an active part in civic affairs in every city in which he has been stationed. He is a life member of the executive committee, International House in New Orleans and a life member of the Propellor Club in the port of New Orleans, a member of the Propellor Club in the port of Washington, and a life member of Oecan Freight Agents Association of Chicago. He is also a member of the Traffic Club of Washington and New Orleans; the Rotary Club of Washington; the Washington Board of Trade, the National Defense Transportation Association of Washington and various social organizations.

I consider Bill Trauth an outstanding American who is unusually well versed in our Nation's maritime affairs. His address follows:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE PROGRAM

(Address by William H. Trauth, manager, Washington office, Alcoa Steamship Co., before the 44th convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C., May 18, 1957)

The subject assigned me today is the American Merchant Marine Program. This calls for some preliminary account of the merchant marine and its present status before we reach the question of program at all.

By American merchant marine we mean, as a rule, oceangoing ships of 1,000 gross tons or more, in either coastal or foreign trade, and, in the later case, under United States registry only. Employing this definition, our merchant marine, on March 1, numbered 1,052 vessels, with an aggregate deadweight capacity of 13.4 million tons. These included 339 tankers of 5.8 million deadweight and 713 dry cargo and passenger ships of 7.6 million. The passenger fleet, as such, decimated by war and never adequately replaced, hardly deserves separate statistical consideration. Even though it has several outstanding liners, including the record-holding *United States*, it is only 41 ships strong at this moment, with 5 others under construction.

It must be admitted at the outset that this is not an adequate merchant marine, whether it be viewed in the light of history, of present national economic needs or of future security requirements. Only a little over 5 years ago we had 250 more merchantmen—or, put another way, 2 million more tons of shipping—under our flag. Although we are the world's largest trading country, we are far from having the largest carrying facilities. We have only about two-fifths as many ships as the United Kingdom, and only about three-fifths as much tonnage. Even Norway is now running us a close race in number of hulls, if not yet in tonnage.

But the problem is not one only of the floating facility itself. We must also deal with equipment and harbor navigation modernization. Today, major tanker-ore ship operators have almost $2 billion invested in new combination supertankers and ore carriers now afloat or under construction. The full value of this new ship tonnage to the national economy is not now being realized under the loading handicaps imposed by those channels of inadequate depth and width. It seems to us in the shipping industry imperative that direct and immediate action should be taken to complete these major loading and unloading port projects within the earliest practicable time.

The benefits from the use of the larger bulk carriers in the completed deep water ports would be far-reaching since their employment at full capacity would result in corresponding savings in transportation costs. There is no type of harbor improvement from which the benefits are more promptly realized and none in which the benefits are as great as that involving the movement of crude oil, ore, and other bulk commodities from foreign sources.

We also face the very relevant problem of the necessity for improved terminals to handle roll-on roll-off type tonnage, and especially much consideration and thought must be given to improved terminal facilities to handle the increased truck and trailer import-export traffic.

The merchant shipping industry is always one of the first to be called upon by the Government for vessels and men in time of war or emergency. It is probably the sole industry of major importance which, under 20th century military concepts, is fully integrated into the national striking forces in time of conflict. Prominent national leaders have testified to its importance in this role. Adm. D. V. Gallery has said that "the backbone of seapower is not the battleship or aircraft carrier but the lowly, peaceful merchant ship." President Eisenhower is credited with giving the merchant marine one of its proudest titles: "Fourth Arm of National Defense." All this being so, it is significant that virtually every recent evaluation by defense authorities has shown our merchant fleet to be seriously substandard, from a defense viewpoint.

Why do such conditions exist in a time of general prosperity and worldwide shipping activity? Partly for historical reasons stemming, to a considerable extent, from the war which ended more than a decade ago. Partly for economic reasons, of much longer standing, which operate in some degree against most modern American industry, but with crushing weight against ocean shipping. As I have said, the war wiped out much of our passenger fleet, and because of high construction and labor costs, as well as shifting travel patterns, we have never replaced it. The war virtually destroyed our domestic steamship trades as well, trades which were an essential balance wheel of the national transportation system and the first segment of the merchant marine to be drawn upon in every war. Yet there has been a singular public and governmental apathy toward any attempt to revive these vital services.

American operators in foreign trade are and have long been confronted with a different but no less severe handicap, the differential between their costs and those of their foreign competitors. Conservatively estimated, American ships cost twice as much to build and three times as much to operate as ships of the next-lower flag in the cost scale. A reliable survey made less than 3 years ago found that American seagoing wages were 3 to 8 times as high as foreign. There is, of course, some element of this same differential concealed in the cost structure of any American industry. But not often is a shoreside industry brought into direct commercial collision with foreign competitors. When it is it can take at least partial refuge behind protective tariffs, tax writeoffs, or domestic trade patterns. The ship operator has little or none of this protection. In the absence of Government assistance he must survive or fail strictly on the basis of his ability to absorb enormous disadvantages.

In any discussion of the merchant marine program, it is necessary to understand first of all the national policy which has been adopted and frequently reaffirmed by Congress, a policy which is embodied in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 and its numerous amendments. Basically and most importantly, this act sets up two types of so-called subsidies—or, more properly, parity-payment plans—to encourage shipbuilding and operation under the American flag and to insure to the Nation the benefits of an active and adequate merchant marine.

Both construction and operating subsidies are designed to permit the builders and owners of American ships to compete on something like level terms with their opposite

numbers abroad, despite the inherent cost advantages enjoyed by the latter. To receive either type of assistance, a citizen must bind himself to contractual obligations beneficial to the United States. In the case of construction, he must build to specifications approved by both the Commerce and the Defense Departments, and may not sell or transfer his ship without Government permission. In the case of operation, he must commit himself to a specified number of voyages annually on a specified essential foreign trade route and, if he makes more than a stated profit, to a proportionate refund of his subsidy, conceivably up to the entire amount he had received.

Congress has recently granted two other essential forms of assistance, of particular benefit to shipowners who do not qualify for subsidies. These are the law which reserves to American-registered ships 50 percent of all Government-sponsored cargoes, and the amendment authorizing the Maritime Administrator to insure ship-construction mortgages for their full value.

The current program of the private shipping industry has two goals: To replace and upgrade our merchant fleet and to persuade American industry and the American people to make fuller use of its facilities than they are now doing. As to the first, a large ship-construction program is now underway. On May 1, the Nation's shipyards had 100 ships of 3,636,501 deadweight tons under construction or on order—roughly 10 times as much tonnage as was building at the depth of the postwar depression 2 years ago. As yet, however, much remains to be done in the way of diversification. More than 96 percent of this new tonnage represents tankers. While Suez proved that new and improved ships of this type were needed, there is an even more urgent demand for dry-cargo ships, not one of which has been privately constructed for American-flag operation since the close of the wartime building program.

Many of our principal cargo lines have recently entered into large-scale fleet-replacement agreements with the Maritime Administration. It is hoped that these can be speedily implemented, as more than 90 percent of our oceangoing freighter fleet is already within 8 years of obsolescence and, consequently, at a serious disadvantage in meeting the competition of newly constructed foreign tonnage. Some delay is inevitable as a result of the recent congressional decision to eliminate virtually all shipbuilding funds from the new budget, since the funds recommended included the Government's contribution to the cost of several new dry-cargo ships as well as the already-overdue replacement for the passenger liner *America*. No one would disagree that governmental economy is of crucial importance at this time; but it should be remembered that the obstacles to unassisted private construction of American ships are just as great as they ever were, and that the Nation's need for such ships is increasing, not diminishing.

The second objective of our program is even more important than the first. Unless Americans use their ships, there is little point in making them the best in the world. American exporters and importers today are doing the greatest business in history. But how much of this huge volume of cargo is moving across the sea in American bottoms?

Let's look at it over a 10-year period. In 1946, under abnormal postwar conditions, 70 percent of exports and imports, totaling 5,400,000 long tons per month, were being shipped under the United States flag. Three years later our total foreign trade stood at the same level, but our ships were carrying only 40 percent of it. Three years later still, in 1952, our export-import volume had risen to 7,700,000 tons per month, of which we are carrying only 35 percent. In 1955 we carried less than one-fourth of a monthly volume of 9,300,000 tons. I have not yet seen full figures for 1956, but up to the last month for which the reports are in American-flag ships transported just 22 percent of our combined exports and imports.

This shrinkage is not a new disease. It happened between the Civil War and the First World War, when our American-flag carryings got down to 9 percent in the 1910–12 period. It happened again between the World Wars. Now, apparently, we are on our way down to the cellar again.

We of the shipping industry are striving to get at the causes of this recurrent disease and eradicate them. It is a matter of life and death to us—and of very serious implications for the long-term health of American commerce as a whole. In more ways than one, we ourselves may have been at fault; and we are determined to correct those deficiencies, at least.

But there is more to it. Historically, we Americans have never shown the interest that any other maritime nation does in the flag under which its commerce moves. Considering only those cases in which routing-control is possible, we have never been prone to exercise such control as a German or Norwegian or Japanese wuld be. Why?

Partly, perhaps, because of a misconception, especially prevalent in inland areas, that, because American costs are higher than foreign, so are American rates. On the contrary, they are in most cases identical. Marked interflag discrepancies occur only in the tramp services—and even there the advantage is by no means always with the user of foreign ships. Witness the behavior of tramp rates in the North Atlantic coal trade during a part of the past year. In 8 out of 18 instances where direct comparison was possible, the American was below or on a par with the foreign rate, suggesting that it was the presence of American tramps in the trade which was holding foreign rates down.

Secondly, too few Americans realize the high level of service they assure themselves by employing their own ships. Our standards of construction and safety are recognized as the world's highest. Many lines afford shippers special consultant service on market conditions abroad, export packaging, and handling. American steamship agents abroad appreciate American standards and are naturally more inclined to consult the interests of American shippers than are other nationals.

A third advantage of supporting our own steamship services, too rarely considered when business is good and times are normal, is that such support is an insurance premium to guarantee regular and frequent service at all times in the future. The old saw that we don't need American ships because foreign vessels will always be available has been exploded time and again. When the outbreak of World War I immobilized our entire export machinery, when the general strike swept British tonnage from the seas, when the Suez Canal was slammed shut, we discovered to our sorrow what it was to need American ships. Yet we never seem to learn that if we don't want them to be missing in time of need, we must use them at other times.

Finally, too many of us forget too often that by not employing American merchant ships in peacetime, we encourage dry rot in what I have already shown to be an indispensable branch of our Defense Establishment. If self-preservation is as important a law as it is said to be, then one of its principal clauses dictates the use of our merchant fleet in order to have a merchant fleet.

Clarifications of these misconceptions, reminders to the business community of these too-often-forgotten facts, stirring ourselves out of our own lethargy and our fellow citizens out of their apathy toward American shipping—these are, to me, the cardinal objectives of our merchant marine program. If we can attain them, National Maritime Day, which we celebrate next Wednesday, will be doubly significant. For it will then symbolize not only the memorable achievements of our merchant marine in the past, but the even greater and more creative contribution which it can make in the future.

I would be quite remiss if I did not take this opportunity to pay tribute to the members of the Rivers and Harbors Congress, and especially those connected with its Washington office who are working so closely with our American Merchant Marine Institute officials here in Washington on behalf of our improved rivers and harbors in this great Nation of ours.

Hon. Aime J. Forand, of Rhode Island

SPEECH

OF

HON. GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it was good to note the standing ovation accorded the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FORAND] when he yielded the gavel to Speaker RAYBURN last Tuesday after presiding for 10 days over the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union during debate on the civil-rights bill. It was generally agreed that he had performed with ability, finesse, and impartiality.

It was my good fortune first to become acquainted with Mr. FORAND when he was named to Capitol Hill as a congressional secretary in 1929. He had been a successful newspaperman in his native State, had served in his State's legislature, and had been with our troops in France during World War I. Later he was first elected to Congress in November 1946, and he has gained valuable seniority in his assignment on the House Ways and Means Committee. He is a real gentleman and worthy Congressman.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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Appendix

Address by Hon. Ralph W. Yarborough, of Texas, Before Democracy Club of Galveston County, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address I delivered in my home State at the annual banquet of the Democracy Club of Galveston County, Texas City, Tex., on Saturday, June 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY SENATOR RALPH W. YARBOROUGH AT DINNER MEETING OF DEMOCRACY CLUB OF GALVESTON COUNTY AT TEXAS CITY, TEX., JUNE 15, 1957

Mr. President, friends, fellow Democrats, fellow Americans, we are overwhelmed by the generosity of your greeting; your advance reservations were beyond aything we ever experienced in Galveston County before.

Mrs. Yarborough and I are very grateful for this privilege of visting with you, because it is both encouragement and an inspiration to see such a strong Democratic organization as yours—one with a continuing existence, not dependent upon whether the party is in power or out of power. Your Democracy Club, organized in 1951, was not organized for any one candidate or for any one year or any one campaign. It was organized to serve the cause of democracy and it has done a noble job of it.

We are personally grateful to you, because you have supported us in several hard campaigns; you gave us a 4,000-vote majority in Galveston County in the close governor's race in 1956, the largest lead we had in any single Texas county, and you gave us a long lead in the Senate race. God bless you all for it.

It is good to be back in Texas, and to celebrate with you the growing resurgence of the Democratic Party as the party of the people. We in Texas have a right to be proud of that resurgence, because it largely originated here, and, from the plains and valleys of Texas, this resurgence is spreading over the Nation. This resurgence should be sparked by an all-out war of righteous indignation against the studied financial injustices and inequities at home, and the fumbling foreign policy abroad, of this administration.

You here in Galveston County have had and are having a major role in this Democratic resurgence. For a quarter of a century Walter Hall has been demanding a more vigorous democracy for all the people; he has been an outspoken champion of the people's rights in precinct, county, State, and National conventions and in primary and general elections. You know I made my services available to the people for governor several times, in a quiet sort of a way, not loud enough for people to hear the offer, but here in Walter Hall, a business statesman of the first rank, you have a man who ought to be governor of Texas.

You will note from your program that I am right between Walter Hall and Rev. Harry Burch. That's where I came in, 5 years ago. When I announced for governor the first time May 1, 1952, they both came to my aid, the first two people in Galveston County to aid and encourage me in that race and they have aided me ever since, not just in Galveston County, but statewide.

Here I want to pay tribute to one of the outstanding Democratic Congressmen of the Nation, CLARK THOMPSON of Galveston. He and his gracious wife, Libby, gave a dinner in Washington in our honor; and showed us innumerable other courtesies. We shall never forget their kindnesses. And CLARK THOMPSON is a stanch oak in the Congress, a credit not only to this district, but to Texas and the Nation.

It is good to be in a Congress with Democratic majorities, with the Democratic leadership in both Houses in the hands of capable Texans. Speaker SAM RAYBURN is my friend; he has supported me in 4 campaigns in 5 years. His counsel is sought by all Democrats in Washington and is respected by all Republicans.

The distinguished Senate majority leader, LYNDON JOHNSON, and Mrs. Johnson gave a lunch in our honor in Washington and Senator Johnson led the Democratic Steering Committee in placing me on three important senatorial committees. Our relationship was never more cordial.

Turning from these pleasant thoughts to the tasks before us, we realize that we need a speeded-up Democratic drive over the Nation, for the benefit of the people of Texas, of America, and of the world.

With the dollar worshipers at present at an alltime high point of power in our Government, similar to the days of Harding and Coolidge, it is going to take resolute men and women to turn this Nation back to the idealism of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. We need a modern Jeremiah in every State and in every city in the Nation. More than that, we need at least another hundred Democracy Clubs in Texas, like this Galveston County Democracy Club. You have the leadership and the dedication here.

What has this cult of the dollar worshipers who furnish all the high priests of this Republican administration done to the American people in the last 4 years?

This Republican administration has given public utility power companies a large share of the 778 millions of dollars in tax write-offs awarded—which is more than $10 a person from every wage earner in America, taken out of the pocekts of American wage earners by the United States Government, and given as an unearned increment to big public utility power companies.

The administration's high-interest rate and hard-money policy is lifting between 10 billion and 15 billion more dollars each year out of the pockets of Americans in increased interest rates on public and private debts, than were charged as interest on the same debts in 1952, the last year of Democratic rule. It takes that extra sum out of consumer pockets and lays it on the altar of the big money in increased interest. Such a policy long continued, eats up purchasing power and will inevitably slow down consumption of consumer goods.

There may be a few here tonight old enough to remember 1929. If you will travel away from the big cities and this golden Gulf Coast area, you will find that stagnation of trade is already here in the little cities and the county seat towns of Texas.

The most vicious dollar cult practice of this administration is found in the so-called discount practice in the home-building industry. The discount rate varies in homebuilding from 5 percent to 10 percent out over the country. Last spring in Texas, it ran about 7 percent. Here is the way it works: A homebuilder goes to a mortgage company to borrow $10,000 to build a home. He signs notes for $10,000. With a discount date of 7 percent, he only gets in cash $9,300. The notes are paid off, all $10,000, usually over a period of 25 years at a rate of 5 percent interest on $10,000. When the interest rate is computed, it will be found that it averages out over 15 percent per year on the money actually advanced by the money lenders, and those loans are guaranteed by the United States Government. Just this week we are advised that the discount rate in San Antonio is running as high as 13 percent. I read here a telegram dated June 12, 1957, from Mr. Bennett, president of the Bennett Lumber Co. of San Antonio, saying the discount rate in San Antonio is now 13 percent on VA ad FHA loans and that this ruinous discount rate has stagnated trade and ended homebuilding in San Antonio.

That usurious interest collected does not usually go to the local mortgage company that lend the money; the local company gets only about 1 percent brokerage fee; the excess take, the discount, goes into the prime money markets of the country as a part of the unearned increment the big financial interests are collecting. It's part of their reward for being clever enough to let the American people have the kind of government the Madison Avenue hucksters sell for the Republican Party and its allies.

Last week we voted in the Senate to reduce the down payment requirement on FHA-insured loans to 3 percent on the first $9,000, and 10 percent on the next $7,000. I advocated that reduction in my campaign, and voted for it in the Senate. If the House of Representatives agrees with the Senate, this will end the depression in home building if, and only if, we end the ruinous discount rate. I voted for the Gore amendment to the housing bill which would have outlawed these ruinous discounts. Unfortunately, the Gore amendment lost.

The Republicans tried to increase the interest rates on loans for student dormitories at colleges, thus raising room rent and making it more expensive for students to go to college. We Democrats beat it down. That too, was in the housing bill. With Russia training two engineers and scientists to every one in an American school, it is shortsighted to increase the burden on college students as the Republicans tried to do in Washington by increased rentals for college students, and as the present State administration unfortunately did in Austin. The path to America's future is not paved with impediments to the education of our youth. Any government imposed burden on the education of our youth is a ball and chain on America's destiny.

In addition to the education of the youth, we are working for soil and water conservation projects for the benefit of this and future generations. I have testified for seven such projects before congressional committees since I have been in Washington. I have testfied for the extension of the Galveston seawall before the Senate committee. And,

under date of May 31, 1957, we have a favorable report from the Army engineers for a $7 million Texas City seawall with about 16 percent of the cost to be borne by local interests.

On Texas river projects, we have been working actively for McGee Bend Dam on the Angelina River, and many other projects.

On other projects not yet to far advanced as McGee Bend Dam, my policy will be as follows:

Texas must push ahead vigorously in the development of its rivers. Where this can best be done by local and State means, it should follow that course. Where Federal aid is needed in order to develop our water resources we should obtain it. If the best solution is at odds with Federal policy then we should sit down together and work out a solution to fit the needs of each particular watershed. Federal aid for dams, in any event, should be sought only when desired by the people who need it.

Texas cannot reach its full destiny without the proper development of our water resources. Our towns and cities have had to ration water even for purely domestic use, our irrigated farms have suffered from lack of water, and our industries have suffered both from short supply and poor quality of available water. Industries are passing up Texas and locating elsewhere. This is particularly true with respect to location in the Baton Rouge, La., area.

Our State has vast water resources awaiting development. These resources, harnessed and utilized, will give us needed water and prevent floods which create great damage to lives and property. Texas has suffered over a hundred million dollars in property damage in recent floods and tornadoes. We need both flood dams and supply dams, small retaining ponds on the farms and ranches, small dams on the tributary streams, and big dams on the main streams. Not only is this essential for flood control and water supply, but without it our land will continue to wash into the sea. We should proceed with these developments on a basis consistent with the uses of water with priority for domestic and municipal use for human consumption; then for use in industrial, irrigation, mining, hydroelectric, navigation, recreational, and other uses.

This development must protect the rights of municipalities, and other owners whose water projects entailing vast investments have played vital roles in the great irrigation and industrial development of Texas, especially in the gulf coast and valley. This development shocld also produce the best possible quality of water, otherwise little use can be made of it.

All people living within a river valley, indeed all the people of Texas, must have full and fair consideration in this vital program. These problems vary from watershed to watershed and the solution should be worked in each watershed which best serves the people in that watershed. I shall support with all my energy such an undertaking until the rivers of Texas are harnessed and producing vast benefits for all the people of Texas, both now and in the future.

The farm decline is a story in itself, with a million farm families leaving the land never to return—their places taken by a corporate-type farm, more like a Soviet collectivist farm than anything else. Brooks Adams has pointed out, in "The Law of Civilization and Decay," how the yeomenry of England became extinct in 80 years.

This must not happen in America. The Democratic Party is the only party really trying to prevent it. The Democratic Party is the only party trying to save the family-type farm. We have lost 300,000 farm families, gone from the land forever, under this Republican administration, and 40,000 of those families were in Texas alone. When questioned about it by a Senate committee, Benson answered: "It's cheaper to keep them on relief in a city than to keep them on the farm." I'd prescribe for the Secretary of Agriculture a little reading in Roman history.

In the field of taxation, the people are neglected by this administration, while things are in the saddle and ride mankind. The vaunted $7 billion tax cut by Republicans was a corporation tax cut. Seventy-three percent of the cut went to corporations; 13 percent to individuals in the large income groups and only 9 percent to the 80 percent of the people in the lower and middle income groups. I propose a tax cut now for the people.

An equitable cut could be had by increasing all personal exemptions from $600 to $800 per person per year. Let's let the Madison Avenue boys and their friends share these windfalls with us regular folks by giving the big rich that $200 a head deduction also. It will mean more dollars to them than it does to us, for they are in the high tax brackets and that will save them about $150 each, while it will only save most of us $25 or a little more for each dependent.

These are some of the reasons why I've said modern Jeremiahs are needed. The facts need to be driven home to the American people every day in every possible form and forum. Of course, when we continue to press for reforms, the Republican press will probably call it obstinate pig-headedness, while the determined effort by Republicans for higher and higher interest would be cited as an example of firm determination. We must not be intimidated by semantics, nor cowed by contumacious words.

I'm here tonight partly to make a report to you of my first 45 days on Capitol Hill. In my race this spring, I promised to work for a pay raise for our postal employees and Federal employees. The Democratic leadership placed me on a subcommittee to hear testimony on the pay-raise bills and we have already reported on a pay-raise bill to the full committees; too small, but a beginning step.

I promised to try to help cut the fat out of the Eisenhower budget and out of foreign aid. We are making progress. I've voted for some reductions in the budget that carried, and some that lost. Yesterday we lost by a vote of 49 to 40 in an effort to cut some more fat out of foreign aid, on the Long amendment. It is my hope that we can cut enough fat out of excesses in the budget to raise postal pay and have a tax cut, too. And if I could persuade enough of my colleagues to go along with me, we would get the job done. I'm encouraged at the progress made.

But we are not cutting everything. The Democratic Party is the party with a heart. In our campaign last March, I promised to support larger appropriations for cancer research, heart-disease research, mental-hygiene research, arthritis research, and allergy research. And this week we voted them in the Senate. In the Senate we voted to raise those appropriations, as follows:

[Dollars in millions]

	Appropriation		Percent increase 1958 over last year
	1957	1958	
Cancer research	$48	$58	20
Heart disease research	33	38	15
Mental health	35	39	11⅓
Arthritis research	15	22	50
Allergy, and all allied research	13	17	30
Neurology and blindness studies	18	24	33⅓

And in the fields of dental research, public health, research in tuberculosis and other communicable diseases, we have voted substantial higher appropriations than for last year. In the enforcement of the pure food and drug law, we voted this week an increase of 37 percent in funds for enforcement, over the 1957 funds; this will allow the employment of 162 additional personnel, 115 of them as field inspectors to stop the adulteration and pollution of the food that flows from the far-away factory to your table. This is a realistic step of the utmost practicality.

These health appropriations are to ease the pains of today and bring mankind into a new era of health and happiness. This promotes the general welfare in the most beneficial of all governmental fields; the health of the human race.

In the field of foreign affairs, the Democratic opportunity for service is similarly unlimited. The dreadful deepening concern over the perils of the hydrogen age have struck deeper into the Democratic conscience than in the Republican understanding. When Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver braved the storms of Republican big money wrath to call for reason last October and a stop to dangerous nuclear explosions, they were derided and even their patriotism questioned.

Today, every newspaper, every TV and radio-broadcasting station, are replete with details of the horrors of the fallout effects. Whether the effect be bone cancer, infertility, malformed babies, stunted children, or any of the other equally dreadful effects on the human race described by the scientists, the answer is the same. The human race is waiting for leadership intelligent enough to put a stop to the nuclear explosions before our children and our children's children are doomed by a polluted earth and air.

And now, I want to close on a more cheerful note:

It is the Democratic Party that best realizes its responsibility to the people of our own land and to the world. Let us all hope and expect, as I do, that the Democratic Party will show us the way out of the night that now shrouds us. Through the years, the people of America have turned to the Democratic Pary in time of crises. They will do so again.

The time of crises is at hand, both on the domestic front and in foreign affairs. And the Democratic Party has led the way in pointing out the dangers to the human race from nuclear fallouts. First, Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver last fall, and now Senator Clinton Anderson's committee is giving the facts to all the world.

Last Saturday night in New York, the Democratic majority leader, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, called for reason and action before the human race is annihilated. Senator JOHNSON called for an "open curtain" to let the truth of democracy lighten up the darkness behind the Iron Curtain. Senator JOHNSON'S forthright leadership for an open curtain has been praised from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

When the Democratic Party quits tiptoeing down timidity street and, boldly as Roosevelt, proclaims its faith and belief in men over money and machines, then will America again place her faith in the party of Jefferson and Jackson and of Wilson, of Roosevelt and of Truman. I fervently pray for that day.

That day is nearer at hand now than for some years. The Anderson committee investigation and the Johnson declaration show it.

I want my children and their children to live in the same pure air that was on this earth in the days of man's first creation.

Address by Hon. J. Glenn Beall, of Maryland, at Dedication of Ner Israel Rabbinical College New Dormitory Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, yesterday I had the great honor of participating in dedicating ceremonies for the new dormitory of the Ner Israel Rabbinical College, in Baltimore. It was a privilege and a pleasure for me to deliver a brief address at this important occasion. I should like to mention that the ceremonies, which were arranged by Rabbi Herman N. Neuberger, executive director of the Rabbinical College, and others, were as impressive as any I have ever attended. I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by me be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR J. GLENN BEALL, DELIVERED AT DEDICATION CEREMONIES FOR THE NEW DORMITORY BUILDING OF THE NER ISRAEL RABBINICAL COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, JUNE 23, 1957

I esteem the high honor you pay me by your invitation to participate in these dedication ceremonies and to be the spokesman of the community sentiments.

You are dedicating this new dormitory building on the campus of your Yeshiva. The structure will provide an added facility to this college which emphasizes the study of the Talmud, that great repository of Jewish learning.

This occasion suggests some interesting thoughts. The very location of this structure is suggestive. It is in Maryland, which prides itself on its tradition of religious freedom; and it is in a nation which makes it a cardinal principle that belief or disbelief is personal, and is not to be commanded or forbidden or punished by Government. This is a religious Nation. It cherishes the ethics of religion and the spirit of reverence, but it leaves to each individual's determination for himself questions of doctrine and the notions of man's relation to his God.

It is a satisfaction to know that your college is located in close proximity to houses of worship and other religious and educational institutions of other denominations in this city. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish institutions exist side by side, and none is molested, but all are treated with respect. It is a happy circumstance that in this land of freedom, religion is unfettered by Government, and Government is not dominated by sectarian influence. We are likely to take this for granted, because we are so accustomed to it in America; but it is well to remember that there are not many lands that enjoy such freedom. While I would be the last to claim for this country that it has always lived up to its lofty traditions, nevertheless, unlike the totalitarian lands, which abandoned freedom, we have never repudiated our ideals. When we have strayed, we have acknowledged our faults and always returned to fundamental principles. America loves freedom as the totalitarians hate and fear it.

It has often been pointed out that there is a harmony between our religious ideals and those of democracy, for the foundation of democracy is moral, even as its structure is political. When Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence the phrase about the unalienable rights of man, he meant exactly what the religionist means when he speaks of the dignity of human personality.

Democracy accepts as fundamental the religious doctrine that righteousness exalteth a nation.

While rabbinic and talmudic studies have been the guides to Jewish living, they have also contributed greatly to the spiritual well-being of mankind. Throughout the ages, there have been notable Jewish contributions to the arts and sciences, to medicine, to law, and in other fields; but the great glory of the Jewish people is that they have provided the ethical foundation upon which western civilization rests. We Christians recognize and acknowledge that debt.

Would it not be a great pity, and a tragedy for the whole human family, if this noble creativity of the Jewish people which has so enriched mankind should be discontinued in our day? The spiritual values that Judaism has taught, and which we Christians hold in common with you, need to be nurtured.

This Ner Israel Rabbinical College is dedicated to the great task of advancing the study of the Talmud. Not only the Jewish people, but the whole community, treasures this institution as a valuable spiritual and cultural asset. May it prosper in its work of spreading higher Jewish education, and may it help to bring about on these shores a new flowering of the religious spirit and learning.

What distinguishes American nationalism from that of the totalitarians is that while we all willingly meet the demands of political loyalty, we do not stifle diversities in religion, ancestral traditions, group living, culture, or education. Those who understand and love America truly know that it is a thing of many components, and there are many elements that enrich it in distinctive ways.

May your institution continue to play a noble role.

Address by the Prime Minister of Japan and Introductory Remarks by the Honorable Francis B. Sayre at the Japan-America Society Luncheon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on June 22, it was my pleasure and privilege to attend a luncheon given by Francis B. Sayre, president of the Japan-America Society of Washington, D. C. I have before me the introductory remarks by Mr. Sayre, and the address delivered on that occasion by the Prime Minister of Japan. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the introductory remarks and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRODUCTION OF HIS EXCELLENCY NOBUSUKE KISHI, PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN, BY HON. FRANCIS B. SAYRE, PRESIDENT, JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN IN HONOR OF HIS EXCELLENCY IN WASHINGTON, D. C., ON JUNE 22, 1957

It was my privilege a few years after the war to spend a year in Japan, working intimately with the Japanese people. Never in any country have I met with such an unvarying friendly welcome on every side. And never have I felt a more eager response among the rank and file of people to such ideals as democracy and the sacredness of individual human rights.

The old war party had been overthrown. New leaders had come into power. Out of the disaster and the chaos of war was emerging a new spirit and transcendent hope, built upon an entirely different conception of life.

Just as in 1776 Americans were reaching out to build their lives and their Government upon new ideals and conceptions—upon individual freedom and basic human rights in place of colonial tyrannies and outlived 18th century conceptions—so today Japan is emerging from a regime of war lords and totalitarian government into a new nation built upon people's rights and popular government. To me the very striking fact of present-day Japan is that these new ideals toward which the Japanese people are today reaching are in substance the same as those which inspired the American people in 1776 and upon which the American Constitution was framed—principles which, I might add, during the past few days have been significantly confirmed once again by our own Supreme Court.

In Japan today one begins to feel the possibilities of a new restoration—one which may have more significant and far-reaching results than Japan's famous Meiji restoration of 1868, which broke the back of Japan's feudalistic past.

I like to think in the days ahead of Japan on the western side of the great Pacific Ocean and the United States on the eastern side, each building shoulder to shoulder, powerfully together for a new world based upon these life-giving concepts of individual freedom and basic human rights. If our two peoples stand together true to such a faith it could mean in the days ahead a shining new chapter in international history.

And who is better equipped to lead Japan along these new pathways of hope than Nobusuke Kishi? In his early years a student of the western steel industry, drawn into the service of his Government in various capacities, including that of Vice Minister and then Minister of Commerce and Industry, later elected to the Japanese House of Representatives, after the war back in the business world, returned to the political field in 1952 and the next year joining the newly formed Democratic Party, since the war he has led organized groups and won outstanding support for liberal and democratic conceptions among the people of the new Japan. On February 25, 1957, this brave and outstanding leader, seeking to give reality to the new ideals emerging out of the disaster of war, was appointed Prime Minister. One of his first ventures along this new pathway is his visit to the people of America, seeking to build mutual understanding and friendship between these two great peoples.

I like to think of the words of our friend sitting here. His Excellency Koichiro Asakai, recently arriving in Washington as Ambassador from Japan. "The interests and aims of our two countries," he said, "are basically identical. We stand together for peace, for justice and for freedom, not only for ourselves but for all countries."

Here in the person of Japan's Prime Minister comes a friend. We of America are proud to welcome him. May I introduce to you His Excellency Nobusuke Kishi, Prime Minister of Japan.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH AT LUNCHEON OF JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 22, 1957

Mr. Sayre, members and friends of the Japan-America Society of Washington, I am very much honored by your cordial welcome. I am grateful for your kindness and for the opportunity of meeting you.

Having completed the official aspect of my mission to this country—the government-to-government, aspect—I can now turn to the people-to-people aspect of my visit. And this is the first such opportunity.

You will agree with me that government-to-government relations are only one side of the picture. Equally, if not more important, in tying our countries closely together are the relations at private levels in the economic, cultural, and other fields.

I was delighted when I heard that a Japan-America Society was organized in Washington a short time ago. Organizations like yours are one of the most effective agencies for expanding people-to-people contact, for making friendships and for promoting true understanding between nations.

In this airplane age, you can go to Tokyo from Washington, D. C., in 36 actual flying hours. The time will be cut to 20 hours in the coming jet age few years from now. Japan is no longer a country in the far distant corner of the Far East but a very close neighbor of the United States. Under this revolutionary progress of air transport, the exchange of visits between American and Japanese is growing fast. I am happy to think of the immeasurable contributions that this personal contact on the people-to-people basis is making to the deepening of the mutual understanding and friendship of our two nations. A great number of Japanese, Government officials and private citizens, who come to America make friends with Americans.

Your Government invites many Japanese industrialists and technicians to the United States under the productivity expansion program. This contributes not only to Japan's industrial advancement but also to the strengthening of personal bonds between Americans and Japanese. Again, thanks to the various educational and personnel exchange programs sponsored by your Government and private organizations, thousands of our scholars and students are studying in your colleges and schools. This serves to forge personal links among the scholars and students of the two countries.

I wish to mention especially the supplementary agricultural labor program, which was inaugurated last year, under which Japan sends out to your country her young farmers to help on American farms on the basis of a 3-year contract. This unique program is of immense significance in that it fosters Japanese-American friendship at the grass-roots level. These young men are picked from the various prefectures of Japan after careful screening. They represent the flower of our rural youth, healthy, hard-working, and ambitious. They are here not simply for profitable employment, but they are eagerly learning American farming methods and the American way of life. While here, they are ambassadors of good will from Japanese farms to American farms. And when they go home, they will be leaders of their respective communities on the remote countryside of Japan; and there they will remain America's best friends.

I cannot overstress the importance of such personal contacts for the furtherance of international relations. I am glad to believe that the personal contact I have been able to establish with President Eisenhower and other leaders of your Government will bear good fruit.

I am delighted to be received by the Japan-America Society of Washington in this warm and intimate atmosphere and make personal acquaintance with you, ladies and gentlemen. I hope some of you—yes; all of you—will someday come to Tokyo and let me reciprocate your hospitality of this afternoon.

Thank you.

A Basis for the Total Development of Waters in the Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a speech presented by Mr. LaSelle Coles, of Prineville, Oreg., before Northwest organizations concerned with the wise and fullest use of our water resources.

Mr. Coles is a second vice president of the National Reclamation Association. In this capacity, he has become favorably known throughout the West as an able and articulate proponent of water-conservation practices designed to meet the needs of future generations. In his address, entitled "A Basis for the Total Development of Waters in the Northwest," he examines the policies and body of law which have attempted to deal with the human demand on water resources over the years. He then spells out a policy and a program of priorities for water use which will meet the manifold needs of a complex society with a high degree of probable success.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BASIS FOR THE TOTAL DEVELOPMENT OF WATERS IN THE NORTHWEST

(Address by L. E. Coles)

The people of America are becoming conscious of the importance of our available water supply. Twenty years ago water was no problem to the Northwest. We had the false idea that we need never worry about our overall water supply, except in periods of drought, which were ordinarily of short duration. The water in some of our smaller streams was becoming short, but we could always point to the Columbia River, and its great tributaries, and reassure ourselves. Today this picture has completely changed. We have been rudely awakened to the fact that our total water supply in the Northwest is limited. We know that our future growth and development will depend upon how we use the unclaimed water which is left.

In order to better understand our present situation, I would like to review what has happened in the field of water law. Our laws in the States and yours in Canada were based on the English common law. This law as it relates to water was known as the doctrine of riparian rights. Under the riparian law an owner of real property bordering a stream had a proprietory right to have the water in the stream flow to him in its natural state in flow, quantity and quality, neither increased or diminished, whether he had made use of it or not. The riparian owner could use the water under certain restrictions as set forth in the law. How under such a law could the early placer mines be developed? How in the arid and semi-arid lands of the West could farms away from the streams be watered? If they were not watered they had in most instances very little value. The inadequacy of the riparian law was very apparent to our early settlers, consequently the concept of "first in time, first in right" was applied. This was the accepted doctrine, but we had few statutes for these early users of our water to follow. Most disputes had to be settled in the courts. These early court decisions were used as a body of laws which could be referred to. Those disputes which were not settled in the courts were often settled out on the ditch bank with fists or guns. It has been said that more of our early timers died in fights over water than any other way. It has been my observation through the years that a man will fight over water when he won't fight over anything else—not even his wife.

This chaotic situation continued until the States adopted water codes, and adjudicated the streams. Oregon's code was adopted in 1909, and I believe the other Northwest States adopted codes around the turn of the century. The water act in British Columbia is founded on legislation enacted in 1859, and is known as the Gold Field Act. Water became property, which is as it should be. How could a man build costly diversion structures and miles of ditch without a guaranty from the State or Crown that he could use this water forever, as long as he complied with the law and put it to beneficial use?

The riparian law was a good law under the conditions for which it was intended. The doctrine of appropriation based on beneficial consumptive use has been a good law for the Northwest. It has made our present state of water development possible, but I am wondering if it is not time for us to take a new look. On the one hand our total unappropriated supply of water is decreasing each year, and on the other hand our demand is increasing. Can we continue to allow an individual or groups of individuals to appropriate this remaining water, merely by making an application without any consideration of the entire development pattern of the Northwest? I doubt it very much.

I would like to present to you the picture of the situation in Oregon. I am doing this because waterwise we have reached a point in our water development which the rest of the Northwest is rapidly approaching. In 1954 and 1955 I was a member of a Water Resources Committee created by the State legislature for the purpose of making a critical analysis of the water resources of our State and the extent to which such resources are presently being utilized and developed. This committee found the following conditions: Permits had been issued for more water than minimum flows would provide; the only water left in the State for future development were new waters or flood waters; our population had increased nearly 40 percent during the 1940 to 1950 decade; and, that this ratio of population increase is continuing and demands for water are keeping pace. The same thing is happening in the other States and in British Columbia. The only difference is that most of you have a greater available supply of water than we have in Oregon. You cannot wait too long. I say to each of you that it is time for you to take a look at the overall development of our water resources.

If the Northwest is to continue the rate of growth and development which it is now enjoying, we must provide water for those uses which are most important to its growth. I would like to list the uses of our water for you: (1) Recreation and scenic attraction; (2) municipal and domestic uses; (3) irrigation and agricultural lands; (4) fish and wild life propagation; (5) power development; (6)

industry; (7) navigation. Pollution is not a use of water, but it is as important as any of the uses. Most of our users depend upon a pure supply of water. These users are divided into consumptive and nonconsumptive, which are in direct conflict in most situations. If all the water is taken out of a stream for domestic or irrigation purposes, none is left for power, industry, etc., and yet if the power or industry is upstream then the downstream consumptive uses do not interfere.

It is my firm belief that a priority of use must be set up so that the water upon which mankind is most dependent will be reserved for that particular purpose. May I present the following priority for your consideration: (1) Municipal and domestic use. All life depends upon water. Without it we soon perish. The growth of our urban and rural areas depend upon adequate suplies of water which are pure in quality. This is no small item in itself. Prior to the development of municipal water systems, per capita requirements were less than 10 gallons of water per day. During the maximum demand months for the 11 largest cities in Oregon, during the fiscal year 1951–52 average per capita daily consumption was nearly 340 gallons. I am sure this would be a reasonable figure of the increase in use in most of our cities and towns in the Northwest. Oregon law recognizes the importance of municipal use in that a municipality is the only entity which can file on water for future use and hold its filing indefinitely. I believe this to be a good and just law. (2) Irrigation of our arid and semiarid lands. Our population in the United States is growing at the rate of 4 million per year and these people must have food and fiber. At the same time we are losing 1,800,000 acres of good agricultural land each year to municipal expansion, suburban development, airports, highways, soil erosion, etc. We are reclaiming about 1 percent more land than we are losing, but this cannot continue for long. Some people point to our agricultural surpluses, which represent only 5 percent of the total crops produced, and say we need not worry. These same people object to the interest-free money, and the subsidy from net power revenues, which are used to aid reclamation development. I firmly believe that within the not too distant future, the Federal Government will build our irrigation projects without any cost to the farmer. The farmers will be placed on the land and be told to raise food so that the people can have a proper diet. I would like to have these individuals who oppose all reclamation development read the history of early China, or study the standards of living in most of Europe. Dr. B. T. Shaw, administrator, Agriculture Research Service, made the statement before the Agricultural Appropriations Committee that our agricultural production and the consumption of agricultural crops in the United States will reach a balance by 1962 and probably by 1960. Dr. Shaw may be wrong, but supposing he is wrong by 10 or 15 years. We know this day is inevitable. What then will happen to our standard of living? We will become an importer of food and fiber. Canada, and especially British Columbia with her vast resources and available agricultural land will be in a very favorable position. In the not too distant future we will look to our sister nation for more and more of our agricultural commodities. I say to you in British Columbia that you should guard this water for your future agricultural growth with your life. Make sure there is water reserved to irrigate every acre of land upon which you can put water. It will mean prosperity for future generations of Canadians, and a sustained standard of living for us in the United States. (3) I would place industry in this position, as nearly all industries need water to process their products, and man is dependent upon these products for the standard of living which he now enjoys. In most instances, industrial use is not a consumptive use, therefore water can be used for other purposes. This use has created a pollution problem, but this is being solved. Thanks to our pollution laws.

Here I would recommend that the priorities end, as the importance of the rest of the uses depends upon the area of the Northwest in which the water is located. What might be considered an important use in one place may be unimportant in another.

You no doubt thinks it peculiar that I have not given power a priority of use, as a great deal of our emphasis on water development today is on cheap power. We need this power to light our homes and to turn the wheels of industry. Power can be generated by thermal installations. There is no substitute for water. Within 50 years our hydroelectric plants may be as out of date as a model T Ford is today. I know the nuclear scientists do not agree with this theory, but we are only on the threshold of nuclear scientific development. When I read accounts, such as I am about to relate, it makes me wonder. A twin engine to the one in the *Nautilus* has been operated 1,600 continuous hours. If the *Nautilus* left the east coast, went around South America to Asia, through the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, then into the Atlantic and back home, and then took a cruise of several weeks to the Arctic, it would not take 1,600 hours of continuous operation. It would take 160,000 railroad tank cars to furnish fuel for a conventional-type engine. With the atomic engine this can be done on atomic fuel the size of an apple, and fuel would be left at the end of the journey. The catch is that we do not know the cost of this fuel, but sooner or later it will be within reason. In the Northwest we have the greatest hydroelectric power potential of any area in the United States. The peculiar thing is, that with proper planning most of this power can be developed, and the other uses need not suffer.

Inland navigation is a cheap means of transfortation, and yet if we had to make a choice between food and cheap transportation, I do not believe there would be any doubt in our minds which would come first. Here again we will always have enough water to float boats on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers when the other uses have been taken care of. You can't generate power at the downstream dams without water going by.

Commercial fishing provides a cheap protein food, and is important to the economy of this area. Every effort should be made to preserve this resource. We are fortunate to have part of our rivers so located that they can be reserved for the purpose of the propagation of commercial fish, and still not hinder other development. We have practically solved the problem of the upstream migration of the salmon. Continued effort should be made to solve the problem of the downstream migration of the fingerlings, so that they can return to the ocean to complete their life cycle.

Recreation, sport fishing, and scenic attraction are one of the most important industries in the Pacific Northwest. Oregon estimates that the sports fisherman spends around $92 million each year; the tourist about $130 million. Add the income from other types of recreation to these two figures, and you have a sizable amount of money. I know a similar amount is spent in each of the other Northwest States, and as much or more must be spent in British Columbia. I am one who believes we can have the development of our water resources, and still have recreation and sport fishing. Actually all of our development will destroy only a few miles of our larger rivers. We may have to stock some of our storage reservoirs with warmwater fish instead of trout, but what is the difference; it is all sport. Some of these man-made lakes have provided some of our greatest fishing and without a doubt have been our greatest tourist attraction. Look at the number of people who visit Grand Coulee Dam each year.

We have other fields of conflict besides the uses of our water, which are apparent when we look at the overall development picture. There is the conflict between States on interstate streams, and the conflict between nations on streams which cross international borders. It all resolves itself into the question: What are the rights of the downstream users against the rights of the upstream users? It is easy to answer this question as long as the stream does not cross State or national borders. Here the State water code applies and the law of "first in time, first in right" is followed. A stream which crosses these boundaries is something different. Is there anything to stop the upstream State from taking all the water in a stream? What are the rights of the downstream users? They certainly do have a proprietary right to a certain percent of the water.

I have presented to you an overall picture of our Northwest water problems. They are complex, but not as complex as you might think. The upstream States and British Columbia will use only a small percent of their water, even with full development. Our remaining arable land in the Northwest is limited. The bringing of this land under irrigation need not affect the lands now watered or the other uses of the water. They are an advantage to the downstream States, in that they tend to make a more even flow, and to reduce our devastating floods.

If we are to plan for the total development of our water resources, we must settle those questions between the upstream and downstream users. This can be done in the States by means of a compact. The Columbia Interstate Compact Commission has worked a good many years on a compact which would be the vehicle to solve these problems. The members of this commission have tried to write a compact which will be acceptable to the States. I believe with some minor changes that they have worked out a document which is good, and should be accepted. We must also come to an agreement with British Columbia on the rights each has in the waters of the Columbia and other international rivers. This is a complex matter and actually resolves itself around the power question, as there is plenty of water for all other uses. Here are some of the questions which must be answered: Will interests in the United States build the dams, or will British Columbia build them? What are the power benefits downstream from upstream storage? How much of the increased power shall go to British Columbia? These are complicated questions. The Joint International Commission has had men working on these problems for a good many years. These men are experts in their field, and they have not solved the questions, therefore, I have no desire to stick my neck out. It is a matter for the State Departments of our respective countries to solve. I would like to say this. The matter will be solved. It will take a lot of good commonsense and fair play on both sides. It will be a matter of give and take.

Total development must be on a basinwide basis, which will take into account the interests of the individual, the State, and the Nation. Each entity must assume its proportionate responsibility in such a plan. This cannot be accomplished until we have a basin compact and a treaty with British Columbia. I believe the consumptive uses should have priority over all other uses. I also believe that with proper management of our water resources, all uses can be, at least partially, satisfied for generations to come, and that we have a prosperous future to look forward to.

McGee Bend Dam Developments—Report of W. F. Weed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH. W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report by Mr. W. F. Weed, of Beaumont, Tex., president of the Lower Neches Valley Authority, to the directors of the McGee Bend Dam Development Association, dated June 14, 1957. In the report, Mr. Weed, in a masterful way, relates how a great multiple-purpose dam can be built by the combined efforts of men of vision.

I have long advocated the completion of McGee Bend Dam as one of the nine greatest projects now pending in America. I earnestly hope the needed appropriations may be obtained.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF W. F. WEED, PRESIDENT OF LOWER NECHES VALLEY AUTHORITY, TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE MCGEE BEND DAM DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING, HELD JUNE 14, 1957, AT SAM AUGUSTINE, TEX., ON MCGEE BEND DAM DEVELOPMENT

HISTORY

McGee Bend Dam was authorized by the Congress of the United States in March of 1945 as one unit in the development of a series of four dams on the Neches and Angelina Rivers to develop those rivers to their maximum beneficial use.

The authorization provided that the project be built in accordance with recommendations contained in Senate Document No. 98, 76th Congress, but that no work on the project should begin until some local agency agreed to contribute $5 million toward the cost of the project, such contribution to be made when all four dams in the project were completed.

Senate Document No. 98 is a report to the Public Works Committee by the Corps of Army Engineers, which was made as a result of the application of the Sabine-Neches Conservation District to the Public Works Committee requesting that a survey be made of the Neches River and its tributaries and a plan of proper development be presented. The plan in Senate Document No. 98 calls for multipurpose dams with hydroelectric power on the Neches River at Rockland and on the Angelina River at McGee Bend with regulating dams A and B on the Neches River.

The present McGee Bend Dam is the very same dam described in Senate Document No. 98.

In 1946 the Army engineers in a public hearing at Jasper, Tex., announced that they had adopted a plan of procedure to build McGee Bend Dam and dam B immediately and as a single operating unit and to postpone the building of Rockland Dam and dam A indefinitely.

Sabine-Neches Conservation District and Lower Neches Valley Authority supported the plan, as stated at the Jasper hearing, and LNVA made written assurance of payment of $5 million to the Federal Government. Because of the shortage of labor and material in the civilian economy immediately following World War II and because of the dire needs of conservation water in the LNVA area, the engineers decided to build dam B first and follow with McGee Bend Dam immediately thereafter. LNVA changed its $5-million assurance to a $2-million contribution to build dam B and a $3-million contribution on the completion of McGee Bend Dam.

Dam B is a power regulating dam and should never have been built unless McGee Bend Dam was to be built as a multipurpose dam with hydro electric power. The great value of hydro electric power is that it can be turned on by the pull of a lever and turned off by a push of a lever, and used only at demand periods. This means that water accumulated over a period of a day or days is released in a matter of an hour or hours and would cause dangerous changes in river levels if allowed to flow unimpeded from McGee Bend Dam to the mouth of the Neches. Dam B was designed to catch this flow and release it in an orderly manner, and dam B itself would remain as a permanent lake with a daily fluctuating level of less than 2 feet because of hydro electric water releases at McGee Bend.

In 1952, dam B was completed and immediately thereafter Sabine-Neches Conservation District and LNVA sent representatives to Washington to ask for funds to build McGee Bend Dam. Due to the Korean war a policy of "no beginnings on new dams" had been instituted, but Congress did appropriate planning funds for McGee Bend Dam so that when the emergency was over, construction could begin immediately. Up to 1954 $707,000 was appropriated for planning McGee Bend Dam.

In 1954 the administration directed a change in the criteria heretofore used and the engineers were requested to review all public works projects to answer two questions: (1) "Is the local contribution sufficient"? and (2) "Is there a market for and what is the value of the power"?

As a result of this change in criteria, LNVA amended its assurance of a payment of $3 million on completion of McGee Bend Dam to add an additional payment of $200,000 per year for 50 years after completion, or a total of $13 million. This was in addition to the $2 million already paid for dam B.

Gulf States Utilities, a private electric utility, bid $800,000 per year for the electric power output of McGee Bend Dam, and a combination of area electric co-ops bid $804,000. The Southwestern Power Administration has the responsibility of making a contract for the sale of hydro electric power from federally operated dams and will make the award at the proper time. Under the law REA co-ops have first preference for purchase of this power.

Col. Harry Fischer, Chief of the Fort Worth District, United States Army Engineers, in a letter to the president of LNVA which was reproduced in advertisements in many papers in southeast Texas, stated that the bids quoted above were sufficient to pay the actual cost, including amortization, interest, maintenance, and operation of the hydro electric power feature of the project. In other words, that the sale of the power would pay the entire additional cost of installing and operating it.

As a result of LNVA's changed assurance and the firm bids for the sale of power, Congress appropriated $1,500,000 in 1955 to begin construction of McGee Bend Dam in accordance with and as outlined in Senate Document No. 98; and appropriated an additional $4 million in 1956 for the same purpose, making the total appropriation to date $6,207,000.

Prior to the end of the Federal fiscal year 1956—June 30, 1956—Army engineers had spent, or contracted to spend, $1,070,000. Between July 1, 1956, and June 30, 1957, the engineers estimate that $2,379,220 will be spent or contracted. A telegram from Colonel Fischer dated June 13, 1957, stated that bids for beginning the first actual construction of McGee Bend Dam, to wit: the eastern earthen embankment, were opened in the Army engineer's office that day and a contract would shortly be awarded with the low bid being $167,770. Colonel Fischer has advised LNVA that the remainder of the $2,379,220 would probably be committed before June 30, 1957, as a result of invitations to bid for bridge construction in connection with the relocation of State highway 147.

Colonel Fischer has advised LNVA that the proposed program for the fiscal year from July 1, 1957, to June 30, 1958, contemplates spending, or committing, a total of $2,757,400 by June 30, 1958, making a total spending and committing on the project of $6,206,660 against total appropriations of $6,207,000.

PRESENT POSITION

Congress considers appropriations bill for the coming fiscal year in the early part of the calendar year. Requests for appropriations are presented to it in the President's budget in the President's first address to Congress in January. Items in the budget have been placed there by the Bureau of the Budget after consultation with the agencies involved. In our case, this agency is the Army engineers. Estimates of the amount that can be wisely spent on any project in the next fiscal year are made by the engineers in the late summer of the preceding year, or almost a year before the budget period.

The Bureau of the Budget and the President did not submit to the Congress any requests for McGee Bend funds in January of 1957. This was due to the fact that, as outlined above, very little of the $6,207,000 already appropriated had been committed. The delay in committing these funds was occasioned principally due to the fact that the final contract between the Government and Lower Neches Valley Authority for the payment of the pledged funds was not completely negotiated and signed by both parties until January 1957. As stated above, work will continue and more contracts let during the fiscal year 1957–58 with the funds now available. There is no question that if more funds were available during this fiscal year they could be wisely spent. Our present position is that a contract by LNVA to pay $3 million on completion of McGee Bend Dam, plus $200,000 per year for 50 years after completion has been accepted by the Secretary of the Army and signed by both parties, and actual construction of McGee Bend Dam has started.

Another favorable development is that two lawsuits to prevent building McGee Bend Dam, as authorized, have been decided against the plaintiffs. In the first suit Neches River Conservation District pleaded that the building of a dam in Texas by the Federal Government independently of the State of Texas was illegal. Neches River Conservation District is a part of the same organization that requested the study of the Neches River that resulted in Senate Document No. 98; is a part of the same organization that approved the building of a multipurpose dam at McGee Bend and the regulating dam B at the Jasper hearing in 1946; and a part of the same organization which sent a representative to Washington after completion of dam B, to urge appropriation of construction funds for the multipurpose authorized McGee Bend Dam. Changes in directors occurred in recent years. Ralph McAlister who had served as president of the district for some 10 years was replaced as president and in 1956 the district announced its opposition to the authorized McGee Bend Dam which it had supported since 1946. Mr. McAlister, who is still on the board of Neches River Conservation District, has vigorously opposed this action and

wholeheartedly supports the authorized McGee Bend Dam.

Federal Judge William Atwell ruled that the Neches River Conservation District had no basis for their suit and dismissed their case.

A number of individuals and corporations filed suit with two allegations, the first being the same as that decided in the first suit, and the second being that the hydroelectric power pool in McGee Bend Dam takes land and this taking is not economically justified by the criteria and was therefore illegal. Judge Atwell dismissed this case on the grounds that the first issue had been settled and that the second issue was irrelevant in that the criteria was established by agencies other than Congress and Congress has the paramount right to decide the issues involved and that Congress had decided the issue in favor of building the dam as authorized by making appropriations for it. In other words, it is the authority of Congress and not the courts to determine the manner, necessity, and feasibility of developing our navigable rivers.

A third favorable aspect of the situation is that an aggressive publicity campaign has revived enthusiasm for the authorized McGee Bend Dam because:

1. It demonstrated that a dam without power cannot be built by a local district. The article by Mr. Lee Feagin, treasurer of the association, which appeared in most of the papers of east Texas in January of this year, has pointed out the reasons that this cannot be done, so much better than I could do, that I refer you to that article. If any of you have not read it, or wish a copy, it will be sent to you if you will write LNVA at Beaumont, requesting it.

2. It demonstrated that a dam without hydroelectric power cannot give recreation benefits at all comparable with recreation benefits of a dam with a permanent power pool. The article by Alan Plummer, sportswriter for the Beaumont Enterprise, which was reproduced as an ad in many east Texas papers, pointed this out clearly. Other articles and ads were run showing that the permanent hydroelectric powerhead pool would always be available for recreation, whereas, a conservation and flood-control pool must necessarily be greatly depleted every year and entirely used up in a year of maximum use and minimum rainfall.

3. It demonstrates the tremendous popular appeal of the authorized project because every major candidate in the recent election of a United States Senator, endorsed the authorized dam. After his election, on his first public appearance in Texas after his return from Washington, Senator Ralph Yarborough spoke at a meeting sponsored by the McGee Bend Dam Development Association at Jasper, fully endorsing and supporting the authorized McGee Bend Dam.

4. It demonstrated that a dam will be of great economic benefit to all east Texas and that the only way to get any dams is to concentrate on the authorized multipurpose dam.

FUTURE

The McGee Bend Dam Development Association must take aggressive action to secure funds for construction in fiscal year 1959 (beginning July 1, 1958). Delegations should be sent to the Army engineers; to the Bureau of the Budget; to our Senators and Representatives, and to Appropriations Committees of both branches of Congress, urging appropriation of at least $10 million for that year.

McGee Bend Dam is a Federal project and it is important that our Senators and Representatives know of the great support behind this project in east Texas. Senator LYNDON JOHNSON has long been a stanch advocate of the authorized project. Senator Yarborough has unqualifiedly endorsed and supported it. Representative JACK BROOKS has been, probably, the most active supporter of this project and, in a large measure, is responsible for its progress to date. Representative JOHN DOWDY has been an ardent and faithful supporter of the project. Gov. PRICE DANIEL, as United States Senator, gave full support to the authorized project. We should commend these gentlemen for their efforts in our behalf and keep them informed of our interest in the project.

Aggressive action by McGee Bend Dam Development Association can assure that the authorized McGee Bend Dam project will be completed and storing water for the benefit of all east Texas by late 1961 or early 1962.

Status-of-Forces Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, as you know, a great wave of indignation is sweeping the Nation as a result of the gross and inexcusable handling of the William Girard case in Japan. This wave of resentment will grow and grow unless the judgment of a patriotic and courageous United States judge is upheld and the jurisdiction of Japan is denied.

Mr. Speaker, the Vice President of the United States yesterday inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a resolution recently passed the Legislature of Nebraska. I appreciate the action of the Vice President in this important matter.

I am informed that several other State legislatures have taken similar action with more to follow. This is a healthy sign. I want to call your particular attention to these two paragraphs from the Nebraska resolution as follows:

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, That the members of this body deplore the arrangements now existing which make service in our Armed Forces abroad a hazard by depriving our servicemen, their civilian components, and dependents of each, of the rights aid guaranties of our Constitution when they are stationed in foreign lands; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to immediately enact legislation now pending or similar legislation which will secure a modification or denunciation of the provisions of the NATO Status-of-Forces Treaty and all other agreements which surrender to foreign nations criminal jurisdiction over our servicemen.

In addition to the resolution from the Nebraska Legislature, Mr. Speaker, I have received many letters from individuals and from civic and patriotic organizations concerning the Girard case.

Individuals and organizations alike have expressed in no uncertain words their amazement and their abhorrence of the fact such a series of circumstances could exist under the Constitution and the flag of the United States of America. "How?" they ask, and "Why?"

Mr. Speaker, I have received from my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW], some statistics which have surprised, disturbed, and horrified me.

These statistics point up the fact that reports from the military show a great lag in time. The last figures are for November 30 of last year.

Figures from January 1 to November 30 of 1954 indicate that during 11 months 7,416 charges against American servicemen were filed in courts of foreign nations in the following year ending November 30 the figure was 10,249 and last year 14,394.

Of the more than 32,000 cases, the number brought to trial was 9,054. In 7,691 cases the defendant was fined or reprimanded. In 425 cases the defendant was sentenced to confinement but the sentence suspended. In 305 cases the defendant was jailed.

The report showed 88 persons confined as of last November 30, 50 of them in Japan.

Mr. Speaker, of the letters and resolutions I received, few commented on the guilt or innocence of young Girard. That matter is entirely beside the point. If he is innocent, he should be cleared of all charges. If he is guilty of a crime, he should be punished accordingly.

However, I feel, and all my Nebraska correspondents feel, that he should be tried under the laws of the United States and not by the courts of Japan.

This young man was on duty in Japan, not of his own volition but because he was assigned there by the Department of Defense. To my mind, it is absolutely unthinkable that there should be any question of jurisdiction.

This boy—innocent or guilty—is an American. The Constitution and the flag must follow him around the world, wherever he is assigned. To do otherwise, is to sell him down the river.

It is argued that he will get a fair trial in a Japanese court. That may or may not be true. In this particular case, able to save face, it might be the Japanese court would lean over backward to be lenient. That, again, is beside the point.

Americans have grown up under a certain set of rules. We have our own way of life. Foreign nations have their ways of life. The precepts upon which our various nations were founded are different. What is the common custom of one is abhorrent to another. What may be a major crime in one nation is a misdemeanor in another.

Some nations chop off a man's right hand on conviction of petty theft. Some nations have no right to trial by jury. Some nations presume that the charged defendant is guilty until he proves himself innocent. Some nations hold a cow to be holy and sentence to death a man who kills a cow.

It is inconceivable to me that we have bartered away some of the rights on which this Nation was built.

I maintain with all my strength it is wrong to delegate any of the power of the United States of America to any nation on earth. I will do all in my power to protect not only the rights of William Girard but of every American boy who, as a member of the Armed Forces, is an official representative of our country.

The Status of Forces Agreements must be modified for the protection of our servicemen. They should be modified now.

Capt. Novo Babb Kiergan, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter of appreciation sent by the Employees' Council of the Overhaul and Repair Department, Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, R. I., to Capt. Novo Babb Kiergan, Jr.

Captain Kiergan has served as overhaul and repair officer for the past 3 years and has recently been assigned to a new post as commanding officer of the United States naval avionics facility at Indianapolis, Ind.

The chairman of the Employees' Council, Mr. Vincent J. DuBreuil, has advised me of the splendid record of service accomplished by Captain Kiergan, and I am gald to call this to the attention of the Members of the United States Senate.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUNE 20, 1957.

From: Employees' council, overhaul and repair department.
To N. B. Kiergan Jr. captain United States Navy overhaul and repair officer, Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, R. I.
Subject: Appreciation of relationships; expression of.

1. Prior to your forthcoming detachment from your current assignment as Overhaul and Repair Officer, Overhaul and Repair Department, United States Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, R. I. I wish, as chairman of the Employees' Council, to express the deep appreciation of the council as a whole for the excellent relationships which you established and maintained during your tenure of duty in the department.

2. Your kindliness, courtesy, and willingness to assist the council in the performance of its functions have enabled the council to discharge its responsibilities to the maximum degree possible, and the council wishes to extend its best wishes to you and your family at this time for your continued success in your new assignment as commanding officer, United States Naval Avionics Facility, Indianapolis, Ind.

3. The employees in the overhaul and repair department will not forget you for all your time and effort you spent in making this overhaul and repair department at Quonset Point, R. I., one of the leading overhaul and repair departments in the United States Navy. Our motto is "Through these doors pass the finest overhaul aircraft." I hope that we will be able to see you again and show you how we will continue to carry on with the excellent record you have made for this overhaul and repair department.

Sincerely yours,

VINCENT J. DUBREUIL,
Chairman, Employees' Council, Overhaul and Repair Department, Quonset Point, R. I.

Retirement of Maj. Gen. Albert H. Stackpole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, last Saturday, on the historic and beautiful Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, the 79th Infantry Division passed in review in honor of their retiring commanding general, Maj. Gen. Albert H. Stackpole.

General Stackpole has had a very distinguished career of service in both World War I and II and also in the National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Many distinguished soldiers were present at the impressive military ceremony to honor the retiring commander of the 79th Division. Among them were Gen. William G. Wyman, commanding general of the Continental Army Command; Lt. Gen. Charles E. Hart, commanding general of the Second Army; Maj. Gen. Robert W. Wilson, a former commander of the 79th; Maj. Gen. A. J. Drexel Biddle, adjutant general of Pennsylvania; Maj. Gen. Max S. Johnson, commandant, United States Army War College, Carlisle Barracks; and Lt. Gen. Edward J. Stackpole, former commander of the 28th Division, Pennsylvania National Guard.

A feature of the review was the presentation of a special certificate of achievement to General Stackpole by General Hart.

The 79th Division is a very historic outfit. Senator David A. Reed, of Pennsylvania, a former distinguished Member of this body, served in the 79th and was an outstanding officer in World War I. Col. Le Roy V. Greene, an able member of my staff, commands the 313th Infantry of the division.

The officers and men enthused everyone present by their perfect marching to the old tune of The Caissons Go Rolling Along, which is now the new Army march.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the certificate presented to General Stackpole and a brief history of the 79th Division be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the certificate and history were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CERTIFICATE

Throughout his military career of more than 40 years active and reserve duty, Maj. Gen. Albert H. Stackpole has displayed outstanding leadership and devotion to country and duty.

His superior performance of duty in various important positions contributed immeasurably to the successful accomplishment of the mission of the Army.

HISTORY OF THE 79TH INFANTRY DIVISION
CROSS OF LORRAINE DIVISION

SHOULDER PATCH

The shoulder patch consists of the shield with a blue background on which is superimposed a Cross of Lorraine, in white, within a white border. The Cross of Lorraine has been a symbol of triumph since the 15th century.

WORLD WAR I

The division was organized in August 1917 at Camp (now Fort) Meade, Md. It went overseas in July 1918 and in September took part in the Meuse-Argonne operation until relieved the latter part of that month. It returned to participate in the same operation again the following month. The division came back to the United States in May and June 1919, and became a United States Reserve division.

WORLD WAR II

The division was ordered to active duty on June 15, 1942. In May and June 1943, the 79th Infantry Division took part in the Second Army maneuvers in Tennessee and following maneuvers went to Camp Forrest, Tenn. In August 1943 the unit was transferred to the California-Arizona maneuver area where it went through intensive maneuvers in the desert. In December 1943, the division moved to Camp Phillips, Kans. And in April 1944 sailed for the European theater of operations. In England the division received final training prior to going to France.

COMBAT HIGHLIGHTS

Liberation of Cherbourg, throwing back of the Germans during the Von Rundstedt winter offensive and capture of the important industrial city of Essen in Germany are among highlights of the 79th's combat history. The division first went into action on June 19, 1944, and against heavy opposition took the high ground west and northwest of Valognes, thus closing the enemy's Valognes-Cherbourg supply road. The Cross of Lorraine men fought on into Cherbourg and helped take that city on June 26, capturing more than 6,000 prisoners. By July they had cleared La Haye-du-units and its surrounding areas which the enemy had heavily fortified and the start of the Coutance-Avranches breakthrough and the race across France was underway. On August 28, the 79th was ordered to advance into Belgium and in 72 hours the division covered a total of 180 miles, crossing the Somme River and numerous smaller streams and closing in perfect order on its objectives in Belgium.

During September the 79th smashed on in its new assignment, taking the French city of Charmes. One regiment stormed the city of Neufchateau and took that enemy-held bastion. The 79th went on to fight at the Meurthe River, in the Foret de Parroy and the city of Luneville in September. Late in the year the division had driven the enemy out of his position in the Saverne Gap and near Strasbourg. In January 1945, the 79th made a gallant stand in the Vosges Mountains when powerful German armored and reinforced infantry elements attempted to smash back through Allied lines east of Bitche. Against furious and persistent attacks, often surrounded and badly mauled, the sheer heroism of the men of the 79th stopped the enemy cold. After extensive preparations had been completed, with the Ninth Army the division crossed the Rhine late in March and then struck for Duisberg. Later it went to a position south of Gladbeck for the jumpoff into the Ruhr Pocket, taking Gerlsenkirchen and Essen.

Following V–E day the division occupied the Dortmund area as well as the area northwest of Pilsen, Czechoslovakia. The division was one of the few to fight as part of all four American armies on the Western front and probably is the most widely traveled American division of that theater with the exception of outfits which also fought in the Mediterranean.

In its journey of 2,300 fighting miles back and forth across France and Germany, it lost 20,000—2,000 of them killed. The German

Army intelligence reports rated the 79th, "one of the best attack divisions in the United States Army."

Upon returning to the United States in early December 1945, the division was inactivated and set up as a Reserve unit under the Organized Reserve Corps on November 14, 1946, redesignated United States Army Reserve, 1952.

Proposed Improvement of Government Budget Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several pertinent editorials which have appeared in various newspapers recently in connection with Senate bill 434, which has recently passed the Senate unanimously and is now before the House.

This bill, which would implement a basic reform recommended by the Hoover Commission, would bring about important improvements in our budgeting and accounting procedures. It was originally sponsored by more than half the membership of the Senate, including the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] and the Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE].

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Sun-Times of June 18, 1957]

FOR BETTER CONTROL OF UNITED STATES SPENDING

A bill which would save at least a half billion dollars and possibly more in Federal funds has been approved by the Senate and by a House Government Operations Subcommittee. It would put the United States budget on a better business basis and give Congress a greater control and review of Government expenditures.

The principal sponsor of the measure, Senate bill 434, is Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts. He is joined by many other Democrats and by Republicans. His proposal has long been advocated by the Hoover Commission. It is supported by President Eisenhower and his administration.

With such formidable support it would seem unlikely that the Kennedy bill could fail of passage. However, a similar bill was killed by the House last year after being passed by the Senate. Senator KENNEDY and the other sponsors are fearful that this year's effort might also fail in the House.

In a Congress that has been so concerned about saving taxpayers' dollars, it is unthinkable that any sensible effort to economize merely by the introduction of better controls and cost-accounting procedures could fail.

Congressmen who have hacked away at vital Government functions can hardly justify saving money that otherwise would simply go down the drain through inefficiency.

The Kennedy proposal, technically speaking, would put budget estimates on an annual accrued expenditure basis. That is how the accountants describe it. For us ordinary mortals it is necessary to spell out by example how it would work in order to understand it. William A. Korns, of Editorial Research Reports, uses this illustration:

"The Navy requests authority to build a ship over a 4-year period at a cost of $150 million. At present, Congress appropriates the entire $150 million at the outset in terms of obligational authority. But on an accrued expenditures basis, Congress might appropriate only $20 million in the first year and, in addition, grant contract authority to cover so-called long-lead-time items. In the second year, Congress would have opportunity to review progress on the ship in the light of actual cost experience. A new appraisal might lead to a decision to stretch out the time of building, thus limiting the appropriation immediately required. In any event, Congress would be in a position to exercise a control it now lacks over the rate of construction and expenditure."

Adoption of the accrued expenditures budget would entail rescission of the present outstanding balances of $50 billion in funds authorized but not yet spent. A close scrutiny of those funds would probably result in a minimum reduction of 1 percent. That would be $500 million a year. Clarence Francis, national chairman of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, believes the savings would be even more substantial.

The objections cited last year in the House were technical in nature, and Senator KENNEDY has made certain amendments this year that should resolve any doubts in the House. The preponderance of expert opinion is on his side, and in the name of commonsense and economy the House this year should pass his bill.

[From the Lewiston (Maine) Sun of June 11, 1957]

SOUND PATH TO FEDERAL ECONOMY

In the midst of the budget controversy, it has almost escaped notice that the United States Senate has just passed the Payne-Kennedy bill placing Federal budget requests and congressional appropriations on what accountants call an annual accrued expenditure basis.

The measure, which contains some of the most important recommendations of the second Hoover Commission, has had an interesting history. It was drawn and sponsored last year by Senator FREDERICK G. PAYNE and his Massachusetts colleague as a part of a more comprehensive bill, also based on Hoover Commission recommendations, to modernize Federal accounting and budget practices. And the entire package was passed by the Senate. But when it reached the House, the sections just reenacted by the upper Chamber were eliminated and the remainder of the measure voted into law.

There was a reason for that, and it is to be found in the reluctance of many Congressmen to change the present loose budgeting and appropriative practices which pile up obligated but unspent funds and lave Congress virtually unable to control the rate of Federal spending.

We are seeing it exhibited at this session of Congress, and it is going to be difficult for people to reconcile claims of cuts of several billion dollars, and forecasts that by June 30, 1958, the Government will have spent at least a couple of billions more than the President estimated.

This system is contrary to the practice of the various State governments, which appropriate on an annual or biennial basis, and within the estimates of revenues made by State government financial authorities. The result is that the State practically comes out even, or it accumulates a surplus because of conservative predictions of State income.

But on the Federal level, the executive branch can request, and Congress can appropriate, sums that cannot all be spent in the 12 months ahead. Moreover, it can authorize supplemental appropriations if programs legislated into law cost more than anticipated.

The Payne-Kennedy bill, if the House can be persuaded to agree, will force Congress to appropriate for each fiscal year upon estimates of expenditures that will actually be made during that year. Gradually the carryovers will be cut down, and, of course, it puts more responsibility on the various departments and bureaus to tighten their budget making. At least half the Members of the Senate support the bill, together with the Treasury Secretary, the Comptroller General, and the Budget Bureau. And also President Eisenhower. Senator KENNEDY says it represents one of the most important reforms in this field in the past 35 years, and we agree with him.

[From the Waterbury (Conn.) Republican of June 10, 1957]

THE KENNEDY BILL

One of the key recommendations of the second Hoover Commission report is at least halfway to being achieved. The Senate on June 5 passed the Kennedy bill (S. 434) and we hope the House will act similarly.

One of the most fundamental reforms in governmental budget practices in more than 30 years is embodied in the Kennedy budgeting and accounting bill. Its intent, based on the second Hoover report, is to place the Federal Government's budgeting and accounting procedures on an accrued expenditure basis.

The measure requires that all agency budgets be determined on a cost basis, that agency accounts be kept on an accrual basis and that appropriations be made on an annual accrued expenditures basis.

Under the plan, converting appropriations on an annual expenditures basis, Congress would actually appropriate for each fiscal year on estimates of expenditures actually to be made during that year.

In simpler language, Congress presently appropriates funds for various agencies, many of which wind up the fiscal year with unexpended balances. In sum total, these unexpended moneys amount to billions of dollars each year and are simply carried over by the agencies. Congress has virtually no control over such practices, once the appropriations are made.

The Kennedy bill had strong support in the Senate. It was cosponsored by Senator BYRD, of Virginia, and Senator PAYNE, of Maine, and had the unqualified backing of 48 other Senators. Lauding the Hoover Commission for its work in highlighting this particular problem in governmental economy, Senator KENNEDY said recently:

"The benefits which will result from the enactment of this bill, in terms of financial savings and more complete understanding of the operations of the various governmental departments, will be most significant."

Affirmative House action on so important a bill, in this session of Congress, is imperative. The only possible result of such legislative action will be more economical and more efficient government, sorely needed.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of June 15, 1957]

BUDGETING PROCEDURES

The Senate this week reaffirmed the stand it took last year when it passed the Kennedy budgeting and accounting bill, which is designed to place the Government's budgeting and accounting procedures on an accrued-expenditures basis. In plainer English, that means appropriating only enough money to cover what you expect to spend in the succeeding fiscal year.

The Bay State's Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, its sponsor, has called the legislation "one of the most fundamental reforms in governmental budget practices since enactment of

the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921," asserting that it "would result in much more careful and effective control of expenditures by Congress." The proposal is based on one of the principal recommendations of the Hoover Commission and has the backing of, among others, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Budget, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and 48 other Senators, including its cosponsors, Senators BYRD, of Virginia, and PAYNE, of Maine.

Under the bill, appropriations would be converted on the basis of annual expenditures and Congress would make them for each fiscal year on the estimates by the various agencies and departments of the expenditures they actually would make. Under the present system—that is, outside the forecasts for a single year only—there are carryovers of the unexpended balances of appropriations that run into billions of dollars annually. The chief flaw in the current system is that Congress has little or no control over the expenditure of these balances, for its responsibility ends, to all intents and purposes, with the job of appropriating. Hence, we have the picture of a Government department presenting new, heavy demands for its budgetary requirements in spite of a huge carryover of funds which it enjoys from previous appropriations.

Senator KENNEDY expressed the hope, following passage, that the House also would act favorably on the bill during this session. A similar bill lost out in the House last year following the Senate's approval of the measure, and the same fate may await the proposal if the House does get around to action on it before adjournment. The bill deserves enactment as a logical change in present practice that almost undoubtedly would result in important savings and a solution of budget and appropriations problems in line with the actual and immediate need for money to operate the vast enterprise of the Federal Government.

[From the Washington Evening Star of June 22, 1957]

FOR ORDERLY BUDGETING

In passing the Kennedy budget reform bill, the Senate has given its support to what has been regarded as the most important Hoover Commission recommendation still requiring legislation. The bill would put the Government on an accrual system of budgeting and accounting that would give Congress firmer control of Federal spending, and that, it is estimated, could save up to $4 billion a year in nonessential expenditures.

Federal budgeting and accounting procedures not only baffle the ordinary citizens, they baffled a competent task force which studied them for the Hoover group. The study revealed that it was virtually impossible to list what the Government owned and how much it owed. The Kennedy bill, among other changes, would substantially reduce the carryovers of unexpended appropriations from year to year, thereby putting the Government on an annual expenditures basis. The appropriation carryovers run into billions of dollars a year, with Congress confused as to the amounts involved and without control of the leftover funds, once the money has been voted.

The Commission pointed out that obligational authority relating to long lead-time programs may be exercised over several years, with resulting expenditures continually removed from the particular fiscal year under consideration by the budget makers. The Budget Bureau, for example, reported that in 1953 $81 billion of unfinanced appropriations existed as a claim against current and future income or borrowing. The contracts and commitments made as a result of these appropriations became, in effect, c. o. d. obligations of the Government.

The reforms suggested by the Hoover Commission and embodied in the bill sponsored by Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, have the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Budget Director, and the Comptroller General. We hope the House will follow the Senate's example and thus assure budgetary and accounting firmly established in private industry.

The Supreme Court of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the people and the press of the country are becoming rightly aroused by the repeated actions of the Supreme Court of the United States in encroaching upon the powers of the executive and legislative departments of the Federal Government and the rights of the States, and in substituting the personal notions of its members for the law of the land.

On June 19, 1957, the Greensboro Daily News, of Greensboro, N. C., and on June 20, 1957, the Greensboro Record, of Greensboro, N. C., published profound editorials upon this subject.

I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News of June 19, 1957]

A COURT OF MEN OR LAWS?

In a series of judicial blockbusters the United States Supreme Court has plunged the Justice Department into "chaos," sharply curtailed congressional investigative procedures, torpedoed the Smith Act by freeing convicted Communists, and shaken the very foundation of multiple industrial empires.

The Court has done all these things in an obviously high-minded crusade for individual freedom under the United States Constitution; but in the process it has run roughshod over the body of the law. And this substitution of legal idealism for legal realism—and of personal moral convictions for interpretations of strictly legal questions—has left the legal profession in a state of shock. It is not so much that the decisions themselves—that is, their ethical content—are unwise; it is more the lack of property reasoned support for them, consistency of purpose and respect for the rule of law above the rule of men.

The Daily News has little regard for the doctrine of stare decisis. Since the time of Chief Justice John Marshall the United States Constitution has proved its flexibility, and the utilization of that flexibility by judicial interpretations through the years has assured ts durability. But the present Court, it seems to us, has stretched the concept of constitutional flexibility beyond the breaking point. Beginning with Chief Justice Earl Warren's appointment, it has often substituted personal notions (fortunately most of them high-minded and idealistic) for sound legal argument. The school segregation decision, perhaps, for sound reasons, set forth little if any legal substantiation for its reversal of the 80-year-old doctrine of "separate but equal." Instead it relied on sociological opinion and personal ethical beliefs. Now many think the Court's decision could have been strongly defended on excellent legal grounds but the Court did not bother to do that because, as we understand, it might have split a unanimous Court into too many fragments.

By the same token in the Slochower fifth-amendment case only Justice Harlan, speaking for the majority, confined his decision to the legal justification for a citizen "taking the fifth." That body's liberal wing (Warren, Black, Douglas and Brennan) wandered far afield to affirm that no moral or legal blame is involved. This may well be the case although wise and good men differ. (Our vote goes to the faction which contends that while a man should not be forced to testify against himself in court and should be protected against legal recriminations, still "there are many posts in which we may legitimately require standards of conduct higher than those sufficient to keep out of jail.")

But passing judgment beyond the purely legal aspects of the fifth-amendment question, it seems to us (and we agree with Justice Harlan), is not the business of the United States Supreme Court. What Warren, Douglas, Black & Co. think of Harvard University's right to fire a faculty member who takes the fifth is not the business of the high Court.

Justice Warren himself, a man with no judicial training, set forth the credo which has governed much of the court's philosophy since he took over command: "The beginning of justice is the capacity to generalize and make objective one's private sense of wrong." This has a proper place in judicial philosophy, but it must have some relationship to the continuing body of the law and must be applied in strictly legal manner if the law is to have any meaning. What would be the end of such philosophy if unprincipled men, or even men of grossly reactionary views, took over the Court?

By the same token the court has taken moderate legal arguments and carried them far beyond the issues before it. Consider the Du Pont-General Motors case. The Government's argument barely mentioned section 7 of the Clayton Antitrust Act; its goal was not wrecking the whole concept of business mergers over the last 40 years; it was rather to prove that Du Pont had fenced off the General Motors market from Du Pont's competitors by acquiring 23 percent of General Motor's stock. Yet the Court handed down a decision which rocks the foundation of all "vertical" business mergers of the last 40 years.

Likewise in the Jencks case, the defendant sought authority for the Federal judge to "screen" FBI files and release any portion of charges which bore on the equity of the case. Yet the Court went far beyond this request and ordered all the FBI's raw files turned over to defendants charged by secret accusers. There may be much justice in this, as Senator ERVIN notes, but even he believes only that portion of the files which apply to the defendant ought to be made available to him.

In the latest Court decisions, those involving release of 14 Communists convicted under the Smith Act of conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government, the Court has made a sharp distinction between teaching an abstract doctrine and actually advocating action of forcible overthrow. This seems a valid distinction, but an exceedingly difficult one to make. The decision itself has thrown Congress into an unroar and may have harmful repercusions on the separation of powers of the United States Government.

Chief Justice Warren's opinion, which actually limits congressional power to order

investigations, is so radical in concept that it will certainly bring retaliation.

These decisions are disturbing mainly because they add fuel to the arguments already made by many ultraconservatives against the Court's growing tendency to make and administer, as well as interpret, the law. In truth, it seems to the Daily News that the Court has gone a long way toward ultimately weakening its own prestige by failing to respect the continuing body of the law. The Court should heed the advice of its newest member, Justice Whittaker, who when asked about his legal philosophy, replied with wisdom:

"I read the law only for an understanding of its meaning, and apply and enforce it in accordance with my understanding of its meaning."

[From the Greensboro (N. C.) Record of June 20, 1957]

WHITHER, HIGH COURT?

This may well go down in history as the era of assumptive powers so far as the United States Supreme Court is concerned.

As James Marlow, Associated Press news analyst in Washington, has written, the Court "has become for all practical purposes the American lawmaking body in the field of civil rights and civil liberties." Members of Congress have reacted violently to what they have termed "boundless assumption of power" by the Court.

The Court's drastic rulings have left the American public wondering what to expect next, and they have probably caused a measure of perturbation among constitutional lawyers. Its decrees on civil liberties involving communism are bound to give comfort to the Reds. In fact, 1 of the 7 top Communists freed by the Court's ruling was quoted as saying the decision was "the greatest victory the Communist Party in America has received."

Civil rights and liberties are constitutionally prescribed and guaranteed by our form of Government. That is certainly as it should be. It is equally true and pertinent that ours is a Government based on the proposition, among others, that its powers are divided between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The strength of our Government depends greatly upon the separation of these powers.

In its interpretation of the law involved in civil rights and liberties issues brought before it the Court seemingly has been strongly influenced by sociological considerations. Under the leadership of Chief Justice Warren, the Court has made far-reaching decisions which strike at the heart of our way of life. The Court, in its apparent zeal for the protection of individual rights, has made it more difficult for constituted authorities to protect the security of the Nation.

The responsibility of thhe judiciary, as we understand it, is to interpret the law and not to engage in social experiments. Effect of Court rulings can be to nullify the rights of the people to be represented in the lawmaking bodies whom they have elected. It appears that this sort of situation has about come to pass.

We find it hard not to be alarmed by the trend of the high Court's decisions. We are disturbed about the possible lengths to which its rulings may reach. Congress, as the elected representatives of the people, is justified in being concerned about the Court's assumption of its lawmaking authority.

Report of the Commission on Government Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorials from the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune regarding the report of the Commission on Government Security. This report is a most important one, and the comments of these two distinguished publications point up some of the major considerations.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of June 24, 1957]

SECURITY IN A DEMOCRACY

The long awaited report of the Commission on Government Security turns out to be a monumental document, helpful in some important respects and disappointing in others. It is the product of some 18 months' work to study violations of civil liberties and individual rights in the Federal Government's internal security system.

No one can pretend that the problem of reconciling the basic freedoms of American citizens with the requirements of internal defense against the Communist threat is an easy one. But we think no objective observer could deny that during the past decade a drastic imbalance occurred in which individual liberty grievously suffered in the hopeless quest for an absolute security. Only within the last couple of years has the commonsense of the American people tended to reassert itself in favor of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. This trend has been greatly stimulated and fortified by a succession of notable decisions on the part of the Supreme Court.

It is because the tone and some of the recommendations of the Commission report tend to revert toward the old stress on ultrasecurity that we say it is disappointing. In striking contrast to last year's fine report on the same subject by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, the Commission would extend the Federal employee security system instead of curtailing it.

The Commission urges the legislative and judicial branches of Government to establish loyalty and security programs of their own. It would formalize the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, which has been notoriously misused and misinterpreted, after making certain changes to minimize possible abuses.

The Commission would extend the security program into the civil air transport industry, and would broaden the scope of its application to United States citizens in international organizations. In some respects the Commission would tighten present passport procedures. Its general approach to the immigration laws partially reflects the security mania of Representative WALTER, 1 of its 12 members. Another indication of the Commission's point of view lies in its proposals to legalize evidence obtained by wiretapping in certain cases and to extend the penalties for disclosure of classified information.

Without a detailed examination and discussion of each of these various proposals it would be premature to say that they are all wrong; but we are bothered by the apparent tendency toward tightening and extending the program disproportionately to the size and immediacy of the threat. Our confidence in the objectivity of the report has not been heightened by the concluding statement issued last week by the Commission's Chairman, Loyd Wright, a former president of the American Bar Association, who delivered himself of a sharply critical and ill-considered comment on the Supreme Court's ruling in one of the important recent civil liberties cases.

Nevertheless, there is much in the Commission's voluminous report that is of great value, and many recommendations that would immensely improve the present Federal security process. Establishment of greater uniformity in security procedures—whether or not through the specific device of a central security office, as the Commission recommends—is a vital need. Separation of the loyalty problem from that of security is of course desirable. Training of security personnel, as recommended, could do much to improve the whole picture. Reforms of hearing and screening procedure are in the right direction. Emphasis on the right to confrontation—though it is not deemed an absolute right—is all to the good. Important reforms in the security program for military personnel are proposed. A more sensible approach to classification of documents is urged. Abolition of the present confusion between State and Justice Departments in immigration matters would be highly desirable.

There are plenty of good suggestions in the report, which we hope will be considered on their merits, and with due regard for the various other studies that have been made of these problems. As the Supreme Court has so tellingly reminded us in recent days, there are issues here that go to the heart of the democratic process.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 24, 1957]

REPORT ON SECURITY

The first thing to be said about the report of the Commission on Government Security is that it is the most comprehensive and authoritative study of this vexed question that has yet been made. The group, set up by Congress and headed by Mr. Loyd Wright, has worked hard and well for a year and a half on the statutory and regulatory bases of the various security programs initiated by the Federal Government; it has delved deeply into the effects of what was done in the past and has produced thoughtful recommendations for the future.

It is not a soft report. It accepts, without cavil, the necessity for a broad governmental system of protection against espionage, subversion, and penetration by forces seeking the overthrow or detriment of the national interest. At the same time it seeks to protect individuals against unjust charges, undue delays in obtaining a hearing, unfair treatment, and the general atmosphere of uneasiness and suspicion that arises from fuzzy standards of proper and improper conduct for Federal employees and others, and conflicting methods of dealing with offenders.

The first major contention of the Commission is that the present blanket security pro-

gram for Government employees should be split in two. There should, the report contends, be a loyalty program, handled under special procedures and dealing with cases in which there is reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the individual to the United States. Then there should be an extension of the present civil-service procedures covering all nonsuitability cases, to cope with what are now termed "security risks," in which no question of loyalty is involved but in which immoral conduct or other aberrations or connections may present the risk of pressures that would lead to disloyal, indiscreet, or damaging acts. The report's standards and criteria for judging both of these classifications are numerous enough and precise enough to make the complementary procedures of the loyalty and suitability programs cover the cases now considered under security, without the confusions that arise from what the Commission calls an unnatural blend of suitability, loyalty, and security programs. If this recommendation alone of the Commission were adopted, it would mark a great advance.

To cope with the loyalty program, the Commission recommends a new agency, a Central Security Office, comprising "full-time governmental employees adequate in number to hear civilian employee loyalty cases throughout the country," with a sound training program and providing a Central Review Board.

The Commission makes out a strong case for the need of such an agency—the lack of training on the part of present hearing boards, made up of volunteers who have other responsibilities; the delays which ensue; the contradictory actions taken by various departments and agencies on the same state of facts. But it should be borne in mind that if such an agency is to be created, it must be staffed with the best possible personnel and prevented from either empire building or extending its activities into operational fields.

The procedure suggested by the Commission calls for mandatory personal interviews within the department affected when there is doubt of an employee's loyalty; for detailed and specific charges when it is deemed necessary to bring them, and for closed hearings before an examiner from the Central Security Office. In such hearings, the person charged could be represented by counsel, and would have the right to confront witnesses unless the latter were "regularly established confidential informants engaged in obtaining intelligence and internal security information for the Government" if such confrontation "will prejudice the national security." No other confidential information could be used by the hearing examiner over the objections of the individual involved.

This sweeping proposal could be a real handicap in removing potentially dangerous employees from public office. The Commission regards it as a compromise between a demand for full confrontation under all circumstances and "permitting ex parte dismissals with no hearings or privilege to refute charges." In this newspaper's view, there should be greater leeway for the use of confidential information; that it is possible and necessary to employ it fairly, but without limiting it as strictly as the report recommends.

The hearing examiner could only recommend a course of action to the agency head; the latter makes the actual determination. If an appeal is taken to the Central Review Board, its recommendations are also advisory. In every case, the final decision, as now, rests with the head of the department or agency concerned.

Those are the main outlines of loyalty procedures recommended by the report. There is much more, to be sure. The Commission proposes that similar procedures be followed in the case of applicants for employment. It has recommendations covering security provisions in industry, at airports, and on the seas and waterways, as well as for United Nations personnel.

In many cases, it would extend or stiffen present requirements. For example, it would have applicants for passports fingerprinted, which seems wise. It would also make it "unlawful for any citizen of the United States to travel to any country in which his passport is declared invalid." The argument here is that such a law "should go a long way toward preventing Communists and those with sympathetic association from traveling to Iron Curtain countries." By the same token, unless special exceptions were made, it would prevent newspapermen from doing the same on their lawful occasions, and write into statute the present attempt by the State Department to use the Nation's press as an instrument of national policy.

But while there may be many qualifications in respect to specific features of the report, the general effect is of a sane, objective approach to a complex and difficult problem. Congress is to be applauded for setting up the Commission, and the Commission for the painstaking and thoughtful way in which it has completed its work. The report will stand as a model for this kind of effort, a definite challenge to the executive and legislative branches to work in the same spirit for the revision of a vital aspect of Government operations.

Joint Committee on the District of Columbia

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Colorado, the ranking minority member of the Select Committee on Small Business, and at the same time to pay my compliments to the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN]. They have done a fine job in setting up these hearings, and the results speak for themselves.

I wish also to pay my compliments to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. MCCORMACK] for having given impetus to this study and also to say a word of appreciation to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GREEN] the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO] for having submitted much material to us that was helpful in this work. The majority leader, Mr. MCCORMACK, has been as interested in this work as the most diligent committee member. We are grateful to him for his aid. The small businessman of this industry owes him a vote of thanks.

As a result of this study the foreign cartels which have been, certainly, if nothing else, hurting small business in this country, will, we hope, adhere to their agreements to permit free competition in their markets. This should give an opportunity to small-business men, some 4,000 of them throughout the country, who are engaged in the scrap metal industry, to participate freely and competitively in exporting their scrap to Japan, the United Kingdom, and the European Continent.

Eager Young Readers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the New York Times of June 11, 1957, entitled "Eager Young Readers."

This editorial emphasizes the importance to our young people of outstanding literature and books of worth and value. From my own experience, I think I can endorse every word in the editorial, because the reading of notable literature is one of the truly great privileges of childhood.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAGER YOUNG READERS

In a country that continually grows in people it is not surprising that the word "more" is used each year to describe the number of workers employed, or houses built, or cars bought, but it seems contrary to what one might expect when the same word is used to describe the number of books being read by young Americans today. At the recent annual convention of the International Reading Association this fact was acknowledged, although followed by a disconsolate remark that the proportion of those who read books to enjoy their full meaning is sadly small. "The emphasis is largely on speed reading, skipping or reading in order to learn vocational skill or get a higher salary," said Dean Lester Asheim, of the University of Chicago's Graduate Library School.

It is true that the mass media contending for the young reader's attention do not require the same concentration that is required by a book; television and motion pictures are easy on the mind's eye. Dean Asheim says that "If the death of the book is actually hastened in the years ahead, it could well be because we—and by we I mean the educators, the writers, the publishers, the librarians—have accepted the mass medium premise that the audience cannot be expected to attend any message which requires some effort to understand." Dean Asheim might also have included parents in this group.

Perhaps not every young student will be like Lewis Carroll, who willingly occupied his spare time by setting himself problems in symbolic logic, "a most interesting mental recreation" as he put it, but the student who finds a wide variety of books in his home and whose parents encourage him to find out about the world through reading will not succumb to the temptation of looking instead of thinking. And surely no parent would really be satisfied if his children never once bothered to ask that irritating "Why?"

Still Time To Help Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the last issue of Life magazine, entitled "Still Time To Help Hungary":

STILL TIME TO HELP HUNGARY

"To all U. N. members and delegates. Delegates of the peoples. While your sons are at peace, we sons of the Hungarian Nation are falling under the cruel fire of Soviet tanks. Our country has been attacked from abroad. We turn to you. You are our last citadel of hope." (Free Radio Csokonay, November 4, 1956.)

Seven months have gone by since the Russian tanks, in defiance of all principles of international law and morality, and in betrayal of the Soviet Union's own promise to withdraw, crushed the last cries of the heroes of Hungary and drowned the nation's freedom in their blood. What has the U. N., their "last citadel of hope," the organized conscience of the world, done in answer?

As is well known, the U. N. has made 10 separate demands about Hungary, calling on the Soviet Union to get out of Hungary, to provide free elections, and allow U. N. observers; it has condemned the Soviet invasion as violating the U. N. Charter. All the resolutions have been ignored, the violation continues and instead of holding free elections the Kadar puppet regime is executing patriots in a reign of Stalinist terror.

The U. N has done something more. For 5 months the events in Hungary have been studied in minute detail by a special committee composed of delegates from small nations (Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia, Uruguay). Unable to enter Hungary, the five have gone everywhere else that eyewitnesses could be found. They have interviewed all free members of the short-lived freedom regime and more than 100 witnesses of the revolt and suppression. This week they are issuing their report. Important findings:

The report gives the lie for all time to Soviet claims that the Hungarian revolt was the inspired act of Fascists. It proves beyond question that the uprising was the spontaneous revolt of a whole people, aimed not at overthrowing socialism but rather at achieving freedom.

It proves the Red army was not invited to intervene, as the Soviet claims, but did so though Hungarian leaders refused, at gunpoint, to request such intervention.

It confirms that thousands of men, women, and children have been deported. Countless others have been tortured.

The puppet regime, contrary to Khrushchev's recent claim on United States television, has not support from the Hungarian people.

All these facts, of course, are well known to the free world. They are even known in the Soviet Union, where increasing questions are being asked about the murder of Hungary. But the confirmation of these facts by a judicial body made up of impartial small nations now provides an unassailable legal basis for the U. N. to take new action upon Hungary, and to take it quickly.

Cynical and weary men—some of our State Department spokesmen among them—are asking feebly, "What can the U. N. really do?"

The answer is: It can do plenty.

It can reconvene, now and urgently, the General Assembly which suspended its session in March pending this investigation. If the Assembly is not called it will not meet until September.

The reconvened Assembly can demand that the Soviet Union show cause why, if it continues to violate the resolutions of the General Assembly, it should not be expelled.

It can expel the Kadar puppet delegates.

Secretary General Hammarskjold, who was long denied access to Budapest but was told recently he can now come anytime, ought to go there immediately to present this indictment on his arrival and demand answers. His mere physical presence in Hungary would go far toward halting the execution of patriots. Some 2,000 of them have already been sentenced to death.

Economic sanctions against the Soviet should be considered by the 59-nation majority which voted for this investigation. It will be argued these would not be very effective but the taking of them—as a display of moral opprobrium—is all important.

A permanent UNEF military force, ready to act in future Hungarys, should be created.

Not only action by the United Nations is needed. A vigorous worldwide protest by individuals and organizations should be made to the Soviet Union. In Warsaw the Polish writers' union, even under communism's eye, has just had the courage to protest it. United States and other writers and journalists can demand, specifically, the release of these Hungarian writers now known to be imprisoned: Zoltan Molnar, Gyula Fekete, Aneras Sandor, Joseph Gali, Miklos Obersovsky, Julius Hay, Zoltan Zetzk, Tibor Tardos, Balasz Lengyel, Domokos Varka, Sandor Novobacaky, and the world-renowned Gyorgy Lukacs. Let the eight Nobel Prize winners who cabled their outrage last year cable it again, to prominent opposite numbers in Soviet professions. Let British Laborites send a new and sterner protest. Let Pandit Nehru recall his sorrow of December and give it voice anew. Let the United States Congress solemnly memorialize the Supreme Soviet on the crime of Hungary.

The Kadar regime, after promising amnesty to the freedom fighters, has begun exterminating the survivors. It proclaims: "We have two paths ahead of us, a merciless government or a state of chaos." The United Nations clearly has two alternatives: A somnolent summer undisturbed by the death cries of forsaken patriots, or the path of duty to keep a merciless spotlight upon the murderers so that their guilt will stand clear in the glare of condemnation from the world.

David A. Morse and the ILO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Mr. Morse and the ILO," which appeared in the New York Times of Wednesday, June 5, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. MORSE AND THE ILO

The reappointment of David A. Morse as Director General of the International Labor Organization for at least 5 more years is notable in many ways. To make it possible the governing body had to change the rules of succession from a single 3-year term, after 10 years of service, to 5 years with no limitation on reappointment. Mr. Morse was nominated by a Government representative of India and seconded by the Government delegates of the United States and Soviet Russia. His election was the unanimous act of the entire governing body, including Government, employer, and workers' spokesmen of the great powers, of some of the Latin-American nations and of Arab-oriented Egypt. At the end of his 15-year term Mr. Morse will have been the head of a major international agency longer than anyone else in history.

To have won, and kept, the confidence of the West and East, of the North and South, including the devotees of conflicting ideologies, is remarkable enough. It is, much more so for a forceful person with deep democratic convictions. We congratulate Mr. Morse on his dedicated service on behalf of better human living the world around. And we congratulate the ILO on the opportunity it has given him for still greater achievement as Director General—for 5 years more at least.

Milestones in Progress of Deseret News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, newspapers in America have done us all a fine service not only in presenting the news of the day but in providing a record of community events that in times becomes one of the most excellent tools of the historian of American life.

Quite often too such newspapers in their own particular growth give us another insight into the greatness of America. From hand press to multicylindered behemoths, from tiny offices to mammoth plants, from few-page editions to hundred-plus issues, their growth is manifest.

This week in Salt Lake City, one of our finest Utah newspapers, the Deseret News, began its 108th year of service to our Intermountain area. A story in the issue of Saturday, June 15, summarizes some milestones of Deseret News progress. The changes reflected in those years are remarkable.

I ask unanimous consent that the article referred to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VAST CHANGES NOTED SINCE PAPER BEGAN—DESERET NEWS COMPLETES 107TH YEAR

The Deseret News begins its 108th year of publication Saturday.

On June 15, 1850, the Mountain West's first newspaper came off a small hand press brought across the plains by ox team. The first 8-page edition was printed on 7½- by 10-inch paper at the rate of 2 copies a minute.

The 80-page weekday paper published last October 10 required 45½ tons of newsprint, measured 227.5 miles in length, and rolled off giant presses at the rate of more than 400 per minute.

Throughout the 107 years of its publication, the News has been an active participant in Utah history.

The first Deseret News extra was issued in 1852. It was a 48-page pamphlet containing full minutes of a special conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In May of 1858, because of the threat of Johnson's Army to Salt Lake City, publication was transferred to Fillmore and Parowan until September.

NEWS SPEEDED UP

With the advent of the Pony Express in 1860, news reached the Deseret News in only 6 days from Missouri. Formerly it had taken 30 days by stagecoach and 4 months by ox team.

The transcontinental telegraph, linked in Utah in 1861, brought news from abroad to Salt Lake City in ticker time.

Publication jumped to semiweekly and then to daily in 1866. Weekly editions remained until 1898 and the semiweekly until 1922.

In 1892 the Deseret News came under private management. It was returned to church operation in 1899.

SPORTS PAGE IN 1898

The sports page first appeared in 1898, and in 1916 the comic strips.

Radio station KZN, which later became KSL, was licensed to the Deseret News in 1922. This was the first commercial broadcasting station between Missouri and the Pacific coast.

The Church News began as a weekly supplement in 1931. Pictures transmitted by wire were first used in 1935, and full color printing came in 1936.

A Sunday edition was published from May 1948 until September 1952.

This past year, as from its beginning, the Deseret News has striven to give its readers the public service firsts which have brought the paper the prestige and respect of an ever-expanding circulation.

EXTRA ACTIVITIES

Complete coverage of the general elections last November required more than 500 manhours by a special staff in order to get the results to readers rapidly.

The Deseret News-sponsored Ski School at Alta and Brighton was attended by 1,600 in December. More than 68,000 in individual tests were given to 5,300 junior high school students in the Quizette program.

Bonus features presented in serial form included such best sellers as Stay Alive All Your Life, Help Your Husband Stay Alive, Lights Out in Budapest, The Day Lincoln Was Shot, The Resurrection, and The Fatboys' Downfall.

DESIRES REALIZED

Several saw their Suppressed Desires realized, and the Knothole Gang got into games free.

Each year has brought additional changes and developments which helped the Deseret News to be of service to its readers and continued to make it the Mountain West's first newspaper.

Treason's Biggest Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following editorial which was written by David Lawrence and appeared in the June 28, 1957, edition of U. S. News & World Report:

TREASON'S BIGGEST VICTORY

(By David Lawrence)

The right of an individual to be protected against prosecution, even if he advocates publicly the forcible overthrow of our Government, has just been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Punishment can come only if it can be proved that, as a result of this preachment, a specific step was taken to carry out a treasonable purpose.

Nor can such an advocate be convicted by any court in any of the 48 States of the Union For treason as an abstract doctrine has now been legalized by the Supreme Court and given the protection of the first amendment to the Constitution.

Not only are the courts put in a straitjacket of impotence, but the Congress of the United States has been notified that it no longer can carry on penetrating investigations designed to expose any wrongdoing, even if it seeks information for use in writing future laws that could prevent a recurrence of such wrongdoing.

In many respects, the series of decisions rendered at the present term of the Supreme Court of the United States are more devastating and more destructive of the rights of Congress to function as a coordinate branch of the Government than any decisions ever rendered by our highest Court in its entire history.

The rights of the individual now are ruled as superseding those of the Government itself and of all other citizens in the Republic who may be imperiled thereby.

The rights of the individual, moreover, now are held to be more sacred than the right of the people, through their Government, to be made secure against foreign enemies whose agents operate inside our borders.

Overnight a historic function of Congress has been curtailed and weakened—the right to investigate and inform itself on matters that may require legislation.

No longer can Congress compel a witness to tell what he knows, for instance, about other individuals engaged in Communist activity, even though he himself may not be a Communist or a traitor. The citizen, of course, can volunteer such information, but the witness now is to decide for himself whether a question asked by the interrogating member of a congressional committee is or is not pertinent to a legislative purpose.

The Supreme Court says Congress has not hitherto explained fully, and maybe doesn't itself know, the legislative purpose for which it seeks information through its investigations, and hence doubts must be resolved in favor of the recalcitrant witness.

Presumably committees of Congress hereafter will not be able to compel answers to their questions unless each query appears to be specifically authorized under the wording of a resolution adopted by either the House or the Senate. Even then, the Supreme Court intimates that it can rule later that the resolution was loosely drawn or too broadly drafted. As a practical matter, this sabotages the effectiveness of investigations based on the subpena power.

It means that crooks who operate shady businesses, crooks who dominate certain labor unions, and traitors who do the bidding of foreign agents and institutions cannot be exposed by Congress. The Supreme Court says that to do so might damage the reputation of these individuals and that to preserve this is more important than the safety or the integrity of the State.

PATH OF TRAITORS MADE EASIER

Last week's decisions rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States are epoch making. They are so sweeping that for a long time to come the path of the traitor in our midst will be made easier—unless the appellate jurisdiction of the Court is limited, as the Constitution says it can be, "under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

A new concept of the citizen's duty now is brought forward by the Supreme Court when it says, in effect, that a witness need not answer even though he knows just where the time bombs are hidden which may blow up thousands of his fellow citizens.

It seems that the first amendment now includes a right of "association" and that the relations between citizens and traitors are protected by the Constitution.

This is legalism run riot. This a technicality glorified. This is caprice that defies realism. It ignores the very existence of Soviet infiltration, Soviet espionage, and the Soviet conspiracy to render the American military establishment someday too weak to resist attack.

The Supreme Court, in its latest opinion, examines the phrasing of the resolution—first adopted by the House of Representatives in 1938 and readopted seven times since—which authorizes its committee to investigate un-American activities. The Court now finds this resolution defective. The majority of the Justices belittle the name of the committee by asking if anybody knows what "un-American" means.

Is it possible that in this day and age the Congress of the United States is being instructed that it must define "un-Americanism" to the satisfaction of every witness who may be called by an investigating committee before he can be compelled to answer questions? Didn't the House committee itself set out to learn what sort of activities hostile to American interests were being carried on?

In one instance, on the other hand, wherein the chairman of the House committee did outline in detail at a certain hearing that Congress wanted to know specifically whether labor unions were dominated by Communists, the Supreme Court now insists that even this is too vague a statement of the legislative purpose because it is noted that 6 of the 9 witnesses examined apparently had no connection with labor unions.

But Justice Clark, in his dissenting opinion, inquired in substance as follows: Who is to say that the supposed nonlabor witnesses were not stooges, instruments of communication or contact between the Communist traitors and the misguided, gullible members of the union? Wouldn't the Communists use drops or cover-up agents to do their work? Did the Supreme Court majority ever hear that secret agents have accomplices among persons not necessarily members of a union?

The Supreme Court seems to imply that the menace of Communist infiltration has vanished. It says witnesses now are asked by Congress to talk about past associations and to be judged by current standards rather than those contemporary with the ones exposed. When was treason ever judged by any standard provided by the chronology of the calendar? At what time in a man's life does the concealment of the traitorous behavior of persons other than himself become righteous through obsolescence? When does it become permissible in retrospect to have accepted the discipline of a foreign government's agents or stooges who seek to overthrow one's own Government?

Many of our citizens who were duped by the Communist line have since denounced it in public. They have been forgiven. They have been applauded for their courage and renewed allegiance. But today it is the coward who is extolled. It is the traitor who is advised that not only will his own secrets

be protected, but that he can continue to protect the agents of foreign governments and others who listen to their propaganda or become a part of their apparatus.

The Supreme Court, in its opinion, repeatedly proclaims that a congressional committee should not have the right to explore details of the background of a witness because this might hurt his reputation or that of his friends and associates. Why should such solicitude be shown for the reputation of shady characters or for those who have in one way or another made the mistake of coming under Communist influence?

The Supreme Court seems obsessed with the idea that public stigma is too harsh for a man who is called to testify before a congressional committee and refuses to tell what he knows. The Court argues that the safety of the state is too abstract an objective to justify the requirement that a witness tell all he knows about Communist infiltration. If there is to be an error, the Court feels it should be on the side of the traitors and that this is a small price to pay. But what about the price that the loyal citizens must pay with their lives when the acts of treason eventually are consummated and the enemy is given a military advantage?

The clumsy barriers erected by the Supreme Court will kill, for all practical purposes, the searching type of inquiry which Congress has found so useful in the past in exposing corruption and crime long after the statute of limitations has run in particular cases.

YESTERYEAR LIBERALS

Woodrow Wilson, in his book on congressional government, wrote: "The informing functions of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function."

Felix Frankfurter, as a professor of law at Harvard Law School, used that very quotation approvingly in a magazine article he wrote when a Senate committee was investigating the Teapot Dome scandals in the 1920's. The article appeared in the New Republic for May 21, 1924, and was entitled, "Hands Off the Investigations." Justice Clark cited this article in his dissenting opinion last week.

Excerpts from Mr. Frankfurter's article are as follows:

"If these aren't 'leads' properly to be pursued, then we had better frankly admit that the power of congressional investigation is a sham and not an effective instrument for ventilating issues for the information of Congress and of the public. * * *

"The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations upon inquiry. * * *

"For the same reason congressional inquiry ought not to be fettered by advance rigidities, because in the light of experience there can be no reasonable doubt that such curtailment would make effective investigation almost impossible."

Hugo Black, as United States Senator from Alabama, when he headed an investigating committee exposing the misbehavior of utility magnates, wrote an article in the February 1936 issue of Harper's magazine. Justice Clark last week also cited this article. It is just as persuasive today as the day it was written.

Senator Black wrote:

"There is no power on earth that can tear away the veil behind which powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups operate save the sovereign legislative power armed with the right of subpena and search. * * *

"This controversy has brought forth many legal arguments, filled many pages of parliamentary records, evoked multitudinous editorial protests, and sent many recalcitrants to prison. Notwithstanding this continuous opposition, the House and Senate have uniformly sustained the right of their committees to obtain such evidence since the first congressional investigation was ordered by the House in 1792. The courts have upheld them. * * *

"Witnesses have declined to answer questions from time to time. The chief reason advanced has been that the testimony related to purely private affairs. In each instance with which I am familiar, the House and Senate have steadfastly adhered to their right to compel reply, and the witness has either answered or been imprisoned."

Earl Warren, as attorney general of the State of California, issued a statement on November 28, 1941, denouncing the California Prison Board of Terms and Paroles for the release of three murderers sentenced to a 20-year term who had just been set free after serving a little more than 4 years. Mr. Warren wrote:

"Human life has indeed been cheapened. The murderers are free today not because they are rehabilitated criminals but because they are politically powerful communistic radicals. Their parole is a culmination of a sinister program of subversive politics, attempted bribery, terrorism, and intimidation which has evidenced itself in so many ways during the past 3 years."

These three liberals of yesteryear—Messrs. Frankfurter, Black, and Warren—were then living in a world of reality. But today Justices Frankfurter and Black and Chief Justice Warren live in the vacuum of an equivocal liberalism. They are 3 of the 6 Justices who made possible the sweeping decision of last Monday destroying the future effectiveness of congressional investigations in all fields of inquiry, including Communist activities in the United States.

True enough, Chief Justice Warren holds out hope that in the future a measure of added care may make it possible for Congress to exercise its investigating powers. But, as Justice Clark points out in his dissent, the phrase "added care" isn't spelled out, nor is there any intimidation of what these words mean today or may mean in the future. This is confusion worse confounded.

Not content to strike down the investigative powers of Congress, the Supreme Court also demolished on the same day, in another case, the investigating authority of State legislatures throughout the Nation.

HAMSTRINGING LAW ENFORCEMENT

Nor is all the damage confined to investigative powers of Congress or the States. Much worse is the blow struck at the law-enforcement work of police agencies in city and county governments as well.

Thus, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and every police department throughout the country must now be ready to make public in court the copies of all confidential reports made by detectives concerning all witnesses who are called to testify by the prosecution. Even state secrets covered in such reports must be divulged, or else the prosecutor will have to give up the right to use the witness. Undercover agents have to be revealed, and, of course, their future usefulness is impaired when they are identified publicly.

Who now will telephone a tip to the FBI or the police department of any city or county if his name is to appear in a detective's report made public in court? The informant will know that he can be subjected to reprisals from the members of the family of an accused person or his partners in a crime ring. What a blow to law enforcement.

So the net result of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States has been to do the following things:

1. To make easier the escape of criminals and traitors from prosecution or exposure, and to make harder the process of detection.

2. To cripple the investigating power of State legislatures and city and county governments in studying corrupt operations not yet covered by any laws.

3. To hamstring the Congress and deprive it of the best way to get the information about the operations of criminals and traitors needed to write the necessary laws to fight such criminals and traitors.

4. To make it easier for foreign governments hostile to us to operate on American territory through parties and groups and fronts that can destroy not only the Bill of Rights but the lives and property of our citizens when the time comes to complete the conspiracy by infiltration or war.

Treason has won its biggest victory.

More Yankee Trade, Less Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following address made by Eugene W. Castle before the Export Managers Club of New York, Inc., on June 18, 1957, entitled "More Yankee Trade—Less Foreign Aid":

MORE YANKEE TRADE, LESS FOREIGN AID

(Address of Eugene W. Castle, New York City, author, The Great Giveaway, The Realities of Foreign Aid, Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, founder and former president, Castle Films, the Export Managers Club of New York, Inc., June 18, 1957, Hotel Statler, New York City)

Early in the century when the then President Theodore Roosevelt urged that our Nation "speak softly but carry a big stick," the United States established a policy which came to be known as "dollar diplomacy." It meant the use of American diplomatic power to promote our financial interests abroad so that Americans could invest in overseas enterprises with a minimum of risk.

However, dollar diplomacy did not set well with the liberals of that day. They decried the use of diplomatic and military pressure to insure investments, and dollar diplomacy was roundly denounced as a wicked form of meddling in the affairs of foreign countries.

Today we are confronted—and often confounded—with a new kind of dollar diplomacy. It, too, involves the use of American money abroad, but today we are dealing in billions instead of millions. And since the billions are public funds provided solely by the American taxpayers, there is an amazing and ever-growing nonchalance in the way of our bureaucrats in Washington ladle out the money overseas. When mistakes, waste, and unwarranted extravagances result from our giveaways, no apologies for the errors in public spending are ever made. Instead, the demands for foreign spending are increased, as year after year, particularly at appropriation time, "new crises" and dangers are brought forth until the aid budgets are rammed through the Congress. As soon as this is accomplished the "crisis" and urgency to spend promptly disappears until the next year rolls around.

Of course, profit is no longer our motive. Instead the requesters yell to Congress and to high heaven that if they can't obtain all of the money they demand—every billion of it, the world will come to an end. But the world does not come to an end.

The Marshall plan was originally offered to a skeptical Congress as a means of rehabilitating the war-ravaged countries of Europe. We were told that $17 billion and 4 years would do the job.

But it did not stop there. Since the world began, the Marshall plan has had no parallel in the resultant spending of the resources of one nation for foreign aid.

We sent our dollars marching $60 billion strong over the far reaches of the earth in quest of mutual security. The prize, like a will o' the wisp, eluded us. The world is still in turmoil and danger. There is no security, mutual or otherwise.

Before I express my views further, let me make it perfectly clear that even if Congress did not appropriate one single dollar of new money for foreign aid, there will be spent not less than $3.3 billion during the fiscal year that begins next July 1. Additionally, there are $7½ billion already appropriated and in the Washington pipeline to continue foreign aid for more than 2 years.

What I am going to discuss briefly is the matter of getting a better and more honest deal for the American taxpayer and, at the same time, continue to support those countries whose friendship we can rely on—countries who are determined to help themselves and are therefore worthy of our support.

In the light of recent events, surely the time has arrived for all Americans, both in and out of Government, to reappraise critically our foreign-aid spending as a matter of our own self-interest.

From the year 1792 to 1950, our Government collected $406 billion in taxes.

From 1950 through 1956, our Government collected $433 billion in taxes.

For $406 billion in 158 years, we fought and won 6 wars.

For $433 billion in 7 years we fought one war in Korea without victory; we fought and are still fighting a cold war that we seem to be losing even in Formosa and, more recently, with our allies in Great Britain.

We cannot continue to support those who, if the chips were down, would not support us. We cannot buy allies and friends, but we could spend ourselves into bankruptcy and war.

President Eisenhower once realized this when he publicly stated: "The United States cannot be an Atlas; it cannot, by its financial sacrifices, carry all other nations of the world on its shoulders and we should stop giveaway programs."

Our foreign-aid careerists are gripped in the spirit of a "crusade"—emotional, intolerant of criticism or investigation. Those who dare question their activities are looked upon as isolationists, short-sighted "penny-pinchers", who are lacking in vision.

Neither individuals or nations are made friendly or even grateful by handouts. Those who are given money soon think it is owed to them. The assumption that the more money we give away the more good we accomplish is wrong—very wrong. For the emotions which really influence people—pride, custom, race, religion, and national enthusiasm are completely ignored. It is also wrong because it leads to frantic efforts on the part of our foreign-aid representatives to stir up projects in other countries which have not been requested and, in many cases, not wanted.

Let us consider a few of these projects:

It was recently announced that the United States has given $1 million to Pakistan to bolster that country's fishing industry.

In Formosa, we have set up a pension program for overaged Chinese soldiers.

In the Philippines we have provided costly electronic microscopes and technical equipment for a section of that country where no power is available.

In Afghanistan we have provided expensive airfields in a country where most travel is still done on the backs of camels.

In Thailand we started to build a highway for $6.5 million that has already cost us $18 million for half of the originally planned stretch and in a country which has fewer than 9,000 automobiles.

In India we provided $1,500,000 to build hundreds of prefabricated grain silos. The material, still uncrated, rests in warehouses in Calcutta and we are probably paying the storage bill.

In India, too, we have 400 people to administer our giveaway program. They can't spend the money as fast as it is piped to them. They have a backlog of $135,000,000 and International Cooperation Administration is trying desperately to obtain $80 million or more a year on top of what we are already giving India.

To Tito we are still exporting military jets and treasure despite the fact that the Yugoslav dictator repeatedly reminds us that his relations with Moscow are improving. His Defense Minister is now en route to the Kremlin. Tito is now playing coy about receiving our free airplanes, while he again makes goo-goo eyes at the Soviets.

Every year, at appropriation time, the giveaway mania has become a nonpartisan path to the headlines for our legislators in Washington. For instance:

Senator KENNEDY, a Democrat is anxious to give away $100 million to the Government of Communist Poland. This will not help the people of Poland. It will only help to relieve Moscow of some of its satellite overhead that it is so anxious to get rid of. Half of this gift is already on the way. The other half will soon be sent. We should have sent it all direct to Moscow. This would have saved the carrying and transfer charges. Gomulka, the Polish Communist Party chief, has already complained that this $100 million handout is very small considering their needs, and the Moscow errand boy adds that President Eisenhower's statement last October offering aid to Poland proved to be a sheer illusion.

Under Secretary of State Dillon, a Republican, has become an eager-beaver sponsor for the new $2 billion handout, without strings, to the underdeveloped nations of the world. Dillion very properly and politely calls it a loan. I hope you will never have to conduct an export transaction on a similar basis. If you do, the sheriff may be looking for you.

Congressman ROOSEVELT, a Democrat, seriously suggests that we should internationalize our Panama Canal to please Egypt's Nasser who has shown no desire to please us. We built the Panama Canal. We paid for it. We own it. If we should ever internationalize it, heaven forbid, some Russian commissar could decree that ships flying the Stars and Stripes could not enter the canal. In time of war our fleet would be bottled up. The memories of most of us are short. Too many of us forget that our Armed Forces fought, bled and died by the tens of thousands to win the war in Europe. After victory was accomplished and the enemy lands were reduced to piles of rubble, our politicians and the Military Commander of that day forget to get a road out of Berlin for Americans. The costly Berlin airlift in half free, half slave Germany resulted. This fatal error is largely responsible for the precarious position we find ourselves in today. This tragic mistake became immediately apparent to Stalin. He detected our weakness and determined that we could be pushed around. The cold war that has cost us tens of billions of dollars resulted. We are still being shoved around and humiliated before friends and foe alike by Stalin's successors.

Senator KNOWLAND, Republican minority leader, recently propelled himself into the headlines when he suggested on a TV program that we barter Norway, for Communist-dominated Hungary. The Senator, in all seriousness, offered the idea that we trade the membership of Norway in the North Atlantic Alliance in return for Soviet withdrawal from Hungary. Norway, unlike Hungary, is not a satellite. It is our firm friend and an independent nation, which determines its own destiny. Those of us with long memories will recall that the German war loads invaded Norway first, in their attempt to bottle up all Scandinavia.

These are but a few examples of why perhaps we fail to hold the respect and support of allies or neutrals. Our foreign-aid extravagances will never prove a substitute for firm foreign polities and sound pronouncements.

One month ago, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, majority leader of the United States Senate and a respected legislator, stated publicly that Congress would not write any blank checks for foreign aid and will not surrender the right to annual checkup on the program. That's what the Senate majority leader said a month ago.

But only a few days ago the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee after reducing the White House multi-billion-dollar aid request by less than 6 percent, endorsed, by an almost overwhelming majority, an aid program for the new fiscal year which Senator Johnson now both supports and sponsors.

If the four items contained in this overall aid authorization, which I am about to detail briefly to you, were adopted by the responsible officials of any publicly held United States corporation, these officials would, very likely, face Federal prosecution.

Here are the items:

No. 1. The budget of the Department of Agriculture includes $750 million of foreign aid for the next 3 years, which certainly should be added to the total foreign aid bill. This item should not be concealed from the American people as at present.

Moreover, foreign currency received from these food sales spells trouble for us because it means interference in the internal banking affairs of other countries through lending and relending large sums of money within their country. Only 10 percent of the soft currencies received from food aid sales is used for the maintenance of our own overly populated government establishments within a given country. The balance of 90 percent puts us in the foreign banking business with foreign currency, obviously a threat to the normal conduct of the fiscal affairs of any country.

Furthermore, it dumps a large volume of government held food supplies, at less than cost, on foreign countries receiving them, thereby restricting the normal procedures of foreign trade. This has led to an every growing number of complaints from United States exporters and others affected.

2. Nearly a billion dollars of defense support largely duplicates economic aid. The sum of $900 million now demanded for defense support is another scheme to attempt to justify the expenditure of this vast sum in countries where we already have military aid programs. This, to a large degree, constitutes a duplication of aid funds, regardless of any reason given for it.

Year after year, the President, the State Department and the highest officials and lobbyists for the executive departments plead for larger foreign aid appropriations.

Year after year, the principal argument is that we are spending three quarters of all aid funds for military purposes and only one quarter for economic aid. However, in the case of this latest plan, the defense support funds are to be reallocated to the Inter-

national Cooperation Administration, so that it ends up as before in the economic aid pipeline and not in the percentages that are given to stimulate the superspending.

3. Now it is planned to hide foreign military aid from the Congress by incorporating it in our defense budget where it will forever repose in the spending stream that runs through the catacombs of the Pentagon.

If Congress allows this to happen it means that the so-called military aid funds will be separated from the economic aid funds in the overall budget. Actually, $2 billion will be hidden from congressional supervision, so that it will be almost impossible for our legally constituted legislators to know how much is being spent for military aid and whether or not it is being used exclusively for military hardware and training.

The purpose of this is, of course, to reduce the overall foreign-aid budget in the eyes of the public—to conceal $2 billion annually from both the Congress and from the American people. In the end, it will cost the American taxpayers more billions because the visible part of the aid budget will go up and the defense budget already plagued by inflation, will become a military secret, and a more costly one. This is a dishonest technique. It should be condemned and rejected.

4. A new $2 billion blank check with no strings. The new blank-check proposal calls for an outright authorization of $2 billion to be spent at the rate of $500 million for the first year and $750 million for each of 2 succeeding years. No strings are to be attached to the spending. This vast sum will be given away at the discretion of the Department of State and the International Cooperation Administration and no geographical spread has been defined. It is important to recognize the inescapable fact that the first year's half billion dollars will become the incentive, the urge, and the itch to get rid of the additional $1,500,000,000 over the 2 succeeding years. The only problem will be to see that the money is fully spent and never mind how.

It should be recalled that the last Congress flatly refused to give the President a blank check for $100 million per year for 10 years. Now under a new authorization the same President boldly demands another blank check for his appointed, not elected, global spenders to ladle out $2 billion over a 3-year interval. And to toss out these billions where they please, when they please, and as they please. If Congress permits this new foreign-aid folly the American taxpayers are stuck not only for 3 years and $2 billion but very possibly forever and for many times $2 billion. Secretary of State Dulles, pleading for bigger foreign spending and as little congressional supervision of the spending as is possible, told a committee of Congress that foreign aid must go on for at least 10 years more. This means fifty to sixty billion dollars more.

Our aim should be to reduce the annual appropriation for all foreign aid, both economic and military, to $1 billion. This would stop the present waste and extravagance in our global giving venture. It would end the bureaucratic superstructure that the American people must now support to keep the giving in high gear. It would stop our policymaking politicians from creating their annual cry of crisis, which immediately disappears as soon as the appropriation is made. And most important of all, it would stop the threat to our overall economy and the further spread of creeping inflation.

There are many more effective and less costly ways of assisting other countries in their economic development than direct handouts from the Federal Treasury.

We need more Yankee traders and less foreign aiders to stimulate the flow of American capital into needy and underdeveloped nations through the incentive of fast tax writeoffs, such as are now granted to industries engaged in defense production.

Another way would be to expand the capacity of the World Bank to make long-term, low-interest loans to worthy nations upon the security of such collateral as natural resources or industrial potential.

In so doing, the United States would be able to achieve its goal without insulting the beneficiaries of its assistance, and without bankrupting the American people. One thing is certain, we cannot save the world by destroying ourselves.

We are told repeatedly that it is folly if we do not continue and expand our giveaway program. I can assure you it is the height of folly if we do continue such spending.

The present policy of weakening this Nation's economy and defenses by giving ourselves away makes it inevitable that we will be forced again to send our sons to fight and die in a third world war.

To me, one of the most alarming aspects of our foreign aid program is that so many well-meaning people have been persuaded that this vast array of money we are spending will buy us future security.

The record shows and will continue to show that we have not bought one iota of protection in case of necessity in spite of the great sacrifices we have been called upon to make. Recent news dispatches from Japan, Formosa, and other countries report numerous manifestations of anti-American sentiment. Even Western Europe, according to the United Press, is extending a cool reception to American tourists. This has been shown in country after country that have been the recipients of our bounty.

Not being satisfied with giving aid to our friends and allies, we have given billions to the so-called neutralist nations, together with vast quantities of military supplies. No thought has been given to the stark peril that in some future time these very arms might be hurled against our own sons.

We have already seen Tito, Nehru, Nasser, and others visit and play host to the Communists in wild orgies of friendship and anti-western demonstration.

Now it is solemnly proposed that we begin a program of aid to the Communist satellite countries of Eastern Europe.

What is the reason for our policy of panic?

Why must our policies be governed by crude Russian propaganda rather than the application of our own reasoning and logic?

One wonders why this country, with its reputation for ingenuity, organization, and production, cannot secure favorable agreements in carrying out its foreign policy and programs of foreign aid.

Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that Congress has abdicated much of its constitutional responsibility over appropriations. When larger amounts than can possibly be spent in a single year are appropriated for economic aid, Congress loses control of the purse strings.

Congress has been handing to the ICA, and its predecessor agencies, billions of dollars of the people's money without any previous determination of how the money is to be spent, and without audit or accurate check to determine whether the money was spent for the purposes intended.

Lack of specific information, general vagueness, and absence of coordination is a true index to the nature and character of the foreign aid program that the Congress is being asked to continue.

With the world's problems so difficult and varied and the solution so hard to find, it is wonderful to be able to hit upon so simple and easy a way out—give away more money. But is it good, or is it harmful?

Foreign aid has become more than a continuous drain upon the American taxpayer. It has become an opiate which blinds us to the appalling fact that we are doing little more than drift in our foreign policy course. It has given us a comfortable and deceptive belief that money is a substitute for strength and firmness in a cold war. Behind our Maginot Line of foreign-aid billions, we have hoaxed ourselves with the conviction that we have purchased security.

And these are added reasons why we need more Yankee traders. The ability to trade commands respect, wins friends and prevents wars. The foreign-aid program is today supplanting the private investor and in a large measure competing with the sound expansion of foreign trade. The dead hand of the Government bureaucrat cannot take the place of American initiative—it can only dry it up.

The sterile hand of state is now interposed between human wants and demands and the private initiative which can supply them.

This is happending more and more in both our domestic and our foreign dealings.

Never before, at a time when the guns are not booming, have the American people been subjected to more "brainwashing" from Washington than at present. Never before has the will of the Executive been more forcefully imposed upon both the Congress and the American people. Never before have we been confronted with a more bloated Federal budget—$71,800,000,000—the greatest danger to inflation that has ever been forced upon the American people.

These are factors that compel reappraisal. Several months ago our Congressmen got the surprise of their lives. The people rebelled against the excesses of the superspenders in Washington and their protests descended upon the legislators in an avalanche, the like of which they had never seen before. For a time, Congress took notice and took out the economy knife. Then the people stopped protesting and the spending went into high gear again, spurred by the powerful propaganda from the President, his assistants, and lobbyists. Unless the people reassert their concern and maintain their protests we may soon be confronted with an inflation that not only will curl our hair but may result in the tragedy of our losing it, as well as our shirts. If that happens we will be unable to aid ourselves or anyone else in the world. Then Moscow would win without firing a shot and our own politicians would blame us for their fiscal madness.

Americans both at home and abroad can surmount any problem when, as a nation, we put our minds and hearts to the problem at hand.

One problem now before us is to get politicians and their appointed global givers out of foreign aid and substitute the safer, surer, and sounder methods of our own Yankee traders.

Western Place Names From Virginia Sources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, in the naming of America's cities and counties, rivers and lakes, mountains and prominent landmarks lie many fascinating stories. Many of these our historians and other writers have published; others still are being brought to light. As our national heritage gains depth and perspective, it is well that these accounts be preserved. Future generations no less will treasure this understanding.

Recently there appeared in rural newspapers in Bedford, Va., and Afton, Wyo., accounts of how a native of Virginia in his new homeland remembered the old in placenames he suggested for the intermountain area. The author is a staff member of the former, the Bedford (Va.) Democrat, who contributed the article that appeared in the Star Valley Independent, Afton, Wyo.

For the information of Members of the Congress and those particularly interested in this phase of historical development I ask unanimous consent that the two articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bedford (Va.) Democrat of April 18, 1957]

BEDFORD-BORN MORMON BISHOP GAVE NAMES TO IDAHO TOWNS

How a Bedford County native who went west and became a Mormon bishop left his imprint and the influence of his native county on place names in his adopted home is shown in a recent report of the Idaho State Historical Department.

This contains a lengthy feature titled "Idaho Town Names," written by Fritz L. Kramer as a thesis for a degree at the University of California at Berkeley, where he was then a student. It shows that some Idaho place names stem directly from the Bedford-born bishop while others probably came from the same sources.

Two names, Dayton and Preston, have definite associations with Bedford County and two others, Liberty and Virginia, may have Bedford associations.

All are associated with Bedford County through one of its most distinguished native sons, William Bowker Preston, who was born near Moneta November 24, 1830, a son of Christopher and Martha Mitchell Clayton Preston.

JOINED THE MORMONS

Mr. Preston migrated westward, settling in Yolo County, Calif., in 1852 and in February, 1857, was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). He colonized the Cache Valley and was among the principal founders of Logan, Utah. November 14, 1859, he was ordained Bishop of Logan.

In 1871 Bishop Preston was named vice president and assistant superintendent of the Utah and Northern Railroad. At the general conference of the Mormon Church April 6, 1884, he was named the fourth presiding bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He retained that position until December, 1907, when he was released because of ill health. He died August 3, 1908.

He was married February 24, 1958, to Miss Harriett Annice Thatcher of California. He represented Cache Valley in the Utah Territorial Legislature in 1862–1864, 1872, 1876, 1878, 1880, and 1882. From 1865 to 1868, Bishop Preston was on a mission in England for the Mormon church conference and from 1901 to 1907 he was vice president of the State Bank of Utah.

ON THE IDAHO BORDER

About 1877 the Salt River Valley, on the Idaho-Wyoming border, was used as a herd ground for cattle of the Mormon Church. Bishop Preston advised the young men herding cattle to take up land in the locality and with his son, W. B. Preston, Jr., and three other men, he was the first to take up land there.

When it came to naming the new Wyoming town, Bishop Preston suggested that it be named for his old home in Virginia, Bedford. Mrs. Frane Wilkes, a granddaughter of Bishop Preston, and her husband live on the Preston farm at Bedford, Wyo.

In his ventures into northwestern Wyoming, Bishop Preston left marks of his journeys in southeastern Idaho, where the towns associated with him are located.

The first permanent settlement in Idaho was at Franklin, in the southeastern section of the State on the Utah border, the Mormons settling there in 1860, thinking it a part of Utah.

NAMED FOR BISHOP

The town of Preston, county seat of Franklin County, in southeast Idaho, was settled by the Mormons in 1879 and was named "Worm Creek" after the stream on which it is situated. By 1883 the name had been changed to Preston, in honor of the Mormon bishop.

Also located in Franklin County, west of Preston and north of the town of Franklin, is the town of Dayton. This site was originally called Franklin Meadows, for a while Five Mile Fork, then Chadwick and, finally, Dayton. Bishop Preston gave it the later name because he always visited the little settlement in the daytime and never had the occasion to stop overnight.

In Bear Lake County in the southeast on the Wyoming border is the town of Liberty, founded and named in 1877. The feature stated "no further information could be obtained on the origin of the name." It is possible that this town, which was in the area visited by Bishop Preston, took its name also from his home county, Bedford County, whose county seat was known as Liberty from 1782 to 1890.

TOWN OF VIRGINIA

North of Dayton in Bannock County is the town named Virginia, which for two reasons could be named for the State of Preston's birth. The town is shown in 1895 as being named Thatcher (a settlement in Franklin County also bore that name); a Mormon ward was organized there in 1912 under the name of North Cambridge, the name being later changed to Virginia. The similarity in the names Virginia and Thatcher show relationship to Preston's birthplace and his wife's maiden name of Thatcher.

The only newspaper in Franklin County is the Preston Citizen, a weekly paper in Preston.

[From the Star Valley Independent, Afton, Wyo., of March 22, 1957]

SETTLEMENT OF BEDFORD 80 YEARS AGO TOLD IN BICENTENNIAL FEATURE

(By Kenneth E. Crouch)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following feature story concerning the settlement of the town of Bedford in our own Star Valley 80 years ago was prepared by Mr. Crouch as a feature on Bedford, Va., and its namesakes, published in connection with the bicentennial observance of that community in 1954. The feature won second place in the Virginia Press Association awards for 1954 for feature writing for nondaily papers. The information aboue Bedford, Wyo., was obtained, mostly, from Mr. and Mrs. Frane Wilkes. Mrs. Wilkes is a granddaughter of the Bishop Preston who named Bedford.)

"Go west, young man, go west," led a son of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia to Utah and Wyoming where he became a prominent leader in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and founded a settlement in the Rocky Mountains of Wyoming which he named in honor of his native Bedford County, Va., because of the similarities in scenic mountains and farming interests.

William Bowker Preston was born November 24, 1830, in Bedford County, Va., a son of Christopher and Martha Mitchell Clayton Preston who were married in Bedford County, Va., December 20, 1824.

His birthplace was the village of Moneta. Strange as it seems, located northeast of Bedford, Wyo., in Fremont County, is a community named Moneta.

In 1852 he settled as a farmer in Yolo County, Calif., and in February 1857 was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Settling in Yayson, Utah, he colonized the Cache Valley and was among the principal founders of Logan, Utah. On November 14, 1859, he was ordained bishop of Logan.

Bishop Preston, in 1871, was named vice president and assistant superintendent of the Utah & Northern Railroad. At the general conference April 6, 1884, he was named the fourth presiding bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and retained that position until December 1907, when he was released because of ill health. He died August 3, 1908.

On February 24, 1858, he was married to Miss Harriet A. Thatcher, of California. He represented Cache Valley in the General Assembly of the Utah Territorial Legislature in 1862–64, 1872, 1876, 1878, 1880, and 1882.

From 1865 to 1868, Bishop Preston was on a mission in England for the Mormon Church conference. From 1901 to 1907 he was vice president of the State Bank of Utah.

About 1877 part of the Salt River Valley on the Idaho-Wyoming border, now in the Bedford area, was used as a herd ground for cattle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Bishop Preston advised the young men herding the cattle to take up land in the locality and with his son, W. B. Preston, Jr., and three other men he was the first to take up land there.

The main industry in the Salt River Range is dairying and sheep raising with forests being abundant. North of Bedford, Wyo., in the Wyoming Range is 10,143-foot Virginia Peak.

When it came to naming the new Wyoming town, Bishop Preston suggested that it be named for his old home in Virginia. Mrs. Frane Wilkes, a granddaughter of Bishop Preston, and her husband live on the Preston estate at Bedford, Wyo.

Bedford County, Va., was formed in 1754 from Lunenburg County with New London as the county seat. When Campbell County was formed the village of New London was included in that area and Liberty in 1782 was established as the county seat of Bedford. Liberty was incorporated in 1839, the named changed to Bedford City in 1890 and to Bedford in 1912.

It is famous for the location near "Poplar Forest", the summer home of Thomas Jefferson. The scenic Blue Ridge Mountains form the northern boundary of the county and in this range is included the famous Twin Peaks of Otter, 4,001-foot Flat Top and 3,875-foot Sharp Top.

Bedford County, Va., was named for John Russell, the fourth Duke of Bedford. He was Secretary of State of England for the Southern Department (which was responsible for the British Colonies) from February 13, 1747–48, to June 1751.

Bedford, Wyo., according to 1950 census figures, is the smallest of the 18 places bearing that name in the United States. The places so named are as follows:

Location	Population	Founded	For whom named
Bedford:			
Indiana	12,565	1825	Bedford County, Tenn.
New York	10,888	1681	Bedford, England.
Michigan	9,213	1837	Man named Bedford.
Ohio	9,105	1813	Bedford, N. Y.
Virginia	4,061	1782	John Russell, Duke of Bedford.
Pennsylvania	3,521	1751	Do.
New Hampshire	2,400	1750	Do.
Iowa	2,000	1853	Bedford, England, or a surveyor.
Massachusetts	1,407	1647	Probably Bedford, England.
Kentucky	533	1816	Gunning Bedford, Jr.
Texas	450	1876	Bedford County, Tenn.
Wyoming	374	1899	Bedford County, Va.
Bedford Hills:			
New York	11,000	1680	Probably Bedford, England.
New Bedford:			
Massachusetts	109,189	1652	John Russell, Duke of Bedford.
Pennsylvania	650	1818	Dr. Nathaniel Bedford.
Illinois	200	1834	Ford across the river.
Ohio	125	1825	Bedford County, Pa.
West Bedford:			
Ohio	40	1817	Bedford County, Pa.
There are 3 counties in the United States named Bedford. They are as follows:			
Pennsylvania	40,775	1771	Unknown.
Virginia	29,627	1754	John Russell, Duke of Bedford.
Tennessee	23,627	1807	Capt. Thomas Bedford, Jr.

Bedfordshire, England, has a population of 307,350, was founded 1011, but the origin of its name is unsettled. The town of Bedford, England, has a population of 54,000 and its date of founding and naming is not known.

There are Bedfords in Canada, Africa, and Australia, varying from towns to creeks, rivers, bays, etc.

Three ships of the United States Navy have borne the name Bedford, the cargo ship U. S. S. *Bedford Victory* (AK–231), named for Bedford, Ind., the U. S. S. *Perseverance* (PYC–44), formerly known as the *Bedford* and *Condor;* and the U. S. S. *YP–435,* formerly known as the *Bedford.*

The Export-Import Trade From Milwaukee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as the coauthor of the Wiley-Dondero Great Lake-St. Lawrence seaway law, it has naturally been my pleasure on many occasions to point up the important role played by Wisconsin ports in the St. Lawrence seaway trade. I have been happy, in particular, to stress the outstanding advantages and facilities available through the great port of Milwaukee.

It is with ample reason that Wisconsin's largest city is regarded as the most progressive port on the Great Lakes—the best gateway to the Middle West. Its modern outer harbor facilities for bulk, heavy lift, and general cargo have been particularly praised by shipping experts throughout the world.

People outside the Great Lakes area may not realize that America already possesses a fourth great ocean coast. They may not realize that already there is a tremendous trade with the ports of the world from Milwaukee and other cities. This fact was confirmed again, however, when I received the 1957 directory of Great Lakes-overseas shipping services via the port of Milwaukee. This directory shows all of the many international shipping lines which now serve this great port community.

The present directory will expand manifold once the seaway is completed. In that connection, Congress must, of course, finish action on pending legislation to increase the financial authority of the Seaway Development Corporation.

In order that those outside the Great Lakes area may realize that already a huge overseas trade exists, I ask unanimous consent that this directory be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the directory was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIRECTORY OF GREAT LAKES-OVERSEAS SHIPPING SERVICES VIA PORT OF MILWAUKEE, WIS., UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1957

CONTINENTAL SERVICE

Fjell-Oranje Line: Regular service, refrigerator and dry cargo. Twice a week, Port of Milwaukee direct to Antwerp, Rotterdam, LeHarve, Hamburg, Bremen. By transshipment to Switzerland and Austria. Other ports as cargo offers. General Steamship Agencies, Inc., 110 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 6–8464; cable: Steamship, Milwaukee.

Swedish American Line: Regular service, refrigerator and dry cargo. Weekly service (alternating with French Line) from the Port of Milwaukee direct to: LeHavre, Rouen, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Bremen, and Hamburg. Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., 757 North Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–2111; cable: Furness, Milwaukee.

Hapag Lloyd-A&B-Hamburg Chicago Line (joint service): Deep, tank space, refrigerator and dry cargo. Weekly sailings, Port of Milwaukee direct to Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bremen, Hamburg, and LeHarve. Midwest Steamship Agency, Inc., 208 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–2920; cable: Midship, Milwaukee.

French Line: Regular service, refrigerator and dry cargo. Weekly service (alternating with Swedish American Line) from the Port of Milwaukee direct to LeHarve, Rouen, Bordeaux, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Bremen, and Hamburg. Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., 757 North Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–2111; cable: Furness, Milwaukee.

Wallenius Lines: Dry, cargo, deep tank space. Monthly service, Port of Milwaukee direct to Hamburg, Rotterdam. Kerr Steamship, Inc., 208 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.; telephone: Central 6–4592; cable Kerrline, Chicago.

Poseidon Lines (fortnightly service): Regular service, dry cargo, port of Milwaukee, direct to Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, and Bremen. General agents, James W. Elwell & Co., Inc., 647 West Virginia Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–0570; cable: Elwell, Milwaukee.

SCANDINAVIAN SERVICE

Fjell Line: Regular service, refrigerator and dry cargo. Weekly service, port of Milwaukee direct to Copenhagen, Oslo, Bergen, and Stavanger. General Steamship Agencies, Inc., 110 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 6–8464; cable, Steamship, Milwaukee.

Swedish American Line: Regular service, refrigerator and dry cargo. Fortnightly service, port of Milwaukee direct to Oslo, Gothenburg, Malmo, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Helsingfors. Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., 757 North Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–2111; cable: Furness, Milwaukee.

Swedish-Chicago Line: Refrigerator cargo, dry cargo. Forthnightly sailings, port of Milwaukee direct to Gothenburg, Malmo, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Helsingfors. General Steamship Agencies, Inc., 110 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.: telephone: Broadway 6–8464; cable: Steamship, Milwaukee.

Finlake Line: Monthly sailings, port of Milwaukee direct to Gothenburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Truku (Abo), Helsingfors, and Kotka. Other Scandinavian ports as cargo offers. James W. Elwell & Co., Inc., 647 West Virginia Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Telephone: Broadway 2–0570; cable: Elwell, Milwaukee.

Wallenius Lines: Monthly service, port of Milwaukee, direct to Gothenburg, and Stockholm. Kerr Steamship, Inc., 208 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.; telephone: Central 6–4592; cable: Kerrline, Chicago.

UNITED KINGDOM SERVICE

Fjell-Oranje Line: Regular service, refrigerator and dry cargo. Weekly service, port of Milwaukee direct to London and Glasgow. General Steamship Agencies, Inc., 110 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 6–8464; cable: Steamship, Milwaukee.

Swedish-Chicago Line: Refrigerator cargo, dry cargo. Fortnightly sailings, port of Milwaukee direct to Liverpool/Manchester. General Steamship Agencies, Inc., 110 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 6–8463; cable: Steamship, Milwaukee.

Manchester Lines Ltd.: Refrigerator cargo, dry cargo. Regular sailings from the port of Milwaukee direct to Liverpool and Manchester, England. Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., 757 North Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–2111; cable: Furness, Milwaukee.

Furness Great Lakes Line: Regular service, dry cargo. Monthly service, port of Milwaukee direct to London, England. Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., 757 North Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–2111; cable: Furness, Milwaukee.

Head Line: Regular service, dry cargo. Monthly service, port of Milwaukee direct to Liverpool, Belfast, and Dublin. James W. Elwell & Co., Inc., 647 West Virginia Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2–0570; cable: Elwell, Milwaukee.

MEDITERRANEAN SERVICE

Fabre Line (joint service with Ellerman Great Lakes Line): Regular service, refrigerator, and dry cargo. Regular service, port of Milwaukee direct to Lisbon, Cadiz, Casablanca, Tangier, Oran, Algiers, Barcelona, Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseille; other Mediterranean ports as cargo offers. James W. Elwell & Co., Inc., 647 West Virginia

Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2-0570; cable: Elwell, Milwaukee.

Ellerman Great Lakes Line (joint service with Fabre Line): Regular service, refrigerator, and dry cargo. Regular service, port of Milwaukee direct to Lisbon, Cadiz, Casablanca, Tangier, Oran, Algiers, Barcelona, Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseille; other Mediterranean ports as cargo offers. M. E. Dey & Co., Inc., 759 North Milwaukee Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 1-7461; cabel: Deyco, Milwaukee.

Niagara Line: Fortnightly sailings to Mediterranenan ports from port of Milwaukee direct to Lisbon, Casablanca, Algiers, Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, Marseille, Valencia, and Seville; other Mediterranean and North African ports as cargo offers. General Steamship Agencies, Inc., 110 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 6-8464; cabel: Steamship, Milwaukee.

Montship-Capo Line: Deep tank space, refregerator, and dry cargo. Every 3 weeks, port of Milwaukee direct to Lisbon, Casablanca, Genoa, and Naples; other Spanish, Mediterranean, and North African ports as cargo offers. M. E. Dey & Co., 759 North Milwaukee Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 1-7461; cable: Deyco, Milwaukee.

Zim-Israel-America Lines (Great Lakes Service): Regular sailings from Port of Milwaukee direct to Tel Aviv, Haifa, and other Mediterranean ports as cargo offers. Midwest Steamship Agency, Inc., 208 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2-2920; cable: Midship, Milwaukee.

CARIBBEAN SERVICE

Ahlmann Transcaribbean Line: Regular service, dry cargo. Every 21 days, Port of Milwaukee direct to La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, Maracaibo, Curacao (Barranquilla subject to confirmation). Midwest Steamship Agency, Inc., 208 East Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; Telephone: Broadway 2-2920; Cable: Midship, Milwaukee.

Saguenay Terminals, Ltd.: Port of Milwaukee direct to La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, Port of Spain, Ciudad Trujillo, Santiago de Cuba, Port au Prince, and Kingston. James W. Elwell & Co., Inc., 647 West Virginia Street, Wilwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2-0570; Cable: Elwell, Milwaukee.

Grace Line, Inc.: Regular American-flag service, dry cargo. Every 2 weeks, Port of Milwaukee direct to LaGuaira, Puerto Cabello, Maracaibo, Barranquilla. Other Caribbean ports as cargo offers. Grace Lines, Inc., 735 North Water Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone: Broadway 2-4722; Cable: Graceline, Milwaukee.

For information on steamship schedules, railroad and truck services, heavy lift facilities, bulk cargo facilities, municipal port tariff, port booklets, general cargo handling, address: Board of Harbor Commissioners, 710 City Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.; telephone Broadway 6-3711; cable: Milharco, Milwaukee.

One Man Pressure Group

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the answer to problems in Government today can be found in this article by Duke Burgess, a constituent of the Fifth District of Texas, the district I have the honor to represent.

I am fortunate to have constituents like Mr. Burgess. He is not alone in his views. What he must recognize is that our Government will indeed do something about correcting its faults only when the people themselves demand it. I hope other Members enjoy this article as have I.

The article follows:

[From the Freeman for April 1957]

ONE-MAN PRESSURE GROUP

(By Duke Burgess)

Who am I? Just an ordinary American who deeply resents the way our major polital parties seem to be working night and day to plunge us into the depths of slavery. If I have any political leanings, they are to the right—the right of the individual against the might of the group.

Rabble rousers for the left have convinced many that freedom isn't very important. They've sold a sugar-coated dose of poison by advertising a utopia, the purchase price of which is hate, strife, and revolution—only they don't mention the price; they let us believe it's all for free. And the customers are persons who want to believe that they can have something for nothing.

There aren't very many who genuinely believe in individual rights and freedom. Of course, most people will swear by all that's holy that they are pure believers in freedom. Yet when they are pinned down, they believe in freedom for themselves but not for the fellow across the street.

A number of years ago when I first became concerned about individual freedom, I heard of a man who said he would probably die of shock if he ever met a businessman who didn't believe in free enterprise. Another fellow said he'd drop dead if he ever encountered one who actually did believe in it. That amazed me at the time, but now I am convinced he was tragically right.

Too often in recent years I have heard one businessman or another say there ought to be a law to control his competitors, while his competitors were probably busy dreaming up laws to control him. So, what happens? They all end up promoting socialism and dictatorship by running to Government to solve something that could have been solved more quickly and cheaply by a friendly chat across the back fence.

I know a man who owns more than 100 stores, yet he hates Safeway and thinks there should be some drastic law to prevent any company from having as many stores as Safeway has. It doesn't seem to occur to him that to the man with one store—or even 5 or 10—his 100 stores are unreasonable competition. I know another man whose main livelihood is derived from one of the General Motors cars, yet he frequently expresses verbal hatred toward the "big fat greasy capitalists" who ride around in Cadillacs. Obviously, it doesn't occur to him that he and the other folks who ride around in his brand of car would also be classed as fat capitalists by millions of people. To go a step further, anybody who owns a 1925 Maxwell might also be considered a "big fat greasy capitalist" by countless other millions throughout the world.

IS SIZE A SIN?

The idea that size of a business in itself can be sinful is so widely accepted that hearings go on almost continuously in Washington to determine at what point a company becomes a "monopoly." Legislation is always pending which would limit the percentage of business any company could do in its industry.

I think it is one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation ever to be considered by Congress. I spoke of it to a man I know who is legal counsel for a manufacturing concern. His company does more than half of the business in its field, and it does more than half for one reason only—that more than half of the people buying that item prefer that brand. It has lots of competition. To limit the company to 50 percent of the market would not only deprive its owners and employees of a place honestly gained in a free market, but, just as important, it would keep some persons from buying the product they like.

Now you would think that the company's legal counsel would be especially alert to the dangers in such a law. But what do you think he said? He said, "I think that might be a good law. You know it's criminal for a company such as United States Steel to get as big and powerful as it is." When I suggested that to his competitors his own company looked big enough to be outlawed, he failed to see the connection. He thinks of his own company as "small" business, yet its sales run into several million dollars a year—big enough so that many of his smaller competitors think it is a monster and there ought to be a law.

I know a man who used to be in the margarine business and thought it was a crime that butter makers could color their product when he couldn't. Now he owns a dairy and he thinks it's a crime that the margarine makers are now allowed to color it. Not long ago on a train, I was talking with a farmer who was loud in his condemnation of Government spending. When I suggested that a good stopping place might be to withdraw subsidies on wheat, he couldn't see it. Another man I know is a strong advocate of Government price control. He thinks it's wrong for the merchant to make a profit, or for landlords to get enough rent to keep up their properties. But he buys and sells oil leases, and thinks it's just good business to buy a lease for a dollar and sell it for a thousand. Any suggestion to control his margin sends him into a frenzy.

THE FAULT IS OURS

Is it any wonder that the Government reflects such thinking, and tries to break up the A. & P. mainly for the crime of having sold too many groceries to too many people too cheaply? Before we start wondering why we have a government like that, however, maybe we ought to ask ourselves why we are like that.

Let's place the blame for our unholy position today right where it belongs—right in the laps of the people and their myriad pressure groups. Just to name a few of them, there are the business groups, the veterans groups all the way back to the Revolutionary War, the school groups, the labor groups, the social-welfare groups, the political-spoils groups, the church groups, and on and on ad infinitum. One can't put too much blame on the politician—after all, he's just human—and with every kind of a pressure group imaginable under the sun pushing and pulling at him, what can you expect?

The answer? Well, let's start right close to home. What kind of a pressure group do you belong to? What kind of a subsidy, or special privilege, or law to regulate somebody else, are you working for? Be honest with yourself first, and then you can go full steam ahead.

Shortage of School Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the publication Justice, the monthly magazine

of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. It points up very dramatically how severe the shortage of school facilities is, even in my own State of New Jersey. I do hope that the Senate will have an opportunity to vote on a program for Federal aid for public schools this year.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, AFL–CIO,
New York, N. Y., May 27, 1957.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE OFFICE OF LOUIS STULBERG, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

In view of the current interest in the Federal school construction bill, we are enclosing a report from Justice, publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for your information.

LOUIS STULBERG.

UNION HALL TO SCHOOL ROOM—SOUTH RIVER ILGWU GIVES UNION HALL FOR DAYTIME USE BY OVERCROWDED SCHOOL

(By Leon Stein)

Any weekday, in South River, N. J., you can walk into the headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union at the corner of Main and Thomas and find the place filled not with garment workers, but with studious teen-agers. Some of these youngsters have parents who are members of the ILGWU. But the students are in union headquarters because there's no room for them in their crowded-to-bursting high school.

With a registration of 840, the South River High School has about 200 students more than it can accommodate. It is two small blocks from ILGWU headquarters. For the past school year, ILGWU headquarters has been integrated with the school; every ringing of the bell marking the end of a class period starts one line of students down the block toward Main and Thomas while another marches informally back to the school building.

We visited South River the other day. We saw the young people come down the street, open the door marked ILGWU, climb the flight of stairs over which hangs an ILGWU banner, sit at the same table where later that night ILGWU members sat for a shop meeting. We saw these young people studying and working in a union hall, draped with banners of locals 150 and 157.

We asked one how it felt to study and work in a union hall. "It's clean and comfortable," he said, "and plenty of room." "I've been here before," said another, "before we began to hold classes. My mother's a member." One young lady replied, "What better place could you find for taking social studies and American history?"

South River is not an industrialized community. It lacks big plants with heavy equipment such as may be found in other parts of New Jersey. Its largest single industry, according to Simon Baumrind, local ILGWU representative, is the soft-goods garment industry.

We talked with high school principal Fred Williams, backed into a cubby-hole office in his overcrowded school. What did he expect to do now that the school budget had just been turned down at a special township meeting, we asked?

"We included no request for capital outlay," he said. "The per-pupil cost of running this high school," he continued with the patient weariness of one doing a heroic job, "is $923—the lowest in the county. We will need more teachers next year to meet the rise in our enrollment. My present teachers are bound to the school not by wages but by their fine sense of loyalty and community responsibility. But how will I be able to get additional teachers when any other community in the area will be offering newcomers more than I do?"

We asked Charles A. Eberwein, a member of the local Board of Education, how come. He explained that because the area had little heavy industry, the added tax burden of a higher budget would fall almost entirely on the small-property owners making up the community. "It's not easy to ask people to raise their own bills," he concluded.

Joseph G. Mark, president of South River's leading bank, told how flat rate of State aid fails to solve problem of communities with low income from local taxes. We drew the parallel with Federal educational aid to the States, Mr. Mark is against it.

The ILGWU has lent a helping hand by giving the high school the use of its headquarters, rent free. Vice president Israel Horowitz, general manager of the ILGWU eastern out-of-town department with which locals 150 and 157 are affiliated, says, "This isn't the first time workers have had to take measures to insure proper educational opportunities for their children."

More than a century ago, organized labor led in the fight to establish free schools for the Nation's children. Democracy means equal opportunities for all, and the slogan of free schools was raised with the same vigor as that for higher pay and a shorter work day.

Today, when scientific advances have made education essential for national survival, teachers are underpaid, schools are overcrowded and Congressional leaders, loose on a phone economy binge, are slashing at the Federal school construction program.

Both political parties here pledged themselves to support the concept of Federal aid. H. R. 1, the bill introduced in the House of Representatives by AUGUSTINE KELLEY of Pennsylvania, would authorize $3.6 billion in Federal grants to the States for school construction over a 6-year period. But early this month, the House Committee on Education and Labor cut this figure by more than half, and proposed a Federal school construction outlay of only $1.5 billion. There is still time to act with the wisdom that economy-blinded Congressmen seem to lack. There is still time to try to restore the cuts made on the Kelley proposals. Write to your Congressman at once, and tell him to stop cutting into the future of this Nation.

WHY THE CLASSROOM SHORTAGE GROWS

Enrollment keeps going up

In last 5 years, public school enrollment, number of pupils up to 5½ million.

In the next 5 years, estimated rise, number of pupils up 6 million.

More classrooms a must

Right now: To eliminate overcrowding and substandard schools, 159,000 new classrooms needed.

In the next 5 years, to meet the enrollment rise, 225,000 new classrooms needed. In the next 5 years, to meet current obsolescence and destruction due to fire, flood, etc., 110,000 new classrooms needed.

We must build, in the next 5 years, 494,000 new classrooms.

But the school deficit is growing

Last year, new classrooms totaled 63,000.

At that rate, the 5-year total would be 315,000 .

And the deficit, without Federal aid, would rise to 179,000.

Wilderness Preservation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a portion of an article by Richard W. Smith, entitled "Why I Am Opposed to the Wilderness Preservation Bill."

It is the West which is primarily affected by this bill, and those of us in the West are deeply concerned about the drive to prevent orderly development of our resources and continued multiple use of our lands, under the guise of protection of the wilderness. We are very much aware of the need for protection of our natural attractions, and that is why we support the fine work being done by the National Park Service, the Forest Service, and the Fish and Wildlife Service. But we resist attempts such as this one to stifle future development of our water resources, our mining resources, our livestock industry, and our lumber industry, through a rigid program which will not serve the best interests of the general public.

There being no objection, the portion of the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY I AM OPPOSED TO THE WILDERNESS PRESERVATION BILL

(By Richard W. Smith)

I believe in the preservation of carefully selected examples of wilderness areas in as near their primeval conditions as is possible in these days and times. I have for many years been a member of The Wilderness Society; in fact, I believe that I am a charter member, having joined during the first call for members at the invitation of my personal friend, Benton MacKaye, one of the founders.

Yet in spite of this belief, I am opposed to the wilderness preservation bill (S. 1176, H. R. 361, 500, 540, 906, 1960, and 2162 of the 85th Cong.). I believe it would represent a serious step backward from the established principle of management of Federal lands on a multiple-use basis when such uses do not conflict with the major purpose for which the area was established. It would serve to perpetuate a single-purpose use for the areas named in the bill and others to be added, regardless of whether or not they have been wisely chosen and regardless of possible later changes in circumstances. Furthermore, it would place in the hands of Congress and a special council administrative jurisdiction which, under our system of Government, should remain with the executive departments. Certain provisions of the bill would make more difficult the administration of these areas by the Government agencies now charged with their management.

* * * * *

EFFECT OF THE BILL

Let us consider what effect the bill, if passed, would have on the various types of areas to be included in the wilderness preservation system. The national parks

and the scenic national monuments are, or should be, the most superlative examples of our national scenery, essentially in their primeval natural condition and in scenic quality and beauty so outstandingly superior to average examples of their several types as to make them of national importance and to make imperative the preservation of their wilderness character as far as is possible and still have them reasonably accessible for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of all the people.

The National Park Service is doing a good job in making the inevitable compromises between keeping the parks a complete wilderness by excluding all visitors and throwing them open to commercial development of all types. The Service builds sufficient roads so that the vast majority of people who are not hikers can see and enjoy examples of the scenery, and the necessary accommodations for taking care of them. It builds trails and shelters for the hikers and riders, and it leave large areas untouched for those who want to get away from all signs of human activity.

No mining, oil or gas leasing, or timber cutting is allowed, except for salvage of blown-down and diseased timber. Grazing is allowed to a limited extent, but the Service tries to terminate grazing permits as rapidly as can be done with equity.

The principal effect of the bill, therefore, on the national park system would be to make it more difficult for the Service to administer the areas. Within 10 years the national park officials must decide where roads and accommodations for visitors for present and future needs are to be located, and thereafter they can be built only at these locations. They will certainly have to be clairvoyant as to future needs, which may be as different from today's needs as today's are from those of before the advent of the automobile. Furthermore, although additions of parks and monuments to the wilderness preservation system can be made by either the Congress or the President, only an act of Congress can remove them.

The wilderness and wild areas of the national forests have no roads or other provisions for motorized transportation. Commercial timber cutting and occupancy under special-use permits are not allowed. Location and patent of mining claims and grazing are permitted. Oil and gas mineral leasing are discretionary with the Secretary of Agriculture. Primitive areas, while managed under slightly less restrictive regulations, are much the same and are gradually being reclassified as wilderness and wild areas. The three roadless areas in Minnesota are a compromise between wilderness and commercial values and are managed for maximum protection of wilderness values while permitting necessary utilization of the resources.

The effect of the bill on these areas would be to stop the location and patent of mining claims, the leasing of oil and gas and leasable minerals, and the grazing of livestock. Special provision (2) in section 3 (c) permits the gradual extinction of present grazing permits. Additions to the list of wilderness and wild areas in the national forests may be made by the Secretary of Agriculture, but he cannot, as now, delete any or change their boundaries after due public hearings. Thus, the bill would stop all multiple use of the national forest wilderness and wild areas in the system and make them as inviolate as the national parks, or even more so.

At the present time the Secretary of the Interior, in administering the wildlife refuges and game ranges under the jurisdiction of the Fish and Wildlife Service, may allow under regulations the building of roads, timber cutting, grazing, mining, and oil and gas leasing, when they will not unduly interfere with the purposes for which the area was reserved. Under the bill, all such multiple-purpose uses will stop. Within 10 years the Secretary must designate the areas in which will be built roads, buildings, and other installations for administration and protection of the area, but these areas will not be excluded from the units (as in the national parks). This provision will prevent any future roads or buildings not planned for in the 10-year period.

The Indian reservations are not Federal lands, although in the past they have often been administered as if they were. They are owned by the Indians but held in trust for them by the Federal Government. Contrary to law, most of the roadless and wild areas on Indian reservations were set up by the Indian Service without the consent of the Indian tribes involved. Their legal status, therefore, is very doubtful. As administered in the past, oil and gas leasing and mining, grazing, and timber cutting have been allowed under special permits. All of these uses would be stopped by the bill.

The Naitonal Wilderness Preservation Council which would be set up by the bill would cut across the regularly established methods of government. Composed of the heads of executive agencies and citizens, its duties would be principally to ride herd on the agencies administering the wilderness areas to see that they enforce the provisions of the bill, to promote the addition of new areas to the System, and to act as a lobby before Congress in getting such additions approved. I doubt if such a diverse group could work in harmony to produce the desired results.

WHY I OPPOSE THE BILL

Senator HUMPHREY, in introducing the Wilderness Bill in the 84th Congress, stated that "this proposal is not one for any 'special use' or 'special privilege' legislation." He went on to say: "Existing uses and privileges are respected in this bill, and private rights are protected. It is true that no mining or prospecting will be permitted except where it is already in existence and represents a private right. Otherwise, or perhaps I should say, even so, this is not essentially a reform measure but rather a measure to insure the preservation of a status quo which fortunately includes a great resource of wilderness."

I challenge that statement. A careful reading of the bill will show that its purpose is to prevent all, or almost all, of the multiple uses of these areas, to freeze them in their present condition for a single purpose—their enjoyment by the limited few hardy hikers and campers who can get into them—legislation for the few instead of the multitude. Yet it has been drafted by the same people who called the grazing bills "single-purpose" and "special privilege" legislation.

Indeed, if I were advocating special-privilege legislation for some other purpose—increased grazing privileges, laxer mining laws, or timber cutting in the national parks—I am not sure but that it would be good strategy to support the wilderness preservation bill and then cite it as a precedent for the legislation I were advocating.

Multiple use means various things to various people. To some it means allowing all possible uses of all areas regardless of the conflicts. To others, and I am one, it means administering an area primarily for its highest use and allowing other uses as long as they do not conflict unduly with that highest use. To my mind, that is the way our wilderness areas are now being administred, and the way they should be.

What is wrong with the present administration of our wilderness areas? The best of them are in the National Park System where they are protected from all commercial development of their natural resources. The conservationists' victory in the Echo Park Dam case has shown that it is impossible to get legislation through Congress to build dams that will flood national parks and monuments. Their only threat is that the National Park Service might build roads into some of them to take care of the needs of the increasing hoards of visitors. Each case of this type should be judged on its individual merits, on the basis of the greatest good for the greatest number, and I am not fearful of the outcome.

The administration of the wilderness areas in the national forests and wildlife refuges is based on recognition that their primeval character is their highest use. Other uses are allowed only when they do not unduly interfere with their wilderness character. If any of them have such high wilderness values that this protection is not enough, they can, by special legislation, be transferred to the National Park System.

Conditions change from time to time. What today may be the highest use may not be tomorrow. The administration of Federal lands should be sufficiently flexible to allow for such changing conditions, and we should not freeze the administration so that desirable changes would be difficult if not impossible.

In the face of the growing need for the natural resources of our Federal lands, let us not hastily build up a huge system of millions of acres devoted in perpetuity to preservation of its primeval character for the benefit of the few who can get into it. That is what the wilderness preservation bill would do. Not only would it freeze in perpetuity the areas listed in the bill, but it would make it easy to add other areas and difficult to subtract or change the boundaries of any of them. And it would make it extremely difficult for the agencies to administer them. That is why I am opposed to the wilderness bill.

Statement of Hon. Robert C. Byrd to House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct to the attention of our colleagues the statement which I presented to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in connection with the pending hearings to increase the rates of basic compensation of officers and employees in the field service of the Post Office Department.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT C. BYRD PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, JUNE 21, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I appreciate this opportunity to present my views on the bill, H. R. 3605, which I introduced, "to increase the rates of basic compensation of officers and employees in the field service of the Post Office Department."

This bill is identical with the bill, H. R. 2474, that has been introduced by the distinguished chairman of your Subcommittee on Civil Service. I join with the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. MORRISON] and other sponsors of this legislation in hope that this legislation can be speedily enacted. I sincerely hope that the time element will not operate to defeat this worthy legislation, and I suggest to the committee that it need not do so. If, as I hope and expect,

the committee proceeds promptly, I am confident that this legislation can and will be enacted. In an effort to make sure that action is taken at this session, I am one of those who signed the discharge petition presented by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. THOMPSON]. I hope the action of this committee will obviate the necessity for bringing the matter up under clause 4, rule XXVII.

It was not until just 2 years ago, 1955, that the first step was made by the Congress toward righting the antequated system of wage determination for postal employees. Prior to that, there were many instances in which the pay of postal workers was entirely unrelated to the requirements of their jobs. The 1955 legislation corrected some of those inequities. The 1955 law, however, did not provide postal workers with adequate pay so as to put them on an equal basis with comparable workers in industry.

Since 1939 the postal workers have steadily lost buying power, and that loss has never really been compensated. Postal workers from 1926 to 1945 had no pay increases, and the average postal salary during that period was $2,100. But the postal worker was much better off than he is today.

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has assembled some extremely interesting figures from the reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor. I am attaching these figures in the form of a table as a part of my remarks. The table showing the average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries by selected dates indicates that post-office clerks since 1939 have received wage increases amounting to 103.8 percent (barely matching the increase in the consumers price index) while the average increase received by a cross section of all industry amounted to 230 percent. The lowest third of private industry groups has received increases amounting to 188 percent from 1939 to date compared to increases of 103.8 percent for post-office clerks. Under the circumstances, it is not difficult to understand why the postal service is no longer able to attract and retain a sufficient number of efficient people. It could hardly be otherwise. If the Post Office Department is to be in a position to compete for the best available personnel, it must pay a going industrial wage rate, and, in my judgment, that can only be done by providing substantial salary increases at this time. I believe my bill, H. R. 3605, would accomplish that purpose.

The Congress had the pitiable plight of postal workers plainly laid before it in 1954 in the report of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, which was made pursuant to Senate Resolution 46. That resolution provided for the appointment of an Advisory Council to explore the various fields of postal operations to see if certain specific conclusions might be reached which would be of help to the Post Office Department. The Committee's report, which embodies the Council's study, offered 28 recommendations for consideration by the Congress as a possible means of eliminating the continuing deficit. One third of these recommendations concerned poor personnel standards—and, mind you, that report was made in 1954. The report points up, among other things, the lack of qualifications standards for each category of positions, the lack of orientation and training courses, poor working conditions, so many substitute and temporary employees, and, above all, an out-of-date classification and pay structure.

In 1955 the postal workers asked for a pay increase of $800; however, the average obtained through Public Law 68 was about $340—less than half of the requested amount. The adjustment to that new salary schedule, if I recall correctly, resulted in a salary increase of about 2 percent.

In the past the Post Office Department enjoyed the pick of the crop in recruiting new employees. Today, however, with postal wages anywhere from 20 percent to 30 percent below the starting wage for unskilled labor in industry, the Post Office Department cannot recruit the most desirable people. Recently, my attention was called to a circular put out by a regional civil service examiner on the hiring of substitute clerks and city letter carriers. The circular lowers the age limit to 18 and 17 and permits recruiting from outside the territory served.

Considering the postal pay facts, it is easy to understand why it is becoming increasingly difficult—in many cases, impossible—for the postal service to attract and retain the necessary skilled, experienced workers to move the steadily growing flood of mail. Inability to compete with private industry for capable workers, the steadily deteriorating employee morale, and the inability to retain trained workers have already made widely felt inroads on good postal service. The situation grows steadily worse as prices climb and postal wages fall further and further behind. A pay increase for postal workers would benefit the public in that it would bring about an even better and more efficient postal service, secure savings in the Post Office Department because trained employees will stay in the postal service; prevent the heavy cost of continuously training new people, and serve as an incentive for able and intelligent people to enter and remain in the postal service.

During the Senate hearings on postal salary legislation, the General Counsel for the Post Office Department, in his testimony voicing the Department's objection to the proposed legislation, did not at any time express the opinion that postal salary increases were not justified. He was careful to avoid saying they were not needed and certainly did not even imply that they had not been earned. The entire burden of his statement had to do with the cost of the legislation rather than the need and justification. He referred to the report of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget which stated that legislation increasing generally the salaries of Federal employees was not within the program of the President. In testifying before the same Senate committee, the representative of the Bureau of the Budget and the new Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission were likewise careful to avoid stating that increases were not justified or had not been earned. The Chairman of the Commission offered as a solution further study of the question. It seems to me that a continuing body, such as the Civil Service Commission, should be able, at almost a moment's notice, to provide a thorough analysis of the Federal pay structure. With only a single salary increase having been provided in the past 6 years, it it plain to me, and should be to any reasonable person, that the Federal pay structure is out of line. The Civil Service Commission should be among the first to realize that fact. Postal and Federal employees have been patient long enough. To ask them to wait longer while the Civil Service Commission, or someone appointed for that purpose, makes a study of their present unfortunate situation would only serve to compound an injustice. If the Civil Service Commission and the Post Office Department are unable at this late date to demonstrate that the wages currently being paid are equitable, if they are unable to demonstrate that immediate increases are not warranted, if they are unable to demonstrate at this time that salary increases are not necessary, then your committee certainly would be amply justified in assuming that they have no basis for their objection and should proceed promptly to report a salary bill.

In his budget message President Eisenhower stated:

"If our economy is to remain healthy, increases in wages and other labor benefits, negotiated by labor and management, must be reasonably related to improvements in productivity. Such increases are beneficial, for they provide wage earners with greater purchasing power."

In that same message, he made this further statement:

"In the Post Office Department, despite an 11-percent rise in the volume of mail in the 4 fiscal years, 1954 through 1957, the average employment will have increased only a little more than 3 percent."

Thus, by the President's own words, we can quickly determine that there has been a marked increase in productivity and that this increased productivity warrants a wage increase.

To oppose salary increases solely on the grounds of cost, after having granted increases in interest rates, puts the administration in the position of saying that money rather than man is worthy of its hire. I fail to notice any reluctance or hesitancy on the part of the administration to increase interest rates on the grounds of cost, and to me it comes as a shock to find that cost is the only objection to this legislation. I hope the committee will proceed promptly to report out the legislation here under consideration.

Average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries by selected dates, August 1939 to December 1956

Occupation group	August 1939	July 1951	March 1955	December 1955	December 1956	Percent above August 1939 average
Post-office clerks	$40.38	$78.27	$82.30	$80.77	$82.30	103.80
Agricultural machinery (except tractors)	25.49	71.58	81.19	83.64	84.93	233.18
Aircraft engines and parts	34.33	86.37	87.74	96.73	104.92	205.62
Automobiles	31.53	73.15	100.56	98.09	113.90	261.24
Blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills	29.99	77.93	91.25	102.01	107.57	258.68
Canning and preserving	15.98	49.20	56.24	57.83	61.72	286.23
Cigarettes	21.39	35.70	65.76	71.72	76.08	255.68
Bituminous-coal mining	24.61	73.58	91.88	105.73	115.33	368.63
Engines and turbines	27.94	76.62	88.13	95.40	100.32	259.05
Footwear (except rubber)	18.44	44.29	51.05	53.16	54.31	194.52
Rubber footwear	22.42	54.60	69.72	74.89	73.26	226.76
Leather; tanned, curried, and finished	24.77	59.29	71.60	75.48	76.42	208.51
Locomotives and parts	28.88	82.35	86.71	98.18	102.06	253.39
Machine tools	32.20	82.08	90.31	106.25	110.64	243.60
Malleable-iron foundries	24.75	69.53	82.96	86.93	86.07	247.75
Manufacturing	23.77	63.92	75.11	79.71	84.05	253.59
Malt liquors	36.84	81.25	97.20	98.50	104.28	183.06
Meat packing, wholesale	27.36	69.64	81.16	98.52	96.87	254.05
Petroleum refining	34.29	87.78	96.96	102.09	109.74	220.03
Primary smelting and refining of nonferrous metals	26.90	69.94	81.41	88.80	93.25	246.65
Paperboard containers and boxes	22.23	58.32	71.90	74.62	78.12	251.41
Pulp, paper, and paperboard mills	25.04	71.65	83.16	89.75	94.15	275.99
Class I railroads	31.77	71.15	80.64	82.12	90.61	185.20

Average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries by selected dates, August 1939 to December 1956—Continued

Occupation group	August 1939	July 1951	March 1955	December 1955	December 1956	Percent above August 1939 average
Railroad and streetcars	$27.14	$71.62	$83.03	$95.11	$97.11	257.44
Retail trade	23.41	52.07	57.42	58.71	59.83	155.14
Ship and boat building and repairing	31.28	70.70	82.76	86.15	94.30	201.47
Steel foundries	26.61	74.45	84.46	95.92	99.10	272.41
Synthetic fibers	25.43	63.30	74.89	77.36	79.38	212.11
Telephone	32.06	69.30	70.20	73.84	75.46	135.37
Tires and inner tubes	33.93	83.63	95.51	99.80	109.25	221.98
Tractors	30.35	75.26	87.14	91.24	92.63	205.20
Watches and clocks	21.92	57.74	67.15	71.56	71.76	227.37
Wholesale trades	29.79	64.31	75.76	79.56	83.84	181.43

Source: BLS, U. S. Department of Labor, Earnings and hours, table C-1.

THEN AND NOW: PERCENTAGE OF WAGE INCREASES, 1939–56

The facts

A comparison of the average weekly wage of post office clerks with the average weekly wage paid in 32 representative private industries as of August 1939 and December 1956.

In 1939 the average weekly wage of a post office clerk was above that of all employees in private industry. By 1956 the average wage of a post office clerk was almost $6 per week below the median wage in priavte industry and almost $21 per week below the wage of half of the representative group.

Source

Hours and gross earnings of production workers or nonsupervisory employees, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor.

Atomic Power Development Slowed by Cheaper Sources of Electricity

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, occasionally a newspaper headline, such as the recent report on a United Nations study, will charge the public imagination with ideas about a magic process for the generation of electricity. So much has been done in the past decade toward harnessing the power of the atom and applying this energy to the job of creating electric current that occasionally the public might generally assume that scientists and engineers have perfected a reactor that will provide electricity at practically no cost, and therefore oil and gas and coal will no longer be needed for this purpose.

It is true that we are making great strides in the use of the atom for purposes of construction as well as destruction. The Atomic Energy Commission and those private research organizations and companies working in cooperation with it have made sensational progress in their work, including developments in the reactor field. Unless anyone gets the idea, however, that within a few years a compact atomic energy power kit will be available for every home, I believe that from time to time we should stop and explain what scientists feel are the limitations—at least so far as is foreseeable—in the field of nuclear fission and electricity.

The reactors now under construction and on the planning boards are designed to produce the same type of electricity that we are getting today through the use of conventional fuels. Using the atom instead of coal, oil, or gas, water will be heated to become steam. The steam will turn turbine blades and in turn the generator will spin and electricity will be sent out along the wires—in the same way it is being transmitted today. We will still have transmission lines to substations and eventually to the home. We will still have the maintenance crews who so efficiently see to it that service is maintained even under the most adverse conditions. We will still have our fine electric utility buildings which provide employment for so many technicians, clerks, and other office people.

These are the conditions which will continue to exist even if the dreams of the most optimistic enthusiasts of atomic nuclear power are fulfilled.

What we must not lose sight of now is that, regardless of the pace at which our reactor development program proceeds, we will still be using conventional fuel for the production of electricity for long in the future. Our great utility industry is planning outlays of billions of dollars for the enlargement of present steam generation facilities and the construction of new ones, particularly in areas where there is an abundance of coal. An electric company has already joined with a leading coal producer to construct a pipeline that will carry more than a million tons of coal a year into a generating plant near one of our metropolitan areas. Our railroads look to the transport of coal into electric utility plants as a primary source of revenue for as far into the future as a long-range business program can be planned. Waterways are busy with barge traffic between coal mines and powerplants. Given a fair chance with competitive fuels, the coal industry will more than hold its own against whatever scientific developments are enjoyed in the years ahead.

One of the factors overlooked is the record of the coal and utility industries in increasing coal's efficiency as a boiler fuel. An average of less than 1 pound of coal is now required for the generation of 1 kilowatt-hour of electricity, whereas just 10 years ago an average of 1.31 pounds per kilowatt-hour was required. this figure is constantly being reduced. In addition, important advances in the preparation of coal are making possible the utilization of grades which were previously not considered usable. What this continuous progress in coal preparation and utilization amounts to is that, regardless of how fast we can bring down the cost of producing electricity via the atom, coal's advantage will be continually more difficult to overcome so far as cost is concerned. In emphasis of this situation, I should like to insert in the RECORD an article which appeared in the financial and business section of the New York Herald Tribune on May 12, 1957. I believe that it will help to bring down to earth some of the atomic fantasies that have been painted in the sky by overenthusiastic reporters and the more credulous nontechnical observers. True, we must hope for achievement of the maximum potential in the peacetime use of nuclear fission, yet to permit imagination to run rampant can be detrimental to the position of other fuels on which we and our succeeding generations must depend.

For anyone who questions that coal will continue to be the most inexpensive source of electric energy, even though the cost of atomic power is reduced to the extent anticipated by the Atomic Energy Commission, the Herald Tribune article will be of particular interest.

ATOMIC POWER DEVELOPMENT SLOWED BY CHEAPER SOURCES OF ELECTRICITY—UNITED STATES UTILITIES PROBE USE OF H-BOMB

(By Charles Carroll)

Continuing success in producing cheaper electricity by conventional methods is tending to delay atomic power in most sections of the Nation.

Against the backdrop of private industry's newly announced program to attempt to harness the hyrogen bomb for production of electric power, American Gas & Electric Co. last week displayed what it billed as the world's most efficient power plant.

A group of 11 utilities has joined with General Dynamics Corp. to sponsor a $10 million program to probe the peaceful uses of the H-bomb. But results for the consumer of that undertaking are thought to be a long way off.

NEW APPROACH

The American Gas plant at Philo, Ohio, is a reality. That station, nestled in the rolling hills of central Ohio, represents a new approach in conventional power output, according to Philip Sporn, American Gas president.

The plant turns out power at a supercritical pressure of 4,500 pounds a square inch, almost double the previous high point. It also uses a double reheat of steam, another milestone.

The effect of such developments as Philo is that the day of atomic power, on an economical basis, is many years away, according to best industry guesses.

Experience gained from design and building the Philo plant has led American Gas to start 2 new units—the world's largest power producers, at 450,000 kilowatts each. These giant units will be built in Indiana and West Virginia.

Some critics have contended that the United States is dragging its feet on exploitation of the atom. Industry spokesmen reply: "We need knowledge, not kilowatts."

EUROPE'S SITUATION DIFFERENT

They point to America's plentiful supply of coal, gas, and water power. Europe, with its dwindling supply of conventional fuels, faces quite a different situation.

Nations abroad have been forced to rush into atomic-power generation with the technology now available.

United States utilities feel they can turn their attention to developing efficient atomic plants for the future.

By 1965, coal-hungry Britain will have 6 million kilowatts of nuclear capacity. Its utility industry grows at an annual rate of about 2 million kilowatts.

United States industry traditionally doubles capacity every 10 years, which means that by 1965, between 135 million and 140 million kilowatts will have been added to capacity.

Supporting the go-slow school of thought in the United States circles, Mr. Sporn had this to say about the Philo project:

"There has been some indication of an effort to interpret this challenging development in the economics of power generation as an answer on the part of some members of the power industry to the challenge of atomic power.

"This, obviously, is not only wholly without foundation but, as a matter of fact, does not make very much sense. The electric-power industry not long ago indicated its awareness of the potentialities and its determination to explore and develop atomic energy whenever or just as soon as it can be done with benefit to its consumers.

"But while waiting and helping to bring this about, it would be an act of folly to neglect opportunities for further development of technologies that have done so much to bring the industry to its present flourishing state," Mr. Sporn said.

No one disputes the advantages of atomic power. The availability of uranium promises to make the atom a greater potential source of power for the world than hydraulic and fossil fuels. The United States has coal reserves for many decades, but these reserves obviously will run out some day.

Another big gain offered by atomic power is the lower cost of transportation. A big item in any power bill is the expense of shipping fossil fuels from the source to the place where energy is needed.

Atomic power will be of particular advantage in areas remote from fossil-fuel sources and lacking in potential hydraulic power sites.

No plant on the drawing boards today, industry experts contend, can compete with the cost of producing power in the Ohio Valley, which is about 4 mills a kilowatt-hour. However, they add, there is some promise of nuclear plants competing in the 8-mill areas of the Nation.

Based on the 1957 price levels, the industry looks for atomic plants from 1960 to 1964 that will turn out power in the range of 10 to 13 mills a kilowatt-hour. Present costs of electricity in the most modern coal-fired plants are as low as 4 mills and range up to 9 mills in other areas.

Nuclear plants going into operation between 1965 and 1967 are projected to achieve costs in the range of 9 to 11 mills. Further cuts, from 6 to 7 mills, are seen by 1980.

Postal Worker's Budget Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, one of the major problems still facing this session of Congress is the question of pay increases for our postal workers.

I am sure all of us have received many letters on this question; and I am sure all of us are aware of the dedicated service of our postal workers.

Of all the letters I have received, one stands out. It is from the wife of one of the postal workers in my district—the Sixth Congressional District of New Jersey. This housewife presents the budget problems of her family in a remarkably clear and striking manner; she even itemizes her family's annual budget to show the tight economic squeeze with which they are confronted.

I would like to insert this letter, and the itemized family budget, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I believe it will provide a valuable grassroots guide for all of us as we prepare to take up the question of pay increase for our postal workers.

The letter follows:

MY DEAR MRS. DWYER: Being the wife of a postal employee, I am writing this letter to you, hoping to convince you of the necessity of giving the postal workers a raise. It is my idea that if you and your colleagues in Washington knew just where and how far the salary of a mailman goes, there would be no hesitation in voting him a substantial increase in pay. Therefore, I am enclosing a copy of our budget upon which our household operates.

In explanation of our background, I would like to say that my husband is a letter carrier in the Westfield Post Office. After 6 years of service his gross salary is $4035 per year plus Christmas overtime pay which has always been less than $150 gross. We have no other income besides this. We have our own home, the down payment for which we saved before our marriage, and on which we have a 30-year GI mortgage. Our first child will be born about the beginning of May.

As you will notice, we have no savings fund, and how we will pay the extra expenses we know we must face, for which there is no provision made in our budget, is a startling concern and worry to us. The only solutions outside of getting a raise are to have my husband hold two jobs, or give up his seniority and seek another job.

In brief, my husband's present salary is not a decent living wage for a family living in this metropolitan area. A sincere evaluation of the budget, with consideration of the many things (and most of them true necessities) that have to be done without, shows this. You and the other Members of Congress control the postal workers' salaries; and it is up to you people whether or not they get a raise; whether or not they take home an adequate pay. I hope you will understand their situation and give them and the pay raise all the support you can.

Yours truly,

MRS. JOHN LAURENT.

SCOTCH PLAINS, N. J.

The Laurent family's annual budget

Item	Allowance		
	Weekly	Monthly	Yearly
Gross pay	$77.60	$336.27	$4,035.20
Federal taxes	9.30	40.30	483.60
Retirement	5.05	21.88	262.60
Life insurance (Mr. Laurent only)	.50	2.17	26.00
Net pay	62.75	271.92	3,263.00
Expenses:			
1. Mortgage (principal, interest, taxes)	19.85	86.02	1,032.20
2. Food:			
Meat and groceries	14.00	60.67	728.00
Breadman	1.00	4.33	52.00
Milkman	1.50	6.50	78.00
3. Car (gas, oil, repairs, license; rely on Christmas overtime for insurance cost)	6.00	26.00	312.00
4. Heat	2.55	11.05	132.60
5. Recreation (including cost of refreshments when entertaining)	2.50	10.83	130.00
6. Clothing (cleaning expenses as well as new clothing)	1.50	6.50	78.00
7. Gifts (Christmas, birthdays, etc.)	1.50	6.50	78.00
8. House maintenance and repairs	1.50	6.50	78.00
9. Medical expenses (doctor, dentist, medicine and costs exceeding hospitalization allowances)	1.50	6.50	78.00
10. Miscellaneous (haircuts, toiletries, etc.)	1.50	6.50	78.00
11. Telephone	1.50	6.50	78.00
12. Gas (for stove and hot water)	1.37	5.95	71.24
13. Hospitalization (letter carrier plan)	1.20	5.20	62.40
14. Church	1.00	4.33	52.00
15. Electricity	1.00	4.33	52.00
16. Newspapers (1 daily, 2 Sunday, 1 weekly)	.60	2.60	31.20
17. Garbage collection	.50	2.17	26.00
18. Water	.43	1.86	22.36
19. Mr. Laurent's spending money (does not smoke or drink)	.25	1.08	13.00
Total (items 1 through 19)	62.75	271.92	3,263.00

NOTE.—On item 3, our car is a 1951 Ford sedan, purchased secondhand in 1954.

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, each week I report to my constituents as space allows, a 1-page presentation of the legislative week. The report of June 15 follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

The civil rights bill and 10 days' debate will be remembered as a classic struggle between North and South; the latter were outnumbered. With rare exceptions, it was a sectional matter to the Members, regardless of political party. The southerners were dead serious, presenting articulate and carefully documented arguments. Generally, rancor and bitterness were missing, though neither side pulled any punches. Every parliamentary trick was used. Sincerity of be-

lief was evident on both sides. Yet, all were conscious of the heavy political implication. Each party desired credit for championing civil rights, thus appealing to the Negro and racial votes. For a while, southerners felt they could secure the right of jury trial, which traditionally accompanies Federal criminal contempt (except when the Federal Government is a party to the case) but this vote was lost 199 to 167.

The bill provides for a Civil Rights Commission to investigate allegations of loss of voting rights by reason of color, race, religion or national origin; a new Assistant Attorney General and staff; and new court procedure, permitting the bypassing of the State courts and going directly to the Federal courts. Opponents of the bill felt the securing of the jury trial would be a necessary protection while proponents of the bill felt that such an amendment would defeat the intent of the bill since the southern juries might be too lenient.

As my contribution, I addressed the House, analyzing the bill, section by section. Later, I offered an amendment to protect the individual's right to work without union membership, which is our Texas "right to work" law. The chairman ruled the amendment "out of order, not germane to the bill" because the bill dealt with "political rights and not labor rights." As I pondered this, after contesting the ruling, I recalled the amendment to eliminate "religion" from the bill was voted down. Yet, it is a "civil rights" bill. Are not freedom of worship, speech, press, assembly—the amendments to the Constitution—all civil rights? Is not a laboring man's freedom to work, to join a union or not, a civil right to be protected? Are not the laborer and all of us to be privileged to have the right of trial by jury if accused of criminal contempt, which labor already has in Federal contempt cases? Otherwise, the Federal judge, in the name of the Government, is plaintiff, prosecutor and judge who decides guilt and penalty. Any man can go to jail without jury trial. Is this civil liberty? The bill reads "Civil rights, including the right to vote." What are these civil rights, exclusive of the right to vote? We haven't been told. Shouldn't we know, and limit the law's jurisdiction, if we don't define it clearly, what freedom have we left from big Federal Government? All our civil rights are violated until and unless the bill's jurisdiction is clearly defined.

Other criticisms which trouble me, and I so explained to the Members, include these: (1) Help from voluntary and uncompensated personnel may be accepted by the Commission (NAACP or Communist volunteers?). (2) State jurisdiction over voting rights is destroyed, leaving State at mercy of Federal Government. (3) Citizens can be subpenaed to appear at Commission's pleasure, largely at individual's expense, then citizens, taxpayers can be sued by the Federal Government with their own money, and no repayment of cost and inconvenience if innocent—civil rights? Guilty until proven innocent? (4) Religion should not be in bill, thus becoming subject to Federal Government. I am disheartened more than I can say by this prejudiced, emotional, political bill violating States' rights and our civil liberties with both parties at fault.

The Public Works Committee granted a full-dress hearing of Dallas' interest in Garza–Little Elm (Lake Dallas) and Grapevine Lakes, Thursday. City Attorney Henry Kucera, Jim Cotten of Forrest & Cotten, Dallas' consulting engineers, and Hugh Steger of Lakefront Property Owners, each testified and helped to write the language which the committee will include in the final bill. Dallas' concern is that acreage just above the present shoreline not be reconveyed to former owners of the property since it may yet be needed, and Dallas has a financial and contractual interest in this land. The lakefront property owners do not want to be cut off from the water, so they'll have a chance to buy land between them and the water if it is to be sold. The Dallas witnesses did a fine job. The committee chairman (DAVIS, Tennessee) graciously permitted me to lead the proceedings. The rain and floods have shown again the need for conservation (drinking water) and flood protection, so we tried to tell the Dallas and Texas story to the committee.

A healthy exchange of viewpoints occurred during a White House breakfast this week, which I enjoyed. The President is looking the picture of health.

Managing the Nation's Monetary Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD quotes from a letter to the Washington Post from Prof. Seymour E. Harris and other references to the administration's management of the Nation's money matters:

MANAGING THE NATION'S MONETARY AFFAIRS

Prof. Seymour E. Harris, chairman of the department of economics at Harvard University, is one of the country's leading economists whose opinions command the respectful attention of financiers, bankers, investors and Members of Congress. In a recent letter to the Washington Post, Professor Harris has made a critical appraisal of the management of our monetary and debt problems over the past 5 years. In these 5 years, he states, "Federal expenditures are way above those of any peacetime year. The rate of interest has gone sharply upward.

"In the last year," he points out, "inflation has exceeded that of any peacetime year in the last 25 years and average several times that of nonwar years (exclusive of immediate postwar years) under the Democrats."

Most damaging is his statement: "In no area are the failures (of the Secretary of the Treasury) more evident than in the management of the national debt. The redistribution and the lengthening of maturities were 'musts' for the Treasury. Yet despite the meteoric rise of rates, not since the latter part of the 19th century has the Government security market been in such bad shape as at present. It requires some genius to accomplish this, not when debt is rising as in World War II or in the 1930's, but when debt is falling."

Protest letters reaching my desk from the Fifth District of West Virginia give full support to Professor Harris' views. In one such letter, the writer, who is personally known to me and whose opinions I respect, declares: "The present administration is certainly doing everything that will tend to promote inflation. Prior to 1953, the interest payments on the Federal debt amounted to roughly $3.5 billion and I know that today the interest on practically the same amount of Federal debt is roughly $8 billion. Why? So that the big corporations holding bonds can make the money, while the taxpayers have to pay the bill."

Then this writer goes on to point out: "Ninety-day Treasury bills that used to be bought on the open market, and there was always a good market for them, carried an interest rate of less than 1 percent. Today these same bills are carrying an interest rate of over 3 percent. The high point, I believe, was 3.35 percent. Is there any sound reason why the Government should pay such a rate of interest for short time maturities?"

Knowing only too well how dearly all this is costing the average businessman, the average consumer and the average taxpayer, I most earnestly hope that the present investigation of the Nation's monetary management which has just got under way in the Senate will provide the means to correct a situation which, in the Secretary of the Treasury's own words, if unchecked "could lead to a hair-curling depression."

President Awakens to Supreme Court's Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, leave having been obtained, I desire to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial of great interest to me, and one which directs itself to the Congress of the United States.

It indicates that the President has at long last awakened to the fact that the Court has been invading the legislative domain, thereby making a shambles of the separation-of-powers provision of the Constitution.

To open the files of any law-enforcement agency to the defendant in a criminal case, State or Federal, is preposterous. It places the prosecution at the mercy of the accused. To require Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's FBI to open its files to accused subversives is a mockery.

I commend the reading of this fine editorial, appearing in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, of June 22, 1957, to my colleagues in the House. It follows:

PRESIDENT AWAKENS TO SUPREME COURT'S THREAT

According to a consistently reliable and highly respected reporter, President Eisenhower has waked up to the fact that the Supreme Court is playing hob with the morale of the American people and their respect for the Federal courts.

Ruth Montgomery, of the International News Service, one of the Nation's top Washington correspondents, reports the President has told close friends that he has "never been as mad in my life" as he is at the recent Supreme Court decision opening secret FBI files to accused subversive and other defendants.

It is the conviction of this newspaper that the Presidential anger should have exploded a long time ago.

Friends said they had "never seen Ike so worked up over anything."

This newspaper regrets that the President didn't "get worked up" before he appointed 3 of the 7 Justices, including Chief Justice Earl Warren, who concurred in the shattering decision of last Monday.

Apparently the Chief Executive of the United States is now aware that the Supreme Court, for whose membership he is so far responsible in part, is—

Invading the legislative domain of the Congress, beyond the intent of that independent branch of the Government.

Wrecking the confidence of the people in the Federal courts.

Destroying recognized constitutional processes.

Undermining the national security by killing the effectiveness of the investigative powers of the world's greatest police agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

And frustrating that greater segment of the American bar whose integrity is unquestioned and whose leaders repeatedly have sounded the warning which Mr. Eisenhower seems at long last to have heard.

What is he going to do about it? He is quoted as saying that the recent decision opening secret files of the FBI made a shambles of law enforcement and gave Moscow the greatest break it has had in years.

If that be so, then let him proceed immediately with his reported plan to have the Justice Department seek new legislation to nullify the Court's ruling and ask the Justices themselves to reargue the question when they reconvene this fall.

The Banner entertains little or no hope for the latter, but the Members of Congress should not allow that ruling to stand. They have the legislative power at hand. It should be exercised immediately to correct not only this abominable decision, but to make certain that the Supreme Court is removed from the legislative field which it has so arrogantly usurped.

Thank God, it is from the South that the ever-growing chorus of warnings has come against the creeping tyranny of the High Tribunal.

Southerners may be grateful too that it was a southerner, Justice Tom Clark of Texas, who spoke out firmly and bravely in a dissenting opinion on the majority's disastrous rule. The Banner has never been an extravagant admirer of Mr. Justice Clark, but it commends his forthright position as eminently sound.

The Congress of the United States should stop its fruitless bickering and jockeying today and redefine the function of the Supreme Court gone wild with powers it was never meant to have under the United States Constitution.

Every Representative, every Senator should pledge his utmost energies and talent to welding a legislative ring of steel about the sacred areas of State and individual liberties subject to ruthless invasion by a headstrong band of zealous men.

Support for Bow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, the efforts of my colleague from Ohio, FRANK T. BOW, for the past several years to restore their constitutional rights to our servicemen abroad have become known throughout our land. In recognition of his efforts I ask under unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD an editorial taken from the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph of Thursday, June 13, 1957.

The editorial is an excellent analysis of the whole subject of status of forces agreements and is as follows:

SUPPORT FOR BOW

Congressman Frank T. Bow of Ohio has taken positive steps to remove a current evil from our sprawling globalocracy. He has introduced House Joint Resolution 16 which, if approved, would spell an end to the Status of Forces Treaty, as presently enforced.

Remember the case of Sergeant Girard, who was turned over to a Japanese Court for trial? This American soldier, in an act performed while on duty, inadvertently caused the fatal wounding of a Japanese woman who was trespassing on an American firing range in Japan. There was clear and certain evidence that the soldier was on duty. There was additional evidence that the woman was in the wrong.

The incident is regrettable in the extreme. No one wishes for any unnecessary killing. Yet, the sergeant, instead of being tried in a military court as the Articles of War provide, has been turned over to Japanese legal authorities and will be compelled to suffer punishment according to their lights.

This surrendering of an American national to a foreign tribunal occurs under the Status of Forces Treaty. It is a most heinous offense to American conscience and is deserving of stout criticism from all good Americans. Yet, it will occur again and again so long as America is a party to this same treaty.

How there can be any opposition to the elimination of such parts of the treaty which compel this action, is hard to understand. Yet, it is apparent that from the President and his advisers comes a steady stream of support for surrenders of this type.

The situation as it presently pertains points to a whole series of fallacies in our current foreign policy.

To begin with, we find ourselves as a Nation, operating in total disregard for American convictions as spelled out by our Founding Fathers. They had it that Americans of right ought to mind their own business and stay out of foreign entanglements. Now, we find this Nation with troops of varying strengths stationed in 79 countries of the world, aside from the United States. The beginning of the evil is at this point.

And we have it on good authority that many of the top military men decry this policy, that they are dedicated to a defense of our Nation, rather than to a defense of the whole world. These military men confide that any extension of our troops beyond the point where they are protecting our own geographical boundaries, is actually an extension which is dangerous to our ability to defend ourselves. We have spread ourselves thin where it matters a great deal that we are not spread thin, and we are thickly stationed where it matters a great deal that we let the native population govern themselves and protect themselves.

Having committed this first and original departure from sound doctrine, the Status of Forces Treaty is a natural extension of the basic error. Under this treaty, the rights of Americans stationed in foreign places are completely abrogated. This second step was created as a sop to foreign potentates on the assumption that they would love troops quartered among them if only we permitted them to sit in judgment on crimes committed by these troops.

This assumption is false and is proving false every day. In point of fact, no nation can maintain its pride and self-respect if foreign troops, whatever their purpose, are stationed in their midst. This was one of the grievances enumerated in the Declaration of Independence as providing a cause célèbre for the separation of the United States from Britain.

In colonial times, we resented the quartering of British troops among us, even though we were ostensibly British colonies. How much more the native populations of other places must resent American occupation forces. The Status of Forces Treaty, while aimed at pacification, does nothing more than to make Americans less proud of being Americans, less certain of their own rights, less convinced that their own Nation, to which they have given their loyalty, will in fact be loyal to them.

A third point also comes into sight for review. Many of these troops where they are by virtue of a draft law which has compelled a type of involuntary servitude in a foreign place, irrespective of the wishes of the individual. When this fact is added to the basic error of foreign occupation, combined with the Status of Forces Treaty itself, then we see a whole archipelago of error mounting to an apex of evil.

It is certainly time for the Status of Forces Treaty to be abandoned or at least amended so that American boys are not placed in legal jeopardy by virtue of their involuntary servitude in strange places where they would never go of their own volition.

We congratulate Congressman Bow and hope that he receives the support for his resolution which is so richly deserved.

The Taft-Hartley Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend to the reading of my colleagues the following article on the Taft-Hartley law by Robert Hoyt, of the Akron Beacon Journal:

WHAT T–H DIDN'T—IN 10 YEARS TAFT-HARTLEY NEITHER WRECKED UNIONS NOR CURED ALL

(By Robert E. Hoyt)

WASHINGTON.—Like many another legal brainchild, the Taft-Hartley Act turned out to be less a prodigy and less a fiend than either the parents or the neighbors predicted.

It become law 10 years ago today when Republicans and Southern Democrats in the Senate voted 68 to 25 to override the veto of President Truman. That was six votes more than the necessary two-thirds.

The vote came after filibusters by Senator MORSE, then a Republican, and Democratic Senator Glen Taylor which kept the Senate in session for more than 30 hours straight.

If Taft-Hartley has been, as labor and its supporters predicted, a "slave labor law," the manacles have been mink-lined.

Some labor spokesmen, in fact, credit T–H with some unintended assistance in strengthening the backbone of the rank and file and in bringing the old AFL to the conviction that political action was necessary.

On the other hand, the law has fallen flat on its face in many ways, among them key provisions aimed at ending the closed shop, featherbedding and political activity.

People concerned about the growing power of unions 10 years ago saw Taft-Hartley as a cure-all pill.

But even after 10 years there are large areas in which no one quite knows what the act allows or forbids. Many issues are still being batted around in the courts.

The late Senator Taft thought he had "settled" political activity. But the Supreme Court just this year sent back for trial in a lower court the question of whether the United Auto Workers "educational" expenses violated the law's section on campaign contributions.

The law says that unions may not use dues money for political contributions or expenditures. The UAW and other unions have spent considerable sums in the name of voter education. The courts will decide whether or not it's legal.

This ban on campaign contributions is cited as one reason the AFL abandoned its hands-off attitude toward politics and founded the Labor League for Political Education.

Another T-H prohibition was the closed shop, which requires that a man belong to the union before he is considered for the job. The law allowed the "union shop" which requires that a man join the union after he is hired.

The provision on closed shop has been totally ignored by both unions and management in many sections of the economy where the so-called hiring hall is traditional. This is especially true in the construction industry.

One reason for either the closed or union shop is to guarantee the future existence of the union. Many Taft-Hartley backers saw this union device as something foisted on the members by "power-hungry labor leaders."

The law said the National Labor Relations Board had to hold an election before a union shop could be granted.

It was generally assumed that the secret ballot would give union members the chance they'd been waiting for to reject union shop.

In 4 years of elections, the unions won 97 percent of all union-shop decisions.

The desire of members for union security was so obvious that the Taft-Hartley Act was changed—the only change, incidentally—in October 1951.

Here again Taft-Hartley may have given labor an inadvertent assist. There was a spurt in union-shop agreements after the law went into effect.

Unions and their members felt it necessary to prove to management that they really wanted union security. And many were merely digging in, expecting that Taft-Hartley would bring a rash of union-busting attempts.

Featherbedding was another of the things Taft-Hartley was to end. This was known as the (James Caesar) Petrillo provision, designed to end the American Federation of Musicians insistence on hiring nonplaying union standbys.

But in test cases the law has failed to bar the practice.

There was the "Lewis provision" too—the 80-day injunction to provide a cooling-off period before a strike considered a national emergency.

Labor claims the clause has had little effect except as an irritant. It cites, among other things, the comment of Cyrus Ching, former Director of the Federal Conciliation and Mediation Service: The 80-day clause "tends to delay rather than facilitate settlement of a dispute."

Whether or not the provision curbed the Mine Workers' John L. Lewis is a problem that can't be considered without taking into account the losses of coal to gas in the home-heating market.

Proponents of Taft-Hartley had fond hopes too for ending secondary boycotts and jurisdictional disputes. The secondary boycott provision in the law satisfies neither management nor labor, but that doesn't make it good.

Boycotts have been used by one union in retaliation against another, holding an innocent company in a vise. Neither the AFL-CIO nor the chamber of commerce condones such practice, but T-H hasn't stopped it.

The "hot cargo" clause—a part of the secondary boycott picture—still is in the courts. The teamsters' union has used it to whip into line nonunion trucking outfits and to support other striking unions. It is a contract clause which says teamsters do not have to handle "hot cargo"—goods in any way contaminated by a union dispute. The issue probably will be in the Supreme Court within the year.

One other T-H provision demands notice—the non-Communist affidavit. The law provides that labor leaders must sign a statement saying they are not Communists if their union is to be allowed to use the machinery of the NLRB.

Labor itself says that known Communists have signed the affidavits. Courts have held that the union is entitled to use the NLRB whether or not the affidavit was false.

Labor says Taft-Hartley in 10 years has arrested the development of unionism in the country by penalizing not the big unions but the smaller ones operating in new industries or new areas.

Chief complaint of labor is against the free-speech provision which gives an employer a chance to try to sell nonunionism to his workers. The section allowing State right-to-work laws is a strong second objection.

Management, through the chamber of commerce and other groups, says Taft-Hartley in many ways did not go far enough, especially on outlawing compulsory unionism, secondary boycotts, and featherbedding.

Neither side is willing to grant the other an inch.

That's one of the reasons Congress has not had the intestinal fortitude to open up the Pandora's box and try to amend Taft-Hartley. Even Senator Taft proposed a number of revisions.

At the time of the historic debate on the veto 10 years ago, critics of Taft-Hartley complained that the law would upset almost every aspect of labor-management relations.

In one of the closing speeches, Senator GEORGE of Georgia as much as admitted this was so, but he cited the fact that every attempt to change the old Wagner Act over a dozen years had been frustrated.

This, he said, is what happens when the hands of the legislative body are tied.

History is repeating itself in this respect. The inflexibility of Congress has subjected Taft-Hartley to the same fate for 10 years.

Statement by Local Union 1245, IBEW, AFL-CIO, Endorsing Trinity River Partnership Plan

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks I desire to include a letter dated June 17, 1957, from Local Union 1245, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO, transmitting a statement endorsing the Trinity River partnership plan.

This is an outstanding statement in behalf of some 14,500 electrical workers in northern California, who want no part of Federal control over the development of hydroelectric power resources—especially when private industry is capable of doing the job.

I commend this statement to the attention of my colleagues. It is important as an expression of opinion by a group of American workers. It is also a strong public viewpoint by people directly affected by the Trinity River project.

The letter and statement from IBEW Local Union 1245, endorsing H. R. 6997 which would provide for joint development of the Trinity River project, are as follows:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, AFL–CIO,
LOCAL UNION 1245,
Oakland, Calif., June 17, 1957.

Hon. HUBERT B. SCUDDER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have been instructed by my organization, Local 1245 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO, to communicate with you in order to present the views of our membership with respect to the partnership plan as proposed in connection with the Trinity River project.

A prepared statement is enclosed herewith. We would be most happy to hear from you regarding your views in this matter.

Very truly yours,

RONALD T. WEAKLEY,
Business Manager.

TRINITY RIVER PROJECT

Our union, Local 1245 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO, represents some 14,500 employees of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

We wish to bring to your attention our views on the "partnership plan" as recommended by Interior Secretary Seaton for consideration by the Congress in the matter of the Trinity River project.

Our members, who make their living by serving the public, work for the P. G. & E. which is a regulated private industrial enterprise. The employees work under collective bargaining agreements covering wages, working conditions and other employee benefits.

This union was chosen by the employees to represent them as a result of procedures afforded by Federal law and a peaceful and harmonious relationship has been developed over a number of years.

The employee, the employer, and the general public have benefited by a legal and responsible application of the principles of sound industrial relations.

We are seriously concerned over the possibility of the Federal Government building and operating the power facilities involved in the Trinity River project. Should the Government build the generating plants, transmit and market the power developed on the Trinity, our members will be adversely affected.

Public power advocates seem to ignore the fact that the economic welfare of thousands of utility workers is affected each time governmental agencies invade the private power industry.

Public agencies generally do not allow and usually prohibit the right of free organization for collective bargaining and the right of contract. We have seen group after group of utility workers shunted into publicly operated power districts without any consideration given to decent wages, working conditions, and safety regulations.

Private development of the power facilities of the Trinity project will provide additional employment for our members and will serve to maintain adequate wages and conditions through collective bargaining. Federal development and power marketing will, our experience shows, lead to expansion of the unfair treatment of utility workers through loss of rights enjoyed by the rest of labor.

One example is the State of Nebraska where the private power industry has been practically run out of business and with it,

legal collective bargaining between utility workers and management.

Should the Government extend its invasion into the power business, some 250,000 kilowatts would be made available to so-called preference customers and the distribution thereof would favor a comparatively few California power customers at the expense of the United States taxpayers, of which we are a definite part.

As to our union, we find that few people take time to consider the welfare of utility workers and their families when the issue of public power is debated.

The policy of our local union in the Trinity controversy is set forth in the preamble of our agreements with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., and we quote:

"TITLE 1. PREAMBLE

"1.1 The parties recognize that the free private enterprise system in the United States has produced the highest standard of living anywhere in the world, and they hereby confirm their adherence to, and belief in, that system. In accordance with such belief the parties support the principle of private ownership of public utilities under enlightened regulation by public authority. Further, the parties support the principles of collective bargaining and self-organization."

The policy of our fellow workers in the IBEW in northern California, representing construction, manufacturing, and utility workers from Salinas to Eureka was set forth in a resolution adopted by the northern joint executive conference of the IBEW on May 11, 1957.

It called for the adoption of the partnership plan through passage of H. R. 6997 regarding the Trinity project.

Our parent body, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO, at its 1950 convention issued a policy statement on the matter of public versus private power, and we quote:

"The IBEW does not raise its voice on the subject of public power in behalf of private companies or their management. We have met the abuses of power by these companies in the past and have achieved substantial correction. Today 90 percent of the workers in the privately owned electric light and power industry are covered by union contracts and the IBEW itself represent more than 75 percent of the organized employees in this industry.

"The IBEW raises its voice on the subject of public power at this time in the interest of organized labor in the electric light and power industry. The subtle transformation of the Government program from the proper purposes of providing power as a byproduct of the initial program and of furnishing a yardstick for private utilities has reached the state where it threatens free enterprise in this industry. We support free enterprise not only in our capacity as citizens of the United States but also in our capacity as representatives of organized labor. The increase in the area of Government and quasi-Government ownership operation in utilities necessarily carries with it a decrease in the area of freedom for labor as well as other groups.

"Labor cherishes its right to bargain collectively for wages, hours, and working conditions. It fights the abrogation of such rights whether in the form of antilabor laws or in the more complicated form of transferring their status to employee of the Government without any rights to bargain collectively or otherwise exercise their economic strength."

The foregoing policy statement has not been revised or rescinded since 1950.

The charge of giveaway or lumping the partnership principle as applied to the Trinity project with such controversies as Dixon-Yates and Hells Canyon is without foundation when the factual details of Pacific's project, as referred to in H. R. 6997 (Trinity Joint Development Act of 1957) are closely examined.

We share in the desire to safeguard the welfare of the general public through flood control, wildlife protection, irrigation water, reasonable power rates, and reasonable taxation. We also believe that these safeguards are present in the partnership proposal as recommended to Congress.

We respectfully urge that you give consideration to our views and that you may act favorably on the partnership recommendation as contained in H. R. 6997 entitled "Trinity Joint Development Act of 1957."

RONALD T. WEAKLEY,
Business Manager, Local Union 1245, IBEW, AFL–CIO, Oakland, Calif.

Practices in the Automotive Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, since the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is again considering legislation on this subject, I wish to call to the attention of our colleagues my statement made to that committee on May 2, 1956, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, it is always a privilege for me to appear before your committee. I want to take a moment to thank you for the opportunity you have allowed me of coming here.

Mr. KLEIN. Do you propose to read this entire statement?

Mr. MULTER. I suggest that we put the statement in the record, Mr. Chairman, if it is agreeable to the committee, and then I can in much less time summarize it, and in that way avoid much repetition of evidence that you have already received.

Mr. KLEIN. Very good.

(The information referred to follows:)

"STATEMENT OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE 13TH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

"Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your committee to present my views concerning proposed legislation to eliminate certain unfair practices in the automotive industry. I am aware of the long, untiring efforts of the committee to protect the public interest and to stave off the serious consequences threatening our economy because of certain unfair marketing practices in the industry.

"The public interest

"In commenting on some of the existing unfair practices in the automobile industry, I should like to specificate one underlying fact, namely, that in the automobile market both the consumer and the dealer have little choice in the selection of the manufacturer. As you well know, the year 1955 saw the disappearance of one more private automobile manufacturer—Kaiser-Willys. Today only 5 sources remain—General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors, and Studebaker-Packard. It is an anomalism that as the market has grown, the number of companies in the market has lessened. The public was only amused upon reading in the press that the General Motors Corp., the biggest manufacturer in this country, which at the same time is the country's largest automobile manufacturer, in testifying before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee in December 1955, said that it 'is the servant of the dealer.' It is public knowledge that dealers have been forced into serflike submission to the manufacturer. The dealer's plight is manifest from the figures, such as those submitted by the General Motors Corp. last December, showing that the 1953 return on net worth for dealers averaged 14.40 percent, and was reduced in 1954 to 9.4 percent. Comparable figures show that the corporation earned 20 percent in 1953 after taxes and bonuses, and almost 24 percent in 1954.

"Manufacturer-dealer relations

"Although the committee in the current hearings has directed its study to the subjects of territorial security for automobile dealers, bootlegging, and so-called phantom-freight, there are also other unfair marketing practices in the industry that must be appraised in evaluating the position of the industry in our economy. With the committee's permission, I should like to comment on some of these practices.

"A substantial part of the problems which beset the industry stem from the dealer agreement which is so drawn that manufacturers may grant or withdraw the franchise at will. I am in favor of the principle in the Steed bill, H. R. 6544, which would validate manufacturer-dealer contracts establishing exclusive representation by dealers for fixed periods of time. Heretofore, such contracts have been at the will of the manufacturer. In my opinion, manufacturers have wielded their whip of economic power too long, and if we are to avoid repetition of the picture of the thirties, and if we are to meet our obligation to the public, legislation must be enacted now to protect our economic structure.

"As long as manufacturers want to have dealers under contract to handle only particular makes of cars, the manufacturers should be required to sell only to such dealers and to prohibit bootlegging. Manufacturers should be required to cancel the franchise of bootleggers. I wholeheartedly agree in this proposal which is covered in the Williams bill, H. R. 2688. I have incorporated similar views in H. R. 10314, which I introduced on March 29, 1956.

"As a result of the recent congressional investigations, we have observed newspaper reports that the manufacturer's cancellation privilege will be superseded by a provision requiring the cancellation to be for cause. But will the manufacturer be compelled to define the term "cause"? There is no uniformity among the court decisions construing automobile franchise agreements.

"Incidentally, some State legislatures are making strides in revoking the manufacturer's arbitrary cancellation privilege. Just a few days ago in my own State of New York, Governor Harriman on April 20, 1956, signed a bill amending the New York general business law, for the purpose of prohibiting automobile manufacturers from arbitrarily revoking the franchises of dealers in New York State. Under the law effective October 1, 1956, auto manufacturers are required to register with the secretary of state and are prohibited from terminating a dealer contract except for cause. A maximum penalty of $1,000 fine is imposed for each violation. We should not be surprised to learn that automobile manufacturers opposed the legislation, claiming that "the public interest is not sufficiently affected." In his statement upon signing the bill, Governor Harriman announced it was his firm conviction that "it is very much in the interest of the people that small- and medium-sized business should be protected against unfair exercise of economic power."

"In view of the peculiar nature of the automotive industry, coupled with the clear

proof that previous congressional admonishments have been flouted, it is the duty of the Congress to enunciate a public policy that will protect the consumer interests in their relations with the several economic giants who not only produce this article of necessity, but also control its distribution, as well as the price thereof.

"Advertising abuses

"The dealers must pay for advertising literature they do not want and would not order. It is sent in to the dealer in such quantities as the manufacturer thinks he should distribute, and the dealer is billed and must pay for that literature even though he throws most of it into the wastebasket. The dealers must pay a fixed sum per car to the manufacturers toward the cost of advertising. The dealer's name and address is never part of that advertising, only the product is mentioned. This policy would cease if the responsibility for exaggerated and fraudulent advertising were laid at the door of the manufacturer and if the manufacturer were prohibited from requiring dealer contributions toward the cost of such advertising.

"Only recently, as a result of testimony adduced at congressional hearings, the Federal Trade Commission filed charges against the General Motors Corp. for false and deceptive advertising. Independent manufacturers have reported that General Motors' use of the words 'genuine Chevrolet' to describe parts used in making repairs is diverting business from the independent manufacturers and small repair shops. The parts manufacturers contend that the items, distributed and warranted by General Motors, actually are bought by General Motors from the independent manufacturers. The implication is that the 'genuine Chevrolet' parts are superior to the same parts sold by competitors without such label.

"Deliveries without orders

"Manufacturers require dealers to file each month several reports showing sales and inventory volumes. The manufacturer bases his deliveries to the dealer upon these figures. Whether or not the dealer considers this quota salable is immaterial.

"Moreover, the dealer has no control over the various built-in accessories that are billed as extras. For instance, the automobile is listed as equipped with vacuum windshield wipers, but is later shipped in with an electric wiper billed as an 'extra.' Every car comes with a hole in the dashboard for a cigarette lighter, but the lighter is an extra.

"It is the manufacturer, also, who determines the stock of parts and accessories that the dealer must purchase from the automobile manufacturer. The dealer could purchase these same parts and accessories directly from the parts manufacturer and much cheaper, too.

"The only way to abolish this practice is to prohibit lump-sum bills and to require of the manufacturer and of the dealer a complete itemization of all charges. No amount should be collectible by either for extras unless ordered in writing by the buyer.

"Old cars sold as new

"The need to eliminate the unfair practice on the part of some dealers in selling as new automobiles those which have been towed or driven from the factory or used as demonstrators has long been recognized but completely ignored. Under legislation I have introduced, it would be a violation for any manufacturer or dealer to replace or disconnect the speedometer on an automobile or to change its reading in a manner to mislead the public as to the mileage, condition, or usage of the automobile.

"The foregoing, as well as the other unfair automobile marketing practices commented upon throughout this statement, are dealt with in the omnibus bill, H. R. 10310, which I introduced on March 29, 1956, to provide for the enactment of a general motor vehicle law.

"Automobile financing

"Not to be overlooked in any compilation of unfair automobile marketing practices are the reports of substantial overcharges under the 'package' finance deals. Dealers complain, too, they are forced to grant 'wild credit' to consumers in order to satisfy quotas in the manufacturer's race for sales.

"Insofar as General Motors' installment sales are concerned, it should be noted that if the purchaser defaults, the manufacturer has recourse against the dealer. Contemplate, if you will, the situation of the small-business man—the average dealer with an investment of his lifesavings in showroom, service station, autos, and parts. Should the market fall, upon whom would the loss rest? Upon the dealers themselves, because the manufacturers have so directed. If my memory serves me, the total amount of installment paper on all consumer items last year was $26 billion—of which $14 billion represented the automobile business. Thus far in 1956 auto installment loans extended in January and February totaled $2.5 billion—an increase of 14 percent from last year. Yet, on the other hand, production and sales are running about 26 percent below a year ago.

"Within the past several days three large finance companies have announced increases in auto-loan costs which will be passed on to the dealers. Dealers, in turn, must either absorb the costs or pass the increase on to their consumers. The consequences is that the squeeze is continually put on the dealers. General Motors defies the country to compel it to accept any shrinkage in its predetermined profits. Incidentally, GMAC has not yet made any statement on its installment costs. It, of course, is the largest auto finance company. As a group, the finance companies account for 55 percent of the auto installment credit volume. The other 36 percent is handled by the banks which have also recently raised rates. Is it not fair to assume that General Motors will also make such an additional charge?

"Cheating our soldiers

"At this point I should like to touch on a matter that involves the now well-known adage: 'What is good for General Motors is good for the country.' You will see in a moment that we can now change that to 'What is wrong for the insurance companies is not wrong for the automobile companies.'

"On September 8, 1955, I wrote to Secretary of Defense Wilson, calling his attention to a scheme by which armed service personnel returning to this country are being duped and mulcted of thousands of dollars on connection with the sale to them of new automobiles. I indicated that the matter had been called to the attention of the automobile manufacturers who have failed to do anything to prevent these practices. I further stated that the Secretary of Defense need not make any determination of whether these practices are fraudulent or merely unethical, but urged him to direct all commanding officers to alert their men to these practices to afford them an opportunity to protect themselves accordingly. My letter of September 8, 1955, is exhibit A, annexed. I received an answer, dated September 23, 1955, a copy of which is annexed as exhibit B, in which the Department of Defense refused to take any action. I replied by letter of September 28, 1955, a copy of which is annexed as exhibit C, again indicating the need for departmental action. No answer has been received to my last letter.

"Now let us see what happened when the Department's attention was called to similar fraudulent practices by insurance salesmen. No General Motors was involved. An investigation was instituted which confirmed the charges. A complete set of regulations was promulgated by the Defense Department including a directive to commanders of all bases, making them responsible for protection of the men against such frauds. Another reason for different treatment of the phony automobile salesmen is that the fraudulent business is so profitable that the automobile manufacturers have sent their own "direct" representatives overseas to grab this business.

"Manufacturing warranties

"What is the situation today? The consumer may need a new automobile, but he dreads the purchase. Breaking in the car means running back and forth to the dealer to correct inherent mechanical failures that are uncovered long after the guaranty period has expired. The attitude of the consumer is aptly defined in two unsolicited letters I received, which were printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—one appearing in the January 31, 1956, issue (pp. A993–A995); the other in the February 9, 1956, issue (p. A1331). The dealer, on the other hand, is called upon as a regular procedure to comply with, not his warranty, but a warranty the company requires him to make. What has been the dealer's redress? The answer the dealer receives from the manufacturer is to step up or maintain his sales volume—even if that means come-on advertising, bootlegging, price packing, and any other unfair-trade practice. Even outright fraud is countenanced by the manufacturer.

"Many an inexplicable accident is caused by defective vehicles. The manufacturer upon whom the blame should rest passes the responsibility on to the dealers who cannot assume nor begin to fulfill the obligation. The automobile manufacturer today makes only a spot check of 1 out of every 10 or 20 automobiles that leave the assembly line. The company's warranties are plainly worthless, and the dealer upon whom the responsibility falls gives a minimum of service until the guaranty period expires; after which, he charges the consumer for 'repairs.'

"In testifying last December before a Senate committee a spokesman on behalf of [illegible] of the 6 manufacturers in the country stated: 'The manufacturer assumes the greater risks and bears the ultimate responsibility to the customer.' Should we not make certain, then, that this responsibility is firmly fixed? My bill, H. R. 10309, prohibits the interstate sale, transportation, or use of a new automobile unless accompanied by a certificate of fitness from the manufacturer or assembler, showing that the automobile has been inspected and found in good working order and, further, that it has been road-tested and found in good operating condition.

"Manufacturer reaction to these hearings

"On the heels of the disclosure of so many unfair practices in the industry, we now see by the papers that the manufacturer pretends he is reforming. General Motors Corp. has predicted 'the beginning of a new era—an era of good will in relations with its dealers. The Ford Motor Co. announced dealer-management talks to show dealers how they will gain by joining the fight against bootlegging. In so doing Ford said this was the first time dealers have been called to discuss the bootlegging problem with top management. I say to you, gentlemen of the committee, that such overtures are too late.

"The public confidence can only be restored by the affirmative action of this committee. Let us recall that a similar false contrition permeated the atmosphere in 1938 after the Congress enacted House Joint Resolution 594, which directed the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the policies of motor-vehicle manufacturers and dealers in their relation to the public in-

terest. The Commission, 1 year later, made public its findings, which were not at all unlike the unfair practices that are now paraded before congressional committees. Unfortunately, the Congress took no action at that time, for the reason, among others, that the industry itself rejected any type of Federal legislation.

"The manufacturers' way of eliminating an unfair trade practice

"The elimination of acknowledged unfair practices in the automobile industry cannot be left to the discretion of the industry itself. Let me illustrate. The "phantom" freight charge has long been prevalent in the automobile industry. A similar practice among steep producers, "Pittsburgh plus," was eliminated in the thirties. Under this practice the manufacturers ships the automobiles to dealers from nearby assembly plants and requires the dealer to pay for the transportation in an amount equivalent to, or even greater than, the rail freight rates from the factory to the dealer's delivery points.

"Let us examine the 1954 shipment record for motor vehicles as reported in the 35th edition of Automobile Facts and Figures, 1955. Of the 6,601,071 motor vehicles shipped, 80.5 percent or 5,314,842, left the factory by highway—on a big truck that hauls several other cars, or towed behind another new car. Shipment by boat accounted for 5.6 percent, or 370,044; while rail shipments accounted for only 13.9 percent. In other words, only 916,185 out of a total of 6,601,071 motor vehicles shipped went by rail. You have seen reports stating that the 'phantom' freight charges have annually amounted to over $250 million. And what has the manufacturer to say? Ford has admitted that in 1954 it gained $50 to $60 million on its total distribution charges. General Motors testified before a Senate committee that its excess of actual freight for last year would be about $152 million. We may rest assured those were conservative estimates and do not forget that the excess profit per unit in previous years was much greater, because it would not be based on the lower rates announced at various times by the industry.

"I urge that the public announcements now being flaunted in our faces by the manufacturers as to their "amended ways" is merely an attempt to becloud the issue.

"As of February 29, 1956, Chrysler Corp., General Motors Corp., and the Ford Motor Co. eliminated 'phantom' freight charges. Those three manufacturers at the same time increased the wholesale price of their cars to their dealers. This in the face of the Chrysler testimony that they paid out more for freight charges than they collected. The manufacturers contend they should be permitted to deal with the so-called phantom freight on an industrywide basis. Their testimony and their actions, in my opinion, indicate they cannot be trusted to solve these problems.

"As long as the industry practice is to collect a separate charge from the public, which is represented as the cost in making delivery of the automobile from the factory to the consumer, then the industry should not be permitted to collect any more than such actual cost. For this purpose I have introduced H. R. 7935, which would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to require every seller of property, who collects from the purchaser any amount as a charge for the transportation of such property, to furnish such purchaser a statement showing the amount of transportation charges, if any, taxable under section 4271 (a) of such code, and the amount of tax imposed.

"I have heretofore referred to the report filed by the Federal Trade Commission in 1939, pursuant to its study of the automotive industry. It should be noted that irrespective of whether or not legislative action was necessary, the Government controls of World War II, limiting production, obviated the need for positive action by the Congress at that time. Nevertheless, we find the same unfair practices prevalent in the industry today, and what is worse, on a larger scale. In these circumstances, our duty to the public is not discharged by a formal disclosure of their nature.

"In conclusion I should like to make this observation. The manufacturers representing the automotive industry can best be described as giant octopuses whose tentacles of economic power extend over every phase of the industry, as well as over many unrelated products. On the other side of the picture are the 42,340 dealers—90 percent of whom are small-business men, the very backbone of our free-enterprise system. In most cases they are the civic and philanthropic leaders in their communities. In the past their position has been one of dignity among their fellow citizens. They are fast becoming the most despised members of their communities. There were 219 dealer bankruptcies in 1953, the highest number since 1938. Two hundreds and forty-one dealer mortalities occurred in 1954. The April 30, 1956, issue of Automotive News gives some interesting figures on General Motors' dealer terminations. The figures are based on the first 10 months of 1955 as against 1954. In 1955 there were 178 nonrenewals against 150 for 1954; 214 involuntary terminations in 1955 against 192 for 1954; 1,585 voluntary terminations in 1955 as against 1,908 for 1954.

"It is high time to put this house in order.

"Again, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, permit me to thank you for the opportunity to attend here and express my views on these very important matters."

EXHIBIT A

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., September 8, 1955.

Hon. CHARLES E. WILSON,
Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: For some time Members of Congress have been receiving complaints about the tactics being used by various dealers in selling new automobiles to members of the Armed Forces returning from posts outside of the country.

It seems that some of these retailers have sent representatives abroad who, through fraud and deceit, induce these men who are about to return to the United States to sign contracts, and to pay deposits for the delivery of new automobiles to them at the port of their arrival in this country. As part of this scheme these retailers have made exclusive rental agreements for offices in the hotels in this country at which these men and their families are temporarily lodged upon their arrival here. The deceptive practices are continued at those places until the delivery of a new automobile is made and payment obtained.

No purpose can be served by setting forth in this letter the nature of the fraudulent representations that are made, nor is it necessary for the purpose of this letter to determine whether or not these practices are actually fraudulent or merely unethical business practices. The result of all of these practices is that these men are being duped and taken advantage of. They are paying more for these automobiles than if they bought them in their hometowns or, for that matter, if they bought them at the port of arrival. They are paying higher finance charges than they would pay if they took the opportunity of financing their automobiles in their hometowns or in the city in which they are discharged from the service, and they are being deprived of the inspection and service that ordinarily goes with a new-car purchase when made in their hometowns.

The automobile manufacturers, when apprised of these practices, have taken the position that these retailing practices are no concern of theirs.

I believe you will agree with me that in the absence of the manufacturers undertaking to prevent these practices, something must be done to help these men.

My suggestion is that you immediately issue a directive requiring commanding officers in all stations outside of this country to alert the men under their command to this situation, and to advise those men that it is inadvisable for them to make such purchases while abroad, or, for that matter, even at the place of arrival in this country, or the place of discharge from the service in this country, and that their best interests will be served by their making such purchases from dealers in their home communities. The hometown dealers, in almost every instance, can arrange for the delivery of a new automobile to them at their point of arrival or discharge in this country, which would then be available for them for transportation to their hometowns.

I hope you will agree with me that such a directive will serve a very useful purpose. As a matter of fact, the directive and the notice from the local commanding officer can be appropriately worded so that neither manufacturers nor retailers need be accused of any wrongdoing or impropriety, and yet provide some measure of protection to the members of our Armed Forces.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

EXHIBIT B

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C., September 23, 1955.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. MULTER: This is in reply to your letter of September 8 concerning certain practices of automobile dealers in selling to members of the Armed Forces returning from overseas posts.

You appreciate, I am sure, that no agency of the Department of Defense sponsors any plan of automobile sales such as you describe, and the Department is, therefore, without jurisdiction to discontinue it. The selection of an automobile salesman or sales contract is a matter of individual choice.

Overseas representatives of United States automobile dealers are not amenable to military control. So long as they comply with the laws of the locality in which they do business they can offer their merchandise for sale to both civilian and military. Control of this group like their contemporaries at the port would appear to rest with the automobile dealers, their trade associations, and perhaps the manufacturers.

I believe that the directive you suggest would be more restrictive than is appropriate for issuance by this Department and that it might affect the legitimate activities of firms and dealers who render real service to our personnel. I believe that the objective we seek, the use of caution and judgment by servicemen in their purchases from unknown vendors, can best be accomplished by a continuation of the present normal counseling given by commanders to their troops. I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of your letter to the military departments.

Your interest in the welfare of our Armed Forces personnel is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

CARTER L. BURGESS.

EXHIBIT C

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., September 28, 1955.

CARTER L. BURGESS,
Assistant Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BURGESS: Receipt is acknowledged with thanks of yours of September 23.

I fail to understand how the directive as suggested by me is in any manner restrictive. It does not require the Department or any commanding officer to take a position on the matter, nor in any manner to interfere with automobile dealers in this country or abroad. It has always been proper for the Defense Department to alert the members of the Armed Forces against dangers that they may encounter, whether physical, moral, or financial.

Alerting these men to these practices is in direct line with such procedure.

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

H. R. 10310

[84th Cong., 2d sess.]

A bill to provide for the regulation of motor vehicles on the highways of the United States, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "General Motor Vehicle Act of 1956."

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress through the exercise of this act of its power to regulate commerce, in accordance with which policy all of the provisions of this act shall be interpreted, to promote safety in the operation of motor vehicles by the general public on the highways of the United States, and to regulate the trade practices between manufacturers of motor vehicles and their franchised dealers and the general public.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. As used in this chapter—

(a) "Manufacturer" means any individual, partnership, corporation, association, business trust, or any other form of business enterprise, or any branch or agent thereof engaged in the business of manufacturing or assembling motor vehicles or of selling motor vehicles for resale, or servicing, or financing motor vehicles intended for resale.

(b) "Dealer" means any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or any other form of business enterprise, or any branch or agent thereof, engaged in the business of purchasing motor vehicles for resale and of exchanging or servicing motor vehicles.

(c) "Motor vehicle" means any motor driven or propelled vehicle, except airplanes, road rollers, traction engines, power shovels, and other equipment used in construction work and not designed for or employed in general highway transportation, as well as farm and agricultural machinery, and vehicles designed for running on tracks or rails.

(d) "New motor vehicle" means a motor vehicle which has never been the subject of a sale with intent to pass an interest therein and has never been driven, pushed, towed, or propelled over a public highway.

(e) "Used motor vehicle" means a motor vehicle which has been sold, bargained, or exchanged, given away, of whose title has been transferred from the person who first acquired it from the manufacturer or dealer, and so used as to have become what is commonly known as secondhand, within the ordinary meaning thereof, or which has been driven, pushed, towed, or propelled over a public highway.

(f) "Franchise" means the right, privilege, or authorization accorded the dealer by the manufacturer, whether by contract, agreement, or otherwise, to purchase, sell, and service motor vehicles.

(g) "Commerce" means commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, or in any Territory of the United States or in the District of Columbia, or between any such Territory and another, or between any such Territory and any State or foreign nation, or between the District of Columbia and any State or Territory or foreign nation.

UNLAWFUL PRACTICES

SEC. 4. It shall be unlawful for anyone to sell, ship, transport, drive, push, tow, or propel any motor vehicle in commerce unless accompanied by a manufacturer's certificate of fitness which must state (i) that the motor vehicle and all the parts and accessories thereon have been inspected and found in good working order, safe and ready for operation on the public highways, and in complete accord with all specifications as set forth in all descriptive and advertising matter, and (ii) that the vehicle has been road-tested for 500 miles and found in good operating condition after have been road-tested for at least 100 miles at each of the speeds of 15, 30, 45, 60, and 75 miles per hour.

SEC. 5. It shall be unlawful for any manufacturer or dealer to sell, ship, transport, drive, push, tow, or propel in commerce a motor vehicle with equipment, parts, or assessories different from or in addition to those specified in the current literature and advertisements of motor vehicles of the same make and model for which an additional or extra price or charge is made or sought to be collected for such equipment, parts, or accessories: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall prohibit the order or shipment of any motor vehicle equipped in accordance with the specifications set forth in a writen order or written agreement of the parties, which separately itemizes each additional or extra item by full description and price.

SEC. 6. (a) It shall be unlawful for any manufacturer to sell, ship, transport, drive, push, tow, or propel in commerce any motor vehicle without first having sealed the speedometer thereof so as to prevent tampering therewith or to prevent its operation.

(b) It shall be unlawful for anyone to replace, disconnect, or prevent the normal and proper operation of the speedometer on any motor vehicle or change its reading in such a manner as to mislead or deceive a person as to the usage, mileage, condition, or other character of the motor vehicle.

SEC. 7. It shall be unlawful to deliver a motor vehicle to a retail purchaser unless such delivery shall be accompanied by an itemized invoice of the cash sale price which shall separately set forth the amount attributable to each part, piece of equipment, and each accessory; Federal excise tax; State or local taxes; transportation; advertising; handling charges; service; motor-vehicle license; motor-vehicle title registration; and any other charge included in the price of the vehicle delivered: *And provided further*, That when sale of a motor vehicle is made other than on a cash-delivery basis the invoice shall also include the components of the charges added to the sale price by reason of the fact that the vehicle is delivered under a time sale or other agreement, separately stating the amount of each item charged in connection with the financing and the insurance, if any; and also indicating whether or not, and if so, how much of such charges are refundable if the balance is paid before maturity.

SEC. 8. It shall be unlawful for any manufacturer or dealer to charge or collect as a charge for transportation of a motor vehicle or taxes thereon any amount in excess of the actual cost to such manufacturer or dealer of the freight or other transportation charges incurred or taxes payable by the manufacturer or dealer in making delivery of such motor vehicle.

SEC. 9. It shall be unlawful for any manufacturer or dealer to advertise, or cause the advertisement of a motor vehicle in a manner so as to confuse or mislead, or to tend to confuse or mislead, a prospective purchaser as to the price or description of such motor vehicle that is intended to be or has been delivered at the dealer's place of business.

SEC. 10. No manufacturer shall directly or indirectly require any dealer or group of dealers to advertise or pay for the advertisement of the manufacturer's product except by the usual signs at a dealer's place of business indicating he deals in the manufacturer's products.

SEC. 11. It shall be unlawful for any manufacturer to threaten to terminate, to terminate or cancel, or to fail to refuse to renew the contract, agreement or franchise of any dealer because of the dealer's unwillingness or refusal to purchase parts, accessories, equipment, or tools of any particular type, kind, or description from said manufacturer.

PRICE DISCRIMINATION

SEC. 12. It shall be unlawful for any manufacturer in any manner whatsoever, or by any device or method whatsoever, to discriminate pricewise between dealers by way of discounts, rebates, or other allowances to any dealer over and above, or any different from, any discounts, rebates, or other allowances available at the time of such trcansaction on equal terms to all other dealers. Volume discounts, allowances, or rebates are hereby expressly prohibited.

MANUFACTURER-DEALER RELATIONS

SEC. 13. (a) Every contract or agreement between a dealer and a manufacturer by which such dealer in motor vehicles operates as such under a franchise granted by such manufacturer may include provisions to provide for the termination or cancellation of the contract by mutual consent or upon breach of provisions specifically contained therein, and such contract shall be canceled only for one or more of the reasons stated therein.

(b) Nothing contained in this act or in any other law shall render unlawful any contract or agreement between a manufacturer and a franchised dealer, in which such manufacturer agrees that such franchised dealer shall have the sole and exclusive right to sell in a specified geographical area and/or for a specific period of time a new or used motor vehicle produced or distributed by said manufacturer.

(c) Nothing contained in this act or in any other law shall render unlawful any contract or agreement between a manufacturer and a franchised dealer in which such dealer agrees to sell only within a designated geographical area and to refrain from selling oustide said area any new or used motor vehicle produced, assembled, or distributed by said manufacturer.

(d) Nothing contained in this act or in any other law shall render unlawful any contract or agreement between a manufacturer and a franchised dealer in which such dealer agrees not to resell, either directly or indirectly, any current model motor vehicle made by such manufacturer, to any person, partnership, corporation, or other entity engaged in the business of selling new or used motor vehicles other than a person or entity operating under a franchise or authorized dealer agreement with such manufacturer.

(e) Nothing contained in this act or in any other law shall make it unlawful for a manufacturer of motor vehicles to enforce any agreement authorized by subsection (d)

by refusing to sell to, or canceling the franchise of, any dealer who knowingly engages in the sale of a motor vehicle of current model made by such manufacturer to any person, partnership, corporation, or other entity engaged in the business of selling new or used motor vehicles other than a person or entity operating under a franchise or authorized dealer agreement with such manufacturer.

ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 14. Any manufacturer or dealer shall be entitled to sue for and have injunctive relief, in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction over the parties, to enforce the terms of valid agreements or to enjoin violation thereof, or against threatened loss or damage by a violation of this act, when and under the same conditions and principles injunctive relief against threatened conduct that will cause loss or damage is granted by the courts, and upon the execution of proper bond against damages for an injunction improvidently granted: *Provided, however,* That the parties may agree to accept the decision of an arbitration body to be composed of three members—one of whom shall be selected by the manufacturer; one of whom shall be selected by the dealer; the third of whom shall be selected by the two appointees, provided the third person so named shall not be a manufacturer or dealer, or a stockholder, officer, or employee of, or person affiliated with, either a manufacturer or a dealer.

SEC. 15. Anyone who shall be injured in his business or property by reason of anything prohibited or made unlawful by this act may sue therefor in any district court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found or has an agent, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover twofold the damages by him sustained, and the cost of suit, plus a reasonable attorney's fee.

PENALTIES

SEC. 16. Any person violating any of the provisions of this act shall, upon conviction for each violation, be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned for not more than 1 year or both.

SEC. 17. Whenever a corporation shall violate any of the provisions of this act, such violation shall be deemed to be also that of the individual directors, officers, or agents of such corporation who shall have authorized, ordered, or participated in doing any of the acts constituting in whole or in part, such violation, and such violation shall be deemed a misdemeanor, and upon conviction therefor of any such director, officer, or agent, he shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment for not exceeding 1 year, or by both.

SUITS BY UNITED STATES

SEC. 18. The several district courts of the United States are invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney General, to institute appropriate proceedings to prevent and restrain such violations and for damages and penalties. Pending final determination of the matter, the court may issue such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

SEC. 19. A final judgment or decree rendered in any criminal prosecution or in any suit or proceeding brought by or on behalf of the United States under this act to the effect that a defendant has violated said laws shall be prima facie evidence against such defendant in any suit or proceeding brought by any other party against such defendant under this act as to all matters respecting which said judgment or decree would be an estoppel as between the parties thereto.

SEC. 20. Whenever any suit, proceeding, or criminal prosecution is instituted by the United States to prevent, restrain, or punish violations of this act, the running of the statute of limitations in respect of each and every private right of action arising under said act and based in whole or in part on any matter complained of in said suit or proceeding shall be suspended during the pendency thereof, and the time within which to bring such suit or proceeding shall be extended by the length of time elapsed between the institution and final determination, by appeal or otherwise, of such suit, proceeding, or criminal prosecution.

TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS

SEC. 21. (a) Part II of subchapter C of chapter 33 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to tax on amount paid for transportation of property) is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following section:

"SEC. 4274. Statement of transportation charges.

"(a) Requirement: Any person who, in connection with any sale of property, collects form the purchaser any amount as a charge for the transportation of such property shall, in any case in which any part of the amount attributable to such transportation is taxable under section 4271 (a), furnish such purchaser a statement showing—

"(1) the amount attributable to such transportation upon which a tax is imposed by section 4271 (a), and

"(2) the amount of such tax.

"(b) Treble damages:

"(1) Recovery by purchaser: Any person who, by reason of any misrepresentation in the statement required under subsection (a) of this section, is required to pay any amount as a charge for the transportation of property, including the tax imposed thereon, which exceeds the amount actually paid by the seller for such transportation, including such tax, may, within 2 years after the date of such payment, bring a civil action against the seller to recover three times the amount paid as such transportation charge, including such tax, in excess of that actually charged the seller. Whenever any person successfully maintains an action under the provisions of this paragraph, such person shall be entitled to recover, in addition to the amount provided in the first sentence of this paragraph, a reasonable attorney's fee, to be fixed by the court, which fee shall be taxed and collected as part of the costs in the case.

"(2) Recovery by United States: In any case in which a person entitled to bring a civil action against a seller under the provisions of paragraph (1) of this subsection, shall fail to bring such action within the period of time prescribed therein, the Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil action against the seller in the name of the United States, within 2 years after the expiration of such prescribed period of time, to recover three times the amount paid as a charge for the transportation of the property purchased, including the tax thereon, which exceeds the amount actually paid by the seller for such transportation, including such tax, plus the sum of $500 as additional costs of the suit, the amount recovered to be paid into the Treasury of the United States.

"(c) Cross-references:

"(1) For penalty for false statement to purchasers relating to tax included in purchase price, see section 7211.

"(2) For penalty for failure to furnish statement required by this section or for furnishing false statement, see section 7276."

(b) The table of sections for such part II is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"SEC. 4274. Statement of transportation charges."

SEC. 22. (a) Subchapter B of chapter 75 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to offenses in connection with certain taxes) is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following section:

"SEC. 7276. Misrepresentations in connection with tax on amount paid for transportation of property

"Any person required under the provisions of section 4274 to furnish a statement who willfully furnishes a false or fraudulent statement or who willfully fails to furnish a statement showing the information required under section 4274, shall, for each such offense, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both."

(b) The table of sections to such subchapter B is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"SEC. 7276. Misrepresentations in connection with tax on amount paid for transportation of property."

SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

SEC. 23. If any provision of this act, or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance, shall be held invalid, the remainder of the act, and the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 24. This act shall take effect 90 days after its enactment.

NOW LET US HEAR FROM THE AUTOMOBILE OWNER

(Extension of remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, January 19, 1956)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, for some weeks now congressional committees have been hearing from automobile manufacturers and dealers. Each group has been telling how good they were and the faults of the other.

There is a third side to this story: That of the consuming public.

Following is an item I received unsolicited, which is the consumer's story. I am afraid it is all too typical. Incidentally, it confirms one phase of my testimony before the committee of the other body. The item follows:

"YOU ARE HELPING TO SEND TENS OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS TO THEIR DEATHS EVERY YEAR BY FAILING TO PUT A STOP TO THE FLAGRANT ABUSE OF THE CONSUMER BY THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

"Abuse through—

"1. Cars with engines designed for constantly increasing power 'to meet competition'—in spite of the fact that the cars' chassis, the cars' safety elements, our public highways, and the maturity of our drivers are not necessarily able to handle this power safely.

"2. Cars assembled so rapidly as to breed possible carelessness. (Buick was producing 67 an hour, when I went through the plant in August.)

"3. Frequent dishonesty in servicing, with the average consumer unable to know what has to be done or, after he gets the bill, what was done.

"4. Making excuses for defects to customers, often as if they were imagined by the new car owner, instead of admitting them an either correcting them properly or seeing to it that the customer gets a corrected car either this year or adequate ad-

justment when such corrections had been made.

"5. Refusal to accept responsibility for a defective product, forcing customer either to accept it or to buy a new one.

"6. Lack of any definite pattern in costs to the automobile owner in servicing, parts or gasoline products, with many of these products overpriced, especially by dealers and in tourist areas.

"7. Constantly increasing prices for cars with constantly decreasing quality in workmanship, while the companies boast constantly increasing net profits.

"8. Dealer policies that result in the cheapest kind of bargaining tactics to sell cars, with the customer never knowing exactly what he is paying, and for what.

"The following is a record of servicing required by my 1955 Buick super convertible (cost, $4,086.29):

"The first 6 months of servicing is one small evidence of the foregoing.

"Please note that many of the 'subsequent servicings' reported below were necessitated by careless, inefficient dealer servicing originally. * * * And almost all of the original dealer servicing would not have been necessary if the factory had produced the proper, efficient engineering and workmanship for which the customer pays so highly when purchasing a car.

"Picked up car March 11, 1955. Back plastic window had flaw in it. Was replaced.

"Trunk flooring torn and sloppy. Replaced, but in process floor greased up and stained.

"Left door hanging 1 inch off frame—both doors rattling and banging against locks; when car 10 days old, left door jammed and could not be opened. Serviced March 22, March 24, April 11, April 28, May 2, June 1, June 21, July 5, September 27. Apparently, because of body shake and poor engineering originally, these doors always will rattle and bang—and periodically the left door will shimmy out of position so badly that it will jam. It wasn't until fifth servicing that left door was hung flush with dash. Then I was advised that lock had been welded into wrong place. Rattling continued. When Buick servicemen unjammed left door on March 22, they sprung it. When they righted this on March 24 they broke the inside trim. There also is a dent under lock outside. Car had two different locks on doors when new. This was corrected and new striker plates were installed April 28 and again June 21, but chucking noise did not disappear. Body shake of car, caused by only slight bumpy roads, jiggled doors out of position during summer months until noise became unbearable and left door became more and more difficult to open. I advised Buick that left door was on its way to jamming again. Their eastern service manager insisted nothing was wrong. On September 20 it jammed shut again. They opened it, but door continues to bang around in its frame causing irritating noise that interferes with driver's control of car. Right door also rattles and bangs, but eastern service manager refused to do anything about it when he had the car in New York for going over, because 'we might damage something else in trying to reposition this door.' In spite of above servicing, I am left with a noisy, unsafe car in spite of original investment of over $4,000 for what should have been a well-engineered, carefully and accurately assembled car.

"Carburetor needed adjustment March 22. Constant thudding noise; low gas mileage. Serviced April 2, 11, 28, June 1. After first adjustment car stalled. Buick man readjusted and cut off all air so had to stop on road for another readjustment same day (April 2). Gas mileage still poor—do well when we average 13 miles per gallon.

"Speedometer cable needed readjustment March 22. Serviced April 11. Buick admitted this defect in 1955 Supers. Failed to repair first time. Now O. K.

"Top leaked at left side. Serviced March 22 and September 20. Still leaks. Also air pours through the top.

"Air coming through vents March 22. Air still is objectionable unless heat is on.

"Discovered through skidding noise under car when it stopped or slowed that motor that runs the top was loose. Serviced March 22. Now O. K.

"Reverse gear caused car to hop, March 22. Repaired.

"Left front tire fell apart at seam. Had reported 'feel steady thump as if tire was bad' on March 22. They could find nothing.

"On June 3, after 3 days in Buick shop when the factory representative was supposed to see what he could do to improve ride, a customer, watching as they started to drive out the car for delivery to me, discovered a 5-inch gash in front left tire; it had fallen apart at seams after only 3,000 miles of driving. (Not one of the many men who worked on the car spotted it, although front end was supposed to have been checked.) U. S. Royal (a subsidiary of General Motors) agent insisted that I pay $5 for mileage used, although they admitted it was defective, and although tire was still on warranty, according to Buick. Buick paid when I refused to. Bouncing noise continued in right rear tire which Buick replaced July 9–16. Bad front end of the car wore down these brandnew tires which I had put in front in less than 3,000 miles.

"Right rear window failed to close; wires were so badly taped, according to Buick dealer who serviced that they short-circuited. Serviced April 4, 11, and 28. Wires were repaired by District of Columbia dealer, but upholstery was not properly restored. It took two followup servicings by my own dealer to get it right. Now O. K.

"Boot that covers top was improperly designed so that it took three men to snap it on. Serviced April 3 and July 9. Buick sent new boot from factory, same size, but they sent snaps separately for dealer to install on outer rim. Boot still too tight; seams are ripping open.

"Left visor was sprung. Rattled and fell into line of vision. Serviced April 11, April 28, and July 9. It's now sprung again.

"Front floor carpeting not laid properly; ended below front seat, underlining exposed. Serviced April 11 and July 9. Was relaid first time, but it blew up when the top was down. Reinstated. Now O. K.

"Reported oil leak—either from engine or Dynaflow, or both. Serviced April 28, August 22, and September 8. On August 22, when oil was changed at service station, was advised that there was no gasket in engine oil equipment—then they found it. Also on August 22 a Buick serviceman informed me, when I needed a quart of Dynaflow oil after only 6,000 miles that they "all leak." In Flint, Mich., the Buick plant, when I complained that I had needed 2 quarts of engine oil in the last 1,000 miles, they said they were instructed to tell customers that "that's normal for a Buick." When I returned to my own independent serviceman at end of a trip on September 8, he discovered that the gasket in engine oil drain was faulty (Buick dealer admitted "we have had some of those") and the Dynaflow still was leaking. Buick repaired Dynaflow.

"Talked to factory representative on May 20 after returning from trip on New York State Thruway in wind when car was impossible to handle, and rattles were unbearable. He asked to go over car himself the next week or so. We made date for June 1 after my frequent calls to pin him down.

"On June 1 factory representative supervised checking of car. He said front end needed correction, and wheels were alined. He also tightened power-steering wheel to degree where it was hard to handle. I later was advised that this could damage steering gear over period of time. Front end continues to be weak and car still is difficult to handle. Car has had front-end correction and wheel alinement and balancing 4 times in 13,000 miles.

"As result of my advising the president of GM that my unanswered letters to him would be left with my insurance papers and that my family were being instructed to sue GM to the hilt if I should lose my life in this unsafe car, the eastern service manager for Buick flew up to see me on June 21. He drove car and insisted it was normal. He did admit a strange noise from rear left tire * * * admitted to chucking of left door against lock * * ? and he did suggest that either I bring the car to New York for the Fisher Body man to go over under his supervision, or he would send the man up here to go over it. I chose New York in order for the manager to supervise, hoping this would result in more positive results than in the past. Later was advised that it was against GM policy to reimburse me for the train fare involved in so doing. It was at his instruction that two new striker plates were installed on the doors."

Following is his list of repairs (on a car still new and already serviced as this record indicates so far): Left rear tire was replaced. Front floor carpeting reinstalled. Right quarter drain hole was opened (this had been neglected at factory). Left vent window spring was repositioned. Top boot cover was restitched. Left visor again was realined. Both door garnish mouldings were reset but the manager telephoned me to say that he would not reposition the right door (which I complained was chucking, rattling, and obviously out of position) because they "might damage something else." He also told me during this call that my complaint of overheating was unjustified—these motors "run hot." Dealer later found that thermostat was defective. Fan belt and power steering belt were replaced.

"Brought car to dealer on July 25 to be put in completely safe condition for cross-country trip. Pointed out that motor was running hot, and car pulled to right, especially when brakes were applied. (Note that this was less than 10 days after car was gone over in New York City eastern service division shop.) I also had them put two new tires on front.

"Dealer discovered that thermostat was defective.

"When I got car on road, found pulling had not been eliminated. Car was almost impossible to handle on road from here to California, and in San Diego (August 15) brought it into an oldtime wheel alinement specialist who reported the front end to be extremely loose. He corrected this, balanced wheels, and changed the cam and caster.

"When I returned to tell him car handled better, but still pulled when I applied the brake, he advised that there must be grease on the brake lining. (See story on this after I got home.)

"A serviceman who lubricated car (August 8) discovered inner tread of each front tire was worn from defective front end (less than 3,000 miles after brandnew tires were put on front), with compensating wear on rear. He also showed me a drawer full of Buick transmission differential plugs he had to keep on hand because they regularly broke off when he opened them.

"Stopped at Buick plant at Flint August 31, where we saw cars coming down assembly line with sprung doors, just as I had complained of in March.

"Visited consumer service office, Flint, August, to complain of following:

"Excessive consumption of engine oil.

"Excessive consumption of Dynaflow oil.

"Excessive body shake, resulting in loose doors and general noise and discomfort.

"Advised that left door was on way to jamming again.

"Car scraping bottom on inclines.

"Poor handling of the car on the highway.

"Young man's comment on use of oil was, 'Two quarts per 1,000 miles is normal. We must tell you that, but I wouldn't want it on my car.'

"Regarding other complaints, he said they would be forwarded to New York City service office (where car already had been serviced).

"Tired of Buick's constant motions without action in correcting faults reported herein, and concerned about continual risk of life entailed by car's poor performance; on September 8 I took car to my own serviceman upon return from the coast. He discovered:

"Defective rear axle oil seals had leaked so much grease on my brake linings that although right lining could be cleaned, left brake lining had to be replaced.

"Defective drain plug gasket had caused leakage of engine oil.

"Dynaflow still was leaking.

"Tailpipe was hitting against differential as result of body shake.

"Because of design of this car, repair of brake linings and rear axle oil seals was an expensive job. This repair bill, including complete servicing was $60, greater than I ever had in the 6 years and 90,000-mile history of my 1949 car (including replacements).

"In talk on September 9 with spring man who had corrected the front end of the car, which again was in bad shape as result of 2,000 miles driving over good highways, he advised that in 1 week he had had 3 new Buicks in for change of shock absorbers because of poor performance of those on the Buick.

"Brought car to Buick dealer September 12 for repair of Dynaflow leak—also brought along left brake lining to show them. Also to ask for repair of left door which was banging around and about to jam.

"Eastern service manager happened to be in that day. He insisted that there was no trace of grease on the lining. When I picked it up I got grease all over my suit. He also drove the car and assured me that 'nothing was wrong with the door.'

"September 27 left door jammed and could not be opened. Buick dealer opened door. Said car must have been jacked up causing chassis to spread, thus admitting poor structure of car. Car had only been raised on standard lubrication rack.

"Other defects: Body shake caused hood spring to loosen, causing hood to vibrate as you drive. Knobs of heater controls fall off periodically. Car continues to handle badly, and to be uncomfortably noisy as doors shake in their frames.

"This car is not an isolated case (the term used by General Motors to pass off dealers' reports on customer complaints, and continually used until, according to my own dealer, defective cars reported amount to 3 to 4 percent of the sales, a sizable percentage of over a million cars) but is typical of careless engineering in an effort to turn out cars for rapid sales, is indicated by:

"The record showing that, while denying the defects verbally and failing to correct them through servicing, General Motors (Buick) picked up the dealers' bills for servicing this car and did some servicing themselves.

"Reports from Buick owners and both Buick and independent servicemen whom I met all over the country, plus the consumer report on 1955 cars revealing the same problems.

"The promotion sent by Buick's main office to all Buick owners, urging wheel switching every 2,000 to 4,000 miles to prevent tire wear.

"Advertisements for the 1956 Buick, claiming new front-end geometry, newly balanced chassis, new shock absorbers (although the 1956 cars generally have not been changed basically).

"The public is helpless against the literally deadly competition between automobile companies: The reckless pricing and poor quality of auto products and auto servicing; the constantly increasing power of cars; the slowness with which safety factors are being added and then only as extras; the pack and other price policies that make it impossible for a customer to know what he is buying and for what price.

"Isn't it time for Government regulation of the automobile industry?

"Miss JANE BARTON,
"Albany, N. Y.

"(Who has never owned anything but a Buick and had never expected to own anything else.)"

PURCHASE OF NEW AUTOMOBILE—LETTER FROM L. J. SALTER, OF NORTH ROSE, N. Y.

(Extension of remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, February 7, 1956)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call to the attention of our colleagues the following letter which was forwarded to me on February 6, 1956, by Mr. L. J. Salter, president of the Salter Canning Co., of North Rose, N. Y.

The letter concerns Mr. Salter's experiences in purchasing a new automobile:

SALTER CANNING CO., INC.,
North Rose, N. Y., February 6, 1956.

Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MULTER: I have followed with interest the discussions in Congress on the plight of auto dealers, including your insertion in the RECORD of January 24. There is one aspect, however, that has not been presented: namely, to what extent has the public turned against buying new cars because of bad experiences with the ones they presently own? Here is an angle that the dealers in no way were responsible for but which is injuring them unmercifully. Here's how:

I now own my third Lincoln, bought in the spring of 1953. The first two were excellent but this third one (cash paid on delivery) occasioned so much trouble that I often wished I had the old one back. On the day it was delivered I had difficulty in starting the motor and when it did start it galloped, rocking the body of the car. The following day I decided to take my wife for a ride in the new "buggy." We were not 10 miles from home before the motor began to halt, wheeze, and stumble, and I had to turn back for fear of being stranded. I complained to the dealer (45 miles away) and he sent down a mechanic who put in all new spark plugs. This did not help and over the next 2- or 3-month period I drove my car to the dealer (in Rochester), several times, to try to cure the evil. On one occasion I had to stay overnight in Rochester, to complete the overhaul. Later I learned that many other Lincoln owners had similar troubles with this model.

I had also discovered that the car's rearvision mirror was unusually low, blending with the front glass, and 2 or 3 times on approaching a curve or crossroad I narrowly missed collision with approaching cars hidden behind the mirror. I complained to the dealer; he replied that other owners had the same complaints but he could not provide mirrors with shorter stems. I thereupon wrote the Ford Motor Co., pointing out that my attorney informed me that if an accident could be proven due to faulty design, it—Ford—could be sued. I had a shorter-stemmed mirror in trigger time.

Now I wish to emphasize that I believe the dealer was doing his best under the circumstances. But I could not see how he could stand all these repairs, and I assumed that he charged them back to Ford. Apparently not, from information now available. At one point in the attempts to "cure," a salesman told me that Ford put together a Mercury in 28 minutes. I replied that Ford put together this Lincoln in 10.

Lincoln was not the only "bad egg" that year. I heard of a man who bought a new Cadillac and started for Texas; he spent more time in garages than on the road with it. Back ends went out of Chryslers, and a friend owning a new Nash had two new rears put into it. I assume all these expenses were absorbed by the dealers, not the manufacturers.

For the past year and a half my Lincoln has operated excellently. I would like to buy a new car, but I simply balk at going through such grief again. I have lost confidence in the new cars, like, no doubt, thousands of others have. In fact, today, with dealers in the plight they find themselves, there is a greater risk of no service whatsoever. I just wonder if the makers, in futile attempt to overcome this negation, are not hoping the new crop of gaudy colors will rebait the hook. Not for me, and I doubt for the man on the street. Too many of the latter have, in my presence, commented upon the gruesome mess of design and colors. The interesting thing is that the body design of the cars is fundamentally good, but that the gingerbread on the sides, the chopping up of otherwise flowing lines, made more hideous by colors that do not complement, suggests a managerail floundering around with a double-barreled shotgun. The aim may be rotten, but scattered shot must hit something.

So the dealers, poor devils, are caught between the makers piling unwanted cars upon them and the public resistance to being mulcted again. The seriousness of the latter is that, while the makers are guilty of asking higher prices for poorer and poorer products, the public blames the dealer for the makers' sins.

It might be a very good thing if auto dealers in certain zones alternately agreed to shut up shop and boycott the makers over a period of time. This would have to be all dealers of all makes of cars within a designated area. I have found that in dealing with big business the club or knobbed battle ax is much more efficient than legislatoin or the bended knee.

Most sincerely,

L. J. SALTER.

Mr. MULTER. I know that your committee has labored long and hard with this problem and so have your predecessor committees, that is, the standing committees of prior Congresses. This is not a new problem.

Let me give you the titles of the various subdivisions of the topic as I think they have been presented to your committee and which will highlight the problems to which you are directing yourself.

You have as one title concentration of the motor vehicle industry. Another is competition in production and prices; competition among motor vehicle dealers; padding, new and used car prices, more recently referred to as packing; dealer price-fixing activities; the legal aspects of used car valuation or appraisal bureaus; unfair methods of motor vehicle manufacturers in their relations with their dealers; manufacturer's treatment of dealers, abuses of installment financing; itemized invoices needed for consumer protection; deception in charges for transportation of motor vehicles; sale of driven cars as new cars.

I have covered possibly not under the same titles or headings almost all of these subjects, both in my statement and in an attempt to remove most of those abuses by my bill, a copy of which I have submitted to the committee with my statement, which bears the number H. R. 10310.

Now, the title I read to you a moment ago, strange as it may seem, come from House document volume No. 27, Report on Motor Vehicle Industry No. 468 of the 76th Congress, 1st session, 1939, and the headings come from the headings of the conclusions made by that committee in 1939.

You will find that, just as all of these abuses that resulted in those conclusions under those headings were documented at that time, almost word for word, item for item, they have been duplicated in the testimony before the Senate committees this year and before your committee up to the present time, and I am sure that before you close your hearings they will be documented completely.

After 1939 the automobile manufacturers indicated that they were going to clean house, they would clean up these abuses without any legislative intervention, and that it should be left to them.

Well, the fact that you are hearing this identical testimony from new witnesses as to new occurrences since 1939 demonstrates that the industry cannot be relied on to clean up these abuses, and unless you are going to enact legislation you will never stop these abuses. You have had documented, as I say, all of them. I am not going to touch on too many of them.

Mr. KLEIN. May I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. KLEIN. I notice, Mr. Multer that your bill was just introduced on the 29th of March?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. KLEIN. I must say that neither I nor the staff have had an opportunity to examine it, nor have we gotten a report yet from the executive departments. So might I suggest that you just explain your bill?

Mr. MULTER. Yes. My bill does not contain any novel or new thoughts, and I do not pretend to claim any originality in the ideas contained in the bill.

You will find that most of them have been presented to your committee in other bills, in individual bills. What I sought to do was to take them all and put them all into one bill so that you can eliminate all of these abuses, and bring them before the House for action so as to do the full job at one time.

I cover the question of franchise dealers that you discussed with Judge Barnes. You know the strange thing about it is, as you probably recall, that inclusive franchises were the order of the day many years ago. A man who got a franchise from an automobile manufacturer got an exclusive right just as he bound himself to sell only that particular automobile, whether it was Buick or Ford or Chrysler, whatever it was, and he also got with his franchise a territorial restriction and a time restriction.

His contract ran for a period of years, and no one else could sell in his territory. Now, a few years ago the automobile manufacturers, in order to get out from under that kind of contract, in order to be able to push their cars as fast as they could, wherever they could, went to the Attorney General and asked him, "What about this? Can we continue to do this, or are we in violation of the antitrust laws?"

The opinion came down shortly thereafter from the Attorney General that you cannot give these restrictive contracts in your franchise-dealer agreements because they are in violation of the antitrust law, and the Big Three then used that as their excuse not to give their dealers these exclusive franchise contracts.

I know there is a division of opinion between the dealers. Half the dealers want the exclusive territorial rights, and the other half are against it. The fellow in the little town wants his exclusive territorial right. He does not want anybody coming in there. The fellow in the big city says, "I am going to sell my car wherever I can."

Now, whether or not you should take sides in the question I think is beside the point. I think that is a matter which the dealers can work out with the manufacturers, provided they will be in a position to negotiate with the manufacturers. In some places it may be the thing to do and in other places it may be the thing not to do, but I do not believe the manufacturers should be in a position to sit back and say, "Our hands are tied because of the antitrust laws and the opinion of the Attorney General."

Mr. KLEIN. Does your bill, Mr. Multer, contain anything on territorial security?

Mr. MULTER. Yes. My bill, sir, has a provision permitting, not directing, permitting the manufacturer and dealer to negotiate freely on the subject of franchises.

Mr. KLEIN. Do they not have that right at the present time without any legislation?

Mr. MULTER. The manufacturer contends that he does not have and his position is bolstered by the Attorney General's opinion that to give the exclusive franchise with exclusive territorial rights is a violation of the antitrust laws.

Now, I do not agree with the opinion, but I think the manufacturers have a right to rely on the opinion of the Attorney General rather than mine, and they have a right to say to the dealers that as long as that opinion is outstanding, unless it is reversed by legislation or by another opinion to the contrary from the Attorney General, we are not going to give you exclusive franchises.

Under my bill they are permitted to do it, not directed to do it. It is left to free negotiation and I say in my bill that if they make that kind of contract it will not be in violation of the antitrust laws.

Mr. KLEIN. Looking at it realistically, if the Department of Justice has held that this would violate the antitrust laws if there was such a clause in the agreement, you would have to override the opinion of the Attorney General?

Mr. MULTER. Yes; I do.

In other words, if this bill were enacted, it overrides the Attorney General's opinion.

Mr. KLEIN. It is similar to the Steed bill, then, on that point?

Mr. MULTER. Yes. On that point it is quite like the principle in the Steed bill.

I also cover in my bill the question of putting the responsibility directly on the manufacturer for anything that is wrong with the car, and then, of course, if he wants to let the car be sold anywhere at all and continue to advertise that it can be serviced in any service department of a franchise dealer, let us put the responsibility where it belongs, on the manufacturer.

Require him to inspect and road test and certify that every car that leaves his plant, before it arrives at the dealer's shop, is in good condition and safe for use.

Now, you will probably recall the words of the late Judge Holmes of the United States Supreme Court in that famous McPherson versus Buick case where there were inherent defects in the automobile and Judge Holmes, writing for a unanimous Court, said that an automobile is potentially a lethal weapon and that is what it is as it leaves these manufacturers' plants today. They do not test them, they do not do anything except pass it on to the automobile dealer, who is required to give not the automobile dealer's warranty but the manufacturer's warranty, and then the automobile dealer, because of the economics involved, is forced to kid that purchaser along for 4 months or 3 months or 4,000 miles, or whatever the terms of the warranty may be, and then at the end of the warranty when the warranty has expired, either because of mileage or the period of time, then the owner of the car begins to get a bill for repairs, so-called repairs, and 90 percent of those repairs are not repairs. They are correcting inherent defects, defects that were in the car when it left the manufacturer's plant.

I will take you into any automobile dealer's shop in Washington or anywhere in the country and pick out at random any new car that is on that man's floor ready for delivery, ready for delivery to the purchaser, and I tell you we will run it around the block and there will be a dozen different defects that will turn up in that time. If you happen to pick one that does not have them, it is the exception, not the rule.

My bill will prevent that.

Mr. KLEIN. Would you advocate similar legislation in other industries?

Mr. MULTER. Wherever you are putting an object such as an automobile in the hands of a user which may be a potentially lethal weapon, I say yes, it should apply to every industry; if there is any other industry that does this.

I do not know any other industry that would take an item that sells for anywhere from $1,500 to $5,000 or more and, except in the case of the custom-built car, you get an object that is delivered to the person which he has a right to believe is safe for use and which is not safe for use.

Now, there are any number of accidents, unexplained accidents, on the road every day in the week which are caused by inherent defects in the automobile, and as a practicing lawyer, you know there are many cases where you just cannot explain why the accident happened. The road was good, visibility was good, the person was sober who was behind the wheel, he was apparently an experienced driver, and there is an accident.

Mr. KLEIN. The gentleman is absolutely correct and, as he knows, I usually agree with him, but I know he also agrees with me in our opposition to the relaxation of the antitrust laws. This is what we would be doing in your bill and this would call for similar action in other industries, as Judge Barnes pointed out.

So we should be very careful about passing legislation such as this for a particular industry. I would be opposed to it even if it applied generally to most industries.

Mr. MULTER. What you say applies to that part of my bill which is directed to the automobile dealer's franchise contracts and their terms. I respect your views on that subject. I, nevertheless, urge the contrary views so far as that is concerned.

But, so far as road testing is concerned, so far as inspection is concerned, so far as phony advertising is concerned, you are not in any way interfering with the antitrust laws when you tell these manufacturers, "You are going to be responsible for all of you advertising. You are going to be responsible for a good car being delivered in safe condition. You are not going to be permitted to continue to charge phantom freight when your freight is actually $50 a car and you charge your customer freight of $235 a car, because that is the rail freight."

Mr. KLEIN. Well, the gentleman agrees that if they do not label it as freight, if they do not falsely advertise, then the companies cound charge any amount they would choose?

Mr. MULTER. Yes; but then you and I have the right to go to the dealer and say, "Your price for this car is $2,500. It is not worth that to me. And you will bargain with them. But when you get through bargaining and you have the price fixed and he says, "That is what I paid for freight and this is what I paid for freight to them and that is what you have to pay," then there is no argument.

You and I, who do not know the facts, might argue.

Mr. KLEIN. But that is at the present time illegal. The Federal Trade Commission

would step in there because it would be misrepresentation.

Mr. MULTER. They have not done it. How long do you think it will be before they file their first complaint to cease and desist against the manufacturer?

It will take them 5 years. After they have gotten the cease-and-desist order, it will take them another 5 years to go into court and punish for contempt.

Let us write into the law that this is a violation and if you violate this law you can be taken into court either by the person harmed or by the United States attorney and pay the penalty for violating the law; that is the way to handle this situation.

Mr. KLEIN. It is my opinion that the gentleman does have that right.

Mr. Friedel?

Mr. FRIEDEL. On page 5 you say:

"Only recently, as a result of testimony adduced in the congressional hearings, the Federal Trade Commission filed charges against the General Motors Corp. for false and deceptive advertising."

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDEL. You said, "How long did they do it?"

Mr. MULTER. Look how long General Motors has been carrying on this false advertising, as long as I can remember. This is just the filing of the complaint. What about against the other companies?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I am in accord with you all the way through.

Mr. MULTER. I think if you are going to rely on the Federal Trade Commission to enforce these laws, we are not going to get anywhere, that is just the history of their operation.

Now, in addition to that, you have the question of bootlegging that you are very familiar with, and that can be covered only if you permit the manufacturers to make these agreements, exclusive agreements, with their dealers. If you do not, you will never stop the so-called bootlegging.

Another part of my bill which is also aimed against preventing deception and fraud and misrepresentation of dealers, and that is to require them to itemize their invoices.

The recommendation was made in 1939, as I told you before. The companies said they were going to follow it. They do not follow it.

My bill provides that not only will they be required to itemize it but that they cannot collect for any so-called extra unless it has been ordered in writing and itemized on the bill.

Now, I think every member of this committee has an automobile. I wonder if you ever checked on whether or not you have an electrically operated windshield wiper or a vacuum one. The joke about it is this:

The standard equipment on all these automobiles is a vacuum-operated windshield wiper, but when your car is delivered to you it is delivered with an electrically operated one for which you are billed extra and you do not know it, and you pay for it as an extra.

Your cigar lighter on your car—there is not an automobile manufacturer that does not have a hole, a receptacle, built into the dashboard for the cigar lighter. But the electric lighter itself is extra and is charged to you as such and billed to you as such, and there are any number of other items all the way down the line.

Then there comes the question of buying parts. The franchise dealer will lose his franchise if he goes to the company that makes the spark plugs for the manufacturer and buys them directly from him. That is a violation of his franchise. He must buy directly from the manufacturer.

Why? The manufacturer adds on a profit. A spark plug is not one bit better because it carries the name Ford or Chrysler or General Motors. They all have been manufactured for them by other companies. You can buy that spark plug, if you buy it from an independent accessory shop, under the name of the manufacturer, and you will buy it for almost half the price that you will pay to your serviceman to get it marked Ford or Chrysler or General Motors.

You can be sure that your spark plugs will operate just as well and just as efficiently whether you buy it from the independent accessory dealer and have a serviceman put it in as if you buy it from your dealer.

Mr. KLEIN. Could you buy that car without the cigar lighter and buy the cigar lighter some place else and put it in?

Mr. MULTER. Yes; you could.

What happens to your cigar lighter when it is lost out of the dashboard or swiped? Every time you park it in a public parking lot where you must leave your keys in the car, when you come back your cigar lighter is usually gone. You do not want the hole there, you want the cigar lighter. If you are smart, you buy it from the independent shop, not from the serviceman, and you buy it for half the price.

Now, there is one other thing I would like to call your attention to, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Before you get into that, I want to get this into the record.

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDEL. The Senate committee sent out a questionnaire to the different dealers with reference to phantom freight charges. They sent 203 questionnaires to the Maryland dealers; 150 of the dealers said they would like to stop that abuse, and 12 said they would like to continue their present arrangements.

Look at the proportion; 150 to 12 in favor of eliminating phantom freight charges. I think that is one of the things that should be corrected immediately.

Mr. MULTER. There is is not any doubt that you are right, Mr. Friedel. Ninety-five persent or more of the automobile dealers are decent, honorable men. They have occupied places of dignity and respect in their communities. They want to do a decent job. Most of them are the leaders in the civic and philanthropic endeavors in their communities and they have been respected.

In recent years they have become the most despised men because of the pressures of the manufacturers of these automobiles. Their very livelihood is at stake. Their tremendous investment of capital in their place of business is at stake unless they meet the pressures of the manufacturers and something must be done by this Congress to lift those pressures from their backs.

There is one other important thing I would like to call your attention to. It is covered in my statement under the heading of "Cheating Our Soldiers."

A practice has grown up, started by some of the dealers, of sending representatives into the camps abroad where men are about to be discharged and sent home, and they sell these soldiers on the idea that they will sell them a car at list price for delivery at their port of debarkation in the United States, either in New York or San Francisco or wherever they may happen to be coming into the States, and that they will use their travel allowance from that point to their home as the downpayment on the car and the car will be financed for them there.

They are not told about the fact that they will get no service when they get their car back home except that they will pay for it. They are not told that they will have to pay list price and that the car back home is selling under list.

There is not a dealer anywhere in the country who gets list price for his car. They are not told about the high-pressure deals being made now, about buying a car without a downpayment and getting 3 to 5 years to pay.

There are many other very serious abuses coming close to actionable fraud that are perpetrated on these men in order to get them to sign these contracts of purchase of a new automobile before they get back to the States.

Mr. KLEIN. Can the gentleman tell me what he proposes to do on that subject and where it is in the bill?

Mr. MULTER. I think that might be covered by that section of my bill against fraudulent advertising and making the company responsible for the advertising.

Mr. KLEIN. You mean the manufacturer?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. KLEIN. Even though these people that make these representations are not the manufacturer?

Mr. MULTER. Let me follow one step further.

The dealers complain to the manufacturers about these fraudulent practices. You know what the manufacturers did? They did nothing to try to stop them. They set up their own selling offices in Europe and have their own representatives now selling these cars, with the additional representation, "You are not buying from a dealer, you are buying from a manufacturer."

It was called to my attention and I wrote a letter to our distinguished Secretary of Defense, Mr. Wilson, and I thought that I would get a better answer than I did from a man who would try to protect the General Motors industry.

He did not answer the letter, but Mr. Burgess, his Under Secretary, answered it and said that they cannot do anything about it.

Mind you, I did not ask them to make a charge of fraud. I submitted these letters to you.

My first letter is dated September 8, 1955. I call the attention of the Secretary of Defense to the entire problem and I then conclude with this paragraph:

"I hope you will agree with me that such a directive" meaning a directive to the commanding officers to alert the men to these practices "will serve a very useful purpose."

As a matter of fact, the directive in the notice from the local commanding officer can be appropriately worded so that neither manufacturers or retailers need be accused of any wrongdoing or impropriety and yet provide some measure of protection to the members of our armed services.

The answer from Mr. Burgess, September 23: "Sorry, can do nothing about it."

The letter in full is in my statement. That is, in effect, his answer.

On September 28, I wrote again to him and said: "I fail to understand how the directive as suggested by me is in any way restrictive."

Then I concluded: "Alerting these men to these practices is in direct line with such procedure" which is the procedure of the Department to alert their men to any dangers that may affect them wherever they are stationed, not only healthwise but also financialwise.

Now, do we have any precedent for this?

Of course we have. The insurance companies were perpetrating frauds on our soldiers and selling them life insurance under false pretenses and fraudulent representation. The same Defense Secretary, the same Under Secretary, when the matter was called to his attention, what does he do?

Immediately he investigated. What does he find? That the charges are correct. What does he do?

The same Secretary, the same Under Secretary, issues a directive dated December 21, 1955, No. SCCNAV1741.5. What does he do? Not only directs his commanding officers to alert the men as to these dangers and as to the perpetration of these frauds, but in the directive makes every commanding officer

responsible for seeing to it that no such salesman comes upon the base or operates in the vicinity of the base except that he is licensed, and except further that he will submit to restrictions and make no false representations.

Now, as I say in my statement, the adage, "What is good for General Motors is good for the rest of the country," can be slightly changed. Apparently what is wrong for the insurance companies is not wrong for General Motors.

Now, whether my bill is strong enough to cover this kind of situation, Mr. Chairman, I do not know. It may not be. If it is not, it should be strengthened, but something should be done to protect those men and our Secretary of Defense should be told in no uncertain language that he is not doing his full duty. He is violating his duty and his obligation when, in the one instance, when fraud is called to his attention he investigates, and in the other he refuses to investigate.

In the one instance, when he finds the facts justify the charge, he issues a proper directive and, in the other cases, he closes his eyes to it because it involves an industry with which he has been so closely allied.

Mr. KLEIN. Well, it is not only he. I do not think it is any surprise to the gentlemen who know that General Motors gets special consideration from this administration in other branches besides the Army. I think that is a situation that should be called to the attention of the Armed Services Committee. I agree with the gentleman that something ought to be done about it.

I do not know, frankly, whether this committee would have any jurisdiction over that phase of it. It certainly is an alarming thing. It is a surprise to me. I had never heard of it before.

Mr. MULTER. That is the situation, sir. It is substantiated by the facts. An investigation of the manufacturers will disclose it very quickly. There are half a dozen dealers in any of the big ports of the countries that you can call upon and they will substantiate the facts.

The facts were given to me in the first instance by dealers. I did not take their word for it, I asked the Secretary of Defense to investigate and determine what is the fact, and he refuses even to investigate.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to come here.

Mr. KLEIN. Any other questions?

Mr. MULTER. If there are any other questions, I will be glad to try to answer them.

Mr. KLEIN. I may say that my colleague from New York always contributes matters of value. I am sorry that we did not have the information which you disclosed when we interviewed the representatives of the manufacturers because it is a bad situation.

I believe the Department of Defense ought to be able to deal with it.

Mr. MULTER. You are absolutely right. They can deal with it if only they will.

American Aid Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, American citizens of all classes since the end of World War II have had many opportunities to visit interesting places in other lands. Recently Mr. Chester D. Tripp of Economic Trend Lines, Chicago, has been reporting his impressions of a trip that has taken him around the world. The title of his report is "Around the World in 90 Days" and under leave to extend my remarks I am quoting from an Economic Trend Line report under date of June 17, 1957, part 3.

I am impressed by the observations made by Mr. Tripp as follows:

In the first place the American people are seriously deluded in thinking that a billion Asians want democracy or even have the least idea of what it is. Another impression reminds one of the Greek philosopher's remark that there is only one God but many religions.

I regretfully come to the conclusion that religious differences are probably the greatest separatist influence that the world faces today. And, you think again and again of the terrible population congestion and the lack of aridable acres to feed them properly.

I also had the feeling that well-advised people in the Orient know more about Russia than we do. In the main, they are not interested in communism any more than they are in democracy. They also do not fear Russia, and put much more weight on the internal difficulties of Russia than we do. In their opinion, Russia has reviewed the scene and decided that they cannot win a shooting war. They are hoping for an ideological conquest, and it makes one wonder if we should not put more effort into selling our ideology and less in armament. I do not mean by this to sell democracy, but to sell a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation through individual and not through Government spending. Investment in Asia is not a safe thing for either the individual or the Government, but rather than have our Government do it, it might be possible for the Government to indemnify individuals who try to make the effort.

May I leave you with one last thought. Asia is full of hope, discord, poverty and trouble, but this has been true for centuries and the world still goes on. One thing is certain, basic problems should be improved and this is going to take more than American dollars and involves understanding and cooperation that is not yet visible.

Keep Your Eyes Open, Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the extent of the harm inflicted upon our business and industry by foreign competition is indicated in the following editorial taken from the Parkersburg (W. Va.) News in its edition of June 22, 1957.

Headed, "Keep Your Eyes Open, Congressmen," it spells out that our advantages in the export trade, including air travel and communications in general, are already being severely challenged from abroad, the challenge in most instances coming from nations whose very prosperity and economic well-being have been generously subsidized by the American taxpayer.

A great many of our businessmen today are beginning to question the judgment of those who sit in chairs of authority when it comes to our export-import policies. They are openly questioning the advisability of such things as OTC under whose broad umbrella we are required to surrender our hegemony over our own trade to the collective judgment of nations whose ideologies veer far, far to the left of our recognized American standards:

KEEP YOUR EYES OPEN, CONGRESSMEN

The chairman of Britain's Export Council proposes that England launch a policy of cutthroat shipping competition as a means of winning back more of the North, Central, and South American market. He protests that other European countries are sending more ships to the Western Hemisphere, and that England must jump into the competition with more and better and cheaper shipping or continue to lose ground.

It's all right with the American people for England and other European countries to engage in a shipping war so long as they do not do so with American money. But it isn't all right with them if these American markets, particularly the United States market, is to be won at the expense of American producers and wage earners.

Maybe the gentlemen of Congress would do well to keep a weather eye on our tariff schedules and the various agreements which soften their impact on the importer in view of what is happening in Europe.

Supreme Court Confuses Matters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am submitting for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Supreme Court Confuses Matters," which appeared in the June 19, 1957, issue of the Los Angeles Times. The editorial presents a critical appraisal of the recent work of the Supreme Court, with particular reference to the series of security cases decided adversely to the Government.

I would like to draw special attention to that part of the editorial which calls on Congress to close the loophole in the Smith Act resulting from the Supreme Court's decision, on June 17, 1957, in overruling the Smith Act convictions of 14 California Communists. The Court acquitted 5 of the Communists and ordered a new trial for the other 9. The editorial states as follows:

We think Congress should also act to tighten up the Smith Act, so as to eliminate the equivocal language the High Court found in it. As a weapon against the Communist menace, the Smith Act is currently a broken reed.

What will be the result of the Supreme Court decision if Congress fails to take action to restrengthen the Smith Act? Here is the view of the southern California district chairman of the Communist Party, herself one of the nine Communists for whom a new trial was ordered, as reported in the June 18, 1957, issue of the Los Angeles Herald-Express:

This decision will mark a rejuvenation of the party in America. We've lost some members in the last few years, but now we're on our way again.

I believe it is important that Congress take the steps called for in the editorial to be sure the Communists are not actually on their way again. The entire editorial follows:

SUPREME COURT CONFUSES MATTERS

In a tidal wave of decisions marking the drawing to a close of its current term, the United States Supreme Court leaves the Nation in a rather confused state. While it did not this week—as it had done on previous occasions—decide any cases by less than a majority of the Court, some of its rulings were on such close questions that the logic escapes ordinary minds.

ABSTRACT MATTER?

Who, for example, would be able to tell when a man who advocates overthrow of the Government by force and violence is advocating it as an abstract matter, and when he is trying to start a revolt? Yet the Court appears to call on judges and juries to draw such a distinction. Advocating subversion as a matter of principle appears to be lawful; advocating subversion by action is unlawful, and Congress was wrong when it failed to specify this fact.

We think the general public will be inclined to agree with Justice Clark, who chided the Court for the acquittal of five California Communists on the ground that this was the first time in its history the Court had usurped the functions of a jury.

We believe with the majority of the Court that the criminal law must be construed strictly for the protection of the innocent, but we do not believe that Congress intended to give the word "organize" so narrow a meaning as to apply it solely to the rebirth of the Communist Party in 1945. The majority of the Court holds that is the meaning of the word.

MINORITY DECISIONS

As for minority decisions, it would seem there should be some provision to obviate them. According to authorities on constitutional law, the Supreme Court has at present no power to call in retired or lower court justices to fill in their number when the membership of the Court is below full strength. Several years ago the Court decided the insurance business must be regulated by the Federal Government, overturning many years of regulation by the States; and this epochal decision was by four justices because some disqualified themselves. Recently such an important decision as the General Motors-Du Pont antitrust case was decided by four justices.

Congress may be able to provide by law for the Court to recall retired justices—Justices Minton and Reed are in that status now—or call up judges from the Court of Appeals to sit in cases where members of the Court are disqualified. Either that or the Court should postpone decision or order reargument in cases in which a majority of the entire Court cannot agree.

CURE BY CONGRESS

Decisions of the Supreme Court are such important matters that at least five judges should join. In the antitrust case mentioned, Justices Whittaker and Brennan had joined the Court after the case was argued; reargument would have been appropriate. It would have caused some delay, but that would have been preferable to having such important business principles decided by what may have been a minority ruling.

In the insurance instance, Congress cured the situation by legislation and we are back to our time-tried State regulation.

We think Congress should also act to tighten up the Smtih Act, so as to eliminate the equivocal language the High Court found in it. As a weapon against the Communist menace, the Smith Act is currently a broken reed.

Confusion also was caused by the decision that, in discharging John Stewart Service from the State Department, Secretary of State Acheson violated the regulations of his own Department. How Acheson, who is rated a pretty good lawyer, could make such a mistake appears to be explainable only on the ground that law is too complicated a matter to be understood by anybody but an august few.

What the public sees is the probable reinstatement of Service in a post for which his connection with the Institute of Pacific Affairs, however, innocent, was a disqualification. No man of good judgment could have failed to note the bias of that organization. One who failed to note it has no place in the State Department in any important post.

Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks, I am including an editorial by Mr. Milton L. Fleetwood, editor of the Daily Tribune-News, of Cartersville, Ga., relative to Aidmore Hospital for crippled children, located just off the grounds of Emory University in Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Fleetwood's article speaks eloquently for itself:

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

(By Milton L. Fleetwood)

Through the courtesy of Oscar Burgess, exalted ruler of Cartersville Elks Lodge, this writer was privileged to attend the semi-annual meeting of the board of trustees of Elks' Aidmore Hospital in Atlanta Sunday.

This board, among other actions taken, voted to cooperate with the Augusta Elks Lodge in establishing a clinic for crippled children in that section of Georgia.

The Augusta Elks have accumulated through the years a fund of $50,000. With such a fund in hand, they will be able to apply to the Hill-Burton Hospital Authority for an additional $50,000.

With this total of $100,000 in sight, the trustees of Elks' Aidmore Hospital voted to back the Augusta project to the limit.

Thus will be established another haven for the crippled children of Georgia.

Aidmore, located just off the grounds of Emory University is a 64-bed children's convalescent hospital, offering nursing care, dietary treatment, physical therapy, speech therapy, and a medically supervised recreation program.

The education of all white patients is provided for, by school teachers supplied by the Atlanta school system and DeKalb County school system. The education of the colored children is provided for by the Fulton County school system.

Aidmore is not a general hospital, and acutely ill children can not be admitted because no surgery is performed at Aidmore.

White children from infancy to 21 and colored children through age 14 having certain handicaps come within the scope of Aidmore treatment and are accepted when beds are available.

Aidmore patients are accepted only after the Georgia Department of Public Health qualifies them.

In addition to supporting Aidmore itself, the Elks of Georgia are cooperating with the State Crippled Children's Division. They also provide transportation costs to and from State clinics and hospitals, for those children whose families cannot afford to pay it themselves.

The Elks' also often provide hospital costs and medical fees for children who do not qualify for treatment at Aidmore and whose family cannot bear the costs involved.

The Elks do not stop here since they also purchase braces, wheelchairs, crutches, hearing aids, eyeglasses, and other appliances for handicapped children not qualifying under other assistance programs and whose families cannot pay the costs involved.

A visit to Aidmore touches the heart strings of all who pass thru the various departments.

We wish that some of the northern radicals could visit Aidmore and see how the kind hearts of Southern Elks have provided equal facilities for both white and colored patients.

The same skilled doctors are ready and willing to serve the needs of the colored children as well as white children.

The Elks of Georgia have demonstrated they are worthy of being called the "Best People on Earth."

While not a member of the Elks we have long maintained a devoted interest in all their undertakings. This Sunday visit certainly could not lessen our appreciation of their good works.

America's Influence for World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, former Gov. Alf M. Landon has long been recognized as an analyst and student in foreign affairs. He has given a great amount of study to the foreign policy of the United States and its development to the end of bringing peace to the world.

Because of the former Kansas Governor's recognition in the field of international relations, I want to insert in the RECORD for today a speech by Mr. Landon given in Wichita, Kans., to the Kansas Institute of International Relations:

AMERICA'S INFLUENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

(Address by Hon. Alf M. Landon, Kansas Institute of International Relations, Wichita, Kans., June 16, 1957)

Pax Romana and Pax Britannia are the world's two historic peace periods.

Both were built on the military strength and economic strength of Rome and Britain.

Both countries received enormous contributions from conquered peoples of soldiers and money and trade—including slaves—in the case of Rome. That's the first rule of imperialism and that's the role of Communist Russia—including slaves.

Pax Americana—in complete contrast—is building on the Eisenhower doctrine of giving military and economic strength, plus the general principles in 6 of Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, as common ground for the free nations.

In April, in the Mediterranean Sea, when we mobilized the Sixth Fleet in support of Jordan's independence, the whole world saw

what the Eisenhower doctrine means. That was a victory for the free nations of far-reaching consequences based on America's military and economic strength.

In October, in 1956, the application of equity and justice, as outlined in those six points, to the Suez controversy and the Britain-France, and Israel's invasion of Egypt has succeeded in reducing the widespread distrust of the United States among the peoples of Asia. That also was a victory for all the free nations of far-reaching consequences.

Point 1: Open covenants openly arrived at.

While there are problems associated with that, it fits our policy with all nations, even in the preliminary discussion of the disarmament conference.

Point 5: A readjustment of all colonial claims in which the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

Points 10 and 12: On self-determination.

That, of course, is in line with America's traditional belief that every people have a right to choose their own government.

Point 14: "The formation of a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

Eight months ago, for the first time in the life of mankind, collective security stopped two major powers' invasion of a smaller and weaker country.

It is true that was not due so much to the strength and the organization of the United Nations, as it was to the position of the United States and Russia.

Nevertheless, it was not two major powers acting in collusion against two other major powers. It was the vote of censure by practically all the nations of the world standing on the principles which Britain and France and Israel signed with the rest in the United Nations charter.

The extent that the Eisenhower administration's foreign policies are being conducted in harmony with the United Nations is even creating some criticism.

Point 3: "The removal of all economic barriers and establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations."

While we have not followed that free trade policy 100 percent, we have made sizable progress toward freer trade in our reciprocal trade treaty and negotiated tariffs. I believe that freedom of exchange, money, goods, services, arts and sciences, travel, students, all contribute to a better understanding between peoples. That that has broad and deep influence in the conduct of public affairs. History is full of the effect of personal likes and dislikes, of national sentiment on both internal and international affairs.

America's influence for world peace is not only based primarily on its military strength and economic strength, but also on a realistic altered concept of the true meaning of world leadership and government's responsibility to humanity.

We have used that great strength to make enormous contributions against the tyranny of Prussian militarism, nazism, fascism, and communism alike, and for freedom of the individual.

Instead of following the role of empire, as Russia is doing, and receiving contributions, we are now continuing to make enormous contributions to foster modern higher health standards, higher production and living standards, higher educational standards, building up their national defense in 69 countries, centuries older than America.

Peoples who, for centuries, have only known power and ruthless willingness to wield it are finding it difficult to understand America's using its resources and great strength to promote peace based on the practical problems and intellectual movements for the general welfare of humanity. We saved helpless Russians in World War II. Not until her plans for reducing all the world to Communist colonies were revealed did we start our programs of military aid.

New ideas and new philosophies are stirring masses of heretofore somewhat lethargic peoples the world over. There is much soul searching and wrestling going on today in America with such problems as segregation. India has not only her caste or segregation problems, especially regarding the untouchables, but also bitter religious differences between the Moslems and Hindus. Religious segregation is also true in Pakistan, the 11 Arabian nations and Israel. South Africa has bitter racial problems.

Freedom is in the air everywhere. But it is more than freedom.

That new thinking, the new faith, that new desire, to establish on a better basis the day by day workings of society and bringing the real meaning of the truths of civilization to more peoples is taking on truly great proportions. It is voiced in the most unexpected places.

The new ventures in the ancient problems of human relationship have become so real and taken on such proportions in many countries that governments all over the world are reviewing their policies and actions.

That recent and world wide practical application of the general welfare statement in our American Constitution that "all men are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is reshaping politics and economics even in darkest Russia and China.

I remember President Franklin D. Roosevelt discussing with me, I think it was my last visit with him, what has come to be known as the point 4 international gift program. President Roosevelt was thinking of it as a definite, but temporary, contrast to the colonial policies of Britain and France.

I agreed with Mr. Roosevelt that it was a good start on a sound foundation for a peaceable world. With his permission, I mentioned our discussion to the reporters when I left the White House. I believe the whole program, great as its accomplishments now, needs revision in the light of experience.

It will be a great mistake to ignore the rising tide of legitimate criticism against our foreign aid program.

1. Its size. Trying to do to much too quickly. That, of course, is characteristic of all American undertakings.

2. Attributes of permanence. However, it must be remembered that a large part of the program is a matter of our national defense.

3. The mistakes and waste by administering and planning through inexperienced personnel—especially waste.

To ignore these points of legitimate criticism is to jeopardize the future of the program both at home and abroad.

For illustration, take the recent tragic kidnapping and murder in Iran of two American men—point 4 employees—and the wife of one of them by a bandit gang. They had no business in that location. They ought never to have been there—especially the American woman.

The unproar that tragedy aroused resulted in the resignation of the Prime Minister of Iran—who was a great friend of the western democracies. The repercussion of the tragic affairs of a noncommissioned officer—in Korea, in Japan, and in Greece is spreading all over the world. We have had similar experiences in Germany. There have lived few peoples with soul so dead that they did not resent being told too much and too long what to do by a foreign country. Too much and too long of that is as bad as too little and too late.

I was the first Republican leader to speak vigorously in support of the Turko-Grecian loan—saying at the time it would have to be expanded to include the Pacific. I remember how bitterly that policy was fought by the left wingers in this country. They screamed it would mean war with Russia. I strongly supported the Marshall plan.

The questions I raise about our foreign aid program—is it balanced—is it being spent wastefully—is it being placed where it will do the most good for peace. I firmly believe it should be shifted from gifts to loans. Loans are made in the atmosphere of understanding—of cooperation and mutual respect. Outright grants are made in the atmosphere of condescension.

I think it is time to start calling a halt to our foreign aid program. Its continuance indefinitely on the present scale is fraught with dangerous consequences to the United States.

The present size of our national debt—the rate of our taxation—local, State, and National—is a threat to the strength of the United States. Any weakening of the economic strength of the United States will be of disastrous consequences to the free world.

We have a patchwork act designed to provide for the unification of our Army, Navy, and Air commands. I do not know of any essential Government function where we have done such an inadequate job as we have in the organization of our Armed Forces for national defense. We have Joint Chiefs of Staff and a Chairman where we must have a General Staff and a Chief of Staff. Without that, we cannot have unity of the three services—now wasting the public's money and manpower by bitter rivalries—nor can we have the coordinated plan our national defense demands. I am not only concerned regarding this fallout from the H-bomb—but the continuing fallout between our admirals and generals.

All the evidence points to the fact that we could have stronger defense for much less money if the three services were more efficiently unified and organized.

We have Federal aid to small business—to farmers—immersed in bureaucratic redtape to the extent that their benefits are clogged and their costs are increased.

According to the Hoover report, the Federal Government is spending money for a lot of enterprises it does not need to, and the new Federal budget proposes to take on some more nonessentials. Mr. Eisenhower's budget proposes 14 new grants-in-aid to the States on top of the existing 58.

Unfortunately, Government does not have the check on its activities on wasteful and inefficient management that business has in its profit-and-loss statement.

The President has said he is not going to welsh on his promises to the American people in the 1956 national Republican platform. But how about his promises to reduce the national debt and national tax rate by economy and efficiency in Government? The only way to restore a sound fiscal policy in America is a determined, persistent, and consistent reduction of our monstrous national debt. The place to start is with the Federal budget now pending before the Congress.

The Secretary of the Treasury's responsibility and integrity to his job compelled him to voice his grave fears of the gargantuan size of the Federal budget. Having expressed his official opinion that clashed with the President's and the rest of the Cabinet, he resigned.

Of course, Secretary of Treasury Humphrey's resignation was expressed in polite terms of having nothing to do with his vigorous statement on the menace of the President's budget to our national security.

The President's acceptance of Mr. Humphrey's resignation was expressed in the same diplomatic language. That is the way political policy differences are settled at the presidential levels. It is like divorced Hollywood stars announcing that they are still the best of friends.

The Federal budget must be sliced. Where it is sliced is of prime importance to our national security. The principal attack must not be confined to our foreign aid and military expenses, although economies can be effected there. Major economies must be made in other Government functions, if the National Government credit is to be maintained.

Any objective translation of the Communist patter must reach the conclusion that their plans have not worked out for either industrial or agricultural production, and admissions that great and terrible injustices were done in the name of the Communist revolution. There is a growing rift between the people and the party privileged class not only in their colonies but in Russia and China. The Soviet has failed in its desperate and persistent attempts to weaken America's influence for peace by developing friction between the free countries into a split. Khrushchev's foreign policies in the Near East suffered a disastrous defeat. The sheer brutality of the Communists in Hungary shocked the whole world. Khrushchev this week slyly fell back on the old Communist pretensions that their ideology is a bigger weapon for conquering the world than their H-bomb. He must mean they have perfected new methods of brainwashing.

All that does not mean a change in the Soviet's objectives of reducing the rest of the world to Russian or Chinese colonies by force.

That does mean that the Communist dictators feel compelled to reshuffle their tactics, temporarily at least, by fear of incipient public opinion at hime, in their colonies, and their loss of public respect and prestige abroad.

The basic error in Marx and Lenin thinking and teaching is becoming evident.

They believed and taught that communism could be established by seizing complete control of a country—liquidating the existing middle class—and bringing up an entire new generation in the belief that all democracies were decadent—that all evil came from capitalism and all good came from communism.

Despite the fact that the slightest deviation from that basic tenet of communism has been punished by torture, murder and slave camps on a scale never heretofore known in the world's history, the revolt against the heartless Soviet tyranny is stirred by the students and the coming generation—not only in Hungary and Poland—but in Russia itself. Youth at any time and in any country has always raised their voices in protest against inhumanity and in behalf of freedom, equity and justice.

I submit that the more literate a country becomes—and education of the masses is one of the proudest boasts of the Soviet—and the bigger the middle class a country develops—and that is growing in Russia—I submit the more any government must consider public reaction at home to its policies and acts.

Mankind has never known such a horrifying attempt to mold the thinking and the beliefs of masses of people like the Communists have attempted in China, in Russia and in their colonies. The press—the radio—all literature—were controlled. It was an offense punishable by sentence to the slave camps—to listen to any outside radio. Broadcasting from the free countries was jammed by the Soviet electronic instruments.

The music, arts, and sciences of the world were either derided and ridiculed or claimed as Russian.

Even an agricultural scientist was punished by Stalin for saying that America was producing better corn than Russia. Now Khrushchev is importing hybrid corn seed from America. The economy of Russia has forced a drastic revision in communistic thinking and planning. Neither the Russian industrial production or agrcultural production can sustain a long war, let alone mounting peacetime demands. Attempting to meet these demands, the management of industry and agriculture is being decentralized by the Soviet. While control will center in the Kremlin, the scattering over Russia of this new privileged class means some weakening of centralized control. That is of political significance.

That should mean in time the growth of local government and strong local government is always a check to centralized tyranny.

All that adds up that public opinion is more existent today, although still subject to control and punishment, than heretofore in Russia and its colonies. What's more important, incipient public opinion always generates and grows. If that be true time is fighting on the side of the free world.

I believe that a working and sizable public opinion can be as great a deterrent to war as the H-bomb itself.

A rising tide of public objections is evident the world over to further atomic and hydrogen bomb tests.

Scientific opinion on the required limitations of these tests to avoid menacing all present and future life is divided.

Public opinion here and in the free world at least is aroused by the discussion and warnings in recent months. Although the necessity of preparing for a nuclear war cannot be ruled out as long as one man in the Kremlin can start it. And don't overlook the fact that most wars have been started by one man. However, I believe there is something more significant and vital in the background of public thinking than these bomb tests—as important as that question is.

That is the belief that there can be no victor in a modern war is at least pentrating the inertia of peoples and their governments.

Norman Angell, in The Great Illusion, published in 1913, explained that simply and persuasively. But it has taken two world wars and one lessor one to dramatize the fact that all—including neutrals—are losers in modern war. It should be obvious that nuclear neutrality—or for that matter neutrality of any kind with H-bombs dropping—is an iridescent dream.

Wars are never the desire or the will of popular governments.

Wars are the product of the stupidity—the cupidity—the arrogance—or the fanaticism of the Napoleons—the Kaisers—the Hitlers of the world.

All of them and their people were lured to their defeat and destruction by early and easy victories.

In our time, peace or destruction got down to one man in the case of the Kaiser and Hitler—now once again it is one man in Khrushchev, who apparently has just about nailed down his supremacy in the Kremlin. While he could still slip, the chances of his doing so are becoming more and more remote. Today, the 11 in the Kremlin must be discussing whether to consolidate their great territorial gains—check the cracks beginning to appear in their monolithic structure before they widen farther—or lured as Napolen—the Kaiser and Hitler were by early and easy conquests—they may still be deluded by their fanaticism into believing that democracies are decadent and will not fight unler any circumstances.

Until the 11 in the Kremlin's decision becomes clear and unmistakable—until the party boss Khrushchev decides whether he wants to be another Hitler—or a Moses—there must be no weakening by the free countries of their military defenses—and their economic strength—if they prefer freedom to Communist slavery even to the point of no return.

A U. N. Police Force Can Only Have One Master

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I have been impressed by the public interest being manifested in resolutions introduced in the House recently by a bipartisan group calling for the creation of a permanent United Nations Police Force. My colleague on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the very able and distinguished gentleman from Missouri, Representative A. S. J. CARNAHAN, has taken the lead in presenting this important matter to the House.

I hope it will be possible for the House Foreign Affairs Committee, or an appropriate subcommittee to have early hearings on the resolution. The resolution raises a question which must have the earnest and serious consideration not only of the Congress, but of the executive branch as well. Many problems are inherent in a proposal such as this. I can think of no better way to bring these problems into the open for discussion and debate than through hearings.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert an editorial from the Winter Park (Fla.) Herald, commenting on the resolution. This is an interesting and lucid explanation of the resolution and I commend it to the attention of Members of the House:

A U. N. POLICE FORCE CAN ONLY HAVE ONE MASTER

A resolution for a permanent United Nations police force has been introduced in the House by Representative A. S. J. CARNAHAN, Democrat, of Missouri, and Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, Republican, of New Jersey. A similar resolution has been introduced in the Senate by Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, Democrat, and Senator RALPH FLANDERS, Republican.

In the resolution it is stressed that the U. N. emergency force in Egypt has made significant contributions toward stability in the Middle East, and that the force has constituted a step toward the maintenance of international peace and security.

The resolution proposes, however, that the force be made permanent and organized in an entirely different way than now is the case.

The U. N. police force should be organized, trained and financed by the United Nations, the resolution suggests. No individuals should be accepted for membership in the force who are nationals of the permanent members of the Security Council or of states not members of the United Nations. The expenses for the force should be paid by the United Nations and be included in the U. N.'s regular budget.

The idea of a permanent U. N. police force or "fire department," at any time ready to rush out to fight dangerous fires, is worth every support. Such a force will have to come, sooner or later if we are going to preserve the peace, but it is packed with many complicated problems.

A weakness of the present young international police force is the fact that it is a heterogeneous group of units from various

nations. Too many of these units are governed by the policy and political interests of their home countries. Although they are under a unified command, the officers and other members are easily influenced by the thinking of their home governments. In some delicate situations they will be led by direct instructions what action to take. It is generally accepted that the action of the unit reflects as much on its home country as on the U. N. As long as the members carry the uniforms of their own defense forces they always will feel themselves primarily as members of those forces.

Another weakness in the present setup can be mentioned, and there is an obvious risk that this weakness might lead to the undermining of the whole idea of an international police force. There is a tendency to call on the same members of the U. N. whenever neutral observers or neutral supervisors are needed. Because of the opportunities of playing politics and raising obstacles which are offered on such missions, U. N. members under Moscow control are only too eager to serve. Another category of U. N. members is the one generally recognized as being neutral and willing to serve because of an honest wish to contribute to the peace. This group has, however, gradually become cooled off because of the obstructionist tactics of the first group. They feel that very little can be accomplished and many of these members, who are professional soldiers, feel they gain nothing by their international assignment and would profit more by staying home. The tendency of the international police assignments of being drawn-out affairs because of the obstruction of other police members and because of the lack of intention of the parties in controversy to come to some agreement will most probably make the neutral nations increasingly hesitant to serve.

An international police force recruited directly by the United Nations, uniformed, equipped and trained by the U. N. and with its members entirely disconnected from their home government and armed forces, would serve the purpose vastly better. There would be no question of any member serving more than one master.

On the other hand, even such a force could well be made victim of politics. This would, however, be in the open and in the United Nations. Such a force would be considerably more expensive to finance than a force trained and equipped by the member nations and only called upon when needed. A U. N. organized force would have to be kept, equipped, trained and paid whether it is used or not.

Particularly when it comes to appropriations of money, nations against the use of the force for a special action will have an opportunity of sabotaging the force and strangling it by denying it necessary funds.

Programs of American Charities and Voluntary Agencies Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I submit the statement of William H. McCahon, Chief, Voluntary Foreign Aid Staff, International Cooperation Administration, before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, showing the working of the 1958 program for humanitarian purposes abroad of American nonprofit voluntary agencies developed in conjunction with the United States mutual-security legislation.

The statement follows:

My name is William H. McCahon. I am Chief of the Voluntary Foreign Aid Staff of ICA and serve also as Executive Director, ex-officio, of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. That Committee consists of nine members, all serving without compensation, and is chaired by Mr. Charles P. Taft. I have served in this capacity since July 1, 1953, and for 3 years prior to that as Associate Chief. In carrying out the responsibilities of this position, I have become closely acquainted with the personnel of the American voluntary agencies and have had an opportunity to observe and obtain a personal knowledge of their varied activities abroad. I am convinced that these groups of private citizens play an important role in international relations which today is of great value to our country. Acting on behalf of the American people they, as private citizens, are extending a helping hand to friendly peoples around the world, who, through circumstances beyond their control, need our assistance. The request we are making represents one material way in which the United States Government indicates its interest in supporting and furthering the overseas activities of its own citizens' groups.

For fiscal year 1958, an appropriation of $2.2 million is being requested which is $0.3 million less than last year's appropriation. If approved, the funds would be used to continue ocean-freight support for shipments of relief and rehabilitation supplies by approved American nonprofit voluntary agencies engaged in humanitarian activities abroad. Section 409 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, defines approved agencies as those registered with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, and the American Red Cross. These private agencies draw their principal support from voluntary donations of the American people both in cash and in kind. It has been conservatively estimated that their combined constituencies comprise at least 75 percent of the American people. The program is typically American, representing, as it does, a material expression of good will by our citizens for their less fortunate friends abroad.

It is estimated that supplies valued at $32.8 million will have been shipped and distributed this fiscal year at a cost to the Government of $2.5 million. Thus each tax dollar spent to pay ocean-freight costs is multiplied nearly 14 times in terms of the value of the goods furnished and delivered. The funds requested for next year would, on this basis, move goods valued at approximately $29 million. These supplies include food, clothing, medical and hospital supplies, school supplies, handtools for trades and agriculture, and other self-help supplies. Many of these goods are donated in kind without any cash contribution to cover delivery costs. Hence, the value to the agencies of ocean-freight support without which the program could not go forward. The whole activity is of unique importance in terms of its contribution to international friendship and good will because it represents people-to-people giving at levels not normally reached by government-to-government aid programs.

In each case, before expending funds appropriated for this purpose, a formal agreement is entered into between the United States and the receiving government under the terms of which the latter guarantees duty-free entry of these goods and payment of inland transportation costs from the port of entry to the ultimate point of distribution. The American voluntary agencies, for their part, bear the cost of solicitation, processing, warehousing, packaging for export, and transportation to United States ports, as well as maintaining United States citizen representatives abroad to supervise distribution and to insure that the supplies reach the persons for whom they are intended. Thus, the program represents a three-way cooperative arrangement between the American voluntary agencies, the United States Government, and the foreign governments, with each contributing materially to its success. All goods are clearly marked to identify their United States origin. These markings bear the United States emblem and the wording "gift of the American people—ocean freight paid by the United States Government." Also, the origin of the supplies is made known to the individual recipients through the United States citizen representatives of the agencies, resident in the countries of distribution.

These private agencies are carrying on many other activities and services of interest to the United States. They constitute a useful channel through which United States agricultural surplus commodities can be distributed to needy people abroad. Over the past several years, they have taken on ever-increasing responsibilities in moving substantial quantities of these surpluses. They are also active in the fields of technical assistance and refugee resettlement. In the latter field, their outstanding services on behalf of Hungarian refugees is still vividly in mind.

The following 31 agencies are those which now benefit from participating in the ocean-freight subsidy: American Baptist Relief; American Friends of Austrian Children; American Friends Service Committee; American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee; American Mission to Greeks; American ORT Federation; American Red Cross; Assemblies of God—Foreign Service Committee; Brethren Service Commission; Catholic Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference; Church World Service; Congregational Christian Committee; Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere (CARE), Inc.; Foster Parents' Plan; Heifer Project; International Rescue Committee; Iran Foundation; Little House of Saint Pantaleon; Lutheran World Relief; Mennonite Central Committee; Near East Foundation; Pestalozzi Foundation of America; Refuge des Petits; Romanian Welfare; Salvation Army; Save the Children Federation; Tolstoy Foundation; Unitarian Service Committee; United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America; World Relief Commission of the National Association of Evangelicals; and World University Service.

Jensen Says Eisenhower Is Undisturbed by Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of June 22, 1957:

JENSEN SAYS EISENHOWER IS UNDISTURBED BY CUTS

President Eisenhower was pictured today as "not too disturbed at what Congress has done in reducing his budget."

Representative JENSEN of Iowa made that report on Mr. Eisenhower's attitude after Mr. JENSEN and 39 other House Republicans had breakfast with the President at the White House.

The get-together over scrambled eggs, bacon, and fish cakes was the third in a series. Mr. Eisenhower is having all Republican members of Congress in as early morning guests in an effort to win enactment of his legislative program.

COMMENT IS SURPRISE

Mr. Eisenhower has had some rough going in Congress in trying to win approval of the administration's $71.8 billion budget. The House and Senate already have voted some deep cuts, and the President on more than one occasion has spoken out in opposition to such reductions.

So the remark by Mr. JENSEN that Mr. Eisenhower's "not too disturbed"—or at least doesn't seem to be—about the cuts came as something of a surprise.

Mr. JENSEN, a member of the Appropriations Committee, told newsmen:

"He recognizes that it is the duty of Members of Congress to exercise their own good judgment."

Mr. JENSEN went on to say that he regards Mr. Eisenhower as a great guy who is very considerate regarding the views of others.

"I have not been able to see eye-to-eye with him on some of the things he has recommended, but he always is willing to give Members of Congress the privilege of voting their convictions and still stay in the President's good graces," Mr. JENSEN said.

House Republican Leader MARTIN of Massachusetts reported there was no discussion of business whatsoever at his table. As at the two previous breakfasts, Mr. Eisenhower moved around the White House state dining room and chatted with House Members seated at four different tables.

SOCIAL GATHERING

"It was just a social gathering at my table," Mr. MARTIN said, adding that several of the House Members did a bit of lobbying in an effort to lure Mr. Eisenhower to their particular States for a summer vacation.

Mr. MARTIN said he and Representative MCINTIRE of Maine put in some solid plugs for New England on the ground it's cool there with plenty of good trout fishing.

"The President is still looking around (for a vacation site) and I think it is barely possible he will go to New England," Mr. MARTIN said.

Several of the GOP lawmakers reported Mr. Eisenhower was in a jovial mood. One—Representative MICHEL, of Illinois—remarked that the President was light of heart enough to appreciate rock 'n roll music.

That was an allusion to rock 'n roll numbers Mr. Eisenhower heard at a young Republican rally at Constitution Hall last night.

Unhappy Haiti

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, our mutual security program is presently under consideration by the Committees on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs.

Many have felt that we should emphasize more strongly our alliances with our close allies in the West Indies, Central and South America.

One must admit the difficult problems that exist for peoples in Asia, Africa, and Europe.

But good judgment warrants close attention and scrutiny to the peoples of this hemisphere. We must exert every effort to help our friends to help themselves.

A desperate situation existing in the West Indies has been brought to my attention by the attached letter, which is published in an effort to be informative and constructive in pointing out the dangers which exist on our doorstep.

The letter follows:

UNHAPPY HAITI

The recent political crisis was but a symptom of Haiti's abysmal poverty. It is a country where almost three-fifths of the 4 million people of the old island of Hispaniola are crowded into approximately one-third of the island's land. Of that one-third, a good deal less than half is arable.

One Haitian child out of each 5 or 6 goes to school. The people are more than 80 percent illiterate. The Creole French patios that they speak is not a written language.

Mutual distrust between the Mulattoes and the Negroes is ancient. Meantime, the country's economic state has grown worse until today.

Haiti has a gross debt of almost 65 million. This in a place whose annual budget comes to approximately $35 million; its gold and dollar reserves has dropped $11.3 million last year to $5.8 million now.

Haiti needs help. It needs somebody to put its agriculture in order, to teach it how to feed itself, and to get the most from its two principal cash crops, coffee and sisal; rice is another potential. An American concern has engaged in the last year in developing rice into a cash commodity, of which Mr. Frank R. Cusumano is chairman of the board—an investment of $500,000. The United States should take part in aiding this development. We find much to be desired from our American Ambassador in bringing a stronger alliance with this unhappy country in its entire need of educational and medical assistance.

Only the United States can help. Any efforts on our part to be successful must be planned long range and must be sound financially. Such an approach can work in the Carribean, as it has worked in Puerto Rico.

The newspapers have followed closely the Haitian plight, especilaly the New York Times and the Herald Tribune. They have voiced in unison the tragedy of this unhappy country. Through the indignation of our thinking people, such conditions to the civilized world should be eradicated by the United States cooperation and our foreign-aid program.

The gist of this communication came from the Morning Sun papers, Baltimore, written June 10, 1957, by Mr. Price Day.

Yet we have in the past assumed responsibility for Haiti. When the United States marines went there in 1915, to stay until 1934, we acknowledged Haitian stability as our problem. Some observers believe that the country is more unstable economically and politically today than it was in 1915, although no one in our foreign-aid program has proposed a solution to this problem.

The outlook is for deeper poverty; graft and corruption even worse; and politics progressively more chaotic.

No one wants much of anything to do with Haiti and the families of Latin-American nations, most of them speaking Spanish. Haiti is an orphan. Her isolation is almost complete. The United States may not be much of a friend to Haiti, but it is the closest thing to a friend that Haiti has.

The United States should recommend a free and honest election as soon as possible by the Haitians. Dr. Francois DuValier, a candidate, is an able leader, without communistic influence. Educated in our country in public health, hoping for a speedy election in order to put Haiti where it rightfully belongs, as our friend.

FRANCIS K. CUSUMANO.

Arthur T. Vanderbilt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the State of New Jersey has suffered a great loss in the untimely death of Arthur T. Vanderbilt, chief justice of the New Jersey court system.

For many years, Arthur T. Vanderbilt was a strong and active leader in the cause of good, clean, representative government. His leadership attracted good candidates to run for public office and over a period of years he contributed greatly toward the development and progress of the State of New Jersey.

With the advent of the New Jersey constitution in 1947, a court system evolved that became a model for the courts in the other 47 States. There was nothing more natural than Arthur T. Vanderbilt becoming chief justice of the new court system for he had been its chief advocate and molded its creation. To put into effect the marked changes that were to take place in the new system, a strong hand was needed at the top. Chief Justice Vanderbilt was determined that New Jersey should not only have the framework of the best court system and one that would be a model for other States, but that it should operate with efficiency, with dispatch, and with earnest attention of the judges and lawyers to their duties. The record speaks for itself and the residents of New Jersey are grateful for his accomplishments in their interest.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting the following editorial from the Ridgewood Herald News of June 20, 1957:

ARTHUR T. VANDERBILT

The greatest monument of all time to the late Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt is the New Jersey court system. However he may be evaluated in the perspective of history, the judicial reform as written into the New Jersey constitution of 1947 will stand as his most enduring achievement.

Justice Vanderbilt possessed the weaknesses as well as the strengths of a personality type usually classified under the term "strong man." The connotations of the term are by no means derogatory. Experience teaches us that even under the most efficient democratic system situations arise which call for strong, authoritative leadership. Such a situation prevailed under New Jersey's antiquated court system prior to the constitutional convention of 1946.

More than 5 years before that event Mr. Vanderbilt had been commissioned by the then Governor, Charles Edison, to draft the model of a new constitution for New Jersey, particularly with regard to the improvement of the judicial system. Nothing came of it until the convention under the

regime of Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll finally got underway. Mr. Vanderbilt was not a delegate to the convention but the Vanderbilt shadow, focused in his constitutional draft, hung over the entire convention. The court system which evolved, and which has been recognized throughout the United States as a model of efficiency, bears the stamp of the Vanderbilt personality.

It was those very qualities of strength which frequently brought Justice Vanderbilt into sharp political and judicial conflict, as for example, when his ruling that the legislature is powerless to change any rule adopted by the courts brought him into sharp conflict with Gov. Robert B. Meyner.

The role of a reformer in a democratic society is never smooth, and Justice Vanderbilt experienced his share of the ups and downs of social and political evolution. Whoever assumes such a role must be evaluated by the net result rather than by the passing frictions of his career. And on this score Chief Justice Vanderbilt will hold a high place in the esteem of future generations.

Supreme Court and the Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, permit me to call to the attention of our colleagues Mr. Constantine Brown's article entitled "Supreme Court and the Reds," which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of June 24, 1957.

SUPREME COURT AND THE REDS: RECENT DECISIONS IN CONSPIRACY CASES DRAW STRONG CRITICISM AGAINST JUSTICES

(By Constantine Brown)

A drive has been started in Congress for new legislation to offset the damage done by the recent decisions of the Supreme Court in connection with the Communist conspiracy which works underground in this country.

In the opinion of a number of members of the Senate and House committees responsible for unearthing these Communist activities, the Red conspiracy continues as effectively as it did after 1933, when the United States became the last great power to recognize the U. S. S. R.

The Senators and Representatives who became irked at the Supreme Court decisions maintain the judges must live in an ivory tower not to recognize that the American Communists' and fellow travelers' aim is the destruction of the Constitution.

Since the integrity of the High Court must remain above suspicion, the legislators are determined to introduce new laws to close existent legalistic loopholes which permit attorneys for subversives to exculpate their clients.

Laying aside all the technicalities about which lawyers quibble, our legislators say it would be difficult to maintain that a free society should not be allowed to protect itself from a conspiracy which seeks its destruction.

Our social order has a right to provide for its perpetuation. Yet in recent days the Supreme Court has issued decisions which have the force and effect of tying the hands of the FBI and of Congress in their attempts to expose Communist infiltration and subversion in our Government.

In the last year, it is pointed out, the Court has issued 10 rulings which have given aid and comfort to the Communist cause; have seriously curtailed the effectiveness of the FBI and Justice Department; and have caused exultation at the headquarters of the Communist Party where it was announced that henceforth the thinned ranks will be swollen again.

Led by Chief Justice Warren and Associate Justices Douglas and Black, the Court has dragged in every technical rationalism to reverse decisions of lower courts in Communist or contempt cases.

In one of the most recent decisions—the Jencks case—the conviction of the labor leader for falsehood in signing a non-Communist affidavit was set aside because he had not been given access to FBI reports.

Communists and fellow travelers have been trying for years to destroy the effectiveness of the FBI. They have tried every trick and subterfuge to deal a fatal blow to our top investigating agency by forcing it to reveal its secret information sources. Now they appear to have succeeded.

In an article in the American Legion magazine of March 1954, J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, highlighted the confidential nature of the FBI files, saying that a citizen who reports informaiton "* * * can be certain that his assistance is appreciated and that his identity will be kept confidential if he so desires."

It seems strange to many Americans that our Supreme Court desires to violate that confidence.

The latest mental effluvium from the Supreme Court reversed the conviction of another labor leader, John T. Watkins, for contempt of Congress on the ground that the inquiries of the House Un-American Activities Committee infringed on Watkins' constitutional rights.

This decision, if allowed to stand, will destroy the ability of congressional committees to expose the tangled web of Communist subversion in our Nation. It will prevent congressional committees from exercising the power of subpoena and contempt citations as a means of focusing public attention on specific situations.

Naturally all American citizens desire to preserve the Constitutional guaranties of our people. These are not matters to be taken lightly. Nevertheless, it is preposterous to ignore the social responsibilities that accompany citizenship and to maintain that we should be so free that each citizen shall have the right to conspire to destroy our Government with impunity.

In the words of Justice Tom C. Clark, former Attorney General of the United States, who has dissented from most of these opinions, this type of reasoning is "picayunish," "immaterial" and "mischievous."

There is a growing body of public opinion advocating that it is high time for the Supreme Court to cease curbing Congress and the Justice Department and to return to the principles of law and abandon the philosophy of "social action" which seems to be the primary motivating factor.

Transportation of First-Class Mail by Aircraft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as pointed out in the following letter from Mr. Paul A. Nagle, president of the National Postal Transport Association, Congress has never formally authorized the transporting of first-class mail by aircraft. Although the experiment which has been going on for 4 years may be proper, I personally believe we should look into it further and either authorize its continuation and extension or else bring it to a halt. There may be some merits to the operation, but they may be overshadowed by the disadvantages that are encountered. To resolve the question I am suggesting that a thorough investigation of the situation be made.

Mr. Nagle's letter is as follows:

Hon. JOHN LESINSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LESINSKI: During the questioning which followed my testimony in regard to H. R. 5836, on March 22, you expressed some doubt about the handling of 3-cent mail by aircraft under existing experimental procedures.

On April 18, Deputy Postmaster General Stans was interrogated in regard to the operation and he said, first, that the operation is making money; and later, that it is not losing money. The Postmaster General said during the hearings that the 3-cent flying experiment has the blessing of the courts. Actually, no such clear determination of granting or withholding approval was developed in the courts. The decision which was reached hinged more upon jurisdiction than upon any valid judicial opinion. The suit had been brought by five western railroads and all during the court procedures, the approach of the Post Office Department's attorney was directed more closely to a lack of competence by the railroads to bring suit rather than upon the legal issues involved.

The United States Supreme Court on May 7, 1956, declined to review the decision of January 28, 1955, of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia (C. A. No. 4958–54). The district court in turn had ruled that Congress had not sanctioned the experiment but that because of "the failure at this point of the plaintiff to show irreparable injury the motion for permanent injunction will be denied."

The same decision noted:

"It has been pointed out that this experiment was recognized by the Congress in the form of the fact that the hard-working, very efficient, and all-powerful Appropriations Committees of both sides of Congress, the House of Representatives and the Senate, knew by reporting that this experiment was going forward. It is argued on behalf of the Postmaster that in the legislation that appropriated sums of money to carry on his Department the House saw fit—or the Senate, rather—saw fit to refer to this experiment then going on, and the House report which was more voluminous, omitted it. Then it is urged that because the Appropriations Committee required quarterly reports, that those indicate notice, as was the case of *Brooks* v. *Dewar* (313 U. S. 354).

"One has to know the function of the Appropriations Committee and the means by which our Congress operates to appreciate that that is not a tenable argument.

"First of all, there is a standing rule in the Congress that one may not have legislation in an appropriation act, and it is subject to the very striking attack of a point of order. All Congressmen and all Senators know that, and in the House of Representatives it is especially dealt with constantly. So that if it is a matter that in broad legislation appropriating nearly a billion dollars reference is made to the quarterly reports, it is merely a "watchdog" procedure which that very efficient committee, the appropriations, uses, so that it will be abreast of needs, because

deficiency appropriations are likely to come, surpluses build up, and the committee wants the information."

Certainly, in this stage all of us are acutely familiar with deficiency appropriations and we will understand the Court's further findings that:

"The Court is bolstered in that because at one point the experimental use of service in connection with transportation of mail by air to include the autogyro was given the postmaster by the act of April 15, 1938, 52 statutes 218–220. It had a limitation. It set up standards, and it also provided a limitation of its life and was later repealed."

The Court said that, "It may well be that the American people are on the verge of a new classification of mail matter." However, it added:

"The Court stresses that because the Court will not rule as a matter of law that the Postmaster General is acting beyond those limits of authority delegated to him by the Congress of the United States, which has from the people the sole directive to establish post offices and post roads."

Qualifying this finding, the Court made the further observation:

"The Court will also rule that as a matter of law, under the grant of moneys to run, maintain and operate the Post Office, the Postmaster General did have the right to experiment, his actions in that sense are not unlawful, but the Court will rule that prolonged experiments which by the running of time demonstrate that the knowledge acquired by the experiment has been received and that it is a promulgation of an executive attempt to usurp the power of the legislative function is unlawful."

Surely we cannot misconstrue the significance of the final sentence quoted above and accordingly, we will place into its correct current context the further determination from the Court's decision that:

"The Court will rule as a matter of law that the Postmaster has a right to make this experiment on the west coast, limited, as the Court said, in that it shall not be unduly prolonged."

It seems to us that an experiment which is in its fourth year is certainly quite close to being "unduly prolonged" especially when clear congressional sanction has not in the interim been granted.

The pattern of highway post-office service has not at all kept pace with suburban development and with the withdrawal of railroad service. The pattern of change in distribution in transit has been one of contraction rather than one of expansion.

Accordingly, we suggest that it is inappropriate for the Post Office Department to claim improved postal service by means of 1 or 2 dramatic actions while the general pattern of service is impaired.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL A. NAGLE,
President.

Uncle Sam the Employer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I recently introduced legislation, H. R. 8104, which would permit the Treasury Department to cooperate fully with the respective States in withholding State income taxes from the salary of Federal employees.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial comment of the Deseret News-Telegram of Salt Lake City, which puts its finger squarely on the inequity of the present Federal law pertaining to this matter. I differ with the editorial on only one point: I am very hopeful that Congress will recognize and correct this situation.

The editorial follows:

UNCLE SAM THE EMPLOYER

Probably Congressman WILLIAM DAWSON is no more hopeful of actual action than we have been in protesting the Federal Government's refusal to withhold State income taxes in Utah.

Still, protest against this bit of governmental high-handedness needs to be written clearly in the record. Mr. DAWSON's bill calling on the Government to cooperate puts the protest on record. We hope he will push vigorously for hearings and for a floor vote on the matter. That is the only way it can be brought to the full attention of Congress.

As Congressman DAWSON has pointed out, the 82d Congress thought it was laying the foundation of cooperation when it passed Public Law 587. In reporting the bill favorably, the House committee declared that "Every practicable step should be taken to cooperate in the area of withholding with the State and Territorial governments in view of their cooperation with the Federal Government in fiscal matters generally, and particularly in withholding the Federal income tax from their employees."

But Utah has discovered, along with four other States, that a big loophole still exists in that cooperation. The Treasury Department reports it is not allowed by law to withhold taxes in a State that withholds only from employees who have not established permanent residency.

The primary purpose of the Utah withholding tax law passed by the 1957 legislature was to collect income taxes from construction and other workers temporarily in the State who would otherwise file no Utah returns. It is a worthy and justifiable aim. But the effort is crippled when the Federal Government—which, unfortunately, is Utah's largest employer—refuses to abide by regulations governing other employers.

This refusal if allowed to stand could open the way to all sorts of mischief in the Federal Government's role of employer. Congress should correct it.

The Small Farmer's Battle for Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday morning it was my privilege to address the ninth annual meeting of the Alabama Association of County Agricultural Agents at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Ala. The meeting was well attended by the County Agents in our State and by the members of their respective staffs. I selected for my subject "The Small Farmer's Battle for Survival."

I am pleased to insert my speech in the Appendix of the RECORD, under leave heretofore granted.

THE SMALL FARMER'S BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL—AN ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., OF ALABAMA, AT THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY AGRICULTURAL AGENTS, THOMAS JEFFERSON HOTEL, BIRMINGHAM, ALA., JUNE 22, 1957.

I am glad to have the opportunity to participate in the program here today for at least two reasons. First of all, it gives me an opportunity to discuss with you what I consider Alabama's most important farm problem, "The Small Farmer's Battle for Survival." Another reason equally as important is that I have a chance to be back in my home State and my home town, Birmingham. It is especially pleasant and refreshing to be here today, particularly in view of the multiplicity of problems before the Congress this session, which constantly keep Members embroiled in some form of turmoil.

This meeting of the Alabama State Association of County Agricultural Agents represents to me about as important a meeting as can take place in our State or anywhere in the Nation.

Basically, what I am going to be concerned with this morning is the question of the survival of our family farms. I should like to consider with you at least three problems farmers face today, problems of real significance to farmers and city people as well.

The first of these is the status of the family farm; second, the problem of falling farm income and the cost-price squeeze; and third, how we may attack these problems.

With respect to the status of the family farm, there are disturbing reports from the broad agricultural domain of the Nation, telling that increasing numbers of farm families are leaving the soil because of the deterioration of their competitive position. Examination of the reports reveals that the acreages previously in family farms are becoming consolidated by purchase into larger holdings where hired labor supplants the family-unit enterprise.

This has been a concern of farm people, agricultural leaders, and Members of Congress for some time. Studies have been conducted to determine ways and means to protect, foster, and promote the family farm as the continuing dominant unit in American agriculture. Special attention has been given to the problem of adjusting our farm programs to accommodate the convenience, productivity, and prosperity of the family-farm unit.

We need only to observe the trend during the past 4 or 5 years to be convinced that there is a deterioration of the economic structure of the family farm. The disappearance of thousands of small family-operated farm units proves beyond a doubt that such a trend exists.

Let us examine the record for a moment to see what is happening. Since 1930 we have observed a continuous trend toward fewer and larger farms in the State of Alabama and in the United States as a whole. In 1954 there were 80,439 fewer farms in Alabama than in 1930. This represents a decrease of about 31 percent in the total number of farms in the State. In 1954 nearly 35,000 fewer farms were in the State than in 1950, representing a decrease of over 16 percent in 4 years.

While we have fewer farms, there has been an increase in the number of farms in the larger size groups. For example, since 1950 the number of farms in the size group under 10 acres has slightly increased. There was a decrease in the number of farms in all size groups from 10 acres to 219 acres. All size groups from 220 acres to 1,000 acres and over, showed an increase in the number of farms from 1950 to 1954.

The trend for the Nation is similar to that in Alabama. Over a million and a half fewer farms were in the country in 1954 than in

1930, and about 600,000 fewer farms in 1954 than in 1950, a decrease of about 23 percent from 1930, and a decrease of over 11 percent since 1950. As is true for Alabama, the trend is in the direction of fewer family farms and an increasing number of large farms. There was a decrease in the number of farms in all size groups from 10 to 260 acres. The number of farms from 260 acres to 1,000 acres and over, showed an increase.

In the numerous discussions of changing world conditions and changing technological developments in the agricultural industry, we hear a great deal about the factors responsible for the increases in production on our farms, and the increasing productivity per man employed on the farm. But what is the trend with respect to our total farm population? This trend is in the same direction as the number of our farms. Today, only about 13 percent of the people in the United States live on farms. The other 87 percent live in urban or suburban areas and are available for many other pursuits. Twenty-five years ago the farm population in the United States was about 25 percent of the total population.

For Alabama the decrease in farm population has been even greater than for the Nation as a whole. In 1930 almost 51 percent of Alabama's population was classed as "farm." In 1950, the latest year for which official State population data are available, it was about 32 percent. This represents a decrease of about 28 percent. Meanwhile, from 1930 to 1950, as Alabama's farm population decreased 28 percent, her total population increased by 16 percent, or by a total of about 415,495 persons. If we consider the decade from 1940 to 1950, the picture is somewhat different. Total population for Alabama increased by 228,782 persons, or about 8 percent. Farm population decreased 378,-171 persons, or about 28 percent. Rural nonfarm population increased almost 37 percent during this same decade.

A significant observation to be made from these population figures is the trend of our farm population to migrate to the urban areas within the State and to other urban areas in the Nation.

This growing migration from the farm to the city today is a matter of real concern to the small family-size farmer. It is becoming more and more difficult for a young man to get started in farming and to own his farm. Because of technological developments which have greatly increased the productivity per man employed in agriculture, the decreasing number of people on farms has had no adverse affect on our production. We have been able to produce more than is required for market demand for a number of years.

In view of the prospect that our population 20 years from now will exceed 200 million people, will American farmers still be able to produce an abundant supply of agricultural products, if the present trend of migration from farms continues? When we consider the rate at which productivity per man employed in agriculture increased during the past decade, there seems sufficient reason to believe that it can be done. The advance of technology, mechanization of farms, and the application of new sciences has rendered the land more productive. These advances assure an abundance of food and fiber for the larger population, at less and less cost, in relation to individual income. One farm worker today produces food for 20 persons. As late as 1930 a worker in agriculture provided food for only 10 persons. The output per farm worker has doubled during the past 25 years. Fewer persons are required in agriculture as efficiency advances, and the threat is ever present that the increase in mechanization will bring greater industrialization into agricultural production. A natural result will be the concentration of economic resources in fewer and fewer hands.

Do we want our agricultural industry to move so far in the direction of the "factory in the field," as to entirely supplant family-farm operations? Do we desire our agricultural industry to approach the point where opportunities are few for sons to follow in their fathers' footsteps and venture into individual and family enterprises upon the land? It seems to me that if we permit such a trend to continue without modification, it will endanger our free-enterprise system. It should be our aim to keep opportunities open for individual venture, with the hope of due reward and the perpetuation of the rural family and the community order, indispensable to the Nation as a source of spiritual, social and political vitality.

Agricultural authorities have pointed out time after time that our future need for food and fiber can be supplied from our present farmland through the application of scientific methods and technological developments. But scientific farming costs money and except for a few of the largest commercial farms, few can afford to enlarge their land holdings and purchase the latest equipment.

This brings me to my second point, the problem of falling farm income, and the cost-price squeeze.

We have heard a great deal about farm income, farm prices, farm price supports and the cost-price squeeze during the past 5 years. Probably the most disturbing aspect of the immediate farm situation is that farm income has been dropping sharply particularly since 1951. Farm markets have been breaking under the impact of heavy production and reduced export demand. Many of the younger generation of farmers who started farming after the war under a heavy debt load are in danger of being forced out of farming entirely if the reduced incomes continue.

Falling farm prices have directly affected net farm income in recent years. The realized net farm income for the United States has sunk from $14.8 billion in 1951, to $11.8 billion in 1956.

For the State of Alabama, the realized net farm income dropped fro $300.7 million in 1951 to $262 million in 1955.

During this period of falling prices, the prices paid by farmers for the commodities required for production and for living, have either risen or have not fallen as rapidly as have prices received by farmers for their products.

This cost-price squeeze and farm income situation can be seen more clearly if we compare the current index of prices received and prices paid by farmers with the index of prices received and prices paid in the base period 1910–14.

In 1951 the index of prices received was 302, or over 3 times that established in the base period. The index of prices paid for commodities which farmers used in production was 282, or 2.82 times as much as in the base period. The ratio of prices received to prices paid was 107. In other words, the relationship of prices received by farmers to prices paid by them was 7 percent more favorable than in the base period. Another way of saying the same thing is that prices received in 1951, on the average, were 7 percent above parity.

As of May 15, 1957, the latest date for which these price relations are available, the prices-received index had dropped about 20 percent, to 243. The index of prices paid had risen to 296, an increase of 5 percent. The ratio of prices received had dropped to 82, a decrease of over 23 percent. In other words, farm prices today average about 18 percent below parity.

These figures demonstrate beyond a doubt, what we mean by a cost-price squeeze and falling farm prices.

Is there any hope of finding a solution to the problems of the declining number of family farms, the falling farm prices, and the reduced incomes? How can this trend be stopped? Answers to these questions have been attempted in a number of ways, by those interested in farm problems. However, I don't need to remind you that these problems have not been solved. It appears obvious that a floor must be maintained below which farm prices cannot drop, if further declines in prices and income are to be prevented. Our farm program has attempted this for a number of years. In view of a relatively rigid price structure for industrial goods and the numerous price maintenance schemes used by industry, there can be no doubt that farmers are entitled to similar price protection.

This fight for economic justice for the farmer has been going on for a long time. Some progress has been made through the numerous farm programs, for farmers to share in our relatively high degree of prosperity. But the battle has not been won. There are forces that curb and impair the operation of programs intended to give the farmer such price and income protection such as other industries have been able to provide for themselves. We must all continue this fight together, farmers, farm leaders, Congressmen, Senators, and farm organizations to provide a program that is just both to farmers and to society as a whole.

Through our farm program many attempts have been made to find new markets and new uses for agricultural products. The solution to our temporary oversupply of agricultural products probably lies within these two areas. While a great deal of effort has gone into expanding our markets at home and abroad, this is one area in which all possibilities have not been exhausted. We must make a more determined effort to sell our farm products in foreign markets.

Another area in which there is room for advancement is in the use of more scientific methods and more extensive mechanization. In recent years, we have seen examples of what technology can do for agriculture. Fewer farmers are producing about 69 percent more food than they did 40 years ago. Steel, chemicals, and power now substitute for additional land and labor to increase food production. For instance, about 2½ times more tractors are now on the Nation's farms than in 1940. Since 1910, tractors in use on farms have increased from 4,500 to nearly 5 million in 1954.

These advancements have been taking place in Alabama as well as in the Nation as a whole. In 1954, over 11,000 more farms had telephones than in 1950; nearly 11,000 more farms reported electricity in use; and over 2,000 more farms reported milking machines in use. There were more than 500 additional grain combines on farms, some 2,260 more cornpickers, and 572 more pickup hay balers. Farmers also had nearly 13,000 more motor trucks, 20,000 more tractors, and 12,000 more automobiles.

Don't be misled, however, all the Alabama farms are not mechanized. In 1954, nearly 58,000 Alabama farms were without tractors. This is nearly 39 percent of all farms in the State.

A higher degree of mechanization on more farms will assist Alabama farmers to raise the level of their income. But before this can happen, farmers must have access to credit on reasonable terms, in order to purchase the required equipment. In many instances, they must have credit to be able to enlarge their farming operation, and thus to justify the use of modern machinery.

Much emphasis has been placed on diversion of agriculture as a means of stabilizing individual farm incomes. Diversification certainly is important. A farmer who carries on

a diversified operation is less vulnerable to complete loss of income due to crop failures than is one who operates on a single crop basis. But here again, in this era of mechanization, we reach limits. One small farmer cannot afford to buy mechanical equipment suited to a large number of crops. This is especially true of harvesting equipment, whose specialized use is limited to a few weeks of each year.

It must be recognized that any discussion of the family-type farm is easily associated with affection and sentiment, and perhaps emotion. This is true because of the long identity of this rural order with the fundamental values. As pointed out earlier, these family-size farms are threatened by the technical evolution and the growing competition within agriculture. However, there is every reason to believe that the family system in farming, in adequate production units, can continue to be the most efficient, the most economic, and the most satisfying operation in a prosperous agriculture.

Our farm program must be more adequately adapted to the family farm. These programs should not promote the "factory in the field" type of farming operation. Except in a few specialized operations, there probably are no values for the Nation in substituting a hired labor agriculture for the independent family farm. Greater emphasis must be placed upon the development of our smaller farms into adequate units with resources sufficient for economic production. We must do more to protect the rights of tenants as well as those of landowning farmers.

Steps ought to be taken to protect the income of family farms by giving them a fair return on their production. Government efforts should be directed toward this objective, and the major benefits should be limited to the output level of the family-type farm.

Much could be done to improve the status of small farms by the enactment of legislation that would assure each family-size farm its fair share in the Nation's agricultural production, and in the prosperity which the American system has provided for the Nation's general economy.

The needs of small farmers and their families for a decent standard of living must be protected. This is only fair. Its accomplishment, depends upon the inclusion of adequate production adjustments in the farm program.

Operations under the Farmers' Home Administration ought to be intensified. This is especially true of those operations that provide the small farmers with credit to acquire adequate farms and equipment. Lending through the Farmers' Home Administration should be on a constructive basis, within the capability of the farm, under the management of its owner, to repay in a reasonable term of years.

The small farmer can no doubt be assisted by placing greater emphasis on marketing. This requires expansion of the Research and Marketing Act of 1946 with special reference to the section which authorizes Federal matching of State funds for action and service programs in the field of farm marketings. A substantial part of the answer to the family-farm problem lies in cooperative marketing where farm families assemble their products at one location for grading and cleaning, and for sale in quantities sufficient to attract buyers for extensive distribution. It has been suggested that the Secretary of Agriculture should examine the feasibility of expanding the Farmer Cooperative Service of the Department of Agriculture to include a section devoted to the small farmer service phase of cooperative activity.

There are real opportunities for community programs to cut production costs and improve the competitive position of the family farm. Cooperative arrangements can make available equipment and services of high quality to increase the productivity of the family farm. Much could probably be done through the organization of cooperative breeding associations, cooperative use of tractors, combines, ditching, and other equipment. Modern equipment requires heavy capital investment and its efficient and full use can in many instances be more fully realized by cooperative effort of individual farmers who find a common need.

We must do more in the field of vocational instruction in the junior and senior high schools to help our young people discover the occupation for which they appear to have the greatest aptitude and in which they have a real interest. Our national welfare demands that this be done, regardless of whether the young people select careers in farming or some industrial activity.

Last, but not least, we must continue to encourage more trained leaders to take part in community organization. Programs for economic improvement can be put into effect far more quickly and beneficially in organized rural communities. Local initiative and cooperation are essential in programs directed as improving the economic position of the family farm. The county agricultural agent has long been providing leadership in our rural communities, but with increasing demands he needs help to carry on the numerous community programs.

When we reflect more fully upon the problems I have just discussed with you it must be clear to all of us that we are living in a changing world, and that the farmer's position is also constantly changing. The extent to which the farm problems are solved so that the farmer can share in the Nation's growing prosperity, measures the extent to which all sectors of our economy will benefit. The problems which farmers face today are not insoluble, but their solution will require the determined efforts of leaders in Government, farm organizations, farm leaders, farmers, and numerous research institutions. Such efforts will be rewarded by a solution that will be in the interests of all sectors of the economy. To this end, let us all strive to make American agriculture strong and secure. What we do to render farmers better able to play their role in this changing world will help the entire Nation to achieve final victory in its struggle for world peace, security, and economic opportunity for all.

The Returns Are In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following statement from the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc.:

CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN TRADE EDUCATION, INC., IN THE RETURNS ARE IN, A RESEARCH REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE—ATTITUDES OF THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS OF THE FREE WORLD

The continued development of trade is an all-important factor to the survival of the free world.

The United States is recognized to have outstanding responsibility in leading the free world's economy.

But domestic protectionism, an amazingly large part of the world understands, is undermining our ability to utilize the initiative.

In that vacuum the Soviet economic offensive, plus what very well may become restrictive regional trade arrangements, are considered increasingly attractive alternatives.

OTC, the administrative realization of GATT, is widely regarded as the gauge of future United States action on trade—whether the United States can maintain the leadership of the free world or will revert to the high tariff theories of the Smoot-Hawley-depression period.

Authorization of United States membership in OTC is again before the Congress (introduced by Representatives JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, and ROBERT W. KEAN, Republican, of New Jersey, as H. R. 6630 and H. R. 6631). The great majority of Americans, those who favor the general lines of this country's anti-Communist foreign policy during the last 10 years, must now get behind OTC. It is the next, indispensable step in building a foreign economic policy that builds up—instead of tears down—our foreign political policy.

All of us, not just the few, must be protected by a foreign policy that succeeds and a domestic economy that continues to prosper: OTC must be won in 1957.

If we fail, we stand indicated, as Politiken (Denmark) puts it: "The United States talks more of trade liberalization and expansion that they do about it."

P. G. & E. Co., Already Second Largest Beneficiary of Fast Tax Writeoff, Can Get the Same Deal on the Trinity River Project as Idaho Power Co. Got on Snake River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, in presenting its proposal to build the Trinity River powerhouses, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has indicated a great solicitude for the Federal taxpayer. The P. G. & E. Co. says that it will pay $65 million in Federal taxes over the 50-year period of the proposed contract. While thus asserting that it will fatten the United States Treasury to the tune of $65 million, the P. G. & E. is holding fast tax writeoff certificates amounting to $179 million. This has been calculated as a benefit to the P. G. & E. Co. to the tune of $270 million over the normal 33-year amortization period, and $880 million over 50 years. The actual loss to the Treasury of the United States in interest that the Federal Government will have to pay on borrowed money because of the P. G. & E. Co.'s tax payments being reduced during the writeoff period is about $220 million. The difference in the value to the company and the actual cost to the Treasury is explained by the fact that the value to the company is based on the commercial interest rates for money, whereas the actual cost to the Treasury is less due to the fact that the Federal Government

borrows its money at lower rates of interest.

On the basis of the compilation submitted by the Office of Defense Mobilization, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. is receiving the second largest subsidy in the Nation in accelerated tax depreciation certificates. Since the P. G. & E. Co. has indicated such an interest in saving the taxpayers money, I wish to suggest that this company forfeit the subsidies it has received, thus saving the Treasury the amount of $220 million. The Idaho Power Co. set a good precedent for the P. G. & E. last week. This is four times the cost of construction of the Trinity River powerhouses of $55 million.

It will be recalled that the Idaho Power Co. led the Federal Power Commission to believe that its construction on the Hells Canyon project would not cost the Federal Treasury a cent. Now we find out that the Idaho Power Co. secured the benefit of accelerated tax depreciation certificates, which would, unless forfeited, cost the Federal Treasury, according to the estimate of Russell C. Rainwater, Chief Accountant of the Federal Power Commission, the sum of $83.5 million and will yield a benefit to the Idaho Power Co. in the amount of $339.3 million over a 50-year period.

Since the Idaho Power Co. secured a writeoff under what the Office of Defense Mobilization calls normal procedures, what is to prevent the P. G. & E. Co., if granted the right to build the Trinity River powerhouses, from making a similar application? If such an application is made and certificates granted covering 60 percent of the cost of the power facilities, the actual cost to the Federal Treasury would be about $43 million, and the value of the tax writeoff to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would be $170 million over the 50-year contract period, or more than 2½ times the $65 million the company claims it will pay the Federal Government in taxes. It is apparent from these figures that in such event the Federal Government would save no money whatever, but actually would lose money by turning the powerhouses on the Trinity over to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, Hawaiian statehood is a most important matter. The number of hearings and investigations conducted by the Congress on the subject clearly shows this importance. Hawaiian statehood has been the subject of as many, if not more, hearings and investigations than any other subject ever considered by the Congress.

Because it is important and because a great many Members of Congress are understandably concerned with the subject and wish to be better informed, I am including herein an index of congressional hearings on statehood for Hawaii and an index of the printed volumes on House and Senate hearings and reports on Hawaiian statehood. Within the printed volumes is the complete story of Hawaii:

INDEX OF CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII

Twenty congressional investigations on the question of admitting Hawaii to statehood have been made since 1935. The date, authorization, and locale of these hearings are as follows:

1. May 31, 1935, H. R. 3034, Washington.
2. October 7–18, 1935, H. R. 3034, Hawaii.
3. October 6–22, 1937, Senate Concurrent Resolution 18, Hawaii.
4. January 7–18, 1946, House Resolution 236, Hawaii.
5. June 4, 1946, H. R. 3643, Washington.
6. March 7–19, 1947, H. R. 49 and 10 other identical bills, Washington.
7. January 5–20, 1948, H. R. 49 and S. 114, Hawaii.
8. April 15, 1948, H. R. 49 and S. 114, Washington.
9. November 1–12, 1948, H. R. 49 and S. 114, Hawaii.
10. March 3 and 8, 1949, H. R. 49 and related bills, Washington.
11. May 1–5, 1950, H. R. 49, Washington.
12. February 23–27, 1953, H. R. 49, Washington.
13. March 6, 1953, S. 49, Washington.
14. June 29, 30, July 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 1953, and January 7 and 8, 1954, Senate committee on S. 49; S. 51; and H. R. 3575, Washington.
15. January 13, 14, 15, and 19, 1954, Senate committee on S. 49; S. 51; and H. R. 3575, Washington.
16. December 16 and 17, 1954, House subcommittee (public hearings), Hawaii.
17. January 25, 27, 28, February 2, 4, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 1955, House on H. R. 2535 (Hawaii-Alaska), Washington.
18. February 21, 22, 28, 1955, Senate on S. 49 (Hawaii-Alaska), Washington.
19. April 1 and 2, 1957, Senate subcommittee on S. 50, Washington.
20. April 8, 9, and 16, 1957, House subcommittee on H. R. 49, Washington.

PRINTED VOLUMES ON HOUSE AND SENATE HEARINGS AND REPORTS ON HAWAII STATEHOOD

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1. Administration in Hawaii, Senate Interior Committee hearing, Jan. 16, 1933	149
2. Hearings before House Territories Committee, May 31, 1935	20
3. Statehood for Hawaii, hearings before House Subcommittee on Territories, Oct. 7 to Oct. 18, 1935	343
4. Statehood for Hawaii, hearings before joint committee, Oct. 6 to 22, 1937	735
5. Statehood for Hawaii, report from chairman joint committee, Jan. 5, 1938	100
6. Statehood for Hawaii, House Subcommittee, Jan. 7 to 18, 1946	909
7. Statehood for Hawaii, hearing, House Territories Committee, June 4, 1946	75
8. Statehood for Hawaii, hearing of Committee on Lands, Mar. 7 to 19, 1947	310
9. House Report 194, Public Lands Committee, Mar. 27, 1947	40
10. Cordon Report on H. R. 49 and S. 114, Jan. 5 to 20, 1948, Hawaii	18
11. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate Interior Subcommittee, Apr. 15, 1948	497

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12. Statehood for Hawaii, report by Mr. Butler, June 21, 1959	15
13. Statehood for Hawaii, House subcommittee, Mar. 3 to 8, 1949	77
14. Report 254, Committee on Public Lands, Mar. 10, 1949	27
15. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate Interior, Insular Committee, May 1 to 5, 1950	550
16. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate Interior, Insular Report, June 29, 1950	59
17. Supplemental report, Senate Interior Committee, Aug. 28, 1950	29
18. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate Report 314, May 8, 1951	69
19. Statehood for Hawaii, House Insular hearings, Feb. 23 to 27, 1953	209
20. Statehood for Hawaii, House Interior Report 109, Mar. 3, 1953	73
21. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate hearings, Insular Affairs, Mar. 6, 1953	58
22. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate hearings, Insular Affairs, June 29, 30, July 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 1953, and Jan. 7 and 8, 1954	652
23. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate hearings, Insular Affairs, Jan. 13, 14, 15, and 19, 1954	86
24. Statehood for Hawaii, Report 886 (to accompany S. 49), Jan. 27 (legislative day Jan. 22, 1954)	94
25. Hawaii-Alaska hearings, House Interior Committee, Jan. 25–Feb. 16, 1955	188
26. Hawaii-Alaska hearings, Senate Interior Committee, Feb. 21, 22, and 28, 1955	188
27. Report No. 88 on H. R. 2535, House Interior Committee, Mar. 3, 1955	126
28. Statehood for Hawaii, Senate Interior Committee, Apr. 1, 2, 1957	111
29. Statehood for Hawaii, House Interior Committee, Apr. 8, 9, and 16, 1957	157
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Easing Way for a Bandit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, some of our colleagues are now calling for trade with Red China which is the softening-up process of today that tomorrow will call for diplomatic recognition and membership in the U. N. When that day arrives, Communist Russia will have another country that it dominates with a vote and a voice in the United Nations.

I wonder how short our memories are—and I recall the heated words of condemnation of Red China only a few months and years ago—by those who now shout for resumption of trade.

The following editorial from the St. Petersburg Independent I believe approaches the problem most realistically and offers sound words of caution:

EASING WAY FOR A BANDIT

The decision of Great Britain, Japan, and other nations to break the embargo on nonstrategic trade with Red China has been fol-

lowed by a rising voice in this country that the United States follow suit.

Export-import interests on the west coast are insisting that the United States resume nonstrategic trade with Red China. And now Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, has said that his group will begin studies on United States trade policies toward Red China.

"I know the administration's policy is against such trade," Chairman MAGNUSON declares. "But we have got to be realistic. The rest of the world is going to trade with China. We can't keep 400 million people behind an economic bamboo curtain forever just because we do not like their government."

While proponents of the embargo which has been in effect since the Korean war insist that open trade with Red China will inevitably lead to her industrialization and increase her potential as an enemy of the free world, an even greater danger lies ahead.

The move to renew trade with Red China is obviously the first move in the drive to give the Peiping Government American diplomatic recognition and eventually Nationalist China's seat in the United Nations.

Indeed, the people who now support trade with China use the same argument of those who favor opening the United Nations to the Peiping Government. They say, as does Senator MAGNUSON, that "we can't keep 400 million people" isolated "just because we don't like their government."

It isn't, however, merely a question of just not liking the government of Red China. The fact is that the United Nations is still at war with Red China. The U. N. termed Red China an aggressor in the Korean war. Red China is still an aggressor. Even the truce that brought the Korean fighting to a halt has been continually broken by Red China. She still holds American prisoners on trumped up charges. No accounting has been made for some 450 Americans reported missing in action in the Korean conflict.

Diplomatic recognition is based on the assumption that there is some basis for honorable relationship between nations. Yet there is no evidence that Red China's attitude toward the United States and the free world has changed one iota since American soldiers were dying on Korean battlefields.

To give diplomatic recognition to Red China and to allow her a seat in the United Nations would be to sanction her crimes not only against the United States but other members of the United Nations. Yet the softening-up process is now under way. Today it calls for renewed trade with Red China. Tomorrow the call will be for diplomatic recognition and full membership in the United Nations. Because, we are told, we can't continue to ignore 400 million people "just because we don't like their government."

Court Curbs Legislative Inquiry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, of June 21, 1957, concerning the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the John Thomas Watkins case.

The editor describes the majority opinion as a "bewildering welter of words" resulting from "slovenly judicial thinking," and very appropriately states that what the country needs "is less verbosity and more 'luminosity'."

The editorial is as follows:

COURT CURBS LEGISLATIVE INQUIRY

The so-called Watkins decision of the United States Supreme Court has created a raging controversy between Congress and the judiciary. Its repercussions are certain to trouble us for years to come.

The Court faced a double-barreled question: (1) a citizen's right versus the right of Congress to question him and (2) the right of the courts to determine the latitude of congressional inquiries.

John Thomas Watkins, 47, a resident of Rock Island, Ill., is a leader in Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers (CIO). Questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1954, he admitted having associated with Communists between 1942 and 1947. He said he did so "strictly in connection with my labor union activity," but that he was never a card-carrying member of the party.

He said he would answer questions about himself, and about the identity of persons who he believed are still Communists. But he refused to identify any associates who (he believed) were no longer party members.

As a result of his refusal he was convicted of contempt.

His appeal was financed by the CIO union. On Monday the Supreme Court reversed the conviction, on the ground that the House committee had exceeded its powers of inquiry to a point of conflict with "individual rights" guaranteed by the first amendment to the Constitution.

The 6–1 majority opinion, written by Chief Justice Warren, was a bewildering welter of words. Brief but more to the point, was the separate but concurrent opinion of Justice Frankfurter, who wrote, in part:

"The immediate problem before us, the scope of inquiry that a committee is authorized to pursue, must be defined with sufficiently unambiguous clarity to safeguard a witness from the hazards of vagueness in the enforcement of the criminal process against which the due process clause protects * * * the question must be put with relevance and definiteness sufficient to enable the witness to know whether his refusal to answer may lead to conviction for criminal contempt. * * * The actual scope of the inquiry that the committee was authorized to conduct, and the relevance of the questions to that inquiry must be shown to have been luminous at the time. * * * The circumstances of this case were wanting in these essentials."

This is redundant in spots, and not very luminous. But the gist of it is, that the legislative committee must confine itself to specific questions relevant to possible, proposed or pending legislation.

Now the Supreme Court, when called to rule, has appropriated the right to decide whether the questions (as in the Watkins case) were pertinent and "luminous."

In his sharply dissenting opinion, Justice Clark conceded that "the rules of conduct placed upon the committee by the House admit of individual abuse of unfairness."

"But that [he said] is none of our affair. So long as the object of a legislative inquiry is legitimate * * * it is not for the courts to interfere with the committee system of inquiry. To hold otherwise would be an infringement on the power given the Congress to inform itself, and thus a trespass upon the fundamental American principle of separation of powers. The [Court's] majority has substituted the judiciary as the grand inquisitor and supervisor of congressional investigations."

It is a literary axiom—and should be a legal one—that verbosity and obscurity of language reveal bewilderment, lack of certainty, or an attempt to fit facts to preconceived theory.

The language of the Watkins decision is a case in point. The Court's majority obviously considered it its duty in this instance to preserve the rights of individual, as well as the separation-of-powers principle which precludes the Legislature from assuming any function of the judiciary. The Court solved the problem by a strict construction of constitutional language without taking into consideration the unprecedented situation created by the activities of an American political party serving as agent for a foreign despotism openly hostile to the Government of which the Court is a part.

If the American people, like the Court, appear bewildered by this week's decisions, it is partly because of the Court's inconsistency.

The Court showed no fastidious concern for the rights of individuals, the rights of States, and "the separation of powers" when it deleted the 10th amendment in the school decision on May 17, 1954.

The reasoning and language of both majority decisions must be attributed to slovenly judicial thinking. What the country needs is less verbosity and more "luminosity."

The Lawmaking Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, recent decisions of the Supreme Court are causing grave concern in all sections of the country. There seem to be considerable fears among our people that the Court is encroaching on the legislative powers granted to Congress by the Constitution. The feeling is that Congress should reassert its right to make the Federal laws and should take action to prevent the Court from usurping its constitutional authority. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix to the RECORD, I insert herewith an editorial which appeared in the June 19, 1957, edition of the Indianapolis, Ind., Star. The editorial protests certain Supreme Court decisions of recent days, and urges Congress to reassert its right to make the Federal laws. It warns that, if present trends continue, "soon there may be no more need for Congress, but only for the Supreme Court and a retinue of hired sociologists."

The editorial follows:

THE LAWMAKING COURT

The latest batch of United States Supreme Court decisions has hit the country with the shivering impact of ice water. Whatever the legal technicalities may be in the individual decisions, they make it crystal clear that the majority members have arbitrarily suspended the historic functions of the Supreme Court. They have devoted themselves to amending laws by judicial fiat and prescribing rules of political conduct according to sociology instead of law.

It is of less importance that almost every recent decision of the Court has been helpful to Communists and their dupes where they were in any way involved than it is that these same decisions are based on a philosophy which denies the vitally necessary conservatism of the courts. It is the func-

tion of Congress or the State legislatures to bring about change. If liberalism, progressivism or government centralism is the desire of the public, the legislative bodies are set up to implement that desire and the executive branch to carry it out. The Supreme Court is intended as a safeguard against tyrannical use of these powers. It has all but ceased to function in this capacity.

The Court has done more damage to the Constitution in recent years than it has prevented. It has virtually nullified article 10 of the Bill of Rights in a whole series of decisions usurping to the Federal Government "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States." Notable among these was the Steve Nelson decision, which declared that since Congress had passed a law dealing with sedition, none of the States could henceforth enforce their sedition laws. No less flagrant is the decision announced this week that State legislators cannot delegate to State attorneys general any broad powers to investigate subversion.

The Court took to itself functions it has never before exercised when it "acquitted" five California Communist leaders who had been convicted of conspiring to overthrow the Government. In effect it placed itself above the jury as a judge of the facts, where historically it has confined itself to consideration of the law. Justice Tom Clark indicated the gravity of the change in court policy when, in a dissenting opinion, he said, "It is somewhat late to start in now usurping the function of the jury."

But it was a day for usurping functions, in the opinion of the majority. In setting aside the 1951 loyalty firing of John Stewart Service by Dean Acheson, then Secretary of State, the Court made it virtually impossible for the head of a Federal department to discharge a man he believes to be disloyal without going through endless redtape. Then, in the most far-reaching decision of the day, the Court took upon itself the power of Congress to determine how congressional committees shall operate.

The Court's uncalled for, unsupported blast at the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the case of John T. Watkins, a union leader who had refused to talk and been held in contempt of Congress, went far beyond the evidence in the case. It displayed bias on the part of the Court which, in lesser tribunal, would have disqualified it from hearing the case. And in the decision which included the tirade, the Court set a precedent which would make it all but impossible for any congressional committee to require evidence from a balky witness. The Court was saying that its nine men know better than Congress knows what kind of information Congress needs in order to act intelligently in making the laws.

A great bulk of Supreme Court decisions in the last few years points to one inevitable conclusion. The Court has forgotten that it is up to Congress and the executive department to make and administer the Federal laws. It has ignored the provision of the Constitution which says "* * * the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction * * * with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make." The Court having ignored the supremacy of Congress, it is up to Congress to enforce it.

Representative GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., introduced a bill in Congress last year which provided that, "The established law of the United States shall be revised or changed only by legislative enactments or by constitutional amendments." It provided also that "The courts of the United States and the courts of the several States shall not be bound by any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which conflicts with the legal principle of adhering to prior decisions and which is clearly based upon considerations other than legal." It is a good bill, and the Court itself has demonstrated how badly it is needed. It should be brought up again, and passed.

If Congress does not reassert its right to make the Federal laws, there may soon be no more need for Congress, but only for the Supreme Court and a retinue of hired sociologists.

A Newspaper Milestone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Sentinel Herald, the hometown newspaper for the residents of Sylvania, Ohio, is celebrating its 50th anniversary this month. I am proud to include the following two articles commemorating this milestone in the Herald's long and outstanding service to its readers. The first appeared on Thursday, June 13, 1957, the day the designation volume 50 first appeared on its masthead. The second article, from the following edition tells the story of change recorded by the newspaper in its 50-year coverage of the local scene.

Just as we honor the tradition of the weekly newspaper, it is appropriate to single out the Sentinel Herald's editors for special mention. The Sentinel Herald is currently edited by Milton M. Ferguson. It is likewise fitting, I feel, that Editor Ferguson called upon past Editor Harry Quinnell to review the Sentinel Herald's history in the anniversary edition. Both of these men, and their predecessors, have earned our praise for a job well done.

The articles follow:

FIFTY SHORT YEARS

With this edition of the Sentinel Herald you will note that folio line in the upper left of the masthead indicates that we are starting our 50th year. This is a big milestone in our history and we might have celebrated with a large historical edition but we prefer to make it a year long period of historical features and stories about the suburban area we serve, the businesses and the newspaper itself. We particularly invite people of the area who have interesting stories about the past to help us with information, pictures, and historical data.

As to our feeling at this milestone, it is with the greatest confidence in the area and its people that we face the future. It is an area of beautiful and pleasant homes which we consider second to none as a fine place to live and raise families. We believe the present rapid rate of growth will be even greater when the great port of Toledo is open to large ships through the St. Lawrence seaway in 1959. Our first 50th year feature will be by Harry Quinnell, former publisher of the Sentinel, next week.

We look forward to our 50th year and those to follow with great enthusiasm.

REVIEWS 37 OF OUR 50 YEAR HISTORY—HARRY QUINNELL WRITES OF EARLY PRINTING TRIALS

"Vol. 50—No. 1," thus read the dateline on page 1 last week, for the Sentinel celebrates the 50th anniversary of publication. Congratulations.

It was the privilege of the writer to have been the owner and editor of the Sentinel for 23 years—1920–1943.

When he bought the Sentinel in 1920, Sylvania had no gas lines; electricity was furnished by the Toledo & Western. A powerline for heavy motors ran to the Sylvania Tannery and the Sentinel. However, when a car came in to the depot it took so much power it would stop the presses.

Type metal in the linotype was heated with a gasoline burner. The operator spent as much time adjusting the burner as he did setting type. Actually the production of a newspaper was indeed a heart-breaking job at times.

It was not long before the Toledo Edison Co. brought electricity to the village and the mechanical work in the newspaper office became easier.

For 10 years the newspaper subscription list grew and business was good. New machinery was installed and we were able to increase business to a point where we were running a day and night shift.

Then came the depression.

We shall never forget the bank closings, people out of work, and all the confusion of those first few days.

People flocked to the newspaper office to see what we knew about the situation. It was difficult to answer the hundreds of questions, for we knew little more than the people did. Some were bitter. Some were philosophical.

Times were bad. Farmers slaughtered hogs and made sausage which they sold at 2 pounds for 25 cents, to any who had the 25 cents.

With the inauguration of the FERA, WPA, and other alphabetical organizations, people were given jobs on public works programs, and at least managed to get along.

During this period the newspaper carried on and survived the depression.

After the depression we decided to make up for lost time and once again the subscription list grew quite fast.

Then came World War II, Japan had bombed Pearl Harbor in a sneak attack and sunk many of our warships.

With most of the Sentinel employees going into the Armed Forces, one son in the Navy, the other in military school, we decided it was just too much for the editor and his wife, so we leased the plant to a family of printers and 2 years later sold to Corbin and Long of Detroit.

The years we spent in Sylvania were happy ones. We worked hard, had many wonderful experiences, made many wonderful friends. What more can one ask of life?

For the future of the Sentinel and the community we are happy to see Milt Ferguson at the helm. We know he will be a great asset to the community, using his influence only for the good of all concerned.

In spite of radio and television, the weekly newspaper is still the greatest power in any suburban community. May I ask that you support it with your subscriptions and advertising.

Sincerely,

HARRY QUINNELL,
Toledo, Ohio.

Beloved, in the Sight of God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, "And the greatest of these is charity."

Charity was the pre-eminent virtue of Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edmund D. Daly, who passed to his eternal reward on June 19, 1957.

He was 79 years of age. For the past 26 years he served as pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Lawrence, Mass.

Father Daly was the friend, confidant, and spiritual adviser to all in his large parish.

As priest, administrator, educator, and community leader, he won the respect and admiration of all faiths.

He became the new pastor of St. Patrick's on May 11, 1931.

At the start of a depression that dulled many lives with its fears and its privations.

Resolutely, Father Daly assumed his extra burdens. In addition to his priestly duties: hearing confessions, saying Mass, comforting the sick, and consoling the bereaved; he drove himself to build up every parish activity.

The schools of St. Patrick's, the Holy Name Society, the Boy and Girl Scouts, the sodalities.

Baptism, confirmation, holy matrimony, extreme unction.

Blessing them with the sacraments through the cycle of their lives.

Under Father Daly's inspiration, St. Patrick's became a family parish, whose thousands of communicants were united in Catholic fellowship.

In the years that passed, he nodded approvingly as he saw many of the children grow up and, following in his footsteps, dedicate their lives to the sacred vocation of religion.

By the side of the main altar of St. Patrick's, stands the American flag.

The parish devoted to God and country.

Each time the pastor saw that flag he remembered in his prayers the young men from St. Patrick's who went off to defend their country—to journey's end—and immortality.

There were silent tragedies and unseen misfortunes in the background of the parish. Those who came to the rectory at night, and pressed the bell, and asked to see Father Daly. There were others whose plight was discreetly brought to his attention by the good samaritans of St. Patrick's Charitable Aid Society, and the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

His generous heart could not rest until he had clothed the poor, and fed the hungry. Then he smiled, when he saw the light of hope shine again on faces once drawn with despair. In this, Father Daly found his modest and humble satisfaction.

"Even unto the least of these * * *."

As the angel of death touched his brow, the extent of his benefactions was known only to the Creator in Heaven.

Father Daly was self-giving and self-effacing.

In His holy name.

The church that he loved with his life, and has its own ways of knowing, was well pleased. Father Daly was elevated to the office of monsignor. Honored for his moral integrity and his healing kindness.

To the end of his long and uplifting mission as a priest of God, his was the supreme faith that: "The greatest of these is charity."

In requiem, I ask for unanimous consent to insert a copy of the eulogy delivered by Rt. Rev. Irving L. Gifford, D. D., pastor of the Sacred Heart Church, Quincy, Mass., at the funeral mass of his boyhod friend, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edmund D. Daly, on Saturday, June 22, 1957.

The eulogy follows:

TRIBUTE BY BOYHOOD FRIEND

Text: You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you and have appointed that you should go and bring forth fruit and your fruit should remain. John 15, 16.

"I have appointed that you should go—"

Monsignor Daly, with his accustomed unction and fervor, preached at my first high Mass in July, 1911. He also honored my silver anniversary by his eloquence in 1936. Without either his unction or eloquence, I shall try to pay tribute to a genuinely holy priest and shepherd of souls.

As a student in Boston College high school in 1898, I remember Monsignor Daly very vividly. Even as a young man he had the beginnings of the dignity, poise and unction of his priestly years. He was an outstanding student and a distinguished speaker long before he mounted a pulpit. No one, then, was surprised when he entered the seminary in the fall of 1899. After a long and painstaking preparation as a seminarian, he was ordained in December 1903, and could say, at least, in the words of the Psalmist, "I will go to the altar of the Lord, to God who givest joy to my youth. In Thy tabernacle I shall dwell forever, I shall be protected under the covert of Thy wings, for Thee, my flesh and my heart have fainted away; Thou are the God of my heart and the God that is my portion forever."

I have chosen that you should bring forth fruit.

Monsignor Daly could have pursued higher studies at the Catholic University, but, characteristically, he chose to begin, at once, his work in the vineyard of the Lord. After 2 years of temporary assignments, he was sent to the Blessed Sacrament Parish in Jamaica Plain. Here, for 22 years, he endeared himself to all the parishioners. He organized a flourishing Holy Name Society and boys' sodality. It was, however, as the spiritual director of the St. Vincent de Paul Conference that he manifested his Christ-like love of the poor and the unfortunate. No one went unaided. He dispensed not only material assistance, but gave consolation in their sorrow, fatherly advice and practical spiritual solutions of their moral problems. Like the Good Shepherd, he was tireless in his care of the sick, and an understanding confessor and an eloquent preacher. His most effective sermon, however, was the dedicated devotion of his daily priestly life.

In 1927 Monsignor Daly was made pastor of the Church of St. Paul, in Wellesley. Here, his special talents were put to use in meeting the challenge of a new and rapidly growing suburb. His learning and culture were admired by discriminating parishioners, and even by fellow citizens of other faiths. The youth of the parish were closest to his heart. By every means he sought to enlighten, guide, and protect them against the insidious evils of our modern life.

In 1931, Monsignor Daly was appointed pastor of this parish. He faced the tremendous problem of renovating and reorganizing a district plagued by devastating financial depression. At once, he took personal charge of the St. Vincent de Paul society. During his priesthood here, the poor and unfortunate came first. In this situation, where poverty was aggravated by the plight of local industry, Monsignor Daly walked as an angel of mercy. In the spirit of dedicated devotion, he brought hope to the despondent, courage to the disheartened and aid to the destitute. Many of you, who passed through this ordeal, will remember him as a blessing from heaven. When he was made a monsignor in 1944, it was felt by all that no priest ever wore the purple with more distinction and grace.

He shared your sorrows and joys. In all your days, you could look up to him as a sympathetic friend, a loving shepherd and above all, as a man of God. In recent years, his failing health curtailed, to some extent, his vigorous activity. But his dauntless courage enabled him to continue the efficient administration of the parish, which has borne such abundant fruit. He was a devoted child of God's mother. He was ever in the school to encourage and guide teachers and pupils alike. He was ever in the church to visit His Eucharistic Lord and Master.

I have chosen that your fruit should remain.

Monsignor Daly was a priests'-priest; that is, he merited, through all his priestly life, the deepest admiration of his fellow priests. To achieve such renown, he had to exemplify the highest standards of efficiency and zeal. With his fellow curates, he was cordial and cooperative. To his superiors, he gave unfailing loyalty and complete obedience. As a pastor, he was dearly beloved for his tact, consideration, and genuine regard for the welfare of his assistants. He was a father, friend, and inspiring leader. Though I have known him for 60 years, in his presence I always felt a pupil at the feet of a master of Israel, and never did I leave his side without being inspired and uplifted.

Though a priests' priest, he was no less a priest of the people. His whole life was dedicated to the service of his flock. He was a living embodiment of the Good Shepherd. Well could he say, "I know mine, and mine know me." His recreations were few and simple, and always in good taste and moderation. He was no hermit, no anchorite, no cloistered monk. He was in the world, but not of it, a modern St. Francis, a 20th century poor man of Assisi.

Let's Have the Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter which I have written to the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Wilson, after receiving a request for aid from Attorney Raymond C. Lyddy, who seeks information on possible harmful effects of a light ray on a group of servicemen engaged in a secret Army experiment during World War II.

Following are the original telegram from Mr. Lyddy and my letter to Defense Secretary Wilson:

On behalf of all veterans of the 538th Ordnance Company of the 9th Armored Division during World War II and specifically on behalf of Harold Saunders and John J. Zawesza, residents of your congressional district, I am herewith enlisting your aid in securing all available information from the United States Army concerning a secret experiment conducted by the Army during

World War II having to do with the construction, installation, servicing, and operation of a form of light ray mounted on tanks. We suspect that a possible connection may exist between my clients' exposure to these rays and their mechanism and an unusually high percentage of deformed births, stillbirths, miscarriages, mentally retarded children, and sterility reflected in the marital relations and families of these veterans. I should like to meet with you at your earliest convenience to discuss this matter in detail but any aid you may be able to give us in obtaining this formerly classified information would be sincerely appreciated.

RAYMOND C. LYDDY,
Attorney.

JUNE 24, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES E. WILSON,
Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense, the Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Today I have received a formal request for aid from Raymond C. Lyddy, an attorney from Bridgeport, Conn., who is representing two residents of my district who were engaged in a secret Army experiment during World War II.

Mr. Lyddy believes that a possible connection may exist between the servicemen's exposure to a light ray mounted on tanks, and an unusually high percentage of deformed births, stillbirths, miscarriages, mentally retarded children, and sterility reflected in the marital relations and families of these veterans.

The veterans of the 538 Ordnance Company of the 9th Armored Division who participated in the experiment should be advised whether the exposure to the powerful rays and their mechanism is the cause of their unfortunate marital relations.

I believe that this classified material should be made known insofar as it does not impair our national security. I suggest that an authorized representative of the Army or Defense Departments meet with the attorney for the veterans involved, possibly in my congressional office as soon as possible.

First reports of the possible harmful effects of the experiment have given rise to all kinds of newspaper and radio speculation.

Perhaps if all the facts were made known many wild rumors and irresponsible estimates could be curbed.

Although the attorney and two of the veterans, Harold Saunders and John J. Zawesza, are residents of my district, other members of the company are residing in other parts of Connecticut. Therefore, Congressman EDWIN H. MAY, of Hartford, and Congressman ALBERT W. CRETELLA, of New Haven, join with me in asking for disclosure of information which may help to clear up this situation.

Sincerely,

ALBERT P. MORANO,
Member of Congress.

Unanimous Vote in Favor of Hells Canyon High Dam by Minnesota Delegation Is Request of Farmers Union Members From Seven Minnesota Counties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor to speak at a meeting of the membership of farmers union from 7 counties of Minnesota, on Sunday, June 23, at Cambridge, Minn. The seven counties are: Anoka, Chisago, Isanti, Kanabec, Mille Lacs, Pine, and Sherburn.

I was asked to bring back a special message to the Congress. It therefore gives me the greatest pleasure to address the Congress on the subject of Hells Canyon legislation and to deliver this message from the farmers of these seven counties. Under unanimous permission of my colleagues, I insert the following message in the RECORD:

We, the members of the farmers union assembled here at our seven-county picnic, do hereby resolve that we send the following message to the Congress of the United States with Congresswoman COYA KNUTSON and ask all our Minnesota Congressmen to vote in favor of a high dam at Hells Canyon when legislation comes to the House floor.

Atoms for Peace Program for 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Congress and the American people should be kept advised of the development and authorization of funds and participation by our United States Government in the President's atoms for peace program. I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD from the United States Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C., the statement by Harold S. Vance, Commissioner, United States Atomic Energy Commission, at hearings held by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, June 24, 1957.

The statement follows:

It is a pleasure to appear before the committee today to testify on behalf of the $7 million authorization under the mutual-security program to provide funds in fiscal year 1958 for the atoms for peace program. In comparison with the much larger sums you have been considering for other mutual-security purposes, $7 million must seem relatively small; nevertheless, in our belief, and we hope in yours, this item bulks very large in terms of advance in amity with our friends, and contributions to human welfare around the world.

The atoms for peace program is the means of making real and vital and dynamic the announced policy of the United States to share information on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to cooperate with free nations in reaping for all the benefits which atomic energy offers for better health and higher living standards. This United States policy was first announced by the President in his historic address before the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1953. In subsequent addresses at Pennsylvania State University in June 1955 and at the meeting of the Presidents of the American Republics in Panama, July 1956, the President reaffirmed the policy and added practical details of action to bring it into being as a living force among the nations.

The United States Government, through the efforts of the Department of State, AEC, and ICA, has pursued the purposes of the foreign atoms-for-peace program vigorously and with a substantial measure of success.

Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, 44 agreements for cooperation have been negotiated with 42 nations. Seventeen additional agreements are now in various stages of negotiation.

We have opened the way through the issuance of appropriate regulations for American industry to engage in programs and projects abroad in the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

We have sent technical assistance missions and provided consulting services on peaceful atomic energy matters to 58 countries.

We have made available training in reactor science and technology and in the applications of radioisotopes to approximately 300 foreign nationals representing 52 countries.

Grants of $350,000 to fund up to one-half the cost of a research reactor project have been committed to 4 countries and it is expected that 3 additional grants will be committed this month.

Highly successful international conferences and symposia on the peaceful uses of atomic energy have been held in Geneva in 1955 and last month at our Brookhaven National Laboratory.

Many of these projects and programs, such as the training of foreign nationals, grants for the construction of research reactors and the Brookhaven symposium, have been financed with mutual security funds. We believe the record of accomplishment to date is good and represents a substantial contribution toward maintaining American leadership in the worldwide peaceful nuclear energy field. However, much more remains to be done if our leadership is to be maintained and enhanced. In brief, we have assumed a responsibility to assist friendly nations in putting the atom to the peaceful uses which promise to be of such great benefit to mankind. In fiscal year 1958 this responsibility entails the program which we are presenting here.

Vitally needed at present throughout the world are more scientists and technicians trained in the various fields of nuclear science and engineering. In each country a group of trained people supplied with facilities to teach and train a growing number of others is the fundamental resource for speed and spread in promotion of the peaceful applications of atomic energy. The shortage of trained people is one of the major deterrents to the successful prosecution of peaceful atomic-energy programs by our friends abroad.

Assistance to our friends in developing their national pools of nuclear scientists and technicians should be furnished in several ways. Basic education in the physical sciences is needed, of course. But our program is concerned with affording specialized training in the nuclear sciences to those having such basic education. In addition, and of great importance, is training in the operation of the scientific tools unique to the atomic-energy field. Through such education and training of their men of talent, friendly nations will be placed in a position to take their first steps into the new era of atomic energy at the service of consumers and industry and agricultural and medicine.

The peaceful uses of the atom are many and so varied that it would be difficult to say that any single one is most important or holds out most promise to mankind.

Some of the applications are relatively easy to understand and to apply after only a short period of training. These include the use of radioisotopes in medicine for diagnosis and therapy and research. Other applications include the use of radioisotopes in agricultural research to learn the methods of food intake and efficient use by plants and animals, and to create new plant varieties in the search for heavier-bearing, more disease-resistant varieties. The steriliza-

tion and preservation of food by means of radiation holds promise of increasing the supply and lowering the cost of the world's food. A multitude of industrial process and tracer uses have been devised already. More are being developed daily.

In this connection it should be noted that a survey which we recently made indicated that American industry is presently saving an estimated $400 million a year through the use of radioisotopes to improve the quality of its products and services. The benefits to agriculture, through the betterment of crop strains, more efficient use of fertilizer and the combatting of pests and plant diseases is calculated at another $200 million a year.

The medical benefits to mankind in the diagnosis of human ills, the alleviation of suffering and the increasingly effective treatment of diseases cannot, of course, be valued in dollars. Somewhere between 800,000 and a million patients are being treated with radioisotopes each year.

Finally, but probably foremost, in the field of peaceful uses is the generation of electric power by means of nuclear energy. This new source of power has gone into the hands of man at a time when the increased power requirements indicate the need of sources of energy supplemental to coal and oil. All will benefit by putting nuclear fuels to use in power generation.

The funds being requested for authorization in fiscal year 1958 in section 419 and other sections of this bill will provide for training the nationals of our friends abroad in most of the important ways needed for them to begin to achieve the benefits available from the peaceful atom.

We propose to continue the program which began in fiscal year 1956 of funding part of the cost of a research reactor for countries of the free world which can put such a scientific tool to valuable use. Although a research reactor is, as its name implies, a research instrument, it is also an important training device.

We also propose to assist countries in the acquisition of radioisotope equipment, including gamma sources for training and use in agricultural research and other items of equipment needed for training in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Naturally, the actual training in this country of the future scientists and engineers of friendly nations stands high in importance to speed the development of atomic energy programs by these nations. Although most of the funds needed for this purpose are requested for authorization under the technical cooperation title of this bill, I would like to underscore the importance of the training programs in nuclear science and engineering.

Funds under the Mutual Security Act help trainees from other countries to make use of courses in reactor technology and use of radioisotopes which are given at the International School of Nuclear Science at the Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago and at the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Science at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee.

It appears that in a growing number of instances it will be desirable, and certainly more economical, to train foreign nationals in their own or nearby countries—for example, in the operation of radioisotope laboratories—rather than to bring them to this country for training. The Asian Nuclear Center, which is planned for establishment in Manila, will facilitate the carrying out of this kind of training program for cooperating countries of that area. Similarly the enlarged nuclear education and training facilities planned for establishment at the University of Puerto Rico will provide Spanish language training in the peaceful uses of atomic energy for Latin Americans. Let me remind you that this latter project will be carried out through a contract between the Commission and the university and is not being included as a funding requirement in the bill before you. Moreover, assistance to our friends in acquiring equipment for nuclear training and research will enable them to train their nationals in nuclear science and technology.

An important part of this program of furthering, on an international basis, the peaceful applications of atomic energy is to survey the needs of cooperating countries and provide them with expert advice and guidance in helping them to develop programs fashioned to fit their technological, economic, and scientific capabilities. Expert help is also needed by countries which must import fuel and have need for assistance in evaluating the potentialities and economies of constructing nuclear power facilities in lieu of conventional powerplants using imported coal or oil. This type of assistance is also planned for fiscal year 1958.

This, in brief, is the program we propose in fiscal year 1958 in furtherance of the peaceful uses of atomic energy by friendly foreign countries. Though the program is modest in cost, it will return dividends of international comity and economic betterment greatly outweighing its cost.

Salesmen of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, a look at my record will disclose that I have long advocated the creation of a Foreign Service Academy, and I now have a bill H. R. 4364, pending to accomplish this purpose. My first bill on the subject was introduced the first year I was in the House of Representatives, 1953. I am now more than ever convinced that the Foreign Service Academy would do much in making our Foreign Service effective throughout the world.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Long Island Sunday Press of June 23, 1957:

SALESMEN OF FREEDOM

Salesmen wanted: Salesmen of freedom. United States Foreign Service offers great opportunity, a challenging experience for 1957 college grads.

Uncle Sam hasn't put this ad in the classified columns yet.

It might be smart, though, if he did.

We need salesmen of freedom, as Sherman Adams termed Foreign Service personnel. The Assistant to President Eisenhower, in a recent address, urged young people to explore this field.

Adams is on firm ground—as firm as the granite which gives his home State (New Hampshire) its nickname.

A question comes to mind, though—one of our favorite questions: Why don't we set up a Foreign Service academy to train young men and women for the highly skilled and all-important profession of representing America overseas?

We should train salesmen of freedom as we train the soldiers for peace who carry our military responsibilities. And to do it we should have a special academy, like West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy. And in Kings Point Merchant Marine Academy we train men who might be called soldiers and salesmen of commerce.

A Foreign service academy is not a new idea. As far back as March 1954, Senator JACOB K. JAVITS (then a Congressman) offered legislation along this line. Congressman ALBERT H. BOSCH, Richmond Hill Republican, also has studied the subject thoroughly.

It should be dusted off again, and shined up. Perhaps some of the carried over and unspent foreign aid funds can be tapped for enough to get the plan going, once Congress approves.

How we make out in this troubled world will, in the long run, largely depend on how and what we do in the field of foreign relations. It may mean the difference between war and peace, a free world or an enslaved world. All along the line, we'll need the best-skilled representatives we can produce. We should have a program to develop these salesmen of freedom.

Reclamation Pays Its Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include an editorial entitled "Reclamation Pays Its Way," from the Daily Journal of Commerce, published in Seattle, Wash. I think this points up very well the value of reclamation to this great Nation:

RECLAMATION PAYS ITS WAY

In the earlier years of the reclamation movement it was almost impossible to overcome eastern prejudice with respect to the reclaiming of arid western land to make it possible for farmers to make a living and eventually pay their share of the cost of bringing water to the soil that needed only water to make it exceptionally productive farmland. Even yet, there are millions of people in this country who have no understanding whatever of their returns as the result of large-scale reclamation projects in the sparsely settled West.

A short while ago final payments were made to the Bureau of Reclamation from the Sunnyside division of the Yakima project, a half-century old undertaking, that has paid its way and provided homes for large numbers of independent farmers. It is probably that few easterns—and many westerners, for that matter—appreciate the fact that many of the large publicly financed projects return their cost, with interest, to the Federal Government. The Bonneville Power Administration is well ahead of its repayment schedule. Congressman WALT HORAN, of this State's Fifth District, has compiled some statistics on irrigation and reclamation which should be made known to every citizen, every voter, of the 37 States east of the Continental Divide. The Congressman reports that money spent for reclamation between 1903 and 1957 has totaled $3,376 million. The cumulative value of the crops grown on reclamation projects from 1906 to 1957 has totaled $11,397 million. It is estimated that from these reclamation and trade areas tax payments in the period mentioned (1902–57) have been in excess of $5 billion. Through irrigation and reclamation, 3,200,000 acres of fertile but formerly arid land have been reclaimed, 4,100,000 acres have

received supplemental water and 93,500 farms have been brought under irrigation that never would have existed otherwise. Some 360,000 Americans are making their homes on these new farms, with five times that number of citizens, or 1,800,000 persons, living in communities and areas supported by reclamation projects. These residents are, in most instances, important purchasers of goods manufactured in the East, Middle West, and South, pay substantial transportation bills and, according to Congressman HORAN, enjoy incomes and material living standards well above the national average. Without reclamation these people might be living in overcrowded cities or in less healthful and less productive surroundings. They are paying their way and it has proved the best of good business to have carried out the reclamation projects so strenuously resisted when first proposed and for so many years thereafter.

Citation of Howard C. Zahniser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, honorary degrees are frequently presented to guest speakers, past and potential donors to college endowment funds, and many other similar persons. All too frequently our colleges fail to recognize the outstanding abilities of their own graduates who have made distinguished records for themselves.

Therefore, when Geenville College of Greenville, Ill., conferred the honorary degree of doctor of letters upon my good friend, Howard C. Zahniser, I was deeply impressed.

Howard C. Zahniser has made a mark for himself in the field of conservation in this country that has never been excelled and seldom equaled. This record is a real tribute to his alma mater, and I congratulate Greenville College for recognizing their illustrious son.

The following is the citation for this honorary degree of doctors of letters by Dr. Mary Alice Tenney, professor emeritus of English, Greenville College, Greenville, Ill., historian of Greenville College and interpreter of early Methodism:

CITATION OF HOWARD C. ZAHNISER FOR THE HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LETTERS

I consider myself highly honored to be asked to present to you today an alumnus whose position in national movements gives glory to his alma mater.

He comes from a Pennsylvania family famous for their contribution to community life. In fact, I have heard it reported that in the section where he grew up it was often said, "There are three parties here, the Republicans, the Democrats, and the Zahnisers." From this family have come a host of teachers, preachers, and social workers.

In the case of our candidate unusual creativity supplemented this devotion to the good of others. While in Greenville he began his long career of creative community work as a distinguished editor of our college newspaper, the Papyrus, and later as the asastant to the editor of the city paper, the Advocate.

Students still recall his stimulating teaching for a year in the Greenville High School, for he instructed out of a great enthusiasm and voracious appetite for literature. He made my first days of teaching a joyful obligation, for I simply had to teach well with such an enthusiast in my classes.

After he left Greenville for the National Capital, he rose rapidly as an editor, feature writer, and broadcaster. His editorial work with the United States Department of Agriculture comprehended interests in fish and wildlife, plant industry, and conservation, but focused more and more upon the saving of our native resources, particularly the conserving of the wilderness areas of the United States. His inbred idealism asserted itself as he made articulate for all nature lovers this passion for our American heritage.

Since 1945 he has been editor of the Living Wilderness, and from 1951 to 1954 he was a member of the advisory committee on conservation to the Secretary of the Interior. He has been chairman of the Natural Resources Council of America. Ever since 1935 he has been an essayist and book editor for Nature magazine, and for 10 years has contributed the articles on conservation to the Brittanica books of the year.

His membership in a score of clubs for outdoor lovers and writers indicates the scope of his interests and the national recognition which he enjoys. Among them are the Sierra Club, of which he has been honorary vice president; the Wilderness Society, of which he is the executive secretary; the National Press Club; and the Cosmos Club of Washington. One of his recent and most significant honors in his election to the presidency of the Thoreau Society, a scholarly organization which meets annually in Concord, Mass.

Mr. President, this candidate for honors represents the historic emphasis which Greenville College has placed upon the union of Christianity and culture. In fact, it was he who adopted as the slogan for the Papyrus "Christianity and Culture in Education," a slogan later known to all who know Greenville College. This desire to make ideals articulate has been the shaping concept of his career.

President Long, I present to you Howard C. Zahniser, master of the arts of communication, and lover and preserver of God's creation, to receive the degree, doctor of letters.

Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following address by Dan E. McCall, a constituent of mine from Modesto, Calif. With this address, on April 11 of this year in Waterville, Maine, Dan won the 1957 annual American Legion oratory contest over 350,000 high-school contestants throughout the country.

The 1941 winner of this oratorical competition is now a well-known legislator, the Honorable FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho, United States Senator.

During the past year, while a high-school student, Dan won a variety of honors including the designation as the California State Exchange Club Boy of the Year, the Native Sons of the Golden West annual oratorical contest, the Bank of America State scholarship award, the California-Nevada Lions Club oratorical contest, the annual Optimist International oratorical contest, and the National Forensic League's national dramatic interpretation division in Oklahoma City last summer.

Just last weekend in Philadelphia, Dan won still another national award. He was 1 of the 13 winners of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commemorative Commission Students Constitutional Convention.

The State of California can well be proud of this young man's achievements. In particular, California's 11th Congressional District is happy to salute him:

CONSTITUTION

When Harry Emerson Fosdick preached the dedicatory sermon in his great new Riverside Church, he expressed the desire that some sign signifying its unique function might be placed over the entryway. He then jokingly suggested he would like to steal for that purpose a Fifth Avenue sign of a utilities company: Light and Power. Light and power—we might also employ the same sign to symbolize the purpose and functions of the Constitution of the United States, for it throws light upon the proper relation of man to man, and provides for the distribution of power among people.

It is easy to praise the Constitution, and most of us can; it is far more difficult, however, to appraise it, and too few of us do. It is to be revered, yes—but more important, revealed to layman as well as lawyer. It is to this latter task that I dedicate my efforts, to discern and set down those characteristics of the Constitution which make it a unique document, which account for its unparalleled success, to which may be ascribed its world-wide recognition and acclaim. For I assume that we are met here today to pay tribute to a document, or at least to the intellectual and moral achievements of a segment of humanity as set forth therein.

I choose to place first on my list of priceless ingredients the Constitution's concern for the individual, not for people—but for persons, not for numbers and the common man, but for names, and the human man.

A tired New York City housewife answered the doorbell to greet with a weary smile the community census taker. After asking the usual questions, he requested the number of children in her family. "Well, let's see," she said, "there's Mary and Henry and Jack"——

"No, no; I don't want the names, just the number."

She patiently smiled, "They ain't got numbers. All got names."

This is important. This is important because our Constitution does not promote a nebulum of numbers, rather—a nation of names. It places individual dignity even above the state's integrity. As James A. Garfield, who served many years in Congress before he became President, said, "I have represented a district whose approval I greatly desired for a long time, but I desired still more the approval of just one man, and his name is Garfield. For, he is the one man I am compelled to sleep with and eat with and live with and die with, and if I do not have his approval I should have bad companionship." The Constitution guarantees that every Garfield shall have the right to become the kind of Garfield he aspires to be.

It does not say Americans are lovers of freedom. Rather it says something much more basic, much more fundamental: Mr. Citizen shall be free. He may go to the Baptist church, or the synagogue, or St. Andrews—any church he likes. He may write what is in his own head. He may tell his friends what he thinks. He may market his own eggs, at his own prices, collecting

his own money. He is a human being. He is free, to be free. The Constitution is great then, not because it makes man free, but because it assumes he is free, that his birthright bears the stamp of individual freedom. He shall not have a number, but he may have a name. He isn't a statistic, he is a being.

The second unique feature which I nominate for distinction in documentary design is expressed in the reaction of Robert Louis Stevenson when he as a small boy standing one evening by his window watching the village lamplighter at work. Young Robert cried, "Oh, look, I can see something wonderful. There's a man coming down our street punching holes in the darkness." In 1787 a group of consecrated men trod the highways of humanity "punching holes in the darkness of their day." They pierced the veil of truth, and spread new light on old ideals and principles for man to live by. They made no new laws; they only saw more clearly than ever before the immutable laws of social science and formulated statements of their operation in the affairs of man. Accordingly, the Constitution was not written through the wisdom of Franklin, the genius of Jefferson, and the effusiveness of Hancock; rather it represents the combined prescience of all who had a part in its making. As Newton discovered the law of gravitation and put it into words for man's understanding, so the lamplighters who drew our Constitution looked back down the road of history, divining from the ebb and flow of oligarchy, a tyranny, feudalism, and all the many forms of oppression and freedom under which man had lived, new concepts of dignity, of worth, of worthiness. They gave these to the people—calling them the Constitution. John Adams called them "rights that cannot be repealed or restrained by human law—rights derived from the Great Legislator of the Universe." What I am trying to say is that the Constitution is not a promise or precept which man made, but a fundamental and universal law which he discovered; and such is its unique and distinguishing characteristic which sets it above and apart from all other political documents ever written. It is a recognition of natural law expressed as ideals to which man can aspire. Carl Schurz has said: "Ideals are like stars, you will not succeed in touching them with your hands, but like the seafaring man on the desert of waters, you choose them as your guides, and following them you reach your destiny."

We reach our personal destiny only as we understand that the Constitution outlines ideals; that those who live by its principles inevitably end up better equipped to live by their own. It is not liberty, but a document which proclaims the principles of liberty, not justice, but an outline which enables us to secure justice. It is a means—a human way of making ideals become realities.

Finally, the Constitution's uniqueness resides in its timelessness, its proven adaptability to serve the needs equally well of both the horse and buggy age and the horseless carriage era, the periods of Fulton's steamboat and Wright brothers' dreamboat, of the *Mayflower* and of airpower. An epitaph carved on a tombstone of a father's grave beside a lonely public highway in Arizona reads, "My son, if you are to see the heritage that I leave you prosper, you must build it anew yourself." The greatness of the Constitution lies in the fact that each generation may under its protection rebuild its heritage to suit the tenor of the times. In turn, each in his life must rebuild his understanding of the Constitution, his faith in it, his loyalty to it.

The great sculptor Thorwaldsen was once asked what his finest statute was. He answered simply, "The next one." It is this feature of the Constitution which enables us to look to each new year as the best possible one in our history. The exuberant 20th century Constitution is as modern as this morning. If it is to be taken down from the shelf, it must be taken into the self. It is not for us to dedicate; rather it is for us to be dedicated. The citizen who would serve and preserve, use and not abuse this framework of law and order, must understand that the first seven amendments are his guaranty to personal liberty and individuality, that the entire Constitution is a revelation of dependable natural law, and these laws are as timeless as the force of gravity and as constant as the sun. In this atmosphere Mr. Citizen may stand with his head in the clouds of idealism and his feet on the ground of reality, his eyes to the future because of his vision of the past, his faith in humanity because of his confidence in man.

As Walt Whitman said, "I see the genius of the modern, child of the real and ideal clearing the ground for broad humanity, the true America—heir of the past so grand, to build anew a grander future."

The Supreme Court Should Use the Light of Reason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Judiciary Committee of the House, I was, like many of my colleagues, I am sure, quite disturbed by the Supreme Court decision in the Watkins Case where the Court decided that a man who admits to having a long period of Communist affiliations can refuse to state to the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities whether he knows that certain named persons with whom he is familiar were members of the Communist Party.

The scope of the decision is so far reaching that it cannot be permitted to stand unchallenged on principle. The majority of the court in the decision acknowledged broad investigatory powers in Congress as being inherent in the legislative process, but then goes on to strike down and encompass these admitted powers with wholly unwieldy and impractical restrictions, under the guise of protecting an individual under the first amendment against abridgement by law of freedom of speech or press or assembly.

The decision is so vague and indefinite that it gives no real guideposts to Congress or congressional committees that can be applied in an effort to comply with the decision.

The decision seems to make a distinction in the powers of Congress to investigate between the admitted power to "expose corruption, inefficiency waste" in the public interest and as a public affair and the lack of power or authority to expose private affairs or beliefs of individuals—and as applied to this case, apparently, even when these private beliefs constitute adherence to the communistic philosophy of overthrow of our Government by force and violence. Could not this lead to the wholly unrealistic conclusion that the belief in communism is really a private belief protected within the first amendment and thus not subject to congressional investigation and public scrutiny through this method? Such a possibly conclusion certainly is to be condemned in the interest of preserving our constitutional form of government in America.

If this decision stands, future investigations by Congress will be in constant jeopardy, and the first amendment could possibly be pleaded as often as the fifth amendment is pleaded today. The court, which in my opinion failed to recognize the practical problems and workings of Congress, and would unduly restrict the legislative arm of government in carrying out its admitted function of investigating matters charged with the public welfare, looking to future legislation, the effects of legislation, activities of the executive branch and so forth.

I would like to cite a few examples of what could possibly result in the field of congressional investigations, as I interpret the decision.

First. It could possibly place on Congress the burden of proving that the terms of the charter of the committee or the statements of the chairman preceding the questioning would reasonably establish to the satisfaction of any witness the pertinency of each and every question on which the witness might claim the first amendment which would be an almost impossible burden;

Second. It could possibly strike down the broad authorizing or chartering provisions of committees and thus limit measurably the scope of their investigations on the technical grounds that although the investigation would be within the power of Congress to conduct unless every phase of the investigation is spelled out, the witness would not be put on adequate notice of the pertinency of any question asked by the committee and on which he claimed the right to refuse to answer because of the first amendment;

Third. It could possibly be construed to require "preliminary control" by Congress of its committee activities to the extent of requiring specific enumeration of every facet of any problem to be investigated or that might arise during an investigation even though the history of the investigative process has shown that Congress cannot foresee the new fields often uncovered as the result of hearings and that must be exhausted if the public welfare is to be served;

Fourth. The practical effect could possibly be that most future witnesses before congressional committees could only be voluntary because the compulsory subpena procedure would be completely outmoded and the witness could refuse to appear on the basis that he believed his first amendment constitutional rights were being prejudiced because he wasn't advised adequately of the questions to be asked and the pertinency thereof; or upon appearance could raise the same question and refuse to answer.

Fifth. It could conceivably require that any committee lay a foundation of

a more specific nature than the "charter" granted by Congress in order to establish the pertinency of every question asked in order to prevent a witness from claiming the "right of silence" which is surely an impractical burden.

Sixth. It could possibly require these committee restrictions as suggested in 1, 2, 3, and 5 above even when the rights of the person testifying are not involved but rather the rights of third persons whom the witness has been asked to identify as in this case and even though it is well settled that one cannot invoke the constitutional rights of another;

Seventh. It raises doubt about the fact that a congressional committee is acting within the scope of its authority with reference to any given question upon which the first amendment is claimed on the basis that an insufficient foundation of relevency of the question involved has been laid unless it appears clear on the record or in the "charter" powers of the committee that the specific facet of the investigation being challenged is spelled out in the record and that it doesn't violate anyone's "private affairs."

Thus, a mere statement of some of the possible implications of the decision that, I am sure points up its dangers.

Also the court overlooked completely in its reasoning the fact that every contempt action by a committee must be ratified by the body of Congress under whose authority the committee operates, the facts fully debated, the relevancy of the question upon which the refusal to answer gives rise to the contempt, the pertinency of the question to the investigation involved and of the question asked as well as the validity of the grounds for refusing to answer the question—and only after the passage of a resolution by the respective House or Senate after full debate and determination if the committee was acting within its "charter" and preliminary (broad) authority can the committee acquire needed authority to bring a court action through the Attorney General for contempt of Congress. I fail to understand how the Court, under the separation-of-powers doctrine, can inject itself into this matter in this instance on the facts and overturn the findings and policy determinations as they relate to the previously determined relevancy and pertinency as made by the Congress. Although broad investigatory powers are often granted, many protections against the abuse of the contempt power of Congress are provided. It is interesting to me that this phase of practical legislative process apparently escaped the Court—and indicates further the impracticality—due to lack of understanding of some of the problems of Congress and its workings—of the proposals made by the Court in this case.

I trust the Court will reexamine its decision in the light of reason and more clearly define its decision in order that congressional activity in the field of investigations might go forward within constitutional limitations.

Violating the Law Without Penalty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by George E. Sokolsky, which appeared in the New York Journal-American of June 17, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

VIOLATING THE LAW WITHOUT PENALTY

(By George E. Sokolsky)

The Securities Exchange Act was passed to prevent the unconscionable conduct which brought on the 1929 stock market failure from ever happening again. It may have been too great an ambition, as clever minds will always find a way to get around a law and they can always hire lawyers and accountants to aid and abet them. The Securities and Exchange Commission, generally referred to as SEC, does not have the appropriations or staff to police the entire business world and only catches up with transactions that have become notorious. If the public is swindled there is really little to do about it.

In a letter to Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, J. Sinclair Armstrong, who in April headed SEC but is now in a more comfortable spot in the Navy, wrote:

"Swiss trusts and similar financial institutions and devices have created a serious problem for the Commission in the enforcement of a number of the provisions of the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934. The problem arises from the fact that, as you realize, under the laws and customs of Switzerland, Swiss banks and similar institutions do not disclose the names of the persons for whom they are acting. Similar problems arise in connection with American securities held in the names of banks, brokers, or other institutions in other foreign countries, since such institutions are not subject to the jurisdiction of this Commission and there is no way in which we can require them to disclose the identities of their principals if they do not choose to, or are under instructions from their principals not to do so."

USE NUMBERS, NOT NAMES

But the fact is that thousands of dollars a day are deposited in American banks to be transferred immediately to numbered accounts in Switzerland or elsewhere. The assumption was, until investigation proved it untrue, that the depositor left his name and address. But it has been established that he may leave a fictitious name and address. Actually the depositor ceases to exist the moment he deposits the money in a perfectly reputable bank in any American city to be transferred to a numbered account in Switzerland or elsewhere. The American bank transfers the money. The alien bank knows who X98 is and has no interest in the fictitious name of the depositor. Thus a tax evasion may be practiced, and all trace of the evader has been removed.

Clever. Of course, it is clever. This transaction involves three minds—the owner of the money, a lawyer, and an accountant. But there is no evidence, aand there is not any agency of Government which has any means to discover what has happened and how much money is being siphoned out of the United States and for what reason.

Armstrong said: "Inability to ascertain the identity of the beneficial owners of securities of American corporations held by various foreign financial institutions makes it difficult, in some cases, to determine whether or not persons in fact subject to the requirements of section 16 (a) are complying with these requirements."

CAN AFFECT NATIONAL DEFENSE

Section 16 (a) is important, because it means that the beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of any class of any equity security sold in any American exchange and every officer and director of the issuer of such a security must file a record of his holdings. But suppose the holding is by a Swiss bank or an anonymous personage in Europe or Nassau or Canada, how does the law apply? In a word, a whole set of devices has been developed, the object of which is to violate the law without penalty. And the devices all work well.

In fact, studies show that about 10 percent of the shares of publicly held corporations in the United States are registered in the names of nominees, that an additional 10 percent are registered in the names of brokers and dealers, and about 15 percent more are held in the names of fiduciaries which are impersonal institutions. So who are the beneficial owners? In this 35 percent may rest the control of a public company. But who are they? And are they the same individual or group hiding behind a fictitious device?

This is a very serious matter, as it can affect the national defense, and it may influence depressed conditions during an inflationary period.

Martin Sweig, Ph. D., Stands Up for Georgetown Foreign Service School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article which appeared in the Tablet, Brooklyn, N. Y., on June 22, 1957:

STANDS UP FOR GEORGETOWN FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOOL

DEAR SIR: I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the editors of each of the daily papers here in Washington.

As one long familiar with Georgetown University, and especially with the School of Foreign Service, I welcome this opportunity to offer the unsolicited testimony of a non-Catholic as evidence of the biased falsification of the record which has resulted from the statement of Bishop Oxnam.

MARTIN SWEIG, Ph. D.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: At the commencement exercises of American University held on June 10, Bishop C. Bromley Oxnam, of the Methodist Church, made another of his irresponsible statements. This time he has attempted to impugn the motives of Catholic educators, and in the same breath he casts reflection on the intelligence of the graduates, Catholic and non-Catholic, of Catholic colleges. He has singled out in particular the world fa-

mous School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, which is a university organized by and operated under the jurisdiction of the Society of Jesus.

I wonder if the good bishop has ever carefully examined the catalog of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University. If he has not, and from his remarks I assume he has not, I respectfully submit that he should and I would be delighted to have a copy sent to him. In the catalog he would notice that the history courses offered are not radically different from history courses offered at, for example, Harvard University, Yale University, or Boston University, or even at George Washington University here in the District of Columbia; the courses in political science are practically the same as offered in other universities; the courses in economics offered at Georgetown University are similar to like courses at other universities. The professors in charge of these courses are not in the habit of rearranging the courses to suit the policy of the Holy See, or any other State, for the simple reason that such a thought never enters their minds. Professors in every college, be they layman or cleric, have a moral obligation to teach their course with due regard to the high trust and responsibility entrusted to them to teach the truth without regard to any secular policy adhered to and followed by any one particular political state.

I am a graduate of Georgetown University, both of the School of Foreign Service and of the Graduate School. While in the School of Foreign Service all my professors were layman who were both Catholic and Protestant, and for the benefit of Bishop Oxnam, may I say that one of my professors was a man who belonged to the Jewish faith. Not one of these professors, Catholic, Protestant, or Jew, to my knowledge, ever tried to steer my thinking along lines of "Vatican world policy" as suggested by Bishop Oxnam. If the bishop feels that all graduates of Catholic colleges are brainwashed, may I say that he is greatly mistaken, and that his own education has been sadly neglected.

One would be led to believe from Bishop Oxnam's remarks that in the School of Foreign Service of Georgtown University and in the university itself there is a lack of religious liberty. Nothing could be further from the truth. Again I would counsel the good bishop to consult the lists of students at Georgetown University. He would be amazed to find quite a few Protestants and Jewish students therein.

To my knowledge, and I am a non-Catholic, I have never found any signs of discrimination at Georgetown, nor have I heard any rumors that such a situation existed. It seems to me that Bishop Oxnam likes to hear himself talk but he should, being a man of God and one who invokes the name of God in his sermons, be careful of making statements that are without foundation. His major premise is wrong and conceived in ill-feeling and bias; his conclusions, therefore, cannot be right nor should they be accepted by thoughtful and openminded people.

Canadian Family Allowances Act: A System Which Merits Study in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, last week I took great pride in introducing for the first time in this House a resolution which asks that a select committee be created to study the feasibility of our Nation's adopting the Family Allowances Act which has proven so successful in Canada for nearly 12 years. I am happy that my distinguished colleague, the Honorable JOHN BURNS, of Hawaii, introduced identical legislation.

These resolutions are like one which last week was introduced by Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER and several cosponsors. Senator NEUBERGER introduced it originally in the Senate during the 84th Congress. Since that time, this proposal has drawn support from many individuals and organizations. There is an ever-growing feeling on the part of many that this Nation should look further into this program.

The select committee we propose would have five members appointed by the Speaker. They would be authorized to investigate the Canadian plan with a view to determining if a similar system here would promote the health, development, and well-being of our children. The committee would be allowed as much as $26,000 for the study, and could meet outside the borders of the United States.

I am told by Canadians, familiar with the allowances act, that the system has improved the health and standard of living for their children. More boys and girls have the vegetables, meats, fruits, and milk needed in their diets. More youngsters have shoes. Many will have higher education because their parents are putting the money aside for that purpose. The allowance is paid to the mother or guardian and goes to all children, regardless of family income, race, color, or creed.

Happily I can tell you that misuse of allowances or fraud is negligible.

Canadians who were skeptical of the plan 12 years ago now proudly claim the program as a sample of their country's forward thinking. The major political parties there would each like to claim the idea as their own.

I respectfully call to your attention comments by Mr. Lawrence Burg, a Chicago businessman who is research director for a private company. He is one of 10 children, he votes independently, he is a World War II veteran. He and his wife have four children.

Mr. Burg is concerned with the cause of juvenile delinquency. He and his wife feel that the monetary cost of children may be a missing clue to the major cause of juvenile delinquency. I neither confirm nor deny their supposition, but tell you that the Burgs feel that lowered living standards "might have an adverse effect on some parents and older children." They say it costs them $729 per year to raise each child, despite frugalities.

As a sample of what the cost of child-rearing means, Burg points out that the couple with no children and earning $100 weekly takes home a spendable income of $4,504. The family with four children, on the other hand, has a spendable income of $2,484, after the cost of the children has been deducted. His solution is amending the tax laws to enable all adults to pay identically, and then giving a social security or child-support payment of $50 per month for each child. This would be given to the parents to aid them in rearing their children. Mr. Burg says payment for such a program could come from funds transferred from foreign aid and topheavy national defense. He terms his plan one of tax relief.

In introducing the resolution initially on June 14, 1955, the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon called the plan the next great step forward in social legislation. He said the program seeks a healthier, happier, and more secure life for the children of America.

He and his wife, Maurine, have had many occasions to discuss this program with Canadians and can say in all truthfulness that they found our neighbors to the north strongly in favor of the family allowances system. He, like Mr. BURNS and me, are convinced that the system is good, not only because of its help today to the children, but also because it is building a stronger nation for tomorrow.

This Canadian program has received caustic comments from persons unfamiliar with its worth and operation. These doubters call it a baby bonus. I must point out that this has not been the case in Canada. The birthrate there continues at a normal pace.

The Family Allowances Act was introduced in Canada in 1944. The first payments were made in July of 1945. The act was a basic social-security measure designed to assist in providing equal opportunity for all Canadian children.

Payments come out of the Federal consolidated revenue fund and are no part of taxable income, although persons with children eligible for family allowances obtain a smaller income-tax exemption for such children than for children not so eligible. Family allowances are administered by the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare through regional offices. The annual cost is currently around $380 million. I am told the administrative cost has never exceeded 1.6 percent of the allowances amount. The allowances are paid at the monthly rate of $6 for each child under age of 10 and $8 for each child 10 to 16.

I know this brief summary of the program and the digest of the resolution my colleague and I have introduced does not tell this body all it may wish to know about family allowances. The full text of the Senate resolution, which is like the House version, appears with Senator NEUBERGER'S comments in the RECORD of June 21, 1957.

Postal Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is my statement before the House

Post Office and Civil Service Committee on June 21, 1957, regarding the necessity of an increase in the salaries of postal employees:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE, JUNE 21, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished committee, I appreciate the opportunity you have given me to present my views on the legislation now before you, H. R. 2474.

I appear before this committee to urge the immediate adoption of H. R. 2474, which provides for a salary increase to postal employees. This increase has been long overdue. It will merely allow postal offices to catch up with wage increases that employees in private industry, who have the benefit of collective bargaining, have received over recent years.

I will not reiterate the facts which you have already before the committee. It is well known that the efficiency of postal employees has increased over recent years and their rise in productivity compares favorably with the gains in efficiency of employees in manufacturing or other sectors of the economy where increases in wages for improved productivity are taken as a matter of course. Many employees in private industry also receive adjustments in wages when the cost of living increases, but postal employees have been subjected during the past year to a reduction in their real take-home pay, as the cost of living increased by more than 4 percent.

The arguments that a salary increase to postal employees would be inflationary appears to me spurious as well as callous. We cannot expect that postal employees will continue to subsidize the cost of Government by accept low wages which provide for less than a decent standard of living.

Self-interest would require us to improve the wages of postal employees. I do not have to belabor the point that the services of the post office are essential for the operations of the economy. Failure to provide for adequate wage increases for postal employees would have the effect of allowing the postal service to deteriorate through many resignations and the inability of the postal service to recruit new competent employees.

Having worked as a railway mail clerk in the Post Office Department, I know how hard these employees work. Never having lost my interest and contacts with them, I can personally attest to their loyalty and integrity.

Mr. Chairman, yes, adoption of H. R. 7474 is not good only for the postal employees, it is also good for the country. This proposed legislation can no longer be postponed. I repeat—I urge this distinguished Committee to consider this bill favorably.

Again, let me thank you for the privilege of presenting my views.

Chaos and the Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, never before in the history of this great Nation has the Supreme Court been held in such low repute by our people. I am convinced that the great majority of our citizens have lost faith in the ability of the Court to dispense equal justice to all of our people. Many are alarmed at the trend of their decisions. The Court continues to depart from time-honored legal principles and precepts. They have thrown to the wind all legal precedent. No attorney can now advise his client with any degree of satisfaction as to what might be the ruling of the Court on any particular point of law.

Apparently, the Court has set out to make its own rules and write the law according to its own desires in each individual case. It has arrogated unto itself all necessary legislative power and authority to do just that without regard to the consequences that will follow.

On Friday, June 21, 1957, there appeared in the Richmond News Leader an editorial entitled "Chaos and the Court." This editorial points out very cogently the chaos that the Supreme Court has caused by its usurpation of authority in the legislative and executive fields of government.

The editorial is as follows:

CHAOS AND THE COURT

The Supreme Court of the United States now approaches the end of its 1956–57 term. For a few months at least, while Mr. Justice Douglas goes motoring through Nepal and the other justices have scattered to their homes, we may expect some slight measure of judicial stability. In the autumn, we may be grimly certain, chaos will resume—for chaos is all that Earl Warren's Court has brought to the law, and chaos is all it seems able to bring.

Readers of this newspaper will know how rarely we employ a superlative in these columns. We employ one now: Mr. Warren's Court is the poorest Court ever to occupy this country's highest bench. Taney's court suffered from mediocrities a century ago; Fuller had some Justices of less than surpassing brilliance in his day. But never since the Court was constituted in 1789 have its members, as a group, exhibited the gross dereliction of duty, the flagrant and willful disregard of judicial function, that is exhibited by the Court which now afflicts us.

That judgment has nothing to do with mere sectionalism; it is not predicated upon the Court's decision in the school segregation cases, however bitterly many of us in the South may assail that act of usurpation. It is predicated, rather, upon the Court's opinions over the past 4 years, and especially over the past 18 months, which together define an unmistakable trend toward judicial tyranny of a sort this Republic never has experienced.

The trend is marked by the Court's evident eagerness to usurp both executive and legislative powers from its presumably coequal branches of the Federal Government, and by its consuming ambition to destroy the States altogether. The trend is marked further by a contempt for judicial precedent, by a willingness to substitute the justices' own notions of desirable social policy for the clear intention of written law, and by a backbending, distorted desire to subordinate the security of society for the imagined rights of individuals.

CODDLE COMMUNISTS

A case 18 months ago typifies the trend. This was the Rea case, in which the Court, citing its own supervisory powers over Federal law enforcement agencies, refused to permit a Federal narcotics agent to testify in a State proceeding in New Mexico. Mr. Justice Harlan, in a startled dissenting opinion, remarked that it never before had been suggested that the Federal courts share with the executive branch of the Government responsibility for supervising law enforcement as such.

Three other cases, each of major importance, followed in short order—the Ullmann case, the Steve Nelson case, the Slochower case. The first of these spread an umbrella over suspected Communists in a fervent approval of the fifth-amendment privilege against self-incrimination. The second voided the antisedition laws of 42 States, and wrote into Federal law a preemption Congress had positively refused to adopt on its own. The third struck deep into the powers of the States to discharge teachers whose conduct fails to meet State standards of employment.

Then came the Griffin case from Illinois, in which Mr. Warren and his liberal bloc swept aside age-old principles of State authority over State judicial process. Ostensibly, all that was involved was Illinois' failure to provide a free transcript to a convicted thief who sought judicial review; actually, what was involved was the heart and soul of State judicial powers.

On April 30 of last year, a majority united in a weirdly legalistic opinion of great benefit to the Communist Party of the United States. The effect of this opinion was to prolong a proceeding against the party under the Subversive Activities Control Act. On the same date came another opinion, also based upon narrowly technical grounds, reversing a denaturalization order against a Communist, Zucca. It appeared that the Government, seeking to oust the man, had failed to file a particular form. Said a dissenting minority:

"The Court's ruling today seriously obstructs the Government in filing denaturalization proceedings in this type of case. * * * It reverses a long line of cases in the lower Federal courts and disregards a consistent administrative practice of over 30 years' standing."

In May of last year came the Hanson case, from Nebraska, in which that State's constitutional protection of a right to work was held to have no application to a railway employee. Piously the Court held that it was not passing upon the union shop as a policy, for "the judiciary has no concern" with policy; Congress has "the final say on policy issues."

But within 2 weeks, on June 11, all that had been forgotten. In deciding a fair-trade case affecting the McKesson and Robbins Co., in the view of dissenting members of the Court itself, the majority let a "lack of sympathy for an act of Congress" override its duty "to seek out the policy underlying the act and, if possible, to give effect to it."

It was on this same date that the Court, in the Cole case, again usurped a legislative function. Here the facts were that Cole, a food and drug inspector in New York, had been dismissed from Federal employment by reason of his Communist associations and background. A majority of the Court refused to sanction his dismissal. Justices Clark, Reed, and Minton, dissenting, said the opinion "frustrated the clear purpose of the Congress." It flew "directly in the face of the language of the act and the legislative history." Though the law plainly applied to "any civilian officer or employee," the Court simply rewrote it to read, "any civilian officer or employee in a sensitive position."

On June 11 of last year, too, a divided court upheld the conviction of two Army wives, by a court-martial, of the murder of their husbands. We will allude to this case again in a moment.

With the fall and winter months of last year, two highly significant events occurred, in the resignation of Justices Reed and Minton. Once they had been regarded as liberals on the Court; at the time of their departure, so far had the Court shifted to the left, they were bulwarks of conservatism.

with the confirmation of Mr. Justice Brennan, and later of Mr. Justice Whittaker (though he has not yet played a significant role), the center of ideological gravity has shifted still more. Now the cases that once were decided 5–4 or 6–3 are increasingly being decided 7–1 or 6–2, with only Mr. Justice Burton, sometimes joined by Harlan or Clark, attempting to hold some rational line.

INVADE STATES RIGHTS

The tendency to invade State prerogatives has continued unabated. Kansas was told in December that the State could not even prescribe its own law governing notice in State land condemnation proceedings. Alabama was rebuked for the conviction of a Negro rapist simply because police had questioned the defendant severely. There had been no brutality, no coercion—and Mr. Justice Harlan commented sharply that the majority's decision "oversteps the boundary" of State rights.

February was marked by the Court's fantastic decision in the Radovich case, involving a professional football player, in which the Court piously asserted its determination to abide by established law.

But in March, the Court was back at its more familiar habit of rewriting law and precedents to suit itself. It ruled, 5–3, that the Union Pacific Railroad had no title to minerals under its right-of-way. A baffled minority pointed out that this title, stemming from a land-grant law of 1862, had been upheld in a "body of opinions, written by members of the Court more steeped in public land law and more sensitive to the circumstances of the times that we can possibly be." The Court sought "to retrieve in 1957 what Congress granted in 1862." It read into a 95-year-old law its present-day notions of what the law should have been.

It was in March, also, that the Court, in the Roviaro case, directed that henceforth the Government must disclose the name of its informers in narcotics prosecutions. Mr. Justice Clark bitterly criticized "the destructive effect that conclusion will have on the enforcement of narcotics laws." Undeterred, the Court on June 3, in the Jencks case, directed that the Government, in prosecuting a suspected Communist, must make available to the defendant all reports of Government witnesses in the FBI's possession touching upon "events and activities to which they testify at the trial." Said Mr. Justice Clark:

"Unless the Congress changes the rule announced by the Court today, those intelligence agencies of our Government engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop, for the Court has opened their files to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets."

On the same day that the Jencks case came down, the Court abandoned all precedent and rewrote the Clayton Act in order to compel the du Pont Co. to sell its interest in General Motors. On June 10, 1957, the Court reversed its decision of June 11, 1956, in the matter of the Army wives, and thus not only set free two women who had brutally murdered their mates, but also created an incredible uncertainty as to the trials of other Army defendants on other offenses.

HAMSTRING CONGRESS

Winding up its term, this past Monday, the Court freed 5 California Communists outright, and in effect freed 9 others, with an opinion so highly legalistic that members of the bar are frankly aghast. Not content, the Court struck deep into executive prerogatives by reversing the dismissal of John Stewart Service of the State Department. It voided the conviction of John T. Watkins, charged with contempt of Congress, in an opinion that will hamstring the congressional power to investigate. Finally, it again invaded State powers to punish sedition by voiding the conviction of a New Hampshire professor for contempt of court.

This editorial review, long as it is, is regrettably brief. It does not touch upon the many decisions, of primary interest to lawyers, which have gravely altered long-established rules of judicial procedure. Neither does it offer examples of the cloudy and turgid style in which many of the Court's pronouncements have been phrased—a style so filled with ambiguities and high-flown dicta as to baffle laymen seeking to comprehend the Court's meaning.

These are our masters. Is it any wonder that rebellion grows against such arrogant incompetence? Surely it is possible to hope, at long last, that other States will begin to share the South's demand that an effective check be provided against a court which, lacking self-restraint, knows no restraint at all.

High Court Splits Hairs Freeing Convicted Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Tampa Daily Times of June 19 comments on the most recent ruling of the Supreme Court reversing the convictions of 14 United States Communist leaders. It points up continuously growing national consternation over many of the recent decisions emanating from the highest judicial tribunal in the land. The Communist Party won a major victory with this decision by weakening the Smith Act which was designed to fight subversive groups:

HIGH COURT SPLITS HAIRS FREEING CONVICTED REDS

There were probably many delighted chuckles in the Kremlin this week following the United States Supreme Court's action reversing convictions of 14 United States Communist leaders accused of plotting to teach violent overthrow of the United States Government.

Justice Tom Clark reflected the indignation felt by many Americans when he said in his dissent that the ruling "frustrates the purpose of the Congress * * * to curb the growing strength of the (Communist) Party."

Once again the Court is found in the position of reading its own philosophy into an act of Congress. Justice Clark was on sound ground when he protested:

"In its long history I find no case where an acquittal has been ordered by this Court on the facts. It is somewhat late to start now in usurping the function of the jury, especially where new trials are to be held covering the same charges."

The key word in this dissent is "usurp."

In many of its recent decisions the Supreme Court has been guilty of going beyond its purely judicial functions and usurping powers not assigned to it by the Constitution. The trend is continuing.

It is sheer folly to grant the convicted Communists succor and protection in the guise of guarding freedom of speech, press and assembly. It is no secret that the American Communist Party is dedicated to overthrowing the Constitution under which it is currently seeking protection. The FBI has demonstrated convincingly that the native Reds are merely an extension of the Russian espionage system. Their basic loyalty is to Moscow.

The Smith Act was passed to curb the activities of these American Reds. In subverting the principles of this legislation, Justice Harlan, who delivered the majority opinion, performed a remarkable feat of juggling the issues.

He said the Court was faced with the problem of deciding whether the Smith Act forbids advocating and teaching forcible overthrow as an abstract principle or is aimed at the advocacy and teaching of concrete action for the forcible overthrow of the Government.

The difference between the "abstract" and "concrete" in this instance is extremely difficult to find.

Under this interpretation, it is possible to advocate and teach overthrow of the Government as an "abstract principle."

The Court evidently does not take into consideration that concrete action frequently emerges from abstract principles.

These finely drawn points of law completely escape the average American who is concerned with the internal security of his country and preserving the democratic processes of government. Anger at the Court's decision is certain to be high.

The Court apparently has thrust aside all consideration of national security in giving the questionable benefit of doubt to the Communists. This decision is well designed to discourage law enforcement agencies concerned with the problem of keeping the Red menace under control.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Appendix

Parsons College Seniors in the Service of God and State

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOS. E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 2, I was accorded the honor of delivering the commencement address at the commencement exercises of Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa. The baccalaureate sermon on that occasion was delivered by the Reverend Dr. Paul Silas Heath, of New York City. The Reverend Millard G. Roberts, president of Parsons College, conferred the doctor of divinity degree upon the Reverend Kenneth L. Hubler, minister of the Grace Presbyterian Church at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and the doctor of laws degree on John A. Fisher, president of Buena Vista College, Storm Lake, Iowa, the Reverend Dr. Paul S. Heath, of New York City, and me.

I ask unanimous consent that the baccalaureate sermon delivered by Dr. Heath and the commencement address delivered by me be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BIRTH STRUGGLE OF A NEW CHURCH, AND ITS NEED FOR LEADERSHIP—A BACCALAUREATE SERMON PREACHED BY THE REVEREND DR. PAUL SILAS HEATH, GENERAL PRESBYTER OF THE PRESBYTERY OF NEW YORK CITY, AT PARSONS COLLEGE, FAIRFIELD, IOWA, ON JUNE 1, 1957

Norman Cousins, the editor of the Saturday Review of Literature, on returning recently from a visit around the world, summed up some of his conclusions in this way:

"The world is wide open for a new and big idea. Communism no longer fills that role for millions of Asians and Africans. Only a short time ago communism seemed to many of these people to be a fast express to a better future * * * but no longer. Somewhere along the line the express has gone off the track.

"But neither is democracy as proposed by America this big idea. We do not do a very good job of translating what democracy means to us into foreign languages in a way that gives meaning to the hopes of the multitudes. The big idea, when it comes, will have something to do with giving reality to the great connections between people that exist independent of ideologies or national units."

In this same editorial, Mr. Cousins tells of an interview he had with Dr. Martin Buber, Jewish philosopher and theologian—one of the great minds of our time. "Year by year the things that separated men from one another have been hardening." Buber said, "year by year the price of such separation has been growing." Then the wise scholar added, "The burden on young people is especially large. They must comprehend what is needed and move toward it with all the resources at their command."

You young people are graduating from college and entering into new responsibilities at a crucial time in the history of the world. It is at one and the same time the winter of despair and the spring of hope—a time of crisis, but a time of opportunity. The nuclear age which has brought us to omnipotence in nature, is also a time of impotence in using these powers for the well-being of man.

This is also true with the church in America today. At a time when more and more people are turning to the church, we have the increasing crime and delinquency and the extraordinary callousness and indifference of people to the malfeasance of many leaders in politics, in labor unions, and in other fields.

You graduates may well ask, "How can we cope with such a day as ours?" I would like to speak to this point, beginning as we narrow down the complexity of our problem to at least one sore spot.

I believe the sickness of our world lies in "separation" and all that word implies. The new "big idea" for which the world is waiting will be one that gives reality to connections between people. We must learn through this idea to conquer separation and bring about acceptance.

THE SIN OF SEPARATION

It would be a mistake to presume this sin of separation and the need for acceptance is applicable just to relations between whole peoples and nations alone. Actually, this same sin and sickness of separation lies at the root of despair and breakdown and failure and defeat right here in our own land, and even right here on this campus.

Are there people here on this campus hurt by the sin of snobbery, by the pride of superiority, by the cruelties of ostracism and condescension? This is the sin and sickness of separation. Let us remember the 1 out of 10 Americans in institutions of mental health is there because of failure to conquer separation in oneself, between oneself and one's fellows, and between oneself and God.

In the city of New York the large numbers of young people in trouble, becoming involved in gang violence or the influence of drugs or alcohol, who become rootless and aimless, are the victims of our failure to bring down the walls of separation and achieve acceptance.

The actual taking of such drugs is to these young people a sacrament of the meaninglessness of life. When we remember what the Lord's Supper can mean to us, in the knowledge that we are forgiven and accepted by God and that separation within ourselves or with our fellows is ended by His grace, we begin to understand this. A life can be so riven from wholesome community with one's fellows that drug taking seems the only out.

OUR INNER SELVES

This finally narrows down to our own inner selves. Most of our personal problems and difficulties arise from this same inward division. The good that we would do we do not; the evil that we would not we do. We find it very difficult to accept ourselves. We become separated from ourselves, from our fellows, and isolated from God.

Certainly such a world as ours is wide open for a new big idea, one that will bring to an end the sickness of separation. This must give reality to the great connections which exist between people independent of nation or race or ideology, and lead to the greatest connection of all—the reality of our connection with God.

It is here that we preachers come along and say: "The Christian Church has the answer to all this. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the idea big enough to win the world and conquer its ills." Just to say this doesn't really help in a world like ours. The plain truth is that the Christian Church as presently constituted does not persuade people that it is big enough to give reality to the great connections that exist between people, independent of one's nationality, the color of one's skin, the amount of money one has, or the side of the track one comes from.

THE CHURCHES PRACTICE SEPARATION

In America today, more than two-thirds of the people are listed as members of some church. Dr. Wilbur La Roe, a Presbyterian elder and former moderator of the general assembly, has made a tongue-in-cheek definition of the Presbyterian Church as:

"A fellowship of middle-class people who enjoy being affiliated with an organization of good standing in the community to which they can belong with comfort and without heavy expense; who believe in brotherhood within well-defined limits and in social progress if it is not carried too far; most of whom cast a conservative vote, and who find real satisfaction in listening to good sermons and tolerable church music and in being associated with respectable people of his own class."

Certainly the practitioners of such a faith do not have the big idea which can win and heal the world. D. T. Niles, the brilliant and able young church leader from Ceylon said recently in New York that "our sickness results from our failure to meet God at the places where God comes to meet us." This is profoundly true. Our failure in New York City, and in many another city, is that church people have been hanging around their own tree-lined suburban street corners, and not in the teeming cities where the problems of separation lie.

We are not meeting God at the spots where he comes to meet us, and so we miss him. Where are these spots? They are the spots where the sin of separation and alienation have erected barriers that wall off human beings from each other, where there can be no community, no sharing, no mutuality. These things never happen, because we never meet. Pride, superiority, and self-righteousness couple with fear and hatred, have made us strangers to each other.

ARE CHURCHMEN REALLY CONCERNED?

Dr. Paul Tiddich, of Harvard, has recently defined faith as the state of being ultimately, unconditionally, infinitely concerned. This is not the state of our Christian faith within the churches today.

Our church is so set in its ways; its patterns are so firmly fixed. Most of the men of my age preaching sermons are too old to bring about a revolution commensurate with the revolution going on in our world today. This makes the burden on you young people especially large.

I know young people today who are hearing this challenge and taking it seriously. Let me speak of just one such group. In the upper East Side of Manhattan there is an area known as East Harlem. It is an area of blighted slums with people crowded into filthy tenements.

If you have never been in a city slum with a 5- or 6-story walk-up, rat-infested, a cold water spigot in your crowded apartment where there is no privacy, and a water closet on the floor below you, you have no idea what it means to try to survive physically, mentally, spiritually. This is the area of greatest density of population, highest delinquency, and drug addiction. Every school is crowded, hopelessly old and inadequate. Family life is completely disorganized.

Into this area came a group of young ministers and their wives and other seminary students to live there and identify themselves with these people in all their problems. They have felt that if the Gospel of the Incarnation meant being ultimately concerned it should have the power for such a situation as this.

Into this group last fall came a young student and his wife to live and work. He was from Princeton University, president of his class. Speaking rather frankly, he was a good Christian who, like the rich young ruler, had consistently kept the law and been a fine leader of youth in a conventional way.

Let me read you some words he wrote after being there a few months, for he found out something about human separation:

"The following could be written about countless places. I write it about East Harlem where some things may be easier to see. East Harlem breaks my self-confidence—the first time I have known real breakage in my life. My life has been marked by one success piled atop another—the presidency of my class throughout high school and college, repeated academic and personal honors—

"Yet, neither dramatically nor suddenly, I have nevertheless been broken, broken by this place called East Harlem, and I am very thankful. Here I have dimly known what the New Testament calls rebirth. Truly to hear the cry from the Cross in our time, to know truly our guilty in the crucifixion this day."

Here is a young man actually facing the state of being unconditionally, ultimately concerned. With it, we can see a glimpse of the new "idea" big enough to give reality to the connections between people. He goes on:

"Let me try to explain why I believe the East Harlem Protestant Parish hears the muffled cry of a suffering world. Separation, alienation are the realities of human existence. Human separation cannot be overcome except by the grace of God in Jesus Christ. The grace of God alone can overcome separation within a man, between man and God. God's word of radical forgiveness and acceptance must undergird the form and the spirit of the churches' ministry."

Slowly, these young people are building a new kind of spiritual community, not just a new kind of church. It is not dominated by a ministry that does all the work, but the people become the ministers and the people themselves carry the gospel of acceptance into the community. They meet to carry on worship and prayer; to share problems and analyze personal and community needs and to accept assignments of ministry. Everyone becomes a witness.

AN APPEAL TO GRADUATES

I have taken some time in describing this particular situation because these young people are strongly convinced that their situation is not unique despite its more desperate character. As young Brown says, "It is easier to see things in East Harlem."

But the sin of separation and the need for acceptance are everywhere, and the need for the appearance in the church of an outburst of fresh dynamics for the "big idea" is everywhere—in rich suburbia, in Fairfield, as well as East Harlem.

For only as rich suburbia and Fairfield realize they are like East Harlem in its desperate need of God's forgiveness and in its need of meeting Him where He comes to meet us, is there any hope. Only then can the Church mediate the powerful healing force entrusted to it.

This is my appeal to you young people as you set out in your new life. Comprehend what is needed, and move toward it with all the resources at your command. Involve yourselves in the birth of a fresh creative expression of the gospel of the Incarnation in the Church, big enough for the healing of the separations that are threatening to destroy the spring of hope in the nuclear age.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOS. E. MARTIN AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, PARSONS COLLEGE, FAIRFIELD, IOWA, JUNE 2, 1957, ENTITLED "THE FUTURE, OPPORTUNITY, AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EDUCATED AMERICAN"

The educated American is up against everything the free world is up against in this second half of the 20th century—only more so.

This makes the role of the graduates of Parsons College and the role of the graduates of other institutions of learning everywhere in our country one, that is touched with a proud but a fearful destiny.

There is a burden of responsibility upon your generation of Americans. This burden is balanced by the promise of a full and an ample life, rich in the realization—actually—of great dreams. No people in all the ages have ever had the state of well-being, the national and individual dignity, that cloak you as you leave this, your alma mater, for the great world in front of you.

And no previous generation in all the annals of history was ever confronted by a greater peril.

It is in this context that I ask you to evaluate your career that stands before you and relate these coming years to the story of man since the beginning of time.

Let us ask ourselves:

Is this generation really unique in terms of the problems that face it? Or is this term, this word—unique—merely the text that invests every commencement address?

As I see it the answer is that every age is of course unique in some form.

In the days of early Christianity the issue was between God and Caesar, an issue that has a strikingly identical parallel today.

In the days of Columbus there was the task of bringing whole new continents within the compass of contemporary civilization.

In the latter part of the 18th century there was the question of a small group of American colonies seeking freedom and independence from an oppressive tyranny.

We are the immediate beneficiaries of the incredible success of these incredible ventures.

The Civil War raised the question, and answered it, whether this Nation or any nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal can long endure.

World War I and World War II presented supreme tests to mankind of certain fundamental tenets of civilization and of government.

Today the issue, I firmly believe, is clearer than it ever has been, for the world of this generation stands clearly divided between the slave and the free. It is the collateral issues that are complex.

There is nothing unique in this primary issue, except possibly its greater clarity, since the days of the Old Testament.

But there is this about your generation that is unique:

Our age is more extraordinary than any comparable period of the past, because what is done anywhere on earth engulfs the whole planet, whether it is the development and use of penicillin, nuclear fission, or the question of what ships may or may not pass through the Suez Canal.

This time in which we live presents the whole race of man on this earth and everywhere in it with certain basic questions.

The first question is whether man, under God, wants to be governed by himself, or whether, without God, he will submit to the tyranny of dictatorship and the erasure of his own personality and the elimination of the dignity of the individual.

The second question is whether man has the intelligence to recognize that a democracy or a republic sincerely means government by consent of the governed, or whether he can indeed be deceived into believing that a Soviet despotism is a people's democracy, and whether he can be blinded to the omnipresent fact that communism is a dictatorship of deceit.

Unless this generation of graduates of Parsons College and kindred institutions knows, recognizes, and acts upon its role in this unique crystallization of the issue of the centuries, then this much of the victory is lost to the free world.

The Napoleonic wars were fought without our participation.

The Civil War was fought without Europe's participation.

We know now that wars like these can never again be localized, or isolated, or contained.

Thus, your generation of Americans is unique in that your horizons, as of this moment, cover this entire planet and may—before long—be obliged to reach into stellar space.

All this represents uniqueness indeed on a canvas so sweeping, so enormous, so total—it engulfs not only all of mankind, but it carries with it the question of whether there is to be a future at all, the question of whether man is so limited in his capacity to manage himself that he will use the power that is now his to destroy forever all life on this planet.

Your generation is unique because until this hour man has never been presented with so vast and so final a decision.

The burden of my message to you today is that you are the recipients of the richest fruits our civilization has within its gift, and that, as the custodians of this intellectual and spiritual wealth, there rests upon you precisely a certain concentration of responsibility.

All Americans are involved in the issues, the educated, the near-educated, and the uneducated, and all—in a democracy—have a voice, but democracy has never denied the principle of leadership under law. The educated men and women of America constitute certainly a selected fragment of mankind toward whom, in the first instance, the mass of Americans will look for guidance, so that when the decision is made by all of us, we shall have taken counsel properly and duly with those among us who are presumably, the better trained and the best informed.

What I plead for is not a priesthood of the educated. What I plead for is the service of the dedicated.

The United States has a right to expect that its educated citizens will serve as an echelon of enlightenment on all local, State, National, and international issues that confront a government such as ours. This is not to be construed to mean that I expect that we shall have government by college graduates

per se. It is of the nature of the intellect to be controversial and probing. Men who think never conform to a single pattern. It is the contest of ideas that gives democracy its strength. But feeding the contest we want knowledge and not prejudice. It is at this juncture that education plays its most magnificent role.

Thomas Jefferson put it this way:

"I know of no safe depositary of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

Having quoted a distinguished Democrat permit me to quote an equally distinguished American whose thinking constitutes—I believe—the foundation of the Republican Party of today. Alexander Hamilton put it this way:

"A representative democracy, where the right of election is well secured and regulated, and the exercise of the legislative, executive, and judiciary authorities is vested in selected persons, chosen really and not nominally by the people, will, in my opinion, be most likely to be happy, regular, and durable."

Here are two men—among the greatest political scientists this Nation has produced—political opposites, yet agreed on the basic tenet that the best democracy is of course an informed democracy. Woodrow Wilson has insisted that "the informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislation function."

One of the dangers of our time and therefore pregnant with threats to the republican form of government and the free world is the weariness of the average voter with the problems of the day. This weariness may better be described as a boredom derived in the first instance from the complexity of the issues collateral to the struggle between the free and the Communist world. The weariness may have deep psychological roots in two world wars and Korea. If so, it is the youth now coming up and the educated youth more directly to which I am now addressing myself, that, it seems to me, must take up the slack.

The workload of knowledge about public affairs with which a self-governing people must burden itself is more considerable and more complicated in detail than it ever has been in the life of nations. It goes to the very heart of representative government and the effectiveness of its operation. In a republican form of government like our own we must have representatives of the people—not delegates. When I speak in the Senate of the United States my voice is only as good as the constituency I represent. Once a Senator or a Representative is obliged to think of himself as a delegate whose thinking bears no relation to the thinking back home, or whose constituency is too wearied or preoccupied to think of public affairs, then we have arrived at the beginning of the end of free government.

If we are to persist successfully in this extraordinary phenomenon of Government where 170 million people are actually governed by themselves—for civilization as we know it hangs upon our survival—then the duty for the electorate to be informed, to vote and act on their information and their convictions, is not only sacred in the most exalted meaning of the term, but it is indispensable. Either we know or we cease to be citizens. This means that the man in the street must have some understanding of a $71.8 billion budget. True, yesterday it was Korea, then Formosa, now the Middle East. But if we know, as we must, that civilization for a certainty, and perhaps all life on this planet rests in the balance, then how can we fail to participate in the Government which must make the decision and which is founded on the idea of the people's participation? It is not only up to us here in Iowa, to know the difference between fixed and flexible price support, but it is up to the agriculturally withdrawn folk in the canyons of Manhattan also to know their respective meanings. We are all citizens of the same Nation, and again unless we recognize our close interrelationship we stand on the doorstep of doom. It is not enough that we know the Monroe Doctrine, like something learned by rote in grammar school: We must know the Truman doctrine and what it did and we must know the Eisenhower doctrine in favor of which I voted. We should look to see what it is doing now to stop dead in its tracks a communism that has its Red tentacles over one-fourth of the world's surface and one-third of the earth's population.

Nor am I one of those who is altogether convinced that the brain of the electorate is too tired to be informed. We are gifted with an immense and an extremely competent system of private communication, instantaneous, free as communications have never been free in the history of civilization, and richly endowed not only with talent, but with resources and overwhelming technical proficiency. This communication comes to us by voice, in print, in pictorial form and by television and recordings: Newspapers, magazines, periodicals, trade journals, radio, television. It is of the very heart stuff that democracy and the republican form of government is made. Thus the educated men and women of today—the graduates of Parsons College—have at their hands, created for them, a vast arsenal of communication to be used by them as a tool for the dissemination of the ideas that make up the genius of America. In our regional arrangements, NATO or SEATO or the Baghdad Pact, call for clarification to the general public, is it too much to expect that—in the interest of representative government—you will help to inform your fellow citizens? Is it too much to expect that, your training having made you intellectually more accessible to understanding of the problems that shake the world, you will now serve as the interpreters and the explainers of the complex?

For we are living in an age when the function of the Congress to inform the people must have reinforcement. If the representative process is to work so that the liaison between the Members of the Senate and the House, and the people, is close and constant and fluidly informative, then our system of government under its present burdens must look to you for participation. I argue that this participation must of necessity be far more intense from your group—the educated American—than from any other, short of the Members of Congress themselves. My faith in the electorate's eagerness to know—as distinguished from their alleged weariness with public affairs—has its concrete testimony in a questionnaire I have composed and mailed from Washington each year for the past 8 years to people in this State.

My purpose in sending out a list of some 36 highly significant questions about contemporaneous events and trends, legislative propositions, and issues, was as much to widen the range of public interests in these issues, as to determine public reaction to them in Iowa. Out of more than 41,000 questionnaires this year, I got no less than 6,256 replies, many of them indicating the wealth of discussion the questionnaires precipitated among farmers, laboring people, businessmen, the professions, the white-collar category, women's groups, and others. More than half wrote me highly informative and illuminating letters along with their questionnaires. Nothing that I can recall in my public life has helped so much to establish the close contact I seek with the people of my State so that my action in Federal affairs may be invested with the thinking, the support, the cooperation of the people whose representative I am in the Senate of the United States.

That is how I see one function of my role in the Senate of the United States.

When I speak of the obligation of the educated American to the representative form of government, I am not speaking in merely ideological equations. I speak rather in terms of contractual commitments. Our universities and colleges are State supported, in many instances tax exempt, privately and publicly endowed. Parsons College, as you know, gets its financial backing from its endowment income, from gifts from the town of Fairfield, the alumni of the college, the Presbyterian Church of the United States and the Presbyterian Synod of Iowa, the trustees of the college, corporations, and other friends of the institution. Campaigns are now afoot to augment the facilities of this institution and I hope these efforts receive the wide and wholehearted support they certainly have earned for themselves. But my point is that all this combined communal effort to provide higher education for our youth must call forth a concomitant response wholly independent of one's concentration upon the advancement of one's own career.

I note from a survey of the council for financial aid to education, that present private giving falls $600 million short of meeting the rockbottom annual needs of the Nation's nearly 1,900 colleges and universities during the next decade. It has been estimated that it will cost the average American college and university $1,000 a year in the near future to educate each student. It is possible that enrollments will reach well beyond 6 million in 1970. I am informed that this will bring the total annual educational bill to $10 billion or more. These figures do not take into account the need for additional buildings. It is not my point here to go into the situation of privately controlled as against publicly controlled institutions of learning. The products or graduates of both owe something to the community whose substance provides them their training and their learning. Certainly in the case of Parsons College—it provides them the strengthening of their spiritual and moral background.

But consider what a force rests behind democratic and representative government in a Republic like ours if we could depend for our first line of intellectual defense, of missionary effort, of communication of the problems and ideals that concern us, upon the more than 3 million students enrolled in 1956–57 in our institutions of higher education in continental United States. Next year—1957–58 this enrollment will be 3,450,000. By 1970 it will, as I said, be well over six and a half million. We are, incidentally, proud that standards today are higher than in the past.

Ten billion dollars for the cost of higher education in the United States is no criterion by which to evaluate the inspirational and moral values instilled in the minds and and hearts of four, five, or six millions of American youth. But it does indicate in at least one concrete form the measure of the burden. There is the element of selection. Youth admitted to certain of our institutions of learning and receiving their benefits constitute a properly and correctly favored group in our society. Inherent in this fact is a reciprocal contract that has profound meaning both for the individual student and for the country. Here is the force upon which the Nation must depend to help overcome the appalling statistic that almost half of our citizens do not vote. In the light of the average the citizens of the State of Iowa emerge well ahead of the rest of the country in their sense of political responsibility. The figures show that while throughout the

Nation the average of citizens of voting age who went to the polls in the 1956 presidential year was only 60.4 percent, in Iowa it was 74.1 percent.

Iowa was sixth among the 48 States.

Our 74.1 percent was bested by Idaho with 77.3 percent; Connecticut with 76.6 percent, Utah with 76.1 percent, Massachusetts with 75.3 percent, and New Hampshire with 75.2 percent. What these figures prove is that Iowa might do better but it proves also that our State is well toward the top and this is something of which we may be reasonably proud. I like to think that the influence of institutions like Parsons College is a contributor to this exemplary record.

Finally, in seeking citizenship participation in representative government let us remember that election or appointment to office is perhaps the highest and the most direct of all forms of service. I do not hold the opinion by any manner of means that a college graduate is ipso facto an ideal legislator or the perfect public servant. But in a definitely preponderant number of cases it is surely an asset. Easily the heavier proportion of Members of Congress have been touched by the advantages of some kind of collegiate training. The technical age that confronts us with petrochemicals, plastics, antibiotics, radioisotopes, nuclear energy, electronics, nucleonics and automation, is reaching out for the trained mind with an almost savage desperation.

The geopolitical age that confronts us demands a new dimension in statesmanship. It is possible to travel now between New York and Paris faster than it was possible 30 years ago to travel between Boston and New York by motor. Overall the issue before mankind—whether the immediate problem is civil rights or Taft-Hartley, or Suez, or foreign aid, or aid to education, or Federal authority over the money structure—is a moral one. Your fellow citizens will, consciously or unconsciously, reevaluate you 5, 10, 20, 30 years from now. In the ultimate the tabulation of your contribution to yourself, your community, your nation, your family, your alma mater, will be a moral tabulation.

If you take away with you from Parsons College the powerful Presbyterian precepts that do so much to mold character, you will be found in the coming years, to the limit of your capacity, performing services in every aspect of life, that will keep your country strong and free and that will put the underpinnings of moral might and righteousness beneath what is today a badly shaken world.

I give you my salute and I wish you Godspeed.

Tight Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most serious problems confronting the American people today is the tightening credit squeeze. This is a manmade problem which stems directly from the so-called tight money policy of the present administration.

High interest rates have increased the cost of Government, hampered the building of schools, delayed business expansion, and aggravated the problems of farmers. The outlook is all the more disturbing in view of predicted additional increases in interest rates.

The damaging impact of tight money has recently been assessed by the Wall Street Journal in an article appearing in the June 24, 1957, issue of this paper. The article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of June 24, 1957]

TIGHTER MONEY—MORE FIRMS POSTPONE EXPANSION PLANS AS INTEREST COSTS SOAR—ONE DELAYS BOND SALE, CALLS MARKET DISORGANIZED—NEW RATE HIKES FORECAST—UNCLE SAM IS SQUEEZED, TOO

Tight money is twisting the plans of a growing number of American businessmen.

Some are postponing or canceling carefully laid expansion plans. Many are keeping a closer eye on inventories so as to limit costly borrowing. Others are reshaping financing plans in the hope of minimizing higher interest costs.

Those are the major facts turned up by a Wall Street Journal survey of businessmen and bankers in 13 major cities around the United States, as both bank borrowing and bond financing costs continue to mount. Other findings:

Bankers generally look for interest rates to go higher still.

High interest rates—and the scarcity of loanable funds—chiefly deter marginal projects; many companies are pushing ahead with expansion plans, convinced that the resulting profits will more than offset the higher cost of money.

WIDE RANGE OF BUSINESSES

Reports of stymied expansion plans come from a wide range of businesses, however.

"The recent rise in interest rates killed a $1 million expansion program we had planned," says Gilbert Schnitzer, president of Industrial Air Products Co., Portland, Oreg., supplier of oxygen for industrial and medical uses. "We had intended to open plants in other Northwest cities, but we simply can't afford to pay current bank rates."

"We're not bidding on some jobs we'd like to bid on, because if we got them we would have to have new facilities," says an official of a southern California aircraft company. "We think we'd have to pay too much for the money to finance the new facilities."

And the senior credit officer of a major Chicago bank reports, "Several of our customers have reduced or postponed expansion plans becaues of high interest rates. They hope to borrow later when rates are more favorable." A number of these companies, he says, were utilities; one was a railroad.

There's no question that interest rates are high by any recent standards, no matter where a businessman may turn. The banks' rate for their biggest borrowers with the best credit ratings—the prime rate—is 4 percent, the highest it has been since 1933. And that's only part of the story. As money has tightened, more and more borrowers have found that, in the banks' eyes, they no longer qualify for the minimum rate. Banks also have become more insistent that borrowers keep close to 20 percent of any money they borrow on deposit with the banks—a step that increases the actual cost of the loans.

A PRIME RATE BOOST?

More bad news for businessmen: Many bankers maintain that an increase in the prime rate itself is overdue. Any such increase sooner or later would affect all borrowers, since all bank rates are scaled upward from the prime rate.

When a businessman turns to the bond market for long-term loans to finance expansion programs the picture, if anything, is even more bleak. The yields on top-grade corporate bonds outstanding, as measured by Moody's Investors Service, have averaged 3.7 percent so far this year. As shown by the chart below, that's higher than the annual average for any year since 1934. And the average is sure to go higher, since the yields on new bond issues for several weeks have been running well above 3.7 percent.

Only last week, Southern Bell Telephone Co. had to pay 4.91 percent when it sold $70 million of 29-year debentures. That's the highest rate paid by any Bell System unit since 1930.

Michigan Consolidated Gas Co. last week paid 6.145 percent to borrow $30 million on 25-year first mortgage bonds. That's in sharp contrast to the 3.39 percent rate the Michigan utility paid on a $30 million 25-year bond issue less than 2 years ago—in November 1955.

Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc., this week will offer $20 million of debentures. To make its securities more attractive in the current bond market, Kerr-McGee has coupled to each $1,000 debenture a warrant entitling the purchaser to buy 5 shares of the company's common stock at $80 a share during the period from April 1, 1958, to June 1, 1964.

The rise of bond market interest costs has been so swift that some companies have simply thrown up their hands. Associates Investment Co. last Tuesday postponed a $20 million debenture issue. The reason, according to E. Douglas Campbell, treasurer: "The disorganized condition of the market."

Higher interest rates, of course, are pinching governments as well as businesses. The Treasury last week had to pay 3.404 percent to raise $1.6 billion on its regular offering of 91-day bills—the highest rate it had paid on such securities in 24 years. State and local governments also are being forced to pay higher and higher interest rates to raise funds for schools, highways, and other facilities. The Dow-Jones municipal bond yield index last week rose to 3.48 percent, the highest level since October 1935.

Tighter money is helping to defeat one of the prime aims of the Eisenhower administration—to stretch out the average maturity of the Federal debt. One purpose of the proposed stretch-out was to cut down the size of the Government's future debt refunding chore. In addition, by offering longer-term securities, the administration hoped to place more of the debt in the hands of nonbank investors. Banks prefer short-term securities; such purchases set the stage for further inflation.

At the end of 1952, just before Ike took office, the average maturity of the Federal debt was 46 months. By mid-1955, the average had reached 55 months. But as money tightend, the Treasury decided it could not sell additional longer term securities at any interest rate that it cared to pay. So it has relied more and more on short-term issues.

The current interest-rate upsurge, with only minor interruptions, dates from early 1955. As business began to pull out of the inventory recession of late 1953 and 1954, demand for credit grew—for rebuilding depleted inventories and building new facilities. The Federal Reserve System, which during the recession period had supplied the banks with all the funds they needed and more, began to limit the funds the banks had available to lend. Interest rates rose steadily.

In late 1956, the Federal Reserve hesitated, somewhat uncertain as to the business future. But as business plowed ahead with record expansion programs (spending on new plant and equipment this year is forecast at $37.4 billion, an increase of 6 percent over the 1956 high), the Reserve System took heart and again grabbed the credit reins tightly.

BORROWED RESERVES

Just how strapped the banks are for funds showed up last week in the weekly statement issued by the Reserve System. The banks are

required to keep on deposit with the Reserve System funds equal to a specified percentage of the deposits on their own books; for the major New York City banks, for example, this percentage is 20 percent. To meet these requirements, the banks this past week had to borrow from the Reserve System a daily average of $1.1 billion.

When money began to tighten early in 1955, many businessmen decided to finance expansion programs temporarily—sometimes for several years—with bank loans. When money became more plentiful and interest rates eased, they expected to raise long-term funds in the bond market.

Despite the fact that more than 2 years has passed with no drop in interest rates, some companies persist on that course.

"There has been considerably more borrowing from banks lately by companies that do not want to commit themselves on long-term loans," reports E. E. Adams, president of San Francisco's Bank of California.

Under its normal financing pattern, Pittsburgh's Equitable Gas Co. this year would have sold debentures to provide the funds needed for a new $8.7 million petrochemical plant in Kentucky. But because of high interest rates, says C. J. Mulholland, vice president and treasurer, the company early last month arranged instead for an 11-month bank loan.

SHUN LONG COMMITMENTS

But a growing number of banks are turning away borrowers who want to arrange new loans for expansion purposes or to renew old ones. Several factors underlie this trend. For one thing, with the prospect of still higher interest rates, banks aren't eager to commit their funds for long periods at current interest rates.

"The money market still is uncertain," says John Hay, president of the Michigan Bank in Detroit. "Rates might go even higher, and we don't want to get locked in."

Another factor is that the Reserve System for some time has been gently pressuring the banks to avoid even temporary loans for capital purposes. The System argues, with considerable conviction, that such loans feed inflation. And with the demand for bank credit still outrunning the supply, more and more banks are finding it desirable to go along with the Reserve System.

Bankers, trying tactfully to shove customers into the bond market, emphasize that businessmen may have to wait a long time for rates to come down. Wentworth P. Johnson, a senior vice president of Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Co., goes farther than most in that direction.

DROP IN 1961?

"Once interest rates begin rising," says Mr. Johnson, "they rise for a period of about 15 years before falling off again." He figures the most recent low point was 1946 (the downturn of 1953–54, he figures, was not sharp enough to interrupt the overall uptrend). He concludes: "It seems likely that rates should begin to drop by 1961, according to all historical data available."

Borrowers pushed out of banks have been largely responsible for the bond market squeeze. The squeeze has done more than send interest rates soaring. Many bond dealers have found it impossible to sell their securities without marking down prices—an action that in some cases has meant losses for the dealers.

To protect themselves to some extent, dealers are insisting that new bond issues be made more attractive—both with higher interest rates and in other ways. An example of the latter: When interest rates are high, some companies sell bonds fully expecting to refinance later when interest rates decline. Dealers now, however, are stipulating in some cases that new bonds cannot be called in and refunded for at least 5 years.

Unlike expansion loans, bankers find there's no strong upward pressure under inventory loans. Businessmen generally have been trying to hold their stocks in check. The high cost of money is only one reason for this. Most products and materials now are plentiful, so businessmen find it unnecessary to stockpile. But interest rates still are influencing a number of inventory planners.

FOWLER PLANS CUT

"We plan to cut inventories 15 percent in the next 6 months to reduce operating costs," says Paul Fowler, president of Fowler Manufacturing Co., Portland, Oreg., manufacturer of water heaters. "We use a great deal of steel, and if we can cut down the size of our orders and order at more frequent intervals, we won't have to obtain so many of these expensive loans."

Aluminum Company of America, while it says it is not directly affected by tight money, believes many of its customers are cutting inventories because of high interest rates.

Many companies concede they're concerned by tight money—but not enough to alter any plans or programs.

"High money rates won't affect our major expansion plans," says Laurence F. Whittemore, president of Brown Co., Berlin, N. H., paper and pulp maker. "Marginal projects wouldn't be started, but we have none in that category now."

Other companies unworried by tight money include those who finance operations largely by retaining earnings. "We generate enough cash within the company to take care of all our needs," says an official of a big Chicago-based manufacturing concern.

RATE INCREASES ASKED

A number of public utilities, while worried by higher interest costs, expect to offset them through higher charges for their services; a number of rate-increase requests already are pending before State regulatory agencies.

Many businessmen are philosophical about tight money. With the present top corporate tax rate of 52 percent, Uncle Sam pays about half of the higher interest costs, figures W. A. Parish, president of Houston Lighting & Power Co. Interest costs are deductible from income when a corporation figures its taxes.

Whatever the impact of high interest rates on business, one thing is sure: Tight money feeds on itself. As businessmen begin to fret about the availability and cost of credit, they rush to line up loans—sometimes months in advance of actual need.

"Even on the same interest rate, credit tends to get tighter on its own * * * tends to accumulate more pressure," says David M. Kennedy, president of Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago. "We're seeing no letup in the demand for borrowings."

Pay Increase for Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and resolution adopted by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Jersey City:

OFFICE OF CITY CLERK,
CITY HALL,
Jersey City, N. J., June 21, 1957.

Hon. VINCENT J. DELLAY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DELLAY: Certified copy of resolution, adopted by the Jersey City Board of Commissioners on June 18, 1957, is delivered; this, by direction of the Board.

Very truly yours,
JAMES A. TUMULTY, Jr.,
City Clerk.

Whereas postal employees are today are handling 20 percent more mail with less employees than in 1951, and the President of the United States has stated his approval of paying increases where increased production warrants them; and

Whereas it is recognized that it is a general policy of private industry to adjust wages upward, annually or biannually, to provide increased purchasing power and a better standard of living to sustain the national economy: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Commissioners of the City of Jersey City memorialize the Congress of the United States, the office of Senator of the United States, and the office of Congressman of the United States, that the Board of Commissioners of the City of Jersey City go on record in favor of a justified increase in pay for postal employees as outlined in Senate bill S. 27 and House bill H. R. 2474 submitted by Senator JOHNSON and Congressman MORRISON, respectively; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and to Congressman THOMAS MURRAY, chairman of the House of Representatives Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and to Congressmen ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI and VINCENT J. DELLAY, also to Senators H. ALEXANDER SMITH and CLIFFORD CASE.

This is to certify that the foregoing is a true copy of resolution adopted by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Jersey City at a meeting held on June 18, 1957.

JAMES A. TUMULTY, Jr.,
City Clerk.

Vote of Board of Directors, Northern Textile Association, on Government Cotton Price Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the vote of the board of directors of the Northern Textile Association, Boston, Mass., which calls for a one-price system for cotton, without any processing tax or similar device.

The vote follows:

VOTE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NORTHERN TEXTILE ASSOCIATION, ON THE MATTER OF GOVERNMENT COTTON PRICE POLICY, JUNE 21, 1957

The Northern Textile Association urges elimination of the present costly and discriminatory Government system of pricing cotton, which penalizes American mills by

forcing them to pay a price for cotton substantially in excess of the world price at which American-grown cotton is sold to foreign mills, and reduces the market for cotton.

American mills are the largest and most stable customers of American cotton growers. Over 98 percent of the cotton we use is grown on United States soil. The mills are a vital link in the chain of processes which brings cotton to its customers. The prosperity of the textile industry is essential to farmers, intermediate processors, and fabricators of cotton. Together we number many millions and constitute a significant part of the Nation's economy.

Government cotton policy has resulted in a declining market for American cotton and cotton textiles, and current trends indicate further losses unless interferences with competitive pricing and marketing of cotton cease.

The present direct cost of Government cotton programs is estimated at over $800 million for the current year. Of this, the export program costs about $350 million. In addition, American mills are forced to contribute a minimum of $310 million more for the cotton they use than if purchased at world prices. This constitutes a tremendous handicap to an industry which must compete, not only with foreign fabrics but with many substitute products. Government policy holds the price of cotton high for domestic mills with one hand, and with the other disposes of American cotton to our foreign competitors at lower prices.

This system militates against mills, employees, farmers, investors, and all who are dependent upon the welfare of the cotton, cotton textile, apparel, and related industries.

The ultimate prosperity of the cotton farmer, textile worker, and investors depends upon a growing market for cotton textiles. A market made artificially noncompetitive, hampered, and restricted by Government manipulation and control ceases to grow.

Existing legislation should be changed to:

1. Permit the farmer to sell his cotton at a competitive price at home and abroad, to enlarge his market, his production, and his income.

2. Permit American mills to buy American cotton at world prices without hidden processing taxes or similar devices, and thereby improve their competitive position.

3. Permit cotton to move freely through the channels of trade without Government manipulation.

4. Reduce the excessive costs of the present program, eliminate the two-price system, and free the industry from carrying the heavy burden of an unsuccessful cotton program.

We recognize the problems of readjustment which beset cotton farmers and urge a program of direct marketing equalization payments designed to alleviate hardship consistent with a long-run solution of the problem.

Drummond, Lippmann, and Childs, and the Trentonian Look at the Supreme Court

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, because of the great interest in the Supreme Court engendered by some of its recent decisions, I include the following articles by three of the country's better known columnists, and an editorial from the Trentonian, a leading newspaper of my New Jersey district:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 21, 1957]

WHAT THE COURT REALLY RULED

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—There is an erroneous impression that the Supreme Court is undermining the authority of Congress to investigate communism and cutting the foundation free under the Smith Act to prosecute Communist leaders.

It is doing no such thing—or so it seems to me.

There is plenty of room for honest differences of opinion over the Court's latest rulings. The argument is already going on so furiously that one newspaper has remarked with relish how it would like to join a crusade to impeach the offending justices.

Obviously impeachment talk is just rhetoric. Franklin D. Roosevelt's roundly defeated Court-packing plan of 1937—to get a bench that would give him the kind of decisions he wanted—was a mild course of action compared to impeachment which would be a Court-unpacking plan. Of course, both are wrong and thoughtful critics of the Supreme Court's opinions do not bring impeachment into the discussion.

What I want to bring out is that public controversy, pro and con, over the latest decisions ought to rest on what the Court actually ruled, not on what some headlines say the Court ruled.

Take the Watkins decision. John T. Watkins, whose conviction for contempt of Congress was set aside by the Court, was required to answer and did answer all committee questions concerning his own pro-Communist activities. He was required to answer and did answer all questions concerning people he knew who were presently engaged in pro-Communist activities. He only declined to answer questions about those he knew had broken with the Communist Party several years ago.

It was at this point that the Supreme Court ruled 6 to 1 that Congress exceeded its investigatory power. The Court made these points:

That the congressional power to investigate stems from the congressional right to legislate and thus investigation must clearly serve the legislative function.

That while the congressional power to investigate is very large, it is not unlimited, it must not have the prodominant result of invading the private rights of individuals.

That the congressional power to investigate does not reach to exposure for the sake of exposure.

This means, it seems to me, a very careful and moderate limitation on congressional committee investigations and a requirement that the congressional committees clearly establish the relevance of their questions at the time of the hearings.

Take the Smith Act decision. Here the Court freed 5 California Communist leaders and ordered a new trial for 9 others—in both instances because of trial errors.

The Court again sustained the constitutionality of the Smith Act which forbids conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

The Court found the California trial judge in error because he failed to charge the jury, as Judge Medina had in New York, that advocacy of violence is illegal only when it is directed to inciting an act of violence, not just teaching the theory of violence. Judge Medina's charge did not prevent the New York jury from finding the Communist leaders guilty.

It does seem to me that Justice Harlan's majority opinion is overly semantic in defining the word "organize" as meaning only "to bring into being." The legislative history of the Smith Act suggests that Congress was referring to keeping the Communist Party in being as well as bringing it into being and this will undoubtedly have to be cleared up.

Congress' primary role is not to investigate; its primary role is to legislate and investigation must be faithfully used to serve that end.

Congress' primary role is not to punish and prosecute, and thus when its investigations reach to that end they must not be allowed, as the Court says, "to abridge protected freedoms." It is the role of the courts, not Congress, to prosecute and punish.

And when the Supreme Court surveys these precious constitutionally protected freedoms, it is not thinking merely of a few Communist leaders, it is thinking of 170 million Americans.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 25, 1957]

BACK TOWARD THE CONSTITUTION

(By Walter Lippmann)

In the Watkins case the Supreme Court, with Chief Justice Warren delivering the opinion of the majority, has tried to set down certain limits on the rights and powers of congressional investigating committees. We must, I think, describe the opinion in this tentative way. For the limitations are stated in general terms, and no one can know how they will in the future apply specifically in concrete cases. In practice, the application will depend on how much each particular committee is willing to accept, how much it is determined to stretch, the limitations, and whether the Court will be disposed to construe the limitations strictly or loosely.

However, we have in the Watkins decision a powerful assertion of a principle which will influence the conduct of committees, the attitude of witnesses, the actions of the Court, and the general posture of public opinion. The principle is that a witness, who believes that his constitutional rights are being abused, may appeal to the courts for protection. The question now before the country is whether this principle is constitutional and is in the public interest.

Those who are opposed to the decision must say that they do not think that a witness should be able to appeal from a congressional committee to the courts. This is, in substance, what Mr. Justice Clark, the lone dissenter, seems to think—that for the courts to intervene is a usurpation of power, and that, as a matter of fact, it is not in the public interest that the judiciary should supervise congressional investigations.

Mr. Justice Clark, who regards the decision as mischievous, comes very near to saying that congressional committees are a law unto themselves, and that there should be no appeal from them to the courts for the protection of the constitutional rights of the individual witnesses. "Perhaps," he says, "the rules of conduct placed upon the committees by the House admit of individual abuse and unfairness. But that is none of our (i. e., the Court's) affairs. So long as the object of the legislative inquiry is legitimate and the questions proposed are pertinent thereto, it is not for the Court to interfere with the committee's system of inquiry."

This is a masterpiece of confusion. For it begs the questions before the Court. In the Watkins case was there individual abuse and unfairness because a particular phase of the inquiry was not legitimate or because the questions put to Watkins were not pertinent? It is not entirely clear what Justice Clark really thinks. But, apparently, it is that the Court must assume that what a committee does is legitimate and that the

questions it puts are pertinent, and that if they produce individual abuse and unfairness, it is none of the Court's affair.

On the broad constitutional issue, Justice Clark holds that it is a trespass upon the fundamental American principle of separation of powers for the courts to concern themselves with such individual abuse and unfairness. But is it truly an American principle that the separation of powers is absolute, so absolute that a committee of Congress cannot be called to account for the lawfulness of what it does? Surely, the American principle is that Congress is not a sovereign body, accountable only to itself, but that it is under the law of the Constitution—of the Constitution as interpreted by the courts and as it may be amended by the people.

The ultimate issued raised by the Watkins case is not constitutional. It is, if we are quite candid, whether in order to combat the Communist movement, which would if it could destroy the American Government and the American social order, it is necessary to encourage or to permit congressional committees to proceed outside the Constitution. Can the Constitution be defended only by extraconstitutional means, or can it be defended within its own terms? It has been on the grounds that there was a desperate emergency that many sober and conservative men have supported or connived at McCarthyism.

The Watkins decision is addressed to this particular kind of extraconstitutional investigation, of which the object is to outlaw by exposure and pitiless publicity all behavior which might assist, might favor, might tolerate the spread of Communist propaganda. These investigations are not addressed primarily to illegal acts, to espionage and subversion. They are addressed to activities which are not, strictly speaking, against the law and could not be prosecuted in a court. These investigations are not carried on for the purpose of informing Congress how to make new laws. Quite the contrary. It is evident that laws prohibiting these activities would be in open conflict with the Constitution.

There being no legal way to suppress such activities as propaganda, infiltration, and fellow traveling, Congress, with the support of public opinion, has created committees which are designed, among other things, to suppress by intimidation what cannot be suppressed by due process of law.

The Supreme Court has waited a long time—some 10 years—before it has intervened in what is unconstitutional process, resorted to on the grounds that fire must be fought with fire, that the end, which is to stop the spread of communism, justifies any means. I do not think the long patience of the Court shows that the Eisenhower Court is more liberal than the Roosevelt-Truman Court, but rather that the times have changed. The emergency—if there was one which could not be met by lawful means—is over, and the presumption is now that investigating committees must work within the limits of the Constitution.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 25, 1957]

WARREN UNALTERED BY POMP OF OFFICE

(By Marquis Childs)

In the long perspective of history, the most distinguished act of President Eisenhower's administration—or, at any rate, of his first term—may well be the appointment of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States. The influence Warren has wielded on the Supreme Court, on the body of law and on the Nation in less than 4 years merits that conjecture.

The sweep of the opinions which went so far toward restoring the balance of civil rights, together with the school desegregation opinion of 3 years ago, would in itself make the tenure of any Chief Justice memorable, however long that tenure.

But since he was sworn in as the 14th Chief Justice on October 5, 1953, Warren also has been able to bring a large measure of harmony to a Court torn by bitter factionalism and unhappy personal discord.

The root of his achievement is in a genius for politics, using the word in its best and truest meaning. This is joined in the Chief Justice with a deep dedication to the fundamental American freedoms embodied in the Bill of Rights.

As the Chief and the eight Associate Justices prepare for the long summer recess, when they have finally decided the Girard case, one thing about Warren is abundantly clear. Three and a half years of Washington and his high office have altered him outwardly little, if at all. He is the same plain, unassuming man who left the governorship of California in the midst of an unprecedented third term when, to his astonishment, Attorney General Brownell flew out to Sacramento to tell him the President wanted him to be Chief Justice.

While he has been generous in attending official occasions, he has stood aside from the fuss and feathers of official Washington. A large, unassuming figure, speaking in a somewhat high-pitched voice, he has a modest, commonsense bearing characteristic of his approach to the problems of the Court as he saw them when he took over.

Shortly Warren and his family will go to California for a rest. But then on July 17 the Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren will go to London for the meeting of the American Bar Association. For Warren, this will be both a pleasure and a duty. Afterward the Warrens will be leisurely tourists in Europe until the end of August.

His conscience is an important part of Warren's makeup. It explains why he went last summer on a good-will tour of India in the season of extreme heat and monsoon rains.

That same conscience has had a great deal to do with the conviction, slowly developed in the stresses and strains of the postwar era, that Warren has brought to one decision after another. Those decisions should have surprised no one, since he spoke out even after he took his place on the Court about the peril to basic freedoms in the obsessive fear of communism in America.

In November of 1955 he said that the "temptation to imitate totalitarian security methods is a subtle temptation that must be resisted day by day, for it will be with us as long as totalitarianism itself." That is the deep conviction behind Warren's opinion in the Watkins case, in which the right of conscience under the free-speech amendment was at issue.

When Warren became Chief, Justices Black and Douglas, appointees out of the New Deal, were usually in dissent. They often castigated the other Justices for their conservatism.

In the years that followed, the Chief Justice has sometimes joined Douglas and Black in dissent. But on the far-reaching civil liberties opinions, the Court was unanimous except for a new dissenter, Justice Clark, a Truman appointee.

When Warren was named to the Court, there were those who deplored the appointment because, they said, he was not a scholar of the law and had no judicial experience. Warren is not a scholar in the sense that Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis D. Brandeis were scholars. But he has brought commonsense and conviction to a troubled Court and a troubled time.

[From the Trenton (N. J.) Trentonian of June 22, 1957]

THE PENDULUM SWINGS BACK

This week's United States Supreme Court decisions, tightening somewhat the conditions under which the Government can secure Smith Act convictions and imposing new curbs on the investigative powers and procedures of legislative committees where their purposes conflict with first-amendment rights, have been hailed in some quarters as far reaching and in others as an indication that the Communists have, in effect, now seized open control of the Court.

The latter assertion is, of course, ridiculous. But far reaching? We wonder.

It seems to us that the Supreme Court simply has pointed the way to a road which has always been there—the first words of the fifth amendment to the Constitution: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury * * *."

The matters concerning which the Court spoke came before it because of the assumption of broad powers by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The decision cautioned Congress that while its investigatory powers were broad, they were not without limit. It also stressed that Congress is not a law enforcement or trial agency, and added that investigations conducted solely for the personal aggrandizement of the investigators or to punish those investigated are indefensible.

The high tribunal has thus pinpointed how legislative investigators have usurped functions which properly should repose in the historic American grand jury and court system. As is all to well known by now, most congressional investigations into Communist activities have wound up with a witness or two held in contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions. The Court has made it clear that within proper bounds, witnesses cannot shield themselves from answering congressional inquiries. But at the same time, the Court struck at questioning undertaken merely for, as the Court put it, "exposure's sake."

We can hope that the Supreme Court has stemmed that rising tide, for it is a tide which has burdened the Nation's taxpayers with nonessential investigatory supercargo. As this newspaper has mentioned editorially on previous occasions, if all duly constituted law-enforcement agencies were to function as they should, there will be no need whatever for the type investigation with which we have become all too familiar.

The Constitution provides the manner in which the law is to be enforced, and the manner in which a criminal shall be made to answer for a capital or other infamous crime." But too often, on both State and National levels of government, the grand-jury system has been superseded by politically inspired legislative creations which recognize no bounds except the realm of political expediency.

That is not the American way. The Supreme Court has now directed our attention to the manner in which we can protect our Nation while at the same time protecting the civil rights and liberties of the inhabitants thereof.

H. R. 7125

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to clarify my position as the representative of and spokesman for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in the Congress of the United States, con-

cerning certain sections of H. R. 7125, which refer to Puerto Rico specifically.

First, I refer to section 5064 (d) of the bill, which makes the provisions of section 5064 applicable to Puerto Rico, with respect to distilled spirits, wines, rectified products and beer of Puerto Rican manufacture brought into the United States and lost or rendered unmarketable or condemned, as a result of a major disaster as determined by the President, under the act of September 30, 1950—42 United States Code, 1855. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is the recipient of the taxes paid on such distilled spirits, wines, rectified products and beer of Puerto Rican manufacture, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico evidently should be willing to reimburse the taxpayers in cases where the distilled spirits, wines, rectified products, and beer, upon which such taxes have been paid, are rendered unmarketable, or have been condemned as a result of a major disaster. The Commonwealth recognizes this obligation completely. As a matter of fact, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has recently adopted legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury of Puerto Rico to make payments equivalent to the taxes paid on distilled spirits, wines, rectified products, and beer of Puerto Rican manufacture, shipped to the United States and lost, rendered unsalable, or condemned by reason of a major disaster, including disasters in 1954. Below I am including the text of that law.

May I suggest, then, that it is unnecessary that such taxpayers be reimbursed by the Federal Treasury, even though the Treasury be reimbursed from moneys collected for Puerto Rico by a delegate of the Federal Treasury stationed in Puerto Rico. For the taxes to be refunded are collected in Puerto Rico before shipment of the taxable merchandise to the mainland, and the collections are supposed to be covered into the Treasury of Puerto Rico. Under section 5064, the delegate of the United States Treasury is being directed to deduct from his collections in order to reimburse the United States Treasury.

Second, I refer to section 5314 of H. R. 7125, which makes applicable to Puerto Rico the provisions of chapter 51 of the Internal Revenue Code. The application to Puerto Rico of this chapter of the code appears to be in conflict with section 9 of the Puerto Rico Federal Relations Act, as continued by section 4 of Public Law 600 of the 81st Congress. Public Law 600, 81st Congress, was enacted in the nature of a compact with the people of Puerto Rico. Section 9 of the Puerto Rico Federal Relations Act provides that internal-revenue laws of the United States shall not apply in Puerto Rico.

It is true that the provisions of section 5314 of H. R. 7125 are intended to facilitate the shipment of denatured alcohol from Puerto Rico to the mainland. The expenses incurred by the Treasury of the United States, in the application of this part of the Internal Revenue Code to Puerto Rico, are to be reimbursed by the Treasury of Puerto Rico. I am most agreeable that Puerto Rico pay these expenses.

But because of the apparent conflict aforementioned, there is a strong possibility that undesirable lawsuits and other legal complications may arise. In order to dissolve such conflicts and, at the same time, attain the objectives which have motivated the extension of this part of the Internal Revenue Code to Puerto Rico, I have introduced H. R. 6043, which is now pending before the Ways and Means Committee and which may soon be reported on by the Treasury Department. I hope that when the time comes for this latter bill to be considered, there will be a meeting of the minds and a formula found for attaining the common objectives of all concerned in this matter without real or apparent legal conflict.

House Bill 274

An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury of Puerto Rico to make payments equivalent to the taxes paid on distilled spirits, wines, rectified products and beer of Puerto Rican manufacture shipped to the United States and lost, rendered unsalable, or seized, by reason of a major disaster, including disasters occurred in the United States in the year 1954.

Be it enacted, etc.—

SECTION 1. (a) When the President of the United States shall determine under Public Law 875 of the 81st Congress, approved September 30, 1950, that a major disaster, as defined in said act, has occurred in any area of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay, without interest, a sum equivalent to the amount of the taxes paid or determined on distilled spirits, wines, rectified products and beer of Puerto Rican manufacture shipped to the United States and lost, rendered unsalable, or seized by a duly authorized officer by reason of a disaster occurred in said area in the United States, if said distilled spirits, wines, rectified products or beer were held for sale on the date of such disaster. The payments authorized by this section shall be made to the person possessing said distilled spirits, wines, rectified products or beer for sale at the time of such disaster.

(b) No claim shall be granted under this section unless (1) the same has been filed within 6 months from the date the President of the United States made the determination that the disaster referred to in subdivision (a) of this section occurred; and (2) the claimant furnishes evidence, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury, to the effect that—

(A) he has not been compensated by insurance or otherwise for the tax paid on the distilled spirits, wines, rectified products, or beer covered by the claim; and

(B) he is entitled to the payment authorized by this section.

Claims made under the provisions of this section shall be processed according to the regulations the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

(c) Whenever the Secretary of the Treasury shall make any payment within the scope of the powers vested on him by this section with regard to the tax on distilled spirits, wines, rectified products, or beer seized by a duly authorized officer, or rendered unsalable, said distilled spirits, wines, rectified products or beer shall be destroyed under the supervision required by the Secretary, unless said distilled spirits, wines, rectified products or beer have been already destroyed under supervision satisfactory to the Secretary.

SEC. 2. The provisions of this act shall also apply to those distilled spirits, wines, rectified products and beer of Puerto Rican manufacture shipped to the United States and lost, destroyed as unsalable, or seized, as a result of the hurricanes that swept part of the United States territory in the year 1954, and to which refers Public Law 363 of the 84th Congress, approved August 11, 1955, except that (1) claims made under the provisions of this section with regard to taxes paid or determined on distilled spirits, wines, rectified products or beer shall be filed with the Secretary of the Treasury within 90 days from the date of the taking effect of this act; and (2) the payments shall be made to (a) the person who held for sale the distilled spirits, wines, rectified products or beer at the time of the disaster; or (b) to any distiller, rectifier, manufacturer or dealer who has restored to the person holding for sale said products at the time of the disaster the complete equivalent of the distilled spirits, wines, rectified products, or beer so lost, rendered unsalable, or seized, without having received any compensation, payment or credit whatsoever with regard to the tax levied on said distilled spirits, wines, rectified products or beer.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to prescribe the regulations necessary for the enforcement of this act.

SEC. 4. For the purposes of this act, the terms "Secretary" and "Secretary of the Treasury" shall mean the Secretary of the Treasury of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

SEC. 5. This act shall take effect on the date of its approval.

National Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to inform the Members of this Congress that my proposal for a national lottery is gaining more and more support every day.

Newspaper editorials and columnists are urging with greater frequency than heretofore, that serious consideration be given to a national lottery which now appears to be the most logical new source of Government revenue.

I respectfully invite my colleagues to read these two articles which I take pleasure in inserting in the RECORD.

The first article by E. F. Hutton entitled "Think it Through," appeared in the June 22 issue of the New York Herald Tribune, and the second one by Donald I. Rogers entitled "Lottery Bill Deserves Consideration," appeared in the June 23 issue of the same widely circulated and highly respected newspaper:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 22, 1957]

THINK IT THROUGH

(By E. F. Hutton)

Why not a lotery?

On May 14, 1956, I wrote an article suggesting a lottery to liquidate our national debt. It would benefit everybody as well as the winners. Stop and think of the billions of dollars gambled annually at roulette, faro, the numbers racket, slot machines, and scores of other games.

A Government lottery would divert hundreds of dollars from these rackets into a useful channel.

I realize objections will come and my head may roll in the basket. But be that as it may, there is a big difference between a Government lottery, conducted with complete honesty, and private lotteries and gambling generally.

A lottery was used to rebuild Faneuil Hall, the "birthplace of American liberty," after he old building had been destroyed by fire. A Government lottery was used to raise money to build the first Capitol in Washington, with the blessings of General Washington.

Now, will President Eisenhower and his Secretary of the Treasury give this idea their blessing? Or at least, study it?

WINNINGS TAX FREE

If our Government would run a Federal lottery with the proceeds to be used only for tax-free prizes and the reduction of our national debt, money would come in from all over the world becaues the winnings would be tax-free. Evidences of participation could be bought at all banks.

Readers of this suggestion who favor a tax-exempt Federal lottery to help our Government and themselves should write to their Congressmen and Senators and tell them so and ask them to use a lottery as a way to make payments on the national debt. This, in turn, would reduce huge income taxes, check inflation, and give our Government some working capital.

All men and women who work for their living, including union members, are shareowners in our Government. It's my thought that we have a moral obligation to Uncle Sam who is in a financial nutcracker. By helping Uncle Sam we also are helping ourselves to pay down on a debt of $280 billion, which is everybody's debt.

George Washington stated: "The mass of citizens of the United States mean well, and I firmly believe will always act well when they can obtain a right understanding of matters." People approved Government lotteries in Washington's time.

QUOTES FROM LINCOLN

In our day and age I find more "quotes of wisdom" from "Honest Abe" Lincoln than from others. He said: "I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with Presidents, and not with officeholders, but with you rests the question—shall the Union and the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations."

Yes, it could be, but not if a predatory power to tax our people into insolvency runs its course. Reasonable taxes to support Government are acceptable, but "no government is sound which challenges in size the economy that is expected to sustain it."

Well, why not a Federal lottery? Try it for 1 year, one winning each month. All money the Government receives after payment of the tax-free awards will be applied to the Federal debt only. The incentive no-tax on awards will bring in untold millions each month.

It would be the only tax-free money of importance which anyone can hope to receive.

Well, Mr. President, may we have your blessing?

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 23, 1957]

WALL STREET, U. S. A.

(By Donald I. Rogers)

LOTTERY BILL DESERVES CONSIDERATION

With the Senate Finance Committee in session studying the monetary system of the Nation, it might be as good a time as any to give consideration to new ways of raising Government income without increasing taxes. The most logical new source of Government revenue is with a national lottery.

It is safe to assume that the Government will need more money with each succeeding fiscal year. It always has. Soon it will be faced with the prospect of doing one of two things—either increase taxes to provide more revenue, or increase the Federal debt and add to the peril of inflation.

There are some who will say a lottery is "un-American," but as Mr. E. F. Hutton pointed out in his column in this newspaper yesterday, a lottery was used to build the first Capitol in Washington—with the help and blessings of President Washington. A lottery was used to rebuild Faneuil Hall in Boston—where American liberty was born—after the original building was destroyed by fire.

Recently the British Government adopted a "bond lottery," the first of its kind in Britain in 130 years. Participants can buy a certain new type of government bond and after holding it for 6 months are eligible for prizes in the lottery. The bond pays no interest. But if you don't win, you still have the bond, redeemable at face value.

Picked by "Ernie"

About 3 million Britons participated in that first lottery and $2,800,000 was paid out to 23,000 winners who were selected by one of those modern electronic devices which the British call "Ernie"—(stands for electronic random number indicator equipment).

Earlier this month when the English Derby was run at Epsom Downs, 23 holders of Irish Sweeps tickets in metropolitan New York won more than $1,876,000—and the money invested by thousands of other ticket holders went abroad.

Before the House Ways and Means Committee is a bill introduced by Representative PAUL A. FINO, Republican, New York, which provides for creation of a national lottery—in this instance the proceeds to be used specifically for Federal hospitals, care of the blind, recipients of old age assistance and disabled veterans.

Though limited in its intent, it provides the machinery, nevertheless, for a lottery of nationwide scope, prohibited only in those States, counties, or municipalities where lotteries are outlawed.

It has been estimated that a national lottery bill, patterned along the lines of the Fino bill would provide the Government with $10 billion annual revenue, painlessly extracted, which could be applied either to reduction of the Federal debt or to cut taxes.

The Fino bill would create a "Federal Lottery Act," and a Federal Lottery Commission. The Commission would be composed of five members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Each would receive a salary at the rate of $15,000 a year and would hold office for a term of 5 years. One would be appointed chairman.

Sold by Post Office

It provides that from time to time the Commission will conduct a lottery by selling tickets of participation and awarding prizes to winning participants who shall be determined by drawings made by prominent persons designated by the Commission.

Tickets, engraved and printed by the Secretary of the Treasury, would be sold and distributed through the Post Office Department without cost to the lottery fund.

The bill also provides penalties, including fines and jail terms, for trafficking in tickets where it is forbidden by law and for counterfeiting tickets.

Increasingly it becomes apparent that this Fino bill, or one similar to it, merits serious congressional consideration.

Red Boss Makes Sucker of United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, when will we learn that Communist leaders of Russia are notorious distorters of the truth, and why are we so naive as to furnish them with a vehicle to propagandize, such as provided Dictator Khrushchev in the TV interview by CBS?

I call your attention to the following editorial entitled "Red Boss Makes Sucker of United States," which appeared in the Daily Pantagraph, of Bloomington, Ill., on June 21:

RED BOSS MAKES SUCKER OF UNITED STATES

Russia has been able to make full propaganda use of Dictator Khrushchev's TV interview released in this country by CBS.

The Soviets have been distributing selected parts of the interview to all parts of the world through press and radio. They have been supplementing what Khrushchev said with comment from America.

Tass quoted the New York Herald Tribune as saying that the interview itself was an encouraging indication of relaxed tensions between the United States and Russia.

Peter Edson reports that Tass quoted George Kennan, former United States Ambassador to Russia who was so hated by the Kremlin that he was ousted, as saying, "Khrushchev set forth many suppositions which were very correct."

Edson points out that Kennan's full review on the broadcast was highly critical of the Russians. But the one sentence quoted gave the impression that the author of the original policy of containment had swung over and was now pro-Khrushchev.

The Christian Science Monitor was quoted by Tass as having reported that Moscow's evident readiness to approach disarmament gradually and not to propose an all-embracing agreement was welcomed in Washington.

This stuff has been sent all over the world to give the impression that the United States is ready to follow Khrushchev.

As one radio Moscow commentator put it, "The clear-cut and frank expression of his (Khrushchev's) views cannot fail to impress large sections of American public opinion. * * * There has been a thaw in the cold war climate and American public opinion is no longer as willing as it used to be to swallow any fantastic canard or attack on the Soviet Union."

Khrushchev didn't scare or convert any Americans. That wasn't his intent. But he used his audience via American TV as a springboard to reach other people. He sought to convince them that all is well between the United States and the Russians—that he is a jolly old fellow who wants to spread peace and good will throughout the world.

Remember Hungary? Remember the satellite countries? Remember the broken international agreements? Remember the scores of U. N. vetoes which gave impetus to tension and chaos? Remember the Communist goal, which is to dominate the world? Remember the declaration of war to the death on our private-enterprise economy and our individual freedom?

CBS executed an enterprising scoop in staging the interview. But the United States has been taken for a propaganda ride as a result. We are the losers.

This is another example of the lack of morals or fairness—the utter disregard for truth—which characterizes the actions and the statements of those who run the Kremlin.

Spiritual Power Needed in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a recent article from the Clinton Daily Item outlining a speech I made at the closing exercises of a 3-day celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Clinton Polish American veterans post.

The members of this post are to be congratulated for the outstanding success of their celebration, which included the dedication of a beautiful monument and plaque to the memory of their fallen comrade, Joseph J. Matiszewski, a huge, colorful parade that attracted an attendance of more than 10,000 people, and a well-attended impressive banquet and other events:

PAV BANQUET: PHILBIN SAYS SPIRITUAL POWER NEEDED IN UNITED STATES

United States Representative PHILIP J. PHILBIN urged Americans to build their spiritual strength along with their growing military and economic power, Sunday afternoon.

Speaking before 300 persons at the banquet in Polish Hall, which climaxed the 3-day celebration of the 10th anniversary of Clinton's Polish American veterans post, he praised the organization for their unexcelled civic spirit.

The speaker paid tribute to Joseph J. Matiszewski, Clinton's first World War II casualty and for whom the post is named. The square at the intersection of Chestnut, Green, and Nashua Streets was dedicated to his memory Saturday.

Representative PHILBIN said:

PHILBIN'S SPEECH

"The people of Clinton who highly value and appreciate the valor and unselfishness of your loyal war service, as well as your many contributions in peacetime, heartily approve and congratulate you upon your great patriotic service in dedicating a portion of our beloved town to the lasting memory of your gallant comrade and friend who in the very prime of his youth answered the call of his country, and laid down his precious young life in defense of our great free Nation.

"The stirring, patriotic example of this young man's heroic sacrifice exemplifies the real spirit and the truth strength of America, because it demonstrates, abundantly and eloquently beyond the power of words, the fierce determination of the American people to preserve our blessed heritage. So long as that spirit animates and gives vitality to the national purpose without regard to race, color, class, or national origin we need have no fears concerning our future security. This young man's noble sacrifice proves that there is a spirit here that rises far above material values, far above life itself, and it is that spirit that will keeep our Nation strong, vital, and unconquerable in a dangerous world.

"It is that spirit which generates independence of the mind, strength of character, and fellowship with our loyal countrymen and with humanity that will inspire us to face courageously and dauntlessly the great problems of protecting our freedom in a world torn with strife and insurrection and revolutionary movements."

PEACEFUL WORLD

"It is that spirit which will fortify us all in the imperative task of combating the forces of evil and disruption, and building a greater more prosperous Nation and a peaceful world.

"And it is that spirit which in the end—pray God it may be soon—that will spur us in these critical days to continue our fight for what is right, and what is just, among men and nations, and speed the day of liberation from cruel bondage of the noble Polish Nation and other peoples suffering under the yoke of Communist tyranny. We must assist them in every practicable way.

"Let us not falter in our chosen course. Let us not fear what lives ahead because in every way—militarily, economically, industrially, and financially—the Nation is getting stronger and more powerful day by day. If we will but endeavor to build our spiritual strength, our faith, and our loyalty to basic values alongside of our spiritual strength, our faith, and our loyalty to basic values alongside of our material progress, we can, in fact, in the atomic age, enter upon the greatest period of human history. The rest is up to us. We cannot—we must not—fail in this great endeavor so meaningful and crucial, not only for ourselves but for all mankind."

Edward L. Lepkowski of Gardner, State commander of the Polish Veterans, was the other guest speaker.

Stanley E. Nosek was toastmaster.

HEAD TABLE

Head table guests included State Representative Stanislaus G. Wondolowski, of Worcester; Selectmen Joseph M. Duffy and Raymond P. Naughton; the Reverend Joseph L. Niedzwiecki, of St. Mary's Church; Police Chief Michael E. Kelly, Deputy State Auditor T. Frank McDonald, Post Commander Stanley Starr, Frank Drinzyk of the post's anniversary celebration committee, Charles J. Wilson, a paraplegic veteran and member of the post.

Lepowski congratulated the post on being one of the most outstanding in the State.

The Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, the current differences in the new philosophies of the present Supreme Court is well brought out in the editorials which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on June 22 and 23, 1957. They are as follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune of June 22, 1957]

JUSTICES WHO CHANGED THEIR MINDS—I

Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter concurred in the majority opinion of the United States Supreme Court which reversed conviction of John T. Watkins for contempt of Congress. Watkins, a union organizer, refused to answer certain questions put to him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The opinion, written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, placed sharp restrictions on the procedures of the committee and may fatally impair its usefulness. The decision contended that investigations authorized by Congress can only be justified and pursued "by a specific legislative need," and that questions to witnesses must be limited according to "statutory pertinency."

It therefore decreed that Watkins' examination had not been proper, in that he had not been advised as to the pertinency of the questions addressed to him to the subject under inquiry. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in a concurring opinion, added that such questions "must be defined with sufficient unambiguous clarity to safeguard a witness from the hazards of vagueness in the enforcement of the criminal process."

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Clark recalls that on May 21, 1924, Frankfurter, then a professor at Harvard Law School, disclosed a somewhat different outlook. He contributed an article entitled "Hands Off the Investigation" to the New Republic, a liberal weekly. A Senate inquiry, conducted principally by two Democrats, Senators Walsh and Wheeler, was then being made into the Teapot Dome oil lease scandal which embarrassed a Republican administration. Frankfurter was and is a Democrat.

Frankfurter then declared, "The power of investigation should be left untrammeled, and the methods and forms of each investigation should be left to Congress and its committees, as each situation arises." He inveighed against introducing technical limitations * * * where they are wholly out of place—namely: in the exercise of the informing function of Congress."

Congressional investigation, said Professor Frankfurter, "ought not to be fettered by advance rigidities, because in the light of experience there can be no reasonable doubt that such curtailment would make effective investigation almost impossible."

But as a member of the Supreme Court, Justice Frankfurter now assents to advance rigidities which may reduce congressional investigations to sterility, especially those pertaining to Communist activity. Furthermore, he has no disagreement with Chief Justice Warren's assertion that congressional committees have no warrant to expose for the sake of exposure, inasmuch as this process is productive of public stigma, scorn, and obloquy.

In 1924 Professor Frankfurter entertained a different view. He complained that, in the Walsh-Wheeler investigation, "the condemnation of the most powerful is reserved for the exposers and not for the exposed"—an attitude which the court itself now adopts. He held, again, that the power of congressional investigation must be "an effective instrument for ventilating issues for the information of Congress and the public," quoting approvingly a Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, who had said:

"The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function."

Professor Frankfurter held that "It is highly important that even innocent transactions in the general field of fraud and suspicion be explained in order to separate the sheep from the goats. The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt, or names dragged through the mud as it is called. The real issue is whether the danger af abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations upon inquiry."

Justice Frankfurter is no longer interested in separating the sheep from the goats and has relegated his onetime views to the dustbin. Whether he is a political judge or a mere hyprocrite may be left to conjecture.

[From the Chicago Tribune of June 23, 1957]

JUSTICES WHO CHANGED THEIR MINDS—II

Associate Justice Hugo L. Black, former Senator from Alabama and erstwhile gold passport life member of Robert E. Lee Klan No. 1, was another member of the Supreme Court to concur in the majority decision written by Chief Justice Earl Warren in the Watkins case. In this opinion, the Court reversed the conviction of John T. Watkins, an Illinois CIO organizer, for contempt of Congress.

In his opinion, Chief Justice Warren contended that a congressional investigation must be directed toward a specific legislative purpose, and that any question addressed to a witness before a congressional committee must be justified as pertinent to contemplated legislation.

The committee chairman, at the Chicago hearing before which Watkins testified, offered an extended explanation to witnesses of the purpose of the inquiry, and coupled these purposes to specific pending legislation. Nevertheless, Warren and Black, with others of the Court majority, were not satisfied.

In 1936 Justice Black was still a Senator. He had made his reputation, such as it was, as the chairman of Senate investigating committees. In 1933 he had conducted an inquiry into merchant marine and airmail subsidies. In 1935, as chairman of the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee, he had rifled the files of telegraph agencies and private corporations to assemble more than 5 million wires and letters in search of evidence tending to establish lobbying activities.

In the February 1936 issue of Harper's magazine, as Justice Clark has reminded us in his minority opinion, Senator Black vigorously defended the blanket powers he had exercised against attempts to discredit [the investigation] by calling it a fishing expedition.

"It," he said of an investigation of this sort, "is not a trial based upon an indictment where the facts are already known and merely need presentation to a jury. It is a study by the Government of circumstances which seem to call for study in the public interest."

Senator Black explained "the enormous pains that investigators must go to to get at the facts. It would be quite simple," he said, "if the interests involved would come forward with a frank willingness to furnish the truth. But very often they dare not furnish the truth. It is too damning. Therefore every conceivable obstacle is put in the way of the investigators."

If Senator Black was aware of the possibility of such obstructionist tactics by private business interests and, therefore, was able to justify embarking on a fishing expedition, it is quite remarkable that he does not expect similar difficulties when Congress sets out to investigate the far more deceptive and obstructionist methods of the underground Communist conspiracy against American liberty.

In 1936 he said it was predictable that methods such as were employed by his investigating committee would provoke the cry that they were an outrageous invasion of the rights of private citizens. But now, with Chief Justice Warren, he holds in a case concerning an admitted accomplice of Communists that the House Un-American Activities Committee represents a new kind of congressional inquiry unknown in prior periods of American history. And, with Warren and others, he represents that this new phase of legislative inquiry involved a broadscale intrusion into the lives and affairs of private citizens which are protected by the first and fifth amendments.

Thus, as a justice, Black denies the very precepts which he espoused as a New Deal crusader.

It was all right with Black to hound a business man or a private corporation, but now he finds it all wrong to cause a crease of worry on the forehead of an agent or accomplice of Moscow.

Crusade for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I include here a speech by M. F. J. Goedhart, of the Netherlands, at the Council of Europe Consultative Assembly on May 2, 1957. It is, I think, an effective presentation of the real role of Radio Free Europe in the Hungarian crisis of last fall:

COUNCIL OF EUROPE REPORT ON RADIO FREE EUROPE

(By M. Goedhart, of the Netherlands)

Mr. President, the Committee on non-Represented Nations has lately undertaken an investigation into the accusations made against Radio Free Europe, which have become very sharp since the time of the Hungarian revolution of October and November last year. The committee charged me with the honorable task of reporting to the Assembly on this investigation. I have risen to speak in the general debate in order to give the experience of our committee.

Radio Free Europe has been accused of having inspired the Hungarian revolution and having promised the Hungarian people military aid from the West. As the greater part of Radio Free Europe broadcasts are transmitted from Western Germany, the German Federal Republic has undertaken an investigation into the allegations. All tape recordings of Hungarian transmissions during October and November have been checked word for word. This check has proved that the allegations made are entirely unfounded. Dr. Adenauer, the German Federal Chancellor, made this statement at a press conference at Bonn on January 25, 1957.

A representative of the Government of the German Federal Republic went into the matter more closely at a session of your committee which was held in Munich on March 11, 12, and 13. He informed your committee of the way in which the investigation was conducted and of the correspondence exchanged about this between the German Government and Radio Free Europe. This further explanation from the German Government has also cleared Radio Free Europe from all blame. The allegations are completely unfounded.

It goes without saying that the information which our committee received from the German Federal Government was for us sufficient proof and relieved us from the necessity of checking the tape recordings. We did, however, pay several visits to Radio Free Europe, where we had the opportunity of exchanging views with the Radio Free Europe experts. I should like to take this occasion to thank the Radio Free Europe staff for their great kindness and courtesy to us in allowing us to see all we wanted. We saw at work Radio Free Europe's monitoring service, which makes verbatim reports of and analyzes the broadcasts from the Communist world. We also made acquaintance with Radio Free Europe's extensive work in the field of documentation. The most important Communist newspapers and magazines which appear in Eastern Europe are read and analyzed by Radio Free Europe. This work is being performed by experts, mainly highly skilled people of eastern European origin.

The Radio Free Europe programs are transmitted in six languages—Polish, Czech and Slovak, Hungarian, Rumanian, and Bulgarian. Radio Free Europe's 29 transmitters are practically continuously on the air. A staff of 1,400 persons are concerned in the work of Radio Free Europe. I have personally studied a program for 24 hours. A very important part of this program consists of news services in which telegrams from all the large news agencies are transmitted. It is, therefore, not propaganda but objective news. The news services also give reviews of the foremost American and European newspapers. Many broadcasts are devoted to refuting the lying campaigns in the Communist press. In this way Radio Free Europe daily provides the listeners behind the Iron Curtain with factual knowledge and arguments. Much attention is paid to cultural and artistic life in Europe and America. There are book reviews to acquaint the people behind the Iron Curtain with the most important publications of the free world. All of them are eagerly listened to, and there is much evidence for this.

Radio Free Europe also broadcasts warnings directed against certain persons in the Communist police and against commanders of Communist prisons and concentration camps who are known to be guilty of maltreatment and other crimes against prisoners.

Radio Free Europe has for years devoted much attention to the work of the Council of Europe, and rightly so, for behind the Iron Curtain there is a great and growing interest in the Council of Europe. About 100 million people, Europeans as we are, are living in the European Soviet colonies, and they eagerly look forward to every scrap of news from which it appears Europe is moving toward unification and is working hard to achieve it.

The population of the Soviet colonies are still expecting help from the free world and every report which tells them that the West is not forgetting the European victims of the Kremlin and not letting itself be deceived by the maneuvers of the Kremlin is hot news for them. All this information is furnished by Radio Free Europe.

Your committee has learned about this work with satisfaction and respect, and we are most anxious to give public and unanimous testimony of our feelings. These broadcasts of Radio Free Europe are a strong and important weapon in the struggle against Communist dictatorship.

To speak frankly, I must say that it is a rather astonishing situation that this useful and effective organization which is waging a daily battle for a free and united Europe is in fact an American institution. You will understand that I am not blaming the Americans who established Radio Free Europe. On the contrary, we are extremely grateful for this American initiative. A number of American citizens set up a private organization and they are raising millions of dollars to finance Radio Free Europe, but I feel a little embarrassed that we Europeans did not take this initiative ourselves and that in this respect we are neglecting our political tasks. The German Federal Republic granted Radio Free Europe a license to operate on German territory. Germany thereby rendered an important service to the people behind the Iron Curtain. But for the rest, Europe stands aside and does not concern itself with Radio Free Europe. This is an unsatisfactory situation.

Some people have suggested that Radio Free Europe should be put under German management and that the German Bundestag should gain control of Radio Free Eu-

rope. Your committee does not agree with these suggestions. The nature of the work of an organization like Radio Free Europe entails that it would be highly undesirable for a government or parliament to be responsible for it. Governments and parliaments can bear no responsibilities for newspapers; no more can they be directly responsible for radio broadcasts. It would put the United States of America in a very awkward position if they were held responsible for every word broadcast by Radio Free Europe. The same holds good for the German Government and for the Council of Europe. It is a good thing, I think, that Radio Free Europe is a private organization. I think it should remain so. What we consider wrong is that Radio Free Europe is a completely American private organization. I think it would be better if we Europeans could also take an interest in it and if the financial and moral responsibility for Radio Free Europe could be shared by some independent European personalities and supported by European public opinion.

I do not think it is this Assembly's business to make proposals in this field. Such proposals could come only from the Free Europe Committee in New York. Your committee has therefore confined itself to this suggestion.

Justice, Rights at Stake in Pair of Soldier Trials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include an editorial entitled "Justice, Rights at Stake in Pair of Soldier Trials," which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn., on June 22, 1957.

I commend this editorial to the House membership as I know you are also interested in obtaining fair trials for our men in uniform as well as for all citizens of our great country:

JUSTICE, RIGHTS AT STAKE IN PAIR OF SOLDIER TRIALS

Judging from the latest developments in a pair of the most sensational servicemen's trials of this decade, a man in the uniform of his country is exempt from justice, in the usual American sense of the word.

The reference is to the forthcoming trials of a GI named William S. Girard, now stationed in Japan, and a high-ranking and brilliant guided missiles expert, Col. John C. Nickerson, Jr., currently stationed at Huntsville, Ala.

The two cases are different, of course. Specialist Girard, accused of manslaughter in the death of a Japanese woman, is fighting to be tried by a United States military court rather than in a Japanese tribunal. Colonel Nickerson's trial is already slated in a military court.

But, perforce, one must look at these new developments and conclude that, if the rules of evidence now to be followed in the Nickerson case are the same the military court in Japan would follow, Specialist Girard had best accept his chances with the Japanese.

For Colonel Nickerson has just been informed that five high-ranking officials his attorneys had requested as defense witnesses will not be allowed to testify. Irrelevant says the same United States Government which seeks to prosecute and judge him.

And earlier, the same answer—irrelevant—was given when his attorneys sought certain documents which they believed pertinent to the case.

What prosecuting attorney, bent upon convictions, would not like this set of circumstances? The prosecutors who have charged him have, in effect, selected the witnesses he is allowed in his own defense.

And now, in the Girard case, comes the United States Justice Department—charged with the responsibility of protecting justice—to demand that this soldier be turned over to the Japanese for trial on the grounds that Specialist Girard has no right to fight for himself. The United States Government will make his decisions for him.

"Under the international agreements with Japan, the right to exercise primary jurisdiction in particular cases is the right of the United States, not of the individual soldier," says the Justice Department.

And borrowing its arguments from the Department of State, it demands that the Supreme Court turn its attention immediately to this matter because "further delay will seriously aggravate an already unfortunate strain" on American-Japanese relations.

Where the State Department stands on this issue is already well known, for it was this Department which recently bartered Specialist Girard's constitutional rights for diplomatic expediency by waiving the United States Government's primary jurisdiction and turning him over to Japan for trial, although admitting he was on official duty when the alleged offense occurred.

In Colonel Nickerson's case, of course, we are unable to judge whether the documents and witnesses sought in his defense are relevant or not. For a stamp of "secret" has been placed upon everything surrounding it.

It would appear, however, that the relevancy of these witnesses and documents is a matter which addresses itself to the court about to try him and not to the Third Army commander. It was the commanding general who ruled out the witnesses and he is answerable to the Department of Defense, which brought the charges.

The irony in this whole affair is that the "trials" are sharing the headlines with the Eisenhower administration's version of civil rights, the most controversial portion of which involves trying people without a jury of their peers.

This Nation will be watching these trials with more than passing interest as they unfold. And asking itself two questions:

"What is justice?"

"What are individual rights?"

What, Tear Down Borglum's Studio?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an editorial from the Rapid City, S. Dak., Daily Journal, pointing out the urgency of appropriating funds to restore the sculptor's studio at Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

The artistic genius of Gutzon Borglum deserves this recognition, and it would be a tremendous loss to posterity if his studio were not restored. Editor Warren Morrell, of the Rapid City Journal, has, I believe, very effectively described the importance of this matter in the following editorial which I urge my colleagues to read with care:

WHAT, TEAR DOWN BORGLUM'S STUDIO?

In mission 66—the impressive plans for expansion and improvement of facilities in our national parks to be completed by 1966—there was a $25,000 item for restoration of the sculptor's studio at Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

In the latest mission 66 schedule, the appropriation for the sculptor's studio has been deleted. The National Park Service, it is reported, is considering demolishing the studio which the late Gutzon Borglum used during the carving of the heroic figures of the four American Presidents on Mount Rushmore.

This would be a terrible loss to South Dakota and America.

It would be a colossal mistake to tear down the studio, an act for which the National Park Service and those responsible would never be forgiven.

For the past several years Borglum's studio has been used as a cafeteria and souvenir shop. As such, it was unsatisfactory but the concessionaires at Rushmore Memorial have done a remarkably efficient job of accommodating the public in a building that never was intended to be the busiest restaurant in South Dakota.

As magnificent new concession building has been constructed. It is modern, large, and will win the acclamation of the crowds who enter it this summer during their pilgrimage to the shrine of democracy. It is expected the new building will be in public use by July 1.

Completion of the new building and other vast improvements at Rushmore has spotlighted attention on the old studio. Shall it stand to deteriorate or should it be demolished and moved away before it becomes an eyesore?

The Journal believes Gutzon Borglum's studio should be restored as much as possible to the same state it was when used by the great sculptor.

The fireplaces in the building, designed by Borglum, are a wonder to behold. Some of the rocks in Borglum's intricately designed fireplaces are no wider than a lead pencil. If it were possible to duplicate these fireplaces today, the cost would be prohibitive.

In the restored studios could be placed originals or duplicates of Borglum's work.

Even without the spectacular work he did at Mount Rushmore, Borglum's name will live among the great sculptors of all time. Among his notable works are an equestrian statute of General Sheridan in Washington, D. C.; the large bust of Abraham Lincoln in the Nation's Capitol, said to be the best Lincoln in the statuary world; statues of Beecher, Altgeld, Huntington, William Jennings Bryan, and figures of the Apostles which are in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City.

Visiting Borglum's studio would be a tremendous inspiration for young artists.

The studio would, of course, tell of Borglum, the genius, as well as Borglum, the patriot, whose Americanism and fervent love for his country was sometimes called "almost fanatical."

Reproductions of some of his pungent comments on the Nation would be in keeping with the patriotic interpretative theme carried on at Rushmore.

Borglum was scathing in his ridicule of American artists who went to Europe to study. He maintained that the greatest inspiration was in America and the finest any artist could portray were the founders of America.

He named his only son Lincoln.

If the place where Michelangelo worked could be found in Rome, what a priceless discovery that would be.

Henry Ford moved Stephen Foster's birthplace to Greenfield Village at Fort Dearborn, Mich., where he built a "Swanee River" to go with it. If Ford were alive today, he would be after Borglum's studio to be included with the outstanding assemblage of Americana at Greenfield Village.

Born in Idaho, Borglum always said South Dakota was his "adopted State."

South Dakota has preserved nothing historical that can compare with the historical possibilities of the restoration of Borglum's studio at Rushmore Memorial. There is a marker on a hill above Fort Pierre where Pierre de La Verendrye, discoverer of the Dakotas, buried a lead plate in 1742. The home of South Dakota's first governor, Arthur C. Mellette, has been restored in Watertown, an accomplishment much appreciated by South Dakotans.

Restoration of Borglum's studio would add much to the appeal of Rushmore Memorial. It is an opportunity which must be utilized. The cost of restoration, fortunately, is small but the studio is priceless.

This is the time for public opinion to unite to prevent the Park Service from destroying this American treasure.

Statement on Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have requested unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include therein a statement from the American Immigration Conference commending President Eisenhower on his message to Congress calling for immediate action on certain recommendations affecting America's immigration policy.

FURTHER STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION POLICY

We, the undersigned organizations, issued the following joint statement on April 3 commending President Eisenhower for his message to Congress calling for prompt action on certain recommendations for improvement of American immigration policy and continuing a positive program for the admission of refugees:

"President Eisenhower is to be commended on his message to Congress calling for prompt action for revision and improvement of American immigration policy. Adoption of the President's recommendations would be in accord with a humane immigration policy consistent with our national tradition.

"We believe action without delay is imperative.

"The President proposes a reasonable increase in immigration quotas, a practical approach to the utilization of unused quotas, and the elimination of mortgages on future quotas. These proposals are, in our judgment, wise and represent an important step toward the elimination of discrimination from our immigration law.

"We recommend the President's proposal for a permanent plan for admitting escapees from communism. We hold that this, however, should be expanded to include any victims of religious or political persecution.

"We urge cooperation of both parties in Congress to bring about prompt action."

We note with deep concern that no action has been taken as yet by either House of Congress to implement the President's proposals. Since in our judgment the need for comprehensive legislation remains clear and urgent, we wish at this time strongly to reaffirm our hope that Congress will act decisively during its present session.

We, therefore, again respectfully urge the cooperation of both parties in Congress to bring about the prompt action so vitally important at this time to our national immigration policy, including our continuing assistance in meeting the desperate need of refugees and escapees from religious and political persecution.

American Baptist Home Mission Societies; American Branch International Social Service; American Civil Liberties Union; American Committee on Italian Migration; American Federation of International Institutes; American Friends Service Committee; American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Inc.; American Service Institute of Allegheny County; Americanization School Association of the District of Columbia; Brethren Service Commission, Church of the Brethren; Church World Service, Department of; National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America; Commission on World Service, Evangelical and Reformed Church; Common Council for American Unity; Congregational Christian Churches; Council for Social Action; Congregational Christian Service Committee, Inc.; Czechoslovak National Council; Governor's Commission on Refugee (Massachusetts); International Rescue Committee; Italian Welfare League, Inc.; Iuliu Maniu-American Romanian Relief Foundation, Inc.; Los Angeles Conference on Immigration and Citizenship; Lutheran Refugee Service; Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief; Michigan Committee on Immigration; National Board of the YWCA; National Catholic Rural Life Conference; National Catholic Welfare Conference; National Conference of Catholic Charities; New York Committee on Immigration and Naturalization; Polish Immigration Committee in New York; Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Committee on Resettlement Services; Selfhelp of Emigres from Central Europe, Inc.; Synagogue Council of America; Tolstoy Foundation, Inc.; Ukrainian Workingmen's Association; United Automobile Workers; United Friends of Needy and Displaced People of Yugoslavia; United HIAS Service; United Steelworkers of America.

Economy in the Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the June 1957 issue of the New York State Taxpayer, which presents a feasible way to save the taxpayers money and to promote private enterprise:

UNITED STATES OPERATES LUXURY AIR FLEET—TAXPAYER-SUPPORTED LUXURY PLANE

If you were a farmer and gave your daughter $5,000 to go out and buy the best kind of truck to haul farm machinery about in, you would probably rest assured that she would bring home the proper truck and not a plush Jaguar convertible. But, Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, pointed out recently that some of the boys in the Pentagon would probably not be equal to such a task.

It seems that the Air Force was given $110 million during the first year of the Eisenhower administration to buy a fleet of planes capable of carrying Army tanks. Well, they didn't buy Jaguars, but in a sense purchased their air equivalent, 6 dozen "plushed up" DC–6 passenger planes instead of the tank-carrying cargo planes. They called it reprograming. Congressman FLOOD labeled the act "misappropriation."

Congressman FLOOD, in noting this, added that if "our hypothetical farmer's daughter made the mistake of blowing the $5,000 with which she was supposed to buy a farm truck * * * she probably would * * * have a feeling of guilt about it to make amends."

"Not so with the Air Force," the Pennsylvania lawmaker notes.

"They display no sense of shame whatsoever about this boondoggle," he lamented. "When confronted with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission, the directives of our congressional committee * * * inveighing against competition with the private enterprise and general wastefulness of the taxpayers' funds, these gentlemen in the Air Force say, 'Well, we have got them now, and we are stuck with them so we had best fill them up a little bit by taking business away from commercial airlines.'"

This is only one example of how the Military Air Transport Service, known affectionately as MATS, has mushroomed in size so that it now operates approximately 1,500 airplanes. This outstrips all of the United States domestic commercial airlines with their combined total of 1,212 planes in operation.

The really sad feature of this extravagance is that it costs the taxpayers an estimated $1 billion a year to operate the Government-owned airlines while defense hearings for fiscal 1958 indicated that commercial airlines would have more than $900 million in unused space available for military use for this same period of time.

It has been pointed out that while it cost the Government $795 per hour to operate the military equivalent of the DC–6 the taxpaying civilian airline cost for operating the same plane is $650 per hour. Use of commercial lines, where possible, would not only reduce the size and cost of this mammoth air fleet but also reduce the amount of subsidies required to maintain the private airlines.

The Government-operated airline, with total assets over $1.4 billion, provides service to practically every corner of the world regardless of the existing parallel routes of commercial airlines.

The Hoover Commission disclosed that an Air Force band was flown once a month from Westover, Mass., to Bermuda. The Air Force justified the flights for morale purposes, noting that there was no band in Bermuda.

Placing the morale issue aside, the Commission noted that two commercial airlines operated flights that could have carried the same band over the same route at less cost to the taxpayers.

The Hoover Commission has further noted that the $42.9 million airline subsidy for fiscal 1954 could have been reduced by 88

percent if the airlines had flown only 25 percent of the passengers and 50 percent of the mail moved by MATS over this same period.

The intent of Congress for fiscal 1958 that the Government should to the greatest extent practicable adjust its use of air transportation so as to use the existing, unutilized capacity of United States air carriers has been established. It remains now to be seen how the operators of military transportation will try to adhere to this established intent and refrain from trying to build up the plush operations of the military air fleet.

Strange Doings on the Bench

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN F. JAMES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, during the last weekend I visited in my district with more than the usual number of my neighbors and constituents.

I was somewhat amazed, but not greatly surprised to find that the current prime interest in government has shifted from the activities of the Congress to several recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Understandably, some of the recent decisions of the High Court have disturbed Members of the Congress and on yesterday there was introduced in the other body a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution prescribing the term of office of members of the Supreme Court.

That some of these recent decisions have also disturbed wide areas of our citizenry cannot be gainsaid and a reflection of that disturbance is well cast in the editorial that follows, published in a decidedly pro-American community of the district I have the honor to represent in the Congress:

[From the Suburban and Wayne (Pa.) Times of June 21, 1957]

STRANGE DOINGS ON THE BENCH

Has the Supreme Court of the United States been captured by the leftwingers? Many thinking citizens are beginning to believe that such is the case, following the two incredible decisions made by that once august body during the past week.

The first case is the fantastic decision that Government attorneys now must turn over their files to defense counsel in any action taken by the Government against criminals or subversives.

The second is the frightening decision freeing the second-string Communists of California, on the specious ground that their teaching of the violent overthrow of the Constitution was not overt, but of an academic nature.

What the Supreme Court is now doing is making its own laws, contrary to the intent of Congress. It is much easier to name 4 or 5 pliant appointees to the Supreme Court, as has been done in the present administration, than to control over 500 Members of Congress.

It now appears that, if Khrushchev were to hold a pistol to the head of Eisenhower, he would not be committing a crime unless he pulled the trigger. Remember, the act must be overt. Is there to be no protection for the rights of our Nation, against gangsters and Communists?

Where is the outcry, in the liberal sheets, against the persecution of Dave Beck? Dave has pleaded the fifth, and is pilloried. Yet, he is accused only of stealing union funds. Others, accused of selling out their country, are held up as heroes for taking the fifth.

Are we now being put into a position where a dictatorship of the left will take over gradually and insidiously? Or where a dictatorship of the right, in order to forestall the first alternative, will take over to protect us?

Both are quite possible, in an atmosphere in which the Nation feels itself, sees itself stripped of its legal defenses against those who would destroy our way of life.

This is not law, but anarchy at the highest summit of Government. This is rule by fiat, rule by the judiciary, rule by a few, none of whom are elected by the people. If today the Court can upset the plain intent of Congress in the Smith Act, substituting its own brand of law for what Congress intended, then tomorrow it can decide that the Bill of Rights meant something besides what the plain words tell us.

The only member of the Supreme Court who talked like an American in the Smith Act decision this week was Justice Tom Clark. We congratulate him.

New Federal Communications Commission Permit for Operation of Television Channel 2 in San Francisco Bay Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, a decision is now pending before the Federal Communications Commission for the granting of a license for the operation of television channel 2 in the San Francisco Bay area of northern California. It is my strong hope that no applicant will be granted this license or permit unless the applicant proposes to establish its transmission tower in the hills east of Berkeley and Oakland in California. I am summarizing below a letter I have dispatched to the Federal Communications Commission upon this subject. Proper television reception for at least 250,000 people in my congressional district is involved in this pending decision:

JUNE 21, 1957.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: It is my understanding that a decision is now pending before your Commission for the granting of a license for the operation of television channel 2 in the San Francisco Bay area of northern California. It is my further understanding that this decision pertains to your docket Nos. 11049 and 11050.

I most strongly urge that no applicant be granted this license or permit unless the applicant proposes to establish its transmission tower in the hills east of Berkeley and Oakland. At the present time the four existing stations in the San Francisco Bay area are all located in San Francisco. Approximately 250,000 people in the central portion of Contra Costa County and Solano County in my congressional district are barred from receiving adequate or proper reception from these stations because of this intervening row of hills immediately east of Berkeley and Oakland.

If the pending license were granted to an applicant who proposed to put his transmission tower in San Francisco or in San Mateo County, this would mean that these 250,000 people would continue to be barred from proper television reception. Since it is my understanding this is the last channel to be authorized in the San Francisco Bay area, they would then be permanently barred from such reception.

I can speak from personal experience because I live in the city of Martinez in central Contra Costa County. This city has such poor reception from the existing four San Francisco television stations that a television cable company has had to come into the area and put a large reception tower on a nearby hill and practically everyone in the community of Martinez has had to pay rather extensive additional cost in order to have their television sets connected by cable to this tower for purposes of adequate reception.

This is a most urgent matter and a matter of great importance to these 250,000 people. I feel that the Federal Communications Commission should give great weight to this problem, and that the license granted for this last channel should be made available only to an applicant which will establish a tower on the hills east of Berkeley and Oakland. Will you please let me know what steps can be taken to give recognition to this problem in the granting of this license?

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. BALDWIN,
Member of Congress.

Flag Day Celebration Sponsored by Williamsport (Pa.) Lodge, No. 173, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Friday, June 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, over a period of years, Williamsport (Pa.) Lodge, No. 173, BPOE, has been one of the leading Elks lodges in the United States in the observance of Flag Day. Last year Lodge No. 173 was accorded second place in the nationwide contest sponsored by the exalted ruler of the Elks.

This year, in bidding for continued recognition, the observance of Flag Day was outstanding, and it was a high honor for me to be selected to deliver the principal speech on a varied and interesting Flag Day program. The address delivered on the occasion follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE FLAG DAY CELEBRATION SPONSORED BY WILLIAMSPORT LODGE, NO. 173, BENEVOLENT AND PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS, WILLIAMSPORT, PA., FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1957

It is an honor to join with my brother Elks of Williamsport Lodge, No. 173, on this memorable occasion in celebrating the 180th anniversary of the birth of Old Glory.

It is appropriate for the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks to observe the celebration of Flag Day, and thus urge an awakening of the spirit of good old-fashioned Americanism.

It is likewise fitting and proper for the Elks to take leadership in such patriotic exercises, since the Elks is a typical American society, whose members believe in Almighty God and loyalty to the Stars and Stripes.

It is of no little significance that you will find on the altar of every Elks lodge the Holy Bible, the antlers of elkdom, and the American flag.

Collectively the Elks signify patriotism, love of country, brotherhood, devotion to God, tolerance, and good will.

Thus we may be proud of our membership in the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

It was June 14, 1777, that the Continental Congress of the United States proclaimed the stars and stripes the official flag of the new nation.

On that day the Congress of the United States gave to the world a banner of liberty, a promise of justice and tolerance for all men who would yield it allegiance.

It has been truly said that the Declaration of Independence is the heart of America, the Constitution its backbone, and the flag the soul of America.

That banner of liberty—the American flag—has waved in greater glory with each succeeding year.

It has been a symbol of hope and promise not only to those who dwell under its protection, but to the downtrodden and oppressed in many lands.

Its meaning has grown dearer, its significance deeper to those who believe in freedom for all men.

What is this freedom about which we speak?

As youngsters in school we saw the word in history textbooks and heard it from our teachers.

The word became familiar to us but the meaning seemed vague.

Later on we read it in Fourth of July editorials and listened to orators talking about it.

Those of our younger generation, however, do not need to seek a definition for freedom.

The anguished cries of millions of enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain are publicized the world over and convey the real meaning of loss of freedom.

Freedom means a lot of things.

It means you can live the way you want to live and believe the things you want to believe as long as you do not interfere with the rights of your neighbor.

It means you can be a Democrat or a Republican or belong to no party at all.

It means you can go to church on Sunday morning or stay in bed.

And if you go to church you can attend any one you choose.

It means you can write a letter to the editor of your newspaper about what you think is wrong with the country, and he can print it without fear of being thrown into jail.

If you want to belong to an organization you are free to join.

You can stand up before people and express your opinions.

Freedom means the opportunity to create your own future, to be president of a multimillion-dollar corporation, or to occupy a humble position in life with equal dignity.

And in either job you can have pride in your work and the dignity of honest labor.

You can go to the college of your choice and study any subjects you like.

You can be a doctor, lawyer, merchant, or farmer.

Or, if you have discovered the secret which eludes the rest of us, you can spend most of your time just doing nothing.

Freedom means that you live in a country that is governed by laws, that you say you are the equal of your fellowman regardless of your religion, political creed, or the color of your skin.

It means you cannot be seized and thrown into jail without trial by jury.

It means that you have a voice in the Government and that you and your fellow citizens control both the laws of the land and the men who administer them.

As freemen we have all these rights and privileges and many more.

Because we have enjoyed them all our lives they seem ordinary; yes, just commonplace things.

But the rights and privileges we take for granted have been denied to the people in many other countries.

Some of them have enjoyed freedom only to have it snatched from their grasp.

Others have never had it.

Our flag symbolizes freedom purchased with blood and sacrifice and envied by oppressed peoples everywhere.

Old Glory is also a symbol of strength, the strength of brave men and self-sacrificing women.

It has been held high with courage on battlefields all over the world.

Many men have died for it.

Many others have lived for it, their whole existence devoted to the preservation of the ideals for which it stands.

What a remarkable thing it is that a piece of brightly colored cloth can mean so much to so many people.

Is there some magic in the pattern or color combination of our flag that has made it so glorious and so enduring?

Frankly it is not the pattern or the color that gives Old Glory its grandeur, for many of us have seen our flag on the battlefields torn by bullets and faded by the sun.

The pattern was distorted and the color was almost gone, but the glory was undimmed.

Our flag is glorious because generations of Americans have endeavored to glorify the principles for which it stands.

When the Continental Congress officially adopted the Stars and Stripes for the United States, our Nation was small and weak.

It could not match the European nations in wealth and power.

Its future appeared uncertain.

The Stars and Stripes was a mere upstart flag among the standards of the mighty.

Behind the American flag, however, was a new ideal; yes, new, but yet as old as the Ten Commandments.

The men who had the courage to raise it, by the side of flags of powerful nations, were inspired by a vision.

They looked into the future and beheld a land where liberty was triumphant and all men walked as equals.

They saw that the newborn America was destined to become the greatest and most powerful in the world, pointing the way toward a better and finer mode of life.

These heroic men, with their inspired vision, gave the American flag its first touch of glory.

That glory was increased in 1787 when the Constitutional Convention gave to the new Nation a constitution guaranteeing every citizen the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Our flag thus became more than the symbol of an ideal, a dream, and a vision.

It told the world that here was a people with the courage to live by their ideals. A people who had secured for themselves and their descendants the blessings of freedom.

Before many years had passed, however, the struggling young nation with its new way of life was put to the acid test.

A civil war threatened its very existence.

How our Nation met that test and came forth triumphant we all know.

Out of the strife and chaos of civil war there emerged a union even stronger than before, because its strength had been tried and proved.

Old Glory became even more glorious and inspiring.

The years that followed brought still more trials and tribulations to the growing Nation, but from each crisis the United States came forth with its flag flying higher.

And all this time men were working, sacrificing, fighting, and dying to make the Nation great.

Our flag was challenged again in the Spanish-American War.

The call to defend it was answered by thousands of Americans willing to shed their blood to prevent desecration of the emblem they loved.

The gallant dead of the Spanish-American War, and the living veterans of that conflict, gave their touch of glory to our flag.

Thrice more in a generation—in World War I, World War II, and the Korean war—the finest young men of the Nation offered their lives for our flag.

Added to the sacrifice of the men who fought for Old Glory on the world's battlefields was the sacrifice and devotion of those who did what they could on the homefront.

Each of these groups contributed to the glory of the Stars and Stripes.

And so it has been down through the years.

Countless people have had a share in making the American flag what it is today.

Soldiers, statesmen, and plain everyday citizens, even as you and I, have fashioned our flag.

The great and the humble, rich and poor, men and women have had a hand in it.

Therefore, as we observe Flag Day we are paying tribute to the most honored and respected national symbol in the entire world.

It represents to us, and freedom-loving people everywhere, an ideal way of life made possible by the heroic efforts of millions of men to make that ideal a living reality.

Thus on this Flag Day of 1957 we are honoring not a bit of cloth of red, white, and blue, but the spirit of America.

As we salute our national emblem on the 180th anniversary of its birth, it behooves us to ponder and recall that throughout the history of the world mighty nations have risen and fallen.

Many nations at the peak of their power and prestige became careless, indifferent, and corrupt which led to their eventual downfall.

While America occupies an enviable position in the family of nations, to maintain it we should never forget the lessons of history and the fate of once mighty nations.

Therefore, to preserve our country and the American way of life, we must be eternally vigilant.

In short, we owe to our Nation and our flag the same ceaseless devotion and patriotic fervor that our forefathers regarded as their solemn obligations.

Yes; a devotion and patriotic fervor which enabled them to bequeath to us a nation described by Abraham Lincoln as "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is easy to relax as a nation and be lulled to sleep by the idea that our freedom and peace are always secure.

If we adopt such a listless attitude and frame of mind we may awaken one day to find that while we were sleeping our enemies have been busy.

Yes; busy in carrying out their sinister plans to destroy our form of government.

We may find, to our dismay, that tyranny will have supplanted liberty and that injustice will reign in its place.

Make no mistake about it, our beloved Nation is facing the most critical period in its history during this hydrogen-atomic age.

While we as a nation sincerely pursue the elusive phantom of world peace, we find that the burning desire for tranquility among the family of nations has, because of the activities of Soviet Russia, become an almost hopeless goal.

Three years ago Adm. Robert B. Carney, then Chief of Naval Operations, confirmed that fact when he frankly stated that America is rapidly approaching the crossroad of a fight to the finish with Russia.

Admiral Carney, without any resort to high-sounding phrases, pointed the finger at Russia and identified her as our relentless foe.

In recalling his stern admonition we must realize that we, as a nation, would be playing into the hands of Soviet Russia if we accept her plans of world disarmament in the mistaken notion that we would be on the road to achieving universal peace.

The truth is that such Kremlin-inspired disarmament plans are a boobytrap designed to destroy our present military advantages by hoping to halt our progress in developing military power capable of defending our national security in this nuclear age.

The Soviet strategy is to have the Russian bear stand on the sidelines and gleefully watch as we as a nation weaken ourselves militarily while the free world yields mile by mile and nation by nation to Communist plans of world conquest.

Let us never forget that Moscow is calling the signals and piping the tune in freedom's dance of death.

The cold fact is that Russia is a clever enemy and her conquests are fought by her stooges in furtherance of the Soviet conspiracy for world conquest.

Frankly, we as a nation must face the truth.

We must realize that Russia is the real enemy at our gates.

There is no doubt that the average American and the citizens of the free world are sick and tired of Russia's traditional role as an enemy of world peace.

We are fed up with her intrigue, her lying, and her insults.

Surely we do not have to be convinced, after present and past experiences, that Russia is still our potent enemy.

We know this to be an undeniable fact and with such knowledge it is inviting national suicide to adopt a lukewarm attitude with respect to our duties and obligations as liberty-loving Americans.

The issue before us as a nation is clear cut. We must at all times maintain a firm attitude in dealing with Russia.

At the same time we must acknowledge the reality of the cold war by continuing to develop nuclear power so massive that the Kremlin will find it impossible to keep pace with its cost.

These weapons of the nuclear age are costly, and while we are paying billions of dollars annually to maintain our Armed Forces, in my opinion it is well worth the price in defending against Soviet treachery, our cherished principles of liberty and freedom.

Yes; the price of these nuclear weapons is costly, but the price is insignificant when it preserves the precious legacy of liberty and freedom bequeathed to us by those who died in defense of our flag.

One glance at the red, white, and blue of our national emblem should be enough to stir the blood of every loyal American citizen into a tight-fisted resolve that we are determined to remain free men forever.

Yes; it is well for us to repeat in 1957 the toast given by the American patriot, Stephen Decatur, 141 years ago when he declared "Our country in her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right, but our country right or wrong."

What Stephen Decatur said should be the attitude of all redblooded Americans, and especially those of us who enjoy membership in the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

On this Flag Day of 1957, I can think of no better means of rededicating ourselves to an awakening of the spirit of good old-fashioned Americanism than for us to say in unison:

"May our country always be right, but right or wrong, we shall defend forever this Nation and its glorious emblem, the Stars and Stripes of America."

George Meany's Answer to Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a straightforward reply made to the Communist leader, Nikita Krushchev by that able, sincere, and conscientious labor leader and one of the outstanding Americans in this country, George Meany.

The address follows:

GEORGE MEANY'S ANSWER TO KHRUSHCHEV—TEXT OF AN ADDRESS OVER ABC BY PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY, OF AFL–CIO

Recently Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist Party boss, appeared on an American television program. He skillfully used this occasion to promote the interests of Soviet imperialism and the aims of the world-wide Communist movement. He performed amiably and adroitly in combining persuasion, boasts, and outright lies to advance the current Soviet peace offensive.

Khrushchev painted a glowing picture of the Soviet economy, especially agriculture. He did not say a word about the low standards of life, the intense exploitation of labor, the denial of all democratic rights and forced labor which plague the Soviet peoples. He was completely silent about the discontent among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, as evidenced by student unrest, criticism voiced by writers and the continued forced transfer of many thousands from their homes and jobs within the U. S. S. R.

Khrushchev declared that there had been and would be no other party in the Soviet Union than the Communist Party which, he stated, "reflects the desires and wishes of the people so much." This Khrushchev boast reminds one of the boast by Hitler that the Nazi Party regime would last for at least a thousand years in Germany. Actually, the Soviet people have been denied the chance to express through free elections their real desires and wishes. The last time the Russian people had an election which was at all free was more than 39 years ago.

In his television performance Khrushchev admitted that the Kremlin was jamming the Voice of America broadcasts to the Soviet Union. He admitted that his government was denying the Soviet peoples the right to listen to America. He tried to explain it away, or excuse it, by saying that Russia "is a very musical country." He went on to say that whether the Voice of America is jammed or not, therefore, depends on whether "it is a good voice" or "it's a voice which cuts on the ear." And, of course, it is Khrushchev and his ruling clique who decide what is a good voice and what is not a good voice for the Russian people to hear.

Khrushchev went even further when he said: "If the Voice of America does really become the Voice of America * * * it will not be jammed in our country." How nice of Mr. Khrushchev. He not only insists on deciding what the Soviet peoples shall hear or not hear; he also insists on determining what is and what should be the real voice of the American people and what shall be their national policies. To Khrushchev a real Voice of America would be the voice of an America dominated by a Communist puppet government controlled and manipulated by Moscow.

Such are the Communist blessings that Khrushchev would extend to the other nations, including the American people. In this spirit, he boldly announced that the grandchildren of present-day Americans will live under what he calls "socialism"—that is, Communist totalitarianism. He expressed the belief that communism would eventually triumph "because it is a younger system, the most healthy system." Mr. Khrushchev forgot that the young system of fascism had to yield to the much older system of democracy.

Actually, the young system of communism is the oldest existing system—namely, slavery. In regard to Khrushchev's claim that communism is the most healthy system, that might be so for the bosses who profit from it—but that is certainly not true for the millions of people who have perished under it or who are now being exploited and oppressed by it.

Khrushchev's grandfather tale was told in order to hide the Communist tyranny of today by talking about the grandchildren who are to live under some so-called benign socialism in the future.

I submit, the Soviet rulers are notoriously poor prophets. Foreseeing the victory of Hitler, the Soviets relied on him and signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact which was the signal for World War II. After World War II, Khrushchev joined other Kremlin leaders in prophesying that the American economy would collapse. In the nearly 40 years of their dictatorship, they have continually, but falsely, predicted and promised better conditions of life and labor for the Soviet people.

These grandfather tales and all their silly prophecies should not fool anyone. And, judging by the way the youth behind the Iron Curtain has been reacting, there is increasing reason to believe that the Soviet parents and their grandchildren will likewise take Khrushchev's bragging with a very big grain of salt.

Khrushchev hastened to assure us that communism in America will be the result of an ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism and not through a war. We were told that Moscow does not want to impose communism on anyone. Clearly, the Soviet dictator has only contempt for our memory. Less than 18 months ago, at the 20th Soviet Communist Congress, Khrushchev himself scornfully rejected the idea that communism could be achieved without a revolution. He then branded the idea of a peaceful transition to socialism as reformism and a betrayal of Leninst doctrine. In the Soviet domain this is treason and punishable by death.

Shrewdly attempting to exploit the abhorrence of war by the American people, Khrushchev posed as a man deeply devoted to the cause of peace. While accusing the United States of planning a war against the U. S. S. R. he made himself the advocate of the people of the world who want peace and want a normal life. But all the world knows that it is aggressionist Soviet imperialism which has prevented mankind from enjoying peace and leading a normal life.

Khrushchev could not hide the ugly truth that the Kremlin is interested in peace only to the extent that it advances Moscow's policies at home and abroad. He stated frankly that, under cover of its peace pro-

gram and propaganda, the Soviet Government seeks the lifting of all Western trade restrictions and the resumption of so-called cultural exchange programs. His plea for cultural exchanges is dishonest. At the conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers in November, 1955, America, Britain, and France proposed a 17-point program for breaking down the barriers between the people under Communist domination and the free world. Molotov then denounced this program as a blueprint for espionage. Later on President Eisenhower again offered this program to the Kremlin rulers and was once more turned down.

Moscow is interested in trade agreements in order to obtain from the highly industrialized countries badly needed goods. Moscow wants "cultural exchanges" in order to acquire the scientific and technical know-how of the capitalist countries which it despises and seeks to destroy. Khrushchev realizes the vital contributions which the Western World can make and has already made to the upbuilding of the Soviet economic system. Moscow wants the free world—through trade, credits, and availability of its superior technique—to help bail the Communist rulers out of the difficulties into which the follies of Communist economy and intense militarizaton have led them.

Khrushchev's entire cultural-exchange program is completely one sided. America would derive no benefits from such contacts. These would not be contacts with the Russian people but only with individuals handpicked by the Kremlin and its police system. Khrushchev made that perfectly clear when he hedged even in regard to unconditional abolition of the existing travel restrictions for United States diplomats in Russia.

The current Soviet coexistence campaign is particularly designed to serve the expansionist aims of Soviet imperialism. What coexistence means to the present Kremlin rulers was demonstrated with painful clarity last November in Hungary. The Hungarian people and their democratic government offered to live in peace with Russia. They offered friendship to and trade and cultural relations with the Soviet Government, with all neighbors of Hungary and all the nations of the world.

What was the answer of the Kremlin to this Hungarian plea for coexistence? It rushed hundreds of thousands of troops and thousands of tanks and jets into Hungary to crush and kill defenseless men, women, and children. And what was the crime of this brave people? All they sought was national independence and democracy and the right to coexist peacefully alongside of Soviet Russia and other countries.

In recent years Soviet expansion has been blocked through the collective defense system of the West and through American superiority in the thermonuclear field. The primary purpose of Soviet foreign policy is to destroy these safeguards of world peace. This is the motivating force for the so-called positive participation by Moscow in the current London disarmament talks. Khrushchev stressed the advantages of disarmament from his domestic point of view. He even dangled, before an American public yearning for a tax cut, the possibility of reducing the armament burden.

But in repeating the Soviet position for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons and further test explosions, he made sure not to commit himself to a comprehensive system of international control of disarmament measures. He even belittled the proposals for announcing and registering all future nuclear tests. Certainly he knows better than to believe that there can be any guaranty that a disarmament agreement will be carried out unless its enforcement is assured through the establishment of a foolproof system of international inspection and control.

The Communist boss also tried to give the impression that only the Soviet Union had taken constructive measures in the disarmament field. He cited the reduction of Soviet armed forces by 1,800,000, but he refused to cast any light on the well-kept secret, the present military strength of the Red Army. He pretended not to have the exact figures at hand! But, even after this Kremlin-reported decrease of its armed forces, the truth of which no outsider has ever been permitted to check, Soviet Russia still has the strongest military machine in the world. Nor did Khrushchev mention that this was the first decrease reported by the U. S. S. R. since 1945. In contrast, the democratic powers had carried out almost total demobilization after the war. The free world started to rearm only after it was forced to do so in the face of continued Soviet military aggression, especially in the Korean war.

The most sensational part of the Khrushchev interview was his offer to pull back Soviet troops from Eastern Germany and the satellites in exchange for a withdrawal of American armed forces from Europe. In making this proposal, Khrushchev was fully aware of the fact that the American troops in Europe are the backbone of NATO, and that their return to the United States would mean the breakup of the western collective defense system.

When one of his American interviewers argued that this proposal would mean an American withdrawal over a distance of more than 3,000 miles in the face of a Russian pullback of only 2 hours away, he dismissed that argument by resorting to a rather shoddy trick. He compared the distance between New York and Western Europe with the distance between Vladivostok and Eastern Europe. He then concluded that "the distances are about the same." But the decisive point is not what is the farthest but what is the nearest distance between the United States and Western Europe and between Russia and Western Europe.

In spite of the obvious dangers involved, some people in Germany and in the satellites, being very anxious to get rid of Russian military occupation, might have some illusions about the Khrushchev proposal. When the American correspondents drew Khrushchev's attention to the possibility that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe might mean the end of Communist rule in the satellites, he haughtily denied it. He waxed demagogic to the point of asserting that even the Kadar regime could continue to exist in Hungary without the presence of the Red army. He boldly exclaimed: "Let's have a test."

But Hungary has already furnished just such a test. In October 1956, the Hungarian people revolted not only against Soviet domination but against their own Communist bosses. For this they were crushed by Soviet might. After what happened in Hungary last fall, however, there can no longer be any illusions about the iron determination of the Kremlin to maintain its stranglehold of the captive nations.

Khrushchev's proposal for a mutual troop withdrawal was not made to bring about the liberation of the enslaved people. It was made solely for the purpose of propagandizing and promoting the withdrawal of America's Armed Forces from European soil. Such a withdrawal could only make final the enslavement of the captive peoples. In order to thwart this dangerous Soviet maneuver, the West should demand that Moscow should at least implement the Yalta accord on free elections in the satellites and should accept German reunification in freedom.

In his appearance, Khrushchev used the word "peace" rather freely and loosely. However, he did not speak of freedom in his entire television performance. Yet we know that without freedom there can be no real world peace today. The history of the turbulent postwar period, with its massive Soviet aggression and annexations, confirms the validity of this axiom. That is why the free world must stress and strengthen the link between peace and freedom—especially in view of the renewed hypocritical Soviet peace offensive.

The American people know what communism has done to the Russian people. We know the plight of the captive peoples in Europe and the Chinese mainland. We should never forget what Khrushchev, after he succeeded Stalin, did to the freedom-loving Hungarian people. None of us should have any doubts of what Moscow is up to in its newest campaign for so-called peaceful coexistence.

For the sake of our children and their children who come after us, we should always be fully conscious of the basic objective of communism for complete world domination. And then let us always remember—that this basic objective can only be attained by the complete destruction of our free American way of life.

Subversion of Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a constituent and friend of mine, Mr. Hoyt E. Ray, has written an article, Subversion of Americanism, which was recently published in the National Republic. He has requested me to insert his article in the RECORD, and I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Ray's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

SUBVERSION OF AMERICANISM

(By Hoyt E. Ray)

The only nation in the world today which apparently has taken seriously the ideological repudiation of nationalism is the United States of America. Whether or not we like it, we are now practicing the internationalism of the one-world dreamers.

We have given freely of our substance to many other nations, from whom we may expect or will receive nothing in return. Iran, for example, has received $270 millions in United States aid during the last 5 years. Often we have rather suffered the nationalist jealousies of those nations we have attempted to help. And this despite the charity, measured in billions, our people have given to show the civilized world we are humanely concerned with the tragic plight of undeveloped areas.

Nationalism has in some parts of the world become an opprobrious word. National pride, and the self-respect that goes with it has, to many, become somehow a shameful thing. Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, by their distortion of nationalism, did much to sour the world on both the word and the connotation.

Nationalism, in historical truth, has been a great builder of the Western World. In the 19th century, the concept came to represent the highest and noblest of human aspirations. It was, in its beginnings, the projection of clan and tribal loyalties to larger spheres that sometimes became nations, then empires.

National pride, ambition, and patriotism compounded, were to a great extent the driving force of the amazing progress of the West during the 19th and 20th centuries, in politics, scholarship, industry, science, and the arts.

Unfortunately, nationalism was also a strong impetus to several less desirable trends of greed and possession, which led in part to the creation of colonial empires, burdensome military establishments and bitter international rivalries.

Yet whatever its faults, the fact remains that nationalism continues to be the strongest single force in the affairs of individual nations. The present enthusiasm for a Federation of Europe, a new alinement of political and economic institutions, has its roots deep in nationalism and is inseparable from patriotism. The real drive behind the search for peace is not internationalism, but a modern manifestation of nationalism, a deep patriotic yearning for order and development.

The marvel that is industry today is mighty, capitalistic America developed in an atmosphere of national independence and pride. Historically, every adult among us was free to fashion his life according to his own plans. He was not forced to live according to the plan of an economic general staff, enforced by the police, the social apparatus of compulsion and coercion. Here the free enterprise system grew to full flower. What here restricts the individual's freedom is not other people's violence or threat of violence, or socialist regimentation, but natural scarcity of the factors of production.

Man's discretion to shape his own future can never, of course, exceed the limits drawn by the laws of nature. Each man's biological make-up restricts the area in which he can go forward or serve. A wide abyss separates those who have the mental capacity to think their own thoughts, from those who do not.

The distinguishing characteristic of modern capitalism is the art of mass production of goods. The result is a tendency toward a continuous improvement in the average standard of living. From keen competition day by day, we have learned the hard fact that high productivity by labor is attained only by the use of better tools and machines. Efficiency is tied close to techniological development.

In the market of a capitalistic society such as developed in this country, the common man is the sovereign consumer whose buying or abstention from buying ultimately determines what shall be produced, and in what quantity and quality.

The masses who in all preceding ages of history formed the herds of slaves, serfs, and beggars, now are our buying public, for whose favor all businessmen strive. They are the customers, who have the final power to make poor suppliers big, and vice versa.

The profit system makes those men prosper who have succeeded in filling the wants of the people in the best possible and cheapest way. In a daily repeated plebiscite, our consumers determine who shall own and run the factories, shops, and farms. The control of the material means of production is a social function, subject to the favor of the sovereign consumers.

Under American capitalism the so-called common man, enjoys amenities which in ages gone by were unknown and therefore inaccessible to anyone. A television set does not necessarily make a man happy, though he may feel happier, but as soon as this urge to buy is satisfied, a new wish springs up.

Too often Americans fail to realize that their country enjoys the highest standard of living in the world, and that the way of life of the average American appears fabulous and out of the reach to the vast majority of people inhabiting all other countries.

Many people belittle what they have and could possibly acquire, and crave those things which they cannot obtain. This craving is precisely the impulse which leads man toward economic betterment. To content oneself with what one has already got or can easily get, and to abstain apathetically from any desire to improve one's own material conditions, is not a virtue. Such an attitude of abject resignation is more like animal behavior than conduct of a reasonable human being. The average American's distinguishing characteristic is that he never ceases striving to advance his well-being.

Man must increase the growth of capital accumulated as against the growth in population. The greater the capital invested per producer, the more and the better goods are offered in the market. What is wrong with many of our international contemporaries is, not that they are passionately longing for a richer supply of various goods, but that they choose ineffective means of attainment of this end. Too many Socialist countries favor policies which are contrary to their own rightly understood vital interests. Collectivists often are too dull to see the inevitable long-run consequences of their conduct. They advocate measures which are bound to result eventually in general impoverishment.

Capitalism, the much abused profit system, has accomplished, in America, an economic growth that is the envy of the world. The free enterprise economy has allowed science to handmade industry and produce a new world, yet certain political groups, of United World bent, today try to destroy this system, the Americans pride in it and will to further it. Why do factions enjoying the living standards that American capitalism bestows upon them, eagerly seek to bring about here the miserable conditions of the present-day Communist or Socialist workers?

Along with the growth of internationalism in our country socialism has eased its way into our Government. This foreign ideology in the last quarter century has gained advocates in various intellectual levels of society, has become a means among certain politicians of gaining favor, and has registered some legislative favor.

A rollback from some of the socialistic new deal legislation of the last quarter century will be difficult for the American people, as witness the annual Federal budget.

Government as conceived by the founding fathers does not contemplate guaranteeing an income to any economic group or segment of society. Welfare cleverly propagandized by advocates of socialism and its alter ego, communism, comprehends the Government tax dollar, or the product of forced labor, distributed to favored groups. That simple fact marks the poles apart, Communism in action and our traditional free enterprise system—a totalitarian government in contrast with our Republic of freemen.

The Kremlin type of pyramided totalitarianism cannot tolerate minority opinion or views, as the recent Hungarian tragedy so vividly illustrates.

For a Communist, nationalism and patriotism are not admissible virtues and, tragically, a true Marxist is a materialist solely, and hence devoid of the spiritual concept of Christianity. He is an internationalist for he strives for a world (Socialist) government.

A fundamental Socialist doctrine is that the real interests of the worker are injured by capitalism, and that socialism will improve their condition. Socialists say they trust experience, but they refuse to recognize the incontestible facts of experience, namely, that man's standard of living in capitalistic United States of America is enviously higher than in the workers paradise of the Soviets, or in any other Communist or Socialist country, and further that here the citizen enjoys freedom in fact and not merely ideologically.

Marx probably has corrupted the thinking of more people than any other writer in modern history.

Ludwig von Mises, a trained economist, says these frustrated Socialists still cannot close their eyes to the American standard of living.

"There exists today a sham anti-Communist front. What these people who call themselves anti-Communist liberals and whom sober men more correctly call anti-anti-Communists are aiming at, is communism without those inherent and necessary features of communism which are still unpalatable to Americans. • • • Whenever they raise some mild objection to communism, they are eager to abuse capitalism in terms borrowed from the objurgatory vocabulary of Marx and Lenin. They emphasize that they abhor capitalism much more passionately than communism, and they justify all the unsavory acts of the Communists by referring to the unspeakable horrors of capitalism.

"In short, they pretend to fight communism by trying to convert people to the ideas of the Communist Manifesto.

"What these self-styled anti-Communist liberals are fighting against is not communism as such, but a Communist system in which they themselves are not at the helm. What they are aiming at is a Socialist, i. e., Communist, system in which they themselves or their most intimate friends hold the reins of government. It would perhaps be too much to say that they are burning with a desire to liquidate other people. They simply do not wish to be liquidated. In a Socialist commonwealth, only the supreme autocrat and his abettors have this assurance."

How long will patriots in America remain silent and intimidated by this agitation? Will they remain silent and permit the internationalist to destroy this great country? America has survived many fronts and movements from religious agitation to the Know Nothing Party, to prohibition, to the Roosevelt New Deal Socialist cult, and her people will again return down the road to patriotic realism.

It now seems obvious from recent history abroad, that a joinder of economic and political power destroys capitalistic nationalism. Freemen, to engage in free enterprise, must have private capitalism.

We will always in Christian charity help the needy and provide a haven for the political refugee. The social cancer of communism and socialism will be recognized for what they are, both by their dupes and freemen alike, and government of freemen, based upon respect for the dignity of the individual, will prevail at last.

The dreamers or disgruntled groups may be misled by the corrupting guile of Marxism, urged upon them by those seeking power for themselves, but upon disillusionment the dreamer will turn again to nationalism wiser, firmer, and even more dedicated.

Is Tito Moscow's Trojan Horse?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, the reputation and high rating of the Georgetown University forum are well known to most Members of Congress. Under the able direction of the Reverend

Francis Heyden, S. J., and Rev. Daniel E. Power, S. J., this forum has consistently performed a solid public service in clarifying the foremost issues of the day.

Recently the forum considered the subject, Is Tito Moscow's Trojan Horse? This question has been troubling many thinking Americans. Indeed, one author, Dr. Slobodan K. Draskovich, entitled his recent work, "Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse." Dr. Draskovich holds that Tito is Moscow's Trojan horse. If this is true, then, to all intents and purposes, our aid to Tito is really aid for Moscow.

The vital significance of this subject can scarcely be denied. The Georgetown forum saw fit to devote a program to it and has as its participants, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of Soviet economics at Georgetown University; Dr. Karl H. Cerny, assistant professor of government, Georgetown University; and Mr. Stephen P. Gibert, instructor in government, of the same institution. Because of its timeliness and importance, I request that the transcript of this program be printed in the RECORD.

The transcript follows:

MR. WARREN. "Is Tito Moscow's Trojan Horse?" is the topic for the 547th consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown Forum was founded in 1946.

This is Matthew Warren speaking by transcription from the Raymond Reiss studio, on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital.

To open our discussion, Dr. Dobriansky, would you geographically define the domain of Tito?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Mr. Warren, the geographical point is a most essential one for this kind of discussion. When one looks at the map of Europe, particularly southern Europe, and into the area called Yugoslavia, one finds a position of considerable strategy from a geographical point of view and reflected, of course, in the political and economic.

Yugoslavia itself, I should like to point out here, is not a nation, as many people misconstrue it to be. Yugoslavia is actually a federation of national units. Thus you have the Serbs, the Croats, the Montenegrins, and numerous others within this federal entity.

Yugoslavia is situated off the Adriatic Sea, which, of course, is close to the Mediterranean. Below it, to the south, you have Albania. Then there is Greece. Then circling it to the east, Bulgaria, Rumania, Above you have Hungary and Austria. These are significant areas. First you can see by virtue of its location on the Adriatic and close to the Mediterranean, Yugoslavia can exert its influence through Tito and Titoism in the Mediterranean area and in the Middle East. By virtue of its position close to Greece, it can exert an influence there, and has done so in the past. Then bordering the satellite countries, Yugoslavia, through Tito, can affect the politics and even the economics of those areas. And through Austria, through Hungary, into Czechoslovakia, farther to the north, and even East Germany and all the way into Poland. So that Titoism as a political force, if one construes it as an expression, as they say, national communism or Communist deviationism, certainly from a geographic point of view is in a focal position to manifest and radiate such an influence. I think that with this geographical item in mind, then one is prepared to investigate this general question which Dr. Cerny is most competent to handle, "Is Tito Moscow's Trojan Horse?"

Dr. CERNY. I would like to add, Dr. Dobriansky, to the points that you have just made that not only is Titoism in an excellent geographical position, but in point of view of the author whom we are discussing today, Titoism is in an excellent ideological position. Indeed, this is his fundamental point, it seems to me, in his book. The impact of Titoism on communism, and then further, the possible impact of Titoism on the ideals, goals, and objectives of the West. In trying to deal with this point, Dr. Draskovich, first of all, made this following conclusion, that Titoism, regardless of what it calls itself, is nevertheless concerned with carrying on Communist objectives. This is true both with respect to the internal policies of Tito and his external policies. Briefly, as far as his internal policies are concerned, Tito has never given up the idea that the monopoly of political power must remain in the hands of the Communist Party. Thus, regardless of all efforts at reform, whether one talks about the lack of bureaucratization in Yugoslavia, or whether one mentions efforts at decentralization, the fundamental thing is that political power remains in the hands of one monopolistic party.

As far as foreign policy is concerned, the author again is at pains to point out that Tito in his policies has pursued fundamental Communist objectives, and that these can be seen in terms of the more specific policies at the present moment.

To give some examples, Tito has consistently refused to join NATO. Indeed, Tito is opposed to the entire concept of bloc politics. He opposes NATO. He opposes SEATO in southeast Asia. He opposes the Baghdad Pact. All three of which the United States Government has been actively supporting. Beyond that, Tito has been of fundamental significance in pursuing a policy of neutralism, with all the impact that this has had in southeast Asia.

In conclusion, then, one of the points that I think warrants some consideration is the essential conclusion of the author, that Titoism, whatever it calls itself, is nevertheless fundamentally in keeping with basic Communist objectives.

Mr. GIBERT. I think, Dr. Cerny, that one question that the author is at pains to discuss very carefully is the problem of national communism, whether or not, in fact, there can be such a thing as national communism or whether communism is by its very nature an international movement which would preclude genuine nationalistic deviations. Hence, the author concludes that Titoism is Communist strategy, designed by Moscow with the aid of Tito to confuse the West, to make it appear that communism is now reverting to its original goals of a genuine international movement, that communism is a discredited movement at the present time and has to be rejuvenated morally by returning to a genuine international ideal. And, hence, Tito serves this purpose of making it appear that communism once again is not simply an instrument of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, but is an international idea.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. From what you have said here, it strikes me there are two points that are of importance and should be elaborated upon. You have given the observations of the author on these two points, and I wondered if you could explain it to me, and certainly to the listening audience. The first point is this: Namely, the title of the book, "Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse?" What is meant by "Trojan horse"? I recall from my classical studies that Trojan horse had some significance and has been used down to the present day.

The second point is on the matter of national communism. But, taking the first, I would like to ask you, Dr. Cerny, what is "Trojan horse" and, after the definition, is Tito truly a Trojan horse?

Dr. CERNY. As to the first part of your question, Dr. Dobriansky, what is a Trojan horse, I would interpret it to mean the following: An instrument, or it could be a person or whatever it may be, an instrument, nevertheless, that seems to be one thing but in fact is another. This is certainly based on the Greek classical meaning of the term, where the horse had been rolled inside the gates of Troy as a present, and it turned out that within the horse were various soldiers who were able by getting out during the night to overcome what had up to that point been an impregnable fortress. If we take that example of the Greek classical meaning and apply it to the problem of Tito, it would seem to me the notion of the Trojan horse would be that Tito seems to be a national Communist, seems to be different from the international Communist movement, whereas, in point of fact he is not. In point of fact, the author is arguing he is a Trojan horse because he is pursuing basically Communist objectives. And thus, as with the famous horse in the Greek clasics, Tito is an excellent instrument of confusion. He comes under one set of auspices, whereas in point his aims and policies are quite different.

Mr. GIBERT. I think, Dr. Cerny, we should make the point clear here that Dr. Draskovich did not say that this was all a gigantic hoax, plot, that Tito from the very beginning was a Moscow instrument. What he says in essence is that in the beginning it was a revolt by Tito against Stalinism. But that since 1953 the rapprochement between the two has revealed that the fundamental aims and goals of Tito and Moscow remain the same, and that from a liability Titoism has become an asset.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. On these points, there are several questions that come to mind, and I think with very perilous ramifications. One example is this: Is Tito aware that he is a Trojan horse? Or, put it this way: Is he passively willing to serve the role of a Trojan horse? What I have in mind there is, is he in communion with Moscow? They work out a plan. They have a project. Each knows its role. It is all premeditated, and then Tito undertakes the role. Moscow is aware of what he is going to do. They will even quarrel about it for worldwide publicity. Is that the conception of Trojan horse here?

Dr. CERNY. Dr. Dobriansky, as far as the premeditated policy of using Tito as a Trojan horse is concerned, I think that Dr. Gibert has already given a partial answer, namely, that in the initial stages of the break between Tito and Moscow there was no premeditation to use Tito as a Trojan horse. Up to 1953, at least according to the evidence presented by the author, the two centers of government followed largely independent policies. But the author is arguing that by 1953 Moscow was able to see the immense value of Tito. And then during the period of rapprochement the two are beginning to agree on the value of Titoism as a policy in the free West.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. If I understand you correctly ther,, from 1953 right down to the present time, Tito is in close union with Khrushchev in terms of implementation of policy. Khrushchev is always aware of what Titio is going to do. He was aware of what Tito was going to do during the Hungarian revolution. And despite the play, the comedy that you had in the U. N. and elsehere, Yugoslavia presumably opposing Moscow; is that correct?

Dr. CERNY. I think we have make a distinction, Dr. Dobriansky. As far as the author's point of view is concerned, the author does

suggest since 1953 Tito and Moscow have been constantly in connection with one another and do know what they have been doing.

In an epilog to his book, the author suggests that both the Hungarian and Polish resolutions were not at all that much of a surprise to Moscow. He suggests again that this was in many ways a connection in policy between Tito and Moscow. That is the author's point of view. In my own way of looking at the problem, I am not at all sure that the author has given us a completely satisfactory explanation for the events of Hungary and Poland.

At this point I would raise the question whether Moscow did know what Tito was going to do, that Tito knew what Moscow was going to do. As far as the author is concerned, he does imply that is a fact.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I, myself, question seriously the characterization of Tito as a Trojan horse. I will go along, to be sure, with the observation that you have made, the author makes, namely, that Tito is part and parcel of the entire Communist enterprise. But that raises another question which I would like to direct to Professor Gibert. I know, Dr. Gibert, you are an expert in American foreign policy. And on this score, if it is true, if it can be shown that Tito is truly a Trojan horse, then it would seem to me that all the aid that we have been giving to Yugoslavia, and notably the jetplanes that we contemplate sending there in the next few weeks, is really a contribution to not only Yugoslavia in its presumed animosity or disunion with Moscow, but on the contrary, to the very solidity, the strength, the power, of the entire Communist empire. Would that be a correct observation?

Mr. GIBERT. I think so, Dr. Dobriansky. I think the problem here is whether or not American policy should be willing to aid a commonwealth of communism, if in fact communism now is an empire which has many centers of power and no longer simply an empire directed solely and exclusively by Moscow. I think the American point of view should be: Is this an advantage or, with the previous situation, perhaps limited aid with conditions attached would be acceptable. If in fact, however, we regard, as Dr. Draskovich does, a possible commonwealth of communism as a more dangerous force, because it captures more of the moral idealism of communism, then perhaps no aid at all should be our answer to this problem. I think as far as conditional aid is concerned, this is not an American alternative. Tito has said repeatedly, as late again as last fall, that he will not accept aid under conditions, that it will be aid without strings or no aid at all.

Dr. CERNY. Mr. Gibert, if I might pose a question here. As you understand our present policy toward Yugoslavia, is the assumption on which it is based the assumption that we are dealing here with a commonwealth of Communist countries, or is it based on the assumption that the break of Tito with Moscow was of great advantage for United States' foreign policy?

To make clear the point of the question, which may not be too obvious, it seems to me if we look at the break with Moscow as such to be of advantage to the United States, we may be overlooking the fact that the differences between the Communist states, although real, are nevertheless differences among professed Communists who never have any intention of breaking with their Communist ideology.

Mr. GIBERT. Yes; I think that is a good point. It seems to me that what we are doing, attempting to do here, is to find out if there are any advantages to American aid to Tito without fundamentally examining the problem of whether or not this is a genuine deviation from Moscow's control or or whether, in fact, it simply represents a new stage in the Communist world revolution.

It seems to me that we are hoping that there will be certain specific advantages to aiding Tito. We recall in 1949 Tito closed the border between Yugoslavia and Greece, and thus aided the American project of defeating Greek communism. I think we have in mind that there may arise other occasions by which using American aid as a bargaining point we may get Tito to perform similar services to the American cause.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. If I may, gentlemen, there is another question I alluded to, and that is the question of national communism. Professor Gibert brought that out. I think this is fundamental in relation not only to our aid to Tito but also to Gomulka, possibly later on to Peiping, and other subordinate centers of the Communist enterprise.

As you know, I have held to the theory for the past 7 months or so that there is the potentiality within the Communist empire for the emanation, formation of a commonwealth of Communist nations. This isn't strictly Titoism, but I am not going to go into that issue at the moment, but I would like to interrelate all of this. We are contemplating about $100 million worth of economic aid to Communist Poland. The assumption there is similar to the one that has guided our policy with regard to Tito, simply if we can have these subordinate centers assert more independence of Moscow, then perhaps certain rivalries might be cultivated and perhaps in time the entire empire would be weakened and finally collapse without a third world war, without any devastating incident that might cause a war. This will be in the area of evolution. So our economic aid to these particular subordinate centers would be a contribution to peace in the last analysis. That is the assumption, as I understand it.

Now the fact is that within the Soviet Union itself you have Moscow attempting, for example, in the current period to achieve an economic decentralization. There are nations within the Soviet Union, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and this present program seems to indicate that Moscow wishes to distribute power in other areas. Take just the Soviet Union. And perhaps it will allow for a distribution of power to Warsaw, to Belgrade. In a few words, then, perhaps Moscow in time will be amenable to having the subordinate or puppet regimes, the Gomulkas, the Titos, the Maos, and others, assume seats of directorship on the general board of directors of the world Communist enterprise. There hasn't been any indication of that as yet. The Hungarian revolution, I think, the main and highly creditable aspect of it, once and for all it has shown the issue perhaps is more the powerful issue of Russianism as against communism. By that I mean communism as an ideology was shown to be clearly bankrupt. It couldn't even hold the youth of Hungary. You might find that in Poland and elsewhere. And yet the slogans that you had in the Hungarian revolution were along the line, "Ruskie, go home." Now, if Moscow should in time retreat and give way, be more liberal toward Tito, toward Gomulka, give them more power in policymaking, in decisionmaking, do you feel then the Communist commonwealth would come into being and perhaps Dr. Draskovich's thesis would be correct?

Dr. CERNY. I would say yes, I think the Communist commonwealth of nations might come into being. But I would immediately pose another issue here which, I think, warrants some serious consideration: We in the West would have a tendency by hearing the word "commonwealth" to assume that this is a hopeful development. Again, when we hear the word "decentralization" we think this is a hopeful development. But I think the fundamental question to constantly keep in mind is it is always decentralization within an admittedly, indeed, professedly Communist environment.

So let us even assume that the various members of the Communist empire do achieve a greater degree of freedom. This might mean something with respect to intra-Communist relationships, that is, relationships among Communist nations. But would it necessarily mean that the policy of the Communist countries vis-a-vis the free West would alter in any meaningful sense of the term. By meaningful here I mean to the advantage, let us say, to American strategic and foreign-policy interests.

Mr. GIBERT. It would seem to me, Dr. Cerny, that indeed it is highly possible that a development of the commonwealth of communism might be in fact the most dangerous aspect of the Communist movement, that it might, in fact, then recapture some of the idealism of the early days, and that it might not be bankrupt among the youth of Eastern Europe. It also seems to me that we face the problem here of whether or not we want to help stabilize and perpetuate a regime, such as the Tito regime, without regard to its external policy as such. Do we in fact wish to support a Communist regime with all that this implies, the one-party state, complete socialization of industry, collectivization of agriculture, the use of the secret police, even though this might help decentralize the Communist empire? Or are we in fact opposed to communism even if it takes a turn of national deviationism from Moscow itself?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. You have raised a number of issues there. In my own mind I feel there is a ground of validity for the assumption held by our Government, namely, that certainly the interests of the peace in the world is more important than the maintenance of a tyrannical form of government in Yugoslavia or elsewhere. I mean, it is not an issue of black and white. It is one of shades of gray. And in this case, if it is true that Tito is Moscow's Trojan horse and we continue giving aid, well then, it follows necessarily that we are contributing to the Communist enterprise. On the other hand, as I believe this to be correct, if Tito is not entirely a Trojan horse, that he is, as indeed I believe him to be, an opportunist, a very skillful individual, trained in Moscow, knows Russian methods, techniques, that have always characterized Russian diplomacy, and is a very affable person, makes his way into Asia, into the Middle East, talks with Nasser, in other words, has a finger in each of these areas, I believe then that Tito feels that he should be given a position of equality. Of course, that is not justified by the military and economic power of Yugoslavia. No more so than Gomulka's position is in Poland. You have to recognize the center, economically, politically, must of necessity continue to be Moscow. The question is, will Khrushchev, Bulganin, and others allow, make allowances for these individuals to attain to such equality. That is a gamble. I believe that in this case we could have at least an area to exploit for the benefit of our own American foreign policy.

Mr. WARREN. Thank you, gentlemen, for your discussion of the question, "Is Tito Moscow's Trojan horse?"; Dr. Lev. E. Dobriansky, professor of economics, Georgetown University; Dr. Karl H. Cerney, assistant professor of government, Georgetown University; Mr. Stephen P. Gibert, instructor in government, Georgetown University.

Humane Slaughter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that there is a good deal of misinformation being bandied about on the subject of humane slaughter. If you will permit me, I should like to convey a few facts on the issue.

As you may know, on March 11 I introduced a bill, H. R. 5820, dealing with slaughter. The bill is designed to promote the development and use of improved methods for the humane handling, transporting, and slaughtering of livestock and poultry in interstate and foreign commerce. It authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct, assist, and foster research, investigation, and experimentation to develop and encourage the adoption of improved techniques for the humane handling of food animals. The bill authorizes the Secretary to appoint an advisory committee composed of nine members who would make recommendations to him. The Secretary, in turn, would report to the Congress annually commencing January 1, 1959, concerning his activities in connection with the legislation.

The final framing of H. R. 5820 was the result of the experience and work of many experts in the field. In the opinion of growers of livestock, processors of meat, and many people in allied businesses, my bill is considered a practical approach to the solution, if there is one. I have heard many idealistic, and unworkable, proposals advanced to deal with more humane slaughter.

I can assure you, being a small producer myself, that I am searching eagerly to find the most humane and practical way in which to slaughter animals for the market. My discussions with people in the meat industry indicate they are equally eager, not only for humane reasons, but for economical reasons.

I have personal knowledge that the meatpacking business has been striving for many, many years to develop their slaughtering processes along the lines of more efficiency, because the most efficient method naturally will be the most humane method. I am told that processors are perfectly willing to change their already improved methods if they are shown a good reason why they should be changed. One must keep in mind the fact that wholesale changes in techniques of slaughter would necessitate substantial employment readjustments, new construction, and new machinery. It is possible that hasty, mandatory legislation might even result in more inhumane treatment of animals. I say advisedly that, up to date, all of the methods, no matter how promising, have fallen short of the answer and require more test by trial and error.

I believe that my bill, if passed, most certainly will establish a public policy on more humane slaughter. In addition, it will make it possible for competent experts in the Government, the meat industry, and in the humane societies, to develop their ideas to the fullest. I am confident the result will be a vast improvement in the transportation, handling, and slaughtering of food animals.

The Supreme Court

SPEECH
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, an increasing number of recent Supreme Court decisions have created turmoil in the lower courts, amongst the States, and within the legislative and executive branches of Government.

These decisions include: Limiting congressional power to ferret out subversion, racketeering, and crime; opening FBI files to criminal case defendants; emasculating State antisubversion laws; restrictions on firing security risks; making it lawful to advocate overthrow of the Government.

This freewheeling disregard of precedents and procedures, developed during the almost 1¾ centuries of the Nation's history, has aroused a storm of protest mail to Congress and the White House. Legislation is being written to overcome the effects of some of these decisions and constitutional amendments offered to overcome others.

Proposals to limit the Supreme Court's decisionmaking power in the future also have been made. One means would be legislative implementation of certain obscure constitutional provisions permitting Congress to limit what cases the Court can hear. Another is that Congress refuse to appropriate money for the Court to operate, or to have its judges elected. One wag has even suggested a 10th member to be added to the Court—a psychiatrist for the other 9.

But before radical measures are adopted to spike radical opinions, perhaps more moderate remedies should be tested. Complete independence of the judiciary is one-third the keystone of our constitutional separation of powers between legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Government. This division of authority has protected the freedoms of each generation of Americans and fostered the tremendous growth of our country.

It has worked best when the Supreme Court has not regarded its complete independence as a license to invade the constitutional prerogatives of the executive and legislative branches, but exercised a strict responsibility to stick to its own business. That business is using past decisions and precedents to determine what the law is, what the Constitution says, and applying it to the facts before it.

Storms of public protest have arisen whenever the Court has not stuck to business: that is, when its decisions say the law is something different than the meaning of the language in which it is written, or that provisions of the Constitution mean something other than what they generally have been conceded to mean.

When the Court does that, its majority is made up of men who conceive their duty to be not primarily judicial, but in the fields of social science, economies, human relations, and a host of other places. They simply do not understand the Constitution which says these fields are the provinces of the executive and legislative branch, not the Court.

Thus the answer lies in carefully determining what a man thinks about the Constitution and the duties of the Court before appointing him to it for a lifetime. That means the President, who appoints him, and the Senators, who confirm him, must only permit a man to occupy the bench who convincingly demonstrates his fundamental understanding of the Constitution and an unswerving concept of the true nature of a judge's duty.

If this caution is heeded, deaths and retirements will soon remand the Supreme Court to such hands.

We're Proud of Petrak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include a newspaper review of a performance of Aida which was given at the Carter Barron Amphitheater last evening. The review by music critic Constance Mellon, appeared in the Washington Evening Star of today's date.

I had the good fortune to attend the performance of ,Aida along with our senior Senator PRESCOTT BUSH and a group of Connecticut people, all of whom rapturously listened to the excellent performance of an extremely talented cast in a beautiful sylvan setting.

A record crowd of nearly 5,000 attended the performance, but I am sure that none were more pleased than the Connecticut contingent which thrilled at the beautiful tenor voice and subdued dramatics of Rudolph Petrak in the role of Rhadames.

Mr. Petrak, a native of Czechoslovakia, now a resident of Greenwich, Conn., sang with verve and inspiration, for he was fulfilling his life's dream—singing to an audience in the Capital of the United States.

I have become acquainted with many artists who have emigrated to America, but I know of no one more possessed of a deep love for his adopted country than Rudolph Petrak.

I think the happiest day of his life was the day he became an American citizen. His favorite song in his large repertoire

is, appropriately enough, God Bless America.

Mr. Petrak is comparatively new in American opera, but it is apparent that within him are the qualities of greatness which should, in time, elevate him to the heights of the great tenors of all time.

We are proud of Mr. Petrak, and we are very pleased that we were able to attend his Washington debut. We are only sorry it could not have been on the Capitol steps.

The review follows:

STIRRING PERFORMANCE GIVEN VERDI'S AIDA

(By Constance Mellen)

Long Island Opera Co. presents Aida by Giuseppe Verdi. At Carter Barron Amphitheater.

THE CAST

Aida	Herva Nelli
The King of Egypt	Roy Urhausen
Amneris	Regina Resnik
Rhadames	Rudolf Petrak
Amonasro	Cesare Bardelli
Ramfis	Louis Sgarro
A Messenger	Adrien La Chance
A Priestess	Maria Candida
Premiere Danseuse	Lydia Arlova
Premier Danseur	Lucien Prideaux
Conductor	Anton Rocco Guadagno
Stage director	Fausto Bozza

A stirring performance of Verdi's Aida at the Carter Barron Amphitheater last night brought the banks of the Nile closer to Rock Creek Park than anyone would have imagined possible.

The temperature was right for summertime in Egypt, and the capacity audience had every reason to enjoy a colorful spectacle, which contained a great deal of good singing.

Herva Nelli, as Aida, showed her voice to best effect in the less strenuous moments of her role. Despite the white quality of her upper register, the Numi Pieta of the first act was very moving and conveyed the poignancy that other passages lacked.

Rudolf Petrak, completely recovered from his hoarseness of Saturday, sang Radames with vocal gusto, and a rich and appealing tone quality. He avoided any histrionic pitfalls. Radames is a pasteboard figure who ironically comes to life only as he is about to die, and Petrak, with Madame Nelli, did full justice to the duet in the tomb.

To some, the most appealing figure in Aida is the imperious Ethiopian, Amonasro, and the music of the third act, where he and his luckless daughter meet, the most consistently beautiful in the whole score. Cesare Bardelli made an excellent showing in the part, although his voice had some edginess.

Again Louis Sgarro demonstrated the splendid quality of his voice in the part of Ramfis—much too brief a part, for he is a fine singer. But it was Regina Resnik, in the role of Amneris, who dominated the performance. Miss Resnik's powerful tone and the dark bloom of her voice, shared the spotlight with her vital dramatic sense. A fine actress, she surpassed the rest of the singers in the projection of her part and thus, rightly or wrongly, she made Amneris the central figure of the opera.

The chorus of the Long Island Opera Co. has excited comment from the first. Though its members are heterogeneous in size, shape, and vocal ability, they are united in a kind of professionalism one seldom sees any more.

Anton Guadagno, who conducted, not only had the feeling for Verdi's idiom at his fingertips, but he was able to gather up the threads of this complex work with complete authority; no small task when the performance is out of doors.

The amplification system at Carter Barron is not the equal of the lovely natural setting. The microphones on stage distort the voice when a singer comes too close on a high or loud note, and there are other imperfections in the blending of vocal and orchestra sound.

Our Opportunity To Strengthen Polish Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, each year on May 3, we are given an opportunity to speak on the floor on the anniversary of the enactment of the Polish constitution, a constitution patterned after our own, and the first of its kind to be adopted by a European country. In commemorating this anniversary, we cannot do much more than sympathize with the Polish people at the loss of their freedom, and to let them know that they have our strong moral support.

Now, however, we have an opportunity to prove that we are willing and eager to help them. Approval by Congress of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act will enable our Government to fulfill the agreement recently made to provide $95 million worth of economic assistance. This would include wheat, cotton, soy beans, fats and oils, and mining machinery, some of the greatest needs of Poland at the present time.

But this help does not come to them in the form of a gift. It includes a pledge to lend $30 million at 4½ percent through the Export-Import Bank for purchases in the United States, and $65 million worth of surplus cotton, fats, oils, and wheat through the Commodity Credit Corporation, for Polish zlotys.

There has been some objection to this assistance on the grounds that we are helping a Communist government and thus relieving Russia of her responsibility to her satellites. That is true as far as it goes, but it does not cover the entire situation by any means.

In the hearts of the Polish people the desire and struggle for freedom burns fiercely, and we have seen from the uprisings in Poland since their enslavement by the Russians, and more recently by the Poznan uprising last June and the events last October, that this thirst for freedom has not been quenched.

The uprisings are remarkable because it was the workers who were responsible for the rebellions, thus giving the lie to the Communist statements that the Communist-governed countries are the workers' paradise. Their demands for food, freedom and the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Poland, show that their subjection to Communist rule is not a voluntary one, and is not being borne meekly and with indifference. Her demands for freedom prove that she does not desire to be a part of the Soviet bloc, but a free and independent nation.

We need have no fear that the people will believe that the economic assistance mentioned above is coming from or through the generosity of Russia. They know only too well that it has been the Communist mismanagement that has made Poland, at one time one of Europe's graneries, unable to feed her own people. They know that representatives of Gomulka's government have been in the United States negotiating for assistance, and they are hoping for cooperation by the United States Government in the form of generous assistance.

In turning to the West for help, instead of to Russia, the Polish people are taking a far greater risk than we are in granting them this assistance. They know they are facing possible Russian reprisals, but they are willing to take this calculated risk. In doing so, they prove that they want to return to the western family of nations, where they rightfully belong.

I consider it a privilege to vote for this bill and was gratified when it was approved by the House. I sincerely hope that the Senate also will approve it, as I consider this the first opportunity we have had to prove our friendship for the Polish people since their Russian enslavement; and to back up our many expressions of sympathy and moral support with real economic assistance.

Eisenhower and the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an article by John McCormally which appeared in the Hutchinson News of June 14, 1957. An energetic free press is the lifeblood of any country, and we have always prided ourselves on having such a press in these United States. I believe that this article clearly points out how the press of our great country can easily slip into dangerous lethargy and because of this how the reader's right to know can seriously suffer:

When the history of the Eisenhower era is written, one of its weirdest chapters will concern Eisenhower and the press.

During the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, the majority of the press was antagonistic to the man in the White House. Its reporters reported fairly and accurately on Truman and Roosevelt while, editorially, the press was ever alert to the foibles and mistakes of the President.

That arrangement was good for the press. Certainly any effort by the administration to restrain or weaken the press was met by such an editorial barrage that the effort was quickly abandoned.

Roosevelt nor Truman could have had no real objection to the arrangement. Certainly the press, to the chagrin of many of its members, never succeeded in defeating either in an election.

But now, things are different. The reporters still report fairly and accurately and for that reason I don't subscribe to the argument about a one-party press. But the editors, far from sharpening their editorial

shears explain away his blunders, excuse his golfing, minimize his bellyaches, and laud his good works.

None of which, I submit, is done primarily because the editors are all Republicans. Such an argument is beside the point because there are a lot of Republicans who don't think Ike is a Republican. No; the editors just recognize in Ike, as in dogs, children, mothers, Marilyn Monroe, apple pie, and Fourth of July, something that everyone likes and therefore it's a good thing to be for.

For whatever reason, we have this happy love affair between the man in the White House and the man at the editorial typewriter. As a result, this should be the heyday of the press.

SERIOUS ATTACK

But, instead, the press in this country is faced with the most serious official attack from Government since the trial of Peter Zenger.

Having captured the press' affection, the Eisenhower administration has adopted a superior, father-knows-best attitude which is a grave danger, not only for publishers, but for every newspaper reader, radio listener, and television watcher in the land.

Two items will suffice to make the point. The Government won't let American reporters cover China. This is the first time in history, in peacetime, such a restriction has been placed on our supposedly free press.

And to support this position, John Foster Dulles has advanced an entirely new concept of the responsibility of the free press in America. He argues that the press has an obligation to conduct itself in such a way as to support Government policy, even though they think the policy wrong.

Can you imagine newspapers swallowing such a policy during the Roosevelt administrations? A lot of them are swallowing it today.

Further, Dulles has submitted that freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the Constitution, is a guarantee only of freedom to publish and not a license for free gathering of the news. Such a theory flies in the face of all efforts by newspapers to guarantee their readers a right to know.

Latest example of the way the Eisenhower-press honeymoon has degenerated into simple seduction, is Ike's remarks about the CBS television interview with Russia's Khrushchev.

"It was a matter," said the President, "of a commercial firm trying to improve its own commercial standing."

"His attitude," wrote Scotty Reston, of the New York Times, "was that it was an annoying stunt by a commercial company. He did not see it as a typical and dramatic exercise of the free-enterprise system that provided him with an opportunity for counterpropaganda with the Soviet people."

Every wife knows that having been wooed and won, she risks being treated like an old shoe by a man who takes her for granted. This administration takes the press for granted. The press is suffering as a result.

James Edward King

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to advise this body of the passing of a great man and my dear friend. It is my firm conviction that the greatness of our country lies in the devotion to service of the community leaders throughout the land. I have always contended there are no finer examples of unselfish public service than can be found in the small communities all over our country, when men develop their fullest capacities in discharge of duty to their neighbors with no thought of reward except their own satisfaction.

Such a man was James Edward (Jim) King, of Memphis, Tex., an eternal servant to everyone with whom he came in contact. His list of accomplishments would fill the page. Suffice it to say that he gave fully of himself in Hall County for 65 years as teacher, sheriff, businessman, and friend. There are countless monuments to his life in almost every facet of the community and area where he lived and served. His presence will be sorely missed, but his influence will be felt and realized in the Texas Panhandle for generations to come.

The House Chooses Black Pottage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "The House Chooses Black Pottage," published in the Greenville (S. C.) News of June 19, 1957:

THE HOUSE CHOOSES BLACK POTTAGE

From the beginning of the current Congress there has been only thin hope that the so-called civil rights bill could be stifled in the lower House. About all the southern Representatives and a small coterie of independent followers from other section could expect to accomplish was to delay the bill reaching the Senate. They have spun the time wheel past mid-June, with 90 degree weather in the capital and vacation on many minds.

Although final action came yesterday, the supreme test came a day earlier on the amendment to provide jury trials in contempt cases. That was the heart of the bill. Aside from the race question, how many Members from outside the South would vote to preserve one of the basic rights of our citizens: the right to trial by jury? There were some, but not enough. The amendment was supported by 167 Members, including Representatives from Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, and New York, but they were out voted by the 199 who would swallow anything to keep their record black enough to woo the Negro vote. When the final vote came, those 199 were joined by 87 others (many of whom voted for the jury amendment) to pass the bill by 286 to 126.

One may prophesy that in explaining why they voted for the jury amendment (called crippling by ADAM POWELL and the NAACP) these Representatives when they appear on the stump next fall will answer hecklers: "Yes; but we voted for the original bill on the final rollcall."

It is sickening to reflect what would have been the result of this legislation if (1) the Negro did not hold the balance of political power in many large northern and western States; and (2) the merits of the bill, and only the merits of the bill, were up for consideration. Some of those who were most adamant in supporting the bill would have been screaming that a devious effort was underway to give to Federal judges the right to put people in jail for reasons considered sufficient to themselves, or, indeed for no reasons at all.

But the political overcast put justice and reason to rout. It is as clear as the June sun that both parties have been jockeyed into a position of selling their patriotic birthright for a political mess of black pottage. Roosevelt won them away from a long lineage in 1932, turned them over to Truman in 1948. Eisenhower got some of them back in 1952 and a lot more of them (though not a majority) in 1956. The Democrats want them back in 1958 and the Republicans hope to hold what they have and gain many more.

All this "I'm doing more for you than the other fellow" is an appeal to less than 10 percent of the American voters. As for the South, the Yankee hucksters reason that it has nowhere to go and will therefore stick with the party that gives its Congressmen chairmanships and seniority.

We shall now see what happens in the Senate, the last citadel of southern defense, since the Supreme Court and the White House have joined hands to mow us down. If the rule is changed so that 64 Senators do not have to vote to invoke cloture then the last resort will be gone. And that could happen. We have faced the issue before, several times, but due to the skill of Senator RUSSELL and other southern Senators have kept Federal marshals away from our doors. Our prayers are for them once more.

Pastepot Paradise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, we seem to have a waiting game now in progress in Congress on legislation to control billboards on our Interstate Highway System.

The House Public Works Committee is awaiting action in the other body. I frankly do not know the cause of the delay there. However, I do know that the billboards will not wait on anyone including the Congress of the United States.

As soon as the concrete for our interstate highways goes down, the billboards will go up. Once up, they will never come down. Therefore, unless legislation is passed this session, the public will have to reconcile itself to the prospect of 41,000 miles of highways fenced in by unsightly outdoor advertising.

I should like to point out that the Public Roads Subcommittee in the other body approved an antibillboard measure on May 24, exactly 1 month ago today. But the Public Works Committee has neither taken nor scheduled any action thereon.

And yet, the bill has been so watered down it certainly would not be 100 percent effective. It merely provides that States agreeing to control outdoor advertising would get an additional three-

quarters of 1 percent in Federal highway funds.

Personally, I favor the provisions of my bill, introduced last January, which would withhold funds from those States which failed to ban billboards on the interstate roads. I feel that this would be the only effective method of controlling this menace. However, I would be quite willing to accept a weak measure, rather than none at all.

As it looks now, the outdoor advertising interests will emerge victorious in their battle to prevent passage of any legislation whatsoever. Although these interests are small in number, they can exert a powerful influence. I learned this from experience while working for billboard control 30 years ago in the Maine Legislature.

Congress should be allowed to express its will on this legislation, which I believe has the support of an overwhelming majority of the people. I sincerely hope it will be given that opportunity before it is too late.

I call attention to an editorial appearing in the Washington Post of June 23, which I append to these remarks:

PASTEPOT PARADISE

It is becoming painfully obvious that the billboard lobby may win its battle by default. A moderate bill to limit roadside eyesores on the new 41,000-mile Federal highway system is currently bottled up in the Senate Public Works Committee and may never emerge for a vote. The bill provides that States agreeing to place some controls on billboards would get an additional three-quarters of 1 percent in Federal highway funds; participation would be optional. Clearly the voters have a right to know which Senators approve this sensible bill, and which Senators are indifferent to opening the highways to an endless ribbon of honkey-tonk and hucksterism. If the committee fails to report out a billboard bill, it will be interpreted, rightly or wrongly, as a shameful surrender to a lobby with a vested interest in glutting the roadway with toothpaste and hair oil signs.

Economy, Congress Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, if the Congress practices economy in the management of its own affairs, its example might have a significant effect upon the various Federal agencies which we expect to operate more efficiently and with less cost to the taxpayers. On June 21, the Marietta Daily Times, of Marietta, Ohio, published a thoughtful editorial criticizing Economy, Congress Style. This editorial comment is justified, in my opinion. The simple axiom of practicing what we preach certainly applies here.

I also want to direct the attention of the House of Representatives to the compliment which this newspaper pays to my friend and colleague from Ohio, Congressman J. HARRY MCGREGOR, for his contribution to the debate on new office facilities on both sides of Capitol Hill. The editorial is as follows:

ECONOMY, CONGRESS STYLE

Americans in general might feel more sympathy for the economy block in Congress, which to date, for all its shouting and protesting, has little more than dented the record appropriation bill, if they didn't learn occasionally how the legislators spend for themselves. Some of the shocking recklessness with which they raid the Treasury in providing for their own offices, furnishings and services came to light recently in discussion of the measure.

"A lot of things were dragged into the open in that discussion," says George Rothwell Brown, in an article published in the New York Journal-American, "that the people never even suspected before." He gives credit for baring the facts to Representative HARRY MCGREGOR, an Ohio Member of the House. Continuing he writes:

"But for Representative MCGREGOR, of Ohio, ranking Republican member of the Public Works Committee, we taxpayers might never have known that some of the chairs of the new multi-million-dollar Senate Office Building are going to cost $600 each, and that one of the doors on this wholly unnecessary added office space for Senators—with swimming pool and gyms complete—is going to nick Secretary Humphrey to the tune of $8,000.

"It was Mr. MCGREGOR who reminded the House that for years his committee had turned down a recommendation for a third House Office Building. Finally, in the 80th Congress, Congress authorized an appropriation of $25,000 for planning and surevy only.

" 'That $25,000 planning and survey project,' said MCGREGOR, 'has grown like Topsy, until now it is over $20 million, without any further authorization of the appropriate authorizing committee of Congress. I am telling you that something needs investigating.'

"It certainly does. That $20 million is only part of the story. The total cost of this third and wholly unnecessary House Office Building is going to be from $64 million to $100 million before this grandiose Treasury raid is finished."

States Could Follow Congress in Passing Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, if the Eisenhower civil rights bill, which passed the House, passes the Senate and becomes law, it will create much discord in our country at a time when unity is needed most. The splendid relationship between local, State, and Federal law-enforcement agencies will be jeopardized. Sheriffs and State law-enforcement agencies who are close to the people will not cooperate with representatives from the Attorney General's office in the persecution of our citizens. Local officials will not be a party to destroying the right of trial by jury. The discord created by this bill will flow over into other fields and there will not be as much cooperation from local officials with Federal agencies in apprehending crimes in all categories and this will be disastrous at a time when crime is on the increase.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to call to the attention of the House the following splendid article by my friend, W. D. Workman, which appeared in the Greenville, S. C., News:

STATES COULD FOLLOW CONGRESS IN PASSING RIGHTS LEGISLATION

(By W. D. Workman, Jr.)

COLUMBIA, June 15.—Southern States should give serious thought to the possibility of taking a page from the congressional integrationists' book and enacting statutes on States rights modeled after those proposed on civil rights.

If the Federal Government can dispense with the right of jury trial for persons charged with Federal offenses, then State governments can likewise dispense with jury trials for persons charged with violation of certain State laws.

For example, any given Southern State might logically use H. R. 6127 (the civil-rights bill most actively pushed in Congress these days) as a guide for the enactment of legislation aimed at protecting the rights of the State.

There could be established within the particular State a Commission on States Rights, charged with determining whether additional legislation is needed on the subject.

This Commission could concern itself particularly with the matter of public-school education as a function of the State, and could conduct hearings and subpena witnesses in instances where there existed any threat to the educational system of the State.

To implement such investigations, and to conduct prosecutions where necessary, there could be established in the State attorney general's office a special assistant attorney general for States rights, with specially trained personnel. Whenever and wherever it would be determined that persons were conspiring against the State's public-school system, or were about to conspire against it, this special legal section could step into the picture with civil action against the suspects.

Borrowing still from H. R. 6127, legal arrangements could be made through the State courts to cite such persons for contempt without the necessity of resorting to trial by jury. Since it is argued in Congress that there should be no trial afforded persons who run afoul of a Federal court order, then the same logic should carry over for persons who run afoul of a State court order.

To get down to brass tacks, suppose an agitator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to initiate a lawsuit against a properly constituted school district or its officials who are conducting school business in conformity with State law. Or suppose some Negro parent presents his children for enrollment at a school other than that assigned by the proper school officials. Or suppose, on the other side of the coin, that some white submissionist presents his children for admission at a Negro school to which they have not been assigned.

These things might well be found to be in violation of the State's right to operate the public-school system according to legally adopted rules and regulations. Whereupon the violators, or those suspected of intending to violate such regulations, could be hauled before a State court, cited for contempt, and promptly sentenced.

If this seems harsh and oppressive, as perhaps it would be, then the State need only refer complaints to the Eisenhower administration and to Congress, saying, "They showed us the way."

Legislators of the Southern States might file that idea away in their heads for possible

future reference, just in case Congress decides to go all the way with its so-called civil-rights crusade. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Pan American's 705 Data Processing Center in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on April 24, 1957, Mr. John S. Woodbridge, comptroller, Pan American World Airways, Inc., delivered an address to the seventh region conference of the industrial radio engineers at San Diego, Calif. The address was entitled "Pan American's 705 Data Processing Center in Action." Unanimous consent is requested for this speech to be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PAN AMERICAN'S 705 DATA PROCESSING CENTER IN ACTION

(Address to the seventh region conference of the industrial radio engineers, San Diego, Calif., by John S. Woodbridge, comptroller, Pan American World Airways, Inc., April 24, 1957)

I fully expect to rouse the IRE, the ire of the industrial radio engineers here, but militantly, so that you, in teamwork and close collaboration with industry, may help solve many of the problems hindering our search for better living conditions throughout the world.

I will outline here a few of the many corporate desires for specific relief from the kind of clerical drudgery decried by both capital and labor, relief that we expect from you in this technical audience and from your brilliant and restless colleagues in advanced thinking.

Much of industry needs discussed here is already in existence, in various degrees of perfection, but we need it in practical and economical form, and now, useful in coordination with other useful technical units.

Although much of industry is skeptical still, afraid of getting its feet wet, business electronics is here, and here to stay. There are too many small but essential molecules in our intricate business life to keep on grinding them out manually, but with wasteful usage and attritioning of grey matter which should be dedicated to a fairer life.

Industry is hard to persuade, insisting on balancing the debits and credits of business electronics before taking the plunge into its depths, the pros and cons, the dollars for and the dollars against, the alleged shifting of authorities, the specter of diminution of individual executive values. Sometimes the scales are not too conclusive, and here is where you must help by developing shortcuts, acceleration of procedures, shrinkage in cost, both of machines and of lower-grade manual activity. On the success of your endeavors depends much of the success of customer acceptance.

We have been fortunate in the Pan American World Airways, for our board of directors enthusiastically accepted our recommendations and permitted us to forge ahead with the installation of our data processing center in New York, employing the great IBM 705 apparatus and peripheral equipment. Installed almost a year ago, it commenced paying for itself within a few weeks and is now on the verge of new horizons, with applications under review which should make us wonder why we had ever been so bashful about getting into business electronics.

Sheer volume, aided and abetted by shortage of personnel trained in the technicalities of the volume and by the persistent gadflies of devoted technical colleagues, drove us into this type of activity, without which we would presently be in an unsavory and unholy morass of detail.

Let me tell you a little bit about the background which forced our hand. For this, you need to know something about Pan American World Airways, of which I am the comptroller, its chief accounting officer.

We have a fleet of 132 four-engined transoceanic type aircraft, and a great fleet of 44 Boeing and Douglas jet aircraft reaching us in a couple of years. Our assets then will approximate $650 million, and we will need many hundreds of millions of dollars of passenger and cargo revenue each year in order to keep the position of the United States in international air transportation where it belongs.

Our 25,000 employees are fulfilling this tremendous assignment admirably, and our 40,000 stockholders, many of them employees, realize that they also are commercial ambassadors of our country in demonstrating its values and hopes to all nations.

Let us now descend from the sublime to the workhorse of our thesis, the passenger ticket, the primary vehicle for financing this aerial and global missionary work. This topic has been selected as one of the many applications which we have already placed in our electronics activity, which topic alone has already reduced company cost sufficiently to compensate for higher machine rental. The complexity of handling the tickets and their overpowering volume will help illustrate and dramatize the electronic work that is being done and that we expect to do.

A passenger ticket is a fragile thing and rough treatment of it can be distressing. Passenger tickets must keep moving steadily and surely through the arteries of a transportation company, from sale to usage, for the very framework of the company and of its members and of its organs depends on this healthy and active blood-stream.

Ten thousand times every working day a Pan American World Airways ticket is sold, somewhere in the world, for travel from somewhere in the world to somewhere else in the world. These tickets are not ordinary little stubs covering travel over a relatively short distance over the lines of a single carrier, but contain intricate flight coupons, frequently with multiple legs and including travel over the lines of many other air carriers, each of which flight coupons must be kept under rigid control. In some cases, there have been as many as fifty flight coupons within a single ticket.

A passenger ticket must be nurtured and coddled to produce the desired results. Granted an efficient sales staff and adequate carriage and on-line and in-flight service, there still remains the handling of the paperwork, which can be a fiendish job. Bear in mind that a passenger ticket is generally a negotiable instrument, carrying value within itself, so that it must be kept constantly controlled, from printer to consumption.

It goes, unused and blank, to the point of sale, be it a company sales office or an agent or another airline. It is sold or voided. The passenger uses it or does not. If he does not, he recoups the unused portion or does not. Coming in several parts, the passenger uses one coupon part for each leg of his journey and the sales part follows the accounting for the sale. Revenue is created by the voyage itself and not by the sale.

To control this million-dollar-a-day volume in an orderly and inexpensive manner, Pan American credits all sales to a control account known as unearned transportation revenue, the detail being maintained on magnetic tape, one area on the tape for each ticket.

Usage of the flight coupons anywhere in the world is reported to headquarters through the passenger flight envelopes and the accompanying lifted flight coupons, through the billings from other air carriers and the accompanying flight coupons flown by those carriers, and through the refund reports and the accompanying refunded flight coupons. This usage relieves the inventory of unearned transportation revenue, the usage being translated to magnetic tape and used to reflect the earned revenue and to attrition the inventory, the remainder being constantly under magnetic-tape control.

Let us peer through the 20-foot-wide observation window of our electronic data processing center in New York and see what this is all about. We will look first at the input of an oversimplified illustration within passenger revenue accounting.

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The total passenger revenue job now requires 140 hours of machine time each month as against 4,000 hours. The present work for the month, including the inventory of unearned transportation revenue, is contained on 12 reels of magnetic tape; it used to be carried in 400 tightly packed trays, each containing 3,500 tabulating-machine cards.

The principal duties of our passenger revenue accounting embrace the control of the tickets, the development of revenue figures with allocation of revenue to our operating divisions, the production of vital statistics, the billing to others for carriage of passengers, and the control of travel which has been sold and which has not yet been used by our passengers. With the volume of our sales for a recent and typical month reaching $32 million, our inventory of paid for but unused tickets coming to $50 million, with 1,150,000 individual parts of tickets related to those dollar amounts, you will readily understand the corporate value of controlling and using this rich mine of vital management information, now so easily susceptible of being interrogated.

Related to this highly significant application of passenger accounting and control is the electronic handling of passenger reservations. This is of immense importance to Pan American, as it is to all other air carriers, because of the inherent fluidity of reservations, the intricate network of the company's routes and the staggering volume. Pan American is flying the Atlantic Ocean 22 times every day of the week, and across the Pacific Ocean 12 times every day, with high-capacity 4-engined transports and heavy passenger lists. All available seats must be sold if at all possible; the company dare not let its record-keeping of reservations flag for a moment, or else prospective passengers will be improperly denied passage when space was actually there for them. In the airline industry, an empty seat is the most perishable of commodities; the revenue lost thereby is practically net loss.

Manual handling of these reservation intricacies is frequently believed to be the cause of "no-shows," the bane of the airline business, whereas they should often be classified actually as incorrect recording. Passenger tempers will blossom when human clerical error reaches a sensitive spot in the cycle between booking and sailing and the passenger is incommoded for no good reason.

Bona fide "no-shows" must be studied to determine and to correct patterns of passenger behavior for the future. Protective duplication of bookings made by passengers must be discouraged, as this will deny passage to others desiring space but who cannot and will not afford to gamble on the standby chance for a transoceanic flight. There is just too much volume for our clerks to undertake studies on duplication of reserva-

tions, and such studies would be valueless after the fact.

Electronic controls record the passenger from the moment he books until he embarks on his flight or decides not to travel. The arrangement shows the names of passengers booked and pertinent related information on each flight for each day far into the future. It alphabetizes the names with related flight numbers and dates and other direct information, thereby making practicable the ready identification of duplicate bookings, with remedial action possible long before the flight. It gives a history of each flight from the date the flight is opened, as to all movement of bookings into and out of it, with explanatory data enabling sales personnel to pursue troublesome areas and to build up patterns for protection thereafter, particularly as to the minimizing of "no-shows."

Payrolls are recurring and intricate and of considerable volume, so the handling and accounting for payrolls is being accorded the inventory treatment so admirably executed by the electronic data processing machines. Under the so-called inventory treatment, we start out with the opening inventory of our people and of their salaries and payroll deductions and accumulations, add people put on the payroll, subtract those who leave, adjust for other changes in payroll and related information, multiply and divide through the application of rates of pay and of relatcd information, and end up with the closing inventory of our people and of their salaries and of their payroll deductions and accumulations. The important products include the mechanical issue of paychecks and corresponding notices to the employees, the calculation and distribution of costs, and the preparation of managerial statistics and the innumerable reports called for by those agencies interested in payroll and payroll deduction information.

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The accounting for the acquisition, disposition and location of spare parts, materials, and supplies is another of our most pervasive accounting elements which are recurring and of immense volume. The electronic data processing machines are hungry for this type of activity; through their speed and uncanny capacity for exposing other facets of information not hitherto economically available to produce, they create a direct savings in amounts purchased through disclosing numerical and geographical saturation areas, with reorder periods lengthened accordingly. Immensely fast and accurately prepared selections of explosive inventory data with concurrent ignoring of the vast majority of immaterial data is substituted by the machines for the inordinate and unrewarding use of semi-manual motions and squirrel-cage activities of the lower medulla. We delve into the fascinating field of management by exception, and immediately the vista of the better life opens up, with newly granted freedom from racking, grubby detail.

One of the greatest gifts made to industry by business electronics is this management by exception. Never before have we been able to have machines trained to the point where they decline to present us with trivial information, the deadening kind of soggy data that we have previously skimmed over in irritating disgust. Heretofore we have had to wade through and mentally dismiss oceans of material, to single out an occasional pearl that we cannot afford to overlook. Now we set our electronic programs in such a way that they filter out the overwhelming mass of unwanted data, while pouncing on and displaying data which require thoughtful review and possibly rapid action. Managerial time is thus freed from laborious and stultifying review of endless tabulations, most of which material is passed over anyway as being inconsequential. At the same time, data on action material is produced ever so much sooner, with the value of such earlier reporting completely obvious. Commitment accounting becomes far more facile to arrange and delivery schedules can be more readily displayed to interested technicians.

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This is also one of the major problems of the air materiel command and one which it is meeting head on by intelligent use of basic and peripheral and satellite electronics machines.

From time to time, interesting but non-time-consuming diversions from business applications are presented to the company's electronic data processing center. A recent one has resulted in highly valuable studies of the performance over the company's routes of "paper jets," those still on the drawing board or still in the early stages of production. Given the operating specifications of the particular aircraft, basic costs, length and altitude of runways at each end of the trip, average temperatures and wind-speeds there, the program produces, among other vital data, the cost per revenue ton-mile at different cruising aspects, such as varying altitude and speeds related to the speed of sound. It goes so far as to tell how much longer the destination runway should be if it is not presently long enough to accommodate a full revenue load. This would normally take a month per aircraft type for a skilled engineer to calculate, for even a few illustrative legs of a trip; now that this electronic program has been perfected, it can be accomplished on the computer in half an hour for an entire route, with the print-out time taking a few minutes longer.

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Let us now return to the scales, which can and must be influenced materially by you scientists and forward planners.

You must help demonstrate that centralization of clerical drudgery into a highly mechanized but unintelligent computer does not necessarily imply giving up decentralization in management, but should actually implement and foster it.

You must mechanize further the areas presently handled by monotonous and unrewarding use of lesser brain cells.

You must hurry the introduction of data into the electronics machines.

You must cause to be condensed the activities within the machines.

You must cause to be made more readily available and even instantaneously the vital data imprisoned on magnetic tape and within the memories.

You must perfect adequate selectivity of such data.

You must increase economically the print-out speed.

First of all, let me implore the members of this distinguished audience, and all other scientists and consultants of the equipment manufacturers, to press forward relentlessly and with unflagging zeal on your studies looking toward the complete abandoning of tabulating-machine cards. They keep us earthbound because they are still a compulsory link in the data-processing cycle. Data must be coded manually before the punchcard machine operators will deign to look at it; then it must be laboriously hand driven into the cumbersome and bulky cards; then the cards must be verified on another hand-operated keyboard; then they must be hand assembled. We are imprisoned within 80 columns in a single card, which causes the retention of a staggering number of files of cards relating to similar identifications. To add the crowning blow, the cards must be translated slowly, ever so slowly, into tape.

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One of the most abominable and least-rewarding of all processes in electric accounting machine work and in electronic data processing machine work is the sorting of data into some form of serialization. This will be by strict arithmetical sequence or by rigid alphabetization or by a combination of both types of series or by ascending or descending sets of numbers. We cannot get away from this leech, Sinbad's old man of the sea, for the brilliant speed of the electronic machines is contingent upon having the racetrack in perfect straightaway condition. Look at the fantastic waste of time in conducting this ignoble pursuit. Take, for example, the sorting into arithmetical sequence of 100,000 tabulating-machine cards each bearing an identifying number of 10 integers, such numbers just as random as can be; this calls for 1 million card sorts. The old-style sorters (EAM), working 2 at a time with 1 operator, will turn out the job in 50 machine-hours with 25 man-hours. The procedure which Pan American now considers conventional (via EDPM) takes 3 machine-hours and 3 man-hours. Even that is too slow, for the central processing unit, the main frame, the really expensive part of the apparatus, is tied up for this work and its time is therefore denied to other demanding activities. This is particularly vital when we realize again how many massive sorts are always being needed.

The remedy appears obvious. You technicians and your fellow geniuses throughout the land must develop a far simpler sorter which will work independently from and concurrently with the central processing unit, slower if necessary, but constantly readying raw data for productive processing. After all, sorting should be one of the simplest of all EDPM jobs, and it is a shame to have the high-strung main frame racehorse doing donkey-engine work.

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Now we are looking for a resourceful technical dreamer to come up with a method of having the high-speed printer tell its story in metallic ink or otherwise, so that it can serve not only as a written record but as a conduit for high-speed reconversion into magnetic type if that were required. Think what this would do to the rapidly growing libraries of reels of tape, costly to buy and costly to maintain. Just wash out previous tapes and use them again, never worrying about the possible failure of continuity. Like the monkey, you would not let go with your hand until you had hold with your tail.

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Pan American World Airways has been described for many years as the "world's most experienced airline," not in a vainglorious theme but because we all sincerely believe that the description is correct. We feel that our successful introduction of the electronic data-processing machines and their limitless potentiality which we are actively and progressively exploring will help us continue in the same tradition, of trying to be of utmost service to those using the airlines, for the experience of our airline is certainly a part and parcel of the experience and heritage of our own country.

There is the story, a serial, to be continued rapidly as we all progress. Commercial electronics are here, and here to stay. Wherever you and your associates can make improvements along the lines which have just been touched on and along the many other lines being developed and being considered, you are helping industry, the military, and the welfare of the citizens of our own United States of America.

A Trend to Leniency for the Criminal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, before coming to Congress I practiced law actively for 15 years and then served as judge of the superior courts for 13 years.

In each capacity I was in position to closely observe the activities of law-breakers and criminals of all kinds and to observe the effects of court action on law violators.

There is no escaping the fact that inadequate punishment encourages criminals. Adequate punishment is one of the most effective crime deterrents. Vigilant policing, plus vigorous prosecution, plus adequate sentences for guilty criminals, will afford in great measure that protection to which good law-abiding citizens are entitled. However vigilant the police may be and however vigorous the prosecuting officer may be, all this can be nullified if the case is tried before a judge who refuses to impose adequate sentences. And the efforts of all three can be nullified if the appellate courts make it a rule to get on the side of the criminal instead of standing for law enforcement.

Recently I had the privilege of hearing Chief Edgar E. Scott, chief of detectives of the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police Department, speak over one of the local television stations on the subject "A Trend to Leniency for the Criminal."

His statements were so sound and his conclusions so correct that I feel that his talk should have as wide a distribution as possible. Under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert the same herewith as a part of my remarks.

This article points up the fact that appellate courts can tie the hands of law-enforcement agencies and thus leave law-abiding men, women, and children at the mercy of the conscienceless dope peddler, murderer, rapist, or robber.

I recommend Chief Scott's article to all who are interested in law enforcement.

The article follows:

A TREND TO LENIENCY FOR THE CRIMINAL

It is true that there has been a trend toward leniency for the criminal. This has been especially true in the rulings handed down by the higher courts. By these rulings, the justices of the trial courts, the United States Attorney's office, the police and other law enforcement agencies have been restricted more and more in their efforts to get the necessary evidence to the juries to convict guilty criminals. We have many outstanding trial justices, well-experienced in the law, who have always safeguarded the rights of the defendants; who also have given some thought to the rights of the law-abiding public, the families of the deceased and the victim of the rapist. They are bound by these decisions and hampered thereby from the rendering of justice.

Investigation of the record will show that some members of the higher courts have fought against this trend toward leniency. For these men, your police department is grateful.

The trend has been in the further restriction of law enforcement as to the admissibility of voluntary confessions, and of evidence obtained through the use of confessions obtained after the arrest and prior to arraignment. This is the ruling that has hurt law enforcement most. There are others regarding search and seizure, the speedy trial of persons serving time for other offenses in other jurisdictions, the defense of insanity, and so forth.

It seems that there are those who believe that confessions should be excluded entirely. Some justices have stated that the defendant should be brought directly from the place of arrest to the court without any opportunity for fingerprinting, photographing or investigation before arraignment. Law enforcement agencies are already restricted by these rulings to the point where there is great pressure on the officers who must work many overtime hours through the night trying to get evidence before the court is in session.

At one time the law was that defendants must be arraigned without unnecessary delay, but now the door is being gradually closed to any investigation before arraignment. And I must say, there is little chance of getting any evidence after arraignment. What is unnecessary delay? Does the law-abiding public have any rights in this? We think they do.

The result of further restrictions of this kind will be more protection, not for the novice or beginner, but for the professional criminal who carefully plans to commit these fiendish crimes of murder, rape, robbery, and so forth, without eyewitnesses, and will encourage them to kill their victims so that there will be no witnesses. Also it will prevent the clearing of innocent persons by investigation, as has been done in the past in many, many cases. The persons cleared had, in many cases, been implicated through mistaken identity, grudge identification, frame-up, and so forth. In fact, in most of our important cases, more persons are cleared than are charged. This, of necessity, takes time.

The percentage of crimes committed by these professional criminals, which can be cleared under these restrictions must, of necessity, be much smaller. Leniency in the District of Columbia will draw the criminal element from the States who operate under laws more favorable to law enforcement.

The law-abiding public has a right to know of this situation and to decide how far it should go.

Light on Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the June 22 edition of the Washington Post and Times Herald carried the text of an excellent letter written to the editor by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

Senator KEFAUVER has been doing an excellent job in exposing the true nature of the fast tax writeoffs granted by this administration. I want to take this opportunity to commend him for the fine job he has been doing in bringing to light some of the shady dealings surrounding the issuance of tax certificates to the Idaho Power Co. Senator KEFAUVER'S letter to the editor of the Washington Post is characteristic of his calm and sensible approach to a matter of national importance. I am certain it will be of interest to all Members of this Chamber and I ask that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter follows:

LIGHT ON HELLS CANYON

I want to congratulate you on your fine June 9 editorial, "Light on Hells Canyon," to which Senator WATKINS took exception in his letter which you printed on June 18.

Like Senator WATKINS, I represent a State which has no great direct interest in the Columbia River Basin, and which will feel no immediate impact from the development of Hells Canyon. But I do feel qualified to recognize a scheme to waste a great natural resource when I see it, and I don't need a set of distorted figures to understand that the effect of such a scheme can only be to weaken the entire Nation.

What I find shocking is the attempt of the opponents of Hells Canyon to justify their position by the use of incredibly confused statistics.

For example, in his letter which you published Tuesday, June 18, Senator WATKINS came up with $398 million as his figure for the cost to the Government of the high dam at the end of 50 years. He then performed the truly remarkable accounting gyration of carrying his own ultimate figure back through history from the end to the start of the 50-year period, and proceeded to compound it annually throughout that period to arrive at his utterly ridicuous $2.2 billion figure.

Either Senator WATKINS' accountant is extremely confused, or he has a very low opinion of the intelligence of your readership. In any event this sort of figure-juggling hardly lends credence to his conclusions.

Lest I appear to be in complete disagreement with Senator WATKINS' letter, I hasten to praise two separate points in it. The first is his candid admission, so rare among opponents of Hells Canyon, that a large part of the cost of the high dam will be repaid with interest. In fact, the total of the nonreimbursable costs is only $48.8 million; all the rest of the project's costs will be repaid with interest.

I should like to emphasize also that after this repayment has been completed the high dam would belong to the people of the United States, while the low dams, complete with subsidy, would be the property of the private company.

In addition Senator WATKINS referred to the business and industrial expansion made possible by the new power and the additional millions of dollars this would mean to the Treasury in increased personal and corporation taxes. Here, of course, is the heart of the entire issue, and I am glad it is at long last being conceded by the opponents of Hells Canyon.

According to the most expert estimates available, based upon years of experience in the Northwest, the amount of power the high dam would produce in excess of the low-dam plan would result in the creation of about 35,000 new jobs in industry and $45 million annually in Federal taxes.

I do not intend to indulge my imagination in the calculation of what this latter figure might amount to with compound interest over 50 years, but I can hardly resist pointing out that in less than 9 years all of Senator WATKINS' claimed 50-year losses resulting to the Government from the construction of the high dam would be completely paid off, using only the excess power benefits of the high dam over the low-dam scheme.

I think it is most doubtful that there would even be much broadening of the economic base of the Northwest based on power from the private company dams. In order to locate in the Northwest industry needs

low-cost power to compensate for the high cost of shipping its products to the market centers of the East, and even the FPC examiner referred to power from the Idaho Power Co. dams as being fancy-priced power.

Senator WATKINS referred to the cost of compensating the Idaho Power Co. for its expenditures to date, using a figure of $48 million. Actually the Senator is confusing expenditures with cancelable commitments, and the correct figure would be under $30 million, which would of course be a reimbursable cost of power production, contrary to the assumptions of his letter which included it in the nonreimbursable total.

But this raises another intriguing question. By letter of May 6 to Congressman ULLMAN, Chairman Kuykendall, of the Federal Power Commission, admitted that the power company in its construction to date had not complied with its own design plans as approved by the FPC.

If this is true it may be that the company cannot claim to have been proceeding under the FPC license in claiming damages if Hells Canyon Dam is authorized by Congress. Is it possible that here, as in the infamous Dixon-Yates deal, we shall see the Attorney General in court opposing the company's claims for reimbursement?

Senator WATKINS' letter cited the FPC as deciding that the three-dam plan (the FPC admitted the third dam may never be built) was the best plan for comprehensive development of the river. It neglected to point out that the FPC's own technical hearing examiner found the high dam would produce almost twice as much power at less than half the cost as the low dams, and provide almost four times as much active storage usable for flood control.

It offered no allusion to what the examiner called "the inescapable conclusion that * * * the high dam would be the better investment and the more nearly ideal development of the Middle Snake."

It omitted mention of the fact that it was the FPC's own chief accountant who estimated the cost of the low dams to the taxpayer at $83.5 million some $34 million more than the net nonreimbursable costs of the high dam. It ignored the recent brief of the FPC's own staff in the Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley proceeding urging that 4 million acre-feet of storage are needed in the Snake Basin for flood control, almost the exact capacity of Hells Canyon Dam.

ESTES KEFAUVER,
Senator from Tennessee.

WASHINGTON.

Statement of Representative Leonard Farbstein, of New York, Before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee Relative to H. R. 2474

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, following is the statement which I submitted on June 18, 1957, to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in connection with the hearings on salary increases to postal employees.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE LEONARD FARBSTEIN, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE RELATIVE TO H. R. 2474

On behalf of the postal clerks, I desire to advise the members of this honorable committee that I feel very strongly about the situation of the postal employees in my district, the 19th Congressional District of New York. I further believe that the postal employees have been underpaid for a number of years and that it is high time that their request for sufficient earnings to decently support their families be recognized.

In New York City the low wages of the postal employees has compelled more than 60 percent of that number to seek outside employment in order to maintain a decent living standard.

Because of the low pay the morale of postal employees is so poor it has become difficult for the postal service to attract qualified employees and retain the skill necessary for the efficient functioning of the service. I know that it has become necessary to hire hundreds of temporary employees in the postal service in New York City. This action has become imperative because of the inability of the service to secure men who are willing to take the examination in order to obtain civil service status. This is undoubtedly due to the low rate of earnings of the regular postal employees.

I therefore submit to this honorable committee that in the interest of the employees and in the interest of better service that the enactment of H. R. 2474 would be very salutary.

A Message for Our College Graduates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News, a weekly publication with wide circulation in my congressional district:

A MESSAGE FOR OUR COLLEGE GRADUATES

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

We salute the college graduates of the Nation who are the hope of tomororw to keep alive the democracy of today. We say to you—this is a great commencement for you. This is a great time in your lives. You are the hope of America. You are the promise of America.

The destiny of democracy is in your keeping. You must guard it well. You must nourish it constantly. You must cherish it forever. The spirit of democracy is as changeless and immutable as the soul of man.

Democracy faces the threat of communism. It is freedom or tyranny, it is peace or war, it is life or death. Liberty is freedom, but freedom is not free. It is the most expensive thing in the world because it is the most desired thing in the world.

In times of grave crisis, there are some—who fall prey to doubt and unreasoning fear; who seek refuge in cynicism and narrow self-interest; who wrap themselves in treacherous cloaks of complacency. All these are dangers that lie within us. All these are dangers that impair the faith and weaken the determination without which freedom cannot prevail.

God gave man intelligence,
Man will not use it.
God gave man freedom,
Man exchanges it for tyranny.
God gave man the capacity of love,
Man stifled it in his heart.
God does not cast misery upon man,
Man creates his own misery.

The greatest force is moral force. The greatest power is spiritual power. These are the great untapped sources of energy that can save civilization from self-destruction. These are the unseen spiritual atoms hidden deep in the hearts of men.

Your work and your example are the tiny miraculous ingredients, out of which must be forged the mighty instruments of the world's salvation. In your hearts and in the hearts of millions of other Americans like you, there beats and throbs the desire for peace on earth and good will. We must protect our democracy. We must have citizens strong in will and the determination to preserve it.

We must ever have an immutable determination to give all, if need me, for the preservation of our American way of life. Without that faith and determination no material means of defense will suffice. With them, we need fear no enemy, inside or outside our borders. We must ever keep ourselves conscious of the realization that our security as a nation is assured as long as we stand together united under the bond of "One Nation under God indivisible with liberty and justice for all."

Go forth, O young Americans from your colleges and universities. Our country has need of you. Our country cries out for individuals like you. You are our noble youth. You are our noble heritage.

You will be true to the generations that went before you. You will be true to the generations that will come after you. You will be true to mankind. You will be true to God.

At certain times and places, under the spur of necessity, and faith, man has fortified his spirit, beaten down his fears, and stepped forth as the master of his destiny. At such times and in such places the human race has known its highest dignity. Courage, character, and intelligence have worked their miracles and life has become an adventure rich and fine.

So on this, your happy graduation day, we congratulate you. We wish you Godspeed, have faith in God. You are safe in God. He abides forever.

Emergency Creates a Spending Necessity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present herewith a timely editorial from the Shreveport Times of June 21, regarding the present urgency of needed appropriation increases for bank construction work along the Red River below Denison Dam in Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. It is as follows:

EMERGENCY CREATES A SPENDING NECESSITY

A Congress which gives friendly consideration to the spending of billions for foreign aid should certainly give the same consideration to the need for urgent flood control work here in the United States.

This particularly relates to a condition existing in our own region, and the current response to that condition in Washington.

As everyone along the Red River knows, the high waters and floods on the Red this year have in many instances eroded banks and flood control works, with the result that much of the protection system stands in need of repair during the months immediately ahead.

Inadequate construction would leave a high risk of damage should another period of high water and inundation strike.

Yet the House Appropriations Committee last week provided only $300,000 for bank work along the Red below Denison Dam in Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. This figure was set up in the budget long before the heavy rains came this spring and early summer. It perhaps was a suitable figure then; it is a woefully deficient figure now.

Louisiana's Representatives and Senators can be relied upon to put forward effectively the case for more funds for work on the Red in this State. Presumably Texas and Arkansas will do the same. In both Houses of Congress the facts should be examined, for if they are examined the allocation for bank construction will surely be increased.

Deserving a review, too, is the committee's action in dropping from the flood control bill an item of $300,000 for continued planning of the Overton-Red River Waterway. While this does not present the urgency found in the needed appropriation increase for bank construction, it does represent necessary progress on an inland improvement of the type which ought to be a normal year-to-year activity of the Federal Government.

If

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here a short poem which was sent in by one of my correspondents, which I believe will be read with appreciation by my colleagues—or at least some of them. It states some self-evident truths which we all might do well to consider seriously, even while we chuckle at the cleverness of the "takeoff":

IF

If you can keep your head when all about you
UNESCO seeks to muddle and deceive;
If you can trust yourself when "pinkies"
doubt you
Because you love your country and believe
Its Constitution is the best that ever
Was drawn to guard the liberties of man,
And that Americans must all endeavor
To keep it safe and solid of the can—
If you won't let the U. N. be your master.

If you won't make world government your
aim
If you can fight the sinister disaster
Of letting spies and traitors win the game—
If you are loyal to the land that gave you
Your freedom and the chance to fight and
win,
And count upon its Bill of Rights to save
you
From tyranny and slavery and sin—
If you respect your flag and love your
Maker
And pray that he will guide you to do right,
And do not let the first high-sounding
faker
Convince you white is black and black is
white—
If you stand up and say you love Old Glory
And show that you're an American with
guts—

Baby, you'd better get yourself a lawyer,
For "mental health" is out to prove you're
nuts!!

(Author unknown, with apologies to Rudyard Kipling.)

Protests FCC Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD several articles regarding the charges by State Senator George Miller that the Federal Communications Commission has discriminated against Contra Costa and Solano Counties in California in its tentative decision favoring an applicant for a television license in the area. In addition, I wish to insert a copy of State Senator Miller's letter, in which he carefully outlines the basis of his charges of discrimination against the people of the area he represents. From time to time there has been congressional criticism of the arbitrary manner in which the FCC hands out these valuable TV channels. I call this further complaint to the attention of both the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the House Committee on the Judiciary for consideration when those committees take up the problem of the operations of the FCC:

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE,
June 15, 1957

The Honorable CLAIR ENGLE,
Representative in Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CLAIR: I am greatly concerned by a tentative decision of the Federal Communications Commission which, if it stands unchallenged, will discriminate against the residents of Contra Costa and Solano Counties.

The FCC has indicated that it intends to grant a license for the operation of channel 2—the last available television channel that could adequately serve the vast East Bay area—to a San Francisco applicant whose transmitter would serve the same area as the other San Francisco stations.

This means that the last available television channel in this area—supposedly reserved for the fast growing East Bay—is going to be turned over to San Francisco interests.

By this action the FCC has destroyed our hopes of seeing the construction of a transmitter in the hills east of the bay so that its signals would be clearly received in all parts of Contra Costa and Solano Counties.

I have reviewed the technical reports on the proposed coverage of the three applicants who seek to operate a station on channel 2. Of the 3, only 1—television East Bay—has proposed a solution to our television problems. This applicant would locate its transmitter high in the hills east of Berkeley and consequently would provide grade A reception, not only to San Francisco and Oakland, but to the entire East Bay region. Its studios would be located in Oakland. I am extremely disturbed to discover that the applicant favored by the FCC in its tentative decision plans to construct its transmitter at San Bruno Mountain, south of San Francisco—the site of the existing San Francisco television transmitters.

If this situation remains unchanged, Contra Costa County, particularly the central part of the county, will receive little or no benefit from the new station.

In view of the poor reception of television programs originating out of San Francisco now, and the absence of a television station designed to primarily serve the East Bay, we in Contra Costa County and our neighbors in Solano County have a deep concern with this whole matter.

If the Federal Communications Commission's decision is affirmed, it will mean that San Francisco will have five television stations while Contra Costa County will continue to suffer the annoyances of fringe reception. I cannot see the justice in such a decision.

We have an urgent need for adequate television service in this area, particularly in the field of local public service programs, the programing of which has been hampered by our lack of access to the San Francisco stations.

I believe there is a real possibility that the FCC will act abruptly to confirm its tentative action without considering the needs of 250,000 residents of Contra Costa and Solano Counties (nearly half the entire population of the two counties) affected by the Commission action.

In my estimation the strongest possible representations should be made to the Federal Communications Commission in an effort to persuade them not to act hastily, but give due consideration to the television reception problem of the people of Contra Costa and Solano Counties.

Any assistance that you may give us in this matter will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MILLER, Jr.,
Senator, 17th Senatorial District.

[From the Contra Costa (Calif.) Times of June 17, 1957]

FCC DECISION MAY DOOM CONTRA COSTA TO FRINGE RECEPTION

State Senator George Miller, Jr., Democrat, of Richmond, said today that he was greatly concerned over a tentative decision of the Federal Communications Commission which, if it stands unchallenged, will discriminate against the residents of Contra Costa and Solano Counties.

CHANNEL 2

According to Miller, the FCC has indicated that it will grant a license for the operation of channel 2 to a San Francisco applicant. Miller pointed out that this is the last available television channel that could adequately serve the east bay area.

"By this action," the senator said, "the FCC has destroyed our hopes of seeing the construction of a transmitter in the hills east of the bay so that its signal would be clearly received in all parts of Contra Costa and Solano Counties."

SAN BRUNO SITES

Miller said that the applicant favored by the FCC plans to construct its transmitter at San Bruno Mountain, south of San Francisco.

"If this situation remains unchanged," Miller stated, "Contra Costa County—particularly the central part of the county—will receive little or no benefit from this new station.

If the FCC decision is affirmed, Miller maintained, it would mean that San Francisco would have five television stations while Contra Costa County will continue to suffer the annoyance of fringe reception.

WRITE, URGES MILLER

Miller urged Contra Costa and Solano County residents to make their protests known to the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C. He noted that the FCC is expected to make its final decision and grant a license within a matter of a week or less.

"I sincerely hope that our representatives in Washington will take note of this situation and act to protect the best interests of the people in Contra Costa and Solano Coun-

ties," said Miller. "I appeal to the FCC to give due consideration to our television reception problem and not act hastily.

[From the Contra Costa Gazette, Martinez, Calif., of June 18, 1957]

MILLER PROTESTS TO FCC AGAINST RECOMMENDATIONS ON CHANNEL 2

State Senator George Miller, Jr., today, charged the Federal Communications Commission with discriminating against Contra Costa and Solano Counties. The charge is based upon a tentative FCC decision favoring an applicant for television channel 2 who plans to construct a transmitter on San Bruno Mountain, south of San Francisco, rather than atop the East Bay Hills.

In a strongly worded statement sent both to local legislators and the chairmen of concerned congressional committees, Miller declared that in view of the poor local reception of television programs transmitted from the San Bruno location, the FCC action—"if it stands unchallenged"—will in fact discriminate against some 250,000 residents of the 2 counties.

"A quarter of a million of our people," says Miller, "would be better served by a television station with a transmitter high in the Berkeley hills than by a station with another transmitter in the vicinity of existing San Francisco installations."

Miller states that he has reviewed technical reports on the proposed coverage of the 3 applicants who seek to operate a station on channel 2 and has learned that 1 applicant does propose an East Bay transmitter location. "In view of this fact I cannot see the justice in the present FCC decision," Miller said.

Warning that final FCC action is scheduled for next week, Miller urged local citizens to immediately protest the present decision by writing to the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C., stressing the television reception problem in Contra Costa and Solano Counties, and pointing out the injustice that will occur if San Francisco is permitted to have five television stations while Contra Costa and Solano counties are compelled to continue to suffer the annoyances of fringe reception.

[From the Antioch Ledger of June 18, 1957]

TV PERMIT DRAWS FIRE—MILLER POINTS TO BETTER LOCATION

State Senator George Miller, Jr., today charged the Federal Communications Commission with discrimination against Contra Costa and Solano Counties. The charge is based upon a tentative FCC decision favoring an application for television channel 2 and plans to construct a transmitter on San Bruno Mountain, south of San Francisco, rather than atop the East Bay hills.

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A quarter of a million of our people, says Miller, would be better served by a television station with a transmitter high in the Berkeley hills than by a station with another transmitter in the vicinity of existing San Francisco installations.

[From the Richmond (Calif.) Independent of June 18, 1957]

MILLER RAPS FCC ON TV SITE RULING

MARTINEZ.—Contra Costa County's State Senator George Miller, Jr., today charged the Federal Communications Commission with discrimination against Contra Costa and Solano Counties. The charge is based upon a tentative FCC decision favoring an applicant for television channel 2 who plans to construct a transmitter on San Bruno Mountain, south of San Francisco, rather than atop the East Bay Hills.

In a strongly worded statement sent both to local legislators and the chairmen of concerned congressional committees, Miller declared that in view of the poor local reception of television programs transmitted from the San Bruno location, the FCC action—"if it stands unchallenged"—will in fact discriminate against some 250,000 residents of the two counties.

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Warning that final FCC action is scheduled for next week, Miller urged local citizens to immediately protest the present decision by writing to the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C., stressing the television reception problem in Contra Costa and Solano Counties, and pointing out the injustice that will occur if San Francisco is permitted to have five television stations while Contra Costa and Solano counties are compelled to continue to suffer the annoyances of fringe reception.

Resolution of Blue Star Mothers on Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the Blue Star Mothers of Milwaukee, Wis., objecting to the decision of the United States Government to allow American soldier William S. Girard to be tried in the Japanese civilian courts:

From: Blue Star Mothers of America, Inc., Milwaukee, Wis.

Subject: The United States Government's decision to permit William S. Girard, of the State of Illinois, United States of America, an American citizen, serving in the United States Armed Forces and stationed in Camp Whittington, Japan, to be tried for murder in the Japanese civilian court.

Whereas we believe that this American serviceman was performing the duties assigned to him, which was to guard a given area against any and all interlopers; and

Whereas we believe our Government has made a grave error in judgment in entering into this agreement with the Japanese Government; and

Whereas we also believe this decision to be discriminatory and that it denies to William S. Girard the right of every American to be given a fair trial under American laws, in American courts, and by Americans, a right and privilege that thousands of American servicemen and women have fought and died to protect and preserve; and

Whereas we firmly believe that, should our Government find that diplomatic appeasements or agreements are necessary, that they should not be made or entered into at the expense of sacrificing any individual American's rights, privileges, or welfare; and

Whereas we also firmly believe that the United States Government's first obligation of responsibility must be to protect the servicemen and women that we send to a foreign country to serve our Nation, and not to the citizenry of the country to which they are sent: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of Milwaukee, Wis., State department, Blue Star Mothers of America, Inc., mothers of sons and daughters who served in World War II and the Korean conflict, go on record as strongly opposing and objecting to the decision of our United States Government to allow American GI William S. Girard to be tried in the Japanese civilian courts rather than by an Army court-martial; and be it also

Resolved, That all members of Milwaukee, Wis., State department, and 22 chapters, Blue Star Mothers of America, Inc., be urged to write to their Congressmen and Senators, asking them to exert every effort and use their influence, as our elected Representatives, to have this agreement nullified, in favor of a more acceptable and just means of disposing of the case of William S. Girard, American serviceman versus the citizenry of Japan.

ANN BURTON GALE,
Past Vice President, National Legislative Chairman.
MARGARET E. MUELLER,
President.
EVELYN BEDNAR,
Senior Vice President.
ESTHER BOEHLES,
Junior Vice President.
EMMA MAIKOWSKI,
HELEN BIGELOW,
NETTIE E. LUDWIG,
Third National Vice President.

Character Building for Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, we have been hearing and reading so much adverse comment about our teen-agers that one stops to wonder at times whether there are any good, civic-minded, and responsible young people left in our schools and communities. Unfortunately, we uphold to public criticism the wrongdoers, but we tend to overlook those who perform good work and pursue wholesome activities.

Perhaps if we emphasized more of the latter type it would serve as an example and an inducement to all teen-agers. The overwhelming majority of our young people are cooperative with the community, are law-abiding, civic-minded, and assume responsibility when the time is ripe for them to do so. It is therefore important that we get a true picture of these youngsters, their problems, their activities, their character-building efforts, and so forth.

I am glad to call attention at this time to one of the finest character-building programs for our citizens of tomorrow conducted by Eastern District High School, located in my congressional dis-

trict in Brooklyn, N. Y. The school organized a neighbhorhood youth council whose purpose it it is to promote cooperation among organizations and citizens interested in making the community a more wholesome place in which to live. It also sponsors the study of social resources, seeks to advance the education of the general public regarding conditions which need to be improved, to secure democratic action in meeting local needs, expand youth activities, and foster human relations.

This is quite a tall order, and even if this group is only partially successful it will have accomplished a great deal and will have contributed much to the community. The following are some of the activities sponsored by the Eastern District High School Neighborhood Youth Council in its efforts to achieve the above goals:

(a) Conduct annual block-by-block surveys of the area to check on needed improvements.

(b) Picture story exhibits, highlighting sore spots in the community are displayed in public places.

(c) Spearhead rallies for modernization and improvement of school in cooperation with parents association and civic council.

(d) Organize and produce annual Keen Teen shows to spotlight local talent.

(e) Encourage teen-agers to participate in activities sponsored by local YMCA, YM and WHA, Williamsburgh Settlement and Williamsburgh Health Center.

(f) Community on Trial, a round-table forum, dramatized the need for coping with teen-age gang problems and led to initial work with Neighborhood Youth Council youth board.

(g) Organized the first pilot project in conducting community dances sponsored by Neighborhood Youth Council youth board.

(h) Annual Arbor Day tree planting program adds a tree each year to the first 50 trees planted in 1950.

(i) Actively participate in the work of the Citizens Committee To Keep New York City Clean.

(j) Conduct annual civic awards ceremony and dance to recognize and reward a graduate of Eastern District High School for outstanding community service and achievement.

(k) Initiate the "Easternite of the year" contest among the students of Eastern District High School to stimulate more active participation in school and community affairs and award achievement trophies to the "teen-agers of the year."

(l) Acts as a cooperating agency for its original parent group, the Williamsburgh Neighborhood Council.

Mr. Speaker, the activities described above are supervised by Mrs. Harriet S. Zucker, who is faculty adviser. The principal of Eastern District High School is Louis K. Wechsler, a noted educator. On May 29, 1957, the Neighborhood Youth Council held its eighth anniversary civic awards ceremony in the Biltmore Hotel in Brooklyn at which many awards were made to the young people, whose cooperation and services to the community were thus recognized.

I believe that many of our large and medium-sized communities throughout the country would benefit from the experiences and the activities of Eastern District High School Neighborhood Youth Council. By adapting these activities to their local needs, they would help shape the lives and thoughts of American youth, building character, and giving them the opportunity to absorb lessons in citizenship which would be of inestimable value in later life and help keep juvenile delinquency to a minimum. I am very proud of the achievements of this group in my district.

Everyone Talks About the Weather, but the Economy Must Deal With It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, when the rains are over and the water begins to recede in the flooded areas of the country, our people tend to forget the terrific devastation and destruction which may have been caused by flood waters. We return to our normal ways of life, and in the struggle to keep ahead we are inclined to overlook the program for preventing again such catastrophes. The Congress is merely a cross-section of the people of the country, and when our people return to their normal pursuits and try to overcome the handicap which has been placed upon them by such serious catastrophes, Congress, too, is inclined to settle back, relax, and forget the disaster which has just occurred.

William M. Freeman, able writer for the New York Times, again points out in the Sunday, June 23, 1957, edition of this newspaper the wide area covered by the recent floods in the Southwest, and reviews the damage done to great areas of the country by these recent catastrophes. The article is ably written, and I think the country should remember that, although we no longer read of the torrential rains and following devastation, the damage is there and will remain with our people for a long time to come. Perhaps members of the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate may read this article and be stimulated to push forward on a program which will help prevent the recurrence in the Southwest of these disasters. The article is as follows:

EVERYONE TALKS ABOUT THE WEATHER, BUT THE ECONOMY MUST DEAL WITH IT—WEATHER OF LATE HAS BEEN COSTLY—DROUGHT COUNTRY GETS RAIN AT LAST, BUT IT DOESN'T KNOW WHEN TO STOP—EFFECTS WIDELY FELT—TENNESSEE MINES SELL LESS COAL, PENNSYLVANIA MORE FOR CLIMATIC REASONS

(By William M. Freeman)

Nature has been putting on an expensive show lately.

It's been acting up, hail, torrential downpour, tornado, flood, high wind, fog, excessive heat, and the accountants are raising the damage figures. So, too, are the economists, who must reckon with inflated costs of what the weather does today and may do tomorrow.

Heavy rains have been slowing railroads in the Southwest, and here and there flash floods have necessitated extensive rebuilding.

The strawberry, cherry, and other small fruit crops in the Far West are in grave danger as a result of repeated soakings.

In many areas of the Midwest, tornadoes not only have leveled factories and houses, but have made it difficult for workers, trying to reestablish their homes, to get to work in plants that have escaped the high winds. Production in such plants consequently has been sharply reduced.

Power supply over a wide area has been affected by the run of unusual weather, although it is difficult to assay the damage in dollars.

Utility companies throughout the country annually measure the depth of the snow and its moisture content to forecast the volume of the runoffs. When the snow on a watershed is heavy, electric energy is stored up, in effect, to be transformed into power when warmer weather melts the snow and it runs off to turn turbines that make electric power.

LABOR FLOODED OUT

In the Southwest, oil fields have been hampered by flood conditions in some areas not only directly but by the movement of labor to other sections as a result.

In many areas the destruction or reduction of fruit and vegetable crops has cut the need for labor to handle the harvest.

The effects of weather disturbances are widespread, though often slow to be recorded. Coal-mining areas around Pittsburgh have noted an upsurge in demand as a result of weather thousands of miles away. When drought cuts water power, utilities are forced to import coal or other fuel, at higher costs, from distant fields.

Sometimes this involves the use of extra or emergency equipment. Also, in drought arers, irrigation is made necessary, and this at times puts heavy burdens on commercial farmers, long after the headline drama of the drought has been forgotten.

The great drought of the last 7 years in the Great Plains has been broken, but some of the crops that were suffocating from the dust now are in trouble from such heavy soaking that new diseases, born of moisture and mildew, are adding worries estimated to run into the hundreds of millions.

Along the Mississippi River, heavy crop damage has been caused by excessive rainfall. There has been flooding of lowlands, with occasional slowing of transportation, but no disruption of business or industry, although there have been minor inconveniences.

But it's an ill wind, etc. Agriculture Department officials say the rains are likely to produce unusually good hay and vegetable crops later in the season.

One of the major concerns, however, is an expected exodus of farm workers from areas of the Mississippi Valley where the cotton crop has been flooded out. Cotton requires a lot of farm labor. Because of the flooding, farmers have been forced to substitute corn, soybeans, and sorghum cane, and these crops offer smaller benefits and less employment for farm workers.

Recently, fields have been so wet that farmers have been uable to work more than 1 or 2 days a week. Heavy losses from boll weevil and other plant diseases are feared.

Much of the damage involves cotton acreage and there have been requests from some sections for the Government to let planters put the flooded lands into the soil bank in exchange for hilly acreage that might be planted to late crops.

WINDFALL FOR TVA

In much of the area rainfall has damaged hay that already had been cut. While no reliable figures are available on the damage, there are indications that it is severe.

The Tennessee Valley Authority reservoirs are overflowing, and the agency consequently has reduced its coal-buying program in the Tennessee mining areas. Losses in mine

payrolls affect merchants in small mining communities, lead to layoffs in stores and present problems to finance companies interested in (among other matters) coal trucks used by independent miners and haulers.

Dealers in farm equipment are beginning to feel the pinch. In some areas, too, equipment used in road construction and other heavy work is idle as a result of washouts.

Reports from San Francisco indicate that the unseasonable weather has not made major inroads. On the contrary, heavy late-season rains were helpful. Although rough downpours damaged some crops, such as cherries, strawberries, lettuce, and hay, they indicated a good year for wheat and barley in areas that had been worried about a water shortage.

BERRIES WILL COST MORE

There was some unhappy news for consumers, however. Prices were considerably higher in the Northwest. While growers were reluctant to assess increases in terms of dollars, it was apparent that, so far as strawberries weer concerned, the drop from the May 1 estimate of 165,000 tons to the June 1 figure of 155,250 tons would make a sharp price upturn likely. The cherry crop loss alone was put at $3 million to $5 million.

In the Midwest, there was reluctance to downgrade forecasts, although planting has been delayed. In the extreme southeastern section of Illinois, planting was below 10 percent of normal for the date. However, this was regarded as exceptional.

In New England, pastures were reported drying up earlier than usual, forcing dairy farmers to resort to barn feeding. However, mot poultrymen purchase their feed, and so far there are no figures on losses.

The Midwest and nearby Illinois were hit hard by recent high winds and rainstorms, with damage in excess of $4 million. However, the long-term effect was not great.

Free World Must Be Alert to Moscow-Cairo Axis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, it can easily be recalled how in 1955, when sweetness and "might," the so-called Geneva spirit, was the topic of the day, the world witnessed but ignored the beginning of Soviet penetration of the Middle East. Today we witness again a dismaying parallel. While the powers are engaged in disarmament negotiations, the Soviet Union has moved decisively to gain control of that same region. There is the display of Soviet naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. There is the sale of Soviet submarines to Egypt and there is the interference by Egypt, backed by the Soviet Union, in the affairs of anti-Communist Arab countries.

This is, no doubt, the beginning of a new Egyptian attempt to close the Gulf of Aqaba against Israel and thereby provide a rallying point for all the Arab people.

But the target is not Israel alone. The target is the free world as well. The elements of a tragic explosion are present which could easily erupt into war. The Soviet design is obvious. The desperation of Nasser to regain some of his control over the Arab world plays beautifully into the Soviet objective. The significance of the latest of the Soviet-Egyptian maneuvers must not be obscured by the seemingly hopeful disarmament negotiations.

Hells Canyon: Symbol of Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, speaking as a citizen of Pennsylvania, I can only contemplate with apprehension and alarm the political maneuvering which has given the public power proponents a leg up on the socialistic Hells Canyon project.

Mr. favorite columnist, David Lawrence, writing in yesterday's Evening Star, has pointed out that all but 6 of the Democrats voted for this monstrosity while 39 out of 49 Republicans opposed it, thereby giving the GOP a firm talking point in its fight against State socialism.

As a Pennsylvania taxpayer, however, I am not so much interested in the political aspects of this controversy as I am in its economic implications. Paying, as Pennsylvanians do, nearly 8 percent of the total Federal tax bill, it is plain to be seen that we will pay through the nose and pay vastly more than our share of the cost of this monstrosity from which not one cent of return can possibly accrue to the citizens of the Keystone State.

In his usual able fashion Mr. Lawrence cites the Tennessee Valley project as the classical example of what we can expect from such socialistic adventures and emphasizes the subterfuge inherent in all subsidized public-power planning. Taken in the light of what we already know with regard to TVA, his observations could be prophetic in relation to Hells Canyon. These are his words:

The advocates of Government ownership always start off with some benevolent and high-sounding objectives. In the Tenessee Valley project just after World War I they promised flood control and navigation advantages in the Tennessee River and benefits to the farmer. Electric power, they insisted, was to be incidental. Today it is the main business of TVA, and the Government has been compelled to appropriate money for steam plants since about half of the power generated at TVA comes from coal and not dams. Private utilities in the area have been weakened and some put out of business altogether.

Hells Canyon sounds the tocsin of the renewal of the fight against creeping socialism in the guise of public power. The House has yet to work its will, and we can only hope the issue will be decided here on its merits without the intervention of civil rights or some other irrelevant issue. In addition, for which we are grateful, there is a wide gap between authorization and appropriation. And in the end we should be able to count on a Presidential veto if all other resistance proves unavailing. Assuredly, however, we must gird ourselves and stay on the firing line if we are not to be overrun by these sycophants of socialism.

The complete article by Columnist Lawrence follows:

PRESIDENT'S CHANCE OF A LIFETIME—VOTE ON HELLS CANYON VIEWED AS PROVING DEMOCRATS ARE PARTY OF STATE SOCIALISM

(By David Lawrence)

President Eisenhower has the chance of a lifetime in the political arena—to make a fight for private enterprise and brand the Democratic Party as the party of state socialism in America today.

For the President can cite the latest vote in the Senate on the Hells Canyon project. This shows that 43 out of 49 Democrats were recorded as willing to use taxpayers' money to put the Government further into the electric light and power business at a cost which Senator WATKINS, of Utah, has estimated would run up to about $2,225,000,000 in the next 50 years. All this spending is voted at a time when budget-cutting and tax reduction are supposed to be popular.

The Republican Party, on the other hand, mobilized against Government ownership and state socialism 39 out of its 46 Members in the Senate.

If the bill is passed by the House—and the state socialism advocates seem confident it will get the support of the Democratic Party there, too—President Eisenhower will most surely veto the measure. There are not enough votes to override a veto. The President has inveighed before against "creeping socialism" but now the Nation faces galloping socialism. Mr. Eisenhower's action would demonstrate conclusively that the present administration is not "socialistic" as some uninformed critics in the Republican Party have been erroneously claiming of late.

It means, of course, a lively issue for the 1958 and 1960 political campaigns. For if it is desirable that the Federal Government knock private enterprise out of the electric light and power business in America, it is just as logical for the Federal Government to take over and operate the steel, copper, coal, oil, aluminum, and other natural resource industries as well as automobiles, food, and retail stores, railroads, buslines, airlines, and all the other businesses now handled by private enterprise and private investors.

A statistical case doubtless can be made for Government ownership and operation in each instance on the ground that the Government could do it all more cheaply—since no taxes, local or otherwise, would have to be paid directly out of income. The taxpayers generally would be asked to foot the bill. Private incentive would be destroyed. Millions of workers, moreover, on becoming Government employees, would have to give up their labor-union privilege of using economic power in negotiations for wages. The postal employees could give some idea from their experience as to what that means to the workers.

The advocates of Government ownership always start off with some benevolent and high-sounding objective. In the Tennessee Valley project just after World War I they promised flood control and navigation advantages in the Tennessee River and benefits to the farmer. Electric power, they insisted, was to be incidental. Today it is the main business of TVA and the Government has been compelled to appropriate money for steam plants since about half of the power generated at TVA comes from coal and not dams. Private utilities in the area

have been weakened and some put out of business altogether.

The Federal Power Commission surveyed the whole Hells Canyon project and found that the three smaller dams which the private companies have been granted a license to build would furnish all the electric power required and do all the flood control work that is needed. Private investors would supply the money. Now this opportunity would be taken away.

The public power advocates won the fight because of some new-found allies from the southern part of the United States. Republican Senators are saying openly that the Democratic leadership manipulated a deal whereby some northern Democrats agreed to support the South in a parliamentary maneuver the other day to keep the civil rights bill in the Judiciary Committee. In exchange for this—which turned out to be futile anyway as the northern liberals had enough votes to beat the maneuver—several southerners agreed to vote for the Hells Canyon project. In five instances this meant a reversal of Democratic votes recorded a year ago—enough to beat the measure if they had stood firm against state socialism.

These are not happy days in Washington for those who believe in the historic American system of private enterprise. This system built our unrivaled industrial capacity and today is the Nation's real defense against a powerful enemy, Khrushchev, the Communist spokesman, predicted 3 weeks ago in his television interview that the grandchildren of the present generation in the United States would be living under socialism. Maybe he is away off in his dates but some form of Government ownership of key industries in America may be nearer than anyone nowadays thinks if the Democratic Party—numerically the majority party in the Nation today—continues to embrace state socialism.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Appendix

Allocation of Nickel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I am placing in the RECORD a letter of June 12, 1957, from the Honorable Gordon Gray, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Executive Office of the President.

This letter is in response to my letter of April 3, 1957—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 18, 1957—to Mr. Gray concerning the allocation of nickel with particular reference to the disposition of the nickel sinter from the Government's Nicaro operation.

Mr. Gray's letter reads, in part, as follows:

5. There is no written agreement between the Department of Commerce or the Office of Defense Mobilization and the International Nickel Co. with respect to the allocation of nickel. As noted above when decontrol of nickel was being considered in 1953 the Department of Commerce obtained from the principal producers and suppliers an understanding that in the event the supply of nickel was inadequate for all purposes they would distribute the supply equitably among all nondefense consumers. They agreed to do this and the International Nickel Co. confirmed its intent in this matter in a letter to the Secretary of Commerce dated August 20, 1953 (copy attached).

The letter of August 20, 1953, from Mr. L. R. Larson, assistant vice president, International Nickel Co. is in confirmation of the understanding of arrangement as it is sometimes referred to by administration officials. It is difficult to understand how this informal arrangement between the Commerce Department and the International Nickel Co., though tacitly approved by the Office of Defense Mobilization, Executive Office of the President, binds other producers and suppliers or consumers.

Responsible officials in the administration have assured me and others that the system of allocation developed by INCO and approved by the Commerce Department and ODM, though based upon nickel consumption in the period prior to the Korean incident, is flexible in that it takes into consideration expanded or contracted requirements, new industries, new uses, and so forth.

Despite these assurances, I am informed that the situation has not been corrected insofar as some of the steel mills are concerned. Further, it is submitted that the reason for this is because there has been no change in the allocation formulas since 1951, and production volumes have changed radically since the quotas were established.

I am, therefore, addressing a letter to Secretary Weeks today asking if he or his staff is willing to confer with members of the industry who are seriously affected by the current system of allocations and will give consideration to their problems and recommendations. Mr. Gray's letter follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION,
Washington, D. C., June 12, 1957.

Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. McCORMACK: This is in further reply to your letter of April 3 and the April 15 acknowledgment of my staff. I regret the delay in replying but felt it was desirable to await the preparation of certain statistical data by the Commerce Department with respect to the amount of new nickel made available to the Eastern Stainless Steel Corp. over the past several years.

The Eastern Stainless Steel Corp. prior to 1950 was essentially a converter and as such purchased sheet bar from the steel mills for conversion to semifinished products. In 1950 the company became an active melter and producer of steel and a direct consumer of nickel. The statistics furnished me by the Commerce Department show that the company has substantially increased its production of nickel alloy steels and it is felt that the corresponding increases in the amounts of new nickel made available to the company during the recent shortage years have been fair and equitable. These data are classified as "company confidential" by the Commerce Department and are not included herewith as it would reveal operating figures of the corporation.

Other information in the letter I have received from Mr. H. B. McCoy, Administrator, Business and Defense Services Administration, is quoted below:

"Our comments on the specific questions by Congressman McCORMACK, which follow, are enumerated to correspond with the questions in his letter.

"1. When nickel for nondefense purposes was decontrolled in 1953, Government received assurances from the major producers and suppliers of this metal that they would endeavor to maintain an equitable distribution of the nickel available for industry after all defense requirements were fully satisfied. Accordingly, the suppliers of nickel have provided each consumer with his fair share of all nickel available for nondefense uses in accordance with the policies and procedures given in detail in the enclosed report on the "Study of Supply and Distribution of Nickel," dated December 31, 1956, page 25. It is essential, therefore, that the Government make every effort toward an equitable redistribution of Nicaro nickel to avoid compromising the system by permitting free distribution of the Nicaro product.

"As Mr. Curley points out the steel industry is limited in its consumption of nickel oxide sinter by the availability of electrolytic nickel which for technical reasons must be available in a certain ratio with sinter. In order to increase the availability of electrolytic nickel for industry and thereby increase the capacity to use sinter arrangements are being discussed with nickel plating suppliers to replace a substantial portion of electrolytic nickel normally used for the manufacture of nickel anodes and plating salts with Nicaro nickel oxide sinter and powder. The premium price (diverted from Government shipments) and market price electrolytic nickel so released will be redistributed on an equitable basis to all other consumers, including the steel industry.

"The nickel sinter offered to the steel industry, which Mr. Curley referred to as being unsalable within the normal distribution pattern, in actuality, amounted to 1 million pounds (not 1.5 million pounds) and will total 2 million pounds with the receipt of further shipments. This quantity is being set aside for sale to the plating-supply houses in initiating the program mentioned above and therefore none of this material will be available for sale outside the usual distribution pattern.

"2. Disposition of the additional 1 million pounds of nickel sinter referred to by Mr. Curley is covered in the reply to question 1.

"3. Government is not aware of any mills which are receiving more nickel than they require. To the best of our knowledge all mills are receiving less than their requirements and many have operating inventories reported to be less than 10 days, which is far below their normal requirements.

"4. Recent changes have been brought about in the distribution system as it affected the plating consumers through modifications of customer entitlement bases by the plating distributors. These changes have been described in the attached copies of reports to Congress by the Department of Commerce. The system as it affected all other consumers appears to be reasonably satisfactory and under these circumstances no recommendations for further changes are being contemplated at this time.

"5. There is no written agreement between the Department of Commerce or the Office of Defense Mobilization and the International Nickel Co. with respect to the allocation of nickel. As noted above when decontrol of nickel was being considered in 1953 the Department of Commerce obtained from the principal producers and suppliers an understanding that in the event the supply of nickel was inadequate for all purposes they would distribute the supply equitably among all nondefense consumers. They agreed to do this and the International Nickel Co. confirmed its intent in this matter in a letter to the Secretary of Commerce dated August 20, 1953 (copy attached).

"I believe the above covers the substantive questions raised by Congressman McCORMACK and Mr. Curley. However, Mr. Curley's remark that there is a tie-in of information between various suppliers of nickel with regard to distribution may deserve comment. As far as we know this does not exist. Those who wish to buy nickel from the International Nickel Co. report the total nickel they expect to receive from all sources without identification. This information then is used by the company in developing the individual's entitlement for the period. Other producers provide BDSA with information on their shipments which with information obtained from an inspection of the INCO books, enables us to ascertain if an equitable distribution is generally being maintained. All this information is received and retained in confidence by BDSA."

I believe the preceding information covers all the questions raised in your letter, as

well as those in Mr. Curley's letter, except for his comments as to the movement of nickel into the stockpile. In that connection, we have not directed any of the Nicaro production into the stockpile for more than a year, and for the past three quarters have diverted the nickel under all Government contracts to industry use to the greatest extent possible. The maximum diversion of Government nickel scheduled for shipment to the stockpile is being continued. Calendar year 1957 diversions will reach approximately 115 million pounds. During 1956 there were 79.3 million pounds diverted.

I hope this information will be helpful to you and that you will call on us whenever we can be of service.

Sincerely yours,

GORDON GRAY, *Director.*

AUGUST 20, 1953.

The Honorable SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We understand that in considering the decontrol of nickel there are a number of questions on which you want our opinion.

In the event of decontrol of nickel it is our understanding that the Department of Commerce would advise us in advance on a quarterly basis of the military and AEC requirements for nickel. We would honor all of these requirements with preferential delivery. Furthermore, it is our plan to advise the Secretary of Commerce quarterly of our nickel deliveries for military and AEC requirements.

It is our intention to advise the Secretary of Commerce in advance and on a quartrely basis of our expected nickel deliveries to the United States including stockpile. In the event such deliveries exceed the present amount of 42,500,000 pounds, exclusive of stockpile which we are currently delivering quarterly, to the American industrial economy we will at such time discuss with the Secretary of Commerce whether the excess should be distributed to this economy or offered to the stockpile for immediate acceptance.

After taking care preferentially of the military and AEC requirements the balance of our nickel as reported quarterly will be distributed to the civilian economy in a fair and equitable manner.

It is also our understanding that you are concerned whether the decontrol of nickel will result in inflationary prices. We can assure you that our method of distribution is such that any of the nickel we distribute to the civilian economy would have great difficulty in reaching the black market. This is best illustrated by the fact that we are in normal commercial contact with users of nickel who buy at little as 100 pounds. As far as our own prices are concerned, the record speaks for itself.

Sincerely yours,

L. R. LARSON,
Assistant Vice President,
International Nickel Co.

Address by Hon. Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, Before New York Young Republican Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered by my colleague, the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], before the New York Young Republican Club, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., on June 22, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR CASE OF NEW JERSEY PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT BREAKFAST MEETING, NEW YORK YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I am glad to report that things have been going well on Capitol Hill. The President's legislative program is really starting to roll. So much so that I am confident this Congress will enact a meaningful civil-rights bill—the first since the Civil War era. We can see the end of the road, even though the struggle for the right-to-vote bill will be long. Although the Senate heard the threat of two filibusters from the southern side, the parliamentary success of this week is encouraging. I now believe we can get the 64 votes necessary to shut off the filibusters.

This was not the only achievement on the President's legislative list. The victories disprove the wishful thinking of some political theorists that the President's leadership has declined to the point where his legislative program is doomed. Let me cite the President's box score for the past week.

On Tuesday the House beat off all attempts to water down the administration's civil-rights bill, and by a vote of 286 to 126 finally passed the bill virtually intact. Of these 286 affirmative votes, 168 were Republican, while only 19 Republicans voted in the negative. By contrast, the Democratic split was 118 in favor to 107 against the bill.

Thursday night, as you all know, we won the important first round in our effort to get consideration of a right-to-vote measure. By a vote of 45 to 39, the Senate voted, in effect, to place the House bill on the Senate Calendar, bypassing the Judiciary Committee, which has bottled up the Senate's own version of this important bill for more than 5 months. Thirty-four Republican Senators, joined by 11 Democrats, voted to overrule a point of order against sending the bill to the calendar. Only five Republican Senators voted to send the bill to the Judiciary Committee.

Within the past week the Senate also approved the mutual security authorization bill, with 31 Republicans and 26 Democrats voting for the measure. On Tuesday the Senate ratified United States participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency—the realization of a bold and courageous proposal to harness the atom for peace made by President Eisenhower in his appearance before the United Nations in 1953. Thirty-two Republicans and 35 Democrats supported the President on this issue.

These votes speak for themselves. Support for President Eisenhower's program has been growing steadily since he made his two nationwide radio and television addresses to the American people, the first explaining his budget recommendations in general, and the second, his mutual-security program specifically. The effect of these talks was substantial. The strong bipartisan support for the mutual security authorization bill demonstrated that the erosion of the President's program had been stopped.

The fight is far from over. The mutual security and defense appropriation bills must be passed without crippling cuts. And as I indicated earlier, referral of the civil-rights bill to the calendar is only the beginning of the struggle on that issue. Only the virtually solid support of Republicans in the Senate can assure passage of this vital legislation. The votes in the House and Senate this week show that the Democrats are hopelessly split on civil rights. Incidentally, I think we will hear less and less about a Republican split from our friends across the aisle as the civil-rights bill is debated in the Senate. They will have enough fences of their own to mend.

I think there is a conclusion to be drawn from these recent legislative events. It is that we must put aside all talk about splits in the Republican Party. There is too much of the President's program still at stake to engage in any further divisiveness. The splendid showing of congressional Republicans in the past week was highly encouraging. But we still have a big job before us, if we are to enact the legislative program that President Eisenhower has recommended—a program that the American people have clearly demonstrated they will support.

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious to me that our form of government is successful to the degree that citizens participate and are well informed concerning the issues of the day. My weekly newsletter of June 22 is here included for those who are interested in reading one Congressman's report to his constituents:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JUNE 22, 1957.—The House civil-rights bill conclusion was tense, dramatic, and disappointing. The bill passed 286 to 126 (almost same vote as last year, few changed their views despite long debate—see last two newsletters). The jury-trial amendment was beaten 251 to 158, a bitter disappointment and cause for alarm to many Members. In my last of three floor speeches, I summarized it this way—"After long debate no one has yet defined 'civil rights.' Are we jeopardizing, through new Federal jurisdiction, the rights outlined in the first 10 constitutional amendments? Unless and until we define just what the civil rights are that we seek to protect, other than the right to vote, which is perfectly clear to us, there should at least be the right of trial by jury." These brief final remarks I've sent to each Senator (and already have received 22 replies) in the hope that the bill can be improved in Senate debate, or better still, defeated. In cart-before-horse fashion we have seriously threatened the very freedom of all citizens, including those the bill seeks to protect, it seems to me. This fact will be learned to the consternation and surprise of many, I predict, if it becomes law.

The third supplemental appropriation bill, 1957 (title self-explanatory as to how budget cuts later can be reinstated) brought back to us two very controversial issues, flood insurance and tungsten stockpiling. Flood insurance (May 11 newsletter) was defeated again 218 to 186, too close a margin. Once again it was considered the "political" thing to do by many to prove they were against floods by voting on this fantastically expensive new Government program. Apparently 186 are still unmoved by nationwide pleas for economy and "cut the budget", as well as by the specific facts showing the impracticality of such a program. Again we see the camel trying to poke his nose under the tent. Tungsten purchase for de-

fense stockpiling debate produced these startling facts: (1) tungsten purchase authorized by Congress has resulted in Government paying $63 per ton while market price was $43 (ultimate loss of $138 million); (2) a 7-year wartime supply on hand, or 26 years at normal rate; (3) surplus tungsten beyond long-term strategic need equals 192-year supply for jet engines manufacture. Shouldn't Congressmen protest? We did, so no more money in this bill for tungsten.

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 extension of Public Law 480 was the week's real shocker to me. And I ended up as one of only seven who voted against it. The bill purports to dispose of our agricultural surpluses through sales and gifts. The obvious need to get rid of our surpluses is the underlying logic. As to sales (now up $4 billion), 87 agreements with 30 countries has resulted in disposal of $3 billion of food for foreign currency, which money United States spends in these countries for military bases, strategic materials, economic assistance, gifts and loans, military housing, residences for agricultural attaché, school aid, libraries, community centers, books and periodicals, formation and promotion of 4–H agricultural clubs for better rural living. Then the gift food goes for refugee relief, for flood relief and needy persons, etc., etc. "Uncle Sugar"? In sales, we don't get dollars; we give food and when we get the foreign currency, we spend it within each country. Isn't this foreign aid? Of course, but we don't call it that. It's called an emergency program (going into its fourth year) to develop new markets. Does it? Even the Agriculture Committee states only 1.6 percent of the products and funds went to this purpose, the reason for the law in the first place.

In the outright gift phase ($300 million more, total $800 million) 1,287 million pounds of food were given away overseas and 789 million pounds in the United States. At this point, I took the floor to protest the entire bill, to point out that many others than the needy in 39 States get food now from Uncle Sam, that local agencies solicit people to get theirs. Is it Uncle Sam's responsibility to feed, clothe, and house us? How does this differ from socialism? It doesn't. Unions on strike are distribution centers—must taxpayers support strikers? Sure, we must dispose of our surpluses, and we must and can help the needy. An attempt to add cotton to the giveaways was narrowly defeated, with most southern conservatives for it. Are we helpless to solve our problems or are we just spineless and political? If we feed people, will they vote for us? Only seven of us voted against this monstrosity. Where now are the States righters? (The anticivil rights orators). Again, who's for economy?

The Prime Minister of Japan spoke to us in the House Chamber Thursday. His moving and friendly speech (through a translator), sprinkled with beliefs in democracy, made me remember that only 12 years ago this month we bombed Osaka, Kobe and Tokyo. I could never then have anticipated my future work, nor that Germany and Japan, our enemies, would be prospering beyond other nations.

Attacks Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney Ledger (S. C.) of June 22, 1957:

ATTACKS FOREIGN AID

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs W. Spruille Braden has condemned the foreign-aid program of the United States as one of national suicide.

Braden, who served as Ambassador to Argentina during the Truman administration, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee recently that our foreign-aid program had cost the United States $600 billion by the end of this current fiscal year, June 30, and should have brought about spectacular results.

Instead, he said, it must be admitted that no nation has ever given away so much to so many for such meager rewards. Braden charged that the program had not only failed to produce security for the United States but that in some cases it had actually created enemies.

Braden said the main results of the program, which had been backed by misguided idealists and sentimentalists, was to establish soft jobs for thousands of bureaucrats and waste the taxpayers' money.

We do not entirely agree with Braden. American generosity immediately after World War II probably saved Western Europe from communism. At least, the aid program backed up by the United States monopoly on the atom bomb probably prevented the nations of Western Europe from turning to bolshevism. And in some cases, such as that of England, the aid program played a vital role in restoring that country to a more normal and stable economic way of life.

However, we do agree that in many cases the United States aid program has been conducted in a wasteful manner and too hastily organized to produce results. Therefore, we agree that whatever aid the United States furnishes in future years should be in the form of loans, to be repaid, and not in the form of grants.

There have been outstanding examples of success in the big foreign-aid program, and one of them is the story in Turkey, and another is that in Greece. So the foreign-aid program cannot be condemned in wholesale fashion and declared an absolute failure. However, Braden is in tune with the sentiment of the times, and it seems that Congress and the American people are ready for the aid program to be put on a practical basis.

Small Business Act

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7963) to amend the Small Business Act of 1958, as amended.

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Chairman, the Banking and Currency Committee fully deserves the wholehearted expressions of sincere appreciation accorded to them by Members of this House from both sides of the aisle. The Small Business Act is of great importance to the future of our country. Its importance cannot be overestimated.

The Committee on Banking and Currency, whose chairman is the renowned and distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE], whose many outstanding contributions to the greatness of America are a matter of record, has reported in H. R. 7963 a bill the need for which is evident. It is a bill which shall be of increasing value in the preservation of the American way of life in the future.

As our Nation has developed its economy and expanded its population, the opportunities for the entrepreneur—like a Henry Ford—decrease almost in ratio to the growth of larger industries. The demands of these larger industries for capital and credit foreclose this source to small business. The need for Government to keep open the avenue from which we obtain those who bring initiative, vision, and courage and develop new ideas, new ways, and new industries, is clearly apparent and vital. The small-business man is the source from which we draw our strength.

I take advantage of this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of the people of Hawaii to the very able and dedicated gentleman from New York, [Mr. MULTER]. Due to his vision and broad interest in the economy of the United States and in every part of the United States, Hawaii has today a Small Business Administration. That Small Business Administration is today giving hope in a most needed area in Hawaii.

Due to the continuing interest and most capable attention of the outstanding chairman of Subcommittee No. 2, Mr. MULTER, who visited Hawaii during the Easter recess with the able and distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. STEED], the people of Hawaii have great expectations that in the Small Business Administration, whose branch office in Hawaii has recently been given additional authority, they will find the assistance needed to develop the small business so needed in the Hawaiian economy.

It is my understanding from members of the Committee on Banking and Currency that the Administrator of the Small Business Administration has given the branch manager of the Hawaiian office substantial authority with respect to the handling of loans and other matters so that to all intents and purposes it will operate as a regional office. The designation of a regional office was not insisted on in view of this commitment from the Administrator since administrative expenses would be unduly increased if it were a regional office. I commend the Committee on Banking and Currency and extend our sincere thanks and appreciation for their gracious consideration.

Resolution on Airman Girard from City Council, Lynn, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution offered by the city council of Lynn, Mass., on June 11, 1957,

requesting the President to order the Department of Defense to keep custody of Airman Girard.

The resolution follows:

CITY OF LYNN IN CITY COUNCIL, JUNE 11, 1957

Whereas Airman Third Class Girard of the United States Air Force, allegedly committed an offense on a Military Reservation in Japan; and

Whereas the alleged offense was committed on a Military Reservation under the control of the Armed Forces of the United States; and

Whereas trial of said Airman Girard has been set down for a Japanese criminal court: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Lynn City Council, That the President of the United States be requested to order the Department of Defense to keep custody of Airman Girard and give him a court martial under the Uniform Code of Military Justice of the United States and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Senators KENNEDY and SALTONSTALL and Congressmen LANE and BATES.

Thailand Celebrates 25th Anniversary of National Day, June 24th

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I returned from the Bandung Conference at Indonesia, I announced that I would address the House of Representatives on the occasion of the national holiday of each one of the participating nations on friendly terms with the United States. I wish to send greetings to the people of Thailand, His Majesty King Phumiphon Adundet, and His Excellency Pote Sarasin, Ambassador of Thailand, on the occasion of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of National Day, June 24, 1957.

Thailand enjoys the proud distinction of being the only nation in southeast Asia, and one of the few on the continent of Asia, which has been independent throughout its history. Although from the beginning of her history Thailand had been governed by a progressive monarchy, the people threw off the yoke of absolutism on June 24, 1932, and proclaimed a constitutional monarchy with the hopes that the new government might better meet the needs of the times. Thailand enjoys all the principal features of democratic government including elections, a constitution, and a legislative body. In general, democracy is the established practice in Thailand's political institutions.

In this world so often beset by turmoils, Thailand has had the good fortune of being governed by farsighted, wise, and firm statesmen. She has thus known an era of unprecedented development, without disregard to her internal and external security. The leaders of the nation have as their primary aim the development of the resources of the country in order to attain a better standard of living for the benefit of all its people.

About 85 percent of the gainfully employed Thais are engaged in agriculture. Agricultural products earn over 60 percent of the national revenue. Farsighted governmental policies are providing research stations and the facilities to experiment with mechanization of rice production, Thailand's chief crop and mainstay, as well as the development of large irrigation projects to increase the yield per acre and the overall harvest. Although much remains to be done, notable progress has been made in industry and transportation. The Government's medical and health officials many of whom have been trained in American medical schools, recognize the great need for health improvement and the shortage of adequately trained medical personnel. United Nations antimalaria teams are cooperating with the Thai health officials. Success has also been achieved in the antiyaw campaign, launched through joint UNICEF and WHO action. Hospitals and clinics are being established and health education is being carried on throughout the land. Mobile health units travel both on land and water for the welfare of rural communities. The importance of education has been greatly stressed in the country. Keenly aware of the fact that a great number of the people are illiterate, the Thai Government has arranged for assistance by educational specialists through UNESCO and the United States Government.

The Thai people along with the rest of the free world know that a free and prosperous people is communism's most formidable foe. Every well-founded and happy home is a fortress against tyranny, while poverty and wretchedness are its breeding ground.

It is Thai policy to maintain friendly relations with other nations. In amplification of this policy she has taken her place with the free nations in United Nations sessions, and has benefited greatly from membership. Thailand was the first nation which responded to the appeal of the United Nations and sent troops, naval and air forces to fight side by side with other free nations in Korea, and actively participates in the councils of the United Nations.

The United States enjoys a historical friendship with Thailand. The United States is well represented in Thailand, where Americans are held in high regard. The Thais have welcomed American assistance in improving its economic well-being and keeping its political freedom. As examples of the projects which had added much to United States prestige are the highway construction, education and health programs.

Southeast Asia is undergoing a period of phenomenally rapid change. Much has been achieved. The free world can count itself fortunate that that incident and upheavals in the area, serious though some have been, have been markedly fewer and less widespread than the Communist agitators had hoped to achieve. Thailand in particular has given us an impressive demonstration that when people are contented and happy, communism makes but little progress.

Thailand's strategic position, its tradition as a free nation in southeast Asia, and its opposition to communism, give the country an important place in international affairs. It is an example and inspiration to other countries in the region who are engaged in the conflict with totalitarian aggression. As a bulwark against communism, the influence of the Thai may be beyond measure.

Again I salute Thailand and pray for continued mutual loyalty and respect between our countries and a continued strong purpose toward our peaceful aims.

Sixty-First Anniversary of Twin Shaft Mine Disaster at Pittston, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. John C. Kehoe, Sr., columnist for the Sunday Dispatch of Pittston, Pa., and an outstanding businessman and civic leader, in which Mr. Kehoe graphically presents the terrible mine disaster which befell the mine employees and their families at the Twin Shaft located at Pittston Junction 61 years ago this coming Friday:

VIVID MEMORIES OF LOCAL AREA'S WORST DISASTER

(By John C. Kehoe, Sr.)

Friday, June 28, is the 61st anniversary of the Twin Shaft disaster, a catastrophe such as rarely hits any town and the like of which I hope never occurs again in the anthracite region. At about 3 a. m. on that awful day in 1896 residents of Pittson and West Pittson were aroused by what was thought to be three terrific explosions which shook houses and furniture like an earthquake. Soon the fire gongs sounded and the colliery whistles blew and the word spread like wildfire that a cave-in had occurred deep in the workings at Twin Shaft, located at Pittston Junction and operated at that time by a mining firm called the Newton Coal Mining Co.

As soon as I heard the colliery whistles blowing I instantly knew that they must be the signal of disaster at the Twin for I had known that a bad squeeze was on in the Twin mines and that my father and brother and uncle, and many of my friends had been working a night shift trying to stop it and so save a large pump in the section affected. I was one of the first to go down in the Twin Shaft to help in the rescue efforts. Billie Lee of Prospect Street, Pittston, who is still living, was also one of the rescue party and as far as I know the two of us are the only ones in that rescue party still living. We were mule drivers at the time we went into the mines as rescuers. It was a hopeless task which went on for days and which ended shortly after July 24, on which date nearly all the mine superintendents and mining engineers in the valley met at Twin Shaft and decided that in their estimation the obstructions were so insurmountable that the bodies of the entombed could not be found.

My father, my brother Frank and my Uncle Thomas Barrett were among those who had been entombed. It was a difficult task to discover the identity of all the men who were lost because the only person having the names of all the men and boys who reported for work and entered the mine that night was one of the victims of the disaster. After several days of canvassing homes and the boarding houses where the mineworkers who had lately arrived from European countries lived, the Newton Coal Mining Co. announced that 58 men and boys had perished, leaving widows, orphans and dependents to the number of 150.

The Newton Coal Mining Co. went out of business some time after the Twin Shaft disaster and the Lehigh Valley Coal Co. then operated that colliery until Kehoe-Berge Coal Co. took it over about 25 years ago. The Twin Shaft is a Kehoe-Berge Coal Co. operation in which my early years were entwined long before there was a Kehoe-Berge Coal Co.—indeed, long before I had even begun to get near the first rung of the ladder upward toward success in business.

ADVOCATES SAFETY

Learning firsthand as I did the agony of losing loved ones in a mine disaster, there is no more ardent advocate of mine safety than I am. Thank God the anthracite industry has come a long way in safety practices since that June day in 1896 when the Twin Shaft disaster occurred, and in addition to the good safety records good mine operators have nowadays is a more humane method of taking care of mine accident victims.

When mine accidents do occur today workmen's compensation and social security aid the victims, and if a disaster should occur the American Red Cross would help and while none of these forms of assistance, or all of them together, can make up for injury or death, they are a big improvement over the era when the Twin Shaft disaster occurred. In those days there was no organized assistance and the victim of a mine accident was simply brought home and dumped on his family whether he be dead or badly injured. In the case of the Twin Shaft disaster the bodies were never found.

The Twin Shaft disaster, creating as it did 150 widows, orphans, and dependents, moved the community so deeply that civic leaders of the day organized their own plan to bring relief to the dependents of the disaster's victims. The Pittston Board of Trade called a special meeting for Monday evening, June 29, the day following the disaster, to consider means of helping the bereaved families. A committee was appointed to draw up an appeal and to solicit funds and the board of trade itself headed the subscription list with a gift of $1,000. The Newton Coal Mining Co. gave $2,500 in merchandise from the company store to those left dependent—a far cry from the modern anthracite mining companies' elaborate system of workmen's compensation payments.

PUBLIC MEETING

A public meeting was held on the evening of June 30 at Music Hall on Water Street, Pittston, where the Masonic Temple is now located. It was presided over by Benjamin Harding, the President of the Board of Trade. A sum of several thousand dollars was pledged at that meeting. On July 2 another meeting was held at Music Hall with not only Pittstonians in attendance, but many prominent people from nearby towns. The late Attorney Peter A. O'Boyle, who later became a Luzerne County judge, was chairman of that meeting, and the late C. C. Bowman, of William Street, Pittston, was the secretary. A permanent organization was formed to handle the relief funds with a group of prominent citizens of Pittston, Scranton, and Wilkes-Barre as incorporators. Later the following officers were elected for this Twin Shaft Relief Association: K. J. Ross, president; Charles C. Bowman, secretary; M. W. O'Boyle, treasurer; Very Rev. John Finnen, V. G.; Rev. N. G. Parke, D. D., and Andrew Bryden, vice presidents. The following served as members of the executive committee: K. J. Ross, president; Charles C. Bowman, secretary; Andrew Bryden, Joseph Langford, Stephen B. Bennett, John H. Foy, and C. Frank Bohan, Esq.

Appeals for help were made not only locally but railroad companies, coal companies and many other prominent corporations and individuals were asked to help and committees visited New York and Philadelphia to personally solicit funds. Within 60 days nearly $70,000 was subscribed to the fund and within 9 months the total had risen to almost $77,000.

HELPED WIDOWS

The Twin Shaft Relief Association set up a plan whereby $60 a year was paid to each male child until he reached the age of 12 (note that a boy in those days was considered old enough to go to work for himself at the age of 12); each female child got $60 per year until she reached the age of 13; each widow got $120 per year; there were also benefits for other dependents.

What a contrast those modest benefits from a fund raised by generous citizens solely to cover Twin Shaft disaster victims is to today's costs of things and today's organized workmen's compensation fund and social security payments and Red Cross disaster work. I can tell you, though, that the poor victims of the disaster at the Twin Shaft appreciated the generosity of those who raised and contributed to that relief fund, and that fund meant an awful lot to the disaster's victims. I know how they felt because they were my people, though I was old enough at the time to earn my own living and was not a dependent of my father when he met his death.

For many years I have had the parish priest at St. Mary's Help of Christians Church at the junction say a mass for the 58 men and boys who were entombed in the Twin Shaft disaster, and I have a trust fund set aside to have a mass said for them as long as there is a Catholic Church at the Junction.

I always wanted to have a movie picture made of the Twin Shaft disaster but I could never get any person to help me out as I'm not a playwright.

One time I saw a movie entitled "How Green Was My Valley." It was a story of a coal mine disaster which occurred either in England or Wales. I being one of the first rescue workers to go down into the Twin Shaft trying to rescue the entombed men and boys, always felt that I could write a better play than the one How Green Was My Valley.

Whatever money would be made on the movie picture part of it could be used to erect a monument at the Twin Shaft for the 58 men and boys. Then whatever money is left after building the monument it could be given to St. Mary Help of Christians Church.

Federal-State Responsibilities

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

(Mr. SIEMINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the Members that on pages A4949 and A4950 of the Appendix of the RECORD there is a very good exposition of the inconsistencies in our tax policies, local, State, and Federal.

Unless we go after the tax structure to cut out the unfair and the antiquated in it, we are going to get immersed in words.

I commend the article to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY], who has just spoken, and do now give him a copy of it.

Speech of the Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon, Before the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce Convention, Milwaukee, Wis., June 25, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

SPEECH OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, RICHARD NIXON, BEFORE THE UNITED STATES JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE CONVENTION, MILWAUKEE, WIS., JUNE 25, 1957

There is no subject in which young Americans are more interested today than the maintenance of peace in the world. In my opinion there has been too much pessimistic, defeatist talk in recent months about America's leadership in this field.

We have heard that our diplomacy has been stupid and inept, our foreign-aid program is a wasteful giveaway, our economy is too weak to support the defenses we need, and that the President has failed in his leadership in both international and domestic affairs.

I say that as we consider our failures, we should not lose sight of our successes. Although I admit that I am not an unbiased observer, I think it is time we should remind ourselves that under President Eisenhower's leadership we have had 4 years of peace, 4 years of unprecedented prosperity, and 4 years of honest government.

And I think it is time for us to discuss our responsibilities in the world, not in terms of what we can't do, but in terms of what America should do as a great Nation welcoming the opportunity which is presented to us to make a mighty contribution to the cause of peace and freedom.

We can all agree that American and the free world must maintain military strength sufficient to meet and defeat any aggressor. We do this not because we want war but because we want peace and because history tells us that where a potential aggressor is on the loose, weakness invites attack and strength discourages it.

We can disagree as to what the level of our strength should be. But where the decisions as to the character and quantity of our defense were made after months of study of facts available from all over the world, by a man with the experience and background of the President of the United States, I say that anyone who would make substantial cuts in the defense budget below the amounts recommended is taking a risk with

America's security which the American people will not and should not support.

I know there are those who suggest that we can make reductions in our Defense Establishment because of the prospects for disarmament. But while negotiations for disarmament are taking place is the very time when we should not reduce our defenses.

Our primary objective and motivation in such negotiations must not be to reduce a burden of armaments we are unable or unwilling to maintain but to reduce the danger of war which our armed strength is designed to prevent.

The road to war is paved with agreements based solely on mutual trust. That is why we serve the cause of peace when we insist that any disarmament agreement must be accompanied by an inspection system which will enable all the parties concerned to know whether the agreement is being carried out.

We have heard a great deal of criticism in recent weeks of our foreign-aid programs. There are some who would have us believe that these programs amount to nothing more than a great philanthropic giveaway to undeserving and unappreciative foreigners. If this were the case the Congress would not be justified in appropriating a dollar for their continuance.

Let us examine our aid programs solely in terms of one question. Are the interests of the United States being served by them?

Approximately three-fourths of the foreign-aid appropriation is for military assistance. Among the countries which are receiving military assistance are: Korea, Formosa, South Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey. All of these countries have common borders with Communist nations. We know from what happened in Korea that if these countries are not strong enough to defend themselves they run the risk of attack. If they are attacked we would inevitably become involved.

The question then is not whether they should have adequate defense forces, but how it can be done most economically and effectively.

On the average it costs five times as much to maintain an American soldier abroad as it does for the fighting men of the Allies we are aiding. By conservative estimates, our expenditure of $2.8 billion in foreign military-aid results directly in at least $15 billion worth of defense for ourselves and the free world. Spending less for military aid abroad would simply mean spending more for defense at homes and more American boys in uniform.

I submit that on the basis of these facts those who would substantially cut or eliminate our military foreign-aid programs are in fact the spendthrifts and not the economizers.

The President has asked for a billion dollars for the purpose of providing economic assistance to nations abroad. This money does not for the most part go to nations allied with the United States militarily. Most of it goes to countries in Africa, the Near East and Asia which are uncommitted or neutral in the struggle.

How then does this help us?

The Communists know that if they can win a substantial part of the 700 million people who live in the uncommitted areas of Asia and Africa they will not have to fight a war in order to achieve world domination. If we allow the Communists to win the uncommitted areas of the world, the balance of power and resources and men will be such that the free world will be strangled into submission by the Communist world.

The billion dollars we are spending for economic assistance to these uncommitted countries, therefore, is an investment in our freedom and independence.

I have visited most of the countries involved. I have seen our economic assistance programs in operation. There has been some waste and inefficiency in their administration. But when we consider the tremendous stakes involved, we can only conclude that the remedy for these difficulties and errors is to try to do a more effective job, and not to give up and let the Soviet Union start taking over the world.

We should never make the mistake, however, of assuming that economic assistance alone is the answer to the problem involved in winning the friendship and allegiance of the peoples of the uncommitted nations.

The people of these countries above all else want and deserve recognition of their dignity as individuals and as nations. In my opinion, the major reason for the opposition to colonialism in Asia and Africa was not economic exploitation or even the denial of independence but the age-old resentments engendered by the notion of white superiority.

We must avoid any American action that seems to imply that we feel we are a superior breed. If we cannot treat the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa, or for that matter any sovereign people, as our moral equals we had better abandon our struggle against communism and be prepared for ultimate conquest. The greatest sin we can be guilty of in the international field is that of arrogance, of false pride, and failure to recognize and respect human dignity.

It has been my privilege during the past few weeks to attend ceremonies commemorating the first landing at Jamestown 350 years ago and the landing of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth 13 years later. It is well today we be reminded of the risks and sacrifices of those who founded this Nation. We need the courage, the vision, and the idealism which characterized the first settlers of this land.

The unprecedented prosperity we enjoy today brings with it a moral challenge that we cannot overlook. It is the challenge to sustain in prosperity the high qualities of character that we perfected in adversity. We know from history that great nations became corrupt, soft, and decadent under the influence of prosperity. We know that the Roman Empire fell, not primarily because of the barbarian attacks from without, but rather because of the apathy and indifference of a prosperous citizenry. Rome fell when its own people lost the will to fight for their native land.

I raise this point because there are some in our Nation today who say that we cannot afford the sacrifices needed to maintain our national security. They oppose foreign-aid programs or even some of our direct costs of defense solely because the budget is too high. They say that we cannot continue to carry the burden imposed by the common effort of free nations to keep alive in the world the spirit of freedom and the recognition of the dignity of man.

Let me make my position clear. We should vigorously oppose any waste or any unnecessary expenditure of Government funds. I respect the integrity of any man who may disagree with any specific program and hold that it does not really contribute to world peace.

But I cannot understand the attitude of those who refuse to examine the arguments, but simply say we cannot afford it. No price is too great to pay for freedom. If we were a poor nation, instead of the most prosperous in the history of the world, I would still say that we can afford every dollar that is truly necessary to protect our liberty and to help bring peace to the world.

We today face a challenge to show the same courage and devotion in fighting for peace as we have always shown in fighting to win a war. We need today the qualities of greatness that were given to us by our forefathers.

I believe that the young Americans so well represented by this great convention can provide that kind of leadership. I ask you to go back to your communities and to help develop the enlightened public opinion which will support—not grudgingly but enthusiastically—American policies which are designed not just to avoid war in our time but to win and keep the peace for all time to come.

I would hope that you could give your support to policies which will keep our defenses strong enough to deter a hot war, to provide for an economic and information program designed not just to maintain the status quo but to win the cold war, and to help build in America the kind of society which will be the full realization of the dream our fathers had when they came to these shores 350 years ago.

Jordan Celebrates 29th Anniversary of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I returned from the Asian-African conference at Bandung, I announced that I would address from the floor of the House of Representatives each one of the participating nations on friendly terms with the United States on the occasion of a national holiday. May 25, 1957, marks the 29th anniversary of the independence of Jordan. In observance of that event, I wish to send greetings to the people of Jordan, His Majesty, King Hussein and the Honorable Mahmoud A. Rousan, Chargé d'Affairs ad interim, of Jordan.

Our keen concern for the preservation of the independence of other nations arises naturally from our own traditions of freedom and independence and from a deep awareness of the consequences to other nations, to the free world, and to ourselves of the loss of true sovereignty by any nation. King Hussein is to be commended for his forthright stand against antidemocratic elements in his country. The influence of the mob has been successfully challenged in Jordan. King Hussein's vigor has set an example to other Arab governments which prefer to settle policy by means other than submission to subversively agitated mobs.

In his plea for national unity, King Hussein aimed his words at those dreaming of dismemberment of his country:

> I am hostile to those who portray things wrongly to you and those inspired from outside their own country and those disloyal to their country. I am also hostile to those who try to drive a wedge between me and you. * * * We meant it when we said we would resist anyone trying to belittle our sovereignty and our security.

Jordan is more independent today than in a very long time past. King Hussein is methodically cleaning up those people who would have returned the country to the status of a dependency.

To read the decrees King Hussein has promulgated as part of his fight in Jordan does not warm the heart of a

believer in democracy except as they may be the necessary and we hope temporary means of averting a worse dictatorship. A stable state must be built essentially on public consent.

Democracy, since it must rest on literacy, education, and tolerant political traditions, is a plant of slow growth. The stability which King Hussein has preserved in Jordan must justify itself by works. The example of a victory over economic difficulties there would have great effect elsewhere in the Middle East. Such a victory will require substantial aid and wise friendship from the United States.

Let us hope that these problems plus the Israeli problem can be solved for the good of all men of good will.

An American Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from J. George Robinson, of Jefferson City, Mo.:

JEFFERSON CITY, MO., *May 29, 1957.*
The Honorable MORGAN M. MOULDER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MORGAN: In reply to your letter of May 24, please permit me to say that I think all thanks are due you for allowing me and your other constituents the opportunity of expressing ourselves through the medium of the questionnaire you sent out.

I read with a great deal of interest your excellent speech of July 11, 1956, relative to the American taxpayers' inability to forever support the foreign countries. It seems to me that recent developments have more than ever conclusively shown that we purchase for ourselves only contempt, hatred, and trouble when we continue to spend our money among supposedly friendly foreign peoples.

The uprisings in Formosa and the tense feelings in the Philippines and other Asiatic countries which we have supported for so long indicate that, and the continued betrayals of American citizens and other freedom-loving peoples of the world by Tito of Yugoslavia while enjoying so much of America's foreign dollars should point up to any right-thinking man the ridiculousness of continuing extensive foreign aid of that kind.

It also comes to my mind that when this Nation of ours was on the threshold of real trouble in 1933 and when President Roosevelt proposed a program of $4,800,000,000 in public works to furnish a bare living for many of our citizens, the Republican Party and the Republican press in this country hurled all manner of vile epithets at the suggestion and continue to ridicule it even to this day.

Again, I feel that our own people deserve whatever consideration we can give them in the way of an opportunity to earn an honest living and an opportunity to be rid of confiscatory taxation.

The appeals that President Eisenhower has recently made on the radio and television and which are constantly being echoed not only by his Cabinet members and high appointees but by columnists who are apparently subsidized by the foreign nations with the very same moneys now being sent in the form of foreign aid to such countries in a desperate move to propagandize the people of our country to support a continuation of it, is nothing short of reprehensible.

It is my sincere hope that all of the people who have demanded a sincere effort to curb Federal spending and reduce Federal taxations will continue to make their position known so that the Congress may do an adequate job of keeping such matters in proper balance.

During the past few months the American people have been represented in Congress more completely and sincerely than at any other period in the history of this Nation, and I feel that you and most of your fellow members of both the House and Senate deserve the undying gratitude and praise of your constituents for such representation.

Sincerely yours,

J. GEO. ROBINSON.

Tribute Paid to Mr. Cherry—Governor Hodges Distressed at News of Ex-Governor's Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, June 25, 1957, the Gastonia Gazette, Gastonia, N. C., published an Associated Press story giving the comments of some of the leading public officials upon the death of Hon. R. Gregg Cherry, former Governor of North Carolina.

I believe that these comments with reference to the life and works of my close personal friend, Governor Cherry, will be of interest to our colleagues in the House of Representatives and the public generally.

TRIBUTE PAID TO MR. CHERRY—GOVERNOR HODGES DISTRESSED AT NEWS OF EX-GOVERNOR'S DEATH

Leaders of State government and others commented today on the death of former Gov. Gregg Cherry.

Gov. Luther Hodges said in Williamsburg, Va., where he is attending the National Governors' Conference:

"I am terribly distressed at hearing the news of Governor Cherry's death. He was a warm, personal friend of mine. One of the first things I did upon coming into office was to counsel with him because he had a reputation for integrity and good government. North Carolina will miss him greatly."

Dr. J. W. R. Norton, State health officer, summed up the expressions of several State officials when he said Cherry was certainly one of the most vigorous and colorful public officials we've ever had in North Carolina.

Dr. Norton, who was appointed by Cherry in 1948, said "he was one of the frankest and most lovable men I've ever known. He always had the best interests of all the citizens at heart at all times. He was particularly interested in mental health and led the way to great improvement on the care of those suffering from mental disorders."

Highway Chairman A. H. Graham, who served the 4 years of Cherry's administration, said: "In his passing we've lost another one of the outstanding servants of public welfare of our State. North Carolina never had a Governor who was more careful of the properties of honesty and fair dealing with all of the people."

State Auditor Henry L. Bridges, who was first appointed to his State job by Cherry in 1947, commented that the Cherry administration was one of the soundest the State has had in a long time and we are still today reaping benefits of his progressive policies.

Secretary of State Thad Eure described Cherry as truly an unswerving Democrat. He said Cherry was a close personal friend and I'm deeply saddened.

State Treasurer Edwin Gill, who served under Cherry as revenue commissioner, said Cherry was a rugged courageous leader who never hesitated to do what he thought was best for the people of North Carolina. He was a faithful public servant in the great tradition of the governorship.

Dr. Ellen Winston, State welfare commission, said it was a great privilege to serve under Cherry. She added that Cherry gave strong support as Governor to the development of a constructive program of public welfare, being deeply interested in all child welfare services.

Associate Justice E. B. Denny, who knew Cherry when they were both lawyers in Gastonia, said Cherry was an able and outstanding lawyer, Governor, and a fine citizen.

Deportation by Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on June 16, 1957, the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians of Detroit held their 16th annual concert meeting in commemoration of the mass deportation by the Communists from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas in June 1940 the sovereign and independent republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were illegally occupied through treachery and deception by Soviet Russia and in June 1941 many thousands of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanans were seized and deported to the tundras of Siberia for torturous death, thus beginning a series of acts of systematical genocide carried out by the Kremlin since; and

Whereas the same Soviet forces brutally crushed the Hungarian revolt against communism in 1956, and the aim of the international communism still is the world domination, thus being a menace to the free world and to the world peace; and

Whereas the United States of America "will never make a political settlement at the expense of the captive nations, condemns and opposes the Soviet imperialism," and still "seeks the liberation of the captive nations, because peace is in jeopardy and freedom a word of mockery until the divided nations are reunited and the captive nations are set free," as officially stated by the Honorable Secretary of State in New York City, on April 22, 1957: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That hereby we, who have assembled today to commemorate this tragic anniversary, once again express our deep gratitude to the United States Government for not recognizing the fabricated incorporation of the Baltic States into Soviet Union and allowing many thousands of refugees to find new homes in this land of liberty; and be it further

Resolved, That this meeting unconditionally denounces and condemns the Soviet crimes of treacherous aggression, destructive occupation, and brutal genocide of the Baltic States and all the other enslaved countries and respectfully recommends and urges the United States Government, as a member of the United Nations, to take the Soviet Union to the United Nations International Court of Justice for aggression and mass murder, and if necessary to follow the recommendations made by the Honorable Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND on November 26, 1956, to bring Russia into line:

1. Expel Russia from United Nations until the Soviets agree to obey the United Nations.

2. Apply economic sanctions against Russia until she withdraws troops from Hungary.

3. Withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union until she conforms to the United Nations resolutions.

4. Establish a United Nations emergency force ready to help if another enslaved country appeals for it while fighting for freedom; and be it further

Resolved, That if this should fail the United States should go it alone and establish a realistic, affirmative policy of tangible aid to these countries that revolt against Communist tyranny; and be it further

Resolved, That this is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that the principles listed in article 21 of declaration of human rights of the United Nations must also cover the peoples of Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. That only free elections in the U. S. S. R. and the captive countries would bring world peace; and be it finally

Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded to the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, majority leader of the United States Senate, minority leader of United States Senate, chairman of United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chairman of United States Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament, chairman of United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary's Subcommittee of the Internal Security, chairman of United States Senate Commerce Special Subcommittee, Speaker of the House of Representatives, majority leader of the House of Representatives, minority leader of the House of Representatives, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, United States delegate to the United Nations, all Members of United States Congress of the State of Michigan, the Governor of the State of Michigan and the mayor of the city of Detroit.

Adopted in Detroit, Mich., this 16th day of June A. D. 1957.

THE BALTIC NATIONS COMMITTEE OF DETROIT.

Onward Dispatch or California Here I Come—Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpt from Herb Caen's column in the San Francisco Examiner. This item struck a sympathetic note with me because earlier this year I found that Portland patrons who drove all the way out to the airport to deposit their airmail letters were really wasting their time, since there was no sorting done at the airport and the letters they took out there were sent back into the city for sorting before they went out. The result of this was that you lost time by taking your letters to the airport. I am glad to say I was able to have this situation corrected. I hope we have as much luck in San Francisco. Here is the item:

AIR AGE

The American Airlines people here have been having trouble getting company mail from their Oakland Airport office—regular mail takes more than a day sometimes—so they've worked out this little plan. Every night, the Oakland AA'ers put their mail, in a pouch, aboard a New York-bound plane, which goes to LaGuardia, then Idlewild and arrives in San Francisco the next day—ahead of the regular mail service.

TVA—The Work of Plain, Honest Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, recently the University of Alabama Press and the University of Tennessee Press have jointly published a book entitled, "TVA, the First 20 Years," by Roscoe C. Martin and 16 members or former members of the TVA staff. An excellent review of this work appeared in the June 1957 issue of Public Power magazine and under unanimous consent I insert it in the RECORD because it can contribute a great deal toward a better understanding of the TVA—its purposes, and achievements of a great agency of Congress serving the public interest.

The article, which concludes that TVA, like the Constitution, is the work of plain, honest men, follows:

WORK OF PLAIN, HONEST MEN—TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY'S FIRST TWO DECADES OF ACHIEVEMENT ARE DESCRIBED

(TVA, The First Twenty Years, edited by Roscoe C. Martin, the University of Alabama Press and the University of Tennessee Press, 282 pp., 1956, $4.50.)

This book, as the introduction says, "is not an impartial on-the-one-hand-but-then-again-on-the-other account of the Tennessee Valley Authority."

Except for one chapter, it was written for the most part by persons long associated with TVA. It is, then, an analysis of TVA's program by 16 TVA staff members, each writing about his own special field of activity.

Essentially this is a compilation of a series of lectures delivered by TVA staff members at Florida State University in 1953. And as Dr. Harry A. Curtis, recently retired as a member of the TVA Board of Directors, says in the introduction, this lecture series "afforded TVA officials the occasion for an inventory" of TVA "at an important point in its history."

These chapters, Dr. Curtis says, are not official statements of policy; they "delineate the TVA as it appears to a group of responsible public servants who must be reckoned as among the agency's chief architects."

And chief architects, there are among the 16 TVA staff members, architects such as Gordon Clapp, then chairman of the TVA board; Joseph C. Swidler, a TVA attorney since 1933 and general counsel since 1945; John Oliver, former general manager; and other men who have devoted a major part of their lives to working for TVA.

Editor of the edition is Roscoe Martin, former political science professor at the University of Alabama and now at Syracuse University, who served as a TVA consultant for several years. Professor Martin also contributes a concluding chapter headed "Retrospect and prospect."

This book is important as a historical document. For anyone interested in the whats and whys of TVA's multipurpose program, this is a volume to be read and kept on the shelf for future reference.

It reflects the many-faceted nature of TVA's operations, dealing with fertilizer, forestry, health, recreation, reservoir-land management, river transportation, the river-control system, and power. And there are chapters on broader questions, such as economic development of the valley, TVA's relations with State and local governments, and TVA as a national and international symbol. Other sections deal with the basic framework for operations—the legal and administrative foundations of TVA, the handling of personnel and fiscal matters.

But running through this volume is the theme set by Mr. Clapp, who writes about the meaning of TVA.

This "frankly experimental program," he says, "begins with a river, a river languid in one season but wild and destructive in another."

The former TVA chairman cites three characteristic features of the TVA:

1. TVA, though Federal in origin and in legal authorization, is essentially a regional agency.

2. Another special feature is TVA's responsibility for the development and optimum utilization of natural resources.

3. TVA's special preoccupation with energy.

Lest the furor over TVA's power program confuse the picture, Mr. Clapp reminds us that "TVA represented the first attempt on any sizable scale to apply the theories of multiple-purpose engineering to a whole river system."

And he points out that "in the long run, the social engineering processes which brought the TVA program into the aspirations and actions of the people of the valley will prove more important than the physical engineering structures the TVA built so efficiently. The dams are more spectacular, but the ideas may be more enduring."

Mr. Clapp sums up TVA's basic principles in the field of natural resources:

First, resources must be looked at whole, not piecemeal;

Second, a regional emphasis "offers more promise of fruitful results than one cast in the more traditional mold of nationwide, specialized, and centralized Federal agencies";

Third, conservation alone is not enough; "what is sought is not merely the preservation of natural resources, but their optimum utilization for the improvement of the well-being of the people."

Mr. Swidler, TVA general counsel, has a fascinating chapter on TVA's legal foundations, which amounts to a concise history of TVA from 1899, 34 years before the TVA Act, up to the present day.

Edward A. Ackerman, former assistant general manager, tells of TVA's international significance, pointing out that "more than a dozen river control projects in other countries on four continents have drawn in some degree on TVA experience."

And so it goes, this story of a Federal corporation which, as Dr. Martin says, "does not fit into the standard pattern of thought about our Federal system." Indeed it does not fit, because TVA is unique, and many of its problems arise from the constant efforts of people who try to bend TVA to fit it into a more traditional mold. But if TVA simply followed the path of other Federal agencies, it would at once lose both its unusual effectiveness and its peculiar significance.

The reader who thinks of TVA as just a big Federal power system will be surprised to find that, while there is one excellent chapter on the power system, it is only one of many chapters dealing with special parts of the overall TVA program.

"Few agencies," say Dr. Martin, "have been so widely discussed and debated in public print."

But it may well be, he says, that TVA deserves the same comment that Robert Morris made about the Constitution of the United States just before its adoption: "This paper has been the subject of infinite investigation, disputation, and declamation. While some have boasted it as a work from heaven, others have given it a less righteous origin. I have many reasons to believe that it is the work of plain honest men, and such, I think, it will appear."

The Future of Our Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution says that the United States Supreme Court Justices shall be appointed during good behavior by the President of the United States. They are removable only by impeachment and they serve for life, unless they retire earlier. This gives these judges a tenure during their active lives.

As a matter of practice, these judges are formally nominated by the President of the United States. In actual practice, however, the President is a very busy man and he leaves, and I suppose must leave, the details of selection of a justice up to the operation of the Justice Department, headed by the Attorney General. Very often, the Attorney General has some political friend, or some especial favorite—and this seems to be the case more frequently in recent years—whom he maneuvers into the position of being nominated. These appointments, in other words, are largely made on the recommendation of and with the advice of the Attorney General. This is the way it works out in actual practice.

Increasingly, in recent years, cases involving one of the sovereign States—I hesitate to use this word "sovereign" because of the tremendous loss of power by the States in recent years—is handled by this tribunal; and the sovereign State must suppliently present its petition for redress before this High Court. It places the attorneys general of the various States at a distinct disadvantage, I am sure, to be compelled to come up against this sort of arrangement. They are required to present their cases before judges who are nominated on the recommendation of the same official who may be presenting the case of the United States before the tribunal.

Judges are human, whether they be members of the United States Supreme Court, appointed for life, or whether they be members of lesser courts. It is human to think kindly of your friends, and to be influenced by their judgment and their recommendations. Now, then, can the attorneys general from the various so-called sovereign States throughout the Union hope to get a fair break in the presentation of the cases of their States before this august tribunal which holds the unchecked power of decision in its hands and from which there is no appeal?

More important than this: In the light of this appointing process, how can we, who believe in States rights and who steadfastly oppose the constant encroach of power on the part of the United States Government over the several States, under this arrangement expect or hope to check the growing tendency of the United States to take away from the States their very sovereignty itself?

My own State has before the United States Supreme Court at this time litigation of vast importance to the people of our State and, I think, also to the Union. I do not wish to comment upon this litigation at this time. Other States will in the future have more and more litigation before this Court. Can judges, even after years of experience on the bench, throw aside their own petty likes and dislikes and throw aside their feeling of gratitude for the office and to the man—the Attorney General—who nominated and recommended them and render decisions which will give the States a fair break? The more so, we ask, can judges without prior judicial experience, accustomed to the point of view of the advocate and accustomed to rewarding others for favors and for help, forget all of these things and, in the cloistered sanctum of the judicial study, render a judgment with the wisdom of a Solomon and the vision of a prophet?

I rather think that some other method should be created for the recommendation to the President of names of suitable persons for Federal judges. Perhaps this should be done by recommendation from the Congress, or by recommendations from a judicial council, or from the States, or in some other manner. This matter should be given careful study, and out of the thought and care given to a grave problem—for it is the problem of preserving the States—should come a plan created under which judges can be recommended by some other authority than the one—the Attorney General of the United States—who argues and presents the case for the Federal Government.

I read more and more of decisions of the supreme courts which upset settled law and jurisprudence and which do not seem to be tempered with the spirit of the Constitution. There is criticism of the Court as being arbitrary and capricious. The national commander of the American Legion, an organization which personifies patriotism and loyalty to country, suggests that these judges—perhaps all Federal judges—be elected, and that the appointive method be abandoned. Is he right? This is something to think about in these present times, and his suggestion is worthy of careful consideration.

Address by Judge Maurice Simmons at Memorial Day Observance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered by the Honorable Maurice Simmons, a justice of the court of special session of New York, and a leader of veterans in the State of New York, on the occasion of the Memorial Day service before the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in New York City.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY OBSERVANCE

(Address by Maurice Simmons, justice of the court of special session of New York City, retired, past commander in chief, United Spanish War Veterans, the first national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, honorary chairman of the United War Veterans Committee of New York County, at Soldiers and Sailors Monument, 89th Street and Riverside Drive, New York City, Memorial Day, 1957)

Again we muster in annual reunion to pay the dues of reverence to the hallowed dead. This is All Saints Day on the calendar of American patriotism. In memoriam it cloaks the departed comrades of all our wars. This is the day above all others that the Government has selected to entomb the bodies of the Unknown Soldiers of World War II and the Korean conflict alongside their unknown comrades of World War I. Throughout the land it is dedicated to reverential remembrance. What about it in this community? Not so long ago, the Stars and Stripes bedecked every building, particularly along the line of parade. Now only 2 or 3 flags are visible. Where are the National Guard regiments that marched with the war veterans and other patriotic contigents? Today only a token squad with regimental colors participates. Prominent State and Federal officials are always seen on the reviewing stands of the parades sponsored by our fellow citizens of varied racial ancestry. At our Memorial Day parades they are conspicuous by their absence. The day was established by statute as a day of dedication to the immortal dead. Instead it has degenerated into a holiday for sports and amusements. Not even a hypocritical pretense of observance. Faced with this fradulent perversion, the only honorable course is to repeal the statute. Statute or no statute, we war veterans will continue to commemorate the day.

PRESERVATION OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS MONUMENT

This monument is our historic heritage. It was erected by our municipality in 1892.

Entrusted to the city authorities for the patriotic inspiration of our population what fate has enshrouded it? After decades of neglect it is now proposed to tear it down. Instead, for that breach of trust it is the duty of the city to make amends by renovation, not destruction. To the million war veterans in our city and their families, this monument is a holy shrine. To them its demolition would be an act of unpardonable vandalism. The cost of its preservation cannot be counted in dollars. Its symbolic value to the younger generation is priceless. The pleas of patriots for its retention are met by stony silence. But to appease the clamor of frenzied fans for a baseball stadium, the city authorities are ready to spare neither labor nor funds.

A WAR VETERANS MEMORIAL BUILDING

In most large cities, as the cherished project of a grateful people, stands for a War Veterans Memorial Building. Why not such an edifice in our dominant metropolis, the financial heart of the continent, the capital of the world? Has corroding materialism crept into our bloodstream? Have we turned our backs on the moral, spiritual and patriotic ideals of the Founding Fathers, to become pagan worshippers of the golden calf? Small wonder that outlanders stigmatize our beloved city as an alien incrustation on the body politic. It is not too late to rekindle in the hearts of the masses of Manhattan the flame of gratitude for the men who have made and kept our Nation the free world's foremost bulwark of freedom.

Address by Julian B. Baird Before Rotary Club of St. Paul Relative to Our Monetary System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I should like to invite the attention of my colleagues to a statement made by Mr. Julian B. Baird, chairman of the board of the First National Bank of St. Paul, before the Rotary Club of St. Paul on June 18, 1957. The speech is very timely since the fiscal policies of the Secretary of the Treasury and Mr. Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, are being investigated by the Senate Committee on Finance. Mr. Baird's speech is a concise statement of the policy of Secretary Humphrey. It also describes the operation of our monetary system and the methods through which the Federal Reserve Board has been curtailing inflation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TALK GIVEN BEFORE THE ROTARY CLUB OF ST. PAUL ON JUNE 18, 1957, BY JULIAN B. BAIRD, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ST. PAUL

Let me start by saying that we all must be conscious of the fact that we have in our relatively free capitalistic economy in this country a mechanism that is the marvel and envy of the rest of the world. With wide freedom of choice on the part of the individual and an amazing technology, we have raised the standard of living of our people beyond the wildest dreams of 50 years ago, and the process seems to be accelerating. Barring a global war, it would be hard to define the limits of what we can accomplish in the next 2 or 3 decades, provided always that we have the wisdom and forbearance to manage our monetary affairs properly.

Bad monetary structure and management have worked havoc with many economies over the world in modern times. The history of this country is replete with booms and depressions, in many instances caused directly by a faulty monetary and banking structure, and in other instances, if not the direct cause of our troubles, the difficulties were accentuated by defects in our monetary and banking system.

Fortunately we have learned something from these experiences. The Federal Reserve Act, passed in 1913, came into being because of the money panic of 1907. The amendments to the Federal Reserve Act, passed from 1933 to 1935, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Act corrected certain weaknesses in our banking structure which came to light in the great depression. Had that legislaton been in effect in 1929, the depression would never have achieved such depths and the futile attempt of everyone to find liquidity at once could have been in large measure avoided.

Yes, we have, by and large, a very good central banking system, the Federal Reserve System, ably and courageously managed, and it is the greatest force we have in this country working in the direction of a sustained prosperity. Unfortunately, the operation of a central banking system is still a good deal of a mystery to the great mass of our population and, I am sorry to say, even to many businessmen, labor leaders, and politicians. Therein lies a certain peril.

With that preamble, I will now get to the subject of my talk, Tight Money. Is money tight and, if so, why is it tight? Perhaps we should first define what we mean by money. The money supply is the currency in circulation plus demand deposits of banks. The latter is included for the reason that nearly 90 percent of all transactions in this country are settled by the use of bank checks which serve in lieu of currency. It is the primary function of the Federal Reserve System to regulate the supply of money to fit the needs of the economy. To have an excess supply of money at a time when there is relatively full employment and relatively full utilization of our resources is to invite inflation. To have an inadequate supply of money to serve the needs of the business community is to bring on a deflation. The manner in which the Federal Reserve System operates to increase or decrease the money supply is a rather technical subject which the time allotted me here does not permit me to go into. Suffice it to say that by the use of certain mechanisms the Federal Reserve System can shrink or expand the reserve position of the member banks and thus affect the ability of member banks to make loans and by the same token to create deposits. Taking the banking system as a whole, the banks do not first get deposits out of which they make loans and investments. The process is initiated by making loans and investments which create deposits. That ability to create money is the unique function and characteristic of commercial banks, and that function is one of the hardest things for the layman to understand. This money-creating ability is not possessed by other types of financial institutions.

Fundamentally the so-called tight-money situation which has evoked so much comment in recent months has not been brought about by a reduction in the money supply. Actually the money supply has increased 1 percent in the past year and the velocity or turnover of demand deposits has increased 8 percent in the same period. It is the physical volume times the velocity that measures the effectiveness of the money supply in serving the economy. Therefore, credit has not been tightened by an insufficiency of money; rather, a tightening effect has been produced by the magnitude and intensity of demands for credit from practically all quarters. All of the demands could have been satisfied only by the creation of more bank credit—that is, the creation of more money—and that, of course, would have been inflationary.

Judged by historical standards, money is not particularly tight even today, although it is tight by comparison with standards we have known from 1933 to 1952. The artificially low rates created by the Federal Reserve authorities were proper to aid in fighting first a depression and then a world war. They were not appropriate to fighting inflationary forces that followed and hence had to be reversed in 1952 and free-market forces again permitted to operate. To say that money is tight, of course, means that interest rates have risen sharply, which is the market's way of adjusting supply and demand. The free market applies to money as it does to wheat, cattle, or any other commodity in a free economy. The rise in interest rates is intended and does tend to dampen down demand on the one hand and to stimulate increased savings on the other hand.

Let's ask the question why should the expansion of credit be restrained at this time? The answer to that is that the productive resources of this country, labor, and materials, have for all practical purposes been fully employed for a period of over 2 years. To expand credit, and hence the money supply under these conditions, is only to create more dollars to chase the same supply of goods and services. As you all know, this is certain to raise the price of goods and services and that is inflation which serves no good end and several evil ones.

Some of you may question whether our resources are to all intents and purposes fully employed. In a complex economy, such as ours, there will always be segments that are experiencing an adjustment for reasons peculiar to themselves, and to the industries affected it does not look like prosperity and full employment. For example, residential building in this area and the country generally is sharply off from what it was 1 or 2 years ago. True, but it is also a fact that overall building construction is actually up in volume. What has been lost in the building of homes has been made up in the building of plants, commercial buildings, schools, hospitals, churches, highways, etc. From what I can learn there is relatively little unemployment in the building trades and an actual scarcity in a number of these trades, and it is by the test of full employment at good wages that we measure our economic well-being. It must be admitted that this is small consolation to the contractor whose primary job is to build homes, and the same can be said for some of the building material industries that are dependent on residential building, the textile industry and some others. In a free economy where the buyer by his selection is the master, we cannot and should not try to avoid the rolling adjustments that are occasioned by the public's shift in demand. I don't know why this year the public is more inclined to buy soft goods and services than certain durable goods, such as cars and appliances. Nor do I know why car buyers this year prefer those with extreme tail fins rather than equally good cars with more modest lines. So long as the public does vary its choices, we will have those rough spots that have to be ironed out. So long as more people are gainfully employed than ever before and both the gross national product and expendable incomes are at recordbreaking levels, we should be well

satisfied and glad that the corrections come as rolling corrections and not all at once. Business seems generally to be moving sideways on a high plateau.

As I said before, there has been an unprecedented demand for credit both long and short. The long-term credit, that usually connected with capital expenditures, should for the most part be supplied by the generation of savings which accumulate in savings departments of commercial banks, savings banks, savings and loan associations, insurance companies, pension funds, etc. When the savings from these sources are insufficient to meet demands, there is a tendency for the demand to spill over on the commercial banks where essentially it does not belong except to the extent that the commercial banks themselves hold savings deposits. Considerable of this long-term demand has in fact been descending on the commercial banks in the past year and had they not offered some resistance much more would have come their way.

This restraint on the part of the banks has been necessary because the Federal Reserve has supplied only enough reserves in the banks to permit a very small increase in commercial-bank credit. Nevertheless the banks have made and are making a strenuous, and I believe successful effort, to take care of all necessary requirements of their customers in the ordinary course of business.

And why hasn't the Federal Reserve System provided the reserves which would allow the commercial banks to take care of all demands on them for both long- and short-term requirements and to keep interest rates from rising? As we have seen, the primary function of the Federal Reserve System is to regulate the supply of bank credit, and hence the money supply, so as to avoid, so far as possible, booms followed by inevitable busts. In other words, it uses its powers in the direction of a sustained prosperity.

Thus the Federal Reserve System regulates the total quantity of bank credit available and leaves to the market place, in this case the 14,000 commercial banks, the allocation of that credit. The only alternative is that goods and credit be rationed by government edict which is abhorrent to the American people except as a temporary measure in war or other grave national emergency. It has yet to be shown that government officials can identify borrowers who are more deserving of credit than those who get the credit in a free market. The same reasons which exist for allowing the free price mechanism to operate in other areas of our economy apply to credit as well.

All of this regulation then, as we have seen, is to avoid, so far as possible, booms and the subsequent busts. Most of us have too vivid a memory of the last big bust to want to experience another. But some people are saying, including some of my good friends, that of course we don't want a big and rapid inflation but isn't a little inflation every year a good thing as a kind of insurance against depression? In my opinion, here is where the great danger lies. Here is where it is so important to mobilize public opinion to see and understand these dangers. I suppose that is essentially why I am here today.

Let's see where a little creeping inflation leads us. From 1952 to 1955 we did have reasonable price stability but what was really happening was that a sharp decline in the price of agricultural products tended to offset a small increase in the price of other goods and services. In 1956 the cost of living went up 3.6 percent. In the past 12 months it has gone up over 4 percent and further advances are predicted in the months ahead. Suppose the cost of living continues to advance at the rate of 3 percent a year compounded. This would double the price level in 23 years. If it should increase at only the modest rate of 2 percent compounded, the price level would double in 34½ years. The erosion of the purchasing power of those who must depend on fixed dollar incomes, such as those from pensions, insurance policies, etc., is manifest.

But that isn't the worst of a creeping inflation. There is no historical precedent for a creeping inflation extending over very many years. It always ceases to creep and begins to run, for understandable reasons, some of which I will mention:

1. It brings a demand for labor escalator clauses that automatically build in more inflation.

2. It warps business decisions by causing managers to accumulate inventories because they think they are going to advance in price and to enlarge physical facilities faster than really needed because they will cost more to build later.

3. It tends to raise a distrust of foreigners in the stability of our currency and to distort our foreign trade. For the last generation the American dollar has been one of the most stable currencies in the world and as a result we hold much of the liquid reserves of foreign central banks and others. The aggregate is about $12.5 billion, all of which has to be settled in gold if necessary. If we cannot control our price level, foreigners will think that we may have to again devalue the dollar sometime and, if they do, the drain on us could be heavy and come quickly. That could not help but cause concern in this country and could start a flight from the dollar into goods, for we are a volatile people.

4. The most serious effect of all to my mind is the effect on savings. If over a period of a very few years the people who put their money in the various types of savings institutions and in life insurance see, and believe there will continue to be, erosion of the purchasing power of their principal that exceeds the interest rate they are currently obtaining, it is bound to have a depressing effect on total savings and, as I have indicated, savings furnish the necessary basis for our expenditures for capital goods. Not only can savings cease but we can have negative savings, for it has happened in other countries, and could happen here, that individuals would withdraw their savings from the savings institutions and cash in their Government bonds, which are payable on demand, and put the proceeds in real estate and other tangible goods that they think will not depreciate in value.

The forces I have mentioned tend to become cumulative. We are dealing with psychological factors and no one can predict the chain of events accurately. However, there is a good deal of evidence from the experience of other countries that once a creeping inflation reaches a point where the price level goes up 8 percent or 10 percent a year, the flight from the currency is on and the boom becomes uncontrollable by conventional methods. Such an event would create a demand for governmental intervention in the control of the economy and later huge Federal expenditures to sustain employment when the collapse came. We could expect to end up with a far greater degree of socialization than we have now.

I would not want to give the impression that I believe that monetary factors alone create inflation, nor that monetary measures alone can regulate the economy. Demands of organized labor for wage increases that exceed average increased productivity per man-hour are definitely inflationary. It would appear that the wage increases granted in recent years have in many instances been greater than the increased productivity of labor taken as a whole. It will not work to grant large increases to labor in a particular industry that may have made great technological advances in the utilization of labor and then fail to raise wages in service or other industries where there has been little technological advance. It has to be the overall increase in efficiency of labor that essentially controls, and that increase has been running at a rate estimated to be not much over 2 percent a year in recent years. I am told that union leaders in Germany have stated publicly that they will never ask for wage increases not warranted by average increased productivity of labor. They have experienced two drastic inflations and do not want to experience another. Our labor leaders still have something to learn in that respect. Labor is the greatest sufferer from a depression.

Union demands cannot be blamed for all of the increase in labor rates exceeding increased productivity. In a short labor market, such as we have been experiencing, businessmen and housewives bid up the market for unorganized labor as well.

Neither have businessmen all shown restraint in marking up the price of their products and services, although they usually allege, and often with justice, that they are only passing on increased labor costs forced on them.

The advancing wage price spiral cannot be prevented by monetary management alone except at the risk of measures so drastic as to risk the creation of a sharp recession, although monetary measures remain the single most effective measure of fighting inflation, and they deserve our hearty support.

I have painted what you may think is a gloomy and alarming picture. I want to make it perfectly clear that I am not predicting, nor is anyone else so far as I know, that the sequence of events I have listed will happen. It is unthinkable to me that this great country of ours that has solved so many of the economic problems that have beset mankind from the beginning of time will let our free enterprise system be wrecked because of a failure to recognize sound and proven monetary principles. If the American people become aware of the dangers, we need not have fear.

There is an increasing demand from cheap-money advocates in the Congress, growing out of either ignorance or political motives, to attempt to interfere with the independence of those who direct the Federal Reserve System. If they should succeed in hamstringing the Federal Reserve authorities, it will be a tragedy and have an adverse effect on our lives and on the lives of our children.

In conclusion, I would agree with Mr. Martin, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, when he says, as he has repeatedly, that the control of a creeping inflation is the greatest domestic problem that faces the American people in the years immediately ahead.

Alcoholic Beverage Advertising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith, by request, a petition signed by residents of my congressional district in support of S. 582 and H. R. 4835:

To Our Senators and Congressmen:

We, the citizens of your districts, again urge upon you action to remove alcoholic beverage advertising from our homes.

Through your inaction this advertising has become worse, our youth problem more pressing. We ask for speedy action to remedy this injustice to us by passage of the Langer bill, S. 582, and the Siler bill, H. R. 4835.

Mrs. Evelyn A. Rasmussen, Rasmus Rasmussen, Pawcatuck, Conn.; Mrs. M. C. Studd, Westerly, R. I.; Gertrude N. Saunders, Mystic, Conn.; H. J. Peckham, Mrs. H. J. Peckham, Gales Ferry, Conn.; Mrs. Marcella R. Miller, Groton, Conn.; Mrs. Hattie Allard, Mystic, Conn.; Mrs. Lucy B. Porter, Ira E. Porter, Clara L. Kenyon, Westerly, R. I.; William E. E. Loughborough, Ashaway, R. I.; Miss Carolyn T. Henry, Vera M. Henry, Stonington, Conn.; Lillian Morgan, Westerly, R. I.; Ernest Lamb, Lower Pawcatuck; Mabel Henderson, Mystic, Conn.; Mrs. Rose De Costa, Groton, Conn.; Mrs. Marion M. Loughborough, Ashaway, R. I.; G. W. Muller, New London, Conn.

Inter-American Military Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been pleased to note an important address on Inter-American defense. It was delivered last Friday by the distinguished Chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board, Gen. Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., at a press luncheon. Coincidentally enough, I was speaking on the same basic theme in comments on the Senate floor almost at the same time.

We of the United States are not perhaps as familiar as we should be with the Inter-American Defense Board, but it very significantly affects our destiny as a people and the destiny of our 20 sister republics.

In war and in peace, the board has helped serve as a shield for the Western Hemisphere.

General Shepherd's present service is a logical continuation of his long and able work—40 honored years—in the elite fighting arm of the United States—the United States Marine Corps.

It is most appropriate that the man who led the great organization which is first to fight our country's battles on the land and on the sea should now occupy a top position in seeking the military security of an area which is our natural first line of defense. That is, of course, the Western Hemisphere itself.

General Shepherd's lifelong interest has, of course, been the protection of this Republic. That is my own interest—our self-preservation. That is why it is so important that we strengthen inter-American ties, so that we may survive in this atomic age.

If there are differences with some of our Latin friends, as there occasionally are, let us frankly work out these differences. But always let us do so within the framework of Pan-American unity, to the greatest possible extent.

I believe that General Shepherd's remarks will be of interest to my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GEN. LEMUEL C. SHEPHERD, JR., UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS, CHAIRMAN, INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD, AT LUNCHEON HONORING THE PRESS, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, JUNE 21, 1957

Gentlemen, as Chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board I welcome this occasion to break bread with you representatives of the press and various news agencies, and for you to have the opportunity to meet the Chairman and members of the public relations committee and staff officers of the organization over which it is my honor to preside.

Since taking over my present duties upon my retirement from the Marine Corps, I have felt that there was a definite need for closer public relations between the Inter-American Defense Board and the press here in Washington.

It is my intention in the brief remarks I intend to make to outline the aims and purposes of the Inter-American Defense Board—to tell you something about our accomplishments and to make a few comments on my observations during the various visits I have made to our South and Central American sister Republics.

If your time permits, I will be glad to endeavor to answer any questions that are not of a confidential nor political nature.

As you are probably aware, the Inter-American Defense Board was created in January 1942, at Rio de Janeiro, at the third meeting of consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics.

Our organization is composed of military representatives of the 21 Republics of this Hemisphere, and is assigned the mission of preparing plans for the defense of the continent and the promotion of solidarity among the military forces of our respective countries.

During World War II, the Board became an effective agency for coordinating defense measures and contributed materially toward the defense of the American continent, especially in matters dealing with security against sabotage, production of stratigic materials, naval and airbases, antisubmarine defense, standardization of material, training and organization, and the promotion of close collaboration between the military, naval, and air forces of the American Republics.

Under its present charter, the Inter-American Defense Board is charged with preparing and keeping up to date, in close liaison with the governments of the member nations through the respective delegations, the military planning for the common defense of the hemisphere.

This is the mission the members of the Inter-American Defense Board are engaged in carrying out today.

Now a word about its actual functioning.

The Board consists, in addition to the Chairman, of a council of delegates representing each member nation and a technical staff which functions as a daily working body to draw up plans and studies as directed by the council.

As Chairman, I preside at the assemblies in an international capacity and through the secretariat I direct and coordinate the activities of the board and staff.

The studies and plans prepared by the staff are presented to the council, which approves, disapproves or modifies the documents and sends them as resolutions to the governments of each delegation.

It should be made clear that the Board has no armed forces under its direct control; its mission is defense planning only.

The Board has its headquarters in its own building at 2600 16th Street, Washington, D. C.

The procedures and discussions conducted at the Board's meetings are simultaneously transmitted by interpreters in four languages—English, Spanish, Portugese, and French—to the members of each delegation by use of headphones and each chief of delegation has his own microphone for speaking.

The operating funds required by the Board are appropriated by the Organization of American States and made available through the Pan American Union.

Its total budget amounts to only $235,000 a year.

This, in general, covers the functioning and operation of the Inter-American Defense Board.

During the past year, I have made official visits to the various Central and South American countries and discussed the problems of the Board with the Presidents, Ministers, and Chiefs of Staff of each nation.

I am happy to state that in all cases I was warmly received and the government officials with whom I met were universally enthusiastic about the operations of the Inter-American Defense Board and indicated to me their wholehearted support of our organization.

The thing that impressed me most is that our Central and South American neighbors look to the United States for leadership in military matters in the hemisphere.

I detected no anti-United States feeling. Our good-neighbor policy has indeed borne fruit.

I have become firmly convinced that the United States should exert every effort in the direction of our foreign policy toward Latin America to promote cordial relations with the Republics of this hemisphere, not only by military leadership in our fight against international communism, but in economic and cultural activities as well.

In the uncertain and troubled world of today, the future security of the United States may well depend upon maintaining a solid front in the defense of the American Continent. In other words, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that this continent may form an island of democracy in the Western Hemisphere in the event Europe should fall under Communist influence as a large part of Asia has done.

In discussing the countries I have visited, I will begin with Argentina.

Now that Peron has been deposed, the present leaders of the Argentine Government are earnestly endeavoring to establish a democratic form of government and to promote cordial relations with the United States.

Because of the similarity in terrain and climate between Argentina and the United States, our two countries are very much alike.

I found the Argentine people most cordial and friendly. There was freedom in the air, a different feeling than I had experienced 2 years ago when I first visited this country.

It was most gratifying to note during the recent South Atlantic Defense Conference I attended, that the Argentine Government is taking the initiative, together with Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay, in the implementation of our general military defense plan for the protection of maritime traffic in the South Atlantic area. It is the first such regional agreement that has been formulated and I trust other South American nations will follow the example that has been set by these four countries in working out details for mutual defense of strategic areas.

Passing on to Brazil, the largest country in South America, it was gratifying to note the progress this country has made in recent years. Brazil, as you know, has always been our friend and its eastern coastline is strategically important in the defense of the continent.

The future of this country is indeed bright. It is filled with opportunities for economic development of untold resources yet undiscovered.

I was especially impressed with São Paulo, which is fast becoming one of the greatest cities in this hemisphere. It can be likened to Chicago in the 19th century as the gateway to the West. The citizens of this thriving community inspired in me a feeling of confidence by their determination to make Brazil the foremost country in South America.

On my visits to some of the smaller countries, such as Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay, I found they are having economic difficulties and require United States support to maintain a stable currency.

Bolivia's principal source of revenue was from its tin mines. With the fall of prices of this commodity, the Government has financial troubles, which has required the United States to subsidize to a great extent, the economy of the country.

Paraguay is a country of rolling pastures and jungle areas which are called the Chaco. Its people are proud and have a great military tradition and its President is endeavoring to give this country a good progressive government.

The principal trouble with the majority of the South American countries is the great difference between the wealthy, educated class, and the laboring masses, for there are few countries in which there is a so-called middle class, as we have in the United States.

Our Government, through its point 4 program and other economic aid activities fostered by the State Department, together with the loans from the Export-Import Bank, is rendering valuable assistance to all of the countries of Central and South America in the development of their resources.

Our Defense Department is also contributing to the stability of the governments of South America by providing military missions and equipment for their armed forces.

Chile and Peru, which I have also visited, are further advanced in their development than some of the smaller countries.

Although less endowed with natural resources than their neighbors, these two countries are making forward strides toward economic stability under the able leadership of their respective Presidents.

In Colombia, I found the people intensely enthusiastic about the United States. Although recently involved in political troubles this country is endeavoring to locate and develop its potential oil reserves in the Magdalena Basin in order to share the prosperity Venezuela is enjoying from its natural resources. The excellent coffee raised in Colombia is one of its principal sources of revenue.

In Uruguay, I found a Socialist state whose President and Government Council have patterned their Republic after Switzerland.

The Government controls and operates all public utilities, schools, universities, and a great many of its economic resources, and its people enjoy a political freedom equal to our own.

Mexico is a nation that has a great potential—this country is moving rapidly ahead in its industrial and agricultural development.

The Unversity of Mexico is an inspiring institution and provides educational facilities for some 35,000 students, including many from foreign countries.

The people of Mexico are intensely nationalistic, which requires considerable diplomacy in our relations with this Government.

Although there have been controversial problems between our two Governments in the past, from my brief visit, I gained the impression that the present Mexican regime is endeavoring to extend the hand of neighborly friendship to the United States.

The Central American countries—Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica—which I recently visited, may be lumped together insofar as their military, economic, and cultural conditions exist.

Here again, there exist a few rich families controlling the wealth, principally acquired from the export of coffee and fruit.

In my description of the impressions I have gained during my visits to the countries of Central and South America, I have strayed from the topic of my talk, the Inter-American Defense Board.

In conclusion, I would like to state that I have great faith in the potential of our South American neighbors. The majority of these countries are just beginning their economic and cultural development.

The population of South America at present exceeds that of the United States. It is estimated that by 2000, the population will be half a billion persons.

The South American countries look to us for leadership in world affairs. They also seek our aid in the development of their resources. We must continue to support them and cultivate their friendship if we wish to have them as our allies.

So far the Latin American nations have been able to keep Communist infiltration at a minimum, but Russia is becoming increasingly aware of the fruitful field that exists in this area and is endeavoring to promote subversive activities among the uneducated masses. It is therefore readily apparent that every effort be made to promote hemispheric solidarity if the freedom and democratic institutions the peoples of this continent enjoy are to be maintained.

In regard to the military forces of our South American neighbors, it is my opinion that they have a definite poential in the defense of this hemisphere. Especially in their growing pool of manpower.

In evaluating the military potential of South America, I believe that with proper indoctrination, military support, and guidance of the armed forces of the nations composing the Inter-American Defense Board, each country can be made capable of self-defense against a foreign aggressor.

This would relieve the United States of the requirement of sending large reinforcements to strategic areas as was necessary during World War II.

It is imperative that our country maintain friendly political, economic, and military relations with our South American neighbors. By so doing, we will be able to lessen the danger of Communist infiltration and forestall the possible establishment of enemy bases in this hemisphere in the event of war.

It is toward these objectives that the delegates of the Inter-American Defense Board are continually striving. By the fulfillment of the mission set forth in our charter, I am confident that the solidarity and peace of the Americas can be maintained.

This, gentlemen, is why the Inter-American Defense Board is of vital importance to the defense of this hemisphere.

Stevenson Trophy Cup Awarded to Massachusetts North Shore Chapter, National Association of Accountants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a resolution regarding the 1957 winner of the Stevenson Trophy Cup.

The resolution follows:

Whereas during the year ended May 31, 1957, in a nationwide interchapter trophy competition carried on in the United States and its possessions by the National Association of Accountants, formerly known as the National Association of Cost Accountants; and

Whereas because this competition is carried on between 131 chapters in as many separate locations in the country and its possessions, having an aggregate membership of over 40,000 individual members; and

Whereas because the competition, known as the Stevenson Trophy Competition, measures the relative achievements of the various chapters in their effort to carry out activities which further the advancement of knowledge and education in the science and practice of accountancy; that

Therefore we recognise and know the outstanding achievement of the Massachusetts North Shore Chapter of the National Association of Accountants being the 1957 winner of this aforementioned interchapter competition and awarded the Stevenson Trophy Cup by the president of the National Association of Accountants on June 27 at the 38th annual conference of the association held at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D. C.

Ratings of the 48 States in Army Educational Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated June 24, 1957, from Mr. William R. Ming, Jr., national chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, which was addressed to all Members of the Senate and the House. Mr. Ming's letter includes the statistics released by the Surgeon General of the Army concerning the educational test given to all inductees for military service during the Korean emergency.

In addition to the national interest afforded by this table, which includes the period from 1950 through 1953, I am particularly proud of the rating made by my own State of Oregon. Members of the Senate will note that Oregon rates second among all the States of the Nation in the percentage of its inductees passing the Army educational test.

Ninety-seven percent of all Oregon inductees passed the test. Only Minnesota was higher, with 97.4 percent. All other 46 States were lower.

This achievement by the sons of Oregon parents, who were educated in Oregon schools, provides some measure of the generous and unselfish degree to which the taxpayers of our State have made sacrifices in supporting and maintaining an outstanding school system. It also is a tribute to the caliber of Oregon teachers and school administrators.

This achievement is made particularly notable because Oregon, in recent years, has been suffering an economic slump which has made it even more difficult and trying for its people to pay high State and local taxes which contribute to the maintenance of education.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the letter and statistics presented by the American Veterans Committee, along with an excerpt from the July 1 weekly news column, prepared by Mrs. Neuberger and myself, which discusses this particular question. As a former schoolteacher in the Oregon school system, Mrs. Neuberger especially shares by pride in the record of our State.

There being no objection, the letter, table, and excerpts from the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., June 24, 1957.

To the Members of the 85th Congress:

In the last emergency this Nation faced, at the time of Korea, figures compiled by the Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, revealed that the percentage of rejection of inductees and enlistees for failure to pass the education test was highest in the Southern States of the Nation.

The attached table, based on the figures released by the Surgeon General, illustrate this fact. Parity on the attached chart is based on the national average wihch was 84.6.

The inductees and enlistees from Northern and Western States established a much better record as shown in the attached table.

In a special study done by the Selective Service System, Special Monograph No. 10, volume 1, "Special Groups," 1953, page 166, it was stated:

"The high rate of rejection of selectees, both white and Negro, for educational deficiency and failure to meet minimum intelligence standards calls attention to a problem which affects the Nation in time of peace as well as war. In peacetime, it prevents the effective participation of large numbers of citizens at a productive level. In war, it is even more impossible for these same individuals to make their full contribution to both production and security.

"This leads to the conclusion that the inability of large numbers of citizens to meet minimum standards of education or intelligence has broad significance. The failure of one State to be able to make its proportionate share of manpower available for national defense causes other States to assume a disproportionate share of the responsibility.

"The question as to whether or not one community, county, or State provides adequate educational opportunities is a matter of concern for all of the citizens in all of the States. Communities, counties, and States with high educational standards are compelled to absorb the manpower procurement deficiencies of States with poor educational programs. In the final analysis, the former actually pay in lives for the education deficiencies of the latter. The safety of the Nation depends in a large measure upon citizens in every State and section having a reasonable minimum of education."

It is obvious from these facts that the problem of the educational deficiency in Southern States is a national rather than a local problem since in this particular instance it affects the people of all of the States.

The States that the chart shows lagging behind the rest of the Nation are in nearly every instance the very States in which segregated schools exist. Certainly, this would justify the conclusion that "segregated State educational systems do not produce results equal to the nonsegregated public educational systems."

The American Veterans Committee urges that Congress give consideration to these facts as it continues its consideration of the Federal aid to school-construction program and the proposals that this Federal aid should not be provided to those schools which continue to practice segregation.

Our Nation should not be in the position of facing in any future emergency a condition in which patriotic young men and women of the South cannot share equally with their fellow Americans from other sections the burdens of our defense because of an inadequate educational system in their section of the country.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM R. MING, Jr.,
National Chairman.

States ranked in order of rejection for failure of education test July 1950–December 1953

State	Percent rejected [1]	Percent passed	Percent passed on parity basis
Minnesota	2.6	97.4	115
Oregon	3.0	97.0	115
Iowa	3.1	96.9	115
Nebraska	3.6	96.4	114
Idaho	3.8	96.2	114
Utah	3.9	96.1	114
Washington	3.9	96.1	114
South Dakota	4.3	95.7	113
Montana	4.5	95.5	113
Wisconsin	4.9	95.1	112
Rhode Island	5.1	94.9	112
Kansas	5.3	94.7	112
Massachusetts	5.5	94.5	112
Wyoming	5.5	94.5	112
New Hampshire	6.2	93.8	111
North Dakota	6.2	93.8	111
Indiana	6.4	93.6	111
Colorado	7.2	92.8	110
Illinois	7.7	92.3	109
Michigan	7.8	92.2	109
Pennsylvania	7.8	92.2	109
Vermont	8.2	91.8	109
California	8.7	92.3	108
Connecticut	8.7	91.3	108
Nevada	8.9	91.1	108
New Jersey	9.9	90.9	107
Ohio	9.2	90.8	107
Missouri	10.9	89.1	105
New York	10.9	89.1	105
Maine	11.3	88.7	105
District of Columbia	12.4	87.6	104
Maryland	12.7	87.3	103
Oklahoma	14.0	86.0	102
Delaware	16.2	83.8	99
West Virginia	16.5	83.5	99
Arizona	16.6	83.4	99
Texas	19.1	80.9	96
New Mexico	19.9	80.1	95
Kentucky	24.4	75.6	89
Florida	25.4	74.6	88
Tennessee	29.9	70.1	83
North Carolina	30.1	69.9	83
Virginia	31.9	68.1	80
Georgia	37.0	63.0	74
Arkansas	38.2	61.8	73
Alabama	39.7	60.3	71
Louisiana	40.4	59.6	70
Mississippi	41.7	58.3	69
South Carolina	46.8	53.2	63
National average	15.4	84.6	100

[1] Medical Statistics of the U. S. Army. Annual report of the Surgeon General for calendar year 1953. Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C., 1955, p. 329.

[From Washington Calling for July 1, 1957]

OREGON'S SCHOOLS NEAR THE VERY TOP

(By Richard and Maurine Neuberger)

Everyone associated with education in Oregon—teachers, administrators, students, parents—have a right to be gloriously proud over a report which has just reached my desk.

Oregon ranks second among all the States of the Nation in the percentage of its inductees passing the Army educational test, according to an announcement just released by the Surgeon-General. This was for the period from 1950 through 1953.

Ninety-seven percent of Oregon lads passed the test. Only Minnesota was higher with 97.4 percent. All other 46 States were lower. Iowa, Nebraska, Idaho, Utah, and Washington ranked next in order. (Hurrah for our western teachers and pupils.)

At the very bottom, incidentally, were three Southern States: South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Only 53 percent of South Carolina inductees made the educational grade.

Oregon's achievement affords some measure of the generous sacrifice made by our taxpayers—at a time of great economic adversity for the State—to give adequate support to a sound and adequate school system.

Address by Harry A. Bullis Before Conference on Foreign Trade and Related Economic Policies of the Committee for a National Trade Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, expansion of world trade is a subject which is receiving a great deal of attention not only in the United States, but also in most of the countries abroad. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech by the chairman of the board of General Mills, Inc., Mr. Harry A. Bullis, before the conference on foreign trade and related economic policies of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, which met in Washington, D. C., on June 14, 1957. Mr. Bullis points out the increase in our own exports and the importance of this foreign trade to the prosperity of our own economy. The statements of Mr. Bullis represent the forward type of thinking which has put the United States in the foreground of world trade and economic development.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY AND STOCKHOLDERS RELATIONS—CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN TRADE AND RELATED ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE COMMITTEE FOR A NATIONAL TRADE POLICY, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 14, 1957

(By Harry A. Bullis, Chairman of the Board, General Mills, Inc.)

In the best interests of both the general public and stockholders, what kind of national trade policies should we have? We all want peace and the political, military, and economic programs which will insure peace. One type of insurance is our program for defense and military aid. Another is the program of economic assistance to help other countries bolster their independence, raise their standards of living and create a more favorable climate for friendship with our country. And very important is our program to enlarge our trade with the rest of the world.

Businessmen, as well as others who watch our economic affairs, should be greatly impressed by the trend of our foreign trade. Last year our exports reached $17 billion—19 percent over 1955 and 37 percent over 1954. And during the first few months of 1957 our exports are well above 1956. Our imports also are running at record high levels.

The increase in our foreign trade is almost phenomenal. It reveals two important facts.

The first is that our foreign trade is assisting to maintain the economy at increasingly high levels at a time when there is a tendency toward decline in some sectors.

The second fact is that the large amounts of foreign aid which we have given have resulted in substantial gains in foreign trade.

I doubt if the American people, or even a substantial proportion of businessmen, appreciate the gains which we are now actually receiving from the administration's enlightened policies for foreign aid and foreign trade. These gains are substantial and they are helping to keep our economy strong, while at the same time assisting other countries of the free world to build more strength into their economies.

DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

Developments in France and Germany should carry an important lesson for us. On the basis of recent reports, Germany has accumulated $4.8 billion in gold and dollar reserves. France, in contrast, is in a difficult reserve position. The spectacular element about these facts is that Germany is prepared to make a loan to France to assist in stabilizing the franc.

Germany is the land which was defeated and laid prostrate in the Second World War. How it has the strongest currency in Europe, excepting only the Swiss franc. It is prepared to lend money to France, which was on the winning side in the war.

This situation is significant because it reveals that sound internationalist policies have done more than just keep Germany's trade free. They have kept her entire economy free and competitive.

On the other hand, France has been very protective and restrictive in her foreign-trade policies. Germany has freed her trade more and more as a matter of policy. The exposure to competition and putting her economy in a competitive position has made Germany strong financially.

POLICY OF JOB PROTECTION

France has endeavored to shelter many of her industries and give too much protection to the jobs of her workers. Britain has also followed a policy of job protection to an extreme. In fact, if unemployment in the United States were in proportion to Great Britain, we would have only 670,000 unemployed instead of our 2,670,000 average unemployment. Our unemployment figure is about 4 percent of our labor force, and it is the price we pay for mobility in our labor force, so that we can start new enterprises, close those which are inefficient, and have some leeway for expansion of our various industries. The low unemployment in England is purchased for the price of stickiness in industry and sluggishness to change. The net result is that weekly wages there average a fourth to a third of ours.

POLICY OF PROTECTIONISM

Great nations do not slip from efficiency or recede from a place of importance and power in one big swoop. Rather they weaken their will to remain efficient by small doses. Little capsules of added protection, merely to reduce temporarily the pain of competition, reduces also the incentive and the ability to compete. Those who feel impelled to ask for some consideration in a tariff case should state their case honestly, and just as honestly accept the verdict. This is a free-enterprise system, and it is a profit-and-loss system. The industry which still leans upon protectionism should accept society's ultimate verdict that if it cannot survive without protection in these prosperous times, it should shift over to lines in which it can survive. In this competitive world we cannot afford to be less efficient than our competitors abroad.

RELATIONS WITH STOCKHOLDERS

I do not see how it is possible for any industry to justify to its stockholders requests for protection on some of its products, while at the same time it is seeking concessions to exploit foreign markets.

There are millions of stockholders who have shares in corporations which have considerable stake in export trade. There are more millions whose companies are dependent, either directly or indirectly, upon the imports of materials which go into their products. In such companies, management should tell the stockholders that increased foreign trade is in their interests.

We should tell our stockholders that expanding foreign trade is vital to an expanding economy. We should explain that in the long run imports plus capital investments abroad must balance our exports. Trade is a two-way street. Therefore imports are as important as exports in keeping our economy strong and aggressive.

Both the public and corporation shareholders should know that the United States needs foreign trade, that we are not self-sufficient. For instance, we are dependent upon other countries for all of our tin, industrial diamonds, natural rubber, coffee, tea, and cocoa. We import nearly all of our nickel, chromite, asbestos, cobalt, and magnesium, half of our tungsten and lead and a third of our copper and zinc.

We should explain the economic aspects of foreign trade, both as to exports and imports, how foreign aid has been a stimulant to trade and how the administration's program for increased trade will be beneficial both at home and abroad, so that aid may be reduced.

We should impress upon our stockholders the significance of foreign trade in a sound foreign policy. A stronger position in world trade will enable us to compete more effectively with the Communist bloc. Increased trade, especially trade through private channels, will gain the understanding, respect and friendship of the people with whom we do business abroad.

Cheese Production and Consumption in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to note in the Friday, June 21 issue of the Milwaukee Journal the reprint of an article from Coronet magazine which reports the interesting story of cheese production and consumption in America. Since Wisconsin is the No. 1 cheese-producing State in the Nation, naturally it is always a pleasure for me to note such an article.

The fact is that cheese is a vitamin-rich, nutritious food which, for a comparatively small price, gives the body nutrients which can be obtained from few, if any, other sources in so tasty and economical a way.

Unfortunately, we Americans consume on the average only approximately 8 pounds of cheese per person per year, which is but a fraction of the average consumption in some of the European countries.

This month of June has been celebrated as the traditional June Dairy Month. Consumption of dairy items during this month invariably increases greatly. It is my hope that the rest of the year will be dairy year, as well, and that consumption will continue on the upswing. Not only shall we thereby be assuring the health of a great industry, but we shall be assuring the health of the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Coronet magazine article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHEESE-HAPPY AMERICA—PRODUCT FOR WHICH WISCONSIN IS FAMOUS BEING CONSUMED AT RECORD RATE—NOW SOLD IN MORE THAN 400 DIFFERENT FLAVORS

(By Norman and Madelyn Carlisle, in Coronet magazine)

One day a Polish refugee walked into a New York cheese store. "Do you sell Warshawski Syr?" he asked.

The proprietor shook his head. The shop offered 366 kinds of cheese, but not this one.

As the disappointed visitor turned away, the owner said, "Wait a minute. You don't happen to know how to make Warshawski Syr, do you?"

The refugee nodded—and a few days later was on his way to a job in a Wisconsin cheese factory which was happy to add to its output a little known cheese that had never been available in the United States before.

TEN POUNDS OF MILK TO POUND OF CHEESE

Any variety of cheese, new or old, exotic or commonplace, is sure of finding a ready market, for America has become the biggest cheese-eating country on earth. We have doubled our per capita use of it in the past 25 years, and the rate is still spiraling, with some 2,000 factories and scores of importers barely keeping up with the demand. Many supermarkets that 5 years ago offered cheese in a dozen flavor varieties now display 100.

"Americans," says a cheese expert, "are cheese happy."

And well they may be, for no other food offers such a dazzling variety of blandishments for both the gourmet and the everyday eater. While there are just 28 basic types of cheese, flavor variations total more than 400, each with its own claim to individuality.

Varied though they may be in color, shape, consistency, age, and taste, cheeses share one quality—they are the most highly concentrated of all protein foods. This is understandable when you consider that the making of a single pound of cheddar cheese takes 10 pounds (4½ quarts) of milk. A tiny 1¼-ounce portion of cheese contains as much protein and essential nourishment as an 8-ounce glass of milk.

While its caloric count is quite high, a large percentage of the calories are those of proteins. The carbohydrate content is low because most of the lactose, the milk sugar, is drawn off in the form of whey during the cheesemaking process. Cheese rates as a good source of vitamin B2, and an excellent source of vitamin A. A family of four, eating a main dish using just a half a pound of Cheddar, will receive all the protein necessary for that meal.

No one can be sure just how long men have been smacking their lips over cheese, but it is certain it has as long a record as any man-made food. References to cheese were found on clay tablets in the Temple of Ur, dating from around 3000 B. C. Homer speaks of caves filled with cheese, and the Bible has a number of references to cheese.

It is a food both so simple that primitive nomadic peoples could make it, and so complex that today big food laboratories spend millions probing its mysteries. However, it is made, the principle is the same: Liquid milk coagulated into a solid.

POWERFUL ENZYME SETTLES SOLIDS

Take, for instance, Cheddar, the cheese Americans eat the most of. Into a vat of milk which has been pasteurized by bringing it to 163 degrees, and holding it at precisely that temperature for 20 seconds, is placed exactly 3 ounces of rennet for every 1,000 pounds of milk. This powerful enzyme settles the milk solids into the spongy mass known as the curd.

Cut into three-eighths-inch cubes, drained of whey (the liquid they contain), formed into larger blocks, cut up again, agitated, salted, again pressed into larger blocks and shaped, these curds emerge as cheese ready for curing.

What makes one cheese different from another? So many factors that it is no wonder there are hundreds of varieties. The kind of milk plays a big part. Most cheeses are made principally from cow's milk; some, like Roquefort and feta, are made principally from sheep's milk; latticini is sometimes made from buffalo milk.

The way milk is handled in the cheesemaking process has an effect also, as do the substances added. Sap sago, the green cheese from Switzerland, for example, gets its color and sharp flavor from ground up clover leaves. Viterbo, an Italian cheese, is made from milk curdled by the wild artichoke. Noekkelost from Scandinavia is given zip by the addition of spices.

The most important flavor changers, however, are microscopic organisms—bacteria and molds. Cheeses contain staggering numbers of them; a single gram of limburger has been found to have as many as 6,300 million tiny mold plants, as well as 360 billion bacteria. In Swiss cheese, a particular kind of bacteria forms a gas which explodes, creating the holes. Cheese factories jealously guard the particular strains of bacteria used in their cheeses.

THE SHEPHERD BOY'S LUNCH

One of the important molds is a cousin of that from which we make penicillin. Its use in cheese making was discovered, according to legend, more than a thousand years ago, when a French shepherd boy left his lunch of cheese in a cave. Several days later he returned and found strange blue-green veins running through it.

He tasted it, and rushed home with a sample of the first cheese of its kind, which was later named after his home village, Roquefort.

His rather ordinary cheese had been transformed by the growth of a mold, a method no one has improved upon for making this aristocrat of cheeses.

Today, penicillium roqueforti, grown on ordinary bread which is ground into a powder, is added during the making of such other cheeses as gorgonzola, stilton and blue (or Bleu) cheese.

During the aging period, bacteria and molds multiply at a fantastic rate. A half inch piece of cheese may have as few as 150,000 when freshly made; 6 million a few days later.

ULTRASONIC WAVES AND CHEESE

Every kind of cheese has its own period of ripening. A cheddar can be ripened for from 3 to 4 months to 1 or 2 years, depending on the flavor desired. Blue cheese takes 2 to 3 months; parmesan at least 14 months The grand old man of cheeses, saanen, requires 3 to 8 years.

Scientists at the University of Wisconsin have been working on a device that may put the tang in cheddar with sound instead of time. Bacteria in cheese stimulated by bombardment by ultrasonic waves have produced ripe cheddar in half to a third the usual time.

Though Americans are credited with the discovery of only 5 completely new cheeses—cream, liederkranz, brick, monterey and nuworld—American food technologists are the world's champion cheese jugglers, combining and adapting standard varieties in that basic American development, "process" cheese.

Although process cheese is the form in which most cheddar is eaten, many people don't really know what it is. Actually, process cheese is cheese which has been melted, mixed with milk solids and pasteurized. The organisms in the cheese are destroyed, and the result is a cheese that keeps indefinitely without refrigeration.

Midwest Soil Erosion Exceeds Storm Damage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there appeared in the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press of June 23, 1957, an excellent article on the Midwest soil-erosion problem because of the terrific storms that hit western Minnesota. It is timely. It points up the devastation which floods bring to the good earth of our land. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MIDWEST SOIL EROSION EXCEEDS STORM DAMAGE

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

The worst soil erosion destruction of recent times in Minnesota and the Nation's midlands was reported by conservationists Saturday as a result of widespread cloudbursts, tornadoes, and floods.

Swollen rivers loaded with silt from a vast network of washouts are sweeping the midland's topsoil to the sea. At least 100 million tons of Minnesota's finest remaining earth cover are estimated to have been moved, much of it "down the drain."

The destruction is appalling and irreparable, conservationists declared. The damage extends afar from the Minnesota flood area beyond Fargo on the north and beyond the Twin Cities on the east. The trail of soil loss reaches into Wisconsin, Iowa, South Dakota, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, and Kansas. The rivers of Oklahoma and Texas are running red with the soil fertility of that land.

SOIL LOSS GREATEST

In total lasting loss, the destruction of soil far exceeds many times over all other forms of flood and tornado damage combined, conservationists say. Pending real analysis, they only whisper their efforts to measure totals in money. Some say any estimate up to a billion dollars might be subject to challenge as being too low.

But salvaged from this disaster are these two things:

1. The Nation has a shocking lesson as to the urgency of stepping up erosion control and small watershed flood-control programs, and of strengthening the Federal soil bank so as effectively to serve soil conservation; and

2. The starting point for protection is shown to be the farm itself, and the enormous protective value of the soil-conservation districts' work is proved. There's no way to avert a flood when 8 or 10 inches of rain falls in a day; but the minority of farms that have in operation complete soil district plans of terracing, contour stripping, and grassing of danger spots are coming through with little damage.

SHORT SEASON CROPS

Though ruinous to many individual farmers and creating an acute problem of getting seed of short-season soybeans, sorghums or other crops suitable for replanting so late, the losses to crops are offset by good growing conditions elsewhere and are dwarfed by the widespread permanent destruction of soil, conservationists said.

This damage is described as worse outside the rather flat country of the main flooded areas on more rolling lands such as those in the Dassel, Darwin, Willmar areas, for instance, and east and south of St. Paul.

This year's soil losses are the worst in any year since he came here in 1934, Herbert A. Flueck of St. Paul, State conservationist of the United States Soil Conservation Service said Saturday. Even in the great St. Paul flood of 1952, when rains lashed a thawed-out topsoil, the destruction wasn't as bad. Mr. Flueck based his estimate on personal surveys by himself and associated soil scientists, including Roy E. Bennett, St. Paul, of his staff.

Between rows of freshly cultivated soybeans or corn, many fields are riddled to subsoil. "Some of the slopes," commented Minnesota's top crop reporter, Roy A. Bodin of St. Paul, "look as if only about one more such a beating would complete their destruction."

LAND DAMAGE HEAVY

Said William A. Benitt of Hastings, chairman of the Minnesota Soil Conservation committee: "The news stories rarely make any mention of the damage to the land. But it is this loss that's irreparable. And it is so much greater than the damage to buildings, roads and bridges. The damage done to farm lands near Lake Elmo in Washington County recently can never be repaired. Fields planted in rows running up-and-down on slopes were gutted, from plow-furrow depth to several feet."

But from Washington County clear to the southwestern border of Minnesota and beyond, the farms in soil conservation districts that have complete soil conservation plans in operation are saving their soil. The terraces and contour strips lead the waters gently around the slopes, averting erosion. The grassed knolls and water runways held well. The alfalfa-brome grass cover for strips are showing close to zero erosion. The detention dams are doing their job. The new farm stock water ponds are described as an outstanding success, especially in the Lake Benton area.

NO QUICK PROGRAM

But a deep trouble is that there is no cheap, easy, quick way to get a conservation plan worked out and in operation on each of 150,000 farms in Minnesota or on 4 million or so in the Nation. It takes soil scientists, and although the SCS now has 45 on-farm trainees in Minnesota alone, there are never enough of these soil technicians to keep anywhere near farmers' demands for plans. It takes public money, and never enough is provided. It takes time for many farmers to convince themselves they must go ahead.

Then it takes more time for them one by one to get his own farm plan into complete operation.

Now almost 80 percent of Minnesota farmers are within soil conservation districts. Probably 30,000, or 1 in 5 of our 150,000 farms, are enrolled as cooperators. But not one in each dozen farmers has a complete soil-conservation plan in operation on his own farm in this State, and many others.

The 1957 soil erosion disaster bristles with lessons, conservationists say, including several "don'ts": Don't delay getting conservation plans in operation a bit longer than necessary. Southeastern Minnesota, which started setting up soil districts far ahead of the rest of the State, is fighting off erosion damage better. Don't plant soybeans especially, or corn or other row crops, up-and-down slopes. Farmers of southeastern Minnesota where soybeans entered the State, learned long ago about this crop whose roots fluff up the soil and expose the land to water erosion.

CULTIVATE LESS OFTEN

Don't believe any longer that the more cultivating of the soil the better—the methods that rely on chemical weed killing or on tractor-track planting which minimize cultivation look better now. And besides the great lesson of speeding up soil conservation districts' farm plans, farming people have mentioned at least three others:

First, the new Federal soil bank isn't working as it should to conserve soil. Sure, it is fine farm income insurance for those farmers who now are signed up to get $20 to $40 an acre rental for soil bank lands that are suddenly cropless or deep under water. But if instead of just annual surplus cutting the long-time (conservation reserve) side of the soil bank were more widely used to keep knolls and potholes in permanent conservation uses, the soil bank would be doing a far better soil-saving job than now. Next, the Government's conservation practice (ASC) payments could put greatly increased money incentives behind the effective types of soil district and soil bank work. Finally, the small-watersheds program of upstream flood control under Public Law 566 (Representative H. CARL ANDERSEN was one of the sponsors) which is just in the blueprint stage for the Hawk Creek-Shakopee Creek-Mud Creek-Chippewa River area that is now hit so hard, should be speeded up. This helps communities that, after the farm itself, are the focal points for attacking soil erosion at its source.

As it is now, in this year of high frequency tornadoes and floods, the soil is going down the streams to silt up the big dams that will need costly dredging, or else is being swept to the sea.

Army Engineers Report on Floods in Southwestern States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on last Friday, June 21, 1957, the United States Army Corps of Engineers issued a preliminary report on floods in the Southwestern States, together with a status report on the flood-control program for these States.

I wish to call attention to two facts contained in this report:

1. Flood-control projects already authorized by the Congress for the Southwestern States are but 26 percent completed.

2. Damage of about $142 million was prevented by existing flood-control works, and the Corps of Engineers estimates that damage of an additional $56.5 million could have been prevented if all authorized works were completed.

I believe the lesson in these figures is plain for all to read: Flood control pays for itself—many times over.

I ask unanimous consent to have this report printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF FLOODS IN THE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, OFFICE, CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, UNITED STATES ARMY

The prolonged drought in the southwestern area has been broken by what is the maximum flood period of record in some parts of the area and may, in volume of flood waters, be the greatest experienced to date for the area as a whole.

The area of heavy rainfall embraces the eastern half of Texas; roughly the eastern two-thirds of Oklahoma, the southeastern tip of Kansas; the southwestern corner of Missouri and the western parts of Arkansas and Louisiana.

Since mid-April heavy rainfall has been almost a daily occurrence, and flash floods have occurred at various points even prior to that time. As a result of this rainfall, flooding has continued up to the present time, and major floods are now underway on a number of the rivers.

In view of this continuous flood situation over the past 2 months, and the necessity for day by day project operations and emergency flood fighting, it has not yet been possible to prepare a complete record of this flood, of the effectiveness of Federal flood control work and of damages prevented by them; and of the damages that have occurred. It is possible, however, to present a current picture of this situation on the basis of the best available estimates and with the caution that they are tentative and subject to change when it is possible to make a complete review.

STATUS OF FLOOD-CONTROL PROGRAM

The Corps of Engineers has been engaged in the planning and construction of flood control improvements in this area for about 30 years—or since the 308 river basin studies were initiated in 1927, although major flood control activity dates from about 1938 when works were first undertaken under the authority of the Flood Control Act of 1936. As a result of this planning and of recommendations by the Corps, the Congress has authorized a large program for flood control and water resource development in 8 of the 10 major river basins subject to the present flood.

Cost and status: The status of the part of this authorized program within the present flood area, or effective upon the present flood, may be summarized as follows in terms of estimated cost:

Works completed or in operation (26 percent)	$407,300,000
Works under construction (39 percent)	619,900,000
Works authorized—not started (35 percent)	547,100,000
Total (100 percent)	1,574,300,000

Thus in terms of cost the authorized flood control program which has had to cope with this major flood is now about 26 percent complete.

The flood-control works under construction in the flood area have been funded by congressional appropriations to the extent og $113.1 million through fiscal year 1957, or about 18 percent of their estimated cost. Many of these have just been started. The budget under consideration for fiscal year 1958 includes $46.6 million for continuation of these projects, and $1.1 million for preconstruction planning of additional authorized projects in the flood area.

Flood storage: The greater part of the cost of this program lies in the construction of large reservoirs for flood control, power development and water conservation. The present status of this major element of the progrem is as follows in terms of flood-storage capacity:

	Acre-feet
Works complete or in operation (50 percent)	17,090,000
Works under construction (23 percent)	7,950,000
Works authorized—not started (27 percent)	9,470,000
Total (100 percent)	34,510,000

It is thus evident that while substantial progress has been made toward control and use of the waters of these rivers, the plan now in operation provides only 50 percent of the flood storage presently authorized.

The attached tabulation summarizes the cost of the program and the flood-storage capacity by major river basins. It should be understood that the program for flood control and water conservation as now authorized, even if completed, would not afford this southwestern area complete flood protection, or an adequate water supply during long periods of drought such as that experienced in recent years. Development of the area has been rapid and constant review of plans is necessary to keep them up to date and adequate to meet the needs of the area.

FLOOD DAMAGES AND EFFECT OF WORKS

During the current flood, with its record or near record volumes of flow, the reservoirs in place have been called on to do a job which about twice as much storage was intended to perform. In the face of this situation the system has functioned effectively. For the entire area it is estimated that the works in operation have prevented damages of $142 million. Damages in unprotected river valleys, and in unprotected areas, and those resulting from excess waters which the reservoirs could not store, have amounted to an estimated $125 million. There is no intention of minimizing the seriousness of the flood damage that has occured in this area but it should be recognized that damages would have ben more than doubled but for the Federal works.

Very preliminary estimates indicate that works now authorized but not yet constructed would have prevented about $56 million, or 45 percent of the damage that has occurred.

The following tabulation gives these damage figures broken down by major river basins. In presenting these estimates an effort has been made to lean on the conservative side as there is always a tendency to overestimate such effects during the stress of a major flood. The figures are not final and are given at this time essentially as indications of the overall scope of this flood disaster:

Estimated damages

[In millions of dollars]

River basin	Experienced	Prevented by existing works	Could have been prevented by authorized works
White River	6.0	7.0	2.0
Arkansas River	38.0	20.0	13.0
Red River	11.0	8.0	4.0
Sabine River	2.2	0	[1] 0
Neches-Angelina	.1	0	0
Trinity River	17.0	81.0	1.0
Brazos River	38.0	26.0	28.0
Colorado	2.7	[2] 5.0	0
Guadalope-San Antonio	10.3	0	8.5
Nueces	.2	0	[1] 0
Total	125.5	142.0	56.5

[1] No Federal works in this basin.
[2] Damage prevented by dam of lower Colorado River authority and not included in Federal total.

The preliminary estimates given above are of direct property damage, including urban and agricultural losses. They do not include associated economic losses such as loss of business and wages, shutdowns of industry, transportation delays and many indirect losses which result from a major flood and cannot be estimated until the full impact of the flood is determined. There has been some loss of life but exact figures are not available to us.

The estimated damages prevented by existing works as given above do not include the effects of the main line levee systems of the lower Arkansas and Red Rivers, which have operated successfully to protect the lower valleys of those rivers in Arkansas and Louisiana. It is difficult to estimate the damages these works have prevented, but failure of these levee lines would undoubtedly have caused damages running into the hundreds of millions.

At the present time flood stages are receding over most of the flood area, although some tributary streams such as the Verdigris in Oklahoma are now experiencing major floods and heavy rains continue over the lower Canadian.

Reservoirs of the Corps of Engineers throughout this flood area now have over 15 million acre-feet of flood water in storage, which must be released over subsequent months as downstream conditions permit. Thus, relatively high river stages must continue for some time during the release of this enormous volume of water. This volume of stored water would cover the State of Connecticut to a depth of almost 5 feet or the State of West Virginia to a depth of about 1 foot. These waters are in addition to those which will be retained in the reservoirs to replenish power and water conservation storage.

One favorable aspect of the flood is that storage for power development and water supply has been replenished. Just prior to this flood the area was still suffering from the severe drought generally of 5 or 6 years duration. At the beginning of this year the water available in power pools of seven multiple purpose projects had been reduced to 6.9 million acre-feet. This storage for generation of power has now been increased by 3.7 million acre-feet to completely fill the power pools.

Water supplies for municipalities, industry and agriculture had become critically low. In a number of cases it had not been possible because of the drought to fill the permanent pools of the Federal reservoirs. Filling of these reservoirs had made available about 1.3 million acre-feet of additional water in storage for water supply and in conservation pools. The city of Dallas, Texas, for example, which was critically short of water just a few months ago will now have an assured supply for many years.

Separate brief discussions of each major river basin accompany this statement.

Evolution of American Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I have just received a copy of an address entitled "Evolution of American Citizenship," which was delivered by Mr. Donald C. Little, of Kansas City, Kans., at the naturalization proceedings in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas on May 28, 1957, before Hon. Arthur J. Mellott, chief judge.

This is an excellent statement in regard to the privileges that we have as American citizens and a worthy charge to those who were naturalized.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

(Address by Donald C. Little)

Your Honor, Judge Mellott, and fellow citizens, "a wonderful thing is the river of time as it flows through this vale of years." Less than 400 years ago our America was a wilderness, without a single European settlement. Yet everywhere you go today your eyes see a new form of civilization and new culture for the welfare and comfort of the individual which surpasses anything in the history of this world.

All this has been accomplished by immigrants and the sons of other immigrants who have lived here an even shorter peroid of time than Britain and Western Europe were occupied and governed by the armies and officials of Rome. Yet what you see in America today are material things—modern cities, railroads, supermarkets, superhighways, universities, automobiles.

These things are actually unimportant—cities, buildings, superhighways—because time will bring countless new builders, new engineers, new architects into the world to build even better material things.

So cities and buildings die. They serve their purpose and they die.

But the desire of the individual for freedom from want and from fear and for liberty and the right to the pursuit of happiness never dies. As history shows and commonsense approves, "your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions," Joel promises. In parts of the world today men are tossing on prison beds, dreaming of deliverance; women are praying throughout the night. It is a strange devise which men have to seek power and lose liberty. And yet here in America for 300 years the sons of immigrants have been creating a Republic where all men are free and equal.

You will miss the whole message of America if you fail to perceive tht our way of life is built on the theory that the state exists for the people, not the people for the state; that in America the human dignity of the individual has always been fiercely protected by our courts and juries from governmental oppression and from every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

We have in our tradition certain invaluable beliefs about man and society and history and human beings—about our forms of government and the relation between man and the economic process. We practice these, but we don't export them or teach them to others very well—they are more or less unconscious with us—these basic principles of our American lives, our values of freedom which include respect for the dignity of the individual, high regard for personal integrity, and faith in reason and discussion.

Let me tell you something of how our forebears obtained these values. We Americans were the first colony to break away from colonialism and the first to free our only colony, the Philippine Islands, which action set the pattern for the rest of the world.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of Western Europe, left their native lands to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious liberty and economic freedom because a man living in the wilderness can do largely as he chooses, and less than 400 years ago America was a wilderness, inhabited only by Indian tribes.

At the very commencement of the settlement of America, the English Crown and the Dutch Republic claimed the land now in our Thirteen Original States. These two countries made land grants to various companies, controlled chiefly by members of their national cabinets.

These political promoters of Britain and Holland, in order to induce settlers to go to the American wilderness made written concessions and agreements to prospective settlers in Britain and Europe, promising them free land, freedom of religion, the right to elect their own civil magistrates and to local self-government.

As a result of these promises and inducements, several settlements were made along our eastern seaboard, all of which allowed to these colonists economic freedom and civil and religious liberty above and beyond anything then existing in Europe and the rest of the world.

Many different peoples were to make their confluence in America and contribute to the manifold character of the future United States. From the beginning of their immigration, the leaders of the colonists were out of sympathy with their governments at home. The creation of settlements from the wilderness, the warfare with the Indians, and the remoteness from Europe widened the breach with the Old World.

Meanwhile, the mother country was paralyzed with internal civil war so that when the English state again achieved stability it was confronted with self-sufficient, self-reliant American colonists already governing themselves according to ideas of their own.

The Puritans in Massachusetts had left England to obtain civil and religious liberty for themselves and having obtained it for themselves, they refused to accord it to others. Criticisms of their church and magistrates were still not tolerated.

To escape from these restrictions, thousands of their settlers moved to Connecticut and Rhode Island, and then to the Dutch colony on Long Island, and later to New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Thus Roger Williams of Rhode Island was the first to put into practice our complete American separation of church and State, and Rhode Island was the only State in the world at that time where there was complete religious tolerance.

Also, the fundamental orders adopted 300 years ago at Hartford, Conn., by popular assemblies of freeholders from three towns, was the first written constitution in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation on governmental power, known in history. It is here that we draw the first

breath of that America which is now so familiar to us.

Three hundred years ago Dutch New York had already become a cosmopolitan town. The immigrants from Holland were themselves of the most varied lineage; for Holland had long been the gathering place of the unfortunate. Its settlers were refugees from Belgium, Bohemia, France, and the valley of the Alps; fugitive sectarians from New England, Baptist, Quakers, Jews, and some Catholics were to be found there. Eighteen dialects were spoken in New York in 1657.

Then in 1680 the news spread abroad that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation. From England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the Low Countries, and western Europe, immigrants crowded to the land of promise.

And so we follow the slow evolution in America of civil and religious liberty where, step by step, and migration by migration, more and more civil and religious liberty was being obtained. "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine;" slowly but surely, the counties and colonies by 1757 had acquired and enjoyed a sort of local home rule, entrenched and established by the passage of time and by 100 years of neglect by the English home government. They had done this chiefly through the county courts, composed usually of five judges who exercised a semifeudal authority in their districts.

During this period, these county judges were vested with both judicial and administrative powers. They were the only government their people knew or came in contact with.

These county judges had to exercise their power in such a manner as not to antagonize local public opinion. Whenever local opinion was solidly opposed to the King's policy that policy could not be carried out.

The British home government had unwittingly granted a gradual delegation of authority to the county courts which had now become a real limitation on the royal authority.

The real revolution occurred in the minds of the people in 1760 before the clash of arms. The Americans would not have sought freedom if they had not previously enjoyed a large degree of personal and political liberty and had not already become accustomed to local self-government. Colonial Americans had grown accustomed to managing their own affairs.

The fateful quarrel began when the British officers attempted to gain better enforcement of the trade laws, then, to tax the colonists, meeting resistance at every turn until the British finally attacked the colonial governments themselves.

Franklin, Adams, Jefferson proposed what amounted to dominion status, but the British refused and tried coercion, and the colonists rebelled.

The Americans simply wanted to regulate their own internal affairs and the British Government didn't want them to.

Therefore, the American Revolution, unlike most revolutions, was not a revolution to gain liberty—it was a revolution to preserve the liberty they already had.

If you want to truly understand the American formula then read and carefully study first, our Declaration of Independence, the second, the first 10 amendments to our Constitution called the Bill of Rights. The Declaration of Independence tells you what Old World customs America wanted to do away with—the Bill of Rights tells you what kind of a new government the rebellious colonists wanted to establish and did establish in the New World.

This great inheritance of self-government is the product of untold sacrifices by little people from Europe who came to America to become big people. We have no class distinctions in America because no self-respecting American will ever admit he belongs to a class. In America no intelligent person hates a proprietor because every American wants to become a proprietor himself, or see that his son becomes one.

When President Eisenhower, in speaking of his home life in Kansas, said, "We were very poor in those days, but the beautiful thing was—we didn't know it," he was expressing the spirit that makes this country different from all other countries in the world.

Today most Americans don't realize how many people all over Europe would like to become American citizens because of the economic opportunity we have to offer.

I remember during July of 1943 when we took over the little town of Lentini in Sicily, a dozen Sicilians who had previously lived in America were there to meet us. One, proud of being from Omaha, Nebr., was very disappointed when he learned that the people of Sicily could not have an election and all immediately become American citizens.

America is truly the great international country. Our armies in Europe had Germans and French, Italians, and Austrians, Czechs and Norwegians, Danes and Arabs, Yugoslavs and Greeks—and everywhere our armies went in those days I noted that we could always turn to a soldier standing by and say, "Hey, Mac—how much do these people want for this bunch of figs?", and Mac would always be able to translate for us.

That is where we are lucky. No other country has such a fountain of men who speak the language of the lands we are called upon to aid—no other country has such a reserve of men who understand the ways and have listened to their parents sing the folk songs and have tasted the wines of the land on the palate of their memory.

"This is a lucky thing for America because America is constantly on its way into Europe. You can be as isolationist as you want to be, but just as truly as Europe once invaded us with wave after wave of immigrants, now we are helping Europe with wave after wave of sons of immigrants, and, until there is a seeming stability throughout Europe, our people will have to stay in Europe and these Americans who stay in Europe will be extremely dependent on the sons of their recent immigrants, not only for language, but for wisdom and justice in the other things we think we have to offer to Europeans."

I speak of these things because America is still the great hope of mankind and everywhere in the world people are longing to become American citizens, as you have now become.

I remember in Genoa, Italy, a young Italian who wanted to be included in the very first quota of immigrants to America and when we asked him why he wanted to go to America, he thought for a moment and said, "I want to go to America because, because in America, it is Christmas every day."

Memorial Day Address By Hymie Greenspan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a Memorial Day address delivered at Dallas, Tex., by Hymie Greenspan, one of the outstanding citizens of that Texas city.

Mr. Greenspan has a record of fighting for Americanism, and a record of patriotic service any person might envy. He is in his third term as national vice commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, a veteran of 46 months service in World War II, and has been endorsed for national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States by that organization's Department of Texas.

Mr. Greenspan is also a member of the executive committee, fifth district, American Legion; chairman of the legislative committee, Department of Texas, Disabled American Veterans; member, Dallas Committee on Employment of the Handicapped; member, board of directors of the Oak Cliff Kiwanis Club and the Oak Cliff YMCA; was named, in 1955, Kiwanian of the Year for outstanding community service; is immediate past president of the Congregation Agudas Achim, Dallas; and is president of the Boundary Merchants Association of Dallas.

Mr. Greenspan is a native of Waco, Tex., and was at one time news editor of the Jewish Observer, a newspaper in that city.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY

(Radio address, station WRR, Dallas, May 30 1957, by Hymie Greenspan, Dallas, Tex., national vice commander, Jewish War Veterans of United States)

Fellow Americans, to be here today, Memorial Day, is to experience a feeling of deep humility.

Memorial Day is a day to remember the dead.

Throughout the land, there lie in honored rest, men who fought in every war in which this country has engaged.

To those men, Memorial Day is a day to make a sacred promise.

To our dead, to ourselves, and to Almighty God we make this promise:

We, the living, shall do all that may be done with honor, to banish war and to enforce peace.

To keep this promise, we must keep America strong.

We must keep America strong enough to repel attacks of outside enemies.

We must keep America strong enough to withstand the stresses and strains that provide evil opportunities for hidden enemies within.

Today—Memorial Day—we have the assurance that the promise is being kept by 21 million living veterans.

If our war dead were able to see what their living comrades are doing, they would be filled with gladness.

They would see them turning aside from old, slower, hit-or-miss methods of production.

They would see them engaged in more than haphazard groping for routine jobs.

Our veterans know that to have a strong America, we must have a highly productive America. They are demonstrating it.

Our veterans know that the key to a highly productive America is trained manpower. They are providing it.

The America of today has become the leader of the free world.

Millions of trained veterans are in the forefront of our irresistible power.

One out of every six workers in the labor force is a trained veteran.

By their productive skills veterans have made it a dangerous gamble for totalitarian foes to attack us.

By their productive skills veterans have pushed the long arm of America's defensive might beyond the borders of the Western World.

By their productive skills veterans lessen each day the chances of an all-out war.

By the degree and the power of their skills, veterans are proving in office and shop, in factories and on farms, that they are keeping the promise to the dead.

Nor is the promise confined only to those who returned from war unharmed. It is being kept by those who bear on their bodies and in their minds lifelong reminders of the brutal impact of war.

Like their able-bodied comrades, disabled veterans are placing our country beyond the threat of attack. They are doing it on the job.

Disabled veterans have proved that a physical or a mental handicap need not be—and is not—a job handicap.

Disabled veterans are doing their full share of putting productive power into the making of a strong America.

In earlier times many a disabled veteran was turned aside as economic waste. That was bad economy, bad psychology, bad religion.

The character, the courage, the patience of our disabled veterans have helped the Nation turn to a better scheme of things.

Today, Memorial Day, it is clear to all that disabled veterans are keeping the promise to our dead.

They are making it difficult for inside enemies to maintain a foothold.

They are giving America the strength to repel outside enemies. And, there is another way in which veterans are making America strong. That job is being done literally on the homefront.

Millions of veterans and their families have been able, by the use of GI loans, to buy and own their homes.

GI home ownership has been good for the Nation's business growth. It has been good for civic progress. It has been good for our families, for our schools, and for churches.

It has been good for a strong America.

But there is still another element that veterans contribute to the strength of America.

Veterans know from deadly close-range experience what war actually means. They know the price of war in blood and pain. If all-out war can be avoided with honor, veterans want no more of armed conflict.

Veterans have the disciplined strength, born of battlefield experience, to keep emotions well under control when a crisis arises.

Veterans are the least likely among our citizens to confuse strength with loud, boastful talk. Idle threats are not sensible ways of behavior to those who have been to war, and who take the hazards of war seriously.

On the other hand, the veteran is the last man in America to place any value on the timid appeasement of an armed and aggressive enemy.

When it is possible to do so with honor, he avoids war.

But when our freedom is threatened by war, he has the courage to face up to it, and fight it if necessary.

These are thoughts appropriate to an American on Memorial Day.

Today, Memorial Day, we renew to ourselves, to our deceased comrades, and to Almighty God this sacred promise.

We will do our full part to keep America strong.

We will do our full part to keep America free.

We will do our full part to keep America righteous.

Only by the faithful fulfillment of this sacred Memorial Day promise can we truly, each of us, earn the right to say:

"I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith."

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on Tuesday, June 25, 1957, the special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration taking testimony on proposed changes in Senate rule XXII had the privilege of hearing from Dr. Albert B. Saye, professor of political science at the University of Georgia.

Dr. Saye is one of the Nation's foremost scholars of political science. He is the author of a number of books, articles, and papers on the general field of government. He is eminently qualified to speak with authority on the subject of freedom of debate in the United States Senate.

In order that every Member of this body might have the benefit of reading his testimony, I ask unanimous consent that the text of his prepared statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OBSERVATIONS ON PROPOSED CHANGES IN SENATE RULE XXII

(By Albert B. Saye, professor of political science, University of Georgia)

Gladstone described the United State Senate as "the most remarkable of all the inventions of modern politics." It occupies a unique place among legislative bodies. It was designed by the Federal convention as a check upon hasty action by the House of Representatives, as a participant in executive functions, as a guardian of State rights, and as a stabilizing influence in the whole constitutional system. Joseph Story called it the balance wheel in our Government. It has served its purpose well.

Since its organization on April 6, 1789, there has never been a time when the Senate, as an organized body, has not been available at the President's call, or in accord with the terms of its own adjournment, for the transaction of public business. Its rules, adopted 10 days after its organization, have remained in force from 1789 to 1957 without reaffirmation. Amendments to these rules have been adopted in the regular course of business, but it is a late date indeed to suggest that the Senate is not a continuous body. Every person with an appreciation of American history knows that it is. And serious students of American government know that any change in the Senate rules will have repercussions on our whole constitutional structure.

EFFECT OF RULES ON RELATIONS OF EXECUTIVE TO SENATE

No European state entrusts to its legislature the direct participation in executive functions which the Senate enjoys. Ours is a Presidential Government, with a check and balance accompanying a separation of powers. A contest for power between the Executive and Legislature is inherent in the separation principle. In the shift in power through the years, the President has tended to expand in power at the expense of the Legislature. Freedom of debate in the Senate has served as the most effective check on Presidential absolutism.

The prestige of the President's office and the opportunity for a constant stream of self-advertising gives the President an advantage in dealing with Congress. He does not have to face the House in open debate as does an English Prime Minister. When his party is the majority party in Congress, the President's party leaders have little difficulty in passing anything in the House. With its majority cloture and gag rules, the House is largely a rubberstamp. It is no accident that the collective judgment of the Senate produces superior legislation to that passed by the House which frequently represents no more than the hasty judgment of a few party leaders.

The Senate is the only forum in the Nation that can check on executive and party propaganda. It is the only forum where a majority President can be forced to explain the meaning of proposed legislation. It is the forum where minority criticisms can be effectively voiced and minority aspirations expressed. Alteration in rule XXII, as proposed by Mr. DOUGLAS (S. R. 17), Mr. MORSE (S. R. 21), or Mr. IVES (S. R. 28), would drastically alter the relation between the President and Congress. It would be a long step toward supplanting parliamentary government as America has known it, where legislators count as individuals and vote on legislation on its merits, by party government as it exists in European states, where legislators count but little as individuals and vote by blocs as the party leaders dictate, without incorporating the responsibility of the executive to the legislature which is viewed as the chief advantage of the cabinet form of government. A change in rule XXII is a far more serious matter than many people realize. For an excellent coverage of the significance of freedom of debate in the Senate to executive-legislation relations, I invite your attention to Lindsay Rogers' The American Senate (1931), a thoughtful study not written in a period of agitation.

PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS

The concept of majority rule is simple, but the concept of unrestrained majority rule is foreign to our written Constitution and to the spirit of American political institutions. A Federal union is not designed to enable one section to triumph over another, or the numerical majority in the Nation to force any section to the breaking point. There are areas in which self-restraint, tolerance for the opinion of others, and compromise are to be preferred to force. Calhoun's doctrine of the concurrent majority is constantly at play in American politics. Its stronghold is the consensus within our political parties. It finds expression in the selection of available candidates for office, and in the enactment of legislation. The unanimous-consent agreement made in the Senate on January 3 of this year for handling the motion by Senator ANDERSON to take up for immediate consideration rules for the Senate is a clear example of the doctrine in operation.

As John Fisher has pointed out (Unwritten Rules of American Politics, Harper's magazine, November 1948), "government by concurrent majority can exist only when no one power is strong enough to dominate completely, and then only when all of the contending interest groups recognize and abide by certain rules of the game.

"These rules are the fundamental bond of unity in American political life. They can be summed up as a habit of extraordinary toleration, plus 'equality' in the peculiar American meaning of that term. Under these rules every group tacitly binds itself to tolerate the interests and opinions of

every other group. It must not try to impose its views on others, nor can it press its own special interests to the point where they seriously endanger the interests of other groups or of the Nation as a whole.

"Furthermore, each group must exercise its implied veto with responsibility and discretion; and in times of great emergency it must forsake its veto right altogether. It dare not be intransigent or doctrinaire. It must make every conceivable effort to compromise, relying on its veto only as a last resort. For if any player wields this weapon recklessly, the game will break up—or all the other players will turn on him in anger, suspend the rules for the time being, and maul those very interests he is trying so desperately to protect. That was what happened in 1860, when the followers of Calhoun carried his doctrine to an unbearable extreme. Much the same thing, on a less violent scale, happened to American business interests in 1933 and to the labor unions in 1947 * * *.

"Now it is an unwritten but firm rule of Congress that no important bloc shall ever be voted down—under normal circumstances—on any matter which touches its own vital interests. Each of them, in other words, has a tacit right of veto on legislation in which it is primarily concerned. The ultimate expression of this right is the institution—uniquely American—of the filibuster in the Senate. Recently it has acquired a bad name among liberals because the southern conservatives have used it ruthlessly to fight off civil-rights legislation and protect white supremacy. Not so long ago, however, the filibuster was the stoutest weapon of such men as Norris and the LaFollettes in defending many a progressive cause."

TIMING OF CHANGE IN RULES

A rule is a prescribed guide for conduct. Rules serve their purpose best when adopted in a calm atmosphere and adhered to in moments of agitation. Is a time of agitation over enactment of highly controversial legislation an appropriate time to change the rule which has enabled the Senate to serve as the balance wheel in our whole constitutional structure?

Any change or proposed change at this time is likely to be influenced unduly by agitation on a single issue. The change made in 1949 has not been well reported in the press; and few people outside the Senate realize that section 3 added to rule XXII only an express statement of a provision already implicit in the existing rule, as repeatedly affirmed by action of the Senate.

Let the Senate abide in this period of agitation by the rule of freedom of debate that has served well since the Senate was organized in 1789. States wanting FEPC and kindred legislation are free to enact it.

The Federal constitutional system was designed to permit the people within each State to mind their own business within a broad range. Extremists on both sides agitating racial problems may already have had their heyday. There is a wealth of good feeling among the American people. Education, not force, is the answer to many of our sectional problems. The road may be longer, but it is much safer.

Executive Versus Judiciary Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by Mr. Thomas L. Anderson, Washington, Pa., and published in the New York Times of June 12.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE VERSUS JUDICIARY POWER

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your editorial of June 7 on "Jury Trial" and the adiministration civil rights bill gave an imperfect view of the situation. Summary punishment for contempt of a court injunction intended to guarantee the political right of a citizen to vote can be appreciated only in the light of the background of the ancient fear of the people of judicial tyranny under the guise of contempt proceedings, contending with the need to safeguard the administration of justice and avoid anarchy.

The result has been that for 125 years the legislative branch of the Federal Government has exercised the undoubted power. Many States have statutes to circumscribe the courts in defending their authority. Generally, courts may summarily punish criminal contempts committed in or about their presence only; otherwise jury trials are mandatory.

A strong Federal Executive has in more recent years demanded and Congress has granted an exemption from jury trials where the United States is plaintiff. The administration proposes to broaden the exemption to include a new type of proceeding in which the United States as plaintiff seeks by injunction to protect the citizen's vote.

Northerners as well as white and black Southerners should be astute to see the Federal Executive gets a foot no further in the crack of the door from which the judiciary has been evicted. What price rights for some at the cost of destruction of the rights of others? There must be a better solution to the problem.

THOMAS L. ANDERSON.
WASHINGTON, PA., *June 8, 1957.*

Russian Deportation of Lithuanians to Siberia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from the chairman and secretary of the Boston chapter, Lithuanian Community of America, relative to a mass meeting held in the municipal auditorium in South Boston, Mass., on June 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITHUANIAN COMMUNITY
OF AMERICA, BOSTON CHAPTER,
June 15, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN F. KENNEDY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The Lithuanian Americans and their friends at a mass meeting at the municipal auditorium in South Boston, Mass., on June 15, 1957 to commemorate the 16th anniversary of the notorious deportation of Lithuanians from Lithuania to Siberia by Stalin's Red henchmen in 1941, are sending you their sincere gratitude for your efforts to restore all freedoms to Lithuania, forcibly and unjustly taken from her by Stalin in 1940, and they hope that you will continue your efforts leading to a free Lithuania.

Respectfully yours.

STASYS VAITKEVICIUS,
Chairman.
PRANAS AVERKA,
Secretary.

An Open Letter to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an open letter to the Congress, written by Max Lockwood, editorial columnist for the Bulloch Herald, of Statesboro, Ga., and published in his column in the June 13, 1957, issue of that newspaper.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT SEEMS TO ME

(By Max Lockwood)

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

DEAR SIRS: I respectfully address this letter to the Members of the Congress at a time in human history when I deeply feel it is the right and the responsibility of every citizen to be heard.

I address this letter to you as a citizen of these great United States and the fact that I am a southerner is of no consequence as concerns these thoughts.

As Members of the Congress you have sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States. As Members of Congress you have asked for and received the right to speak for the people of the various States as you represent them in National Government. As Members of Congress you have duties to perform which should and do, overshadow the selfish interests of any individual or any State.

Realizing these tremendous responsibilities I would remind you of the sacred trust which is yours in protecting the rights of all our people. In your division of government the people themselves have their only recourse to be heard and in your body they have placed grave responsibilities for the preservation of our Nation.

In this America, in less than a decade, we have seen grave changes in Government. Changes brought about, not by the wishes of the majority of our people but rather by selfish, arrogant, and greedy individuals and minority groups which have as their only aim the destruction of the very ideals of government which they profess to so strongly represent.

Since Pearl Harbor the people have watched a gradual concentration of power in the executive and judicial branches of Government which even now threaten to so dwarf the powers of Congress that it will in time become as a sounding brass.

Before you would, in your thinking, ridicule such a suggestion I trust and pray that you will give your attention and your consideration to the following thoughts.

Since the first bombs fell in the Pacific we have seen brought about a so-called unification of the Armed Forces. A complete change in the structure of our fighting forces which could conceivably destroy pride of

service which would lead to their destruction. This the Congress watched with little comment.

Since the battle of Britain we have watched by Executive order the abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces. A principle to which an entire section of this great Nation still today stands opposed. This clearly should have been submitted to the Congress for a decision but you, of course, remember that it was not so submitted.

Following the great war in Europe and Asia you have seen a President commit our troops to war in Korea when the Constitution clearly states that such a decision is reserved to the Congress.

Just a short while ago you watched our Supreme Court follow the dictates of an appointed official of Government and strike down principles of social justice by which we have lived for more than a hundred years. There can in this instance be no doubt but that the decision outlawing segregation in the State-supported schools is an encroachment on the rights of the States. To say the least the Court has written into law concepts of justice which clearly are the responsibilities of the Congress to so enact.

In your body this very day you see representatives of a Chief Executive as he sends messengers to you in a plain move to influence and dictate to you his thoughts concerning your discussion of the so-called civil-rights legislation. A few short years ago it would have been inconceivable that any court would want the right to try any American citizen and deny to him the fundamental right of a trial by jury. Yet, today, a President of the United States clearly requests, in fact dictates, that you pass legislation to this end.

Men of the Congress, it frightens me to be a part of the thinking of the people of our day who have abandoned the idea of majority rule and have substituted in its stead the rule of the minority. Minority rule in political parties, minority rule in decisions of the Supreme Court, minority rule in the election of a President, and minority rule in the expressions found in legislation submitted and approved in the United States Congress.

Today a President asks you for the right to veto any portion of the legislation which you submit for his signature. A clear-cut request for the right to accept only that portion of your legislation which is personally acceptable to him.

Respectfully, I would ask if the Congress has not been pushed behind a smokescreen of so-called social and civil rights maneuver to so divide and destroy its effectiveness as to allow the executive and judicial branches of Government to rule by executive direction.

You have seen a Cabinet official dictate to you on appropriations in the last few hours. You have seen an Attorney General all but destroy the effectiveness of the great Federal Bureau of Investigation with his foolish and childish use of it. You have seen a Supreme Court in the last few days virtually destroy the effectiveness of this same organization by making public the heart of its prosecution efforts.

On and on goes the story and I could relate to you page after page of decision after decision where not only the rights of the Congress have been abridged but have also been ignored or destroyed.

And so I would close this letter. In your thinking perhaps you may find the answer to this attack on the legislative powers of the Congress. It is an attack, and you can rest assured gentlemen, there is a reason for it.

Current Low Markets for Poultry and Poultry Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the current low markets for poultry and poultry products have had a serious effect on one of New Hampshire's major industries. Poultry producers in the Granite State have been deeply troubled by the state of the industry.

The agricultural advisory committee of the New Hampshire State Department of Agriculture recently met in Durham to discuss the situation and to make certain recommendations. The group expressed its opposition to continued Government loans for poultry expansion at a time when overproduction is one of the basic problems of the industry, and also urged a hard, cold look at the antitrust implications of the integration movement in poultry production.

I hope these points will receive the full consideration of appropriate agencies of the Government, and that the current study of the poultry industry by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry will specifically look into these suggestions.

I ask unanimous consent to have an article on this matter from the June 22 issue of Foster's Daily Democrat, of Dover, N. H., printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HAMPSHIRE BOARD CALLS FOR END OF GOVERNMENT CREDIT IN POULTRY

DURHAM.—The Agricultural Advisory board of the State Department of Agriculture, holding its bimonthly conference here this week, went on record calling for an end to Government credit loans for expanding the poultry industry, while the present poultry emergency continues.

It also indicated it feels Government agencies should take a coldblooded look at poultry integration programs sweeping the country, to see if there is any violation of the Nation's antitrust laws involved and if so, take appropriate control action.

This advisory board of 10, one man from each county, spent considerable time delving into the current poultry mess which, all hands agreed is hitting big and little producers between the eyes and has driven some of New Hampshire nationally famous poultry leaders to the wall. Nobody can see the end of the upset or predict where New Hampshire finally will land in poultry income or importance.

There were reports of giant integration units starting out after control of the industry on a gigantic scale, even offering prices well above the going ones to curry favor and get a foothold in the control door.

Commissioner Fitts said that reports are that labor union moguls have entered the poultry scene in neighboring Maine, their goal the complete organization of farmers who own the growing facilities and produce the broilers.

DEPARTMENT BESIEGED

His department, he confessed is being besieged by many in the upset poultry industry, demanding that the State, as such, take a hand in doing something to straighten out the tangle and return profits to the business. He has no encouraging reply for them, he said, as nobody yet has been able to come up with anything the State can do in the complicated situation.

He said that poultrymen obviously are besieging their congressional delegates in Washington, D. C., for the answer and they in turn, seem to be trying to find it.

The question of calling a big State meeting on the poultry industry issue was debated at length with general agreement that all the headaches in the picture already have been thoroughly covered in sessions already held by several groups, and that airing the problems all over again in detail, would not add anything new to a solution.

The board, however, felt that an end to Government finance expansion moves and an antitrust look-see at mounting integration, are moves that are needed, with other points, hurry up expansion of research on use of poultry products, increased use of poultry products by the Government and other market expansion steps.

The board didn't indicate any conviction that an overnight plunge into complete Government control and dictation of the industry would solve anything. But the commissioner and his advisers did delve deeply into the details of such plans, now being offered in Washington.

Question is, Does the situation warrant quotas, controls, and penalties, even to being unable to buy a baby chicken without a Government purchase certificate, based on how many chicks a feller bought in the past 3 years? This plan, it was explained, would make it impossible for hatcheries to sell other than by certificate.

The Moral Climate in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I have just read an editorial entitled "What Is the Moral Climate in America?" written by Louis B. Seltzer, editor of the Cleveland Press. In my opinion, the editorial comments forcefully on some of the happenings of our day and age. It is one of the most pertinent and poignant editorials I have read in many years. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IS THE MORAL CLIMATE IN AMERICA?
(By Louis B. Seltzer)

From a prison stepped Frank Costello, racketeer, thug, and thoroughly unsavory character, at whom a couple of weeks ago, a gangland enemy shot. Costello refused to talk.

The picture in our paper showed Costello surrounded by a crowd of admiring teenagers, a kind of hero worship on their excited faces.

WHY?

A trusted banker in Chesterland, 40-year-old Robert Cummings, took $28,800 from the bank which he, above all people, had the sacred trust of protecting. He used it to play the Canadian ore stock market.

The people out at Chesterland have risen to applaud, defend, and help him, arguing that he was a nice, polite, and human fellow who just did the wrong thing—and got caught.

WHY?

The other night this writer was among a group of businessmen. They travel. They have big expense accounts. They also have addresses which they exchange among one another.

They are addresses where they can keep an evening's company with women of their choice at somebody else's business expense, if that's the kind of entertainment they wish, and, so protected is all of this, that nobody is the wiser.

WHY?

In Cleveland, as in many others across America, men have by dishonest, illegal, unwholesome methods accumulated fortunes, and have managed, by one device or another, to keep out of the penitentiary.

Now that they have their large accumulations of cash an aura of respectability is accorded them. They get into the best clubs, are applauded, feted, sought after. They were smart. They didn't get caught. They are considered to be successes because they have money, no matter how they got it.

WHY?

Two judges of Cuyahoga County are deeply concerned about the spectacularly rising divorce rate both locally and nationally.

The percentage of divorces against the total number of marriages is really incredible. These two men have handled thousands of divorce cases. They are concerned about the lowered attitudes of people toward the sanctity of marriage, and the resulting destruction of moral standards. The rate is going up even higher.

WHY?

This is a great, wonderful, fabulously successful country, where comforts abound and interests are multiplying, a country which in a few hundred years, in a material sense, has accomplished more than other civilizations elsewhere on earth have achieved in thousands of years.

But something is happening to us—something deep, disconcerting, alarming, even when contrasted with all of the country's undisputed virtues, its superior knowledge, its more sophisticated attitudes. Sometimes that troubles a good many of us—something that unfortunately fixes the moral climate in which our children, more numerous than ever before, are being required to live, to think, to behave.

Frank Costello is a thug. He represents the worst in America—the worst by any standard. He has arrogantly flouted the law, paid off people to protect his illegal operations, hired to kill, cheated the Government and perverted all with whom he came in contact.

What is there in the moral climate of America today that makes it possible for teen-agers to glorify such an ugly and sordid character?

STOLE MONEY

Robert Cummings stole money—by his own admission. He was supposed to protect his depositors' interests. If a man picked another's pocket of $10, the presumption is that he would be arrested, tried and rather quickly convicted.

Nobody disputes that Robert Cummings is an extraordinarily affable personality, one who did little friendly and considerate things for people. But so, too, do politicians—like the State auditor of Illinois who robbed the taxpayers of a million dollars.

That doesn't justify his crime, and, hard as it is to say, neither does the fact that he is married and has children justify it.

If the people of Chesterland in effect condone Robert Cummings' act, raise money to pay his embezzlement and if he thus escapes legal punishment for his serious crime—what has happened again to the moral climate of this country, its willingness in modern days to compromise with what in other days there could be no compromise?

WHAT IS IT?

What is it in the air of America, the attitude of America, the moral climate of America which is causing these things—tearing us down in the basic moral respects while building us up to such astounding material heights?

Why are the newsstands of America bulging with filthy pornographic pictures and magazines and books, when there are plenty of laws already to get rid of this obscenity, but which is flourishing because there is enough public appetite for it? Why is the theater filled with it and the best sellers reeking with it?

Is it good? Is it bad? Is it deep and penetrating, or superficial and fleeting?

Where is our capacity for indignation at things we know in our hearts are wrong?

Herschel V. Jenkins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. On July 1, one of the Nation's most distinguished and best beloved newspaper publishers, Hon. Herschel V. Jenkins, of Savannah, Ga., will retire at the age of 85.

As publisher of the Savannah Morning News and the Savannah Evening Press, Mr. Jenkins has won for himself and his newspapers the respect and admiration not only of his fellow Georgians, but also of his fellow journalists throughout the Nation. He and his newspapers have been identified with every constructive movement for the progress of the State of Georgia and the advancement of the welfare of Georgia people. Under his guidance and leadership, the Savannah Morning News and the Savannah Evening Press have been consistent and eloquent spokesmen for the maintenance of constitutional government and individual liberty in this Nation.

The biography of Herschel V. Jenkins is a truly American success story. In tribute to Mr. Jenkins and his myriad contributions to his State and Nation I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an account of his life and achievements, as prepared at my request by Hon. Joseph Lambright, editor of the Savannah Morning News.

There being no objection, the biography was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HERSCHEL V. JENKINS

Born October 5, 1871, in Effingham County, Ga., the son of John Jackson and Victoria Jenkins. His father was a schoolteacher.

His father died in 1888, when Herschel V. Jenkins found it necessary to leave school and come to Savannah in search of a job at the age of 17.

He became a clerk in the old Central Railroad Bank, which was owned by the Central Railroad & Banking Co., and which was then located on Bay between Bull and Drayton Streets.

From that time forward, according to his own words, he "never missed a day's pay."

Mr. Jenkins continued his association with the bank, receiving several promotions during the next 18 years. Here he began his long friendship with T. M. Cunningham, who was cashier of the bank.

In 1906 Mr. Jenkins became associated with the Central of Georgia Railway in the treasurer's office, and worked diligently here until he was named assistant treasurer in 1906. For the next 20 years he served as assistant treasurer of the Central, and in 1926, after a distinguished career of 38 years with the railroad, he acquired a controlling interest in the Savannah Morning News, embarking on his long newspaper career at the age of 55.

He was tendered a testimonial banquet by friends and his associates with the railroad in 1926 for his valuable services to the Central's clients and to the railroad and the community.

He immediately set about to learn as much about the newspaper business as possible, department by department, until he was familiar with every detail of operation.

In 1931, under his management, the Morning News acquired the Savannah Press, merging the business and mechanical departments of the two newspapers, but keeping the editorial departments separate.

He retained practically all employees of the Press so that no one would suffer by the merger. The name of the Savannah Press was then changed to Savannah Evening Press.

His ambition from the beginning was to keep his newspapers alive to the interests of the community and the section they served, to maintain high standards of journalistic ethics, and to improve service to readers and advertisers. Circulations of both papers have climbed steadily throughout Mr. Jenkins' leadership.

A man of great energy and enthusiasm, he had various other business interests and civic interests in addition to the newspapers. He was president of the Morris Plan Co., of Savannah, and under his leadership and direction this institution became strong financially and vigorous. Since 1935 he served as chairman of the coastal highway commission, was instrumental in construction of Eugene Talmadge Memorial Bridge across Savannah River.

He was elected chairman of Armstrong College commission in 1937, and served the interests of that institution. In 1942 the college named its auditorium in his honor, and in 1940 the students dedicated their annual to him. His interest in education was such that in 1956 Savannah's newest public high school was named by the board of education the Herschel V. Jenkins High School.

He served as a director of the Citizens & Southern National Bank, the Central of Georgia Railroad, and had various other business interests.

He was president of United Community Services, Savannah's community chest organization, and various other civic endeavors too numerous to list. He was active in the chamber of commerce.

He was recipient of the Lucas trophy as Savannah's outstanding citizen in 1945.

On April 25, 1899, he married Miss Bessie Y. Winn, and three daughters were born to this couple: Elizabeth, now Mrs. Porter A. Mackall; Margaret Anna, deceased; and Miss Victoria Jenkins, who makes her home with her father. Mrs. Jenkins died several years ago.

Under his direction, the editorial policies of his newspapers have been strong in their defense of basic conservative Americanism. He was an outspoken foe of novel governmental concepts foreign to the United States Constitution.

He will continue his guidance as editor emeritus of News & Press following changeover in ownership.

For Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article concerning Formosa, written by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate, and published in the Philadelphia Bulletin.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

THE SATURDAY SERMON FOR FORMOSA

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris)

Every true patriot is for America in spite of continual betrayals of our creed which shame our flag. Those who, without perspective, draw hasty conclusions from one episode in the Far East, and hurl vituperation at Taiwan, thus, unwittingly doing the Reds' bidding, should be asked this pertinent question: Why do you still believe in America when great metropolitan centers are honeycombed with corruption?

And especially when parts of the labor union movement, supposed to be dedicated to the uplift and rights of labor, are revealed as debauched by unscrupulous leadership?

Answer: Because we know that that is not all America or all of labor unions.

With all its flaws, we are still for America because it is humanity's last, best hope. Those who are against communism must be for Formosa. Facts which are stubborn things force one to that choice.

The lungs of free China are Formosa. And, praise God from whom all blessings flow, there is a free China.

Formosa is the free world's protest against the enslavement of the mainland by ruthless brigands. With all that is involved in that embattled island as at close range liberty faces tyranny, how fickle can those be whose own freedom is marked for destruction by the same foe now brandishing a bloodstained sword at the regime of their chief hate target, Chiang Kai-shek?

Now, as across the years, he scorns every sugared suggestion that he turn Benedict Arnold. How incredibly silly and shortsighted can alleged intelligent Americans be because of one unfortunate exploding incident?

MIRACLE OF TAIWAN

There are those, having expressed no wonder at the miracle of Taiwan, who talk now about being through with that vital field where but lately I saw the plants of freedom growing beautifully knee high.

This is essentially a religious article—not a retrial of an American charged with a killing. But isn't it fundamental in Christianity to put oneself in the other person's place?

With that in mind, without condoning the disgraceful acts of hotheads and yet following the admonition of the Man of Galilee, may we ask one question regarding the tragedy about which all the world is talking: If in America a Chinese soldier, one of an army on our soil, had shot and killed an American for an alleged offense of the nature charged and a Chinese court in America had allowed the defendant to go free on the testimony of no one but himself, what would be the American reaction? Do we not know America well enough to confess candidly that it would be one of resentment and, on the part of some, revenge?

A BOILING CALDRON

When into the caldron of these tense times, with boiling resentment and fiery anger already there, is added an element of dissatisfaction at the proximity of native penury and foreign plenty—and when into the black pot is poured some Communist ingredients—what a brew ready to explode.

Whatever elements came together to create the deafening noise with its sickening results, a situation is thus made to order for America's deadliest foes to defame America's loyal friend, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

In all this uproar let me remember that those who benefit most from any downgrading of the President of free China are blatant atheists, who believe in nothing above the ground and who deride our faith in spiritual verities. The target of their billingsgate is an humble, devout Christian, who being reviled reviles not again.

I have never met a man whose Christian spirit is more radiant and contagious. Last summer I listened to his affirmation of faith with admiration and uplift.

DEVOUT CHRISTIAN

In spite of all pressures, he spends at least an hour a day, rising at dawn, in private devotions. Every Sunday, he and his inspiring companion, so well known in America, worship in the church they love. One who has watched him from his youth declares: "He embraced Christianity almost in the New Testament sense, as a man who squares his whole life with his faith."

These two inspiring Christians are fostering more than 100 prayer groups in all parts of Taiwan. On that island, meeting all phases of human needs, they are making tremendous progress in lifting the levels of living.

The present government in Formosa is accomplishing Chiang Kai-shek's vast plans for the mainland. These welllaid policies were balked by conditions over which he had no control, including devastating invasions by a cruel foe. When advisers, even from free lands, gave him counsel which proved to be drastically wrong, he rightly took the attitude often expressed by Syngman Rhee: "You can't cooperate with a rattlesnake."

Chiang has turned in disgust from their repeated "'Come into my parlor,' said the spider" blandishments as they offer him a partnership alliance. For freedom's sake, he chose the West and turned his back on the seemingly invincible Japan.

SYMBOL OF CHINA

The able and worthy ambassador of Taiwan to the United States, Hollington Tong, does not exaggerate when he says, "For more than 30 years, through vicissitudes and trials which would have destroyed an ordinary man, Chiang has been the acknowledged symbol and conscience of a half-billion Chinese people."

His people have never repudiated him, as his enemies contend. Untold millions would eagerly rally to his standard now were he but on the mainland.

With unfeigned admiration, the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared: "President Chiang came up the hard way to accomplish in a few years what it took us 200 years to attain." To be for Formosa is to be for Chiang's cause; and to be for Chiang is to be for freedom as it fronts tyranny.

Government's Budgeting and Accounting Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorials concerning Senate bill 434, which recently passed the Senate unanimously and is now before the House, from the Union Leader, of Manchester, N. H., and the Journal, of Meriden, Conn.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader of June 19, 1957]

It's about time the Federal Government's financial structure was placed on a sound accounting basis. And Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, is to be commended for his sponsorship of Senate-approved bill, S. 434, which would convert appropriations to an annual expenditures basis. Much of the current confusion over appropriations and backlogs would be cleared up by Senator KENNEDY's bill, which would appropriate funds for each fiscal year upon estimates of expenditures actually to be made during that year.

In placing this Hoover Commission recommendation in bill form and pushing its passage, Senator KENNEDY also has performed a service for his colleagues, many of whom have become increasingly irritated over their lack of control over appropriations once they are made. These unexpended balances run into billions of dollars each year, and it takes some tall explaining to satisfy the public's increasing concern over this slipshod way of doing business.

We haven't always agreed with Senator KENNEDY, but this time he appears to be on solid ground.

[From the Meriden (Conn.) Journal of June 14, 1957]

KENNEDY BILL PASSES SENATE

The Kennedy bill, introduced by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, Massachusetts, has been passed by the Senate. If the House approves a measure carrying the same provisions, the Government's budgeting and accounting procedures will be placed on an accrued expenditures basis, thus meeting one of the key recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Under the plan accepted by the Senate, agency budgets would be determined on a cost basis, agency accounts would be maintained on an accrual basis and appropriations would be made on an annual accrued expenditures basis. This is accountant's language, but it means simply that converting appropriations to an annual expenditures basis the Congress would appropriate for each fiscal year upon estimates of expenditures actually to be made during that year. Carryovers of unexpended balances of appropriations, which now run into billions of dollars each year, would be reduced to a minimum. Once appropriations have been made, Congress has little control over them.

Senator KENNEDY has worked energetically for this legislation, which was actively supported by a long list of economy-minded Senators.

The Hoover Commission produced its recommendations only after long and careful study. It is gratifying that this particularly useful recommendation has received the Senate's approval. The House should follow the Senate's example in endorsing a measure which would place Government budgeting and accounting on a much more businesslike basis than at present.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy R. I. P.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, there appeared in the weekly newspaper, Our Sunday Visitor, on Sunday, May 19, 1957, a very interesting and honest editorial entitled "Right or Wrong, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, R. I. P." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHT OR WRONG, SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R. I. P.

(By Father Richard Ginder)

In the obituaries about the late Senator McCarthy, there was much talk about his leap from relative obscurity into the headlines, about what a power he was in this country until his censure by the Senate.

The peculiar fact is that the power and stature of Senator McCarthy were built up by his enemies, by the very publicity intended to destroy him. For a year or two, every time you picked up a magazine or a newspaper you had McCarthy's picture beaming out at you, accompanied by a rabid, hate-slanted article describing the Senator's most recent activities. The daily press seemed to have become quite unbalanced on the subject, the result being that their writings were spoiled by all the vices they attributed to McCarthy and thus they only succeeded in discrediting themselves rather than him.

A friend once asked how it is that the daily press is so unanimous in taking a clearly predictable view on any given point. "It seems controlled," he said, "as by one supreme boss, who sits somewhere dictating the line to be followed as each issue arises."

The fact is that it takes very few people to control the American press. A handful of men in key positions with the wire services (UP, AP, INS), the Washington reporters who hash things out together over their bourbon at the National Press Club, and perhaps the editorial writers on the New York Times and the Herald Tribune. The rest of the press throughout the country takes its cue from them.

Then, alas, once it has been decided in the Press Club bar that any certain individual is a dirty so-and-so, he's had it. He's through. He couldn't redeem himself even if he joined the Trappists.

Of the people who read newspapers, it seems to me that there are three types: the critical and articulate readers—the clergymen, doctors, lawyers, professors, etc., who are informed students of public affairs and subscribe to several journals of opinion. These will often differ from a printed opinion, denounce it among their friends, and write an occasional letter to the editor.

But too many millions, unfortunately, allow themselves to be led around by the nose. They believe everything they read in the papers and it never occurs to them to challenge a slanted writeup, to ask for proof, to evaluate adjective and adverbs.

(Compare: "Flabby Senator Nobody lounged laxily across the desk, idly picking his nose."

("Hale and Hearty, a picture of vigorous optimism, Senator Nobody relaxed at his desk, stroking his nose in a gesture of momentary reflecting.")

Such reportorial skulduggery is swallowed whole by millions of the uncritical. For instance, one of the most amazing phenomena of the last campaign was the overnight acceptance of the "Liberal" canard that Nixon was somehow—not just the less desirable of the two candidates for the Vice-Presidency, but that he was somehow immoral, untruthful, perfidious, someone who really ought to be behind bars: "Tricky Dick."

Whenever I heard that expression used, I made it a practice to ask "Why? What has he done? What's wrong with him?"

It was pathetic in practically every instance (cab drivers, filling-station attendants, waitresses, etc.) to see the jaw drop and the baffled look creep over the face. Then the stammering and, finally, something inane: "I dunno. Seems like you always hear 'Trick Dick.' Nobody likes him. 'Tricky Dick.' That's all you hear. I dunno. . ."

Those are the uncritical millions who are manipulated by the press. They think and talk as they are told—though they sometimes have a nasty way of voting against instructions and so the press is occasionally surprised by the election returns.

Finally, there are the millions of good people not gifted with a talent for expression. They read their daily paper and they think their own thoughts. In the bull session at work, they let the glib fellows do all the talking, because they themselves don't have the gift of the gab. But they do form their own opinions, and they pray for their friends in public affairs, and they vote.

Senator McCarthy was destroyed by his own integrity. He was advised again and again to lay off the Army. But he was stubborn and he kept pressing the question "Who promoted Peress?" even when he saw that he was embarrassing that whole branch of the service.

Now in this country, the Army is always right. It never makes a mistake. It cannot be allowed to lose face. Especially when there is a general in the White House. In a conflict between anyone and the Army, it is not hard to predict whose side the President would take.

Thus, McCarthy had the choice of letting up or being broken. He would not let up.

But such was the man's integrity and persistence that when the principle of that case came up recently for a promotion in the Army, the others treated his difficulties with the Senate committee as so much cold coffee, ancient history, although they were careful not to say that he perjured himself, they admitted that the officer had been less than candid, that he had not told the truth. Senator McCarthy could not forget the man's lack of cooperation with a senatorial committee, and so, out of the whole Senate, he alone voted against the promotion.

During the days when the pack was in full cry against him, the shibboleth was "I like what he is doing but I don't like his methods." As far as this writer could see, his methods were exactly those used by every other Senate investigator over the years, used by Senator MCCLELLAN against Dave Beck just recently: McCarthy asked questions; pointed questions.

Nevertheless, in those days I wrote to Washington and asked for some transcripts of the hearings. They made a 2-foot stack on my desk. Then I sat down and did my homework. I read through that stack and ended with the conclusion that there was nothing wrong with McCarthy's methods.

After that, whenever I would hear a liberal sounding off about McCarthy I would ask, "Have you read the transcripts of the hearings?" The answers varied: "I don't need to"—"I saw Ed Murrow's show"—"I heard him on the radio"—"I read his Chicago talk"—but (and this is God's truth) I did not find one liberal who had done his homework.

I have a friend who is a lawyer and who made a practice of writing to Catholic liberals and putting precisely that question to them: Have you read the record? Practically all of them answered him, and you should read those letters—all the fumbling, hemming and hawing, excuses and apologies, all adding up to the preposterous idea that you really don't have to study the sources before making up your mind. His friends have often urged that lawyer to publish all that correspondence, but he is too charitable.

There are many who think that Senator McCarthy's religion and nationality were against him. This is undoubtedly true. When you think of the influence he enjoyed back in 1953 and 1954—how he secured the defeat of Maryland's Senator Tydings and was even mentioned for the Presidency. (I doubt that he would have run, but at the time it looked as though his large popular following would have given him some bargaining power at the convention and, who knows? Perhaps a Cabinet post in the new administration.)

All this must have struck terror in the hearts of the bigots and the ignorant. They were unqustionably among those who hated him.

There were the snobs, too. If only the Senator could have been lean and elegant, a graduate of some ivy-league school, with a fine old Anglo-Saxon name instead of that hopelessly Irish McCarthy. Why, it practically reeked of peat smoke and Roman Catholicism. Perish the thought. Perish the man.

Viewed in retrospect, Senator McCarthy's only fault was patriotism—his only vice, hatred of communism. May God have mercy on his soul.

Tribute by Oxford University to Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently a great honor was paid to a great American. An honorary degree was conferred upon Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson by Oxford University of England.

Governor Stevenson is spending several weeks abroad. He is making friends for America and helping to repair the deterioration that has taken place in recent years between us and our allies.

A well-known writer, Barbara Ward—Lady Jackson—was present on this occasion. She wrote a letter describing it to a charming American lady, Mrs. Jane Dick, of Lake Forest, Ill. I have a copy of the parts of this letter which describe the reception accorded Governor Steven-

I ask unanimous consent that the excerpts from this letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Part of a letter I received recently from Lady Jackson (the writer, Barbara Ward), containing such a vivid and heartwarming description of the tribute paid by Oxford University to Adlai, that I thought you might enjoy having a copy of it.

JANE DICK.

FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY BARBARA WARD JACKSON TO JANE DICK

JUNE 4, 1957.

I thought you and Eddie might like to hear about the Governor's honorary degree at Oxford. It was a great occasion and I wish more of his friends could have been there. The Stevenson family were well represented—with Buffie and Ernest and Adlai III and Nancy, but Bill Blair and I were the only stand-ins for the circle of friends and supporters.

The celebrations began at 4 p. m. with a tea at the Vice-Chancellor's lodgings. I may say it was a day as bitterly cold as only an English May can produce, a day you would have thought daunting to audiences in the vast unheated spaces of the Sheldonian Theatre. But the Public Orator at tea said that none of his own family could go because every ticket had been disposed of weeks before. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Masterman, is the archetype of the University Don—gentle, elderly, urbane, witty, a bachelor. He was already in academic dress, morning coat, Geneva bands and voluminous gown. He complained of his mortarboard. On his first official occasion, he had to raise it 193 times in 30 minutes. "And," he added, "I have arthritic fingers." The Public Orator was also arrayed in white bands and robe and he circulated to the few guests the Governor's citation—the Latin praises which are read out before the conferring of the degree and record why the university has decided to accord the honor. You will no doubt see this citation—I haven't a copy—but I'll only say that it is one of the warmest and most flattering that I have ever read in a university not over-given to enthusiasm. While we struggled over the Latin, the Governor was tried out for length in his scarlet academic gown and for (mental) breadth in his flat black velvet Tudor bonnet. He looked like one of Henry VIII's rather less staid advisers.

Just before 5, we were drive to the Sheldonian, a large covered amphitheatre in shape. The academic community sat on the floor of the hall facing the tiers arranged in a semi-circle. In the centre of the tiers was the Vice-Chancellor's throne. The rows on each side of this were reserved for invited guests—and you needed the agility of a mountain goat to climb them to your seat. Behind and above were public galleries filled to overflowing. In fact, two Asian gentlemen had climbed on to a sort of pulpit arrangement on one side of the amphitheatre and two clerical students on the other. The faculty sitting in solid ranks below, wearing black and scarlet gowns, the women dons in our appalling academic bonnets, varied from the infinitely old to baby fellows just out of the egg, from the extremely somnolent to the eager, the talkative and the gay.

We waited about 10 minutes, perched on our high benches. Then a hush fell, and we all rose to our feet for the vice chancellor's procession. This entered from a side door. Four macebearers came first, carrying heavy golden maces, then two unidentified dons—possibly proctors—in academic dress, then the vice chancellor, looking remarkably shy. He raced through the arena, and with quite remarkable agility hoisted himself up to his steep chair. He then raised his mortarboard to the company, and I found myself compulsively keeping count (the final score was poor—only a dozen). The proctors and macebearers sat down below, and we all sat again and waited. There were confused sounds outside, a certain amount of cheering and, to the trained eye, the unmistakable flash of light bulbs in the gray afternoon light. The great doors at the end of the arena—facing the tiers—opened once, and a cautious face looked in. Through the crack we could see the distant figure of the governor, gorgeous in scarlet, standing beside the public orator and surrounded by a bedlam of press photographers. This only added to the hush and decorum within. The face that peered in must have been satisfied, for, a moment later, the proctors arose and marched back between the rows of faculty members, and once again we all got to our feet. The great doors swung open, the proctors righted about and stamped slowly back, followed by the governor, looking pale and moved, and the public orator. There was absolute silence until the procession reached the open space before the throne. There, in clear Latin, the public orator read out the citation, very gracefully, savoring every phrase (and, why not, for he wrote it), and then the governor advanced and climbed the excessively abrupt steps to the throne. The vice chancellor (I need hardly say) raised his mortarboard, then grasped the governor's hand, and declared him a doctor honoris causae.

Thereafter a really very surprising thing happened—for Oxford, at least. The assembled audience raised the roof. They clapped, they stamped, they banged the benches, and the hurricane went on for at least 2 minutes. Many of the dons were visibly surprised—and as visibly delighted. I am told that all over the upper tier, where the undergraduates were thickest, there appeared a rash of Stevenson buttons. The four conspicuous gentlemen perched in their pulpits almost fell to the arena in their excitement. It was a wonderful demonstration of affection and respect, and, I believe, unique in Oxford, at least in these last cynical, unemotional decades.

The governor then lectured for nearly an hour and was listened to with deep attention. I doubt if the acoustics of the Sheldonian are any too good, certainly not for the benches where we sat, since the lectern was immediately to the right of the vice chancellor's throne and slightly below it. But in spite of the fact that perhaps half the audience had to strain to hear, there was none of that coughing and restlessness which comes when people lose interest or lose heart. At times, there was that hush of complete communication when an audience is literally conscious of nothing but the speaker's words. And—since it was the governor speaking—there were some enchanting moments of humor and impromptu reaction, too. He won all hearts at the beginning by referring to the saying that Oxford is reputed the home of lost causes. Whom, then, could they more fitly distinguish than the man who was probably the world's greatest living exponent of the lost cause? Later, just as the governor mentioned a figure for foreign aid—$750 million or some such—a roll of coins fell from some listener's pocket and bounced noisily to the ground. The governor paused just long enough to say: "Now, see you retrieve them," and went straight on with his text. The audience gave a howl of pleasure.

At the end, the ovation was as warm as at the start—a test, indeed, after 55 minutes of oratory—and when the governor left in procession with the vice chancellor, a small army of students followed him until he was finally retrieved and bundled into a university car. Only, I think, those who know the normal temperature of Oxford's academic occasions will realize how warmly and decisively the faculty and the students demonstrated their appreciation of the governor's role in domestic and international politics. And the demonstration was all the more remarkable in that 1957 is not, alas, a year in which America is much loved in Britain. The Oxford occasion turned into a reaffirmation of our deeper links and only the governor could have achieved this.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON

(Oration delivered by the public orator's deputy, the principal of Jesus College, in a convocation held on May 24, 1957)

This is a time when England extends to all American visitors an especially warm welcome, because we wish to leave the rest of the world in no doubt of the strong links which still bind our country to theirs: our common heritage of culture, our traditional tie of kinship, three centuries old this very year, and not least our fundamental friendship which allows us the privilege of friends, an occasional difference of opinion. Moreover, the eminent American citizen, whom we are happy to see with us today, is particularly welcome to a university audience. We all know his distinguished record in his own political arena and among the dissensions of the United Nations, and we see in him one who has never failed to exemplify just those virtues which it is the duty of a university to foster, the passion for truth, sound learning spiced with charm, wit without rancour, eloquence without self-advertisement.

Small wonder that with such endowments he was twice chosen as candidate for the supreme office of President; he failed in the high emprise, yet greatly failed. Through the campaigns he preserved his rectitude, his courtesy, his charm and at the very height of the election, his equanimity. We could tell from his courage in defeat what a great President he would have been, had the victory fallen to him. Our admiration might find expression in Addison's famous lines:

"Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius; we'll deserve it."

But why delay you longer by commending his great qualities, his learning and his eloquence when we are all eager to listen to his address as soon as our convocation is dissolved?

I present to you, for the degree of honorary doctors of civil law, Adlai Stevenson, amid the strains and stresses of national and international politics, the champion of humanism in word and deed, and himself the source.

Disappearance of Gerald Murphy, of Eugene, Oreg.

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OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, there is a saying that the flag follows every American, no matter where he may be. The Representative from Oregon's Fourth Congressional District—my esteemed friend, CHARLES O. PORTER—has been insisting that this axiom apply to our constituent, Gerald Murphy, the brave aviator from Eugene, who has disappeared mysteriously in the Dominican Republic.

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OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, there is a saying that the flag follows every American, no matter where he may be. The Representative from Oregon's Fourth Congressional District—my esteemed friend, CHARLES O. PORTER—has been insisting that this axiom apply to our constituent, Gerald Murphy, the brave aviator from Eugene, who has disappeared mysteriously in the Dominican Republic.

The fate of our constituent from Eugene had received little official action by Government agencies until Representative PORTER began a searching investigation of the circumstances surrounding his disappearance. Now, a full-scale investigation may be imminent. If our constituent, Gerald Murphy, is dead, others may escape his grim destiny because an Oregon Member of Congress chose not to let the issue drop.

Representative PORTER's activities in connection with the Gerald Murphy case have resulted in considerable acclaim in the national press. I ask consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times entitled "The Dominican Case," a portion of Mr. Drew Pearson's column from the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 23, 1957, and an article from the Island Times of San Juan, Puerto Rico, dated June 14, 1957, regarding Mr. PORTER's efforts to lift the mystery surrounding the disappearance of Gerald Murphy, of Eugene, Oreg.

There being no objection, the editorial and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of June 21, 1957]

THE DOMINICAN CASE

Generalissimo Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic, has not even deigned to permit his Government to answer the May 2 note of the United States State Department. So far as is known he has not even extended the courtesy of acknowledging this formal note from a power that has been friendly to him for reasons of state.

The subject at issue is the disappearances, first of Jesús de Galíndez, a Spanish Basque professor at Columbia University, on March 12, 1956, in New York, and secondly of the young American pilot, Gerald Murphy, in the Dominican Republic on December 3, 1956. All the evidence in both cases points straight at Generalissimo Trujillo. The State Department, having established to its satisfaction the possibility of a connection betweeen the Galíndez and Murphy disappearances, asked for more information and also asked that the diplomatic immunity of the Dominican Consul General in New York at the time he waived in order that he should be amenable to the usual and lawful procedures in matters of investigation and trial in the United States.

General Espaillat, the man in question, is in the Dominican Republic and is still alive—one of the few figures known to be connected with these mysteries who has survived. Nothing has happened or been divulged since May 2 that in any way lessens the suspicions that the Dominican dictator is involved in these cases. On the contrary, the longer Generalissimo Trujillo hesitates to reply to the State Department the stronger these suspicions will grow.

It has all along been the obvious hope of the Dominican dictator that public interest in the United States will gradually disappear and that the State Department will either let the matter drop or pigeonhole it. But the American press and people cannot let this matter be forgotten. Moreover, there is a courageous spokesman in Congress, Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, who represents Murphy's constituency in Oregon and who is also determined to keep fighting for a solution to these mysteries. There is likewise a Federal grand jury in Washington studying the cases.

Generalissimo Trujillo is therefore simply making matters more difficult for himself by ignoring the State Department's note. Not even the Iron Curtain countries are so discourteous as to refuse to answer a formal communication from the United States Government.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 23, 1957]

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

UNLOVED DICTATORS

How much Latin Americans dislike dictatorships has been revealed by the ovation given freshman Representative CHARLES PORTER, Democrat, of Oregon, who started the current campaign against dictator Trujillo, of the Dominican Republic.

PORTER has been deluged with invitations to visit Latin America, and last week he was almost mobbed by a crowd of cheering Costa Ricans at the San José Airport.

It happens that Gerald Murphy, the American pilot allegedly murdered by the Trujillo regime, came from PORTER's district in Oregon. After Murphy had helped to carry the body of Prof. Jesús Galindez, of Columbia University, back to the Dominican Republic, he mysteriously disappeared.

PORTER's battle to find out what happened to Murphy has resulted in a stiff State Department note to the Dominican Government, demanding that it produce the former Dominican Consul in New York, who is suspected of plotting the Galindez murder.

Chief result all over Latin America: PORTER has been hailed as a hero. El Tiempo, long-suppressed newspaper in Bogotá, has invited him to visit Colombia. The Honduran, Ecuadoran, and Uruguayan Governments have invited him to visit their countries. Two newspapers in Panama have invited him to be their guest.

The State Department has warned PORTER privately not to make these visits. Diplomats feared for his safety. However, he ignored State Department advice and went to Costa Rica. A crowd of 2,000 people welcomed him at the airport.

The State Department, in a quick reverse of policy, sent William Hieland, Director of Mid-American Affairs, to meet PORTER, while Robert Woodward, able Ambassador to Costa Rica, was genuinely hospitable.

[From the Island Times, San Juan, P. R., of June 14, 1957]

PUERTO RICO AND THE MODERN WORLD

(By Earl Parker Hanson)

I said it last week, and I say it again: The actions taken by Representative CHARLES O. PORTER in simply demanding that United States Government clear up the tangled and sordid mystery of the disappearance of one of his constituents amounts to the greatest blow struck in years against the worst of America's ditcatorships, and so also against dictatorships in general. At the present moment, it looks like another accident getting ready to happen—this time to a Latin American rather than a North American or a Basque.

Now PORTER is being hailed far and wide as the white hope of Latin America's people, as the greatest United States Latin American since F. D. Roosevelt, as a Latin American who belongs to Latin America. Had he been told 6 months ago that that would happen, he would have waved away the very thought as an absurdity. He is a plain Oregon lawyer who plays baseball and probably golf, puts his children in the Cub Scouts, and in all probability belongs to Rotary and attends a Protestant Church. What kind of Latin American is that?

But he is also an individual of intelligence and integrity who follows his own commonsense rather than conforming to dogma and prevailing cliches. In that sense, there are millions of good Anglo-Saxon Latin Americans in the States—which is the secret of his effectiveness. Were he a professional Latin American of the kind found only too often, he would be dismissed in the States as a screwball; as things stand, by simply appealing to the American people's God-given commonsense and human integrity, he has become a world figure who is turning United States public opinion against the dictatorships whose macabre machinations he is exposing by sticking to his last and dealing merely with the one isolated instance (out of thousands) that is officially his business.

PORTER will forgive me when I call him a little boy—albeit the most famous and powerful little boy in history. You remember the Anderson story of the charlatans who offered to make the emperor a suit of clothes out of cloth with the magic property that it could be seen only by wise men, not at all by fools. When the suit was finished, and the emperor couldn't see it, he not only kept prudently quiet but even said "how beautiful." When he paraded down Avenida Ponce de Leon in his finery, all the people hid their chagrin by exclaiming "How beautiful." Until one little boy snatched the scales from their eyes by simply calling out "But mamma, he hasn't any clothes on at all."

Too long has Trujillo been clothed, in the United States, in the gaudy raiment of anti-communism, friendship for the United States, and support of United States official policies in the United Nations. To PORTER that raiment was so flimsy as to be invisible when it came to covering the man underneath, and had, moreover, nothing to do with the question at issue: What happened to an Oregonian named Gerry Murphy? So he said that the emperor hadn't any clothes on at all, and millions of people said, "By God, he is right," and the United States Department of State got into the act, and now we seem well on the way to a new Latin American policy.

The idea that dictators should be supported because they are anti-Communist is now rapidly breaking down under the realization that they actually strengthen communism. There must be millions of their subjects—"zombies walking in well-ordered graveyards"—who long for communism as an alternative to what they have. The real bulwarks against communism are democracy, freedom, the chance to walk erect as men and women, to be individuals of intelligence and integrity, and, as such individuals, to contribute to the collective whole and strength. And that is no more Latin American than is Representative PORTER. It is American, Asian, European, African, Australian. It is human, and so, also, the secret of PORTER's success.

Eisenhower and Humphrey Unite to Oppose General United States Pay Raise

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Jerry Kluttz, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 25, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

EISENHOWER AND HUMPHREY UNITE TO OPPOSE GENERAL UNITED STATES PAY RAISE

(By Jerry Kluttz)

The administration hauled out its big guns yesterday to try to stop Congress from

approving bills to raise the salaries of the Government's 1,500,000 classified and postal employees.

President Eisenhower took personal charge of the campaign by declaring "general pay increases at this time would seriously impede our progress" toward reductions in Federal taxes and the public debt.

George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury, said bluntly that general pay raises would bring about either an unbalanced Federal budget or higher Federal taxes. Either would be a bad thing for the Nation, he declared.

Robert E. Merriam, assistant director of the Budget Bureau, based his argument against general pay raises on the belief that Federal employees must be rather well satisfied because the job turnover in Government is much lower than it is in many private industries.

Arthur E. Summerfield, the Postmaster General, will take the stand today to oppose a general pay raise for his 500,000 postal employees. He will be the windup witness.

The President made known his strong feeling against a Federal pay raise in a letter to Chairman MURRAY, Democrat of Tennessee, of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. MURRAY read the letter to his committee yesterday after its existence was revealed in the Federal Diary last Thursday.

Humphrey and Merriam made personal appearances before the committee, which will meet Wednesday to approve a postal pay raise bill and to set up hearings, probably starting next week, on bills to raise the salaries of the nearly million classified employees.

Some committee members are predicting approval of a 10-percent postal raise, and some of the more liberal members say a flat $600 across-the-board raise for each postal worker will be approved. Most members of the 25-man committee already are committed to higher postal salaries. A 3-man Senate subcommittee has approved a flat $500 across-the-board postal raise.

VETO A POSSIBILITY

The President's letter raises the distinct possibility that he will veto general pay raise bills if Congress approves them.

Humphrey was asked by Representative CHARLES PORTER, Democrat of Oregon, if the President would veto such bills. Humphrey replied that he had not discussed the matter with the President and he would not speculate on what he might do.

In his letter, Mr. Eisenhower recalled a number of recent benefits given Federal employees, and concluded: "Incidentally, it was only 2 years ago that general pay raises were approved."

He added that "I cannot at this time, in keeping with the national interest, recommend enactment of legislation for pay increases for postal workers."

Humphrey leveled his criticism at H. R. 2474, a bill by JAMES H. MORRISON, Democrat of Louisiana, which he estimated would raise the salaries of postal employees by about 40 percent, or a billion dollars a year. He said other Federal employees, military personnel, and retired employees would demand similar increases which would cost several billions a year.

The Secretary repeated his warning of a serious depression if the Government returns to deficit financing. He also said that the very basis of our life can be injured if present high tax rates are continued.

He urged Congress to approve a bill to provide higher postal rates and to put the Post Office Department on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Merriam held out the only hope for approval this year of a very limited pay raise. He suggested that it might be a good idea if the starting rate for college graduates were lifted from grade 5 ($3,660) to grade 7 ($4,525). He also suggested greater flexibility in the Federal pay structure.

HEARINGS ON ANNUITIES

Meantime, Representative GRACIE PFOST, Republican, of Idaho, announced that her subcommittee would start public hearings Thursday on the 150 bills before the House to raise the annuities of the 300,000 civil-service retirees and survivors who were on the rolls before last October 1. Members of Congress will be heard first.

The administration will oppose the retirement bills.

In another employee development, Chairman MURRAY and Representative EDWARD H. REES, Republican, of Kansas, introduced identical bills to carry out the Federal employee recommendations of the Commission on Government security, which made public its report over the weekend.

Dial Telephone Service on Farms and Ranches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Eight Montana Cooperatives Are Bringing Dial Telephone Service to More Than 10,000 Farms and Ranches." The article was written by Mr. Ray Ozmon, and appeared in the June 15, 1957, issue of the Montana Farmer-Stockman.

Government loans to REA electric and phone cooperative borrowers are among the soundest investments which the United States has ever made. These loans are making possible a wonderful modernization of rural America. The loans are being paid back, with interest, ahead of schedule. Yet the Eisenhower administration, which is making interest-free loans to commercial utilities and loaning money to foreign governments for 2 percent, would increase the rate for REA borrowers from 2 percent to more than 3 percent. I am sure that the Congress will not countenance this move to weaken the REA program.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EIGHT MONTANA COOPERATIVES ARE BRINGING DIAL TELEPHONE SERVICE TO MORE THAN 10,000 FARMS AND RANCHES

(By Ray Ozmon, roving reporter)

The "voice with a smile" is being replaced by modern, automatic telephone equipment in rural Montana. The old crank-type phone is giving way to up-to-date dial phones made of attractive, colored plastic that matches the living-room drapes.

No longer will rural folks have to count the number of short and long rings before answering the telephone, and Junior can call his girl to make a date without fearing that everyone on the party line is listening in on the conversation.

But the automatic equipment is coldly indifferent to the subtleties of courtship. To prevent monopoly of the telephone on a party line, a conversation is automatically cut off at the end of 6 to 8 minutes, so Junior will have to minimize the preliminary small talk that usually precedes the big question, "Wanna go to a show Saturday night?"

EIGHT CO-OPS IN 27 COUNTIES

Through Montana's 8 rural telephone cooperatives, many farm families in 27 counties of the State are now enjoying this modern dial service, and when present construction plans are completed it will be available to nearly everyone in these areas.

REA loans to Montana telephone co-ops as well as to some private companies, total more than $7 million. The funds have been allocated for construction of about 9,000 miles of telephone line to provide service to nearly 9,800 new subscribers and modern dial service to about 1,400 present subscribers who are using obsolete equipment.

Telephone bills run from $5 to $6 a month. For this fee the services of a doctor, veterinarian, or machinery repairman are "as close as the telephone." If a farmer can save one animal by calling his veterinarian he will have saved many times over a year's cost for the phone.

NATIONAL PROGRAM

This modern, automatic dial service being made available to rural Montana is part of a nationwide program to modernize the entire telephone system. When the program is completed a person in Circle will be able to call a friend or relative in New York, San Francisco, or Helena as easily as he can call his next-door neighbor.

Those small buildings about the size of a one-car garage sitting off by themselves along the countryside are the automatic unattended dial exchanges. Each exchange is a complete unit containing the automatic dial equipment, tone signal control, frequency carrier, test board for locating noise or a broken line and stand-by batteries to operate the equipment in case of a power failure.

Montana's telephone construction program has been made possible through a 1949 act of Congress which authorized the REA to make loans to existing telephone companies and cooperative, nonprofit associations. In communities not served by a local company, REA offers technical assistance to an organized committee of local residents. Where service is available through an existing company, loans are made for improvement and expansion of its service. REA loans bear 2 percent interest and are to be retired within 35 years.

ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS PER SUBSCRIBER

Actual cost of providing srvice to a single subscriber averages around $1,000. He must pay an installation charge of $40. The monthly phone bill helps to retire the REA loan and pays for service and maintenance of the equipment.

If a farm is located in an out-of-the-way place and special lines are needed to bring phone service to it, the installation cost may be somewhat higher. Special permission must be granted by the Rural Telephone Administration for such construction, or the subscriber may be required to pay the additional costs.

With the improved, modern facilities, the telephone co-ops realize additional revenue through long-distance toll calls. The co-op gets 41 percent of the cost of incoming and originating toll calls. Jim Turnland, manager of the Valley Rural Telephone Co-op at Glasgow, says they have had long-distance calls from as far away as Japan and Belgium and average around $500 a month from toll calls.

PARTY LINES

There is a maximum of eight parties on a line. Not all the lines are loaded to capacity, and there may be cases where there are only a couple of subscribers on a line. As new subscribers are added, the lines will be filled up.

Seven conversations can travel over the same pair of wires simultaneously by hav-

ing each conversation transmitted at a different frequency, similar to radio broadcast signals.

Before REA loan funds can be released to the cooperatives for construction of telephone facilities, subscribers must put up equity funds totaling 6 percent of the loan. Fifty percent of this money must be collected for release of the loan. This has not always proved an easy job.

Mark Curtiss, manager of the Three Rivers Co-op at Fairfield, says that some persons are reluctant to sign up. Some are just plain hard pressed for cash. Others have gotten along for years without a phone, and they see no necessity of spending money for a new-fangled gadget.

WANT IT NOW

Then when the neighbors get phones installed, they suddenly decide that they want a telephone too. And they want it immediately—today. Curtiss says the folks who signed up on the original canvass probably had to wait a couple of years before they could get service.

Persons desiring telephone service must make application prior to construction. As soon as plans and specifications for construction are drawn up, all late applications are deferred until a later date.

George Johnson, president of the Northeastern Montana Telephone Co-op at Scobey, says they have had some problems in getting right-of-ways for putting up poles and lines. "Most are anxious to get telephone service," he says, "but only if the line runs on someone else's land."

Here is a summary of the information available to Montana Farmer-Stockman on the status of the various telephone co-ops in the State:

RANGE TELEPHONE CO-OP, FORSYTH

Loans totaling $245,000 have been granted for construction of telephone facilities to serve 315 subscribers in Rosebud, Custer and Powder River counties. Fifty-four miles of line serving 25 subscribers near Ashland will be acquired from the United States Forest Service as well as one mile of line serving a private telephone company toll pay station near Rosebud. Twenty-three farmers owning their own lines and two toll stations of the company will dismantle their facilities at no cost to the cooperative and take service from the co-op. The completed system will have 362 miles of line. President of the co-op is Orval W. Gentry. Robert Laramore is manager.

BLACKFOOT TELEPHONE CO-OP, MISSOULA

Modern dial telephone service will be made available to 651 farms for the first time and improved service to 40 users of obsolete equipment through loans totaling $586,000. More than 700 miles of line will be constructed to serve subscribers in Missoula, Powell, Sanders, Lane and Granite counties. In addition, the co-op will operate the lines serving the Flathead Indian Agency at Dixon and the old Blackfoot line which serves Ovando and Helmvill. President of the co-op is Nick E. Ginoff, Jay W. Preston is manager.

TRIANGLE TELEPHONE CO-OP, HAVRE

Loans totaling $1,625,000 have been approved to provide telephone service to more than 2,200 subscribers in Hill, Liberty, Chouteau, Fergus and Blaine counties. The completed project will have around 2,000 miles of line. Thomas Staff is president of the co-op. Harold C. Ebaugh is manager.

NORTHEASTERN TELEPHONE CO-OP, SCOBEY

Modern dial service is being made available to nearly 500 users of obsolete equipment and around 2,100 new subscribers through REA loans totaling $1,937,000. About 2,000 miles of line are being constructed to bring service to rural families in Sheridan, Daniels, Roosevelt and Valley Counties, and in Divide County, N. Dak., George H. Johnson is president of the co-op and H. J. Schaefer is manager.

MID-RIVERS TELEPHONE CO-OP, CIRCLE

Loans totaling $1,638,000 have been granted for the construction of 2,043 miles of line to bring modern dial telephone service to subscribers in Dawson, McCone, Garfield, Prairie and Richland Counties, and parts of McKenzie and Golden Valley Counties, N. Dak. C. R. Thiessen is president and Ellis Jones is manager.

NORTHERN TELEPHONE CO-OP, SHELBY

More than 1,000 new subscribers and over 100 users of obsolete equipment in Toole, Liberty, Glacier, and Pondera Counties will receive modern telephone service through loans totaling $800,000. President of the association is Riley W. Childers. Ben F. Culley is manager.

VALLEY TELEPHONE CO-OP, GLASGOW

Around 763 subscribers in Valley, Phillips, and Roosevelt Counties will be provided with modern telephone service through REA loans totaling $504,000. President is Peter Nyquist, and James Turnland is manager.

THREE RIVERS TELEPHONE CO-OP, FAIRFIELD

Two loans totaling $2,023,000 (the latest approved May 21) will make possible new and improved service to 2,457 subscribers in Cascade, Teton, Chouteau, Judies Basin and Pondera Counties. The system will include 1,740 miles of line and 12 exchanges.

Michigan Tax System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the fracas in Michigan about the relationship between taxes and industry has shown how far and how low some people in politics will stoop. Just because big business could not defeat the governor, they are using their own mistakes as arguments against him. Following is a statement by Governor Williams which clarifies the air on their perverted story. Following that statement is an article from the Detroit Times of June 16, 1957, which corroborates the Governor's remarks.

The statement and article follow:

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN, DETROIT ROTARY CLUB, DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 5, 1957

As you know, this State has been subjected, during the last 60 days to a deliberate and cunning campaign designed to prove that high State taxes are driving business out of Michigan.

This campaign has done our State immense and probably irreparable damage. Nobody can saw how many business firms canceled planned moves to Michigan, or dropped plans to expand in Michigan, because of this mass libel on the reputation of our State.

About that you and I can do relatively little. There appears to be no way to restrain those, in high and low places, who for purely political reasons, or in a short-sighted effort to influence our legislature, are making these irresponsible charges.

But as reasonable citizens of the seventh State in the Union, and in many ways the greatest State in the Union, we can at least avoid being taken in by this hysteria ourselves. If some of our big-business men, operating on a global scale, feel no loyalty or responsibility to the State where they have their homes and got their start, I am sure many of us whose lives are permanently tied up with Michigan's future have a different viewpoint.

The propaganda charge against our State is a false charge, but it is not an easy charge to refute. It has all the advantages of the big lie over the complex and difficult truth. Any businessman who wants to turn his company's operations to a political purpose can issue a statement saying he has decided not to put a new plant in Michigan because our taxes are too high. A company may be making fur parkas for the Eskimo trade, but if it moves to Alaska to be nearer its market, somebody is sure to claim that it was driven away by Michigan taxes.

Let me give you just one example of how phony this campaign really is. Last week we had the misfortune to get an adverse decision from the Army on a $119 million tank contract. The Army, in the face of Detroit's chronic unemployment, decided to have Chrysler build these tanks in a Delaware plant instead of at the Government-owned tank arsenal on Mound Road. The Army cited a cost differential of about $2 million, as between the Michigan plant and the Delaware plant. Most of this differential was due to transportation and tooling costs. But $300,000 of the $2 million was due to taxes. Michigan has a tax called the lessees' user tax, which applies to companies operating in Government-owned plants. Delaware does not have a similar tax.

Immediately, the loss of this contract was blamed on the existence of this Michigan tax. The many other factors in the Army's decision were virtually ignored. The impression was left with the public all over the Nation that this $300,000 Michigan tax drove that contract to Delaware.

Among those who joined in the hue and cry was the mayor of Detroit. He hit page 1 of the Sunday papers by charging in connection with this tax that the executive department of the State government is hostile to business.

In direct quotes the mayor said: "At the State level it seems that everything possible is being done to make it difficult to do business in Detroit."

Now let's look at the facts. The facts are that the tax measure in question was lobbied through the Michigan legislature by Mayor Cobo himself. The mayor himself came to Lansing in 1953 and personally lobbied for the adoption of the bill. He insisted that the city of Detroit could not sur-

vive, unless it was able to put on the tax rolls in this indirect manner the Government-owned plants which were then being operated in Detroit free of local taxation.

At the personal urging of Mayor Cobo, and other spokesmen for Detroit, the legislature adopted the bill without dissenting vote, and I signed it.

In 1956 the Federal Government and Borg-Warner Corp. sued the city of Detroit to avoid payment of this tax. The city of Detroit defended the suit all the way through the Michigan Supreme Court and won a decision that the tax was valid and collectible. I understand an appeal to the United States Supreme Court is now pending with the city of Detroit fighting all the way to collect this tax.

Yet the mayor of Detroit tells the newspapers that the existence of this tax, which he personally promoted, indicates a hostility to buisness on the part of the State government.

Now mind you, I am not criticizing this tax law which, in effect, requires the Federal Government to help pay the costs of local services when it owns industrial property in our State. I can't see anything inequitable about that kind of a law. My point is simply to illustrate how far this propaganda campaign has wandered from the truth.

In all of this it is well to remember that the taxes about which some sections of business are complaining today are their own brand of taxes—not mine. The legislature has never accepted my tax recommendations. The principal business tax in Michigan is the business activities tax. It was written by lobbyists for Ford, General Motors, and the chain stores, and jammed through a legislature that did not know what the bill said. Lobbyists were permitted on the floor of the house chamber to explain the bill because nobody else knew what was in it.

You will remember that I refused to sign that tax, although I had to let it become law without my signature or see the State go into bankruptcy. I said at that time that this business activities tax is grossly unfair to new business and small business, and I would not have my name on it.

This year I tried to persuade the legislature to exempt about 26,000 small-business firms from the business activities tax—which could be done at relatively small loss of revenue. That recommendation, too, was rejected.

Now the same business leaders whose lobbyists wrote the business activities tax are complaining about its effects. If it has had any deterring effect on new business, those responsible for its enactment should answer also for its results.

The truth is, however, that there is no real factual basis for the charge that business has been fleeing from Michigan. I asked the department of economic development to make a careful study of the actual movement of business and give me the answer to this question: Has business really been moving out of Michigan?

Here is the answer from the department-of-economic-development records:

In the 5-year period 1952 to 1956, inclusive, 35 plants moved from Michigan to other States with a loss of 5,369 jobs. This does not include such companies as Kaiser-Frazer, Packard, and Hudson, which did not actually move to other States, but were absorbed in mergers. It includes only genuine movements from Michigan to other States.

During the same 5-year period, 104 plants moved into Michigan from other States with a gain of 12,525 jobs. In the same period, also, companies already operating here built new plant facilities equivalent to about 143,000 jobs.

By adding and subtracting these figures, we get a net gain, in the 5-year period, of a little more than 150,000 jobs from the movement of industry.

It is noteworthy that of the 104 plants that moved into Michigan in this 5-year period, 10 came here from Ohio and 13 from Indiana. These two States have been pictured as tax-free industrial paradises, into which Michigan business was fleeing as fast as it could pull stakes. The fact that 23 of these companies moved out of those States and into Michigan raises a suspicion that the pastures on the other side of the fence may not be as green as they look.

It is true that Michigan does have some serious problems. Our largest city is burdened, as all of you know, with industrial slums. I am glad to see that at long last there seems to be some action to correct that. Detroit also has a very high tax on industrial property. These factors combine to create a really dangerous situation in Detroit, and it behooves all of us to work together to solve it.

We are also suffering from the long-range trend toward monopoly of ownership and decentralization of plants in the automobile industry. The independent automaker has been virtually squeezed out of business and the big three tend to put their new plants closer to their regional markets. The best answer to this is to bring in other types of industry—chemicals, for example—which can take the place of lost auto production.

And we have a serious problem of recurrent unemployment in the auto industry because of the industry's seeming inability to make any sense out of competitive production schedules. Ultimately, the auto industry will have to correct this and find some way to avoid throwing masses of our people out of work every time somebody miscalculates the market or forgets to put fins on the new model.

All of these things we can solve if we will just quit complaining and squawking to the national press, and work together as neighbors in a great community.

We have done a great and good job here in the last few years. We have united the State physically with the world's biggest bridge, and we shall reap the economic benefits for generations to come. We have built a great hospital system so that every citizen can get decent care whether he is physically or mentally ill. We have a system of public higher education which is the finest in the Nation. We have shown the whole country how to reduce traffic deaths. We are beginning the greatest highway-building program in history. We still have many problems, but we have met, reasonably well, the needs of a population which has grown by 1 million people since 1951.

Everybody agrees that we must not go too far too fast, and I agree most thoroughly that the necessary costs of our services must be equitably distributed. No group should be required to bear an unfair burden. But I most emphatically insist that we must not go backward.

The best way, in the long run, to attract business to Michigan is to continue, with prudence but with determination, to build Michigan—to continue making our State a better place in which to live and to make a living.

I say let's quit carping at each other, let's quit giving our own State a national black eye, and let's get down to work as partners and neighbors to do that job.

OUR MICHIGAN EXPANSION

(By James Boynton)

In the boiling controversy over Michigan's tax treatment of industry, it is important to remember that Detroit is not known throughout the world as Detroit the Dynamic for nothing.

Its 6,100 factories annually turn out in excess of $12 billion worth of goods.

It gives employment to 1,275,000 persons and its auto-factory workers are among the best paid in industry, averaging $101.50 a week last year.

Its companies are spending scores of millions on expanding industry. For the State as a whole, there is about $2 billion worth of new construction underway, notably in the chemical and paper industries and in public works.

Detroit is the Nation's third largest commercial banking center, being exceeded only by New York City and Chicago. Resources of its banks total $4,369,000,000, a healthy 32-percent increase since 1950.

And nearly 200,000 of its citizens have built new homes since 1950.

Its foreign-trade dollar volume has increased 77 percent in the last 6 years.

The metropolitan Detroit population has soared to 3,670,000, a 21-percent increase since 1950. And thousands of these new Detroiters are really new for Detroit now has the highest birth-rate level since 1916—32.5 per 1,000 population.

These 3,670,00C regard Detroit as home, just as General Motors, the world's largest industrial corporation, considers Michigan its home State, according to GM President Harlow H. Curtice.

Inflation and Freight Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a study on the inflationary effect of railroad freight rate increases, prepared by Dr. Dan H. Mater. Dr. Mater is Chief of Economics and Statistics for Transportation and Public Utilities Service in the General Services Administration.

Even though this study may not reflect the position of any of us in all respects, it is an interesting and informative examination of an extremely difficult question. The subject of inflation is very much with us these days, and I commend Dr. Mater's study, therefore, to every Senator.

There being no objection, the study was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INFLATION AND FREIGHT RATES

(By Dr. Dan H. Mater)

The relation between inflation and increases in railroad freight rates is as close as is the relation between transportation and the general welfare. It is common knowledge that this Nation has been experiencing inflation for a number of years. Although we have come to live with it such familiarity in no way lessens the danger. Indeed, the populace seems to sense that the limit of evolutionary change in the monetary system may be near. Certainly the margin of safety has long been too thin, and cer-

tainly the relation between freight-rate increases and the jackscrew of inflation deserves the concerted attention on the part of various agencies of Government in order that more adequate controls may be brought to bear. The general welfare and the railroads are parties of interest.

There are only a few primary functions of government within the democratic concept. Primary and few as they are, however, their interrelation is so close that even partial failure in the carrying out of one of them increases enormously the burden of fulfilling the others. One of the primary functions of government is the provision of a sound currency or medium of commercial exchange. The soundness of a currency system suffers when its unit value fails to remain constant or virtually so. In fact, soundness is virtually synonymous with stability or constancy.

A slow, small constant rate of decline in the value of money seems of late to have become almost financially fashionable. On the other hand, even the slightest amount of deflation has always been most unpopular and depressing. The entire economic and social fabric of any modern nation can be shaken to unproductive rubble by its currency becoming either valueless or all-valuable. Further, the more prosperous and highly developed the nation, the greater its dependence upon the medium of exchange and the more dangerous are deviations from constancy in the value of that currency.

Many people in this world have spent much time trying to understand money. The control of inflation is not one of the easier aspects of the problem. Numerous metaphors have been used to explain or describe this imponderable situation.

Many people think of inflation as resembling a fire; to be most useful it must neither smoulder nor roar, but burn brightly—constancy in the rate of devaluation being thought by some to be more desirable than constancy per se.

One of the reasons for the dangerousness of inflation lies in the fact that there is profit to be made from misery. No deflation could be so abject as not to benefit some people; and even the wildest degree of inflation would be welcomed by others. Within these extremes the mildest of either deflation or inflation is financially disadvantageous to broad segments if not the majority of people—whether or not they are aware of the matter.

The degree of inflation now present is of the variety that negates the interest rate on savings; that almost imperceptibly but continually filches pennies from savings too small to invest and from the small incomes of those too old or otherwise unable to resist; that urges millions to spend today because they can get more for their money today than tomorrow; and that encourages debt today to be paid for with tomorrow's smaller as yet unearned dollar.

The variations on the theme are beyond one person's imagination even to catalog. But one of the points which marks the quickening of pace toward the edge of disaster lies the minds of people generally. Each individual carries in his mind a knowledge of values covering the particular goods and services with which his way of life is associated. The keenness of his or her knowledge of values is dulled by rapid change. And, inexorably, as his knowledge on this subject is clouded, prices rise.

The economy is so interrelated that, like a circle, the beginning and the end are difficult to locate. In general, however, all things spring from the soil or the sea. And thus, although the mine, the forest, and the farm require machinery and other paraphernalia in order to produce, one may consider these points as the beginning of the production cycle.

Most production and consumption actually take place, however, along the way between the soil and some one's standard of living; nevertheless, all of the intermediate producers' and consumers' process is also geared inescapably to the dollar in the pocket of the man in the street. What he and his family consume of the necessities and luxuries of life explain and command all peacetime economic effort.

This man-in-the-street or shopping-bag vision of the economy sharpens the appreciation of how the validity of all prices depends so heavily upon the knowledge of values held in the minds of householders. Permit currency to change so rapidly as to weaken people's grip on these absolute and relative values, and the magic spell of the American economy will be in imminent danger.

All production consists of moving things—moving them about in the sense of changing the relationships of materials. In the present context, however, a more formal version of transportation is the chief interest. In this respect, it is fitting to reflect that in today's economy very little production is consumed on the spot. Instead, a formal transportation movement occurs in many cases between each two stages of production.

This repeated application of a given service in the production cycle is not peculiar to transportation. Labor, for example, is also applied at each and every step along the production way. But public transportation has the further mark of key importance in the fact that from early times it has been declared to be affected with the public interest. Thus, not only is transportation the connecting link between producer and consumer, but it is also frequently, if not generally, the connecting link between each two of the many stages of production.

The full flower of transportation's importance is virtually paradoxical to that of the handmaiden-to-production concept or that of carrier of the fruits of economic division of labor. In reality, transportation and production are the most virulent and merciless of competitors. This struggle is generally much keener than the noisier variety within, between and among the various modes of carriage.

It is difficult enough to predict the effect on railroad revenues of an increase in freight rates. It is much more difficult to predict the effect on the general price level of an increase in railroad freight rates. And yet, in both cases, it is necessary to do so.

The question of many many transportation movements on the average occur between the farm, the forest, or the mine and each of us as ultimate consumers probably has never been determined. Yet the ultimate or real effect of an increase in railroad freight rates depends partly upon this degree of specialization.

Not many goods move directly from the basic producer to the ultimate consumer. Even the farmer buys almost everything he uses. Although such products as oranges, potatoes, and watermelons may incur only one transportation movement from producer to consumer, the production in the background included the transportation of fertilizer and machinery and steel and coal and ore and so on. Furthermore, in such cases, watermelons, for example, approximately three-fourths of the price paid by the ultimate consumer is occasioned by transportation costs.

In the case of other products two transportation movements are necessary. Cattle move to the packing plant and then to the retail points. Frequently, these 2 are preceded, however, by 1 of calves to farmers who specialize as feeders.

Most products require several transportation movements. Logs move to mills—although this movement is often more local than intercity in character. The lumber, say for furniture, is milled into parts and perhaps shipped as such. Other plants assemble and finish, or perhaps assemble only, leaving the finishing to someone else. Finally, there usually is at least one movement of the furniture in finished form.

It is quite important not to forget that much of the Nation's economic effort is not expended directly upon the standard of living of the man in the street. In the background there is the capital goods portion of the productive composite, which creates and distributes the tools of work and the machines that make the tools—all of which partake heavily of both raw and finished goods. There probably is just as much transportation required for this hidden part of the economic machinery as for the up-front portion.

Thus, a product typically moves once in completely raw material form or forms; once as "building blocks" or finished materials; once as finished but unassembled or assembled but unfinished; and once or twice in final form to either wholesaler or retailer or both. Thus, a total of three movements from forest to furniture or farm to table would appear to be a most conservative estimate.

In a rough sort of way, therefore, an increase in freight rates has its effect three times before its strength is spent. This does not quite mean that a 10-percent increase in freight rates would really amount to a 30-percent increase—although the ultimate effect might be of that magnitude. It is true, for example, that the faster the inflationary pace, the more completely increased costs are passed on rather than absorbed. Also, freight rates are thought by the populace in general to be set by the Government. This makes the freight-rate increases more readily acceptable in the first instance and the "passing on" of them a little easier in the second instance. Finally, this "passing on" of increases in freight rates or other costs is accompanied more and more by pyramiding in the compound-interest sense.

Ultimately one comes to the problem of estimating what the effect would be on the cost-of-living index of a given percentage increase in freight rates. The present request of the carriers is for an increase of 22 percent. When allowance is made for lesser increases on some commodities and some territorial differences, the effective increase will amount to about 16.4 percent. This figure is in line with the methods of estimation used by both the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Association of American Railroads.

This figure becomes 49.2 when multiplied by the conservative factor of 3 for the revolving effect through the economy.

Next the 49.2 percent "full increase" of freight rates needs to be applied to the economy in the proportion to which freight rates are a part of the total economic costs. In 1953, gross freight revenue amounted to 5.64 percent of the total destination wholesale value transported by class I railways.[1] One might at first think that the 5.64-percent figure would be increased by an increase

[1] Interstate Commerce Commission, Freight Revenue and Wholesale Value at Destination of Commodities Transported by Class I Line-Haul Railways, 1953, Statement No. 550, p. 5.

in freight rates. In time of inflation, just the reverse is the case. And instead, the real damage arises from the fact that the degree of absorption lessens as the pace of inflation quickens. In other words, the "base" or commodity price level rises as freight rate increases are "passed on."

To continue with the calculation: multiply the full measure of freight-rate increase (49.2 percent) by the extent to which freight charges in 1953 were of the wholesale value of goods transported by railroads (5.64) and the result (2.77) is the number of percentage points which the Consumer Price Index would be raised if the railroad petition for a 22-percent increase in freight rates were granted.

This would raise the present index figure of approximately 119 to 122. This increase in the index figure, of course, would not take place instantly, but assuming little or no absorption of the increase in freight rates would get around through the pipeline of the economy in a matter of probably a few months. Both the degree of absorption and rate of "passing on" of increased freight charges depend upon the extent of inflation. Where the economy is along that road is difficult to ascertain; but every step along it seems to make the next one more certain.

It should be realized that inflation is a kind of race—a price-raising race. And it is just as needless as it is dangerous. In fact, if all industries, firms, unions and individuals were equally able to raise prices, there might be no inflation—at least there would be little or no advantage in it for anyone. But one of the tragic aspects is that industries are not equally able to raise prices; and, therefore, those who stand to suffer most are those who are least able to raise prices, successfully or profitably. The railroads are an example. Actually they could help themselves more by endeavoring in every way possible to prevent inflation, rather than to increase inflation by increasing freight rates, because obviously they are less able than others to compete successfully in a rapidly rising price economy. Of course, they could pay off their funded debt with smaller and smaller dollars, but more importantly they would lose in the struggle for traffic. And they already complain of being unable to borrow on favorable terms.

The only true philosophy of rate making which will maximize the profits of the railroads or any other business over the long run is value of service in its most intelligent definition and application. For this reason, if for no other, a percentage increase in freight rates is most suspect—especially when inflation is present and continuing.

An increase in freight rates, petitioned for on the basis of increased prices paid by carriers for labor, materials, taxes and other expenses is not even supported by unit costs or increases in the general price level. And finally, a buyer may listen feelingly to the merchant's explanation for increasing prices, but, generally speaking, the merchant's price tags are the most influential.

When one traces a freight-rate increase through the economy and senses the full damage to the economy which this kind of aid to the railroads would cause, one turns determinedly to a requestioning of the entire situation. The plight of the railroads almost certainly is less serious than would be the cure—both to the railroads and the economy. To whatever extent their case is justified by need, by the spirit of fair play and by their value to the economy in peace and war, some method should be found which will not be as inflationary as an increase in freight rates.

Georgetown University Forum on How To Elect the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, proposed legislation on the subject of the election of the President of the United States is before the Congress again. In that connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a radio forum on that subject. The Georgetown University forum on "How To Elect the President" was held on June 9, 1957, and I was privileged to participate in it.

There being no objection, the forum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY FORUM—HOW TO ELECT THE PRESIDENT?

(Participants: Hon. KARL E. MUNDT, Republican Senator from South Dakota; Mr. J. Harvie Williams, trustee, American Good Government Society and Director, Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission; Dr. Howard Penniman, Department of Government, Georgetown University. Moderator: Mr. Matthew Warren.)

Mr. WARREN. "How to Elect the President?" is the topic for the 551st consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown Forum was founded in 1946.

This is Matthew Warren speaking by transcription from the Raymond Reiss Studio, on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital.

Today's discussion will be, "How to Elect the President?". The participants are Hon. KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, Senator from South Dakota; Mr. J. Harvie Williams, trustee, American Good Government Society and Director, Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission; Dr. Howard Penniman, Department of Government, Georgetown University.

Transcripts of today's broadcast are available. Send ten cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing, with your name and address to Georgetown University Forum, Washington 7, D. C. Please mention also the subject matter of the transcript desired.

Both major political parties have come out for a reshaping of the present method of electing the President. Legislation has been proposed in Congress. What are the pros and cons? Today, we of the Georgetown University Forum bring you a discussion by a panel composed of an interested and most competent Senator, a Professor of Government, a keen student of practical politics.

Now to our discussion. Mr. Williams, would you explain our present system of electing a President; how it got started?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The President is elected by 531 Presidential electors, who correspond numerically to a Joint Session of the Congress. They are in turn elected by the people in the several States. The electoral college, or the so-called electoral college system is necessary in a constitution of separated powers. Otherwise, without the cardinal principle of separation, the legislative branch would elect the chief executive as is the case under all parliamentary systems. But the separation of powers is cardinal in our system, so the founding fathers established an electoral system whereby each state was represented in electing the President the same way it was represented in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. WARREN. As I understand it, this evolved rather than having taken shape from the Constitution itself?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It evolved in this way. Of course, in the Senate each State is equally represented as a coequal society of two Senators. That is the Federal principle of representation. In the House, the Representatives are according to the population of the State and vary all the way from Delaware's 1 to New York's 43. So if Delaware has 2 Senators, 3 electoral votes, New York with 2 Senators, has 45 electoral votes. The majority party in each State, as the party system began developing in the early 19th century, the majority party through the action of the State legislature allocated itself the full electoral weight in electing the President. So that by 1836, the presidential electors were elected by slates, 1 vote, for example, in each State was cast for the whole slate of electors, whether it be 3 or 25, whatever it was. At the same time, the voters still elected their representatives in districts. That was the beginning of the imbalance in the form of constituency of the executive branch and the legislative branch of Government.

Mr. WARREN. Senator MUNDT, I believe in January you introduced a resolution to amend the electoral system. First, would you tell me, is it necessary for Congress to make this change or to change the Constitution in any way?

Senator MUNDT. Yes, this requires a constitutional amendment. My resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 4 provides for that kind of constitutional amendment, which in turn, has to be referred back to the State legislatures.

Mr. WARREN. Would you tell me about the amendment itself?

Senator MUNDT. Yes. The amendment proposes to restore the original concept of the electoral college, whereby they were originally elected by congressional districts.

As Mr. Williams has pointed out, practical politics being what it is, as we evolved from a young country, one State found out it could have more influenuce in the electoral college if it cast its electoral vote as a unit, in a bloc. And because it decided to do that, other States through their legislative action to keep their position of authority and power in electing a college, went to the same system. This constitutional amendment simply says this, in layman's language: That since each State has a number of electors to which it is entitled by its number of Senators and number of Congressmen, that instead of electing them in a bloc so that they vote in a unit, that we will elect them precisely in the same manner that we elect in each State the Senators and the Congressmen. In other words, take any typical State. Take Kansas or South Dakota. There in a presidential election under our reform amendment, the members would vote, the people would vote for 2 electors-at-large, representing the 2 Senators. Then within each congressional district they would vote for 1 congressional, presidential elector. So that they would have electors to the electoral college chosen precisely by the same con-

stituency in the same election and in the same manner as they vote for their Senators and Congressmen. Thus, you would give both the minority point of view and the majority point of view in each State the representation. I know that in certain States like the States of the deep South, where they are trying to develop a two-party system, in the States of New England, where they are trying to strengthen the minority parties to have a workable two-party system, this gives vitality and validity to the two party system of America and to actually having representative votes cast for the President of the United States.

Mr. WARREN. Senator, I am not certain I understand why this would give better representation to the two-party system.

Senator MUNDT. I can point it out this way: Almost all States of the Union, with very few exceptions, in certain Southern States at the moment and certain States in New England at the moment, you could say certainly as far as 40 or 42 States of the Union are concerned right now, there are congressional districts which are contestable, which are marginal, which sometimes go one way and sometimes go another in every State of the Union. Every State has districts of that kind. Those districts frequently occur in a State where you can predict in advance that the State vote is going to be either Republican or Democratic. If you select your electors by congressional districts, then you would have a split vote at the electoral college. Perhaps Kansas, for example, might have X number of votes cast for a Republican President in the electoral college and X number of votes for a Democratic candidate. I think New York State is the best illustration of that because of its size and magnitude and its importance. It has 45 electoral votes in the electoral college. As elections are now based, all 45 of the votes must go either Republican or Democratic. So that the winner-take-all theory gives the winner not only the votes that he gets but he adds to his votes the votes of the loser. So that 45 electoral votes, a tremendous bloc go for the winner under the present system.

Let's look at it under the so-called Mundt-Coudert amendment. Under that system you would have as many of the votes of New York as are chosen by Republicans in Republican districts go for the Republican candidate for President and as many of the votes of New York as selected by Democrats and votes that go Democratic by Democratic districts. And historically you would find that the spread would never be over about 8 or 10. That there might be, let us say, instead of 45 votes all going one way, you might have 18 votes going one way and the other 27 votes going for another candidate. So you would get direct representation and each district gets to have its vote counted in the electoral college in conformity with the way that the people wanted them to be counted when they voted.

Mr. WARREN. Would this tend, Dr. Penniman, to eliminate the possibility of a President being elected by an electoral vote and yet lose the popular vote?

Dr. PENNIMAN. This has seldom happened, Mr. Warren, at any time in our history. It is true that a President twice in the last 40 years has—50 years—had less than the popular majority. But as a matter of actual fact, it has only been 1 time in the last 70 years that you have had a President who had less than a plurality at least of the popular vote who was elected President under our existing system. It would still be conceivable, though somewhat less likely, that the same thing could happen under the proposed amendment which Senator MUNDT has put up, that is to say, since it isn't exclusively by districts, and you do have the senatorial votes in there, it would be conceivable if there were three parties, say, contesting an election that you could get a man with more popular vote getting the nomination in the electoral college. I think this is unlikely but it is at least conceivable. As I understand the amendment, there would even be a situation where you could not get a majority of the electoral vote, in which case it, and here again I believe there is a change in your proposal, Senator, that instead of going into the House of Representatives where it now goes under the present arrangement, if no candidate has a majority of the electoral college vote, it would go into a joint House-Senate arrangement.

Senator MUNDT. That is correct, with each member of the joint session casting one vote. In other words, this is all built on the idea that instead of having what we now have, which is a presidential constituency and a congressional constituency voting in America, sometimes in conflict with each other, and frankly having a President of one party and a Congress of another, you would have the same constituency voting for both the Presidency and the Congress in the same election at the same time. And thereby tend to eliminate these incongruous situations which frequently results in stalemated government or a failure of the popular vote to prevail.

Mr. WARREN. Campaign tactics could change conceivably?

Senator MUNDT. They would change entirely, because now a candidate for President desiring to be elected has to figure out what kind of appeals to make, what kind of a platform to present, what kind of campaigning to undertake to appeal actually in 8 great States of the Union which have 12 tremendous large cities. A candidate, either a Democrat or a Republican, who can direct his appeals successfully to win the votes of those people in those crowded cities, the 12 big cities in the 8 tremendous States is almost certain to win. As a consequence, you find that whenever the Democrats have a national convention or the Republicans have a national political convention, they ask themselves at convention: Who can carry the votes of the 12 big cities in the 8 large States? They don't really consider seriously candidates for President in any of the other areas. So, going back almost until the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, you will find that in recent American history, since the urban development has taken place, that both political parties select as candidates for President people from the large populous areas. You go back and ask yourself, the home town or the home State of our recent Presidents, with the sole exception of Harry Truman, who ascended to the Presidency through the Vice-Presidency, these have been people coming from California, or from Massachusetts, or from New York, or from Illinois, or from the big States, because they know those are the States they have to win. This would change all that. We would have 435 electoral districts, each equally important, each casting the same strength in the electoral college. Each voter would, in turn, have what he should have in America, in my opinion, equal voting strength. We now have a situation wherein in New York, for example, every man who votes exerts 45 pounds of presidential pressure in the electoral college, because his vote puts in motion 45 voices in the electoral college, and an equally intelligent and able and patriotic and competent voter in the State of Delaware, when he votes for President, puts into motion only 3 voices. He exerts only 3 pounds of presidential pressure because he has 2 Senators and 1 Congressman, whereas in New York State they have 2 Senators and 43 Congressmen. There is something basically wrong in a constitution dedicated to the concept that men are created equal, that States like New York and Delaware should have such a disparity that a voter in New York State has 15 times as much importance as an individual as a voter has in Delaware. You can relate that to every State in the Union. Unless you live in New York State today, you are a second-class American when it comes to voting for President. We would make all voters first-class Americans by giving them 435 elector districts, each with equal power, equal authority, and as to the campaign tactics, that would mean both parties, both candidates for President would have to appeal nationwide issues to people across the country because each would vote with equal strength.

Mr. WARREN. Evaluating Senator MUNDT's proposed amendment, Dr. Penniman, what questions come to your mind?

Dr. PENNIMAN. There are a number of questions that have been raised by various Members of Congress in debating it a year or so ago. The present proposal which the Senator has is a modification of that, and I think to some extent has taken care of it. One of the problems raised, Senator, was that problem of gerrymandering, that is, the suggestion was made that since the rural areas have a greater voice in State legislatures sometimes than their numbers might suggest, at least in one house of it, that your proposal would make it possible for greater imbalance and greater representation of the rural areas, smaller towns, smaller cities, than at present exists.

Senator MUNDT. You are exactly right, Doctor. That was one of the criticisms raised when we had this bill up for a vote in the Senate a year ago. Where, incidentally, it received a majority of the Senate vote but not the two-thirds' majority required for a constitutional amendment. So we have reintroduced it, modified, changed it to eliminate some of those criticisms with regard to gerrymandering, for example.

The new amendment provides that the elector district for president shall be of compact, contiguous territory, and have approximately equal population. So that you have a constitutional mandate to the legislatures to conform to that provision. But talking about gerrymandering, may I suggest that no system of gerrymandering could conceivably be devised which could be as unjust and as unfair and as unequal as the present one where, for example, you have gerrymandered a situation so that a single citizen voting in the State of New York has 15 times as much power, as much influence, as much importance, as a voter in the State of Delaware, or in the State of New Mexico, or Arizona, or South Dakota. There it is about 10 or 12 times. It is overly powerful from the standpoint of New York's influence against any other State in the Union. Even the next 2 larger States, Pennsylvania and California, have only 31 electoral votes. So they, in turn, have been gerrymandered out by the present system as against New York State.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Williams, would you tell us about this gerrymandering and what it is, how it came about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The word "gerrymandering" is a manufactured word that describes the situation where the elective majority in a State caused representative districts in favor of the majority party by torturing geography and picking areas so that the majority party in the legislature can elect and reelect a representative from that district. It began in Massachusetts under a governor named Gerry; during his administration, congressional districts were drawn long and snakelike, and described as a salamander because they resembled the salamander, which is a reptile. So the term "gerrymander" began then, and it comes on down to date.

Dr. PENNIMAN. Senator, there are a couple of other proposals that have been made, one of which has little chance of any serious consideration, which would be a popular election of the President on a national basis. The second one would divide the State votes

on the same basis as the electoral college, but at the same time, abolish the electoral college. It is argued, I believe, that if you had a statewide vote, divided proportionately, that you would force in the South, for example, or in any of the one-party States, North or South, you would force both of the parties to work a lot harder at their own business of getting out voters than you do under the present system where Mississippi is sure Democrat and Vermont is sure Republican.

Senator MUNT. That is, of course, correct. The present amendment that we are discussing aims in that direction. Now the reason we prefer that to these other suggestions which you have mentioned, the popular vote, would, of course, erase all State lines, would sound the death knell to States rights and would tend to vitiate the concept we have in the United States Senate that each State is entitled to equal representation in the Congress. That could never be adopted by the State legislatures of States, most of which are smaller States than a State as large as New York. The proportionate representation theory has something to recommend it, except for this: It injects into the American electoral system the concept of proportionate representation which has practically destroyed free democracy and representative government in Europe. Because it tends to fragmentize the parties, fragmentize your electorate up into ten or a dozen different parties when you start counting fractional measures. We wouldn't want to bring that system which has failed in Europe, in my opinion, over to the Western Hemisphere.

May I point out there are at least 6 specific advantages, I think, of the so-called Mundt-Coudert amendment, this Senate Joint Resolution No. 4. In the first place, our system more nearly reflects the will of the people, because the vote of the people in 435 electoral districts would have equal authority and equal power. In the second place, it would be an added incentive to individuals to vote in the presidential election. There is something wrong with the system when it attracts only about 55 percent of the electors to the polls. The reason they don't go in many areas is they recognize that either their vote won't be counted or it counts so small that if you live in a State of less than 2 million people population as against New York State, you think it is a rather futile thing in order to vote. The third advantage is that it would broaden interest nationally in obtaining the best people possible as candidates for President and Vice President on both the Democratic and Republican tickets. At the present time it is still true that any American boy or any American girl can hope to be President. You have to modify it. They can hope to be President if they live in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, or New Jersey. Otherwise, it is a futile hope because you have to select candidates from big States to even have a chance. Of course, under the present system no good Democrat from the South would even get the Democratic nomination for President because they have been ruled out by the mass of influence of voters in the large States.

The fourth advantage is it would give the President and the Congress the same constituency, voting at the same time and the same place and the same district. The fifth is that it would restore the electoral concept of the Founding Fathers in writing into our Constitution the district system that they used and which was used successfully until practical politicians seeking for political advantage swung over into using the bloc system or the unit system. The sixth is it would equalize the individual voting power of each citizen, regardless of his home State. It would give us first-class American voters in every State of the Union. There are many other advantages, but those, it seems to me, are overwhelming and prevailing and justify the attention of intelligent Americans all over this country to taking this needed step to reform the process by which we elect the President and the Vice President of the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It seems to me your proposal would appeal to the States where you do not have a large city of the sort like New York, or Chicago, or Los Angeles, and so on. But I wonder what are the chances of its actually being passed by the Senate and the House and later ratified, since you do quite frankly seek to reduce the power of some 12 major cities.

Senator MUNDT. I am glad you asked that question because what you actually reduce is not the power of those States. They keep the same electoral vote they have. They count them up differently and divide them differently. All you do is reduce the power of the pressure groups in the big cities. Actually, we had some votes in the Senate when we voted before from these eight States because the rural votes, the votes outside of the great metropolitan areas, are interested in having their influence enhanced. In this way they, in turn, from their congressional districts can be heard and their votes can be counted. When you get to the House of Representatives or the State legislature, I am sure the people representing the outlying districts from the large metropolitan areas will be as enthusiastic for this kind of corrective as are the people even in the smaller States.

Dr. PENNIMAN. There is one other point, I think, that ought to be pointed out here, and that is that the Federal system of government, our Federal Union of States is altogether different from anything that had happened before or since. Personally, I regard it as the greatest development in statecraft, that our great contribution to statecraft is our Federal system. And our political house, the presidential house and the congressional house, are altogether different. They should certainly be based upon the same plan of architecture, although they live in separate houses.

Senator MUNDT. I agree our Federal system is tremendously important. I have often said that in my opinion the 10th amendment is the most important single amendment to the Constitution. It protects our Federal system by giving the rights of States the importance that they have. It is the crowning arc. The one big differentiation between our system of democracy and the way it operates in any other area of the world is because we do have that 10th amendment, because we do have this Federal Union of Commonwealths or separate States, and it destroys the tendency to have overly powerful centralized government that we see looming up in every other country of the world and which even in our own country is a constant peril, but we do have the protection of the 10th amendment.

Dr. PENNIMAN. Senator, it would seem to me from what you have just said, and I haven't checked votes—are the votes supporting this coming from all the other States except the big ones, and even in the big States, are they coming from the non-city votes, so to speak?

Senator MUNDT. In the House of Representatives, that is true. But, I am happy to report, even in the Senate, where your Senator represents the rural areas and the big areas, we have votes from Pennsylvania, from Illinois, from Ohio, from Michigan, from New Jersey, people who recognize in those States, too, the people who do not live in the big flesh pots of humanity, are also Americans, also have a right to be heard, their votes should also be counted, and we should not yield only to pressure groups operating in certain selected 12 big, gigantic American cities.

Mr. WARREN. Thank you very much, gentlemen. I am sorry, but our time is up for further discussion of "How To Elect the President." Our thanks to the Hon KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, Senator from South Dakota; Mr. J. Harvie Williams, trustee, American Good Government Society and director, Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission; Dr. Howard Penniman, Department of Government, Georgetown University.

You have attended the weekly discussion program, the Georgetown Radio Forum, broadcast of which was transcribed in the Raymond Reiss Studio on the campus of historic Georgetown University in Washington, D. C.

Next week you will hear discussed "Foreign Aid, the People Speak." Our panel at that time will consist of the Honorable EDITH GREEN, Democrat, Oregon; the Honorable PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., Republican, New Jersey; the Honorable RAY J. MADDEN, Democrat, Indiana.

We welcome your comments and suggestions. Address the station to which you are listening.

Study of the Effects of Insecticides

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "METCALF Seeks Extensive Study of Effects of Insecticides," which appeared in the June 19, 1957, issue of the Great Falls, Mont., Tribune.

This editorial tells of the support, from wildlife organizations and the Fish and Wildlife Service, of legislation which would provide for a comprehensive study of insecticides and their effect on people and wildlife. The proposed legislation was authored by my distinguished colleague from Montana, Representative LEE METCALF.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

METCALF SEEKS EXTENSIVE STUDY OF EFFECTS OF INSECTICIDES

A bill introduced in Congress by Representative LEE METCALF of Montana, providing for a comprehensive study of insecticides, has been endorsed by several wild life groups and by the Fish and Wild Life Service.

Both the Agricultural Department and the Public Health Service have done considerable research on the effects of various insecticides as they relate directly to humans and to birds and insects. This research has established that DDT in amounts used is relatively harmless to bird life so far as its direct effect is concerned. But there are reports of damage to fish and much expressed concern over killing of varieties of insects which are considered beneficial.

A court fight, unsuccessful so far, has been instituted over the Department of Agriculture's gigantic DDT spraying program in several Northeastern States.

It is difficult to gage the indirect effects of such a program through a comprehensive study would of necessity take those into account. The Salt Lake Tribune pertinently comments that a significant lesson emerges from the insect pest controversy aside from the possible poisonous effects of DDT. Citing some examples, the Salt Lake paper adds:

"The gypsy moth was deliberately brought to the United States from France less than a century ago with the aim of cross-breeding it with silkworms to improve silk production. The experiment failed, but the gypsy moth lived and multiplied to the extent that it has done tremendous damage to woodlands throughout Northeastern United States.

"Australians imported a few bunnies from Europe in 1778 to provide meat and game. Away from their natural enemies, the rabbits multiplied so that a few years ago they were reported eating forage that would support 40 million sheep and destroying millions of dollars worth of crops.

"Then to cut the rabbit population the myxomatosis virus from South America was introduced. It did the trick in Australia but wrecked the business of furriers, gunsmiths and hotel keepers in Europe when it was used to reduce the rabbit overpopulation there."

The elm bark beetle from Czechoslovakia was not introduced to this country deliberately. But arriving in a shipment of furniture wood in 1924, it has all but eliminated this country's elm trees.

The dangers of upsetting nature's balance cannot safely be disregarded.

Omission of Funds For Purchase of Strategic Minerals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Tungsten: A Word for Tomorrow," published in the Pueblo, Colo., Tribune of June 8, 1957.

The editorial points out the lack of wisdom in cutting out of the urgent deficiency appropriation bill $30 million for the purchase of strategic minerals.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TUNGSTEN: A WORLD FOR TOMORROW

Continuing efforts of a stubborn group in the House Appropriations Committee to thwart the Mineral Purchase Act of 1953, designed to protect United States production of strategic metals against imports from low-wage foreign countries, assume graver proportions as new Communist diversions appear in Formosa, in Japan, in Latin America, and the Red threat continues to grow in Korea.

The purpose of the act originally passed in 1953 was extended by new legislation in 1956, authorizing the expenditure of $91 millions for the purchase of tungsten, fluorspar, columbium-tantalum, and asbestos through 1958. But the extension merely authorized the expenditure; it did not appropriate the money. Just before adjournment, Congress appropriated $21 million for the balance of 1956, promises $30 million more for 1957 and the balance of $40 million for 1958.

Since 1953 America has been able to develop a tungsten mining industry capable of making us independent of foreign sources—in Red China, Korea, and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain or close to it—sources that hostilities would quickly cut off. But, since January, and at a time when tungsten is fast becoming our most critical defense material, there has been no money. Most of our tungsten mines are closed, others are closing and hard-rock miners are idle or drifting away to other jobs.

Three times the Senate has sought to keep faith on the promise of 1956. Twice that willful group in the House committee has cut the $30 million strategic minerals item out of the $300 million urgent deficiency appropriations bill. At this writing, it is back in committee, among those who are deaf to the earlier pledges of their honorable body, and blind to the facts of defense. This obstinate opposition has claimed that but 20 pounds of tungsten is used in a modern jet engine when the fact is nearer 145 pounds (in the J–57). To produce the higher speed, higher temperature engines of the future, and the planes they will drive above Mach 2 alloys of 50 percent of tungsten or more are the engineers' best bet to crack the heat barrier. In the light of predictable demand, the 6-year stockpile of last June is now estimated as sufficient for a year and a half. When it takes 1,500 pounds of tungsten to build a 5,000-pound engine, a year's production could use up as much of this metal as was mined in the United States in our best year.

Tungsten is synonymous with tomorrow. And the gentlemen of the committee must let us have a tomorrow—even if it does cost $30 million.

The Rifle and Our Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, there are some theorists who hold to the erroneous views, in my opinion, that the rifle as such has been perhaps outmoded by atomic bombs, guided missiles, rockets and other modern innovations in war weapons. I think that no one would question the fact that because of these new weapons any future war would be decidedly different and would be fought in a different way than previous wars. As I have pointed out many times, modern warfare definitely requires drastically revised, new concepts pertaining, not only to weapons, but to organization, techniques, logistics, and practically every other phase of the military.

We can no longer fight a modern war with personnel trained in close order formation operating under the Maginot line principle. There must be an entirely new approach to military manpower problems, and, as I have stressed so many times, it must, of necessity, be based upon professionalized career forces.

In a word, we must have specialists in many military fields who are mostly career men, well paid, highly trained, and who understand and can master the complexities of new scientific methods, immediately available in key places for instantaneous service in the event of an emergency. We must also have behind them adequate replacements, and civil defense and home guard units.

However, the foot soldier with his rifle will always be needed and, in my judgment, he will be very urgently needed in readily conceivable circumstances, to mop up and occupy whole territories. The foot soldier with his rifle and small weapons, and the great mobility which modern transportation gives him, is truly indispensable, and that is why the Army, the Marine Corps, and to an extent, the Navy and the Air Force must have men trained in the use of rifles and small arms ready to perform the vital work that will be necessary after major attacks have been successfully made to reduce the enemy and occupy territory. Riflemen will also be required for defense, military and civil, and to reestablish and maintain public order.

For this reason the rifle is most essential. It must be up to date, the very latest and most modern in weapons of its kind, that can operate like a machine-gun in an automatic manner, and fire many more rounds of ammunition than older rifles.

In the light of information I have about the present status of our standard rifle, I am prompted to ask whether the Defense Department in its scientific research and development program, and in its rifle procurement program, is doing everything necessary to provide our Armed Forces with the latest, up-to-date types of rifle in sufficient quantities to meet all requirements of this Nation and our allies in the event of war or emergency.

While the Army last month announced adoption of the new T–44 rifle as the future standard rifle for its troops, volume production and issue of the rifle will not begin until 1960, so I have been informed.

It is balance and poise, comprehensiveness and ready effectiveness that I urge for our Armed Forces—ultra-modern weapons, powerful, supersonic aircraft, long- and short-range rockets and missiles—all ready to be put into action at an instant's notice, and, in my opinion, any program that leaves out of consideration full utilization and early implementation of the M–14 rifle is inadequate to a very dangerous degree.

If we do not soon awaken to the fact that we need the modernized rifle in early production in order to have well-rounded military striking force and defense, and arrange to procure and distribute it in sufficient quantities, we may well be soon confronted with the serious, unwelcome conditions already developing of the dispersal of the essential personnel skills for making this weapon.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I am genuinely alarmed about our failure to bring forth, procure and put in the hands of our related armed forces, a really modernized rifle. To me, the delay in the Defense Department in rifle research development and procurement is one of the disturbing features of our present defense setup.

It is, to my mind, a glaring deficiency and could be very costly to us in the event of sudden war.

Since I have pressed the Department on several occasions as vigorously as I could and pointed out the genuine urgency of an adequate modern rifle procurement program, I am very much

disappointed that more progress has not been made up to this time.

I am particularly upset by what appears to be the halfhearted efforts and certainly the slow progress of development and test product runs for the new Army rifle. I have urged adequate budgetary provision for research development and production of up-to-date Army rifles. But the fiscal year budget made no provision for this purpose.

The Army used carryover funds from the 1955–56 budget to purchase some 50,000 M–1 rifles that were contracted for last year. If we could get immediate test production runs of the M–14 where the M–1 guns are manufactured, skilled workers would be retained. As it is, the Army does not contemplate production of the new rifle until the fiscal year 1959 budget is approved.

I am informed there is a large number of M–1's in stock but, of course, they are now outmoded by newer models of the M–14 and the Belgian rifle accepted for NATO use. Since the M–14 is generally regarded by practically all military experts to be basic to the national defense and basic to military operations, I simply do not believe we can afford to be so slow and so casual about the conduct of the procurement program for new model Army rifles, and I must again most vigorously urge the Department of Defense and the Army to get together and integrate their plans and viewpoints, eliminate the differences in their consultative proceedings and authorize production test runs on the new rifle at an early date.

I urge with all the sincerity and earnestness that I can possibly command, that the Department move in a forthright, expeditious way to bring this vital program to reality, and get real substantial procurement underway at the earliest possible moment, before what is left of the American rifle manufacturing industry become further demoralized and stripped of most important essential personnel and managerial skills.

In this connection, I desire to compliment and thank Hon. F. H. Higgins, Assistant Secretary of the Army, and his staff for the attention which they are giving to this vital matter.

I hope that the new rifle program will be accelerated and pressed to early implemention.

Activities of Paul A. Siple in the Antarctic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD a clipping from the Washington Daily News of Saturday, June 8, 1957, entitled "Scientist Leads Antarctic Worship."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCIENTIST LEADS ANTARCTIC WORSHIP
(By Robert Tate Allan)

Living in temperatures which are sometimes 100 below zero has not chilled the religious enthusiasm of a Washington bible class member.

Dr. Paul A. Siple, leader of the scientific phase of the United States Naval Antarctic Expedition (Operation Deep Freeze) is teaching a Sunday school class and helping conduct worship services there regularly every Sunday.

TOPICS

"During the last month we have discussed the significance of the following: Orderliness, goodwill, space, and energy," Mr. Siple wrote Dr. Clarence W. Cranford, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Eighth and H Streets NW.

The message, transmitted by short wave and telephoned to the church by the Red Cross, said the April weather at the South Pole was between 70 and 90 degrees below.

Mr. and Mrs. Siple, who live at 131 North Jackson Street, Arlington, are members of the Friendship Sunday School Class in Calvary's adult department. Mr. Siple helped organize Calvary's young adult department in the late 1940's and was the first teacher of the inquirers' class.

PHONE CALLS

Mrs. Siple told the News she has received about a dozen telephone messages from her husband directly to their home, through the cooperation of ham radio operators.

Mr. Siple left here last October and is expected back late next winter or early in the spring.

The 17th Annual Convention Banquet of the Department of Pennsylvania, Catholic War Veterans of the United States, Scranton, Pa., June 22, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the city of Scranton, Pa., played host last week to the Catholic War Veterans of Pennsylvania and the ladies' auxiliary when they observed the 17th annual convention, June 19 to June 22.

The highlight of the convention was the annual banquet, Saturday, June 22, which was attended by church dignitaries as well as representatives of the city of Scranton and various veterans' organizations of the State of Pennsylvania. It was my privilege to address the convention banquet on the subject, Our National Defense in the Nuclear Age.

My address follows:

OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE IN THE ATOMIC AGE

(An address delivered by the Honorable JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania, at the 17th annual convention of the Catholic War Veterans, Department of Pennsylvania, on Saturday, June 22, 1957, in the crystal ballroom of the Hotel Casey, Scranton, Pa.)

Right reverend and very reverend monsignori, reverend chaplains, department commander of the Catholic war veterans, madam president of the ladies' auxiliary, Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen. It is an honor to be accorded the privilege of participating in the program of the 17th annual convention banquet of the Catholic war veterans and the ladies' auxiliary.

As you know, I have a long record of activity in organized veterandom.

With such a background I feel perfectly at home here tonight because as former comrades in arms we speak the same language.

It is a happy coincidence that, like the Knights of Columbus founded 75 years ago by the Reverend Father Michael J. McGivney of Hartford, Conn.—your organization owes its origin to the wisdom and foresight of a World War I chaplain in the person of the Reverend Father Edward J. Higgins, of Astoria, Long Island, N. Y., who guided its destiny through its infant years.

Father Higgins conceived the two-fold idea of enlisting Catholic war veterans in an organization to promote the best interests of our veteran population and at the same time to bring into being a militant Catholic action group, in opposition to godless communism, whose prime objective is to destroy mankind's faith in Almighty God.

With the personal blessing of His Holiness Pope Pius XI, with whom he conferred in Rome, Father Higgins upon his return found no difficulty in obtaining the united support of bishops and priests in the United States.

With the election and installation of Pope Pius XII in 1939, as successor to Pope Pius XI, the Catholic war veterans have functioned with the approval and blessing of two Roman pontiffs distinguished for their efforts to achieve universal peace, and for their courageous and relentless opposition to the scourge of communism.

It is significant to observe that the password of the Catholic war veterans is "peace," because the name "Pius" stands for peace.

It is recorded that on his deathbed the last words of His Holiness Pope Pius XI echoed the purpose which dominated his reign, "Peace, peace of Jesus."

It is said of his successor, the present supreme pontiff that he, too, selected the name of Pius in honor of the late Pope Pius XI.

Pope Pius XII is so deeply conscious of the need of achieving world peace that in proclaiming the year 1950 as holy year which was observed worldwide by the Catholic church, the supreme pontiff included universal peace as one of the four main intentions of the observance of holy year.

During 1956 I had an opportunity to visit Rome while in Europe as a delegate to the United Nations Conference on Atomic Energy at Geneva.

As members of the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, we were accorded the privilege of an audience with His Holiness Pope Pius XII at which time we discussed the development of atomic energy.

During the discussion we were particularly impressed by the 80-year-old spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic population of the world.

His engaging personality, his brilliant mind, his fluency of speech, his analysis of world conditions in this nuclear age, and deep spiritual fervor made an indelible impression on all of us.

I was personally impressed by his intimate knowledge of the United States, disclosed by his ready reference to cities and States, and above all, his humility and simplicity.

At the conclusion of the audience we were unanimous in our opinion that Pope Pius XII is an active and ardent advocate of peace.

Thus you Catholic war veterans in your crusade for peace through prayer have a stanch ally in the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church who, as a worthy representive of the Prince of Peace, is constantly striving to achieve a just and lasting peace among all nations.

The efforts of our Nation to achieve world peace are well known and, as Americans, we can point with pride to our various programs designed to restore tranquillity to a troubled world.

To support our Nation's efforts to fashion a durable peace there exists the necessity of our country's maintaining at all times an adequate national defense.

For that reason I deemed it appropriate on this occasion to select as my subject "Our National Defense In the Atomic Age."

When speaking of natonal defense I share the conviction of the Catholic war veterans that an adequate national defense is vital if we as a nation are to maintain our position and strength in order to preserve the cherished principles of liberty and freedom.

In discussing the subject, our national defense in the atomic age, it is of interest that Congress is currently considering the administration's request for a $38.5 billion defense budget, the largest in 2 years.

These funds are required for the maintenance of our Armed Forces at their present strength and for the development of a wide range of new, powerful weapons.

In examining this request many of us ask ourselves whether or not such enormous expenditures are really necessary for our national security.

We wonder if this huge and expensive defense establishment is becoming an unbearable drain on our national economy.

Some critics contend that it is a waste to continue our national-defense program at its present level now that Stalin is dead.

They further state the present Soviet leadership has no intention of attacking the United States.

In addition, they argue that the Russians have altered their doctrine and strategy and hence are no longer determined to communize the world.

Fellow Americans, let me assure you that this is not true.

Today the Soviet Union and Communist China maintain the largest military force in history.

Excluding the armies of North Korea and Viet Minh, the Russian and Chinese Communist forces number well over 11 million men.

The Russians alone have an army of 2½ million ground troops.

The security of Western Europe is continually threatened by 31 Soviet divisions stationed on satellite territory.

Since World War II the Soviets have reequipped their armed forces with a complete new family of powerful small arms, artillery, armor, and transportation equipment.

They have constructed a fleet of over 450 submarines and are aiding Red China in modernizing the huge Chinese army.

The Communist bloc is also pushing ahead rapidly in the development of guided missiles and in the buildup of their atomic and hydrogen stockpiles.

For example, since the first of this year we have knowledge of a series of atomic-bomb tests by Russia.

The Soviets are training scientific and technical personnel at a rate which will seriously threaten the lead of the West in scientific skill within a few years.

If the Soviets have changed their nature since Stalin's death there are few signs of it.

Witness their sly maneuvering in the Middle East where they are fanning fanatical nationalism through antiwestern propaganda.

Certainly the Communist ideology has not changed since Stalin's death.

The Soviet leaders still preach the incompatibility of the Communist system and western society.

As a matter of fact, only 2 weeks ago Mr. Khrushchev, in a television program viewed by millions of Americans, predicted in a boastful manner that our grandchildren were certain to become Socialists.

This is the same Mr. Khrushchev who, after having labeled Stalin a murderer and tyrant, recently stated that he was, nonetheless, a great Marxist and fighter of imperialism in the class war.

Khrushchev said quite openly that in this respect the present Kremlin leadership is Stalinist in its attitude.

With this attitude on the part of Soviet leaders, the quest for peace remains increasingly difficult.

No one realizes more than I do the folly of an arms race.

Certainly every effort should be made to reach a sound agreement with the Soviet Union on the reduction of armaments.

But sound agreement involves international control and inspection.

It, therefore, follows that until such an effective system can be established for the entire world we must remain constantly alert in our defense and push ahead with our weapons development.

We cannot afford to take a chance on any weak disarmament plan based solely on the good faith of the Soviets.

A mistake in judgment on this crucial issue could mean our destruction.

Confronted as we are with Soviet hostility and with their refusal to cooperate on a sound disarmament system, it is horrifying to imagine what might happen to us if we do not maintain and develop our defense.

We must remain vigilant.

We must be prepared at all costs to oppose Communist aggression in any form.

Therefore, let us now consider what we need to defend the United States adequately.

We cannot forget the impact of atomic-hydrogen weapons on our defense system.

Surely we have all been made aware of the new scientific age in which we are living.

In this connection the President's plan for the peaceful uses of the atom has provided some indication of the revolution in living which we will experience when the effects of nuclear power are fully felt.

Until now, however, primary emphasis on nuclear research has stressed the destructive aspect of the atom in the weapons field.

The effect of the atom on military strategy has completely altered former concepts of defense and war.

Today we cannot think of an adequate defense system without first taking into full consideration the destructive force of atomic-hydrogen weapons.

I believe that there are two major requirements for a sound defense policy in this atomic age.

First. We must maintain and develop our capacity to retaliate massively against any power that launches a thermonuclear attack on the continental United States.

Second. We must maintain and develop our capacity to fight small or limited wars with the use of either tactical atomic weapons or of conventional arms, as the circumstances may require.

Let me further develop these points.

We are living today under the shadow of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

In testimony before the Senate during its inquiry into air power last year, the Nation's top military experts pointed out that the Soviet Union now has the capability of striking a devastating blow at the United States.

Gen. Nathan Twining, Chief of the Air Force, said in part:

"In looking to the future our plans and programs must be oriented toward countering the Soviet capability.

"As the Soviet war potential increases, particularly in intercontinental striking capability, this becomes even more valid.

"Such a potential will give the Soviet a continuing ability to attempt to deliver at any time of his chosing with or without warning a crucial blow against us.

"Thus, for the foreseeable future we must maintain in constant protected readiness a retaliatory force of sufficient strength to deter an attack or to insure ultimate victory if general war occurs."

Therefore, it is evident the maintenance of atomic-hydrogen power as a deterrent force requires the stockpiling of sufficient quantities of fissionable material and the development of airpower as a means of delivery.

From information released to the public it appears that both the United States and the Soviet Union have reached the position of being able to wage atomic warfare.

Our Strategic Air Command today is the means of delivering our thermonuclear power.

From bases encircling the Soviet Union our Strategic Air Command can strike the Soviet Union within hours after an attack on the West.

To maintain and develop our Strategic Air Command as our first line of defense, we must steadily push research and experimentation in weapons, piloted aircraft, and guided missiles.

Above all, we must keep pace with Soviet advances.

Bases circling the Communist bloc must be maintained.

Because it is upon this first line of defense that our national survival may depend.

The second requirement of a sound national-defense policy is the ability to cope with local aggression in small wars.

We must take into account the possibility that small tactical atomic weapons may be used in a local conflict rather than conventional arms.

This means that our Armed Forces must develop offensive and defensive tactics geared to the use of a variety of small atomic weapons.

At the same time we must also be prepared for local attacks that are confined to nonatomic weapons.

According to the estimates of military experts the Soviet Union will soon possess a capability for atomic destruction equal to that of the United States.

This will establish a nuclear stalemate.

In such a stalemate the United States may find that it will be difficult to initiate the use of tactical atomic weapons if the Communists use only conventional-type weapons.

When the Soviet Union is able to bomb the United States with nuclear weapons, the risk that a local atomic war might spiral into an all-out conflict would be too great.

This means that our Armed Forces must possess a dual capability, namely, (a) the capability to fight with conventional arms, using conventional tactics for some types of conflict; and (b) with atomic weapons, using atomic tactics for other types of combat.

Therefore, it is necessary to maintain our Armed Forces at their present strength and to continue to supply them with conventional equipment.

We must also train them in the use of tactical atomic weapons and supply them with the latest models in our small atomic weapons system.

Now let us turn our attention to our existing Defense Establishment and the problem of its continued development.

Testimony by leading Defense Department authorities has given convincing evidence that we do have a balanced defense system and at a cost which our national economy can support.

During the recent hearings in the House of Representatives on the Department of Defense appropriation bill for 1958, Adm. Arthur W. Radford said in his testimony:

"I feel that we have a Military Establishment today which is responsive to almost any situation that can be foreseen and within a reasonable period of time we can take care of anything and we are respected. Our power is respected."

Fellow Americans, as a member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy I agree with Admiral Radford, because it is a matter of record that our present retaliatory deterrent force is much more powerful than it was a year ago.

Under plans outlined in the President's 1958 budget this force will be strengthened in both power and effectiveness.

The present number of bomber wings in our Strategic Air Command—11 wings of B–52's with 45 bombers per wing—will be maintained.

Plans have been made to accelerate the fighter program.

Increased stockpiles of more powerful and more diversified nuclear weapons are being made available to the Strategic Air Command at bases all over the world.

Research in the ballistic-missile program now highly accelerated and on atomic-powered aircraft holds great promise for the future capabilities of the Strategic Air Command.

It is our hope to be first in developing the intercontinental ballistic missile, which will enable us to strike the enemy with pilotless craft armed with atomic or hydrogen warheads.

The development of ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles for our continental defense system is also being accelerated.

The Air Force has developed the Falcon and the Navy the deadly Sidewinder, both of which are now in quantity production.

The Air Force is currently concentrating on the Bomarc, a long-range missile of supersonic speed, while the Army will further develop both the Nike and the Talos.

The Armed Forces of the United States have a total strength of over 2,800,000 men and women.

The Army, according to Secretary Wilbur Brucker, represents the most "thoroughly equipped and superbly trained Army," that this Nation has ever put into the field.

These forces together with our strategic reserve are ready to fight at any moment should the need arise.

This readiness on our part constitutes an impressive deterrent against aggression.

In support of our mutual defense alliances and other arrangements, 40 percent of our Army is stationed overseas in 73 countries.

Army missions in 44 nations in Europe, Asia, and Latin America are directly engaged in helping to train more than 200 allied foreign divisions a large part of the free world's military strength.

Considerable progress is being made in matters of organization, research, and development in the Army.

Under plans now being implemented the major combat units of our ground force are being reorganized into the so-called pentomic divisions, which improve the ability of the Army to fight effectively under conditions of atomic warfare without losing the ability to conduct conventional war.

We are also organizing atomic support units which are particularly suitable in providing atomic support for the forces of our allies in combat.

Research and experimentation are progressing in the development of new weapons systems.

As a result we are stockpiling our arsenal with an adequate variety of atomic weapons precisely tailored to our needs which can be used accurately against close or distant targets.

At the same time emphasis is being placed on the continued improvement of conventional weapons needed to accomplish many tasks for which atomic weapons would be wholly unsuitable.

The element of flexibility is similarly being stressed by the Navy.

The most important offensive weapon developed by the Navy is "the mobile airbase" the new carrier *Forrestal*.

In the event of global war this type of ship will serve to defend the continental United States and at the same time project our air striking power into the enemy's territory.

In case of local war it will supplement our land-based airpower where land bases are limited or nonexistent.

The Navy is also pushing its aircraft and missile development program.

Several types of advanced aircraft operating from mobile carrier bases have already been added to the fleet.

Of particular importance is the new Skyhawk, a light attack plane with high-speed and high-altitude performance, capable of carrying atomic weapons.

The development of seabased ballistic missiles will prove to be immeasurably important by adding variety and dispersibility to our deterrent capabilities.

The Navy is making the transition from guns to missiles very rapidly.

The cruisers *Boston* and *Canberra* have been converted and a third, *Galveston*, is being readied.

Under the present program the Navy plans a total of 21 missile ships before the end of 1958.

The Navy is also making the transition to nuclear power as rapidly as possible.

The submarine *Nautilus*, the pioneer ship in this development, has now steamed more than 55,000 miles without a single disabling casualty.

Its reactor has now been refueled after 2 years of service.

The nuclear-powered submarine introduces a new weapon into naval warfare.

It can sink ships; it can serve as a radar picket ship; it can seek out and destroy enemy submarines; and, most important of all, it can serve potentially as a base for the launching of ballistic missiles.

The present program of the Navy and Marine Corps serves to maintain a high state of immediate readiness while instituting some very basic and revolutionary changes in naval weapons systems and strategy.

The readiness of the Navy was strikingly demonstrated during the recent Suez crisis by the rapid deployment of a large part of our fleet and by the evacuation of our nationals from Egypt.

While we review the progress made in building an adequate national defense it is reassuring to learn from further testimony by Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff that:

"Up to now Communist nations have not been able to match the superiority of our airplanes, our pilots, our designers, or our industry, nor have they been able to match the extent to which we employ them privately, commercially, or militarily.

"But because of the developments which I have described, I cannot guarantee that this will always be the case."

Despite this deterrent to war we have no alternative but to acknowledge the reality of the cold war we have been waging.

We must recognize that a trigger-happy enemy to the American way of life could in the twinkling of an eye plunge us into a nuclear world conflict.

A conflict that would leave even the victorious nation slightly short of complete destruction.

These weapons of the nuclear age are costly, and while we are paying billions of dollars annually to maintain our Armed Forces, in my opinion, it is well worth the price of defending the American form of government.

While we are reluctant to continue the cold war, preferring to live in peace with all mankind, nevertheless, we have no choice, because we recognize Russia's fixed goal is world domination by means short of an all-out war.

We have no alternative but to acknowledge the reality of the cold war, and to continue to develop nuclear power so massive that the Kremlin will find it impossible to keep pace with its cost.

As I have previously mentioned, these nuclear weapons are costly, yet the price is insignificant in preserving the priceless legacy of liberty and freedom bequeathed to us by those who died in defense of our flag.

They made the supreme sacrifice in the belief that no contribution was too great if it meant the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals.

If we fail in our mission we defile the memory of every hero who wore the uniform of his country.

We likewise forfeit our right to the precious legacy of patriotism and devotion that we have received from generations of courageous Americans.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in all my experience in public life, I have seen no one more honestly, fearlessly, or effectively meet his responsibilities as a public official than Ezra Taft Benson, the Secretary of Agriculture, and I think everyone who has opportunity of meeting him and hearing him explain his deep interest in agricultural problems and his proposals for resolving them in the interest of the farmers and the country cannot help but be deeply and favorably impressed.

On June 19, 1957, he addressed the Tennessee Farmers Convention at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn,. at which he was introduced by President Brehm, who himself has shown a great interest in agriculture as well as all other phases of education.

Mr. Benson's speech is one that I feel should be made more widely available, not only to the Members of Congress but to others, and for this reason I am taking opportunity to place it in the RECORD.

Mr. Benson has met challenging problems in a challenging way, representative of his training and religious background.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE THE TENNESSEE FARMERS' CONVENTION, UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE, TENN., JUNE 19, 1957

This is a distinct honor, a high privilege, and a challenging responsibility. One of the real pleasures of my office is to meet first hand with farm groups like this one.

There is something about a farm audience, whether in Tennessee or Illinois or Idaho,

that makes me feel at home. Farm people have a special way of looking at things. They know better than any other group that "as a man sows, so shall he also reap." They know the meaning of hard work. They feel the satisfaction that comes from producing our most important single commodity—food. Working as they do with growing things, they understand life and they feel close to God.

These things come to me through my own rural and religious background. I treasure them as a part of my heritage and I am lifted up when I recognize them in other people.

It is refreshing to get away from Washington and meet face to face the people I serve. A public official must do this if he is going to keep his perspective.

I have been told that this is the 84th annual session of the Tennessee Farmers' Convention and that yours is the oldest meeting of its kind serving farm people in the South. That would trace your beginning back to 1873.

What tremendous changes have occurred during the lifetime of this organization.

When this organization was founded, the farm people of Tennessee were bravely reconstructing an agriculture which had been shattered by a long period of war and upheaval. They were reaching out to learn more about scientific farming, then just beginning to be born.

The census shows that there were 64,000 work oxen on Tennessee farms in 1870. Muscle, human and animal, was the farm powerplant. Plant and animal diseases ran their course uncontrolled. "Blight" was the common epitaph for crop failure, as were "colic" and "pip" for the loss of farm animals.

When this Convention was founded, 84 years ago, soil conservation was little practiced. Farmers plowed up and down hills and the topsoil washed down into the valleys after every rain. There were no county agents, no 4–H clubs, no home economics clubs, no vocational training.

Farm life was hard. Many lives were shortened by typhoid, diphtheria, and other diseases which ran their courses unchecked. There was no electricity and there were almost no paved roads. When the Tennessee Farmers' Convention began, the average farm boy or girl in this State received only a few years of schooling.

Those were what we sometimes call "the good old days." They may have been good in some respects. But they were not good enough.

Since 1873 agriculture in this State and Nation has been literally transformed. There have been more changes in agriculture during these 84 years than in all the previous years since Bible times. And you helped bring these changes about.

Tractors and trucks are rapidly replacing horses and mules as a source of power. In 1920 Tennessee had 2,000 tractors; by 1955 there were 90,000.

Farms are more diversified today than they were in years past. Livestock farming has come forward rapidly in recent years. In 1924, the dairy enterprise brought in only 4 percent of your farm income; now it brings in 14 percent, which is more than the income from tobacco. Thirty years ago cattle brought in only 6 percent of your income; now they bring 15. Cotton, which has long been the top income producer among your farm enterprises, continues to lead but by a slender margin.

Farms have grown larger and fewer as mechanization has made it possible for a man to take care of more acres. Since 1935 the number of farms in Tennessee has declined 26 percent. By 1950 only one-third of Tennessee's population lived on farms, compared with about three-fourths when your organization was founded.

As Tennessee has become more industrialized, part-time farming has become an increasingly important part of the rural economy. Nearly half the Tennessee farmers supplement their incomes with off-farm employment. Taken together, part-time and residential farms constitute about 40 percent of all Tennessee farms.

Today's farmers are doing a better job than their fathers or grandfathers ever dreamed of doing. They are conserving their soil, rotating their crops, applying fertilizer, controlling plant and animal diseases. They are growing twice as much cotton and tobacco per acre as they grew 25 years ago. They are keeping better livestock, and more of it.

The whole level of rural living has been lifted. Ninety-three percent of Tennessee's farm homes are electrified. Rural boys and girls in Tennessee now average more years of better schooling. Life expectancy in the State has increased from about 40 to 70 years.

All this has been accomplished because men and women like yourselves caught a vision of what could be done. For thousands of years farm people had borne with resignation the problems laid upon them by the vagaries of nature. Then came the revolutionary idea that science and technology could help solve these problems. Science was put to work and the progress has been astounding.

Yet we must not be complacent.

Agricultural progress has been tremendous, yes. Many of our farm people have done well. But there are whole areas that have been by-passed in the march of progress. There are areas where the people farm and live much as they did 84 years ago.

There are a million and a quarter farm families in the United States, about one-fourth of the total, with cash incomes from all sources of less than $1,000 a year. Though farm people total only 13 percent of the population, they make up 30 percent of the group with seriously low incomes.

There are concentrated areas of generally low rural income in the Southeast, in the Southern Appalachians, in the Cutover Area of the Great Lake States, in the Northwest and in scattered Intermountain areas of the West. In fact, rural people with low incomes are found in almost every agricultural county and in almost every community.

This is a human problem, not just an agricultural problem. When incomes are low and opportunity is restricted, inertia sets in. Participation diminishes in community, religious and civic affairs. People with seriously low incomes do not share fully in our economic or social progress. Nor do they contribute fully to the Nation's production of goods and services.

Farm legislation since the 1930's has been much concerned with programs of price-support and acreage allotments. Such programs lack meaning to farm people who have little to sell. Price support means little to a farmer with only a fraction of an acre of tobacco or only a few acres of cotton. If he got 200 percent of parity he would not have enough for the kind of living we should have in America.

If we had spent half as much money and effort during the past 25 years to develop agriculture's human resources as we have spent supporting the prices of farm products, both the farmers and the non-farmers would be better off.

Research and education have been used effectively by those who have already greatly improved their economic position. I recognize the merit of what has been done for our farmers on the larger, mechanized units. But we must not overlook the needs of those rural people on the bottom rungs of the economic ladder.

In the race we must all run, each man should have a fair place at the starting line. We should not all expect to breast the tape at the same instant. I believe in equality of opportunity. This is economic democracy. I do not believe in equal rewards for unequal contributions. This is pure socialism.

Why has the technological revolution by-passed so many rural people?

Many of them lack the opportunities which others of us have enjoyed.

Many of them are on small unproductive farms.

Many of them have not had adequate education.

Many of them have lived so long with restricted opportunity that they have become resigned and apathetic. One's natural desire to improve his lot can become dulled by repeated disappointment.

There is one explanation which I reject: That people in the low-income areas are chronic ne'er-do-wells and that efforts to help them will be unavailing. Everything I have learned about human nature as a county agent, as a church worker, and as a public official, tells me that these people will respond to enlightened programs based largely on self-help.

You people in Tennessee know that they will respond. President C. E. Brehm and Dean J. H. McLeod, whom you have just honored, have given constructive leadership in helping rural people in low-income areas. Tennessee experience, particularly with community development, was an important guidepost in planning the rural-development program. This is a new undertaking, especially designed to meet the needs of rural people in areas of low income.

This program is now 2 years old, and I want to tell you about it.

The purpose of the program is to open wider the doors of opportunity to those rural people with the lowest incomes. The intent is to help them meet the objectives to which they themselves aspire. It is a voluntary, grassroots program. A major concern is for the young people who are in the best position to take advantage of new opportunities.

For those rural people who have the desire and the ability to develop an efficient farm unit, there are supervised credit, adapted research, adult education, and technical assistance aimed at their special needs.

For those who choose nonfarm employment there are vocational training in the trades and industry, job information, and programs of industrial development.

For all people in the area there are programs to improve education and health, programs of community development and better living.

The program is decentralized. For every dollar and every decision supplied at the Federal level, many dollars and many decisions are made at the State and local levels. On the committees which guide the program in the counties there are many more private citizens than government workers.

The program has been launched on a pilot or demonstration basis. That is, pilot counties are named and experience gained thereby is used in other counties. This is the experiment-demonstration approach which has long been used successfully in the cause of agricultural betterment.

The program is a cooperative one. Not only the Department of Agriculture but other departments of government—both State and Federal—are participating. The farm organizations, the service clubs, the churches, and business groups, all work together with government. The program is headed by the Under Secretary of Agriculture, True D. Morse. Just 2 weeks ago Mr. Morse was here at Knoxville to speak at a rural development workshop.

Tennessee was one of the first States to name pilot counties—one of the leaders in this work. For more than a year the program has been going forward in Hardin, Grainger, and Macon Counties. More re-

cently two more counties that wanted to get started were added—Houston and Marion.

All five of the Tennessee pilot counties have broadly representative rural development committees composed of leaders from both farm and nonfarm segments of the county's economic and social life.

Nationwide, there are 49 counties and 8 areas participating in the rural development program with the Federal Government on a demonstration basis. These counties and areas are in 24 States.

Already we have accumulated enough experience to point up several significant facts.

1. We have found that good research and extension programs, coupled with supervised credit and technical assistance, can help an enterprising farmer get ahead. If a man has the desire and the management potential, he can be helped to lift himself to a higher income bracket and a better level of living. He can do this even though his capital resources are limited. It is being done every day. There are many people in this audience who have done it.

2. We have found that nonfarm employment offers a good opportunity to increase income in many areas. Income from nonfarm sources is today the largest single source of earnings for farm people. Last year it totaled more than $6 billion, equal to one-third of our total net income of the farm population from all sources. The next largest source of income was from the sale of cattle, which brought in a little over $5 billion.

We have worked hard to develop the income opportunities presented by producing and selling cotton, tobacco, wheat, and cattle. But here is an income earner, larger than any of these, which we have taken for granted, or to a degree, even resisted.

Here, in eastern Tennessee, you have beautiful lakes, hills, and mountains—a wonderful setting for recreation and residential development. Here are good income opportunities for local people.

A dollar will buy just as much health, just as much education, just as much good living if it is earned in off-farm employment as if it is earned growing crops or livestock.

3. We have found that rural people often do not have to leave the farms in order to take off-farm jobs. With better roads and with the growing industrialization of rural areas, many farm people can take part-time or full-time jobs and continue to live where they want to live, which is in the country.

I share the concern expressed by so many, that too great a shift to industrial centers and urban life could cause us to lose some of the stability, strength, and character that we had as a nation of farmers. But this need not occur. We can add it the incomes of rural people by dispersing industry and bringing more jobs within their reach. It often is easier to develop industry where the people are than it is to move the people 1,000 miles to where industry happens to be located.

A heavy investment is required to bring a young man or a young woman to a productive age. According to research at the University of Tennessee, an average of from $5,000 to $8,000 is spent to bring rural young people to 21 years of age. This is in addition to the cost of public programs such as education.

If your young people leave the country or leave the State in order to find the opportunities they feel entitled to, they take this investment with them. This is a huge subsidy to industrial areas of the North. If you can develop local opportunities for your young people, you can keep your investment, and your young men and women, near home. That's where they would like to be. But they will not stay near home unless there are good opportunities.

4. We have found that the betterment of low-income areas must be a long-range job. At best it is a slow process. We must not expect quick success. Problems which have been 100 years or more in the making cannot be solved overnight. There will be setbacks and disappointments. But economic development of rural areas is already underway.

President Eisenhower said: "We must open wider the doors of opportunity to our * * * farm families with extremely low incomes."

When I recommended the launching of the rural-development program, I said: "The problem is more basic than low incomes expressed in dollars * * * it embodies human values—the lives and welfare of people and of families. * * *"

We are much concerned, and rightly so, with foreign economic aid, technical assistance, and point 4. Point 4, let us remind ourselves, can be effective at home as well as abroad.

I have emphasized the need for a program to lift the level of living for those rural people on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. But I wish to say also that we need changes in legislation which primarily affects the farmers who produce the bulk of our farm products.

The old basic farm legislation enacted in 1933 sought to control production with acreage allotments in order to achieve a high level of price support.

In the light of 25 years' experience, we must conclude that acreage allotments and marketing quotas have not controlled production as intended. Farmers have selected their best land, fertilized heavily, and adopted all the improved practices they could. I do not blame farmers for doing this; it is perfectly natural. But it does not result in controlling production.

The acreage-control price-support program has cut acreage, taken decisions out of farmers' hands, priced our crops out of the market, reduced income from the basic crops, piled up farm surplus stockpiles, and increased costs.

In a letter to Senator ELLENDER, chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, I made three points:

1. Controls are not effective in reducing overall agricultural production, despite the severe restrictions they impose on farmers' freedom to produce and market.

2. Agricultural products are likely to continue to be abundant. Under such conditions they cannot be successfully priced as if they were scarce.

3. The present legal formulas governing acreage allotments and price supports are proving obsolete.

Farmers are being subjected to the forces generated by the technological revolution. They are adjusting from wartime to peacetime demands. Their markets are burdened by surpluses which result at least in part from past wartime programs. Obviously, farmers must be protected from the harsh price effects which would result from their exposed economic position, their weak bargaining power and their abundant production. This is a proper function of government. But our efforts should help our farmers rather than hinder them.

We are in the midst of great scientific changes. Agriculture is able to produce abundantly, and appears amply capable of meeting our needs for food, feed and fiber as far into the future as we can see with confidence. No production controls acceptable to American farmers appear capable of choking off this abundant flow.

Since we cannot legislate scarcity, nor would we want to do so. We must learn how to live with abundance.

If any product is abundant, it cannot long be priced as if it were scarce.

If farm products are abundant, the need and the challenge is to build markets so that this abundance can be used. We cannot build markets by pricing ourselves out of them.

It is possible to show that in any given year, with a given volume of production, a higher price means more farm income. But if, over a period of years, the high price drives the commodity into Government hands and drives the trade to other sources of supply, then the high price means reduced farm income. This is what has happened: A quarter century ago, before the program of restricted production, the basic commodities brought in 26 percent of our farm income. Last year this share was reduced to 23 percent.

The agricultural budget submitted for the coming fiscal year totals in the neighborhood of $5 billion. During the recent debate on the corn bill it was pointed out on the floor of the House that this is the equivalent of nearly half the net income of our farm people. This is equivalent to more than $1,000 for every farm in the United States. Part of this $5 billion, of course, is in the form of loans which will be repaid, permanent improvements in the agricultural plant, and other activities which should not be considered as expended for the primary purpose of supporting farm prices and farm income.

Commodity loans to a few individual farming units under the price-support program have exceeded a million dollars, highlighting the fact that most of the dollars are going to those at the upper end of the income scale.

Few would object seriously to heavy costs if these costs were temporary and if the program were moving toward a solution. Instead, however, with formulas in governing legislation, costs seem likely to continue high with little progress toward a permanent solution

I have recommended to the Senate and House Committees on Agriculture that farmers be given more freedom to make their own decisions with respect to the acreage they wish to plant. I have recommended that the old formula in the basic law be eliminated, that is, the formula which would boost price support levels and pile up another surplus as soon as our present surplus is moved. I have recommended that there be wider latitude in the establishing of price-support levels.

I commend this whole matter for your most serious consideration. See that you get the facts. In a representative government, the ultimate decisions lie in your hands. I trust those decisions if they are based on the facts.

I have been talking about changes that have occurred and other changes that should take place. But in this changing world there are some things that do not change.

Truth does not change.

The principles of freedom, on which this country was founded, do not change.

You cannot help a man permanently by doing for him something that he could and should do himself. This basic fact does not change.

The old virtues—honesty, thrift, reverence, and responsibility—these do not change.

The things that make a people great, that make a Nation great, these are the same today as when this organization was founded. And they will be the same in the years to come, when a new generation picks up the task where we leave it.

There is a firm foundation of principle which governs the affairs of men. We must be careful what things we endeavor to change. We must change what we cannot accept. We must accept what we cannot change. May God give us the judgment to distinguish wisely between these two.

Postal and Federal Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting into the RECORD a statement I submitted to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee expressing my views in support of pending legislation for an increase in salaries for postal workers and Federal employees.

The text of my statement is as follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. ANFUSO, OF NEW YORK, TO THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I wish to thank you for giving me this opportunity to express my views on pending legislation concerning an increase in salaries for postal and Federal employees.

Among the many bills before your committee there are two which I introduced in the current session. One, H. R. 1907, provides for an increase in the rates of basic compensation for all postal workers. The other, H. R. 4738, provides for a salary increase of $1,000 per annum for all classified Government employees. I believe that the proposals contained in my bills are not out of proportion. If anything, present postal and Federal salaries are out of proportion and should be increased to a more realistic level.

I shall be glad, however, to support any measure recommended by your committee, provided it advocates adequate compensation for all Government and postal workers.

When Congress enacted Public Law 68, 2 years ago, postal and Federal employees were well aware of the inadequacies of that law. They were especially aware of the fact that the salary increases provided in that law were too low. It is a well-established fact by now that pay increases granted in recent years by the Government have not kept pace with the steady upward movement of the cost of living, which in the past few months has reached its highest level.

In many instances it was found that the wage scale for postal workers and the salary rates for Federal employees have lagged behind those doing comparable work in private industry. In some instances, unskilled laborers in private industry were being paid higher wages than postal workers. For example, in 1939 the average weekly wage for all factory workers was $23.86, while the entrance salary for postal workers at that time was $30.76. At the present time, the average weekly wage for factory workers is $82, but the entrance salary for letter carriers and postal clerks is only $70.36. Thus, in 1939 postal workers' salaries were about 30 percent higher than the wages paid to factory workers, today postal workers receive about 15 percent less pay than factory workers. This is a substantial difference.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that our Government agencies and the Post Office Department encounter difficulties in recruiting competent employees. Low salaries are no inducement for a family man to make a career in the postal or Government service when he can earn more money in private industry and provide his family with a better standard of living.

In order to augment their earnings, it has become customary for many postal workers in recent years to take on a second job or to encourage their wives to seek employment. Many employees in the lower-income brackets find this situation intolerable as they struggle to maintain their family, upkeep of the household, education of the children, and a decent standard of living.

Adequate pay increases for postal and Federal workers are long overdue. These people are a conscientious, loyal, and hard-working group. They deserve greater consideration. They deserve fair remuneration for the important services they perform in keeping our Government functioning smoothly and efficiently. I think we take them and their services too much for granted.

Congress should grant them a substantial pay increase and afford them the fullest opportunity to maintain a decent standard of living commensurate with the rest of the country. Your prompt action today will be worth more than all the promises of tomorrow.

Poland's Recovered Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there have been many misleading comments and so-called historical affidavits attempting to show that Poland's western boundary should be on the Vistula. The real evidence disputes that and although Poland originally extended beyond the Oder Neisse, no claim is being made for any area beyond that point. The following article from the Polish American Journal, of June 22, 1957, verifies what all of us who are familiar with the subject have known—that the Oder Neisse should be the western boundary of Poland:

HISTORICAL VIEW: POLAND'S RECOVERED LANDS

World War II brought much suffering and injustice to the Poles and only one act of historical justice—the recovery of ancient Polish from Germany.

Of course, the West Germany and her friends in the United States and elsewhere question Poland's right to her recovered territories, citing many things which allegedly prove the German character of these lands.

Yet the fact remains that originally not only the territories in question but much more were Polish or at least Slavic.

For example, in the History of Berlin, published in the latest "Berlin Speaking" guide which is being distributed in West Berlin, it is admitted that "a small group of Slavic peoples settled near the island in the Spree River and made their living by fishing, sometime during the first 500 years of the first millenium" and "the German colonization of this area began in the twelfth century when Albrecht the Bear (a noble of the House of Askanier in the Hertz Mountains) acquired territory between the Spree River (in the east) and the Havel River (in the south)."

And a letter from Frederick Barborossa, the German Emperor, to Willibald, Abbot of Corvey, said: "On August 22d (1157) despite the opposition of the Poles who were lying in wait, with our entire army we crossed the river Oder, which, like a wall, surrounds that State; and sweeping through the bishoprics of Breslau (Wroclaw) and Poznan, we laid waste the whole country with fire and sword."

Poland's historic claim to the recovered territories is substantiated by the mass of evidence.

The basic fact is that the areas in question have been Polish from the earliest times.

The Polish people sprang from the region lying between the Oder and the Vistula.

Piece by piece they were gradually wrested from them by remorseless German pressure until all were lost with the final partition of Poland in 1795.

Traveling through Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia, one is constantly reminded of this fact by dates engraved on buildings, the tombs of Polish princes, municipal records, and so on, that these lands were part of Poland. Any Polish child can tell you that the first dynasty, the Piast, originated in Silesia.

Further, despite intensive and often ruthless colonization, as attested by the following statement by Bismarck in 1863 "Beat down the Poles until they have no spirit left in them. * * * All we can do is to exterminate them altogether." The Germans were never able to drive out the Polish population completely. It should be recalled that after liberation in 1945, no less than 1 million Poles were found living there, descendants of the original Polish population. No Germanization, however persuasive or oppressive by turn, could make them surrender their nationality or forget that the country was theirs by right of inheritance.

In early medieval times, the Oder rather than the Vistula was Poland's main artery of trade; Szczecin (Stettin) was already a Polish port in the 11th century. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the growing German principalities began to press the Poles eastward. Similarly, the Teutonic Knights in East Prussia forced them away from the Baltic seacoast. At the battle of Grunwald, however, the Poles defeated the Knights, regained Pomerania and access to the Baltic, which they retained for several centuries.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Prussians had overrun this region again; by 1720 the Szczecin area had fallen into German hands, followed, 20 years later, by the whole of Silesia. In 1772, with the first partition of Poland, Prussia appropriated the whole of Pomerania.

By the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, 1920, when Poland had become once more an independent state, she received back a portion of the western lands with a corridor through Pomerania to the Baltic coast. A million and a half Poles were left under German domination in Silesia. This decision was bitterly protested by th Poles, and did not even mollify the defeated Germans. As all know, it was where the Second World War started.

In arguing the various claims in this complex issue, it must be admitted that if the Soviet Union has the right to the Curzon line areas in the east on historic grounds, then logically Poland has every claim to hers in the west. If, as has been conceded, the Soviet Union must be compensated by Germany for the terrible loss and destruction she has caused her, then Poland must be so compensated. In any case this was the principle laid down at both the Moscow and Potsdam Conferences.

Finally, if Poland has the right to nationhood at all—and no one would dare deny that right in the face of history and her age-long struggle at fearful cost to remain a national entity—she must be left with an economic land area sufficient to support her people. After the cession of the east, what was left was a cruelly devastated area, largely agricultural with such meager industrial potentialities as to doom the nation to eternal poverty, never able to achieve a decent standard of living. The Poles, unlike the Germans, have committed to crime against humanity as would earn them such a fate. To the contrary, their story is one incessant struggle for freedom for themselves and other nations throughout the ages and in all parts of the world. It surely can never be forgotten that they were the first to try and call a halt to German aggression in 1939.

Problems of National Defense in 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, at a recent airpower banquet of the Michigan wing of the Air Force Association held in Battle Creek, I heard an exceptionally able address on the subject Problems of National Defense in 1957, by Maj. Gen. Otto L. Nelson, Jr., United States Army, retired. General Nelson was deputy commander of the Mediterranean theater during World War II.

I was particularly impressed by General Nelson's comments on the economics of national defense and the urgency of balancing the factors of "what we need and what we can afford."

Under permission to extend and revise my remarks, I include General Nelson's address:

PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IN 1957

Tonight I wish to stress and perhaps overstate what I conceive to be changes in national defense policy required by present and future trends.

The most dramatic development of our times has been the very rapid progress of new and more devastating weapons and weapons delivery systems. I am revealing no classified information when I remind you that both the United States and Soviet Russia can make H-bombs of unlimited size restricted only by the limitations of the weapons carrier systems. The 20,000-ton atomic bomb has been replaced by the hydrogen bomb in the power range of millions of tons of TNT. A whole family of nuclear weapons, varying from the very small to the very large, has been incorporated into our military structure. It is important to recognize that in any future war nuclear weapons will and must be used. Without them our armed services are impotent, and in war there can be no substitute for the use of overwhelming force. Fully as important as the tremendous increase in power and quantity of our nuclear weapons are the great strides made in improving our weapons delivery systems in terms of range, speed, and load-carrying capacity. The intercontinental ballistic missile will most assuredly be with us in the not too distant future. This means, of course, that in any major war the United States will be exposed and will be subject to attack throughout the length and breadth of our entire country and so will Soviet Russia. Each of us has the weapons and weapons delivery systems to destroy the other.

Another significant development is the highly strained, virtual brink-of-war relationship existing between the United States and the Soviet Union. It has persisted now for more than 10 years; it could last for many decades. To a country such as ours that characteristically goes all out for a military build-up only after war has started and then, with even greater enthusiasm, goes all out for dismembering its armed forces as soon as peace comes, this need for continuing military strength over a period of many years is difficult and vexing. We must spend a high percentage of our national income on defense or we risk military defeat; if we spend too high a percentage over a long period, we risk economic defeat. To me, this need for continuing military strength over a period of many years is nearly as revolutionary in its impact on national security policies as the advent of nuclear weapons.

A third most significant development, is the military requirements aspect of our foreign policy or, perhaps better, our foreign policy confusion. Most citizens recognize and approve our country's role as the responsible leader of the free world. This has carried with it the necessity to bolster faltering nations that we think are or may be our friends with economic aid and military assistance items. There are undoubtedly many sincere Americans who believe that because of these relationships and treaty commitments, the strength of our Armed Forces can be reduced. This may be true but there is the other side of the coin which too many wish to ignore. It is this. Each one of these treaty obligations or understandings brings with it a contingent liability to our Armed Forces who must face up to the possibility as to what are the military requirements now, insofar as the Armed Forces of the United States are concerned, to be in a position to carry out treaty obligations involving the use of United States forces in a come-to-their-aid situation. As you all know, we have this obligation, either implicitly or implied, in almost every corner of the world. In this area, governmental policy and public support seem to be at such variance that, temporarily at least, the United States seems to want to have its cake and eat it too. By this, I mean that we all want the advantages and benefits of possible support and help by other countries in an emergency, but we are reluctant to face up to the military requirements which our Armed Forces need now in the event our country must go to their aid with military forces in an emergency of "brush fire" war in which they may become involved.

With these three significant and highly important developments in mind, let us now turn to a consideration of national defense problems and policies that arise or ought to arise as a result of these changes, developments, and trends. At the risk of oversimplification let me outline what I conceive to be a few important aspects of the problem.

The most important and far-reaching implication of these significant developments is the change in emphasis in the mission of the Armed Forces. From time immemorial, the historic prime mission of the Armed Forces has been to win a war when and if war should come. In this era of more and more devastating weapons, it will do little good for our Armed Forces to win a war after the United States and the Soviet Union have largely destroyed each other with atomic weapons. Increasingly, the prime mission of our Armed Forces and the principal objective of national defense policy must be to maintain the peace by deterring the Soviet Union and anyone else from breaking the peace. Deterrence—deterrence—deterrence is a concept that needs to be repeated over and over again so that everyone understands that in this age of nuclear weapons and supersonic long-range weapons delivery systems, deterrence must be the prime mission and objective of our Armed Forces and national defense policy.

At this point, many of you may be thinking to yourself, isn't this pretty well recognized and accepted? My answer would be that the deterrence theme, while it is certainly not new, has only been partially accepted or carried out. Certainly the Air Force is to be commended for the effective way whereby the Strategic Air Command has continued to be a powerful deterrent to the Soviet Union against breaking the peace because of SAC's immediate readiness and continuing ability to deliver massive and devastating retaliation any place in the Soviet Union or the rest of the world.

Even at the risk of restating the obvious, this deterrent mission role carries with it important modifications in our thinking about national defense policies. In the future the United States must not only be sufficiently strong militarily and economically so that we think it will deter the Soviets from breaking the peace but also, and this is quite different, we must be able somehow to make the leaders in the Kremlin think this too. Figuratively speaking, Uncle Sam needs to learn how to display impressively but not belligerently his national security muscles in a manner where both the word gets around and the picture gets understood by the Soviet people and their satellites and by their leaders. This means an extension of the techniques sometimes employed by all the members of the armed services to dramatize their prowess, particularly for the benefit of Congress at the time the military budget is introduced. Specially, the recent around-the-world flight of SAC bombers is an excellent illustration. It was well handled, particularly in the reporting of the event. It was thus impressive, not only to this country and the Congress but, more important in this nuclear weapon age, to the military leaders and political dictators in the Soviet Union.

Let me put this point another way. If our national defense system is to exercise the strong deterrent influence against breaking the peace which is required in this atomic era, the United States needs to develop a national defense public relations policy and program somewhat analogous to that required by any large business concern. In any large business, public relations experts reiterate that a company must not only put out good products and service and generally live right, but most importantly it must get credit for this in the minds of the general public. Similarly the United States must not only be strong in terms of military strength but it must get credit and respect for this military strength in the minds of those who might be tempted to risk an atomic war with us.

Obviously such a philosophy requires substantial revisions in our thinking on national defense policies. Changes will be necessary in our present overreliance in classifying nontechnical military information and actions as "confidential" or "secret" and our habitual disposition to advertise our national defense weaknesses and vulnerability rather than our strength.

Let me hasten to add, however, that no advertising or public relations activity can be effective in making the leaders and the people of the Soviet Union sufficiently conscious of our military strength to deter them from starting a war unless the United States is, in fact, strong militarily. This means that if deterrence is accepted as the prime mission of the Armed Forces, both national defense policies and organization must be overhauled to emphasize immediate and continual readiness.

To reiterate, immediate and continual readiness on the part of the Armed Forces is the only way and the sole method of exercising any effective deterrence. Some progress has been made in this direction by our Armed Forces but we still have a long way to go. Again, the Strategic Air Command should be mentioned as an outstanding example of the kind of readiness that is needed. Likewise the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps can be cited for specific instances where unit readiness has reached the point of exercising the required deterrence effect. But I must hasten to add that, in my opinion, too large a part of our military effort and expenditures are devoted to what is now an obsolete carryover from World War II concepts. Military forces that take from 6 months to a year to make ready are of little or no value as deterrents. I would assert that our entire Reserve and National Guard program needs to be reexamined in an effort to see what can be done to increase their immediate readiness

and thus make them a part of our deterrent effort.

Before leaving this theme of deterrence through readiness, I should like to discuss briefly what seems to me to be an important corollary or counterpart to it. It is this. Weak spots in our overall defense setup tend to neutralize strong points as deterrents. The United States cannot be outstandingly strong in every phase of its national defense activities; the cost and drain on economic resources would simply be too great. But this does not mean that we can afford to tolerate significant weak spots in our defense setup which undermine the deterrent effect of great strength and readiness in other parts of our Armed Forces. To make my point more specific, let me cite one example.

As most of you know, the great vulnerability of our centers of population and industry to nuclear attack and the lack of operational readiness on the part of civil-defense forces throughout the Nation are such as to almost invite attack. Certainly, this weakness must make us a tempting target. To the extent that this becomes a driving psychological force in the minds of the Kremlin leaders, then to that degree the great deterrent influence exercised by the Strategic Air Command is offset, neutralized, or wasted. Somehow we must strengthen the entire area of nonmilitary defense in which, of course, I include civil defense. This is a comprehensive subject all by itself and I shall not attempt to go into details. Several questions can be raised, however. In the entire area of nonmilitary defense, must not our expenditures, activities, and efforts be focused on that which will contribute to the deterrent effect goal? Is there much point, in a thermonuclear age, to spend a great deal of time, energy, and money on measures involving potential strength that will take months to develop after war has started? Should we not relegate from a primary to a distinctly secondary or minor role those activities and measures relating to postattack rebuilding of industry and cities? In effect, what I am trying to say may be sumarized by the question, "Should we not, in furtherance of the deterrent goal, concentrate on those measures which will make it more difficult for the Soviets to knock out our centers of population and industry rather than those directed at helping industry and cities get back on their feet after they have been knocked flat?"

Let me turn now to the second important determinant of a proper 1957 national-defense philosophy. As I have already stated, the highly strained brink-of-war relationship existing between the United States and the Soviet Union may continue for decades. This, along with the circumstance that in any major war the United States will be subject to thermonuclear attack through the length and breadth of our entire country, certainly has far-reaching implications on national-defense policy. Above all, it means that somehow the United States must achieve and maintain an effective national defense year in and year out on a cost basis that our national economy can afford. This requires an efficiency and a coordinated effort that will provide essential readiness strength and avoid costly overlapping and duplication. I would assert that this requires some pretty basic rethinking of our military policies.

Admittedly, it will be difficult for our country to achieve the happy balance between adequate and excessive national defense spending. As a start, I should like to see some better techniques and analytic methods developed to assist us in this task. In the past the typical situation in wartime is where every element of the Armed Forces is pressing forward to do their utmost. In the process they ask for everything possible in the way of funds and equipment. Typically, the only limit has been our country's ability to produce or furnish it, with cost being of no concern. In war, of course, cost is not a matter of concern; the problem is only how you allocate all that the country can strain itself to make available.

This kind of criteria is not very helpful to us in this present year-in and year-out spending for national defense at a sustained high level which, for both political and economic reasons, must be considerably under an all-out wartime effort. Must we not now relate dollars and manpower costs to military readiness and deterrent effort? Must we not develop some marginal utility measurement as to what each added billion dollars will buy in the form of additional readiness and deterrent influence, and how should it be distributed among the many component parts of both our military and nonmilitary defense establishments? As an example, say the minimum total figure for national defense is $27 billion a year but this is not adequate to provide the essential deterrent effort. So you add another billion dollars to make it 28 billion. What should this added billion be spent for to make its maximum contribution—the Strategic Air Command, the guided-missile program, a Navy rocket ship, a shelter program, an addition to the Reserve or National Guard program, or provide incentives for population and industrial spacing?

Actually, the United States does not have a national defense organization that is suitable for this thermonuclear age or that can efficiently and economically resolve some of the questions and problems which I have posed. Pertinent to this statement is the testimony of President Eisenhower, when as General Eisenhower he appeared before the Senate Military Affairs Committee in November 1945 and said:

"It is not feasible to arrive at the size or composition of each arm (of the armed services) without simultaneously considering the others. Each arm supplements the other, and no single service can be independently considered. * * * The era of atomic bombs, pilotless missiles makes unity of concept, indoctrination and training more necessary than ever before. * * * If we do not integrate the executive management of the three members of our fighting team, our postwar security establishment will become the patchwork improvisation that is inevitable where independent departments, at different times, compete before separate congressional committees. With integration we can buy more security for less money. Without it we will spend more money and obtain less security. * * * Finally, there is no such thing as a separate land, sea, or air war; therefore, we must now recognize this fact by establishing a single department of the Armed Forces to govern us all."

It is only fair to say that much progress has been made since the President uttered these words some 12 years ago. The Defense Department has been established and has achieved some improvements in unification and coordination. However, interservice rivalries seem as keen as ever. With the rapid development of new weapons and weapons systems, it is perhaps natural for each service to fight for the control or exclusive use of these new weapons. Certainly, the United States learned in World War II that in the overseas fighting areas our forces had to be grouped into effective task forces including all elements of the armed services with integrated command and control. This lesson has not yet been learned here in the United States even though it is clear that in any future major war the length and breadth of the United States will be subject to enemy attack.

Now that any future major war will bring theater of operations and battlefield conditions to every part of our country, there is the need, I believe, to achieve here in the United States the unification and coordination which was learned in overseas theaters during World War II. More particularly, there is the need to coordinate and integrate nonmilitary defense with military defense. This is needed primarily to remedy the present situation where the lack of nonmilitary defense is such a significant weak spot that it neutralizes deterrent strength in other areas.

To me it is fortunate that the present Federal budget and, more particularly, the national defense budget has attracted this year so much citizen interest. It is and it should be a matter of citizen and political concern because only in that way can needed changes and improvements come in national defense effectiveness and in economy. For a number of reasons which I will not attempt to discuss, most of the needed improvements cannot be achieved from within; particularly those that relate to substantial shift of functions and funds from one service to another. Part of the problem stems from the circumstances that the old historic basis of division of duties is ill-suited because of weapons progress. The old prime organizational determinant on the sea, in the air, or on the land is probably not nearly as effective or econmical as would be a national defense establishment organized on the basis of functions or missions.

Because national defense expenditures must take into account both what we need and what we can afford, I believe that it is particularly pertinent for businessmen to inject the business angle of what do we get specifically in military readiness for our money in terms of item-by-item expenditures for national defense. Our new weapons are tremendously expensive and it is appropriate for the businessman-taxpayer to view these costly weapons somewhat in the manner he views the purchase of costly new equipment for his own firm. In business you buy expensive equipment like electronic computers because they reduce unit costs. In defense I believe there is the similar obligation that in adopting very expensive new weapons you make the other adjustments, such as business commonly does, to compensate by cuts elsewhere or by organizational changes so that the expensive new weapons pay their way by making other economies possible.

Closely allied with what we have been discussing on the economics of defense spending-is the problem of what the armed services should prepare to take care of their contingent liabilities resulting from our many treaty commitments and understandings. I shall refer only briefly to this third major development affecting national defense policies. Certainly it is good for the United States to have other nations as friends and allies. Likewise, it is desirable to assist free nations and others who are threatened with economic penetration and political domination by the Soviet. But I am troubled by the problems thus posed for our national defense establishment in terms of what additional military requirements are imposed on our armed services by these commitments. At least it is important that the advantages and disadvantages of each treaty commitment be spelled out and priced up in terms of national defense budgetary costs. From a military point of view we should not wish in this way to acquire "additional weak spots" that reduce our deterrent strength. Likewise, it is extremely doubtful whether the United States can afford to have two kinds of defense forces—one with obsolete weapons to fight the so-called brush fire war, and another to fight a major thermonuclear war. And above all, the United States should be wise enough after Korea to remember the old military maxim, Choose your own battlefield carefully.

Finally, let me reiterate that I have tried to place emphasis not on the old and accepted but on the needed new. I hope that to some small degree your interest and vision has been stimulated to the point where you will contribute your thinking an energy to

effecting changes and improvements to meet new needs and requirements. It is difficult to bring about changes and improvements rapidly enough to keep in step with significant developments. Progress will never come rapidly enough unless there is an ample cheering section of interested and experienced friendly critics urging Congress and the armed services to discard the old and to get on with the job of keeping up to date in this world of rapid change in circumstances and technical advances.

Carmine G. DeSapio on James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. Carmine G. DeSapio, secretary of state and Democratic national committeeman from New York State, at the 25th anniversary meeting of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York, held on June 21, 1957, at the Hotel Piccadilly, New York City. Mr. DeSapio is a member and an honorary member of the organization and joined in paying tribute to the guest of honor, Hon. James A. Farley, former Postmaster General and former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and the New York State Democratic Committee. General Farley was presented with a plaque by the Affiliated Young Democrats for his great assistance to the organization as a member and an honorary member for the yast 25 years. The address is as follows:

My good friends, I am very happy to be here with you this evening and to share with you in this 25th anniversary celebration of an organization which, throughout the past quarter century, has grown and developed as one of our city's most active associations of politically alert young people.

And it is my privilege to extend to the entire membership of the Affiliated Young Democrats and to you, State President Harold R. Moskovit, the warm personal greetings and sincere good wishes of Governor Averell Harriman, who has asked me to express his deep regrets at being unable to meet with us tonight.

As many of you ladies and gentlemen may realize, the steady progress which has marked the establishment of the Affiliated Young Democrats as a significant element in the affairs of our Democratic Party in New York has been a particular source of gratification to me, personally.

For, in a very real sense, you have helped to prove my own very strongly held belief that the future of our party depends to a great extent upon our ability to attract and to deserve the interest and support of the young people of our community for the philosophy, the activities, and the goals of our partisan organization.

And I believe that it is particularly fitting that you should choose this occasion—the silver anniversary of the Affiliated Young Democrats—to pay tribute to one of the very greatest young Democrats in the entire history of our party.

If we insist upon evaluating youth only in terms of years, then we cannot truthfully call our beloved friend, Jim Farley, a youngster; for in point of time, he has been a familiar and respected leader in our partisan councils for many decades.

But, if youth—as the philosophers tell us—is basically a state of mind, then, ladies and gentlemen, none of us can fail to be inspired by the razor-sharp perception, the remarkable vigor, the fresh, vibrant spirit—and the very great personal warmth—of this wonderful man who is so young beyond his years.

I doubt that there is anyone present here this evening who can remember a time when there was no Jim Farley upon whom we Democrats could confidently draw for practical assistance and guidance, for down-to-earth political and human wisdom, for encouragement and for inspiration.

And certainly few Americans of any era have been able to look back upon a record so tightly packed with meaningful personal achievement and distinguished public service as is our General Jim.

But perhaps most gratifying of all—to every man and woman who shares his profound dedication to the ideals of compassionate, forward-looking political democracy, which comprise the living spirit and heritage of our Democratic Party—is the knowledge that for many, many years to come we will continue to enjoy the very great privilege of his counsel and of working side by side with him in the very exciting business of politics.

Jim, it is my very great personal privilege to thank you—from the bottom of my heart—for your friendship and to present you, on behalf of the entire grateful membership of the Affiliated Young Democrats, this beautiful plaque—which is inscribed as follows:

"AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS, INC., OF NEW YORK, MERITORIOUS CITATION TO HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

"In appreciation for faithful, unswerving, untiring, and extraordinary service as an honorary member of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., for 25 years.

"Loved, venerated, admired, and honored by our members for your outstanding assistance by helping us to promote the highest ideals of the Democratic Party.

"Presented this 21st day of June 1957, at New York, N. Y.

"HAROLD R. MOSKOVIT,
"State President.

"God bless you."

Increase Pay of Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, the following is my statement to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee on June 18, 1957, urging that increases in salaries of postal employees be granted:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ISIDORE DOLLINGER, OF NEW YORK, TO THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE, JUNE 18, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, it is a disgrace that we have allowed the present situation regarding postal workers' pay to continue as long as it has. Our grossly underpaid postal workers have endured real hardships; they cannot meet ever-increasing living costs. Postal salaries are far below those being paid in private industry; present salary grades in the postal field schedule do not provide an adequate level of living.

I am told that in the New York City post office, low wages have compelled more than 60 percent of the postal employees to seek outside employment in order to meet the high cost of living. What kind of career service is this which requires a man to work 12 or 14 hours a day—8 hours in his post office job and 4 or more hours in the other job? What kind of life can such an employee have? His existence is actually all work; he has no time or energy or inclination for recreation, family life, or hobbies or any of the things that makes life pleasant and worth living and which should be everyone's reward at the end of a normal working day.

The turnover rate in our post offices is increasing rapidly and it has already reached alarming proportions in the New York post office. The post office is finding it increasingly difficult to retain their experienced workers and eligibility rosters are becoming smaller and smaller, because of the low wage scale, and the resultant lack of interest in the postal service as a career.

The administration's attitude in opposing postal pay increases is unrealistic and unwise. Inasmuch as the Federal Government has been unable to control substantial wage and price increases which affected prices which Government employees must pay for living necessities it is now the duty of Congress to adjust the pay of postal employees so they can have at least a decent existence.

The morale of our faithful postal employees has reached a low point; what to them appeared to be a good career has become a most unrewarding job. Unless our postal workers are paid adequate salaries, enabling them to enjoy a reasonably good standard of living, the efficiency of our postal system will be seriously undermined. We owe it to this fine and important group of workers to give them adequate pay for the duties they perform.

I urge the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to take favorable action providing for adequate pay increases for our postal workers without further delay.

Flood Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Flood Insurance," which appeared in the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal on June 24, 1957:

FLOOD INSURANCE

The House of Representatives last week refused by a vote of 218 to 186 to appropriate a $14 million fund which the administration had settled on as a start for a flood insurance program.

A flood-insurance law, enacted last year, calls for up to $5 billion in Federal flood insurance.

Advocates of the program have abandoned hope for action by Congress this year.

Recent floods in the Midwest and elsewhere in the Nation point to a very real need for some form of insurance against such disaster. Yet, private insurance companies

contend that the risk could not be spread sufficiently to pay claims except at extremely high premium rates. In a 1952 report the Insurance Executives Association stated:

"It is our considered opinion that insurance against the peril of flood applicable to fixed property cannot successfully be written, and that any specific promise of indemnity for loss by flood must therefore be regarded as in the nature of a subsidy or relief payment, which is quite outside the scope of private business and/or insurance."

In order to meet the obvious need of governmental action to insure against loss by flood, President Eisenhower this year asked Congress for $36 million to pay flood losses and for $14 million to reimburse insurance companies for selling and servicing policies.

The current action by the House, which stops the program for another year, is a shortsighted view of an urgent problem that is a recurring hardship in certain parts of the Nation.

New Idaho Senator Has Silver Tongue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, June 19, a truly magnificent speech was made by a new Member of the Senate of the United States. It was a maiden speech, and it concerned a topic with which countless Oregonians have been deeply concerned for some time, the bill to authorize the construction of a high comprehensive development Federal dam in Hells Canyon on the Snake River. At the conclusion of that speech by Idaho's junior Senator, FRANK CHURCH, veterans of many years in the Senate spoke of their deep admiration for the eloquence and the persuasiveness with which this brilliant Idahoan set forth his cause.

Two days later the Portland Oregonian, a leading newspaper of my congressional district, featured on its editorial page a tribute to that speech in the form of an article by A. Robert Smith, the Oregonian's Washington correspondent.

Under unanimous consent, I include this article in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW IDAHO SENATOR HAS SILVER TONGUE
(By A. Robert Smith)

WASHINGTON.—The United States Senate, which cherishes the richest tradition of fine American oratory but finds it a dying art, discovered this week a new orator of the old school in its youngest Member. He is Senator FRANK CHURCH, 32-year-old Idaho Democrat, who from this day hence may well be called the boy orator of the Snake.

Waiting 6 months to rise for his maiden address, Senator CHURCH had honored the Senate tradition that freshmen are to be seen but not heard. But when he took the floor Wednesday he had among his audience of enraptured listeners some whose Senate service nearly matches his years.

His topic was Hells Canyon Dam, for which he made an ardent and cogent plea.

What makes splendid speechmaking a rarity in the Senate in this electronic age is that running for public office today no longer makes full-lunged demands upon the candidates. The microphone and the high-powered amplifying system have been the equalizer for men not naturally endowed with richness of voice and a commanding manner.

But the Senate, like the Supreme Court, is one of the last sanctuaries where electronic gadgets have been forbidden. The House of Representatives uses an amplifying system. The Presidential press conference room is amply equipped with mikes and loudspeakers.

But not the Senate. And so some of the best known men in public life today—HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, or ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee—are often hardly audible from the galleries above, or in the far corners of the chamber itself. They are essentially mumblers, not speakers in the tradition of Webster and Calhoun.

Not since the death of Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky and retirement of Walter George of Georgia last year has the Senate heard fine oratory. None of those who remain are capable of it as were these veterans. Some, like young ALBERT GORE of Tennessee, show promise. Others, like DIRKSEN of Illinois, MORSE of Oregon, O'MAHONEY of Wyoming, NEELY of West Virginia, and KERR of Oklahoma, can command the Senate with their speaking brilliance.

But the rare combination of a man of commanding demeanor, powerful, measured delivery and sparkling flow of artfully expressed ideas is no more.

And yet young CHURCH showed genuine promise of, in time, developing all these talents in which he demonstrated ability.

As a college student, he starred on the Stanford University debating team. In 1941, at age 17, he won the national American Legion oratorical contest, and in 1947 he was winner of the 53d annual Joffre debate and was awarded the Medaille Joffre in San Francisco.

Whatever may happen to Hells Canyon, Senator CHURCH has once again put Idaho—the State that gave the Senate William Borah—back on the national political map by reviving the oratory for which the Senate has always been honored.

Recommendations of the Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products Pursuant to Public Law 540, 84th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, the possibility of using our agricultural surpluses for industrial uses is a plan which certainly merits the full consideration of every member of the Congress. I have recently introduced two bills (H. R. 8125 and 8130) which would assist small-business men enter such a program.

Within the past few days the full report of Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products has been made public and is available in Senate Document No. 45. This Commission has been studying the problem of using agricultural surpluses for industrial uses pursuant to Public Law 540, 84th Congress and I am presenting their recommendations as follows:

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON INCREASED INDUSTRIAL USE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS PURSUANT TO PUBLIC LAW 540, 84TH CONGRESS

FIRST RECOMMENDATION

The Commission proposes as its first and most necessary recommendation that the funds for industrial uses research be increased to not less than 3 times the amounts currently ($16,145,000) available; and that additional sums be provided as herein suggested for new crops research, trial commercialization, development and incentives.

SECOND RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends that Congress declare as a matter of policy the obligation to foster basic research in agricultural products and their uses, and that the administrators, in the allotment of funds at their disposal, be directed to place appropriate emphasis upon research projects having as their objective the discovery of new basic knowledge of farm products.

THIRD RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends that administrators be authorized, in addition to using the facilities of the Department of Agriculture, land-grant institutions and experiment stations, to contract also with other universities and colleges, nonprofit or profitmaking research organizations, private corporations, and foreign institutions especially in countries where Public Law 480 funds may be available.

FOURTH RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends that the administrators be given authority to share research costs on specific projects with private industries or with other public research agencies where in their judgment such sharing will bring desirable results economically and efficiently.

FIFTH RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends that the administrators be directed where appropriate to provide research grants, student fellowships, scholarships, and similar aids which, while accomplishing research projects, will also increase the supply of trained scientists. These funds should be so allocated that graduate training may be strengthened in each of the four major agricultural regions.

SIXTH RECOMMENDATION

The Commission strongly recommends that an adequate annual investment in research and development for new crops be favorably considered, along with suitable authority to the administrators of the program to provide incentives where essential to bridge over the awkward stage of establishment.

SEVENTH RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends that the administrators of the industrial utilization and new crops program be empowered to enter into appropriate contracts for development of research results into trial commercial-scale operations, and that an adequate proportion of funds be authorized to be used for this purpose.

EIGHTH RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends that the administrators of the industrial utilization and new crops program be provided with authority and funds to extend suitable incentives to farmers or to industry where appropriate to hasten the establishment of a new crop or of a new industrial use, where such appear likely to lead to durable additional markets, and for rapid disposal through industrial channels of accumulated surpluses.

NINTH RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends the creation of a nonpartisan Board with 5 members, to be appointed by the President by and with

the advice and consent of the Senate, 1 of whom shall be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; the Board shall be known as the Agricultural Research and Industrial Board.

TENTH RECOMMENDATION

The Commission recommends that 15 percent of the annual gross receipts from customs revenues be allotted to the administrators of the industrial utilization and new crops program for carrying out the proposals herein described. Authorization should be provided whereby such funds could be carried forward in amounts not to exceed $150 million. Continuity of funds will greatly improve the ability to plan and execute both research and followup actions.

The Time Has Come for the United Nations and the United States To Act on the Communist Rape of Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the New York Times of June 26, 1957:

CONSCIENCE ON HUNGARY

Immediate reconvening of the General Assembly of the United Nations is now in order to consider the scathing report that has just been issued by its special committee of inquiry into Soviet Russia's savage suppression of the Hungarian revolt.

The unanimous finding of the committee, composed of representatives of five independent powers from as many continents, could leave no trace of doubt in anyone's mind that the "spontaneous national uprising" in Hungary, "caused by long-standing grievances," was crushed by a "a massive armed intervention by one power on the territory of another with the avowed intention of interfering in its internal affairs." The brutality of Communist imperialism, as thus once again revealed, is matched only by the cynicism of official Russian and Hungarian attempts to laugh off this measured judgment of the free world. The question now is, as it always has been: What to do about it?

Certainly the least that can be done is for the Assembly to resume its suspended session for the express purpose of taking up this report. The revulsion of the civilized world against Russia's aggression in Hungary must be emphasized and reemphasized; the contempt of every free state for the Kadar regime must be underlined; whatever moral weight the opinion of free peoples may have—and we believe it has, cumulatively, a great deal of weight—must be brought to bear against the degradation of the human spirit that the Russian masters have forced on Hungary.

We hope that Ambassador Lodge, chief of the United States delegation, will urge these points at the meeting today of the 24 countries that originally sponsored the Hungarian investigation. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday unanimously urged the reconvening of the General Assembly at this time to consider the problem of Hungary; and we trust that the Senate itself will quickly endorse that action. The United States can and should take the leadership, but in ths matter the decision does not depend on us alone. There are, however, certain things we could and should do on our own initiative to show our practical sympathy for the Hungarian people.

Instead of congratulating ourselves, as the administration persists in doing, on the admission of a mere 32,000 Hungarian refugees during the past 6 months, we ought to be searching out new ways to give help and give it generously. One way would be to relieve the increasingly desperate condition of a few thousand Hungarian teen-agers who fled their country last fall and are now stuck in Austrian camps where they are fast losing their future. A few hundred of these unaccompanied minors have relatives in the United States who would like to take them in, but who are stopped (just as are relatives of Jewish refugees from Egypt) either by our immigration laws or by the administration's interpretation of them, or both. Fourteen hundred of these Hungarian children are already reported to have gone back or to have disappeared. Will official indifference—on the part not of some remote European bureaucrat, but of our own American Government—kill all hope for those who remain?

A Judge Beside Himself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, in view of the recent decision of the Supreme Court as to what congressional investigating committees shall decide they need by way of information, Raymond Moley's very interesting and intriguing article in the Los Angeles Times, entitled "A Judge Beside Himself," is most revealing.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A JUDGE BESIDE HIMSELF

(By Raymond Moley)

In considering the cases recently decided by the Supreme Court, in which various methods of the control of communism are dealt with, it may be well to begin by differentiating among the cases.

Most of the cases involved matters which clearly had to do with the proper function of the courts in their interpretation and application of the laws. This involves what is called the science of jurisprudence, which the standard dictionary defines as "the science by which the laws and the constitutions of States, written or unwritten, are reduced to system, and their principles analyzed, methodized, expounded, and judicially applied."

This aspect of public policy was involved in the case of the conviction of the five California Communists under the Smith Act.

The Watkins case, however, involved another science, the science of politics, which is defined in the same dictionary as "that branch of civics that treats of the principles of civil government and the conduct of State affairs; the administration of public affairs in the interest of the peace, prosperity, and safety of state; statecraft, political science: in a wide sense embracing the science of government and civil polity."

I venture to suggest that the Watkins case was a matter in which the Court usurped jurisdiction and that Congress has every right under the Constitution to ignore it. The Supreme Court, in decreeing what the procedure of a congressional committee should be, was outside its province and was crossing the boundary separating the branches of government.

For a very special reason I will quote from Mr. Justice Frankfurter's concurring opinion in the Watkins case:

"* * * The scope of inquiry that a committee is authorized to pursue must be defined with sufficiently unambiguous clarity to safeguard a witness from the hazards of vagueness in the enforcement of the criminal process against which the due process clause protects."

In other words, the Court is assuming the right to dictate to Congress what its methods of inquiry should be.

Now since there is a more apt reply to this at hand than anything I might write, permit me to present a quotation therefrom:

"The proper scope and methods of procedure appropriate to congressional investigations depend on the conception of the part they play in enabling Congress to discharge its basic duties."

The authority goes on to say that there is no legal protection due to unfettered speech, only moral and social pressure.

"For the same reason, congressional inquiry ought not to be fettered by advance rigidities, because in the light of experience there can be no reasonable doubt that such curtailment would make effective investigation impossible * * * the procedure of congressional investigation should remain what it is. No limitations should be imposed by congresstonal legislation or standing rules.

"The power of investigation should be left untrammeled, and the methods and forms should be left for determination of Congress and its committees as each situation arises. The safeguards against abuse and folly are to be looked for in the forces of responsibility which are operating from within Congress, and are generated from within."

My authority, upon which I am willing to rest my case, is Prof. Felix Frankfurter, writing about the Walsh and Wheeler investigations in the early 1920s. The article, entitled "Hands Off the Investigations," was published in the New Republic May 21, 1924.

Prof. Frankfurter and Mr. Justice Frankfurter are the same person, looking in the one case at a labor union official who refused to identify certain alleged Communists and in the other at certain businessmen and public officials.

Alice in Wonderland Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, in their anxiety to do everything possible to destroy the TVA, Bonneville Power Administration and other national and local public power developments, the spokesmen of the private power monopolies sometimes seem to find conventional economic concepts and logic inadequate to support their propaganda and are driven to torturing words, facts, theory, and logic to extremes as paradoxical as some arguments in Alice In Wonderland fiction. The June issue of Public Power magazine comments editorially on one such flight of loose logic and free economics by the private power lobbyists. Because I feel that others will

find the editorial refreshing and factual in an area where there is much use of incredible, confused and distorted statistics, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be reproduced in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

POWER SHORTAGES AND ROADS

A critic of public power last month carried one of the favorite arguments of some detractors of publicly owned electric service to its logical—if somewhat ridiculous—conclusion. In an address disarmingly entitled, "The New World of Economics," Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, director of economic research for the United States Chamber of Commerce, assailed Government agricultural programs and continued:

"On scores of other fronts, we have seen similarly, that when the free market is set aside chaos takes over. The only recurring electric power shortages are in regions where we have publicly owned power. The reason is obvious. When kilowatt-hours are underpriced, demand tends to exceed supply. Yet the political demand for public power, with its deceptive pricing, continues. The only reason we have fabulously wasteful highway and street congestion, which seems to be beyond correction, is because we have socialized streets and highways. If we had privately owned streets and highways, operated as private enterprises, this accentuated problem of congestion would never have arisen and would be self-solving. The railroads, for example, accommodate their rolling stock to their roadbeds, or vice versa."

Although some private power companies have had something akin to power shortages which Dr. Schmidt would have a difficult time attributing to underpriced power, we presume he is referring to the Tennessee Valley and the Columbia Basin, where there have been shortages or near shortages on several occasions in recent years. The record of the Federal wholesale power supply systems in these regions, as well as that of the power distributors they serve, does not support the charge that their power is underpriced. On the contrary, the Tennessee Valley Authority is not only repaying the entire Federal investment in its power facilities but has realized more than enough to cover the cost of money to the Government and the income taxes that would have been paid by a private power company. And TVA shows a $43 million profit to the people of the United States above all that. Similarly Bonneville Power Administration is far ahead of schedule in repaying the cost of Federal projects in the Northwest.

If this is deceptive pricing, then it may be that power from Federal projects in these areas, however low in comparison with most private companies' rates, actually is a bit overpriced.

There would be no threat of a power shortage in the Tennessee Valley if we taxpayers weren't saving millions of dollars annually in the power bills paid for our atomic energy installations and other Government defense activities which consume more than half of TVA's power output. In the Columbia Basin, any shortage threat similarly would be alleviated (at a cost to taxpayers) by cutting back on Atomic Energy Commission power loads or those of aluminum potlines that figure so importantly in defense production. And, of course, there would be no threat of shortage in either region if Dr. Schmidt's United States Chamber of Commerce and other private organizations would cease their attack on proposals for orderly expansion of Government-power generation in those areas.

But the fact remains that residential, farm and commercial electric consumers, as well as industry, do use more electricity in the regions of lower-cost power. Homes, farms and businesses in these regions use more electric appliances and other electrical equipment than those in other regions. And we believe that it is a sign of desirable progress that forecasts indicate that residents of such cities as Chicago and New York and Boston in the not too distant future may reach the standard of electric living found in such communities as Chattanooga, Tenn., and Tacoma, Wash.

This argument is elaborated by Dr. Schmidt when he blames our traffic jams on "socialized streets and highways." "If we had privately owned streets and highways, operated as private enterprises," he explains, "this accentuated problem of congestion would never have arisen." Does Dr. Schmidt mean that private enterprise would have provided us with sufficient highways and streets to cope with today's traffic? Apparently not, for he continues with the example of railroads limiting their rolling stock to their roadbeds.

What Dr. Schmidt is saying—and we won't quarrel with it—is that if we had private enterprise roads, we'd have fewer roads. What he doesn't add is that we'd have fewer cars and trucks, and a downgrading from today's standard of living in all those fields of activity where automobiles are necessary. By the same token, we'd have no power shortages if everyone limited his use of electricity to the level of residential usage in some communities in New England.

All this strikes us as a strange thesis for a spokesman for chambers of commerce including businessmen engaged in such activities as selling electrical appliances, building roads, selling and servicing cars and trucks, operating filling stations, etc.

The fallacy of this entire theory of a free market in electric power or highways is that there never has been a free market in this country in these fields. Electric service, streets and highways and railroads are monopolistic utilities. Because of this, Americans have long employed their Federal, State and local governments in helping provide these services—without sacrificing their belief in private competitive enterprise.

In electric power, four communities set up municipal electric systems in the first year of central station service. It has been suggested that the origin of the TVA may be traced back to a report in 1824 recommending improvement of Muscle Shoals. That report was made to President Monroe by his Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun.

The railroad roadbeds cited by Dr. Schmidt are in many cases located on lands donated by the people through their Government in order to encourage the building of railroads.

We do not believe that Americans are likely to abandon the chaos of public roads in order to return to a free market that has never existed. And we believe that they will continue to utilize their local, State and Federal governments in helping provide their growing requirements for electric power.

After all, as Dr. Schmidt's arguments so inadvertently emphasize, governmental programs in utility fields have a long and honorable history in this country. In fact, they are a part of the American way.

Washington Tells Its Story in Summer Jubilee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an item entitled, "Washington Tells It's Story in Summer Jubilee." Also a letter from Mr. Orville Crouch, chairman of the summer jubilee committee, a new list of jubilee key cities and a news release entitled, "Look for the Jubilee Key to the Nation's Most Exciting Vacation."

WASHINGTON TELLS ITS STORY IN SUMMER JUBILEE

Mr. Speaker, the Nation's Capital is the most beautiful city in the world. We who serve in the Congress of the United States are well aware of that. So, I am sure, are our constituents. In the course of our busy days, however, I am just as sure that too many of us fail to realize all the tremendous attractions Washington has to offer, and we fail, therefore, to properly inform and educate the folks back home accordingly.

Every American wants, at least once in his life, to visit his Nation's Capital. Today, with the travel market booming, many millions of our citizens are taking vacations with their prime purpose of "seeing America first." This is a welcome sign, for the more the citizen sees of his country, the more he becomes imbued with its beauties, its shrines and its history, the better and more patriotic American he will be. And assuredly today, in this troubled world, we need a new surge of patriotism, a reaffirmation of the traditions that have made and kept America great, a re-dedication to the ideals without which we could not long remain great.

But I am not making a patriotic speech. I want to call to the attention of the Congress a new spirit that has evidenced itself in the District of Columbia. It is manifested in the development, by such organizations as the Washington Convention and Visitors Bureau and the Hotel Association of Washington, in cooperation with the city's civic leaders and its business community, in the Washington "Summer Jubilee."

Certainly, the Jubilee, which began June 15 and lasts through Labor Day, has commercial overtones. Visitors to Washington bring dollars to spend, and the convention and tourist business is vital to the District's economy. Frankly, second only to the Federal Government payroll, it provides the largest income for the local economy. It is only natural, therefore, that promotions be devised to attract more people to our beautiful Capital City.

The Summer Jubilee, however, has a much broader aspect. With the millions of Americans enjoying summer vacations, eager to see their own country, where better can they begin than with a trip to Washington? No other city, no other area, has more to offer. Here are the shrines, the monuments, the very atmosphere of history past, present, and in the making for the future. Here the visitor walks the hallowed ground where once walked Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John Calhoun, and Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and all the rest. Here are the symbolic, the traditional, and the spiritual that best give the citizen that immense and fitting feeling of pride in the words, "I am an American."

If Washington's Summer Jubilee can help distill that pride, that reverence, in the hearts and minds of a million or more additional summer visitors, it has well been worth the effort. But, for a moment, let us put this aside. Even Members of Congress, you, and you, and I, can learn a bit more about our city. It is our home away from home, you know, just as it is every American's other hometown, and we should learn to relax in it, to take advantage of all that it has to offer.

Here in my hand I hold a brochure on the Summer Jubilee, prepared and distributed around the country by the Washington Convention and Visitors Bureau. Within its pages it lists a calendar of events for the period of the Jubilee. I have personally been amazed, in glancing through it, at the varied kinds of entertainment available in the Nation's Capital. There are fine free concerts at the Watergate, and on the steps of the Capitol itself. There is topflight entertainment under the stars in beautiful Carter Barron Amphitheater, in Rock Creek Park. I need not go into the long list; suffice it to say, there is something for everyone, young and old, something to fit every purse and pocketbook as well as to suit every taste.

And, always, of course, there are the shrines, the monuments, the public buildings, even the Congress itself when it is in session. There are the popular shrines, and the lesser known but still as important to our history. There is "More to do, More to see in Washington, D. C.," says the Summer Jubilee slogan. Mr. Speaker, none of us can doubt that.

None of us can doubt, either, the value, culturally and spiritually, to the citizen who has visited here. Let me compliment, therefore, the persons who are making the Summer Jubilee possible, and let me suggest that every Member of Congress join in and spread the word to his constituency. We will all be better for it.

JUBILEE KEY CITIES—NEW LIST

This is a new Jubilee Key cities list. Please note the changes. The cities which are in parentheses have been recently added or have replaced the old ones.

Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Atlanta, Ga.; Asheville, N. C.; Birmingham, Ala.; Boise, Idaho; Boston, Mass.; Bradford, Pa.; Bristol, Tenn.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Charlotte, N. C.; Chicago, Ill.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Columbia, S. C.; Dallas, Tex.; Dayton, Ohio; Daytona Beach, Fla.; Denver, Colo.; Detroit, Mich.; Erie, Pa.; Houston, Tex.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Louisville, Ky.; Miami, Fla.; (Milwaukee, Wis.); Minneapolis, Minn.; New Orleans, La.; Newark, N. J.; New York, N. Y.; Norfolk, Va.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Portland, Maine; (Portland, Oreg., instead of Helena, Mont.); Reno, Nev.; Richmond, Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; St. Paul, Minn.; Salt Lake City, Utah; San Antonio, Tex.; San Francisco, Calif.; Savannah, Ga.; Seattle, Wash.; (Spokane, Wash., instead of Butte, Mont.); Tampa, Fla.; Worcester, Mass.

These changes have been made in order to facilitate the distribution of Summer Jubilee Calendar of Events. Milwaukee, Portland, and Spokane have more travel offices than Helena, Butte, or Des Moines.

The attached letter was mailed to the Congressmen of the "Jubilee Key" cities and "Jubilee Key" States. A complete list of "Jubilee Key" cities as well as explanatory press releases which were sent to the travel editors of these cities are also enclosed.

WASHINGTON CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU,
Washington, D. C., June 10, 1957.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: One of your constituents may be formally presented with a golden key to the Nation's Capital. The golden-key presentation will highlight the summer-jubilee program sponsored by the Greater National Capital Committee, June 15 through Labor Day. To mark this occasion, the city will assume a gay, festive air with flags and banners spelling out a hearty welcome to its jubilee guests.

Concerts at the Watergate, and in the shadow of the Capitol; parades, Fourth of July celebration, President's cup regatta, Woodlawn Mansion ceremony, and other outstanding attractions will be recorded in a calendar of events. This comprehensive brochaure of things to see and do in the Nation's Capital is jointly published by the Washington Hotel Association and the committee. Airlines, bus lines, and railroads servicing Washington will handle the calendar distribution. Fifty of these calendars will contain a golden insert with the replica of a jubilee key. Residents of the cities scheduled to receive a marked copy of the calendar will be advised to that effect through newspaper, radio, and TV publicity. They will be told to visit their travel offices and to ask for their copy of the calendar of events. One of the calendars will bear the jubilee key insignia.

The finder of the marked copy will become an official guest of the Nation's Capital. We are also urging the travel editors of the jubilee key cities to sponsor a courtesy key to be delivered by the finder as a good will message from his city to the Nation's Capital. Upon his arrival to the city, the finder will be presented with a golden key which will guide him through a week of summer jubilee fun.

A list of jubilee key cities, a copy of the calendar of events, and a press release describing the jubilee key program are enclosed with this letter. You might want to drop a line to the constituents of your key cities inviting them to visit you. You might particularly like to have the key finder as your guest.

Sincerely,

ORVILLE CROUCH,
Chairman, Summer Jubilee Committee.

LOOK FOR THE JUBILEE KEY TO THE NATION'S MOST EXCITING VACATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.—There's a magic key hidden in your city. Find it, and you will discover the pass to an unforgettable week of "Summer Jubilee" fun in the Nation's Capital. Airlines, railroads, and bus lines carry a supply of the Washington Calendar of Events. In one of their city offices you may find a marked copy of the Calendar—and the mark will be that of the golden Jubilee Key.

The benefits to which this golden symbol entitles the finder are representative of the many wonderful features of the "Summer Jubilee," June 15 through Labor Day. Sponsored by the Greater National Capital Committee, this summer-long holiday offers unusual values in entertainment and economy.

A week's stay for two with breakfast is the key's first reward. The Burlington, Jefferson, Raleigh, and Sheraton-Park Hotels are offering their air-conditioned comfort to the lucky finder of the Jubilee Key. Their rates, listed in the Calendar of Events, reflect the special family plans initiated by most Washington hotels during the summer months. Children under 14 are admitted free. In some cases, swimming-pool privileges, free garage space, and breakfast are added to the plan.

All that Washington has to offer is at the disposal of the key winner and of the summer visitor: Band concerts in the shadow of the Capitol or at the Watergate steps, Fourth of July celebration with its elaborate fireworks displays, and the speed-shattering powerboat races of the President's Cup Regatta. The key finder will be a guest at the rustic Olney Theater, featuring Broadway shows and musicals. He will also receive two passes to the romantic open-air Carter Barron Amphitheater where Jimmy Durante, Bob Hope, Harry Belafonte, and Jerry Lewis appear in the Entertainment Under the Stars series. Add to this two tickets to big-league baseball and a moonlight cruise on the Potomac River and you will catch the glimpse of an exciting weekend awaiting the key finder as well as the visitor.

Seeing the Nation's Capital is a delightful and rewarding experience. Graceful monuments and memorials, stately White House and Capitol Building, surrounded by shady trees and green laws are truly beautiful. The Jubile Key finder will be taken on a complete sightseeing tour of the city, courtesy of the Gray Line. From Union Station to Rock Creek Park, one building after another will unfold in a majestic succession. The climax of the trip will be a visit to George Washington's home—Mount Vernon.

The international flavor of Washington emanates not only from the presence of foreign dignitaries and the impressive embassy row, but also from the cosmopolitan nature of the city's restaurants. Their cuisine will please the most refined gourmet palate. The Jubilee Key finder is invited to dine in seven different restaurants—one for each day of his stay in the Nation's Capital.

Inquire about travel to Washington, ask for your copy of the Calendar of Events at the travel offices of airlines, railroads, and bus lines. The Calendar that you pick up might contain your lucky Jubilee Key. Visit the Nation's Capital gay and festive in its summer jubilee attire. Be a guest of the city and let the city treat you to an unforgettable vacation.

IT'S SUMMER JUBILEE TIME IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Flags, banners, and festive decorations will greet the visitor upon his arrival to the Washington Summer Jubilee. Sponsored by the Greater National Capital Committee, this summer-long holiday offers unusual entertainment and economy values.

A red carpet of welcome extending from the Union Station to the Rock Creek Park is laid out by the air-conditioned hotels featuring special family-rate plans. Children under 14 are admitted free. And in some cases, swimming-pool privileges, free breakfasts and garage space are included in the Summer Jubilee rates.

"There is more to do, more to see in Washington, D. C." reads the summer slogan of the city. Against the green expanse of its many parks, Washington is more beautiful than ever. The Jefferson Memorial, the Lee House, and the Presidential Mansion, encompassed by blooming flowers and spacious lawns provide a rare sightseeing experience for the entire family. Culminating in a visit to the stately Mount Vernon, a Potomac cruise on a sunny day is leisurely and refreshing.

For music lovers there are summer-long concerts at the Watergate steps or in the shadow of the Capitol Building. Harness racing and big-league baseball are Washington's favorites and a must for the visitor. A pre-Broadway world premiere of the West Side Story is opening at the National Theater in August. Beginning with mid-June Bob Hope, Jimmy Durante, Harry Bellafonte and

other nationally known entertainers will appear in the romantic open-air Carter Barron Amphitheater. Add to this solemn post parades, military ceremonies as well as numerous gallery exhibits and you will capture a glimpse of the forthcoming Jubilee attractions.

The special events of Washington are particularly well-known. Gigantic firework displays illuminating the graceful skyline of the Nation's Capital are part of an elaborate Fourth of July celebration. Speed-shattering powerboat races attract an international group of spectators to witness the breathtaking battle for the coveted trophy. Swimming meets, canoe and sailboat races constitute additional competitive events of the President's Cup Regatta. A closing feature of the "Summer Jubilee" program, the Candle Light Tour of the Woodlawn Plantation is enchanting in its simplicity and symbolic of the Nation's historic past.

A complete list of Washington summer events as well as the Summer Jubilee hotel rates are incorporated into a calendar of events. This brochure, jointly published by the Greater National Capital Committee and the Washington Hotel Association, can be obtained either from the carriers' offices or by writing to the Greater National Capital Committee, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Tattered Battle Flag Flies Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, recently the city of Kalamazoo, Mich., in my district, was linked with the great Republic of the Philippines by a colorful ceremony held in the home of the famed Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo.

The story of this ceremony, involving return to General Aguinaldo of a battle flag captured in the Philippine Insurrection and long a prized possession of Spanish War veterans and later the Public Museum of Kalamazoo, is described in the following newspaper article from the Kalamazoo Gazette:

Under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I include the following article:

TATTERED BATTLE FLAG FLIES AGAIN—KALAMAZOOANS RETURN TREASURED RELIC OF PHILIPPINE REBELLION

MANILA, June 12.—Gen. Emilio F. Aguinaldo, the 89-year-old rebel chief who became president of the first Philippine Republic, today saw a tattered battle flag from his fight for freedom fly over his hometown square through the efforts of a group of Kalamazooans.

The flag, taken in battle more than half a century ago, was returned to the aged hero of the Philippines in a colorful ceremony this morning (Manila time) by United States Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen. The presentation took place at Kawit, Cavite Province, in Aguinaldo's home where Philippine independence from Spain was declared June 12, 1898.

SENT BY PRAUS

The tri-colored flag was sent to Aguinaldo by Alex A. Praus, director of the Kalamazoo Public Museum, at the request of its former owners, the members of Richard Westnedge Camp, United Spanish War Veterans, of Kalamazoo.

The flag had been a treasured memento of the Philippine campaign and had been given to the post by the late Frank Riley who brought it home from the island war.

In making the presentation before a gathering of diplomatic notables and aged veterans of the Philippine Insurrection, Ambassador Bohlen said in part:

"The director of the Kalamazoo Public Museum recognized that what to the people of Kalamazoo was a prized acquisition, was to the people of the Philippines a sacred symbol of their long and glorious struggle for national independence.

RIGHTFUL PLACE

"Therefore it was decided that since those who once bore arms against each other are now united in the bond of fraternal friendship, and since the independence movement which you led at the time this flag was made—almost six decades ago—has achieved its goal, the flag's rightful place is in your hands."

Congressman AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, who helped arrange the presentation, wired Aguinaldo:

"Warmest greetings on the return of your battle flag, long a prized and honored possession of the citizens of the Third Congressional District of Michigan. I join my constituents in saluting both a great patriot and the cordial Philippine-American relations he has helped build."

After the presentation Aguinaldo and Bohlen stood on the balcony of Aguinaldo's home and watched a parade of Philippine veterans pass in review. The flag was then taken to the Kawit town plaza and raised as a 69-year-old former rebel sounded reveille.

Hon. R. Gregg Cherry

SPEECH
OF
HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the Honorable R. Gregg Cherry, a great American and former governor of North Carolina, whose death occurred yesterday. North Carolina has lost an outstanding leader who contributed so largely to the growth and prosperity of our great State.

His death has brought sorrow to thousands of North Carolinians who had known him and who had labored with him, and it has brought particular sadness to those who were so closely associated with him in his public service in the State. He was a man of deep loyalty and devotion to friends, party, State, and Nation.

Early in life Gregg Cherry entered the practice of law in Gastonia, N. C., and likewise began his public-service career, first as mayor of Gastonia, representative in the North Carolina General Assembly, speaker of the North Carolina General Assembly, and later as State senator.

When he became a candidate for governor his public service and other positions of trust caused the people of the State of North Carolina to conclude he would make a good executive and he was elected governor in the fall or 1944.

He was proud that he was a son of a democratic State and represented democratic people who had placed him in a position of prestige and power. He liked people. He was at home among people in all walks of life.

As soldier and governor he fought that all men might have a fairer and better opportunity and that those who inherited the land might enjoy its fruits, their rightful heritage.

During his lifetime he accomplished much as an administrator and as chief executive of the State of North Carolina.

With the death of this North Carolina statesman, there has passed from the scene a great American.

Fallout Peril—A Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the Hartford Times editorial on fallout peril from nuclear weapons points up very well the concern of many constituents in my district in Connecticut. I believe a nonpartisan discussion of this issue is healthy at this time, in view of the international concern developing over disarmament.

President Eisenhower's most important goal has always been a lasting peace. The public backed him overwhelmingly and rejected Mr. Stevenson's use of this issue as an emotional stimulus to his campaign, which was obviously inappropriate at that time, as recent Russian atrocities in Hungary and elsewhere have clearly demonstrated.

It behooves us to examine all aspects of our foreign and domestic policies. The President can be counted on to make a responsible and wise decision with all of the pertinent facts and world conditions in proper perspective.

The editorial follows:

[From the Hartford Times of May 25, 1957]

FALLOUT PERIL—A PROPOSAL

The number of thinkers who believe man is committing murder and suicide by making tests of nuclear weapons is growing daily. These men include philosophers, theologians, physicians, physicists—men of many occupations and all political beliefs. They are desperately afraid.

Their fear is that test explosions of nuclear weapons have been creating, and are still creating, clouds of radioactive dust in the upper air, dust that settles in a gentle, deadly fallout over the whole earth. This dust cannot be disposed of. It will be dangerous for many generations to come. It poisons water, food, the very earth itself. Settling into the bones of humans, especially children, it starts incurable cancers.

Who are these fearful men? Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the medical missionary who works in isolation in Africa and has been given international recognition as a moralist an a musician. Pope Pius XII, voicing his thoughts through radio, public audiences and the columns of the Vatican newspaper. The Atomic Scientists Association of England. Dr. Linus Pauling, a chemist at Cali-

fornia Institute of Technology and a Nobel Prize winner. An association of German physicists, banded together to beseech their government's opposition to continuing nuclear tests. The Japanese Government, which sent a special envoy to London and Rome for a similar purpose.

There are many others, whose knowledge and authority cannot be gainsaid. All are afraid—not for themselves but for humanity.

Every nuclear explosion carries aloft many dangerously radioactive elements. Some of these elements decay very quickly, a few in a matter of seconds. Some are dangerous for several lifetimes. Others will be deadly for as much as 200 million years. There is no way to rid the earth of them. They fall into rivers, fields, and oceans, and are absorbed by plants and eaten and drunk by animals. When a fish dies from their lethal emanations, the radioactivity does not cease. It can kill another fish or a human.

Never before, until now, has man had in his hands the means of bringing about his own total destruction. Knives, clubs, guns, fire bombs, all the weapons of the past—these can kill only in the vicinity of the place in which they are used. Once used, they are harmless until used again.

The dust from nuclear bombs can kill again and again and again, and there is no way to stop it from killing. Every nuclear explosion is more dangerous than the last, because the accumulation of dust is that much heavier.

Spokesmen for the Atomic Energy Commission say the danger is not yet great enough to menace mankind. They cannot deny that it exists. The layman, without scientific training or physical equipment to assess the peril, may hope that the AEC is right, but he must give great weight to the opinions of the men who disagree. And the terror is contagious.

Atomic Energy Commissioner Willard F. Libby announces that the United States now has a "clean" H-bomb, in which health hazards are "minimized." He does not say they are eliminated. The difference is only one of degree. Each H-explosion adds much or little to the accumulation of poison.

Is there any hope for mankind under this terrible and progressively worse threat of death? Yes. Man can survive the present level of artificial radioactivity. Thousands will die, but man will live. Dr. Pauling says 10,000 persons have died or are dying from the effects of the explosions already set off, but the prospect of cancerous death is not yet universal. It is only an increase in radioactivity, contributed by more and more explosions, that can kill the human race.

Protection, then, lies in a halt to nuclear explosions large enough to throw deadly dusts into the upper air. This means stopping tests of the H-bomb.

Up to now, H-bombs have been tested by three nations, Russia, the United States, and Great Britain. It is unlikely that any other nation can develop an H-bomb. Therefore, if Russia, the United States and Great Britain stop testing their bombs, humanity will be safe from the effects unless war breaks out and the bombs are put to military use.

The horribleness of the H-bomb is the best deterrent to its use. The problem of nuclear disarmament is outside our scope in this discussion of the tests and their effects. But there is a way to approach an international halt to testing.

It would not involve any great danger to any nation's security. There would be no need for international inspection of nuclear production. There need not even be a formal agreement. All that is required is a statement from President Eisenhower.

"The United States will not again explode any nuclear device capable of poisoning the atmosphere unless it has evidence that such a device has been exploded, after this date, in a foreign country."

What would happen if the President made that statement? In one short sentence he would take a long step toward safety. Russia would be put into a position in which, if she is sincere in her many protests of horror at the continued poisoning of the atmosphere she must do the same thing or lose great face. Great Britain would be in a similar position. Who would wish to be responsible for continuing the pollution of the world?

Would the security of the United States be endangered? There might, of course, be some risk. But we now have a usable H-bomb, big enough to serve our military purposes in a future war. If Russia stops testing, we are still ahead. If she does not stop, we can resume our tests.

Would there be danger that Russia might outstrip us in the arms race if tests were stopped in both countries? No, for nothing would be said about laboratory research and mathematical investigations of H-weapons. Each side would continue that kind of work.

Could we trust the Russians to stop tests if we did? There would be no need for trust, because an H-bomb explosion is impossible to hide. Instruments that monitor the upper air over America reveal in a few days an explosion anywhere on the globe. If they indicated that Russia was again, or still, exploding H-bombs, we could start our tests again. The Russians know this, of course.

It would take courage for the President to stop the tests. For one thing, such a proposal was one of the chief points of the campaign of Adlai E. Stevenson, his recent opponent for the Presidency. The President would have to expect jeers from both his own party and the Democrats for adopting Mr. Stevenson's suggestion. We believe he is big enough to ignore them.

If tests stopped, the world could relax a little. It is impossible to forecast whether the door to disarmament might also open a little wider. That, if it happened, would be wonderfully welcome.

But the goal of greatest immediate importance, the result we must achieve, is a stop to the deposit of one tiny layer after another of deadly poison on the earth.

Action Now on Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune dated June 26, 1957:

ACTION NOW ON HUNGARY

Since last Thursday the world has had before it a document detailing one of the most shocking international crimes of this century. In 150,000 words, a United Nations investigatory commission has itemized the brutal suppression by Soviet Russia of the uprising by the Hungarian people against the Communist regime that had been foisted upon them from the outside. The report was compiled without any help from the Communist overlords of Hungary—indeed, over their determined opposition. But it was derived from the first-hand testimony of refugees, from a study of official documents, from a knowledge of recent Hungarian history. And it found that the uprisings in Budapest and elsewhere last October and November stemmed from the grievances of the people and their desire for liberty, rather than from the intervention of "Western imperialists," as the Communist charge.

It found, too, that if the Hungarians themselves had been permitted to determine their future, the pro-Communist government would have perished. The Hungarians never asked the Soviets to intervene; they came over the border uninvited and unwanted, with troops and tanks, and crushed the popular insurrection with force and with fire. Since the imposition of the Kadar regime in Hungary, the report asserts, liberties have been supressed and denied. But the investigators make clear their belief that basic yearning of the Hungarians for independence has only been strengthened by the Communist terror and that if the people had the means of freely expressing their will, Kadar and his Communist henchmen would be driven from power.

Few more devastating bills of particulars against armed intervention by a great power have ever been drawn up. But to indict the aggressor is not enough. A way must be found to redress the wrong and to restore the rights and the losses of the victim.

This is the problem that now confronts the United Nations. The report has been drawn up, but if the U. N. merely lets it rest in the archives it will have failed in its duty. Today can be a decisive day in the history of the U. N.'s handling of the Hungarian situation. For representatives of the 24 nations which sponsored the original General Assembly resolution calling for the investigation will meet to decide whether to press for action on the report now, or to postpone it until later.

A regular meeting of the General Assembly is scheduled for the autumn, and discussion could be deferred until then. But this is an extraordinary matter which demands extraordinary action. If a special midsummer meeting of the General Assembly were convoked, the importance of the Hungarian report, and the determination of the U. N. to do something about it, would be forcefully dramatized. Pressures would be concentrated on the Soviet Union and its satellite regime in Budapest. The people of Hungary and of other Iron Curtain lands would be heartened by the demonstration of the world's concern for them. They and their oppressors would be made aware that the overwhelming majority of the U. N. regards the suppression of Hungarian independence as a challenge to which a response must be found, rather than as a fait accompli to be accepted with a few pious protestations.

We urge the United States delegation and all others concerned with freedom to take the lead in calling for a special General Assembly meeting now. The report of the special investigation committee stands as a monument to the heroism of Hungary. It must not be turned into a monument to the futility of the United Nations.

Gov. Robert Gregg Cherry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I brought to the attention of the Members of the House the passing of a great North Carolinian, former Gov. Robert Gregg Cherry, of Gastonia, N. C.

I am inserting in the RECORD a copy of the story of his death carried by the

Gastonia, N. C., Gazette on Tuesday, June 25, 1957. I believe that this story will be of interest to our colleagues, since it so fully sets forth some of the highlights in the life of this great American.

The article follows:

Robert Gregg Cherry, 65—North Carolina's 89th governor and the only Gaston County man ever to serve in the governor's office—died at 7:40 o'clock this morning at Gaston Memorial Hospital.

He had entered the hospital here June 5.

Several weeks earlier he had been a patient at Duke Hospital in Durham.

Cause of his death was described by his principal physician, Dr. W. A. Anthony, of Gastonia, as a form of toxic poisoning. Dr. Anthony announced an autopsy will be conducted, but said this is of a routine nature.

Three nurses and a physician were with the former governor at the time of his death. Dr. Anthony had last visited Mr. Cherry's room in the hospital to check his condition at 11 o'clock last night. Dr. Anthony, who also was present at the hospital a few minutes after he died, said that Mr. Cherry's condition worsened suddenly just prior to his death.

While much of his life was devoted to public service, Cherry was also a highly successful attorney, known particularly for his skill at cross-examination and his mastery of rough-and-tumble courthouse tactics. Possessing a keen wit and never-failing sense of humor, he frequently was successful in trial of a lawsuit in throwing his opposition off balance. He served as Governor from 1944 through 1948.

Funeral for the former Governor will be held Thursday at 11 a. m. at First Methodist Church. Officiating will be Dr. Wilson O. Weldon and the Reverend C. E. Murray, pastor of the church. Entombment will be in the mausoleum in Gaston Memorial Park.

Honorary pallbearers will be members of the Gaston County Bar Association.

The only survivors of Mr. Cherry are his wife, Mrs. Mildred S. Cherry of the home, 212 West Ninth Avenue, and a half-brother, W. Brevard Cherry of Catawba, S. C.

The body will be at Carothers Funeral Home until 1 hour before the services when it will lie in state at the church.

The family asks that friends give memorial donations to the School for Handicapped Children instead of sending floral offerings.

Mr. Cherry was a member of First Methodist Church and served for a number of years as a member of its official board. In the civic sphere he was a member of the Gastonia Kiwanis Club.

Besides his service as such in public affairs, covering a long legislative career climaxed by service as Governor, he was also a powerful voice in the Democratic Party. He served as North Carolina's State Democratic chairman.

He was instrumental in writing the State Democratic platform in 1948, the last year of his governorship. As head of the North Carolina delegation during the 1948 National Democratic Convention he stood firm against all attempts to bolt North Carolina to the ranks of the Dixiecrats, led by J. Strom Thurmond, then Governor of South Carolina. His last active service in Democratic politics was as a delegate last August to the 1956 National Democratic Convention at Chicago.

IRON MAJOR

Gregg Cherry, the State's 89th Governor, was known as the Iron Major.

As a soldier, as a governor, as a man—in all his life and with all the things he accomplished—the Cherry leadership, magnificent wit, and warm human touch always appeared against a background that had a positive iron quality.

As speaker of the house of representatives in 1937, he ruled with an iron hand. He was hard and firm, like iron. His favorite color was gray. He wore gray suits and socks, and shirts in shades of matching gray. He often presented a picture in gray, without the grimness sometimes associated with that color. Topping off that picture was his head of glistening gray hair.

MADE HIS MARK

The State's newspapers popularized the "Iron Major" title when Cherry was speaker of the house in 1937. This was a hard-working session, often a rebellious one, and Speaker Cherry made his mark in State politics. He came out of the session an excellent bet for the governor's chair.

Robert Gregg Cherry was born October 17, 1891, at Catawba Junction in York County, S. C. His father, a Confederate veteran, was C. Lafayette Cherry. His mother was the former Harriet Davis.

The boy was named for his grandfather, Gregg Cherry. His mother died when he was an infant and he was brought to his grandparents' home in Gastonia.

Seven years later, when Gregg Cherry was still a child, his father died at the farm in South Carolina.

MOVED HERE

Cherry was taken into the home of his uncle, Henry M. Lineberger, who was appointed his legal guardian. The Lineberger family lived briefly at Catawba, S. C., but in December 1899, moved to Gastonia.

Here, in Gastonia, Cherry grew up, attended school, and made friends who later helped him win election to the State's highest office. The Linebergers treated him as one of their own children.

His maternal grandfather, Isaac Newton Davis, was a pioneer Gastonian.

Cherry attended the public schools of Gastonia and was known as a serious and purposeful student. But he had a good sense of humor and ample energy for mischief. His teachers noted, however, his burning desire and ambition to rise above the ordinary—he already had his eyes set on the governor's chair some day.

WORKED WAY THROUGH

Cherry graduated from Gastonia High High School in 1908. He entered Trinity College (Duke University) and worked his way through picking up and delivering dry cleaning, selling tailored suits, and typing for the dean of the law school.

He found time for basketball, too, and was good enough to be captain of the hardwood team his senior year.

He graduated in 1912. Then followed 2 years in law school. He received his bachelor of laws degree in 1914.

During the summers of 1912–14 Cherry worked in the tobacco fields near Durham, sold books door to door, and had a job in the mines of West Virginia.

TO CONVENTIONS

In 1912, when he graduated from Duke, Cherry took a trip to Chicago and Baltimore for the political conventions being held by Republicans and Democrats. He wanted to study politics at close range.

First, he joined the Republicans in Chicago where a split was developing between William Howard Taft and ex-President Teddy Roosevelt. Roosevelt and the Bull Moosers walked out, splitting the party, and leaving the way clear for the Democrats to nominate Woodrow Wilson and elect him to the White House.

Cherry, cheering, joyously, joined the revolters at Chicago and led them out of the convention hall. He secretly hoped for a deep enough split to elect a Democrat.

CHEERED AGAIN

On to Baltimore, and Cherry cheered again—sincerely this time—as the Democrats gave the nomination to Woodrow Wilson who later was elected.

It was at Baltimore that Cherry met Josephus Daniels, Raleigh newspaper publisher, who later was a strong influence in his life, especially in politics.

In 1914 Cherry opened his law office in Gastonia. In 1917, as war clouds gathered, he organized a company of Gaston men and trained them as Company A, 115th Machine Gun Battalion, 30th Division.

TRENCH FIGHTING

The company saw front-line service in France, survived the bitter trench fighting for 6 months, and came home with a loss of only 3 killed and 17 wounded. Cherry held the rank of captain.

Even before returning home, Cherry was projected into politics. Back in Gastonia his fellow townsmen put his name on the ticket as candidate for mayor, without his knowledge or consent.

He got off the ship in New York a few days before the election in April 1919. He got home the day before the election. He was putting away his uniforms—changing over to civilian clothes—the day of the election.

Cherry won. Being mayor of Gastonia was his first elective office.

REELECTED

He served until 1921. He ran again and was reelected.

Also in 1921 he married Miss Mildred Stafford, daughter of the mayor of Greensboro.

Cherry continued his interest in the North Carolina National Guard. He was promoted to major. He joined the American Legion and was elected first commander of Gaston Post No. 23 in Gastonia. In 1929 he was elected State commander.

He joined the Knights of Pythias, too, and was elected grand chancellor in 1924.

Politics took an ever-stronger hold on Cherry through the twenties. In 1929 his friend of Duke days, Willis Smith, of Raleigh, came to see him.

RUN FOR HOUSE

Smith wanted Cherry to run for the legislature. His reason: So Cherry would vote for him (Smith) for speaker of the house.

His arm twisted, Cherry consented. He did run and was elected to the State legislature from Gaston County.

He served in 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, and 1939. He was speaker of the house in 1937.

In 1941 and 1943 he was elected to the State senate.

Cherry was gradually emerging as the strongest candidate for governor in 1944. He was the front-running candidate for the Democratic nomination.

CAMPAIGNING

In the primary of 1944, Cherry went up and down the State preaching health and hard work, better educational facilities and sound financing, improved opportunities for State employees, veterans, and teachers, better roads, rural telephone service and electricity, fair treatment of labor, improved agriculture, conservation and development of the State's resources, tax reduction where possible, and plans for a postwar construction program.

After a hard campaign, Cherry won. He was elected governor that fall, becoming the 89th man to hold the office and the first ever to serve from Gaston County. He was 53 years old.

SAVED MONEY

Cherry's administration, pinched by war shortages, was unable to start any large-scale construction programs immediately. By careful handling of money, his administration piled up surpluses of over $100 million that later went into permanent improvements of State institutions.

Cherry's administration left large sums for increases to schoolteachers' salaries, too.

Upon his retirement as governor in 1949, Cherry returned to Gastonia to live. He re-

sumed his law practice in the same office building.

Cherry's keen wit kept him in demand as a public speaker. He never lost his good humor, either, in the most trying situations as governor.

NOT IN MY PRECINCT

Once an angry schoolteacher wrote saying:

"I wouldn't vote for you again if you were the angel Gabriel."

Cherry fired back a reply:

"If I were the angel Gabriel you couldn't vote for me. You wouldn't be in my precinct."

Once a job seeker wrote, saying:

"Mr. Smith of the highway department has just died. Do you think I can take his place?"

Cherry sent him a telegram saying:

"It's all right with me if you can arrange it with the undertaker."

Statement of Congressman Torbert H. Macdonald, a Representative of the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, June 19, the Honorable TORBERT H. MACDONALD, Representative from the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, appeared and testified against the confirmation of Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall, of the Federal Power Commission, to a new 5-year term.

Mr. MACDONALD has been one of the most vigorous and outstanding opponents of the natural-gas bill in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of which we are both members. I believe that his remarks in connection with the confirmation of Chairman Kuykendall are of the utmost importance to the American people, and for that reason, I have asked permission to insert them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time.

I hope all will read the remarks of Mr. MACDONALD and that others will come to realize as I have that the Honorable TORBERT H. MACDONALD has been serving well his constituents and the consuming public of his country by his vigorous and forceful opposition to a bill which would cost the consuming public of this country some $950 million a year:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN TORBERT H. MACDONALD, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Chairman, I am TORBERT H. MACDONALD, Representative from the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts. I am very grateful to you and the other members of this committee for the opportunity to appear and present my views on the important matter that is now pending before this honorable committee.

I am appearing here this morning on the matter of the reappointment of Chairman Jerome K. Kukkendall to a new 5-year term on the Federal Power Commission. I would like at this pont to preface my remarks by stating that as far as I know Chairman Kuykendall is a fine gentleman personally. I certainly have no personal objections to him. However, I feel strongly that Mr. Kuykendall has not always carried out the main duty of his high office, namely to protect the public interest. The basis for my opinion is predicated solely on testimony given before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, of which I am a member, on the natural gas legislation now pending before that committee.

The members of this committee are well aware that the House Commerce Committee has recently concluded the public hearings on H. R. 6790, the natural gas bill, which seeks to free producers from effective Federal regulation. Yesterday, in fact, we began executive consideration of legislation and will be continuing same during this week, at least.

Mr. Chairman, I am not here to argue or expound on the merits or demerits of the gas legislation that is now pending before the House Commerce Committee. Rather I think that this committee should have brought before it the part Chairman Kuykendall played in formulating this gas legislation.

I am sure that every member of this committee will agree with me that when Chairman Kuykendall took office as a member of the Federal Power Commission he took oath to enforce and follow the laws of the United States, especially those governing his own agency which was set up to protect the American consumer from the unfair practices of large gas producers. As we all know, abuses by certain large companies led to the passage of the Natural Gas Act in 1938.

I soon discovered, after questioning Chairman Kuykendall during the gas hearings on May 9, 1957, that he had not carried out the principles of that oath, but that he had called secret meetings with the three segments of the natural-gas industry, namely, Randall LeBeouf, Jr., of LeBeouf, Lamb & Leiby of New York City, representing the gas distributing segment; William Tarver, of Southern Natural Gas, Birmingham, Ala., representing the transmission segment; and David Searls, counsel for Texas Natural Gas Producers, representing the gas producing segment of the industry. The admitted purpose of the secret meeting was to draft a bill acceptable to all segments of the Natural Gas Industry. This meeting, as you may know, was held on the instruction of the White House. There is no question that the vetoed corpse of the first Harris gas bill was still warm when Mr. Kuykendall instituted this gas legislation. That he did so at the request of the White House is not a mitigating circumstance in my opinion. He was appointed to serve the public, not the White House. I feel that the actual testimony taken before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee should be included in these hearings lest I be accused of prejudice. I now insert the actual questions and answers as appear in the reporters' transcript of the hearings.

The following is taken verbatim from the official record of our committee hearings:

"TESTIMONY OF JEROME K. KUYKENDALL, CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE ON MAY 9, 1957, TO AMEND THE NATURAL GAS ACT

"Page 184 and 185 of the transcript:

"Mr. MACDONALD. Would the gentleman yield for one clarifying short question?

"Mr. O'HARA. All right; I will yield.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Do I understand that you say you were not consulted at all about this bill, or merely about the drafting of the bill?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. I was not consulted at all about this by anyone that I can recall.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Thank you, Mr. O'HARA.

"Mr. O'HARA. Does that clarify it?

"Mr. MACDONALD. Yes, sir.

"Page 245 to 255 of the transcript:

"Mr. MACDONALD. Sir, this morning there was some conversation about what part you had played in the formulation of H. R. 6790, which was introduced by Mr. O'HARA and Mr. HARRIS. Would you care to comment on your part, your role, in the formulation of this bill?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Well, I commented this morning, and I will repeat it: I had no part in the formulation of this bill or any other bill.

"Mr. MACDONALD. If I were to say to you, sir, that it is common knowledge—or strike 'knowledge'—it is commonly reported, shall we say, that prior to the election, prior to the past congressional and presidential elections, that you made it known to various segments of the industry that you wished they would get together to present to you a bill of this type so that you could make a report to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, would I be saying something that was not correct?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Yes; you would.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Then you categorically deny that you ever let any segment of the industry know that you were interested in their plans for the formulation of a new so-called gas bill?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. What happened was this, Mr. MACDONALD: That while Congress was still in session last year, and after the Harris-Fulbright bill had been vetoed, Jerry Morgan at the White House contacted me and asked me if I, without saying anything to anybody, could prepare a draft of a bill which I thought would fulfill the requirements that the President had stated in his veto message. So I told him I would try to do that. I went to work on it all by myself, and I soon ran into many problems. So I talked to Mr. Morgan, explaining that I could not do it myself, and the only way I could think to get it done quickly would be to confer with some of the people who had opposed the bill. I said I would like to talk with Mr. Randall LeBoeuf, who had been the spokesman of the distributing companies that opposed the bill.

"Mr. MACDONALD. What is his official title?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. He is a lawyer in New York City. I think he is in the room here right now.

"I talked with Mr. LeBoeuf, and he was willing to lend any assistance he could. He, however, agreed that we probably should get some representative of the producers and some representative of the pipelines.

"So I selected two other lawyers. I asked Mr. Searles, who has been a spokesman here for the producing industry on the previous bill, and I selected a Mr. Tarver, who used to be an attorney some years ago, long before I was with the Federal Power Commission, on the Federal Power Commission staff, but who is very knowledgeable about the Natural Gas Act and is now employed by one of the pipeline companies.

"Those gentlemen agreed that they would try to put together what they thought would be a good bill, and they did some work on it.

"In the meantime——

"Mr. MACDONALD. Did you see this bill while they were working on it?

Commissioner KUYKENDALL. I don't think this bill was in existence.

"Mr. MACDONALD. You said they were working on a bill, not H. R. 6790, but a bill, and I am asking you if you saw that bill?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. I saw several drafts of things they had drawn. None of them, so far as I know, ever saw the light of day.

"Then, as you will recall, last year, the President vetoed the farm bill, and other

things clogged up the congressional calendar, and it became quite clear to me that there would be no possibility of the administration sponsoring a gas bill, and I inquired of Mr. Morgan, and he later checked with me, and said that it was definitely out of the realm of possibility for this year.

"So I told these other three men I have mentioned that there was no chance of any bill coming up that year.

"In the meantime, I learned, and I have forgotten now from just whom, that Mr. Heyke——

"Mr. MACDONALD. Who is he?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Mr. Heyke is president of the Brooklyn Union Gas Co., had instigated some conferences, not among lawyers, but among executives of the industry.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Each segment of the industry?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Yes.

"And then later, Mr. Heyke came to me and said he had heard rumors about some lawyers drawing a gas bill, and he had started these conferences, he hoped they would be fruitful, and he requested that I defer to him and not have sort of a competing group going. And so I acquiesced to that.

"Mr. MACDONALD. What time of the year was this conversation had?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Oh, I don't know, perhaps around the time Congress adjourned, I am not sure.

"Mr. MACDONALD. August?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. And so I stepped out of the picture at that time, never called these three lawyers together again that I had talked with; but was aware of the fact, and was advised from time to time by Mr. Heyke, or some of the other parties, that he had gotten together, and generally of what they were trying to do.

"And Mr. Harris mentioned that he had gotten ahold of a statement of principles. Well, I believe I received a copy of that.

"Mr. MACDONALD. A statement of principles from whom?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. I don't remember whether I got it from Mr. Heyke or one of the others, from other segments of the industry, with whom he was conferring. But I took no part in that at all, but let them go their way with it.

"Mr. MACDONALD. And you say that is the last you had to do with those segments of the industry concerning a gas bill?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Yes, except, as I said before, they reported to me now and then as a matter of courtesy. I remember one time they reported that they were just about at the end of their rope. They didn't think they could ever agree on anything.

Mr. MACDONALD. What time of year was this?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. I don't recall. I didn't keep any record of it.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Was it during October and November preceding the election?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. I don't recall whether it was preceding or after that election.

"Mr. MACDONALD. And that is all the connection you have had with this bill?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. That is all; yes.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Well, sir, as I understand it, the bill under which you administer the act, the act which you administer, was put in for the protection of the consuming public of the United States, was it not?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Yes.

"Mr. MACDONALD. And that, as such, your primary if not sole duty is to the consumers of the United States; is that not correct?

"Commisisoner KUYKENDALL. Well, to the public interest, which embraces all segments of the country.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Well, after elections are over, the public interest reverts to the people, the public interest is the consumers, because there are roughly 29 million consumers, and the number is going up all the time, as I understand it.

"Would you not say that your primary duty is to protect the people who use this gas, rather than those who produce it?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Yes; and that is what I am endeavoring to do.

"Mr. MACDONALD. I would like to ask you this question: If, during the formulation of this bill which is now H. R. 6790, you did not call on any consumer group to find out how they felt about this matter, and relied solely on only the three segments of the industry that had to gain from any such bill?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Well, that is a loaded question.

"Mr. MACDONALD. It is not a loaded question.

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. I don't know what the distributors had to gain.

"Mr. O'HARA. Let him answer that.

"Mr. HESELTON. I think he has a right to ask it.

"The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman may proceed in order.

"Mr. MACDONALD. I would like to say this, sir: Any question that may seem adverse to you is not necessarily loaded, and I, as an impartial member of this commitee, somewhat resent being told I am asking loaded questions when actually I am merely asking you why you did not consult with the people from whom the job that you occupy was created to protect the very people that you did not—at least as you yet have said—ever consult. And I am just asking you why.

"Now, that is not a loaded question.

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. In the first place, I know of no sufficient consumer groups to go to; and I wasn't going to groups. I went to three individuals, and I admonished those individuals that there should be no publicity about this, and there should be absolute secrecy, because I did not want any rumors started that there might be another gas bill during the last session of Congress.

"Furthermore, the pipeline group, and particularly the distributing group, were antagonistic to the producers, and were in, and had the same position on the matter as did the consumer, alleged consumer groups, that opposed the bill last time.

"That is why I went to Mr. LeBoeuf, who had been the spokesman, the chief spokesman, for the opposition to the previous bill.

"Mr. MACDONALD. I would just like to say that I think, under the circumstances, you acted wisely by acting in secret for the purposes you had in mind. But I repeat my question, for I have not had an answer to it yet. You have gone on about what you did, but you have said that you did not consult with any groups of consumers, and I know that you do know of groups of consumers, because they appeared here 2 years ago when you were in the room and you listened to their testimony in opposition to the House bill.

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. No; I did not consult with any consumer groups. I was consulting with lawyers.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Did you consult with any lawyers from a consumer group, of the mayors' association, for one, the mayors of 200 cities of the United States?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. No; I did not. I only consulted with these people I have mentioned.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Since the mayors of 200 large cities of the United States comprise, at least in theory, representation for millions of people, and millions of people who would be affected by this bill, I cannot quite understand why you did not, and I am asking for an explanation why you did not.

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. This bill poses a question where the producers are one interest, and not only the consumers but the distributing companies and the pipeline companies were another interest.

"Many pipeline companies were not friendly to the bill last time.

"I got 3 extremely able men from those 3 segments of the industry, and I believe that among those the consumer interests were adequately represented.

"Mr. MACDONALD. Now, sir, I want to yield to my colleague, but I want to ask because I think this comes to the nub of it: You consulted with those three groups because you wanted a gas bill, that is not correct?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Not groups; three individuals.

"Mr. MACDONALD. With 3 representatives of 3 segments of this industry. You, by virtue of consulting with them, were consulting with the industry, is that not correct, for the viewpoint of the segments which they represented?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Yes; I chose one from each segment.

"Page 269 and 270 of the transcript:

"Mr. MACDONALD. Sir, to go back to what we were originally talking about, your connection with the formulation of this bill, I do not know whether you are aware of this or not, but on April 15, 1957, there appeared in the Oil and Gas Journal an article which included the following paragraph, referring to the gas bill:

" 'Early hearing planned. The bill is based upon policies worked out by FPC Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall in meetings with industry groups which he was asked to hold after the gas bill was vetoed by Eisenhower last year.'

"Do you say that that statement is not an accurate statement?

"Commissioner KUYKENDALL. Yes, I say it is not accurate. And I say that what I told you a little while ago is the truth.

"Mr. MACDONALD. All right, sir."

You will note that Mr. Kuykendall made several denials before he finally admitted that he had indeed originated a gas bill. The role, and sole role of the Federal Power Commission is to protect the public against the proven depredations of the gas industry.

The shocking thing in my mind is that Chairman Kuykendall never consulted a single consumer group the entire time this legislation was under consideration. If he was vitally interested in the consumers, he certainly was in a position to consult with any one of the 200 mayors of our large cities of the United States, who as you know, represent millions of people and whose association had so vigorously opposed the first Harris bill. I could never get a satisfactory explanation from him as to why the consumers were left out when his sworn job is to protect the public consumers against the manipulation of the natural gas industry. It is apparent to me, from the evidence, that Chairman Kuykendall has not been protecting the interest of the consumer. In fact, from his testimony, I am convinced that he collaborated with the natural gas interests, to the exclusion of consumers, in drafting a gas bill to ease Federal price controls on gas producers.

In order that the members of this committee may have a complete picture I would like to have made a part of the hearing record as well for the consideration of this committee, a number of questions I asked Mr. Randall J. LeBoeuf, Jr., who testified on behalf of Consolidated Edison Company of New York on May 20, 1957, and his answers to these questions. Likewise, I would like to have the questions I asked Mr. John E. Heyke, Jr., president, Brooklyn Union Gas Co. on June 4, 1957, and his answers, made a part of the hearing record. Their testimony reaffirms my position.

I am sure that if the members of this committee will study the questions I asked Chairman Kuykendall and the answers that he gave, together with the testimony of Mr. Heyke and Mr. LeBoeuf you will agree with me that Chairman Kuykendall failed in his primary duty to protect the people who use natural gas and favored those who produce it. The fact that distributors were involved is of very little consequence, for as we all know, the distributors merely pass along any increased cost to the consumer. Even more importantly the fact that all segments of this industry are closely intertwined is a fact beyond dispute. For example, Mr. Heyke, of Brooklyn Union Gas Co. and president of the Council of Local Gas Companies, in testimony before our committee stated: "Gas distributing companies are little more than sales agents for producers and pipelines."

Another illustration of the closeness of the three segments of the industry is shown by the fact that one of the principal witnesses for the pipelines in this natural gas bill hearing is leaving his position this month as head of a pipeline transmission company to become president of the large distributing company that services Chicago, Ill.

The record of the testimony before our committee is replete with testimony that Mr. Kuykendall consulted not only with his secret group representing the three segments of the industry, but also a second group in which everybody but the public was represented. Mr. Randall LeBoeuf, of LeBoeuf, Lamb, and Lieby of New York, who have clients in all phases of the gas and oil industry, worked hard and long as a member of both secret and nonsecret industry groups in drafting the bill now known as the Harris-O'Hara bill. The main point in both groups' bill and which is presently contained in the Harris-O'Hara bill, is the prohibition against the Federal Power Commission looking at the producers cost of production. This prohibition against looking at costs will cost the consumers of natural gas literally billions of dollars. It is the quid pro quo for which the producers are willing to file reports to the Federal Power Commission, whereas under the first Harris bill they would not even have to report. This prohibition is contained in the draft of legislation put forth by the secret group of industry representatives called together by Commissioner Kuykendall in principal No. 11, subparagraph (5). I am making this draft, which was furnished me by Mr. LeBoeuf at my request, a part of the record.

What this cost prohibition will mean to the consumer I think is clearly illustrated by a concrete example in the Denver, Colo., area. In this factual case if the Colorado Interstate Gas Co. was given a rate increase, based on the regular cost method now in effect, the increase would amount to $1,698,198, or a 26-percent increase, which of course is paid by the consumer. The same case based on a cost-prohibition basis which would be followed under the Harris-O'Hara bill would amount to $7,543,335, or an increase of 114 percent to the Public Service Co. of Denver, which in turn passes it on the consumer. This difference of 88 percent would be an annual increase of over $6 million.

With this illustration I think it unnecessary to go forward with other similarities in the two groups' bills which are to be found, but I have put them in the record for your perusal.

Both Mr. Heyke and Mr. LeBoeuf frankly admitted consulting with each other in April of 1956 about the drafting of a gas bill. (See p. 1614 of House hearings) while Mr. Heyke and Mr. Kuykendall consulted on the gas bill in May of 1956. The final draft of the bill was not finished until October of 1956. There is no dispute between anyone that this final draft is completely encompassed in the bill which is now H. R. 6790, and known as the Harris-O'Hara bill.

It is shocking to me, and I feel it will be to the committee to observe the role played in the originating of this gas bill by a chairman of a commission which has the duty to regulate the segments of the gas industry, to sit down in secret with the industry to draft a bill that would be satisfactory to that industry.

His duty is to protect the consuming public, not to draft legislation that will be satisfactory to the industry he is regulating. I think that the lack of judgment alone, shown by such an action would act as a disqualifying yardstick for reappointment to his high position. If, on the other hand, he was only being a messenger boy for an administration who was then engaged in a presidential and congressional election, I feel that this too is a disqualifying yardstick, for the public has a right to look to protection far beyond that afforded by a messenger boy.

If there are other and perhaps more complicated reasons to be deduced from the factual evidence submitted here today, I can only point out that in no place in the record can I find any evidence that the present Chairman has fought for the protection of the consuming public in this matter.

Can the Job Be Done?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, this is the fourth of a number of articles dealing with the problems of cutting waste in our Government through recommendations of the bipartisan second Hoover Commission.

These articles were written by Mr. Clarence Francis, National Chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, and were published in a pamphlet entitled "The Coupler," by the Symington-Gould Corp., of Buffalo, N. Y.:

CAN THE JOB BE DONE?

The preceding three articles have shown why we must cut Government waste, an intelligent method to undertake the job, and the size of the job. But our cause is lost if cannot apply the knowledge gained. Will we act in time to save the $5 billion a year which full adoption of the recommendations can mean? That's saving of $100 per average American family, by the way.

Unfortunately, nothing happens automatically in our democracy. To make changes, new laws must usually be passed. Before they can be passed they must be debated in Congress. And Congress must be advised by the American people.

In the past, attempts to reorganize the Federal Government have generally failed. The biggest roadblocks to reorganization have been "pressure groups," both within and without the Federal establishment. These groups represent a minority of Americans who are interested in maintaining certain advantages to themselves.

HOOVER COMMISSION SETS NEW PATTERN

As a safeguard against partisan pressures, all Members of Congress from "both sides of the aisle" voted for the law which created the second Hoover Commission. That is why the President appointed men from both political parties to serve on the Commission. Also included were members of both the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Federal Government and outstanding personalities outside the Government.

Never before in the history of our Nation has such a complete review of Government operations been made. The second Hoover Commission has given the Nation a blueprint for a streamlined, efficient governmental machine. It is now up to Americans everywhere to make sure that the blueprint is followed.

The odds were against the first Hoover Commission when it completed its report in 1949. Yet, by 1952, some 72 percent of the Commission's recommendations had been adopted. That experience proved that it can be done.

The second Commission has found the Federal Government doing things which should be done by private enterprise, in many cases more easily and cheaply.

For example, the Commission found that the Defense Department runs 2,500 individual commercial enterprises competing needlessly with taxpaying small businesses. To name a few, these governmental establishments include ice plants, sawmills, bakeries, motion-picture studios, dental manufacturing establishments, ice-cream plants, tree garden nurseries, sea transport lines and a railroad in Panama.

The Commission said that 1,000 of these enterprises could be eliminated without injury to our defense effort. It made little sense to the Commission for the Department of Defense to run laundries in regions where there are plenty of commercial laundries, bakeries where there are commercial bakeries, and paint factories where private firms made paint. The Defense Department, I am glad to say, has accepted the Commission's recommendation. So far some 179 business-type establishments have been closed.

In another instance, it was found that a $350,000 loss was registered over a 5-year period by 3 Government-owned ships of the Panama Steamship Line. These ships ply between New York and the Caribbean Sea. During this same period the passengers carried at Government rates dropped from 6,248 in 1950 to 4,746 in 1954. Freight dropped seriously at the same time. Yet in 1954 alone, the Military Sea Transport Service of the Department of Defense made 28 passenger ship voyages and 8 freighter voyages to the Canal Zone, carrying 6,781 passengers, 9,311 troops and 79,515 tons of cargo. Meanwhile, the Government's Panama Steamship Line sailed with partly empty staterooms and holds.

The second Hoover Commission made specific recommendations to cut this duplication and waste. To carry them out, every American must support them.

Importance of Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert an editorial from the June 22, 1957, issue of the Daily Herald-Telephone, published in Bloomington, Ind. This editorial presents some interesting conclusions concerning the Girard case, which is of great interest in my district:

IMPORTANCE OF GIRARD CASE

The case of William Girard, whose shooting of a Japanese woman has become an important international matter could well be the occasion for this country—and particularly our State Department—to do some

serious thinking about all Americans living abroad.

Ever since the end of the war we have heard an incessant clamor against colonialism and imperialism. The prime targets were Britain and France, with the Dutch getting the rap in Indonesia. Now the tongues are being unleashed against the Americans.

Let's look at the record of Britain. It is far from being perfect, but the British did bring order, respect for law, and a good share of the free enterprise system, and a rather high degree of freedom. Being British they could do nothing else. Yet the British were probably the most disliked people on earth.

What were the British sins? The chief charge of the people in the former colonies was that the British were aloof and adopted a superior attitude.

Neither the British nor the Americans are especially adept at learning other languages. On our side we have so little chance to use them. The British just don't take the trouble. That fact alone creates aloofness. In every city in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America there is a British-American colony. No matter how much we wrangle with the English at home, we do seem to get along very well with them once representatives of both nations find themselves on foreign soil. The big tie is language. It is all very well to be sociable with the Argentines, Indonesians, Japanese, etc., but it's a very difficult job when the knowledge of the language is confined to such simple sentences as "the girl has a doll," "today is Tuesday," and such other simple stuff as can be quickly snatched out of a simplified course in a foreign language.

Take a look at our own country. We see all sorts of Polish, Swedish, German, etc., settlements. Those people don't especially want to be clannish, but it is forced upon them. If you can't speak English, you can't even buy groceries, you can't telephone, you are isolated—and not by choice. Exactly the same situation confronts the American and Britisher in Japan. He is forced to depend on his servant to supply the daily food for the table. He is forced to trade in certain stores which provide interpreters. He simply has to be aloof.

The second charge is that the British, French, Dutch, or American act superior. They do, because they are superior. It isn't high hat to say the average American is superior to the average native of the Belgian Congo. He is. It isn't egotism to say the Britisher in India was the mental and physical superior of the average Indian. He is. If you have any doubts, look at the record of the two countries.

It isn't vanity to say the Dutch are superior to the Indonesians. Simply take a look at the country before and since the Dutch left. Before there was a stable government, respect for law, people worked, there was a high degree of prosperity and employment. Now the country is wracked by civil war, little gangs have taken over the actual government. Business is at a standstill. Despite the super abundance of raw materials and an oversupply of labor, Indonesia is, in fact, bankrupt. It has just announced it will not pay its foreign debt, most of which is owed to the Dutch. From our viewpoint, the Dutch are superior.

Is Egypt any better off since the British got out? The merchants, manufacturers, and people who labor don't think so. They get a constant diet of propaganda, but a pretty thin diet of food. Just ask yourself—who is superior, the average Briton or the average Egyptian.

Envy is the root of the whole evil. The native Egyptian, Indonesian sees his superiors live well, and live in cleanliness. He never considers why there is a diffeernce. He never stops to think of the years of schooling, of the system of sound government that develops resourceful minds. He figures that—if he is free from all colonial restraint—he too will live like his superiors. We have seen many examples of that folly in the past 10 years.

Many people have seriously questioned the wisdom of granting freedom before a nation is ready to receive it. The Philippines are the very best example. The United States prepared the Filipinos for freedom for nearly half a century, and much more important, we have subsidized the present government to keep it healthy. On top of that, the Philippines have been very fortunate in having a very capable and selfless group of native leaders. In that they have been almost alone.

Now it is Uncle Sam who has his troops stationed all over the world. They get paid better, they live better, and they are forced to keep to themselves. They are not popular, and their popularity is getting lower every day. This Girard-Japan situation is just an extreme manifestation. The Communists elected a mayor on Okinawa. Even the sensible Icelanders kicked us out, and then changed their minds after the Polish and Hungarian revolts. In other words, we aren't popular, but we are needed.

Every time Uncle Sam pulls home one of his soldiers or official foreign representatives we build better international relations. It's high time this simple truth soaked through State Department heads. Girard may turn out to be the builder of a new foreign policy—which we could sure use.

Horsesense on Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor has expressed some editorial thoughts on the Hells Canyon Dam issue that make sense. For the last 4 years, at least, those who want to scrap over public versus private power have pegged their arguments around this remote piece of geography in the wilds of Idaho. Some political strategists apparently think the issue had great political "sex appeal" in last year's elections in the Pacific Northwest and want to keep it alive for next year's campaigns. Personally, I think the elections concerned went off on other matters and most people were sick of hearing about it then, and are getting more so. I wish they would take the Monitor's advice and find another canyon to fight about.

The editorial follows:

LAST CHANCE FOR SECOND THOUGHTS

The Senate has reversed its action of a year ago and voted to build a Government-financed high dam in Hells Canyon.

Out of the 7-year controversy, which this latest action caps, a few points of general agreement stand out:

1. That the direct money cost of the high dam would be very much larger than that of the three lower dams which the Federal Power Commission has licensed the Idaho Power Co. to build. How much more is still a matter of debate.

2. That the single high dam would more completely develop the enormous power and water-storage potential of Hells Canyon than would the three smaller dams. How much more, likewise, is a matter of dispute among competent authorities.

3. Even had Idaho Power clung to its grant of a fast tax writeoff, the direct money cost to the taxpayer at the most generous computations of interest would still be lower than the outright cost of building the high dam.

This would seem to add up in fiscal logic to a simple conclusion: that the House (which has never voted on the project) should reverse the Senate out-of-hand, or the President should exercise his veto. Except for two considerations which, undeniably, color the picture.

The first of these is that the three low dams would rule out for unpredictable decades any opportunity to fully develop a great natural resource. The finality of this prospect puts even a hundred million dollars or so in different perspective.

The second is that the circumstances surrounding the fast tax writeoff certificate and the evident inside disclosure of its issuance had begun to make Hells Canyon smell a little like Dixon-Yates. On this count the Senate's action could be read as a protest vote.

Idaho Power's renunciation of its privilege has done much to dispel this aroma. But there remains the matter of choosing a whole or perhaps a three-quarters loaf with respect to the Hells Canyon potential. If the House and the administration now would like to take some second thoughts, the Senate has given them the opportunity.

What Is Behind the Galindez Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in view of the remarks just made by the gentleman from Oregon, I ask consent to extend my remarks and include a very able article by a very able American.

The article follows:

WHAT IS BEHIND THE GALINDEZ CASE

(By Harold Lord Varney)

The last few months have witnessed one of the most obscene performances ever staged by our "liberal" exhibitionists. Briefly stated, it has been the attempted journalistic lynching by a part of the American press of Gen. Rafael L. Trujillo, first citizen of the Dominican Republic. It has been the sorry attempt by a tight little handful of professional American "liberals" to destroy the man who is the pivot of American military security in the vital Caribbean area.

That the familiar crew of professional liberals should attach themselves to the anti-Trujillo cause is understandable. What is disquieting is that they have been joined in this lynching party by some of our most respectable national publications, whose editors should know better. Carrying the gonfalon in this incident has been the pontifical New York Times, idea fount of all the host of American eggheads. Scarcely a day passes that the Times does not confront its readers with a new anti-Trujillo editorial or news story. But the Times has lots of company. Such mass-circulation magazines as Life, Look, and, on a more starchy level, Harper's, have joined in the chorus. Wittingly or unwittingly, all these national media are helping to create a stereotype in

the American mind that Trujillo's Dominican Republic is somehow outside the pale of American approval. It is a typical liberal smear job.

This is not the first time that the liberal hue and cry has been unleashed against Trujillo. Actually, it is the third full-dress drive. The first was in 1937 at the time of the so-called Haitian border incident. The second was between 1947 and 1949 when the Communist-organized Caribbean Legion actually attempted an armed invasion of the Dominican Republic, to the applause of the leftist intelligentsia in the United States. Both of these attempts followed the pattern of a spotlighting of some alleged wrong in the Dominican Republic and then, by a trick of transference, indicting General Trujillo himself as an ally unacceptable to the American people. Both these attempts, which had wide press support at the time, failed dismally.

Now the smear drive is being ventured again. This time the enemies of Trujillo have a full-rigged mystery story to aid their approach to American editors. This is the so-called Galindez case.

The final chapter of the Galindez disappearance has not yet been written but enough is now known to indicate that in Jesus de Galindez we are not dealing with a martyr. The facts which have been brought to light suggest that we may be dealing with a simple case of voluntary personal disappearance.

Galindez, a lecturer at Columbia University and a writer of tracts against Trujillo, dropped out of sight in New York on March 12, 1956. No witness, who has appeared in the investigation, has seen him since that day.

Because Galindez was known to be writing a book against Trujillo, the Left-Wing elements which he had cultivated since coming to New York, set up an immediate cry of murder. The allegations took absurd forms. One accuser, Nicholas Silfa, who has since been arrested in New York for alleged illegal practice of dentistry, caused a 3-day sensation in the press by declaring that he had information that Galindez had been burnt alive in the furnace of the Dominican Line freighter, *Fundacion*, then in the New York port. When the New York Police Department investigated the charge, they discovered that the mouths of the three boilers on the *Fundacion* were so narrow that a man's body could not be pushed in. The story backfired.

Then it was alleged solemnly, by New York Trujillo-baiters, that Trujillo feared the 750 page book, "The Era of Trujillo" which Galindez was hawking around the New York publishing houses, and that he had been done away with by Dominican agents to stop the book. General Trujillo himself nailed this one when he revealed that he had already had an opportunity to stop the book and had rejected it. Before offering it for publication, it appears, a go-between for Galindez had approached representatives of the Dominican Government and offered to kill the book provided the Dominican Government paid consolation money in the amount of $25,000. The Dominicans had refused this, and Galindez then offered the book to New York publishers. The individual who acted as Galindez intermediary in this sordid transaction made a public statement divulging the episode to the New York World-Telegram.

And then a bombshell dropped on the case. The enterprising New York Herald Tribune discovered that Galindez had been living a double life. By day a $300-a-month lecturer at Columbia, away from his classes he had been conducting a lucrative money-raising drive for the so-called Basque government-in-exile, which is resisting Franco in Spain. He was a registered agent of that body. Since 1949, he had reported, he had raised the sum of $1,023,004 for this purpose—$32,103 of this money he reported as spent in the United States for personal expenses. His superior in the Basque government-in-exile, Jose Antonio Aguirre, in Paris, acknowledged that about $500,000 of this money had been sent to him. What happened to the other nearly $500,000 still remains a mystery.

In short, Dr. Galindez was not just a humble scholar: he was an international plotter with assets of half a million dollars in his possession. Here was certainly a much more obvious field for surmise, concerning his disappearance, than any possible Dominican lead. He could have been killed by criminal operators to get his money. He could have gone to Spain to conduct the underground against General Franco. Or he could himself have voluntarily disappeared, by slipping into another identity, with his half million. Senor Aguirre, from his Paris sanctuary, has given no help on any of these possible lines of inquiry.

An even more plausible explanation occurred. Galindez, who had Communist associations, could have been spirited to Russia. As is well known, Russia's MVD is highly trained to effect overnight political disappearances. The spiriting away of Burgess and MacLean in England, and the earlier disappearance of the scientist, Pontecorvo, were cases in point. The mysterious vanishment in the United States of Arthur Adams and of Juliet Stuart Poyntz were precedents. Certainly, it would have sharply aided Communist interests in the Caribbean to have staged the whole Galindez disappearance, and to have triggered the American liberals into launching the present anti-Trujillo publicity drive.

This surmise was strengthened when two refugee Hungarian professors arrived in Vienna after the Hungarian uprising. They declared that they had met Galindez at the Matyas room in Budapest in July (4 months after his alleged killing) and that he had given them the full Moscow indoctrination treatment. At that time, he apparently was a Soviet agent. The story of this meeting was published in the Vienna Montag.

The simple Trujillo-vengeance explanation of Galindez has thus flattened out during the year into several parallel lines of conjecture. Today, the assumption that Dominicans made away with Galindez has become the most implausible of the myths which have grown up around the case.

But "Liberals" are a stubborn and an intellectually dishonest breed. They have refused to give up the juicy propaganda property which Galindez has become. They are still belaboring Trujillo.

They found an opportunity to revive the agitation when Gerry Murphy, an American aviator soldier of fortune, disappeared in Trujillo City and when Octavio De La Maza, a Dominican pilot, committed suicide in a prison cell after confessing the murder of Murphy. De La Maza left a letter alleging homosexual encounters with Murphy. There was enough of an air of mystery about the incident to give an opportunity to link it with Galindez. Sally Caire, an alleged fiance of Murphy's entered the case, reporting several unsubstantiated conversations with Murphy in which he supposedly confessed flying Galindez' body out of New York on an unscheduled flight from a private airport in Amityville, Long Island. The only cited witness of this departure was an airfield attendant, who is now dead. The story collapsed when it was found that the books of the airport showed that the plane left Amityville for Miami 9 hours before the disappearance of Galindez. The young woman achieved a brief immortality by having her photo in Life, but since the whole fantastic story was built upon a chain of dead men's allegations, it was not very convincing. Further confusion was added to the De La Maza story when the State Department questioned its authenticity. It is obvious that Life jumped the gun on the story before the facts were all in.

But this patently contrived case has now been parlayed into a demand for a Congressional investigation. CHARLES O. PORTER, a first-term liberal Democratic Congressman from Oregon—avid, like all newcomers, for quick publicity—arose in the House on February 28 to repeat all the lurid gossip which has accumulated around the case and to include the startling demand that we apply sanctions against the Dominican Republic. Mr. PORTER would ban American travel, cut down or eliminate the Dominican sugar quota and bar the Republic from Export-Import Bank credits. To such absurdities has this case now descended.

Those who are wise to the ways of American publicity know that such clamor doesn't just happen in the United States. It is planted. The successive chapters in the Galindez agitation bear all the earmarks of an expert public relations operation. Magazines like Life and Look, and the national dailies, which have headlined the Galindez story, don't open their columns to amateurs like Nicholas Silfa. It is obvious that the pros have been at work.

When we look for the moving hands behind this 12-month sensation, we find that we haven't far to seek. All trails lead undeviatingly to an office at 67 West 44th Street described as the headquarters of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. Here we find a determined lady named Frances R. Grant, whose face is familiar to all who have worked in the Latin-American field, as the front for numerous agitational activities which have long made trouble for the United States among our southern allies. Miss Grant is the self-appointed American conscience in the whole area of the Caribbean and South America. She has dedicated herself to fighting sin in Latin America. Sin, in her decalog, means deviations from civil liberties, as defined by the sinal of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Miss Grant has not always been a professional Trujillo-baiter. Before she involved herself in Latin-American politics, she burned with another ardent enthusiasm. This earlier Grant interest was the promotion of Nicholas Roerich.

Now largely forgotten, Roerich cut a wide swath in New York in the 1920's among the cultists and yearners. He was the "Dear Guru" of the notorious Henry A. Wallace letters. Wendell L. Willkie's failure to publicize these letters in 1940 probably cost him the Presidency.

Westbrook Pegler described Roerich as a "serio-comic Oriental religious fakir * * * who gave off intimations that he might be God Almighty."

Miss Grant, for 16 years, was a dedicated Roerich disciple, serving for 6 years as managing director of the Roerich Museum. She lectured widely as a propagandist for the museum. Actually, the Roerich movement was the springboard for her entrance into the Latin-American field.

When we glance at the cast which Miss Grant has assembled around her to fight for civil liberties in Pan America one curious thing strikes us. Like Galindez himself, they are nearly all avowed Socialists. While they are scrupulous to maintain that they are against communism, most of them have Socialist Party or Socialist-front records.

The star in her publicity constellation is none other than Norman Thomas, the perennial Socialist candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Thomas, in his old age, is now undertaking the rebuilding of a new American Socialist movement. No one has yelped more loudly or more frequently for Galindez during the past year than he.

Another is Clarence Senior, immigration coordinator under Puerto Rico's Governor Luis Muños-Marin. Mr. Senior is the former

national secretary of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Cooperating with her is Daniel James, former editor of the Socialist magazine, New Leader. Also Prof. Robert J. Alexander, a member of the staff of the New Leader.

From our scrutiny of Miss Grant's little junta emerges a startling fact. The people who are fighting Trujillo most energetically in the news columns of the American press are not just plain, liberal-model Americans who are outraged over Dominican abuses. They are people who have been outraged over many other things. Primarily, they are outraged over the capitalist system which is working so well in the Dominican Republic. They don't like the Dominican Republic under Trujillo, but they don't like the United States under Eisenhower either. What they really want, despite their present anti-Communist professions, is a Socialist revolution, preferably peaceful, in all the Americas. Trujillo has been an immovable obstacle to that objective.

Socialism and communism are two separate denominations in the church of Karl Marx, but before we begin to accept the advice of the Socialists in our American foreign policy it would be wise for us to heed the words of Mr. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of Great Britain. Mr. Macmillan, who has had a lot of experience with Socialists in England, told us on March 18:

"There is no difference between socialism and communism except this: Socialism is soft, communism is hard; socialism is pink, communism is red; socialism gets you down bit by bit by a kind of anesthetic process. It might be called mercy killing. Communism just knocks you on the head."

This is plainly evident when we turn to the individual who appears to be the planning head of the whole anti-Trujillo drive in the American press and in Washington. That individual is Roger N. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin pulls many wires of influence. He is the chairman of the ultrarespectable International League for the Rights of Man. This league, a United Nations consultant, is a sort of holding company for a whole procession of civil liberties organizations, including Miss Grant's association. Miss Grant, incidentally, is the secretary of Baldwin's organization. The league, although it has a global program, particularizes in the Latin American field.

So important does Baldwin consider the league activities that he resigned the 30-year directorship of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1950 to assume its chairmanship.

This man, Baldwin, is quite an operator, Seventy, now, and weighed down with egghead honors, he has successfully lived down his murky pro-Communist past. Few remember that he went to prison in 1919 for refusal to register for military service in World War I. Few recall his labors for communism in the 1920's and 1930's which inspired the Committee for the Investigation of Communist Propaganda of the 71st Congress to declare that 90 percent of the American Civil Liberties cases, under Baldwin, revolved around Communist activities.

Not a Communist Party member himself, Baldwin, for almost 20 years, was a sort of one-man money-raiser and master mind of American Communist causes. He raised the endowment and directed the Garland Fund which, during its 6-year career, distributed $1,600,000 to direct Communist and Socialist movements, including a whole cluster of Communist newspapers, publishing houses, and schools. He was largely responsible for raising half a million dollars in 1922 to finance the Autonomous American Colony of the Kuzbas, which was set up in Siberia to help Soviet Russia. He was the prime mover in 1924 in the Russian Reconstruction Farms, set up to aid farm cooperatives in Russia. He was one of the founders and early leaders of the American League for War and Fascism, which has been cited by the Department of Justice as a Communist organization.

Nor is his interest in Latin America a new thing. Way back in the twenties he was a member of the National Committee of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League which was then the Communist Party front in the Latin American field. In 1941, Attorney General Francis Biddle classified this League as a "Communist front".

His enthusiasm for Russia prompted him to visit Sovietland in person and he returned to write Liberty Under the Soviets. In this curious book, he excused the tyrannies of the Soviet rulers because they were counterbalanced by the "abolition of privileged classes based on wealth." In September 1934, he wrote a signed article in Soviet Russia Today saying: "I, too, take a class position. It is anticapitalist and prorevolutionary." In 1935, he wrote in a Harvard class book, "Communism is the goal." Before a committee of the 71st Congress, he frankly declared in 1930 that he would defend a man who advocated political murder, or even assassination.

That such a man is now masterminding, from his International League for the Rights of Men aerie, the whole anti-Trujillo publicity drive has elements of the grotesque for all who can hold onto their sense of humor. The man, who for 20 years could see no wrong in Stalin, now boils with outraged wrath at the abridged civil liberties under Trujillo. That American magazines of top circulation are now throwing open their columns to the spy-fiction nonsense about the Galindez case at the urging of Mr. Baldwin and Miss Grant is a frightening commentary, upon the state of intellectual honesty which prevails today in the "liberal" American press.

The evil of the whole situation is that, to gratify their doctrinaire concepts of civil liberties, the Baldwins, the Grants, and the Thomases are perfectly willing to shatter the whole structure of alliances in the Caribbean by which this all-important American area is now insulated against communism. One need not give blanket endorsement to everything which Trujillo has done to recognize that, without him, or successors of equal firmness, the Dominican Republic could easily degenerate into a breeding ground of communism. It could become the fatal breach in the periphery of American Caribbean defense which would endanger our whole security in this hemisphere. Such considerations are of minor importance to the ideologues who now cry that one Galindez is worth more than 2,400,000 pro-American Dominicans. But to the responsible men in the Inter-American agencies of our Government in Washington, the distortion of this Galindez issue is recognized as a deadly weapon pointed against our whole Latin-American policy. It is the act of a political moron lighting matches among the fuses of a dynamite stockpile.

Since Habana in 1934, our nation has steadily progressed toward an enlightened and cooperative policy in its relations with the Latin American Republics. Not all of them share our political folkways. But under such leaders as Trujillo, Batista, Rojas, Perez-Jiménez and the late Anastasio Somoza, Latin America has been an almost unbroken bulwark of support of American policy in the United Nations, and in the world balance of power. With the United States they have risked their all to stop Communism in this hemisphere.

The peddlers of the Galindez fables would irresponsibly weaken this whole arch of patiently constructed American hemispheric policy. They would do it in the name of civil liberties. If they were successful in their aims in the Dominican Republic they might well earn the epitaph, "They brought civil liberties to the Dominican Republic, but they lost them irrecoverably for the United States."

The Unsteady Liberals of Morningside Heights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an editorial which appeared on June 26, 1957, in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, of Richmond, Va.

As the editorial points out, "liberalism", as applied to the proposition of racial integration, becomes an embarrassing cause when its practical applications approach too closely the ivory towers of the "liberals."

The editorial follows:

INTEGRATION FOR SOMEBODY ELSE

Some of our "liberal" friends in New York have been having a bit of a problem reconciling their own reluctance to accept enforced integration in the housing field with their interminable criticisms of the South for its similar unwillingness to accept enforced mixed public schools.

It would seem to be poetic justice that the New York Times—than which there are few more vigorous blasters of the segregationist South—is itself the recipient of dead cats from the militantly "liberal" New York Post.

The Times incurred the wrath of the Post when it successfully oposed a recent bill in New York City Council which would have made it unlawful for apartment owners to "discriminate" in selecting tenants for their own property. This amazing measure would have forced the owners of 1,700,000 apartments and flats in Gotham to rent them to any applicant, or face a $500 fine and a possible term in jail.

The Post correctly appraised the arguments of the Times against the bill as almost carbon copies of the South's arguments against compulsory integration in the schools. On this point the Post said:

"We anticipated the opposition of the realtor lobby and the know-nothing fringe to the proposed measure. But we were pained and saddened when the venerable New York Times added its voice to the opposition over the weekend.

"Almost every argument advanced by the Times in resisting the ban on segregated housing has been used by the South in challenging desegration of the schools.

" 'Progress must be a matter of education and a spiritual growth rather than a consequence of legislation,' intoned the Times. That is exactly what the diehard South says when called on to abandon white supremacy in its schools."

Another little sidelight on the attitude of New Yorkers, when the matter of integration is brought close to them, is seen in the unwillingness of Columbia University faculty members to send their children to Morningside Heights public school.

For many years they had been patronizing this school, but when it suddenly became more than half colored, under New York's aggressive integrationist policy and academic standards fell sharply, the Columbia professors took their children out and put them in private schools. So much for the "liberalism" of a faculty which has been as aggressive as any in the land in urging integration—for somebody else.

The Times, in opposing the bill intended to force 1,700,000 New York City property owners to rent to any applicant, said: "We do not think the people of New York have

been adequately prepared for the passage of this bill."

Precisely. And how much more unprepared was the South, with its infinitely more difficult problem, for the Supreme Court's mixed school order of 1954.

REA Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much about the effects of this administration's fiscal policies. As their ramifications strike home with each of us and affect us all in our daily living to a greater and greater extent, we shall unfortunately come to know, to appreciate and to rue the full effects of tight money, hard money, scarce money—call it what you will.

What it means in terms of rural electrification is clearly indicated in a recent letter to the editor of one of the papers in my district. So that the full import of these policies may be brought clearly before each Member of this body, I ask unanimous consent that the letter to the editor sent by Mr. Lee Wooden, president, Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association, be printed in the RECORD:

OPEN FORUM: ON INTEREST RATES

To the EDITOR:

Referring to the editorial appearing in your issue of May 20 entitled "Leakage of Public Funds."

This editorial specifically referred to rural electric and telephone cooperatives. It was perfectly timed to coincide with the following announcement from Washington, D. C., that "'it is indefensible for Government agencies to make 2 percent loans when the Government itself has to pay an average of 3½ percent to borrow money,' Senator STYLES BRIDGES, of New Hampshire, told reporters."

In the first place, the Government does not have to pay 3½ percent to borrow money. The average cost of money to the Government as of February 1957 was 2.719 percent, according to the last available figure.

In the second place the Government's tight money policy has artificially jacked up the interest rate and the way to remedy the situation is not to raise the farmers' electric and telephone costs, but to eliminate the high interest rate—tight money policy.

Throughout most of the 22-year history of REA loans, the farmers have paid the Government a much higher interest rate than the cost of money to the Government during those years. As a result the REA Administrator in his last report had netted $47.5 million to date on the REA electric loans. In other words it had collected that much more than the money cost the Government. If the cost of money is to be the criterion for fixing interest rates, it should work both ways. That $47.5 million should be refunded.

It seems to us this is a mighty poor time to be increasing farmers' operating and living costs. Farmers' net income for 1956 was down 27½ percent by comparison with 1951, whereas money lenders' interest income increased 46 percent in the same period.

Mr. Editor, how would you compare the recent negotiated loan to Great Britain, of $4.4 billion at the interest rate of 2 percent payable in the year 2000, to loans made to farm electric cooperatives at the same rate of interest? Is it wrong to lend money to farmers of America, and right to make loans in the billions at the same rate of interest to a foreign country?

The total amount loaned to electric and telephone cooperatives, which is being repaid with interest is far less than the outright gifts of the billions of dollars to the private power companies. The above mentioned gifts are in the form of fast amortization tax writeoffs.

The most recent is the millions of dollars given the Idaho Power Co. in the form of Government certificates, where actually there was no evidence of benefit to the defense effort.

The outright gift to Idaho Power was opposed by Secretary of Interior Fred A. Seaton.

The following is a quotation from the last paragraph of a telegram sent by President Eisenhower to Jack Smith, president of National Rural Electric Cooperative Association at the time of the 1957 annual meeting at Chicago, March 4–7:

"This administration gives wholehearted support to the rural electric and telephone programs. They are essential to the Nation's well-being and to our expanding economy.

"Best wishes to you all.

"DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER."

It would seem the President has completely changed his position in the last few months.

LEE WOODEN,
President, Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the Girard case continues to receive a lot of attention from persons in all walks of life. I am in receipt of a copy of a letter written to President Eisenhower from a lady in Kansas, who clearly presents a viewpoint taken by many loyal Americans:

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Something is very terribly wrong in this situation, and I for one would like to know exactly what.

Either (1) the citizens of this country have not been told the whole story, in which case why? What is our Government trying to hide?

Or (2) a citizen of this country is being used as an "expendable" in a political trade that is, to my knowledge, without precedent in the history of man. In that case, what is our Government trying to accomplish?

When has strength ever before surrendered to weakness? And I am not thinking of armed strength, although we have that, too. When has surrender ever brought victory—for a country or for a cause? When has morale ever been built—either in an army or in a citizenry—with a nosediving confidence that accompanies flabby leadership?

I cannot convey to you my deep and seething resentment:

(a) At any military "leadership" which will betray its own charges.

(b) At the international "statesmen" who will sacrifice the very fundamentals they have sworn to uphold—and this in the name of "cooperation" and "compromise."

(c) At the "representatives" and "guardians" of the people who allow the continued abuse of their constituents when they have at their disposal the machinery for correction.

Our military and political chiefs would do well to consider thoughtfully where their policies are leading this Nation. And to ask themselves how much longer the citizens of this country will support their own downfall. It might be worthwhile, if they are in fact "protecting the national interest," to take into account such intangibles as morale, confidence, trust, emotions, heart—for where there is no heart, there is no life. And when the pressures and temptations toward capitulation to today's gods of expediency and appeasement become too great, it might even be useful to remember the peoples of ancient times: when they sacrificed their loveliest maidens to their gods, it was always "in the national interest" and "for the general welfare"—and by decree of the Most High.

With deep concern.

Justices Who Changed Their Minds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sunday Tribune editorial of June 23, 1957, is a thought-provoking and well-done piece of work on a most important subject. I would like permission to have the editorial inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I wish to commend the Chicago Tribune for bringing this to the attention of its readers:

JUSTICES WHO CHANGED THEIR MINDS—II

Associate Justice Hugo L. Black, former Senator from Alabama and erstwhile gold passport life member of Robert E. Lee Klan No. 1, was another member of the Supreme Court to concur in the majority decision written by Chief Justice Earl Warren in the Watkins case. In this opinion, the Court reversed the conviction of John T. Watkins, an Illinois CIO organizer, for contempt of Congress.

In his opinion, Chief Justice Warren contended that a congressional investigation must be directed toward a specific legislative purpose, and that any question addressed to a witness before a congressional committee must be justified as pertinent to contemplated legislation.

The committee chairman, at the Chicago hearing before which Watkins testified, offered an extended explanation to witnesses of the purpose of the inquiry, and coupled these purposes to specific pending legislation. Nevertheless, Warren and Black, with others of the Court majority, were not satisfied.

In 1936, Justice Black was still a Senator. He had made his reputation, such as it was, as the chairman of Senate investigating committees. In 1933 he had conducted an inquiry into merchant marine and airmail subsidies. In 1935, as chairman of the Senate lobby investigating committee, he had rifled the files of telegraph agencies and private corporations to assemble more than 5 million wires and letters in search

of evidence tending to establish lobbying activities.

In the February 1936 issue of Harper's magazine, as Justice Clark has reminded us in his minority opinion, Senator Black vigorously defended the blanket powers he had exercised against attempts "to discredit [the investigation] by calling it a fishing expedition."

"It," he said of an investigation of this sort, "is not a trial based upon an indictment where the facts are already known and merely need presentation to a jury. It is a study by the Government of circumstances which seem to call for study in the public interest."

Senator Black explained the enormous pains that investigators must go to to get at the facts. "It would be quite simple," he said, "if the interests involved would come forward with a frank willingness to furnish the truth. But very often they dare not furnish the truth. It is too damning. Therefore every conceivable obstacle is put in the way of the investigators."

If Senator Black was aware of the possibility of such obstructionist tactics by private business interests and, therefore, was able to justify embarking on a fishing expedition, it is quite remarkable that he does not expect similar difficulties when Congress sets out to investigate the far more deceptive and obstructionist methods of the underground Communist conspiracy against American liberty.

In 1936 he said it was predictable that methods such as were employed by his investigating committee would provoke the cry that they were "an outrageous invasion of the rights of private citizens." But now, with Chief Justice Warren, he holds in a case concerning an admitted accomplice of Communists that the House Un-American Activities Committee represents "a new kind of congressional inquiry unknown in prior periods of American history." And, with Warren and others, he represents that "this new phase of legislative inquiry involved a broad-scale intrusion into the lives and affairs of private citizens" which are protected by the first and fifth amendments.

Thus, as a Justice, Black denies the very precepts which he espoused as a New Deal crusader.

It was all right with Black to hound a businessman or a private corporation, but now he finds it all wrong to cause a crease of worry on the forehead of an agent or accomplice of Moscow.

Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer, I thought, would be of interest to my colleagues:

HELLS CANYON

Senator CHARLES POTTER, Republican of Michigan, has used the ugly word "sellout" in connection with the bill authorizing the Federal Government to build a high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River as a replacement for three smaller dams which the Idaho Power Co. previously had been authorized to build.

The bill passed the Senate Friday by a vote of 45 to 38. The basis of POTTER's charge is that 4 Democratic advocates of the Federal dam voted with the southern Democrats the day before to send the civil-rights bill to the Judiciary Committee, where it undoubtedly would have been buried for the remainder of the session. Although this maneuver was unsuccessful, it developed that 5 southern Democratic Senators, along with 2 Republicans, who voted against the Hells Canyon bill last year, switched their positions Friday and supported it.

Well, we wouldn't know anything about a sellout, if there was one, and all the Senators involved hotly denied there had been any vote trading on the civil rights and Hells Canyon measures. All we know is that people generally have strong convictions on the subject of Federal dams financed by the taxpayers versus dams financed by private capital supplied by taxpaying corporations. They're for one and against the other, and they seldom change their minds.

We see no reason why anyone who opposed the Federal dam at Hells Canyon last year should favor it this year. There has been no change in the principle at stake, which is the propriety of all the taxpayers in the country being required to subsidize the northwest with cheap power. If there were no other way for the northwest to get the power it needs, a good argument might be made for the Federal dam. But since a private company, which will pay taxes, in contrast with the Federal development which would not, is able and willing to do the job, why should the Federal Government be saddled with the burden?

The answer, of course, is that the private company would have to charge more for the power, not only to meet its tax bills but to earn a reasonable return on its investment. That's how the free enterprise system works.

Opposition to Hells Canyon Dam Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, State Chamber Building, Harrisburg, Willard F. Rockwell, Jr., president; David H. Harshaw, vice president; H. B. Bartlett, vice president; G. Richard Fryling, vice president; Scott C. Rea, vice president; Ritchie Lawrie, Jr., treasurer; Arnold L. Edmonds, executive director:

JUNE 24, 1957.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: If S. 555, authorizing the construction of a Federal dam at Hells Canyon, becomes law, it will cost Pennsylvanians $35,577,060.

The Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, on the basis of studies made over several years, can find no justification for the project. The Idaho Power Co. has been engaged, under authority of a license issued by the Federal Power Commission, in constructing facilities which will insure that the area is well-served in a manner which will lighten, rather than increase, the heavy burden on American taxpayers.

In a day when both major political parties are concerned with the high cost of government, and when every thinking American wants private industry restored to its proper role in our economy, we regard S. 555 as being not only unwise and unnecessary, but as a local vote-getting device for which Pennsylvanians should not be asked to pay.

We are confident that your own studies will lead to the same conclusion.

With every best wish, I am,
Yours very truly,
ARNOLD L. EDMONDS,
Executive Director.

Israel Close to Heart of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the young and brave State of Israel is very close to the heart of Chicago, as again was shown by large testimonial dinners given in honor of two distinguished Chicagoans, one who is leaving Chicago to make his home in Israel, the other, one of the outstanding medical scientists of the world, for whom a department in a hospital in Israel has been named.

I am extending my remarks to include the following editorial from the Chicago Sun-Times of June 25, 1957:

BROTHERHOOD IN ACTION

The testimonial dinner given last week for Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, the noted Chicago dermatologist, pointed up a humanitarian gesture that is praiseworthy not only in itself but in its far-reaching ramifications.

Dr. Lawless, internationally known in his field, is a Negro. He has contributed generously to the establishment of a dermatology department in Beilinson Hospital in Israel to bear his name. Eventually, the facilities of the department will be available to Middle Eastern peoples regardless of race or creed.

It would be hard to find a more striking example of brotherhood and international friendship. An act so typically American should make a deep impression in an area that would profit immensely by more understanding and humanitarianism.

I further am extending my remarks to include the following article headed "Council Resolves To Honor Rabbi Berman," from the Hyde Park Herald of June 17, 1957:

A resolution to honor Rabbi Morton M. Berman, spiritual leader of Temple Isaiah Israel, was passed recently by the city council. Introduced by Aldermen Claude W. B. Holman (fourth), Leon M. Depres (fifth), and Nick Bohling (seventh), the resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas Rabbi Morton M. Berman, of Temple Isaiah Israel, located in the great fourth ward of the city of Chicago, is about to leave Chicago permanently and to take up residence in the State of Israel; and

"Whereas this great man of God, this humanitarian, this champion whose whole life has been a veritable crusade to strengthen the dignity of man and to uphold the civil rights of people everywhere; and

"Whereas this humanitarian is being honored by a testimonial dinner on Monday evening, June 17, 1957, in the Terrace Casino of the Morrison Hotel; and

"Whereas it is altogether fitting and proper that the people of Chicago should honor Rabbi Berman; and

"Whereas proper cognizance of the event should be taken by the city of Chicago: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the members of the City Council of the City of Chicago join with the Honorable Richard J. Daley, the great mayor of the city of Chicago, in a salute to Rabbi Morton M. Berman on the occasion of the testimonial to him on the eve of his departure with his family to make his home in Israel; and that we hereby, by these presents, pay tribute to a great citizen for devoted service to the city, to the State, to the Nation, and to the world; and that with this resolution a wish will go from us for his continued health, happiness, and prosperity, and for a long life for further service to mankind; be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be delivered to him at the testimonial dinner."

Disabled Benefits Deadline Nears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph of June 25, 1957:

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR YOU—DISABLED BENEFITS DEADLINE NEARS

(By Ray Henry)

Thousands of badly disabled persons face a June 30 social security deadline.

They fall into two groups:

Disabled persons between 50 and 65 who are now eligible for social security disability payments but haven't applied for them.

Disabled persons under 50 who haven't applied to have their social security records frozen.

The deadline affects the two groups in a somewhat different way. But both groups stand to lose valuable social security rights if they don't apply before July 1.

Take the deadline's effect on disabled persons between 50 and 65 who are eligible for disability payments but haven't applied for, them.

To be eligible for disability payments you:

Must have a permanent disability which is so severe that you're unable to do any substantial work and which has lasted for at least 6 months.

Must have worked in jobs covered by social security for 5 of the 10 years before you were disabled, including at least half of the 3 years immediately before the date of your disability.

If you apply for payments before June 30 your disability can date back to October 1, 1941, the earliest possible date you could have worked the necessary time under social security, and you can still be eligible for payments.

For example: Suppose you were disabled January 1, 1947. To meet the work requirements to be eligible for payments, you must have been in jobs covered by social security for at least 5 of the 10 years between January 1, 1937, and January 1, 1947, and at least 1½ of the 3 years between January 1, 1944, and January 1, 1947.

But, if you apply after June 30 and your disability is more than a year old, the date of your disability is considered to be exactly 1 year before the date of your application.

For example: Suppose you were disabled March 1, 1954, and you don't apply for payments until July 21, 1957. The date of your disability is considered to be July 21, 1956, rather than March 1, 1954.

This means that if you've been disabled more than a year, your failure to apply before June 30 could rule out disability payments for you.

Here's how: As mentioned above, one of the requirements to be eligible for disability payments is that you must have worked under social security for at least 1½ of the 3 years just before the date of your disability.

Now, suppose you were disabled March 1, 1954 and you don't apply for payments until July 21, 1957. The date of your disability is officially considered July 21, 1956.

Three years back from July 21, 1956, is July 21, 1953. Since during this 3 years you only worked from July 21, 1953, to March 1, 1954—the actual date of your disability—your total period of work was slightly under 9 months.

Thus you haven't put in the required 1½ years of the last 3 before your official disability date. So you're not eligible for payments.

The affect of the June 30 deadline on disabled persons under 50 is essentially the same as on those between 50 and 65—but with a twist.

Since disabled persons under 50 can't draw disability payments until they reach 50, they may ask to have their records frozen as of the date they were disabled.

But if their disability is more than a year old the request must be made before June 30 to protect their social security rights.

If they wait until after June 30 to apply, their records can only be frozen back to a year before their application. This means that if their disability is more than a year old they won't satisfy the work requirements to be eligible for payments when they reach 50.

As with the people between 50 and 65, their records must show they worked under social security at least 1½ years of the 3 just before their official disability date.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Graduation Exercise Address at Catholic University by John L. Schroeder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, on June 8, at the annual class day ceremonies in connection with graduation exercises at Catholic University, Mr. John L. Schroeder, a Washington attorney, delivered a very fine talk which will be of general interest. Mr. Schroeder is the president-elect of the Catholic University National Alumni Association, and I request the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Before I proceed with the assignment for today, I would like to thank the class day committee for considering me worthy to stand on this platform and participate in your program. Fifteen years ago, I was a member of the graduating class—and not a very distinguished one at that. My grades were average—I received no Phi Beta Kappa key—I was not graduated "magna cum laude" or even "cum laude." The only thing that was satisfactory about my graduation was that everyone in the class and all of the faculty knew me and I knew them. You see, I had participated in almost every form of sanctioned extracurricular activity and in a few activities not approved by the authorities of the day.

Football, basketball, the Harlequins, the Pipe and Pen Society, the Tower staff, the Utopian Club, the Spiritual Council, and the Blue Key Fraternity were activities approved by the rector, Bishop Corrigan.

I would not have to scandalize a freshmen class by mentioning unauthorized activities, but since you are just one day from graduation, the following will not inspire misconduct and perhaps some will ask, "So what?"

The dean of the men would have been puzzled by the empty bed in my room on early mornings—checking in at midnight and returning to the village until the 2 a. m. closing time, was frowned upon by Fathers Dillon and Lang.

Dr. Deferari might have withdrawn my athletic scholarship and Dr. Campbell never would have allowed me to carry an extra subject if they had known that I was managing the Merrick Boys Club after football was deemphasized during my junior year. This being a full-time job, would leave me little time to study, even though I was able to attend the scheduled classes.

Father Magner could have suspended me on general principles if he caught me and my associates delivering the midnight edition of those bootleg newspapers that complained about the deemphasis of athletics and the food in the dining hall.

Monsignor MacDonald could testify to my business acumen as a student. He often reminds me of my job as the New York Times paperboy. He knew that I solicited the subscriptions, collected the weekly or monthly charges, but hired my roommate to actually deliver those papers at 6:30 a. m.

To those who are graduating with honors, I offer my deepest respect but to those whose grades were like mine I say that if you had half as much fun as I did and if you enjoyed attending the Catholic University your reward is locked in your heart and may never be known to anyone but yourselves.

As you prepare to leave this campus, I would like to tell each of you, individually, what Father Ignatius Smith, the closest and dearest friend that I had, both as a student and later as alumni secretary, always urged as the four activities that should claim your interest.

First, your parish deserves your support and in turn this university deserves the support of your parish. Whether you return to your hometown or become located in in a new environment, join the parish in which you live.

When I say "join" I mean participate in the sodalities, the holy name societies, the first Friday clubs, the adoration groups, the special religious services and social activities.

You have been exposed to more Catholic education than most of your fellow parishioners and by reason of that you have acquired the additional obligation to live Catholic action.

Second, be interested in your community and its activities. Everyone is not destined to be a leader, but everyone should do what he or she can to advance the general welfare of his fellowman. There are enough service clubs, community chest activities, Red Cross programs, health association activities and charitable drives to drain every extra ounce of energy from the bodies of the willing.

Third, take a part in the Catholic Youth Organization. With its four phases—spiritual, social, athletic, and cultural—there is no more important task awaiting you. The guided development of our youth is one of the foundations of our free world and without it freedom may not endure.

The last, but the activity to be considered above all is that of taking an active part in Government and politics and promoting the idea of the dignity of man. Without the belief in the dignity of man our United States may change from a government of laws and become a government of men.

Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, when commanding our Eighth Army during some of the bitterest fighting in Korea, said that the deadly contest there was part of the struggle to decide "whether the rule of men who shoot their prisoners, enslave their citizens, and deride the dignity of man shall displace the rule of those to whom the individual and his rights are sacred * * *."

You from Catholic University understand just what the dignity of man means and what those sacred rights are that were fought for so bitterly.

Father Russel, later Monsignor Russel, a champion of the dignity of man always taught that the basic principle of our democracy is the belief that all men have certain rights which they are born with and which no one can justly try to take away—that all men must be treated right.

Belief in the dignity and worth of the human person is a big belief. When the Founding Fathers of our Nation agreed that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, they meant all men—men on every acre of the earth. But the most amazing thing about the Founding Fathers was that they succeeded in actually setting up a Government based upon that belief, under which people could live in freedom and dignity. The main support of this democracy is the Constitution, which defines the Government and both grants and limits the powers that the people want the Government to possess.

The Founding Fathers of this greatest experiment in democracy did not, of course, think that they had discovered by themselves that "man is by nature free." Some of them were scholars who had read a lot about the ideas of Greek and Roman philosophers and other great thinkers of Europe. All of them had been influenced by English thinking on human rights. Jefferson said that the purpose of the Declaration of Independence was "not to find out new principles * * * but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject."

American democracy, with its belief in human dignity, grew with the Nation. It was nourished by the ideas not only of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, John Adams, John Carroll of Carrollton, Commodore John Barry, and at least 100 more men of early America, but by the ideas of many others, including men like Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and our own James Cardinal Gibbons. It has not stopped growing.

Abraham Lincoln has given us a definition that can guide us in judging whether a country is a democracy. To quote: "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

Most of us have a special "feeling" for democracy—a feeling of sympathy and friendship for the "underdog." We root for the baseball team with a string of defeats. Just recently our Washington Senators provided that special feeling in many of us. We help the small freedom-loving nation overrun by a giant aggressor. Our Statue of Liberty bears the open-hearted invitation: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free * * *." For years we have been cheered at the sight of thousands in those huddled masses breaking from the herd to become self-respecting individuals, free and strong. In our own time we have seen them add their lifeblood to that of the Nation. They are the proud owners of these "foreign-sounding" names we hear every day or read on the sports pages, or in true rags-to-riches success stories. But, actually, no names are foreign in the United States. Immigrants from every land have become United States citizens. All of us, except the American Indian, have foreign ancestors who came to the New World in compartively recent times.

Perhaps we have a feeling of sympathy for the "underdog" because in our country there is freedom of opportunity, and we have seen so many people rise to realize their ambitions through hard work. It is just as likely,

however, that people with a real feeling for democracy see in the humblest person a human being with an inborn dignity as respectable as his unalienable rights.

It is easy to see that the idea of rights for human beings is more than a beautiful thought thrown into important speeches. Freedom and justice are things every one of us can do something about in our own lives. But what hope is there that the idea of the dignity of each individual can lead to the peace we all want.

What is demanded of us as citizens of the leading nation in the free world?

At least several things, probably. We must realize that real democracy, with its rights and responsibilities is more revolutionary, constructive, and appealing than communism or any other kind of tyranny. And the desire for it was never stronger nor more widespread than it is in the period of world history in which we are living today.

And further, we must realize that we are struggling in a contest for men's minds. So we must find a way to let the people of the world know the truth about democracy, our belief in the dignity of every human being, and our aims.

Then too, all of us must learn that our everyday treatment of others can show how much we really believe in human dignity. We must practice what we preach. It is up to us to set a good example for others and to stand up for the rights of the individual thereby guaranteeing "liberty and justice for all."

But most of all, as Catholics, we must realize that we have a ready-made vehicle—an example supplied by God Himself—in His Divine Son, who became man, and gave us a basic charter and a constitution of good citizenship and decent living. By following Him and using His life as our pattern, we shall be providing the necessary living example for men of a troubled world.

By following His plan, we can achieve both temporal and everlasting justice—with all that the word implies—such as "Tolerance, human happiness and peace among men."

Seventh Annual National Catholic Youth Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on the observance of the seventh annual Youth Week sponsored by the National Council of Catholic Youth, which will be celebrated from October 27 through November 3.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVENTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CATHOLIC YOUTH WEEK

There is much of encouragement and promise in the theme of this year's National Catholic Youth Week—"Healthier, Holier, Happier." The week, whose seventh annual observance will be celebrated from October 27 through November 3, is dedicated to the 7 million young people who comprise the Catholic youth organizations of the country. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph E. Schieder, director of the Catholic youth in the United States, has arranged the event sponsored by the National Council of Catholic Youth.

President Eisenhower and former Presidents Truman and Hoover, along with other State officials, and governors and mayors all over the country, have proclaimed the observance in special messages prepared for the week.

Youth week is the display window for the talents and achievements of the Catholic youth of America. It includes participation by hundreds of schools, colleges, and universities, and many local and national youth groups, in addition to millions of working youth. The week's calendar of activities is geared also to participation by youth in military installations overseas. Programed events include religious exercises, radio-TV shows, award dinners, athletic contests, parades, and social affairs.

The theme of the week embodies the elements essential to the formation of the complete human being—healthier in mind and body, holier in spirit, and happier as a natural consequence of these two conditions. The youth organizations who set this as their goal in working with young people today are to be commended for their splendid contribution to the welfare of our Nation. Youth week serves as a reminder of the zealous efforts on the part of youth leaders all over the country to provide better citizens for the future of America.

Economy in Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the substance of the very excellent 63-page statement by Perry M. Shoemaker, who testified in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States before the Defense Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee in support of economy in defense appropriations. Mr. Shoemaker is president of the Delaware, Lackawanna, & Western Railroad and a member of the chamber's government operations committee. He is exceptionally qualified on Department of Defense operations having served with several Hoover Commission task forces that reviewed the operations of that Department. The full text of the statement is contained in the hearings of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY PERRY M. SHOEMAKER

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has continuously supported a well planned defense program. We recognize fully that during this period of international uncertainty, the United States cannot have a second best defense potential. We recognize also that our military machine has become more complex because of the impact of scientific developments in air power, guided missiles, electronic computers, and atomic weapons which have contributed greatly to the difficulty of managing the Department of Defense. It is a tremendous business enterprise—perhaps the largest of its kind in the world.

The first thing for all of us to recognize as citizens and as businessmen is that the Department of Defense budget is a reflection of business management, is subject to analysis and the checks and balances of reasonable judgment and, in most particulars, can reasonably be discussed in public without endangering our national security.

We wish to emphasize that we are not posing as military experts. Nor do we question the military competency of our country's professional personnel. However, we feel that we know something of the business organization and the business-like operations of the Department of Defense.

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Our purpose here today is threefold:

1. We support in general the action of the House in reducing the fiscal 1958 budget by approximately $1.9 billion and effecting savings of an additional $590 million in stock and industrial funds;

2. We support the O'Mahoney Amendment to H. R. 7665;

3. We recommend selective additional reductions of $743,559,000 in the appropriations approved in H. R. 7665.

HOUSE RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Chamber was greatly impressed by the thorough and sound analysis given the defense budget by the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee under the chairmanship of Congressman GEORGE MAHON. We think its approach was not only objective but penetrating.

In our later discussion of specific reductions in defense appropriations, it will be noted that we are in considerable agreement with the House cuts and recommend no restorations. However, there are certain programs which, in our judgment, can be further reduced.

THE O'MAHONEY AMENDMENT

We vigorously support the O'Mahoney Amendment to H. R. 7665 which (1) directs the President to recommend organizational changes to establish an integrated supply system for common supply items and (2) directs and empowers the Secretary of Defense to eliminate overlapping, duplication and waste among the military services. The approval of this amendment is imperative and vital to the future of a strong defense establishment. No one will be able to stop the clock during another major conflict and provide us with time to reorganize our logistic system, as was necessary on a crash basis in World Wars I and II.

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BUDGET REDUCTIONS AND ISSUES

Any discussion of broad programs in the defense budget crosses the lines between the services and unavoidably gets into overlapping and duplication of effort—duplications involving facilities, equipment, organizations, and research and development—all relating to the noncombat activities of the Military Establishment. These involve organizational questionsof great magnitude and place before the Congress the broad question as to whether or not the National Security Act of 1947 adequately and effectively supplies proper organizational guidelines for the period immediately ahead of us.

Competition between the services has a long tradition but clearly does not parallel competitive private enterprise as pictured by some proponents of the present arrangement. It takes great courage within Congress, and outside, to question the basic tenets of our Military Establishment but we must recognize reality.

In 1952, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS introduced a bill providing for integration of supply and service activities within and among the mili-

tary departments under the direction of an Under Secretary of Defense for Supply Management. The debate on this proposal ended in a compromise known as the O'Mahoney amendment, which required the Secretary of Defense to issue regulations aimed at fostering an "integrated supply system designed to meet the needs of the military departments without duplicating or overlapping of either operations or functions." It failed to accomplish its purpose.

The failure of the Defense Department to comply with this congressional mandate raises an issue fundamental to constitutional government. It involves the question of congressional mandates being accepted and implemented by the executive department.

Congressional leaders and committees have deplored for many years the seemingly inexcusable examples of waste and inefficiency in the handling by the military services of various phases of supply. Last year, the Mahon subcommittee and the Senate Appropriations Committee uncovered great waste and inefficiency in military procurement. For instance, the report of the latter had this to say:

"During the course of the hearings the committee had forcibly brought to its attention frequent examples of duplication of facilities and functions throughout the Department of Defense. In some cases the committee believes that this duplication borders on unconscionable waste of the country's resources, not only in material but in land resources, manpower, and money."

The record shows convincingly that if the supply organization of the Defense Department is to be integrated, it will have to be done by Congress. The insistence of the military services on retaining their independence and holding to a "separatist" outlook toward unification and the integration of supply having been revealed time after time by congressional committees, it is obvious that positive mandate is indicated.

It is considerations as basic as these which are mandatory for solution if the budgets of 1959 and 1960 and later are not to show the continuing costly result of duplication which is inherent in the organization of the Department of Defense as it now exists. We do not share with Secretary Wilson the belief that the present organization is the best that can be attained. Nor do we concur with recent testimony of Assistant Secretary of Defense McNeil that 90 percent of the supply system has been integrated. Surface compromises have been used all too effectively as a screen to cover the real lack of integration, the real extent of duplication in this whole supply field.

OPERATIONS AND MAINTENANCE

For this program, the national chamber recommends total appropriations of $9,579,562,000 divided among the three military services as provided in the summary above. This is a reduction of $357,097,000 over the $480,750,000 cut recommended by the House in H. R. 7665.

The military section of the defense budget covers 102 pages. Operations and maintenance activities are scattered throughout these 102 pages. We commend the services for the improvement in management of many of these activities. However, efforts at improvement have been centered too much in the direction of "patching up" a fundamentally defective organizational system rather than in the direction of removing the causes for the great waste in resources and manpower that are triplicated among three military services and then multiplied again within each service. We do not have a unified defense organization but rather dozens of separate organizations operating at numerous levels and duplicating functions many times at the various levels.

It would be naive indeed for one to review all the programs and activities financed under operations and maintenance in the budget and not visualize the great waste in resources and manpower. And the budget does not describe the picture as it exists at all levels of operations within the services.

The Army, for instance, does not have one supply organization but actually its supply activities are carried on by seven technical services—each with separate administrative staffs, separate supply depots, field staffs occupying separate offices, some in the same city, with duplicate inspecting, legal, fiscal, and procurement personnel. We are not dealing with a defense organization that fosters only three supply systems and organizations which is wasteful enough, but with one that contains numerous subdivisions paralleling the efforts of each other. And the existence of this condition is not limited to the Army.

Facilities are duplicated in almost every activity of the military services. One need only visit the great ports of our country to see the duplication of marine terminals. Storage areas are duplicated in separate depots and storage facilities. Each of the services has separate facilities for basic training and this activity extends even to separate organizations within each service for recruiting. The height and impenatrability of the fences between the services dominate every phase of common functions.

In the area of supply unification, the second Hoover Commission recommended a program of improving supply management by integrating common supplies and services under a separately administered civilian agency. This plan was rejected by the Defense Department in favor of a single manager system which was considered and rejected by the Hoover Commission. However, this system keeps this area of supply within the operations of the military services thereby multiplying supply operations.

Another area of savings opportunity involves Government competition with private enterprise. There is evidence of but limited progress within the Department of Defense toward enforcing the announced policy of the administration in this respect and thus reducing its expenditures directly involved. Clearly, Congress should support the elimination of competitive activities which keep operational and support costs high. At the time of the Hoover Commission Report the Defense Department was operating some 2,500 business and commercial-type activities in competition with private enterprise and employing some 600,000 persons.

We do not question the desirable existence of a nucleus air transport service that can be expanded in cooperation with civil airlift for strategic purposes during an emergency, but we consider the present MATS operation as greatly exceeding any reasonable interpretation of a nucleus operation. The single manager system was designed to centralize this en masse. Competition between the services has not permitted this to be fully effective and on the present basis the operation, which already exceeds the combined airlift of all the international commercial lines of the country, will continue to grow and compete as long as Congress provides appropriations to finance them. Savings in this field would reduce investment in new transport aircraft and operating and maintenance costs in personnel. Related thereto, it would feasibly reduce subsidies now being paid to international air carriers and relafed training costs.

The Defense Department has established a single managership for traffic management. We will not have real traffic management and all of the broad economies which are possible from the exercise of this important function until the policy control is completely passed from the individual services and the organizational responsibility is placed upon a worldwide basis and not restricted to the continental United States as is presently true. Like many of the support functions, there is duplication and lack of economic control in the overseas theaters worldwide.

These are factors which strengthen our belief that the reductions we have recommended in the operations and maintenance field are realistic, that they can be accomplished without impairing our national security or defense capability one iota, that the one necessary ingredient is pressure from the Congress to cut across the rigid bureaucracy which is the Military Establishment as presently organized.

MILITARY PERSONNEL

For military personnel, the national chamber recommends reductions in H. R. 7665 for all 3 services of $318,387,000.

Our recommendations are entirely within support and related activities and relate to better utilization of military and civilian personnel, eliminating nonessential and duplicative jobs, curtailing excessive rotation and reducing travel and movement of personnel effects.

We have recommended a 12 percent reduction in military personnel engaged in support and related activities and a 10 percent cut in the budget estimate for travel in permanent change of station.

Defense Secretary Wilson has already ordered a 12 percent cut in all Washington area personnel which the House took into account in its recommendations for appropriations for this item. However, it does not seem that the House has taken into account current plans to reduce personnel in all major subordinate administrative, logistical, and operational commands of the services as well as joint and unified commands as was testified to by Defense Comptroller McNeil before the Mahon subcommittee and which would amount to a 12 percent reduction in personnel for those offices. While we were not aware of the action contemplated by the Defense Department when we recommended a 12 percent cut in military pay and allowances for all support and related activities, we commend Secretary Wilson for this bold step. However, we firmly believe that this cut can be made for fiscal 1958 without impairing operating efficiency in the least.

Last year and this year the Mahon subcommittee of the House investigating procurement practices and procedures found that the rotation of military personnel was seriously impairing efforts to control production because of lack of personnel continuity in these functions. Chairman MAHON pointed to officer rotation as one of the areas where millions of dollars could be saved annually, and further stated that time and money are being wasted training a continuing series of new officers.

Military personnel are trained for combat and related activities—not for such business-type functions as procurement, manufacturing, supply, contract administration, hospital administration, legal, accounting, and other business related functions. Their insistence on controlling and supervising such activities for which they are not trained produces a wasteful and inefficient personnel system. Assigning military personnel to manage business operations is no more logical than assigning civilians to manage military operations.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

You will note in referring to appendix C (p. 24) that we have recommended a reduction of $68 million in excess of the $30 million cut recommended by the House.

There is no better investment in the defense of our country than dollars spent wisely and in adequate quantity for research and development. We are firm in this conviction. However, we also believe that quality or effectiveness of such efforts is not necessarily measured by the quantity of funds assigned these purposes in the Federal budget.

After reviewing the testimony of the military services and the generally unconvincing

rebuttal of the Defense Department on its management of research and development activities, we believe more firmly than ever there is need for action to integrate research and development programs. This is necessary not only for efficiency and economy in the use of manpower, materiel, and dollar resources, but is also essential to the maintenance of adequate security for the United States. The acute nature of the rivalry among the services, especially in the field of research and development and its danger to national security was noted by the House committee on page 20 of its report (No. 471).

It said:

"The increasing degree of rivalry among the services for roles and missions is becoming so serious as to jeopardize and delay the rate of buildup of our military power."

If there were a truly integrated research and development program underway in the Department of Defense, the requested appropriations would appear more defensible. However, there are in effect three competing programs based not so much upon research to improve the technology of weapons as upon the desire of each service to prove that it should assume the principal strategic and tactical role in the defense of the Nation. This faculty premise makes for greater cost, difficult administration, waste, dissipation of scarce scientific manpower, and tends to move us toward second place in the arms race at the true level of competition—the international level.

Certainly, there must be a concrete and realistic reevaluation of interservice competition in this field. Rolling back the frontiers of science is not something which lends itself to the compartmentalization of the three military services. Scientists in the Air Force, the Army and the Navy should not be trying to give one service dominance over the other. A scientist working on defense programs must meet as his first competitor a Mother Nature very reluctant to disclose her cherished secrets and, second, a Soviet counterpart with whom he is daily locked in scientific combat.

The degree of overlapping and duplication is quickly noted when one examines the statements of program and performance contained in the fiscal 1958 budget for research and development. It clearly shows how each of the services cuts into the business of the other two in this support-type program.

It must be noted that the funds devoted to research and development by the Federal Government for the defense of the Nation are not all properly labeled. The budget indicates that approximately $1.6 billion will be spent for this program by the armed services, plus an $85 million emergency fund assigned to the Secretary of Defense. However, in actuality there probably will be in excess of $6 billion spent. And even then, this estimate of $6 billion does not include such things as allocation of departmental costs, regular operating and maintenance costs of military ships, aircraft, and troop units used in conducting tests, and other types of costs which would be in some measure assigned to this particular function.

SUMMARY

In summary, the National Chamber endorses H. R. 7665 and recommends its approval. In addition, it is our belief that further reductions can be made as I have discussed and as detailed in the appendices, without in any way impairing national security or essential operations of the military services. These reductions are possible by: (1) Improving management and reducing duplication in the broad field of noncombat activities, particularly those which have broad similarity to business-type operations; (2) Implementing Hoover Commission recommendations for improving supply and personnel management; (3) Curtailing business and commercial-type activities which are unnecessarily in competition with private enterprise; and (4) Effectively integrating and centrally administering the research and development program in all of its major aspects. * * *

The first issue is fundamental to our concept of constitutional government and involves, as I have detailed in my discussion, the reality of congressional control in its field of responsibility. * * *

A second major issue is the degree of unification consistent with modern conditions and the outlook for the future. Clearly, the intended unification envisioned under the National Security Act and supported by military leaders as producing economy and better support management, does not exist. * * * This issue requires careful evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of the costly competition between the services. * * *

A third important issue involves the development by Congress of personnel practices and policies for the Department of Defense which go to the heart of quality versus quantity, which meet the organizational problem of management continuity and which permits the many economies which competent studies have pointed to as being practicably and realistically available.

A fourth important issue involves the continued magnitude of Government competition with private industry and the limited progress within the Department of Defense toward enforcing the policy of the administration and thus reducing the expenditures directly involved.

A fifth issue involves the organizational disease that is responsible for the tremendous duplication of facilities and functions and multiplies the amount of waste many times. Examples include the duplication of such activities as depots, marine terminals, airfields, research centers, maintenance facilities, procurement operations, training programs, and even duplicate recruitment.

Congress Should Not Surrender Its Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present an editorial which appeared in the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La., of Saturday, June 22, 1957, entitled "Congress Should Not Surrender Its Power." I feel this will be of interest to the Members of Congress:

CONGRESS SHOULD NOT SURRENDER ITS POWER

No one can blame Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, for feeling bitterness over this week's 6–1 decision of the United States Supreme Court overturning the convictions of 14 California Communists under the Smith Anti-Subversive Act, which he authored.

"I do not recall any case decided by the present Court that the Communists have lost," said Representative SMITH.

The decisions of the Court have followed the pattern described by the Virginian. Each decision seems to say that Congress, or a State legislature, or a lower court, or a prosecutor, was guilty of misjudgment in methods or processes of curbing communism within the United States.

The net result of all the decisions is a basis for concluding that unless a Communist is found placing a bomb to destroy a United States defense plant, there's nothing that can be done about his activities.

Chief Justice Warren, in one of the recent opinions, declared that there is no congressional power to "expose for the sake of exposure."

This pins Congress down rather closely. If there is a real menace to the Nation Congress has no power to investigate for the sole purpose of exposing that menace.

Reports from Washington indicate that at least some Members of the House and Senate are beginning to wonder whether Congress has become a mere lackey subject to whims and sociological fancies set forth in Supreme Court rulings.

Perhaps these Members and others later, will realize that the American electorate looks to Congress to preserve its powers and to exercise its authority. It expects the legislative branch of the Government to be much more than a mere servile, submissive servant of either Supreme Court decisions or executive mandates.

In asserting its own powers, Congress need show no disrespect for the Supreme Court. What it can do is exercise congressional powers in opposition to judicial powers whenever a legitimate opportunity affords. Congress need not stand impotent. The Constitution has given Congress powers which can, and should, be used.

If this is not done, the judicial branch of the Government will overpower the legislative branch, in a manner divorcing Federal authority from the will of the people, as expressed in congressional elections.

Politics ought to be put aside for the moment in Congress, while the larger question of the rights of Congress receives serious consideration.

Letter From Wife of American Serviceman Serving in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I received a letter of June 7, 1957, from an American woman in Japan, the wife of an officer, telling about the treatment which the average American wife, soldier, and children receive. I am deleting from the letter, which I shall ask to have printed in the RECORD, the name of the woman and the name of the soldier, for obvious reasons.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter, with the names deleted, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUNE 7, 1957.

DEAR SENATOR CHAVEZ: Please accept my apologies for not addressing the envelope properly. Reason for discretion to assure letter from being withheld.

I write in order to request your support for protection of American families in foreign countries. My present experience being in Japan. Be advised of the conditions and treatment that the majority of Americans have to contend with. Conditions are as follows: We live in private rental. No drinking water. It must be boiled or handled from nearest base. Boiling the water runs the gas bill up to an exhorbitant price—one cannot afford to pay. Hauling water is a

problem when one does not have personal transportation. No baths. Washing being done on the scrub board. In short we are living in a primitive way. This most of us can take. It is the abuse we are getting along with our daily struggles.

American women who have to walk to the base to do shopping get stoned along the way and spit upon. Next—we're lucky to get back and not find our entire household goods hauled away. They steal us blind. The big hurt is when the Japs run into your house to beat your children up without warning of any kind. A person calls on the military police and all is handled very quietly and agreeably toward the Japs that they will not do such things again. They continue to repeat their same doings. You see, people who are sent out to foreign countries are taken to the elaborate hotels, treated with the highest of dignities and are shown the bright side of our relations with them. Also people who are given the opportunity to voice their likes of foreign living are people who are connected with diplomatic status or the families of GI's who never had to experience living in private rental. These people I agree are having and living an enjoyable time. However, that is only a small percentage of Americans who are fortunate enough to enjoy foreign assignments. The rest of us live in fear, abuse and even hunger.

Senator CHAVEZ, I am not bitter or envious; I only appeal for protection from these people who have a belligerent attitude. The next time I find or catch a Jap in my house beating one of my boys or trying to tamper with my 3-year-old daughter I am going to get a baseball bat and sling it at him and I don't want to be thrown at no Japs for trial.

Senator, if any of the authorities know of my writing a letter to my Senator, my husband would be busted or penalized in some manner. Families are briefed upon arrival what is expected of us. I feel it is time someone knew the real inside of these foreign duties and how much protection we have.

Respectfully yours.

Conservation Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important responsibilities of the American people is the conservation of our land. For this reason, I have been very much impressed with an article that appeared in the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Argus-Leader of June 14, which details the splendid efforts of a South Dakota farmer in the field of conservation.

Mr. Herron Runestad, of Howard, S. Dak., has certainly set a fine example of progressive conservation farming. As an inspiration to others who are interested in conservation, I am including the Argus-Leader article, as follows:

CONSERVATION FARMING A MUST FOR FARMER IN MINER COUNTY

(By Robert E. Cone)

HOWARD, S. Dak.—South Dakota is being kept greener each year by the extensive program of the Soil Conservation Service. Keeping pace with every program the Service has to offer is Miner County Farmer Herron Runestad.

His half section located 16 miles northeast of Howard is literally a garden spot. He has used every possible means of soil conservation and his farm indicates his efforts have not been in vain.

Runestad's farm is located high in the Vermillion hills. He started his conservation work when he purchased the farm in 1947. He has 2 miles of terraces, 40 acres furrowed pasture, a dugout where there was formerly a slough, and acres of trees in the right places.

When Runestad moved on his farm in 1947, a slough occupied a good part of one large field. His terracing on the farmable part of this field dried up the slough. Then he began his dugout project. Now he is able to utilize every bit of the soil bordering the 50 by 35 foot dugout.

Runestad rented another quarter this year and as soon as he has reached an agreement with his landlord, soil conservation practices will be put into effect on this quarter. Runestad says "conservation farming is definitely a must * * * it's coming slowly, but each year it gets bigger." He claims that terracing and contouring have raised his yields as much as 33⅓ percent.

Contour planting of crops, trees and even fence lines are common on the Runestad farm. He has a 2-acre shelter belt just north of his farm buildings that is planted on the contour. The result is a nice dry feeding lot for winter use.

Runestad uses the alfalfa-brome rotation program. He plants an alfalfa-brome mixture, leaves it for 2 or 3 years and then crops the land again. He also uses a mixture of clover in with his grain.

Cattle, sheep and hogs play a part in his farming operation. He feeds everything he raises. He said "we added a quarter this year because of more stock. But if that quarter isn't terraced, a lot of good crop value will be wasted."

In addition to his farming operation, Runestad is the Belleview Township assessor, Belleview Township committeeman, on weed board for Miner County, and active in the promotion of soil conservation practices. He is married and has one daughter, Sharon, a graduate this year from Augustana Academy, Canton.

Need Shown for Further Fish Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, several weeks ago my Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce published a special report on Farming for Fishes.

Since that time, I have heard from many sources the growth the commercial fish farming industry has enjoyed in this Nation during recent years. Many letters came from commercial hatcheries, telling of their first-hand experience in this field, and how many of them are now being called upon to provide a good proportion of the fish plant by governmental agencies charged with the responsibility of stocking lakes and streams.

In many instances, private operators have been able to supply stock at a lower price than governmental agencies have been able to do. It is my belief that such operations should be encouraged in the future so that the Nation's sportsmen may receive more fish for their dollar.

I ask unanimous consent that one letter I have received, from the Snake River Trout Co., at Buhl, Idaho, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SNAKE RIVER TROUT CO.,
Buhl, Idaho, June 10, 1957.

The Honorable WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
United States Senator, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: Have read with interest the report prepared for the use of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce by you in regard to farming for fishes. I was particularly interested in this report since we ourselves operate the largest trout ranch in the world. I am sending to you a recent writeup on our operation by the Cryovac Co. This story will explain better than I can in a letter our type of operation here.

The commercial trout growers of the United States have formed an association and within the last year have been printing our own publication. A copy of this is also being sent to you. We feel that there is a great future in fish farming in the United States not only for trout, but also for other species. In many areas of the country, the trout that are produced are used for stream stocking for sportsmen. We are interested in table trout for food use although we also do supply a small amount of trout to the State for stocking. In almost every instance the private hatchery can supply commercially produced trout at a very reasonable price, and often at a lower price than the Federal or State operation can produce the same fish. We are now supplying 60,000 trout averaging 8 inches each, which is 4 to the pound, to the State of Idaho at 69½ cents per pound, f. o. b. our plant. Bids for live trout for stream stocking in this area range from 60 to 70 cents a pound, with a low last year of 55 cents a pound for 3 to the pound size fish supplied to the fish and game department of Nevada. With proper management in the years to come, it will be possible to ship trout in transcontinental tankers to supply stream stocking in the Eastern States. At the present time Idaho Rainbow trout are being delivered as far east as Chicago. The price of this type of operation is usually 65 cents a pound for 3 to the pound size trout or larger, plus 40 cents a mile one-way transportation charges. Tankers now used hold approximately 1,500 to 2,000 pounds of live trout.

Some of the drawbacks of fish farming, as far as a commercial hatchery is concerned, are the lack of available capital for going into the business and the lack of interest and cooperation shown to the commercial hatcheries by many of the State and Federal fish and game personnel. In some areas, such as your own State of Washington, the cooperation between the fish and game department and the commercial hatcheries is excellent. In other areas there is not only a lack of cooperation, but in many cases a determined effort to hinder whenever possible the commercial hatchery operator. We hope through the efforts of our association, the national board of United States Trout Farm Association, to be able to correct these problems as well as numerous others.

If, in our own small way, we can at any time help you in developing a better policy in the United States for such farming, we will be most happy to do so.

Sincerely,

SNAKE RIVER TROUT CO.,
ROBERT A. ERKINS,
President.

Foster Parents Week in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was interested to read in the newspapers of my State that our Governor, Vernon W. Thomson, has proclaimed the present week of June 23 through June 29 Foster Parents Week. In this way, tribute is being paid to more than 5,000 foster families in Wisconsin—worthy mothers and fathers who provide at least a temporary home to children.

We continue to read a great deal in the newspapesr about the problem of juvenile delinquency. We note how a great many youth crimes are attributed to the fact that the youngsters came from broken homes.

It is well, therefore, to note the constructive activity of foster parents in providing homes for youngsters who might otherwise have to grow up in institutions or in homes totally unsatisfactory as regards parent-child relationships.

I, too, therefore, wish to commend both foster parents and adopted parents throughout the land.

Wisconsin, of course, has been particularly careful in making sure that both foster parents and adopted parents are of the highest types. Other States have been less careful, unfortunately; and there have been abuses in the foster-parent system.

An article in last Sunday's issue of the Wisconsin State Journal tells the heartwarming story of What Makes Johnny Belong. I particularly want to salute the foster parents—indeed, the adopted parents—who take into their homes handicapped children, children suffering from some physical or mental disability.

Words can hardly express the genuine debt which society owes to those wonderful mothers and fathers who willingly, eagerly, take unto themselves children who otherwise might be rejected because of handicaps which are no fault of their own.

The solution to the juvenile-delinquency problem, like the solution of other social problems, lies in the home of America and in the church and in the school. Basically, it lies in the heart of America.

This article tells a heartwarming story. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFTEN IT'S A FOSTER FAMILY HOME—WHAT MAKES JOHNNY BELONG?—WEEK TO HONOR 5,000 FAMILIES IN WISCONSIN

(By Helen Klieforth)

Drama in a young child's life.

Johnny, aged 4, was unwanted. Shunted about by relatives, he has never lived in one home for very long. He felt alone and rejected. When his case was turned over to a welfare agency, and a social worker came to get him, Johnny told her, "I'm nobody's nothing."

Today, Johnny belongs. He has been given a home by generous foster parents who share with him their home and love.

FOSTER PARENTS HONORED

This week, foster parents throughout the State are being honored. Gov. Vernon W. Thomson has declared June 23 to June 29 as Foster Parents' Week. At this time, tribute is being given to more than 5,000 foster families in Wisconsin.

In Dane County alone, more than 300 foster children are given homes by foster parents, who care for them from periods of a few days to several years. One woman, Mrs. W. E. Krause, 3902 Margaret Street, has had more than 260 foster children during the past 20 years. She has cared for infants, physically and emotionally handicapped children, and teen-agers.

Another family, the August Heeds, 1036 Spaight Street, have specialized in caring for handicapped children. During the past school year they had a 7-year-old girl who has a hearing loss, and an 8-year-old visually handicapped child.

Foster parents differ from adoptive parents in that they give only temporary care to the children, and do not adopt them. These children may have living parents who do not wish to give up their children permanently. Or the children may be infants who need temporary homes until they are placed for adoption.

The use of foster homes has been growing rapidly, especially since the first White House conference on children and youth in 1908.

At that time, President Theodore Roosevelt said, "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons."

Foster parents, therefore, not only provide family living for these children, but save the taxpayers thousands of dollars by providing this service in place of institutional care.

Sometimes, of course, children without families must be cared for in special institutions, but for the most part children are happier in family settings. In a foster family, they often give and receive the love they need so badly.

AN EXAMPLE

In one foster home, a teen-aged girl who had felt rejected and unloved, displayed rather perplexing behavior. She was testing her foster parents as if to prove to herself that they, too, did not want her. When at last she was satisfied that they did love her, she accepted them.

Today, she is married and a mother herself. When she writes to her foster parents, she addresses them as "Dear Mother and Daddy."

Social workers in Dane County report several instances in which foster children, now grown and established, have become foster parents themselves.

MORE NEEDED

There is a growing need for more foster parents. There are at this time, many children in State institutions who should be in foster homes.

For many prospective foster parents however, there is less appeal in taking older children than infants. Yet, the children have desperate need of loving home care.

Especially hard to place are some physically or emotionally handicapped children. They provide a challenge to those who open their hearts to them, often requiring patience and understanding. Mrs. August Heed, who cared for eight handicapped children says, however, "The effort required brings extra satisfactions."

Children are placed in homes which can best meet their needs. Sometimes a child who has been rejected might need a home where he would be the only child. Other children who had been neglected in their own homes, find security in a foster family with other children.

HOW THEY'RE JUDGED

Good foster parents are judged by their ability to give of themselves, not by their financial situations, nor by the way they do their housekeeping.

Foster family living is a family affair, involving fathers, mothers, and the family's own children. These children must share their own parents with children who had been strangers.

"Love" is the key word in foster home placement.

Dane County foster parents will be honored at a get-together Tuesday evening at the women's club. Judge Richard Bardwell will speak to the group, and several foster children will put on a short musical program.

The Apathy of Man—Essay by Joann Votava

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an essay by Miss Joann Votava, of Pasco, Wash., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It is a good essay, which has won wide recognition in Washington State, and I believe it demonstrates an excellent grasp of the significance of history on the part of so young a girl.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE APATHY OF MAN—THE DOWNFALL OF CIVILIZATION

(By Joann Votava, Pasco Senior High School annual speech contest, May 24, 1957)

Many hundreds of years ago a great and proud nation fell, and lay at the feet of the barbaric hordes. And for years, historians puzzled over the question of what single force could have caused this downfall. Mighty Rome, who had attained a level of cultural and political advances never before realized in this world, had fallen. As they studied this problem, historians came to the conclusion that not the only force but the main reason for the downfall of the Roman republic was the apathy of its own people.

In their forward progress, the Romans were able to attain their material and spiritual abundances largely through the preservation of individual initiative and responsibility. And so long as the Roman people took upon themselves their responsibility to themselves and to the state, Rome prospered and was strong.

And then history records a gradual shifting of responsibility from the people to the state. Under the welfare state of that day, they came to expect that the government would feed them, educate them, entertain them, and, indeed, sustain them in their livelihood. Gradually, not suddenly, but gradually the Roman republic shifted into statism and finally totalitarianism. And Rome fell.

This political chain of events has been repeated down through countless decades. From the earliest Sumerian civilization down through the Egyptian, Babylonian, Grecian, Roman, and even to this very day—not the only reason but the basic reason for the

downfall of a country was the apathy of its own people.

Since the early 1700's when the word American was first coined, we have always been noted for our strong national patriotism. We stand up in the eyes of the world and say: This is mine—my America—and I am proud of my country. But the attitude of the early 1700 day settlers was far different from the attitude of our citizens today.

For example, when voting was first inaugurated, these ancestors felt that it was not only a duty but a rare and precious privilege to vote for the person of our choice. These elections commanded a large participation. But today, how many of those actually eligible to vote take the time to register, and of those who register, how many get to the polls on election day, and of those who vote, how many take the time to vote wisely. Yes, the attitude of our American citizens has changed from earlier days.

We in America are indeed lucky and fortunate. We live in a democracy. We have managed to preserve from the 1700's the rights to vote for whom we wish, speak what we feel, worship in the church of our choice, and live as freemen and women. We can easily see this democracy we live every time we walk downtown. Democracy is seen in bright neon signs, merchandise-filled windows, and that basic element of all good business, free enterprise.

The Communist form of government which exists in the world today has one primary aim—to gain control of the whole world. This they will do either by peaceful methods or by war, whichever is most convenient. A Communist Party exists in the United States today. They have seized upon this apathy as displayed by our citizenry and using it as a wedge, they seek to divide and destroy.

If I had a voice that millions might hear, I would cry out and say, "wake up Americans, get down on your knees, and pray to Almighty God, that each and every American will realize that in his or her hands lies the fate of all future Americans." If we do this there will be no danger that someday a man will stand on the eastern shore of our continent and say, "This was the site of the capital of a civilization called America, and this pile of stones over here once belonged to the Washington Monument. Now isn't that quaint."

No Americans. That will never happen if we awaken ourselves from this apathy, appreciate this democracy we live in and live in the words of the motto of our country—In God We Trust.

Beyond the Bamboo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very enlightening and provocative editorial published in the Washington Post for Thursday, June 27, this morning. The editorial is entitled "Beyond the Bamboo," and it relates to some of the developments that are presently underway in Red China, particularly the statements of the head of the Communist Party in Red China, Mao Tse-tung, and also one of the generals of the Red Chinese armies. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEYOND THE BAMBOO

Something important has been happening within Red China, concerning which we have thus far only the dimmest intimations; yet the signs are slowly increasing that the cross-pollination from Mao Tse-tung's "hundred flowers" is already producing some strange growths.

Spokesmen for the half dozen or more fellow-traveling parties, tolerated by the Reds for purposes of propaganda, are now attacking the Peiping regime and demanding the formation of a genuine coalition and a greater share of public offices for themselves. Yesterday, at the opening session of the National People's Council, Premier Chou En-lai saw fit to warn these malcontents that if they persist in such demands they may soon find themselves classified as enemies of the people; and all who heard him knew what that meant.

Before Chou spoke, the ranking officer of the Red military command, Gen. Lung Yun, had denounced Soviet Russia for obliging China to bear the whole cost of the Korean war and for insisting on the repayment of its war loans. More astonishing still was the contrast drawn by General Lung between this avaricious attitude of the Russian comrades and that of the American bourgeois-imperialists, who canceled or wrote off under lend-lease agreemnts their far larger payments to allies in the First and Second World Wars. And besides all that, General Lung wanted to know when the Russians are going to recompense China for all the heavy industrial equipment seized by them in Manchuria after the Japanese surrender there and shipped away to Siberia.

Now this General Lung, though he has picked up a good bit of the party jargon, has been described as a sort of rice Communist. Actually, it is said, he remains what he has always been: an old-fashioned warlord on the pattern of Chang Tso-lin or Feng Huhsiang. As the master of Yunnan, his native province, he was once a foe and then an ally of Chiang Kai-shek. After the war he was placed under surveillance by Chiang, escaped and delivered Yunnan to the Communist cause.

Another curious circumstance about General Lung's latest oscillation of loyalty is that his attack on the Soviet was cited by the official Communist news agency as a deplorable example of a current tendency toward right deviationism. Not very long ago, the Peiping regime had other ways of dealing with deviationists than by giving wide publicity to their views. Two possible explanations, therefore, suggest themselves: (a) that General Lung was speaking with the tacit support of some powerful faction within the party; and (b) that his power is again too well consolidated for his statements to be ignored.

And so what we are left with for the present is a choice among various hypotheses. Is all this new and sweetly conciliatory talk from Mao a desperate appeasement of some strong and serious opposition that has risen against him and his regime? Is it an effort to beguile the West, and especially the United States, into recognition of Red China and into increasing trade with her? Is it an effort to profit by the severe loss of face suffered by the Kremlin in the Hungarian revolution and a challenge to Moscow for the ideological leadership of the Communist world? Or has it only the less ambitious purpose of squeezing a few concessions from the jittery Russian overlords?

No matter how these questions may be answered, there is plenty of reason to hope that Mao may have opened the gates of history to an even more momentous flood of events than those set loose by Nikita Khrushchev in his speech about the manias and crimes of the late Comrade Stalin.

Water Resources and the Tidelands Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to present a most interesting speech delivered by the Honorable Calvin T. Watts, assistant director, Department of Public Works of the State of Louisiana, to the 44th national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington, D. C. While this deals principally with the State of Louisiana, I feel it will be of nationwide interest.

The speech is as follows:

WATER RESOURCES AND THE TIDELANDS AREA
(Remarks by Calvin T. Watts)

If Louisiana were the only State in the Union, I believe that it could supply enough water resource problems to keep the National Rivers and Harbors Congress busy forever. Louisiana, I am certain, stands alone among all the 48 States in the magnitude and variety of its water problems. As I develop my subject, you will understand why we are such stanch supporters of this great organization—the National Rivers and Harbors Congress—and why we continually support an adequate national program for improvement and maintenance of our water resources.

First of all, we have the major problem of flood control. Nearly half of the United States drains on and through Louisiana—41 percent of the country, to be exact. We get the drainage from 31 States and 2 Canadian provinces—an area extending from Montana to New York, and from up in Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.

One-third of the State, about 16,000 square miles, is protected against flooding by 2,033 miles of levees—some of them over 30 feet high. Most of our industry, one-half of the population, one-third of the farms, including our most productive lands, and many important cities and towns, including the port city of New Orleans, lie in the area requiring flood protection. Heavy rains on the extensive low, flat lands of the coastal section creates many local drainage problems. Periodic droughts bring severe water deficiencies, particularly in the area dependent upon irrigation. We have over 690,000 acres of land under irrigation each year—more than any other State outside the arid West. Added to these are the problems of beach erosion—some of our coastal islands have vanished, and we are hard pressed to preserve others; salt water intrusion into our streams along a 400-mile coastline; lack of fresh water in brackish bays where oysters are cultivated; stream pollution; and the development and maintenance of navigable waterways in recent alluvial deposits.

Other States may have some of these problems to a greater or lesser degree, but few if any have all of them except Louisiana and the so-called tidelands area.

The people of Louisiana are slowly realizing that water—not oil or gas or minerals—is the State's most valuable resource, because without water we could not develop these resources. In earlier days water supplies seemed unlimited and we were concerned more with the disposal of storm and flood waters than with the availability of water for beneficial use. And we never thought that there would be a shortage of water in our State.

But times have changed with the influx of industries to develop our vast mineral resources, with the growth of agriculture, and with the great increase in our population, so that today water has become the most important element in our modern, highly complex economy. As a result of these developments, Louisiana has become one of the major water-using States in the Nation, and we are now concerned with water shortages in addition to the periodic excesses which must be faced each year.

Most of our water comes from our neighbors above us in the Missouri, the Ohio, the upper Mississippi, the Arkansas, and the Red River basins. The only trouble with this source is that most of the supply is delivered at once and is not evenly distributed over the year. Now that we have learned how to handle such huge volumes of water through flood control measures on the Mississippi River and its tributaries, we are very grateful for all our rivers and streams, and for all the water which you send us. Water is no longer the cruel master of Louisiana, but our very good servant.

Flood control has enabled us to take advantage or our natural resources, both mineral and physical. The fresh water flow of this Mississippi River and deepwater navigation for 233 miles below Baton Rouge are very attractive to industry, particularly when combined with the oil and gas resources of the State. The Mississippi River has never flowed through Louisiana at a rate less than 48 billion gallons per day. Its average flow is 312 billion gallons per day, and the maximum of record 922 billion, as compared to the 262 billion gallons which the entire Nation uses each day.

We have other interstate streams which add to our surface water resources—the Sabine, the Red, the Ouachita, and Pearl Rivers. We have recently entered into the Sabine River compact with the State of Texas on the division of Sabine River water, and development of the water resources of this basin. The two States are now jointly planning construction of the Toledo Bend Reservoir on this river to impound approximately 5 million acre-feet of water. It is to be a multi-purpose reservoir to be used for power, irrigation, flood control, water conservation, and recreation. Estimated cost of the project is over $30 million and it is to be financed from revenue bonds by the Sabine River Authority of Texas and the Sabine River Authority of Louisiana. I am sure that Members of Congress present here today are pleased to hear of a project such as this where two States are trying to build it themselves without coming to Washington for help.

Congress has authorized a compact on the Red River, and the States of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma are now negotiating for an equitable apportionment among the States and development of the waters of that river basin.

Great as they are, our surface water supplies are not evenly distributed with respect to time or geography. We have periods of heavy rainfall followed by periods of drought. Our 60 inches of annual rainfall are not well distributed throughout the year. And we have not solved the problem of distributing the waters of the Atchafalaya and Mississippi Rivers to deficient areas although there are virtually unlimited possibilities for diverting flow from these rivers for beneficial use throughout the northeastern, central, and southern regions of the State. Surface water is available to meet all foreseeable needs—the problem is one of transportation and distribution to points where it is needed. We have made a notable start at Donaldsonville, where we have constructed a 400 cubic feet per second pumping plant diverting Mississippi River water to communities along Bayou Lafourche for a distance of 100 miles. And below New Orleans we have recently completed the Bayou Lamoque structure for diverting fresh water from the Mississippi River to the oyster beds of California Bay. Because of the low flat lands in the lower or coastal portion of the State, there are no opportunities for construction of storage reservoirs. This is the area where most of the water is used—600,000 acres of rice are irrigated, requiring 1,500,000 acre-feet of water in 150 days—and most of the State's industry is located here. To further decrease our water supplies, salt water intrudes all of the coastal streams in this area. Tremendous volumes of fresh water are required to reduce salt water intrusion. In the case of the Mississippi, it takes a flow of about 150,000 cubic feet per second to maintain low salinities at New Orleans, 100 miles up the river from the Gulf.

The Louisiana Department of Public Works has given this problem much study, for at least half of our irrigated lands are directly affected by salt water intrusion. The Waterways Experiment Station at Vicksburg has just completed for us a model study of the effects of closing Southwest Pass upon salinities in Vermilion Bay, a large bay connected to our irrigation streams. The results of this study should be helpful to other coastal areas experiencing similar problems.

Our groundwater supplies are nearly as great as our surface water supplies. It has been estimated that if all the water in the ground beneath Louisiana were brought to the surface, it would cover the State to a depth of 70 feet. But even here we have problems. In many locations our underground supplies have been overdeveloped and water levels have dropped rapidly. In 1 or 2 places where withdrawals have been heavy, salt water from the gulf has entered the aquifer. And in many areas where large volumes of groundwater are available for industry, the limiting factor is disposal of industrial waste without contaminating the surface watercourses.

One of our great problems in flood control is that of sedimentation. Along with the floodwaters which come our way are tremendous quantities of silt which are filling the great Atchafalaya Floodway through which must flow in times of flood one-half the water from 41 percent of the Nation, the other half flowing down the Mississippi. In a few years sedimentation of the floodway at moderate stages will be complete, and the delta-building process of the Atchafalaya River will continue in Atchafalaya Bay. At the same time, the river increases its length and flood stages rise.

Among our greatest resources are our navigable waterways. We have 7,500 miles of navigable streams in Louisiana, of which 2,200 miles are maintained as regular arteries of commerce. All of these streams are of great value to the economy of the State. Many of them traverse the coastal marshes of south Louisiana and provide the only means of transportation for developing the vast oil, gas, and sulfur deposits of an otherwise inaccessible area.

The Mississippi River extends for 233 miles below Baton Rouge as a continuous deepwater harbor for seagoing ships. Very little maintenance is required in this reach as compared to the upper reaches where the river flows through more unstable materials. Over $2½ billion have been invested in new industrial plants on this section of the river since 1946. Industry located here because it needed the river for navigation and the disposal of industrial waste and the fresh water for its manufacturing processes. The Mississippi is the key element in the most extensive inland waterway system in the world, connecting our inland waterways of Louisiana and the 1,200 miles of the Gulf-Intracoastal Waterway along the southern coast of our Nation with the Great Lakes, the Missouri, and the Ohio River systems in the North.

We are continually striving to expand and extend our waterway facilities. Among projects underway or planned are the Mississippi River-Gulf outlet, a tidewater channel from New Orleans to the gulf; the Atchafalaya Bay ship channel from Morgan City to the gulf; 40-foot navigation in the Calcasieu ship channel; the Calcasieu-Atchafalaya water supply and deepwater industrial channel from Lake Charles to Morgan City and projects on the Red, Ouachita, Mermentau, Sabine, and Pearl Rivers.

All of these projects and problems that have been mentioned are located in Louisiana—in the tidelands area—either in whole or in part. But in solving these problems, we find that we are not involved in local projects, but in ones of national significance.

The inland waterways of Louisiana, our ports and harbors, are of no value to us or to the nation unless they are connected to other areas which have similar navigation facilities. For this reason we in Louisiana support Federal navigation projects throughout the Nation—in the Missouri, Ohio, upper and lower Mississippi Valleys, and in the Great Lakes Basin.

We are well aware of and appreciate the increase in low water flow of the Mississippi River provided by the development of tributary basins, particularly the Missouri Basin. For this reason we watch such developments with great interest, and join our neighboring States to the north in support of these programs. It is most important to Louisiana that the low water flow of the Mississippi River be increased to provide deeper navigation in the upper reaches and prevent salt water intrusion in the lower reaches. The flood control program on the Mississippi River and tributaries is also of first importance to the Nation, and not just to the States in the alluvial valley. This program prevents flooding of millions of acres of fertile lands, and maintains the most important and extensive inland navigation system in the world. At the same time it secures the east-west lines of communication across our country—the transcontinental oil and gas pipelines, highways, railroads, power, and telegraph lines.

The water resources of Louisiana in the tidelands area are great, but the problems associated with them are also very great. Flood control and drainage has cost the State of Louisiana and its agencies over $300 million in addition to the $400 million spent by the Federal Government. At the present time the State and its agencies are spending about $12 million annually for these purposes in addition to that being spent by the Federal Government. Although water has been Louisiana's No. 1 liability in the past, during recent years it is fast becoming Louisiana's No. 1 asset. In the solution of these problems and in the development of our water resources, Louisiana has had a most pleasant association with the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. I am looking forward to a continuance of this productive relationship in the years ahead.

We Can't Buy All the Plans To Save the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, under date of January 21 of this year, there appeared in the Kansas City Star an editorial entitled "We Can't Buy All the Plans To Save the World," which I think is apropos at this time, because the Senate is soon to consider the appropriations for the Military Establishment and the national defense. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE CAN'T BUY ALL THE PLANS TO SAVE THE WORLD

When the Nation is in a constant state of alarm it takes a bold man to criticize any spending in the name of national security. Obviously there has to be a limit to spending somewhere. But where?

The mantle of wisdom on foreign aid is in the State Department and the military budget is engraved on a golden tablet by the Defense Department. We refer to these requests as they are revealed to mortal men with the ultimate endorsement of the Budget Bureau.

Any question is denounced as proof that you are more concerned with your taxes than the national security. This would be equally true if the high priests of our security chose to recommend a few billions more or a few billions less.

Now this poses a problem with no ready solution. We agree that the best judgment on what we should spend in Laos, Jordan, or the Nile is in the State Department. The men best equipped to discuss our military needs are the top leaders of the military services. It is hard for anyone on the outside to pick holes in their arguments and their budgets deserve careful consideration. But even these omnipotent men have been known to change their minds with such suddenness that we sometimes suspect that they, too, are poor mortals. Certainly they should not be above much stronger public questioning than we have heard in recent years.

Anyone who is interested in human nature knows that indefinite expansion is built into all governmental budgets. We aren't questioning the conscious intentions of men who plan the programs for the military or foreign operations.

But they do have a vested interest in the constant state of world alarm. We doubt that it is an accident that the greatest epidemic of war scares is in the United States. And the causes for fright seem to become particularly ominous at budgetmaking time. The Russians aren't the only masters of propaganda. It is a sad fact that on the most important problems of our times, it is sometimes virtually impossible to get unbiased answers.

It is in the nature of capable men to think their own jobs are so vital that they must be expanded. When you get into such far-ranging fields as foreign relations and defense, the multiplication of vital jobs is terrific. One man is prepared to save the world by pumping money into Cambodia and another has the answer with supercarriers. The top-level heads of the various departments pare down their requests, of course, but the pressure is terrific. And when war tensions are up, the arguments are hard to resist.

Most of us have known nervous people who bought insurance against so many calamities that they didn't have enough left to live on. Danger lurks in all human experience and no man has found the feasible means of protecting himself against every possibility.

Ordinary citizens also know that the rich man who accepts responsibility for all the troubles of his relatives sets off an endless chain of demands. And most of them sound perfectly logical. We have discovered that the same is true of the rich Uncle Sam.

And now, with the best of arguments, this country is on a course of setting up a unilateral policy of guaranteeing the military security of all the free nations in the world.

The increase in the foreign-aid request of the present budget comes only from the very reasonable new request for money to bolster the nations in the Near East. An emergency proposition. Yet, if we are to be at all realistic, we know that as long as world tensions persist there will be new emergencies every year. Let's assume the request for money to use on the latest emergency will always be valid. Then the only way to hold down foreign-aid spending is to wind up some of the old emergencies.

It would be suicidal for the most tax-conscious person to want to cut military defense to a dangerous level. And it's impossible for an outsider to know exactly how much should be spent. Yet we are entitled to doubt that the pet weapon of each branch of the service is the one that is going to save us. And it is no secret that the Navy political bloc is so powerful in Congress that we can't hope for an absolutely objective appraisal of the Navy needs. And we can't believe that the admirals are alone with a vested interest in war crisis.

We agree that any cutbacks that mean a return to isolationism would be highly dangerous. And that is not in prospect. Today the danger is from excesses in the opposite direction. The danger grows with the fatalistic public resignation that has caused it to accept without scrutiny anything proposed in the name of national security. A healthy infusion of public skepticism should force a more realistic approach.

It is only good sense to take out all reasonable insurance against the catastrophe of world war. The problem is to find an equally sane place to draw the line.

Punishment for Publishing "Secret" Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Dallas, Tex., Morning News of June 24, 1957.

The editorial is self-explanatory. It condemns the proposal of the President's Commission on Government Security that the Congress make it possible to put newspapermen in jail for publishing information the Government arbitrarily labels as "secret."

I consider this proposal as dangerous as the Sedition Acts of 1798.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WRIGHT OFFERS CURE WORSE THAN DISEASE

A long, cold look at one of the main recommendations of the Commission on Government Security is called for, at least.

This is the proposal to imprison and fine newspapermen who publish information which the Government labels as secret.

The propensity of Government officials to throw a cloak of secrecy around many of their moves is notorious. More crimes of news suppression are attempted in the name of security than is good for the country.

Outside the Defense Department, there are few, if any, facts or decisions of public servants that merit such a blackout. And in the case of genuine defense secrets we already have laws stout enough, with stiff enough penalties, to cover anyone who tries to pass vital information to either friend or enemy.

The temper of this one recommendation in the 800-page report of the Commission should alert us. At least equal scrutiny would seem to be in order for all others offered by Chairman Loyd Wright and his group.

It may be that we need a Central Security Office,, an independent agency answerable only to the White House. It may be that we need to revise appeal procedures for those tried by loyalty-security boards, although the courts appear to be on the job in this particular. There may be other proposals in the report that deserve consideration.

But the fact remains that Congress should go slow in adopting any more regimentation of the individual, either in or out of government employ. Just because a tactic works well in a Communist or Fascist state is no reason to insist that it should be adopted in a free country.

The Dreams of Our Rivermen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Oregon Journal of June 14, 1957, features an editorial under the heading "The Dreams of Our Rivermen." This editorial recognizes the prophetic qualities of two Northwesterners who are widely identified with navigation development on the Columbia-Snake River system. The editorial pays to Mr. Herbert G. West and Captain A. Leppaluoto a deserved tribute for their faith, vision, and determined efforts to realize the full navigation potential of one of America's great river systems. Like all true prophets, they have their eyes set on the future. Today's achievement is to them but the realization of yesterday's dream.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DREAMS OF OUR RIVERMEN

It is good for the soul of a landsman to spend a day with river people. He cannot

avoid becoming infected with some of the fervor which marks their dreams for the future of water transportation on the Columbia River system.

It startles one to hear Herbert G. West, executive vice president of the Inland Empire Waterways Association, predict that eventually navigation benefits on the Columbia will outweigh those of power, or to hear Capt. A. Leppaluoto, president of the Inland Navigation Co., say that barge tows, as the result of navigation improvements, will grow in size from 1,000 tons of the past to 10,000- and 20,000-ton cargoes.

West's predictions are based on a scope of operation not comprehended by the average Northwest resident. He sees the barge lines tapping the great Snake River Basin and pushing above Pasco on the main stem of the Columbia. Then he sees the products of this hinterland, greatest on the Pacific coast, being transported, not just downriver, but all the way to markets in California, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Alaska.

One cannot explain these men's dreams on the basis of expected selfish advantages. What they think and feel about the river is like a religion. That is what has kept them going in the face of the adversities of the last two decades. That is why they work for things they may not see in their lifetime.

Even now, however, the ordinary observer can see their dreams taking on substance. Barge transportation has won its spurs. Its lean years are about over. Drowning out of the Celilo Canal bottleneck is, as Captain Leppaluoto says, about to usher in a great new era, with larger, more efficient equipment. Much has yet to be done before river transportation reaches its ultimate stage. There are the four lower Snake River dams to be built. There is John Day on the main stem of the Columbia. Eventually there must be access to the territory above Pasco.

To complement these developments there must be dredging of a 27-foot channel to The Dalles, to permit the passage of smaller oceangoing vessels, and an eventual 40-foot channel from the sea to Portland-Vancouver, to accommodate the larger ships.

Water transportation is not a thing to be considered apart from the region's overall economic progress. Riverman West sees it helping, not hurting, other forms of transportation. It will help also the farmer, the industrialist, the banker, the laborer, the clerk, the salesman.

The river is one of our greatest resources. What we do with it, from the standpoint of navigation, will be a determining factor in the welfare of the whole region.

Columbia's Emblem—Poem by Edna Dean Proctor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at this time I wish to make a statement.

On last Wednesday, June 17, when I introduced Senate Joint Resolution 105, designating the golden corn tassel as the national floral emblem, I ended my remarks with the last verse of a poem written in 1892 by a native Illinoisan, Edna Dean Proctor. My attention was called to this poem by Mrs. Julia Proctor White, the niece of Miss Proctor, who lives in Peoria, Ill. Miss Proctor's poem first appeared in the September 1892 issue of the Century magazine, and was widely copied and recited. It also received several choral settings. As I feel that the poem gives eloquent support to my resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 105, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLUMBIA'S EMBLEM

Blazon Columbia's emblem,
The bounteous, golden corn!
Eons ago, of the great sun's glow
And the joy of the earth 'twas born.
From Superior's shore to Chilli,
From the ocean of dawn to the west,
With its banners of green and silken
It sprang at the sun's behest;

And by the dew and shower, from its natal hour,
With honey and wine 'twas fed,
Till on slope and plain the gods were fain
To share the feast outspread:
For the rarest boon to the land they loved
Was the corn so rich and fair,
Nor star nor breeze o'er the farthest seas
Could find its like elsewhere.

In their holiest temples the Incas
Offered the heaven-sent maize—
Grains wrought of gold, in a silver fold,
For the sun's enraptured gaze;
And its harvest came to the wandering tribes
As the gods' own gift and seal,
And Montezuma's festal bread
Was made of its sacred meal.
Narrow their cherished fields; but ours
Are broad as the continent's breast,
And, lavish as leaves, the rusting sheaves
Bring plenty and joy and rest;
For they strew the plains and crowd the wains
When the reapers meet at morn,
Till blithe cheers ring and west winds sing
A song for the garnered corn.

The rose may bloom for England,
The lily for France unfold;
Ireland may honor the shamrock,
Scotland her thistle bold;
But the shield of the great Republic,
The glory of the West,
Shall bear a stalk of the tasselled corn—
The sun's supreme bequest!
The arbutus and the goldenrod
The heart of the North may cheer,
And sunflower, cactus, and poppy
To sierra and plain be dear.
And jasmine and magnolia
The crest of the South adorn;
But the wide Republic's emblem
Is the bounteous, golden corn!

"Social" Medicine for the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, the Albany Herald, one of our leading daily newspapers, in the June 22, 1957, edition carried an editorial entitled: "'Social' Medicine for the South."

The distinguished editor, Hon. James H. Gray, was born, reared and educated in the State of Massachusetts and is a southerner by adoption. Mr. Gray performed outstanding service in World War II, and has traveled extensively throughout the world and, fortunately, is exceedingly familiar with the peculiar problems of the various sections of our country, and to his readers his opinions are rightfully held in great respect.

The above referred to editorial is so completely sound that I feel everyone should read it. The editorial is as follows:

"SOCIAL" MEDICINE FOR THE SOUTH

We share the chagrin and consternation of our two Georgia Senators over the action of the majority of the Senate in agreeing to bypass its Judiciary Committee with respect to the administration's so-called civil rights bill. If this action were not so damaging in portent, it might be viewed as an exercise in low comedy.

Here is a legislative proposal which is supposed to usher in a new "era of good feeling" among the races, to the distinct advantage of the national interest. Here is a legislative proposal whose intent is so high-minded that no men of good will should oppose its passage. And yet, what a difficult time administration supporters in Congress are having in selling this brand of social happy water. Such legislative medicine is a cureall, says the administration, and now we must put our foot on the sick child, prop open his jaws and pour it down his throat.

How have the administration's doctors conducted themselves? In the House, they decided that civil rights were so important to the public interest that right of jury trials should be suspended in violation cases, because presumably the people in those areas where such infractions might arise are not to be trusted to act fairly. In other words, these people on the local level do not possess the judgment to act responsibly in affairs that affect themselves and their immediate society most intimately. The Federal Government must do it for them.

Goshamighty, the curative powers of this social medicine must be so subtle that no patient can really be certain that he is a well person until the doctor slaps him on the back and pronounces him fit as a fiddle. The fact that the patient has lost the right to speak for himself? Why, that's as old fashioned as the Constitution.

In the Senate, the civil rights doctors continued their brave fight for enlightenment. The procedure of the established committee system? What nonsense in the atomic age. Throw that out the window! What in the name of confusion should the Judiciary Committee have to do with a civil-rights measure, which concerns intimately the power of our courts, the power of the Attorney General's office, the rights of States and the liberties of individual citizens? Why nothing, says Vice President NIXON as round eyed and innocent as the village maiden, and his artless sentiment is echoed by liberal Senators, many of whom, like Senator KNOWLAND, are not always so liberal except when they reckon the force of bloc voting in their home districts.

Yes, sir, this social medicine must really be the juice; one dose of it and the guaranty is that you can't tell black from white.

Perhaps in the foregoing we are being too caustic, too satirical, but the situation involving civil rights in Congress, in our opinion, has reached an emotional point which baffles commonsense and does serious injury to legislative practices and conduct which every thinking American honors. We respect Senator JOHN KENNEDY, from Massachusetts, for standing against this cheap fol-de-rol; in his view, the matter has gone beyond any question of civil rights. He sides with Senators RUSSELL and TALMADGE in believing that a basic principle is concerned that cannot be dismissed as merely sectional

prejudice. It is primarily an opposition to the so-called liberalism of today whereby the power of the Federal Government has been enlarged on the theory that anything that supposedly benefits the general welfare is constitutional, irrespective of what was decided before as to the rights of individuals and the rights of States. All this is not a system of law according to a written Constitution but law according to public sentiment as the judges choose to interpret it.

What is going on in this Alice-in-Wonderland partisan playlet in Congress cannot be taken lightly by any section of this country. When precedents and long-cherished principles of jurisprudence and legislative procedure are thus ignored, then captious politics will rule the day. And what of minority rights, which the administration's so-called civil rights bill purports to uphold so zealously? Why, these rights will go into limbo and the Nation will be at the mercy of intolerant majorities, which can be swayed for the moment by smoldering prejudice, political calculation, and pious declarations.

JAMES H. GRAY, *Editor.*

Right is right, and right is on the side of Mr. Gray, and our philosophies of government. Mr. Gray has lived in the South long enough to be familiar with the plans of the Communists to destroy the South and its people. Mr. Gray is thoroughly acquainted with the tactics and aspirations of the left-wing minority groups to beat down the South, and Mr. Gray opposes those purposes vigorously.

Mr. Gray does not share the opinion of some who express themselves in debate to the effect that southern Congressmen represent only the white South, for Mr. Gray feels that our southern Representatives represent the South and this Nation as it was intended to be and must continue to be if we are to survive.

Mr. Gray knows that the medicine cooked up for the South is intended to destroy the patient, not to cure. Mr. Gray knows that the same medicine will destroy the soul of this Nation.

Position of Pope Pius XII on Arms Race Is Consistent and Knowledgeable

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J., entitled "Refutes Cherwell Charge Pope Taken in by Communists."

Father Conway is a professor of political science at Creighton University and has been a student of Papal disarmament teachings. The article follows:

REFUTES CHERWELL CHARGE POPE TAKEN IN BY COMMUNISTS

(By Edward A. Conway, S. J.)

Let me say at the outset that I entirely agree with the thesis of the article in U. S. News & World Report that much of the current clamor about the danger of fallout from H-bomb testing is inspired by Communists. What I object to is the article's implication, based on Lord Cherwell's charges, that one of those who are Communist-inspired is the longtime opponent of communism, Pope Pius XII.

The U. S. News & World Report article used Lord Cherwell's insinuations to support its argument that the Communists have cooked up most of the opposition to the H-bomb tests. One passage, in particular, will illustrate what I mean.

It is captioned: Respected Figures Taken In? and reads in part:

"Another thing that puzzles British and American officials was mentioned by Lord Cherwell in his House of Lords discussion of the agitation against nuclear tests. He said:

" 'This sort of thing becomes particularly obnoxious since various universally respected figures like Pope Pius XII and Dr. Albert Schweitzer have been persuaded to intervene.

" 'How could they allow themselves to be taken in by the inaccurate propaganda of the friends of Russia is hard to understand. * * * Frankly, I am surprised that men in high positions without scientific knowledge or exact information could brush all this aside and issue appeals on quantitative scientific questions which they are really not competent to judge.'

"In his reference to the Pope, Lord Cherwell is believed to have had in mind the papal Christmas message of 1955, in which the Pope appealed for an end to testing of nuclear weapons."

POPE'S RECENT AUDIENCE

Let us start with the last paragraph above, the paragraph written by the U. S. News & World Report writer. First, I ask who could possibly believe that Lord Cherwell was harking back to a papal statement of 1955? I am sure no United States officials thought he was, and I doubt if anyone in Britain thought so. Obviously, Lord Cherwell was referring to an incident that occurred a few weeks before his House of Lords speech, when the Pope gave an audience to Prof. Masatoshi Matsushita, special envoy of Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi, who had just appealed in vain to the British Government to cancel the projected test of its first H-bomb off Christmas Island in the Pacific. Domestic opponents of the British H-bomb tests seized on this papal audience as proof that the Pope was on their side. So, of course, did the Communists. And this is what triggered Lord Cherwell's ill-mannered and ill-founded attack on the Pope.

The impression did get abroad that Pius XII had backed the Japanese protests against the British tests. The impression is based on a profound misunderstanding of the Pope's position. Before we can clear up the Pope's action in his recent audience with Professor Matsushita, we must clear up a misleading statement quoted above from the U. S. News & World Report article. U. S. News & World Report says that in his 1955 Christmas message, the Pope "appealed for an end to testing of nuclear weapons."

In that Christmas message, the Pope did call for an end to H-bomb testing, but not as a separate measure, independent of any overall arms-control agreement, as is implied in the USNWR article. He tied the ban on testing to 2 other measures and insisted that all 3 must be agreed on as a unity. This far different from what the British Labour Party recently advocated (simply an end to bomb testing) and, of course, even further removed from the position of the Japanese who wanted the British to cancel their tests unilaterally.

THREE-PART PACKAGE

What the Pope called for in his 1955 Christmas message was a three-part package including: (1) Renunciation of the testing of nuclear weapons; (2) renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons; and (3) effective air and ground observation to insure compliance with the first 2 agreements.

It is important for several reasons to quote the Pope "the sum total of those three measures as an object of international agreement is an obligation in conscience of nations and of their leaders."

This shows: (1) the Pope well understood the need for a package deal; (2) he wanted, not unilateral disarmament by any nation, but an international agreement; and (3) his conviction that a halt to the nuclear arms race is a moral imperative, not something dictated merely by economic considerations, as some people contend.

As if to make doubly certain that he would not be misunderstood, the Pope returned, in his 1955 Chistmas message, to an emphasis on overall arms control agreement.

"We said sum total of those measures," said the Pope, "because the reason they are morally binding is that equal security must be established for all." Then he added—and this can be applied to the recent British question—"If, however, only the first point, concerning experimentation, were put into effect, the result would be that the agreement would not be verified, the more so because there would be given sufficient reason to doubt the sincere desire to put into effect the other two agreements."

It is important to note, too, the pope's endorsement of a worldwide network of observation posts, each staffed by experts of different countries for the purpose of preventing any surprise attacks by either side. This is significantly different from the perennial Russian appeals for uninspected bans on experimentation and use of nuclear weapons. It is also significantly different from the unilateral and unrequited action which the Japanese and their partisans have been pressing on the British.

MISREPRESENTING THE POPE

The USNWR misstatement of what the Pope said in his 1955 Christmas message has two seriously bad effects. First, it makes his position sound similar to the Russians' (i. e., simply stop the H-bomb tests), encourages the suspicions of persons like Lord Cherwell and compromises the Pope's influence for peace. Second, and even worse, anyone who truncates the Pope's program for peace (as it was truncated in the USNWR) plays into the hands of the Communists who already claim that the Pope agrees with them.

A similar misrepresentation of the Pope's position occurred in another publication, the New York Times, and could have had serious consequences had not the Times hastened to repair the damage.

On the day after the Pope's 1955 Christmas message appeared in the American press, the New York Times correspondent at the United Nations wrote these lines:

"The Pope's message, it was felt here, was unclear as to whether a ban on nuclear weapons experimentation was being proposed as an independent first step, as India and others have asked, or linked with the broad question of controlling disarmament, as the West insists."

This was such an egregious misconstruction of the Christmas message that it created a commotion in Washington. Two days later, on December 29, the New York Times' Washington bureau filed a long dispatch reporting that the United States Government welcomed today Pope Pius XII's appeal for a worldwide system of controlled nuclear disarmament.

The dispatch further quoted a Voice of America broadcast which approved the Pope's goals of renunciation of experimentation with atomic weapons, the renunciation of the use of such weapons, and the general control of all armaments.

And here is a fascinating point. The Washington dispatch paraphrased the report

of its U. N. correspondent and attributed the same apprehension to persons in Washington. But then it added: "A close study of Pope Pius' message, however, has led officials here to the conclusion that he was not proposing that experiments with, and use of, the atomic weapons be banned before there was an effective control system.

The December 29, 1955, Times dispatch went on at length to make the amende honorable for the gargantuan gaff of its U. N. correspondent. If it had not, someone might have alleged, back in 1955, that the Pope had been, to use Lord Cherwell's words of 1957, persuaded to intervene in behalf of Russia.

POPE'S INTERVENTION

We are now ready to look at the question of whether Pope Pius XII intervened in the British controversy over H-bomb tests.

If we engage that word "intervene" at little more closely we shall arrive at an answer to the question of whether the Japanese secured the Popes' support for merely a one-sided halting to H-bomb tests.

The fact is that the Pope began to intervene in the whole question of how to use nuclear energy as early as February 21, 1943, 2 years and 4 months before the United States detonated the first A-bomb at Alamagordo, N. Mex. In an address on that day to the Pontifical Academy of Science, comprising 70 of the world's leading physical scientists, Catholic and non-Catholic, the Pope gave a detailed and accurate account of a nuclear chain reaction in uranium based on a report by famed physicist Max Planck, then a member of the academy.

The Pope noted that Planck had said that no one could yet think of a way of "gaining any technical profit from such a tempestuous process." But the Pope, who, according to Lord Cherwell, is "without scientific knowledge," warned that the process should not be used to produce an explosion, but that it should be curbed by "suitable and vigilant chemical means." Otherwise, he declared, "there might follow, not only in the installation itself, but throughout our entire planet, a dangerous catastrophe."

The Pope's knowledgeable position on nuclear action is even more remarkable when we remember that at that time, 1943, there was a blackout of information on nuclear experimentation in this country. The world-renowned scientists of the Pontifical Academy, who assembly annually under the patronage of the Pope—the last meeting was May 20, when the Pope addressed them on astronomy—must have been shocked by Lord Cherwell's recent caricature of the Pope as a "man in high position without scientific knowledge or exact information." The Pope's easy familiarity with the most recondite problems of modern science is, I understand, the marvel of the academicians.

The Pope's first intervention of 1943 was followed by many others as the arms race accelerated and the dangers from new weapons increased. Pieced together, the Pope's statements from then until now comprise a complete pattern for peace that is distinctively his own. I think the dual proposition can be sustained that the Pope's position on arms control, as elaborated over those years, is not only independent of the position of both East and West, but exhibits features neither possesses.

HARSCH SAW DIFFERENCES

It is true that the Voice of America broadcast, following the Pope's 1955 Christmas message, made the claim that the Pope's three-point arms-control package was identical with the West's. But Joseph C. Harsch, the Christian Science Monitor's astute Washington correspondent, pointed out in a dispatch dated December 30, 1955, three differences.

The Vatican, Harsch noted, thought that the danger from test explosions was greater than did the United States. A second implied, and "much more subtle," difference concerned the use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The third difference lay in the Vatican's concern for all peoples, while the United States was primarily concerned with the security of the West.

Mr. Harsch's significant conclusion was that, "The Vatican now has a position which, although closer to that of Washington, nevertheless lies between Washington and Moscow."

Mr. Harsch had no difficulty with the 1955 Christmas message. "Against these points of difference," he wrote, "should be set the fact that the Vatican position does not expect the West to agree to a ban on use of atomic weapons or to an end to experiments unless these two steps are taken simultaneously with the establishment of a system of inspection. Moscow has proposed starting with the ban. The Vatican agrees with the West that an end to experiments and the ban on use must be part of a whole process."

As further proof of the independent character of the Papal position, I quote Mr. Harsch's assertion that "the implications of the Papal message were discussed at State Department conferences and at the White House in two meetings on successive days between the President and Mr. Dulles. That is, the Vatican had made a move in the affairs of nations sufficiently important to constitute a state matter for discussion at the highest levels in Washington. It was what the diplomats call a demarche, a move which injects a new element into existing situations and calls for reconsideration of old policies."

JAPAN PEACE ENVOY

Keeping in mind the Pope's independent and universal approach to this problem, let us now examine what happened when he granted an audience to Japan's special envoy, Professor Masatoshi Matsushita.

The Pope received Professor Matsushita on April 14. As far as I know, no record of the interview was published. But the very fact that the audience was granted gave some grounds for the assertion that the Pope supported the Japanese demand that the British cancel the Christmas Island H-bomb tests. Even the usually accurate New York Times Rome correspondent, Paul Hoffmann, stated a month later that Professor Matsushita "sought and obtained Pius XII's encouragement for his Government's protest against the proposed British H-bomb tests." The Times' News of the Week Review had already said flatly that the Pope supported the Japanese.

Now, in a matter of such delicacy and importance, it is imperative that we do not go beyond the facts. What are they? Some time after the audience, from which no communique issued, the Pope delivered to the professor a short note, to which was appended an exhibit containing very brief summaries of nine Papal statements on nuclear energy made between 1941 and 1956. The precise diplomatic meaning of both note and exhibit can only be determined by the most careful study.

First, the note does not mention the British H-bomb tests, nor any request for support from the Japanese envoy. It begins by observing that the destructive power of nuclear weapons has now become potentially unlimited. It deplores the fact that "both sides" are increasing the terror in the world by exchanging nuclear threats. It urges that "scientists of all nations and all beliefs" try to master nuclear energies for "the service of man" instead of wasting scientific "activity, labor and materials" in preparation for a world catastrophe. The note ends with this sentence: "Scientific, economic, industrial and even political organizations should support with all their power efforts aiming toward the use of these energies on a scale adaptable to human needs."

Although the translation of this note could, I suspect, be improved, the statement as a whole could hardly be more generalized.

THE ATTACHED EXHIBIT

The curious device of attaching to the Papal note an exhibit of nine earlier Papal statements on nuclear activity is less curious when we look at some of the statements themselves.

Under the year 1955, we read in the exhibit: "In an address given on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1955, to the crowd gathered in St. Peter's Square, the Holy Father warned the world of the tragic consequences which could derive from progress achieved in the nuclear field, denouncing not only their fatal applications toward purposes of war, but also the no less damaging effects which could result from them in the field of genetics."

Again, under 1955: "In his Christmas message the same year, his holiness, speaking on peace, set forth the progress achieved in nuclear weapons and underlined the necessity for an international agreement to simultaneously put an end to atomic experiments, to renounce atomic weapons, and to institute effective control of nuclear arms. In this message, full of far-reaching exhortations and warnings, the holy father openly declared that he is in favor of a cessation of nuclear experiments."

Note that last sentence above. It is the closest reference made to the subject of the Japanese envoy's recent visit to the Vatican. But it does not support the Japanese demand for unilateral (i. e., British) testing of H-bombs. If he had wanted to do that, he could have used the sentence above separately, then added: "But this (the Christmas Island tests by the British) is a nuclear experiment. Therefore, I am in favor of its cessation."

INTENT OF THE POPE

I know it is risky business to try to interpret the intent of another, especially when that other is the Pope. But this is my personal explanation of why he used the novel device of the exhibit attached to his note to Professor Matsushita. The Pope wanted to show that he understood and sympathized with the Japanese fears over the effects of radioactive fallout from H-bomb tests. Also, he wanted to remind them, delicately, that he had warned against it and had urged measures against it 2 years previously. At the same time, he wanted to make it clear that he could not join in a demand that the British, in effect, disarm unilaterally, and still remain consistent with his 1955 proposal of an international package deal.

By means of the exhibit the Pope showed that he intended to maintain his independent position which he still hoped both East and West would finally agree to. I think he did maintain that position intact and that the Japanese, who are far from obtuse, understood from his necessarily roundabout response why he could not officially go any further with them.

I mentioned earlier that there are significant features in the Pope's position on nuclear arms which are possessed by neither the East nor the West. I want to discuss three of those features here, not only to indicate his universal, independent approach to the problem of peace, but also to indicate the realism of his position based on astonishingly exact and accurate knowledge of nuclear facts.

EXACT KNOWLEDGE

First, on the matter of radioactive fallout hazard from H-bomb tests, it is notorious that our Government suppressed the facts concerning the extent of the fallout from the March 1, 1954 H-bomb test until February 15, 1955. Yet, the Pope accurately described what had happened in his Easter message of April 18, 1954.

American newspapers, commenting on the Pope's Easter, 1954, message, thought he had been referring to the old fission-fusion, 2-stage H-bomb. Now, more than 3 years later, after we have learned of the existence of a 3-stage, fission-fusion-fission, or "dirty" bomb which scatters the radioactive particles into the air, we recognize that this is the bomb the Pope was talking about at Easter, 1954, when he said:

"The new destructive arms of unprecedented violence are now capable, with artifically radioactive isotopes of extended average life, of polluting in a lasting manner the atmosphere, the land, and also the oceans, even where those arms are very distant from the ones directly stricken and contaminated by the nuclear explosions. * * * Before the eyes of a terrified world, there is presented a preview of gigantic destruction, of extensive territories rendered uninhabitable and unfit for human use—over and above the biological consequences that can result either by the changes brought about by germs and microorganisms, or through the uncertain effect which a prolonged radioactive stimulus can have upon greater organisms, including man, and upon their future offspring."

We might ask how much further advanced might be both scientific research and public knowledge about the hazards of fallout if we had begun the current great debate back when the Pope first raised the question. We would probably have had the hearings of the Holifield subcommittee on fallout hazards at least a year earlier.

NO BALANCE OF TERROR

Another distinctive feature of the Pope's position was his early opposition to the formula for peace popularized by Sir Winston Churchill—the so-called peace of mutual terror. This balance of terror theory is closely allied to the belief in this country that the deterrent of massive retaliatory nuclear power is our best guarantor of peace.

The Pope rejected this thinking in his 1954 Easter message when he asked: "When will the rulers of nations realize that peace cannot consist in an exasperating and costly relationship of reciprocal terror?"

In this connection, we might be encouraged by Russell Baker's remark in a Washington dispatch to the New York Times of June 2 that "implicit in President Eisenhower's impassioned warnings that the thermonuclear arms race is impossible is the suggestion that he has little faith in the lasting efficiency of the vaunted deterrence policy. He seems to be arguing that the deterrent cannot work permanently, that the constant race to keep up must lead to ultimate war."

UNPRECEDENTED VIOLENCE

The third distinctive feature of the Pope's position is his emphasis that it is the arms race that must be stopped. During the first 10 years of his pontificate, he called for mutual progressive disarmament as a prime prerequisite of peace. But he changed his appeal when the competition for what he calls the ABC weapons (atomic, bacteriological, and chemical) became intensified. Disarmament in the traditional sense of a balanced cutback in arms and force levels is, of course, still desirable, but for the Pope the great threat to civilization lies in the race for new destructive weapons of unprecedented violence.

This new arms race does not consist, essentially, in the continuing production of conventional or even of already developed unconventional weapons, but in the continuing competition for even more destructive unconventional weapons and their delivery systems.

The Pope warned about this race in portentous terms in his Easter message of April 1, 1956:

"Every day marks a melancholy step forward on this tragic road, a haste to arrive first, alone, with greater advantage. The human race almost loses hope of being able to stop this homicidal, this suicidal madness. To increase the alarm and terror, there have been developed modern radio-guided missiles, capable of traversing enormous distances, to carry total destruction to men and things by means of atomic weapons. In order, then, that nations may be checked in this race toward the abyss, we once again raise our voice, asking for light and strength from the risen Christ for those who control the destinies of nations."

THE MISSILE RACE

This race toward the abyss, then, is the race today for missiles and for hydrogen-bomb warheads that will fit into these missiles. Unfortunately, those who control the destinies of nations are doing very little to stop this missile race. You mustn't mention missiles when you talk about disarmament. The Pope mentioned missiles 3½ months before the United States first referred to them officially in the United Nations.

On this occasion, at the closing session of the United Nations Assembly in July 1956, United States Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge voiced a warning remarkable both for its candor and its urgency.

"We cannot afford to let much more time go by," said Ambassador Lodge. "The long-range guided missile is already looming on the scene. When it becomes a standard weapon, no nation would have more than 15 minutes to get ready to defend itself and to hit back * * *. We must act before these deadly missiles are poised in hidden nests ready to strike—and before the problem of nuclear control becomes too diffuse and too unstable to handle."

After Mr. Lodge's burst of candor, the United States planners retreated to the safety of euphemisms. The nuclear arms race once more became the nuclear threat and in our January 14, 1957, disarmament proposals, missiles became space objects and vague remarks were made about their international control. And now, in London, apparently missiles do not figure at all in the partial, first steps we are offering to take.

DEPLOYING THE MISSILES

This last is most disturbing. For, while the London negotiators haggle over their partial first steps, the missile makers of Russia, Great Britain, and the United States work steadily at their crash programs, achieving one breakthrough after another. When one, or all, successfully test and mass-produce intercontinental ballistic missiles with H-bomb warheads, and when they have operationally deployed them—"poise them in hidden nests" in Mr. Lodge's words—we will have reached the point where we now are with regard to H-bombs.

That is, we have given up hope of an agreement to dismantle existing stockpiles of H-bombs, because it is now officially acknowledged that no inspection system could detect bombs hidden in defiance of the agreement. So far as operationally deployed missiles are concerned, authorities now claim it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find all of them.

Theoretically there is still time to stop the missile race. The testing period is just beginning and hundreds of tests will have to be made before a trustworthy missile is ready for mass production.

Practically, I am afraid that the missile-making countries have made such heavy commitments, both strategic and financial, that it would require a miracle of political courage to enable the rulers of nations to stop the homicidal suicidal madness, the race toward the abyss.

Just a few days ago, Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson was reported in a news conference as stating that the London negotiations would not affect our guided missile program.

I should like, as a final point, to re-emphasize something I have only briefly referred to in this article—that is, the Pope's approach to the problem of world peace.

SECURITY FOR ALL

If there is anyone in the world who speaks for man in what Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray calls "the predicament of our age" it is Pope Pius XII. He is forever appealing to the rulers of the nations in behalf of all the peoples, the peoples of the world, humanity, and the human race.

Lest this claim be considered parti pris, let me quote Mr. Harsch again in his commentary in the Christian Science Monitor on the 1955 Christmas message of the Pope:

"A third difference, although again a very subtle one—between the papal and United States positions—is conveyed by the papal statement that the objective of a search for an atomic weapons ban is that equal security be established for all. The objective of United States policy on atomic weapons is, of course, security for the United States and for its allies. When the Vatican speaks of equal security and for all it is eliminating a moral line between westerners and easterners. It is, in fact, embracing people behind the Iron Curtain, even when they are Communists, within the human family."

Contrary, then, to the views of Lord Cherwell and of others who would adopt his views, the Pope is hardly the ignorant, Communist-beguiled or Communist-inspired Johnny-come-lately to the problem of the nuclear arms race. His words and his actions through the years have been distinguished for their knowledgeability and universality. He has proved to be a sagacious, experienced, foresighted, and courageous counselor whose advice we should neither disdain nor distort.

Withholding by Government of Information From the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise for June 25, 1957, carries on its editorial page a penetrating analysis of recent moves on the State level to buttress one of the keystones of American liberty—freedom of the press.

This editorial is all the more interesting in view of the June 21, 1957, report of the President's Commission on Government Security which recommends that Congress make it possible to put a newsman in jail for publishing information which a bureaucrat may arbitrarily classify, regardless of the newsman's intentions in publishing such information.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHT TO KNOW

There is a growing—and dangerous—tendency at all levels of government in this country to withhold information from the public.

But, fortunately, some Americans are beginning to realize that the trend must be reversed if our cherished way of life is to be preserved. In fact, there are some signs that the general public may at last be catching on, although polls show that a large number of people still believe that officials in high places, the President for instance, should never be criticized for their actions.

The press, of course, has been a leader in resistance to this idea that the people should get their news in filtered or diluted form. And it is meeting with some success.

For instance, under sponsorship of the newspapers of Texas, a bill was passed in the 55th legislature which opens all political meetings—from the precinct level up—to press coverage.

Now unusually good news comes from the State of Pennsylvania, where Gov. George M. Leader has signed open records and open meetings measures known generally as the "right-to-know" bills.

One bill forbids secret, or star chamber, operations at every level of State government, requiring that official actions be taken in open meetings. The other opens to the public or its representatives the records of public agencies.

The open meetings measure applies to city, borough, and township governments, school boards, State and local authorities, the State turnpike commission and all other agencies not specifically restricted by law in this respect. The last group takes in grand juries, police and tax agencies, and some special investigative commissions. Closed executive meetings still will be permitted, but no official action such as the passage of an ordinance, the awarding of a contract or hiring and firing personnel will be allowed in them. The records bill opens to public inspection or copying all official documents, including contracts and payroll records. This would not apply, however, to subsidiary records such as correspondence or matters having to do with investigations or personal reputations.

Significant is the fact that under the new laws due notice must be made to the public concerning the time and place of governmental meetings.

Yes; these Pennsylvania laws are important moves in the direction of giving the public news that rightfully belongs to it—without filtering and dilution. It is no wonder that Governor Leader said in a statement following their signing that he considered them "among the most important pieces of legislation produced during my administration."

And we are pleased with the fact that the bills were sponsored by the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association.

Congressional groups are also digging into this business of withholding of information by agencies of the Federal Government—or handing it out in such a form that it makes black look like white.

An Honest and Honorable Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include a communication from Mr. Walter E. Spahr relative to the dangers of an irredeemable currency. Mr. Spahr, who is the executive vice president and treasurer of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, is a most able authority on monetary subjects. The President has asked the Congress to appoint a Monetary Commission to study our financial problems and report on its findings. To date the House of Representatives has done nothing toward implementing this recommendation. The importance of such action and the dangers inherent in a do-nothing policy are clearly indicated in the letter of Mr. Spahr. The letter of Mr. Spahr which follows resulted from an editorial in the La Grange Citizen which was published in my extension of remarks under date of May 27, 1957.

The reactions of Mr. Spahr to that editorial on Scars of Democracy appear in the following:

Your editorial on Scars of Democracy opens with the following sentence: "The privilege of free elections, free choice expressed in the secret ballot, is cited repeatedly as the keystone of democracy."

In addition to the points you outlined, I should like to add some other important considerations to your well-grounded statement that "* * * the ballot is also democracy's most deceptive trap, and a source of disrupting forces * * *."

If, as was the case in this country in 1956, both major political parties embrace irredeemable currency, the privilege of free elections and of the secret ballot becomes meaningless for those who wish to vote for men who would endeavor to give our people a redeemable currency, the only honest and honorable currency known to man.

When a government thrusts an irredeemable currency on a people it takes unrestrainable control of their public purse. Both of our major political parties want that power. It opened the gate to the Government's spending orgy, rising prices, great expansion of debt, our march into socialism. Every Socialist, Communist, and dictatorial government (regardless of form) uses the power of irredeemable currency over the people involved.

Free elections and secret ballots are not enough to insure a people that they will have a controllable and responsible government. They need, in addition, the power to protect their savings and wealth from a predatory government. With a redeemable currency they have that power. With an irredeemable currency they lack it.

Popular control of government developed along with the use of redeemable currencies. Human freedom, free competition, private enterprise, and the protection of private property all reached their greatest levels in human history under honest, redeemable currencies. Apparently no nation ever has been, or could be, socialized when the people have a redeemable currency at their disposal. An oppressed or frightened person, operating with a redeemable currency, can convert his wealth into gold and export it if conditions in his country become dangerouse or unbearable. It is the danger of such reactions by people that forces central governments and central banking systems to behave themselves and to act as responsible and responsive government and bank officials are supposed to act.

Protection of private property and human freedom are inseparable from a redeemable currency. When a people are subjected to the drug of irredeemable currency—which they will embrace as a drug addict embraces his drug—they lose control of the public purse and of their government.

Such is the state of affairs in this Nation today; and there is no valid basis for expecting that it will be corrected until statesmen appear who will provide our people with an honest and honorable currency.

Cabbie Says Teamsters Are Starving Him

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD a news story appearing in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on June 16, 1957. I am sending a copy of this news item to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights asking that committee whether matters of this nature are considered to be within the purview of its study.

I am also sending a copy of this article to the House Judiciary Committee asking what that committee is doing in this field of human liberties.

American labor unions have now become sufficiently strong so that they can be called upon to exercise some proper responsibilities. No longer can the plea be used that calling upon the unions to be responsible is an underhanded way in which to destroy unionism. Indeed, unionism will destroy itself unless it does start to assume greater responsibility to its members, to the American workingman, and to the general public.

I am also concerned with the reaction those who have professed to be great advocates of civil liberties have to stories of this nature. These are not stories out of fiction. These stories are so prevalent in America today that almost every American citizen has run into one personally. Now, how about it, are we for civil liberties across the board or are we just for selected civil liberties that do not affect our political friends?

[From the St. Louis, Mo., Globe Democrat of June 19, 1957]

CABBIE SAYS TEAMSTERS ARE STARVING HIM

(By William Beecher)

Fisher Harris, 38-year-old taxicab driver and father of 5, charged yesterday that the Teamsters Taxicab Union Local 405, "is starving me to death."

Harris became a probationary driver for the Yellow Cab Co. last month but was let go after 6 days because the union refused to accept his membership.

"I've been out of work for 4 weeks," Harris said. "The bills are piling up. I'm destitute. And the union tells me I can never get a job driving for a cab company in St. Louis because I worked for Allen Cab Co."

IN OTHER UNION

Joseph F. Bommarito, business agent for local 405, said yesterday in discussing Harris' complaint:

"We don't want anyone in our union who has driven for a faction or independent union."

Drivers for Allen Cab belong to the independent United Chauffeurs Association, which was formed in the fall of 1954 by persons who had formerly belonged to the AFL Teamsters Local 688.

Bommarito said, "We've had trouble with those people before. We don't want them coming in here and starting more trouble."

That goes for members of the Independent Taxicab Drivers Union, too, he added.

NOT ACCEPTABLE

Mike J. Concannon, vice president of Yellow Cab, said a short time after Harris started driving for the company, "We were

notified by the union that he was not acceptable for membership."

The union alleged that Harris had falsified his application, Concannon said, but they did not spell out the charge.

Yellow Cab is a union shop, Concannon said, "We can hire people outside the union, but within 30 days each must qualify for union membership. The union has the right to determfne eligibility," he said.

Said Eugene Sonnenshine, superintendent of drivers at Yellow Cab, "Harris is a good cab driver. If he could get straightened out with the union, I'd put him right back to work."

Harris lives at 5904 Lotus Ave. He had driven for Allen Cab for about a year and a half before quitting to go to Yellow Cab. "I wasn't making enough money to support my family," he said. "I wanted to better myself."

MUST BE SCREENED

Bommarito told the Globe-Democrat that all prospective members of his union, which has been under trusteeship for 4 of 5 years, have to be screened by members of the board before they can join.

The board, he said, consists of the union's membership from the particular cab company that a man wants to join.

Harris falsified his application, Bommarito said. "He said he'd never driven for a cab company, but later admitted that he'd driven for Allen and Harris Cab Companies," he asserted.

Would the fact that a driver had belonged to an independent union automatically disqualify him for membership in Local 405?

"Yes and no," Bommarito answered. "We are an organized union. We don't tolerate anyone who has driven for an independent."

Harris denied that he had lied to Bommarito. When he was asked, he said, he admitted that he had worked for Allen. "And I never worked for Harris," he added.

Had he been active in the union at Allen?

"I just paid my dues so I could work there," he said. "I paid $3 a month like everyone else."

Pvt. Alfred C. Petty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, a former resident of the district which I am honored to represent is in town, Pvt. Alfred C. Petty, who is now 80 years old. He formerly lived at Jenny Lind in Sebastian County, where he worked as a telegrapher for the railroad company.

Like a lot of other young fellows, he enlisted in the Army and went to war with Teddy Roosevelt and was with him at San Juan Hill. He is now a resident of California in the district of our colleague, Representative JOHN J. MCFALL, who has introduced a bill in the House to award the Congressional Medal of Honor to Mr. Petty for his exploits in the charge up San Juan Hill.

The following is an article from the Washington Daily News of June 17, 1957, by Mr. Joseph Cloud. I have talked to Mr. Petty, and I have read the article. He has an affidavit from the only other living survivor of that particular exploit. Coupled with the citations which the Army has already given him, I concur in what the gentleman from California [Mr. MCFALL] is trying to do. I hope the Congress will grant this young fellow a Medal of Honor. It seems to me that the Army people should either do that or court martial the young rascal for disobedience of orders.

The article follows:

MR. PETTY LEADS A NEW CHARGE

(By Joseph Cloud)

Private Alfred C. Petty, then a raw recruit, says he led the famous charge up San Juan Hill in Cuba on July 1, 1898, turning the tide of battle for the American forces in the Spanish-American War.

Ex-private Petty is now 80. He received a Certificate of Merit from President William McKinley in 1899 and the Distinguished Service Cross for conspicuous gallantry from the Army in 1954.

MEDAL OF HONOR

Representative JOHN J. MCFALL, Democrat, California, has introduced a private bill in the House to have him awarded the Medal of Honor for his exploit. Mr. Petty is in Washington from his home in Stockton, Calif., leading a brandnew charge to get the medal.

For years, Mr. Petty said, he "just put the whole incident out of my mind." At 72 he retired, and only then did he begin to wonder just what the citation that was supposed to go with my Certificate of Merit had said.

That is how he made a strange discovery. He had the Certificate of Merit, signed by the President and the then Secretary of War, R. L. Alger, but that wasn't any citation.

It hadn't been given to him and the Department of the Army couldn't find it.

PRETTY MAD

"Well, sir, that made me pretty mad," he said. "I wrote some letter to Washington."

It was because of Mr. Petty's anger—and the verification of all the facts occasioning it—that he finally was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

"What I did at San Juan Hill," he said, "I had to do. What I'm doing now I have to do, too. I've got eight great grandchildren. They've got to be able to know just what their great grandfather did."

Victory hung in the balance that day in July 1898. The American forces were fighting betwen the fortified hill and the jungle. They were weak from dysentery and other diseases; their food was bad; and—worst of all—they were running out of ammunition.

There were some 7,000 United States troops in the battle. The Rough Riders, Teddy Roosevelt's troops, who sometimes have been credited with the victory at San Juan Hill, were more than a mile away, Mr. Petty said.

Private Petty was in a shallow little trench at the foot of the hill.

At the top of the hill were Spaniards, raking the plain with gunfire.

DANGER

"If the Spaniards came down the hill we could have been forced to retreat," Mr. Petty said.

"Suddenly I was hit by a sort of shock—a kind of electric tremor like I'd never felt before or ever felt since. It was a sort of ecstasy. It went from my head to my feet—just took hold of me.

"I told myself, 'Petty, you're going up that hill.' I don't know why I said it. I wasn't thinking like I was me, because I knew I was raw and afraid."

And in that swelling moment, Private Petty threw his hat in the air, gave a yell, and started to run, straight toward the steep slope of San Juan Hill.

PURSUIT

Behind him, he said, ran 2d Lt. Thomas M. Anderson, Jr., and four soldiers, intent on bringing him back so he wouldn't be killed by the Spaniards.

Mr. Petty said he got past three barbed wire barricades, disobeying Lieutenant Anderson's order to come back down here, and when he reached the top, began firing at the nearest Spaniards, who fled into some bushes.

Private Petty captured two of the enemy, who ran from a blockhouse. He was holding them captive when Lieutenant Anderson and his men came over the top of the hill. The Spaniards in the blockhouse evidently had fired their last ammunition.

Behind Private Petty and the five who followed him came the charging army, advancing all along the line.

Maj. William Auman, commanding the 13th Regiment, seeing first 1 and then 5 more men hurling themselves up the hill, had mistaken it all for an abortive charge, and had immediately ordered his troops to get going.

The citation proposed for former Private Petty—if and when the Medal of Honor is awarded—will say:

"The inspiring act and fearless leadership of this soldier * * * not only exemplified the highest and best traditions of the military forces of the United States, but also gave inspiring courage to our forces which resulted in a quick and decisive victory in the battle."

Grow Corn for Plastics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, in the July 1957 issue of the Farm Journal apepars an article entitled "Grow Corn for Plastics." This article points to another specific use of agricultural products for industrial purposes. I believe that this article is of such importance as to merit the concern of every Member of the Congress. The item is as follows:

GROW CORN FOR PLASTICS

You may someday be growing corn for the plastics and fiber industry. Scientists at the University of Missouri have come up with corn that is 82 percent amylose starch, well within the 80- to 90-percent range that chemists say could put 40 to 100 million bushels into plastics and fiber-making.

"This is the first big break we've had in a long time," says Missouri scientist M. S. Zuber. "We've been stymied in the 70-percent range."

Here's how the scientists went about breaking the 80 percent barrier:

Most present-day hybrids are 25 to 27 percent amylose, with a strong genetic link between high amylose and low starch. But Purdue University scientists H. H. Kramer and R. L. Whistler have recently been able to break that link, and last year, they grew corn that was 77 percent amylose.

Zuber and C. O. Grogan crossed the Purdue corn with the Missouri-Kansas corn they've been working with since 1950 and grew the cross in Florida last winter. This spring they harvested the 82 percent amylose corn.

"Biggest possibilities for high amylose starch probably are in film and fiber," says scientist, P. R. Senti, at the United States Department of Agriculture's Peoria, Ill., laboratory. "We haven't had enough of the

starch yet to run a lot of tests, but amylose makes a dandy packaging film, for example.

"The film is like cellophane, and there may be special films for such uses as sausage coatings that you could eat when the sausage is cooked.

"As a fiber, high amylose starch could be used as part of the pulp in papermaking, and would have a huge market potential," says Senti. "About 800 million pounds of starch are now used each year just as coatings, adhesives, and sizing in paper products."

High amylose corn and its markets aren't ready to go yet. The scientists still have a lot of work to do, both in corn breeding and in research with high amylose starch.

For example, the scientists have been shooting at such a distant target in 80 percent amylose that they've had to disregard almost everything else, including yield. Now they'll have to work on yields and other factors.

One thing is almost certain; you'll be hearing a lot more about high amylose starch corn, now that we're over the 80-percent hump.

"This could be the first recommendation from the President's Commission on Increased Use of Agricultural Products (Farm Journal, May 1957) to get into gear," says corn breeder, Robert P. Bear, Decatur, Ill., who has been working with high amylose corn since 1948.

Private Power in New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a large new hydroelectric plant on the Connecticut River at Littleton, N. H., was dedicated last week. The taxpayers in other sections of the country were not asked or compelled to pay any of the costs. There was no rapid tax amortization. This was a private venture all the way.

New England people thus demonstrate their belief in local responsibility and individual initiative. They applaud President Eisenhower's endorsement of these principles in his address at Williamsburg, Va., on June 24, in which he also said:

Every State failure to meet a pressing public need has created the opportunity, developed the excuse, and fed the temptation for the National Government to poach on the States' preserves. * * * The elimination of * * * the freight charges on money being hauled from the States to Washington and back * * * would save the American taxpayer a tidy sum.

I include as part of my remarks an article from the Boston Herald of Friday, June 21, 1957, written by the Herald's well-known political writer, Mr. William E. Mullins.

PRIVATE POWER IN NEW ENGLAND

The dedication yesterday of the gigantic hydroelectric power plant on the Connecticut River at Littleton, N. H., had all the appearance of a routine chamber of commerce-community tub thumbing affair. It was something much more important.

What it actually represented was an investment of more than $40 million, by the New England Electric System in a venture of private enterprise at a period in the development of America when the advocates of public power have been seeking to improve Government subsidy on the extension of this necessity of life.

VITAL TO OUR LIFE

No longer is there any denial of the importance of electric power in our way of life. Over the past 20 years the Federal Government has expended untold millions of dollars of public funds in what has been appraised as backward areas of the Nation to bring the benefits of electricity to these handicapped communities.

The most conspicuous demonstration of this subsidy has been the Tennessee Valley Authority which has succeeded in pouring electricity on an enormous scale into one of these backward areas at the expense of the taxpayers in all sections of the Nation.

This experiment certainly has succeeded in benefiting that section of the country at the cost of all the taxpayers.

The New England Electric System constructed the great dam across the Connecticut River between Vermont and New Hampshire without Federal funds and even without the advantage of the fast tax write-off provision in the Federal statutes currently under criticism because of its use in an Idaho power development.

This has been exclusively an exploit of private enterprise, the kind that has made America great because of its independence of public subsidy. Its construction was financed by investors who for the most part are residents of the six New England States.

It has gone far beyond the experimental stage. It represented the final development along the Connecticut River which was described by both Irwin L. Moore, president of the NEES, and Lt. Gov. Robert F. Murphy as the hardest working river in America. It functions today as the largest hydroelectric station in all New England.

INVESTOR MONEY

It was built exclusively with investor money. Moreover, it now represents a source of revenue to local communities. The outstanding example of this is the town of Littleton, one of the few communities in these days of inflation which has succeeded in reducing its local real estate tax. This has been accomplished by the tax revenue from the new dam.

FRANK EXPERIMENT

Is this type of electric power on the verge of extinction? Will the search into the possibilities of atomic energy make these vast engines of power production so old fashioned as to become in the remote future objects of antiquity? Probably not in the lifetime of this generation, but no reliance is being placed on the assurance of current security in the production of electric power.

In the remote town of Rowe in the western section of Massachusetts along the Vermont State line, private enterprise currently is engaged in a new venture in generating electric power. Again private enterprise is pioneering in the construction of the first atomic electric plant in New England. No one currently can accurately appraise the impact on the economy of this section of the country that might flow from the construction of this plant.

This is frankly experimental. No one can foretell its result with any degree of accuracy. It is probable that electricity might not be generated at costs lower than those currently imposed on conventional plants. Nevertheless there is the prospect that it will result in the reduction of the costs of transportation of electricity, a problem that has plagued all utilities in New England.

The important factor in yesterday's dedication is that it pointed up a lesson to the agents of liberalism who have been making the issued of public power a political consideration for more than 30 years. We saw private enterprise without Government subsidy of any description plunge into an enormous advancement into the business of giving electric power to the people at rates dictated by the agencies established by the several States to regulate rates.

All power to the New England Electric System and other such agencies of private enterprise which scorn Federal assistance in their development.

Recent Decisions of the Supreme Court on Laws Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, in the July 1 issue of this year, there appeared in Newsweek magazine an article entitled "Under God and Law," written by the distinguished American economist, Raymond Moley. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNDER GOD AND LAW

(By Raymond Moley)

The successive blows which the Supreme Court of the United States has leveled at the laws of Congress and the States designed to protect the Nation against communism have created a constitutional crisis which gives added pertinence to a subject I had intended to consider this week. The American Bar Association is to hold 6 days of its annual meeting in London in July. There in England, on the hallowed ground which saw the birth of our own liberty under law, our lawyers and judges will pay tribute to the great patriots who fought long ago for freemen. We fought our revolution to vindicate our rights not as colonists but as Englishmen. Burke reminded a stupid king and his government that an Englishman was the last person in the world to deny rights to another Englishman.

The members of the American bar will pay tribute to Sir Edward Coke at his tomb in Tittingham in Norfolk.

No lawyer who plans to make this pilgrimage to London should miss reading Catherine Drinker Bowen's recent book, The Lion and the Throne, the Life and Times of Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634).[1] It is the sort of book that makes a wonderful traveling companion—massive, informtive, but immensely moving and stimulating. Here are portrayed the places and events of the period during which the people of England, through their Parliament, substantially brought autocracy to a final end.

FRUSTRATED JUDGE

Coke is best known as a judge and commentator on the laws of England. Endowed with a brilliant mind, a singular capacity for clear, colorful expression, and vast energy, he labored for years in the inner temple before Elizabeth made him attorney general. Of his service in this office the least said the better. His conviction of Sir Walter Raleigh was a deed of hideous injustice.

Later, as chief justice of common pleas, chief justice of King's Bench, and Lord

[1] 652 pages. Little, Brown, $6.

Chief Justice of England, he upheld every right and principle which he had violated as attorney general. His struggle against the absolutist pretensions of James I, a man who compounded stupidity with pedantry, lives in the traditions of every lawyer. He fought for the supremacy of the common law against the church, the admiralty, the star chamber, and the King. Best known is his encounter with James, when the King shaking his fist at Coke, said that "law was founded upon reason and that he and others had reason as well as the judges." Coke answered "Bracton saith, that the King should not be under man, but under God and the laws."

VICTORIOUS STATESMAN

Ultimately James, nudged on by the unscrupulous, mean-spirited Francis Bacon, removed Coke from his judgeship, and thereafter during the reign of James the judiciary was not only subservient but unbelievably corrupt. Bacon rose to the top and as Macaulay put it, was in his judicial conduct "not even the last lingering adherent of an old abuse, but was guilty of attempting to introduce into the courts of law an odious abuse for which no precedent could be found."

Coke is remembered best as a judge and commentator. But his greater role was as a member and leader of the House of Commons. Under Elizabeth he had been speaker and spokesman of a house that vexed the Queen by making her conform to the budgets which it deemed prudent.

After his removal from the courts, Coke in his old age enjoyed the crowning glory of leading the successful fight to make King Charles agree to the great petition of right. It is worthy of note that Coke always regarded the legislative department of government as the high court of Parliament, supreme over the courts and, in its appointed sphere, over the royal prerogative. Coke failed as a judge but triumphed as a statesman.

Parliament, not the courts, has over the centuries subdued absolutism and established the liberties of the people. No court of England might frustrate Parliament as the current Supreme Court has impaired the efforts of the Congress and the Executive to protect the Nation. This is a point that Americans might well ponder.

Come Up and See Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, Alaska welcomes visiting Members of Congress. We want congressional committees to come to the Territory to learn more about our problems, to enjoy our scenery, to understand even better that Alaska is a truly American land. The Alaska attitude toward visiting Congressmen was very well expressed in an editorial, We Like Junkets which appeared in the Anchorage, Alaska, Daily Times, Monday, June 24. I take pleasure in including it now with my remarks:

Open season for junkets will start as soon as Congress adjourns for the rest of the year.

Prospects are good that Alaska will get more than a fair share of the traveling groups. Summer in Alaska is an air-conditioned paradise for those who live in outside areas noted for sweltering temperatures. Fishing is fabulous here and hunting is equally fabulous come fall.

There are so many Federal activities and responsibilities in the Territory that almost any committee can find what is called a reasonable justification for a visit.

How could a committee pick a more desirable spot for official inspection and study?

Besides the attractions, Alaska is of interest to Congressmen because they are welcome.

There is a minimum of sentiment among Alaskans that inspection trips are costly extravagances made at the expense of the taxpayers without good purpose.

This attitude prevails as a result of problems. Under the Territorial system of government Congress is the ultimate authority on matters pertaining to Alaska. Many committees have more power in Alaska affairs than do the elected Territorial legislatures, elected officials, and even city councils.

Experience has shown that Congress often does not understand Alaska problems and cannot handle them intelligently in Washington. Usually, when the right answer to a problem is not known, nothing is done. This has led to the long record of neglect which dominates the history of Alaska as a part of the United States.

Alaskans long ago discovered that when a committee visits the Territory it is enlightened. No Congressman has ever been known to leave Alaska without having discovered that some of his impressions and conceptions were wrong. No matter how superficial his effort or intent while here, he has been a more effective legislator on Alaska affairs by virtue of his having been here.

Long lists could be compiled of good legislation that has resulted from committees after visiting Alaska.

The lists would include many amendments to existing laws pertaining to natural resources, powers of local government and extension of Federal aid programs for education, roads, wildlife studies.

It would also include such projects as the Eklutna hydroelectric plant, highways to Seward and Homer, International Airport, and numerous improvements to other facilities.

Statehood legislation has gained supporters through the years as more and more Congressmen gained first-hand information on the Territory.

It is no wonder that Alaskans welcome the so-called junketeers. The word junket lacks the ugly connotation that goes with it elsewhere.

It is to be hoped that many committees will come here this summer so that the expansion of national intelligence on Alaska will be continued.

United States Operates Luxury Air Fleet—MATS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD an article in the New York State Taxpayer for June 1957, published by the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey for the State of New York, entitled "United States Operates Luxury Air Fleet," referring to the Military Air Transport Service—MATS—and other Government-owned and Government-operated air transport activities.

In addition, I would like to insert in the RECORD certain extracts from the excellent statement of Perry M. Shoemaker, Chairman of the former Hoover Commission Subcommittee on Transportation of the Department of Defense, which he gave at the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States on June 19, 1957. The parts of Mr. Shoemaker's excellent statement which I am inserting deal with MATS and other Government-owned air transport activities and praise the clear and wise policy laid down last year by both the House and Senate which reads:

The Government should, to the greatest extent practicable, adjust its use of air transportation so as to use existing unutilized capacity of United States air carriers.

Speaking in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Mr. Shoemaker makes the excellent suggestion that the Congress reaffirm the same policy, as was done in the exchange between the distinguished chairman of the House committee, Congressman MAHON and myself in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 27, 1957, at page 6909, and carry it a step further to direct that within the appropriations for operation and maintenance and the military personnel, the Defense Department reduce its expenditures on MATS and other Government-owned air transport activities below what is being expended in fiscal year 1957, and devote these funds toward making far greater use than is being done in this present fiscal year of United States commercial airlines.

It is my distinct feeling, Mr. Speaker, that the program advocated by the Chamber and myself will result in, first, considerable net savings to the American taxpayers and, second, reduction of Government competition with private taxpaying businesses.

I make note for the benefit of my Republican friends that regarding Mr. Shoemaker's general statement about the defense budget, Senator SALTONSTALL commented:

I appreciate the spirit in which the Chamber of Commerce has gone at this. It is the most thorough job that I have ever seen done.

The distinguished Democratic chairman of the Senate Defense Subcommittee, Senator CHAVEZ, stated also to Mr. Shoemaker:

I think you have devoted a lot of time and research in preparing this statement.

So, I think it is plain that Mr. Shoemaker's presentation has attracted strong bipartisan support.

The article and extracts from the statement follow:

[From the New York State Taxpayer for June 1957]

UNITED STATES OPERATES LUXURY AIR FLEET

If you were a farmer and gave your daughter $5,000 to go out and buy the best kind of truck to haul farm machinery about in, you would probably rest assured that she would bring home the proper truck and not a plush Jaguar convertible. But, Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, pointed

out recently that some of the boys in the Pentagon would probably not be equal to such a task.

It seems that the Air Force was given $110 million during the first year of the Eisenhower administration to buy a fleet of planes capable of carrying Army tanks. Well, they didn't buy Jaguars, but in a sense purchased their air equivalent, six dozen plushed-up DC–6 passenger planes instead of the tank-carrying cargo planes. They called it reprograming. Congressman FLOOD labeled the act "misappropriation."

Congressman FLOOD in noting this, added that if our hypothetical farmer's daughter made the mistake of blowing the $5,000 with which she was supposed to buy a farm truck she probably would have a feeling of guilt about it to make amends.

"Not so with the Air Force," the Pennsylvania lawmaker notes.

"They display no sense of shame whatsoever about this boondoggle," he lamented. "When confronted with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission, the directives of our congressional committee * * * inveighing against competition with the private enterprise and general wastefulness of the taxpayers' funds, these gentlemen in the Air Force say, 'Well, we have got them now, and we are stuck with them so we had best fill them up a little bit by taking business away from commercial airlines.' "

This is only one example of how the Military Air Transport Service, known affectionately as MATS, has mushroomed in size so that it now operates approximately 1,500 airplanes. This outstrips all of the United States domestic commercial airlines with their combined total of 1,212 planes in operation.

The really sad feature of this extravagance is that it costs the taxpayers an estimated $1 billion a year to operate the Government-owned airlines while defense hearings for fiscal 1958 indicated that commercial airlines would have more than $900 million in unused space available for military use for this same period of time.

It has been pointed out that while it cost the Government $795 per hour to operate the military equivalent of the DC–6 the taxpaying civilian airline cost for operating the same plane is $650 per hour. Use of commercial lines, where possible, would not only reduce the size and cost of this mammoth air fleet but also reduce the amount of subsidies required to maintain the private airlines.

The Government-operated airline, with total assets over $1.4 billion, provides service to practically every corner of the world regardless of the existing parallel routes of commercial airlines.

The Hoover Commission disclosed that an Air Force Band was flown once a month from Westover, Mass., to Bermuda. The Air Force justified the flights for morale purposes, noting that there was no band in Bermuda.

Placing the morale issue aside, the Commission noted that two commercial airlines operated flights that could have carried the same band over the same route at less cost to the taxpayers.

The Hoover Commission has further noted that the $42.9 million airline subsidy for fiscal 1954 could have been reduced by 88 percent if the airlines had flown only 25 percent of the passengers and 50 percent of the mail moved by MATS over this same period.

The intent of Congress for fiscal 1958 that "the Government should to the greatest extent practicable adjust its use of air transportation so as to use the existing, unutilized capacity of United States air carriers" has been established. It remains now to be seen how the operators of military transportation will try to adhere to this established intent and refrain from trying to build up the plush operations of the military air fleet.

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENT OF PERRY M. SHOEMAKER, REPRESENTING THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE DEFENSE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE ON H. R. 7665, JUNE 19, 1957

(Page references are to the mimeographed prepared statement)

(Pp. 11 to 13)

Another area of savings opportunity involves Government competition with private enterprise. There is evidence of but limited progress within the Department of Defense toward enforcing the announced policy of the administration in this respect and thus reducing its expenditures directly involved. Clearly, Congress should support the elimination of competitive activities which keep operation and support costs high. At the time of the Hoover Commission report the Defense Department was operating some 2,500 business and commercial-type activities in competition with private enterprise and employing some 600,000 persons.

Extensive testimony on the MATS operation was taken by the House Appropriations Committee. We do not question the desirable existence of a nucleus air-transport service that can be expanded to cooperation with civil airlift for strategic purposes during an emergency, but we consider the present MATS operation as greatly exceeding any reasonable interpretation of a nucleus operation. The single-manager system was designed to centralize this en masse. Competition between the services has not permitted this to be fully effective and on the present basis the operation, which already exceeds the combined airlift of all the commercial lines of the country, will continue to grow and compete as long as Congress provides appropriations to finance them. Savings in this field would reduce investment in new transport aircraft and operating and maintenance costs in personnel. Related thereto, it would feasibly reduce subsidies now being paid to international air carriers and related training costs.

I can talk with some assurance with respect to the Military Air Transport Service as a result of the first public study of its operation which was carried out under my direction as Chairman of the Hoover Commission Transportation Committee. Our recommendations for the elimination of duplicating air-transport services in the Defense Department and preferential usage of available commercial transportation have not been implemented by the Department of Defense.

Transportation costs are an important factor in the general category of operations and maintenance. The Defense Department has established a single managership for traffic management. We will not have real traffic management and all of the broad economies which are possible from the exercise of this important function until the policy control is completely passed from the individual services and the organizational responsibility is placed upon a worldwide basis and not restricted to the continental United States as is presently true. Like many of the support functions, there is duplication and lack of economic control in the overseas theaters worldwide.

These are factors which strengthen our belief that the reductions we have recommended in the oprations and maintenance field are realistic, that they can be accomplished without impairing our national security or defense capability one iota, that the one necessary ingredient is pressure from the Congress to cut across the rigid bureaucracy which is the Military Establishment as presently organized.

We have read carefully the statements by the Department of Defense in reply to our MATS testimony before the House Appropriations Committee. They are the usual arguments motivated by an extreme desire to maintain active control over this vast enterprise. And if this type of competition continues, it is bound to cause severe damage to our free economy.

Gentlemen, may I propose a suggestion that in my opinion would serve to accomplish the objectives of this committee, as set forth by you in a letter to Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, August 3 last year, and at the same time provide valuable guidance to the Department of Defense in its efforts to comply with your wishes relative to the operation of MATS.

It is my suggestion that a directive be sent to Mr. Wilson by this committee which would reemphasize the position taken last year in your letter of August 3, and also declare that maximum utilization of the United States Government of privately owned and operated air and sea transport is essential to both the promotion of our free enterprise economy and the provision of a necessary reserve of facilities in training personnel, essential to national defense and that Government operation of its own transport facilities should be limited to that essential to military security.

I might say that of all the Government activities competing with private business that we have looked into, that MATS is by far the largest. It dwarfs all the others.

That, in line with this position, it is the wish of the committee that within the 1958 appropriations for operation and maintenance and military personnel, the Defense Department show a reduction in its expenditures on MATS and other Government-owned air transport activities to a point below that expended for the 1957 fiscal year. And that these funds then be applied toward making greater use, than is being done in this fiscal year, of the United States commercial air lines in meeting their airlift requirements. It is also the wish of this committee that a progress report be made by the 1st of January 1958 which would indicate the progress made by DOD in implementing this directive.

Such a directive would implement the clear and wise policy laid down last year by both the House and Senate in the conference committee letter to Secreary Wilson, for which both congressional committees are to be heartily commended, which reads:

"The Government should, to the greatest extent practicable, adjust its use of air transportation so as to use existing unutilized capacity of United States air carriers."

It is our firm belief, therefore, that appropriations for "Operation and maintenance" as set forth in H. R. 7665 can be reduced $357,097,000 in the areas suggested in appendix A.

(Pp. 14 and 15 of appendix A)

OPERATION OF AIRCRAFT (FUEL AND OIL)

The House reduction for this activity is $32 million, or about 5 percent of the budget estimate. The national chamber recommends that appropriations for this activity be reduced to the fiscal 1957 level of $585 million—a cut of $55 million. We realize that fuel and oil costs have increased, but we also know that there has been an increase in the MATS operation to a point where it has expanded from a $480 million operation in 1954 to about a $800 million operation at the present time. This operation will continue to grow and compete with commercial carriers until Congress cuts appropriations to finance it. The national chamber would object strenuously to any effort to reduce fuel consumption for essential aviation activities. However, there is every indication that the Air Force is expanding their nonessential flight activities each year to a point where it is becoming a terrific burden on the defense budget. We think, therefore, that Congress has a great responsibility in this area to make sure that these costs do not get out of control and should take action at

this session of Congress to maintain the level of expenditures for this activity at the 1957 level and make certain that the MATS operation is curtailed for the future.

The Job Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, this the fifth and final article in a series of articles dealing with the problems of streamlining the Government and cutting its costs through recommendations of the bipartisan second Hoover Commission.

These articles were written by Mr. Clarence Francis, national chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report and were published in a pamphlet entitled the Coupler, by the Symington-Gould Corp., of Buffalo, N. Y.:

In the preceding articles we examined the urgent problem of the reform of the Federal Government. We noted that blueprints for streamlining the Government and cutting its costs were given to the Nation by the bipartisan second Hoover Commission. As a result, some progress has already been made in reducing Uncle Sam's wasteline and substantial savings have been effected.

But the work is still underway. More action must be taken within the Federal Government. New laws must be passed by Congress. Only then will the remaining tax-saving Hoover recommendations of the Hoover Commission be put into practice.

SECOND HOOVER COMMISSION

About 72 percent of the first Hoover Commission's recommendations were adopted between 1949 and 1953. Total savings estimated at $7 billion have followed with increased Government efficiency and other impressive benefits.

The second Hoover Commission carried on in 1953 where the first left off. It turned in the last of its recommendations in June 1955. It is estimated that the adoption of the 314 recommendations which it has made would, if adopted, eventually result in savings of more than $5 billion a year.

In 1956 Congress and the President acted to put into effect some 39 percent of the second Hoover Commission's recommendations. As a result savings to the taxpayers will total $532,600,000 yearly. That's $10 per year per taxpayer, a good beginning.

Congress worked hard in the final weeks before the end of 1956 session and approved 31 pieces of Hoover report legislation. Other recommendations which did not require new laws were carried out by the executive branch. Thus the Commission, which did its job with a congressional appropriation of less than $2.8 million, has already more than paid for itself by $200 for $1.

One big saving was realized by a very simple process. The Commission found that, for many years, the Defense Department has been serving just exactly as many meals as there were men in every military camp, base, or other installation. Offhand this might seem to make sense. But the Commission also found that 20 percent of the personnel at these establishments were absent at meal-time, on leave, or on business, or for some other reason. Thus the armed services were cooking millions of meals for "the little man who wasn't there"—and throwing them away.

That practice has now been corrected with estimated annual savings of $200 million a year.

Here is another example: You have seen the concrete post which the Post Office uses for mailboxes in such great quantity. At one time these were all made in one place, Baltimore, and shipped all over the country. By the time they got to the west coast these posts cost the taxpayer, you and me, over $15 apiece.

That, too, has been corrected. Now the posts are being made on the west coast at a cost of $2.70 apiece.

In big ways and small, great savings can be made. As another example, the Interior Department saved $1.2 million just by adopting more efficient methods of using its motor vehicles. The Commerce Department saved $150,000 by deciding not to publish a certain map when it found that the same map was already being issued by numerous States and cities.

It all adds up. But the big job, that remaining 61 percent of the Commission's proposal, still lies ahead of us.

Whoever Regulates Education Regulates Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks, I would like to quote from a letter I have received from one of my constituents, Mr. C. W. Chorpening, attorney at law, Ashland, Ohio. Mr. Chorpening has expressed his views in a very persuading manner and he has stated some quotes I have never before heard, and, under unanimous-consent request, I am submitting his entire letter. Especially do I call the attention of the House to one quote:

It has been well said that whoever regulates education regulates all life.

May I also call to your attention the article by Russell J. Clinchy entitled "The Day of Decision." You will find the reading worth while.

CHORPENING & CHORPENING,
Ashland, Ohio, June 18, 1957.

Hon. J. HARRY MCGREGOR,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MCGREGOR: I wish to let you know that I am one of the many thousands who feel that you are doing a good job.

In my opinion, the Republican Party will have rendered an invaluable service to our country if we succeed in curbing this move toward socialism by taking the Government out of the field of competition with private business and the curbing of the encroachment of bureaucracies. May I point out that I regard the effort of the Division of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to enter the field of education as the most dangerous invasion of the rights and liberties of a free people. All our experience confirms that the guise of rendering so-called Federal aid to schools is neither for emergency ends nor is its author's intention to long refrain from regulation and control. (It has been well said that whoever regulates education regulates all life.) I believe you will do what you can to see that any proposed bill for Federal aid will be defeated, and that through your efforts, working with others, the defeat will be so overwhelming that never again will you as a Congressman be confronted with any similar or like proposal.

Recently I read a short article by Russell J. Clinchy. You may have read it, but, lest you have not, and since it is relatively short, I quote to you:

"THE DAY OF DECISION

"The day of decision is upon us. We must now begin to retrace our way to that place where we missed the road to our destiny. We do not belong on this road to serfdom that leads to a land wherein men sell their souls for what they call security, but which turns out to be a nightmare in which man is a lost soul without a home. Instead, we belong to a land of those who have learned that where the spirit of the Lord is there also is liberty.

"Let us determine that we shall not allow the state to be our master, but that we shall be the masters of the state. The long road of history is lined with the ruins of those states which bought the souls and wills of their peoples by the lure of a granted security and then led them to ruin by that same mirage. The world does not need one more such ruin. It needs, for the first time in all the 24 civilizations, a people who will be really secure and enduring, as far as mortal life is possible—secure and enduring because each member of the society is a person who accepts his and her responsibilities as duties and asks only that the state act to keep the avenues of freedom open. That will come, not by copying the ruins of the past, but by a free people rising to meet the challenge of a free society, putting their trust in freedom because their faith is in God."

Very truly yours,

C. W. CHORPENING,
Attorney at Law.

Punishment and the Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, a famous criminal authority recently called attention to the fact that in every case, barring insanity, the defendant is firmly convinced at the time of the crime that he will not be apprehended. Constituted authority on the other hand is dedicated to the apprehension of criminals and the protection of society. The police are our first line of defense and are now charged under recent court decisions with instantaneous investigation of the crime, apprehension of the criminal and his arraignment before a committing magistrate who aside from regular business hours frequently cannot be located. The criminal, if left at large, can escape from the jurisdiction in a matter of minutes these days.

Justices of the high courts often have no practical experience in police work and their decisions collectively impose impractical and unworkable regulations

on police authorities and definitely hamper them in their work. Unfortunately, in the detection and punishment of serious crime, someone along the line is likely to be inconvenienced. Should it be the authorities, society, which is the subject of protection, or a likely suspect?

The courts have held that an erring police official faced with all of the foregoing difficulties may well render the most heinous criminal impervious to prosecution for his crime, and this without even the proverbial admonition to sin no more.

I include an editorial from last night's Evening Star bearing on the much-criticized decision in the Mallory case:

CRIMINAL FREED

In setting aside the rape conviction of Andrew R. Mallory, the Supreme Court, for practical purposes, has outlawed arrests based on suspicion as distinguished from probable cause. The immediate effect, insofar as the case is concerned, is that the prosecutor, representing the people, admits he is licked and the prisoner goes free.

Mallory was arrested in connection with an assault on a woman in an apartment house here in 1954. He was picked up by police at 2:30 the following afternoon and, with two nephews, was taken to police headquarters for questioning. The interrogation lasted from 30 to 45 minutes. At 4 p. m. the three were asked, and they agreed, to submit to lie detector tests. There was a delay of about 2 hours in arranging the tests, during which period the suspects were fed. The nephews took the test first, and it was about 8 p. m. before the testing of Mallory began. It lasted an hour and a half, and ended in an oral confession.

At 10 o'clock the police tried to arraign him (the law requires an arraignment without unnecessary delay) but no arraigning officer could be located. With Mallory's consent, a deputy coroner was called in. He examined the suspect and found no indicia of physical or psychological coercion. In other words, no third-degree tactics were involved, and there was no claim that such methods were used. The sole question was whether the delay in arraigning Mallory (he was not arraigned until the following morning) invalidated his oral and his subsequent written confessions.

The court held that they were invalid on the ground that there had been unnecessary delay in the arraignment. The opinion went on to say that the police may not arrest upon mere suspicion but only on probable cause, and that while an arrested person may be booked by the police, he is not to be taken to police headquarters in order to carry out a process of inquiry that lends itself, even if not so designed, to eliciting damaging statements to support the arrest and ultimately his guilt.

In short, this is not a case in which a confession has been invalidated because it was obtained by third-degree methods. The entirely proper ban on the third degree is extended to ban arrests on suspicion alone, to forbid questioning of a suspect prior to arraignment and to require prompt arraignment. The arraigning officer cannot hold a suspect, however, unless there is probable cause to believe he committed the offense. So the police, evidently, must make out a case of probable cause without questioning a suspect—which will be very difficult in many cases. The court holds that this was the intent of Congress in requiring arraignment without unnecessary delay. If this ruling misconstrues the congressional intent, Congress can make the necessary correction.

At least two corrections suggest themselves. One is for Congress to specify by law the length of time a suspect can be held before arraignment. This is done in some of the States. Another might be to provide for taking a suspect before a magistrate, who would advise him as to his legal rights, after which the suspect could be held for a reasonable time for investigation before being charged or released. Unless something of this sort is done, the public is going to suffer from the inability of the police to make valid arrests under the restrictions imposed by the court.

Hawaii Girl Wins National Scholarship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, acting chairman and executive officer of the county of Maui, T. H., United States of America, has sent me a copy of a resolution heartily congratulating Miss Joyce M. Ichiyasu, of Lahaina, Maui, County of Maui, for her achievement in winning a national merit scholarship.

As pointed out in the resolution, 830 high-school seniors as of May 1957, were awarded 4-year national merit scholarships. One hundred and sixty-two thousand high-school seniors in 12,500 high schools throughout the United States participated in this examination.

It is a real pleasure for me to join the board of supervisors of the county of Maui in congratulating Miss Ichiyasu and to wish her every possible success throughout her collegiate career and in her future life. Miss Ichiyasu has brought great credit and honor to herself, her family, her school, and the county of Maui, as well as Hawaii.

The national merit scholarships are of great benefit to the United States. The encouragement of an interest in higher education and the development of our able and talented, as well as highly qualified young people afforded by the 4-year scholarships awarded contributes materially to the security as well as the progress of our Nation in the future.

We of Hawaii are proud of Miss Ichiyasu. I include a copy of the resolution for the information of the Members of the Congress since Miss Ichiyasu deserves every possible credit that can be given to her:

Whereas during the current school year, out of the 162,000 high-school seniors in 12,500 high schools throughout the United States who were given college aptitude examinations, 830 were selected and awarded the National Merit Corp. coveted 4-year scholarship; and

Whereas among the 830 seniors, the only recipient of such award from the Territory of Hawaii was Joyce M. Ichiyasu, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Tsuyoshi Ichiyasu of Lahaina, Maui, and a student at Lahainaluna Technical High School; and

Whereas Joyce M. Ichiyasu, who is the student body president of her school, has brought honors and recognition not only to herself, her parents, and her school, but also to the county of Maui by her attainment of the high scholastic achievement: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Maui, That it does hereby convey its hearty congratulations to Joyce M. Ichiyasu, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Tsuyoshi Ichiyasu of Lahaina, for having won one of the 830 coveted 4-year scholarships, and does hereby wish her greater success throughout her collegiate career and thereby bringing further recognition to herself, her family, her school, and the county of Maui; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy hereof may be transmitted to Joyce M. Ichiyasu, to Mr. and Mrs. Tsuyoshi Ichiyasu, and to Mr. Frank Kinnison, principal of Lahainaluna Technical High School.

Why Not the Corn Tassel for Our National Emblem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the corn tassel, perhaps better than any other symbol, best represents America as it was founded by our forefathers, and no doubt represents the largest single contribution of America to the rest of the world. This would be a fitting emblem for our country.

Miss Margo Cairns, of Minneapolis, Minn., has dedicated herself to getting the corn tassel designated our national emblem. Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert her letter regarding our heritage, a news release by Ralph W. Keller, manager of the Minnesota Editorial Association, and an article from the Minneapolis Star of June 17 about the work she is doing:

GUARDING OUR HERITAGE

"I cannot think of any particular flower or plant that is symbolic of the United States," so wrote a rose lover of Syracuse, N. Y.

Was this man thinking only of garden flowers and hothouse favorites? Was he not overlooking our ageless native American maize—fruit and plant—which so exuberantly and faithfully blooms, fruits, and serves in continuing cycles? Yet in New York State alone there grew over 700,000 acres of it in the summer of 1956.

Maize that saved the starving Pilgrims. Maize that succored the Jamestown settlers. Maize that fed the original North Americans. Maize of the Aztecs, Mayans, Toltecs, Incans and pre-Incans. Maize, upon which civilization after civilization built through several milleniums, all in the Western Hemisphere. What an incomparable record of service.

We today are heirs of all that countless generations of known and unknown races have labored to develop. Maize was the foundation of ancient economies; maize or corn is the foundation of our economy. Today, through the consecrated efforts of skilled scientists, corn has been made to serve us in industry as well as in food.

It has been suggested that the rose be designated as our national floral emblem. What is an emblem? It has been defined as that which is intimately associated with what it represents. Is anything that springs from the earth as intimately associated with this land and its people as corn?

For many weeks of every year the golden, pollen-ladened flower fulfills its delicate

mission, insuring perpetuity, then unveils a glowing prophecy of the wealth to follow. And every autumn its prolific fruit overflows the Nation's granaries, and streams into countless industries to reappear as necessities of our high standard of living.

This then is the faithful flower of the United States. It is the true symbol of this vast, bountiful land. It is this symbol of agriculture's wealth that we should honor, for we are practically the only people in the world's history that has never known hunger.

The rose grows in every land, hence it is an international flower, a happy choice as the floral emblem of the United Nations. But for our own United States let us honor the corn tassel, flower of the native plant bequeathed to us as a priceless legacy. Let us guard our heritage well that it may supply our Nation in all ways—always.

MARGO CAIRNS.

CORN TASSEL MAY BE NATIONAL EMBLEM

By the time this gets into print the United States may have a new emblem. The vision and patient persuasion of a native Minnesotan have gained for the graceful corn tassel not only national acclaim but the almost certain approval of Congress as the official United States flower. In bringing about this recognition of American maize Miss Margo Cairns, of Minneapolis, has won the proud sobriquet Miss Corn Tassel. It sustained our country's natives, our first settlers, and all who have come after, it is raised and used throughout our land, it's beautiful, it's useful—it's a perfectly natural choice, is the logic behind Miss Cairns' imminent success.

RALPH W. KELLER,
Manager, Minnesota Editorial Association.

[From the Minneapolis Star of June 17, 1957]

CITY WOMAN HEADS CAMPAIGN—ARRIVAL OF "MAYFLOWER II" BOOSTS CORN TASSEL DRIVE

(By Hal Seymour)

Arrival of the *Mayflower*, replica of the pilgrim's ship, from England last week signalled the latest surge in a drive to get Congress to name the corn tassel as our national emblem.

If Congress complies, it will be a tribute to the driving energy of a bright-eyed Minneapolis woman, Margo Cairns, known from Washington to Portland, Oreg., as the corn tassel lady.

The campaign has not been a long one, as such campaigns go. It started in January 1955.

But it has been a project of one woman, her friends and those who have been won over by her pushing the corn tassel as a true symbol of American history.

She points out that corn helped the pilgrims through their first winter in America.

Margo Cairns is a native of Minneapolis. Her early interest in corn she credits to her maternal grandfather, George Hield.

Hield's parents brought him as a child to the United States, crossing the ocean on a sailing ship prior to the Civil War. He then crossed the country with them by stagecoach.

When Miss Cairns was 5 years old, her grandfather told her of his surprise at being shown the stately rows of American corn, which in Europe had meant wheat or oats.

"He never raised corn, but he was always telling me of its majesty," she said.

Miss Cairns heard Congress was being asked to name the rose as the national flower. She sought out Representative WALTER JUDD.

"I told him the rose is already the national flower in seven countries and that the rose is an imported luxury." The plant named the national floral emblem must be "intimately associated with what it represents," she said.

Is anything that springs from the earth as intimately associated with this land and its people as corn?

It was with JUDD's encouragement, 2½ years ago, that she started writing letters—all in longhand, since she can't type. Thousands of letters have been written since then, friends have made contributions and introduced her to others who have spread the word. Newspapers across the country commented on her campaign.

Finally, in the 1957 session of the Minnesota Legislature a resolution to Congress was passed, asking that the Nation honor the corn plant by adopting its flower, the tassel of the corn, as our national floral emblem.

This week, JUDD wired he had introduced a motion to have Congress name the corn tassel the national floral emblem.

Miss Cairns is tolerant of those who scoff, remains quietly persuasive as she convinces one listener after another that the corn tassel should be the symbol characteristic of our land, as significant and distinctive as our remarkable flag.

Joe McCarthy, American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New Bedford Standard-Times:

JOE MCCARTHY, AMERICAN

The United States Senate and the American people suffered a grievous loss in the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy—a loss that is doubly tragic because his firm voice against the Communist conspiracy will be sorely needed in the critical months and years that lie ahead.

The distinguished Wisconsin Republican did more than any other American in this decade to alert the United States citizenry to the Red peril.

Senator McCarthy was a vigorous, uncompromising foe of communism at home and abroad. He exposed to a shocked nation widespread Red infiltration in American government, educational institutions, and private enterprise.

As chairman of the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, McCarthy had to fight not only the Communist conspiracy but public apathy. In the years immediately after the end of World War II, complacent America was only vaguely aware of Soviet aims for world conquest, and the subversive tactics employed in this country by agents of Moscow.

Senator McCarthy shattered this complacency—virtually single-handed in many instances—with dramatic disclosures of Communist intrigue in the State Department, at Fort Monmouth, in universities and defense industries.

It was inevitable that McCarthy's penetration to the heart of the Communist conspiracy would bring reprisal by Reds and Red sympathizers. He became the target of the most extensive and merciless campaign of character assassination ever launched against an American citizen.

By slanderous innuendo, McCarthy's character and integrity were attacked. McCarthyism, a vague and meaningless term, was coined by the Senator's enemies and used in a derogatory sense to imply falsely a departure by McCarthy from principles of Americanism.

It is to the everlasting credit of Senator McCarthy that he never retreated under fire, never let up in his crusade against the enemies of America although knowing full well he would be unjustly persecuted as a result.

Senator McCarthy is best known for his incessant battle against communism, but this was by no means his only significant achievement.

He was at the forefront of the fight to strengthen United States defenses through more rapid development and wider use of guided missiles—a fight that has borne positive results in recent months.

He was an implacable opponent of secrecy in Government except when required in the interests of national security. He was a zealous defender of the people's right to be informed on governmental affairs.

He was an outspoken adherent to the constitutional principle of separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of Government. He never failed to speak out against attempts by executive departments to encroach upon the constitutional rights of Congress.

Senator McCarthy was a man without fear, a man of supreme courage, a man willing and determined to serve his country to the best of his ability whatever the personal sacrifice.

He entered the Senate at a time when his fortitude and leadership were urgently needed. Had there been no Senator McCarthy to arouse apathetic Americans against enemies of their country and their Constitution, freedom as we know it might have long since vanished from these shores.

The Nation mourns the passing of this true patriot. His epitaph well might read: Joseph R. McCarthy—American.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon's Speech Before 42d Annual Kiwanis International Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to present the text of Vice President NIXON's speech today before the 42d annual Kiwanis International Convention in Atlantic City:

I know that there is no subject of greater interest to Kiwanians than that of international relations and the policies which are designed to bring lasting peace to the world. I would like to discuss that subject on the basis of my personal observations of our policies in action over the past 4½ years.

I believe there has been too much pessimistic, defeatist talk about America's policies in the past few months.

It is time for us to discuss our responsibilities in the world, not in terms of what we cannot do, but in terms of what America should do as a great nation welcoming the opportunity which is presented to us to make a mighty contribution to the cause of peace and freedom in the world. I suggest that we examine American policies in that spirit today.

DEFENSE BUDGET

We begin with a policy on which there is probably very little disagreement—the ne-

cessity for the United States and the Free World to maintain military strength sufficient to meet and defeat any aggressor. We do this not because we want war but because we want peace and because history tells us that where a potential aggressor is on the loose weakness invites attack and strength discourages it.

We can disagree as to what the level of that strength should be. But where the decisions as to the character and quantity of our defense were made after months of study of facts available from all over the world by a man with the experience and background of the President of the United States, I say that anyone who would make substantial cuts in that budget below the amounts recommended is taking a risk with America's security which the American people will not and should not support.

DISARMAMENT

There may be those who believe that we can make reductions in our Defense Establishment because of the prospects for disarmament. But while negotiations for disarmament are taking place is the very time we should not reduce our defenses.

Our primary objective and motivation in such negotiations must not be to reduce our burden of armaments but to reduce the danger of war.

The free world's military strength is the major deterrent to war today. If we reduce our strength and the Communists do not make a corresponding reduction in theirs, the risk of war will be correspondingly increased. A bad disarmament agreement, therefore, would be worse than none at all.

The road to war is paved with agreements based solely on mutual trust. That is why we serve the cause of peace when we insist that we will not make an agreement to reduce our own armed strength unless an inspection system is put into effect which will make certain that all the parties to the agreement are carrying out their commitments under it in good faith.

Let me turn now to some of the more controversial aspects of our foreign and defense policies. We have heard a great deal of criticism in recent weeks of our foreign-aid programs.

I suggest we examine those programs solely in terms of one question: Are the interests of the United States being served by them?

MILITARY-AID PROGRAM

Approximately three-fourths of the foreign-aid appropriation is for military assistance. Among the countries which are receiving military assistance are Korea, Formosa, South Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey.

All of these countries have common borders with Communist countries. The question is not whether they should have adequate defense forces, but how it should be done. On the average it costs 5 times as much to maintain an American abroad as it does for the fighting men of the allies we are aiding. By conservative estimates, our expenditure of $2.8 billion in foreign military aid results directly in at least $15 billion worth of defense for ourselves and the free world. Spending less for military aid abroad would simply mean spending more for defense at home and more American boys in uniform. I submit that on the basis of these facts those who would cut our military foreign aid programs are in fact the spendthrifts and not the economizers.

WINNING THE COLD WAR

Let us turn now to another phase of our program for peace. We can readily see how maintaining the military strength of the free world at adequate levels reduces the danger of war. But if we rely on nothing more than military strength we can only hope to have an uneasy truce with the whole world armed to the teeth for years to come.

What can we do not just to prevent a hot war but to win the cold war and thereby help to create the conditions on which a lasting peace can be built?

In finding the answer to this question let us begin by examining the breakdown of people in the world. The world's population today is roughly divided into thirds: one-third free world, one-third Communist, and one-third uncommitted or neutral. If the Communists can win a substantial part of the uncommitted areas of Africa and Asia to their side, the balance of power in the world which deters war today would shift inevitably in favor of the Communists and the risk of war would consequently increase.

But an even greater danger would be that by controlling the resources of Asia and Africa they would be able to force the free world to surrender without waging war.

The other side of the picture is that if the uncommitted world rejects communism and turns toward the free world, the danger of both war and surrender will be substantially reduced.

What policies can we adopt which will help to accomplish this objective? This brings us to the basic question—what do the people of the uncommitted nations want?

ECONOMIC AID PROGRAM

They want economic progress so that they can raise their deplorably low living standards. They would prefer to gain that progress and keep their freedom and independence at the same time. But if there is no other answer they will turn to the Communist world for help. And those who accept economic help from the Communists run the risk of eventual Communist domination.

That is why we are appropriating $1 billion a year to help nations in this category. Our purpose is not to buy friends but to help them develop the economic and political strength and independence which is the antithesis of Communist domination.

In the final analysis of our own independence and peace are involved just as much as that of the nations we are aiding.

As important as economic progress is, we would make a fatal error if we assumed that this was the complete answer to the problem of the uncommitted nations.

The people of these countries above all else want and deserve recognition of their dignity as individuals and as nations. We must never forget that they are as sovereign as we are. They are as jealous of their rights and their independence as we are.

And we want it that way. We do not want satellites browbeaten by American armed might or by our economic strength. We want allies, friends, and partners. Let us talk less about our world leadership and more about our partnership with other free nations. And may we always treat the people of other lands with the dignity and respect they deserve.

We have discussed our military program to deter a hot war and our economic aid program to win the cold war. What can we do in addition which will help create the understanding and good will which is essential if we are to have real peace?

A BREAKTHROUGH FOR PEACE

What we need is a breakthrough for peace. We must contain communism without war. But we must go further and try to set in motion changes in the Communist empire which will enable us to have real peace, not just an armed truce.

This will not be easy. There are no trick gimmicks that will change men's hearts. There are no miracle drugs which will impede the drive for power or restrain the cruelty and insolence of those who live by naked force.

If the Soviet Union would agree to a regular exchange of radio and television broadcasts, as proposed by Secretary Dulles and Senator JOHNSON, real progress could be made in reducing misunderstanding and prejudice.

But exchange of broadcasts may not be the most effective answer to the basic problem. People everywhere have been bombarded with so much propaganda that they are skeptical of it. There is a tendency to be suspicious of any information which emanates from government sources.

EXCHANGE PROGRAM

We should put at least equal emphasis on another program which too often is treated as a stepchild by both the executive department and the Congress in allocating funds in the information field. I refer to our cultural and persons exchange program. A recent example of the effectiveness of the cultural exchange phase of this program is the sensation created by our exhibit at the Poznan Trade Fair in Poland. This exhibit has probably created more interest in and understanding of the American economic system than 10 years of radio broadcasts.

Under the exchange of persons phase of this program editors, professors, labor leaders, clergymen, public officials, and various technical experts come here for periods of up to a year. They spend most of their time visiting Americans who share their profession or occupation. They are helped in planning their program, but they are not given propaganda tours or indoctrination. They see our country as it is—its good points and its weaknesses. When they return home they have had a firsthand experience of what democracy and freedom of opportunity mean in practice.

Radio and TV broadcasts are more spectacular but the exchange program in the long run is more lasting in its effect. What an American says to a citizen of another country about America is not as effective as when a citizen of that country who has visited America says the same thing.

These programs are so effective and so essential in creating better understanding that we should sharply increase our emphasis on them. At the present time only 12,000 leaders a year from all parts of the world are able to visit the United States under the Government exchange program. I believe we should set as our goal bringing at least 25,000 leaders a year from foreign countries to the United States.

EAST-WEST EXCHANGE

It is particularly important that we show greater initiative in attempting to increase on a large scale the exchange of persons program with the Soviet Union and its European satellites. We should accept the risks in such a program in the hope that we will be striking directly at the roadblock of hatred and prejudice which bars the road to peace. It is true that the Kremlin's leaders can be expected to do their best to send only case-hardened, tested Communist Party members to the United States under these programs. But the larger the number who come, the less effective the Communist screening process can be.

In undertaking such an expanded program we should not expect a miracle overnight. Attitudes which have been drilled into people for years do not change in a day. But only in this way can the seeds of understanding be planted which may eventually blossom into the good will the world so desperately needs.

SOVIETS BLOCK EXCHANGE

The major question, of course, is will the Soviet leaders meet us halfway in expanding the exchange of persons program? Mr. Khrushchev in recent days has tried to create the impression that it is the United States which is blocking a broader exchange of information and persons.

Never in history has a national leader indulged in more hypocritical double-talk. He is using the old Communist tactic of accusing us of the very practices of which his government is guilty.

We made it clear at the Geneva Conference and on a number of occasions since then that we want to increase the exchange of information and persons between the Soviet Union and the United States. Mr. Khrushchev now says that they want to do the same thing. It is time for him to back up his words with deeds.

Here are six areas in which by changing Soviet policy he can prove his good faith and contribute to the cause of understanding and peace:

He can stop jamming free world broadcasts to the Soviet Union. We do not interfere with Soviet broadcasts in any respect. Our broadcasts to the Soviet Union are jammed by the Communists night and day.

He can allow foreign periodicals to be freely sold and distributed in the Soviet Union. Communist periodicals are allowed to enter this country and can be purchased by anyone who wishes. On the other hand, the Russian people cannot purchase American newspapers or magazines except in those rare instances where their government permits it.

He can quit censoring news stories filed by foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union. Russian correspondents are invited to our press conferences and their copy is not censored in any way. The exact opposite is true in the USSR where every word a correspondent sends out to the Free World must be approved by a Soviet government official.

He can remove the restrictions which the Soviet government has placed upon travel within the Soviet Union. The United States has time after time requested just such a relaxation of restrictions. Mr. Khrushchev has said that he would be prepared to do away with these restrictions by mutual agreement. Up to this point, the Soviet action, in contrast to agreeable words over TV, has been negative.

He can allow not just a few Government officials whom the leaders feel can risk exposure to our freedoms but Soviet citizens of all ranks and walks of life to come to the United States under the exchange program.

He can accept the offer of the Secretary of State to exchange on a regular basis radio and television programs. The concepts of communism are read and understood by many in this country and have been rejected by our own free will. We challenge the Soviet Union to permit similar free and wide circulation within its borders of the concepts of freedom and democracy.

Acceptance by Mr. Khrushchev of any one of these proposals would be an evidence of Soviet good faith in their expressed desire to reduce tensions and to create better understanding between the Communist world and the free world. His continued refusal to take action will place the responsibility on the Soviet leaders and the Soviet leaders alone for blocking the road to peace.

May I conclude by expressing an optimistic conviction as to the future? You have all heard a great deal of talk with regard to the anti-American sentiment which exists in various parts of the world. The impression is sometimes created that our policies abroad have left a hot-bed of hate all over the world. There is no question but that tensions have been created which are inevitable when people of different backgrounds must live and work together. But anyone who concludes that because of a few incidents anti-Americanism is the rule rather than the exception in other countries is dead wrong.

I can testify from personal experience on this score on the basis of visits to 40 countries in the past 4 years. In my opinion, there is a great well of friendship for the people of the United States among the people of other lands. All we have to do is to go halfway in treating them as equals, in respecting their traditions, and in proceeding always on the basic assumption that there are no second-class people or second-class nations in the world today. Nothing can contribute more to the cause of peace than for us to act and think in those terms in our dealings with other peoples.

I believe that if we can show the same courage and devotion in fighting for peace that we have always shown in fighting to win wars, we have the best opportunity in history to realize in our time man's dream of peace and freedom for the people of the world.

Group Message on the Hoover Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, we have heard and read many times of the desire to put the recommendations of the Hoover Commission into legislation so that they might be adopted toward the end that we can look forward to a more cohesive government as well as better organization.

I have had the privilege of receiving the following report by a committee which met in Washington and which advocated the adoption of the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. It is carefully prepared and I submit it to my colleagues.

GROUP MESSAGE ON THE HOOVER REPORT,
JUNE 19, 1957

We represent a group of private citizens who have assembled in Washington because we believe that certain of the bipartisan Hoover Commission's recommendations should be carried out without delay.

We have come to Washington for the specific purpose of reviewing and studying, with the expert assistance of specialists from both in and out of government, Federal activities in which substantial improvements can be made and economies effected.

We come from 26 States as follows: California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The people of the United States have expressed in recent months a strong desire for Federal economy and a reduction in taxes. We come from many parts of the country and represent many organizations. We seek the following objectives:

1. Budgeting and accounting: Prompt House passage of H. R. 8002, which would cause the budget to be submitted on an annual accrued expenditude basis. The Senate has already acted favorably and without dissent on a companion measure, S. 434.

2. Unifying common-use supply and service activities in the Department of Defense: Senate acceptance of the O'Mahoney-Chavez-Douglas amendment to H. R. 7665, the Department of Defense appropriation bill for 1958, which would establish a civilian-managed agency for this purpose; and House concurrence in such an amendment.

4. Unnecessary Government competition with private business: Prompt action on S. 1539 and H. R. 5826 which would affirm the policy of Congress to restrict and curtail unnecessary and competitive participation of the Federal Government in the field of private enterprise; and also S. 1394 and H. R. 5883 which would terminate gradually the Postal Saving System; and also on section 109 of S. 1534 and H. R. 5836 or alternatively H. R. 8108, which would render more realistic the charges of the parcel post as the Commission proposed.

4. Reorganization act extension: Favorable House action on extending this important law under which the President can realine agencies of the executive branch. The Senate has already passed S. 1791.

5. Surplus property. Prompt action on S. 1540 and H. R. 4119, which would place overall policy responsibility for surplus property management in the General Services Administration.

6. Real property transactions. Prompt action on proposals to relax congressional clearance procedures. The pertinent House measures are H. R. 29 and H. R. 4442. No similar measure is yet before the Senate; and action is needed to secure its introduction there and passage.

7. Hidden subsidies. Prompt and favorable introduction of, and action on, the proposal for curtailing interest subsidies in certain Federal lending programs as set forth in Budget Director Brundage's letter of June 3 to Vice President NIXON and Speaker RAYBURN.

8. Duplicate staffing. Prompt Senate action on S. 2294 and similar House action on H. R. 8091. The Hoover Commission called for "a clear delineation in the unjustifiable waste which results from duplicate military-civilian staffing." The Commission identified 16,000 such duplicate assignments, "representing an unnecessary payroll cost of more than $110 million per year."

9. Training. Favorable House action on proposals which would authorize Federal employees to be trained at public and private facilities. The Senate has already passed S. 385, which is under consideration in the House.

10. Administrative court. Prompt Senate action on S. 2292, which would establish an Administrative Court of the United States to assure protection of the rights of citizens as guaranteed by the constitutional doctrine of separation of powers; and prompt House introduction and action upon a similar measure.

11. Medical services. Favorable action on S. 2293 and H. R. 2435, which would establish a Federal Advisory Council of Health to coordinate and develop basic policies for the diverse medical programs of the Federal Government; and

12. Civil Service. Favorable action on S. 2290 and H. R. 8207, which would provide a system for establishing a flexible corps of highly competent, nonpolitical career administrators. Another Senate bill, S. 2291, would modernize civil-service methods and procedures to make careers in Government more attractive at all levels of Federal employment.

ATTENDEES, HOOVER REPORT BRIEFING SESSION, THE SHOREHAM, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 18, 1957

It should be recognized that all resolutions were approved by majority vote and express the sense of the meeting, but may not necessarily entail endorsement of all proposals by each attendee.

Carter W. Atkins, executive director, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc., Hartford, Conn.

Everett P. Balch, chairman, legislation committee of Jockey Hollow chapter, New Jersey Society Sons of American Revolution, Mendham, N. J.

Harry S. Baxter, attorney, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dana Bennett, Vergennes, Vt.

Jess B. Bennett, assistant to the president, Braniff International Airways, Washington, D. C.

Joseph L. Borda, special executive assistant, National Association of Manufacturers, Washington, D. C.

Miss Sally Butler, legislative consultant, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.

Keith A. Caldwell, Chicago South End Junior Chamber of Commerce, Chicago, Ill.

Raymond E. Coburn, director of research, Connecticut Chamber of Commerce, Hartford, Conn.

Dr. John H. Davis, Harvard School of Business, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. James P. Dixon, Commissioner of Health, Philadelphia, Pa.

George C. Dworshak, executive secretary, Chamber of Commerce of the Attleboros, Attleboro, Mass.

Raymond E. Edwards, executive secretary, Iowa Taxpayers Association, Des Moines, Iowa.

J. Herbert Eichelberger, assistant to the president, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, Chicago, Ill.

Henry E. English, chairman of the board, Red Ball Motor Freight, Dallas, Tex.

Roy Erickson, Erickson Memorial Co., Denver, Colo.

Clarence Francis, chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, Bronxville, N. Y.

Bayne Freeland, public relations director, the Quaker Oats Co., Chicago, Ill.

Lyle E. Graee, president, Champaign County Farm Bureau, Illinois Agricultural Association, Urbana, Ill.

William C. Hambleton, State president, Conference of International Association of Machinists, East Alton, Ill.

Alfred L. Hammell, president, Railway Express Agency, New York, N. Y.

Walter Harnischfeger, president, Harnischfeger Corp., Milwaukee, Wis.

Mrs. Mame M. Higgins, National Council of Negro Women, Chicago, Ill.

Arthur L. Holland, president, Sun Star Milling Co., Boise, Idaho.

Frederic W. Hume, vice chairman, Florida Citizens Committee, Miami, Fla.

Seward H. Jacobi, director of employers' advisory department, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Newark, N. J.

Reed Larson, past national chairman, government affairs; United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, Wichita, Kans.

James T. Londrigan, State president, Illinois Young Democrats, Springfield, Ill.

Rodney W. Markley, manager, Washington office, Ford Motor Co., Washington, D. C.

Mrs. William T. Mason, president, the National Council of Negro Women, Washington, D. C.

William A. Mills, executive vice president, Empire State Chamber of Commerce, Albany, N. Y.

Blake T. Newton, Jr., president, Shenandoah Life Insurance Co., Roanoke, Va.

Mrs. Genevieve H. Oslund, legislation research director, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.

James H. Parsons, special representative, Bloomington Kiwanis Club, Bloomington, Ill.

Harry P. Perkins, president, Perkins Brothers Co., Dallas, Tex.

Former Senator George L. Radcliffe, Fidelity & Deposit Co., Baltimore, Md.

Theron J. Rice, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Eugene F. Rinta, director of research, Council of State Chambers of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

Willis Sargent, attorney, Syracuse, N. Y.

Wallace H. Savage, attorney, Dallas, Tex.

F. E. Schuchman, president, Homestead Valve Manufacturing Co., Coraopolis, Pa.

Robert E. Simpson, secretary, Connecticut Chamber of Commerce, Hartford, Conn.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Spurr III, McLean, Va.

Dean Robert G. Storey, dean of Southern Methodist University Law School, Dallas, Tex.

Merle H. Tucker, president, radio station KGAK, Gallup, N. Mex.

Frank Upman, Jr., Washington, D. C.

Hamill Varner, the Quaker Oats Co., Winnetka, Ill.

Travis T. Wallace, president, Great American Reserve Insurance Co., Dallas, Tex.

Mrs. Donald L. Wetzell, State legislation chairman, Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, Tampico, Ill.

NOTE.—The above list of attendees includes only those who attended the first day's activities in connection with the briefing session; others are registered for the second day's session.

Increases—for Whom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an exceptionally interesting article from the newspaper Labor, printed in the June 29, 1957, issue.

The article quite graphically, I think, provides a capsule summary of the monetary pattern devised and fostered by the Eisenhower administration, as it is represented by its chief fiscal officer, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey.

The Secretary reportedly will be some $6 million richer when he leaves office soon; on the strength of which, he most probably is himself not much interested in a pay raise. But the postal workers of our country, whom I doubt have had the opportunity to engage in stock purchases and sales, are quite concerned with the possibility of a salary increase. Rampant are the stories of the economic plight; yet the administration has repeatedly voiced its collective opposition to any postal-worker pay increase this year. The administration's monetary pattern appears to be awkwardly top-heavy.

The article follows:

TREASURY CHIEF NOW $6 MILLION WEALTHIER

When Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey leaves office soon, he will be approximately $6 million richer than when he entered 4 years ago. That was revealed after Humphrey submitted to the Senate Finance Committee a list of his holdings in private corporations.

The list disclosed that Humphrey's stockholdings are now worth a total of close to $14 million. Of this, comparisons were possible on only $12.6 million worth. These stocks were valued at $7 million in January 1953. Thus the gain in that portion alone has been $5.6 million, or 85 percent.

When Humphrey entered the Cabinet he was allowed to retain these big holdings in several companies, despite a law which forbids the Secretary of the Treasury to be interested in any private commercial business.

Humphrey also disclosed back in 1953 that members of his immediate family too have very large holdings in the same companies. But so far the Treasury chief hasn't itemized those family holdings, as distinct from his own personal fortune.

MOST IN M. A. HANNA CO.

Lion's share of Humphrey's holdings are in the M. A. Hanna Co. of Cleveland, which he formerly headed. The list shows he has 67,550 shares of Hanna stock, valued now at $9,165,000, gain of nearly $4 million over 1953.

Also, he has 20,000 shares of Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal, worth $2,445,000, a rise of $1,310,000; 13,200 shares in National Steel, worth $970,000, up by $310,000 and relatively small holdings in Republic Steel, Canada & Dominion Sugar Co. and National City Bank.

In addition, he has 12,471 shares in Hanna Coal & Ore Corp., valued at $2,120,000 now, but no information was available on the increase over 1953, though it's assumed to be at least several hundred thousand dollars, thus making his total gain in the neighborhood of $6 million. Hanna Coal is owned 50 percent by the M. A. Hanna Co.

Commenting on the disclosure, Senator ALBERT GORE (Democrat, Tennessee), who had spearheaded the move for information on Humphrey's finances, declared that "here in Secretary Humphrey we have a notable example of those who have benefited from the Eisenhower administration monetary policies."

"It is interesting to note," GORE added, "that had the Secretary liquidated his holdings and bought Government Victory Bonds, as he urges others to do, his losses now would be exceeding $1 million."

Incidentally, Humphrey had submitted a list of his holdings to the committee back in 1953, but GORE revealed it was missing from the committee's files. Then the Treasury chief provided another list.

Girard Case Comment by a Former American Soldier Who Served in the Far East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the editor of the Elmira (N. Y.) Star Gazette printed in that newspaper on June 24, 1957. The writer is a young ex-serviceman who served in the Far East and had the opportunity to observe the workings of our Status of Forces Agreement with Japan at firsthand. I believe his comments on the general situation and the Girard case in particular bear reading by all of us in the Congress who are concerned with this problem.

The letter follows:

Having served in the Far East with American personnel who are familiar with the operations of the administrative agreement between the United States and Japan, I think that I can testify to the satisfactory results of that agreement whereby jurisdiction in criminal cases involving American military personnel has been delineated. I desire, therefore, to make a few observations on your recent editorial on the Girard case.

I disagree wholeheartedly with your contention that Girard's constitutional rights are the sole issue in this jurisdictional dispute because there is no indication whatsoever that Girard's basic rights as an individual would be jeopardized in a Japanese

court. Most Americans do not have the faintest idea of the procedures followed in the trial of American military personnel by Japanese courts.

The current uproar over the Girard case has largely obscured the true facts of the situation. It is alleged that if Girard is not tried by a United States court-martial, he will be turned over to the Japanese for trial and thus his constitutional rights will be impaired. This is incorrect. Throughout the entire trial, the accused remains in the custody of military command in which he serves; he lives on American military property and he appears in the Japanese court under American Military Police escort. During the trial the accused is accorded virtually all rights accorded to defendants tried under our judicial system. Only if the accused is sentenced to imprisonment by the court is he turned over to Japanese custody. The prisoner's living conditions in a Japanese prison compare favorably with those found in quarters for bachelor officers on American military installations. American liaison officers make frequent inspections of the prisoners' quarters to make certain that their conditions are satisfactory.

I am certain that if there were any indication that Girard's rights as an individual would be jeopardized by the Japanese court, President Eisenhower would not permit the trial to continue. It should be reiterated that Girard would remain in American custody until sentence (if he is guilty as charged) is pronounced, and then he would be released from American custody only if he were sentenced to a prison term. Most Americans opposing Japanese jurisdiction in the Girard case either ignore this fact or are unaware of it. Therefore, I cannot agree with your contention.

If it can be claimed that Girard's constitutional rights as an individual would not be jeopardized (as I firmly believe it can), what, then, is the real issue in this case? If I may take the risk of being vague, I feel the issue is our national interest. Our national interest is that American military personnel must be stationed in Japan under a mutual-defense system upon which we rely for our national security. This is our stake. Japan has a stake, also. Her stake is her sovereign rights as a nation which is an equal partner of the United States. One of her sovereign rights is that of trying United States military personnel under certain specified conditions. We cannot have our cake and eat it, too. We cannot expect the Japanese to permit us to station military forces on her soil for our defense in peacetime without our recognition of her rights as a sovereign nation. Somehow our military interest and Japanese sovereignty must be reconciled. They have been reconciled by the administration agreement.

The administration agreed to put the Girard case under Japanese jurisdiction because it could see no reason for making an international issue over the precise interpretation of the term "on duty" in this particular case. Both the United States and Japan can summon convincing evidence to justify their contentions that Girard was on or off duty. The United States Government feels, therefore, that our friendly and vital relationship with Japan should not be impaired by a dispute over terminology—especially since there is no indication that Girard's rights would suffer. I wholeheartedly agree with the administration's position and I heartily congratulate Congressman Cole for his recent defense of that position.

I have two questions which I respectfully request you to consider. First, what satisfactory alternative arrangement to the administrative agreement would you propose as a basis for reconciling our national interest and Japan's sovereignty? Second, in examining the facts of the incident involving Girard and Naka Sakai, the dead Japanese farmer, what do you think the reaction of the American people would be if the roles of the principals (both individuals and nations) were reversed? That is, if the dead woman were American and the accused were a Japanese soldier stationed, say, in Big Flats? Do you not feel that all things being equal, the American people might be justified in asking that the Japanese soldier be tried in an American court?

There are two basic issues here—Girard's rights and our national interest. I am convinced that Girard's rights would not be jeopardized. On the other hand, I strongly feel that our national interest would be adversely affected by the impairment in good American-Japanese relations which would surely result from the failure of the United States Government to abide by its administrative agreement with Japan.

RICHARD W. MURPHY

Double Standards and Double Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, news from Texas tells us that District Judge Ben Moorehead has proclaimed that lawyers cannot practice law in Harris County unless they pay dues to the bar association.

Texas has a so-called right-to-work law which outlaws a union shop for working men and women. This law is designed, not to protect the rights of workers, but to give advantages to union-hating employers. The real objective is to prevent organization of workers, to hold down wage standards, and to impose unfair conditions which employees without organization are helpless to correct.

The proclamation by Judge Moorehead in supporting a closed-shop union for Texas lawyers gives added evidence that the right-to-work law is based on double standards and that the argument for right-to-work legislation is phony and a lot of doubletalk.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article on this subject from the current issue of Labor, official organ of the Railway Labor Unions:

ENFORCE "CLOSED SHOP" FOR LAWYERS, BAR UNION SHOP FOR WORKERS

AUSTIN, TEX., June 17.—Like many other States in the South, Texas has a "right to work" law which forbids labor-management agreements requiring membership in a union as a condition of employment. Yet, this same State has an ironclad "closed shop" setup for the lawyers, bearing the perfumed name of "integrated bar."

Under that closed shop, over 1,800 attorneys who have failed to join their "union," the Texas State Bar Association, have just received notices from the courts to pay up their back dues or be prohibited from practicing their profession.

In Houston alone, such notices went to 180 lawyers. They were warned they cannot practice law in Harris County unless they "pay up."

District Judge Ben Moorhead proclaimed that these delinquent attorneys must present proof their dues in the bar association are paid up to date. If they fail to do so, none of their pending cases will be acted on by the judges in the county.

Moreover, those on the delinquent list will be "dropped permanently" if their June 1 dues are not paid by August 31—in other words, on that date they will have to be paid up or get out of their profession.

This crackdown is the result of a mandate laid down by the Texas Supreme Court. It ordered each judge in the State to bar from practice in his court any attorney who was "not in good standing" in the association.

Similar "closed shop" setups for lawyers exist in many other States. In some, the courts have even assigned sheriff's deputies to call on the lawyers and demand they pay up dues to their "law union," or go out of business.

Imagine what a howl there would be if the power of the courts and the enforcement authorities were used to compel workers to keep in good standing in their unions, or be deprived from working their craft anywhere in the State!

A similar "closed shop" exists for doctors in most States—and yet lawyers and doctors are in the forefront of campaigns for more laws to prohibit the negotiation of even voluntary union shop agreements between unions and employers.

Whose Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News dated June 25, 1957:

WHOSE RIGHTS?

It is not the existing law of the land so much as the nature of communism which is brought into question by recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

Orderly society is impossible without some Government interference with the activities of citizens. These interferences should be kept at a minimum. But the right of the citizens as a whole to be protected in their enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is paramount.

Recent decisions have, in effect: Thrown open the confidential files of the FBI; held that the mere promotion of communism is not a crime unless there is overt incitation to force and violence; and restricted the right of Congress to ask about political beliefs and associations, even Communist beliefs and associations.

These decisions greatly encumber the intricate task of protecting our common rights by rooting out communist subversion. They open prison gates for a large number of communist leaders.

Interference with the liberties of individuals habitually has varied with the imminence and extent of danger. The draft—certainly near the ultimate in interference with individual freedom—is a good example.

Fundamental to the point of view which produced these Supreme Court decisions is the refusal—or legal inability—of the Court to consider communism a criminal conspiracy to advance the interests of an unfriendly foreign power—a clear and present

threat to national security. The decisions dramatize the need for law which plainly defines and outlaws this conspiracy.

It was communism which murdered more than 30,000 of our men in Korea and butchered the Hungarian freedom fighters. It is communism which imminently threatens world-destroying atomic war and requires our expediture of the vast sum of $40 billion a year to prevent it.

Anyone who participates in such a crime, if only in a small, stupid way, directly menaces the rights and lives of everyone. An individual has no more right to organize and serve this plot than he has to organize a cell of murder incorporated.

At the very least, anyone who cooperates in the Communist movement lends aid and comfort to our sworn enemy in this cold war. And that is what makes communism different in kind from other unpopular, minority causes which the Bill of Rights is designed to protect from majority or State interference.

It is vital that the policies enforced by these decisions be modified or reversed, either through rehearing before the court itself, by tightening of the laws by Congress, or by constitutional amendment—if that extreme measure is necessary.

First efforts are properly concerned with protection of the FBI files through legislation to be introduced this week. This legislation should get prompt attention.

It certainly is no defense of civil rights to permit the subversion of the Government which protects them.

There Was No Surrender of Jurisdiction Over American Troops Overseas in World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, at this time when there is so much dismay over the surrender of American servicemen to foreign courts for trial on criminal charges, it is instructive to recall how matters of this kind were handled in World War I. I asked the Library of Congress to look into this matter for me, to determine whether there was, as late as World War I, any precedent for the surrender of jurisdiction over our Armed Forces, as is now possible under the status-of-forces treaties and agreements. I find that no such arrangements were thought to be necessary, and none were made. The United States maintained jurisdiction over its troops stationed in England and France during the First World War, even though they could be arrested by civil or military police of the host country for criminal offenses committed while they were off duty. Formal arrangements provided that after arrest, they would be returned to American military jurisdiction for trial under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

This, in my judgment, was a sound arrangement, and the only arrangement which can insure that the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights follow the men in our uniformed services wherever they may be assigned to duty.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD, the memorandum on this point prepared for me by Mr. Arthur H. Darken, of the Foreign Affairs Division, Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Washington, D. C., June 14, 1957.

To: Hon. Harold C. Ostertag.
From: Foreign Affairs Division.
Subject: Criminal jurisdiction of United States Armed Forces in allied countries during World War I.
(Attention: Miss Savell.)

Upon arrival of the United States forces in France in World War I, both the American and French authorities took the view that under the general principles of international law members of the American Expeditionary Forces were answerable only to American tribunals for all offenses they might commit in France. It was later formally agreed between the two Governments that each should possess exclusive criminal jurisdiction over its land and sea forces whether in the territory of either nation or on the high seas.

A similar arrangement prevailed in the United Kingdom, which issued an order in council stating that: "The naval and military authorities and courts of an ally may exercise in relation to the members of any naval or military force of that ally who may, for the time, be in the United Kingdom, all such powers as are conferred on them by the law of that ally."

Arrangements were made in both France and the United Kingdom, however, for the local police or military authorities to arrest American soldiers absent from their commands or committing offenses against the civil population. In each instance the American soldiers so arrested were to be turned over to the United States military authorities for trial and punishment.

In June 1917 the commander in chief of the AEF recommended the passage of legislation that would enable him to organize a claims service in the force for the investigation and payment of such damages against the civil population as might be caused by United States soldiers in France. This law was enacted in April 1918 and put into effect. Some of the most frequent sources of claims for damages were automobile accidents, collisions between commercial vessels of France and England and those chartered by the United States, and incidents involved in billeting American troops in requisitioned French quarters.[1]

[1] The main source of information in the preparation of this memorandum was United States Army in the World War, 1917–19, prepared by the Historical Division of the Department of the Army, 1948, vol. 15, pp. 363ff.

ARTHUR H. DARKEN.

Economy Weapon—Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House of Representatives, regardless of his position on the legislation, was profoundly impressed with the debate on the third supplemental appropriation bill, H. R. 7221, and the diligent effort made by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, the Honorable MICHAEL KIRWAN, to terminate the costly tungsten-purchase program. This $30-million economy was the proximate result of the strong and tenacious position taken on this issue by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KIRWAN].

Following is an editorial on the subject which appeared in the Cleveland Press on June 21, 1957, and which appeared in other Scripps-Howard newspapers on the same day:

ECONOMY WEAPON—FACTS

Compared to the total Federal budget, $30 million is peanuts.

But we're glad to record that Congress has just refused to spend this sum for continuing the Federal subsidy of domestic tungsten mines.

Congressman MICHAEL KIRWAN, Democrat, of Ohio, deserves the principal credit for this satisfactory bit of economizing.

His stubborn refusal to approve continuation of the subsidy was backed by facts. Such as: That it was adding to the wealth of large and rich corporations, had no connection with defense or our stockpile, whose tungsten requirements have long been met.

A Faith Kept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the great patriots of American history is General of the Army George C. Marshall. As chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission, General Marshall has reported in a beautiful and sensitive article on the efforts of this Commission to honor America's fallen servicemen whose graves are in foreign lands. General Marshall's article, in the June 1957 National Geographic magazine, follows:

OUR WAR MEMORIALS ABROAD—A FAITH KEPT
(By General of the Army George C. Marshall)

Twice since World War II my heart has led me on long pilgrimages overseas. I went as an old soldier seeking fallen comrades.

The hours I walked among our lost legions were among the most poignant of my life. Each site evoked old memories of decisions made, of battles waged and won, and, above all, of the young Americans who paid the highest price that war can exact. Yet the tribute I gave these men in my thoughts must remain an unwritten one, for words cannot capture or convey gratitude held so deeply.

In the course of my pilgrimages there grew a very great, if melancholy, satisfaction in the work of the American Battle Monuments Commission, entrusted with the care of our war dead in foreign lands. We were keeping faith with the fallen. We were talking to them all that we could of home, of beauty, and of remembrance.

AN OBLIGATION TO THE LIVING

The Commission's high task involves also a most solemn obligation to the living. I have corresponded personally with many Gold Star families concerning our work, but to write words of comfort and assurance to all is beyond my powers. Therefore, I would like to share with the bereaved, and with all

other Americans, this brief account of a loving stewardship.

When World War II ended 15 million American men and women had answered the call to arms; of these, 360,810 died overseas. Most of them were buried near where they fell, in temporary graves on alien soil.

In the years that followed, more than half were brought back to their homeland at the request of relatives. The Commission has labored unceasingly through the past decade in behalf of those left in our care, and today they all lie in permanent memorial cemeteries.

We have established 14 of these World War II memorials abroad—at Manila, near Bataan, and Corregidor; in the green of the English countryside; on hills above the pastoral valleys of France and Belgium; in the field of Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Italy, and North Africa.

SIX SHRINES DEDICATED LAST SUMMER

Last July, six of these shrines—all in Europe—were dedicated. The remainder will be ready by the end of 1958.

But statistics, however meaningful, are poor fare for a troubled heart. It is only natural that some who left a loved one overseas should have moments of doubt concerning their decision. I know the assurance many families would have me give.

Yes, he rests now in a serene and beautiful place, well planned, well built, well kept by dedicated men.

From our task's inception the Commission has tried, as far as work and patience and skill can do, to make the memorials worthy of the men and women they honor. We began by asking 14 outstanding United States architects each to design a cemetery with its chapel. With every architect a landscape expert, a sculptor, and a painter—all Americans—generally collaborated.

Once our plans had been formed, the American Graves Registration Service moved the dead from nearly 250 temporary cemeteries, and reverent hands gave them final interment. Then, step by step, the Commission transformed each permanent site into a place of beauty and dignity.

The memorial chapels, for example, are of great artistic merit and truly representative of the American people. Each displays illustrated battle maps, usually large murals, amplified by text to explain the campaigns. In no two instances have artists used the same methods—rarely even the same materials. Some maps are made of layered marble; others are in bronz relief, still others in fresco or in ceramics.

REMEMBRANCE WALLS HONOR THE MISSING

Visitors also will see long lists of Americans missing in action. These regional honor rolls are inscribed within the chapels or upon exterior walls of remembrance.

Though the buildings give one a pervasive feeling of reverence, for me the deepest communion is found outside among the graves. It seems to be the same for many visitors. Some pause long minutes with heads bowed in prayer. Around them others, in quiet meditation, or with voices respectfully hushed, stroll down the ordered columns of marble headstones—a Star of David for those of the Jewish faith, a Latin Cross for all others.

When known, the name of the individual, with other information, is cut upon the headstone. If the man could not be identified, the inscription says, "Here Rests in Honored Glory a Comrade in Arms Known but to God."

With all my heart I believe that no one who left a son overseas should doubt the fittingness of his final resting place. That he should have, for time unending, a part of the ground he so dearly bought is supremely right and fitting.

MEMORIALS ARE NOT ENOUGH

Yet I feel, with equal conviction, that the excellent care given our cemeteries, and the distinguished memorials erected, are not enough. Something more is needed, and only the public can give it.

Let me introduce my explanation by telling you a true and very moving story.

One of the loviest of the new cemeteries lies at Épinal in northeastern France. There the American superintendent recently received a call from a townsman whose mission was mercy. The caller said an elderly American woman, sick, alone, and virtually penniless, was stranded at an inn in Épinal. She did not speak French, and for some time she had been existing only on apples and cookies. Would the superintendent help her?

He went immediately to the woman and recognized her as a Gold Star mother who had been to the cemetery several times. A proud and reticent person, she had given no indication of her plight.

The superintendent and his wife took this mother into their home and nursed her back to health. As they gained her confidence, they glimpsed the true measure of her loneliness and her purpose.

She was a widow with few friends and without close relatives. Her only son had been killed in the war. At his death the woman had vowed that someday she would visit his grave, and for years she had scrimped and saved to make the journey. Then at Épinal, the vow kept, her funds ran out.

Fortunately the mother held a return ticket for passage home, but from their own pockets the American couple gave her money for food and railroad fare to a French port.

What Gethsemane of spirit this lonely woman endured we can only imagine, but there is a clear lesson for everyone in her inflexible resolve to pay tribute to her son.

All of us are so greatly indebted to that boy and the thousands like him. In a higher sense, they are the sons of every freeman. Therefore I ask each reader who can, not just the war bereaved, to visit the cemeteries and pay similar tribute.

That is the something more needed.

If you believe in a life of the spirit, as most Americans devoutly do, then you must believe these men want visitation. Without it theirs would be a lonely vigil, one lacking the best evidence we could give of gratitude and steadfast memory.

CONGRESS STUDIES AID FOR VISITS

There is no need, of course, to urge such journeys upon next of kin. Many have already been to the cemeteries. But trips abroad are difficult, if not impossible, for those living on pensions, modest investments, and small salaries.

Unfortunately, the episode of the woman at Épinal, though not common, has been repeated at other memorials. The superintendents, all American war veterans, give what aid and comfort they can, but there are no funds to reimburse them.

After World War I, when General of the Armies John J. Pershing headed our Commission, Congress appropriated money for visits to overseas cemeteries by Gold Star mothers and wives. At this writing, two bills are pending in Congress that would authorize similar help for World War II next of kin.

Of necessity, consideration of Government-sponsored visits has had to await completion of the cemeteries, a long and difficult job. My regret is that Government help, as after World War I, would come too late for the many who have died or are ill.

For thousands of other Americans, a memorial pilgrimage requires little effort or sacrifice. These are the tourists who cross the seas in increasing numbers each year to travel through foreign lands.

But the right to tour, like other rights, is often denied a subject people. Americans traveling abroad might ponder this deeper significance behind their blithe holiday, remembering to whom they owe the good things of travel, the freedom of movement, the gaiety of a liberated Paris, the peacefulness of a quaint village.

Many would then, I am sure, take time to visit one or more cemeteries. The World War II memorials are all easily accessible by railroad or highway.

The six dedicated last summer serve not only to commemorate our Armed Forces but also to mark the general positions where Americans waged some of the war's most critical campaign (map, p. 738). Those near our landing places in Normandy and at Anzio are of particular historic interest.

PACIFIC MEMORIALS NOT YET DEDICATED

Though eight cemeteries remain to be dedicated, all are open to the public. Their locations: St. Avold, France; Henri Chapelle and Neuville, en Condroz, Belgium; Margraten, the Netherlands; Hamm, Luxembourg; Florence, Italy; Tunis, in North Africa, and Manila, in the Philippines.

The only sites in the Pacific islands or the Far East are the cemetery at Manila—largest of all—and National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, maintained by the Army, at Punchbowl Crater, Honolulu. At both sites the Commission is preparing appropriate memorials. In the Hawaii cemetery rest many who gave their lives in Korea as well as thousands of heroes of the fighting over the vast Pacific in World War II.

Some of our unknowns of the second World War were moved to the United States World War I memorial at Surenes, on the outskirts of Paris. Its chapel has been enlarged by adding two loggias, or wings, one for each great war. This site epitomizes all our military cemeteries and memorials. For 30 years representatives of the United States and French Governments have visited Suresnes on ceremonial occasions to honor the dead.

Many private citizens of France, as of other countries, also journey to our shrines. Often they bring fresh flowers for graves and make solemn family outings of their visits. At times superintendents overhear parents telling youngsters the story of the dead strangers, how they came from across the sea to fight freedom's battle.

Such incidents bring to mind a tribute Pericles paid the dead of ancient Athens, "* * * In foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men."

I have always felt that the establishment of American war cemeteries abroad was of great international importance. Each was built on ground donated by the host country, and each stands as a perpetual reminder of the sacrifices the United States made in the common cause.

Though many foreign friends have visited the sites, we hope many more of good heart and memory will be moved to do likewise.

PROMINENT CITIZENS FULFILL A TRUST

Assurance that the Commission's work lies in good hands is implicit in the names of the distinguished men and women who serve with me as members: Adm. Thomas C. Kinkaid, vice chairman; Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mrs. Wendell L. Willkie, Leslie L. Biffle, Gen. Alexander A. Vandergrift, Senator Charles E. Potter, former Representative John Phillips, Gen. Carl Spaatz, Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Forest A. Harness, and Brig. Gen. Thomas North, secretary.

On the following pages Howell Walker of the National Geographic Magazine staff tells

with feeling and perception the story of last summer's dedications. His illustrations speak eloquently of the planning and care given each site.

To my own personal message I would add but one more thought, and again I quote from Pericles. What he said in ancient times of the defenders of Greek freedom is a fit epitaph for our sons:

"When the moment came they were minded to resist and suffer, rather than to fly and save their lives; they ran away from the word of dishonor, but on the battlefield their feet stood fast, and in an instant, at the height of their fortune, they passed away from the scene, not of their fear, but of their glory."

The Effect of Chemical Sprays on Wildlife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, lovers of wildlife the country over are deeply concerned over the effects of chemical sprays for trees and other vegetation on fish and wildlife. A recent letter by a prominent Milwaukee conservationist, Mrs. Max J. Schmitt, published in the Milwaukee Journal, vividly describes the effects of DDT and similar chemicals upon wildlife:

BIGGER AND BETTER MOSQUITO

To the Journal: Among all the insects, there are only a few that actually interfere with man's plans. And, ironic as it may seem these few seem best able to build up a resistance to insecticides.

The mosquito and the boring beetle larva are the real targets of fogging and spraying. But what actually happens?

The answer is becoming obvious. The bird migrations of the last 2 years show a vast decrease of song birds. Blasted up and down the continent with insecticides, they can find no safe place to live and raise their young.

Some of the cities in the south fog each week, in the same type of service as collecting garbage. The State of Wisconsin prevents a property owner from preventing a Government unit from spraying if that unit decides to spray. And further requires the owner to pay for labor and insecticide.

What are the ingredients used? DDT in forest areas, 12 percent or 12½ percent. One type used on certain farm crops is so deadly that farmers were warned over the university farm radio program not to attempt spraying. They were told to have the work done by plane.

The Fish and Wildlife Service found 6 percent DDT fatal to all fish life in a test area. The birds and animals left and did not return for over 2 weeks and then only in a limited number. The young, being abandoned, did not survive. Repeated time and again, as in most places where spraying is done, the mortality must run close to 100 percent. And over the whole country the picture is devastating.

That is only part of the picture. The poison can build up on foliage, water, and soil, 6 percent plus 6 percent plus 6 percent and so on. When it reaches a certain point it kills. Humans are no exceptions. Only insects have been able to build up a resistance. The mosquito is one. We are building bigger and better mosquitos. Fogging for these may lay down a lighter film of poison, but it is used oftener and is as deadly in its end result.

The city of Batavia, Ill., is an example. There are no birds there, according to some of the inhabitants. As a result of tests and reports, the State of Michigan has placed stringent restriction on use of DDT.

But what of Wisconsin? All this is known by our conservation department, yet they are going ahead with an enormous spraying program right now, with a 12½ percent solution. They have huge tank cars full of DDT on the side tracks in the northern part of the State.

How long are the citizens of this State going to allow this to go on? Where are the hunters? Where are the birds and animal lovers? Now is the time to act.

AROLINE H. SCHMITT.

Another outstanding Wisconsin conservationist, Mrs. F. L. Larkin, 5333 North Idlewild Avenue, Milwaukee, founder of Wisconsin's Audubon Camp, has recently issued a set of recommendations for DDT spraying and bird mortality. The recommendations follow:

1. Stop planting elm trees until Dutch elm disease is under control.
2. Provide a single annual spraying while trees are dormant, without foliage, and bark coverage can be most effective.
3. Confine DDT spraying to the period from November 15 through April 1 by using the new dormant spray method (thereby avoiding the periods of heavy spring and fall bird migration as well as of nesting).
4. Use only mist blower equipment and not hydraulic spray equipment, to minimize dripping that contaminates pools and puddles where birds drink and bathe.
5. Stress sanitation. Remove dying elms immediately. When weather is too cold for spraying, assign more men to remove dead and dying wood from elms.
6. Make sure that the State department of agriculture law is enforced which states that dead and dying elms must be removed within 10 days.
7. Enact a city ordinance prohibiting private operators from spraying trees with DDT or other sprays destructive to birdlife between April 1 and November 15.

The Congress fortunately has before it H. R. 783, introduced by the gentleman from Montana, Mr. Metcalf. This bill would direct the Secretary of the Interior to undertake "comprehensive continuing studies on the effects of insecticides, herbicides, and fungicides upon the fish and wildlife resources of the United States, for the purpose of determining the amounts and percentages of such chemicals that are lethal to or injurious to fish and wildlife and the amounts or percentages or mixtures which can be used safely, and thereby prevent losses of fish and wildlife from such spraying." The bill is now before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and has received favorable reports from the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of the Budget. The type of comprehensive research envisaged by Mr. Metcalf's bill seems to me clearly in the public interest.

New President of the Gannett Co. and the Gannett Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the Gannett newspaper organization, which has its headquarters in the city of Rochester, N. Y., acquired a new president this spring. Paul Miller, one of the country's outstanding newspapermen, was elected to succeed Frank Gannett, the founder of the Gannett enterprises.

The selection of Mr. Miller as successor to the founder insures that the high sense of community service and community responsibility will continue to pervade the Gannett organization, which now includes 23 newspapers and 5 radio stations.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the RECORD an article about the new president of the Gannett organization, from the Gannetteer:

A VERSATILE NEWSMAN, EXECUTIVE, CIVIC LEADER, GLOBAL TRAVELER

In assuming the presidency of Gannett Co., Inc., Paul Miller pledged a continuation of the unique policy of local autonomy under which Frank Gannett always has delegated authority and responsibility to the management of each newspaper in the group.

Under this system, editorial policies are determined locally by the men who live in and know their communities. This is unlike a chain operation, in which methods and practices are dictated from a central office.

Miller joined the group as executive assistant to Gannett on August 1, 1947. He was elected a director and a vice president of the company in 1949. At the request of Gannett, he took over many of the duties which the founder had performed for many years.

In 1951 he was elected executive vice president. Since May 1955, he has been operating head of the company. He is also publisher and editor of the Rochester Times-Union and publisher of the Democrat and Chronicle.

His basic philosophy of newspapering was sketched in a bylined article on the Times-Union editorial page 2 days after his elevation to the presidency:

"A good newspaper is not built overnight. It develops over many years, just as a person's character develops. In time its readers come to know it for what it is. If it is truly successful, the newspaper is a good neighbor, a good citizen, a trusted confidant * * * like a good man or a good woman. It will be doomed to failure, ultimately, if it is not trustworthy, fair, and clean. This is especially true in cities of homes.

"That general thinking has been behind the growth and development of newspapers in the Gannett group, founded on a small beginning by Frank Gannett.

"It is assumed that Gannett newspapers will be clean and community-minded and patriotic and fair. From there on, the local management is on its own as to specific editorial problems and issues."

Regarding pricing of our products, Miller wrote:

"Briefly, and as a general policy, we believe in the lowest feasible advertising and circulation rates. We'd rather get more advertising at a low rate than carry less advertising at a high rate—even if net income were equal. Why? It's better business for us and for our communities. Low rates mean that more advertisers, including little fellows, can use the newspapers regularly, profitably, and with the adequate space. The overall picture, present and future, is better for newspapers which adhere to this principle, and for the communities they serve.

"The same for circulation. Gannett newspapers have ever been among the last in the Nation to up circulation rates.

"The Gannett management believes, in short, that the newspaper—to keep its place and to give maximum service with reasonable profit—must remain an effective mass medium.

"We are interested most of all in home delivered circulation within productive trading areas. Why? Because that's where it does the most good for us and for advertisers.

"Our newspapers are produced for family reading in the home by young and old. No advertising is accepted that it is believed might be harmful. Liquor advertising is excluded. A close editorial eye is kept trained on the comics. Standards of decency are insisted on in advertising and news copy."

Miller came to the Gannett Co. from the Associated Press, which he served for 15 years and of which he was an assistant general manager at the time of his resignation. He was then also chief of the AP Washington Bureau.

For 7 years, Miller has been a director of the Associated Press and was the first former AP employee to be named to its board.

He also is a member of the advisory board assisting the trustees of Columbia University in the award of the Pulitzer Prizes. He is a member of the advisory board of the American Press Institute, a past president of the New York State Publishers Association and a member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

At 50, Miller is a leader in civic affairs in Rochester. He has headed Rochester Red Cross campaigns. He was vice chairman of the 1956 Combined Community Chest and Red Cross drive. He was chairman of the Mayor's War Memorial Committee and of the Albert D. Kaiser Award Committee. He is a trustee of the Chamber of Commerce, of George Eastman House and of the Rochester Institute of Technology.

He has made many speeches, interpreting group policies to audiences within and outside the group. At a meeting of the North Carolina Press Asociation last January, he declared:

"We must never forget for a minute that with all our urgent need for better, more efficient, less costly machines and methods, people still come first.

"We need, and I believe we are getting increasingly, more care in hiring and developing, never forgetting that it is as important to weed out misfits promptly and considerately as to recognize and encourage the qualified. * * * You can't sum it up in any better line than one with which an associate of mine recently concluded a personnel policy statement for distribution among executives: 'Do the right thing'."

As for opportunities for advancement within the group, he told a gathering of Gannett circulation men: "There'll always be new opportunities. You should think whether you are doing the kind of job that will make someone think about you if there's another opportunity someplace—and whether you wish to leave where you are for an opportunity elsewhere in our organization. * * *

"As to where and when opportunities will come, time and events will tell. Things can happen fast, as you have seen. There are bound to be openings from time to time. Also, our company is not necessarily through expanding. We are not going to expand just for the sake of expanding. But we can be interested in good newspapers in good communities that fit our type of operation."

The new president, who already had visited each of the 23 Gannett newspapers, has stepped up his rate of travel since April 11. In one 10-day period he visited Plainfield, N. J., and conferred with executives of the Courier-News; addressed an annual dinner of the Niagara Falls Chamber of Commerce; spoke to teen-age correspondents of the Democrat and Chronicle in Rochester, and dined at Ithaca with department heads of the Ithaca Journal before touring the Gannett Medical Center on the Cornell campus.

Miller, son of a Southwestern minister and eldest in a family of 6, began his newspaper career in Oklahoma at 18 as reporter and editor.

After he joined the Associated Press in 1932, he rose swiftly in the worldwide news service. After service in Columbus, Ohio, he joined the AP New York headquarters' foreign desk, then did work on its general news desk.

Miller then successively was night news editor for AP in Kansas City, its key traffic point, and headed its bureaus in Salt Lake City, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia.

Reassigned to New York in 1941, he became executive assistant in charge of promotion and membership and in 1942 took over the AP's large Washington bureau. Shortly afterward, he was made one of the organization's assistant general managers.

In Washington for 5 years he directed national political coverage for Associated Press. This included national political conventions. He was also head of the AP staff covering the United Nations Organizations conference in San Francisco in 1945.

Miller in 1949 represented the American Society of Newspaper Editors at the International Congress of Publishers and Editors in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

In 1950, he was one of a group of American newspapermen visiting Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

In 1951, he and Mrs. Miller were representatives at the centenary celebration of Reuters, British news agency, in London.

At that time, Miller interviewed Dwight D. Eisenhower in Paris on reports that the general might be a candidate for the presidential nomination in 1952.

Miller visited Guatemala in 1954 after the anti-Communist revolution and wrote a series of first-hand reports on the situation. He attended both Democratic and Republican National Conventions in 1952 and 1956.

In September last year, Miller made a flying trip to London and Egypt to study the Suez crisis. He produced from this a series of articles for newspapers of the Gannett group and others.

Miller attended both Oklahoma University and Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. He holds a bachelor of science degree from the latter.

The Whip Versus the Individual

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK IKARD

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, I have had called to my attention a very excellent speech by Alden J. Smith, of Burkburnett, Tex., who is a member of the 4-H Club in the Clara-Fairview community. The title of Alden's speech, which I wish to include in the RECORD, is "The Whip Versus the Individual" and was one of the State 4-H Club winners. This young man has won many honors in his 4-H Club work, in addition to this winning speech, and he deserves a lot of credit for the fine contribution he has made to the 4-H Clubs.

The speech follows:

THE WHIP VERSUS THE INDIVIDUAL

Four thousand years ago you lived and toiled Egyptian slave. Many times your back was bleeding from the whip when you began to falter from lack of nourishment and rest. But you were among the millions who built the mighty pyramids, which still stand today as a monument to your days of toil.

You studied the huge block of stone while hundreds threw their weight against the rope to hoist the great block into place. You knew the rope was weakened from overuse, and you had complained of it to your fellow slaves. But no one would dare stand before the master and ask for a new and safer rope. So you kept quiet and hoped that the rope would hold. But one day the inevitable happened and the rope gave away, and your legs were crushed beneath the huge slab of stone.

Your master was enraged because, in falling, the block had been chipped, and a fine stone was hard to get. He took no notice of your pain; you were one among thousands. So you lay in great agony, watched and pitied by your fellow slaves. You were left a cripple, with no legs, and later died of starvation.

But remember how your brain teemed the rest of your short lived life? There burned within you a desire to gather the people from everywhere and denounce your great injustice.

But even if you had whispered your feelings among your fellow slaves you might have been discovered by a spy and thrown into prison.

You might think it strange I choose you, an Egyptian slave, to be an unknown soldier in the long fight for freedom. But as your legs were being crushed under the massive stone your friends were thinking of your new freedom from the whip. No longer would you be forced to work on the pyramids. You thought that it would not be much longer before all the slaves of Egypt and yes, even the world would be free. However, you died, thinking it was impossible to break away from the whip.

But you were wrong. Down through the ages, man—the Roman slave, the serf of the Middle Ages, the peasants of imperialistic Russia—has revolted against hard masters and slowly man's desires have found ways to express themselves in speech, in written word, in the form of a doctrine. The doctrine that was created for my country is the foundation of my Nation.

That document was the Bill of Rights and under this great declaration the 4-H Club of America was founded.

In your day, slave of Egypt your menace to freedom was the cruel master; today another cruel master is trying in vain to rule our work and capture our minds. That leader with a whip in one hand and a bloody ax in the other is communism.

We should fear the evils of communism as we fear the pains of fire or the remorse of conscience.

While you spread your corruption, hate, and dissension throughout Europe and Asia, your work in our land, the United States of America, will be in vain.

The 4-H Clubs of our State and our Nation stand as a stumbling block on your road to success; 4-H Club members everywhere learn to do by doing, and to use their skill

and initiative is the desire of our leaders and parents. Never shall your tyranny stand in the way of democratic thought and deeds.

For every hog, steer, lamb owned by a 4-H member or for every demonstration given, crop sown, or program presented by the 2 million members means we are taking one step farther away from your worldly dreams and hopes and taking steps closer to the horizon where God, family, friends, and ourselves come before the desires of the State or the Government.

No matter what promises the Communists make to the youth of the world, they can never equal the satisfaction and joy of bringing back to your home and club a first place medal for some project in 4-H. No matter what the Communists utter from their lips, it can never equal the satisfaction we have in our hearts for having done good.

In what other nations could boys and girls have opportunities to exhibit, work, or join together in organization.

Today as our Nation is brought closer to the world by modern transportation, we, the 4-H members are becoming more interested in our friends and fellow members over the world.

Because of war and extreme poverty, many countries today are still suffering from starvation and overburdened land. Although the 4-H members of these countries are working for improvement, much still has to be done.

Last year the 4-H Clubs of Texas sent cattle and farm implements to the youth of Korea for replenishing their nation.

Since World War II, the American 4-H Clubs have cooperated with the Christian Rural Overseas Program in sending dairy and beef cattle to Germany, France, Italy, and Lebanon.

As long as we have organizations like 4-H Clubs spreading peace and good will throughout our land and the world, we shall never have to fear the clutches of communism taking over the minds and souls of our youth.

If you had been born when I was, your legs would not have been crushed under that slab of stone. Now Egyptian slave, you are wondering what is the name of this great country which has an organization that could have helped stop your legs from being crushed and kept you from dying of starvation.

What is the name of this organization and its country? They are, Egyptian slave, the United States of America and her greatest organization of youth, the 4-H Clubs of America.

Vacancies on International Fisheries Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I say "amen" to the suggestion contained in this editorial of the Fishermen's News regarding appointment of experienced commercial fishermen to positions on commissions having to do with the welfare of the industry. Perhaps, by including the article with these brief remarks, it will reach an eye, or ear, of some appropriate official. If so, and if the idea were followed, I would say merit and justice have their place—even in politics.

The editorial follows:

LET'S INCLUDE FISHERMEN

The two existing vacancies on the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission leaves the Eisenhower administration once again in a position where they can follow the trend of appointing active commercial fishermen or their representatives to these vital bodies.

It was the Eisenhower administration which began this trend with the appointment of Capt. Matt Madsen of the fishing vessel *Eileen* to the International Pacific Fisheries Commission.

This publication has long felt and long advocated the desirability of including at least one member of the commercial fishing segment on the various regulatory commissions.

The Case of the Missing Millions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, Edward P. Morgan, noted news commentator for the American Broadcasting Co., has long been known as a forthright commentator on important issues of the day. Characteristically, Mr. Morgan has not been hesitant to speak out on the Hells Canyon case.

During his radio broadcast of Tuesday, June 25, Mr. Morgan reflected at some length on the private power groups' propaganda activities. I believe these comments are timely and ask that they be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The text follows:

One of the handicaps which supporters of public power projects are working under is the fact that they don't seem to be able to generate what Broadway and Hollywood call good "box office" for their cause. They are forever careening off on technical tangents or slogging through swamps of figures leaving the public far behind. The nearest they've come to box office so far was in the maiden speech in the Senate last week of Idaho's freshman Senator, 32-year-old FRANK CHURCH. If he's not careful, the tall, boyishly handsome national oratorical champion from Boise may develop into something of a legislative matinee idol. He made an impressive speech on the Hells Canyon controversy which may or may not have had something to do with the fact that the Senate 2 days later surprisingly passed a bill to build a big Hells Canyon Dam on the Snake River in the Pacific Northwest. But young CHURCH'S fine forensics came late in a sultry afternoon, and made no headline splash outside of his home area. Besides a private utility, Idaho Power Co., has already been given a go-ahead by the Government and is now constructing two small Hells Canyon dams; prospects of getting this work supplanted by a Federal project are remote.

It is tempting to conclude that one of the reasons the Idaho Power Co. has made such progress so far is that the private utilities, with the help of some smart advertising consultants, do know how to create good box office. In a national magazine the other day I came upon a full-page ad showing a cat sitting in an open, empty safe. This layout was called, intriguingly, The Case of the Missing Millions. It contained only 127 words of copy, simply written, as follows:

"Millions of tax dollars are lost every year through a strange kind of tax favoritism," it ran, "and you are taxed extra to help balance the loss.

"As a customer of an independent electric light and power company, about 23 cents out of every dollar you pay for electricity goes for taxes. But because of present tax laws, people served by Federal Government power systems escape paying most of the taxes in their electric bills that you pay in yours. They pay taxes of only about 4 cents per dollar on power from the Government's TVA, for example. So to make up for the tax revenues which Federal power projects don't pay, you have to be taxed more.

"Don't you think that every American should carry his fair share of taxes?" The ad was signed "America's Independent Electric Light & Power Cos."

Well, fellows, I'm glad you asked that question. This implies, no doubt, that you are preparing to refund to the Government the billions you have been saved by special tax treatment which the rest of us didn't get. In this fast tax writeoffs, for example. One of the world's foremost electrical engineers, Dr. Comfort A. Adams, former dean of the Harvard School of Engineering, recently calculated in a letter to President Eisenhower that these fast writeoffs to utilities have by accumulation cost the Government some $150 million more than the entire 2½ billion that the Government has invested in all water power projects in the land.

Another interesting tidbit emerges from a report by G. O. Wessenauer, power manager for TVA, who says "looking only at TVA, the Federal Government has received more net financial gain from this public power system than it would have received in Federal income taxes from privately owned utilities with similar revenues," and he cites substantiating figures.

Then there is the report of the Bonneville Administration which states that as of June 30, 1956, just 18 years after Bonneville Dam on the Columbia started to produce electricity, 41½ percent of its capital investment for power production had been repaid to the United States Treasury; and the payments are some $77 million ahead of schedule.

I guess there wasn't room for all this stuff in the ad the private utility companies put in the magazines. It's too bad though because they could have used the same caption, "The Case of the Missing Millions."

No Man Is an Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following commencement address by Leon E. Hickman, vice president and general counsel of the Aluminum Company of America, whom I have known for a long time as a personal friend in whose judgment I have confidence and trust.

This commencement address was delivered at the 73d commencement of South Dakota School of Mines and Technology on June 7, 1957. Mr. Hickman is to be complimented on this real contribution to our United States economic and educational fields.

No Man Is an Island

(A commencement address)

I shall confine myself to a discussion of a few of the basic characteristics in business organizations of any size. It is my hope that what I shall say will help you to understand the origins of such organizations, their social and economic functions and something of the pressures under which they work. In the light of such data and your own experience, each of you young people can then determine for yourself the extent to which you are willing to build your life into one of these organizations.

The first characteristic common to all businesses, large and small, is that they grew to their present stature in the course of serving a public need. It is not the other way around, the advertising industry to the contrary, notwithstanding. There has to be a nationwide demand for a product before a company can grow to national size to serve that demand. When the demand shrinks or disappears, the companies serving it shrink or disappear with it. The carriagemaker, the blacksmith, the iceman, all illustrate the point. Of the 100 largest industrial corporations of 50 years ago, only 29 are still in that category; and today's list is studded with companies and industries that were small or nonexistent 50 years ago. No company has grown to regional or national stature except as it has served a market or met a need of comparable size.

It is also noteworthy that, as markets have grown, the share that any one company can serve has usually shrunk. Our markets are simply too big and complex for one company to excel all others.

By way of example, 50 years ago the United States Steel Corp. produced 67 percent of all the steel that was made in this country. Today its production is only 29 percent to 30 percent of the total, despite the fact that this great company has almost quadrupled its tonnage capacity over that period in its effort to serve its market. My own company, the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa), served 90 percent of the aluminum market prior to World War II. Today that share is not over 40 percent although it has more than quadrupled its productive capacity within the last 20 years. Fifty years ago the assets of the United States Steel Corp. accounted for 22 percent of all the assets of the 100 largest industrial corporations. Today its assets are only 4 percent of that total. That story repeats itself throughout all large organizations. The markets and the needs of the American people are growing faster than any one company can possibly grow to meet them.

This is graphically shown in large foreign operations such as Middle-Eastern oil, Venezuelan or Canadian iron ore, where the sums involved are so great, and on occasion the risks so extraordinary, that the resources of a number of our great corporations are required to handle a single foreign venture.

Scientific and technical research is another field in which the demands upon capital, brains, and man hours are so great that only an organized pooling of resources can do the job. Atomic energy could have been developed in no other way, likewise our advance in electronics. As a consequence of the scope and complexity of such problems, 75 percent of the current research effort of the Nation is directed by business corporations.

The truth of the matter is that the size of a business corporation is determined more by the investment and technology needed to serve its market than by any other factor. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co., which maintains world-wide communications, has assets four times those of du Pont, our largest chemical firm, principally because the telephone company has four times as big a job to do. However, du Pont has more assets than the largest tire company, soap company, paper company, airline, meat packer, and many others, reflecting again the size of the market to be served.

We all yearn for yesterday's individualism that led our grandfathers to the small family farms, the corner grocery store and the small manufacturing enterprises where goods were produced item by item, without regard to hours of labor. The 5 day, 40 hour workweek was not even a conversation piece in those days. Yet that society, where each family sought and to some extent achieved a relative independence of everyone else, could not possibly produce or market the telephone, the automobile, the paved road, the power plant, the chemicals, the widely used metals, the refrigerator, radio, television or airplane. Each is necessarily the product of multiple brains and hands and of capital resources beyond the means of any one individual or group. Hence the inevitable development of the large corporations which are so characteristic of the economy in which you are soon to play a part.

A second characteristic of our large corporations is that they have become public institutions. They correctly so conduct themselves and are so regarded because, more than any other factor, they control the living standards of the Nation, the working conditions of its people, the security of its aged population.

Such corporations conduct their operations in a goldfish bowl and properly so. The wages these companies pay have a community impact, and consequently they are negotiated in public, the results a matter of general knowledge and comment. The prices at which they sell, their profits margins, are matters of general interest and information. Those companies which are large enough to be listed on a stock exchange or which solicit proxies through the mail, are required to make public detailed information concerning salaries, sales, earnings, and other significant developments. But most go far beyond the requirements of any law and issue annual reports, quarterly statements, and press releases which proceed on the premises that the public has a right to know the innermost workings of such companies and that the more that is known, the better.

The big company also assumes public responsibilities as a matter of course. Corporate contributions to our colleges and to able students have increased tremendously in the last 10 years. Every drive for funds for any public enterprise proceeds on the premise that the large corporations in the community will assume a generous role, both for contributions and personnel. Today's corporation which has achieved a regional or national stature accepts basic responsibilities with respect to housing, schooling, and municipal development. This is not because 1 or 2 men or a few companies have willed it so; rather, it stems from the fact that these companies that serve large markets so profoundly affect the well-being of so many people that they are recognized as public institutions and act the part.

The third characteristic of the large business enterprise of today is that it is essentially a partnership. I would have been cashiered out of my law school for describing a corporate organization as a partnership, for the legal consequences of the two are quite different. But socially and economically a corporation is a partnership of diverse talents, no more, no less. The engineer, the geologist, the metallurgist, the scientist, the banker, the accountant, the salesman, and sometimes the lawyer, all cooperate in producing and marketing a common product beyond the talents of any one of them.

The large corporation is also a partnership of capital, because no one family or individual can possibly supply its need for capital. The shareholders of General Motors Corp., for example, have made a net investment after depreciation of almost $4,600,000,000. This investment has been made by no less than 656,000 people, the shareholders of the company. The American Telephone & Telegraph Co. requires a net investment of over $16 billion, and this amount of money has been furnished by nearly 1,500,000 individuals and companies. General Electric Co. is owned by 362,000 shareholders, United States Steel by 308,000, Du Pont by 168,000, and my own company, Alcoa, much smaller, by 27,000 individuals. Were it not for such partnership in investment, each of these companies would fail for lack of capital. In very few of these large enterprises does any one individual own a significant portion of the company. These corporations have become public institutions.

Needing the capital of many people, these large corporations have done everything possible to make it easy to become a partner in the ownership of their business. Most of them list their securities on a stock exchange where the price can be ascertained and a purchase or sale made in a moment at a price which freely reflects the law of supply and demand. The stock of most of the others of regional or national stature is traded almost as easily in the over-the-counter market through recognized brokerage houses. Practically all large companies publish detailed statistical accounts of their sales, earnings, and business prospects. One of the deeply significant developments of our emerging capitalism is the growing public participation in the ownership of these great companies.

Our 20th-century corporations are even more obviously partnerships of people. It takes 787,000 to staff the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. General Motors requires 600,000 employees, General Electric 280,000, United States Steel 260,000, du Pont 100,000, and my own company 60,000. Within those numbers are skills of every sort, engineers, scientists, salesmen, accountants, indeed every variety of talent of which the human mind is capable. No one man nor group of men can fully comprehend the ramifications of any of these companies. By way of comparison, the population of the entire State of South Dakota over 21 years of age is 400,000, and this includes women as well as men.

You have a direct interest in this cooperative aspect of our business organizations because each of you are soon to join one of them. Our business community makes it easy for you to become a member, because these economic partnerships desperately need a constant flow of new talent. The graduating classes of schools such as this are sought with an eagerness that would do credit to a fraternity rush or a football talent scout. Once you enroll, you are customarily further trained on the job until each of you is in a position to make his maximum contribution.

It is at this point that the critic of the corporate organization takes hold. How can one individual possibly find independence and consequently satisfaction in working as a part of one of these vast teams? It is obvious that even though one rises high in the ranks of such an enterprise, the individual is not likely to be more than one of several who participate in any significant decision. What satisfaction is there in that?

I confess that I do not share the difficulty. I have felt no sense of frustration because my legal judgments are not ends in them-

selves but only guides to a salesman or a plant manager who charts his course in part on my advice and in part on the basis of other considerations. I must admit that I find some satisfaction in playing a significant part in a team effort that can and does produce results which neither I nor any other individual could ever achieve by himself.

Two world wars and some lesser military engagements of fairly serious proportion have taught us that no nation is strong enough or wise enough to build a fence around itself and live alone. That didn't work even in Tibet. Quite possibly it is only an act of supreme egotism to believe that one can or should find his way through life unaided and by his own efforts. None of us have lived on that basis to date; why believe that is so desirable? There may be no little truth in Harry Emerson Fosdick's observation that, "No man is the whole of himself; his friends are the rest of him." My personal philosophy is based upon the premise that the human race advances only through cooperative effort and that it is not man's role to stalk the stage alone. If that basic philosophy be true, a corporate system in which men band together in the organized pursuit of a common goal beyond the capacity of any one of them is a good one.

The partnership of people in our large organizations has two noteworthy characteristics, inequality of contribution but equality of opportunity. People who buy shares of ownership in a corporation buy different amounts and profit in proportion to their ownership. The individuals who become members of the organization and work on its projects, make differing contributions, depending upon circumstances and their varying abilities. Each is rewarded differently, presumably in a manner corresponding to his contribution.

And there is more equality of opportunity in today's corporate partnerships than ever before. As markets, industries, and companies have become larger, the bigger companies have grown beyond the control of any one individual, family, or group. As a result a managerial team has developed within the ranks. Most corporations promote from within and all prefer to do so when circumstances permit. It would be fatuous to say that every man has an opportunity to become the head of his company, and yet the fact cannot be gainsaid that the top management of nearly all of our big companies is composed of men who started at the bottom, without influence, and frequently without the education that is yours. In my judgment, American corporate life is more of a democracy and presents more unfettered opportunity for advancement than ever before in our history.

A fourth point to be borne in mind is the interdependence of businesses, large and small one upon the other. The company of which I am a part, Alcoa, is a fully integrated manufacturer of aluminum products. It is not only a partnership within itself—comprised of 60,000 workers and 27,000 owners—but it depends upon no less than 20,000 companies to supply it with raw materials. Eighty-three percent of these suppliers are business concerns with less than 500 employees. In turn, 12,500 other companies depend upon Alcoa in whole or in part for their aluminum. It is also fair to say that Alcoa is as dependent upon its sources of supply and its customers as they are upon it. These companies, both supplier and purchaser, are of all sizes.

The automobile industry illustrates this interdependence even more graphically. The cars that are parked around this building are made by five large domestic manufacturers. These automotive companies make more than 6 million cars a year. It takes over a million men and women to operate these companies. While each of the five auto companies manufactures many of its own automotive parts, it buys portions of its requirements from scores of thousands of parts suppliers. No small part of the production of the glass and rubber industries is devoted to the automobile industry. To sell the automobiles requires several dealers in practically every city and village in this Nation. More than that, every crossroads needs its garage and filling station. Consider also the interrelationship between the automobile companies and the oil industry and the roadbuilding business.

There is no escape from the fact that products that must be mass-produced for a national market have got to be made by large companies. A small company could do it only by becoming large. But the automobile manufacturers are no more vital to the success of the automotive industry than the thousands of concerns, large and small, which supply the parts or the scores of thousands of dealers, garages, and filling stations which sell and service the cars. To argue otherwise would be as though one were to distinguish between parts of the human body and say that the leg was important but the hand was not, that the heart mattered but the lungs did not. There can be no basic conflict between large and small business. Each is indispensable to the other and to the Nation.

A basic characteristic of our business community is that it is the servant but not the master of the people. A company lives and grows only as it serves its customers. More than that, it must satisfy the community of which it is a part that it is a constructive factor in community life, be it housing, personnel or civic projects. It must satisfy the people who work for it, not only in the matter of wages and salaries but in working conditions which make for a full life. It must treat equitably those who supply it with materials. And it must deliver to its customers good products at fair prices.

Let it fail in any of these areas and public retribution is swift and often vengeful. This is particularly true of big business, which is a fair target for every current complaint, real or imaginary. A corporation doesn't vote, does it? And usually it doesn't talk back, a mistaken attitude.

Corporations in the sense of legal entities separate from those who own them, have been known since the days of Babylon. Until modern times they were the grant of a sovereign or a legislature, commonly to a favorite and quite as often for a monopolistic as for a public purpose. The business corporation, as we know it today, available to anyone on terms spelled out in advance by our State legislatures, is only a little more than a hundred years old. Under the early statutes, corporations had all of the freedom of the individual. They have tended to lose that freedom as the public has moved in to curb abuses or grievances, and frequently to enact a dogma or a nostrum in current fashion. The railroads largely lost their right of self-management by the passage of the Interstate Commerce Commission Act in 1887, a legislative judgment of the American people that some of the railroads were not proceeding in the public interest. Public utility holding companies were destroyed by legislative action in 1935 as a direct response to the useless pyramiding of public utilities and the sale of their securities at inflated values in the late 1920's. The hindsight of the 1930's also led to the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 as a means of permanently controlling corporate financing in the public interest. The current pressure for an act forbidding corporate mergers without prior notification to the Government stems primarily from a feeling widely held that mergers are currently being pushed too fast and for too little reason. When the public became convinced that our automobile manufacturers were forcing dealers to take cars in numbers which were unreasonable, the result was legislation which, in effect, deprived the automobile companies of their right to terminate dealerships under the terms of a private contract. It is somewhat shocking to a lawyer trained 30 years ago to learn that Congress can now constitutionally pass a law forbidding one who employs an agent from terminating that agency in accordance with contract terms. The principle could be extended to the destruction of much of our system of distribution. It is a classic example of a hard case making bad law. But it is also a prime example of the fact that business organizations, of which you are soon to become a part, can function only to the extent and only so long as they enjoy the public favor.

Every man entering the employment of a business organization should assume his share of responsibility for seeing to it that his company operates in a manner that is equitable to suppliers, to distributors, to customers, to the people who work for it, to its owners and to the communities in which it functions. You will not serve your company well unless you are thoughtful and articulate to the management of your company on these matters. I predict that you will be amazed at how sensitive most corporate managements are in these areas.

The vulnerability of the business community to public judgments—as well as whims and prejudices—makes it equally subject to predatory raids upon its property and essential prerogatives. These you should be vigilant to sense and resist. The field of taxation is an important example. Every dollar that is taken away from business organizations in taxes is taken either from the owners of the business or from their customers, and distributed for the benefit of someone else. These projects may be in the public interest but they are all too frequently simply a device for taking property from one group for the benefit of another.

Those who do not understand the interrelationship of large and small business and who regard every small business as an unfairly stunted giant, frequently advocate a graduated corporate income tax as a means of leveling off the size of businesses. Such a proposal is now pending in the Congress. Were it to be adopted, large corporations would have no choice but to dismember themselves into smaller units so that they might preserve an equality of taxation. The result would inevitably be a curtailment of the ability to serve and, all too soon, a curtailment in the living standards of the nation.

Then there are those misguided people who believe that we should turn the clock back by abolishing large enterprise altogether. There is pending before the Congress at this moment a misnamed Free Economic Development Act of 1957. In effect it would adopt the prima facie premise that any corporation having over $10 million worth of assets was not in the public interest and should be broken up. It would create a board of five members empowered to do that very thing unless a corporation of greater size could affirmatively justify its existence to the satisfaction of these five political appointees. If I am right that corporations are big only when they have a big job to do, and that their size is a measure of that job and of their ability to do it, such measures as I have been describing are wholly destructive.

Our 20th century corporate organization is an effective blending of cooperation and competition. It is built on individual achievement and rewards within a framework that recognizes the need for organization teamwork to produce results otherwise impossible.

Cooperative effort has long been the dream of man. The first settlement at Jamestown experimented with a communal form of organization in which everything was shared equally. The same form of cooperative society was tried in many communities, particularly in New York and Pennsylvania, in the mid-19th century, although one of the most successful was at Amana, Iowa. But in the end they all failed, not because man was wrong in his dream that we must work together and share, but because the incentive to work and to contribute to the enterprise was destroyed by the fact that each shared equally although he may have contributed quite unequally.

European socialism is withering on the vine for the same reason. It is all well and good for the State to control production and distribution in the interests of society at large, but unless some way is found to reward individual effort and achievement a worker has no incentive to do his best, indeed every inducement to do his least, if not his worst. Communism is foundering on the same lack of incentive. The American cooperatives have achieved a limited success in the marketing of certain seasonal products but none at all in other fields, and for much the same reason.

But in our mid-20th century corporate society we have blended cooperation and competition with uniquely successful results. Perhaps in part we have stumbled upon the blend by accident but it is nonetheless valuable. Thousands of us buy a partial ownership in the same company, and thereby put it in funds to do its task, but we share the fruits of that investment in exact proportion to our unequal contributions. Likewise, those who contribute their time, effort and brains are paid individually according to a competitive estimate of their contribution to the corporation's success. This appraisal may be unjust, it may be inaccurate—it occasionally is—but it is made competitively and, broadly speaking, the rewards are in proportion to the contribution.

If it be true, as I verily believe, that we have in today's capitalism a melding of individual and group effort which gives us unprecedented wages, production, and consumer values, we ought to guard it carefully. It has been wisely said that economic stability is a better peacemaker and peacekeeper than all the diplomats and generals who ever wrote or broke a treaty. Our corporate society needs correction from time to time to keep it attuned to changing circumstances. But let it not be eroded or destroyed by uninformed or inflamed public judgments, by predatory attacks, by a mistaken nostalgia for a simple agrarian society that we would not want if it were available. Nor do I overlook the peril of abuses from within the business world itself. As counsellors and as watchmen within your respective companies young people can do much to keep your segment of the business community attuned to its responsibilities.

And what of a young person's personal philosophy as he embarks upon this great adventure into the business world? I think the answer was given by John Donne more than 300 years ago with a poignancy and a beauty never equalled. It was he who said:

"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Great News for the Kremlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on June 19, 1957, entitled "Great News for the Kremlin":

[From the St. Louis Globe Democrat of June 19, 1957]

GREAT NEWS FOR THE KREMLIN

The Supreme Court is making it virtually impossible to convict Communists.

In a second precedent-shattering decision, the Court ruled on Monday that mere preaching abstractly the forcible overthrow of the Government, under the 1940 anti-Communist act, is not a crime.

The distinction they made between advocacy of forcible overthrow as an abstract doctrine and advocacy of action to that end, is too subtle a distinction for all except the academician.

What in heaven's name does the Supreme Court thinks the Communists are doing when they advocate forcible overthrow of the Government? This is not a classroom exercise for them nor an abstract problem that will never be faced. They are training men and women as future revolutionists who, they hope, will someday put into practice the things they are being taught today.

The entire theory of the fight against anticommunism in the United States has been to catch the mastermind. Dozens, hundreds, or even thousands of small-fry Communists have been kept under surveillance by the FBI and allowed to go about their business in the hope of involving the higher-ups.

Now the Supreme Court says that only the triggermen are vulnerable; only, in effect, a sound motion picture of the act of revolution can convict, while the calculating genius goes scot free.

In the Nuremberg trials, we followed exactly the opposite theory. The United States and our allies sought to convict the Goebbels, the Goerings and the like and let off, virtually unharmed, the degenerate beasts of the prison camps who carried out the orders of the high command.

In warfare, it is the generals and admirals who are held accountable, not the private soldier. The Supreme Court would reverse all that.

This recent decision, coupled with the one several weeks ago directing law enforcement agencies to turn over their files for examination to the defendant, are all and more than the Kremlin could hope for.

In international law, since the beginning of time, nations have been given greater rights in defending their integrity and sovereignty than has been given individuals or corporations.

Treason is defined as a greater crime than murder because treason implies the murder of hundreds or thousands, not the murder of one or a few.

Congress is understandably shocked at what Senator EASTLAND said was the undermining of our existing barriers against Communist subversion. More than ever is there need for vigilance now that our highest court takes the direction of protecting conspirators against our national safety.

The leftists and the so-called liberals hail the Supreme Court decision as a great triumph for the individual. We see it as quite the reverse. Until the United States and other nations of the free world can effectively defend themselves from attack from traitors from within or without, the very liberties of all the people which the Supreme Court has gone to such excessive lengths to defend are more greatly menaced than at any time in our history.

Syracuse Amateur Radio Operators Boost Morale of Antarctica Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the requirements of maintaining the security of our Nation have necessarily resulted in the assignment of American service personnel in lands and bases far from the United States.

Some of these units are large, and others are small, such as the contingent of 315 men at bases in Antarctica. No doubt there are times when our service forces may feel that their fellow citizens have forgotten about them and the rigorous duties to which they have been assigned.

I merely want to call attention today to one group of citizens who live in my home county who are carrying on a service that has been a tremendous morale booster to our forces stationed in the remote regions of the South Pole.

The following news story details the activities of the Radio Amateurs of Greater Syracuse:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., June 7, 1957]

HAMS KEEP MEN AT POLE IN CONTACT WITH FAMILIES

To 315 men at the 7 United States bases in Antarctica, the name RAGS connotes a warm oasis in a frigid expanse of desolation.

The RAGS are a group of amateur radio operators in North Syracuse who tend the night watch at shortwave radio sets in the cellar of the home of their chairman, Paul Blum.

The cellar is the operational "shack" of the Radio Amateurs of Greater Syracuse. A little over a year ago Mr. Blum and his organization joined with the American Red Cross to form the Morale Message Service Center. The Red Cross teletype network brings messages from across the Nation to Syracuse for relay by RAGS to men in the Antarctic. Messages from the bottom of the world received by RAGS are put on the Red Cross network here for transmission to relatives.

Since their first transmission on May 1, 1956, informing a Deep Freeze sailor of the birth of a son, the RAGS have processed more than 7,000 messages to and from the men at the earth's southern extremity.

From the message service, the RAGS have expanded to break other communication barriers. In addition to the exchange of messages, they operate Operation Facsimile, Operation Baby, Operation Greeting, and the RAGS soon will embark on Operation Baby Face.

On May 5, Mr. Blum and his associates became the first amateurs to complete a transmission to the Antarctic of a page of pictures, comics, greeting cards, and news stories.

Now Little America and McMurdo Sound Base receive the Antarctic edition of the Syracuse Herald-Journal, put together twice a week by the Herald-Journal staff. The transmissions are made on equipment similar to that used by the Navy in the International Geophysical Year operation.

As an offshoot of the facsimile work, the RAGS soon will embark on Operation Baby Face.

Whereas messages were used to notify new fathers of additional dependents, now the RAGS will insert pictures of the infants in the Antarctic edition so that the papas can see their offspring.

Only once have the RAGS been rebuked by their friends 8,000 miles away. That came May 7 when an Associated Press wirephoto of a pretty young thing was marred by a necessitated code signal. The signal, in compliance with FCC regulations, resulted in a black line through the face and form of the charmer.

"We'll never forgive you, Paul," the receiving operator said. "You have blackened that doll's face."

Chances are, however, that Mr. Blum and his gang will be forgiven. Even straight lines on bathing beauties look good to men living in the world's biggest icebox.

That the People May Know About Our Nation's Missile Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues are already aware of my concern that Secretary of Defense Wilson's prohibition against continuance of the Army in the field of the intermediate-range ballistic missile may jeopardize our country's position in this critical area of national defense. This is a field where the Soviet is making a supreme effort. The Army, with its Redstone arsenal, its Aberdeen ordnance facilities and Werner von Braun's world-famed group of German rocket scientists has the most successful rocket-development team in the world.

Neither Air Force ambitions to drive the Army out of the IRBM field, nor General Motors ambition to monopolize missile production should be allowed to imperil our Nation's defense.

In this morning's Washington Post is a column by Drew Pearson which exposes some of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering and casts some light on the Nickerson case. I recommend it to your consideration.

The column follows:

PENTAGON PERIL FACES NEWSMEN

(By Drew Pearson)

Ike's Commission on Government Security has now recommended that a newsman who publishes secret data shall be jailed for 5 years and fined $5,000. Yet last winter when this writer voluntarily asked the Defense Department which portions of a guided missiles memo could or could not be published without risk to the Nation, the document was confiscated.

The incident helped to touch off the current court-martial of Col John Nickerson at Huntsville, Ala., a very fine officer whom I had never met and who was not the source of the secret memo. This is why my junior partner, Jack Anderson, was originally called to Huntsville to testify.

The incident also illustrates how a newsman is between the devil and the deep blue sea. If he doesn't consult the Pentagon, he may, under the new Ike-Commission rules, go to jail. If he does consult the Pentagon, his information is confiscated and a possible source of that information court-martialed.

A newspaperman has a moral obligation to keep the public informed. He especially has an obligation to inform the public regarding a weapon vital to the defense of the Nation which appears to be the object of a battle by big business.

The public has a right to know, for instance, when Secretary Wilson's former company, General Motors, together with Douglas Aircraft and Bell Telephone want to control guided missile production through the Air Force; while Chrysler, rival of GM, and Minneapolis Honeywell favor the Army's side.

MISSILE PRODUCTION

With the possibility that airplanes may fade out as weapons in favor of guided missiles, the combine that controls guided missiles will dominate defense production in the future. This is something that should not be a military secret.

According to Colonel Nickerson, in his secret memo:

"The aircraft industry, and particularly the Douglas Aircraft Co., openly oppose the development of any missile by a Government agency. High officials of the Douglas Company have stated that Douglas is paying particular attention to the possibility of killing off the operation at Huntsville, Ala."

It was last November 26 that Secretary of Defense Wilson sided with Douglas Aircraft, the Air Force, and his own former company, to rule that the Army at Huntsville must quit producing the medium-range ballistic missile. This put Chrysler and Minneapolis Honeywell, plus the Army out of virtually all missile work and concentrated it with the Air Force and friends: Douglas, A. C. Spark-plug Division of General Motors, and Bell Telephone. Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald Quarles is a former official of a Bell telephone subsidiary.

NICKERSON VIEWS

To illustrate some of the things the public has a right to know about, there follow some of Colonel Nickerson's conclusions:

"The Wilson memorandum (banning the Army from intermediate ballistic missile production) is a broad denial to the Army of essential tools for modern warfare * * *.

"The Wilson memorandum is solely an expression of Air Force views backed up by Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff * * *.

"The Secretary of the United States Air Force has recently recommended in writing the discontinuance of the IRBM No. 2 (Jupiter) program at Huntsville, Ala. The present Secretary of the United States Air Force, Mr. Donald Quarles, is one of the leading contenders for Secretary of Defense.

"The Douglas Aircraft-Bell Telephone Laboratory is urgently needed to develop a defense against the Soviet ICBM's (Intercontinental ballistic missile traveling 5,000 miles). The Army IRBM (intermediate range traveling 1,500 miles) is not versed in antiaircraft missiles. Douglas is not experienced in ballistic missiles. It is poor management to discontinue development of IRBM by an experienced team and take the experienced antiaircraft team needed for the anti-ICBM development and put it on the development of an IRBM. This action is even worse because the antiaircraft team is not experienced in ballistic missiles."

American Committee on Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from the noted American writer John Gunther, author of Inside Africa and several other books, inviting me and other Members of Congress to join the American Committee on Africa. This is a nonpartisan group of Americans seeking to help the African peoples to achieve their national independence, as well as the fulfillment of their aspirations for justice and equality.

I am glad to associate myself with this worthy cause. I believe it is in the best interests of the United States, as the moral leader of the free nations, to espouse the cause of freedom for the people of Africa so that they may become linked with us in the struggle of the free world against Communist oppression.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert Mr. Gunther's letter into the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The letter follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *June 24, 1957.*

The Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANFUSO: It has become increasingly clear in the past few years that events now occurring throughout the great continent of Africa will have a tremendous influence on the survival of freedom in the world. Now in political flux, several of Africa's emerging states have not yet made their decisions concerning their future role on the world scene. The direction in which Africa goes will be of tremendous importance to the world. Its strategic position, vast supplies of untapped raw materials, and population of 200 million make Africa perhaps the decisive continent. It is my conviction that our Nation and our people, if they are sufficiently aware and well informed, can do a great deal to influence the direction in which the nations of Africa will go.

In order to help convey the significance of this historic ferment throughout the African Continent, I have become associated with the American Committee on Africa. This organization in the past 2 years has been the

central agency for accurate and up-to-date information on African affairs. It is also the force seeking an American policy toward Africa designed to help the African peoples achieve national independence, justice, and equality.

Throughout Africa, the committee is regarded as the representative of those Americans who sympathize with these historic drives. Petitioners from African trust territories seek the aid of the committee in making their pleas before the United Nations. Religious, political, professional, and labor groups, representing legitimate and democratic African aspirations, constantly seek and receive various forms of assistance from the committee.

The committee has since its inception 2 years ago provided financial aid to Father Trevor Huddleston's churches in South Africa to enable them to defy the racist bans and has recently organized a defense fund for the victims of the infamous mass treason trials in South Africa. It called together the celebration for Ghana's independence, attended by several thousand people, at New York's Town Hall and contributed to a free-trade-union institute in Ghana. Space prevents a more lengthy exposition of the committee's activities.

I feel that, in the interests of American security and world peace and freedom, United States policy must be more enlightened in respect to Africa. We must stand unequivocally for African freedom, or we betray our own. The American Committee on Africa is an instrument of substantial potential in achieving such a policy. I am, therefore, asking you to join me as a member of the organization's national committee and thus to underscore our view that a broad and representative section of American leadership subscribes to the goals of national independence, justice, and freedom for the African people. We are a nonpartisan group of Americans drawing our leadership from all groups within the community but excluding antidemocratic elements of both the right and left.

I look forward eagerly to your affirmative reply. For your convenience, a reply card and envelope are enclosed.

Sincerely,

JOHN GUNTHER.

Senate Action on Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most astute observers of the Hells Canyon fight has been Thomas L. Stokes, nationally syndicated columnist. His intelligent commentaries on this case have done much to inform the American people of some of the highly suspect actions perpetrated.

I am certain that Mr. Stokes' column of June 26 will be of interest to my colleagues in the House and I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

The article follows:

SENATE ACTION ON HELLS CANYON—ACTION FOR SINGLE HIGH DAM VIEWED AS UPSETTING POWER MACHINATIONS

If you know what's been going on behind the sleek, shiny front of Eisenhower administration "peace, prosperity, and social welfare," there is ironic justice in the administration's defeat by the Senate and its Democrats on the Hells Canyon Dam issue.

For this exposes to public view the behind-the-scene machinations by the administration, and for the second time on a big scale, to hand over valuable natural resources to politically powerful utility interests. The attempt in this case is to turn over this last biggest undeveloped waterpower site on the continent—this one located in the Pacific Northwest—to a private corporation, the Idaho Power Co., of Augusta, Maine.

The other case was, of course, the notorious Dixon-Yates scheme designed to destroy the great TVA in the Southeast.

The pattern is similar in two ways. For one thing, the administration was severely rebuked in both attempted raids on the public domain that belongs to all of us. In Dixon-Yates, it confessed its own guilt by canceling the contract. Now, in Hells Canyon, the Senate, in a clear affirmation of majority public opinion in the Pacific Northwest, has voted to authorize the Federal Government to build one high dam at Hells Canyon in the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon border. That is in keeping with the Army engineers' plan for integrated development of the great Columbia River system, in contrast with the three small dams proposed by the Idaho Power Co., which already has started work under license by the Federal Power Commission.

For another similarity in Dixon-Yates and Hells Canyon, there are the snide, sneaky, backstairs methods that have been revealed in congressional investigations.

Since Congress still have a way to correct the wrong done in the Hells Canyon case through House passage of the bill which was approved a few days ago by the Senate, it seems timely to take a look at the behind-the-scenes maneuvers, all of which are documented.

Dixon-Yates first. That starts with the Detroit banker, Joseph W. Dodge, Director of the Budget early in the first Eisenhower administration. He wanted a complete change of Government water resource policy so that TVA and eventually other huge public multipurpose projects would be turned over to private utility combines—though that was no more his business than it is the business of your Uncle Dudley.

One day he was talking to a friend, George D. Woods, chairman of the First Boston Corp., about his plan. Woods had just the man to draft his plan, one of First Boston's own men by the name of Adolphe Wenzell. So Wenzell came to Washington, drew up an overall plan and then another which would be the first step to take care of TVA. That was the scheme to contract with a couple of big utility magnates with southern holdings doing business at 2 Rector Street, New York, Edgar H. Dixon and Eugene A. Yates. They would build a plant of their own in West Memphis, Ark., and produce power that would be sold to TVA, an entering wedge, supposedly to compensate for power TVA would furnish to the Atomic Energy Commission at Paducah, Ky. When you devise such a devious scheme—you can be sure there is something fishy.

There was. But did the public know anything about it? No—not for several months. Then Senator LISTER HILL, Democrat, of Alabama, a sponsor of TVA, exposed in a Senate speech how Wenzell was involved. An investigation conducted by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, showed that Wenzell was a consultant of the Budget Bureau and, at the same time, working for First Boston Corp., which was doing the financing for the Dixon-Yates scheme. That is known as conflict of interest. It is against the law. You never saw so much scurrying around in the administration, and wringing of hands in righteous indignation, which ended up by the Government canceling the contract it had originated.

Now for Hells Canyon. The opening scene is the Office of Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, himself from the Pacific Northwest, from Oregon. The time—early in the Eisenhower administration. On his desk before him is a paper he has prepared to back up a memorandum that his predecessor in the Truman administration, Secretary Oscar Chapman, had submitted to the Federal Power Commission. It recommended one high Federal dam at Hells Canyon as the way to develop the full potential there, as found by the Army Engineers. The telephone rings. The White House calling—Mr. Sherman Adams, the President's alter ego. He instructed Secretary McKay to withdraw the Chapman memorandum, which would be notice that the new administration supported the Idaho Power Co. proposal. Douglas McKay put down the phone, reached for his paper, tore it into little pieces and threw it away.

The Congressional Quarterly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD a letter of June 20, 1957, from Thomas N. Schroth, executive editor of the Congressional Quarterly news features, which is in answer to the criticism I have directed against the impartiality and authoritativeness of this publication.

I was in error, as pointed out by Mr. Schroth, concerning rollcalls 22 and 23. The Congressional Quarterly did list both of these votes. The rest of the matter can be left to the judgment of the people who read my basic criticism and the reply Mr. Schroth has made:

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY,
NEWS FEATURES,
Washington, D. C., June 20, 1957.

Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CURTIS: I appreciate your willingness to place a reply to your charges against Congressional Quarterly in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I agree with you that my letter of May 20 was not in a form suitable for such inclusion.

However, because I believe it is important not to mislead your colleagues concerning the impartial nature of Congressional Quarterly studies, I would appreciate your placing this letter in the RECORD.

It is true that we did not list the rollcall votes on which we based our presidential support piece which appeared in the Congressional Quarterly weekly report of May 17. I believe we should have done this, as we have in the past; and that is why we subsequently listed them in the May 31 issue. It is also true that we did not list the eight votes which were not included in the study. We did not think this was necessary, and still do not. All the rollcall votes had appeared in earlier editions of the Congressional Quarterly weekly report and they are easily available to our many subscribers.

Congressional Quarterly confines its analysis to issues on which the President personally takes a stand. It is true this is an

arbitrary approach to this study, but after very careful consideration, we have concluded that our studies would be open to valid criticism of editorializing if we chose issues on the mere assumption that the President had taken a position on them, even though he did not express that position. You apparently would consider that on any partisan vote the President's position would be obvious, but there are issues on which the President prefers not to make his views public. The President also has made clear that on issues that are Congress' business alone, he keeps hands off, respecting the constitutional division of powers.

We recognize that certain issues are partisan issues, but partisan rollcall votes and Presidential rollcall votes are not synonymous. Congressional Quarterly's party-unity analysis covers all partisan votes.

Congressional Quarterly has considered carefully and rejected the idea of charting support for administration measures as opposed to those on which the President expressed himself. One reason for this is that on some issues different parts of the administration take opposing positions. A recent example was the conflict between the Department of Interior and the Office of Defense Mobilization on the Idaho Power tax writeoff. Another reason is that the President determines which of the thousands of administration legislative proposals to which he will lend the prestige of his support.

The vote on House Resolution 191, authorizing funds for an investigation of Federal regulatory agencies by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, was unquestionably a partisan matter but Congressional Quarterly found that it did not directly involve the President. In fact, most of the agencies concerned are independent, not directly under the control of the President. Furthermore, the President did not state his position on this matter.

Your criticism of our exclusion of the three rollcall votes on House Resolution 190 is not valid. The resolution asked the President to indicate places in the budget where cuts might best be made. It was a request for advice and the President furnished that advice in his April 18 letter to Speaker RAYBURN. Had the resolution been mandatory, so that the President would have been required to reduce his budget, we naturally would have judged it a Presidential support vote. This is an excellent example of a partisan issue which could not be termed a Presidential issue for purposes of the Presidential support analysis.

Concerning the question of giving equal weight to all presidential support votes, Congressional Quarterly wishes to determine these votes on a nonpartisan, objective basis. The weighting of votes would present a series of editorial judgments, each one of which would be open to criticism. Congress takes rollcall votes only on issues which seem important enough to its Members to warrant rollcall votes. Congress determines which presidential issues it wants to have rollcall votes on. Congressional Quarterly does not make this decision.

This is demonstrated in the 14 rollcall votes on the Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill. We were of course reluctant to include all of these votes but since the required number of Representatives insisted on rollcalls, it was evident that going on record was important to many Members. Congressional Quarterly cannot weigh the degree of enthusiasm that the President has for each item he requested in his budget. He has said that they represent his judgment of what is necessary for the country and that of course Congress has the right to substitute its judgment for his.

On the question of grants to States for sewage plant construction, Congressional Quarterly knew that the President opposed this in 1956 but he was not required to budget money for it this year if he still was opposed to the program, and the fact that he did include the full authorized amount in his budget indicated some degree of approval of it.

You are in error concerning rollcalls Nos. 22 and 23 on recommittal and final passage of the corn and feed grain program. Congressional Quarterly listed both of these votes.

The question of whether or not to consider the House and Senate votes on a corn bill as Presidential support votes was considered very carefully by Congressional Quarterly at the time each Chamber voted. Both bills were borderline cases in which the President's views were hard to determine. Under the legislative program described in Mr. Eisenhower's budget message he said, "Changes are being recommended in the corn program." Subsequently, Secretary of Agriculture Benson recommended a corn program to the House committee. The bill actually voted on in the House was not precisely what Mr. Benson had recommended but Congressional Quarterly determined on balance that it conformed closely enough to Benson's proposals to be a bill that the President would support. Congressional Quarterly therefore marked the vote to recommit the bill, which failed, and the vote on passage, which also failed, as Presidential support votes.

Nearly a month after the corn bill was rejected in the House, and after farmers had made their plantings "on the assumption that there would be no new corn legislation," as Mr. Benson said March 29, a corn bill that differed from both the House and administration bills came to the Senate floor. After study of the Senate debate and the reported views of agriculture officials, plus the fact that the President had made no statement on corn legislation since defeat of the House bill, Congressional Quarterly concluded that the President's position on the legislation could not fairly be determined and hence the Senate votes on the bill should not be classed as Presidential support votes. The ranking Republican on the Senate Agriculture Committee, Senator AIKEN, underlined the importance of timing when he said the bill was "good" but that it came before the Senate "too late to be effective (or) fair" to many farmers.

We did not include the vote on the selection of the Speaker of the House because it was a procedural vote. This is the same position taken in the analysis of presidential support votes made last year by your Republican colleague from Pennsylvania, Mr. SIMPSON.

You chide us for bringing out a story on support of the President in midsession. As I mentioned in my letter to Senator SCHOEPPEL, a copy of which I sent to you, the May 12 story was timed to reach our newspaper clients when President Eisenhower made his first television address describing his program. We consider this good journalism. Our newspaper clients did, too.

In reference to your remark that we did not follow our own ground rules in the May 12 study of presidential support, I do not understand your point. We are not aware of not having followed our own ground rules.

May I repeat that we are always grateful for any suggestions for improvement in our methods. You and your colleagues are indeed welcome to visit us at any time to examine our methods and discuss them with our staff.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS N. SCHROTH,
Executive Editor.

GROUND RULES FOR CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT-OPPOSITION

Presidential issues: Congressional Quarterly analyzes all messages, press conference statements and other public statements of the President in order to determine what he personally, as distinct from other administration spokesmen, does or does not want in the way of legislative action.

Borderline cases: By the time an issue reaches a vote, it may differ from the original form on which the President expressed himself. In such cases Congressional Quarterly analyzes the measure to determine whether, on balance, the features favored by the President outweigh those he opposes or vice versa. Only then is the vote classified. For example, Senate passage of the Area Redevelopment Act in 1956 (passed 60-30; Democrats 44-3, Republicans 16-27) was classed as an Eisenhower victory while the earlier rejection of an amendment placing the proposed Area Redevelopment Administration in the Department of Commerce (rejected 43-43; Democrats 0-42, Republicans 43-1) was considered a defeat. While the President was on record in favor of the rejected amendment he was not on record concerning the specific provisions of the Democratic-sponsored bill, S. 2663, as passed by the Senate, Congressional Quarterly decided, however, that S. 2663, on balance, contained the major features of the legislation requested by the President in his economic report, and classed passage of the bill as an Eisenhower victory, although a majority of Republicans voted against it.

Important votes excluded: Occasionally, votes involve issues that contain features favorable and unfavorable to the President's views in nearly equal measure. Since such votes cannot be classed as personal victories or defeats, they are excluded from the tabulation even though they may be important. For example Congressional Quarterly excluded the House vote, in 1956, on passage of the Democratic-sponsored school-construction bill (H. R. 7535) (defeated 194-224; Democrats 119-105, Republicans 75-119) but included rollcalls on two amendments and a motion. The President was clearly on record against the Gwinn and Powell amendments (Gwinn amendment rejected 168-250; Democrats 61-162, Republicans 107-88; Powell amendment adopted 225-192; Democrats 77-146, Republicans 148-46) and for the motion to substitute the McConnell bill (rejected 158-262; Democrats 9-215, Republicans 149-47). But it was not clear at the time whether he would have voted for or against passage of H. R. 7335, as amended, and when asked this question after the vote, White House Press Secretary James C. Haggerty said: "We're interested in schoolrooms."

The President's own position, as distinct from that of other administration officials, is often not a matter of public record. In 1956, his position was not known before the voting on the natural-gas bill, several electoral reform proposals, the Niagara power project (although later the President endorsed the project), a Democratic-sponsored bill for a $400 million atomic-power reactor program and several key amendments to a social security revision bill.

Motions: Rollcalls on motions to recommit, to reconsider, or to table often are key tests that govern the legislative outcome. Such votes are necessarily included in Eisenhower support tabulations. For example, in 1956, the Senate first rejected a farm bill amendment (42-43; Democrats 39-0, Republicans 3-43), opposed by the President, to drop the requirements that States contribute to the cost of commodities furnished for disaster relief. Later, however, the Senate adopted a motion to reconsider the amendment (47-45; Democrats 45-3, Republicans 2-42), then agreed to the amendment first rejected (47-45; Democrats 45-3, Republicans 2-42).

Rules: In the House, debate on most significant bills is governed by rules that restrict time and may bar floor amendments. These rules must be adopted by the House before the bills in question may be considered. Members may vote for the rule, in order to permit debate, although they intend to vote

against the bill. Generally, however, a vote against a rule is a vote against the bill, and vice versa, since rejection of the rule prevents consideration of the bill. Congressional Quarterly assumes that if the President favored a bill, he favored the rule, unless it was a closed rule that would prevent amendments he wanted. For example, in 1956 a rule for consideration of the Fryingpan-Arkansas reclamation project, favored by the President, was defeated the day before adjournment (179–194; Democrats 53–140, Republicans 126–54), effectively killing the bill. This vote was classed as a defeat for the President.

Appropriations: Generally, rollcalls on passage of appropriations bills are not included in this tabulation, since it is rarely possible to determine the President's position on the over-all revisions Congress almost invariably makes in the sums allowed. An exception to this rule is the foreign aid appropriation, since the program, although recurring, is not permanent. Votes to cut or increase specific funds requested in the President's budget also are included. For example, in 1956 the Senate's vote to increase Air Force funds by $800 million was a clear challenge to the President's views on national defense (amendment increasing appropriation adopted 48–40; Democrats 43–3; Republicans 5–37).

Failures to vote: In tabulating the support and opposition scores of Members on the selected Eisenhower-issue rollcalls, Congressional Quarterly counts only "yea" and "nay" votes on the ground that only an actual vote affects the outcome. Most failures to vote are based on valid reasons such as absence because of illness or official business.

Weighting: All Eisenhower-issue rollcalls have equal statistical weight in this analysis. For example, included among the 99 Eisenhower-issue votes of 1956 were 9 on which no opposition votes were recorded. A Member's votes for these measures, all favored by the President, count as heavily in his score as his votes on as many controversial issues decided by close margins. Any system of differential weighting, however, would make the analysis less objective and, by the same token, less useful.

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY'S METHOD OF MEASURING A CONGRESSMAN'S PERFORMANCE BY ROLLCALL VOTES

The legislative record of the individual Senator or Representative is composed of actions—or inactions—many of which are not a matter of public record. As a member of one or more standing committees and their several subcommittees, where the shape of legislation generally is determined, the legislator participates in the making of important decisions, often behind closed doors. As bills move to the floor, he may be busy rounding up supporters—again out of public view—for an amendment that will be offered. On the floor he may or may not participate in the recorded debate. The only official record by which the actions of any legislator may be compared with those of his colleagues is the rollcall vote.

The great bulk of proposed legislation that reaches the floor is disposed of by voice vote, without a record of each legislator's position. For example, Congress in 1956 passed 2,791 bills, yet recorded only 203 rollcalls. Some of the legislation accepted or rejected by voice vote is important. Conversely, some of the matters disposed of by rollcall vote are relatively unimportant. Nevertheless, most rollcalls involve substantial issues, and they provide, in the final analysis, the only indisputable record of each legislator's actions.

For these reasons, Congressional Quarterly publishes the results of all rollcalls in specially designed voting charts. These show summaries of the proposals put to a vote and the positions recorded by the Members. Congressional Quarterly's rollcall charts present the individual Member's complete voting record, insofar as it is available.

This voting record, covering a wide span of legislative issues during any session, is inevitably open to partisan analysis and interpretation by the two major parties and other interested groups. In an attempt to provide students of Congress with a meaningful yet nonpartisan analysis of record voting, Congressional Quarterly conducts five separate and distinct studies, each under a specific system of ground rules, as follows:

Presidential support and opposition: This study is designed to show the extent to which each Member of Congress supports or opposes the specific legislative requests or stands of the President. Key step is the choice of rollcalls for inclusion in the tabulation. Only those votes are included on which it is possible to say that the President, were he a Member of Congress, would have voted "yea" or "nay" on the basis of his personal messages and statements issued before the vote was taken. This method results in the inclusion of some noncontroversial votes as well as the exclusion of certain important rollcalls on which the President's own position was not publicly clear at the time the vote was taken. Any departure from the method used, however, would lead to a subjective weighing of issues, the results of which would be open to serious challenge.

Party unity: This study is designed to show the extent to which each Member votes with the majority of his party when that majority is opposed by a majority of the other party. Thus, by definition, rollcalls included in the tabulation of party unity scores are selected automatically according to the numerical outcome of the vote. While this is an inherently arbitrary division, since the majority in question may range from unanimity to one more than the minority, it is the only method available that is free of bias. Any approach based on a yardstick determined by the votes of the respective party leaders runs into the fact that these leaders occasionally are to be found voting with a distinct party minority. In the absence of any more reliable method of determining party positions when they are in opposition, the system used by Congressional Quarterly provides the best index to a Member's support of his party relative to that of his party colleagues.

Bipartisan support: This study, in contrast to party unity, is designed to show the extent to which each Member votes with his party's majority when both party majorities are in agreement. All rollcalls thus are classified automatically either as party unity or bipartisan support votes, according to the mathematical outcome. As in the case of the former, the size of the majorities may vary widely on bipartisan support votes, although they tend to be large in the case of votes on relatively noncontroversial issues.

Voting participation: This study is designed to show the extent to which each Member actually casts "yea" or "nay" votes—the only kind that can determine the legislative outcome—on rollcalls for which he is eligible. Relatively few Members score 100 percent since absences due to illness, committee sessions and travel are common. Voting participation is not, however, a record of absenteeism as such. It is a measure of the relative extent to which Members make effective use of their voting privilege.

On the record: Members who, for one reason or another, do not cast "yea" or "nay" votes on rollcalls are generally recorded as being for or against the measure voted upon. These recorded positions are added to the "yea" and "nay" votes in tabulating on the record, which is a measure of the extent to which each Member makes his position on all rollcall votes a matter of public record.

Each of the foregoing studies is subject to the qualifications set forth in the ground rules for each study. Full understanding of these qualifications is essential to any interpretation placed upon the group and individual scores derived from the methods employed.

How's That Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Star in an editorial the day following President Eisenhower's address at the governors' conference in Williamsburg, Va., published an editorial which bears reading and deserves much thought.

If only the American people would weigh well the words of public officeholders, from the President right on down, and examine those words very talk and semantic juggling.
closely, I feel there would be less double

The President's "ghost" in this instance really went to town. I wonder if the President himself had his tongue in cheek when he declared for States rights at the very time he and his administration were still hearing the echoes of the most destructive blow ever delivered against the rights of States—the passage by the House of the so-called civil-rights bill with the aid of the unholy alliance of New Republicans and New Deal Democrats.

Talking about States rights at a time when each day finds new administration bills encouraged which gnaw away at the rights of the individual States is nothing more or less than so much hogwash.

In the tidelands fight the President, during his first campaign, promised to sign a tidelands bill recognizing the rights of the States. He kept his promise but his Attorney General whom he appointed and who holds office at the pleasure of the President, is throwing every obstacle in the way of keeping in full the promise which the President made. Instead of allowing the States their full rights in the tidelands problem we now find the Attorney General and the United States trying to take away the loaf of bread which is rightfully the States and giving to them instead the few crumbs which have fallen from the table.

The President defends the ruling of the Supreme Court as the law of the land. Since when, until the present Supreme Cout took over, have the decisions of the court been handed down based on sociological studies and books of a questionable authorship, instead of the percent of previous decisions. What Supreme Court has reversed as many laws of Congress as has this Court?

But that's another subject.

Here is the editorial which appeared in the Washington Star and an editorial which says in plain language what the facts in the case really are.

This editor is to be congratulated.

The editorial follows:

HOW'S THAT AGAIN

President Eisenhower's address to the Governors assembled in Williamsburg is an intriguing exercise in semantics.

Mr. Eisenhower started off as a States rights man from way back—as far back, let's say, as Virginia's HARRY BYRD. He warned that a nation can be enslaved only by strong central government. What we need here in America is renewed determination to hew to the (Jeffersonian) principle of diffusion of power, knowing that only thus will we ourselves forever avoid drifting irretrievably into the grasp of some form of centralized government.

This must have come as sweet music to the ears of the States rights governors. But their rejoicing, if any, was premature. For in the next breath, the President declared: "Opposed though I am to needless Federal expansion, since 1953 I have found it neccessary to urge Federal action in some areas traditionally reserved to the States. This was a reference to his school-building program. The test, it seems, is not what the States, or the people of the States, may be willing to pay for in the way of schools. The test is what the President thinks they ought to have, and that, we gather from the speech, is what they are going to get—from their strong central government.

Much the same thing is true of the traffic situation. Noting that last year's toll of traffic dead soared beyond 40,000 people, Mr. Eisenhower said that this was a fearful price to pay for the failure of the States to agree on the essentials of traffic control. "As for traffic safety," he added, "this, happily (why happily?), is still a State and local responsibility." But he also warned that we simply cannot let this go on. If the States don't do something about it, the Federal Government will.

There was more, but it all adds up to the same result. A President who says that "I believe deeply in States rights" is quite prepared to take whatever Federal actions may be dictated by popular pressures and transient political expediencies arising out of the unwillingness of the States to do certain things for themselves. Why not come right out and say that Federal interference in local affairs is deplorable and dangerous—except when a sufficient number of people prefer it to no interference?

California Real Estate Magazine Features Information About State and National Legislators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, to my desk has come a very lovely and interesting magazine published by the California Real Estate Association for the month of February 1957, featuring the 1957 California State Legislature and the United States Congress.

In this magazine are nicely arranged and printed pictures of each of the members of the California State Senate and Assembly—and also each of the Members of the House and Senate of the United States from California. And opposite each of the photos is a designation of the district represented by the State legislator or the National Representative, together with a short but appropriate descriptive statement of some of the facts about the gentlemen.

Throughout the magazine are feature articles such as the opening message by Hon. Goodwin J. Knight, Governor of California, How Bills Become Laws, Crucial Issues Confronting 1957 Legislature, Streamlining the Legislative Process in California.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to observe that in arranging and publishing this issue of this monthly magazine by this group of California realtors they have rendered a really valuable service to the enlightenment of their members and other readers about the State Legislature in California and about the United States Congress.

I wish to further observe that if more regularly published magazines circulating to memberships of business and professional and other groups throughout our Nation would do some such act at appropriate times in connection with legislative activities in their respective States and in our Nation, it would certainly also be a definite contribution to the representative way of life under our State and United States Constitutions.

The "Last Word" Is Far From Having Been Spoken on Radiation Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, fortunately for all of us there is a growing awareness of the dangers from radiation resulting from nuclear weapon testing. There are increasing numbers of protests against continuation of nuclear weapon testing. As an example of these strong and cogent protests, I ask permission to insert in the RECORD the excellent article from the June 7 issue of Washington Window.

The article follows:

RADIATION FALLOUT

Adlai Stevenson's destiny apparently is not to become President of the United States. But there is some chance that he may prove to have been right after all.

His propsals for the elimination or at least control of new H-bomb explosions made during the election campaign last year undoubtedly cost him a lot of votes.

At the very least they cost him some caustic criticism by President Eisenhower running all the way from the observation that the proposals were "foolish" and that President had said his last word on the subject.

That last word is far from having been spoken.

Here it is a bare 6 months from the 1956 election campaign and the hazard of radiation fallout is a livelier topic to public discussion than ever.

Strontium 90 and its cancerous effect on human bones have become a topic for the popular magazines.

The genetic influence of other types of radiation is all but discussed at the family dinner table.

Headlines such as "Marshall Islands Children's Growth Stunted by Fallout" hit the newspaper readed in the eye.

One expert estimates that 80 million persons would be killed outright in a major H-bomb attack on the United States.

On the one hand is a powerful group of scientists, mostly in the Government service, who deny that the world is being poisoned by radiation fallout or that mankind is in danger of an insidious buildup of radiation exposure that goes beyond permissible limits.

The very definition of the word "permissible" as applied to radiation is the center of debate. There is no hard and fast answer. The world is still in the middle of scientific experimentation to determine how much radiation we really must suffer to kill us; or how long it will take to build up perilous amounts of radiation poison; or whether one type of radiation will injure us in our lifetime, or another will affect the genes of our children and our grandchildren so that future generations may be turned into generations of monsters.

The debate—for a long time carried on in undisciplined fashion in newspapers and magazines—is now coming under a new type of scrutiny that seeks to assemble enough sound information from all segments of the scientific world to give the American people a real basis from which to judge the problem.

Representative CARL T. DURHAM, North Carolina Democrat, who is now chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, has appointed a special subcommittee under Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, charged with the job of laying a scientific basis for information on radiation hazards. A wide range of scientists has been invited to testify during the 2-week hearings already underway.

As might be expected, the differences that existed before the hearings still persist. Scientists who work with or for the Atomic Energy Commission play down the dangers of radiation fallout. They see no reason for discontinuing experimental bomb explosions unless the tightest kind of inspection agreement is obtained with the Russians.

Other scientists take the poistion that there is some danger, but that the danger is less than a weak inspection agreement under which the Russians might destroy us.

A third position is that the dangers of radiation fallout are only dimly understood in the state of present scientific knowledge and that mankind should be given the benefit of the doubt and every effort made to stop further experimentation with huge bombs.

And, finally, there is the position of a large body of scientists who take the position that as scientists they "have knowledge of the dangers involved, and therefore a special responsibility to make those dangers known." Supported by such scientists as Dr. Linus Pauling, a Nobel prize winner for research in chemistry, they have called for an "international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs."

"Each nuclear bomb test," they declared in an appeal which 2,000 of them signed, "spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations."

After listening to all these viewpoints, the Holifield subcommittee one of these days will make its report on radiation hazards. It may well be one of the most important documents ever published in the history of the human race.

Appendix

Electric Power for an Expanding Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech made by the Secretary of Interior, the Honorable Fred A. Seaton. I have known Mr. Seaton, a fellow Nebraskan, for many years. He has established an enviable record for good, sound, honest thinking. His article entitled "Electric Power for an Expanding Economy" is thought provoking. It should make us all realize we are living in an explosive economy that is ever expanding and we should realize it is not possible for the Federal Government to supply all of the electric energy needed by this expanding economy. I think one of the greatest steps forward in our electric energy field is that taken by the REA's who are on a sound, businesslike management program. They borrow the money. They pay interest and return the borrowed money, with interest, to the Federal Treasury. When I first came to Congress, Nebraska farms were about 45 percent electrified. Today it is close to 98 percent. It is one thing that has brought the convenience and comfort to farm life that they hardly dared dream of a few years ago. I commend the reading of the Secretary's article to my colleagues:

ELECTRIC POWER FOR AN EXPANDING ECONOMY

(By Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton)

Our population is growing at a rapid rate; there will be 221 million Americans or more by 1975. Our economy is expanding, having passed the $412 billion mark in 1956 and now moving toward $500 billion a year.

Our electric power needs are, therefore, also growing.

Under such circumstances there are two dangers. The first is that we shall not produce enough power to meet our country's needs in the next 10 or 20 years. The second is that the Federal Government will gain more control over our electric-power facilities than is necessary or desirable.

These facts and these dangers underlie the administration's power policy.

Consider the first danger first: The Federal Power Commission estimates that by 1965 we shall need 96 million more kilowatts of generating capacity than we have now. At present rates each kilowatt costs $464. Our economy will, therefore, have to spend—for generation, transmission, and distribution facilities—$44,544,000,000 in less than a decade. By 1975 the comparable amount will be $96,048,000,000.

Only about 8½ percent of the new capacity needed by 1965 can come from hydroelectric plants, the type which the Federal Government has traditionally built or helped to build. Fifteen percent, at the outside, may come from atomic-energy plants. The rest, 77 percent, will have to come from steam plants, burning fossil fuels—coal, oil, natural gas. Except in the TVA region, the Government traditionally has not built steam plants. And the Congress has never spent for power development at the rate which would be necessary to meet the power needs which I have just outlined.

Faced with these facts, you have two alternatives. You can urge that the Government reverse its policies, enter the steam-plant business on a large scale, and allot a bigger slice of the Federal tax dollar than ever before to power development. Or you can uphold the principle, the teamwork principle, that the Federal Government should build some power facilities, the State governments some, local governments some, and private utilities some.

If you take the first alternative, you will have to wait a long while (possibly even a dangerously long time) for the Congress to start spending for power as you want it to. In the meantime—and these are crucial years—our population will continue to grow. Our power needs will expand. The possibility of shortages of electricity will be a constant threat.

If you take the second alternative, you can have a reasonable expectation of new projects started today and new power put on the line at approximately the same rate as that of the growth in demand.

Actually, most Americans believe in the teamwork concept. Except for the zealots, most people neither want to abolish the private utilities and the State and municipal PUD's nor to remove the Federal Government from the power field. We believe that each of these organizations has its proper place and its share of work to do in producing and marketing power. Only through the teamwork of all can the country be assured of adequate power development. And we believe that through teamwork the country can simultaneously avoid the second danger I mentioned at the outset: an excess of Federal control. For teamwork assures us of many sources of capital and decision making—not just one—in the electric power field.

Teamwork has, in fact, been responsible for much of our progress so far.

This Nation's standard of living has never been equaled elsewhere in the world. But our accomplishment owes much to the reliability, economy, and adequacy of our country's electric service. Scientific and technological developments have led to the manufacture of reliable and efficient generation, transmission, distribution, and utilization equipment. Twenty-five years ago 1 pound of coal produced 0.67 kilowatt-hour. Today the same pound of coal produces 1.06 kilowatt-hours. Twenty-five years ago small local utilities served limited geographical areas. Today transmission interconnections and pooled operations have improved the reliability of service and contributed to the economic loading of systems. New designs and the use of improved protective equipment have made distribution systems more reliable. Twenty-five years ago the average retail monthly cost of electric energy for 100 kilowatt-hours was about $4.75. In 1956 the cost was $3.88.

The relatively stable cost of electric service during the past quarter century—during an economic depression, two wars, and a postwar period—could not have been maintained except for the initiative and resourcefulness of men in management, the ingenuity of scientists and engineers, and the competent decisions of State and Federal regulatory agencies. These people have all rendered outstanding public service. Their accomplishment is reflected in the Federal Power Commission statistics for the past quarter century, which show that installed generation capacity of the utility industry increased from 34,386,739 kilowatts in 1932 to 120,435,249 kilowatts in 1957. It is difficult to overestimate what this energy source has meant to the Nation's increasing prosperity.

But we don't have to look to the past for all our evidence. Today in the Pacific Northwest teamwork is again helping an entire region's economic development.

Before President Eisenhower took office, a former Secretary of the Interior said:

"The power supply outlook in the Pacific Northwest for the next several years will remain critical. Power requirements continue to exceed supply and the addition of defense industry loads with associated increases in civilian power requirements will further tax the existing generating and transmission facilities. Even with strict adherence to present recommended schedules for installation of new generating plants it is expected that the Pacific Northwest will be in a power shortage situation until 1957."

A power shortage was indeed imminent in this area during the latter part of 1952 and early 1953. Electric power use was curtailed. I am sure the people directly affected—especially in industries which were required to slow production and cut their payrolls—will remember the incident. This power shortage and other threatened brownouts occurred even though the contribution of the Federal Government was substantial.

Under the former administration's policy of preempting power sites for exclusive Federal development, State and municipal organizations and private companies could only plead each year for more and more Federal spending. Local initiative was stifled. Each year more serious power shortages were predicted. Business began to look elsewhere.

But today under the policy of planned teamwork much progress has been made to correct this state of affairs. Water resource development is proceeding at an ever-increasing rate. Local organizations are getting the opportunity to plan, finance, construct, and operate their projects.

The municipal plants of Tacoma, Seattle, and Eugene have facilities under construction to provide 604,000 kilowatts of energy. In Washington the Grant County, Chelan County, Douglas County, and Klickitat public utility districts have currently under construction and in planning 3,456,000 kilowatts—more than the total Federal kilowatt contribution in the past 10 years.

These organizations, it might be observed, are not private interests. They are public-power entities. Moreover, their projects are under strict regulation by the Federal Power Commission, which under the law is responsible for making certain that no hydroelectric project on a river subject to Federal jurisdiction will impair the fullest possible development of the resources of the entire basin.

But teamwork doesn't involve just local or regional or private groups. The Federal Government has much to do.

Federal action has, for example, brought immense industrial and agricultural and human benefits to the areas of the Central Valley of California, the Tennessee Valley, the Missouri Valley, and the Columbia River Basin. The administration is well aware of the importance and necessity of wise Federal programs in the water resources field. Last year, for example, the President supported and signed into law the great upper Colorado River storage project—the largest irrigation measure ever authorized by the Congress in a single piece of legislation. Under this project tremendous reservoirs will be built. The water supply of the upper Colorado Basin—a supply used in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and other States—will be stabilized. Within 25 years irrigation water will be brought to more than 360,000 acres of land. A million kilowatts of hydroelectric power will be made available.

These changes will mean that a vast underdeveloped area, rich in natural resources, will be able to take care of the needs of an increased population for more homes, more schools, more businesses, and more productive farms.

The Fryingpan-Arkansas project is another means to the same end. Such administration measures help illustrate what the President meant when he said at McNary Dam in 1954: "The issue is not * * * public power versus unregulated private power. The issue posed to us is Federal monopoly of power as against public or regulated power, freely chosen in each instance by the citizens of each area, with the Federal Government coming in as a cooperating partner where this seems necessary or desirable."

Like the upper Colorado project and the TVA, McNary Dam itself is an example of the type of undertaking that, because of its sheer size, can be accomplished only by the Federal Government. The Hoover Dam is another. Grand Coulee is another. The administration looks with favor on such projects which, in Lincoln's words, need to be undertaken but which cannot be successfully undertaken by individuals or non-Federal organizations.

In accordance with this policy, in fiscal year 1956 the Bureau of Reclamation added $160 million to its $2.6 billion investment in western projects for power and other purposes. It added hydroelectric generating capacity in multipurpose dams in the amount of 120,000 kilowatts. With the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau now has underway 299 projects, for flood control, navigation, irrigation, water supply, and power. The Bureau, the corps, and other divisions of Government will continue to do their full and proper share as members of the team.

As the figure just mentioned indicates, of course, the development of hydroelectric power is only one of the results of the best kind of river basin project. The administration believes in multiple-purpose undertakings—projects which bring forth not just one benefit, but a variety, in irrigation development, power generation, fish and wildlife conservation, improvement of navigation. Theodore Roosevelt in 1908 forcefully set down this general principle:

"* * * every waterway should be made to serve the people as largely and in as many different ways as possible. It is poor business to develop a river for navigation in such a way as to prevent its use for power, when by a little foresight it could be made to serve both purposes. We cannot afford needlessly to sacrifice power to irrigation, or irrigation to domestic water supply, when by taking thought we may have all three. Every stream should be used to the utmost. No stream can be so used unless such use is planned for in advance. When such plans are made we shall find that, instead of interfering, one use can often be made to assist another. Each river system from its headwaters in the forest to its mouth on the coast, is a single unit and should be treated as such. Navigation of the lower reaches of a stream cannot be fully developed without the control of floods and low waters by storage and drainage. Navigable channels are directly concerned with the protection of source waters and with soil erosion, which takes the materials for bars and shoals from the richest portions of our farms. The uses of a stream for domestic and municipal water supply, for power, and in many cases for irrigation, must also be taken into full account."

The Eisenhower administration believes in basin development for multiple purposes through teamwork. As the President said only a few months ago, in his state-of-the-Union message:

"The whole matter of making the best use of each drop of water from the moment it reaches the soil until it reaches the ocean for such purposes as irrigation, flood control, power production, and domestic and industrial uses, clearly demands the closest kind of cooperation and partnership between municipalities, States, and the Federal Government."

Following such a principle we can make certain that the Federal Government will not take on functions which properly belong to States and localities. And we can make certain also that in the years immediately before us our country will have the electricity it needs for its people, every day becoming more numerous, and their economy, every year moving to higher and higher plateaus.

Teamwork is the keynote in the article prepared for Public Utilities Fortnightly—beginning on page 798—by the Honorable Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior. Secretary Seaton is a native of the District of Columbia, but he spent most of his life in Nebraska and Kansas. He attended Kansas State College, from which he received an honorary doctor of laws degree in 1955. His primary interest before becoming a member of the Eisenhower administration was in the publishing and radio business in Nebraska, Kansas, South Dakota, Wyoming, and Colorado. He calls Hastings, Nebr., his home, where he publishes the Hastings Daily Tribune. In 1951 he was appointed to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy left by the passing of Nebraska's Senator Kenneth S. Wherry. He also served as Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1953, and administrative assistant to the President, 1955. He was appointed the 36th Secretary of Interior on May 28, 1956.

Key Piece in the Mideast Puzzle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, in the May 19 issue of the New York Times magazine appeared an article which, I am afraid, has been overlooked and deserves much more widespread consideration. Its author, the Very Reverend James Pike, is dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, as well as professor of religion and law at Columbia University.

The most pressing problem in the Middle East is, of course, that of solving the Arab refugee puzzle. Until it is solved, no lasting peace will be achieved. Dean Pike's suggestions and analysis make not only absorbing reading, but offer a constructive program which constitutes a challenge to the leadership of this country.

The article follows:

KEY PIECE IN THE MIDEAST PUZZLE

(By James A. Pike)

The peace of the world may turn on a "vicious circle" in the Middle East. The vicious circle is this: there can be no lasting peace until the Arab refugee problem is solved; and the Arab refugee problem cannot be solved until there is a real peace. Is there any way out of this circle?

I pondered these things a little over a year ago as my wife and I visited a large refugee camp south of Bethlehem. The misery these establishments represent has been too frequently described to require exposition here. But the dreadfulness of the situation is more psychological and spiritual than physical. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East has seen to it that there are 1,600 calories per day per person—higher than some, at least, of the residents had before. The tin huts (ovens under blazing summer sun) and skimpy tents (chilly diggings in the winter) are no worse than many Arab accommodations elsewhere.

But even if the food and lodging were fit for kings, the situation would be tragic. I remember our passing, near the entrance to the camp, a tall lean Arab just sitting in front of his hut looking off into space—and an hour later, as we passed the same place, he had not moved or changed his expression. Nothing to do—except to dwell on his situation, to nourish his resentment over the past, to reflect on the apparent hopelessness of the future and, when he gathers with his fellows, nothing to talk about—except to go over the same ground, and fan the resentment. This is a living death.

It is an existence suffered by an unknown number of people who fled or were dislodged from their homes during the partition of Palestine and the subsequent fighting. Estimates of the refugee population run from 800,000 to 900,000, including the children born in the camps. These Arabs are now living in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the Gaza strip, which is officially Egyptian.

Whose fault is it that the refugees got where they are in the first place? Whose fault is it that they are still there? And what can be done about it?

As to the first question, we received conflicting answers. From the Arabs: "We were driven out of our homes and lands by the Jews." From the Israelis: "We urged them to stay; the Arab nations urged them to leave and promised them their lands—and ours—when they returned." Who is right? Interestingly enough, both statements are true.

To grasp this apparent contradiction, you must put yourself in the position of the individual Palestinian Arab in 1948. He was confronted with a rapid—and confusing—series of events. (1) The U. N. had voted the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, it being contemplated that there would be Arab and Jewish citizens in each. (2) The British abandoned their mandate before arrangements were worked out for the two new states to take over. (3) The state of Israel was forthwith declared; no Arab Palestinian state was organized. (4) Immediately the surrounding bloc of

Arab states attacked Israel. Out of the resulting insecurity of Jew and Arab alike came conflicting pressures on the Arab in Israeli territory:

Fear of his fate under the Jews: The Jewish terrorist groups were operating—albeit unofficially. The ruthless massacre in the Arab village of Deir Yassin was vivid in memory. Arabs in some localities were threatened. Why? Fanaticism, fear of an internal fifth column, desire to clear the property for Jews.

Fear of his fate under Arab rule: The invading Arabs put pressure on him to leave and threatened him if he would not. And most people thought then that the Arabs would win the war.

Hope of gain: If he left and then returned, which he was most sure to do once the Jews were overwhelmed, he would share in the booty—the Jewish properties.

Arab solidarity: After all, he was an Arab, and his brother Arabs were fighting Jews. And this cleavage had old roots.

The promises of the Jews: The official Israeli attitude was clear enough. The Government urged the Arabs to stay, spreading this word throughout the land by soundtrucks and handbills. They were promised an equal place in the new nation.

Under these pressures the individual Arab could hardly be blamed for making either decision—to go or to stay. As it turned out, those who stayed fared better than those who left. In terms of economic and educational opportunity, health and sanitation, the Israeli Arabs are, by and large, considerably better off than other Arabs in the Middle East. And because Israel is a democracy, they have more voice in the government of their nation than do the Arabs in Saudi Arabia, or, for that matter, than do the Palestinian Arabs in Jordan—now that the Trans-Jordanian (largely Bedouin) minority is in absolute power there.

However, there have been certain limitations on the Arabs in Israel, such as freedom of movement. This is justified by the government on the ground of security, but this factor may be exaggerated; indeed, the supreme court of Israel has on occasion sought to check the zeal of the military administration of Galilee; and during the Sinai operation there was no report of any rebellion of Israeli Arabs. But American critics are somewhat estopped from making too much of all this because the Arab in Israel is by and large in a better position than the American Negro in large parts of our country.

But the fact is that the majority of the Arabs left—and hardly for capricious reasons.

Why the present standstill in this situation? Many refugees in other areas have been settled with useful work and with a real future in their adopted homelands. Israel itself, less than one-hundredth the size of the Arab world, has settled some 900,000 refugees from many nations. There is a crucial difference. For example, in the case of the recent exodus of Hungarians to the United States, our Government and the refugees regard the situation in Hungary as a fait accompli and their future is planned accordingly. But neither the Arab nations nor the Palestinian refugees so regard the situation in the Middle East. They will not accept the fact of the existence of the State of Israel. Its extermination is the top priority in the foreign policy of the Arab nations and in the heart of the individual refugee.

So the failure to develop constructive plans for permanent resettlement is not attributable simply to the lack of the necessity wit or means. The Arab States don't want the refugees settled, for if they were they would lose their most potent propaganda piece against Israel. As Ralph Galloway, until recently head of United Nations relief in Jordan, has said, "The Arab States do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it an open sore, as an affront to the United Nations and as a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders don't give a damn whether the refugees live or die."

Recently, Henry Labouisse, director of UNRWA, declared that the Arab States have placed so many obstacles in the way of U. N. help for their own fellow-Arabs that it may be necessary soon to suspend such relief entirely. The Arab aim is to foster in the refugees the notion that return to their former homes is the only desideratum.

But is that a real possibility? Assume that there is a minimum of 800,000 refugees (it is hard to get a firm figure; there were probably 500,000 to 600,000 to start with). The population of Israel today is 1,900,000. No nation, regardless of past rights and wrongs, could contemplate taking in a fifth column of such size. And fifth column it would be, people nurtured for 10 years in hatred of Israel and totally dedicated to its destruction.

We can get a hint of what the presence of this large block of dissidents would mean to Israel's stability from what the acquisition of the Palestinian Arabs has done to Jordan's stability; the gulf between their orientation and objectives and those of the Bedouin population of the former Trans-Jordan has been the prime factor in the explosive situation in present-day Jordan. For an analogy, we must think of this: the scrupulosity with which the United States examines the views of each potential immigrant does not encourage us to imagine that we would be willing to take in nearly 71 million sworn enemies of the nation, which is what the proportionate figure would be.

But doesn't this argument prove too much? It would be said that the very magnitude of the refugee group as compared with the present population of Israel argues for their return, whatever the consequences to the State of Israel, since the figures prove that there should never have been a Jewish state in Palestine.

Actually, as a non-Zionist, I was and am less than convinced by the arguments for the establishment of Israel in the first place. But the fact is that it was established—and its right to exist is grounded on two bases of paramount validity: first, it was established by action of the only international authority, the U. N.; and second, it won a war brought against it by the Arab states.

We can't turn back the clock of history. Literally, the territory that is now Israel is not the same country that the refugees left. Nine years of intensive development, urban and rural; nine years of heavy immigration; nine years of the shaping of a way of life—all this rules out the possibility of an Arab's return, in any realistic sense, to what he left.

If return is ruled out, then what? Equally unthinkable is the continuation, year after year, of the demoralizing—and ever-explosive—status quo. The only live option then is permanent resettlement. And the barriers to that are not so formidable as has often been assumed. These are the barriers:

1. In Jordan and the Gaza Strip, where the bulk of the refugees reside, there is not enough arable land or enough available employment in commerce and industry to support anywhere near the total number of refugees.

2. Resettlement (in contrast to relief) would require a large capital outlay.

3. The Arab nations do not want resettlement.

Serious as these barriers are, they surely are not insuperable. Yet any solution must take them into account. Foolhardy as it may seem for me to say so, I believe there is a solution—if the United Nations and United States get behind it—and that it involves these elements:

The signing of a permanent peace treaty: There is only an armistice now, dating from the 1948 war, and Iraq has not even signed that (this is one reason Israel is nervous about the possibility of Iraq's absorbing Jordan and thus becoming her eastern neighbor). A peace treaty would acknowledge once and for all the existence of the state of Israel and make her less trigger happy, an attitude born of anxiety. And it would permit border readjustments which both economic and military realism require. The border now is so quixotic that it is difficult to defend and, since it is virtually unmarked (the Arab nations have so required, since they do not recognize that there is an Israel), many innocent trespasses—both ways—have occurred, with bloody results.

More than that, there would be eliminated one of the persistent sources of Arab hate—the plight of Arab farmers whose villages ended up on the Jordanian side and whose groves and fields ended up on the Israeli side. And there would be removed the resentment of the Israelis at being barred from Mount Scopus in Jerusalem, important because of the buildings and great library of the Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital.

Mutual development, with outside aid, of water projects: The arable land in both Israel and Jordan would be much increased by the diversion of the waters of the Jordan River. And this is only one of several practical possibilities.

Economic union and mutual planning: This was contemplated by, and included in, the terms of the U. N.'s 1948 partition plan. As things now stand, to take one example. Israel imports beef from Argentina, Jordan exports meat via a tortuous route through Syria and Lebanon. Thus Israel's cost is increased, Jordan's profit is cut, and both lose. And neither can afford it. Another example: the Gaza strip is economically viable only when linked to Israel. Economic planning—and outside assistance in development—would bring about fullest use of the resources of the whole area, with an increase in employment opportunities.

Resettlement of the refugees: Her borders secure, her existence recognized by her neighbors, the development of her economy linked with theirs. Israel could with less risk grant total equality, including complete freedom of movement, to her Arab citizens, and proceed to admit a proportion of the erstwhile Arab residents of her territory—perhaps the number 100,000, which back in 1949 Israel offered to take, though the offer was declined. If the offer is made, it will probably turn out that not so many will, in fact, want to go back. But, this quota filled, let the rest be settled in Arab nations on new arable lands made available by new water and in the new industry and service trade that will follow.

The pattern for this has already been set by Israel in its resettlement of some 400,000 Jews from Arab lands in western Asia and north Africa who abandoned their property and whatever wealth they had and arrived penniless in Israel. There have been refugee camps in Israel all along, but with this difference: They have been temporary reception centers, because Israel really wanted to settle the newcomers.

How to finance all this? Assuming that the preceding steps have been taken, this is the easiest part. In 1952 the U. N. allotted the sum of $200 million for this purpose and less than $7 million has been spent because the Arabs refused even to complete preliminary studies on how their own people could be helped. But more than this will be needed.

Let Israel add to the fund the value of the Arab property which it now utilizes for others, and which is not, under the plan pro-

posed, reoccupied by returning Arabs. Then let the Arab countries add to the account the value of the property of the 400,000 Jews who fled Arab lands into Israel. Then let our own Nation, which has such a stake in peace in the Middle East, contribute, at least, the cost of the technical assistance needed. And, once the job is underway, there will be saved the enormous cost of direct relief each year, since the resettled persons will have been enabled to support themselves.

But can Arab and Jew ever live peacefully together? Is the enmity undying? I don't thik so. Maybe it was just a straw in the wind, but when I visited with a class at the new University of Tel Aviv, I observed that an Arab student seemed to be well received and he was friendly enough to the others. And at the Mandelbaum Gate, at the Jordan-Israel border in Jerusalem, we observed something that is a foretaste of what could be.

On the Israeli side I saw a pile of new Arab picture magazines. "Where did you get them?" I asked the guard. "From the guards on the Jordan side," he answered. "We trade them." I pressed further. "When you do that, do you smile at each other?" "Of course," he retorted. "We're friends; we have coffee together." Individuals can always get along with each other—or at least can judge each other for what each one is—once the official tensions are relaxed.

But there is no hope that they will be unless the United Nations and the United States broaden their conception of the Middle East problem. We should expand the Eisenhower Doctrine to include the development and presentation to the Middle East countries of an overall plan which includes something like the elements outlined above. I am not suggesting that the hostilities can be "bought off"; but if we are firm and consistent in our influence and if the interest and energies of the whole region can be redirected toward the development of the entire area by the availability of a tangible, practical plan, the various groups of Arabs will find that they can like each other (something yet to be attained as recent events have shown) and that Arabs and Jews can like each other—and even have coffee together.

Among the narrow, winding streets of old Jerusalem (in Jordan), shared as they are by native Arabs, tourists, and donkeys, is a tiny side street surmounted by a large sign which reads, "For people only." This provides a good slogan for any plan for the resettlement of the Arab refugees and the consequent chance of peace for all in the Middle East—not pro-Israel, not pro-Arab, but for the sake of people.

Rosendahl Blasts Navy Cut of Blimp Sub Killers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by George Carroll, from the New York Journal American of June 24, 1957:

ROSENDAHL BLASTS NAVY CUT OF BLIMP SUB KILLERS

(By George Carroll)

Vice Adm. Charles E. Rosendahl, retired, accused the Navy today of indefensible bungling when it chopped our antisubmarine blimp units 50 percent, effective June 30.

How can the Washington brass justify it, he demanded, if Russia's undersea threat is as serious as they say and reports of Red submarines off our coasts keep piling up?

In a stinging statement handed exclusively to the Journal-American Admiral Rosendahl called for a public investigation into the Navy's illogical, ill-considered decision.

TWO VITAL POINTS

This country's greatest authority on airships made these two points:

1. The blimp is the only submarine fighter we have, either in the air or on the surface, that can carry and use all our different detecting devices "and you can't kill a submarine until you locate it."

2. Airships escorted 89,000 allied vessels in World War II "and not one was sunk by enemy submarines while under such escort."

The blimp story leaked first in Washington. Next, it was confirmed at Norfolk headquarters of Adm. Jerauld Wright, Atlantic fleet commander.

His deputy chief of staff, Capt. Alfred G. Ward, said the reduction was based primarily on economy and was in the wind even before Congress started whittling President Eisenhower's military budget.

CAUGHT OFF GUARD

But if it was in the wind, it certainly hit the Navy's leading lighter-than-air men without notice.

"First I heard about it was when I read it in the papers," said Capt. Emmett Sullivan, the Navy's most experienced veteran in airships now on duty, who has been assistant chief of staff, plans, Eastern Sea Frontier.

Capt. Sullivan, a 1927 Annapolis graduate, is retiring this month to take a job in the aircraft industry.

TWELVE BLIMPS TO GO

The deactivation order affects Airship Squadrons ZP–1 and ZP–4, both assigned to the naval air station at Weeksville, S. C., where Capt. A. L. Cope commands Fleet Airship Wing 1.

The 2 squadrons operate 12 blimps and have a combined complement of 65 officers and 300 enlisted men.

Captain Cope, the Navy's senior airship man once Captain Sullivan departs, will be left with only two squadrons of antisubmarine blimps and two early warning radar blimp units.

These 4 units are scattered; 2 at Lakehurst, N. J., 1 at Key West, Fla., and 1 at Glynco, Ga.

There is also a helicopter antisubmarine squadron at Weeksville. Reports are circulating that these Sikorskys and Bells may be shifted to Norfolk, leaving nothing operational at all at the Carolina base.

Here is Admiral Rosendahl's full statement to the Journal-American:

"The unbelievably precipitous elimination of half the Navy's antisubmarine blimp units is, in my opinion, illogical, ill considered and indefensible from any standpoint.

"It is impossible to believe anyone really possessing airship knowledge was consulted or heeded.

"Any pretended economy through slashing the Navy's smallest specialty one-third (Editor's note: There are blimp units on early warning radar duty in addition to antisubmarine service) is transparent hocus-pocus.

DENIES OBSOLESCENCE

"Any pretense that the blimp is an obsolescent antisubmarine type is wholly oblivious of the facts.

"Blimps for both antisubmarine and early-warning purposes are on the threshold of achieving very important defense utility. But their potentialities apparently will never see daylight in an organization autocratically dominated solely by airplane thinking and by persistent refusal to recognize the basic differences between airships and airplanes.

"WHY KEEP ANY?

"Anyone who can distinguish between a submarine and an airplane should be able to understand the differences between airships and airplanes.

"In the antisubmarine field, the blimp is the only type, surface or air, which can carry and operate all the known detection devices as well as adequate offensive equipment.

"If blimps are ineffective, why do we retain two squadrons of the same ones as those eliminated?

"If the submarine threat is as great as advertised, how can we eliminate any useful antisubmarine type from an organization whose prime task is antisubmarine warfare?

"This action reflects the generally myopic attitude of the Navy toward airships. If airships are to succeed, they must be placed under men who understand them. They must not be made third-rate members and convenient whipping boys of the airplane organization.

"No question of national security can be raised as a convenient shield for warding off a public investigation of the Navy's bungling of airship matters.

"Let us hope such an airing comes before the remaining morale of the Navy's small, leaderless airship organization is completely shattered and before the Navy itself destroys all hope of fair determination of airship potentialities."

Admiral Rosendahl's unswerving faith in the military value of airships was vindicated once before, soon after Pearl Harbor. But the crash of the Shenandoah, split apart by a storm over Ohio, the susequent loss of the United States dirigibles *Macon* and *Akron*, and the spectacular explosion of the German Zeppelin *Hindenburg* at Lakehurst hung a bad name on lighter-than-air craft.

As navigator of the *Shenandoah* in 1925, Rosendahl saved himself and his immediate shipmates by free-ballooning the broken forward section to earth.

Thereafter he clung to airships, rigid and nonrigid, as he had clung to his navigator's duties in the face of death.

When German U-boats in 1942 started sinking our shipping at a shocking rate under our very noses along the east coast, the Navy Department hastily organized airship squadrons to spot them and rushed an order to Goodyear in Akron for a couple hundred of the helium-filled sky bags.

U-BOATS ROUTED

Rosendahl insists they pushed the U-boats back from American shores.

With planes, helicopters, and even other submarines, the blimps have remained a part of the hunter-killer team that the Navy has kept sharpened up to oppose a Soviet sub force estimated as high as 400 to 500.

Does this mean the blimps are going limp for good, 100 percent?

Mystery Shrouds Sub Killers' Fate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article

from the New York Journal American of June 25, 1957:

MYSTERY SHROUDS SUB KILLERS' FATE—GAS-BAGS' FOES STRIKE SILENTLY

(By George Carroll)

Who put the slug on half the Navy's anti-submarine patrols by blimp?

Antisubmarine warfare (ASW) is a primary responsibility of the Navy and Soviet subs are prowling around our Florida guided missile range.

Yet a mysterious somebody or group of somebodys suddenly decided we could safely dispense with 50 percent of the airships used in this first priority role and mission of the Navy.

Our best brains in Navy lighter-than-air were not consulted. There is reason to believe that nobody consulted Vice Adm. Frederick W. McMahon, an old naval airman who fought in the Pacific and off Korea, and whose responsibilities today are wrapped up in the title: Commander, Eastern Sea Frontier.

BLIMP FEATS

The 2 squadrons of 12 blimps due to be deactivated June 30 are based on the frontier he has to defend.

And one of these ZPG–2's proved only this spring what kind of a nonstop patrol it can do on the hunt for submarines or any other kind of hunt:

Comdr. Jack Hunt won the Distinguished Flying Cross in March by skippering a blimp nonstop 11 days and 9,500 miles from Massachusetts to Portugal, down off Africa and back to the West Indies and Florida.

"I can't tell you what the thinking is on this in Washington," Admiral McMahon told me when I inquired if it wasn't a funny time to cut down on the tools for ASW when—if you can believe the reports—the Soviet undersea fleet is growing bolder in American waters.

How much substance is there to these reports?

"Let's put it this way," the admiral replied. "There has been evidence of Soviet submarines in the Atlantic."

STILL USEFUL

The 50 percent reduction in airship ASW squadrons on the East Coast (we abolished our World War II airship squadrons on the West Coast in 1947) doesn't mean the Navy is cutting blimps off the hunter-killer team, Admiral McMahon insisted.

"They have a place and function."

When I mentioned that lighter-than-air men seem to be riled plenty over the situation, Admiral McMahon rejoined with a smile:

"It's at least good to hear there's such spirit in any particular branch. Everybody tends to think his weapons are the best."

ALWAYS READY

The admiral's retiring deputy for plans, Capt. Emmett Sullivan, Annapolis, 1927, who took a squadron of blimps across the Atlantic in 1944 and used them to put a nighttime seal on the Straits of Gibraltar, says this:

"When the ceiling is zero-zero and nothing else is flying, you can always fire up an airship and go."

Airplanes were doing a good job of keeping German submarines out of the Mediterranean daytimes—but nights, no.

Three of them tried it after Sullivan put his blimps on darkness patrol at 100 feet, back and forth, back and forth across the 3¼-mile straits, but none of them ever made it.

What about this grounding business that's in the works today? Says Sullivan:

"In the light of the priority attached to antisubmarine warfare, I find it difficult to reconcile the decommissioning of two antisubmarine airship squadrons.

"The blimp is the only type of aircraft capable of carrying all established means of detecting submarines submerged, at snorkel depth or surfaced."

Other lighter-than-air people said blimps can operate with magnetic airborne detectors, known for short as MAD; sonar buoys, a delicate "ear" that listens for subs and radar detectors, plus infrared and other instruments that are still on the secret list.

SONAR EFFECTIVE

Sonar is said to be the most effective. Blimps can drag these "ears" through a suspected area constantly. Helicopters can winch them down periodically. Airplanes can't dunk them at all.

"You can't hunt subs with 700-mile-an-hour jets," one airship veteran told me. "Furthermore, airships can do the job at one-fifth the cost of any other aircraft."

After the last big war, the Navy developed a pair of twin Grumman airplanes, the Guardians, to track and destroy submarines. In 1954, both functions were built into a single plane, the Grumman Tracker, now on duty with the Atlantic Fleet.

Blimp men say the Tracker is fine, and helicopters are too, but there is definitely a need for the peculiar talents of their great Goodyear elephants plodding above the ocean waves.

The matter of the blimps may seem like a sort of intraservice decision well left to experts (except that in this case the experts weren't consulted).

CAN CHECK SIGNALS

It won't be so good, though, if the cutback encourages Soviet submarines to poke their snouts closer than ever to the Atlantic seaboard and hand around snooping.

They can check every signal that comes offshore in the entire radio and radar spectrum.

They can accumulate all sorts of data helpful in any future Soviet attack either from the air or from submarines launching missiles into New York, Washington, Boston, Miami, Baltimore—you name it.

Looking to see and hear what's cooking on our guided-missile range—where we've just had the first test firing (unsuccessful) of our "20-minutes-to-Moscow" missile, Atlas—is the most obvious task of Red submersibles.

SECRETS AVAILABLE

But by sneaking into the 3-mile limit they could learn plenty, too, about the Nike missile systems that guard New York and Washington and the new SAGE air defense system being pioneered in the Boston and Cape Cod region.

All these are mare's nests of electronics, giving off beams and pulses like a Christmas tree throws light, and the Communists want to know how best to jam them. Very useful in this business, submarines.

Such being the case, blimp men are not only mad like their magnetic airborne detectors (MAD); they're downright puzzled by what the high command has done.

Ike Turns Dixie Into Hostile Camp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the policies and practices of the Eisenhower administration have evoked great concern in the South. Even those who sided with the President as recently as the 1956 elections are finding too repulsive to swallow certain pills recently served up by the administration.

The Talladega Daily Home, a very fine afternoon newspaper in Talladega, Ala., located in the fourth district, has been an avid supporter of President Eisenhower. For this reason, it is of great significance that the president and associate editor of the Daily Home has publicly broken with certain administration practices. In his page 1 column, Passing Scene, J. L. Wallis, in the June 21 issue of the Daily Home, states that those who have looked to Mr. Eisenhower as a friend of the South when they voted for him now are disillusioned.

I recommend his column to the Members as a well-written, profound analysis of current southern temperament. Mr. Wallis' column, which follows is written in the form of an open letter to the President:

A BRILLIANT STAR FLICKERS OUT IN SOUTHERN SKIES

(By J. L. Wallis)

Mr. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: At your press conference this week, you defended your misnamed civil-rights bill, by calling it a "very moderate and decent thing." Mr. President, we of this column, and a lot of other deeply concerned southerners not only voted for you in both of your national political races, but we did so with enthusiasm. We were won to your side from the start when you promoted the idea that the sovereign States had rights with which the Federal powers could not interfere.

To the South, you were the way out of a terrible mess created by 25 years of new dealing and fair dealing. Millions of seriously minded southern people voted for you and supported your party. Many of their forebears fought and sacrificed during the terrible 1860's, even to the extent of giving their lives. Both of our grandfathers wore the Confederate gray. However, we deemed that we were honoring these gallant men, when we voted for you instead of the new dealers and fair dealers who had captured the grand old Democratic Party.

Mr. President, this week was the breaking point climax of your career in the South. We are deeply grieved that a national hero, like you are and have been, can become blinded with the greedy light of grasping politicians. You, and you alone, must in the final analysis take the blame of ambitious and greedy cronies like Dick Nixon, Herbert Brownell, Knowland, and all the rest who talk of modern Republicanism and stoop as low or even lower than any greedy Democrat ever did during the era of "tax, spend, and elect." Your great misnomer, which you have allowed to be called Eisenhower's civil-rights bill, is the final straw. And when, even a great man like you, has closed his eyes so tightly, as to proclaim moderation and decency for legislation which usurps the rights of States and individuals to the extent of crushing the right to trial by jury, you have alienated yourself and your party from millions of Southern votes, and the votes from other thinking people all across the Nation.

You have made jest of the accomplishment of noble English people who won the right to trial by jury, over 700 years ago, in the fields of Runnymede. The great charter, forced from King John, is the base for the most precious rights that Anglo-Saxon people have had for more than seven centuries. You promote the scrapping of this Magna Carta by calling your destructive wrongs bill a thing of decency and moder-

ation. While you are scrapping the rights of a free people, Mr. Eisenhower, you are also scrapping the power of your party, your own political career, and any ambitions that your political-minded greedy associates may have.

Any Democrat, worth his salt, will win the White House in 1960. In the South, in the yesteryears, the Democratic nomination has been tantamount to election. At one time your noble character was changing this, but your complete surrender to the sinister selfish goals of political friends, will turn the South away from everything you touch. In the summer of 1960, the next President of the United States will be elected and not in November. You, Mr. Eisenhower, must accept the responsibility for the irreparable harm you and your modern republicanism has brought to the respected Republican Party at this time when it writhes in death's throes.

Any Democrat by name who wins the nomination in the summer of 1960, will have a walkaway in November when pitted against any Republican, regardless of his record or ability. You, Mr. Eisenhower, have aided in causing a dangerous rift in national unity and national patriotism. In every crisis, the Nation has depended upon Southern leaders, and Southern heroism is known from pole to pole. We are at a crisis in world affairs today, and you and your greedy modern Republicans are turning a civilization and the empire of Dixie into a hostile camp. Our Nation needs unity as never before.

You were a national hero a few years ago and deserved to be. Some men retire in their glory and remain heroes forever. Some men live too long and what was a career of glory, turns into one of scoff, scorn, and bitterness filled with adverse criticism. Mr. President, we still believe in your personal integrity, but it has been undermined by greedy associates, and you must take the blame. We, along with thousands of southern people, are grieved because your brilliant star in the Dixie skies no longer is brilliant but has actually become repulsive with a passion which is turning to hate.

Legislation To Legalize Hiring Halls in the Maritime and Building Trades Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to advise the membership of the House that I have introduced legislation which would legalize maritime and building trades hiring halls. The number of the bill is H. R. 8422.

This measure should have the support of employers as well as members of unions in the construction and marine industries. At least experience has clearly proved the best interests of all concerned, including the interest of the general public, will be served by the hiring hall system. Actually, I believe the practice of recruiting workers through a hiring hall is supported so widely, and has such an obvious advantage in its favor, that regardless of present law the hiring hall system prevails in many areas.

To illustrate very briefly the merit of what my bill seeks to provide, I include the following letter which speaks for itself:

DISTRICT COUNCIL OF CARPENTERS OF SEATTLE, KING COUNTY, AND VICINITY,
Seattle, Wash., June 19, 1957.

Mr. THOMAS M. PELLY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOM: Thank you for sending me a copy of the bill which you plan on introducing in Congress which would legalize maritime and building trades hiring halls. We in the building trades are particularly interested in this because of the casual nature of our work in which the average mechanic or laborer if he is fortunate enough may work half time and it would be to his advantage to have a hiring hall where he could seek employment.

If we can give you any assistance please feel free to call on us at any time. With best wishes, we remain.

Very truly yours,

HARRY L. CARR,
Business Representative.

Chairman McConnaughey Leaves Federal Government Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. George C. McConnaughey, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, is leaving Federal Government service on June 30, 1957. As chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce I have had many occasions to deal with the Federal Communications Commission and its Chairman. I have always found him courteous and cooperative and although in some instances we may have disagreed with regard to specific issues, there always has been an atmosphere of mutual respect. I have addressed the following letter to Chairman McConnaughey which I would like to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD:

JUNE 28, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE C. MCCONNAUGHEY,
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN MCCONNAUGHEY: I do not want to let the day of your retirement from Federal Government service pass without extending to you my best wishes for the future and expressing my appreciation for the courteous manner in which you have always dealt with the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce whenever the Commission was called upon for information.

In public life, individuals who have dealings with each other must not necessarily agree with each other's point of view, and on occasions we have openly and frankly disagreed. However, at all times I have respected you for the sincerity with which you have presented your position, and I have always found you willing to listen to the arguments advanced by those who were inclined to disagree with your views.

There are few places in the Federal public service where the problems confronting an agency of Government are more urgent and more controversial than in the case of the Federal Communications Commission. Under your chairmanship, the Commission has striven to bring about solutions of several communications problems of great importance to the public, and you can leave the Commission feeling confident that you have given your best to bring about fair and equitable solutions of these problems.

Sincerely yours,

OREN HARRIS,
Member of Congress, Chairman.

Allocation of Nickel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD a letter dated April 30, 1957, from Mr. C. T. Murphy, vice president, McLouth Steel Corp., Detroit, Mich., and an exchange of letters with Secretary Weeks.

Mr. Murphy's letter points out the hardship suffered by certain steelmakers who require nickel for their operations. It is their contention that nickel is allocated to them on the basis of an old formula which does not take into consideration current requirements.

As a result, some companies have been forced to pay high prices for contained nickel from scrap or to buy from the gray market which has thrived through the leakages in the allocation system. The allocation system is based upon an understanding or arrangement between the Department of Commerce, with ODM's blessing, and the International Nickel Co.—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 26, 1957, pages A5087–A5088.

While the responsible executive agencies do not wish to exercise controls for one reason or another, they approve allocation controls by the world's greatest producer of nickel, a Canadian concern. It is strange to me that the vice president of the McLouth Steel Corp., Detroit, Mich., should need to say:

International Nickel Co. did grant us a very small portion of our requirements and permitted us to start making nickel alloy steels.

I am pleased to relate, however, that the Secretary of Commerce is agreeable to the idea of arranging a meeting with a representative group of stainless steel manufacturers for the purpose of giving consideration to their problems and recommendations. The insertions follow:

MCLOUTH STEEL CORP.,
Detroit, Mich., April 30, 1957.

Mr. JOHN M. CURLEY,
President, Eastern Stainless Corp.,
Baltimore, Md.

DEAR MR. CURLEY: We have read with interest the remarks of the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives on Thursday, April 18, 1957, together with your letter to him dated March 20, 1957, with reference to the nickel situation.

We, too, have wondered at the wisdom of withholding the excess quantity of Nicaro sinter from the market because of the fact that steelmakers can use it and platers cannot, and as a consequence releasing it to the steelmakers would create an imbalance according to the formula now in effect. It has seemed completely unreasonable to us that this material, produced by the Nickel Processing Co. of National Lead Co., must be withheld from American steelmakers who so badly need it. The material in question should be put on the open market at the discretion of National Lead Co. and sold to the companies who need and can use the material, and who would agree to continue to use it after the balance of supply and demand has been attained.

We also agree with you that the formula now in use in allocating nickel is antiquated and should be revised. This formula has worked severe hardship on our company because during the years 1946 to 1954 we purchased rerolling slabs from a local concern who in turn built up a considerable record for purchases of prime nickel with International Nickel Co. over these years. It was our foresight, ingenuity, and salesmanship which built up the market, but unfortunately did not provide us with any history as users of prime nickel. Consequently, when our facilities for producing our own nickel alloy steels were put into operation in 1954, we had no record of purchases of nickel and, therefore, no allocation. International Nickel Co. did grant us a very small portion of our requirements and permitted us to start making nickel alloy steels, but we have had to buy large quantities of high-priced nickel alloys and scrap to keep going, and as a result have suffered considerable loss because of the out-of-date formula used for the distribution of nickel.

During the period when we were paying $1.75 to $2 per pound for contained nickel in scrap, Nicaro was accumulating large quantities of nickel sinter which they would have been happy to sell at the market price but which we could not buy because of the allocation formula in effect. We fail to see the wisdom or justice in this situation.

We agree with you wholeheartedly that a good way to effect economy in our Government would be to discontinue adding to our already heavy Government expenditures for stockpile purposes. The public would be terribly shocked to know that the amounts of money which we have tied up in stockpile items today just about equals the alarmingly high budget for the next fiscal year which was recently presented to Congress.

We will be pleased to lend our support to a movement to revise the outdated formula now in use for the allocation of nickel and to release for civilian use the large quantities of Nicaro sinter now being accumulated in stock.

Very truly yours,

C. T. MURPHY,
Vice President.

JUNE 26, 1957.

The Honorable SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It is my understanding that certain stainless-steel manufacturers contend that the base for the allocation of nickel has not been brought up to date since 1951 to provide for changed operation conditions within the industry. It is also contended that the industry task force on nickel has not convened since September 1953, despite the radically changed conditions which necessitate revision of the distribution formulas.

Would it be convenient for you or your staff to meet with this or a representative group and give consideration to their problems and recommendations?

Sincerely yours,

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, June 27, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MCCORMACK: This will acknowledge and thank you for your communication of June 26, 1957 concerning the contention of certain stainless-steel manufacturers that the nickel-distribution system is outmoded.

I have requested Mr. H. B. McCoy, Administrator of the Business and Defense Services Administration, to look into the matter and to arrange a meeting with a representative group of such stainless-steel manufacturers if this appears to be desirable. I shall be pleased to sit in on any such meeting as may be arranged.

As of possible assistance to Mr. McCoy in arranging for full and adequate representation it would be appreciated if you would suggest the names of companies whom you may wish to have represented.

I shall pass on to you any details concerning the time and place of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce.

Right To Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Albert T. Lunceford, secretary-treasurer of the Greater Los Angeles CIO Council, before the religion and labor conference in Los Angeles on June 13, 1957. Mr. Lunceford's remarks on right-to-work laws are particularly valuable in view of the respected position he holds as a responsible labor leader:

Reverend Crane, and fellow members of the religion and labor council of Los Angeles, I am happy to be able to discuss with you tonight the so-called right-to-work laws. We meet at a time when the opponents of labor, taking off from the current exposures before a Senate committee of the defalcations and misuse of power of a handful of labor leaders, are doing their best to convince the entire country that all leaders of organized labor are crooks, that the unions do nothing for their members, and that our laws should be revised so as to make life a lot easier for the multi-million-dollar corporations, and a lot harder for the average man and woman to get or to keep the benefits which organized labor has obtained.

Much of this effort is still to come. Now the foundation is being laid, the climate of public opinion is being established. Later, and not too much later, we will see the effort to utilize this presumably antilabor climate of public opinion, in the passage of laws, State and Federal. Part of this will revolve around laws regarding the registration and disclosure of welfare funds, and part of it will be straight, out-and-out anti-organized labor laws in the form of the so-called right-to-work bills.

I want to talk about both of these developments, not only in my remarks but in the question-and-answer period afterward. It is out of such discussions that a fuller understanding of our mutual problems grows, and only on such an understanding can intelligent decision and action be based.

Actually, discussions of right-to-work laws are largely a matter of semantics. What is really meant when we use the terms "right-to-work" laws, "closed shop," "union shop," "maintenance of membership agreements," and so on? At the risk of covering ground with which you are already familiar, I should like to start by defining these terms, so that at least what I mean by them will be clear when they are referred to later.

Let's begin with the various forms of security for the union which are embodied in contracts between management and labor. There are three basic forms of this protection, each different from the other. The most important, because it is the most prevalent, is the union shop. Under a union shop contract, the employer is free to hire whomever he may choose, whether a union member or not. Within a specified time after beginning work, nonunion members join the union, at least to the extent of paying dues. The union shop is permitted under the Taft-Hartley act.

Under the closed shop, only union members may be hired by the employer. The closed shop is not permitted under Taft-Hartley, but it is worth noting that it exists in fact in a number of cases, even though there is no such clause in the contract, for the interesting reason that it is the most efficient way for some employers to operate. For example, take the case of a contractor or subcontractor, whose volume of work varies drastically from job to job. He wants, let us say, 100 skilled workers for a period, for example, of 3 months. The employer must complete his work within that period, and therefore he has no margin for either time or money to be wasted through hiring workers of unknown or dubious levels of skill at their jobs. He must have competent, skilled workers, or he goes broke. The only real guarantee he can find of this level of skill is through the union, which imposes high standards upon its members, and therefore that is where he goes for his men.

Another form of union security which is found in contracts—and is permitted by the Taft-Hartley law, is the maintenance-of-membership clause. Such a contractual provision means that workers who are union members when the union-management agreement is signed, and nonmembers who join the union later, must remain members of the union for the duration of that contract.

Trying to define right-to-work laws is something else again. The title itself—right to work—is a stroke of propagandistic genius. It sounds great, but like many a convincing slogan, it conceals rather than reveals the essential nature of the proposition it covers. "Right to work" sounds like the title of a full employment program—jobs for all. But the so-called right-to-work laws give no one a right to work. So-called right-to-work laws provide no work. So-called right-to-work laws provide no rights.

These so-called right-to-work laws were made possible by section 14b of the Federal Taft-Hartley law. This gives to the States power to legislate even more restrictions on union security provisions than the Federal Taft-Hartley law contains, and at the same time denies any State the power to lighten any of the Taft-Hartley restrictions.

Altogether, 18 States mostly in the South, have such laws on their books. Four other States, Louisiana, Maine, New Hampshire, and Delaware, passed such laws and then repealed them.

What these laws actually do is this: they prohibit any form of union security—whether permitted by the Taft-Hartley law or not—from being made a part of a contract between union and management. They prohibit the closed shop, the union shop, the maintenance-of-membership clause, or any variation of any of them.

So let us be clear about exactly what so-called right-to-work laws do—whether we favor them or oppose them. They do not

provide anybody with any rights; they do not provide anybody with any work; they simply outlaw any and all forms of union security. They are in fact an attack on unionism itself, and their purpose is to destroy or to weaken free American trade unions, to discourage responsible unionism, and thus to weaken America.

The question before us is: do we want this to happen? Do we want to destroy or weaken free American trade unionism, to discourage responsible trade unionism?

I think most of us here tonight remember that the working men and women of America didn't arrive where we are now either by accident, or through the development of corporate paternalism.

We remember, I think, even if many have forgotten, or would like to forget, that the rights and privileges enjoyed today by almost every American working man and woman won in a long hard fight—a fight on the picket lines, in the legislative halls, in the courts—a never-ending struggle—and one that isn't over yet, for there are hundreds of thousands of our people who still must work for less than a living wage, and endure conditions and restrictions that are affronts to the dignity of man.

We have run this country for a long time on the basis of protect the basic rights of the minorities, but the majority rules. The same thing applies here. It is a fact of American law that the union must represent all the workers in the plant whether they belong to the union or not. So if the union members, through the process of collective bargaining, achieve better wages and working conditions, all the workers in the plant benefit. Inevitably, there are a number who, while happy to get the benefits of the unions' achievements, would also be happy to avoid paying the dues that makes the union able to negotiate for all the workers. To avoid this situation, the various forms of union security clauses have come to be inserted in the contracts. Under the union shop, which as I have told you is the prevalent type here, first the union must win an election by getting a majority of the workers and even then management can hire whom they please, with the proviso that the workers ultimately become members of the union. So-called right-to-work laws eliminate this proviso; they weaken the union's position among the workers whom it represents and they weaken the unions.

Basically, the reason unions came into being in the first place, and the reason they have endured and grown stronger, is that individual workers, as individuals, have very little bargaining power—virtually none. It is simply in the nature of the employer-employee relationship that the individual worker cannot accomplish for himself what he and his fellow workers, bargaining as a unit, can accomplish for each member of the unit.

Those who would put back the clock—those who would destroy our free trade unions, or weaken their utility and influence—actually operate against their own enlightened self-interest. I grant the fact that must be apparent to all ministers, that the perception of one's own enlightened self-interest is a most difficult thing. Nevertheless it is so in this case, and not too hard to demonstrate.

The people who really want weaker unions have quite a specific reason in mind—they do not have to pay as much money to their workers. That this is true is easily demonstrated. Take the States which have these so-called right-to-work laws on the books. For example, in Mississippi, according to United States Government figures, the workers average only $55 to $60 a week. In South Carolina they average around $55, and this is likewise true for Georgia. In California, the average is around $85 to $95 a week. If the unions were completely destroyed in California, that average wage level would come down, and it would come down sharply. Just suppose, for example, that it dropped to the $55-a-week level of the right-to-work States. What would happen?

What would happen is that the entire economy would go into the tailspin of deflation, and this would affect every enterprise which makes up the economy, including all of those run by the people who come out for right-to-work laws.

The working people of California, and there are by the last count 4,403,100 of them working in nonagricultural jobs—supporting a total of more than 10 million people—spend virtually every cent they make to live, and that means they spend it on clothes, on food, on shoes, on cars, on toothpaste and television sets, in rent or house payments, and so on.

They're customers, as well as employees. And if you take away from customers the wherewithal to buy what you manufacture and wholesalers and retailers sell, they can't buy those products, and they won't until the price comes down to where they can afford it. The complete shakedown of the entire economy involved in a drop of this proportion would be enough to put most of the members of any local chamber of commerce out of business. Any drop in the purchasing power of the working people of this State—and I point out to you again that this is 90 percent and more of the total State's purchasing power in terms of retail sales—any drop in this purchasing power, I say, is immediately reflected in a drop in retail sales. But it takes a comparatively long time for a drop in wages to be reflected in a drop in the cost of the things you must pay for in order to do business. Meanwhile, the wholesalers and the retailers are stuck with the inventory, the real-estate brokers are stuck with merchandise to move at prohibitive prices, the banks, the finance companies, and the savings and loan outfits are stuck with time-payment plans the borrowers cannot meet, investors decide they are going to wait and see, and the dizzying and quite horrible spiral of deflation takes its extensive and intensive toll of all of us.

So I think it is plain that while industrialists, and retailers, may listen with wistful hopefulness to any siren song that promises to reduce their payrolls by 30 or 40 percent, the very last thing they want—or at least the very last thing their own economic self-interest should lead them to want—is any overall reduction in the purchasing power of their customers—which means the wage level of the working people of this State.

But there is more to this matter than economics, important as they are.

A large part of the agitation for right to work laws is carried on by professional right-wing agitators, sustained and financed by small groups of wealthy individuals who believe blindly and irrationally that any society which is not aristocratically structured, is dreadfully wrong. Those who, for example, are trying to put over this constitutional amendment to limit income taxes to 25 percent of income, those societies which see a Communist in every liberal, those who see a foreign plot in the honest efforts of citizens to improve their school board, those who see labor as a devil, all of them seem to satisfy some deep feeling of inner insecurity, by participating in what are essentially meaningless tribal ceremonials.

Only last week, the President of the National Association of Manufacturers made his contribution to the current ceremonial by voicing the tribal chant. What was wrong with this country, he said, was (1) the power of the President to spend money; (2) the threat of monopolistic unions; (3) high taxes. Now I ask you to reflect, is it not true that the same officer of this same association has been saying the same thing each year, every year, in peace and in war, under Democratic presidents and Republican presidents, for the last 20 years? It was of him, and his colleagues in the NAM and the United States Chamber of Commerce, that Defense Secretary Charles Wilson, formerly the biggest of big-business men, said with his notable frankness, "They give me a pain. They never had it so good."

I put it to you that much of this anti-labor talk is pure irrationality because it doesn't square with the facts. For example, one of the byproducts of the current exposures of the corruption of a handful of labor officials, is an attempt to imply that all union officials get outrageously high salaries. And yet the facts are, as revealed by Business Week, that the salary of just one American business executive in 1956 more than equaled the combined salaries of the top 23 salaried union presidents. It took only 4 top industrial leaders to earn more, almost half a million dollars a year more, than 146 top union presidents all together. The salaries of the 10 top business executives averaged more than 1,000 percent higher than the salaries of the 10 top union presidents. And yet you don't see any headlines about this.

Another concept that the I-hate-labor boys are doing their best to instill into the American mind is that the unions somehow resist the registration with the Government and the publication of information about employee welfare and pension plans.

The fact is that the AFL-CIO has long been supporting laws to compel such registration and publication about all welfare and pension plans, including their own, and the real opposition has come from management associations. The NAM is on record that the public welfare demands laws to compel registration and financial accountability for union-administered joint union-employer welfare and pension funds, but it violently objects to Federal reporting for plans administered solely by management. And plans administered solely by management cover about 90 percent of all protected workers.

Let me make it clear at this point that I do not for one moment condone the conduct of labor leaders who violate their trust to their members and to organized labor. I say that if there are crooks in the labor movement, let us expose them, and let us throw them out.

But let me make it clear also that there are more bankers—many more bankers—in jail than there are labor leaders. And let us also reflect upon the possibility that one of the reasons so much publicity is being given to the illegal manipulations of a few labor leaders is that this is an uncommon, a rare, thing. When another banker goes over the hill with a suitcase full of widows' and orphans' trust funds—or is exposed as having embezzled hundreds of thousands of dollars over a period of years to support his racehorses and his mistresses—it really isn't much of a news story because it happens all the time.

I remind you also that the AFL-CIO devotes a lot of energy and manpower to policing its unions—its ethical practices committee is one of the very top committees of the organization. And I ask you, did you ever hear of an ethical practices committee of the NAM or the United States Chamber of Commerce?

Again I say that I do not condone wrongdoing on the part of the officials of organized labor. But I do condemn the double standard of morality which holds a labor leader criminally wrong for conduct written off as "standard operating procedure" for a leader of industry, which distinguishes between accountability for welfare and pension plans on the basis of who manages them, and which argues that the power of big business is innately virtuous and the power of big labor innately sinful.

Furthermore, I deeply regret the disposition on the part of the hawkers of phoney rightwing political nostrums to try to take advantage of this period to wreck the union movement all over the country.

As a piece of sheer political and economic folly, it would be hard to find a worse one than a drive for so-called right-to-work laws.

We have now for several years enjoyed a period of real peace in the sphere of labor-management relations. The old theory that labor and management are natural and mortal enemies has fallen into the discard; I say well so; and I regret to see the lunatic fringe of the right trying to revive it. The principle of unionism has been accepted; the principle of collective bargaining, once the subject of hundreds of massive strikes, has been accepted by all but a few diehards; the principle of union security has been accepted, for it is a part of 8 out of every 10 contracts which are written.

A really serious effort to put over a right-to-work bill nationwide, or in this State, would end that period of peace. I assure you that organized labor in California and across the Nation will fight it, and fight it to the last ditch. What is more, we will beat it. But all of who have been through similar campaigns in the past know that the charges and counter charges, the stirring of the emotions which takes place whether we want it or not, the identification of individuals and associations as good and bad, friends and enemies, leave in their wake scars which take long to heal, if heal they ever do. Organized labor has fought hard for the rights of the working men and women and their families. We have earned, we think, a responsible place at the council tables of our communities, our State and our Nation.

A right-to-work bill in this State—a big campaign to convince the public that labor unions are all corrupt—would have the worst possible effect on our continuing to work together to achieve a higher standard of living for us all.

So I ask you not to be fooled by those insidious siren songs sung by the promoters of so-called right-to-work laws. And I have every confidence that your good sense, your concept of decency and fair play, your fundamental respect for the rights and the dignity of all Americans whatever the color of their collars, will keep you or bring you into the distinguished company which knows these so-called right-to-work laws for what they are, and therefore opposes them.

I think, also that we of organized labor must at this time do more than merely defend ourselves. No matter what the facts are now, some of the smear has rubbed off on us all. The net result of the current furor may be to convict a handful of people of wrong doing—although nobody has been convicted of anything yet—but regardless of how little the concrete results, rank-and-file confidence in our leadership—and public confidence in unions and their mission for the good of all has been diminished.

We must set to work to redress the balance. We must intensify our own efforts to root out the few crooks among the many honest in our ranks. We must continue to fight for decency and dignity for all Americans, regardless of their color, creed, or race. We must expand the many good works in which our unions now engage—welfare work, charity work, civic contributions, scholarships, actions and contributions for the good of our cities, our State and our Nation.

And we must labor tirelessly to make known to the public the truth about labor, and about unions. Those who oppose labor own and control most of the means of mass communication in this Nation, but we cannot be denied a hearing even by them if only we are worthy of being heard, and clever enough to ask for the hearing in the right ways.

This, perhaps more than anything else, is the great challenge of the day to union leadership. It may mean a change from our old, established and comfortable ways of doing things, but it must be done if we are not to slip back to the status of second-class citizens.

And I have every confidence that it will be done. We have not come the long hard road to the threshold of a decent livelihood and a modicum of personal dignity for all Americans only to have the door slammed in our face.

Time after time in its history, organized labor has found the means, and found the men, to meet seemingly impossible challenges. Time after time, we have suffered setbacks, and gone on to victory.

This battle is not different from the rest. We will win it, as we have won the others, because our goals are just, because we fight to clear the way for millions of men, women, and children to a better, a fuller, a more abundant life.

Thank you very much.

Justice Finally Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, in a recent decision, the Federal Communications Commission announced that the application for renewal of a television station permit in Erie, Pa., had been granted to Mr. Edward O. Lamb, of Toledo, Ohio. This decision, which climaxes a series of hearings, allegations, and counterallegations, extending over a period of 4 years, is a welcome one indeed.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD an excellent editorial from the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, an editorial which describes the long road Mr. Lamb and justice had to walk before the decision was announced:

THE LADY JUSTICE

Justice sometimes keeps a man waiting so long he suffers almost irreparable hurt before the tardy lady finally smiles.

That's what happened to Edward Lamb, owner of WHOO in Orlando and of newspapers, radio and TV stations elsewhere.

The lawyer and industrialist from Toledo, who has represented many corporations and trade unions in courtrooms all over the land, must have asked himself many a time during the 3½ years the Government was accusing him of associating with Communists, "where is this woman justice I have wooed so many times for my clients? I can't find her for myself."

The FCC in 1953 issued a statement that it had evidence in its files that Mr. Lamb was a member of the Communist Party from 1946 to 1948.

Mr. Lamb went to the Federal courts and the United States Senate for relief, charging a planned frameup inspired by business and political foes.

The FCC dropped these charges, changed them to association with Communists and denied action on Mr. Lamb's application for a TV station in Erie, Pa.

Lamb also was an applicant for the TV channel in Orlando, recently granted to the owners of radio station WLOF. Under fire Lamb withdrew this application and may have been beaten out of a profitable deal here because he was persona non grata with the powers that be of the FCC at the time.

After all the hullabaloo, it seems crystal clear that Mr. Lamb was being persecuted.

Where was the evidence the FCC claimed it had? It never appeared.

Worst thing the FCC produced was some "dream book" type evidence from a woman who appeared to be playing a cloak and dagger game. She charged Mr. Lamb with infamy, withdrew her charges and with a 180 degree turn said the FCC had bribed her to lie. She was convicted of perjury.

Now, Mr. Lamb has cleared his name. The courts have smiled upon him and rightly so.

The Government has treated Mr. Lamb cruelly and harshly.

It forced him to spend a fortune to clear his name of hideous charges. And while the Government was chasing will-o'-the-wisps, its officers spent $900,000 of taxpayers' funds on the hunt.

The Sentinel congratulates Mr. Lamb for his vindication, sympathizes with him for his long and arduous ordeal.

Address by Dr. Salvador Araneta Commemorating Adoption of the Philippine Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks, I would like to insert the following which was inadvertently deleted from my previous insertion, on June 13, 1957, of the address by Dr. Salvador Araneta at the annual commemoration of the adoption of the Philippine Constitution:

It is fitting and patriotic of you, Dr. Alafriz and your colleagues in the Philippine Lawyers' Association, to have initiated, and, except for a period of the Japanese occupation when our constitution was suspended, and the 2 years immediately after the liberation, to have faithfully followed the tradition that you yourselves had established to pay a yearly homage to our constitution on this anniversary day of its approval. It is still vivid in our minds that historic and solemn occasion, which was crowned by the valedictory address of the president of the constitutional convention, Claro M. Recto, the Madison of the Philippines. From the brilliant mind and the Ciceronean prose of President Recto came forth a most penetrating analysis of the constitution that was born from that august assembly. In that speech he enumerated what he calls the dogmas of the constitution.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION

Four years ago, on an occasion similar to this, Senator Recto referred to the spirit of the constitution in this vein:

"The war destroyed the original of the constitution, and we are free from any confusion between the historic document itself, as a treasured possession, and the infinitely more precious spirit which it once embodied. It is only the spirit of the great charter over which we must stand guard, to preserve its purity and integrity."

ISSUES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN WHICH I WAS INTERESTED

In our deliberations during the constitutional convention, many of us, including myself, were very much concerned with the letter and particular provisions or omissions in the constitution. In my particular case, I wanted to insure the constitutionality of the movements initiated in that august body, which we then called the nationalization of the retail trade and the nationalization of labor. I wanted to rewrite the bill of rights and clarify the provisions guaranteeing the due process of laws and the equal protection of the laws, and to incorporate in the bill of rights two provisions, one against confiscatory taxes and another against retroactive tax laws. I fought for the creation of the Committee on Accounts in Congress, to be composed by a majority of members of the opposition party; for the appointment of the Auditor General by the National Assembly, and not by the President, to make the Auditor General the eyes of Congress, to see to it that the budget and appropriation laws would not be violated by the Executive; and for the principle that the habeas corpus cannot be suspended by the President without the concurrence of Congress. These were some of the issues that I fought for in the constitutional convention. The proposed provisions against retroactive tax laws was approved by the convention only to have it unceremoniously eliminated by the so-called committee on style. The proposal for the nationalization of the retail trade met with the concurrence of a great majority of the delegates but received the strong opposition of President Quezon, and we had to be satisfied with a resolution expressing the sentiment of the convention. I supported those who led the fight for a presidential term of 6 years without reelection, a provision which was incorporated in the original draft of the constitution but which was abrogated 5 years later under the spell of the leadership of President Quezon. Tonight I am referring, in a passing manner, to the principles I stood for in the constitutional convention which were lost or not completely won either in the first skirmishes or in later stages. I shall not tire you with an enumeration of the principles or the provisions I fought for or supported, which found their way into the constitution.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION WAS NOT AN ISSUE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

But as I was preparing this speech and pondering on the work of the constitutional convention, I came to realize that most of the issues that were fought within the walls of that convention had reference to the letter of the constitution, and that there was less controversy on the main doctrines that form the spirit of the constitution. And now after the passing of 22 years, I feel more concerned over the spirit of the constitution, and the spirit of its implementation than many of its particular provisions. For, as a great English historian has pointed out, "it is the spirit in which a constitution is in practice administered, that is the great point of consequence, far more than the letter of the law."

THE THREAT OF A WORLD NUCLEAR WAR

Within the short compass of an after-dinner speech, the broad subject of the spirit of the constitution cannot be fully developed. I shall only attempt, therefore, to interpret that spirit against the background of some of the recent national events—the President's prayer in the National Eucharistic Congress, the various nationalistic movements, the unprecedented flood in Mindanao, the persistent unemployment problem, and the Philippines' demands for a revision of our bases agreement with America. And towering over all these problems and issues and intimately connected with them is the present threat of a world nuclear war. The atomic age has brought new unprecedented dangers to humanity. And a world crisis has developed bringing new fears and responsibilities to democratic world leaders. And we may ask ourselves: How can the spirit of our constitution place the Philippines in the active service of world peace?

THE CONSTITUTION AS AN ARMOR OF STRENGTH FOR THE NATION

We must first of all realize with President Recto, that our constitution, or any constitution for that matter, is not the open sesame to all the promised treasures of a republican regime, nor a magic formula which by mere fiat will restore youth and vigor to a decrepit polity, and that it can only attain validity and dynamism with popular consciousness, faith, and militancy. And I would like to add that this popular consciousness, faith, and militancy can best be propogated and strengthened through the spirit, rather than the letter of the constitution. Our Magna Carta can be made the armor of strength for the nation. It can be made the fountain of living waters for the Filipino soul of our people. And the spirit of our constitution, as the constitution itself, would be as enduring, as it can be made an effective instrument to imprint the Filipino soul with the two main characteristics:

1. The belief in God, and a fear of God as the only fear.

2. The belief in, and the practice of, the brotherhood of man.

These two main beliefs, first of all, are rooted and stem from the great commandments of the Lord and, fortunately, these two beliefs constitute the basic spirit of our constitution.

THE SUPREMACY OF GOD OVER THE STATE

The fathers of our nation, conscious that our people believe in God, ordained and promulgated the constitution by imploring the aid of divine providence, in the name of the Filipino people.

It is true that the constitution ordains that no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; that no religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights; and that no public money or property shall be used to support any church or minister except when working in the Armed Forces, penal institutions, orphanages, or leprosalia. These are the three inhibitions in our constitution embodying the doctrine of the separation of church and state. But, as against these provisions in the negative, the constitution, on the other hand, ordains positively that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed, and that optional religious instruction shall be maintained in the public schools as now authorized by law.

Therefore, I am confident that I express the sentiments of my colleagues in the constitutional convention when I say that, although we meant to keep separate the church from the state and vice versa, it was our desire to acknowledge the supremacy of God over the state. The doctrine of the separation of church and state should not be interpreted as involving the separation of state from God. This interpretation has found expression in the preamble of our constitution and in many traditions and practices of our own Government as well as of the American Government, from which we have patterned our own. Thus, from time immemorial, Protestant ministers open the sessions of the American Congress with a prayer to the Almighty. And every year, the President of the United States and the President of the Philippines, by official proclamation, dedicate one day to thanksgiving to the Almighty.

Our own constitutional convention began with an invocation by a Catholic bishop, and many of our official acts usually start with similar invocations. We, therefore, expect our President and public officials to pray in private and in public and officially to God. In such actions, we find moral strength for our nation and people, for ultimately it is only God that can save our country from foreign invasion and the world from a third planetary atomic war.

A PRAYERFUL PRESIDENT AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

I, therefore, venture to say that it is not only the right of the President, but also his duty to pray for his people and the nation, and he must pray in conformity with his conscience, belief, and religion, in private and public. Let us not confuse speaking for and praying for. The President cannot speak for all the Filipino people, but he can pray for all of them. An undue significance was given to the word "consecration" used in a prayer of the President as tantamount to committing the Filipino people and the nation to the Catholic faith. But consecration is the word for spiritual dedication, and it has no greater significance than a prayer of loyalty to God. In the immortal speech of President Lincoln at Gettysburg, he used the word "dedicate" five times, and the synonymous word "consecrate" twice and we all remember the ringing thought: "But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground."

In Gettysburg then, the President of the United States dedicated and consecrated a portion of a great battlefield "as a final resting place of those who gave their lives that the Nation might live."

In Manila, another President expressed a desire to consecrate "our beloved native land" not to the dead but to the Lord of Lords.

Similarly, in Gettysburg, the American President was certainly not speaking in a private capacity. He was speaking as the President of his country, at least in a semi-official capacity.

To deny the President that right would be in violation to the free exercise of religious profession and worship. His right to pray as a President is as sacred as his right to pray as a private citizen. A prayerful President does not violate the doctrine of separation of church and state. Our President as such, be he a Catholic, Protestant, Aglipayan, Iglesia ni Cristo, or Moslem, should pray in public in conformity with his belief and his conscience, and so long as there is in law and in practice religious freedom, the doctrine of separation of church and state is not violated.

The High Hells Canyon Dam Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to discuss briefly S. 555, the high Hells Canyon Dam project, which last week was passed by the other body and which the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will be asked to vote on shortly.

The bald fact is that high Hells Canyon Dam will cost the American taxpayers $500 million. The dam has the

sole admitted purpose of supplying cheap Federal power to individuals and industries of the Pacific Northwest, which may be an admirable purpose if you live in that pleasant area.

I represent the people of the 10th District of Illinois and I have to ask myself: What benefit do we get from high Hells Canyon Dam? The only answer is: Absolutely none at all.

Then I must ask myself, What does high Hells Canyon cost the people of Illinois? We in Illinois paid last year 8.1 percent of all Federal income taxes. In other words, we would pay 8.1 percent of the cost of Hells Canyon, or, roughly, $39 million. That is $39 million going out for which we get nothing in return.

Mr. Speaker, when I return to my home in Illinois and face my constituents who have paid the electric light bills of the people of the Pacific Northwest, how am I to answer their questions?

I would like to suggest, too, to the Members from such States as New York, which would pay 17.1 percent of Hells Canyon's cost, and Pennsylvania which would pay 7.5 percent of the cost of this proposed project that they ask themselves the same questions before they vote in favor of this half-billion-dollar raid on the Federal Treasury.

Small Business Act

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7963) to amend the Small Business Act, as amended.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, if I may have the attention of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] I would like to ask him a question about a situation which has occurred in my State and in my area. I have had any number of businessmen who have applied for loans from the Small Business Administration complain that they could get a loan if they had security and they could get a loan if it was a loan which was certain to be repaid.

I note in this bill on page 13, subsection (1) says:

No financial assistance shall be extended pursuant to this subsection unless the financial assistance applied for is not otherwise available on reasonable terms.

I note also on page 16, subsection 7 states:

All loans made under this subsection shall be of such sound value or so secured as reasonably to assure repayment.

Now I ask the gentleman from New York if these two sections are not, for all practical purposes, contradictory in terms. In other words, if you have a loan which is of such a sound value as to be reasonably sure of repayment, or one which is secure, can you not in almost all cases get a loan from some other source and therefore be ineligible to receive a Small Business Administration loan?

Mr. MULTER. No, they are not inconsistent, for this reason. There are many instances where a bank, particularly in a small community, cannot loan as much as $50,000 to any one borrower. In those instances the borrower would be precluded from getting a loan in his own area. There are other instances in many other States where the banking authorities frown on long-term loans. They will not permit a loan to go beyond 2 or 3 years as a maximum on these business loans. You will find many small businesses that will need a loan and cannot possibly repay it in 1, 2, or 3 years. It is in the nature of a capital loan. It is for machinery that will never be able to be paid for within 1 or 2 or 3 years, but can be amortized only out of earnings in a period of 5, 6, or 10 years. They could not qualify as far as the local bank is concerned, to get the loan, but they can qualify under this program.

I will say to the gentleman that we, the committee, believe that the agency has been a little too stringent, too strict, in the way it has revised some of these loans. We tried not to put ourselves in the position of the lending officer. That is a judgment that will have to be exercised by the agency. But within the criteria that we have laid down, the standards set down in the statute, we think the agency has been a little too strict in making some of these loans. That was one of the points I was making as my time ran out. They are going way beyond what we intended. That language in the statute comes out of the old RFC Act.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I thank the gentleman from New York.

Mr. Chairman, I am in hopes that the Small Business Administration will be a little less stringent because of the remarks of the gentleman, and the other expressions of the intent of the House made on the floor today. There is a great need for risk capital and for money which can be borrowed for expansion of business.

I want to congratulate the committee on bringing this bill out. I certainly intend to vote for it.

Full Rights and Protection Urged for Members of United States Armed Forces Wherever Stationed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram received from the Pennsylvania Department of Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War:

WILKES-BARRE, PA., *June 26, 1957.*
Congressman DANIEL FLOOD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

The 77th annual encampment of the Pennsylvania Department, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, unanimously adopted a resolution urging that William S. Girard and all members of the United States Armed Forces, wherever they may be stationed through the world, be entitled to the full rights and protection afforded an American citizen by the Constitution, and we appeal to you to use your influence to this end.

CHESTER S. SHRIVER.

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, throughout this session of Congress I have listened to the Democrats lay the lash to Mr. Benson for not establishing support levels on various crops at 90 percent of parity. They contend that since he has the authority to establish the support price at that level, that he is obligated to do so.

During the past week I have listened to a number from that side of the aisle demand Mr. Benson's resignation, stating that the wheat referendum demonstrated a complete denunciation by the wheat farmers of America of Mr. Benson and his policies.

It is interesting to note that even in South Dakota, which according to the unofficial returns of the wheat referendum, gave the second largest percentage endorsement in the Nation, less than 30 percent of the eligible wheat farmers participated in the referendum.

According to unofficial returns 13,589 votes were cast out of an estimated 44,500 eligible. In 1957, 19,084 voted out of the same estimated eligible. In 1956, 20,243 voted out of an eligible list of 44,000. In 1955, 14,486 voted out of 44,000, and in 1954, 23,486 voted out of 44,000 eligible.

Nationally, the unofficial returns show that only 172,166 persons voted in the 1957 referendum, as compared with 447,757 in 1954. One is prone to wonder why many eligible wheat farmers neglected to vote in the 1957 referendum. Possibly it is because a majority are not satisfied with any of these programs, and feel that the wheat-production industry would be much better off with a program geared to the betterment of the wheat industry, rather than an overall support program.

Personally, I believe that what wheat farmers want and what wheat farmers need is a program for milling wheat. Instead of the vote being a denunciation of Benson, it may have been a lack of interest in the choice the wheat farmer had to make, as demonstrated by the fact that only a little more than one-third of those voting in 1954 voted in 1957.

Let me point out, Mr. Speaker, that the Democrats are in complete control

of every committee in both the House and the Senate. Let me point out that the leadership is completely in the control of the Democratic Party, and they can pass any bill in this Congress they wish to pass. The Secretary of Agriculture is only an arm of the administrative branch of Government, and administers the laws passed by the Congress. If the Democratic Party really wants a program of farm supports at 90 percent of parity, they can pass a law providing supports at that level, and the Secretary of Agriculture has no alternative except to put that law into effect.

The Secretary of Agriculture is actually an agent of the Congress. Mr. Speaker, I demand that this Congress patch together its bankrupt farm leadership, assume the responsibility that is theirs, and pass legislation which does what they claim they want instead of rocking restfully in the shade of the Department of Agriculture, screaming "resignation" at the Secretary.

Unrealistic Taxes Stifle Small Business Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. D. BAUMHART, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BAUMHART. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has long recognized the importance of preserving small business in our economy by enacting antitrust laws, by earmarking certain Government contracts for small firms, and by providing financial assistance to firms unable to secure funds from conventional loan sources at reasonable interest rates.

In voting this week to extend the life of the Small Business Administration and its helpful programs (H. R. 7963), we again demonstrated our concern for the small-business man and our willingness to provide assistance to him.

This is all to our credit, but there is no mistaking the fact that the Congress has failed to come to grips with basic impediments and burdens which our tax laws have thrust upon defenseless small businesses. As now constituted, our corporate and personal income tax laws combine to strike the small-business man twice and prevent him from realizing the growth potential of his business.

All too often, therefore, our small businesses remain stunted and undernourished, eking out a marginal existence. They become easy prey for even the slightest drop in the level of business. Our national economy is surely the loser when ingenuity, skill, and ambition are thwarted by unrealistic tax policies.

Remedial action is urgently overdue. Such relief would be provided by my bill, H. R. 6184, and by other bills introduced by my distinguished Republican colleagues who serve on the House Select Committee To Conduct a Study and Investigation of the Problems of Small Business. These bills incorporate recommendations of the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business, along with proposals made by leading tax experts.

Research—the constant striving for improved products and wider distribution—is the nourishing lifeblood of business, large or small. There is no status quo in business; one must grow or die. But our present tax laws conspire to keep the small-business man from pursuing vital research and thereby tend to make him increasingly reliant on artificial aids and stimuli from the Federal Government.

In this connection I would like to insert in the RECORD excerpts from a study entitled "Research for the Small Business" appearing in the Corporate Director, volume VI, No. 16, May 1957, published by the American Institute of Management. This material derives in large part from Research and Development in the Corporation, the fifth volume in a series analyzing the 10 functional categories of management appraisal developed by the institute.

"Small business," as used in the AIM material, refers in manufacturing to a company whose annual sales volume is under $5 million, whose net worth is under $1 million, and whose earnings are under $100,000. In retail and service trades, a business is considered small if its sales are under $1 million.

By "research" the study means management efforts to develop new products, processes, or equipment; to improve existing products, processes, or equipment, its own or those of competitors; to develop new uses or new markets for its products; to lower the costs of production and maintenance; to salvage materials.

The excerpts follow:

Despite all the evidence of its value, small business generally ignores research. Only about 10 percent of this country's small manufacturers have their own research facilities; only about 20 percent support real research in any way at all.

The chief executives of many small companies believe that research, because of its cost, is a function of big business. The widely publicized, elaborate research facilities of the large corporations confirm this impression for them. They see other deterrents too. Research returns are slow—it may be a decade before a research idea begins to pay for itself. The idea may never pay off. As one small business head puts it, "Big business can bury a mistake. In a small company, one mistake may bury the business."

But despite these arguments, it can be shown that research should be a continuing function of the very business process itself. Research is essential for growth in any competitive field. And the small competitor is in no way excluded from research; in fact, in several ways it has advantages over the large corporation. The small firm has a flexibility lost in bigness. It can capitalize quickly on a development for a limited market, while its large competitor must consider his national market and large scale production process. And, research can be less costly than many businessmen believe.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

In concrete terms, how much must management spend to support a formal research department? Naturally, this figure cannot be fixed rigidly, but these points can serve as guides:

About 50 to 60 percent of an annual research allotment is spent for salaries.

The average salary of a research scientist today is between $8,000 and $9,000, and each scientist must be supported by one other employee (laboratory worker, technician, librarian, stenographer, etc.) whose salary is about half that of the researcher's.

It costs at least $10,000 to equip each scientist to carry out his work—although in specialized fields this figure can be much higher. Added to that figure would be the initial investment in a research building or facility.

A research team of, say, 5 scientists and other personnel would therefore need a budget of about $100,000 to $140,000 per year, plus the initial cost of building and a minimum of $50,000 for equipment. A company can spend less, of course—down to the cost of supporting a single researcher. But the practical minimum is not much below a budgeted $120,000 a year. One research consultant advises: "If a company can't spend at least $100,000 a year for 5 years, it can't afford its own research department."

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WHY COMPANIES GO OUTSIDE

Many excellently managed companies use outside research organizations to obtain the services of specialized personnel and equipment not in the company's research department and not likely to be needed there regularly or permanently. Some companies use outside research to assure research objectivity and a fresh research attitude. Or they may want to avoid imbalance in their research department—too many projects in one field of science. In any event, these corporations have various valid reasons for using outside research facilities. Many of the best managed companies have used them regularly and profitably for decades.

Smaller companies can gain these and other advantages from outside research. They can avoid prohibitive investment in equipment, gain the services of personnel they could not attract on any permanent basis, and let their research expenditures expand or contract as profits permit.

* * * * *

The cost of outside research is, naturally, important to the small company considering it. Consistent with their nonprofit status, most of the research institutes try to conduct all programs at the lowest possible cost. Like company research, though, costs can vary greatly. They can mount quickly if expensive special equipment is needed or if extensive travel is required. However, the cost of an average project can be estimated roughly. A project that requires full-time work by two men—a professional scientist or engineer and a laboratory technician—will cost about $2,000 to $2,500 per month. At some foundations, projects can be set up on a fractional basis—employing the part-time services of one scientist, if the work can be effectively prosecuted in this way.

ANOTHER VIEW OF COSTS

The projects actually in progress at one of the large research institutes provide another view of research costs. Southwest Research Institute gives these figures on the costs of sponsored research there:

"About one-sixth of our projects amount to less than $1,000 in total cost. About one-third range from $1,000 to $5,000. Another one-third cost $5,000–$7,500, and the remaining sixth go all the way up to one project, for example, which amounts to over $500,000 per year."

Obviously not even the very small corporation is excluded from research if projects can be pursued for only a few thousand dollars. There is probably no excuse for any company, regardless of its ability to maintain its own research department, to fail to avail itself of some research effort through the superbly conducted independent research facilities which exist primarily to meet its needs.

Nontechnical research too can be pursued the same way. Several of the major research foundations—Stanford Research Institute is probably preeminent in this—do extensive economic research for business.

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ELEVEN RESEARCH PROJECTS

A medium-sized firm in the chemical equipment business placed 11 projects with 1 research foundation during the past 5 years. Their cost, progress, and variety are related here by the research foundation:

Project 1: Investigate the possibility of developing a new chemical equipment device. Had it been done? Would it be possible? How could it best be developed? The answer: The possibilities looked good. The device was new; itt might be commercially practical. The foundation's report outlined an approach for developing the device.

Project 2: Review and analyze possible new products. This continuing project is still in existence; the foundation periodically reports its review.

Project 3: Develop a new method of solving the gum problem in gas absorpttion units. Result: A patentable invention which has already proved profitable.

These 3 projects each cost from $2,000 to $5,000.

Project 4: Make a pilot plant study of an absorption-type gas drier. Cost: $6,000. Result: An improved process netting the company a pretax profit of $150,000 per year.

Project 5: Investigate a possible new device. Result: Negative, project abandoned. Cost: $1,800 (of an allotted $5,000).

Project 6: Analyze the possibilities in a new device for the oil industry. Result: The device was possible, but uneconomical and certainly not feasible commercially. Cost: $2,500.

Project 7: Develop a new type of industrial gas refrigeration process. Results: A successful invention, carried through the pilot plant stage and proved to be commercially practical. Patent application made. Cost: $35,000. Since this product has not yet been marketed, the profit from this research cannot be determined.

Project 8: Analyze the low-temperature limits of a chemical process. Results: Successful. Cost: $1,500.

Project 9: Develop the chemical equipment device first investigated by the foundation (project 1). Results: Successful. Patent application has been made. Profit potential is estimated to be over $200,000 per year.

Project 10: Develop a gas-desulfurizer for use by a large customer of the sponsoring company. Results: Successful, but the development was designed specifically for the single customer. Cost: $5,000, underwritten by the sponsor.

Project 11: Evaluate an invention on which the company had obtained an option. Results: A report advising against buying the device. Cost: $3,200.

The AIM study should be required reading for every small businessman. It makes a strong case for research and points out many ways that the small business can embark on a research program within its own organization or through outside research facilities.

It has been my own experience, however, that many—if not most—small-business men fully recognize that research is indispensable and are earmarking every possible dollar for this vital business function. The rub lies in the fact that—after taxes—there just are not enough dollars available to small-business men, no matter how research-minded they may be.

As the AIM study points out, "research can be less costly than many businessmen believe." But when increased cost of labor and materials trims profits; when these profits are in turn trimmed to the bone by taxes, and when the small-business man himself is forced to pay taxes on his own paltry share of these profits—it is obvious that the best-laid plans for research must all too often be deferred, if not scrapped. Little wonder, then, that a small businessman finds himself on a treadmill—unable to plow back earnings, incapable of attracting fresh investment capital, thwarted in his efforts to achieve the full potential of his product or his market.

As I see it, a revamping of our tax laws as they affect the small-business man can do more than anything else at this time to emancipate him from his treadmill. Praiseworthy as our other efforts may be to help him, they are attacking his symptoms rather than the source of his malady.

H. R. 6184 has been devised to provide for growth, expansion, and modernization for small and independent business enterprises engaged in trade or commerce.

It would amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide an election for filing income tax returns for small and independent businesses engaged in trade or commerce whether or not such businesses operate as individuals, partnerships or corporations, and to provide a normal tax rate of 20 percent for taxable years after March 31, 1957, and to increase the surtax exemption.

In addition, the bill would allow credits for losses incurred through investment or loans, and authorize a growth, expansion and modernization exemption on net taxable earnings.

Rapid amortization of property utilized for the production of profit would be granted to small and independent businesses engaged in trade or commerce. Small business could also claim an exemption for good will in the determination of the value of an estate.

By enacting such a realistic, far-reaching tax program I am confident that we can launch a significant breakthrough in the small-business segment of our economy, without penalizing or discriminating against other groups. If we believe in the philosophy that it is better to help someone help himself than it is to put him on the dole, we should pay more than lipservice to it by giving the small-business man the tax incentive and break he both needs and deserves.

Retirement Annuity Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the statement which I presented to the Pfost subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service today. The subcommittee is considering legislation to provide a much needed increase in annuities for civil-service employees who retired before October 1, 1956. Among the bills which they are considering is my bill, H. R. 4701. I sincerely hope that the committee will act without delay to approve such a measure so that the many retired employees of the Government and their families who are now undergoing severe hardship will receive badly needed help.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY SUPPORTING INCREASED ANNUITIES FOR CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES RETIRED PRIOR TO OCTOBER 1, 1956

Madam Chairman and members of the subcommittee, although in the interest of saving time in consideration of this much needed legislation I have not asked to appear before your subcommittee personally, I do appreciate the opportunity of submitting this statement in support of my bill, H. R. 4701, and of other measures to provide an increase in the annuities of civil-service retirees and their survivors.

It is unfortunate that when Public Law 854 was enacted last year, including Civil Service Retirement Act amendments, the annuity increases were limited to those who retired after October 1, 1956. Because of that limitation a great many people living on fixed civil-service retirement incomes were forced to continue a hand-to-mouth existence, and their situation has gone from bad to worse as the cost of living has continued its steady rise month by month. The token increase granted to them in 1955 did not even begin to absorb the living cost rise prior to that time and, as we all know, there has been no downward turn in the Consumer Price Index since. On the contrary it continues to inch upward, in spite of the administration's rosy statements from time to time about a leveling off with predictions of a downward trend.

I call attention to the fact that Public Law 854 of the 84th Congress contained a provision in section 406 stating it to be the policy of Congress that whenever general adjustments were made in the salaries of Government employees corresponding adjustments should be made in the annuities of retired employees. I submit that this does not mean that we should wait a year or two thereafter but that the increases in civil-service annuities should be made concurrently. Your committee has now begun consideration of employee pay increase legislation and it is apparent that, despite the opposition of the Eisenhower administration, this session of Congress will pass pay raise bills, thus calling the President's hand. Certainly, in line with the policy voiced in the 84th Congress, we should present to him at the same time a measure calling for a generous increase in retirement annuities.

I have in my files a large sheaf of letters from retired Government employees in my district telling me of the hard time they are having in trying to get along on their small annuities. I know that these are not exaggerations as I have come face to face with many of my constituents who are in similar situations, and it is a matter of commonsense that even a man living alone cannot live on $100 or $150 or even $200 a month which is the case with many of them, whereas those with a wife and other dependents to support have no chance at all unless they can find some other source of income. A man who has passed retirement age has little opportunity to find any sort of a job to supplement his annuity in this day and age. Many of them are simply not capable because of age or physical infirmities of holding down a money-making job of any kind. Others, willing and able to work, just can't get a job because of the age taboo which has grown up around us.

Under these circumstances we have no choice but to act to bring the level of annuity incomes up to a point where outright suffering can be avoided. A schedule of increases such as provided in H. R. 4 and my bill, H. R. 4701, is a minimum approach to a just solution of the problem.

The fundamental purpose of the civil-service retirement system is to insure that people who have given a lifetime of work to the Government and to the people of the United States will not be thrown on the streets or to the mercy of public assistance agencies or charities when their productive years have ended. There was a time when the annuities provided by the system were sufficient to permit a retired employee with maximum service to live in relative comfort, assuming that he had been provident enough to purchase a home during his working years. That time is long since past. Very few retired employees who were in the lower pay grades during their Government careers have the means to subsist now, when subsistence on their debased annuity income alone is not possible. Only this relative few whose family responsibilities were lighter or who found other means of supplementing their capital while still in the prime of life are free from want of one kind or another now. For the great majority the decreasing value of their annuity as the cost of living has increased means that they are faced with privation or with dependence on their children. This situation is certainly contrary to the intent of the retirement program, and is a cruel contrast to the promise of a protected old age held out by Congress in inducing participation in the program. The only way in which we can return to the basic principle and promise held out in establishing the system is to pass timely legislation to maintain the real income provided by annuities at a level consistent with the cost of living. The time to do that is now. Every day in which we delay is an additional day of hardship for civil service annuitants and their dependents and causes them to fall deeper and deeper into the hole of debt. Even those who may have some independent means are faced with the necessity for drawing on their meager savings until they are wiped out. We cannot in good conscience leave these people faced with such harsh alternatives.

The Civil Service Commission informs me that as of June 30, 1956, the latest date for which they have compiled figures, the average monthly annuity paid to beneficiaries of the retirement system was $133 per month. That average has increased somewhat as a result of Public Law 854, but the increase did not apply to the beneficiaries of the legislation we are now considering and only serves to make the position of those who retired before October 1 of last year relatively less favorable. At the same time the monthly benefit for survivors of deceased employees averaged only $50. Remembering that these are only average figures and that countless thousands are receiving less than that amount, it is completely clear that a very substantial increase is necessary to afford the absolute minimum needed to eke out a living for those in the less than average class.

It is for this reason that my bill and other similar bills set up a schedule calling for greater percentage increases for those whose annuities are less than $1,500 per year. However, on mature consideration it occurs to me that the schedule of increases set up in the Morrison bill and my bill might work an injustice on the groups whose annuities are now just above $1,500, in that others in the same retirement date class with annuities of slightly less than $1,500 might be jumped above them in total annuity by virtue of the 25 percent to 30 percent increase provided for the lower-income groups. Therefore, I propose that if the schedule in the Morrison bill is used as a basis for any increase granted, the flat 10-percent increase for annuities above $1,500 in the several retirement-date groups be revised to grant either the maximum increase granted for those with less than $1,500 annuity or 10 percent, whichever is greater. Thus, those with annuities of over $1,500 who retired between October 1, 1955, and October 1, 1956, would receive either $375 (25 percent of $1,500) or 10 percent of their total annuity, whichever is greater. Similarly, those who retired between August 20, 1920, and October 1, 1951, would receive an increase of either $450 (30 percent of $1,500) or 10 percent, whichever is greater. There would be similar minimum increases of 26, 27, 28, and 29 percent of $1,500 for those in the intervening retirement-date groups whose present annuity is in excess of $1,500. This proposed revision would prevent an inequitable adjustment of annuities just above or below $1,500 through which annuitants receiving lesser benefits now might wind up with a greater annuity than others now receiving a slightly higher payment.

I am prepared to support on the floor of the House any bill which emerges from your committee which provides for an adequate schedule of increases for civil-service annuitants and their survivors, provided that it does full justice to the urgent need. I know, for example, that there is a great deal of support for the Davis bill which calls for a different schedule of increases and does not specify the source of funds to be used in paying such increases. To me the imperative thing is that action be taken quickly, that the committee satisfy itself that the increases provided are reasonable and just and that the fiscal obligations are such as to assure payment on a sound basis.

It's a Nice Gift to Sioux Falls, but Why?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, during the WPA days the Federal Government entered into a program of privy building. Under the guise of providing employment, anyone who furnished the material could have a nice, modern, well-ventilated privy constructed on his property.

Many of us thought this was the funniest thing we had ever heard of. We poked fun at this program, editorially, and otherwise.

Mr. Speaker, we were pikers in the WPA days. Today we are building sewer systems for everyone for whom we built privies back in the old horse-and-buggy WPA days.

Authorization for this grandiose privy program was slipped through Congress last year as an amendment to a bill which merely extended stream-pollution legislation. A stiff fight was had on the floor this session to block this privy appropriation, but the spenders won, and today every town and hamlet in the United States is rushing to Washington to get privy money for a new or expanded sewage system.

In the June 21, 1957, issue of the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader, appeared an editorial in which that newspaper asked why the Federal Government should be coming around offering their city $250,000 to assist in the expansion of their sewage system. Many other Americans are asking why? They want to know why the Federal Government with the staggering debt burden of $274 billion should be sending agents around offering money to debt-free, or comparatively debt-free cities, for local improvements.

Mr. Speaker, this question can only be answered by the spenders in Congress who constituted a majority in both Houses when the glorified privy appropriation was passed.

The Sioux Falls Argus-Leader editorial is as follows:

IT'S A NICE GIFT TO SIOUX FALLS, BUT WHY?

It's nice to know that the Federal Government is willing to provide $250,000 for the expansion of the sewage system in Sioux Falls. But we are at a loss, nevertheless, to understand just why it should.

Mind you, we are not criticizing local officials for asking for the money and we aren't suggesting that we be so high-hatted as not to accept it.

But Sioux Falls is quite able, financially and otherwise, to provide whatever sewage system it needs and there's no particular necessity for Uncle Sam to step in and assist us.

Yet the money has been appropriated and, as we pay our share and more of the various and many benefactions of Washington, it is proper to collect this minor return on our contributions.

The tendency to disburse aid of this type, however, is one reason why our Federal Government is so expensive and why it must collect so much money from the people.

And don't assume for one moment that South Dakotans are overlooked when the Federal tax collector makes his rounds. Actually we pay at least $100 million annually in Federal taxes, directly and indirectly. The total might be much greater than that, in fact, if we could obtain figures on what we pay in hidden taxes.

There are some Federal activities that are in a nature interstate or where large areas are involved. Developments in these frequently present difficulties from the viewpoint of local financing and in some instances Federal assistance is warranted. But no such argument is applicable to a local sewage system.

George H. Bender

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, on June 10, 1957, the Honorable George H. Bender was appointed a Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior. A former Member of this House and a Member of the Senate, Senator Bender has served the people of the United States with energy, courage, and distinction. The people of Hawaii welcome him to his new duties and pledge him every possible cooperation. I include in the RECORD a concurrent resolution adopted by the 29th legislature of the Territory of Hawaii expressing the sup-

port and good wishes of the two houses of our legislature:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 5

Whereas the Honorable George H. Bender has been appointed to the position of Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior to work in the field of the economic development of the Territories with special emphasis on the pending statehood bills for Hawaii and Alaska; and

Whereas Mr. Bender through a long and distinguished career as a Member of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States has taken an active interest in the political and economic affairs of Hawaii and has indicated his support of statehood by word and by action in voting for statehood bills: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 29th Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, in special session assembled (the House of Representatives concurring), That Mr. Bender be congratulated on this assignment of importance to Hawaii and the Nation, and that the two houses pledge their complete support to him in carrying out this assignment; and be it further

Resolved, That Mr. Bender be and he hereby is cordially invited to visit Hawaii as soon as his duties and responsibilities permit; and be it further

Resolved, That a certified copy of this concurrent resolution be transmitted to the Honorable George H. Bender, to the Honorable Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, to the chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and to the Delegate to the Congress from Hawaii.

THE SENATE OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, T. H., June 7, 1957.

We hereby certify that the foregoing concurrent resolution was this day adopted by the Senate of the 29th Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, special session of 1957.

WILLIAM H. HEEN,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM S. RICHARDSON,
Clerk of the Senate.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, T. H., June 8, 1957.

We hereby certify that the foregoing concurrent resolution was this day adopted by the House of Representatives of the 29th Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, special session of 1957.

O. VINCENT ESPOSITO,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
HERMAN T. F. LUM,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

Resolutions Adopted by the 37th Annual Conference of the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners Held at Glenwood Springs, Colo., June 19, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to present the text of a letter received by me dated June 25, 1957, from Mr. Seth Gordon, director, department of fish and game, of my native State of California, together with the resolutions adopted by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, to which he refers in said letter to me.

No doubt the text and import will be interesting and informative to all readers thereof who are interested in these problems:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
DEPARTMENT OF FISH AND GAME,
Sacramento, Calif., June 25, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: Enclosed for your information is a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners during its 37th annual conference held at Glenwood Springs, Colo., June 19, 1957.

We are in accord with these views and trust you will cooperate to the best of your ability in effectuating the several recommendations.

Sincerely yours,

SETH GORDON,
Director.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION OF STATE GAME AND FISH COMMISSIONERS, 37TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, GLENWOOD SPRINGS, COLO., JUNE 19, 1957

RESOLUTION 1

Amendments to Coordination Act

Whereas the conservation and perpetuation of fish and wildlife are becoming critical because of the increasing utilization of lands and waters to meet the needs of our expanding human population; and

Whereas large sums of public money are being spent by State, Federal, and private agencies for the development of water resources; and

Whereas construction agencies, both Government and private, have been reluctant to consider ways and means to maintain or mitigate losses to fish and wildlife resources; and

Whereas many water-development projects can be planned and coordinated to benefit all the users of the resources, and

Whereas the amendments to the Coordination Act of 1946 (commonly called Public Law 732) as proposed by the Department of the Interior and endorsed by the 48 States, will provide for mitigation and consideration of fish and wildlife values in all construction projects; and

Whereas it appears that there is an unnecessary delay in submitting these proposals to the Congress: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, That the Bureau of the Budget be requested to expedite approval of this proposed legislation and submit it to the Congress with a recommendation for early action.

RESOLUTION 2

Maintenance of fish structures on Columbia River dams

Whereas the United States Government, through the Bureau of Reclamation and Corps of Engineers, has constructed more than 40 dams on the Columbia River watershed; and

Whereas an agreement has been entered into between the United States and the several States concerned in the Columbia Basin regarding the construction of fishways, salmon hatcheries, and other facilities to provide for the passage of fish, resulting in the completion of many of these projects and the planning of others; and

Whereas the maintenance of these structures will result in a continuing cost that has not been provided for in the original agreement; and

Whereas the several States concerned, through their legislatures, have petitioned the President and Congress of the United States to recognize the permanent maintenance of these structures as a Federal responsibility: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners does hereby urge the Congress of the United States to recognize the permanent maintenance and operation of these facilities as a Federal responsibility and to appropriate moneys for their continued operation and maintenance on a permanent basis.

RESOLUTION 3

Land withdrawals for Salmon River spawning areas

Whereas the perpetuation of the anadromous fish resources of the Snake River Basin generally and of the Salmon River particularly depend on the adequate passage of fish through the various dams constructed in this system, and vast sums of money have been expended to insure such fish passage; and

Whereas adequate provisions are needed not only for fish passage, but also for the protection of the natural spawining areas in the headwaters of the Salmon River: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners goes on record as continuing to endorse the request of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service for withdrawal of some 33,000 acres of public lands along the headwaters of the Salmon River from all forms of entry, including the mining laws, but not including the mineral leasing laws; and be it further

Resolved, That the association does hereby request the Secretary of the Interior to take prompt action to issue a public land order to set aside these lands for the preservation of these spawning grounds in their natural state.

RESOLUTION 4

Disposal of radioactive wastes

Whereas the increasing use of radioactive materials has created a disposal problem which may in the future affect all marine resources and seaside communities; and

Whereas radioactive materials once disposed of into marine waters cannot be retrieved; and

Whereas ocean disposal of these materials has resulted in concern on the part of public officials and consumers as to safeness of ocean products as human foods; and

Whereas this concern itself may result in irreparable damage to the fishing industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners recommends to all public agencies concerned that radioactive wastes be disposed of in appropriate underground depositories.

RESOLUTION 5

Recognition of water for wildlife and recreation as a beneficial use

Whereas wildlife and recreation are recognized as one of the most important of the economic resources in our Nation today; and

Whereas the recognition of water for these purposes as a beneficial use is essential in the maintenance and development of these resources; and

Whereas other economic developments are constantly encroaching on our natural stream flows and recreation opportunities; and

Whereas with an ever-increasing human population and demand for expanded recreational facilities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commssioners, That each individual State legislature give serious consideration to the adoption of adequate State water laws to provide for the recognition of the beneficial use of water for wildlife and recreational purposes in order that all of our natural resources may be developed equally.

RESOLUTION 6

Topock Marsh rehabilitation

Whereas the 40 mile stretch of the Colorado River from north of Needles to south of Topock, which has been channelized by the Bureau of Reclamation, or is programed for channelization within the next year, historically included thousands of acres of ideal waterfowl habitat; and

Whereas commitments prior to 1946 provided for the retention of Topock Marsh to mitigate the loss of waterfowl habitat in the Needless-Topock area, and since then continued opposition by the Bureau of Reclamation to the maintenance of this area as a waterfowl wintering and resting ground has resulted in a continued reduction in Fish and Wildlife Service plans while channelization has continued to eliminate more and more historical waterfowl habitat; and

Whereas provisions under the Boulder Canyon Act permit the United States Government to take water from the Colorado River for its lands according to legal counsel, and such diversions shall not be chargeable either to Arizona or California as individual States; and

Whereas the future of the intermountain flight of the Canada goose is in jeopardy; and

Whereas the Department of Interior has not taken definite steps to correct this situation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners urges the Secretary of the Interior to order the diversion of water to permit a flow of 20,000 acre-feet through the Topock area, not more than 4,500 acre-feet of which will be for consumptive use, and that a determination of the amount of water necessary for the future maintenance of Topock Marsh be made; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary should order a study made immediately of the minimum amount of water that must be permitted to flow through this area to maintain wildlife values.

RESOLUTION 7

Soil Bank Act

Whereas the Soil Bank Act of 1955, through its conservation reserve program, has a great potential in the field of preservation and restoration of sorely needed habitat for fish and wildlife; and

Whereas the early experience on the part of the several State game departments with this program has led to frustration and an apparent lack of fulfillment of the purposes of the program; and

Whereas the Federal regulations dealing with the conservation reserve program appear to be partially responsible for the program not living up to its expectations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, That the Secretary of Agriculture modify existing regulations governing the conservation reserve program of the Agricultural Act of 1956 as follows:

1. Provide that wet lands be made eligible for conservation reserve payments, irrespective of past crop history.

2. Provide that wildlife practices be entitled to 80 percent Federal cost-share based upon the average cost of establishing the practice as specified by the State administrative committee.

3. Provide that the contract period for establishing woody plantings under practice G–1 be from 5 to 15 years and that the contract period for G–1 herbaceous practices be for a period of from 5 to 10 years as it is in respect to A–2 practices at the election of the landowner.

4. Provide that the respective game and fish departments be offered contracts under which such departments would be reimbursed for establishing wildlife habitat as provided by G–1, G–2, and G–3 of the regulations, and that they be reimbursed for such services; and be it further

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the president of the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners to work with a like committee of the International Association of State Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners to procure the above-listed changes.

RESOLUTION 8

Public access for recreational use on and around reservoir impoundments

Whereas Federal laws now provide that under certain conditions Federal agencies mitted to issue special use permits to private individuals for the construction of dams for the purpose of impounding water; and

Whereas it is recognized that said special use permits allow development of our agricultural lands and provide for the highest use of said land; and

Whereas public access for recreational purposes does not interfere with the primary purpose for which the special use permit was granted; and

Whereas said lands belong to all the public rather than a few individuals: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, That the Bureau of Land Management and other Federal agencies authorized to issue said permits be requested to include, at the time of granting, a provision stipulating the right of public access for wildlife and recreational purposes.

RESOLUTION 9

Hunting and fishing on military lands

Whereas there has been insufficient cooperation between the military authorities and State game and fish departments relative to the management and harvest of game and fish on military reservations and on other public lands proposed for military use; and

Whereas the Defense Department is continually requesting large withdrawals of public lands for the exclusive use of the Armed Forces; and

Whereas requests have been made to take over national wildlife refugees and other lands having public recreational values for exclusive military use: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, That Congress speedily enact legislation as follows:

1. That State game and fish laws, rules and regulations on game and fish, including game and fish management responsibilities, apply to all federally owned or controlled lands except national parks and Indian treaty lands.

2. That all military personnel be required by law to observe State game and fish laws, and further, to allow State enforcement agents, after proper security clearance, to enter military reservations for the purpose of enforcing such laws and managing and harvesting the game thereon.

3. That congressional approval be required for all military withdrawals sought by the Defense Department which are over 5,000 acres in size.

4. That the United States Senate be urged to give immediate consideration to H. R. 5538 (Engle) which includes the above-mentioned objectives, and would preclude further unnecessary encroachment by the Armed Forces on the wildlife resources of the Nation.

RESOLUTION 10

Public ownership of reservoir sites and surrounding lands

Whereas the policy of taking flowage easements rather than outright title to reservoir sites and surrounding shorelands, adopted in August 1953 by the Corps of Engineers and the United States Bureau of Reclamation, has resulted in an almost complete loss to the general public of highly valuable and irreplaceable recreational areas; and

Whereas under the policy followed prior to August 1953 such shorelands and access areas to these lands were often licensed to the various State game departments, resulting in a high and permanent public use of these areas; and

Whereas the Chudoff committee in Congress and other groups are in the process of conducting hearings for the purpose of evaluating these policies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners does strongly urge that the present flowage easement policy be terminated in the general public interest, and that there be substituted for it the former policy of taking absolute legal title to reservoir sites and surrounding shorelands in order that their use may be permanently assured to the general public.

RESOLUTION 11

Increased funds for wet lands acquisition and management

Whereas there is urgent need for the preservation of the remaining wet lands of the United States in order to provide adequate breeding and wintering grounds for the continental population of waterfowl; and

Whereas there is urgent need for public funds for the acquisition and leasing by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service of the majority of the 8 million acres of wet lands that are vital to this conservation effort, and funds are also needed for the development and maintenance of such areas; and

Whereas the migratory waterfowl hunters of the United States have contributed more than $50 million through the purchase of duck stamps to perpetuate migratory waterfowl; and

Whereas the duck stamp as a means of raising funds for the above-mentioned purposes was accepted by the American public with the pledge that the funds would be used primarily for wet land acquisition; and

Whereas Congress has failed to meet its obligation to the millions of people interested in the preservation of waterfowl; and

Whereas the waterfowl resources of the North American Continent are a public responsibility recognized by international treaty; and

Whereas it is recognized that land costs are much higher than they were a few years ago, requiring the outlay of considerably more money to accomplish the same objectives, which, coupled with a corresponding increase in other governmental costs, has rendered the present $2 duck stamp inadequate: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners goes on record approving a $1 increase in the duck stamp to aid the above objectives, with the definite understanding that (1) the entire income from duck stamps will be matched by appropriations from general public funds, (2) that not less than 50 percent of such combined funds be allocated to the acquisition or leasing of wet-land areas for waterfowl management purposes, (3) that substantial areas in the so-called pothole country of the Prairie States be acquired or leased for nesting and feeding grounds, (4) that not more than 40 percent of said funds be available for administration, operation, management, and maintenance of said waterfowl management and wet-land areas, and (5) that the remainder be used for enforcement and distribution of stamps by the post office.

RESOLUTION 12

Reorganization of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service

Whereas in 1956 Public Law 1024 was enacted by the United States Congress reorganizing the United States Fish and Wildlife

Service of the Department of Interior and elevating the Service to sub-Cabinet level consistent with the importance of its resource responsibilities; and

Whereas Public Law 1024 continued the United States Fish and Wildlife Service as one coordinated entity and established a Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and a Bureau of Sports Fish and Wildlife within that Service; and

Whereas a complete separation of functions as now being established reflects a basic policy change in the fisheries management which is inconsistent with the long-established philosophy of coordinated effort, particularly at the field level, and previously insisted upon by the American people; and

Whereas it was not the intention of Congress to provide for a complete separation of activities between the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and the Bureau of Sports Fish and Wildlife, such separation being only an administrative interpretation; and

Whereas this division of activities within the Service (1) will result in administrative confusion, internal conflict, and greater administrative costs, as is evidenced by the recent requests of the Service for substantial budget increases, and (2) will jeopardize the perpetuity and well-being of the Nation's fish and wildlife resources, both for commercial and for recreational uses: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners continues to oppose the establishment of two completely separate and autonomous bureaus dealing with the fisheries resource, and especially the separation of such activities at the field level; and be it further

Resolved, That the association urges Congress to deny funds for an administrative superstructure which is not only unworkable but needlessly costly, and to designate any increase of funds for a much broader and accelerated field program.

RESOLUTION 13

Recreational Resources Review

Whereas the Nation is faced with mushrooming populations, ever-expanding industry, more intensive utilization of all natural resources, each exacting an inexorable toll on the resources available for all types of public outdoor recreation; and

Whereas there is great need for making a comprehensive review of outdoor recreation resources and opportunities for the purpose of inventory and evaluation to determine the quantity and quality of these recreation resource opportunities which future generations will require and as a base for developing broad programs at all levels to meet these future needs; and

Whereas legislation embodying these objectives has been introduced in the Congress by a distinguished bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners endorses the principles and objectives of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review (the Anderson-Aspinall bills, S. 846, H. R. 3592, et al.) and urges enactment and implementation at an early date.

RESOLUTION 14

Operation outdoors

Whereas the United States Department of Agriculture, through the United States Forest Service, has developed a long-needed program identified as Operations Outdoors; and

Whereas part I of this program, concerning national-forests recreation aimed at solving the mounting problem of increased family outdoor activity, has been completed and is ready for implementation; and

Whereas part II will deal with improvement and management of wildlife habitat on the national forests in cooperation with the fish and game departments; and

Whereas both phases of these activities have long been needed and have been programed in a most thorough and systematic manner: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners commends most highly the United States Department of Agriculture for preparing the analyses and resulting plans dealing with the extremely important recreational and wildlife values of the national forests, and urges Congress to implement the program through appropriate financing.

RESOLUTION 15

Harvest of game on Federal refuges

Whereas the upland game birds and big game animals now located on Federal refuges belong to the States, and their proper management is the responsibility of the individual States; and

Whereas the establishment of refuges for the protection of one species prevents the harvest of other species for which such protection is not required; and

Whereas in most Federal refuges regulated harvests are needed in order to manage properly the game resources thereon; and

Whereas it is the opinion of the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners that such game species, through lack of harvest, overutilize their range and are lost through malnutrition and old age; and

Whereas it now appears that the United States Fish and Wildlife Service has given serious consideration to proper management of Federal refuge areas, from the standpoint of an allowable harvest, in certain areas, but not in others: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners does hereby commend the United States Fish and Wildlife Service for its progressive attitude with reference to proper management of these refuges; and be it further

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners does hereby request the United States Fish and Wildlife Service to continue to give study, in cooperation with the States, looking toward the development of uniform cooperative harvest plans for their refuge system where such programs are not now in operation.

RESOLUTION 16

Commending Colorado hospitality

Whereas the 37th annual conference of the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, held at Glenwood Springs, Colo., has been an outstanding success in the furtherance of the conservation ideals of the Western United States and Canada; and

Whereas President Thomas Kimball, the Colorado Game and Fish Commission, and the Colorado Game and Fish Department have extended every effort to make this conference a success; and

Whereas the official hosts have been aided by the kind efforts of the Glenwood Springs Chamber of Commerce and the Glenwood Springs Sportsmen's Association: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners does hereby thank Thomas Kimball, the Colorado Game and Fish Commission, the Colorado Game and Fish Department, the Glenwood Springs Chamber of Commerce, and the Glenwood Springs Sportsmen's Association for a most enjoyable and profitable conference.

How Narrow the Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, dairymen are among the farmers in America who are doing their best to promote their own commodities through extensive promotional work in magazines, newspapers, radio, and television. Two editorials, among many published in the Ninth District of Wisconsin to celebrate June Dairy Month, help call attention to how narrow is the line between surplus and shortage when it comes to milk. On June 14 an editorial in the Cadott Sentinel said:

We are told that the future for dairying is bright. Our mushrooming population makes it inevitable. But right now, the existing market must be broadened if we are to keep the important dairy industry strong and healthy.

An extra sip of milk a day, experts say, by every man, woman, and child in the country, would tax our Nation's milk production capacity. If, instead of ranking 15th in per capita consumption of milk in the world, the United States was to rank 12th, we would have to import milk, temporarily at least.

So thin and yet so wide is the line dividing surplus from shortage in the dairy industry.

That editor publishes a special section filled with dairy recipes printed on butter yellow colored paper to encourage use of dairy products at home.

On June 12 the editor of the Rice Lake Chronotype admitted the multiplicity of special days, weeks, and months set aside for various purposes and proceeded to explain the importance of dairy month, with the following words:

JUNE IS DAIRY MONTH

What with all the days, weeks, and months set aside for various commercial, charitable, and other reasons, most people probably pay little attention to all the proclamations and other gimmicks used to draw attention to the special causes being pleaded at the moment.

During June, the Nation's dairy industry gets together to proclaim its virtues and to put on a special campaign to sell the products of the cow.

The cow is an animal that does deserve some special recognition from mankind, for no beast has given as much to man as the producer of our milk.

The cow is seldom pictured as a noble animal, an adjective we apply to the dog. She is more often described as a docile, contented animal who is responsible for little inspiration to poets, artists, and writers. She merely goes on eating grasses of the field, which we human beings cannot eat, and we pay little attention to her.

Since milk still holds the title of "nature's most nearly perfect food" and since most of us, especially adults, don't consume as much milk as we should, according to the nutritionists, there is probably good reason for us to cooperate with the cows and the dairy industry in celebrating June Dairy Month. Milk and its products have a great deal to offer in terms of pepping us all up after months of winter lethargy.

How some restaurants handle the question of serving milk with their meals is the subject of another editorial, the following in the June 27 issue of the Thorp Courier:

COOPERATING WITH DAIRY FARMER

The colorful poster on the restaurant wall proudly proclaimed: "June is dairy month—We are cooperating."

Fine.

On our return from Sparta this past weekend, we ordered our lunch from the menu—substituting milk for coffee.

Then came the bill. Sure enough. We were charged 5 cents extra for the milk.

Paying the bill, we glanced at the "We are cooperating" poster.

Who wouldn't want to cooperate with a program that would enable them to sell an 8-ounce glass of milk for 15 cents? That's $30 per hundred pounds.

Somebody was getting a lot bigger chunk out of the price of that glass of milk than was the farmer who produced it and paid for the June Dairy Month poster with his checkoff.

How did we get the 15-cent price? It's easy to figure. Coffee in most eating places now sells for 10 cents. Coffee comes with the meal.

Substitute milk, and you pay for the coffee and add 5 cents. Total, 15 cents.

To be fair, it must be noted that some restaurants do permit you to substitute milk for coffee without extra charge. But they're too few.

Fortunately, some folks like milk well enough to pay the price. But why put a price penalty on milk?

The Nation's dairy farmers are spending a lot of money—about $6 million—this year to push the sale of dairy products.

Dairy farmers provide free posters promoting the sale of milk and other dairy products served in restaurants. And dairy farmers are pushing the idea of "milk with your meal—coffee later," another help for restaurant operators.

Is it too much, then, to ask the restaurant operators near and in the big cities to sell milk for something less than 12 or 15 cents per glass, especially during June Dairy Month? Is it too much to ask that they put some meaning into the word "cooperate?"

Another pet peeve. We couldn't begin to count the number of times that we've had a waitress suggest coffee as a beverage. But, so help us, we can't recall a single waitress who suggested milk.

What do dairy farmers think of restaurant milk prices?

The fact is: Most of them haven't given the problem much attention. They're producers, not merchandisers.

Most dairy farmers feel that they're doing their part toward promoting sales of dairy products when they contribute through the year-round checkoff—1 cent per pound of butterfat during May and June, and one-half cent per pound of butterfat or 2 cents per 100 pounds of milk during the other 10 months.

Added to that, good dairy farmers eat most of their meals at home, close to the cows. Few of them have a chance to make their own surveys of restaurant milk prices.

And those who've spotted the problem find it rather baffling.

"I'll cuss all you want me to," says a Withee township farmer, "but I don't know what else to do about it."

Then he adds: "It's the same old story. They set the price on our products at both ends—to us and to the consumers."

Over in Reseburg township, a veteran dairyman feels about the same way.

"I've never been able to figure out why they charge more for milk when you substitute it, but most of them do," he said.

That's it. You can't tell a restaurant operator how to run his business—any more than you would let him tell you how to feed your cows.

"I don't know what we can do about it," a Thorp township farmer told us yesterday, "except to commend the ones that don't charge extra for milk."

Maybe that's the only answer. Maybe it's time for dairy farmers and June Dairy Month committees to do a little checking up in their own communities—find out how milk is being sold.

Then express appreciation to restaurant operators who really are cooperating in the dairy-promotion program.

Maybe the dairy farmer can do more than contribute to dairy product promotion through the checkoff.

What results might be expected if every dairy farmer were to go on a little crusade of his own during June—visit some restaurants, ask questions about milk prices, and make commendations where they are deserved?

Big Rain

EXPENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, in a story entitled "Big Rain," in the June 24 issue of the Midland Cooperator, published in Minneapolis, Gordon Mikkelson, one of its editors, has so graphically described the effects of the devastating flood in my district, that I want to commend it to the membership's serious consideration. Mr. Mikkelson's excellent job of reporting contains the following reference to the value of soil-conservation practices:

Midland Cooperator called on farmers and newspaper editors in the storm area for reports on what happened to terraces and diversion ditches and grass waterways. The answer—unanimous: Land that was under soil-conservation practices stood up. Crops are solid. Topsoil is still there. The contrast is very remarkable. Fields side by side show the difference.

Mr. Mikkelson's article follows:

BIG RAIN

(By Gordón Mikkelson)

Tiny rain drops, billions of them, flooded towns, killed crops, tore away millions of dollars of topsoil and brought death to six persons last week.

The drops plunged from low clouds in southwestern Minnesota onto nearly bare fields where small grains were just getting started.

They first spattered flecks of dirt away from tender roots. Then they bombed small craters under the plants.

On level ground the water gathered in big sheets because the earth could not soak it up as fast as it fell. On thousands upon thousands of acres of lower ground, the water drowned out crops.

It will be too late for most farmers to reseed, and short-maturing corn was hard to get. Soybeans and alfalfa are most likely as replacement crops.

On slopes of 2 to 3 percent, 2 or 3 feet of drop in each 100 feet of distance, the water dug small rills. It only trickled down them at first. After an hour it was gushing in tiny ribbons that carried away tons of fertile soil from each field.

When these rills joined, they formed small streams and ate new gullies. These drained the deluge into ditches along roadsides.

The road ditches filled quickly. Tons of water pressure built up in them against the road embankments.

As more rain continued Sunday evening, the ditches overflowed. Torrents of water under pressure poured across the roadways.

They tore out concrete and hardtop by undermining it.

Then the water was on its way to the main creeks and streams.

At culverts and bridges, the water choked the channels. It took out scores of small bridges and flowed over the flooring of some of the biggest ones.

By 9 p. m. most of the streams in the extreme southwestern Minnesota and adjoining South Dakota had topped their banks at spots. They ate away pastures and grainfields and poured trash and smothering silt over crops.

Marshall, Minn., became a national news center.

The Redwood River was pounding the town and within a day had flooded three-fourths of the city of 6,000. Rescue teams of civilian defense, National Guard, and Red Cross people came with boats, amphibious trucks and a helicopter.

By the weekend, official surveys placed the loss at $17 million in Minnesota. Officials said the final total would be greater when hidden effects came to light.

Governor Orville Freeman called an emergency meeting of the State executive council. It appropriated every penny in emergency funds to help townships, counties and cities restore bridges and other public works.

Senator EDWARD THYE, Republican, of Minnesota, introduced a bill in Congress for a $500,000 study of how to dig a ditch to send Redwood River around Marshall in future floods. The town is at the neck of a basin that is shaped like an hourglass. Drainage from the southwest passes through the narrow neck in the city.

The Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers will be rising all this week as the runoff heads for the Gulf of Mexico, still carrying silt and loam with it.

Weather Bureau forecasters barely had time to measure the downpour before they were tied up round the clock. A new rain came. Floods spread and warnings went out downstream.

The deluge was the greatest that white man has recorded in the area.

Joseph H. Strub, Jr., State climatologist at Minneapolis, said it ran 8 to 9 inches in the storm center. He received an unofficial report—meaning it was not made with a Government rain gage—of 15 inches of rain in less than 24 hours near Lake Benton, Minn.

"That report could be accurate, but it's unofficial," Strub told Midland Cooperator. "When you have a carefully measured 9 inches in a storm like that, there can be spots with 15 inches."

The big story was lost to most of the Nation.

Attention was focused on the raging water, flooded stores and homes, people marooned in houses and torn bridges, three cars that were swept away by swift water and their passengers drowned.

The big story was that this historic deluge hit the area that soil conservationists had developed for 1954 demonstrations. It was a test of whether modern land management could win against the very worst that could come.

The answer showed up at daylight Monday.

Land that was put under modern soil-conservation practices held up under the onslaught.

Even on steep hillsides, the water did not tear away soil. Even the small dam that was

built to make a stock pond handled the extreme storm.

And because dozens and scores of farmers have adopted the practices they saw at Plowville 1954, damage downstream was less than it would have been.

Midland Cooperator called on farmers and newspaper editors in the storm area for reports on what happened to terraces and diversion ditches and grass waterways.

The answer—unanimous: Land that was under soil conservation practices stood up. Crops are saved. Topsoil is still there.

The contrast is very remarkable.

Fields side by side show the difference.

On one next to a highway, you see wide fan-shaped layers of topsoil spread across corn and that is barely peeking above the deposit. Above it run fingers of light color—small grooves in the land down through the topsoil and into the clay sands and below.

And above those fingers are the knobs or rises in the cornfield—with more stones showing than when the crop went in.

These new stones measure the amount of fertile land that was washed away from around them—1 to 3 inches of it in some fields.

Next to the eroded and smothered corn is a field that was first terraced and then planted in strips. Even on the short slopes between the terraces, the grass has held—has stood the forces of 8 to 12 inches of driving rain.

And at the ends of the terraces where the water ran down diversion ditches, there is only a little erosion—about as much as a 1-inch cloudburst tears away from other land.

Wildlife loss was not measured in dollars.

Some game and fish study parties said that only adult pheasants came through the storm alive in South Dakota. Chicks by the thousands were drowned, and even the early first hatch birds did not make it through in parts of southeastern South Dakota.

Deer raced out of the stream bottoms to high ground. They were trotting around in bewildering new country all week. Their homes were gone for the summer. Some fawns probably were lost, wardens reported.

Young Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as far as news is concerned, we seem to be under a military censorship today. For a while, there was much hullabaloo and publicity about the Nation's Young Republicans holding a convention in Washington, D. C. The general theme song was that these Young Republicans would be 100 percent for modern republicanism. According to the "whoop-it-up" boys, we got the impression that these Young Republicans would be as far from the philosophy of the old guard Republicans as east is from west.

But lo and behold, these Young Republicans seem to have ideas of their own. Undoubtedly, they came into town from the grassroots where the people are not as yet completely brainwashed. I have been unable to learn from the press, which is apparently feeling the effects of this military censorship, what was actually adopted by the Young Republicans. However, a good Republican friend of mine, a patriotic American, furnished me with some of the resolutions adopted and which were not reported to the people of the country.

Following are some of the resolutions adopted by the Young Republicans last week at their convention here in Washington:

1. Pass a Federal right-to-work law.
2. Congress should not pass Federal aid to education.
3. That Sergeant Girard not be turned over to the Japanese courts.
4. No military aid to Tito in Yugoslavia.
5. A stronger Taft-Hartley law.
6. No aid of any sort to any Communist nation.

Usurping Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 11, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the St. Marys (Pa.) Daily Press:

USURPING POWER

It was not until 1803 the Supreme Court first attempted to invalidate a law passed by Congress, Chief Justice Marshall usurping that power then for the initial time.

It was not until 1865 the high tribunal again decided two laws passed by Congress were not constitutional. Because the laws affected at that time were not of any major importance Congress made no effort to overrule the Court or bypass its judicial processes.

It has only been within the last 30 years or so the Supreme Court has set itself up as the last judgment seat this side of kingdom come, although there is nothing specific spelled out in the Constitution that empowers the High Court to impose upon Congress and the Executive its personal interpretation of the National Constitution. It has merely usurped that power like the fabled camel that once it got its head under the tent kept moving in more and more until the owner was forced completely out of his sheltered home.

Inch by inch, year by year, the Supreme Court of the United States has abrogated unto itself the right to say what laws passed by Congress are in compliance with the Constitution, and often the interpretation one set of judges hands down will be completely reversed by a subsequent group of jurists on the same Court. The Supreme Court in 1954 on the school segregation issue completely reversed itself and said a decision made earlier by men presumably as well versed in law that held "equal and separate schools" satisfied the law's demand, was out of tune with the times.

Chief executives of several Southern States have indicated they will not comply with the Court order relative to segregation, and far as can be seen from surface indications there is no manner in which they can be punished for their outward refusal to carry out the Court's order.

Would Congress be any less punished should its Members refuse to carry out the latest order relative to congressional investigating un-American activities?

If sovereign States can thumb their nose at the Supreme Court it seems only fitting Congress can do the same thing.

If This Be Treason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in all sections of our country people who believe that public officials should perform their duties lawfully and constitutionally are outraged by the brazen and fraudulent usurpation of unauthorized powers by the Federal Supreme Court.

The deliberate pattern which the Supreme Court is following of usurping the lawmaking power and amending the Constitution to suit its own perverted ideas has roused a storm of protest from thoughtful people who realize that liberty and freedom cannot continue to exist here if the judicial department usurps the powers of the legislative or executive departments of the Government.

One such protest is an editorial If This Be Treason in the Savannah Morning News of June 19. Under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert this editorial herewith.

The editorial follows:

IF THIS BE TREASON

It has been often said by observers of the actions of the United States Supreme Court that the ultimate in absurdity had already been plumbed when the high body jettisoned the authority of all lesser courts by opening secret evidence to the defense. But such observers are shortsighted. They misjudge the immense capacity of the High Court to make a fool of itself and a mockery of the laws of the United States.

We refer, of course, to the latest ruling of the Court in which a nonexistent barrier is drawn between abstract and concrete preaching of the violent overthrow of the United States Government by force. Such a distinction does not exist under the wording of the Smith Act by which 14 California Communists had been convicted.

As if this absurd ruling were not sufficient evidence of the advanced state of socialistic senility on which the Court apparently bases most of its recent rulings, there is an added fillip to this latest comedy of errors. That is based on the technicality since the Communist Party changed its name since the act became valid, that the entire legislation covering control of Communist activities can be thrown out the window.

All of which leaves us inevitably to agree with Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, author of the act, who commented on the decision:

"I am not surprised. I do not recall any case decided by the present Court that the Communists have lost."

We are indebted to a very close friend, retired attorney, L. M. Norwood, for perhaps the most acidulous comment on the whole sorry business. With preliminary apologies to the Mother Goose of fable, Mr. Norwood paraphrases a well-known rhyme. For those

who might have forgotten all of it, the original is as follows:

"There was a man in our town,
And he was wondrous wise,
He jumped into a bramble bush,
And scratched out both his eyes,
And when he saw his eyes were out,
With all his might and main,
He jumped into another bush,
And scratched them in again."

Mr. Norwood wonders, with obvious reason, if this bit of mild satire couldn't be aimed at a more definite target. To wit:

"There were nine old men in our land,
Who thought they were wondrous wise,
They jumped in an illegal thorny bush,
And scratched out all their eyes,
And now they see their eyes are out,
Will they their sanity regain,
And jump into a legal bush,
And scratch them in again?"

If anything, we think Mr. Norwood has been too mild on the allegedly highest court in the land.

Within a relatively short period the Supreme Court has arbitrarily abrogated all the principles, customs, and mores that governed southern administration of our various school systems; they have jerked the rug from under any powers of American bar associations to police their own houses; they have, in effect, emasculated the prosecution arm of our courts by arbitrarily ruling open to inspection secret files of investigative agencies; they have negated State sedition laws; and they have put every possible barrier in the path of those patriotic Americans who are interested in apprehending and convicting Communists and other subversives who advocate the violent overthrow of this Government. If this isn't a record of rampant hairsplitting, obfuscation, and other obstructions to the orderly proceedings of our courts and agencies of Government, we stand indicted.

But we feel constrained to speak our piece. We firmly believe the American public in general is outraged at the highhanded and irresponsible actions of the current Supreme Court of the United States.

So, in the words of Patrick Henry, a gentleman of Virginia, "If this be treason, make the most of it."

New Foreign Quarantine Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, on June 18 the House adopted the conference report on the third supplemental appropriation bill, 1957, which contained language providing for the payment of overtime services of employees of the Foreign Quarantine Division of the United States Public Health Service without cost to the taxpayers, to permit the clearing of ships at our ports after 6 o'clock in the evening and on Sundays and holidays.

A week ago today the President signed this bill and thereby enacted this provision into permanent law. I am happy to say that I took part in drafting the language which was unanimously agreed upon by the conferees on this supplemental appropriation bill.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following article by Walter Hamshar, published in the New York Herald Tribune of Wednesday, June 26, 1957, just 5 days after the agreed upon language for this overtime service became permanent law:

NEW QUARANTINE SERVICE

Dr. Isidore Abrahamer, assistant medical officer at quarantine, reported last night that four requests for overtime quarantine service by cargo ships arriving after 6 o'clock last night were the first to be srviced under the bill signed Friday by President Eisenhower.

The four vessels were able to proceed to their piers after the overtime inspection well in advance of 8 a. m. this morning when longshoremen will report to handle their cargo. The elimination of delay in docking the vessels was estimated to have saved $1,000 in the operation of each ship.

Dr. Abrahamer said last night's service was a little limping but that service will be rendered if requested.

Procedures for administering the service in all ports were being worked out yesterday in a Public Health Service headquarters in Washington.

The bill signed by President Eisenhower amended the Public Health Service Act to permit employees of the service to work overtime at ship-quarantine stations when requested by steamship companies. The companies will pay for the service at overtime rates of time and a half for night and Sunday work. Before passage of the bill, quarantine stations were required by law to close for 12 hours a day and on Sundays. Delays to ships arriving after the stations closed were estimated to cost the shipping industry at least $10 million a year.

Mr. Alvin Silverman New Head of Washington Bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the Forest City Publishing Co., publisher of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Cleveland News, has recently announced the appointment of Mr. Alvin Silverman, formerly city editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, to the head of the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Cleveland News, succeeding the late Walker Buel, who served this bureau with great distinction.

Mr. Alvin Silverman comes to the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Cleveland News with a brilliant background as a sportswriter, statehouse correspondent, political editor, and city editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Following is a copy of Ohio Senate Resolution 62 relating to the promotion of Mr. Alvin Silverman as head of the Washington bureau:

Resolution on extending congratulations to Mr. Alvin Silverman, of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, on his appointment as head of the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Whereas Alvin Silverman, an able member of the Ohio Legislative Correspondents Association, has demonstrated outstanding ability over the years as sports writer, Columbus correspondent, political editor, and city editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer; and

Whereas the members of the Ohio Senate take note that Mr. Silverman has been promoted to the position of head of the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, a promotion which will allow Mr. Silverman much opportunity to add to his reputation as an astute political analyst; and

Whereas the membership of the Ohio Senate is familiar with the forthright, accurate, and interesting reporting which has always characterized the work of Mr. Silverman, and feels that his promotion is richly deserved: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of the Ohio Senate of the 102d General Assembly adopt this resolution as an expression of congratulations to our friend, Mr. Alvin Silverman, on his promotion, and that we extend to him our best wishes in his new position as head of the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of the Ohio Senate transmit an authenticated copy of this resolution to Mr. Alvin Silverman and to the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The question being on the adoption of the resolution.

So the resolution was adopted.

The Federal Government Has a Responsibility to Urban Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Mayor Frank P. Zeidler, of Milwaukee, Wis., commenting on President Eisenhower's recent address to the governors' conference and emphasizing the responsibility of the Federal Government to urban areas:

STATEMENT ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO GOVERNORS

The President's address to the governors in Virginia is a cause for serious concern on the part of local municipal officials, particularly in the large cities of America. The President again strikes the note of States rights and indicates that he desires to reduce the expenditures in the Federal budget by cutting out assistance to local communities, asking the States to assume that responsibility. If this were to occur, it would be an unfortunate reversal in policy. It would reverse a fundamental concept of the Constitution; namely, that people have a joint responsibility to their governments, one to their State government and one to the Federal Government. In return these governments each have a responsibility to the citizens.

This joint responsibility of Federal Government and the State governments to the individual citizen is the basis of the Federal system of government.

Ours is not a unitary government in which the Federal Government is responsible only to the States and the States only to the people. The net effect of the States rights theory in the past has been to deny great classes of people equal rights and privileges under the law. The emphasis on State supremacy also has meant the denial of proportional representation in many State legislatures. By this device most large urban communities are cut off from effectively presenting their problems to the legislatures through lack of voice. The following of the theory of States rights has meant the establishment of a one-party system in many States of the Nation to the detriment of the flourishing of democracy.

States by themselves have failed to act with proper effectiveness on such problems as highway development, adequate housing, slum clearance, in many instances education, in the organization of metropolitan areas, and in the returning of adequate revenues to local governments so that they can carry out their needed functions. It was precisely because of the failure of the States' governments to deal with such problems as unemployment and relief in the period of the thirties' that city governments went to the Federal Government to seek assistance. The Federal Government's refusal to recognize its responsibilities to the urban areas can result only in the deterioration of those areas, because those areas have no effective way under the system of unequal representation in the legislature of making their voices effective. Even now, after 12 years of the atomic age the State governments have scarcely begun to meet the problem of civil defense, and have done nothing really effective to date to carry this burden which the Federal Government placed on them by law.

There is no great tendency on the part of the State governments now to carry on the programs of Federal aid to the cities that President Eisenhower wants to shed. It should be pointed out also that even if all Federal grants and aids for relief and welfare purposes and housing and education were removed from the Federal Government, there would occur only a small drop in the total Federal budget. Yet, the turmoil that such an action would cause in the cities would be so great as to create a considerable amount of disaffection for the administration. It is a sad commentary on the times that really the most constructive part of the Federal budget—the reconstruction of the great centers of urban culture in the United States—should be the program that the President finds the most easy to dismantle. The burden of spending for things to blow up, shoot off, and burn away for military purposes grows daily more heavy while that expenditure which would lead to the cultural and physical improvement of the country must be curtailed in the Federal budget.

The Suez Canal and the Western Coalition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a speech by Prof. Alfred J. Hotz, of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, before the Canton, Ohio, Rotary Club on the Near Eastern crisis. I voted for the so-called Eisenhower doctrine with some reluctance because I felt, as I still do, that it is no substitute for a firm and just United States foreign policy that grapples with the realities of the situation and that safeguards the interests of our allies in Europe. Professor Hotz' address underlines the crucial importance of free passage through the Suez Canal by all nations including Israel and the importance of a firm United States policy in the area. I commend it to my colleagues:

THE SUEZ CANAL AND THE WESTERN COALITION

(By Prof. Alfred J. Holtz, of Western Reserve University)

American so-called leadership in the Middle East will face a decisive test in its success or failure to reestablish some system of international control, or at least international supervision, over the Suez Canal operations. Thus far, the ambiguous position taken by the Eisenhower administration on this vital issue verges on appeasement of, if not abdication to, Dictator Nasser.

Western Europe, in particular, views with deep concern, if not suspicion, the present avowed neutralist posture assumed by the United States on a problem so fundamental to Western national interests. The economic viability of West Europe is sorely dependent upon "free passage" through the Suez, which translated means an international system, instead of exclusive Egyptian national operation.

Most Americans are unaware of the economic facts that prompt European concern over the issue of international control of the Suez Canal. Yet, a brief look at these basic facts should confirm the fears that arise in Europe over General Nasser's firm grip on the economic jugular vein of our closest allies.

In overall foreign trade, the United Kingdom depends upon the free transit of the Canal for 30 percent of its imports and an equal 30 percent of its exports. France employs the Suez for 20 percent of its imports and 20 percent of its exports. The rest of West Europe averages closer to the British requirements in usage of this vital international waterway.

In terms of shipping interests, West Europe flag ships add considerably to the economic health of our allies. In 1955, European merchant shipping comprised 73 percent of the total net tonnage using the Suez with British flag ships leading the way with 28.3 percent, followed closely by Norway and France with 13.5 percent and 9.4 percent respectively. By comparison American shipping carried only 2.7 percent of the net tonnage that passed through the Canal.

Yet, the primary national economic interests that directly involve West Europe in the future Suez Canal operation revolve about oil shipments. As Europe's coal seams declined in availability and productivity, our Western allies have of necessity had to transfer to oil products for fuel requirements in order to run their factories and transport systems. In terms of locale, the Middle East provides 94 percent of the petroleum requirements for France, Italy, and Belgium. Britain receives 84 percent of her oil imports from the Middle East, while West Germany 88 percent of its imports. Even the Netherlands, which has oil refineries in the West Indies, draws upon the Middle East for 61 percent of her national requirements.

Moreover, Europe's financial investments in Middle East oil production require continued political and military protection. Over one-half of the present total fixed capital investment is controlled by three major companies—British Petrol Company, the French Petroleum Company, and Royal Dutch Shell. Since World War II, five major American companies—Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Socony, Gulf, and Texas Oil—have rapidly increased their fixed investments, so that along with several smaller American concerns, they hold almost 47 percent of the overall foreign investment amounting to more than $6 billion.

It is quite obvious, therefore, why West Europe considers both the free transit through the Suez Canal and its capital investments in Middle East oil as a vital interest to be both protected and defended. It should be equally clear why, if West Europe is to be expected to build its economy and thereby adequately to support the NATO alliance, the Eisenhower-Dulles diplomacy must defend Europe's vital economic interests as if they were our own.

It must be recalled that the United States appealed to West Europe to defend American vital interests during the Korean war. Our allies responded with not merely political and economic support, but as well with fighting troops. Thus the western coalition held firm because of West Europe's defense of American national interests in the North Pacific.

It is noteworthy that Joseph Stalin in his last testament, rendered at the 19th Communist Party Congress—October 1952—predicted that the west European states and the United States would ruthlessly cut each other's throats through economic competition, thereby permitting the Soviet Union to make substantial political and economic gains without recourse to open war. It is significant that a more recent Soviet statement—April 29, 1957—tried to muddy the oily waters, in referring to recent American actions in the Middle East by declaring: "This is an example of how the imperialists of the United States are trying to establish themselves in the Near and Middle East and squeeze out Britain and France."

This is not to suggest that present American policy has as its major objective such a predatory design—to deliberately sell down the river—or the Suez—the vital economic interests of our best allies. Yet the Eisenhower-Dulles policies have seriously weakened the western coalition by acts of omission if not acts of commission.

Seizure of the Suez Canal by General Nasser last summer afforded the United States a real test case of its readiness to defend the national interests of our western allies. Unhappily, during this first phase of the Suez crisis, Secretary Dulles declared that the canal was not a vital interest to the United States. He added the ambiguous comment that the American objective would be the safeguarding of the interests of those dependent on the canal as well as recognizing the legitimate interests of Egypt.

While Dulles ostensibly appeared to be supporting the London User's Association established last fall, he deliberately undercut its bargaining strength by declaring that the use of armed force would not be countenanced by Washington. In October, our Secretary of State further weakened the users' association at the Security Council secret negotiations to the point where the so-called six principles—October 13, 1956—were the maximum guaranty we would support.

These six principles passed by the United Nations and tacitly accepted by Egypt were in reality a grave retreat from the international system of control of the Suez envisaged by the London User's Association. Britain and France quite properly considered the Dulles reversal in favor of General Nasser as a complete sellout of their vital interests. This tragic split in the western coalition was followed by the British-French military intervention in the Suez region. American failure to assert real leadership on behalf of the western interests and to exert adequate pressure on Nasser prior to the ill-fated Suez military venture was inexcusable.

Having decided to curry the favor of the Arab-Asian bloc, the Eisenhower administration then rode the great "white moral steed" of the United Nations. But once again the United States failed to support West Europe's and Israel's interests in the series of United Nations resolutions that followed. So intent was the Eisenhower administration to stop the armed conflict that it neglected to start the type of commensurate pressure on Nasser for adequate guaranties on the reopening of the canal.

In the series of U. N. resolutions that followed, the United States saw fit only to force British-French-Israel withdrawal without any attempt to extract from Nasser any international guaranty for implementation of even the ambiguous six principles recommended by the Security Council. A last-ditch attempt by West Europe to tie military withdrawal with political insertion of the United Nations Emergency Force as guardian of the Suez Canal was sabotaged when the United States failed to support the Belgian amendment on November 24, 1956.

From thenceforth, the United Nations became the instrument of Soviet-Egyptian policy with the western coalition paying the price of American stupidity or frailty. Thus, former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, could quite properly declare: "If a great nation, like the United States, looks to the United Nations to form American policy, instead of fighting in the United Nations for what the American Government believes should be done, then we have committed an unprecedented abdication of responsibility and power. * * * Something surely seems askew in a course of conduct during which our Government opposes and humiliates our closest allies—Britain and France—by joining with the very power—Soviet Union"—whose wholesale penetration into the Middle East the Eisenhower doctrine was later designed to contain.

Winston Churchill, whose friendship for the United States is above reproach, severely criticized the American ineptitude during the Suez crisis when he recently said: "I do not think that the attitude then adopted by the United Nations—and the United States—has been helpful either to the free world or to the cause of peace and prosperity in the Middle East."

We are now witnessing the third phase of the Suez problem with General Nasser, supported by the Soviet Union, and by rampant Arab-Asian nationalists, in absolute control. Egypt's unilateral declaration with regard to operation of the Suez openly violates the so-called six principles, vague and inadequate as they were. Nasser's military defeat has been turned into a tremendous political victory due to the Eisenhower-Dulles appeasement policy.

Past appeasement of Nasser and present apathy toward western vital interests are clearly reflected in Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's declaration at the United Nations that the West must grant the new Suez regime a trial run. But it is American leadership of the western coalition that is on trial, not Nasser.

Substantial defense of our allies' interests should have resulted in a more forthright American declaration of the legal rights guaranteed by the Constantinople Convention of 1888. It should have resulted in irrevocable support of western political and economic rights previously enunciated by the Security Council. The Eisenhower administration that speaks so glibly of morality and justice could at least have set the record straight. But Secretary Dulles, the honest broker, apparently prefers to break the unity of the western coalition and pursue the will-o'-the-wisp favor of the Arab-Asian bloc.

How many more Munichs can the West stand before it falls?

Diminution of Air Defense Capability in 33d Air Division Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insclude the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS,
33D AIR DIVISION (DEFENSE),
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE,
OKLAHOMA CITY AIR FORCE STATION,
Oklahoma City, Okla., June 19, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GUBSER: I am grievously concerned about the gradual diminution of the air defense capability in the 33d Air Division's area of responsibility which encompasses essentially the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, a total of 300,000 square miles, with a population of 11 million people. My concern for my particular area is shared, I am sure, by the air defense commander responsible for the defense of California.

Our ability to protect your area and your people has been falling off for 3 years now and today continues to fall off simply because the Air Force is not able to retain the highly trained officers and airmen technicians required to operate your air defense system at anything near peak efficiency.

We train young, intelligent, and highly motivated people to shoulder this essential responsibility, but are not permitted to offer them the reimbursement commensurate with their training. Civilian life, with its significantly higher salary rates inexorably beckons to them—and they answer in distressingly high numbers on completion of their first enlistment.

In today's modern, high-speed air defense system you need career minded, experienced officers and airmen to produce an acceptable level of air defense in your area against the multimegaton hydrogen bomb of 1957.

(Megatons have become standard in American conversation today, but few people realize the enormity of the word. Megaton means 1 million tons. Less than four megatons of bombs were dropped in all wars since the airplane was invented. Yet, today it is accepted that a 4-megaton bomb can be delivered on 1 American city by 1 airplane in 1 instant of time. There are many cities in California that must be considered as potential targets. I make this parenthetical observation to point up the importance of air defense in the 33d Air Division's area of responsibility.)

To highlight the expensive dollar cost of this constant turnover in people, in this division alone (1 of 16 in the Air Defense Command) we lost to civilian life 900 officers and airmen in the past 2 years. Each lost officer represents an average investment of $30,000. Each lost airman represents an investment of $15,000—total loss to the taxpayer of $14,625,000 in only 1 of 16 Air Divisions in Air Defense Command which in turn is only 1 of 7 major commands of the Air Force.

There is a solution to this problem, a problem which is of vital and personal interest to every citizen of California.

The solution is: (a) A significantly increased air defense capability at; (b) a significantly decreased cost to the voting taxpayer through; (c) the creation of a career-minded and career-motivated Air Force, the individuals of which are paid commensurate with their ability and experience.

In effect, I suggest to you that the air defense of the United States can be increased by some 15 to 20 percent at no increase in cost, or alternatively our present potential level could be an actuality at a very substantial savings of taxpayer dollars.

To put it another way, we can have more defense for the same money or the same defense for less money—if two identical bills currently before the Congress of the United States are enacted into law.

These bills are S. 2014 in the Senate of the United States and H. R. 7574 in the House of Representatives.

As you of course know, both bills provide in effect a modernized method of computing basic pay for the uniformed services, so as to enable the Air Force among others to retain their expensively and highly trained personnel far beyond the 2-, 3- or 4-year period of their initial term of service.

Frankly, I am asking for your active interest, influence, and support in bringing to reality during the current session of the Congress this proposed pay structure that will give me as an air defense commander the tools to perform my essential task more effectively and at a saving, estimated for the entire military establishment of $5 billion.

In utmost honesty and candor, I say to you that speed in the passage of these bills is essential to the effectiveness of air defense of the United States. Trained people are leaving the Air Force every day—people that we should be retaining to build up rather than reduce further your air defense. The loss of another full year's worth of already scarce officers and technicians (if the bills are not passed at this session) will degrade further the protection of our Nation and of California from a devastating air attack.

I am presenting these facts of air defense life to you as a member of the House Armed Services Committee and to enlist your aid. You certainly can feel free to make whatever use you care to of this letter if you think the position as stated is a valid and worthwhile one.

I am at your complete disposal to provide you with additional information on this essential matter of our national security and national survival.

Sincerely,

WM. P. NUCKOLS,
Brigadier General, USAF, Commander.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a copy of a resolution dated June 19, 1957, which was adopted by the board of trustees of the Unified School District of South Pasadena, a city in the 24th Congressional District, in opposition to Federal aid to education.

The action taken by the citizens of the South Pasadena Unified School District in solving their educational problems themselves at the local level, as described in the resolution, is to be commended. It is typically and traditionally the American approach. Communities na-

tionwide might well take a page out of their book.

I would, therefore, like to bring this resolution to the attention of the Members of Congress. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SOUTH PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT OPPOSING ANY AND ALL FURTHER FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Whereas the funds of the Federal Government are derived primarily through taxation of the citizens of and within the 48 States; and

Whereas the State of California is 1 of the 48 on which the Federal tax burden is greatly disproportionate to the benefits received from the Federal Government's expenditures; and

Whereas the State of California is continuing to develop its own sources of revenue, to meet the growing educational and building needs of its public school systems; and

Whereas the citizens of the South Pasadena Unified School District have voted to tax themselves to provide adequate buildings and provide other physical facilities, and as recently as May 17 last, voted to tax themselves as much as $3.10 per $100 of assessed valuation, for general educational purposes (an increase of $1.45 over the State-prescribed maximum rate of $1.65) to meet the rising costs of education; and

Whereas the citizens of a community which takes such action to maintain a good educational program for its children should not be taxed again to support the schools of other States and other communities which are contributing less nationally and are doing much less locally than they can and should to support their own educational programs; and

Whereas local school boards, locally chosen to represent local viewpoints and aspirations, and to meet local needs, continue to be not merely the best, but assuredly the only guaranty of real educational freedom; and

Whereas Federal aid and Federal control are as inseparable as the two sides of the tax dollars involved; and

Whereas historically education has been a responsibility of the individual States rather than the Federal Government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of education of the South Pasadena Unified School District is firmly opposed to any and all projects and proposals for further Federal aid to education, with that proposed for school construction specifically included.

Dated June 19, 1957.

The Oder-Neisse Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following statement is the beginning of a series of articles by Joseph Sanocki, of the Polish American Congress of Hollywood, Calif., in response to some of the ambiguous arguments being used for extending the eastern boundary of Germany beyond the Oder-Neisse line:

THE ODER-NEISSE LINE

(Introduction)

German revisionism, which for the past several years, with the help of its propaganda apparatus, has been attempting to convince the world opinion of the necessity of returning to Germany the western Polish territories and eliminating the Oder-Neisse boundary, has also spread deep roots in the United States.

Using every means, German propaganda, which penetrates all strata of the American society and stresses theories which could convince that Poland has no right to these territories, that she is unable to settle and develop these territories, and that Germany without them could not exist.

The result is that the members of the American Government, statesmen, and other representatives of the American life, such as press, express opinions corresponding to German interests, overlooking the vital interests of Poland. Thus, a large section of the American public and its representative, base their opinion on the biased theses of the German revisionists.

Americans of Polish descent, who innumerably and without any hesitation risked for their American way of life both their lives and their properties, cannot accept the fact that German revisionsism attempts to partition once again the country of their forefathers.

The Polish American Congress, considering that the American people should form their opinions on undeniable facts which have been deliberately held back by German propaganda and wishing to acquaint the American people with the truth, has called to life the committee for the affairs of Polish western territories whose duty will be to present the issue of the Oder-Neisse boundary in true and uncolored light.

We hope that in presenting the first issue of the Polish Western Territories, the publication will enable the American public to orient itself in the important world problem of the Polish-German boundary on the Oder-Neisse.

GERMAN REVISIONISM—DANGER TO PEACE

At the Potsdam Conference (1945) the Allied Powers agreed that the territories east of the Oder-Neisse Line would be assigned to Polish administration with the specific stipulation that the final delimitation of the Oder-Neisse boundary would be established at a peace conference to be held at some future date.

Considering, however, that the Potsdam Conference agreed to transfer German population from these territories and it does not mention any possibility of a future revision of the Oder-Neisse boundary, it can be safely assumed that Poland is to remain the unquestioned owner of these territories and that the Oder-Neisse boundary is final.

Unable to resign themselves to this fact, German revisionists, composed mostly of the refugees from these territories in question, have been attempting for the past several years to convince the world opinion that assigning of these territories to Poland has done the German nation an irreparable harm and to maintain world peace they should be returned to Germany.

German propaganda activity for the return of these territories is organized on a very large scale. German revisionists created a huge propaganda apparatus with which they plan to flood the world, and particularly the United States with their arguments, which they hold are justifiable.

German propaganda theses

German propaganda apparatus, members of which include some of the foremost scholars, brought into its political battle innumerable arguments for the return of the Polish western territories and designed to undermine Poland's rights to these territories.

German revisionists, among some of their arguments, claim that—

1. During recorded history, and prior even to it, these territories were always unquestioned property of the various German tribes;

2. Drang nach Osten (drive to the East) was originated for the return to ancient fatherland;

3. German colonization of the Slavic-Polish lands and converting the inhabitants to Christianity was achieved by peaceful means;

4. Germans were exclusive spreaders of Christianity in Poland;

5. Territories in question were Germany's larder;

6. Poland initiated expropriation of the Germans;

7. Poland is unable to settle and manage these territories;

8. The plight of the German refugees threatens world peace.

These are only a small part of the German arguments.

Those familiar with the Polish-German problem in general and with western Poland in particular, and whose point of view is not shaded by prejudicial considerations must in all fairness admit that the above listed arguments have not the slightest base for argument and are originated with the single purpose of duping the world's opinion on the subject.

It is the purpose of this publication to acquaint those who are familiar with the problem strictly from German sources, with the existing truth, discuss all phases of the issue without any bias and present not only unprejudiced German sources but also statements and arguments of experts from other nationalities, in order to prove that the claims of the German revisionists are completely without foundation.

Germany seeks 1914 boundary

German revisionists are not satisfied with the demands for the return of territories lost after World War II. Their goal is to restore the boundaries which existed prior to August 1, 1914. An excellent proof of this is presented in a form of a map depicting the German Reich as it appeared in a refugee publication in Germany. It portrays Germany prior to World War I and is captioned: "Dieses Land Bleibt Immer Deutsch." (This land will always remain German.)[1]

Some of these German revisionists are of the opinion that one of the goals of the new German Army is to restore the very boundaries of 1914. One of the members of such group is Prince Hubert zu Loewenstein, member of the West German Parliament, who stated in an article titled "Future German armed forces" (die kommende deutsche Wehrmacht), and published in one of the German-language newspapers in the United States:[2]

"If it came to a necessity, German soldiers must be enveloped by a holy fire. Their view must not only be to repulse the Bolshevik adversary but also to liberate the enslaved parts of Germany, restore historical boundaries and destroy the humiliation of the Oder-Neisse line. The new German Army would only then be in striking condition when before her eyes stands as goal Germany in its entirety. Its (German Army) goal cannot exist exclusively for the defense of Western Germany. Diplomatic and political means of expulsing German enemies not yet exhausted. But should they be exhausted and should a shooting war arrive, then the issue of the German boundaries as of August 1, 1914, will come into existence."

Such Germany as quoted above is the German demand and such is Germany for which Prince zu Loewenstein, member of the West German Parliament, who visited the United States in January of 1955 as an "ambassador of good will," will fight.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Opinions of German notables

German propaganda maintains that the entire German Nation demands the return of Polish western territories. This does not correspond to facts and German revisionists cannot produce any proof that it is so.

It is true, however, that the demands for the return of the Polish territories behind the Oder-Neisse line came exclusively the German refugee organizations, which does not mean that all refugees from the territories in question support this movement.

The best proof of the German Nation's position in regard to the Polish western territories is the innumerable statements of the foremost politicians and other representatives of German society. From their statements it is undeniably clear that the former German territories should remain an inseparable part of Poland. Below are three indicative opinions:

On October 5, 1956, Carlo Schmid, vice president of the West German Parliament, declared in a speech at Bad Neuenahr, in which he made it to understand that Germany should reconcile itself to the loss of the former eastern provinces. Among others he declared that [1]—

1. No one can acquiesce to what has happened in 1945 was legal. No one can deny, however, of the existence of certain facts which will have to be accepted.

2. It would be an error to assume that the unification of western and Soviet zones of Germany could be accomplished without first finding a solution to the Oder-Neisse problem.

3. For moral reasons I could not take part in a movement to expel the Poles (who are also human beings) as was the case with the Germans.

Similarly sympathetic attitude was taken by the President of the West German Bundesrat (Federal Council) and the mayor of the great port city of Hamburg, Dr. Kurt Sieveking who at a foreign press conference on January 27, 1957, declared the following: [2]

"No one can convince himself that the situation which existed in the East can be restored. The human current goes from East to West, not from West to East. Polish boundaries have been shifted again and it is completely understandable that the Poles would finally like to get permanent boundaries."

Dr. Sieveking, at a press conference with Jerzy Kowalewski, who represented Polish publication Trybuna Ludu (Peoples Tribune), stated on December 17, 1956, that [3] "boundary problems assume for Germany more and more a theoretical character. There are more thinking people in Germany such as I than one could assume from the press reports, who represent certain groups of people."

The most significant statement came from the president of the Evangelical Church of Hesse, Pastor Martin Niemoeller. After returning from Poland he reported in Berlin on March 2, 1957, the following: [4]

"The powers which signed the agreement in Potsdam could not, in their negotiations at the future peace conference, arrive at anything else than what they did (arrive) in Potsdam. Should it have been otherwise, the expatriation of the Germans could not have been treated seriously and would have constituted a crime."

Refugee organizations—trouble spreaders

The activity of the German refugee organizations must be accepted in view of the facts as conscious attempt against the will of the majority of the German people to undermine the peace not only of Europe but the world as well. The leaders of these groups, composed from individuals who previously owned large properties on these territories, or had good jobs, have serious influence on German political front and are attempting to exert undue influence on German statesmen, as well as the press. Below are listed quotations proving this an irrevocable fact.

When Dr. Otto Heinrich Greve, member of the West German Parliament, stated that the unification of Germany is dependent on resigning from the territories behind the Oder-Neisse line, he was met with violent attack from the refugee organizations. Replying to this attack he stated on May 23, 1956, by a radio broadcast over the Bavarian Broadcasting Station that the attacks of the refugee organizations is malicious "Brunnenvergiftung" (machinations to raise bad feelings) and added that freedom to think "does not now exist in Germany" and the Sudeten Germans "wish to the sound of the Egerland March to march again to rob foreign territories." [5]

Significantly characteristic is the statement by one of the Belgian publications [6] which wrote that the West German Foreign Minister, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, who after stating at a press interview held on May 1, 1956, in London, with the representative of the Yorkshire Post, Johnston, that "Germany is not interested in the return of the present Polish territories" and particularly the Sudetenland, had to withdraw his statement under the pressure of the refugee organizations.

The Belgian paper further stated: "Refugees are turning to publications (German) and are forbidding them to discuss these problems without first clearing it * * * with the refugee organizations. These organizations, we should not forget, are not only conducting a dangerous political game but are also perpetrating a hoax, since they do not represent the entirety of the refugees."

Polish or German territories

Territories east of the Oder-Neisse given to Polish administration were not and are not German territories and remained in German possession only for a short period of time.

Not only the territories behind the Oder-Neisse, but also those around rivers Elbe and Saale were inhabited already during prehistorical times by West Slavs, and Poles belong to the latter.

According to acheological excavations made by Polish and German scholars at Biskupin, near Gniezno, at Wolin, at the mouth of the Oder, at Opole, Santok, and innumerable other localities on the Oder and Elbe, Slavonic tribes lived on these territories already in the 13th century B. C. A renowned German scholar stated that "Elbe River was the east boundary of the Germans." [7]

Below are listed territories and dates during which Germany held the lands which are today an inseparable part of Poland:

Eastern Upper Silesia, 156 years (1763–1919); Western Silesia, 182 years (1763–1945); Pomerania with Gdansk (Danzig), 126 years (1793–1919); Western Prussia with the province of Malborg and Warmia, 173 years (1772–1945); East Prussia, 288 years (1657–1945); Western Pomerania with Szczecin (Stettin), 297 years (1648–1945).

These territories are today in the hands of their rightful owners—the Poles.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] Ost-West Kurier, August 1950.
[2] America Herold, Winona, Minn., October 24, 1951.
[3] Der Schlesier, October 1956, No. 42.
[4] Der Schlesier, February 1957, No. 7.
[5] Ost-West Kurier, February 16, 1957, No. 7.
[6] New Yorker Staats-Zeitung und Herold, March 2, 1957.
[7] Der Schlesier, June 1956, No. 23.
[8] "Libre Belgique," quoted by Der Schlesier, July 1956, No. 29.
[9] Edgar Stern-Rubarth, Exit Prussia—A Plan for Europe, London, 1940, p. 64.

What Is This Thing Called Freedom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I have read with much interest an editorial entitled "What Is This Thing Called Freedom?" in the June 27 issue of the DeKalb New Era, published at Decatur, Ga.

This editorial is a strong protest against the current wild orgy of wrongful usurpation of powers by the Supreme Court.

I insert this editorial herewith, and recommend it to the consideration of those who appreciate our form of government and who believe it should be preserved and protected:

WHAT IS THIS THING CALLED FREEDOM?

There is surely great rejoicing in the secret chambers of the Soviet Union these days as they begin to realize the full impact of the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in freeing five convicted Communists for conspiring to overthrow this Government.

These men were convicted by a jury in Los Angeles and sentenced by a Los Angeles United States district court. The jury thought that they were participants in "a highly organized conspiracy with rigidly disciplined members subject to call when leaders felt that the time had come for action."

The Supreme Court threw the conviction and the sentences out on a strange and fantistic theory, that the district court had erred in not instructing the jury that they must "distinguish between advocacy of forcible overthrow as an abstract doctrine and advocacy of action to that end."

Webster defines the word "abstract" as a thought apart from any particular instances or material objects or expressing a quality thought of apart from any particular or material object.

In other words what the Supreme Court really said was that so long as anyone preached the overthrow of this Government, but did not advocate any particular manner or method by which to do this, they were guilty of no wrong. Some overt act must actually be undretaken before they could be guilty.

This is like going to the edge of a precipice with a person who has repeatedly said that he wished you were dead, permitting him to get just back of you and tell you how much he would like to kill you, and you not being able to do anything about it until he actually pushes you from the rear and throws you into eternity. After your mangled remains are picked up at the bottom, what care you for abstract talk crying for your death? It is too late then for such high-spun doctrines.

This, in our opinion, is carrying the right of freedom of speech a bit too far. We believe that there is a vast difference between freedom and license. We believe that the Court in this instance has put into the thousands of secret and powerful agents of communism in this country a carte blanche license to kill us whenever their leaders feel that the time had come for action.

In believing thus, we are not, as some ultra liberals say of us, "witch hunters." We are merely being realistic about the whole matter because we happen to love our country very dearly and believe that we should pre-

serve it for our children's children in such a condition that they can be happy here as we are in the Nation our fathers gave to us. If this is witch hunting we are proud to say that we had rather be live witch hunters than dead liberals. No, this is not witch hunting in any sense of the word, but just a very intense desire to protect the people of a happy God-fearing Christian nation from the vandalism of a godless and ruthless power.

As surely as there are beginnings of freedom there are also thoughts and actions of men that are beyond the bounds of freedom. Freedom is but an island between two extremities. Before freedom there was tyranny and oppression. Beyond the bounds of freedom where license rules there are the same ruthless tactics, except they are more cruel in that those who have once had freedom and lost it suffer more than those who never knew freedom.

Veterans of Foreign Wars and the William Girard Case—Statement by Cooper T. Holt, Commander in Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including herewith a statement that was to have been made by Dr. Cooper T. Holt, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, before the subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the so-called Bow resolution, House Joint Resolution 16.

Mr. Holt had no opportunity to present the position of this great veterans' organization because there were no hearings, and the bill has been reported favorably to the House. The statement of Commander Holt with reference to the case of Army Sp3c. William Girard follows:

I have been very critical of the State and Defense Departments as a result of the developments in the Girard case. I have stated, among other things:

"It appears to me that whoever made the agreement"—that is the one giving Japan the right to try American servicemen—"has bartered away the constitutional rights of an American citizen, in this case a citizen protecting our very freedom on foreign shores."

That was a serious charge, but a charge which, I believe, was justified. At this time I would like to submit to you the evidence on which it is based.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars has always opposed the NATO Status of Forces Treaty and related executive agreements. Resolutions expressing this opposition have been adopted at every one of our national encampments since 1953 when they first became effective.

Our opposition is based not only on concern for the rights of American servicemen as such, but also on our desire to protect the Constitution and sovereignty of the United States. It is our firm conviction that these treaties and agreements constitute an unnecessary surrender of sovereignty that has resulted in violations of the constitutional rights of American citizens.

Article I, section VIII, of the Constitution states:

"The Congress shall have power * * *. To make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces. * * * To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States. * * * To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

This is an explicit statement that the governing and regulation of United States military forces is the right and responsibility of the whole Congress and of no one else. The President, according to the Constitution, is the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces created by Congress, but the right to raise such forces and govern them is the exclusive domain of Congress. Its rules govern and restrict the President in the exercise of his powers as Commander in Chief.

The Congress last carried out its responsibility in this field on a comprehensive basis in 1951 when, after much research and study, it enacted the Uniform Code of Military Justice to replace the old Articles of War and also authorized a new manual for courts-martial.

The Uniform Code of Military Justice is the constitutionally authorized regulation concerning the rights of American servicemen who are accused of offenses in this country or abroad, the procedures to be used in trying them, the sentences meted out as punishment following conviction, and so forth.

There is no reason why this code should not be the only code applicable to American servicemen, no matter where they are stationed and no matter where or when they commit an alleged crime. This statement is supported by many authorities on international law, by decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and also by decisions of foreign courts, which hold that a nation maintains complete jurisdiction over its troops when they are stationed in a friendly country and that such troops are immune from local criminal jurisdiction.

Oppenheim, in his work International Law (fourth edition, vol. 1, sec. 445), states:

"Whenever armed forces are on foreign territory in the service of their home state, they are considered extraterritorial and remain, therefore, under its jurisdiction. A crime committed on foreign territory by a member of these forces cannot be punished by the local civil or military authorities, but only by the commanding officer of the forces or by other authorities of their home state."

Wheaton, in his Elements of International Law (sec. 95), states:

"A foreign army or fleet * * * stationed in the territory of another state, with whom the foreign sovereign to whom they belong is in amity, are * * * exempt from the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the place."

Birkhimer, another recognized authority of international law, says in Military Government and Martial Law (sec. 114):

"It is well settled that a foreign army permitted to march through a friendly country, or be stationed in it, by permission of its government or sovereign, is exempt from the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the place."

In *Coleman* v. *Tennessee* (97 U. S. 509), the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision from which the above quotation from Birkhimer is taken almost word for word. The Court also stated in this decision:

"The sovereign is understood * * * to cede a portion of his territorial jurisdiction when he allows the troops of a foreign prince to pass through his dominions."

This was a reiteration of an earlier decision written for the Supreme Court by Chief Justice John Marshall as far back as 1811 in the case of *Schooner Exchange* v. *McFaddon* (11 U. S. 116), in which he said: "a sovereign is understood to cede a portion of his territorial jurisdiction * * * where he allows the troops of a foreign prince to pass through his dominions."

In *Tucker* v. *Alexandroff* (183 U. S. 424), the Supreme Court discussed this prior decision of Marshall's at considerable length and indicated complete approval of it. It is also worth noting that this decision of Chief Justice Marshall has been praised by many writers on international law and, in 1939, Lord Atkin, speaking for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, referred to it as "a judment which has illumined the jurisprudence of the world."

In *Dow* v. *Johnson* (100 U. S. 158), the Supreme Court again upheld the generally accepted and traditional viewpoint that troops stationed in a friendly foreign country are completely under the control of their home State and that the sovereign of the country in which they are stationed has no jurisdiction over them.

In 1909 the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague also affirmed in the Casablanca case the exclusive jurisdiction of a nation over its own troops when they were stationed in a friendly foreign country.

In 1943 a question was before the Supreme Court of Canada as to whether members of United States military forces were exempt from criminal proceedings in Canadian courts. On May 27, 1943 the United States Government submitted to the court its views "on the right under international law of members of the Armed Forces of the United States on Canadian territory with the consent of the Canadian government to immunity from the local jurisdiction in criminal matters."

The United States memo said that practically all leading authorities on international law in modern times had considered this issue. It quoted one authority after another—Vattel, Hall, Wheaton, Westlake, Twiss, Phillimore, Holland, Lorimer, Wildman, Hannis Taylor, Hyde; French authorities such as Calvos, Foelix, Travers and Clunet; the Germans Holtzendorff and Heyking, and the Italian authority Adinolifi—each one of which upheld the view that a nation maintains complete jurisdiction over its military forces when they are stationed in a friendly foreign country and that those forces are immune from the laws of the country in which they are stationed.

It pointed out that in the case of *Tucker* v. *Alexandroff*, even Judge Gray, in his dissenting opinion, stated:

"The opinion of Chief Justice Marshall in the case of The Exchange has ever since been recognized as laying down the principles which govern the subject."

Also mentioned in the United States memo was the case of *Hamilton* v. *McClaughry* decided by the United States Circuit Court (Kansas) in 1905. This case involved an American soldier who killed a member of his Regiment while both were stationed in China during the Boxer Rebellion to protect American property. The court upheld the doctrine of United States jurisdiction over its troops stationed in foreign lands, cited the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Coteman* v. *Tennessee* as authority and added:

"It therefore must follow, of necessity, if any punishment shall be meted out for the many crimes committed by persons in the military service of the United States during the occupation of China, such punishment must be imposed under the 58th article of war, or the offender go unpunished; and

this is true, whether the military occupation of China by the forces of this Government was by or against the consent of the Government of China."

Other facts cited in the United States memo in support of the claim that United States troops stationed in Canada were immune from Canadian jurisdiction:

In 1925 the Supreme Court of Justice of the Republic of Panama had upheld the view that troops stationed in a friendly foreign country were immune from its jurisdiction and, in ruling on the case of a United States soldier accused in the death of a Panamanian, declared:

"The judicial authorities of the Republic of Panama have no power to judge the accused."

During World War I, Britain and France recognized "the exclusive competence" of the United States to try American servicemen stationed within their borders and accused of crimes. A similar agreement was made between the United States and Belgium and between various other allied powers in World War I.

In 1942, during World War II, an agreement of the same type was concluded between the United States and Great Britain—and Australia, China, Egypt, India, Iraq, Liberia, and New Zealand also recognized United States jurisdiction over American troops stationed within their borders and accused of criminal acts.

The summary of the United States memo to the Supreme Court of Canada read, in part, as follows: "It will have been seen from what has been said above that by the almost unanimous opinion of writers on international law and jurists who have dealt with the subject, members of the armed forces of a state on foreign territory with the consent of the territorial sovereign are immune from the local jurisdiction in criminal matters. These views are based on and supported by international practice as well as reason."

It was on the basis of the overwhelming majority opinion of the highest courts and of authorities on international law that President Eisenhower, in prescribing the current Manual for Courts-Martial in 1951, found that:

"Under international law, jurisdiction over members of the Armed Forces of the United States or other sovereign who commit offenses in the territory of a friendly foreign State in which the visiting Armed Force is by consent quartered or in passage remains in the visiting sovereign."

President Truman made a similar finding in 1948.

It is clear, therefore, that if the United States were today to insist on complete jurisdiction over all its troops everywhere, it would be taking a stand for sovereign rights which are traditional under international law, a stand that is just. It follows, too, that when the United States surrendered its sovereignty in this field in 1953, it made a concession that was legally unnecessary and, I intend to demonstrate, one that was violative of the basic rights of American citizens.

I regret very much to say that I firmly believe that the rights spelled out for American servicemen by Congress in the 1951 Uniform Code of Military Justice—the rights constitutionally given to all members of our Armed Forces accused of crimes—were abrogated only 2 years later when the Status of Forces Treaty was ratified by the United States Senate—and that they have since been several times abrogated by the President of the United States through executive agreements. These agreements, by giving foreign courts the power to try American servicemen who are accused of crimes, have deprived those men of basic rights bestowed upon them by the Congress which, the Constitution says, has sole jurisdiction in this field. Regrettably, the Senate did the same thing when it ratified the NATO Status of Forces Treaty.

It is true that, under the Constitution, treaties become the supreme law of the land, and that the NATO Status of Forces Treaty was concluded in a constitutional manner. It is therefore law. But no law can be absolutely construed to be constitutional until it has been ruled such by the Supreme Court. The Status of Forces Treaty has never been considered by that Court and there are very compelling reasons to believe that, if and when it is, the Court will find it unconstitutional.

Just last week the Supreme Court reversed the convictions of two women tried for murder under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. It did so on the grounds that trial by courts-martial violated the constitutional rights of civilians to indictment and trial by jury.

It is worth noting that the Government had supported the trials on the ground that they stemmed from legislation necessary and proper to carry out United States obligations under international agreements. The Government uses the same argument to defend the Status of Forces Treaty. The Court replied to this argument:

"The obvious and decisive answer to this, of course, is that no agreement with a foreign nation can confer power on the Congress, or on any other branch of the Government, which is free of the restraints of the Constitution."

As is well known, some foreign courts which now try American servicemen are not only free of the restraints of the Constitution, but also free of the restraints of the Uniform Code of Military Justice—which is the only congressionally authorized limitation of the rights of Armed Forces personnel.

Justice Black wrote in the majority opinion:

"The United States is entirely a creature of the Constitution. Its power and authority have no other source. It can only act in accordance with all the limitations imposed by the Constitution. When the Government reaches out to punish a citizen who is abroad, the shield which the Bill of Rights and other parts of the Constitution provide to protect his life and property should not be stripped away just because he happens to be in another land.

"This is not a novel concept. To the contrary it is as old as government. It was recognized long before Paul successfully invoked his right as a Roman citizen to be tried in strict accordance with Roman law."

The Supreme Court, I believe, might well uphold the right of American servicemen to be tried "in strict accordance" with the Uniform Code of Military Justice—and throw out any treaty which denies them the rights set forth in that code. The Court has stated very clearly that no treaty can deprive a citizen of constitutional rights. The soliders' constitutional rights are in the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

Just a few moments ago I quoted the 1948 and 1951 findings of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower that, under international law, the United States and other sovereigns maintain jurisdiction over their troops when they are stationed in friendly nations. That paragraph had another sentence tacked on to the end of it which I quote here because it deserves comment:

"This" that is, the right to jurisdiction over their own troops "is an incident of sovereignty which may be waived by the visiting sovereign and is not a right of the individual concerned."

That statement, I feel certain, would be qualified by the Supreme Court. It sounds too much like a statement of an absolute monarch, a king whose people are subjects. A sovereign can waive rights, but a President of the United States is not an absolute sovereign. He cannot waive an American citizen's rights through an Executive agreement. And even the sovereign treatymaking authority of this country—the President and Senate together—cannot do that. This is a government of people, not of Presidents or of Senates. The constitutional rights of citizens can be taken away only in grave emergencies. The sovereignty of the President, and of the President and Senate acting together, is limited by the rights of the individual. The President and Senate are servants, not masters. This statement, therefore, cannot be interpreted as meaning that the constitutional rights of American citizens—soldiers or civilians—can be traded away by a treaty or executive agreement.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars has always opposed, and today demands that the Status of Forces Treaty and related Executive agreements be canceled, for the very reason that through them the treatymaking power has been used to deprive American Armed Forces personnel of their constitutionally bestowed rights.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars is not, and never has been, impressed by the so-called practical arguments that have been used to excuse this violation of fundamental rights. This is a matter of principle on which we will not compromise.

A few years ago, proponents of the treaty and agreements were using the practical argument that no injuctices had been done to any servicemen under them and that the criticism and opposition of veterans groups, based on principle, was therefore unreasonable and noncompelling. They have dropped that argument now that enough time has passed to demonstrate that the injustices which were actually inevitable under these agreements have taken place.

Some of the arguments used to defend these treaties are actually weird. Representatives of the State Department, for example, have claimed that foreign courts have actually leaned over backward, that they have been overlenient in prosecuting members of our Armed Forces.

For the sake of argument I will grant that this has been true in some cases. But this argument, as a defense of the treaty, is ridiculous. It means, as a matter of fact, that justice is not being done under the treaty. It means that foreign courts are giving American troops one kind of treatment for violations of their laws and their own citizens a different and harsher treatment. This naturally arouses resentment and serves as an impediment not only to our defense effort, but to good relations between this country and its allies. Furthermore, it is not good for the discipline and morale of our own Armed Forces stationed abroad and tends to encourage disrespect for the law on their part.

The alleged leniency of foreign courts, then, is actually a strong argument against the NATO Status of Forces Treaty and its related executive agreements.

It is also a fact that these treaties and agreements, as they exist today, are discriminatory.

Japan, which was our enemy in World War II, has the right to try American servicemen. On the other hand, the Government of the Philippines and the Nationalist Government of China, which are, and have been, among our stanchest allies do not have that right. This is bound to arouse resentment and I have no doubt but that, as persons familiar with the Far East have asserted, this fact had something to do with the recent unfortunate riots and destruction of Amercan Government property on Formosa.

It has been publicly reported that the discriminatory nature of the status of forces agreements is the major reason why the

Philippine Government is now demanding renegotiation of the 1947 executive agreement which gives the United States 99-year extraterritorial rights to military bases there.

There are many reasons why treaties and agreements giving foreign powers criminal jurisdiction over American troops are wrong from the constitutional viewpoint. First of all, many men who serve overseas are draftees. Unlike vacationers who travel in foreign countries and thereby voluntarily yield certain constitutional rights, these men are forced by law to perform duties in the armed services. They are sent overseas whether or not they want to go, and then placed under foreign courts.

It is an undeniable fact, too, that this means that our servicemen, without their own volition, are placed in a position which might be described as one that psychologically incites them into running afoul of the law. Military life is not a pleasant one for the average civilian. Even when serving here he is denied normal family and human relationships to a considerable degree. This is particularly true when he is in a foreign country. When he has time off, his opportunities for wholesome recreation and normal human relationships are often extremely limited and there is not much he can do with himself.

Under these conditions many men will often have a drink too many simply because they have nothing else to do and this frequently results in their getting in trouble with the law for some violation or other. There is no excuse for murder, theft, rape, and other obvious crimes, but it is a fact that the majority of American servicemen overseas are not fully aware of all the things that may be violations of the laws of the nation in which they are stationed and, because of language differences, etc., they cannot be expected to know them.

In addition, if they must stand trial, they often cannot understand a word of what is going on in the court room. This unquestionably impairs their ability to defend themselves even though they have the services of a competent interpreter. It is therefore a serious impairment of their rights, particularly if their attorney is not so expert in the language of the country that he can catch every nuance in the statements of the prosecutor, witnesses, and all those associated with the trial.

Most important of all, perhaps, is the fact that in some countries the Napoleonic code governs the courts. The accused must prove his innocence. United States law presumes a man innocent until proven guilty, and this precept is carried over into our courts-martial. Just 2 years ago, Time magazine quoted a French legal authority as saying "We run our courts to convict the guilty, not to acquit the innocent." Presumption of innocence has always been regarded as a fundamental right of Americans, including those in service. How can a treaty be constitutional when it deprives a man of this most fundamental right?

It is undisputed that in some cases criminal penalties handed down by foreign courts are such that they would be considered cruel, inhuman, and unjust by United States standards. In spite of a specific proviso in the United States agreement with Japan that such sentences will not be imposed on our military personnel, 2 servicemen were recently sentenced by Japanese courts to terms of 5 years and 2½ years at hard labor for offenses which, in this country, would probably bring no more than 90 days imprisonment.

Even in cases where sentences imposed would be considered fair by American standards, we must take into consideration the fact that the prison standards in many countries are much below those here, so far below, in fact, that incarceration in them for any length of time amounts to unusual punishment.

One must only recall recent developments in Japan and Formosa to realize, too, that because of the emotional state of the people there it is often extremely difficult for an American serviceman or officer to get a fair trial. Feelings have been intense and, in some cases, hysterical. This is not conducive to justice, and is a fundamental impairment of a serviceman's rights because the trial cannot be moved to a court in an area where this condition does not exist.

There are other factors which, realistically, we must also consider. In France, for example, the Communist Party is the largest single political party. Italy has the largest Communist Party outside the Iron Curtain. There is considerable Communist infiltration of all walks of life in these countries.

Is any member of this committee prepared to say that there are no Communist judges in France, no Communist prosecuors, or that Communists are not selected for jury duty? Can an American expect a fair trial if a Communist or pro-Communist is sitting on the bench, acting as prosecutor, or serving on the jury?

Inasmuch as one of Moscow's main objectives today is to break up the NATO alliance, deprive the United States of its overseas bases, and drive it out of Europe, it is only reasonable to assume that any Communist associated in any way with the trial of an American serviceman would do everything possible to use the trial as a means of arousing anti-United States sentiment and hindering not only our diplomatic relations but also our defense effort. This injures not only United States interests, but also the basic rights of American military personnel who may be tried in France. They become political pawns in the eyes of such people.

It has frequently been argued that the surrender of our sovereignty over American troops through the NATO Status of Forces Treaty and similar executive agreements has been a concession we have been forced to make in the interest of national defense, that we want our troops in Western Europe, in Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, and must make this concession to get them there.

It is true that American troops stationed abroad add much to the defense of our own country. But this is a mutual-defense arrangement. Our allies need our troops stationed abroad as much, if not far more, than we do.

I believe that if the issue were put to them properly our allies would agree to restore to our military authorities complete sovereignty over our servicemen. No nation should object to fair and equal treatment. We could grant them complete sovereignty over their troops stationed in this country in return for United States sovereignty over our troops stationed within their borders. While it is true that there are relatively few foreign troops in the United States and well over 1 million United States servicemen on duty abroad, it is also true that the American military personnel are making a great contribution to, and a sacrifice for, the security of our allies. They deserve not only justice but special consideration for this.

We have made concessions to all these nations on many issues. We have given them billions of dollars in aid. Is it unreasonable to ask them to give us sovereignty over our own forces when we are perfectly willing to give them the same sovereignty over theirs?

Recently we have heard much about the fifth amendment in this country—much defense of traitor Communists and their fellow travelers who abuse the fifth amendment. Self-styled liberals and saviors of the Constitution and the United States are most vocal on this subject. At the same time, these people have for years shown a strange and colossal indefference to the constitutional rights of the American serviceman, specifically those fifth amendment rights threatened by the NATO Status of Forces Treaty.

For a change, I would like to hear some of these people, most of whom are supporters of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty, speak out for the fundamental rights of the loyal members of our Armed Forces who are serving overseas to protect this Nation and others from the Communist aggressors, the rights of whose fifth column agents seem to be so close to the hearts of some people in this country.

The whole Congress is charged with regulating our Armed Forces. The Uniform Code of Military Justice comprises the only departure from the full protection of the Bill of Rights that the Congress has approved for military personnel accused of crimes. Yet, because of treaties and executive agreements, our military personnel are being tried by foreign courts that do not grant the same protections as the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Manual for Courts-Martial authorized by it.

Never before in the history of the United States, prior to 1953, were American servicemen tried by foreign courts. These men are wearing the American uniform in foreign lands; many of them are risking their lives daily to protect the very rights that are being denied them by the NATO Status of Forces Treaty and related executive agreements. I therefore urge this committee and the whole Congress to take immediate steps to see that these rights are restored by repeal of these treaties and executive agreements.

Now a few words about the case of Army Sp3c. William Girard, who has been indicted by a Japanese court for inflicting bodily injury causing death and will go to trial on this charge at some indefinite date in August.

Under the Executive agreement with Japan now in force, that country has jurisdiction over American Armed Forces personnel only in cases arising from an act or omission that is not done "in the performance of official duty."

Japan clearly does not have jurisdiction over Girard because, in interpreting the agreement, the phrase "in the performance of official duty" has been universally accepted as meaning "on duty," as opposed to "off duty." According to traditional United States degnition, Armed Forces personel are on duty 24 hours a day, unless specifically placed on an offduty status through the granting of a furlough or a pass. Japan's claim to jurisdiction, based on the charge that Girard did not act "in the performance of official duty," is therefore completely unjustified.

This position is supported by the fact that the agreed official minutes of the agreement with Japan, which supplemented and are supposed to clarify and define the provisions in the agreement to avoid disputes in interpreting it, contain the following statement. This statement, by the way, is a clarification of paragraph 3 (a) (ii), which states that the United States will have primary right of jurisdiction in "offenses arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty":

"Where a member of the United States Armed Forces or the civilian component is charged with an offense, a certificate issued by or on behalf of his commanding officer stating that the alleged offense, if committed by him, arose out of an act or omission done in the performance of official duty, shall, in any judicial proceeds, be sufficient evidence of the fact unless the contrary is proved."

If a certification by a commanding officer shall be "sufficient evidence of the fact" in any judicial proceedings unless the contrary is proved, it is certainly reasonable to say that it was understood that it would also be "sufficient evidence of the fact" in the dis-

cussions of the Joint American-Japanese Committee, unless it was proved false.

Secretaries Dulles and Wilson, in their statement on the Girard case, said that Girard's division commander had certified that Girard's action was done "in the performance of official duty." This certification was not proved false in the Joint Committee meetings, and yet it was, in effect, rejected by both sides.

This amounts to a breaking of the spirit, if not the actual letter, of the agreement by both sides—by Japan because it claimed jurisdiction in spite of the certification by Girard's division commander and without proving that that certification was false, and by the United States through its surrender of jurisdiction to Japan even though Girard's commanding general certified that he should have been tried by a courts-martial. According to the spirit of the agreement, Japan made unreasonable demands and the United States made unnecessary and unreasonable concessions—at the expense, I might add, of an American soldier.

I have every reason to believe that when United States authorities turned Girard over to a Japanese court they violated a specific promise which had been made to him—inasmuch as this promise is made to all men assigned to duty in Japan. In the hearings on the NATO status-of-forces agreements held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee in July 1955 there was inserted in the record (p. 319) the official text of the briefing that is given to all American troops sent to Japan. I quote from that briefing:

"The United States has primary jurisdiction over military and civilian personnel who commit offenses while on official duty * * *. For example, if Sergeant Smith, while driving a Government car on official business, kills a Japanese pedestrian, the sergeant is subjectly only"—and I emphasize the word "only"—"to court-martial since the United States has primary jurisdiction because the offense took place while the soldier was on official business."

Applied to the case of Girard, this was a promise that he would be tried only by a United States court-martial because he was "on official business" when the offense took place.

The briefing also points out that Japan can ask the United States to give up its primary authority to try a service man if it feels the case is of particular importance. This is a reference to the proviso in the agreement that the state having primary jurisdiction shall give sympathetic consideration to a request for waiver of that jurisdiction from the other state when that state considers such a waiver to be of particular importance. But the surrender of Girard by United States authorities does not come under this part of the agreement and cannot be excused because of its existence.

In his case Japan did not recognize the primary jurisdiction of the United States and request this country to waive it because it was a matter of particular importance. On the contrary, Japan flatly denied that the United States had primary authority—and the United States acceded to this unfounded contention, thereby breaking its word to Girard. Nowhere in the briefing is there a hint that such action would ever be taken in the case of any American serviceman. As a matter of fact, the whole tone of the briefing indicates just the opposite.

According to Secretary of the Army Wilber Brucker, this is the first time, to the best of his knowledge, that an American serviceman has been turned over to a foreign court for trial as a result of an action performed while on duty.

When Rear Adm. Charles E. Hubbard, deputy Chief of Staff for the Far East Command, turned Girard over to Japanese jurisdiction, he admitted that he was setting a precedent in surrendering to a foreign court a member of the United States Armed Forces charged with committing an offense while on duty.

It is clear from the joint statement issued by Secretaries Dulles and Wilson that Girard's rights have been traded away for political considerations and in the interests of our international relations. If this becomes the custom, what is going to happen to the morale of the million and a half or so members of our Armed Forces who are serving abroad? How secure will they feel in their rights?

And if it is correct for the Government to trade away the rights of servicemen for diplomatic considerations, what is to prevent it from trying to trade away the rights of the ordinary American civilian for the same reason? This is the key, the essential issue in this case. It is a breach of the Constitution and one that threatens the individual liberties of all Americans.

The rights spelled out in the Constitution are supposed to be inviolate except insofar as a grave national emergency may justify their temporary suspension. But now we have reached the point where diplomatic considerations, rather than the Constitution, are apparently the touchstone of the liberties of American military personnel.

Furthermore, on the basis of the Girard decision, any nation with which this country has an agreement concerning jurisdiction over our Armed Forces and which claims jurisdiction for itself and persists in that position, causing a deadlock, will be able to get the United States to surrender its sovereignty despite any agreement that it need not do so. This is exactly what happened in Japan. The United States representative had orders to claim United States jurisdiction but, if a deadlock should develop, to agree to surrender that jurisdiction to the Japanese.

This is a particularly worrisome development when it is known that Communist groups in Japan have been partly responsible for creating the furor over the Girard case. It means that, indirectly at least, Moscow has called the tune on United States surrender of its sovereignty there. If this can happen in Japan, it can also happen in other countries. Communists can start agitating, create an artificial national and international issue—and another American's rights will go down the drain, along with a little more of our country's sovereignty.

That is something the Veterans of Foreign Wars does not want to see—any more, I am sure, than the members of this subcommittee, the whole Congress, and the great majority of our people want to see it. Most important, we do not want any individual American's constitutional rights impaired or lost. That is why we strongly urge this subcommittee to take the lead in pressing for the repeal of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty and related Executive agreements.

Before bringing this statement to a close, I would like to point out that it was prepared before Federal District Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy ruled on June 18 that Girard should not be turned over to a Japanese court for trial. In his decision Judge McGarraghy upheld a number of points made in this statement. He emphasized that it was uncontroverted that Girard, at the time of the incident, was acting as a member of the American Armed Forces in the performance of his official duties as guard. Not only had Girard's commanding officer so certified, the judge pointed out, but Secretaries Wilson and Dulles admitted this in their joint statement of June 4 and, during the hearing before him, even the United States attorney said that the Government conceded this point.

The judge then pointed out that, under the Constitution, Congress has the power to govern our military forces, that it had adopted a Uniform Code of Military Justice which applies to all persons in military service and establishes every procedure to be followed in prosecuting them for offenses committed in the performance of official duty. The judge therefore ruled that the Government's determination to turn Girard over to a Japanese court would violate rights of the petitioner guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States inasmuch as his on-duty action, under both the Constitution and the agreement with Japan, made him accountable only to United States Federal jurisdiction.

This, in effect, upholds my earlier charge that the Federal Government was prepared to trade away Girard's rights for reasons of international diplomacy.

Girard's plea to the court did not raise the issue of whether the agreement with Japan is a violation of the constitutional rights of American servicemen and Judge McGarraghy therefore did not touch on it. It is still my feeling, however, that this viewpoint will probably be upheld if the issue is put to the Supreme Court.

In closing, I want to again thank the members of the subcommittee for giving me the opportunity to testify.

Investigating Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I include the following editorial from the Daily News of Havre, Mont., titled "Investigative Committees May Need Overhauling." It was written by J. R. Larcombe:

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES MAY NEED OVERHAULING

The sorry spectacle of the Becks, senior and junior, refusing to acknowledge themselves as father and son on the ground that such admission might incriminate is only one of the latest in a long series of racketeers' contempt for our governmental processes, but it is sufficiently nauseating to make a good many people wonder whether it might not be a good idea to take a new look at congressional investigating committees.

A labor racketeer is no better and no worse than any other kind, be he bootlegger, slot-machine impresario, or just plain parasite, but even the notorious Frank Costello made a better case for himself than have the Dave Becks in their useless and contemptuous appearance before the United States Senate.

This business of arrantly guilty people hiding behind the fifth amendment which was designed to protect possibly innocent people from deliberate harassment may make sense to trained legal minds, but it makes little or none to the rest of us.

If these congressional committees are only semilegal arrangements having no actual power as has a civil court, then possibly they are not longer of use. They could even impede ultimate justice because of the nationwide publicity some cases receive; with the consequent difficulty in securing an unbiased jury when and if these scamps are brought into a formal court.

It seems to us that if these people are going to continue virtually to defy investigating committees, they don't belong before them. They might better be brought before a Federal grand jury on evidence secured by

the FBI. We don't believe Mr. Dave Beck would have suffered such a severe loss of memory in front of a grand jury, nor would he have dared to hide behind the fifth amendment more than 200 times. He would have talked freely or else come out with a nice little Federal indictment hanging around his fat neck. Probably both.

We are not too much sold on these investigating committees anyway. The primary business of Congress appears to be legislation. Certainly they are seldom worth the money they cost, especially since they have no real power worth using. Mostly they get headlines for some publicity-hunting Member of Congress who might better be attending the basic business for which he was elected.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER used his rackets investigation and some hundreds of thousands of dollars of public funds as a means of promoting himself for the Presidency. He sent not a man to jail, and the whole spectacle was generally useless.

Maybe a new look at this investigating business is in order. Why shouldn't Senators legislate and the police investigate?—J. R. L.

The Private Power Company Takes a Free Ride on the Taxpayers—Hollering About Low Cost Public Power That Pays Its Own Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, this week I put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement showing that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. in California has secured the second largest tax writeoff in the Nation, and suggested that that company would do well to follow the example of the Idaho Power Co. and disgorge its tax subsidies. I include in the RECORD two editorials from the Redding Record-Searchlight dealing with this matter. I call attention particularly to the reference made to the crocodile tears shed by the power company while it condemns the fact that the common people are getting the benefit of low-cost public power which pays its own way.

The editorials follow:

[From the Reading Record-Searchlight of June 6, 1957]

WHO GETS A FREE RIDE?

The claim of great benefits to the Federal Government from private development of power on the Trinity project sounds a little hollow when you note that the Idaho Power Co., which was to benefit the Federal Government by using what could have been a Federal dam site at Hells Canyon, has now received a big Government subsidy in the form of a rapid amortization for tax-deduction purposes.

Isn't it possible that the same thing will happen on the Trinity, and that P. G. & E., after saving the taxpayers the expense of a power house, will get a handout of taxpayers' money, just as Idaho Power did?

Secretary of Interior Seaton refers almost sneeringly to the preference customers who will have to pay an extra $115 million for their power under partnership as being only 7 percent of the people of California. In the same vein, P. G. & E. spokesmen in San Francisco asked why such customers should get a free ride at the expense of water users and taxpayers generally. In other words, it's fine if a big corporation, enjoying a monopoly situation, gets a free ride at taxpayers' expense, but it's immoral for the taxpayers' own agencies (city electric systems, public utility districts, farmer cooperatives, etc.) to take advantage of power from a public project unless they first pay tribute to the monopoly.

[From the Redding Record-Searchlight of June 13, 1957]

MILLIONS, INTEREST FREE

How'd you like to have Uncle Sam give you an interest-free loan of $78,959,499?

Pacific Gas & Electric Co. got the equivalent of such a loan, in the form of accelerated depreciations for tax purposes, according to a tabulation placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Representative JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee. EVINS figures the total subsidy to P. G. & E. will amount to $267,962,101 over a period of years.

EVINS explains how it works:

"A tax certificate permits the recipient to amortize his capital investment in 5 years instead of the much longer period provided by conventional practice. The actual life of power projects is normally considered to range from 25 to 50 years. On a $2 million powerplant construction—with a 50-percent of $1 million tax certificate grant—the company would be permitted to depreciate $200,000 a year instead of $20,000 each year under normal procedure. Assuming that the company was already in the 52-percent bracket, as most of them would be, the tax saving, as compared to what it would have had to pay if it had followed the 50-year depreciation pattern, would amount to $93,600 per year. Over the 5-year period the total saving would be $468,000. So during the 5 years the company enjoyed rapid amortization it would pay a total of $468,000 less in taxes than under the normal procedures—the private utility company also would have the benefit of using the funds represented by the tax saving, and, therefore, the total tax relief amounts to an interest-free loan from the Government."

So here is the private company, one of the favored few who get fast tax writeoff privileges, complaining that Federal power from the Trinity project would go to a favored few—by which it means cities like Redding and utility districts like those in the Shasta Dam area and Sacramento.

And it's going to save the taxpayers $50 million by building the Trinity project powerhouses. It can do that handily out of its $78 million interest-free loan from the taxpayers.

North Shore, Mass., Chapter Wins Stevenson Trophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege and an honor to incorporate in the RECORD a resolution of the National Association of Accounts designating the North Shore, Mass., chapter as the 1957 winner of the Stevenson trophy cup.

This chapter, which was formed only 5 years ago, is to be commended for this rare distinction and it is my pleasure to advise the House of its outstanding achievement:

Be it known that—

Whereas during the year ended May 31, 1957, in a nationwide interchapter trophy competition carried on in the United States and its possessions by the National Association of Accountants, formerly known as the National Association of Cost Accountants; and

Whereas because this competition is carried on between 131 chapters in as many separate locations in the country and its possessions, having an aggregate membership of over 40,000 individual members; and

Whereas because the competition, known as the Stevenson Trophy Competition, measures the relative achievements of the various chapters in their effort to carry out activities which further the advancement of knowledge and education in the science and practice of accountancy; that

Therefore we recognize and know the outstanding achievement of the Massachusetts North Shore chapter of the National Association of Accountants, being the 1957 winner of this aforementioned interchapter competition and awarded the Stevenson trophy cup by the president of the National Association of Accountants on June 27 at the 38th annual conference of the association held at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D. C.

Even the Flies Were Dying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the problem of taking care of the growing thousands of people who seek recreation on the public land areas of the United States is dramatically set forth in the attached editorial of June 24, 1957, appearing in the Redding Record-Searchlight. The fact is that serious health problems can arise by the overcrowding of the inadequate facilities presently provided on recreational areas. I know the Appropriations Committees are doing the best they can with this matter, but I trust that a reading of the editorial would encourage their efforts.

The editorial follows:

EVEN THE FLIES WERE DYING

A fellow who was there reports that over the Memorial Day weekend there were 100 trailers at the undeveloped Jones valley arm of Shasta lake and sanitation was so bad even the flies were dying.

We didn't see that spot, but we did observe the jam at Bailey Cove, where all the tent spaces were filled, where the boat launching ramp had a waiting line and where the parking area was filled to overflowing. There is a critical situation that calls for immediate congressional action.

Shasta Lake is a Federal body of water, created by Shasta Dam, and the United States forest service has jurisdiction over the recreational areas around it. But so far it hasn't had the funds to meet its responsibility. Each year the number of users increases, with outboard boaters coming from hundreds of miles away. The forest service hasn't been able to add camping spots and boat launching facilities half fast enough.

It looked for a while as though the forest service could get started this year, because it announced a 5-year Operation Outdoors program to total some $85 million to meet the recreational needs of the national forests. But with the big cut-the-budget drive on in Washington, this essential and long-delayed program is likely to get slashed.

Some forest facilities can, perhaps, be postponed. Campers can camp in the woods even if improved campgrounds aren't provided. But Shasta Lake is attracting people by the thousands, and unless there are facilities for them, it can create a mess that will be a discredit to the Federal Government.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Two Hundredth Anniversary of Emmitsburg, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the great Free State of Maryland recently had the pleasure of observing the 200th anniversary of one of its friendliest and most charming communities, the town affectionately described in its local newspaper as "picturesque, historical, and tranquil Emmitsburg." Ever since 1757, when Samuel Emmit bought the 2,250 acres of land on which the town now stands, the area has grown and prospered in faithful accord with the most glorious traditions of its mother State and our entire Nation. Consequently, it was a special pleasure for me to participate in the opening ceremonies of Emmitsburg's bicentennial celebration, and I know that our fine Governor, Theodore R. McKeldin, also felt highly honored when he was privileged to deliver an address on the climactic evening on which the 8 days of festivities were brought to a close. As is his custom, the Governor delivered an exceptionally noteworthy speech, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, EMMITSBURG BICENTENNIAL, EMMITSBURG, MD., JUNE 29, 1957

Right gladly do I pay homage to Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen of Emmitsburg, salute her court, and present my compliments to the nobility and gentry here assembled on this bicentennial celebration.

It was a happy inspiration to give the pageant the name of Valley Echoes, for to one whose ear is attuned to the voices of history it is an echoing valley indeed. Poised on the dividing line between North and South, and also what was, for the first 200 years of our history, the dividing line between East and West, Emmitsburg has been in position to hear the clamor from all regions. Her ear has been closed to none. In her situation no voice was strong enough to drown out all others.

Mason and Dixon divided North and South. The Appalachians divided East and West. Emmitsburg, standing where the surveyors line begins to cross the mountains was for a long time a central spot. At the extremities men heard little save their own voices and often made bad decisions because they did not know what others were saying. But this valley echoed to them all and Emmitsburg heard them all. It is not surprising if there developed in this region a way of life so comprehensively American, so typical of all America that to the North and the South, to the East and the West, people sometimes failed to recognize it for what it was.

Hardly any strong voice raised in America has not echoed in this valley. It heard the Indian war-whoop long before the white man came. It heard the crack of the flintlock rifles of the fur traders and after them the axes of the pioneers. Scouting parties from the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne spoke here the accents of France, and in later years the creaking wagon wheels of migrants mingled with German and Irish and Scottish voices as the flood of population poured through Pennsylvania and on to the South.

Afterward, when an enemy army held Philadelphia, and Congress fled to Lancaster and York, Emmitsburg was on the edge of the hurricane, and again in the last act of that drama, when the North had been recovered and Cornwallis at last was penned with his back to the sea, Emmitsburg was in almost the same relative position.

Eighty years later, during the last great tragedy attending the building of the Nation, in those days, as G. K. Chesterton wrote:

"When Lee, the last of the heroes, came
With the men of the South and a flag like flame,
And called the land by its lovely name
In the unforgotten song."

This valley echoed to the thunder of battle at Antietam and Gettysburg. An echoing valley, indeed, and dull must he be of soul who could pass by unhearing and uncaring.

All this you have summed up with poetic insight in the pageant presented today. It is a fine work, a work worthy of a people who know that to preserve the memory of the great days of the past is the best way to invigorate the present and to assure the coming of great days in the future. It is the kind of work that preserves and enriches civilization.

For that reason I suggest to you another significance that this occasion has. Echo, according to the storytellers of ancient Greece, was once a maiden who incurred the wrath of Juno by talking too much; so Juno decreed that thenceforth she could use her voice only to repeat what was told her, and to this day Echo only gives back what she has heard.

Thus far, in considering the valley echoes we have paid attention only to the voices of the past. But I submit that Echo can move both ways; and I believe that an attentive ear will enable us to hear, or at least guess at, some echoes of the future. For remember, what we hear is only a repetition of what we have given out in the first place—changed in tone and resonance, no doubt, but basically the same.

What sort of echoes will this valley hear in the years that are to come? It is a solemn thought because the answer depends upon what we utter now.

No wise man can doubt that this Nation at present is engaged in a gigantic struggle for survival. It is not a military struggle, although it may come to that. It is a struggle for the minds and hearts of men, an effort to convince men who have never enjoyed it that liberty is more precious than anything else in life, more precious, indeed, than life itself.

This is very difficult indeed. In some ways it is the hardest struggle in which the American people have ever engaged. But the difficulty of the war measures the greatness of the victory. If the American people can win the major portion of mankind to an appreciation of freedom, we shall have done a far greater thing than we did when we defeated Germany and Japan; for this is a battle in the realm of the mind and the spirit, and "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city."

In a struggle for the minds, rather than the bodies of men the weapons are not fire and steel, but ideas. In this combat we are using every weapon available—propaganda, military aid, economic aid, everything else we can think of—but the best of all weapons in such a struggle is the power of example. All the talk in the world is not half as effective as one demonstration of liberty in action.

This brings the business straight home to every community in America. I referred to Emmitsburg as being on the edge of the hurricane in the Revolution and again in the Civil War; but this time you are right in the storm center, for the United States of America, the whole country, is the storm center. If the ideal of liberty fails here, it has no chance at all anywhere else. If we can't make it work, nobody can; and it would be nonsense to recommend to other people a system that we can't make work at home.

This lends to what may seem to be small affairs a terrific significance. For instance, the refusal of a college to admit one particular student doesn't seem to be an earth-shaking event; yet when the University of Alabama refused a women on account of her color, there were protests that amounted to disturbances of the peace in Cairo and Bombay. It was not the student that counted; it was the fact that the United States seemed, in the eyes of Asia, to be refusing to practice what it preaches.

By comparison with Paris and London and Tokyo, Emmitsburg is a small place, but do not think that this means that whatever happens in Emmitsburg must be a small event. By sturdily defending equal justice under law in Emmitsburg, you vindicate the ideal of human liberty in Shanghai and Calcutta; and never say that that is a small thing.

During the late war there was a popular song intended to apply to military combat, but there is one stanza in it that I think we can well adapt to the fight in which we are now engaged. It runs:

"Praise the Lord and wheel into position,
Praise the Lord, we're on a mighty mission,
Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition,
And we'll all stay free."

The ammunition in this case is not shot and shell, but justice and fair dealing as between man and man, in Emmitsburg, in Baltimore, in Alabama and everywhere else in this country that claims to stand for justice and fair dealing as the strong bulwarks of the republic. "We're on a mighty mission"—no truer word was ever spoken. We're on the mightiest mission that ever was undertaken, nothing less than the establishment of righteousness that "exalteth a nation."

Some people don't believe it. Some people don't believe that righteousness has anything to do with international affairs, but the plain fact is that such people don't know what righteousness is. They think it means psalm-singing and long prayers in public places.

Well, I will admit that that kind of righteousness has no place in diplomacy. But there is another kind. There is a

righteousness that makes a man tell the truth even when it is damaging, that makes him keep his contract, even when its costs him money, and that prevents him from kicking another man when he is down. And that kind of righteousness, applied to international affairs, is what "exalteth a nation," and does more than fleets and armies to make it secure against attack.

But it doesn't begin with the President and the Secretary of State. It begins at the grassroots. It should come to flower in Washington, but it begins in Emmitsburg, and all the other cities and towns and villages and open country in the United States.

People shouted for liberty in Emmitsburg 200 years ago and the echoes are still ringing in this valley. Let us shout for it again. Let us demonstrate right here that a decent respect for the rights of others is the surest guaranty of our own, knowing that the power of that example will spread to a distance beyond calculation and for a time beyond the predictable future. For thus, and only thus, can we make sure that when Emmitsburg celebrates its tricentennial the valley echoes will still lift the hearts of men as they lift our hearts today. By so doing we shall cause the echoes of the past to join those of the future in a harmony that is the hope of the world.

What America Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very eloquent and inspiring message entitled "What America Means to Me," by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which appeared yesterday in This Week magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

(By J. Edgar Hoover)

The American ideal is woven of a thousand things. It is woven of unfaltering faith in God, of faith in the destiny of this Nation, of heroic battles such as Bunker Hill, and Gettysburg, and the Marne, and Anzio, and Iwo Jima.

Threaded through the fabric is the patience of a Washington, the wisdom of a Franklin, the humility and compassion of a Lincoln, the integrity of an Eisenhower, the courage of an unknown soldier, the vision of a Jefferson and the sacrifice of a Nathan Hale.

It is laced with the memory of men's words: "I have not yet begun to fight," and "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The American ideal is embodied in our Nation's integrity and honor, and in our homes, where respect for the rights of others is taught by precept and example. It is part and parcel of our Bill of Rights, and the constitutional concepts which recognize that all men are free and equal.

The American ideal embodies the sum total of the wisdom, the courage and the sacrifices of our Founding Fathers. It includes gratitude for our many blessings and a firm resolve to be worthy of them.

Finally, the American ideal has its roots in religion. Without religious inspiration, the American ideal would die. It is the American precept that men shall live as equals under a government by law, which is embodied in the greatest of all laws: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."

Legislative Monstrosity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Legislative Monstrosity," from the June 19, 1957, issue of the Savannah, Ga., Morning News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEGISLATIVE MONSTROSITY

The republican concept of Government as established by the Constitution was dealt a severe blow by a majority of the House of Representatives on Tuesday when they passed, over strong Southern opposition, the iniquitous Eisenhower civil rights bill.

The bill will, among other things, set up a gestapo-type Federal investigation service under the Attorney General empowered to bypass State courts and go right into Federal court to prevent alleged violations of civil rights even before they occur. And the Federal courts will be empowered to assume direct jurisdiction in such matters and hold trials in which the defendant is denied the right to be judged by a jury—thus wiping out a concept of Anglo-Saxon justice dating back to the Magna Carta.

In effect the act, in the name of civil rights, interposes Federal jurisdiction between an individual and his local and State courts before remedies in those courts have been exhausted, and hales the individual directly before a Federal tribunal for trial, without a jury, not only for an alleged offense he has committed, but for an alleged offense the Federal agents think he might commit at some time in the future.

The only recourse would be to the United States Supreme Court, which precludes any hope of objective judicial review of any tactics which might be employed in the name of civil rights.

The bill, if it passes the Senate, would establish the climate for the growth of a reign of terror against anyone holding views which might differ with those prevailing among the political leaders in power at the time. It may be turned any or all directions to crush individual liberty in the name of civil rights, subject only to the cosmic configurations that characterize the thinking of the Supreme Court on such matters.

It is up to the Senate to rise in righteous indignation and block passage of this legislative monstrosity spawned by the cheapest type of politics. Constitutional Government must not be destroyed for expediency by shallow politicians in the name of civil rights.

Funeral Rites of Hon. R. Gregg Cherry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, June 27, 1957, the funeral of a great North Carolinian, the late former Gov. R. Gregg Cherry, was held in the First Methodist Church, Gastonia, N. C.

I was very much impressed by the splendid remarks made by my pastor, Dr. Wilson O. Weldon, as a tribute to the life and works of Governor Cherry.

Under unanimous consent, I insert these remarks in the RECORD as a further tribute to this fallen leader.

ROBERT GREGG CHERRY

(Funeral remarks by Dr. Wilson O. Weldon, minister, First Methodist Church, Gastonia, N. C.)

The story of this man, of whose memorial rites each of us is a part, is a story of American greatness. Not born to promise, as men measure it, yet he was one who came to be entrusted with the highest office within the gift of his city and of his sovereign State of North Carolina.

Others have written of his accolade of achievements; I speak of him as the man, with a great and a good heart.

Some, when elected to high public office, become proud and arrogant. Not so with Gregg Cherry: he was friend to the bootblack as well as to President of the United States.

Ever a friend of the underprivileged, his warm heart reached out to help the needy. How many deeds of charity, how many gifts of kindness no one really knows but the Father above.

From early days, through struggle, hardship, and diligence he sought an education. Through his college days at Trinity College and the Duke University Law School he continued his diligent quest for knowledge. Throughout his life he manifested a deep interest in higher education, and he used the high office of Governor to alleviate human suffering. He mastered law to such an extent that I doubt any other lawyer ever failed to respect his skill and brilliance as an attorney.

Not long after I become his minister he gave me an autographed copy of his addresses and papers delivered during the years that he was Governor. With a smile upon his face, and a characteristic twinkle in his eyes, he added, "Preacher, you might get a sermon out of reading them." And I did. Here it is—something he said in an address to the laymen of his own church at Gastonia in 1948:

"Much of the restlessness inside us arises from the false assumption that what is outside a man or woman has the power to create happiness. Yet, nothing outside you or me can make us happy and progressive if there is no spiritual reservoir inside." (P. 806.)

John Harden, who served as his secretary while Governor, has written of him:

"Always, in everything he did while leading North Carolina, and even while preparing for that leadership, he was a combination of soldier, lawyer, and man. The qualities that he gave those lives, those careers, could never be separated, and may I add that he was always especially a man—warm, human, un-

selfish, and devoted to a belief in a people and a way of life that was and is North Carolina."

Not many weeks ago Mrs. Weldon and I called at the home of the Cherrys, unexpected and unannounced. 'Twas one of the most pleasant and interesting evening conversations I've ever had across the years of my ministry. His keen insight, his appraisal of men's virtues, his sharp humor, his warmth of compassion continue to shine like stars in my memory.

And a few days thereafter I stopped by his law office. When another friend had left, I closed the door and then talked in prayer with the Maker of us all. When I had finished, he took my hand and said, "Parson, they helped my body down at the Duke Hospital, and now I feel better inside—you know what I mean." I knew, and you know, what he meant.

Friends, that's the Gregg Cherry I shall remember and for whom I shall thank God. And it is in the spirit of those lines which he loved to quote that I bid you remember him, too—

"When earth's last picture is painted
And the tubes are twisted and dried,
When the oldest colors have faded,
And the youngest critic has died,
We shall rest—and faith, we shall need it—
Lie down for an aeon or two,
Till the Master of all good workmen
Shall set us to work anew!

"And only the Master shall praise them,
And only the Master shall blame,
And no one shall work for money,
And no one shall work for fame,
But each for the joy of working,
And each in his separate star
Shall draw the thing as he sees it,
For the God of things as they are."

—*Rudyard Kipling.*

Russell Lauded on Rights Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL BROWN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I, under unanimous consent, insert in the RECORD an article entitled "RUSSELL Lauded on Rights Stand," by Paul Wooton in the June 21, 1957, issue of the Times-Picayune, of New Orleans, La., quoting Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, of Louisiana, in paying a well-deserved tribute to Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia.

The article follows:

RUSSELL LAUDED ON RIGHTS STAND—SENATOR ASSET TO SOUTH, SAYS LOUISIANA SOLON

(By Paul Wooton)

WASHINGTON, June 20.—"What an asset DICK RUSSELL is to the South" That exclamation came from Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, of Louisiana, when asked Thursday what he thought of Senator RUSSELL'S comment on the effort to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the House-passed bill on the calendar.

The Georgia Senator urged his colleagues to pay no attention to the smokescreen the so-called liberals have set up. It is charged that they have little real interest in voters in Southern States. Their real objective, RUSSELL declared, is integration in schools. There the hate-the-South campaign would bear political fruit, because then every school board official could be put in jail if the schools were not integrated. The hate-the-South effort is the most determined one launched since carpetbag days, RUSSELL thinks.

A terrible price will be paid if the Senate establishes a precedent under which a bill is sent directly to the calendar without prior references to a committee, he said.

RUSSELL said he would not discuss the merits of the bill because it has none. There are only demerits to talk about, he said. It has given rise to a propaganda campaign, RUSSELL stated, "to make it appear that southerners are prejudiced, bigoted, and, indeed, a brutish people." He quoted from American Mercury, a northern magazine, which reveals the sinister design of leftwing schemers to discredit "the South with its deep-running conservatism and unshaken Anglo-Saxon traditions." All this is being prompted, says the magazine, by the "political potency of the northern Negro vote."

At one point in RUSSELL'S remark he said the civil-rights bill as passed by the House "wipes out individual rights, and liberties which the Anglo-Saxon race has cherished and on which it has depended for a thousand years. It would vest in an appointed official, the Attorney General, power over the American people which no President, elected by the people, ever has had."

RUSSELL'S hard-hitting speech, said WILLIS, who took a leading part in the House fight, is only the beginning. Southern Senators are prepared, he said, "to pour it on" until the devastating character of the proposed legislation is thoroughly understood by the people.

Strontium, Secrecy, and the AEC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the survival of human life in the face of the danger from nuclear weapons is by far the most important question before this Congress. Yet, for many reasons, this question has not been framed or squarely presented to this Congress.

Alton F. Baker, Jr., editor, and Robert B. Frazier, associate editor, of my hometown newspaper, the Eugene Register-Guard, had as their lead editorial on June 20 the following:

STRONTIUM, SECRECY, AND THE AEC

Almost daily now more people are becoming concerned about the fallout of radioactive material from atomic-bomb tests being conducted by this country, Great Britain, and Russia.

Evidence and arguments presented by scientists indicate that people should be concerned. Only recently, about 2,000 scientists signed a declaration of conscience urging the United States to quit testing atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The Atomic Energy Commission, to date at least, recognizes danger to the human race is involved but it has contended that tests so far have not reached the danger point. This is the most painful part of the argument. Who is right? The many scientists who say we should stop or the AEC, which, among other duties, has the problem of keeping us ahead in the atomic-weapons race?

The answers given by the AEC are really not satisfactory. Many news stories contain remarks to the effect that amounts of fallout discovered in various locations around the United States are not thought to be dangerous. But, so far as we know, the AEC has never told us in any detail why it considers that tests performed by the United States and other nations are in the realm of safe dosages of radioactive fallout for the world's population. The inference that we are yet safe has certainly been disputed by many esteemed scientists.

Another important point in this bomb-testing issue was brought home by Prof. Raymond T. Ellickson, head of the University of Oregon physics department in a speech to the Eugene Rotary Club. Dr. Ellickson said, "Why don't we stop our testing now before more nations start tests?" His inference was that we are way ahead in the atomic arms race so why shouldn't we quit tests while we have all the marbles? This question is mightly hard to answer. Scientists, including those with the AEC, say that we can detect atomic explosions regardless of where they are set off. If another nation tried to conduct secret tests, the world would soon know.

But here again is another dilemma that arises from the same question Dr. Ellickson raises. How far ahead are we in the perfection of hydrogen and atomic weapons? Does the AEC have information that we are not ahead at all in this horrible race? We don't really know. Much important information on the issue is top secret, and we, in this democratic Nation, are kept in the dark in the interest of national safety. Dr. Ellickson, we are certain, would be the first to admit there is much vital information of which he has no knowledge.

But Dr. Ellickson, inquisitive scientist that he is, has been able to piece together information from various sources which makes him believe the results of more and more fallout can be hideous. He told the Rotarians that if no more bombs were tested, the rate of dangerous fallout on the earth would continue to increase (from past tests) until 1970. And what is the biggest danger we know about now? It is strontium 90, an element that resembles calcium and is eventually assimilated into the bone structure of human beings, particularly children. It increases the danger of bone cancer and leukemia, and through the blood stream, it can cause the transformation of genes. The factor that raises a great moral issue for our generation is this: Regressive genes, that could deform the human race, would not appear for perhaps several generations. We may not hurt ourselves but what are we doing to our children and their children? Where is the danger point of too much strontium 90? Does anyone really know? Dr. Ellickson points out that in concentrated form, one-third of a pound of strontium 90 would be enough to kill every person in the United States.

We are convinced that the AEC has a responsibility, indeed a duty, to tell the facts, as it knows them, to the people of this country. Then the people should have the right to decide what we should do about our bomb tests.

Last week I filed a bill to ban further tests of nuclear weapons so long as other nations also refrained. The text of the bill is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, no device designed to produce a nuclear explosion shall be tested by explosion by the Government of the United States until such time as the Atomic Energy Commission shall report to the President that a nuclear explosion has occurred on or after the date of enactment of this Act and that such explosion was not the result of any activity of the Government of the United States. The report of the Atomic Energy Commission as well as the

evidence upon which it is based shall be published in the Federal Register within fifteen days after such Commission has made such a report to the President.

Hundreds Face Job Loss in Lead-Zinc Shutdowns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the lead-zinc crisis which has been called to the House's attention so frequently during the past few weeks involves more than mines, it also involves miners with families to feed.

Several of us from these mining areas have introduced legislation to implement the long-range minerals policy recommendation for a sliding scale of excise taxes on the imports which have depressed the market for these two metals. Every week of inaction on this legislation means more news stories like that which follows, from the Salt Lake Tribune of June 26, 1957:

HUNDREDS FACE JOB LOSS IN LEAD-ZINC SHUTDOWNS

(By Robert W. Bernick)

Hundreds of additional lead-zinc miners are being served with severance notices in western United States as more lead-zinc mines prepare to close in the face of price declines and mounting foreign imports.

American Smelting & Refining Co. will close three metal mines in Colorado, New Mexico, and Washington, the Tribune was informed.

Combined Metals Reduction Co., Salt Lake City, associated with Crested Buttes Co. in operations on the King lease near Crested Buttes (Gunnison), Colo., announced closure of mine and mill, affecting 30 workmen.

E. H. Snyder, CMR president, also announced that the Pioche District, Nev., operations of the company would be closed by August 1, unless there was an improvement in prices of the two metals.

Only action by Congress on increase in tariffs on the imports of these metals would buoy prices at this stage, in the opinion of most observers.

Meanwhile, American Smelting & Refining Co. was mailing notices of severance to some 80 employees at its Keystone mine and mill at Crested Buttes, the Tribune was informed. Some 80 miners and millmen on day pay will be affected by the closure July 15. A few miners will be kept at work on a development project at the properties, the Tribune learned.

At American Smelting & Refining Co.'s Ground Hog Mine at Silver City, N. Mex., and the custom mill at Deming, N. Mex., some 200 miners and millmen would be affected by closures scheduled next month. Other mines shipping to the Demming concentrator also would presumably close down.

A low-grade open cut zinc property near Colville, Wash., along with a mill near Colville, also will be closed by American Smelting, the Tribune was advised. This Vanstone mine and mill employs an estimated 80 persons.

In all, the shutdowns at the King Lease and those involving American Smelting & Refining Co. bring to more than 400 miners and millmen who will face unemployment next month. An additional 150 miners and millmen at the Pioche District properties of Combined Metals Reduction Co. would be affected in August, Mr. Snyder said.

During the last few months, as the domestic mining industry has seen lead prices skid to 14 cents and zinc to 10½ cents a pound, mines and mills have been closed down in the Tri-State district of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Missouri, and in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, California, Montana, Washington, Oregon, and Arizona.

Declines in prices result from ruthless dumping of lead and zinc metals on American shores by companies engaged in low-wage, foreign production of the commodities.

Policies of encouraging foreign production of metals by the United States State Department have thus resulted in grave contraction of minerals development in the Western States with consequent unemployment to citizens of the region.

Chiropractic Profession Sponsors Annual Chiropractic Day, September 18, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the health of our Nation should be foremost in our minds, for we all know good health is as vital to the individual human as is peace of mind. It is for this reason, then, that I call to the attention of my colleagues a special observance to take place in September. The chiropractic profession—the Nation's second largest profession of healing—will observe its annual Chiropractic Day.

Chiropractors throughout the United States, Canada, and many foreign countries, will celebrate the 62d anniversary of the discovery of chiropractic by the late Dr. Daniel David Palmer. This observance will be held on September 18, 1957.

In connection with this important observance, I wish to submit for the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Dr. Emmett J. Murphy, of Washington, D. C.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY DR. EMMETT J. MURPHY

On September 18, chiropractors will look back to survey 62 years of progress wherein the chiropractice profession has been raised to a firm basis of professional skill and ethical standards, and to the point where chiropractic today enjoys the prestige, standing, and material rewards of other professions.

Chiropractic is the second largest healing profession in America. It is classified as 1 of the 4 major healing professions, along with medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy by the Executive Office of the President of the United States, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D. C.

Recognizing the goals already reached by this prominent profession, and the confidence of 33 million people who have received chiropractic care in the United States and Canada, it is indeed proper that we all should pause for a moment to consider the basic principles which form the foundations for this growing profession in our Nation today.

A fresh concept in the art of healing based upon the neurological, physical, and mechanical approach, rather than the chemical, was given to the world 62 years ago. For it was in 1895 that Dr. Palmer brought to the modern world the benefits of chiropractic principles.

After exhaustive research, Dr. Palmer in 1895 introduced to our world these principles which have been carried on by chiropractors who are devoted to the prevention and treatment of disease and to the promotion of public health and welfare.

The specific function by which the chiropractor is distinguished from other modes of healing is his adjustment of vertebral subluxation of the spinal column to restore normal nerve function.

The remarkable effectiveness of chiropractic methods in health care has won for chiropractic a permanent place in the family of health sciences, and in the hearts and homes of suffering humanity.

The rapid acceptance of this science in the past 62 years leads us to inquire of the standards in use today. And extremely exacting standards they are found to be.

Chiropractic colleges are required to give 4,000 academic hours in a standard 4-year course to obtain accredited ratings. A basic course of 4,400 hours is recommended. Up to 2 years of professional (college) education is required by many State chiropractic laws of licensure.

The following typical or basic curriculum for approved chiropractic colleges is based on the profession's code for a minimum of 4,000 hours in a 4-year course:

	Hours
Anatomy, including embryology and histology	740
Physiology	240
Biochemistry	180
Pathology and bacteriology	520
Public health, sanitation, hygiene	160
Practice of chiropractic principles and technique, neurology and psychiatry, pediatrics, dermatology, and syphilology, urology, ophthalmology, otolaryngology, first aid and roentgenology	1,960
Obstetrics and gynecology	200
Total	4,000

The average graduate of an accredited chiropractic college is as well qualified to practice chiropractic as the average graduate of an accredited medical college is to practice medicine, and often must pass the same board examination in the basic sciences to gain a license.

Throughout the Nation and world, chiropractors will hold observance of Chiropractic Ray on September 18, 1957, with the fullest understanding that because of the freedoms enjoyed in the Western World, a new profession can gain public acceptance on its merits as has the profession of chiropractic in a short 62 years.

Government Cotton Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, Inc., of which my good friend and fellow Georgian, Hon. L. G. Hardman, Jr., of Commerce, Ga., is president, re-

cently issued a "Statement of Fundamentals Regarding a United States Government Cotton Policy" in which it enunciated certain basic provisions which the Nation's textile industry believes should be embodied in any new Government cotton program which may be enacted by Congress.

This statement of fundamentals which evidences the sincere interest of the textile industry in the welfare of the Nation's cotton farmers was prepared by a special committee of prominent textile executives headed by Hon. C. A. Cannon, president of Cannon Mills Co., of Kannapolis, N. C.

In order that every Member of the Senate might be apprised of the views of our country's great textile industry on this question of national concern I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the industry statement be herewith printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTALS REGARDING A UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT COTTON POLICY—AMERICAN COTTON MANUFACTURERS INSTITUTE, INC., JUNE 27, 1957

The American Cotton Manufacturers Institute has refrained, in past years, from taking a position on specific proposals for Government cotton policy.

We believe the determination of cotton policy should rest with the producers of cotton.

We continue to adhere to this belief but, at the same time, feel that our experience in processing the raw material and merchandising its products should be considered with regard to certain fundamentals which must be a part of any successful long-range program for cotton.

It should be clear, at the outset, that the cotton manufacturing industry is not seeking "cheap" cotton. Contrarily, the record shows that the industry has enjoyed good earnings when cotton prices were at high levels. The industry is interested in competitively priced cotton; otherwise, its cotton products cannot be priced competitively.

As manufacturers, we like cotton. Our heritage is closely geared to a cotton economy.

We have hundreds of thousands of employees who share with us a stake in the future of the product.

We have billions of dollars invested in plants and equipment; over the years we want to invest billions more.

We are not satisfied with a stagnant rate of cotton consumption in a period of rapid population increase when practically everything else the public uses is enjoying a vast upswing in consumption.

It seems clearly indicated that consumption of textile fibers and/or textile substitute materials will increase, both in this country and abroad. The question is whether a fair share of the increase will go to cotton or whether cotton policy will force us, as the primary processors, and the consuming public, away from cotton and toward cotton's competition.

The ability of cotton to compete is directly related to the soundness of Government policy. The continued use of emergency palliative may bolster the situation temporarily, but such expedients fail completely to generate the expansion process. There is urgent need for a positive and courageous course of action on the part of both Government and the entire raw-cotton industry.

TWO COURSES OPEN

The United States cotton industry, from the farmer through the final processor, stands at a point of determination regarding a course for the future.

One course leads very shortly to consumption by our domestic mills of around 8 million bales and an insecure export market for perhaps 3 to 5 million—for a total offtake of 11 to 13 million bales—with a downward trend. This course would tend to make it impossible to price cotton's products competitively, and accordingly, lessen interest in cotton's future.

The other course leads shortly to domestic consumption of 11 to 12 million bales and an export market for 5 to 6 million—for a total offtake of 16 to 18 million bales—with an upward trend. This course would lead to a renewed confidence on the part of the domestic consumer and the investment of hundreds of millions of dollars each year in the processes necessary to keep the product competitive.

THE FUNDAMENTALS

With the foregoing background, and an unlimited interest in the subject, it is our considered judgment that for our whole industry to be vigorously alive and growing, any permanent policy for cotton must involve these fundamentals:

1. An immediate and significant increase in coton acreage above the 17½ million acres that was allotted this year, and which likely will be allotted in 1958 under present law. The efficiency of the cotton farmer, the ginner and, in fact, the whole raw-cotton industry, is bound to suffer under such an acreage restriction.

2. A clear-cut procedure for improving the net income position of the cotton farmer. Unless this result is obtained, no cotton program can succeed over the years.

3. A one-price system, with the price realistically geared to competitive factors, including foreign-grown cottons and other important competing materials. Obviously, price alone will not determine cotton's ability to compete. But without a competitive price cotton cannot compete regardless of how favorable all the factors may become.

(Two experiences of the past year have demonstrated in an almost sensational manner the influence of price on consumption. First, when the export price was made competitive, foreign sales of American cotton skyrocketed beyond even the most optimistic predictions. The second experience involves the impact of price on a domestic market. When farsighted western cotton producers and the Congress teamed up to make competitive the extra long staple cotton produced in this country, offtake again exceeded the most enthusiastic predictions and the extra long staple producing industry was given a new birth.)

We are positively convinced that a competitive price for all cotton in the domestic market will have just as sensational a result.

4. The objective of encouraging cotton to move through normal trade channels, rather than through Government hands. Whenever cotton is forced through Government hands, efficiency is reduced and costs increase.

5. A sizable reduction in the enormous cost of the present program and a clear objective for further reductions in the years ahead. There are signs that neither the Congress nor the public will tolerate a continuation of the present high cost of the cotton program. On the other hand, there is certainly justification for a Government outlay that is geared to a realistic program of self-help for the cotton farmer, particularly one that in the beginning represents a substantial reduction below current costs.

6. The exclusion of any form of processing tax on the manufactured product. It is completely fallacious to assume that any product can be helped by being taxed. It is not possible to equalize the competitive disadvantage that would be created for cotton products by taxing the whole wide range of materials with which cotton competes. Furthermore, the whole American business system and the public rebels at the concept of taxing one product for the benefit of another.

CONCLUSION

Given a program involving the above fundamentals, the American cotton textile industry with all the enthusiasm and determination at its command pledges itself to a program of vigorous product improvement, market expansion and increased consumption of cotton. We reemphasize our deep conviction that the results will exceed expectations.

Income Tax Deductions for Civil Defense Volunteers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, ever since I introduced my bill to provide income tax deductions for civil defense volunteers, I have received a much heavier than usual amount of correspondence from patriotic Americans who are alarmed at the reported apathy which surrounds much of the vital CD program. An extremely thought-provoking letter and a newspaper article pertaining to this matter were sent to me recently by Mr. Sherley Ewing, director of Maryland's Civil Defense Agency, and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF MARYLAND,
CIVIL DEFENSE AGENCY,
Pikesville, June 14, 1957.

Hon. J. GLENN BEALL,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BEALL: The enclosed news account from the Baltimore Sun concerning civil defense expenditures and efforts in West Germany would seem to merit your consideration when the Senate considers the Federal civil defense budget and other civil defense legislation.

When a nation which has lived through the awesome impact of modern warfare on the home front and presently has real survival problems in the cold war devotes such a proportion of its limited economy to civil defense preparations, it is time for our legislative leaders to carefully scrutinize the extent of the effort authorized in our country under current policy and appropriations. This great and resourceful Nation of ours should meet realistically the question of whether we should, or should not, make a sincere governmental effort toward preparations for the civil aspects of our national defense system.

Vast sums are not necessary but no Federal executive agency has ever been able to accomplish its assigned responsibilities without a fair share of the gross Federal budget. When zoos and many other amenities of our high standard of living get more governmental attention than civilian sur-

vival it is time for all of us to decide if we are really giving more than lip service to the civil defense effort.

Sincerely yours,

SHERLEY EWING,
Director.

BONN PLANS CIVIL DEFENSE—TO SPEND $450 MILLION IN 3 YEARS ON PROGRAM

BATTLE CREEK, MICH., June 11.—West Germany is getting ready to spend $450 million in the next 3 years to set up a civil-defense program, its Minister of the Interior said today.

Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, visiting Federal Civil Defense Administration headquarters, said his nation's first civil-defense law would go into effect later this month.

Shelter is West Germany's biggest civil-defense problem, Schroeder said. With 52 million population in an area little larger than Michigan, evacuation will not work—there is no place to run to, he said.

By next April it is planned to require that all new houses and industrial buildings in communities over 10,000 population include shelters in their design, Schroeder said.

REMODELING PLANNED

Effort also will be made to remodel existing buildings provide shelters and to improve shelters left over from World War II, he added.

"The big problem for us is whether we should start with a large shelter program," Schroeder said. "Everyone is quite willing to have shelters but if you ask someone to pay for them—that's a different thing."

He estimated cost of the program at the mark equivalent of about $4 billion and commented:

"When it comes to paying the cost, the German people are like your own—they don't want to build the shelters at their own expense."

Schroeder said he found the American civil-defense system outstanding. He said he especially wanted to study its organization and training methods.

"We have been slow in building up our military defense and even slower in civil defense," he said. "Now we face the difficult problem of building both at the same time."

FACE DIFFICULT PROBLEM

The problem is mainly economic although it is also administrative, Schroeder explained. The Interior Ministry is not set up to deal with all the executive duties required, he said, so a separate civil-defense agency will be set up under the Ministry's direction.

Schroeder was accompanied by his personal adviser, Albrecht Krause; Walter Bargatsky, chief of the West German Public Safety Department; and Hanns Rode, commercial secretary of the West German Embassy in Washington.

The party visited New York last week. After conferring here with Federal Civil Defense Administration officials, the group left tonight for Minneapolis to study that city's civil-defense program. The party then goes to Washington for further talks with the Federal Administration, Val Peterson.

Church Versus Dictatorships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, decency and democracy are synonymous. No religious group favors dictatorships. Eventually a dictator's crimes result in strong and united opposition from persons of faith and character. In connection with my attempts to persuade our Government to discard neutralism in our relationships with Latin American countries and to distinguish between the democracies and the dictatorships, I was most encouraged to read in the July 1, 1957, issue of Time magazine, page 31, the following:

THE AMERICAS—CHURCH VERSUS DICTATORSHIPS

In Cuba's Sierra Maestra Mountains last week, a Roman Catholic priest lived with and ministered to the band of rebels led by Fidel Castro. In Colombia a cardinal of the church heard the warm praise extended by a people who regard him as a ranking hero of the revolution that tossed out dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. From Cuba to Argentina, the church is taking a critical look at its old role as friend of the top dog and is often charting a new, antidictatorial course.

In official church doctrine the change is rooted in the Rerum Novarum encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, who in 1891 urged fairer treatment of such working masses as largely inhabit Latin America. In vigorous execution in Latin America, the policy is only about 2 years old and is rooted in the Vatican's conviction that dictatorship and poverty breed communism. "Experience has taught," says a high Vatican spokesman, "that a system of freedom is in the end best for church interests. Any privilege that may be gained through a dictatorship is soon more than offset by hatred against the church."

PERÓN'S LESSON

The bitter object lesson that brought this awakening was Argentine Dictator Juan Domingo Perón. Supported by the church at first, he later grew furious at Catholic meddling in political affairs. The strongman slapped taxes on Catholic property, tossed priests out of the country and set his bullyboys to burning churches. In today's Argentina priests who fought Perón are now the dominant force in the church.

Church leaders in Colombia showed strking courage during the final year of Dictator Rojas Pinilla. Pastoral letters issued by Crisanto Cardinal Luque last year, one of them condemning Rojas' "Third Force" political movement, were the first serious whacks at the strongman's prestige. During the brief spate of violence the churches sheltered rebels, and when it was all over jubilant monks streamed out making victory signs to the cheering crowds. Luque has since warned the military junta that replaced Rojas that it must turn over power in free elections or lose church support.

A BETTER WORLD

Though some Vatican leaders still call the Latin American clergy as a whole the church's "biggest single blot," the new ways are spreading. In Habana, Manuel Cardinal Arteaga has avoided taking sides, but Archbishop Enrique Pérez Serantes of Santiago specifically condemned government violence in a pastoral letter last month. Most of the priests in Oriente province openly sympathize with Rebel Leader Castro. In Venezuela the leading Catholic prelate, Caracas Archbishop Rafael Arias, dared to condemn the stern dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez for the inequitable distribution of the country's great wealth.

Much of the new political approach originates from a Jesuit priest close to the Vatican—grey, ascetic Father Riccardo Lombardi, who heads a new organization called Per un Mondo Migliore (For a Better World). To the "Better World" school in the Alban Hills near Rome, priests come from all over Latin America to hear fervent weeks of lecturing on the new policies. Moreover, Father Lombardi recently traveled to Mexico, gave a special course to 100 bishops, including Cardinal Luque, gathered from all Latin America. His student-priests can use the church organization as an ear to the ground that no secret police force can match. When chances of success are reasonably safe, they speak out. In 93 percent Catholic Latin America, it is a plan of action that should make the sturdiest strongman shiver.

Importance of American Merchant Marine to the American Farmer-Miner-Manufacturer in World Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am pleased today to pay tribute to a fine high-school student, Barry L. Nichols, of Superior, Wis. This young man has been awarded a national prize in the 1957 Harold Harding memorial essay contest for an outstanding paper on the subject, The American Merchant Marine—Its Importance to the American Farmer-Miner-Manufacturer in World Trade.

On reading this fine essay, I was deeply gratified by the display of insight into the problems of Great Lakes and world shipping, as well as the importance of the merchant marine to the economy of our country.

I would like, of course, also to commend the Propeller Club of the United States for sponsoring this contest—which it has done for the past 22 years.

This essay by Barry Nichols represents a real result of the Propeller Club's efforts to widen the educational horizons and deepen the understanding of our high-school students in the maritime problems of our Nation.

I request unanimous consent to have the essay printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE: ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN FARMER-MINER-MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By Barry L. Nichols)

As you first gaze upon the great waters of the world and upon the ships which sail them, you begin to gain an understanding of the great work being done by the ships of the merchant marine. The huge vessels gliding over the quiet, then stormy waters which form the great highways of the world are of vast importance to everyone in this mighty country of ours. In time of peace as in time of war the ships of the American merchant marine carry the lifeblood of the Nation.

Shipping by coat is the most economical moving system known, and without it the cost of our products would be higher making it harder to compete on the international scale. Merchant ships are as important to the farmer as his tractor. One acre in every 10 of crops is grown for shipping abroad; and 1 dollar in every 8 of the farmers income comes from overseas sales.

Few realize the part played by the Great Lakes fleets of the merchant marine in the serving of the people. Boats with a length of two city blocks or more carry the iron ore, grain, coal, and other products essential to our well being. These huge ships carry the iron ore from the majestic mines in Minnesota down the chain of lakes to the vast manufacturing towns in the Midwest. This shipping gives work to the countless number of miners needed to mine the ore of Minnesota.

The manufacturer thus benefits from the low cost of transportation of the raw materials and he then can convey the savings to the people at home and abroad. This cuts production costs of the finished products and makes the cost of our cars, and other steel products lower. It also benefits the American farmer in two ways: The cost of his machinery is less and he can, by this savings, sell his products at a lower price helping him to compete on the international level. With his machinery the farmer can harvest his vast acres of golden grain, toasted by the brilliant sun, and send it down the lakes to the mills at Buffalo. Here it is made into the food which will feed the peoples of the world.

The Great Lakes, as a whole, reach across half of the North American Continent forming an immense highway to the many countries of the world. In order for the fleet to carry the ore from Minnesota to the vast manufacturing towns in the Midwest, five locks were built at Sault Ste. Marie. The tonnage now passing through these locks is greater than that of the Panama, Suez, Manchester Canals and the Rhine River combined.[1]

Vast manufacturing towns have been built up by Great Lakes shipping. Cities like: Milwaukee, Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Erie, and Buffalo make the Midwest the greatest manufacturing region the world has ever known. This also has caused the shipping industry of the Great Lakes to be the envy of the rest of the world. No wonder, for it is built on private ownership and free enterprise.

Men have long dreamed of a great seaway, a highway of the world. The growth of shipping on the Great Lakes has been part of the life of many people. One of the earliest settlers in the Duluth-Superior area, George R. Stuntz, saw the growing future of shipping. In the middle 1800's he wrote of the Duluth-Superior area in his memoirs, "I saw as surely then as I do now that this was the heart of the continent commercially."[2] Stuntz dreamed of the Great Lakes as a vast highway across the Nation. Today it is the greatest highway known on which lake carriers each year travel with a mileage equivalent to nine trips to the moon. Also, today the Duluth-Superior harbor is the second largest seaport in tonnage, rivaled only by the New York Harbor.

Our American merchant marine will soon be augmented and solidified by the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway which will cause this highway across the Nation to become a highway to the doorsteps of the entire world.

From across the many miles come the products of our Nation; across the waters come our lifeblood, making ours the greatest Nation in the world.

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[1] Great Lakes Shipping; Lake Carriers' Association, p. 3.

[2] Duluth News Tribune, Centennial Edition, July 29, 1956.

Panama Canal: Capacity Reduced by Water Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 4, 1957, I commented at some length on the possibility of the capacity of the Panama Canal being threatened by shortage of water for Gatun Lake incident to the current prolonged and severe dry season in the Canal Zone. A special dispatch from Balboa, C. Z., published in the June 28, 1957, issue of the New York Times, indicates that this fear has now materialized, with notification to shipping companies of draft limitations for ore carriers and supertankers.

No doubt this depletion of water, after the rainy season gets underway, will pass by. But it is well to remember that there is a periodic cycle of excessively dry years in the Canal Zone and more water crises will develop in the future. These may be considerably aggravated by the steadily increasing traffic, which is now at its highest point in history with more than 8,320 tansits in the fiscal year 1957.

It is fortunate that the water problem has long been foreseen by far-visioned Panama Canal engineers. The construction of the Madden Dam and power project in the 1930's was an important step toward its solution, but now it appears that the project is not enough to meet future needs of interoceanic transit.

The attention of the Congress is invited to the thoughtful article, "The Panama Canal: A Challenging Problem for the United States," by William R. McCann, E. Sydney Randolph, Edward C. Sherman, and William G. B. Thompson, all experienced engineers with Panama Canal, subsequent business, and other civilian experience. This article was published in a statement by Senator THOMAS E. MARTIN, of Iowa, to the United States Senate in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 17, 1957.

One of the points stressed by these independent engineers in listing the principal marine problems of the Panama Canal is the limited operating range of the Gatun Lake water level (87–82 feet). In meeting this difficulty they propose to raise the summit water level to its optimum height, approximately 92 feet, thereby deepening the channel and providing more water for lockages.

Thus, the current water crisis of the Panama Canal is a danger signal that dramatizes the entire canal problem, of which the summit water level height is but a single element. Together with its other problems, the canal situation calls for a program of major improvement of the waterway and not for mere treatment of symptoms.

The questions involved in the canal policy problem are too grave to be saddled on routine administrative officials, but must be assumed by the Congress, which is the ultimate authority.

Again I wish to stress the necessity for early action on pending measures to create an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission to make a complete and up-to-date study and to advise the Congress in the premises. The growing traffic at Panama demands this course, which, as stated many times previously, I still believe to be the only means whereby this vital question of policy can be adequately resolved in the best interests of the United States as a whole.

The indicated special dispatch follows:

DRAFT CURBS SET ON PANAMA CANAL—LOW WATER LEVEL LEADS TO LIMITATION ON BIG TANKERS AND ORE CARRIERS

BALBOA, C. Z., June 27.—Shortage of water for operating the Panama Canal has necessitated notification to shipping agencies that draft limitations for certain vessel types—such as ore carriers and supertankers—must be lowered about 6 inches.

Abnormal lack of rain in Gatun Basin and unusually heavy traffic have combined to lower the lake level from 85 or 87 feet to 82.

Temporary limitation on the draft for heavy, cumbersome ships will continue until the level reaches 83 feet.

The limitation does not preclude the transit of such ships but may cut their loadings. Relatively few ships are affected. The lake level today was only 8 inches above the record low since the canal was opened. A low of 81.39 was recorded in May 1926, and again in May 1933. But traffic was lighter then. Also, ships required smaller, shallower draft. Hence today's water shortage is more critical than that of the 1930's.

Only the continued lack of rain for 2 more weeks could drop the lake level to a new low.

Each ship in transit results in a loss of 52 million gallons of water to the canal—enough to supply the population of a city of a half-million people for a day. An average of 26 ships passed daily during May.

The water shortage also forced the canal to cut the use of its hydroelectric plants and switch to emergency diesels. Some diesel power has been used since early May. This week another diesel station was placed on 24-hour operation to save water.

Visit to Washington, D. C., of Asian Delegates From the Moral Rearmament Assembly of Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared relating to the visit to Washington, D. C., on June 28, 1957, of Asian delegates from the Moral Rearma-

ment Assembly of Nations at Mackinac Island, Mich.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to the printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR WILEY RELATING TO VISIT OF ASIAN DELEGATES FROM THE MORAL REARMAMENT ASSEMBLY OF NATIONS AT MACKINAC ISLAND, MICH., TO WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 28, 1957

Lincoln once said, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present." In a world that has grown smaller through man's ingenuity, the power politics of the last century and the first 50 years of this century have proved inadequate. New conditions require new remedies or new approaches. Secretary Dulles has said, along the same line, "The capacity to change is an indispensable capacity. Equally indispensable is the capacity to hold fast that which is good."

Let me ask a few simple questions:

Is there any other way to meet head-on the challenge of Moscow's fight for Asia and Africa except by our usual diplomacy and by building up our military and economic strength?

Are we cognizant of the tremendous effort that the Kremlin is putting forth to inoculate the minds of the youth of other nations with their ideology? If so, what are we doing about it that is effective?

Is there any ideological stimulus available for the youth of all nations that would unite them in a great effort to stand for freedom, peace and friendly relations?

Do we realize the tremendous conflict going on for the souls and minds of men. Do we realize it—we in America living in the land of the highest standard of living ever attained by the human race—or are we drugged—as some say—by our materialistic success—drugged so that we cannot see the real path before us?

In Washington last Friday was a group of men and women who may hold the ideological balance of power in their nations. They come from the Moral Rearmament Assembly of Nations at Mackinac Island, Mich., under the leadership of Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman of Pennsylvania.

Among them are the leading members of the Japanese, Philippines, and Ghana Parliaments, and 120 leaders of the Seinendan, the Japanese Youth Federation of 4½ million.

The Seinendan have been a primary target of the Communist strategy since they represent the future of Japan. One hundred from the Seinendan were invited to Moscow. Dr. Buchman invited 100 to Mackinac to find a superior ideology. The invitation was so effective that only a handful were found prepared to go to Moscow.

Moscow has 4 ships moving through the Mediterranean and the Pacific whose 1 job is to pick up the youth of every branch of national life who have been invited to Moscow; 2,000 from Egypt, 2,000 from Britain, 1,100 from India, 650 from Japan; 16,000 are already in training in Russia from North Korea.

Sixty-nine special trains are already laid on for the Moscow festival.

One thousand, three hundred buses are being used from inside and outside Russia and a 600-car pool established in Moscow for the chief delegates.

One man from French Africa who is in Mackinac tells us that 70 delegates were invited from his country, given their return fares and the equivalent of $850 in cash over and above expenses. That is how the government uses its transportation and its finance when it aims to capture the youth of the world.

Many of the men who were in Mackinac from central Africa, from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, and especially from north Africa, are men who were invited to go to Moscow. They say, "No alternative program is offered to us except moral rearmament, and it will be the salvation of our countries. But there is not much time."

What is happening to the Seinendan in America shows what can be done when we move effectively. British businessmen who saw what was happening at Mackinac were so impressed that they have pledged finance to bring plane loads of leading students and other youth from Europe to Mackinac.

It is a question of getting the right return on the money which we are nationally investing in aid to these countries. A Korean labor leader said, "After 3 confused and rushed months in America on a Government-sponsored tour, my meeting with MRA was an experience more valuable than anything in my 42 years. I was shown so much in America that was interesting, but had no application in Korea. In MRA everything I learned could immediately be applied in my own country."

A prominent American industrialist who has had the spending of millions of dollars of Government money, says, "You can do more with a dollar in Mackinac for America than anywhere else in the world."

In Mackinac there are not only leaders of youth who have chosen moral rearmament instead of Moscow, but there are men like the first bipartisan delegation from the Ghana House of Parliament ever to represent their country overseas. Russia was the first country to invite a delegation at 5 minutes after midnight on the day of independence, but the first delegation to leave the country has come to moral rearmament.

There is a delegation from Cyprus which contains both Greeks and Turks. They say they find the only hope here.

Leaders of black and white from South Africa, including the President of the Supreme Court of Southwest Africa, and the African leaders who have bitterly fought the whites, are also united in this conviction.

The Middle East—Jordan, Iran, Lebanon, and key countries like the Sudan, also Pakistan and India represented by members of Parliament and industrial leaders, come because they know the situation is desperate. The Indian Government is doing everything it can now to stop the drift of labor, political, and youth leaders to Moscow, but without an answering and superior ideology they face an impossible task.

This is the significance of Mackinac and of the visitors to Washington on Friday. They are finding an ideology of freedom based on absolute moral standards and the guidance of God that can answer communism and the corruption and division that follow materialism of every kind in East and West.

The delegates from Mackinac include:

Mr. Niro Hoshijima, signatory to the Japanese Peace Treaty and senior member of the Japanese Diet.

Senator Mrs. Shidzue Kato, who received the largest majority of votes of any man or woman in the history of the Diet in the recent election.

Senator Takeshi Togano, chairman of the Transportation Committee of the Diet.

Senator Tsuyoshi Suzuki, former chairman of the Telecommunications Workers of 150,000 men in Japan.

Senator Roseller T. Lim, of the Philippine Congress, chief delegate to the ILO Conference in Geneva.

The Tolon Na, a leader of the opposition in the Ghana Parliament and one of the chief architects of their new constitution.

Maj. Jerry Palaypay, Malacanang Palace, Manila; adviser on student affairs to President Garcia.

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi.

Mrs. Yukika Sohma, daughter of the late Honorable Hukio Ozaki, member of the Diet for over 60 years, who gave the cherry trees to Washington.

Mr. Takasumi Mitsui, of the Mitsui industrial family who had over a million employees before the war.

Mr. Sontoku Ninomiya, the founder and former president of the Seinendan, Japanese Youth Federation, of 4,300,000.

Mr. Kasuyoshi Mitsugi, chairman of the Tokyo region of the National Railway Workers.

Mr. Alberto Javier, member of the Advisory Youth Commission.

MRA is not another religious sect, although its ideology contains the fundamentals found in all religions—the teaching of honesty, purity, unselfishness, love, and the Golden Rule.

Friday last, I had an experience that I shall long remember. A Japanese told me, through an interpreter, "I came to America hating America because I was at Nagasaki, and there I lost all my loved ones. I have been to Mackinac Island, and the hate has gone out of me. I know I have something better to do than to hate."

I talked with a Filipino and with the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi; they, too, were seeking the answers and felt they had found some of them.

After the group had luncheon as guests of the Members of the Senate, they proceeded to the House of Representatives where, I understand, they were received by Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

Secretary Benson and the City Folk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Arkansas Gazette, dated Friday, June 21, 1957:

SECRETARY BENSON AND THE CITY FOLK

One of the strangest spectacles on the American political scene can be found in the Department of Agriculture where Secretary Benson and his aides have launched a campaign to sell the country a new farm program. The core of the program is a lower floor under price supports and looser planting controls.

Mr. Benson regards this as the "next logical step" toward solving the Nation's farm problems. The first step came when he talked Congress into giving him the authority to set support levels of basic farm crops according to a flexible formula that would allow the supports to drop to 75 percent of the "fair market price" called parity. Now he would like to remove the formula so that he could set the supports at any level he might choose—between zero and 90 percent of parity.

Mr. Benson's strategy in this campaign is to drum up so much popular support that the Members of Congress cannot resist the pressure. The interesting part of the campaign is not so much what Benson and his aids are saying (it is the same thing they have said all along) but the groups to whom they are directing their appeal.

The Secretary led off the crusade with a speech at New Orleans before a cotton trade group. The reaction among the cotton merchants—as would be expected—was excellent, but there probably was not a full-time farmer in the house. At about the same time an Assistant Secretary was speaking to the

margarine manufacturers. Other speeches have been to processors of farm commodities, traders and consumer groups. The theme of the whole campaign seems to be that price supports and production controls have not solved farm problems, but have saddled taxpayers with added costs and consumers with higher prices. Therefore, the whole program should be dumped.

This argument seems to be scoring bull's-eyes with everyone except the farmers. The pro-Benson Wall Street Journal reported:

"Agriculture Secretary Benson is winning important allies in his campaign to put across lower farm price supports. City folks are rallying behind him. The Secretary counts on an urban rebellion against costly farm subsidies to help push his program past bitter congressional opposition next year and letters pouring into his office encourage this hope."

The Journal, presumably after a look at the mail, admitted that Mr. Benson was getting few pats from the farm folks." A Minnesota Republican farmer was quoted as saying: "I was surprised and disappointed to see you are now advocating throwing the farmer overboard entirely."

Political overtones can be detected throughout the entire campaign. In the first place, the timetable seems to be worked out so that the climax of the pressure will be reached next year. If Mr. Benson should succeed, it would mean that the new farm program would take effect just before the election and would leave no time for a serious collapse of farm prices before the votes were in the box. At the same time, the Republican politicians would be in position to offer the Benson program as the solution to high living costs and taxloads, and thus appeal to the city vote.

The declining farm population is a major factor in the calculation. Mr. Benson and the GOP strategists apparently now figure that they could more than offset any losses in the dwindling rural vote if they pick up additional support in the cities.

The strangest phase of the spectacle lies in the fact that Mr. Benson is so obviously concerned about the processors of farm commodities, rather than the farmers themselves. The system of balances on which our Government is based presupposes that one Cabinet member will represent Labor, another Commerce, and another Agriculture. Carried to its logical conclusion, the Benson program would not only leave the farmer without representation, but would place the Department created in his name in the position of working directly against his interests.

The farm problem is very real, and the old program of price supports and acreage controls offers no effective solution. But certainly the secretary of Agriculture is not going to find any answer in a campaign that appears deliberately to set the self-interest of the city dweller against that of the farmer.

Congressman Lane Supports H. R. 4 Providing Increased Annuities for Retired Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on June 29 in support of legislation to increase annuities for retired Federal employees:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN THOMAS J. LANE BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, IN SUPPORT OF LEGISLATION TO INCREASE ANNUITIES OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, JUNE 29, 1957

Mr. Chairman, 139 identical bills to provide annuity increases for all those Government workers who were "pensioned off" before last fall, is evidence of the overwhelming support for H. R. 4.

The legislation passed in 1956, to increase annuities for those retiring after October 1, 1956, added part of another ceiling to the civil service retirement system, but neglected to complete the job. H. R. 4 will remedy that inequity by providing higher coverage for all those retired in the years before October 1, 1956.

To do less than this would be a cruel breach of faith.

The men and women who gave 30 or 40 years of devoted service to the Federal Government, in the expectation of receiving an adequate annuity, have suffered from the gradual attrition of their annuities. The steady increase in the cost of living, has left their fixed pensions far behind. The social security contract that we made with them, has not been fulfilled. In many cases, this has resulted in actual hardship, and in all cases it has deprived them of peace of mind.

It is this depreciation in the value of their pensions that has resulted in an unfortunate situation which we intend to correct.

As the span of human life is lengthening, and increasing millions of our people are living on retirement, this raises social and economic problems that must be met, in the national interest. The needs, and the purchasing power of this group cannot be neglected without danger to the general welfare.

Furthermore, what we do here will be observed by, and will have an effect on the morale of all Federal employees. Realistic adjustments to meet changing conditions, are necessary to maintain the good faith implicit in the United States civil service retirement system.

The cramped retirement dollar is not what it used to be.

It has lost in purchasing power, as prices have gone up.

Barring a major economic setback, which no one expects, it looks as if we are in for a long period of gradual inflation.

Those living on fixed incomes, become the casualties of this trend, unless the Government provides increases in public pensions to keep the purchasing power of their retirement income at full value in relation to the cost of living. By this precedent, we hope that private retirement plans will make the same accommodation to the economic facts of life.

The escalator clause providing for automatic increases in wages to offset the rise in the cost of living, is basic to the contract between labor and management in several of our larger industries.

In principle, we should apply this thinking to our legislation regarding the retirement system for Federal employees.

Although it might be impractical to legislate such a formula, we are nevertheless, duty-bound to make upward revisions in retirement rates, to keep faith with the annuitants, in response to the faith they placed in us.

The sliding scale arrived at in H. R. 4 seems to be the most reasonable solution to the problem.

It ranges from a 25 percent increase of the present annuity for those who retired prior to October 1, 1956, to 30 percent for those who retired prior to October 1, 1951—for annuities which are $1,500 and under. It increases all such annuities in excess of $1,500 by 10 percent. It limits such increases to $750 per year, and excludes for computation purposes the amounts purchased by voluntary contributions. Provides that all such increases operate to increase the annuities of survivors.

The virtue of this bill is that it provides proportionate adjustments in a fair manner, and in language that is clear and understandable.

The Civil Service Retirement Fund, financed by 6½ percent contributions from Federal employees (which, incidentally, is much higher than the contributions of employees in private industry to the Social Security fund from which they receive relatively higher benefits) is in sound condition.

This bill requires on or after July 1, 1960, a yearly appropriation to compensate the retirement and disability fund for the extra cost of the increase in annuities. For any fiscal year for which such an appropriation shall not have been made, the proposed increases shall be canceled. But the Congress will be under a firm moral obligation to provide for such compensation to the fund.

Retirement 'security' must be genuine security and protected against depreciation.

The fact that H. R. 4 has already been endorsed via identical bills submitted by almost one-third of the membership of the House, is indicative of the overwhelming sentiment in its favor.

The Congress will increase the annuities of Government employees who retired before October 1, 1956.

To keep faith with them.

Government Spending Must Be Reduced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, most of us fully realize the enviable position of the family farm in the history of our country. It is outstanding and our rural people are practical folks and straight thinkers.

Unfortunately, our farm economy has fallen behind the rest of the country in recent years and it is not a matter of partisan politics. I doubt that many of us here in the House have been satisfied with the farm programs and their operation during the past 2 or 3 administrations. Many thousands of farmers have not participated in these programs at all. Our people deserve something better and I suspect that an improved farm program will receive unanimous support whenever it is proposed and proven to be beneficial to all.

I submit for the RECORD a recent article from the Cobleskill Times, an outstanding publication in my own district, setting forth the views of one of our local farm bureau units on the present farm situation and their reaction after 20 years of so-called farm programs.

The article follows:

SAYS GOVERNMENT SPENDING MUST BE REDUCED

"Governmental spending must be drastically reduced and confiscatory taxation must be eliminated." This was the view taken by Farm Bureau Kitchen-Konference No. 4 during a recent meeting in Warnerville, held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Lockwood.

Complete elimination of many of our Government's so-called fixed-cost programs and drastic revision to others, were the only means suggested by which these measures could be effected.

The group viewed, with concern, the long distance that the Nation has traveled down the road to socialism. The philosophy that government can do better for its people than they can do for themselves was completely rejected, with the predominant view being that the government that governs the best, governs the least.

Some of the programs that the group recommended be left to States or local governments were payments to States for welfare clients, public health, education, and the school-lunch program.

The need for national defense is, of course, obvious but the group felt that with tighter integration of the Armed Forces, a degree of efficiency could be achieved whereby our defense could be bought for far less than $43 billion.

FARM PROGRAM

In regard to the Government's farm program, the group felt that after 20 years of trial and error, the program has proven itself to be a gigantic failure. In all this time, the Government has failed to repeal the law of supply and demand, nor could any evidence be found that the farmer's economic standards have been improved by any of the various price support schemes.

In general, it was thought that all segments of our population should not only welcome, but should demand the cessation of governmental handouts which invariably bring about the conditions of governmental control and mammoth waste.

The Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Jencks case, holding in substance that the files of the FBI must be turned over to any defendant who is tried on charges investigated by that organization, threatens its usefulness and efficiency to a very great degree. For all practical purposes this puts the FBI out of business, and will also prevent convictions.

If a defendant has the files, he will naturally be in possession of the names of those who have cooperated with the FBI, and many of the persons who have given it information will not be living when the trial is completed. When a great number of these informers are shot down or pushed out of a 14-story window, new informers will hesitate to pass their knowledge on.

If we had lawyers sitting on the Supreme Court instead of professors and lecturers, this thought of squelching informers would have occurred to them. Just ask yourself how many experienced trial lawyers are on that Court.

In prosecuting liquor-running cases in the Federal Court in North Dakota I very often found it necessary to not call an important witness at all. I knew perfectly well that if he testified in open court against the defendant his life would not be worth a nickel. I therefore took his story in confidence, got the general line of the defendant's action and then proved my case by the witness I did not call. With all the precautions I took to protect the lives of witnesses, one that I did not call was shot down anyway because the defendant surmised that this witness had given me information.

Now, after this decision of the Supreme Court which opens the FBI files to a defendant how easy it will be for the defendant, who is usually befriended by a gang, to have this witness show up in a wooden box. I don't think that any member of the Supreme Court who supported this decision intended to make it possible for arch criminals to suppress the evidence against them by murder, but what they decided in that opinion had the effect of making witnesses easy marks for an assassin.

One of the very reasons why J. Edgar Hoover has been such a tower of strength in the prosecution of Federal violators is that he never went back on his word with an informant and made certain that he had all the protection possible from the revenge of underworld gangs. He never exposed any witness to risks that might take his life.

The majority of the Supreme Court evidently never thought of this, and as the matter now stands, witnesses are going to volunteer nothing to Mr. Hoover, as they will consider their lives more important than to give him information which will all be disclosed to the defendant before the trial begins.

This decision encourages crimes. It encourages the underworld, and it is a blow to law enforcement. Congress should immediately pass an act setting aside this opinion, which it has the power to do.

A few good lawyers on the Supreme Court would not do a bit of hurt at this time. No good lawyers who knew beans about criminal trials would ever have signed the opinion in the Jencks case.

Panama Canal: Policy Should Be Reiterated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in an address to the House on May 29, 1957, I discussed at some length the juridical foundations of the Panama Canal and the propaganda campaigns aimed at meeting its control and ownership from the United States. This agitation, instigated by the international Communist apparatus and stimulated by events at Suez, has assumed voluminous proportions.

In that light, a recent news story from Panama City, Republic of Panama, by Edward Tomlinson, distinguished radio commentator and Latin American correspondent of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, published in the June 3, 1957, issue of the Washington, D. C., Daily News, is of special interest to the Congress.

As to the firebrands mentioned in the story, it has long been evident that certain elements among the Panamanian people have lost sight of some key facts in the history of their independence. The Republic of Panama grew out of the Panama Canal enterprise, on which its well-being still largely depends. It would be most unfortunate, indeed, if the policy of the Government of Panama with respect to the canal should be based on the views and demands of the more radical elements of the Republic rather than on those of the more thoughtful and experienced leaders.

As stated in my address on May 29, it is the duty of the Congress to reiterate without further delay the policy of the United States to maintain, operate, sanitate, and protect the Panama Canal under terms provided by treaty.

To this end, I have introduced a concurrent resolution reiterating and emphasizing the long established policy of the United States in regard to the Canal Zone and Panama Canal based strictly on formal treaty provisions.

Favorable action on the measure at this time is respectfully urged. The prevailing confusion on the subject now evident requires it.

Under leave accorded to extend, I include the indicated news story and House Concurrent Resolution 205:

[From the Washington Daily News of June 3, 1957]

DEMANDS LESSENING TO NATIONALIZE CANAL

(By Edward Tomlinson)

PANAMA CITY, June 3.—Panamanians insist they have never agreed, by treaty or any other way, that the United States should exercise complete control, as if she were sovereign, over the 10-mile strip of territory usually referred to as the Canal Zone.

But some of the extreme nationalists seem less sure than they were 6 months ago of the advantages which nationalization of the canal would bring to the Panamanian nation.

SUEZ EVENTS

A number of recent developments have contributed to this apparent change of thinking. Most important is what is happening to Suez and Egyptian dictator Nasser himself. Far from crippling Britain, France, and other European countries permanently, the taking over of and blocking of the Suez Canal merely inconvenienced them temporarily. Their oil supplies were not completely cut off. Large quantities of petroleum products flowed around Africa by tanker, at not much greater expense.

Saving on canal tolls helped to make up for the extra expense of the trip around the Dark Continent. Additional supplies were made available from Venezuela and the United States. In fact, by the time the canal was cleared of the wreckage wreaked upon it during the brief hostilities between Egypt and the French, British, and Israelis, the European nations had practically stopped rationing gasoline and oil.

PIPELINE

Now the big oil companies are getting together to build a huge pipeline from the great fields of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and others to the Mediterranean. Contracts have already been let for the construction of the

biggest tankers in history, so as to transport increasing quantities around South Africa.

Worse still, the Nasser strategy has alienated several of the Arab countries. They do not like their economic prosperity interfered with, even by a sister Arab nation. In short, it is beginning to sink in on the Egyptian strongman that "sovereignty" over a great world waterway is somewhat of an empty luxury if other nations find they are no longer wholly dependent upon it. All this has had a sobering effect upon some of the less flaming politicians here.

REALIZATION

One prominent Panamanian put it all in a few words, "we must realize that the whole world has taken wings. Planes now carry everything from cattle to giant machines. Maritime, or surface transportation companies, already are finding it difficult to pay expenses, much less make a profit. Even a canal such as this one may not long remain indispensable.

"Today it means the difference between our economic independence and starvation, and our firebrands better let up on their propaganda before they find the world using some other means of transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific."

House Concurrent Resolution 205

Whereas there is now being strongly urged in certain quarters of the world the surrender, by the United States, without reimbursement, of the Panama Canal, to the United Nations or to some other international organization for the ownership and operation of the canal; and

Whereas the United States, at the expense of its taxpayers and under, and fully relying on, treaty agreements, constructed the canal, and since its completion, at large expenditure, has maintained and operated it and provided for its protection and defense; and

Whereas the United States, following the construction of the canal, has since maintained, operated, and protected it in strict conformity with treaty requirements and agreements, and has thus made it free, without restriction or qualification, for the shipping of the entire world; and, in consequence of which, with respect to the canal and the Canal Zone, every just and equitable consideration favors the continuance of the United States in the exercise of all the rights and authority by treaty provided, and in the discharge of the duties by treaty imposed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That (1) it is the sense and judgment of the Congress that the United States should not, in any wise, surrender to any other government or authority its jurisdiction over, and control of, the Canal Zone, and its ownership, control, management, maintenance, operation, and protection of the Panama Canal, in accordance with existing treaty provisions; and that (2) it is to the best interests—not only of the United States, but, as well, of all nations and peoples—that all the powers, duties, authority, and obligations of the United States in the premises be continued in accordance with existing treaty provisions.

Speaking of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, in my newsletter No. 13 released on June 19, 1957, I reported on one subject as follows:

Speaking of liberty, Soviet Communist Party boss, Nikita S. Khrushchev, on the precedent making TV interview seen in the United States on Sunday, June 2, said that eventually the United States of America will go Socialist.

Let's show him. We should be concerned with the avowed Socialist or the card-carrying Communist, but we must be more fearful of those people and of those groups that knowingly or unwittingly espouse and promote doctrines and programs that are socialistic.

What is government ownership but socialism?

As an example, certain individuals and groups seem to be attempting to make a campaign issue out of Hells Canyon where private industry was authorized to build certain dams. Repeatedly, there are voices heard in the Congress (I read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD daily) that prefer Government ownership of this project. Some of these people also cry against the accelerated tax amortization permitted under the law to the private corporation that is constructing these dams. Thousands of tax benefits of this nature have been granted for years and all of this, in turn, has returned millions of dollars in taxes to the Government. If the Government built and owned the dams, no taxes would be returned and the taxpayer would feel another enormous gouge in his pocketbook.

President Eisenhower, answering a newsman's inquiry about Mr. Khrushchev's remark, replied that, during the 3½ years that remained in his term, he would pledge continued opposition to the advance of socialism.

Hundreds of Government operations that formerly competed with privately owned industries have been closed, but there are many more that continue as a burden on the taxpayer. The accumulation of Government-owned businesses has helped to increase the budget—all inheritances from previous Congresses.

In 1953, it was found by the new administration that the Federal Government was engaged in some $40 billion worth of business ventures, including baking, furniture making sawmill operations, ropemaking, dry cleaning, and others too numerous to mention. Since that time, many of these activities have been sold or terminated. The Defense Department alone has closed some 250 business-type activities and plans to halt many more. This program, if continued in all departments, will put this previously tax-exempt business on the tax rolls—and will help to reduce your taxes—and help to stop socialism in the United States of America.

If this principle is followed, there will be no more socialism in the United States of America.

Since that time I have read the debate and noted the results of the voting of the Senate that would place the Federal Government in the position of building and owning this Hells Canyon Dam. At the same time, some newspapers carried pictures of certain Senators expressing jubilation at the outcome of the Senate vote.

That expression is their privilege but it is not my conviction. My job and jubilation will be expressed when the House of Representatives rejects this action of the other body. If, for purely political reasons, it could happen that the majority in the House unfortunately would concur, then my faith will be placed in the veto that the President possesses.

I feel confident that he does not want any more socialism. I know that I do not want. Let Mr. Khrushchev keep his socialism in Russia.

Illness has kept me absent from recent sessions. I hope by all means that the doctors will permit me to return to vote against this further gouge of the taxpayer and against any further advance of socialism.

Tom Whelan: Who Excelled as Athlete, Coach, Educator, and Human Being

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, young boys have their heroes. So do grown men, and women.

In this life, we need people to show us the way; people whose ability, and courage, and character, inspire us to follow their example.

Such a man was Thomas J. Whelan, whose home was in Lynn, Mass. He was born to be a leader, and he applied this God-given talent to the task of helping others.

As an outstanding schoolboy athlete, and later as a professional, he gave himself unsparingly for the team. His capacity for bringing out the best in all who were fortunate to know and to work with him was the quality that endeared him to thousands.

As star athlete, wartime pilot, coach, teacher, principal of Lynn English High, husband, father, and in every public-spirited activity that crowded his busy life, he was a man to admire for the goodness that radiated from him.

His death, on Wednesday, June 26, marked the end of a life to remember.

He passed on to join the company of old friends like Jim Thorpe and Knute Rockne.

As evidence of his community's affection for him, and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I bring you the following editorials from the Lynn Telegram-News, and the Daily Evening Item, the two newspapers of Lynn, Mass.:

[From the Lynn (Mass.) Telegram-News]

TOM WHELAN

Tom Whelan is dead. The seemingly indestructible legend of the baseball diamond, football gridiron, and track field has been stilled for once and for all by the one Referee who never errs.

Tom lived to be 63. Thank God for that. Had he died as a young man there would have been thousands the poorer for lack of his guidance and influence. If ever a man inspired men and boys, it was the earnest, soft-spoken English High principal whose every minute upon earth was devoted to the improvement of his school and community.

Tom Whelan—professional athlete, coach, educator, man—in which capacity did he excel? That poses a difficult question but most who knew him go along with the latter category. It is man's goal in life to live in the image and likeness of his Creator. From the time he was a small boy selling newspapers and carrying his baseball glove

over his route with him, Tom had the mark of greatness about him.

The sport pages will recount his exploits, how he helped dedicate the Haverhill High School Stadium by catching two touchdown passes for a Georgetown victory. How his visit to the mother of a flier companion who had been killed in an air crash with him during World War I cost him his first baseman job with the Chicago Cubs. How each and every team he ever placed on the athletic field, track, or basketball court did him proudly.

But the miles of copy on the sporting pages won't capture Whelan the man, the loving father, the devoted husband, the kindly principal, the worrying friend. Here was a man who would have had to earn a $50,000 salary to do all of the things he wanted. He was a celebrity among men operating on a workingman's salary.

If Tom had accepted the numerous offers which came to him over the years and struck for the big money, how much more could he have accomplished? Would his children have more education or be more devoted? Would his brothers and sisters admire him any more? Would his grandchildren have new terms to describe their love and affection? It doesn't seem so.

Tom Whelan strode the path of greatness throughout life. Even during the past 3 years when his robust health failed, he shone radiantly in the full brilliance of the spotlight. His friends loved to be in his company. Hundreds of students felt it a privilege to ask, "Hi, Mr. Whelan, how are you feeling?"

The oldtimers who remembered him with the old Cornets felt honored to be able to call him by first name and hail him "Hi Tommy." He would take each and every one of them by the hand as if they were among the most important people in his life.

While Tom always regretted not staying in the major leagues longer, they were about the only big leagues that escaped him. He was a big leaguer in the home, in the school, and in his neighborhood.

With all of his gifts and talents, Tom couldn't have complained had he married a mediocre woman. Strangely enough he shared his life with a gem that was always the leading entry in his scrapbook. Mildred and Tom Whelan, what a team they made. What a family they gave to the community. Could any man have been any richer?

We'll hear much in the next few days about Tom Whelan. But all of it put together and multiplied many times could never begin to scratch the surface of the man.

Here is the living, shining, breathing example of the fact that God is good.

Here was a man so good in life that in death, he is even greater.

[From the Lynn (Mass.) Daily Evening Item]

THOMAS J. WHELAN

The greater Lynn community and scholastic circles throughout New England were shocked yesterday at the news of the death of Thomas J. Whelan, principal of Lynn English High School since 1944 and a prominent figure in baseball and football circles for many years.

Tom Whelan brought to his important educational responsibilities the principles of fair play and good sportsmanship which he learned on the athletic field and as coach and "father confessor" to countless amateur and professional athletes.

His own brilliant career as an athlete began nearly half a century ago when he led Burrill Grammar School to the championship in the old grammer school league. He played shortstop at English High for 2 years and then went to Worcester Academy where he continued his brilliant career in baseball, football, and track. Later he won enduring fame with the legendary Notre Dame football team under the fabulous Knute Rockne and developed a friendship with that great coach which continued until Rockne's tragic death. After two seasons he shifted to Georgetown University where he starred in all sports.

World War I saw him serving his country as a Navy flier, and at the close of the war he became a professional football player. Then came his guidance of the Lynn baseball team in the New England League, his work as a scout for the New York Yankees and his unabated interest in football.

At English High he held the affection and esteem of the faculty and student body alike. Young athletes adored him and turned to him constantly for advice and counsel.

A former president of Lynn Rotary Club, Mr. Whelan devoted many years to the work of that organization and was also active in many civic and philanthropic organizations.

The last few years of his career were plagued by frequent illnesses and major surgery on several occasions. The city of Lynn has lost an outstanding citizen in his death, and the condolences of the community go out to his widow and children, whom he adored.

The United States Naval Reserve as an Element of the Navy for World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts of an address given by Thomas Moore Carruthers, captain, United States Naval Reserve, on June 25, 1957, to the graduates of the Washington Area Naval Reserve Officers School:

THE UNITED STATES NAVAL RESERVE AS AN ELEMENT OF THE NAVY FOR WORLD PEACE

We hear so much these days about world peace yet on all sides we continually learn of new conflicts breaking out in various parts of this old world of ours. If you will just stop to examine the situation you will find, I believe, it is nearly always the case of the aggressor jumping on the fellow who is not fully prepared to defend himself—or it is a case of the "bully" riding herd on the "little fellow."

Have you ever heard of the "bully" pouncing on the fellow who has his "dukes up" and ready to fight? No; and I do not believe you will find such a case down through history. Why? Because the aggressor knows that the country that is prepared to fight will have too much opposition to offer.

The United States Navy offers a very great potential in this atomic-hydrogen age. Why? Because the ships of the Navy provide very ideal launching platforms for those missiles yet they are not fixed targets for the enemy to shoot at, their mobility being a great asset over the fixed land launching site. Hence, if my logic is correct, the Navy provides an excellent means toward world peace, for moving offensive weapons are far more difficult to hit than those anchored or fixed.

The Naval Reserve is a real part of that Navy, too. The United States Naval Reserve has a great potential as one of the elements for preserving the peace of the world. As a vital part of the naval forces it can assist in keeping the United States a real military power to be reckoned with, and at the same time, the members of the Naval Reserve can "kill two birds with the proverbial one stone," so to speak, helping ourselves and our country at the same time, which I will detail in another part of this talk.

This now brings me to my main point, "the place of the Naval Reserve in the overall structure of the naval forces as an element for world peace", and how we, as naval reservists, can play a part, and at the same time enjoy benefits.

If I may be so bold, and it is with all due deference and respect for the regular Navy, I would say that without the services of many thousands of reservists we would not have been able to operate successfully in World War II.

A great many of you, I among you, were in World War II as members of the Naval Reserve. Most of the crews and officers of both the ships and the land bases were reservists. They supplied a very tremendous manpower and "know how" to assist the regular forces. All of us did what we could, cheerfully for the most part, I dare say, to help our country in its death struggle. Prior to the start of World War II the total strength of the Naval Reserve was pitifully small, so thousands had to be trained quickly for the need was more than urgent. So as to prevent such a condition in the future a strong Naval Reserve foundation has been provided as the answer.

Whereas we tried to fit ourselves into the naval organization, naturally there were various and sundry conflicts of opinions between the "regulars" and the "reservists." However, I feel that all in all we reservists got along excellently, had a part in the war, and returned to our civilian work better people and dedicated to the cause of the Naval Reserve as a strong arm of the naval organization.

Where are we now as members of the Naval Reserve? What has it to offer? But more important is what can we do to make it a better and stronger part of the naval forces? I would like to dwell on this point for a few moments.

Kindly bear with me for using the word "I" several times, but I do believe my own case is a rather typical one of many in the Naval Reserve and you may place yourself in my shoes for comparison.

I was commissioned in 1940, called to active duty in the summer of 1941. I must admit I was quite surprised to receive the active duty orders since we were not at war, so I packed and set out for the Norfolk Naval Base with a feeling of unprepardness, since I had not had the advantage of any Reserve training programs and in a very concerned state of mind. However, there was a good reason for calling me, I was told, and on December 7, 1941, came the proof of that reasoning.

Between 1941 and the end of the war my geographical knowledge was considerably enlarged at the expense of the Government. While it was not a preferred itinerary nor the modes of travel always first class, I did get the opportunity to travel to many parts of the world—some I do not care if I never see again. So you may say the Naval Reserve gave me the chance to travel and enlarge my knowledge in several fields. Tulagi, Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Ulithi are definitely one-time spots while Hawaii, New Caledonia, and some others would be nice to see again. I was being paid for all this journeying, too.

The Naval Reserve offers us fine opportunities to better ourselves while on inactive "active" duty and, at the same time, we can be a strong part of that element for peace.

To illustrate, let us assume we have served on active duty at some period and are now members of the Reserve in good standing, hence eligible to work for the benefits to be offered us. We can increase our opportuni-

ties for promotion, at the same time adding to our knowledge by (1) belonging to a Reserve outfit—such as NROS—and attending drills, (2) taking correspondence courses, (3) active duty for training. As we do these things we not only enrich our knowledge and add to our finances but we unknowingly, and knowingly, spread the word among many people of an active Naval Reserve at work. We will assist in building a strong confidence in the Armed Forces among our local neighbors. This feeling will permeate into foreign lands where our allies will absorb into their lives a strong confidence, too, and our enemies will become more fully aware of that real confidence among our people and our allies, causing such enemies to stop and think more before putting their aggressive plans into operation.

Why? You may ask. Because where a nation has confidence among its people in their armed forces and in themselves the enemy will think twice before moving to some overt or feeler act.

So, to help build up and preserve national confidence and ready fighting might, the members of the Naval Reserve can play a most important role by taking pride in their organization, better qualifying themselves in the eyes of their neighbors through the opportunities offered, instilling confidence whenever possible in our people, by being a real member of the team—as Admiral Halsey so often termed his commands.

Remember, too, that while you are accomplishing all of these vital items you are building retired pay benefits for old age without having to put 1 penny of cash into the plan.

If we do these, as we should, then the Navy has an auxiliary arm that will swing a might wallop when needed—and I might add without it they could be sorely handicapped in the hour of that need. It behooves us to fight for a strong Naval Reserve, to fight to get all the things needed to make and keep it strong. If we do these things, we will have offered to the Nation strong avenue for world peace—and if the big fight with the enemy should come, we will find the Naval Reserve ready to do its part, and more, to defend our Nation.

So, in closing, I wish to urge you to work and dedicate yourselves to the best interests of the Naval Reserve, the Navy, and the Nation—and, once again, congratulations on your successful completion of your NROS courses.

Poznan: A Year After

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following dispatch by Sydney Gruson of the New York Times in which he describes the observance of the first anniversary of the riots which took place in Poznan, Poland, 1 year ago last Friday:

RIOT ANNIVERSARY SOLEMN IN POZNAN—CEMETERY CEREMONIES HONOR 55 DEAD—THEN 200,000 JOIN CHURCH PROCESSION

(By Sydney Gruson)

POZNAN, POLAND, June 28.—Under somber rain-laden clouds that matched the people's mood, Poznan today marked the riots of last June 28 with the calm and dignity sought by the nation's Communist leaders.

Ceremonies honoring the 55 dead of those riots were brief and simple. They began at 10 a. m. and they were over by noon. The clouds blew away shortly afterward and Poznan went about its normal business for the rest of the day in sunny, muggy weather.

Then, after gathering in the old town square, a crowd estimated at up to 200,000 marched through the city to cap the week-long Corpus Christi celebrations.

Ostensibly there was no connection between the anniversary of the riots and the demonstrative show of devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. But, as one woman said, "This is our way of honoring the dead and what they did for us."

HYMNS SUNG IN STREETS

Hundreds of girls in their white first-communion dresses strewed flower petals in the streets before priests garbed in splendid vestments. The crowd massed thickly behind them, singing hymns including the once-forbidden "God Save Poland."

The first time this old hymn had been heard on the streets of Poznan since the Communists took power after World War II was during the riots last year. The procession wound through some of the streets where a year ago the people had erupted in fury against oppression.

They passed by the jail that had been sacked and through Freedom Square. The procession had been held through what has become known as the bad years but never on this scale and never before had it been permitted to pass through the center of the city.

It was a sign of the changes that the Poznan riots had helped to bring about.

OFFICIAL AT ONE CEREMONY

The Government's participation in honoring the riot dead was confined to the observance at the cemetery known as the Citadel, after the old nearby fort dominating the city. Antoni Laster, Deputy Minister of the Interior, was present, but the eulogy was read by a worker from the Henryk Cegielski factory.

Last June's riots had flared out of a street demonstration for bread and freedom by Cegielski workers, five of whom died in the fighting. Soldiers, members of the security police, and civilians, including a 13-year-old boy, also were killed in the demonstrations, which led to Poland's release from Stalinist domination.

Facing 300 persons on the slopes of the cemetery, Kazimierz Bzowy read a typewritten speech describing last year's events as a tragedy among brothers now united in death. This was the theme sounded by Wladyslaw Gomulka, first secretary of the United Workers (Communist) Party, when he gave official approval to the commemoration services recently.

Thirteen of those who died are buried at the Citadel. All graves were covered with flowers.

At the city's other cemeteries delegations laid wreaths on graves and stood silently or dropped to a knee to pray.

NO SERVICES ARE HELD

Church bells throughout the city began ringing as the mourners reached the cemeteries. However, no priests were in attendance and no religious services were held.

But at the Citadel and at Junikowa Cemetery, by the graveside of 13-year-old Roman Strzalkowski, the crowds spontaneously burst into the hymn Holy Mary, Queen of Poland.

Emotions were held tightly in check except at the boy's grave. There two scouts stood as a guard of honor, their faces rigid with strain. Occasionally a former schoolmate came up with a fistful of red and white carnations and broke down in tears.

The boy's gravestone, as did so many others, said simply that he died tragically last June 28.

Obscenity and the High Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Richmond News Leader, of Richmond, Va., of June 28, 1957, on the subject of one of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. This is only one of the many flagitious decisions of the Supreme Court handed down since it has been presided over by Chief Justice Warren. The "New Deal" and the "Fair Deal" Courts have reached a low state in the opinion of lawyers, but the present Court has hit the rock bottom. The Congress must take some action to correct these decisions and to restrain the Supreme Court from making further decisions of a similar nature.

The editorial is as follows:

OBSCENITY AND THE HIGH COURT

It is curious, in a sense, that Members of the Congress who are now assailing the Supreme Court of the United States have failed to include an opinion by Mr. Justice Brennan this past Monday in their bill of particulars. The opinion affirmed the conviction of two men charged under separate State and Federal obscenity statutes, and perhaps in their amazement that even one State law has been upheld, critics of the court have missed the ominous significance of the opinion as a whole.

In considering the Court's decision, it is important to keep in mind that one of the defendants, David S. Alberts, was convicted under a California State law. The other, Samuel Roth, was convicted under a Federal postal statute which makes every obscene, lewd, lascivious, or filthy book, pamphlet, picture, etc., nonmailable matter.

The majority of the Court (to quote from Mr. Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion) "brushed aside with perfunctory ease the vital constitutional considerations which * * * differentiate these two cases." It did not seem to matter to the majority "that in one case we balance the power of a State in this field against the restrictions of the 14th amendment, and in the other the power of the Federal Government against the limitations of the 1st amendment."

Harlan went on to emphasize that a State has inherent power—the power that stems from State sovereignty itself—to enact any sort of obscenity laws it wishes, provided only that such laws do not deny due process of law to persons who may be charged thereunder. Harlan said this:

"What, then, is the purpose of this California statute? Clearly, the State legislature has made the judgment that printed words can deprave or corrupt the reader—that words can incite to antisocial or immoral action. The assumption seems to be that the distribution of certain types of literature will induce criminal or immoral sexual conduct. It is well known, of course, that the validity of this assumption is a matter of dispute among critics, sociologists, psychiatrists, and penologists. There is a large school of thought, particularly in the scientific community, which denies any causal connection between the reading of pornography and immorality, crime, or delinquency. Others disagree.

"Clearly it is not our function to decide this question. That function belongs to the State legislature. Nothing in the Constitution requires California to accept as truth the most advanced and sophisticated psychiatric opinion. It seems to me clear that it is not irrational, in our present state of knowledge, to consider that pornography can induce to a type of sexual conduct which a State may deem obnoxious to the moral fabric of society. In fact the very division of opinion on the subject counsels us to respect the choice made by the State."

At another point in his dissenting opinion, Harlan said this: "Since the domain of sexual morality is preeminently a matter of State concern, this Court should be slow to interfere with State legislation calculated to protect that morality." For these reasons, said Harlan, he too would vote to affirm Alberts' conviction under California law.

But Roth's conviction was something else entirely. "I do not think it follows," said Harlan, "that State and Federal powers in this area are the same, and that just because the State may suppress a particular utterance, it is automatically permissible for the Federal Government to do the same * * * The substantive powers of the two governments, in many instances, are distinct * * * The interests which obscenity statutes purportedly protect are primarily entrusted to the care, not of the Federal Government, but of the States. Congress has no substantive power over sexual morality. Such powers as the Federal Government has in this field are but incidental to its other powers, here the postal power, and are not of the same nature as those possessed by the States, which bear direct responsibility for the protection of the local moral fabric."

Harlan elaborated his views at some length. We urge every reader to take the few minutes' time required to ponder these further comments:

"Not only is the Federal interest in protecting the Nation against pornography attenuated, but the dangers of Federal censorship in this field are far greater than anything the States may do. It has often been said that one of the great strengths of our Federal system is that we have, in the 48 States, 48 experimental social laboratories. * * * Different States will have different attitudes toward the same work of literature. The same book which is freely read in one State might be classed as obscene in another. And it seems to me that no overwhelming danger to our freedom to experiment and to gratify our taste in literature is likely to result from the suppression of a borderline book in one of the States, so long as there is no uniform nationwide suppression of the book, and so long as other States are free to experiment with the same or bolder books.

"Quite a different situation is presented, however, when the Federal Government imposes the ban. The danger is perhaps not great if the people of one State, through their legislature, decide that Lady Chatterley's Lover goes so far beyond the acceptable standards of candor that it will be deemed offensive and nonsellable, for the State next door is still free to make its own choice. At least we do not have one uniform standard. But the dangers to free thought and expression are truly great if the Federal Government imposes a blanket ban over the Nation on such a book. The prerogative of the States to differ on their ideas of morality will be destroyed, the ability of States to experiment will be stunted. The fact that the people of one State cannot read some works of D. H. Lawrence seems to me, if not wise or desirable, at least acceptable. But that no person in the United States should be allowed to do so seems to me to be intolerable, and violative of both the letter and spirit of the first amendment."

Now, in the Roth case, the trial judge delivered a charge to the jury which the majority of the Supreme Court approved. It is a Federal criminal offense, the jury was told, to sell any book which "tends to stir sexual impulses and lead to sexually impure thoughts." Further, the jury was instructed that it should act for "the common conscience of the community" in deciding whether the offending material would be calculated to corrupt the mind of "the average person in the community."

In his dissenting opinion, Mr. Justice Harlan said bluntly that "the Federal Government has no business, whether under the postal or commerce power, to bar the sale of books because they might lead to any kind of 'thoughts.'" Yet that is precisely the conduct approved on Monday by a majority of this strangely "liberal" court.

Let us carry this sinister opinion a step or two further. Let us suppose that there is, in Philadelphia or New York, some unenlightened individual who objects strongly to interracial marriage. He writes a pamphlet on this subject, in which he dwells upon the evils of interracial sexual union. Complaint is made to postal inspectors, and the author is brought before a jury in a Federal district court. This New York or Philadelphia jury, finding the pamphlet offensive to the common conscience of the community by present-day standards, convicts the defendant under the postal statute. He goes to prison and the pamphlet becomes nonmailable matter anywhere in the United States. Thereafter, any person anywhere in the country, who aids in the circulation or disposition of the pamphlet by mail becomes subject to a fine of not more than $5,000 or to imprisonment of not more than 5 years, or both.

It is a handy little weapon that Mr. Justice Brennan and his colleagues forged on Monday. To be sure, the weapon is two-edged; by the same processes of reasoning, ardent segregationists might seek to have representatives of the NAACP arrested for mailing "obscene" matter advocating abolition of miscegenation laws. Our Virginia board of motion picture censors, which had been pretty well killed off by earlier opinions of the Court, may find in Mr. Justice Brennan's opinion some legal grounds for banning Island in the Sun or other motion pictures calculated, in the board's view, to corrupt the morals of the average citizen.

But what the Court's opinion does to free speech, and what it does in warping the delegated power, to establish post offices and post roads, every man may see for himself. The High Court has handed down a dozen evil opinions this year. The opinion that decided *Roth* v. *United States* and *Alberts* v. *California* carries seeds of tyranny that will match any planted so far.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following weekly newsletter to my constituents for the week concluded June 29:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JUNE 29, 1957.—The Supreme Court decisions this week caused many thoughtful members concern far beyond the legislation under consideration. Decisions results: In Washington a convicted rapist was freed, though guilty by everyone's admission including his own; convicted Communist conspirators were freed, no question of their guilt; the powers of Congress to investigate and to question were curtailed, and Communists immediately flouted the House Un-American Activities Committee's jurisdiction in California hearings; the FBI files were declare open to defendants in criminal trials; vertical stock ownership of one company in another was condemned. There is a pattern emerging to these and earlier rulings by the Court which should concern every American. The reversal of time-honored rulings has the effect of new legislation, much as if Congress had passed new laws. The overriding danger is the aid and comfort given our avowed enemies, including the Communists, who are dedicated to discredit and overthrow our Government. The Supreme Court has bypassed Congress, and lessened its coequal importance. The sentiment is growing that its time for Congress, as representative of all the people, to reestablish its rightful legislative role. This may include quite properly some "pinning back of the ears" of the Supreme Court. Legislation to accomplish this, so far as possible, is being introduced. I shall report more on these bills in the future.

The continuing attack on business and businessmen by the Congress is a surprising matter to me. This is to be expected of Communists and socialists but not by American citizens nor Congressmen representing these citizens. Rather than praise capitalism, profit, stockownership, savings, and the underlying qualities required—initiative, planning, hard work, ambition, sacrifice, individual responsibility, and obligation, we confiscate the property of the most successful (up to 91 percent), denounce capitalism (although anyone with savings is a capitalist if he collects interest), deride bankers (who only invest the savings of others and then pay them interest), and discredit those who succeed. Simultaneously we subsidize those who pressure the Government hard enough for help, at the expense of the taxpayers. At the moment the Interstate Committee is concentrating on the regulation of the natural-gas producers by Federal law, not freeing them, so free-enterprise competition can keep prices down; Government is castigating bigness as though it were a sin, although we get the good things of life materially, like cars and most manufactured goods, from successful big operations (Premerger Notification Act now before committee); public power advocates (Hells Canyon) are trying to replace private business with Government operation; Congress is giving away food hand over fist; Federal public housing is replacing private or local government's efforts. Meanwhile, the Hoover Commission's practical and commonsense suggestions for getting the Government out of business in hundreds of activities are stalled by Congress. Why? What's the answer? Is there a pattern here, too? True, it's all embraced in the liberal's philosophy. Are the Congress and Supreme Court patterns related?

The Small Business Act was passed (1) making the Small Business Administration a permanent Government agency; (2) increasing money for loans; (3) to procure Government contracts; (4) to lower interest rates. I could not accept this emergency program as a permanent addition to the taxpayers' burden. The bill passed 392 to 2. I was 1 of the 2. I protested in this way: "Mr. Speaker, I do not consider this a vote for or against small business or small-business men—I, too, want to help the small-business man, if the Federal Government can do so appropriately. By this vote, I wish to stress that the way to help a small-business man is to return to him some of his tax money which can be done by cutting the size and cost of Government, not by making businessmen dependent on Government, and by such reliance on Government, increasing his taxes

to pay for the service. As a Congressman, my views can be expressed in only one way, by the votes I cast. * * * Again, my vote is not a protest against the effort and efficiency of officials of the Small Business Administration, but is against the increasing encroachment of Federal Government in our lives, jeopardizing our very freedom and this includes economic freedom. This bill is a further part of the web to ensnare the people in the bureaucracy of big government. Therefore, I voted against the bill."

The Senate in conference with the House increased the appropriations which the House had cut (Senate, the upper body, always ups the cost), restoring $3½ million to the independent offices appropriation and $23 million to the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, money laboriously saved by the House. Economy? Then, the House failed to limit the Senate's expenditures on their new office building and furniture.

Importation of Firearms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which would prohibit the importation into the United States of certain firearms.

I had introduced similar legislation in the 83d and 84th Congresses, but these measures prohibited only the members of the armed services and their dependents from bringing into this country pistols, revolvers, and other types of small firearms. The Department of the Army had submitted an adverse report on this legislation, primarily due to the fact that it was felt that the bill would be discriminatory toward military personnel and their dependents.

This year I have eliminated the provision restricting the ban to members of the Armed Forces only, and have asked that the prohibition be extended to everyone—civilian and military alike—who would bring such weapons into the country.

I have been in touch with many law-enforcement officers throughout the United States, and the vast majority of them have endorsed the legislation and have agreed that any attempt to keep dangerous weapons out of the hands of criminals, potential criminals, children, and irresponsible individuals should receive the full support of all those interested in combating crime, and lessening the occurrence of tragedy which results when some of these guns are accidentally fired. Our own district attorney, in Queens County, N. Y., one of the most heavily populated counties in the country—the Honorable Frank D. O'Connor—has agreed with me that the supply of illicit weapons should be stopped at its source, and fully supports the proposed measure.

Statistics have shown that as many as 50,000 of these contraband weapons have been brought into the United States on just one troopship returning from the European theater. Multiply that by the number of troopships and the number of civilians bringing such weapons into the country and we have an astounding figure.

I have been informed that in one county of New York City as much as 75 percent of the crimes of violence have been and are being committed with these so-called souvenirs. Every day we read in the papers or hear over the radio and television of tragic accidents which occur, and crimes which have been committed with these weapons.

I feel that something should be done to curb the easy accessibility of these guns, and I feel that this proposed legislation, together with efforts made on the local level, will do much to bring about a reduction in crimes, and to minimize future accidents which maim or kill so many individuals.

Mr. Dulles and the China Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I heard the speech made by Secretary Dulles at San Francisco, concerning Red China and the proposal to admit that country into the United Nations, and the proposed abandonment of the non-Communist Chinese, who are now members of the United Nations.

This was a very well-thought-out speech, and I hope the administration will not yield to any appeasement in pursuing this policy. If and when the Red Chinese are admitted to the United Nations it will be the time for us to withdraw from it. With Red China and Russia members of this organization these two nations will control it.

Both of them are aggressors, and have been so branded by the U. N.; yet if Red China is admitted, the control of the organization to preserve peace will be under the complete domination of these aggressors. The U. N. ostensibly exists for the preservation of world peace, yet the two major nations—with Red China in—will control the U. N., and will be doing just the opposite of what it was organized for. This arrangement will simpify matters, for the Russians then can commit acts of aggression and invasion, and this peace organization will approve that action.

Mr. Dulles sees this situation clearly, and he is to be congratulated for the utterance of these views. Let us hope that the destructive element of appeasement will not intervene to change our stand. The day of appeasement is past. Appeasement has made many million prisoners, and there will be no free world as long as we surrender any part of our policy to that weak sentiment of conciliation.

Why are the people of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Baltic States prisoners today? The answer is appeasement, which was first initiated by the Prime Minister of England, Chamberlain. He justified his action for what he called "peace in our time." We appeased Stalin at Yalta and Russia again at Potsdam. If we had stood our ground then there would be no East and West Germany today, but one nation, and a tower of strength against communistic aggression. We could have done more then than it is possible to do now, but continued appeasement will open the gates to a flood of communism flowing to every corner of the globe.

If the Dulles speech is an expression of the attitude of the administration, then I say we are on the right track.

Tribute to Hon. R. Gregg Cherry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALTON LENNON
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Wilmington Morning Star of June 26, 1957, in tribute to an outstanding governor of North Carolina, a courageous leader in the Democratic Party, and a great American whose passing is a profound loss to the citizenry of North Carolina:

GOVERNOR CHERRY, SOLID PARTY MAN

The passing of R. Gregg Cherry brings to mind a seldom-told tale of an excellent governor, an interesting and intelligent man, and a workhorse for the Democratic Party.

From orphan to Governor—that is the story of Mr. Cherry. But his greatest work was something that passed almost unnoticed. Certainly he never gained the recognition for it that he rightfully deserved.

During the Democratic National Convention when Harry Truman was running on his own there was a terrible split in the ranks. The Dixiecrats and other splinter groups were active within the party. As head of the North Carolina delegation, Mr. Cherry was attending the convention.

The dissatisfied groups gained strength. Several delegations got up and left the convention. Suddenly all eyes turned to the North Carolina Governor. If he made any move to leave the floor Truman would be dropped. Governor Cherry did not move.

Then the pressure was put on. Delegate after delegate from the dissatisfied politicians attempted to lure Governor Cherry into taking a walk.

But the Governor was first, last, and always a team man. He put party above partisan politics. And although the Dixiecrats managed to enter a slate of candidates for the Presidency, and did pull a good number of votes in the South, it was Gregg Cherry who held the line and delivered the candidacy—and the election—to Harry Truman.

The Governor's reward?

A Democratic victory was his only desire—and he got that in November.

Quick of wit, perhaps one of the most popular of all governors with newsmen who covered the capitol in Raleigh, R. Gregg Cherry will go down in Tar Heel history as a man who served his State and his party well and, when the chips were down, he was an impossible man to defeat in the hard game of American politics.

The Onassis Contract With the Maritime Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, the Honorable HERBERT C. BONNER, of North Carolina, has indicated that he will call for the appearance of Secretary of Commerce Weeks and Secretary of the Navy Gates before the committee, of which I am privileged to be a member, to elicit from either or both of these distinguished Cabinet officers pertinent testimony to help the Congress and the people of the United States to find out whether there is any policy of national defense relating particularly to maritime matters which will protect the interests of this country in time of emergency.

Recently the Merchant Marine Committee concluded hearings on the so-called trade-out-and-build policy of the Maritime Administration, which permits the transfer of American vessels to foreign flag. During the course of the hearings, it became apparent that in many instances the interests of the United States were not being fully protected.

In the matter of the trade-out-and build contract between the Maritime Administration and one Aristotle Onassis, a purported Greek shipowner, there was involved a $200-million windfall to this person.

After hearings before the committee, the Maritime Administration agreed to revise and amend the Onassis contract and to tighten up its provisions so that any losses to this country in the matter of defense, taxes, and American labor would be minimized or mitigated.

During the course of the hearings, which were particularly illuminating, the looseness and laxity of certain of the negotiations and provisions of the Onassis contract became apparent. I repeatedly warned that the best interests of the United States were not being served in dealing with Onassis, especially since he had already been in difficulty with our Government.

In the Washington Daily News of Monday, July 1, 1957, there appears an article which is of the utmost significance. Apparently the very ships which were the subject of the recent hearings are to be a part of a transaction with Colonel Nasser, of Egypt, in the joint program of Nasser and Onassis to build a pipeline in Egypt to freeze out United States interests.

When we consider that Russian arms and Russian technical help are being sent into Egypt, when it is further considered that Nasser is pro-Communist and anti-Western, the inescapable conclusion must be reached that the United States and its Western allies will have no effective control whatsoever of any of the vessels being permitted to be transferred or any of the vessels flying the flag of the Onassis interests. With Russia controlling Egypt by arms and military, it is obvious that none of the Onassis ships, whether directly owned by him or under his control, will ever be permitted to wander too far from the Soviet reach.

In view of this latest development, I have written to the Maritime Administration to halt all proceedings under its contract with Onassis; and I shall ask my distinguished chairman, Representative BONNER, to determine what, if anything, the Maritime Administration knows of the substance of the article which follows:

DEAL WITH NASSER: ONASSIS BACKS SUEZ PIPELINE

CAIRO, July 1.—President Gamal Abdel Nasser teamed up today with Greek tanker magnate Aristotle Onassis to build a Suez to Port Said pipeline—Colonel Nasser's biggest coup since nationalization of the Suez Canal.

The $37 million project will take about a year to complete. The pipeline will have an initial capacity of 500,000 barrels per day.

Huge supertankers—too big to use the Suez Canal—would load oil in the Persian Gulf, and unload it into the pipeline at Suez. Other supertankers would reload at the Port Said terminus, 102 miles away.

The project would allow Mr. Onassis to use his fleet of supertankers, including the 47,000-ton King Saud I instead of having to send it around the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. Onassis flew to Cairo Thursday and began immediate talks with Hasan Ibrahim, head of the canal organization.

Mr. Onassis has been plugging for a Suez pipeline since 1954 when he built the King Saud I and found it was too big to move through the canal.

Construction of the pipeline would dull the edge of present western plans to build various Middle East pipelines to reduce Western Europe's dependence on the Suez Canal.

The project also would diminish the importance of any Israeli pipeline between Eilat on the Gulf of Aqaba and some Mediterranean port.

Informed sources said plans call for establishment of an Egyptian joint stock company holding a 12-year concession to build and operate the pipeline. Sixty percent would be held by the Egyptians and 40 percent by foreigners, chiefly Mr. Onassis.

At expiration of the concession period Egypt would take over full operation. In the meantime the Egyptian Government would receive 50 percent of the collected charges as royalty.

For Summit Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD a very interesting article by an old schoolmate of mine, Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, United States Army, retired, entitled "For Summit Meeting," which appeared in the recent edition of the Winston-Salem Journal. The article is full of food for thought and I hope that it will be widely read:

FOR SUMMIT MEETING

To the EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL:

Must political man, blindly and endlessly, repeat his follies? Must society experience the ghastly and sordid carnage of world conflict, generation after generation, and primarily because of the failure of leadership? Need the United States pay the Soviet Union the supreme compliment of imitation by parroting "Nyet" to every suggestion for the negotiation of a peace, and thereby only help prove that the cruder conduct in international relations, like the baser monetary metals, drives out the finer? And is it not important for the leaders of all the great powers, in today's mad rush to fill the supposed mideastern vacuum, to remember that Hitler, too, partly perhaps because of his rude manners and vulgar display of military might, evoked considerable admiration in the early stages of his bid for world domination?

Throughout much of the thirties, the leaders of the Soviet Union, inside and outside the League of Nations, were pleading for disarmament, for collective security. Again they are doing this, and, in addition, calling for summit meetings. And again the "politik real" boys—the emigre school which brought catastrophe to Europe through its philosophy of brute force, even before its present leaders finally secured their American papers—are proclaiming it just another sign of Soviet weakness.

Enlarge the Crusade for Freedom, expand Radio Free Europe and Asia, appropriate more money for the Voice of America, tighten up the economic boycott, increase the already unlimited arms race and this godless creation, communism, they assert, will surely disappear. And somehow, perhaps automatically and autonomously, for again they do not disclose the source of their information, poverty, ignorance, and bigotry will disappear from this earth. Just why this did not happen before the first Communist state appeared in 1917, is, also, not explained.

This propaganda line, of course, is not new. The British and French leaders were so hypnotized with this hope, between the two world wars, that they joined with Hitler in propagating this fiction, and, in anticipation of the hoped for event, opposed all attempts for an enlarged collective security system which might include the Soviet Union. The United States also, of course, preferred her splendid isolation à la Taft and Hoover. All three refused to accept the basic fact that peace is indivisible, that it is a single fabric woven of a continuous thread, the unraveling of which anywhere means its eventual unraveling everywhere.

Unhappily, I am forced to agree with Mr. Khrushchev that the only possible way to avoid world war III soon is through some working agreement between the U. S. S. R. and the United States. This is so because none of the vital international issues of today such as are involved in Germany, Eastern Europe, Middle East, Formosa, Korea, Vietnam, and arms reduction, or collective security, can be settled without this cooperation. The Soviets are no more likely to agree to the unification of Germany inside NATO than the United States is to its unification inside the Warsaw Pact. And certainly no great power will permit encirclement by hostile states any longer than necessary. The United States would almost certainly risk war now to prevent an encirclement such as her leaders are attempting to impose upon the Soviets of China and Russia.

Make no mistake of it: This so-called containment policy is a one-way, dead-end street, leading only to war. For this reason, all who would avoid world war III should urge President Eisenhower to agree to a summit meeting of the great powers now, as has recently and separately been proposed by Nehru, Mollet, and Bulganin, and earlier by Churchill and Eden.

HUGH B. HESTER,
Brigadier General, United States Army (Retired).
PHILADELPHIA.

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on Friday, June 28, the Special Subcommittee on Senate Rule XXII of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration had the privilege of hearing testimony by Hon. John J. Wicker, Jr., of Richmond, Va., representing Hon. W. C. (Dan) Daniel, national commander of the American Legion.

Mr. Wicker's presentation on the subject of continued freedom of debate in the Senate of the United States made on behalf of Commander Daniel was masterful and persuasive, and, in order that all Members of the Senate may have the full benefit of it, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I further ask unanimous consent that the introduction of Mr. Wicker as given by the distinguished junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] precede the text of Mr. Wicker's testimony.

There being no objection, the statement and the introduction were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR A. WILLIS ROBERTSON IN INTRODUCING HON. JOHN J. WICKER, JR., BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE OF RULES COMMITTEE, JUNE 28, 1957

Mr. Chairman, last year when the Senate Judiciary Committee was conducting hearings on a so-called civil rights bill, I introduced as a witness the same gentleman who is with me today.

I have known him for many years, first, as an outstanding lawyer, as a member of the State Senate of Virginia, and as one of the founders of the American Legion and a former Virginia State commander of that organization.

He is a former chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Virginia Bar Association and a present member of the executive council of the insurance law section of the American Bar Association.

He was president of the electoral college of Virginia in 1944 and chairman for the first half of the 1945 constitutional convention of Virginia. He has served on several State commissions and boards.

Most important, for our present purpose, however, he is an astute student of the law and a dedicated believer in the principles of constitutional liberty and in the institutions, including the Senate of the United States, which are designed to preserve that liberty.

Last year he gave a convincing and scholarly argument against proposed legislation which he and I both felt would constitute a threat to constitutional liberty. Today I am sure he will be equally skillful in presenting his views on why it would be dangerous and undesirable to change the rules of the Senate in a way which might remove some of the protections of minority rights which were deliberately provided by the Founding Fathers or prevent the full discussion of constitutional issues which is necessary for the preservation of the spirit as well as the letter of that great document.

It is a pleasure for me to present to this committee the Honorable John J. Wicker, Jr., of Richmond, Va.

STATEMENT OF JOHN J. WICKER, JR., ATTORNEY AT LAW, REPRESENTATING W. C. (DAN) DANIEL, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION, IN CONNECTION WITH HEARINGS ON PROPOSED CHANGES IN SENATE RULE XXII (CLOTURE RULE)

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, my name is John J. Wicker, Jr. I am an attorney at law, and for many years I have been a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, of the Federal courts in Virginia, and of the Supreme Court of the United States. I am also a former Virginia State senator and I was temporary chairman of the 1945 constitutional convention of Virginia. I reside, as I have for most of my life, in Richmond, Va.

I am appearing before you at the request of W. C. (Dan) Daniel, the national commander of the American Legion, and upon his authority, to express the views of the national commander—with which views I am in full accord—concerning a number of resolutions pending before you to amend and modify rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate (relating to cloture). The national commander was invited to appear before you by the distinguished Senator from Georgia, Senator Herman E. Talmadge, and being unable to appear in person because of previous engagements, he has requested and authorized me to appear in his stead.

GENERAL PURPOSE AND EFFECT OF PENDING RESOLUTIONS

While the several resolutions pending before you with regard to cloture have some differences in language and in detail, they all appear to have the same general intent and purpose and would probably have the same general effect, viz. to make it possible for less than two-thirds of the duly elected Members of the Senate to shut off debate and to deprive more than one-third of the duly elected Senators of their right of unlimited debate.

PENDING RESOLUTIONS WOULD PERMIT 49 SENATORS TO SILENCE 47 SENATORS

As the rule now stands, the views and voices of United States Senators upon pending legislation can be shut off by the concurring vote of 64 out of the 96 elected Senators. Under these pending resolutions, cloture could be applied and debate terminated at any time, by the concurrence of only two-thirds of these Senators actually voting on the resolution of cloture, provided that they constituted at least a bare majority of the total membership.

Thus, the sentiments and opinions and judgments of a large number of duly elected United States Senators—voicing and reflecting the sentiments and opinions and judgments of the citizens of their respective States—could be stifled and silenced by the active concurrence of a bare elected majority. And this would be true regardless of how fundamentally important the issue might be.

While the rule now requires 64 affirmative votes to apply cloture, the pending resolutions would reduce that required number by 15, almost a fourth, so that the required minimum would be only 49 Senators, provided not more than 24 other Senators actually voted the other way. Forty-seven Senators might be opposed to the pending legislation and/or opposed to cloture; but unless at least 25 of them were actually present and voting, their opposition would be ignored and count for naught.

SENATE AND HOUSE ARE COORDINATE AND OF EQUAL DIGNITY BUT FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT

Our Founding Fathers very wisely provided for two distinct bodies in the Federal legislative branch. The House of Representatives, chosen on a population basis and constituting a large representative body, is fresh from the people as a result of elections every other year. The Senate, being a smaller and consequently much more deliberative body, with each State being represented by two Senators regardless of wide variations in population and area, has its membership elected for 6-year terms with only one-third of the body being elected every 2 years.

Anyone making even a cursory study of the fundamental principles and aims and purposes which the framers of the Federal Constitution had in mind in providing for these two bodies, so vastly different in their size and basis of representation and terms of office and times of election, will recognize that while the powers of the two Houses are coordinate, their methods of operation would, in many particulars, be vitally and fundamentally different.

LIMITATION OF DEBATE APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY IN HOUSE BUT NOT IN SENATE

Obviously anything like unlimited debate in any legislative body as large as the House of Representatives (numbering 435 Congressmen) would be completely out of question. Consequently limitation of debate in the House of Representatives is not only traditional and historical, but is also absolutely necessary in order to permit the House to operate.

By sharp contrast, however, the Senate, with a total membership of 96—substantially less than one-fourth of the number of the House—can operate efficiently and effectively without limitation of debate. In fact, the Senate has actually done so throughout its existence.

ANYTHING IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO JUSTIFY CLOTURE WILL HAVE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF AT LEAST 64 SENATORS

Anything so serious and so dangerous to our American form of Government—as shutting off debate and stifling free expression and argument by United States Senators—should never be sanctioned without the affirmative concurrence of at least two-thirds of the membership of the Senate. If any real emergency arises that requires and justifies a limitation of debate, surely the emergency would be recognized and acted upon by at least two-thirds of the Senators. And any proposition of that kind which cannot secure the active voting support of at least two-thirds of the duly elected Senators does not deserve to be adopted.

With only two Senators elected by any one State to represent that State and its people, it would be unreasonable to silence those Senators from expressing their views fully—especially on measures which they believe may involve a violation of fundamental constitutional rights—unless at least two-thirds of the membership of the Senate affirmatively vote to close debate.

Any attempt to shut off debate which cannot command the affirmative voting support of at least 64 out of the 96 elected Senators must have inherent in it such weakness and such objection that it deserves to fail.

MINORITY OF SENATORS OBSTRUCTING WILL OF MAJORITY IS SOMETIMES BEST FOR PUBLIC WELFARE

It is claimed that rule XXII permits a minority to obstruct the will of the majority. If that be true, it is not necessarily a damning indictment because our history shows many instances in which a bare majority, if unfettered and uncontrolled, would have done willful violence to the legitimate rights of minorities.

To enable cloture to be applied upon the concurring vote of less than two-thirds of the elected Senators would undoubtedly result in the hasty enactment of some legislation which would otherwise be defeated if

debate were sufficiently prolonged to enable the American public to become fully informed as to the merits or demerits of the proposed legislation and to transmit their sentiments to their representatives in the Senate. In the very nature of things there is not as much opportunity for this formulation of informed and considered public opinion in connection with the passage of legislation in the House of Representatives, but this opportunity should by all means be preserved in the Senate.

MINORITY OF SENATORS MAY ACTUALLY REPRESENT MAJORITY OF CITIZENS

A minority of Senators may actually be representative of a large majority of American citizens and of American territory. For example, there are 10 States having a combined total of only 20 United States Senators, and yet these 10 States have a combined population constituting a substantial majority of all the citizens of the United States of America, and also a majority of territory. Even as it stands now, the rule is fraught with some danger of unduly stifling debate; but this danger certainly should not be increased, as it would be, by a weakening modification of the rule by the pending resolutions.

PRESENT RULE HAS NOT KILLED PERMANENTLY ANY MERITORIOUS LEGISLATION

Of all the legislation that has failed of passage at one time or another in the United States Senate, because of unlimited debate, very few measures have failed of ultimate enactment. In fact, the few that have failed permanently were those that were of such a vicious type, fraught with such genuine peril to our American system of government, that they fully deserved the defeat they experienced.

SENATE EXPECTED TO BE MORE DELIBERATE THAN THE HOUSE

In view of the important differences in size, basis of representation, terms of office, times of election, prerogatives and functions, the Senate was designed and intended to operate quite differently from the House. It is not unreasonable to say that the Senate was intentionally created of such size and type as to make sure that many things hastily approved by the House would not receive the approval of the Senate.

Elected entirely every 2 years, the House is fresh from the people and, quite naturally, reflects the current popular sentiment of the people at the moment. But the Senate, elected by thirds over a period of 6 years, represents a much broader span of public opinion. Consequently, from the very beginning of our Government, the Senate has been expected to be more deliberate than the House; ordinarily to concur in House action but just as properly to refuse concurrence when any sizeable segment of the Senate has reasonable doubt of the long range wisdom of House action.

MORE DELIBERATE SENATE ACTS AS BULWARK AGAINST EXECUTIVE DOMINATION

While the House and the Senate are of equal dignity, there are many important functions performed solely by the Senate; for example, the confirmation of executive appointments and ratification of international treaties. If limitation of debate could be brought about by less than the concurring vote now required, it is conceivable that the Senate might not be able to discharge its important functions as intelligently as it should, and as it now does.

The smaller size, staggered changes of personnel and representation on the basis of individual States rather than population, all combine to show that the Senate was consciously designed to act also as a safeguard against executive domination. Otherwise, why is it that the Senate, rather than the House, must approve or reject important official appointments made by the President? Obviously because—ordinarily although not always—the majority of the House is more apt to be of the same political party or governmental persuasion as the President. Thus, ordinarily, the House is more likely to go along with Presidential policy. The Senate, however, being more removed from the popular pressures and changing passions of the day, is more apt to apply its own deliberate judgment. And whenever necessary, in the interests of constitutional government, the Senate is expected to act as a deterrent and checkmate against hasty action—regardless of whether that action originates in the House or in the Senate.

It has been true in the past, and may well be so in the future, that it is a minority of both parties in the Senate that must be counted upon as the last bulwark against improper, harmful legislation. And this bulwark should not be destroyed or weakened, regardless of how high and noble the motives of the proponents may be.

HISTORY WARNS OF DANGER OF RARE MAJORITIES

With no reflection upon anyone, let us remember that most of the foreign tyrants of the past have acquired absolute and despotic power on the temporary but surging wave of popular sentiment of the day, allegedly to promote social welfare and so-called civil rights, etc. Few indeed would have succeeded in their autocratic seizures if their countries had been blessed with a legislative body with the courage, power, and deliberative character of the United States Senate. In the few instances where there was indeed a legislative body at all comparable to our Senate, the first step of the tyrant and his cohorts was to suspend or repeal all rules which permitted anything less than an absolute majority to oppose him. Of course, it may be said that such a thing could never happen here. Well, that same thing was said, and believed, in every country before it succumbed to the tyranny of a dictator.

WHY WEAKEN MINORITY IN THE SENATE TO STRENGTHEN MINORITY OUTSIDE?

It is a strange and paradoxical thing that many of the leading proponents of cloture, who seek to make it possible to stifle the voice of substantial minorities in the United States Senate, appear to be doing so principally in the hope of thereby bringing about the passage of pending legislation, allegedly designed to protect miscellaneous minorities of people here and there in the United States outside the Senate. It would seem that Senators should be at least equally zealous in protecting the rights of their fellow Members of what has well been described as the most august deliberative body in the world as they are in seeking to set up a vast bureaucracy of Federal inquisitors and prosecutors to ferret out and punish fancied grievances of a comparatively few individuals.

RULE XXII HAS PROVEN ITS VALUE TO PUBLIC WELFARE AND SHOULD NOT BE WEAKENED

Rule XXII has had considerably more than a century of useful life and it would not be for the best interest of the United States and its people, or of our American form of government, to emasculate or otherwise weaken this rule.

The modification and weakening of the rule would bring about far greater bitterness and resentment than whatever may be occasionally aroused by the operation of the rule as it now stands.

Artificially Fattened Poultry Sold for Food May Be Poisonous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in previous news releases I have issued I pointed out that estrogen pills inserted in animals and poultry for fattening purposes are on the suspect list of dangerous food additives, as found by the International Union Against Cancer meeting held in Rome, Italy, in August of 1956.

That is only part of the story. Recent events have pointed up the need for a compulsory poultry inspection bill similar to the compulsory red meat inspection bill enacted in 1906.

The Delaney committee found that in 1950 a chemical known as diethylstilbestrol, in 15 milligram pellets, was used on about 30 million chickens, and that its use was on the increase. A mechanical injector, similar to a hypodermic syringe, implants the pellets in chickens' necks just below the head. They are used purely for monetary reasons in the belief that they will step up the rate of growth as much as 20 percent, and cause a more even distribution of fat. This chemical, said the Delaney committee, is so potent and dangerous that it cannot be purchased in drugstores without a physician's prescription. The testimony of experts is conflicting concerning the safety of human absorption of the flesh of such treated poultry. Therefore, I ask, why should the doubt about its harmful effects be resolved in favor of its use, when scientists and so-called experts are sharply divided as to its long-range harmfulness on human health?

In 1952, 50,000 pounds of such treated chickens were condemned by the Food and Drug Administration as unsafe for human consumption. Sixty percent of the sampled chickens contained unabsorbed portions of these pellets in areas of the neck which would remain with the consumer after normal severance of the head from the carcass. There was evidence before the Delaney committee that the fat of fowl treated with stilbestrol differed chemically from that of normally fattened birds, and that it was watery and inferior culinarily; and there was additional evidence that the fat of birds so treated contained greater deposits of fat than the flesh of non-treated birds. There was also evidence that male birds so treated rapidly lost many male characteristics; combs, wattles, and reproductive organs shriveled, and the propensity for crowing and fighting disappeared.

The above facts stress the need for a compulsory poultry-inspection bill. Such a bill—S. 1747—recently passed

the Senate. Its counterpart—H. R. 6814—was recently favorably reported by the House Agriculture Committee. Such a bill would tend to prevent the processor, or the dealer in such contaminated poultry from sending it into the channels of interstate commerce.

Why should not the meat of poultry which has been treated with estrogens be labeled so as to reveal that fact? Why should not restaurants serving such estrogen-treated food be required to advise customers by proper means so that they will know what they are eating and the risk being taken? Why should not the processors of such estrogen-treated poultry be required to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that such poultry is safe for human consumption before they should be permitted to sell it?

The facts cited above furnish potent support for the passage of my House Resolution 212—which is now before the Rules Committee—so as to procure proper strengthening of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938.

The City of Clinton, in Laurens County, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech by State senator, Robert C. Wasson, an able and distinguished State senator from Laurens County, S. C., in the senate of South Carolina, on the passage of H. 1414, a bill to change the name of the town of Clinton to the city of Clinton, in Laurens County, on March 14, 1957.

The city of Clinton is one of the most progressive cities in South Carolina, and we are very proud of that fine city. I am desirous of having the people of the Nation see just what this beautiful city has to offer.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR ROBERT C. WASSON, OF LAURENS COUNTY, IN THE SENATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ON THE PASSAGE OF H. 1444, A BILL TO CHANGE THE NAME OF THE TOWN OF CLINTON TO THE CITY OF CLINTON, IN LAURENS COUNTY, MARCH 14, 1957

Prior to the building of the railroad between Laurens and Newberry, there was, at a distance of 9 miles from Laurens, an intersection of 5 roads known as Five Forks. The railroad crossed this point and here a station was built. As early as 1809, before the existence of Five Forks, there was a settlement about a mile east known as Holland's Store. It was the community's only merchandising place, and as far back as 1830 was likewise the community post office.

It was about 1850 that the railroad was completed and a station established at Five Forks. This meeting of roads for years had been the gathering place for the sportsmen of the surrounding community. Here a racetrack was maintained; horseracing, chicken fighting, drinking, etc., were freely engaged in.

When the station was erected it was soon seen that a town would spring up around this nucleus of racetrack, barroom, and railroad depot. The first buildings were erected between Holland's Store and Five Forks. About 1853 leading citizens began to realize that the new settlement was neither Five Forks nor Holland's, so there arose the important question of selecting a name. Many wanted to retain the title Five Forks, while some suggested Round Jacket in honor of a prominent citizen of the community who wore a waistcoat or vest called in those days a round jacket.

A small group of farseeing citizens realized the need of some concerted action. The village needed not only a name but a general layout as to streets and buildings. These interested men sought the help and advice of their legal adviser and friend from Laurens Court House who acted as chairman of the committee that laid off the first streets. A study of old plats shows that the principal streets followed closely from five roads radiating from a common center; the one toward the east leading to Newberry; west, to Laurens; south, to the Belfast section; and the two to the north to Musgrove Mill and Langston Church. Henry Clinton Young, Laurens attorney, a native of Iredell County, N. C., served as chairman of the committee that laid off the town. To honor him for his valuable services, the local members of the committee named the newly created and then unattractive village, Clinton.

From this meager beginning Clinton has steadily developed and has never lost ground in population from one decade to another. It has grown into a symmetrical little city, ranking 14th in size in the State today and has all the essential requirements for comfort, convenience, and contentment of the homeseeker. Its early population was 465; in 1880 it had risen to 1,201; in 1900 to 1,860; in 1910 to 3,272; in 1920 to 3,742; in 1930 to 5,643; in 1940 to 5,704, and in 1950 to 7,168. The town is something over 81 years old.

For many reasons, Clinton is widely and favorably known. It is attractive from many viewpoints. It has an elevation of 800 feet above sea level, and is the highest point on the Seaboard Airline in the State. Its location on the top of a broad ridge gives excellent drainage. An ample water supply and complete sewerage system enable it to maintain an excellent health record.

In educational development it boasts of a splendid graded and high-school system with an enrollment, both white and colored, of approximately 2,500. New high-school buildings have been erected for both white and colored pupils of Clinton and recently a contract has been awarded for a new grammar school to be known as Academy Street Elementary School. Clinton offers educational opportunities of unusual breadth. It is possible for a resident of the community to begin his or her studies in the first grade, continue them through grammar and high school and then through Presbyterian College—all of this without a change of residence. It is the home of Presbyterian College under the control of the Synods of South Carolina and Georgia, one of the leading educational institutions in the State for men and women. Recently, a very successful development program for Presbyterian College has been carried on in the Synods of South Carolina and Georgia and over a million dollars has been pledged for the improvement of this institution. It is the home of Thornwell Orphanage, the pride of Clinton and one of the largest Presbyterian orphanages in America. This institution, now in its 82d year of service, is caring for orphan boys and girls, is owned by the Presbyterians comprising the Synods of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Clinton is likewise the home of Whitten Village, a fast growing institution doing noble work for the State's unfortunate.

From a railroad standpoint it boasts the mainline of the Seaboard Airline from Birmingham to New York, and an important cross-State route of the Atlantic Coast Line from Greenville to Charleston.

From a highway standpoint, it has the great Piedmont Highway from Charleston to the mountains of North Carolina and the Calhoun Highway from Raleigh to Atlanta. It is connected with several highways under State maintenance.

From a manufacturing standpoint, Clinton has a rather remarkable status. Its principal industries are Clinton Cotton Mills, Lydia Cotton Mills, Hallmark Manufacturing Co., Gwen Evan Mills, Standard Plywoods, Inc., Dapper Hosiery Mills, Inc., Clinton Paper Box Co., Inc., C. W. Anderson Hosiery Co., Inc., Cincinnati Floor Manufacturing Co., and Textile Bobbin Works, Inc. These industries afford a large source of income through their heavy payrolls with a combined total of between 1,950 and 2,250 employees.

The Joanna Cotton Mills, of Joanna, really a suburb (and a most attractive one) of Clinton, is one of the State's fastest growing mills in recent years with a total of approximately 1,500 employees.

The city's fire protection totals 15 miles. It has a modern fire truck, 1 3-stream, triple combination pump engine with firemen on duty day and night.

The city's health record is excellent with 7 physicians in the city and Hays Hospital and Bialock Clinic in the city proper with a total of 34 beds. Whitten Village, orphanage, and college have their own infirmaries to care for their population.

Besides its industries, the city has about 100 business firms, 2 cotton gins, 3 printing plants, 1 fertilizer plant, 1 weekly newspaper, 1 monthly religious magazine, 3 college publications, 1 ice plant, local bank deposits of approximately $7 million, and numerous other successful enterprises, including the new modern Mary Musgrove Hotel with a total of 112 rooms.

Clinton is proud of its churches with 14 white and 3 Negro churches, the following denominations represented: Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Holiness, and others.

The people are reasonably conservative, yet progressive. The gradual but continued growth of the town is a good indication not merely of the advantages of residence in Clinton but also of the enterprise and indomitable pluck of her people.

Clinton is very thoroughly organized. Not only are there scores of societies, circles, and so forth, in the churches, and many others in the institutions but the town at large is quite extensively organized in the matter of fraternal, patriotic and civic organizations. Among the latter the chamber of commerce has made a commendable record during the past 41 years. It is supported by the merchants retail association, by Kiwanis, Rotary and Lions Clubs, and by the woman's club, engaged in civic work. Clinton has much to boast of, but nothing quite equal to its women who are active, energetic, self-sacrificing supporters of every good thing. From the standpoint of social life, the city's organizations contribute in a very large measure to making Clinton an active and cultured community.

Clinton's people are ambitious, public-spirited, intelligent, industrious, resourceful, frugal, home-loving, neighborly and morally substantial.

From an insignificant beginning Five Forks or Holland's Store has grown into "wide awake Clinton"—a delightful place in which to live. New citizens, new enterprises, new capital are cordially invited to investigate Clinton, her advantages and possibilities.

Desired information in regard to the town by those seeking either a location for a home or industry may be obtained by writing to the secretary of the chamber of commerce or Laurens County Planning and Development Board.

Attached is Clinton city data sheet compiled by the State of South Carolina Development Board.

(Senator Wasson wishes to acknowledge the information compiled by the late W. W. Harris, former editor of the Clinton Chronicle and also acknowledge information received from the State development board.)

STATE DEVELOPMENT BOARD, STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, COLUMBIA—CLINTON CITY DATA SHEET

General information

Location: In Piedmont area of State in Laurens County.

Elevation: 687 feet above mean sea level.

Type city government: Mayor-council.

Population

	City	County
1940	5,704	44,185
1950	7,168	46,974
Percent growth, 1940-50	25.7	6.3
Percent white, 1950	80.2	68.9
Percent male, 1950	49.5	49.2
Percent native born, 1950	99.7	99.8
Population, 15-mile radius	46,030	----------
Population, 30-mile radius	191,030	----------

Schools—enrollment

City: Grade, 1,617; high, 904.

County: Grade, 7,385; high, 2,758.

Colleges: Presbyterian College of South Carolina.

Hospitals

Bialock's Clinic and Hays Hospital.

Total number of beds, 34.

Number of physicians in city, 7.

Police and fire protection

Number on police force, 14.

Number of fire trucks, 2.

Type fire department force: part paid.

Water pressure, 45 pounds.

Insurance rating, class 7.

Financial data

Bonded indebtedness: City, $740,000; net county, $343,946.

Assessed value of property: City, $2,150,000; county, $12,468,500.

Local bank deposits, $6,674,000.

Property tax rates (per $100): County, $1.90; school, $2.50; city, $5.50.

NOTE.—Tax rates apply to assessed value which averages about 12 percent of actual value.

Tax exemption: For new industry—5 years on all county taxes except those for school purposes.

Churches

Number of white, 14.

Number of Negro, 3.

Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Holiness, and others.

Recreational facilities

Theaters, 2.

Parks and playgrounds, 3.

Other: Swimming pools, tennis courts.

Hotels

Clinton; Mary Musgrove; and 2 motor courts.

Total number of rooms, 112.

Fuel and utilities

Coal: Freight rate from nearest mine, $4.25 per ton, regular; $3.90 per ton, fine.

No. 2 fuel oil: 11.765 cents per gallon in carload lots delivered.

Natural gas: Available.

Water: Hardness—18 parts per million.

Rates: From 40 cents per 1,000 gallons for first 5,000 gallons to 12 cents per 1,000 gallons for all over 3 million gallons.

Sewerage: Septic tanks and secondary treatment.

Electricity: Duke Power Co.

Transportation

Highways: US 76; SC 72, 56, 308.

Railroads: Seaboard Air Line Railroad; Columbia, Newberry, and Laurens (ACL).

Airport: Class 2. Distance to nearest city with airline service—37 miles to Spartanburg.

Labor

Estimated number of persons available for new industrial plant within 15-mile radius, 1,350.

General type: Excellent native-born with agricultural heritage.

Industrialization in county

Six thousand one hundred thirteen persons were employed in industry in county in 1954. Principal industry is textile; others include clothing and hosiery.

Wages in Arizona as Compared With the National Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, 11 years ago, in 1946, Arizona adopted an amendment to its constitution in the form of a right-to-work law. At the time of the adoption of this amendment, many people in my State were pessimistic about the future of the working man and the future of unions in Arizona.

We now find, after 11 years' experience under this law, that the average wage in Arizona in 1956 was $4,229, while the national average was $4,005, or a difference of $224 in favor of the working man in Arizona.

The national average industrial wage per hour is $2.06. The average Arizona hourly wage for industrial workers, at the end of April, was $2.22.

I read from an editorial which I shall ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Arizona has found in the last 11 years that the right-to-work law didn't mean the end of trade unionism and it didn't mean a heaven for unreasonable employers. It also has not meant, as wage figures show, debasing of wage and salary levels. In fact, Arizona's position before the Nation wagewise is relatively better today than it was in 1946.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "How About Arizona Wage Payments?" written by the distinguished editor, William R. Mathews, of the Arizona Daily Star.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW ABOUT ARIZONA WAGE PAYMENTS?

What has happened to Arizona's wage payments, in relation to the payments made across the Nation, since 1946, the year that the electorate adopted the controversial right-to-work bill?

According to the latest Valley National Bank statistics, the Arizona average wage in 1946 was less than the national average, while now it is more.

Eleven years ago the Arizona average was $2,363 a year and the national average was $2,368—a $5 difference against Arizona.

The latest complete statistics are for 1956; however, it isn't reasonable to assume that they differ markedly from today's. The Arizona average in 1956 was $4,229 and the national average was $4,005—a $224 difference in favor of Arizona.

No claim is made that this altered status came about as a result of the passage of any single peice of legislation. Many factors entered into it, including the growth of industries such as the Hughes plant which require higher-paid skills. However, neither could it be claimed that the right-to-work bill has debased the wage scale in Arizona.

To go back into a little history which newcomers may not know and those with longer residence in the community may have forgotten, the Star opposed the original right-to-work bill. The reasons now are immaterial; the fact is that the electorate voted strongly for the bill and it became law. The Star then felt that if the voters wanted such a law it deserved having an operative status, and so supported subsequent measures to make it a working law, including the ban against the secondary boycott.

No law is going to make relations between human beings, or groups of human beings, perfect. A willingness on both sides to meet calmly and negotiate fairly will generally be productive of successful relations, whether between individuals or between unions and employers.

There have been some perversions of trade unionism which investigators have bared and which it should be difficult for the most ardent unionist to stomach. There have been preversions of the employer relationship which have hurt good employers because of the public suspicion they have stirred up.

Arizona has found in the last 11 years that the right-to-work law didn't mean the end of trade unionism and it didn't mean a heaven for unreasonable employers. It also has not meant, as wage figures show, debasing of wage and salary levels. In fact, Arizona's position before the Nation wagewise is relatively better today than it was in 1946.

Dr. Thomas E. Rhine—58 Years, 6,000 Babies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present herewith an article which appeared in the Arkansas Gazette on May 26, 1957, concerning the 58 years of public service rendered by my friend and constituent, Dr. Thomas E. Rhine, as a doctor in Calhoun County, Ark. He is a resident of Thornton, Ark., and is well known, not only in south Arkansas but throughout our State, for his outstanding service to his fellow man.

The article follows:

DR. THOMAS E. RHINE: 58 YEARS, 6,000 BABIES

(By J. Willard Clary)

THORNTON.—A country doctor who has been practicing over 58 years has been honored by Presidents, Senators, governors, and many men in high places but he still treas-

wires most the love and confidence of the people he serves.

Few men have ever served so many people through so many years. And yet today—at the age of 81—he covers a territory that exceeds 2,000 square miles and is on call 24 hours a day. He never refuses to make a call, day or night, rain or shine. And there are few homes in Calhoun County in which he has not practiced.

Dr. Thomas Edwin Rhine rode into Thornton on a gray horse on May 17, 1899. He had $40 he had borrowed from a friend and with this began his practice. Fifty-nine years later he has delivered 6,000 babies, has served 3 people for 58 years, has served 24 families for 6 generations, 150 families for 5 generations, and 250 for 4 generations. In over 40 families he has delivered both the mother and father and all their children. And in one case he delivered a women, her 10 children and 4 grandchildren.

Few men have ever won the esteem and gratitude of so many and few have ever been so dedicated to service. In 1903 while making a call on horseback he was thrown in midstream but went on soaking wet to see his patient. Another time his horse ran away with him and he had three ribs broken. He gave himself a hypo and returned to work. In 1902, typhoid fever was a common ailment and at one time he rode horseback daily to care for a family where 10 were sick and for another where 6 were sick. He has performed many an emergency operation in homes, in his office, and even on kitchen tables, and he has used almost every method of transportation to reach his patients, walking, horseback, bicycle, handcar, freight train, boat, log wagon, and once he even rode the cowcatcher of a log train.

His iron constitution and will to serve have amazed the doctors who have attended him but one day in 1924 urgent calls kept him busy from 4 a. m. on. He drove 11 miles over almost impassable roads, stopped for many calls, attended a pneumonia patient, rode a handcar in the rain, and returned late at night completely exhausted. Two days later he awoke to find his right side paralyzed. He was forced to spend 6 months in Little Rock and Hot Springs hospitals and was given no hope of being able to resume work again.

During his enforced rest he discovered a big barn on fire and rushed out and worked as hard as anyone. The next day he announced that if he could undergo that strain he was able to get back in harness again. And despite dire warnings he went back to work in September 1924.

In March 1926 during a flu epidemic he treated 16 patients in his office, drove 100 miles making 40 calls from 7 a. m. to 11 p. m., the greatest number he had ever made in a single day.

Now, 30 years later, he still covers his territory and he still works day and night when called. He was once introduced as "Here is a man, who unlike Rip Van Winkle, has not slept for 20 years."

During the depression years he described his collections: "25 percent paid some, 25 percent paid in produce and the others just couldn't pay at all." He served all alike and took on many other duties such as investigating for the Red Cross, serving on Government loan committees, as county health officer, and as inspector for WPA canning kitchens.

Many times he found the canning kitchens had nothing to can. He hustled among his debtors and got peas, collards, fruit, a hog, or a heifer and took them to be canned. Some of the canned food was stored in a smokehouse at his home, and during that bitter winter it was a daily occurrence for someone to appear at his home with a prescription blank signed by Dr. Rhine and reading something like this: "Give Uncle Sandy a can of beef and some of the other stuff in the smokehouse." Not one can was ever used by the Rhine family.

The esteem in which he is held was best shown on May 17, 1946, when 8,000 people crowded into the small town of Thornton for Dr. Rhine Day. Many members of the medical profession came from far places to join with his friends to honor him. The business houses in nearby cities closed their doors, men of note in State and Nation left their duties to pay tribute to this man of service. His many patients for whom he had practiced 40 years wrote buttons with "40" on them and an "R" marked the hundreds of babies he had delivered. Literally hundreds of telegrams and letters have come from all over the country. President Harry Truman and President Franklin D. Roosevel have written him personal letters and invited him to functions in Washington. In 1949 he was chosen "Doctor of the Year" in Arkansas and was runner up for "Doctor of the United States" when doctors assembled in Washington to name their most honored practitioner. A unique honor is held by Dr. Rhine. After World War II the local veterans formed an American Legion Post and the only charter members were those Dr. Rhine had delivered into the world. This post is the only one of its kind in the world. About 200 of his babies served in the Armed Forces in World War II.

He has spent untold hours fighting ignorance and pleading for cleanups and necessity for vaccinations. He once made a long trip to give preventive shots for diphtheria and no one showed up. A short time later a child died of the disease and then they came by the dozens. One old woman came to his office carrying rusty nails "to keep magnetized and keep up my blood pressure."

One old man was very dirty and refused a bath but finally consented to bathe all except his back. He didn't want to rust out his backbone. Dr. Rhine promised to lubricate his spine and the bath was taken.

In delivering 6,000 babies he has delivered triplets, and he delivered 1 baby that weighed 18 pounds and another that weighed 20 pounds. He delivered 4 babies in 24 hours and all miles apart.

He has treated countless diseases—even leprosy. He diagnosed the first case of tularemia in south Arkansas and many doctors came to see the case. He often has requests by mail for medicine that read something like this: "Doc, I'm hurting all over. Send me whatever I need." Or, "send me some of the bad-tasting medicine like you gave me 2 years ago."

Thomas Edwin Rhine was born April 2, 1876, near Lexington, Miss., the fourth of seven children in the home of Susan Elizabeth Weeks and John Thomas Rhine. When he was 5 years old they moved to Cleveland County in Arkansas with part of the trip made in a covered wagon. When Ed was in the ninth grade they moved to Fordyce. He was a member of the first graduating class of Fordyce High School in 1895. In 1896 he graduated from Clary Training School in Fordyce. After a summer spent teaching school he entered Memphis Hospital Medical College in 1896. His first license to practice was obtained after questioning by three Calhoun County doctors who carried on part of the test during an obstetrical case.

In September 1921 he was married to Nannetta Raines, of Little Rock, who has constantly been by his side and helped him in his practice and who holds equal esteem in the hearts of the people they serve. His three children are Virginia Elizabeth, who is now Mrs. Eric Stein, of Ann Arbor, Mich., Susan Ethel, who is Mrs. O. M. Starks, of Pacomo, Calif., and Patricia Edwina, who is Mrs. Edward E. Brown, of Pine Bluff.

In January 1900 he was named head surgeon of the Stout Lumber Co. in Thornton and served until the mill closed in 1927. He was offered lucrative practice in larger towns. He realized he and his family would have to be deprived of steady income but he decided to remain in Thornton.

"Why these folks raised me. When I go to see them they look at me with confidence in my ability to relieve their suffering. There's a lot of satisfaction in that," he said.

He helped organize the Dallas County Medical Society, organized the Calhoun County Medical Society and became a member of the Ouchita Medical Society and served as its president in 1943. He was a founder of the Southern Medical Association and is a lifetime member of the American Medical Association. He has taken refresher courses in New Orleans Polyclinic, Tulane University Medical School, New York Polyclinic Hospital and has a library of hundreds of volumes and subscribes to the best medical journals to keep abreast of the times, and modern practices.

He is an inveterate joiner. He is an active Mason, a member of the Scottish Rite, a Shriner, Elk, Odd Fellow and a Hoo Hoo. He served 35 years on the Thornton School Board and 15 years as its president.

An ardent sportsman, he is naturally interested in wildlife and fine stock. He is a lifetime member of the Fox Hunters Association and has spent many hours listening to the hounds. No one knows how many fox hounds he has owned or owns now. One of his bird dogs once won a State title. A Duroc Jersey hog he raised dressed over 1,000 pounds and he once showed the champion Duroc Jersey hog at the State fair. His poultry has won State prizes and he gave eggs to all comers interested in improving their stock.

He is a member of the Methodist Church and contributes to all the churches in his territory. He helps keep up five cemeteries and several times he has practiced for a patient many years without pay and at his death bought the casket and clothes for burial.

"That was my way of burying my own mistake," he says.

The faith and esteem in which his friends hold him is well shown by the remark of an old Negro man who said, "Doc, don' you neber quit us cause you is de onliest doctor we's got."

The white folks feel the same way about him.

Presidential Succession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on Presidential Succession, written by the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN]. The article appears in the Dickinson Law Review, of Dickinson College, in Carlisle, Pa.

It is an extremely provocative article, and in view of the long and varied experience of the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island as a teacher of law and in Government, I particularly commend it to the attention of my colleagues. The senior Senator from Rhode Island has exerted a leadership in the field for many years, and is especially well qualified to discuss this crucial question. I am sure all Senators will

be interested in reading his latest thinking on this subject.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

(By the Honorable THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, United States Senator from Rhode Island)

(Introduction)

During the past few decades the importance of the office of the President of the United States has greatly increased, paralleling the rise of our Nation to its current status as a leading world power.[1] Now, more than ever before in our history, it is imperative that transferral of the executive power of the United States from one individual to another be accomplished smoothly and with a minimum of disruption in the processes of government.

Experience has demonstrated that in many areas of the broad field of Presidential succession the law is uncertain, imperfect, or incomplete. For example, grave illnesses of certain Presidents in the past have threatened the orderly processes of government and caused serious international concern.[2] If tomorrow we suddenly find ourselves in an unprecedented situation involving Presidential succession the attendant crisis could jeopardize not only our own security but that of our neighbors in the free world.

In order to discuss intelligibly the problems relating to Presidential succession and to consider proposed solutions of those problems, a definition of the term "Presidential succession" is the first stem. The definition should be broad enough to include the normal succession which occurs when the incumbent President is replaced by a newly elected President and yet apply also to the unexpected or fortuitous circumstances of removal, death, or resignation of an incumbent President, or his inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office. In its broadest aspects the term "Presidential succession" includes the conditions under which, the order in which, and the extent to which, one person after another succeeds to the office and/or the powers and duties of the United States Presidency.

At the outset, any consideration of this phase of our system of government is replete with profound legal problems and grave constitutional questions. Efforts to study the problems and suggest concrete solutions to them seem only to be made by the Congress at the times when situations become acute and public interest is high. Then as soon as the dangers have lessened, public interest, as well as that of Congress, subsides and affirmative action is postponed. This is understandable in view of the difficulties involved but is no excuse for tolerating further neglect.

For many years I have been acutely aware of the problems inherent in Presidential succession. Although I have opinions on some of the issues involved, I frankly admit that neither do I have all the answers, nor do I believe a sufficiently concentrated analysis of the current laws and authoritative recommendations has been made on which to predicate positive legislative reform. Several years ago I arrived at the conclusion that the most appropriate method of dealing with the situation would be the creation of a joint committee of the Congress charged with the responsibility of exploring the entire area of Presidential succession and arriving at sound, well-considered proposals for appropriate consideration and action. As a Member of the United States Senate, I have introduced legislation to establish such a joint committee in the last six session of Congress.[3] Three times my proposals received the approval of the Senate, but in each of those instances the particular enabling resolution died in the House of Representatives.[4] However, my enthusiasm for the project has not waned with these disappointments, and I am continuing my crusade for the establishment of a joint committee which will lend the presetige and potency of both branches of the National Congress to this important project.

My most recent endeavor is Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 of the 85th Congress, which I introduced on last January 7. It would create "a joint congressional committee to make a full and complete study and investigation of all matters connected with the election, succession, and duties of the President and Vice President." The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in favorably reporting my last previous concurrent resolution to the Senate stated, in part:

"The purpose of such contemplated study is to achieve a sound basis for the submission and promotion of remedial legislation necessary to make the statutes certain and complete concerning Presidential elections, successions, and duties.

"All matters relating thereto present legal problems and constitutional questions involving the fundamental concepts of the Federal Government which may be resolved adequately by Congress only after a thorough examination of the whole subject. To this end, a joint committee * * * would be established."[5]

The questions which follow are borrowed from S. Con. Res. 2, wherein they appear as suggested issues for study and recommendations. In this article I shall discuss them briefly and point out specific problems which they entail. I shall not presume to state the precise courses which remedial legislation should follow, because I believe such conclusions should await the completion of the study I propose. I shall, however, make reasoned observations where they seem appropriate.

Whether or not candidates for President and Vice President should be nominated by national conventions, as at present, and, if so, recommendations which should be made to the parties for improving the convention process, and, if not, a method which would be preferable.

I believe that our present method of nominating candidates for President and Vice President should be thoroughly reviewed by a joint committee of the Congress for the purpose of evaluating that method and recommending improvements therein or else the adoption of a preferable process.[6] At least two of my colleagues in the Senate have introduced specific legislation leading to the elimination or reform of nomination by national political conventions.

During the 82d Congress, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, introduced S. 2570, to authorize the Attorney General to conduct preferential primaries for nomination of candidates for President and Vice President. Although the bill was the subject of a hearing by the Subcommittee on Rules, and was reported favorably to the Senate by the Committee on Rules and Administration,[7] it failed to pass. Mr. DOUGLAS introduced similar measures during the 83d and 84th Congresses,[8] both of which died in committee. Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, of Florida, introduced legislation during the 82d Congress providing for a constitutional amendment which would establish a presidential primary and eliminate nomination by national political conventions.[9]

Whether or not the President and Vice President should be elected by the electoral college, as at present, and if so, whether or not the members should be legally bound to vote in accordance with their instructions.

More than 20 States do not print the names of the candidates for electors on the general election ballots, but instead allow a vote for the presidential candidate of a national convention to be counted as a vote for the nominees of that candidate's party for the electoral college.[10] Yet the Constitution contemplates that electors, once chosen, shall be absolutely free to vote for any eligible person to be President or Vice President.[11] For example, as recently as December 18, 1956, an Alabama elector, Mr. W. F. Turner, who had been elected to vote for Adlai Stevenson and ESTES KEFAUVER, actually voted in the electoral college for Judge Walter B. Jones, of Alabama, for President and Senator-elect HERMAN TALMADGE for Vice President. Mr. Turner is only the most recent of several electors who have chosen to flaunt the wishes of a majority of the voters in their districts, though actually conforming to the original intent of the Constitution: viz, that the electors, not the people, shall choose our Executive.

There are several other weakness in the electoral-college procedure. Possibly the chief adverse criticism of the system is that it permits the election of candidates who trail in the popular vote. That has occurred three times during our Nation's history.[12] Then it is contended by some that, large portions of the electorate are in effect disfranchised by the winner-take-all system within the States. It is also contended that since the people of the United States really do not elect their President, the present system is flagrantly undemocratic. Many persons agree with the statement attributed to Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, that "the electoral college is an unnecessary, confusing, and potentially harmful anachronism."[13]

During the 84th Congress a variety of proposals to revise or eliminate the electoral-college procedure were considered.[14] They can be conveniently categorized into those designed:

(a) To abolish the electoral college and elect the President and Vice President by direct popular vote;

(b) To keep the electoral college but to eliminate the discretionary power held—but rarely used—by the electors;

(c) To abolish the electoral college but retain the system of electoral votes, and apportion them among candidates on the basis of number of votes received by each candidate; or

(d) To permit each State, in its discretion, to adopt either of plans (b) or (c) above.

The debate on these proposals has revealed a wide disparity of opinion among Members of Congress.[15] But it has established clearly that there is a general need for change in the electoral procedure accompanied by lack of sufficient agreement on the nature of the best substitute or reform. Since the elimination of the electoral college or any radical revision thereof would necessitate a constitutional amendment, the need is apparent for comprehensive congressional action if the processes of presidential succession—by election—are to be improved within the foreseeable future.

Whether the provisions of Public Law 199 of the 80th Congress, approved July 18, 1947, relating to presidential succession, adequately provide for all possible contingencies occasioned by the removal, resignation, death, or inability of both the President and Vice President.

The Constitution delegates to Congress authority to provide by law for the succession of the Presidency in the event the Nation should at any time find itself without either a President or a Vice President.[16] Pursuant to that authority Congress has enacted three basic statutes over the years.

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The first, the act of March 1, 1792 (1 U. S. Stat. 240; Revised Stat., secs. 146, 147, 148, 149, 150), designated the President pro tempore of the Senate as third in succession (after President and Vice President). In the event there was no President pro tempore or he was unable to serve, the Speaker of the House was to act as President until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected. During the debates on this bill the question was raised as to who is an officer in the constitutional sense?[17] Since under the literal language of the Constitution[18] Congress can only debate what officer shall act as President. Although some Federal legislators doubted that the Presiding Officers of the respective Houses could qualify, they were notwithstanding designated as successors under the statute.

In 1886 Congress changed its mind and decided that the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House were not officers in the constitutional sense and therefore not eligible to succeed to the Presidency. The act of January 19, 1886 (24 U. S. Stat. 1), provided that the Secretary of State should be third in succession, followed in the stated order by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior. From time to time bills were introduced to add the heads of newly created departments to the line of succession, but none became law, probably because of lack of interest at those times.

The principal criticism of the act of 1886 was that the President was in the unusual and undemocratic position of being able to select his potential successor through his prerogative of naming his Cabinet members. President Harry S. Truman in 1945 sent a special message to Congress asking that the succession law be changed to correct this anomaly. After much discussion in Congress the law was changed again, by the Act of July 18, 1947 (61 Stat. 380). That act, which is still in effect,[19] provides as follows:

"The Speaker of the House, upon his resignation as Speaker and as a Representative shall act as President in the absence of a President and a Vice President. If there is no Speaker or he is disabled or fails to qualify, the President pro tempore of the Senate, upon resignation as President pro tempore and as Senator, shall act as President. In the event of the absence or inability of either of the above, the Secretary of State shall act as President. The other Cabinet officers follow in the line of succession designated in the act of 1886."

Although Congress has temporarily answered the doubts as to whether the President pro tempore and the Speaker are officers in the constitutional sense, the question may arise again at any time. There are, in addition to this, many collateral questions which should be considered. Of these latter, I would like to touch briefly on one which is within the realm of current possibility.

Under present law the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate, both Democrats, are next in line after the President and Vice President, both Republicans, to serve as the Chief Executive. Should the top two offices fall vacant today, Speaker SAM RAYBURN would become President of the United States. This raises the question of party responsibility. Would a Democratic Speaker be as representative of the electoral will expressed in the last election as a Republican Secretary of State? Should the act of July 18, 1947, be modified to apply differently when the White House and the Congress are controlled by different political parties? That is the question which necessarily provokes the traditional arguments on the advantage of a pure parliamentary system.

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How it shall be determined whether the President is unable to execute the powers and duties of the office; and how the extent and duration of such inability shall be determined and defined; and how it shall be decided that the inability requires the constitutional discharge by the Vice President of the powers and duties of the office of President, or results in the succession of the Vice President to the office of President.

During one of the sessions of the Continental Congress when the matter of presidential succession was under discussion Mr. John Dickinson, of Delaware, posed the following question to his colleagues: "What is the extent of the term 'disability' and who is to be the judge of it?"[20] It is interesting to note that nowhere is it recorded that Mr. Dickinson received an answer to his pointed inquiry.

Fortunately we survived the instances in our history when the ability of the President to carry on the duties of his office was highly questionable. The fact remains it is now more important than ever that we come to a definite understanding on the matter of what constitutes "inability" of a President in the constitutional concept. As is evident from the above allusion it was the intent of the framers of the Constitution that their successors in Government should meet the situation of inability to the President in the light of experience and pending circumstances.

The pertinent constitutional passage provides merely that in case of the President's inability to discharge the powers and duties of the office the same shall devolve on the Vice President.[21] The terse language suggests such problems as:

1. How should Presidential inability be defined?

2. Who shall determine that a President is unable to discharge his powers and duties?

3. When such determination is made, what ought to devolve on the Vice President, the office of the Presidency or only the powers and duties of that office?

I do not think that Congress should try to legislate a definition of the term "inability." Rather it would seem advisable, as it evidently did to the Founding Fathers, to allow the term to be interpreted in the light of conditions which obtain at the time. Instead of a cumbersome statutory definition, it might be better to adopt a commonsense rule that the President himself should be the judge of his own ability. However, this assumes that he is able to exercise rational judgment and declare his own inability and its likely extent; so Congress perhaps should lay the groundwork by expressing its interpretation of the Constitutional provision and by establishing a positive procedure.

If a President were physically or mentally unable to decide or declare his inability, the power to so declare the inability might be given, by appropriate statute, to the President's Cabinet. It has been suggested that the authority should be vested in the Supreme Court or some independent commission.[22] To vest authority in the Supreme Court would probably require a constitutional amendment because the Court's original jurisdiction is strictly limited. Provision to decide the issue could follow the pattern of the impeachment process; devoid, of course, of any of the opprobrious connotations sometimes read into that process. A parallel procedure—initiation of the question of the President's inability by the House, consideration of the question by the Senate with the Chief Justice presiding, and a two-thirds vote by the Senate required for a determination or finding of inability—should provide ample safeguards for so grave a responsibility.

In the typical circumstance of Presidential inability I am inclined to the opinion that

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it is only the powers and duties of the President and not the Office itself that devolves on the Vice President. The logical implication of the Constitution seems to be that the Vice President in such a situation is merely acting for the President and that the latter recovers his powers when his disability is removed. As we have seen, there is no precedent to guide us except by questionable analogy to those instances when Vice Presidents have succeeded deceased Presidents.

The records of the Constitutional Convention indicate that it was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that the Vice President or other officer in line of succession should become President in fact.[23] Yet we are faced with an unusual precedent in respect to Vice Presidents who succeeded to the powers and duties of the Presidency upon the death of a President. The precedent originated with Vice President John Tyler, who succeeded President William Henry Harrison, the first Chief Executive to die in office. Despite the objections of many of his contemporaries in high office, Tyler took the position that he was not Acting President, but President in fact. The other six Vice Presidents who succeeded Presidents who had died entertained the same attitude relative to their status when they assumed the powers and duties of the Presidency.[24] These precedents could cause reluctance in a disabled President and his advisers to encourage a Vice President to "take over" through fear that pursuant to the established precedent the Vice President would usurp the Office and fail to return it if the President's inability should cease.[25]

Congressional study of this tangent of presidential succession should have for its main objective the clarification of the status of one who succeeds to the Executive powers and duties. The present obscure situation should be rectified by statute or, if necessary, by constitutional amendment. Proceeding on the theory that the Vice President (or other officer in line of succession) does not become President in fact when he succeeds to the powers and duties of the Presidency under any set of circumstances, the question naturally arises as to whether it might not be advisable to provide for a special presidential election to coincide with the regular election of Members of the House of Representatives in those instances when 2 years or more of the presidential term remain. The proposed joint committee should consider the desirability of a constitutional amendment for that purpose.[26]

Whether the heavy responsibilities of the Presidency make it desirable to create an Office of Executive Vice President.

While not strictly within the area of presidential succession, I deem it advisable to include in the agenda for my proposed joint committee the consideration of the increasing responsibilities of the Presidency and the advisability and possibility of relieving the President of some of his administrative burdens. On January 16, 1956, former President Hoover, in an appearance before a Senate subcommittee, proposed that Congress create a statutory position of Administrative Vice President, to be assigned "such administrative and coordination duties"[27] as the President might be authorized under existing law to delegate to him. The former President emphasized that he was not proposing that the President be relieved of any of his constitutional duties. Mr. Hoover's proposal and other similar proposals and related matters were given complete study by the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations.[28]

CONCLUSION

I have attempted in this short article to review briefly some of the problems inherent in presidential succession and to emphasize

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those in dire need of early solution. The limitations of space have necessitated cursory treatment of the problems themselves, and my principal endeavor has been to stress the importance of their solution by the creation of a joint committee of Congress for that purpose.[28] All the items which I would include in the agenda of my proposed joint committee can best be considered together. While it is true that legislative remedies for them would have to be reported separately from several regular committees of the Senate and House, and that some of those remedies would be in the form of statutes and others in the form of constitutional amendments, I believe the first step by the Congress should be a comprehensive joint study of presidential succession in its broadest terms.

On Thursday, January 19, 1956, President Eisenhower held his first full-dress news conference following his unfortunate heart attack. At that conference, in discussing the laws of presidential succession and, in particular, succession pursuant to the disability of a President, President Eisenhower is quoted in the New York Times as having said:

"I think it is a subject that, in its broadest aspects, every phase of it should be carefully studied by the Congress, advised with by the Attorney General, and any kind of advice they want from the executive department, and some kind of a resolution of doubt reached. I think it would be good for the country."

I thoroughly concur in this forthright proposal. Although joint committees do not—except in rare instances—have my favor, it seems to me that the problems attendant upon Presidential succession constitute a rare instance. In my opinion, it is far more important to have some solution to the questions involved than it is to have the best solution, though, naturally, I would like to have the best. We cannot afford to be complacent. We cannot afford to indulge further procrastination in the area of Presidential succession. We must not wait for the impetus of another crisis to drive us to the action I now propose.[29] Any solution we can determine now by cool, deliberate consideration will be far superior to that achieved under the pressure of a sudden emergency.

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[1] The book, Mr. President, by William Hillman (Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952), is an excellent and intimate portrayal of the problems and responsibilities encountered by the Chief Executive of the United States in today's world. For a more objective appraisal of the burdens of the American Presidency see Senate Report No. 1960, 84th Cong., 2d sess., entitled "Proposal to Create an Administrative Vice President."

[2] In 1881, President Garfield was incapacitated for 80 days preceding his death. During much of the time from September 1919 to March 1921 President Wilson was unable to give proper attention to the Presidential duties. In both instances the inability of the President was a well established fact, but friends and advisers counseled against transferring the powers and duties of the Presidency over to the Vice President in the fear that the President would be unable to regain the office in the event his inability should cease. The recent illnesses of President Eisenhower, which fortunately were of comparatively short duration, serve to point up once again the momentous problems which could arise under obscure provisions for dealing with the Presidential succession in such circumstances.

[3] S. Con. Res. 50, 79th Cong., 2d sess. Submitted by Mr. GREEN January 17, 1946. Agreed to by the Senate March 14, 1946 (92 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 2237 (1946)). Died in the House.

S. Con. Res. 1, 80th Cong., 1st sess. Submitted by Mr. GREEN January 6, 1947. Died in committee. See author's statement in support of S. Con. Res. 1 printed in Hearings before the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration on S. Con. Res. 1, S. 189, S. 536, and S. 564, 80th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 5–17 (1947).

S. Con. Res. 14, 81st Cong., 1st sess. Submitted by Mr. GREEN, January 31, 1949. Agreed to by the Senate October 17, 1949 (95 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 14772 (1949)). Died in the House.

S. Con. Res. 23, 82d Cong., 1st sess. Submitted by Mr. GREEN April 9, 1951. Died in committee.

S. Con. Res. 2, 83d Cong., 1st sess. Submitted by Mr. GREEN January 7, 1953. Died in committee.

S. Con. Res. 65, 84th Cong., 2d sess. Submitted by Mr. GREEN January 23, 1956. Agreed to by the Senate February 20, 1956 (102 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 2499–2502 1956)). Died in the House. (On March 8, 1956, the author appeared before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives and urged support of S. Con. Res. 65 and an identical resolution, H. Con. Res. 207, which had been introduced by Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT of Florida.)

[4] S. Con. Res. 50, 79th Cong., 2d sess.; S. Con. Res. 14, 81st Cong., 1st sess.; S. Con. Res. 65, 84th Cong., 2d sess.

[5] S. Rept. No. 1462, 84th Cong., 2d Sess. (1956) 1. Six years earlier the same committee, in favorably reporting a similar resolution, expressed the same objectives (Sen. Rept. No. 1096, 81st Cong., 1st Sess. (1949) 2).

[6] In the words of a popular periodical:

The search for a better way to nominate Presidential candidates is almost as old as the Presidency itself. In the early Presidential elections, candidates were selected by Members of Congress sitting in caucus. In 1824, Andrew Jackson and his followers rebelled against King Caucus, and paved the way for the convention system. In 1905, the Wisconsin Legislature passed a law for direct election of all delegates to national conventions. In 1910, Oregon adopted the first Presidential preference primary. In 1913, President Wilson urged virtually the same plan that Senator SMATHERS now proposes. (Time Magazine, February 25, 1952, vol. 59, No. 8.)

[7] S. Rept. No. 1858, 82d Cong., 2d Sess. (1952). See also Hearing before Subcommittee on Rules of the Committee on Rules and Administration on S. 2570, 82d Cong., 2d Sess. (1952).

[8] S. 1049, 83d Cong., 1st sess.; S. 652, 84th Cong., 1st sess.

[9] S. J. Res. 145, 82d Cong., 2d sess., which died in committee. Twelve States presently require that voters be enabled to express their preference for Presidential candidates. Those States are California, Illinois, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Although political parties are not provided for by the Constitution or statute, such parties have the power to determine their own nominees by well established precedent. Under their usual practice at national conventions the major political parties even provide for the possible death of its Presidential candidate.

To establish a procedure to be followed in the event of the death, resignation, or disability of its nominees for President and Vice President, the Democratic National Convention of 1956 adopted the following rule:

In the event of the death, resignation, or disability of a nominee of the Party for President or Vice President, the Democratic National Committee is authorized to fill the vacancy or vacancies, by a majority vote of a total number of votes possessed by the States and Territories at the preceding National Convention; the full vote of each State and Territory shall be cast by its duly qualified member, or members, of the National Committee, and in the event of a disagreement between the two members, each shall cast one-half of the full vote of the State. (Democratic Manual for the Democratic National Convention, 1956, p. 8.)

A similar resolution to provide for the same contingencies in respect to the Republican nominees was adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1956. (See also H. Rept. 845, 72d Cong.)

[10] The present provisions of law relating to the electoral college (enacted by Congress pursuant to Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution, and Amendment XII) are contained in Stat. 672-675 (3 U. S. C. 1–14). Title 3 of the United States Code, which contains said provisions, was enacted into positive law on June 25, 1948, by Public Law 771 of the 80th Congress. In 1957 the day set by the above law for the purpose of counting the electoral votes in Congress, January 6, falls on Sunday. Congress by the Act of March 24, 1956 (70 Stat. 54) designated Monday, January 7, as the day it shall meet in 1957 to count the electoral votes.

[11] According to custom electors usually vote for the candidate who is the choice of their political party. *McPherson* v. *Blacker* (146 U. S. 1, 36 (1892)). The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that an elector may announce and pledge himself beforehand in support of such candidate. See *Ray* v. *Blair* (343 U. S. 214 (1952)).

[12] John Quincy Adams, in 1824; Rutherford B. Hayes, in 1876; and Benjamin Harrison, in 1888. A collateral problem develops from the failure of a candidate for President or Vice President to receive a majority of electoral votes. Then, under the 12th amendment of the Constitution, it becomes the prerogative of the House of Representatives to choose a President. But since 1801, when Thomas Jefferson was thus chosen over Aaron Burr—after 36 ballots—there has been support for a further amendment to resolve such issues by popular vote.

[13] 42 A. B. A. J. 1037 (November 1956).

[14] See How We Elect Our President: An Electoral College Education in One Lesson, by Joseph F. Dolan (42 A. B. A. J. 1037-1040 (November 1956)).

[15] 102 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 4937, 4939, 4941–4977, 4999, 5023, 5035, 5047, 5069, 7359 (1956).

[16] Art. II, sec. 1, par. 6 of the Constitution reads:

"In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected."

[17] 3 Annals of Congress, 281.

[18] Supra note 16.

[19] By sec. 202 (a) of Public Law 253 of the 80th Cong., 1st sess., approved July 26, 1947, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy were eliminated from the line of succession and the Secretary of Defense (created by Public Law 253) was inserted therein.

[20] Farrand, Max, ed. The records of the Federal Convention of 1787 (Yale University Press, 1911), vol. 2, p. 427.

[21] Supra note 16.

[22] There are, of course the corollary problems of determining the duration and cessation of Presidential inability for which similar provision would have to be made.

For an indication of current congressional interest in the problems of Presidential inability see the following bill and joint resolutions introduced during the 84th Cong.: S. 2703, S. J. Res. 30, H. J. Res. 97, H. J. Res. 175, H. J. Res. 176, and H. J. Res. 442. See also hearings before Special Subcommittee to Study Presidential Inability of the House Committee on the Judiciary on Problem of

Presidential Inability, 84th Cong., 2d sess. (1956), and accompanying committee print entitled "Presidential Inability" (January 31, 1956).

[22] Warren, Charles, The Making of the Constitution (1928), p. 685.

[23] In this respect, it is worthy to note an amusing aspect of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, the Vice President who succeeded President Abraham Lincoln. During the impeachment of Johnson, his opponents, many of whom entertained the view that a Vice President does not in fact succeed to the Presidency, were forced to concede that Johnson was in fact President of the United States in order to proceed with the impeachment process inasmuch as Johnson was arraigned as "President of the United States."

[24] Amendment XX has seemingly given acquiescence to precedent in part since it provides that if a President-elect dies, the Vice President-elect shall become President.

[25] H. J. Res. 441, introduced by Congressman Dodd, during the 84th Cong., contained the following section:

"SEC. 2. If any person shall succeed to the Office of President, not having been elected thereto, and more than 1 year remains of the regular 4-year term, a special election shall be held within 4 months of the date of such succession to elect a President and Vice President to serve the remainder of such term."

[26] S. Rept. No. 1960, 84th Cong., 2d sess., 1956), p. 3.

[27] Hearings were held on this subject matter on January 16, 24, and 25, 1956; and on May 9, 1956, Senator JOHN KENNEDY, chairman of the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations, summarized the unanimous views of the members of the subcommittee and explained its decision to take no further action at that time. See 102 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 6932 (May 9, 1956). Two proposals introduced in the House by Congressman FRELINGHUYSEN during the 84th Congress are worthy of note. H. R. 7900 would have established a Commission on the Office of President to look into the possibility of alleviating the heavy burdens of the Office of President and report its findings and recommendations to Congress. H. R. 7901, a more direct approach, would have amended title 3 of the United States Code by inserting a new provision, to wit:

"Section 106a. Administrative Vice President:

"The President is authorized to appoint, by and with the advice of the Senate, an administrative assistant to be designated as 'Administrative Vice President,' and may fix the compensation of such assistant at a rate not exceeding $27,500 per annum. The Administrative Vice President shall perform such duties as the President may prescribe."

In reference to the above proposals it should be noted that Congress made an attempt to relieve the President of much administrative detail by its act of October 31, 1951 (65 Stat. 712), which provides generally for the delegation of specified Presidential functions.

[28] In summarizing congressional inaction and specific abortive attempts in clarification of succession law, one of the foremost authorities on the subject concluded her profound treatise as follows: "More to the point is Senator THEODORE F. GREEN'S resolution which would create a joint committee to investigate all matters relating to both Presidential election and succession." Silva, Ruth C., Presidential Succession. (University of Michigan Press, 1951, p. 166.)

[29] The report of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in recommending the establishment of my proposed joint congressional committee, over 7 years ago, read in part:

"Many issues of the utmost importance and gravity will develop, no one of which can be adequately considered without a thorough examination of the entire subject. There also exists in this very important matter a definite interrelationship among the many far-reaching and fundamental questions which must be answered, so that this Nation will not be faced with a calamitous situation imperiling the succession of the Presidency without a legally established solution on which to rely. All uncertainties in a matter of such importance should be eliminated without hesitancy. This can be done by legislation which is based upon the findings of a complete investigation, and which is intelligently prepared and drafted so that all contingencies will be provided for in an adequate manner."

Senate Report 1096, 81st Congress, 1st sess. (1949) 2.

International Geophysical Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President today we enter into 18 months of international cooperation for the common good, the International Geophysical Year. We are all proud of our country's participation in this project, and I am especially proud to note the State of Minnesota's contribution, in part, thus far.

I want first to mention a man from my home town of Northfield, Minn., who serves on the United States National Committee for the International Geophysical Year of the National Academy of Sciences, Dr. Laurence M. Gould, the president of Carleton College.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the list of the men who participated in Operation Deep Freeze be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with a newspaper article that was published in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of June 23, which is a very informative article.

There being no objection, the list and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Minnesotans—military and civilian personnel—participating in Operation Deep Freeze, the United States International Geophysical Year bases in Antarctica, are:

Robert F. Benson, International Geophysical Year geomagnetism geophysicist, son of Mrs. Esther Diment, 5232 Lochloy Drive, Minneapolis.

Julian P. Gudmunson, chief builder, United States Navy, son of Mrs. Ida Gudmunson, 1131 Norbert Lane, St. Paul. Husband of former Dorothy E. Banning, 822 West 11th Street, Wilmar.

Lt. Donald C. Hauck, D. C., United States Navy, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ruben W. Hauck, Kandiyohi.

John P. Renback, construction mechanic third class, United States Navy, son of Ernest Renback, rural route No. 1, Princeton.

George H. Stewart, aviation machinist's mate second class, United States Navy, son of Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Stewart, 3136 41st Avenue South, Minneapolis. Husband of former Nola C. Nash, 522 Hess Street, Saginaw, Mich.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of June 23, 1957]

LLOYD BERKNER: MAN WITH WORLDLY IDEAS

(By Victor Cohn)

NEW YORK.—You've heard of the International Geophysical Year. Well, give some of the credit to Sleepy Eye.

Or to a man from Sleepy Eye, Minn., Lloyd V. Berkner, a whale of a scientist.

The IGY—the International Geophysical Year—was his idea.

And what a whale of an idea. Starting July 1, a week from Monday, thousands of scientists from 56 nations will examine this earth with every gadget they have. They will descend in the oceans and go up in the skies, and send rockets and satellites farther. They will float on ice in the Arctic and inhabit the Antarctic.

And it all goes back to what Lloyd Berkner, now of New York, said on the night of April 5, 1950, at a party.

It goes back actually to that Berkner boy who had that doggoned radio station and caused all the static in Sleepy Eye—well, that's what some of the folks said—and who went on to have one whale of an idea after another.

By accident, Sleepy Eye's boy was born in Milwaukee, Wis. His mother just wanted to be near her mother, who lived in Milwaukee.

So Lloyd was born in 1905, then spent his toddling years on his father's farm near Perth, N. Dak., then at the age of 6, finally hit and soon work up Sleepy Eye.

It was his radio station that did it. First, at age 9 or 10, he got interested in electricity. "Then World War I brought radio to everyone's attention," he says.

After the war he devoured a new radio catalog. First he broadcast code, then code and voice.

"Much to my father's consternation," he says, "I cut a hole in the roof of my room and put up a big aerial mast. Later I got up an 85-foot tower."

Some people said he was causing static on their early sets, so he never transmitted before 10 p. m. That meant he usually didn't get to bed before 1 or 2, and sometimes went to school after a night of no sleep at all.

It was all pretty expensive. "I decided to test him once," says his father, Henry F. Berkner, who will be 80 next fall (and is well known as a Federal farm loan agent in Sleepy-Eye.)

"He was about 15 and wanted to build a bigger station. So I told him that if he'd work on a farm, which he didn't like at all, I'd double his money. And he did."

He also put the names Berkner and Sleepy Eye on the front page of the New York Times by taking part in a world record radio-relay—from Hartford, Conn., to Sleepy Eye to Hawaii and back.

But that radio station in Sleepy Eye, it turned out, was just his first idea.

After high school he went to RCA radio school in New York, then to sea.

He then took electrical engineering at the University of Minnesota, and helped build broadcasting station WLB (which in 1945 became KUOM). The LB part, it is said, stood for Lloyd Berkner.

He attended naval aviation school, became an ensign and flew early seaplanes.

He joined the airways division of the Government's Bureau of Lighthouses (which later became the Civil Aeronautics Administration), and in May 1928 was loaned to help Amelia Earhart on radio equipment for her transatlantic flight.

He went on the first Byrd Antarctic expedition as a radio operator.

He studied more physics and joined the Carnegie Institution in Washington. His field was the upper atmosphere, and his

studies of radio-pulsing helped lay the groundwork for radar.

In World War II he helped to develop airborne radar and was on the carrier *Enterprise* when it was hit by eight Japanese kamikazes.

After World War II, Berkner became one of America's senior scientists.

He was executive secretary of the Defense Department's Research and Development Board in 1946–47. He was special assistant to the Secretary of State in 1949 to organize the North Atlantic Pact's first military assistance program.

In 1951—to wind up this list of achievements—he became president of Associated Universities, which runs the Government's Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island. He still has that job, a drawerful of high medals, commendations, citations and ribbons, and the presidency of the International Council of Scientific Unions.

Now, about that night of April 5, 1950, and the start of the International Geophysical Year.

"I was in Washington," Berkner says, "and Van Allen called." That's the physicist, James van Allen, now at Iowa State University.

"And Van said, 'Sid Chapman's coming over.' " That's Britain's famed geophysicist, Prof. Sydney Chapman.

"And Van went on, 'I've got a case of whisky, and a half dozen people coming, and we can talk geophysics.'

"Well, we began to talk that night about world geophysical problems and all the frustrations, the things we didn't know. That led me to say, 'Why don't we try to organize a co-operative system of observation?' "

Everyone immediately said, "Why not?" and before the evening was over it was agreed that something had to be done.

World polar years, Berkner pointed out, had been held in 1883 and 1932, about 50 years apart. Why wait another 50 years? he said, "we have so many new instruments now."

He carried the message that summer to one international group. Others took it up, and before you could say International Geophysical Year, one was planned—with Sydney Chapman today the president and Lloyd Berkner the vice president of its international committee.

Haven't some people called things like an IGY and space satellites, and our spending Government money on them, a little farfetched?

"Sure," says this 6-footer, distinguished at 52.

So were the Louisiana purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition and the Seward purchase of Alaska. They were all thought pretty bizarre at the time. And they've all paid off hundreds of times over.

And scientific knowledge does the same thing.

How do men like Berkner happen? The editor of the Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch a few years ago wrote:

"Merchants up and down Main Street tell of Mr. H. F. Berkner making the rounds monthly to pay bills contracted in order to carry on Lloyd's experiments. When the rest of us were paying electricity bills ranging from $5 to $10 a month, the Berkner bill frequently went over $25.

"The Berkners' home was the mecca for other young scientists from all over Minnesota. Frequently the sessions lasted all night, and morning meant a breakfast for a full crew of hungry lads. Rooms were remodeled.

"This isn't intended as a eulogy of Lloyd's parents, but as a reminder to the rest of us that our children are our most cherished heritage and that only through them or their children will we be able to project the things about which we dream."

But it is a eulogy to Lloyd's parents, and maybe to Sleepy Eye.

The Recent Supreme Court Decisions in the Communist Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able editorial entitled, "You Bet We're Afraid," which appeared in the June 30 issue of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, of Memphis, Tenn.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU BET WE'RE AFRAID

To writers whose columns appear in this newspaper we grant the right to express personal opinions.

The Commercial Appeal reserves for itself the right to dissent, and that we do emphatically to Inez Robb's diatribe of Friday against the critics of the Supreme Court's recent freewheeling, security-threatening decisions.

In her eagerness to remain a marching member of the ultraliberals—we almost said a card-carrying member of the New York pack—she forgets or ignores the basic issues involved, chief of which is the Nation's right to protect its safety.

In her Friday column Miss Robb asks:

"Are we * * * so terrified of internal subversion on the part of a mangy political party, whose members probably do not exceed 50,000 persons, that we are willing to let civil liberties guaranteed to us by the Constitution go by default?"

Miss Robb should not have resorted to numbers in using that most overworked of all overworked phrases, civil liberties.

We would remind her that less than 5 million Russian Communists hold power of life and death over more than 200 million noncommunists compatriots and, additionally, over millions of noncommunists in enslaved Eastern Europe.

We would remind her that a few million Red Chinese not only hold scores of millions of their compatriots in virtual captivity, but have succeeded in extending their grip into far areas of Asia, and are even now reaching for more.

You bet we are afraid of that mangy political party in which the actual membership in this country probably doesn't now exceed 35,000.

We cannot help but remember its efforts to gain control of the American Newspaper Guild and of the whole communications industry. We cannot forget, as she apparently does, its effective infiltration of the transport industry.

Let the mangy political party of which Miss Robb is so derisive gain complete control of the communications and transport industries and that would be the end of all the civil liberties for which her heart bleeds. It would be the end of all our freedoms.

You bet we are afraid of that mangy political party which succeeded in getting bosom friends and actual agents into high positions of our Government, some of them of the Dexter White, Alger Hiss complexion actually advising on and formulating security policy.

You bet we are afraid of that mangy political party which is an inseparable part of the worldwide criminal Red conspiracy to reduce all free nations to a state of servitude for perpetuation of the slave labor economy and which upholds mass murder as a virtue.

This is the mangy gang which produced Klaus Fuchs, whose "crime of the century" put the Russians a decade ahead in atomic bomb research. As we read the fearless Miss Robb's dissertation on what she calls the yapping of Supreme Court critics we couldn't help but think of Fuchs and of his unlamented coconspirators, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. And we thought, too, of Dr. Alan May, who betrayed Canada; of Judith Coplon, highly trusted Attorney General's Office employee who stole secret FBI documents and was convicted. She was a Soviet espionage agent whost guilt,, said Judge Learned Hand, is plain.

Her conviction was reversed, not because of any innocence, but because of technicalities of the sort Miss Robb champions. Judith Coplon has never served a day in prison.

While we were thinking of her and the mangy gang to which she betrayed her country, we though also of Jack Soble, who recently pleaded guilty to being a participant in a vast espionage endeavor the extent of which has not yet been revealed.

We would have thought of Benedict Arnold, but he was a piker compared with the agents of the mangy political party.

We did think, and do think constantly, of the late great Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who asserted that possession of individual liberties doesn't give anyone the right to shout fire in a crowded theater.

Sit down, Miss Robb.

America's Role in the Mideast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in yesterday's New York Times magazine section there was an article by our former Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, entitled "America's Role in the Mideast."

Having just returned from the Mideast myself, I can testify to the importance and accuracy of many of Mr. Bowles' observations about that complex and difficult area. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Bowles' article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE MIDEAST

(By Chester Bowles)

No situation in recent history has created so much official and public confusion as has that in the Middle East during the last 6 months. Alinements, prejudices, and assumptions of long standing have been knocked topsy-turvy by the rush of events.

Our Government found itself voting in the United Nations with our principal adversary, the Soviet Union, against our traditional allies, Britain and France, to support the claims of a military dictator, Nasser, against Israel, the most democratic and creative state in the Middle East. This extraordinary series of paradoxes reflects not only the complexity of the problem, but our lack of preparation for the major role we have been called upon to fill.

There can be no real disagreement about America's immediate security objective in

the Middle East. It is to deny the Soviet Union control or significant influence over this strategically placed area which contains two-thirds of the world's oil resources. Although the United States could continue to prosper without access to this oil, Europe could not. Because the survival of a prosperous and independent Europe is essential to American security, we are directly and deeply concerned with Europe's ability to secure this oil.

American control over the Middle East is neither possible nor desirable. For the long haul, our objectives can only be secured by helping to create conditions there which make for a healthy independence, and an orderly economic and political growth.

In the whole wide world there is no more formidable assignment. The land resources of the Middle East are pitifully slim. The 6 percent of the land which can presently be cultivated is largely controlled by a tiny minority of landlords, and farmed with the crudest and most primitive techniques by peasant-tenants. In most areas the gap between rich and poor is growing explosively.

In recent years a restless new element has been introduced by the growth of the urban populations, largely unemployed or underemployed, poor equally with their rural cousins, suspicious, discontented, ever ready to burst into mob violence. In the cities, also, is a thin layer of intellectuals, largely western education, impatient with their opportunities for growth or power.

In this uneasy situation, rulers confront the ruled with few of the ordinary instruments of stable and effective government. Leadership for the most part rests uneasily on intrigue, sway over the emotions of the city mobs and control of the army and police. Under such conditions, the temptation to divert the people's attention from their poverty and frustration by demagogic speeches against Israel or the Western "imperialistic" nations, is always strong.

This is not a pretty or encouraging picture, yet with qualifications for particular times and places, I think it is a fair one and one which, in itself, would be gravely threatening to our interests. When, in addition, we take account of Soviet long-range objectives in Asia and Africa, the threat becomes critical.

There is nothing obscure about the Kremlin's present global strategy. If the Soviet Union can undermine the economic and political position of the Atlantic nations in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, frustrate the efforts of indigenous leaders to create political and economic stability, and bring this vast area bit by bit into a close political and economic association with Moscow, it believes that heavily industrialized Europe with its dependent on Asian and African raw materials will be placed under intolerable pressure and forced to come to terms.

With the industrial and military power of Europe added to that of the Soviet Union, isolated America would ultimately adjust as best it could to a Soviet-dominated world or face war under the most adverse conditions. As the Kremlin contemplates this appealing prospect the Middle East must appear the logical place to start. There, it finds certain particularly favorable conditions:

1. By securing control of Middle Eastern oil, the Soviet Union could most quickly bring pressure to bear on European industry.

2. In the abysmal poverty and frustration of the Middle East the Soviet Union finds conditions most favorable for its economic, political, and ideological techniques of subversion.

3. Control over the area would enable the Soviet Union to bring the most direct pressure to bear on the Indian subcontinent and on Africa.

4. In the Middle East the Soviet Union runs the least risk of conflict with China, which has been quietly developing its own plans for the future of Asia.

5. There, nationlism can be stimulated to new heights of antagonism toward the West without danger to the Soviet Union itself. When it has served its purpose the rug can easily be pulled from under whatever wobbly political structure may have been created by pro-Soviet Arab leaders.

Over the past 3 years the new Soviet strategy has been pressed vigorously. So far our principal response has been a crisis-ridden, short-term effort to patch up and paper over the most crucial spots. Indeed, our approach has been an updated, jet-nuclear version of traditional British policy in this area, right down to the sudden dramatic "showing the flag" by the 6th Fleet.

Recently this game has been conducted with considerable skill, and the situation has improved. Nasser's effort to control Jordan has been blocked, Saudi Arabia is becoming disenchanted with Cairo's leadership and there have been favorable rumblings from Syria.

But can we count on this jerry-built structure, resting, as it does, on day-today diplomatic maneuvers with unstable governments to secure America's long-range interests? Let us briefly examine some of the components of our present policy and their long-range implications.

The best advertised and most costly element in our Middle East military defense system is the northern tier, or Baghdad Pact, made up of Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan. Into this alliance, which was designed to block off a Soviet ground force invasion from the north, we have poured substantial quantities of military assistance.

The Turks, with 25 tough, well-equipped divisions are the essential anchor point of the NATO defense line in southeastern Europe. With the Greeks and the Yugoslavs, they are the principal ground force barrier to Soviet military penetration into this area. But can we expect comparable security dividends from the costly buildup of the three nations further east?

Like other non-Communist nations, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan are entitled to an ironclad guarantee that we will throw our full military power behind them in case of Soviet attack. They are entitled to whatever equipment they need to defend themselves against attack by their Middle East neighbors until effective pressure can be brought to bear through the U. N. They are entitled to our assistance in developing and training security forces that can cope effectively with internal subversion.

But there were signs at the recent Baghdad Pact meeting in Karachi that American influence is increasingly being used to strengthen the nonmilitary aspects of the pact. This is a welcome trend. It indicates a growing realization that million-dollar jets and 8-inch guns capable of firing atomic shells are not the most effective weapons for quelling mobs in the capitals or guerrillas in the hills. Nor can they be expected, in inexperienced hands, to slow down a determined attack by the Red army.

In off-the-record conversations, most American military men frankly admit this. But some add that the real purpose of these massive shipments of military equipment is not to deter a Soviet ground attack, which is the responsibility of the Sixth Fleet and the Air Force, but to give our Middle Eastern friends a sense of prestige and confidence in dealing with their own people and with their neighbors.

Does the Congress which appropriates the money understand and approve of this costly and risky method of confidence building? Under such reasoning is not our equipment more likely to be used to settle regional feuds than to further America's own long-term objectives?

It may be argued that this program is now giving us, not more security, but less. Let us examine briefly some of its implications.

America's massive military buildup of Pakistan was the signal for her nervous northern neighbor, Afghanistan, which is at odds with Pakistan over the border region of Pushtoonistan and which consequently fears an attack by Pakistan, to seek Russian support. The Kremlin responded generously with military equipment, technicians and a $100 million loan. Soviet power and influence is now spreading rapidly to the Khyber Pass.

India, embroiled at a number of points with Pakistan, has also felt it necessary to match our buildup of Pakistan's military establishment. In 1956 over $100 million in hard currency was committed by the Indian Government toward the purchase of British and French planes at full market prices. This money necessarily was withdrawn from the funds available for India's second 5-year plan, the success of which most observers believe is essential to the survival of Indian democracy.

Two years ago the Kremlin offered India all the arms it wanted without political strings on the same easy financial terms that Egypt accepted. Last winter during Marshal Zhukov's visit to India this offer was repeated. As India's harried leaders watch China's rapid economic progress, they must be sorely tempted to accept.

Many observers believe that our military aid to Iraq and Iran helped start the chain of events that led to the Suez crisis. Their reasoning is this: When Syria and Egypt became convinced that we were attempting to split the Arab world, they turned increasingly to Moscow; the Egyptian-Czech arms deal and the nationalization of the Suez followed; growing fear of Egypt's new military power then set off Israel's invasion of the Sinai peninsula.

The military buildup of our Middle Eastern friends has been designed to strengthen our side of the world power balance. But because our efforts have consistently upset local power balances, I believe that further arms shipments will increase the danger of an explosion. Furthermore, our interest in the military aspects of security have resulted in loading Middle Eastern budgets to the breaking point, and diverting not only money but attention from their primary task of improving the lot of the people.

Finally, it has induced us to tolerate racial indignities which violate our most deeply held democratic traditions. Since 1948, we have quietly accepted the right of individual Arab nations to deny even passage through their countries to American citizens of the Jewish faith.

Now we have granted the Saudi Arabian Government the right to bar all Jewish citizens from American mutual defense forces at the Dahran airbase and to deny Christian chaplains the right to wear the insignia of the cross. In the magic name of defense we have thus abandoned one of the principles which distinguishes our system from the totalitarian.

Is it possible to create new policies in the Middle East that will take into account the pressing realities of today, while working soundly toward long-term goals? I believe it is. The following 5-point program may provide the basis for such an approach.

(1) The recent congressional resolution properly commits us to the all-out defense of the Middle East against a military attack by the forces of international communism. This reiteration of a policy that has been backed by both parties since 1945 underscores our responsibility.

(2) Some way must soon be found to stop the arms race between neighboring countries within the Middle East-South Asia area. An American proposal to the Soviet Union for a joint arms embargo (ex-

cluding Turkey, which is part of NATO) appears to be the only practical way out.

Unless such an agreement is reached, subject to rigid inspection, the vicious circle will continue to feed present tensions; more American arms to Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia will be balanced by more Soviet arms to Egypt, Syria, Afghanistan, and perhaps even to India.

(3) A position of strength in regard to Middle East oil resources is essential. This involves not only the ability of Europeans and others to purchase the oil at a fair price but to move it, unhampered, to its destination.

Some observers dismiss this point as irrelevant on the ground that the only market for this oil is the West and that Arab Governments will not cut off their noses to spite their faces. However, the madness that can evolve from extreme nationalism is not always subject to such dollars and cents logic. "We do not want United States dollars, British pounds, French francs, or Dutch guilders," the Voice of the Arabs recently broadcast from Cairo. "Oh, Arabs, our oil is plundered by aliens. It is seized by your enemy. Remember oil, our lost wealth. Oil is for the Arabs."

The Sheikdom of Kuwait, at the head of the Persian Gulf, could provide a dependable source indefinitely if for any reason the oil supplies of Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia were shut off. Although no larger than Connecticut, Kuwait has 22 percent of the entire world's crude oil reserves. It could easily be defended by sea-borne forces against all comers. Only standby storage, loading, and production facilities are required to assure its availability under emergency conditions.

American naval forces have a potentially vital role to play in the area of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Their power should be made to correspond to their responsibilities.

It now seems unlikely that we can work out an agreement with Egypt that will guarantee the free flow of all traffic through the Suez Canal. So here again we must consider standby alternatives.

A canal from the Gulf of Aqaba across Israel to the Mediterranean is said to be feasible although expensive. The French are now investigating the practicability of a 32-inch pipeline along this same route. Supertankers which can make the long run economically around the Cape of Good Hope or go through the Suez Canal half loaded at a profit will help further to relieve the pressure.

(4) World opinion will not allow Israel to be destroyed by its Arab neighbors. Yet this is precisely what these neighbors have been promising to do. We cannot induce her Arab neighbors to accept Israel cheerfully. But accept her they must, and this acceptance should be underwritten by a United Nations' guaranty with firm American backing.

In 1955, in deference to Arab pressure, the five sponsoring powers failed to invite Israel to the Bandung Conference. This now gives India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma a position of unique responsibility and influence. By establishing embassies in Israel they could do much to convince the Arabs that Israel is here to stay.

(5) Although these steps are all vitally important, they will be meaningless for the long haul without a simultaneous attack on the explosive economic conditions which exist throughout most of the Middle East. Nowhere in the world are nations and people divided so sharply between the haves and the have-nots.

In 1956, four Middle East nations—Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait—earned something over $1 billion from the sale of oil. This is nearly as much as the total hard currency earnings of the rest of Asia and Africa put together.

Of the four other Middle Eastern Arab nations—Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt—only Egypt and Syria benefited from oil. This was from canal tolls and pipelines rentals.

Iraq has gone further than any of these nations in putting her oil revenues to work on development projects. Seventy percent of all Iraqi oil royalties are so earmarked. On the Tigris and Euphrates, for instance, new areas are being opened up for cultivation through massive irrigation projects. Yet here, as elsewhere, political reform has failed to keep pace with economic growth. So the traditional bitterness between landlords and tenants has been growing dangerously.

Increased production is vital to the creation of an orderly political system. But without the sense of personal security and belonging which comes from direct participation in the process of growth and a sense of justice in the distribution of the proceeds of growth, increased production may lead to more political unrest rather than less.

Several years ago a Middle East Development Corporation was proposed, to be sponsored and administered by the World Bank under the direction of a board chosen by the Middle Eastern nations. The oil-producing nations would be asked to invest a proportion of their revenues in this corporation each year by purchasing interest-bearing bonds. Loans and grants would also be contributed by the United States and perhaps other western nations.

The corporation would make these funds directly available in long-term loans to those member nations in need of capital. A staff of technicians, engineers, and economic planners would help make sure the money was put to good use. A regional organization of this kind could also take the lead in easing the refugee situation, working out joint use of water resources, encouraging integration between various nations, and generally in directing the attention of the Middle Eastern people away from conflict and toward creative development.

With skillful diplomatic footwork, a large budget and a measure of good luck, we may for a time avoid an outright disaster in the Moslem world stretching from Karachi to Casablanca. But as long as we continue to neglect the human factors that go to make power in our revolutionary world we will be building on sand and ultimately we shall fail. Our present security systems between the Indus and the Nile could be wiped out overnight by a half-dozen well-placed assassinations.

If we are to build more soundly for the long haul, concern for the welfare of underprivileged peoples must become a central premise of American diplomacy. Every statement we make, every move we take should be designed to establish our identification with the welfare of peasants, workers, bazaar keepers, and students. We should act, not out of fear of communism, but because a prosperous and peaceful world can only be created and defended by free people.

No thoughtful citizen expects any administration—Republican or Democratic—to provide quick and easy solutions to this most complex and explosive region. But how long can we afford to ignore the problems which are most in need of answers?

Israel Asks Nothing From Arabs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Howard Handleman, which appeared in the New York Journal American of June 28, 1957:

WE ASK NOTHING FROM ARABS

(By Howard Handleman)

JERUSALEM.—The onetime Milwaukee schoolmarm who now is Israel's foreign minister pointed her cigarette across the desk for emphasis and said, "We want nothing from the Arabs and we think they know it!"

From there Mrs. Golda Meir expounded a favorite Israeli thesis. There is no issue dividing Israeli and Arab, she said, which could not be settled easily once Arab political leaders resign themselves to the right of Israel to exist.

Even the festering camps for Arab refugees from Palestine, she continued, could be closed quickly and the refugees given jobs and homes in Arab countries if only Arab leaders willed it.

"Even today," she said, "some people are leaving the camps secretly and going to Iraq, where there is need for them. But they must go secretly because no Arab possibly can admit at this time that there is any place for the refugees to go but Israel."

There was something of the classroom manner, still, in the way Mrs. Meir marshalled facts and arguments during the pleasant hour in her shaded, cool office on the outskirts of sweltering Jerusalem.

Sometimes it seemed she was giving the daily lesson from a well-prepared outline. But there was nothing of the classroom in what she said.

Both Israelis and Arabs think they are losing the propaganda battle in the United States and each claims the other has an advantage. As Mrs. Meir put it:

"Israel has no nuisance value in talks with the Americans. It is just the same as in 1938 and 1939. In those years Britain did not have to give a thought to the question of whether the Jews in Palestine would side with Hitler, so Britain had no worry about what we would do.

"Today there is the same situation. Everybody knows we cannot side with Russia. As a result, there is no pressure to give us economic aid for the sole reason of keeping us on the democratic side."

Mrs. Meir quickly added, however, that Israel is completely grateful to the United States for aid that has been given and probably will be given. She stressed that without this United States help, Israel's plight would be alarming.

The lady who looks grandmotherly but who thinks and talks and acts like any other hardheaded, determined statesman, turned to the explosive question of the Arab refugees. The Arabs say there are a million. The Israelis say there are less than that, possibly about 600,000.

"Israel has shown the way to solve the refugee problem," Mrs. Meir said.

"There were two refugee problems in 1948, Arab and Jewish. We have taken care of ours. We opened new lands and took all who came.

"The Arabs could do the same thing. The land is there, on the desert. The water is available to irrigate the desert. The people are available to work the land and live on it.

"But the will of the political leaders is not there."

Commission on Government Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Roscoe Drummond from the New York Herald Tribune of June 23. This article is a thoughtful analysis of the recommendations of the Commission on Government Security.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BEST SECURITY STUDY TO DATE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The much-needed study of the Government's security program is completed at last. It is long overdue, but the delay is more than made up for by the quality of the report.

The Commission on Government Security, under the leadership of its chairman, Loyd Wright, former president of the American Bar Association; its members drawn from Congress and from the executive; from inside the Government and from outside, has done a superb job.

There isn't a single proposal in it which would give aid or comfort to the disloyal.

There are many proposals in it which would protect substantially the rights of the individual. It proposes a variety of ways to strengthen the security system not only as it affects Government employees, but as it affects defense plants, dock workers, passport regulations; it offers an entirely new program to increase protection for the Nation's vital but vulnerable civilian airlines and airports.

It is characteristic of the Commission's clear thinking that the new provisions to safeguard the rights of individuals are viewed as a means of strengthening the security program—this on the ground that public confidence and individual confidence in the fairness of our Government is absolutely essential to the good operation of any security program.

Among the many recommendations of the Commission which break new ground are these:

1. Creation of a Central Security Office to provide a substantially uniform loyalty system.

2. The Director of the Central Security Office would recruit and train qualified people to administer the loyalty program, its examiners would conduct preliminary hearings; their decisions and those of a Central Review Board would be advisory to heads of departments and agencies.

3. Loyalty would be the only test for screening employees under this program. Henceforth suitability of the employee would be determined by civil service regulations and this would be separate from the loyalty screening system.

4. The same procedures for loyalty clearance will apply to applicants for Government service as apply to employees. Heretofore, applicants have been rejected for loyalty-security reasons without being informed of charges, without having any chance to disprove the accusations, and this often one-sided information has been made a part of the applicant's record and used as an automatic blackball against future Government employment.

5. Several new protections are proposed. Charges suggesting disloyalty would be made fully available to the individual so he can have the opportunity to disprove or explain them. Except in the cases of a regularly established confidential informant engaged in intelligence work for the Government whose identity may not be disclosed without compromising the national security, the accused would have the opportunity to confront and cross-examine the informer under oath, or the adverse information would be discarded.

The Commission usefully points out that one of the major confusions of the last several years has been the attempt to merge loyalty and suitability into one program, and it concludes that the result has been a hybrid product which has created bewildered security personnel, employee fear and unrest, and general public criticism.

Although some administration spokesmen have attempted to blur the situation, the fact is that the vast majority of removals of employees which have been reported as security risk removals have in fact been suitability removals handled under the normal civil service procedures. The Commission concludes that in the comparatively few remaining cases where loyalty was involved, only a loyalty finding—not a personal suitability finding—was needed.

Henceforth, under the Commission plan, no employee or applicant, rejected because of unsuitability, would be stigmatized as a security risk.

I believe that Congress ought not to consider its work done until it acts painstakingly upon the recommendations of this Commission whose work and credentials are so superior.

Events May Force Action on Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there appeared in the Saturday, June 29, issue of the Washington Evening Star an article written by Gould Lincoln under the heading "The Political Mill," an article entitled "Events May Force Action on Inflation." It is a most timely article, and I commend it to the attention of all who wish to read it, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EVENTS MAY FORCE ACTION ON INFLATION

(By Gould Lincoln)

Almost it seems industry and labor and the Congress are all in cahoots to force President Eisenhower to propose something drastic, through Government control of prices and wages, to halt the cost of inflation which now threatens the United States.

Take a look at recent happenings. Thursday the United States Steel Corp. announced a $6-a-ton increase in the price of steel. The company claimed it is necessary because of increased labor costs about to arise under its contract with the steelworkers union. At the same time the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee voted to report favorably a bill that would give postal workers an additional $546 a year. A similar Senate committee has reported a bill for a $540-a-year raise. In addition, these committees may report a measure increasing salaries generally for civil-service employees. These combined measures would increase the Government expenditures annually by several billion dollars.

These two examples of inflationary action are expected to be multiplied. The steel companies are expected to follow the lead of United States Steel. Other industries and other labor unions, if past history is a criterion, will fall in line for increased prices and increased wages. The spiral is being given another boost. So far as Congress is concerned, the critics of President Eisenhower's $71 billion plus budget for the next fiscal year apparently have thrown caution to the winds. The Senate recently passed the Helis Canyon Dam bill which it is estimated eventually would cost the Government a billion or more dollars.

PRESIDENT WARNS NATION

Again and again President Eisenhower has warned that unless the American people, including business, management and labor and Congress and the administration itself, call a halt to inflationary increases the alternative will be peacetime Government control. He is violently opposed to such control. At his latest press conference, when he was asked if he was still confident that appeals to labor and industry for moderation on prices and wages will succeed or whether we are approaching the point where more drastic restraints might be necessary, the President replied:

"Of course I believe that if you have to resort, in time of peace, to strict Government control of prices, of wages, services and things, then we are abandoning the system that has made us great and by which we have lived, and in which we believe." He added he assumed that "something more drastic" means governmental authority taking over all functions now entrusted to the interactions of economic forces in the country.

The President made the point there must be statesmanlike action both by business and by labor if inflation is to be checked. And he said: "If we don't do this, I tell you, if you go to specific governmental controls, rigidly applied in time of peace, then you are beginning to help make come true a prediction we heard a few weeks ago from a man who certainly is no friend of ours, and I am not going to be a party to it." He was referring to a broadcast made by the Communist Party boss in Soviet Russia, Khrushchev. And finally the President said: "Unless there is statesmanship exercised both by business and labor as well as sound, sane policies pursued by Government * * * there is real danger of inflation."

In view of the fact that the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported last Tuesday that prices have risen for the ninth consecutive month to an alltime high, and for 14 of the last 15 months, the President's alarm seems to be entirely justified. The Government is watching the course of inflation carefully, but unless a halt is called soon the dangers of an inflation and depression that could wreck this country could be materialized.

EACH SIDE BLAMES OTHER

The steel workers claim that since the postwar period—since 1945—there have been 21 rounds of steel price increases, whereas there have been only 9 rounds of wage increases. They say further that these price increases have yielded the industry more than $3 in revenue for each $1 in wage increases. They insist that wage increases in steel have

not caused a single price increase. That, of course, is the argument of the union. The steel corporation takes an entirely different view. It insists that the price increases have been entirely necessary because of the demands for wage increases. Probably neither side is entirely correct. Certainly we have the hard fact that these increases in prices and wages in a leading industry have played an enormous part in the upward trend of the cost of living. There seems to be no indication so far that the Government is preparing to demand legislation for price and wage control. The question arises, however: How far can this inflationary spiral continue without bringing economic ruin and a depression that, as Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey suggested in connection with excessive Government spending, will curl your hair?

A newly organized Citizens Committee To Curb Inflation, which recently met in Washington, is starting a campaign to educate the country that the public itself has the power to curb inflation. It is to be hoped that the campaign is not too late. And it is to be hoped, also, that more attention will be given to the warnings of President Eisenhower.

The Story of Insecticides

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, at the request of a very prominent and nationally known physician at Atlanta, Tex., Dr. Joe D. Nichols, I am inserting in the RECORD an article by Dr. W. Coda Martin, of New York City, entitled "The Story of Insecticides." It discusses a question of great interest to many people.

The article follows:

THE STORY OF INSECTICIDES

(By W. Coda Martin, M. D., chief of geriatrics clinic, Metropolitan Hospital, and associate visiting physician in geriatrics for the Bird S. Coler Memorial Hospital)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is a reprint from the September 1954 issue of Natural Food and Farming.)

The story of chemical insecticides and their effects on the human body is an important and topical subject. The effects of these chemicals on humans is a very personal problem today as everyone must eat to survive and all the food grown for the commercial market today is contaminated.

There are two military axioms that may well be applied to the handling of toxic chemicals. They are: (1) Know and understand your enemy so that you can better prepare for defense; and (2) never underestimate your enemy. If you ever served in the Armed Forces, these precautionary rules will be familiar to you.

The chemical insecticides used on our foods and the ones that are used in exterminating household pests can be considered enemies of people as well as insects. No one has ever been able to prove that these chemicals are not toxic to humans. The controversy is only how toxic and how much damage do they produce in the human body.

To help you understand these new chemicals, let's review the history of their development and how they came to be used as insecticides. There are two general classifications of these chemicals. One: chlorinated hydrocarbons which include DDT, lindane, chlordane, benzene hexachloride, aldrene, dieldrene, and so forth. Two: organic phosphorus compounds such as parathione, HETP and TEPP, etc.

We must remember that chemical insecticides, in general, are not new. However, the present group has been in use only since 1938, but it was not until after the war in 1945 that these insecticides were released for extensive use on our foods in the United States.

Back in 1938, when the supply of pyrethrum was cut off because of the war blockade in Europe, a Swiss chemist, searching for new chemicals that would replace pyrethrum and kill insects, resurrected from the chemical archives a chemical compound first made and synthesized in 1874—now known as DDT. We obtained it from the Swiss and used it extensively during the war for mosquito control and for typhus prevention. Because of the wartime emergency, very little study was made on the effect of DDT on humans.

In 1946, following the end of the war, DDT was released by the United States Department of Agriculture for use on crops as an insecticide and pesticide.

The other chemical—parathione—was discovered by our chemists in the secret files of the German Army. It had been under investigation by the Germans for use in chemical warfare as a nerve poison but was never used. Recently the Defense Department released information to the public on this nerve gas for chemical warfare use. These poisonous chemicals are now being used as sprays on our orchards and farms and in the home to kill household pests. We know that these chemicals will kill insects.

The problems that interest us are the following: (1) Does a residue from these chemicals remain on sprayed foods? And (2) if so, what effect does it have on the human body which consumes the contaminated food?

For an answer to the first question, Does residue from these chemicals remain on the food? I would like to quote from a report presented to the Delaney congressional committee investigating chemicals in foods by Mr. Cox, a chemist with the Beech-Nut Packing Co. He states that his company's immediate obligation was to protect the consumer—in this case, largely infants. Wrote Mr. Cox:

"The insecticide DDT as well as closely related chlorinated hydrocarbons has certain toxic properties which have forced us to adopt a near zero tolerance level in baby foods. (He feels that babies should not be given poison.)

"We have found that chlordane, as a soil residue, contaminates carrots. Thus, we avoid the purchase of carrots from areas where chlordane has been used commercially.

"We have encountered considerable difficulty in obtaining peanuts free from (B-H-C) benzenehexachloride. Peanuts are grown in rotation with cotton on which large amounts of B-H-C are used for insect control and remains in the soil.

"Sweet potatoes from South Carolina were contaminated with B-H-C.

"In 1951, we rejected apples from New York State contaminated with B-H-C. (Today they use more parathione as B-H-C produces a change in the taste of foods.)

"Rejected celery from California—also sweet potatoes from California.

"We found that these chemicals tend to penetrate into the edible portions of the foods. Due to this penetration, we were unable to develop any washing, peeling or inactivation procedure which will remove B-H-C."

The Beech-Nut Packing Co. found that chlordane may persist in a relatively unchanged form in the soil for at least 1 year, and in some cases as long as 5 years.

With these statements in mind, we must accept as a fact that a residue of these insecticides does remain on and penetrates into the foods that are sprayed with them.

Now, the second question of interest to us is: Do we absorb this residue into our own bodies and store it in our tissues?

To answer this question, I analyzed the fat tissue from 25 human subjects for its DDT content. Unfortunately, this test requires a fairly large piece of fat which precludes it from a routine office procedure. Therefore, these biopsies were performed at surgical operations and at postmortem examinations. I was careful to choose those patients who gave no history of occupational contact with insecticides. Therefore, we must assume that the DDT found in the fatty tissues came from contaminated food or household sprays.

Twenty-three of the 25 tissue specimens examined showed evidence of DDT. The amounts ranged from 1 p. p. m. to 11 p. p. m., or an average of 3.5 p. p. m.—28 percent had 5 p. p. m. or more This is important because in animal tests it has been shown that 5 p. p. m. will cause liver damage and is considered toxic. DDT level in human fat should be zero.

Dr. Pottenger and Dr. Laug, in tests on people in California, found similar results with even slightly higher level of DDT in the tissue.

What about animals?

Dr. Dendy, at a Texas research laboratory, tested steaks to determine if cows were absorbing DDT from contaminated foods. He found that the lean part of steaks had 4 p. p. m., while the fat had 40 to 60 p. p. m. As you probably know, these chemicals are fat soluable and thus are found in greater concentration in vegetable oils, such as peanut or cottonseed oil, and in human and animal fat. These are the steaks that we eat every day.

The next question that we must ask is—Now that the chemicals are in our tissues, what damage will they do?

The myth has become prevalent that DDT is safe for man—and the general population believes it.

Ask yourself this question—"Are these chemicals less poisonous because you don't see them being sprayed on your foods?" Of course they're not. Suppose someone came into your home as you sat at the dinner table and requested permission to spray a little DDT or some other chemical on the food you were eating. Stop and think—what would be your reaction? The answer is obvious, of course. Yet the farmer sprays your food 6 to 12 times during the growing period.

The Geneva Conference passed laws prohibiting the use of chemicals during wartime on our enemies. Yet we use the same kind of chemicals on our foods with the sanction of our Government. This seems to me to be insane.

I agree with the Department of Agriculture that there is much more research needed on the long-range toxic effects of these chemicals on humans because we hope to be able to continue eating three meals a day for many years to come without being poisoned.

But we do have some knowledge at the present time on the toxic effects of these insecticides on animals and humans. The most recent and positive proof is on animals.

Chlorinated napthalene, a type of chemical similar to that used on human foods, caused the death of $4 million worth of cattle in the United States during the past year through consumption of food contaminated by its use. This fact was revealed in a report from the United States Department of Agriculture researchers at Cornell University and the Tennessee Agricultural Station. They identified chlorinated napthalene as being the causative agent in the death of these cattle. What about the cattle that

did not die but were contaminated? They are in our meat market as revealed by the Texas report.

Dr. Morton S. Biskind has written extensively in various medical journals on the reaction of these chemicals in the human body.

The symptoms of chlorinated hydrocarbon or DDT intoxication consist of all or some of the following:

1. Acute gastroenteritis revealed as nausea, vomiting, abdominal pains, and diarrhea—symptoms similar to those of virus X disease.

2. Other symptoms and signs are: Head cold, cough, and sore throat—similar to a common cold. There may also be pains in the joints, general muscular weakness, and fatigue. Congestion of the lungs and pneumonia is a common finding in acute intoxication.

3. In the chronic state, other symptoms appear and may be persistent. These show evidence of nerve and liver involvement—they are hypersensitive skin areas on various parts of the body—numbness—tingling sensations—itching and headaches. Later, the patient may develop twitching of the muscle and loss of vibratory sensation in the legs which interferes with walking. This shows evidence of nerve involvement.

The brain also reveals signs of intoxication, such as loss of memory, inability to concentrate, dizziness, and, as one patient expressed it, her brain was foggy. With this is associated mental depression and emotional instability. Many patients have gone for psychiatric treatment, of course, without improvement. Skin shows hyperkeratosis—rough, dry, papular skin lesion due to vitamin A deficiency caused by liver dysfunction due to DDT poisoning.

What are the dangers in the future—10 or 20 years from now? No one knows definitely. But as I said earlier, if we understand and know these chemical enemies, we can possibly predict their future reactions and these predictions are not favorable.

The one organ that is severely damaged is the liver. When this occurs, the body's defense mechanism is interrupted and the patient is then susceptible to all the degenerative diseases, such as (1) arteriosclerosis, (2) diabetes, (3) heart disease, and (4) cerebral hemorrhage or stroke—and coronary thrombosis.

How rapidly these conditions develop depends on many factors in each individual. We do know that some individuals are more sensitive to the chemicals than others, and their toxic effects. Time is the only answer to this question—and then it might be too late. Reactions to some of the chemicals can be reversed if detected in time, while in others, after a certain stage is reached, the damage cannot be corrected but continues to be progressive.

It is necessary for you to know what ways of contact with these chemicals will be harmful. As liquid sprays or powder, they can be absorbed by inhalation or directly through the skin.

Tests show that when DDT is sprayed on a cow the chemical will appear in the milk within 24 hours. Veterinarians know that DDT sprayed on cats will cause death.

The same dangers are true of inhalation of the spray into the lungs. It is absorbed very rapidly into the blood stream. A total of three methods of absorption—skin, nose, and throat.

What precautions are necessary to protect yourself if you are exposed to the spray?

Publication No. 605, United States Department of Agriculture, gives the following precautions to be taken with insecticides and fungicides:

"In handling, mixing, and applying poisonous insecticides and fungicides, take special care not to inhale excessive quantities at any time. Well-designed respirators that afford protection to the entire face are available. Therefore, use them when such danger exists. After working with insecticides, wash the hands or any exposed part of the body thoroughly."

Other instructions in regard to parathione state: "Do not get it on the skin, in eyes or on clothing. Wear protective clothing and natural rubber gloves and outer garments made of natural rubber. Wear natural rubber overshoes and protect eyes with goggles. Do not breathe spray or mist. Wear a toxic dust or mist respirator of a type tested by the United States Department of Agriculture. Wash hands, arms, and face with soap and water before eating or smoking."

These precautionary measures make one realize how dangerous these chemicals are.

Now, what is being done to regulate the use of these poisonous chemicals on foods?

In June 1952, the Delaney committee gave its report of a 2-year study of this problem to Congress. Following this, Representative DELANEY introduced a bill in Congress to regulate and control the use of insecticides. The bill was shelved, as it could not be passed. Then in June 1953, Dr. MILLER, a member of the Delaney committee, introduced another bill—H. R. 4272—which has passed both Houses and is now pending the signature of the President. This bill was reduced in effectiveness before it passed. While this discussion is in progress, our foods are subjected to unlimited and uncontrolled amounts of poisonous sprays.

I would like to give you a few dietary precautions for yourselves and to your families: (1) Cut down on fatty foods, such as butter, margarine or other vegetable oils, and cream. These chemicals are fat soluble and are therefore, more concentrated in fats and oils; (2) wash your vegetables and fruits; (3) eat only lean meat; (4) and finally, eat fish, the only food not contaminated.

Many of you will say that I have been eating this contaminated food for years and I am in good health. Perhaps you have a natural resistance for the present time. But remember that most of these chemicals are cumulative, and that you are absorbing more at every meal. One day in the future, you too, will reach a toxic level.

I personally obtain as much food as possible that has not been sprayed—a few farmers have a conscience and will not put poison on vegetables for human consumption.

These are difficult to obtain, but I feel that it's worth the effort. Why are not these foods free of poison available for all to obtain? That is the question each one of you should ask.

The Passport Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the Senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Nashua Telegraph of June 18, 1957, describing the work of Miss Frances G. Knight in improving the efficiency of the Passport Office.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOMAN BOSS UPS EFFICIENCY OF PASSPORT OFFICE

Miss Frances G. Knight, director of the United States Passport Office, has remodeled her department to a high peak of efficiency by introducing step-saving devices she employed in streamlining her own kitchen.

Miss Knight began reorganizing the office 2 years ago to keep pace with the tremendous increase in travel demands. She uses such terms as work flow and traffic pattern in explaining the reorganization.

She says she had been redesigning her kitchen at home and in so doing had figured out how many steps it took to get from the refrigerator to the sink to the range and back to the sink. She arranged her kitchen facilities in the sequence which would save steps in preparing a meal.

"I simply applied the same technique in arranging the offices which process passports," she said. "It saves a lot of footwork and time and it is much easier to detect bottlenecks and errors."

The "work flow," she explains, starts with incoming passport applications and ends after the processing, checking, clearing and mailing of the passport.

"We have developed a movement of work and a flow of activity with a minimum of lost motion," she says.

Efficiency of employees has shown improvement through Miss Knight's housekeeping techniques.

In 1952 the Passport Office produced 1,389 passports per employee. In 1956 it produced 1,593 per employee.

"During the remainder of this fiscal year," she said, "we will have processed passports at the rate of 8 each minute—about 1 every 8 seconds."

In April, some 82,000 passports were processed, the highest total ever reached in a single month.

Currently, applications for passports, the single most necessary document for Americans traveling abroad, are being processed within 4 days of receipt at the office.

The Easy-Money Fallacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise, I am glad to place in the RECORD a thoughtful and timely discussion of The Easy-Money Fallacy. This article appeared in the July 1957 issue of the Guaranty Survey, published monthly by the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York.

The article follows:

THE EASY-MONEY FALLACY

Gross national product is at an alltime high. Industrial production and employment are close to record levels. The purchasing power of the dollar is the lowest in history and still declining. Why, then, the persistent and apparently rising outcry against tight money?

Federal Reserve officials and others have patiently spelled out the nature of the present worldwide inflationary threat and the elementary fact that, at a time of substantially full employment of human and material resources, artificially easy money is practically synonymous with inflation. Yet the belief still seems to be widespread, even in high places, that however good existing conditions may be, easy money would make them better.

This is the easy-money fallacy, one of the oldest in economic thinking, one of the most disastrous in its historical effects, and one of the most difficult to eradicate. Centuries of exhortation and even more centuries of

bitter experience have failed to bring about a general understanding of the simple fundamentals of the role of money and credit in a free economy.

HOW TIGHT IS MONEY?

The easy-money fallacy, as it exists in the United States today, appears to be compounded of a number of mistaken ideas regarding the origin and meaning of the current situation. Mistake No. 1 is the notion that the country is suffering from excessively tight money. Actually, the present level of interest rates is quite moderate for a time of active business. Rates on commercial paper, for example, average about 4 percent, as compared with 6 percent in 1929 and 7½ percent in 1920. Before 1929, a rate below 4 percent was exceptional. As for the 3-percent Federal Reserve discount rate, never until 1930 did any Federal Reserve Bank set a rate below that level. Only in comparison with the abnormally low rates of the depression years and the artificially maintained rates of the war and early postwar periods do the present rates appear high.

Nor is the rate structure in the United States high in relation to those elsewhere. Of the 32 foreign central-bank rates listed in the Federal Reserve Bulletin, only 5 are below that in the United States. The fact is that countries all over the world are experiencing the same tendency toward inflationary overexpansion of credit, a tendency which has carried interest rates in most countries considerably higher than it has here.

With overall statistical indicators at their present levels, it would be difficult indeed to argue that tighter money has adversely affected American business. Here and there a contemplated financing project has been abandoned or postponed, but at a time of intense demand for capital funds and capital goods it is inevitable and necessary that some would-be borrowers find themselves unable to obtain all the money they would like at rates they care to pay, just as some would-be buyers are unable to obtain all the goods they would like at prices they consider satisfactory. At such times, marginal borrowers and marginal buyers are eliminated from the market by rising interest rates, rising prices, or both.

Housing construction is a business that is sometimes cited as a victim of tight money. Yet housing starts financed by conventional mortgages, which have been exposed to the full impact of the rise in interest rates have not declined significantly. The decrease has occurred in starts financed by FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed mortgages, rates on which are fixed by law.

It is at least debatable, therefore, whether the decline can properly be attributed to the inability or unwillingness of home buyers to pay higher rates, or whether it should not be ascribed rather to the preference of potential FHA and VA borrowers to await an upward adjustment of their rates to levels more attractive to lenders. In other words, should the blame be placed on tight money or on unrealistic FHA and VA rates? A rise in the FHA rate in December has been followed by an upturn in starts within that category, providing a further indication that higher rates are not a serious deterrent to business.

WHO MAKES MONEY TIGHT?

Mistake No. 2 is the idea that money has been made tight by governmental policy. Actually, it was more than 6 years ago that the Treasury relinquished its control of the money market. Since then the Treasury, like other borrowers, has sold its securities in the open market at the going rate of interest, not at an artificial rate established by the Treasury and supported by the Federal Reserve System. Monetary policy has been determined by the Federal Reserve, an independent agency, without interference by either the executive or legislative branch of the Government.

Is it the Federal Reserve, then, that has made money tight? Not in any positive sense. Except for seasonal variations, the amount of Federal Reserve credit outstanding has remained almost constant for 2 years. This means that the Federal Reserve has played an essentially passive role, simply allowing the money market to tighten itself as the demand for credit increased. What has happened to the money market is substantially what would have happened in a perfectly free market at a time of very active business.

It is not strictly correct, therefore, to say that the Federal Reserve has pursued a tight-money policy. It would be more accurate to say that the Federal Reserve has refrained from pursuing a policy of artificially easy money, a policy which, in a business situation such as has existed for the last 2 years, would have been a policy of inflation.

The same neutrality that has characterized monetary policy has also characterized fiscal policy. The Federal budget has been brought into approximate balance and held there. At the fiscal level, as at the monetary level, the market has been left very much to itself. If it has become tight, it is because money, along with human and material resources, has been at or close to the "full-employment ceiling," not because any central authority has made it tight.

WHO BENEFITS FROM TIGHT MONEY?

Mistake No. 3 is the notion that tight money is a situation from which banks and other financial institutions prosper at the expense of the Government, business, and the people in general. A moment's objective consideration is enough to show how superficial and inadequate this view is. Which is more costly to the Government and the taxpayers, an increase in interest on the public debt or an inflationary advance in prices that raises the cost of Government all along the line? Which is more injurious to the Government's credit, a decline in the market prices of Treasury obligations or a shrinking dollar that makes savers fear to buy Government bonds lest inflation more than wipe out the value of the interest and leave them with less purchasing power than they had at the beginning? Which is worse for business, a rise in the cost of borrowed money or an unstable currency that upsets all calculations and makes intelligent planning impossible? Which is more damaging to consumers, an increase in their instalment payments or a rise in the cost of living

What about pensioners, beneficiaries of trust funds, those dependent for their livelihood upon the proceeds of a lifetime of saving? They also are among the lenders of money, and they are the most helpless of all the victims of inflation.

As far as financial institutions are concerned, it is sometimes forgotten that the money they lend is not obtained for nothing. Savings institutions that receive higher rates must also pay higher rates to attract money. Commercial banks can obtain reserves to extend further credit only by borrowing from the Reserve banks at higher rates or by selling securities at higher yields and lower prices.

The normal tightening of money at a time of very active business is not good for some and bad for others. It is a natural and necessary feature of intense economic activity, and in such a situation it is indispensable to the maintenance of a stable currency and a healthy economy. Thus it is good for everyone.

A NEEDED STABILIZER

Almost all of the mistaken ideas regarding tight money and easy money arise from one basic error, namely, the failure to understand that an interest rate is a price; that, like other prices; it performs vital functions in a free economy; and that it cannot be manipulated with impunity, any more than other prices can.

The function of prices is to preserve the balance between demand and supply, and interest rates are no exception. Interest rates preserve the balance between the supply of and demand for loanable funds, which in the final analysis means the balance between saving and investment. Artifically low interest rates swell investment demand and at the same time discourage saving, and they can be maintained only by constant injections of additional funds into the money market.

It was exactly such a situation that created the continuous inflationary pressure during the war and early postwar years. As long as the Federal Reserve supported the Government securities market, it was obliged to stand ready to purchase from owners all securities offered at prices corresponding to the predetermined rates. Such purchases increased bank reserves and led directly to an expansion of the money supply. Price inflation was the natural and inevitable result.

TIGHT MONEY AND TIGHT GOODS

The easy-money fallacy will persist as long as men fail to see the intimate connection between the money market and the economy as a whole. The underlying cause of tight money is not to be found in the money market itself but in markets for goods and services. When consumers and investors desire to buy more goods and services than can be produced by existing plant, labor force, and productivity, they find their buying capacity limited by the fact that total income equals total output, and no more. When they try to borrow in order to increase their purchases, they find that money is tight. They tend to conclude that something is wrong with the money market, whereas in reality the basic difficulty is not a shortage of money but a limited supply of goods and services produced.

Money can be produced at will by governmental authority, but goods and services cannot. The supply of goods and services at any given time is limited by the economy's stock of productive equipment, the number of workers available, and the existing level of productive efficiency. These factors of production can be increased only gradually. If the money supply is increased faster, the economy suffers from a situation of "too much money chasing too few goods," and prices in general are forced higher.

Because of this, and because men have clung to the delusion that more money will bring forth more goods and services, economic history through the ages is a record of intermittent currency depreciation, with all the blind injustice, trade disorder, and industrial prostration that follow in its wake. Yet the ancient fallacy refuses to die. The outcry against tight money is its present-day manifestation.

Statement in Support of Increased Annuities for Retired Federal Employees, H. R. 3245

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is my statement in support of my bill, H. R. 3245, before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Subcommittee on Retirement Bills, on June 29, 1957:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER, DEMOCRAT, NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON RETIREMENT BILLS, JUNE 29, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished committee, I am glad to be able to appear before this committee in support of my bill, H. R. 3245, which will provide relief for our hard-pressed retired Federal civil servants. Your committee is familiar with the particular problems of the people who had already retired when the liberalizations in the Civil Service Retirement Act became effective in the fall of last year. Truly, the retired civil annuitant has become the forgotten man in retirement act improvements.

Implicit in the debate surrounding the passage of the Civil Service Retirement Act amendments of 1956 was the idea that similar legislation would be enacted for persons already on the retirement rolls. Indeed it was stated in the Senate that the only reason increases for retired annuitants were not included in the amendments was because it was felt that in the interest of all concerned—both active employees and present annuitants—it would be better to keep the two bills separate. Thus, in my view, when we voted an increase for active employees last session we were accepting the responsibility of making sure that people who had already retired would receive equal consideration.

My bill would provide increases for most annuitants of 22½ to 30 percent. These increases are necessary, I believe, because of the grossly inadequate benefits which so many former civil servants are now receiving. The figures speak for themselves. Almost 40 percent of present civil-service annuitants are trying to exist on benefits of less than $100 a month. The condition of the widows and orphans of deceased workers is even more desperate; 90 percent of the payments of survivors' benefits are less than $100 per month, and 57 percent are less than $50 per month.

The situation of retired annuitants was forcefully brought to my attention by a resolution of the New York State federation of chapters of the National Association of Retired Civil Employees at their convention held in Rochester, N. Y., in April of this year. The resolution cites a report carried in the U. S. News & World Report of August 3, 1956, which shows that "after an analysis of 35 groups which represented approximately 95 percent of our population, it was found that all these groups, based on 1939 income, were receiving larger real income, the increases ranging from 4 to 107 percent. However, the report carried the further shocking figure that civil retirees were down 13 percent, or in other words, were receiving 13 percent under the 1939 level."

The comment of the United States News & World Report—which is certainly impartial on this question—is very much to the point of our discussion here today. That magazine concluded, "People living on pensions are in trouble, unless their pensions are increased as the cost of living rises. This rarely happens. Payments to retired workers, for example, are adjusted by Congress only occasionally. Last year (1955) these payments were increased an average of 10 percent, but this still left retired workers worse off than in 1939."

Since this article appeared conditions have worsened. It is a matter of public record that the cost of living has continued to rise to record highs for every month since this report was made. In August 1956 it stood at 114.5. Today it has risen to 119.6—an increase of more than 5 percent. These facts, I believe, are impressive testimony to the urgent necessity for action on this bill in this session of Congress.

Finally, I am particularly desirous of your enacting the provision in the bill which grants annuities to the widows of employees who retired or died prior to April 1, 1948. These unfortunate women have been denied benefits merely because the civil service retirement system had made no provision for survivor benefits at that time. Simple equity seems to call for action on behalf of these widows, and this can be accomplished at a very reasonable cost.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this committee in support of this important legislation, and hope that you will see fit to take early action.

Architect of Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the appointment of the Honorable Thomas E. Murray, former member of the Atomic Energy Commission by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy as its consultant, is a most pleasing one. Mr. Murray is respected, and profoundly so, by countless thousands of persons.

I include in my remarks a fine article entitled "Architect of Survival," written by Rev. Father Edward A. Conway, S. J., and appearing in the December 1954 issue of the publication Voice of St. Jude.

Father Conway is a member of the faculty of Creighton College, assistant professor of political science at Creighton College, is a vice president of the Catholic Association for International Peace, and was for 6 years international relations editor of America. Father Conday is one of the founders and the first finance chairman of the National Committee on Atomic Information. He has written and lectured extensively throughout the Nation on atomic energy problems.

There are few persons better qualified to write such an article about Mr. Murray than Father Conway:

ARCHITECT OF SURVIVAL

(By Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J.)

(Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J., now on the faculty of Creighton University, is a vice president of the Catholic Association for International Peace, and was for 6 years international relations editor of America. He was one of the founders and the first finance chairman of the National Committee on Atomic Information and he has written and lectured throughout the Nation on atomic energy problems.)

The slight-figured, granite-visaged speaker at the dedication of Marquette University's new library had just warned his audience against "leaving atomic energy to the experts." The atom for both peace and war is everybody's business. "What our world needs most now," said the speaker, "are achitects of survival—those blessed peacemakers of the Sermon on the Mount. They exist—just as surely as that energy exists which, when released, produces the incredibly gigantic explosions that are now shaking the world."

The date of the address was December 5, 1953, and the speaker was Thomas E. Murray, member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. This was the fourth of six addresses he delivered at Catholic educational institutions between April 25, 1953, and June 19, 1954: Manhattan College, Seattle College, Duquesne University, Marquette University, Catholic University, and Detroit University. Anyone who has read the texts released by the Atomic Energy Commission should agree that at least one "architect of survival" exists—and that his name is Thomas E. Murray.

Nothing in Mr. Murray's impressive career as industrial engineer, inventor, corporation executive, bank director, and AEC Commissioner suggests that he is an emotional man. But the "incredibly gigantic explosions" (which we now know were hydrogen explosions) have obviously shaken him. "After attending a large-scale nuclear explosion," he confided to his Marquette audience, "one can never forget the sudden deafening, angry roar of tortured nature as energy escapes, in a fraction of a millionth of a second, from its ancient confinement in matter."

At Marquette, Mr. Murray seemed to be describing what happened within himself in that point of time: "Men too have gigantic energies captive in their minds, needing only the compression of circumstances for release into the most varied forms of human activitiy." The H-bomb explosion he witnessed released a flood of authentic eloquence from this hitherto taciturn industrialist.

The atomic situation is so serious that for Mr. Murray no superlatives are too sensational, as these extracts testify:

"This matter of survival has been on my mind especially since a year ago, when I participated in our thermonuclear testing in the far Pacific. From that time on I knew that man's survival must be planned for and worked for, and not just lightly taken for granted as in the past" (Duquesne).

"No one should retreat into a comfortable ignorance of the facts of atomic life in the face of the prospect of a mânmade abomination of desolation" (Manhattan).

"There is the possibility of the inevitable wreck of civilization" (Duquesne).

"As the possibility of total annihilation becomes clearer, our search and prayers for peace must ever increase in intensity" (Manhattan).

"Man has succeeded in making weapons of mass destruction powerful enough to reverse history and to reduce the world to the primitive conditions of the time of Cain and Abel" (Catholic University).

Most disturbing to Mr. Murray is the lethargy of the American public in the face of the current colossal armament race. "The noticeable unconcern about an atomic future which is darker than man has ever faced before resembles the attitude of those who would do away with the reality of hell by refusing to think about it." (Manhattan). At Duquesne Mr. Murray returned to this most illuminating analogy:

"I am inclined to believe that in most cases the choice of hell results from disbelief in its existence. Many of you know how difficult it is in the teaching of religion to get across to modern minds a full sense of the existence of hell. A same refusal to face the ugly awfulness of all-out atomic warfare is the greatest roadblock in our planning for survival. As I see it, our first national task is to develop a real awareness of today's alternatives."

With casual allusion to spiritual realities that must have amazed the myriad secularists in the Government, Mr. Murray drew once again at Duquesne upon his religious background: "We all need a collective realization such as an individual possesses when faced with sudden death. To postpone the soul's parting company with the body, a man often finds energy, will and capabilities

he never before suspected he possessed. If the world can come to realize that this planet, which once was paradise, may soon become an annex of hell, it will find tremendous now hidden reserves to develop nondestructive solutions for the bitter problems that separate the free world from the Soviet."

Our apostle of survival described at Manhattan the three "main approaches to what should now be man's greatest worldly concern—to keep the peace." These he repeated at Seattle a month later. Mr. Murray, who according to an Associated Press feature story of February 13, "starts his day with Mass and Communion and prays for peace," listed prayer as the first approach. (Just recently President Eisenhower told the World Council of Churches that an unending campaign for peace, supported by the prayers of "hundreds upon hundreds of millions" could bring wonderful results).

The second approach to peace, according to Mr. Murray, must remain the preparation of armed power. Behind the shield of our atomic power the free world has gained time to recover the strength to resist Red aggression. And, as he said at Duquesne, we must increase our atomic weapons until the Soviets make some changes in their present diabolical course. He repeated this warning at Catholic University, adding, however, that "at the same time it is all-important that we should vigorously strengthen our resolution to find peaceful solutions to the issues that seem so insoluble now."

Mr. Murray's third main approach to peace is prudence. War, indeed, may be forced upon us, "but war between atomic bomb-possessing nations is much too dangerous a policy to be entered into without a complete and thorough appreciation of its ultimate consequences." This essential prudence does not thrive in a climate of ignorance; it can be gained only through knowledge of the facts of atomic life. "Just as fear of hell has to suffice where love of God is not strong enough to gain us salvation, so, facing up to this most ugly subject short of hell may well be the necessary step to obtaining prudence in the face of chaos."

This call to face up to the facts is voiced repeatedly in Mr. Murray's addresses: "There must be much greater knowledge in our people of the threat to all civilization implicit in atomic warfare" (Seattle). "If ever the free world decides on war, may the American people have a much clearer understanding than they have now of the implications and dangers of atomic warfare" (Manhattan). "If men throughout the world today are not setting their brains and hands more strongly to the work of preventing the human catastrophe of atomic war, the reason is a simple one: men do not yet understand or appreciate their own danger" (Catholic University).

To prayer, power and prudence as approaches to peace, Mr. Murray added at Seattle the virtues of patience and meekness. It takes great moral strength, he said, to use physical power well. "Because of the limitless nature of our destructive potential power we must moderate our forceful capabilities with something of the meekness and patience of the saints. * * * Only with tremendous meekness and patience can we carry the immense responsibility inherent in our possession of modern atomic weapons. The day is passed forever when we can merely praise the Lord and pass the ammunition."

We need those virtues because Russian aggression and subversion is goading the United States, a Nation not famous for serenity, into a great national impatience. We may be asked to face calmly, or at least with patience, years in which our rival will constantly be growing in power, constantly building up its own atomic arsenal. But impatient power is unthinkable in such a world climate. At Duquesne he warned against the ultimate impatience, against resorting to that ultimate remedy of a spiritual brankruptcy of mankind—preventive atomic war. He repeated his condemnation of preventive war at Catholic University and at Detroit. At Catholic University he asserted that "if all out atomic war is to come, it must come only as the last of all last possible resorts. And in the course of its waging, we shall have to remember that the outlaw nature of the enemy does not justify outlaw methods of warfare."

Mr. Murray still believes that this all-out war can be avoided, that "human reason will find some way of securing mankind against the abuse of this new destructive power." To succeed, however, we must "force our imaginations to face our situation after the fashion of men who face a great catastrophe of nature." "God alone knows," he exclaimed at Catholic University, "what atomic war will mean in a comparatively few years if some sane solutions to the atomic arms race are not sound found." Men must realize the present meaning of the word: war. If and when they do, there would "rise in the world a reasoned horror of war, and a rational opposition to all policies that might lead to all-out atomic war."

Cardinal Newman, who conceived "realizing" as not merely an "acceptance of words for things" but rather as "the opening of the mind and heart to a truth so that it becomes a principle of action," would have applauded Mr. Murray's realization formula. The modern meaning of the word "war," says Mr. Murray, must be demonstrated. At Duquesne, Marquette, and Catholic University he daringly proposed that as many as possible of the peoples of the world and their leaders should be invited to witness explosions of large-scale hydrogen bombs. At Catholic University he urged that they "experience, in a way that will leave them undamaged, save in their illusions, what modern war means in all its horror, in all its shocking destructiveness."

This was but one of the unusual measures Mr. Murray has not hesitated to recommend. Obviously directing his remarks to the Government, he called at Duquesne for hard, deliberate changes in our present direction, in order to get squarely on the road to survival. One of his new approaches to the desperate dilemma we face is in the direction of the Soviet Union. He protested against a certain fatalism fashionable in high places, the absence of any hope that peace is possible. Is it entirely unlikely, he asked, that the two nations that fought Hitler might find some common ground on which to stand together against the immeasurably greater menace—the menace of general atomic war? If, for example, the planet were infested by a plague, or if it were invaded from outer space, might not the two nations then join forces to save themselves from destruction? Well, says Mr. Murray, a force just as menacing is already loose in the world. He argues that the United States must first get the cold realization of the extent of this threat. Then, perhaps, it might be possible to bring the same realization into the Soviet mind. What is the basis for that possibility? Because, even in the U. S. S. R. Marx eventually should give way to the commonsense element in the instinct for self-preservation.

In none of his six addresses does Mr. Murray give evidence that he has thought in any organized way about what is necessary for a durable peace besides nuclear disarmament. Scattered statements indicate, however, that he realizes that even effective international atomic control is not enough to guarantee peace with justice. At Catholic University, for example, he had this to say:

"In our efforts toward peace, we are still thinking in terms of power, in terms of our assumed superiority of force. At best we are thinking in terms of 'collective security,' which is at bottom a power concept. (It is likewise the principle upon which the United Nations is currently based.) We shall undoubtedly have to go on thinking in these realistic terms for some time. God knows how long. Nonetheless, we must begin to think in terms of a higher realism—the realism of reason—the realism of law—international law, stated in agreements on the control and use of atomic power.

"We cannot go on indefinitely putting our highest trust in power or in a sheer balance of power. Our highest national responsibility is somehow to bring the new and awesome power we now possess under the rule of law."

Even though Catholics, Mr. Murray continued, have led the field in pointing out the threat of international communism, their task is not yet done. "We must still join in the further lengthy task," he told his Catholic University audience, "of alerting the world to the need of sacrificing some of its conventional habits of political and emotional conduct." But Mr. Murray, in these addresses, did not reach the point of urging Catholics, as the holy father has, to alert the world to the need for those supranational political institutions which will actually embody the realism of law.

He did, however, seem to imply the necessity for such institutions in his address at Duquesne. While challenging his hearers to daring and initiative in the search for peace Mr. Murray adduced as an inspiring example of such qualities the United States decision to attempt construction of the H-bomb. During the first years of the Manhattan project, he recalled, it was considered nearly impossible to build one, and "there was no pressure to develop such a device."

Once the Russians had exploded their own atomic bomb in 1949, he recounted, our Government cast about for a radical initiative that would restore America's margin of atomic leadership. It was then that the present AEC Chairman, Lewis L. Strauss, proposed what he called a "quantum jump" in United States planning—the achievement of the nearly impossible hydrogen bomb. (A quantum jump might be described in layman's language as a revolutionary leap on to a new and unfamiliar scientific plane—something like an aircraft breaking through the sound barrier.) "Now," continued Mr. Murray, "the times cry out urgently for another quantum jump, but of an altogether different kind. This time a quantum jump is needed not in technology—not in scientific knowledge, but in world politics—that most difficult form of the art of the possible."

This quantum jump in world politics for which the times cry out is obviously wider in reach than disarmament alone. It can only be disarmament under "a regime of limited world law administered by a revised United Nations," to quote famed international lawyer Grenville Clark in a recent address to the American Philosophical Society. Mr. Clark went on to cite to his Philadelphia audience Benjamin Franklin's dictum that "the best public measures are seldom adopted from previous wisdom but forced by the occasion." He also conceded the possibility, though not the likelihood, that "a statesman will emerge with both the capacity and the willingness to define and advocate the minimum world institutions that will alone suffice to make disarmament and genuine peace a reality."

Thomas E. Murray may be that statesman. Already his warnings about the occasion—the world's dire peril, have earned him the title: Architect of Survival. If he spells out as eloquently the political quantum jump the occasion is forcing, he may merit a loftier title: "Apostle of Peace."

Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call the attention of Congress to the correspondence of the President with Bernard Weitzer, national legislative director of the Jewish War Veterans of America, and to the resolution passed by the national executive committee of the Jewish War Veterans of America urging support of the 1957 mutual security program. At the same meeting the national executive committee of the Jewish War Veterans of America approved the recommendation of their Foreign Affairs Committee, urging full support for the President's budget request for the Armed Forces:

Whereas our organization has for 10 years consistently supported the essential elements of the mutual security program and appropriations fully adequate for the need thereof; and

Whereas the military aid, economic support in the form of loans and grants and technical assistance made available under that program, have strengthened our traditional allies and the independent nations of the world, especially those newly independent since World War II; and

Whereas the results of the mutual security program have inured to our own country's improved military defense and capacity for swift retaliation in the event of any Communist attack; and

Whereas the combination of our own strength and the capacity of the nations which we have aided to withstand the subversive and infiltrating activities of the Communists has served to deter Communist aggression and to frustrate their intent to dominate the world: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the national executive committee of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America at its regular meeting in Washington, D. C., May 25–26, 1957, wholeheartedly supports the President's minimum request for funds to carry out the mutual security program as proposed in the President's message of May 21 to Congress and reaffirms its confidence that the dollars thus appropriated will be the most effective expenditure our country can make in achieving a durable, just peace.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: You may recall that when I had the pleasure of visiting you, last year, with our newly elected national commander, William Carmen, we handed to you copies of the resolutions passed at our 61st annual national convention expressing the full support of our organization for the foreign-aid program which you have presented to the Congress in past years. These resolutions included military aid, economic aid in the form of loans and grants, technical assistance through bilateral agreements, as well as contributions to expanded technical-assistance programs of the United Nations and other types of assistance which buttress the strength of the independent nations of the world.

It is a pleasure to read your strong message to Congress setting forth your detailed recommendations for these foreign-aid programs covering fiscal year 1958. According to our convention resolutions, we would have preferred that these outlays be larger than those for 1957 instead of the decrease which you apparently found necessary.

Though we have become accustomed to terming these outlays "foreign aid," our membership is firmly convinced that this foreign aid is one of the strongest elements of our own defense and our own national interest. Dollar for dollar, these outlays contribute more than any other dollars we spend directly for our national defense; and, besides, they insure a greater likelihood of our living in peace.

We sincerely hope that the Congress will share the views and recommendations of our President on this subject and will, overwhelmingly, vote for the minimum appropriation requests you have made.

With all good wishes,

Cordially,

BERNARD WEITZER,
National Legislative Director.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 24, 1957.

Mr. BERNARD WEITZER,
National Legislative Director, Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WEITZER: I deeply appreciate the support you have expressed for the mutual-security program. In this recognition of the importance of strengthening the saving shield of freedom, you and your associates in the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America give voice to America's determination to stand firmly against the menace of international communism.

Enactment of the proposed economic and military programs will contribute effectively both to our immediate security and to the promotion of peace in the world. Thank you for your clear expression of what you regard as being in the national interest.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

It's How You Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, some pretty sage advice was given to high-school and college graduates recently by editorial columnist Larry Collins of the Long Beach Independent. It is worth passing along to readers of these columns.

His editorial follows:

AS THEY GRADUATE

To the young person graduating from high school or college this week 65 years of age seems too distant to even consider. But if they look back on how fast their last 10 years have passed they will get an idea how fast the next 25 years will pass. By then they will be 40 years old or older. The 25 years after that will seem but a breath compared with the last 5 years.

Time passes terribly fast for people who are busy. You have to be a busy person to earn a decent living. Before you know it you are past middle age. By then you had better be set in your life work or you will be one of the unfortunates who are turned away because they are too old. That makes the years 18 to 35 years so terribly important. It makes it terribly important that young people lose no time in getting started and growing with the enterprise they choose to follow.

Oldsters who have kept pace with our changing world—and who keep clear memories of the years they have lived during those changes—have learned some valuable lessons. They were lessons learned by actual experience. Some of them were very depressing experiences. But those are the experiences that build character and teach lessons in a way that is never forgotten. It is unfortunate young people do not take the opportunity of learning these lessons by talking with oldsters—rather than learning them the hard way.

One important lesson is that far too many of us make our decisions on what we want to happen rather than on the facts which indicate our wishes are unsound. Millions of people today refuse to face facts when they are in opposition to their desires. The result is that the facts always win out and the desires are eventually recognized as impossible dreams. But precious time has been wasted.

The young people of today enter a world where they are eurged to go into debt. They hear on every radio or TV how they can get money for the asking. They are not told how they will pay back this money with 30 percent or higher interest. They are told they can enjoy the trip, gadgets, or automobile and pay later. No one tells them they could have a third or more of these benefits if they first saved the money and thus saved the interest. It takes a strong character to stand up against all the urging to go into debt.

The urge to get rich quick has wrecked many a career. The young person who has an urge for some particular vocation is fortunate. He can quickly get started and enjoy the future. But millions of young people have no such urge. They flounder around until they are middle age and then probably end up working at something that interests them little. That is the greatest reason why it is so important to learn a good trade or profession. No matter what it is, you can feel you have something definite. Drifting is a terrible way to spend your life.

We have often used the phrase, "There is no percentage in being a financial success and a personal failure." We know some outstanding financial successes who are abject personal failures. They are failures because they are not respected—are not happy in what they have achieved, and are bored. On the other hand, we know many people in the teaching profession, city employees, small-business people, and ministers who are outstanding personal successes. They live on relatively small incomes—but they live within their incomes—they enjoy their work and they are highly respected.

It is not what you earn—but how you live that counts. These words may fall on deaf ears but we could offer no better philosophy to young people starting out on the road many of us have already covered.

Statehood for Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I would like summarize briefly the history of the great Territory of Alaska

which I hope soon will become a valued member of our great team of States.

A possession of the United States since 1867, Alaska has had the status of a Territory since 1912. Here lies a vast area of 586,400 square miles with an undetermined population. The census of 1950 indicated a population of 128,643, but there have been some estimates as high as 200,000.

History tells us Alaska was discovered in the year 1741 by a Danish sailor commanding a Russian ship. Thereafter, Alaska was claimed by Russia.

United States negotiations for the purchase of Alaska started as early as 1855. In 1859 President Buchanan offered Russia $5 million for the unexplored wilderness, an offer which was rejected promptly.

Then in March of 1867 a treaty was signed whereby the United States agreed to pay Russia $7,200,000—a treaty which was heralded widely as Seward's Folly. Nevertheless, the actual transfer of Alaska from Russia to the United States was effected October 18, 1867. Thereafter, Alaska was called a district until 1912 when she was given Territorial rights.

Perhaps the most spectacular story in all of Alaska's history broke in 1896 when gold was discovered in quantity. In the ensuing gold rush it is estimated 100,000 Americans converged on the peninsula—with fame and gold for some—with tragedy and death for others.

The battle for Alaska statehood has been long and relentless. The first statehood bill was presented March 30, 1916, but needless to say, it came to an early demise.

The question of statehood rested then, more or less dormant, until the 80th Congress when hearings were held both in Alaska and Washington. A bill was reported out but there was no further action.

The 81st Congress held hearings in Washington. A statehood bill passed the House on March 3, 1950, but died in the Senate.

In the 82d Congress, the Senate reported out a bill which was recommitted.

In the 83d Congress, the committee reported a bill to the House. Then the Senate Interior Committee combined the Alaska and Hawaii statehood bills and passed the legislation in 1951. Request for a conference was objected to in the House and the matter tabled. Extensive hearings again had brought no tangible result.

In the 84th Congress, the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee held 10 days of hearings on a combined Alaska-Hawaii bill and reported H. R. 2535. The bill was recommitted.

Mr. Speaker, after weighing the pros and cons of statehood for Alaska over a period of several years, I find myself more convinced than ever that Alaska should become a member of the team of States. The time has come for positive action.

There have been many arguments over the statehood question. I have studied both sides of the case with equal interest in my endeavor to get the thinking of as many of the people of Alaska as possible.

I believe you might be interested in the final results of an unofficial poll I conducted in Alaska through the cooperation of 10 radio stations and 5 newspapers in the larger cities of the Territory.

I asked the newspapers and the radio stations, as a public service, to publish or broadcast this question, "Do you favor immediate statehood for Alaska?" I requested the answers be mailed to my office in Washington, signed or unsigned. A remarkably large number—about 99 percent—were signed with name and address. Incidentally, in these days when we are trying to cut costs, I would like to report this poll was conducted without expense to the Government.

I received 1,916 replies to the question from residents of Alaska. So far as I could learn through routine inspection there seemed to be no duplication.

The vote indicated a considerable opposition to statehood as of this time. There were 522 affirmative votes and 1,394 negative ballots. Many of those who participated in the poll took the time and trouble to write long letters to set forth the reasons for their votes.

Now, we all realize that 1,916 votes would represent only a small segment of the total Alaska population. Only an overall plebiscite would furnish an accurate answer to the thinking of all the people. I had hoped that might be possible but a supporting amendment was rejected by a tie vote in the committee.

Now, may I say the unofficial poll was only one of the factors on which I based my final decision to vote in favor of statehood. While the poll was negative, the other factors were affirmative. At no time did I ever say or indicate the poll alone would govern my decision.

I found that opponents of statehood wrote longer and stronger letters than those who favored statehood. Many of them wrote that statehood now would bankrupt Alaska. Some asked for a 20-year tax moratorium before statehood. Some said they would move out if statehood were granted. Many said the new taxes necessary to support a State would ruin the Alaska economy. Those opposed seemed to be much more fierce in their attitudes than were those in favor.

If Alaska becomes a State, it will be the culmination of a promise of many years standing, according to many letters favoring statehood. Many pointed to taxation without representation, to discrimination in shipping and to so-called "colonialism."

I believe it is agreed that if Alaska does become a State, there will have to be many adjustments made. There must be a complete review and correction of the tax structure, as proposed by Gov. Mike Stepovich in his inaugural address. Alaska would lose some of those special concessions which are given to Territories but not to States. Federal workers would lose the extra pay they receive for duty outside the States.

On the other hand, there would be many advantages to statehood, particularly in view of the amendments to the statehood bill which were approved in committee—such as the extension of the land area for the new State and dropping the ban on foreign shipping which should tend to promote new industry, new population, new development of the untold resources which lie dormant in Alaska.

The last plebiscite held in 1946 indicated a small majority in favor of statehood but similar narrow margins have been true in the cases of many States. I might cite the case of my own State of Nebraska in which the issue was approved by a margin of an even 100 votes shortly before statehood in 1867.

At this time, I would like to present, as fairly as possible, a small portion of the comments addressed to me during the statehood poll:

FOR IMMEDIATE STATEHOOD

The people of Alaska have been steadily preparing for statehood for a good many years and I feel that we are fully ready to assume the responsibilities that go with statehood.

I object very strongly to the blocking efforts from outside interests.

Reason alone would indicate that Alaskans desire statehood. What reasoning man wishes for Government by edict; taxation without representation; discrimination in shipping, highway construction and use of national resources; and trial by judges who are appointed by his rulers?

I am unequivocably in favor of immediate statehood for Alaska and cannot understand why it has been so long denied us.

We do not have a vote in Congress nor a vote for president. We must depend on Federal courts for justice. There is nothing wrong with Federal courts but we have one in Anchorage for a population of 60,000 people and it is 2 years behind in its calendar. I say, let's have statehood.

We Alaskans have contributed much to the welfare of our country. Why should we be denied statehood now?

Alaska has so much to give but is stymied by the restrictions of Territorial government.

I think you will agree that Americans should not be compelled to live under a colonial system, even an American colonialism, if we are going to keep our American way of life and our American ideals.

For the sake of our American heritage and way of life and for the sake of the children and grandchildren of the American citizens who make up the entire Alaska population, Alaska should be granted immediate statehood.

We want the advantages of statehood we used to enjoy when we lived in the great State of Washington. We are disgusted with the way Alaskans are treated by selfish business interests in the States.

I can't understand why any Congressman or Senator can conscientiously oppose giving us the privilege of Statehood. As it now stands, we have taxation without representation.

OPPOSING IMMEDIATE STATEHOOD

The few people now living in Alaska would not be able to pay for the tremendous cost of statehood.

Let's leave Alaska a Territory, not make it a haven for a lot of money-hungry politicians.

We are burdened with such high taxation now there is no incentive to stay.

I definitely think Alaska is not ready for statehood and about 90 percent of the people here are opposed.

The statehood committee is organized and is being run strictly onesided.

The Congress should not turn over this vast undeveloped land to a bunch of fast operators to exploit for their own benefit.

I am not in favor of statehood for Alaska at this time but on the other hand I am not in favor of the present system of treat-

ment but I do believe the present system to be the lesser of two evils.

I am a frequent traveler in the Alaska interior and I know the majority of inhabitants are opposed to statehood but do not have the means or the communications to express their views.

On the practical side, most of us know we can't support statehood.

We got a bunch of amateur politicians trying to appeal to our Alaska pride.

We are taxed very heavy now and can't raise enough money to run a Territory. I don't know what we would do with a State.

It would be pleasant if the politicians would forget themselves for a moment and face the facts and thinking of the people.

We do not complain about being colonials nor do we feel the Federal Government has stifled our growth. There is nothing new that statehood can do for us that the Federal Government has not done for us in the past.

I favor statehood but certainly not until the Territory can manage itself in a more businesslike manner and be in position to support itself.

This is the only organization that can speak for 35,000 of us natives. We are opposed to immediate statehood because you count as permanent the transient population of 100,000 persons, and in addition, you don't allow for the other transients (Government workers) who file their applications for transfer as soon as they get here and yet because they are civilians, can qualify to vote. We natives constitute almost the entire group that "lives off the country." Why hurry? (William L. Paul, Sr., Juneau, Grand President, Emeritus, of the Alaska Native Brotherhood.)

Mr. Speaker, the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee has explored carefully the pros and cons of the question of statehood for Alaska. The bill has been reported. I hope a rule will be granted and that the House again can work its will on this important subject.

It is my hope that the bill will not be joined with statehood for Hawaii. A subject as important as bringing in a new State to the Union ought to stand on its own merits.

I have given long and careful thought to the question of statehood for Alaska. While I am convinced the people will have a rather hard struggle in the early years of statehood I believe in the end, under wise economic and political leadership, they can attain a growth and place of influence that will be on a par with the other 48 States.

It is my considered judgment that, for some reason difficult to understand, there is less sentiment this year for statehood for either Alaska or Hawaii than at any previous time. It may be the same reason that has been reflected in my poll which is about 2½ to 1 against statehood. The people have been writing me long and thoughtful letters. I believe the question most frequently raised was that of poor political leadership. They also frequently referred to the high cost of living in Alaska and the inability of the people to compete with the other States without a tremendous subsidy from the Government.

It is true Alaska's economy is pretty well based on military and Government spending. The Territory receives more subsidy from the Government than any State—subsidies for schools, health, roads, agriculture, public works, and similar items. Many of the letters I received complained bitterly about the Alaska Statehood Commission and Tennessee plan under which this group has $175,000 to spend in promoting statehood for the Territory. I believe there are many Members of Congress who feel that some rather high-pressure methods have been used by the so-called Tennessee group, who, under the original bill, would have taken their seats as Senators and Representatives from Alaska had the bill not been amended to require a new election for these important posts.

There are many who wrote suggesting that a new plebiscite be held, stating that the vote in the last election to approve the constitution and Tennessee plan was mixed with that of voting for fish traps and was not a clear-cut mandate for immediate statehood for Alaska.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the Committee has reported the best bill possible which would grant the Territory statehood. I expect to support it before the Rules Committee, and I suggest that my colleagues give their support to the bill when it comes to the House for consideration.

Murray as Consultant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Evening Star of Monday, July 1, 1957.

This editorial lauds the appointment of the Honorable Thomas E. Murray, former member of the Atomic Energy Commission, as consultant to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The Star joins many other newspapers and citizens in their recognition of the need for the continuance of the valued services of this expert as a public servant. It is most unfortunate that the President relied on the poor judgment of Mr. Strauss and failed to reappoint Mr. Murray. However, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy showed wisdom and statesmanship in continuing the services of Mr. Murray to our country in this most critical field of endeavor.

The editorial follows:

MURRAY AS CONSULTANT

It is good to know that Thomas E. Murray, even though he has come to the end of his distinguished 7-year service as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, will continue to play an active role in connection with our country's nuclear policies, military and nonmilitary alike.

This has been made possible by the decision of the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee to retain Mr. Murray as a consultant. He is eminently qualified for such a post. Although there have been deep differences between him and AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, he is—like Mr. Strauss—a man profoundly and selflessly interested in developing nuclear energy in a way that will best serve our Nation and the free world at large. In that respect, dedicated as he is, he is anything but a political partisan, and for that reason, even though they are open to challenge, his dissenting opinions have a special value that commends them to the careful attention of all Americans.

These opinions, as set forth in his latest statement to the joint committee, range over a wide field. He still believes, for example, as he has believed for some years past, that Mr. Strauss and the AEC as a whole are relying too heavily on private enterprise to develop atomic power for peaceful uses. Further, Mr. Murray is convinced that our military strategy has been distorted by an excessive emphasis on superbombs and the theory of deterrence. In his opinion, limited war, not total war, is the more prominent likelihood of the nuclear age, and he therefore holds that we are making a grave mistake in not developing and producing tens of thousands of small A-weapons. Above all, although he favors putting an end to multimegaton experimental detonations, he takes the position that it would be irrational, indefensible and reckless in the extreme for the United States to join in any international agreement calling for even a temporary halt to the testing or manufacture of the smaller weapons.

Other authorities, of course, have strong arguments to offer against such views as these, and it may well be that Mr. Murray is wrong in many respects. Yet, even though some of his sharpest dissents may be oversimplified or mistaken, it is a wholesome thing that a man of his caliber and experience is not withdrawing entirely from atomic affairs just because he is no longer a member of the AEC. Certainly his advice in this field will always be worth listening to as a safeguard against complacency. The joint committee is to be commended for persuading him to continue serving the Nation in that sense.

The Scrap Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the House Small Business Committee recently held hearings on the scrap industry. In this connection, I was pleased to receive the following letter, dated June 26, 1957, from Mrs. J. Monsky of Middletown, N. Y.:

J. MONSKY & CO.,
Middletown, N. Y., June 26, 1957.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Select Committee on Small Business, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: May I take this opportunity to thank you for your courtesy to me when I recently appeared before your committee. The questioning which I received showed that you not only have interest in our critical industry but a fine knowledge of it. As a member of the committee charged with the legislative responsibility of looking out for the interests of small business, you are doing a wonderful job.

I assure you that you may not receive a citation from the mammouth steel industry, or even from certain quarters of the scrap industry, but there are thousands of small dealers like me all over the country who appreciate the efforts of such a hard-working and fair-minded committee.

The feeling of many dealers like myself is that the scrap hearings are directly responsi-

ble for the recent published decision of the O. C. C. F. to alleviate restrictive purchase practices of that agency. This is a great step forward and you are to be commended for this result. We can only hope that the hearings will have the same effect on the domestic scene.

I wish you continued success in all your endeavors and want to assure you of my wholehearted cooperation at any time.

Sincerely,

LILLIAN MONSKY
Mrs. J. Monsky.

Address of Hon. Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, Before West Virginia Music Operators Association, Inc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an address which I made in Wheeling, W. Va., on Saturday, June 29, 1957, at the third annual convention of the West Virginia Music Operators Association, Inc. The address follows:

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: When I received your kind invitation to meet with you at your convention here today, I was very glad I was able to accept. Now that I am here, the pleasure of anticipation has been dwarfed by the cordial and friendly welcome you have given me. I was glad to accept your invitation primarily to get a chance to meet with you and to chat with you about things that concern us all. I also want to take this occasion to say a few words to you about trade associations, their place in American life, and particularly their functions relating to the Federal Government.

Trade associations, like the pleasures we get in listening to good music, are too generally taken for granted. They are not fully appreciated. Often they are inadequately supported.

But they are of tremendous importance. Most businessmen belong to at least one trade association, many to two or more. They have become an integral part in the economic and social life of the Nation, so much so that we can hardly conceive of our economy functioning smoothly without them.

How did these associations get started? Actually, of course, no one knows. It is only plausible to assume, however, that associations of businessmen are as old as business itself. As soon as 2 or 3 men started selling wool, or earthenware bowls, or metal ornaments at a primitive bazaar, we may be quite certain that quite often they got together, tossing about such questions as "How's business? What are you asking for this pitcher? Why is the quality of wool so poor this year?" Not much later producers and traders banded together for protection against bandits and pirates.

In the Middle Ages were formed the guilds of both manufacturers and merchants which might be considered more directly as the ancestors of today's trade associations. These guilds assumed a high degree of authority over their members, stipulating standards of output and rules for apprenticeship, fixing prices, and limiting output. They were a substantial power in the municipal and provincial governments in much of Europe as late as the 18th century.

However, there is obviously a vast gulf between such guilds and the trade associations as they have grown up in the United States. American trade associations are essentially voluntary in character and do not engage in such monopolistic activity as imposing prices or restricting production of individual members.

The affinity for Americans to join in groups such as trade associations was already observed more than a hundred years ago by that keen observer of American affairs, Alexis de Toqueville, who remarked in his noteworthy book, Democracy in America:

"Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations, succeed in proposing a common object to the exertions of a great many men and in getting them to voluntarily pursue it, and have applied this new science to the greatest number of purposes."

A few associations, mostly local in scope, developed before the 19th century, notably the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, founded in 1768, and the New York Stock Exchange, founded in 1792. The growth of national trade associations began after the Civil War. By 1900 there were an estimated 100 national associations in existence. By 1920 the number of trade associations had risen to more than 1,000, with many associations in the previous decade having adopted codes of ethics to promote higher standards of competitive conduct. Today there are at least 12,000 trade associations in the United States—National, State, and local.

This phenomenal growth certainly attests to the fact that these associations must be filling a genuine need. They have, in fact, adapted themselves to meet the great variety of needs of businessmen in different enterprises, needs that are constantly changing with shifts in economic conditions, public opinion, and governmental action. Although many of these functions will be familiar to you—some of them your own Music Operators Association undoubtedly undertakes for you—it may be well for us to refresh our memories as to scope of activities in which trade associations commonly engage today.

The trade association is probably first of all a clearinghouse of information that is vital to its own members. It often collects statistics on production and prices that its members need. Some of this information comes from the members themselves; often, other information is also gathered from pertinent public and other private sources. It may carry on any of a great range of advertising programs, making the public more favorably conscious of the products manufactured by its members. It often carries on educational programs of various kinds. This involves, on the one hand, providing information and suggestions for better business practices to members of the association themselves, and on the other, information to a wider public. Thus, trade associations in the food field are generous in furnishing carefully tested recipes to home economics instructors and to food editors in the daily papers. A trade association of savings banks will assist schools in carrying on campaigns encouraging thrift.

Closely related is the whole field of public relations, which includes a host of devices designed to create a more favorable public response to the particular industry involved. These devices run the gamut of news releases, plant tours, correspondence, speakers' bureaus, and a constructive approach to complaints.

Many of the larger trade associations now carry on sizable research projects on behalf of their members. The American Dairy Association, for example, is sponsoring a major research project designed to maintain and expand markets for milk and its products. The National Lumber Manufacturers Association has undertaken many projects of a technical nature, such as development of cigarette burn-proof table tops, utilization of sawmill waste, load tests of 50-foot timber trusses. These research projects are of greatest benefits to the small members of the associations who, obviously, cannot afford the necessary research personnel and facilities on their own. Here again the truth of the familiar motto, "In union there is strength" is borne out.

Trade associations have assisted their members in improving their accounting methods, in standardizing and simplifying their operations, in providing employment services, in cooperating with schools in providing employee training, in developing more effective employer-employee relations. They sometimes provide a certificate for products that meet specified standards.

But the function, or rather the group of related functions, of trade associations, I would like to concentrate on most here and now, is their role in governmental affairs. This is a tremendous and a complicated role. It is a well-known fact that, for better or worse, Government and business have come into an ever closer relationship, with more and more points of contact, over the years. The growth of antitrust and related legislation designed to assure fair and reasonable competition; the regulation of various industries such as railroads, airlines, radio and television, electric and gas utilities; the protection of consumers and investors by such agencies as the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission; the impact of taxes on corporations and other businesses; the reliance of the Government on industry for the materials and equipment needed for a successful prosecution of war and for an effective national defense—these are just a few of the illustrations of areas in which Government and business have impinged more and more on each other. In almost every instance, trade associations have performed an important service as a "middle man" between the Government and the particular industries involved. They are the ones who keep their membership informed as to legislation, both that which is passed and that which is proposed, and administrative action, affecting their members. They are the ones whom Government officials often turn to to get expert opinion on industry matters, and to obtain consultants, "dollar-a-year men," and other assistants needed in a war or defense emergency. They are frequently called upon to supply data essential for administrative action.

We often think of trade associations as lobbyists. Now, at first glance this sounds evil. The term "lobbying" has come into bad repute. But this is due largely to a few relatively isolated instances of unethical pressure having been brought to bear on individual Members of Congress, or other officials of the Government. Actually there is nothing improper about trade association representatives informing the Members of Congress and officials in the executive branch of the Government, just how they feel a specific legislature measure or executive order will affect the businesses in their own industry. On the contrary, no better way has yet been devised for Government officials to get, in a quick and efficient manner, a well-focused presentation of a particular industry point-of-view. It is vital for Government officials to have these views if they are to pass on legislative proposals with intelligence.

Trade associations not only furnish Government officials with industry opinion; they also supply the Government with a great deal of invaluable statistical information, information which is then, in most instances,

made available to the whole American people. Take, for example, probably the single most convenient official compilation of statistics put out by the Government, the annual Statistical Abstract of the United States. In the back of that book are listed the sources of statistics used in the tables comprising this volume. You would be amazed at the number of trade associations listed there. To mention only a few, there are the American Iron and Steel Institute, the American Petroleum Institute, the Association of American Railways, the Automobile Manufacturers Association, and the National Lumber Manufacturers Association. These associations, and many more, compile and publish statistical information that is relied upon implicitly by Government officials in their day-to-day operations. Without these data, our stock of information about economic trends would be seriously deficient. Moreover, trade associations have been very helpful in assisting the Bureau of the Census and other official statistical agencies in deciding what information would be most useful for them to obtain and in assuring the cooperation of their members in the gathering of the requisite statistical data.

Of course, the trade association, as a middleman, does just as effective work in transmitting governmental views, laws and documents, to its members, as in giving the Government the benefit of industry statistics and viewpoints. Many trade associations have a legal branch whose primary obligation it is to keep their members informed of Federal, State, and local legislation, actual and proposed, that is pertinent to their operations. By keeping their membership thoroughly informed as to governmental policies and practices, trade associations frequently are helpful in a kind of watchdog operation over governmental affairs. They are able to, and have, pointed out cases of governmental waste, duplication, and inefficiency, which can then be more expeditiously corrected.

I have already mentioned, in a general way, how useful trade associations have been in the national defense effort. I think this is important enough that I should like to cite a few examples, again indicating the variety of trade association activity. In World War II, the National Electrical Contractors Association surveyed 6,000 electrical contractors to find 750 firms qualified to fill war orders. The American Association of Nurserymen gave the Army advice on plants and shrubs to use for camouflaging important civilian and military installations. The National Restaurant Association revised the Navy cookbook. The Association of General Contractors helped the Army develop a corps of men trained in the care of heavy construction equipment. Many of you, I am sure, could add instances of which you are personally familiar.

In concentrating as I have, and I believe, rightly so, on the constructive work done by trade associations, particularly in their dealings with governmental groups and agencies, I would not want to leave the impression that trade association activity has in each instance been in the public interest. There is in fact always the danger to be guarded against of collusion in terms of fixing prices or quantities or standards of production, which would clearly be in violation of the antitrust laws. There have been a few court cases in which trade associations have been prosecuted because of such unlawful activity. However, the percentage of trade associations that have become thus involved is very small and these court cases have made it reasonably clear as to what the proper limits of trade association activity are.

All in all, I am sure that we must agree that the record of trade associations in this country is an admirable one. The activities they have undertaken in the public interest are legion. They have facilitated the smooth functioning of business operations in hundreds of fields. They have made possible a mutual understanding between business and Government that would be quite inconceivable in their absence. I have every confidence that they will continue to perform ever more efficiently and usefully in the years to come.

Our Irradiated Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I believe the amazing and enlightening article by Drs. Jack Schubert and Ralph Lapp, "Our Irradiated Children" which appeared in the June 17, 1957, issue of the New Republic is of extreme interest and importance. The article is a condensed version of a chapter from their book Radiation: What It Is and How It Affects You. In order that as many people as possible may read this commentary under unanimous consent I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

OUR IRRADIATED CHILDREN

(By Jack Schubert and Ralph Lapp)

No mother would knowingly increase the chances that her child might eventually develop cancer, leukemia, bone disturbances, or inability to produce healthy offspring. Yet the sober facts are that thousands of infants and children in the United States are needlessly exposed to more radiation in one year than would be allowed atomic energy workers in a lifetime.

Where do these needless excessive radiation exposures to children take place? The answer is simple: usually in the privacy of the physician's office or in the hospital. How long has this situation existed? The answer: at least since 1907, when irradiation was first used to treat an enlarged thymus in an infant. Has the overuse of radiation to children decreased since the 1940's when information on radiation hazards became universal? Here again the answer is simple but unbelievable: excessive radiation dosages to children have increased as shown by surveys of radiation practices made in earlier years and up to the time of this writing.

There are at least three important reasons for the exceptionally hazardous nature of radiation exposure to young, growing persons: (1) Their tissues are generally more responsive to radiation effects than are those of adults; (2) their long life expectancy means that the damage of a delayed radiation-induced injury is far more important than it would be in the case of one whose advanced age makes what may happen in 20 years a matter of academic interest only; and (3) the accumulation of radiation does to the reproductive organs of children means that the chances of passing on hereditary defects to their descendants are enhanced.

It has been estimated both by Dr. Stanley H. Clark, medical physicist at the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Los Angeles, and by the United States Public Health Service, that 25 million diagnostic X-rays are given per year, excluding those in mass chest surveys, and of these 5 million are fluoroscopic. Of these 5 million, about 1.5 million are of people in the 0-to-30-year age group. Further, of the 4 million treatments using X-rays which are made in 1 year, 1 million are for nonmalignant disorders such as warts, skin conditions, infections, enlargement of the tonsils, and many others.

In order to get perspective on the magnitude of the radiation doses given some children, let us take as a guide the recommendations made by the eminent Committee on Genetic Effects of Atomic Radiation in their report issued in 1956 by the National Academy of Sciences:

"This report recommends that the general public of the United States be protected, by whatever controls may be necessary, from receiving a total reproductive lifetime dose (conception to age 30) of more than 10 roentgens of manmade radiation to the reproductive cells.

"Of this reasonable (not harmless, but reasonable) quota of 10 roentgens over and beyond the inevitable background of radiation from natural causes, we are now using on the average some 3 or 4 roentgens for medical X-rays. This is roughly the same as the unavoidable dose received from background radiation. It is really very surprising and disturbing to realize that this figure is so large, and clearly it is prudent to examine this situation carefully. It is folly to incur any X-ray exposure to the gonads which can be avoided without impairing medical service or progress."

Leukemia is a rare disease in which uncontrolled overproduction of the white blood cells occurs. It is invariably fatal but may run its course over several years. It may be induced in animals by exposure to a large dose of radiation or small repeated doses over periods of months or years. In the group that was 0 to 19 years of age at Hiroshima, 21 cases of leukemia were found by the end of 1954—9 years after the dropping of the bomb. These were children who were exposed to radiation within 1,500 meters of the center of the explosion, which means that they received dosages of 300 r or more. Not more than two cases of leukemia would have been expected in an unexposed Japanese population of the same age and numbers. Leukemia has been observed in children who were exposed to X-rays in infancy during treatments for enlargement of their thymus glands. The connection between X-rays used to irradiate the thymus and the increase in leukemia which results has been clearly pointed out in the reports of the National Research Council issued in 1956.

Several cases of cancer of the thyroid have been reported among children years after they had been given X-ray treatment around the neck for nonmalignant conditions such as enlarged tonsils, suspected enlargement of the thymus gland, adenoids, bronchitis, enlarged glands in the neck, deafness, and many other disorders. Many of the children were less than 2 years of age when they received radiation. The first indications that there might be a connection between cancer of the thyroid and irradiation of the neck were reported at Memorial Hospital in New York by Doctors Duffy and Fitzgerald in 1950. They found that most of their patients with this disease had received irradiation to the thymus some time between the 4th and 16th month of life.

On the average, it took 7 years after the irradiation for the thyroid cancer to appear. Studies reported by Dr. Dwight E. Clark, of the University of Chicago, have confirmed the increased incidence of thyroid cancer from a study of many more cases. As little as 200 roentgens seems to have produced cancer; this is a far smaller dose of radiation than had ever before been observed to produce a cancer in human beings.

X-RAY AND THYROID CANCER

Is cancer of the thyroid increasing? Dr. Clark marshals evidence to show that it is indeed increasing rapidly:

"Although it is still a relatively uncommon condition, the number of cases diagnosed is becoming more frequent. * * *

From 1900 through 1930 only eight cases of carcinoma of the thyroid in individuals under 15 years of age were reported * * * from 1931 to 1940, 34 cases * * * from 1941 to 1950, 50 cases. * * * The recent increase is so large, * * * it must represent a true increase."

The increasing incidence of carcinoma of the thyroid in children and adolescents seems to correlate with the greater use of X-ray for benign conditions about the head, neck, and upper thorax.

Studies are still continuing in order to pin down the correlation between thyroid cancer and prior radiation. The British Medical Council has reported cases of cancer of the pharynx and larynx in patients who have had X-ray treatments around the neck for benign conditions such as tuberculous glands. In some cases the cancers did not develop until more than 30 years after the radiation, and there was an overall average of 20 years.

A similar hazard arises from use of the radium applicator, a mechanical device which holds a small quantity of radium salt. The applicator is designed for insertion into the body cavities or application on the skin whenever radiation treatment of a selected region is desired. One type of which at least 2,000 are in use in the United States and Canada, is designed for the treatment, usually in children, of excessive nasopharyngeal lymphoid tissue. The dosage in roentgen equivalents delivered by the device was directly measured by the physicist, Dr. C. B. Braestrup of the Department of Hospitals in New York City, who found that during the usual course of treatment the applicator delivered as much as 20,000 roentgens to the surface of the tissue and from several hundred to several thousand roentgens deep within the tissue. Patients received repeated treatments, some at yearly intervals.

RADIUM RACKET

We must point out that treatments by radium applicator are so profitable that in some cases financial, rather than medical, considerations may suggest its use. Read what a nose-and-throat specialist, with an active practice, Dr. K. Day, of Pittsburgh, wrote in 1950:

"Over $2 million have been invested by the medical profession in radium applicators. * * * The applicators can now be rented for 1 or 2 days a month, when they can be used successively on an office full of patients and can become a lucrative source of income to the user. * * * The use of radium applicators in the nasopharynx has definitely reached the racket level. * * * It has apparently become the custom to use them for the treatment of symptoms rather than pathologic conditions and, too frequently, the nasopharynx is not even examined before irradiation."

Radiation treatment for skin conditions, begun within a year after roentgen's discovery, creates a special hazard in the case of children. In their widely respected book Therapeutic Radiology, Drs. Holmes and Schulz say this about the use of radiation for treatment of nonmalignant skin conditions:

"In the treatment of benign cutaneous lesions * * * no matter how annoying they are, the fact should be borne in mind that roentgen rays can have a permanent deleterious effect on all tissues, and the possible consequences of treatment, particularly if overdone, must carefully be weighed against the benefit to be expected. It has been said that the skill of the dermatologist varies indirectly with the frequency with which he uses X-rays in the control of benign dermatologic diseases. * * * This agent should never be used in the ordinary dermatologic conditions until all other means of control have been exhausted."

As with other cases the effects of skin damage from radiation may not show up for 10 or 15 years.

Remember that other effects may follow later, including leukemia or skin cancer. Yet these treatments are still given. However, whether more or fewer people are being treated can be revealed only by a comprehensive survey. We do know that at least a million cases of radiation treatment for benign conditions are carried out yearly in the United States alone.

The radiation striking the patient is not always localized, so that many organs other than those under treatment also receive radiation. The radiosensitivity of the blood has already been described. The bone, in general, is quite resistant to radiation damage. It appears that doses of about 3,000 r are needed to induce bone cancer. However, young growing bone is much more sensitive to growth interference, and this is especially true of the very active growing ends. Extreme care must be taken in the amount of radiation given to children for dental examinations. It is possible that repeated dental X-rays to children may so damage the tissues of the gums that serious aftereffects may be expected to develop in their adult teeth.

THE UNBORN CHILD

The younger the child, the greater is the sensitivity to radiation. This brings us to a very important question:

What is the biological and medical evidence for radiation damage to the unborn child? It aids in our understanding to examine evidence in cases where very heavy radiation doses were given to the abdominal regions of pregnant women for cancer therapy. Here the relationship between the irradiation and the result is obvious. Of many examples, we cite the 1929 report of Dr. L. Goldstein and Dr. D. P. Murphy. Out of 75 children born to the heavily irradiated mothers, 38 showed some obvious degree of malformation. Sixteen were microcephalic idiots—a condition resulting from a partial failure of the development of the brain, so that as a result the head is smaller than that of a normal baby. Ordinarily only one such idiot is born in 10,000 births. Studies of children who had been irradiated in utero during the atomic bombings in Japan also showed an increased incidence of abnormalities.

A survey is now underway in England to study the case histories of mothers and children in which the children died from malignancy before the age of 10 during the period from 1950 to 1953. With one-third of some 1,500 cases already investigated Dr. Alice Stewart and her associates conclude that: "The present investigation suggests that besides causing genetic damage, this apparently harmless examination [X-ray] may occasionally cause leukemia or cancer in the unborn child."

These British findings need to be extended, but if they are confirmed it means that roentgen dosages to the fetus are much more damaging than previously thought, and a higher degree of precaution is mandatory in antenatal X-ray examination of women. Our concepts of safe dosages of X-rays will have to be revised so far as the X-ray diagnoses of pregnant women are concerned.

Until now we have mainly examined some of the effects on blood, skin, and bone to children who were given radiation for treatment of benign conditions. The most inexcusable situation, however, is the giving of excess doses of radiation to children simply in the course of routine examination or for a trivial and unnecessary item like shoe-fitting.

According to United States Public Health reports, there are approximately 10,000 X-ray shoe-fitting machines in use in the United States. Obviously it is important to know precisely the radiation doses received by the children as well as by clerks and other persons in the vicinity.

Careful measurements of the radiation dosage delivered by X-ray shoe-fitting machines were reported in Boston in 1949 by Charles R. Williams, an industrial safety expert. He found that dosages to the foot ranged from 0.5 to 5.8 roentgens per second. For a 22-second exposure, which is commonly used, the feet received from 10 to 116 roentgens. Remember too, that one child may have his feet examined many times while trying on different shoes. Similar dosage measurements have been reported by the United States Public Health Service, which states that the average dosages to the children's feet are between 7 and 14 roentgens per exposure.

The use of these machines cannot be condemned too strongly, and it is a measure of the ineffectiveness of regulations and an amazing laxness or ignorance that the use of the machines has not been outlawed everywhere. It is encouraging that some states, such as Pennsylvania, have banned them.

THE HAZARDS OF FLUOROSCOPES

The use of diagnostic X-rays in pediatric practice presents a very disturbing picture. Let us start the story with the report of H. M. Parker, physicist now in charge of radiation safety at the Hanford atomic energy works, and Dr. Franz Buschke, radiologist, of Seattle. In 1941 they presented a joint paper on "Possible Hazards of Repeated Fluoroscopies in Infants." They pointed out that some pediatricians give monthly fluoroscopy to infants the first 6 months of life, and that some continue through the first and second years. The potential hazard of fluoroscopic examination to infants is very high, particularly in view of the large dosage delivered. This hazard is increased because "even many specialized radiologists do not know the actual output per minute of their diagnostic machine."

In order to check the potential hazards, Buschke and Parker measured the actual amount of radiation delivered during fluoroscopic examination of infants. They investigated seven machines selected at random and used in offices of reputable pediatricians. Not all the 7 pediatricians did routine or even regular repeated fluoroscopies, but Buschke and Parker found that all 7 had one thing in common—none of them knew how many roentgens their machines were delivering.

Here are the facts: The average dose given by all the machines was 25 roentgens per minute. Assuming that the average rapid fluoroscopy by an experienced examiner takes about 20 seconds, this means an average of 8.3 roentgens, or 100 roentgens in the first year of life (if routine monthly fluoroscopies are done). However, Buschke and Parker state that "we know from experience that some of the fluoroscopies last considerably longer." They found one machine delivered radiation at the rate of 200 roentgens a minute—a dose rate high enough to cause death from radiation within a month following a 10-minute continuous exposure.

It was further mentioned by Buschke and Parker that even though the measured doses decrease in passing through the infant's body, the most endangered organs such as the ovaries, testicles, spine, and extremities in infants are quite close to the radiations.

It is often very difficult or impossible to pin down damage due to radiation. In reference to doctors who point to pictures and records of all the healthy babies which were under their care as proof that radition is harmless, Buschke and Parker wrote:

"The appearance of a baby does not say anything about the future development of the child. Since we do not expect mainly gross variations but more a general but immeasurable deterioration in those who will be born, the normal appearance of a baby and even of an adult is meaningless."

Buschke and Parker's paper was published in 1942. Did it have any effect on the overuse of fluoroscopy? A survey has recently

been made of Drs. Vallaer and Zavon, of the College of Medicine of the University of Cincinnati. Writing in the Journal of the American Medical Association for October 1956, Dr. Zavon gave a preview of their findings: "What is most disquieting is that the situation described in 1955 is virtually unchanged from that described by Buschke and Parker in 1942."

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

If you are a parent or expect to be one, you may by now be asking yourself what you can do to prevent having your children, born or unborn, exposed to unnecessary and perhaps harmful radiation. There are cautionary procedures which you can follow to minimize the hazards of radiodiagnosis and radiotherapy.

You may be somewhat embarrassed about examining your doctor on his knowledge of radiation, but it is well to remember that the risks involved in continuous exposure before the fluoroscopic screen are much greater than from an ordinary X-ray photo, and to find out first of all which form of irradiation is to be used. Our advice is to follow these few rules:

Rule No. 1: Ask your doctor whether he is going to take X-ray photos. If he says "No," and uses an X-ray machine, he is using fluoroscopy. In that case it may be well to pause and consider.

Rule No. 2: If you suspect that you are pregnant, tell the doctor that you wish to have the routine X-ray examination postponed.

Rule No. 3: If you know that you are pregnant, do not allow any X-rays unless they are quite localized, as to an extremity, or unless there is preferential shielding of the womb or unless the condition is so critical as to warrant the calculated risk.

Rule No. 4: If it is necessary for you or your children to undergo radiotherapy, ask if the condition being treated is malignant. If it is nonmalignant, ask the doctor about alternative modes of treatment.

Rule No. 5: Tell the doctor that you are keeping a personal radiation diary for yourself and your family. * * * Ask him to give you in writing a summary of the X-ray or radium treatment, including a specification of the roentgen dosage, the area treated, and an estimate of the doseage to the gonads.

Let us conclude with the sage advice of Dr. R. W. Miller of Rochester.

"X-ray irradiation is atomic energy. By its overuse in pediatrics a child's tolerance for this physical agent may be dissipated. The child of today faces a life of repeated exposures to atomic energy. Even if he does not become an aviator exposed to the elevated cosmic ray dosage of high altitudes, or a worker in industry where X-rays or radioactive power are employed, or a hospital or laboratory worker exposed to X-ray machine emanations and radioisotopes, he is still apt to be a soldier or civilian involved in an area of radioisotopes contamination, or a patient who needs diagnostic fluoroscopy or X-ray therapy. With the possibility that atomic energy will be so frequently encountered in the life of the immediate future, it would seem advisable to limit elective [pediatric roentgen] procedures as much as possible."

REA Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to offer for consideration of my colleagues resolutions recently adopted by the delegates of the Dairyland Power Cooperative at La Crosse, Wis. At a time when the House prepares to consider the Hells Canyon dam legislation it is fitting that we consider the recommendations of 93,041 patrons of electric cooperatives in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois. In considering those recommendations it is also important to remember that the total of the money disbursed to the Rural Electrification Administration by this cooperative since its origin amounts to $10,696,046 which includes total interest payments of $3,603,895 and prepayments on principal of $1,565,810.

If we could count on the same sort of returns on our loans to our friends overseas as we get from our rural electric cooperative patrons I am confident there would be less question about making foreign loans. I recommend a study of this record of repayment especially to those of my colleagues who may feel that it is consistent to offer waivers of interest and even principal payments to our foreign friends and at the same time consider increasing the rate of interest charged against our own citizens who have achieved so much in providing electric service for themselves.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE DAIRYLAND POWER COOPERATIVE HELD JUNE 5, 1957, AT LA CROSSE, WIS.

STABLE AND FAIR REA INTEREST RATES

Resolved, That the delegates to the Dairyland Power Cooperative assembled in its annual meeting approve and endorse the remarks and position stated by President John E. Olson in his report to the members, relating to interest rates, as follows:

"Another controversy shaping up is over REA interest rates. You are all familiar with this issue. When the REA program was established, interest rates were legislated which would provide that they equal the average cost of money to the Government on long-term borrowings. In 1944, because of the redtape involved in establishing each new advance of REA loan funds at a different rate of interest, the Pace Act was passed pegging future interest rates at 2 percent. This 2-percent rate was established based upon a long-term average rate of interest cost to the Government. The Pace Act was a revision of the REA Act which recognized the 8 years of REA experience and was calculated to project the REA program into the future on a long-range basis. In addition to establishing a permanent 2-percent interest rate, the Pace Act changed the amortization period from 25 to 35 years. At the moment of the adoption of the Pace Act money was costing the Government considerably less than 2 percent, and on the average has been less than 2 percent since then. As a matter of fact, the Government has made a profit of $47 million on REA loans as of the end of 1956.

"However, during the past 3 years as a result of the hard-money policy of the national administration, interest rates have, temporarily at least, increased above 2 percent. Judging from history, it is doubtful that such hard-money policy will be permanent. At any rate, the temporary effects of such political expediencies are not a proper justification for upsetting the long-range REA program.

"As you might expect, the hue and cry was immediately set up, by those wishing to embarrass REA, that interest rates should be increased. We recognize that loans at 2 percent today are causing withdrawals from that $47 million profit made by the Government on previous REA loans. But we must recognize, too, that REA loans are and must be long-term loans. There may be withdrawals, and there may be increases over the years in the profit made by the Government on a permanent 2-percent interest rate on REA loans. However, we supported the Pace Act in recognition of this fact of life, and we fully expect that the Congress will recognize that in the long run the 2-percent rate is a valid one in protecting the interest of all taxpayers.

"Where does this hue and cry come from? Certainly not from those interested in the welfare of our rural citizens. Certainly it does not come from those who have seen and appreciate the transformation that cooperative rural electrification has brought to rural America. Certainly not from the average taxpayer who recognizes that programs, such as the REA program, are building the economic power of millions more Americans to help them contribute toward the cost of government.

"Each and every member cooperative and Dairyland has a great stake in the outcome of this issue. Two per cent interest on principal over a 35-year period amounts to a very large interest bill. For the calendar years of 1955 and 1956, for instance, Dairyland's expense for interest amounted to more than 13 percent of total operating expenses."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE DAIRYLAND POWER COOPERATIVE HELD JUNE 5, 1957, AT LA CROSSE, WIS.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Whereas the dedicated purpose of Dairyland Power Cooperative to improve the standard of living of rural people will be advanced and nurtured by the early development of low-cost fuel through the use of atomic energy; and

Whereas the Federal Government has already invested $16 billion in the development of the use of atomic energy, and is in the most advantageous position to immediately proceed with the final development of atomic energy in the generation of electricity on a basis that will make such processes freely available to all types of organizations generating electricity on a fair and equal basis, regardless of size or financial ability of such organizations; and

Whereas it is our judgment that it is the responsibility of Congress to carry on a positive action program for the research, development, and production of electricity from atomic fuel under direct Government mandate and under legislation authorizing sufficient funds to build and operate a number of variable-sized generating stations throughout the United States and to continue their operation until the desired competitive price status of the energy produced has been attained: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Dairyland Power Cooperative go on record urging Congress to enact into law Senate bill 151 and H. R. 2154, which would permit and enable the Government to face up to its responsibility to the people of making finally available processes for the generation of electricity from atomic energy.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE DAIRYLAND POWER COOPERATIVE HELD JUNE 5, 1957, IN LA CROSSE, WIS.

DEVELOPMENT OF HELLS CANYON ON THE SNAKE RIVER

Resolved, That the delegates to the Dairyland Power Cooperative assembled in its annual meeting approve and endorse the resolution of the board of directors relating to Hells Canyon adopted at its meeting of April 18, 1957, as follows:

"Whereas the Congress of the United States will act at its present session on authorizing legislation to construct a high

dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River; and

"Whereas the proper legislative test to apply to any project like the proposed high Hells Canyon Dam is whether it will provide for the fullest proper use of natural resources and whether private interests are willing and able to do the job as well as can be done by Federal development; and

"Whereas the Federal Power Commission has granted a license to Idaho Power Co. for construction of small, low dams as an alternative to a single high Federal dam despite the findings of its hearing examiner, after a year of hearings, that the best development in the public interest would be a single high dam such as proposed in Hells Canyon legislation; and

"Whereas we heartily concur with the examiner that a high dam providing 2,880,000 more acre-feet of storage for flood control, that would provide almost 40 percent more power; that would permit ultimate sale of the power at less than half the cost compared to projects authorized by the Federal Power Commission, is clearly a superior project in the public interest, particularly because it would be part of a long-term integrated development of the Snake River; and

"Whereas the examiner's reason for recommending approval of a Federal Power Commission license for private development was only because he personally didn't think Congress would authorize promptly the Federal development;

"Whereas Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Iowa farmers, as well as farmers in 11 other Midwestern States would realize a saving of approximately $8.40 per ton in their purchase of plant food as a result of a major development of the phosphate resources of this area which would utilize the low-cost power from a Federal dam, but could not practically utilize higher cost power and lesser available capacity from private development; and

"Whereas in 1957, 16 farmer-owned cooperative organizations serving the plant food needs of 2 million farmer patrons in 15 Midwest States have already started development of the phosphate resources of this area but find the cost of concentrating superphosphates at the plant cost $2.10 per ton more for each additional mill in kilowatt-hour cost and the difference between cost of power available from Federal development averages 3 mills compared to 7 mills from private development; and

"Whereas low-cost power would increase the percentage of estimated phosphate deposits feasible for development by more than 300 percent, and such differentials in both price and available supply may often determine whether or not a farmer can afford to follow good soil conservation practices; and

"Whereas Idaho Power Co. already has applications pending for rapid tax write-offs on 2 of its proposed 3 small dams which at 6 percent over 50 years would yield a total subsidy at the expense of taxpayers of more than $325 million or roughly the cost of the Federal high dam, with the further expectation that a similar subsidy will be applied for if it should build the third dam it proposes; and

"Whereas the private development represents partial, piecemeal and less than maximum integration of the potential of our great American water resources at ultimately much greater cost to the taxpayers of the Nation; and

"Whereas this stretch of the Snake River represents the greatest remaining potential dam site in the Nation; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the members of the board of directors of Dairyland Power Cooperative, which serves more than 90,000 rural families with their wholesale electric power needs in the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and Illinois, do hereby strongly urge that our representatives in the Senate of the United States Congress, and our representatives in the House of Representatives in our United States Congress, do actively support enabling and authorizing legislation to provide for the construction of the high Federal dam at Hells Canyon under auspices of the United States and that construction be authorized with the least possible delay."

The American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, much has been said and written since World War II about the importance of maintaining a strong merchant marine. But seldom has that subject been driven home more strongly than is done in 2 prize-winning essays written by 2 students in my home State. As a result, Sharon Joh Poulson, 10405 56th Avenue S., Seattle, and Ronald Allen Bechtol, 1908 33d Street, Bellingham, have been awarded national prizes in the 1957 Harold Harding memorial essay contest.

Miss Poulson will receive a round trip to the Hawaiian Islands in a ship of the Matson Line, and Mr. Bechtol a coastwise trip in a vessel of the Moore-McCormack Lines, Inc.

I ask unanimous consent that both essays may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN FARMER, MINER, AND MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By Sharon Joy Poulsen)

The American Merchant Marine consists of ships of all types which are privately owned and operated, and are sailing under the American flag. They are available to carry passengers and commerce and to serve in time of need as a transport auxiliary to the United States military forces. The merchant marine is our ocean pipeline in time of peace, as well as in time of war.

The Government of the United States helps to maintain an American merchant fleet because it is essential to our commercial welfare. Our Nation's ocean-going passenger and cargo fleet is also indispensable to our national defense and security.

The American steamship companies help the American shipper—whether farmer, miner, or manufacturer—by assuring him of prompt, regular, dependable service; sales and promotional aid abroad; and equality of rates, regardless of the amount of cargo shipped. We cannot be assured such service, or of such rates, without an American-flag merchant marine. Nor could we be assured with a weak and ineffective merchant marine.

Neither in peace nor in war can America depend upon foreign countries for its ocean transport. To do so under present world conditions would be to invite disaster.

The American merchant marine is sufficient to carry its domestic waterborne commerce and a substantial portion of the waterborne export and import foreign commerce of the United States as well as to provide shipping service on all routes essential for maintaining the flow of such domestic and foreign waterborne commerce at all times.

Our domestic economy is dependent upon foreign trade. Approximately one-tenth of all United States produce is sold abroad; but in some of the larger industries, foreign trade accounts for as much as 35 to 53 percent of all sales.

Our industry is vitally dependent upon ocean transport, both for the import of essential raw materials and for the export of our industrial and agricultural products to world markets. Goods from farms are desperately needed in war-torn and hunger-ridden areas.

The true measure of a port's prosperity is its oceangoing world commerce. It is not alone the shipowners and operators, the shipyards and manufacturers of shipping machinery and parts, who benefit financially. Agricultural areas of the United States have not always been so apt to recognize this fact as have those sections of the country closer to the seaboard. It is good insurance to depend on American ships to transport beef, wheat, cotton, and other farm products to the markets of the world. During the years 1949–51, exports of cotton amounted to 37 percent of the total production; of wheat, exports amounted to 35 percent; and of tobacco, 26 percent.

Future prosperity of the farm population is dependent on the activity of the merchant marine. Farmers have all sorts of new machinery and can produce more than ever. If the United States has ships to carry products to the world ports, the farmers will enjoy a scale of living which was undreamed of in the past. But if he had to depend on the domestic market, the farmer's prospects of a golden age would vanish into thin air.

The miner is faced with the same problem as the farmer: the domestic market cannot possibly support him. He must rely at least partially on foreign trade. The miner makes use of the merchant marine in exporting metals, ores, and other minerals. He also depends on the manufacturer to provide tools with which to mine these minerals. With the miner depending on him, the manufacturer is dependent upon the merchant marine to import the raw materials necessary to produce these tools.

Our industrial society is dependent upon world commerce and the imports of raw materials for our factories and our mills. American industry imports 55 necessary raw materials from all parts of the world. Some of these are manganese, without which high quality steel could not be produced; cobalt and columbium, necessary for the production of jet aircraft engines; chromium, without which stainless and heat resistant steels could not be produced; and nickel.

Of the 20 alloying elements necessary for steel production, the United States is deficient in about a dozen. The United States is self-sufficient in approximately 9 out of the 38 *critical* industrial metals and minerals. We import two-fifths of our copper and nearly one-third of our lead and zinc. These products were all classified as strategic minerals by the Munitions Board. We are almost entirely dependent upon foreign sources for our tin, nickel, and platinum. Eighteen out of thirty-seven most important materials in the telephone come from abroad.

An American-flag fleet is necessary to return basic materials of various types: cork, tin, copra, rubber, and coffee.

In America's vast automobile industry, ships are invisible helpers at either end of the assembly line. They bring in raw materials which are so necessary for the manufacture of the products, and they carry out exports of automobiles, trucks, buses, parts, accessories, and equipment. In 1952, the exports of the automobile industry alone

totaled almost a billion dollars. Of the 184 raw materials needed to manufacture a car, 94 of them must be imported. Three-hundred-odd products from 56 foreign countries are used in making American automobiles.

In all phases of the national life of the United States, the American Merchant Marine is a powerful tool for the production and for the continuance of additional prosperity. We cannot survive without ships.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN FARMER, MINER, AND MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By Ronald Allen Bechtol)

If you have ever watched a great ship unloading at a busy port, you probably did not stop to think how important that ship and others like her are to the prosperity of our Nation. The average American has little idea of the immensity of the services that the merchant marine provides both at home and abroad, even though he feels its influence daily.

Farmer, miner, and manufacturer alike are largely dependent for their prosperity upon the services provided by the ships of the American merchant marine. Passenger liners carry a small amount of the Nation's cargo, but the greatest bulk is handled by ocean freighters, the workhorse of the merchant marine, which maintain scheduled runs to nearly all parts of the globe. Facilities are available on them for nearly every kind of bulk produce imaginable. The familiar tramp steamer, which has no definitely scheduled route, is another cargo ship which can, and will, handle almost any task. Nearly all liquid cargo is transported on tankers and supertankers. Temperatures in their holds can be maintained at a point exactly suited to the materials being carried. Reefers, or refrigerated ships, are equipped with refrigeration units which enable them to safely carry perishable products for long periods of time. These ships and more constitute perhaps the greatest merchant marine the world has ever known.

The American farmer, miner, and manufacturer form a natural partnership with American shipping. The ships of the merchant marine provide the vital link between our economy and that of other nations. For example, in 1952 our farmers exported one-half of the rice crop, two-fifths of the wheat, and one-fourth of all cotton and tobacco. Also important to our farm economy are exports of soybeans, tallow, raisins, and barley, to name a few. It is apparent, therefore, that the farmer is already dependent upon foreign sales for a large share of his prosperity, and he must greatly expand this market in order to reduce our vast stockpiles of surpluses. Once these markets have been expanded, the merchant marine is the logical means for maintaining them.

Similarly, the miner is dependent upon American shipping as a means to transport his raw materials to the factories and refineries of the world. The demand for coal and oil in Britain and Western Europe has grown tremendously of late because of their declining production and the Middle East crisis. Our tramp steamers and ocean freighters carried them 304 million tons of coal from American mines in 1954. Tankers shipped in excess of 45 million tons of crude petroleum in the same year. In addition, the rates for bulk materials such as ores and petroleum are the cheapest transportation in the world. This means that the miner can realize more from his labor through the services of the merchant marine and that the countries of Western Europe can afford to replenish their diminishing stocks of coal and oil from American mines and wells.

The same gain experienced by the miner through the facilities of the merchant marine is being realized by the American manufacturer as well. Flour from American mills can be shipped as far as China for one-fifth of a cent per pound. Iron ore from Chile or wood pulp from Sweden can be imported for nearly the same rate. These rates are what allow our country to produce the goods for which we are suited and import the remainder. Following this principle American manufacturers imported in 1954, 486 million tons of coffee, 452 tons of cocoa, and like amounts of many other raw materials. By the same token, our manufacturers can export cheaply to other countries, thereby maintaining needed foreign markets through the facilities of the merchant marine.

The valuable services afforded to our economy by the merchant marine are not, however, confined to overseas trade. Domestic shipping along our coasts, lakes, rivers, and canals is just as important to our daily lives. To the long list of seagoing vessels can be added Great Lakes ore carriers, barges, and innumerable other ships. Each plays its part in the commerce of America.

The cheapest, safest method for the farmer to get his produce to domestic markets is by ship. Boats ceaselessly ply the waters of inland waterways and coasts carrying cotton, tobacco, wheat, and corn to include just a few. On the Great Lakes alone 6,600,000 tons of grain were shipped in 1953. Shipping facilities along the farming regions of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico have increased tremendously of late. The number of barges alone has almost doubled since 1940.

The miner is also concerned with this development in domestic shipping. His shipments of petroleum from countless wells along the Gulf of Mexico to refineries on the Atlantic coast constitute a large portion of the cargo carried on inland and coast waterways. Perhaps the most familiar sight along the shores of the Great Lakes is that of the hard-working ore carrier, for in 1953 they carried over 106 million tons of ore to the blast furnaces of Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and the surrounding area. Mainly due to the ore, the Great Lakes carry more tonnage in one year than the Panama and Suez Canals combined.

Likewise, it is not unusual to see barges and ships laden with cereals, farm machinery, or even automobiles on the waters of the Great Lakes and our coastal and inland waterways. These waterways allow the manufacturer to decentralize industry and still get his products cheaply and safely to market.

The next time you visit a busy port, pause a moment to realize the importance of the vital service provided our economy, our farmers, miners, and manufacturers by the American merchant marine, the lifeline to the markets of the world and home, our merchant marine.

Government Action To Warn Public of Dangers to Health Involved in Use of Cigarettes

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I believe the time has come for the United States Government to warn its people of the very grim and direct perils involved in the use of tobacco in general, and in the use of cigarettes, in particular.

The statistics on the prevalence of lung cancer among inveterate smokers can no longer be disregarded. Furthermore, the Ministry of Health in Great Britain has just announced that the Government of that country will take active steps to bring to the attention of the public the risks at stake in smoking cigarettes. Can our own Government do any less?

The American Government warns us about dishpan hands and about what pests can do to plants and flowers, but it takes little interest in publicizing the damage tobacco tars can do to the human lung. By contrast, the Parliamentary Secretary of Health told the House of Commons, in London, last week:

The government feels that it is right to insure that this latest authoritative opinion is brought effectively to the public notice, that everyone may know the risks involved in smoking.

Mr. President, the wealth of a nation is in the health of its people. Responsible and reliable medical experts now believe that cigarette smoking is injurious to health; that it particularly endangers the lungs; that it may even be a factor in malignancies of the lung. At the American Medical Association convention held in New York City, in June, it was announced that deaths from lung cancer are 1,000 percent greater among men who smoke cigarettes than among nonsmokers.

Therefore, Mr. President, I believe it is pertinent and appropriate that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the United States should undertake a mission similar to that of the Ministry of Health in Britain—namely, to acquaint Americans with the perils to health attendant on the indiscriminate and reckless use of cigarettes.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the New York Times of June 28, 1957, announcing the action of the British Government in this respect, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO WARN ON SMOKING

The British Government announced today it would warn the nation of the dangers of smoking.

The Government will aid circulation of a medical research council's report that concludes that cigarette smoking is a direct cause of lung cancer.

J. K. Vaughan-Morgan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, told the House of Commons, "the Government feels that it is right to insure that this latest authoritative opinion is brough effectively to the public notice that everyone may know the risk involved in smoking."

The Medical Research Council reported a high statistical link between cigarette smoking and lung cancer.

The report added, "In the opinion of the council, the most reasonable interpretation of this evidence is that the relationship is one of direct cause and effect."

(The American Cancer Society made its final report to the American Medical Association June 4 on a statistical study of smoking and death rates. It found "an extremely high association" of cancer of the lung with cigarette smoking. The Tobacco Industry Research Committee commented that this statistical statement did not prove

cause-and-effect relationships. The origins of cancer will eventually be learned by careful laboratory and clinical study, not through statistical reports, it said.)

The Medical Council's findings were based on 19 investigations made in the last 8 years in Britain, the United States, West Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Norway and Finland.

The Ministry of Health distributed copies of the report to local health authorities immediately after publication. Mr. Vaughan-Morgan said the report would be publicized as a news even by the state-run British Broadcasting Corporation.

The council noted a very reat increase in lung cancer in the last 25 years paralleling a very great increase in cigarette smoking and estimated that one out of every eight life-long heavy cigarette smokers would die of lung cancer while only 1 in 300 nonsmokers would die of the disease.

It said that the evidence of the studies made had been uniformly in one direction and that the evidence was not very considerable.

The Tobacco Manufacturers Standing Committee took issue with the council's findings. A statement said:

"The manufacturers do not know of the presence of any carcinogenic (cancer-causing) substance in tobacco smoke in quantities which conceivably could cause cancer in human being from smoking."

CALLED MATTER OF OPINION

The manufacturers' statement said that at the present stage of research any conclusions were a matter of opinion. It noted that scientific authorities held differing opinions. It said the possibility that the statistical link between smoking and cancer might be largely or wholly of a noncausal nature had been inadequately investigated.

The Research Council is Britain's most respected authority on medical matters. It allocates both Government and private research funds under the authority of the Privy Council.

A recent study of the death rate among doctors more than 34 years old was incorporated in the council's report. It showed that the death rate mounted in relation to the number of cigarettes smoked, reaching a rate of 2.76 per thousand among heavy smokers—40 times the rate among nonsmokers.

The study defined a heavy smoker as one who smoked 25 grams of tobacco or more every day. There is about 1 gram of tobacco in a cigarette.

The councils report said that men who stopped smoking, even as late as their early forties, would reduce their chances of getting lung cancer by at least one-half.

Mortality among cigar smokers was far lower than among cigarette smokers, the report said, and lower still among pipe smokers.

Address by Joseph P. Henican, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the name of Henican has been associated with cotton for the last 2 generations.

Joseph P. Henican, Sr., was president of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange during his lifetime. His son, Joseph P. Henican, Jr., is now the president of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange.

Mr. Henican, who parenthetically is an old schoolmate of mine and lifelong personal friend, recently gave a most informative radio address over radio station WWL in New Orleans on the problem of cotton in this country. The problem of cotton is a continuing problem in this body.

Mr. Henican's discussion brings into focus most vividly this complex and vexing situation. I thoroughly agree with him and earnestly suggest that the Members of this House avail themselves of the opportunity of reading his comments which follow:

ADDRESS BY JOSEPH P. HENICAN, JR.

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

I am honored to have been asked by George Shannon to be guest editor this morning for Farm Front Reporter, and I am privileged to address this program's great audience for while my subject is one which primarily concerns the people whose livelihood comes from the land, or from the products of the land, it is one which vitally affects every American consumer, that is to say, it affects every one of you who are listening.

The primary agricultural product with which I am presonnally concerned is cotton, and my subject is the need for a change in the national farm program to salvage the American cotton industry. Necessarily, such changes also concern all products of the land, are the people who grow and distribute them, and all the people who buy or sell these products, in raw and finished forms.

Now I suppose that my activities over the past 18 months may well qualify me as the man in the controversial news of the cotton industry. This is because—along with my associates on the New Orleans Cotton Exchange and on the New York Cotton Exchange—and with increasingly strong support from people in all phases of the cotton industry, notably the producers of cotton, I have devoted my efforts toward a united industry effort to effect certain changes in the national farm program essential to the well being—I might even say to the ultimate survival—of the cotton industry and its members.

Happily, there is at this time strong evidence of a growing unity in approaching these problems. I am not so naive as to suggest I know the answers to all of them, or that the solution we present is the only one, or the best. But I am convinced that the answer must and will come from within the industry itself.

It is reasonable and sound to believe that the people whose heritage is from cotton, whose livelihood is from cotton, and whose future is dependent upon cotton, can cope with the problems of today, as we have for generations.

You know, there is a fabled Chinese figure that shows a man riding backward on a donkey, and the proverb it illustates is: It's better to know where you have been than to see where you are going.

Well, perhaps we can tell more about where we ought to go if we take a look at where we have been, and where we are now.

So let us look back to the twenties. It was then, in my opinion, that our present troubles began. Raw cotton prices had been high, but by natural causes rather than artificial ones, war, inflation, the boll weevil, and the wartime interruption of foreign production.

The resulting high prices encouraged expansion of production and the purchase of new land, much of it bought on credit at very high prices.

American cotton producers began to feel trouble in the latter twenties, as Europe suffered a contraction in buying power and was forced to reduce imports of cotton, particularly American cotton, which had to be paid for in dollars.

In 1929 the situation became serious. It was in that year the Agricultural Marketing Act was enacted and the Federal Farm Board was established. The Farm Board tried, through market operations, to support a level of prices that would make it possible for the farmer to survive. Though successful, their operations left the Farm Board with heavy stocks which were liquidated at lower prices and at a great loss. This was our first experiment in price-support operations.

The thirties ushered in a great depression, with agriculture appearing to be in the greatest distress.

Consequently, the early New Deal years became years of experimentation in agricultural relief, loans to support prices, compulsory plowups, payments to farmers, taxes on processors, stamp plans, and export subsidies.

The program which finally took hold was price supports through nonrecourse loans.

Farmers with the highest cost of production, those who were the least efficient, were in greatest distress. Solicitude for agriculture was directed to them. The support prices were therefore established at levels which enabled these least efficient farmers to make ends meet.

From then until today, we have had prices supported at levels conceived to protect the high-cost producer.

The effect of such protection on marginal producers and marginal lands was to keep both in cotton, hurting both themselves and cotton growers in general.

Its effect on the efficient producers was to encourage expanded production wherever conditions were favorable to high production per man and low costs.

Its effect in general has been to push the national average unit cost of production to a level which handicaps American cotton in competing effectively against foreign cotton production.

There was another price to pay for the tremendous expanded production of cotton, for we found that prices which attracted expanding production did not foster the growth of demand, but did stimulate production of substitutes, like rayon, paper, and plastics.

Faced with a choice between cutting price supports or reducing production, the decision was to make all cotton growers reduce acreage in approximately uniform proportion.

This introduced into our economy the theory of scarcities. Agricultural legislation was then focused on a single objective—a high level of price support. We would maintain prices by not producing. This was a very serious mistake because it flaunted the basic laws of God.

We know now that curtailing acreage and curtailing production are very different matters. Farmers have learned to do near-miracles through intensive cultivation of less acres, and I suspect the end of higher yields is not yet in sight.

But this is not the worst of it. Farmers are discovering the curtailment of acreage below the appropriate invesment in land and equipment increases the unit cost of production.

And since we could not inflict acreage curtailment on foreign cotton growers, our price supports accelerated the production of foreign cotton, and of subsitutes at home and abroad. We have priced American cotton out of the domestic and foreign markes.

Since 1935, because of nonrecourse loans, we have on three separate occasions accumulated burdensome surpluses. Twice the surpluses were rescued by war. Presently, the third and largest surplus is being liquidated at a tremendous cost to the American taxpayer through a giveaway program.

In the course of experimental failures, important lessons have been learned, and certain facts upon which to base future consideration stand out.

1. Farm prices are not made in Washington. They are made where the consumer accepts or rejects our cotton.

2. It is impossible to control production of agricultural commodities by law.

3. We can price our products out of the market.

4. Price does have a function.

5. Surplus cotton in Government storage is not a good thing.

6. We cannot give away the surplus.

7. We do have to worry about agriculture because the population will not catch up with production.

This brings us to the present. Let us examine it.

1. Only 17½ million acres are being farmed in cotton despite the fact that cotton farmers have an investment in land and equipment capable of farming 20 to 21 million acres.

2. Cotton producers are caught in a price-cost squeeze.

3. Rayon production in the United States has increased from almost nothing to the equivalent of 3½ million bales. Rayon has taken the place of cotton in automobile fabrics and in household and other uses.

4. Foreign production of cotton has increased by 14 million bales and foreign production of rayon by about 10 million bales.

5. World consumption per capita of textile fibers has increased and is increasing but it has remained almost static for cotton; synthetic fibers enjoying almost all the increase.

6. Small towns and trade centers in the South are being destroyed. Congressional districts are being eliminated.

7. There is no longer need for some gins, warehouses, transportation facilities, and banks. Corrollary services, such as mercantile stores, doctors, lawyers, etc., are no longer required in some localities.

8. The century old private marketing facilities are being destroyed. There is little use for the street buyer, the FOB man, the small interior merchant, those who have efficiently and effectively gathered in the crop and distributed it at a very cheap cost.

9. The cotton futures exchanges have practically ceased to perform an economic function and unless the present program is changed will be forced into liquidation.

10. Surpluses have been reduced at a terrific cost to the American taxpayer.

11. Farm population is being annually reduced. It is now estimated that only 2½ percent of the entire American population is engaged in cotton growing.

12. The trend toward socialism in Government, reflected in the cotton industry from producer to the consumer, is obvious. It is only a question of time until an agency of the United States Government will be the only buyer and seller of the annual American cotton crop.

In looking to the future, I am not entirely pessimistic. For the past year or more, as a member of a watch-dog committee of the futures exchanges, I have conferred with outstanding private trade leaders; farm organization executives, State officials, United States Senators, and Congressmen. I have participated in trade forums and testified before congressional committees.

The results have proven beyond a reasonable doubt that there exists an almost unanimous realization that the programs that have operated for the past 30 years are so fundamentally and basically unsound that they must be changed and, thankfully, there is an almost unanimous desire to change them. Only the degree of immediate change seems to be debatable. Most interestingly, it is the cotton producers themselves, at least the better thinking ones, who fully appreciate their plight and are the source of the efforts to have changes effected.

Any program which is finally adopted should have the following chief objectives:

1. Reduction of surplus to normal levels.

2. Prevention of accumulation of new surpluses.

3. Complete elimination of the Government from all phases of the cotton industry.

4. Increased consumption of cotton through realistic and competitive prices at mill and retail levels.

5. Make cotton competitive in price and quality in both domestic and foreign markets.

6. Protect the farmer's income and permit him to use his land and equipment more effectively.

7. Provide means for orderly marketing through the normal channels of trade.

8. Make a disaster loan available to the cotton farmer at some reasonable level below commercial market values.

In my opinion, if cotton prices were allowed to compete with foreign cottons and synthetics in the domestic market as well as in the foreign markets, American cotton producers could harvest 20 to 21 million acres; domestic consumption of cotton would increase to between 11 to 12 million bales; exports would continue at 5 to 7 million bales; the expansion of the production of foreign cotton would be stopped and the expansion of synthetics, both in foreign and domestic markets, would be greatly retarded. It has been proven beyond a reasonable doubt, through the special export program, that the consumers of the world demand American cotton when it is priced correctly and when it can compete in quality. The record further indicates that American cotton has recaptured some markets lost to synthetics in foreign countries. It is only logical to conclude that if the American cotton farmer is given the opportunity to compete in the domestic market at realistic prices, the identical results will accrue, namely, that domestic consumption will increase and that some markets lost to synthetics, paper and plastics will be recaptured.

It is indicated that there will be at least four bills in Congress before the recess. Hearings are proceeding at the present time before Senate and House Agricultural Committees out of which must come relief for the cotton industry.

One of these bills, introduced by Senator SYMINGTON, of Missouri, and Congressmen ABERNETHY and JONES, and cosponsored by several southern Congressmen, represents the thinking of an industrywide group. The proposals in this bill would:

1. Curtail production until surpluses are liquidated.

2. Gradually eliminate all acreage controls as the surpluses are depleted, with the ultimate objective of approximately 21 million acres.

3. Allow prices to seek their competitive levels in domestic and foreign markets.

4. Protect producers' income through compliance payments against their domestic allotments, represented by certificates paid for by the buyer.

5. Provide for a disaster loan available at some slight level below prevailing world prices.

These proposals have had the approval of:

1. Eight cotton producer organizations.
2. The National Ginners Association.
3. The National Warehouse Association.
4. The National Crushers Association and
5. The American Cotton Manufacturers Institute.
6. The American Cotton Shippers Association and
7. The New York and New Orleans Cotton Exchanges.

Whether Congress will act on any of these bills at this session is questionable. It is hoped that some program will be adopted to become effective for the 1958 crop so that we do not have to suffer with the present programs for the next two seasons. I feel rather confident that something will be done.

To those of my listeners who have an interest in the existing cotton problems and wish to discuss them further, I would like to invite you cordially to drop by the New Orleans Cotton Exchange when you are next in New Orleans. Your mail will also be welcomed.

To those of you who agree with our position on the existing problems, we suggest you communicate with your Congressman, and urge him to call for public hearings and to support the Symington and Jones bills—Senate bill 2226 and House bill 7816—that will take the Government out of the cotton business and keep the grower, the merchant, the ginner, and the exchanges, in. Twenty years ago cotton cooperatives urged farmers, "Don't sell your cotton, market it." Today the whole industry might well cry, "Don't pawn our industry to Government bureaucrats."

I thank you.

Testimony on Behalf of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the attention of Congress and the American people the excellent testimony on behalf of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., presented by Dr. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, New York, N. Y., before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, May 29, 1957.

This fine statement likewise shows the history of the action and pronouncements of the various general assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. as far back as 1949 indicating clearly the consistent support of the church of United States Government programs of technical assistance and economic aid abroad. The statement follows:

My name is James H. Robinson and I am the senior pastor of the Church of the Master, one of the Presbyterian churches in the city of New York. The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., which I represent before this committee, is a denomination with 2,809,603 members, having congregations located in all of the 48 States as well as overseas.

The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church is the highest judiciary of our church, made up of equal lay and clerical representatives of the entire denomination. Although it does not pretend to speak for every Presbyterian, the assembly can be said to enunciate the official position of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Each year, through a long and careful process of study and discussion, the general assembly seeks to address itself to what it regards as the most important issues for which the church, as a Christian community, feels a sense of responsibility.

I am authorized to appear before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives to summarize the general assembly's view on the vitally important problems of mutual security legislation and foreign aid. We believe, with the President, that foreign aid that is related to our country's security as well as that which is not related

to security, is equally in the national interest. We feel that it is humanitarian, realistic, and in our own national interest to support foreign aid wisely conceived and effectively carried out.

It is appropriate and significant that the major church bodies in America, including the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., are almost unanimous in their support of foreign aid.

The following statements, taken from general assembly pronouncements of recent years, indicate clearly the consistent support our church has given to United States Government programs of technical assistance and economic aid:

"The point 4 program, 'a program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. * * * Our aim should be to help the free people of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.' This program, properly divorced from partisan politics, holds the promise to enormous benefits for the backward peoples of the world. However, if this program is to fulfill its promise, it must be surrounded by sufficient safeguards, lest it become, or appear to become, the scheme of imperialism and exploitation. We urge continued study of this program as it unfolds throughout the coming year." (General assembly of 1949.)

"The technical-assistance program of the U. N. and the point 4 program of our Government should be strengthened and expanded now so that economic and social justice within and between nations may become a reality. With two-thirds of our fellow men living in underdeveloped regions of the world, such programs are of greater significance to the hope of a free world than the development of military strength." (General assembly of 1952.)

"We encourage the continuation and extension of the program of technical assistance by our Government to underdeveloped regions. We urge the close coordination of this program with similar efforts carried on by the United Nations." (General assembly of 1953.)

"In 1953 the general assembly, in a farsighted step, recommended an increase in technical assistance. In the past year the allocation of funds for this program, which has so much in common with our own missionary ventures, has regrettably been decreased, and the program itself has unfortunately been absorbed into the Foreign Operations Administration, where it constantly runs the risk of being identified with military advantage. There needs to be a clear definition of the intent of this consolidated program so that it is not regarded as being designed solely to serve our national security aims. We urge the Congress and administration to reevaluate continually this now combined technical and military program." (General assembly of 1954.)

"We believe that Government programs of foreign aid should not be trimmed down or withdrawn so long as they serve human needs. These programs should be (1) based on actual needs without regard to political pressures or military considerations; (2) developed in such a way as not to disrupt foreign economies; and (3) so administered that the aid serves the purpose for which it is intended.

"We call upon our Government to continue its support, without diminution, of international programs designed to minister to human needs and to assist less developed lands—such as the U. N. International Children's Fund, the expanded program of technical assistance, and relief projects in Korea, the Middle East, and other areas of need. We reaffirm support of our Government's program of technical assistance and cooperation as being an appropriate and effective means of helping others to help themselves." (General assembly of 1955.)

"Acknowledging that the foreign policy of all nations is developed in terms of their own self-interest, but believing that what ultimately serves the total good best serves the individual state;

"Aware of the continuing need to stress economic aid to underdeveloped areas and conscious of the fact that Communist nations are using economic aid as an effective political weapon;

"Believing that there is need for assurance of continued economic aid to underdeveloped regions;

"The 168th general assembly urges our Government, (1) to give assurance of appropriation of funds for economic aid on a long-term basis, and (2) to review and debate foreign-aid proposals without acrimony and partisan maneuvering so that decisions will be made on the basis of human welfare." (General assembly of 1956.)

Our general assembly, therefore, urges and supports continued constructive foreign aid on the part of our Government both directly and through the agencies of the United Nations. We realize the need for continuing study of our aims, improvement of our methods and techniques, and we also recognize the need to eliminate waste and avoid mistakes. Constant reevaluation and constructive criticism and reappraisal are both helpful and necessary. Consequently, we are greatly heartened and impressed by the serious reviews of foreign aid by four major governmental agencies and by some of the voluntary studies made by private groups and institutions.

But we wish to point out, (1) that the solid achievements accomplished by our foreign-aid programs far outweigh the mistakes and the apparent waste, (2) that it is not necessary to curtail or abandon foreign aid to correct mistakes and improve methods and techniques, (3) that we may very well be entering upon the most crucial period of the cold war and to lose the hard-won advantages we have gained, or to leave the crucial areas to a menace we would not follow ourselves is the fallacy of a dangerous illusion, (4) that millions of people all over the world turn to us in the United States not so much for charity as for assistance and guidance. We must not betray that confidence, but rather use it to help them help themselves.

Our position in support of mutual aid arises out of a conviction that our Nation has a moral responsibility to help meet the urgent human needs of the world. God has given our land not only one of the richest areas of natural resources, but He has also given our Nation such an opportunity for world leadership as has never been the good fortunte or the responsibility of another nation in the history of civilization. A religious concern for our world and the awareness of our moral responsibilities is at the heart of our Nation. Futhermore, economic stability and social justice are indispensable to the peace and security of the free world.

Whatever we do to strengthen our allies and to assist the people of the underdeveloped areas to a better and more secure way of life, to the end that they may help themselves also strengthens our own security. We do not consider foreign aid as giving for the sake of charity, but mutual interdependency and the collective security without which even the strongest nation of the free world cannot be safe. It is not only unrealistic for a government to act without consideration of its own interest, it is definitely out of order. But in the modern world, national interest has a broad gage for whatever happens to assist people in a village in Asia, a rural area in the Middle East, or a seaport in Africa often best serves our national interest. Those of us in this world who love freedom, peace, justice, and democracy are, as the Psalmist says, "Bound in the bundle of life."

Living in a world where the evil that is communism seeks to remake the world in its own evil image, and vigorously attempts to influence the masses of underdeveloped areas and marshal their increasing numbers behind its nefarious schemes, by devious methods and techniques, we believe we must maintain a strong military institution and continue our mutual aid abroad. However, we also believe there should be a shape and unmistakable demarcation between military aid on the one hand, and that aid which is economic, social, and educational, on the other.

There can be no doubt that we are involved in a titanic struggle for the minds and souls of men, for the survival of the free world as we know it, for human dignity and decency and for peace and justice. We must be prepared to see this struggle through successfully, and consequently, to establish our mutual aid on a sound and continuing basis, with long-range planning rather than hastily contrived methods to meet each crisis as it arises. We believe the needs of this hour demand continuity of policy and operation and the creation and training of adequate personnel with the experience and the skills to meet the special problems which evolve from the international scope and the human factors involved in foreign aid.

It is our conviction that this is a moral struggle between tyranny and freedom. We would be greatly derelict of our religious and moral responsibilities if we allowed ourselves the tragedy of defeat by refusing to make the sacrifices and establish mutual aid sufficient to help our brothers throughout the world to that security and self-respect God intended for them and at the same time assure both them and ourselves of ultimate victory.

We believe that our Government should lend every encouragement and support short of monetary contributions to increased voluntary foreign-aid programs, on the part of foundations, churches, educational institutions, business, labor, and other organizations. Some of the best relationships between ourselves and the people of the world and some of our finest friends abroad have been won by voluntary efforts on the part of our citizens.

What we ask of our Government we have also demanded of ourselves and asked of all our church members. In recognition of our Christian responsibilities to world needs, our religious obligation to alleviate human suffering and the long-range planning necessary to meet those needs and to help our brothers to a more abundant life, the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. has just adopted a 5-year advancement program with a greatly increased budget. We are convinced that the citizens of the Republic will support a farsighted plan of mutual foreign aid which is dynamically presented and ably administered when they understand that peace, security, justice and freedom are at stake, just as readily as the members of our denomination have eagerly supported the increasing responsibilities for our own missionary foreign-aid programs. We believe that the blessing of God will be upon us, our church and our Nation if we face our task with a sacrificial spirit, courage, faith, intelligence, and above all, with humility.

Camp Red Cloud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, there was recently dedicated in Korea, an Army camp named "Camp Red Cloud" in honor of a Congressional Medal of Honor winner, Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., from my hometown, Black River Falls, Wis.

This Winnebago youth died heroically defending his fellow soldiers from attacking enemy forces during the action in Korea. On May 18 of this year, Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, of the United States Army, helped dedicate Camp Red Cloud in a "little spot here among the chestnut trees of Uijongbu." He noted that Corporal Red Cloud shed his blood with 140,000 other Americans that Korea might have a new birth of freedom.

Camp Red Cloud is halfway around the world from the tall, silent pines of the corporal's home. In bearing his name it will reflect some of the courage, vitality, and love of freedom for all men exemplified in the sacrifice of its namesake. Under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert the complete address of General Trudeau at the camp dedication:

DEDICATION OF CAMP RED CLOUD, ARMED FORCES DAY, MAY 18, 1957, BY LT. GEN. ARTHUR G. TRUDEAU, UNITED STATES ARMY

In this year of 1957, the scientists hope to launch an earth satellite in their probing of outer space and the secrets of the universe. In America, we are celebrating the 350th anniversary of the formation of the first European colony on our eastern coast. Although America began to assume reality in the European mind since 1492, the Spaniard had done little and the French and English less until the 17th century and the settlement of Jamestown in 1607.

During the next 275 years the courageous natives of our continent, the American Indian, frequently but futilely resisted the irresistible advance of English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and even Russian colonization of our great land.

As the possessor of many of the most ennobling characteristics of a race, the American Indian was second to none. Unfortunately, the tides of history never gave him much of a chance. But where courage, tenacity, and sacrifice are held high, the American Indian had no peer.

Of such stock was Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., in whose honor we are gathered on this, our Armed Forces Day. His mother was the daughter of Chief Winneshiek of the Winnebago Tribe. Red Cloud's father was the son of Glory-of-the-Morning, daughter of a Winnebago chief. The Winnebagos were proud warriors.

Corporal Red Cloud represented sturdy people who not only lacked the luxuries but seldom enjoyed even the comforts of life. However, they abounded in courage and tenacity—traits all too badly needed in these days when the comforts and complacency of the country store, cocktail lounge, and country club tend to blind us to the fact that leadership requires something more dynamic, not only of the few but of the many.

As the wearer of the heavyweight championship belt of the free world, America must continue to generate those qualities that made for our greatness in the melding of our ancestors from many nationalities and races.

When Corporal Red Cloud met the Communist onslaught he neither feared nor fled but staunchly refused to yield before the pressures he had come 10,000 miles to destroy. For this he gave his life but in the words of Horatius:

"How can man die better than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods."

I hope we retain the virility and ability to go forward on this spirit despite the enervating influences of the present day. For myself, I would be quite content if I knew I could someday rest as serenely as Corporal Red Cloud does, his deeds recorded in history and his brave soul welcomed by his God. America was built by brave and fearless men; it can only advance the same way.

I trust that when we have some day eliminated the Communist menace and returned to America, the good people of Yang-gu and Korea will preserve this little spot here among the chestnut trees of Uijongbu in remembrance of Corporal Red Cloud, an American Indian who with 140,000 other Americans shed their blood that Korea might have a new birth of freedom and that America, blessed as she is, might fulfill some small part of her obligation to, and her destiny in, a free world.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Labor Answers Your Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a radio dialog between Mr. A. J. Hayes, AFL–CIO vice president, and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and myself.

There being no objection, the dialog was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR ANSWERS YOUR QUESTIONS

(An AFL–CIO public service radio series, program No. 9, Labor's New Broom, No. 1. Guest, A. J. Hayes, chairman of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee, AFL–CIO vice president, and president of the International Association of Machinists. Panel, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois; Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon. Moderator, Harry W. Flannery. Running time, 13:30)

Mr. FLANNERY. Labor answers your questions.

Labor is front-page news these days because of racketeering within the ranks of labor. People are asking questions. They want to know whether the congressional investigations help to clean out the racketeers. They want to know whether many labor officials are among the offenders. They want to know what labor itself is doing about it.

In this program, labor answers your questions. Here to discuss the situation is the chairman of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee and two Members of the United States Senate who have been active in congressional investigation procedures. The chairman of the AFL–CIO Ethical Practices Committee is Al J. Hayes, who is also an AFL–CIO vice president and the president of the International Association of Machinists. The Senators are PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon.

The broadcast comes from the office of Senator DOUGLAS in the Senate Office Building here in Washington.

Mr. Hayes, will you begin by saying whether congressional investigations are helpful or not helpful in carrying out the AFL–CIO Ethical Practices Codes.

Mr. HAYES. Well, of course, Mr. Flannery, in connection with congressional investigations, organized labor is for democracy and we are, therefore, for congressional investigations.

And we are no more opposed to congressional investigations in connection with the affairs of labor unions than we are in connection with any other matters that Congress should properly investigate. With regard to the investigation of practices in the labor movement, we feel that the investigations thus far have been of material assistance to us. We're convinced that even the ethical practices committee and the AFL–CIO council could not have brought out all of the things that have been disclosed so far by the Douglas committee and by the McClellan committee.

I say that with some reservations, however, where we are opposed to inquisitions. We are opposed to investigations that are not objective, that are conducted for the purpose of punitive legislation.

Mr. FLANNERY. Senator Douglas?

Senator DOUGLAS. Well, I'm very glad to have Mr. Hayes say this because a congressional committee has two powers that a voluntary organization cannot have, namely, it has the power of subpena, and it has the power to put witnesses under oath; these are great advantages. We found them to be very helpful in our investigation of health and welfare funds.

I do want to say, however, that any congressional committee should be very careful of the rights of individuals whom they summon before them or who are reflected upon. We followed the practice of sifting all evidence in executive hearings before they were brought out in public so that there would not be indiscriminate name dropping and indiscriminate smearing.

Secondly, if we found that someone was going to be adversely reflected upon by the testimony of another witness, we notified him in advance that this was going to happen, and gave him a cordial invitation to appear with the right of making a statement immediately following any adverse reflection upon him. All witnesses were given the right of counsel. And counsel were permitted not merely to advise the witnesses, but also to make statements in their own behalf.

We've tried to make it possible for witnesses who might be put on the spot to get their story across to the public at the same time that our questioning got across to the public, so that both sides would have the right of equal access to public opinion.

Mr. FLANNERY. Senator Morse, I think you've been rather active in connection with procedures of these committees?

Senator MORSE. Yes; I have, but before I discuss that poli t I want to say something personally to Al Hayes on this program. I want to say that Al, you and George Meany and the other officials of your great labor organization, have performed some great acts of labor statesmanship in recent weeks in connection with the house cleaning that you are carrying on within the ranks of labor.

Senator DOUGLAS. WAYNE, I want to join in that and say that it is one of the most encouraging developments in American life, and I only wish that other groups would evidence the same desire for the good name of their organizations and their professions that the AFL–CIO has done.

Senator MORSE. I know you share that view, PAUL, but I have said so many times on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere in America—that the democratic processes of the American labor movement will take care of the racketeering and the communism and the crooks within the labor field—but that we, the Congress, have the duty to help strengthen your arm. And that's why I think these congressional hearings are so important. I'm glad to have you, Al, go on this program and say to the American people that labor welcomes these congressional investigations. I knew that was your position, but I agree with PAUL and I agree with you they should be conducted with fair procedure.

Now I want to make this point very quickly: For 10 years I have been urging some reforms in procedures of congressional investigations, along the line of procedures that PAUL DOUGLAS in his investigation work has voluntarily applied. But I think that they ought to be required as a matter of Senate rules.

And here they are very quickly:

Whenever a Senate committee brings a charge against any person that involves an allegation of crime, then, I think, certain basic procedural guaranties should automatically attach themselves to that hearing:

1 (as PAUL indicated). The right to be represented by counsel.

2. The right to have a bill of particulars, or in other words, an indictment; that somebody not be hailed before a Senate committee for example and not know what he's in there for until he gets in the committee room.

3. The right to put on your case in your defense in an orderly way with the assistance of counsel, and not be interrupted by a Senator when he sees he doesn't like the answer he's getting, and stop you in the middle of a sentence and not even let you complete your sentence. He should have the right to put on—as we lawyers say—a case in brief in an orderly fashion. And

4. The right to be confronted by your accusers and cross-examine them.

Now that's been my criticisms of congressional committee hearings and investigations when charges of crime have been involved. And I'm going to continue to fight for that kind of reform.

Now having said that, I want to say that at the beginning of the McClellan committee hearings I said let's have a thorough going investigation of corruption in American unionism, and let the chips fall where they may, but let me quickly add I also pointed out when you get into any of these charges, whether its racketeering or bribery or any of the others, you've got to have two people for racketeering and bribery; you've got to have an employer on one side of the deal, and a crooked labor leader on the other side of the deal. And I've been urging an equal investigation of the collusive activities of crooked employers along with crooked labor leaders.

Mr. FLANNERY. Mr. Hayes?

Mr. HAYES. Well, Senators, first of all let me express my appreciation for the nice things that you have said about the federation and some of us in the federation; we certainly appreciate that. But I think that I ought to add that while we are the first to admit hat we need the aid and assistance of investigating committees in order to ferret out the things that are wrong in the trade-union movement, I don't think we ought to mislead the American public to believe that because of the disclosures thus far in the Douglas investigation and the McClellan committee investigations, that the entire labor movement is corrupt.

Senator DOUGLAS. No; no.

Mr. HAYES. That is not true. The fact of the matter is that only a very, very small segment of some of the leadership in the trade-union movement is currupt. Unfortunately, the publicity that the disclosures have received thus far has misled many of the people and the public who have no other source of knowledge to believe that most of the trade-union movement is corrupt. And that isn't true. The publicity has not been balanced off with information from the other side of organized labor's ledger; organized labor has made a great contribution to our society.

Senator MORSE. But I would like to comment on something else that Al Hayes said earlier when you pointed out that only a small percentage of labor leaders are in the corrupt class, just as only a small percentage of employer representatives are. I have said so many times that 99 percent of labor leaders and employer representatives are dedicated men and women.

I want to say a word now to representatives of other groups listening to this program—if you are a lawyer, if you are a doctor, if you are a teacher, or farmer, businessman, consumer generally. I'd have you always remember that your standard of living that you enjoy today wouldn't be what it is if we hadn't had the great, free American labor movement through our history; because the right of freemen and women to organize and bargain collectively for better wages, hours and working conditions, in my judgment, has been fundamental in the raising of America's standard of living to what it is today; because when you don't have that kind of organization, you have exploitation of the workers because of the frailty of human nature that creeps into employers. It's just to be expected and, therefore, in spite of all this castigation labor is getting these days, I am going to raise my voice again in warning the American people—watch out for an antilabor drive in this country because it is not against labor alone, it is against you no matter what economic group you belong to.

Mr. HAYES. I might comment in connection with the statement that I made, and that you just repeated, about not all labor being corrupt, that the American public probably doesn't know what these statistics are: There are 136 unions affiliated with the AFL–CIO, and those 136 national and international unions have 16,000 fulltime paid officers. In addition to that, there are more than 60,000 officers of local unions, and of this number, that does not include some 500,000 shop committeemen and stewards and local representatives, but of this entire number in the Douglas committee hearings and the McClellan hearings thus far, testimony has been submitted to indicate that 13 may be guilty of some wrongdoing. I am sure that there are more than 13; but assuming there are more, the significance is that the 13 that have thus far had testimony presented against them which indicates they may be guilty, and the additional number that there may be, is still a very, very small percentage of the total number of representatives of the trade-union movement.

Senator MORSE. Oh, I was just going to talk with PAUL on this program about the code of ethical practices Al Hayes has laid in front of us here this morning. I am going to put them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today, but I wish every American citizen could read your own proposals, Al, for a code of ethical practices, because it is clear proof of what PAUL and I have been saying: labor itself will do a great housecleaning job once these facts are brought to light.

Mr. FLANNERY. Thank you, gentlemen. Because of time, we shall have to continue this discussion in another program. We shall again present Al J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, vice president of the AFL–CIO, and chairman of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee; and Senators Wayne Morse, of Oregon, and Paul Douglas, of Illinois. Next week, we will discuss the AFL–CIO ethical practices codes themselves. Copies of the AFL–CIO ethical practices codes, now six in number, will be mailed free to any interested listener. Just write "codes" together with your name and address on one side of a postal card and mail to AFL–CIO Radio, Washington, D. C. That's AFL–CIO Radio, Washington, D. C.

Remember, next week, Mrs. Hayes and Senators Morse and Douglas discuss the AFL–CIO's "new broom"—the ethical practices codes.

This is Harry W. Flannery speaking for the American Federation of Labor and inviting you to be with us next week at this same time to continue this discussion on labor's "new broom" in the public service series, presented with the cooperation of this station, Labor Answers Your Questions.

Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me to the Texas Press Association State Convention at San Antonio, Tex., on June 29, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

(Address by Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, delivered to the Texas Press Association State convention at San Antonio, Tex., June 29, 1957)

Members of the fourth estate, fellow Texans, I am very pleased that you asked me to meet and talk with you here today. I want you to share that pleasure, so let me say, right here at the beginning, that I didn't use to be in the newspaper game, myself. This ought to give you relief, if not a pleasurable feeling. I understand from my friends in your profession that this makes me a rare specimen, if not a unique one.

I do plead guilty to having earned my first dollar turning an old Washington hand press on the Chandler Times for my old friend and your former president, R. T. Craig, of Athens. But your profession requires men of special training and I was never able to qualify as a newspaperman.

I've been in Washington less than 60 days but I've learned some new procedures and had some old truths reaffirmed. Among these old truths is the fact that Texas is fortunate in having a Speaker in the chair of the National House of Representatives. This Texas Speaker is no ordinary Speaker; he is longest in point of service of any of the Speakers who have graced that chair. In my opinion, Speaker SAM RAYBURN is the greatest Speaker of the House of Representatives in the entire history of this Nation. This is not merely the verdict of partisan politics. Impartial historians approve this verdict.

Historians have pronounced him the ablest legislator ever developed by the American legislative system. SAM RAYBURN is always on the side of the people. His service to Texas and the Nation would fill volumes and in time these volumes will be written by a grateful people.

And in the majority leader of the Senate, LYNDON JOHNSON, Texas has as able a parliamentary leader as has ever represented this State there. Energetic, astute, and resourceful, he seems to be everywhere in the Senate Chamber at the same time.

Texas is fortunate in having the leaders of both Houses of Congress from this State.

I am especially pleased to be here with you today, because you are meeting in San Antonio. This lovely city is to me, as it is to all Texans, a dear and special shrine. Here, we Texans lost a battle, but won the time to win freedom. From the ashes of the devoted dead of the Alamo, a new flame of liberty fired the hearts that won liberty for Texas.

Freedom is a curious commodity. It must be preserved over and over again—and in many ways. Won at an Alamo, a San Jacinto, a Yorktown on this day, it must be resaved at a Marne, an Iwo Jima, a Normandy beach, a 38th parallel on the next. And freedom must also be secured over again every day, in a thousand and one ways in a thousand and one places—mostly in ways far less spectacular than in battles and wars.

Now I do not believe that freedom for all is something distinct from freedom of the press. Rather, I believe that the ramparts of freedom are continuous, and that a breach anywhere is a threat to the whole citadel.

But I do believe, with Thomas Jefferson, who said, "our liberty depends on freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost," that the press has a special function in the defense of freedom that has to be exercised earlier and oftener than the average citizen is called upon to exercise his.

As I see it, the press' theater of war for the preservation of freedom is within the hearts and minds of the people. It is not the press' function to fight the conventional battles and wars, though it does much to assure victory in them. Rather, the press' function becomes supercritical—to use an adjective of the bombmakers of the atomic age—precisely at the moment when the artillery falls silent, the cruisers slip in to their moorings and the bombers come in to their landing places.

Because this is true, freedom of the press is always under attack. Those who would take away all our freedoms have read Jefferson, too; they, also, have learned that the place to begin to destroy our freedom is by seeking to limit freedom of the press. Our history is studded with examples:

You are all familiar with the martyrdom of John Peter Zenger. You know that it was not until 1721, when James Franklin successfully launched the independent Hartford Courant, that a newspaper could be printed without being licensed by the Government and carrying on its masthead the words: "Published by authority."

You know that in 1798 the Federalists in the Congress, angered by independent reporting of their activities, passed the Sedition Act, sending many a newsman to prison for the free exercise of his profession.

Yes, as newspaper men and women, you all know all of the historic attempts at limiting freedom of the press. But did you also know that on June 21, 1957—a week ago yesterday—a presidential commission recommended to the President and to the Congress, legislation which, in my opinion, is a dangerous to press freedom as the Sedition Act?

Buried in the 800-page report of the President's Commission on Government Security—the Wright Commission—is this recommendation to Congress:

"That Congress enact legislation making it a crime for any person willfully to disclose without proper authorization, for any purpose whatsoever, information classified 'secret,' 'top secret,' knowing, or having reasonable grounds to believe, such information to have been so classified."

The proposed bill would make disclosure a felony punishable by up to 5 years in prison and by a fine up to $10,000. These penalties would apply to any person disclosing information—the bill does not specifically mention writers or editors or publishers—even though his intentions are to help, rather than to harm, his country.

The only test under the proposed bill is whether the disclosed document had been classified by a Government official.

Why did the Commission recommend this bill? There already are laws under which newspapers can be prosecuted for knowingly publishing information harmful to the Nation. The test of these existing laws is whether there is intent to do harm to the country, not whether a bureaucrat somewhere has decided a document should be classified.

In my opinion, the proposed bill is an extension of a dangerous threat to freedom of the press contained in a letter written on May 17, 1954 by President Eisenhower to Defense Secretary Charles Wilson.

This letter, which I thought the press never protested strongly enough, was written during the Army-McCarthy hearings. Its aim was to prevent Army Counsel John Adams from testifying as to conversations with Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers and Assistant to the President Sherman Adams.

The letter was couched in very broad terms and talked of the rights of the executive branch of our Government to keep certain things confidential. This was the place where danger to the press lurked. Almost immediately after the letter was written, executive department agency heads in our Federal Government began applying the precedent set by the letter.

Budget Director Rowland Hughes, using the precedent, refused to allow witnesses to be questioned and certain papers to be produced in connection with handling of the now-famed Dixon-Yates contract. Hughes, citing the letter, said records and conversations involved in reaching decisions within his department were confidential.

Logically extended, the Eisenhower-Wilson letter gave to the head of every executive agency, and those acting for him, a precedent for making confidential anything they pleased to cover up.

Here was a parasol under which Government heads could stand any time an information seeking reporter or, for that matter, a congressional investigating committee, asked him questions.

Many times since the letter was written, reporters and congressional investigators have heard this phrase: "We consider that information to be confidential under the President's May 17, 1954, letter to Defense Secretary Wilson." Bureaucrats using this phrase and its variations have not pleaded that the Nation's security is involved or that information-seekers were after loyalty files, or diplomatic papers or so-called raw investigative files. They simply and arbitrarily said: "Confidential."

This has caused a slowdown in the ability of the Congress to secure information pertinent to its necessary investigations. And gentlemen, I believe you must face the fact that when the power of the Congress to investigate is limited, so is the power of the press to get answers to the questions it asks.

No question of the intent of President Eisenhower is involved here. He stated that the letter he wrote to Wilson would not be used to cover up improper acts. But what about our next President and the next and the next?

No all-out fight was made by either the press or the Congress to outlaw the precedent set in the Eisenhower-Wilson letter, although such a fight should have been made, on a purely nonpartisan, nonpolitical basis.

And now, we are faced with the recommendation of the Wright "Commission on Government Security" of June 21, 1957.

Let us assume that no fight is made against this proposal, either. Let's assume that it has long been the law of our land. What would have happened in the past few years, had such a law been on our statute books?

Here are but a few of the stories of critical national interest which you could never have printed:

The story of the late Bert Andrews, of the New York Herald Tribune, that President Franklin Roosevelt had agreed at Yalta to allow entrance of the Ukraine and Bylorussia to the United Nations. This story was published and no one has ever questioned but that its publication was in the Nation's best interests.

The series of stories by Paul Anderson of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which led to the full disclosure of the infamous Teapot Dome scandals could not have been published, had this proposal been our law.

Arthur Krock of the New York Times in the early 1930's could not have printed stories informing this Nation that its Government intended to go off the gold standard and to initiate the NRA.

The New York Times in 1945 printed a series detailing the plans of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France to form the United Nations. It could not have done so, had this new proposal been law.

I have already mentioned Dixon-Yates. Had the new proposal been law, the Dixon-Yates scandal would never have seen the light of day. And there are many, many others which I could cite. Had this recommendation been law, the tax writeoff granted Idaho Power Co. in the Hells Canyon cases would have been completely hidden from the public.

At this point, I should like to make it clear that I am not condemning the whole report of the Commission on Security. Many of its recommendations are admirable, notably a proposal that henceforth persons accused shall have the right to be confronted by their accusers.

But the proposal that would allow bureaucrats to cover their tracks—even their illegal acts—by the simple process of stamping "classified" on a document, cannot be condemned strongly enough. It is dangerous, not alone to the press, but to all of us because it strikes at the basic right of our citizens to know what their Government is doing. If enacted into law, it would form perfect protection for a series of Dixon-Yates and Idaho Power Co. deals—the sky would be the limit and the people, the press and our democratic way of life would be the losers.

This is a proposal that must be fought—and that fight must be led by men like yourselves. It is a primary duty of newspapers to seek always for access to information about our Government. The burden of proof should always be on the Government to prove why information should not be made public. The press should never be forced to prove why it is entitled to have information about the Government. If the press is ever forced into a position of having to prove its right to access to information, the press will be throttled—and so will the rest of us.

May I now for a moment look at the other side of the press coin, the face of the coin that is responsibility—responsibility to exercise freedom?

Often, to us outside your profession, it appears that editors and publishers in their zeal to defend press freedom often overlook abuses of that freedom.

From the outside, it seems that the mantle of press freedom has been stretched rather wide at times. But, happily, I think, most of the press is itself aware of these shortcomings. I remember reading a speech made by Henry Luce, publisher of Time-Life-Fortune. He said: "That freedom which we so uncritically demand is often nothing more than freedom to pander. If we pander to sensuality that is bad enough. But there may be an even greater danger in the fact that freedom of the press is also freedom to pander to ignorance, to pander to mediocrity, to pander to group passions and prejudices, to pander to hatred and meanness, to pander to all that is unlovely in a democracy."

I know that you, yourselves, are aware of the ease with which the trust that is freedom of the press can be abused. The selection of news to be included or omitted, the treatment of facts in a news story, the headlines given that story, the twist applied by the choice of descriptive adjectives or descriptive phrases—all these offer opportunities for distortion of the truth by the press.

Perhaps this distortion is not always a sin of commission. It may be the result of ignorance or simply of carelessness, but the result is the same. Sometimes it seems to us who must read as we run that the traditional slogan, "all the news that's fit to print" has been altered to "all the news that fits."

I said at the beginning of this talk that I believed the place where the press must fight for the liberty of all of us is within the hearts and minds of the people. I wish to repeat this here, because I do not think that this nation will perish when it loses its fleets and its armies, but only when it loses its certainty that its high mission and destiny is linked with freedom and liberty—the freedom and liberty for which Travis and Bowie and their little band died not so very far from this spot. If we lose that certainty, that is the moment when we shall surrender, not to Russian or Chinese invaders, but to self-destructive panic.

To buttress this Nation against this danger is the noble call of the journalist, the lawyer, the statesman, the industrialists, the theologian, the educator—all of us—doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief.

There is no single repository of the people's liberties; these liberties are not dependent upon one class or one occupation, but upon a general climate of opinion, what the late Justice Holmes called: "a brooding omnipresence in the sky" which is everywhere and nowhere. These liberties are wrapped up in the beliefs and hopes of all of us, sometimes vague and shapeless, sometimes clearly understood, always called forth when, in Lincoln's words, "the mystic chords of memory" call them forth, and appeal to our better natures.

You here are the opinion-makers and therefore must act always when freedom and liberty is in peril—and not just your freedom and liberty.

The press and the people will be free together or they will be enslaved and destroyed together, for liberty like ours is indivisible. Texas is a land of outspoken men, typified in the press by men like H. M. Baggerly, Elton Miller, Ernest Joinex, and Archer Fullingham. I do not believe the Texas press will see this muzzle clamped over its sources of news without protest. Yours is the opportunity to strike new blows for liberty in this generation.

Address by Hon. Chapman Revercomb, of West Virginia, Before State Convention, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Clarksburg, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text

of an address delivered by me before the State convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Clarksburg, W. Va., on June 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR REVERCOMB BEFORE STATE CONVENTION OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, AT CLARKSBURG, W. VA., JUNE 21, 1957

I consider it a distinct honor to be invited to meet with you on the occasion of your 35th convention. The Veterans of Foreign Wars has a long and distinguished record of supporting those American principles we all hold high. I congratulate you on the significant part you have played in public affairs. I applaud your labors for improvements to your communities, your State, and your Nation.

I speak to you today on a subject which I consider of primary importance—America's security in the nuclear age.

There is no question in my mind but that the Nation's security is still the No. 1 problem facing the Government at this time. I need not remind this audience of the grave responsibility that rests upon the United States for I know of no group of American citizens more deeply conscious of the need for strong defenses than those who are assembled here. That responsibility is thrust upon America because of our high concern for the preservation of the kind of life which has been our heritage and which you yourselves have defended so valiantly.

The one question uppermost in our minds today is: How can we best assure security for ourselves and conditions that will lead to peace in the world?

Disarmament talks are much in the news and we all hope that something constructive will come from these discussions. The United States may well explore sound ways to slow down the world armaments buildup—but I say to you in all earnestness that any agreements to this end can be achieved only if all nations that may be arrayed against each other willingly and sincerely agree to limitations. Moreover, any such agreements must carry assurance of a foolproof inspection.

I feel that such ironclad safeguards are imperative for our own security. We cannot afford to rob ourselves of the power to deter aggression so long as there exists in the world the present danger of destruction by an enemy.

Much is being made today of the danger of radiation fallout from nuclear explosions. It is generally conceded, however, that explosions up to this time have resulted in little danger. I think the scientists are warning us of what may happen if there are too many of these explosions. If such explosions occur to a point where the atmosphere would be saturated with fallout, unquestionably there would be terrible danger, maybe destruction, to the human race. This we must prevent.

At the same time, we must consider the danger of annihilation by an enemy using nuclear weapons. Suppose this country were to end all H-bomb tests. Could we have any assurance whatsoever that a country which has violated agreement after agreement in the past would abide by an atomic limitation treaty unless there be an ironclad system of international inspection?

We must seek every possible means of averting war—but to stop further H-bomb tests without assurance of controlled and inspected disarmament could well spell disaster.

I also call your attention to the proposal being advanced in some quarters that this country relax its present trade restrictions with Communist China. This proposal, to my mind, is a dangerous move and could have serious consequences in southeast Asia and the Far East.

The Chinese Communists have not shown the slightest sign of becoming peaceful. Therefore, to add to their war potential by enabling them to industrialize rapidly would not only be a breach of faith with friendly Asian countries which are resisting Communist domination, but it would also strengthen a country whose Government is unfriendly to us.

It is my convicion that our best assurance of preventing a catastrophic war in the years ahead lies in a strong defense force and real military alliances with friendly nations. If the United States took any other course, I fear we would see one friendly nation after another fall. And we know quite well that, left standing alone, this counry, with all its power, resources, and industrial potential, would have an exhausting experience to try to remain a free nation for long. This, I submit, is a harsh reality that must be faced, for we cannot close our eyes to the fact that this threat exists today.

Nearly every American is convinced, I believe, that the leaders of this country are dedicated to the task of achieving conditions in the world that will lead to peace. In his second inaugural address, President Eisenhower said it is our firm purpose to build a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails. I quote his words:

"The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy; to serve it will be hard, and to attain it we must be aware of its full meaning and be ready to pay its full price."

The price we are paying for today's peace is high. More than 60 percent of the Federal budget is for our protection. But the price of war is many times higher. Not only in dollars but in a far more priceless possession—the lives of Americans. I say to you in all sincerity that we must not lessen our efforts at a time when the Western World is growing stronger and the danger of war seems to be receding.

Our defense dollars, let us remember, are being spent not only for our present protecion but for insurance for the future. We must think of them as buying time—time to work toward easing the international tensions, time to establish a more certain and secure peace. But as long as there is loose in the world a country or a power that would destroy us we must remain geared to meet it with force if need be. If we falter at this point, or lessen our efforts, we run a grave risk of losing everything we hold dear.

Therefore, in the interest of our own security and self-preservation, we must continue military alliances with friendly nations. We should, I believe, out of necessity, continue military aid to our allies but the time has come when economic aid must be placed on a loan basis.

It is heartening to me—and I know it must be satisfying to you—to know that the new Mutual Security Act passed by the Senate provides for a development loan fund for development assistance to those friendly nations in need of economic help.

I have urged time and time again that economic aid, when necessary to other lands, be in the form of sound business loans—and it must come as heartening news to Americans throughout the length and breadth of this land to know that at last Congress is recognizing the fact that while we want security, we also have a regard for our own people, their property, and their money.

Direct military aid to allies will continue, but loans to friendly nations requiring economic development aid is far better than grants, handouts, or giveaways. This is far better for the American people, and it is far better for the people receiving such assistance. There is still contained in the bill direct gifts in some instances—but a new and wholesome step has at last been taken—and I hope to see soon all economic help abroad upon a secure and sound basis as we now provide for development operations in the present bill.

There is increasing evidence, that together with our present allies, we are growing stronger all the time and may soon reach the point where would-be aggressors will not dare risk war.

This is the whole aim of our foreign policy. As to defense measures, I believe it to be a sound one. It has kept this country out of a shooting war for more than 4 years, it has undoubtedly kept some of our allies from falling to communism.

And as the anti-Communist alliance grows stronger, as the danger of war recedes, we all look forward to the time when the billions we are now spending for defense can be diverted to internal improvements in our own country, or turned back to the people in the form of tax relief.

I am convinced, however, that the best way to avert war during this fateful era of uncertain peace is to maintain strong defenses and firm military alliances until international tensions have eased and the threat of aggression has diminished. Any other course could well lead to our downfall.

Together, we continue to stand for a strong country, where a free people may be secure and left alone to make their way and make their contributions to mankind's betterment.

Disarmament and Relief of International Tensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, it is important, at a time when the United States is engaged in disarmament negotiations, that we remain mindful of the pressing political problems which are yet to be resolved. In an address delivered to the Colgate University Conference on American Foreign Policy at Hamilton, N. Y., on July 1, 1957, the distinguished junior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] ably pointed out this need. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JAVITS BEFORE COLGATE UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, HAMILTON, N. Y., JULY 1, 1957

The most important phase of foreign policy which dominates the world scene is disarmament and specifically the current London negotiations. The most striking development in these negotiations is that the United States is seemingly moving toward falling in with what has been the basic foreign policy position of the Soviet Union since at least the Geneva Conference in 1955—that disarmament had to precede political settlements.

Until January 1957, the United States had strongly maintained that political settlements had to precede or accompany disarmament. In fact, until January 1957 we

had insisted that free elections to unite West and East Germany was the essential preliminary to any real disarmament arrangement. Since that time, however, congressional hearings on atomic fallout and the national debate on fallout dangers have made many, in and out of Government, believe that a public climate has been created requiring us to conclude disarmament agreement and to yield ground on what had been the key position of our international policy up to the beginning of this year.

No one can overstate the horrible consequences of a hydrogen bomb and atomic war. Hence, a disarmament agreement, even a "first step" agreement, dealing largely with atomic bomb tests and some inspection machinery, is worth considering to keep the masters in the Kremlin from being backed into an intolerable corner by pyramiding armament expenditure until they feel they can do nothing but launch an atomic war. If we do this, however, we need not and should not completely adopt the Russian thesis that disarmament must precede political settlements, but we should insist on some progress in political settlements, too. I believe that this is the most likely and capable of attainment through making, as part of the present disarmament negotiations, a proposal for strengthening the peace maintenance machinery of the U. N., and it is this which I recommend to our Government.

Accordingly, I urge that our Government in the disarmament negotiations for a first step agreement include as one of the conditions at least the strengthening of the peace enforcement machinery of the United Nations. In this respect, I suggest the following four items as worthy of inclusion and practicably attainable:

1. The establishment of a permanent United Nations peace force analogous to the UNEF now stationed in the Middle East with duties to implement the peace maintenance machinery of the United Nations.

2. To end the use of the veto in questions of membership, measures for the pacific settlement of disputes, and on the distinction between considering procedural and substantive questions.

3. To improve the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

4. To improve the jurisdiction of the United Nations to consider threats to the peace arising from conflicts between non-self-governing or administered areas and the administering power.

Each of these items has an immediate and pressing applicability to world affairs. They could probably be accomplished substantially by interpretations agreed to to be placed on the charter rather than amendment.

It is well known that the tinderbox of the world right now is the Middle East. Establishing a permanent United Nations peace force will help to solve the problem of how long the United Nations emergency force will remain in being between Israel and Egypt in the effort to bring some stability and permanent cessation of fedayeen raids or other hostilities in that area. Removal of the veto for the pacific settlement of disputes may urgently be needed for example in the test of the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East which may come if Colonel Nasser uses his newly acquired Communist Russian submarines to disrupt peaceful commerce in the Gulf of Aqaba. It may also be very important if tension in Korea is brought nearer the boiling point by the recent decision to permit the Communists no longer to take advantage of us through the modern rearmament of their forces in North Korea. Improvement of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice can serve us very well in order to test out the validity and legality of the way in which Egypt controls traffic through the Suez Canal. Strengthening of United Nations jurisdiction in conflicts between administering powers and non-self-governing peoples or administered areas is especially important in the Algerian question which will actually arise again in the next session of the United Nations General Assembly, and again face the argument of the domestic jurisdiction section of the charter.

Here are practical, definitive, and effective as well as minimal actions to deal with the real causes for the armaments race, which should be made a part of even a first step disarmament agreement, if we are to be realistic and faithful to our own judgment as to the best interests of the free world.

We should not be compromised out of our basic foreign policy convictions by domestic pressures with respect to the dangers of atomic fallout. Our people are adult enough to recognize that in a negotiation such as the one in which we are now engaged on disarmament, the attitude of an agreement at any price is fatal.

The major political issues in the world between the Soviet Union and the United States are the underlying cause of international tension and breed the basic mistrust as to the use of weapons. These are the issues poisoning the world scene. These issues include the division of Germany, Korea, and Vietnam maintained by the Soviet Union and Communist China respectively; the pressure on Japan and Formosa by the Communist bloc; the entry of the Soviet Union into the Mideast as the backer of an Arab hegemony under Communist domination being promoted by Egypt's Colonel Nasser; and the pressure of subversion upon existing governments in these and other areas of the world.

That the Russian thesis is that disarmament shall precede any effort at political settlement is clear from the test of the Soviet disarmament proposals introduced in the U. N. disarmament committee subcommittee as late as April 30, 1957. This document states, "The Charter of the U. N. places an obligation on states to resolve their international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat of force or the use of force in their international relations." Therefore, the existence of outstanding international issues or disputes cannot be imputed as a justification for the maintenance by states of large armed forces, or as a justification for the armaments race."

In the United States and the free world generally focusing on disarmament while passing over the political issues may increase, not reduce, anxieties and fears. The best example is the impact upon the German Federal Republic already recorded of the current disarmament negotiations in the course of which Chancellor Adenauer's political opponents were charging German unification would be seriously prejudiced by the contemplated disarmament agreement.

On the other hand, a first step disarmament settlement agreement passing over political settlements could, within the U. S. S. R., relieve serious economic pressures attributable to rising armament expenditures, reduce the urgency for political settlements and make more acceptable to the Russian people the iron-fisted control and military occupation of satellites practiced by the occupants of the Kremlin.

We have a right to recall as an object lession the widely heralded Washington Conference of 1922, which resulted in the scrapping by the United States of 28 capital and other ships, by Britain of 24, and by Japan of 16. In connection with this agreement, we pledged ourselves not to add to the existing fortifications on Guam, Tutuila, the Aleutians, and the Philippines. We surrendered our power to act in the Far East not only to preserve the "open door" and the territorial integrity of China, but to protect our own outlying possessions. We soon found out that it was the new air power which profoundly altered military strategy, that the naval race was transferred from capital ships to aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. In 1934, Japan denounced the treaty. We ended up with the loss of the Philippines, Guam, and Wake after Pearl Harbor, at least in part because of the way in which our defenses there had been let down.

Testing of Nuclear Devices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the most highly respected newspaper writers in the State of Texas is Dick Meskill. An editorial column by Mr. Meskill in the San Antonio, Tex., Alamo Register on June 28, 1957, is a thought-provoking analysis of the moral question involved in continued testing of nuclear devices. This discussion of Adlai Stevenson and the testing of atomic weapons should be read by every American.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD Mr. Meskill's column.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE SHADOW OF SAN FERNANDO

(By Dick Meskill)

Somewhat wistfully we remember an editorial that appeared in the Alamo Register last November. The editorial was entitled "An A for Stevenson." The repercussions were loud and clear, and the replies through the mail and in person were numerous. We were supposed to be taking sides politically, though the paper officially disclaimed any political motivation at the time. This paper labeled Stevenson's statements and program on banning atomic and hydrogen testing as the mark of real statesmanship. This paper, in this area, stood completely alone. No other paper in the vicinity took stock of what the presidential aspirant was saying. We said at that time that the whole issue would have been better out of politics and in the field of a moral searchlight. We said at that time that mankind's needs took precedence over political quibbling.

The tide has turned. We are no longer alone. Papers now are stumbling all over themselves trying to reverse their editorial support of a suicidal go blindly ahead policy of testing hydrogen weapons. As for the irresponsible Government statement that since the Pope was not a scientist he should not speak concerning hydrogen warfare and testing, we have only to say that if in the 20th century any major moral question has arisen, then this one which deals with the very future of the species, its welfare and well-being, is that major moral question. And when the Pope speaks on faith or morals, Catholics over the world pay attention. The Pope was not speaking as a scientist. He was speaking concerning the morality of what most scientists had predicted factually. He only issued a moral guide for consideration of the problem.

Scientists now reliably claim that radioactive fallout from nuclear testing can kill, maim, and/or destroy the ability to reproduce in affected people. The majority of

scientists tell us that at this present time on earth there are approximately 10 million people so affected, and that the number is increasing in fantastic proportions following the detonation of each nuclear weapon. An official Defense Department record indicates that in 1960 Russia will be capable of delivering a full-scale atomic or nuclear attack, and that this attack when and if it should come in the United States would kill a minimum of 85 million people, approximately one-half of the population of the United States. Nineteen hundred and sixty is 3 years away.

So what do we do now? Well, one of the most foolish things we have done now is to allow the departure of Thomas E. Murray from the Atomic Energy Commission. Here is the only member of the Commission who has considered publicly the problem of the morality involved in nuclear testing. For his forthrightness on this question, he has brought down on his head the wrath of Mr. Strauss, the head of the Atomic Energy Commission; and President Eisenhower is making no move to save Mr. Murray. I couldn't care less that Mr. Murray is a Catholic and a Democrat to boot. This should not be allowed to enter into the picture. He is, without a doubt anywhere, one of the ablest men on the Commission; he has come up with some very real possibilities concerning nuclear energy, and he has witnessed every major atomic explosion since the first atomic bomb was exploded.

I met Murray 2 years ago in Buffalo, where he was principal speaker for the Catholic Press Association convention. The other speaker was Gov. Averell Harriman. After the big speaking session was through, I had the opportunity of asking Mr. Murray some questions. I was thoroughly impressed by his comprehensive understanding of the problems involved, and by the moral integrity with which he passed judgments. This was a man who is convinced that nuclear warfare means total destruction for civilization unless it is curtailed; that man has no alternative but to acquire a mature moral viewpoint on the use of atomic force if he is to survive; that even a criminal conspiracy, like the Communist conspiracy, which does not understand the meaning of justice, must at least retain an elemental understanding of the meaning of war, of the purposes to which force today can be put.

"The criminal who has lost his moral conscience still retains his instinct for self-preservation," Murray said. "Therefore, he might well be disposed to agree that neither his own purposes nor any other intelligible purposes could possibly be served by unleashing total testing or warfare with nuclear weapons. His views of the nature of man and of the essential purposes of man upon this earth differ totally from our Christian view. But his view of war and testing cannot be thus totally different. There is therefore the serious possibility that he would honestly agree to some kind of disarmament, and if he makes such a move, he should not be discouraged or deterred by petty political and tactical considerations."

I remember being impressed by Murray's next phrase: "By sublime irony fear of the atom may lead to general security and a new moral maturity." And even more impressed by Murray's clear-cut sense of morality: "Man never has anything to fear in God's material creation. His only reason for fear is not with things, but with himself. Man does not need to fear his own intelligence or the products of that intelligence, whereby he is enabled to create. What man must indeed fear is the prideful or impudent use of this divine faculty." Murray is being replaced because he dares to disagree with Mr. Strauss on atomic and hydrogen testing. Mr. Strauss is following the river by permitting unrestricted testing, with each test potentially a cumulative destructive force against all mankind.

Where would United States pride be if we suddenly found ourselves a nation of killed, maimed, or sterile people? But what is more important, how can such initiation be justified under the rocklike code of the Judaic-Christian Ten Commandments? The testing should be stopped now, and measures taken to insure that it is stopped now, the world over.

Golden Corn Tassel as National Floral Emblem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on Wednesday, June 26, my good friend, Mr. V. Y. Dallman, editor of the Illinois State Register, Springfield, Ill., devoted his daily editor's column to the support of my resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 105, proposing the golden corn tassel as our national floral emblem. Mr. Dallman is one of the ablest editors of the Middle West, and his original poem in behalf of the corn tassel is of great help to the cause.

Editor Dallman closes his column by quoting the late Gov. Richard Oglesby of Illinois in his tribute to "the corn, the corn, within whose golden heart there is health and strength for all the nations," which was given at the Illinois Corn Exposition, November 23–28, 1908, in Chicago. As we near the 50th anniversary of this exposition, I believe it is fitting that we honor all producers of corn by enacting my resolution and making the corn tassel the symbol of the beauty and the bounty of the United States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Dallman's column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD so that all Senators may read his tribute.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOLDEN CORN TASSEL SHOULD BE INSPIRING FLOWER OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(By V. Y. Dallman)

TO THE CORN TASSEL

(Named national flower by Senator DOUGLAS)

To all people of the Nation
It's a source of inspiration.
Omens, rich, it is bestowing
When from deep-green stalks it's growing.
And, in sun-kissed, golden glory
Tells America's brave story.
Its gold miracle of seeding
Serves the food which all are needing.
From its generous fruition
Man and beast obtain nutrition.
Through process of distillation
There comes smiles of inspiration.
Worldly cares we are defying
With corn's golden tassel flying.
Great today mankind's elation.
It's the flower of the Nation.

Rejoice, dear readers, in the joyful idea that the golden corn tassel be proclaimed the national flower. Thirty countries have national flowers and we have none.

United States Senator PAUL DOUGLAS has introduced a resolution in Congress to have such a proclamation made by President Eisenhower. Representative Paul Simon, of the Illinois House, has presented a resolution memorializing Congress to take favorable action.

Julia Proctor White, of Peoria, is credited with having originated the suggestion. She insists, however, that Miss Margo Cairns, of Minneapolis, is mother of the thought. It's a glorious idea. We enter into the spirit of it with the utmost enthusiasm.

Senator DOUGLAS becomes poetic in his emphasis of this ideal. He says "Corn, or maize, as the Indians called it, saved the Pilgrims from starvation. * * * It was also one of the New World plants taken back to the Old World and incorporated into the economy and agriculture there." He points out that "over 3 billion bushels of corn are produced each year with an annual value of over $4 billion." Illinois topped all States last year.

All of which brings to mind the late Gov. Richard Oglesby's tribute to "the corn, the corn, within whose golden heart there is health and strength for all the nations." His tribute is a classic which Senator DOUGLAS should incorporate in his resolution.

These are the closing words of Governor Oglesby's tribute voiced in Chicago at the Illinois Corn Exposition, November 23-28, 1908, as he appeared with the popular actor, Joseph Jefferson:

"Aye, the corn, the royal corn, within whose yellow heart there is of health and strength for all the nations. The corn triumphant. That with the aid of man hath made victorious procession across the tufted plain and laid foundation for the social excellence that is and is to be. This glorious plant, transmitted by the alchemy of God, sustains the warrior in battle, the poet in song, and strengthens everywhere the thousand arms that work the purposes of life. Oh, that I had the voice of song or skill to translate into tones the harmonies and symphonies and oratorios that roll across my soul when standing, sometimes by day and sometimes by night, upon the borders of the verdant sea I note a world of promise, and then before one-half the year is gone I view its full fruition and see its heaped gold await the need of man."

Continuing, Oglesby said: "Majestic, fruitful, wondrous plant. Thou greatest among the manifestations of the wisdom and the love of God that may be seen in all the fields, or upon the hillsides, or in the valleys. Glorious corn that, more than all the sisters of the field, wears tropic garments. Nor on the shore of Nilus nor of Ind does nature dress her forms more splendidly. My God, to live again that time when, to me, half the world was good and the other half unknown.

"And now again the corn that in its kernel holds the strength that shall, in the body of the man refreshed, subdue the forest and compel response from every stubborn field, or, shining in the eye of beauty, make blossoms of her cheeks and jewels of her lips, and thus make for man the greatest inspiration to well doing, the hope of companionship of that sacred, warm, and well-embodied soul, a woman."

The Administration's Civil Rights Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to

me from the Attorney General dated May 31, 1957, relating to the proposed civil-rights legislation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., May 31, 1957.

Hon. THOMAS H. KUCHEL,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for the letter of May 15 signed by you and Senator CASE requesting the comments of the Department of Justice relative to the minority report filed by Senators ERVIN and JOHNSTON in opposition to S. 83 (the administration's civil-rights program) and particularly to their discussion of their jury trial amendment. In addition to the comments which follow, may I particularly call to your attention the statement of the American Civil Liberties Union opposing such an amendment to require jury trial in contempt proceedings arising under the proposed civil-rights legislation. This statement was reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 22, 1957, at pages 6579–6580.

The proposed legislation seeks merely to apply long-established civil procedures for enforcing Federal laws to civil-rights cases where experience has shown the need for civil remedies. In urging Congress to authorize the Government to institute civil suits for preventive relief in civil-rights cases we are requesting the right to use procedures long available to the Government as a means of enforcing other types of Federal laws. Ever since the adoption of the Sherman Act in 1890 the Department of Justice has been empowered to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain civil violations of the antitrust laws, as well as to bring criminal prosecutions. The Department of Labor uses the injunctive process as a means of enforcing the Fair Labor Standards Act. The Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other Government agencies have similar authority to use civil remedies in addition to criminal prosecutions. In none of these fields are jury trials required in contempt cases.

There are valid reasons for the ever-increasing use of civil suits for preventive relief as a means of enforcing Federal law. Judicial determination of the validity of a course of conduct in advance aids the Government in its primary purpose of preventing violation of law. It also aids the defendant since he can litigate the legality of his proposed conduct without the necessity of taking action at the risk of a criminal conviction if he guesses incorrectly.

All of these reasons exist in the civil rights field, particularly in connection with the protection of the right to vote. The primary interest of the Government is in making it possible for all citizens to vote without discrimination based upon race, creed, or color, not in punishing local officials for denying such rights. Often it is not clear whether the particular conduct of a registrar of voters, for example, does constitute a violation of Federal law. Under present law the Government can only wait until the harm has been done—the rights to vote denied—and then proceed with a criminal prosecution as a means of testing the validity of the registrar's action. The register himself is often caught between community pressures to discriminate and the fear of Federal criminal prosecution with no way to resolve the issue in advance. With civil remedies authorized, the Government will often be able to obtain a judicial ruling in advance of the election which will determine the legality of the proposed conduct of the registrar, removing from him the necessity of risking criminal prosecution and effectively protecting the constitutionally guaranteed right of citizens to vote without discrimination based on race, creed, or color.

Suits for preventive relief under the proposed legislation will be governed by the traditional rules of procedure which have always applied to such suits. The Government seeks no new or radical procedures to govern in junction suits in civil rights cases. Under the proposed legislation the rules of procedure which have traditionally governed equitable suits in the Federal courts would apply in the same manner and to the same extent that they now apply to other suits by the Government for preventive relief. The defendant in an injunction suit in a civil rights case will have the same rights that the defendant now enjoys in a similar suit under the antitrust laws, the Fair Labor Standards Act, or any other one of the Federal laws mentioned above.

These procedural protections are ample to protect all legitimate rights of the defendant. He gets a full hearing before the court on the question whether his conduct violates Federal law and hence should be enjoined. If he disagrees with the determination of the court, he may appeal the ruling for full consideration by the appellate courts. In most cases this is the end of the matter. The defendant obeys the court order and the public interest in the enforcement of the Federal law has been vindicated. But if the defendant chooses to ignore or defy the court order he may be subjected to punishment for contempt of court. Again he is entitled to a full hearing before the court. He is presumed to be innocent, his guilt must be established beyond a reasonable doubt, and he cannot be compelled to testify against himself. If he is found guilty, he again may appeal. And an examination of the cases in recent years demonstrates that the appellate courts are alert to protect defendants against any possible unfairness in contempt proceedings.

It is true that wherever the Government is authorized to sue for preventive relief the defendant is not entitled to a jury trial in contempt proceedings. The Constitution of the United States recognizes the traditional differences between the procedures of courts of law and courts of equity and does not require jury trial in equitable proceedings. As long ago as 1890 the Supreme Court of the United States said: "It has always been one of the attributes—one of the powers necessarily incident to a court of justice—that it should have this power (the contempt power) of vindicating its dignity, of enforcing its orders, of protecting itself from insult, without the necessity of calling upon a jury to assist it in the exercise of this power." In 1914 Congress passed a statute (now 18 U. S. C. 3691) extending the right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases where the acts constituting the contempt also constitute criminal offenses under Federal or local law. This statute expressly excepted contempts arising out of disobedience to court orders entered in suits brought in the name of the United States. Since criminal contempt proceedings are not often sought in private litigation (the Clinton, Tenn., case is one of the few instances of its use), this statute has had little impact upon the enforcement of Federal court orders. In 1932 in the Norris-LaGuardia Act, Congress, after removing almost all of the jurisdiction of the Federal courts to issue injunctions in labor dispute cases, provided for jury trial in contempt proceedings arising under the act. It was only with the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 that the Government was given jurisdiction to seek injunctions in any substantial number of labor dispute cases and that act expressly provided that the jury trial requirement of the Norris-LaGuardia Act should not apply to it. Hence it is probable that the statute which appears to grant jury trial in contempt proceedings for violation of injunctions issued in labor dispute cases (18 U. S. C. 3692) has no application to injunction suits brought by the Government under Taft-Hartley, which are, for all practical purposes, the only type of injunction suits (private or governmental) in labor dispute cases over which the Federal courts have jurisdiction. (See *United States* v. *United Mine Workers of America*, 330 U. S. 258.)

With reference to jury trial, then, the procedure under the proposed legislation would be the same as that which has always governed suits by the Government for preventive relief. This procedure appears at the present time to be effective and satisfactory. I am aware neither of abuse nor of serious complaint of abuse by the Federal courts in contempt proceedings instituted for the purpose of enforcing injunctions issued in Governmental litigation. I foresee no reason why this procedure should not be equally satisfactory in civil rights cases.

Enactment of legislation providing for jury trial in contempt cases arising out of governmental litigation would undermine the authority of the Federal courts by seriously weakening their power to enforce their lawful orders. The effect of adopting current proposals for jury trial would be to weaken and undermine the authority of the Federal courts by making their every order, even when issued after due hearing and affirmed on appeal, reviewable by a local jury. Referring to proposals similar to those now advanced, President (and later Chief Justice) Taft said in 1908: "The administration of justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy. Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

Furthermore, the proposed amendment to existing procedures that is being advocated under the innocuous slogan of "jury trial" would permit practical nullification of the effectiveness of the proposed civil rights legislation. The enforcement of any court order may require prompt and vigorous action if it is to be effective. Prompt action will often be vital in civil rights cases, especially election cases where the registration period or the election may pass while enforcement is delayed. The injection of a jury trial between an order of a court enjoining discrimination against Negroes in an election and the enforcement of that order would provide numerous opportunities for delay beyond the time when the order could have practical effect.

I hope that the foregoing statement provides the information requested by you. If I can be of further assistance, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

HERBERT BROWNELL, Jr.,
Attorney General.

Exchange Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD, 2 articles by 2 exchange teachers, 1 from the United States, teaching in England; and 1 from Scotland, teaching in the United States.

These accounts will be of interest to the Members of the Senate, and should assist them in judging the value of the exchange program. I hope Senators will read the two articles.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRITISH AND UNITED STATES TEACHERS FIND JOB SWAPPING IS AN EDUCATION—INSTRUCTORS CREDIT EACH SYSTEM WITH GOOD AND BAD FEATURES—DISCIPLINE, NO MATTER WHERE, IS A LETDOWN

(Last summer 100 American teachers exchanged school positions with 100 British teachers for the 1956–57 school year. The teacher trades, started in 1946, are a part of the international educational exchange program of the State Department. The two stories that follow tell of the experiences and opinions of 4 exchange teachers—2 American and 2 British.)

(By Thomas P. Ronan)

LONDON, June 24.—Teaching for a year in London has proved a gratifying experience for two United States teachers who came here under the Fulbright exchange program.

Miss Isabel W. Hunt switched from a Seattle elementary school to one of the same type here, and Pardon E. Tillinghast made the change from Middlebury College in Vermont to a public (private in the United States) secondary school here. Both have enjoyed teaching and living in London.

The major difference they find in the British educational system is the separation of children at an early age according to their ability and the emphasis on speeding the progress of the brighter ones. Both teachers have reservations about the value of this system, but they feel United States schools could do more to help the brighter students.

Both had assumed that British children were better behaved than their American counterparts; they have been surprised to find that this is not the case.

PERSPECTIVE ENJOYED

Miss Hunt, who taught in Montana before she began teaching in Seattle in 1949, says it has been wonderful to be able "to sit back and evlauate from afar" the United States system of education. And she finds that she has a greater appreciation of that system than ever before.

At Dollis Junior School in the Mill Hill section of London, she has been teaching a class of 9- and 10-year-old boys and girls, the same ages she had at Seattle's Greenwood School. Both are public schools in the United States sense.

The pupils at the Dollis Junior School are graded according to their ability from A down to D.

"I much prefer our own system, where there isn't this kind of segregation," Miss Hunt says after nearly a year of teaching a class from the C and D streams.

"I feel the youngsters I have really have possibilities. And I believe they would have a much better chance of developing and of getting an education if they were in school in America."

DIFFERENT APPROACHES CITED

Miss Hunt agrees with the observation of another American exchange teacher that Great Britain caters to her top 25 percent in education and doesn't do enough for the 75 percent. She says the United States does not do enough for the top 25 percent.

She feels that American elementary school children get a much broader education. They have more science and geography she says. While the English push their children faster in English and mathematics, they do not spend as much time teaching them to understand what they are doing, she believes.

Mr. Tillinghast's students, all boys at the City of London school, range in age from 12 to 17. He teaches history, English and French.

From the age of 12 or 13, the boys are divided into streams graded from A to E. The boys in the top streams get much subjects and move faster.

Those in the lower categories seem rebellious and bored and nearly all drop out at 15 or 16, he says.

AUTHORITARIAN TREND NOTED

He says that one of the ablest masters has not used a cane in 15 years. But he believes the British system is more authoritarian and puts less emphasis on guidance than the American.

Mr. Tillinghast said he had resorted to the cane, a common practice here, with the utmost reluctance after he had concluded it was expected of him.

(By Leonard Buder)

Miss Alexina Skinner, of Dunfermline, Scotland, had been teaching in an American school 1 month last October when a fourth-grader came to class with a portable radio and turned on the World Series broadcast.

When Miss Skinner told the boy to turn off the radio and stick to his studies, the pupil threatened, "If you don't let me listen to the game, I'll jump off the roof, and it will be your fault."

Miss Skinner may have been taken aback by this academic insurrection—incidents like this never happened at home—but she did not bat an eye. Her answer was:

"Happy landing."

Needless to say, the youngster did not jump, and no other pupil in the class dared to question the new teacher's authority.

OCEAN OF DIFFERENCES

But while discipline posed no problem to the Scottish schoolmarm, Miss Skinner and other British exchange teachers here have found an ocean of differences between teaching in the British Isles and teaching in the United States.

Anthony H. Hindley, a 30-year-old art teacher from Barnsley, Yorkshire, has spent the last year at the Pelham Memorial High School in Pelham, N. Y. He feels it is much harder to be a teacher in this country.

"There is much too much organization here," he said.

Mr. Hindley also has had no problem with pupil discipline here. That was because he has kept a tight rein on his students, he said.

PUPIL ABILITY PROBLEM

The English system of separating students according to their scholastic ability is a good one, he maintained. He teaches in the Race Common County Secondary Modern Boys School, which caters to boys of modified abilities.

"Here you have students of mixed ability," he said, "and consequently not all students benefit accordingly. This program is very good for the average students, but it is not good enough for those who are either above or below average."

Mr. Hindley made it clear that he liked the American students he had met. However, he said, they required some understanding.

American boys and girls act more mature and sophisticated, he said, and you tend to expect more of them.

In Scotland, Miss Skinner, who has been teaching 30 years, served as headmistress and teacher of the 1-room Dunduff School. For the past year she has been teaching at Public School 77, 1st Avenue and 85th Street.

WORLD VIEW LACKING

American education, Miss Skinner said, does not place enough importance on physical training. The pupils, she said, do not read as fluently as do the Scottish children she knows, and they do not seem to take as much interest in geography and history.

But—she added that her American pupils seemed very eager to learn and exhibited a real interest in their studies.

Both Miss Skinner and Mr. Hindley said they were very much impressed with what they had seen of this country. When school is over, they will tour the Nation before returning home.

"The United States is fantastic," Mr. Hindley said. "The people here do not realize how wonderful their country is and do not appreciate it as fully as they should. They have everything."

Dishes Issue Is Won by the Senate Ladies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, the facile pen with which Columnist George Dixon depicts the Washington Scene, is very familiar to Members of the Congress. Mr. Dixon's column in a recent issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald appealed to me as a delightful handling of a delicate area in congressional relationships.

I commend for reading by Members of the Senate the feature, "Dishes Issue Is Won by the Senate Ladies," particularly because it relates to our distinguished colleague, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DISHES ISSUE IS WON BY THE SENATE LADIES

(By George Dixon)

The Senate Ladies is an exclusive organization restricted, oddly enough, to Senate ladies. The wife of the Vice President is always the presiding officer. The members meet every Tuesday morning, at which time they discuss the issues of the day, roll bandages for the Red Cross, discuss the issues of the day, have lunch, discuss the issues of the day, cart their soiled dishes to another room where they wash them while discussing the issues of the day, and adjourn, still talking.

At present, the ladies have a small club room in the old Senate Office Building, without facilities for washing either themselves or dishes. At the last meeting they voted unanimously to condemn this situation as deplorable, if not downright un-American. At the same time they voted to demand new, and dishwashable, quarters in the new $22 million Senate Office Building, now under construction.

Mrs. Pat Nixon, her slim shoulders sagging from having carted loads of gravy-smeared dishes down a highly trafficked corridor, gaveled the gathering to order and declared it was high time the Senate Ladies rebelled against anachronistic conditions that would not have been tolerated by the original Colonial Dames.

"What we must do," stated the Second Lady, "is appoint one of our number as a lobbyist to influence legislation. She must call upon the chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee and subject him to an unrelenting pressure campaign."

Thereupon Mrs. Nixon named the lobbyist who left her dishes dirty and took off for the office of Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, of New Mexico. She informed the latter's secretary, Miss Frances Ortiz, that she would brook no runaround.

After a delay which left her fuming, the emissary was finally admitted to the presence of the Public Works chairman. She stated her mission.

"You are engaged in lobbying, within the meaning of the act," interrupted Senator CHAVEZ. "Have you complied with the law, duly made and provided for, and registered as a lobbyist with the Secretary of the Senate?"

"Please talk English," snapped the emissary.

"Oh," said Senator CHAVEZ, "you speak English? Then you must be the representative of a foreign power. Have you registered with the State Department?"

The lobbyist for the Senate ladies informed Senator CHAVEZ that he would accede to her demands if he knew what was good for him. The solon quailed. With shaking hands, he pulled the telephone to him and called the Architect of the Capitol, J. George Stewart.

"There's a lobbyist for the Senate ladies here in my office," quavered the lawmaker. "She demands a new clubroom in the new Senate Office Building, with facilities for washing dishes. If you don't put it in, I'm in a heck of a fix."

The Capitol Architect promised to insert the new clubroom in the plans. With an expansive air, Senator CHAVEZ turned to the envoy and said, "Well, I fixed it up for you, sweetheart."

"Thank you very much," said Mrs. Dennis Chavez.

Hells Canyon Power Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, from the pen of one of our country's most distinguished commentators on national affairs comes the inside story of the present administration's mishandling of the Hells Canyon power project.

The article by Mr. Thomas L. Stokes which appeared in the June 28 edition of the American-Statesman in my home town of Austin, Tex., is to be commended for its frank and fearless revelation of pertinent data regarding the administration's attempt to substitute a secret deal for a sound, publicly executed and democratically beneficial public program.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It is fitting that we ourselves examine the similarity, as suggested by Mr. Stokes, between the Hells Canyon program and the now more infamous Dixon-Yates controversy.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HELLS CANYON IS LIKE ANOTHER DIXON-YATES?

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—If you know what's been going on behind the sleek, shiny front of Eisenhower administration peace, prosperity, and social welfare, there is ironic justice in the administration's defeat by the Senate on the Hells Canyon Dam issue.

For this exposes to public view the behind-the-scene machinations by the administration to hand over valuable natural resources to politically powerful utility interests. The attempt in this case is to turn over this last biggest undeveloped waterpower site on the continent to a private corporation, the Idaho Power Co., of Augusta, Maine.

The other case was, of course, the notorious Dixon-Yates scheme, designed to destroy the great TVA in the Southeast.

The pattern is similar in two ways. For one thing, the administration was severely rebuked in both attempted raids on the public domain. In Dixon-Yates, it confessed its own guilt by canceling the contract. Now, in Hells Canyon, the Senate, in a clear affirmation of majority public opinion in the Pacific Northwest, has voted to authorize the Federal Government to build one high dam at Hells Canyon in the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon border.

That would be in keeping with the Army engineers' plan for integrated development of the great Columbia River system, in contrast with the three small dams proposed by the Idaho Power Co., which already has started work under license by the Federal Power Commission.

For another similarity, there are the snide, sneaky, backstairs methods that have been revealed in congressional investigations.

It seems timely to take a look at the behind-the-scenes maneuvers, all of which are documented.

Dixon-Yates first. That starts with the Detroit banker, Joseph W. Dodge, Director of the Budget early in the first Eisenhower administration. He wanted a complete change of Government water resource policy so that TVA, and eventually other giant public multipurpose projects, would be turned over to private utility combines. That, however, was no more his business than it is the business of your Uncle Dudley.

One day he was talking to a friend, George D. Woods, chairman of the First Boston Corp., about his plan. Woods had just the man to draft his plan, one of First Boston's own men by name of Adolphe Wenzell.

So Wenzell came to Washington, drew up an overall plan and then another as the first step in taking care of TVA. That was the scheme to contract with a couple of big utility magnates with southern holdings doing business at 2 Rector Street, New York City, Edgar H. Dixon and Eugene A. Yates. They would build a plant of their own in West Memphis, Ark., and produce power that would be sold to TVA. This would have been an entering wedge, supposedly to compensate for power TVA would furnish to the Atomic Energy Commission at Paducah, Ky. When you devise such a devious scheme, you can be sure there's something fishy.

There was. But did the public know anything about it? No, not for several months. Then Senator LISTER HILL, Democrat of Alabama, a sponsor of TVA, exposed in a Senate speech how Wenzell was involved. An investigation conducted by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat of Tennessee, showed that Wenzell was a consultant of the Budget Bureau and, at the same time, working for First Boston Corp., which was doing the financing for the Dixon-Yates scheme.

That is known as conflict of interest. It is against the law.

You never saw so much scurrying around in the administration, and wringing of hands in righteous indignation. It ended up by the Government canceling the contract it had originated.

Now for Hells Canyon. The opening scene is in the office of Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay, himself from Oregon in the Pacific Northwest. The time: early in the Eisenhower administration. On his desk before him is a paper he has prepared to back up a memorandum that his predecessor in the Truman administration, Secretary Oscar Chapman, had submitted to the Federal Power Commission.

The memorandum recommended one high Federal dam at Hells Canyon as the way to develop the full potential there, as found by the Army engineers.

Sherman Adams, the President's alter ego calls. He instructed McKay to withdraw the Chapman memorandum, giving notice that the new administration supported the Idaho Power Co. proposal.

McKay put down the phone, reached for his paper, tore it into little pieces and threw it into the waste paper basket. The FPC eventually approved the Idaho Power plan, though its examiner held that one high dam, such as the Army engineers recommended, was the best way to utilize all the potential. Stepping out of his province, he said he did not think Congress would approve that, and so recommended the Idaho Power plan. He is likely to be proved wrong about Congress.

Foreign Students in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the New York Herald Tribune concerning foreign students who are studying in the United States, and showing the enormous increase in the need for governmental aid and private aid, in order to forward that most vital activity in American foreign policy.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN STUDENTS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Probably one of the best methods of winning converts to the free world's way of life is through education in the nations of the western democracies themselves. Students from colonies, from economically backward countries, from areas which are not able to offer the opportunities of higher education in more than a few fields, are able to see for themselves the advantages of the democratic way of life over that of the Soviet dictatorship. One outstanding example is Prime Minister Nkrumah, of the new state of Ghana, who studied for 10 years in the United States. There is every indication that his leadership of the latest addition to the United Nations will be national, but not neutral, alined with the West.

The Institute of International Education has just reported that a record 40,666 foreign students attended United States colleges and universities during the past academic year. These are the men and women who will return to their native countries to

become leaders in the fields of medicine, teaching, law, engineering, and business. Representing 136 nations, they should be able to spread the story of democracy and of the free world among their fellow countrymen. And the technical knowledges which they have acquired will help advance the progress which some of the more backward countries are making in the areas of industry, public health, agriculture, and education.

It is interesting to note, however, that 45 percent, or nearly half the total studying here last year, were privately financed, while only 11 percent were aided by either the United States or foreign governments in cooperation with organizations such as foundations, colleges, and universities. An additional 26 percent were financed entirely by these organizations. In view of the importance to the United States of training these students here, of offering a greater opportunity to gifted youngsters whose parents cannot afford transportation to the United States in addition to tuition and living expenses for 4 or more years, it would be most gratifying if the percentage of those financed by governments and organizations could be increased. Corporations which do a large export business might find it to their advantage to offer scholarships in some of the smaller, poorer countries. Our Government would certainly find it worth while in the long run to have American-trained technicians in such countries, to say nothing of the added good will. A program of increasing the number of foreign students in this way, by broadening the base to include more of the gifted rather than the financially independent, should be encouraged.

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks made by His Excellency Felixberto Serrano, delegate to the United Nations from the Philippines, at a reception honoring Max Abelman on his 70th birthday held at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Mortimer J. Lasky, of Brooklyn, N. Y., together with a letter which Mr. Abelman received under date of May 27, 1957, from the President of the Philippines, Hon. Carlos P. Garcia. The tributes paid to Mr. Abelman on his birthday are further evidence of the friendship existing between the people of the United States and the people of the Philippines:

Mr. FELIXBERTO SERRANO. Mr. Abelman, Dr. and Mrs. Lasky and my good American friends and countrymen. I made a special effort to come here this afternoon because I want to show the Laskys my appreciation for their kindness. I met Max for the first time in America 2 years ago when he was given a citation, I believe, by the University of Manila in my country for his humanitarian activities. And since then I had developed with him a tie, and which I can say now had matured to real friendship.

It's pretty hard to say that one is your friend with great sincerity, because someone has said that "friendship is a divinity far more divine than all divinities." And so when you speak of a man as your friend, you must necessarily feel that it—all that it implies: everything, the beautiful and the sublime that it implies. I can say deep from my heart that Max is my friend and a real friend of my people.

I can tell you now that I believe Erlinda feels far more at home here than I am. I really don't know what is happening now with diplomats. We are supposed to be masters of the amenities of social life but in fact we are not. I feel even perhaps more at home with my fellow diplomats than in the average American home. Indeed if I have wanted to be here, it is here in this little home of America, of the average American, when I will know the true American, and the true America.

But we—we diplomats are a peculiar sort of people, very peculiar sort of people. Some say that diplomacy is the art of the possible, and that perhaps is in a sense true because even on what is possible we are finding great difficulties in solution which an average man perhaps might find easy. And so, that is rather the peculiar thing about diplomacy and diplomats. Even in a little gathering like this, we feel a little awkward. And that's why I admire my very good friend and country—countryman Erlinda for feeling perfectly at home here with the Laskys. I hope I could have a piece of her character and her ways. That certainly would make me feel better whenever I go to places like this.

I will tell you this now, my friends, that in speaking now she remarks about Max. I'm speaking as a Filipino, to the Americans; Max has spoken about friendship between the Philippines and your country. The relation that we sustain with you is a very peculiar one indeed. You had discharged the responsibilities of a stewardship over my country for 50 years, and indeed I do not know of any relation between the Governor and the governed which can be considered remarkable in the history of the human race as the one which the American Government and the American people are in my country. So we cannot believe this relation is former. It is a relation that I hope will endure with the years.

And I can assure you that with this little gathering that we have; a few Filipinos and a few Americans here and there, now and then, you can be sure that this will add lustre and greator sublimity to the relation that we sustain with the great American people. We have stood by you in the dark years that have passed. May God helping, we will stand by you in the dark years that are yet to come. I speak on behalf of my people when I say these few words. The Filipino people without question, without treaty, without any kind of this alliance that we are forging here and there, will stand by you any time, anywhere, when the hour of need comes. And I speak in my official capacity as the representative of my people and my government. Of that thought you can be sure, whatever little differences we might have now and then.

Of course we have to differ once in a while. We are human beings. We have our own distinct ways; but important things, identity of purpose, identity of ideals, identity of fundamental ways, and when the danger comes, if we can count on each other, that really is the mighty thing between your people and mine.

In the United Nations it has been my great privilege to work with Mr. Lodge and with the American delegation. There is not a single political issue that had assailed mankind where we had not together sought common counsel. There is not a single thing that he had thought of and his government had thought of on this issue where he had not sought consultation with me, and I did exactly the same thing. And that is the reason why your delegation and mine had worked very harmoniously in the last session. We hope that will continue.

May I expect the Laskys and my new American friends with us today to be perhaps in the Philippines some day. We will give you a piece also of our own Filipino hospitality, if not to equal, at least to approximate the hospitality of the Laskys and the average American wherever I go during my 3 years of stay in this great country. Thank you so much, and may I extend my best wishes to MAX.

Mr. ABELMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SERRANO. Let me tell you that your future years will certainly be as sweet as the past years you have lived. I know that we grow young, we never grow old. And Max, I think, is the one that always grows young. I feel much older really than he is.

MALACAÑANG,
Manila, May 27, 1957.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.,
United States of America.

MY DEAR MR. ABELMAN: I have just learned that you are one of the friends of the late President Ramon Magsaysay and that during his tenure, you kept an abiding interest in his administration by corresponding with him.

President Magsaysay, as is the general consensus, was truly a respected leader of international stature. He was not only the best friend of democracy in Asia but he did everything in his lifetime to fight its foremost enemy, communism, on every front. In his passing, the free world has indeed lost a formidable ally.

It is my sincere hope that you will continue to be generous with your abiding interest in this country. On my part, I see no plausible reason why I should depart from the policies of my illustrious predecessor insofar as the cordial relations of my country with the free world are concerned. Those relations being based on mutual respect and understanding and a kinship of lofty ideals, there is certainly nothing more to be desired.

With assurances of my highest esteem, I am,

Very sincerely,

CARLOS P. GARCIA.

Fast Writeoffs Not Real Loss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, so many people have criticized the policy of the Defense Mobilization Administration forgiving taxes that a large part of the public seems to think that this privilege constitutes a real tax loss.

Actually, it is simply tax deferment and is well explained in the editoial of the June 24 issue of the Ledger Gazette, of Lancaster, Calif.:

FIGHT CONTINUES FOR PUBLIC POWER

The fight of Senator MORSE to get public power for the Pacific Northwest so that the rest of the country can continue to subsidize that area on an even grander scale, goes on unabated.

The Senate has passed a bill authorizing a big dam at Hells Canyon, and the House will soon act on it.

There is indication that votes have been traded. Senators wanting to get a civil-rights bill passed seem to have supported the Hells Canyon Dam bill in return for support for the civil-rights bill, soon to be considered by the Senate.

To the man in the street this is a very confusing situation. The Idaho Power Co. is now engaged in building three dams on the Snake River in Idaho.

Yet the public power forces under the vocal leadership of Senator MORSE have gotten a bill through the Senate to build a high dam that would, if built, flood the sites on which the Idaho Power Co. is now building.

It makes good sense; doesn't it?

The Pacific Northwest, through Senator MORSE, is actively soliciting subsidies from the rest of the States through the guise of public power.

Power can be sold cheaply to industry, particularly the aluminum industry, if the Government will build the dams and the plants. Power is not cheap power if produced by the Government; it costs as much as the so-called private power. Wages are the same, materials cost the same, construction costs are the same. But financing costs are not the same. And it isn't hard to get a businessman to tell you if he had no taxes to pay and could get his money without paying interest he too could sell power more cheaply.

Now Senator MORSE knows that even the aluminum industries are a little disillusioned about being way out West with their markets way back East. At least one has taken an eastern site in preference to the cheap power available from Government plants in the West.

Part of the argument against the Idaho Power Co.'s development has been that a rapid depreciation allowance granted by the Government would cost the taxpayers $85 million.

A rapid depreciation allowance does allow a business to pay less taxes as long as the allowance lasts, but when it runs out, then the taxes are much higher. And in the overall the same amount of taxes will be paid the Government for you cannot depreciate a thing beyond its value.

Nor was any mention made of the fact that if the Government persists building the high dam that Idaho Power Co. will be able to recover its losses for the construction now in progress.

Nor was any mention made of the fact that if the Government builds a high dam no taxes will ever be paid, which will be a loss much greater than the alleged $85 million.

And if the Government dam is built no mention was made that it will be through the generosity of the taxpayers of States like California that the people of the Pacific Northwest will be able to sell power cheaply because of the subsidy granted them.

Public power proponents always talk about the good of the people. But they never think it. They see it as a way of winning votes with other people's money. They see it as a means of getting control of vast areas because they can control the production and sale of power, and through that the use to which it will be put.

Public power should be called Government controlled power, or politically controlled power, for that is what it is.

We have too much Government control now, we elected Eisenhower to get us less, not more. We elected our Congress to get us less not more.

We urge that the House refuse to pass the Senate bill for a Government dam at Hells Canyon.

We urge that the President veto the bill if the Congress passes it.

The decision to build the dams with private capital should be allowed to stand. After all, the dams are under construction now.

Discussion on Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the Hells Canyon project has been before the Congress since 1950. It was defeated in the Senate last year by a vote of 51 to 41. It passed the Senate on June 21, 1957 by 45 to 38. The bill has been heard several times before the subcommittee in the House. In the 82d Congress, controlled by the Democrats, there was almost unanimous vote in the committee to indefinitely postpone the bill. During the 83d Congress, when I was chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, there was no request for a hearing. In the 84th Congress there were rather lengthy hearings. The printed record shows 523 pages. The subcommittee finished hearings in the 85th Congress on July 2 and voted, 15 to 12, to strike the enacting clause. I believe the full committee will sustain this action.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

The Federal Power Commission, which is an arm of the Congress, held hearings of more than 1 year's duration, covering some 20,000 pages of testimony, on the question of a high Hells Canyon Dam. There has been much complaint about the FPC and its action. The committee should remember that the FPC—Federal Power Commission—is a body created by the Congress. The five members are appointed by the President on a bipartisan basis and they must be approvde by the Senate.

There has been much spleen vented against Mr. Kuykendall, a member of the Commission. Some people blame him for everything that has happened. I would remind my colleagues that he is but one member of this bipartisan board that made the unanimous decision on Hells Canyon.

Mr. Speaker, the FPC engineering staff made a 44,000 man-hour study of the entire Hells Canyon problem. The findings were presented to the Commission by the engineers with numerous supporting exhibits. It seems to me there is no agency in Government which is in a better position to give a fair and impartial judgment, on all the questions raised, than the FPC. The five members are a bipartisan group. They have no ax to grind. Their only job is to consider, under the Federal Power Act, which is the best plan for development.

No committee of Congress would have the time or patience to hold such exhaustive hearings. It should be remembered that after the board made its ruling that the Idaho Power Co. should have a license to build three dams on the Snake River, those who opposed the license appealed to the Supreme Court to overrule that decision. The courts, after reviewing all of the evidence and facts surrounding the case, ruled against those who favor a high dam. The courts upheld the right of the Federal Power Commission to issue these licenses.

The FPC found the three dams licensed by the Commission to the Idaho Power Co. will produce 767,000 dependable kilowatts. This figure compares to 785,000 kilowatts for the proposed Government dam. The Commission said, "the ratio of power benefits to power costs of the 3-dam plan is greater than that of the 1-dam plan."

The Idaho Power Co. has gone forward under its license with the construction of the Brownlee and Oxbow Dams and will be producing power late in 1958. They have spent or contracted to spend up to this date about $50 million. Cancel their permits and the Government would be liable and this would be added to the cost of the high dam.

The Idaho Power Co. will do certain things under the Hells Canyon scheme at no expense to the United States. They will not be reimbursed or will there be an actual Federal tax loss. There are funds for fish protection facilities. There will be a million acre-feet of flood control at no cost to the Government. The Idaho Power Co. has gone ahead in good faith and spent nearly $50 million. The people of the area are desperately in need of power. They will be paying taxes to the Federal Government over a 50-year period of about $283,126,300. The States of Idaho and Oregon over the same time will receive $200 million in taxes.

SIZE OF DAMS

If the Congress authorizes the high Federal dam, certainly the Idaho Power Co. would be in the Court of Claims for damages.

Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress has received mail stating that the Idaho Power Co. would be building three runt or pygmy dams that would not serve the purpose and use wisely the water of the Snake River.

Well, let us look at these so-called runt dams. The Brownlee that is now nearly half completed is 395 feet high. That is 107 feet higher than the Capitol dome. The Oxbow which will be constructed next will be 205 feet high. That is twice as high as the Bonneville Dam. Hells Canyon, which is to be built on about the same site as the proposed Federal Hells Canyon, will be 320 feet high and that is about twice the height of Niagara Falls. In fact, Mr. Speaker, the so-called hydroelectric heads of the high dam and the three proposed dams, according to the engineers is 602 feet. They are exactly the same.

The three dams will produce about the same amount of power as that produced by the one federally constructed dam. These are electric power projects. There is little or no irrigation or flood control water in either the high dam or the three-dam proposal.

TAX WRITEOFFS

There have been some harsh words said about the so-called tax-write off provisions given to the Idaho Power Co. Personnally I have always been opposed to these so-called "tax writeoffs." However, there have been more than 21,000 such certificates issued in the last 10 years; 927 of the certificates were in the power field. Every State has had tax

writeoffs except one. There is nothing illegal, dishonest, or immoral about the procedure. Indeed, if I were a stockholder in the Idaho Power Co. and the president and the board failed to take advantage of the tax writeoffs, I would want to get a new set of officers. This tax writeoff has been blown up all out of proportion. Quite a number of these tax writeoffs were in the States of Oregon and Washington. I did not hear either the junior or senior Members of the other body from Oregon complain about the writeoffs in their own States. It seems to be wrong only when it comes to the State of Idaho. There certificates were granted as a matter of public policy. The policy was established by the Congress itself. If the law is wrong it should be corrected. The Congress is responsible for that correction.

THE STORY OF LICENSES

There has been nothing sudden about the granting of this license to the Idaho Power Co. The first plans were made in 1946. They applied for permits in 1947. That was 10 years ago. All of this was done up and above board. They made formal application for a license, the first in 1950 and again in 1953. Then, after the longest hearings in history a bipartisan board issued the license. The Commission said this when they issued the license:

> Most of what we have already said indicates that the applicant's three-dam proposal is best adapted to a comprehensive plan of development as required by section 10 (a) of the Federal Power Act.

That was the Commission's findings. It was in the public interest.

COURT DECISIONS

The opponents went to the United States Court of Appeals twice and were rejected. They carried their appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States on two occasions. Each time the courts, after reviewing all of the evidence, held that the licenses issued to the Idaho Power Co. were valid. The company under these court decisions have proceeded and will have the Brownlee Dam completed and producing power in 1958. The Oxbow Dam will be completed in 1960 and, under their license provisions, Hells Canyon should be completed in 1962.

COST OF DAMS

It has been estimated that the cost of one high Federal dam would be about $356 million. When the smaller dams and power lines that must be built downstream to firm up the power are built, the total cost would be $700 to $800 million. Four of the downstream dams have not been authorized. The cost of the three dams by the Idaho Power Co. is about $133 million. They will produce about the same amount of power.

My colleagues should understand that the Pacific Northwest, in the last 20 years, has received about one-fifth of all moneys appropriated for reclamation. I cannot believe that now we should make available another $100 million each year for 7 or 8 years to complete this high Federal dam particularly so when there is a private enterprise group now constructing the needed power facilities.

PRIVATE VERSUS FEDERAL POWER

Some people seem to have the idea that all electric power should be generated by the Government. That is a mistaken idea. Public power should be generated by the Government in areas where private capital is not available. There is no reason for the Government to develop power projects unless those projects are too big for the people to handle.

Now let me state my policy so there will be no misunderstanding. I am from Nebraska, the only completely public power State in the country. I believe in public power where public power is necessary.

I know there are many sincere people in the United States who feel that the Federal Government should develop all of the power sites now existing on the rivers. They have a feeling that these power sites and the water belong to the people; that the Government ought to build power units and then let private power companies come and get the power. There are other sincere people who feel the Government should go so far as to build transmission lines for the power. I respect their views. I would point out, however, that if the Federal Government should do this for power, why not for steel, build the locomotives, control the food, and all other private enterprise systems now existing in the United States. This would be socialism in full swing.

In my opinion there is room enough in this country for both private and public power systems. Our America became great because free men and women were able to go ahead and do the things they want to do with a minimum amount of Government interference. In my humble opinion, our America cannot remain great and strong by expecting the Government to do so many things for people that they could do for themselves.

I did support the great power network on the Missouri and Colorado Rivers because private enterprise was not able to develop these water sites. That is not true of the Snake River. The Hells Canyon is far different than the Colorado or Missouri Rivers. I would say that if private capital were not available, then the Government should step in.

Again I say I believe in free enterprise, one of the foundations of our American way of life. I believe that people should do things for themselves when it can be done. I believe the Government should aid the people in projects which the people cannot handle alone.

In Nebraska it would have been impossible to construct the farflung network of powerlines without Federal aid. We have a great power system. The REA's have extended lines throughout the rural areas so that practically every farmer who wants power can have it. This was done through Federal funds which are now being repaid to the Government over a period of years.

However, private capital is available in the Hells Canyon case. In fact, private capital is now being used in the construction of the first of three dams. There is, then no concrete reason for the Government to step in and furnish Federal funds in competition with free enterprise.

I believe in projects which are an investment in the future of America. I have endorsed and voted for many public-power projects, irrigation projects, flood-control projects, and others where help from the Government is needed.

The high dam would take 6 to 8 years for completion. What will the people of the Northwest do for power in the interim?

The Hells Canyon case should be resolved, once and for all time. There is no sense in this continuing controversy which is wasting time and inflaming tempers. We have heard the arguments—pro and con. The time has come for decision.

Are we going to uphold the studied decision of the Federal Power Commission? Do we believe in free enterprise or are we going to demand the right to socialize every segment of society? Why should we spend $700 million of the people's money when there is private money to do the job?

Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor of June 25 in an editorial entitled "Beyond the Bonds of Reason," said in part:

> The Senators—many of them milling around excitedly, shaking hands, slapping backs, and otherwise congratulating each other on a splendid victory they had just won. And what was this great achievement 40 Democrats and 5 Republicans were so proud of? They had just voted to spend a great deal of the taxpayer's money to do a job already underway at no taxpayer's expense. Specifically, they had voted to build a Federal dam at Hells Canyon, thereby flaunting the considered opinion of the administration, the Federal Power Commission, and indeed, of the Senate itself last year. In the process they would wash out the 3 dam sites, 2 for which the Idaho Power Co. has already spent $18 million.

A few weeks ago the country listened to Nikita Khrushchev, the Russian dictator, who remarked that our grandchildren would be living in a state of socialism. The actions of the 40 Democrats and 5 Republicans in their vote on Hells Canyon must have given the Russian dictator a wry smile for here was socialism in full action. If the Government is to supply the electric energy for people why not the automobiles, steel, coal, and our food. That would be Rusisa and that would be socialism.

COST AND SELLING PRICE OF FEDERAL POWER

Mr. Speaker, another unfortunate feature in the Pacific Northwest, and I have studied this problem for several years, is the fact that all Federal dams are selling about half of their electric energy at less than the cost of production. Many of these contracts were entered into under the Truman-Chapman-Strauss regime. They are long-term contracts with no right to the preference customer.

The sale of the Bonneville Power Administration for the fiscal year 1955-1956 were as follows:

Total sales, 1955, 21,828,500,000 kilowatt-hours at an average per kilowatt-hour of 2.34 mills.

In 1956, the total sales amounted to 25,973,700,000 kilowatt-hours at 2.32 mills.

The power developed at the high dam will be sold at a cost to every State and taxpayer in the Union. It will be a form of subsidy. It is cheap Federal power paying no taxes. The power will be sold at less than the cost of production. This 4-mill power will be fed into the Bonneville system where it is sold at an average rate of about 2.4 mills.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, to put a stop to this hydroelectric construction now underway, which would develop more than one-half million kilowatts of power, and add 1 million acre-feet of flood control storage would be disastrous to the Northwest. Much of this power will be on the line in 1958. There is a real shortage of power. Some of the defense plants last year and even early in this year, were closed down because of a shortage of power. This additional power is desperately needed now. It will take from 6 to 8 years for any power to develop out of the Federal high Hells Canyon Dam.

LACK OF ELECTRIC POWER

What will those who favor the Federal dam say to the farmers when they lack power for pumping or for running their farms? What will they say to the laboring group when the factories are shut down because they lack sufficient power? Do they want to impose a shutdown on this industrial and farm growth making a delay of 6 to 8 years before Federal power could possibly come on the line? What will they say about the great tax loss? These are a few of the problems that the proponents of the high dam should answer. They should also tell the REA's and farmers under the Chapman-Strauss regime why long term contracts were let to private concerns at less than the cost of production with no preference or withdrawal clause for the power when needed by the REA.

Mr. Speaker, I have gone into considerable detail on the pros and cons of the development of power on the Snake River. In the past there has been much emotion in trying to solve the problem. I hope my colleagues will look at the facts in cold, hard logic. When that is done, there is little doubt but what they and the country will come to the conclusion that the three dams to be built by the Idaho Power Co. will best serve the interests of the Pacific Northwest.

Recent Gulf Coast Hurricane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, although the loss of life was not nearly so great in my State of Texas during the recent gulf-coast hurricane as it was in our good neighbor, Louisiana, widespread damage, nevertheless, was evident along the Texas coast. I ask unanimous consent to have a portion of a story describing this damage printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. This article, together with shocking pictures of the tragic devastation, appeared in the Beaumont, Tex., Journal, June 27, 1957.

It is unfortunate that we cannot publish photographs in the Appendix, for the drama and storytelling capacity of the accompanying pictures have a telling force, in the devastation they portray.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEAUMONT, ORANGE, AND PORT ARTHUR SUFFER WIDESPREAD DAMAGES AS HURRICANE THREAT DIMINISHES—STORM STRIKES INLAND ON COAST WITH WINDS EXCEEDING 100 MILES PER HOUR

ORANGE.—One person was killed and two others seriously injured around 2:30 p. m. Thursday from an electrical shock at Second and Green Streets. Jerry Lee Bridges, 32, was pronounced dead upon arrival at Orange Memorial Hospital.

J. L. Downey, 30, and Virgil Smith, 32, were undergoing emergency treatment at the hospital.

All three were employed by the Gulf States Utilities Co. At the time of the accident they were working on power lines felled by hurricane Audrey.

(By Gladys Barrileaux)

Beaumont, Orange and Port Arthur, lashed by the fury of hurricane Audrey, surveyed widespread property damage late Thursday as the storm threat diminished in southeast Texas.

The season's first hurricane smashed inland at the Texas-Louisiana coast with winds of 100 miles per hour velocity. Lake Charles reportedly clocked winds at 105 miles per hour.

The storm was centered 50 miles northwest of Lake Charles at 1 p. m. after roaring inland from the Gulf of Mexico near Cameron, La., around 11 a. m.

Shortly before 3 p. m., winds appeared to be diminishing in Beaumont and skies looked less threatening. The weather bureau said winds and squalls gradually will decrease as the center of the storm moves northward. Tides also were expected to fall and winds and seas will subside along the coast Thursday night.

Beaumont, Orange and Port Arthur reported no deaths or serious injuries, but damage ran high.

While Orange appeared to have suffered the hurricane at its worst, Beaumont's property damage also was widespread.

Reports over the area indicate that much small damage was incurred by many homes and buildings, rather than any major destruction.

Howling winds uprooted trees, snapped power lines and smashed plate glass windows in Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange. Many area residents were without electrical power for hours and telephone service was disrupted.

Civil Defense, Red Cross, police and military and civilian units set up emergency operations and provided shelter for hundreds of people. A detachment of 12 Texas State guardsmen arrived at Beaumont Thursday afternoon to assist local police in mopup work.

No report of damage in Lake Charles was immediately available. Communications by telephone between Beaumont and other Louisiana cities, such as Lake Charles and Cameron, were disrupted by the terrific hurricane Audrey.

In Orange, reconnaissance teams of the Red Cross and National Guard began a street-by-street survey of Orange at 2:30 p. m., Thursday to assess damage caused by hurricane Audrey.

Martin Thomen, civil defense chief, said it would take about 2 hours to make a definite estimate of the damage in Orange, but early indications are that it is heavy.

Crews from the Salvation Army earlier started distributing food to those in need. Chaplain Douglas Nelson estimated that approximately 1,200 Orange residents had been fed by 2:30 p. m.

In the meantime, heavy rains continued to soak Orange although the wind strength began to abate. Mr. Thomen said that storm refugees at Stark High School, who numbered nearly 1,000 persons at the height of the storm, had begun to return to their homes.

The second blow of Audrey, which hit Orange after a 2-hour calm during the eye of the hurricane, 9:15 to 11:15 a. m., apparently caused as much damage as the initial blow.

Wind shifts were graphically illustrated in many blocks by uprooted trees lying in opposite directions.

The worst-hit section of Orange was in the newer additions northwest of the city, especially Westmont. Seven or more houses were hit by falling trees, including that of former Mayor Joe Runnels.

Streets remained in flooded condition and many were still blocked by fallen trees at 3 p. m. Thursday. Power was still off in many sections, but Gulf States Utilities Co. reported that emergency crews are still hard at work to restore service.

In Beaumont, police estimated that more than 200 power lines were down. Plate glass windows in more than 45 downtown stores were shattered and police stood guard to prevent possible looting.

All Beaumont radio stations were knocked off the air.

Large trees in the city were uprooted and streets were lined with broken limbs and debris. Numerous TV antennas were bent or blown down and high winds stripped shingles off many homes. Power was out in many homes.

Some 1,500 telephones were reported out. Some of the trouble was caused by trees falling over cables, S. C. Falk, Beaumont manager of Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., reported. Out-of-town crews were being called here to help restore service.

High tides washed out the new bridge at Rollover Pass on Highway 87. The bridge was completed only last year to facilitate movement of fish between the Gulf and east Galveston Bay.

Water was reported 2 feet deep over Highway 87 and Highway 124 along the beach.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks by Dr. Jacob I. Hartstein, dean of the Graduate School of Long Island University, in presenting the Honorable James A. Farley for the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa, at the annual commencement exercises held on June 7, 1957:

Mr. President, on behalf of the board of trustees, it is my privilege to present for the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws a first baseman of no mean ability in his time, a team player of vigorous loyalty, a political strategist who has called the signals with unmatched brilliance—the former Postmaster General of the United States and since 1940 chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., James A. Farley.

Born and educated in Rockland County, he rose from town clerk in obscure Stony Point, N. Y., to a position of preeminence in the political life of our great Nation. Successively, he served as chairman of the Rockland County Democratic Committee, as secretary and later as chairman of the New York Democratic State Committee, and from 1932 to 1940 as chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

He wrote the monograph on how to greet friends and influence people, and his uncanny recall of names and faces already is committed to the grand legend of American political history. But this is a skill born of a genuine and pervading affection for all people, an integrity in human relations that reaches out to embrace both allies and persons otherwise. His is a gift of statesmanship infectious in its warmth, inspiring in its honesty and yet impelling in its astuteness.

He came from humble beginnings and he rose to become a leader of great influence in our times, and this is the story America delights to tell.

I present, Mr. President, a political savant who has served our people with distinction, a firm advocate of the principles we cherish, a sturdy American whose good right arm is ever extended in friendship.

Mr. President, Mr. Farley.

Murray's Report to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include the text of Hon. Thomas E. Murray's report to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy made prior to Mr. Murray leaving the Atomic Energy Commission.

The report made by Mr. Murray is a very important one and warrants the consideration of every person. His report relates to probably the most important question which confronts the world at the present time, not one section but all sections and all peoples of the world.

I also include in my extension of remarks an editorial entitled "Murray Challenge," which appeared in the Washington Daily News of June 28, 1957.

The report and editorial follow:

TEXT OF MURRAY'S REPORT TO THE JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE AS HE LEAVES AEC

I think you will understand when I say that I consider it my public duty not to leave the Atomic Energy Commission without a final word to your committee on our common concerns.

There is, however, the prior personal duty of expressing my appreciation for the unfailingly courteous attention which you have always given me whenever I have come before you to discuss matters of policy or of fact. I shall retain, with gratitude, the memory of our association.

Our common concerns are far more urgent today than they were 7 years ago when I was first initiated into them. Revolutionary changes have swept over the world, and the United States has been involved in all of them. The complexity and rapidity of the changes have often confused our counsels. But two basic facts have emerged with all clarity.

The first fact is that a new international mandate has been inescapably thrust upon the American people and upon their Government. In its contents it is the same mandate which the American people laid upon their Government in 1789 for fulfillment in the United States: "To form a more perfect union, to establish justice * * * to provide for the common defense, and to insure the blessings of liberty * * *." This is the mandate that history has now laid on America for fulfillment in the world at large.

The second fact is that the execution of this mandate is challenged by another great state, which heads a spreading empire. It has rocketed to a height of power that threatens to rival our own. It too has a mandate, given in its philosophy. And it has enlisted all the resources of its growing power to further its inhuman purposes and to defeat the purposes for which we stand, which are inherently the purposes of civilized mankind.

At the heart of this conflict of power, there stand the illimitable inner energies of the atom. Our problem is to know how we may harness these gigantic energies in such a way that they may enforce our own international mandate and thwart the success of the Communist mandate, which presently clashes with our own.

SEES A TWOFOLD PROBLEM

The problem is twofold. In the military sphere, the problem is to avoid the risk of total annihilation without incurring the risk of gradual defeat. In the area of peaceful uses of the atom, the problem is to bring into being an international atomic-energy economy without disrupting the pattern of our own economy or accentuating conditions of disorder in the world economy.

Each of these two major dilemmas gives rise to a highly complex sea of problems. They are of diverse but interrelated orders—problems of moral principle, military doctrine, economic theory, technological possibilities, budgetary policy. I shall select a few that have been in the forefront of my concern.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

For several years you have heard me urge the need for rationality in our armament program. By rational nuclear armament I have consistently meant the creation of the whole spectrum of weapons capabilities that, under the control of sound military doctrine, will enable us successfully to meet the whole range of possible or likely Soviet military action. Essentially, the problem is to achieve in our production programs and in our resultant nuclear stockpile the right balance—a balance that will give us appropriate weapons strength both to support the rigid strategy of deterrence and also to give substance to a flexible doctrine of limited war.

As you well know, one of my major preoccupations has been with the small end of the weapons spectrum. You will recall, for instance, that on February 23, 1956, I testified to your committee about our urgent need of small weapons and recommended a program that would look to their production in the tens of thousands.

Even a balanced stockpile will not provide us with total security. But only a balanced stockpile will protect us against impalement on one or other horn of the nuclear dilemma—sudden destruction or slow defeat. Of the two alternatives, the latter presents the more likely danger. And it was against this danger that I have urged the imperative necessity of moving the small-weapons program out of the development phase into the phase of large-scale production.

The validity of the argument for a national armament policy is one thing; the actual installation of the policy itself is quite another. On the first score I am confident; the argument I have repeatedly made is valid in every military and moral sense. But on the second score I am profoundly concerned. There is little evidence that a policy of rational nuclear armament is in operation. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence that the structure of our policies is still upside down.

Reason would require that technology and the budget should stand in the service both of sound strategic doctrine and of the weapons-production policy required to support this doctrine. The actual fact is that technology and the budget are still in control of our weapons program, and the weapons program itself is still in control of military doctrine.

This inversion of values is irrational. If continued, it may well prove fatal. The chief fatality, of course, will be the small-weapons program; for it is the more costly, in fissionable materials as well as in dollars. Our continued falling short in this area is, I have insisted, a major threat to our military security.

The test of the matter would be to stand, as it were, at the end of our weapons production lines and count what is coming of them. You would see an immediate need to move the small-weapons program into the phase of large-scale production.

THE PROBLEM OF IGNORANCE

What are the reasons for this irrational situation? Undoubtedly there are many. But at the root of them all there lies the widespread ignorance of the realities of the nuclear age which still strangely exists on all the strata of American opinion, from the highest to the lowest. This ignorance extends both to matters of military doctrine and also to matters of weapons strength. The results are sometimes curious, as one example will show.

In February 1956, I made a calculation of the total megatonnage that would be in our stockpile as of certain dates. The information was submitted in a memorandum to high military and civilian authorities who had the proper clearance to receive it. The figures in the memorandum were not questioned by anybody. Some weeks later I discovered that my figures were badly in error, by as much as 60 percent. I had assumed that the figures submitted to me, stating the annual increments in our megatonnage, were to be added to give a total. In fact, however, the figures were not incremental but cumulative; the last figures were the total. My own error is at least explicable. What I find inexplicable is the fact that no one pointed out my error. One would expect that by this time there would exist, in minds more expert than my own, the kind of curbstone knowledge that would instantly spot a mistake of such magnitude.

Moreover, the purpose of the memorandum was to raise the issue of whether or not our production policy in the field of megaton weapons was going beyond reason. Only limited megatonnage is required to support the policy of deterrence; furthermore, a limited megatonnage is sufficient seriously to contaminate the world. It seemed to me unreasonable to go beyond the limits of this requirement and of this sufficiency. In view of this purpose of the memorandum it was all the more extraordinary that no one was at pains to point out the mistake in numbers.

Naturally, upon discovering the error, I immediately sent a set of corrected figures to the recipients of the original memorandum. No comments on the correction were made. And I was left to ponder the question, does there exist any concern about the limits of the megatonnage required to deter the enemy and sufficient seriously to contaminate the world.

Another problem in mathematics, in which error would be portentous in its consequences, has more recently come up. Writing in the issue of Life for May 6, 1957, I undertook to show that an all-out nuclear war of survival is inherently absurd. To demonstrate its absurity, I postulated the explosion in ground bursts of 3,500 megatons of fission energy. I then calculated the radioactive consequences. In the belligerent countries, I said, the radioactive strontium level in human bones would be of the order of 50 times the maximum considered acceptable; and over all the world the strontium concentrations would be between 2 and 6 times the maximum permissible for the general population.

My hypothetical calculations were seriously meant; and my figures were not arrived at by haphazard guess. I presumed that my hypothesis would be taken seriously; that my figures would be carefully checked; and that I would be advised if they required revision. No one has contradicted my assertion that a war involving the explosion of 3,500 megatons would be absurd; no one has ruled out my unspoken inference that a stockpile which would be ample for the purpose of deterring an all-out war should bear a direct relation to these 3,500 megatons. I may have been right or wrong in my figures. The point is that a few have seemed to care much whether I was either. Is it not high time that someone found out?

HOUSE TESTIMONY CITED

The question assumes added point in view of recent testimony by Dr. Frank Shelton, Technical Director, Armed Forces Special Weapons Project, before a House subcommittee on appropriations. He indicated that 30,000 megatons of fission from large-yield weapons would result, in addition to the other damage done, merely in reaching a rather safe tolerance for strontium 90. If he is right, I am wrong; but the world is in less danger from destruction. However, if I am right, he is wrong—most dreadfully; and the peril to the world is vastly greater. It will not do to say that the difference between 3,500 megatons and 30,000 megatons is only about a factor of 10. This is mathematically correct. It is also irrelevant. We are here concerned with a problem of weapons policy. And a policy based on calculations that could be in error by a factor of 10 might well be unpardonably reckless.

Obviously, in the area of nuclear policy we are still condemned to travel on a margin of ignorance. But in these circumstances we have a twofold duty. The rest is to reduce the margin of ignorance. Certainly we are not excused from this duty by reason of its financial cost (say in the form of a greatly increased budget for biology and medicine). Our second duty is to reduce the measure of risk that attaches to any policy in consequence of our present relative ignorance. This would not be difficult to do, if we kept our minds fixed on the military usefulness of weapons within the context of sound strategic doctrine, instead of fixing them on technology and on the budget. My knowledge of the destructive capacity of several thousand negatons leads me to assert that the explosion of more than this amount would make no military or moral sense.

The problem of ignorance in the atomic age has another aspect. I mean the ignorance that prevails in the popular mind. The major ignorance here centers on the notion of limited nuclear war. There are, I know, complex technical problems involved in the notion. These are not matters for popular understanding; they are difficult enough even for the expert. What bothers me, however, is that the American people do not understand the simple fact that limited war is the more prominent likelihood of the nuclear age. They have not yet faced the consequent fact that, if they reject limited war as a possible necessary instrument of policy, they will fail in the fulfillment of their international mandate. In moments of crisis, they will have nothing to fall back upon except a policy of emotional utterance. The alternative to limited war is moral indignation. But, whatever its value, moral indignation is not an adequate instrument with which to insure the success of the American mandate over the Communist counter-mandate.

There has been to date no serious effort to educate the public mind in the nature, meaning and possible necessity of limited nuclear war. Popular misconceptions abound.

For instance, it is widely supposed that the first use of a small tactical nuclear weapon means stepping on an escalator that will lead inexorably down to the depths of total nuclear war. This crude belief is simply not warranted; and if it stays fixed in the public mind, it will play havoc with public morale in moments of crisis, just as it will damage the freedom of governmental decision in meeting crises.

Fortunately, an important means of public education, hitherto neglected, lies to hand, namely, an expanded program of small-weapons tests.

At the moment the whole question of tests is badly embroiled, not least because of public ignorance about the nature and possible necessity of limited war, I have, as you know, opposed the continuance of tests of weapons in the multimegaton range. But I have strongly urged a greatly increased emphasis on weapons suitable to the strategy of limited war. I would like to see two or more test organizations put in permanent being to accelerate the tests of small weapons. The Pacific test site should be kept in operational status so as to give a continuous testing capability. The Nevada site should also be available on a continuous basis for special tests of the smallest weapons.

ADDED PRODUCTION CURBED

An expanded production program of weapons for limited use in limited war is an objective necessity in order to give substance to sound military and political doctrine fashioned to meet the realities of the world power situation. I have said this often enough before. Now I suggest that constructive use should be made of this necessity. The requisite test programs, publicly explained in their premises and purposes, could be turned to good account as a means of informing the public mind, calming its unwarranted fears, correcting the climate of opinion in which the risks of limited war could be realistically grasped, faced without undue fear, and accepted as an inherent part of our responsibility to carry out our international mandate of justice, freedom, and the more perfect union. In this connection I might add that the Atomic Energy Commission should begin to make a more effective effort than it has made in the past toward instructing the public mind with adequate information about its weapons testing. Has not the day of the laconic communique now passed?

Three particular misapprehensions, widespread among the public, call for immediate and official correction.

First, the impression has been created that widespread hazard from fallout is not a necessary complement to the employment of large bombs today. As a consequence it is believed that the radiation hazards of nuclear war have already been substantially lessened. This belief is not supported by the facts.

A second misapprehension concerns the possibility of satisfying our need of small weapons by making the big ones into small ones. In point of fact, a policy of making big ones into small ones is not practical. A thermonuclear bomb is not a sort of thousand-dollar bill that can be cashed into smaller denominations in any way one wishes.

The third misapprehension concerns the fallout dangers from small nuclear weapons. These dangers have been greatly exaggerated in the public mind. The crude misconception prevails, stimulated by certain statements that have been made, that a limited war fought with tactical nuclear weapons would result in radioactive hazards that would be pretty much as intolerable as the hazards resultant from the use of large weapons in a more or less allout war. There is the further misconception that testing small weapons is pretty much as dangerous, from the standpoint of fallout hazards, as testing large weapons. (Therefore—the people conclude—all kinds of tests ought to be stopped, for the same reasons.) Behind both of these misconceptions lies the strangely persistent failure to grasp the central fact that an essential difference obtains between the fallout from a kiloton bomb and the fallout from a giant megaton bomb.

The difference is really twofold. The first difference is easily illustrated. Nuclear tests thus far have released radioactive products from about 50 megatons of fission energy. You could explode 50,000 ground bursts of one kiloton each, and you would not have released more than this same amount of radioactive products. Note that 50,000 one-kiloton bombs would be enough to fight a fair fistful of limited wars, given the fact that this kilotonnage is some 30 times the total bomb tonnage dropped in World War II. In contrast, the explosion of five bombs as ground bursts, each releasing 10 megatons of fission (hardly enough for a total war) would immediately give you about the same amount of radioactive products that has been released in tests. The difference in the bombs, and in the wars into which they would fit, is immediately apparent.

Secondly, the fallout from kiloton bombs is far more subject to control than the fallout from multimegation bombs. In a real sense the latter fallout is uncontrollable. Some of the radioactive products are shot into the stratosphere; then the laws of nature and not any human decisions dictate the worldwide coverage of the fallout. In contrast, the fallout from a one-kiloton bomb is far less in quantity and far more localized in extent. This is the reason why tests of kiloton devices can be conducted safely in Nevada; whereas tests of multimegaton devices can only be held in the Pacific proving grounds. Again the difference in the weapons, and their divergent usefulness in war, are apparent.

SECRECY

A further problem is closely connected with the problem of ignorance that exists to a greater or lesser degree in governmental circles and in the general area of public opinion. I refer to the problem of atomic secrecy. It is with some hesitation that I address myself to this problem, since I am aware of its manifold implications.

Secrecy has hitherto been the cornerstone of the vast scientific, political, administrative, and financial structure of management by which the nuclear affairs of the United States are conducted. Secrecy had to be the cornerstone of the edifice at the time when its foundations were first laid. In those days the basic concern was the protection of the United States atomic monopoly, which was then considered to be the most solid guaranty of the security of the free world.

The monopoly has long since come to an end. Today there are few, if any, secrets in nuclear science. And the secrets of nuclear technology are, and increasingly will be, opened to professional knowledge. Today, moreover, atomic secrecy tends to put a sharper edge on the competitive arms race. Here, as in the wider field of industry, successful competition depends on the maintenance of a measure of secrecy about discoveries and operations.

Again, a new dimension has been added to nuclear affairs in the form of an international atomic power economy. Its structure has begun to appear in answer to an urgent need and its future growth will be one of the leading phenomena of the future. In this area the beginnings of a clash of national interests are already apparent (between ourselves and England, for instance, as well as between ourselves and the Soviet Union), at the same time that men everywhere catch a glimpse of a new prospect for international economic order, for a broadening of human welfare, and consequently for a more tranquil international community. In a word the whole nuclear situation has undergone a radical alteration. 1957 is not 1947. And the days of the Manhattan project are now lost in the shadows of history.

The whole problem of secrecy therefore appears in a new and different light. But hardly any new and constructive thought has been given to it. I do not mean that doctrinaire type of thinking which is simply opposed to secrecy on principle, as they say, usually without any satisfactory specification of the principle in question. I mean rather the type of thinking that takes realistic account of present facts at the same time it reckons imaginatively with future prospects. This practical but imaginative type of thinking must now be bent on a new general problem. Should secrecy now be conceded the same place of paramount value that it could validly claim 10 years ago? Is our inherited policy of atomic secrecy, under today's altered conditions, really a policy of security and strength? Or does it on the balance contribute more to insecurity and weakness?

More concretely and constructively, the question is this: Given the facts of today and the prospects of tomorrow, what policies in the matter of atomic secrecy will best serve the range of values and interests to which they are committed? These are various. There is our interest in the military strength of the United States, in some solidly doctrinal sense of nuclear strength (which does not consist simply in staying ahead of the Russians, or in developing the maximum possible nuclear power. There is our interest in the diminution of world tensions, and in the lessening of the burden on our domestic economy, through some slowing down of the competitive arms race. There is our interest in releasing scientific and technological talent increasingly into fields of constructive peacetime endeavor. This interest is also a duty. And there is our duty to human welfare throughout the world, whose service is inherently the primary impulse of nuclear science and technology. This duty is also an interest.

I can do no more at the moment than commend this whole problem of secrecy to the immediate and serious attention of your committee. You have taken a constructive attitude toward the problem in the power field. The whole problem is wider and deeper. The need of new policies, at once prudent and bold, is already urgent; its urgency will be intensified as time goes on. Our present policies of atomic secrecy are antiquated and unsatisfactory. Within the altered conditions of the national and international scene they lack sharply defined purposefulness. Consequently, they are not working efficiently in the proportion of our multiple interests and in support of our manifold duties.

NOT SEEKING SECRECY SHIFT

It is not within my intentions, as it is not within my competence, to be the architect of the new structure of policy in the matter of atomic secrecy. However, I may be permitted a comment on one leading aspect of the matter. It concerns the Congress of the United States.

It is a truism to say that nuclear affairs, in their full import, now form the necessary background of a whole range of congressional deliberations, investigations, advice, and action. This is particularly true of certain congressional committees. Moreover, the Congress as a whole must do its important part in leading this country and the world through the still unmapped forest of the nuclear age in which opportunities abound as well as dangers.

The Congress is the constitutional authority which declares the existence of a state of war; and the old formula, state of war, has assumed a new meaning in the light of the new weapons systems. The Congress has many responsibilities, appropriate to itself, with regard to the conduct of foreign affairs; and today the phrase, nuclear weapons and foreign policy, which is becoming part of our vocabulary, asserts an inseparable relation. The Congress is deeply concerned with military affairs, which are predominately nuclear affairs, and with the whole configuration of our defense establishment, which is increasingly a nuclear establishment. The Congress is obliged to interest itself in particular problems—that of disarmament, for instance, which is basically a problem of rational nuclear armament. The Congress has its own decisive responsibility with regard to budgetary matters; and nuclear affairs stand high among the items on the budget. Finally, the men who sit in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, because they perform a function of popular representation, also perform a function of popular education, through public utterance on all the affairs of state; and there are few affairs of state today which are not somehow affected by nuclear affairs.

You will see the conclusion to which all this leads. I can frame it only in the form of a question: Whether, and to what extent, under existent policies of atomic secrecy, the Congress of the United States, as a whole and in its particular committees, can possess the degree of nuclear information necessary for the wise discharge of its responsibilities in an era over whose destinies nuclear energy presides.

Upon your answer to this question will depend your answer to the consequent question: Whether, and to what extent, our policies of atomic secrecy should be so altered as to permit the members of the Congress to inform themselves, with a certain fullness and accuracy, with regard to the facts about nuclear weapons and nuclear war, about nuclear technology and its possibilities for the world economy. The finding of answers to these questions, and the framing of the answers in appropriate legislation, are a primary challenge to the wisdom of this committee.

DISARMAMENT

Recently the specter of another threat has arisen in the nuclear field, which is already sufficiently peopled with specters. I refer to the threat of irrational disarmament.

This concept is readily defined. Any disarmament plan is irrational if it involves consent to either or both of two propositions: (1) that the United States should, even for a time, stop testing weapons in the kiloton range; (2) that the United States should, at an early date, stop the flow of newly produced fissionable materials into the manufacture of weapons.

Consent to either or both of these two propositions would be worse than irrational. It would be reckless in the extreme. It would be indefensible on any grounds. It would betray an appalling heedlessness of the basic and imperative security interests of the United States. The validity of these harsh judgments should be obvious to anyone who knows the existent weapons situation. The plain fact is that our demonstrable need at the moment is for increased production of fissionable materials for use in small weapons. No less demonstrable is our need for expanded test-programs in this area of scarcity.

In the field of disarmament we encounter again the problem of ignorance, whatever the causes of the ignorance may be—either security regulations or other less definable factors. I think once again of the Congress. For instance, it seems to me to be of the utmost importance that those in Congress who are concerned with disarmament matters should be fully cognizant of the essential facts of atomic energy. I think too of the general public. The idea of disarmament is as popular as the idea of limited war is distasteful. But the sheer popularity of of the idea could easily result in its being carried beyond the bounds of rationality into regions of disaster from which there might be no recovery.

Again the need of leadership in educating public opinion is glaringly obvious. The question is not whether to be for disarmament or against it. The problem of disarmament like the problem of armament, is a problem in rationality. It is a problem for the informed and discriminating reason, military and moral. It is a matter of knowing all the facts, of articulating military doctrine, and of setting the limits, upper and lower, to the production of weapons to fit the doctrine. To go beyond the limits of strategic and tactical requirements, both for deterrence and for limited war, means irrational armament. But even this would be no more offensive to the military and moral reason than irrational disarmament—a consent to restrictions that would cause us to fall below the level of our most stringent requirements, which are for weapons adapted to the purpose of limited war.

INDUSTRIAL NUCLEAR POWER

I must say a few words now about the second aspect of the power problem that is central to the nuclear age. An international economy that will make large use of nuclear power for industrial purposes is not only a possibility but also a necessity of the future. The international mandate of America to promote the general welfare therefore requires that we take the lead in bringing this new kind of economy into being. The problem is to know how we may discharge this responsibility as rapidly and efficiently as possible. The pressure of competition is upon us.

During my first 3 years on the Commission I undertook a thorough study of the whole problem of industrial nuclear power and the means of its development. My own longstanding interest in the power field impelled me to this study; moreover, the Commission itself had charged me with the task. In the spring of 1953, I personally presented a summary of the results of my investigation to the White House in writing. Despite my own initial and well-known bias in favor of free enterprise in the field of industry, the facts of the situation had forced me at that time to the conclusion that governments initiative and financial support would be indispensably necessary, in order to set afoot early development of industrial nuclear power. This was the substance of my statement.

As it happened, other counsels prevailed. It was decided that this new development would be committed to private enterprise. Since then many corporations have undertaken a variety of ventures in the field. They have committed substantial capital sums and considerable resources of manpower. That they should have done so, in an area of great technological difficulty and financial risk, is a tribute to the American industry. Some advances have been made. However, the advances themselves have made one thing clear. The far-ranging possibilities of industrial nuclear power cannot be effectively exploited under continuance of this policy of reliance solely on private capital and initiative. There is presently a disposition within private industry to admit this fact, as a fact. Therefore, a new phase

of the whole process now confronts us. A new policy is needed.

THREE POINTS ON NEW POLICY

The formulation of the new policy will not be easy, but it is entirely possible. I shall be content at the moment to say three things. First, a gigantic new business is taking shape before our eyes; therefore an imaginative new formula for its finance and management is necessary. Second, this new formula can be worked out until full respect for the structure of the specifically American version of capitalism. This structure has undergone a great deal of historical evolution, as everybody knows. It can evolve still further to accommodate itself to the requirements of the new atomic business, while at the same time, remaining substantially itself, true to the inner spirit of private enterprise and public responsibility of which it rightly boasts. To deny the possibility of this evolution is to deny what American business has always affirmed—the possibility of progress in the interests both of private capital and of the public welfare. Third, the new evolution must be guided, as American business progress always has been guided, by pragmatic norms and not by doctrinaire theories. The important thing at the moment is not to let doctrinaire theories stand in the way of progress, and not to let the search for pragmatic norms of development be diverted by irrelevant fears. There should, for instance, be no talk of the socialization of public utilities; that is a false issue. No less false is the issue of private versus public power.

The real issue lies far below the level of these fears. The real issue must be constructed in the terms of the nuclear facts of life, as these facts are frankly reckoned with in the light of the international mandate which rests upon the American people, upon their Government, and upon the immensely powerful industrial complex which the American talent for new enterprise has created on this continent.

Our American mandate extends, as I have insisted, to the promotion of the public welfare of the international community. But industrial atomic power now seems to be an indispensable condition of the future welfare of the world. Our own national interests, therefore, as well as the dictates of the international common good, require that America should take the lead in launching a power-reactor program that will be adequate to the great challenge and opportunity presented to us at this turning point in the economic history of the world.

We in America have learned that the promotion of our own economic welfare is a matter not only of self-interest but of political and moral duty; it is a demand of justice, a condition of freedom, and a sure basis of the domestic tranquillity. This national lesson has international implications, now clearly seen. Freedom, justice, and the more perfect union among the peoples of the world now importantly depend upon the American contribution to worldwide economic well-being. Therefore, as we shoulder the full weight of our international mandate, we have good reason to be grateful to God for the fact that, somehow under His providence, we have in hand the power—the friendly energies of the atom—that can be the most potent material instrument for the fulfillment of the mandate.

[From the Washington Daily News of June 28, 1957]

MURRAY CHALLENGE

President Eisenhower's efforts to negotiate an agreement with Russia to suspend all nuclear tests temporarily and to stop production of nuclear weapons has been challenged not only as irrational disarmament but as disastrous policy.

The challenge comes from the deadly serious and much respected Thomas E. Murray, retiring Atomic Energy Commissioner. He has had access to all atomic secrets for 7 years. He says we need the opposite—an expanded program of tests and increased production of nuclear materials to build a huge stockpile of tens of thousands of small nuclear weapons.

Mr. Murray says we have enough big bombs and need not test them any more. But he fears we are in danger of becoming muscle-bound with megaton bombs, with no alternative except all-out war which means suicide, and thus unable to fight brush-fire or limited wars. He wants "rational armament"—a balanced nuclear stockpile of big and little weapons—not "irrational disarmament." We have the big ones; we need little ones.

To consent to the proposals the President's disarmament expert Harold Stassen is making in London, according to Mr. Murray, would be "worse than irrational * * * it would be reckless in the extreme * * * indefensible on any grounds * * * betray an appalling heedlessness of the basic and imperative security interests of the United States."

Mr. Murray has been preaching these ideas for years. But the President and AEC have ignored him. The Murray proposals are more important today in view of the London disarmament talks, which Mr. Stassen would have us believe are close to first-step agreement.

The layman is unable to judge Mr. Murray's charges. As he says, the public, Congress, and even high American officials, because of a long-outdated policy of nuclear secrecy, are denied essential facts upon which to base intelligent judgment.

If Mr. Murray is right, the American public is being hoodwinked into support of a policy on disarmament that is little short of quackery.

If Mr. Murray is wrong, then it is incumbent upon the President and AEC to give a convincing answer.

In matters as complex as nuclear energy there are bound to be differences of opinion. But when national security is involved there cannot be, must not be, such a gap as Mr. Murray portrays between himself and administration policy.

Progress in Brooklyn's Redevelopment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. Andrew S. Roscoe, president of the Equitable Savings and Loan Association of Brooklyn, N. Y., and president of the Downtown Brooklyn Association, before the Central Brooklyn Midday Club on Thursday, June 27, 1957, at the Bedford Branch YMCA:

Mr. President, Frank A. Savoldy, program chairman, Tom Perry, and gentlemen, you honor me with your invitation to discuss the impact of the modernization of Brooklyn upon its economy. But I must warn you that when I get up steam, I am like a preacher who announces the theme of his sermon then goes off on a tangent and speaks about everything else.

The progress in the redevelopment of Brooklyn is a great subject. It takes in a lot of territory and who knows where it will land?

Allow me, please, to recall that the old towns comprising the Brooklyn that joined the greater city in 1890 were self-contained communities. Each had its own center, its own shopping area, its own downtown. Each of these towns designated a part, the then peripheral area for industries. Then, as now, the importance of industry was recognized. Industries were welcome provided that factories were located on the outskirts of the beautiful residential community.

When the old towns of historic Brooklyn were merged into the greater city, these peripheral commercial and industrial areas became pockets creating esthetic problems for civic leaders, who at times had to choose between the beauty of an area and the ability of the residents of that area to earn a livelihood. We are still seeking an answer to that challenging question; we are still deeply concerned with the propriety of our zoning laws.

The history of shelter in Brooklyn presents an equally clouded picture. The mass migration into Brooklyn after the consolidation of the greater city created a great demand for shelter. Homes were built, multiple dwellings were erected without great regard for city planning. (I digress here to say that a family living in a unit of a multiple dwelling has every right to consider that flat as a home.) This lack of planning and foresight created blight and corrosion. Furthermore, these conditions were aggravated by adverse economic conditions in the thirties. When, in 1940, the United States Department of Commerce analyzed the result of its census, Brooklyn presented a grim picture. Only 17 percent of Brooklyn families lived in owner-occupied homes as against the State average of 23 percent and a national average of 33 percent. Brooklyn, the city of homes and churches, had the lowest percentage of homeowners of all major communities in the United States. Then came the Second World War, presenting challenges, responsibilities, and the requirements of subordinating prime community interests to the great objective of national security. Manpower and materials were dedicated to serve national defense exclusively. Patriotic obligations precluded any diversion of our resources for maintenance, modernization, and home building. An already difficult "brick and mortar situation" became more corroded. The shortage of materials and construction labor after the war and the provisions of rent-control laws added to the grave problem of redeveloping Brooklyn, which as you know, is one of the most populous communities of the Nation.

During the Second World War institutions which owned a very large percentage of Brooklyn residential real estate, and I include the Home Owners' Loan Corporation among these institutions, began to dispose of real estate holdings, and one home after the other acquired a new proud owner. By the time we had reached the end of the 1940's, all institutional real estate was privately owned, acquired at very reasonable prices in the light of then current property values. Many of the financial institutions of Brooklyn renewed their faith in Brooklyn by providing financial assistance to this unplanned, yet gigantic program of modernization and rehabilitation.

While it is not within my province to provide you with exact figures or to quote the number of dwelling units that have been improved since 1940, we do know that a vast amount of modernization was done. In 1960 there will be another Federal census, and

when the result of that census is published and evaluated, the figures, I venture to say, will exceed our fondest hopes. This "town" has never looked so good as it looks today. While we still have many areas showing evidence of blight and corrosion and still find areas which should be cleaned out or completely modernized, you and I can see very palpable evidence of a general cleaning up parade throughout our Brooklyn.

We have built many new homes. The Honorable Benjamin Saltzman, our superintendent in the building department, tells us that since the war thousands of dwelling units have been constructed. For example, as you drive through the Belt Parkway today starting at Bay Ridge you will note mile after mile of new homes. I could mention with pride many projects, such as Golden City Park in Canarsie, the beautiful 1- and 2-family homes in Bergen Beach, Flatbush, Flatlands, and in other parts of Brooklyn.

The impact of this modernization and home-building program upon Brooklyn's economy has been of gigantic proportions. It has served as an anchor in retaining our middle-income families and has provided shelter for those families who progressed into the middle-income class, and, indeed it has attracted other families. The community's family income, if we treat with a healthy community, is made up of the income of all income classes with each contributing in no small measure to the community's economy. The important point is that there must be progress in skills, in family income, and we must realize that the two bring a higher standard of living.

Brooklyn's family income today approximates an average of $6,000. The valuation of our real estate comes close to $5 billion, and the savings of our families in the principal savings media exceeds $5 billion.

To indicate the increase in the standard of living, we might measure the progress in the number of telephones. In 1940 we had 375,000 telephones in Brooklyn. Today we have 982,000 telephones. We are told that during the past 10 years the number of telephones increased by 388,000. While we are also told that the increase in the number of telephones in Brooklyn is not so great as in other communities, the result is encouraging. The purchasing power of our families appears greater than that of many other communities. The shelter charge on the family's disposable income is smaller here than in many municipalities.

During the early part of 1940, when our institutional real estate was liquidated, many families bought their homes at the "low" of the market. These homes were generally financed on a 10/15-year basis. Many of these homes today are free and clear or are subject to a very modest mortgage charge.

Equitable Savings and Loan Association during the past 15 years has financed almost 25,000 homes in Brooklyn, representing a modest, yet impressive percentage of all our one and two family homes. As the mortgages were being paid off, we analyzed the reasons for the liquidation of the mortgage debt. We found that about 70 percent of the mortgages are paid off by owners who are happy and contented in their homes and that only 30 percent of the mortgages are paid off because of a current sale. Our home mortgage position in the adjoining counties may not be indicative, but the trend is just the opposite. Good shelter in Brooklyn has cost less, and the fixed charges of a family in the owner-occupied home are less because of steadily decreasing aggregate mortgage payments, lower taxes, and lower transportation charges. There is also some evidence of families returning to live in Brooklyn from the suburban counties. The wife of one of our returning citizens told me the other day that her family was coming back to Brooklyn because in the event of unemployment, her husband could "look for a job with 15 cents." Obviously, a lower shelter cost provides greater latitude for other expenditures; this is why our retail stores and our department stores have hopes for increasing sales and increasing prosperity. Then there is another bright light on the horizon. We see some evidence of favorable changes in municipal policy.

For many years of the past we could not help but note the development of a vertical municipal policy in Manhattan, a policy which tended to beautify and to develop Manhattan, with little improvement, if any, in the Borough of Brooklyn. The lower East Side and many parts of Manhattan were redeveloped. Midtown Manhattan was completely rebuilt. Manhattan has a United Nations building as well as a Coliseum. Many of the avenues of Manhattan are equipped with street-lighting systems that practically assure 24 hours of daylight. Their subway stations are dolled up and equipped with new lighting systems. The modernization and beautification of Manhattan approaches a fantastic ideal. I do not have to dwell too long on the subject to prove that the result of a pro-Manhattan plan definitely indicates that for a long time a vertical municipal redevelopment policy was followed.

Manhattan has, I repeat, its Coliseum and other title I projects. But when we want a title I project to redevelop the west side of Cadman Plaza, we are told that there are no funds available for that project, a requisite for a great Brooklyn.

However, as I have said, there is some light on the horizon. You and I notice that work is being done on our subway stations. The missing link of the Brooklyn-Queens Connecting Highway will not be missing very long. We have the approval for the Myrtle Parking Garage in the Civic Center and have hopes for similar improvements in Albee Square. Our traffic conditions are improving, and we hope that discussions of these improvements give us valid reason to believe that we may see an era of horizontal muuncipal policy. An important part of Brooklyn's economy is highly integrated with that of Manhattan, and this condition makes it imperative that all units of this economy are equally serviced; otherwise, the entire community economy will suffer. American economy, an economy of stimulated demangs, and New York City's economy, to a large extent, is a highly integrated economy of stimulated demand. When we lose an important economic unit such as Loeser's, Namm's Department Store, the American Safety Razor, the Brooklyn Daily Eagle and others, the volume of business that is thus lost cannot be picked up by other units. While we do not know the lineage figures of our newspapers, I venture to say that even our great metropolitan newspapers are missing the ads of Namm's and Loeser's just as well as they are missing the lineage of the metropolitan department stores that went out of business.

You and I know that the city of New York is confronted with the problem of meeting competition created by those municipal governments in other parts of the United States that attract industry, commerce, and payrolls by offering more advantageous labor markets, tax exemption, bonuses, cheaper power, longer daylight, and better transportation and traffic facilities. When you and I read the New York Times and other great metropolitan papers and note the ads of the various agencies of many States offering generous inducements to commerce and industry, we can realize the magnitude of this competition. Many of these cities have demonstrated that they can solve their complex traffic problems. As an example, Baltimore, which is the leading contender for the position of the most thriving port of the Nation, has solved its traffic problems by strict enforcement of no parking, provision of off-street parking facilities, and other measures. Chicago has almost completed its plans to reap the harvest and retain the benefits of that new great waterway. The story of the Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh is an amazing one. Yet, we have great hopes in New York to meet this competition.

We have built great bridges and great tunnels in the effort to eliminate barriers. There is an indication that if there is a continuation and expansion of the apparent horizontal municipal policy, recognizing the responsibility for the economies of all the five boroughs, we may be able to meet that competition. But it means that city hall must be ready to support projects such as our title I Cadman Plaza project with everything that it has. It means that the leadership of city hall, which honored itself by appointing three of Brooklyn's most distinguished citizens, Chester Allen, Robert Blum, and Charles Mylod to a sport authority created by the State legislature, must provide that sports authority with the means to retain the Dodgers. I know that the problem involved is not an easy one. But the presence of the Dodgers in Brooklyn is very important from an economic and morale point of view. I am wondering if one of these days that the program books at Ebbets Field will not become the same kind of a collectors item as is the last issue of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, today.

You and I elect a few men to direct the affairs of the city. We vest them with great power and we call them city government. The basic question on the ethical side is what is the moral basis for their power, their authority. The fundamentals of political morality include the maintenance of general welfare. The city of New York is dependent upon the progress and prosperity of all of its components. A vertical policy means the pyramids of the Pharaohs, silhouetting the skylines of Manhattan; but a horizontal municipal policy means a steady, higher plane of progress and prosperity for Manhattan, Queens, Bronx, Richmond, and, last but foremost, for the Borough of Brooklyn and all their citizens, rich and poor, proud and humble.

I strongly feel that our service and trade organizations should accept the responsibility of supporting our borough government in its efforts to bring about this horizontal policy. An allocation of capital expenditures on a basis of borough needs, weighted by a formula of population and taxes collected and such other factors as have been tested by other communities, will indicate the value of planning and foresight and will allow the greater city to compete with the municipalities of the rest of the Nation. With a horizontal plan, a broad, progressive, imaginative plan, New York City will continue to be the No. 1 city of the world, symbol of America's greatness.

Success on the Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, in the past few weeks many very fine convocation and commencement addresses have been placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Today I offer one given by the Honorable L. Homer Surbeck at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology. It is one of the most helpful addresses of this nature which has come

to my attention—good for students, good for statesmen.

Possibly a few words about the speaker will add to its presentation here.

Homer Surbeck, a member of the law firm of Hughes, Hubbard, Blair & Reed, New York City, grew up in western South Dakota, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He was graduated from Rapid City High School as valedictorian of his class in 1920.

Four years later he completed the engineering course at the School of Mines with honors. Three years later he completed the law course at Yale with honors. He was editor of the Yale Law Journal and graduated first in his class, magna cum laude.

On the basis of his law-school record, Mr. Surbeck was chosen to be law secretary for Chief Justice Taft in 1927–28. Thereafter he joined the Hughes law firm in New York.

As a colonel in World War II, Mr. Surbeck received a citation from the War Department for having been "instrumental in the creation, organization, and development of a central agency responsible for the production of strategic and tactical economic intelligence. His alma mater, the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, has now awarded him the honorary degree of doctor of human letters.

With this introduction, I now offer for readers of the RECORD this address by an outstanding American.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUCCESS ON THE JOB

In casting about for a topic that might be of interest to school of mines students, my thoughts naturally turned back to the school as I knew it about 35 years ago. Dr. O'Hara was then president of the school, George Thompson was superintendent of buildings, and Miss Haft was the librarian.

I was in my third year, and had become a little fed up with calculus, chemistry, metallurgy, mineralogy, and physics. So I went into the library one day and spoke to Miss Haft. I said: "Miss Haft, do you have any regular books around here?" She knew what I meant. "Yes," she said, "we have a few over there"—and so she had.

The title of one of the books caught my eye. The title was: "If I Were Twenty-one." The object of the book was to pass along tips from a business veteran to those about to begin careers in business. The book fascinated me. After all these years, I remember much of that book as though I had read it only yesterday. I wish I could say as much for all of the subjects which I studied at the school of mines.

This thought occurred to me. If that book was of such interest to me then, the chances are that the same general subject might be of interest to students at the mines now—and not too boring I hope for the rest of you. I am afraid that I cannot match the qualifications of the author, William Maxwell, to discuss the subject of success in business. He had been outstandingly successful in business. I am not a businessman. Nor am I an engineer. Instead, I went to law school, and became a Wall Street lawyer. But, first as an employee for 6 years, and then as an employer of professional men for about 25 years, I have learned something about what to do, and what not to do, if you want to succeed in your employment.

Next, a few words of orientation. You spend four long, hard years at the mines, mastering the principles of science, and learning how to put science to work for you, in order that you, in turn, may go to work as engineers. By thus combining your efforts with those of your employer you will be able to produce something of value. But your contribution to that end will be made only through the medium of your employment. It has always seemed to me, therefore, that, in order to open the door to the widest effective use of all the science which you have learned at the mines, you must also master the principles governing success in your employment.

I especially commend, for your analysis and study, three general principles which, when fully mastered and translated into habitual conduct, will guide your footsteps along the pathway to success on the job.

I. THE LAW OF COMPENSATION

The first principle is the law of compensation. That is the law which governs what we get in relation to what we give.

The basic truism are all well known to everybody. Perhaps those most familiar are the ones found in the Scriptures:

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." [1]

"Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again." [2]

Emerson, in his great essay on compensation, summed it up this way:

"Men suffer all their life long, under the foolish superstition that they can be cheated. But it is as impossible for a man to be cheated by anyone but himself, as for a thing to be, and not to be, at the same time."

* * * * *

"What will you have? quoth God; pay for it and take it. Nothin venture, nothing have. Thou shalt be paid exactly for what thou hast done, no more, no less."

What is the practical application of the law? What do we give? For what should we be paid?

Let us go back to the physics laboratory for an illustration. I recall the principle about the efficiency of machines which Professor Watson taught us some 30 years ago. You have to put work into a machine in order to get work out of the machine. You always have to put more work into a machine than you can get out of the machine. That is because the machine is never 100 percent efficient.

And mark my word, neither is anything human 100 percent efficient. In your employment, you will be handicapped by a whole series of inefficiencies, one superimposed upon another, each progressively cutting down what you get back from all the effort which you expend. Some of the inefficiencies are yours. Some of the inefficiencies are your employer's.

Now a word about your own efficiency. You have to eat food to put energy into the body. Then you have to convert that energy into productive effort. Then you have to direct your productive effort so as to produce a tangible result which your employer can turn into money. Through each step, just how efficient can you expect to be?—10 or 15 percent, like the steam engine?—50 percent like the screw machine?—80 to 90 percent like some electrical machines? At the outset, I dare say you will not be 50 percent efficient at each step. That is simply another way of saying that to begin with your employer will get very little of tangible worth out of all your efforts.

Your personal efficiency is a matter largely within your own hands. You can do something about it. There are two sure ways to improve it.

First: If you honestly try to make it a pleasure for others to work with you, you, in turn, cannot help but enjoy your own work. By enjoying your own work, you thereby improve your own effectiveness.

Second: If I recall correctly the principles of algebra—such as Guy March used to teach—we can write an equation something like this: $A \times E \times T = K$, a constant, where A is ability, E is effort, T is time, and K is the objective we strive to attain. If A is decreased, we can still get the same constant K by increasing E or T or both, as required.

Now for a bit of applied mathematics. If you find that you are a little short on ability or experience—when you start out on the job—you can make up for it by added effort. And, given time, by sheer industry you can step by step improve your efficiency and enlarge your capacity to produce greater and greater results from your efforts. That is something anyone can do—if he will only try.

Of course, there is the question as to the employer's efficiency in returning to you some part of the profit which you may have helped him to make. But whatever the combined efficiency component—of yourself and of your employer—the part of the profit that comes back to you, through your employer, is in proportion to the contribution which you have made to your employer. Just like the work that comes out of a machine; it is in direct proportion to—although it may never equal—the work which you have put into it.

This is the point: Regardless of the combined efficiency handicap, of yourself and your employer, with which you may start, if you will honestly work as hard as you can, and long enough, the law of compensation will ultimately get you almost anything you want, within reason, if you work effectively enough.

How do you learn to work effectively with others? That brings me to the second principle, the Golden Rule.

II. THE GOLDEN RULE

I have already mentioned the return efficiency of the employer, in returning to you some part of the profit you may help him to make. I do not have to argue the point that, unless this return efficiency is effectively stimulated, much of your work may come to naught.

The return efficiency, however, is something not directly within your own hands. It is a matter largely within the judgment of the employer. To learn how to stimulate a desire on the part of your employer to improve the return efficiency you must look to the second principle—the Golden Rule.

It took centuries to develop that rule, a fact which attests to its soundness. Confucius put it in the negative form:

"What you do not wish done to yourself, do not do to others."

Application of the rule in negative form is easy. It involves no risk. It calls only for restraint. The possibility of error lies only in a failure always to invoke the rule before you act or speak.

Five hundred years after Confucius, the rule appeared in positive form in the Sermon on the Mount:

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." [3]

What do you want men to do for you? You must have their help to succeed. All right. But, under the Golden Rule, you must help the other fellow first. You come second. You must wait for the other fellow to help you. But that is good enough so long as you ultimately get the help you need.

What assurance have you, if you help your employer first, that he in turn will help you? I say you have a double assurance: First, on faith, based on the Golden Rule. Second, on reason, based on the facts.

The reasoning runs something like this: By giving you employment, the employer

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Footnotes at end of speech.

has already made a cash investment in your future. He gave you employment because he is trying to help himself by helping you. To avoid loss on his investment, the employer has every incentive to help you to succeed in helping him.

All you have to do is to provide a compelling reason—evident to your employer—for increasing the return efficiency. You can do that by helping him to the point where he is bound to see that, in his own self-interest, he can help himself best by helping you more.

When that point is reached, the incentive problem shifts from you to the employer. The employer is then the one that is trying to do what he can to stimulate even greater help from you to him. He is thus obliged to increase the incentives to you—in order that you will help him more. That results in a sort of help-raise-help-raise spiral which is altogether mutually beneficial.

So much for the simple situation where only two persons are involved—you and the man for whom you work. But whom do you help when you are one of many employees?

First, help your immediate superior. Let me give you a tip. Do not let yourself be resentful of any credit or promotion which your superior may receive as a result of your work and your ideas. The more his promotions are dependent upon your work, the greater your immediate success. At that point you have become indispensable to him. The surest way for him to get to the top is to pull you up the ladder with him, in order that you will continue to help him. Most promotions come about, just that way.

Second, do not overlook the associates with whom you work. Let me give you another tip. By being helpful to your associates, you cement bonds of friendship so that, if the promotion comes your way, you will not be plagued with petty jealousies. Instead, you will enjoy the good will and support of your associates.

But if, perchance, the promotions do not come to you directly, the next best thing is the promotion which comes to that associate whom you have helped. If that associate, rather than yourself, is the one headed for the top, his advancement is to your mutual advantage. For if you have really made it easier for him to progress up the ladder, you have, in a measure, become indispensable to him. And he, too, soon learns that he can help himself best by in turn helping you up the ladder with him. Many promotions come about, just that way.

How do you learn to help others effectively? Frankly, that is one of the hardest things in the world to do. The other fellow has a mind of his own. You cannot know his thoughts or wants. You can only infer them from what you hear or observe. Your quest for a technique therefore takes you back to the Golden Rule in positive form.

The result attained depends upon how well you grasp the great truth embodied in that rule. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you * * *." Here is where you can make some mistakes. Superficially read, or thoughtlessly applied, the rule may defeat its own purpose. It may evoke only the conduct which you yourself would want for yourself rather than the conduct which the other fellow may want or need.

For example—to use a simple illustration—it might lead a well-wishing bluebird to blunder into giving a nice fat worm to a squirrel. How often our efforts to help others turn out to be just that foolish.

The Golden Rule is designed to prevent that kind of misdirected effort. What the rule really means is this: Do for the other fellow what you would want done for yourself if you were that other fellow. Thus interpreted, it is the most profound rule ever put together in the field of human relations.

But it will not work for you unless you think of the other fellow's interest first.

The way to learn to think effectively of the other fellow's interest is first to try to put yourself into the other fellow's shoes, and try to look through his eyes from where he stands. You must disregard, for the moment, all your own selfish interests and preferences. In no other way can you help him effectively. In no other way can you become indispensable.

Here is where your thinking must be just as straight, and as honest, and as objective, as you can possibly make it. Otherwise, you may discover—too late—that you have blundered into giving a worm to a squirrel.

This brings me to the third principle, which is intellectual honesty.

III. INTELLECTUAL HONESTY

In the book which I mentioned—If I Were Twenty-one—the author made this point: When you go out into the world you will be confronted with the dishonesty of honest men. He explained that some otherwise honest men—when they think it is important in order to sustain their own selfish interests—will often try to persuade themselves into believing what they know is not true. In polite circles, it is called rationalization, a kind of dishonesty which fools nobody but themselves. We are all more or less guilty of it.

It seems to me that here is where the coin test enables us to check up on the honesty of our own rationalization.

We all know that there are two sides to every coin. But, as long as we refuse to see anything except our side of the coin, and as long as the other fellow refuses to see anything but his side of the coin, we are led into useless controversy which advances the interest of no one. But we can reach that impasse only because we have already deceived ourselves into believing that there is but one side to this particular coin—our side.

Shakespeare gives us the solution:

"This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."[4]

So what should you do? Become honest—first with yourself—and take a good long look at the other side of that coin. Here is what you will find: Just as there are two sides to every coin, so also are there two sides to every controversy. And one side may be just as right as the other, when you understand all the facts on both sides of the coin.

Do not turn away from a pertinent subject, when it is important to discuss it, simply because it may appear to be controversial. But do not, on the other hand, indulge in useless argument. Intelligent men never argue over ascertainable facts. Instead, they honestly probe until they have the whole truth on both sides of the coin. For they know that the whole truth can lead to a fair and equitable adjustment of any controversy or difference.

The coin test will help you to check up on the objective honesty of your own rationalization, so as to enable you to adjust your interests to those of your employer. Self-centered rationalization—if allowed to sway your conduct—will retard, rather than accelerate, the "return efficiency."

One's impulse may be to do as little as he can for the most he can get; to put emphasis upon the paycheck rather than upon his usefulness; to put emphasis upon his wants rather than upon the employer's needs; upon petty dislikes and personal inconveniences rather than upon the adjustments with self which all must make in order to get the job done.

When, as a result, the promotion goes to another, one's impulse may prompt him to indulge in rationalization—to lead himself to believe that he has been unfairly treated—and thereby shields his ego from reality and avoid honestly facing up to the truth as to why he failed to make the most of his opportunity to succeed.

Intellectual honesty, however, would compel him to recognize that the responsibility of management for results is so great that the boss is obliged to ride the best horse available in the stable regardless of petty likes or dislikes.

If the boss picks the other horse, the truth of the matter is that, on the facts as they appear on his side of the coin, the other fellow is the one that helps him more effectively. And if that is not evident to you, you have simply failed to take an honest look at the employer's side of the coin, so as to let the facts speak to you as they speak to others.

The boss may have occasion to criticize your conduct or work. If you were to allow your natural impulse to take over, you would be on the defensive, as if responding to a personal affront, petulantly attempting to justify every mistake or difference of view. This would create something of a personal problem for your employer, and, instead of being helpful, you would actually make it more difficult for the boss to do his own work. This would retard his "return efficiency."

If you were guided by your intellectual honesty, however, you would welcome the criticism as an opportunity to receive the instruction which you need in order to accomplish your main objective, which is not self-vindication but rather to learn how to become indispensable to the man by whom your labor is rewarded. You would then sit in judgment with the boss, as objectively, and with the same honest cooperation, as if you were reviewing the work of a third party not present, cheerfully, decisively, and without any resentment or self-justification whatsoever. Let the chips fall where they may. Join hands with the boss in probing for the objective truth. In short, get the job done, and done right.

But do not indulge in self-effacement. Do not compromise your own individual self in any degree. The boss does not want a "yes man." He can buy a rubber stamp for much less than he is paying you.

The boss wants a helpful man—an intellectually honest man. You are paid to think with your own mind, in order to contribute ideas of your own which you—and you alone—can generate. You are paid to prevent the boss from making mistakes which you can foresee, but which he might overlook.

There is never any conflict between the path to success and the finer instincts within us. Success is based upon objective truth and utter honesty with self and with others. The conflict is between self-centered impulse and our intellectual honesty, which speaks for our better self. Impulse may lead to self deception; but intellectual honesty leads to success.

A tug-of-war, between impulse and intellectual honesty, is ever present within us. If we allow impulse to pull ahead too often, we may be headed for failure. But give full play to relentless intellectual honesty, and reason will win.

As you gain proficiency in this, the boss will put more and more of his own work upon your shoulders, thereby increasing his dependence upon you. The point is soon reached where he is looking at your side of the coin, wondering what would happen to him if you were to accept a better position elsewhere. To help himself, he is thus obliged to help you more.

Thus, you see the only sure road to success on the job. Nothing can give you more pleasure and satisfaction than effectively helping others to help themselves. Nothing can give you greater security than a realiza-

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tion by others that they can help themselves best by helping you more.

SUMMARIZING

If you will honestly work on the task at hand as hard as you can—and long enough to get it done right—and if you will apply the Golden Rule with relentless honesty with self—the law of compensation will guarantee your eventual success. That is the wisdom of the ages. Build your career upon it.

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[1] Galatians, ch. 6, verse 7.
[2] Luke, ch. 6, verse 38.
[3] Matthew, ch. 7, verse 12.
[4] Polonius' advice to Laertes, Hamlet, act 1, scene iii, lines 78–81.

Supreme Court and the Communist Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the U. S. News & World Report:

WHAT THE RECORD TELLS—SUPREME COURT AND THE COMMUNIST THREAT

(Attempts to clamp down on suspected Reds are being restricted more and more by the United States Supreme Court. Rulings by the Court, made over a 3-year period, now limit the powers of Congress, Federal agencies, even States. Here is a report on the actual Court holdings, and how each affects Government attempts to deal with subversives.)

Since 1955, the Supreme Court, in a long series of decisions, has acted to limit or deny the powers of the executive branch of the Government and of Congress and the States to deal with subversive activities.

Of these decisions, 16 were handed down in the term the Court now is ending. Four of the most far reaching were delivered in a single day. And a week later, as the Court wound up its regular activities for the term, half a dozen such cases were sent back for reconsideration in the lower courts.

What the Court decided is outlined in the report that follows. This report gives the points at issue, the decisions handed down, the individuals affected and the effects on Government programs designed to limit Communist activities.

LOYALTY RULES

The first important decision in the series was made in 1955. It involved the late Dr. John P. Peters, who lost a Government position after a loyalty review board reversed the findings of a lower court. The Court held that, under loyalty regulations, the review board could not itself undertake to review decisions of other loyalty boards. Dr. Peters, in effect, was cleared.

Meaning: Review boards, under executive regulations, can act only on appeals brought before them.

SEDITION LAWS

In 1956, decisions on Communists and subversive activities stepped up. State anti-sedition laws were held invalid on April 2, 1956, on the ground that the Smith Act, a Federal law dealing with sedition, superseded laws in the States. That had the effect of freeing Steve Nelson, an admitted Communist, from conviction under the Pennsylvania law.

Meaning: When Congress adopted the Smith Act, the Federal Government took exclusive jurisdiction over sedition and attempts to overthrow the Government.

"TAINTED" TESTIMONY

Later in the year, on November 5, 1956, the same Steve Nelson was granted a new trial on a Smith Act charge. The Court held that a new trial was in order because of "tainted" testimony by a Government witness at the original trial.

Meaning: Government evidence in criminal trials must be without blemish.

FIFTH AMENDMENT FIRINGS

A New York law, authorizing automatic dismissal of State and city government employees for taking the fifth amendment against self-incrimination was struck down on April 19, 1956. The case involved Harry Slochower, a New York City schoolteacher.

Meaning: A resort to the fifth amendment cannot be interpreted as any indication of guilt or wrongdoing.

PERJURY?

The Communist Party itself got a new hearing by the Court's order, on April 30, 1956. The party had been designated as a Communist-action group by the Subversive Activities Control Board and ordered to register with the Attorney General. The Court found that some witnesses at the Board hearing may have given perjured testimony.

Meaning: Same as in one of the Nelson cases—Government evidence must not contain the slightest blemish.

CITIZENSHIP

The Court limited denaturalization powers, on April 30, 1956, by deciding that such proceedings could be pressed only after an affidavit, showing good cause to believe that naturalization should be revoked, is filed in a Federal court. The result was to uphold the naturalization of Ettore Zucca, a suspected member of the Communist Party, because no such affidavit had been filed.

Meaning: If naturalized citizens are to be deprived of citizenship, all technical procedures must be carefully followed.

SENSITIVE JOBS

The Government loyalty program again was limited June 11, 1956, when the Court held that only employees in sensitive jobs could be discharged summarily under regulations that superseded ordinary civil-service rules. That decision found that Kendrick M. Cole had been unlawfully discharged as a Federal food and drug inspector.

Meaning: The Court holds the loyalty program is not as broad as some Congressmen thought.

JURY PRIVACY

In the term now ending, the Court took a number of steps to limit inquiries into Communist activity, the powers of congressional committees to conduct investigations and the Federal sedition law itself.

On January 28, Ben Gold, once head of the Fur Workers Union, won a new trial after being found guilty of filing a false non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act. The Court overturned the conviction because, during the trial, an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation had questioned a juror about another case, not related to the Gold case. The Court held that this was an intrusion into the privacy of the jury. The Justice Department has since decided to drop the case against Mr. Gold.

Meaning: The Government must take extraordinary precautions to avoid any semblance of interfering with a jury.

DEPORTATION

The Attorney General's power to supervise the activities of aliens who are ordered to be deported, but who cannot be deported because no other country will accept them, was limited by the Court on April 29. This case involved George I. Witkovich, an alien under deportation order who failed to answer questions concerning Communist activity. A Federal district court held that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 gave the Attorney General "power to supervise the alien to make sure he is available for deportation, and no further power." The Supreme Court upheld the lower court.

Meaning: Aliens under deportation orders that cannot be carried out have only to keep authorities informed of their whereabouts. They do not have to give information about other activities.

ADMISSION TO BAR

States had their power over suspected sympathizers with communism trimmed on May 6, when the Court ruled that Rudolph Schware was improperly denied admission to the New Mexico bar and that Raphael Konigsberg was improperly denied admission to the bar of California. Mr. Schware, who admitted he had been a Communist, was refused permission to take the New Mexico bar examination. Mr. Konigsberg was denied admission in California because he refused to answer questions about his beliefs and associations.

The Court held in each case that the applicants were denied their rights of "due process of law."

Meaning: Past Communist connections alone or refusal to answer questions about such matters are not enough to bar an attorney from practice.

SEARCH AND SEIZURE

Power of the FBI to track down and arrest suspected subversives was hit on May 13, when the Supreme Court ordered new trials for Shirley Kremen, Samuel Irving Coleman and Sidney Steinberg. They were charged with harboring a Communist fugitive in a mountain cabin in California. The Court overturned their convictions on the ground that the search of the cabin and the seizure of its contents by FBI agents was invalid.

Meaning: The FBI and other Government police agencies have to be extra careful in the way the conduct searches.

FBI FILES

Then, on June 3, the Supreme Court rendered a decision that has been described as a blockbuster. This case involved Clinton E. Jencks, a New Mexico labor leader. Mr. Jencks was convicted of filing a false non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act. He appealed on the ground that at the trial he should have been allowed to see reports filed with the FBI by two witnesses. The Court upheld Mr. Jencks, told the FBI to open its files.

Meaning: The full significance of this case is not yet known. Lower courts have issued conflicting decisions in trying to apply the Supreme Court ruling. The Justice Department is reexamining pending cases and has dropped prosecutions in some of them. Congress is considering new laws to protect FBI files.

POWER TO INVESTIGATE

On June 17, the Court handed down four decisions that limited the authority of Congress, the Justice Department and the States to proceed against Communist activity and suspected disloyalty.

There was the case of John T. Watkins, who was upheld in his refusal to answer, before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, questions about former Communist associates. In this case, the Court held that Congress must define the purposes of its investigating committees and that committees must make clear to witnesses that questions are pertinent. There was also the case of Paul M. Sweezy, who denied any Communist connections but refused to answer some questions in an investigation conducted for the New Hampshire Legislature. The Court upheld his refusal, too.

Meaning: The Watkins and Sweezy cases place limits on the power of Congress and the States to conduct investigations. Witnesses have been quick to challenge the right of Congress to ask questions.

SERVICE FIRING

Another of the June 17 rulings was on the case of John S. Service, whose discharge from the State Department by Dean Acheson, then Secretary, was held invalid because Mr. Acheson failed to follow Department regulations. This was another loyalty case.

Meaning: Loyalty regulations take precedence over the discretion given by law to the Secretary.

SMITH ACT

Finally, there was a decision June 17 in a cast involving the Smith Act itself. The Court acquitted 5 California Communists of violating the Federal antisedition law and ordered new trials for 9 others. Here the Court held that people could preach that the Government should be overthrown so long as the preaching was not directly intended to produce action toward overthrowing the Government.

Meaning: Communists now are free to teach their doctrine if only they refrain from advocating action.

NEW TRIALS

The following week, in the light of these decisions, the Court sent back six cases to the lower courts. One case involved new hearings for six persons convicted of Smith Act violations in Michigan.

Harry Sacher, a New York lawyer who has represented defendants in Communist cases, had his conviction of contempt of Congress vacated and a new hearing ordered. He refused to answer questions about Communist connections when before a subcommittee.

A new hearing also was ordered for Abram Flaxer, former president of the United Public Workers. He was tried and convicted of contempt for failure to produce records subpenaed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Lloyd Barenblatt, former teacher at Vassar, is to get a new hearing on this contempt conviction for refusing to answer questions before a congressional committee.

In returning the contempt cases, the Court cited the Watkins decision.

Under the Sweezy decision, the Court sent back two cases involving contempt convictions for defying the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities. In one of the cases, convictions against Talmadge Raley, Joseph Stern and Emmett C. Brown were vacated. The other involved Anna Morgan, who resorted to the fifth amendment 37 times in refusing to answer questions.

Meaning: The Court's actions during the last regular session of the term are sure signs these decisions call for a wholesale reappraisal of both Federal and State programs to curtail Communist activity. Congress already is considering a number of bills aimed at restoring some of the authority that Supreme Court decisions have weakened or destroyed.

Speaking of Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Portland Oregonian and was reprinted in the Topeka Daily Capital, Topeka, Kans. I think the editorial speaks for itself.

SPEAKING OF PRINCIPLE

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE, chief sponsor of the Hells Canyon Federal dam bill, abuses Idaho Power Co. for giving up its accelerated tax amortization certificates for two Snake River dams as intemperately as he abused the company for obtaining them. He calls Idaho Power Co.'s action "deathbed repentance" of "a selfish monopoly" taken "to avoid the consequences of its past improper conduct."

This page, which previously called for repeal of the fast tax-writeoff law—or at a minimum the exclusion from its benefits of projects such as power dams which are amortized in 50 years—is not bleeding for Idaho Power Co. But there was nothing improper in IPCO, which applied for the tax program nearly 4 years ago, seeking the same tax advantage provided in 22,000 certificates granted to other firms, including 927 to electric utilities. In justice to its stockholders, it could do not less. The fault was in the law, and Congress is responsible for the law.

But, speaking of conduct which involves political or business morality, what is one to think of Senator MORSE's conduct in abdicating his long-standing and high-sounding position on civil rights and foreign aid to obtain southern Democratic votes for his Hells Canyon bill?

Senator MORSE has been drumming into our ears for so long his dedication to "principle" that this must come as a shock to some of his supporters. He has been cuddling up to the new isolationists of the South for some time. And his fight with the South to kill the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights bill by sending it to Senator EASTLAND's Judiciary Committee was a flagrant horse-trade for votes for his high Hells Canyon bill.

In our opinion, Senator MORSE is no longer in position to shout about principle—if he ever was.

Lawyer Referral Services Important to Lawyers and the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, lawyers are working to make their services more available to the public. My friend, Orison S. Marden, the author of the following article from the June 1957 issue of the American Bar Association Journal, has made important contributions in this field, both for persons who cannot pay any fee at all and for the persons in the middle income group. His words are worth reading:

LAWYER REFERRAL SERVICES IMPORTANT TO LAWYERS AND THE PUBLIC

(By Orison S. Marden, former chairman of the standing committee on lawyer referral service of the American Bar Association)

The American Bar Association, representing our ancient and honorable profession at the national level, is earnestly seeking by all proper means to increase our usefulness to the public we serve. This is both our right and our duty, for the public has granted an exclusive franchise to the legal profession. None but the lawyer can lawfully give legal advice. We therefore owe a corresponding duty, as a matter of professional obligation and simple good faith, to serve all who need our services.

To this end the house of delegates of the American Bar Association several years ago adopted a statement of the six major long-term objectives of our profession. The second of these objectives records our promise to serve all who need legal services at a cost within their means.

Legal aid facilities to handle civil and criminal matters constitute one important segment of the overall plan. These community law offices provide legal service for those who cannot pay a lawyer for the legal representation they need.

People of wealth and experience have never had difficulty in finding legal talent to protect their rights.

But what about the great mass of our citizens, neither poor nor wealthy—who far outnumber the other two groups combined? Many, perhaps most, members of this so-called middle income group do not know when they have a legal problem. Many of these would not know where to turn if they did. They consult a lay friend or the grocer or the bartender or a notary public or real estate agent. Only a small percentage are accustomed to lawyers. Surveys have shown this over and over again.

The plain truth is that the inexperienced are often afraid of lawyers, associating them with times of trouble and death, with automobile accidents and the arrest court.

They do not appreciate the value of having a lawyer's advice before taking important steps rather than after the fat is in the fire. Even when circumstances virtually force the seeking of legal representation, it is done painfully, reluctantly, fearfully. The average family will promptly call in the doctor when young Johnny has a stomach ache, but they will hesitate to consult a lawyer when they buy a house.

How can we educate the general public to let us use our skills and experience to serve their interests? That is a problem which has engaged the attention of many a bar association committee—at national, State and local levels. And it is being solved, I believe—due in large part, to the excellent leadership of the Public Relations Committee of the American Bar Association in recent years.

Much of the educational work, of course, is done through lecture programs, TV, and radio, pamphlet material and advertisements sponsored by the organized bar—all designed to alert the public to the serious problems involved in many day-to-day transactions, and to persuade the inexperienced that lawyers are to be trusted, not feared; that our fees are relatively modest and well worth the amount charged.

But many people do not know how or where to get legal advice even when they come to realize that they need it.

That is where the Lawyer Referral Service comes in. The title may seem formidable, but this is really a simple plan for introducing to lawyers persons who need legal advice but do not know a lawyer or how to find one. The services are sponsored by local bar associations as a public service. They conform to all ethical requirements.

How does the service work? It is really quite simple, although there are eight basic requirements:

1. There must be bar association sponsorship. This is essential to reassure the timid prospect and make him forget his fears and apprehension.

2. There must be a supervising committee to insure that the service is handled correctly and fairly.

3. There must, of course, be a panel of lawyers. This may consist of all the lawyers in the community who volunteer to serve or it may be a screened list.

4. There must be a person to do the referring. He or she may be a court clerk, a lawyer, a secretary of the bar association; in fact, anyone in whom the bar has confidence, and who will give a courteous reception to the confused and sometimes suspicious people who come in.

5. There should be a fixed fee for the initial consultation. This is important. By means of the fixed fee the public is assured that for the first conference with a lawyer the charge will be no more than $3 or $5, or whatever fee is fixed by the local association. This dissipates common fears of a high fee and brings lawyer and client together in an atmosphere favorable to future relations.

6. Agreement by the bar association committee to arbitrate any dispute as to fees is desirable, though not essential. This gives further assurance of fairness to the public.

7. A system of publicity is desirable. This is to let the public know of the service; and

8. Lastly, there should be a system for keeping proper records so that statistics may be maintained both locally and nationally.

In practice, under the most referral plans, applicants are referred to lawyers on a rotation basis. It is preferable to give some discretion to the person who does the referring; but there must be no favoritism and the bar must have confidence in the operator of the plan.

After the referral is made the ordinary relationship of lawyer and client follows. Arrangements as to charges for future services, if any, after the original fixed-fee consultation, are made between lawyer and client just as if the client had been referred by a friend or another client. There is no interference with the relationship by the bar association or the Service unless there should be a dispute concerning the fee. As already stated, it is desirable that the public be advised that if there should be any dispute as to fee it will be resolved by the supervising committee or by arbitration as the association may determine. This gives assurance to the wary and inexperienced.

Essentially, then, the lawyer referral service is nothing more than an information bureau to which 2 or 3 important ornaments have been added. The first is bar association sponsorship, so important to give confidence to the timid. The second is the fixed-fee for the initial consultation, which also helps to get the prospective client into the lawyer's office. And, lastly, the provision for bar association arbitration of any dispute as to fee promises the inexperienced person that he will be fairly treated.

In practice, the service has proved to be excellent public relations for the profession. It is also a good source of business for the local bar, particularly for the younger lawyers.

Three misconceptions about the service are rather common and should be mentioned briefly:

First, the service does not interfere with existing lawyer-client relationships. Instead, it brings to lawyers as clients persons who probably would not otherwise receive the legal advice they need. National statistics show that 80 percent of those who consult Lawyer Referral Services have never consulted a lawyer before. When applicants seeking a referral already have a lawyer, they will usually not be referred.

Second, the service is not a cutrate service and minimum fee schedules are entirely in order. Of course, most of these cases are apt to be small, and the lawyer will sometimes have to adjust his charges to meet conditions, just as he does with clients who come to him from other sources.

Third, the service is not a step toward socialization of the profession. On the contrary, it is an important move forward in educating the public to use the services of lawyers and in making it easier and more convenient for them to do so. It is a public service that will be appreciated by the people of most communities and will bring credit as well as new business to the bar.

The first services were started in the larger cities 27 years or so ago. They are now spreading to many smaller cities and counties. More than a hundred are in operation today in all parts of the country.

In fact, well-operated services in certain smaller cities have produced more business for panel members than in some of the larger cities. The bar is proportionately smaller in these cities, and potential business (of which, as a profession, we have only scratched the surface) is relatively the same.

The Standing Committee on Lawyer Referral Service is anxious to help local bar associations, large and small, to establish these useful services. The committee has handbooks and pamphlets and has accumulated considerable experience. Our hope is that many more bar associations will give the committee an opportunity to use these tools. A letter to the American Bar Center, Chicago 37, or to the chairman, Walter T. Fisher, 135 South La Salle Street, Chicago 3, will receive prompt attention.

Preserving Public Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the El Dorado Times newspaper and was reprinted in the Topeka Daily Capital, Topeka, Kans., concerning the papers of the beloved United States Senator from Kansas, Arthur Capper.

This editorial sets forth a portion of the great work and contributions of Mr. Capper. His great service in the United States Senate will long be remembered by everyone.

The editorial follows:

PRESERVING PUBLIC PAPERS

The papers of Arthur Capper—letters and documents many thousands in number—have been deposited with the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka for preservation.

Arthur Capper was governor of this State for 4 years and a United States Senator for 30. He participated officially in many of the most important events affecting the welfare of this Nation in his time. The papers he accumulated during his distinguished service assuredly are invested with a significant historical value.

The Pittsburg Headlight, whose editor Fred Brinkerhoff is an outstanding Kansas historian, offers this comment:

"Arthur Capper served 30 years in the United States Senate. In the prime of his tenure he was one of the most conspicuous figures in farm legislation. He was in the Senate when the farm question, as it long has been known, came to the front. The Senator was from a leading farm State. As the publisher of farm papers along with newspapers, Capper had a vital personal interest in the welfare of the American farmer. He added this personal concern to a conscientious acceptance of his responsibility as a legislator. So in Capper's own files of letters and other documents, writers of history will find vital material. And that research will be done in the historical society's collection."

The accumulated papers of many eminent Kansans have been going to the State historical society in recent years. That is exactly the place for them. There they will be collated and preserved, by means of the special intelligence and facilities for this purpose that the society peculiarly possesses. In future years, they will represent high value in a clearer understanding of the causes and events during the period when Kansas rounded out its first century of being.

This tendency toward a more careful consideration for the records of the past comprises one that needs to be accelerated.

Supreme Court Creates Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Supreme Court Creates Problems," which appeared in the June 28, 1957, Los Angeles Times:

SUPREME COURT CREATES PROBLEMS

The 1956–57 term of the Supreme Court, now ended but for the Girard case, seems to pose an unusually long list of problems for Congress.

President Eisenhower is not alone in finding some of the decisions announced on recent Mondays difficult to understand. In some matters, especially in its setting aside of the conviction of Southern California Communists, the Court seems to be setting impossible standards.

A VAGUE ANTHORITY

Most people, including most lawyers, conceive of the Supreme Court as a place where the law is settled, so that men may govern themselves accordingly. In recent weeks the Court has appeared to do more unsettling than settling, for example, in the Watkins contempt of Congress case in which it held that the House Un-American Activities Committee had a "vague" grant of authority from Congress and hence could not insist on answers to questions.

Watkins, formerly an official of a Communist-dominated union, told of his own former connections with communism, but refused to name others he had known as Communists. The 6-to-1 decision (with Justice Clark dissenting) has been hailed as putting Congress in its place, not only by pro-Communist liberals but by such anti-Communist liberals as Walter Lippmann. Here we think Lippmann betrays a customary bias; he favors a strong executive and a subservient Congress.

THE PROPER JUDGE

But Congress is not intended to be subservient; the legislative branch is at least as important as any other. We believe the better view to be that the power of Congress to legislate cannot be hampered except by the restrictions of the Constitution itself. It follows that its power to investigate—investigation being a necessary preliminary to legislation—cannot be hampered either, except by plain mandates of the fundamental law, and that when there is no such plain mandate Congress itself is the only proper judge of what it shall investigate and how far.

We believe that in the Watkins case there was no such clear and present danger to his individual rights as to require a judicial rebuke to the committee. The court's remark that exposure of evil is not the true purpose of a congressional investigation appears out of line. Congress should, of course, indulge in no mere scandalmongering; but who can tell what need for legislation may not appear in the course of such a search?

United States District Judge Sirica appears to be of the opinion that the Watkins decision does not cover very much ground. He said he took cognizance of it but still could find teamsters official Frank W. Brewster guilty of 31 counts of contempt of Congress for refusing to produce books and records and answer questions about the union's financial affairs.

The judge said it was plainly within the power of Congress to determine whether its requirement that union financial reports be filed was being complied with; changes in legislation might be found necessary. The judge also refused to hold that Brewster had purged himself of contempt by a subsequent production of records and answering of questions.

The high Court on its last decision day reversed other contempt-of-Congress convictions and ruled again that a State legislature may not delegate its power to investigate. The Brewster case thus becomes something of a challenge to the high court's rulings.

It was in setting aside the Communist convictions that the Court made the most work for Congress; apparently that body must overhaul the Smith Act, which makes teaching and advocating overthrow of the Government a felony.

As matters stand, the lower courts are faced with the necessity, in Smith Act prosecutions, of attempting to distinguish between advocacy of overthrow as an intellectual enterprise, which the Supreme Court says is lawful, and incitement to revolt, which the Court says is not. This seems such a fine-spun distinction as to be impossible to make in the majority of cases, and so in effect makes the Smith Act a dead letter.

CHALLENGE TO CONGRESS

We cannot believe that danger from the Communist conspiracy is at an end in the United States and that the Nation can afford to let the Smith Act expire. Congress is thus challenged to pass an act that can deal with the situation.

Then there is the Jencks case in which the Court several weeks ago held defendants have a right to inspect the files of the FBI, a decision which would make that useful police agency impotent.

Some Members of Congress have been roused to such anger at the Court's attitude that extreme remedies are being proposed. One Congressman wants to impeach and remove the whole Court, and another would make the Justices, in effect, removable every 4 years by requiring reconfirmation as a condition of their tenure.

The situation is not that bad. We think the Court is mistaken, but it is obviously honestly so; the Court has committed no high crimes and misdemeanors such as should subject it to impeachment and removal. And subjecting the Court to political pressure is not a remedy that commends itself.

The remedy, so far as there is a remedy, is legislative and is within the power of Congress. Court decisions are not irrevocable. Particular cases are finally decided, but principles and policies are subject to legislative review.

Employment of the Handicapped—a Community Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, Miss Virginia Davis, of Ridgwood, N. J., recently received a first prize award in the ninth annual New Jersey Employ the Physically Handicapped Essay and Billboard Contest. She was also honored as the fourth-place winner in the national contest sponsored by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

Miss Davis is an 11th grade student at St. Luke's High School in Hohokus, N. J. Her very fine essay, Employment of the Handicapped—a Community Responsibility, deserves to be widely read.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, her essay follows:

EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED—A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

He was always considered the odd fellow in town. No one ever paid much attention to him. Outside of the jeering taunts of children, most people shunned or ignored him. One leg made a difference in those days. One leg couldn't secure a job, gain respect, or most important, find happiness.

Fortunately, we in America today, are not so narrowminded as to evaluate the worth of an individual solely by any physical handicap. But then again—are we? How many employers actually do hire disabled persons? Are there still many faced with a bleak future through lack of employment? Surprisingly little research will bring the answer quickly to light. We find that there are over 2 million disabled persons who could be rehabilitated to take a useful place in society. Bringing this about is a tremendous undertaking but more important than that, it is a grave responsibility to our Nation, to ourselves, and to the handicapped involved.

The average life span of the individual is increasing all the time. Presently it stands at 69.9 years. With this additional rise in age, chronic illness and resulting physical disability can be expected. Therefore, it becomes most necessary to adjust the handicapped now, to work which realizes their limitations and capacities. This instruction will, in turn, be entrusted to each succeeding generation, thereby safeguarding the vital strength of any nation—its people.

Morally, we are under obligation for the welfare of those less fortunate. The physically handicapped are no exception. If we claim democracy—we must prove it; if we shout equality—we must give it. The moral point, sadly enough, will not convince the individual of his obligation so strongly as the economic side of the picture. Whether taxpayers realize it or not, they pay heavily each year for disabled persons, who are not being rehabilitated, and their dependents. If greater efforts were exerted, these people could be trained and suited to jobs, and the enormous outflux of public funds be sharply curtailed. This would make the handicapped no longer a tax consumer but self-supporting. It would better the status of the taxpayer and contribute to a wider dispensing of financial aid to other causes.

Lastly, our responsibility of rehabilitation for the handicapped lies toward the disabled person himself. Everyone likes to feel self-sufficient. It is hard therefore, to be robbed of the chance for complete independence just because one lacks an arm or has a crippled leg. It is then up to us, to do all in our power to procure for these handicapped persons the right to happiness in life. We must provide training and specialists, hope and encouragement, and do all that we can to make the person a useful, productive, and contented citizen.

Where is the starting point of all this responsibility? The Nation is too big, the individual—too small. The answer must lie somewhere in between. By logical deduction, the solution is found in the community. In each community, there live a number of handicapped people, but even greater are the number who are not. Through ignorance or even lack of interest, these citizens know or care little about the urgency of this problem. They do not bother to find out what is being done in the line of rehabilitation; they probably do not realize how their taxes are being used in this regard; and even worse, they fail to look ahead and see the disastrous future, disability could bring to their Nation. These citizens must be made aware of these pressing needs and dangers. They must recognize the part of their community in rehabilitation. Facilities must be made available, physicians and trained personnel obtained, and opportunities in this career increased. Finally, when the individual is ready for placement, he must be given an unprejudiced position and accepted on an equal competitive basis.

If communities refuse to acknowledge rehabilitation and employment for the handicapped as their problem, America will soon be faced with a perilous future. All over the world, peace has been placed in imminent danger. Little wars are continually being fought. Tension over world crises has attained its highest summit. What would America's position really be like if world war finally did strike? The manpower at our disposal, if we had rehabilitated, would be a decidedly helpful factor; the money we could have saved would definitely contribute to a stronger defense; and the people we could have helped would feel their role as citizens more keenly.

This is not imaginative thinking but positive fact. The disabled are now our liabilities. They could be our assets. Isn't it time the communities of America admitted this situation and awakened to their sense of duty? The challenge is there. They have but to meet it. At stake is their nation, their children, and the lives of the disabled.

Handicapped, America is waiting.

Testimonial to Rev. Father Placid Hennessey, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of June 29, 1957, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Rev. Placid Hennessey,

OFM, as a member of the Franciscan order.

TESTIMONIAL TO PRIEST

A dinner at the Mayfair, Yatesville, on Sunday night will mark the 35th anniversary of Rev. Placid Hennessey, OFM, as a member of the Franciscan Order.

Because of his activities as the priest of St. Joseph's Monastery, Wilkes-Barre Township, and because of his acceptance of leadership in many community affairs, Father Hennessey is widely known and is respected for his zeal and qualities of leadership.

He will have the good wishes of many more than the hundreds of associates and friends expected to attend the testimonial dinner.

Long Beach State College Tour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, visiting us here today is a group of elementary and high school teachers, as well as a few future teachers, from southern California who are on a 10,000-mile tour of the United States as part of their study for credits at the Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.

One aim of this tour, which is called a field trip in United States history and government, is to acquaint our California teachers with the most important historical places in our country so that they may go back to the classrooms and make the teaching of history more interesting and more meaningful.

It is also the aim of the Long Beach State College through this tour to acquaint our California teachers with the work that goes on in our American political institutions. They go behind the scenes of our Federal, State, and city governments and meet with important government officials in order to learn from these officials about the organization and functions of their respective departments.

This course of study was approved by the Long Beach State College in 1953, and by the Department of Education, State of California, the same year. Each year since 1953, under the guidance of Dr. J. Wesley Bratton, dean of the summer session, and the direction of Mr. Ross A. Sciarrotta, instructor and tour director, a group has visited Washington, and I have had the pleasure of arranging their visit here, which includes briefings by heads of departments and by foreign diplomats, as well as visits to House and Senate committee hearings and sessions of the House and Senate. Because their tour is a study tour—one for which they earn six college credits that may be applied toward higher degrees—may account for the warm reception and fine cooperation they receive from the top Government officials who take time off from their busy days to explain the operations of their agencies and departments.

In addition to Mr. Sciarrotta, the instructor and tour director, the following are in the group visiting us today: Mr. John Feder, Miss Tina Heller, Miss Delia H. Sprauer, Mr. Frank M. Takahashi, Mr. and Mrs. Ervin H. Miller, Miss Kathy Crowther, Mr. Dennis Brown, Miss Peggy Ratcliff, and Miss Kathy Doba from Long Beach; Miss Violet E. Good and Miss Helen Roudebrush from Bellflower; Mrs. B. F. McNamee, Altadena; Mr. G. W. Mercereau from Los Angeles; and Mr. Verne W. Cowan from Visalia, Calif.

Dulles Declares Our Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, nothing could have been more reassuring to Americans who cherish the sacred principles upon which our Nation is built than is Secretary Dulles' declaration that we will have no traffic—commercial or ideological—with the gangster nation which is Communist China. And coming on the eve of our National Day of Independence, it serves to reaffirm our basic renunciation of tyranny and our independence of those other nations of the so-called western bloc who are prepared to sell their birthright for the temporary and nebulous benefit of trade with Peiping.

Our naivete and our unfamiliarity at the time with communistic disregard for truth and honor may explain away our recognition of Communist Russia in 1933. After almost 25 years, however, of lies and equivocation and with thousands of our own boys lying dead, and millions of other free peoples either dead or enslaved, as the result of Communist savagery, we cannot longer plead ignorance of their aims and philosophy.

In the first instance, it was only through connivance on the part of Communist sympthizers in our own Government that the Chinese Reds were elevated to a place of dominance over Chiang Kai-shek. And it was in Korea that we saw the fiendish brutality and utter ruthlessness of a murderous regime that now seeks to do business with honest people and through that avenue worm its way into a place in the United Nations.

We do not have to stretch our memory very far to recall when it was thought to be socially smart to traffic with bootleggers and gangsters during the prohibition era. Today it would appear that there are those who like to think of themselves as internationalists or one-worlders who see nothing immoral in trafficking with a group of international gangsters who deny all Divine authority and whose word is not worth the time it takes to utter it. Indeed, Pope's Essay on Man gives us the best possible summation of the attitude currently displayed by some people who should know better:

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Secretary Dulles has struck exactly the right note for July 4, 1957. We declared our independence of tyrants in 1776, and it is just as well that we reaffirm our independence of some of our so-called allies and let them know that our honor is not an item that fluctuates with the various winds—I repeat, winds—of international economics.

As a matter of fact, I wish the Secretary had gone one step further and served notice on the world that when Communist China takes her seat in the United Nations she can have the seat which will on that instant be vacated by the United States.

British Plan One-Class Superliners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on June 17, 1957, I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an address made by H. B. Cantor, president of the Carter Hotels Operating Corporation of New York City and a very successful businessman, in connection with the construction of superliners that will make possible transatlantic ocean voyages at a fare of $50 by constructing the world's 2 largest and fastest superliners.

In my extension of remarks I include a news item which appeared in the June 21, 1957, issue of Seafarers Log quoting an article which appeared in the London Financial Times indicating that business interests in Great Britain are seriously considering the construction of "a British-built superliner of 90,000 to 95,000 tons, carrying all of its 9,000 passengers in 1 class," and that the purpose of the vessel is substantially as that intended and outlined by Mr. Cantor.

Mr. Cantor has taken this matter up with the Maritime Commission and is still trying to negotiate with the officials of the United States Maritime Commission. I hope that the proper officials of the United States Maritime Commission will quickly enter into further negotiations with Mr. Cantor. It would be most unfortunate if Mr. Cantor, an American, conceived this plan and interests in Great Britain picked it up and put it into operation before action was taken by the American Government or an American interest.

[From the Seafarers Log of June 21, 1957]

BRITISH PLAN ONE-CLASS SUPERLINER

The idea of an American hotelman for a 9,000-passenger, 1-class transatlantic liner—an idea which has been sidetracked here—is apparently being adopted, lock, stock, and barrel by the British, according to the London Financial Times.

That newspaper has reported that plans are afoot for a British-built superliner of 90,000 to 95,000 tons, carrying all of its 9,000 passengers in 1 class. The ship would have a cruising speed of 35½ knots, which would permit it to make a transatlantic crossing inside of 4 days. In combination with airline service (1 way by air, 1 way by ship) such a vessel would permit the average

American with a 2-week vacation to spend 7 or 8 days on the Continent.

THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND HORSEPOWER

As described by the London newspaper, the vessel would be totally air-conditioned and would have its engineroom back aft. The engines would generate the enormous total of 300,000 horsepower.

Some of the American aircraft carriers now afloat generate in excess of 200,000 horsepower.

The New York hotelman, H. B. Cantor, has been proposing a vessel of this size with equivalent passenger capacity for a number of years, but thus far has been unable to interest Government officials in acting on his proposal. Meanwhile, existing American transatlantic operators, such as United States Lines, are proceeding with plans to build conventional three-class passenger vessels, providing for a type of travel which is fast becoming obsolete.

Most foreign operators are already actively involved in the 1-class field, with the Swedish-American Line announcing that it would build a 1-class pullman-style tour ship providing meals in low-cost cafeterias and in restaurants. This, too, was one of the features espoused by Cantor.

The proposed Swedish ship would accommodate 1,300 passengers and would have an auditorium capable of seating 800 people at conventions and other meetings.

Meanwhile, the only potential low-cost operation under the American flag, the Arnold Bernstein group, is making headway in its plans to go into service next spring. Bernstein has announced that his company has joined the North Atlantic Passenger Conference and has gone to Belgium to make arrangements for a passenger terminus in Zeebrugge for his operation.

The Bernstein ship, which will be named the *Atlantic*, will offer a minimum off-season rate of $187.50. It will operate between New York, Zeebrugge, and Amsterdam, taking 7 days for the crossing. The ship, which is the former *Badger Mariner*, is now undergoing conversion at the Ingalls Shipbuilding yard at Pascagoula, Miss. It will accommodate 900 passengers, most of them in tourist class, and will be completely air-conditioned.

The Bernstein group has plans for constructing two new vessels for the transatlantic operation.

The proposed British superliner undoubtedly would be built by the Cunard Line if it should ever come to pass. Cunard offices in New York said they had not received any word of such plans to date.

[From the Glasgow Herald, Glasgow, England, of June 10, 1957]

HOLIDAYS ABROAD

The Government has made a wise and popular move in lifting the financial ban on holidays in the United States and Canada. It will make no practical difference in the immediate future to most people who are in a position to consider taking a holiday abroad, but it will have served a good purpose if it does no more than set people thinking about the possibility of going West another year for a few days or weeks. It is difficult to say how far $280 will go on the other side, but some of the essential do's and don'ts are given in an article elsewhere on this page. If American and Canadian business acumen runs true to form it can be expected that the tourist industries of these countries will do everything in their power to make the trip worth while for visitors from the old country. But the cost of transatlantic travel remains a limiting factor. The cheapest return fare by air from London to New York is more than £150. By sea from Southampton to New York costs £20 or so less. A holiday costing perhaps £250 is possible for some well-to-do people in middle or later life, but few even of them could afford to make a regular habit of it.

Unfortunately and unavoidably the cost of a holiday in America remains prohibitive to nearly all young people of adventurous spirit who are quite prepared to do it on the cheap. But this may not always be so. If the plans of Mr. H. B. Cantor, an American hotel magnate, should materialize it may be possible to provide transatlantic travel at a return fare of about £36 plus the cost of food. But for the present, although a large number of inquiries has been received by travel agents offering holidays in North America, it is not likely that bookings will be heavy.

The number of people taking holidays outside Britain, however, has been steadily increasing since the war. Last year the total was almost 1,500,000. This year it is expected to increase by at least 250,000. France is by far the most popular country with British tourists, but there is an increasing tendency to go farther afield. Even the Iron Curtain is affording more chinks for tourists than in the past. This year it is expected that motorists from the West will be able to visit Berlin and Poland without being held up or turned back. To whatever points of the compass Britain's tourists choose to go there can be no doubt that their increasing numbers represent a valuable contribution to international good will through the friendships which are made and the broadening of the individual's outlook.

JUNE 26, 1957.

Chairman CLARENCE G. MORSE,
Maritime Commission, United States Department of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. CLARENCE G. MORSE: Enclosed please find clipping from the SeaFarers Log, June 21, 1957, in which they elaborate on the British plan 1-class superliner, according to the London Financial Times.

If you and I can sit down undisturbed, I am reasonably certain that we can work out a businessman's financial arrangement to satisfy you on the equity.

Please let me know when I can see you.

Respectfully yours,

H. B. CANTOR,
President, Carter Hotels Operating Corp.

Veterans' Administration Benefits Claims May Need Judicial Court or Review Action

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, there is legislation pending before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs on which I have the good fortune to serve as a member, which would provide for the determination through judicial proceedings of claims for compensation resulting from disease or injury incurred in or aggravated while serving in the active military or naval service. I refer to H. R. 1006.

Similar to this bill in purpose is H. R. 834 and H. R. 4746. The first bill would confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to review claims for benefits under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration; the second bill would confer jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia to review decisions for veterans' benefits. Both of these proposals are pending before the Judiciary Committee and during the last Congress hearings were held on similar measures.

I fear that unless we can experience better decisions from the Board of Veterans' Appeals, it will be necessary to take action to pass one of these measures and provide judicial court or review of decisions of the Veterans' Administration.

Of course, I realize that this would place quite a burden on the courts and it might be necessary to set up a special court comparable to the Tax Court. I am sure that all Members of Congress realize that such a step might have to be taken if more equitable decisions are not forthcoming from the Veterans' Administration.

A Stout Heart in Manila

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the New York Times of Monday, June 24, 1957:

A STOUT HEART IN MANILA

Ever since the death of Ramon Magsaysay the question has been asked, "Will Philippine President Carlos P. Garcia be able to carry on with the policies of his predecessor?" Mr. Garcia said that he hoped to do so. He has now been put to the test at a critical point, and he has not faltered.

A bill had been adopted by the Philippine Congress that would have greatly relaxed import and exchange controls. The same bill was blocked last year by then President Maysaysay's blunt statement that if it were adopted he would veto it. Mr. Magsaysay felt, and President Garcia has now again stated, that such a measure would undermine the value of the peso and bring profit and advantage to a few at the expense of the many.

President Garcia has been under heavy pressure to sign the measure or to let it become law by withholding his veto. This is an election year in the Philippines and Mr. Garcia is a candidate. Those who backed this bill represent formidable political foes. Mr. Garcia was obliged to take into consideration the political possibilities of their enmity if he exercised his veto.

He chose to act in the best Magsaysay manner. He showed the stoutness of his heart and the eagerness to put the good of the whole people above the advantage of special interests. It may cost him the nomination. If his fellow countrymen believe, on the other hand, that he will hew to the line that was laid down, it may win him an election.

Hawaii's Importance to America's Commercial Role in the Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii, a completely American State-to-be, faces the same problems confronting the people of the several present States of the Union. In her efforts to meet these problems, Hawaii uses the American approach of initiative, energy, and vigor.

Knowing the interest of the Members of Congress in the affairs of Americans everywhere and of their particular interest in Hawaii, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an address by Mr. George Mason, Director, Economic Planning and Coordination Authority, Hawaii, before the 54th annual convention, Advertising Association of the West, at Honolulu, Hawaii, on June 25, 1957.

The address is well worth the time needed to read it:

HAWAII'S IMPORTANCE TO AMERICA'S COMMERCIAL ROLE IN THE PACIFIC

The newcomer doesn't expect it. But it's there the instant he arrives. Hawaii, he discovers, is a land of sharp contrasts.

The sun, the sea, the friendly informality of the people, he expected these. Yet Hawaii—and especially Honolulu—he observes, is not fundamentally much different than any of the 48 States or the hundreds of home towns from which the visitor comes.

It is a commercial, industrial, and agricultural community of 540,000 Americans and more than 50,000 uniformed personnel in all branches of the United States Defense Establishment. Its people have the same desires and buy the same goods and require the same services as their mainland cousins.

But because this doesn't make exciting grist for the copywriter's mill, Hawaii has become linked—in the mind's eye—with the mystery of unpopulated South Sea atolls.

We westerners—and Hawaii is very much a part of the West—have a vision of these romantic but civilized islands that more nearly meshes with fact than do our eastern brothers. Last fall, in New York, a highly placed public relations executive asked me how much real influence Hawaii's royal family still had. Perhaps he was just a bit confused because our Governor's name happens to be King.

A few days later, a Chicago newspaperman, upon learning that the only language I understood was English, wanted to know how I could possibly hold a responsible job.

Almost daily the Governor's office receives letters addressed to the American Embassy, Honolulu.

Instances such as these are solid testimony to the effectiveness of advertising and publicity. Further proof can be seen in the volume of tourists coming to Hawaii * * * up nearly 1,000 percent over 1946.

Advertising has created a picture of Hawaii that has paid off. But it is not a behind-the-scenery picture.

Hawaii's beauty and charm are still intact—as advertised. But these islands are no longer a sleepy, isolated archipelago. We are a bustling State-to-be. Ahead of several States in many ways. Such as per capita income, electric-power consumption, car ownership, telephones in use, retail purchases—way ahead, percentagewise, of many mainland communities and States. In per family buying power, for example, Honolulu ranks ahead of such cities as New York, Boston, Dallas, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis.

We have a labor force of some 200,000. And half of our population is under 24 years of age.

We have developed a highly efficient distribution system accounting in part for our high level of real income, our ability to meet rather stiff competition and also our ability to pay rather high local taxes.

We have one of the busiest airports in the Nation.

There are more overseas phone calls between Honolulu and San Francisco than between any other overseas-to-mainland point.

In total retail sales, we buy more than seven States.

We have a $1¼ billion economy.

Twenty years ago, the economy of these islands consisted almost exclusively of the sugar and pineapple industries. Fifteen years ago, the Hawaiian economy was in very large measure a war economy with 400,000 to 500,000 troops and some 75,000 civilian employees of the Federal Government. More of a war economy than any other segment of the United States.

Today we have a modern, prosperous—completely American—economy supported by a wide range of diversified economic activity. Here, in 10 years, an American community has experienced massive change. The social, economic, and political explosions in the decade since 1946 would have resulted in civic phychosis almost anywhere else. But today we live in a peacetime condition of booming development.

We have come, unscarred, through the stresses and strains, largely because the Hawaiians have left us a sure-fire ulcer preventive, hoomanawanui, which means patience. And so we are able to take in stride the sudden realization that the Hawaii described by Mark Twain and Robert Louis Stevenson is no more.

This is perhaps Hawaii's greatest charm—that way of life that encounters big problems and big change with ease.

I'm convinced, too, that it is the mode of living, more than the climate or magnificent scenery, that keeps transplanted Californians such as I with both feet on Hawaiian soil.

The Hawaii Visitors Bureau, the carriers, and the hotels have done a magnificent job of selling Hawaii to vacationers.

But the everyday Hawaii, its way of life, its commercial growth, and its new opportunities, this story has not been told. We now know that it must in order to meet three needs:

1. Statehood.
2. New industry.
3. New people.

Hawaii's yearning for statehood has been masked, by certain elements on the mainland, with the argument that we are not ready. This vague contention is only supported by some mythical vision of a people clad in lava-lavas and sarongs cracking coconuts on a sun-drenched beach, and also by gross misstatements to the effect that we are really governed by Moscow.

Nothing could move Hawaii closer to statehood than a vigorous educational campaign telling the world the unvarnished truth about Hawaii as it is. Thus far, efforts in this direction have been limited and they will have little impact until Hawaii's case is projected on a massive scale.

In recent years, we have become aroused over the need for more jobs * * * to support a growing population and to offset displacements resulting from new technology in our basic industries. Also, like Americans anywhere, we want to better our already high standard of living.

We know that we have been too dependent in the past on sugar, pineapple and the defense budget. We have seen ourselves emerging as a most important hub of the Pacific. As the Western States have grown and prospered, so has Hawaii. As the nations of the Pacific have evolved a new importance in the commerce and politics of the world, so has Hawaii.

To keep pace with our growing importance and our growing population, we are seeking a more diversified economic base. We are well on the road to success. Today we have more than 500 manufacturers making a long list of commodities from acetylene to yogurt. In the past 5 years, we have been witness to the establishment of more new manufacturing and service enterprises than in the previous 20. And our established industries have advanced quickly. Garment manufacturing, for example, has doubled its output in 5 years to reach its present $10 million value. Furniture, cement, clay and chemical production, as well as a diversity of food product lines have also shown remarkable expansion.

We are branching out into new lines that were not thought feasible a few years ago. Electronics, construction materials, paper manufacture, oil refining, mattresses and meats, fruit juices and flavoring agents, and many more.

Much of our new productive capacity is for home consumption. We still have many unmet needs. But, like any progressive community, we are looking for new markets—new money.

Our industrial expansion cannot, of course, be entirely home-grown. We must depend also on the money and the know-how we can attract from elsewhere. To attract these two most important elements, we must have a calling card that shows more than Diamond Head and the Beach at Waikiki. Our calling card must unmistakably say, in the words of the editor of the Daily Bond Buyer recently: "The Hawaiian economy is bursting at the seams and the expansion is at a rate that far exceeds the capacity of the capital resources of the islands."

Our needs are great and our message must have the stature to meet those needs.

It is no secret that those areas that have witnessed amazing post-war development are the places that have attracted large numbers of highly skilled and aggressive people to make a new home for themselves. California, Florida, and Arizona are the prime examples. Among their attractions are climate and a more informal way of life. None of the States can compete with Hawaii in those respects. But, naturally, people who are highly skilled and aggressive also want to go where "something is happening." That impression we have not conveyed to the American public.

But events are pushing us in that direction. Our importance to national defense is not diminishing, as some might suspect, but is increasing steadily. Our importance to the transportation network of the Pacific is becoming more pronounced. The State Department has come to realize how advantageous is our highly advanced stage of social harmony.

Americans, Canadians, Australians, and thousands of others from dozens of nations visit or pass through Hawaii, and their numbers are mounting sharply.

People from throughout the Pacific Basin are beginning to come here to observe Hawaii's highly developed agricultural technology, its world-renowned health record, its booming commerce despite geographic isolation, and its truly democratic social environment. The specialists are coming to know us. But this is not enough.

To achieve statehood * * * to build more new industry * * * to attract the new blood that every community needs * * * we must and we will—tell more people of the modern, true-to-everyday-life Hawaii.

There is much to tell. And it can be dramatic and colorful.

We may soon have a sizable mining industry. The discovery of aluminum ore and titanium in recent years particularly intrigues us because until 1953, every statement on the economy of Hawaii stressed that we had no mineral resources.

On the Island of Hawaii, where nature's pyrotechnics have left their mark, hundreds of thousands of acres of lava flows stand ready to be utilized, just as such lava is already being commercially exploited in Italy.

We have a million acres of forest reserves, and we are now looking to them as the basis for a new timber industry.

We have fruits and nuts unique to Hawaii that we are confident can become major exports if backed by adequate promotion.

We have a market big enough to justify the production of many consumer commodities for local consumption only. But they cannot be produced willy-nilly, by just anyone who spots the opportunity. Hawaii is as susceptible to national advertising as Illinois or Colorado or Texas. Thus, should someone attempt to capture the market for Tide with a detergent named "Aloha," the result would almost certainly be total failure. But when Swift set up a million-dollar meat processing plant in Honolulu; when Simmons and Serta switched to local manufacture of bedding; and when Flexalum franchised a local metal shop, the result in these and other cases has been a bigger share of the market.

New opportunities keep cropping up. Two companies have just announced they will manufacture industrial plastics products.

There is considerable interest in the potential for a steel mill. Just a year ago a galvanizing plant opened shop.

We are on the road to replacing a large portion of our imports of livestock feeds. And it may not be too many years before we can supply our total needs—and those of the Armed Services in the Pacific—for beef and pork and poultry.

And as one new business begets another, as our population mushrooms, we will have new problems. Problems of industrial sites, problems of credit, problems of adequate public facilities, lots of problems. But we have an awareness of the future and the capacity to meet it in an intelligent way.

Our new role will be like nothing we have known before. The change in geography has seen to that.

Beyond Hawaii is the Pacific world—Asia and Australia. The dormant natural resources, the huge reservoirs of manpower, the big, untapped market.

Japan, Australia and the Philippines especially are expanding production and developing their economies. They are making use of the best American know-how obtainable. In Burma and Indonesia, in Malaya and in India—the big push for economic development is on. We know because American advisers pass through Honolulu almost weekly. We know because some of those advisers are from Hawaii.

The Pacific world is no longer an inscrutable mystery. It is a community of nations composed of civilized men seeking to better themselves no less than the people of Seattle or Sacramento or Salt Lake City.

Here is America's new opportunity to show the way without showing its strength. This is America's chance to share with, and not shy away from, customers as well as competitors.

If we are to meet this new challenge, it must be in a spirit of cooperation and not superiority. Our words and our deeds must ring true.

This vast Pacific arena of new production and burgeoning commerce offers fresh ground for American business, if it can communicate and commingle—but not commiserate.

For those who will understand the culture of the Pacific, for those who will see the problems and the potentials from the perspective of the Pacific world, for them there is a place in the Pacific's future.

And this is why Hawaii is important. It is totally American, but it understands the Pacific. It is modern and dynamic, but it has only recently emerged from a narrow economic confines. It has seen the sons of coolies—nay, coolies themselves—emerge into tycoons. It has known the plantation laborer from 5,000 miles west who, exposed to American methods and permitted independent initiative, has risen to prosperity and community leadership. It has demonstrated that a man's origins do not alter his aspirations, and that his physical features have no bearing on his capabilities.

Hawaii is part of, and witness to, the new era of the Pacific. We can show the way across the threshold. But first, the rest of America must be told, and must understand, that Hawaii has come of age, that these are, indeed, America's islands of opportunity.

Farmer's 14-Cent-Per-Hour Wage, Chicken Feed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the egg and poultry market for farmers in my district is at a very serious low. One farmer from Barnesville, Minn., tells me that his income from one bird was $4.68 and the same bird cost him $4.42 for feed, lights, drayage, taxes, and so forth. If this is the "big-business farmer" administration's idea of a good profit, it certainly is not mine or the farmer's.

I ask permission to insert in the RECORD the letter from this farmer, Mr. Layton O. Ambrose.

The letter follows:

BARNESVILLE, MINN., *July 1, 1957.*
Representative COYA KNUTSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN: I am enclosing the local egg market for Thursday of last week plus some figures from my own poultry farm.

Eggs, No. 1	0.21
Eggs, medium	.18
Eggs, B	.18
Eggs, No. 2	.15
Heavy hens	.08
Light hens	.08
Springers	.08
Old cocks	.06

Last September 1 I housed 1,000 pullets which to date have laid 221 eggs per bird that brought an average of 23.3 cents per dozen. Adding the market value of the hen gives me an income of $4.68 per bird. The cost of the birds housed plus feed, lights, drayage, taxes, depreciation, and so forth totals $4.42 a bird leaving me a total of 26 cents a hen for labor; 58 cents a day; 14 cents per hour.

I believe that any future egg buying by the United States Department of Agriculture should be limited to grade A eggs, not current receipts as was purchased the last few months. During the month of June current receipts were quoted ½ cent less than top quality grade A large on the Chicago market.

On second thought why not buy hens at the farm level. A million dollars for a million hens, thus eliminating the source of the so-called surplus of both eggs and hens.

Yours truly,

LAYTON O. AMBROSE.

European Shoot Moth Infestation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, an emergency condition now exists in National, State, and private forests of lower Michigan, and particularly in several counties of the Ninth Congressional District.

I bring this situation to the attention of Members of the House not only as a call for assistance, but also as a warning, because the European shoot moth which is threatening the northern Michigan forests also poses a threat, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, throughout the general area from Massachusetts south to Virginia, and west to Illinois and Michigan, and Nova Scotia, southern Ontario, and British Columbia.

Seriousness of the problem in my district is evidenced by the following resolution which I have just received from the board of supervisors of Wexford County:

Whereas the European shoot moth infestation has developed into a serious menace to the pine trees of northern Michigan and has ruined hundreds of acres of plantations; and

Whereas the menace has got beyond the control of counties and individuals: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Federal share-the-cost programs of ASCC and the soil-bank program in the planting of pine trees plantations be discontinued until such time as there is control of the European shoot moth and that all other possible funds be made available for the control of this menace; further be it

Resolved, That the Federal Government, State government, and State highway department make an all-out effort in the control of said European shoot moth in their respective plantations; and further be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Hon. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, United States Representative; Hon. Charles A. Boyer, State representative; Hon. John Minnema, State senator, 27th District; and to the several counties of the State of Michigan, asking that they get behind this movement before it is too late.

At a regular meeting of the Wexford County Board of Supervisors the above resolution was adopted by the following vote: Yes 21; Absent 2.

WALTER H. EDWARDS,
Wexford County Clerk.

Mr. Speaker, I have learned from Dr. Richard E. McArdle, Chief of the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, that the European pine shoot moth, an insect native to Europe was introduced into the United States accidentally and was first found in dan-

aging numbers affecting Scotch pine plantations on Long Island about 50 years ago.

Unusual habits of this shoot moth make control of the pest very difficult. The larvae are concealed within the tips of the lateral twigs on the trees and are vulnerable to insecticidal sprays only for a short period in any given year. Time of vulnerability in Michigan is right now.

Studies of methods and materials for effective control of the shoot moth have been under way by several of the States and by the Federal Government for the past several years. In recognition of the exceptional severity of the pest infestation in lower Michigan, the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture is at present making a study of the problem in the Cadillac area.

Findings from this study will be utilized in planning for control of the European shoot moth throughout the widespread area which it has infected.

In view of the seriousness of this situation, and the threat to thousands of acres of national, State, and local forest lands, I plan to return home for a personal inspection, with regional officials of National and State forestry departments of the infected area.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the European shoot moth is so severe a threat to this Nation's great forests that all possible action should be taken to stamp it out immediately.

Radio Station WEJL

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. Cecil Woodland, general manager of radio station WEJL, Scranton, Pa.:

WEJL,
THE SCRANTON TIMES,
Scranton, Pa., June 17, 1957.

Hon. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CARRIGG: We are most grateful to you for your many and frequent kindnesses to us in our efforts to serve the public interest in northeastern Pennsylvania.

Radio station WEJL, owned by the Scranton Times, is most grateful also to Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN and his Select Committee for permitting it to broadcast the portions of the recent hearings covering events in Scranton, Pa. WEJL broadcast these sessions, live and in their entirety, and these broadcasts represented the only live, direct coverage by AM radio or television in Scranton. To present these public-interest broadcasts, WEJL canceled a large number of commercial programs and absorbed heavy engineering and line expenses.

WEJL is sincerely appreciative of the cooperation it receives from Congress on occasions like this, cooperation which makes it possible for the station to serve in the public interest in its entire coverage area.

Sincerely,

CECIL WOODLAND,
General Manager.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, while the rest of the country welcomes vacation time, the only official indications of summer's arrival in Washington are the weekend sunburns decorating distinguished noses at Monday session of the Congress—they have usually faded from view by Wednesday or thereabouts—and the heat and humidity for which the Nation's Capital is noted. Nor does the warmth occasionally generated under the Capitol dome help the outdoor temperature very much, as Members of Congress wrestle with national and international problems in a world grown stranger and stranger.

If that elusive individual, the so-called average citizen—to whom politicians and statisticians are so fond of referring, but whom I have still to meet—begins to feel more and more like Lewis Carroll's famed Alice in Wonderland, in that things keep getting curiouser and curiouser—small wonder.

Today, the business executive and the labor leader are being exhorted—according to the President's latest press conference—to serve as statesmen while Government officials and Members of Congress are called upon to act like business executives and members of the board of directors.

Times are so good, we are told, that inflation has become an alarming threat to the national economy and the individual's pocketbook. Some Government policies, it is acknowledged, are at fault in bringing about this upward flight of price pressures, but this is in part due, the President is quoted, to the "deliberate policy to bring the farmer his own share of the national income."

Mr. Speaker, I am not certain that I care too much for this explanation for it would seem to me that our farmers have enough of their own troubles without having to shoulder any of the blame for our present runaway cost of living. Based upon returns for the first quarter of this year projected at the annual rate, total net farm income will reach $11.7 billion in 1957. This represents a very slight improvement over 1956, when it was $11.6 billion, but is still a far cry from the $16.1 billion reached in 1951 or the $15.1 billion total of 1952.

Moreover, it is to be noted that the Secretary of Agriculture, in a recent speech delivered in Knoxville, Tenn., is quoted as 'still uring low-income farm people to seek income opportunities off the land.

A dollar—

Mr. Benson is quoted as stating—

will buy just as much health, just as much education, just as much good living if it is earned in off-farm employment as if it is earned growing crops or livestock.

This is like the old-fashioned recipe for rabbit stew: "First catch the rabbit." These people have still to earn that dollar in the highly skilled labor market demanded today.

The Secretary should have added: "That is, provided the skills used in making the land produce on a farm can be converted to making a machine produce in a factory."

Entirely aside from the moot question of whether we wish to see the Nation's agriculture turned from the hands of the small and independent farmer and over to big business, General Motors-type commercial propositions, it would seem that either the farmer is being blamed unjustifiably for our price rises, or the administration's efforts to help him are resulting in extremely costly failures for the whole country.

On the other hand, is it not barely possible, as businessmen in the Fifth District of West Virginia have pointed out, and as I duly reported in last week's Keenotes, that, with interest payments on the national debt more than double what they were prior to 1953, and interest rates on short-term Government bonds up from 1 to 3 percent in the same period, it is the administration itself which is doing everything that will tend to promote inflation?

One thing is certain. The average citizen—whoever he is and wherever he may be—and I strongly suspect he is every one of us—is finding it more and more difficult to accept as fact the statement that he is enjoying his rightful share in the general national prosperity.

Mr. Speaker, I have never been one for statistics. Indeed, I have a tendency to regard them with strong suspicion. I know that if my net income is $50 per week, while that of my right-hand neighbor is $100 and my left-hand neighbor is $150, the average net income for all three of us is $100. But this does not give me an extra $50 a week to spend, nor does it stretch the dollars that are in my pocket to meet the higher prices I must pay for the necessities of life my family must have to live.

Consequently, it is very difficult to convince me that because the national personal disposable income has increased more than $32 billion since 1954, this has put an extra dime in my pocket. No more has it benefited the retired worker living on his OASI benefits, the retired civil-service worker struggling along on a pension geared to pre-World War II prices, the white collar employee working on a fixed salary, the factory worker who does not have a cost-of-living escalator clause in his union contract, or the small-business man who has to raise his retail prices to take care of his inflated overhead costs.

America and give the cold shoulder to the dictatorships.

He writes:

Economic measures are not enough. The United States must rekindle the democratic idealism which President Franklin D. Roosevelt seemed to many Latin Americans to have ignited. The United States must show that it is deeply concerned not only with the fight against Communist dictatorship, but also with the fight against the native variety of dictatorship which flourishes so widely in Latin America.

The text continues and concludes his final chapter as follows:

This does not mean overt intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. Former Assistant Secretary of State John Moors Cabot is correct when he says that democracy cannot be imposed by force on the Latin American countries. However, the United States can bring considerable pressure to bear on behalf of democracy, and there can be much greater activity on the part of the United States Government and the people of this country in defense of Latin American democratic elements.

These democratic elements are numerous. They include the parties which throughout this book we have called the Aprista parties—the Peruvian Apristas, the Venezuelan Accion Democratica, Pepe Figueres' Liberacion Nacional Party in Costa Rica, the Puerto Rican Popular Democrats, to name but a few. They include the democratic Socialists of Uruguay, Argentina, and Peru, and sections of the Socialist parties of Chile and Ecuador. They include the Liberals of Colombia, Ecuador, and Honduras. They include Social Catholics in various countries. They include certain indigenous groups such as the Batllistas of Uruguay, the government's PRI party in Mexico, and others.

These are the groups in Latin America who are able to meet the Communists on their own ground, to promise and in a democratic way to deliver to the humble and ambitious people of the continent the fruits of the Latin American social revolution. The United States must not allow them to turn away from this country in bitterness and frustration, or to be undermined by the Communists as a result of apparent United States support of dictatorship.

So far as the United States Government is concerned, the relighting of the torch of political democracy means that, while maintaining formally "friendly" relations with the dictator countries of Latin America, this Government should never make it appear that it actually supports and approves of dictatorial regimes. Certainly this means that a halt should be called to the policy of handing out medals to the dictators.

But United States policy must be more than merely negative. The President and Secretary of State and other high officials of this Government should make it clear that they support democracy in the Americas as well as in Europe and Asia. Certainly it would not be too much to expect of the leading officials of this country, which claims to be the champion of liberty, that from time to time they take occasion to deplore the prevalence in this hemisphere of imprisonment for political reasons. In receiving Latin American ambassadors, in commemorating Latin American historical occasions, and when other appropriate opportunities present themselves, the President and Secretary of State should make it plain that the United States actively approves of the democratic regimes in Latin America and disapproves of the dictatorships.

Of course, such a policy of encouraging democracy in Latin America involves delicate diplomatic problems. However, so does the policy which has been followed in recent years of showing open support for the dictatorships. An expressed democratic policy would take the hollowness out of the United States exhorting the nations of the world to freedom, a hollowness particularly audible to Latin Americans subject to native tyrannies. Only in this way can our country scotch the Communist propaganda line, which puts the chief onus for the existence of the Latin American dictatorships on the United States. Only thus can the United States Government demonstrate that democracy in America does not mean dictatorship, as the Communists claim.

Responsible groups of United States citizens can also encourage democracy in Latin America, and so cut the ground out from under the Communists. Forward-looking North Americans can express more frequently their support for the Democratic Left in Latin America. The newspapers of the country can open their columns more fully to the democratic leaders of Latin America—both those who can function in their own countries and those who are forced to live in exile.

Only if the United States Government and people throw their support to those elements in Latin America which are working for political democracy and social change can the fight against the Communists be won. Dictatorships in Latin America are at best transitory. They are poor dikes against the Communist flood, and in the long run serve only to insure that once the flood starts to roll it will be stronger than ever before. The only real victors against communism will be those groups which can arouse the imagination of the Latin American peoples.

ICC Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the Interstate Commerce Commission handed down a decision the other day which has profoundly disturbed and shocked Alaskans.

Proceedings had been instituted by the General Services Administration the purpose of which was to remove discriminatory practices against Alaska. Long ago the railroads established rate structures for goods moving across the United States by rail and thence to Alaska by water about half again as high as identical goods transported by rail to the west coast and thence on to Hawaii and the Orient. Exactly the same amount of work is involved in transporting freight for Hawaii and the Orient as for Alaska; the distances are the same; there is no sound reason at all why Alaska should thus be penalized. It is not only the consuming public in Alaska that pays exorbitantly on account of an arbitrary determination made by railroad management. The taxpayers are probably the chief sufferers because of the huge amount of freight moving by rail and ship to Alaska for construction of defenses in Alaska. It was to protect the Government's interests that the General Services Administration intervened before the Interstate Commerce Commission and it was the belief of Alaskans who had studied this matter that the Interstate Commerce Commission would be responsive to the public interest as opposed to the desire of the railroads to maintain the unfairly high rates on freight destined for Alaska.

But our hopes were dashed. In a decision made only last month the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled "that the assailed rates were not shown to be unjust and unreasonable or otherwise unlawful. The complaint will be dismissed."

Thus Alaskans who expected relief from a Government regulatory body, and who were entitled to relief, will receive none and the curious and discriminatory situation which has been in effect will continue whereby it costs far less to ship a hundred pounds of a Government commodity clear across the United States by rail and then on to distant Yokohama in Japan than by rail and the much shorter water haul to Alaska ports.

Many Alaskans had been urging that the Interstate Commerce Commission should with statehood have jurisdiction over water as well as other forms of transportation in and to and from Alaska. Since this decision was made I have heard no further support for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In this connection I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a front-page editorial which appeared in America's farthest north daily newspaper, the Fairbanks (Alaska) Daily News-Miner for June 26 entitled "Alaska Gets It Again—In the Neck":

ALASKA GETS IT AGAIN—IN THE NECK

The Interstate Commerce Commission yesterday put Alaska in her place again.

It decreed that railroads may continue to charge higher rates on cargo destined for this Territory than for Hawaii, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Japan.

For many years all of these other places have been recognized by the Commission as overseas points, to which cargo must be exported. Freight moving by rail across the United States to the west coast takes a lower rate when it is to be shipped overseas than it does if it moves in purely domestic traffic.

As far as the railroads are concerned, freight is handled out of Seattle to Alaska in exactly the same way as it is handled out of that port to the Orient. Exactly the same, except that the rate the railroads get is half again as high.

These facts caused Alaskans about 10 years ago to start down the long trail of attempting to get the railroads and the Interstate Commerce Commission to treat us on a basis of equality with Hawaii and the other points.

Through the Alaska Development Board, the transcontinental railroads were asked to put into effect voluntarily a tariff which would assign export rates to carload rail shipments across the Nation when that cargo was to be shipped on to Alaska.

In a series of meetings with the traffic departments of the major railroads at Chicago, St. Paul and Omaha, and in a conference with their joint rate committee in Chicago, we were turned down cold.

The railroads couldn't see any good reason for treating Alaskans like other people. They were polite but they were firm. They said they didn't want to reduce their freight rates on our shipments, didn't have to in the absence of an ICC order, and wouldn't. Period.

The matter lay dormant for several years until the Eisenhower Administration took it

up in 1954. Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, many of whose attitudes toward Alaska we think were unfortunate, did the right thing in this matter and prodded the appropriate agency of the Government into action. He was in turn prodded by William Strand, then Director of Territories, who is a former editor of the News-Miner.

Early in 1955, after extensive preparation in which it was assisted by shippers in Alaska, the General Services Administration filed a formal proceeding with the Interstate Commerce Commission. It called for the transcontinental railroads to show cause why they should continue to charge higher rates on traffic moving toward Alaska than on that moving over exactly the same routes, rails and distances toward Hawaii and the Orient.

The Secretary of Defense joined the Secretary of the Interior in the case. Others who intervened included the Governor of Alaska, the Office of Territories, and the Alaska Railroad. The Alaska Resources Development Board helped work up the case in the Territory.

As far as anybody in Alaska could tell up until yesterday, everything was going well. A hearing was held. Facts were presented. Those facts demonstrated the justice of our case. The hearing examiner recommended to the Commission that the railroads should be ordered to apply the lower export-import rates to Alaska-bound freight.

Yesterday, by a vote of 8 to 2, the ICC decided it would not interfere with the practice of the railroads of classifying such freight as domestic business, making it ineligible for the freight rate savings.

Application of the higher domestic rates on Alaska-bound freight, the majority of the Commission said, is a matter of railroad management discretion.

In other words, Alaskans can go on paying high freight rates, as far as the ICC is concerned. It is the shipper who pays, but everybody who lives, works or does business in Alaska will continue to foot the bill.

These excess charges run into many millions of dollars annually. They are among the costs which add up to an enormous price which Alaskans are paying for nothing. That is the price of not having statehood.

We don't mind paying for something we get. But we are going to continue to complain about paying for what we don't get.

Much has been made of the high costs which are supposed to fall on us when Alaska becomes a State. We know that we are already paying much more right now, in numerous, devious ways, because we are not a State.

Can anyone conceive of the Interstate Commerce Commission deciding as it did if Alaska had had two Senators and a voting Representative reminding the ICC of the interests of their constituents? Senators and Representatives hold the purse strings. There would be no ICC, and members of the Commission are well aware of that, if Congress did not appropriate for that body annually.

The ICC decision is one of the worst evidences of "colonialism" that we have seen lately. It is not the only one, and we are sure it is not the last.

Alaska is just a helpless Territory. Government bureaus can do with us as they please.

Even when we make a conclusive case, even when the examiner who hears the evidence recommends in our favor, even when every practical and theoretical consideration is on our side, even then a helpless Territory will always come out second best.

We thank the many people who worked in Alaska's behalf in this case.

We have lost another battle. But we are pitching in with renewed determination to win the war.

The Red Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the celebration of our Independence Day we must soberly reflect upon the continuing challenges to American freedom. These challenges, internal and external, are principally directed from the Kremlin in Moscow.

It scarcely seems possible that these Russian challenges, based as they are upon cynical, imperialistic designs to enslave mankind, could be a serious threat. Yet, the clever propaganda of world communism has often cloaked its designs, and used as its vehicle, popular national movements. The success of these machinations demonstrates the seriousness of the subtle campaigns—campaigns which are relentlessly continued from Moscow and which we must meet daily.

The Zanesville Signal, of Zanesville, Ohio, has ably reviewed on June 30, the war of ideologies which exists on this American Independence Day. I wish to commend these remarks to the Members of the House:

THE RED CHALLENGE

This Fourth of July finds American world leadership faced with a grave challenge.

Such portents as the outbreak of anti-American rioting in Formosa and the steady undercurrent of anti-Americanism in underdeveloped areas point up the development of a new phase in a fateful battle of ideas.

At stake in the battle is a vast well of good will and influence built up over nearly 2 centuries of American democracy and enhanced by the enormous impact of the United States abroad since World War II.

World communism recently threw out new challenges to the spread of the American idea. Principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence, to which the signers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, are being brushed aside by the Communists as meaningless.

Communism's chief spokesman, Nikita Khrushchev, has told the world Americans a generation or two hence will cast aside the belief that all men are entitled equally to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and will voluntarily adopt a Soviet-like system.

The Soviet military machine has crushed a Hungarian revolution sparked by a notion that governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The United States remains a beacon for the yearnings of people in less lucky lands. But in the maze of cold war politics—disappointment, disillusion, and bitterness have provided ammunition for a stepped up attack on the American idea.

That idea took shape 181 years ago, in a square, high-ceilinged room in Philadelphia's Old State House on Chestnut Street. There a group of patriots signed a document which set a world revolution in motion. The revolution is still going on.

The vast power of the American economy saved Europe from Nazism in World War II and from communism after the war. The same power spreads American influence around the globe. Hundreds of thousands of Americans stationed more or less permanently in foreign countries are doing business with Asians, Europeans and Africans, helping them with little publicized programs, bolstering their defenses.

With power and influence came responsibilities and problems. Deep dilemmas plague American policy.

Throughout the world the United States stands for liberty and independence, for self-determination and freedom. But the United States has allies in the cold war. Some of these allies have colonies.

North African upheavals pointed up the dilemma. There and in other areas after World War II, the United States was accused by leaders of newly spawned independence movements of dragging its feet with regard to self-determination.

The cold war had brought cold realities. To build defenses against steady Communist encroachments on free nations, it would be necessary to have the wholehearted support of allies. At the same time, to ward off Red encroachments on former colonial areas, it would be just as necessary to give those people some token of support for their aspirations.

Enemies of the American idea seized eagerly on the dilemma, intent on exploiting it to the full. They may not hope ever to match the extent of the American impact throughout the world. They probably do hope, by playing upon impatience, disappointment, disillusion and envy, to challenge the world leadership of the United States.

Abandoned Iceboxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, while a great deal has been done in the last year or so to eliminate the danger of children being suffocated in abandoned iceboxes, there is still much to be accomplished. An editorial which appeared in the June 24, 1957, issue of Trainman News warns of this ever present danger.

Just to show how ever present the danger is, only shortly after I prepared this editorial for insertion in the RECORD, I noticed the following news item in the Washington Post and Times Herald for June 25, 1957. The event described in the following article happened on the same day the editorial appeared in the Trainman News.

I ask unanimous consent to have both articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Trainman News of June 24, 1957]

THEY'RE DANGEROUS

That old discarded refrigerator or icebox in the basement or on the back porch is dangerous.

Children, for some reason or other, are fascinated by them and oftentimes in the course of their play will try to hide from a fellow playmate in the airtight cabinet.

When the door is closed, and the youngster is trapped, tragedy results.

With approximately 50 million refrigerators, iceboxes, freezers and other airtight cabinets being used today, and about one million of them discarded each year, the potential seriousness of the problem is realized.

National Safety Council has four suggestions as to how the discarded cabinets can be made harmless:

Remove the door. Even with a latch removed, many freezer cabinets have lids too heavy for children to lift if they're trapped inside.

Remove latch stops so doors can't lock. This can be done, usually, by removing four screws.

Drill holes in the cabinet and remove the rubber gasket around the door.

Better yet, destroy the box.

To heed the advice from the Council may pay big dividends to you and your loved ones.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 25, 1957]

TWO SMALL CHILDREN DIE IN REFRIGERATOR

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., June 24.—Two small children missing since yesterday afternoon were found crumpled in a refrigerator today dead apparently of suffocation.

The children, Gary Owens, 2, and his 5-year-old sister, Sue, were found on the floor of an icebox 21 by 29 inches, on the property of Phillip Finley, who lived about a block from the Owens' home. One of the boys, Robert Salas, said he had opened the old refrigerator out of curiosity and found the bodies.

Billy Williams Votes Himself Out of Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Minneapolis Star of June 28, 1957, by Wallace Mitchell, a staff writer, entitled "Billy Williams Votes Himself Out of Office."

Mr. Mitchell writes the story of Mr. Williams' retirement after 53 years of service under 14 governors.

Among his other duties, Mr. Williams was the official greeter in the Governor's office. During his more than half a century in office he has met every State official and legislator of the State of Minnesota—everyone that had business in the Governor's office, be they foreign dignitaries, national celebrities, the proud, the humble, the rich, the poor, the troubled in spirit. Well can the people of Minnesota join in commending him as a good and faithful servant.

The above-mentioned article follows:

AID TO 14 GOVERNORS RETIRES: BILLY WILLIAMS VOTES HIMSELF OUT OF OFFICE

(By Wallace Mitchell)

Billy Williams closes his desk in the Governor's office today for the last time.

He'll light a stogie as he leaves the capitol to walk into retirement from the job as Governor's executive aid that he's had since November 1904.

Thus he'll have kept clear his record of never having smoked in the capitol building, although he's an inveterate cigar smoker.

That was just one of the many marks of discretion that endeared Williams to the 14 governors he served.

Bull-shouldered and erect, he wears his 79 years lightly. His will be no rocking-chair retirement. Or was it forced on him by the administration. He simply declared that "after these long years of service I owe it to myself to retire."

Billy will do a lot of fishing, traveling, and visiting baseball parks. His interest in baseball has never waned from the days of his youth when he was one of the most sought-after first basemen in the Middle West.

He was a big, raw-boned kid. His 6-foot, 3 inches was handy at first base and his near 200 pounds powerful at the bat. He played a lot of semipro ball for a variety of teams.

With one of those that beat the St. Paul Saint, he won the eye of the renowned Miller Huggins.

Huggins reported his find to Ned Hanlon of the Baltimore Orioles. Hanlon scouted Williams, liked what he saw and offered him a contract. Only one-quarter Negro, Williams looked then as he does now—more like an Indian. Hanlon assumed that he was, and the color question didn't enter into the picture.

Williams had come to know John A. Johnson, who was an inveterate baseball fan. A mutual friend suggested to Billy that he talk it over with Johnson, then Governor-elect.

"Governor Johnson told me he thought I should forget about the Baltimore offer," Billy recalls. "He said there might be some prejudice.

"I was just a kid, I didn't know anything about prejudice.

"Johnson asked me why I didn't go to work for him. He said I could play baseball Saturday and Sunday and holidays. So I came here—to this desk—in November, 2 months before Johnson took office in January of 1905."

Billy's held down that desk ever since. For his first 40 years, he was the appointments secretary to the governor. Nobody saw a governor without being screened by Billy.

He continued to play baseball through the administrations of Johnson, Eberhart, Hammond, and some during the Burnquist tenure.

Billy over the years has been known to be a soft touch for anyone needing the loan of a few bucks.

A well-kept secret with Billy, a bachelor, has been his habit of writing little notes of encouragement to people whose misfortune has come to his attention through the newspapers or hearsay.

He didn't have to know them personally. He'd drop them a note and slip a dollar bill or two in the envelope.

Billy was at his best with the troops of children that visit the ornate governor's reception room. He'd lean back in his chair and talk to them about the room and how he wished he could take them in to see the governor.

"He's a busy man, you know," Billy would add. "But would you like an autographed picture?"

In some cases, Billy gave the autographed-picture routine an extra flourish. He'd take a picture from his desk drawer, walk into the governor's office, out the back door through the private secretary's office and into a back-room vault.

There he'd exchange the unautographed picture for one from a stack that carried the governor's signature.

"Here you are," he'd say, "but let me blot this, first."

Then, as though the ink still were wet, he ceremoniously put a blotter across the picture before handing it over to the youngster.

Another trick Billy used was to shoo guests from the Governor's private office when he thought they'd overstayed their visit.

He'd poke his head into the Governor's office.

"Excuse me, Governor, the judge is waiting," he'd say, and retire.

Billy figures he's greeted about a half million visitors to the Governor's office. He's always been proud, too, of his ability to remember faces and names. This has given him as large a statewide acquaintance as any person in Minnesota.

"I greatly appreciate the generous pension that was voted me by the 1955 session of the Minnesota legislature," he wrote Governor Freeman in his letter of resignation.

"I want to accept a few of the many invitations I have received to visit friends in many parts of the country. I haven't had time to do any extensive traveling for more than 50 years."

He added that he would miss his many friends at the capitol and the Governor's office.

Little question existed that Billy would be missed.

Speech by Hon. Joseph P. O'Hara Before Minnesota State Bar Association, Duluth, Minn., June 20, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

SPEECH BY HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA BEFORE MINNESOTA STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, DULUTH, MINN., JUNE 20, 1957

Mr. Chairman, this has been a privilege and a pleasant incident to me to be invited to speak to you on a subject broad enough to permit all the freedom and latitude that could be hoped for by a speaker. For many years I have had a deep interest in and affection for and have been a member of the Minnesota State Bar and American Bar Associations. My greatest concern is that what I may say to you will be of as much pleasure and interest to you as your gracious invitation has been to me.

In the summer of 1940 I was honored by being elected vice president of this association. In the fall of 1940 I was elected a Member of Congress from the Second Congressional District. It is now 16 years since I was on my way back to attend the State bar convention at Duluth, when I was taken ill on the train and spent the following month in the hospital in Chicago. One of my deep personal regrets is that I, therefore, did not have the opportunity of the honor of being president of your great association.

Permit me to say that nine consecutive terms in Congress have in no manner diminished my first love, that of the law, and I have earnestly tried so far as possible to keep advised not only of the decisions of our State supreme court, but of the success and activities of individual members of the bar and of our State bar association.

I used to think that I worked rather hard as a country lawyer, where the week usually consisted of no limit of hours and sometimes no limitation on days. I frankly confess to you that I did not know what hard work was until I went to Congress and found the demands on one's time exceeded the demands

on a fairly busy country lawyer. In candor I say to you that I know of no harder working group of people anywhere than the Members of Congress. The demands and responsibilities upon them exceed anything that I know of in any walk of life.

You will often hear it said, "Why do not Members of the House initiate action to have their terms lengthened from 2 years to 4 years?" Permit me to say that if any attempt is ever made to attack the wisdom of our forefathers of keeping the House of Representatives responsive to the people, I hope that you will oppose such action. The longer I stay in Congress, the more I am impressed with the fact that the House of Representatives should at all times be the most responsive to the wishes of our people, and those who seek that office should every 2 years face their constituents and their constituency for election.

The demands made upon a Member of Congress are fantastic in their scope and number, and a Congressman who is asked to pull strings to keep his constituents happy sometimes pulls a bucket of cold water down on his head.

Not so long ago one of my colleagues had an experience similar to one which I have had. It seems that a prospective mother-in-law wrote him, saying that the Navy would not let a young man off his ship, anchored in San Diego Harbor, to marry her daughter. It appeared the prospective bride and prospective mother-in-law were waiting at the wharf for him to land and complete the nuptials. The Congressman promptly contacted the captain of the ship to find out why he was so vilely blighting romance. It wasn't long until he had a reply from the captain saying he had contacted the sailor but was told the sailor had not asked for leave. Shortly thereafter the Congressman had a note from the sailor himself, asking the Congressman why he did not mind his own business.

On Tuesday of this week the House of Representatives completed debate upon a bill commonly known as the civil-rights bill, recommended by the Attorney General of the United States and substantially reported by the House Judiciary Committee as recommended by the Attorney General.

Under existing Federal statutes existing civil rights consist of two parts. There is a criminal law by which a person for violation of civil rights may be indicted and tried by jury, and then there is the civil damage suit in a separate statute. Under that the person aggrieved may bring his suit under civil action and the trial is a trial by jury.

The new civil rights bill provides that the same acts as are now subject to civil suit by the person aggrieved may be also brought by the Attorney General in equity for special equitable relief, and further provides that the Attorney General where he under the present law must bring a criminal action, can now invoke equity jurisdiction. On the face of it this seems a rather harmless change in procedure from criminal to equity, but the net result of it was that it eliminated the right of trial by jury under either the civil or criminal provisions of the Federal statutes, and of course in the event of a violation of the criminal statute the defendant would be subject to the same penalties of fine and imprisonment without benefit of a trial by jury.

The long debate upon the bill was filled with both high and low points.

While there were those from the South who violently disagreed with the need for such legislation, the strongest fight was on the amendment to reinstate the jury trial proviso, which cut across party lines, and Runnymede, the Magna Carta and the background of our Anglo-Saxon law versus the right to vote equation was an interesting one. As most of you know, the final result was that the right to trial by jury was denied—which caused many who wanted to vote for the bill to vote against it.

The bill is a perfect example of what can happen to a very fundamental issue under stress of emotionalism and political expediency. Interestingly enough, of the 435 Members of the House, 235 are qualified as lawyers, who are either practicing attorneys now or were practicing attorneys before entering Congress.

I hope the alleged title to my speech will be no presumptuous reflection upon the State of the Union message which the President delivers to the Congress, in which he conveys his views as to world affairs, national affairs, and his recommendations generally for legislation. Recognizing that you are as interested as other citizens in the general conditions of our country, I could perhaps make a very general summation of affairs, but all of which you are perhaps generally as familiar with as am I.

During the time I have been in Congress I have noted that from time to time we have passed legislation setting aside decisions of our Supreme Court. Also, from time to time I have noted that our United States Supreme Court has reversed itself in whole or in part.

1. The effects of *United States* v. *South Eastern Underwriters Association* (1944) 322 U. S. 533)) which held that insurance was subject to Federal control under the commerce clause were for all intents and purposes, abrogated by the McCarran Act of March 9, 1945 (59 Stat. 33), as amended by the act of July 25, 1947 (61 Stat. 448). This act recognizing that the regulation and taxation of insurance by the States are in the public interests subjected such business to State law and provided that after June 30, 1948, the Sherman Act, as amended; the Clayton Act; the Federal Trade Commission Act, as amended; and the Robinson-Patman Antidiscrimination Act; should be applicable to the insurance business to the extent that it was not regulated by State law.

2. The case of *Dobson* v. *Commissioner* ((1943) 320 U. S. 489) which established the principle that no appellate court could reverse a holding of the Tax Court except for a clear-cut error of law was set aside by the act of June 25, 1948 (62 Stat. 991), which provided that the circuit courts of appeals should have exclusive jurisdiction to review Tax Court decisions in the same manner as decisions of the district courts in civil actions tried without a jury.

3. The rule of decision of *Anderson* v. *Mt. Clemens Pottery Co.* ((1946) 328 U. S. 680) holding that an employee was entitled to compensation for the time spent in punching time clocks and walking through the plant to his place of work regardless of contrary custom or contract, was set aside by Congress in the enactment of the Portal-to-Portal Pay Act of May 14, 1947 (61 Stat. 84), on the basis that the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, had been interpreted judicially in disregard of long-established customs and practices and of contracts between employers and employees. The decision was further circumscribed by the act of October 26, 1949 (63 Stat. 910), by amending section 3 of the Fair Labor Standards Act to exclude any time spent in changing clothes or washing at the beginning or ending of each workday, which was excluded from measured working time during the week involved by the express terms of a contract or under the custom or practice of the trade under a bona fide collective bargaining agreement, applicable to the particular employers and employees.

4. The case of the *United States* v. *State of Wyoming and the Ohio Oil Co.* ((1947) 331 U. S. 440) a suit by the United States to establish title to lands leased by Wyoming to the oil company which lands both Wyoming and the oil company in good faith had believed to be vested in Wyoming as a part of the State school land grants, was decided adversely to the State. The decision in effect divesting Wyoming of these school lands after she had exercised and assumed jurisdiction for almost 60 years upon the premise that Congress by the enabling act had granted the lands, was overruled by the act of July 2, 1948 (62 Stat. 1233), which was a directive to the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to the State of Wyoming, subject to existing leases, for such land with a proviso that such land should be considered to have vested in the State of Wyoming on July 10, 1890.

5. The case of *Wong Yang Sung* v. *McGrath* ((1950) 339 U. S. 33), which held that deportation proceedings were controlled by the Administrative Procedure Act was overruled in effect by a rider to the Department of Justice appropriations bill dated September 27, 1950 (64 Stat. 1040, 1048), which provided that proceedings on the law relating to the exclusion or expulsion of aliens shall hereafter be without regard to the provision of the Administrative Procedure Act.

6. The case of *Schwegmann* v. *Calvert Distillers Corp.* ((1951) 341 U. S. 384) which held that the exemption from the Sherman Act provided by the Miller-Tydings Act (57 Stat. 643) applied only to parties to contracts or agreements under State Fair Trade Acts for minimum prices for the resale of trademarked commodities and did not apply to resales by nonsigners, was in effect overruled by the McGuire Act, July 14, 1952 (66 Stat. 631) which provided that willfully and knowingly advertising for sale trademarked commodities covered by a Fair Trade Agreement contract at a price less than prescribed by such contract shall constitute actionable unfair competition whether the person is a party to the contract or not.

7. The decisions in the three cases of *United States* v. *California* ((1947) 332 U. S. 19), *United States* v. *Louisiana* ((1950) 339 U. S. 699), and *United States* v. *Texas* ((1950) 339 U. S. 707), upset titles to lands that had up to that time been considered vested in the respective States. Congress considering the long period of time and good faith administration of these lands by the States and the equities involved confirmed and established the titles of the States to these lands beneath navigable waters by the act of May 22, 1953 (67 Stat. 29).

8. The decision in *Federal Power Commission* v. *East Ohio Gas. Co.* ((1950) 338 U. S. 464), held that there was no language in the Natural Gas Act of June 21, 1938 (52 Stat. 821) which indicated that Congress meant to create an exception for companies transporting interstate gas in only one State. To make the intention of granting such exemption crystal clear, Congress, by act of March 27, 1954 (68 Stat. 36), added a new subsection to section 1 of the Natural Gas Act, which established exemption from regulation, of persons engaged in transportation in interstate commerce of natural gas, who receive from other persons within the State natural gas which is all ultimately consumed within the State, if there is a State commission regulating the rate of service and facilities of such person.

9. The holding of *United States* v. *Wunderlich* ((1951) 342 U. S. 98), that the finality clause of the standard form of Government contract controlled in the absence of fraud or such gross mistakes as would necessarily imply bad faith was set aside by the act of May 11, 1954, (68 Stat. 81), by prohibiting the pleading of such a clause as a limitation on judicial review and by prohibiting Government contracts containing a provision that an administrative decision should be final on a question of law.

I call your attention to the fact that these 9 cases do not include the so-called Phillips

case, wherein the Supreme Court held that Congress in passing the 1938 Natural Gas Act had intended to include the independent producers and gatherers of natural gas, notwithstanding that Congress in the Act itself and in the debate thereon had specifically said, in as clear and as plain language as could be stated, that it was not the intention of Congress to include the independent producers and gatherers of natural gas.

Twice Congress had passed through the Congress bills correcting this decision which have been vetoed respectively by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

B. Since 1941 there have been approximately 30 cases which have overruled previous decisions in whole or part. Fifteen cases covering points of general interest are set forth below.

For a list from 1789 through 1956, of such cases see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 2, 1957, pages 2596–2598.

1. *United States* v. *Darby* ((1941) 312 U. S. 100), predicated upon the plenary power of Congress over interstate commerce, overruled the decision in *Hammer* v. *Dagenhart* ((1918) 247 U. S. 251), which had held that Congress was without power to exclude the products of child labor from interstate commerce on the basis that the congressional power to prohibit articles entering interstate commerce was limited to articles which in themselves possess some harmful or deleterious properties.

2. *Nye* v. *United States* ((1941) 313 U. S. 33), overruled the "reasonable tendency" rule of *Toledo Newspaper Co.* v. *United States* ((1918) 247 U. S. 402), and returned to the thesis that the words "so near thereto" contained in the power granted the Federal courts to punish for contempt set forth in Sec. 268 of the Judicial Code have a geographical connotation.

3. *California* v. *Thompson* ((1941) 313 U. S. 109), grounded on the theory that in the absence of pertinent congressional legislation there is constitutional power in the States to regulate commerce that does not affect the free flow of commerce, overruled *DiSanto* v. *Pennsylvania* ((1927) 273 U. S. 34), which had held that a Pennsylvania statute requiring other than railroad or steamship companies that engage in interstate sales of steamship tickets of orders of transportation to or from foreign countries to procure a license an infringement of the commerce clause.

4. *Olson* v. *Nebraska* ((1941) 313 U. S. 236), overruled *Ribnik* v. *McBride* ((1928) 277 U. S. 350), which had held that the business of an employment agent is not affected by a public interest so as to enable a State to fix the charges made for services rendered, on the ground that the standards of public interest in the Ribnik case were not controlling as to the constitutionality of the economic and social programs of the States.

5. *Alabama* v. *King & Boozer* ((1941) 314 U. S. 1), overruled *Panhandle Oil Co.* v. *Knox* ((1928) 277 U. S. 218), and *Graves* v. *Texas* ((1936 298 U. S. 393), in so far as these cases had held that a State tax imposed on a person doing business with the Government is an economic burden which falls upon the Federal Government and therefore may not constitutionally be imposed.

6. *State Tax Commissioner* v. *Aldrich* ((1942) 316 U. S. 174), overruled *First National Bank* v *Maine* ((1932) 284 U. S. 312), which had read into the 14th amendment a rule of immunity from taxation of intangibles by more than one State, by holding that the power of the tax is an incident of sovereignty and is coextensive with that to which it is incident.

7. *Williams* v. *North Carolina* ((1942) 317 U. S. 287), holding that the full faith and credit clause of the Federal Constitution requires extraterritorial recognition of the validity of a divorce decree obtained in accordance with the requirement of procedural due process in a State by a spouse who under the law of such State had acquired a bona fide domicile, overruled *Haddock* v. *Haddock* ((1906) 201 U. S. 562), which had held that the mere domicile in a State of one party to a marriage does not give the courts of that State jurisdiction to render a decree of divorce enforceable in all the other States by virtue of the full faith and credit clause of the Federal Constitution against a nonresident who did not appear and who was only constructively served with notice of the pendency of the action.

8. *Board of Education* v. *Barnette* ((1943) 319 U. S. 624), holding a West Virginia law requiring public school pupils to salute the flag of the United States while reciting the Pledge of Allegiance unconstitutional, overruled *Minerville School District* v. *Gobitis* ((1940) 310 U. S. 586), which had held that such a State law was constitutional.

9. *Mercoid Corp.* v. *Midcontinent Co.* ((1944) 320 U. S. 661), overruled *Leeds and Catlin Co.* v. *Victor Talking Machine Co.* ((No. 2) (1909) 213 U. S. 325), which had held that a person who had sold an unpatentable part of a combination patent for use in the assembled machine may be guilty of contributory infringement.

10. *Smith* v. *Allwright* ((1944) 321 U. S. 649), overruled *Grovey* v. *Townsend* ((1935) 295 U. S. 45), which had held that the denial of a vote in a primary was a mere refusal of membership to a person by a political party and therefore not unconstitutional.

11. *Girouard* v. *United States* ((1946) 328 U. S. 61), overruled *United States* v. *Schwimmer* ((1929) 279 U. S. 644), *United States* v. *McIntosh* ((1931) 283 U. S. 605), and *United States* v. *Bland* ((1931) 283 U. S. 630), which had established the general rule, that an alien who refuses to bear arms will not be admitted to citizenship.

12. *Commissioner* v. *Church* ((1949) 335 U. S. 632), overruled *May* v. *Heiner* ((1930) 281 U. S. 238), which had held that the corpus of a trust transfer need not be included in the settlor's estate, even though the settlor retained for himself a life income from the corpus.

13. *Oklahoma Tax Commission* v. *Texas Co.* ((1949) 336 U. S. 342), overruled *Choctaw and G. R. Co.* v. *Harrison* ((1914) 235 U. S. 292), *Indian Territorial Illuminating Oil Co.* v. *Oklahoma* ((1916) 240 U. S. 522), *Howard* v. *Gypsy Oil Co.* ((1918) 247 U. S. 503), *Large Oil* v. *Howard* ((1919) 248 U. S. 549), and *Oklahoma* v. *Barnsdall Corp.* ((1936) 296 U. S. 521), cases which had granted tax immunities or exemptions to persons doing business with the Government on the theory that taxation of such business was an interference with governmental functions.

14. *United States* v. *Rabinowitz* ((1950) 339 U. S. 56), holding that reasonableness under all the circumstances of a search is controlling of its legality, thus overruling *Trupiano* v. *United States* ((1948) 334 U. S. 669), which had held that the legality of a search depended upon the practicability of securing a warrant.

15. *Joseph Burstyn Inc.* v. *Wilson* ((1952) 343 U. S. 495), holding that motion pictures are within the aegis of the first amendment, overruled that part of the case of *Mutual Film Corp.* v. *Industrial Commission of Ohio* ((1915) 236 U. S. 230), which had held that the principles of free speech and press did not apply to motion pictures.

NOTE.—The newspapers of June 11, 1957, carried an account of the Supreme Court, upon rehearing of *Kinsella* v. *Krueger* ((1956) 351 U. S. 470) and *Reid* v. *Covert* ((1956) 351 U. S. 487), overruling its decisions that civilian military dependents with the Armed Forces outside the country might be held by military tribunals.

As one who has always entertained the deepest and highest respect for all of the courts of our land, I have always been most guarded and careful in my statements as to any court, including the United States Supreme Court.

I do not think that any supreme court—State or Federal—has any right to legislate in its decisions. Under our check and balance system of the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary, each has its responsibilities. Under the doctrine of stare decisis I do not see how you lawyers can now advise your clients, in matters of important decisions, as to what the decision of the United States Supreme Court is going to be upon any given proposition of law.

It is to be expected that under our form of government of check and balance that at times there will be a clash between the legislative and the executive, but in my lifetime I have never heard so much criticism between the legislative and the judiciary as in the last 20 years.

On Monday of this week a number of decisions were handed down by our United States Supreme Court. I hold in my hand newspaper reports of bitter criticism of several of these decisions and their interpretation of legislative act and the right of investigation by Congress.

The nine instances I have called to your attention, in which Congress has legislated to overcome Supreme Court decisions in the past 16 years, speak for themselves.

It is certainly my opinion that the Justices of our great United States Supreme Court should be judges learned in the law. If we are going to have a disposition on the part of those Justices from time to time to substitute their personal notions for the law, then we should provide that the Supreme Court should consist of nine sociologists in black robes to decide what is fitting in the way of legislation, as well as what should be their final notions as to the supreme law of the land.

I have also noted two additional disturbing decisions, the effects of which are so far reaching that I cannot envision what may follow.

The first of these was the so-called Pennsylvania sedition case wherein Steve Nelson, a Communist convicted under the sedition laws of the State of Pennsylvania was—so our United States Supreme Court held—illegally convicted because the Smith Sedition Act passed by Congress was alleged to have preempted the field of sedition and deprived the States of all jurisdiction in that field. This decision affected 32 States and nullified their laws on sedition.

The other case, also decided this spring by our Supreme Court, was the Girard College case. From your law student days, most of you here will remember the old Girard case as one of the early cases which went to the Supreme Court on the question of wills. As I recall, we usually had the ancient Girard case under "Wills and Trusts." The present Girard case—formerly known as *Pennsylvania* v. *Board of City Trusts of Philadelphia*—involved the terms of the will of Stephen Girard, who died in 1831, leaving about $6 million for the education of "poor white orphan boys." The city of Philadelphia set up a body known as the board of city trusts to administer the fund, which currently amounts to nearly $100 million. The assumption has been that the job of the board of city trusts was to administer the fund as Girard decreed in his will, just as any trust company would be required to do if it had been given charge of the Girard bequest.

The Girard will has in recent years been under fire by Negro politicians who have made the point that the founder of the college had no right to make a will which provided for racial discrimination contrary to the terms of the 14th amendment of which Stephen Girard never heard tell.

This argument got nowhere in Pennsylvania—at any rate in the State's law courts—for the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turned

it down on what most people would describe as the reasonable ground that the late Mr. Girard had a right to will away his money as he chose, and that you couldn't safely go around upsetting wills simply because they didn't suit pressure groups which turned up a hundred years after the wills were made.

That seemed to settle it to the satisfaction of all except a group of ambitious politicians.

This group took the Girard case into the Federal courts and it is painful to record that the mayor of Philadelphia and the Governor of Pennsylvania, far from resisting the efforts to upset a will of which they were supposed to be trustees, actually joined the movement to set it aside.

The real question, of course, was and is—"If a trustee happens to be an official of a city or State, when he acts as a trustee is he acting as the agent of the maker of the trust or is he acting as the agent of the State?" When one considers that no public funds were involved in the Girard College case, but the entire $100 million now in the fund are private funds, it seems that the answer to the question should be obvious.

A few miles down the pike from Girard in Pennsylvania is little Haverford College, a 125-year-old Quaker school. Haverford has been wrestling with the problem of whether or not to accept a grant of Defense Department funds for research in organic chemistry. However, Haverford discriminates. It discriminates on the basis of sex and, to a degree, religion.

So the question is, If Haverford accepts Federal money for research, does the Government—on the theory of public interest similar to the Girard case—have the power to stop any discrimination in favor of male Quaker students?

Such well-known private schools as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Notre Dame, California Institute of Technology, Case Institute of Cleveland, and others are further examples of schools outside the Deep South which practice some degree of discrimination based on either sex or religion, and which are apt to have formal relationships with Government from time to time.

Are their scholastic and administrative policies subject to the 14th amendment?

Then there is Tuskegee Institute, founded in 1880 by that great Negro leader, Booker T. Washington, for Negroes, not to mention Hampton Institute, founded in 1868 by the American Missionary Society for Negroes and Indians.

There are hundreds of privately endowed colleges, universities, charitable organizations, and foundations which include public officials on their board of trustees, ex officio; many are wholly or partially exempt from taxation. Would not a home for aged and infirm Baptists ipso facto discriminate against aged and infirm Episcopalians, and on religious grounds to boot?

Here is another facet to the Girard ruling: Could it be extended to private institutions or services other than educational ones? Could it, for example, be extended to cases where the Satte licenses an essential service such as those provided by doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, architects, engineers, etc.?

Maybe this sounds remote. However, in a California lawsuit decided a few weeks ago, a Negro brought a suit against a Los Angeles dentist who had refused to treat him because of his race. The plaintiff had argued that the dentist, as a publicly licensed practitioner of an essential service, was prohibited by constitutional principles from refusing to accept him as a patient.

While the California court ruled for the dentist, it did so at least partly in deference to the traditional reluctance of the courts to interfere with the doctor-patient relationship.

The point is that the question has been raised and has actually gone to court. The argument has been made. In future cases of this kind, the apparent public interest doctrine of the Girard College case might be advanced in an effort to strengthen that argument.

I have no doubt that Girard College will welcome Negro boys since it is required to accept them. But when courts undertake to decide issues which ought to be decided by the people and their elected representatives, confusion and conflict are inevitable.

If it is necessary to imperil the whole institution of inheritance in order to accommodate perhaps two dozen Negro boys in a privately endowed school, why not let the State legislature do it? In such circumstances the citizens would at least have an opportunity to learn what the issue was. If they decided to go ahead with the wrecking anyway, nobody could say, as a good many people are beginning to say, that the threat to our institutions is less from the Communists than from a Supreme Court so dedicated to sociology as to be startlingly indifferent to constitutional tradition.

Under our Constitution, our forefathers most wisely provided in substance that, except as specifically provided, the powers of the sovereignty of the States were reserved to the States.

The question which I would like to leave with you is, "How far, and what is the purpose, of some of these decisions which would destroy the sovereignty of our States and set up in place of our historical system of divided sovereignty a monolithic omnipotent central government?"

Hitler said that his first 2 years in office were consumed in breaking down the power of the separate German States so that Germany could be governed effectively from Berlin to establish national socialism.

There is much justifiable concern that the original American constitutional system has been impaired in three ways:

1. By Executive usurpation of power.
2. By congressional abdictation of power.
3. By decisions of the Supreme Court which alter the meaning of the Constitution.

Day before yesterday I was visiting with a former president of the American Bar Association. Of course I was proud to advise him that I was going to speak to the lawyers of Minnesota today. When I gave him a brief outline of what I was going to talk about, he said, "I hope you will tell the lawyers of Minnesota of my own concern over the trend of the decisions of our United States Supreme Court."

He said further, "I hope you will tell the lawyers of Minnesota that I am fearful of the weakness of lawyers in not standing up for what are important principles, not only of our Constitution but the matter of appointment of judges."

For example, he said, "I will say to a member of the bar 'are you in favor of so-and-so for a Federal judgeship?' The lawyers will say, 'Heavens no.' Then I will say, 'Well, come along with me and oppose the appointment.' The lawyer will usually say, 'Oh, I can't do that, I may have a case before him.' And the man gets the appointment."

It is trite to say that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

The right is one which rests with every citizen—it is not just the responsibility of Congress or the executive or the judiciary. It is as inherent in the individual and the collective membership of this bar association. If you are vacillating, indifferent, or without courage, then the greatest Republic in the history of the world will fall, not from its enemies without but from its enemies within.

Resolution on Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following resolution on Hungary which was passed on June 28, 1957, at the 43d meeting of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, at which I was privileged to be a speaker:

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS

(Resolution on Hungary introduced at the 43d meeting of the plenary assembly on Friday, June 28, 1957)

Noting that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an original member of the United Nations, has assumed the solemn obligation to refrain in her "international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (Charter of the United Nations, art. 2, point 4);

Pointing to the wartime and postwar agreements, such as the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration on Liberated Europe, etc., concluded by the western great powers with the Soviet Union, by which Hungary, among other states, was promised undisturbed exercise of her inalienable right to choose by free and unfettered elections a government under which it wanted to live;

Recalling that on November 1, 1956, the Imre Nagy government: (1) Repudiated the Warsaw Treaty, no clause of which provided for or justified "intervention by armed forces of the Soviet Union to dictate political developments within any signatories' frontiers" (report of the U. N. Special Committee); and (2) "declared Hungary's neutrality, turned to the United Nations, and requested the help of the four great powers in defending the country's neutrality" (Mr. Imre Nagy's letter to the U. N.);

Recalling that even after this declaration the U. S. S. R. continued to recognize officially the same Nagy government as a legal government of Hungary, particularly by offering to negotiate with it on the details of withdrawal of Soviet forces;

Stressing that the U. N. Special Committee on Hungary also concluded that "consideration of the Hungarian question by the United Nations was legally proper and moreover it was requested by a legal government of Hungary";

Pointing to the finding of the United Nations' Special Committee that no written text or any other proof could be procured which would confirm that the Soviet armed forces were invited to intervene in Hungary;

Remembering the conclusion of the U. N. Special Committee's Report that the Hungarian freedom fight "was led from start to finish by students, workers, soldiers, and intellectuals, many of whom were Communists or former Communists" and that it was a general and "spontaneous national uprising" backed by the entire Hungarian nation without having been planned and fomented in advance or from abroad;

Quoting the finding of the U. N. Special Committee's report according to which the alleged "counterrevolution consisted in the setting up by Soviet armed forces of Mr. Kadar and his colleagues in opposition to a

government which enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people of Hungary" and that "there has been no evidence of popular support for Mr. Kadar's government";

Stating that for all these reasons the U. S. S. R. is guilty of aggression against the independence of Hungary, as well as of massacre, deportation, mass arrests and various other crimes against the Hungarian nation and that, therefore, since October 25, 1956, there exists an undeclared state of war between the U. S. S. R. and the Hungarian nation, which has been brought about by the Soviet Union's breach of peace within the meaning of the United Nation's Charter;

Considering that the Soviets have not only failed to comply with the United Nations' resolutions but have imposed a new regime of terror, harsher, more cruel and more unabashed than ever before on the Hungarian nation;

Considering that the agreement on the "temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary" of May 27, 1957, has been concluded in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of these armed forces from Hungary, with the Kadar regime which is the local organ of Soviet colonial administration and which rules against the will of the Hungarian nation as expressed by the freedom fight which was tantamount to a plebiscite;

Requests: All governments of the free world to instruct their delegations to the United Nations to ask for the most urgent reconvening of the 11th General Assembly in order to (1) endorse the report and the conclusions of the Special Committee; (2) to decide upon appropriate and effective collective measures against the U. S. S. R. in order to enforce the previous resolutions of the General Assembly, first of all those concerning immediate withdrawal of Soviet armed forces, the ending of persecutions and deportations, and the conduct of free and unfettered elections under international control; (3) to expel the delegates of the spurious Kadar regime from the United Nations.

The Farm Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM STEED
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I am including with these remarks an article recently published in the Tulsa (Okla.) Daily World, which quotes a recent speech made at Stillwater, Okla., by Dr. Leonard Miller, on the subject of the supply-demand dilemma which faces American agriculture. I feel these remarks from one of the Nation's leading experts will be helpful to all those who are presently concerned with the Nation's agricultural problems. It occurs to me that these remarks can assist those who desire to have a fuller grasp of some of the vital fundamentals facing Congress and I hope prove helpful in future consideration of legislation in this important field.

The article follows:

STILLWATER, June 29.—Adjusting the supply of agricultural products to demand is one of the major problems facing agriculture today, Dr. Leonard Miller, head of the Oklahoma State University agricultural economics department, believes and he said the situation will be important for many years to come.

Research and increased efficiency in agriculture are passed on to the housewife in the form of lower prices simply because agriculture cannot regulate the supply, he said. This is why Government programs have been developed—to give a reasonable return for labor and investment in agriculture.

Dr. Miller, speaking to a farm business training conference group at Oklahoma State University, Saturday, pointed out the situation is aggravated by the fact that each individual producer knows his small amount of production, if discontinued entirely, would not affect the overall production or advance the price of his product.

"Conversely, he knows that even if he doubled production it would not add enough to the supply to reduce the price he receives. In this way the big stream gets flooded," Miller said.

LABOR FORCE DECREASES

A look at the overall agricultural picture reveals the farm labor force has decreased about 50 percent during the past 15 years, but total farm production has increased about 50 percent.

An increase of 100 percent in efficiency of production is recorded, Dr. Miller reported, pointing out that one farmworker provides food for about 20 persons today compared to 11 persons 15 years ago.

On the upward scale in Oklahoma, the income from meat animals has increased from 16 percent to 43 percent over a 20-year period from about 1930. During this time beef-battle numbers have doubled in Oklahoma and are presently estimated at 2.5 million head. The size of farms has doubled to the present average size of 300 acres, and 100,000 tractors have replaced about 850,000 horses and mules.

The contribution of cotton to total agricultural income has dropped from 43 percent to 11 percent during this same era. Total corn and cotton acreage has declined from 20 percent of the total to 5 percent, and hog numbers have decreased about 50 percent to the present estimated 400,000 head. A marked decline in farm population is reported, dropping from 48 percent to 26 percent of the State's total.

DEMAND MORE SERVICES

Consumers are demanding more services for their food products, Miller points out, and marketing costs continue to rise so that farmers' share of the food dollar has declined from well over 50 percent in 1945 to 40 percent at the present. Last year the retail cost of food was $47.5 billion while payments to farmers were $18.5 billion.

The extreme variation in price and income is a major problem in agriculture which cannot be overlooked, he explains. Had a worker's annual salary followed the same trend as hog prices during the past 3 years, it would have started at $4,000 in 1954, dropped to $1,760 in 1955, and in May this year would have been $2,760.

At the same time, the prices of items farmers and workers buy remained steady or have increased.

Supreme Court Going Too Far?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Rock Hill (S. C.) Herald of June 26, 1957:

SUPREME COURT GOING TOO FAR?

A feeling seems to be growing that the Supreme Court of the United States is overstepping its bounds.

What are those bounds? Article 3 of the United States Constitution says "The judicial power (of the Supreme Court) shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority."

The Supreme Court, in other words, has the power to interpret the Constitution and laws of the United States and treaties made under the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Constitution leaves the lawmaking power to Congress. Article 1 of the Constitution says "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States."

Yet one veteran Washington reporter wrote recently that the Supreme Court has become the lawmaking body in the field of civil rights and civil liberties. He said this is because Congress has passed almost no civil-rights legislation in the 20th century.

Observers say the Supreme Court has read more into the laws, on occasion, than Congress wrote into them. They cite as a recent example the Court's antitrust decision ordering Du Pont to sell its General Motors stock. Bigness alone, not actually monopoly, decided the issue, they say.

Other observers say flatly the Court has taken to writing laws itself. As example, they point to the Phillips case. In this the Court ruled that natural-gas producers are subject to Federal Power Commission regulation, although Congress had exempted them by law.

Some close observers are saying the "Warren Court" seems to look upon the Constitution as an out-of-date instrument which it should modernize. Chief Justice Warren has been quoted as saying that constitutional concepts are 50 years behind the times.

Whether this is true or not, the Supreme Court has the clear responsibility to interpret the laws and the Constitution only as they are written—not as the Court would like them to be written.

In the United States we believe in government by laws, not by men.

Speaking for the Silenced, Tortured, and Enslaved Hungarian Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following declaration regarding the Hungarian problem which has been signed by several leading Hungarian associations in this country:

SPEAKING FOR THE SILENCED, TORTURED, AND ENSLAVED HUNGARIAN NATION

Recalling that on February 10, 1947, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with the Allied and Associated Powers, "agreed to declare the cessation of the state of war" with Hungary and for this purpose concluded a treaty of peace which was "to form the basis of friendly relations between them," (see preamble of the Hungarian Peace Treaty);

Noting that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an original member of the United

Nations, has assumed the solemn obligation to refrain in her "international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (Charter of the United Nations, art. 2, point 4.);

Noting further that it is an expressed purpose of the United Nations "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" (Charter of the U. N., art. 1, point 2), and for these ends "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors," (preamble of the U. N. Charter);

Pointing finally to the wartime and postwartime agreements concluded by two Western great powers with the Soviet Union by which Hungary, among other states, was promised undisturbed exercise of her inalienable right to choose by free and unfettered elections a government under which she wanted to live; we herewith solemnly declare:

1. The Soviet Union is guilty of aggression against the independence of Hungary and of armed intervention in her internal affairs, as well as of massacre, hanging, deportation, mass arrest and various other crimes and atrocities committed against the Hungarian civilian population.

2. Since October 25, 1956, there exists a state of war between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Nation brought about by the Soviet Union's breach of peace within the meaning of article 39 of the United Nations Charter.

3. Peaceful attempts at halting the annihilation of the Hungarian Nation by the Soviets having proved futile, we herewith accept the Soviet challenge. We pledge ourselves to carry on all the duties and claim for Hungary all the rights deriving from the state of war existing between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Nation. We will continue our fight until the criminal Soviet invaders have been ousted from the soil of Hungary.

We appeal to all free nations and to decent people all over the world to join in this struggle imposed on us by the Soviets for the restoration of peace and decency. Help us to save from extinction the brave Hungarian people who are sacrificing themselves for our common ideals.

Concerning the Hungarian tragedy, the following relevant facts should be noted:

(a) The United States Mission to the United Nations released to the press on May 2, 1957, a letter by Ambassador Lodge to Mr. Hammarskjold transmitting a United States report to the Special United Nations Committee on the problem of Hungary and giving United States observations on developments in Hungary from October 23, 1956, to February 20, 1957. This report qualified the Soviet intervention in Hungary as an outright military attack opposed by the Hungarian people (point 7). The methods used by the Soviet forces to crush the independence of Hungary were those used in war. They included direct military action, with attendant slaughter and physical destruction, mass arrests, deportations of Hungarian citizens to the U. S. S. R. and elaborate efforts to deceive the Hungarians and the world by fraudulent negotiations. * * * This military action involved conflict between the armed forces of one nation—in overwhelming superiority * * * and the people of another nation, people poorly armed and organized, but effectively united against the enemy (point 3). The Soviet intervention was imperialist by definition for a national opposition movement was crushed by foreign armed forces and a puppet government installed which represented the interests of the alien occupying power rather than those of the people (point 8). The present regime was installed by and continues to exist and to function solely because of the continued presence of Soviet armed forces (point 9). In conclusion the report remarks that the methods that Soviet communism used to suppress Hungarian independence were monstrous in the extreme.

The United States' report thus leaves no doubt that the Soviet Union is guilty of armed aggression aginst Hungary, a comparatively small neighbor indeed. The Soviets committed, and are committing, acts of war in order to prevent the Hungarian people from establishing a government of their own choosing and in order to keep the Hungarian people in bondage.

(b) According to the Soviet Union's own legal interpretation, the Soviet armed intervention in Hungary has to be condemned in the same way as has been done by the United States Government. In 1953, the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations its "definition of aggression," article 1 of which stipulates that the invasion by forces of another State "without the permission of the government of the latter," is aggression. The Soviet definition even goes further for it provides in article 6 that no "revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes" and no desire "to maintain in a state any political, economic, or social system" can be used as justification for a foreign military intervention.

(c) The Warsaw Pact of May 14, 1955, did not authorize Soviet military intervention in Hungary either, and cannot exonerate the Soviets. Article 4 of the Warsaw Pact allows the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary, but only "by agreement among the states in accordance with the requirements of their mutual defense." The same pact provides that the term "mutual defense" will only apply to an armed attack by another state. There is no loophole left in the Warsaw Pact which could justify or excuse the Soviet aggression in Hungary.

(d) Since October 25, 1956, a state of war exists between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Hungary. From that day on, Soviet aggression cannot be explained away any more with a request for aid by the previous Hegedus-Gerö government. On October 24, Imre Nagy became the new Premier of Hungary and on October 25 he expressly asked for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. On the same day and for that purpose the Soviet government actually entered into negotiations with Imre Nagy's government. It is also a fact that on October 28 the Soviets agreed to withdraw their troops from Budapest, latest by October 31.

The International Commission of Jurists issued on November 16, 1956, at its headquarters at the Hague a paper on "Hungary and the Soviet Definition of Aggression." The paper states (point 3/f) "that the Soviet government committed and continues to commit clear acts of aggression against the Hungarian government, according to its own definition of aggression." In point 4, the paper adds that "in the illegal detention of the Hungarian representatives sent to negotiate with the Soviet military authorities on November 3, in the forcible overthrow of the Nagy government and in the setting up of the Kadar regime, the Soviet government is self-condemned of 'indirect aggression.'" The final conclusion (point 5) is the following: "The Soviet intervention in Hungary therefore is 'direct' and 'indirect' aggression according to its own definition."

(e) The official record of the United Nations shows that on November 1, and again on November 2, the United Nations received communications from Imre Nagy, at that time Prime Minister of Hungary, which left no doubt concerning the Government's firm stand against the presence of the Red army in Hungary. The first communication stated that the Hungarian Government on that day had demanded of the Soviet Ambassador in Budapest the withdrawal of the Red army from Hungary; that the neutrality of Hungary has been declared; and that the Government asked the United Nations for help in maintaining Hungary's neutrality. The second communication, dated on November 2, informed the United Nations that large new Soviet military units were crossing the border and marching toward Budapest. On November 3, Zoltan Tildy, the newly appointed Minister of State, correctly informed the foreign correspondents in Budapest that the Imre Nagy "Government declared on its very first day that it cancelled the request of the preceding government and asked for the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops then involved in our (Hungarian) internal affairs." This request removed all legal and political foundations for the interference of Soviet troops. Without the slightest provocation on the part of the Hungarian troops which had orders not to shoot at the Russians, next morning (November 4) at 4.20 a. m. Premier Imre Nagy pathetically announced over the radio Free Kossuth: "Attention, today at daybreak Soviet troops attacked our capital with the obvious intention of overthrowing the legal democratic Hungarian Government. Our troops are in combat. The Government is at its post. I notify the people of our country and the entire world of this fact." With tanks, paratroops, airplanes, and incendiary bombs the Soviets put into effect the wholesale massacre of a peaceful people.

(f) Although refraining from effective action which could have prevented, or, at least, ended the Soviet war waged against Hungary, the United Nations verbal condemnation of the Soviets expressed in 11 resolutions between November 4, 1956 and January 10, 1957, qualified "the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary" as "armed attack on the people of Hungary" and as "armed intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary" (Resolution 1004, ES–II). Another United Nations resolution (1005, ES–II) states that "the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the peace treaty between Hungary and the allied and associated powers." Resolution 1006, ES–II "calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standard and principles of international law, justice and morality." Resolution A/Res/407 referring to received information "that the Soviet army of occupation in Hungary is forcibly deporting Hungarian men, women, and children from their homes to places outside Hungary," recalls "the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principle embodied in article 2, paragraph 4, the obligations assumed by all member states under article 55 and 56 of the Charter, the principles of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, in particular article II (c) and (e), to which Hungary and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are parties, and the treaty of peace with Hungary, in particular the provision of article 2."

Resolution A/Res/413 notes "with deep concern that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has failed to comply with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions calling upon it to desist from its intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, to cease its deportations of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those it has already deported, to withdraw its armed forces from Hungary and to cease its repression of the Hungarian people." Resolution A/Res/424 "1. declares that, by using its armed force against the Hungarian people, the Govern-

ment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is violating the political independence of Hungary."

The United Nations in its 11 resolutions has branded the Soviet Union's intervention in Hungary as a breach of the peace and an act of aggression. There exists, in the sense of the United Nations resolutions, an undeclared state of war between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian nation.

Joseph Kövágó, Alexander Kiss, National Representation of Free Hungary; Dániel D. Szántay, National President, Béla Báchkay, Secretary General, American Hungarian Federation; Msgr. Béla Varga, President, Hungarian National Council; Pétro Sutö, President, Stephen L. Segedy, Secretary, American Life Insurance Association; Anthony Szápáry, President, Frank Chase, Vice President, Hungarian National Sports Federation; George E. K. Borshy, President, Joseph Kecskemethy, Secretary, the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America; Arch Dean Zoltán Béky, Free Magyar Reformed Church in America; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John S. Sabo, President, Rev. Julius A. Kiss, Executive Vice President, Hungarian Catholic League of America; Rev. Stephen M. Bosnórményi Bessemer, President, Magyar Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; Dr. Anthony Czermann, President, Paul L. Csanády, Vice President, Hungarian Rural Association; Rev. Alexander St.-Ivany, S. T. M., D. D., President, American Hungarian Library and Historical Society; Dr. Vince Nagy, President, Dr. László Varga, Secretary General, Federation of Free Hungarian Jurists in America; Dr. László Acsay, Elmer Kovács Kézdi, the American Hungarian Fine Arts Association; Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, Rev. Joseph A. Bátori, S. P., Ph. D., the Hungarian Piarist Alumni Association.

Statement of Frank Goldman Re H. R. 7825

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is the testimony of Mr. Frank Goldman, honorary president of B'nai B'rith, before the House District Committee, Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs, on July 2, 1957, in support of my bill, H. R. 7825, to grant exemption from District of Columbia real estate taxes to the new building being erected by B'nai B'rith:

STATEMENT OF FRANK GOLDMAN, HONORARY PRESIDENT OF B'NAI B'RITH BEFORE THE HOUSE DISTRICT SUBCOMMITTEE ON FISCAL AFFAIRS, JULY 2, 1957

My name is Frank Goldman. I am honorary president of B'nai B'rith. I was privileged to serve as president of B'nai B'rith from 1947 to 1953.

I have come here from my home in Lowell, Mass., to speak on behalf of B'nai B'rith in support of H. R. 7825, introduced by Congressman ABRAHAM J. MULTER, the bill to exempt the new B'nai B'rith building from District of Columbia real estate taxes. I want first to express my appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, and the other members of your subcommittee, for arranging this expeditious hearing.

I should say at the outset that this is an unusual appearance for a B'nai B'rith representative. Our customary posture is that of the giver rather than receiver. For 114 years the history of B'nai B'rith has been a record of service to the Jewish people, the American Nation and, indeed, all humanity. We have asked nothing for ourselves that we did not insist was the right of all men.

B'nai B'rith (Hebrew for Sons of the Covenant) was founded on October 13, 1843, and is America's oldest and largest Jewish organization. Indeed, it is one of America's oldest national organizations of any kind—37 years older than the Salvation Army, 38 years older than the Red Cross, 47 years older than the DAR, 63 years older than the YWCA.

Organized originally as a fraternal organization, it has for many years now been solely a religious, educational, and service organization. It has no membership insurance, death benefits, or secret rituals. The sole reward of membership in this country is the privilege of serving the Jewish faith and the American Nation.

By its constitution, B'nai B'rith undertook the mission of uniting persons of the Jewish faith in the work of promoting their highest interests and those of humanity. In deed, as well as in word, this has always meant three basic programs: (a) Religious, to foster Judaism; (b) educational, to strengthen religious liberty and counteract prejudice and discrimination; (c) charitable, a wide variety of charities, not limited to Jewish beneficiaries, but available to the needy on a nonsectarian basis.

After 114 years of existence, B'nai B'rith is about to move its national headquarters into its own building. Erected at a cost of $1,290,000, the building stands on the southeast corner of Rhode Island Avenue and 17th Street NW. It will contain an outstanding library, museum, and exhibit hall of the history of Jews and Judaism in the United States (e. g., the George Washington letter to the Newport Synagogue), open daily to the people of the District and the Nation without admission charge. It will offer educational facilities in the field of American Jewish history not available elsewhere in the District. Visits to the building will surely become part of the educational program of many students in the District, and the building will be an attraction for tourists.

B'nai B'rith Henry Monsky Foundation (named after Henry Monsky of Omaha, president of B'nai B'rith from 1938 to 1947), a philanthropic agency of B'nai B'rith is the owner of record. The foundation owns no other real property in the District. The building will, of course, not be used for income-producing purposes.

Throughout the country buildings such as the B'nai B'rith building enjoy exemption from local real estate taxes. The spirit and intent of congressional precedents indicate that B'nai B'rith, as a nonprofit religious, charitable, and educational organization, should have such exemption, too. In the District of Columbia, however, a problem arises as a result of the wording of the general exemption statute, which provides property tax exemption for churches, schools, libraries, art galleries and buildings belonging to charitable institutions which are used for public charity principally in the District of Columbia. The B'nai B'rith building, as will be seen later, will be used to serve a composite of all these purposes. B'nai B'rith charities, however, are not confined to the District, and no one, I am sure, would suggest or contend that its works of charity should be so limited.

B'nai B'rith's character as a nonprofit religious, charitable, and educational organization is officially acknowledged by the Federal Internal Revenue Service. B'nai B'rith enjoys tax-exempt status for all of its programs. Indeed, virtually all of B'nai B'rith programs enjoy the additional status of being tax-deductible under section 501, (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code as religious, charitable, or educational—96 percent of its funds are spent nationally for such programs. The other 4 percent of national expenditures—also tax-exempt—go for auxiliary administrative operation and other educational and charitable programs, such as adult Jewish education and disaster relief.

The B'nai B'rith programs which are carried on in the District of Columbia and elsewhere comprise, as I have said, three categories—religious, educational, and charitable:

(a) Religious: B'nai B'rith conducts Hillel Foundations on more than 200 college campuses to provide for the religious life and education of Jewish students. In staffing these centers, B'nai B'rith became the largest employer of rabbis in the world. B'nai B'rith also sponsors chairs of Judaic studies at a number of universities. The B'nai B'rith Youth Organization works with Jewish boys and girls of high school age with the objective of promoting understanding of and loyalty to Jewish religious values. The same objective is served by the department of adult Jewish education, headed by ordained rabbis, which conducts seminars and institutes of Judaism around the country as part of B'nai B'rith's year-round program of adult education.

(b) Educational: In addition to direct religious education, B'nai B'rith, through its Anti-Defamation League, conducts extensive educational programs designed to promote respect for religious liberty and to counteract prejudice and discrimination. The League has won commendations from Presidents Eisenhower and Truman. Its educational materials—books, films, pamphlets—are used in leading universities and in thousands of schools and churches in all sections of the country.

The League's programs to counteract Communist propaganda and maneuvers has won the commendation of the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee. Thousands upon thousands of its two anti-Communist pamphlets exposing Communist aims and programs have been distributed, and these pamphlets are used as texts in history and civics courses.

A program of vocational guidance makes its research findings available not only to Jewish youth, but to educators and government agencies generally. An active program in Americanism is carried on by B'nai B'rith with a view to helping immigrants obtain a better understanding of the American way of life, so that they may ultimately become better citizens.

(c) Charitable: Even before the great Red Cross came onto the American scene, B'nai B'rith was engaged on a program of aid—on a non-sectarian basis—to the victims of natural disasters. For this purpose, B'nai B'rith maintains a special emergency relief fund to which every male member of B'nai B'rith contributes. To mention only a few early instances of such aid: in 1868 B'nai B'rith raised funds for flood victims in Baltimore; in 1871 it sent $50,000 to the victims of the Chicago fire; and in 1900 $26,000 was raised for the victims of the Galveston flood. To mention a few contemporary instances: in 1953 emergency aid was extended to the victims of tornadoes in Worcester, Mass.; Waco, Tex.; and Flint, Mich., and only last week funds were made available for tornado relief in Fargo, N. Dak.

A significant part of B'nai B'rith's tradition of community service is the establishment and support of orphanages, homes for the aged, and hospitals. An orphans home was founded in New Orleans in 1855; another in Atlanta, Ga., in 1889; a third in San Francisco in 1872. In 1868, an orphans home

was opened in Cleveland—today it is a center for emotionally disturbed children. In 1927, a home for the aged was founded in Memphis.

B'nai B'rith founded and still contributes to the support of a number of nationally famous nonsectarian hospitals; the National Jewish Hospital for Tuberculosis in Denver (1889) with its world-famous motto: "None may enter who can pay; none may pay who enter;" the Leo N. Levi Memorial Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark. (1914) for arthritis.

One of B'nai B'rith's principal activities is its around-the-calendar program of aid to veterans and men and women in our Armed Forces. Thousands of B'nai B'rith men and women each year make personal visits to veterans' hospitals and military installations.

In addition, as part of the B'nai B'rith program, B'nai B'rith men and women make countless gifts of playing cards, books, and cigarettes to servicemen and hospitalized veterans. B'nai B'rith also has furnished television sets, bookmobiles, and musical instruments to hospitals and military installations for the recreational enjoyment of our veterans and servicemen. It has contributed ambulances, money, and clothing to the Red Cross, and has taken a leading role in providing blood donors for the Red Cross blood bank.

Its extensive program of war service earned for B'nai B'rith presidential citations and the first awards given by the Army and Navy to any civilian organization in World War II. The Army award was presented to B'nai B'rith by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chief of Staff. In making the award, General Eisenhower spoke of the "unselfish service of the men and women of B'nai B'rith," adding, "no one will ever know how much these services did in keeping high the morale of the Armed Forces during the terrible days of this war."

In 1946, President Truman cited B'nai B'rith in recognition of its war-service record, issuing the following statement: "The fine, patriotic service of B'nai B'rith during the war years has earned a nation's gratitude. Inspiring though this record is, what impresses me most about it is the amazing amount of national service that can be performed by 265,000 men and women when they set their hearts and hands to the work. It is gratifying to know that B'nai B'rith realizes that the job is not yet completed. Its postwar service program on behalf of veterans and men still in the Armed Forces is an encouraging sign that we may count upon B'nai B'rith's service in peace as we counted upon it with such good results during war."

We, of course, take pride in these commendations, but we treasure no less the many letters of appreciation received from veterans and servicemen of other faiths. To quote from a typical letter: From a veteran of Syrian extraction: "During my 3 years' stay in St. Albans Naval Hospital, it seemed as if I was always running into B'nai B'rith in one way or another. Most of the television sets located on the fantail of each ward were donated by B'nai B'rith, and their value in pleasurable hours spent is inestimable. * * * Lying in bed day after day, week after week, and in turn months and years, is a very trying ordeal to say the least. * * * The visits of B'nai B'rith gave something to look forward to."

It is obviously impossible to compress into a few minutes the history of 114 years. But I do hope, Mr. Chairman, that I have been able this afternoon to give you the essence of B'nai B'rith's service to the people of the Jewish faith, to our country, and to humanity. I do hope, too, that the committee will give early and favorable consideration to the bill.

Resolution by Association of Hungarian Students in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following two resolutions recently passed at the Congress of the Association of Hungarian Students in the United States:

MEMORANDUM

After the revolution in Hungary 18,000 Hungarians took refuge in Yugoslavia to escape the retributions of Bolshevik terror. This number includes 1,600 high school and 500 university and college students. After the hermetic closing of the Austrian border they found no other way to escape and they hoped to find guaranties for their personal freedom through the humanitarian aid of the Yugoslavs. Instead of freedom they found themselves in heavily guarded camps. This following letter will illustrate their present situation and the violation of all civil rights by the Government of Yugoslavia:

"Thanks God, I have only spent 6 days in the death camp of Gerovo. Originally this was a ghetto for Jews with gas chambers and crematorias, later it became a prison for political prisoners. I am one of the few Hungarian refugees who has not been worked over by the clubs of the guard. * * * I am fortunate to be on a transport to leave shortly for Canada. * * * Finally after 5 months a few of us have the freedom of limited movement. It is hard to explain the majestic feeling to have left the prison behind with its fivefold fences. We are permitted to see the doctor in Gerovo but even then we may not use the road and have to walk through the mud. * * * I am not complaining. All I am asking of you is to bring these to the attention of everybody you meet to let them know how mercilessly the Hungarians are being treated. We have written in vain to the Refugee Committee of the United Nations and the International Red Cross. There has been no response. Very probably our letters have not been forwarded, therefore they may not even know the conditions in the refugee camps. I beg you to be spokesman for 15,000 refugees still in Yugoslavia for their situation is very grave. Those who have returned to Hungary were bitter and convinced that the Kadar regime cannot be worse than the conditions here. I think this very fact speaks for itself. Not to mention the corrupt administration of the distribution of the gifts by the Red Cross. Every camp has stores of clothing by wagons. Yet people are walking around in underwear for they have no replacement for their torn clothing. The newly born babies are covered in rags collected from the tattered dresses of merciful people. In the camp of Marusevec we had no drinking water for days. The adult could easier stand it but it was hard on the mother. They could not give a drop to drink to their babies or wash the diapers. * * * The daily cleaning is called a luxury and the bathing a capitalistic habit. In Lovran we organized a hunger strike because the food was inedible. The camp director in answer had shut off the water for 3 days and he recommended the ocean to the mothers for bathing their babies (in February). I can hardly wait to get out of here to be able to do something for those unfortunates left behind."—P. K.

We wish to add nothing to this letter of an eyewitness. The methods are not unknown to us. We have known them in the Hungarian prisons.

The assertion that the refugees went to Yugoslavia because they felt sympathetic toward its regime is not true. They fought as hard as anyone else especially for the defense of the uranium mines on the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. Their flow into Yugoslavia corresponded with the tightening Soviet-Hungarian controls over the frontier between Hungary and Austria. See page 21 of the Report of the Special Study Mission to Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

To support the facts and truthfulness of the above letter we would like to point out the following:

(a) Switzerland was not permitted to send medicine to the Hungarian camps in Yugoslavia.

(b) The medicine gift made by Denmark had to be smuggled in.

(c) A well-known Belgian diplomat has recently completed a visit in the Yugoslav camps. After World War II he has investigated conditions in Nazi concentration camps.

"What I have seen in Yugoslav camps, I shall never forget until I die," was his final conclusion.

(d) Photos taken in the camps speak for themselves.

(e) Testimonies by Hungarians brutally beaten up also support the conditions referred to in the mentioned letter.

(f) It is known that the Yugoslav Government regards the Hungarian refugees as a source of income. They collect $5 a day per every refugee and save approximately $4.50. Further the Titoist regime accepts the Soviet version of the Hungarian revolution and would rather welcome the repatriation of refugees than their resettlement in the free West.

(g) In recognition of the above facts the Belgian Student Federation has offered to place 60 Hungarian students in Belgium to establish a precedence for the resettlement of all Hungarians, especially young intellectuals in Western countries.

OUR REQUESTS

1. A basic policy should be adopted for the scholarship support of all Hungarian students who would otherwise be admitted to Western European countries. This would be a guaranty that they would not become a burden on the economy of their respective countries.

2. A special program would be necessary to cover 1-year expenses for every resettled student.

3. A fund of $700 to $1,000 per student should be deposited in advance at the European headquarters of the union.

The western countries have done a great deal to help more than 170,000 refugees who were fortunate enough to cross the Austrian border alive. Unfortunately those who found escape through the Yugoslav border did not come under this great resettlement program. It is very tragic that 600 college students and more than 1,800 high school students under the age of 18 must vanquish in police camps after their heroic stand during the revolution.

The Communists tried to poison the soul of the youth by keeping them under demoralizing conditions to break their revolutionary and idealistic spirit. The Hungarian youth, by choosing the hardship of exile,

has rejected the Soviet approach. They were looking for a world where they can find freedom, love and unlimited human rights. This is why we are turning to you for cooperation and assistance to save the faith of those who are interned by Titoist dictatorship.

Thank you for your understanding.

Most sincerely yours,

ALADAR MERENYI,
President of UFHS.
BELA JANKO,
Former President of UFHS.
LASELO PAPP,
President of Association of Hungarian Students in the United States.

NEW YORK, *June 25, 1957.*

RESOLUTION—DEPORTATIONS

We, the Association of Hungarian students in the United States, charge that the Soviet Union and its puppet government in Hungary have, by mass deportation, virtually destroyed the rising intellectual and cultural leadership of Hungary.

We charge that 46,000 Hungarians between the ages of 12 and 22 years of age have been imprisoned in concentration camps in Vologda, Tchaika, Suda, Krassnoiarsk and Novosibirsk in the Soviet Union; 12,000 young people are imprisoned in Obuda and Nepliget in the suburbs of Budapest awaiting shipment to points outside of Hungary; 1,600 survivors of the siege of Csepel Island, whose age is unknown, have been deported to Communist China.

Roughly 60,000 students attended Hungarian colleges and universities before the revolution. Approximately 7,000 fled to the west when the revolution failed. If, therefore, only one-third of the 58,000 young people known to be in prison are, in fact, students, then over 20,000 young people, or between 30 and 40 percent of Hungary's college and university students have been imprisoned or deported. The Soviet imperialists have dedicated themselves to nothing less than the destruction of our national culture and heritage. We, as a people, are apparently to be destroyed. Stalin's boast that the Hungarian problem was only a matter of boxcars is apparently being put to the test.

The Soviet Union and its puppet regime in Hungary deny that deportation have ever taken place. Yet at least one of the members of our association has sworn under affidavit that he was deported to the Soviet Union, but managed to escape from his captors and escape to freedom. Other members of our organization saw their colleagues put into boxcars in Budapest or, themselves, escaped from railway cars before being moved outside of Hungary.

The Association of Hungarian Students in the United States calls upon students throughout the world to protest the Soviet deportations of Hungarian students and to work for the freedom of those who are now in concentration camps. These students are not criminals. They sought the freedom to study what they wished to study. They have never been tried in courts of law. They have, instead, been taken by Soviet troops, thrust into boxcars and shipped like cattle from their native land.

We ask for the support of the freedom-loving students of the world. We ask them to come to the aid of their colleagues now in prison in the Soviet Union. We ask them to protest to the Kadar regime, to its embassies in their countries and to the government and embassies of the Soviet Union. Let our culture and traditions not be submerged by the Soviet imperialists.

RESOLUTION—THE NATURE OF MEFESZ

We, the Association of Hungarian Students in the United States, wish to make known to the world the brutal and violent means by which the Mefesz, the representative student organization that came into being shortly before the revolution, was taken over by the Soviet puppet regime in Hungary and twisted into an organization which is designed to serve the ends and goals of Soviet imperialism rather than to be representative of Hungarian students and a servant of their aims and aspiration.

The Mefesz organization itself came into being at the colleges and universities of Hungary during the 3 days preceding the revolution. It replaced the Communist youth organization, the Disz, a truly unrepresentative youth organization which was run by the Communist Party in Hungary. Disz membership had been compulsory for young people and expulsion usually meant dismissal from school. Thus, at its very core, Disz was an engine of student repression. So corrupt was this organization that we and our fellows, as the first act of our struggle for academic freedom, formed the new Mefesz.

During the fighting, Mefesz lay dormant, but on January 5, 1957, a meeting of representatives of all the colleges, universities, and high schools in Hungary was convened in Budapest. At this meeting, the 14 points of October 23 were reaffirmed. These 14 points or demands were based on the desire of Hungarian students for measure of academic freedom and university autonomy. It was for these 14 demands that we and our brothers marched in peaceful demonstration on October 23, 1956.

On January 12, Radio Budapest broadcast reports that a second meeting of Mefesz supposedly scheduled for that day, had been postponed for technical reasons. Also in a story dated January 12, Mr. John McCormack, of the New York Times, reported on a Mefesz meeting that occurred between the 5th and the 12th at which many delegates from uninvited and hitherto unknown student organizations demanded representative status and attempted to weaken the resolutions reaffirming the 14 points. A few days later the headquarters of Mefesz were raided by the infamous secret police and the leadership of the organization disappeared. So much for technical reasons.

The regime fearing the spirit of the students, did not open the colleges and universities until February 1. At that time it also created a new Communist youth organization, the Kisz, in an attempt to divide the Mefesz membership. But the mass of students still resisted, and stayed with their Mefesz organization. The Communist answer was to quicken the terror begun in January. Any student who had cooperated with the student revolutionary councils or otherwise taken part in the revolution were thrown into prison. Heavy pressure was applied to weaken, discredit or persuade what little Mefesz leadership remained. Communist self-criticism became the only alternative to the concentration camp, deportation, or worse. Thus was Mefesz, the proud symbol of Hungarian student freedom, turned into a tool of the regime.

We cry out in anger and sadness at what has been done to our once free organization. We call upon the free students of the world to recognize Mefesz for what it now is, the unrepresentative engine of student suppression that Disz once was, an organization without regard for the interests and aspirations of the students of Hungary.

Sweden's Labor Press Shows the American Labor Movement How To Establish a Daily Newspaper

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Federation of Swedish Trade Unions recently purchased two of the best daily newspapers of that country, the morning Stockholm Tidningen and the evening Aftonbladget. The Swedish Federation of Labor, which is quite small compared to the American labor movement, already owned a number of other important publications.

In a recent editorial the New Jersey Labor Herald points out that:

The labor movements of Britain, Norway, and some other European countries publish one or more daily papers in the interest of labor. Their influence is tremendous.

Why our AFL–CIO, the greatest trade union movement in the entire world, has not taken the initiative in this field is difficult to comprehend. During the past decade American organized labor had spent untold millions of dollars in radio and television experimentation; enough money to buy any of the best-established dailies in this country.

Labor needs a daily means of communication, not only for its vast network of union organizations, but to tell the general public the unvarnished and undistorted truth about the labor movement.

Then, the New Jersey Labor Herald goes on to point out that it is important for labor in the United States to have its own daily paper—particularly in educating its vast membership as to practical political organization and action. And, says the publication of the New Jersey State American Federation of Labor:

Labor's Daily, the struggling tabloid published by the International Typographical Union, should be used as a basis for expansion as a nationwide labor journal which workers can purchase on the newsstands.

I include here the editorial from the March issue of the New Jersey Labor Herald, together with an editorial from the publication, the Catering Industry Employee, which was reprinted in the June 29, 1957, issue of Labor's Daily:

[From the New Jersey Labor Herald of March 1957]

SWEDEN'S LABOR PRESS

We Americans have acquired the habit of boasting that our country has outstripped most nations of the Old World, in every modern type of progress, although we've been in business as an independent government less than 400 years. There is no question but that we've made amazing advances in industrial development, science, the arts, and self-government.

Nevertheless, in some respects, we're trailing some of the more progressive countries of Europe. Surprisingly enough, in one of

the fields in which we might be expected to excell, because of our rapid industrial expansion—labor press journalism, as a means of direct communication among the 16 million members of unions and their families—we've been sadly lagging.

The Federation of Swedish Trade Unions, a puny organization numerically and financially when compared with the AFL–CIO, has just purchased 2 of the best daily newspapers of that country, for $5 million. The 2 liberal journals are the morning Stockholm Tidningen and the evening tabloid Aftonbladget, with a circulation of 360,000. The Swedish Federation of Labor already owns a number of other valuable publications.

The labor movements of Britain, Norway, and some other European countries publish one or more daily papers in the interest of labor. Their influence is tremendous.

Why our AFL–CIO, the greatest trade-union movement in the entire world, has not taken the initiative in this field is difficult to comprehend. During the past decade America organized labor had spent untold millions of dollars in radio and television experimentation; enough money to buy any of the best established dailies in this country.

Labor needs a daily means of communication, not only for its vast network of union organizations, but to tell the general public the unvarnished and undistorted truth about the labor movement.

Labor's Daily, the struggling tabloid published by the International Typographical Union should be used as a basis for expansion as a nationwide labor journal which workers can purchase on the newsstands. The typos have the know-how of producing a daily on a shoestring bankroll, which should be of advantage to an AFL–CIO sponsorship.

It is important for labor to have its own daily paper, particularly in educating its vast membership on militant and practical political organization and action.

[From Labor's Daily of June 29, 1957]

PLAIN TALK FROM MEANY

The Wall Street Journal, which deals in facts needed by hardheaded businessmen, gives prominent display to some plain talk from George Meany, a hardheaded labor leader. Key phrase in Meany's talk, some off-the-cuff remarks at a recent conference in Washington, was this:

"The most important thing in the philosophy of the trade union movement is that the unions belong to the members—not to Meany, Reuther, Beck or anyone else—they belong to the members." Thus did Mr. Meany underscore an idea in the officers' report to our recent convention—its call for building a "worker-centered union."

The Journal's emphasis on Meany's message reminds us of Labor's Daily, which could become as important to the trade unions as WSJ is to business, given half a chance.

Labor's Daily is the 5-year-old paper launched by the printers' union. Although its appearance realized the dream of many who have yearned for an independent daily newspaper to tell labor's story, the paper is languishing for want of support.

Not long ago the ITU disclosed that unless support from other unions were forthcoming, the Daily will die. ITU figures it needs 50,000 subscribers at $8 a year to get the response it needs from advertisers.

We'd like to see Labor's Daily kept in business, with the blessing of AFL–CIO and growing support from internationals, local unions and the rank-and-file. It would be a kind of insurance policy proving to the world that the United States labor movement welcomes the stimulating influence of an independent-minded, "worker-centered" labor paper to help publicize the constructive things we do and, from time to time, to needle us when we need reminding that "the unions belong to the members."—The Catering Industry Employee.

Parkinson's Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD an article that appeared in the April 1957 issue of Advanced Management. This magazine is published by the Society for the Advancement of Management, Inc.

The article follows:

PARKINSON'S LAW

(By John B. Joynt)

The London Economist's November 19, 1955, issue presented some very provocative data to demonstrate that the size of an administrative staff will at least grow at an annual rate of 6 percent even if the basic work demands diminish. The author half humorously called it Parkinson's law (after nobody).

The Economist's article gave two pointed illustrations. A research study of the Royal Navy revealed that 2,000 admiralty officials of 1914 had become 3,569 in 1922, an average increase of 5.6 percent per year. In the meantime, the Navy had diminished by one-third in men and two-thirds in ships.

A similar study of the colonial office between 1935 and 1954 revealed that while the number of British Colonies were steadily shrinking, the number of officials rose from 372 to 1,661, an average increase of 5.8 percent per year.

Similar analyses have been made in commercial, industrial, and financial organizations in this country and have found that Parkinson's law applies to them. Some companies call it empire building. However, one company has labeled it Parkinson's disease for like any disease it dissipates the strength of the organism upon which it is festering.

After reading a reprint in Fortune of the economist's article, the president of one company conducted an analysis and found that Parkinson's law fitted his company perfectly. The organization's administrative staff had grown from 212 to 375 over the last 10 years with only a comparatively modest increase in workload.

A basic cause of this malady is that many people place their own selfish interests above the interests of their organization. Other factors are:

1. Some managers feel that their importance rises in direct proportion to the number of people that they have working for them.

2. Each additional manager, supervisor, organizational unit or function creates additional work for the existing work force (additional reports, memos, conferences, services, etc.).

The location and curing of this disease is easy, if it is discovered in the early stages and people want to do something about it. If not, "surgery" may be necessary at some point. The best condition, however, is one in which "preventive medicine" is all that is required.

These factors have been very effective in keeping the size of staffs in line:

1. Establish tight control over personnel costs.

2. Enlarge existing jobs through training and delegation instead of adding new ones.

3. Place greater emphasis on a high standard of performance and regularly appraise results.

4. Have compensation based on contribution or service rendered, not the number of people supervised.

5. Review functions periodically, weighing costs against benefits.

This is a continuing program requiring constant attention. To reach its maximum effectiveness it must have a proper attitude and full cooperation of every member of the organization.

A Tribute to Juan Terry Trippe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and other distinguished colleagues, I wish to pay tribute to a great pioneer in the field of American aviation.

A pioneer is a man with a dream and a determination to realize that dream. Such a man is Juan Terry Trippe, president of Pan American Airways. Pan American has grown until it now holds rights for its "clipper ships of the air" to encircle the globe in flight. Now the founder and mentor of the company is again pioneering, this time in the realm of jet transport, which seems to offer unlimited horizons for future development of air commerce.

At the age of 26 Juan Trippe founded and managed one of the first going airlines in the United States, a line which is now a division of the American Airlines trunk system. He received the first contract for transporting mail by air issued under the Kelly Act and flew mail from New York to Boston.

With a single plane and a contract to carry mail between Key West and Habana, Juan Trippe launched Pan American Airways, Inc., nearly 30 years ago. The first trip over the 90-mile route on October 10, 1927, was made with a rented plane and later the new 3-motor "giant" Fokker transports were put into service on the run. With this airline, a mail pilot's certificate No. 58, and a firm conviction that air transport was destined to be the mode of the future, he set about the business of creating a worldwide, intercontinental system of air transportation. Today, Pan American serves 80 countries on 6 continents over 65,000 miles of route.

The past 10 years or so have seen improvements in aviation which have resulted in bringing the farthest corners of the earth within 39 hours from any United States port and Pan American has been in the forefront in utilizing the improvements. Impressive as are the accomplishments of the past decades, Pan American is now embarked on a program which will dwarf what has gone before. Juan Trippe has been and continues to be one of the most successful

of leaders in civil aviation in translating new scientific advances into practical application. Under his leadership Pan American is entering the jet transport field. The first jetplanes will be put into service next year and will be the forerunners of other jets which, in a few years' time, will be capable of carrying double the loads at double the speed of the present transports. Larger and faster planes to carry more passengers and greater cargo loads is in line with the belief of Mr. Trippe that air transport has the choice of becoming a luxury service for the well-to-do at high prices or a service for the average man. He and his company, Pan American, have chosen the latter course for future development. Better and less expensive air transport brings many advantages in addition to tangible gains from commerce and tourist expenditures. Mr. Trippe's expressed opinion is that the intangible benefits may be the more precious and of lasting benefit to the United States. He has said that "Travel, like education, is no longer a luxury—a cultural, political, and economic necessity if our country is to fulfill its new responsibility of world leadership," and believes that traffic produces international understanding.

Pan American's executive staff is versatile, exceptionally gifted, and strong in depth and so the company is brilliantly managed. But the organization bears the unmistakable stamp of its founder. We salute this modern pioneer and outstanding genius of intercontinental air transport, Juan Terry Trippe.

Eight Ordered To Pay United States $762,654

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Eight Ordered To Pay United States $762,654," which was published on June 29, 1957, in the Washington Post and Times Herald.

The article points out the success the Department of Justice is having in collecting some of the unwarranted windfall profits paid out during the scandalous era of the Federal Housing Administration.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EIGHT ORDERED TO PAY UNITED STATES $762,654

Eight stockholders in the Beverley Manor apartment project, Columbia, Ohio, have been ordered to repay the Government $762,654 in windfall profits.

Alexandria Federal Court Judge Albert V. Bryan issued the order which Government attorneys feel will set a precedent for other windfall-profits cases.

The Justice Department is expected to make an early request for similar action in the case involving Shirley-Duke Apartments, Alexandria.

Beverley Manor was built on an $8.8 million FHA-insured loan which exceeded construction costs by the amount of the award. This money was distributed to shareholders out of excess mortgage proceeds in violation of the corporate charter, which restricted dividends to net earnings, Judge Bryan ruled.

The decision was upheld by the fourth circuit court of appeals and the Supreme Court refused to review the case.

Some 30 other windfall cases involving $18 million are pending throughout the country. About 20 involve dividend disbursements similar to the Beverley Manor case.

Judge Bryan's award affected these common-stock holders: Don A. Loftus, Jack F. Chrysler, W. R. Robinson, W. R. Robinson, Jr., Helen C. Robinson, Flossie R. Davis for the estate of Harry C. Davis, Don E. Ryan and representatives for the estate of Cyril J. Ryan.

Abolition of Status of Forces Treaties Would Harm Rather Than Help Both Our Servicemen Overseas and Our Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article on this much-misunderstood question by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

ON WORLD AFFAIRS: "SUPER PEOPLE" ATTITUDE WILL DESTROY ALLIANCES

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

One can sympathize with those Americans who feel that Sp3c. William S. Girard, accused of killing a Japanese woman, should get a trial by an American court. For how can they be sure that a Japanese court will do him justice? And anyway, Americans anywhere—some think—should be tried by American courts.

One can also sympathize with the indignation of the Chinese on Formosa when Sgt. Robert R. Reynolds is acquitted by a United States military court after admittedly shooting Liu Tse-jan for looking into an uncurtained window and allegedly threatening the American with a stick. For Formosa is—or claims to be—part of China. (Obviously this is no slightest justification for the organized anti-American riots which followed).

There have been, and presumably will be, other such cases in any of the many places where about a million United States citizens are stationed on foreign territories. For tribalism, often accompanied by more or less conscious xenophobia, is almost universal.

Nonetheless, this writer believes that these are not only part of the price allied peoples must pay for saving their freedom from communism. They are also—he believes—part of the growing pains of a new world order.

HALF-TRUTHS

The first point is obscured by the current American notion that American forces overseas are there to protect those countries. This is a mistake—or a half-truth.

American forces are stationed overseas to protect the American people—and incidentally to save them tens of billions of dollars annually. For overseas bases, close to the periphery of the Communist bloc, constitute our chief military advantage over the Kremlin.

They enable our strategical Air Force to strike back harder—and perhaps quicker—at the Communists than they can strike at us. They constitute our best guaranty that even after a sneak attack on the United States, our retaliation would do far more damage to the U. S. S. R.—and that therefore the U. S. S. R. will refrain from any such sneak attack.

They are the basis for the United States military calculation that even after a Soviet attack, the United States could go on to win a thermonuclear war—with some 40 percent of us still alive as against only 12 percent of the Russians.

These bases do more—they meanwhile justify the administration's desire to save billions of taxpayers' money even if this permits the Soviets to outstrip us in the numbers of available warplanes, not to speak of conventional forces. Without these bases, we should be forced, as "Fortress America," perhaps to double our military expenditures—and obtain less security.

Therefore, while our overseas forces unquestionably do protect (up to a point) the nations concerned, the latter also protect us by letting us use their territory. If they invited us out we should have to go. The arrangement is two-way, with no particular gratitude due from either side.

Since almost no sovereign government would allow us to maintain fully extraterritorial forces on its territory, our choice is between accepting reasonable status of forces agreements with friendly governments—or clearing out. Which is why Congress is making no more fuss over the Girard case than home pressure compels.

BIRTH PANGS

But the incidents are more. They are the part of the birth pangs of a new world—or world order. For once one admits—as the Pentagon admits—that not even the United States can quite insure its safety without outside help, then the old order of fully independent states is passing.

Isolationists may protest and nationalists fume about it. But no alliance can survive if one party claims exceptional rights. Or are our nationalists ready to grant extraterritoriality to those thousands of foreign military men who are studying in our own military schools? To act—or seem to act—as a super people will destroy any alliance.

And the truth is, techniological knowledge and application have made the whole world a single area where no people can successfully go it alone.

Fortunately, the majority of Americans understand this. In a recent Roper poll, two-thirds answered that it is essential that the United States patch up the alliance with Britain and France, frayed by the Suez incident.

The Girard case shows merely that they have not yet drawn the necessary conclusions from their basic understanding. But give us a little time, and we shall.

Aid to American Small Business and Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and my other distinguished colleagues, today I introduced a bill to amend the Mutual

Security Act which I wish to call to the attention of every Member of this important body. We all know that certain aspects of the mutual-security program are vital in preventing the further spread of international communism, and toward such an end our foreign-aid program serves an entirely worthy purpose.

However, Mr. Speaker, many of our domestic small-business concerns are becoming increasingly alarmed over the fact that millions upon millions of foreign-aid dollars are being spent annually on foreign products that could be purchased from domestic producers. Now during the past decade, Mr. Speaker, we have used foreign-aid dollars to rehabilitate old and even construct new industrial enterprises in foreign countries that today can undersell our domestic industries.

My proposal is that in the interests of labor and industry in this country, overseas procurement for the foreign-aid program will not be allowed until such time as it can be proved conclusively that a demand for a certain type of manufactured commodity cannot be filled in this country. Too often our local suppliers have been bypassed in the interest of foreign producers.

The International Cooperation Administration should be strictly enjoined from placing procurement orders overseas for commodities that can be supplied by our own producers.

My bill provides that the International Cooperation Administration will not be allowed to seek worldwide procurement for commodities in instances where it is established that available plant capacity exists in the United States to produce such commodities. However, my bill does not establish an inflexible rule to "buy American" without regard to other vital factors. If my amendment is adopted, the President will still retain his broad discretionary powers in administering the mutual-security program. Unrestricted Presidential authority is absolutely essential if the foreign-aid program is to achieve its comprehensive purpose in bolstering the economic life of the nations of the free world. We must continue to assist the intended victims of Soviet aggression.

My bill simply prohibits the internationalist clique in the State Department from forgetting American labor and industry when they are doling out billions of dollars of American taxpayers' money in the foreign-aid program. Before the ICA worldwide procurement policy was adopted, the brass mills of the Naugatuck Valley received a fair share of the brass cartridge business. Now it is not even worthwhile to offer a bid in competition against the low-labor cost modern brass mills of West Germany which were built with our foreign-aid dollars. We subsidize our late enemies in order to create unemployment in our home industries. At the very moment that our rubber footwear plants are suffering with a surplus, ICA officials are placing their orders for rubber goods with British manufacturers.

The time has come to call a halt to offshore procurement and reestablish the patriotic and commonsense policy of the buy American program if America is to remain the citadel of economic strength against Soviet penetration.

Since the end of World War II the United States has disbursed approximately $64 billion in gross grants and utilized loans as assistance to foreign countries. This foreign aid is classified broadly as military assistance, defense-support assistance, development assistance, technical cooperation, and other aid funds such as the President's contingency fund.

A very substantial share of the defense expenditures has been given as direct money grants to foreign governments to build up their military potential as well as building factories to produce war material. The results have been very tangible in the building of potential force to resist possible aggression.

Under economic aid, a very large variety of products was shipped overseas from the United States or procured outside the continental United States—in fact, 30 percent of all economic aid was disbursed as a result of offshore procurement. Canada supplied the products for 11 percent of our economic aid, Latin America, 9 percent, and Europe, over 3 percent.

The impact of foreign-aid expenditures in the United States has been felt largely in the high-wage, high-employment manufacturing industries producing machinery, ordnance, motor vehicles, aircraft, and the like. Its effect on employment has been largely in those industries which were fully employed and in many cases were even facing labor-shortage situations, especially in the aircraft industrial centers like Hartford, Conn.

Foreign aid has not, however, provided an important employment prop for those industries undergoing slack employment conditions like the brass mills, metal fabricating, and rubber-footwear plants of the Naugatuck Valley.

In fact, in many areas large-scale foreign-aid expenditures have had very deleterious effect on certain types of industries unable to compete for military or foreign-aid contracts. The effect has been seen mainly in the siphoning off of skilled workers, such as machinists, toolmakers, die sinkers and setters, patternmakers, tinsmiths, coppersmiths, sheet-metal workers, electronics technicians, welders, and flame cutters into other areas with large-scale demands for their services. Once small business has lost these skilled workers to the larger concerns at Hartford and elsewhere, it is practically impossible to get them back.

One effect of foreign aid overseas has been the reconstruction and modernization of industries abroad which compete with similar industries in the United States, especially in the copper and brass products field, electronics, rubber fabricating, watch-clock manufacturing, plumbing and electrical hardware. Mostly the competition falls in the sphere of small business.

It has been estimated that approximately 600,000 workers are employed each year directly and indirectly as a result of the mutual security spending program in the United States. However, the impact on small business has been very slight indeed, except as it acts as subcontractor to some larger concerns.

The point I wish to make is that small business gets such a minute share of foreign-aid business as to be negligible. One has but to study the daily procurement information bulletins issued by the International Cooperation Administration to note that source of supply is mostly worldwide. A small business circular is also issued, but it is very evident that small business does not get an appreciable share of the contracts.

The effect of foreign-aid expenditures may be slight for large concerns, but it has a multiplier effect on small business. The International Cooperation Administration should be strictly enjoined from placing procurement orders with foreign manufacturers for fabricated products that can be supplied here by our smaller concerns.

I have made an intensive study of foreign-aid expenditures beginning with the lend-lease program in 1940 and extending through World War II. The lend-lease program cost the American taxpayers $50 billion. In the postwar era the Marshall plan, aid to Greece and Turkey, and the global mutual security programs amounted to $56.1 billion, plus $3.4 billion United States investment in the World Bank, plus $775 million in surplus farm products, plus a carryover of $9.3 billion last June 30, plus $4.5 billion in new appropriations. This total is more than $74 billion spent or authorized in the postwar era. Calculated on a per capita basis of $864.98, the total foreign-aid expenditures of the United States from 1940 to 1957 have cost the taxpayers of Connecticut's Fifth Congressional District $237,264,014. Foreign aid has cost Litchfield County $85,522,303, Torrington, $4,063,744; Winsted, $7,595,389. In New Haven County, $151,741,711; Ansonia, $16,180,316; Derby, $8,873,830; Naugatuck, $15,098,226; and Waterbury, $90,370,515.

Can Industry Use Our Farm Surpluses?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Can Industry Use Our Farm Surpluses?" The article was published in the July-August issue of the Massey-Harris Washington report. I believe industries can use our farm surpluses, Mr. President. Therefore, I have requested that the article be printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN INDUSTRY USE OUR FARM SURPLUSES

Congressmen and USDA officials have almost given up hope that we can eat, legislate or export our way out of the farm surplus situation anytime soon. Right now a lot of attention as centered on ways to use more farm products in industry. Corn, wheat, and cotton all have great promise as industrial raw materials.

Optimism is based on the report of the President's bi-partisan Commission on Increased Uses of Agricultural Products. Drawing upon the ideas of 175 of the Nation's top agricultural scientsis, the Commission concluded:

Production per cultivated acre will continue to increase.

Total farm production can be expanded faster than population.

Export markets cannot be expected to take the excess production.

The solution: expanded industrial uses.

Industry now takes about 7 percent of total farm production. If ways can be found to increases that to 15 percent a year, production can be increased and surpluses decreased at the same time. Production now runs around 5 percent more than we are using at home, or can export even with heavy subsidies.

Unless industrial uses are considerably expanded, the numbers of acres in crops and livestock will have to be reduced 10 percent by 1965 to balance production and demand. The commission estimates food grain acres should be cut 5 percent and feed grain 13 percent.

Right now we are spending only $15 million per year researching new industrial uses. Around $350 million is spent to increases production. The Commission recommends spending up to $200 million to find new markets and to develop uses for new crops.

Most promising industrial uses:

Cereal grains: Paper and paper products, industrial starch, insulating board, plastics, synthetic rubber, highway construction, motor fuels.

Vegetable oils: Waterproofing, paper sizing, flooring materials, detergents, asphalt additives, chemicals with antibacterial activity, paints, enamels, other protective coatings.

Cotton: Increase use by developing new, improved, and more economical processing methods, low-cost nonwoven textiles for home and industrial uses, new and more useful cotton varieties.

Animals fats: Expanded use in making plastics and lubricants.

Forage crops: Extraction of chlorophyll, carotone, xanthophyll, vitamins, other medicinal compounds.

New crops, possible uses include:

Bamboo: High grade paper, structural materials, specialty uses. Potential demand: up to 50 million acres.

Castor beans: Industrial oils. Potential need: 1 million acres.

Safflower: Livestock feed, industrial and edible oils. Potential need considerably above the 100,000 acres grown in 1956.

Jojoba: Oil and wax for industrial products. Need up to 150,000 acres.

Candelilla: Wax for polish and other products. Potential market for 7 million pounds a year.

Dioscorea: Cortisone, hormones, and other drugs and chemicals.

Guar: Gum for paper manufacture; protein for feed, forage, green manure. Well above current 100,000 acres.

Canaigre: Tanning material. Potential market for 100,000 acres.

Kenaf: Fiber for cordage and paper; need 200,000 acres.

WHY WE NEED LARGER INDUSTRIAL MARKETS

Present farm markets: Total surplus is only about 5 percent; 7 percent is used by industry; 12 percent is used directly as food; 10 percent is exported; 71 percent is fed to livestock. Stepping up industrial use from 7 percent to 15 percent could absorb the surplus.

New Data Needed To Help Small Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, whenever agricultural legislation is seriously discussed, there is talk about the plight of the small farmer. Many of our farm laws have assisted the large commercial farmers while doing little for the marginal farmers who are in desperate need of rehabilitation. This is like the case of the Swiss cheese having all the ventilation while the Limberger desperately needs it.

A major reason that the small farmer doesn't get the help we would like to see him receive is that we lack the statistical data which would identify his situation and the impact of various farm programs upon it. The real plight of the small farmer is swallowed up by "average" figures which are of little help in diagnosing specific ailments and considering remedies. Therefore, I urge support in the House of Representatives for my bill, H. R. 3828, which would require the Bureau of the Census to develop both money and nonmoney farm income data by economic class of farm.

This bill has already passed the Senate in the form of S. 405 introduced by Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS. Senator WATKINS recently made an excellent statement on this bill to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I wish to insert his statement at this point.

The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, S. 405 and the House companion bill before you, H. R. 3828, introduced by Congressman DIXON, would require the Department of Commerce to collect annually money and nonmoney income data by economic class of farm. These bills are identical to S. 3145 which I introduced in the last Congress, and which passed the Senate in June, 1956.

On that occasion, I called the Senate's attention to the fact that: "income statistics which lump all classes of farms together are not adequate guides for the formulation of public agricultural policies. * * *

"The Congress must have at its disposal more meaningful, reliable and current agricultural income data than it now has, if it is to develop programs which effectively meet the problems of different economic classes of farms."

Agricultural economists have long recognized this problem. Consider the following observation by Ernest W. Grove in an article appearing in the April 1956 issue of Economics Research published by the United States Department of Agriculture:

"As the bulk of the farm income, both gross and net, goes to those farms that are classified commercial, the published totals are sometimes used as representative of commercial farms. * * *

"The published averages of income per farm and income per person on farms are for all farms taken together, and they cannot be assumed to represent either the commercial or the noncommercial groups of farms. On many small farms, the farmer and his family are primarily dependent for a livelihood on income from nonagricultural sources rather than on farm income. Most commercial operators, however, not only have larger total incomes but receive the bulk of their income from farming operations. Thus, the overall averages of per farm and per capita income are actually combinations of income averages for more homogeneous subgroups of farms, among which both the absolute size and the relative importance of farm and nonfarm sources of income show wide variations.

"For these reasons, a breakdown by economic class of the overall totals and averages of farm income is badly needed" (p. 51).

Although the farm price and income situation apparently improved somewhat during 1956, agriculture as a whole did not share equally in the unprecedented prosperity which produced a $412 billion gross national product and high incomes in the nonfarm sectors of the economy.

Perhaps one reason for this situation is that we have tried to apply the same farm program to different types of farm enterprises, with the hope that in some miraculous way all farmers would benefit equally. For example, many people have assumed that price-support programs benefit all farmers.

A little reflection, however, I believe will make it clear that there are certain fundamental problems in agriculture relating to size and type of farm, location, etc., which require different solutions and perhaps different types of public assistance than those generally assumed to be beneficial to agriculture as a whole.

The Census Bureau defines a farm as 3 acres or more of land if the value of the products raised on that land amounts to $150 or more; or if it comprises less than 3 acres and the value of the products sold amounts to $150. On the basis of this definition, the 1950 census of agriculture classified farms into (1) six classes of commercial farms, depending upon the market value of produce sold; and (2) several classes of other farms, including part-time and residential.

Based upon the classification of commercial farms, we had in 1949 according to the 1950 agricultural census:

1. 103,231 farms in class I. These are farms which sold produce valued at $25,000 or more.

2. 381,151 class II farms which sold between $10,000 and $24,999 worth of agricultural commodities.

3. 721,211 farms in class III selling produce valued at between $5,000 and $9,999.

4. Class IV farms numbered 882,302 and sold between $2,500 and $4,999 worth of farm and ranch products.

5. Class V farms totaled 901,316 and their owners and operators sold crops, etc., valued at between $1,200 and $2,499.

6. Seven hundred and seventeen thousand two hundred and one farms constituted class VI and sold produce valued at between $250 and $1,199.

It is evident from this breakdown, that two-thirds of our farms contribute very little to total money net income. However, these figures tend to indicate with respect to the owners and operators of farms, especially in classes IV through VI that their total income picture is worse than is really the case. Why? Because this type of data does not include nonmoney income such as farm produce consumed on the farm as well as that from nonfarm sources. Such nonmoney income when added to money income earned from the sale of produce and from nonfarm sources results in a more favorable comparison for the operators of these farms in classes IV through VI with (1) incomes

of farmers operating class I, II, and III commercial farms (which have a very small nonfarm sources component by comparison) and (2) nonfarm incomes, than does only money income comparisons.

So that I might make such comparisons in my supplemental views on the Joint Economic Committee's report 2 years ago, I asked the Department of Commerce to provide me a table showing by economic classes of farm total net farm income on a family and per capita basis. I had naturally assumed that as part of the 1950 census of agriculture, that the Department would be able to supply such data, including money and nonmoney income. To my surprise, I was told that such data did not, in fact, exist. So, I then requested the Department of Commerce to prepare me a table based upon the 1950 census which would show this data on a per capita and family basis. After much negotiating, the Department was able to give me the requested data which actually were a composite of (1) money income based upon the 1950 Agricultural Census, and (2) nonmoney income or value of farm products used by farm households based upon the 1945 census of agriculture (because such data were not collected as part of the 1950 census). I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this table he printed in the hearing record at this point in my remarks.

Analysis of this data by economic class of farm indicate that:

1. One million two hundred thousand of the then existing 3.7 million commercial farms, mostly family type, comprising the first 3 economic clases of such farms, and containing 209.1 million acres of harvested cropland, produced farm products sold for $5,000 or more. Expressed another way, 22 percent of the total number of farms produced 74 percent of the total value of all farm products sold, utilizing 60.5 percent of the total harvested cropland.

The average family income, including both money and nonmoney income, of the 5 million persons living on these 1.2 million farms was $5,143. By comparison, the average family income of all farm families on farms that same year was only $2,650.

The average per capita income, including both money and nonmoney income, was $1,229, nearly twice that of all people on farms, which was only $651.

2. The other 2.5 million farms in the last 3 economic classes of commercial farms, containing 118.8 million acres of harvested cropland, produced crops sold for $4,999 or less. Expressed another way, 47 percent of the total number of farms produced only 24 percent of the total value of all farm products sold, utilizing 34.5 percent of the total harvested cropland.

The average family income including both money and nonmoney income, of the 10.3 million persons living on these 2.5 million commercial family-type farms was only $1,741—$3,352 less than the average of those families operating farms in the first 3 economic classes of farms and $859 less than the average family income of all farm families.

The average per capita income, including both money and nonmoney income, was only $430—$799 less than the average per capita income of persons living on farms in the first 3 economic classes of farms—and $221 less than that of all people living on farms, which was $651.

3. In addition, there were 1.6 million part-time and residential farms. These farms, representing 31 percent of the total number of farms, produced only 2 percent of the total value of all farm products sold.

This analysis clearly indicates, I believe, that income data in agriculture by economic class of farm are essential in evaluating the effectiveness of farm programs as applied to different size and type farms. For example, in evaluating the extent to which price support programs aid farmers by raising prices and, therefore, incomes, the foregoing data makes it quite obvious that two-thirds of our family-type farms produce so very little for sale that they cannot materially benefit from such programs regardless of the level of price supports be it 75, 90, or 100 percent of parity.

No wonder then that average per capita money farm income is but one-half that of nonfarm per capita income, although on the farm side this figure is somewhat lower than the total farm income on a per capita basis, since, as I have suggested, nonmoney income is not included in current published comparisons such as those found in the Economic Indicator prepared by the Council of Economic Advisors.

On the other hand, this analysis makes it evident that within agriculture there exist great ranges of income disparity as measured by economic class of farm, and that average and per capita farm income figures, derived by dividing the number of farms and farm people into a net-income figure, are of questionable value for policy determination.

In December 1956, I again asked the Department of Commerce to furnish me a similar table based upon the more recent 1954 census of agriculture. However, again to my surprise I was informed by letter of January 10, 1957, from the Director, Bureau of the Census that "other information like that furnished you for the 1950 census is not available." Why? Director Burgess explained by saying that "figures on net income of farm operators or on the number of persons in farm operators' households were not collected in connection with the 1954 census of agriculture," and that "we do not have any data more recent than those for 1944 regarding the value of farm products consumed by families of farm operators."

It was concern over the need for finding workable solutions to the diverse problems which confront the owners and operators of different size farms and because of the lack of this type of much-needed farm income data for policy determinations which prompted me to introduce S. 3145 in the 84th Congress and S. 405 in this the 1st session of the 85th Congress. If such data, as that enactment of S. 405 would provide, were available, Congress would be in a better position, in my opinion, depending upon the annual shift in the number of farms in each class, to develop more effective and remedial agricultural programs.

With respect to the owners of the one-third of our commercial farms, 90 percent of which are family owned and operated producing over 85 percent of our annual crop value, data would help the Congress, depending upon the supply of various crops compared to their demand, to decide whether (1) more or less emphasis ought to be put on higher or lower price supports; (2) more or less marketing and production research was needed; and whether (3) more or less conservation assistance should be forthcoming. Concerning the operators of two-thirds of our farms which produce less than 15 percent of our crop value, such data should enable the Congress to better develop for most of the people living on small rural farms a noncommercial family-type farmer's program.

The present rural-development program, although in its embryonic stage, has already made plain that the economic and social solutions to the problems of the low-income farmer require different approaches or combinations of approaches for solution. The following were some which I suggested in my minority views to the 1956 report of the Joint Economic Committee:

"Many owners and operators of fifth- and sixth-class commercial family-type farms in particular can benefit from more liberal long-term credit policies coupled with intensive assistance along technical farming lines from the Federal and State extension services and other Federal and State agencies.

"More easily attainable credit would enable many such farmers to expand their farms to a size which could return to them and their families a decent level of living. For a great many other farms, lack of opportunity to acquire adjoining farmland, rather than lack of capital to purchase such lands, constitutes the 'size of farm' problem. For others the need is for credit on liberal long-time terms to be used for the purchase of equipment, buildings, livestock, and so forth. * * *

"Others will find the solution to their economic problems through a combination of part-time farming and nonfarm employment, as many have done in increasing numbers during the past few years, even if the latter provides most of their income. Evidence of this is found in the fact that the number of part-time farmers increased by 32,008 during the past 5 years, as disclosed by a comparison of the 1950 and 1954 agricultural censuses.

"Whereas in 1940, only $2.7 billion of farm income from all sources was derived from nonfarm sources, $6.1 billion was derived in 1955. In 1946, our first postwar year, 20.5 percent of farm income from all sources was derived from nonfarm sources; by 1955 this had increased to 32.2 percent.

"We have witnessed, as far as this problem is concerned at least, growing industrialization in the Southern States, where 6 of our 9 major low-income farm areas are located. Other things being equal, the South undoubtedly will continue its industrial advancement, since one of the area's most attractive features is the existence of considerable manpower which is now underemployed on small-sized and unproductive farms.

"Still other people will derive better incomes only by leaving agriculture entirely. This voluntary exodus from agriculture will attract many younger people, who because of the lack of adequate capital required to begin a successful farming operation, must look elsewhere for their livelihood. For these, 4–H Club and other educational programs provided by State extension services and other agencies for rural youth need to stress vocational training which can lead to gainful nonfarm employment.

"Older people living on marginal farms will not want to leave, in spite of the low level of living such farms provide them. Here an extension of rural social services may materially contribute to a better level of living for these people.

"And we must not lose sight of the fact that others would rather go on living the kind of lives they are, than trade them for any other, not because they are disturbed by lack of material goods and services—larger incomes, if you please—but because they like their lives as they now are. This, they too should be free to do; 'man is that he might have joy'" (pp. 73–76).

We are indeed making progress in this policy area; it has been slow, but the future for many of these people will be made much brighter the sooner we can develop a real noncommercial family-type farmers' program. However, from what I have said, I believe it is evident that for the purpose of developing public agricultural programs there is a vital need for timely money and nonmoney income data by economic class of farm. Agricultural policies and programs based upon income averages of such diverse economic groupings of farmers as constitute American agriculture will continue to provide some farmers unnecessary financial assistance at the taxpayers' expense; and will provide little or none to those which tax-

payers would be more inclined to provide public assistance.

At present, there are no continuing programs in either the Department of Agriculture or the Department of Commerce's Bureau of the Census which produce current estimates of money or nonmoney income by economic class of farm. Over the past several years, some limited attempts have been made to produce this type of information, but always in connection with other programs.

During fiscal 1956, for example, the USDA and the Department of Commerce in conjunction with a survey of farm income and expenditures, undertaken to improve overall estimates and modernize parity indexes, did obtain some national income aggregates and per-farm averages of off-farm income in 1955 for some 8 economic classes of farms. About $30,000 of the $285,000 total cost of this money might be said to have been for work on income estimates by economic class of farm. A study is now being made to determine, as originally required by S. 3145 which I introduced in the 84th Congress, whether it is feasible to collect information on farm income as part of the Bureau of the Census Annual Current Population Survey. The expenditures in connection with this project will be also in the neighborhood of $30,000.

Considering the importance of the policy implications I have previously discussed, it is to be regretted that so little attention has been given to this statistical program area, although the Congress has given continued attention to the improvement of much needed statistical data in connection with other aspects of vital agricultural as well as nonagricultural programs. This is evidenced by a comparison of (1) direct obligations for principal current Federal statistical programs, which in fiscal 1956 amounted to $27.1 million, and which in fiscal 1957 are estimated at $30.2 million, with (2) the expenditure of $60,000 in the "income by economic class of farm" data area during the same period.

In its report upon S. 405, the USDA indicated that such data as the bill would require the Bureau of the Census to obtain "is definitely needed. At present, information on a regular basis is available only for all farmers as a group ranging from low-production farmers to those with large-scale operations. The impact of developments in agriculture has varying effects on these farmers, and it is important to know on a regular basis the trends in income for the several groups."

The Department of Commerce in its report on S. 405 confirmed the need for such data which was expressed in the USDA report. It stated in part:

"While the Department of Commerce is not directly responsible for the determination of agricultural policy, it recognizes that information about farm income is clearly important in such determination. Since the incomes of commercial and noncommercial farmers and on large and small farms may differ substantially, information about income by economic class of farm would be desirable."

Neither of these executive departments gave adverse reports upon S. 3145 a year ago. However, in its report on S. 405, the USDA indicated that "we are not in a position to make a specific recommendation regarding the bill in view of the current budgetary situation." The Department of Commerce stated likewise that "in view of the overriding budgetary considerations obtaining at this time, the Department is unable to recommend enactment of this legislation, which would make mandatory the collection of such data."

In a subsequent letter to me under date of April 29, 1957, Secretary Weeks, in response to an earlier inquiry of mine stated:

"I gather from your letter you conclude our opposition to the bill is based on a weighing of the estimated cost against the benefits anticipated to be derived from the legislation. We wish to assure you such is not the case. In our letter of May 27 to Senator ELLENDER we stated the reason for our opposition was 'overriding budgetary considerations obtaining at the time.' By this we mean that we are not now in a position to recommend adoption of this new legislation which would have the effect of increasing the immediate budget regardless of any estimated long term savings that might be anticipated therefrom. * * * We wish to make it clear that our objection to the passage of this legislation is based solely on budgetary considerations and that it does not run to the merits of the bill."

Mr. Chairman, I would suggest to the Committee that there can be no doubt but that the budgetary concern expressed by the Department of Commerce was given ample consideration by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and the Senate itself. It seems evident that the Senate and its Agriculture Committee clearly visualized long-run program savings from the immediate enactment of S. 405, which outweigh the modest costs involved even in light of the budgetary situation.

This I say for these reasons: (1) In the 84th Congress, the Senate Agriculture Committee reported S. 3145 without holding hearings. S. 3145, which is identical to S. 405, passed the Senate by unanimous consent with the membership clearly appraised of the fact that the initial cost would be in the neighborhood of $500,000 with a lesser amount required in subsequent years; (2) shortly after its introduction in this session of the 85th Congress, S. 405 was favorably reported to the Senate without hearings, and again the Senate passed it by unanimous consent, the Members again being clearly appraised of the probable but moderate costs involved.

In my judgment, passage of S. 405 will materially aid the development of more effective and beneficial farm programs at a more moderate cost to the taxpayer than is the case with respect to many of our present programs.

AFL-CIO President Meany Urges Prompt and Effective Action on U. N. Special Committee Report Establishing Soviet Government's Aggression in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following fine statement by Mr. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO:

AFL-CIO President George Meany today issued the following statement:

"American labor commends the United Nations Special Committee for its comprehensive and courageous report on the Soviet Government's brutal crushing of the revolt of the Hungarian people for national independence and human freedom. This report will serve the cause of human decency and enhance the prestige of the U. N. among the peoples striving for peaceful and honorable relations among the nations of the world.

"The authority and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of world peace demand that the U. N. should not limit itself to the mere issuance of findings. Timely and appropriate action must follow promptly.

"The gravity of the Special Committee's indictment of Soviet aggression and Communist terror against the Hungarian people necessitate the immediate reconvening of the 11th session of the United Nations General Assembly to act on this report.

"There is no reason to oppose the reconvening of the General Assembly on the ground that this might cause the Soviet rulers to break up the present disarmament negotiations. If the Kremlin is negotiating in good faith, it will not engage in such disruption merely because the U. N. meets its responsibility as the world organization for peace and human rights.

"On the other hand, if the Kremlin insists that the U. N. must shun its responsibility and the world must pay such a price for even a very limited disarmament accord, then any agreement reached, under such circumstances, would not be worth the paper on which it is written.

"Any international agreement reached under threats or political duress would be worthless.

"Sincere efforts toward genuine disarmament will be encouraged and aided by the United Nations demonstrating its readiness to promote just and harmonious international relations. The cause of world peace urgently demands timely and effective action by the United Nations on the findings of its Special Committee on Hungary."

Is Force Our Only Weapon?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article that appeared in the Sunday Star by Lt. Gen. Guy Simonds, of Canada, who, at one time, was the former Chief of Staff of the Canadian Army. He was considered one of the most brilliant military strategists in World War II, and in the article that follows, he presents some rather caustic and disturbing comments on the West's military policy today:

CANADIAN VIEW: IS WEST TOO RELIANT ON AIR-ATOMIC FORCE?

(By Lt. Gen. Guy G. Simonds)

Unless some international understanding is reached on the definition and limitation of tactical atomic weapons, Western strategy is resting on a precarious foundation for the Western World may be confronted with the choice of desisting from the use of these tactical weapons, or accepting unrestricted thermonuclear warfare with its devastating consequences.

It is simplest to illustrate the difficulties by a hypothetical example. Let us assume that United States ground forces became involved in tactical operations in the Middle East or eastern Mediterranean and used atomic artillery or atomic air support in a tactical role in these operations.

The United States may declare they will restrict the use of weapons of mass destruction to small tactical atomic weapons, unless the other side uses thermonuclear weapons, in which case they will retaliate in kind.

But an important element of American military power in the Mediterranean is the 6th Fleet. And the 6th Fleet is a big bomb target—much more quickly and effectively dealt with by 1 or 2 of the most powerful superbombs, than by a lot of small bombs of lesser power. It is also a strictly military target.

If the United States forces on land were engaged in fighting against satellite forces and volunteers, the Russians might decide it would be well worthwhile to eliminate the whole area of engagement—including both sides—with super thermonuclear bombs if it could inflict a really shocking reverse upon the United States.

They could carry out both these acts under a declaration that they would not accept any limitation on the size of weapons if the United States resorted to atomic weapons in any form, but would confine their action to strictly military targets, unless the United States resorted to strategic attacks, in which case they would retaliate in kind.

They might well allow the United States the initiative in the use of atomic weapons before delivering a crushing counter against military targets.

STRATEGY FAILURE

The efforts of the United States to cajole the European allies of NATO into providing the maximum possible conventional military strength, on the basis that the United States would back them with thermo-nuclear and atomic weapons, have failed to have the desired effect.

A strategy placing over-emphasis on the use of weapons of mass destruction is a divisive force rather than an influence to cohesive strength among anti-Communist nations. Nor is it of any value in encouraging Communist satellites to break away to freedom, as witness the helplessness of the Western powers in face of the Hungarian tragedy. Nor can it police areas of high friction such as the Middle East at the present juncture. It is only the joker in an international poker game.

A feature of American philosophy is the replacement of the labor of man by machines—automation. A logical outgrowth of this philosophy is to project the same thinking into the military field and to depend more and more on science and machines and less and less upon men.

Up to a point this is no more than commonsense, but the pendulum has swung dangerously too far.

Political leaders in the Western World have surrendered to the temptation to mislead the mass of the people in democratic countries into the comfortable belief they can have guns and butter—wealth and security—for less and less effort. The threat of weapons of mass destruction, goes the argument, would provide security from war. Only a few highly trained experts would be needed to develop and man these weapons and most people could set about their peaceful occupations without worrying about fighting any more.

THE WEST'S MONSTER

The fact is that Russia and China have usable military power, capable of intervening in revolutionary situations and the West has not. The western democracies, led by the United States, have created a Frankenstein monster as terrifying to themselves as to their potential enemies.

It will be argued that present policies, foreign and military, have maintained peace and prevented a major war.

What peace? We have a series of patchwork, precarious "truces" and no solutions to even the minor problems causing local frictions, any one of which could flare to a major crisis with little warning.

What major war? Why should Russia consider the risks of a final showdown at arms, when her present tactics are proving so successful?

The strategic policy of overreliance upon weapons of mass destruction is a proven failure politically. For the pressure of the threat of atomic and thermonuclear war falls more painfully upon allies and potential allies than upon Russia.

It is safe to predict that the policy of overreliance on thermonuclear and atomic weapons will also prove a failure militarily. What fallacious premises have brought the free world to this unpleasant brink?

The basic false premise, is that the free world cannot compete with the "Communist masses" of primitive manpower, and it therefore has no alternative but to rely upon weapons of mass destruction.

This idea has been propagated, partly by genuine believers in the theory that "air-atomic" power provides the final answer to problems involving military force. It has been reinforced by strategical planners who operate on the mathematical formula of "counting noses"—so many millions of Russians, so many millions of Chinese, so many millions of satellite peoples.

The total is distressingly large. But the vital fact is overlooked that these are people who breathe, eat, and think.

MORALE AND SIZE

Throughout history, small forces inspired by a high morale, well led, well equipped, and with a real conviction in their cause, have overwhelmed much larger forces.

We know the large military effort involved in suppressing the Hungarian insurrection, and the heavy drain on military strength of protecting a base and lines of communication where skillful insurgents and guerrillas are active.

We know that within Russia itself there are seeds of dissatisfaction with an oppressive regime, and that in many parts, the German invaders during Korld War II were welcomed with open arms and flowers as liberators, until Hitler's policy of genocide shocked the inhabitants of Russia into partisan resistance.

Present policy fails utterly to exploit these vital moral forces.

We dream up arguments to prove we cannot find the military manpower needed to meet our pledged commitments.

Behind the Iron Curtain they continue working slave hours, employ women in heavy manual tasks, challenge the free world in their development of weapons of mass destruction, and prepare themselves militarily in terms of conventional power.

Our technological advantages can give free people good working conditions reasonable recreation and a secure defense. We will never have the last if public attention is directed almost entirely to the first two, while people are lulled with bland statements that their security is being well assured and not to worry about it. The consequences of such an attitude are writ plain in the history of the fall of past civilizations.

The Fourth of July

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, in the light of recent events, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a very pertinent editorial which appeared in the Tablet, on Saturday, June 29, 1957.

The article follows:

THE FOURTH OF JULY

When so many nations, once free, now are held captive in the prison of Communist tyranny, the Fourth of July is a day for serious thought.

Our country's freedom, which is the heritage of the Declaration of Independence, must be guarded watchfully. Without constant vigilance, this precious freedom could be lost, little by little, or it could be stolen outright. Were we to think or act otherwise, we would be living in a fool's paradise.

Our freedom as a nation must never be destroyed by any warmaking, foreign enemy. No unwise alliance with other nations and no blind defaults to world bodies ever should be permitted to whittle away the independence of America. No abdicating treaties and no secret agreements should be allowed to take away one iota of the freedom of the United States.

The termites of subversion and treason, who would bore from within this free land of ours, must be exposed and punished relentlessly. Surely the law of our self-preservation as a free nation requires that we show commonsense, even on the bench of the Supreme Court. In the interest of our country's freedom, all legalistic loopholes must be plugged and no new avenues of escape opened to the disloyal citizen or alien. While the rights of individuals must be protected, the common good of the entire citizenry also must be protected.

Rights go hand-in-hand with duties. The refusal to accept duties results in the forfeiture of rights. Any tricky play upon words in this regard makes a joke of freedom.

These thoughts on July 4 prompt us to repeat the words of the Declaration of Independence, as "we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor" in safeguarding the freedom of America.

Negro Progress in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include two articles from the Chicago Defender of June 29, 1957, that will prove of interest to my colleagues from other sections of the country who may not be familiar with the progress made by the Negro in the large cities of the North. The first article, excerpts from a speech made in 1955 by John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Defender, pinpoints the tremendous importance of Negro buying to the retailers and manufacturers. The second article, by Edwin C. Berry, executive director of Chicago Urban League, stresses employment phases and the opportunities anticipated with the opening up of many thousand new jobs as a result of the St. Lawrence seaway and the Cal-Sag Channel. The articles follow:

[From the Chicago Defender of June 29, 1957]

NEGRO MARKET IS SENSITIVE BUT PROFITABLE

(By John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher, Chicago Defender)

Three successive waves of migration have brought the Negro population here to (over) 633,000. At the present rate of increase,

the number will exceed three-quarters of a million in 1960.

This is the audience of the Chicago Defender, drawn to us by a common background of disfranchisement, segregation, and exploitation; dependent on us because for 50 years we have been champion, friend, adviser, and confessor on a scale matched by no other agency. It comprises a billion-dollar-a-year market which cannot be penetrated with more acceptable associations than those represented by the Defender.

Industries, and with them, workers and buyers are gravitating to our city in record numbers. There is no better market in which to concentrate distribution. Urban renewal, planned land use, and improvements in city government are proceeding at a pace that will soon entitle us to say, "There is no better place in which to live."

And what is the role of the Negro in this dynamic city? A peculiar phenomenon of our growth is that the white population of corporate Chicago showed a net decline of 25,000 in the 2 decades 1930–1950. In the same period the nonwhite population trebled.

Negroes are buying homes at an unprecedented rate. Our Second Market Survey indicates home ownership by 19.5 percent of Negro families. Between 1940–1950 Negro school enrollment increased 17.2 percent, while the national increase was 61.1 percent.

The New York Life Insurance Co. recently committed $35 million to the Lake Meadows housing development and shopping center in the heart of the Negro community. Other developers are turning huge stretches of suburban prairie into communities of Negro homeowners.

Far and away the bulk of the Negro population is oriented to the city itself however, and is flowing from a ring around the loop to the Southern and Western city limits.

This is of tremendous importance to the retailer and to the manufacturer. It points to a solution of the dilemma of metropolitan growth. Today, the retailer is on the move. Many are relocating at high cost in newly developed areas as the white population flees to the suburbs.

However, steadily for 40 years and dramatically for the past 10 years, a new market has been growing on his doorstep. It's made made up of people among whom is found the largest reservoir of unskilled and semiskilled manpower—the people who must form the bulk of the industrial working force. It is a market that will be swelled by the people who will man the port and related facilities created by the Cal-Sag project.

In the minds of some businessmen, the Negro is a remote social factor. This carries over into economic thinking, so that they regard the Negro as a remote economic factor. To others he is an object of scorn, and thus his economic power is ignored. He is bypassed by others simply because of misinformation or lack of information.

The Negro buyer is acutely sensitive to the associations accompanying advertising which reaches him. He is responsible to those media-institutions with which he shares historic identity of interest.

The institution of slavery has made the Negro different culturally, but his aspirations and his values are wholly American. He wants the same thing as other Americans from soup to citizenship.

URBAN LEAGUE CITES LOCAL MANPOWER NEEDS

(By Edwin C. Berry, executive director, Chicago Urban League)

There are conflicting opinions among economists and population specialists about the total dimensions of the impact which the St. Lawrence seaway project and the Cal-Sag Channel will have on Chicago. But there is no disagreement that Chicago is experiencing a new and great surge of economic growth and industrial expansion. It is further agreed that Chicago's growth in industry and commerce will create a need for an expanded supply of manpower.

The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry has estimated that there will be 208,000 new jobs created in Chicago between 1955 and 1960. The association further states that 305,000 existing jobs will be vacated as a result of retirement. These figures, put together, produce a total manpower requirement in the Chicago metropolitan area of 513,000 workers for the period 1955 to 1960.

In regard to the question of where the workers will come from, the association has predicted that 109,000 workers will be obtained from the internal growth in the Chicago area but the remaining 404,000 needed workers will be drawn through inmigration, which is currently set by the association at 27,000 a year, will have to be doubled.

The Chicago Urban League is vitally concerned with assisting Chicago in achieving the objective of an adequate supply of manpower. As a means of relating league effort in a positive way toward both the economic growth and manpower needs, we are engaging our professional staff in a continuous analysis of employment and other patterns of opportunities, especially in relationship to nonwhites.

THREE SOURCES OF MANPOWER

According to Urban League analysis, manpower for the Chicago metropolitan area can presently be expanded from three principal sources:

Considering the three sources of manpower the Chicago Urban League is especially concerned with the labor-market potentials for the nonwhite worker.

Our study of the use of labor has revealed the concentration of nonwhite workers in certain occupations. According to the United States Census in 1950, Negro men comprised 9 percent of all employed male workers in the Chicago metropolitan area and were concentrated primarily in unskilled and semiskilled occupations. Figures from the same source and period relating to the participation of nonwhite workers in industries in the Calumet area, which is expected to lead industrial growth in the city for the next few years, provide an interesting comparison.

For the six largest industries in the Calumet area, Negro males made up 18 percent of the total labor force in the iron and steel industries and 9 percent of the total labor force in the transportation equipment industry (i. e., automobile and railroad manufacturing) but they accounted for only 7 percent of the workers in fabricated metals; 4 percent in petroleum and coal; and only 3 percent in machinery and manufacturing.

Such data suggest that while it is likely that employment of nonwhite workers may be greater in * * * of occupational concentration follows very closely that of the total metropolitan area.

If the increasing pressure of a manpower shortage is coupled with intensified effort for merit employment by management, labor, and Government, there will be an acceleration in the integration of Negroes in the general field of employment in Chicago. If so, there should be increasing opportunity for a noticeable spread by nonwhite workers to upper level occupations in all industries.

However, if the present pattern of forcing the Negro worker into a ghetto, with its obvious implications for bad housing, poor health, and family disorganization continues to be a normal pattern of treatment for Negro workers, then there will be serious limitations placed on the ability of the Negro youth to take advantage of such opportunities.

This point is especially underscored by Eli Ginsberg in his recent study on the Negro potential, where he states that the ability of the young individual Negro worker to take advantage of a new employment possibility will depend largely on the previous incentives which he has developed and prepare himself. The limitation imposed by the ghetto on the incentives of the teenage Negro youngster is even more sharply defined in a recent probe conducted by the League on Chicago's Central Southside.

It is clear that the ghetto has implications for more than just the Negro teen-age youngster who is a potential worker. The worker who lives in such a situation is exploited and crippled to a degree that his general employment efficiency is seriously impaired.

The ghetto, too, has implications in terms of Chicago's ability to attract more manpower through immigration.

In relationship to such potentials and restrictions, it would seem realistic to take cognizance of the fact that the Nation's economy, as a whole, is in a state of expansion and, consequently, has an increased need for manpower. As a matter of fact, within the immediate area, other industrial and commercial centers, such as Detroit, Cleveland, and Toledo, also figure significantly in the St. Lawrence seaway development and are moving to expand their industrial and commercial resources. Against this background, it is clear then that if Chicago is to compete successfully for an adequate supply of labor in a national or regional market, it must do some specific things to place itself in a more favorable position with respect to its competition on a regional and national basis.

Congress Should Take No Action on Status-of-Forces Agreements Until Supreme Court Decides Just What a Soldier's Rights Under Them Are

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of June 28, 1957:

STATUS OF FORCES

The House Foreign Affairs Committee chose a peculiarly unfortunate time and manner for its mischievous denunciation of the status-of-forces agreements. A resolution approved by the committee on Thursday provides that the President shall forthwith seek revision of article VII of these agreements regarding foreign trials of American military personnel abroad and, if the revision is refused, that he shall renounce the article. the premptory language of the resolution is offensive. And the timing of it, while the Supreme Court has the Girard case under consideration, seems most improper.

The status-of-forces agreements with this country's NATO allies embody a treaty initiated by the Truman administration, completed by the Eisenhower administration and duly ratified by the Senate. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has no part in the making of treaties and no authority to compel renunciation of them. The House as a whole can, if it wishes, adopt a resolution expressing the view that a treaty ought to be renounced; but it would be acting most unwisely, we think, if it were to do so in this situation.

The status-of-forces agreements provide that American servicemen who violate the laws of foreign countries in which they are stationed shall be subject to trial by the

courts of those countries except in connection with offenses "arising out of any act or omission done in performance of official duty." It is hardly conceivable that any country worth having as an ally—and least of all the countries in NATO—would allow foreign forces on its soil if these forces were not amenable to its laws. And certainly not even Representative FRANK BOW, the most vehement opponent of the status-of-forces agreements, would consent to having foreign troops stationed in the United States if they were not subject to trial in American courts for violation of American laws. The effect of what the House Foreign Affairs Committee has proposed would be nothing less than a complete withdrawal of American forces from Europe—and, indeed, from this country's defense outposts all over the world.

The new drive to renounce the status-of-forces agreements takes its impetus, of course, from the Girard case. It was to be expected that the American waiver of jurisdiction over Army Specialist Girard would be used by Representative Bow as a pretext for attacking the agreements, which provide specifically that either side may waive jurisdiction as to trial. The United States and Japan have not yet completed a status-of-forces treaty, incidents of this kind being governed by an administrative agreement between the two countries modeled on the NATO treaty. The provision permitting the United States to waive jurisdiction in regard to offenses by American servicemen in the course of official duty has raised a constitutional question now being pondered by the Supreme Court. Until that tribunal renders its decision, Congress would do well to leave the issue alone.

German Comment on Relations With Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Polish American Congress, representing 7 million Americans of Polish origin, has sent me a deeply penetrating and highly enlightening analysis of the official German pronouncements and press comments on the subject of the Polish-German relations. This analysis, completed by a well-known Polish publicist, Karl Grabowski, augurs an eventual Polish-German understanding upon which European settlement and peace is dependent in a high degree.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the analysis, as follows:

GERMAN COMMENT ON RELATIONS WITH POLAND

In July 1953 the veteran Social Democrat and former Reichstag Speaker Paul Loebe warned Silesian refugees meeting in Cologne against illusions about returning to their old homes. In December, Conrad Dieringer published an article in the Frankfurt Neue Presse on the Oder frontier. He argued that so long as we start with the idea that the restoration of the territorial position of 1937 must be the unconditional objective of all German foreign policy, we shall never achieve peace and final tranquillity in Europe. Such a demand is not only unrealistic but also unhistorical. Only he who is willing to surrender something can seriously negotiate. A few weeks later, in January 1954, Helmut Lindemann was writing in similar vein in the columns of the Stuttgarter Zeitung: "That this (detente between East and West) will bring a restoration of the German frontier of 1937 can be believed only by those who shut both eyes to the realities of this world."

Many such opinions, going back even earlier, might be quoted. Bold advocates of understanding with Poland were used to being shouted down and not infrequently charged with treachery or at least with pusillanimity. Since then 3 years have passed without bringing Germany one step nearer to reunification which is already beginning, as a slogan at least, to acquire a pressing urgency in the German mind. It has become a propaganda catchword which even serious politicians will be prepared to repeat during the election campaign. But the more levelheaded among them are also asking themselves often just how this unity is to be achieved.

COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS

The breaking of the ice in the East European Soviet Empire came as a shock and a stimulus to the German opinion. On the one hand, German hopes of reunification were strengthened; on the other, it began to be realized that one unavoidable condition for reunification would be the reconciliation to the loss of the former eastern provinces. It was also noticed that the presence of Russian divisions on Polish soil as well as in Eastern Germany made Poland a potential ally in the common struggle to win freedom from foreign control. The cause of a free Poland and the cause of German reunification found themselves willy-nilly in the same boat. Once this had been recognized, the thaw in German-Polish relations was well underway. On Germany now depends the question whether a community of interests will produce only a temporary lull, for a tactical end, or will prove to be the starting point for a basic change in the German attitude toward Poland, a change beginning with the awareness that Germany's neighbor to the east is the Polish state.

First to recognize the identity of the two nations' interests in this field was the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Heinrich von Brentano. At a press conference in London in May 1956 he spoke of Germany's illusory legal titles to her former eastern territories. Refugee circles attacked this bold expression and obliged the Minister to issue several disclaimers which had the effect of weakening the original formulation. That the idea had germinated in Von Brentano's mind was however an undeniable fact, and the hint dropped by him was soon taken up by others, less hampered by diplomatic considerations. Dr. Heinrich Greve, a Social Democratic deputy, twice spoke on the same lines. Attacks by the revisionist press were answered factually by other organs of public opinion which appealed for commonsense, moderation, and above all realism. In June the well-known journalist Paul Wilhelm Wenger published in the Rheinischer Merkur an article headed "Rather 17 Millions," plainly stressing the community of interests between Germany and Poland and stating unequivocally that in the last resort the fate of 17 million Germans in East Germany should concern the German nation more closely than a chimerical grand reunion with their former eastern provinces.

EFFECT OF POZNAN RISING

The Poznan rising followed and for the first time within living memory the columns of the German press were filled with reports and commentaries on the situation in Poland. Relaxation of visa regulations opened the frontiers of Poland and Western Germany to the journalists of both countries. News and comments on the thaw in Poland began to get out, interspersed with backward glances at the blunders of the past and glimpses of the mutual advantages in drawing closer together. In this way the establishment of diplomatic relations between Warsaw and Bonn, closer trade contacts and cultural exchanges have become permanent topics of public discussion. The thick ice of distrust is melting. And in the half-darkness there are the first distinct glimmerings of a realization that Germany's neighbor to the east is Poland not Russia.

FOR A REASONABLE APPROACH

Poland's October days and the rising in Hungary have increased further German interest in Polish affairs. For 3 months Polish news made almost daily headlines in the German paper. The oldest cannot remember the time when Poland had such a press in Germany. In the first place, Poland's "spring in October" moved into action the great south German humanist and leading Social Democratic politician, Prof. Carlo Schmid, deputy speaker in the Bonn Parliament. During a German-French conference of the European movement in Bad Neuenahr, he made two speeches which attracted much attention in the European and even to some extent the American press. Speaking of the former German provinces, Carlo Schmid declared bluntly: "I shall speak out here, even in the face of danger * * * that at the next election I may be accused of giving away and betraying old German lands. These are lands in which the stones speak German, but no more Germans live there. This painful matter must be dealt with in a reasonable, that is, in a political manner."

BREAKING THE TABOOS

Two days later, on October 7, at the closing session of the conference, Schmid amplified his earlier remarks: "It seems to be an error to assume that the problem of Germany's reunification can * * * be solved without previously reaching an understanding on the fate of the territories east of the Oder and Neisse. If this is not done, then there will simply never be negotiations which have any prospect of bringing about the reunification." Analyzing further the situation which had arisen in the east, Carlo Schmid gave it as his opinion that negotiation was the only possibility open: "And there is only sense in wanting to negotiate if the negotiator is himself prepared to make concessions. Otherwise there is no chance that anything will come out of the negotiations." Schmid concluded with a prophetic appeal to the German nation: "I am of the opinion that it is one of the most honorable duties of political men to break through taboos, and here is a taboo, an evil taboo; and it must be broken through—otherwise it will one day become our master; it will bewitch us all."

BETWEEN AGGRESSION AND POTSDAM

Carlo Schmid gave expression to a thought which was evidently at the back of the minds of many responsible German politicians, but which none had hitherto had the courage to utter so openly. A few days later Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, speaker of the Bundestag, came to the help of his deputy. Gerstenmaier not only supported Schmid's attitude in principle, but expressly drew attention to the casual link between Hitler's aggression on Poland and the extortions of the Nazis in Poland on one hand, and the Potsdam resolutions and the deportation of the German population from Poland on the other. Schmid's views were also supported by another prominent Christian Democrat, Dr. Sieveking, the mayor of Hamburg, who this year is acting as chairman of the Federal Council. Sieveking's approach to the Polish problem stresses the trading opportunities opening up between the two countries, al-

though he had also stated that the frontier issue should not prevent a permanent settlement, and in January of this year openly argued the necessity of German concessions.

SENSE OF REALISM

The serious West German press has shown a greater sense of realism in forming public opinion than the managers of the parties. The leading dailies, Die Welt, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Tagesspiegel, all supported Professor Schmid's initiative. The widely read Rheinischer Merkur carried the argument furthest in an article headed "The Polish Taboo." The writer considered that the "readiness to compromise demanded by Schmid can only surprise those who have not as yet reflected why Germany was so easily divided in 1945. One cannot loudly condemn a partial loss, as crying to heaven, when one has oneself twice allowed the whole of Poland to disappear into one's own pocket. * * * Any German policy toward Poland must reckon with this shameful fact. One cannot—as unfortunately it is commonly done—consider Poland's eastern frontier, which cuts off a third of the country to Russia's benefit, as permanent, and at the same time demand from Poland a total revision of the Oder-Neisse line. Anybody who wants German-Polish talks to open on this basis is driving Poland permanently on to Russia's side, instead of releasing her from the Russian embrace by offering to negotiate on losses for which Hitler was responsible."

GERMANY'S RIGHTS EXAMINED

Among the chorus of statements in favor of normalizing relations with Poland were some from leading representatives of the government in Bonn.

Chancellor Adenauer has often drawn attention to the need for correct neighborly relations with Poland and to a future all-German Government's task of settling disputed issues (i. e., primarily the frontier) "on a humane basis and "Heimatrecht" ("auf dem Boden der Menschlichkeit und Heimatrechtes"). What is this "right"?

Dr. Anton Boehm, political editor of the Rheinischer Merkur, tried to answer the question in a leading article entitled "What Is the Right to a Home?" His explanation is particularly worthy of note, since the paper is regarded as Dr. Adenauer's mouthpiece. Dr. Boehm points out that this right has not been codified in international law, but, nonetheless, has a profound moral justification which should insure it a place in any future international code as one of the basic rights of man. It is, however, a right which it will not be easy to carry out in practice, and which calls for a closer definition:

"It will also be necessary first to ascertain what are the limits of the right to a home, limits which it has like every other human right. A satisfactory conclusion of this task is still far to seek. Meanwhile, today it is already possible to make contributions designed to get rid of misunderstanding which only burden a just claim. The mixing up of the right to a home with frontier problems and territorial demands is such a misunderstanding. Confusion here is so widespread that often one talks of the expellees' right to a home when in reality what is meant is the restoration of the German Reich frontier of 1937, of even 1939."

The "right to a home" has nothing to do with territorial claims, and is limited to the natural, individual right of every man to a dwelling place and to a livelihood in the land of his origin or naturalization. In the light of these arguments, a demand for the normalization of future relations with Poland "on humane basis and native right" would not of itself imply the raising of any claims to frontier changes, but only of the subjective right of a refugee to return, if he so wished, to his place of origin.

That this is no isolated interpretation is clear from utterances by other distinguished German journalists, Hans Zehrer, editor of "Die Welt", for example (in the issue of September 19 last) or Hansjakob Stehle of the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" (December 11).

In dealing at length with evidences of a more responsible attitude towards Poland among the well-known German politicians, and more particularly towards the thorny problem of the frontier, it is not intended to imply that German opinion is unanimous, that it has suddenly seen the errors of its past and has grown aware of the harm which Germany herself has suffered and will suffer in consequence of them. Beside the moderate voices, pages could be filled with others condemning them, and with examples of reinforced revisionist propaganda.

This propaganda comes from a wide range of organizations, the extreme nationalists, the "Ostforschung" circles (particularly those under the patronage of the Protestant Stuttgart weekly "Christ und Welt"), the refugee associations, including the notorious Association of Expelled Germans and its latest ally, the ex-Nazi Schneider of the Saar.

The refugee bodies pose as defenseless victims of Polish chauvinism, victims who out of kindness forgive Polish crimes and abandon all idea of revenge, an atitude mercilessly exposed in the "Rheinischer Merkur" article on "The Polish Taboo". Describing a revisionist meeting in Bonn, arranged immediately after Carlo Schmid's speech, by Linus Kather, chairman of the expellee's association, the author commented that it was a manifestation in which "Kather's divine right to restoration on condition that revenge is renounced" acquired the sinister undertone: "We shall not kill you if you hand over everything of your own free will, but if necessary we have power to do otherwise."

Founder and President of a Great Independent Business, the Duncan Coffee Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 14, 1957, my remarks about the passing of a prominent businessman of Houston, Tex., the late Herschel M. Duncan, founder and president of the Duncan Coffee Co., at Houston, were inserted in the RECORD. As a further attestation to the fine characteristics of this self-reliant, successful businessman and the high esteem in which he was held, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this time a copy of the Grounds, which is published by the employees of the Duncan Coffee Co. One will note by their statements that Mr. Duncan's influence will endure for many years in the lives of those he inspired toward great achievements for themselves. He will long be remembered for his warm human qualities and the example he set for them, as well as the high principles by which he lived.

The statement follows:

HERSCHEL MILLS DUNCAN, NOVEMBER 5, 1888-FEBRUARY 15, 1957—FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, DUNCAN COFFEE CO.

The many friends, business associates and employees of Herschel M. Duncan were shocked and grieved to learn of his tragic death on Friday morning, February 15, 1957. His passing marked the close of a brilliant business career, and a lifetime spent in the service of others.

In 1907, at the age of 18, Mr. Duncan came to Houston and was employed as a laborer at the Cheek-Neal Coffee Co., a firm owned by his uncle, J. Robert Neal. This company was later sold to General Foods Corp. Mr. Duncan commented many times, and it is a well known tale among his employees and friends, that he took his first week's salary check of $9 to a store down the street from the plant, cashed it, bought two pair of overalls, and then went back to work.

By 1918 Mr. Duncan was plant superintendent for Cheek-Neal, and it was at this time that they moved to a new location, leaving behind in the old 1200 Carr Street plant much of their old roasters, grinders, and other coffee-processing equipment. Mr. Duncan saw this as an opportunity to enter the coffee trade in his own right. He resigned his job with Cheek-Neal, leased the old plant, worked out a contract with the Government to use a part of the plant as a warehouse for storing of World War I flour and other foodstuffs. This financed his start and within a few months he was in the coffee business.

It is difficult to realize that Herschel Duncan, as most of us knew and remember him, was the same man who came to work at 5 in the morning, fired his own furnaces, roasted and packed his coffee, and went out in a Model T Ford in the afternoon and sold that coffee—pound by pound—to his first customers. The record indicates that the first day's sales, on August 12, 1918, to have been $2.62. And, this is the same man who became influential in the conduct of community affairs, a man known and respected by prominent businessmen throughout the United States.

The years went by, and sales grew from a few pounds that first day to 50 million pounds annually. While many people speculate on the reasons for the rapid growth of his company, the answer no doubt lies in his rule of maximum quality, a policy of fair business practices, and a high standard of employer-employee relations. This is best proven by the confidence of the buying public, the cooperation of the company's suppliers and outlets, and a loyalty from his employees that is unequaled elsewhere.

The highly competitive nature of the coffee business, coupled with severe price fluctuations in green coffee prices, governmental controls during war years, and the general depression of the 1930's has produced momentary setbacks. This was true not only of the coffee business, but many other businesses as well. However, Mr. Duncan's company prospered and expanded while others less hardy fell by the wayside. His keen foresight, his hard-hitting business acumen, and willingness to hazard the risks inherent to the coffee business have guided his firm to the prominence it now enjoys in the coffee industry.

The home office of Duncan Coffee Co. is still the same building and location where Mr. Duncan started out some 39 years ago. The building, of course, has been expanded to meet production, warehousing, and office requirements. In 1936, Mr. Duncan bought out Magnolia Coffee Co.; 1937 marked the acquisition of the Delicious Coffee Co. in Corpus Christi; 1941, the garage and automobile repair shop were constructed; 1949, a warehouse containing 22,000 square feet was added to the original Duncan plant; 1949, a 3-story addition was constructed at the

Magnolia plant; 1952, Duncan acquired the Sheer Coffee Co. in Waco; and 1953 saw the construction of a new modern office and warehouse in Dallas. For many years it was Mr. Duncan's dream to someday build a new modern office and plant to replace the original Carr Street plant. This would have been the culmination of his many years of endeavor in a business that was his way of life.

No résumé of Mr. Herschel Duncan would be complete without the mention of the three most popular brand names to be born of Duncan Coffee Co. Texas' largest seller and the favorite of thousands in its trade territory, Admiration was the first. Bright and Early, the coffee "with the rooster on the package" was second and the choice of those who prefer a mild, zesty coffee in the lower price range. Mr. Duncan's prize product, Maryland Club, "the coffee you'd drink if you owned all the coffee in the world," was a blend developed by him especially for fine institutional accounts, and it has become the overwhelming choice of coffee connoisseurs in the southwest. These coffees, and many other blends, were all originated by a man regarded in the coffee industry as one of the world's top coffee tasters and coffee experts.

Some 3 years after starting the Duncan Coffee Co., Mr. Duncan was joined by his brother, Charles W. Duncan, Sr., and they were the only stockholders in the company for many years. However, in 1951, a portion of the capital stock was offered to the public for the first time. Controlling interest was vested in Herschel Duncan from the company's inception in July of 1918 until his untimely death on February 15, 1957.

In the days that have gone by since Mr. Duncan's passing, we realize more and more how fortunate we were to have had his wisdom, counsel, and guidance in the conduct of the company's affairs for so many years. For those who knew and loved him, and were fortunate in having worked for and with him, his indomitable spirit, and the knowledge he imparted to each of us during his lifetime, remains to guide and inspire us in the years that lie ahead.

Herschel Mills Duncan was born on November 5, 1888, on a Kentucky plantation, the son of John Green Duncan and Armelia Neal Duncan. Mr. Duncan was educated in Kentucky public schools, and attended Southern Normal College in Bowling Green, Ky.

Mr. Duncan moved to Houston in 1907, and on June 5, 1912, married Miss Linnie Dunn, the daughter of Thomas C. and Tracy Dunn. The Duncans were the parents of 4 children, and the grandparents of 14, all of whom survive Mr. Duncan. From a modest apartment in the early years of their marriage, the Duncans moved into their River Oaks residence in 1929 where they were living at the date of his death. The Duncans also maintained a summer home on the bay.

Herschel Mills Duncan was for many years active in local civic and charitable organizations. He was a member of St. Luke's Methodist Church and had contributed much to its growth and activities; he was a director of the Houston Horse Show Association; a life member of the Houston Fat Stock Show Association; he served on the Board of Managers of Jefferson Davis Hospital; Mr. Duncan was a member of the Honorable Order of Kentucky Colonels; a charter member of River Oaks Country Club, and a member of the Ramada, Tejas, Houston, Tex., Corinthian Yacht and Houston Country Clubs.

Mr. Duncan was for many years interested in the breeding and raising of Tennessee walking horses, and his great love of horses is reflected in the mural and many statues used in the decor of his office. He also for many years was active in local golf circles, however, following the impairment of his vision, he had restricted his outdoor activities to boating and fishing.

Final services for Herschel M. Duncan were held from the residence, 3320 Chevy Chase, on Saturday afternoon, February 16, 1957, Bishop A. Frank Smith, and the Reverend Durwood Fleming officiating. Interment was in Forest Park Cemetery, Houston, Tex.

Mr. Duncan is survived by his wife, Mrs. Linnie Dunn Duncan; his daughters, Mrs. Katherine Duncan Cummings, Mrs. Amelia Duncan White, and Mrs. Harriet Duncan Taft; his son, Herschel Mills Duncan, Jr.; his brother, Charles W. Duncan, Sr., and 14 grandchildren.

[From the Houston Chronicle of February 17, 1957]

DUNCAN DEATH THINS PIONEER RANKS

The death of Herschel M. Duncan thins further the ranks of the pioneer businessmen of this city who helped to build the community into the metropolis it is today. The community will miss his services.

Duncan, a native of Kentucky, came to Houston 50 years ago when he was 18 and went to work for his uncle, J. W. Neal of the Cheek-Neal Coffee Co. He learned the business quickly and in 1918 started his own firm, the Duncan Coffee Co. Through his business acumen and good trade practices he built the company to the large organization it now is.

Throughout his career he was active in civic and welfare work in the community. He was a director of the Jefferson Davis Hospital and the Houston Horse Show Association. He was one of those who helped to make the Houston Fat Stock Show and Rodeo the success it is. He was a patron of the Houston Symphony Orchestra and was known as a generous contributor to many civic and charitable undertakings in Houston.

Physical evidences of his work in behalf of the community will endure for many years.

[From the Houston Post of February 16, 1957]

H. M. DUNCAN SET EXAMPLE OF ENTERPRISE

Herschel M. Duncan was a self-reliant man who believed in climbing the ladder of success by his own efforts, rather than depending on others to boost him. In this course of life he set a striking example of American enterprise and initiative.

First, he gave up an opportunity to succeed his father as owner and operator of a plantation in his native Kentucky. Striking out on his own, he came to Houston as a youth of 18, and went to work for his mother's brother, the late J. W. Neal, at the old Cheek-Neal Coffee Co.

Starting at a salary of $9 per week, young Duncan learned the business from the ground up. He was general superintendent when, in 1918, he brushed aside another opportunity to rise in a kinsman's enterprise, and ventured forth in his own coffee business. It was a struggle, "roasting coffee in the morning and peddling it at night," as he once recalled, with an old second-hand Ford for transportation. But the self-reliance that moved him to leave the security of his uncle's company to go on his own lifted him to the heights of success. He built the Duncan Coffee Co. up into one of the largest in the country.

Herschel Duncan's qualities of character also elevated him to leadership in Houston's community life. His civic consciousness and his active interest in cultural affairs, particularly as a patron of the Houston Symphony Orchestra, contributed substantially to their advancement.

His untimely passing is a great loss to Houston and countless friends share the grief of Mrs. Duncan and members of their family.

EDITOR'S LETTER

In the past few weeks several of you have asked when we were going to have another issue of The Grounds. The interest you have shown has been very encouraging, and I wanted you to know that this issue was purposely delayed.

The weeks following the death of Mr. H. M. Duncan were very busy ones. There were countless matters to be handled, and my working days were long ones, and there was no time to devote to The Grounds.

I felt, as many of you did, that our next issue should appropriately be one that would pay tribute to the man who was the founder and president of our company. I felt, too, that this issue would be one which required much thought and careful consideration in order to make it a tribute of which we could be justly proud, and in keeping with the stature of the man it memorializes.

This, then, is the story of a man who was not only our employer—but a friend to his employees as well. I have put my best efforts into this issue, and I am hopeful it will meet with your approval and be a memento that will be placed with others that you cherish.

It has been said that next to a man's family, his secretary knows him best. Most of his waking hours are spent at his work, and this he shares with his secretary. She often sees a side of his personality, and many character traits, that are never manifested before his family or business associates. While I have been in the company's employ for over 13 years, I had worked directly for Mr. Duncan only during the past 3 years. It was a challenge and a privilege to work for and with him, and an experience that I value highly and will long remember.

Looking back, you remember the little day-to-day happenings—the habits and expressions that were so much a part of his vibrant presonality. The working day usually started with a telephone call: I'm on my way to the office; and in 20 minutes or so, the elevator door would open to his office. I could hear him as he would hang up his hat and coat. He would walk to the door connecting our offices, tell me good morning, and chat for a few minutes. Then he would walk over to the door connecting Mr. C. W. Duncan's office to talk with "Brother." He would usually then start down the hall, stopping to speak with the department heads, secretaries, and one or another of the employees, and would inquire as to how their work was going. He spent many hours in the cupping room checking the blends to be sure that product quality was being maintained. Ofttimes I never saw him again until noontime when he and Mr. Charlie would leave to lunch together.

Mr. Duncan was a man that expected his employees to function effectively, and their efforts were appreciated and rewarded accordingly. He was interested not only in the work they could do—but he was interested in their well-being also. If this man had a fault it was that of being overly generous—not only where his employees were concerned, but also in the welfare of others who, as he said so many times, were less fortunate than you and I.

And so, his passing leaves a void in each of our lives. He had a special place in my heart, and in yours. As the days go by, the first shock of grief and loss is lessened—but the imprint of his having lived remains.

These are but a few of my memories—I wanted to share them with you.

RUTH GRIFFIN.

The Economic Implications of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to compliment the Duquesne Review, of Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa., upon the excellent article entitled "The Economic Implications of Foreign Aid," by Thomas P. Melády, director of development of Duquesne University, which appeared in the spring 1957 issue.

The article follows:

THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF FOREIGN AID

(By Thomas P. Melady)

The United States is engaged in a basic review of the general principles underlying the foreign-aid program. Since the start of the Marshall plan, up to and including June 30, 1956, the Congress appropriated for all types of aid related to the mutual-security program—$42.4 billion.[1] We have now come to a point in our national life when it is felt that a fundamental analysis of the foreign-aid program should be made.

In reflecting on the economic implications of foreign aid, there are certain basic questions that should be answered. Exactly what are we getting in return for our expenditures that justifies further expenditures along these lines? This question must, of course, be answered in the broader framework: what are the basic security interests of the United States in the world today?

Some of the more interesting factors to be considered are the following: the Soviet Union, Red China, and their satellite states have a population of 800 million living in one enormous contiguous area. This vast strategic geopolitical power is committed to the cardinal principle that communism will one day dominate the globe. Outside this Communist power structure there are approximately 1.7 billion people, of which the United States has only 170 million. Faced with the ever-present challenge of this vast Communist force dedicated to its liquidation, it can be appreciated that the United States is not big enough by itself to stop a really determined outward push of international communism. By working together with the people of the free nations, however, this country has the Communist bloc outnumbered in terms of population better than 2 to 1.

The industrial resources of the Western World give it definite industrial superiority over the Communist bloc. Western Europe and Japan constitute important elements of the western industrial strength. If, on the other hand, the United States were to lose either of these two areas, the Communists would be equal, if not superior to her in industrial strength.

The United States is dependent on sources outside her boundaries for 75 minerals which are vital to our military and industrial strength.[2] Most of these raw materials can be found in the underdeveloped countries of Africa, South America, and Asia. The United States is the largest consumer of all industrial raw materials. For example, this country consumes 63 percent of the world's copper output, 65 percent of the tin, and 43 percent of the natural rubber. The United States and Western Europe are growing increasingly dependent upon the underdeveloped countries for the supply of such critical materials as manganese, chrome, antimony, cobalt, tungsten, and mercury. It would seem that it is in the minimum security interest of this country to keep these industrial and raw-material resources out of Soviet hands.[3]

We have learned from history that a major cause for the rise of demagogs in some areas of the world is the inability of many of the underdeveloped countries to make any significant improvement in their standard of living. The control of governments by these despots never seems to be in the national interest of the United States. We all vividly remember what happened a few years ago in Iran when one such individual was able to cut off that nation's oil resources from the rest of the world. Through the foreign-aid and technical-assistance program, the United States has been able to help underdeveloped countries to create a more favorable socio-economic climate which seems to diminish significantly the possibility of demagogs gaining control of the governments of underdeveloped countries.

In order to maintain the high standard of living in the United States, it is important that she find ever-increasing world markets for her finished products. By helping other countries to raise their standards of living, to create new sources of wealth, to increase productivity, and to expand their purchasing power, the United States seems to forward her own best economic interests.[4]

ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA

What have been the achievements of the foreign-aid and technical-assistance program, as far as the economic well-being of the United States is concerned? Let us answer this first by looking at a particular part of the world—Latin America.

Today's governmental programs of technical cooperation first took root in the Americas. They sprang from the fertile soil of inter-American agreements. A 1939 law authorized United States Government agencies to carry out cooperative tasks based on these agreements, and an Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with American Republics was set up in May of that year.[5]

World War II speeded up the process. As emergency needs arose, the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs was established. It undertook programs largely to overcome the health hazards that stood in the way of obtaining essential materials, such as rubber and metals, and to meet the food needs of the people. After the war, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs was reincorporated to continue the cooperative programs. In Europe the United States took part in the European recovery programs.

In 1949, the United States established as a national policy the desirability of extending the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress[6] to all the underdeveloped areas. The next year the Congress approved the Act for International Development, and a Technical Cooperation Administration was set up in the Department of State. Technical assistance in some countries of the Far East, however, was handled by the Economic Cooperation Administration—later the Mutual Security Agency—which was also handling technical-exchange programs with the industrial countries of Europe.

In 1953, President Eisenhower, for greater efficiency and economy in foreign operations, telescoped all three agencies—the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Technical Cooperation Administration, and Mutual Security Agency—into the Foreign Operations Administration, later to become the International Cooperation Administration. The International Cooperation Association conducts the cooperative programs with other nations.

Since its establishment by President Eisenhower, the International Cooperation Administration has placed increasing emphasis on expanding the work of technical cooperation. With increased congressional funds, more technicians are in the field than ever before, and more American universities are helping in the exchange of technical knowledge.

The Latin American Republics have made remarkable strides in the last decade in the development of permanent countrywide institutions; in agriculture, to teach the people how to grow more and better food; in health, to introduce new sanitation techniques, improve personal hygiene standards and conquer widespread disease; in education, to carry the impact of practical training not only into the cities but also into the most remote provinces.

Health, agriculture, and education are the three major fields in which technical-cooperation activities are carried on. Other fields receiving increased emphasis are community development, transportation, electric power development, mineral resources, and public administration and industry.

Latin America was, and basically is, an agricultural area, rapid industrial progress notwithstanding. The farm products coming out of this region represent an important source of foreign exchange and contribute greatly to expanding trade. United States agricultural specialists are helping Latin American technicians to establish permanent extension services, improved agricultural conservation and irrigation methods, and organized farm demonstration projects and vocational education.

In the health program, more than 136 United States doctors, nurses, engineers, and technicians are working in Latin America. Over 1,400 Latin American technicians have received training in the United States in medicine, sanitary engineering, nursing, health education, laboratory research, and dentistry. It is estimated that more than 23 million persons have benefited from the joint health programs in 18 countries in Latin America.

In Brazil, for example, a group of 40 United States technicians went into the Amazon Valley region in 1943 to wipe out malaria and dysentery.

In the small shipping port of Cameta in the Amazon Valley, there was an annual death toll of 300 for every 1,000 persons. Today, Brazilian doctors, working with American public experts, have lowered that rate to 70 per thousand. More than 1,000 Brazilian technicians are now carrying on this work and there is not a single United States technician remaining in the area.

Neither the health nor the agriculture programs could be carried on effectively without a sound program in education. Fifteen Latin American countries now have joint education programs with the United States. Approximately 75 United States technicians are helping to organize vocational education programs and to plan curricula for newly developed schools.

Since the beginning of the technical cooperation programs, almost 4,500 Latin Americans have received training in the United States.

In all phases of technical cooperation American technicians and administrative personnel are coordinating their activities with over 12,000 Latin American technicians. The host countries have steadily increased their contributions to these projects. Since 1943, the United States has contributed $126,876,700 to the joint programs and Latin American contributions have been almost twice this amount.

Wherever possible, emphasis is placed on a "people to people" relationship. Even more significant, the work is carried on with substantial help from private organizations, as represented not only by colleges, universities, and other service organizations, but also by private industrial firms who have

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

pioneered daringly in developing the vast resources of the region.[7]

ETHIOPIA

As another case study, let us consider Ethiopia. The author recently was able to observe personally the American foreign aid and technical-assistance program in this country. This old empire is the gateway to central and southern Africa. It is of strategic geopolitical importance to the Western World. The United States looks to Ethiopia for coffee, hides, some oil, and gold. She is also attempting to find increased markets for her own goods in this country. In 1955, the United States invested around $3 million in Ethiopia. How has this and previous amounts been spent?

Ethiopia is endowed with an abundance of rich natural resources but it does not have the necessary capital and the large number of trained people required to develop these resources in its plans for the country's social and economic advancement. The Imperial Ethiopian Government is, therefore, placing great emphasis on expanding educational opportunities for its people. Other important aspects of the Government's development program include continuing efforts on the reconstruction, repair, and development of highways and telecommunication facilities. Furthermore, in order to foster in Ethiopia the investment of private capital, both local and foreign, a Development Bank was established in 1951.[8]

The technical-assistance program was launched in May 1952. Since then it has been helping with these plans by means of specific projects in those fields where the Ethiopian Government has determined that United States technical assistance would be helpful. These projects are in the fields of agriculture, water resources, education, public health and sanitation, commerce and industry, and public administration. The United States furnishes the specialists and the Ethiopian Government provides the counterpart personnel, land, buildings, and other contributions in kind for each of these projects. In most instances operation costs are shared by the two governments by means of special joint funds, thereby making the program a truly cooperative effort of Americans and Ethiopians.[9]

The main feature of the point 4 program in Ethiopia is training. The training aspects are important because they aim at developing an indigenous corps of trained technical and academic personnel capable of implementing the country's development plans. The Ethiopian program is attempting to achieve this long-term objective by helping to expand and improve the country's existing institutions which will facilitate this training. If facilities for training are not available locally, the program offers opportunities for training abroad, usually in the United States.[10]

The program in Ethiopia has assisted in expanding opportunities for local training by:

1. On-the-job training of counterpart Ethiopian personnel in conducting the cooperative project activities.

2. Establishing institutions under the direction of United States specialists for the training of:

(a) Agriculturalists (Jimma Agricultural Technical School and the Imperial Ethiopian College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts).

(b) Junior professionals in the field of public health (Gondar Public Health College and Training Center).

(c) Tradesmen (Vocational Trade School at Asmara).

3. Expanding and improving existing institutions by:

(a) Furnishing advisory staff and funds to the ministry of education for the improvement and expansion of elementary and secondary schools.

(b) Furnishing supplies, equipment, and the associate director for the Technical School of Addis Ababa.

(c) Furnishing supplies, equipment, and the associate director for Her Imperial Majesty's Handicraft School.

(d) Furnishing supplies and equipment for the College of Engineering.

The technical assistance program in Ethiopia is also considering further assistance to the Ethiopian Government for expanding local training opportunities through the establishment of a trade school and another teachers training institute.[11]

Furthermore, the existence of the technical assistance program in Ethiopia has stimulated a general climate of interest on the part of the Ethiopians themselves in economic development. In 1954 the Ethiopian Government established a council which has the direct responsibility of formulating, developing, and coordinating a comprehensive national economic policy and of formulating opinions and proposals in all matters relating to this policy and the economic development of Ethiopia.

Although it is too early to analyze the results of the work of the council, the existence of the high-level planning group, may prove to be of great significance in the long run. Most observers of the Ethiopian economic situation believe that there is an acute need for greater coordination of economic activities, especially as regards the nation's investment program, both public and private.

The creation, development, and expansion of this climate of interest in economic development can be regarded as a major accomplishment of the technical assistance program in Ethiopia.[12]

Has this been worth the investment of the several million American dollars? In the final analysis the answer to this question must take into consideration the paramount moral and political principles. But it should be remembered, that the complete cost of the investment in the future of Ethiopia has been far less than the cost of a battleship.

Once again looking at the purely economic aspect, what has the United States received for the expenditure of her funds throughout the free world?

It can be claimed that this country has created sufficient military strength in the free world so that today, for the first time in almost 20 years, there is no major war going on. A few years ago, the Communists controlled 75 percent of Greece; now they have been pushed out. Turkey has been aided in building up its own armed forces and in countering Communist threats against its freedom. Since the fall of Czechoslovakia in 1948, the Communists have not advanced 1 inch in Europe; and they have withdrawn from Austria. Since Korea, the Communists have not started any new wars.

Mainly as a result of the Marshall plan aid, the countries of Western Europe were enabled to restore an economic equilibrium and today, through their own resources, they are maintaining a major source of strength against the Communist threat.

THE FUTURE

How far is the United States going into this foreign-aid matter, and how far should this country go?

In regard to military aid, it would seem that as long as the Communist military threat exists, it will be United States policy to continue the mutual defense assistance program. This country is not in the business of arming the whole world. She does supply friendly nations those weapons, equipment, and other items which they need to meet an agreed level of effective defense, but one which they are unable to make, buy, or otherwise obtain for themselves. In most cases, the other countries do most of the work.

On the other hand, economic aid for defense, for development, and for emergency situations seems to be a sensible way of protecting United States interests. Such aid was used several years ago to keep Iran from going bankrupt and possibly falling into Communist hands. The cost of this emergency aid to Iran in 1953 was around $60 million. Since it seems that this aid was mainly responsible for keeping Iran, with its strategic location and oil reserves, on our side of the world struggle, this investment of American funds could be considered a good bargain. Such aid has been used for similar purposes in Bolivia and Guatemala.

SUMMARY

The United States is now in the process of going through a critical evaluation of her foreign economic policy.[13] In analyzing the economic implications of foreign aid, we have established as a base of reference the best economic interests of the United States. There are those, however, who feel that foreign aid and technical assistance are not in the best interests of this country because it is essentially a giveaway program. Furthermore, those opposed to foreign aid because of its economic implications point out that foreign aid has encouraged underdeveloped countries not to admit foreign private capital on terms of sufficient freedom to make such an investment attractive.[14]

Another rather disturbing problem should be examined. In certain areas of the world where there has been considerable economic and military aid, the United States is rather unpopular. As a matter of fact, in his recent travels in Africa and Europe, the author has found a disturbingly large number of people distrustful of the United States because of foreign aid.

In reviewing the basic concept of foreign aid we must also recognize that several countries benefiting from American aid are leaders of the so-called neutralist group; several of these same countries are even criticizing the American-aid programs. On the other hand, we should also be interested in determining why the Soviet Union, though giving little or no assistance to these same countries, has managed to gain so much of their good will.

In this analysis of the economic implications of foreign aid, the costs in dollars to our country has been noted. There are those who believe that economically speaking a continuation of the foreign aid program is not in the best interests of the United States because of the large sums of money being given away. Others hold that it is responsible for the ill feeling held against this country by some of the recipients of this aid.

On the other hand, other observers feel that the returns from foreign aid in terms of increased allied and friendly strength are far more proportionate to the funds involved. They hold that economic aid "for defense, for development, and for emergency needs" seems to be a reasonable method of promoting the best interests of the United States.

Both the President and the Congress have called for a basic review of foreign aid. While this paper has attempted a review of the economic aspects, a decision based on that consideration alone would not be feasible. All the implications must be consid-

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ered, for our goal, as President Eisenhower pointed out, is to come up with a comprehensive plan that fulfills our responsibilities both as Christians and as American citizens.

(AUTHOR'S NOTE.—The author is deeply indebted to Prof. Geza Grosschmid, K. M., department of economics, Duquesne University, for his critical review of this article.)

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[1] See annual reports of the mutual security program, especially The Mutual Security Program for the Fiscal year 1956 (Washington, D. C.: Office of Research. Statistics and Reports, International Cooperation Administration, 1956.)

[2] U. S. Department of Defense, Stockpile Report to Congress, July 23, 1951 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1951), pp. 33–35.

[3] See Thomas Patrick Melady, Taxation as a Factor in the Development of Underdeveloped Countries (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954), ch. 1, for a more thorough discussion of this subject.

[4] Clarence B. Randall, A Foreign Economic Policy for the United States (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 1–24.

[5] Report of the Secretariat of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council on Technical Assistance Activities in Latin American (Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, 1954). For a significant document on United States Technical Assistance to Latin America, the report of Dr. Milton Eisenhower should be studied. See Milton Eisenhower, Report to the President: United States-Latin American Relations (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1954).

[6] New York Times, January 21, 1949.

[7] Mutual Security Program for the Fiscal Year 1954, Mutual Security Program for the Fiscal Year 1955, and Mutual Security Program for the Fiscal Year op. cit.

[8] The Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Quarterly Bulletin (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Commerce and Industry) Vols. 1 through 4.

[9] Thomas Patrick Melady, Plans for the Economic Development of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: The University College of Addis Ababa, 1955) pp. 3–7.

[10] The Point Four Program in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: United States Operations Mission to Ethiopia, 1954) pp. 1–4.

[11] The major source consulted for an evaluation of the "Climate of Interest" was: Report on Economic Conditions and Market Trends (Addis Ababa: State Bank of Ethiopia, 1955).

[12] For an interesting evaluation of the technical assistance program in Ethiopia, see William H. Lewis, "The Ethiopian Empire: Progress and Problems," The Middle East Journal, vol. 10, No. 3, Summer, 1956, pp. 257–268.

[13] The beginning of this critical evaluation can be found in Staff Papers Presented to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Press, 1954). See also New York Times, March 31, 1954, p. 1.

[14] Study of Factors Limiting American Private Foreign Investment (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Press, 1953), p. 28.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Appendix

Laying of Cornerstone of the Quaker Baptist Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, last Sunday, June 30, ceremonies were held in Bedford County, Va., at one of the oldest sites of worship in Piedmont Virginia, in connection with the laying of the cornerstone of the Quaker Baptist Church.

The program included reading of messages from Representative BROOKS HAYS, of Arkansas, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and from Gov. Thomas B. Stanley, of Virginia, and the placing of a cornerstone box containing an interesting collection of mementoes gathered by Kenneth E. Crouch, of the staff of the Bedford Democrat. Participants in the ceremony included the Reverend L. C. Coffman, Raymond J. Dowdy, and Roy Burnette, who placed the cornerstone; Dr. Wesley N. Laing, who gave the invocation; the Reverend A. W. Connelly, who read the scripture lesson; the Reverend Tearle P. Brown, who gave the dedicatory message; and the Reverend L. Preston Brown, who gave the benediction at the morning service; the pastor of the church, John Layton, who gave the invocation at the afternoon service; the Reverend Fred Harcum, who read the Scripture lesson; W. Curtis English, moderator of the Baptist General Association of Virginia; and the Reverend Floy W. Cox, Jr., moderator of the Strawberry Baptist Association, who brought greetings from those organizations; and the Reverend Charlie M. Shelton, who gave the message.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the texts of the messages of Representative HAYS and Governor Stanley, a list of contents of the cornerstone box, and a brief chronology of the Quaker Baptist Church.

There being no objection, the messages, list of contents, and chronology were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MESSAGE FROM REPRESENTATIVE BROOKS HAYS, OF ARKANSAS, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

I am very pleased to extend my best wishes to you on the dedication of your new Quaker Baptist Church building. I think it is wonderful to have continued worship on this same site since 1757, when the Society of Friends held their first service there. The relationship with the Quaker heritage reflects a great sense of brotherhood and a real contribution to the spirit of religious tolerance in America and in Virginia. As president of the Southern Baptist Convention, I wish you and your congregation many years of continued success in preserving this historic landmark and furthering the cause of our great Baptist faith.

MESSAGE FROM GOV. THOMAS B. STANLEY, OF VIRGINIA

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to the congregation of the Quaker Baptist Church in Bedford County on its 200th anniversary.

The foundation of this Nation was laid by man and women who believed in God and His influence in human affairs, and from the earliest years these spiritual aspirations have been a vital force in American life.

We give thanks for the religious beliefs of our Founding Fathers for their contribution to the creation of this land of freedom.

The heart of America's greatness still springs from its belief that only through religious faith can men hold firm and uncompromised their spiritual heritages of freedom and the right to live with hope.

CONTENTS OF CORNERSTONE BOX

(Collected by Kenneth E. Crouch)

History of Lower Goose Creek Meeting and Quaker Baptist Church, 1754–1957 with 1880 (earliest on record) and 1957 church membership and all officers since 1757.

Parts of cornerstones from churches built in 1789 and 1957.

Blueprint of church built in 1957.

Church constitution adopted in 1957.

First budget adopted by church in 1955.

Nineteen hundred fifty-seven Strawberry Baptist Association minutes.

"Peeping and spying" law passed by 1956 session of General Assembly of Virginia.

Messages from Gov. Thomas B. Stanley, of Virginia, and Representative BROOKS HAYS, of Arkansas, president of Southern Baptist Convention.

Song, The Old Rugged Cross, autographed by the Reverend George Bennard, author-composer.

Song, Beautiful Bedford.

Folder, What You Should Know About Your Church.

Book, The History of Bedford County, Va.

Bedford County 1954 Bicentennial Program.

Folder of Bedford Chamber of Commerce on Bedford and Bedford County.

Nineteen hundred fifty-four Bedford County bicentennial wooden nickel and 1862 Bedford County paper currency.

Rock and soil from First Baptist Church in Providence, R. I., built in 1638 and oldest Baptist church in America.

Rock and soil from Mill Swamp Baptist Church in Isle of Wight County, in 1714 and oldest Baptist church in Virginia.

Fragments of stones from the birthplace of Christ in Bethlehem, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Cenacle (the upper room in which the Last Supper was eaten), Mount Calvary, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at the site of the crucifixion.

Programs of 1953 pastorium dedication, 1955 Easter sunrise service, 1956 groundbreaking service, 1957 first worship service in new church, and 1957 dedication service.

Pictures of 1789 deed, cornerstone of church built in 1789, Dr. J. T. Kincannon, church built in 1899, interior of church built in 1899, pastorium, route 24 marker, artists drawing of church built in 1957, 1956 groundbreaking service, 1899 baptising in Body Camp Creek west of church, 1957 auction sale of church built in 1890, and churches built in 1899 and 1957.

Copies of the Fincastle (Va.) Herald, the Religious Herald (Richmond, Va.), the Bedford (Va.) Democrat, and Ambassador Life (Birmingham, Ala.).

Editorial page of the Roanoke (Va.) Times of March 31, 1957, with column by Dr. Goodridge A. Wilson on oldest churches in southwest Virginia.

CHRONOLOGY OF QUAKER BAPTIST CHURCH

October 9, 1756: Petition presented to have Lower Goose Creek meeting organized by Society of Friends (Quakers).

September 15, 1757: First session of Lower Goose Creek meeting in new house.

1775: Difficult Creek Baptist Church organized.

November 11, 1788: Meeting officially established and named Bedford meeting.

July 27, 1789: Deed recorded for Lower Goose Creek meeting; meetinghouse built same year.

1805: Difficult Creek Baptist Church admitted to Strawberry Baptist Association.

1810: Difficult Creek Baptist Church officially planted by the Reverend Alderson Weeks.

July 1824: Society of Friends release Lower Goose Creek meeting property to Baptists.

1899: New church built.

August 13, 1899: First sermon preached in new church by Dr. J. T. Kincannon.

August 26–27, 1899: Dedication service for new church; Rev. W. S. Royall, speaker.

August 4–6, 1903: Strawberry Baptist Association met at church.

January 7, 1939: Name changed from Difficult Creek Baptist Church to Quaker Baptist Church.

August 1–6, 1949: Historic marker erected by Virginia State Conservation and Development Commission on Route 24.

November 28, 1951: Deed recorded for pastorium at intersection of Routes 24 and 43.

October 25, 1953: Pastorium dedicated; Rev. Wesley N. Laing, speaker.

March 2, 1956: General Assembly of Virginia passed peeping and spying law as a result of case originating at pastorium and in Bedford County courts.

May 27, 1956: Groundbreaking for new church.

October 31, 1956: Actual construction begun on new church.

May 19, 1957: Sunday school and evening worship service held in new church.

May 20, 1957: First sermon preached in new church by the Reverend Floy W. Cox.

June 1, 1957: Old church sold at public auction, purchased by Woodson Tuck for $150.

Labor's New Broom, No. 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the second part of the radio panel discussion on the

program Labor Answers Your Questions printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the discussion was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR ANSWERS YOUR QUESTIONS

(An AFL–CIO public service radio series, program No. 10, Labor's New Broom, No. 2. Guest, Al J. Hayes, chairman of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee, AFL–CIO, vice president, and president of the International Association of Machinists. Panel, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois; Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon. Moderator, Harry W. Flannery.)

Mr. FLANNERY. Labor answers your question.

You have been reading stories about the investigation of improper activities in labor by the select Senate committee whose chairman is Arkansas Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN. You probably have questions in mind. Perhaps you want to know what labor itself is doing to help clean racketeers and other corrupt persons from its ranks.

Last week, we began to take up this subject in a discussion with the chairman of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee, Al J. Hayes, who is also an AFL–CIO vice president, and president of the International Association of Machinists. Mr. Hayes was heard as he talked with two United States Senators who have been active in congressional investigations and procedures: PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon.

In this program, Labor's New Broom, we continue the discussion as broadcast from the office of Senator DOUGLAS in the Senate Office Building here in Washington.

Senator DOUGLAS. Now, Mr. Hayes, since I was chairman of the committee which conducted the investigations into health and welfare funds, I wondered if you would say a few words about the standards which you believe to be proper, in connection with these funds?

Mr. HAYES. Well, of course, I think that our code on health and welfare funds actually answer that question. We are in favor of the strictest type of regulation of health and welfare funds.

Senator DOUGLAS. I have your code before me, and that very clearly states as a matter of self-discipline, that no union official is to profit, either directly or indirectly, from the funds; and that, also, he is not to have his relatives profit as insurance agents and so on.

Mr. HAYES. Actually, the code prohibits anyone connected with the union, receiving a salary from the union, from collecting any supplemental salary from a health and welfare fund—even if he performs a service for the fund—as a trustee or an administrator or health and welfare representative.

Senator DOUGLAS. Now, after studying this matter for some time, I came to the conclusion that what the Government should do would be to require full reporting of all the details of these funds to a public agency, and then, disclosure to the beneficiaries and to the public of these facts, so that the white light of publicity would always beat in upon them. And we believe that this would be a great deterrent.

Now, we have found great reinforcement from your movement, in advocating full disclosure. And I want to pay tribute to you for doing this. I wonder if you have any comments that you would like to make on this principle of full reporting and full disclosure?

Mr. HAYES. Well, the only comment I have, Senator Douglas, is that we are in favor of it. We're in full accord with your bill in that regard. However, we feel that this should apply to any type of health and welfare funds.

Senator DOUGLAS. Oh, that is in my bill, not merely to union-managed funds or jointly administered funds, but to employer funds. And I personally have been pained to find that the National Association of Manufacturers, which is urging strict regulations of union and jointly administered funds, are, nevertheless, claiming exemption for employer funds.

Mr. FLANNERS. Senator, I want to ask you in connection with these health and welfare funds, how many of them are union administered?

Senator DOUGLAS. Well, only about 2 percent, Mr. Flannery, 8 percent are jointly administered by the unions and the employers, but 90 percent are employer administered; so that if you merely regulate union or union and jointly administered plans, you are only regulating the tail of the dog. The real dog consists of the employer-administered plans, and these are the plans which have the major resources, amounting now to almost $40 billion.

Mr. FLANNERY. The bill which has been sponsored by yourself, by Senator MORSE and others, would provide for the covering of all of these funds as far as the law is concerned?

Senator DOUGLAS. That is correct. And the NAM would confine the plan to the 8 or 10 percent only.

Senator MORSE. Well, PAUL DOUGLAS, I want to say that I'm proud to be a cosponsor of your bill, because I think you're completely on the right track; you're doing a great service to the American people as well as labor and employers. I, too, regret that we have the opposition of great employer groups to a thorough-going analysis and disclosure of welfare funds. It's interesting also that some of the great insurance companies seem to want to take a hands-off policy when it comes to welfare funds.

Senator DOUGLAS. Mr. Hayes, I wonder if you'd say a word or two about the codes that you've adopted, notably the one on union financial practices and then on union democracy.

Mr. HAYES. It might be well to mention all of the codes, at least identify them, and also other policy statements that are related to the codes. First of all, the federation has adopted a code with regard to local union charters. This code prohibits the granting of local union charters to any individuals that are not qualified to become members of the unions, and are not qualified to be union officials.

The second code is with regard to administration of health and welfare funds, which we've already discussed.

The third code deals generally with racketeers, crooks, Communists, and Fascists in the labor movement, and prohibits any union from aiding and abetting such elements.

The fourth code deals with conflicts of interest, and in substance or in a general way, prohibits a trade union official to have any interest that conflicts with his primary responsibility to the membership of his union.

Then the fifth code, recently adopted, has to do with all of the phases of financial practices in a labor union.

Senator DOUGLAS. I notice that there you require an audited statement which will be made available to the membership.

Mr. HAYES. Yes. Made available to all local unions and to every individual member of the union, periodically.

Senator DOUGLAS. And you believe, and I think this is correct, that if the audit has to be made by an outside agency, that this will lead not only to greater efficiency and economy, but it will also be a deterrent and protection against possible temptation.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, and it might be well to mention that this financial code applies to the local unions as well as to the national and international unions.

Senator DOUGLAS. And I wonder if you'd say a word about this last code that you've adopted, namely, about union democracy.

Mr. HAYES. The last code deals with union democratic procedures, and assures to the membership—to the rank and file membership of the union—the opportunity to decide how its union is going to be operated.

Senator MORSE. I want to stress that because I think it's one of the great public demands. The public is so misinformed about it; the public seems to think that labor runs an oligarchy or a dictatorship in the handling of union affairs. The public doesn't realize that almost all unions—some exceptions—but almost all unions are just little democratic states, really, as far as their own procedures are concerned.

Senator DOUGLAS. This isn't true of all unions.

Senator MORSE. No—I say most of them; some of them are not. But a great majority of them are certainly democratic states where the delegates from the local union level on up, really under democratic processes control and determine union policy.

Mr. HAYES. Well, Senator MORSE, I said in some recent speeches that I've been making at colleges that the machinists union which is typical of approximately 90 percent of unions, insofar as our procedures were concerned. And in our organization, all of the laws that govern the organization were adopted by the membership in a referendum vote; these laws can be changed only in a referendum vote. Even the delegates at convention are not empowered to change the laws. The officers of the organization are nominated and elected by the membership, and not by convention delegates. I say that more than 90 percent of the unions in the federation are as democratic in their procedures as are the machinists union. And this is not commonly known to the American public.

Senator DOUGLAS. I notice that you provide that union officials should hold office not to exceed 4 years, and should be elected by democratic methods either by referendum or by the vote of a delegate body which is itself elected by a referendum or at union meetings.

Mr. HAYES. That's correct.

Senator DOUGLAS. And also that all conventions should be open to the public.

Mr. FLANNERY. What is the procedure, Mr. Hayes, in case of violation of these codes? What happens?

Mr. HAYES. In case of violation of the code, of course, the ethical practices committee is duty bound to investigate all of the reasons for the violations and the extent of the violations, and submit——

Mr. FLANNERY. How does the violation come to the attention of the ethical practices committee?

Mr. HAYES. In many ways—either it can be reported to the executive officers of the federation who then refer the matter to the ethical practices committee, or it is reported directly to the ethical practices committee. And the ethical practices committee then, on its own motion or by direction of the counsel of the federation or the executive officers, can conduct a formal investigation to determine whether or not there has been a violation of any of the codes of policies or laws of the federation, and the extent of the violations. Then after the investigation has been conducted, the ethical practices committee submits it reports, its findings and recommendations to the executive council. And then the executive council takes action on the report of the ethical practices committee.

Mr. FLANNERY. Senator DOUGLAS, would you believe from your experience, your knowledge of unions, and so forth, your study of these particular codes, that there is hope of labor being able, along with congressional committees cooperating, to be able to do its job in cleaning house definitely?

Senator DOUGLAS. Oh, yes. I think the formulation of these very carefully worked out codes will be of great help, and then the fact

that a committee has been set up to carry them into effect will be a real advantage. Now, in all these matters eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and we need to work at this. But I do want to say that I think the labor movement has stepped out ahead of industry and business in these matters, and I would like to see industry and business adopt similar codes.

Mr. FLANNERY. Is there a final word you'd like to say, Mr. Hayes?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, Mr. Flannery, I think that organized labor needs the help of Government, needs the help of industry, needs the help of business, and others—in first of all minimizing whatever may be wrong within the trade union movement and ultimately eliminating this wrong.

I think, however, that help must come from people who are sincerely dedicated to helping the trade union movement, and not hurting the trade union movement. And we certainly solicit that help—from congressional committees, from State legislature committees, from industry, and from business.

Mr. FLANNERY. Thank you very much. Very good indeed.

Thank you, gentlemen. You have just heard a discussion on labor's new broom, the AFL–CIO Ethical Practices Code, with Al J. Hayes, chairman of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee, and two United States Senators, PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon. Mr. Hayes is also an AFL–CIO vice president and president of the International Association of Machinists.

For copies of the codes, address AFL–CIO Radio, Washington, D. C.

For further answers to your questions on labor today, you are invited to be with us next week at this same time. This is Harry W. Flannery speaking for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, which has presented this program as a public service in cooperation with this station. Next week, same time, same station, labor answers your questions.

Oklahoma Today—Statement by Hon. A. S. Mike Monroney, of Oklahoma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] has prepared concerning the Oklahoma State magazine.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OKLAHOMA TODAY

The semicentennial souvenir edition of Oklahoma Today has just come to my attention. I am proud to report that, with this edition, our State magazine has come of age. I believe we are catching up with Arizona Highways and the New Mexico magazine, which for many years have had a well-deserved popularity inside and outside those States.

Two outstanding examples of contemporary Indian painting from originals in Tulsa's famous Gilcrease Museum are used for the front and back covers of this issue of the Oklahoma State magazine. The front cover is Blackbear Bosin's very spirited painting, "Eagle Dancer," while the back cover picture, "Bending Willows Setting About the Care of Motherhood," by Woody Crumbo, portrays a peaceful scene.

The land, the people, and the spirit of Oklahoma—all these compel the readers' attention in story and picture. "Oklahoma Family of Man" is particularly interesting. Between the covers, in one way or another, the saga of our State is told from before it was born to the present, with significant looks into the future.

Perhaps one reason I like this issue of Oklahoma Today so much is that the 8 color photographs printed for framing are dramatic proof of some of my contentions through the years—such as my claim that there is nothing in the world quite like an Oklahoma sunset, whether it silhouettes an oil derrick or a barbed wire fence. The photographers, whose work is shown, are Cliff King, Ross Cummings, Jesse A. Brewer, Kazimir Petrauskas, Edith Hogan, Mel Woodbury, and Paul E. LeFebvre, who is the art director. All of the photos are superb.

Congratulations also are in order for the magazine's editor, Dave Loye; the editorial board, composed of Gov. Raymond Gary, Dr. Randall T. Klemme, C. A. Stoldt, Kelly Debusk, and Dave Ware; contributing editors Jeff Griffin, Carl Held, and Miss Juanita Mahaffey; and writers Bill Thomas, Bill Burchardt, and Gladys Jeffords.

The schedule of activities listed by Oklahoma Today as a handbook for visitors to Oklahoma this year gives a comprehensive picture of the State, past and present. The following calendar for July and August records the enthusiasm and variety with which many communities in the State are celebrating the 50th anniversary of Oklahoma's first half century as a State:

JULY EVENTS

1–8. Homecoming, rodeo, beauty pageant, oldtimers picnic, band concerts, fireworks display, Sapulpa.
1–4. First annual Kiowa Indian powwow, Carnegie.
2–4. Rodeo, Wright City.
2–6. Annual Will Rogers Roundup Club Rodeo, R. C. A., Claremore.
3–4. Annual reunion and free hometown carnival in beautiful Redbud Park, Marlow.
3–5. Perkins semicentennial Fourth of July celebration.
3–5. Rodeo, Purcell.
3–5. Indian stomp dance, Miami.
3–6. Picken's intertribal powwow, seventh day for Indians only, Madill.
4. Annual fireworks display, Pryor.
4. Annual carnival, Frederick.
4. Fourth of July celebration, Pawnee.
4. American Legion fireworks display, Boise City.
4. Woods County Day, Freedom.
4. Play Day, Woodward.
4. Fourth of July celebration, Prague.
4–6. Roundup Club Rodeo, Tahlequah.
6. Dramatization of David and Saul at Holy City, Lawton.
8–10. Twenty-seventh annual Kiwanis Rodeo, Hinton.
4–6. Roundup Club Rodeo, Drumright.
11–14. Junior chamber of commerce rodeo, Miami.
11–14. Twelfth annual Pawnee Indian homecoming powwow—no admission, Pawnee.
12. Old Greer County pioneers reunion, pageant, and parade, Mangum.
16–19. Semicentennial rodeo, R. C. A., Chickasha.
17–20. Rodeo, Pryor.
20. Tulsa Indian powwow dances, Reserve Armory, Tulsa.
21. Fishing boat relay race open to all boats 16 feet and under with outboard motors, Fort Gibson Lake, Wagoner.
24. Tulsa League all-star baseball game, Tulsa.
24–27. Oklahoma quarter horse show and race meet, Enid.
25. Seventh annual street square dance festival, Pawhuska.
26–28. Eleventh annual international Roundup Club's Cavalcade—world's largest amateur rodeo, Pawhuska.
28. Ardmore's birthday celebration, Ardmore.
31–Aug. 1–2. Golden Jubilee Championship Rodeo, R. C. A., Duncan.

AUGUST EVENTS

1–3. Jaycee Rodeo, Broken Bow.
2–3. Junior Rodeo (Quarterback Club), Talihina.
2–6. Rodeo, R. C. A., Lawton.
2–4. All-Colored Rodeo, Drumright.
4–6. Reenactment of Kiowa-Comanche Indian land drawing (actual drawing for a small tract of land), El Reno.
6. Lawton's birthday celebration, Lawton.
8. Watermelon festival, Rush Springs.
13–17. Twenty-second annual rodeo, R. C. A. Stock to be furnished by Gene Autry & Associates, Ada.
13. All-State high-school baseball game, Tulsa.
13. All-State high-school basketball game, Tulsa.
15. All-State high-school football game, Tulsa.
17. Tulsa Indian powwow dances, Tulsa.
18. Runabout cruiser race (for cruisers 21 feet and under), Fort Gibson Lake, Wagoner.
18–24. The Will Rogers country pageant, Claremore.
19–24. American Indian Exposition, Anadarko.
22–23. Annual rodeo, Madill.
22–24. Cimarron Cowhand Reunion and Rodeo, Freedom.
24–25. Ozark Singers Association convention, Miami.
26–30. Sooner State dairy show, Enid.
28–Sept. 1. Will Rogers Memorial Rodeo, R. C. A. (4 nights and Sunday afternoon), Vinita.
29–Sept. 1. National hot-rod races, fairgrounds, Oklahoma City.
29–Sept. 1. Elk's Rodeo, toughest of 'em all, Woodward.
29–Sept. 2. Ponca Indian powwow, Ponca City.
30–31. Roundup Club rodeo, Tahlequah.
31. Sucker Day, Wetumka.

Address by Lewis L. Strauss at Dedication Ceremony of Blacksmith Shop of Jesse Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on Thursday, June 20, at the birthplace of former President Herbert Hoover, in West Branch, Iowa, there was a dedication ceremony of the blacksmith shop of Jesse Hoover, the father of our former President. On that occasion the address of dedication was made by the Honorable Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and a lifelong personal friend of former President Hoover.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD this address by Mr.

Strauss. It is an outstanding commentary on some of the vital issues before the world today, and it includes a magnificent tribute to our former President.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF LEWIS L. STRAUSS, DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION OF BLACKSMITH SHOP AT BIRTHPLACE OF HERBERT HOOVER, WEST BRANCH, IOWA, JUNE 20, 1957

Far away in the Holy Land, in a cave near the shores of the Dead Sea, as I am sure all of you know, there were found not long ago a number of very ancient scrolls containing parts of the Scriptures and the complete text of the Book of Isaiah. It enabled us to discover that His words have come down to us through the ages substantially unchanged. In the 51st chapter, 1st verse, we can read: "Ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord; look unto the rock whence ye are hewn."

It is this injunction we observe when we recall our own fathers and mothers or when, as citizens of a great Republic, we look back to the parentage and the heritage of men who have made our Nation materially strong and morally respected among the peoples of the earth.

Here, in this pleasant town, which had been a frontier settlement not long before, and on this very ground where we stand today, in a structure like this one whose counterpart could be found in every American community, there labored a pioneer father, Jesse Hoover—whose son was to grow up and dramatically fulfill in a manner never before equaled the Biblical injunction to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give shelter to the homeless. Incidentally, he was also to become the President of the United States.

On an anvil such as this—perhaps the only tool except the sword which has preserved its essential appearance since man first worked with iron—Jesse Hoover worked at the honorable calling of blacksmith. From earliest days the blacksmith has personified the technological progress of mankind. In ancient wars he forged the weapons and the armor of fighting men, and in time of peace he mades the axes, which cleared the wilderness, and the plowshares and the pruning hooks which raised agriculture from the subsistence level of the sharpened stick to the capacity to feed great urban multitudes.

Science and technology are exemplified in the smithy. The mineral riches of the earth, rendered malleable in the white heat of the blacksmith's forge and shaped by his brawn and his brain, were at the very beginning of science.

Across the lane in the neat cottage still standing, which served as adequately as castle or palace for the home of this blacksmith, was Huldah, his wife and mother of his children. She was equal partner and contributor to the inheritance they left here. Devout housewife and mother to her own flock, she also preached the word of God to others. Thus, in this family, there was a complete microcosm of the good life.

Besides his blacksmithing, Jesse Hoover dealt in and repaired agricultural machinery which represented the advanced technology of his day. And so, in one establishment, one might say, science was joined with moral precept, with respect for human dignity and awe of the Almighty. It was the wholesome pattern of those vanished days.

And now, although only a long generation separates us from them, we are witnesses to a profound and troublous change. Man's skill, his science, and his ingenuity are no longer balanced by the ethical influences in his life. His inventiveness has run far ahead of his ability to control its product. His discoveries, many of them made for the sheer joy of gradually lifting the curtain that since the beginning of time has hidden from his gaze the laws of nature, have also provided man with cpaabilities for self injury—a propensity to which his retarded development in the disciplining of his national ambitions, prejudices and greeds have made him fatally vulnerable.

Today we are like children who have found our way into a cave filled with glittering treasures, but children who may become lost in darkness forever if we venture farther without a lamp to guide us or a strong cord by which we may find our way back to the sunlight.

We have honored science, and properly so, for the enormous accomplishments which it has recently made, and we should be gravely misled were we to join in the unreason of blaming upon science the predicament in which we find ourselves. For, as a general rule, it is not scientists who apply their discoveries, either for good or evil. When science gives us fire it is we ourselves who allow it to burn down our houses. When science gives us engines for rapid locomotion, it is we—in our recklessness—who use these machines to slay 40,000 of our fellow citizens every year.

We discover better crop strains and better insecticides, wherewith to increase our harvests. At the same time we learn to control various plagues and epidemics, with the result that the teeming populations of chronically famine-stricken parts of the world multiply beyond their meager food supplies, and we know not how to prepare our own bounteous table before them.

And that is only part of the story, for men have discovered bacterial and chemical warfare agents, and nuclear weapons, so that if war ever comes again we may be sure that its quick and deadly toll will far surpass the aggregate casualties of all the wars which men have fought since the beginning of recorded time. In the face of all this, nations have been able to agree on no sure means of preventing such a cataclysm, but, instead, live today in constant fear of unprovoked attack.

Great inventions and discoveries which once appeared to be entirely unrelated to warmaking, or actually to enhance our chances for peace, have repeatedly been perverted for war.

It is of record that Benjamin Franklin, after witnessing the first ascension of a hydrogen-filled balloon from the palace courtyard at Versailles, wrote that he had seen "a discovery of great importance and what may possibly give a new turn to human affairs." One effect of this discovery, he believed, might be that it would "convince sovereigns of the folly of wars, since it will be impracticable for the most potent of them to any longer guard his dominions."

When airplanes were invented, and after Bleriot flew across the English Channel, a popular writer of the day speculated that, while planes might be used in the event of war for purposes of recconnaissance, the notion that explosives might be dropped from such airplanes on great cities was sheer nonsense. "That simply would not be allowed," the writer concluded. The rubble of thousands of gutted homes and schools in World War II is the silent commentary 30 years later.

While as for the more recondite discoveries, one might have said that clearly there was nothing of military significance in an abstruse formula with which, in 1905, a young clerk in the Swiss patent office equated energy and mass. But that clerk was Albert Einstein and today we know all too well that matter can be transformed into energy.

The most innocent discoveries—improved methods of preserving food, advances in medicine and surgery are, all of them, contributions to the more efficient management of armies and therefore to the conduct of bigger and more devastating wars.

Considered as the race of man, we must sadly admit that our curiosity and our instinct for refinement of knowledge continues to be successful, while our capacity for keeping out of trouble has become increasingly undependable.

Perhaps we have put insufficient emphasis on inquiry as to why we act as we do, as individuals, as tribes and as nations.

This is the great challenge of our times. It is the multibillion dollar question, the 2,700,000,000 person question. Can man learn to live with his inventions, or must he perish because of them? Can his sense of moral responsibility, which we have to believe is common to all human beings—can this sense of moral responsibility find a common denominator in spite of the difficulties of language, and the soundproof barriers erected by dictatorships to insulate the oppressed multitudes they rule from the voice of truth? I am convinced that it is possible.

In the summer of 1955 we initiated a great international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It was a conference attended by scientists from 73 countries. It was the first time in a great many years that they had been able to come together, for the threat of war, then war itself, and the aftermath of war, had long separated and isolated them. It resulted in a great exchange of knowledge on the benign uses of atomic energy in an atmosphere of friendly reunion. The conference was attended by over 1,400 scientists and engineers. The learned papers on the peaceful atom which were presented there fill 16 thick volumes. The conference was acclaimed as a monumental success.

But the fate of man's civilization was not solved in that conference, nor was it even upon the agenda for discussion. The overshadowing dilemma of our time remained unsolved. That scientific conference did serve, however, to underline the sober fact that man's material improvement, and the enrichment of his knowledge of the physical universe, only means that he has much more to lose than ever before.

Have we exhausted every means to solve the problem of survival? Have we left any stone unturned? Is there something that might be done which has not yet been attempted? Have we tried everything to discover whether there is some course of action, somewhere in reach of human ingenuity, to bring to pass what surely all men in every land must passionately desire—to achieve a durable peace—to balance man's advancement in science with a growth in human understanding and moral force?

Short of a simultaneous religious experience illuminating the whole world, which it is beyond our human power to promote, is there something we can do?

I think that there is.

I believe that the time has come to call a new kind of conference among the nations, but not for the reasons that engendered the scientific conference of 1955. That was a great convocation at which men learned what they might gain in a material sense from the applications of scientific discovery—how life could be enriched in the future if atomic energy could be developed for peace. What I am proposing is a conference which starts from the knowledge of what men will lose—the accumulated treasure of culture and civilization—if the fruits of science are used for destruction.

To this conference we should invite those far less concerned with man's insatiable curiosity than with his civilized survival, with the cultivation of his art, literature, philosophy, and history. I see this as a great gathering to which we will ask the chief humanists of our day from all coun-

tries—the philosophers, historians, sociologists, theologians, and all the leaders of thought whose concern is with man rather than the physical universe which man inhabits. It need not be a conference great in numbers, indeed it should not be, but it must be composed of scholars great in repute and great in honor among their fellows.

Before these men, a harried world would lay its problem. Is there a way to peace? Can you propose a plan whereby this shadow may be lifted from us? Can you tell us how we may prevent the knowledge which we have, and which irresistably we must continue to acquire, from overwhelming us? How, and upon what, can we from so many diverse backgrounds agree? In our world where so much distrust has been sown by violent and brutal regimes is there a formula which will be a safe and prudent one and not a trap to ensnare us? Give us an answer and a hope.

Now I realize that there are some, of course, who will ridicule this idea as utterly visionary. Pragmatists will be sure that a conference faced with such questions is bound to fail. The practical will point out that such a gathering of men who are impractical by virtue of their very callings can contribute no more as a body than the ideas of its separate individuals.

To those objections, there is at least a response. It is an analogy from physical science. One atom of fissionable uranium by itself is of little moment. It may be inert for ages. This will also be true of two or of a considerable number of such atoms. But let enough of them be brought together in one place and time and something new and dynamic occurs to the mass. The physicists call such a quantity of these atoms a critical mass, and when one atom in such a group fissions a chain reaction is the result which transforms some portion of all of the atoms present into enormously powerful energy.

So it may be in a gathering of many noble minds, from many parts of the world, all focused upon a problem of critical—of transcendant—importance, that an idea may be generated which by a chain reaction will transform the thinking of us all. It is for this purpose that such a conference would be convened. It is for this result that we would unite in our prayers. And even if it should fail of its purpose—then, at the very least, such a conference would represent an attempt by rational men to leave no resource untried.

And that concluding thought brings me back to this forge and anvil and to this pioneer memorial to Jesse Hoover which we dedicate here today. The men and women who first came here in covered wagons were not discouraged by the thought of failure or even by the temporary experience of failure. This was because they carried with them into the Western World an unshakable faith, a discriminating moral standard, and a respect for a higher authority than their own sanctions. In their quest for a more prosperous life they would not have identified an increase in knowledge alone as an accurate measure of the growth of the good life. On March 4, 1929, in his inaugural address, Herbert Hoover, the son of the blacksmith of West Branch, made a prophetic statement. "The United States," he said, "fully accepts the profound truth that our own progress, prosperity, and peace are interlocked with the prosperity, progress, and peace of all humanity."

Friends, if in some way, by some formula, this profound truth can become the common property of all humanity it may be the truth which will redeem all men from the disasters which overshadow us.

Amendment of Robinson-Patman Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, in the course of the long hearings on Senate bill 11, to amend the Robinson-Patman Act, one of the witnesses was Mr. Bernard L. Majewski, president of the Great American Oil Co., 855 West Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Ill. This is an enterprise which distributes petroleum and petroleum products.

Mr. Majewski appeared to express his views and experiences and what he believed would be the impact of Senate bill 11 upon an independent petroleum refinery jobber and retailer who has been in that line of endeavor for 48 years.

Subsequent to his testimony before the committee, on May 14, 1957, Mr. Majewski addressed an airmail letter to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], chairman of the subcommittee, commenting on some of the testimony in the record, and requested that these comments be made a part of the RECORD on Sentate bill 11.

I am informed that the chairman advised Mr. Majewski that his comments came too late to be included in the committee record; and I therefore ask unanimous consent to have his letter to the chairman and his comments published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREAT AMERICAN OIL CO.,
Chicago, Ill., May 14, 1957.

Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KEFAUVER: The testimony of Messrs. John W. Nerlinger and William D. Snow, of the National Congress of Petroleum Retailers before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, on April 5, 1957, the last day of the formal hearing on the above-captioned bill, contains a number of statements and opinions which, as an independent refiner, jobber, and retailer, with more than 48 years of practical experience, I cannot let go unanswered.

Your committee, I am sure, is seeking informed and truthful opinion, borne out by incontestable facts and not by unsupported generalization and innuendo. Hence, I respectfully submit this letter and statement for insertion in the record immediately after the aforementioned testimony on April 5.

I am aware that all witnesses on S. 11 were privileged to submit for insertion in the record additional data or statements through April 12, 1957; however, since I was unable to get a copy of the April 5 transcript until April 14, and it took me 10 days thereafter to substantiate the facts, I am hopeful your committee will grant my request. If this is not permissible, will you please place this letter and my statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD when consideration of the testimony and record pertaining to S. 11 is undertaken by your subcommittee and/or the Committee on the Judiciary:

"STATEMENT OF BERNARD L. MAJEWSKI IN RE VOLUME 13, THE UNITED STATES SENATE, REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS, HEARING HELD BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY—S. 11—TO AMEND THE ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT WITH REFERENCE TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

"Quoting from the record of Friday, April 5, 1957, at pages 2506, 2507:

" 'Senator KEFAUVER. One final question, and then I will turn it over to counsel.

" 'I have been furnished here by Mr. Watson Snyder, one of the staff members working with Senator O'MAHONEY on the Near East oil hearing—he has secured a table from the United States Bureau of Mines showing the number of petroleum refineries in the United States, starting with January 1, 1949, 336; 1950, 320; 1951, 325; 1952, 327. And then, beginning in 1952, January 1, it has been going down every year—1953, 313; 1954, 308; 1955, 296; 1956, 294; 1957, not available.

" 'Do you know, Mr. Snow, or Mr. Nerlinger, whether that is the fact that they have gone down since the Supreme Court decision in the Standard Oil case, whether that has any bearing?

" 'Mr. SNOW. I wouldn't be able to state particularly factual situations about it, though it is obvious that the position of independent refiners as a result of the Standard Detroit decision—the independent refiner is defenseless against a localized price cut initiated by a major company to destroy his business, and on a conversational basis, which is the only basis of inquiry that we have with individual major refiners, we understand that they want to get out of business.

" 'There is a trend against them running very strongly now that their position is relatively weakened.

" 'Senator KEFAUVER. Discriminations do adversely affect the independent refiner; is that it?

" 'Mr. SNOW. Absolutely so. A tremendous effect. In fact, so much so that, in our opinion, they would be the people most seriously hurt, because they have the largest investment which becomes worthless.'

"In response to Senator KEFAUVER's question as to the bearing of the Detroit case (*Standard Oil Company* v. *F. T. C.*, 340 U. S. 231) on the decrease in the number of petroleum refineries in the United States, from 336 in 1949 to 294 in 1956 (a decrease of 12½ percent, or less than 2 percent per year), Mr. Snow testified that the independent refiner is helpless against a localized price cut by a major company, and that the independent refiner is being adversely affected by discrimination. This testimony, coming from a man not engaged in any aspect of refining, not only presents a false picture of refinery developments during this period, but completely ignores the real reasons for this slight decrease in the number of refineries.

"Total United States refinery capacity has increased from 5,336,000 barrels daily in 1947 to 8,282,000 barrels per day in 1956, an increase of 50.5 percent. Such capacity of refiners other than the 20 largest oil companies has increased from 1,048,000 to 1,564,000 barrels per day, approximately 50 percent during this same period. The percentage of total capacity of the 20 largest refiners has not increased disproportionately in this 10-year period and the number of such refineries has decreased from 132 in 1947 to 121 in 1956.

"Furthermore, the fact that some few refineries are no longer operating is not, in my opinion, in any way due to pricing practices, notwithstanding Mr. Snow's unsupported opinion to the contrary. The decrease in the total number of refineries is due to the obvious fact that a number of refineries has been rendered obsolete by the "octane race," and are no longer able to produce gasoline of sufficient octane number (test for antiknock quality) to meet market requirements. The average octane rating of motor fuel, according to the American Society for Testing Materials, Research Method, for regular grade gasoline has risen from 80.5 in the winter of 1948–49 to 88.8 in 1956, and for premium grade from 86.5 to 96.4 in the same period, as reflected in the 1956 edition of Petroleum Facts and Figures, and in Bureau of Mines Information Circular 7779, and the competitive quality race is trending ever higher; for example, currently the octane rating in much of the Midwest is 91 for regular grade and 98 for premium-grade gasolines. The octane required by the consuming public today has risen to the point where older refineries have not been able to produce such gasoline without incurring prohibitive modernization and operating expense.

"According to Nelson Refinery Construction Cost Index, refinery construction cost has increased from a base of 100 in 1946 to 199.9 in November of 1956.

"According to S. W. Curry, of Universal Oil Products Co., as stated in the April 1, 1957, issue of the Oil and Gas Journal, the cost of raising the octane number of output from a modern 20,000-barrel refinery, from 93 octane to 96 octane, is 9.7 cents per barrel (42 gallons), to increase from 93 to 97 octane is 15.3 cents per barrel, to increase from 93 to 100 octane is 45.5 cents per barrel, and to increase from 93 to 101 octane is 60.2 cents per barrel, nearly 1½ cents per gallon. Not only has the cost of refinery construction doubled in 10 years, but the cost of increasing the octane number of refinery output to meet consumer demand substantially increases per octane with each increase in the octane scale.

"I am convinced that the octane race, the tremendous cost of increasing the octane number of refinery output, and the doubled cost of refinery construction in the past 10 years, are the real causes of the small decrease in the number of operating refineries in the period mentioned. But in spite of these rapidly increasing costs, the so-called independent refiner has been able to increase his total capacity by 50 percent in this period, thus maintaining his historical percentage of refinery capacity. It is quite obvious that the independent refiner has not been tremendously affected by any alleged price discriminations, as asserted by Mr. Snow, but to the contrary has substantially increased his growth capacity during this period.

"At page 2507 of the record Mr. Snow stated 'the independent refiner is defenseless against a localized price cut initiated by a major company to destroy his business, and on a conversational basis, which is the only basis of inquiry that we have with individual major refiners, we understand that they want to get out of business.'

"Senator KEFAUVER, will you please ask the Department of Justice to immediately contact Mr. Snow to get the names of the individual major refiners, as well as the times and places of his or Mr. Nerlinger's conversations with said individual major refiners, from whom their understanding was obtained that 'they (the majors) want to get the independent refiners out of business,' so that prompt action can be taken against such majors under existing statutes. May I inquire why you did not question Messrs. Snow and Nerlinger more fully about these alleged violations of existing antitrust law of which Mr. Snow claims to have personal knowledge?

"Mr. Snow also testified (p. 2485 of the record) that: 'A great many new stations are being built every year, and substantially all of these stations are being built either by major oil companies or pursuant to a major oil company lease.' He cites nothing in support of this reckless contention. The April 1957 issue of National Petroleum News contains an article (photostated copy of which is appended hereto) which illustrates the error of Mr. Snow's statement. This article concerns Site Oil Co. one of the many so-called independent marketers. It points out that Site has 160 stations in 12 States, expects to add 25 more stations in 1957, plans to move 126 million gallons of gasoline this year, and has launched a $2,500,000 expansion drive. Further, that 'Site is presently in an expansion boom; its 160 stations have grown from a core of 60 since 1950.' The article reflects that this company averages 60,000 gallons a month per station, with top stations selling 150,000 gallons per month, which amounts are both far in excess of the average gallonage sold by any of the so-called major oil companies' stations referred to in Mr. Snow's testimony. It is interesting to note that 125 of its 160 stations are salary operated, which certainly offers little opportunity to the independent owner and operator, who, Mr. Snow asserts, is having his independence restricted by the integrated companies. This article further points out that Site does not consider the so-called majors too much competition, but that if an area is overbuilt with 'independents' Site stays out. Site also names its toughest competition, and none of the so-called major oil companies are included in this list. The tremendous expansion and market penetration of the private brand stations in the past 20 years, is well known to everyone familiar with the oil business.

"On page 2489 of the record Senator O'MAHONEY asked Mr. Snow 'The evidence before this committee in the study of the international aspects of oil and the MEEC operations discovered that the 8 major—8 of the major companies which constitute the Middle East Emergency Committee, own and operate 239,000 filling stations in domestic United States, which is a pretty large proportion, is it not, of the total?

"'Mr. SNOW. Yes. It certainly is.'

"I am positive that the great and good friend of the independent oil man, Senator O'MAHONEY, will want to correct the record in this instance. The number of service stations in the United States as stated by the 1954 Bureau of Census census of business was 181,734.

"The only reference that I have found in which Mr. Snow has referred to the number of stations or the number of dealers was in his statement filed in the 1956 Kefauver Committee hearings, in which he referred to the number of dealers as 'nearly 200,000 supposedly independent businessmen.' (Transcript, p. 656.)

"Mr. Nerlinger, however, has referred to the number of dealers more recently. He testified on April 11, 1957 before the Roosevelt Subcommittee in response to a question from Mr. Nellis as to the number of service-station operators, 'My best recollection is that the Commerce Department's Bureau of Census, I think it was for 1954, listed approximately 188,000 service-station operators in the United States.'

"Mr. Snow refers to the substantial cost of station construction, and points out that it is difficult to procure loans on service stations without a lease from a major oil company or a substantial company, with the supplier guaranteeing the repayment of the mortgage. It has been my experience that the supplying companies would be more than willing to have the retail dealers build their own stations at their own expense, rather than have the supplier tie up substantial sums of money in service stations. Few dealers are able to finance such construction, and the fact that the suppliers have assisted them in the financing is the only thing that has enabled the service-station operator to exist as an independent businessman. Far from condemning the so-called major oil companies for assisting these dealers in going into business for themselves, it appears that they should be commended for rendering the assistance required to enable a man to start his own business.

"The contention that the major integrated companies are in a position to make economic warfare on the independents blindly overlooks the realities of the situation. Without these independent businessmen selling their products at retail, the integrated companies would have only a few small outlets for the sale of their products. The assertion that the integrated companies desire to drive the retailer out of business is absurd on its face. I have never heard of a seller that wanted to destroy his own customers.

"Senator KEFAUVER, in response to your question asked at page 2502 of the record, 'Mr. Nerlinger, can either of you gentlemen figure any legitimate reason for the opposition of these so-called jobbers against this legislation, aside from the campaign that has been put on by the major oil companies?", Mr. Snow stated that he had no explanation for the opposition of the jobbers to S. 11, other than the fact that they have been influenced by the major oil companies. The jobbers have spoken for themselves in this matter before your committee, in vigorously opposing this bill, and as a jobber I wish to have it clearly understood that I am unalterably opposed to this bill and that no one, major integrated oil company or otherwise, has influenced me or dictated this decision to me. It is clear to me that the passage of this bill will disenable the jobber to continue to exist in the petroleum business, and this is sufficient reason for all jobbers to express their emphatic opposition to the bill. I do not consider myself a 'sitting duck for the big oil companies' as you, Senator KEFAUVER, characterized the many oil jobbers in this country. You also stated that 'the big oil companies can eliminate them (jobbers) any time they want to.' When that day comes, there will be so many treble damage suits filed that the Federal court dockets will be clogged for years to come. Even Mr. Snow recognizes the substantial investment for a small business, which the jobbers have, and I strongly resent the effort of those sponsoring this bill to destroy my investment and livelihood. If this bill is passed, the jobber won't be a 'sitting duck,' but a dead duck with no business.

"Senator KEFAUVER, you also stated that the jobbers 'are in greater need of the protection of this bill than you people (dealers) are.' I, along with thousands of other jobbers, have managed to get along in this highly competitive business for a number of years without the paternalistic and misguided attempt at assistance evidenced by S. 11. This bill will not afford protection to the jobber, but will go a long way toward destroying all of us.

"This bill should not be supported on the basis of reckless, unsupported opinions of persons unfamiliar with the aspects of the oil business on which they express their opinion, and should not be held forth as a cure for nonexistent ills, which would not be cured by this bill even if they did in fact exist."

Very respectfully yours,

B. L. MAJEWSKI

Baseball and the Antitrust Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, recent Supreme Court decisions have expressly indicated that legislation is needed with respect to the application of antitrust laws to professional sports. As a part of my study of this matter, I have asked the Library of Congress to prepare an analysis of the legal and practical issues involved. Mr. Spencer M. Beresford, of the American Law Division of the Library, has been of very great assistance in preparing the comprehensive analysis which I here submit so that it may be available to the many other Congressmen and the committees of both the Senate and the House now working on this complicated and difficult subject.

I have not yet completed my consideration of this problem, and consequently am unable to recommend a specific approach for its solution. It seems clear to me that either complete coverage under the antitrust laws or complete exemption from them is unworkable. The solution requires a sound, flexible, and reasonable application of the antimonopoly regulations in such a manner as to allow the continuance of these great American pastimes within the framework of our laws. This requires reconciling our longstanding policy against monopolies and unfair competition with the peculiar economic requirements of organized baseball and other professional team sports.

This study sets forth the basic problem, and suggests some solutions which I believe to be worth further consideration in our search for the best means of protecting the public interest and the rights of the players and the club-owners.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the statement, Baseball and the Antitrust Laws, which was prepared by Mr. Spencer M. Beresford.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the statement is estimated to make 3¼ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $250.25.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASEBALL AND THE ANTITRUST LAWS

This report advances suggestions for preserving professional baseball, and other team sports, while at the same time protecting the players and the public from the usual adverse effects of monopoly.

I. CONCLUSION

There is a large body of literature on this subject, including the series of hearings conducted by the House Antitrust Subcommittee. An attempt has been made to summarize the salient data and opinions contained in this literature, indicating disagreement wherever it exists, and stating reasons on both sides whenever a choice is made between conflicting views.

The conclusion reached in this report is that legislation is needed to amend the Federal antitrust laws so that they will apply to organized professional baseball and other team sports (football, basketball, and hockey), with the following exceptions:

A. Playing rules and the scheduling of games.

B. The organization of leagues and associations, provided that they are reasonably responsive to demand (e. g., in geographic distribution) and that unreasonable barriers are not raised against entry by potential competitors.

C. Reasonable agreements and practices restricting the rights of clubs, leagues, or associations to operate within specified geographic areas.

D. Reasonable agreements and practices restricting the employment of players—provided, however, that farming, blacklisting, and the drafting of a player or the assignment of a player's contract without his consent shall not be excepted.

These exceptions are believed to be justified by the peculiar business conditions of professional team sports. They, nonetheless, are limited by the requirement that they must be reasonable, because they would otherwise be open to abuse. Any other monopolistic practice, such as a restrictive broadcasting agreement, would be an antitrust violation per se. Whether a given practice or agreement was reasonable would be decided ultimately by the courts.

Legislation rather than judicial decision is needed, not only because the courts have already taken the position that baseball is wholly exempt from the Federal antitrust laws and that other professional team sports are not exempt at all, but also because judicial decision would necessarily be retroactive in its practical effects.

II. BACKGROUND

A. Organized baseball

Organized baseball denotes a vast entity consisting of nearly 400 professional baseball clubs divided into 2 major and about 50 minor leagues. This entity is governed by certain agreements and a set of rules administered by a so-called commissioner. The principal agreements are the major league agreement, the national association agreement (minor leagues), and the major-minor league agreement. (The texts of these agreements along with related rules and other matters can be found in the Baseball Blue Books published by the Heilbroner Baseball Bureau.)

The economic importance of organized baseball is impressive. Total receipts are on the order of $100 million a year. This is more than the receipts of all other professional team sports combined. (The major leagues account for more than half the receipts of organized baseball.) Nearly 10,000 players engage in approximately 30,000 games a year before more than 50 million spectators.

Although the restrictive economic practices of organized baseball are numerous and complex, their principal features can be described fairly concisely.

1. Organized baseball has cornered the market for skilled ballplayers by means of the uniform player contract and the player lists (including blacklists). The result has been accurately stigmatized as monopsony in manpower (62 Yale Law Journal 576).

Clubs are forbidden to hire any player unless he signs the uniform player contract. This is a 1-year employment contract with a renewal clause enabling the club to renew the contract unilaterally for another year. The renewal clause is widely known as the reserve clause (because the club reserves the right of renewal). Since the renewed contract will be identical with the old one, it will also contain a reserve clause, and can in turn be renewed, and so ad infinitum. (In practice, it appears, a player normally signs a new contract containing a reserve clause every year.)

By signing the uniform contract, a player agrees to recognize the authority of the commissioner, and abide by the rules of organized baseball.

The uniform contract may be unilaterally terminated or assigned by the club, but not by the player. The player cannot play for any other club unless his contract has been assigned or he has been released. (Major league rules 3 (a) and 3 (d); major-minor league rules 3 (a) and 3 (d); national association agreement, secs. 15.01 and 15.04.)

It is fairly generally agreed that this system of employment eliminates effective competition for the services of players already under contract. Critics of the system have stated that there is complete absence of equality in bargaining position between clubs and players. Certainly a player under such a contract has little freedom to change or to bargain with his employer (club), and is doubtlessly paid substantially less than he would be paid in a free labor market.

On the other hand, it is probably true that the reserve clause enables the poorer clubs to keep in the running. Uniform player contracts were adopted, in 1879, for the avowed purpose of equalizing the playing abilities of the different clubs. If the reserve clause were abolished, it is probable that the playing abilities of the clubs would become more unequal, the richer clubs getting a higher proportion of the better players; and that players' salaries, while generally increasing, would also become more unequal. Some clubs, especially in the minor leagues, would probably be put out of business.

2. Player lists are submitted annually by each club to the commissioner, and includes the names of players who are ineligible for employment in organized baseball (e. g., for "jumping" their reserve clauses). Other clubs are forbidden by the rules even to participate in any game or exhibition in which any blacklisted player also participates. (Major league rule 4 (a); major-minor league rule 4 (a); national association agreement, sec. 16.01.)

3. The "farm system" supplements the uniform player contract and the backlists through a vertical integration of the labor supply, enabling the major-league clubs to control most (allegedly over 90 percent) of the Nation's ballplayers. A "farm" is simply a club in a lower league which is owned or otherwise controlled by a major-league club. The purpose of the farm system is to give the major-league club more scope in acquiring and disposing of skilled players.

Critics of the farm system have said that the reserve clause is most pernicious on the "farms," where players can be kept indefinitely.

Without the reserve clause (or some similar device), the farm system would collapse, because it would have lost its reason for existing.

4. These restraints on the labor market are somewhat mitigated by the so-called "waiver" and "draft" rules. The waiver rule provides that a player may not be assigned to a lower league till the other clubs in his league have had a chance to "buy" him. (Major league rule 10 (b); national association agreement, sec. 23.02 (a).)

The draft rule enables any club to compel clubs in lower leagues to sell their player contracts for a fixed price. The effect of this rule is very slight, however, because of the limitation that only one player per year may be drafted from a class A or higher club. (Major league rule 5; major-minor league rule 5; national association agreement, sec. 27.)

5. Apart from labor restraints, the restrictive economic practices of organized baseball consist chiefly in (a) territorial agreements and the division of markets, (b) restrictions on entry into the baseball business by potential competitors, and (c) re-

strictive agreements with respect to radio and television broadcasts and other promotional activities.

These practices are considered as serious in their economic effects as the labor restraints, but simpler and easier to control in practice. Hence, though their importance is emphasized, they will be discussed only briefly.

Since restrictive broadcasting agreements have been suspended since 1951, we need not consider them here except to note that they are monopolistic by universal admission.

(a) Territorial agreements and the division of markets are also clear-cut monopolistic practices. The geographic distribution of major-league clubs, for example, does not conform even roughly (if it ever did) to the distribution of population or income. Los Angeles, the third city in the country, has no major-league club, and Detroit, the fifth city, has only one. Yet Boston and St. Louis until very recently had two apiece. The present maldistribution of franchises is not only uneconomic but is harmful to baseball as a game. It is the main cause of existing inequalities in the playing abilities of the different clubs, and tends to perpetuate and increase these inequalities by favoring the clubs in the wealthier and more populous cities.

(b) It is not practicable to establish new major-league clubs. The number of clubs in each league is fixed at eight—having been chosen for convenience after considerable trial and error. An entire new league would be prohibitively expensive to establish, and would be greatly hampered by the tight control which the present leagues exercise over the supply of ballplayers. Nor can existing franchises be moved, except under extraordinary circumstances; for major-league rule 1 (c) provides that major-league circuits shall not be changed without unanimous consent of the clubs in the same league and approval by a majority of clubs in the other league.

Potential competitors not only find it virtually impossible to join organized baseball; they cannot even play against clubs that are already in it. All clubs in organized baseball are forbidden to participate in any contest or exhibition in which any outside participant appears. (This is rule 1. Major-league rule 1; major-minor league rule 1; national association agreement, secs. 10.06–.08 and 30.03 (a).)

6. During the past 10 years, various concessions have been made by organized baseball under duress—notably under the threat of competition from the Mexican League, and under pressure from the Justice Department. Concession to players include a salary minimum (major leagues only), a limitation on salary cuts, pensions, and a player-representation plan.

On October 8, 1951, the major leagues rescinded their agreements restricting competition in the sale of radio and television rights. The old rule (major league rule 1 (d) (2)) reads as follows:

"No major-league club shall consent to or authorize a broadcast or telecast (including rebroadcast or network broadcast) of any of its games to be made from a station outside its home territory and within the home territory of any other baseball club, major or minor, without the consent of such other baseball club."

Home territory extended 50 miles from the center of the ball park.

In recent years some flexibility has been shown in the geographic distribution of franchises. Clubs have moved from Philadelphia to Kansas City, from St. Louis to Baltimore, and from Boston to Milwaukee. Nevertheless, over the period of roughly 50 years since the major leagues were formed, their geographic pattern has proved to be very rigid.

The concessions which organized baseball has thus made, though substantial, have been granted as matters of grace, were self-imposed, and are terminable at pleasure.

B. Judicial decisions

1. Baseball

(a) The parent case is *Federal Baseball Club of Baltimore* v. *National League of Professional Baseball Clubs* (259 U. S. 200 (1922)), in which Justice Holmes held for a unanimous Court that organized baseball is not subject to the Federal antitrust laws because (1) a baseball game is a local affair, and hence not interstate, (2) "personal effort, not related to production, is not a subject of commerce" (p. 209).

These are evidently alternative reasons and would be separately sufficient.

Both reasons given by the Court have since been completely undermined.

A baseball game may be local to those who look only at the ball park. But the promotional activities of organized baseball (notably broadcasting and motion pictures) have grown to such proportions as to make it unmistakably interstate. There are many other interstate features—e. g., the nationwide market for baseball players.

Furthermore, the "interstate" concept has been greatly broadened by the courts since the Federal Baseball case was decided; e. g., *Mandeville Island Farms, Inc.* v. *American Crystal Sugar Co.* (334 U. S. 219 (1948)) (agreement by local sugar refiners to pay uniform prices to local beet growers held violation of Sherman Act).

The Court's second reason, that services to ultimate consumers are not "commerce," has also been overturned by later decisions; e. g., *U. S.* v. *South-Eastern Underwriters Ass'n* (322 U. S. 533 (1944)) (holding that insurance is "commerce" within the meaning of the Federal antitrust laws).

Thus, the foundations on which the Federal Baseball decision was explicitly based have long since been destroyed. Although other legal objections could be raised today against the subjection of organized baseball to the Sherman Act in its present form, they do not seem substantial. Specifically, it could be argued that the restrictive practices of organized baseball do not raise prices to ultimate consumers, and are not monopolistic at all but merely monopsonistic restraints on labor (baseball players). But, in addition to labor monopsony, a number of truly monopolistic practices are involved—e. g., the division of markets, restrictive broadcasting agreements. Artificial barriers are raised to entry into the business by a new club or league. The supply of baseball games is artificially limited, and the unit cost to the ultimate consumer is increased. Besides, the common-law concept of "restraint of trade" included restraints on employment. The United States courts have adopted this view. (*U. S.* v. *American Medical Ass'n.*, (110 F. (2d) 703 (D. C., D. C., 1940), cert. den. 310 U. S. 644 (1940)).)

Restrictive labor practices closely similar to these prevalent in organized baseball were involved in *Anderson* v. *Shipowners Ass'n. of the Pacific Coast* (272 U. S. 359 (1926)) (employers who refused in concert to deal with prospective employee held liable under Sherman Act). In that case, a combination of Pacific coast shipowners allegedly fixed the wages of seamen, assigned them to particular ships, and blacklisted those who disobeyed its rules. The Court's decision that such practices violate the Sherman Act would seem to apply with equal force to the labor monopsony in organized baseball.

It is nonetheless arguable that the Federal Baseball decision was at least partly justified for practical reasons because of the peculiar economic conditions of the baseball business.

(b) The Federal Baseball decision was not directly challenged until 1949. Then organized baseball was jolted by the related cases of Gardella and Martin, who dared to play for higher bidders. Gardella was blacklisted for 5 years, for playing with the Mexican League. The district court dismissed his complaint, following the *Federal Baseball* case (79 F. S. 260 (D. C., N. Y., 1948)). But the Second Circuit Court of Appeals reversed and remanded (*Gardella* v. *Chandler* (172 F. (2d) 402 C. C. A. 2, 1949)); see also *Martin* v. *National League Baseball Club* (174 F. (2d) 917 (C. C. A. 2, 1949)).

In the Gardella case, Judge Learned Hand took the view that the radio and television aspects of organized baseball may "mark the business as a whole" sufficiently to justify antitrust regulation (p. 408). Judge Frank agreed, pointing out that the precedents on which the Federal Baseball case relied had since been overruled (pp. 408, 409). Judge Frank called the reserve clause monopolistic; Judge Hand refrained from passing on it, but said that he did not mean to disagree on this point.

The Gardella and Martin cases were both settled out of court.

(c) The next major development involved three baseball-player cases which were all dismissed by the lower courts, on the authority of the Federal Baseball case: *Toolson* v. *N. Y. Yankees* (200 F. (2d) 198 (C. C. A. 9, 1952)), *Corbett* v. *Chandler* (202 F. (2d) 428 (C. C. A. 6, 1953)), *Kowalski* v. *Chandler* (202 F. (2d) 413 (C. C. A. 6, 1953)).

The Supreme Court disposed of all three together in *Toolson* v. *N. Y. Yankees* (346 U. S. 356 (1953), rehearing denied, 346 U. S. 917 (1953)), in the following words:

"Without reexamination of the underlying issues, the judgments below are affirmed on the authority of Federal baseball * * * so far as the decision determines that Congress had no intention of including the business of baseball within the scope of the Federal antitrust laws" (p. 357).

Justices Burton and Reed dissented, urging that the popularity of organized baseball "increases, rather than diminishes, the importance of its compliance with standards of reasonableness comparable with those now required by law of interstate trade or commerce" (p. 385).

Considerably greater light was thrown on this decision by the opinion handed down 2 years later in *Radovich* v. *National Football League* (25 L. W. 4152 (U. S. 1957)). The Court distinguished and explained the Toolson case as follows:

"In Toolson we continued to hold the umbrella over baseball that was placed there some 31 years earlier by Federal baseball. The Court did this because it was concluded that more harm would be done in overruling Federal baseball than in upholding a ruling which at best was of dubious validity. Vast efforts had gone into the development and organization of baseball since that decision and enormous capital had been invested in reliance on its permanence. All this, combined with the flood of litigation that would follow its repudiation, the harassment that would ensue, and the retroactive effect of such a decision, led the Court to the practical result that it should sustain the unequivocal line of authority stretching over many years" (p. 4153).

But "were we considering the question of baseball for the first time upon a clean slate we would have no doubts" (i. e., that organized baseball is within the scope of the Federal antitrust laws) (p. 4154).

At last the exmption of organized baseball from the Federal antitrust laws was explicitly justified on practical grounds alone, and admitted to be an anomaly in the law.

2. Other Professional Team Sports

Baseball is widely regarded as the most monopolistic of professional team sports. Hockey is probably second, being organized much like baseball and having a farm system and player contracts with reserve clauses.

football and basketball are relatively competitive.

Although at the present time baseball alone is exempt from the Federal antitrust laws, no reason is known or appears to have been advanced for any difference in treatment between baseball and other professional team sports.

The courts might well have held all professional sports exempt from the Federal antitrust laws, either on the reasoning of the Federal baseball case that they are local affairs not involving the production of goods, or conceivably on the ground of congressional intent advanced in the Toolson case. In fact, they treated baseball as unique. In cases involving other professinal sports, they were less concerned to explain why those sports were subject to the Federal antitrust laws than to explain why baseball was not.

In *U. S.* v. *International Boxing Commission* (348 U. S. 236 (1955)), the Supreme Court reversed a decision based upon the Federal Baseball and Toolson cases, and held that those cases apply to baseball only. Professional boxing was held to be within the scope of the Federal antitrust laws because of its promotional activities (notably the fact that a substantial part of its revenue was derived from the interstate sale of radio, television, and motion-picture rights).

It seems to follow from this decision that the promotional restraints of all professional sports, including baseball, should be subject to the Federal antitrust laws. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the player-contract restrictions of professional team sports should also be subject to those laws; different treatment for team sports could be justified on the ground that they require some limitation of playing competition among clubs and leagues.

But, in *Radovich* v. *National Football League*, supra, the Supreme Court held that professional football was within the scope of the Federal antitrust laws. (Radovich, who had been under contract to a National League football club, was blacklisted for playing with a club outside the league.)

III. DISCUSSION

The problem is to reconcile the general policy against monopolies and unfair competition with the peculiar economic requirements of organized baseball and other professional team sports.

A. It is generally knowledged that the present organization, agreements, and practices of organized baseball lead to the usual undesirable consequences of monopoly, both for the players and for the consuming public. In particular, they tend to produce the following results:

1. Reduce and equalize competition among clubs for players already under contract.

2. Deprive each player already under contract of freedom to choose his employer or his place of work.

3. Reduce and equalize players' salaries. (Although the median major-league player is paid a good salary ($10,000 to $15,000 a year), his minor-league counterparts are not (roughly $2,000 a year in class D leagues)).

4. Freeze the present geographic maldistribution of club franchises.

5. Prevent the entry into the baseball business of new leagues, clubs, etc.

6. Reduce the supply of baseball games, and raise the prices paid by spectators.

B. On the other hand, there is fairly general agreeemnt that some restraints on competition are justified by the peculiar economic conditions of professional team sports. The blanket application of the Federal antitrust laws to organized baseball would probably wreck it. Cooperation among competitors is required to produce a marketable product.

Note that this reasoning does not apply to individual sports such as golf or boxing. Nor does it apply to any restraints on competition which do not promote strictly necessary cooperation or equality of playing ability among different clubs.

C. The problem is complicated by contradictions between baseball as a business and baseball as a game. Restrictive territorial agreements, for example, are not strictly necessary forms of cooperation, nor do they promote equality of playing ability among different clubs (in fact, quite the contrary). Yet it is arguable that they should be permitted, within reasonable limits, because of public loyalty to hometown clubs and players and public belief in the loyalty of players to their clubs.

D. Similar considerations as to public loyalties and beliefs support restrictions on the employment of players. Such restrictions are independently justifiable, since they promote equality of playing ability among different clubs. The point here is that they also bind a given player to a given club, and so help to preserve public confidence in baseball as a game. It is concluded that they should be allowed within reasonable limits. In determining what limits are reasonable, the public (spectator) interest should be balanced against the liberties and economic interests of the players. Everyone would probably agree that players should be paid (roughly) in proportion to their services, should have reasonable opportunities for advancement, and should be treated fairly (i. e., without discrimination). It follows that the waiver and draft rules shall be permitted if universal, at least if no draft or waiver prices are charged, but that "farming" and "blacklisting" should be prohibited, and that no player should be drafted, or his contract assigned, without his consent.

E. If restrictive employment practices in organized baseball are thus relaxed, one result will admittedly be a tendency for the richer clubs to get a higher proportion of the better ballpayers. This undesirable tendency will be partly counteracted by limitations on territorial agreements and on the division of markets. In addition, it will probably be necessary to make compensatory changes in the employment conditions of ballplayers. Universal waiver and draft rules and the abolition of waiver and draft prices have already been suggested. Bonuses for new players should probably be prohibited too; and both minimum and maximum salaries should be set by agreement in each league. Other modifications will no doubt be worked out by trial and error. For example, the unionization of ballplayers would facilitate the setting of salaries, and would probably improve the players' employment conditions in other ways. (However, it offers no general solution for the problems of baseball, since it would probably have no effect, for example, on the maldistribution of club franchises. Furthermore, unionization is considered a rather unlikely development, in view of players' attitudes toward it in the past.) Player contracts of more than a year might be adopted An impartial board of arbitration might be established, to set salaries and perhaps even to assign franchises. Sealed competitive bids for players' services might be submitted annually, for acceptance or rejection by the players themselves. In short, while it is impossible to foresee or prescribe all the specific modifications of employment practices in organized baseball which could and should be adopted under freer and more competitive conditions, it is evident that a number of suitable devices are available to accomplish all the desired results.

IV. OTHER POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

In arriving at the conclusion set forth at the beginning of this report, it was necessary to consider other possible solutions. These will now be briefly discussed, in the interests of clarity and convenience:

A. Subjecting professional baseball (and other team sports) to the antitrust laws without any exemptions was rejected at an early stage, since there is widespread agreement, among apparently disinterested observers as well as industry spokeamen, that the result would be to spoil the game and wreck the business. It was, therefore, concluded that some restraints on competition were justified by the peculiar economic conditions of professional team sports. This conclusion is borne out both by theoretical considerations and by the historical experiences of American baseball which led to the adoption of uniform player contracts and other restrictive practices.

B. Exempting professional baseball (and other team sports) from the Federal antitrust laws altogether was also quickly rejected, since a blanket exemption would condone a number of restrictive practices which are almost universally condemned as abuses. (The most flagrant are the division of markets, the exclusion of potential competitors, restrictive broadcasting agreements, and player blacklisting.) This "solution" also seemed contrary to the long-standing policy of establishing either competition or governmental control as the ruling principle of each area in the American economic system.

C. The intermediate solution of qualified or limited exemption from the Federal antitrust laws was therefore adopted. This left open the questions of scope—i. e., what specific practices should be exempted—and of means:

1. As to scope, it was decided that the Federal antitrust laws should apply generally to professional team sports, except for such reasonable agreements and practices as were necessary either to promote equality of playing ability among different clubs or to maintain public loyalty and confidence. The specific results of applying this general principle are spelled out in the "Discussion" section of this report.

2. As to means, three main alternatives have been proposed in previous discussions of this subject:

(a) A comprehensive and detailed statutory code of conduct. This was considered impractical. Such a code would require superhuman foresight and would necessarily be extremely long and detailed. Furthermore, in the absence of superhuman foresight, it would need to be revised continually.

(b) A Federal regulatory commission. Although a formally acceptable solution, this was soon rejected in view of probable administrative difficulties and the almost universal expectation of strong public disapproval.

(c) The third alternative of a statute couched in relatively general terms, to be applied by the courts, was therefore adopted. Within this framework, specific types of restraint were classified as wholly exempt, exempt unless unreasonable, or violations per se—in accordance with their tendency to lessen competition, on the one hand, against their contribution to necessary cooperation, equality of playing ability, and public loyalty and confidence.

V. PENDING LEGISLATION

Under H. R. 6876 (Mr. KEATING) and H. R. 6877 (Mr. BYRNES), the Federal antitrust laws would be amended so as to apply to organized professional baseball, football, basketball, and hockey, except with respect to the playing rules of the game, the organization of leagues and associations, contracts between leagues and between clubs fixing their rights to operate within specified geographical areas, and the employment of players. (Note that these matters would be wholly exempt.) Section 2 of each bill expressly preserves the rights of players to bargain collectively.

H. R. 5307 (Mr. HILLINGS) and H. R. 5319 (Mr. CELLER) would amend the Sherman Act alone, by adding a new section 9 as follows:

"The words 'trade or commerce' as used in any provision of the antitrust laws shall in-

clude the interstate business of organized professional baseball."

H. R. 5393 (Mr. HARRIS) would amend the Federal antitrust laws so that they would not apply to organized professional baseball, football, basketball, or hockey.

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SPENCER M. BERESFORD,
American Law Division.

JUNE 10, 1957.

Petition of Taxpayers' Educational Association, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have been very much impressed by a petition which has been presented to me by the Taxpayers' Educational Association, Inc., a nonprofit organization with headquarters at Austin, Tex., of which Mr. Gene O. Parker is president, and Mr. E. Clay Lafield is executive director.

This petition has been circulated in 43 States and contains many thousands of names. It is the largest I have ever received, and it is still being circulated.

I commend to the Senate the objectives of this petition and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PETITION TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

We the undersigned taxpayers hereby exercise our rights as citizens to petition Members of Congress, pertaining to Federal taxation.

Whereas we believe present Federal tax rates are so excessive and confiscatory and are detrimental to the welfare of our Nation, as to eventually destroy our national economy.

Therefore we believe Congress can reduce Federal taxes by approximately $10 billion, if they will put into effect by legislation the following recommendations:

1. Cut waste and extravagance in Government spending as recommended by the Hoover Commission, especially budgeting and accounting. This alone is estimated to save $5 billion annually.

2. Equalize the tax burden by taxing, at the same rate corporations are forced to pay, all organizations such as cooperatives, mutual savings banks, building and loan associations, credit unions and Government-owned business corporations, all now competing with taxpaying corporations, yet paying little or no Federal taxes. By plugging these loopholes in taxation, it is estimated to increase revnue by approximately $5 billion annually.

3. Greatly reduce now and soon eliminate foreign aid.

4. We the taxpayers respectfully request Members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives to consider and pass such legislation as may be necessary to accomplish the above recommendations.

5. Use these savings and increased revenue to reduce Federal taxes.

Col. James Claude Kimbrough, an Outstanding Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I think it is well to give due recognition to the life and work of our outstanding public servants. Col. James Claude Kimbrough, who died in August of last year, was such a public servant. Colonel Kimbrough gave his life from 1921 until his death to the Medical Corps of the United States Army. Because he specilized in urology and became one of the top urologists in the United States, he was not under our system of promotions, and was not promoted to the rank which he deserved. This situation is the basis of one of the criticisms many of us have made of the system of promotion. The facts in this case demonstrate the devotion of this man and of other specialists of their fields to their service.

It was my great pleasure to have known Colonel Kimbrough practically all of my life, as we came from the same small town in Tennessee. I was very proud he was one of my kinsmen. Colonel Kimbrough performed such remarkable service in the Medical Corps that when his time for retirement was reached, the Congress of the United States passed a special bill making him a lifetime consultant at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, so he could continue his usefulness to his country and to his profession. That was one of the two bills for such a purpose ever passed. In the bill the Congress gave approval to this language:

That in recognition of the outstanding service and contribution made to the science of medicine and surgery by Col. J. Claude Kimbrough, Medical Corps, United States Army, retired, and to provide that his mature professional judgment and long experience may continue to remain available to the public service, the President is hereby authorized to designate the said Col. J. Claude Kimbrough, upon his retirement from the active list, as military consultant in urology at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Miley B. Wesson has prepared a biography of Colonel Kimbrough, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the biographical sketch was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAMES CLAUDE KIMBROUGH, 1887–1956

James Kimbrough was the father of modern urology in the United States Army. Prior to his advent the genito-urinary service was practically limited to the treatment of venereal diseases.

He was born in Madisonville, Tenn., on November 5, 1887, received his bachelor of arts degree from Hiawassee (Tennessee) College in 1909. For 1 year he taught school in Tunnel Hill, Ga. Then he was principal of the Hot Springs (Va.) High School until he entered Vanderbilt University, where he graduated in medicine in 1916. Following a year's internship at St. Thomas Hospital, Nashville, World War I being in progress, he was assigned to active duty as a first lieutenant in the Medical Corps, United States Army, July 20, 1917, where he served in Germany and France for 41 months, and was advanced through grades to colonel in 1943.

On April 19, 1919, Gen. John J. Pershing cited him for exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous services at base section No. 1, France, American Expeditionary Forces, and as an expression of appreciation of those services the Secretary of War directed a Purple Heart decoration.

Since 1921 he served almost exclusively as chief urologist in various Army hospitals:

1921–25: Fort Sam Houston.
1925–26: Army Medical School (honor graduate) and Medical Field Service School.
1926–27: Letterman General Hospital.
1927–28: Mayo Clinic (4 months) student.
1928–30: Letterman General Hospital.
1930–34: Walter Reed General Hospital.
1934–37: Fort Sam Houston.
1937–38: Sternberg General Hospital, Manila.
1938–42: Walter Reed General Hospital.
1942–45: Chief, Professional Services Division, Office of Chief Surgeon, European theater of operations, World War II; he was awarded Bronze Star Medal.
1945–46: Percy Jones Convalescent Hospital, commanding officer.
1946–48: Walter Reed General Hospital.
1948–56: Walter Reed General Hospital.

On April 30, 1946, he was given a Legion of Merit; and the citation read: "Col. James C. Kimbrough performed exceptionally meritorious service from April to December 1945 as commanding officer, Percy Jones Convalescent Hospital, Fort Custer, Mich. He reorganized and enlarged the hospital during a critical period, and solved the difficult problems of staff and patient morale (gonorrhea and AWOL) peculiar to convalescent hospitals. He instituted a program of intensive patient education and participation in treatment and reconditioning by which the rate of recovery to duty status as opposed to disability discharge was greatly increased. Colonel Kimbrough raised the general standards to such a degree that this hospital became the outstanding one of its type."

On August 31, 1948, having reached the statutory age, he was retired but immediately was recalled to active duty.

On May 27, 1953, he was designated by Congress as permanent consultant in urology

at the United States Army Medical Center, and the bill was promptly signed by President Eisenhower. Only once before has such special legislation been enacted, and that was in 1935 for Col. William I. Keller, who was not only a good surgeon but functioned as a diplomat during a difficult period. Hence, his case did not exactly parallel that of Colonel Kimbrough.

Prior to World War I the Reserve doctors were not considered seriously by the regular medical corps. Those who joined in 1914 were all given the same rating, first lieutenant (even William J. Mayo).

In the AEF the surgeons in the Reserve Corps were formed into mobile operating teams. It was generally known that the Germans would attempt to break through to Paris and our first initiation into war would be at Chateau Thierry. However, the Chief of the Army Medical Corps ignored all importunities and preemptorily refused to send any of the teams to that area until hostilities started. Then it was too late, there being no available transportation, soldiers, guns, and ammunition having priority. As a result the wounded lay out in the fields without any medical care or food for several days.

The Reserve Corps doctors were furious, and there was much loose talk about courtmartials. Wise counsel prevailed. Dr. J. M. T. Finney and William S. Thayer (both professors at Johns Hopkins) were placed in complete charge of surgery and medicine, shortly thereafter being made brigadier generals; Colonel Keller was made liaison officer from the Regular Army. He was a good surgeon, but here he proved that he was also a real diplomat at a psychological moment, and his services as such entitled him to the highest Army honors—hence his special congressional bill.

In 1952 the American Urological Association for the first and only time awarded a plaque which read, "Presented to Dr. James C. Kimbrough in recognition of his contributions to the advancement of science and practice of urology and for his efforts in promoting pleasant working relations between civilians and military medicine."

In the Surgeon General's Office Dr. Kimbrough was the first doctor rated as an A urologist. He joined the American Urological Association in 1931; was elected an honorary member of the western section of the American Urological Association in 1951; was president of the mid-Atlantic section of the American Urological Association in 1955–56 (the first time any urologic section had ever conferred such an honor on an Army doctor). He was made a diplomat of the American Board of Urology in 1947; president of the Washington Urological Association in 1949–50; American Medical Association, 1917; Fellow of the American College of Surgeons, 1924; Royal Society of Medicine, London (Hon.), 1944; Academie de Chirurgie, Paris (Hon.), 1945; Alpha Omega Alpha; Mason (32d degree), and Shriner.

The Army postgraduate refresher course in urology has been named in his honor, "because he singlehandedly established urology as a specialty in the Army and raised it to its present high plane."

Dr. Kimbrough exemplifies the truth of the adage that in order to be a good doctor one must study, and the easiest way to bring that about is to write papers. He published 60 papers in 11 different medical journals; hence, the subject matter was varied.

He was a dynamic speaker and for that reason was much in demand and was a regular attendant at many national and local conventions. Believing firmly that it was good public relations for the Army doctors to attend the scientific meetings in uniform, he was irritated when his Army confreres appeared in civilian clothes. Jim usually had a front seat and took copious notes of all papers he thought worthwhile. Then when he went home his house staff was called together and given a briefing of all that had transpired.

He was an avid reader of all types of good literature, had a phenomenal memory, and could quote verbatim long poems. Following a convention in San Francisco, Jim was a guest at a dinner party at Trader Vic's. The host bought a cookbook for one of the ladies. Jim asked to see it first, opened the book, and said, "Here is an old favorite," and started to read Casey Jones. The lady happened to also have a good memory and finally she called his attention to an omission; Jim turned back some pages and admitted that he had overlooked two lines and continued to read at intervals over a period of an hour or more. When she finally got her book she examined it carefully and could find only recipes. When last I saw her in New York, she was still mystified as to how a man could have such a memory.

Dr. Kimbrough proved himself a true diplomat while he was Chief of the Professional Service Division, E. T. O. When Sir Henry Tidy, president of the Royal Society of Medicine, conferred an honorary fellowship on Colonel Kimbrough he spoke of "one who had a suitable and kindly disposition proven by the fact he directed a diversified and motley group of independent scholars who, peculiarly, from the British point of view, spoke of him as 'Uncle Jim.' "

Jim had an uncanny flair for rapidly judging the merits of any proposition. He always referred to it as "Tennessee hillbilly" commonsense. However, his judgments and prognostication were usually confirmed by subsequent happenings.

"Big Jim" was a welcome addition to any gathering, be it social or scientific. At the social hours Jim always enjoyed himself and often said that if he went home with his dress shirt "messed up" his wife would know that he had had a good time. No matter how late he retired he would be up before 6 a. m. alert and clear eyed. When he was on duty he visited all of his sick patients before going to the surgery, and when possible he liked to start operating before 8 a. m.

Dr. Kimbrough was so disciplined that he believed in carrying out orders as quickly as possible. When he was directed to move the Professional Service Division of the E. T. O. to Paris he arrived before the German Army was evacuated and 24 hours before the advance party of the allied troops. So, he insisted that he captured Paris.

He died August 19, 1956, at the age of 68 of cancer of the lungs with metastases. He is survived by a wife and daughter.

Encouragement of the Nation's Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, earlier this month 400 men and women prominent in the arts and public life signed an appeal to Congress asking that bills establishing a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts be enacted during the present session of Congress. I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this appeal to Congress and the names of the eminent citizens who have signed it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that a statement by our former colleague, the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, reaffirming his continued intense interest in legislation to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE NATION'S ARTS—
AN APPEAL TO CONGRESS

President Eisenhower in 1955 declared that "the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities." He recommended "the establishment of a Federal advisory commission on the arts in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare." Last year a bipartisan bill to carry out this recommendation passed the Senate, but the House failed to take action.

The President's 1957 budget message again requested action by Congress. Senators and Congressmen of both parties have introduced bills for this purpose:

S. 1716 by Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, Republican, New Jersey, cosponsored by Senators JAMES E. MURRAY, Democrat, Montana, IRVING M. IVES, Republican, New York, THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., Democrat, Missouri, JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, Republican, Kentucky, and JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, New York; S. 930 by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, Minnesota, cosponsored by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, Illinois, and JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, New York; H. R. 6374 (identical to S. 1716) by Congressman STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT, Republican, New York; H. R. 6642 (identical to S. 1716) by Congressman EDITH GREEN, Democrat, Oregon; H. R. 3515 by Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Democrat, New Jersey; and H. R. 1089 by Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, New York.

The primary purpose of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts is to propose methods to encourage private initiative and its cooperation with local, State, and Federal departments or agencies to foster artistic creation and appreciation and the use of the arts both nationally and internationally in the best interests of our country. The Council would upon request advise Federal departments and agencies which administer art programs, exclusive of those areas of responsibility of the Commission of Fine Arts.

These bills no not request subsidies for the arts and require only modest appropriations for administrative expenses.

Effective international use of the arts is a permanent policy of our country, but the United States lags behind 38 nations in considering the development and enjoyment of cultural resources a matter of concern to the Government. As workdays shorten and life expectancy lengthens the arts will play an ever more important role in the lives of our citizens.

We urge that this legislation be favorably considered and enacted by this session of Congress.

The appeal to Congress was signed by the following artists and distinguished citizens interested in the arts:

Music: Maurice Abravamel, Salt Lake City, Utah; Rose Bampton, New York, N. Y.; Samuel Barber, Mount Kisco, N. Y.; S. L. M. Barlow, Floyd G. Blair, New York, N. Y.; Theodore Bloomfield, Portland, Oreg.; Percy W. Brown, Cleveland, Ohio; John Brownlee, New York, N. Y.; Dean Robert Choate, Boston, Mass.; Norman Dello Joio, Leonard De Paur, New York, N. Y.; Willard Fejfar, Vermillion, S. Dak.; Arthur Fiedler, Boston, Mass.; Rudolph Ganz, Chicago, Ill.; Ira Gershwin, Beverly Hills, Calif.; Boris Goldovsky, Brookline, Mass.; Vladimir Goischmann, St. Louis, Mo.; Howard Hanson, Rochester, N. Y.; Guy Fraser Harrison, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Margaret Hillis, New York, N. Y.; Helen M. Hosmer, Potsdam, N. Y.; Edwin Hughes, New York, N. Y.; Thor John-

son, Cincinnati, Ohio; Henry Kaiser, Washington, D. C.; Milton Katims, Seattle, Wash.; Mrs. Serge Koussevitzky, Lenox, Mass.; Josef Krips, Buffalo, N. Y.; Vanett Lawler, Washington, D. C.; George London, New York, N. Y.; Robert Millonzi, Buffalo, N. Y.; Howard Mitchell, Washington, D. C.; Dimitri Mitropoulos, Douglas Moore, New York, N. Y.; Charles Munch, Boston, Mass.; Patrice Munsel, New York, N. Y.; Eric Oldberg, Chicago, Ill.; Lily Pons, Muriel Rahn, New York, N. Y.; Fritz Reiner, Chicago, Ill.; Regina Resnik, New York, N. Y.; Hans Schweiger, Kansas City, Mo.; Robert L. Shaw, Cleveland, Ohio; Boris Sokoloff, Minneapolis, Minn.; Henry Sopkin, Atlanta, Ga.; Eleanor Steber, Risé Stevens, New York, N. W.; Reginald Stewart, Baltimore, Md.; Polyna Stoska, William Strickland, Gladys Swarthout, New York, N. Y.; George Szell, Cleveland, Ohio; Blanche Thebom, Luben Vichey, New York, N. Y.; J. F. Williamson, Princeton, N. J.

Drama: Donald Cook, Clarence Derwent, John Emery, Alfred Harding, New York, N. Y.; Helen Hayes, Nyack, N. Y.; Celeste Holm, New York, N. Y.; Glenn Hughes, Seattle, Wash.; Judson Laire, Pleansantville, N. Y.; Lawrence Langner, Howard Lindsay, Joshua Logan, Clare Boothe Luce, New York, N. Y.; Kenneth Macgowan, Los Angeles, Calif.; Raymond Massey, Georgetown, Conn.; Gilbert Miller, Paul Muni, Frederick O'Neal, Edward G. Robinson, Robert C. Schnitzer, Lewis M. Simon, New York, N. Y.; Robert L. Snook, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; Lucia Victor, Blanche Yurka, New York, N. Y.

Dance: Ruthanna Boris, John Butler, Lucia Chase, Janet Collins, Andre Eglevsky, Frank Hobi, Tilda Morse, Mary Ellen Moylan, Ruth St. Denis, Bentley Stone, Oleg Tupine, New York, N. Y.

Literature: Conrad Aiken, Brewster, Mass.; Van Wyck Brooks, Kenneth Burke, New York, N. Y.; Henry Seidel Canby, Deep River, Conn.; Stuart Chase, Georgetown, Conn.; Marc Connelly, Malcolm Cowley, Rachel Crothers, New York, N. Y.; Dr. William S. Dix, Princeton, N. J.; James T. Farrell, Alfred Kreymborg, New York, N. Y.; Roger H. McDonough, Trenton, N. J.; Marianne Craig Moore, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Reinhold Niebuhr, New York, N. Y.; W. Creighton Peet, San Francisco, Calif.; Elmer Rice, New York, N. Y.; Jerome M. Rosenfeld, Boston, Mass.; Upton Sinclair, Monrovia, Calif.; Rex Stout, Brewster, N. Y.; Lionel Trilling, New York, N. Y.; Louis Untermeyer, Newton, Conn.; Mark Van Doren, Stark Young, New York, N. Y.

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STATEMENT OF HERBERT H. LEHMAN

More and more Americans are becoming aware that the welfare of our Nation's arts is an important matter for the concern of Congress. There is an increasing realization that the Federal Government of the United States gives less recognition to the role of the arts in our national life than any other major nation or even many small nations.

An act to stimulate artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation, with adequate safeguards to preserve freedom of expression in the arts, will serve the interests of the Nation as well as those of the arts it would promote. I firmly believe that such legislation will increase artistic and cultural creativity and enjoyment. I am confident that the legislation now under consideration will receive the broadest kind of support not only from organizations concerned with the arts but also by the many thousands of Americans who turn to the arts as an indispensable part of their pursuit of happiness.

I feel more strongly than ever that we have tragically neglected the encouragement and development of the arts in this country. A Federal Advisory Council on the Arts would be helpful to the Nation, both in the domestic and in the international fields. I very greatly hope that a bill similar to the legislation which I proposed in 1956 will be enacted in this session of Congress.

Criticism of the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the July 1, 1957, issue of the State, of Columbia, S. C. The editorial, entitled "Should Wake Up," is one of a number of editorials this outstanding newspaper has been printing almost daily for the past several years in an effort to warn against the trend of the Supreme Court decisions which would destroy constitutional government and the rights of the States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOULD WAKE UP

The United States Supreme Court needs to know that criticism of its acts is not sectional.

And if the members of the once-august body read the newspapers they should by now know it is not just the South that is rising up in indignation at the Court's abuse of power.

We were glad to note that the president of the Attorneys General Association of the United States, Louis C. Wyman, has spoken out critically of the Court. He did so at the association's annual meeting, and he is from New Hampshire. He said the Court's ruling in which it overturned a group of convictions under the Smith Act "set the United States back 25 years" in its efforts to control communism. He suggested that Congress step in and take legislative action to trim the Court's power and undo some of its damage.

The State has long been bemoaning the decline of the Court and urging Congress to assume its authority, granted in article 3 of the Constitution, to regulate the Court's authority. Perhaps if a sufficient number of people become aroused Congress might wake up before it is too late.

Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, a very lucid editorial in the Washington Evening Star of July 2, 1957, has cut through the rhetorical fog buried in the Wright commission report. This editorial is opposed to the muzzling of the press as proposed in the Wright commission report.

This editorial serves as still another warning flag of the dangers in suppressing the coveted freedom of the press, and is entitled "Dark Chapters."

Mr. President, I therefore ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DARK CHAPTERS

Loyd Wright, Chairman of the Commission on Government Security, has come forward with what he considers to be documentation in support of the proposal to make it a crime to disclose secret information. It is not an impressive presentation.

Mr. Wright makes one statement with which we are in full accord. He says that the members of his Commission "do not believe that journalists will claim a special immunity over their fellow citizens." We do not think that journalists will claim such a right, nor do we think they should have such a right. But it does not follow that the Commission is on sound ground in urging that disclosure of classified information by anyone be made a crime. The following excerpt from Mr. Wright's own statement bears on this point:

"During the past week I requested the responsible official [in the Pentagon] to release a part of this [improperly divulged] information which, in my opinion, no longer required secrecy. I had hoped enough might be resurrected from the grave of unwarranted continuing classification to demonstrate to the American people the disastrous consequences that flow from an individual's taking the law into his own hands. I regret to report that this request for declassification was denied and that the information is apparently entombed forever, with the final rites of classified burial, in the bureaucratic graveyard of a maze of files, never to be disseminated to the American people who are entitled to know the full details of these dark chapters of betrayal."

Rhetoric aside, what is Mr. Wright saying here? He is saying that the continued classification of this material is unwarranted. He is saying that information which no longer needs to be kept secret is being entombed by the authorities in a bureaucratic graveyard. He is saying that the American people are entitled to this information, but that it will never be made available to them. Nevertheless, if anyone should disclose any of this improperly classified information, he might be sent to jail for 5 years or fined $10,000, or both, under Mr. Wright's proposal. This is one reason why we are not favorably impressed with his jail-and-fine idea.

A Better System To Name a President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, our constitutional forefathers envisioned and enjoyed an electoral process for naming the President of this Republic whereby each citizen would have equal voting opportunity and authority. For several elections, therefore, there was no such thing as the "bloc voting" of electoral votes which was evolved by power-seeking politicians seeking to enhance their personal power by getting control of a solid bloc of electoral college votes which added the votes of the loser to the votes of the winner to gain influence for large States in the final verdict.

Senate Joint Resolution 113, introduced last week by myself, Senator THURMOND, Senator MANSFIELD, and Senator SMITH of New Jersey, proposes to return America to its original concept of electoral college voting. This proposal is very similar to our earlier so-called Mundt-Coudert amendment, but it eliminates the possibility of gerrymandering. Thus, our proposal would restore to the people the equal right to name their Presidents, and I trust it will be adopted by the Senate and the country.

I call attention to an editorial from the pen of Fred C. Christopherson, editor of the Daily Argus Leader of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., the largest and most influential newspaper of the two Dakotas. Its support of our electoral reform amendment is most encouraging. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BETTER SYSTEM TO NAME PRESIDENT

For some years there has been agitation about the electoral college method of naming a President of the United States.

As it is now, all of a State's electors vote for one candidate even though he might have carried the State by only a few votes.

Assuming, for example, that a State has 30 electors and 10 million ballots were cast by the voters. The vote was, let us say, 5,200,000 for candidate A and 4,800,000 for candidate B. Under the existing system, candidate A would receive all of the State's 30 electoral votes.

Many persons have felt that there should be a change to permit a reflection in the national tabulation of the wishes of the 4,800,000 voters who marked their ballots for candidate B. There's a good reason for this contention.

And actually it is a goal that can be achieved quite readily. Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota, this week advanced a proposal that, if adopted, would provide an adequate answer.

The number of electors in each State is determined by the total of its members of Congress. South Dakota has 2 Senators and 2 House Members and, in consequence, we have 4 electors.

MUNDT's proposal is that each voter, wherever he may reside, will vote for 3 electors—2 representing his Senators and 1 his Member of the House. Thus the electoral vote within a State might be divided, as it very likely would be in the hypothetical example we presented earlier in this comment.

Such a change requires, of course, an amendment to the United States Constitution. It is so reasonable, however, that it is difficult to see why any substantial objection should be presented.

Supreme Court Relied on Secret Witnesses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Supreme Court Relied on Secret Witnesses," written by David Lawrence, and published in the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle of July 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPREME COURT RELIED ON SECRET WITNESSES

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The Supreme Court of the United States doesn't practice what it preaches.

From time immemorial it has been a rule of law that, when an expert witness testifies in court, he must be present for cross-examination by the other side.

The Supreme Court has just said, moreover, that, when the FBI puts on a witness in a criminal case, the other side must have access to anything and everything about the witness which is in the files of the law-enforcement agency so that the credibility of such a witness may be tested in court.

But the Supreme Court of the United States doesn't allow this in its own proceedings. Thus, the famous decision on school integration violated all the rules of modern courts by declaring that it was based on the "authority" of witnesses who never were revealed in court at all.

Some of these "witnesses" were connected with Communist-front organizations, and one of them was a Swedish Socialist who bitterly criticized the American Constitution. The lawyers for the several sovereign States who argued the case before the Supreme Court were not told that the court had any secret witnesses or experts up its judicial sleeves. Only when the decision was printed did the American people learn what witnesses had influenced the Supreme Court's conclusions.

Today one of the bitterest controversies in American history has grown out of the same Supreme Court decision, which says candidly that its ruling was based on information derived from certain experts.

The decision says that "whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge" at the time (1896) that the opinions (*Plessy* v. *Brown*) was handed down which permitted "separate but equal" school facilities, the new finding "is amply supported by modern authority."

The Supreme Court, in its opinion, then cited six "authorities" and said in a footnote: "And see generally Myrdal, 'an American dilemma' (1944)."

Senator EASTLAND, of Mississippi, Democrat, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has placed before the Senate a resolution containing information which nobody was evidently permited to place before the Supreme Court during the time the case was being argued. He says that a "provisional investigation of the authorities upon which the Supreme Court relied reveals to a shocking degree their connection with and participation in the worldwide Communist conspiracy, in that Brameld and Frazier, listed in the group of six authorities, have no less than 28 citations in the files of the Committee on Un-American activities of the United States House of Representatives revealing membership in, or participation with, Communnist or Communist-front organizations and activities."

Mr. EASTLAND pointed out that Myrdal, the Swedish Socialist, declared—in the book cited by the Supreme Court—that the United States Constitution was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and that its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people."

Senator EASTLAND added that the citation of these "authorities" clearly indicates "a dangerous influence and control exerted on the Supreme Court by Communist-front pressure groups and other enemies of the American Republic and individual members thereof that is inimical to the general welfare and best interests of the Republic."

Mr. EASTLAND said he was convinced the Supreme Court has been "indoctrinated and 'brainwashed' by leftwing pressure groups."

Whether one does or does not agree with Mr. EASTLAND's contentions, the fact is that nobody could cross-examine the "authorities" cited by the Supreme Sourt nor introduce other experts to present a contradictory interpretation. For the Court didn't tell anybody who is "witnesses" were.

One Who Has Reuther's Number

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by George Todt, which appeared in the June 26, 1957, issue of the Valley Times. The article deals with a recent article entitled "Reuther Versus the Workingman's Freedom," written by the able and distinguished junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER].

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION

ONE WHO HAS REUTHER'S NUMBER

"Hypocrisy is the language which vice renders to virtue"—La Rochefoucauld.

"In the single instance of the strike against Kohler in Wisconsin," said Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona, "Walter Reuther and the UAW have done more damage and violence to freedom than was accomplished by all the peculiar financial transactions of Teamster President Dave Beck."

Writing in the May 18, 1957, issue of Human Events, a Washington, D. C., newsletter well worth its subscription price, Senator GOLDWATER has come up with a remarkable piece of writing entitled "Reuther Versus the Workingman's Freedom."

In his dynamic exposition of the facts, the young Arizonian beards labor's lion in his Detroit UAW (United Auto Workers) den. He pulls no punches and he lays it right on the line. I waited awhile to tell my readers about this one to see if Mr. Reuther would make a stirring reply. To date: Not one yip out of Walter. Does Senator GOLDWATER have his number?

I think he does. For this is what he puts on the line to the labor boss—and it is easy to see why it must be dynamite in more ways than one to Mr. Reuther:

"I suggest to Walter Reuther that he seriously and carefully ponder the position in which he finds himself. He can be a leader of labor and obtain for labor, through collective bargaining, those things to which it is entitled—or he can become the leader of a political movement. I suggest that he cannot be both at the same time, because if he tries to do this he most certainly will destroy the very house for which he speaks in such passionate terms—the house of labor."

In this contention, Senator GOLDWATER is in fundamental agreement with the late Samuel Gompers, the grand old man of labor. The latter stood consistently against compulsory or political unionism. In 1924, speaking before the American Federation of Labor convention, Sam Gompers had this to say:

"I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No compulsion. If we seek to force we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible * * *." It appears that Mr. Reuther has traveled long away from the man who urged such an ethical stand for labor. But not Senator GOLDWATER. Consider his words:

"The strike against Kohler has been given only passing attention by the liberal press of our Nation. It is perhaps hardly newsworthy because these same tactics of brutality and violence have been used so many times in the past. The strike has continued for 3 years. The union, under the direction of Reuther, and through his lieutenant, Emil Mazey, has used every method ever employed to win a strike. It has used violence, it has brought in goons to instill fear. More than 700 acts of violence and vandalism against nonstrikers, including brutal beatings, shotgun blasts into windows of homes, and dynamiting of homes have been reported since the strike began.

"Is this America? Where force and violence can be used with impunity to destroy the peace, to impose the will of one man upon a community or upon a manufacturing plant?"

Reprints of Senator GOLDWATER's devastating and hard-hitting attack upon Mr. Reuther's position with regards to political

unionism can likely be secured after corresponding with Human Events, according to its terms. The Washington, D. C., address is: 1835 K Street NW., Zone 6. Frankly, this newsletter is worth subscribing to—it calls a spade a spade.

Meanwhile, a month has passed by since Senator GOLDWATER indicated that it is high time to get off the carcass of Dave Beck and ask Walter Reuther a few questions, too. But so far, no move to call Mr. Reuther to the McClellan committee—at least not yet.

We must ask ourselves why? Thus far we have only heard of corruption—financial, political, or otherwise—from the labor bosses who contributed to the GOP campaign last year. Will this predilection for labor bosses close to the Republicans preclude the predominantly Democratic investigating committee from hauling Mr. Reuther before it?

If this ultimately proves to be the case, the public will understand the true reason behind it: for it is Mr. Reuther, not Mr. Beck, who might make good on a boast to blow the lid off Washington if he wanted to do so. Nobody knows better than he does just who were given the benefit of COPE (AFL–CIO Committee on Political Education) funds in the past political wars. Were they Republicans? Were they Democrats? Well, just who were they?

Record of the Oregon State Legislature in 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Oregon State legislative session of 1957 is concluded. Its record is now part of the history of our State. Many of us believe that this legislative session enacted much far-reaching legislation which will be of benefit to Oregon in the years ahead.

This opinion was confirmed by George Brown, legislative director of the Oregon State Labor Council, AFL–CIO, during a recent address which Mr. Brown delivered in the city of Portland. I think it is significant that he described the recent legislative session as "the best in history, judging by what it accomplished for the wage earner and his family, for the consumer, the school student and teacher, the taxpayer, and the average citizen."

For the information of my colleagues in the United States Senate, the house of representatives in the 1957 legislature consisted of 37 Democrats and 23 Republicans. The State senate was a 15 to 15 tie between Democrats and Republicans. In both chambers, this represented the largest Democratic membership in many decades—indeed, since 1878.

Senator Boyd Overhulse, of Madras, Oreg., was president of the senate, while Representative Pat Dooley, of Portland, Oreg., served as speaker of the house of representatives.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Oregon Labor Press of June 28, 1957, which details the address delivered in Portland by Mr. George Brown, who helped to represent labor at the recent legislative session.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY OF 1957 SESSION: LEGISLATURE IS CALLED THE FINEST IN HISTORY

"The 1957 session of the Oregon Legislature was the best in history, judging it by what it accomplished for the wage earner and his family, for the consumer, the school student and teacher, the taxpayer and the average citizen."

These words of summary were spoken by George Brown, legislative director of the Oregon State Labor Council, AFL–CIO, at the conclusion of noon and evening meetings last Wednesday.

Purpose of the two meetings was to report to the officers and members of Portland-area unions on the accomplishments (and shortcomings) of the legislature which completed its work a month ago. Attendance totaled more than 200 at the 2 sessions—a no-host luncheon at the Three Star Restaurant and an evening meeting in the Labor Temple.

"Let me emphasize," Brown said, "that the impressive gains made in the 1957 session were not just selfish gains for organized labor. The benefits of this legislative program will be shared alike by all wage earners, union and nonunion, and by their families.

"To a great extent, the election of this liberal and farseeing 1957 legislature was the result of an outstanding job done by Oregon labor at the polls in 1956," Brown declared. "When we are successful in electing candidates who are devoted to the interests of all the people, the interests of organized labor automatically will be served."

Reporting on various aspects of the legislative session Wednesday were the four members of the State labor council's staff who represented Oregon unions at the State capitol. They are Legislative Director Brown, Executive Secretary James T. Marr, President J. D. McDonald, and Research Director Tom Scanlon.

It was explained that Scanlon had specialized in following the progress of taxation and education measures, Marr in unemployment compensation and public employees' bills, Brown in workmen's compensation, and McDonald in general legislation lying outside these special categories. "Although," Brown added, "we all pitched in together when something urgent came along."

Here is a brief summary of the accomplishments of the 1957 Oregon Legislature, as excerpted from the detailed reports to Portland unionists last Wednesday:

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Maximum weekly benefits for unemployed workers were raised from $35 to $40, effective July 1. Only three other States have unemployment-compensation rates as high as this.

Social-security benefits will no longer be deducted from State unemployment-compensation payments. In addition, strict provisions for forfeiture of compensation benefits, enacted by the 1955 legislature, were removed from the law.

Employer contributions to the unemployment-compensation trust fund were raised to realistic levels, stopping the drain on the reserve fund.

Unemployment-compensation coverage was extended to State employees, and other units of government (cities, counties, etc.) may obtain coverage if they ask for it.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Benefits were increased 20 percent for workmen injured on the job, and for the widows and children of men killed in industrial accidents. Brown listed nearly 20 bills passed by the legislature, each making some specific improvement in Oregon's workmen's compensation law.

Compensation rates were increased for both permanent and temporary injuries. An improvement in the red-tag law gives employers an incentive to maintain a safe place of work and to keep accident rates low. New laws safeguard the right of an injured workman to appeal his case, if he feels his compensation is inadequate.

Perhaps most important of all, Brown said, was the change in the definition of an industrial accident. The Oregon law formerly said an industrial accident must be caused by violent and external means. This restrictive definition has been removed from the law.

TAXATION

"It was impossible to reduce taxes when the State was faced with the necessity of a larger budget in the 2 years ahead," Scanlon said, "but the inequities of the 1955 tax program were corrected by the 1957 legislature."

The 45-percent surtax was repealed and was replaced by a more equitable graduated income-tax structure. Dependency allowances were increased from $500 for each dependent to $600. The effect of the income-tax program will be to raise more revenue for budget needs, to reduce taxes on families earning $7,000 or less, and to increase slightly the taxes of families earning more than $7,000 a year.

In no case, Scanlon said, will anyone's State income tax be increased more than $11 a year.

For the first time in Oregon history, a full and realistic withholding tax system will go into effect.

Corporation taxes were increased. Tax rates of manufacturing corporations were kept low, while those of utilities and banks were increased substantially.

EDUCATION

Basic State support for school districts was raised from $80 per child to $95, at a cost to the State of $15 million. The long-sought school-district reorganization measure was enacted into law.

Teacher-tenure laws were extended and improved. A salary increase of 25 percent, long overdue, was voted for the faculties of State college and universities. A community college measure was enacted, assuring that these colleges can have some State support and will conform to State standards of instruction.

STATE EMPLOYEES

The 1957 legislature earmarked $10 million to raise the pay of State employees—and most of it will go to State workers in the lowest pay grades (some of whom now receive as little as $156 per month).

Another new law protects State employees against being fired unjustly. This law requires that the employee must be reinstated in his job if the State civil-service commission finds that he was unjustly discharged. (Under the former State law, his superior could refuse to rehire him.)

As previously noted, State employees were brought under coverage of the unemployment-compensation law.

MEAT INSPECTION

Culminating 20 years of effort by labor and consumer groups, the 1957 legislature enacted Oregon's first compulsory meat-inspection law. Also passed was a voluntary poultry-inspection law. Both will protect the consumer against unsanitary and diseased meats.

ELECTION LAWS

Oregon's cumbersome and inadequate election code was given a general overhaul. Provisions against corrupt practices were strengthened. Poll books must now be signed only once. Election-board workers will now get at least $10 a day or $1 an hour. Provisions for absentee voting were improved.

OTHER MEASURES

The 1957 legislature also:

Created a State conciliation service under the State bureau of labor, to aid in the settlement of labor-management disputes.

Made two substantial improvements in Oregon's civil-rights law, forbidding discrimination based on race, color, or creed.

In the field of public welfare, the State's relative responsibility law was amended to provide greatly decreased compulsory payments by relatives of persons receiving public assistance.

Automobile financing charges were limited by law.

Employers will be subject to a fine for failure to pay health and welfare insurance premiums for their employees, if they have contracted to do so.

A new law makes it illegal for employers to require any kickback of wages from their employees.

"In addition to all these accomplishments, and many others not mentioned, the legislature turned its back on all attempts to pass restrictive antiunion legislation," Brown concluded. "This was a remarkable accomplishment, especially in view of the fact that labor was receiving bad publicity from the McClellan hearings during the legislative session."

The Struggle for Freedom in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, certainly one of the most outspoken daily newspapers in Texas is the Houston Press. On Thursday last, the 27th day of June, the Press carried a forceful editorial asking that the free world devote a special session of the United Nations Assembly to consider a U. N. special committee's indictment of Soviet Russia for their Hungarian suppression. The heroic struggle of those freedom-loving folk is everywhere enshrined in the hearts of peace-loving men.

Mr. President, this editorial is entitled "Recall United Nations on Hungary Now." It is appropriate on this day before our own birthday of freedom, that we ask the United Nations to do something about the rape of Hungary and the murder of the Hungarian people.

Mr. President, I ask this body to take note of the editorial when it appears in the RECORD. In this free assemblage this is the place to join with the United Nations, and we should condemn the Soviet Union for the greatest tragedy of this decade in the murder of the Hungarian people.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this courageous editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECALL UNITED NATIONS ON HUNGARY NOW

Twenty-four member nations have agreed that the United Nations General Assembly should be reconvened as soon as it is practicable to do so to consider a U. N. special committee's indictment of Soviet Russia's brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolution.

The United States House and Senate simultaneously adopted a resolution urging the same action.

This was especially appropriate coming on the same day that Izvestia, the Soviet Government newspaper, denounced the U. N. report on Hungary as "this insipid concoction" and accused the United States of using it to distract public attention from the really important questions.

There is no more important question in the world than making sure that every man, woman, and child be acquainted with the true story of what happened in Hungary last fall. The U. N. report tells that story in all its gruesome detail.

It is the duty of the U. N. Assembly to be the forum before which this damning indictment of Soviet Russia is debated and broadcast to all the world. And it should be done at once—not thrown into the hopper with dozens of extraneous issues next fall.

The least the free world can do is to devote a special session of the U. N. Assembly to telling the Hungarian survivors that their heroic struggle to be free of Kremlin monsters is not forgotten—and will not be forgotten while freemen live.

Philosophy of the Present Supreme Court Undermining National Security and Federal-State Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding editorial entitled "Others See It Now," which was published in the July 25, 1957, edition of the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle. The Chronicle, which was established in 1785, is one of the South's oldest and most distinguished daily newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OTHERS SEE IT NOW

It is finally dawning on Americans everywhere, not just those who live in the South, that the philosophy of the present Supreme Court is undermining national security and Federal-State relations.

Heretofore, people in other sections of the United States had not been too greatly concerned because, in the desegregation decision, it was the South's ox that was being gored. The furor raised below the Mason-Dixon line fell mostly upon deaf ears; it was regarded as the painful cries of people from a section of the country who were upset by the racial implications of the decision.

But now others elsewhere are becoming disturbed by the whole series of weird and dangerous decisions rendered recently by the Court.

Among those is Louis C. Wyman, of New Hampshire, president of the National Association of Attorneys General, who yesterday told members of his association that decisions by the Supreme Court have set the United States back 25 years in its effort to control communism.

"It is tragic to see the judicial undermining of national security and Federal-State relations, as well as the very foundation of a free America's right to protect itself," said President Wyman.

States' rights are also being placed in jeopardy, he said.

That's what the South has been telling the rest of the Nation ever since the desegregation decision. Now that someone else's ox is being gorged, northerners are beginning to recognize the truthfulness of the southern argument.

President Wyman recommended that his association take these steps if the Court continues with the type of decision that has been handed down of late.

Clarification of the 10th amendment to protect States' reserved powers in more certain terms.

Giving the State a greater voice in confirmation of appointments to the Supreme Court than now exists through the United States Senate.

Enactment of laws designed to insulate against judicial legislation in derogation of State sovereignty.

Preparation of legislation designed to undo as great a portion of these recent decisions as is possible short of constitutional amendments.

The gentleman from New Hampshire is eminently correct. The South's cry against the Court's usurpation of power is no longer sectional; it is beginning to take up in other sections of the land.

The Vital Role of the Wisconsin State Laboratory of Hygiene

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we have read and heard a good deal in recent days about what is called Asiatic flu—the virus which apparently started in Hong Kong or Red China and which has now jumped the Pacific and resulted in quite a few cases in various parts of the world.

Man's never-ending battle against scourges like this proves again how close we are to our neighbors.

Germs can cross the Pacific and the Atlantic. So can bombs, and so can ideas.

We are fortunate indeed to have in the World Health Organization an outstanding group of men dedicated to the world's physical betterment. It is for us now to match its efforts by progress in the spiritual field, as well.

In turn, in our own land, there are many vital instruments to strengthen man's fight for the perfect health which he was meant to enjoy. One of the fine such instruments is the pioneering Wisconsin State Laboratory of Hygiene which is now 54 years old.

I send to the desk an excellent write-up from the May 1957 issue of the Wisconsin Medical Journal, describing the laboratory's work. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE LABORATORY OF HYGIENE CONTINUES TO GROW—RESEARCH FINDINGS VARIED, COVER WIDE RANGE OF MALADIES

MADISON.—All in the day's work at the State laboratory of hygiene:

Virus research, early detection of cancers of the cervix and uterus via Papanicolaou smears, exploring ways to further control syphilis, studies of animal disease, water purity tests, diagnosis of various diseases from blood samples, fungus infection tests, parasitic intestinal diseases, and many, many more.

Back in 1910, when the laboratory was only 7 years old and housed in a single small room in the basement of agricultural hall on the University of Wisconsin campus, the study of epidemic disease was in its infancy. The laboratory that year examined only 7,000 specimens. In 1914 the total was 8,000.

In 1956, in new quarters and with a staff of 90 persons, highly trained and efficient, the laboratory received 541,923 specimens from physicians, public health officers and nurses, veterinarians, sanitary engineers, park superintendents, sanitarians, and others. Specialists conducted 943,415 examinations, almost 200,000 more than in 1954.

When the new laboratory was dedicated in 1953, it set forth this goal:

"Expanded programs of diagnosis, intensified studies of infectious diseases, and improved health for all citizens of Wisconsin."

Authorities in this and other States, of the State board of health, the University of Wisconsin Medical School, the State Medical Society of Wisconsin, and others, tell you the Wisconsin laboratory is in the forefront in any listing of institutions of its kind.

A walk around the laboratory gives a person the feeling he is in the middle of a beehive, with varied activity on all sides. There's elbowroom now, something that wasn't true of its room in agricultural hall but then, there weren't as many demands made upon it either.

A-1 LEADERSHIP

The director of the laborator is Dr. William D. Stovall, a past president of the State medical society. With the laboratory since 1914, Dr. Stovall agrees its various testing programs have made significant progress in early detection of disease. He cautioned, however, that scientific research is a continuing process, and not a niche for complacency.

"Once we've discovered the cause of a disease, we cannot and do not rest," he said. "Rather, we must be constantly vigilant lest the diseases we have already under control break their barriers and again cause serious health problems. We cannot let down our defenses."

Dr. Stovall looks back on the past decade or two with considerable satisfaction. He has seen typhoid, cholera, malaria, diphtheria and a number of other maladies fall before the onslaught of modern medical methods.

RESULTS APPARENT

Just a few years ago, many cases of a disease (caused by the coxsackie virus) closely resembled polio. It was impossible to treat all of the suspected cases as polio because hospitals didn't have room. If proper treatment is not given true polio cases, of course, serious crippling stages inevitably follow.

The coxsackie virus can now be separated by laboratory tests. It was done in the State Laboratory of Hygiene.

CANCER TEST

The laboratory sprang into the spotlight last year when it was commissioned by the Federal Government to handle an expanded program of cancer detection, which involved the Papanicolaou smear test. Under the plan, the specimens taken from female patients and sent in by their physicians were checked in from eight counties. This later was expanded to 14 counties.

Purpose of the program is to detect early cancer of the cervix and uterus.

TO SAVE LIVES

All Wisconsin physicians, however, were invited to submit smear slides for appraisal by the laboratory technicians.

The 1956 record sheet shows 26,443 specimens which involved 70,185 examinations.

"Frankly, such an ambitious health program has not been undertaken in Wisconsin since the successful drive against syphilis," Dr. Stovall commented. "Cancer can be treated successfully surgically—if it is found in time. A concentrated screening program for the early diagnosis will undoubtedly save many lives."

The program started with the theme: The Doctor's Office—A Detection Center for Cancer.

CAREFULLY PLANNED

Physicians were supplied with equipment for collecting the smears. Instructions went out with each mailing carton, with complete details as to how the smears were to be made, how they were to be fixed and returned.

After the medical doctor takes a smear in his office, the material is placed on a slide. To prevent it from drying, the slide is immediately plunged into a bottle containing 95-percent alcohol.

In the laboratory, each slide passes through 21 different chemicals. The cells in the material absorb differently various dyes, depending on whether they are normal or cancerous.

The trained technician—and Dr. Stovall's initial headache on this Papanicolaou program was finding a number of qualified, skilled technicians—looks for several definite things when the slide slips under his microscope. The color, shape, size, and ratio between cytoplasm and nucleus in each cell are observed meticulously. In most instances, the presence or absence of cancerous cells can be seen easily, and the physician is quickly notified.

If the results of the examination are positive, or if there is some doubt, the laboratory recommends that a biopsy, an actual examination of tissue, be made. The family doctor takes over at this point.

This is just one phase of the work done at the laboratory.

How about the future?

"The next 50 years will show medical successes that will equal or eclipse those of the past," Dr. Stovall predicts. "The diagnosis of cancer is a field in which we expect tremendous advances. But that's just one field. Many of the diseases that are now mysterious will be conquered.

"We will continue our fight against all of the diseases we recognize as serious threats to the health of Wisconsin's people. Our work was—and is—based on the application of laboratory tests which tell us where the disease is, how many cases there are, and what methods are to be used in prevention and treatment."

It's a fighting spirit that all knowing people commend.

Centennial of Civil War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the February 6, 1957, issue of the Roanoke World-News relative to the proposed nationwide centennial celebration of what is commonly known in the North as the Civil War, and in the South as the War Between the States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENTENNIAL OF OUR CIVIL WAR

(By M. Carl Andrews)

Virginians generally should join in approving a bill now before Congress to coordinate plans for nationwide centennial celebration of what is commonly known in the North as the Civil War and in the South as the War Between the States.

Come next April it will be 96 years since the first shots were fired on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. It will be 92 years since Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox.

A lot of water has flowed under the bridge of time which once again linked the principals of fratricidal strife. Sons of South and North alike have fought shoulder to shoulder in four major wars and in many minor skirmishes since April 9, 1865.

Only three men of the vast army that wore the gray now survive. The last man of the Grand Army of the Republic died last year. All too soon the words of the poet will be true:

"The muffl'd drum's sad roil has beat
The soldier's last tattoo."

It is appropriate that plans for a 100th anniversary observance should be sponsored by sons of North and South alike, among them Virginia's A. WILLIS ROBERTSON.

It was here on Old Dominion soil where the first and last battles were fought, where the Confederacy made its proudest stand, that such a celebration inevitably will center. We, more than any other State, should be prepared well in advance of 1961.

Senator BRICKER, of Ohio, who authored the original measure, quickly settled with Senator ROBERTSON and Senator THURMOND, of South Carolina, over the name designation of that conflict. At any rate the North long since ceased calling it the War of the Rebellion. The South gradually has weakened on insisting about the War Between the States. As the years slip past Civil War has become acceptable to both even though it was the most uncivil, bloodiest struggle of history until World War I came along.

The Senate resolution would create a 17-man commission to coordinate plans of local and State agencies. This is fortunate because all of the States existing between 1861 and 1865 undoubtedly will be making their own plans. It follows closely the pattern set by the Federal Government in cooperating with Virginia in the 350th anniversary of Jamestown this year.

Virginia will gain vast experience from this celebration for use in a Civil War centennial. Rather than being concentrated in the small Williamsburg-Jamestown-Yorktown triangle, the 1961 program would be statewide in nature. Hundreds of localities will want to have their own special remembrance.

The recent rash of novels, biographies, and histories stemming from that great conflict serves as an excellent background to a centennial. Interest has always been high. It was just about the last big war with any romance. Seldom, if ever, have the people of the losing side held so high the love, ideals, and principles for which they fought and cherished them even more in defeat.

A centennial will encourage renewal of that devotion and inspire refurbishing of monuments. I recall in particular the time-erased wording on a memorial at Chancellors-

ville in the heart of the wilderness, that bloody site where Stonewall Jackson, the war's most brilliant general, was killed accidentally by his own men. There must be many others in need of repair.

Nothing better typifies the achievement of full unity like the recent restoration of old Appomattox Courthouse. For decades Virginia and the South wept at the name—wanted to obliterate it. The town died and was largely forgotten.

A modern highway (Route 24) now has placed it within easy reach of every motorist. The last battlefield and the town have been made a national park. A bypass has added to the stillness at Appomattox.

But there is restored the home of McLean where the war ended. (Not many know the conflict started in this same man's front yard at Manassas and he moved south to get away from the fighting.) Remaining buildings have been preserved. All are open to daily inspection. Tourists now come by the thousands each year. Even Virginians and other southerners pause to remember.

Last year I persuaded Raymond Moley and his wife to return to Washington and New York by that route. They had never seen the hallowed spot and did not realize it was so close. He was grateful for being guided there. If you haven't had his experience you ought to take time out someday and make a pilgrimage.

By all means, let's have a real national observance of this great anniversary. Perhaps we may even see an upsurge for return to fundamental principles of States rights and individual freedoms. The war wasn't fought over slavery, remember.

Pennsylvania Dutch Celebrate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Pennsylvania Dutch are holding a celebration at Kutztown this week. Such things as apple-butter boiling, quilting, buttermaking, glassblowing, threshing with flails, blacksmithing, wheelmaking, and embroidering will be on view.

Please "koom und breing die friend mit."

I ask unanimous consent that an article dealing with the celebration be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH CELEBRATE

KUTZTOWN, PA.—Residents of Somerset County will demonstrate the ancient art of maple-sirup manufacturing at the Eighth Annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival here, which begins Wednesday and continues through July 7.

Pennsylvania Dutch from the western part of the State also will show how they make schpatsa, the Dutch version of maple-sirup candy.

The sugar and candy makers will be among scores of Pennsylvania Dutch craftsmen who will be on hand at the festival to exhibit skills and arts handed down from generation to generation by the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Such things as apple-butter boiling, quilting, buttermaking, glassblowing, threshing with flails, blacksmithing, wheelmaking, and embroidering will be on view.

There will be potters, silversmiths making Pennsylvania Dutch jewelry, spinners, weavers, violinmakers, and even a "hex" sign-painter.

Kutztown, a tiny community on Route 222 between Reading and Allentown, will become the capital of the Pennsylvania Dutch world during the festival. More than 50,000 persons from every State in the Nation and foreign countries are expected to attend.

In addition to watching the craftsmen at work, visitors will have an opportunity to savor foods which have made the Pennsylvania Dutch famous.

Such delights as gawrda-waigle, hoffa, cuppli, oler and balle kase will be in plentiful supply. Pennsylvania Dutch women from neighboring farms also will cook mountains of schnitz und gnepp, butt boi, snavely sticks, rivvel soup, schmear kase and shoofly pies. Meals will be served to the public in large tents under the auspices of churches and granges.

In reviving the oldtime traditions and customs of the Pennsylvania Dutch, treasured heirlooms and antiques will be exhibited, many for the first time. Rare furniture, some dating back to pre-Revolutionary War days, will be on view.

A 2-hour pageant depicting Pennsylvania Dutch farm life will be presented July 4, 6, and 7. A 2-day seminar on all phases of the region's folklore will be held July 3 and 5.

Another unique feature of the festival will be jigging and hoedown contests to select the champion square-dance teams of the Pennsylvania Dutch country.

With everything in readiness, the Pennsylvania Dutch now are inviting the public to "koom und breing die friend mit."

The Need for the Parity Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, this morning I received a letter from Mr. Marvin Montgomery, of Perryton, Tex. Mr. Montgomery is a farmer by occupation and, like most of our good farmers, he is acutely interested in what we do here in Washington regarding farm legislation.

Mr. Montgomery was kind enough to send me a copy of an editorial which appears in the July 1957 edition of the Progressive Farmer, one of the great farm publications of America. This editorial clearly shows the grave need for retention of the parity principle. I commend the magazine for the editorial. I have long advocated the parity principle, and believe it to be the soundest solution to our agricultural problem.

I should like to read the last paragraph of the editorial:

Secretary Benson has not proved that the parity principle has failed. He has simply proved that there has been too much looseness in enforcing or carrying out the parity principle. We ought not to end parity. We ought to mend parity. A vigorous fight by farmers at this time may save the parity principle, even though it may be necessary to change the methods by which fair or parity prices are obtained. If we do not save the parity principle, farm prices may drop to bankruptcy figures any year.

I ask unanimous consent to have the entire editorial published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S KEEP THE PARITY PRINCIPLE

A new crisis seems to be developing in American agricultural legislation. The important lesson for all farmers from our standpoint is this: By all means let's fight to maintain the principle of fair parity prices for farm products.

To begin with, we may need to go back to the A B C's of the whole parity problem. In 1920, a sudden and calamitous drop in prices of farm products brought bankruptcy to thousands of farmers both in the South and the West. But, as had often been the case, prices of what the farmer bought did not drop much as compared with prices of what he had to sell. In Congress and eleswhere, farmers started a great campaign for what they called equality for agriculture. Three basic facts were emphasized:

1. Manufacturers were protected by high tariffs. These tariffs prevented foreign products from coming into America to lower prices as fixed by American business.

2. Labor unions, although not so powerful as they now are with their minimum wage and collective security acts, nevertheless could hold up wages in large measure by strikes.

3. But farmers had no way to get or keep fair prices for their products. What they grew was thrown on the open market with no price tag affixed and with every farmer in competition with every other farmer.

To remedy this situation, a nationwide campaign for cooperative marketing was carried on. Many farmers joined, with highly helpful results. But not enough of them worked together to enable agricultural producers to fix prices as business had usually been able to do. Nor can they yet do so. But the great 1920 collapse in farm prices had also brought on a business depression. Consequently, many business and professional men were willing to join farmers in asking, "What can we do to prevent farm income from dropping unjustifiably? How can farm purchasing power be kept up and the farmer's standard of living maintained?" Economists and others made profound research studies. "Back in the years before 1909–14—just before the First World War," it was said, "farm prices were reasonably satisfactory as compared with prices of what farmers had to buy. Would it not be to the benefit of farmers, laborers, and businessmen to have the Government keep farm prices in about the same level of equality with other prices as was the general rule in 1909–14? Let's compile a list of the most important things for which farmers have to spend money. Then let's so control prices that a bale of cotton, a bushel of wheat, or a hundredweight of pork will buy about as much farm equipment, machinery, fertilizer (and everything else the farmer buys) as it did in this 1909–14 parity period."

How to do this? It was agreed that the Government would guarantee farm prices up to this point, and would buy and store farm products which failed to bring the full parity price just indicated. At the same time, however, it was realized that the Government could not pay parity prices to farmers unless farmers would agree not to flood the market with unwanted surpluses. Hence, the programs for acreage allotments, production controls, etc., were set up.

Such, in brief, are the A–B–C principles of our parity-price programs. Now it is being said that the policy of guaranteeing parity prices—or even 90 percent of parity—

has failed. Secretary of Agriculture Benson virtually calls for the ending of all price supports in his recent letter to Senator ELLENDER, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. And Mr. Benson goes to great length to explain just where production controls have failed and why price supports must fail, also.

The Secretary's analysis, however, contains enough material to knock out his own arguments. For year after year he quotes figures which show that the allotments by which farmers were asked to control production were far too high. Each year many farmers, dealers, warehousement, etc., demanded larger acreage allotments for tobacco and cotton, for example, than the market prospects justified. Congress and the Department of Agriculture yielded to pressures they should have resisted. The result is seen in the excessive surpluses that have accumulated and which have forced prices of many farm products below production costs.

Secretary Benson has not proved that the parity principle has failed. He has simply proved that there has been too much looseness in enforcing or carrying out the parity principle. We ought not to end parity. We ought to mend parity. A vigorous fight by farmers at this time may save the parity principle, even though it may be necessary to change the methods by which fair or parity prices are obtained. If we do not save the parity principle, farm prices may drop to bankruptcy figures any year.

Power Policy and Tax Writeoffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. CARROLL
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, several days ago I received unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two very excellent newspaper articles written by a very competent editorial writer for the Denver Post, Mr. Robert H. Hansen. In addition to being an editorial writer, he is a very skillful reporter.

On June 25 he wrote an article under the title "Public Pays Writeoffs Tab." This is a very penetrating analysis of an issue which is before this body and the other body of Congress at the present time, and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC PAYS WRITEOFFS TAB
(By Robert H. Hansen)

The old saying: "It takes money to make money," was never more true than it is with fast tax writeoffs.

That's how, for example, the $65 million Idaho Power Co. writeoffs for 2 Hells Canyon dams could have been pyramided into a net benefit of $339 million at the end of 50 years—more than 3 times the entire cost of the dams.

How can this be? Who pays the bills? And who gets the benefits?

The multi-billion-dollar benefits of fast tax writeoffs result from simply putting money to work, under the multiplication effects of compound interest.

MORSE SUMS UP ISSUE

As Senator MORSE replied 3 years ago to claims that fast tax writeoffs are really of little benefit to industry and that compound interest really isn't involved:

"In the name of commonsense there is no reason why interest earnings on tax savings should not be put to work and thereby compounded, just as any other investment funds."

The public pays the tab—running into many billions of dollars, too, in higher taxes, added Government interest, and inflated prices.

Big business harvests the benefits, together with stockholders who cash in on tax-free dividends.

If necessary subsidies are to stand on their own merit, if the tax laws are to apply fairly to all, and if Congress is to maintain tight control over Government revenue and spending, then peacetime use of wartime fast tax writeoffs must be wrong.

There are those who still insist that fast tax writeoffs serve defense purposes, and who doubt the fairness of figuring compound interest in estimating their worth. Others deny there is any discrimination and say small business enjoys equal fast writeoff rights and benefits with big business. And some argue simply that the fast writeoff program is all but over now anyway, so why worry about it.

Let's see.

More than 22,000 fast tax writeoffs in 229 fields of industry have been issued since the start of the Korean war. They cover new or expanded facilities exceeding $38 billion, of which $23 billion can be deducted on corporate income tax returns over 5 years.

ONE-THIRD SINCE END OF KOREAN WAR

One-third of this program has developed since the end of the Korean conflict—totaling over $7 billion in writeoffs during 3 years of peace, compared to $5.7 billion in all of World War II.

From Alaska to Cuba, almost every kind of industry from steel to porcelain, newsprint to guided missiles, has been included at one time or another.

In Colorado, $92 million worth of fast tax writeoffs have been granted to 49 companies since 1950. Colorado Fuel & Iron Corp. leads the list with 27 writeoffs for $26 million. Gates Rubber Co. got 6 writeoffs for $8,327,000 and Public Service Co. received 4 certificates for $21 million.

Other Colorado writeoffs, all in the name of national defense, covered railroads, trucking companies, crop elevators, oil and gas facilities, mines, smelters, ammunition, steel scrap, metal products and ordnance supplies.

The fast tax writeoff program right now is not what it once was—but it is specifically designed to be reopened periodically by a simple order from the Office of Defense Mobilization. That is the way it has operated in the past and will in the future unless Congress calls a halt now.

After a $13 billion avalanche of fast writeoffs in 1951 and 1952, the program dropped off sharply until the end of 1954. Then it picked up, until the 1951–52 peak was reached again in late 1955 and early 1956, when $3.4 billion in writeoffs was approved in 6 months.

WARNING OF TAXATION GROUP

Last December, the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation warned:

"There is, at least, a general impression that the major function of emergency amortization has already been accomplished and that from now on certification will be limited to a few exceptional items such as a plant for building some new type of guided missile that may be developed.

"The objectives of the emergency amortization program since 1950 raise a serious doubt about this kind of forecast. Much of the present program is directed at inducing an increase of capacity in areas that have a large civilian demand, such as freight cars and electric power."

So far this year, up to May 10, another 235 fast tax writeoffs were approved for $581 million, and 257 more applications for $688 million were pending. Another $4 billion in writeoffs have been rejected.

This, then, would seem to belie the contention that fast tax writeoffs are already dead. Particularly so when coupled with the steel industry campaign in the last half of 1956 to open up the steel program again for another $2.4 billion in writeoffs, or the current pressure airlines are bringing to get writeoffs of another $1.4 billion for civilian jet airliners.

Now, about the discriminatory aspects of fast tax writeoffs and the favoritism shown to big business.

In 1951, the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments scored the "shovel in the barrel" approval of $500 million in steel writeoffs during the first 9 days of the program. The committee said only the alert big steel companies with high-powered legal technical and accounting staffs could get into the act before the program was suddenly filled and suspended.

"By the time the small, independent businessman realized the law and the procedure, his opportunity to participate had passed," the committee declared.

OPERATIONS LITTLE CHANGED

Similar charges have since been made by the Senate Small Business Committee and various other bodies. Today, however, the program still operates in much the same way.

While there has been some increase in small business participation, the Attorney General's Office last year in one or two critical reports on the fast writeoff program concluded:

"The major companies, nevertheless, have received by far the larger share. In many instances, in fact, there may be no practical alternative. Nevertheless, the need to preserve the free competitive basis of our industrial economy is also urgent.

"That need is served only if incentive grants of any type go primarily to the smaller companies, except where immediate defense necessity otherwise requires."

Senator KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, and his Antitrust Subcommittee have established that no small business received fast tax writeoffs in the electric power industry. The $3.3 billion in writeoffs for private utilities since 1950, he calculated, will be worth $5 billion over 33 years.

Just the 96 fast tax writeoffs issued since January 1, 1955, to private power companies, it was estimated, will cost the taxpayers $778.3 million and benefit the utilities by $2.6 billion over a 50-year period.

CERTAIN BUILT-IN BIAS

Last December the joint revenue committee staff report said it is a striking thing that fast tax writeoffs for electric power go only to private utilities, not publicly owned companies. The whole program, it added, has a certain built-in bias against small business.

And only last month Treasury Secretary Humphrey, supporting repeal of fast tax writeoffs, testified:

"Because rapid amortization is not applied universally, it could create a competitive imbalance in the sound, vigorous growth of our free economy. * * *

"First there is the stimulating effect which can temporarily add to inflation, with the possibility of a lag later. Then when rapid writeoffs are permitted for facilities which will be largely used to supply eventual regular civilian demand, there inevitably will be dislocations and unfair advantages between whole industries—and individual companies within an industry.

"Most of the total has been of this type."

Principal beneficiaries of tax-credit windfall—Who got fast tax writeoffs, by industry, 1950–56

	Number of write-offs	Amount
Manufacturing industries:		
Primary metals	1,715	$3,900,000,000
Chemicals	1,060	1,600,000,000
Petroleum and coal	621	1,700,000,000
Transportation	2,423	815,000,000
Machinery	8,150	515,000,000
Pulp, paper, board mills	117	419,000,000
Electrical equipment	1,211	322,000,000
Ordnance	1,116	229,000,000
Other	2,064	697,000,000
Nonmanufacturing industries:		
Utilities and sanitation	920	2,800,000,000
Railroads	2,114	3,700,000,000
Mining	609	1,600,000,000
Pipelines	235	329,000,000
Water transportation	745	533,000,000
Airlines	43	443,000,000
Total 1950–56	20,479	19,800,000,000
Total to date	22,000	23,000,000,000

Recently Discovered Letters Written to Citizens of Rhode Island by Thomas Paine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, tomorrow, July 4, will be the 181st anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. It is fitting at this time to bring to the attention of my colleagues in this body the story of the recently discovered letters written, at the request of George Washington, to the citizens of Rhode Island by Thomas Paine, the author-hero of the American Revolution, of whom his contemporary, General Lafayette, wrote: "Free America without her Thomas Paine is unthinkable."

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Joseph Lewis, founder of the Thomas Paine Foundation, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIX LETTERS WORTH 10,000 TIMES THEIR WEIGHT IN GOLD

(By Joseph Lewis)

It is now the considered judgment of history that it was Thomas Paine's pamphlet Common Sense which aroused the American Colonies to rise in rebellion against the tyranny of the English Crown. And it has been equally established that during the trying days of the Revolution Thomas Paine's Crisis Papers—the first one beginning with these immortal words, "These are the times that try men's souls"—which appeared during the 7 long years of struggle for independence, saved Washington's army from certain and imminent defeat.

No one realized the importance of Paine's writings during these critical times more than Washington himself. When the first number of the Crisis appeared, the Commander in Chief had it read to his army. If Paine's words inspired Washington with renewed courage, he felt that it would have the same effect upon his soldiers. He was right. It did.

But these were not the only services that Paine contributed during the war for independence. It would take too long to recount the other valuable help which he rendered, "over and beyond the call of duty," in our fight for freedom.

Thomas Paine became truly the torch bearer of the American Revolution, and whenever a problem arose, if he did not anticipate a solution, he was called upon to find a remedy.

Such was his influence at that time that General Von Steuben said, "A pamphlet by Thomas Paine would do more good than all the resolutions of Congress in prose or verse."

As the bitter conflict of the war continued, the problem of finance became a serious one. How to raise money to carry on the struggle was the most pressing issue of the day. While victory was in sight, disaster was about to overtake the country for lack of funds. Congress sought means and methods by which to raise money. In desperation, it passed a resolution calling upon the different States to impose a 5-percent tax on all imported merchandise, the revenue to be devoted solely for national defense.

"In Congress, February 3, 1781.

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the several States, as indispensably necessary, that they vest a power in Congress to levy, for the use of the United States, a duty of 5 percent ad valorem, at the time and place of importation, upon all goods, wares and merchandise, of foreign growth and manufactures, which may be imported into any of said States, after the 1st day of May 1781; except arms, ammunition, clothing, and other articles imported on account of the United States, or any of them, and except wool cards, and cotton cards, and wire for making them, and also except salt during the war: Also a duty of 5 percent on all prizes and prize goods, condemned in the court of admiralty of any of these States, as lawful prizes.

"That the moneys arising from these duties be appropriated to the discharge of the principal and interest of the debts already contracted, or which may be contracted, on the faith of the United States, for supporting the present war. That the said duties be continued until the said debts shall be fully and faithfully discharged."

The State of Rhode Island objected to this 5-percent tax. When the Rhode Island Assembly convened in the fall of 1782 it rejected unanimously this urgent request of Congress, despite the fact that the other 12 States had approved it.

A critical situation arose.

Could any State refuse to abide by an act of the National Congress?

Did the State have the right to ignore such a request?

Could it be forced to comply?

Could the State claim sovereignty and secede from the Union?

Was such a tax the beginning of a super national Government at the expense of States rights?

Arguments on both sides gained enthusiastic adherents.

The case of Rhode Island presented a grave problem to the new Government.

Should the militia be sent to force the acceptance of the impost tax?

What was the solution to this perplexing question?

What was to be the nature of the new Government?

Political differences began to appear. The bitterness of partisan politics was becoming manifest. The selfish and the unscrupulous saw untold possibilities in our separation from England, and lost no time to take full advantage of the opportunities presented.

"Money was too precious to flitter away on national defense. We can defend ourselves," said many.

Any new laws that interfered with their aggrandizement were bitterly opposed.

The welfare of the country and the consideration of the Republic was subordinated to personal profit and political preferment.

So concerned were the leaders of the Revolution at this critical situation that Washington himself declared that unless Rhode Island agreed to the impost tax, "the blood which has been spilt, the expense that has been incurred, and the distresses which have been felt, will avail us nothing; and that band, already too weak which holds us together, will soon be broken; when anarchy and confusion must prevail."

And James Madison saw ever more ominous results. He predicted, "the breakup of the Confederacy, the formation of Northern and Southern Confederacies, and civil war between the two."

Another menacing aspect reared its ugly head.

Unless Congress secured enough money to pay the soldiers, demobilization was impossible, and an irresponsible military dictatorship was in the offing.

There was only one man who stood between the establishment of the Republic and disaster.

Washington remembered the words, "These are the times that try men's souls," and sent for Thomas Paine. Washington, Robert Morris, and Robert Livingston, at the princely sum of $800, commissioned Paine to start immediately "informing the people and arousing them into action," regarding this serious situation.

Thomas Paine was the only man in this country at that time who had the proper concept, the ability, and the knowledge of "informing the people and arousing them into action."

Only Thomas Paine knew the vital necessity of the solidarity of the States. He knew that only by being united could a stable government be established, and the success of the new Republic assured.

Since the idea of the United States of America, and the representative system of government came from the brain of Thomas Paine, he was extremely sensitive to any breach that might destroy this new idea of government.

These words of Paine's are particularly significant at this time. He said:

"The independence of America would have added but little to her own happiness, and been of no benefit to the world, if her government had been formed on the corrupt models of the old world. It was the opportunity of beginning the world anew, as it were; and of bringing forward a new system of government in which the rights of all men should be preserved that gave value to independence."

And so, Thomas Paine jumped on his horse "Button," or borrowed one, or went by coach, and started on a 500-mile journey to face and solve another crisis that loomed so menacingly to the foundation of the edifice which he was struggling so hard to establish in the New World.

He began writing a series of letters to keep Rhode Island within the Union. The first one appeared in the Providence Gazette and Journal in January 1782. It was signed, "A Friend of Rhode Island and the Union." The last one—six in all—appeared in July 1783.

As the public is little acquainted with the contents of these letters, with their sentiments expressing the political philosophy of Paine, as well as the fundamental principle underlying the establishment of this Republic, I think a few extracts are well worth quoting here.

Paine wrote:

"In this country, where every State is interested alike in the event of the war, and almost every man in it stands in the same predicament, there ought to be no occasion

for persuasion; and I might as well expect that the citizen of Rhode-Island should undertake to persuade me to my duty, as that I should endeavor to persuade him.

* * * * *

"Every man in America stands in a two-fold order of citizenship. He is a citizen of the State he lives in, and of the United States; and without justly and truly supporting his citizenship in the latter, he will inevitably sacrifice the former. By his rank in the one, he is made secure with his neighbors; by the other, with the world. The one protects his domestic safety and property from internal robbers and injustice; the other his foreign and remote property from piracy and invasion, and puts him on a rank with other nations. Certainly then the one, like the other, must not and cannot be trusted to pleasure and caprice, lest, in the display of local authority, we forget the great line that made us great, and must keep us so.

* * * * *

"When the cause of America, like a new creation, rose into existence, it had something in it which confounded and yet enraptured the world. The boldness of the attempt, and the extent of its consequences, overawed the conjectures of mankind. A 5-percent duty, levied for our support, either on land or commerce, would not then have swallowed up our attention, or produced a debate dishonorable to our patriotism. The defense of our country against an unprincipled and powerful enemy, the establishment of our natural rights, the exalting the human race to their original freedom, and guaranteeing the blessings of civil government, were the great objects of our heart, and we were a united, though a suffering people.

"Why is it that so many little cares, unworthy our greatness and injurious to our peace, have stolen upon our better thoughts? Are we tired of being successful? Is our domestic liberty of less value than formerly, or are we disposed to surrender to contention that which the enemy could never take from us by force?

"It would perhaps be quite as well were (we) to talk less about our independence, and more about our Union. For if the Union be justly supported, our independence is made secure. The former is the mother, the latter the infant at her breast. The nourishment of the one is drawn through the other, and to impoverish the mother is famishing her offspring.

* * * * *

"Besides, the European world, or any place we may trade to, knows us only through our national sovereignty, as United States. Any infringement on our rights of commerce must be lodged before the United States, and every redress for any such injury must come to us through that line of sovereignty; consequently the regulation of it must reside in the same power.

"The United States are likewise accountable to foreign powers for all misconduct committed under their flag; and, as it is their flag which privileges our commerce abroad and on the seas, it cannot, therefore, be expected that the United States should be thus accountable on the one hand, and afford protection on the other, to all the rights of commerce, without receiving an aid and assistance from it.

"I come now to consider a very striking injury that would accrue to Rhode Island by not coming into the measure with the rest of the States.

"The fidelity, patriotism, and well-affected disposition of Rhode Island has never been made the least question of; neither does her present dissent proceed from any source of that kind, but from a misrepresentation of it on some part, and a misconception of it on another.

"In the course of the debate she has taken up an idea, warranted by the Articles of Confederation, that each State has a prerogative to furnish its quota by such means as best suits its conveniency, and in this she is right. But the mistake is that the 5-percent duty is not of the nature of a quota, and that for the reason I have already mentioned, namely, that trade is not local property, but is diffused over and promiscuously drawn from all parts, beyond as well as within the State. Neither is she called upon, in the character of an individual State, for a particular thing limited like direct property, within her own jurisdiction only, but in her united character, to concur in a measure common to all the States, and yet the particular property of none."

So persuasive were Paine's words, so unanswerable his logic that after the sixth letter appeared, the people of Rhode Island reversed themselves and immediately passed the resolution asked by Congress to impose a 5-percent impost tax for national defense—and thereby saved the Union.

When did six letters ever accomplish so much? And in so short a time.

No wonder John Adams said that "Washington's sword would have been wielded in vain had it not been supported by the pen of Paine." He was there. He saw it happen. He knew.

There does not exist, to my knowledge, a more dramatic illustration when the pen proved to be mightier than the sword, than the effect produced by the six letters which Thomas Paine wrote to the citizens of Rhode Island.

I cannot help but feel that, if during the administration of Abraham Lincoln there had been a Thomas Paine whom Lincoln could have commissioned to write 6 letters or 60 letters or 600 letters or 6,000 letters to the people of the Southern States on the importance of the preservation of the Union and the abolition of Negro slavery, there would have been no Civil War.

The Importance of Foreign Students in the United States, and of United States Students Abroad

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the most significant factors in international relations today and tomorrow is the welcome presence in this country of 40,666 foreign students and the presence abroad of 9,887 American students.

No one can now foresee the tremendous role which these youngsters will be playing in the years ahead, in communicating to others what they have studied, seen, heard, and lived in the course of their studies in a different land.

That is why it is always a particular pleasure for me to visit with foreign student groups here in our land.

It is why I welcome the important work of the Institute of International Education, the work of International Student Houses here and in other cities, and the work of the vast variety of other American groups and centers which contribute in many ways to the hospitality of foreign students in our land.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF EMBASSIES

Foreign governments in turn are keenly aware of the opportunities and challenges of this subject. Here in Washington, one of the principal tasks of many of the embassies is to contribute to and facilitate the studies of the large foreign student contingents in our country. The embassies rightly regard this as one of their most important tasks.

I know that this is the case with our friends in the Indian, the Korean, the Iranian, and other Embassies.

Moreover, many of the ambassadors, the minister counselors, and cultural counselors make numerous speeches before American college audiences in order to help familiarize folks on the campuses with the background of the countries which they represent.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN HAS MANY FOREIGN STUDENTS

In Madison, the University of Wisconsin has been host to a vast assembly of students from abroad. We are proud of this heavy foreign contingent, and I know that Madison is playing an extremely effective role in foreign policy in this respect.

But what it does for these foreign students, it does spontaneously, because it regards the student, whatever his nationality, as a seeker of truth. It welcomes the student, whatever his origin, into all activities of academic and campus life.

ANSWERING MISINTERPRETATIONS

Madison recognizes, as does every college town, that when foreign students come here, they can see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, the "real America."

In turn, when our youngsters study abroad, they can get a better idea of the truth in foreign countries.

Each student, in turn, can help to answer misinterpretations and misunderstandings.

Each can, in friendly, frank exchanges, discuss the viewpoints of the respective countries.

We are all aware that there are, unfortunately, a tremendous amount of misunderstandings. We do not know enough about foreign lands, and foreigners do not know enough about us.

WE MUST LEARN MORE ABOUT THE EAST

We have an especially great deal to learn about the East, about the countries of Asia and the Middle East, and Africa, as well.

These Asian-African lands are coming into their own. If we are to have the fullest friendship with them, then we must understand the facts about them, and they about us. That was one of the points brought out in various meetings of the Washington Educational and Cultural Attachés. This is a fine group, to which I have previously referred in the RECORD.

I send to the desk now the text of an article on the theme of minimizing misunderstandings. It was written by Malvina Lindsay, in the July 1 issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald. Its

title is, "Window on Asia is Still Murky." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WINDOW ON ASIA IS STILL MURKY

(By Malvina Lindsay)

Americans increasingly find themselves in a goldfish bowl in which they are being observed by the world's youth. But, like goldfish, they are seemingly neglecting to observe their observers.

Thirty years ago students throughout the world flocked to Western Europe to study. But today, according to a National Science Foundation report, there are annually as many students of other nations in the United States as there are foreign students in all the universities of Western Europe.

A majority of the 36,500 foreign students here are from Asian countries. Excepting Canada, the largest number is from India.

Yet knowledge here of India, indeed of all Asia, is meager and distorted. One reason is that American culture has its roots in Europe. Also Europe is first choice with Americans who go abroad to study. And American tourists make Europe their stamping ground.

Much light is thrown on American misconceptions of India—the world's largest Republic in point of population—by a study, What American Students Think About India, made by Dr. Palayam M. Balasundarum, visiting scholar at Columbia University.

Four hundred students at 12 leading northeastern colleges were questioned in the survey. In general the results were encouraging. Most of the students were objective in their judgments, aware of their ignorance, eager to improve their understanding of a country so important to the democratic world.

In some colleges where there had been contacts with sister colleges in India, or where Asian area studies were included in curriculums, much accurate knowledge of India's political and social development was manifested. But the misconceptions that existed among students in 12 of the country's highest ranking colleges scholastically were a clue to the far greater amount of ignorance concerning India that must exist among citizens generally.

Many an American concept of India was expressed by a Princeton senior who, when asked what associations came to him with the word "India," replied, "It is exotic; people are poor for the most part; it has a lot of tigers."

The highest number of students questioned associated Gandhi and Nehru with India. The second ranking linage was of India's social and religious institutions. Yet only 2 percent of the students mentioned Indian villages, although 8 out of 10 Indians live on the land and depend on agriculture.

The students were slightly more favorable than unfavorable to India's foreign policy—those with the most factual information being the most favorable. Two hundred and fifty-four did not object to intermarriage. Those who did object did so chiefly on difficulties of cultural adjustment rather than racial grounds.

The survey revealed great desire by the students to improve their knowledge of India. A Cornell student said, "As the future leaders of our country, it is appalling to think that we are so poorly informed on such a vital subject as India."

Dr. Balasundarum feels that one of the chief gaps in American knowledge of India that the survey revealed was that concerning India's rural community development, which is an integral part of the first and second 5-year plans. For on this depends largely the raising of Indian standards of living and the nation's future destiny.

In his conclusions Dr. Balasundarum says that mass media information concerning India that goes beyond the spot-news level or personality coverage is greatly needed in this country. Also needed is more accurate teaching about India in grade and high schools, as well as in colleges. Especially recommended is more social and cultural contact of Americans with the Indian students here.

Such contacts between East and West need to be increased in every college and in every community in which there are Asian students. Social get-togethers are helpful, but also needed are cultural meetings in which discussions can reach a deeper level.

Establishment of the Society of Brothers at Gorley's Lake, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 3, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of Sunday, June 23, published a most interesting editorial entitled "They Were Not Reds."

It seems that the Society of Brothers, a North Dakota organization devoted to communal living, has purchased what is known as Gorley's Lake, a beautiful lake in southwestern Pennsylvania, and a well-known hotel, with 80 rooms, and 110 acres of land. It is the plan of this society of 150 members—men, women, and children—to use the hotel for the manufacture of educational toys for institutional use. This group is absolutely opposite to the atheist plan of Russia. This is not the first time organizations of this kind have settled in Pennsylvania. Similar groups are Ephrata Cloister, at Ephrata, Pa.; and the Harmony Society, at Old Economy. In Pennsylvania there were many other groups with fine intentions, but all have failed. Economists and those sincerely interested in the improvement of the station of man have tried many things, but nothing has succeeded as well as the free enterprise economy of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEY WERE NOT REDS

The Society of Brothers, a North Dakota organization devoted to communal living, has bought Gorley's Lake in Fayette County with its 80-room hotel and 110 acres of land.

The society's 150 members—men, women, and children—will move to Gorley's Lake and use the hotel for the manufacture of educational toys for institutional use.

This unusual announcement seems more like a news item of the early 19th century.

We had many such experiments in communal living at that earlier period.

The one with which Pittsburghers were most familiar was that of the Harmony Society, which in 1805 founded Harmony in Butler County and 20 years later established a new colony at Economy (now Ambridge) in Beaver County.

This and many other experiments in communal living are described authoritatively by Charles Nordhoff in The Communistic Societies of the United States, published in 1874.

An intimate view of the beliefs and manner of life of the Harmony Society can be obtained in the historical pageant Man's Reach which is to be given at Old Economy, now a State museum, this summer.

The word "communistic" has acquired a sinister meaning.

But communism, as practiced by the Harmoney Society and similar groups, was vastly different from the communism of Red Russia.

The Harmonists were not Reds and would have abhorred everything for which present-day Communists stand.

Unlike the atheistic Reds of today, the 19th century American Communists were deeply religious and all their beliefs and actions were based on Christian doctrine as they interpreted it.

The Harmonists were premillennialists who believed that the millennium was near and would be introduced by the personal return of Christ.

They practiced communal living because that was the way of life of the early apostles, as described in Acts II: 44 and 45.

"And all that believed were together, and had all things common.

"And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."

But although the members of the Harmoney Society had all things in common, the society was not hostile to free-enterprise capitalism. Far from it.

The society was among the pioneers in the development of western Pennsylvania's oil resources and had much to do with the founding of Tidioute in Warren County.

The Harmonists built the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad and one of their members was its first president.

They were active in the building of Beaver Falls and were heavily interested in Pittsburgh industries and banks.

Communal living, as the subject of American experiments, and Red communism are as far apart as the poles.

It will be interesting to see how the experiment at Gorley's Lake turns out.

Veterans of World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to discuss the veterans of World War I.

A great many of my constituents in the 11th Congressional District of California have expressed deep concern that there is not at the present time in existence an organization which would represent exclusively the veterans of World War I, a group of individuals who have truly proven their allegiance to their country. I wish to mention especially the following among my correspondents: J. R. McDonald, Herbert E. Vandervoort, Mr. and Mrs. Walton Harris, Ward E.

Bettinger, G. A. Betz, Wesley Clark, Hiram B. Smith, Fred Farlow, all of Stockton; Roy A. Filloon, commander of Stockton Barracks of World War I Veterans; Manuel D. Kappos and Nick Vakakis, of Lodi; E. L. Healey, of Manteca; F. G. Patterson, commander of Modesto Barracks of World War I Veterans; Philip O'Brien, commander of Turlock Barracks of World War I Veterans; and Vic Sanders, adjutant of Riverbank Barracks of World War I Veterans.

As the Civil War differed from the Spanish-American War, World War I in turn differed from World War II and the Korean conflict.

The veterans of each war have special viewpoints, interests, and identities that separate one from the other. Each group speaks for its own generation. Each group has unique memories and loyal comradeship that cannot be shared fully and freely with veterans of other wars.

Today, 39 years after the end of World War I, we still do not have an organization to represent exclusively the veterans of World War I.

I urgently request official recognition for the veterans of World War I, as well as congressional approval of a national charter for this nationwide organization, whose objectives are admirable, as well as patriotic, and whose membership has contributed greatly to the strength, freedom, and prosperity of our great country.

A national charter would advance the cause of this worthy organization; I feel the veterans of World War I have earned this honor.

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following address to the Mississippi State Bar Association made by the Honorable W. S. Henley, the newly-elected president of the organization:

— TRIAL BY JURY

Ladies and gentlemen of the Mississippi State Bar.

I

The subject of trial by jury is, in my opinion, the most vital issue before the American public today. We are being awakened to past encroachments and far greater threats for the future to this inherent right of every citizen. On the other hand, we are told that if the judges are not permitted to enforce the criminal laws by injunctions and citations for contempt without the right of a jury trial, this will result in anarchy.

Let us consider this issue briefly in the light of history and of the opinions of leading statesmen and great leaders of the bar in the past.

II

Historians disagree as to the origin of trial by jury. Some writers insist that the jury was of pure Anglo-Saxon origin and attribute it to Alfred the Great who reigned from 871 to 901. Others attribute its origin to various sources, including the Franks, the Normans, and the Celts.

The true answer appears to be that forms of trial resembling the jury system are to be found in the primitive institutions of practically all nations. Our ancestors' sense of justice and fair play developed long before their civilization had advanced sufficiently to preserve a written record of trials.

III

The jury system as it is known to the common law developed in England from the 11th to the 16th Century. In 1085, William the Conqueror used the jury system, as it then existed, in compiling the Domesday Book.

Originally, a jury trial was not a right but a privilege to be granted or withheld as a favor of the king. Henry II, a wise and just king who reigned from 1154 to 1189, encouraged trial by jury to make his royal courts more efficient and more popular than the courts of the feudal lords, which were not permitted to use juries. King John exacted expensive presents from those seeking trial by jury. However, under article 36 of the Magna Carta granted at Runnymede in 1215, such writs were no longer to be sold and bought but given as of right.

Kings and their ministers who considered a jury's verdict unjust preferred charges against such jury and tried them before the Star Chamber Court which operated without a jury. Such proceedings became so oppressive and infamous under Charles I that the Star Chamber Court was abolished in 1641, and the King was beheaded for his oppressive acts. The right to punish jurors for verdicts considered to be unjust was abolished by Parliament and the remedy of granting a new trial substituted therefor.

Embracery, consisting of corruption of a jury, was a statutory offense in England as early as 1360, but the prosecution thereof was so rare that when a case occurred in 1891, no precedent could be found upon which to draw an indictment.

In many early trials, judges intimidated juries. We have the familiar account of "Bloody" Judge Jeffries who, being displeased with the verdict of a jury, caused them to be placed in a cart, carried outside the city limits and dumped into a ditch. Regardless of whether the jury's authority was challenged by the crown, judges or by Parliament, the power of juries always eventually prevailed due to the confidence of the people in their verdicts.

Courageous and able leaders at the bar such as Bacon, Burke, Coke, Erskine and others too numerous to mention have led in the struggles to place unlimited trust in the verdicts of juries, and public opinion sustained them and enabled the jury system to become the most dependable known method of trial.

In one of his sublime orations Edmund Burke declared that the whole state and power of England, her King, Lords and Commons, her Army and Navy were ordained and established for the purpose of getting 12 honest men into the jury box; in other words, to do justice between man and man, and to abolish force between individuals.

IV

Wherever English people migrated, they carried the jury system with them as one of their inherent rights. This resulted in the jury system being established throughout a large part of the world, including America, Australia, New Zealand, India, and South Africa. Our colonial courts recognized the right to a trial by jury at a very early date in a case by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

In 1765 the British Parliament, at the instigation of King George III and his minister, enacted the Stamp Act and placed its enforcement under the Court of Admiralty, thereby depriving the American colonists of trials by jury in the matter of its enforcement. This aroused the resentment of the American colonists and on October 19, 1765, 9 of the 13 Colonies met in New York and adopted the Colonial Declaration of Rights to the effect that "trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies," and condemned Parliament for depriving the colonists of such rights.

Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence charged George III with tyranny and usurpations in that the American colonists had been "deprived in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury. Our ancestors realized that the best part of our inheritance from England was the right to trial by jury, without which their liberty could not be preserved.

V

Section 2 of article III of the Constitution provides: "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury." Randolph and Mason did not regard this provision as adequate protection and refused to sign the Constitution.

At the Virginia Constitutional Convention strenuous objection was raised by Patrick Henry and others to the ratification of the Constitution on the ground that trial by jury should be more clearly and more fully guaranteed. The history of the efforts of tyrannical Kings and of Parliament to deprive the English people of the benefits of trial by jury and of encroachments thereon was cited as a warning to the people of Virginia as to what might happen here. Patrick Henry in discussing this said: "I know of no way of judging the future but by the past."

As a result the Bill of Rights was prepared to be offered as amendments to the Constitution. Amendment 5 provides for indictment by grand juries. Amendment 6 provides that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed * * *." Amendment 7 provides for juries in civil suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed $20.

Jefferson advised the Virginia Convention to defer ratifying the Constitution until the proposed amendments were first adopted. However, upon the assurance of John Marshall, George Washintgon and others that the amendments would be promptly adopted, the Virginia Convention ratified the Constitution by a very close vote. The tradition of flagrant abuses of power by judges caused the makers of the constitutions and the legislatures in nearly all of the States to exercise diligence in undertaking to see that the right of trial by jury was preserved for the benefit of all those whose liberty might be placed in jeopardy in any manner.

VI

We have grown up in an age when trial by jury is taken for granted. Little do we realize the struggles and sacrifices endured by our ancestors to enable us to enjoy this great privilege. Nor do we stop to analyze what this privilege means to us.

The jury uses its commonsense in analyzing facts and weighing the evidence; the composite judgment of 12 laymen drawn from all walks of life is far more likely to represent the truth, than the judgment of one more judges. The American system of government is based upon a proper separation of powers. Judges are able to perform their duty more efficiently by having the same confined to questions of law.

The jury system is the last vestige of pure democracy. No other part of our system of government comes as close home to the citizen as service upon a jury. There can be no more wholesome patriotic experience. It

has served to keep our democratic form of government alive, active, and vigorous. It is indeed government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Without it, democracy would be doomed to perish from the face of the earth.

Joseph Choate, one of the greatest American trial lawyers, in delivering his annual address as President of the American Bar Association on August 18, 1898, stated:

"The truth is, however, that the jury system is so fixed as an essential part of our political institutions; it has proved itself to be such an invaluable security for the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property for so many centuries, it is so justly appreciated as the best and perhaps the only known means of admitting the people to a share, and maintaining their wholesome interest in the administration of justice; it is such an indispensable factor in educating them in their personal and civil rights; it affords such a school and training in the law to the profession itself; * * * that there can be no substantial ground for fear that any of us will live to see the people consent to give it up."

He warned members of the bar against tinkering or tampering with trial by jury.

"For I cherish, as the result of a life's work nearing its end, that the old-fashioned trial by a jury of 12 honest and intelligent citizens remains today, all suggested innovations and amendments to the contrary, the best and safest practical method for the determination of facts as the basis of judgment of courts, and that all attempts to tinker or tamper with it should be discouraged as disastrous to the public welfare."

VII

Trial by jury, as it is known in America and England, has never been permitted in countries controlled by dictators.

In ancient Rome the jurors were selected exclusively from the senators. Wherever the Roman or civil law prevails, jury trials, as known to common law, are not matters of right.

In a Russian trial, whether civil or criminal, there is no jury and no rules of evidence. Witnesses are not sworn since the state is atheistic. Almost anything is admitted in evidence, including hearsay. No objections to questions are made.

In his address to the Reichstag, on July 13, 1934, Hitler in excusing himself from resorting to a bloody purge, said:

"If anyone faces me with the reproach that we should have used the regular courts for trial, I can only answer that in that hour I was responsible for the fate of the German Nation, and therefor I myself was the German people's supreme tribunal."

It is one of the saddest facts of history that the fate of the German Nation might have been different if justice had been administered by the people instead of being centralized in the hands of a dictator.

If we preserve, unimpaired, trial by jury, what has happened in Germany and Russia may not be repeated here. We, therefore, should always cherish and forever preserve in America the sacred right of trial by jury.

Winston Churchill in his History of the English Speaking Peoples, volume 2, page 186 states:

"Trial by jury of equals, only for offenses know to the law, if maintained, makes the difference between bond and free."

VIII

Today we are faced with the greatest threat to the right to trial by jury that has existed at any time since the adoption of the Constitution. This has come about in a very subtle manner by the extension of the jurisdiction of courts of equity so as in effect to invest them with the enforcement of criminal laws.

At the time of the drafting of the Constitution, courts of equity had never been vested with power to enforce the criminal laws and the Founding Fathers did not deem it necessary to provide a constitutional guaranty for trial by jury in equity.

By a gradual process of authorizing the enforcement of criminal laws by injunction, courts of equity have been vested with concurrent jurisdiction to enforce criminal laws and are gradually usurping the police power of the State and Nation.

Beginning with the Interstate Commerce Commission Act of 1887, Congress has adopted 28 statutes vesting the right in Federal judges to enforce various criminal laws by injunction. This encroachment has been gradual and limited to the field covered by each specific act. Nevertheless, many statesmen and leaders of the bar have issued warnings against such encroachments.

S. S. Gregory, president of the American Bar Association, in his address to the association in 1912, had this to say:

"To say that the commission of an offense against the laws of the United States or at common law may be enjoined, and then the person charged with the commission of that offense may be tried upon information for contempt without a jury, is a clear evasion of these salutary constitutional guaranties. * * *

"Where the law prohibits an act, the effect of enjoining against its commission is merely to change the procedure by which the guilt of the person charged with doing the act thus prohibited shall be ascertained and his punishment fixed. By enjoining against the commission of crime and then proceeding on a charge of contempt against those accused of committing it, the administration of the criminal law is transferred to equity and the rights to trial by jury and all other guaranties of personal liberty, secured by the Constitution, are pro hac vice destroyed."

The real question involved is whether trial by jury shall be retained in all essentially criminal prosecutions in the Federal courts.

IX

The pending civil-rights bills multiply by many times the existing encroachments upon the right to trial by jury. The Attorney General has furnished the Senate Judiciary Committee with a list of 25 specific civil rights to which the law would apply with the comment: "This list is merely illustrative and does not attempt to include all civil rights." The field is so vast that it is proposed to set up an entirely new division in the Department of Justice to prosecute the multitude of cases contemplated.

It is claimed that the proposed legislation would be more effective than the time-honored method of trial by jury. This same reason was given for the establishment of the Court of Star Chamber. Originally the jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber was invoked in cases where it was thought that juries might not convict. History records the results. Its methods grew to be cruel and tyrannical. The lesson taught by the history of the Star Chamber is that the rights and liberties of the people would not long survive in any country where the administration of law is committed exclusively to the boundless discretion of one person.

The present day government by injunction is an attempt to revive the methods of Star Chamber Court. The commission of crimes is defined by statute but when a judge takes over the function of the criminal court, a decree of the judge is substituted and often enlarges the statute by interpretation. In proceedings for contempt for an alleged violation of an injunction, the judge is the lawmaker, the injured party, the prosecutor, the judge, and the jury. It is only natural that under such circumstances, the proceedings may be effective notwithstanding it is contrary to the basic concepts of the fundamental rights of every American citizen.

Two persons may be charged with identically the same act alleged to be a crime—one is given the benefit of a trial by jury, and the other is tried by a judge without a jury because the court has issued an injunction commanding all persons to obey the law. While there is a technical distinction as a practical matter, the liberty of each man is placed in jeopardy and one enjoys the benefit of his basic right, and the same right is denied the other.

It is contended that the pending proposal to amend the civil rights legislation so as to guarantee trial by jury for contempts committed out of the presence of the court—grants a new right not originally enjoyed in a court of equity. Mr. Justice Sutherland in delivering the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Michaelson* v. *United States* (266 U. S. 42, 69 L. ed. 162, 45 Sup. Ct. 18) in dealing with the history of permitting trial by jury in criminal contempt proceedings states:

"So truly are they crimes that it seems to be proved that in the early law they were punished only by the usual criminal procedure."

The fact that there have been repeated encroachments upon the right of trial by jury since 1875 does not justify further encroachments on a wholesale basis. We should revert to the fundamental basic concepts of liberty and preserve the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution.

We should remember that the same argument is being made today as was made in the times of the Star Chamber Court. William Pitt said: "Necessity is the argument of tyrants. It is the creed of slaves." Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it.

There is no limit placed upon either the fine or imprisonment that may be imposed by a judge for violation of criminal contempt. The Star Chamber Court was repeatedly used for political purposes. It cannot be denied that politics and emotionalism actuate those who would resort again to star chamber procedures.

Under the provision of section 402 and section 3691 of title 18 of the United States Code where an indirect contempt of court is also a violation of a criminal law, jury trials are granted but such provisions do not apply to contempts committed in disobedience of any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command entered in any suit or action brought or prosecuted in the name, or on behalf of, the United States.

Why should the citizens be entitled to a jury trial in a case brought or prosecuted by an individual and not entitled to a jury trial in a case prosecuted in the name of the United States? The history of the struggle to preserve our liberties demonstrates that the greater the power of the prosecutor, the more necessary is the protection of a trial by jury. If an exception in favor of the Government is sound in a contempt proceedings, it would logically follow that trial by jury should be abolished in every criminal case where the Government prosecutes.

In the pending civil-rights legislation, the Attorney General of the United States is vested with power to institute and to prosecute suits on behalf of any person whose civil rights he believes to be violated without due request and even without the consent of such party. The United States Government is not the real party in interest, yet by virtue of assuming to bear the cost and the burden of litigation on behalf of any minority group, it would automatically circumvent and deny the right to trial by jury.

X

On January 4, 1956, in the case of *McSwain* v. *County School Board of Education, Anderson County, Tenn.*, Judge Taylor entered an order requiring and directing the discontinuance of racial segregation in the Clinton, Tenn., high school.

On December 5, 1956, an order was issued

for the attachment of 16 individuals charged with violating the decree of the court in that (I quote from said order):

"That said individuals have organized or joined a White Citizens Council aimed at preventing the effectiveness of integration; have engaged in picketing and congregating in the immediate vicinity of the school building for purposes of intimidation and other devices for prevention of the effectiveness of integration."

Said persons charged with criminal contempt immediately requested a speedy jury trial. The United States intervened in said cases apparently for the purpose of preventing the defendants from obtaining a jury trial. However, the public was alerted to the danger of this procedure by an editorial of David Lawrence in the U. S. News reading in part as follows:

"The American people must stand aghast at the edict by a Federal judge that anyone who speaks his mind in urging nonattendance at a mixed school in Clinton, Tenn., may be guilty of contempt of court.

"This means that, without a trial by jury, citizens in supposedly free America can be put in jail for their utterances. Free speech is thereby squelched and thought control imposed."

Subsequently it was agreed that the defendants in this case might have a jury trial. We should not be misled. This agreement has not set a precedent for future cases. On the contrary, it was probably done to placate public opinion and to lull us into a false sense of security.

XI

It has always been the privilege and duty of members of the bar to uphold the rights and liberties of American citizens whenever threatened. Thirty-two of the thirty-seven persons who signed the Constitution were members of the bar.

The right to trial by jury is a matter of special interest to lawyers. If the right to trial by jury is to be preserved to posterity in its full vigor and in the spirit intended by those who drafted the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, it behooves us to put forth every effort in our power to turn back the threatened encroachments and to do everything in our power to preserve unimpaired the guaranties of trial by jury.

The privilege that we enjoy of appearing before juries in the arena of justice places on us a grave responsibility to our fellow citizens and to posterity in these troublesome times.

I conclude in the language Thomas Jefferson used in his first inaugural address.

"Freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of person * * *; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment * * *; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

Needs of Positive Program for American Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an address by Dr. Sol Tax, chairman of the department of anthropology of the University of Chicago, at the meeting on May 4, 1957, of the Central States Anthropological Society at the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, as follows:

TERMINATION VERSUS THE NEEDS OF A POSITIVE POLICY FOR AMERICAN INDIANS

When we discuss Indian Affairs we seem always to be asked to be for or against some symbol. In this case the symbol is "termination." I am asked to be for the past century of keeping Indians dependent, or for ending the assistance which the Federal Government has considered an obligation to the Indians. As an anthropologist I am against magical thinking and false dichotomies alike. I must refuse to accept either horn of the dilemma as it is posed.

The anthropologist applies the knowledge he has of all of the facts in the situation that he studies, attempting to find the solution which best suits the whole. In the case of our Indians we have to consider (1) the general culture of the United States, with its conflicting values; it is neither uniform nor changeless; (2) the social, cultural, and political situation of Indians; it is far from uniform from group to group, and within any group there are conflicts and differences; (3) the views of the Congress of the United States; and (4) the views and politics of our oldest Bureau, the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs.

For the past years the study of these problems has been a consuming interest of a growing group of us at the University of Chicago. The results we are getting are products of many minds. Gradually the whole scope of the problem has unfolded. We have been a problem-solving group, our research directed to discovery of all the factors, but also at any point the best way in which they might all be reconciled.

Our present conclusions are embodied in this discussion. I should like to emphasize that these are not our opinions or personal preferences; they are what we conclude are, as of May 1957, the constructive answers to problems. We believe in them, of course, because we believe in the best answers to problems. But they should be thought of not as our personal preferences—we hope we are honest scientists—but rather as our assessment of the total picture as we analyze it.

Obviously I cannot develop whole complex propositions in these few minutes; I shall simply do three things:

1. Mention briefly the kind of dilemma the United States democracy has always faced with respect to American Indians;

2. Mention briefly the major problems faced by Indians, so that we can ask how in any local instance Federal or State policies do or do not lead to constructive solutions; and

3. Indicate the direction we conclude must be taken if we are ever to reach constructive solutions.

Through all our history, States as well as the Federal Government have been frustrated in their efforts to solve the problems of the American Indians. We have vacillated between (1) a policy of starving the Indians into throwing in the sponge and getting lost in the general population and (2) a kinder policy of helping them to get themselves ready to leave Indian ways and get lost in the general population. In either case they would be off our consciences, and finally out of our pocketbooks.

Both policies have failed. When we have followed the first policy and thrown them into the water to sink or swim, we have found that the Indians neither sink nor swim; they just float and remain the same problem. When we have followed the second kinder policy, we have found that Indians do not in fact do the things that will lead to their disappearance. They do not want to get lost.

The kind policy will only work if we have the patience to continue to use our resources to help Indian communities to adjust to the national economy freely and in their own way. But their own way might not be to get lost at all. Every man and woman has the personal problem of deciding what sort of person he wants to be. Some Indians may want to become white men in their allegiance and their ways; this ought to be their right. But many Indians want to maintain their Indian values and allegiance, and many Indian communities want to maintain for their posterity the identity and heritage that were given to them. In the American system this equally is their right.

It is not for any white man, or Congress, or the Indian Bureau to demand that Indians either remain Indians or stop being Indians.

It is a challenge which has never been met in the United States to help the Indians to adjust economically and socially to American life so that they actually become financially independent. We cannot begin to solve the problem unless we first recognize that Indians have a right to make this adjustment as Indians.

Leaving them free to make their own choices removes the great block to constructive change. What folly it has been to demand that Indians cooperate in plans for making them into something they do not want to be. What an interesting challenge, on the other hand, once the block is removed, to develop with them ways to that greatest freedom which comes with economic independence.

The Indian policy that has most recently been with us has been the sink-or-swim policy, the way less in accord with our democratic morals, the way that has never worked and never can. It does not get Indians out of our pocketbooks; indeed this un-Christian policy (as President Eisenhower once called it) requires more money rather than less—and it certainly doesn't get them off the conscience of the Nation.

The present policy, aimed at the disappearance of the Indians, is a double-edged sword. The Government, like any overprotective parent, demands that the Indians manage their own affairs, but on the grounds that they do not know how never lets them try, and becomes more than ever sure that they are incompetent to do so. The Government says to Indians, in effect, "As long as we pay the bills, we shall manage your communities. If you think you are competent to manage your own affairs, then cut yourself off from the financial assistance as well. Money to live on, or freedom; you cannot have both, so take your choice." But the Indians have not the resources for the medical and educational and developmental needs of their communities. So they must choose the continued governmental interference in their local affairs. This satisfies nobody and gets nowhere. Congress, frustrated, then attempts to use force or bribery to induce Indian communities to make the other choice.

The title of this discussion is "The General Problem of Indian Termination." It is put forward as a controversial subject, like those we hear discussed on Sunday TV programs. It is like a discusison of the subject, "Should we repeal the Taft-Hartley labor bill?" To the participants on the program the Taft-Hartley bill is a symbol of either a great reform in labor relations or, conversely, a symbol of oppression. To the prounion members of such a panel it represents everything bad—legal strikebreaking, a less advantageous bargaining position for unions, and so on. To the more conservative members it represents everything good—the right to work without interference, reform of labor racketeering, etc.

The word "termination" is just such a symbol. To its proponents it represents a great reform in Indian affairs. To its opponents

it represents a dangerous trend. Those Congressmen and members of the Indian Bureau who have recently been proponents of termination see it as a way to free Indians from control by a Federal bureau and give them an opportunity to integrate with the rest of the country. Indians and others who have been opposing this recent trend in Indian affairs view termination or withdrawal as a symbol of everything bad: the breaking of treaty rights, the loss of land, and the destruction of the Indian as a distinct people.

Since, as social scientists, we are supposed to think analytically and not symbolically, we must ask just what the word "termination" means in this discussion. Does it mean freeing the Indian from control of an outside agency? Does it mean the taking away from Indians of needed services? Does it mean giving up Indian self-government and coming under State juridsiction? Does it mean land allotment? One could go on for an hour listing items, but the main point to get across here is that we need to get back of this vague symbol and really define what we are talking about when we speak of termination.

Now, just as it is not profitable to talk aboue the Taft-Hartley law without talking about the economic structure of capitalism and the whole context of labor-management relation, so it is not profitable to talk about termination without talking about the whole context of Indian affairs. One salient feature of this context seems to those of us who have studied the situation to be of overwhelming importance: that is simply that the American Indian tribes still in existence are communities that have existed for a long time and will probably continue to exist. Moreover, they want to continue to exist; usually they want this very strongly.

It is not in the American tradition to deny the right of a community to exist if it wants to, nor to deny it a fair freedom to live as it wishes. When the chips are down, the American democracy will insist that if the Indians want it that way, Indian communities should be allowed to exist as self-respecting, distinct communities with distinct values and ways of life provided they maintain a reasonable standard of health and of living and are no threat to others.

Any particular termination program should be measured against this general problem of the maintenance of the Indian community. I have listed seven problems of the Indian community that any program must deal with. Let me run through these seven points quickly.

1. Land: Does the termination program leave the community an adequate land base? Every time termination is mentioned to Indians they see before them the specter of the land swindler. An adequate land base means not only land as an asset in the economy, but land as a base for community life. Does the program provide a way for the community to hold land and still permit individuals who want to leave the community to do so, with a share of the tribal estate, but in such a way as not to endanger the rest of the community?

2. Civil rights: Does the termination program allow the individual Indian the same civil rights as any other citizen? When the Bureau of Indian Affairs withdraws, will some other agency be administering to and making decisions for incompetent Indians as before?

3. Services: Does the program fill the needs for education, health, etc., which appear necessary on the principle established in modern society that these are services which must be provided for any community, independent of who pays the bill?

4. Economic development: Does the program provide for development of the resources of the community so Indian families wherever and wherever possible can live at a decent standard of living in their home communities? Again on the accepted principle that this is not simply for the benefit of the Indian communities but for the good of the larger society, which cannot tolerate very many economic "black spots"?

5. Community affairs: Does the termination program allow the people of the community to run their own affairs? Will they be permitted to make themselves all of the decisions that American individuals and local communities normally make in the course of time? Will the Indians or some outside agency have the last word in a tribal development program? Who will make the ordinary day-to-day decisions: to hire the janitor for the local school or the doctor in the clinic; to take care of the school bus and hire or fire the schoolteacher? To put the question in reverse, but meaningful terms, does the termination program assure that when a teacher in the Indian school sets out to build a career she will seek to please not some outside agency, but the Indians of the local community?

6. Way of life: Does the termination program allow a community to keep its own way of life to the degree that it wishes within the broad limits permitted all groups in a democracy? Will they have the same right to their religion and cultures as the Poles in Chicago or the Cajuns in Louisiana?

7. Self-determination: Does the termination program allow the community to decide its own destiny? Besides the fact that in America self-determination for individuals and communities is a strong value, this is perhaps the overriding question to ask because it is very unlikely that any program can succeed if the people involved do not understand and like it, even if administrators work wisely and carefully with the community and even if the program is otherwise good.

So here are seven questions to ask about the so-called termination program. For a program to be good it must fill these criteria and seem likely to provide the best answers to the general problems of most American Indian communities. Does the termination program provide for an adequate economy? Will the program allow the people of a community to run their own affairs? Does it protect civil rights? Does it provide for needed services to the community? Can a community maintain it's own way of life under the program? And, finally, does the program allow the people of the community a voice in deciding the destiny of their own community?

If not, not only will the program not help matters but it will add a new tragic chapter to our history of mistakes with respect to our American Indians. Perhaps the major disastrous effect of the denial of the right of a community to make its own decisions is the psychological immobilization of the people. At Tama, Iowa, where we are involved in a project, just such a situation has arisen. To the Mesquakie Indians the relationship between themselves and the Federal Government is a symbol to them that they, the Mesquakie, will survive as a distinct community. Government withdrawal means withdrawal of recognition of the tribe and its death. This is so threatening that it is hard for the Indians to think of any change or any program because any move might lead in the direction of Government withdrawal. They are "stuck on high center," so to speak. A good example of great harm done to a people by tampering with their destiny is that of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. From a prosperous people working out a satisfactory adjustment with the white man they have, in 50 years' time, become a poverty-stricken, threatened people who withdraw from the white man. This condition was caused by a hasty and clumsy termination program. We cannot afford to repeat such mistakes.

It is clear that at least the Menominee and the Klamath termination programs do not fulfill these conditions. Therefore, they are harmful. But is the alternative to go on as before? Do we simply return to the policy of paternalistic Government management of these communities? Indians and friends of the Indians have been so committed to fighting against termination that all their energies have been taken up in negative proposals. But it is not too much of a choice between termination in its worst form and the present system.

We need an entirely new approach. We need to separate the two problems, the money which the Indians need for their community services from the way the money is used.

I doubt that responsible Americans will want to interpret our policy as one which is importantly influenced by a desire to save money to the detriment of our Indians and in violation of our traditional and moral obligations. It has been and should be our policy to make it unnecessary to provide special services, hence to make Indians independent. But until this is accomplished, the money must be provided because it is needed and because it is part of a historical obligation that our people have always recognized. Therefore, the first plan of any policy must be to assure Indians that we shall continue to provide in the Federal budget the money needed to continue present Indian services.

Our studies show first that most Indian communities cannot provide themselves with needed social services; and second, that most Indians are afraid of being under State jurisdiction and most States are not eager to take over such a financial responsibility. It follows that the first part of a constructive policy is that Federal financial assistance must continue. But with one great change: Indian communities should be allowed to run their own affairs, to administer their own social services as every local community does. What the Federal Government has done over the years is manage local Indian affairs from outside, and on seeing the inevitably bad results of such folly we now impatiently attempt to dump them in the laps of the States. This solves nothing, and indeed the threat is paralyzing. The truth is that if Indian communities are over to develop and make satisfactory adjustments, they must be helped to manage their own affairs.

Congress does not like the idea of Indian communities' being controlled by a government bureau. Neither do the Indians. At the same time, if Indians cannot pay for their own social services, someone has to—whether State or Federal governments. But why, if we want to get rid of the overcontrol of Indian communities must we, also, cut off needed subsidies. In some manner the administration of and the subsidy of Indian community services (like health and education) must be separated. Just as farmers who receive large subsidies from the Federal Government are still permitted to run their farms and make their own mistakes, so could it be with Indian communities. If then, finally, we (1) stop frightening Indians by threatening to dissolve the symbolic relationship so important in Indian eyes between the Federal Government and themselves; (2) continue Federal subsidies where necessary; but (3) remove the traditional over-administration and control of Indian affairs (even if this takes drastic revision of Federal Indian laws) and allow Indian communities to decide their own destinies, it seems to us certain that there will occur an Indian development and adjustment of a kind we have never seen. Should it surprise us that the right way turns out to be the way that fits American values of freedom and local self-determination.

Appendix

Contract Authorization in Federal Budget Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, as a major contribution to the discussion of budgetary procedures now pending before the Congress and its committees, I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article on the subject by George Y. Harvey, of the department of political science at the University of Missouri, reprinted from the last issue of the Public Administration Review, volume XVII, No. 2, spring 1957.

Mr. Harvey served as clerk and staff director of the House Committee on Appropriations for many years and is more intimately acquainted with the subject and knows more about congressional appropriations and Federal budgetary procedures than any other man in the Nation today.

I take particular pleasure in submitting for the attention of the Congress this timely and authoritative discussion by one so eminently qualified to speak from first-hand knowledge.

The article follows:

CONTRACT AUTHORIZATION IN FEDERAL BUDGET PROCEDURE

(By George Y. Harvey, department of political science, University of Missouri)

The budget of the United States, as submitted to Congress, in reality is 2 documents in 1. First, it states the amount of revenues estimated to be received and the amount anticipated to be expended during the fiscal year. Second, it authorizes the various agencies of the Government to operate for the fiscal year and sets the amount for which they may obligate the Treasury in carrying forward their programs.

It is this second part of the budget that requires annual action by the Congress. It is submitted to the Congress annually and is acted on by the Congress annually, but there its annual character ceases. Purportedly it is a budget for a particular fiscal year and is thought of as representing the cost of operation of the Government during that year, but it is not that simple. It includes funds for the completion of projects and programs begun in previous fiscal years; for the payment of items due because of the operation of laws authorizing agencies to carry on activities that are not related to any fiscal year, except as it may be possible to compute the cost thereof for the year; and for the beginning of projects that may take years to finish.

During the past decade the accounting and budgeting processes of the Federal Government have been the subject of continual and highly controversial discussion, with many ideas for improvement advanced. Constantly recurring in these discussions is the question of control of balances carried forward. Year after year, estimates have been presented by the executive agencies and accepted by the Congress, but the failure of executive agencies to carry out their programs as originally scheduled has resulted in accumulation of great sums on their books. These balances have reached a size where they are properly the concern of all who seek to improve the budgeting methods of the Government.

The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (second Hoover Commission) dealt with this problem under the heading "Restoration of Congressional Control of the Purse."[1] It recommended "that the executive budget and congressional appropriations be in terms of estimated annual accrued expenditures, namely, charges for the costs of goods and services estimated to be received." To effectuate this change "the Congress would give the agencies contracting authority in terms of the dollar amount required for orderly forward contracting beyond the budget year." This proposal, made by the task force on budget and accounting, was accepted by the commission without change.[2] Although the task force gave a more detailed explanation of the need for some change in the system, neither the task force nor the commission gave an acceptable explanation of how the change from outright appropriations to contract authority would cure the defects complained of.

THE PROBLEM OF CARRYOVER FUNDS

The task force called attention to the large carryovers unexpended at fiscal year end, ranging from $11.5 billion in 1950 to a high mark of $78.4 billion in 1954. It pointed out that substantial amounts of these funds remained unobligated, free money available to the agencies for obligation in future years, reaching a total in 1 year of more than $22 billion. Attention was also called to the fact that frequently the amounts of obligations reported were overstated.

This information was not news to the House Committee on Appropriations, where the question of invalid obligations had been raised many times. The task force drew much of its data from an investigation by the Comptroller General made at the request of the committee in 1954. At that time the committee secured enactment of legislation to correct the situation to the extent possible in dealing legislatively with such an intricate administrative matter. The question of carryover funds relates largely to the Department of Defense. In fact the task force mentions only that department in its analysis.

The task force recognized two categories of Government programs to be financed and recommended that the new concept of forward contracting authority be applied to both. The first is the group of programs which involve long lead time between the placing of orders and the delivery of goods, these programs being financed largely out of continuing appropriations not limited to 1 year. The second is the regular annual part of the budget which provides operating expenses for the various agencies out of which salaries and other current expenses are paid. Both the commission and the task force are vague as to just how the concept of forward contracting authority would apply to the purely annual part of the budget, but it would seem that the proposal is so close to the present system as to constitute a distinction without a difference.

The problem therefore narrows down to the defense procurement appropriations requiring long lead time and the question is: Will the change to contract authority to cover the lead time and the provision of appropriations as needed to liquidate such contracts produce a better controlled budget? The commission accepts the thesis that it will, with this statement in the preface to its report: "* * * within an effective budgeting system lies the restoration of the full control of the national purse to the Congress."

THE POINT OF CONTROL

The paramount question for the Congress to consider is the point of control—that point at which authority is vested in executive agencies to proceed with their programs and commit the Government to the costs thereof, thereby resulting ultimately and inevitably in expenditure by the Treasury. If it is to accomplish its mission, the executive agency must be clothed with enough authority to make firm and binding contracts which commit the Government irrevocably, so that there will be no question of payment. Any lesser authority obviously would be worthless. The current practice is to make an appropriation, stating its purposes and limiting its use as the Congress may determine. Such appropriation carries full authority to enter into contracts and do all the things necessary to carry out the particular program, including the money to pay the bills when properly rendered.[3]

Contract authority, to be effective, must include all of the elements now included in an appropriation except the one step of making funds available for payment. The failure of Congress to make appropriations for the liquidation of contracts entered into pursuant to such authority would only result in deficiency requests and ultimately, if moneys were not appropriated, in court judgments. Control of expenditures would move to the executive branch at the time contract authority was granted, with the Congress required to take a second—and purely ministerial—action to provide money for payment.

WHAT CONTRACT AUTHORIZATION IS

An appropriation is a two-phased proposition. First, it establishes on the books of the operating agency an account against which obligations may be incurred. Second, it establishes in the Treasury an account through which cash may be made available when necessary to liquidate obligations legally incurred.

Contract authorization is identical with the first phase of appropriation. The appropriation for the liquidation of obligations incurred against contract authorization must be provided in a separate law and carried in separate accounts. All expenditures out of the appropriation will be for purposes of the contract authorization and all tests of legality will be in terms of the contract authorization.

It is not necessary to speculate on the net effect or true nature of contract authorization. It is as old as the Government itself, the first such authorization having been voted by Congress in 1789.[4] In 1942 Congress enacted contract authorizations totaling more than $19 billion. During World War II, and in the immediate postwar period,

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contract authorization in lieu of direct appropriation enjoyed quite a vogue both in estimates submitted in the budget and in appropriation acts. It was experience during this period that led the Committee on Appropriations of the House and the Bureau of the Budget to eliminate contract authorizations from the budget and the appropriation acts in 1950.

A recent book by two leading accountants who have had wide experience in the Federal Government has the following to say about contract authorizations:

"Contract authorizations, in effect promises of future appropriations, confer authority to incur obligations during a single fiscal year by permitting the granting of contracts on which no payments (and usually no delivery of goods or services) may be required until after that year. Contracts made under such authority can be legally enforced, and the Congress must, in subsequent years, appropriate whatever amounts (theoretically equal to but in practice generally somewhat less than the original authorization) are necessary to cover them."[5]

The significant words in this statement are "must appropriate." Congress has no discretion, once the contract authorization has been granted. While it is true that the final appropriation might, and probably would, be somewhat less than the amount of contract authorization, this fact is a matter of no importance. The amount of appropriation would approximate the amount of expenditure that would have resulted had the full amount been appropriated in the first instance. An unobligated balance of an appropriation cannot be expended, so the balance would be just as sterile as the balance of a contract authorization.

The Commission and its task force make an impressive case for reducing carryover balances and quite properly view with some alarm the size of the expenditures to which the Government is committed far in advance of the submission of the annual budgets. They also point out that much of each year's budget is controlled by previous acts of Congress. They fail, however, to show how the change to contract authority will improve the control by Congress over the public purse. While the amounts appropriated may be a little closer to the actual expenditures, the relationship between the amounts originally authorized and the amounts finally expended will remain the same.

THE BUDGET CANNOT BE TRULY ANNUAL

The annual budget is not so annual as it may on its face appear to be, even in its most simple parts. For example, a budget item providing for the salaries of employees in a particular bureau or office must be related to the number that are expected to be on the roll at the beginning and at the end of the year. A proposed increase or reduction in force cannot be effected immediately at the beginning of a fiscal year, and the amount of the appropriation must take this fact into account. If the Government closed all of its offices and activities on June 30 and opened on a brandnew basis on July 1, then a truly annual budget would be possible.

It is highly desirable that future commitments be kept to a minimum and that so far as practicable the annual nature of the budget be maintained. Prudence often dictates, however, that long-range commitments be made.

For example, the appropriation, "Aircraft and related procurement, Air Force," which the task force cited as illustrating the large amounts of carryover, cannot be for an annual program. The period from the drawing board to a prototype to a completed fleet of airplanes covers a span of years that varies with the size and complexity of the craft. To carry out a particular program, the Air Force must be in a position to commit the Government to its entire contemplated cost, and the Congress must therefore grant to the Air Force sufficient authority to make a commitment that will be binding on the Government.

It is not important, either to the Air Force or to its contractors, whether this authority is in the form of appropriation or contract authority except as a contract may call for interim payments. Interim payment clauses are not unusual in contracts calling for large outlays of capital over long periods of time, and payments are made for partial work accomplished even though no completed units may have been delivered. To the extent that the Air Force had been granted authority to make binding contracts, it will be in control of the spending program. And, to the extent that appropriations may be necessary to enable the Air Force to meet interim payment demands, it will be necessary for the Congress to appropriate funds in a separate account, probably at the time that the contract authority is granted.

The problems in the aircraft procurement account, however, are not all budgetary. More than once the Congress, after considering all factors, has concluded that, regardless of the picture disclosed by budget figures, more funds must be provided in order to assure the necessary air defense. The budget estimate has sometimes been exceeded. These were policy decisions, made by Members of Congress in the light of their responsibility to the country and on the basis of knowledge of world conditions, going far beyond the limits of books of account.

The present concern is not with such decisions but with the technical aspects of the accounting and budgeting practices of the departments, with a view to furnishing the Congress with more reliable information on which to base its decisions and minimize carryover balances to whatever extent may be possible through improvement of the techniques of budgeting and accounting. The history of the aircraft procurement appropriation and the variation of obligation and expenditure estimates, used for budget-making purposes, from actual results obtained strongly indicate the necessity of a careful study of the planning and development of the program itself leading eventually to a more realistic plan of financing. It is hardly justification for a frontal attack on the basis of the whole budget when the great majority of the items in the budget are now presented on an apparently satisfactory basis.

THE PERFORMANCE BUDGET EFFORT OF 1950

In those parts of the budget where long lead time is not an important factor and, therefore, the change to accrued annual expenditure basis would be practically meaningless, the commission gives as its chief reason for suggesting this basis: "It would place budget appropriations and expenditures on a uniform basis throughout the Government." Any attempt to place the entire budget on a uniform basis, however, involves difficult problems. This fact is well illustrated in the performance budget effort of 1950.

The first Hoover Commission recommended what was termed a "performance budget," and in 1950 the budget for the fiscal year 1951 was prepared by the Bureau of the Budget on an entirely new basis in an attempt to comply with this recommendation. That effort was abortive because uniformity of classification was followed to the point of producing unreal results and because few agencies had the kind of accounting system necessary to support the performance or program concept. The Bureau of the Budget's own budget was the outstanding example of this shortcoming.[6] The Committee on Appropriations of the House had the following to say about the situation:

"In its full fruition it is hoped and expected that the better presentation of data will enable the Congress to appropriate more intelligently and provide funds more nearly in line with actual requirements. This can be accomplished only if the budget data are so directly related to the accounting data available in the agencies as to make possible a close check on cost of operations. Some of the schedules in the budget for 1951 meet this test. Others are so written as actually to result in lessened facility for consideration by the Congress. * * *

"The Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller General of the United States, and the Director of the Budget have undertaken a joint program to improve accounting processes in the Government. In this effort lies the success or failure of the performance-type budget. * * * If the new method is to succeed immediate attention must be given to modernization and improvement of accounting systems, and the schedules in the budget must be so written as to provide a basis for proper accounting. * * * The staff of the Committee on Appropriations will discuss the subject in detail with budget officers of agencies and the Bureau of the Budget before the budget for 1952 is formulated."[7]

Remodeling of the budget system was a long and difficult task. After preliminary conferences, it became obvious that no one method would meet all requirements, so the Comptroller General and the Director of the Budget were requested to make a survey of each agency and present an evaluation of accounting and budgeting methods and the degree of integration of the two. It was then necessary to take up each agency's budget and accounting system separately and to make a detailed study that often resulted in the revision of both.

The effort in each instance was to work out a presentation which would have the maximum of accounting support and would supply the Congress with as full information as possible on cost of operations. Wherever modern cost accounting methods were found to be desirable, they were installed. In some instances, where operations were simple and consisted only of direct employment of small numbers of people with usual contingent expense support, the old system of straight allotment accounting proved to be basically as good as any. Most agencies of the Government worked willingly to secure improvement. A few had to be encouraged.

This program was carried into the Department of Defense as well as the other agencies of the Government, but with slower and less satisfactory results. There were various reasons. The job was much larger and more complex. It was worse confused by the fact that the Korean war was underway and a general expansion of the Defense Establishment was beginning.

Questions as to the degree of success accomplished by the various studies and changes in systems would probably provoke some controversy. No one considers that perfection has been achieved. Many of the original systems devised under this program have been remodeled, and each year sees additional improvement as longer experience and changed conditions indicate. A flexible pattern has been adopted that will permit adjustment of the budget of the individual agency to suit its own peculiar needs and to lay before the Congress the best possible information. The second Hoover Commission has placed its stamp of approval on this program.

THE ACCOUNTING IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

The great secret of success of the accounting improvement program undertaken by the

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General Accounting Office, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Treasury Department in 1948 was the immediate abandonment of the old theory of a uniform accounting system for all agencies of the Government. The accountants in charge of that program went into each agency, studied its accounting needs, and proceeded to tailor a system to fit. This program will never be completed, for it is geared to constant review in order to keep the accounting practices of the Government modern. Moreover, each agency has an accounting system written to meet its own requirements and no two of these agencies or systems are exactly alike.

The Government of the United States is a complex thing. It includes retail businesses, manufacturing plants, shipyards, public utilities, insurance programs, research programs, museums, and so on through all of the categories of business and human endeavor. No accountant would attempt to prescribe the same accounting system for the Pennsylvania Railroad and the A & P grocery chain. It would be equally ludicrous to ask the Alaska Railroad and the Post Exchange system of the Army to use the same accounting system merely because they both happen to be operated by the Government.

What is needed, and what to a considerable degree has already been accomplished, is an integrated accounting and budgeting system directly related to the plans and operations of the management of the agency involved. To the extent that this integration can be accomplished, the Congress will receive an intelligible budget proposal and will be in position to act on it with confidence.

Budgeting is not a separate art. A good budget is a natural result of good management and good accounting, and a budget is only as solid as the planned work program on which it is based.

UNREALISTIC ESTIMATES

As stated above, the Committee on Appropriations in 1950 took a positive stand against contract authorization in the annual budget. While it may be argued that it is in the period since that time that the current balances have accumulated, the change to direct appropriations has had nothing to do with that situation. It has been an abnormal period involving the war in Korea and the post-Korea defense program, with a constant clamor for an even larger defense program. Total obligational authority, including both appropriations and contract authorizations, provided for the fiscal year 1950 was $47.3 billion. Obligational authority for the fiscal year 1952 was $92.9 billion. For 1955, it was $57 billion, and balances carried forward amounted to $67.7 billion.

There is plenty of evidence of unrealistic estimating. For example, the Air Force stated in January 1953, that it had available for obligation for "Aircraft and Related Procurement" for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, $12 billion, all of which would be obligated; it requested for the next fiscal year, 1954, $6.7 billion, all of which would be obligated during that year.[8] Congress appropriated only $3.5 billion for 1954, yet the Air Force carried forward into 1955 an unobligated balance of $4.6 billion.[9]

It was during that year that the House Committee on Appropriations made the review of outstanding obligations and obligation procedures that resulted in the enactment of legislation[10] that has served to correct the situation to some degree. Some programs, however, may justify the carrying of unobligated balances. For instance, at the time contracts are let for airframes and engines, which require a long period to manufacture, there may be justification in reserving the funds necessary to acquire other equipment that will be required to complete the craft but for which it may not be necessary to let contracts until a later date. The real question to be asked here is whether program planning can be improved upon and more directly related to fiscal requirements.

No mere change in nomenclature—and that is all the change to contract authorization would amount to so far as potential drain on the Treasury is concerned—will affect the situation. If the estimates of the departments have been unrealistic in the amounts they would be able to obligate against appropriations, they would have been equally unrealistic against contract authorization. Liquidating appropriations would have been made on just as unrealistic estimates and the balances outstanding would include both authorization and appropriation overlapping one another.

POSITIVE ANNUAL CONTROL IS NOT FEASIBLE

The proposal of the Commission is, in a sense, a defeatist approach to the problem. It admits the necessity of granting to the agencies authority to make contracts and then attempts to control the flow of expenditures by separate action after contracts are firm. The task force says that "although the Congress and the executive branch may control the level of payments over a period of years, the payments are not effectively controlled annually." That statement is true, and it would remain equally true if the system of contract authorization were adopted. Annual appropriations, under the method proposed by the Commission, would be arrived at by estimating the amount required to meet obligations already incurred with no possibility of control at that point.

The House Committee on Appropriations did not elaborate on its reasons for stopping in 1950 the use of contract authorization beyond saying that it "has resulted in committing the Federal budget to substantial expenditures several years ahead."[11] However, the committee, then as always, was under extreme pressure to find every possible means of securing reductions in appropriations. It was that year trying a method which had long been suggested—including all appropriations for the year in a single bill.

In the prevailing atmosphere the committee would not have prescribed contract authorization if it felt that it offered the slightest hope of holding down eventual expenditures. The men who took that action were thoroughly familiar with contract authorization because they had tried it. Year after year they had enacted law after law granting contract authorization in the hope that they were protecting the Treasury. But the day of reckoning settled the issue. They found that all control of the situation had passed out of their hands at the time they authorized the departments to make the contracts. When it came time to appropriate they had to take the departments' word for the amounts that probably would be due in a given year. To have withheld appropriations at that stage would only have resulted in embarrassment to the contracting agencies and impairment of the Government's credit with the business community.

The question then is: Why did the Hoover Commission recommend a system tried and found wanting over the years? There is not a line in the Commission's report to explain how contract authorization offers any better control over the final expenditure than the present method of appropriation. The House Committee on Appropriations, in the 10 years prior to its decision in 1950 to drop contract authorization and go on a straight appropriation basis, had enacted more than $50 billion of contract authorization. It is only fair to suggest that those who propose to return to this system and extend it to the entire budget should examine the record and show how it worked to the advantage of the taxpayer.

ESTIMATES OF BALANCES NOW AVAILABLE

The budget for the fiscal year 1955, presented to Congress in January 1954, for the first time included estimates of balances to be carried forward beyond the fiscal year. Prior to that time, it had been standard procedure for all agencies to estimate that all funds requested would be obligated by the end of the estimate period. The change was made possible through the improvement in accounting and budgeting methods begun several years previously.

The record of the balances estimated and actually carried over from 1955 to 1956 is shown in the following tabulation:

Carryover	Total (billions)	Obligated (billions)	Unobligated (billions)
Estimated in 1955 budget in January 1954, 6 months before beginning of fiscal year 1955	$50.2	$46.5	$3.7
Estimated in 1956 budget in January 1955, at middle of fiscal year 1955	53.8	40.8	13.0
Actual stated in budget for 1957, in January 1956	52.1	51.7	20.4

While the total amounts originally estimated to be carried over did not vary materially from the total actually carried over, there was a marked shift from obligated to unobligated.

Of the unobligated amount carried over into 1956 ($20.4 billion), $18.2 billion was in the Department of Defense and $2.2 billion in other departments. In the budget for 1958 it is estimated that total carryover from 1958 into 1959 will be $41 billion, or which $8.5 billion will be unobligated. Of that amount, $7.9 billion is in the Department of Defense. These figures indicate that some inroads have been made on the backlog in the 3 years that Congress has had before it statements of balances carried forward. This improvement is the result of orderly, constant attention to details as opposed to a sweeping revolution in system.

The basic problem that should be attacked is the reason for each balance. It would appear that the difficulty lies in lack of coordination between program planning and budgeting. In earlier years there may have been some justification for the program planning arm of an agency not to know enough about the status of outstanding funds to permit a realistic presentation to Congress of future needs. This situation no longer exists, or at least there is no reason for it to exist. Adequate accounting procedures have been, or readily can be, instituted to furnish management with full and complete information as to fund control, so that budgetary requests can be closely related to plans for the future in terms of past performance and indicated capabilities.

THE AIR FORCE SEES ITS NEED

The Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the United States for 1956, issued on December 26, 1956, includes the following statement with respect to the Air Force:

"In accordance with a request by the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Financial Management) and the Deputy Chief of Staff (Comptroller), our Office with the assistance of the Air Force, undertook a survey of selected functions and procedures of the Air Force Comptroller's organization and activities. The purpose of the survey was to make recommendations for improvements in organization and procedures and to eliminate duplications, unnecessary records, and in effective correlation of financial data and related matters."

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

That is the kind of work which in the long run will pay off. Correlation of financial data and related matters and the proper use thereof are the key to the situation. They can be achieved only through the efforts of the persons responsible for the management of the agencies concerned. It is heartening that the civilian and military sides of the upper echelon of management in the Air Force have joined in a request for assistance, looking to improved budgeting and financial management.

The Commission's proposal is a superficial approach that admits the necessity of letting the executive branch have authority to obligate the Public Treasury years into the future, yet includes no provision for improved control. Future financing is necessary within limits, and the job is to find the limits. Intelligent budgeting requires that the executive agencies be vested with sufficient authority to plan their operations into the future. Congress, to meet its responsibilities, must limit that future period as much as possible and retain positive control over it.

But Congress has no executive authority. Congress cannot manage the departments. Congress cannot develop a work program or make a budget. The only weapon available to Congress is to withhold funds and it has done so. In 1947 the United States Maritime Commission was forced to close its doors the last week of the fiscal year and furlough its employees without pay. Such methods, of course, are out of the question where the security of the Nation is at stake.

The Hoover Commission might have rendered great service had it gone to the root of the trouble, sought out the causes of each of the balances, and attempted to find a way of eliminating them. What it offers is a palliative for symptoms when what is needed is heroic surgery to find the cause of disease and eliminate it. Large balances exist in just a few items involving only a few offices of the Government. Each of them could be readily isolated for special study. The House Committee on Appropriations established the pattern for just this approach and through its efforts has made many improvements. This approach is slow, tedious, and wholly undramatic, but it gets results.

Present large balances have grown up during a period of maximum activity in the building of a greatly increased defense force. In order to be assured of maximum results, Congress has found it necessary to grant to the military agencies broad authority and large amounts of money available into future years. The result has been an abnormal fiscal situation. It may be hoped that some degree of normalcy may be restored now that the defense establishment has been enlarged to handle its larger responsibilities. As is always the case in a period of rapid expansion, there has ben a great deal of administrative chaos. Is the request of the Air Force to the Comptroller General evidence that a more orderly day may be in sight.

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[1] Budget and Accounting (Government Printing Office, June 1955), p. 17.

[2] Report on Budget and Accounting in the U. S. Government (Government Printing Office, June 1955), p. 40.

[3] Congress found it necessary many years ago to enact general legislation making it unlawful for any department to enter into any contract without authority therefor, either in an appropriation act or in other law. The present law on the subject, sec. 11, title 41, United States Code, dates from the Revised Statutes, 1878, and is in almost identical form with antecedent statutes as early as 1820.

[4] Sec. 8 of an act of August 7, 1789 (1 Stat. L. 54), authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into contract for the construction of lighthouses without making an appropriation therefor.

[5] Eric L. Kohler and Howard W. Wright, Accounting in the Federal Government (copyright, 1956, by Prentice-Hall, Inc.), p. 110. Reprinted by permission.

[6] Compare the budget proposal of the Bureau of the Budget in the budget for 1950, distributed on an organizational unit basis, with that in the budget for 1951, distributed on a functional basis. It was not possible to establish any cost-accounting system that would truly reflect a distribution of costs on the proposed basis. Cost comparisons would have been on a purely arbitrary basis without real accounting support.

[7] H. Rept. No. 1797, to accompany the bill H. R. 7786, the general appropriation bill, 1951, filed in the House on March 21, 1950.

[8] Budget of the United States, 1954, p. 615.

[9] Budget of the United States, 1957, p. 563.

[10] Sec. 1311 of Public Law 663, 83d Cong.

[11] H. Rept. No. 1797, 81st Cong., 2d sess., to accompany H. R. 7785, the general appropriation bill, p. 4.

Hon. Thomas E. Murray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal dated July 1, 1957:

THE UNLIMITED MANDATE

In his 7 years on the Atomic Energy Commission, from which he retired yesterday, Thomas E. Murray has been an outspoken foe of atomic secrecy—as has this newspaper from the beginning. Mr. Murray has also been an articulate champion of other, and to our mind, wrong causes.

He is in the forefront of those who would make the Federal Government the chief developer of American atomic industry. His thinking on this subject is summed up in the section of his report to Congress reprinted on this page this morning. We publish it because we believe the country should be aware of the argument this powerful group, in and out of Congress, is making.

The argument is that the United States must take the lead in the world's emerging nuclear economy. American private enterprise, it is contended, is unequal to this task. Therefore there must be a vast Government program of reactor building and other atomic activities.

The key here is what one means by "taking the lead" in the world. By any standard the United States has had and has the lead. True, the possibility exists that Britain will temporarily outdistance this country in the actual volume of electricity generated from the atom. Why? Because Britain, like its European neighbors, faces a shortage of conventional fuels and has in effect frozen its atomic reactor designs, at what are generally considered primitive levels, in order to get quantity fast.

The United States faces no such shortage. It is moving more slowly in terms of getting quantity. But it is moving more rapidly in the more important field of technology; the object is to find the type of reactor that will make the atom competitive with other fuels in this country—not Britain or any other nation.

As Mr Murray concedes, American firms have undertaken a variety of ventures in this field, spending a lot of money, time and manpower. Spectacular advances are being made. It seems to us the variety of experimentation now going on is the best possible kind of guaranty that the United States will eventually evolve the most efficient nuclear technology—and so, as a by-product, keep the world "lead."

If, instead, the Government takes the lead with the avowed aim of kilowatt volume, then it seems equally certain we will get the quantity we don't now need rather than the quality on which we should be concentrating. In this way we would be in a fair way to losing the long-term nuclear "lead."

There are other dangers which Mr. Murray dismisses all too casually. To him "socialization" and "public versus private power" are false issues in this case. In fact they could hardly be more real; the public power lobby is propagandizing for all it's worth for a costly Federal atomic industry program. And if having the Government build, own and operate atomic utilities is not socialization, it would be interesting to know what it is.

Curiously enough, though, Mr. Murray's whole argument turns not on economics but on an assumption of political philosophy. In this view the constitutional mandate to "promote the general welfare" now extends to the whole world, or at least the non-Communist part; suddenly it is the United States Government's political and moral duty to lead the world in atomic industrial development.

Is it? By whom was the mandate given? We are not aware that Europe gave it. Indeed some nations would vigorously, and rightly, reject the notion that any such mandate exists. And many Americans might understandably question the idea that the framers of the Constitution had anything of the sort in mind. Such arrogance, happily, was not in their nature.

There is, nonetheless, an implicit mandate in atomic energy as in all natural resources. It is that it be used in the most effective way for the material advantage of man and at the same time in ways calculated to promote, not constrict, man's liberty.

That is something beyond the scope of Government. It will never be accomplished by propounding an unlimited mandate to remake an unwilling world.

In New York, It's Different

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time a very timely editorial which appeared in the July 2, 1957, issue of the Tampa Morning Tribune. The editorial is entitled, "In New York, It's Different."

I hope that all of my colleagues will take the opportunity to read this pertinent article and I particularly commend it to the reading of those of my colleagues who have been shedding so many crocodile tears in the past few weeks over the so-called civil-rights legislation. For their reading and careful consideration, I also recommend another pertinent message on this same subject which can

be found in the Bible in chapter VII of the book of St. Matthew.

The editorial follows:

IN NEW YORK, IT'S DIFFERENT

All week we scanned the reports of the NAACP convention in Detroit looking expectantly for a resolution denouncing those die-hard segregationists in New York City who are blocking a proposed city law to forbid discrimination in the rental of private homes and apartments.

There was a resolution charging nine southern States, including Florida, with deliberately defying the Constitution, the Supreme Court and the National Government in the matter of school segregation.

There was a resolution attacking Congressmen and Senators who oppose passage of the so-called civil-rights bill to let the Justice Department supersede State courts.

There was another whacking the White Citizens Councils for fostering an atmosphere of terror and intimidation in the South.

But nowhere in the basketful of resolutions or in the indignant floor speeches could we find a single, solitary reference to the great segregation battle in New York City.

Now, you'd think that an organization which has gone to great trouble and expense to attempt to mix the races in four small schools in Summerton, S. C., would be more concerned with wiping out segregation in 1,800,000 dwellings in New York City, wouldn't you?

Well, no you wouldn't, really. For the NAACP doctrine is that all racial discrimination begins and ends at the Mason-Dixon Line and to confess otherwise would imperil its whole campaign against the South.

The New York City housing fight exposes inconsistency on the part of others than the NAACP.

This proposed city law would do for the house hunter what the FEPC attempts to do for the jobseeker: shield him from discrimination. A landlord could be fined up to $500 for turning down a tenant because of race, religion, or national origin. If he persisted, he could be cited for contempt of court and sent to jail.

The proposal, like the civil-rights bill before Congress, has a political origin. This is an election year in New York City. Mayor Wagner and members of the city council had an eye on the minority bloc votes in issuing pious statements about the need to guarantee to all men the right to live where they please. (Nothing was said, of course, about the right of a private owner to rent to whom he pleases.)

But this was too strong a dose even for a city which has swallowed the FEPC. Landlords and real-estate men—and a goodly number of renters—gagged audibly. Councilmen were deluged with mail, running 3 to 1 against the law. The same New York Times which supports all measures to compel desegregation in the South concluded that this kind of enforced desegregation at home was bad.

In answer to the lofty moral reasoning offered by church and rights groups backing the law, opponents indelicately pointed out certain practicalities. Property values would deteriorate, they said, and mortgage money for new construction would flee to other cities. Furthermore, warned the Times, "the difficulties of enforcement are enormous, nuisance cases would be innumerable and intolerance might be aggravated rather than diminished. * * * Progress must be a matter of education and spiritual growth rather than a consequence of legislation."

These same arguments, made in all sincerity in the South, have been brushed aside as a camouflage for bigotry. In New York City, however, they have exerted enough force to send the open-door housing bill to a committee pigeonhole for further study. It is expected to stay there.

All of which simply proves again that, to a great many of our northern friends, the theory of compulsory brotherhood looks much better down South than it does down the street.

Agriculture's Architects Had Better Hurry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the House to an editorial in the July 1957 issue of the Independent Banker, commenting on an address by Secretary of Agriculture Benson before the Minnesota Bankers Association convention in St. Paul:

AGRICULTURE'S ARCHITECTS HAD BETTER HURRY

The editor was among several hundred who heard an address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson at the Minnesota Bankers Association convention in St. Paul. It was a good talk, well received by his audience.

Though the Secretary has been subjected to more adverse criticism that any other Cabinet officer, he was not on the defensive. He stayed on the offensive by lashing out at and demolishing nine widely held half-truths about agriculture. His presentation was by way of explanation, not of defense.

Mr. Benson did, however, do little more than retill the same old soil. At the beginning of his talk he told the bankers, "I welcome the opportunity to meet with you and share my thoughts regarding the agricultural problems of this great State and this favored Nation." There was a promise of something new and challenging here, but we didn't hear it.

The farm problem, said the Secretary, is one that cannot be oversimplified. He declared, "There are many problems, not one. And for each problem there are many potential remedies, not just one. Most of these remedies are in the hands of individual farmers and their organizations. Better methods, improved marketing, power production costs, better choice of enterprises—these are solutions which may lack political appeal, but they are effective."

The superstructure of production controls and price supports, said Mr. Benson, "is now beginning to sag and creak at the joints. Increasingly, farm people are becoming convinced that some changes need to be made. The architects are assembling to draw up new plans."

We hope that the Secretary has something in mind but gather he is not going to tip his hand until he has talked to the architects and they have incorporated his ideas into a blueprint. We certainly wish the architects had been called in earlier, say about the fall of 1952.

Mr. Benson said the "price structure in agriculture should have flexibility in it—flexibility to go up or down in accordance with market conditions." That would seem to indicate he believes that only the law of supply and demand should govern. But he also said, "I do not propose to eliminate price supports."

And was the Secretary hinting that farmers should take up some other line of endeavor when he observed, "One of the most important components of economic security is the opportunity to change freely from one enterprise to another. Fortunately this opportunity continues for all groups with fewer impediments in this country than in any other country in the world."

Mr. Benson's was a good presentation, but left a lot of questions unanswered. He said there were many problems in agriculture and many "potential remedies." We would have been happier if he had listed a few of these remedies.

Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a concise and clear statement by the Honorable Ernest O. Thompson, of the Railroad Commission of Texas, concerning oil imports. It would be well for the President of the United States to heed the warning of General Thompson in this particular, rather than to appoint a committee to further stall action that is sorely needed in dealing with this most perilous problem.

The statement follows:

OIL IMPORTS

(By Ernest O. Thompson, Texas railroad commissioner, July 2, 1957)

Domestic oil producers are at the mercy of the importers of crude oil and petroleum products.

The importers determine freely and without let or hindrance the quantity of crude oil and petroleum products they wish to import during any given month. The only deterrent is a 10-cents-a-barrel duty on oil and a small duty on products.

For example, if the United States needs, say, 8 million barrels of crude per day to make products, and imports are estimated to be 1 million barrels per day, the only thing that can be done is to subtract that 1 million barrels imports from the total of 8 million barrels needed—leaving 7 million barrels for the domestic producers to supply.

They have imported as much as 1,600,000 barrels of crude and products per day. This takes the domestic market from the domestic producers and forces reduction in production.

There have been years of strong protestation against these constantly increasing imports of crude oil and products; but so long as the importers pay the 10-cents-a-barrel duty, there is nothing done about it.

Appeals have been made to the importers to show restraint, but more and more oil companies of the United States are getting into the importing business.

I feel that total imports of crude oil and products should not exceed 1 million barrels per day on the average. This would furnish the supplement of fuel oil and residuals we need, and would furnish adequate trade balances with other countries we sell goods.

It may turn out that a tariff increase will prove the answer to protect our domestic crude producers, and at the same time raise some revenue.

At all events, the President has been notified by the Director of Defense Mobilization that oil imports threaten to imperil the national security; and the President, under the Reciprocal Trade Act, has appointed a committee of five Cabinet members to check the Director's findings on the broadest possible

study. So perhaps there will be some action taken by the President under the Trade Act of Congress, which says he shall do the necessary things to correct the situation when any commodity is being imported into this country in such quantities as to threaten to imperil the national security.

We are hopeful for speedy relief.

Our "Friends" in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following two editorials from what many, with reason, regard as the world's leading newspaper, the New York Times. Certainly its coverage of and concern for Latin America warrant the highest praise.

I especially commend the following editorial, "The Dominican Mystery," to my few colleagues who insist on calling Trujillo a friend.

The other editorial raises the issue whether we must compromise our moral principles for supposed military and commercial advantages in Venezuela. The problem, as the editorial points out, is that there is a day of reckoning with all tyrannies.

The editorials follow:

THE DOMINICAN MYSTERY

One more step has now been accomplished in the slow but relentless process of unearthing the truth about the disappearances of Prof. Jesús de Galíndez of Columbia University and the young American pilot Gerald Murphy. So far as Generalissimo Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic, is concerned it is a step backward, or at least he has sidestepped. He had been asked by our State Department to lift the diplomatic immunity of the former Dominican Consul General in New York, General Espaillat, so that he could come to the United States to testify. General Trujillo refused.

This is by no means the end of the case. On the contrary, it clears the way for another move by the State Department, working in conjunction with the Department of Justice. Neither in the case of Dr. Galíndez nor of Gerald Murphy can the American Government allow the mysteries to remain unsolved. The Columbia teacher, a distinguished Spanish Basque scholar, was snatched from the heart of New York City on March 12, 1956. Murphy disappeared in the Dominican Republic on December 3, 1956. In the latter case the American authorities are convinced that the Dominicans gave a false version of Murphy's death. The State Department believes there is sufficient evidence to link the two cases.

In the circumstances and considering how greatly public opinion in the Western Hemisphere has been aroused, it is obvious that the matter must be pursued further. The State Department needs no urging, for it is clearly keeping up the pressure. The affair is in the hands of a grand jury in Washington which is developing material furnished by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the American Embassy in Ciudad Trujillo and the New York police. Something may well come of this investigation during the summer. It is obvious now that we cannot expect cooperation from the Dominican Government.

VENEZUELA'S DAY

We had our Independence Day yesterday and took it for granted that we should celebrate it, as always, in a climate of freedom and democracy. Venezuela has her Independence Day today—146 years after the greatest of Latin-American figures, Simon Bolivar, a native of Caracas, led the revolt against the Spanish. But Venezuela today has no freedom, no democracy, no liberty of any kind. She has one of the harshest, toughest military dictatorships in the Western Hemisphere.

Yet the people of Venezuela have the right to celebrate this day in spirit, for they have shown that they want democracy and freedom. When the military dictator, Gen. Pérez Jiménez, held presidential elections on November 30, 1952, he seemed to have thought everything had been arranged so that he would win easily. To his astonishment and dismay, as the count rolled in, he found that the Venezuelan people knew how to use their ballots. They were voting against him at the rate of 4 to 1, when Gen. Pérez Jiménez stopped the count and later had himself proclaimed victor. The real winner was Jovite Villalba, head of the Republican Democratic Union (URD), now an exile in New York.

Gen. Pérez Jiménez is now preparing to get himself elected to still another term. The real political parties, the URD, the Christian Socialist COPEI, and the Democratic Action Party, which once held power, are united in demanding honest, open, and free popular elections. It is beyond the realm of possibility that Gen. Pérez Jiménez would accede to their demands, for it would be the end, politically speaking, of him and his supporters. It also has to be recognized that the large American oil companies, with their tremendous and profitable investments in Venezuela, do not want to see the present situation disturbed. The same is true of the American defense chiefs who think in terms of the vital strategic importance of Venezuela and her oil to the security of the United States.

Venezuela on her Independence Day is therefore the most prosperous and least free of nations. The lack of freedom is not only a great pity; in the long run it is a serious threat, for a day of reckoning will come and on that day things could go hard for the United States and for American interests which today support an unpopular military dictatorship in Venezuela.

Trading With Communist China Would Be Like Trading With the Devil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial, which appeared in the Belleville, Ill., News-Democrat on June 28, 1957. The editorial, entitled "Armchair Tacticians," follows:

ARMCHAIR TACTICIANS

Let these armchair tacticians and judges pass just 1 month in a Communist prison and court and they will understand that Communist methods are diabolical, a priest told a Senate Internal Security Committee, in defense of American GI's who were turncoats or who broke down under pressure. He is the Reverend Fulgence Gross, of Omaha, who was a prisoner of the Chinese Communists for 6 years and suffered the tortures of hell.

Two more priests just released called Communist methods the work of the devil. The Reverend John Alexander Houle, of Glendale, Calif., and the Reverend Charles J. McCarthy, of San Francisco, were each imprisoned for 4 years. They told of being forced to sit on the bare floor for hours without moving in a room without natural light under an electric light that burned day and night. The floor was extremely cold in winter and excruciatingly hot in summer. After 5 months of this ordeal, they were carried to mock trials more dead than alive. Yet these men of God had the spiritual power to withstand all the brutal mishandling.

It is these same Communist Chinese with whom some of our legislators and businessmen want us to trade. That's not alone trading with the enemy—it's trading with the devil.

Hand in the Dike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, the House Judiciary Committee, of which I have the honor of being a member, has acted to plug the threatened danger to the Nation's security created by the Supreme Court decision in the recent Jenck's case. Appropriate legislation has been prepared and is now in the process of being reported to the House, which will protect the vital secret files of the FBI. Because of the decision of the Supreme Court, this legislation is of the utmost importance, and should be enacted without delay in order to protect the investigative reports of the FBI and other law-enforcement agencies, from being rendered useless.

In connection with this legislation, I would like to call attention of the House to an excellent editorial which appeared in the Wheeling News-Register on June 30, 1957. It indicates the public should be made aware of the inherent dangers created by the Court's recent sweeping decisions, and the need for legislation to correct this threat to the orderly processes of investigation and law enforcement.

The editorial follows:

HAND IN THE DIKE

The legislative and executive departments have moved speedily to meet one of the several problems posed by recent Supreme Court decisions.

With approval of the Attorney General, a bill stipulating that secret FBI files could be opened to a defendant only if and to the extent that they trial judge determined, was promptly referred to and taken up by a House Judiciary Subcommittee.

The Court had ruled that defendants in criminal trials have a right to examine FBI files dealing with witnesses subsequently called to testify in court. The subcommittee, however, deeming this protection inadequate, has approved and passed on to the full committee a more sweeping measure. This provides that Government documents containing confidential information whose disclosure

the Attorney General determined would be prejudicial to the public interest, safety, or security may not be demanded as evidence unless they had been produced in open court to establish a record or to refresh a witness' memory. Even in such cases the matter first would be reviewed by the trial judge who would determine how much should be disclosed.

If such a limitation will meet the constitutional requirement laid down by the Supreme Court, the Government's arm would be materially strengthened by enactment of this legislation. It is one thing to permit a judge to look over the record of preliminary investigations and interviews on which a case is built, and quite another to open these to the view of a man on trial who could use the opportunity to go on a fishing expedition which might lead him far beyond the necessities of the case at bar. And as the Attorney General and the gentlemen sponsoring the legislation are learned in the law and thoroughly familiar with the constitutional situation, it is to be presumed they are confident of the validity of the approach selected. It is sincerely to be hoped so. For if the situation is permitted to stand where the Supreme Court's decisions seems to have placed it, virtually all secrecy is removed from an FBI investigation—and by inference from that of any other law enforcement agency—if that investigation subsequently becomes the basis of a criminal prosecution. Once this cloak of secrecy is lifted many doors now open to police and other investigators are closed. There is nothing better designed to seal the lips of a potential informer than the possibility that his identiy would become known to those he would put the finger on.

Amelia Earhart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, this month 20 years ago, Amelia Earhart, vanished. She has never been heard from since. To date no official Government recognition has been bestowed upon the great woman flyer for her many contributions to the development of aviation in this country.

I have urged that a commemorative stamp be issued by the Post Office Department to honor her for her pioneering role in aviation. This honor would renew in our national memory the courage and daring of Amelia Earhart and would express a Nation's gratitude for her contributions to our welfare and advancement.

I believe sincerely that few women of this century deserve so completely the honor of a commemorative stamp as does Miss Earhart. Her achievements in aviation were phenomenal.

As we pause to recall the famous "last flight" of the Kansas tomboy and the mystery surrounding her disappearance, I again urge the Congress and the Postmaster General to give attention to the issuance of a commemorative stamp in honor of Miss Earhart.

The following editorial recently appeared in the Atchison, Kans., Daily Globe. Mr. Al Bennett, editor, sets forth an account of the last trip. It is time we recognize Amelia Earhart and her outstanding contributions to our Nation. The editorial follows:

TWENTY YEARS AGO

It was just 20 years ago this July that an Atchison tomboy, Amelia Earhart, left Lae, New Guinea, on her flight into oblivion.

Since then a legend has grown, a legend fed by recurring rumors, false reports, and wild hopes. It has been said she was on a secret mission for the Navy, that she was shot down at sea by the Japanese, that she was imprisoned at the Japanese naval fortress on Truk Island.

But in spite of the legend, it is likely that Amelia Earhart missed her island in the Pacific and died at sea. Lawrence Elliott retells the story in a July Reader's Digest article, The Mystery of Amelia Earhart's Last Flight.

Miss Earhart was on a flight around the world with Navigator Fred Noonan. They had flown eastward from Oakland, Calif., arriving at Lae, New Guinea. On July 2, 1937, they left Lae on the longest flight Miss Earhart had ever flown, some 2,556 miles to Howland Island. The target island is only a half mile wide and 2 miles long. It was so flat that its maximum elevation at high tide was 15 feet.

The Coast Guard cutter *Itasca* received several calls from Miss Earhart as she approached Howland Island, but her radio was not operating as it should.

The time for her arrival came and passed. Then came Miss Earhart's voice, "We are circling, but cannot see you."

And a frantic last message, "We are in line of position 157–337. We are running north and south." The words and signal vanished into silence.

Time ran out, and Comdr. W. K. Thompson, skipper of the *Itasca*, launched the greatest air and sea search of the day. But nothing was found. Despite the hopes and rumors that they still might be alive, Commander Thompson believes that they missed the island and died at sea.

In his analysis in the Reader's Digest, Elliott agrees with that belief.

Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing two measures designed to curb growing encroachments by the Supreme Court in the fields traditionally and historically reserved to the States and to stop incursions by the Court in the sphere of social and other legislation.

These measures were inspired by the Florida Legislature which passed memorials to Congress recommending passage of the two bills.

One bill proposes "an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would provide that the powers reserved to the several States by the 10th amendment to this Constitution shall be construed to include, but not be limited to, power to enact laws to promote the public peace, safety, and welfare and to provide for good order, education, and harmonious race relations therein. In these enumerated fields, except where the Congress of the United States by legislation provides expressly to the contrary, the laws of each State shall govern."

The other measure would provide that "the Senate of the United States shall comprise a court with final appellate jurisdiction to review decisions and judgments of the Supreme Court of the United States where questions of the powers reserved to the States, or the people, are either directly or indirectly involved and decided and a State is a party or anywise interested in such question involved and decided. The Senate's exercise of such final appellate jurisdiction shall be under such rules and regulations as may be provided by the Senate, including the time within which appeals shall be taken. A decision of the Senate affirming, modifying, or reversing a decision or judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States shall be final."

After passage by the Congress both would require ratification as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

The massive invasion by the Supreme Court into the field of sociological experiment and its obvious naivete in decisions dealing with the dangers of communism require that Congress step into the breach before irreparable damage is done.

I Am the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am happy to have this privilege of inserting one of the best pieces of patriotic advertising that I have ever seen. It appears in the current issue of the U. S. News & World Report and was placed in that publication by the Norfolk & Western Railway, the home office of which is in Roanoke, Va. During this 4th of July week it is fitting and proper to publicize an article of this kind, whether it be in the form of advertising or otherwise, since it calls attention to the greatness and goodness of our country. Although there are doubtless many people who think it is old fashioned and out of date to believe in patriotism, Americanism and nationalism, yet the founders of this country did not think so and those who paid the last full measure of devotion for the continuation of our country did not think so. The article mentioned by me is as follows:

I AM THE NATION

I was born on July 4, 1776, and the Declaration of Independence is my birth certificate. The bloodlines of the world run in my viens, because I offered freedom to the oppressed. I am many things, and many people. I am the Nation.

I am 165 million living souls—and the ghost of millions who have lived and died for me.

I am Nathan Hale and Paul Revere. I stood at Lexington and fired the shot heard around the world. I am Washington, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry. I am John Paul Jones, the Green Mountain Boys, and Davy Crockett. I am Lee and Grant, and Abe Lincoln.

I remember the Alamo, the *Maine*, and Pearl Harbor. When freedom called, I answered and stayed until it was over, over there. I left my heroic dead in Flanders fields, on the rock of Corregidor, and on the bleak slopes of Korea.

I am the Brooklyn Bridge, the wheatlands of Kansas, and the granite hills of Vermont. I am the coalfields of the Virginias and Pennsylvania, the fertile lands of the West, the Golden Gate, and the Grand Canyon. I am Independence Hall, the *Monitor*, and the *Merrimac*.

I am big. I sprawl from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 3 million square miles throbbing with industry. I am more than 5 million farms. I am forest, field, mountain, and desert. I am quiet villages—and cities that never sleep.

You can look at me and see Ben Franklin walking down the streets of Philadelphia with his breadloaf under his arm. You can see Betsy Ross with her needle. You can see the lights of Christmas, and hear the strains of Auld Lang Syne as the calendar turns.

I am Babe Ruth and the world series. I am 169,000 schools and colleges, and 250,000 churches where my people worship God as they think best. I am a ballot dropped in a box, the roar of a crowd in a stadium, and the voice of a choir in a cathedral. I am an editorial in a newspaper, and a letter to a Congressman.

I am Eli Whitney and Stephen Foster. I am Tom Edison, Albert Einstein, and Billy Graham. I am Horace Greeley, Will Rogers, and the Wright brothers. I am George Washington Carver, Daniel Webster, and Jonas Salk.

I am Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Walt Whitman, and Thomas Paine.

Yes, I am the Nation, and these are the things that I am. I was conceived in freedom and, God willing, in freedom I will spend the rest of my days.

May I possess always the integrity, the courage, and the strength to keep myself unshackled, to remain a citadel of freedom and a beacon of hope to the world.

This is my wish, my goal, my prayer on July 4, 1957—181 years after I was born.

Freedom Versus Statism: History's Big Switch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to request unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the column of my good friend, Wes Izzard, editor of the Amarillo (Tex.) Daily News, which appeared in the June 20 issue of that newspaper.

This most challenging column points out with great literary force the political evolution that is occurring in our generation. It provides much food for thought to those who concern themselves with the best interests of their fellow man—thought food that it would be well for all to consume and digest.

FREEDOM VERSUS STATISM: HISTORY'S BIG SWITCH

There are signs that a gradual transference of political philosophy is taking place in the Western World.

Socialistic Europe is taking a long, calculating look at American style capitalism. Some countries are trying it. West Germany, for one.

Even France and Italy can't ignore the evidence that the greatest prosperity and highest living standards in the world are being produced by capitalism.

In short, the conservative atmosphere, in which free enterprise flourishes, is developing gradually in Europe.

On the other hand, capitalistic United States is moving in the other direction—away from individualism toward statism.

Our courts are setting the political philosophy of the Nation; and the politicians, wooing the high-pressure minority groups, are sponsoring such socialistic legislation as the present civil-rights bill, now before the Senate.

It would be a grim historical joke to find the capitalistic conservatism which has served America so well being gradually transferred to socialsitic Europe, while America turns its back and moves away from the system that has served it so well.

We hesitate to use the terms "conservatism" and "liberalism" in this connection. They mean different things to different people.

The true American conservative, who strings along with free enterprise and constitutional Government, including States rights, is, in the broad sense, a liberal. The cause he espouses is the only new, shining political doctrine the world has known for a thousand years—the only system that has worked.

Socialism, or statism, is a reactionary doctrine. It is as old as government, itself, and has invariably failed.

Yet the Socialists call themselves liberals and refer to the true American constitutional liberal as a reactionary.

The civil-rights bill is a case in point.

Here is a proposed law that would be relatively harmless in the hands of the present administration; but it opens the door of the future to vicious practices that have marked all the dictatorships of state socialism the world has known.

In the name of individual rights, it would create a Federal commission that could try a citizen without a jury on the basis of some snooper's story.

This is state socialism at its worst, masquerading as liberalism.

Attempts by the "we know best" boys to set up in the Federal Government machinery to regulate the lives and the thoughts of American citizens, recall to us the philosophy of Texas' great governor, Jim Hogg.

In his celebrated veto message, killing a Texas law that would have permitted the State's prison system to accept a Federal bounty for the growing of sugar cane, Jim Hogg thundered:

"In the management of her affairs she (Texas) is sovereign, supreme, subject only to the control of the people within her dominion!"

Governor Hogg spoke of the perils of accepting a Federal bounty for sugar—or anything else. He said:

"To accept this bounty for sugar, she would surrender the supervision and inspection of one of her most important industries to the Federal Government. For spoils she would open the way for the invasion and final destruction of her independent autonomy * * *.

"Spies, informers, and irresponsible deputy marshals would swagger and lurk around the farm worse than the locusts of Egypt."

The Governor was tragically prophetic when he added:

"Driftwood on a great stream at first seems harmless. Let it alone, and in time the river's current becomes changed by it, submerging the country all around."

We say Jim Hogg was a liberal. A constitutional liberal. Yet today he would be considered by our self-styled liberals the blackest of reactionaries.

Today, there is no place, politically, for a constitutional liberal—or conservative, if you prefer the newer term—to go.

Both major parties, wooing the loud and well-organized minority groups, have proposed civil-rights legislation that is unconstitutional and dangerous. Each is trying to outdo the other in its obeisance to the new liberalism.

Europe is sick of statism, of socialism, of snoopers. It is looking around for something better. American free enterprise and political conservatism has a slim toehold there.

Through the irony of history, we may live to see the two-way transference of political philosophies across the Atlantic.

The Most Serious Default of Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower's default of leadership has its most serious consequences in connection with our nuclear weapons policies. The following exchange of letters illustrates this point. If we had any basis for believing that appropriate consideration meant anything or that even consideration was being given to these problems relating to the survival of human life on this globe, we might have more cause for encouragement.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following correspondence:

JUNE 7, 1957.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We, the undersigned Members of Congress, respectfully and urgently call on you to support five steps in the direction of survival in the face of the awesome peril arising from the development of nuclear weapons.

You have repeatedly pointed out the terrifying proportions of the present situation. "Humanity," you said in your September 19, 1956, broadcast, "has now achieved, for the first time in its history, the power to end its history."

Humanity's history may in fact end in the space of a few hours. Three nations have the means to end it. An accident could trip the mechanism of retaliation. A limited war could spiral out of control. The U. S. S. R. could coldly calculate that time is on the side of the free world and that it could win an all-out war even with its back broken by our counterattacks.

We realize that these thoughts are not new to you, Mr. President. You recognize your duty and we recognize ours. We surely agree both on the magnitude and the imminence of the nuclear danger. Here indeed is a brink on which we and all the world teeter. Contemplating the abyss need only occupy a moment. Then our efforts must turn toward regaining our balance and moving to solid ground.

Our long term goal of arriving on this solid ground safely away from the nuclear abyss is of course a workable disarmament agreement and we are encouraged by the vigor of your policies in this area. But results here are too far in the future and today we do not dare rely solely on our enemy's fear of massive retaliation. Fear of mutual destruction is a flimsy basis for balance at the brink of the abyss.

We most earnestly as that you place your full official and personal weight behind the following five measures, all of which are, in our opinion, likely to aid in the survival of mankind, whether of not nuclear war comes.

1. A National Radiation Institute of Health, with sufficient funds to conduct a large-scale research program: There is apparently no scientific doubt that the worldwide radiation generated in an all-out war of H-bombs would be a hazard to life over the whole globe. Scientists also seem to be agreed that the testing of H-bombs involves at least a certain risk. The issue is over the immediacy of the radiation danger—that is, just how many tests the different nations may conduct before the cancer threshold is crossed. This must be measured against the contribution tests make to our military security.

Without now judging this question, however, we feel that the potential danger alone justifies a much greater effort to explore the possibilities for the treatment or, hopefully, prevention of radiation-induced cancer, leukemia, and cell degeneration.

2. Vigorous reassertion of your support of an international Atomic Energy Agency: We believe that the vast majority of the American people are fully behind your dramatic effort to develop peaceful uses of the atom through the United Nations. As Congressmen, we are anxious for the momentum behind these proposals to be sustained.

The exercise of your prestige and leadership will not only ensure the passage of the appropriate legislation. It will also present the proper image of the United States as a nation devoted to using the atom to build a better world.

3. A national shelter program: The policy of mass evacuation, on which the United States planned to rely in a war of atom bombs, is now outmoded by the vastly more powerful H-bombs. A 50-megaton H-bomb can incinerate all life within a radius of 15 miles of the explosion. Within a few days the people who live in the downwind area of fallout will also sicken and die.

Under these circumstances, it appears prudent and imperative to provide some form of shelter for our people at the places where they live and work.

Our capacity to take a blow and keep on fighting is just as important as our ability to deliver one. An adequate system of shelters will therefore give pause to a potential aggressor and make a formidable contribution to our policy of deterrence.

4. Your appointment of a Special Advisory Committee to the AEC vested with authority to declassify data on radiation: We recognize that secrecy about some kinds of data on radiation may be vital to our national security. On the other hand, official silence or even reassurances have on several occasions in the past been followed by contrary evidence from independent scientific sources, for example, the Japanese physicists who analyzed the fallout from our Pacific tests.

Such incidents breed suspicion and an emotional approach toward the tests, making it difficult for the American people to reach a fair judgment. We are convinced that the public has the right to judge the issue for itself. Consistent with security, the people should be given the information they need to do so.

5. Increased emphasis on military formations capable of fighting limited or brushfire engagements: As you have cogently observed, concentration upon massive weapons in the fields of research and delivery can lead to a dead end in strategic thinking.

The enemy is too likely to calculate that we would permit him to retain a modest conquest rather than invoke a nuclear exchange. The only successful counter to this kind of limited attack is the capacity to meet the attack at the spot where it occurs.

To have this capacity we would need very flexible forces armed with both conventional and atomic weapons. We would also need many more troop-carrying airplanes than we now have on hand.

We as Members of Congress want to do our part in averting the suicide of the human race. Each of us whose name is signed below believes that this issue transcends partisanship. We respectfully request your personal attention to these proposals and stand ready to provide additional information.

Sincerely,

CHARLES O. PORTER
(And Six Other Members of Congress).

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 12, 1957.

The Honorable CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PORTER: The President has asked me to thank you sincerely for your June 7th letter, cosigned by 7 of your colleagues, urging him to "place (his) full official and personal weight" behind 5 specific measures which relate to atomic warfare and health hazards and to the character of our Armed Forces. The President asked me to assure you that he will continue his efforts to deal effectively with each of the problems mentioned. He, of course, welcomes the close attention you and your colleagues have devoted to these crucial problems facing our country.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

WILTON B. PERSONS,
The Deputy Assistant to the President.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 22, 1957.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. EISENHOWER: I have received General Persons' letter of June 12, replying to my letter of June 7, cosigned by 7 of my colleagues, and I am now writing to ask that you undertake the comment specifically on each of the 5 specific measures set forth in the letter.

I do not need to be assured that you will continue to attempt to do your best to deal effectively with each of these problems and, of course, I know you welcome the close attention of Congress to such problems.

I recognize very well the immense demand of your job and it seems quite appropriate to ask that you take a definite stand on each of these five matters since they are intimately related to human survival in the face of imminent peril.

I hope that you will see fit to reply specifically to my June 7 letter.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES O. PORTER,
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 26, 1957.

The Honorable CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Further respecting your June 7 letter, my June 12 reply, and your June 22 request for supplementary comments, I have been requested to advise you in respect to the questions raised in the June 7 letter that: (1) The suggested National Radiation Institute of Health will receive appropriate consideration; (2) the International Atomic Energy Agency Treaty has just been ratified by the Senate; (3) Presidential views respecting civil defense needs are reflected in legislation recently considered by the House Armed Services Committee, on which administration witnesses have testified at length; (4) the suggested Special Advisory Committee will likewise receive appropriate consideration; and (5) recent executive branch testimony on the pending defense appropriation and mutual security legislation presents Presidential concepts and programs respecting conventional and nuclear weapons and all other major aspects of our defense efforts.

Your further interest in these matters is appreciated.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

WILTON B. PERSONS,
The Deputy Assistant to the President.

Big Business Like Eisenhower Policy of Sweetness and Light as They Go Blithely on Their Price-Raising Way

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith Drew Pearson's column on New Price Rises To Shrink Dollar, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on July 3, 1957:

NEW PRICE RISES TO SHRINK DOLLAR

(By Drew Pearson)

The increase in the price of steel will not be the only one to help hike the cost of living this summer. It will be followed by a chain reaction of price increases, all further decreasing the buying power of the white collar worker, the farmer, the schoolteacher, the oldster living on a pension, and anyone with a fixed or low income.

Aluminum manufacturers are expected to ask a penny a pound more on August 1, because of a 15-cent-an-hour wage boost. The meat and class industries will increase prices. The price of men's flannels will go up 3 cents per pound, ammonia $8 a ton, and the leading TV manufacturers will try to get $20 more per set.

There's already been a lot of agitation about inflation. But you ain't seen nothin' yet.

NO TAX CUT IN 1958

Most important political effect of the increased cost of steel will not be felt until about next January. This is the period when politicians will try to carry out that long-awaited promise of a cut in taxes.

They won't admit it, but the inside fact is there will be no tax cut.

The reason is quite simple. The increased price of steel, together with other simultaneous, spiraling prices, will add $4 billion to the budget. This just about absorbs the surplus on which both political parties based their promise of a tax cut.

It is no secret that the biggest bill Uncle Sam has to pay is for military hardware.

This is the term given battleships, submarines, tanks, armored cars, trucks, and guns. So when the price of steel goes up, the man who feels it most is the uncle who has to pay for this hardware.

There's another reason why there will be no tax cut. In addition to the $4 billion extra for hardware, another extra billion will be added to the expense of Government because of higher interest rates. Uncle Sam will pay that extra billion just to borrow money.

Messrs. Humphrey and Burgess have hiked the interest rate on Government bonds to the highest point since the depression, with the result that interest on the national debt is also at an all-time high.

IKE GETS KICKED

Twice President Eisenhower has appealed to business and labor to hold down prices and wages, and each time he has been promptly kicked in the teeth by the big business leaders who did so much to elect him. Here are the kicks:

Kick No. 1 came just before and after February 6 when the President publicly stated: "When I said business and labor must exercise and must discharge their authority in conformity with the needs of the United States, I wasn't merely asking them to be altruistic. Their long-term good is involved, and I am asking them merely to act as enlightened Americans.

"Unless this happens, the United States then has to move in more firmly with so-called controls of some kind."

This got a private horselaugh from business. Reason was that next day, Ike's own Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks, himself a big-business man, figuratively kicked his boss in the teeth. He stated at his press conference that the administration was not considering wage and price controls at all.

Kick No. 2 came from another big-business man, James Zellerbach, to whom Ike had given an important diplomatic plum—the ambassadorship to Italy. As Zellerbach took his post, he increased the price of paper sold by his Crown Zellerbach Co. This hit newspapers and magazines all over the Nation.

Simultaneously, Crown Zellerbach announced the most successful year in the company's 86-year history. Profits went up 13.4 percent over the preceding year. Despite this and despite Ike's appeal to stop inflation, his own Ambassador brazenly added to inflation.

Kick No. 3 came last week when the giant United States Steel Co. jacked up its prices just one day after the President again appealed to keep prices down.

BEHIND THE HORSELAUGH

There's an interesting reason for the business horselaughs regarding the President's warnings. They figure he doesn't really mean them, that he has no idea of ever getting tough.

For instance, business leaders all knew that Ben Fairless, chief power behind United States Steel for years, had been rewarded by Ike. He was appointed Cordinator of the President's Citizen Advisers on the Mutual Security Program.

So business leaders, watching the Eisenhower policy of sweetness and light, go blithely on their price-raising way.

NOTE.—In his last press conference, the President reversed his February 6 warning that there might be wage and price controls He said controls were the way to bring the socialism which Khrushchev predicted for the United States. Many economists say that uncontrolled inflation is a quicker way to bring it. Inflation has already brought socialism to a good part of Europe.

Revise Immigration Laws Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, because I am firmly convinced that there is great need to revise and amend the present Immigration and Nationality Act, I introduced H. R. 3739, at the beginning of this session of Congress.

The need for such action is further emphasized by an open letter, dealing with the revision or repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, signed by 71 members of the Oregon Conference of the Methodist Church and furnished to me by the Reverend Olin E. Parrett and the Reverend Edward Terry, both of Portland. In his letter of transmittal, Reverend Terry states:

We believe that such changes as those indicated are necessary steps toward more Christlike legislation in this field. As you know, hundreds of organizations in all walks of life have indicated their belief that basic changes in these immigration laws are necessary if we are to maintain our American ideals of liberty and freedom for all.

I ask unanimous consent that the open letter and list of names attached be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter and list follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS FROM OREGON

We, the undersigned, join with the millions of other Americans in commendation of those of our Senators and Congressmen, who, understanding the basic evils inherent in the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (the McCarran Act and the Walter-McCarran Act, respectively) have called for drastic revision or repeal of these laws.

We feel that the sending into exile by the deportation route of hundreds if not thousands of persons each year on technical grounds, or because of alleged political dissent, is unbecoming a Nation founded by immigrants of varying faiths. This is especially true of those who were brought to America in their infancy, or who have spent their working lives here.

We agree with the findings of former President Truman's commission which submitted a report on the law, January 1, 1953, that the voluminous Walter-McCarran law is "unwise and injurious * * * confusing and in some respects unworkable * * * and that it should be revised from beginning to end."

We feel that the law, in its administration, violates civil liberties and constitutional rights. We are opposed to those provisions which place limitations on the rights of naturalized citizens, and to the national origins quota system, agreeing with Senator Lehman, of New York, that this "is an insult to every one of us."

We believe with the President's commission that the powers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service should be vested in a separate agency of the Government and that grounds for deportation should not be technical or excessive. In the interest of common justice and fair play, of keeping families together and homes unbroken, we feel there should be a statute of limitations and that deportation proceedings should not be taken against any noncitizen after 10 years' residence in this country, or the citizenship of any naturalized citizen be revoked except for fraud.

We commend heartily the efforts of all those Members of Congress from Oregon who are supporting repeal or revision of these laws and urge them to actively continue such support.

C. Gene Albertson, Hillsboro, Oreg.; Raymond E. Balcomb, Corvallis, Oreg.; W. S. J. Bleakley, Portland 9, Oreg.; Clarence Desler, Harrisburg, Oreg.; Clark E. Enz, Oregon City, Oreg.; Fremont Faul, Cottage Grove, Oreg.; Rinke A. Feenstra, Dillard, Oreg.; Roy R. Finch, Springfield, Oreg.; Meredith A. Groves, Eugene, Oreg.; Eugene V. Hamblen, Portland 19, Oreg.; Bruce Hollingsworth, Junction City, Oreg.; O. L. Kendall, Wilderville, Oreg.; Charles C. Kerr, Madras, Oreg.; Robert G. Kingsbury, Cave Junction, Oreg.; Dayton Loomis, Clatskarie, Oreg.; Harold Mackey, Molalla, Oreg.; Milton A. Marcy, Portland, Oreg.; Charles L. McCarthy Lyons, Oreg.; Warren McConnell, Bay City, Oreg.; Robert McIlvenna, Halsey, Oreg.; Asa Mundell, Seaside, Oreg.; Tony Perrino, Corvallis, Oreg.; R. N. Peters, Corvallis, Oreg.; Bruce McConnell, John Day, Oreg.; Dean C. Poindexter (deceased), Bend, Oreg.; Raymond Poindexter, Days Creek, Oreg.; Earl W. Riddle, Forest Grove, Oreg.; Ashley Rose, Markham, Oreg.; David Schneider, Chiloquin, Oreg.; Charles H. Schreiber, McMinnville, Oreg.; S. Raynor Smith, Salem, Oreg.; Laird Sutton, Salem, Oreg.; John A. Taylor, Medford, Oreg.; Eugene Walters, Portland 19, Oreg.; Walter R. Warner, Coos Bay, Oreg.; James W. Workman, Jr., Junction City, Oreg.; Geo. A. Trobough, Medford, Oreg.

Joseph M. Adams, Portland, Oreg.; Luther G. Baker, Jr., Salem, Oreg.; Robert L. Benefiel, Portland, Oreg.; Collis C. Blair, Hood River, Oreg.; Richard E. Bruner, Wasco, Oreg.; Donald S. Campbell, Freewater, Oreg.; J. Thomas Dixon, Echo, Oreg.; Roy A. Fedje, Portland, Oreg.; Paul D. Foster, Woodburn, Oreg.; Everett H. Gardner, Portland, Oreg.; Gerald W. Gear, Portland, Oreg.; Herschel W. Hall, Portland, Oreg.; Craig T. Harper, Portland, Oreg.; H. James Jenkins, Portland, Oreg.; Oscar V. Luchs, Portland, Oreg.; Carl B. Mason, Portland, Oreg.; Charles R. McDonald, Portland, Oreg.; Robert T. McMaster, Weston, Oreg.; Robert H. McNabb, Fossil, Oreg.; W. H. Monroe, Gresham, Oreg.; Lawrence E. Nye, Portland, Oreg.; J. W. Reed, Portland, Oreg.; Olin E. Parrett, Portland, Oreg.; Revelle E. Roach, The Dalles, Oreg.; James E. Shapland, Portland, Oreg.; M. L. Simpson, Portland, Oreg.; Nevitt B. Smith, Portland, Oreg.; Earle W. Terry, Portland, Oreg.; Edward Terry, Portland, Oreg.; Norman E. Thomas, Portland, Oreg.; Dwight Townsen, Portland, Oreg.; Ernest Tremayne, Portland, Oreg.; George E. Weber, Portland, Oreg.; Ernest E. Wilson, Portland, Oreg.

American Legion Auxiliary Essay Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion Auxiliary of the Department of North Carolina conducts an annual Americanism essay contest.

The results of the contest have just been announced, and I am delighted that a young lady from my congressional district was selected as the winner. She is Miss Alice Doggett, of Forest City, N. C. Miss Doggett is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Alton Doggett, of Forest City, and was graduated from Cool Springs High School as valedictorian a few weeks ago.

I am requesting that the excellent essay written by this young lady be inserted in the RECORD, since I believe that it is worthy of the attention of all Americans.

The essay follows:

AMERICA, WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO ME?

In the furl of the flag, in the call of the free, in the hope of the brave, I hear the word "America." America—America. The mere word makes the strings of my heart vibrate. But when I think of all that this word stands for, it enthralls me to depths such as I cannot explain.

If you could see the word "America" defined in a dictionary, you would probably read something like this: "America is a country in the Western Hemisphere were a democratic government based on high ideals and individual rights of its people is practiced." But, to me, an American youth, what do high-sounding words and phrases mean? I do not live by definitions and dictionaries.

America to me is as simple as everyday living. It is walking in the rain, in the sunshine. The raindrops remind me of the thousands of drops of blood that have been shed in many great wars to gain and preserve this great country. The rays of sunshine remind me of the golden dawning this country has known at the end of each war. America, to me, is a country that has gone through many problems and hardships and has emerged the strongest Nation in the world today. She is as complicated as tall smokestacks puffing their smoke from huge manufacturing plants and millions of cars honking in the busy city, as simple as a bird's song or a stream's sighing in her vast woodlands. She is a country of resources of coal, iron, steel, rubber, and many others; a region of vast farmland.

But most important of all, she is a country of people who are freedom-loving and God-fearing. It was these people who made possible the growth of America in the past, and it will be these people who will lead America on to greater glory and expansion.

Yes, I, an American youth, am a part of this great country. With this thought I look up with pride in my heart and whisper through trembling lips, "America, my country, America."

Civil Rights Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, again, as the days of June are riding toward the longest day in the year and the beginning of the death of summer, we are enrapt in the emotions attending the passing of an old order and the birth of a new. I feel that my dear friends from the Southland today, as they have before, are standing on the edge of a lost battlefield fighting for something that they believe in but that they know has passed forever.

But, Mr. Chairman, we are making progress. We are marching forward to greater heights to advance the dignity of all men and fulfill the mandates of our destiny.

I remember when I was going to law school we were told that there was a time when people who suffered from wrongs for which there was no remedy went to the king and asked the king to exercise his conscience, to do the right thing even though there was no approach to the right in the existing law. And so came our court of conscience, our court of equity.

There have been wrongs. I do not think any of us doubts that through fear or for other reasons many people of the Negro race in certain parts of our country have not been voting, certainly in the numbers that we would desire and we would expect in proportion to their population. And our Republic cannot exist unless we give to all of our citizens the right to vote. In a representative democracy that is the most sacred of all the rights.

I respect the right to a jury trial. I think no one loves an American jury more than do I; and I have had, in my humble way, the privilege of talking to juries in many cases, and in many States including the great State of Tennessee. But I know the limitations of the jury system. The right to a jury trial means the right to a trial by jurors of your peers and in a climate that is without bias and without prejudice. That is the American concept of trial by jury. And so we have always been very careful to protect the right to trial by jury with the right to a change of venue.

Let a horrible crime be committed in any county or any community and someone who is not popular in that community is suspected and arrested for the crime. Because human nature is what it is, it is conceivable that it would not be possible to have a fair and impartial trial in that county or in that community and a change of venue is granted to another county where such bias and prejudice may not obtain.

In our great State of Illinois we protect that right to a change of venue to the extent that we make it mandatory upon our judges to grant a change of venue when a showing is made merely by affidavit. That I think should be borne in mind.

What is our situation now? We have in a section of our country—and I am not scolding; when you are born and brought up in a social order, it is hard to change; we all fight change from the status quo—so we have in that section a feeling that white supremacy still obtains, that in a world in which the white constitutes a relatively small minority, we can go on living, today as it was yesterday, on the standard of white supremacy.

In the section where that feeling obtains, human nature being what it is, it would be difficult to find a jury that would pass upon the facts and not the law.

The jury is given the determination of the facts, not the determination of the law. In Illinois, when an attorney is examining the prospective members of a jury, he asks if they will reach their decision from the evidence that they hear in the court and following the law as given to them by the judge on the bench. It was never intended that jurors should pass upon the law. Yet it is difficult for the layman to distinguish between what is law and what is fact, and, no matter how conscientious he intends to be in the performance of his duties as a juror and in his respect for his oath, his determination of what is fact and what is law must subconsciously be influenced, and his confusion multiplied, when against the law itself, he is strongly and emotionally opposed.

Once a law of the land is enacted by passage of a bill by the Congress, and signatured by the President, it is effective upon all persons in our Nation. It was never intended by the makers of our Constitution that a law of the land should be submitted to trial by jury so that in one community it would be accepted and enforced and in other communities would be rejected. It is self-evident that government could not continue to function in such a situation.

I should regard it as a splendid tribute to the judicial temperament and integrity of Southern judges, which should not go unnoticed by my colleagues from the southland, that no one from the North in these many hours of emotion-heated debate has raised the slightest question as to how the judges in Southern districts would act in the judicial administration of a law that might not meet with their personal approval. It is hard for me to understand why similar confidence has not more often, in the debate, been voiced by my friends from the South, unless it be that they wish the law itself, and not the facts as they apply to individuals, to be passed upon by laymen and not by judges learned in the law and charged with its interpretation.

Mr. Chairman, I trust that the bill will pass unamended, and that our country will go on in the new day, undisturbed by the passing emotions of a change from the status quo, bravely and wisely meeting in the future as it did in the past the challenges of broadening horizons.

Revision of Federal Firearms Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I have been receiving numerous letters of opposition to the proposal advanced by the Alcohol

and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, for the revision of the Federal firearms regulations, scheduled to be effective in the next few months.

If the proposal, as it now stands, is imposed on the firearms and ammunition dealers, it will work serious hardship, especially on the smaller dealers. One point in the proposal requires ammunition dealers to keep complete records on pistol and revolver shells. To maintain these records, it will necessitate additional help, time, and money for most dealers and manufacturers. Information which will be required for these records include: Name of manufacturer, type of shell, caliber and quantity, and, the identity of the person from whom the shell was received and the signature of the person to whom it was sold. This appears to me to be a regulation which is completely unnecessary.

There are other points within these proposals which are causing considerable concern, not only by dealers, but by manufacturers of firearms and ammunition as well.

In view of these and other facts, I have requested that these regulations not become effective until such time as Members of Congress have had ample time to study the revisions proposed and to be heard on them. It is my opinion that additional time is needed for further study by all concerned so that more favorable proposals can be worked out which will be acceptable to those affected.

The Internal Revenue Service has announced that a public hearing will be held on the proposed revision of Federal firearms regulations on August 27. Since Congress probably will have adjourned by August 27, it will not be possible for the greater number of us to be present because of scheduled activities in our own district; therefore, it is my hope that the hearing may be postponed until early in 1958 at which time the Members of Congress who desire to be heard will have an opportunity to do so.

Germany's Eastern Boundary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the May-June 1957 News Letter of the Polish American Congress proves further the validity of establishing Germany's eastern boundary at the Oder-Neisse line:

OFFICIAL GERMAN STATISTICS DEBUNK JUNKERS' LOUD CLAMOR FOR REVISION—"OSTFLUCHT" AND "LANDFLUCHT" CANNOT BE HIDDEN BEHIND A PROPAGANDA FACADE

German territorial revisionism let itself on a wild rampage again. Only this time it's buttressed by official declarations and certain propaganda subsidies of the West Reich. The edge of wild distortions, claims, and contentions is aimed at Poland.

Official sources in the West German Reich are progressively more vociferous in demanding not only the restoration of the 1939 boundaries with Poland, but are clamoring for the inclusion into the Reich the "ancient-ly German provinces," of Poznan, Pomerania, and Silesia, not to mention East Prussia, wherein junkerism was spawned to enmesh European nations in its insane and sanguinary policy of conquests.

When not shouting demands, these revisionists piously claim that the German people need more living space, that the territories they lost as the direct result of their own stupendous aggression are absolutely necessary for German survival.

Without batting an eye, they argue that Poland's recovered provinces east of the Oder-Neisse Rivers constituted a vitally needed granary for West Germany.

And while the Reich's Foreign Minister, Heinrich von Brentano, being a trained diplomat, disclaimed any use of force in effecting the proposed revision of the boundary with Poland, the American Germans went on record as unfettered by political semantics. They quite openly and brutally warned that in order to avoid world war III, Germany must regain territories ceded to Poland under the Potsdam four-power agreement. This, the Germans expressed in a recent resolution addressed to official sources in Washington by the Steuben Society.

Eventually, the Germans are going to trip themselves over their own admissions contained in two words: "Ostflucht" and "Landflucht."

Ostflucht literally means "flight from the east" and Landflucht—"flight from the farms."

Eminent German economists and scientists such as Wilhelm Volz, Prof. Dr. Karl Haushoffer, Prof. Gustav Simolcit, eloquently and with finality rebutted all assertions of fanatical revisionists.

Their painstaking studies and findings, published with the knowledge and consent of German authorities as late as the 1930's, prove that the territories returned to Poland after the World War II, constituted 21.4 percent of German prewar area, yet, they sheltered and fed only 12.4 percent of the total German population.

In national economy, these provinces contributed only 10.7 percent of Germany's income. The industrial capacity of these provinces represented only 4.2 percent of the national figure and only 11.3 percent of the income of the Ruhr district.

The Third (Hitler's) Reich was spending 11.3 percent of national income on armaments alone—and the income of these provinces, was only 10.7 percent of the national total.

Thus, with military and administrative expenditures of the Reich, these provinces were actually liabilities in the financial and economic structure of Germany.

Density of population in prewar Germany stood at 136 persons per square kilometer (approximately 0.386 square mile), while in the provinces east of the Oder, it was only 50 persons per square kilometer, and the agrarian population was only 20.4 per square kilometer.

At the same time, the density of population in Poland reached 92 persons per square kilometer, and the agrarian population stood at 60.9 per square kilometer.

Natural increase of population in prewar Poland was 12 persons per thousand and in prewar Germany only 7.3 per thousand annually.

The density of population in the West German Reich is 188 persons per square kilometer, which about equals the density of the British Isles and is less than that of Holland or Belgium.

But these figures seem only like a preface to the real story.

According to German official statistics and studies by scientists and experts already mentioned—2,800,000 Germans left farms in these territories (Poland's recovered provinces) in the years of 1825–1939. This means that 70 percent of agrarian population in these areas migrated to the industrial cities in central and West Germany.

During that time, the shift of population in all Germany from farms to factories effected only 4,700,000. In other words, considerably more than one-half of German migrants came from the eastern provinces now settled by the Poles.

This Ostflucht resulted in the astounding fact that only 46 people were left on each 100 hectares (250 acres) in Pomerania and East Prussia, which, for European teeming millions had been a sensational development.

Professor Volz candidly wrote about this situation: "The German East has lost in the last 3 generations 1 whole province—population-wise. Here in the East we should be forced to reverse the term volk ohne raum (people without land) to 'raum ohne volk' (land without people). (Geographical and economic study, Leipzig, 1930.)

Similarly, Professor Haushoffer, addressing the 1930 Convention for Political Settlements in Dresden, stated: "We must settle new people in the East, where nations, bursting with vitality, are already pushing westward. Otherwise, within the next 20 years, the Elbe will become Germany's eastern frontier."

The process of voluntary depopulation of these lands had not been reversed even by Hitler's dictum to increase population. For, in these provinces, the Nazi-inspired natural increase reached only 200,000, which means only 2.4 percent of the whole German populace, while in the rest of the Third Reich, birthrate jumped 5.3 percent over the death rate in that particular period.

Moreover, most of the increase in population was, as it has always been, among the Polish autochthonic people, where families of 9 and 10 persons are common.

Junkers' feudal estates were able to operate only by bringing annually some 800,000 seasonal immigrants from Poland to do the farmwork. These peasant workers from Poland did not encounter any linguistic barriers in Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia. They communicated easily in the Polish language with the Polish autochthons in these areas.

(The original Polish population in these areas have successfully resisted germanization and remained Polish in spite of German attempts to eradicate all traces of Slavic origin of these lands. These autochthons number over 1 million people and are regarded by Prussian revisionists as Germans.)

And now for the granary claims:

Agricultural surpluses in these provinces, despite their scarcity of population amounted to only 3.2 percent in rye, 2.5 percent in potatoes, 4.5 percent in pigs, and 1.5 percent in cattle, according to German 1930 official yearbook.

Confronted with these figures, Professor Volz (ibid.) concluded: "We should debunk once and for all the arrant fable that the East is supplying the Reich, and especially the Ruhr with foodstuffs. The rest of the Reich is either producing them (victuals) itself, or importing them to satisfy its needs. Cold facts are not in accord with theoretical contentions that the German East is the source of agricultural provisions for the Reich."

Landflucht caused a drop in agricultural productivity of the whole Germany by 5.1 since 1913, according to recent studies by Professor Dr. Harmann, of Berlin, who calculated that the West German Republic can easily support 96 million people on its present territory.

Sectionalism Will Save No Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Californians are presently bedeviled by a water problem that divides the people of our State.

The conservation of water and its proper utilization is indispensable to our economy and to the happiness and the welfare of the people of California.

Water in California produces a paradox. Controlled it is the greatest friend of man, uncontrolled it is one of his worst enemies. We have the demonstrated formula for controlling it if it can only be supplied.

The San Francisco Examiner on Tuesday, June 27, carried an editorial Sectionalism Will Save No Water. It is an excellent exposition of the subject and I include it as part of my remarks.

The editorial follows:

SECTIONALISM WILL SAVE NO WATER

Soon a joint legislative committee will take up the search for the solution to California's great water rights controversy that eluded the legislature at its regular session. We hope the committee can at the outset lay aside the north-south sectionalisms aroused by the water debates, and too often manifest as bitterness in the last days of the session.

Not in memory has sectionalism been as pronounced as it was in those last days. It has not yet reached a danger point. But it can—if embers now cooling after the session are again fanned.

The arousal of sectional fears and jealousies in this instance is all the more to be regretted because the Feather River project, out of which grew the water-rights controversy, is not in the true sense a sectional matter. Nor can it in any sense be called accurately a north-south matter.

THE STAKES ARE TREMENDOUS

This great plan is designed to carry water from northern areas of surplus southward to areas of deficiency. It will alter for all time water rights of incalculable value; it will influence profoundly the destinies of both of the areas that yield the water and those that receive it. With the stakes so tremendous, it was natural and proper that each affected area sought fiercely to protect its interests at every stage of the bargaining in the legislature. Generally speaking the fiercest advocates were those from the least populous, far northern counties and the most populous region south of the Tehachapis.

Perhaps this is why a division that started out as one between surplus and deficient areas came to be popularly and mistakenly regarded as a north-south conflict with the dividing line at the Tehachapis.

How wrong this is can readily be seen from the fact that the deficiency areas most in need of water are not in southern California at all but in the vast central band of the State. The greatest need is in the San Joaquin Valley. The second greatest need is in the south San Francisco Bay area in Santa Clara, San Benito, and Alameda Counties.

Under the FRP as planned by the engineers the areas north of Tehachapis not only would receive water earlier than southern California, but would get a greater quantity. Those who can least afford delay on the FRP are not southern California subdividers, as some seem to think, but San Joaquin Valley farmers whose wells are running dry, and Feather River Valley cities and farms living under threat of another disastrous flood.

Independence Day—1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the Fourth of July. In yesteryears the orators called it Independence Day. Some still call it the Fourth of July; others still call it Independence Day. The fourth day of the calendar in the month of July has lost a great deal of the patriotic fever that was formerly engendered on this day.

Yesterday, to those of you who could number back 40 to 50 years, did you see many flags displayed up and down the streets as you did in your youth? I am afraid if you answered truthfully, you would say "No." Why is this? The answer is very simple: Patriotism in its outward form is not taught and practiced as in former years. But it seems to me in these days of more advocacy, of more Government planning, social-welfare programs, blueprint society, we should again remember not only the Fourth of July, but on every day the first lines of the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

These words of Jefferson in substance just mean this: Mankind everywhere calls out for freedom from every form of oppression.

Those who advocate and those who accept the so-called benefits from a planned blueprint society should remember that whenever you are given a free grant or a gift benefit from any governmental source you from necessity give up part of your freedom, because a government can only take from those that have and give to those who have not.

The basic question we should always ask is this: Are we keeping faith with our freedom? Are we living off freedom produced by our ancestors? And are we doing enough to insure that "the freedom under God" given to us will be inherited by our children?

Recently I read a very fine statement of our ancient heritage. This article is called Independence Day—1957. It is by Lester O. Schriver.

I most heartily commend it to my colleagues.

[From Life Association News for July 1957]

INDEPENDENCE DAY—1957

(By Lester O. Schriver)

When I was a boy and lived on a rock-ribbed Connecticut farm, life was a very rugged experience. My parents believed that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Toil, honest toil, had a certain dignity about it, and indolence or laziness was abhorrent, if not downright immoral.

But life was not entirely work. There was a time for reverence, a time for church, for Sunday clothes, and genteel visiting among friends and neighbors. There was a time for reading, for family devotions, and for neighborhood gatherings. You might call them house parties. And there were certain community observances. There was Christmas, both at home and at the community hall. There were oranges and candy and simple presents and always a Santa Claus in his red suit with sleigh bells around his fat middle.

There was Decoration Day, when everyone went to decorate the graves of the soldiers who had died in the Civil War. There were the old veterans who marched to each grave and left a flag and there was the chaplain who offered a short prayer. These were heroes, both dead and living, and the brass band cast a patriotic spell over all those who witnessed the solemn ceremonies.

But next to Christmas, the greatest day of all was the Fourth of July. It began at midnight. The older, more daring boys ushered in the day with a cannonade in various parts of the community. At daybreak, the small fry got out their punk and firecrackers, and soon had an assortment of burned fingers and other minor wounds.

But at noon there was a picnic on the green and a band concert, and then speeches. Once the Governor came in his high silk hat and cutaway coat. He made a speech, and all of us clapped and cheered and were very respectful. I still remember parts of his speech. He talked about the first Fourth of July, and the Declaration of Independence, and the brave men who signed that document. He said something about the Revolution, and George Washington, and Valley Forge.

And what did it all mean? It meant that young Americans were getting an education. They were learning that the warp and woof, out of which a good life is woven, are made up of work and play, and good community relations, and reverence for God. That it is made up of a love for country, of respect for law and order and for those who are our legally constituted leaders. That a wholesome society rests on four great cornerstones—the home, the church, the school, and the community.

This was the America I learned about as a boy. It is still that America. The horizons have been expanded, the perspective has been enlarged, but the basic factors that made America are constant. As sure as the law of gravitation, as constant as the North Star, as eternal as truth itself.

But now that I have become a man, a graying, aging, and perhaps a somewhat disillusioned man, I am wondering if we have lost something in the more than half-century which has elapsed since a wondering lad first began to comprehend the blessed land in which he was privileged to be born.

In that half century since an American boy began to think, he has the feeling that the pattern has changed to some extent. The picture seems to be a bit out of focus, the vividness of the idealism faded a little, and the fabric a bit more uncertain. Is there a change in the basic fundamentals which seemed once to account for our greatness? Work, honor, courage, patriotism, independence. Ah, yes, independence. I remember a courageous phrase, "and for the support of this declaration of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Where is our independence today? Have we lost it? Do we indeed want it? Or do we prefer security above liberty? Do we still "hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain

inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?"

Do we still want these things? Are they still a vital part of our existence? Do we want life and liberty enough to fight for it? Do we want the right to pursue happiness? Are we willing to preserve that which was bequeathed us by brawn and sweat and thought? Or do we want to surrender our independence and accept instead the bounty of a nursemaid state? Do we want independence and the risks that go with liberty? Or do we want unlimited social security, old-age assistance, subsidies, and a welfare state, in exchange for that for which our fathers gave their very lives? Are we selling our birthright for a mess of pottage?

I am not sure I know just what we do want. I only know that I have done a lot of crying in the wilderness lately and I know that many have written to me agreeing with my thesis, but complaining critically that while I point out the obvious, I make no suggestions as to the remedy. Only yesterday, I received a letter from a friend who objected to my habit of viewing with alarm without suggesting a remedy for curing our ills. That is a constructive suggestion, but considering our limited space it is also quite a large order.

As I recall it, we suggested that the greatest danger to our economy is the debasement of our money. We call it inflation. Debasement of our money is caused by making commitments which we cannot keep. Inflation is repudiation, in whole or in part, of the promises we have made. And society, our society, is kept solvent and moral and decent by promises that are kept. Our greatest problem at the moment is to retain our honor and guarantee the integrity of the American dollar. When we cease to do that we are no better than any other bankrupt nation. Even Uncle Sam can go broke.

How can we maintain our solvency? It isn't easy. We have acquired the habit of looking to Government for the solution of all our economic problems. That has never worked and it never will work if we are to remain free men.

We must learn to spend less than our income, both as individuals and as a nation. The important thing is to shock the people of our Nation into a consciousness of the danger of making commitments we cannot keep. Our Government was never designed to support the people, but it is the duty of the people to support such government as is necessary to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

It was never contemplated that the citizens of our country should become the wards of the State, nor that our schools should be subsidized by the Federal Government.

It appalls me that the cost of the Federal Government has multiplied 10 times in 20 years, and that the Government employs 2,500,000 people and that 5,500,000 people are receiving Government relief in addition to those who are receiving social security. And did you ever see government bureaucy at work? Its clumsy, inefficient operation, hampered by inertia and redtape, would bankrupt any private business. It is slowly and surely choking the Nation to death.

What to do about it? Strip off all unnecessary governmental services. Cut out the subsidies. Go back to a government designed to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for common defense, and promote the general welfare" within decent limits and beyond that, trim the fat to a very minimum.

Much has been said about Federal aid to schools. In my opinion, the Federal Government should spend not 1 penny for schools. The Government has no money except that which it gets from the States. Why ask Oklahoma to pay a tax to the Federal Government for schools and then return it to Oklahoma, less brokerage, for its own schools? Or would you ask New York to regularly contribute to the Federal Government in order that the Federal Government might aid schools in North Carolina?

Either is too ridiculous even to be discussed, and yet the notion still persists that the Government gets money from sources other than the pockets of its citizens. The States are perfectly capable of solving their own school problems and many of them would like to be given a chance to spend their own money on their own projects.

The Hoover report repeatedly revealed shocking examples of extravagance, inefficiency, and downright malfeasance. It pointed the way to save billions, but lethargy and intrenched bureaucracy frustrated many good intentions to save tax dollars.

There is another thing which we can all do. That is to apprise our representatives in Congress that all we ask, as taxpayers, is honest, efficient government. Don't blame a Congressman for being a spendthrift if you made him that way. Even a good Congressman can't reelect himself. He has to please his constituents. If the people who elect him are moochers, he will probably, in self-defense, help to make mooching easy and comfortable.

A short time ago I heard a Congressman in a press interview. He was asked about this platform. His reply was, "Increased social security, Federal aid to schools and reduction of taxes." That is quite a platform. It was good enough to get him elected to Congress, but you and I know it is stupid, and immoral, and economically impossible. When a man can be elected to Congress on that platform, both the Congressman and his constituents are sowing the wind, and will reap the whirlwind and will deserve the disaster which will inevitably result.

Frankly, I am not much impressed when people ask that a remedy be spelled out when an evil is established. We were created with minds with which to find the solution to our problems once the problem has been established.

What we really need is a desire to be saved from our sins and to pray for the courage and the character to save ourselves from a disaster of our own making.

Most intelligent men know that we are literally sitting on an economic time bomb. It has been reported recently that "Britons will have to increase their contribution to government subsidized National Health Service, school meals and welfare milk in order to preserve national solvency." The present British Government is in trouble because it created the health service in 1948 and the opposition is crying "resign" because its estimated cost of that program has almost quadrupled.

There are those who still think "it can't happen here," but unless I am deaf and dumb and blind—it can, and it will unless we rise phoenixlike from the ashes of our lethargy and dare to fight like men.

Oh, yes. It's "Independence Day" again. I didn't intend to stray so far from my thesis. That is one of the dangers of age. The road is long and I have seen much that is interesting along the way.

For those of you who are still with me, please forgive me for taking you on this unusually long journey. This time, I slipped my tether and was lured by the mirage of my own reminiscence of more than a half century.

Expert on Wildlife Urges Halt in DDT Spraying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 783 calls for research on the effects of insecticides, herbicides and fungicides upon fish and wildlife. Such studies would lead to a determination of the amounts and percentages of such chemicals that can be used effectively without killing or injuring fish and wildlife.

In the following report published in the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., on July 1, 1957, Dr. Fairfield Osborn expresses alarm over damage caused by pesticide spraying and points out that 65 million acres of cropland and 3 million acres of forests were sprayed without adequate information as to the effect on birds, mammals, and fish.

Such doubts have been expressed by others all over America. This is just one further protest indicating a growing concern about the effect of these various chemical sprays all of which point to the urgency for immediate action on H. R. 783.

The complete article from the Star follows:

EXPERT ON WILDLIFE URGES HALT IN DDT SPRAYING

NEW YORK, July 1.—"Let's stop DDT spraying of croplands and forests until we know more about it."

That plea came recently from Dr. Fairfield Osborn, president of the conservation foundation and the New York Zoological Society.

Expressing alarm over reported extensive damage to the Nation's wildlife and fish due to pesticide spraying, the conservationist said:

"Until it is certain that all known facts about possible damage are in hand, I am personally very much in favor of suspending this DDT program. Extensive studies must be made to determine how to prevent further loss."

CALLS INFORMATION INADEQUATE

Dr. Osborn noted that last year the Government sprayed 65 million acres of cropland and more than 3 million acres of forests without adequate information about the poisoning of birds, mammals, and fish.

Some insecticides were used in concentrations 10 times that which can be tolerated by wildlife, with the resultant death of thousands of birds, he said. He also said there had been huge fish losses following extensive sprayings of forest trees.

The conservationist said he agrees with Assistant Secretary of Interior Ross L. Leffler who is urging Congress to authorize a comprehensive study of what the use of billions of pounds of chemical pesticides are doing to the Nation's wildlife.

"Our conservation foundation and other interested groups are combining for our own field and laboratory investigations which will probably take a year," he said. "And we'll turn over our findings to the Government's investigating agencies. When all the facts are in, we'll know how to proceed with DDT spraying. Until that time, we firmly be-

lieve there should be no repetition of the program. The damage has been too great."

This concern, he said, has extended to private industry. One chemical company, the Thompson Chemicals Corp., of Los Angeles and St. Louis, has publicly announced withdrawal from further production of presently known agricultural insecticides, according to Dr. Osborn.

"It wants to wait until more tests are made," he said.

BIRDS FOUND DEAD

Dr. Osborn declared that he had firsthand knowledge of the effects of recent spraying. In the vicinity of his home at Garrison, N. Y., he said, thousands of birds were found dead after a spraying.

He related that a close friend, Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy, retired ornithologist of the American Museum of Natural History and a fellow of the New York Zoological Society, has brought suit against the Department of Agriculture because of a spraying. Dr. Murphy, who lives in Setauket, L. I., found dead orioles, fish, and frogs in ponds subsequent to the spraying.

"Let's wait with that DDT until we know more," Dr. Osborn said. "It will prove far more economic throughout the Nation in the long run."

A member of the American Committee for International Wildlife Protection and the International Committee for Bird Preservation, among other naturalist groups, Dr. Osborn is author of Our Plundered Plant, The Limits of the Earth, and other books.

Trade, Not Aid, for Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to enclose a very timely and explanatory editorial, concerning assistance to Poland, which appeared in the May 4, 1957, issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

The article follows:

TRADE, NOT AID, FOR POLAND

Labels, once attached, tend to stick. Mutual security continues to be generally described as foreign aid, although it is America's best investment in defense. And the prospective agreement between the United States and representatives of the Polish Government probably will be identified in most prints as aid to Poland in spite of the fact that the arrangements constitute a straight, simple two-way trade transaction.

What will be proposed, according to apparently reliable accounts, is that the United States Government shall sell about $80 million worth of surplus agricultural commodities, chiefly wheat and cotton, to Poland, taking payment in zlotys instead of dollars. In addition, a loan of about $15 million would be made from mutual-security funds, with which the Poles, would buy American mining machinery. Announcement is said to be awaiting congressional passage of a bill to add $1 billion to the present authority to sell farm surpluses for foreign currencies.

To be sure, it can be said, as in the case of other Iron Curtain currencies, that no one knows exactly what a Polish zloty is worth or when a stock of zlotys will become convertible into dollars. But if an even roughly realistic exchange rate can be arrived at, will not a moving of some of the huge surpluses which are running up storage bills be of real benefit to American farmers and taxpayers?

As for the mining machinery, no small amount of business is done on credit these days; and if Poland by a bit of modernization can sell more coal to its European neighbors, they in turn will be the readier to take off American hands Polish zlotys with which to buy fuel.

In short, nobody is being asked to "give" anybody anything. There are no grants involved. Even credit is usually paid for. The question is simply whether the United States is willing to trade with a country whose government is controlled by national Communists though it exercises a much greater degree of internal self-government than before.

This may or may not be good business. The fact that a normally grain-surplus country like Poland wants to buy wheat is a measure of the damage done to it by the forced collectivizing of farms under Stalinism. The purchases of grain will give time to turn back many Polish farms to peasant proprietors—a gain for a free economic system. Is not this worth a little trade cooperation?

By a very similar process American, French, and British help has enabled Marshal Tito, of Yugoslavia, for nearly 9 years to defy orders from Moscow while maintaining a slightly less rigid Communist dictatorship. That example has something to do with the weakening of the Soviet grip throughout the satellite states. If one by-product of trade with Poland is even slightly greater economic freedom from the Soviet Union, then not only Poland and America but the free world will profit from the transaction.

Two Questions About H. R. 11: Interstate Commerce and Suppliers' Price Cuts To Help Retailers Meet Local Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have a letter of March 14 from the San Francisco Petroleum Retailers Association, Inc., which asks two quite specific questions about the equality of opportunity bill, H. R. 11. Believing that other small-business people, as well as Members, may be interested in these questions and my answers, I am offering for the RECORD the letter from the San Francisco Petroleum Retailers Association, Inc., together with my reply, both of which follow:

SAN FRANCISCO PETROLEUM
RETAILERS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
San Francisco, Calif., March 14, 1957.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In order to aid us in combating the propaganda that the oil companies are putting out to their dealers to get them to oppose H. R. 11, we would like an answer from you that we can use in our letters, bulletins, and press releases.

Specifically the statements have been made that H. R. 11 would not apply to California, and also that in the event of an independent dropping his price in an area, the major supplier would not be able to help their dealer in that area. The two statements are, of course, incongruous, but are typical of the steps that are being taken to defeat this legislation.

Our legal counsel has advised us that naturally H. R. 11 would apply in California, and we are going on that premise.

As I mentioned above, we would like a complete explanation from you as to the ramifications that H. R. 11 would have if passed, and your permission to use this information to the fullest.

The board of directors of the San Francisco Petroleum Retailers have voted in favor of supporting this bill, and we will contact all the Members of Congress from this State to that effect.

Thank you for your courtesy, and the best of luck for a winning battle.

Yours truly,

SAN FRANCISCO PETROLEUM
RETAILERS ASSOCIATION.

MARCH 19, 1957.

Mr. WALLACE E. PETTIGREW,
San Francisco Petroleum Retailers Association, San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR MR. PETTIGREW: I am glad to have your letter of March 14 asking me for statements which will explain what the equality of opportunity bill, H. R. 11, would do.

I am enclosing pages from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which contain statements by me, explaining both the purpose of the bill and how it would work.

To give brief answers to your specific questions, however, they are as follows:

First, you ask whether H. R. 11 would apply in the State of California. The answer is that it would apply in all States and in the District of Columbia. However, since the bill involves Federal law, and not a State law, it would apply only to those companies that are in interstate commerce. The question of whether a company is in interstate commerce is, in some instances, a rather technical one, but in general it means that the company must be in business in more than one State, or that it sells its products in more than one State. As a general rule, the bill would not apply to sales made by a single store retailer, although it would give protection to such a retailer from the discriminatory selling practices of a company which is in interstate commerce.

Your second question is whether a major oil company from which you purchase supplies would be able to drop its price to you, in order to help you meet local competition. The answer is that the oil company could drop its price to you, within certain limitations. The limitations are that the bill would create a strong tendency to require the major oil company, if it drops the price to you, to drop the price also to its other dealers who are in competition with you. I use the phrase "strong tendency" for this reason: The bill does not require the supplier to accord absolutely fair and equal treatment to its competing dealers; but it does forbid the supplier to discriminate among its dealers to such a serious extent that the effect may be, in the language of the bill, "substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly."

In other words, it is this key language which I have quoted above which would determine whether or not your supplier's discriminatory selling practice is illegal. This is the same language which defines an illegal merger of corporations, under section 7 of the act; and it is the same language which defines an illegal exclusive-dealing agreement and an illegal tie-in sales agreement under section 3 of the act.

I hope that these remarks and my enclosed statements will clarify all of the issues for you.

I am,

Sincerely yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN.

The Troublemaking ILO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously obtained, I insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Cleveland News of July 3, 1957.

It is my hope that many Members of Congress will read this excellent editorial comment on ILO. It should prove very beneficial to Members of Congress whenever we are called upon to take any action whatever with reference to ILO.

The editorial follows:

THE TROUBLEMAKING ILO

Sharp public disagreement exists as to whether an arm of the United Nations known as the International Labor Organization is worth United States participation.

This is the virtual parliament to which U. N. member nations send employer, employee-trades union, and Government delegates. Two former employer delegates, the latest William L. McGrath, of Cincinnati, resigned in alarm and have unsuccessfully appealed to the United States Chamber of Commerce and the NAM to discontinue their support of this piece of governmental machinery.

Our national administration evidently feels dutybound toward the U. N., to continue to participate in the ILO, and the American labor union delegates have seen no harm in it. Apropos of this indifference, it was to the ILO sessions that Delegate Dave Beck was bound when he was fetched back home to be asked questions he refuses to answer.

It might be unfair to the ILO to say that Beck is exactly the kind of delegate who saw no harm in the ILO seeking to perpetuate its socialism into American law, but that is a sort of characteristic coincidence about this mess.

The ILO became most alarming 2 years ago when Russia suddenly decided to participate in its study and findings, as long as it could control three delegations—the U. N. members of Byelorussia and the Ukraine being inside the Soviet orbit. This has given the Communist line practically a balance of power in the ILO, and our society is in some danger now from the ILO "conventions," which come up to each U. N. nation as proposed treaties.

As Mr. McGrath said in a recent speech, the ILO is now studying and adopting conventions about government control of farm-youth education, government control of all private employment, government control of all wages, hours, and work conditions—a natural thing for Soviet Russians, but a grim concern to free nations whose Socialist labor-union delegates jump in and vote along with the Reds for conventions for such advanced socialism.

There is no chance or present hope of any ILO majority for the freedom in private business and work rights in which the American system devotedly believes. It's almost a Russian deal with a stacked deck.

The ILO long ago put down the United States for 25 percent of the cost of its operation, the largest assessment, as usual, of any participating nation. But, because of frustration about this strange socializing parliament, Congress 2 years ago put a dollar ceiling—$1,750,000—on our contribution.

Some Congressmen now favor raising the ceiling by $214,000 to meet the full 25 percent of this budget, over which neither the United States nor the United Nations has any control. We suggest Congress do nothing of the kind.

If the ILO could have taken the hint, and if its participants had revolted into a majority against Russian policy and tactics, that would be another story. Yet, as Mr. McGrath said the other day, the ILO delegates have insisted on going ahead with a blueprint for a wholly regimented state, which he heard discussed by speakers who ventured that communism might have to be the force to put over this regimentation into socialism.

The News thinks Congress should push the dollar ceiling down as a more vigorous hint, and, if that didn't work, take the advice of its disgusted free-enterprise delegates and get out.

Where is the commonsense in supporting any arm of the U. N. which spends its entire time throwing Socialist programs at us which the American people are bound to reject with scorn and indignation? Or are we getting closer to some unappetizing Bricker treaty amendment to protect us from our own willful playing with fire?

New Weapons Doom Many Defense Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, one of Washington's most astute columnists writing on Government personnel problems is Joseph Young, of the Washington, D. C., Evening Star.

In a recent column, he discussed the future dislocation of civilian employees in the Department of Defense due to the change that is gradually taking place within that Department with the adoption of new weapons and newly devised organizations. The column appeared on June 26, 1957. I commend its careful reading to all who have large defense installations in their districts:

NEW WEAPONS DOOM MANY DEFENSE JOBS

(By Joseph Young)

A heavy dislocation of civilian employees in the Army, Air Force, and Navy Department is expected during the next year.

Fortunately for civilian employees in the defense agencies in the Washington area, this impact will not be felt much here. But the field service is expected to be hit heavily.

Although the total number of defense civilian jobs will not be materially changed, a lot of employees are due to lose their positions.

The reason is that the defense agencies are gradually changing to different type operations. Added emphasis on missile programs and nuclear weapons necessitate the opening of new installations and the expansion of others.

To do this within the present civilian employed strength, other defense units will either have to be curtailed or closed down to make way for the new and expanded installations.

This means that some employees will lose their jobs to make possible the hiring of other workers in new activities.

Since special skills are needed for the new types of jobs and since the opening and closing of defense installations rarely will occur in the same area, it will be virtually impossible for displaced employees to find other jobs in new defense units.

The impact of this can be eased somewhat if the Senate restores some of the fund cuts made by the House in the Defense Department's 1958 budget requests. It would permit some defense units to continue present operation. But even so, defense officials say many civilian workers will lose their jobs.

In the Washington area, defense agency employees are more fortunate. Since they serve mainly in an administrative capacity for units in the field, employees here will not be affected much by the changes in the field as long as the total number of civilian workers in the field remains about the same.

Washington area employees in the defense agencies, however, are affected by the 12-percent cut in administrative personnel strength that has been ordered for defense units in this area by Secretary Wilson, starting July 1. The agencies will try to achieve as many of the reductions as possible through attrition—by not filling vacancies. However, some layoff notices will have to be issued.

The Cost-Price Squeeze Hurts People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, an editorial from the Perham Enterprise Bulletin, a newspaper in my district, hits the farmer's cost-price squeeze. I ask permission to insert this very pertinent editorial which was reprinted in the Henning Advocate, June 27, 1957:

SQUEEZE CONTINUES

The Gallup poll has discovered that the farm revolt against the Republican Party is increasing. A recent sampling shows that 48 percent of the farmers think the Democratic Party is better for the farmers, while only 20 percent think the GOP is their best champion.

To those of us living in the Midwest, this is no surprise, and no mystery. The cost-price squeeze has put a sizable crimp in the farmers' net income. Worse than that, the end of the squeeze is not in sight. This uncertainty is probably as much a factor in the farmers' political thinking as the actual squeeze itself.

It also dominates the thinking of all persons directly dependent upon the farmer for their livelihood. Businessmen have absorbed about all the price increases they can. As the prices go up, sales in the farm areas drop off.

"The average prices we receive wouldn't be so bad," say the farmers, "if the things we buy would stay in line."

They, of course, haven't stayed in line, and are likely to get farther out of line. Big business and big labor seem to have formed an alliance. Labor gets a wage boost, industry adds that on plus a big slice for itself and shoves the whole package in the consumers' shoes. How long this can go on, we won't even guess. All we know is that a wage boost that isn't accompanied by increased production is inflationary and unfair to the rest of the public. Ditto for unwarranted price increases.

Country newspapers are really getting the squeeze, too. Cost of newsprint is up 300

percent in a period of less than 10 years. Not only that, but the product is inferior, difficult to put through the types of presses and folders used in country shops. Labor costs have about doubled. Delays of any kind have become costly. Repair costs are out of this world; and revenues are down. Something will have to give pretty soon.

We don't think this administration has been sufficiently tough on the price gougers. Gentle warnings have gone unheeded. Something more drastic is overdue if a bust is to be avoided.

H. R. 11 Would Operate Against Monopolization of Oil Industry by International Oil Combines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, heretofore I have referred to propaganda distributed by representatives of the international oil combines in opposition to H. R. 11. On January 28 I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at page 930, on January 29 at page 1102, and again on February 5 at page 1402, quotations from and citations to documentary evidence of a false front lobbying campaign which had been planned and organized by the international oil combines against H. R. 11. Since then the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, has held extensive hearings dealing with that subject and has more fully documented the evidence on that point.

Until we analyze the situation, it is difficult to understand the reasons why the international oil combines and other major oil companies associated directly with them have gone to such lengths in their opposition to H. R. 11. However, once we look into the matter, then their reasons are perfectly clear. They want to gain a complete monopoly control over our domestic oil industry as they have gained monopoly control over the international oil trade. Standing in the way of that accomplishment are the independent producers, refiners, and distributors in our great American petroleum industry.

There is a means by which these giant international oil combines can destroy the independent producers, refiners, and distributors of our domestic petroleum industry. That means is the use of the practice of price discrimination. H. R. 11 would curb the practice of price discrimination. Therefore, the giant international oil combines oppose it.

Recently I wrote Mr. Gordon M. Robb, of Houston, Tex., a letter in which I pointed out the dangers in allowing these giant international oil combines and those associated with them to continue the practice of price discrimination. I believe that the Members may be interested in reading the letter I wrote to Mr. Robb because in it I have tried to dispel some of the misinformation and clear up some of the misunderstandings about H. R. 11. That letter is as follows:

APRIL 29, 1957.

Mr. GORDON M. ROBB,
Houston, Tex.

DEAR MR. ROBB: I thank you for writing me on April 22, 1957, about H. R. 11 to amend section 2 (b) of the Robinson-Patman Act.

Your interest in this proposed legislation is appreciated. It does appear, however, that someone has misinformed you concerning the possible effects of this proposed legislation on various methods of doing business.

Enclosed is a copy of H. R. 11. It is a simple and modest proposal. You will note that it provides that the "good faith" meeting of competition shall be a complete defense to a charge that a seller has unlawfully discriminated in price unless the effect of the discrimination would be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly.

The reason why we must have a law to curb price discrimination is that without such a curb big competitors destroy small competitors without respect to efficiency or other merits, and the result is that all business tends to end up in a monopoly.

By discriminating in price, a big seller may destroy his smaller competitors even when all competitors receive their supplies at the same price and have the same unit operating cost. But when discrimination is a general practice in business, the bigger competitors receive another unearned advantage in the price they pay for supplies, and they almost inevitably use this advantage to destroy smaller competitors.

Some of us thought that we had solved this problem and had placed some reasonable limits on price discrimination by passage of the Robinson-Patman Act in 1936. But the majority opinion of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil (Indiana) case drove a serious loophole into the law. According to this opinion, a seller is justified in discriminating in price as between his competing customers, when he is meeting the price offered by a competitor to one of those customers no matter to what extent competition may be destroyed.

H. R. 11 simply says that such discriminations will not be permitted where the effect may be, in the language of the bill, "substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly."

If we do not have effective laws against monopoly and against unfair methods of creating monopoly, countless small businesses will be needlessly destroyed, and, in fact, the whole country will be hurt by high prices, low production, unemployment, and slow progress.

The fully integrated major oil companies with international connections and facilities are among the worst offenders against our antitrust laws. They, as the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, have utilized the practice of price discrimination to eliminate independent oil producers, refiners, and distributors.

Recently I had some research done regarding the decline in the number of active and inactive oil refining companies in the United States. In that connection it was found that in 1920 the number of such companies totaled 274. In 1950 the total number of active and inactive small refining companies had dropped to 193. I am informed that at the end of 1955 the total number of refinery companies stood at 179. Included in that are the 30 major integrated, international oil combines. Thus, the total of independent refinery companies in the United States at the end of 1955 stood at 149. That number is growing smaller.

Thus, you can see that if the trend to monopoly based on monopolistic practices such as price discrimination and other factors continues, it will not be long before independent oil producers will have no independent oil refineries as markets for their products. The international major oil companies will constitute the only markets. Then the prices the independent oil producers will receive will be the prices the international oil companies decide they wish to pay.

In view of these circumstances I am not surprised that the opposition to H. R. 11 and to other proposals to strengthen the laws against monopolistic price discriminations has been led by the major oil companies. I have made some speeches on the floor of the House about this. Enclosed for your information is a reprint of some of these recent statements.

I trust that this information will be found to be responsive to your inquiry of April 22.

With best wishes and kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN.

Deficit Financing by Poultry Farmers: Five Cents To Pay for Eight-Cent Feed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, more letters are arriving in my office relating stories about unbelievably low egg prices being received by my farm constituents. Under unanimous consent I insert a letter from farmers in Crookston, Minn., together with a clipping showing eggs top grade at 21 cents per dozen, and old hens selling for about 40 cents apiece, whereas the chicks cost the farmer 35 cents apiece. That is 5 cents gained by the chick, but does not include cost of feed to produce those chickens, costing 8 cents per pound:

CROOKSTON, MINN., *July 1, 1957.*

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
Member of Congress.

DEAR COYA: I am sending you one egg receipt for each month of the year up to July so you may see the prices and grading.

LOCAL PRODUCE
(Courtesy Peterson-Biddick Co.)

	Cents
Poultry:	
Old roosters	0.07
Hens	.08
Eggs:	
P. B. Grade	.21
A grade, medium	.18
B grade, large	.18
Butterfat:	
Sweet	.63
No. 1 sour	.60
No. 2 sour	.57

Local Canadian exchange: Exchanged at 3 percent premium.

The "less" is the commercial feed and oyster shell and grit purchased.

I am also enclosing the Saturday, June 29, egg and poultry market so you can see eggs are down again.

This spring we paid 35 cents apiece for our pullets and at 8 cents per pound for hens we will have to sell the old hens for about 40 cents apiece (which we did last fall also).

I hope this information will be of some help to you in relaying it to the Secretary.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. GEORGE L. HAGEN.

A Fresh New Approach to the Problem of Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Miss Melissa E. Bingeman, has come forward with an interesting suggestion for meeting one aspect of the problem of juvenile delinquency. She suggests institution of a special honor system in our schools designed to rip the false mask from those who protect their classmates from detection by misapplying their parents' admonition not to tattle.

Today, in all too many instances, the false code or mask makes dishonor look like honor and thus makes the problem worse. Miss Bingeman suggests that a solution lies with the students themselves, through their own student-council leaders. They are the ones who are suffering from the stigma caused by the bad example of the few, and they know how the code operates and how to buck it.

Under Miss Bingeman's proposals, student leaders would frame a new honor code by means of which our young people would pledge not to protect, by their silence, any wrongdoing by their contemporaries.

Certainly, it is to hoped that youth reforms can come from within as much as possible. It is a big problem, but through continued dedication of interested parties, new and fresh approaches, such as outlined in this plan, may find the answers.

Already the new honor code has caught on in the city of Rochester, N. Y., where most of the original supply of 10,000 copies of the proposal have been called for. I hope it will gain as ready an acceptance in other parts of the country, as well.

Miss Bingeman deserves high praise not only for the clarity of her presentation of the problem, but for coming up with what appears to be a sound and workable solution.

Copies of her leaflet which details the problem and plan are available to any high school students—not teachers—in the country who will write to the Art Print Shop, 77 St. Paul Street, Rochester 4, N. Y. The cost is approximately $20 per thousand copies, but it is suggested that interested parties should write first for the latest estimated costs.

I hope every Member will take time to read this piece, as reprinted below, and will make efforts to interest their constitutents in this honor code. Under leave previously granted, I insert at this point, this thoughtful and unique leaflet.

A NEW ANGLE ON DELINQUENCY—WHAT DO YOU THINK OF IT?

Nowadays every newspaper or magazine you pick up has something to say about delinquency. An editorial in the Democrat and Chronicle, when the Salk vaccine was announced, said "We need another vaccine—a vaccine for delinquency." Delinquency is like polio in two ways; (1) it doesn't hit very many, (2) but it can work havoc on those it does hit. Both of them can cripple their victims; polio cripples physically, delinquency cripples morally. While some patients recover, many are crippled for life.

Salk vaccine reduces illness from only one cause—polio; it doesn't help in the case of broken bones, cancer, heart disease, kindney disease, pneumonia or tuberculosis, the main killers of youth. We do not give Salk vaccine for cancer nor safety lectures for pneumonia: each different malady requires a different preventive or cure. In the same way delinquency has many causes, and for each cause a different preventive or cure is needed. Here is offered a remedy for only one of its causes.

SOME CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY

Some causes are recognized, but there is one important cause which has not been recognized because it is disguised. It wears a handsome mask. This is the one for which a preventive is proposed.

Among the delinquency causes that are recognized are poor home conditions, such as overcrowding, poverty, lack of parental control, lack of love or understanding, harshness or slackness). Then there are alcohol, narcotics, degrading pictures, bad adult example, criminal and delinquent associates; there may be too many unfilled wants, too little money, or too much money and too much free time—not enough constructive things to do to use up teen-age energy.

AN UNRECOGNIZED CAUSE OF DELINQUENCY—THE CROOK IN THE MASK

This crook has fooled many youngsters into thinking that loyalty and honor require them to keep mum about every kind of wrongdoing by other youngsters. This protects the thief and vandal by reducing detection, identification, apprehension and conviction. So it increases crime and delinquency; for if a kid can get away with it he is apt to continue and to do things that are even worse. The crook, hiding behind that false face (called a code of honor) makes many kids think it is worse to report a crime than to commit it, worse to identify the culprit than to commit the crime.

THE CROOK PROVIDES IMMUNITY

This false idea of honor protects the crook, instead of protecting the school and the community, and lets the delinquent get off scot free. It provides immunity.

When you add immunity to temptation and opportunity, you get a combination that can explode into crime. Temptation often comes from inside of us; opportunity is supplied by unlocked automobiles, self-serve stores, and by modern social freedoms.

At the same time there are two strong influences that keep kids going straight—character and consequences. The great majority of kids go straight because of character; others, because of the probable consequences of going crooked. When the imposter, wearing that beautiful mask labeled "honor," keeps them from having to face the consequences of their misdeeds, they become bolder, sometimes becoming chronic delinquents graduating into chronic criminals.

MULTIPLICATION, NOT ADDITION

Delinquency which results from immunity can also multiply the delinquency from all the other causes, by combining with them. In this, again, it it is like disease. Two of Rochester's most eminent physicians[1] tell us that there are some mild ailments that can become deadly if they strike a person who already has some other mild ailment. This happens, they say, when a person with an inactive TB germ breathes silica dust (which can cause a disease of the lungs) or when a person with a mild anemia (too few red blood corpuscles) is hit by one of a number of other ailments. The two mild causes together can cause a flareup that is fatal.

This is true also when immunity (provided by the false code) is added to any of the other causes of delinquency or crime. When you remove the fear of consequences, you give delinquency and crime the green light. It may have been this combining of immunity with the other causes of delinquency that brought about the increase during the First World War; then in the prosperity period of the 1920's; then in the depression of the thirties; then in the Second World War, followed by the Korean war, then the cold war, and now the uncertainty of military service. Each of these brought a rise in delinquency, for they combined with the immunity provided by the false honor code and caused a flareup into delinquency.

BYPRODUCT OF THE CODE

One of the effects of the false code is that it throws to the wolves the children and teen-agers who never intended to be vandals or crooks, but who somehow got caught in a web of circumstances from which they could not free themselves. They have been forced by the code, and against their own will, to protect the guilty secrets of others, or to take part in vandalism or other crimes.

SPECIAL DANGER REQUIRES SPECIAL SAFEGUARDING

Just as mountain climbers rope themselves together so that if one slips the others can pull him back to safety, so kids who are in danger from delinquent companions, or other temptations, need the support of other youngsters to keep them from falling. The fellow students of a school, through a genuine code of honor, can be such a rope. In our high schools are the separate strands, but they have never been bound together into a rope.

THE DELINQUENCY BAROMETER

We know that a falling barometer means there is a storm ahead; and the delinquency barometer has been falling. FBI figures show that the average age of delinquents has steadily declined. The average prison age dropped from 23 to 19 between 1944 and 1953. In 1953 one-half of the burglaries were by boys under 18, and a large proportion of them under 16.

J. Edgar Hoover told Congressman KEATING, recently, that in 1955, 1 out of every 35 youths from 10 to 17, was arrested, that 576,000 under 18 were taken into custody in the United States, this being an increase of 11 percent over the previous calendar year; that (at present) 42 percent of all persons arrested for major crimes are persons under 18, and of that number, one-half are under the age of 15.

Or, listen to this (from official sources): "Delinquency has increased 45 percent over the past few years"; and an FBI report says: "The national crime rate has been climbing steadily at an appalling 10 percent a year to a record of 2 million major offenses over the whole country." The FBI Uniform Crime Reports for 1955, says: The 1955 property loss was about $339 million (offset by a police recovery rate of about 57 percent), and: "The percentage rise in crime since 1950 is almost three times that of the increase in population"; moreover, "latent demoralization, destruction of respect for the law, and juvenile delinquency go along with violent crime."

SO WHAT

So boys are learning, earlier, that when they indulge in vandalism no one will "squeal"; that the other kids will, by their silence, protect the thief, the arsonist, the burglar, the pickpocket, the light-breaker, the window-smasher, the ink-thrower.

[1] Dr. Wm. Alfred Sawyer and Dr. George H. Whipple.

They learn that they can carry brass knuckles, switch-blade knives, and even guns, with impunity; for not only their own pals (who also are guilty) but the decent boys and girls, neighbors, and fellow students who have broken no laws, destroyed no property, injured no one, have been fooled by the false face that makes dishonor look like honor. They have been fooled into thinking it is honorable to shield the criminal.

THE TRAGIC RESULT

Apparently many people blame all youth, the innocent as well as the guilty, for the increase in deliquency. To such unthinking people the word "teen-ager" means delinquent. Letters to editors in our daily papers, often point out how unfair this is. "There are good youngsters, too," they protest. The trouble is that the good youngsters have not been heard from; their lips have been sealed by the imposter in the mask, who has not allowed them to declare themselves. He has fooled the parents, too. One father was overheard saying to his son: "Don't you tell—I don't want my son called a snitcher."

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?—UNMASK THE CROOK

It is the decent youngsters who can do it. They, and they only can tear away the mask and show up the falseness which now compels the law-abiding, straight-shooting youth to take sides with the law-breaker, and against the law.

Before offering a blueprint for scrapping the false code it may be useful to take a look at how it developed.

This should also show us how to reestablish a true code of honor.

WHO MADE THE MASK IN THE FIRST PLACE?

The grownups made the mask. They tried so hard to teach their children not to tattle that they fell into danger of another kind; like the man in his car at the railroad crossing. He was waiting for the Black Diamond to pass. It made such a racket, with its pounding wheels, that he did not hear the freight train approaching from the other direction. It was the freight that killed him. He was just as dead as though he had been hit by the Black Diamond.

In the same way, we tried so hard to teach children not to tattle, that we gave them the idea that all telling was tattling. We did not take the time or the trouble to teach them what kind of telling is tattling, and what kind is duty. If a child turns on the gas, or plays with matches, for example, there is danger, and it must be stopped or reported. Such telling is duty. But we did not get the idea across to the children. They cannot be expected to know what telling is tattling, and what is duty, unless they are taught. Too many have never been taught; they grow up with the wrong idea.

MAKING THE MASK

When grownups label all telling as tattling they are making the mask. Then, when children reach school-age they soon find out that telling anything on anyone, turns their schoolmates against them; for these schoolmates have usually had the same kind of home training.

FOOLED BY THE FALSE FACE

By the time children are 10 or 12 years old they realize that they want to be popular, and they have learned that, in the eyes of their schoolmates, it is worse to tell who stole the bicycle, than to steal it; worse to tell who broke the street lights than to break them; worse to tell who threw the snowball at the windshield, and caused an accident, than it was to throw it; worse to tell who smashed the window, than to smash it. This is discouraging to the child who wants, and expects, to do what is right, but expects others to do it too. They are forced to do 1 of 2 wrong things, and there is no right way open to them. This is frustrating to those who have a sense of justice, and may have a lifelong effect.

At the same time it encourages the child who "got away with it" to do it again, or to try something even worse. Thus it has come about that in the teen-age world it is a worse offense to identify the violator than to commit the violation.

Long before boys and girls leave high school many have adopted this phony code as their own; so they take it with them when they enter college, or the Army, business, the professions, or when they take a job. They will continue to protect the cheat, the thief, the fraud who is victimizing the firm, the Army, the Government, the city, just as they, by their silence, had protected the cheat, the bully, the thief and the vandal while still in school. We can see signs of this all around us and in newspaper headlines.

AN OLD STORY

Our fathers and grandfathers grew up with this same false code. This may be one reason why crime and delinquency have increased so steadily. While we have feared, and wondered at, this growing evil, we have failed to realize the effect it has had on the decent, honorable, self-respecting boys and girls, kids with character and a sense of responsibility. They have not only been immobilized, they have been muzzled by the phony code. They have been kept from taking a united stand.

When they come up against a situation where their knowledge of wrong-doing could stop it, they have three choices: (1) They can ignore it; (2) they can report it secretly, surreptitiously, with assurance that no one will never know where the information came from; (3) they can report it openly, and take the consequence in vituperation, ostracism, retaliation; they can be branded as informers, rats. All are repugnant.

Is it any wonder that usually they do nothing.

THIS IS THE DILEMMA; WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

The answer is: Unmask the crook.

Only the teen-agers can do it. They are in the high schools; therefore the high schools can do it, under the leadership of their elected student councils. It is their fight. They are the ones imposed upon; it is from their ranks that delinquents and criminals are recruited; it is their example that younger children follow; it is they who will be the parents of the next generation; and they know better than does anyone else, how the phony code operates, and what it will mean to buck it. They know the moral and physical courage that will be required.

The Army, the Navy, the Marines, the Air Force know that there are in every service posts that can best be filled by youth; yet in this war on crime and delinquency youth has been deprived of its opportunity to serve, deprived by the false (or spurious) coating on our honor code, and, as a consequence all youth has been unjustly blamed for the acts of criminal youth. This is the fault of the false coating on the code, and not the fault of the rank and file of teen-agers; they do not lack either integrity or courage.

DECLARATION OF WAR ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

The student body of any high school has the right and the power to frame its own honor code. They have the right to say that they will not protect, by their silence, any act or situation which injures, or is apt to injure others, or the property of others.

Several Rochester schools have already taken this step, although it is not generally known. This points to the second step: The newly adopted code needs to be published, so that the general public will know that pupils of that school will not, by their silence, protect vandals or criminals.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY MANIFESTO

The high school student council, on behalf of the student body, can give the newspaper a copy of their official honor code, with the date on which it is to become effective, and not retroactive. At the same time a copy can be posted on the main bulletin board of the school, also with the effective date. As past delinquencies would not count, all students could support the code without losing face.

A WORKING MODEL

Different schools would probably use different plans for carrying out their new code. One possible way would be to authorize all members of the student council to receive reports of code violations—that is of acts that endanger people or property. All such reports of violations would be considered at the next meeting of the council; and when actual violations are reported, the case could be posted on the bulletin board, under the code, and without the names of the perpetrators or the reporters. The school, or its student body, not the individual, would be responsible.

THE EFFECT

One effect would be that the responsibility for reporting infractions of the code is shared by the entire school; another is that all taint of dishonor or of treachery, or lack of loyalty, is removed by the public announcement which is also a warning that intentional injury of persons or property will be recorded and made known.

CAN WE GO INTO REVERSE?

Can people reverse their ideas? Those who doubt it need only to remind themselves that the population of the United States once reversed itself on an important issue inside of 1 hour, on December 7, 1941, the hour of the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, when public opinion turned a complete somersault. There are also many people who remember the amused contempt with which the FBI was once regarded, and how quickly it changed to trust and admiration when J. Edgar Hoover took over.

NOT A NEW IDEA

There is really nothing new in the idea that a good citizen should support the law as against the lawbreaker. We expect it of our police, our public servants, our Government representatives, and Government officials. We do not consider them as petty, or snitching or ratting when they uphold the law. Nor do we consider them noble if they are false to their country, community, or their job in order to cover up some misdeed or crime committed by an associate or friend.

WE HAVE BEEN TWICE FOOLED

First, the imposter fooled us by telling us it is disloyal to be true to school and community if that involves getting anyone into trouble; then he fooled us again by telling us we withhold information as a matter of honor, when, actually, it is more often a matter of fear: fear of contempt, of ostracism, of reprisal. It seems harder to be brave when it brings denunciation than when it brings medals.

THERE IS REASON FOR FEAR

Our present code makes some youngsters think the criminal is the hero, and that his victim is the criminal. This was so in a case reported by the United States Senate Subcommittee on Delinquency. It tells the story of the boy, Eddie, who had been demanding, and getting, money from his schoolmates. One day he asked Harry for a dollar, but Harry didn't have one. So Eddie warned him to have it sure by 3 o'clock that afternoon. Harry borrowed a dollar, to avoid being beaten up. But that borrowed dollar was the means of convicting Eddie.

His school friends, however, considered Eddie the hero, and Harry the villain. "There's the guy who squealed," they yelled, as they pounced on Harry and his friends, who were returning from a high-school dance.

"Nine boys leaped out of a pursuing car. By the time the police arrived the attackers had escaped." Harry was taken to the hospital, with severe cuts and bruises, and an injured back. One of his companions suffered a broken jaw, and required surgery; the third boy was knocked down, kicked, given two black eyes. Several of the nine did not even know Harry; they had been asked to help beat up a "squealer."

This is typical of what the Senate committee uncovered. It shows that physical as well as moral courage will be needed. The crook in the mask has been making monkeys of the decent kids long enough.

SIZING UP THE ENEMY

In war it is important to know the strength and strategy of an enemy. In this case the enemy consists of those who deliberately take advantage of the phony code in order to steal, damage property, or indulge in other crimes. Enemy strategy calls for the use of epithets (snitching, ratting, etc.), and sometimes for a beating, or worse.

Advance notice, well publicized, that after a certain date no decent pupil of the school will protect vandalism or other crime by withholding information, would forestall any possible charge of treachery, and would discourage reprisal.

THE BEST DEFENSE IS OFFENSE

This is a recognized principle. Positive, not just negative action is needed. The first objective would be to reduce crime and delinquency in the area of the school. The published manifesto would discourage vandalism on the part of younger children, as well as of teen-agers. This could develop into the most important, the most exciting contest ever staged—the contest to see what community can reduce its crime and its delinquency the most, or the fastest.

TEEN-AGE POTENTIAL UNLIMITED

The teen-age potential is unlimited for either good or ill: but the potential for ill has had free rein. It is proposed that its potential for good be unleashed. Here, in our high schools, are all the qualities needed to scrap the false code, and the flood of lawlessness which it has spawned, and to establish a realistic code of honor. Here we have intelligence, both moral and physical courage, initiative, tenacity, faith, endurance, enthusiasm, resourcefulness, idealism, and surely an abundance of incentive and power.

When high-school teen-agers realize that a small minority has been able to stigmatize their entire generation, they will awaken, and take over. When that happens, nothing will be able to stop them.

Immigration Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, one of the most challenging legislative problems before the Congress is equitable revision of our current immigration laws.

I am pleased to enclose an erudite explanation of this problem contained in an article, by Josephine Ripley, which appeared in the April 25, 1957, issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

The editorial follows:

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

(By Josephine Ripley)

Congress is not believed to be in any mood for a drastic overhauling of the Nation's immigration laws. No hearings on either the administration or Democratic immigration bills have been scheduled. It has been suggested that the Senate Immigration Subcommittee may get around to the subject after the Easter recess, but there is nothing definite.

President Eisenhower has twice asked Congress to permit more immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. The 84th Congress did nothing in that direction. The present Congress may, it is thought, approve a few minor changes in the law, but no major ones. This thinking is based on the fact that the makeup of the Senate has changed but little from 1952 when the legislators defiantly overrode a Truman veto of the present McCarran-Walter Act.

Observers see no fundamental change in immigration theory on either side of Capitol Hill, Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, coauthor of the law, is in a strategic position as chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration. He is opposed to opening the immigration gates any wider.

Also, the emotional drive for refugee admission following the Hungarian revolt has subsided. Admission of Hungarian refugees has slowed to a trickle. Some 31,000 or so have been admitted to this country so far. More than 100,000 have been resettled in other nations.

The President has asked Congress to give those Hungarians "paroled" into the country under an emergency statute the status of regular immigrants.

But Congress is not considered ready for any change in the national-origins quota system. This system was established in 1924, and reaffirmed in 1952 in the McCarran-Walter law. It restricts immigration from southern and eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. It gives the largest quotas to Britain, Ireland, and Germany from which lands came the bulk of the country's first immigrants.

As one step, the President has asked that the quota system be based on the 1950 census population instead of the 1920 census, as at present. This, in itself, would effect a change in the national-origins quota, since the later figures would reflect the increased migration from other countries.

There will be strong opposition to the switch if and when the measure comes up. But should pressure for an overhauling of the present immigartion law be more forceful than expected, it is considered possible this change in the census date might be conceded as the least obnoxious to opponents of the changes proposed.

Few who follow immigration legislation have any expectation that Congress will agree to the President's recommendation for a pooling of unused quotas to be distributed "on a first-come first-served basis." But there is some reason to believe the legislators may go along with the President's request for a cancellation of "mortgages" on existing quotas. These "mortgages" were incurred during the displaced-persons program, when admissions were charged against future quotas.

If approved, this cancellation will open the way for somewhat increased immigration from the Mediterranean areas and the Orient.

It is probable, too, that Congress may look favorably on the President's proposal for the admission of orphans adopted by American citizens abroad.

Present immigration laws fix a basic quota of 154,857 annually. Some 60,000 of these quota numbers expire unused each year. They cannot be carried over. Immigration over and above that figure must be by special legislation. Special circumstances have prompted such legislation, as in the case of some 336,000 displaced persons admitted to the United States over a 4-year period following World War II, and some 209,000 who came in under the Refugee Relief Act, which expired last December.

In the year ended June 30, 1956, 321,625 immigrants entered this country. With the new Hungarian influx, the number is expected to be even larger this year. Also there is no limit on immigration from Puerto Rico. Being United States citizens, Puerto Ricans may enter the country at will, and do so at the rate of about 200,000 a year.

Under the administration's proposals, it is estimated that regular quota immigration—normally about 250,000 a year—would increase to between 400,000 and 500,000. Large numbers of people in Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece are already awaiting opportunity to migrate to this country.

But Congress, in its traditional reluctance to revise immigration patterns and policies, is not expected to authorize any major changes, although some immigration legislation—if only to regularize the status of Hungarian parolees—may be passed before the session ends.

Southern California's Do-It-Yourself Motto Turns Desert Into Oasis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Harry Karns has written in the Long Beach Independent Press-Telegram of the magnificent water system conceived and executed by southern Californians. It has turned a desert into an oasis. It also points out a do-it-yourself lesson to those who turn to the Federal Government seeking answers for problems they should solve themselves.

Mr. Karns wrote as follows:

HOW GREEN IS OUR DESERT?

(By Harry Karns)

We of southern California live in an oasis at the end of a 600-mile waterline. Our destiny is coupled to a strand of pipe.

Without that waterline we could never have grown to be the teeming, vigorous population center that we are. Nor could we anticipate the millions yet to come to this western El Dorado.

The water we pump from the earth is not enough. Nature is too capricious with its wet and dry cycles.

Three decades ago southern Californians, living beside an ocean of salt water, began to understand that lack of fresh water could wither the ambition they had for this region. They went hunting for an extra supply.

They found it in the Colorado River, hundreds of miles away, locked in by deserts and mountains. To tap this improbable source they spanned the deserts with pipelines and canals and cut tunnels through the mountains they could not scale. They brought the water through.

Today the Metropolitan Water District's Colorado River aqueduct, the longest and biggest domestic water-supply line in the United States, ranks as one of the 10 engineering wonders of the world.

There is something else marvelous about all this. Big and costly though it is, the aqueduct system of the metropolitan water district is not subsidized in any way by the United States Government.

Early this year, President Eisenhower toured the drought area of Middle Western States, afterward promised Federal aid, but noted that the basic need is for greater local responsibility and long-range planning.

He might well have cited southern California as an example of what can be done when men look ahead with the will to solve their own problems.

The metropolitan water district was formed in 1928. Long Beach was one of the 13 original cities that made it up. In the face of the great depression, the voters of these cities bonded themselves in 1931 for $220 million to build the Colorado aqueduct.

In the depth of the depression, they built the main aqueduct from the Colorado in Arizona to Lake Mathews, near Riverside. Mathews, the terminal storage reservoir, is largest of 9 on the 593-mile-long system.

Five pumping stations hoist water 1,617 feet over mountains. Water pours through 92 miles of tunnels, 63 miles of concrete-lined canals, 55 miles of concrete conduit, 29 miles of inverted siphons, and 351 miles of distribution lines.

This water emerges from spigots, faucets, and hydrants in Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, San Bernardino, and Riverside Counties to make our desert green and to supplement the local supplies of more than 6 million people.

Since 1952 the district has been increasing its capacity. Eventually it will be able to deliver a billion gallons of water a day—twice as much as at present—for an additional 4 million residents. Anyone who thinks this is unnecessarily ambitious should remember that 1 out of every 25 persons in the United States today lives in southern California, and the population influx continues.

Certainly the term "lifeline" was never more aptly applied than to that long water line from the Colorado River.

Protecting it is, obviously, a vital chore. The pipeline is so constructed that MWD engineers know instantly of any breakage. During World War II every pumping station in the system was designated as a restricted area. Now, as then, the full length of the line is patrolled. Reservoirs, too, are closely guarded. (Even the officials of the water district are prohibited from as much as fishing in Mathews.)

Meanwhile, millions of gallons of Colorado River water are released yearly in Los Angeles and Orange Counties and allowed to spread out and seep into the earth to replenish underground supplies, which are almost impossible to sabotage or contaminate.

In his ever more urgent quest for that ever more vital commodity, water, man has turned to the ocean. Some day, he is confident, he will be able to convert salt water into fresh by an economical process. We of southern California have a whole ocean at our front door. What, then, of pipelines to distant rivers?

First, the sources now available and the means of tapping them cannot be neglected on a hope which may be many years in maturing.

Second, if and when salt water conversion becomes practical, there will remain the problem of distribution—and the metropolitan water district distribution system is the most elaborate in the land.

The men who conceived this system saw further into the future than even they supposed.

Questions and Answers on H. R. 11, an Amendment to Robinson-Patman Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, during recent days the Members have referred to me questions received by them regarding H. R. 11. Effort has been made to supply answers to the Members who referred to questions. However, some questions have been repeated a number of times. Therefore, for the benefit of Members and others I shall insert in the RECORD at this point answers I have made to a number of those questions. The questions and answers are as follows:

1. Question. Why do we have Federal laws against price discrimination?

Answer. Congress conducted extensive investigations respecting the practice of price discrimination during the periods of 1875–90, 1912–14, and 1935–36, and so did the Bureau of Corporations during the period 1903–14 and its successor, the Federal Trade Commission, during the period 1926–34. Each of those investigations uncovered an abundance of evidence demonstrating that the practice of price discrimination was used widely by large sellers with the effect and result of destroying competition and creating monopolies. Therefore, Congress acted to curb the practice of price discrimination because it had been found to be a monopolistic practice.

2. Question. Why is H. R. 11 needed?

Answer. The Federal Trade Commission in its official formal report on H. R. 11 to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, March 12, 1957, in effect stated that the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the *Standard Oil Company of Indiana* v. *Federal Trade Commission* (340 U. S. 231) and other recent decisions in similar cases have made it clear that notwithstanding Federal legislation against price discrimination a large seller may now discriminate in price even where the effect may be to substantially lessen competition and tend to create a monopoly. Therefore, the Commission stated that it is of the opinion that the objectives of H. R. 11 * * * are of sufficient importance to the effective operation of the Clayton Act that such legislation should be enacted without awaiting further case by case development.

In the light of those circumstances it appears that it is time for each of us to reexamine our position on the question of whether we are for a free and competitive enterprise system or for a system of monopoly. When that is done, I am confident that a majority will be found who are still opposed to a substantial lessening of competition and a tendency to monopoly and are therefore in favor of H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill. It is a bill against monopolies.

3. Question. Would the law as amended by H. R. 11 apply to local sales by retail stores?

Answer. No. The law applies only to interstate sales and shipments.

4. Question. Would the law as amended by H. R. 11 apply to local sales by wholesalers?

Answer. It would apply only to interstate sales and shipments. Therefore, since wholesalers and jobbers ordinarily sell only in a single State it would not apply to such sales. On March 18, 1957, I made a statement outlining in detail how the equality of opportunity bill, H. R. 11, would and would not apply to independent oil jobbers. That statement appears in the RECORD commencing at page 3429 of March 18, 1957.

5. Question. How will H. R. 11 affect freight absorption?

Answer. The bill will not prevent freight absorption. In the RECORD of March 18, 1957, page A2145, I inserted a statement outlining why it is considered that H. R. 11 will not prevent freight absorption. I refer to that statement for the benefit of those who wish to review more material dealing with that point.

6. Question. Will the law as amended by H. R. 11 prevent sellers from reducing prices to meet competition?

Answer. No. There is nothing in the Clayton Act, the Robinson-Patman Act, or in H. R. 11 forbidding price reductions. Under those provisions of law any seller would remain free to lower his price to any level he chooses to meet competition or for any other purpose. Those provisions of the law do not deal with the question of price reductions. They deal only with the practice of price discrimination.

7. Question. Describe a situation in which the law could be applied if it were amended by H. R. 11.

Answer. Under date of March 8, 1957, the Armstrong Creamery Co., of Wichita, Kans., wrote a letter to Members of Congress and to Members of the Senate in which price discrimination practices of the National Dairy Products Corp. were outlined. That up-to-date instance of price discrimination was described by the Armstrong Creamery Co. as follows:

"Recently the National Dairies Division (Sealtest) at Kansas City lowered the price of ice cream 25 cents per gallon throughout this area. Discounts and all other factors considered, this new price is lower than 97 percent of the sales volume in the area before Sealtest lowered the price. This low price makes it impossible for any dairy to sell ice cream at a profit, and if continued very long will force a number of independent plants out of business. At the same time Sealtest has been raising prices in other areas where competitive situations are as bad, or worse, than they are here.

"The plain fact is that through ineptness and mismanagement, Sealtest has lost a lot of volume in the past few years and has taken this method of regaining their position. Right now they can use the excuse that they are meeting the price of the 3 percent of the volume which was sold at a cutthroat figure (and which will always be sold that way).

"Of course, Sealtest's profits in other areas will more than carry the losses they will take in this one."

The letter of the Armstrong Creamery Co. concluded as have many others I have received from small and independent business concerns in a plea for the passage of H. R. 11. The closing words of that letter were: "It is the only salvation for a great number of independent businesses."

8. Question. Since H. R. 11 is designed to eliminate destructive price discriminations which substantially lessen the competition and tend to create monopoly, who are those opposing it and why?

Answer. Most big business concerns such as National Dairy Products Corp. and the giant major oil companies are opposed to the passage of H. R. 11. Need we discuss the details of why when we have before us examples of the practice of price discrimination such as the one outlined by the Armstrong Creamery Co., of Wichita, Kans.?

Judge Denman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the editorial appearing in the San Francisco Examiner on Saturday, June 29, pertaining to Judge William Denman, who lays down his administrative responsibility as chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, is worth reading.

Judge Denman is more than a great lawyer. He is a great man in the fullest sense of the word and is one of the ties between the old West and the new. The editorial follows:

JUDGE DENMAN

It is characteristic of Judge William Denman that, at the age of 84, he makes it plain his retirement from the bench is only a semiretirement. He has too much zest for life and love of the law to seek the hammock.

Judge Denman will lay down his administrative burdens and full-time duties as chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit; he will, however, continue to sit when needed, as retired Federal judges are authorized to do.

So on this occasion of his semiretirement we seize the opportunity to say that his fellow San Franciscans appreciate his 60 years of service as a public-spirited citizen, gifted lawyer, and distinguished judge. His courageous and independent spirit is a part of San Francisco's treasure house.

An Anniversary in the Cause of Freedom: Jan Hus' Death, July 6, 1415

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, we are approaching a day which is important in the hearts of all Americans of Czech descent: the anniversary of the death of the great Czech patriot, Jan Hus. Burned at the stake on July 6, 1415, Hus was a true martyr in the cause of human liberty.

We recall Jan Hus these many centuries later because his struggle for freedom of expression reminds poignantly that the Czech people lie again today under the yoke of an alien despotism. From the heroes of the past, we can derive renewed confidence in the ultimate destiny of the Czechs to be free once more. I for one believe that the United States Government must seize the initiative and propose a settlement based on the disarmament and liberation of middle Europe.

America is fortunate to have the strength of its citizens of Czech ancestry in building our own sinews of democracy. That is why it is appropriate to pause in the Halls of the United States Congress and take note of the anniversary of Jan Hus' death. Because it is an anniversary in the cause of freedom, it has deep and lasting meaning to all of us.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

[illegible]

Appendix

Centennial Convention of National Education Association—Excerpts From Report by Miss Martha Shull

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the great meetings held in this country during recent years was the 100th anniversary session of the National Education Association, which has demonstrated such continuing leadership in the betterment and improvement of the schools throughout the land.

Presiding over the centennial session of the National Education Association was a high-school teacher from my home city of Portland, Oreg., Martha Shull, of Jefferson High School, who has been president of the NEA for the year 1956–57. This, naturally, was a great honor in which all of us from Oregon have shared vicariously. Although Miss Shull is not of our political party—and even was an active supporter of my opponent during the 1954 senatorial election in Oregon—both Mrs. Neuberger and I join in congratulating her for the distinction of presiding over the century-old convention of an organization as renowned and useful as the National Education Association.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that excerpts from the able and effective president's report, delivered by Miss Martha Shull to the 100th anniversary convention of the NEA, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR CENTENNIAL CONVENTION—ITS OPPORTUNITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES—EXCERPTS FROM REPORT BY MISS MARTHA SHULL

It is now my duty and my pleasure to make a report to you of the activities and the ideas which have developed in this year since July 1956. Because 1957 is the hundredth year, it should be especially significant, but its importance is as a milestone or landmark, not a destination. This convention should be not only a celebration, but also a turning-point in the road to the fullest possible development of human dignity and worth.

In the planning of the program, the staff suggested that for this convention the president's message should deal primarily with the tremendously important business facing the delegates here, because it happens that we are at a turning point and need to look carefully at the roads we may take. It is fitting and proper that on our 100th birthday we do face decisions, and that we use the light of the candles on our anniversary cake and our appraisal of the past to examine carefully the needs and desires toward which we will move in the future. The complete program of meetings and other attractions planned for you by Philadelphia, and by Pennsylvania and New Jersey will make this an enjoyable and profitable week for all members and friends. Please be sure to read all of the program.

It is difficult to compress into one speech all the things I would like to discuss. Our own history is fascinating, and I hope you will read it. Dr. Wesley's account will give you entertainment, understanding, and pride. The vision, initiative, courage, perseverance, and devotion of the founders and of dozens of others after them have made this association an integral and influential part of the remarkable history of education in this country. In its scope, its goals, its achievements, our system of education, is amazing, as is our association.

Amazing also to me has been my year. It has been full of experiences which have confirmed my admiration for people, especially for educators. I have traveled nearly 100,000 miles since last July, including Manila and Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and 32 States. Everywhere there have been charming people and well-planned events. Because I represented the NEA, I was made welcome everywhere. My only sorrow is that I have not been able to write notes of appreciation to all of you generous and helpful people who have so graciously given your time, thought, and friendship.

Certainly the centennial celebrations beginning even before 1957 have made those months unusually colorful. Our centennial is worth celebrating because of the achievements and growth of the past and because of our status and influence in the present, but it is even more important to analyze our position in relation to the amazing new age which is coming as inexorably as the tide, the age of automation and technology—the age which begins to be tangible with the advent of the International Geophysical Year, the age in which marvels of travel and communication and labor-saving devices will become commonplace. The turning point in our road is not clearly marked as such, but it is a dividing point in history. What will be the guidelines of the future? When the 4-day week will produce all the material things that we can possibly use, what will people do with the rest of their time? When jet flight enables us, as the ads say, to have lunch in Paris, dinner in Manhattan, or tea in London and cocktails in Boston, when time takes on a new perspective, what kind of ideas and activities will give it meaning? What can we do to prepare for the profound changes coming into our lives and into the lives of the children we teach?

It is clear that if the basic values of democracy are to survive, education must meet new needs in every area of living. Four are obvious. First, there is the wide field of science and its applications. Technology and automation require that everyone know more science and mathematics than we have needed to know in the past. They require also that larger proportions of people be well trained in these fields; more technicians and more scientists are needed now and will continue to be needed. A second obligation is greater understanding of other parts of the world. International ties are being inextricably drawn by the new media of transportation and communication, and international relationships must be based on valid concepts of what goes on in the lives and minds and hearts of the people all over the world. A third requirement is more understanding of a feeling of responsibility for our kind of government. Governments, like clocks, go from the motions men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them are they ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. In 1682, in his Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania, William Penn said, "Democratic government does indeed depend upon its citizens, upon every citizen."

A fourth and vital need is that of enabling people to be happy, in a profound sense of the word—to see that material possessions and financial success are not the source of happiness: to see that one needs strength to meet difficulties, not a life without difficulties. Somehow we must reconcile and balance the independence of the individual with his need to be part of the group; and faith in enduring values with interest in the rush of scientific discoveries.

No doubt each one here is mentally adding other equally important fields for development. And other new areas will develop.

Now, how can our association move adequately into this new age and meet increasing responsibilities? Shall we continue to travel in a DC–6 whose speed and facilities, though impressive a few years ago, are already quite inferior to those of the DC–7 and which will soon be completely outmoded by jet planes—or shall we modernize our vehicle by means of the proposed expanded program, and try to keep up with the jet age?

I am happy to report that our relations with the Federal Government are very good. This is reflected in President Eisenhower's coming to the Washington NEA centennial birthday party, and his nationwide speech dealing with education. Similarly, the presence of Vice President Nixon, of Postmaster Summerfield and of Secretary Folsom at our centennial convention speaks well for the attention the organized teaching profession receives at the hands of leading officials in our Government today.

Much worthy work in Washington is unseen. For instance, NEA played a major part in preventing a cut in the budget of the United States Office of Education. A member of the NEA staff has worked continuously with the Department of Defense to improve the status of teachers in the American schools operated for military families overseas. Spokesmen for the National Education Association have appeared before committees of Congress to testify on driver education, safety, postal rates, juvenile delinquency.

There are many other areas of service in which we should expand our program. The field of legislation and Federal and State relations has tremendous possibilities, if we can add field workers and resources for travel and printing. Wider understanding and cooperative action would further strengthen our legislative program. In many ways State associations and the NEA can supplement and complement each other in the now-developing State relations plan.

A second area in which action at the national level is tremendously important is that of public relations. This includes also the equally challenging and relatively unexplored area of lay relations. Undoubtedly, public relations starts in the classroom, and all of us are engage in it constantly; but we need the help of experts. It is essential for the continued development of our schools that more people understand what they are doing and help decide what more they should do. The mediums of mass communication

have great influence, and because education now has some degree of popular appeal, our press and radio division has secured the active participation of the NEA and in several TV and radio enterprises. With more funds and more staff, much more could be done. Similarly, we have moved forward in working with other national organizations. We have six joint committees, and we have taken part in a variety of meetings with other groups. Through such contacts there is exchange of information and ideas which is helpful to everyone. Much more money is needed in the budget for such projects; the budget committee is recommending nearly $50,000 increase for these areas.

These aspects of the program at the national level are only an indication of the kinds of expansion which are needed and feasible with a larger budget. These phases of the program help to create and maintain a favorable climate in which the State, the local, the individual teacher may function effectively. There are other areas which affect each of us even more specifically. All parts of the program affect and reinforce all other parts, and the improvement of education is the underlying purpose of all. Various services contribute directly to the improvement of instruction, to the development of professional personnel, and to the welfare of teachers.

In the first of these areas, it has been recommended that a commission on instruction be established to make the excellent services of our departments more fully available to the whole profession. Other recommendations in this area include additions to all of the divisions, committees, and departments which relate to improvement of instruction, and the addition of a staff member to work on conventions and regional instructional conferences. At present the planning of the convention takes much time away from the more specialized and creative services of the assistant executive secretaries. The budget committee is recommending about $85,000 more for educational services than was spent this past year.

The development of professional personnel is important not only for the improvement of schools but also as part of the answer to the problem of the teacher shortage. The answer lies in the upgrading of standards to enable teaching to attract a greater proportion of the most competent young people. The Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards has clarified the thinking and led the way to improvement in this field in phenomenal strides, but with more staff and more money for conferences and for printing, they can do much more. Certainly we need to develop closer working relations with teachers education institutions. Through the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, we have the means to fulfill our obligation of making certain that institutions preparing teachers are equipped to offer professional programs of undoubted quality. The shortage of teachers cannot be met by any substitutes; the important, the indispensable element for the education of every child is an understanding teacher who has time enough for each child. Teaching is not just keeping school.

The improvement of education is, I believe, our most important purpose. This beginning of a new century is a good time to consider seriously a new emphasis in all teaching and, indeed, in all our professional relationships. I believe that in the face of all the influences which push toward adjustment and conformity and desire for easy living, we need reaffirmation and real practice of a belief in the importance of the individual and a real respect for excellence and integrity.

A valuable aid in this upgrading of the profession is the Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, established by the representative assembly in 1941 as a general trouble-shooting agency for the teaching profession. There is a touch of irony in the fact that the defense commission and the tenure committee are doing their work so well that often results are not visible to public view. The Defense commission often manages to prevent a crisis rather than to treat it after it occurs. There is little public recognition for this type of work for the simple reason that you can never prove that something would have happened had you not prevented it. However, there are thousands of classroom teachers and administrators, boards of education and others interested in the welfare of the schools, who have received assistance from the hard-working staff of the defense commission. There is an urgent need to increase the staff and services, including a possible revision of the duties of the attorneys who now answer the legal questions which come up.

The improvement of education is, I believe, our most important purpose. This beginning of a new century is a good time to consider seriously a new emphasis in all teaching and, indeed, in all our professional relationships. I believe that in the face of all the influences which push toward adjustment and conformity and desire for easy living, we need reaffirmation and real practice of a belief in the importance of the individual and a real respect for excellence and integrity.

In the field of welfare, many activities are possible. A salary consultant has already been employed and has been very much in demand. Other special services are under consideration. The department of classroom teachers has helped teachers to realize their responsibilities and their importance, and to develop constructive ways to work together and with other groups in solving problems and in promoting professional growth and development. The addition of clerical assistance and of additional funds for field work and conferences will contribute further to the recognition and enhancement of the status of the teacher. It was through the department that I began to realize how important our professional association is.

Supporting all other services is the area of field operations and membership. It is recommended by the budget committee that four field workers be added to present the program of the NEA as a whole to local and State groups; and that additional funds be provided for cooperative State workshops and leadership training programs, and for special services to local associations. It is proposed also that the membership problem in large cities be given more attention and some funds. It is recommended that this whole area be assigned $116,970 more than was expended this past year.

I have not even mentioned many parts of our program which are fully as important as those. It is instructive to study the report of the budget committee. The committee has tried to incorporate into figures the deliberations and recommendations of the board of directors, realizing that some areas can be expanded rapidly and that others will require time for more planning and for finding and training the additional staff needed for the expanded program. In their report, they point out that if dues are not increased, no new personnel can be added, no salary adjustments can be made beyond the ordinary increments and the contingency fund will be only $76,000 which is an inadequate amount for a budget of over $4 million. These are the dark facts which we face.

Though the facts are dark, the reasons are bright, and the consequences can be positively brilliant. Because the work of the association has met many needs, we have been growing in every direction at once. Because every facet of the cause of education is exciting to some one, staff and members alike have given generously of their time and thought to these matters of general welfare. If paying something more for dues seems painful, surely there are enough members with appreciation of the need for a constructive, productive, professional association to explain these things to the laggards. Indeed, it will be as important to carry on your own program of communication and enthusiasm at home, as it is to vote for dues at this convention.

Need for Long-Range Water Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the recent series of disastrous floods has awakened people everywhere in our country to the need for a wise, prudent, long-range water program. The need is felt not only in Texas and the Southwest, but in every section. It has become apparent that there is no domestic problem so pressing as control of our water resources.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial on this question, from the Los Angeles Times, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times of June 20, 1957]

NATION'S GROWING WATER PROBLEM

Flash floods in Missouri and Illinois, following by a few weeks a comparable disaster in Texas and Oklahoma, point up the Nation's need for a comprehensive program to harness peak flow of water for storage against times of drought.

Millions of acre-feet of water swept over the countryside in each instance. Eventually it was drained off by rivers and carried to the sea. Loss of life and property damage are sufficient to spur control of these periodical rampages, but there is also the wastage of one of the most precious natural resources.

Development of more storage facilities by constructing dams, reservoirs, and spreading grounds should be a prime consideration. This would automatically reduce the amount of fresh water to smash through cities, devastate farmlands and then be lost forever.

Control of peak runoff would serve a dual purpose: husband the water for the people's use and sharply reduce erosion of agricultural land. It has been estimated that the Missouri River at flood stage carries in topsoil the equivalent of two farms per minute through St. Louis. The Mississippi Delta is being built by the farmlands of 30 States.

Other rivers in virtually every State are washing rich soil in valuable fresh water into the sea. A growing population contributes to the runoff, for the land in cities and suburbs is paved or so hardened with other forms of surfacing that it retains little water.

Annual rainfall drops 5 billion acre-feet of water on the Nation, but evaporation and

wasteful runoff claim 70 percent, leaving only 30 percent to be retained on or under the ground. It is estimated 170 million Americans now are using 200 billion gallons daily. Increased population and more uses for water are expected to double the daily take to 400 billion gallons by 1975.

This demand will not be met if the present ineffective handling of water continues. The peaks of floods and the valleys of droughts must give away to a constant and adequate supply.

Address by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania, at Independence Day Celebration, Valley Forge, July 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, last Thursday I had the honor of speaking at the historic Washington Memorial Chapel, located in a lovely, natural grove at Valley Forge, Pa. This is one of the most beautiful chapels in the Nation, and has been developed under the excellent leadership of Dr. John R. Hart. Every State in the Union is represented in this project.

The exercises were held under the auspices of the Colonial Daughters of the 17th Century and the Valley Forge Historic Society. The chairman is the dynamic Mrs. William C. Langston, of York, Pa., and she was assisted by a charming group of patriotic leaders who always place America first.

I ask unanimous consent that my address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION SPONSORED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA CHAPTER, COLONIAL DAUGHTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, AT VALLEY FORGE, JULY 4, 1957

Madam Chairman and my fellow Americans, it is a great honor to address this fine assembly of patriots who have done so much to keep alive the spirit of America.

There is no place more fitting for the celebration of Independence Day than this serene and beautiful shrine, here at Valley Forge. There is no place in America where real patriotism was better exemplified.

We meet at this hallowed place of suffering and sacrifice to pledge anew our devotion to the ideals of liberty and independence.

In these ceremonies we honor the ragged Continentals who left their bloody footprints in the snow of Valley Forge.

We gain new inspiration from the immortal example of General Washington, kneeling here on the frozen ground, to ask Divine guidance and protection in the struggle for freedom.

Here at Valley Forge Washington's little army, poorly clothed, poorly equipped, poorly housed and with inadequate rations, gave the world its finest example of valiant courage under the most severe hardships.

In that dark and desperate winter of 1777–78 they learned to suffer and to obey as men, soldiers, and patriots, for they believed in their cause. They were fighting for their own ideals of political freedom.

At one time less than 5,000 men were fit for duty. But when spring came, the little army was drilled, trained, and organized into a great fighting force.

Yes, my fellow Americans; the Fourth of July is an anniversary to be celebrated with a great outpouring of patriotic fervor, for on this day we pay tribute to the memory of the courageous statesmen whom we honor and revere as the Founding Fathers of our Republic.

One hundred and eighty-one years ago today, in the City of Philadelphia, they set forth a new concept of human liberty and equal justice. For the first time there was brought into the world a plan of government based on the proposition that all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In those undying words they erected a great and enduring landmark of human progress. They created a nation based on the firm foundation that the people are supreme, and that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

In these days, when so many of our people take our precious liberty for granted, it is well to look back to the Fourth of July in 1776 when the Liberty Bell rang out the tidings of independence, proclaiming to all the world that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

Eight years of terrible war were fought before the Colonies were made free and independent—eight years of crises, defeats, and discouragment—which culminated in glorious victory at Yorktown.

The war was won, but a great test of statesmanship remained before "we, the people" could form "a more perfect union."

That historic goal was reached when representatives of the States, meeting in Independence Hall in 1787, framed the Constitution of the United States. Regardless of the pessimism of many people and the gloomy prophecies of many statesmen of the world that is plan of government could not survive, that Constitution has met the test of time. Today it is the oldest written Constitution in the world.

Under that Constitution we have fought wars in defense of right, honor, and justice. We have overcome the threat of financial disaster.

We have seen the clearing of the forests, the breaking of the sod on the prairies, the development of our natural resources, the building of great transportation systems and the growth of our great cities. We have seen our Nation expand from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Under our Constitution we have seen the American standard of living rise to the highest level the world have ever known. We have reached cultural and spiritual attainment unequalled in any other part of the world.

In a comparatively short space of time—less than 200 years—we have expanded into the greatest industrial and agricultural nation of all history.

What is the secret of our great progress and our unsurpassed development?

For the answer we must go back to the ideals of the Founding Fathers, who built the structure of American greatness on the solid foundation of freedom of the individual.

Out of their far-sighted vision and wisdom we have:

First, our plan of equal justice, equal opportunity, and equal right to work and succeed.

Second, our plan of free enterprise which gives each individual the right to possess and enjoy the fruit of his labor, resourcefulness and thrift.

Third, our plan of equal obligation to take part in Government. The call for military duty makes no distinction between rich or poor, creed, color or national origin. In the same manner our plan of Government calls for self-reliant citizens, depending upon their own initiative, to work for civic betterment and thus advance the welfare of all the people.

Fourth, our plan of Government was established on the deep religious convictions of our people. The spirit of religion guided the first settlers to the North American Continent. Firm reliance on the protection of divine providence is set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Benjamin Franklin suggested prayer for divine guidance in framing the Constitution. That practice continues today in our legislative halls. God is recognized in the constitutions of 47 States of the Union. In Government we depend upon God.

During all our history we have been confronted with grave dangers. The same is true today. What are some of the dangers we face?

1. Too much government. The Founding Fathers recognized that big government could in time become oppressive. Therefore, they sought to restrict the powers of government to those specifically granted by the people and enumerated in the Constitution. We have become careless of this limitation. As a result government has grown so big and so complex that it has encroached upon the liberties of the people.

2. Too much public and private debt. Excessive debt is one of the greatest dangers because it brings on inflation and robs the people of their savings. It is shocking to realize that public and private debt has reached the staggering total of $803 billion. That is an average of $4,700 for every man, woman and child in the United States. Never before in the history of the world have any people owed as much as we owe today.

3. Too much dependence upon government. It is most unfortunate that in this period of great prosperity 5½ million of our citizens are receiving some form of governmental help. About 8 million are now employed by the three levels of government.

4. Too much evasion of the law. Every student of history knows that great nations have gone down to destruction when the moral fiber of their people was undermined by greed and corruption.

5. Too little interest in government. Unfortunately there are too many misguided Americans who do not understand and do not appreciate the real meaning of America.

6. Failure to appreciate that we are truly a nation under God. A government dedicated to the ideals of individual freedom cannot long endure unless its people are imbued with the spiritual strength and courage that comes from faith in God.

There have been many definitions of the real meaning of America. One that I like best was expressed by one of the greatest Americans of our time, the distinguished former President of the United States, Herbert Hoover. On his 74th birthday, in an address at his birthplace, the little town of West Branch, Iowa, he said, and I quote:

"America means far more than a continent bounded by two oceans. It is more than pride of military power, glory in war, or in victory. It means more than the vast expanse of farms, of great factories or mines, magnificent cities, or millions of automobiles and radios. It is more even than the traditions of the great tide westward from Europe which pioneered the conquest of this continent. It is more than our literature, our music, our poetry. Other nations have these things also."

Then Mr. Hoover continued: "The meaning of our word America flows from one pure source. Within the soul of America is freedom of mind and spirit in man. Here alone are the open windows through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit. Here alone is human dignity, not a dream, but an accomplishment. Perhaps it is not perfect, but it is more full in in realization here than any other place in the world."

With love of country in our hearts, and with loyalty to ideals for which the heroes of our independence suffered and died, we can defend and preserve the American Republic.

We can go forth from this meeting, strengthened by faith in God, to meet the problems of our day with wisdom, courage, and patriotism.

The Foreign-Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, we have heard many discussions and read many articles about the Federal budget. None has been more thoughtful or understanding than an article by the Rev. Father Joseph A. Hughes, printed in the Register, Duluth edition, for Sunday, June 9, 1957. I ask unanimous consent to have Father Hughes' article, entitled "As Things Go," and relating to our foreign-aid program, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. This welcome article gives every Member of the Congress food for thought.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AS THINGS GO—FOREIGN AID

The debate on the budget has stirred up the country as no other domestic issue has for many years.

Much of the talk about reducing expenditures has centered around cutting foreign aid and, of course, military expenses.

Echoing over the Halls of Congress and other places of public oratory in the foreign aid consideration is a disturbing note. It is the frequently repeated reminder that American financial aid to other countries is good defense for the United States.

Sometimes it is heard in reverse: It is not necessary for this country to help other countries now because they are either unable or unwilling to defend us against our enemy.

This is disturbing because it reflects a corroded mentality. It bespeaks an inner core of selfishness that, in the end, will do us in more effectively than any foreign Communist power.

The big troubles in the world come from egotism, supernationalism, materialism, and selfishness. Individuals and nations have a highly developed grasping instinct. The big question, even in noble works, is: What is there in it for me?

We have given billions of dollars to other nations. And, undoubtedly, we are inclined to feel noble about this generosity. But this generosity is, too frequently and too fully, camouflaged self-interest.

We have done the right thing very often for the wrong reasons. When legislators have to appeal to our own national interest in order to give what we owe in justice and charity to substandard nations, we stand revealed in our eyes and in the world gaze as puffed up, conceited, complacent, self-seeking millionaires who are willing to give of our wealth but only to those who can render some service to us in return.

We should give industrial, agricultural, and financial assistance to neighbor nations not because it is expedient, not because it is good defense, not because it is an inexpensive way to stop or win a war—but because it is right, because it is human, because it is Christian, because it is demanded by the moral law and counseled by spiritual idealism.

Our money is not going to save us, or the world, or the peace. What will save us is character, virtue, fraternity, honor. Let's get off the money bags and on to the treetops. We could stand being where the vision is clearer and the air more pure.

Statement on Oil Imports by Texas Railroad Commissioner Ernest O. Thompson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Gen. Ernest O. Thompson, a member of the Texas Railroad Commission, and the man I regard as the world's greatest authority on the oil industry, issued last week a statement that sums up clearly and succinctly the existing situation with respect to excessive oil imports.

"Domestic oil producers," General Thompson said with painful clarity, "are at the mercy of the importers of crude oil and petroleum products."

I ask unanimous consent that this authoritative statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OIL IMPORTS

(By Ernest O. Thompson, Texas railroad commissioner, July 2, 1957)

Domestic oil producers are at the mercy of the importers of crude oil and petroleum products.

The importers determine freely and without let or hindrance the quantity of crude oil and petroleum products they wish to import during any given month. The only deterrent is a 10-cents-a-barrel duty on oil and a small duty on products.

For example, if the United States needs, say, 8 million barrels of crude per day to make products, and imports are estimated to be 1 million barrels per day, the only thing that can be done is to subtract that 1 million barrels imports from the total of 8 million barrels needed—leaving 7 million barrels for the domestic producers to supply.

They have imported as much as 1,600,000 barrels of crude and products per day. This takes the domestic market from the domestic producers and forces reduction in production.

There have been years of strong protestation against these constantly increasing imports of crude oil and products; but so long as the importers pay the 10-cents-a-barrel duty, there is nothing done about it.

Appeals have been made to the importers to show restraint, but more and more oil companies of the United States are getting into the importing business.

I feel that total imports of crude oil and products should not exceed 1 million barrels per day on the average. This would furnish the supplement of fuel oil and residuals we need, and would furnish adequate trade balances with other countries we sell goods.

It may turn out that a tariff increase will prove the answer to protect our domestic crude producers, and at the same time raise some revenue.

At all events, the President has been notified by the Director of Defense Mobilization that oil imports threaten to imperil the national security; and the President, under the Reciprocal Trade Act, has appointed a committee of five Cabinet members to check the Director's findings on the broadest possible study. So perhaps there will be some action taken by the President under the Trade Act of Congress, which says he shall do the necessary things to correct the situation when any commodity is being imported into this country in such quantities as to threaten to imperil the national security.

We are hopeful for speedy relief.

Address by Philip Sporn at Christening of Towboat "Philip Sporn"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Philip Sporn, president of the American Gas & Electric Co., at the christening of the new towboat *Philip Sporn*, of the American Barge Line Co., at Jeffersonville, Ind., July 5, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS MADE AT THE CHRISTENING OF THE NEW TOWBOAT "PHILIP SPORN" OF AMERICAN BARGE LINE CO., JEFFERSONVILLE, IND., JULY 5, 1957, BY PHILIP SPORN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN GAS & ELECTRIC CO.

I am deeply moved by the honor bestowed upon me by naming this new towboat after me and so associating my name with it in its work in moving the many highly essential and diversified products along this great arterial highway extending all the way from Pittsburgh down to New Orleans. This great inland waterway, perhaps the greatest in the world, is composed of a number of major river basins and, of these, my company has been concerned primarily with one, the great Ohio River Basin.

The Ohio River Basin is perhaps the most diversified of any major river basin in the United States. Vast quantities of agricultural products are produced in the area. More than three-fourths of the Nation's bituminous coal is mined here. It is certainly one of the Nation's outstanding industrial regions and includes the important iron and steel producing areas of Youngstown and Wheeling; the large manufacturing centers of Columbus, Canton, Cincinnati, Indianapolis and Louisville; the well-established great chemical center along the Kanawha River, a tributary of the Ohio, centering around Charleston, W. Va., and of great importance, the many new chemical and

other industrial centers that are rapidly springing up along the stretches of the great river.

The Ohio Valley is literally bursting with activity. Since 1950 more than $10 billion in industrial and atomic plants has been expended on the main stream. The Ohio and its tributaries and the valley, now growing so rapidly, has already surpassed the Rhine as a chemical center, and the Ruhr as a steel center.

But it seems to me, and this is perhaps pertinent to the work that will be done by this beautiful boat now named *Philip Sporn*, that there is another aspect that needs to be pointed out. The Ohio River is much more than a great artery of commerce. It is much more than a transportation highway.

The Ohio River is the great river of power in the United States. We all know about the power of Niagara and the power of the St. Lawrence now being harnessed and we have heard a great deal about the hydroelectric power of the Tennessee and the power in the Columbia River in our great Northwest. But the power that is generated by steam-electric plants utilizing the Ohio River as the very basis and foundation, both as a transportation medium for its fuel and as a source of condensing water, is infinitely greater than the power of any of these rivers and perhaps exceeds—and if not now, then surely eventually—the power of all of them.

By the end of 1956 the electric plants on the Ohio, with a practically negligible amount of them being hydro, totaled almost 9¾ million kilowatts, and with the completion of projects now actually underway this amount will grow to 11½ million kilowatts. These plants, operating at the average load factor that they have been running at in the order of 75 percent, have produced or will be capable of producing close to 80-billion kilowatt-hours a year. This is more than 40 percent of the total energy generated in Russia in 1956.

If to the Ohio you add the capacity of the plants along its tributaries, and add the relatively small amount of hydro produced along these tributaries, you find the total electric power capacity of these plants well over 32 million kilowatts, with close to 28 million kilowatts represented by steam-electric plants and the combined output of the plants close to 215 billion kilowatt-hours per year, or more than 10 percent in excess of the total 1956 output of all the generating plants in Russia. This, I think, lends startling stature and importance to the Ohio River.

Truly, the Ohio River has become the great power river of the world.

As I pointed out a moment ago, 90 percent of this energy is generated by fuel, by coal. It is in the job of transporting and delivering the coal from the great mines in the valley to its use centers that the river itself performs such a great task; in achieving that it utilizes the services of many powerful tools like the boat that is being christened today.

Mr. Calhoun, I know that in wishing the new towboat a great and productive career as a transporter of freight and fuel on the Ohio River, I am wishing for it what you, and its owners, have visualized for it—a great and happy career that will contribute not only to the prosperity of its company and of its owners but, even more, contribute to the welfare and prosperity of this great valley, of its people, and to the welfare and safety of our country.

Invocation of Rabbi Martin M. Weitz, at Installation of President, American Medical Association, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, June 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association held in New York on June 4, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Dr. David B. Allman, of Atlantic City, N. J., was inducted into the high office of president of the association. Those of us who live in New Jersey were all highly gratified by this honor conferred on our State by the elevation of one of our citizens to this important office.

On the occasion of the inaugural ceremony, Rabbi Martin M. Weitz, Ph. D., Beth Israel Temple, Atlantic City, N. J., pronounced the invocation.

I ask unanimous consent that this invocation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the invocation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INVOCATION FOR AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION—INAUGURAL CEREMONY FOR DR. DAVID B. ALLMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y., JUNE 4, 1957

(By Rabbi Martin M. Weitz, Ph. D., Beth Israel Temple, Atlantic City, N. J.)

Source eternal, God of the universe, master physician of mankind, help us to minister at Thy altar when we serve fellowman, with skill of scalpel, hand of healing and heart of understanding. When we are patient in affliction, courageous in peril, sensitive to the sufferings of others, it is because Thy spirit guides us for he who serves fellowman labors with Thee in Thy workshop.

We seek Thy light as we foregather in this oldest and largest fellowship of the arts and skills of healing—the American Medical Association—in this, its 111th annual convocation.

"He who saves one life, is as one who saves an entire world," is not mere ancient parable, but modern prescription. As to masters of medicine before us, from Hippocrates to Albert Schweitzer, give us also four dimensions to help us help man:

1. The art of detachment—to be apart from, yet a part of the life of others. As Sir Osler phrased it, "To scorn delights and live laborious days for others."

2. The virtue of method—a measure of system for more work, better records, deeper study, finer leisure, greater humanity. In the words of Albert Einstein, "Let us learn to make disasters into incidents rather than incidents into disasters."

3. The value of thoroughness—so that even chemistry, anatomy, physiology are balanced into the art of healing and serve the glory of living, so that knowledge is translated into wisdom. In the formula of Albert Schweitzer, "Ethics is nothing else than the thorough complete value, reverence for life itself."

4. The grace of modesty—a love of truth greater than the love of any particular truth. Humility is a lantern that sheds light not only on our way, but for others, so that life's journey for each may be a pilgrimage. We may remove diseased portions of a limb, but we are powerless to make tissue heal. Maimonides prays for humility in his Code for Physicians: "Endow me with strength of heart and mind so that both may be ready—in all humility—to serve the rich and the poor, the good and the wicked, friend and enemy, and that I may never see in the patient anything else but a fellow creature in pain."

Master Physician, bless all in this dedicated fellowship of healing, those who have given it leadership in years before, and to Dr. David Bacharach Allman and all his coworkers who serve the American Medical Association and its larger labors, from this inaugural on in days to come.

For the blessing of all and the hurt of none, for the joy of all and the woe of none, for the life of all and the death of none. Amen.

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on Tuesday, July 2, the Special Subcommittee on Senate Rule XXII of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration heard one of the most forceful and persuasive analyses ever given on the subject of freedom of debate in the United States Senate.

The presentation was that of Hon. Charles J. Bloch, of Macon, Ga., who testified before the subcommittee as the representative of Hon. Marvin Griffin, Governor of Georgia. Mr. Bloch, a distinguished member of the Georgia bar and an outstanding leader in all phases of public life in Georgia, is one of the Nation's foremost authorities on constitutional law. He has held many positions of trust and presently is serving as a member of the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia.

Feeling that Mr. Bloch's thoughts and conclusions should have the careful study of each Member of this Senate, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that his testimony be printed herewith in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RULE XXII

I appear as the representative of the Honorable Marvin Griffin, Governor of Georgia. I oppose the proposed amendments to rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, pertaining to limitation of debate.

I have examined Senate Resolutions 17, 19, 21, 28, 29, 30, 32.

I have more closely examined Senate Resolutions 17 and 30 than I have the others.

Senate Resolution 17 does not show Senator JAVITS as one of those who submitted the resolution. However, the staff study of the Committee on Rules and Administration, which is a comparative analysis of the various resolutions, does show Senator JAVITS as a sponsor. Senate Resolution 30 has 39 Senators sponsoring it.

It would serve no purpose to discuss in detail the differences or likenesses in the various resolutions. In various forms, they would accomplish the same result. Each and every one of them, if adopted, would limit debate in the greatest deliberative body the world has ever known, the Senate of the United States. The Constitution provides in article I, section 3, paragraph 1, that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of "two Senators from each State." While the 17th amendment has changed the method by which the States select their Senators, the Senate is still composed of two Senators from each State. The Senate never dies. It is a continuing body, eternal as far as mortal man can make it so. It is fitting that it should be such, for here sit the representatives of the 48 sovereign States which, grouped together, are known as the United States of America.

Within the boundaries of the State of New York there were nearly 15 millions of people. Rhode Island had less than a million. California had ten and a half million inhabitants. Its neighbor, Nevada, less than 2 percent of that number, about 160,000. Pennsylvania, with its 10 million, is bordered by Delaware, with about 300,000. To the northwest of Illinois, with its approximate 9 million, are the Dakotas, with around 600,000 each.

But on the floor of the Senate and its committee rooms, caucuses, and councils, the voice and vote of Nevada is equal to that of California; the voice and vote of Rhode Isalnd, with its 121.4 square miles, is equal to that of Texas, with its 267,000 square miles.

It was so planned by those who drafted, proposed, and ratified the Constitution of the United States. In this union of States no one State is more important than any other in that group of ambassadors which the States have sent to Washington, and who form the Senate of the United States. To insure that no one State might ever be outvoted by any other State in the Senate of the States united, the Constitution provides specifically in article V thereof "that no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

While it is not yet proposed that any one of the States be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate, it is now proposed by these bills that certain varying numbers of Senators can deprive other Senators, ambassadors from sovereign States, of their free and untrammeled right to place before the Senate and the people of the Nation their right to debate and discuss as fully and freely as they deem best problems which involve their very life.

Today, you seek to limit the voice of the States.

Tomorrow, will you seek to limit the vote of the States?

We hear it said that in this Government of ours, the strength of the majority shall prevail. Those who formed the United States did not so provide. One man in Nevada expressing himself through his Senators has the voice and vote of 200 men in New York.

North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Vermont, Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, Maine, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Rhode Island, 13 States, each had a population of less than a million according to the 1950 census. Will it next be attempted by Senators from New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and California to deprive those less populous States of their right to vote in the Senate on an equality with the more populous States?

Is the force and power of numbers to rule henceforth in this Nation? Is might to make right? Can you blame us for asking these questions when we hear men in high places say, in support of unconstitutional legislation, that the end justifies the means? That was the governmental foundation upon which the gas chambers of Dachau were built.

One Senator from New York sponsors Senate Resolution 17, another seems to sponsor Senate Resolution 30. One Senator from Illinois sponsors Senate Resolution 17, another sponsors Senate Resolution 30. One Senator from Pennsylvania sponsors Senate Resolution 30, another Senate Resolution 17, one Senator from California sponsors Senate Resolution 30. Is it mere coincidence that 7 of the 8 Senators from New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and California seek to hush the voices of their fellow Senators?

With this hue and cry of majority rule, what will come next?

Will you seek to change the Constitution so as to permit convictions in impeachment proceedings without the concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present?

Will you seek to change the Constitution so as to provide that the Presidential veto of legislation may be overridden by less than two-thirds of each House of Congress? You know that the votes of Senators from just 17 States can prevent the passage of a bill over Presidential veto. Will you seek to change that in the shouting for majority rule?

Will you seek to change article V of the Constitution so that amendments may be proposed by less than two-thirds of both Houses of Congress? Will you seek to change that same article so that amendments may be ratified by less than three-fourths of the States?

And having done that, will you seek to change article IV, section 3, of the Constitution so as to permit new States to be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of another State without the consent of the legislature of that State?

The theory of rule by majority, by careful planning, can convert our form of constitutional government into one of which Washington and Jefferson and Adams and Lincoln and Wilson never dreamed.

Will you, pursuing that theory, change the Constitution so as to provide that less than two-thirds of the Senators present may suffice to ratify a treaty with a foreign nation?

I plead for freedom of debate. I plead that no death sentence be imposed upon that freedom, and upon the rights of the States of the Union to have their ambassadors debate and speak as freely and as lengthily as they desire.

Will the privileges of free speech be reserved only for those who seek to undermine our form of Government? That freedom should be preserved for those who love America as well as for those who hate it.

Freedom of debate is a liberty guaranteed by the Constitution equal in importance to any other liberty. Tyranny thrives in a climate of suppressed debate. The adoption of the Declaration of Independence was openly debated. The Articles of Confederation were adopted in the Continental Congress after open and unrestricted debate. With these articles as a guide, the Constitution of the United States was prepared and proposed, without any limitation of debate. That debate lasted over a period of many, many months. After it was adopted by the Continental Congress it was proposed to the several States for ratification. In their legislatures and their conventions, the States openly and frely debated it for 9 months before 9 States ratified it. New York debated it so long that she was the third to the last State to ratify it.

And, so adopted and ratified, after full and unrestricted debate, it, with 2 amendments besides the Bill of Rights, stood the test of time for almost 80 years. The 14th amendment, constructions of which threaten our whole structure of constitutional government, was adopted under the most extreme character of cloture—cloture enforced by the bayonet.

The so-called liberal organizations who advocate restriction of debate in the Senate of the United States evidently believe in a peculiar kind of freedom of speech—freedom of speech for themselves alone. If the theories of government they espouse are under attack in the Senate of the United States, they desire open, thorough, unlimited and unrestricted debate. But, if haste is essential to the passage of measures they espouse, then there must be a restriction of debate.

I heard one of the most liberal lawyers of the South recently say in an address (May 19, 1957): "Society cannot survive without full discussion and debate." That statement was unique because it was the only theory of government I had ever heard him express with which I could wholeheartedly agree.

You seek to avoid filibusters. A filibuster is good or bad according to who is doing the talking and according to what its purpose is.

Doubtless every Senator has seen the brochure on limitation of debate in the United States Senate prepared in December 1956 by the Library of Congress Reference Service. Therefore, it would be useless for me to enter into a detailed discussion of it. I do hope, though, that every Senator will study page 29 of it, headed "Later action on 35 filibustered bills," and see if unrestricted debate is such a bad thing for our Nation.

Of these bills, over a period from 1865 to 1946, the only ones not passed were these:

(a) The force bill in 1890–91.

(b) The armed ship bill in 1917.

(c) Antilynch bills, 1922, 1935, 1937.

(d) Antipoll tax bills, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948.

(e) FEPC bill, 1946.

Strange it is that every one of these bills, save one, had as its object and purpose the embarrassment of the Southern States, their relegation to their 1865–70 status as conquered provinces.

And strange it is, too, that almost every lawyer in the United States Senate, as a lawyer, or as a judge, would have not the slightest hesitancy in deciding that these bills exceeded the powers delegated to Congress by the sovereign States. Yet, they are cited as examples for the need of restriction of debate. They really serve as outstanding examples of the need for unlimited debate and the survival of constitutional government.

We are so much these days of minority groups. Formerly this phrase had a distinct meaning. When we heard it uttered, we visualized certain racial groups or certain religious groups.

Now the phrase is somewhat more difficult to define. Personally, I think that the outstanding minority group in the country is that group which is striving for the perpetuation of constitutional government. Today, the minority group in this country whose members need protection is composed of those who believe in a government under the Constitution of the United States as it was written, legally amended and construed by judges trained in law and construed according to legal precedents, the established law of the land.

If by "minority group" is meant those who are of African descent rather than English or continental European, why do they desire to destroy law and the Constitution?

If by "minority group" is meant those who worship their God in a manner different from most of those who settled the Thirteen Original States, why do they desire to destroy established constitutional precedents?

When and if the phrase "The end justifies the means" becomes the law of the land, they will be the first to feel its blunt force.

Government under a constitution, construed according to law and established, long continued legal principles is their only hope of survival.

What end could possibly justify the abolition of jury trials?

What end could possibly justify the abandonment of principles of equity practice established as the law of the land more than 400 years ago in England, and continued in this America for more than 300 years?

What end could possibly justify jeopardizing rights which now seem established by adjudication and construction of the Constitution?

I mean simply this: The first amendment to the Constitution provides that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. There is no provision in the original Constitution or in the Bill of Rights which prevents a State from making laws respecting an establishment of religion. There is no provision in the original Constitution or in the Bill of Rights which forbids a State to prohibit the free exercise of religion. There is nothing in the original Constitution which prevents a State from abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

Long after the 14th amendment was adopted, the Supreme Court construed the provision in it that no State should deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law to mean that no State should deprive any person of the liberty of worship, speech and of the press. By judical construction, the word liberty was held to extend the prohibitions of the first amendment so as to restrict the States. In so holding, the Supreme Court evidently failed to consider that if the word liberty had that breadth of meaning, the first amendment was totally unnecessary. The fifth would have sufficed. If the doctrine of the end justifies the means is to be the new rule of Constitutional construction, if precedents established in the decisions of jurists trained in the law are lightly to be swept aside upon the testimony of psychologists and articles in the New Yorker magazine (cf. case 107, October 1956, decided June 24, 1957, slip sheet page 6), then all freedoms rest upon a perilous base.

The case referred to is that of *Kingsley Books, Inc. Louis Finkelstein, doing business as Times Bookshop, et al.* v. *Peter Campbell Brown, corporation counsel of the city of New York.* There a proceeding under section 22-a of the New York Code of Criminal Procedure, as amended in 1954, providing for a limited injunctive remedy was upheld in a 5 to 4 decision. The opinions show quite clearly that if appellants had requested a jury trial, or had attacked the statute in the lower court for failure to require a jury, it would have been invalid. Will you deprive southerners, Americans of the South, a right which the Court impliedly held to be that even of a purveyor of obscene books?

Are the rules of the Senate to be changed in order to pass a statute of that nature?

Those rules are of long standing.

CONCLUSION

The document to which I have referred—"Limitation on Debate in the United States Senate," on pages 23 and following gives 36 instances of "Outstanding Senate Filibusters From 1841 to 1955."

A glance at the list shows that the filibuster is not merely an old southern custom. Perhaps the reason why the southern Senators have more often than others engaged in prolonged debate is that the South is the only section of the Nation against which legislation has been frequently specifically directed. But Senators from other sections, too, debate at length when they have what they think are reasons to debate. I notice that in 1914 Senator Burton of Ohio "filibustered against a river and harbor bill for 12 hours." The armed ship debate of 1917, and the World Court protocol debate of 1926 were not southern inspired. Neither was the lengthy talk of Senator Copeland of New York against the Sale of Pines Treaty in 1925. I notice, too, that in 1950, Senator MALONE filibustered against a conference report on the slot-machine bill. In 1953, during the prolonged debate on the so-called tidelands offshore bill, Senator MORSE established a new record for the longest single speech. On April 24–25, he spoke for 22 hours and 26 minutes. Now, the Senator has introduced Senate Resolution 21, which is one of those pending before this committee.

It all depends upon whose ox is gored. We all know that if unwarranted legislation were introduced adversely affecting any group of States, the Senators representing the States in that group would want to debate without limitation what they deemed injustices to their States sought by bills violative of the Constitution.

The 22 Senators from the 11 real Southern States are a minority group. The other 74 Senators can outvote them. If they do, our southern Senators may well say, "You are sounding the death knell of constitutional government. Do not think that the people of our States will suffer from that destruction alone. The bell tolls for you and yours, too."

Agriculture Is a Most Important Industry, Let's Conserve It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a smalltown newspaper in my State, the Hays County Citizen, published at Kyle, Tex., recently carried an editorial that would do credit to the most noted newspaper in the land. This weekly newspaper, serving an area where farming is of paramount importance, appealed to its readers to place on the agricultural industry the value it deserves.

I ask unanimous consent that this thoughtful editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVE INDUSTRY

Almost any town from the very smallest to the large metropolitan centers is constantly on the lookout for a new payroll for its people. Especially desired are manufacturing concerns, because they bring in new dollars from outside and add to as well as stimulate the flow of money. They provide more jobs and replace money which has had to go out of the community to bring in manufactured goods.

Every businessman is ready to help a new manufacturer or one who is about to relocate in overcoming any obstacles which might prevent him from choosing the businessman's town.

Sometimes we fail to place our agricultural industry in the same catagory with other manufacturing interests. When we do, it is indeed an unfortunate oversight. It would take a tremendous industry indeed in the Kyle-Buda area to replace our agricultural industry. It is our major source of new dollars into the community.

If the agricultural industry is to grow, or even hold its own, the productivity of the land must be maintained and it is here that the community can and must help. Lending encouragement to soil and conservation practices, working with the farmer in achieving legislation toward this end, supporting activities of tomorrow's farmers through FFA, and first of all recognizing the part the farmer is playing as an industrialist.

Several local businessmen are to be congratulated today for the part they have been and are now playing in seeing that the productivity of agriculture remains high by conservation and planning ahead.

Certainly all this is not to be construed as antimanufacturing sentiment. Such is far from the truth. The State of Mississippi has adopted a postwar program called BAWI (balance agriculture with industry). It has much to commend it. We merely acknowledge with gratitude what we have as we seek to supplement it, not supplant it.

Curbing the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Curbing the Court," from the Aiken S. C., Standard and Review of July 1, 1957. This daily is published under the able guidance of Mrs. Annie H. King.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CURBING THE COURT

Senators OLIN D. JOHNSTON and STROM THURMOND of South Carolina have called for and initiated a movement in Congress—what support they will gather from congressional colleagues is questionable at this time—to curb the "wild hayride the Supreme Court of the United States is now on" with first one asinine and unconstitutional decision after another which is undoing all that which made this Nation strong and democratic and rapidly turning it into a controlled land of despotic directives.

First, it was a psychological ruling by the Supreme Court on segregation on "Black Monday" in May 1954, followed rapidly with other decisions, seemingly communistic-dictated or ordered by a despotic ruler, which does not do justice to the Nation and its people and have loosed mad dogs of subversives, Communists, rapists and murderers loose to prey upon the Nation with defensive

curbs ineffective because of hand-tying rulings affecting the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Justice Department, the States and the Nation.

Congress has the power, although it has never been found necessary to be used, to curb such wild activities of the Supreme Court. Drastic measures must now be used, it seems, if the Nation does not become a dictatorship ruled by nine men and their decisions adversely affecting the welfare of the Nation and plunging it into decadence within and helpless to defense from without.

The support the South Carolina solons will have in this effort is beginning to gather strength as the other sections of the Nation are gradually beginning to realize that the South is right, and has been from the beginning, in fighting to the last ditch the rulings of the Court contrary to the Constitution. Slowly but surely the North, the West, and the East are beginning to wake up and realize in what direction the country is headed at breakneck speed. But one sadly relates the other section of the Nation awakened only when their toes were trampled upon by Supreme Court decisions.

Better late than never and a united front is needed today to present a solid wall of resistance to things and happenings which tend to "throw the Nation to the wolves."

If a solid front is not presented what then will take place tomorrow in the way of further rulings from the high tribunal?

Senators JOHNSTON and THURMOND are not lone prophets crying in the wilderness. They are statesmen who see the perils confronting the land and the people they love and have girded themselves for battle to preserve the rights and freedom as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Can we do aught but lend the embattled Senators our whole support as citizens of this land of democratic ideals and way of life?

There Are Good Reasons for Free Senate Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, in January of this year there appeared in the Saturday Evening Post a very important editorial entitled "There Are Good Reasons for Free Senate Debate." Because of the debate we are getting ready to embark on at this time, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post of January 12, 1957]

THERE ARE GOOD REASONS FOR FREE SENATE DEBATE

Although the liberal Democrats have only a thin toehold in the Senate and probably not even that in the House, they appear to expect everybody to stand aside while they call the shots. One of the first items on their agenda is to amend the Senate rule which permits unlimited debate, the object being to pass civil-rights legislation despite the protests of their southern brethren. In this they are joined by a few modernized Republicans.

Before the subject has got out of hand, some Senators, we predict, will remind their impatient colleagues of the reason for free debate in the Senate. The purpose of the rule is not to test the endurance of senatorial lung power, or to kill off progressive legislation, or to wear out the public. The reason debate in the Senate can be cut off only under extraordinary circumstances is that the Senate is the last line of defense for the States. While this rule remains, a majority in Congress lacks the ability to pass legislation repugnant to some of the States.

So that there will be no misunderstanding, perhaps we should say that the Saturday Evening Post believes that a reasonable program of civil rights is not only just and desirable but that it inevitably will come, step by step. But the Post denies that any cause or goal is sufficiently important to justify the destruction of our traditional safeguards.

Despite all the talk about whether the Senate is a continuing body or whether it is a new body, with the right to make new rules every time it meets, the essential issue is whether or not a majority in Congress shall be able to force into law proposals which are not accepted as valid by a considerable number of States. The late Senator James Reed, fiery Democrat of Missouri, might well have settled the argument when he said many years ago:

"Strike down this safeguard of public discussion, apply the gag, and imagine, if you please, that it is applied only to pass good measures, only to accomplish the virtuous and the wise and the holy, only to bring the thing of rectitude; imagine that if you please. He is a fool, he is every kind of a fool that has ever cursed the earth or cursed himself, who thinks that any power will always be used wisely and justly. * * * Why should there not be some place in this country where the virtues or the iniquities of proposed legislation could be exposed without gag, without rule, without limit, some place where every public act must come under the surveillance of men who have complete freedom of speech?"

It is, of course, popular to talk of "majority rule" as if the majority were inevitably right, when the fact is that we have a Bill of Rights to protect minorities and individuals—and sovereign States—from the whims of majorities. And, unless we are prepared to strain the bonds of the Federal Union even more than they have been strained already, Senators will give sober thought to the reasons for unlimited debate in their body before sacrificing an important permanent Federal principle to immediate political advantage.

International Educational Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two letters I have recently received from individuals who have participated in the International Educational Exchange Program, and who have written me of their experiences abroad under this program. I feel certain that my colleagues will be interested in reading these letters which stress the value of the program in helping to spread understanding and good will between citizens of the United States and citizens of foreign countries.

The first letter is from Mr. David O. White, who studied for a year in Munich, Germany; the second is from Mr. Warren R. Schoonover, who spent a year in Egypt as a visiting professor of soil science at the University of Alexandria.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUNICH 42,
AGNES BERNAUER ST. 124,
June 17, 1957.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: A wonderful year in Germany is rapidly coming to a close, and I am sending in this mail letters of thanks to the people who supported my Fulbright scholarship application. It seems to me that you also deserve a word of thanks.

My family and I have lived in a completely German community, the children have attended German schools, and our circle of friendships has grown rapidly. In order to maintain these contacts for another year we are going to move across Munich this fall to the American military establishment, where I shall teach during the coming year. One year has provided us with working knowledge of the language and a valuable orientation upon which we now wish to capitalize further.

The opportunity to study in Germany has proven invaluable. I came over here to study the use of athletics as a political instrument of the Third Reich, and have found a concentration of materials and advisers which has made for smooth, sure progress. Furthermore, as a public school administrator, I have found that no experience can take the place of exchanging views with people whose cultural roots and educational problems are different from one's own.

So, Senator FULBRIGHT, I want to thank you for your foresight and initiative in helping to establish a program which cannot help advancing world understanding, and assisting people like myself to do needed research in areas which might otherwise be passed over untouched.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID O. WHITE.

JUNE 27, 1957.

Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: It was my good fortune to receive a Fulbright research award to study saline and alkali soils in Egypt. I spent an academic year (1953–54) at the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Alexandria, as visiting Fulbright professor of soil science to conduct this study.

The University of California has consented to publish the report on this work in order to make it available to other soil scientists and as an example of international cooperation.

I have been greatly interested in the Fulbright program and feel it should be continued and expanded. I think it could be increased in value, however, if a larger proportion of the awards were to go to research workers rather than to teachers and students. There are many problems, such as the one I worked on, which are of mutual interest, both to the country where the work is done and to the United States. If such problems are carefully chosen in advance and facilities are prepared there is an opportunity to accomplish a great deal during the time of a few months. In my case the planning period occupied almost a year, but I was able to start work without delay upon arrival in Egypt. We hope you and the organizations

concerned will give increased consideration to the research opportunities in this program.

I am enclosing two copies of the report for your information. I am sure you can secure additional copies if you desire them by writing to Dr. Paul Sharp, Director, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of California, Berkeley 4, Calif.

I have retired from the University of California and I am going to India for 2 years on the international cooperation program of the University of Illinois. Should you desire to get in touch with me you can address me in care of Dr. Frank Parker, U. S. T. C. M., American Embassy, New Delhi, India.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN R. SCHOONOVER.

Mr. Dulles and China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to the editor entitled "Mr. Dulles and China," written by James P. Warburg, and published in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

There being no objection, the letter to the editor was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. DULLES AND CHINA

With the world's attention and the hopes of humanity focused upon the disarmament talks at London, Secretary Dulles has seen fit to proclaim at San Francisco that the United States remains unalterably wedded to a China policy which would seem to make any serious approach to universal disarmament impossible.

How can there be any hope of developing a system of reliably enforced disarmament while the greatest military power in Asia remains excluded from the world organization? Are we and our Allies to reach agreement with the Soviet Union for the reduction and control of armaments while Communist China, with its 600 million people, remains free to maintain the greatest conventional military establishment in the world?

Was it wise or necessary to reaffirm at this moment a China policy which not only blocks the road toward disarmament but which keeps the United States perpetually at the brink of war, cements the Sino-Soviet alliance, divides the anti-Communist coalition and alienates most of the uncommitted peoples?

In the manner of an able prosecuting attorney, and with the mantle of self-righteousness wrapped about him, Mr. Dulles has presented his case showing the government of the Chinese People's Republic to be a "bad" government. One may accept this moral indictment and yet wholly disagree with the Secretary's conclusions.

"The United Nations," said Mr. Dulles, "is not a reformatory for bad governments." Such governments, he said, should be ostracized from the world community. They should be subject to cultural and economic boycott, to diplomatic nonrecognition and to exclusion from the United Nations.

"The United Nations," said Mr. Dulles, "is supposedly an association of those who are already peaceloving—an association of those governments able and willing to carry out their charter obligations." Of these obligations, the Secretary said, "the basic obligation is not to use force except in defense against armed attack."

Surely, in the light of postwar history, and especially in view of what happened last October, this description of the U. N. membership is—to put it mildly—romantic nonsense. No one has more eloquently shown that this concept of the U. N. is unrealistic and self-defeating than Mr. Dulles himself. In his book, War or Peace, published in 1950, Mr. Dulles wrote:

"I have now come to believe that the United Nations will best serve the cause of peace if its Assembly is representative of what the world actually is, and not merely representative of the parts which we like. Therefore, we ought to be willing that all nations should be members without attempting to appraise closely those which are good and those which are bad. Already that distinction has been obliterated by the present membership of the United Nations."

May we not hope that our Secretary of State will recapture the sane realism and the plain commonsense which he displayed when he pondered these matters as a private citizen?

JAMES P. WARBURG.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Proposed Curb on United States Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "South Carolina Senators Call for a Supreme Court Curb," from the Williston, S. C., Way of July 4, 1957. This newspaper is ably edited and published by Mr. Ben P. Davies, Jr.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTH CAROLINA SENATORS CALL FOR SUPREME COURT CURB

Both of South Carolina's United States Senators, OLIN D. JOHNSTON and STROM THURMOND, have called for a curb on the powers of the United States Supreme Court, which body has apparently set about rewriting the Constitution.

In speeches and in news conferences the two South Carolinians have joined in deploring decisions handed down by the Court that infringe upon the rights of individual States as well as other rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

Senator THURMOND has also introduced a bill in the Senate in an effort to keep the Court from further reviewing school segregation cases. The Court has had a heyday since that fateful Black Monday, May 17, 1954, when they ordered that school segregation be abolished and all schools throughout the land be integrated.

The latest capers of the Court—which were touched on in this column last week—have brought criticism from leading legislators throughout the Nation. At first, it was only the southerners who decried the actions of the Court, but as Chief Justice Warren and his cohorts continued to rewrite the laws of the land to suit their sociological whims the hue and cry has been taken up by leaders in sections throughout the Nation. They can see the handwriting on the wall and now realize that the school decision was just the entering wedge.

We commend Senators JOHNSTON and THURMOND on their stand and trust that they will not ever weaken.

The London Disarmament Negotiations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in recent days and weeks a good deal has been written about the uncertainties and confusions surrounding the current London disarmament negotiations. I have seen no analysis of the situation more precise and to the point than this morning's article entitled "Unreadiness and Indecision," written by Walter Lippmann. It seems to me Mr. Lippmann's analysis is a very thoughtful one which deserves careful attention by the Members of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Lippmann's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 2, 1957]

UNREADINESS AND INDECISION

(By Walter Lippmann)

There is a remarkable resemblance between General Eisenhower's handling of the disarmament negotiations and his handling of the budget. In both cases, that is to say, he has launched a proposal and embarked on a course, not having made up his mind about just where he wished to go. The deliberation, the weighing of alternatives, the hard work of making a firm decision, would in an orderly and rational conduct of Government have preceded the presentation of the budget and the sending of Mr. Stassen to London to negotiate with Mr. Zorin.

But in the case of the budget, it took nearly 2 months before it was reasonably clear whether the Chief Executive was for or against the executive budget. Only after much confusion and controversy did the President begin to make clear where he stood. In the case of disarmament, it has now transpired that he started the diplomatic exchanges with no real agreement within his own official family, with no adequate understanding with our allies, and with his own mind still fluid. During the past few weeks, with Mr. Stassen abroad in London to speak for him, the President has acted the part, not of a statesman who has a policy but of a puzzled man who is thinking out loud.

No doubt the problems of disarmament are extraordinarily complicated. They are fraught with uncertainty and with risk, and there is an awful responsibility on one who, like the President, must make the final decisions. But there is no reason why he had to enter into the negotiations or, why he had to send Mr. Stassen to face Mr. Zorin, until he knew for certain whether he was in favor of reaching the kind of agreement that might conceivably be possible. He should have waited until he was ready. There was no

use talking with the Russians if the President himself had not yet thought through his policy, no use if high officials in Washington were convinced that they must nullify what Mr. Stassen was supposed to do.

In the field of diplomacy, this has been like committing unprepared troops to a great battle, while the generals have not yet arranged for their supplies or ceased to argue with one another about the objectives of the battle. This is the way to demoralize an army and during the past week there has been a very considerable demoralization in Washington. The greatest doubt has been raised as to whether the President wants an agreement, or whether he could now persuade the Senate to ratify an agreement.

Mr. Gromyko is wrong in saying, as he did last week, that the United States is using the disarmament talks as a screen concealing its striving to continue and intensify the arms race. The truth is that the United States is not really using the disarmament talks at all because the President and his administration have a policy to which some are opposed, and about which the rest are not convinced.

Unless the President can find some way to clarify and then to make firm the American position, we shall find ourselves with a treaty that the President does not really want, or with one that the Senate will reject. In either event, we shall bring down upon ourselves the onus of blocking the path to a limitation of armaments.

I have heard it said that this will not happen because if and when Mr. Stassen really starts to negotiate about the details with Mr. Zorin, he will find the Soviet Union is quite unwilling to reach a good agreement about inspection and control. That may well be true if the negotiations are genuine. But if we remain in our present position, where the probabilities are against the ratification of a disarmament agreement, the Soviet Union can go very far in its offers without running the risk of having to make good on them.

We had better assume that the Russians do want an agreement, and that they are prepared to pay a considerable, though not an enormous, price for it. We had better assume, too, that we shall have ourselves to clear up the confusion in our own position, and that we must not count upon the unreasonableness of the Russians to save us from the consequences of our uncertainty and indecision.

Disarmament Is No Cold War Cure-All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on July 2 there appeared in the Wichita Eagle, of Wichita, Kans., an article written by Roscoe Drummond, entitled "Disarmament Is No Cold War Cure-All." Mr. Drummond pointed out some very important matters we ought to be considering as we look forward to the events that will happen in the next few months.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DISARMAMENT IS NO COLD WAR CURE-ALL
(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Walter Lippmann is urging a thorough, public debate on whether it is desirable or undesirable for the United States to join the Soviet Union in any kind of disarmament in the present state of the world.

Mr. Lippmann urged such a debate before President Eisenhower disclosed that he himself had some second thoughts on the wisdom of ending nuclear bomb tests.

The warning which Mr. Lippmann sounds—and he favors an arms-limitation agreement—is that unless there is a frank facing of the arguments against as well as for disarmament, we may well end up seeing the President negotiate an agreement which neither the Senate nor the American people will accept.

It is urgent that Mr. Eisenhower begin to meet openly the genuine reservations which many people have about disarmament at this time because nothing could be more hurtful than to have the President put his name to a treaty and then have public opinion strike his signature from it.

There is a strong case for disarmament. What seems to me most dangerous is that disarmament should be sold to the American people on the ground that it is going to do something which it isn't—that it is going to bring about peaceful coexistence, reduce tensions between Russia and the free world and generally create a climate in which the great disputes which divide us can be resolved.

I cannot see where disarmament is going to do any of these things.

There is no evidence that the Soviets are trying to curtail the cold war. The only evidence is that they might like to carry on the cold war at a slightly reduced cost through some disarmament.

Consider the fact that while disarmament negotiators in London are trying to work out a big arms limitation, the Communists were continuing to violate a little arms limitation in North Korea.

Consider the fact that while we are trying in London to devise a system of inspection that will make worldwide disarmament enforceable, the Communists have been so violating the inspection system setup to govern the Korean truce that the United Nations command can no longer live with it.

Consider the fact that on the very day that the United States proposes a mutual cutback of Armed Forces, the 150,000-word report of the special United Nations committee confirms everything the world instinctively knew was true about Moscow's illegal use of its armed force to crush the liberties and independence of the Hungarian people, that the uprising of the Hungarians against Soviet rule was spontaneous and nationwide, unaided by any western imperialists, that Soviet forces violated Hungarian territory because they were never invited in by any Hungarian Government.

Consider the fact that the Kremlin shows no interest in and, in fact, a sustained opposition to negotiating a solution to any of the international problems and tensions—such as the unification of Germany—which have produced the arms race the Soviets now appear to want to halt.

Conceivably it may be in the interests of both the Soviet Union and the United States to take a first step toward an inspectable reduction of armed strength.

But let us not take this step in the false and wishful expectation that it is going to usher in a peace with the Kremlin or produce a climate in which we can let down our guard and watch cold-war tensions melt away.

No, the evidence seems to be sufficient to say that if Moscow wants to negotiate a disarmament agreement, it wants to negotiate it, not as a means of liquidating the cold war, but as a means of carrying it forward at a slightly reduced cost.

Even under such conditions a first step arms limitation may be useful, but let us not acclaim it for more than it is.

The Importance of Urban Renewal Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have commented on several occasions previously on the Senate floor with regard to the importance of continuing and, indeed, strengthening the urban renewal program.

In city after city across this country vast tracts of real estate are blighted with decay.

These blighted areas have become sources of infection for the breakdown of families, the breeding of vice, centers of ill health, and other civic maladies.

We all realize, of course, that appropriations for urban renewal represent a strain on the Federal budget.

The fact of the matter is, however, that if Uncle Sam were to abandon this program, it would undoubtedly come to a dead halt throughout the country.

I send to the desk now the text of a letter which I have received from Mr. Willard E. Downing, executive secretary of the city of Milwaukee's Citizens Urban Renewal Committee.

Mr. Downing points out the importance of continued appropriations for this purpose.

I append to his letter the text of a front-page editorial which was carried in the Milwaukee Journal issue of July 2, describing a new booklet as published by this committee.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the letter and editorial be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITIZENS' URBAN RENEWAL COMMITTEE,
Milwaukee, Wis., July 3, 1957.

The Honorable ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: The Citizens' Urban Renewal Committee, at its last regular meeting on June 26, expressed considerable concern over some recent newspaper articles indicating that the President had suggested that Federal supports for urban renewal should be cut and also urged greater State participation in this program.

Our committee felt that this would be a very grievous injustice, particularly in States like Wisconsin. Our ability to produce sufficient income to provide for imaginative and realistic programs in urban renewal is very limited. Certainly the city of Milwaukee would be in no position to carry on this program at its current ability to produce income. The State has drastically curtailed its building program because of the limitations on its income. If the President's recommendations were put into effect, it

would mean that urban renewal in Wisconsin would come to a standstill and this indeed would be a tragedy.

Our committee, therefore, urgently recommends that you support adequate Federal aids for urban-renewal programs so that our city and State can eliminate blight and slums. For this, we feel, is one of the most significant programs for the future well-being of our country.

Sincerely yours,

WILLARD E. DOWNING,
Executive Secretary.

Mrs. Max Fenske, chairman; Harold E. Beck, vice chairman.

Willard E. Downing, executive secretary.

Members: Harold E. Beck, Pierce H. Bitker, Frank S. Caravella, Herbert L. Ebling, Fred A. Erchul, Mrs. Max Fenske, Alois Fons, Mrs. Arthur C. Frick, Rt. Rev. Donald H. V. Hallock, Edward L. Hanley, Mrs. Clara Herrmann, Rudolph Kotras, Jr., Joseph Linke, Floyd Lucia, John Ocvirk, Valentine E. Persik, Donald L. Soucie, Bernard D. Toliver.

MILWAUKEE—BOOKLET ON YOUR CITY TELLS THE COST OF BLIGHT AREAS

"The city's tools, the city's capital are the houses, the buildings, and the people who live and work in them. The city cannot afford to let its capital go downhill. It cannot afford to let its people live, work, and play in blighted structures."

This from This Is Your Milwaukee, a new illustrated pamphlet issued by the citizens' urban renewal committee, a group charged with advising city government on urban renewal. It is charged, too, with the important job of informing Milwaukeeans on the urban renewal program and encouraging participation in it.

The pamphlet can be obtained from the urban renewal coordinator's office in the city hall. It is short and informative.

A telling point the pamphlet makes is that Milwaukee cannot afford blight. It costs you money. Blighted areas have 10 times as many cases of tuberculosis as good residential areas. Blighted areas return to the city only $9.93 per person, compared with an average of $47.32 for residents of good areas.

A typical blighted area has more than three times as many fires as a typical good area. Blight requires more police protection, more sanitation service, more of every city service. City service costs money. You supply that money. You can't afford the burden of today's slums and blight and the constant addition of slums and blight where deterioration is allowed to continue unchecked.

The city has a plan for checking the spread of blight and weeding out slums. It is urban renewal—the conservation of good neighbors, the repair of bad neighborhoods, the clearance and redevelopment of slum neighborhoods. It's a package program that makes sense. Why not learn more about it by getting a copy of the urban renewal committee's booklet?

Punishment for Publication of Classified Material

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on Saturday, June 29, 1957, I pointed out, in an address to the Texas Press Association, the dangers to freedom of the press lurking in the Wright Commission recommendation that a fine of up to $10,000 and imprisonment for not to exceed 5 years be imposed upon any person publishing any information on any subject classified as secret by any Government bureau.

People interested in preserving our democratic liberties and rights are alarmed over this effort to muzzle the free press of the Nation. Another newspaper has joined the growing numbers which are speaking up for our historic freedom of access to information.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Midland Reporter-Telegram of Friday, July 5, 1957, entitled "A Dangerous Proposal," pointing out the dangers in the Wright Commission recommendation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DANGEROUS PROPOSAL

Danger signals flash all over the place when one particular proposal of the 12-member Commission on Government Security meets the public eye.

It is a recommendation, buried deep in the massive report, that Congress adopt legislation making it a crime for newsmen and other private citizens to disclose secret information, even though it is not their intention to endanger the national security. The maximum penalty under the proposed law would be 5 years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

On the surface this proposal might seem satisfactory, but the unseen implications are deep seated and dangerous to the freedom of the Nation.

Certainly, no responsible man or woman would advocate the publishing of information which really concerns national security. No responsible newsman would do it. But the matter does not end there. It is in the authority to classify information that the danger rests. This proposed legislation easily could bring about a complete blackout of news concerning our Federal Government.

The coverup of Federal activities under the guise of national security is one of the most dangerous trends in Washington today. A national security label hides many an unsavory Government activity right now. Some bureaucrats simply do not want the people to know what is going on. By misusing the patriotism of the average American, Government workers, if they so desire, are able to get away with almost anything.

The Texas Press Association, at its recent meeting in San Antonio, adopted a resolution strongly opposing this particular proposal of the Government Security Commission. Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, in addressing the convention, termed the recommendation a dangerous threat to the freedom of the press. He urged strong opposition to the proposed measure, which actually would give the heads of executive agencies the power to make confidential anything they would like to cover up.

Under the proposed new law, it would be easier even to hide newsworthy facts under a security guise. Dictatorships flourish under such practices.

Other proposals and recommendations of the commission undoubtedly are worthy of consideration and adoption in the Government's effort to strengthen its security program.

The President and States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three related editorials commenting upon President Eisenhower's recent speech on States rights before the national governors' conference. The editorials are entitled "Ike Talks States Rights, but Urges Civil Rights," from the June 27, 1957, issue of the Macon Ga., Telegraph; "The President and States Rights," from the June 26, 1957, issue of the Metropolitan Herald, of Atlanta, Ga.; and "Ike and States Rights," from the June 27, 1957, issue of the Washington, Ga., News-Reporter.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph of June 27, 1957]

IKE TALKS STATES RIGHTS BUT URGES CIVIL RIGHTS

President Eisenhower's concern, as expressed before the governors' conference, that in recent years "more and more rapidly the pendulum of power has swung from our States to the Central Government" comes as somewhat of a surprise.

The Chief Executive sounds now more like Candidate Eisenhower of 1956 and 1952 rather than the head of an administration sponsoring a civil-rights program that includes a provision whereby one believing his rights violated may ask relief directly in Federal courts without first seeking remedy in State courts.

The Williamsburg address of the President makes it plain that he believes that he who controls the purse strings, enjoys policy-making power. Indeed, that is the basis of the President's proposition that if the States assume more financial responsibility of governmental programs, the pendulum of power will swing back from Washington to the States.

SCHOOL AUTHORITY

On that line of thought, we would remind Washington that in no major field of governmental service has the National Government contributed less assistance than to education. Hence, by the President's own reasoning, the greater authority of administration and policymaking with reference to public schools rightfully belongs to the States.

Federal aid of one kind or another has been extended to the States since the earliest days of the Republic, but the modern system of cash grants entailing Federal supervision did not get underway until introduction of the Federal income tax on a permanent basis.

Today, there are but a few major public services that the Federal Government does not participate in financially and in varying degrees administer.

Federal funds distributed as grants-in-aid 30 years ago totaled about $125 million. Within the next 10 years the amount had more than doubled to $290 million. Now, such disbursements will probably exceed $3 billion.

In taxing the public in order to give back to the public such staggering sums, the Federal Government has all but monopolized the sources of revenue.

It is well for the President to challenge the States to take on a greater share of public-service programs by raising taxes, but before such can be given serious thought the Federal Government must vacate some of the revenue-raising sources.

ABANDON GAS TAX

For years the States have demanded withdrawal of the Government from the gasoline-tax field. The same governors' conference, that the President addressed, has in years past called for termination of the Federal gasoline tax and several legislatures have memorialized Congress to that effect.

It has also been proposed from time to time that the Federal Government relinquish to the States the admission tax, tax on telephone service, and retail excises—all more suitable for State or local, than for Federal administration.

No such steps have been taken by the Treasury.

Talk of the States taking over more of the financial burden of public services, until such time when the Federal Government yields to the States more of the springs from which revenue flows, is just so much talk.

Mr. Einsenhower's advocacy of States rights, viewed against the backdrop of his civil-rights program, is unimpressive.

[From the Metropolitan Herald, Atlanta, Ga., of June 26, 1957]

THE PRESIDENT AND STATES RIGHTS

President Eisenhower says that his civil-rights bills, now before the Congress, are "moderate and conciliatory."

Either the President has not read the bills or has not had them explained to him by unbiased assistants.

Proponents of the measures, during the debate in the House, plainly stated that the legislation was aimed at the white people of the South. They admitted that the NAACP had forced such legislation. Many of them pulled no punches in stating that the NAACP would not go along with a trial by jury in civil-rights cases, that that organization was tired of waiting for Congress and the White House to act. They condemned the entire South by charging that no southern jury would ever convict a white man charged with violation of civil-rights legislation.

This then is the moderate, conciliatory legislation the President praises.

All competent observers in Washington reported that only "extreme White House pressure" prevented the adoption of the trial by jury amendment. These same observers also report that this same extreme pressure from the White House caused the Senate to vote favorably to bypass the Judiciary Committee, in violation of established Senate rules, and place the bill directly on the floor. It is interesting to note that this maneuver was too much for some liberals, who favor civil-rights legislation, and they voted against the bypassing of the committee.

The President continues to talk about how he favors States rights, as he did during both election campaigns. He did it again Monday before the governors' conference. The truth is the President talks a good game of favoring States' rights, but when it comes to vital legislation, as in the notorious civil-rights legislation, he is found using extreme pressure to force its passage.

[From the Washington (Ga.) News-Reporter of June 27, 1957]

IKE AND STATES RIGHTS

Reports from Williamsburg are that President Eisenhower received a rather cold response to his speech to the national governors' conference.

Ordinarily, you'd think the President's proposal would have been received with cheers, for he asked that the States take over some of the programs now being carried on by the Federal Government.

That would suit a lot of States, particularly in the South, just fine.

For many, many years we have argued that too much Federal Government is not good for the country, and that the States should be left alone to manage their own affairs as much as possible.

Why, then, shouldn't we greet the President's speech with enthusiasm?

Simply because his speech doesn't hold true with the many big Federal spending programs he has been demanding of Congress.

We needn't go any further than the multimillion-dollar Federal aid to education program of Mr. Eisenhower and the Republican Party.

Most Southern States, and especially Georgia, object to the Federal school program for two reasons.

We say first that it isn't necessary, and we base our opinion on what Georgia and our neighboring States are doing at the local and State levels for public schools.

Secondly, we know that if the Federal Government ever starts financing school-building programs for States and local communities, the Federal Government will take over full control, in time. The Federal Government will have the say on qualifications for teachers, on textbooks, on courses of study, and on whether or not the races will be mixed.

The historically traditional field of local education isn't the only one which the modern-day Republicans have proposed to take over. The President's program, as submitted by him to Congress, goes much farther toward usurping rights and duties of the States than anything the New or Fair Deals ever demanded.

We can agree with the principle of Ike's speech that the States be encouraged to take care of themselves and run their own affairs. But Ike's administration just hasn't been practicing what he preached.

The Richard E. Byrd Antarctic Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on May 31, of this year, it was my pleasure to introduce, with 22 cosponsors, S. 2189, to establish the Richard E. Byrd Antarctic Commission.

We are now awaiting reports from the various executive agencies which have this issue under study.

Time is, however, growing exceedingly short in the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

It is my earnest hope that the agencies will report, therefore, as soon as possible on this bill.

What must be borne in mind is this fact: To establish or just to continue an Antarctic expedition requires literally months and often years of planning.

If we do not establish such a commission this year, then we will have lost precious time not simply in 1957 but in the years up ahead.

It is my earnest hope, therefore, that the Wiley bill for the Byrd Antarctic Commission will be subject to hearing before the end of the 1st session, or no later than the commencement of the 2d session of the 85th Congress.

I invite attention to a significant article which was published in the May 13 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Congressman THOR C. TOLLEFSON, of Washington, introduced in the RECORD a Washington Daily News article of March 28 of this year by Jim G. Lucas, with the significant title "Looks Like the Reds Plan Long Antarctic Stay."

The article pointed out that there is strong reason to doubt whether the Russians regard their bases, which have been established for the International Geophysical Year, as only "temporary." The article reflects the concern of our Australian friends concerning the long-range Soviet plans for the Antarctic.

This morning's New York Times carries a dispatch by Mr. Walter Sullivan regarding the plans for seven American tractor parties to cross around 7,500 miles of the hinderland of the Antarctica.

While these valiant Americans are piercing the unknown in these freezing regions, surely the very least that we can do is to take action on legislation which will make sure that their work will be fully capitalized upon from a long-range standpoint.

Of course, their scientific findings will contribute to the "pool" of the International Geophysical Year.

But I am thinking now of even more direct benefits to the American people in terms of our own national interests.

These benefits can only be achieved through establishment of the Richard E. Byrd Anarctic Commission.

I am glad that there are many sources in the executive branch which are extremely sympathetic with the need for legislation of this type.

At the same time, I would be less than frank if I did not state candidly that there are some folks downtown who seem to be dragging their feet.

While I know these folks have a high regard for Antarctic exploration, they do not seem to realize that unless we fully coordinate work in this field we can never fully benefit from it.

These folks seem to fear the establishment of this small new agency. They seem to be more concerned with the minor costs that it would involve than they are with the tremendous national results which it would achieve.

I hope, however, that the reports which will come from the various Federal agencies to the Senate Labor Committee, which will soon be studying the Antarctic bill, will be favorable.

And I trust that this committee will report the legislation unanimously to us of the full Senate.

I hope, too, that there will be similar favorable action in the House of Representatives on the legislation.

Such action might well include, on both sides of the Hill, reference to all future Arctic, as well as Antarctic, work.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the New York Times article be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRACTORS TO TOUR ANTARCTICA'S ICE—SEVEN UNITED STATES EXPEDITIONS TO STUDY 7,500 MILES OF FROZEN HINTERLAND FOR IGY

(By Walter Sullivan)

During the next 18 months, 7 American tractor parties are to cross about 7,500 miles of the little-explored hinterland of Antarctica.

The slow-moving vehicles will make a circuit comparable in distance to one from New York to Dallas to Los Angeles to Seattle and back to New York—without filling stations.

In most cases food and fuel will be delivered en route by aircraft.

This will not be possible on the 500-mile journey to be made from Wilkes Station this year. No planes are stationed there within reach. In an attempt to spot crevassed areas and other obstacles along this route, an intensive study is planned of aerial photos on file in Washington, D. C.

The pictures were taken by planes of United States Navy expeditions that discovered the region in 1947 and 1948.

DATA SOUGHT ON ICE SHEET

The program of tractor journeys was proposed by Albert P. Crary, the chief scientist at Little America. It has been approved by leaders of the United States program for the International Geophysical Year, an 18-month study of the earth that started last Sunday.

The purpose of the tractor trips is to find out more about the ice sheet that weighs heavily on the continent at the bottom of the world.

In addition to the journey from Wilkes Station, a tractor trip is planned for each of the next two seasons from three other American bases: Little America, Byrd Station in Marie Byrd Land, and Ellsworth Station on the Weddell Sea.

The treks will be made in October and November so that the vehicles can be back at their bases in time to help unload the relief ships. The longest will cover a 1,500-mile triangle on the Ross Ice Shelf—a floating extension of the continental ice sheet, roughly the size of France.

An additional project will be a study of the heavily contorted ice surrounding Roosevelt Island 50 miles south of Little America. The chaotic patterns of crevasses make this region almost impassable. It is planned to use helicopters to lift the scientists in a leap-frogging survey of the area.

TO BE STUDIED AS ROCK

Both sea ice and shelf ice will be treated as rock formations in this study. Some believe a better understanding of mountain-building and other phenomena of the earth's crust can be gained through examination of what happens when the flowing shelf ice, 700 feet thick, is twisted, bent, and split as it impinges on Roosevelt Island.

This study will be under James H. Zumberge, of the University of Michigan. Once or twice men flying over the 1,200-foot hump of Roosevelt Island have thought they saw bare land peeping through its icy mantle. An attempt will be made to find this spot and place a survey camp there.

Among the problems that scientists studying the ice shelf will try to resolve is whether the self grows on the bottom or dissolves there when the freshwater ice slips off the land and comes in contact with sea water.

Last season an examination of ice in a crevasse near Little America produced salt and algae, a form of plant that lives in the sea, from layers 20 feet or more above sea level. This seemed to support the view that the ice had grown from the bottom. The subject is one that has been discussed by scientists since the British expeditions of early in the century.

AIRBORNE SURVEY WEIGHED

Another program under discussion is for an airborne survey of the ice sheet in the vicinity of the South Pole. A party would be landed at 50-mile intervals along a line extending along the meridians of 60° east and 120° west, with 4 stops in each direction from the pole.

At each point explosives would be used to determine the ice-sheet thickness by echo-sounding. Another line of soundings by airborne scientists has been proposed along the route followed by Capt. Robert F. Scott on his trek inland from the Ferrar Glacier in 1903.

The tractor journeys for the Antarctic summer of 1957–58—which coincides with the northern winter—are to be as follows:

1. From Little America to McMurdo Sound, passing south of Roosevelt Island, and then to Liv Glacier (where an aircraft-refueling depot was established by air last season) and back to Little America. A major obstacle on this route is the region of massed crevasses near 81 degrees south latitude, south of Little America. This blocked the tractors of the second Byrd Antarctic expedition in 1934.

2. From Byrd Station to the mountainous region near the coast, to the Sentinel Mountains and back.

3. From Ellsworth Station into Edith Ronne Land.

4. From Wilkes Station to the already established inland camp, then south to a point 192 trail miles from the coast, then to Mount Long, discovered by Navy planes and believed to be about 6,500 feet high, then to a fuel cache on the outbound route and from there back to Wilkes Station on a route skirting the coast.

CAUTION TO BE NEEDED

Because this party will not have aerial reconnaissance it will have to move cautiously near the mountains and coastline. It is to bring a dog team as well as two weasels, which are small tracked vehicles. The dogs can be used to scout suspicious areas. The fuel depot will be established in advance.

Journeys for the season of 1958–59 are planned as follows:

1. From Little America into western Marie Byrd Land.

2. From Byrd Station into the region south of Ellsworth Highland.

3. From Ellsworth Station into Coats Land.

Tractor journeys into other parts of the continent are planned by the Australian, British, French, New Zealand, and Soviet expeditions.

Emperor Penguins for the Portland, Oreg., Zoo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article from the Oregonian of Sunday, June 30, 1957, describing the airlift which will fly some of the famous and stately emperor penguins from the icy wastes of the Antarctic to the great new zoological gardens which are being constructed in my home city of Portland, Oreg.

This article is by Leverett G. Richards, aviation editor of the Oregonian, who himself has logged many hours of flying experience both in the Arctic and in the Antarctic.

Portland's forthcoming zoo will be a model for all the world, and we are pleased that the celebrated emperor penguins will be part of the exhibits at that installation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENGUIN AIRLIFT TO FLY ANTARCTIC EMPERORS TO PORTLAND ZOO

(By Leverett Richards)

Portland's new zoo may be the first in the world to boast a colony of emperor penguins from the Antarctic, if Operation Emperor succeeds as planned, Ormond R. Bean, city commissioner in charge of parks, announced Saturday.

With the cooperation of the Navy and the Air Force, Jack Marks, Portland's zoo director, plans to capture a score of emperors, one of the rarest and most mysterious of birds, in the shadow of the South Pole and fly them to Portland.

Plans have been completed for a penguin pool designed especially to meet the peculiar needs of the emperor, biggest and most curious of the scores of species of penguins. The call for bids will be issued the 1st of September and construction will be rushed to completion in time to house the big birds this winter, Bean said.

Rear Adm. George J. Dufek, Navy commander of Task Force 43, charged with support of the 7 United States bases in the Antarctic, has assured Commissioner Bean that "your plan has my full concurrence and that the complete cooperation of myself and all members of my staff will be given to Mr. Marks in the execution of this project."

Maj. Gen. Chester E. McCarty, Portland attorney who commands the 18th Air Force, has agreed to supply the necessary airlift in the course of flying scheduled missions to the Antarctic in Operation Deepfreeze.

All previous attempts to transplant the emperor penguin, which stands 3 to 4 feet high and weighs up to 95 pounds, have failed, primarily because of the long voyage through the tropics required by ship.

ANTARCTIC START PLANNED IN OCTOBER

Marks expects to leave for the Antarctic in October and fly to McMurdo Sound, main support base for the South Pole, in a C–124 of the 54th Troop Carrier Squadron. There he plans to capture 20 of the big birds that walk and squawk like men, with the aid of Navy pilots who will fly him to the edge of open water 25 miles away by helicopter.

The birds will then be flown back to the 54th Squadron's rear maintenance base at Christchurch, New Zealand, and transferred immediately to a C–124 Globemaster returning to the United States. Col. William Forwood, who will be the Air Force task unit commander in the Antarctic, plans to make the 8,000-mile flight from the Antarctic ice in 4 or 5 days, by putting extra pilots aboard to permit 1-hour refueling stops en route instead of the usual 2-day rest period at Honolulu.

A C–46 Curtiss Commando of the 403d Troop Carrier Wing at Portland, General McCarty's first troop carrier command, will be waiting at Travis Air Force Base, Calif., to rush the penguins to the Portland Zoo.

If the flight can be made as planned, the birds will arrive in top condition without being exposed to the malnutrition, dehydration, and heat exhaustion which has led to death from tropical diseases for nearly all

Emperor penguins brought out by previous expeditions.

FEW KNOWN TO SURVIVE

Only two emperors are known to have survived for any length of time at the Bronx Zoo in New York.

Alan Best, director of the Stanley Park Zoo in Vancouver, British Columbia, is the first to succeed in keeping alive for a long period of time the closest living relative of the emperor—the king penguin, which looks almost exactly like the emperor, but weighs only half as much. Best, who spent years collecting birds near the Antarctic, has learned how to feed and care for his six king penguins as no one else has.

He has agreed to advise and assist Marks in taking care of his emperors and will take the big birds into his own zoo if the emperors should arrive before Portland's penguin palance can be completed, Bean reports. Best attributes much of his success in handling the almost unknown birds to the specially designed pool constructed for them. Lawrence, Tucker & Wallmann, architects on Portland's $3,800,000 zoo, studied Vancouver's zoo and consulted with Best in the design of Portland's own emperor emporium, which is 54 feet, 6 inches in diameter and will cost an estimated $50,000.

Marks will be armed with a special penguin persuader, a suit of emperor underwear of strong linen cloth which he can slip over the heads of the birds to pinion their powerful wings to their sides. These horny flippers are capable of breaking a man's wrist. Some such straitjacket is necessary, since the birds have to be fed by hand, even after years of captivity. They eat any kind of fish, but seem to prefer fillet of salmon.

POOL TO PROVIDE PARADE ROOM

All this Portlanders may be able to see for themselves in the years to come, Commissioner Bean points out. The penguin pool for the new zoo is designed to parade the big penguins over flying ramps to small islands where they can be seen preening themselves, conducting their complicated mating ceremonies, or rocking back on their heels to sleep through the winter rain.

No refrigeration will be necessary, Harry Buckley, superintendent of parks, says. The air in the pool and in the boudoir or retiring room in the rear will be cooled by jets and sprays of water, which will also keep the area clean at all times.

Portland's new pool, like Vancouver's, will display the birds in the open. The Bronx keeps its emperor in a refrigerated cage.

While the aptenodytes, as the scientists cal them, can survive incredible cold and hardship, Vancouver's king penguins have become so acclimated to the warm rain of the west coast that they hate the ice and snow of our rare cold spells and seek the shelter of their retiring room, Best reports.

Best is confident Portland's emperors, too, will learn to like their new pool and rear their young in captivity.

A Backward Glance by Miss Perkins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, just a few months over a quarter of a century ago President Franklin D. Roosevelt, leading the New Deal to victory, smashed the precedent that women could not serve in the Cabinet by appointing the gracious Miss Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor.

This sincere, intelligent, small, but aggressive woman, gave labor its proper standing in the economic and social life of our great Nation. Miss Perkins, who sprang from a conservative, Republican Massachusetts family and started life as a teacher in science, has made a place for herself in the history of this country that all who toil may proudfully accept.

I think Cynthia Lowry's article appearing in the Washington Star on Sunday, July 7, is an excellent one and I am proud to make it part of the RECORD.

The article follows:

A BACKWARD GLANCE BY MISS PERKINS

(By Cynthia Lowry)

The lady in the tricorn hat and simple black dress has been out of the Nation's eye for 12 years. But, by choice, she remains close to the running stream of the Nation's life.

Miss Frances Perkins finds it more peaceful and pleasing today to teach and to write. But her most valuable contributions to her Nation's welfare, she feels, were in the stormy days of the New Deal.

She was the first woman Cabinet member. She remains the only woman to serve as Labor Secretary, holding that job through the 12 years of the Roosevelt administration.

"The next great advances we will make," she says, "will be toward more social advantages for all people—better housing and transportation, more electrical power.

"As far as I can see, the necessary protection for working people is almost complete. From now on that protection can be only improved and enlarged. Generally speaking, working people are much better off today, although there are still between 3 and 4 million getting $1,200 a year or less, far below the minimum standard of living in today's inflation."

SEVEN OBJECTIVES

It was 1932 when President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt asked Miss Perkins, then New York State industrial commissioner, to list 7 major objectives concerning the protection of working people.

The list included old-age insurance, unemployment compensation, minimum wage-maximum hour laws, a planned backlog of public works for periods of lowered employment, a free public employment service and medical insurance covering the bulk of people.

When she resigned as Seretary of Labor on the advent of Harry S. Truman to the Presidency she was 63 years old. Her batting average on those 7 objectives was .850—all of them had passed into being except the mass medical insurance plan.

Now, at 75, Miss Perkins looks back on those storm-charged years with the same patient serenity she wore as a cloak on the job. Many of her friends, in fact, blame the tension that surrounded her career on the fact that she was a woman in a job that had always been held by a man.

She was accused of everything from ineffectiveness and a welfare worker's outlook to a "pink" viewpoint and complete lack of understanding of business problems.

A WHIPPING GIRL

Businessmen, labor leaders, even Congressmen, teed off on the Government's first whipping girl. But to this day, Miss Perkins remembers: "Taking attacks was part of the job. Someone had to go ahead with things and take the consequences, and I was the person."

One blow, she admits, penetrated her armor, although she didn't show pain at the time. That was the congressional resolution, introduced in 1940, asking an inquiry into whether impeachment proceedings should be instituted for the failure of her department to deport a west coast labor leader, Harry Bridges. (Immigration and Naturalization was at that time in the Labor Department, later transferred to Justice.) The resolution was defeated and 17 years later Bridges is still around. But even today, Miss Perkins can only muster a bitter smile at the incident.

"That one," she confesses, "hurt."

Since the day in 1945 when she stepped out of the national spotlight, Miss Perkins has continued a busy woman. Once when she was Secretary of Labor, Miss Perkins said, "I'll never retire. I can't knit."

"I think," she added, "it is dreadful for active, busy people to retire. I think I would be very distracted if I ever had to stop work. But like a good many other people who have always been busy, I have found great satisfaction in doing things which are entirely different from things I have ever done before. * * *"

TRUMAN APPOINTMENT

For 8 years, Miss Perkins served on the Federal Civil Service Commission, a Truman appointment which kept her in Washington most of the time. During this period she wrote and published a book The Roosevelt I Knew, which recalled her association with the late President from the time he was a young State senator, through his years as New York State Governor and finally as the man who "never let me down" in his years as President.

A Democrat, she resigned her civil service job when General Eisenhower was elected. Since then she has turned to teaching labor and government at such schools as the Universities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Chicago, and Cornell. She has also set about putting more of her recollections into print.

Last year she traveled and taught in Europe, lecturing at the Salzburg Seminars of American Studies and the University of Bologna.

Miss Perkins is a widow. Her husband, Paul Wilson, a financial statistician whom she married in 1913, died a few years ago. Their child, Suzanne, is married and lives in Connecticut. Miss Perkins divides her time between New York City and a Maine summer home.

For a Democratic Secretary of Labor, Miss Perkins has an unusual background. She was born in Boston to conservative Republican parents who believed a woman's place was in the home. She started off to teach chemistry after graduating from Mount Holyoke but became involved with social work in Chicago.

A New York City clothing-factory fire in 1911 that claimed the lives of 146 girls headed her for work on safety legislation—and her work with industry and labor.

She becamed known for her three-cornered hat and her simple black dresses which one wag said looked like they were turned out by the Bureau of Standards. Actually Miss Perkins is smartly dressed in private life. She considered her black dresses and tricorn hat as a secret sort of uniform for her public life.

As for the current McClellan committee hearings into unions, she accepts them as an element of growth.

"I think the McClellan committee has done its work in one union, and that the union itself has done the rest," she said in her calm, cultured voice. "Many unions have grown rich suddenly. But I'm not so horrified because I never thought that labor was a special class, better than bankers, bakers, or any other people. We've had insurance scandals, and banking scandals before. And I suspect that investigations of the so-called welfare funds may reveal a lot of incompetence in handling money, not dishonestly, but incompetence. But we will probably get some legislation and the situation will be corrected. The business of caring for other people's money has always been a problem."

Looking backward, Miss Perkins is something less than impressed with her career.

"What you might say," she said with a smile, "is that I happened to be a woman born in my own time."

Enforcement of Antitrust Laws by Federal Trade Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the Senate Judiciary Committee this morning, in considering a bill introduced by the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] and myself, S. 1356, to restore to the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction in the enforcement of the antitrust laws in the packing industry so as to protect the producer and the consumer from unfair price discrimination, rejected an amendment which would have restored the regulation of the industry to the Department of Agriculture, where it has been neglected for almost 30 years.

I am today in receipt of telegrams from Mr. Bryan Patrick, president of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association; Mr. Jack Toole Shelby, presdient of the Montana Cattlemen's Association; and Howard Flitner, of Greybull, Wyo., of the Wyoming Wool Growers Association, indorsing the O'Mahoney-Watkins bill.

I ask unanimous consent to have the telegrams printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHEYENNE, WYO.,
July 2, 1957.

Hon. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

Livestock producers and stockmen are entitled to same protection by the same qualified agencies as are other individuals or businesses. Under the Packers and Stockyards Act as now written we do not have it. The Federal Trade Commission has the experience, the trained staff and the funds for investigative purposes while the Department of Agriculture does not. We earnestly urge your support of the O'Mahoney-Watkins bill in the interests of all stockmen.

BRYAN PATRICK,
President, Wyoming Stock Growers Association.

JULY 1, 1957.

Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Montana Cattlemen's Association in State convention at Great Falls, June 29, adopted a resolution supporting Senate bill 1356, urge that it be reported out of the Antitrust Committee favorably and enacted. The association feels this legislation vital to the cattle industry.

JACK TOOLE SHELBY,
President, Montana Cattlemen's Association.

JULY 2, 1957.

Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
Chairman of Subcommittee of Judiciary, Washington, D. C.:

We of the Wyoming Wool Growers Association strongly endorse the O'Mahoney-Watkins bill and urge your support of this registration transferring the enforcement of the Packers and Stockyard Act from the Department of Agriculture and place it under the Federal Trade Commission for the following reason: Places enforcement under one agency which is already set up to do similar jobs thereby prevent duplication and gives us more economical administration of act to Department of Agriculture is not set up to enforce the act and has not done so in the past.

HOWARD FLITNER,
Wyoming Wool Growers.

The Second O'Mahoney Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I wish to commend the sponsors of the second O'Mahoney amendment—section 633 of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act of 1958. This amendment was adopted unanimously by the Senate after 2 days, debate during which Senators O'MAHONEY, DOUGLAS, CARROLL, and LAUSCHE, and others, discussed the numerous examples of waste, overlapping, duplication, and inefficiency in procurement and other supply and service activities in the Department of Defense.

This is not a new subject to the Congress nor to the American people. On May 2, 1957, I spoke at some length upon the need for improvement in supply management in the Department of Defense, citing the huge personal property inventory of $111 billion with $51 billion in the supply sytems. I also mentioned the overlapping and duplication in the stock fund corporations which have capitalization of some $12 billion. I also mentioned the fact that a step has been made toward supply management improvement through the establishment of the single manager, cross-servicing systems whereby some 45,000 items out of 3,295,000 have been included in the systems for clothing and textiles, medical supplies, petroleum products, and subsistence.

PROVISIONS OF THE SECOND O'MAHONEY AMENDMENT

The first O'Mahoney amendment—section 638 of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act of 1953—provided:

(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law and for the purpose of achieving an efficient, economical and practical operation of an integrated supply system designed to meet the needs of the military departments without duplicating or overlapping of either operations or functions, no officer or agency in or under the Department of Defense, after the effective date of this section, shall obligate any funds for procurement, production, warehousing, distribution of supplies or equipment or related supply management functions, except in accordance with regulations issued by the Secretary of Defense.

(b) This section shall be effective 60 days after the approval of this act.

This provision gave great latitude to the Secretary of Defense to bring about economy, efficiency, and effectiveness in the supply systems of the military agencies. While a good start was made in the fall of 1952, there was a change of policy with the advent of Secretary Wilson's administration, and the services began a program of integrated supply within each service and abandoned the principles set forth in the O'Mahoney amendment of 1952, which was to develop an integrated supply system for the Department of Defense.

The second O'Mahoney amendment reads:

SEC. 633. Section 638 of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 1953, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 638. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Defense shall take such actions as are necessary to achieve economy, efficiency, and effectiveness in noncombatant services, activities, and operations through the elimination of overlapping, duplication, and waste within and among the agencies of the Department of Defense.

"(b) The Secretary of Defense, in order to provide for the effective accomplishment of this section, is hereby authorized from time to time to transfer, combine, and coordinate noncombatant services, activities, and operations within the Department of Defense.

"(c) The Secretary of Defense is further authorized to transfer such property, records, and personnel, and such unexpended balances (available or to be made available) of appropriations, allocations, and other funds of the military departments as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this section."

The new amendment requires that the Secretary of Defense shall eliminate overlapping, duplication, and waste not only in the supply systems within and among the departments, but also with respect to other noncombatant services, such as, for example, transportation service, commissary service, PS service, accounting service, engineering services, and so forth. The scope of the second O'Mahoney amendment is, therefore, much broader than the first and, in addition, is a directive to the Secretary of Defense.

While subsection (a) of the new O'Mahoney amendment makes it mandatory that the Secretary of Defense achieve economy, efficiency, and effectiveness through the elimination of overlapping, duplication and waste, the subsections (b) and (c) authorize him to implement the basic intent of subsection (a) by transferring, combining and coordinating noncombatant services, activities, and operations and such property, records, personnel, funds, and so forth, as are necessary to achieve the intent.

With respect to combatant functions, Secretary Lovett wrote to President Truman on November 18, 1952:

Another problem which will be referred to in more detail under the notes dealing with the Munitions Board, arises out of possible confusion in the act which provides that the three military departments shall be "separately administered," while at the same time providing that the Secretary of Defense shall be head of the Department of Defense which shall have within it the three military departments over which the Secretary of Defense shall have "direction, authority, and control." No great difficulties have been encountered because of this straddle, except in the field of supply, warehousing, and issue, where certain ardent separatists occasionally pop up with the suggestion that the Secretary of Defense play in his own back yard and not trespass on their separately administered preserves. I feel that the Secretary of Defense clearly has authority to step in where necessary in these fields, provided he does not transfer, reassign, abolish, or consolidate any of the "combatant functions assigned to the military services" by the act.

However, to avoid a waste of time in arguments, it would be well, I think, to have this clarified definitively and I believe that it could be simply done by following the procedure already favorably acted upon in the case of other executive agencies through adoption of the recommendation of the "Committee on Organization" looking toward correcting the present diffusion of authority and diffusion of responsibility in certain executive departments. Under reorganization plans previously submitted to the Congress by the President, all functions of all other offices of a department and all functions of all agencies and employees of a department are transferred to the Secretary of the Department with exceptions, if necessary. The application of this approved procedure to the three military departments or the Department of Defense could neatly cure such questions and I believe it should be considered.

It was the intent of Secretary Lovett and others that Reorganization Plan No. 6 of 1953 would clarify the Secretary's authority with respect to these matters. President Eisenhower's letter of April 30, 1953—House Document 136, 83d Congress, 1st session—states in part:

The first objective, toward which immediate actions already are being directed, is clarification of lines of authority within the Department of Defense so as to strengthen civilian responsibility.

I am convinced that the fundamental structure of our Department of Defense and its various component agencies as provided by the National Security Act, as amended, is sound. None of the changes I am proposing affects that basic structure, and this first objective can and will be attained without any legislative change.

With my full support, the Secretary of Defense must exercise over the Department of Defense the direction, authority, and control which are vested in him by the National Security Act. He should do so through the basic channels of responsibility and authority prescribed in that act—through the three civilian Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, who are responsible to him for all aspects of the respective military departments (except for the legal responsibility of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to advise the President in military matters). No function in any part of the Department of Defense, or in any of its component agencies, should be performed independent of the direction, authority, and control of the Secretary of Defense. The Secretary is the accountable civilian head of the Department of Defense, and, under the law, my principal assistant in all matters relating to the Department. I want all to know that he has my full backing in that role.

I have noted that the Senate, in passing the amendment, omitted a section which would have required the President himself to have submitted to the Congress within 180 days a plan for the establishment of an efficient common supply service under a civilian managed agency for the Department of Defense.

To my mind the omission of a special section dealing exclusively with a presidential plan for supply does not weaken the general import of the bill. The President is still in a position to exercise his great influence in bringing about the necessary improvement in all of the supply and service activities under the amendment as passed by the Senate. He is the head of the executive branch and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and as Chairman GEORGE H. MAHON, of the Military Appropriation Subcommittee, stated on May 24, 1957:

We cannot get a dollar in value for a dollar spent with rivalry running riot.

The new weapons we are now perfecting and the weapons that are likely to be developed over the next decade will be fabulously expensive.

The country cannot afford to provide these new weapons and also support an outmoded military structure which promotes unwholesome interservice rivalry and duplication.

I may be oversimplifying the picture but it should be clear to all that the stakes are high and that the desperate struggle for power and position among the services is quite understandable, and real, and quite expensive and wasteful, I may add.

The vested interests of military personnel as reflected in our present departmental and military organization concepts must be set aside in the broader interests of all. But we must make it possible for our men in uniform to set aside their vested interests and be somewhat secure in their careers.

A part of the answer is a greater degree of unification instead of tension and disunity, something approaching a merger. People who do not think these tensions exist have not looked for months as some of us have into the faces of our military leaders who have earnestly pleaded for appropriations and discussed problems of defense.

President Eisenhower, for whom I have the profoundest respect, is the one man in our Nation who, by reason of position, prestige, experience, and ability, can step into this picture and bring order and effectiveness and a saving of tax dollars out of a situation which promises something approaching colossal waste and havoc generally.

I do believe that it is essential, however, that the President and the Secretary reach a common understanding with respect to this matter. On Wednesday, July 3, 1957, at the President's press conference he was asked the question: "Mr. President, would you care to give us your views on the proposal of Senator O'MAHONEY for a single agency for the three services?" The President responded as follows:

Well, you are asking a question that, of course—on which there has been volumes, literally many volumes, written. I have always believed this, that there should be a very strong central official of the—in the Defense Department who could prevent duplication of effort, competition which drives up prices in the products of single factories or industries, and, in general, a very definite power within the Defense Secretary himself or his immediate subordinates to keep all procurement, distribution and supply, on a very efficient, economical basis. And, as long as we don't have that power in the Secretary of Defense, you are bound to have these duplications and these competitions that do run up prices to the public.

It is noted, however, in the Senate hearings on H. R. 7665 that Secretary of Defense Wilson is not in agreement with the President with respect to the need for unification nor does he believe as the President stated that the Secretary of Defense needs additional authority. For example, at page 16, Senate hearings on H. R. 7665, we have this discussion between Senator SALTONSTALL and Secretary Wilson:

Senator SALTONSTALL. You have all the authority then that you feel you should have or need as Secretary of the Defense Department?

Secretary WILSON. That is right, and in addition I understand our type of government. The President cannot do things without checking them with the Senate and the House and we all have to get into it together and know what is going on and be in reasonable agreement on it.

It is found that Secretary of the Army Brucker, who was previously General Counsel for Secretary Wilson, takes the same view as the discussion on page 128 of the Senate hearings bring forth.

It is also of concern to me that Secretary Wilson advised the Senate committee that he has not discussed the problem of unification with the President.

See the following excerpts from pages 56 and 57 of Senate hearings on H. R. 7665:

SAFEGUARDING NATIONAL SECURITY

Senator SYMINGTON. A statement was made some time back that—

"The national security is safeguarded only if the Security Establishment is trained and administered under a single direction by a single department."

Do you agree with that statement?

Secretary WILSON. Who made it?

Senator SYMINGTON. It was made in 1945 by the then General Eisenhower. Inasmuch as your opinion apparently has been changed at least somewhat on the Cordiner Committee report by him you properly call your "boss," I am wondering if you feel what you said this morning is in accordance with the way he felt at that time in 1945.

Secretary WILSON. I don't know what he thinks about it today. I have not talked to him about it. I know that there was a great deal of argument in the Congress when the Defense Department was set up. What I said this morning is my own personal analysis of it and belief. I see where nothing would be gained by giving the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense more power and authority and put it all in one great big organization. The pieces are already too big, in my opinion. And all the big businesses in my country have been struggling to decentralize and get away from the very thing that you are talking about.

COMPARISON WITH GENERAL MOTORS

Senator SYMINGTON. You consistenly bring up the fact that, in effect, the Pentagon Building operation is comparable to the operation of General Motors. I know something about the organization of General Motors. I worked for it in supplying goods for many years. General Motors was and is a holding company that operates primarily for profit. A great many people get a bonus above their salary. This goes pretty far down

the line, in each of the operating companies working under and for the holding company.

Based on my years in the Pentagon Building, the difference between that operation and the operation of the Pentagon was the difference between night and day. The people in the Defense Department do not have any profit motive. They operate on the basis of authority. Problems came up which, to my knowledge, were totally foreign to the operation of a business for profit.

UNIFICATION QUESTION

I was interested in your definite position on further unification or, rather, against further unification, because this committee, and the Congress are trying to give you the amount of money you think necessary to run the establishment, and at the same time not tax ourselves out of the free-enterprise system.

I will not read all the nine points that were made by General Eisenhower at that time.

Incidentally, the recent article appearing in the paper questioning the President only last week would seem to show that President Eisenhower feels the same way today that he did then.

I am sort of surprised that you never talked to him about it. Mr. Reston, of the Times, says in an article dated May 15:

"The President recalled this morning that he returned from World War II convinced that the day of the separate service was gone. He added that he encountered very fierce opposition then, that the law establishing the Defense Department did not meet with his desire. He wanted at that time a Chief of Staff for the President. He emphasized over and over again the main thing that was needed was the power of decision to settle inevitable differences among the services."

Then his last point that he made in his testimony before the Congress was this:

"Finally, there is no such thing as a separate land, sea, or air war. Therefore, we must recognise this fact by establishing a single Department of the Armed Forces to govern us all."

If there is a difference of opinion between the President and the Secretary of Defense with respect to the need for more unification in noncombatant areas or with respect to the authority of the Secretary of Defense to bring about needed unification in certain services in order to accomplish economy, efficiency, and effectiveness, the adoption of the second O'Mahoney amendment, which I fully endorse, should eliminate any doubt and confusion.

I have reviewed General Eisenhower's statements on the need for more unification in supply and service activities in 1945, 1946, 1947, 1949, while a candidate in 1952, and since he has been President. I cannot help but believe that his true position is that which he stated to the Woodrum committee on June 2, 1945, "efficiency must be obtained with maximum economy. This means expensive duplication must be ruthlessly eliminated."

GENERAL MARSHALL'S STATEMENT IN 1949

Mr. Speaker, I believe that General Marshall's prophetic statement before the House Armed Services Committee in 1949 requires some sober consideration on the need for further unification today. General Marshall stated that the day would come when the struggle for appropriations between the services would be very difficult to manage. He stated that "unity is absolutely mandatory, in my opinion, and it involves, of necessity, an approach to the subdivision of funds."

General Marshall realized that a continued heavy tax burden would eventually threaten our defense if unity were not secured and overlapping, duplication, and waste were not eliminated. General Marshall also stated in 1949, 8 years ago, "That, in a sense, is the view that I have always taken and which I hoped would have been smoothly worked out long ere this time."

General Marshall was, of course, correct in his statement that defense would be jeopardized by wasteful expenditures, and, as I pointed out in a letter to Secretary of Defense Wilson on October 24, 1955, large, excessive, and wasteful expenditures deprive our citizens of many other important services necessary for the general welfare such as schools, hospitals, roads, conservation of resources, and so forth, and also prevent tax cuts and reductions in the huge national debt.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Senators O'MAHONEY, DOUGLAS, and CARROLL for the amendment which passed the Senate on July 2, 1957. I sincerely hope that it will be given approval by the House and that the President and the Secretary of Defense and all his subordinates will enter into the spirit of the amendment and make it fully effective so that we shall not need to bring the matter up again next year and the next.

Billion Dollar Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article from the Bay Region Business, a publication of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, which lists seven San Francisco firms in the Billion Dollar Club:

Seven of the Nation's 81 corporations with assets of more than a billion dollars have their headquarters in San Francisco, the only western city with such a large representation, giving proof to its claim to the title of Headquarters City of the West.

Leading the local list is the Bank of America, located at Pine and Montgomery Streets, center of the Wall Street of the West. Bank of America is the fourth largest corporation in the Nation with more than 600 branches in its system.

The billion-dollar club, a barometer of business growth, has almost doubled in the last 10 years.

The chamber points out that 30 national enterprises with combined assets of more than $30.8 billion have headquarters here with banks, railroad, steamship, utility, petroleum, insurance, and manufacturing companies comprising a significant cross section of the Nation's economy.

The 7 San Francisco billion-dollar firms and their total assets at the end of 1956 compared to a year before are:

	Dec. 31, 1956	Dec. 31, 1955
Bank of America NT and SA	$9, 991, 842, 011	$9, 263, 286, 000
Southern Pacific Co.	2, 138, 536, 918	2, 039, 295, 394
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.	2, 088, 068, 406	1, 784, 336, 000
Standard Oil Company of California	2, 041, 373, 083	1, 855, 610, 313
Pacific Gas & Electric Co.	1, 978, 534, 218	1, 864, 434, 838
American Trust Co., San Francisco	1, 610, 354, 455	1, 541, 810, 999
Crocker-Anglo National Bank	1, 510, 138, 260	1, 497, 041, 244

More Pay for Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, in one of the Minneapolis newspapers there appeared a fine article written by Roy C. Larson, president, Twin City Federal Savings and Loan Association, Minneapolis, Minn. It deals with the proposed increase in salary for postal workers and I should like to call it to the attention of all Members of the House. Therefore, I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

MORE PAY FOR POSTAL WORKERS

I am not a postal worker nor do I have any connection with the postal service, but nevertheless I am greatly disturbed by the plight of the postal employee.

One reads articles of wage increases of 20 cents an hour to groups who have been getting an increase of approximately the same amount every year for 10 years running. On the same page is the statement that an increase in postal pay would cause inflation.

The postal workers and carriers I know have a take-home pay of approximately $60 per week.

Lending institutions consider them as poor customers in home purchases, unless they can make a 50-percent downpayment on a relatively inexpensive home, not because they are poor pay, but because they wouldn't want them to starve while paying.

One of the very few items that hasn't tripled or quadrupled since the war is postage cost. Certainly we could stand an increase in rates.

These loyal employees of the postal service have no force they can exert to obtain an increase in pay. Consequently they have thrown away their pride for a living wage, but to no avail. I am not a believer in radical methods to obtain an end, but in this case, even if they have signed a no-strike pledge, they are certainly justified in striking.

Here is an opportunity for one of our long-winded politicians (either side) to blow his horn in the right direction and obtain, not $10 per week as will be proposed, but an increase of $40 per week minimum, for the postal workers. They are 6 years behind in pay increases.

ROY C. LARSON,
President, Twin City Federal Savings and Loan Association.

The Billy Williams Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial from the June 21 edition of the Minneapolis Spokesman, of Minneapolis, Minn., entitled the "Billy Williams Story."

The editorial follows:

THE BILLY WILLIAMS STORY

Billy Williams for years has been a living Minnesota legend. First as messenger and later as executive aide, he has served 14 of the State's 29 governors. Williams' retirement from State service on June 30 has been announced. His retirement will bring back many memories to him and others of the momentous occurrences and events of which every State chief executive and his office are the vortex.

Having served State chiefs since the opening of the present State capitol in 1905, Williams has stored in his memory thousands of incidents which ought to make excellent history of the times and individuals who have led the political life of the State most of the 20th century.

While Billy Williams has always seemed to shy away from the spotlight, there is little doubt that he has played an important part in State governmental circles, both in the executive and in the legislative branches.

The most astute and influential legislators during the past 52 years have been proud to call Billy Williams a friend and it is impossible to estimate how much Williams has been able to do for others by his close freindship with sentators and State representatives who have served in our legislature.

His great ability for friendship, and the respect he has earned can be seen by the fact that despite his important ushering in, and out, the various callers on the various governors he served, a job where an aide could be charged with favoritism, and his quiet influence on certain types of legislation, there has never been any public or private criticism of Billy Williams that this newspaper has heard.

In the past 20 years, as the Minnesota Negro became more aggressive and articulate, there were a number of suggestions that Williams in his long key place in State government could have been more active in behalf of the Negro-American cause in Minnesota.

Such criticism died aborning because there were those who recognized that Williams, while appearing to be aloof from the struggle against job discrimination, discrimination in public facilities, etc., actually carried on a subtle campaign at high level to gain converts for racial equality at all levels.

The fact is that Williams' high place, close to the chief executives of the State was a good example of the ability of persons of Negro ancestry, if given a chance for responsibility. Hundreds of rural legislators discussed the race question with Williams through the years and by what he said in his quiet way and by the manner in which he carried himself, the Minnesota Negro gained converts to his side in high places which could not have been gained in any other manner.

Williams, who looks more like an American Indian than a person of African ancestry, chose to take his stand on race long before he became a government employee. An accomplished baseball player, he played first base for a number of independent teams throughout the Northwest. He was such a star that Ned Hanlon, owner of the world-famed big league Baltimore Orioles, sent him a contract. Williams, only a young man, refused to sign the contract because Hanlon insisted that he would have to masquerade as a Cuban. Because he was proud to be an American Negro, Williams turned down what early sports writers believed would have been a career of national fame and fortune. This was enough answer to this newspaper for the few critics who felt Williams was not interested in the advance and progress of his people.

All during the period in which a newer younger leadership among the Minnesota Negro population has been emerging, Williams has continued to encourage, advise, and boost it. His wide acquaintance throughout the State has been used well and he has used every opportunity to indicate to the friends he has made that his people were making progress that entitled them to encouragement and consideration in all areas of State life.

This newspaper had hoped the Billy Williams story would have been written long ago. It is a story, equal to the best talents of the best historian available, for Williams' intimate exposure to the current of events which whirl around, and through a statehouse and a governor's office should provide a wealth of information about a half century of Minnesota government and politics, and the individuals who played the important roles.

The great esteem with which the State regards Billy Williams was evidenced in 1955 when the State legislature unanimously, and without dissenting voice, granted him a guaranteed income for life of $300 per month.

Billy Williams, at 79, looks, walks, and acts like a man in his late fifties. This newspaper hopes he will have plenty of time to visit, fish, and hunt with the many cronies and friends he made during his long service to the State and its people.

An Armed Forces Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the June 21, 1957, issue of the Muskogee, Okla., Daily Phoenix relating to the reduction of the Air Defense capability in the 33d Air Division's area of responsibility, which covers 300,000 square miles over the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

This editorial warns that the Air Force's ability to protect this area and its 11 million people has been falling off for the past 3 years simply because the Air Force is not able to retain the highly skilled officers and airmen technicians so necessary to operate at anything like peak efficiency.

This is a matter on which Brig. Gen. William P. Nuckols, commander of the 33d Air Division at Oklahoma City has has written me expressing his own grave concern over this problem. I have been impressed by the soundness of the position taken in this editorial and in the recommendations that are made there. Since General Nuckols' own recommendations are along these same lines, I should like to commend them to the attention of the House through the medium of this editorial.

In this connection, I have also received a very fine and thoughtful letter on the subject of military pay from a service mother at Checotah, Okla., Mrs. Milam M. King, who now has one son in the Army and who had another son in the Navy during World War II.

The editorial follows:

AIR FORCE NEEDS HELP

All of us should be concerned about the gradual diminution of the Air Defense capability in the 33d Air Division's area of responsibility, which encompasses essentially the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, a total of 300,000 square miles with a population of 11 million people.

The Air Force's ability to protect our area and our people has been falling off for 3 years now and today continues to fall off simply because the Air Force is not able to retain the highly trained officers and airmen technicians required to operate the air defense system at anything near peak efficiency.

The Air Force trains young, intelligent and highly motivated people to shoulder this essential responsibility. But, the Air Force is not permitted to offer them the reimbursement commensurate with their training. Civilian life, with its significantly higher salary rates inexorably beckons to them, and they answer in distressingly high numbers on completion of their first enlistment.

Io today's modern, high speed air defense system we need career-minded, experienced officers and airmen to produce an acceptable level of air defense in our area against the multi-megaton hydrogen bomb of 1957.

Megatons have become standard in American conversation today, but few people realize the enormity of the word. Megaton means 1 million tons. Less than four megatons of bombs were dropped in all wars since the airplane was invented. Yet, today, it is accepted that a 4 megaton bomb can be delivered on 1 American city by 1 airplane in 1 instant of time. Muskogee certainly must be presumed to be a potential target with its industrial development.

To highlight the expensive dollar cost of this constant turnover in people, in the 33d Division alone (headquartered in Oklahoma City), 1 of 16 in the Air Defense Command, the Air Force lost to civilian life 900 officers and airmen in the past 2 years. Each lost officer represents an average investment of $30,000. Each lost airman represents an investment of $15,000. This, then, was a total loss to the taxpayers of $14,625,000 in only 1 of 16 air divisions in Air Defense Command, which, in turn, is only 1 of 7 major commands in the Air Force.

There is a solution to this problem, a problem which is of vital and personal interest to every citizen in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

The solution is:

A. A significantly increased air defense capability at

B. A significantly decreased cost to the voting taxpayer through

C. The creation of a career minded and career motivated Air Force, the individuals of which are paid commensurate with their ability and experience.

In effect, the air defense of the United States in general, and the great 4-State area of the Southwest in particular, can be increased by some 15 to 20 percent at no increase in cost. Or, alternatively, our present

potential level could be an actuality at a very substantial savings of taxpayer dollars.

To put it another way, we can have more defense for the same money or the same defense for less money. This can be accomplished if two identical bills, currently before the Congress of the United States, are enacted into law.

These bills are S. 2014 in the Senate and H. R. 7574 in the House.

Both bills provide in effect a modernized method of computing basic pay for the uniformed services, so as to enable the Air Force, among others, to retain their expensively and highly trained personnel far beyond the 2-, 3-, or 4-year period of their initial term of service.

But, it will take the active interest, influence and support of the taxpaying public to bring to reality during the current session of Congress this proposed pay structure which will give our air defense commanders the tools to perform their essential tasks more effectively and at a saving, estimated for the entire military establishment at $5 billion.

Speed in the passage of these two bills is essential to the effectiveness of air defense of the Southwest. Trained people are leaving the Air Force every day, people the Air Force shoud be retaining to build up, rather than reduce further, the air defense of our Nation. The loss of another full year's worth of already scarce officers and technicians, if the bills are not passed at this session, will degrade further the protection of our Nation and of our area from a devastating air attack.

You can do your part with a letter to members of Oklahoma's congressional delegation, both Representatives and Senators. If you don't have time for a letter, just clip this editorial and mail it to them.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including herewith copy of my weekly newspaper column Keenotes which was released for publication today, as follows:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

Secrecy has always been, to me, a word with unpleasant connotations. Webster's Dictionary defines it as the "quality or state of being secret; concealment; furtiveness in violation of a right, a law, a code or the like." Certainly, then, it is a word which, under any normal circumstances, should have no place in the democratic processes of government where the people's ability to govern themselves depends in large part upon the fullness and accuracy of the information available to them.

But these are not, unhappily, normal times as the United States and its allies, the free nations of the world, struggle to loosen the grip of the giant octopus, communism, whose bloody tentacles are today fastened about vast areas of the earth's surfaces and its peoples. Consequently, since World War II—and most especially since the development of the atom bomb and nuclear weapons—the American people have patriotically relinquished more and more of their vital and essential right to know in the name of national security.

Tragically, however, throughout the world's history, it has been demonstrated time and again that powers once yielded to governmental bureaucracy are hardly ever redeemable and lead inevitably to the grasp for more power and to widespread abuses of the public confidence. And so it would seem to be in our time, where excessive use of the rubberstamp "Secret" in the conduct of national affairs has concealed much information that rightfully belongs in the public domain.

This is why the Congress, in 1955, recognizing the urgent need for an objective, nonpolitical and independent study of the innumerable laws, executive orders, regulations, programs, practices, and procedures intended for the protection of the national security moved to establish a Commission on Government Security. The functions of this Commission were to establish fair, uniform, effective, and realistic measures to safeguard both national security and the rights of the individual; to obtain to the greatest uniformity; to restore full public confidence in the Government's programs; and to protect the national security.

Sworn in on January 9, 1956, the Commission on Government Security consisted of 12 outstanding citizens, 4 appointed by the President, 4 by the Vice President, and 4 by the Speaker of the House. The Commission elected its own Chairman, Mr. Loyd Wright, a former president of the American Bar Association, and its own vice chairman, Senator JOHN STENNIS, of Mississippi.

Last week the Commission rendered its report and recommendations and the furore this has created in Washington threatens to be anything but a tempest in a teapot. The storm is not likely to blow over soon, nor, indeed, should it until there has been the widest possible public discussion of its implications.

The principal controversy centers about the Commission's recommendation for a law to prohibit unauthorized disclosure of secret documents jeopardizing national security. This has been generally interpreted by the press as being aimed at news-gathering agencies, the newspapers and news reporters, all of which represent the public's major source of knowledge about the Government's handling of domestic and foreign affairs.

In refuting the press' assumption, Chairman Wright has stated: "The Commission's proposed statute is not aimed at newspapermen. It would apply equally to every American citizen, no matter what his occupation. It would, for example, cover the person who works in a defense plant, making secret weapons for the Government, who reveals plans or technical data. It would cover a Senator or Congressman speaking outside the legislative halls. We do not believe that journalists will claim a special immunity over their fellow citizens."

I wholeheartedly agree with Chairman Wright's finding that a person who imperils the Nation's security by wilfully, knowingly, and deliberately releasing secret information should not be able to escape punishment by pleading that he believed no harm would result. It is not a matter on which he is free to speculate. He has no right to take the law, and the survival of the Nation, into his own hands.

Nor, I would point out, have any of us at any time and under any circumstances, the right to take the law into our own hands. This has always been a basic principle of organized society.

On the other hand, the Commission itself would seem to have run afoul of the very problem which caused the Congress to establish it in the first place. In attempting to justify its proposal for the enactment of a law to prohibit unauthorized disclosures, Chairman Wright sought to have released certain classified information about the occurrences which led to its findings—occurrences which involved the revealing of information vital to the national security. In his opinion, the Chairman stated, these occurrences no longer required secrecy.

His request was denied by the responsible official who evidently did not see eye to eye with Mr. Wright in this instance. So, in Chairman Wright's own words "The information is apparently entombed forever * * * in the bureaucratic graveyard of a maze of files, never to be disseminated to the American people who are entitled to know the full details of these dark chapters of betrayal."

On the surface, therefore, it would appear that the Commission on Government Security has failed in its principal objective, to find the means to safeguard our national security while at the same time preserving and maintaining the American people's vital and precious right to information.

Meanwhile, the Special Subcommittee on Government Information of the House Committee on Government Operations, under the skilled chairmanship of Representative JOHN MOSS of California, has for more than a year now, disclosed instance after instance of arbitrary and capricious suppression of Government activities and practices which it was in the public interest to be made known.

The problem of national security versus our inherent right to know what goes on within our Government will not be easily solved. In the end, it will, I feel, best be resolved when the conduct of our domestic and foreign affairs rests in the hands of public servants, divorced from politics and with the wisdom, discretion, good judgment, and intelligence to use well the authority and confidence imposed in them by the American people. The inflated egos of a bureaucracy swollen with a little power can be as dangerous to our national well-being from within our midst as can be the threat of communism from outside our borders.

Pope Asks World To Aid Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following news story, written from Rome by Paul Hofman, which includes the Pope's address before a delegation of the American Jewish Committee. The item appeared in the New York Times of July 2, 1957.

POPE ASKS WORLD TO AID REFUGEES—TELLS AMERICAN JEWISH UNIT HE OPPOSES EVIL BLIGHT OF RACIAL PERSECUTION

(By Paul Hofman)

ROME, July 1.—Pope Pius XII has urged the governments of the world to resettle refugees driven out of their native countries by the evil blight of racial persecution.

The pontiff made his plea in an address to a delegation of the American Jewish Committee last Friday. The original English version of the Pope's remarks were published this afternoon by L'Osservatore Romano, Vatican newspaper.

The text showed that the Pope had condemned anti-Semitism and racial discrimination in any form as a "violation of fundamental rights inherent in a human person." During their stay in Rome, the representatives of the American Jewish Committee had talks with high Vatican prelates on the question of Jewish and Arab refugees in the Mid-

die East. Eugene Cardinal Tisserant was understood to have promised the support of the Roman Catholic Church for a negotiated solution of the refugee problem in the Middle East.

The French-born cardinal is dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals and secretary of Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church. In the latter capacity, he heads the Vatican department in charge of religious organization in the Middle East and in other areas where Catholics, in union with Rome, worship according to one of the several eastern rites.

Cardinal Tisserant and members of the American Jewish Committee delegation had a 45-minute conference after the delegates' audience with the Pope.

Reports that confidential talks on refugees are underway between officials of Israel and some Arab countries have been recurrent here for some time. The first contacts were believed to have been established in New York.

The Pope's address did not mention the Middle East specifically. However, it showed that the pontiff realized that his visitors were concerned with the plight of refugees.

The delegation, led by Irving M. Engel, New York lawyer and president of the American Jewish Committee, has left Rome for Tunisia and Morocco.

The text of the Pope's statement to the American Jewish Committee follows:

"The American Jewish Committee, which you honorable gentlemen represent, has just rounded out 50 years of service in behalf of the right and status of those of your race who, with other minority groups, have been subjected to the violation of fundamental rights inherent in the human person.

"Forced to forsake the land of their birth and seek on far-off unfamiliar shores a refuge where they might begin anew a family life, how many have then had to experience the almost desperate situation added to their miseries of not being welcome where they had hoped for hospitality.

"Your desire to visit us this morning is a testimony to your confidence in the interest we have in the sad plight of the peoples just described.

"Again and again, as did our predecessor of happy memory [Pope Pius XI] before us, we have strongly urged that the fundamental principles of justice and charity and the long-recognized practice of offering asylum to those not guilty of crime be the norm of government conduct today.

"It is a consolation to our paternal heart to know that our appeal has been generously heeded in many countries; and we like to cherish the hope that so long as that evil blight endures, states will not be lacking in their obligation to succor those who have been forced to emigrate.

"We have been happy to welcome you gentlemen and our heart goes out in a fervent prayer to God that in His bounteous goodness He have pity on those who are suffering injustice and enlighten those who are perpetrating evil."

Port of Los Angeles, Bureau of Customs Receipts Show Startling Figures Reflecting Tremendous Growth of Los Angeles-Long Beach Dutiable Entries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I am pleased to present some recently received figures reflective of the tremendous growth of the southern California southland relating to the sharp increase in the workload and extent of the Bureau of Customs, United States Treasury Department, through the port of Los Angeles—Los Angeles-Long Beach.

These came to me through the cooperation of Mr. Carl F. White, collector of customs at the port of Los Angeles, in my desire to keep informed of the status of collections in that portion of my native State of California. Since the figures speak loudly and clearly for themselves, I need not make further comment:

Port of Los Angeles (Los Angeles, Long Beach)

	Total collections	Dutiable entries
July 1, 1956–June 30, 1957	[1] $54, 520, 458. 93	[2] 41, 164
July 1, 1955–June 30, 1956	42, 785, 332. 01	34, 084
Increase	11, 735, 126. 92	7, 080
Percent increase (1957 over 1956)	27. 4	20. 8
July 1, 1956–June 30, 1957	$54, 520, 458. 93	41, 164
July 1, 1952–June 30, 1953	28, 498, 848. 96	22, 171
Increase	26, 021, 609. 97	18, 993
Percent increase (1957 over 1953)	91. 3	85. 7

[1] Average per week $1,067,780.50.
[2] Average 791 per week.

Zinc Mines and Mills Closing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the publication American Metal Market which, I believe, emphasizes the need for prompt and decisive action to be taken by the Congress to save the metal mining industry before it is too late. This deplorable situation is caused by the dumping of excessive imports from cheap- and slave-labor foreign countries, a situation which our Government has seen fit to virtually disregard up to this time. Our mines and mills are closing and our workers are being thrown out of employment. It appears now that only proper Congressional action can afford the necessary relief to our domestic industries. The article to which I refer is as follows:

ZINC MINES AND MILLS CLOSING

American Smelting & Refining Co. will cut back zinc production at its mine properties by approximately 3,000 tons per month, according to an announcement from the company's New York headquarters. Three mines and a mill will be shut down. The curtailment is due to the sharp fall in zinc prices brought about by reduced industrial consumption and decreased deliveries to the Government. The zinc price has dropped 3 cents a pound in the past 2 months.

The mines to be closed are the Northport unit at Colville, Wash., the Keystone Mines at Crested Butte, Colo., and the Groundhog Mines at Vanadium, N. Mex.

Operation at the mill at Deming, N. Mex., which processes Groundhog ore and some custom ore will also be suspended. In addition to their zinc output the 3 mines produce approximately 500 tons of lead per month contained in concentrates.

Total production of all United States zinc mines had been averaging about 45,000 tons per month during the first quarter of 1957.

Resolutions Adopted by the Iowa-Des Moines Annual Conference of the Methodist Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, the Iowa-Des Moines annual conference of the Methodist Church, representing 140,000 Protestant Christians, adopted 3 resolutions that I desire to bring to the attention of the Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I ask unanimous consent to include the resolutions on disarmament, permanent United Nations police force, and continued testing of atomic weapons.

The resolutions follow:

DISARMAMENT

1. We wish to commend President Eisenhower and Harold Stassen for their sincere efforts to find the path that leads to a just and lasting peace. We promise them our prayers and our wholehearted support.

2. We urge our Government to take the initiative in making more daring proposals toward universal disarmament. We should offer to channel the billions we are now spending on arms into a fund for the ecovelopment of the underprivileged nations of nomic, educational, social, and cultural dethe world. This, to be conditioned on the willingness of other nations to likewise invest their savings from disarmament in this effort.

3. We regret that the opinion prevails among many nations of the world that the United States maintains its position through material and military force. May we not commend a new confidence in our great moral and spiritual resources in tangible investments of good will, understanding, and helpfulness to all members of the family of nations?

4. The secretary of the conference shall be requested to communicate these resolutions to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and the Senators and Representatives from Iowa.

RESOLUTION ON PERMANENT UNITED NATIONS POLICE FORCE

Whereas the United States emergency force has shown its value as a means of keeping order in troubled areas between nations; and

Whereas we believe that such a paramilitary force could be useful in other trouble spots now, or in the future; and

Whereas we believe that the United States can more effectively secure peace with such a force at its disposal: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Iowa-Des Moines annual conference of the Methodist Church

meeting in annual session this 13th day of June 1957, believes that it would be in the best interest of world peace and the United States to make the present U. N. emergency force permanent; to expand it and have it individually recruited by the U. N.; to put the force in United Nations uniform, and give it special training for observation, patrol, and guard duty; and to define safeguards for its use, assignment, and administration; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Iowa-Des Moines annual conference be requested to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the United States State Department, and to the Senators and Representatives of Iowa, in Washington, D. C.

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE CONTINUED TESTING OF ATOMIC WEAPONS

Whereas it is a matter of common knowledge that we are now living in the atomic age, with its consequent atomic radiation dangers; and

Whereas there is unanimous agreement among all scientists that radiation "fallout" is detrimental to all living organisms, including the human race; and

Whereas it is a stated policy of our Government to continue the testing of atomic weapons, irregardless of the warnings of a large percentage of our scientists; and

Whereas it appears that the matter of atomic radiation "fallout" is a moral and a religious issue, as well as a military and a scientific issue: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this annual conference of the Methodist Church go on record as opposing the continuation of atomic weapons testing by our Government (and by all other governments, as well). And that this conference make its wishes known to the heads of our Government by ordering that the secretary of our conference send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and to the legislative representatives from the State of Iowa who are now serving in the Congress of the United States.

Resolutions Adopted by the Rabbinical Assembly Convention, Kiamesha Lake, N. Y., May 16, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I commend to my colleagues' attention the resolutions adopted by the Rabbinical Assembly of America at its recent convention. The Rabbinical Assembly consists of 600 rabbis. The views of this distinguished group on these important public issues warrant careful consideration.

The resolutions read as follows:

RESOLUTION ON ISRAEL, SUEZ, AND AQABA

The Rabbinical Assembly of America, in convention assembled, extends warm fraternal greetings to the people of the State of Israel and expresses its good wishes to the only democracy in the Middle East. Though continuously facing military, economic, and political difficulties, our gallant brothers in Israel have shown remarkable patience and forbearing. Challenged by gross provocations of peace and security through continuous atacks of Egyptian fedayeen and other Arab infiltrators, Israel has defended her borders with courage and fortitude.

Out of deep religious concern for the preservation of human life, we urge the statesmen of our country to redouble their efforts to bring peace and stability to the Middle East. Essential to the prevention of hostilities in that area is a fair and clear American foreign policy. To hide behind the smokescreen of inability to cope with a situation within the United Nations framework, only makes a mockery of peace and justice. The world has a right to expect progressive leadership from the United States of America such as was demonstrated during the recent crisis in Jordan. Lack of American leadership in the Middle East will result in continued violence which may eventually spread to other areas. Promises, which have been made or implied by the President of the United States of America to Israel concerning the use of the Suez Canal and Gulf of Aqaba, must be fulfilled if we are not to yield to the blackmailing devices of Arab potentates who flirt with communism. Egypt must not be permitted to return to the positions from which it may again blockade the Gulf of Aqaba and its international waterway.

RESOLUTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Rabbinical Assembly of America once again declares its recognition of the full rights of all citizens to equal opportunities for education, employment, housing, and exercise of franchise without regard to color or creed.

Events of the past year have dramatized the more flagrant abuse of these rights in certain sections of the South. However, the disregard for the rights of citizens also exists in communities in other sections of the country. Segregated schooling is not limited to a Clinton, Tenn., and a Montgomery, Ala., as evidenced by what are in practice segregated schools in the Negro neighborhoods of northern metropolitan areas.

The Rabbinical Assembly of America therefore calls on the responsible leaders of all communities to reexamine their local situations as they now exist with regard to housing, education, and employment opportunities for minorities. This may serve as the first step toward the realization of human dignity for all our citizens which may eventually become a criterion for all nations, and the best possible answer to those who seek to undermine our American way of life.

RESOLUTION ON EGYPTIAN JEWS AND PROTECTION OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

The Rabbinical Assembly of America is shocked by the violation of human rights, dignity, and security of Egyptian Jews. The incursions against human freedom and the continued atrocities call to mind Nazi brutalities of two decades ago. We are grieved and alarmed over the arrests of thousands of Jews, the confiscation of their property, their deportation to concentration camps, and exile out of the country.

Much as we appreciate our Government's expression of deep concern to the Government of Egypt regarding the expulsion of Jews, we believe that more can be done to aid the latest victims of persecution. The desperate plight of Egyptian Jews, who have been systematically plundered, impoverished, and forced to flee by the Nasser dictatorship, surely should command our sympathy and our help, just as do the sufferings of the Hungarian refugees from Red despotism. The Rabbinical Assembly of America calls upon the President of the United States to extend the parolee provisions of our immigration laws to include Egyptian Jews at this time.

We further call upon our Government to express the need for the protection of Jewish religious institutions in Egypt.

RESOLUTION ON IMMIGRATION POLICY

The Rabbinical Assembly of America deplores the failure of Congress to eliminate the restrictive, discriminatory provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (McCarran-Walter law), which have been denounced by many religious and civic groups and by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

We urge Congress to enact speedily amendments which will revise the immigration law in order to:

(a) Substitute an equitable and nondiscriminatory formula for the admission of new Americans in place of the inviduous national origins quota system;

(b) Eliminate the unnecessary and harsh deportation provisions;

(c) Eliminate the inequitable distinctions now in the law as between native born and naturalized Americans;

(d) Set up fair appellate procedures in immigration and nationality matters.

We further call upon the President to make use of the powers at his disposal in order to admit refugees from Egyptian tyranny and persecution as was done for the Hungarian refugees.

Review of Inequitable Decisions Coming From the Board of Veterans Appeals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I spoke last week on the subject of the necessity of enactment of legislation to provide judicial review of decisions by the Veterans' Administration. This agency, needless to say, has always opposed legislation of this type and, in fact, has always favored the finality clause which is in all basic Veterans' Administration laws with two exceptions. Briefly stated, this provision means that once the Veterans' Administration has made a decision, no other body of the Government can review it or change it. This, of course, is contrary to our concept of law. All decisions should be subject to review and most agencies recognize the fact that a review would benefit all parties.

If the Administrative Procedures Act were in fact followed by the Veterans' Administration, perhaps we would have better decisions, but it is not.

When the Congress enacted Public Law 550—the so-called Korean GI bill of rights—it provided that the decisions under that act should not be final and it permitted the Veterans' Administration rules and regulations to be reviewed by the Comptroller General. The Veterans' Administration was vigorously opposed to this provision. But now that the act has been in effect for nearly 5 years, I am informed that the procedures work well and that the Veterans' Administration has, as might be expected, profited by having its proposed regulations reviewed by the General Accounting Office. The same procedure is provided for in the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act, Public Law 634 of the 84th Congress.

Perhaps this is the solution to the problem which I have been calling to the attention of the House—namely, review of inequitable decisions which have been coming from the Board of Veterans Appeals. Perhaps if the General Accounting Office were given authority to review all the regulations applicable to compensation and pension claims and to even review decisions, it would result in more justice being given to the veterans of this country.

Lift in the Fog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, in the Wall Street Journal of June 14, 1957, there appeared an article under the heading "Lift in the Fog," written by William Henry Chamberlin, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIFT IN THE FOG—RECENT EVENTS HAVE HELPED CLARIFY RED CHINESE PUZZLE BUT FOR UNITED STATES SOME VITAL PIECES ARE STILL MISSING

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

Some new pieces are being fitting into the Chinese puzzle—particularly into the pattern of American policy toward the Communist regime on the mainland.

In the wake of the British decision to widen its trade with Red China, President Eisenhower has indicated he is not adamantly opposed to this country's eventually following suit. Several Senators have publicly expressed themselves in terms rather inconsistent with the strict "no recognition" slogan embodied in resolutions of the Senate and House and inserted into the platforms of both parties.

Two monthly magazines of substantial if not mass circulation have published articles advocating a more flexible American attitude toward Red China. Finally, the mob riot that wrecked the United States Embassy on the Nationalist Chinese stronghold of Formosa adds a new dimension to the China question.

Even when added up, all these developments do not suggest that the United States in any predictable future will sponsor the admission of the Peiping regime to the United Nations or exchange diplomatic representatives with it but, like the pressure to permit American newspapermen to go to Red China at their own risk, they reflect a trend to question and reexamine a policy, which, however well-grounded in political and military strategy and in moral revulsion against the misdeeds of the Chinese Reds, suffers from the disadvantage of being somewhat negative.

The British decision to lower government restrictions on exports to China to the levels observed in dealing with the Soviet Union is perhaps more important for its political than for its economic implications. It is very unlikely that this British decision will touch off any spectacular increase in the present very small trade between the Chinese mainland and the countries of the West.

NO BIG SWITCH

Non-Communist countries in 1955 sold $313 million worth of goods to Red China and purchased goods to the value of $493 million. These figures are negligible in terms of the total volume of world trade. Nor is there any apparent prospect of appreciable expansion. Some 80 percent of Red China's foreign trade is with the Soviet Union and its satellites. Much of this is on a basis of long-term contracts, so that no big switch to dealings with the West is possible.

The vast China market has always been a mirage, because of the extreme poverty of the Chinese people and the sharp limits on what China is able to export in order to pay for its imports. It is more of a mirage than ever since the Communists took over China; there is something about communism that makes export surpluses melt away like snow on a warm spring day.

The British action is significant not because it will release a great two-way flow of trade with China, but because it strikes a hard blow at the United States policy of trying to keep Red China as insulated as possible from the non-Communist world. Other countries, notably Japan and Germany, are pretty sure to follow the British example.

There will be more coming and going of trade mission to and from Peiping. The strict United States boycott will become less effective because, if the Chinese want anything very badly that is not banned on strategic grounds, they will have alternative sources of supply.

Both the United States and the Chinese Nationalist Government have tried to tone down the effect of the riot in Taipeh, the Formosan capital, though it was naturally exploited to the utmost by Peiping and Moscow. But this outburst has called attention not only to certain tensions between the Americans and the Chinese, but also to the fact that there is some divergence between American and Chinese Nationalist aims.

The hope of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is to return to the mainland and oust the Communists. He has never been willing to accept the status of a local ruler on Formosa. Indeed, about the only point on which Chiang and the Chinese Red leader, Mao Tse-tung, are in agreement is that Formosa is properly part of China.

However, the return of the Nationalists to the mainland is militarily impossible without American air, naval, and possibly group support on a very substantial scale. Neither the Truman nor the Eisenhower administration has been willing to extend such support. What the United States has done is to build up Formosa with economic and military aid, to throw around the island the shield of the Seventh Fleet, reinforced by a treaty of alliance with the Nationalist Government and the specific congressional authorization for President Eisenhower to employ American Armed Forces for the defense of Formosa and such other islands as may be necessary for this defense.

TIME FOR BARGAINING?

Now, say the advocates of a softened policy toward Peiping, is the time to bargain with Red China for recognition of the independence of Formosa before the political stability of that island is put to a severe test by the passing from the scene of Chiang Kai-shek. It is further suggested that the United States might derive practical benefit from an embassy in Peiping and that pressure for admission of Red China to the U. N. is likely to swell to the point where it may become irresistible. And there is the wistful hope that Peiping may be detached from Moscow.

However, although the new trend in discussing China policy is worth watching, there are powerful arguments on the side of maintaining our present policy. The effect of American recognition of Red China, or even of negotiations looking to recognition, on morale not only in Formosa, but also in South Korea and South Vietnam, might well be disastrous.

The effect on some 10 million overseas Chinese, living in such countries as Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaya and Indonesia, would also be a matter of some concern. If these Chinese, preserving their language, customs, and traditions in the foreign lands where they live, got the impression that the United States had capitulated to Red China, they would most probably get on the Communist bandwagon themselves.

Nor is there any assurance that a softening in the United States attitude would help to detach Red China from its alliance with the Soviet Union. This alliance has pretty firm ideological, military, and economic cement. The Soviet rulers, reckoning with China's population and size, seem to have played their cards rather skillfully, withdrawing from positions and privileges in Manchuria which could have been construed as imperialistic and making their technical advisers in China behave as unobstrusively as possible.

SEEDS OF DISPUTE

This is not to say that there might not some day be a falling out between Moscow and Peiping on some such issue as control of the Communist movements in Asian countries or issues arising along the Soviet-Chinese land frontier, the longest in the world. But it seems unlikely that the United States, by anything it might do, could bring about this falling out between the Communist titans.

Despite the new pieces in the Chinese picture, any speedy or drastic reorientation of United States policy in that part of the world seems improbable. But some future modification seems less improbable than it did even a few months ago.

The Nuclear Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my remarks, an objective, considered, and written editorial "The Nuclear dilemma," appearing in the July 1, 1957, issue of the Boston Herald, of Boston, Mass. This editorial relates to the failure to reappoint Hon. Thomas E. Murray as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission and of his appointment as consultant by and to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

A fair construction of the editorial justifies an interpretation most favorable to Mr. Murray: A recognition of his great capacity, and strong pleasure in the fact that Mr. Murray will occupy a position that will enable him, in the important nuclear field, to continue to make his contributions to the best interests of our country and to mankind in general.

The editorial follows:

THE NUCLEAR DILEMMA

After 7 years of service Thomas E. Murray is no longer a member of the Atomic Energy

Commission. But he has not been silenced by the administration's failure to reappoint him. Indeed it is apparent that in his new position as consultant to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, he will be making more noise than ever.

In his statement to the committee, commenting on his career with the AEC, Mr. Murray launched into current United States policy with vigor. He is opposed to an all-inclusive ban on atomic weapons. He favors further development of small nuclear weapons. He deplores the lack of public knowledge about atomic energy.

The latter point was probably the most significant. "Today," he said, "there are few, if any, secrets in nuclear science. And the secrets of nuclear technology are, and increasingly will be, opened to professional knowledge." But at the same time, he said neither Congress nor the public is getting enough information about the facts of nuclear energy to be able to make up their minds about the issues at hand.

Undoubtedly this is true. AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, with whom Mr. Murray has battled for nearly a decade, is a security man. His approach to the problem seems to have been what they don't know won't hurt them and what they learn will only scare them. But the result has been that, not knowing enough, the public has gone off in all directions, believed anything and everything that has been sent their way, unable to pick and choose. Perhaps worse than that is the fact that we have had Congresses which have not been able to know what was going on either.

One of the difficulties of the democratic form of government is the conflict that inevitably arises between civil and the military purposes. Democracy is essentially a civilian system, able to take temporary wars in its stride but a little shaky when it comes to maintaining a large-scale peacetime military machine, shakier still when secrecy is given the tremendous emphasis that the Truman and Eisenhower administrations have given it. It is true, of course, that a certain amount of secrecy is necessary in these cold war days to preserve democracy, but too much secrecy undermines the very thing we are trying to preserve.

We hope the joint committee, with Mr. MURRAY helping out, will be able to bring some sense to the nuclear dilemma. Atomic energy is not a strange and mysterious force; it is as natural as the wind. And it is by no means an American monopoly, either. The Soviet Union and most other technologically advanced nations know as much about it as we do. It is only in the fringe areas of knowledge that one nation's scientists can be ahead of the scientists of another, and secrecy or no secrecy, they can never hold such an advantage for more than a short period of time.

Economy in Government

SPEECH

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I have today filed a petition signed by taxpayers from 43 different States urging Congress to:

(a) Reduce Federal expenditures;

(b) Cut Federal taxes; and

(c) Greatly reduce and soon eliminate foreign aid.

A similar petition has been filed in the other body by the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

These petitions were circulated by Taxpayers Educational Association, Inc., of Austin, Tex., a nonprofit organization.

The following is a copy of the petition that was circulated in 43 States, mostly among working men and their wives. After all, they are the people that pay 80 percent of all the Federal taxes collected. Hundreds of thousands of names have been collected and are still being collected on these petitions.

A PETITION TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

(For petition, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Wednesday, July 3, 1957, p. A5328. The petition was included in the remarks of Senator BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, on that date.)

Republican Luncheons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, of interest to many political organizations in the States throughout the country would be the open Republican luncheons in the State of Connecticut held once a week.

The following editorial from the New Britain Herald ably depicts the atmosphere of such luncheons and could well serve as a recommendation to other State organizations:

[From the New Britain (Conn.) Herald of July 3, 1957]

WORTHWHILE GET-TOGETHERS

Whoever, and we suspect Meade Alcorn, started the Republican Dutch-treat luncheons at the Hotel Bond, Hartford, every Tuesday noon certainly opened the gates of the right to know. The idea has made inroads on the "old smoke-filled rooms" that we used to hear about, but more to the point, it forever neutralizes the old saying, "It costs $25 to register in the lobby of the capitol, but more things are fixed up in the lobby of the Bond."

There will always be small group conversations about this and that concerning things political, but the informal mass grouping has a tendency to bring out in the open questions leaning toward mild embarrassment of steamroller tactics.

It helps the politicians feel the pulse of popular opinion. So often one in authority hears only the favorable things and stumbles when he tries to hop on the skirts of popular fancy.

Beneficially, it affords the political moguls of the State a chance to keep their "weather eye" on minor officials throughout the "hinterlands." Connecticut is so small in area that the get-together takes on the complexion of being "right folksie," for Republicans can come from the far reaches of the Laurel State to hear and make known their ideas.

The press, too, should be ever thankful for this vehicle, via the forgotten man, to trot out information in the embryo adding zest to the old saying, "Big oaks from little acorns grow."

One large orchid should be presented to the Republican State central committee for embracing the idea and developing it into a party institution.

Journalism on the Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., before the National Press Club in Washington, D. C. on July 2, 1957, and the verbatim transcript of the question-and-answer period following the address:

Mr. GRANT. Among many other interesting things about the Columbia Broadcasting System, it is a company with 7 presidents, 1 for each of the 6 divisions of CBS and then a seventh president who is president of all the other presidents.

This seventh president, or I should say the first, the president of the presidents, is our luncheon speaker today and we are glad to have him here.

It is not easy to phrase an introduction of Dr. Frank Stanton. I have to say something nice about him or Ted Coop and our other CBS friends will be mad at me. If I say anything too nice about him my friends from NBC and ABC might be mad at me.

So while I think about how to chart this middle course let me introduce some of our other distinguished guests at the head table. [Laughter.]

On my left the new chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, I believe now making his first public appearance since he became chairman, the Honorable John C. Doerfer. [Applause.]

Mr. GRANT. On my right the man who just retired as Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, the Honorable George C. McConnaughey. [Applause.]

On my left the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, of New York. [Applause.]

On my right a member of the Federal Communications Commission, the Honorable T. A. M. Craven. [Applause.]

Also on my right a member of the Federal Communications Commission, the Honorable Robert T. Bartley. [Applause.]

And on my left a member of the Federal Communications Commission the Honorable Rosel H. Hyde. [Applause.]

On my right the president of the National Association of Radio and TV Broadcasters, Mr. Harold Fellows. [Applause.]

On my left the director of the National Science Foundation, and an old friend of Dr. Stanton, Dr. Alan T. Waterman. [Applause.]

On my right the vice president of CBS in Washington, Mr. Ralph Hardy. [Applause.]

On my left the executive editor of the Washington Post, Mr. J. R. Wiggins. [Applause.]

This man I am about to introduce now I want to say in the presence of his boss was one of the best presidents this club ever had and has made life very difficult for those of us who have followed him in the job, the director of news and public affairs for CBS, Mr. Ted Coop. [Applause.]

We also have some other people here who are connected both with CBS and with this club, people that we would have a great deal of trouble getting along without.

The associate director of public affairs of CBS and the chairman of the house committee of this club, Mr. Lewis Shallenberger.

[Applause.]

A member of the CBS news staff and a member of our board of governors, Mr. Griffing Bancroft.

[Applause.]

Another member of the CBS news staff and the vice chairman of our speakers' committee, Mr. Claude Mahoney.

[Applause.]

Here at a table in front of the speakers' table we have the chairman of the board the Washington Post, Mr. Eugene Meyer.

[Applause.]

Also at the same table the president of WTOP, the CBS affiliate in Washington, Mr. John Hayes.

Mr. Meyer and Mr. Hayes have with them a group of their associates at the same table.

We regret that we did not know until this morning that Mr. Fred Ford, of the Department of Justice, would be nominated for the vacancy on the FCC. I am sorry we did not know in time to invite him to be here at our head table.

I understand that we have in the audience the former Secretary of the United States Senate, our old friend, Les Biffle.

[Applause.]

In the audience the vice president of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., Inc., Mr. J. E. Bodino.

[Applause.]

I will tell you in a minute Dr. Stanton of me along as a psychologist and still has connections in that field. The American Psychological Association is represented here by Dr. Bruce Moore, Dr. Frederick Baher, and Dr. Bob Hoke.

Will they rise and take a bow?

What with one thing and another here lately CBS has been making news as well as broadcasting news.

Just when some of the committees of Congress were showing an unusual amount of interest in the networks, CBS has conducted a couple of interviews with Communist bosses that have caused a lot of excitement and drawn a great deal of comment in this country, and as you may have noticed, some of this comment has not been in praise of CBS for a piece of journalistic enterprise.

We thought that this would be a good time to invite the top man in this whole big CBS show to come down and meet the press.

I apologize for using that phrase in connection with the president of CBS.

[Laughter.]

Dr. Stanton, you know, started out to be a college professor and then got sidetracked into the broadcasting business. It happened this way. While teaching psychology and studying for his docter of philosophy degree at Ohio State he wrote a paper which set out the theory that advertising is more effective when heard than when seen.

Well, this is a theory that some of us would not go along with, but CBS liked it. [Laughter.]

As a result of that paper, Frank Stanton got a job with CBS as a research man at $50 a week.

CBS soon discovered that he was not only a man with ideas but also a man who would spend 70 to 80 hours a week putting those ideas to work, and so he started to climb. They used to say that he was the fair-haired young man of radio, and they meant that in more ways than one. Be became president of CBS at the age of 38, and at the time he could have passed for 28.

One day in connection with a big news show he was asked to go down to the studio on some business. When he got there the lady producer of the show took this unassuming young man to be an assistant producer and she said to him, "Well, I am glad you are here, but when the hell is Stanton going to show up?" [Laughter.]

Today at the age of 49 he is still a man of ideas, still a hard worker, still a scholar, still looks younger than his years. He somehow finds time to engage in an incredible number of activities outside his job including memberships and directorships and a list of organizations as long as your arm.

In his spare time when he has any he pursues his longtime interest in photography, in sports cars, and in architecture.

May I present now one of the Nation's important figures in radio and television, the president of CBS, Dr. Frank Stanton.

[Applause.]

Mr. STANTON. Ben, thank you very much.

Distinguished guests and gentlemen, I was not sure whether the president of the club was going to make the main address here this noon or whether I was.

I am a little embarrassed with some of the stories that Ben tells about.

I don't recall the incident about the studio but I have been barred from studios on occasion, and it could happen in a fast-moving and complex organization.

I do recall, however, one time going to the coast in connection with negotiation with Marie Wilson. I wanted to talk with her about some terms in her contract. She was much more interested in who was doing my hair. [Laughter.]

Just by way of explanation about the "doctor," it is not something that I think I would have carried over from academic life into business were it not for the fact that in the New York area there is a man who issues a tip sheet in electronics stocks who has, unfortunately, the name of Frank Stanton, and I have not been able to separate him from my life except by going back and putting the Ph. D. in front of my name and then there is no doubt about it because he does not have that.

It has gotten me into some trouble around the office from time to time. When I first started to work there at CBS, I needed a special assistant or an extra secretary. Actually I did not have a secretary of my own. I was using a pool service and I needed a girl that would be working full time. They sent up a very attractive blond to me and she came in and started to work for me but I recalled that she behaved rather strangely when she came in and after 2 or 3 years she came in 1 day and said she was getting married and she would have to leave, but she said "I think I ought to tell you that something had happened the day I first started to work for you."

Now this was a very, very attractive young lady and I had glass partitions in my office, not to the ceiling only bank high you know for a $50 a week employee.

She said "When the personnel department said to me I would have to go up to Dr. Stanton and see him," she said, "I came in and saw those glass partitions and saw how young you were, I did not know how I was going to be able to go through a physical examination." [Laughter.]

This story was told the day she was leaving.

Gentlemen, I come from a commercial organization. [Laughter.]

A major duty of that organization is to report the news. A major right is to editorialize about the news. It is about these two things—reporting and editorializing—that I want to talk with you about.

They make up an area of our common interest.

Like all institutions in an enterprising society, the press is never in a position of having arrived.

It is in a constant state of evolving, hitting upon new techniques to meet new situations, expanding old concepts to cope with enlarged responsibilities, restlessly extending the frontiers of news gathering, devising more provocative ways of probing the minds of newsworthy men and women, all to see if the job of a free press in a free society can't be done a little better.

The industry of which I am a part has come relatively late to this adventure, and we arrived squarely in the midst of the great events and pressures of what Winston Churchill has called this "tragic century."

You know better than I some of the strains these pressures have placed upon the role of journalism in a free society. On the one hand, all of us have had to be alert to encroachments on our traditional freedom of the press.

On the other hand, we have had to recognize a special responsibility to the public interest that world events have imposed upon us.

In addition to this basic problem which has been yours as well as ours, we in broadcasting have had unique problems all our own. We have had to harness a new technology and pioneer a new branch of the press, electronic journalism.

For example, radio brought novel and wholly untried dimensions to journalism. It had the strength of immediacy in reporting, sometimes, indeed, transmitting the very event as it was happening. It could bring to the listener the actual voices of great personalities, giving life to significant speeches that only very few newspapers could print in their entirety.

It could lend vitality to the transmitting of ideas through interviews, debates and panel discussions.

At the beginning, we were about as elementary as one could be. We simply read on the air what you in the wire services wrote. It was as recently as 1933 that CBS established its own news bureau, the first in broadcasting. We began direct shortwave news pickups from abroad during the Anschluss in 1938. It was then that radio reporting put on long pants.

Television came along when we had scarcely grown up in radio reporting. With it came new dimensions. To the living voice was added the living image. With the vocal inflection was the facial expression, either one of which could damn or exalt a man's words.

In its ability to confront viewers with the personalities in the actual process of making news, the television interview enables an entirely new and significant personal experience for millions of people. They are there at the questioning. They see and feel what traditionally only you reporters have seen and then distilled for the rest of us.

This is a whole new dimension of journalism. In its use, we feel dutybound to bring the most important men and ideas of our times to the American people, and in the manner in which this is done we are determined to acquit ourselves as your brothers in a free press.

For if we define as the most important men and ideas those that are most apt to affect importantly the lives of our viewers and listeners and readers, then we must, I think place our whole confidence in the wisdom of Jefferson's statement that the people "may be safely trusted to hear everything true and false and to form a correct judgment between them."

If we do not believe this, there is no hope for a free press. Indeed there will be no use for it, because there will be no free society for it to serve.

It seems to me that you either accept Jefferson's proposition or you reject it. It cannot be watered down. You can't say that it is all right for some people to be exposed to

ideas or personalities but it is dangerous for others to be so exposed.

You can't say the people can be trusted once in a while or almost all the time. Once you start doing that, who is going to make the exceptions and on what grounds?

We have been convinced for a long time that one of the things television should be used for is to bring to the American people the very presence and words of world leaders, with all the revealing evidence of face and voice for them to judge.

Of course, television viewers have seen all he American Government and political leaders many times. And they have seen foreign leaders too. Sunday afternoon, millions of people had a good look at Tito. Three weeks ago, they all saw Khrushchev in action. Next Sunday they will see Nehru.

But these are only the most recent in a long series of such interviews, a series which has included Adenauer of West Germany, Nasser and Fawzi of Egypt, Ben Gurion of Israel, Chou En-lai of China, Casey of Australia, Lonordi of Argentina, Gronchi of Italy, Nagy of Hungary, and Gaitskell of England.

We like to think we are improving our techniques like newspaper techniques must be flexible. For example, in the case of Chou En-lai filmed interview, we used a technique often used by newspapers—submitting written questions in advance.

We submitted 39 questions and got 10 answers, and so informed our audience at the outset of the broadcast.

On the other hand, we canceled a scheduled Face the Nation interview with Molotov in San Francisco 2 years ago because at the 11th hour he demanded agreement on the specific questions we were going to ask him. Because this is a panel program, a format which uses to the full the revealing power of the medium, we insisted that it had to be an unrehearsed, free for all interview, or nothing.

Actually it was this experience with Molotov in San Francisco in June 1955 that started us on the trail which led to the Khrushchev interview and we were determined that if Khrushchev appeared on Face the Nation, we would not submit questions in advance.

We did the program on our own terms. In pushing for the Khrushchev interview, we were as much aware of our responsibility as we were of our freedom. We were doing our job as journalists. Khrushchev and his views are of great importance to our world and to the world of our children. The less this man—or any man of his importance—remains a myth or a dark legend or a mystery to the American people, the more certain they are to size him up correctly.

In a news conference on June 11, one of you asked the Secretary of State this question: "Do you have any fears or any evidence that the American people were taken in or bamboozled by Mr. Khrushchev in his appearance on TV?"

The Secretary answered, "Well, I think myself that the American people are sufficiently versed in the vocabulary of communism so that they were not fooled in any way."

I agree with Mr. Dulles.

One result of the Khrushchev interview made us feel particularly good. You newspapermen recognized the broadcast for what it was—a significant press interview. You were generous in your editorial praise. This support encourages us.

The Khrushchev interview was an exercise of our duty to report the news. Now I would like to turn to the second area of our common interest—the constructive exercise of the broadcaster's right to editorialize.

At the outset, I want to state the one principle which permeates the entire problem. That principle is the obligation—whether self-imposed or imposed by law is immaterial—to maintain fairness and balance in the presentation of controversial ideas. This we believe must be the cornerstone of all our policies in the field of opinion, whether the opinion be ours or that of somebody else.

This principle shapes the entire problem of editorializing. It is the yardstick by which editorial policies must be measured.

There are three general ways in which a network can present editorial views. One way is to allow its newscasters to editorialize in the course of their news programs.

Second—and a purer form—is to have a stable of columnists of the air separate from the news staff. And third is for management itself to express its editorial views in its own name.

We have rejected the first two courses and have gone very slowly on the third.

I would like to discuss the reasons with you.

We have decided that it is unwise for our newscasters to act as editorialists for reasons which seem to us compelling. For one thing we are certain in our own mind that for radio and television at least reporting and editorializing are separate and quite distinct functions. They cannot overlap.

Intermingling the two enervates them both: The news loses authority as it is sifted through the filter of opinion, and opinion loses its forces as it is tugged and compressed to pass as the coverage of news.

Very early in the game, we stated and published our policy in these words:

"CBS news and news analysis programs are broadcast solely for the purpose of enabling the listeners thereto to know facts—so far as they are ascertainable—and so to elucidate, illuminate and explain facts and situations as fairly to enable the listener to weigh and judge for himself."

Parenthetically I should state that this standard of objectivity and avoidance of personal opinion represents a goal which over the years we have not attained in every instance.

Newscasters like all newsmen are, thank goodness, human, and it sometimes takes a superhuman effort not to let personal opinion creep in.

We do not think that the policy is vitiated and should be abandoned just because 100 percent observance may not always be possible.

The important thing, however, is that this kind of objectivity be the goal, and that there be an honest intent to reach it. With that intent, deviations have been rare and will be rarer.

We are proud of our worldwide news staff. They are men of the highest degree of competence. They enjoy the respect of their fellow journalists, the confidence of people of affairs both here and abroad, and the trust of the listening public.

It would go very much against the grain of our entire concept of the reporting role of broadcasting to have these men suddenly appear as editorialists. They are great reporters and news analysts, and we want them to continue as such.

For these reasons we do not use reporters on the air as editorialists.

We come then to the second method of broadcasting editorialists using special columnists of the air who do not deal with the hard news. Other networks are experimenting with this system either alone or in conjunction with combining news and editorial comment in the same individual.

These networks have adopted what has come to be known as the spectrum concept, using commentators representing a variety of political, social, and economic viewpoints in the expectation that the net results will be fair treatment to all viewpoints on any issue.

We are watching these experiments with real interest.

This concept seems at first glance to be plausible, but we at CBS are not persuaded that it can provide the right answers.

For one thing this concept provides no assurance of fairness and balance on particular issues.

We do not believe you can simply hire men of varying persuasions and then assume that all significant viewpoints are getting equal exposure.

To do this some supereditor would have to find out what each commentator is going to deal with in his program topically and then make sure the others address themselves to the same topic.

Otherwise, one commentator might very well plead for Federal aid to the public schools while his counterpart of some other shade in the spectrum was strongly urging withdrawal from the United Nations.

On the other hand, if the spectrum theory were pressed to its potential, the end result would be a staff of professional debaters with assigned topics.

I should note that, of course, the defects of the spectrum theory provide what seem to me to be another compelling ground for not permitting newsmen to serve also as editorialists. For the spectrum concept would require us to determine what part of the theoretical spectrum is missing, and then to hire a newsman just because his views happen to fall into this slot, instead of judging him on the basis of overall competence as a reporter and news analyst.

Having rejected these first two approaches, there remains for us at CBS the third course—management's editorializing in its own name.

In 1949 the Federal Communications Commission reaffirmed our right to editorialize in this manner, provided room was made for opposing views. CBS fought hard for this right. Having won it, we have not used it very much. For editorializing over the air involves a whole cluster of problems that call for much wiser solutions than we now have, and not until they are found do we at CBS feel that we can exercise this significant right fully and in the public interest.

Editorializing on the air involves important differences for editorializing in print.

First, we do not have the tradition of editorializing. In sharp contrast, this is the basic tradition of newspapers which, as you will recall, historically were organs of opinion primarily and organs of news secondarily. Hence our approach has been different because our history is different.

This is a case where it is easier to continue than it is to begin.

There is a second difference between newspapers and networks which has a bearing on this problem of our editorializing. Most newspapers are under the control of a single ownership. Except for the handful of stations which a network is permitted to own, we provide a service to independently owned affiliates. The nature of the electronic media, with their simultaneity, affords no practical opportunity for the management of the affiliated stations to determine in advance of broadcast whether it agrees or disagrees with the network management's editorial. Because of the close relationship between the network and its affiliates, their identities tend to merge in the mind of the public.

Without resorting to cumbersome procedures of prescreening, it would be most difficult to take editorial positions acceptable to all our affiliated stations, positions for which they as licensees would be willing to accept responsibility.

Nevertheless, CBS has editorialized on a couple of occasions. One was in 1950 during the debate on color television. The other was in 1954 when we sought access for our cameras and microphones for full, on the spot coverage of the Watkins Committee hearings.

In each case we provided equal time to views opposed to our own. I think that you may agree, however, that these were rather specialized topics upon which a network could be expected to have informed views.

I can confess, because I myself was CBS' editorial voice on each of these occasions, that neither of these editorials fell upon the public consciousness with earth-shattering repercussions.

These differences between newspapers and networks, and our limited first-hand experience, suggest some of the reasons why we have moved so slowly into editorializing and why, rather, we have presented controversy through talks, interviews, and panel discussions which give leading outside spokesmen the opportunity to present their opposing views to the public.

There is much to be said for this approach. For in this area of presenting leading public spokesmen of opposing views on important public issues, radio and television offer special advantages not open to the written word. The broadcaster can bring into the American home the views and attitudes on any issue of leaders in positions of responsibility or special knowledge. This we think is a most important advantage. For the processes of democracy flourish in a climate of debate. They are imperiled by unanimity.

Through talks, interviews, and panel discussions, the listener participates in such exchange of views and is able to make up his mind on the basis of what he himself sees and hears at first hand.

My final point on this question of the use of the right to editorialize is by way of summary.

Broadcasting is still very young. As journalists, we have seen our first job as reporting and our second as providing a forum for discussions and debate by public figures.

Having begun our journalistic venture at the time and in the way we did, I hope we have achieved on the whole pretty good standards of news judgment. The development of this newer function of airing editorial opinion is still subject to the sweat and care of responsible experimentation. But we know very well that we will not have achieved full stature in journalism until, having found the proper solution, we exercise fully and as wisely as possible our fundamental right to editorialize.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. GRANT. Thank you, Dr. Stanton.

I hope that Ted Coop has explained to you that the questions are written by the people in the audience and the president simply reads these questions.

The first question is:

When newspapers and magazines are made up by members of this club, they could not care less whether their news judgment meets with the approval of the Government. Why was CBS so concerned over whether the President approved or disapproved of its presentation of an interview with Krushchev?

Mr. STANTON. You mean these questions are not rehearsed and given to the speaker first? [Laughter.]

Well, I don't know whether I can read back this question or not, but, "When newspapers and magazines are made up by members of this club they could not care less whether the news judgment meets the approval of the Government."

I think I would say exactly the same thing.

I am sure that the members of the CBS news staff would endorse this particular statement because certainly that is the attitude of management of CBS.

The second part of the question: "Why was CBS so concerned over President Eisenhower's approval of its presentation of an interview with Khrushchev?"

I don't think CBS was abnormally concerned.

I think that it is proper that any organization who has done something that if I interpret what was said at the news conference did not meet the approval of the President I think that it is entirely proper that some concern should be shown for it, but if you are convinced of the wisdom of your course of action, that is it.

I don't know what expression the individual who wrote this card had in mind of our fear or of our concern—excuse me for the substitution of words—I am not aware of this, and I document the answer by the fact that last Sunday, which was I guess 2 weeks, no 4 weeks after the Khruschchev interview, we did the Tito interview.

Certainly I don't think that that is a demonstration of concern.

Mr. GRANT. Why did not CBS issue an answer to President Eisenhower's press conference remarks regarding the Khrushchev interview on Face the Nation?

Mr. STANTON. I would like to give a two-part answer to that.

First: I had some difficulty myself in understanding exactly what the President had said in his news conference. [Laughter.]

By now I think it has dawned on me what he was saying; and, if I had had the vision then that I think I have got now, we would have answered him.

Mr. GRANT. What is your opinion of having President Eisenhower give Russian TV reporters a telecast interview to Russia similar to the Khrushchev interview?

Do you think the Soviet Government would permit such a telecast to its people?

Mr. STANTON. I will take the last part of that one first.

I can't answer the last part. As to the first part, I am all for it. I think the free exchange is a thing that is very much needed, and we offered facilities to the White House in the week between the initial Khrushchev broadcast and the panel discussion the following week for the President or anyone he wanted to designate to be put on film to be sent to Russia.

I want to make it perfectly clear that we were not in any way taking the position to negotiate with the Russians about the release of the program, but we wanted to make our facilities available to the White House so that, if the White House or someone in the White House designated wanted to do a job on film that could be packaged and sent over, we wanted to cooperate to that extent, because we believe in the free exchange of information.

Mr. GRANT. Does CBS have any plans to do a Tito-type interview in Red China?

Mr. STANTON. No, we have no such plans.

Mr. GRANT. Would CBS comply with Representative MADDEN'S resolution to require that all questions in broadcast interviews with Iron Curtain leaders be screened by Secretary Dulles? [Laughter.]

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Madden's resolution came to me by way of the press service late last night and I haven't had an opportunity to study it. I think I understand the intent and I think a dark day is outside the door if this comes to pass. I think the concept would be abhorrent to the Government. I certainly think it would be abhorrent to the public.

I know that we will do everything we can do to make sure it doesn't come to pass. It is just one step from doing it in radio and television to doing it in the press, and I think that it would be a very dark day indeed if we came to this kind of reporting in the free United States. [Applause.]

Mr. GRANT. Aren't you splitting hairs when you draw a distinction between editorial opinion on one hand and analysis on the other?

Mr. STANTON. I suppose the answer is that on some occasions yes, but we still feel that it is better to have the objective and to try to hew to the line than to be too concerned about the infrequent merging of the two. It is difficult on occasion, but I go back to something I said in the direct statement that I read to you, and that is that it is the attitude or the intent as you approach the analysis or approach the job, and I think that the thing is very clear in 99 percent of the cases.

Mr. GRANT. Since your answer a moment ago, two members of the club have sent up questions which say approximately the same thing: What would you have said in answer to the President? [Laughter.]

Mr. STANTON. You see this is one of the things that couldn't happen if Madden had his way. [Laughter.]

Mr. STANTON. Because if you had cleared the questions first then you couldn't have any followup questions.

Well, this would have taken a lot of thinking to have found the right words, and I would prefer not to try to do that as an ad lib statement before you. But the substance of what I would have said would have come right out of the document that I read before you here this afternoon, and I would have made it quite clear that, I think, on the question of the commercial enterprise that you can't have a free press unless you have commercial enterprise. There has to be someone that provides the oil for the lamps of the journalist, and I didn't think that there was anything wrong with being commercial, if you will.

I don't think that with a group that is as steeped in the traditions of the free press as this group is here today, I need to go further with the kind of thing that I would have said. I only say I'm sorry I didn't say it, because in retrospect it has taken on much more significance than I thought it had when I first read the statement that was made at the news conference.

Mr. GRANT. Would you care to comment on the rumor that CBS and Westinghouse are merging?

Mr. STANTON. One of you called me in New York when that story broke in one of the trade papers and said, "Doesn't Variety know that it has to give 90 days' notice to the Department of Justice when it is going to merge with Westinghouse?" I commented at that time that there was nothing to it, there had been no conversations of any kind, and there has been no change since the date of that statement.

Mr. GRANT. Radio and TV fought hard for their right to film and record the Presidential news conferences. Yet rarely are they broadcast in full on the networks. Why?

Mr. STANTON. As matter of news judgment. [Laughter.]

Mr. GRANT. What is the matter with pay TV? [Laughter.]

Mr. STANTON. That is a loaded question.

Well, there are two kinds of pay TV that have been talked about. One is the kind that would use the free wavelengths that have been specified for broadcasting as we know it in this country today, and then there is another kind of pay TV that is getting more and more attention these days and that is a form of wired pay TV.

On the former, I have some serious questions about it and on the latter I think it is a matter of a competitive form of service. I think that the public would be shortchanged if we had pay TV.

I am not at all persuaded in my own mind that if we had pay TV on the air today that the public would go for it, but if the public did go for it, I think they would soon discover that they were then only beginning to pay for what they had been getting free up until that time. I have searched the pleadings of the proponents for the kinds of things that they would bring to the public that the public is not now getting, and I think with the occasional heavyweight fight and new and special movies not yet made, which might be released through this medium, I can't find anything in the schedule that would change from what they are getting now free.

In other words, I think that the promoters would be hijacking the public into paying for what they are now getting, and to show you how simple this would be from an arithmetic or money point of view, if just one-tenth of the families in this country paid 50 cents each, that is one-tenth of the audience that now views Ed Sullivan every Sunday night paid 50 cents each to see the Sullivan show, this would amount to about 4 to 5 times as much income for the show and all the things behind the show as the sponsor is now paying to put on that program, so that you would have in effect one-tenth of the regular viewers of Sullivan tipping the scales completely over to the side of pay television, and the people who could best afford to pay would be setting the pace for the other 90 percent of the audience, and that in effect would begin to siphon off writers and producers, talent over to the side of pay television, and I think it would be only a very short time before most of your big shows that are now coming to the public free would be on the pay TV schedule if it works. If that happens and your networks as you now know them and your free stations as you now know them are converted, you will have a different kind of service in this country.

I don't think it will be any better and I don't think it necessarily will be any worse except for one thing. I don't know who will step into the breech of the coast-to-coast public affairs and news area. Certainly pay television won't. The operation of the CBS news and public affairs department is about a $7 million bill a year. Now that money has to come from someplace. I don't think people are going to pay to see Khrushchev and Tito and Face the Nation and Meet the Press and the other programs that go on in that general area of programing.

I think that they will not pay for them, that there won't be any networks because I don't know who is going to pay the $14 million a year to keep the lines hot, and in that case then I think something will be taken out of the fabric of our set, which I think is very important at this particular time in our history, and that is the serious sociological problem that I see, is that I think you threaten the network structure. You take something out that we have had and have used beneficially. I am not now talking about the advertising side, I am only talking about the news and public affairs side. This I think is a serious loss to the public, but from the standpoint of the entertainment shows, they will be roughly the same I would guess except that you will have to pay for them, and the average family uses its set about 5 hours a day.

The promoters of pay television are talking about 50 cents a half hour or 25 cents a half hour, 50 cents an hour. This is a big bill to foist on the public when they are now getting it for free. And when you talk about getting more culture, I can't think of a promoter who, if he had his choice between putting on Sadler Wells Ballet and Jane Mansfield or Monroe, is there any doubt in your mind what he is going to do? I don't think you are going to get any more culture than you are getting now.

I think you stand a better chance of getting more through the present system, but I speak as a biased spokesman. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. GRANT. Do you think people would pay to see Khrushchev on television?

Mr. STANTON. I already answered that.

No; I think you would have a small percentage of people who would pay, but more importantly, I don't know how many stations would even accept the program for airing, because if they had their choice between that and the putting on some sporting event or some class B movie or even a class A movie where they could make more money, I think the choice is just as plain as the day we were born.

They would go for the high-circulation show and you would not have this kind of programing.

Mr. GRANT. We are just about out of time. I don't want to ask you this question: What is the future for color TV?

Mr. STANTON. I hesitate to speak to that because I had my face on the cover of the Time magazine, I think in 1951, predicting it was just around the corner.

I think the future is very bright, but I hesitate to put the date on the future.

Most of you men in this room have seen color shows.

When color is good it adds a lot to a program, but it is no substitute for good writing, good production, and good ideas. I think eventually we will have most of our programs in color, but the timing is something that I don't think I would care to predict, but just as sure as we are here, someday you are going to have the majority of your schedule, your live schedule at least, in color, and I think you will get more out of it and more information because in many fields of broadcasting or telecasting you can pass more information with color than you can in black and white.

This is particularly true in the field of sports because you have the extra identifying characteristic of color.

I don't think it will make a great deal of difference in certain kinds of shows, but I think that eventually your entire schedule or the major part of it will be in color.

Mr. GRANT. Thank you, Dr. Stanton.

I am sorry that we are out of time. I want to present to you this National Press Club certificate of appreciation for your appearance here.

Mr. STANTON. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Many Commitments to Mental Institutions Are Unconstitutional

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, on January 31, 1957, I introduced a bill in the House known as House Concurrent Resolution 98, which provides for a complete congressional investigation into all ramifications of mental health legislative programs which are currently being promoted.

I am informed that many thousands of citizens of the United States are confined in asylums, many wrongfully and needlessly. Many of these inmates of State mental institutions were committed under State laws which violate several fundamental constitutional guaranties both in State and Federal Constitutions. The most flagrant of these violations are:

First. Denial of the right of trial by jury.

Second. Denial of the right of habeas corpus.

Third. The taking of the inmate's property without due process of law.

Fourth. The taking of the inmate's real or personal property without due legal notice to him of the proposed sale of such property.

The conventional format for the accomplishment of these illegal acts is to confer upon a State so-called court of equity the power to commit an individual upon the application of designing persons who frequently use this ruse to get control of the victim's property.

This situation as to possible illegal commitment of alleged mental incompetents was brought forcibly to attention by an article which appeared in the Washington Post of May 31, 1957, under an Annapolis, Md., date line. It appears that Judge William R. Horney ruled in Queen Annes County that a 1943 act of the Maryland Legislature violated the constitutional rights of William Easton, who had been declared mentally incompetent and was confined in a Maryland mental hospital.

An appeal from the decision of Judge Horney was argued in the Maryland court of appeals at Annapolis on May 30, 1957.

Prior to the 1943 Maryland act persons had been declared mentally incompetent only after a trial before a judge and jury. The 1943 Maryland act permitted a judge in equity court without a jury, first, to declare a person mentally incompetent on the advice of two physicians and, second, to order the person's property sold, or transferred to a guardian.

Judge Horney ruled that this act was unconstitutional and a nullity, as it violated constitutional guaranties of the alleged incompetent.

This decision raises the important issue as to whether other State statutes similarly phrased did not also deprive many alleged incompetents, committed to many State mental institutions, of fundamental constitutional rights by depriving them of their liberty without a jury trial and by depriving them of their property without due process of law.

It would appear that State statutes of the kind referred to may involve two serious denials of Federal constitutional guaranties, to wit, first, of the right to a jury trial and, second, of the right guaranteed by the 14th amendment against deprivation of liberty and property without due process of law.

That is why an investigation on the congressional and national level is imperative where there are State violations of Federal constitutional guaranties.

The Aim Is the Same

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting as part of my remarks an editorial which appeared in the Newark, N. J., Star Ledger on July 2. It hits the nail on the head. Commu-

nists are Communists wherever we find them. The article follows:

THE AIM IS THE SAME

The television showmen put on another big name show Sunday, starring Tito of Yugoslavia.

But this time the entrepreneurs avoided the trap they fell into when they gave Russia's Khrushchev a free propaganda ride into the living rooms of America. This time they had a panel of Americans standing by to pick the Communist propaganda to pieces.

For which, hurray.

But the Tito interview wasn't very informative, and neither was it very entertaining.

Yet it wasn't a total loss, as we had a chance to hear from the Yugoslav dictator's own lips what we've been saying over and over: that no matter how much Communist Russia may differ with Communist Yugoslavia—and that goes for Communist China—the aim of Communists everywhere is still the same, to turn the United States and the rest of the world into Communist territories.

Philippine Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, recently the Republic of the Philippines celebrated its own Fourth of July. As you know, Philippine Independence Day coincides with ours, in grateful recognition by the Philippine people of the part we played in helping them achieve their freedom.

In Manila, a significant statement was made by former President Sergio Osmeña on the occasion of the celebration of Independence Day by the Filipinos.

President Osmeña is a revered statesman who is highly respected in this country and who is considered one of America's best friends. In the Philippines, he is loved as a true patriot and his words carry the weight of his wisdom and experience.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I desire to include this refreshing and inspiring statement.

The statement follows:

THE PHILIPPINES ON THE 11TH ANNIVERSARY OF HER INDEPENDENCE

On June 9, 1908, on the closing of the first session of the First Philippine Assembly over which I had the honor of presiding, I made from the speaker's rostrum the following statement which was unanimously approved by the assembly:

"Following the dictates of my conscience as an assemblyman, as a representative of the people, and on my responsibility as the speaker of this body, allow me, gentlemen of the assembly, to declare solemnly, as I do now, before God and before the world: That our people seek independence; that our people consider themselves capable of living an orderly life, useful to themselves and to others, in the concert of free and civilized nations; and that we believe that if the people of the United States should at this moment resolve the Filipino cause in favor of the Filipinos, our people would, in assuming the consequent responsibility, be in a position to comply with their duties to themselves and to other peoples of the world, without injury to liberty, justice, and law."

The independence which we dreamed of in 1908, the independence for which our innumerable heroes and martyrs sacrificed their lives and properties, is an accomplished fact since July 4, 1946. It was proclaimed by the United States of America on the very day previously agreed upon between that country and the Philippines. This independence has not been obtained as the result of force and violence, but freely and peacefully, within the orderly processes of the Government itself. It was not the product of hate, ill-will, and suspicion, but of mutual understanding, mutual trust, and a sincere friendship between both countries. Thus, to insure its stability and perpetuate its blessings, America, which generously gave it to us, provided in the Independence Act for the perpetual neutralization of the future Republic of the Philippines. As a result, however, of the bitter experience of the Second World War, neutralization proved to be patently impracticable, the plan was abandoned. But the United States continued to show its generosity and friendship by concluding with us a military alliance and helping us to face the problems of rehabilitating our national economy by paying us $800 million for damages caused by the war and extending technical and financial assistance through its International Cooperation Administration.

Under these favorable circumstances, the Filipino people were able to vigorously begin the vast work of establishing and organizing a free and efficient government, both stable and progressive. Under such a government—especially during the administration of our late lamented leader, President Ramon Magsaysay—peace and order were reestablished at a time when they seemed to have been completely overwhelmed in the terrible wake of the last war. Graft and corruption in the Government were fought, and the guilty punished. The various economic plans were coordinated and completed in a master economic blueprint, with the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses, especially that of the rural inhabitants, for whose satisfaction and contentment every effort was exerted. Nothing was spared to bring about the policy of keeping the government close to the people.

In the field of our foreign relations, we have lived in peace with the other countries of the free world, and have extended to them our friendship and cooperation. Our Government cosponsored the SEATO conference in Manila, and participated in a most effective manner in the conference held in Bandung. In the United Nations, the parliament of the world, our Filipino delegates have distinguished themselves for their independence of judgment and love for liberty. Our diplomatic and consular service has been established throughout the world, with new emphasis on Asia and Africa. The new Afro-Asian orientation of our foreign policy is a decisive and significant effort to gain the respect and friendship of our neighbors in Asia, as well as of other countries in the East and in Africa.

But the most reassuring aspect of our foreign relations under the administration of the late President Magsaysay has been the maintenance of our close association with the United States, based on a common history and ideology, and the traditional friendship between our two peoples, started and maintained as a basic policy since the beginning of this century.

In the midst of the horrible tragedy of Pinatubo, which cut short the career of our beloved leader, President Magsaysay, we were thus deprived suddenly of his wise and paternal guidance. It has pleased divine providence to have as his successor in a difficult post, a man who is well versed in the intricate problems of our country, with a long and brilliant background in public service, and identified with the ideas and policy of his predecessor. This man is President Carlos P. Garcia. We are confident that under his administration the wise foreign policy that I have just described, as well as the constructive domestic program of President Magsaysay, will be kept intact and dynamic and will be vigorously pursued, in accordance with his solemn and public promise. In fact, under the able and patriotic leadership of President Garcia, this promise is now being fulfilled with sincere devotion, intelligence, and energy.

With such positive accomplishments before us, with the republic firmly grounded on the solid bases of law and order, and the democratic ideals which inspired our lebertarian struggles, we can look at the future with optimism. Hence, on this 11th anniversary of our independence, we can paraphrase the political declaration made by the Philippine Assembly on June 19, 1908, by affirming that "the Filipinos upon assuming the responsibilities of independence, have known how to fulfill, and will continue to fulfill their duties to themselves and to other peoples of the world, without injury to liberty, justice, and law."

Capability and Foreign Policy—Address by Raymond A. Hare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, our distinguished Ambassador to Egypt, the Honorable Raymond A. Hare, recently delivered at Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, a commencement address entitled "Capability and Foreign Policy." Mr. Hare's remarks are the product of many years of diplomatic experience and practical wisdom.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPABILITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

(By Raymond A. Hare, Ambassador to Egypt)

By way of an introductory generalization, I would venture to suggest to you that no small amount of the grief and frustration encountered in both the framing and understanding of foreign policy could be avoided if foreign policy were approached more as a science and less as a political rough-and-tumble with esoteric overtones. For, as a result of some reading on foreign affairs and some slight personal experience in that field, I have been increasingly impressed by the recurrence, in greatly changing circumstances, of identifiable phenomena which lend themselves to analysis, classification, and the drawing of basic and subsidiary conclusions. Whether these conclusions can yet be classed as laws in the scientific sense is perhaps debatable, and it is not my purpose to press that particular point to conclusion with you today. There is no question in my mind, however, but that such deductions do prove that the study of foreign policy can be pursued beyond mere action and reaction and also beyond the evoking of historical precedents, immensely valuable as that may be.

Now, if we can give ourselves the benefit of the doubt that such a scientific or neo-scientific approach to the study of foreign policy is permissible, and if we can assume that, in preparing a manual on the subject, we are including a chapter bearing the title of this talk, "Capability and Foreign Policy," let us see how a rough first draft of such a chapter might look.

LIMITATIONS ON CAPABILITY

Just recently I was talking in Cairo with an Arab diplomat who had formerly been stationed in Washington. In the course of our discussion he observed that one of the greatest sources of misunderstanding of the United States by other peoples is that they usually take it for granted that our capacity for action is without limit and that, such being the case, failure by us to accede to the desires of others is regarded as evidence of either lack of interest or unfriendly intent. He said that, from his service in Washington, he understood that we did not have the capability commonly attributed to us, but others are deluded by assumptions of unlimited American power and judge us accordingly. He might have added that this same failure to understand our limitations is not uncharacteristic of our own American public, which consequently tends to see adverse international developments largely in terms of policy failure; it is also sometimes shared by policymakers themselves when, in disregard of basic limiting factors, they seek solutions by the tortured twisting of a phrase or the concocting of some superficially appealing formula.

It is true, of course, that our total potential as a nation is almost astronomical when we think of it in terms of our total material strength, intellectual resources, and moral forces. If all this were in the form of an immense reservoir on which we could draw to meet our international problems, our difficulties would be greatly reduced indeed. But this is not the case.

In the first place, most of our national potential is unavoidably earmarked for domestic purposes. This is true even in time of war, even in total war; and it is, of course, all the more true in time of peace, even in this peace that we call the cold war.

Assuming, however, that we have a certain unknown quantity of potential on which to draw, we still find use of it circumscribed in many ways. For instance, we may have adequate available strength and satisfactory implementing policies and still be immobilized to varying degrees by mental unpreparedness; e. g., the precipitate dismantling of our military establishment after World War II. Then, too, there are problems where geographical, ethnical, occupational, organizational, or other interests may predominate over what might seem to be the broad national interest. There also may be, and often are, jurisdictional conflicts between our executive agencies, e. g., surplus commodities disposal abroad; or between the executive and the legislative, e. g., foreign aid. There also are often, very often, conflicts of interests in respect of other countries which affect our liberty of action.

In fact, this last phenomenon is so important and also so recurrent that I sometimes wonder if we fully appreciate its significance and also if we understand that this problem is of a type which increases in at least arithmetical—sometimes it seems geometrical—ratio to the degree of our emergence as a great power with all of the complex responsibilities inherent in such a position. To smaller countries may be permitted the privilege of concentrating on their own particular national issues to the virtual exclusion of other considerations, but not to us. Examples of the resulting problem for us are many, but several familiar ones might be cited, such as the effect of Arab-Israeli differences on our attempts to carry out a policy of peace and stability in the Middle East, the Algerian situation in north Africa, the Kashmir difficulty in the Indian subcontinent.

So again and again we find that, as problems arise, it might not be too difficult to develop a satisfactory policy provided we had sufficiently unrestricted and uninhibited use of our potential resources. But we don't, and that is the real headache in foreign policy formulation—a headache which is not eased by the fact that many of our limitations are of a delicacy which makes full public explanation difficult.

OUR BASIC NATIONAL INTERESTS

I would ask your indulgence in developing our chapter a little further in order to examine the process of applying our capability, as distinct from assessing it. To begin with, we would have to assume that we had determined (presumably in a previous chapter of our manual) the nature of our basic national interests. This is a matter of analysis, not capability, and, if the conclusions are wrong, we have only the inadequacy of our judgment to blame. Reduced to basic simplicity it would be something like this: We Americans have had a historical break. Under the impulse of a political awakening in Europe and coincidental with the industrial revolution, stout souls from many lands made their way here and found a rich continent inviting development. They rose to the challenge, and present-day America is the result. In surveying this heritage we find it good and sufficient; we do not covet the lands or goods of other men; we merely wish to maintain what we have and, if improvement is required, to do so in our own way.

This is our interest. As regards our basic policy or—to borrow a more precise military term—our grand strategy, that, too, is very simple and depends on two major factors. The first is that, as long as war and predatory communism haunt our planet, we must be sufficiently strong to maintain our military defense in association with our allies and friends. The second is that, as long as the world is afflicted by political, social, and economic deficiencies, we should be prepared to lend a helping hand in much the same way and for the same good reasons that we give attention to our own community and national maladjustments. In other words, what we especially seek is security for ourselves and the well-being of others. We seek these in our own self-interest but also in the reassuring knowledge that what we seek is reciprocally good.

INTERNATIONAL FORCES AT PLAY

Having then agreed on our basic interests and grand lines of policy, the next step is to survey the various international forces at play in order to determine their angle of incidence with reference to our own desired lines of action.

Please note the phrase "angle of incidence," which I used advisedly in order to emphasize the fact that foreign policy almost invariably takes the form of a compromise which in physics might be likened to a resultant of forces. For, as we analyze varying forces affecting our interests, we will find that they are of three types: Those directed along the same lines as our own interests, those directed in a diametrically opposed sense, and those having differing degrees of variance from what we would desire.

As regards the first type, the problem is primarily one of correct analysis and then of making sure that such favorable trends are properly facilitated. This is the easiest type of foreign policy determination, but it is by no means an automatic process for the reason that favorable trends may sometimes be manifested in unexpected forms requiring careful discrimination for correct identification; and, even then, great sensitiveness and imagination may be required to assure that a potential benefit is not inadvertently lost. Thus, in the early days of the Turkish Revolution it required no small degree of perspicacity to identify the movement as having elements congenial to American policy. However, that conclusion was wisely and fortunately reached, and we have ever since had in Turkey a stalwart friend. In the case of Canada, on the other hand, the community of our interests is so obvious that both of us have to exert a degree of care not to take each other too much for granted.

Now we come to the second type of international current which, on examination, is found to be directly against us. Here we have three options: Let it go, meet it head on, or attempt to deflect its course.

Here is where capability clearly comes in, since I believe you will find few cases where, even with the most carefully thought-out policies and with the maximum exertion of our capabilities, we can meet an opposing force head on and stop it. If we could do so, it really would not be much of a problem. Actually, what usually happens is that we have to direct our efforts to deflecting such opposing currents in such a way as to minimize their adverse impact as much as possible; but the result will still usually be somewhat, perhaps very much, short of what we would like. However, this does not necessarily mean that we have failed. Rather it means that, despite the best-laid policy plans, our capability was such that making the best of a bad situation was the best that we could do.

Thirdly, we come to a type of political current where the elements of analysis and capability are both very important. This is the current which is neither directly for or against us. This is a most important category because most of our problems really fall in this area. Unfortunately, we often seem to overlook this fact and, in the spirit of an accountant with his ledger, to attempt to put all problems in either the debit or credit column, overlooking, in so doing, the necessity for a third type of entry which cannot appropriately be written in either black or red ink.

Barring a few obvious cases—I leave it to you to fill in the blanks—can you say that any government is 100 percent for us or 100 percent against us? Of course not, and surely no people is. Yet that is the implication when we so often pose the question "Whose side are they on?" and expect a one-word reply. Just because nationalism may sometimes be manifested in intemperate forms, are we to view all nationalism as a negative force, or vice versa, are we to assume that, because we gained our independence by revolution, all revolutions are good? Of course not. And yet we do have an unfortunate tendency to oversimplify such phenomena. To do so may be convenient and timesaving, but neither as a government nor as a people can we afford to do so. I know you would not tolerate such unprofessional thinking by the mechanic who repairs your car or the doctor who heals your body; by the same token you should not tolerate it in either those who are directly responsible for foreign policy formulation or in yourselves because, under our system of government, it is basically the American people whose understanding support makes effective foreign policy possible.

As regards the handling of this type of complex problem, the technique is essentially the same as in that of directly opposed currents in the sense that we should do the best we can, by wise planning and effective use of our capability, to maximize the advantageous and minimize the disadvantageous. Sometimes, by so doing, we may be so fortunate as to achieve a solution in essential identity with our desires. That is a diplomat's dream. But usually you will find that, even by exercising one's best efforts—and we should not, of course, be satisfied with anything less—the result is in the nature of a compromise. If so, we need

not be unduly despondent. What is important is to do our best in the knowledge that our capability has its limits. Defeat and victory are both relative terms, and we should realize that the counterpart to exaggeration of failure is the no less objectionable inclination to overestimate our successes. Both are errors of oversimplification. Complex questions usually have complex answers, and we must be sufficiently sophisticated to understand that this is so and why.

What I have been attempting to say is that there are certain rules governing foreign policy somewhat like those governing other sciences, especially the social sciences; that among these rules is that of capability; that, because of the limitations of capability, there are corresponding limitations on foreign policy formulation; that there is no excuse for failure to analyze foreign policy problems beyond the usual margin allowed for the fact that we are human; but that foreign policy is not in the nature of some newfangled wonder drug capable in itself of producing international miracles but is subject to practical procedures by which problems can be realistically and systematically analyzed and logical conclusions reached; that, despite our great strength, the potential available for application to any specific problem is limited in many ways; that, just as the problems themselves are complex, so must the solutions usually be mixtures of things which we desire and things we would prefer to have otherwise; that with our increased responsibilities come greatly increased limitations on our actions to which governments of smaller countries are not subjected; that these limitations of capability are not something to be accepted with resigned fatalism but rather are factors to be studied objectively with a view to making the most of our planning skills and our capability in working toward our objectives.

So, the next time that things may seem to go wrong and that you are inclined by conditioned reflex to ask "What's wrong with our policy anyway?" I would suggest that you take a second look and see to what extent your dissatisfaction may in fact be due to limited capability. This is not to excuse inept planning but rather to suggest that both the planner and the public have a common interest in approaching our problems with a more dispassionate and analytical mind.

Look Out for the Red Chinese

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the voices demanding a softer attitude toward Red China grow louder. It is difficult to understand why. Right now the Chinese Reds are fostering narcotics trade all over the world.

The United States narcotics commissioner, Harry J. Anslinger, is quoted in a recent Associated Press statement as saying Communist China is the only country in the world that is not trying to curb illegal use of narcotics.

"Year after year we produce incontrovertible evidence of quanities of narcotics leaving mainland China—we seize it on ships at the dock," said Mr. Anslinger.

Some of the people who would now turn soft on the Reds need to be reminded that the Communist China of today is the same outfit that helped murder our boys in Korea. If Red China has changed since the Korean war, it has not been for the better. Its activities in the drug traffic prove that.

The Foreign Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Question Nobody Asks," written by Gen. Hugh B. Hester, and published in the July issue of the Progressive magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE QUESTION NOBODY ASKS

(By Gen. Hugh B. Hester)[1]

In the current national debate, no one has asked the basic question of foreign aid: Has it, on balance, improved the chances of world peace? Only if it has done this, can foreign aid be justified as serving the interests of the American people, for, after all, it is they who are paying the bills and will be among the millions dying if and when world war III comes. No other test makes sense.

Before a satisfactory answer can be given to this basic question, however, it is necessary to observe how the two types of aid work: Whether they really complement or oppose each other as forces for peace. Military aid is now granted to any nation that will ally itself with the United States against Russia and China, or will join us in the policy of containment of communism anywhere or preferably everywhere. Economic aid is, also, given to them and to a few other nations like India that insist upon a policy of nonalinement with any power bloc.

Pakistan, which receives both types of aid, and India, which receives only economic aid, serve as a useful illustration of how the two affect each other. According to the Indian leaders, any increase in the military power of Pakistan automatically increases the insecurity of her adversary, India. Thus military aid to Pakistan means a corresponding or greater increase in the military budget of India. This, in turn, the Indians contend not only consumes an equal amount of economic aid, but tends to set off an arms race chain reaction among the lesser powers, which may, and often does, increase poverty rather than, as intended under the aid program, reduce it.

Whether this should be true is not the question here, for logic has little in common with fear-induced hate. And again, unfortunately perhaps, the so-called enemies of the small nations, in the opinion of many of their leaders at least, are not the Russian and Chinese Communists, but their immediate neighbors; those generally in a comparable state of underdevelopment, poverty, and military strength. Any military aid, under these conditions, tends to upset the balance of power, as in the case of Pakistan and India, and so automatically wipes out any possible benefit from economic aid.

Again, in accordance with Indian views and many others, these apparently conflicting characteristics of foreign aid, as now conceived and administered by the United States, may be, and often have been, used to maintain the power of governments that are medieval in structure and totalitarian in nature, even when social, political, and economic reforms admittedly were absolutely necessary for any tolerable future for the peoples involved. Most of the Middle East is a prime example of this. Here a whole region, capable of one of the highest standards of living anywhere, is kept in abysmal poverty. And this is primarily because of great power competition and conflict. Much of Asia, Africa, and Central and South America are victims of this same outmoded struggle for power. The Arabs almost to a man believe that French colonial power over Algeria is now possible only because of United States aid.

This brief survey seems to suggest that military aid, especially for the small nations, may not only cancel out economic aid by inducing small local armament races, but may also shore up reactionary, despotic regimes, and thus increase proverty and national tension by preventing necessary changes. What then of United States aid in support of the great military alliances, such as NATO and SEATO and the Baghdad Pact?

Any worthwhile survey of the value of United States military and economic aid to the great powers, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan, must include, as a minimum, a few of the basic assumptions upon which the present cold war is based. Perhaps the most basic of these assumptions—I prefer the word myths—was the readiness of the West to maintain perfectly normal and friendly relations with the Soviet Union at the end of World War II, only to be rejected by Stalin's brutal intransigence.

This is a myth. Winston Churchill urged the strangulation of the Communist baby in its crib at the end of World War I, led the British propaganda attack upon the system between the wars, proclaimed it as evil as nazism the same day Hitler invaded Russia and ordered Montgomery to stack German arms for possible use later against the Soviets and, also, urged Eisenhower to do likewise at the time of surrender, May 1945. He resumed the attack openly and with full vigor at Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946, in the presence of and while a guest of the President of the United States.

The United States waged a two-front war against the Soviets immediately following the conclusion of World War I, participated in an economic blockade, including food, for 1 full year, and refused diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union for 17 years. President Truman, then a United States Senator, is reported to have welcomed the German attack upon Russia in June 1941, and to have proposed that we aid the Germans when the Russians were winning and the Russians when the Germans were winning, in order to help them both kill each other off. He is, also, reported to have stated to a group of his principal advisers less than 2 weeks after the death of Roosevelt that Stalin had received his last concession from us.

The Soviets, of course, reciprocated these fears and hates in full measure, and made their own special contributions. The points to remember, however, are that twenty-odd

[1] Hugh B. Hester, retired brigadier general of the U. S. Army, held major posts in both the Pacific and in Europe during and after World War II. In recent years he has written widely on American foreign policy.

years of suspicion, fear, and hate-inspired propaganda left little or no basis for trust and cooperation, that the war alliance was one of pure convenience, that both sides were responsible for this difficult, if not impossible, condition at the end of the war, and that once the war was over the thin veneer of friendship was ripped off by the top leaders of both blocs. From a vantage post as head of the United States-German food and agricultural program in Berlin, 1945–47, I watched the drama of the cold war develop and unfold.

Another important assumption of United States foreign policy is that the Soviet Union was able, ready, and planning to march west across Europe soon after the end of the war, and, therefore, NATO was necessary to prevent and did prevent this aggression. This assumption raises a number of interesting questions, only two of which can be discussed briefly here. First, what is the basis of the belief that a nation, which had lost more than 15 million of her people as a direct result of the war, including much of her youth, and had had two-thirds of her farms and factories destroyed, was ready, able, and actually planning another war? And this time, make war against a formidable alliance, which included the materially most powerful nation on earth, the United States—a nation greatly strengthened, not weakened as was she, by the war. Would the United States, after having lost over 12 million of her people and all her farms and factories east of the Mississippi River, be able, ready, and planning a war against an even greater giant: one strengthened instead of weakened by the great war? The question answers itself.

Second, what then is the justification for the belief that NATO, until quite recently a paper organization, and still far from adequate to its stated purpose, has or could have prevented a Soviet aggression against Western Europe? The mere statement, that since Russia has not atacked Western Europe, NATO must have therefore prevented such an attack, makes no sense. When, if ever, has any great power waited years for a grand coalition to form, organize, arm, and train before attacking, if any attack was intended in the first place? How stupid must one assume the Soviets to be?

Finally, what of the United States foreign policy assumption, "You cannot trust the Soviets under any circumstances"—recently revived by Admiral Radford? The only sensible response to such obvious propaganda is that the Soviets have no better and probably no worse record of performance in international relations than many other governments, including some with whom the United States now has military alliances. This God and Devil, good and evil theory has furnished propaganda and fuel for war for every power group since the beginning of time. In the jungle world of the state system, this has been standard operating procedure for centuries.

I do not know how much experience Adm. Arthur W. Radford has had in negotiating with Soviet Russia, or how good a negotiator he is. But, for whatever it is worth, as chief administrator of our German food and agricultural program in Berlin after World War II, I negotiated with the representatives of the Soviet Union frequently, often daily, and I found them sound, sensible, and reasonable people with whom to work. Once we were able to reach mutually beneficial terms, agreements were possible and when made, they were kept. I found the British and French good collaborators too.

Historically, all great powers have kept their agreements when, but only when, it was in their interest to do so. It would be interesting indeed to see a scorecard of great power performance in this respect, compiled by a competent panel of international experts, free of bias. It might, also, prove interesting to observe the red faces of some of the leaders who have so often, ostentatiously and sanctimoniously, wrapped themselves in the cloak of international morality. It is not that the leaders themselves are immoral, but that the state system is amoral.

So far as the power elite of the Soviet Union and the United States are concerned, the problem consists primarily of the fact that both countries now are centers of world power and, therefore, in the jungle world of the state system, they must of necessity be enemies. If neither was a world power, the fact that one was a Socialist totalitarian state and the other capitalistic democracy would have little significance.

Assuming, as I think one must, that military aid is the common cement which binds together the bricks of the United States military alliance system, and assuming as one must, that great power alliances divide the world sharply, the conclusion is unavoidable that foreign aid as now administered with its emphasis on the military does not promote peace but conflict. And, therefore, it is not in the interest of the American people. It is a fact that the forty-odd allies of the United States do not really have a common enemy, common interest, common language, common culture, common political instituions, or common concepts of freedom and justice. All this means that they cannot possibly form a purposeful alliance. The only interest common among these allies is a consistent demand for United Sates dollars.

Once this interest has been overcome by a greater one, such as nationalism, or fear of the atom and hydrogen bomb attack, the alliances must of necessity fall apart.

Nations do not have permanent allies, only permanent interests, and those permanent interests now are synonymous with world peace. A vast economic aid program, organized and administered along the lines of UNRRA earlier, would contribute materially to world peace because of its international scope and cooperative character. Most of the nonalined nations, such as Burma, Indonesia, and India, have repeatedly stated their preferences for a multilateral aid system under U. N. direction. Even the Soviet Union has recently suggested such a solution for the Middle East.

If the United States would place her vast resources at the disposal of such a project, she could promptly recapture her former proud leadership in the cause of international peace, and likewise, she would contribute greatly to her own security. Her present system of unilateral aid, heavily emphasizing the military side, does not contribute to peace but does contribute to conflict. It is an essential ingredient of the Truman-Dulles-Eisenhower doctrine of Soviet containment, and as such can only contribute to a world war. In our own interests, and in the interests of world peace, we should now be willing, in my opinion, to modify our aid program in accordance with these suggestions.

Need for Driver Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the Washington Post on June 21, 1957, and which illustrates once again the need for driver education.

The Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, of which I have the privilege and honor to be chairman, has just completed hearings on H. R. 5416, to provide Federal funds to the States to assist them in establishing driver-education classes.

The facts presented to the subcommittee indicate that if we can properly train the Nation's new drivers, it would probably help lower the accident rate. While young people comprise approximately only 9 percent of the Nation's population, they are involved in 27 percent of the Nation's fatal accidents. Several studies made of groups of young people who have had driver training show that driver training reduces the accident rate among the youth by as much as 50 percent. I sincerely hope that H. R. 5416 will be approved when it comes before the House for consideration:

How To Keep Well

(By Dr. Theodore R. Van Dellen)

PRIVILEGES BRING RESPONSIBILITIES

The slogan "Driving Is a Privilege," needs to be emphasized. Those who abuse it by taking the wheel while intoxicated, or by acting like maniacs on the highway, should have their licenses revoked.

For many years, accident prevention has been a hit-or-miss proposition. Every community has its own solution and in many areas the situation reeked of politics. We now have a definite plan of attack that involves the vehicle, the road, and the driver.

Our experts hope to educate the driver at the high school level. Some States make such courses mandatory before issuing a license. This worthwhile project should be incorporated into the curriculum of each school in the Nation so that our boys and girls will learn that driving is a privilege and that transgressing the traffic code is as immoral as killing or stealing.

Great Britain is becoming alarmed at its massacre. The daily average of highway deaths is 15, in contrast to our 110. The World Federation for Mental Health, at a meeting in Berlin last summer, devoted part of its program to the study of speed. A French expert stated that the desire for speed was an expression of man's dissatisfaction with his limitations and frustrations and that spectators derive a similar satisfaction from auto races.

At any rate, speeding is a sign of immaturity and a compensation for feelings of inferiority and inadequacy. It might be wise to try speeders in courts presided over by a judge who is a psychiatrist rather than a lawyer.

The time may come when a physical examination will be a prerequisite to obtaining a license. Mr. Citizen might be suprised to learn how many drivers are half blind, are subject to epileptic seizures, have a disabling paralysis, or are on the verge of a stroke or a heart attack.

Many individuals drive while taking medications that decrease alertness or with a foot or an arm in a cast. I have known persons to drive after getting drops in their eyes; after reaching home they say, "I don't know how I made it."

These points are stressed because it brings us back to driver education. The majority of these drivers obtained their license before these disorders and circumstances arose. Driver education stresses the need for alertness and health and might discourage driving after a disability occurs.

District of Columbia Banking Bill, H. R. 8572

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, my bill, H. R. 8572, which I introduced today, would permit the District to have the same banking facilities as the other 48 States. The District of Columbia is the only jurisdiction in the continental United States in which one banking authority has sole and supreme jurisdiction over the granting of bank charters and the supervision of banks. In every other State of the Union there are two banking authorities, the State banking authority and the national banking authority. Each is a strong and vitally necessary safeguard against arbitrary exercise of authority by the other. This bill establishes a second banking authority for the District and ameliorates the tyrannical situation that now exists.

The sole banking official authorized to permit the organization of new banks in the District is the Comptroller of the Currency. There is no check on his powers except by court review, which is expensive and rarely desirable because of possible retaliation, even if successful in court. The policy of his office is not to grant any application for a new bank charter in the District of Columbia. If he cannot discourage the filing of an application for a charter for a new bank in the District, the Comptrolleer will disapprove it after it is filed.

The powers of the Comptroller of the Currency—those which have been granted him by law and those which he claims—are far too broad and absolute for the needs and progress of the District.

If the applicants for a bank charter in the District of Columbia feel that the Comptroller of the Currency is arbitrary in disapproving their application for a bank charter, they cannot make an application to any State authority for a State charter as can be done in every one of the 48 States and in each of the Territories. The Comptroller contends there is no appeal from his decision.

The Comptroller denies to applicants any right to a public hearing on their applications. He refuses them any right to know who may be objecting to their applications and the grounds for such objections.

The Comptroller of the Currency has not bothered to publish rules or standards which would inform the public what facts they must prove in order to justify a favorable ruling or decision on their applications. The Comptroller claims that he is not required to set forth in detail, or in any manner whatsoever, the facts on which he bases a decision on an application. In short, the situation, as it now stands, permits the Comptroller to be as arbitrary, discriminatory, and capricious as he wishes. He can dispense charters and other favors to those whom he deems should have them or withhold them as he pleases.

The present Comptroller's testimony before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Bank Mergers reveals that he had a complete lack of understanding or comprehension of the monopolistic forces that are, and have been for some time, casting a bigger and bigger shadow over our banking system.

His sympathetic consideration of more and bigger mergers and consolidations has been repeatedly made evident.

I urge you to read the testimony of the man who has absolute power over banking institutions in the District. It is set forth in the transcript of the hearings before the Antitrust Subcommittee—Subcommittee No. 5—Committee on the Judiciary, 84th Congress, 1st session, on H. R. 5948, pages 70–78.

Concerning this testimony by the present Comptroller, the Antitrust Subcommittee made the following comment:

> It is doubtful that the Comptroller's office is aware of the purpose of antimerger legislation or of the dangers that mergers pose to the competitive banking structure. This conclusion is indicated by Mr. Gidney's testimony before the subcommittee that he would not say any banks have been eliminated from competition as a result of mergers that have occurred in recent years. In his view, even if a merger takes place between the only two banks in a community, "there is still competition in the community." (P. 36, Interim Report of the Antitrust Subcommitee (Subcommittee No. 5) of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 84th Cong., 1st sess.)

I do not pretend to be the final judge as to the needs of the District for new banks. However, I would like to point out that there were 29 banks remaining in operation in the District of Columbia after the banking crisis of the twenties and thirties had run its course. I assume there was a need for all of these banks and that they were operating soundly, or the Comptroller of the Currency would have closed them.

In 1933, these 29 banks had about $260 million in deposits.

At present, there are about 17 banks remaining, the other 12 having been absorbed by one or more of the remaining banks through merger, consolidation or purchase. Deposits in the intervening years have increased to $1.4 million, or more than 5 times what they were when there were 29 banks operating in the District.

Yet the Comptroller of the Currency thinks that 17 banks are adequate for the District. He cites the number of branches as if these branch offices furnish bank credit competition. The fact of the matter is that the number of sources of bank credit in the District of Columbia has shrunk from 29 to 17 since 1933, a decline of more than 41 percent and will shrink further as the big banks continue to absorb the smaller ones.

There could be 1,000 branches of these 17 banks, and still there would be no further increase in the sources of bank credit. The branches, practically all of which are operated by the large institutions, only serve to increases the concentration of the power of the big banks' credit in the District. Needless to say, with the number of banks shrinking from 29 17 since 1933, no matter how many branches these 17 banks establish, there can be no increase in the sources of bank credit in the District of Columbia—for as the number of independent banking units decreases, the sources of credit decrease.

The sharp decrease in the number of bank units is juxtaposed against the sharp increase in the population of the District, which has just about doubled, being approximately 860,000 at present, according to the Bureau of the Census estimates. Bank clearings and bank debits, the latter a well-recognized indicator of economic activity, soared to unprecedented heights. Recently published figures on bank loans in the District have shown all of the banks to be loaned close to capacity. The profits of District of Columbia banks after taxes increased 9 percent in 1955. The profits of District of Columbia banks after taxes increased 4.3 percent in 1956.

H. R. 3405 would give to the people of the District of Columbia a voice in determining their banking needs. Before a bank can be chartered by the District Commissioners, there must be a hearing on the questions of whether the new bank will serve the public needs to advantage, whether it will have a reasonable chance of successful operation, the fitness of directors, and other pertinent facts.

Under H. R. 3405, before a bank for which a charter has been issued can commence operations, it must become a member of the Federal Reserve System or of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Regardless of which membership the organizers of the bank should decide to undertake, the agency in question—the Federal Reserve or the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation—then must investigate and make a determination of the following factors set forth in section 6 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act of 1950:

First. The convenience and needs of the community to be served by the bank.

Second. The adequacy of its capital structure.

Third. Its future earning prospects.

Fourth. The general character of its management.

Fifth. Whether its corporate powers are consistent with the Federal Deposit Insurance Act.

At this stage of the proceedings, the Comptroller of the Currency will have the opportunity to state his opinion as to whether the new bank should be insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation since he is a member of the Board of that Corporation. When the new bank makes an application to become a member of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Comptroller of the Currency, who is a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, will have the opportunity of voting against the new bank if he deems its existence to be contrary to the public interest. Thus, in every case of a new bank chartered under H. R. 3405, two Federal agencies will have the

opportunity to pass on the question of need as well as the District authorities. This procedure for determination by a local agency in the first instance under a local law and a determination under Federal law by a Federal agency is identical to the procedure that is, and has been for many years, in operation in all the States. There is no sound reason why this procedure should not be established in the District of Columbia.

H. R. 3405 would also supplement home-rule legislation since it will give to the people of the District of Columbia a voice in determining their banking needs. For this reason, I hope that those who have been supporting the home-rule legislation will lend their support to this bill. Self-determinaiton of the number of sources of bank credit is vital to the community. Unless there is some action taken to reverse the trend of the past 23 years, the present oligopoly in banking in the District of Columbia will be transformed into monopoly in every sense of the word, and the sources of bank credit in the District, already decreased 41 percent will be further centralized into fewer hands.

My bill will eliminate the dictatorship in banking supervision and bank chartering that now exists in the District. When a new District bank charter is sought, the question of need will be determined by the District Commissioners and the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In the case of the action by the District of Columbia Commissioners, the decision will be made after a public hearing, and the rights of all parties and of the public interest will be safeguarded under the Administrative Procedure Act.

I hope to see early enactment of this measure.

You Are Science's New Guinea Pig

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in 1950 and 1951 a select committee of the House, presided over by my colleague, the Honorable JAMES J. DELANEY, of New York, held 39 public hearings to determine the poisonous or deleterious effects of the use of chemical additives in the Nation's food. This committee reported in 1952 that 276 of the 704 chemical food additives then being used had not been satisfactorily tested. This committee recommended that the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 needed strengthening to require all food processors to prove by scientific pretesting, beyond a reasonable doubt, that any chemical food additive was safe for use.

Why were these recommendations never put into effect? Who is blocking them, and why? Why should the captive American consumers be treated like an aggregation of guinea pigs?

On March 25, 1957, I proposed by House Resolution 212 that there be a speedy, nonpartisan inquiry by a select committee of the House to find an answer to these questions. This resolution still reposes in the Rules Committee. Can any Member suggest a better way to meet this very serious public health problem?

Apropos of this whole subject of poisoned foods, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD at this point a timely article which appeared in the New York Mirror, June 30, 1957, entitled "You Are Science's New Guinea Pig," written by Joan Dickinson. The article follows:

When the American housewife wheels her cart around the supermarket, she is wholly unaware that the safety of the Nation's food supply today is being seriously questioned by leading doctors, due to the tremendous increase in the use of chemical food additives over the past 10 years.

Some research scientists are so alarmed by their experiments on test animals, they are warning of a definite hazard to public health. Practically every food we eat, from bread and butter to apple pie, has had chemicals used in it or on it at some stage of production, processing, packaging, transportation, or storage. And no one is sure what the long-range effect of these chemicals on the human race will be.

For 7 years Congressmen have listened to scientists' reports of how some of the chemicals which are now, or have been, in our foods, have caused a variety of diseases when fed, injected, or skin-painted on test animals. Among these diseases are cancer, sterility, bone disease, liver and kidney damage, blood changes and hemorrhaging. The scientists are not so concerned with highly poisonous chemicals that can be readily recognized, as they are with the small amounts of chemicals that have no apparent immediate effect—the ones they think could have vicious effects on man after years of intake.

Even more startling is the fact that there is no law requiring the testing of chemicals before they are introduced into food. And many have never been tested at all. With the exception of known poisons, the Food and Drug Administration must prove chemicals already in food are harmful, before it can force their removal. Testing and legal actions drag on and on for years while the public acts as human guinea pigs.

A total of 704 different chemicals are presently used in foods—and yet only 428 are known to be safe. This leaves 276 chemicals, commonly consumed by every American family, that have not been passed upon. The Food and Drug Administration refuses to name these chemicals but lists 100 as "probably safe." Of the remaining 176 it knows absolutely nothing—and new chemical additives are appearing all the time.

Wallace F. Janssen of the FDA estimates that with the present staff the agency has a 25-year backlog of research just on food colors alone. Ironically, food dyes are one of the chemicals most frequently cited as possibly being cancer causing.

Added to this unnerving admission is the past record of Government tested and approved chemicals, after years of use, were discovered to be dangerous and were banned from foods. Generally the public never hears of these cases, though they involve basic food items that all of us eat daily.

For about 25 years, Agene, a flour bleach, had been used when scientists proved that it produced running fits, or canine hysteria, in dogs and nervous disorders in monkeys. It was never found to cause epilepsy in humans, but some scientists wonder if other chemicals could be responsible for nervous disorders and mental illnesses.

Thiourea was proposed for use on citrus fruits to prevent mold. Oddly, it penetrated the skins of the fruit and, to the amazement of scientists, when the juice was given to rats they all died overnight. While the FDA was testing it, a frozen food plant noting that thiourea prevented the darkening of sliced peaches—added it to a shipment, without consulting anybody. Luckily, use of the chemical coincided with a plant inspection, and the Food and Drug Administration was notified. It managed to round up all the peaches before they reached the market.

IN LETHAL WRAPPINGS

Recently the agency seized 6,000 pounds of cheese wrapped in a preserving paper that was treated with a chemical as poisonous as carbolic acid. The cheese readily absorbed the colorless, odorless chemical from the wrappers. A salt substitute (lithium chloride), recommended for persons requiring a low-salt intake diet, caused several deaths before it was discovered to be poisonous after a long period of use when the normal salt content of the body is reduced. Dulcin, an artificial sweetening agent used until recently in diabetic food and some low-calorie soft drinks, was on the market for 50 years before anyone bothered to test its long-range effect. The result—it caused tumors in the liver of rats.

These past cases led the House of Representatives to form an investigating committee in 1950, headed by JAMES J. DELANEY of New York. For 3 years the Delaney committee held public hearings. Doctors, who are top experts in their field, unrolled gruesome details of their experiments. These tests are not claimed to be conclusive—it has not been proved that the same chemicals will have as bad an effect on humans, and it is too early to evaluate exactly what effect they have had, or will have in the future—but in view of past experience, they illustrate the urgency of amending the food laws before irreparable harm is done.

Our present population has been consuming large amounts of chemicals for only 10 years—but what effect will they have on our present generation of children who will consume them for a lifetime? Some are alleged to attack reproduction organs—what effect will this have on our grandchildren?

In 1953, Representative DELANEY introduced a bill requiring the testing of all chemicals now in, or proposed for use in, foods. It was proposed that no known poisons be allowed in food, even in amounts small enough to be considered harmless, and that chemicals suspected of being cancer-inciting be banned.

Immediately, industry-sponsored bills were introduced in Congress. Unanimously supporting pretesting, they had a so-called "grandfather clause" which would exempt all chemicals that had been in use for a period of time, and required for the most part, the testing of new chemicals. Eleven bills were introduced, with the result that none has even been acted upon. And scientific reports and more and more warnings continue to pour in.

When the Delaney hearings first started, a bitter controversy had been raging for a year over the use of bread softeners and emulsifiers which are added to bakery goods, candy, ice cream, peanut butter and cake mixes, to prevent separating and make the ingredients blend better. One food chemist described some emulsifiers as similar in chemical makeup to detergents used for cleaning and laundering. Certain ones keep cakes from "dipping" in the middle during baking. When added to bread in larger amounts, some make the loaves softer and they stay softer 48 hours longer. This was a boon to bakers since most women squeeze bread to see if it is fresh. A special bread standard hearing was ordered. Testimony was developed that certain emulsifiers fed to animals in higher concentrations caused a large number of deaths, severe kidney damage, formation of stones, hemorrhag-

ing, and other disorders. Many bakers voluntarily stopped using the chemical products, but Congressmen were alarmed to find that 13 bakery firms were still using them a year later, for fear of losing sales to competitors whose bread was softer. By 1955 the Food and Drug Administration finally succeeded in ruling out the use of certain of these emulsifiers in bread. But the ban applies only to bread—and it took 6 years from the time the first experiments indicated these chemicals could be very poisonous. Not all emulsifiers are considered possibly toxic, but some that are, are still widely used, and labeling requirements do not say the type of emulsifier used must be indicated on the package.

It has long been known that some coal tar dyes cause cancerous growths and for this reason many are banned from use in foods. But doctors are wary of many more that are approved. Hundreds of children have become ill from orange and red colored candy and popcorn. When the Food and Drug Administration removed 3 red and orange dyes from the certified list, the decision was immediately contested in 4 separate court actions. All but one are still unsettled.

A certain butter yellow dye widely used to color butter, margarine, and other products, in the past, produced malignant tumors in the livers of rats. The British, testing 2 of the yellow dyes, found they caused tumors in 7 out of 17 mice in about half their lifetime. Dr. Charles S. Cameron, medical and scientific director of the American Cancer Society, told the Delaney committee: "This is not used as a coloring agent today in this country, but other members of the same chemical class are used, and they are used to color, for the most part, candy, pastry, fruit juices, margarine, and preserves. Yet, they could conceivably be a factor in the development of cancer of the human liver 20 years from now."

USGING A LIMIT ON DYEING

The total production in the United States of synthetic primary coal tar dyes certified by the FDA is more than 1,500,000 pounds a year. Dr. W. C. Hueper, chairman of the cancer prevention committee of the International Union Against Cancer, urges international limiting of food dyes to an absolute minimum. He has named 20 chemicals added to foods or remaining in them after spraying, that produce cancer in laboratory tests.

Dr. Francis Ray of the cancer research laboratory, University of Florida, states that chemicals that do not harm healthy animals will cause cancer in animals that are poorly fed, or if their diet is deficient in certain vitamins. Dr. Ray has also shown that long continued use of a small dose causes cancer much more frequently than a few large doses.

Just a few months ago, Dr. William E. Smith of the Cancer Prevention Committee, and one of the country's foremost cancer research authorities, warned the present Congress of another great hazard—the widespread practice of using stilbestrol pellets to fatten and tenderize poultry and livestock. Stilbestrol is a hormone, known to be cancer-inciting, and so potent and dangerous that under the drug law it cannot be purchased without a physician's prescription. Its use is banned in Canada. Dr. Smith notified Representative DELANEY that it is urgent that any bill to amend the food laws should include chemicals given to animals destined for use as foods.

PELLETS IN THE POULTRY

The history of stilbestrol is one of the strangest tales of modern medicine. The pellets have been injected into poultry for 10 years. It reduces the male characteristics and the fowl gains about an extra pound, has a smoother-looking skin and is said to be more tender. When properly administered, the pellet is lodged at the base of the skull and is absorbed within 4 to 8 weeks, and no remains of the drug are supposed to be in poultry when it is eaten.

Stilbestrol has also been used by doctors to alleviate menopausal difficulties in women, to relieve the pain of prostatic cancer in men, and even to prevent excessive tallness in girls.

Its danger was discovered when mink breeders began reporting that their mink were not reproducing, and soon entire farms were stricken with a strange, unaccountable disease. Dr. Robert K. Enders, a specialist who works without pay for the Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Animal Industry, investigated. The mink had been fed chicken waste, the heads of which contained the remains of the stilbestrol pellets. The affected mink were completely sterile, and many never reproduced again. In time, thousands were affected. To prove the suspicions about stilbestrol, experiments were started.

"The animals that got stilbestrol were the poorest mink I have ever seen that were still breathing," Dr. Enders later told the Delaney committee. "They lost their hair, they were fat and puffy, you could put your finger in the skin and dimple it and the skin would not come back." Cysts developed on breasts, ovaries, kidneys. There was no reproduction at all. Dr. Enders reported another experiment where minute doses of stilbestrol were tried. Ten to 50 gamma a day—a gamma is one-thirty-five millionth of an ounce—were enough to cause sterility. Again, proof that a small regular dose is more harmful than a few large ones.

It was during the mink investigations that it became evident that stilbestrol is present in poultry that is sold to the public. Examining the chicken heads to determine how much of the drug poisoned the mink, Dr. Enders found some heads that had not been injected. It could only mean that these chickens had the pellet placed lower down in the neck or in some other part of the chicken which would be sold, instead of removed during butchering. Food and drug inspectors verified the fact that they do find unabsorbed pellets in marketed poultry. There are only 250 inspectors throughout the country, and it has been estimated that less than 1 percent of the poultry sold in New York City alone, is examined. Careful inspection at a good packing house revealed that 16 percent of the chickens had pellets injected some place other than the head. Poultrymen have written Congressmen admitting this.

Studies reveal that the drug, even when thoroughly absorbed and properly injected, tends to concentrate in the fat and the liver of treated animals and fowl, and much poultry is marketed before the absorbing period of 8 weeks is up. Delaney's office reports that stilbestrol will shortly be available in liquid form, so that it will be impossible for inspectors to detect.

Over 30 million chickens are drugged yearly and 4,000 pounds of stilbestrol is sold. The drug is now proposed for use in lambs, where it has been discovered to have spectacular effects. In the end, it will be impossible to judge how much stilbestrol is being taken in in the average person's diet.

NO SAFE POISON LEVEL

Dr. Smith, this spring, reported: "My colleagues and I have assembled data to show that this drug is not destroyed by cooking and that marketed poultry have contained per bird up to 342,000 times the amount of this drug sufficing as a daily dose to induce cancer in mice."

Where cancer is involved, Dr. Smith says, there just is no such thing as a safe level of poisoning. In the past, the Food and Drug Administration, in the case of known poisons used as pesticides, has settled on an amount that is considered safe to remain on vegetables and fruit. Recently the agency ruled out any residue of Aramite, a spray found to cause tumors in rats, but were forced by the chemical industry to establish an allowable amount.

The Bureau issued an order tolerating residues of Aramite in apples, blueberries, cantaloupes, celery, cucumbers, grapefruit, grapes, green beans, lemons, muskmelons, oranges, peaches, pears, plums, raspberries, strawberries, tomatoes, watermelons, and sweet corn but not forage thereof. The last phrase caused Dr. Smith to comment that this indicated that Members of Congress and their constituents can be obliged to eat this substance, but a cow cannot.

In spite of all this evidence, Congress cannot get around to enacting legislation though everyone is in agreement that the need for the pretesting of food chemicals is urgent. There are presently three bills up before the House: The Delaney bill, requiring complete and thorough testing and proof of the safety and usefulness of chemicals; the middle-of-the-road Food and Drug Administration bill, designed to compromise with the industries' and doctors' desires; and the industry-sponsored O'Hara bill, which gives chemists a lot more freedom.

There is much disagreement about the testimony presented as to the potential dangers of our food supply. Chances are that unless considerable public pressure is brought to bear, the argument will go on and on. Our Congressmen are no closer to agreement now than they were 7 years ago.

I have served in Congress several years with the Representative from New York, the Honorable JAMES J. DELANEY, and as an earnest and conscientious, faithful worker for the people he has no superior. After years of setbacks his message on poisoned foods is finally reaching the people. I am aiding him all I can, and am sorry I cannot do more, for the eating of poisoned foods is doing more to destroy the United States than any power on earth. We can stand economic pressure, we can repel military forces, but the battle against poisoned foods is right here among ourselves. Either it is the idea of profits to food processors or it is a calculated plan to weaken the people of the United States through drug additives to food.

Is this whole field of poisoned foods a Communist plan to defeat the United States? The people of this country must remain on guard. As Washington said in the days of the revolution, "Let none but Americans be on guard tonight."

The Immortal Thomas A. Edison and His Objectives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest men of all time was Thomas A. Edison. People everywhere throughout the world are indebted to him for the many contributions he made to a better way of life.

I am including at this point an address by Mr. George E. Stringfellow, a long-time business associate of Mr. Edison, delivered in Milwaukee, Wis. on

June 21 before the Tripoli Temple's Shrine Luncheon Club of which I am a proud member. The address follows:

EDISON'S OBJECTIVES

(Address by George E. Stringfellow, longtime business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison and Imperial Chief Rabban, A. A. O. N. M. S., before Tripoli Temple's Shrine Luncheon Club, Milwaukee, Wis., June 21, 1957)

Noble president, illustrious potentate, members of your divan, representatives to the imperial council, past potentates, heads of units, distinguished guests, and fellow nobles, thank you for the privilege of speaking to you about Thomas Alva Edison, in the radiance of whose genius personality I lived for a significant part of my life. Any success I may have attained, I owe in a large measure to the influence of that association. You can, I am sure, understand why I like to talk about this great benefactor of mankind.

The presence in the audience of a large number of officers of Line Material Co., one of your large industries, is a pleasant reminder of the recent merger of McGraw Electric and Thomas A. Edison industries. This merger was natural and logical, since the founders of both corporations had humble beginnings and they entertained the same philosophy of life.

We of the Edison Industries, now division of the McGraw-Edison Co., feel that the merger holds great opportunities for our employees, our stockholders, and our customers. Mankind will certainly be the beneficiary of the joined forces of McGraw Electric and Edison Industries. I should like to speak to you at a later date about Max McGraw and his contribution to our way of life. However, I am billed to talk to you today about Edison; and, in the words of Winston Churchill, I shall "get on" with the talk.

The secret of Edison's greatness was, in my opinion, his dedication to the service of others. His objective, to make the world a better place in which to live, was attained.

Through Edison's inventions the luxury of kings became the household accommodation of the average man.

Edison believed in our free-enterprise system. His thoughts on this subject were admirably expressed when he said: "The free-enterprise system, as much as anything else, has made us a great Nation. Competition develops better products and improved services and hit thus increased living standards. Competition is good for individuals." And then, with a twinkle in his bright blue eyes, Edison concluded, "Although it is at times uncomfortable."

Edison learned early in life that difficulties are challenges which develop latent resourcefulness in man.

Failures and disappointments never discouraged him. For example, after the invention of the electric light he devoted 10 years to perfecting the process for the magnetic separation of low-grade iron ore. Then a freak of fortune laid bare a great field of rich bessemer ore that obsoleted his work. Turning to one of his associates, Edison asked, "Well, what next?"

When Edison was 82 years old, the world celebrated the 50th anniversary of his invention of the incandescent lamp. President Hoover and a host of other notables from all parts of the world came to his laboratory to do him honor. The next day Edison was back at work. In fact, the day that the fatal illness overtook him, the 84-year-old genius was busily engaged in extracting rubber from goldenrod.

The driving power behind Edison's energy was the desire to master the problems which retard progress of mankind. Edison's disbelief in accepted theories made possible many of his inventions. Had he been willing to accept the prevailing scientific theories as truth, he would not have given the world more than 1,100 inventions, more any any other person in history.

In face of Edison's examples of how to succeed, it is difficult to understand why a large segment of our people today seem to believe in the theory that one can have more by producing less.

A short while before he passed on to his rich reward Edison remarked, "I wonder what would have happened to me, if 50 years ago I had been convinced by a fluent talker that it was not fair to my fellow man for me to put forth my best efforts. If the founders of our Republic," continued Edison, "had been afraid they might contribute more than they were paid for, this country would not have amounted to much."

I like to think of Edison as exemplifying the faithful servants in the parable of the talents related by the Gentle Carpenter of Nazareth, as He and His disciples sat together on the Mount of Olives. You have read the story in St. Matthew's gospel—how the master before going to a far-off country called his servants to him. To one he gave 5 talents, to another, 2, and to another, 1. You remember that the servant who had one talent buried his in the ground. The one who had 2 gained still another 2, and he who had 5 gained still another 5.

Therefore, when the master returned, he was well pleased with the stewardship of the two servants who had made the most of their gifts, and because they had been faithful over a few things, he set them over many.

Edison was indeed a faithful servant. Vision, imagination, genius, industry, tenacity, and character were the talents with which he was richly endowed. By the wise use of these gifts committed to his care, the world has been enriched a thousandfold.

Understanding, light, warmth, joy, and a high living standard—all this we owe to Edison. Because of Edison's vision, because of Edison's contributions to civilization, we are freer physically and richer spiritually. Little wonder that his memory commands a devotion rooted deeply in human gratitude.

In closing, may I quote Edison's last message to the American people: "Be courageous. History repeats itself again and again. Be as brave as your fathers before you. Have faith. Go forward."

That is a great admonition, and we would be wise to follow it.

Tito Talks About Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following column by Constantine Brown, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star for Tuesday, July 2, 1957, entitled "Tito Talks About Communism."

TITO TALKS ABOUT COMMUNISM—WEST SEEN FOOLING ITSELF IF IT THINKS YUGOSLAV DICTATOR WILL SIDE WITH US

Yugoslavia's Communist dictator, Josip Broz Tito, gave American television viewers a smooth performance Sunday. It was disarming and cozy. The stout Croat who holds his subject peoples in a grip of iron was affable and jolly. He waved his cigarette in the air with easy grace while he mouthed Communist nothings, as devoid of substance as the eddies of tobacco smoke around his head.

"Coexistence" was the Tito line, the same as it has been Moscow's, and Tito did a better job of making it seem something like a friendly, entirely reasonable way of life than the sometimes irascible Khrushchev ever did. Tito declared his brand of communism was essentially the same as that espoused by China's Mao Tse-tung, who recently reported to his party stooges that more than 800,000 Chinese have been executed for antistate activities. And it is the same; it is just plain communism, of the same deadly strain as that practiced in the Kremlin, in Hungary, and in every other police state where tyranny masquerades under the name of "peoples' democracy."

Controversy and rancor were entirely missing from the Tito interview, perhaps for the logical reason that the questioner, Edward R. Murrow, asked no controversial questions. Very likely, the Yugoslav dictator ruled out in advance any embarrassingly pointed questions. As a result, he was able to present a picture of sweet reasonableness, a comfortable and genial man enjoying his island retreat with his vivacious wife, his fast motorboats, his sumptuous villa. He is all for peace and coexistence, of course, and in the sylvan luxury of Brioni, surrounded by the crumbling ruins of Roman and Greek grandeur, he can forget about the thousands of political prisoners moldering in his own jails.

Plainly, Tito has not bamboozled the West at all. The West bamboozled itself. For the rugged marshal has never lied about his dedication to Communist absolutism or his own police-state suppression of freedom. If the policymakers in the free world want to make believe that he is a friendly, reliable neutral in the cold war, it's not Tito's fault. Self-delusion is not deceit on his part.

Tito has always admitted without equivocation that, in any showdown between communism and freedom, he is always on the side of the Communists. He makes no effort to hide the fact that, despite his own insistence on a strictly Tito interpretation of the party line, he is in the Soviet camp. When the Hungarian fighters for freedom rose against their Quisling Communist leaders last fall, Tito gave their revolt a bit of guarded praise and quickly reversed himself when the Russian tanks rumbled into Budapest. Then, and now, the Hungarian patriots were "tools of reactionary elements" eager to restore the dictatorship of Horthy, prewar regent of Hungary, whose influence is still supposed to linger despite his exile and death.

Without question, Tito is an integral part of the world Red conspiracy. He may have his own minor deviations as far as the Moscow line is concerned, but only in purely Yugoslav matters. He was able to get away with his defiance of Stalin in 1948 only because the Yugoslav Red movement was new, tiny, and in Tito's pocket since World War II. There would never be a chance that Togliatti in Italy, or Thorez or Duclos in France, could successfully carry off a Tito coup. But in Yugoslavia, where the people, deeply religious and mostly monarchist in sentiment, never gave communism a chance, Tito was able to parlay his success as the leader of the partisan movement into a personal Red dictatorship.

The Eisenhower administration still clings to the fanciful notion that American money, guns, tanks, planes, and technical know-how can keep Tito out of Moscow's clutches. But he has never really been out of them in an international sense, nor does he really want to be. So American arms and aid are, in effect, building up a part of the world

Communist war machine and will be one day used against the free world.

Meanwhile, our support of Tito, particularly in the economic field, enables him to consolidate his Communist regime and with it the world position of communism. The Yugoslav collectivism has never been able to feed the nation. Agriculture and industry have been strangled by Red bureacracy, and every year American wheat, dollars, and machines bail them out for another try.

The telecast should have fooled no one. It is long since time to take another look at the support for the Yugoslav Communist dictator.

Hells Canyon Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a letter I have prepared outlining the facts with relation to the history of the Hells Canyon legislation as they have been presented to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. The statement is as follows:

The Hells Canyon bill may have been killed by another session of Congress, but Hells Canyon may not be dead. It has proven to be a too valuable political issue to be permitted to die.

In an effort to give you the unbiased facts as they have been presented to our commitee through the years, I shall go back to 1947, 10 years ago, when the Idaho Power Co. made application for a license for the first unit, and subsequently made application for all three dams, to use the falling water in the Snake River as it passes through the Hells Canyon Gorge, for the generation of power.

Their eventual proposal was for the construction of 3 dams: Brownlee Dam, 395 feet in height (half again as high as the Capitol Dome in Washington, D. C.), costing $63,594,000, Oxbow, farther downstream, with a height of 205 feet and costing $23,604,000; and Hells Canyon, with a height of 320 feet, costing $45,800,000. The 3 dams have a total dependable capacity of 767,000 kilowatts.

The first proposal for an alternate high dam to be constructed by the Federal Government came to Congress in 1948 when a bill sponsored by Senator Glen Taylor was introduced in the Senate. It was not voted on then, but in April 1950 it was defeated on the Senate floor.

The proposal has been before Congress each session since that time. In 1952 the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in the House held hearings for 3½ weeks, including 2 hours each morning and many afternoon sessions. At the end of the hearings, the committee, with a membership of 12 Democrats and 9 Republicans, voted unanimously to indefinitely postpone further action on the measure.

The Federal Power Commission held continuous hearings for more than a year on the Idaho Power Co.'s application, and after making an exhaustive study with a transcript of more than 20,000 printed pages, this bipartisan, five-member Commission, upon the unanimous decision of all members, granted the power company's license in 1955.

Following the order of the Federal Power Commission, granting the license for construction to the Idaho Power Co., the Hells Canyon Association appealed to the circuit court of appeals. The circuit court of appeals in a unanimous decision upheld the order of the Federal Power Commission, granting the license to the Idaho Power Co.

The Hells Canyon Association appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which Court, on April 1, 1957, refused to grant a writ of certiorari by a vote of 8 to 1. The association then filed an application for a rehearing before the Supreme Court which was denied.

Immediately following final Supreme Court determination, on April 18, 1957, the Office of Defense Mobilization issued tax-amortization certificates to the Idaho Power Co. on an application made by the company back in 1953. This would mean that for the first 5 years after the project is finished the company would be entitled to a greater rate of depreciation and could depreciate the whole project in that period, which would lower the company's taxes for those years. Then, starting in the sixth year and thereafter, the company would have greater taxpayments for they would have used up all their depreciation credits beside having to set up a reserve for deferred taxes. Since 1950, when the law was passed, 926 similar tax amortizations have been granted to utility companies furnishing power to Government defense installations. Over 21,000 tax-amortization certificates identical to these have been issued since that time.

Returning to congressional action, in each session during the past 10 years, bills have been introduced in both Houses of Congress to authorize Federal construction of a high Hells Canyon Dam. As I have previously indicated, in 1952 the bill was unanimously tabled. Following the decision of the circuit court of appeals in 1956, hearings were again held by the House committee, and the bill was reported to the House by a one-vote margin. It was blocked in a Democrat-controlled Rules Committee and failed to reach the House floor. In 1956 the Senate, by a vote of 51 to 41, rejected a similar bill.

Two weeks ago, it was brought to the Senate floor following consideration of the civil-rights motion, and in an apparent exchange of votes in that body, was passed by a vote of 45 to 38. Following their hearings, the House Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, by a three-vote margin, struck all after the enacting clause, emasculating, if not killing, the bill.

HIGH DAM

The proposed Federal dam would be 722 feet high with a capacity of 3,800,000 acre-feet of water. However, from 1927 to 1947, there were only 4 years during that 20-year period when there was sufficient water to fill a dam of that size. It would cost the taxpayers $525,500,000 to construct. This figure does not include interest on the investment during construction, and it does not include damage payment to the Idaho Power Co. for the flooding of their installations, which amounts to almost $58 million spent at this date, $1½ million more on obligation, and with one of their dams now over half constructed.

In order to have the high Federal dam constructed by 1964 (it requires 6¾ years to build), Congress would be required to appropriate this year $11,700,000. In 1961 an appropriation of $140,500,000 would be required, which is more than the entire appropriation for the Bureau of Reclamation. (The appropriation for Oahe, for instance, is $26 million, and for the entire upper Colorado project this year is $25 million.)

Congress has never appropriated as much as $100 million for any one project in any one year. Only once since 1940 has Congress appropriated over $50 million for a single project in any one session. That was $63.5 million for construction of The Dalles. And only twice in the same period of time has it provided as much as $60 million for area projects, as distinguished from single projects. This was for the Central Valley and Columbia Basin projects.

If the sponsors of the Federal dam are not successful in getting appropriations of $100 million per year and should they receive only $25 million per year, no power would be produced from the project until 1978—more than 20 years hence. The Idaho Power Co. will be producing power in 1958.

However, without any delays and with unlimited appropriations, no power will be available from the Federal dam until 1964 at the very earliest.

THREE DAMS

On the other hand, the power company now has the Brownlee Dam one-half completed, and the Oxbow is well underway. More than 1,250 men are employed on the construction; they have already spent to date $57,285,000. These plants will add more than one-half million kilowatts to the power product of the Pacific Northwest by 1958.

The three-dam plan, which was found to be the best plan of river development by the FPC, an agency of Congress itself, after 44,000 man-hours of engineering studies, 20,000 pages of hearings and more than 5 million words of testimony, would be destroyed by the Federal dam which the FPC said, "that the United States itself should not undertake the development of."

The overall three-dam project licensed by the FPC will: (a) Develop the same total head of 602 feet as the Federal dam; (b) produce approximately the same amount of average energy; (c) have a dependable capacity of 767,000 kilowatts—as compared with only 785,000 kilowatts for the Federal dam; (d) provide, without appropriations from the Federal Treasury, 1 million acre-feet of storage which is all the flood control storage justified at this point on the Snake River, with benefits appraised by the Army engineers at a million dollars annually, and also navigation benefits appraised at $100,000 annually; and (e) during the 50-year period the power company at the present tax scale will pay the following taxes: Federal, $289,505,450; to State of Oregon, $47,788,000; and to State of Idaho, $150,250,550. Because of this tax contribution to government, both State and Federal, the power company will of necessity receive a higher rate from the consumers of that area. The cost of production of the Federal project is 4 mills at the site, whereas the power company can deliver to the grid at from 4½ to 5 mills.

Much has been said about power to develop the phosphate beds located about 300 miles from these dam sites. At present, the Idaho Power Co. delivers power wholesale to the phosphate companies at from 4¼ to 4½ mills per kilowatt, which is about 1 mill less than Missouri River power costs South Dakota's REA's at the busbar.

It was brought out at the hearings that, in addition to the cost of the Federal power at the dam site, if the phosphate companies were required to pay the transportation cost on the public power from the dam site to the beds, the added charge would be 2.18 mills. It might also be of interest to mention that the Central Farmers Cooperative of Chicago has recently signed a contract with the Utah Power & Light Co. for power for their installation, and has just broken ground on their new $7 million plant. They need power in 1958, not in 1968.

With one exception, all farm organizations and canal companies in Idaho are very much opposed to the high Federal dam. They fear that the need for added water storage in such an impoundment will preempt their water use and deprive the 2½ million acres of irrigated farmland above the dam of sufficient water supply. The economy of Snake River Valley in Idaho is entirely dependent upon the use of these waters for irrigation. The farmers are dependent upon it—Idaho is dependent upon it.

The entire area is out of power and if the Federal project was ever to have been built, it should have been started in 1947 or 1948 and not in 1957 or 1958 with an optimistic completion and power production date of 1967 or 1968.

The Washington Star, in a well considered editorial on the subject, closed with this paragraph, "The issue may still be a football in 1958, but the House subcommittee has done its part, at least, to see that power rather than politics will be produced at Hells Canyon."

That Bond Put Away for College Doesn't Look So Big Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, 1957, I introduced H. R. 2480 which would increase the interest payable on United States savings bonds, and H. R. 2481, which would exempt from taxation the interest earned on United States savings bonds. Both of these bills, if enacted, would make savings bonds a more attractive investment.

In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the July 5, 1957, issue of U. S. News & World Report:

THAT BOND PUT AWAY FOR COLLEGE DOESN'T LOOK SO BIG NOW

Warning to parents: Savings bonds, put aside for a college education, will buy less time in school than you expected.

That is true, too, of insurance policies, other forms of saving for education.

Here's the story of a special inflation problem—for parents.

If you are buying United States savings bonds to finance a son's or daughter's college career, you need to be aware of this:

The cost of going to college is rising sharply, even faster than the cost of living.

This rise in college costs is eating up the interest you get on a savings bond—and some of the principal—in terms of its actual buying power in the field of education.

Result is that bonds you thought would buy a year, or several years, of college may actually buy only about two-thirds as much schooling as you were counting on.

Parents who started saving for a child's education 10 years ago are bumping into this fact of life now, as the child reaches college age and they start cashing bonds to meet the bills.

Parents who are just starting their savings plan face the prospect that increases in college costs may outrun their savings, too, in years ahead.

To understand what is happening, look at some typical examples.

At a State university, 10 years ago, the average student spent about $200 per college year for books, tuition, fees. His living expenses were about $800. Total cost: about $1,000 per school year.

Many parents at that time figured they could guarantee a future year of college for a child by purchasing a United States savings bond for $750, to pay $1,000 at maturity in 10 years. Those bonds were favored as a safe and sure investment.

These parents find, however, that:

Student expenses have jumped about $500 a year at State institutions. That's twice as much as the interest of $250 accruing on the $1,000 savings bond in the last 10 years. Fees and other expenses are up to around $300, living costs are up to about $1,200, per school year.

College costs, thus, have increased about 50 percent as living costs in general rose about 43 percent.

As a result, the bond that was intended to pay for a full 9-month term in college is now able to keep the student in school for only 6 months. A parent has to dig up another $500 to see his child through the last 3 months of the term. That's in the average case. Some students would spend more, others less.

On a 4-year college stay a parent who figured on financing that career with an investment of $3,000 in Government bonds, now cashable at $4,000, discovers he will need $2,000 more, or a total of $6,000.

At a private school costs, started out on a higher level and have jumped less, relatively, than at the publicly owned institutions, on the average. Even so, inflation's a big problem.

The average student at a private college 10 years ago paid about $500 for tuition and fees, another $1,000 for living costs. Total, $1,500 a year.

A parent planning on private college for his child at that time figured a year of future schooling could be assured by purchasing a savings bond with a face value of $1,000 for $750 plus, say, five bonds of the $100 face-value denomination, costing $375. Total investment, $1,125.

Now, however, the year of private school actually costs about $2,100, up $600 over the earlier level, in the typical institution. The rise in costs takes up all the interest accruing on a $1,125 bond investment of 10 years ago plus $600.

Other types of savings, such as endowment-insurance policies, offering safety and a fixed rate of return, also are proving less help than they were expected to be in meeting the mounting cost of college educations.

People who didn't save at all toward college demands find their education costs a far greater problem, obviously, than those who set aside some money in bonds or other savings. But the parents who used to feel secure when they bought a bond a month, for example, for junior's education no longer are so certain of seeing him through college without more financial strain.

It's an extra bite from inflation, for parents only.

Democrats' Dilemma: Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the civil-rights discussions now being launched in the other body can result in grievous hurt to the Democratic Party and to the cause of liberalism in the United States. It is a tribute to the character of the Democrats in this House that no such wounds occurred when the legislation was before us.

An acute and timely analysis of the dilemma facing us Democrats appears in the New York Times magazine section for July 7, 1957. It is written by my good friend and distinguished fellow Oregonian, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, the junior Senator from Oregon. As always he writes without pulling his punches and on a solid basis of pertinent facts. I am glad to associate myself with his views on this crucial matter.

The article follows:

WASHINGTON.—Can the Democratic Party of today actually be regarded as the majority party in the Nation?

This is what many of its partisans claim, and this is what might be assumed from the fact that the Democrats have held numerical superiority in both branches of Congress during most of President Eisenhower's residency at the White House.

It is my belief that this supremacy is far more illusory than real. In truth, the Democratic Party now confronts its greatest crisis in modern times. If the crisis is not successfully weathered, the result could be banishment for the Democrats for many decades from the executive branch of Government. Conversely, mastery of the crisis by the Democrats might mean a return to the political glories of the New Deal, for the Republicans are likewise not without their grave and serious problems.

In the 2½ years that I have been a Member of the United States Senate, a pair of situations have surprised me more than any others. One is the depth and even grimness of the feeling against granting equality to the Negro on the part of many southern Democrats. The other is the hostility of most Republican Senators—and this includes even some of the so-called modern Republicans—toward the mildest kind of social and economic reform.

These two circumstances pose both the sternest challenge to the Democratic Party and its principal opportunity. Of the existence of the challenge there can be no doubt, for the political timbers of the Democratic party have not required such propping and sheathing since the Hoover landslide of 30 years ago.

Although it has won five comparatively recent presidential elections, nevertheless the share of the popular vote collected by the Democratic Party throughout the Nation has declined steadily ever since 1944—and this is particularly true in the teeming metropolitan areas where most Americans live. And, while some Democrats unquestionably derive satisfaction from the party's continued statistical preponderance in both Chambers of Congress, the very nature of this advantage should afford some concern to those who trust that the Democratic Party soon will return to national office.

While the influence of the South in party affairs is doubtless a factor contributing to the dwindling proportions of the Democratic vote in the strategic urban counties of the East, it is a harsh reality that the Democrats would be far outnumbered in the Senate and the House were it not for their nearly unanimous congressional victories in the States which lie below the Mason and Dixon line.

The statistics in this respect are both decisive and startling. They emphasize that the Democratic dominance in the Nation outside the South is a myth. In the 1956 elections, the Democrats nationally polled 1,160,000 more votes than the Republicans in contests for House seats, and 1,500,000 more votes where Senatorial desks were at stake. But what occurs when the single-party South is removed from this compilation? The Democrats then become 2,600,000 votes shy of their Republican rivals in House contests and 1,300,000 votes wanting in contested engagements for Senate seats.

The inevitable conclusion from all this is that the Democrats, in addition to their stunning defeats for the Presidency in 1952 and again in 1956, are definitely a minority party in the States where actual battles are waged over Senate and House positions. For example, the Democrats now hold a margin

of 49 to 46 in the Senate, with 1 place vacant since the death of Senator McCarthy. A similar margin prevailed in the last Congress. Yet even this slim majority is founded completely on 22 safely Democratic seats from 11 Southern States, where senatorial elections go to the Democrats practically by default. If these southern seats were split equally between the parties, the result would be decisive Republican rule in the Senate by an edge of at least 58 to 38.

Thus the Democratic Party is in the anomalous position of being dependent for its Congressional majorities on an element that is a liability nationally—the Southerners who oppose civil-rights legislation. It is this question that threatens the party's future. Virtually all southern Democrats oppose Federal legislation guaranteeing the Negro his voting privileges and civil liberties. With any matter even remotely touching the race question at issue, earnest southern liberals like LISTER HILL and JOHN SPARKMAN of Alabama must take the same essential position—albeit not so flamboyantly—as JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi and RICHARD RUSSELL of Georgia. Some of the political realities ruling the South were demonstrated in 1956 when the elderly Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, himself a longtime foe of civil-rights legislation, had to give way before a young challenger who differed from Senator George only by adopting a more strident attitude toward this problem.

When even Democrats with the liberal reputation of J. W. FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, and ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee, stand against resolutions to limit debate so the Senate can finally vote on civil-rights proposals, this becomes a heavy burden for their colleagues to carry in Northern States. Indeed, I believe his allegedly "moderate" posture on civil rights was Adlai Stevenson's greatest single liability during the recent Presidential campaign. The civil-rights dilemma loads down the Democrats in the North, as the Old Man of the Sea sat athwart the shoulders of Sindbad the Sailor.

The assumption has been made that this liability prevails only among Negro voters. I doubt if any conclusion could be more fallacious. During the 1956 campaign my wife and I delivered more than 350 speeches urging the reelection of Senator WAYNE MORSE. We were continually confronted with the charge that a vote for Senator MORSE, the Democrat, was a vote to continue Senator EASTLAND as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, where civil-rights legislation normally originates. This contention could not have come predominantly from Negroes, for less than 2 percent of Oregon's population is colored.

Furthermore, Senator MORSE himself had protested the accession of Senator EASTLAND to the Judiciary chairmanship, while Mrs. Neuberger and I, as State legislators, had been sponsors of Oregon's own Fair Employment Practices Act and State civil-rights bill. Yet we still were kept on the defensive over the hostility to civil rights on the part of many of my southern colleagues.

Of course, the charge has hurt the party with Negro citizens, too. After his narrow defeat for reelection in Kentucky, Senator Earle Clements told me that he had been sharply attacked because, as assistant Democratic floor leader, he had performed the purely automatic task of presenting Senator EASTLAND's name for chairman of the Judiciary Committee, a promotion governed by the long-enduring seniority system. This was used effectively among the not inconsiderable colored vote in Louisville, although Senator Clements had been a backer of legislation to safeguard civil rights.

Nor, at the national level, can Democrats ignore the facts highlighted by Richard L. Lyons of the Washington Post and Times Herald, when he wrote last November: "Election returns made it evident there had been a significant Negro Presidential voting switch away from the Democratic Party standard bearers, with whom they had been allied since Franklin D. Roosevelt's day * * *. In every city surveyed, President Eisenhower won a larger percentage of the Negro vote then he did in 1952."

What are the chances of healing the Democratic cleavage over this burning issue? And, barring a thorough rapport within the party, how can the Democrats recover politically from a breach that has widened ever since the Supreme Court verdict in the school-segregation cases?

I believe these events are necessary in order to attain such results:

1. Civil-rights legislation must be enacted. Without this basic prerequisite, the controversy will smolder indefinitely within the halls of Congress—and particularly inside the Democratic Party. Southern Democrats, while expressing to the full their legitimate views, must refrain from using a filibuster to prevent perpetually a vote in the Senate on civil rights. Not only is this legislation needed and merited, but unless Southern Senators are willing to forego stalling tactics and interminable debate, the Democratic Party eventually could be wracked to pieces.

2. Northern Democrats—at least until their numbers in the Senate are appreciably greater than at present—must accept gracefully as leader of the party in the upper chamber someone like LYNDON B. JOHNSON, of Texas, who represents a composite of Democratic Senators and who is close to the southerners on the issues which move them most emotionally. Insistence by some northerners on a Senate leader farther to the left, while perhaps not as divisive a force as the adamant southern antagonism to civil rights, nevertheless contains real elements of peril for a united and cohesive party.

3. Northern and southern Democrats alike, once the breach is even slightly closed, must dramatize for the country that there never would have been substantial economic gains either for Negroes or for whites if Republican policies on social welfare had dominated the Nation during the past quarter of a century.

The first two of these proposals require a certain modest degree of accommodation by both sides to the simmering strife over civil rights and related matters in the Democratic Party. Yet I think the compromises involved are reasonable.

As for the Democratic liberals—on one recent intraparty division along liberal-conservative lines, we liberals from both North and South could muster only 20 of the 49 Democratic Members of the Senate. When our Members are considerably less than half of the total, how valid a right do we have to object to a leader who symbolizes more of a cross section of party membership in the Chamber? I would calculate that LYNDON JOHNSON stands quite a few notches closer on the political spectrum to Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS than to Senator EASTLAND, and I doubt if we liberals have a bona fide case at present against a Senate leader who thus synthesizes the views of the men from whom his authority stems.

But suppose the southern Democrats do not consider this northern concession a sufficient quid pro quo for abandoning their right to filibuster civil-rights legislation? The northern Democratic Senators are not helpless; they hold some trump cards, too. I always have felt they could announce to their southern colleagues that an opportunity to ballot unimpeded on effective civil-rights legislation was going to be the consideration for continued northern support of a Senate organized by the Democratic Party.

After all, under the inexorable seniority rule, most of the committee chairmanships belong to southerners when the Democrats form a majority of the Senate's membership. They have the choice seats at the head of the green felt tables, control of the selection of committee staffs and the scheduling of bills, the gleaming limousines and the other perquisites. They would lose these emoluments if the northern Democrats abstained from contributing the votes necessary to Democratic control of the Senate.

It is one of the political ironies of our era that the Democrats from the North must wage the most desperate battles against their generously financed Republican foes, but to the Democrats from the one-party South go the chairmanships and the prestige posts in the Upper Chamber. While it may be presumptuous for a Senate tyro to voice such a prediction, I prophesy there might be a rollcall vote at last on civil rights if the northern Democrats sought this in return for supplying the numerical strength to make possible continued Democratic titular supremacy when the Senate is organized.

Nor do I regard such a bargain as improper. No southern Senator would be asked to surrender his honest convictions and beliefs, but merely to forego the use of essentially undemocratic Senate rules which block majority action on civil-rights legislation.

My third proposal was that northern and southern Democrats must join in dramatizing Democratic liberalism. One of the main reasons the Democratic Party is in trouble nationally is a widely held belief that, under its current leadership, it is losing out on liberal issues to the Eisenhower Republicans. Many of my constitutents have recently expressed the disgruntled viewpoint that the Senate Democratic spokesmen are to the right of the political figures who describe themselves as modern Republicans. This notion, prevalent though it may be, is far from the actual truth—but I must confess that we Democrats have done an ineffective job of countering propaganda about so-called modern Republicanism.

In fact, on many basic domestic issues—expansion of social security, custodianship of natural resources and taxation predicated on ability to pay, to name only three—the supposedly conservative Senate leadership of the Democratic Party has been markedly more liberal than prominent symbols of "modern" Republicanism on the other side of the aisle. On almost all issues except those embodying the general problem of civil rights, the vast majority of Democrats in the Senate are conspicuously to the left of the Eisenhower Republicans. This does not mean all such Democrats are invariably liberal per se, but rather than they are favored greatly by the contrast in economic outlook between themselves and most of their GOP colleagues. Whatever may be the faults of the Democratic Party, they are trivial when compared with the indifference of its principal competitor to the continuing need for fairness and justice in our social and economic structure.

It is for this compelling reason that I believe the Democratic Party must not crack apart into a Northern and a Southern faction. Such a break would only surrender the Government of the United States to the Republicans, virtually by default, for far into the future. The opposing forces in the civil-rights controversy must resist the temptation to go their separate ways.

As a Northern liberal, I often feel that I would prefer to be in a separate party in the Senate, rather than anchored in any fashion to fellow party members who are so stubbornly determined to block civil-rights laws. Perhaps my Southern colleagues—equally rooted in their differing views—may occasionally harbor similar thoughts. But then I peer across the center aisle at our Republican rivals: people sincerely convinced of the rightness of their attitudes, but militantly

against the legislative correctives and palliatives which are so necessary to help the less favored and less fortunate in an economic system such as ours. And I realize that both the Democratic North and South will have to give ground so that the political party can endure which conquered the depression, mobilized the victorious war against the Axis and took the heroic but politically hazardous steps in Korea to curb aggressive communism.

If it is to fulfill its challenging mission of advancing liberalism, the Democratic party must overcome the civil-rights crisis which has cost it so dear in recent elections. Failure to accomplish this could be fatal to the party and, more important, lastingly detrimental to the Nation.

The Dilemma of Disarmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, people throughout the world are anxiously following the East-West disarmament negotiations being carried on in London. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following article on this important subject, written by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, distinguished clergyman and Christian educator. Dr. Niebuhr's timely article appears in the July 10, 1957, issue of the Lutheran magazine:

THE DILEMMA OF DISARMAMENT
(By Reinhold Niebuhr)

The dimensions of the moral dilemma of our age continue to expand. The peace which we enjoy is the consequence of the stalemate in the nuclear weapons arms race. Neither America nor Russia has a clear superiority. Both sides have publicly confessed that they do not want war, because a war with the inevitable use of hydrogen bombs would be suicidal for both sides.

Naturally, both sides are anxious not to fall behind in the arms race in which the weapons include not only hydrogen bombs but ever more intricate guided missiles in which the Russians are constantly threatening to surpass us.

If the stalemate continues there is little prospect of an all-out war. Either side might, of course, stumble into a conflict by some accident, but neither side wants to start such a war. But the necessities of preserving the stalemate confront us with some serious problems.

One is moral, occasioned by the danger to health by the fallout from the nuclear tests. Dr. Albert Schweitzer and a group of German scientists have protested the continuance of these tests, and the protests remind us of Adlai Stevenson's campaign proposal for challenging the Russians by United States abandonment of the tests and their resumption if the Russians fail to abandon them.

But with so much at stake the United States has refused to take the risk, particularly since there is no unanimity among scientists about the danger of the fallout. Incidentally, one of the problems which ordinary citizens face in our age is that they are called upon to make moral decisions on issues in which only experts have real knowledge and on which they frequently disagree.

The second problem is both moral and political. Briefly stated, our preoccupation with the ultimate nuclear weapons has made it practically impossible to counter Russian threats in local wars, in the so-called Koreas. This tendency to rely only on the ultimate weapons has been accentuated by the new British defense policy, which relies on political power to counter the Russians in local areas, and places the chief reliance on the deterent value of the ultimate weapon.

Thomas Murray, who has been a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, has called attention in a recent magazine article to the peril in this policy. It is the more dangerous because the Russian and the Chinese armies are our superiors in infantry in most parts of Asia.

There are Christians who believe that the only solution for such moral dilemmas is the disavowal of any reliance on atomic weapons. But that is a position which responsible Christians cannot take, though idealistic individuals may advocate it.

We face, in short, a moral dilemma for which there is no clear moral solution. It is certainly ironic that our culture which, only a half a century ago, was so confident of man's ability to master historical destiny should find itself in the grip of the destiny which it has no chance of mastering.

The Christian faith has always understood the moral ambiguity of the human situation and has known that there are no moral solutions for the ultimate moral problems of our existence. We may find all sorts of proximate solutions if we have the humility to recognize that the ultimate solution is beyond the competence of mortal men.

It's Started

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert an editorial from my hometown newspaper, the Martinsville, Ind., Daily Reporter, of July 5, 1957. I believe the point is well-taken that the character of William Girard, or even his guilt of innocence of the present charge, is not pertinent to the question of United States jurisdiction over our servicemen. What is pertinent is his constitutional rights, and the attitude of his Government toward those rights.
The editorial follows:

IT'S STARTED

The effort to bring the character of Specialist William Girard into disrepute, predicted by the Reporter several weeks ago, is beginning.

This is done in an effort to divert the public from demands for reforms of our foreign affairs. Officials desiring to promote the growth of governmental power through the treaty clause of the Constitution fear that resentment over the Girard case may result in passage of the Bricker amendment. So they are painting Girard as a criminal in an effort to make the campaign on his behalf look foolish.

The issues actually are not affected by Girard's character. All the charges against him may be as true as Scripture. He may be a vicious fellow who deliberately lured a poor Japanese scavanger to her death.

Whatever he is does not make right the practice of the United States Government in drafting men for involuntary service in foreign lands where they lose the protection of our courts.

Most of the servicemen who get into trouble in foreign lands are not as innocent as 11-year-old schoolgirls. Many of them are bona fide murderers; others are chicken thieves.

Yet murderers and chicken thieves are guaranteed the protection of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence under our Constitution. They are unconstitutionally deprived of these rights under the status of forces treaties.

More important, the treaty power is resorted to in an effort to change the fabric of our Government as it affects internal affairs. By discrediting Girard's case, the agents of central power hope to head off the libertarian campaign directed at the assumed power of the Federal administration to deprive any citizen, soldier, or civilian, of liberty and property without due process of law.

On Tenure in the Supreme Court and Investigating Court Decisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Mr. David Lawrence which appeared in the Washington Evening Star under date of July 2, 1957, entitled "On Tenure in the Supreme Court." Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court have jolted millions of our citizens into a realization that the rights of the legislative and executive branches of our Government have been ignored and that it is high time that the representatives of both of these branches of our Government scrutinize closely these recent decisions to determine the extent to which the judicial branch of the Government is actually making the laws of this land by judicial decree. Certainly considerable thought should be given to the proposal to set a specified time for the tenure of office of our Federal judiciary.

In the same connection, Mr. Speaker, I include another article by Mr. Lawrence from the Washington Evening Star of July 3, 1957, entitled "Investigating Court Decisions."

ON TENURE IN THE SUPREME COURT
(By David Lawrence)

What can be done about a Supreme Court that ignores the rights of Congress and the Executive and, in effect, nullifies various provisions of the Constitution itself?

This question has arisen lately because of the extreme nature of some of the decisions of the high court which substantially impair the investigative operations of Congress and the prosecution of criminals and traitors.

It may come as a surprise to many people to find that Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States are not assured of life tenure and that nowhere in the Constitution are the words life tenure used. Actually, the Constitution simply says that Justices of the high court shall hold office only during good behavior.

The Constitution provides for impeachment of judges, but solely for treason, bribery and other high crimes and misdemeanors. In the event, however, that the Justices do not commit any such crimes but go

beyond their proper judicial functions and actually destroy the right of the Nation to protect itself against subversion, can anything be done about it?

Strangely enough, in the entire history of the Supreme Court there never has been a case involving a definition of the words "good behavior" in connection with any Supreme Court Justice. Nor has there been any case in which the power of removal of High Court Justices has been ruled upon.

This correspondent the other day recalled the stir made by the famous Myers case in October 1926 and took occasion to reread the decision, because in its 50,000 words is given the most exhaustive discussion of the removal powers of Congress ever presented by the Supreme Court.

But this case and the decision in the Humphrey case in 1935—repudiating the President's removal of a member of the Federal Trade Commission—are confined largely to the question of how far Congress may by law restrict the removal powers of the Chief Executive with respect to executive and quasi-judicial posts. It is clear that the President can remove an official for the causes specified by Congress when fixing the term of office and also for other causes not mentioned by Congress when the post is purely administrative. The decisions are vague and contradictory where no term is specified by Congress—as, for instance, in the case of lower court judges.

It is plain from a reading of the Myers case that most of the discussions in the early days of the Republic and since then have related primarily to whether the Senate has to be consulted about removals. It seems to be an established fact that for many years the Congress asserted its right to participate in the removal power. Describing this early history, the Supreme Court in an opinion in 1939 said:

No one denied the power of the President and the Senate, jointly to remove, where the tenure of the office was not fixed by the Constitution, which was a full recognition of the principle that the power of removal was incident to the power of appointment."

Often quoted in these decisions and rebutted is an argument made in The Federalist by Alexander Hamilton, who wrote, "It has been mentioned as one of the advantages to be expected from the cooperation of the Senate in the business of appointments, that it would contribute to the stability of the administration. The consent of that body would be necessary to displace as well as to appoint."

It seems logical to conclude—as Justices Brandeis, Holmes, and McReynolds plainly asserted in their dissent in the Myers case—that the power resides in Congress to control removals by stipulating in a law the basis for such removal.

Hence, if Congress chose to define good behavior and provided by law that the President and the Senate could jointly decide on the removal of any or all of the Supreme Court justices and then other justices were nominated and confirmed to replace them, there is enough legislative power vested in Congress to make the action stick despite any attempt by the courts to interfere. For Congress also has the right, specifically given by the Constitution, to determine the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Through a law of this kind, Congress could prevent any review of its own statutory definition of the phrase good behavior.

So justices of the Supreme Court can be ousted whenever Congress and a President jointly decide to take that action to protect the country from erratic or irresponsible decisions by a majority of the high court. Life tenure is a custom, not an absolute assurance of tenure for Supreme Court justices. And custom has been overturned in decisions in more instances in the 20 years since the so-called liberals took over the Supreme Court than in all the 148 prior years of judicial history.

INVESTIGATING COURT DECISIONS

(By David Lawrence)

The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives wants to know how far the recent decisions of the Supreme Court go toward limiting or crippling the investigative powers of Congress. So a special committee of five members has been appointed to conduct an inquiry.

But before any such inquiry can be effective, will the House of Representatives accept the Supreme Court's edict and pass a resolution stating exactly what it wishes to investigate, and, if it should decide to call any witnesses, will the committee make clear in advance just what the witnesses are to be asked?

Any investigation probably will be useless unless the House of Representatives is prepared to assert fully its prerogatives under the Constitution, which says each House can make its own rules governing its proceedings.

There are lots of things about the operations of the Supreme Court of the United States which, under the right-to-know doctrine, Congress can seek to learn.

There is, for example, the role of law clerks. Maybe they ought to be summoned to testify to explain recent decisions. Some of these aides are brilliant students of the law and perhaps know more about the new-fangled reasoning in the so-called liberal decisions than do some of the Justices themselves.

In the March, 1956, issue of the California Law Review, for instance, there was published an article entitled "The Federal Loyalty-Security Program: A Proposed Statute." One of its three authors was Graham B. Moody, Jr., who was described in a footnote as head law clerk to the Chief Justice of the United States.

Moody, in this article, proposed a bill which Congress was evidently urged to enact in place of the Executive order setting forth the President's loyalty and security program. It was this order whose scope was subsequently modified by the Supreme Court's decision in the Cole case. Among the recommendations of the suggested bill is the point that a distinction should be made between employees in security-sensitive agencies and ordinary employees of the Government.

The Supreme Court itself had under consideration at the time the Cole case and, in a decision handed down on June 11, 1956, made just such a distinction. The Court said the Congress didn't mean to allow nonsensitive agencies to be covered by the President's regulations.

Moody left the service of the Chief Justice a few days after the decision in the Cole case was handed down, as the term of the Court ended. Moody, of course, had just as much right to publish his article as the Justices, themselves, seem to assert off the bench in making public speeches on controversial issues of the day.

Unquestionably, Moody knows a lot about the powers of Congress in these matters and, in the article in the California Law Review which he coauthored, a footnote occurs: "For what it may be worth, it is the writers' belief that some type of Federal security program is both politically and socially justifiable." But the article points out that Congress should exclude from consideration as charges by any executive department against any employee such things as the signing of petitions, presence at a gathering of two or more people, use of an alias, attendance at educational institutions, travel outside the United States. It isn't clear from the article whether all questions relative to such points would be barred from inquiry or merely omitted in setting up standards to assure that discharges from Government employment would not occur solely on account of their associations or passive activity.

Moody's point of view seems to have been borne out or confirmed in the Supreme Court decisions which followed. This would appear to indicate that, while the justices themselves might decline to testify before the new committee of the House, maybe the talented law clerks could shed some light on the reasoning processes of some of the justices. For the Court now holds that individual rights virtually supersede the right of the Nation to protect itself against subversion. It accepts the so-called liberal view that congressional investigators have no right under the Constitution to compel answers from witnesses if the questions relate to beliefs, past associations, or political concepts. The word political presumably now covers the Communist Party, though Congress has refused to dignify the Communist organization as a legitimate political party in this country but holds it to be the agent of a foreign power hostile to the interests of the United States.

The House Judiciary Committee will not get very far with its inquiry unless it is prepared to investigate the processes of the Supreme Court itself. For the American people have the right to find out who writes the decisions of the Supreme Court today—the Justices or their law clerks. If the law clerks have such influence, should not each perhaps be recognized with the title of assistant justice and be appointed hereafter subject to confirmation by the Senate, just as are the Justices themselves and the policymaking officials who assist the top-level members of the executive branch of the Government?

Secretary Weeks' Move To Oust WOC's Incomplete

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith insert the following statement:

Secretary Weeks' decision to discontinue appointment of WOC's from industry to head the operating divisions of the Department of Commerce finally puts into effect one of the recommendations made by the House Antitrust Subcommittee in its report on its extensive investigation into the use of WOC's by the Department of Commerce.

In its investigation, the Antitrust Subcommittee found that WOC's in the Department of Commerce had been appointed to full-time operating positions where their Government responsibilities inherently involved conflicts with their private interests. Mr. Weeks' decision, although belated, to curtail this practice in his Department, as far as division heads are concerned, is a step in the right direction.

Secretary Weeks' new order will continue to permit WOC's to serve as Assistant Division Directors and Branch Chiefs. This shows he still ignores the conflict of interest that is present when a WOC administers a Government program involving the company that pays him. Secretary Weeks should not appoint WOC's to head Government programs that affect their own companies.

Mr. Weeks' action shows he has become much better informed about WOC's than he was at the time of the Antitrust Subcommittee's investigation. During the investigation, Mr. Weeks claimed that findings by the Antitrust Subcommittee concerning WOC's in his Department amounted to a massive attack on free enterprise. Mr. Weeks' decision to remove WOC's from some of the important operating positions in the Department of Commerce demonstrates the validity of the Antitrust Subcommittee's criticisms of the practices it uncovered in his Department.

An Outrageous Sacrifice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, among the columnists who have seen fit to comment on the Girard case, I have noted that Mr. George E. Sokolsky appears to have the most accurate information and a proper objective approach to the status of our Armed Forces in foreign countries. He has written several columns on different phases of the Girard case which, of course, have appeared in numerous papers. One of these which Mrs. Kathryn Ellis Nowak, of Hempstead, N. Y., sent to me, appeared June 15 in the Long Island Press, of Jamaica, N. Y. Under leave to extend my remarks I offer this for the RECORD:

AN OUTRAGEOUS SACRIFICE
(By George E. Sokolsky)

The Girard case involves extraterritoriality, a very tricky and touchy subject. There was a time, after the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry (1853), that many foreign nations enjoyed extraterritoriality on Japanese soil and the Japanese struggled valiantly to get rid of the system by which foreigners governed themselves while living in Japan. As late as when I came to Japan in 1920, in cities such as Yokohama, Kobe, and Osaka there were memories of those days.

Extraterritoriality returned with the conquest of Japan by Gen. Douglas MacArthur but soon ended so far as foreign civilians are concerned. The American Army of Occupation became an army to assist the Japanese to withstand Russian aggression and is now stationed there for that purpose.

To avoid giving the impression of being an army of even partial occupation, the Status of Forces Treaty was applied in Japan. This treaty is wrong from every standpoint because it imperils the liberty and life of every American soldier stationed abroad in a country where the treaty applies. It is a badly conceived and badly written treaty and can only produce a constantly lowering morale in our armed services.

There is no use for a Washington official saying that the foreign courts are better than ours or more lenient. That is not the issue at all. If an American soldier, in uniform, serving his country abroad has violated regulations he is entitled to a court martial by his own service and no substitute will do.

An American is to be tried by his peers, which in the original connotation meant equals. As far as Japan is concerned, its administration of the law is so different from anything an American knows and understands, that no matter how lenient the courts may be, the American soldier will not know what is happening to him. Besides, how much Japanese does Girard know? Can he understand what goes on in a Japanese court?

It has now been clearly established that Girard's constitutional rights have been sacrificed in order not to displease the leftist elements in Japan and other Asiatic countries who might kick up a row if this American soldier's constitutional rights were preserved.

Are we to sacrifice American lives to the agitation of the left wing elements?

Who in the Government of the United States has the authority under the Constitution to deprive an American citizen of his rights as stated in the Constitution? Actually no one can do that. The President of the United States has no such authority; the Secretary of Defense has no such authority. If a soldier may be deprived of his constitutional rights because it serves the momentary politics of the State Department, why may not this newspaper be shut down for calling Khrushchev a bum, or why may not Billy Graham be arrested for preaching his particular dogma of Christianity?

There are not far-fetched examples. Actually when the Constitution is pushed aside to suit a temporary policy, it can be pushed aside for anything or for everything.

Girard did not violate the Status of Forces Treaty. He could not have violated it because he was on a military task at the moment and the treaty applies only to military personnel when they are off duty. Neither the Government of the United States nor the Government of Japan has any authority under any treaty or law to place his liberty or life in jeopardy, no matter how much each Government may benefit by so doing. * * *

When governments becomes lawbreakers, they are no different from other lawbreakers. They should be condemned by decent people. The reaction of the American people to this outrage is totally on Girard's side. No propaganda and no lies will change that. When American life becomes so cheap that a few politicians and bureaucrats in Washington can throw it to the dogs of political expediency, the American people will speak up—and sharply.

It is like that Khrushchev broadcast which made such a good impression at first, but now many Americans realize that we were had and that a brilliant propaganda was done against the United States and that great harm is being done to our country. Americans will not be silent about that either. Moral indignation over the subordination not only of individual Americans but the United States to myopic policy is growing every day.

Truman Voices Reminiscences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article written by Drew Pearson which appeared in the Washington Post Times Herald on July 6, 1957.

The article follows:

TRUMAN VOICES REMINISCENCES
(By Drew Pearson)

Harry Truman was in his usual bouncing mood when I saw him recently. A big pile of mail was on his desk. The American flag was beside it.

"I'm just back from stirring up the animals in Washington," he said. "Somebody has to do it."

I reminded the former President that the last time I had talked to him he had predicted there would be war over the Suez Canal.

"That was in February, 1956," I recalled, "which was 5 months before Nasser seized the Suez Canal, and 9 months before war started. How did you know war was coming?"

"Very simple," he replied. "Russian arms in Egypt. When you have an arms buildup you have war."

"Would you have stopped that buildup if you had been in the White House?"

"We have enough ships in the Mediterranean," he replied, "to throw a blockade against any vessel bringing in Russian arms. And the United Nations would support us in heading off war."

"At the Potsdam conference," he reminisced, "I posed that all important waterways be internationalized—Suez, the Dardanelles, Gibraltar, the Danube. I offered to internationalize the Panama Canal. Those waterways have got to be internationalized to keep peace in the world. We should have done it before Nasser seized the Suez."

"What happened to the proposal at Potsdam?"

STALIN LAUGHS

"The British were lukewarm," Mr. Truman replied. "Stalin said he couldn't do anything about the Dardanelles until the Montreux Convention expired. He wanted to control the Dardanelles himself and take it away from Turkey.

"Stalin always wanted a base in the Mediterranean. Now Russia has one in Albania and another at Alexandria, Egypt. I'll bet Stalin is standing up in his grave laughing."

"What do you think is the way to bring peace to that part of the world?" I asked.

"Just what I told you before," said Mr. Truman, proving that his memory was better than mine. "That is where history began. Most of our wars began down there," he pointed to the Suez Canal area and the Near East, "or in the Balkans.

"That's what Hitler was after—oil and a route through Suez. But we are not going to have peace until we readjust things. Two hundred families own most of the arable land in Iran. About 20 families or so own the best irrigated land in Egypt. I had a survey made when I was in the White House and it showed that the only way we could have peace is to settle all these problems," he pointed to the entire map of the Mediterranean, "from the Adriatic to Morocco."

FIRED TWO CABINET MEMBERS

I asked the former President whether any Cabinet officer had ever opposed him or President Roosevelt on the budget in the same way Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey had opposed President Eisenhower.

"Not on the budget," Truman replied, "but Henry Morgenthau came to see me and said he wanted to go to Potsdam. I told him the place of the Secretary of the Treasury was in Washington.

" 'In that case,' he said, 'I will have to resign.' 'All right,' I said. 'You can write it out now,' and I handed him a piece of paper. He resigned.

"Then there was Ickes. He was a great old boy," said the ex-President. "I liked him but he opposed me on Ed Pauley for Under Secretary of the Navy. I had a spe-

cial reason for appointing Pauley to that job. He was tough enough to keep the admirals in check. But I couldn't make Ickes understand that and after he opposed Pauley's appointment he came to me and said he wanted to resign in 6 weeks.

"'You have resigned already,' I told him.

"Later he came to see me, I think in 1948, and said, 'I've got to get into this campaign. They are taking the country away from us; I want to make some speeches.'

"So Ickes made some of the best speeches of the campaign."

I tried to get the ex-President to comment on some of the disagreements within the Democratic Party, particularly the refusal of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, to cooperate with the Democratic Advisory Committee on which serve Adlai Stevenson, Senator Kefauver, and Truman himself. But he shied away.

"It won't hurt us to fight among ourselves," he said, "just so long as nobody is underhanded. The Democrats are like the Irish—if they are not fighting the enemy, they fight among themselves. We used to have factional fights among the Democrats in Kansas City. It did us good to have those fights come out of our systems. Just so long as we fight in the open and nobody nurses grudges, it's a healthy system."

Race Relations in the City of Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I read with considerable gratification an article appearing in the Detroit Free Press of Wednesday, June 26, 1957. That article I find is one of the most effective and unbiased articles which I have seen on the subject of progress in race relations in the city of Detroit.

While we Detroiters and citizens of Michigan generally concede that we have yet much progress to make in the field of race relations, still it is with considerable pride that we view the successes which we have made in the city of Detroit in this regard.

It is our hope that all right-thinking men will one day come to realize that true progress for Americans cannot ignore progress for one segment of the economy and of our people.

The article follows:

(Worldwide attention is being focused on Detroit as the city plays host to the national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and awaits the convention of the urban league. Both conventions are concerned with the role of the Negro in the United States. What of the role of the Negro in Detroit? For an intensive, factual presentation, the Free Press assigned several members of its staff to do a comprehensive, calm study of the question. Earlier articles concerned housing, business, and churches. Today's discusses the achievement of the Negro.)

(By Ed Winge)

Detroit Negroes have compiled a distinguished record of achievement in nearly every phase of the community's life.

In politics, in law and sports, in public service, medicine, business, and labor, they have fashioned noteworthy careers, often against considerable odds.

Some, by the very nature of their position or the field in which they excel, have attained greater prominence than others.

Particularly is this true of men and women who have become leaders in business, sports, of the professions, and then turned to politics.

This would include people like Dr. Remus Robinson, highly respected physician and first Negro to be elected to the Detroit Board of Education; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., businessman and first Negro to be elected to the United States Congress from Michigan (13th District Representative).

Also, men like Alfred M. Pelham, recently resigned as Wayne County budget director (as his father was before him); Circuit Judge Wade H. McCree, Jr.; Common Pleas Judge Elvin Davenport (assistant Wayne County prosecutor before Governor Williams appointed him to the bench); Dr. Alfred Thomas, Jr., who followed his father in a distinguished career of physician, hospital administrator, and public servant.

State Senator Basil Brown and former Senator Cora Brown also have made their mark in politics.

Detroit's Negro community proudly claims a man who is perhaps the world's outstanding Negro diplomat, Dr. Ralph Bunche, now serving as United States under secretary to the United Nations after a widely acclaimeed career as a diplomatic troubleshooter around the world.

Another Detroiter, Charles Mahoney, president of the Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Co., became the first American Negro to serve as a full delegate to the U. N. on appointment by President Eisenhower.

Then there is John Dancy, venerable head of the Urban League, who has quietly done so much to advance the job opportunities of his people.

Negro attorneys also serve on governmental legal staffs. Hobart Taylor heads the civil department of the Wayne County prosecutor's office. Charles Farmer is an assistant State attorney general.

Frederick Byrd is an assistant city corporation counsel. Willis Ward, one-time University of Michigan football great, formerly was an assistant United States district attorney.

Negro executives in integrated business firms are not nearly as numerous as Dancy would like to see.

However, two names immediately come to mind as successes in the business field. They are Ramon S. Scruggs and A. J. Calloway, public relations manager and suburban manager respectively of the Michigan Bell Telephone Co.

Behind the more widely publicized activities of these leaders is a large group of people who have achieved significant successes.

Leaders in the field of journalism include Mrs. Gladys Johnson, editor of the Detroit edition of the Pittsburgh Courier; Longworth Quinn, general manager, Charles Wartman, executive editor, and William Matney, managing editor, respectively, of the Michigan Chronicle, and Collins George, Free Press staff writer and only Negro reporter on a Detroit daily.

Matney also doubles as secretary of the Michigan Boxing Commission.

Many others have achieved signal success in chosen fields and are prominent members of the Negro community.

It is impossible, of course, to list them all.

But such names come to mind as Mrs. Beulah Cain Brewer, Dr. Haley Bell, and Heilbron B. Love.

Mrs. Brewer, after compiling an outstanding record as a teacher, became the first Negro named to an executive position in the Detroit public school system when she was appointed assistant principal of Higginbotham School in 1944.

She went on to become the first Negro principal when she was named to head Brownson School in 1947. She later moved to Alger School and now is principal of Pattengill School, which has a predominantly white student body.

Educated in Talladega, Ala., College, she took her master's degree in educational psychology at Wayne University in 1938, and presently is working on her doctor of philosophy degree at Wayne.

W. St. Clair Billups, now chief executive at Sampson School, became the second Detroit Negro public school principal.

Other Negro principals are Mrs. Mildred Lee, at Alger, and Mrs. Effie Taylor, at Brownson.

Ernest Marshall and Mrs. Jeannete Watt are serving as administrative assistants in guidance and placement on the board of education staff.

Negroes also have assumed positions of responsibility and leadership in suburban school systems. Dr. B. A. Milton is a member of the Inkster school board.

Dr. Foraker Johnson, a dentist, serves as school board member in River Rouge, and Attorney Charles W. Hague is in a similar capacity on the Ecorse Board of Education. Phillip Robinson is principal of an elementary school in River Rouge.

Dr. Bell, a dentist who has maintained offices at 9521 Jos. Campau, Hamtramck, for more than 30 years, has long been considered one of Detroit's most successful Negro businessmen.

Owner of extensive real estate property and a member of the board of directors of the Victory Insurance Co., he recently entered a new field—that of radio broadcasting.

With his son-in-law, Wendell Cox, he launched last fall Station WCHB, Inkster, the Detroit area's newest radio station.

Love has achieved distinction in engineering. A University of Michigan graduate and a registered professional engineer, he became a city electrical inspector in 1941.

In February 1953 he was named chief electrical inspector for the department of buildings and safety engineering, the post he now holds.

Negroes also have served diligently and effectively on official and quasi-official boards and commissions promoting racial tolerance and equality of opportunity.

Dr. J. J. McClendon, a physician, is a member of the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

For years he was president of the local NAACP branch, now headed by Edward M. Turner, who also is head of the Michigan Conference of NAACP branches.

Members of the Community Relations Commission include Edward Davis, veteran auto dealer; James McFall, undertaker, and Mrs. Beulah Whitby, assistant director of the commission.

George Isabell, real estate management specialist, was for years president of the Detroit Housing Commission. Attorney Jesse Slaton is a member of the City Plan Commission. Mrs. Geraldine Bledsoe is on the staff of the Michigan Employment Security Commission.

Dr. Austin W. Curtis, businessman-chemist and head of Curtis Laboratories, which makes cosmetics, proprietary medicines, and drugs, is a member of the Citizens Redevelopment Corp.

Negroes have achieved distinction in the field of organized labor. Alex Fuller is a vice president of the Wayne County CIO council.

William Oliver is codirector of the UAW's fair practices department. Mrs. Lillian Hatcher is an international representative in the UAW women's bureau.

Among the more prominent businesswomen are Mrs. Violet T. Lewis, owner-operator of the Lewis Business College; Mrs. Bertha Grooms, head of the Detroit Institute of Commerce, and Mrs. Carmen Murphy, who has developed the House of Beauty into one of the most luxurious beauty salons in the city.

Veteran businessmen include Cidney Barthwell, who has built a successful chain of 10 drugstores; A. B. Chenault, University of Michigan graduate, real estate broker for more than 20 years and developer of the Mount Clements subdivision that bears his name.

Also L. C. Blount and Ernest Shell, vice president and secretary respectively of Great Lakes Mutual. Shell also is a member of the Wayne County board of supervisors.

M. Stewart Thompson, an accountant for 30 years, helped found the Home Federal Savings & Loan Association and served as manager for several years.

He is no longer with the firm, having gone into the mortgage and real-estate business for himself.

Then there are Milton Monjoy and Richard Austin, certified public accountants; John White, owner of the Gotham Hotel; Randolph Wallace, of the Garfield Hotel; Elwood Garvin, 20-year veteran of the used-car business; James Webster, undertaker for more than 40 years; and Troy Goins, manager of the Victory Loan Co.

Also Charles C. Diggs, Sr., head of the House of Diggs undertaking firm; Forrest Green, owner of a barber school; C. W. White; W. D. Morison; and Melvin Jones, in real estate; C. Walton Lewis and R. G. Schuster, who have their own insurance agencies.

In the field of building-trade supply are Manco Jones, president of the Builders Supply & Construction Co., and Walter Block, president of the Electrical Contractors & Engineers Co.

Wendell Murphy, attorney, manages the Brewster-Douglass housing project and teaches English at the International Institute. Willis Graves and Francis Dent are well-known attorneys.

Melvin Jefferson and C. A. Howell operate beauty and barber-supply firms.

In the field of fine arts, Hughie Lee Smith has been widely honored for his paintings in oil. Mrs. Nellie Watts specializes in concert management.

Any effort to cite the achievements of Detroit's Negro community must, by the very nature of the task, prove incomplete.

Even a partial listing of those who have won distinction is a formidable job, attesting to the broad scope of the Negroes' significant contribution to the community.

Soldiers' Rights Are Surrendered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in the past 6 weeks magazines and newspapers have been flooded with articles and editorial comment concerning the Girard case in Japan and the agreements respecting the status of our Armed Forces in foreign countries. Some of the writers do not always appear to have full information, others are noticeably following the propaganda line set by the executive departments. It is encouraging to note that other Americans have studied our situation thoroughly so that their indignation is based on information and fact and not emotion. One of these is Mr. Dorsey Hardeman, a State senator in Texas, whose comments appeared in the San Angelo, Tex., Standard Times of June 8, 1957. Mr. Hardeman's article is as follows:

SOLDIERS' RIGHTS ARE SURRENDERED

(By Senator Dorsey Hardeman)

At last the overly trained internationalists are reaping the whirlwind of their folly in violating the constitutional rights of our people. Little did it seem to matter to those stalwart surrenderers of constitutional American liberty in July 1953 when 72 United States Senators blithely ratified the then, and now, reprehensible and indefensible NATO Status of Forces Treaty, after becoming convinced, as stated by Senator JOHNSON, of Texas, "that it afforded ample protection to the rights of Americans."

It never has been quite clear to me why it was necessary, after 166 years of constitutional protection, to enter into a treaty with a foreign nation to assure protection to the rights of Americans, under the circumstances purportedly justifying this particular treaty. In the first place it involved only members of the Armed Forces, most of whom were involuntarily inducted into service and likewise stationed, to some extent perhaps, against their will, throughout 79 foreign countries. It exempted all high brass, leaving them to be protected only by the guaranties of the 166-year-old Constitution of the United States, while the millions of GI's were afforded the additional protection of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty, which, in the mind of the writer, was conceived in the iniquitous doctrine of surrender and born of political expediency. What a diabolical farce and fraud perpetrated in the name of ample protection of the rights of Americans.

Had these international do-gooders, in their brinksmanship been content to remain steadfast to constitutional American principles, as well as, constant to accepted, established international law, rather than lost in their own irresolution by forsaking the ancient landmarks in order to gain fleeting, and doubtful, favor from some unmoral, slave-holding foreign princes and potentates, the United States would not today be faced with the serious implications of the Girard case, notwithstanding the President's assurance, at a news conference, that if Girard didn't receive a fair trial it would be taken up diplomatically. This is about as empty as kissing a grasswidow by telephone.

American soldiers have simply been sold down the river of surrender and expediency, with impunity and, doubtless, the great leaders who laid the groundwork culminating in the Status of Forces Treaty may now feel fully rewarded in their fait accompli.

As has been previously pointed out in these columns, international law has decreed for more than 125 years, which this country unqualifiedly accepted and followed, that troops stationed in a foreign country are there either as invitees or as invaders or conquerors; and exclusive jurisdiction remained in their commander and, in the case of United States troops, the Articles of War, as enacted by the Congress of the United States, followed the troops at all times.

General Pershing, for instance, with the full support of President Wilson, would have it no other way concerning the American Expeditionary Forces under his command and stationed on foreign soil.

This rule of law has never been heretofore denied, only disregarded now.

Incidentally, the Girard case is by no means the first and only case involving the surrender of rights of American GI's under this vicious treaty. Nor do I have all such cases available because of the lack of publicity given and public apathy that surrounded them and perhaps, the further fact that our purchase-money foreign aid program had a full head of steam at the time and the international cooperators and giveaways were stalking across the rights of the people in 7-league boots in the name of national security, while at the same time surrendering and disregarding individual security in a land supposedly dedicated to respect for the individual dignity of man.

Congressman FRANK BOW of Ohio is sponsoring a move in the Congress to repeal the Status of Forces Treaty. Thus far it has met with little success. The international conspirators have not as yet felt the impact of public opinion developing at the grass roots. An articulate and aroused electorate, intelligently aware of such encroachments can bring about an agonizing appraisal of the situation, just as the administration and the Congress are experiencing in connection with the peacetime spending orgy proposed by Mr. Eisenhower and his political satellites.

Cal-Sag Is the Key

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. O'BRIEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks by Brig. Gen. P. D. Berrigan, division engineer, United States Army Engineer Division, North Central, before the East Side Chamber of Commerce, Chicago, Ill., July 1, 1957:

CAL-SAG IS THE KEY

I have chosen as the subject of my remarks this evening the phrase "Cal-Sag Is the Key." This is a phrase which is most significant, I feel, and is very appropriate for our discussion. It is so meaningful, in fact, that we have used it as the theme for an exhibit which was built by the Chicago district for display at the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington, D. C., 6 weeks ago. This same exhibit is now on display at the Chicagoland Fair and may be seen there on the north pier until the fair closes on July 14.

The Calumet-Sag Channel has been described from time to time as the kingpin of a vast midcontinental waterway consisting of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system on the one hand and the canalized Illinois-Mississippi-Ohio-gulf intracoastal system on the other. The connecting link between these two sprawling navigation systems, the kingpin which makes them one huge integrated waterway, is this 16-mile Calumet-Sag Channel from Sag Junction to the Little Calumet River. There is no other direct water connection between the Great Lakes and the inland waterways. Therein lies its significance, for, whereas the port of Chicago last year handled about 250,000 tons of overseas freight, the antiquated Cal-Sag Channel is already carrying about 4½ million tons of commerce. Also, while it has been predicted that overseas freight will increase to at least 1½ million tons per year by 1965, the Corps of Engineers has conservatively estimated that traffic through the Cal-Sag will reach 12 million tons per year within 5 years after completion of the project now under construction. Ultimately that traffic is expected to exceed 18 million tons per year. Arthur Schwietert, director of the transportation division of the Chicago Association of Com-

merce and Industry, says that these Corps of Engineers estimates are conservative in view of rapid developments taking place within the Chicago metropolitan area. He says, and I quote, "On the basis of industrial expansion since the estimate was made it is reasonable to assume that within 5 years after the project has been completed annual traffic will amount to a little over 16 million tons."

In support of my thesis that improvement of the Cal-Sag will unlock the door to a period of unparalleled economic expansion in this midcontinental region, I would like to quote further from the article by Mr. Schwietert in a new publication of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry entitled "Chicago's New Horizons." Mr. Schweitert opens his article, "Seaway developments to make Chicago the world's greatest inland port," with the following statement: "Metropolitan Chicago, long the natural functional center of the Nation's network of railroads, commercial airlines, and interstate highways, stands on the threshold of a transportation development which will bring to the area unmatched industrial and economic growth over the next 10 to 15 years. Along with this growth, Chicago's historic advantages as the heart of the largest single production area in the United States will take on new worldwide significance. Three projects will play a joint role in this new era of growth; the St. Lawrence seaway, Chicago's port program in Lake Calumet, and the widening of the Calumet-Sag channel, Chicago's vital link with the Illinois-Mississippi Waterway and the widespread tributary systems of the Missouri and Ohio Rivers. Together these developments will spark the greatest period of progress metropolitan Chicago has experienced since the turn of the century."

I subscribe wholeheartedly to Mr. Schwietert's views, particularly with respect to the role of Cal-Sag. However, I would emphasize a fourth major project. This is the project to deepen the Great Lakes connecting channels to minimum safe navigable depth of 27 feet. These connecting channels, the St. Marys River between Lake Superior and Lake Huron, the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, and the Straits of Mackinac between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron are the busiest rivers in the world. Traffic through the Soo Locks in the St. Marys River exceeds 100 million tons per year. Detroit River traffic amounts to as much as 140 million tons annually. Total commerce on the Great Lakes, including exports from and imports to United States ports, was about 239 million tons in 1955. This represents about one-fourth of the total waterborne commerce of the United States, including all ocean ports and inland waterways. This tremendous volume of traffic through the connecting channels shows clearly that these channels from the vital links that make the Great Lakes the greatest inland waterway system in the world.

At the present time controlling depths of 25 feet in downbound channels and 21 feet in upbound channels, when the ruling lake level is at low-water datum, are available between Lake Superior and the lower lakes. The deeper depths were provided in the downbound channels to accommodate deep-draft loaded ore carriers. The Corps of Engineers is now engaged in a $136 million project to modernize the Great Lakes system by deepening these connecting channels. This will be a long and tedious job, covering about 130 miles of channel generally from 300 feet to 1,200 feet wide. It involves the removal of approximately 44 million cubic yards of ledge rock, boulders, gravel, sand, and clay, of which about 4 million yards can be removed only by drilling and blasting. In addition, there are estimated to be about 4,300,000 square yards of area which requires sweeping and clearing to remove shoals for depths up to 1 or 2 feet, consisting generally of ledge rock, boulders, and clay in the lower Detroit River. Work began in the Amherstburg Channel of the Detroit River this spring and contracts have also been let for deepening of the Middle Neebish Channel in the St. Marys River. If carried out in an orderly and economical manner, it is possible to have minimum controlling depths of 25 feet for both upbound and downbound traffic by June 1960, full project depth of at least 27 feet in all channels by June 1962. At that time the lake States above Lake Erie will truly be the fourth seacoast of the United States.

Other data on the connecting channels project are stated in detail on the 7-page fact sheet which has been made available to you. The Great Lakes harbors map with it shows the location of the connecting channels about which I have been speaking.

The foregoing will give you some idea of the magnitude and nature of the connecting channels project—primarily a huge underwater excavation job—and its cost—approximately the same as the United States share of the St. Lawrence seaway job. The point I particularly want to make, though, is one which is not generally understood. That is that the connecting channels project is not part of the St. Lawrence seaway, nor is it merely an extension of the seaway. The seaway ends at Lake Erie. The connecting channels project extends from Lake Erie to Lakes Huron, Superior, and Michigan. As a project it was found to be economically justified solely on the basis of present and prospective interlake commerce (which now amounts to 119 billion ton-miles per year) without considering traffic entering or leaving the lakes through the St. Lawrence seaway. However, since connecting channels depth will be equal to seaway depth, the connecting channels project will result in substantial additional benefits to deep-draft seaway traffic passing through the connecting channels into or out of the upper lakes. Whatever the volume of that seaway traffic may be, it will still be only a small fraction of the total traffic on the Great Lakes. Iron ore, coal, stone, grain, and petroleum, and other bulk freight, most of it originating on or near the lakes, will still be the lifeblood of Great Lakes' commerce. It is on this basis that the north central division is now engaged in economic and engineering studies to determine the need for further improvements of the harbors on the Great Lakes in the interest of present and prospective deep-draft commerce. First to be completed will be studies of harbors where movement of iron ore, coal, and stone, is of major importance, then harbors where other bulk commodities are involved, and, finally, those harbors where general cargo traffic is involved. It is not to be assumed that construction of the St. Lawrence seaway and the Great Lakes connecting channels will automatically result in corresponding deepening of harbor facilities at all Great Lakes ports.

So much for the seaway and the connecting channels.

Quoting further from the previously mentioned "Chicago's new horizons" here are further prophecies of things to come, all based in part on the developments which are taking place here at Lake Calumet Harbor and the adjoining Cal-Sag project:

Paul Kunning, director, commercial development division, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry: "Three waterway developments now underway—the St. Lawrence seaway, the Cal-Sag Channel improvement and the Port of Chicago in Lake Calumet—are expected to produce the greatest commercial, industrial, and population boom Chicago has ever experienced.

"By 1975 enlarged overseas trade and expanded water-transportation operations will in themselves provide job opportunities for 140,000 additional workers. Industrial growth along the Cal-Sag Channel will provide an estimated 300,000 jobs in the new factories erected there. Four hundred and fifty thousand additional jobs will result from interrelated developments, including expansion of present industries to serve the new industries, and expanded retail, wholesale, and service trades to serve the increased population.

"In brief, the grand total of new jobs which can result directly or indirectly from the 3 waterway projects is 890,000. This impressive number of new workers, on the basis of the present ratio of jobs to people in the area, can support an added population of approximately 1,900,000 persons (by 1975)."

Louis M. Kohlmeier, Wall Street Journal writer: "The Chicago metropolitan area and the railroad industry grew up together before the turn of the century. The area long ago became the biggest railroad center in the Nation because of its strategic geographic and economic location. For these same reasons it continues today to be the hub of a 221,000-mile railroad network that plays a large part in lacing together every region of the country into an economic whole.

"Since the days when Chicago and the railroad industry were young, new and important forms of transportation have come to the fore. In part they are competitive with rail freight movement but they also are complementary in this century of vast economic and industrial expansion. Trucks are moving goods generally in smaller quantities and over shorter distances but more quickly than the railroads. Barges on the inland waterways are moving huge quantities but at a slow pace that makes this form of transport particularly adaptable for raw materials."

Ray Vicker, industrial editor, Wall Street Journal: "Port authorities estimate that by 1960 a million tons of general merchandise will move annually in and out of the Lake Calumet Harbor facility, with about two-thirds of it transported by motor carrier. By 1970 the freight total should triple the 1960 figure." He calls Chicago the "world's greatest trucking center."

William Ferris, Associated Press grain markets writer: "It is confidently expected by Chicago grainmen that within the next decade Chicago will become the leading seaport in America for the export of grain.

"Yet it is the St. Lawrence seaway which really fires the imagination of the Chicago grain trade. The seaway will bring the Atlantic Ocean inland and its waves will lap Illinois cornfields. An exhaustive study of comparative ocean and rail routes for export grain, undertaken by a Midwest university, has concluded it will be much cheaper to ship grain out of Chicago directly on oceangoing vessels than to send it by rail to Atlantic coast ports for loading there onto vessels.

"Chicago will become the export port for the major wheat producing State, Kansas. The Chicago territory will include such fertile producing States as Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, and of course, Illinois. Grain elevators at Lake Calumet will be ideally located for all types of transportation. Grain will come up the Illinois Waterway on barges for unloading into elevators and later transfer into ships. The Calumet expressway passes nearby and a truck interchange will be provided."

Frank C. Byrnes, Midwest editor of Chemical Engineering and Chemical Week: "Freight and distribution costs have become increasingly important. It's more economical to manufacture at the hub of a market and ship in all directions than it is to be located off to one side, shipping in only half as many directions. No location can begin to challenge Chicago as the hub of the world's best water-rail-highway-air trans-

portation system. And further improvement will come as the seaway, Cal-Sag development and Calumet Harbor are dovetailed into the network." He predicts an influx of new plants in the Chicago area, producing fertilizers, sulfuric acid, ammonia, industrial gases, water treatment chemicals, fungicides, and other chemicals. Much of the raw material required would be brought in cheaply by barge.

In view of these authoritative predictions by experts whose opinions must be seriously regarded, what more can be said to convince you that the port of Chicago has a bright future and that prime factors in its continued economic, cultural, and physical growth will be the Cal-Sag and Lake Calumet Harbor? We are standing at a great crossroads of commerce served by all forms of transportation—rail and pipelines, waterways, highways, and airways. In this situation, the Cal-Sag Channel and Lake Calumet Harbor are vital links in a great transportation facility which will contribute mightily to the future prosperity of this region and the Nation. A new and highly integrated pattern of commerce, embracing the free flow of heavy bulk cargoes and other goods, is emerging along the north-south axis of our revitalized and expanding inland waterways system. Cal-Sag is at the center. Cal-Sag is the connecting link. Cal-Sag is the key.

In closing, I have just one recommendation to make. That is that you continue to work together for the common good of the Calumet region. This is a region which is bound together by common interests and common needs which transcend the lesser needs and interests of its component communities. It crosses city, county and State boundaries which cannot be permitted to hamper your efforts to provide the welfare of the entire area. You are fortunate in having leaders with vision, ingenuity and integrity who have brought you this far in the development of this port and this Cal-Sag project, to the point where the dreams and plans of yesteryear are rapidly becoming reality.

Within the past 2 weeks I was pleased to note that the Illinois State legislature passed a bill to create an Illinois-Indiana Bi-State Development Commission to study trade development in the lower Lake Michigan area. This is an action which I hope will lead to coordinated planning of port and waterway development in the Calumet region involving the cooperation of the States of Illinois and Indiana, the Chicago regional port district, the city of Chicago and other municipalities in a manner similar to that of the port of New York. Over 20 years ago the Indiana Legislature passed a bill authorizing an interstate port authority. The same bill failed to pass the Illinois assembly. Now it appears that the time is ripe for both States to pass enabling legislation for a bi-State port authority. Such action is needed if this area is to compete successfully with other ports such as Hamilton, Ontario; Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit and Milwaukee.

I also want to take this opportunity to give credit where credit is due for the accomplishments which have already been made here. There are some among you who have done noble work in bringing to reality the developments here at Lake Calumet and at Cal-Sag. There are several groups, also, which have done much to pave the way for the development of this port and the connecting waterways. First of all I would name the man whose yeoman efforts 2 years ago led directly to the appropriation of the first money to begin work on the Cal-Sag Channel. He is John Killian, regional vice president of the Calumet Region Congress, who obtained the signatures of the entire Illinois congressional delegation on the resolution which persuaded Congress to appropriate $4 million for the start of the Cal-Sag project in fiscal year 1956. His work was publicly recognized at a dinner given by his many friends at the Museum of Science and Industry last Monday night. Honored with him was Judge Walker Butler, of superior court, who is also in the forefront of those who have had the vision to see the potentialities of this great port and who has worked untiringly to bring them into being. I would be remiss if I did not also mention Hjalmar Johnson, who last week made the presentation to Mr. Killian and Judge Butler. As president of the Inland Waterway Coordinating Committee, Mr. Johnson has been a stabilizing influence and a wise counselor in matters pertaining to the Calumet-Sag project.

The Illinois congressional delegation, particularly Representative THOMAS J. O'BRIEN, is also to be commended for the foresight shown in their bipartisan action in unanimously supporting the request for funds to begin the Cal-Sag project. Without their united support the project would not have gotten under way at that time.

I should also mention that the Corps of Engineers has received magnificent cooperation from all local interests involved in the many phases of the planning and construction of the Cal-Sag project. I particularly want to recognize the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago, the Chicago Regional Port District, the Calumet Region Congress, the Inland Waterways Coordinating Committee and the Chicago Metropolitan Council of the Mississippi Valley Association.

It has been a wonderful experience to work with Mr. Killian, Judge Butler, Hjalmar Johnson and the representatives of the groups I have named, among them Admiral Goodall, Great Lakes division manager of the Mississippi Valley Association. The cooperation they have given me has been magnificent and because of it I will remember my tour of duty here in Chicago as one of the most enjoyable periods of my military career. I am retiring from active duty this month and I regret to say that my association with many of you will come to an end. I would leave you with this charge, that you give my successor, Brig. Gen. Louis J. Rumaggi, the same cooperation you have given me these past 2 years. General Rumaggi is an able and dedicated officer of the Corps of Engineers and he is not unfamiliar with the Great Lakes, having served as district engineer, Detroit, from December 1, 1948, to May 25, 1950. He will welcome your wholehearted cooperation.

Introducing John M. Blair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, industry, when it prospers, makes jobs. United States industry is doing just that. Management and labor generally agree that capitalism is not a monstrous, menacing danger, but, on the contrary, is the free world's stanch counter to the blandishments of communism.

Why then, do we need in Government employment, men who hate and fear capitalism, as their own writing indicate?

Why should such men be hired to conduct antibusiness—and therefore anti-job-creating—investigations?

If reforms are needed, let them by all means be uncovered—and corrected. But how much faith can be put in investigators who believe that capitalism is and of itself, antilabor?

Herewith I include the following article about the return of one of the New Dealers to the green pastures of anti-capitalism:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of May 12, 1957]

INTRODUCING JOHN M. BLAIR

(By Donald I. Rogers)

A couple thousand years before the advent of Christ, a Greek philosophical observer—Solon, I think it was—opined that democracy embodied the seeds of its own destruction. He meant that, given the free franchise, voters would vote their freedoms away (witness Germany, Italy, France, and England).

Nearly a couple thousand years after Christ, another observer, Karl Marx, held that capitalism carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

In 1938 a writer by the name of John M. Blair rediscovered both these philosophies and wrote a book called Seeds of Destruction, purported to be a study in the functional weaknesses of capitalism. It was published by Covic-Friede, at $4. It received complimentary reviews in the New Republic, and by Harold J. Laski in the Nation.

This is the same John M. Blair who is chief economist under Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, the much headlined leader of the Senate's antitrust and monopoly subcommittee.

Senator KEFAUVER, with an eye on the White House, entertains the idea that he can reach 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue by riding over the crushed skulls of America's big businessmen. His chairmanship of this vital committee is regarded as a perfect vehicle.

EXPERT ON OIL

He expects this fellow, John M. Blair, to be the chief skullcrusher. So let's take a look at John M. Blair. He's been with Government for 20 years. He's an economist—to use the academic title of this inexact and unscientific science—and he's an expert on oil, one of the areas where Mr. KEFAUVER hopes to strike hard.

It could be understood that in the unsettled, harsh days of 1938, a student of economics might hold unsettled, harsh views, which, in the ensuing years, with maturity and a restoration of capitalistic principle, might be tempered. But as far as can be learned, Mr. Blair has never recanted. Unless he has made private utterances to the contrary, we must assume that he believes the same today as he did in 1938.

He is a dialectic writer. His views are strong because he writes from the premise that we all hold socialistic beliefs, that we all believe business is too big, that we all feel the worker has been abused in our industrialized, capitalistic society.

Some samples:

"Capitalism * * * through the use of machinery and other devices * * * has cast out employment from industry a progressively increasing number of workers and has lowered steadily the relative wages of those employed."

Could a writer ever be more in error? Have the relative wages of industrial workers declined? Have an increasing number been cast out of employment?

Or, regard this:

"The significant fact * * * is that during the decade of American capitalism's greatest expansion and prosperity, 1919–1929, the rise in labor productivity was so marked that more workers were displaced from their positions than were taken into the ranks of the employed. There appears to be no indication that this devastating trend will be

abated; rather existing indexes seem to indicate that it will be accelerated even beyond its present rapid rate."

I like this one, particularly in view of the tremendous expansion of American industry and of the huge sums of capital supplied by the "upper classes":

"Capitalism has distributed a large share of its income to members of the higher income groups, and those income recipients in the upper classes have utilized a large and increasing proportion of their income in such ways as to make it ineffective as mass purchasing power, either through their purchasing of expensive luxuries from other members of the upper classes, or through their trading in outstanding or other nonproductive issues of securities" (p. 155).

This is the man who has been selected by Senator KEFAUVER to help prove that American business is a monster which needs a stronger checkrein. He seems ideal for the job.

A logical question, though, is whether Senator KEFAUVER holds these same views? If so, has he let the people of Tennessee know it?

Drivers Would Accept Drastic Safety Rules

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the Gallup poll which appeared in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

As chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, I was extremely pleased to read this poll and to see how willing the public is to accept much stronger laws and regulations in an effort to reduce the Nation's terrible number of highway accidents and deaths:

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 8, 1957]

DRIVERS WOULD ACCEPT DRASTIC SAFETY RULES

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETOWN, N. J., July 7.—America's automobile drivers today are in a mood to accept drastic measures designed to reduce the number of street and highway accidents.

By an overwhelming vote, they would require:

1. Every driver to take an annual examination to test eyesight, hearing and reactions.

2. Every driver to take a driving course before he is given a license to drive.

3. Twice-a-year inspection of every automobile on the road.

In addition, they would require all trucks to travel at speeds 10 miles an hour less than passenger cars.

These findings, based on a survey conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion, point to one unmistakable fact: The driving public is ready and willing to go to great lengths to cut down highway accidents.

The interesting thing about the survey results is the size of the majority favoring the five specific proposals.

"Here are some suggestions that have been made to reduce highway accidents. I'd like your opinion on each one.

"1. Require every driver to have an annual examination to test eyesight, hearing and reactions. Do you think this a good idea or a poor one?"

	Percent
Good idea	80
Poor idea	17
No opinion	3

"2. Require every driver to take a driving course before he is given a license."

	Percent
Good idea	80
Poor idea	18
No opinion	2

"3. Require a car inspection twice each year?"

	Percent
Good idea	74
Poor idea	24
No opinion	2

"4. Require all trucks to travel at speeds 10 miles an hour less than passenger cars?"

	Percent
Good idea	61
Poor idea	33
No opinion	6

"5. Require automobile manufacturers to build cars with a top speed not over 65 miles an hour?"

	Percent
Good idea	54
Poor idea	42
No opinion	4

An interesting sidelight on this last proposal is the fact that, among drivers who said they had been stopped for speeding, 59 percent say it would be a poor idea to limit cars to a top speed of 65 miles an hour, while 36 percent say it would be a good idea, and 3 percent express no opinion.

Each car driver also was asked what he thought should be done to reduce the number of highway accidents.

Here are the driving public's own suggestions, in order of frequency of mention:

1. Stricter law enforcement.
2. Improvement of highways.
3. Lower horsepower in cars.
4. More severe punishment for offenders.
5. More patroling of highways.
6. Reduce the speed limit.
7. Better driver tests.
8. Better driver education.
9. Mandatory use of uniform driver signals.
10. Curtail teen-aged drivers.

Means Johnston, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the State of Mississippi suffered a great loss in the recent death of the Honorable Means Johnston, Sr., a distinguished attorney of Greenwood.

Considered for many years one of the outstanding trial lawyers in our State, Mr. Johnston had a distinguished career of public service. He was the Leflore County prosecuting attorney from 1916 to 1928, and for more than 30 years, the attorney for the board of supervisors of Leflore County,

As a State senator representing Leflore and Tallahatchie Counties, Mr. Johnston was largely responsible for the passage of a constitutional amendment which removed our State universities and colleges from political control. He served with distinction for a number of years as a member of the board of trustees of institutions of higher learning.

Mr. Johnston's loss is a very personal one to me; he was my friend and adviser from my boyhood days until his death. I had the honor of succeeding him as Leflore County's State senator, and he paid me the high honor of serving as chairman of my campaign committee in my 1950 congressional campaign.

Means Johnston's career illustrates in its finest sense the contribution of public service that is the tradition of the southern bar.

Under unanimous consent I include the following editorial tributes to Mr. Johnston from the Greenwood, Miss., Commonwealth and the Greenwood Morning Star:

MEANS JOHNSTON

The entire State was saddened Thursday upon hearing of the death of Means Johnston, one of Mississippi's most distinguished attorneys.

Mr. Johnston, through his contributions to the legal profession, had earned for him the highest praise and recognition. His brilliant mind, combined with his practical knowledge of public and private affairs, was outstanding in every respect. His services as an attorney were widely sought due to his legal ability and understanding of the law.

Means Johnston loaned dignity to the legal profession. He was a credit to it in every respect. There was nothing small about him. It was his broad understanding of the law that made him outstanding.

During his long and distinguished career, he served with ability. He was prominent in the activities of his State and county and responded to their every call. Everyone relied upon his good judgment and advice.

It is always good to leave a fine heritage to family and friends, and Means Johnston did this in abundance. The memory of him and the good service he performed will continue to live on.

END OF AN ERA IN LEFLORE COUNTY ANNALS

Last week one of Leflore County's greatest citizens passed from the stage when Means Johnston died. It was an end of an era in Leflore County history, one which should be noted by those who wish to preserve for posterity the annals of our county.

Means Johnston was not only Leflore County's most outstanding criminal attorney, but he was recognized over a wide area for his ability in this field. Beyond that, he was recognized as Leflore County's most potent influence in political circles and also as one of the best informed persons, if not the best, in county law in Mississippi.

That Means Johnston was endowed with an unusually keen mind is a repetition of a fact that is common knowledge. However the secret behind his great success, we believe, was his exceptional knowledge of people. Coupled with his refreshing modesty to the point of retirement, Mr. Johnston's ability to analyze people, know and understand their problems, aims, and ambitions, formed the stairway to his success.

For a number of years, Mr. Johnston was so highly regarded by governors that he was chosen on their staffs as a colonel. He was affectionately known to his close friends as the colonel.

The colonel was a "country boy" who never lost his close contact with the people

in all sections of the county, and all walks of life. His success never created a gap in close association with the most humble and they followed his leadership with unquestioned fidelity.

We certainly do not wish to imply the colonel ran Leflore County, for this is not the case. His was a service of advice and guidance and never dictatorship. His valued advice will be sorely missed not only by the officials of Leflore County, but by many who relied upon his keen intellect to help them guide their destinies.

Members of the bar looked to "Means" as they called him, for leadership when events called for such. Those involved in criminal prosecution always felt safer when he was their legal counsel.

He kept abreast of the times, and never blocked progress, but maintained a link with the past, and never became modern to the extent of severing his intimate contact with people.

Yes, Leflore County will miss the colonel and so will the State of Mississippi.

Those who would emulate the triumphs, which he so minimized in his humanity, must perservere in the traits which made him a truly great man.

Labor Is Victim of Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the issue of July 1957 IUD bulletin, published by the industrial union department, AFL–CIO:

The truth is that "industrial labor is the victim of inflation, not its cause," the IUD executive board declared in a statement adopted at its June 5 meeting.

The statement pointed out that there has been a steady decline in industrial employment and that industrial worker buying power is down 1 percent from a year ago. It charged that industry is seeking to discredit American labor by falsely blaming it for inflation. It declared that corporate enterprise is contemplating further price increases under cover of this smokescreen.

"The present lull in production," the IUD board said, "is a clear indication of the need for greater purchasing power. Our problem is not one of production but of getting what we can produce into the hands of the consumer. Labor today can serve America best by continuing its fight for higher wages and better working conditions."

In another statement, the Board charged that "conservatives of both political parties are calling the legislative tune with resulting inaction." It declared that the President can still assert the leadership expected of him to end the tragic lack of direction that has characterized the executive branch of government in past months. It called upon both the Congress and the Executive to rise above partisanship so America may move ahead.

Specifically, the statement urged action on a school bill providing at least $600 million annually in school construction aid; an end to delay on minimum wage extension and passage of the Morse-Kelley bill which would extend coverage to an additional 9.6 million workers; passage of the Douglas area redevelopment bill; 135,000 public-housing units annually and a minimum of $250 million annually for urban renewal; a program of direct low-interest, long-term Federal loans for middle-income housing.

This statement also called upon the Congress to "rescue the Hells Canyon project on the Snake River so that America may obtain maximum benefits from this great natural resource"; pass the Gore-Holifield bill for a $400 million program of atomic-energy development; passage of civil-rights legislation now before Congress; passage of the Celler bill which would establish a rational immigration policy; provide pay increases for Federal employees; pass the Douglas-Ives full-disclosure bill; investigate the antilabor bias of the NLRB.

A third statement adopted by the meeting declared that "our country will gain no benefit from a reduced budget that looks good on paper but does not provide the services essential to an expanding economy." The statement called for an end to political maneuvering on the budget, pointing out that it represents only 16 percent of national production against 20 percent in 1953.

Hells Canyon Dam Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, there have been few more astute observers of the Hells Canyon controversy than the nationally syndicated columnist, Mr. Thomas L. Stokes. I am certain that his latest column on this important subject, which appeared in the Friday, July 5 edition of the Washington Evening Star, will be of interest to my colleagues. Under unanimous consent I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

HELLS CANYON DAM LEGISLATION—SHERMAN ADAMS SEEN TRYING TO KILL ISSUE IN CONGRESS TO AVOID PRESIDENTIAL VETO

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

The White House is pulling all strings possible and using all its power and prestige to avoid the necessity of President Eisenhower having to pass upon the highly controversial Hells Canyon issue which is so full of political dynamite in the West and Northwest.

The aim is to kill off the issue in Congress and stop it there. That explains the sudden maneuver this week whereby Republicans on a House Interior subcommittee were able to shelve the measure that would authorize one high dam, built by the Federal Government, at Hells Canyon in the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon boundary. This checked the drive for this bill which had passed the Senate a few days before.

It was promptly labeled "as dead as a dodo" by the man who executed the maneuver for the White House, Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, Republican, of Pennsylvania. He got the support of all Republicans on the House subcommittee and two southern Democrats—Representatives HALEY of Florida and SHUFORD of North Carolina.

There are ways of reviving the bill, including substitution of the Senate-approved bill; but this would require a switch of votes within the full Interior Committee that might be hard for the supporters of the measure to bring about.

Their difficulty is increased by the determination of the White House, which has shown no such determination on any issue as in its aim to turn over development of water resources henceforth to the powerful private utilities which are now in such favor at the White House.

The President's chief political operator and strategist—Sherman Adams—got a surprise when the Senate passed the Hells Canyon bill. He does not intend to be caught off guard again. He is determined that the bill shall get no closer to the White House than it is now.

His evaluation of the situation is that the political damage would be much greater if the President had to kill the bill by his veto, which would fix the responsibility directly upon the administration so all could see. If it were strangled to death in committee, that is a sort of star chamber proceeding which it is often hard for the public to understand. Killing the bill off in a furtive manner is characteristic of the administration's procedure in every step of its determined policy to take resource development away from the people and hand it over to special interests, as if it had a guilty conscience. That has typified every step in the Hells Canyon giveaway, as in the Dixon-Yates effort to cripple TVA.

Even as it is, Sherman Adams is taking a lot on himself in killing off public development of Hells Canyon. He knows by now, as well as do Republicans in the area, how many Republicans went down to defeat on the Hells Canyon issue in the Pacific Northwest last November. It was one of the major issues in the biggest political turnover in that area in this century, extending from races for Senate and House seats, through contests for governor, and down to competition for the State legislature.

Anybody who has ever spent much time with the people of the Pacific Northwest is likely to question any assumption that killing off the Hells Canyon bill in a House committee will fool the people there. They are very much aware of how things are done here contrary to their interest. It wouldn't take a veto by the President to tell them who is responsible.

Last November's election provided a referendum on the Hells Canyon issue among the people who live in the Northwest. The election results showed that a majority are for public development by one high dam, as recommended by the Army engineers, that will develop the full potential of this single biggest power site available on the North American Continent, rather than the piecemeal development by three small dams in the plan of the Idaho Power Co., of Augusta, Maine, which already his started work under a license from the Federal Power Commission here.

If the administration has its way, the people will be the losers—and, of course, the Republican Party. The sad fact about Hells Canyon is that, if it is developed improperly now by the piecemeal method, that is for all time. The mistake can never be rectified. The people will be deprived of this share of their natural heritage which they won as pioneers after many hardships and lose it forever to a private company that is largely owned far beyond this area. They will lose in not getting the full benefits they should in the amount of power, in flood control, and they will lose in the higher rates they will have to pay for power. If, on the other hand, it were developed publicly, as were Bonneville in Oregon and Grand Coulee in Washington, then the people would own it forever, as they should, and its cost would be paid back to the Treasury out of operating revenues.

As a veteran Republican Senator said to this reporter a few days ago about what is happening to our natural resources:

"When the people wake up, there's going to be a day of retribution, and what a day of retribution that will be."

Inflation and Monetary Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, financial difficulties have been brought to this Government by its own monetary policies twice during the last 4 years. In the most recent period, the Secretary of the Treasury has announced his resignation. Shortly thereafter he proudly presented to the Finance Committee of the Senate a report on the development of inflation and monetary policy during the last 4 years. The report does not hesitate to notice that the country is experiencing inflation. At the same time it stresses the comparatively slight increase in money supply, and the favorable balance between receipts and expenditures of the Federal Government in the last fiscal year and in the fiscal year now coming to a close. We are experiencing inflation without an increase in the money supply, during the second of an anticipated 3 years of Federal budgetary surplus. But the monetary policy of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board is directed only at curbing the growth of the money supply and bringing a balanced Federal budget. The experience is that the policy does not stop inflation, nor bring success to efforts at financing the Government. However, that has not led the Secretary to declare misgivings about his policy.

In his report, the Secretary claims credit for a long-term increase in personal savings. Increased savings are described as a way to curb inflation. Yet inflation continues. Either the size or the significance of the increase has been magnified unduly. The Treasury apparently is unable to reach savings through bond issues at high rate of interest. Savings bonds sold and held have increased in total amount in the last 4 years, but not by as large an amount as during the previous 4 years. In May, an offering of notes and certificates in exchange for maturing securities resulted in 28 percent of the holders of the maturing securities preferring cash to new securities yielding 3½ and 3⅝ percent. The nominal guide in offering Treasury securities is the market rate of interest; but investors seem to be guided by other considerations. Under this administration the total debt has increased. Expenditures proposed by the administration are at new record levels for peacetime. Tax and expenditure policies have kept the Government dependent on borrowing, and its monetary policy has made borrowing more expensive and less successful.

In his report, the Secretary quotes with pride the estimate that $25 billion of spending power has been added by the 1954 tax reductions, and does not regard that is inflationary. However, it is said to be inflationary to make smaller additions to spending power through more housing loans at low rates, through more credit for new and small business, and through less costly credit for the school buildings, the highways, hospitals, and the other community improvements which are basic to the expansion of the Nation's economic productivity and to its advance in civilization.

The Secretary notices that increased costs of borrowing have added to the burdens of municipalities, individuals, and businesses, and says that (1) higher prices would have been more costly to them; (2) higher prices actually were more costly than higher interest rates; and (3) lots of people are investors and they are better off because of higher interest return. It is to be added that other investors who have sold bonds or other interest bearing investments have taken losses which offset the gain in interest income.

The policy of offering Federal securities at market rates of interest or higher; or adding to bank reserves and lending power only for brief, minor emergency periods; and of charging higher rates at the Federal Reserve Banks for temporary borrowing of reserves, has not prevented increases in commodity prices. If higher interest rates had succeeded in stabilizing prices and costs, they might have proved economical. But they have not brought economy for the home buyer who must pay constantly higher prices for housing and then add 10 or 12 percent to the final total cost of his house because the interest rate on his mortgage has increased 1 percent. It has not brought economy to the local taxpayer who must pay for a higher priced school and also pay 10 or 12 percent more to meet a higher interest rate. It has not brought economy to the Federal taxpayer who has had to pay 30 percent higher prices for military goods, and then an additional billion dollars per year for interest on the debt. If present Federal interest rates of 3¼ to 3⅝ percent continue until all outstanding securities are replaced, the monetary policy of the administration will have added $3 or $4 billion per year to the Federal tax bill. And that cost will have to be borne over the many years, until the debt can be retired or converted into lower rate securities under another administration. The monetary policy has not brought savings. Higher prices and higher interest costs are not alternatives to each other. They accompany and reinforce each other.

The Secretary of the Treasury included in his report some computations to show that interest was not a large part of the cost of things produced and sold. Despite its small size, changes in that cost are the heart of the inflation-control policy of the administration and its Federal Reserve Board. Higher costs of borrowing have not prevented the growth of borrowing, business and municipalities and individuals being more in debt now than at any time in the past. Higher interest rates have changed the form and pattern of borrowing. It could be concluded from this change that the interest-rate policy restrains inflation, but I conclude that the policy has been harmful to production and strengthens the forces of inflation. The monetary policy has kept away from the banks the untried and currently weak competitors in business and municipalities and consumers. Potential borrowers are refused accommodation by banks and other lenders, or are offered loans at rates above those charged to established borrowers, with cost differentials that weaken their competition. The established and strong firms can get sufficient credit at preferential rates and have enough savings from profits to be able to pay or to bid higher prices for their supplies. The present monetary policy only makes it unnecessary for them to use the full extent of their power. The present monetary policy weeds out the financially weaker firms, rather than making the weeding out a result of competition for the consumers' patronage. Having failed to build competition through other means, the administration tries to avoid the full extent of the price increases which could result from that situation by making money unavailable to new competitors. The higher interest cost, therefore, brings a loss of business opportunity, higher prices, and lack of technical progress.

Higher interest costs stand in the way of technical progress. They lead to postponement of school construction because of local inability to meet the costs. Lack of school facilities impedes education, and this loss cannot be made up. Education is a continuous process, not amenable to crash programs such as for national defense. If more school buildings are going up than in earlier years, as Secretary Humphrey says is happening, that is no cause for complacency. The only proper standard is whether there are enough, not merely whether there are more than at some past time when the number being built was inadequate. Education is fundamental to technical advance. So also are other community facilities. Without them, communities cannot attract nor provide healthful living conditions for the employees of factories and mines and shops. And technical advance requires not merely research and knowledge, but also the application of knowledge through physical plant and equipment. Plant and equipment expenditures of corporations are at very high levels, but apparently corporations, like municipalities, have done some postponing, because investment has run below expectations. And most of the expansion has been planned only by the largest corporations.

The tight money policy has failed to curb inflation and in fact has contributed to it, for several reasons. First of all, it does not prevent an increase in bank loans to all businesses; it only leads the banks to dispose of Government bonds and lend the proceeds to business, and to big established firms, but not to small, new, or weaker firms. The movement of corporation funds into short-term Government securities—increasing by $4 billion or $5 billion in only a few years; and the funds tied up in credit to customers, have kept down corporate deposits in banks. The result is a limited growth in funds for lending, yet the total available has grown, and the total of loans has grown. The money supply as conventionally measured, currency plus bank

deposits, has not increased, but the money available for spending has increased through bank lending. Trade credit has increased. Manufacturing corporations alone have extended about $3 billion additional trade credit to smaller corporations and individual businesses during the recent tight-money period. Monetary policy does not prevent an increase in credit; it changes the source of credit so that power becomes more concentrated in the large corporations. The financing of business activity becomes more subject to the will, and the liquidity, of large firms; and the banking system becomes relatively less important. If a widespread contraction of credit begins, the banks will not be in an immediate position to add the flexibility which will be needed.

The development of greater economic power where it already has been concentrated adds to inflation. Prices have not been going up throughout the economy; in textiles, farm products, and elsewhere, there have been declining prices. The push toward higher prices comes from those industries where strong unions bargain with strongly organized employing corporations. Higher wages lead at once to higher prices and profits; and a tight money policy that intensifies concentration and the ability to raise prices makes further inflation inevitable.

The administration junked all the direct controls which are effective against inflation, and the Federal Reserve has not developed qualitative controls that would restrain credit extension where danger of inflation actually is to be found. We are left with an ineffective anti-inflation policy that leads to industrial weakness and to difficulties for programs at all levels of Government.

Joint Resolution of Illinois Legislature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I have strongly advocated the repeal of our status-of-forces agreements that surrender our American servicemen to foreign nations for criminal jurisdiction. I am indeed hopeful the House will adopt House Joint Resolution 16. Millions of Americans are disturbed and disappointed to say the least over the Government's handling of the Girard case. It is my feeling that if a boy dons the American uniform and helps defend his Government and the American way of life, the least we can do is see that he is given the rights afforded him under the Constitution.

Following is Senate Joint Resolution 22 passed by the State Senate of Illinois on May 1, 1957, and concurred in by the Illinois House of Representatives on June 20, 1957:

State of Illinois, 70th General Assembly,
Senate Joint Resolution 22

Whereas the members of our Armed Forces serving abroad, their civilian components and the dependents of each, are now subject to the criminal jurisdiction of more than 50 countries in which they may be on duty, by reason of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty, the administrative agreement with Japan and executive agreements with other nations; and

Whereas these agreements penalize our servicemen for foreign service by depriving them of many of the rights granted by our Constitution, which they are sworn to defend; and

Whereas it is impossible for any serviceman accused of transgression in a foreign country to receive a fair and impartial trial because of the varying systems of jurisprudence which make it impossible for him to receive the protection of all of the rights and guaranties which our Constitution gives to every citizen and because of the prejudice and animosity sometimes existing against members of our Armed Forces; and

Whereas legislation has been introduced in both the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States to direct the President to seek a modification of all such agreements so that the United States may regain exclusive jurisdiction over the members of its Armed Forces for all purposes, or if such a modification is refused, then to terminate or denounce the agreements according to the terms of each: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois (the House of Representatives concurring herein), That the member of this general assembly deplore the arrangements now existing which make service in our Armed Forces abroad a hazard by depriving our servicemen, their civilian components, and dependents of each, of the rights and guaranties of our Constitution when they are stationed in other lands; that it is the sentiment of this general assembly that all United States service personnel stationed abroad should be tried by United States military tribunals under the Uniform Code of Military Justice for any offense committed on foreign soil; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully request and urge the President of the United States, by negotiation, and the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, by enacting the legislation now pending or similar legislation directing such negotiation, to secure a modification or denunciation of the provisions of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty and all other agreements which surrender to foreign nations criminal jurisdiction over the United States Armed Forces, their civilian components, and the dependents of each; and be it further

Resolved, That a suitable copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to the President of the United States and to the members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives from Illinois.

Adopted by the senate, May 1, 1957.
ARTHUR J. BIDWELL,
President pro tempore of the Senate.
EDWARD E. FERNANDES,
Secretary of the Senate.

Concurred in by the house of representatives, June 20, 1957.
WARREN L. WOOD,
Speaker of House of Representatives.
FRED W. RUEGG,
Clerk of House of Representatives.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Independence Day Address by Hon. Frank Church, of Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on the 4th of July, at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, the people of eastern Pennsylvania had the opportunity to hear a most stimulating, eloquent, and thought-provoking address by the distinguished junior Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH]. I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR FRANK CHURCH DELIVERED AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., ON JULY 4, 1957

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens, I am highly honored to be your speaker today. My home is in the distant West—the youngest part of our country. What a singular satisfaction it is for me to come to Independence Hall in Philadelphia, the birthplace of our country, and here take part in this observance of Independence Day.

Those of us fortunate enough to be here are privileged to commemorate this 4th of July at the shrine of American liberty. Yet, even as we gather here, a thousand bands are playing and veterans are marching, and countless flags are waving in every part of the land. Flashing fireworks will fill our skies tonight, and Americans will congregate in parks and public squares to give evidence of their loyalty to our great Republic. And many will speak of patriotism.

Patriotism is love of country. How should one love his country? One should love his country as he loves his own child—with a will to serve its inmost needs; to see it reach fulfillment; to dream its best dreams, to labor to make them come true.

As a child grows from infancy to maturity, so does a country. As a child's needs change with the passing years, so do those of a country, with the changing times. The true patriot, like the best parent, seeks to know his country's real needs and to learn how to serve them wisely and well.

In 1776 our utmost need was to secure liberty. George III of England had persistently refused to grant to the English colonists in the new world the rights of Englishmen in the old, hard-won from the days of the Magna Carta. Steadily the rule of the royal governors had grown more insufferable. Again and again the colonists had petitioned their king, but their grievances were ignored, and their entreaties rebuked.

So the day came when no recourse remained but to renounce the Crown. Men of high station, with their lives and fortunes to lose, assembled in this historic hall, to pen their names to a ringing Declaration of Independence, proclaiming to the world that the Colonies had severed the political bands that connected them with England, and had assumed the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them.

Every man who placed his signature upon our Declaration of Independence, on that Fourth of July in 1776, from Thomas Jefferson to John Hancock, writing largely so that the King himself might plainly see, knew full well the peril that now confronted them. It is said that Benjamin Franklin remarked, before signing his name, "We must, indeed, all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately."

The Revolutionary War was hardly a contest between equals. The Colonies were rural, lying out on the fringes of the world, and ill-equipped to wage war against a rich and powerful monarch. But the rebels fought for liberty, a cause that fired the hearts of men who would be free, and American patriots, with gallant determination, battled the Redcoats, from the woods of Lexington and Concord to the breastworks at Bunker Hill—through the wintry agonies at Valley Forge to the final victory at Yorktown.

Yes; in 1776, our utmost need was to secure liberty. By the Declaration of Independence we solemnly announced our purpose; by the waging of a Revolutionary War we painfully achieved our goal.

Today, nearly two centuries later, our utmost need is to preserve liberty. Again we should solemnly declare our purpose to the world. But the method we must now pursue to achieve our goal can no longer be the waging of war. It must be the waging of peace.

Let us see why this is so.

The age we live in is as different from the age of colonial America as a powder horn is different from a hydrogen bomb. War is no longer an instrument by which men can win a worthy goal. A thermonuclear war could utterly destroy its participants, leaving nothing but chaos, ruin, and anarchy in its wake. Liberty depends on life and order. Both can be consumed by the witchfire of atomic war, and liberty lost even to those who yearn to preserve it.

I pray that we shall continue to deter the coming of another global war. But if we must do so by living indefinitely in a state of expectant war; by remaining forever teetering on the brink; by carrying an ever-heavier shield above us, then we must awaken to the fact that our liberty itself is in danger of being stifled in the very cause of defending it.

The debt of past war, and the current costs of military defense, now account for two-thirds of the total expenditures of the Federal Government. Today's bomber costs us 20 times as much as yesterday's Flying Fortress. Tomorrow's weapons will dwarf the cost of those we buy today. If we must continue our present course indefinitely, it will matter not what party controls the national administration. Government will get bigger and taxes will grow larger. From this there is no escape.

As the threat of war becomes ever more important in the formulation of national policy and national budget, the Central Government must continue to expand its powers. The prerogatives of States and communities will further wither. Most importantly, the rights of free men will give way to the interests of a national security that will always elude the mounting frenzy with which we shall pursue it. Thus the foundations of liberty will be eroded, for if we must endlessly prepare for total war, we must be prepared, ultimately, for total government.

So I submit that our country's foremost need today, if liberty is to be preserved for the future, is the need to conquer war in the world at large. That can be accomplished only by waging peace with the same zeal and determination with which we have waged war.

The peace of which I speak is not the cold war in which we now live. Peace is something different than absence from war. An armed truce is not peace, although 20 years continued. A cold war, unless abated, can only end in a hot war.

The time has come to plan a grand strategy for peace; to commit ourselves to its battles, its Lexingtons and Concords; to be prepared to suffer its Valley Forge; and to pursue our goal with strong and abiding faith that we shall at last achieve a Yorktown victory over war itself.

Our forefathers, here at Independence Hall, appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, and solemnly published and declared their purposes, and in support of them pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

We could do no better.

In a new declaration of independence from war itself, we might list, as did Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues, the failures of the old order, but we must, as they did also, proclaim new objectives that will capture the minds and hearts of men.

Let us declare it to be our high purpose to recognize and promote the cause of colonial peoples who aspire, as we once aspired, to independence and self-government. Their force is crumpling empires. It is the inexorable force of our times. How greatly would be strengthen our moral leadership among free nations if we would honor and befriend the cause of colonial people. It is in our finest tradition that we do this. And such a course offers us our best hope for wresting them from imminent fall to the false and covetous lure of communism, and enlisting them to the cause of liberty and peace.

Let us declare our fixed and unremitting resolve to free the world from the threat of the silent dust of thermonuclear explosion, which could come to fill the air and settle impersonally upon the just and the unjust, and generations yet unborn. Let us lift the monstrous burden of armaments from the backs of men. We must find a way, lead the way, to enforceable disarmament so that tensions may be eased, unreasoning fears dissipated, and the energies of nations turned to the ending of want, hunger, and poverty.

Not least, let us move to the fore to improve and strengthen the United Nations, to make it more effective in its role as keeper of the peace, so that law may replace brute force in the solution of disputes among nations.

In 1776, the governmental principles stated here at Independence Hall were regarded as radical, mischievous, and foredoomed. Instead, they thrived and our Republic became an inspiration for all men who aspired to be free. In the years since, the clean structure of our liberty, like the form and shape

of the liberty bell, has always been treasured in the spirit of the free.

If, in the days of our infancy, we could ignite a flame of freedom so bright as to shine like a beacon around the world, then now, in the days of our greatness, we must do no less.

Now is the time for us to recapture the spirit of our Revolution. Now is the time for us to be willing to venture and to dare, to espouse new methods—for the old have failed. Now is the time for bold and imaginative action—for proposals big enough to match and master the looming challenges of the atomic age.

Then let us hew the track for all men of high purpose and good will to follow—to the end that one day they might live in a world where freedom presides and peace endures.

Idaho Power Co. Fast Tax Writeoff—Chronology of Actions Taken

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, at the time the bill to authorize a high dam at Hells Canyon was under consideration, I suggested that it would be in the public interest, and certainly would be useful in the consideration of the matter, if the President directed the departments and the various agencies of the Government which had to do with the rapid tax writeoff benefit to the Idaho Power Co. to prepare a chronology of the events in connection with that action, along the same line as the chronology prepared in connection with the Dixon-Yates matter.

When he was asked about the suggestion at a press conference, the President stated that no request had been made directly to him for such a chronology.

On July 3, 1957, I wrote a letter to the President, suggesting that such a chronology would be helpful. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I note from a transcript of your press conference of today that in answer to a question from Mr. Robert Spivack, of the New York Post, as to whether you would ask all departments and agencies to get up a chronology of actions taken in regard to the Idaho Power Co. fast tax writeoff, you had this to say:

"I don't know. Senator KEFAUVER hasn't asked me. If he has said any such thing, he has said it for public consumption, and not to get any action, because he has not made any such request of me."

I made the statement on the floor of the United States Senate and it appears on page 8930 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 21, 1957.

Frankly, Mr. President, I had thought that an official statement on the floor of the Senate, carried in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, was an official suggestion, and required no further direct communication with you. The only other time that I have had direct communication with you about such a topic was following your press conference on June 29, 1955, when in answer to a question about the role of Adolph Wenzell in the Dixon-Yates deal you said he was never called in or asked a single thing about the Dixon-Yates contract and that as quickly as the Dixon-Yates matter came up Mr. Wenzell resigned. I did feel constrained at that time to write you and inform you personally of the role played by Mr. Wenzell throughout the negotiations, a position similar to that which the Justice Department is now taking in defending the Government against the suit filed by Dixon-Yates.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding in this case, I do indeed think it would be a public service for you to order an official chronology, from all bureaus, agencies, and departments, in the Idaho Power tax writeoff, giving all conferences, all personnel attending the conferences, and making public all papers having to do with this deal.

As in the Dixon-Yates case, we have been met with the plea of privilege concerning the participation of White House staff members who were named in one of the documents we saw. Governor Pyle refused our invitation to appear before the committee. We have been met with the plea of privilege concerning memorandums. We learned about the position of Interior Secretary Seaton in opposing the writeoff only after we had originally been led by the testimony of Mr. Gordon Gray to believe that the Interior Department approved it.

As in the Dixon-Yates deal, we feel that we are not getting the full facts, and that perhaps you, too, have not been given the full facts. It was for these reasons that I made the statement that I did on the floor.

Looking forward to your cooperation, I am,

Yours sincerely,

ESTES KEFAUVER,
United States Senator.

Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Popular Science Monthly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a magazine dedicated to informing the American public on scientific advancement is this year celebrating its 85th anniversary. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have issued in connection with the work of the magazine, Popular Science monthly.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

America is recognized and admired throughout the world for its technological leadership. This enviable situation has been brought about not only because of our outstanding scientists, teachers and technical schools, but also because of the hunger for knowledge of the American people.

This interest in technological matters, which is a main source of our industrial strength, is nurtured and encouraged by many springs of knowledge including the government, our fine schools and some outstanding American publications.

One of thes publications, Popular Science monthly, celebrated its 85th anniversary in May of this year, and as a long-time reader and occasional contributor to Popular Science, I should like to call attention briefly to its role in reporting and interpreting science and mechanical advances for these many years. As an example of its treatment of important problems, the magazine has started an edfuational guidance series of articles on how gifted children should be prepared for college, how average students may be aided, how to help children who will not go to college and many other subjects which will be of great aid both to parents and educators. This series is aimed at building a better relationship between parents and educators.

But in addition to analyzing such current problems, Popular Science has also been alert to the advances of science, and the magazine first reported such developments as telegraphic printing in 1872, the telephone in 1876, and the automobile in 1893.

This record of keeping the American people apprised of the progress of science reached a new level when Popular Science editors built a model of an artificial earth satellite.

The first model was placed on permanent exhibition in the halls of the Hayden Planetarium in New York City, a second model was presented to the United States Committee for the International Geophysical Year, and other models were loaned to the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, the Buhl Planetarium in Pittsburgh and other similar institutions.

One model became a part of the American Dream Pageant, an exhibition of Americana that toured leading department stores throughout the country, where it was seen and studied by thousands.

This spirit of journalistic pioneering, scientific leadership and public service responsibility has helped to advance an understandng of the Nation's progress.

Government Bookkeeping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial and two letters which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on July 5, 1957, in connection with S. 434, which I introduced, with 48 other Senators as cosponsors, and which recently passed the Senate unanimously, and is now under consideration in the House.

There being no objection, the editorial and letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STILL IN THE BLACK

The fiscal year for the Federal Government has ended, as expected, with the Treasury about $1 billion in the black. This is less than the President had forecast but about what the Joint Economic Committee of Congress predicted on the basis of more recent figures. The surplus, considering the size of the annual budget and of the debt, is hardly anything to write home about. But it does mark the first time in a quarter of a century that there have been two black-ink years in a row, and for this there will be general applause.

The outlook for fiscal 1958 is not at all clear. Prices continue to rise, and there are enough carryover appropriations on the books to allow deficit spending in this new fiscal year despite the cuts in new appropriations made by this Congress. It is anxiety over this prospect, of course, that

lies at the root of the well-intentioned efforts of Senator KENNEDY and a number of his colleagues to put all appropriations on a year-by-year basis.

The Senator explains the proposal in a letter published elsewhere on this page today. We agree and have said that Congress ought to consider more carefully the long-range effects of appropriations that extend over more than 1 year. We certainly believe deficit spending is unjustified in the present circumstances. But we continue to have serious fears that important defense and other programs might be unduly hobbled by the kind of checkrein which Senator KENNEDY proposes. It would, in any case, be no guaranty of balanced budgeting. The pressure for tax cuts is so great that any sizable anticipated surplus will be quickly eliminated by a tax reduction, and a small budget surplus can become a deficit very readily if revenue estimates prove wrong.

CHANGING THE GOVERNMENT'S BOOKKEEPING

Your opposition in an editorial, A Dubious Reform, of June 26, to my bill for putting Government spending on an annual accrued expenditure basis is very surprising. The measure has received the almost unanimous support of the Senate, the House Committee on Government Operations, and top financial officials in the administration.

The measure was conceived by the Hoover Commission as its key proposal for restoring to Congress some of the control over the purse strings which has slipped away from its hands over the years.

The task force of the Hoover Commission, headed by J. Harold Stewart, of Boston, was composed of first-rank authorities on Government financial operations. They asserted that millions of dollars could be saved every year by requiring Congress to make appropriations each year on long-term projects, instead of appropriating the money all at once.

The fact is that under the present system these long-term projects are not adequately reviewed each year, and we currently have a carryover of $70 billion of unexpended appropriations—a sum almost as large as the entire budget for the coming year.

Fifty Senators, including the very economy-minded Senator BYRD, cosponsored the bill with me. It passed the Senate unanimously and has now been reported out unanimously by the House Government Operations Committee.

The only opposition in the Senate committee hearings came from representatives of the Department of Defense who raised technical objections about its administrative implementation by the Bureau of the Budget.

Your editorial stated that, under the annual accrued-expenditure method of stating appropriations requests, the departments would be obligated to pad their requests as a hedge against uncertainties. Since the contemplated projects would be contracted for at a fixed cost, the only uncertainty would be if deliveries on such items as defense equipment were made ahead of schedule so that a year's purchasing were completed in, say, 10 months.

In fact, the difficulty is almost always the other way—that deliveries are delayed. Moreover, padding the request would be futile since unexpended funds will automatically lapse at the end of the fiscal year.

Concomitantly, you state that funds might be recklessly spent to avoid the loss. This fails to take into consideration that, in the granting of an appropriation on the new basis, the agency must justify its request by revealing past costs and accomplishments.

Any reckless spending of an agency would be reflected in increased costs—a fact that would systematically and clearly come to the attention of Congress under this new system. And this is perhaps the central point—the agency would be required each year to justify what it has already spent and what it intends to spend on a long-term project.

The Congress' concern is not only to the long-range spending plans of the Government, but also with the year-by-year rate of spending. It is the latter which determines whether our budget is balanced or whether we have a surplus or deficit.

Everyone is looking for a way to streamline the Government functions to get rid of what Dostoevsky called "administrative ecstasy." This is a measure which the financial experts agree will do this.

JOHN F. KENNEDY,
Senator from Massachusetts.

WASHINGTON.

The proposal embodied in S. 434, which Senator Kennedy and I introduced with 48 other Senators as cosponsors, is a logical follow-up of the vastly improved Federal budget and accounting procedures authorized by P. L. 863.

The basic theme of the editorial opposing S. 434 seems to be that if Congress were to only appropriate funds to be expended in a given year, it would result in needless red tape and confusion by requiring an annual review of long-lead-time programs which under the present system are for the most part considered only once.

As a matter of fact, appropriations for the civil functions of the Army Corps of Engineers, many of which are long-lead time projects, have been on a basis very similar to annual accrued expenditures for several years and the system of appropriating only those funds to be expended in the succeeding fiscal year has worked satisfactorily to all concerned.

Strict control should be maintained at all times over the expenditure of public funds. This was recognized by the Founding Fathers who wrote a provision into the Constitution that no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Yet the practice of appropriating funds in 1 year for expenditure as much as 10 years in the future has deprived both the executive and the Congress of any really effective control over the level of expenditure in a given fiscal year.

This year the accrued expenditure method of stating budget requests and appropriations has met with a more favorable reception in the House of Representatives and was recently favorably reported by the House Committee on Government Operations.

That committee added a provision to limit the authority contained in the bill to a 4-year period. In short, a trial period is proposed. If the proposal is as good as all of the experts firmly believe, it will amply demonstrate its value during this period.

FREDERICK G. PAYNE,
Senator from Maine.

WASHINGTON.

Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am including an editorial by Mr. M. L. Fleetwood, of the Daily Tribune News, Cartersville, Ga. This article appeared in that paper on June 15, 1957, in the column entitled "Report to the People."

Mr. Fleetwood's article throws light upon the humanitarian attitude of the South toward the Negroes.

The article follows:

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

(By M. L. Fleetwood)

It has been the privilege of this writer to learn at first hand some information, during recent weeks, all of which proves beyond question, that in the South the real needs of the colored people are being given every consideration.

Readers will recall our report to the people when we recounted how Aidmore hospital for crippled children in Atlanta has made identical provisions for the care of colored children sent to that institution for treatment.

The Elks of Georgia have made it their business to work out a program of child care which does provide "equal but separate facilities for children of both races." The program itself is being worked out in perfect harmony and everybody seems to be happy over treatment accorded those fortunate enough to be assigned to Aidmore.

During the past weekend, while attending the Georgia Press Association meeting in Augusta, it was our privilege to learn first hand just what the Talmadge Memorial Hospital is doing for the sick people who are privileged to have a bed in that hospital when illness overtakes them.

There are 300 beds in the hospital and at the present time there are 200 patients receiving treatment. These patients are assigned to the white wards, if they are white people, and to the colored wards, if they are colored.

We recall a story about a little colored boy who has spent several months at that hospital. He has a condition which continues to require hospital care. On the day we visited the hospital, the little fellow had been stricken with a severe case of chicken pox, and he was isolated from the rest of the colored children patients, but he seemed happy because he was receiving every attention any child would get—even if he were the son of wealthy parents.

The same story was heard in every section of this vast hospital. The latest methods of treatment is available with special attention given to patients whose treatment offers the best opportunity for the student doctors to learn how best to treat such conditions.

X-ray machines of the latest design may be seen in 1 large section of 1 floor, and experiments are daily being carried out, in order to advance medical knowledge.

Dr. Billie Lowry, of Cartersville, has finished up the first part of his medical training, but is remaining over at Talmadge Memorial Hospital, to take a postgraduate course. We had the privilege of talking with him briefly while he was undergoing a special test in one of the laboratories.

In addition to 80 staff members and 100 registered nurses, Dr. Edgar Pund is president of the hospital, and Dr. Rufus Payne is director, Mr. Bob O'Kelly, a former editor of the Douglasville Sentinel, is the purchasing agent for the hospital. He and other staff members went out of their way to make our visit to the hospital a memorable one from every viewpoint.

A visit to such an institution proves most revealing in the scope of treatment available, as well as are the modern methods now available for the people of Georgia.

Governor Griffin, in this address to the editors, said that he is interested in providing more adequate facilities at Gracewood for the unfortunate Negro children. They are receiv-

ing good attention, but the Governor said he would sleep better when the new facilities become available.

It is such revelations as we have recounted above which leads us to tell the people about what Georgia is doing for institutional patients of both races.

We believe this part of Georgia's expanding program has not become of general knowledge. We never heard of some of these privileges now available to both white and colored, until we saw them with our own eyes during recent weeks.

Let's ever keep this more desirable side of Georgia's progress before our own people, as well as those in the Nation at large.

The Caldwell, Ohio, Journal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in southeastern Ohio, many communities are served by excellent weekly newspapers which perform their functions admirably and without fanfare throughout the years. One of those distinguished newspapers is the Journal of Caldwell, Ohio, which is now marking its 98th year of continuous publication.

On June 29, the Marietta Daily Times, which ranks among the leaders of Ohio newspapers, has noted this important anniversary for the Caldwell community in Noble County. I wish to add my congratulations to those so well expressed by the Marietta Times. Its comments are as follows:

IMPROVING WITH ITS AGE

The Journal, Noble County's thriving newspaper published at Caldwell, has just had a birthday, it is noted in its editorial columns. On this it is to be felicitated and it would have been justified in doing a lot of bragging, which it did not do.

Often we have told ourself and other people that the Journal is a fine and improving paper, the best weekly with which we are familiar. Caldwell is a growing, progressive and forward-looking town, its people and officials intent on making the most of its improving prospects. And, it seems to us, The Journal is setting the pace for the community by getting out a paper that is filled with well-displayed news and pertinent editorials that must contribute to the public interest and advancement. It gives some interesting local newspaper history in its comment on its anniversary, which follows:

"With this issue, the Journal completes its 98th year of continuous publication and next week, we will enter our 99th year and then attain the century mark.

"The Journal was established in 1859 and is 1 of 2 weeklies to survive the consolidation trend as well as the cease publication era, due to the high cost of printing, newsprint, and what have you.

"Its companion paper, the Noble County Leader, was founded in 1898 by J. S. Harris, retired publisher, and it is now in its 59th year.

"Both publications are published by the Caldwell Journal Publishing Company, Inc., with headquarters at 309 Main Street, Caldwell.

"During the years past, this company has absorbed or is the successor to the Journal, the Caldwell Press, the Republican Journal, and the Republican."

The "Michigan Plan" for Solving Its School Construction Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD copy for a letter from Mr. Louis H. Schimmel, director, Municipal Advisory Council of Michigan, which sets forth the steps taken by the State of Michigan to solve its school construction problems.

Mr. Schimmel's letter is an excellent presentation of the principles of the "Michigan Plan" and the progress our State has made under the plan toward taking care of its school construction obligations.

I feel, therefore, Mr. Schimmel's letter will be of great interest and would like to bring it to the attention of the Members of Congress. It follows:

MUNICIPAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
OF MICHIGAN,
Detroit, Mich., June 28, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BROOMFIELD: Since our telephone conversation, I have reviewed with some of the people who worked with me on the Michigan constitutional amendment the questions which you have asked concerning the adaptation of the Michigan plan at the Federal level. I am sure that the program could be accomplished if we had a little time to work out the details. I am somewhat at a loss dealing at the Federal level because I have not had an opportunity to work with statistics comparable to those which I have on the Michigan situation.

There are four basic principles involved in the Michigan solution which must be considered in any program of State or Federal assistance if we are to avoid an increasing dependence on State and Federal funds to solve our local problems. The principles incorporated in the Michigan solution are the following:

1. Local determination of need: In Michigan we maintain local determination by requiring that the local taxpayers approve the financing.

2. State review of the needs as determined at the local level: In order to be assured that the financing will provide school facilities that meet minimum State standards, the State must approve the financing program.

3. Determination of fair local effort by establishing a minimum local contribution to be made each year: The minimum local effort is tied to a factor that measures, year by year, the fluctuations in taxable wealth.

4. Guaranty of the State to finance the difference between maximum local effort and actual financial need: This determination of how much assistance is needed is made each year. This is the feature of the Michigan plan that has eliminated the "maneuvering" that frequently goes on to prove the "poverty" of a district.

Need and ability to pay vary from year to year and from community to community. Under the Michigan device, these two basic things are measured and evaluated each year.

As you know, the State of Michigan faced a school building crisis in 1954 that was as acute and complicated as any in the country. In Michigan could be found all of the kinds and variety of problems that faced school districts across the Nation. On top of all of the difficulties that existed at the local level, we were likewise handicapped by outmoded State laws and constitutional restrictions that made it legally impossible in many districts to finance new school buildings even though there was local ability and willingness to do so.

Fortunately we were able to weld together, in 1954, the divergent political, economic, and educational forces into a cohesive working unit out of which emerged a solution that has solved the Michigan school building financial problems within the framework of our own State and local tax resources.

In 1955 a total of $87 million of school bonds were sold in Michigan. In 1956, the first full year of operation under the amendment, the volume of school bond sales amounted to $143 million. The first 4 months of 1957 indicates that the volume of school financing for the current year will closely approach $200 million. Over 209 school districts have taken advantage of the new amendment.

We are rapidly solving our school building problems. No school district in the State of Michigan has been unable to sell its bonds. No school district in the State of Michigan is unable to borrow the funds required to build the necessary classrooms if it complies with the provisions of the constitutional amendment.

What has been so well done in Michigan could and should be done by all States before the Federal Government is called on for help.

If Congress does not adopt a Federal assistance program for schools during this session, I hope it will be possible for us to spend some time after Congress adjourns in developing the general outline for a sound approach to a Federal assistance program that you could sponsor in the next session.

Sincerely,

LOUIS H. SCHIMMEL, *Director.*

Importance of Telephone Communications in the Age of Electronics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this has often been called an age of electronics and communications.

Never before has man been able so quickly to communicate with his fellow man across continents and across oceans.

In the telephones of our Nation, in particular, we possess an invaluable instrument for information, business, and personal communication.

The rapid development of direct long-distance dialing systems is one of the marvels of this age.

I was reminded of these facts in noting that last Sunday one of the great utilities of my State—the Wisconsin Telephone Co.—celebrated its 75th anniversary.

Too often the telephone is taken for granted. In the home, in business, in factory, however, the telephone is ever available for man's service.

The Wisconsin Telephone Co. is truly a servant of my State, as are similar companies across the length and breadth of this land.

Commencing in 1882, with but 15 customers, service has now been extended to more than 700,000 customers throughout the State, using around 980,000 phones.

In addition, the company has become the third largest employer in the State.

I am happy now to convey my congratulations to the officers and to the employees of the company, and to express my thanks, on behalf of my State, for their fine contributions to the development of our Badger communities in time of war and in time of peace; in time of normal affairs, and in time of emergency.

I ask unanimous consent that an article concerning the company's 75th anniversary, as published in the Milwaukee Journal of July 7, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED TODAY BY TELEPHONE COMPANY

The Wisconsin Telephone Co., which today has almost a million phones and an average of 4,264,000 calls a day, was born unpretentiously here 75 years ago Sunday—July 7, 1882—with a confident foresight by the organizers that the telephone would become a way of life in America.

Three Milwaukeeans gathered that warm summer afternoon in a small room on North Broadway to sign the articles of association of an enterprise which had little more than $100,000 in plant investment, fewer than 200 employees, only 17 telephone exchanges and 1,798 subscribers, 744 of them in Milwaukee.

Charles H. Haskins, who was called "professor" because he was an electrical wizard and lectured extensively, became the first president. The other signers were his son, Harry, and Benjamin K. Miller, an attorney.

FIRST PHONES IN 1877

It was even more quietly that the telephone was introduced to Milwaukee 5 years earlier, in 1877.

Gardiner G. Hubbard, a prominent Boston attorney and future father-in-law of Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, sent a pair of hand phones to Haskins for inspection and criticism.

Haskins, then general superintendent of the Northwestern Telegraph Co. here, was impressed and returned a report encouraging Hubbard to throw his financial support behind the invention.

IN APPLETON, TOO

In Appleton that same year, Alfred Galpin, a banker, installed the first telephone there. Like Haskins, he had been impressed when he first saw the instrument at the world's fair in Philadelphia in 1876. Whether Milwaukee or Appleton had the first phone in Wisconsin still is debated.

Haskins obtained rights to start a telephone business and began construction of the first Milwaukee exchange at 411 North Broadway Street.

There were 15 customers at the outset, the first being John S. George, local agent for the North Western road. Two years later there were 40 subscribers and the city's first telephone switchboard was needed. It was completed May 10, 1879, and the Milwaukee Telephone Exchange Co. was formed by Haskins.

Three months later he received a letter from the National Bell Telephone Co. designating him as the agent to operate in the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the northern half of the Dakotas.

LONG-DISTANCE CHESS

In 1881, the Milwaukee and Racine chess clubs attracted widespread publicity by introducing long-distance telephone competition. The Milwaukee club won a close match which started at 8 p. m. and lasted until 2 a. m.

In the early days, boys served as switchboard operators. They soon were replaced by girls because boys were too impatient and sassed too many customers. One of the first young women to be a telephone operator here was Pauline Juneau, a niece of Solomon Juneau, founder of Milwaukee.

It also was discovered quickly that using roofs for telephone-line fixtures and support was "not very good policy." Frequent visits by the spur-booted linemen brought forth complaints from irate householders with leaky roofs. Thus, the evolution of telephone poles to support the lines.

"SHE TALKS SWEDISH"

After the 1882 incorporation, the company moved across the street to 424 North Broadway, site of its present headquarters which rises 19 stories to make a significant mark on Milwaukee's skyline. Later, when streets were renumbered, the address became 722 North Broadway.

The company's first general superintendent, Angus S. Hibbard, was in charge of building the first long-distance lines to Chicago and establishing the original exchanges in many Wisconsin communities.

In his travels through what he called the north woods Hibbard often saw unrepressed enthusiasm for the telephone, like the delighted lumberjack who screamed:

"By yimminy, she talks Swedish."

PLANT VALUE TRIPLED

By 1932, the company's 50th anniversary, there were almost 250,000 subscribers using more than 320,000 phones. More than 45 percent of Wisconsin homes had phones.

But the spectacular growth came after World War II. Total plant facilities, valued at $92 million in 1945, were multiplied more than threefold to $304 million in the intervening 12 years. A long-sought goal, a 100 percent dial system for Milwaukee, was realized in August 1955.

Today the company serves more than 700,000 customers who use almost 980,000 phones. More than half of these phones have been installed since 1945, and 84 percent of all Wisconsin homes now have phones.

The 43 Milwaukee central offices serve 306,234 customers with 441,905 phones. Throughout the State, 97 central offices serve 152 communities.

FOURTH LARGEST EMPLOYER

The company's 10,688 employees, 5,369 of them in Milwaukee County, rank it behind only the Federal and State governments and the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. among the largest Wisconsin employers.

It is approaching the $100 million figure in annual gross income. Last year the figure was $94,109,462, compared with less than $200,000 in the company's first year.

The company president is Charles E. Wampler, a former vice president of the parent American Telephone & Telegraph Co., who has served here since January 1, 1954.

The cost of a single party residential phone changed little during the company's first 50 years. From 1882 to 1932 the cost per month advanced from $4.17 to $4.75.

Today the price is $6 a month plus 10 percent Federal tax for a $6.60 total. A rate increase request now before the public service commission would boost a single party phone to $6.93 a month, including tax.

SEE PICTURE PHONE

New horizons in the telephone business include direct distance dialing (DDD), which allows a long distance call to be placed without the help of an operator. DDD now connects Milwaukee with 19 southeastern Wisconsin communities.

Company officials estimate that within 3 years Milwaukee will be able to use DDD to call anywhere in the United States that has a dial system.

Further in the future is the picture phone which is being developed in Bell Telephone laboratories. Initial experiments have been held with the instrument, which allows callers to see each other on a televisionlike screen.

Telephone officials predict that there are new marvels in store for the public, perhaps some just as surprising as the invention of the telephone itself which caused Dom Pedro, the last emperor of Brazil, to exclaim in Philadelphia in 1876:

"My God—it talks."

Address by R. W. F. Schmidt to the California Association of Airport Executives

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered this morning in California by Mr. "Bob" Schmidt, manager of the Tucson Airport Authority, and president of the American Association of Airport Executives. His address is entitled "Behind the Curtain."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEHIND THE CURTAIN

(Address by R. W. F. "Bob" Schmidt, manager, Tuscon Airport Authority, and president, American Association of Airport Executives, at the California Association of Airport Executives, Hobergs, Calif., July 9, 1957)

When I first proposed the subject Behind the Curtain in response to the invitation from your president and our national association board member, Wilmer Garrett, he opined that I might infringe on the remarks of at least one other speaker. I hope this is not so, but it is one of the occupational hazards we have to be prepared to encounter when we accept opportunities to appear as speakers on programs such as this, and it is one of those things that tolerant audiences have come to expect. I am fortunate in that I am privileged to get at you early, so that I can say that I said it first, but I shall try to give you a different slant on anything which has been or is yet to be presented to you at these sessions.

My basic approach to you is simply that we are identified with the most costly form of transportation mankind has yet been able to devise. We are all aware of the purported advantages of timesaving, comfort, and convenience air transportation offers, so I shall not engage in a selling job. I shall, instead, offer you a purge.

Air transportation costs must be defined in three categories, namely:

1. Direct costs, or those which are readily apparent to anyone who examines the record. They include all of the fixed charges and controlables, and many of the variables or

uncontrollables. They include, of course, what carriers, operators, and aircraft owners pay the airports for rent, landing and parking fees, service charges, levies and taxes.

2. Indirect costs, or those which are usually not accepted by the operators of air transportation businesses, but which are borne by the airports, other agencies, and ultimately by the customer, patron, or taxpayer.

3. Intangible costs, or those which cannot be reduced to dollars and cents, but which bear on our economic and social health and welfare.

It is presumably obligatory for us to reassure ourselves and the general public that we are paying our way, that except for the local service carriers and a few poorly situated or stupidly managed airports, "subsidy" is a derogatory word maliciously employed by surface competitors and old fogies in public office. I submit to you that, except in the more primitive areas, the true grassroots or bush operations—be they in California, Montana, Alaska, Iowa, or Maine—air transportation is not only subsidized, but heavily subsidized.

You and I know, as airport executives, that the operators of air transport services are not paying their way with us. That is why we are forced to put the bite on every other possible public service to support our airports. In order to make up what should otherwise be a deficit, to pay our costs so that we may brag to our own communities and to each other, we charge the taxis, the limousines, the buses, the car-owner, the restaurant, the saloon which we dignify by calling a cocktail lounge, the barbershop, the newsstand, the gift shop, and even the guy with nature's fundamental urge. We take money away from the kiddies with prancing horses and rocket ships, we hit the jackpot with pinball machines, we even charge to look at the airplanes whether from a so-called observation deck or with a telescope or both. We levy percentages, taxes in effect, on people who come out to the airport just as curious souls, who never use air transportation, so that we can subsidize those who claim they aren't.

Of course, it is argued that bus and truck and rail depots and terminals and stations practice the same extortion, but the significant distinction is that they are not built with tax money, not operated with assurance that deficits will be covered by tax money, and uniquely, pay taxes themselves.

We find the innocent taxpayer, who may or may not be a user of air transportation, who through local and Federal taxes has already paid for a great share of the capital outlay development costs of the airport, if, indeed, not all of it, contributing to the cost of the deficiency in revenue received from users of the facility who proclaim they are not subsidized. He pays to park, he pays to look, he pays to go to the toilet, he pays a commission if he buys a drink or a bag of peanuts, and he also contributes to paying the cost of a lot of incidentals we in aviation don't even put in our books.

Nowhere in our ledgers do we jot down the costs of locating or relocating sewers, drainage channels, water mains, electric power lines, communications cables, belt roads, freeways, schools, churches, hospitals, theaters, residential subdivisions, or whole business and industrial areas which of necessity must take place beyond the airport boundaries, outside the financial fence we prescribe for ourselves, but which are nonetheless required because of the existence of the airport. Oh, to be sure, once in a while an airport bond issue magnanimously includes an off-airport improvement, but usually under general obligation bonds, not under revenue bonds.

We can shrug off these marginal costs on the premise that we're pretty big business ourselves, our tenants do pay taxes, too, and that the impact of airport payroll plus the ease and convenience of rapid transportation to all parts of the globe is vital to our economy. We can even throw in civic pride for good measure. We can say "Look, if it wasn't for the airport and the world it brings to our doorstep, what a miserable down-at-the-heel community this would be."

I attend, as do you, my share of CAB hearings, and at times I'm moved to outrage that certain of our cities have been denied services held to be so necessary, and that several have apparently been economically choked to death by the absence of air transportation. I vision these places with grass growing in the streets, cobwebs in the factories, stores without customers, decline and decay on every corner. Then I go to them, and I stand in awe when I observe that they appear to be just as active, just as prosperous, just as progressive as cities which enjoy the fullest measure of the benefits of air transportation. There are even some other cities without airports of any consequence and certainly without airlines which seem to be content with the status quo. It is true, of course, that some of them cadge these benefits of the air age from their neighbors, but they aren't asking for any pallbearers.

Only 2 weeks ago as this was being prepared I received a telephone call from one of the top 10 cities in generating air carrier passenger business. It was the chairman of a committee to seek ways and means to raise money to further develop the already sprawling multi-million-dollar airport plant. He told me that general obligation bonds were out of the question; not only were they up to the legal limit, but there were too many other things to be done. He told me that revenue bonds had already been sold on every reasonable projection they could shove on today's bond market. He told me that the only hope appeared to be to create new sources of revenue. What did I think, he wanted to know, of a 50-cent or a $1 levy on every airline passenger ticket sold?

My answer was not too coherent, perhaps because I realized in 10 seconds that even at 4 bits per head they'd take in more from this source in a month than I can presently squeeze out of everybody over a year's span. Further, I am not a consultant, and while I admit being asked these questions appeals to my ego, I am reluctant to hand out advice without something to base it on. So I equivocated. I reminded him that effort was being made to repeal the Federal transportation tax. I told him air transportation might suffer if every airport slapped a tax on the boarded business of the airlines. I suggested that he might touch off a political uproar when the carriers made their usual threats of economic sanctions, what with reducing schedules and transferring shops—loss of service and payroll.

Well, he said, they faced loss of service and withdrawal of payroll if they didn't provide additional facilities. Could not, I asked, the carriers revise their use fees upward? No; it seemed they felt they were already paying top dollar. So here is another situation where the local people are expected not only to subsidize the carriers, but to subsidize the through passengers transferring at an international facility. The suggested solution of taxing the local boarded business, substantial though it is, really adds up to no solution because these problems have got to be attacked and solved on a national basis with the end result that the user of air transportation pays for it wherever he originates, wherever he transfers, wherever he is destined. It is not a happy picture to behold when we see that the burden of today is but a fraction of that which it will be tomorrow.

Now, I've touched briefly on the direct and indirect costs of air transportation. For a few moments, let me dwell on the intangible costs. Of just what value is this speed—admitting equal if not superior comfort and convenience to reduce the area of argument—what does it do? Why, you nincompoop, it saves time. Time for what? Consider your personal calendar:

Monday: "Well, I have a tough week ahead. I hope I can make it."

Friday: "Thank God this week is over."

Saturday: "I dread this weekend, but I've got to get my recreation and the family needs a change."

Sunday: "Thank God this weekend is over. Maybe I can get in a little rest this week."

So we can fly from San Francisco to Paris, Rome, Cairo, Honolulu, or Singapore, or from Stockton to Salt Lake City or Tucson. We save time. Time to grasp the significance of what's going on in the world? Time to enjoy our home, our own county, State, region, or Nation? Time to relax? Time to read those books and magazines piling up? Time to soak up a little culture, a bit of knowledge?

No, indeed. You've heard of what the doctors term the side effects of new drugs, particularly the tranquilizers. That's what you get with the time saved. Time to make work out of something else, buying the avalanche of goods and services that have to be sold. Time to drive 500 miles over the weekend, stay at a place just a cut farther or more expensive than the one your neighbor vists. Time to wear your Benrus or Longines, time to gulp Cutty-Sark, Old Fitz, or Jack Daniels, but not time to enjoy it. Time to sleep on a Sealy in a room conditioned by Chrysler Air-Temp after you've dosed yourself with Alka-Seltzer, Fizrin, Bayers, or Bufferin. Time to be a copycat, be a packrat, doing what everyone else is doing, buying what everyone else is buying, time to clean out the garage or basement while you wonder what the hell ever possessed you to believe you would have the time to use or enjoy the junk. In our profit-motivated society, time is the most expensive commodity because we've made it so, so there is no time to pick and choose, no time for genuine leisure, no time for doing what you really want to do, no time to think things through. Shucks, even I didn't have time to develop these thoughts—I had to borrow them from the eminent economist, John Ise at the University of Kansas, whom I have known all too briefly over a span of 40 years.

But now comes the clincher. How many of you are aware of the remarkable progress being made in closed-circuit TV? Do you know that conferences, committee meetings, and after a certain amount of legal skirmishing, even hearings can soon be held visually with everyone participating in his own office with his files and assistants at hand, with witnesses ready to be sworn? Do you realize that the highly touted needs for air transportation, at least as they relate to many facets of personal contact in business, stand to be substantially diminished in the near future? Do you comprehend that even now the necessity for sending many documents back and forth is being eliminated by TV and telephoto processes? It begins to look as though people won't even have time to fly.

A few weeks ago one of our colleagues in the Midwest really had need for the crying towel. The bonds required to build a new airport were defeated by nearly 3 to 1 for no apparent reason. He thought they'd gotten the message across—the old airport is inadequate, certainly no showcase for the community, and there had been loud beefs about the lack of service which could be placed right at the airport's doorstep. There wasn't any visible organized opposition. The electorate simply said "No." But in their wisdom, maybe they're smarter than we. Maybe, they've had a peek behind the curtain and found that the old airport will do.

Reducing the Nation's Staggering Crime Toll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the morning newspapers report continuing leads developed by police authorities in investigating the underworld connections between gambling czar Frank Costello and various criminal sources, as well as "legitimate" enterprises.

We are reminded, as well, by the current investigation of racketeering being so ably conducted by the McClellan committee that there is a vast amount of illegal activity going on in this country which tarnishes our good name in the eyes of the world, and in the eyes of self-respecting people here at home.

Obviously, infinitely more must be done to clean up the conditions of crime in this country.

Last month, at a meeting of the Washington Criminal Justice Association, it was estimated that serious crime in our land is diverting no less than $28 billion a year from the national economy, and is infiltrating a wide degree of activities of civic and community life.

This was the estimate made by Mr. Aaron Kohn, president of the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions.

As a former member of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee, I have, on many occasions, pointed out the invaluable role played by civic watchdogs like the Citizens Crime Commissions, the Washington Criminal Justice Association, and similiar groups across the Nation.

I ask my colleagues to think what an enormous amuont of tax revenue the Federal Government must be losing because of underworld evasion of its fair share of taxes.

I ask my colleagues to think how this country could use more profitably the $28 billion which is being diverted into the costs of crime in our midst.

I ask my colleagues to think of the implications of underworld infiltration of legitimate business.

Right now, for example, several of the States are reportedly investigating the extent to which one or more State-chartered insurance companies may have granted loans of a very dubious quality to gambling establishments, perhaps at the request of underworld figures.

I hope, therefore, that the States and the localities will recognize their responsibility to proceed full-speed ahead on investigations to clean up their own areas.

The Federal Government can and must fulfill its responsibilities, but it cannot and it must not usurp the basic responsibilities of the States and cities.

Here in Congress, however, I earnestly hope that the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce will find it possible to review the anticrime bills which we, of the Senate Crime Committee, recommended to it way back in 1950 and 1951.

In the meanwhile, I wish continued success to the McClellan committee in its own vigorous pursuit of those who use violence in labor or industry to coerce American citizens.

I ask unanimous consent that an article which was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 14, 1957, describing the $28 billion crime cost to our country, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATION'S CRIME TAB SET AT $28 BILLION

Serious crime is diverting $28 billion a year from the national economy and is infiltrating civic and community life, Aaron Kohn, president of the National Associations of Citizens Crime Commission, told the Washington. Criminal Justice Association yesterday.

Kohn spoke as the WCJA honored its outgoing president, Ralph D. Pittman, in its 21st annual luncheon meeting at the Ambassador Hotel.

Director of the New Orleans Crime Commission and a former FBI agent, Kohn said there is an intense need for arousing public interest in citizens' crime commissions as a means of forming a united front for a war on the Nation's spiraling crime rate.

H. Holmes Vogel, vice president of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., and new president of the Criminal Justice Association, called on John Remon, a WCJA past president, to present a plaque to Pittman at the luncheon.

The plaque expressed "deep appreciation" for Pittman's "splendid and unselfish performance of duty" during his 3 years as WCJA president.

"Your participation and accomplishments for the Washington Criminal Justice Association have resulted in an improved administration of criminal justice and better law enforcement for the District," the inscription said in part.

The Golden Corn Tassel Proposed as the National Floral Emblem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, an editorial entitled "National Flower," in support of Senate Joint Resolution 105, my proposal to make the golden corn tassel our national floral emblem, was published in the Chicago Daily Tribune of July 8, 1957. The editorial closes with a good argument for my proposal and states:

The corn tassel is graceful. No other bloom is so typical of America. If we need a national flower, let it be the tassel.

I welcome this support of my efforts by the Chicago Daily Tribune.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL FLOWER

Senator DOUGLAS does not seem to have started any groundswell of public enthusiasm with his resolution to make the corn tasssel the official floral emblem of the United States.

Current sponsorship of the idea is credited to a lady in Minnesota, and Representative JUDD of that State has a companion resolution in the House, running to no less than 14 resounding whereases, none of them, however, in praise of bourbon whisky.

It is not the bourbon drinkers who have been stirred by Senator DOUGLAS' proposal, but the partisans of other flowers, even including the rose, which for five or six centuries has been the emblem of the British. Yet the flower of corn has its merits, and Senator DOUGLAS need only have inspected some of the decorations of the Nation's Capitol to discover that they have been recognized in the past.

The Capitol was two generations in building, from the time the British burned its predecessor, and it had a number of architects and any number of artists employed on its decoration. Many of its columns are an adaptation of the Corinthian, with tobacco leaves, or ears of corn replacing the traditional acanthus leaves. Latrobe, the first architect, designed the corn foyer, in which the columns are fluted to represent cornstalks and crowned with ears of corn. Latrobe wrote Jefferson that none of his designs had won more approbation from Members of Congress.

The corn tassel is graceful. No other bloom is so typical of America. If we need a national flower, let it be the tassel.

Hope for Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the New York Times of July 5, 1957, entitled "Hope for Refugees," which endorses the bill which I have introduced, with the support of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY]. I should also like to point out the significant contribution made by Congressman FRANCIS E. WALTER of Pennsylvania in the development of this important legislation. His long experience in this field and knowledge of it is amply reflected in this measure. I am hopeful there will be an opportunity to have this proposed legislation enacted.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOPE FOR REFUGEES

New hope that Congress may actually pass at this session a decent refugee-relief bill has been raised by the report that leading congressional Democrats have reached substantial agreement on such legislation.

The bill in question, introduced by Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts, would do away with some of the more cruel hardships and injustices of present law. If the American people really understood how existing legislation permits families to be broken up, orphans barred from entry, admission denied for the most petty or harmless offenses, we are confident that the pressures brought to bear on Congress for remedial action would be irresistible. But, as matters stand, the deepseated prejudice and baleful influence of a few Members (living and dead) has made humane immigration legislation one of the most difficult things to get through Congress.

The Democrats have a heavy responsibility in this matter, and one that Senate Majority Leader JOHNSON is well aware of. The Republicans, of course, share that responsibility; but it is the Democrats who are in control of the Congress. President Eisenhower has recommended legislation that goes further than the Kennedy bill, though it cannot be said that he and his administration have noticeably exerted themselves in its behalf; but Mr. KENNEDY is probably right in suggesting (without actually saying so) that his is the best bill that has a chance of passing.

An important feature of the proposed law would be to grant permanent status to thousands of Hungarians admitted as "parolees" after last fall's revolution. The bill would not revise the national origins quota system; but, in Senator KENNEDY'S words, it "would reunite families, provide for better utilization of currently available quotas which go unused each year, remove the 'mortgages' on existing quotas * * * admit orphans adopted by United States citizens," and make many other changes in existing law in the direction of greater humanity, wisdom and understanding, while fully safeguarding the interests of the United States. Passage of this compromise bill would not by any means be the final answer; but it would be a major step toward bringing our immigration law into conformity with our repeatedly expressed ideals.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio broadcast by Karl B. Pauley, over radio station WVKO on June 17, 1957, on the subject of the Girard case. Mr. Pauley is one of the best known and ablest of our political commentators in the State of Ohio.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

One of the cardinal principles of American liberty always has been that a citizen of these United States is guaranteed equal justice under law. Further, such basic steps as grand jury indictment in the case of a serious crime, trial by jury and presumption of innocence until and unless proven guilty and a number of other cardinal points always have been considered inviolable rights of the American citizen. Most of these guaranties are spelled out in the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States.

They are our American heritage, some of it dating back beyond our own national history to England's great Magna Carta, which included a provision that justice no longer was to be sold, but was to be administered equitably. Magna Carta is nearly 750 years old.

Now what is happening with respect to these time-honored principles and guaranties?

Under treaties into which the United States has entered with foreign countries—and even by means of so-called executive agreements which have not been submitted to the Senate for its approval—millions of our citizens are finding these guaranties do not apply to them—that they do not follow them when, either by volunteering or by reason of the military draft, they are sent into foreign countries under our increasing, worldwide commitments.

The flag of the United States may follow them into their military camps and perchance on to a battlefield, but under a new type of international arrangement, known as a status of forces agreement, the flag does not follow them in preserving their rights to equal justice as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights under which they were born.

Under a clause in the peace treaty we concluded with Japan subsequent to World War II, our Government has entered into an executive agreement with the Government of Japan which stipulates that when a United States soldier, sailor, marine or member of the Air Force stationed in Japan commits a crime while he is on duty, he shall be tried by United States military court-martial. But if the crime is committed by a member of our military personnel while the member is not on duty, he shall be handed over to the courts of Japan for trial under Japanese law.

If there is some question as to whether the accused serviceman was on duty or not, the issue is to be submitted to a joint Japanese-American commission for determination. Not an American court, mind you, but a joint committee of Japanese and Americans.

Now we come to the case of William Girard, the GI who last January accidentally killed a Japanese woman on a firing range where she was scavenging the metal from exploded shells. The question arose as to whether the American soldier, Girard, was on duty or not at the time of the incident. The question was turned over to the joint Japanese-American committee, which disagreed, the Japanese on the committee contending Girard was not on duty and therefore should be surrendered to them; the Americans on the committee contending Girard was on duty and that the Americans should therefore retain his custody for court-martial trial.

Here another provision of the Status of Forces agreement came into play. When the committee disagrees, says the Status of Forces Agreement the matter shall be referred to the respective governments. When this was done, the Japanese Government stood its ground, but our Defense Department in Washington ordered the Far East Command to surrender Girard to the Japanese.

When this decision touched off a furor in the United States, Defense Secretary Wilson ordered the Army to retain custody of Girard while the case was reviewed further in Washington. Despite this order, a Japanese procurator (prosecutor) indicted this American soldier on manslaughter charges. You will note that this indictment for a serious crime was not by a grand jury—for the simple reason Japan does not have grand juries.

After a brief delay, Secretary of State Dulles and Secretary of Defense Wilson announced that Girard, the American soldier, should be handed over to the Japanese for trial. In a fine example of hair-splitting, which obviously was designed to appease the Japanese rather than to resolve a doubt in favor of an American citizen whose rights were imperiled, they held that Girard's action—firing an empty cartridge case at the Japanese woman—was "not authorized" and therefore was not in the performance of duty. This despite the fact Girard had been stationed by his commanding officer to guard the firing range. This despite the fact also that Secretary of the Army Brucker has publicly asserted: "Girard was given a command to protect Army property and he was doing just that."

The trial of Girard is set for August before three Japanese judges. You will note this American soldier does not even have the right to request a jury trial—for the simple reason Japan does not have jury trials.

Thus Girard, facing charges on a serious crime for which he could draw a jail sentence up to 15 years, is deprived (1) of a military court-martial and (2) of a trial by jury in a civilian court.

You can readily see, I am sure, that somewhere along the line, the rights of an American citizen serving in the Armed Forces have been sacrificed in the interests of appeasing a foreign nation in which American soldiers have been stationed in the defense of that nation and, presumably, in the defense of our own Nation.

This surrender is embodied in the status of forces agreements with many foreign nations, some of which have laws which are at even wider divergence from our own than in the case of Japan. For instance, we have them with some countries in which an accused person is presumed to be guilty until and unless proven innocent. Where is there equal justice for American citizens in such procedure? Where are the constitutional guarantees?

Incidents such as the Girard case were not unforeseen by some of our statesmen. Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, of Ohio, 4 years ago, when the issue came before the Senate in connection with the NATO treaty, proposed and fought for a reservation which would have forbidden trial of United States military personnel in foreign courts. The reservation was rejected by the Senate. Now the chickens have come home to roost—and we have not seen the end, unless either the courts act to strike down this abrogation of a sacred guaranty in our Constitution, or unless our Constitution is amended to state clearly that no treaty or executive agreement with a foreign country or any group of foreign countries shall supersede the Constitution with respect to the rights of American citizens.

A Federal district court in Washington has been asked for a writ of habeas corpus to bring Girard back to the United States for trial, instead of turning him over to the Japanese. A decision is expected in the case within a few days.

We dare hope that either the district court or some higher Federal court will uphold this soldier's rights under the Constitution and prevent him being tried under Japanese laws and procedure, thereby setting a precedent to apply in all similar cases where American men and women are stationed in the Armed Forces overseas.

Last week the United States Supreme Court ruled in two criminal cases involving Americans overseas—in this instance wives of men in the Armed Forces—that the United States, even by treaty, cannot exercise power under international agreements without observing the guaranties in our Constitution. Those cases are not identical with the Girard case, but there is some hope in them that the same reasoning would be applied and the same conclusion reached by the Federal courts in the Girard case as to the constitutional guaranties of the basic rights of American citizens.

But we cannot afford to overlook the fact that last week's Supreme Court decision was a reversal of a decision rendered in the very same case just a year ago. Nor can we afford

to overlook the fact that this latest decision, upholding a constitutional guaranty, was a 6-to-2 decision, with 1 of the 6 majority justices concurring on very narrow grounds, and another member of the Court concurring only in part. And, of course, 2 justices dissenting completely, and 1 not participating.

Who can say what some future Supreme Court may rule on the relation of so-called treaty law to the Constitution, unless the Constitution is amended to specify that no international agreement shall supersede the Constitution as it applies to the rights of American citizens. Such an amendment to the Constitution has been proposed by Senator BRICKER and is known as the Bricker amendment.

No matter what the outcome of the Girard case, we dare not rest easy in the assurance, or take it for granted, that the rights of American citizens are secure from constant inroads by means of treaties and executive agreements with foreign nations until the Constitution is amended to make it secure from erosion by executive action or the application of so-called treaty law. The so-called Bricker amendment to the Constitution is essential for the protection of the traditional rights of all American citizens, not only those in the Armed Forces but everywhere in civilian life as well.

We have had ample warning in the case of Army Sp3c. William S. Girard, a citizen of the United States serving in the Armed Forces. Let us take heed.

Exchange of Television Between Communist and American Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the American press has supplied overwhelming evidence that our people are not afraid of the war of ideas with the Communist world. They are confident of the outcome.

The "open curtain" proposal for a free and mutual exchange over television between Communist and American leaders has been endorsed by newspapers in every section of the United States. Their willingness is in stark contrast to the attitude taken by Soviet leaders.

The Soviets have made it plain that they are afraid to expose their people to the facts.

I ask unanimous consent that representative editorials on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State-Times of June 13, 1957]

TV EXCHANGE IDEA

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON has advanced an intriguing idea in suggesting weekly television exchange program with Russia. He makes this proposal in full confidence that the United States can more than hold its own in an exchange of ideas with the people of the United States and Russia.

If the Russians can be persuaded to permit uncensored broadcasts of American spokesmen on vital issues, it should be a good thing. We assume we are more than willing to have their spokesmen broadcast to us.

It is possible the Russians will not risk such an exchange. On the other hand, they may feel as confident of their people's approval of their government and its policies in world affairs as we are of ours. It is necessary to remember that the minds of Russians have been long conditioned to their way of thinking. So broadcasts by American spokesmen might not find acceptance. The Russians would have 6 days a week to belittle and rebut any ideas offered.

If the Russians are cold to the Johnson proposal, though, we will be a net gainer in the world propaganda battle. If we can say we are willing to listen, but they aren't, then we'll have quite an advantage in the cold war.

Senator JOHNSON may have neatly put the Soviets on a hot spot. If they don't accept his suggestion, they can be charged with fear of listening to American proposals. If they should accept, we'd have some chance of reaching the Russian people directly. It's truly an interesting suggestion.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of June 11, 1957]

INTRIGUING SUGGESTION

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON's proposal for a weekly exchange of radio and television programs between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union is an intriguing one. The proposal, which now has been endorsed by Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, might help reduce tensions between the two countries.

It is unfortunately true that such a weekly exchange of television programs would give the Russians a bigger audience here than the United States could obtain over there. They could present their programs on the many hundreds of television stations in this country and be assured of perhaps millions of viewers—depending on competing attractions—while the United States shows would be presented on only 14 Russian stations because that is all there are in the Soviet Union. We also have more radio stations and radio sets than the Soviet Union.

The Russians probably would use their programs to spread propaganda, as Soviet Party Boss Khrushchev did in his recent television appearance. But as Senator JOHNSON said, we should not be afraid to have Americans listen to Khrushchev or Karl Marx or Lenin because the American people "have the intelligence and the independence to make up their own minds."

President Eisenhower indicated at his press conference last week that if the Russians invited some high American official to appear on Russia TV and guaranteed that there would be no jamming or other interference, he would look favorably on the proposal. Senator JOHNSON has made a logical extension of the President's comment, and his suggestion ought to be studied to see whether it could be worked out on a practical basis.

In our opinion, the United States has nothing to fear from the free exchange of ideas between the Soviet Union and the United States. It may well be that when the truth shines through the Iron Curtain and the people of Russia get the facts, it will become possible, as Senator JOHNSON forecast, to banish the arms race, the nuclear explosions, and the intercontinental missiles, and agree upon systems that safeguard us against world suicide.

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Tribune-Democrat of June 11, 1957]

SURE, LET'S ASK MOSCOW FOR MUTUAL TV

Mr. Khrushchev has, we suggest, already said "nyet" to the proposal of Democratic Senate Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON, endorsed by Republican Senate Leader WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, for a reciprocal exchange of radio and television time between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the course of his televised interview, which was broadcast in the United States a week ago Sunday, Khrushchev replied to a question whether Moscow would be willing to quit jamming the radio programs of the Voice of America.

"Our country," he said, "is a very musical country, and, you know, we have many good singers, both in the past in Russia and now, too. Therefore, if it's a good voice, we do not jam it. On the contrary, we want it to be heard all over the country. But if it's a voice which cuts on the ear, then every person switches off one's radio, or jams that radio because that voice gets on one's nerves.

"Therefore," Khrushchev continued, "if the Voice of America does become the voice of America—because we respect the American people—it will not be jammed in our country, but when it is not the voice of America, but a sort of wailing over the radio, supposedly the voice of America, in that case we want to avoid our people getting the wrong view of the American people."

This is about as clear a statement as anyone could ask. It says that Moscow will decide what the people of the Soviet Union may hear on foreign radio programs, and that Moscow will not permit any uncensored programs from abroad. Khrushchev does this in an indirect way, implying that only misleading programs will be jammed—but the propaganda experts of the Soviet Union decide what programs from the West are misleading.

The Johnson-Knowland proposal has merit, however, just as the Eisenhower "open skies" proposal had merit in 1955. For it might compel the rulers of the Soviet Union once again to refuse explicitly an offer by the West of mutual concessions. And that would help to persuade doubters, if any remain, that the people of the Soviet Union are a captive audience, and are permitted to hear only what their masters in the Kremlin want them to hear.

So we would like to see this idea developed fully, not because of any hope that it would persuade Moscow to lift the electronic curtain it lowers against Western radio, but because it might be an excellent counter-propagana move on the part of the United States.

[From the Charlotte (N. C.) News of June 13, 1957]

LET UNITED STATES GET EQUAL TIME FROM MOSCOW

Washington's reaction to Nikita Khrushchev's big pitch to United States television viewers seems to be that in ignorance of what the Russian is doing there is some bliss and a great deal of virtue.

Republican House leader JOSEPH W. MARTIN dourly informed the press that he had avoided watching Khrushchev, President Eisenhower chided the Columbia Broadcasting System for interviewing the Red boss, indicating that CBS had sought unfair commercial gain at the risk of misleading the public as to what Khrushchev is really like off camera.

As days passed, the administration's first reaction became final. The Khrushchev appearance was to be ignored, with the hope that it wouldn't happen again. No attempt would be made to have an American official broadcast to the Russian people.

Withal, it was singularly stodgy and unimaginative response to a daring challenge from the Kremlin in the war of ideas. Moscow was chortling over Khrushchev's skillful propaganda coup. Doubtless it also was congratulating itself over the fact that Washington had not asked for equal time. It was significant that Khrushchev's remarks

to the United States were censored before they were printed in the Russian press.

The opportunity remains for the United States to give Khrushchev a taste of his own medicine. Let Washington demand time on Russian radio and TV for American spokesmen to make the United States case to the Russian people. Khrushchev is bound to lose, either way. A good dose of the truth about the United States should be a powerful stimulant to political unrest in Russia. Should the Kremlin refuse the demand, it would prove itself false to a professed desire for a relaxation of tensions, and afraid of a free flow of information.

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON's proposed "open curtain" policy of an exchange of radio and television time between United States and Soviet spokesmen deserves careful consideration by the administration. Any risks involved in the inevitable attempt by Soviet spokesmen to propagandize the American public would more than be offset by the risk the Kremlin would run in permitting Americans to loose a little truth in Russia.

Certainly Khrushchev was up to no good in agreeing to come before United States cameras. And while it is easy to detest him and to wish for the destruction of what he represents, it is neither safe nor wise to ignore him.

[From the Providence (R. I.) Evening Bulletin of June 18, 1957]

LET'S CALL THIS LOUD RED BLUFF

Television guest star Nikita Khrushchev told an American audience that his nation had no doubt of the outcome in a competitive war of ideas and predicted that the grandsons of this American generation will be living under a Socialist rule. Anastas Mikoyan, the Armenian first deputy premier of the Soviet Union, and a really smart cookie, follows up Khrushchev with another wide-open declaration: "We are not afraid of a competition of ideas. We are for any kind of cultural relations."

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Democratic leader, who generally has his wits about him, picked up the Russian boasts and called for an "open curtain" by way of television and radio for a contest of ideas between the two great world powers and suggested that the start be made by the presentation of our ideas on disarmament. Secretary Dulles, getting into the act, recalled that in the fall of 1955 he had suggested to the Russians at Geneva "reciprocal presentations" of conflicting ideas but that the Russians failed to reply. And that's as far as we have gone.

What are we waiting for? Are we going to permit the Russian challenges to go unanswered by default and give them a psychological victory by no contest? Are we going to leave them wide open to spread the word that the Americans are ducking an ideological contest? Even if they do not intend to come through by opening the curtain, why are we wasting the chance to call them and set the record straight? It is not correct interpretation to dismiss the Khrushchev broadcast as merely a commercial undertaking.

The American people, lovers of competition and devoted to the truth of their institutions, would relish, would eat up a television contest between representative spokesmen on the validity of mutually antagonistic ideas. The Russian people, we think, would be no less eager for the battle of ideas; indeed, we suspect that their eagerness might bring the Khrushchev-Mikoyan team to sober second thought lest, as Wendell Willkie warned Stalin about universal education, they might televise themselves right out of their jobs.

William James once praised international contests as the "moral equivalent of war." That's what Khrushchev meant, rather prolixly and maybe insincerely, when he said that since we are not going to fight, let's have it out with a battle of ideas. We simply cannot afford to let the chance go by default to uphold our end in the "moral equivalent of war."

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 10, 1957]

A CHALLENGE DECLINED

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON has come up with a good idea. He has proposed that the United States and Soviet Russia present their ideas on each other's television and radio once a week. Noting that Nikita S. Khrushchev, in his film telecast in the United States last week, called for competition between the capitalist and socialist states, JOHNSON said: "There is one form of competition—the clash of ideas—that Americans would welcome with delight."

This is a challenge we would like to have the Kremlin accept, and which it should accept, if Khrushchev's words about welcoming competition were sincere. Unfortunately, however, it is a challenge which was rejected even before it was made. And it was Khrushchev himself who rejected it.

During the telecast interview last Sunday Khrushchev was asked whether the Russians would stop jamming the broadcasts of the Voice of America. This was his reply:

"Then you asked me about the Voice of America. Our country is a very musical country and, you know, we have many good singers, both in the past in Russia, and now, too. Therefore, if it's a good voice, we do not jam it. On the contrary, we want it to be heard all over the country. But if it's a voice which cuts on the ear, then every person switches off one's radio, or jams that radio because that voice gets on one's nerves.

"Therefore, if the Voice of America does become the voice of America—because we respect the American people—it will not be jammed in our country, but when it is not the voice of America, but a sort of wailing over the radio, supposedly the voice of America, in that case we want to avoid our people getting the wrong view of the American people."

There you have it, Senator JOHNSON. The Russians will compete with us in the realm of ideas, providing the Communist leaders censor those ideas first, to make sure they do not contain any suggestions which are contrary to Communist doctrines. They would be perfectly willing, for instance, to listen to the Voice of America extol the beauties of American scenery, but not the virtues of capitalism and its advantages over communism. They would listen to a commentary on the Civil War, but not one on the promises the Kremlin has broken since the end of World War II.

If any further evidence is needed that the Communist masters of Russia will not permit the Russian people to read or hear anything that might lead to independent thinking, it is to be found in the fact that a portion of Khrushchev's interview, in which he said that the Communist Party reflects the desires and wishes of the Russian people, was omitted from the texts published in Russia.

[From the Fargo (N. Dak.) Forum of June 12, 1957]

"OPEN CURTAIN" SUGGESTION MADE BY SENATOR JOHNSON

After Khrushchev's recent television appearance the suggestion was advanced that the Kremlin be asked to grant permission for the appearance of President Eisenhower or some other American official to talk to the Russian people.

While it can be questioned that the Kremlin would grant such permission, and, if an attempt should be made to get to the people of Russia, the chances, as matters stand, are that an American talk would be jammed.

But rather frequent expression of opinions from both sides could prove worth while.

Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, majority leader of the Senate, has now called for an open curtain through which the United States Government could state its case for disarmament directly to the Russian people. Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, minority leader of the Senate, has endorsed the idea as a possible help in reducing tensions between the two countries.

Senator JOHNSON put it this way:

"We should ask Khrushchev to provide us with Soviet-wide uncensored radio and TV facilities. We should call on him to allow spokesmen of our choosing to come into Russian homes and state our case—the American case—to the Russian people."

Even if Khrushchev went along with the idea, the fact remains that Russian appearances would continue to be propaganda just as the Khrushchev interview was propaganda. But Senator JOHNSON declares that we should not be, and are not, afraid to have the American people listen to them. As the Senator puts it, the American people "have the intelligence and independence to make up their own minds."

In this connection, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles says that the United States favors a monthly radio-television program on a reciprocal basis. He said the idea was first proposed to the Soviet Union by the United States, Britain, and France at the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference in 1955. He indicated that he had doubts as to the value of a one-shot appearance such as that of Khrushchev's recent broadcast.

He recalled that the Big Three plan in 1955 envisaged a monthly 30-minute program, but that Russia opposed it then, and presumably does now.

President Eisenhower, at his last press conference, said that if Russia invited some American official to appear on Russian TV and guaranteed that there would be no jamming or other interference, he would look favorably on the proposal.

[From the Lewiston Daily Sun, Lewiston-Auburn, Maine, of June 13, 1957]

ON REACHING THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

One never knows what is going to come out of the United States Senate in the way of ideas, and we had a good example of that this week, in connection with senatorial reaction to the TV propaganda speech delivered recently by Red Party Boss Khrushchev.

There has been considerable anxiety over the fact that Khrushchev has been permitted to reach tens of millions of Americans with his outrageous guff on disarmament and other topics, while we have no way of telling our story to the Russian people through a public figure of equal stature.

So we have had Senator BILL KNOWLAND, of California, rush into the situation with a disarmament plan which he thinks puts the Soviets at a disadvantage. He would have Norway offer to quit NATO in return for a Russian withdrawal from Hungary, and follow this up with successive staged pullbacks by both sides from eastern and western Europe. The Norwegian Government has sharply attacked KNOWLAND's strategy, and so has the military commander of the NATO forces. It looks like a very impractical way of forcing Russia to make good on Khrushchev's offer to get out of the satellite countries.

But getting back to the problem of reaching the Russian people, as Khrushchev reached his huge United States audience, Democratic Senator LYNDON JOHNSON has come up with a thoughtful plan by which American spokesmen can—if the Kremlin permits—refute the baseless Communist accusations that we seek a nuclear war, and that only the United States blocks genuine world disarmament.

Senator JOHNSON wants the administration to ask Moscow for uncensored, free radio and TV facilities in order that our leaders can "come into Russian homes and state the American case." And we would reciprocate by offering equal facilities here. The Senator thinks moreover, that we should hammer on this offer day after day, at every point of contact with Russia until it is accepted or rejected.

We like that plan, because of its immense value to the free world—either in reaching the Russian people, or in forcing the Kremlin to admit that it dares not lift the curtain.

[From the Ashland (Ky.) Daily Independent of June 17, 1957]

TOURNAMENT OF IDEAS BETTER THAN ARMAMENT RACE OR WAR

Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S idea for a reciprocal exchange of ideas between spokesmen of the United States and of the Soviet Union on the air, on equal time and facilities, without jamming or interference of any kind, is a major contribution to a solution of the pressures troubling the world comparable to and supplementary to President Eisenhower's open-skies inspection plan. It is an open-sky plan for ideas.

While the greatest peacetime military forces in history "rest on their arms," the leaders of the two great powers would engage in a contest not unlike the old tournaments of old, man against man, knight against knight, each defending his ideals. The peoples of the two nations would by their response decide the outcome. The prospect is breathtaking.

There is no question but that Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Soviet Party chief, scored a propaganda coup with his willingness to be interviewed and filmed for a telecast to the United States. The interview, with certain questions and answers that would have favored the United States eliminated, was rebroadcast to the Soviet and over all its propaganda channels. So far there has been no official reply either in this country or over the Soviet propaganda system.

Senator JOHNSON would have arranged for the reply before our own airways were opened to Khrushchev and the reply would have been made at once to the Soviet people. In such an exchange we can trust to the human urge for freedom to weigh heavily in our favor. Certainly if equal times and facilities were assured, we could enter such a contest with complete confidence. That is perhaps the main drawback to the idea. The Soviet would not permit their people to listen to our argument for fear of the repercussions. But they first ridiculed the Eisenhower open-skies plan and now indicate a willingness to try it. The time may come when they would accept the Johnson open-airwaves plan. A formal proposal now would lay the groundwork for probable future acceptance.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer of June 22, 1957]

OPEN CURTAIN EXCHANGE PROPOSAL GAINS WIDE SUPPORT IN CONGRESS

An open curtain exchange of information with Russia was proposed the other day by Senator LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, and the suggestion met immediate endorsement from Democrats.

A sample of the reaction was seen in a statement by Senator JOHN C. STENNIS, of Mississippi, who said that there is a good chance that the proposal of the Democratic leader of the Senate will prove to be a "landmark, a turning point, in international affairs, the cold war, or the arms race."

Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, complimented JOHNSON for demanding that Russia give the United States the same chance to tell its story to the Soviet people that Khrushchev had on American television a week ago. He referred to JOHNSON'S suggestion as "the splendid work he has done overnight."

There was indication the Democrats might push the open curtain issue after JOHNSON pointed out that since World War II the United States has spent more than $416 billion on the cold war. He stated the national debt is threatening our whole economy. He asked:

"Would we be under that threat today if the people of the world had and opportunity to hear and weigh all the facts?"

In effect, the Texan dared Khrushchev to refuse the proposal, saying:

"If Khrushchev declines the proposal, let him explain why to the world. Let him explain why Americans can hear his case and why Russians cannot be permitted to hear our case. It would be interesting to hear the Communist representatives explain this point in some such forum as the United Nations."

The suggestion initially was made by Senator JOHNSON in a speech in New York Saturday and Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Republican leader, was one of the first to endorse it.

It seems a good idea, even though there is no guaranty as to how many Russians would hear the American side of the question even if the Moscow Government should give this country the opportunity to speak to the people behind the Iron Curtain. It is doubted there could be a way of telling to what extent a television broadcast would cover the area dominated by communism.

The suggestion is nevertheless a good one.

Tribute to Dean Karl W. Onthank of the University of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Dean Karl W. Onthank has been a tower of strength to the University of Oregon during the 41 years that he has been associated with the university. As a student at the university, I still can remember the generous guidance he gave to me and to many others.

However, Dean Onthank has not only been active at the university, but has played a leading part in the preservation of our great outdoors. He serves as president of the Western Federation of Outdoor Clubs and he has helped lead the fight to preserve Oregon's beauty in the Save-the-McKenzie Association and the Three Sisters Wilderness Society. I know that Dean and Mrs. Onthank will continue to play a vital and active role in community and conservation affairs.

As Dean Onthank retires from the University, I want to wish him and Mrs. Onthank every success for the future.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the July 3, 1957, issue of the Eugene (Oreg.) Register Guard entitled "Retire? Never," which tells of the splendid work of Dean Karl W. Onthank.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RETIRE? NEVER

The paper says that Karl Onthank is about to retire, but we don't believe it. Dean Onthank, currently associate dean of students at the University of Oregon, is just not the retiring type, a fact he readily admits when he says he still has "a few irons in the fire." Maybe he'll be away from his desk in Emerald Hall, but he certainly won't be retired, if by retired we mean in the position of sitting in a rocking chair and permitting himself to grow old.

The 41 years that the dean has been associated with the university have been years of development and growth. In most of the changes he took a personal part. His position as associate dean is the third regular job he's held at the university. And once, for a year and a half, he was virtually president of the university. That was when a three-man team ran the place while the regents were hunting a new president.

Turnover on the faculty has been great. You can count on your fingers the number of faculty members who were on the job in the Prince Campbell years. Karl Onthank was one of them. He reached the peak of his career in the depression when, as dean of personnel administration, he took a leading role in helping students prove it's possible to go through college on a shoestring.

We won't say Karl Onthank will be missed, because he won't be missed. And he won't be missed because he'll still be around rubbing elbows with the alumni, helping the students, and sticking his busy fingers into pies all over the State. He certainly isn't the type who can retire.

Henry Fountain Ashurst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, when Arizona became the 48th State of the Union, the legislature in its wisdom sent to Washington two distinguished men as the Senators of the baby State. One of these men, Marcus A. Smith, has passed on to his reward. But the other one, Henry Fountain Ashurst, remains in our presence, delighting those who know him with his keen wit, and inspiring his associates with his constant and loyal adherence to the basic truths of our Republic. This fine gentleman, born in the mountains of Nevada, but becoming at a very young age a citizen of Arizona, has carried with him through life the characteristic optimism of the West. He has as his hallmark the ability to express himself in terms richly tinted with the clearness and beauty of the deserts and mountains of the State he so long represented in this body. His sentences are not merely a connected series of words; they are thoughts born of wisdom, tempered with reason, and festooned with the brilliance of study. They can be as warm as our Arizona sun or, if need be, as cold as the winds which sweep from our peaks. They carry the depths of our canyons and the clarity of the western air washed by a sudden rain.

They are as soft as the wind through the pines, or they can crash with the loudness of thunder. Occasionally Senator Ashurst visits his State, and these visits are eagerly awaited. A recent occasion for such a visit was the meeting of the Arizona Bar Association. To indicate how this man is received at home, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Prescott Evening Courier be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASHURST RETURNS, RETRACES OLD TRAILS

Here for the recent Arizona Bar Association conclave, Henry Fountain Ashurst "took a swing around" the northern half of the State, renewing friendships, and retracing old trails, before returning to Washington. Beyond the four-score span of years, he was the picture of health, the embodiment of contentment, rich in esteem for his fellow man. Laying flower tokens on the local resting place of his departed helpmeet, calling on the few he knows so well and comparing present Prescott scenes with those of other days, he was saddened by finding so many past associates no longer here. It was like drifting in loneliness through the halls of yesterday.

The outstanding figures guiding Arizona during early statehood nearly all are gone. Certainly none is more notable than this fine man whose service as a United States Senator gave full meaning to faith and loyalty. He never faced the charge of violating campaign pledges, no whispers that he sought personal gain ever were uttered; his record was clean and flawless. No challenge to his courage can be recalled, his sympathies were deep and true, his judgment based entirely on the pillars of right. Through the eventful three decades of public life he "kept the whiteness of his soul," always adhering to justice, clear in understanding.

It was good to have Henry Ashurst back, even if only for a little while. His cheerfulness is contagious, his handclasp frank and warm. At least once each year Prescott should recall him for a temporary stay, as he assuredly is the Mile High City's most distinguished son—one whose thoughts do not stray far from the rugged hills which yet are dear to him.

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, One of the excellent witnesses heard by the Special Subcommittee on Senate Rule XXII of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration on Friday, June 28, was Hon. Edgar C. Bundy, of Wheaton, Ill., president of the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club.

Major Bundy's defense of continued freedom of debate in the United States Senate was both forceful and enlightening, and I ask unanimous consent that the text of his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF EDGAR C. BUNDY, PRESIDENT, THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB, BEFORE THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION, JUNE 28, 1957

Honorable members of the special subcommittee, my name is Edgar C. Bundy, resident of 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Ill., and I am appearing before this committee today as president of the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club, Chicago, Ill., as a spokesman in behalf of the membership of this organization which reside in 47 States and Alaska, to speak in opposition to any proposal to limite Senate debate which might change or modify present Senate rule XXII.

The headquarters of our organization in Chicago, upon learning of the intended introduction of proposed changes in Senate rule XXII, sent out a general letter to our members urging them to express their opinion on these proposed changes. Every reply received in our headquarters was in definite opposition to any change in the present rule XXII. I am, therefore, appearing as spokesman for the club at this present hearing.

The United States Senate is one of the last free bodies in a world which is collapsing around us and in which world freedom of expression is being severely limited or entirely crushed.

Every piece of legislation introduced into the Senate of the United States which might affect the future of our Republic, or any sovereign State of that Republic, should be thoroughly examined openly before the people with no restriction placed upon that examination; for, after it is passed, by simple majority vote, it may prove far more difficult to undo, if harmful effects should result from the same when it becomes law.

We are in too much of a rush today to get things done. In this pushbutton, streamlined, jet age we scarcely take time to live any more, let alone examine measures thoroughly which may affect the last semblance of freedom on the face of the earth. We need to slow down and reexamine whither we are bound.

This representative government of ours is being pressurized by highly vocal and well financed minority groups to change its methods of doing things—methods which have proved themselves to be in the best interests of the Nation as a whole through many decades of trial and experiments.

Year after year, since the first Senate met in 1789, individuals in this body have tried to introduce changes in Senate rules to limit full and free discussion, oftentimes in the form of gag rules. But, our Senators have steadfastly refused to adopt such restrictive measures with the exception of the present required two-thirds cloture rule passed in 1917. Why, might we ask, a two-thirds rule? Perhaps this can best be answered by stating that history proves that the majority is not always in the right.

We hear a lot of arguments advanced to the effect that small minorities in the Senate can obstruct the will of the majority, and that therefore this right of the minority must be taken away. This is contrary to the United States Constitution itself. Our form of government was never set up on the basis of stifling the expression of minorities, even by a majority of one.

If we consult the proceedings of the United States Senate, as a continuing body from 1789 until the present day, we will find that the only time the filibuster was used was on some measure against which there was strong minority opinion and a definite basis for opposition. Out of a total of 36 measures against which the filibuster was used, only 11 failed of passage (some of these were the same bills or similar ones introduced over a period of time) and the other 25 were eventually passed, usually after being modified by the elimination of potentially dangerous provisions, or by adding to them features which would benefit particular States or areas of the Nation. That is a pretty good record in the history of American legislation.

Granted that there may have been some inequities resulting from the use of the filibuster in connection with the 11 bills which did not pass, is that any reason to burn the proverbial "house" down in order to destroy a few "rats" in the basement?

It is amazing, to say the least, how opponents of the present two-thirds cloture rule, while demanding a change from two-thirds to a simple majority, conviently ignore the fact that a two-thirds vote of both Houses of the Congress is required to override a minority of one, namely, the veto of the President of the United States; and, a three-quarter vote of all the sovereign States is required to ratify a constitutional amendment.

If the basis for the arguments presented over a period of years by those in favor of a simple majority as a means for closing debate is followed to its logical conclusion, then the President of the United States could be classified as an obstructionist to the will of "the majority," and at least one-fourth of the States also constitute an obstruction to the will of "the majority." These exponents of "majority rule," in order to be consistent in their thinking, should ask that a Presidential veto be overridden by a simple majority of both Houses, and that a constitutional amendment be ratified by 25 States instead of by 36.

It would be well to recall at this point the words of the distinguished Senator John C. Calhoun, when on July 12, 1848, he stated concerning Senator Clay's proposal to introduce the "previous question" in order to limit debate, as follows: "There never had been a body in this, or any other country, in which, for such a length of time, so much dignity and decorum of debate had been maintained."

Despite the fact that there have been what might be classified as exceptions to the usual decorous procedure of the Senate at times in the life of this body, Senator Calhoun's statement is certainly applicable to the years since 1894 as much as to those prior to that date.

Again, in 1881, when a resolution was introduced to amend the Anthony rule and was objected to on the grounds that it was actually a form of introducing the use of "the previous question," Senator Edmonds made a profound observation which could well be taken to heart today by those who propose to stifle unlimited and free debate by changing Senate rule XXII: "I would rather not a single bill shall pass between now and the 4th of March than to introduce into this body, which is the only one where there is free debate, and the only one which can under its rules discuss fully. I think it is of greater importance to the public interest in the long run and in the short run that every bill on your calendar should fail than that any Senator should be cut off from the right of expressing his opinion upon every measure that is to be voted upon here."

I, for one, as an American citizen, and an intelligence officer in the United States Air Force Reserve, who have seen with my own eyes the suppression of free discussion in Juan Peron's Argentina, in Communist China, and in Europe, agree with Senator Edmond's statement wholeheartedly. If minority rights are to be preserved, they should be preserved in the Senate of the United States first of all, as such minorities consist

of men and women who are duly elected to this august body of majorities in their own sovereign States. They are directly responsible to the will of these people. It would be a direct slap in the face to these majorities in the States to tell their elected representatives in the Senate that they will not be permitted to speak as long as they desire on any given measure. If these particular Senators are in the wrong, then it is up to the people who send them to Washington to correct that wrong, and it is not up to the Senators from other States to draw such a conclusion. The ballot box is the finest free weapon we have left for correcting any abuse of Senatorial privileges.

It is interesting to note that since the first motion to invoke the cloture rule was intrduced in the United States Senate on November 15, 1919, that the Senate itself voted in favor of that motion only 4 times out of a total of 22 times that it was made. This proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Senate itself, by substantial vote margins, was in favor of unlimited debate on 18 of the 22 measures before it. In each of the 18 instances a substantial number ranging from 27 to 77 opposed the limitation of debate.

In the light of these historical facts, we can only ask: Why are these proposals to limit debate continually presented before the Senate Rules Committee and its subcommittees? History is continually repeating itself, but the tragedy is that we do not seem to learn the lesson of history until it is too late. It is my opinion, after having examined the influences brought to bear on once-free nations in the process of turning them over to totalitarian regimes, that freedom of expression, whether oral or written, has always been stifled first before the country was captured by a dictator or totalitarian regime.

It is a singular fact that the Senate of the United States has passed a higher percentage of bills since its inception, without majority cloture, than the House of Representatives has passed with such a cloture rule. The Senate is known to be the more deliberative of the two bodies of the Congress. I do not believe that the American people want this change through a "speed-up campaign," which would surely result if the present Senate rule XXII were changed from two-thirds to a chance majority.

Some have advanced the idea that the filibuster as used in the United States Senate causes adverse criticism of our Government in foreign countries, especially on the part of foreign governmental assemblies. I think it is about time that we stop paying attention to the criticisms of people who have been receiving continuous handouts from the American taxpayers for lo these many years, and from governments which have various conceptions of justice and freedom which are alien to traditional American Constitutional concepts.

Our country has existed as a free Republic because our people have enjoyed the freedoms guaranteed to them in the great documents written by wise Founding Fathers. Let us not send this Nation down the road which decadent foreign nations have already traveled by restricting full and free debate on the part of our United States Senators, whom we send to Washington for the purpose of representing us and maintaining a position on any measure which is in accordance with the views of the constituency they are representing.

Thank you very much for this opportunity of presenting these views to the Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

National Driver of the Year Award to Ernest Roedel, of Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, during the past holiday weekend, by way of radio, television, and newspapers, we heard a great deal about the need for safe driving on American highways.

Mr. President, we, in Missouri, are proud that a young Missourian, Mr. Ernest Roedel, of New Franklin, Mo., has been named as "National Driver of the Year" for his heroism and safe-driving record. Mr. Roedel has never had an accident, either in his own automobile or during the 6½ years he has driven a truck, establishing a "no-accident record" for more than 500,000 miles.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I yield.

Mr. CARLSON. I very much appreciate the comment the Senator from Missouri has made in regard to Mr. Ernest Roedel the Missouri truck driver who has won the national award for safe driving. I am proud to state that he drives for Freight Ways, Inc., of Wichita, Kans., a Kansas corporation. We of Kansas, too, wish to extend to him our congratulations and best wishes. We are proud of his outstanding record.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release entitled "Missouri Truck Driver Named 1957 National Driver of the Year."

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MISSOURI TRUCKDRIVER NAMED 1957 NATIONAL DRIVER OF THE YEAR

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29.—A 29-year-old Missouri truckdriver has been named national driver of the year for his heroism and safe-driving record, the American Trucking Associations announced today.

He is Ernest Roedel, of 113 Chancelor Street, New Franklin, Mo., a driver for Freight Ways, Inc., of Wichita, Kans. Mr. Roedel drives from the company's New Franklin terminal.

Married and the father of a 5-year-old boy, Mr. Roedel is credited with saving the life of a 3-month-old baby and rendering first aid to her 2-year-old sister after an auto wreck in which both parents were killed.

The driver also was cited for a 500,000-mile no-accident record. He has never been in an accident either in his own automobile or during the 6½ years he has driven a truck.

The driver of the year award is given annually by the American Trucking Associations to 1 of the more than 7 million truckdrivers in the country for his outstanding safety record or acts of heroism. Mr. Roedel, the 1956 Missouri driver of the year, was nominated by the Missouri Bus & Truck Association.

The judges were Congressman KENNETH A. ROBERTS, of Alabama, chairman of the House Highway Safety Subcommittee; Louis S. Rothschild, Under Secretary of Commerce, W. Y. Blanning, Director of the Bureau of Motor Carriers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and Arthur C. Butler, director of the National Highway Users Conference.

Mr. Roedel, also is the holder of an Arthur Godfrey citation as a gentleman of the highway, awarded last year by the radio-television star in cooperation with the American Trucking Associations for his help to the two injured children.

While driving west along Highway 40, about 10 miles east of Boonville, Mo., on September 5, 1956, Mr. Roedel noticed an old model pick-up truck approaching from the opposite direction. Behind it was a station wagon traveling at a high speed. The station wagon started to pass the pickup truck but swerved back in line when the driver apparently realized he could not pass safely. As he did so, the station wagon went out of control and plunged down a 75-foot embankment, turning over 3 times.

Mr. Roedel pulled over to the side of the road, stopped his truck, and directed a passing motorist to go to Boonville for help. He then ran down the embankment and found that Mrs. Joan Van Horn, 26, of Portsmouth, Va., and her 2 daughters, 3-month-old Nanette and 2-year-old Rebecca, had been thrown from the car. Her husband, Lt. (jg.) John Van Horn, 26, of the Coast Guard, had been killed instantly.

The children had landed in a drainage ditch and were in danger of drowning. Mr. Roedel pulled them out of the water and applied first aid to the older child, who was suffering from shock, a broken collarbone, broken arm, and three broken ribs.

The truckdriver then went to the aid of the mother who was rolling on the ground in pain and bleeding profusely. He took blankets from the station wagon, covered her and tried to quiet her.

When other help arrived, Mr. Roedel directed the aid and stayed with the mother and children until the ambulance arrived. Mrs. Van Horn died soon after the arrival of the ambulance and, with both parents dead, the truckdriver followed the ambulance to the hospital to insure that the children were given prompt and adequate care.

Witnesses said the older child probably would have hurt herself internally and far more seriously if Mr. Roedel had not been on hand to care for her and keep her from moving. The younger child surely would have drowned if he had not pulled her from the water so quickly, according to reports.

The children have since been adopted by Mrs. Van Horn's brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Allen Troutman, of Ottawa, Kans.

A member of Teamsters' Local, 534, of Sedalia, Mo., Mr. Roedel has been employed by Freight Ways, Inc., since 1950 and operates a tractor-trailer out of Boonville to St. Louis, Louisiana, Mo., and Ottawa, Kans.

Mr. Roedel's no-accident record follows his father's footsteps. His father, Herman, also is employed by Freight Ways, Inc., and has never had an accident either as a truckdriver or in private life.

Mr. Roedel entered the merchant marine in 1945 and served for 2½ years. Returning to civilian life, he was employed by the Herman Roedel Beer Distributors from 1948 until he joined Freight Ways, Inc., in 1950. Later that year he joined the Army and served in Korea until his discharge in 1952, when

he returned to Freight Ways. During his Army service he maintained his no-accident record while driving a truck for the ordnance.

Mr. Roedel and his wife, Charlene, are members of the St. Stephen Evangelical Church. He also is a member of the Raymond Warenhoof Post of the VFW in Boonville.

As driver of the year, Mr. Roedel and Mrs. Roedel will be invited to visit Washington and spend a week at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York as the guests of the American Trucking Associations.

Bob Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, Ambassador to Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. VORYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the July number of the magazine Diplomat, gives an interesting background sketch on our friend, Robert C. Hill, who is leaving as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations to become our Ambassador to Mexico. We all know that maintaining diplomatic relations between Capitol Hill and Foggy Bottom, where the State Department is located, takes tireless energy, rare tact, and great ability. Bob Hill has demonstrated these qualities. As the following article shows, he has the experience as well as the ability to be a worthy Ambassador to our nearest Latin American neighbor. We all wish him well.

OUR NEW AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO—EXPERIENCED AT GOOD NEIGHBORING, ROBERT C. HILL HEADS FOR THIRD POST AS ENVOY WITH PLANS TO GET AROUND THE COUNTRY AND MEET THE PEOPLE

(By Dorothy Williams)

When Robert C. Hill goes to Mexico this month as our new Ambassador to that nation, he'll be returning to a region where not so long ago he did some good neighborly trailblazing. It all came about as the result of a suggestion by Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON. A 39-year-old former W. R. Grace & Co. executive, Hill is well acquainted with most of the countries south of the border. But he can claim a special acquaintanceship with areas that border the Pan-American Highway, since in 1955 he became our first Ambassador to drive all the way—with the exception of a 164-mile stretch—from San Salvador to Laredo, Tex. His attractive, European-educated wife and their two small sons accompanied him.

Hill, then our Ambassador to El Salvador, made the 3,700-mile journey—some of it in low gear—in the hopes of promoting development of the Pan-American Highway. He got the idea when NIXON, at that time a goodwill visitor in El Salvador, asked if he had ever thought of driving home by way of the highway.

Not long afterward he bundled his family into their car, took the wheel and headed north with United States Information Agency cameramen following along to record the event.

Between Tapachula and Orriga, Mexico, the Hills and their car were transported by train because of impassable roads. Such a static role as a train passenger, even through rugged Mexican mountain areas, seems somewhat out of character for Hill.

He's a man who likes activity and, as an Ambassador, he likes to get around a country as much as possible and meet the people. As he puts it, he doesn't think an envoy should confine himself to just visiting the watering spots.

This is the third ambassadorial post to which Hill, a political appointee, has been named by President Eisenhower. He served first as our Ambassador to Costa Rica and then to El Salvador. Since October 1955 he has filled top-level roles in the Department of State, most recently as Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Robert Charles Hill was born in Littleton, N. H., in the heart of the White Mountains, the son of a now deceased physician. He was graduated from Taft School and Dartmouth College.

Like all youngsters in his neighborhood, he grew up gliding down the open snowy slopes of the New Hampshire countryside on barrel staves. But the introduction of scientific skiing from Austria made him one of the original ski enthusiasts of Peckett's on Sugar Hill. His interest in this sport led, eventually, to his meeting with his wife, the former Cecelia Bowdoin, daughter of a Baltimore banker and a descendant of Andrew Jackson's Secretary of State, Louis McLane, whose portrait hangs in Hill's office.

There won't be skiing for the Hills in Mexico, but they expect to enjoy tennis—she is a former tennis champion of both the District of Columbia and Baltimore—and he hopes for a chance to play squash.

Mrs. Hill is an equestrian of some note and in the past has done considerable jumping. Both of the Hill sons—8-year-old Graham, and James Bowdoin, 3—will have their own ponies. One of the mounts, a gift from the Costa Rican Foreign Minister, is awaiting shipment from that country.

Mutual interests in sports, as well as in other matters, can smooth diplomatic ways, Hill has found. He recalls the part croquet played during his ambassadorship to Costa Rica. That country's President José Figures was about to get married. Hill, searching for a wedding gift that he hoped would please, suddenly recalled that he had read of the President's great interest in croquet. A croquet set was the answer.

Games of croquet quite naturally followed with Figures and Hill and, sometimes others, pitting their skills against each other. One such game with Jefferson Coolidge, chairman of the board of the United Fruit Co., as a player, led to the settlement of a longstanding issue between the firm and the Costa Rican Government.

Hill first came to Washington, D. C., on December 14, 1941, as a representative of the Todd-Bath Shipbuilding Corp. of South Portland, Maine. A short time earlier he had interrupted his Dartmouth studies to work for the shipbuilding outfit as a ship fitter's helper. Then he was selected to represent the firm here in efforts to get war contracts.

A football injury kept Hill from regular military duty, but in October 1944, he went abroad in a capacity that led to work with the American Army. He set out first for Calcutta as a member of the United States Foreign Service Auxiliary, a forerunner of today's Foreign Service Reserve.

From there he was reassigned as a State Department representative to United States Army Headquarters for the China-Burma-India theater at New Delhi. Also, he was in charge of consular activities at our Embassy there.

Returning to this country in 1945, he went back to Dartmouth to get certain credits needed for entrance to Boston University Law School. Soon after enrolling there, however, he quit to accept appointment by the late Senator Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire Republican, as clerk of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

His next move was to the W. R. Grace & Co. where he was placed in charge of activities of Pan American Grace Airways and served as a representative of the Grace National Bank and W. R. Grace & Co. in Washington. His ambassadorial and more recently, State Department assignments followed.

Independence and the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Independence Day editorial of the De Kalb New Era, of Decatur, Ga., as it appeared in the July 4, 1957, issue of that publication.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION

On July 4, 1788, a great celebration was held in Philadelphia on the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence 12 years before. It was the first celebration of Independence Day after the requisite number of States had adopted the Constitution.

On that day there were five symbolic groups paraded before the people of Philadelphia. They represented, the independence of the United States as a sovereign nation, the alliance with France, the treaty with England, the convention of the several States and the Constitution.

Of those five subjects all but two of them have either passed out of existence or become obsolete. Two, however, remain to this day. They are the independence of this Nation and the Constitution. So long as this Nation remains a nation these two matters must remain inviolate. To the same degree that they are weakened to that same degree will our Nation become weak. They are the heart and the blood of the United States.

We, as a people, oftentimes lose sight of these two factors in our government. So often we ignore them or indifferently take them for granted. We have enjoyed their benefits for so many generations that we become negligent in their preservation.

Of late years both of these things have been attacked. Independence has been jeopardized more by development and civilization than by deliberate intent. In this day of the so-called one world we are more and more being tempted to form alliances, be they political, economic, social or military. There may perhaps in some distant future come such a time but at present it is but the fancy of a dream. Before the dawn of that day much less its noontide there must be a mighty change in the hearts of men. Only when there is but one God will the time be truly ripe for one world. There is no one world in which a godless nation may find the faith and trust so necessary. There is no place there for a god of hate and fear.

The Constitution is encountering dangers more from within our own Nation than from the forces without. We are united in protecting this document from the aggressive destruction of outsiders. But we are so lax

against the increasing dangers from within our own Union.

This is a new age in which we live. New methods are the vogue. New thinking is making its impression on our people and institutions. There is a definite inclination to interpret this document in the light of modern thinking, to obscure its true meaning in the trappings of the present vogues rather than with a strict adherence to its basic and fundamental truths.

Such notions are unconscientiously held by millions of Americans in their daily living with regard to the laws of the land. This theory is transmitted by the senses into the minds of our institutions. The deception is the overlooking of the fact that our laws can and are changed at will to meet the exigencies of modern thinking, but our Constitution is the fundamental law of the land.

It cannot be changed merely by thinking differently but only by a given process. It is a grievous error to even attempt a change by any other method. If we dare attempt this, be it by the individual citizen or the highest tribunal of the land, we are at once undermining the foundations of constitutional government and are beginning the downfall of ourselves as a free and independent nation.

This, as we celebrate the Fourth of July, we ought to remember these things with the understanding that our Constitution is the cornerstone of our independence and our freedom. If we weaken it through interpretations based on modern thinking we have irreparably weakened our hold on happiness and freedom.

Foreign Students in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, one of the great subjects before us with reference to foreign policy is the exchange of students and professors with other countries. I am hopeful this program may be extended even further, but at the moment we are at a new high record in that regard with 40,666 foreign students in the United States.

By way of analysis of that very interesting and important development, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news story published in the New York Herald Tribune of July 1, 1957, as well as a detailed release analyzing that news story, of the Institute of International Education, New York.

There being no objection, the article and analysis were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of July 1, 1957]

NINE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN AMERICANS IN COLLEGES ABROAD—FORTY THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX FOREIGN STUDENTS IN UNITED STATES

A record 40,666 foreign students attended United States colleges in the 1956–57 academic year, while 9,887 American students studied abroad, according to a statistical study released yesterday by the Institute of International Education.

Canada had the largest representation in American universities, with 5,379 students. China was next with 3,055, then Korea, with 2,307. In the total of 40,666 from 136 countries, men outnumbered women 3 to 1. From the Philippines, however, there were 877 women and 837 men.

STUDY IN 54 NATIONS

Although there were foreign students in each of the 48 States, two-thirds of the foreign students were concentrated in the schools of 10 States and the District of Columbia. The 10 States are New York, California, Michigan, Massachusetts, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Texas, Ohio, Indiana, and Minnesota.

Of the total 45.2 percent were privately financed. Private organizations, educational institutions, and governments paid for most of the others.

The 9,887 American students who went abroad studied in 387 institutions in 54 countries.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION NEWS RELEASE, JULY 1, 1957

The United States attracted more foreign students to its schools last year than ever before thereby establishing itself as the mecca for scholars from all around the world. More than 40,000 foreign students representing 136 countries flocked to the United States for study during the 1956–57 academic year, according to a detailed study on educational exchange just released by the Institute of International Education.

A leader itself in the field of international scholarship exchange, IIE for a number of years has survey the number of foreign students here and American students abroad financed either under private means or through scholarship funds. The results of this census have been compiled into an annual report called Open Doors, which is becoming a bible in the field of international educational exchange.

Of the 40,666 foreign students attracted to United States schools, the IIE survey revealed that almost a third (31 percent were from the Far East indicating the intense struggle of these Asian nations for a higher standard of living through better education. More than a fifth (22.4 percent) of these foreign students were from our Latin-American neighboring countries.

The single country that sent the largest representation was Canada (5,379), followed by China (3,055), and then Korea (2,307). The nation of Korea had the biggest increase in scholars studying here, having jumped from eighth place 2 years ago to third place during 1956–57 when 2,307 Koreans were reported to be enrolled in our colleges and universities.

The status of women in the world was reflected in the preponderance of male over female students, according to the IIE census. Men out-numbered women three to one generally but the disparity was even greater in the Middle East and Far East countries. One startling exception was the Philippines where the women edged the men by 877 to 837, possibly indicating the greater westernization that has taken place in the former United States possession.

What kind of study these foreign scholars pursued also reflected the needs of the countries from which they came. The Far and Middle East scholars majored heavily in engineering with the humanities and social sciences as second and third choices, whereas more than a quarter of the Europeans and Canadians preferred courses in humanities with engineering a close second.

The IIE study also revealed that more and more United States schools are opening their doors to foreign scholars. Every State in the Union had foreign students enrolled in their colleges and universities, although more than two-thirds of the foreign exchangees were concentrated in the schools of 10 States and the District of Columbia. The States were: New York, California, Michigan, Massachusetts, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Texas, Ohio, Indiana, and Minnesota. Thirteen universities reported more than 400 foreign students in attendance, 7 being State supported and 6 privately supported. Four universities—University of California (1,473), Columbia University (1,356), University of Michigan (1,109), and New York University (1,021)—had more than 1,000 foreign students enrolled.

Another significant trend that continued in educational exchange is the large number of students who were self-supporting. Nearly half (45.2 percent) of the foreign students were studying in the United States through private means indicating that more and more individuals throughout the world are taking the initiative in pursuit of education abroad. Schooling for a large number (over 40 percent) of the exchangees was still being made possible through aid from private organizations, educational institutions, and governments.

The open-door survey also gave figures on Americans studying abroad for the 1955–56 academic year because of the length of time required to survey the institutions abroad. The IIE census reported that 9,887 Americans traveled overseas to enroll in 387 institutions in 54 foreign countries during 1955–56.

Figures also were compiled on foreign faculty and doctors in the United States, and on American faculty abroad. More than 1,100 foreign professors representing 61 nations were teaching in American colleges and universities, during 1956–57, while almost 7,000 foreign doctors from 88 countries were training as interns or residents in American hospitals throughout most of the Nation.

The IIE census reported that almost 1,500 United States professors taught or carried out research projects abroad with 781 of them concentrated in European schools.

Rural Development Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "'Point 4' for United States Farms," published in the Washington Post of July 7, 1957. The editorial is timely and informative.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"POINT 4" FOR UNITED STATES FARMS

In the planning of new policies to aid the farmer the rural development program, now still in the experimental stage, may be expected to occupy an important place. This venture in cooperative rehabilitation of depressed agricultural areas has gotten off to a slow start despite the President's enthusiasm for it in the legislative phase. No doubt that was inevitable because of its nature. It involves the cooperation of Federal, State, and local agencies along with many private community groups. Even the administration's rural development program committee is composed of the Under Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, as well as the Small Business Administrator and a member of the Council of Economic Advisers. To move such an unwieldly organization is a task in itself, and to date the teamwork leaves much to be desired.

Nevertheless, rural development committees have been organized in 43 counties, and

pilot projects are underway in 49 counties and 8 other areas in 24 States. The aim in all cases is to encourage and assist local initiative. Special effort is exerted to improve the productivity of farms that do not provide an ample living for their occupants. In some instances income has been substantially increased by shifting farms in the South from cotton growing to dairying. But it is also recognized that, in many instances, the need is to move people off the farms or provide them with part-time nonfarm employment.

If lack of education and poor health are contributing to the malaise of these communities, direct attacks upon those problems are contemplated. In some instances great improvements have followed the location of a new factory in a depressed farming section. Part-time jobs and higher incomes contribute to the solution of many other problems. The basic effort is to develop in these low-income areas a balanced economy.

What the program needs most at this moment is a full-time executive who can direct the efforts of the many varied participants with a large measure of imagination and inspiration. The President promised last October to name the best man he could find in this field, but the 1957 appropriation for this purpose was not sufficient to permit such an appointment. That deficiency has been corrected in the 1958 budget. Urgently needed also is a spirit of accommodation among the agencies that are expected to contribute their technical assistance.

The possibilities of this venture are obviously great. With a little Federal help, the depressed hunting and fishing communities in Alaska could be made independent once more through their arts and handicraft for which there is great demand. Indian reservations could be rescued from their poorhouse atmosphere, and hundreds of low-income farming areas could be made contributing units in the national economy. The venture seems to merit a great deal more drive than has been accorded it to date.

An Important Step Toward Greater Governmental Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, during this session of Congress much has been said in this Chamber about the need for greater economy in Government; much concern has been voiced for the welfare of the taxpayer; much criticism has been leveled against the size of the budget.

Now, I do not believe that any of us in Congress challenge the need for economy in Government. But I do believe that we should back up our words with action.

I have said it before on the floor of the House, and I will repeat it again: I do not believe sound or lasting or sizable economies can be effected by merely chopping away indiscriminately on the budget. I do believe, however, that we can produce large savings for our taxpayers by carrying out the blueprints for governmental economies charted by the Hoover Commission.

Among the many recommendations still awaiting action, one in particular would be an important step toward greater economy in Government. That is the recommendation to establish annual accrued expenditure budgeting—a recommendation embodied in H. R. 8002.

I most certainly will give my support to this measure, and it is my hope that a majority of the House will do the same. Such action would be a significant contribution to the cause of economy.

In this respect, the New York Times of June 27 carried an excellent editorial on this vital subject. I would like to enter that editorial into the RECORD today; it expresses a viewpoint that warrants serious study by every Member of this body.

The editorial follows:

POWER OF THE PURSE

There is a popular illusion that because Congress votes the money necessary to run the Government of the United States it must automatically have control over all expenditures. It doesn't, as the Hoover Commission and many other people long ago discovered.

Today the Rules Committee of the House is scheduled to consider a bill that would go far toward restoring to Congress, where it belongs, the power of the purse. This bill is described by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report as "one of the most fundamental" of all the Commission's recommendations. It is H. R. 8002, to establish annual accrued expenditure budgeting, which means in simple language that Congress would grant money to the departments and agencies to be spent on a yearly basis only.

The bill would do away with carry-overs which represent appropriations, annually running into the billions, made in one year but not spent until the next year or years following. The result has been that Congress itself never knows just how much money is actually being expended within the Government each year or, because of changes of program, for precisely what purposes. The bill would not prevent authorization of long-term contracts, but it would limit the funds actually appropriated to estimated expenditures for the next 12 months. A companion bill passed the Senate earlier this month.

It is particularly odd that the most vociferous opponents of this measure in the House include some Members who beat their breasts most loudly over the size of President Eisenhower's budget. If Congress is really serious about controlling expenditures and is willing to take the responsibility that goes with this power it will pass this bill, which has the endorsement of the President, many leading Members of Congress and thoughtful private citizens.

Rights Bill and the Negro Ballot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Rights Bill and the Negro Ballot," written by David Lawrence, and published in the Washington Evening Star of July 9, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHTS BILL AND THE NEGRO BALLOT—ECONOMIC BETTERMENT LEGISLATION CALLED STRONGER INFLUENCE ON VOTE

(By David Lawrence)

The biggest phony in American politics—the idea that, if you favor particular racial or ethnic groups, you win their votes in the next election—is one of the main fallacies behind the so-called civil-rights controversy in Congress.

Actually, every scientific poll taken shows that the Negro vote in the United States follows the pattern of economic influence as it usually affects other groups of comparable income.

Despite the attitude of the southern Democrats, a heavy majority of the Negroes in the North cling to the Democratic Party. Even in the face of the Republican effort to take credit for Chief Justice Warren's leadership in formulating the desegregation decision handed down in 1954 by the Supreme Court, the Negro voters in the 1956 presidential election gave the bulk of their support to the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

Notwithstanding, also, all the fanfare of Republican speakers who pointed to President Eisenhower's measures in putting integration into effect in the schools of the District of Columbia and other acts and speeches on his part between 1952 and 1956 avowedly opposing segregation, the Negro voters gave the Eisenhower ticket in last year's election only 36 percent of their vote, according to a postelection study and poll made by the survey research center of the University of Michigan and published in March. It backs up the Gallup news release of January 16 last, which showed the Republicans as having obtained 39 percent among Negro voters in 1956.

While both these studies recorded a marked gain over 1952 for the Republicans, it is significant that, according to the University of Michigan study, the Republicans in 1948 had 35 percent of the Negro vote, while in 1956 they got 36 percent—only 1 more percentage point than 8 years before. In fact, the research staff of the Republican National Committee in its summary report of the 1956 election issued in May of this year says:

"In spite of considerable improvement in the Republican vote among Negroes, indications are that more than three-fifths of the Negro voting population continued to vote Democrat in 1956."

Why isn't all the civil rights agitation by the Republicans more successful in winning Negro votes? The answer is to be found in looking at the same Michigan study with respect to low-income groups as a whole. It shows that those voters earning below $2,000 a year—both white and Negro—went from 39 percent Republican in 1948 to 58 percent in 1952 and then to 40 percent in 1956.

But in the wards in and around Chicago which are composed predominantly of Negro voters with low incomes, the election statistics show the Republican percentage of the vote to be 23 percent in 1952 and about 32 percent in 1956. This was a substantial gain, but still the Democrats got 68 percent in 1956.

Looking, however, at the wards with Negroes of higher incomes, the Republican percentage was 40.1 percent in 1952 and 43.1 percent in 1956—a more normal division for a labor group. The Gallup poll shows union labor throughout the country was 39 percent Republican in 1952 and 43 percent Republican in 1956.

The reason the percentages for the Republicans among the lower income Negro voters are below the lower income group in the Nation as a whole is because a higher proportion of individuals with lower incomes is to be found among Negroes than among whites. There is still a feeling

moreover, among Negro voters that the New Deal was an economic emancipation for them. The WPA, for instance, and the vast relief appropriations happened to do more for the Negroes than for any other single group.

Back in 1936, this correspondent interviewed in Pittsburgh the late Robert L. Vann, editor of the largest of the Negro newspapers of the country and director of Negro political activities in Pennsylvania for the Democratic Party. He told me why he had switched to FDR, and I asked him if the Negroes were aiming at social equality. His reply was:

"My goodness, no. We have our own pride of race."

"Then is it economic equality?" I asked.

"That's it; that's it," he replied. "Equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity in jobs is what we really want."

The political party that improves the economic status of the Negro worker will gain far more than the party that doesn't. The civil rights issue is important to the Negro voter, but it will not swing an election for the Republicans in times when there is a recession or depression. That's why, even with the handicap of the southern opposition to civil rights, the Negro voters in the North are still betting on the Democratic Party as their economic savior.

Decisions Emanating From the Board of Veterans' Appeals Make It Necessary That Legislation Be Enacted Clearly Defining Presumptive Periods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, there are pending before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs two bills in which I am very much interested. I refer to H. R. 420 which provides for a presumptive period of 2 years for malignant tumors, and H. R. 924 which provides for a 3-year period.

Presumptive periods are well established in Veterans' Administration law. For example, World War I veterans had until January 1, 1925, to show that a tuberculosis or neuropsychiatric condition was service connected. The medical officials frown upon presumptive periods and I, as a general rule, do not favor them either. However, some of the decisions which are emanating from the Board of Veterans' Appeals make it necessary that some legislation along this line be enacted.

To deny that rigorous basic training in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or the Air Force could aggravate a cancerous tumor is to adopt a position which is ridiculous in the extreme. If decisions of this sort prevail, they will only result in the rankest sort of injustice to all veterans who have the misfortune to suffer from such condition.

I, for one, am willing to go ahead on such legislation and hope that the chairman of the full committee will shortly see fit to schedule action on these bills.

All God's Chillun in Jail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an editorial which appeared in the Richmond News Leader on July 2, 1957. Sardonically, but eloquently, it speaks for itself and its grim humor points up the need for a pondering of the current loss of reason in sociopolitical thinking.

The editorial follows:

ALL GOD'S CHILLUN IN JAIL

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been holding its 48th annual convention out in Detroit, and we have been following the proceedings with a remarkably cheerful eye. There is, in fact, a tie that binds. In any fraternity of oppressed minorities, the Southern States and the NAACP might find a great many things in common.

One notes, for example, the convention's presentation of an achievement award to the Reverend Martin Luther King, "a foremost exponent of the Ghandian philosophy of nonviolent, passive resistance," for his role in the Montgomery bus boycott. In accepting the award, the reverend allowed that passive resistance might even mean going to jail, but he added: "If this is the case, we must with dignity and love fill up the jails of the South.

Well, brother, we would say to the reverend, move over. Several million white folks in these parts share precisely the same point of view. We spell the adjective with an "m," as in massive resistance, but passive or massive, it all amounts to the same thing. And when it comes to dignity and love, let us all go to jail with dignity and love and a few pairs of clean socks besides. Who has a monopoly on dignity and love?

Then there was the closing speech on Sunday by the Honorable Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, who went on at some length about the poor Hungarians. When Hungarians resist oppression, he said, they are called heroes. "But when American Negroes legally and peacefully resist oppression they are called agitators."

Well, Doctor, we would say to the Honorable Wilkins, white southerners have been nursing the same complaint for lo, these many months. The Hungarians are heroes, all right, but when American southerners legally and peacefully resist oppression, we are called bigots, Fascists, anarchists, and reactionaries. Times are tough all over.

"In Hungary," added His Excellency, "men were jailed or fined or sent to labor camps or shot for not obeying some new decree. In some parts of our South, new decrees providing for fines and jail terms are being issued every day as legislatures shout them to passage."

Professor, we would say, let us commiserate together. The only persons threatened with jail right now, for any activity stemming from the school segregation controversy, are 16 white residents of Clinton, Tenn., who face fines and/or imprisonment because they dast to disagree with a judge. There is, to be sure, a small matter of a $100,000 fine hanging over the NAACP for its failure to produce some records before a State court in Alabama, but with the Fund for the Republic standing behind you, who should worry? Meanwhile, in any accounting of people who are not free to protest, the southern white man stands at the head of the list.

The more we have been reflecting on these matters lately, the more inclined we are to say, Let the troops come in. Things have changed since grandpa's day. The reconstruction of 1865–76 was a terrible time, for the United States Government was a primitive and unenlightened crowd a century ago. But suppose Albemarle County were to be occupied by Federal troops come fall? Under the new way of doing things, pretty soon we would all be hip deep in clover—all that army spending, foreign aid, plush new consulates. There would be a risk, of course, that Eisenhower might send in Herr Doktor Conant as head occupier, but that is a small risk to weigh against the blessings that have befallen, Bonn, West Berlin and Tokyo.

Friends, the new Jerusalem awaits. With dignity and love, we will all march off to the jail house together—massively and passively together—all us oppressed minorities singing hallelujah while the troops descend on Charlottesville. Let us get in step, Reverend. Who touches a hair on yon grey head, march on!

Advantages of Friendship Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, we are privileged today to have with us three distinguished guests from the great city of Baltimore: Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., who, as we all know, once served in the other House of the Congress; Thomas J. O'Donnell, director of public relations for the city of Baltimore; and City Councilman Leon Rubenstein, chairman of the council's aviation committee.

Earlier this afternoon a helicopter brought these visitors to Washington, landing them on the Mall only a few blocks from where we are assembled. They had made the trip from Baltimore in less than half an hour, and had covered the distance between Friendship International Airport and Capitol Hill in about 10 minutes, thus dramatizing the advantages offered by Friendship to air travelers of the Washington-Baltimore area.

Mayor D'Alesandro delivered a brief statement after stepping from the helicopter and being greeted by most of Maryland's congressional delegation. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY MAYOR THOMAS D'ALESANDRO, JR., OF BALTIMORE, MD.

The recent inaugural of helicopter service between Friendship International Airport and downtown Baltimore is a most progressive step for our city and the airport.

Institution of similar service between Friendship and Washington and/or direct service between Washington and Baltimore likewise will be of great benefit for all parties concerned.

Rapid helicopter service between Friendship and Washington could mean much to the development of Baltimore's great international airport and, at the same time, result in safer, more convenient travel for Washingtonians.

As mayor of Baltimore, and speaking in behalf of Friendship International airport, which can serve both Baltimore and Washington, it is my earnest hope that a heliport can be established at a convenient location in Washington.

The officials of Chesapeake and Potomac Airways, Inc., deserve commendation for the pioneering spirit they are demonstrating in their efforts to establish this much-needed helicopter service.

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following July 6 newsletter to my constituents:

WASHINGTON REPORT, BY CONGRESSMAN BRUCE ALGER, FIFTH DISTRICT, TEXAS

A roundup of odds and ends seems appropriate for a light legislative week accompanying July 4. First, should Congress be televised? Yes, though its debatable. The pitiless eye of the kinescope and John and Jane Doe at home could straighten out some of our problems. True, grandstanding would be possible—and important unpublicized work by committees might be overlooked. But our government is based on informed public opinion. I'm for citizens knowing what's going on. That's why my extra effort in newsletters, questionnaires, radio, and television. (The 1957 questionnaires are pouring in. It is my hope that every recipient will express himself. The difficulty of "yes" and "no" answers is the same faced by a Congressman in his voting.)

Taxpayers should know how Congress appropriates (spends) their money. It's quite a system. For example, we have passed the conference report of the Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations bills for 1958 after the conferees of the House and Senate adjusted the differences between their respective bills. Let's examine the system, taking a specific item; for example, the salaries and expenses for the Bureau of Employment Security, one of the Labor Departments' many bureaus. Here's how it started:

Item: salaries, expenses, appropriated 1957, $5,558,000; budget estimate 1958, $6,358,000; recommended 1958, $6 million.

Bill compared with: Appropriated 1957, +$442,000; estimated 1958, −$358,000.

Let's review the steps. The House committee studied and held hearings on the budget estimate for $6,358,000, $800,000 more than 1957's appropriation. Responsibly, with "cut the budget" cries from constituents, the committee recommended to the House a total of $6 million, $358,000 below the budget request, but still $442,000 above last year. The House then voted to cut this further to $5,558,000, the same amount as last year. Then the House bill went to the Senate. The Senate committee, too, started with the budget request of $6,358,000 and cut this to $6 million, which the Senate approved. Then the conference of several Senate and House representatives, the conferees, debated and compromised the $5,558,000 House figure and $6 million Senate figure at $5,958,000, which both House and Senate approved.

Now, note the results: 1. More money was appropriated than last year ($400,000) but everyone is on record for economy (both Senators and Representatives cut the figure with which they started). 2. Every Member when necessary can proclaim support for the Government program, but can equally proclaim he's for economy and cutting the budget. 3. The Senate usually adds money and shows less fiscal responsibility than the House. 4. Politicians can demagog and straddle the fence. 5. Politicians are this way because they can't or won't say "No" to constituents' demands for more and more Federal aid. 6. The situation won't change unless people change, both constituents and Congressmen. Such is the appropriation story.

Typical inconsistencies from constituents: 1. Economize, cut the budget, but not my project, pension, or special interest. 2. Get me a tax cut, but give me all (and more) the Government service that I've had in the past.

Floorwork inconsistencies include: 1. Government with a "heart" means a Federal solution with taxpayers' money for every problem—housing, food, employment, wages, financial security, floods, droughts, polio and sickness, charity, relief, countless business operations, etc.—Government has the money and the power, besides it's smart politics, it means votes. 2. A do-something versus do-nothing Congress is measured by the number of new laws passed (every law subtracts a measure of individual freedom)—we can correct anything with another resolution. 3. Everyone's for States rights in principle but not in practice. 4. A nameless vacuum exists into which either Federal or State Government must move—if the State won't, the Federal must (X amendment?). 5. To some in voting it's, "What's politically the right move?" or "My party, right or wrong, but my party." 6. This is just a temporary or emergency measure (this always just precedes its permanent adoption). 7. It may be a bad program, but we must spend this much more to protect what we've already spent. 8. You can't buy friendship, but let's keep trying (foreign aid). 9. Elimination of waste and duplication in government is good (Hoover Commission bills) but * * *? (No political sex appeal; bills are shelved.) One thing I know, the people of Dallas County will be told what's going on in their Government so far as I have the ability and strength. Can we expose and eliminate some of the inconsistencies? It's worth while, isn't it?

Hon. James. A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley at the dedication ceremonies of the New Tomkins Cove School, at Tomkins Cove, N. Y., on June 29, 1957. Tomkins Cove is in the town of Stony Point where Mr. Farley was born and raised and started his early political activities:

This school building is another example of the great progress which we are making in this country and this State in providing for our children fine physical surroundings in which to get an education. But we must never forget that building and grounds and equipment are the incidental, not the principal part of education. They are the frame and not the picture. The case, not the contents.

True education is a matter of the mind and spirit. It is earnest teachers and wholesome children and cooperative parents. It is the lessons that count.

We in New York State can take pride in our schools and in the quality of our education, and in the spirit and training of our teachers.

We have provided for the entire Nation a standard to be lived up to and an example to follow. We are living proof of what a State can do without direction from above or below in building, operating, and maintaining an educational system.

Education is the means by which the lessons taught by the experience of the past are given to the present and the future. It is a business of sharing with our children what we have learned from our elders and from our own contacts with the world which we have passed through.

Of course, as we all know, children do not always take for gospel truth the words of their parents. Sometimes I think that children become wise, perhaps overwise, in their own day and generation and feel that the experience of the past is merely the useless teaching of the elders. However, as those children go out into the world they may well find that what we have learned the hard way might better be taken from us by word of mouth than to be taken by them through the hard knocks of experience.

But we parents have a great opportunity to assist in the process of education by cooperation with teachers. The teachers are those who are skilled in transmitting to the children the lessons that we know out of our own experience.

Another thing that is essential in education is that as society becomes more complex, as the number of people increases, and as the size of our cities grows, education must keep pace with these new conditions. That means that the need for formal planned education becomes greater and greater. There was a day when, as one educator put it, it was enough to have a student at one end of a log and a great teacher at the other. I grant that education without great teachers is not education at all. But there must be more organization now than when those of us who have passed the middle span of life went to school. I, for one, am amazed at the difference in education and particularly in the opportunities offered between the present and those days back there when I went to grade school at Grassy Point and then on to high school in Stony Point. I am not complaining. It was sound education and it served me well. But the children of this day are facing an infinitely more complex world than I faced 50 years ago.

As I see it, there are certain essential qualities that all teaching must have if it is to be in a true sense education.

It must be free of dogma, and it must be free of dogmatic assumptions and arbitrary definitions. By that I do not mean that there are not solid and important lessons that must be learned by diligent application and that do not change with the years. But in the true sense education is the freeing of the mind to reach out and search for truth on its own account.

Next, education must be humane, in the sense that it teaches people true consideration for the rights of others. It ought to teach people to live in society with other people and exercise toward them the kindness and the consideration that ought to

characterize a good neighbor in every walk of life.

Next, education must be useful. I do not mean merely that education ought to teach nothing but the means of making a living. That is essential, too. But to be truly useful education must give the student a broad grasp of the realities and a capacity to understand the outside world in all of its complex manifestations.

Next, I believe that education ought to teach true Americanism. By that I mean that, after our God, and our parents and our children, the Nation comes first. The teaching of Americanism consists of teaching the great truths that America stands for—freedom of religion, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of communication of all sorts. It must teach that our form of government, created out of the wisdom of the ages, is for us the best form of government. It must teach that, despite our consideration for the fact that we are living in a world of neighbors, we shall not be good neighbors if we do not look to the preservation of our country, its prosperity, its solvency, and its strength.

Education must also teach good citizenship. It must teach children what they owe to their communities, the State and the Nation, in the way of observance of the law, in the way of participation in active political affairs, in intelligent voting, and in every conceivable effort to become well informed about the great issues of our time.

But, above all, education must build character. For character is the basic factor upon which our civilization is built. Included in that expression are truthfulness, industry, and personal responsibility, as well as consideration for others and obedience to the law.

Our educational system is so constructed in this country that it is possible for those who wish to combine religion with education are privileged to do so. It is, however, so constructed that within what we call the public schools there shall be no observance of any specific religious belief or ceremony. However, in the last analysis it is possible for all schools to teach character, and character is, of course, a form of religion expressing itself in human conduct.

I would say finally that if I were a teacher I would avoid giving children any idea that all will be well despite what they may contribute. I would teach that all will in the future be exactly what they choose to make it. If they neglect their duty, if they are sometimes less than industrious, if they count on the Government to support them without effort on their own part, then they will find that the very basis of free civilization will crumble away.

For the individual is the basic factor in society. He can make it to be what he will.

No doubt this warning is unnecessary here in this community and in the county which is so truly characteristic of the American way of life. But we must be ever alert and prepared to protect that way of life.

A Prayer by the Chaplain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the prayer offered by the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., Chaplain of the United States Senate, at the 20th anniversary national membership meeting of the National Small Business Men's Association at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington, D. C., on May 21, 1957.

As we of the Senate know, Dr. Harris' words in prayer are truly inspiring. I am pleased to offer this particular prayer for insertion in the RECORD so that it may be available to the wider audience thus afforded.

There being no objection, the prayer was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PRAYER

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris)

Our Father, God, who has made and preserved us a nation—our fathers trusted in Thee and were not confounded. In Thee we trust.

Thou hast taught us to love truth and beauty and goodness. May Thy truth make us free—free from pride and prejudice and from all the ugly sins of disposition that doth so easily beset us.

Lift us above the mud and seum of mere things into the holiness of Thy beauty so that even the common task and the trivial round may be edged with crimson and gold. Lead us in the paths of righteousness for Thy name's sake.

For our faith is all a doubtful thing
Wove on a doubtful loom
Until there comes each showery spring
A cherry tree in bloom.
And Christ who died upon a tree
That death had smitten bare
Comes beautifully back to us
In blossoms everywhere.

Enrich us with those durable satisfactions of life so that the multiplying years may not find us bankrupt in those things that matter most—the golden currency of faith and hope and love.

And in these dangerous and desperate days when the precious things we hold nearest our hearts are threatened by sinister forces without pity or consicence, help us to give the best that is in us against the wrong that needs resistance, for the right that needs assistance, to the future in the distance and the good that we may do.

We ask it in that name that is above every name.

Healthy Oil Industry Vital to the National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Sherman, Tex., Democrat, recently published a thoughtful editorial entitled "Oil Problem Affects You, Too," which gives some striking facts regarding the effect of excessive oil imports into this country.

The information contained in the editorial is worthy of study by all Members of Congress. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sherman (Tex.) Democrat of June 23, 1957]

OIL PROBLEM AFFECTS YOU, TOO

Now the world oil situation will be felt by all Texans—in their pocketbooks.

Not you? You don't own any oil wells or royalties?

Most of us don't. But so much of our State's tax revenue derives from oil that when something happens to oil we wind up having to pay the taxes out of our pockets, sooner or later and one way or the other.

For July, the Texas Railroad Commission has ordered 13 producing days, the low point since the start of World War II. That means just what it seems to mean—instead of wells producing 31 days, they will be allowed to produce only 13 days.

For that 1 month, the tax loss to the State is estimated at $1½ million, as compared to June which has 15 producing days.

Root of the problem is foreign oil imports. The usual seasonal drop in demand for oil is a factor, and so are refinery strikes. But if we were not importing foreign oil, the entire oil industry would be drilling like mad trying to find enough oil to meet United States demand.

But we do have foreign oil imports. They increase every month despite all efforts at voluntary control.

This is not a matter of sympathy for the oil barons. Generally speaking, keeping already discovered oil in the ground won't cost the owners anything. It may mean more money for it, in the long run.

But the losses are there. Few independent operators or small companies can stand arbitrary cuts in their volume of business, and if they are compelled to go borrow money they have to pay high interest rates for it.

Worse, the situation is seriously hampering drilling operations in this country. Between tight money, rising foreign imports, and rising exploration costs as drillers must go deeper and deeper to find new oil reservoirs, it is no wonder that United States drilling activity is sharply down this year.

Less drilling means less oil found, less reserves against the day when we may need domestic oil desperately. It also means unemployment and sales slumps in a vital part of our economy.

It is not a matter of choice. We must keep the oil industry healthy enough to meet all our foreseeable defense needs, plus our normal nondefense needs. We might as well run out of airplanes—or hydrogen bombs—as oil.

So, as Texas taxpayers, and as American citizens, this action of the Texas Railroad Commission and this steadily worsening oil import problem has direct and significant bearing on every one of us. Maybe it's time we insisted these oil imports be brought under reasonable control before it's too late.

What the President Doesn't Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The President Doesn't Know," by Hon. James H. Gray, editor and publisher of the Albany, Ga., Herald, which appeared on the front page of that publication in the issue of July 5, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESIDENT DOESN'T KNOW?

(By James H. Gray)

Many foolish and highly extravagant words have been uttered about the virtues of the administration's so-called civil-rights bill in the past few months. They have advertised the proposed legislation as a triumph of good over evil, as a landmark in the relations of the races in the United States, as a forward step of enormous historic significance. In fact, the impression has been given that, if President Eisenhower would cement his reputation as a man of decency and moderation in public affairs, he could do nothing better than tie his career to this very special concoction of social enlightenment.

But, as the saying goes, the best laid plans of mice and men have a way of falling apart, especially when such plans are heavily freighted with political caprice, and sectional prejudice. And so it has happened in this civil-rights issue. When Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, of Georgia, stated in a speech the other day that this bill would cause "unspeakable confusion, bitterness, and bloodshed in a great section of our common country" because of its provisions of force with respect to the commingling of the races, many thoughtful persons in the Senate pricked up their ears. For our Senator enjoys a national reputation as a distinguished legislator, and he spoke with becoming solemnity and deep conviction.

One result of this heart-felt criticism was that at a subsequent Presidential press conference Mr. Eisenhower was queried as to the Senator's ringing objections to the administration's civil-rights proposals. Was this bill a "potential instrument of tyranny," as Mr. RUSSELL declared? Would raw Federal power be used to club the South into submission? Were unusual powers being granted the Federal Government, which would circumscribe traditional liberties of all American citizens?

The President's remark was a classic in unwitting frankness. He said that he didn't know.

As someone once remarked in disgust, this is where the political tripe really hit the fan smack in the middle. By all that is understandable, if the President does not know, who does? Presumably, Attorney General Brownell, who, apparently, does not think it important to discuss the details of the measure, or at least is reluctant to do so. And, in all probability, this reluctance comes from the knowledge that if the tightly wrapped civil-rights package were undone for public inspection some things would pour out that would emit nauseous odors.

Indeed, we can thank Mr. Eisenhower for his candor, even if we are appalled at his lack of insight and fact on which to base fairminded judgment in this particular. Here is a bill that is supposed to usher in a new era of harmony between the races—relating to a national issue—not just a sectional one—and the President is not acquainted with the details or, at any rate, he is confused.

Well, we are confused, too, Mr. President—and we are downcast at the signs of political irresponsibility which have thus been exhibited. What is plainly indicated is that this measure is a vote trap, which, in other conditions, might easily be relegated to the legislative dump pile if it did not involve matters vital to the American governmental system.

For Mr. Eisenhower's inspection, we should like to suggest that he consider something that has already happened in this civil-rights situation, and not rely on the do-good theories that are swarming around his administration's civil-rights proposals.

What about the school issue in Clinton, Tenn.? There, the State government, which has exclusive right under the Constitution to maintain law and order, to insist on trial by jury, and to punish through its own courts all criminal cases of assault and battery and threats to the safety of an individual, was pushed aside by an injunction of a Federal judge. This judge asserted that there were no limits to his authority, that he could punish anybody, even outside the courtroom, for speaking or urging a course of action that he might not like.

What does all this mean? It means that the Bill of Rights which guarantees free speech, free assembly, and trial by jury, does not stand above the powers of the all-knowing, allwise Federal Government.

As we have noted, this action has already been taken in Cliton, Tenn. It is one of the tragedies of our times that it was allowed to happen. And yet similar procedures are being proposed in the administration's civil-rights bill—to the detriment of constitutional privilege and individual freedom.

Where were the stout defenders of civil rights in this instance? Probably, smirking behind hands to the effect that "we put another one over on the southern dissenters." In short, it matters not that the means being used to change a social order should circumvent traditional rights. What is important, unfortunately, is that the political battle be won, by any expedient, by any club that may be at hand.

But we would like to pose this question, Mr. President: After the battle has been won, over the torn body of the Bill of Rights, what, then, Mr. Eisenhower?

Where do we go from here?

Address of Charles H. Silver, President, Board of Education, at Commencement Exercises of High School of Music and Art, Carnegie Hall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by a very distinguished New Yorker, the Honorable Charles H. Silver, the president of the Board of Education of New York City, delivered to the graduating class in the 21st year of the High School of Music and Art, a most unusual institution in New York of an uplifting and highly patriotic character.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER, PRESIDENT, BOARD OF EDUCATION, AT COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF HIGH SCHOOL OF MUSIC AND ART, AT CARNEGIE HALL, JUNE 25, 1957

Twenty-one years is considered an adequate period for "coming of age," and these ceremonies today, which mark the 21st year of the High School of Music and Art, are an important milestone in the cultural life of our city.

For many reasons we may all be proud of this vast metropolis in which we live, and not the least is the fact that, with all of its bigness and its busyness, it has retained an appreciation of what we call "the finer things in life." It has not lost its ear for music or its eye for art.

Since the founding of this school our world has plunged into the industrial and electronic atmosphere of the atomic age.

The music of the spheres has become the thunderclap of a jet plane breaking the sound barrier.

The art of designing instruments of destruction sometimes seems to have monopolized the galleries of civilization.

In the onslaught of such concentration on the material and physical things of life, when science and the machine appear to dominate the contemporary scene, you may wonder when I say that your school assumes a new and compelling importance. Indeed, I consider the High School of Music and Art, dedicated to the training of talented students for leadership in esthetic achievement, to be of greater importance today than ever before in its distinguished history.

The world is desperately in need of the gifts you bring in times as troubled as ours. We live in an hour of tremendous decision, nerves tense to the breaking point as each day's headlines tell of disturbing dangers in the growing struggle between the free world and the forces of intellectual slavery.

Under stress such as this, mankind might lose its precious sense of stability, perhaps its very sanity, were it not for the blessed solace of music, the soaring inspiration of art. That is your great destiny, to help men find peace in their hearts and among themselves. That is the dedicated purpose of this school, to lift our souls above the shambles of disorder and discontent into a high place where we may glimpse the mind of God.

Twenty-one years ago, when this school began, the lot of the musician and the artist was a meager one. These were ill-paid callings; rich in prestige, but little else. Today, the arts of the theater, and widening opportunities in every branch of entertainment, offer you the chance to make a living as well as a name for yourself.

Television, literally unknown 21 years ago, has come of age with you, and is waiting to bring the talents of many among you to the millions who need the hopes and dreams you will express for them.

There is a certain program on television that some of you may have seen. It starts by showing a news commentator seated at a desk and turning the calendar back to a celebrated day in history. Then he says: "What kind of a day was it? It was a day like any other day, and you are there." The scene changes and the past unfolds, and we watch, reliving a great moment in history.

The past can teach us a great many things, but this is the present. This is June 25, 1957. What kind of a day is it? It is a day unlike any other day in the last 4 years you have spent at high school, and you are here, about to graduate. Now, your scene will soon change as your future unfolds.

You have come to a strange and wonderful turning point in your lives. You are shutting a door forever on a great adventure which you have shared with thousands of other students in one of the most honored academies in the world. More than that, you are opening another door upon even greater adventure, the golden years of further study, the launching of your career, the exciting everyday trials and joys of living. You could not be better equipped for the tasks ahead. Your diploma from this distinguished school is a precious symbol of preparation for the artistic life. Hold it as a torch to light your way.

Carry it with pride as a token of achievement on this unforgettable day when you take into the world all that you have gained from the great tradition of the High School of Music and Art, from its remarkable faculty, and that devoted educator, your principal, Dr. Benjamin M. Steigman.

Even in the short while I have been among you, thrilling to the wonderful program you have presented, I feel a stirring awareness of the very special contribution of this very special school. Our city is far

richer for the existence of the High School of Music and Art, and, as long as I am president of your board of education, its existence as a valued and dynamic part of our school system will never be threatened.

This school of yours has a soul—and it will always remain a part of your own souls wherever the pattern of your destiny may take you. When I say that your school has a soul, I do not mean just the heritage of your glorious history. Your school is more than history, more than stone and steel, piano and paints. Most of all, it is the people who work within its walls. They give it life and meaning—your teachers and your fellow students. And, just as the High School of Music and Art will always be a part of you, you will always be a part of music and art.

The splendid record of this graduating class will be woven into the golden tapestry of your school's enduring achievements. I know how many of you have made outstanding progress in your studies. I know your fine records in winning scholarships and artistic recognition. I know that a world trembling on the brink of potential destruction, preoccupied with the panic of a mad race for mechanical and technical dominance will pause to hear your message.

Above the thunder of arms, your music will rise. Beyond the mushrooming clouds of ill omen, the rainbow of your art will bend. You are the promise of the future—the hope of the world.

William Lyons Phelps, the eminent critic and teacher, once said of the importance of a liberal education: "How essential it is to be able to live inside one's own mind with attractive and interesting pictures on the walls." And, I may add, "With majestic music in your heart."

In congratulating you, the graduating class of the High School of Music and Art, on behalf of the entire board of education, I think it is quite fitting that I congratulate your parents, as well, and your teachers, and your principal. They all have reason to share the pride we feel in the magnificent work you have done to reach this moment of reward.

I thank you, on behalf of all of us, for the moving and heartwarming program you have presented here on the stage of Carnegie Hall, a most proper setting for the perfection of your performance. I wish for each of you, as you go forth with our blessing, the most attractive and interesting of pictures on the walls of your mind—the most majestic music in the secret chambers of your heart.

And I would like to look ahead to another hour, to a far-off day to come, when some all-seeing commentator may turn to the calendar and say: "It is June 25, 1977. What kind of a day is it? It is a day better than other days. It is a brighter, greater tomorrow—enriched by the melody and rhythm, the color and design, you have given to it from the wealth of your talents.

"It is a better world—because you are there."

Pay Increases for Scientific Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Abilene Chamber of Commerce has handed me today, through its president, Mr. Walter F. Johnson, of Abilene, Tex., a copy of its resolution urging higher pay for Government employees with special skills, as recommended by the Cordiner report.

The purpose of the resolution is to enable the Government to attract and retain Government employees with scientific, professional, and technical skills.

The resolution requests that it be brought to the attention of the Senate. As a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I have consistently urged higher pay for Government employees. These increases in compensation are needed now.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the Abilene, Tex., Chamber of Commerce be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas it has been brought to the attention of the Board of Directors of the Abilene Chamber of Commerce that Senate bill 2014 and House bills H. R. 7574 and H. R. 7642 have been introduced in the United States Senate and House of Representatives which would provide compensation plan to pay people what their services are actually worth, instead of paying people on the basis of longevity of service, and in this way encourage and reward outstanding performance, advanced skills, and military careers for high quality personnel; and

Whereas it appears to this board that through modern management of the manpower in the armed services, it can simultaneously reduce the cost and increase the effectiveness of the national defense program; and

Whereas adoption of this program in its entirety will, in our judgment, make it possible to attract, retain, and motivate the scientific, professional, technical, combat leadership and management skills required by our Department of Defense today and in the future: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Abilene Chamber of Commerce, acting by and through its duly elected president, That this organization express its enthusiastic support to the proposed legislation that will establish a method or appropriate funds for compensation of officer and enlisted technicians and civilian personnel in the upper grades in order to attract and retain the competent personnel required by our defense activities; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be brought to the attention of the Texas Congressmen in the United States House of Representatives and in the United States Senate, and further brought to the attention of the members of the appropriate congressional committees considering the proposed legislation dealt with in this resolution.

ABILENE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By WALTER F. JOHNSON,
President.

The Civil-Rights Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two columns which appeared in the Evening Star of June 25, 1957, and July 8, 1957, entitled, respectively, "On Supreme Court Employees" and "Real Issue in Civil-Rights Fight." These outstanding columns were written by Mr. David Lawrence, who is one of the most widely read and distinguished newspapermen of this era.

There being no objection, the columns were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of June 25, 1957]

ON SUPREME COURT EMPLOYEES—UNITED STATES COMMISSION'S REPORT URGING STEPS TO INSURE LOYALTY OF AIDS IS CITED

(By David Lawrence)

Who really writes the decisions of the Supreme Court Justices? Do they use ghost writers, as Presidents occasionally do? Should the public be told what part of a decision is actually written by a Justice and what part is the composition of his law clerk? Is this a part of the right-to-know privileges which the press has been insisting on lately?

These questions have arisen, not only because of the occasional expressions and phrasing which appear in Supreme Court opinions that seem conspicuously different from the accustomed writings of a Justice in his previous career but because the whole subject has just been opened up by the Commission on Government Security.

This Commission of 12 prominent citizens, appointed by the President and by the Senate and the House, issued a recommendation last week that hereafter the judicial branch of the Government should take effective steps to insure that its employees are loyal and otherwise suitable from the standpoint of national security.

Can it be that the Commission was thinking about Alger Hiss, who served in the 1930's as a law clerk to a Supreme Court Justice now dead? There were said to be discussions about this and its implications among the members of the Commission before it reached its conclusions. Here is what the Commission says in its formal report:

"It is fundamental that there should be no reasonable doubt concerning the loyalty of any Federal employee in any of the three branches of the Government. In the judicial branch, the possibilities of disloyal employees causing damage to the national security are ever present. As an example, Federal judges, busy with the ever-crowded court calendars, must rely upon assistants to prepare briefing papers for them.

"False or biased information inadvertently reflected in court opinions in crucial security, constitutional, governmental, or social issues of national importance could cause severe effects to the Nation's security and to our Federal loyalty-security system generally.

"There appears to be no valid reason why an employee of the judicial branch should not be screened, at least as to his basic loyalty to the United States. Certainly, the judiciary proper and the public generally should have the assurance that the men and women who carry the administrative responsibilities of the courts or assist in the preparation of decisions are loyal, dependable Americans.

"The Commission therefore recommends, as in the case of the legislative branch, that the judicial branch and the executive branch endeavor to work out a program under which adequate investigation or screening can be provided for all judicial employees."

One member of the Commission on Security recorded a vigorous dissent on this phase of the problem. He is James P. McGranery, formerly a Federal judge and later Attorney General in the Truman administration. He writes that "no evidence was presented at Commission conferences tending to indicate" that there ever was any

judge on the bench anywhere in the Federal courts who was thus imposed upon.

It will be news to many people that the Supreme Court Justices are dependent to some extent on their law clerks in writing their opinions. For years it has been an open secret around Washington that the big eastern law schools selected their top scholars for a year's service as law clerks to Supreme Court Justices. Today, when so-called liberalism amounts almost to a fanaticism, some of the law-school professors engage in active campaigns to advance publicly the views with which they indoctrinate their students.

The book on the fifth amendment written by Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School was exploited and widely distributed by the "Fund for the Republic." In its annual report, the same foundation admits that, but of the $5 million it has already spent, much of it has been for distributing literature of this kind and other educational materials on the subject of communism and congressional investigations. What part do such so-called liberal law professors play in selecting law clerks for Supreme Court Justices?

Maybe the Congress ought to appropriate enough money so that each Justice of the Supreme Court could enjoy the bipartisan luxury of 2 so-called liberal and 2 so-called conservative law clerks. Maybe the Supreme Court opinions would be better balanced then. At least, they might be more accurate as to facts. Last week, for example, Chief Justice Warren's opinion criticizing congressional investigations said that "in the decade following World War II, there appeared a new kind of congressional inquiry unknown in prior periods of American history" and that "this new phase of legislative inquiry involved a broad-scale intrusion into the lives and affairs of private citizens."

Just why it was not realized by someone who went over the manuscript that Representative MARTIN DIES, Democrat, conducted for 7 years—from 1938 to 1945—exactly the same kind of hearings for the House Committee on Un-American Activities as were conducted "in the decade following World War II" is somewhat puzzling. Did the law clerks fail to read anything about those 7 years of the Dies committee? What the Justices evidently need to worry about in connection with law clerks is not security but accuracy.

[From the Washington Evening Star of July 8, 1957]

REAL ISSUE IN CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT—THREATENED USE OF FORCE TO OBTAIN CONFORMITY ON PROBLEM IS DECRIED

(By David Lawrence)

What is the real point at issue in the battle over civil rights now being waged in the Senate? It is the possible enactment of a law threatening the use of military force in order to obtain a conformity of viewpoint on social problems. It is the substitution of a program of compulsion and coercion for faith in the voluntary processes of reason.

It involves not solely a means of assuring voting rights—for many Negroes do vote in the South and several have been elected to city councils there—but a question of reaching into the whole social order in the South with laws authorizing the use of military power to secure obedience to the Supreme Court's decision on school integration. Yet the Court itself admitted in the same decision that it was influenced primarily by sociological doctrines rather than constitutional precedents.

For the school question and the voting problem are interwoven in the civil rights controversy and, curiously enough, the remedy proposed would take away the civil right of a citizen to a jury trial, the principle of which is imbedded in the Constitution.

Just because there have been a few instances of racial prejudice in some jury trials in the South, it now is argued by various Members of Congress and executive officials in their speeches that none of the tens of millions of people in the South can be trusted to give an impartial trial by jury.

This is a blanket indictment more severe than ever has been leveled in America against a substantial number of fellow citizens by the representatives of another segment of the Nation.

For the proposal implies that because the processes of reason are beset with difficulties there must be resort to the theory that "the end justifies the means."

This same thing happened once before in perhaps the most shameful chapter in American history when, after the War Between the States had ended and a general amnesty had been proclaimed, military units from the North were sent into the legislative chambers of the southern States. At the point of a bayonet, ratification of the 14th amendment to the Constitution was compelled in 10 States after each had rejected it. Southern Members of Congress, thereupon were arbitrarily disqualified from voting in either the House or the Senate, notwithstanding the fact that previously the southern Members and their legislatures had in due form approved the 13th amendment abolishing slavery and this action had been accepted as legal ratification. No historian of standing in either the North or the South disputes these facts.

For 90 years there has been a virtual truce in the northern and southern conflict as to the scope of the 14th amendment, and the racial problems it presumably covered. Meanwhile, there has been nevertheless a gradual evolution with tremendous progress toward a better understanding between the races. The doctrine of separate but equal facilities in public schools which was upheld as the "supreme law of the land" until 1954 was a kind of modus vivendi—a compromise between apparently irreconcilable viewpoints yet one that actually encouraged more and more flexibility through the years.

Now the truce has been broken and, instead of trying to adjust conflicting viewpoints by letting each State or each community within a State decide for itself how it shall move toward the solution of its own social problems—a basic American concept of self-government—the confusing court decisions and the threat of coercive civil-rights legislation are retarding progress. Impatiently the doors are opened to bitter resentments which will grow in intensity because compulsion is the wrong way to deal with social problems in a democracy. Inevitably also there will be revived the whole controversy over the unmoral and illegal way by which the 14th amendment itself was forced into the Constitution in the first place.

"I speak in a spirit of great sadness," said Senator RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, the other day in the Senate. "If Congress is driven to pass this bill in its present form, it will cause unspeakable confusion, bitterness, and bloodshed in a great section of our common country. If it is proposed to move into the South in this fashion, the concentration camps may as well be prepared now because there will not be enough jails to hold the people of the South who will oppose the use of raw Federal power forcibly to commingle white and Negro children in the same schools and places of public entertainment."

Thus after nearly a century of debate, America is again hearing speeches in Congress about the use of military forces to back up social viewpoints. This comes, ironically enough, at a time when spokesmen for the United States in the world at large are appealing constantly for the renunciation of the use of force as a means of dealing with human friction.

Idaho Power Co. Fast Tax Writeoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. CARROLL
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, on previous occasions I have had printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the skilled writing of Robert H. Hansen, editorial writer of the Denver Post, concerning the Idaho Power Co. fast tax writeoffs. The last of the series of articles by this outstanding newspaper writer, culminating weeks of effort in trying to give the people the information about this most important project, was published in the Denver Post of June 26, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOP POWER POLICY PERILED BY WRITEOFFS

(By Robert H. Hansen)

The $65 million fast tax write-offs which Idaho Power Co. finally renounced are important not so much because of the Hells Canyon controversy, but for three more fundamental reasons.

1. Administration approval of the Idaho Power application, over the strong objections of several influential Senators and the Secretary of Interior, finally sparked an indignant Congress into action on the entire $23 billion fast writeoff program.

2. The Idaho Power case for the first time illustrates what a windfall fast tax writeoffs are for regulated private utilities, and how they affect electric power financing, rates, and dividends.

3. Public realization of these enormous tax concessions may finally knockout the battered partnership policy. That policy was devised by the Eisenhower administration as a compromise—loaded on the private utility side—on the public versus private power issue.

Of course, it is because Hells Canyon is the symbolic battleground of public versus private power that the Idaho Power case has assumed such importance and caused such furor.

Politically, public power groups seized on the utility's writeoffs for two smaller Hells Canyon dams on the Snake River to bolster their last chance of passing a high Federal dam instead. Their unexpected 45-to-38 Senate victory now sends the bill to the House.

CRITICISM OF WRITEOFFS DATES TO 1948

The Democratic Party picked up the issue, expanded it to the whole field of water and power development in a stepped-up assault on the partnership policy, and carried it over to an investigation of the public costs, discriminatory aspects and monopolistic tendencies of the entire fast writeoff program.

And two 1960 Democratic presidential hopefuls, Senators KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, and MORSE, of Oregon, jumped in to enhance their own statures by leading the plight on the principles involved.

Actually, congressional criticism of fast tax writeoffs dates to 1948, when a Senate committee headed by Senator BREWSTER (Republican) of Maine scored the World War II program as legal profiteering.

In 1951, even as the Korean War raged, a House committee called the revival of wartime writeoffs the biggest bonanza that ever came down the Government pike. Adminis-

tration of the program was called unsound and detrimental to the public interest, and characterized by confused thinking on the proper use of fast writeoffs for incentives to private industry.

The defense justification of many writeoffs was questioned, together with the need for large tax concessions to private industry for normal civilian expansion, planned in many cases before the Korean War ever started.

Steel writeoffs drew heavy criticism because the pattern set in the steel industry closed the door, even before the program began, on the prospect that small business or competitive enterprises would yet receive any real benefits.

THREE BECAME MILLIONAIRES ON $600 INVESTMENT

The committee cited several examples of fast tax writeoff approvals that it said almost defy belief. One involved three men who became millionaires with an original investment of $600, a fast tax writeoff, and a Government loan of $8 million.

Another company estimated its gross annual profits for 5 years at $18 million, of which $14 million a year would be exempt from income taxes under a fast writeoff.

Fast tax writeoffs, the committee concluded, were discriminatory hidden subsidies, with vital effect on prices, and involving, as they do, billions of taxpayers' dollars.

But the committee's eight specific legislative recommendations to end misuse of fast tax writeoffs and abuse of the original intent of Congress largely went unheeded, despite periodic flareups from Senators MORSE, MAGNUSON, JACKSON, DOUGLAS, CARROLL (then a candidate), and others.

Last year Virginia's two conservative Democrats, Senators BYRD and ROBERTSON, joined the growing congressional unrest. They urged denial of the Idaho Power writeoffs and opposed the reopening of the steel writeoff program, pending a complete review by their finance and defense production committees.

Congressional "heat" was finally on in earnest. The administration cut down sharply on fast writeoffs, which had boomed from a 1953–54 lull into a $3.4 billion program again by early 1956. The steel program remained closed, and $2.4 billion in steel writeoff applications was rejected.

Then on April 29, only days before Senator BYRD's tax-writing committee was to open an investigation of fast tax writeoffs, the Idaho Power writeoff was approved. Some of the most powerful men in the Senate were outraged, including Senator BYRD, who declared:

"I believe this is an utterly indefensible act, because the law providing for the rapid writeoff depreciation was intended to apply only to those industries which were engaged in defense operations. A public utility is guaranteed its profits."

In 2 days of hearings, the budget-conscious Virginia conservative built a strong case against fast writeoffs except for strict new defense items.

Treasury Secretary Humphrey supported BYRD's proposed repeal and testified, for example, that the total program will cost the Nation's taxpayers $3 billion in interest alone. Three years of peacetime extension of the Korean wartime program, it was estimated, will cost $1 billion.

Senator BYRD drew heavily from a report on the fast writeoff program made last December by the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

That report contained many of the same charges of the 1951 house committee, questioned success of the freight-car program, and asked whether there was a need for the primary aluminum program in the first place.

The Nation's taxpayers, it was estimated, will have to pay $5 billion to $6 billion more in taxes between 1950–60 to make up for revenue lost by fast writeoffs.

Senator KEFAUVER's antitrust subcommittee soon began an inquiry into the operations of fast tax writeoffs in the electric-power industry, their monopolistic tendencies and effects on financing, rates, and dividends. In all, 927 electric-power writeoffs for $3.3 billion have been granted, including, for example, 28 writeoffs for $103 million issued to Virginia Electric Power Co. Another $1 billion worth were denied.

The chief accountant of the Federal Power Commission, Russell Rainwater, verified Senator MORSE's calculation that the Idaho Power writeoffs would have been worth $339 million to the company at the end of 50 years, and would have cost the public $83 million in interest.

These estimates, incidentally, date back 3 years and still stand up despite desperate Republican and private power efforts to knock them down.

It was the patient probing of Senator KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, which brought out that Gordon Gray, the new head of the Office of Defense Mobilization, approved the Idaho Power writeoffs against the express opposition of Interior Secretary Seaton.

INVESTIGATION REACHES INTO WHITE HOUSE

The Byrd committee earlier established that Gray also acted without knowing of the urgent request for denial or delay pending congressional review, made to ODM last year by 19 Senators and Congressmen.

But when Senator KEFAUVER turned up the names of four White House advisers who were implicated in the Idaho Power decision, the administration rang down a curtain of "executive privilege" to block testimony about their roles.

The four were Sherman Adams, assistant president; Gerald Morgan, attorney to the President; Gen. Wilton Persons, congressional liaison officer; and Howard Pyle, State and local liaison man.

Sensing another Dixon-Yates deal (which Ike finally had to cancel when "conflict of interest" was uncovered), Senator KEFAUVER dug deeper—into Wall Street transactions in Idaho Power stock, into FPC control of writeoffs as they affect dividends, into Idaho Power's repeated claims that private Hells Canyon dams would not cost the taxpayers a dime, into why ODM reopened the power writeoff program in late 1955 despite repeated protests from the Interior Department.

James P. Madigan, legal expert for the Library of Congress, testified that the Idaho Power writeoffs appear "contrary to the legislative purpose and spirit" of the law. Some private power facilities, he conceded, might qualify for fast tax writeoffs from a defense standpoint, "but not in this particular case."

Charles H. Kendall, General Counsel of the ODM, disagreed, but earlier he had acknowledged that some private power writeoffs were denied since January 1, 1955—about 4.6 million kilowatts' worth against 13 million kilowatts approved for fast tax writeoffs. Senator KEFAUVER brought this out in an attempt to discredit the claim that Idaho Power was "morally" entitled to fast tax writeoffs "because all the other utilities got them."

Kefauver investigators learned that fast writeoffs, although they are not supposed to affect dividends, do work in such a way as to increase dividends substantially, legally, and untaxably. And while fast writeoffs do save utilities millions of dollars in interest they would have to pay on money borrowed for expansion, they do not directly result in lower utility rates.

If anything, fast tax writeoffs would appear to raise utility bills by increasing the rate base, despite industry claims that lower operating costs from fast writeoffs tend to reduce rates for their consumers.

So a group of Senators led by Senator MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, introduced legislation to force deduction of fast writeoff benefits from utilities' rate bases, passing these savings on to consumers in lower electric bills despite FPC and court decisions to the contrary.

In the House, an Oregon Democrat introduced a bill to repeal Idaho power's writeoff, and the revocation was supported by the lone Oregon Republican who survived the 1956 Democratic sweep attributed at least in part to the Hells Canyon issue.

Then legislation authorizing a high Federal Hells Canyon Dam instead of the 2 private Idaho power dams was brought to the Senate floor by Senator JOHNSON, Democrat, of Texas, majority leader, and Senator MURRAY, Democrat, of Montana, chairman of the Senate Interior Committee.

HIGH DAM PASSED DESPITE RENUNCIATION

The 28 Senators who cosponsored the high dam bill pinned their previously dim hopes of reversing last year's 10-vote defeat on the fast tax writeoff issue.

Several Republicans, including Senator THYE, Republican, of Minnesota, indicated they would switch this year "and vote against the writeoff." On the eve of the Senate vote, Idaho Power Co. announced it would turn back its $65 million writeoffs. But the high dam passed anyway by 7 votes, sending the bill on to an uncertain fate in the House under the cloud of a likely Presidential veto.

Meantime, Senators BYRD, KEFAUVER, and MORSE keep on plodding, deeper and deeper into Hells Canyon, fast tax writeoffs, and administration "favoritism" of big business.

Importation of Crude Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on July 2, 1957, there appeared in the Houston Press an article entitled "Hoover Says We Must Import a Lot of Crude." It relates to foreign oil importations, and was written by Mr. Neil McNeil, an able Washington news writer.

The article points out the influential role of Herbert Hoover, Jr., in the importation of foreign oil in increasing amounts into the United States. It raises the question as to whether Mr. Hoover is influenced by oil holdings in the Middle East.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOVER SAYS WE MUST IMPORT A LOT OF CRUDE

(By Neil McNeil)

WASHINGTON, July 2.—The man who may have a major influence on an administration decision on oil imports, Herbert Hoover Jr., already is on record with the prediction the United States must import appreciable quantities of foreign crude for years to come.

Hoover, who resigned February 1 as Under Secretary of State, is slated to have a major role in the oil import investigation ordered by the President Wednesday.

A six-man Cabinet Committee, headed by Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks, will look into the situation and report back to Eisenhower whether large imports endanger the national security by harming the domestic industry.

Hoover has not been officially named to any position with the inquiry. But he's conferred with Secretary of State John F. Dulles about the oil situation. Dulles is a member of the Cabinet Committee.

State Department sources said today that although Hoover is using an office at the Department his mission is to work with White House officials on the oil situation.

And White House Press Secretary James Hagerty has announced he's sure Hoover's advice will be sought by the Cabinet group.

Speaking last year before the Interstate Oil Compact Commission in Dallas, Hoover made his position on imports clear.

"The United States petroleum situation today involves the balancing of rapidly increasing consumption against available production and reserve. And yet domestic reserves are increasing at a relatively slow rate.

"Therefore, our import policy must be one that will actively encourage the maximum practical effort toward oil exploration here at home through the use of constantly improving techniques in discovery and production.

"In the years to come we will probably require appreciable quantities of petroleum from friendly countries elsewhere."

Hoover, himself an oilman, was accused during the 1956 presidential campaign of having oil interests in the Middle East. Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, made the allegation, which was denied.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two items from the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier. One is an editorial under the dateline of July 4, 1957, entitled "Unless Citizens Fight Against Tyranny Independence Will Perish in the United States of America." The other is a column written by Dr. John Temple Graves and entitled "South's Most Civil Right Is Right To Be Let Alone." This column appeared in the News and Courier on July 8, 1957.

The News and Courier, which is one of the Nation's most outstanding and outspoken newspapers, is ably edited by Mr. Tom Waring, who has rendered a great service to the public in recent years through his editorial writings and his speeches on the subject of preserving constitutional government in America.

Dr. Graves is one of the South's most distinguished newspaper men, and he has long stood in the forefront of the fight to preserve constitutional government.

There being no objection, the editorial and column were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of July 8, 1957]

SOUTH'S MOST CIVIL RIGHT IS RIGHT TO BE LET ALONE

(By John Temple Graves)

"The right to be let alone."

That is our most civil liberty.

Remember it and be of good cheer as Senators from the South filibuster against the so-called civil liberty bill.

Civil liberty is indivisible.

It is the whole Constitution, the whole ideal. When you sacrifice one part for another you decrease and endanger the total. When the right to jury trial is impeached to save the right to vote there is net loss, and the same loss runs the whole constitutional gamut.

Basically, all American rights are civil rights. States rights are civil. The rights of Congress against the Supreme Court are civil, and of the Executive against each, and vice versa.

And when the Federal Government (or the State) invades areas never intended or authorized there is violation of the most civil right of all—the right to be let alone.

If the Founding Fathers made a mistake, if they failed to look ahead enough, if they should have anticipated a future so social and interrelated that nothing short of a totalitarian central government and law would serve, we should face it and get a new Constitution. Certainly we should not undertake to cover the situation by ignoring the Constitution in one place and insisting on it in another, sacrificing one civil right to make another safe.

Most of us believe no mistake was made, that liberty and justice can still be had in the great terms of the Constitution.

If the President could just be reached on this jury-trial issue in the civil-force bill, many of us who go on liking him believe he would see the South's case as the Nation's. The Baltimore Sun nails it thus: "The injunction contemplated would forbid actions already forbidden under Federal criminal laws. This being so, the injunction procedure is obviously a judicial shortcut, and one which would deprive those cited for contempt of a right which would be guaranteed them under the Federal Constitution (if they) were indicted for the same offense. It is proposed to assure one right—the right to vote—by ignoring another right—the right to a jury trial."

As pointed out here many times, jury trials should be stretched just as far as contempt is stretched, you would think. The civil-rights bill would stretch contempt into areas that ordinarily involve jury trial. It should not be permitted to deny jury trial, therefore, on the plea that contempt cases don't allow for them.

This column was guilty of a below-below-the-belt when it undertook to make something of the fact that Chief Justice Warren doesn't indicate his religion in Who's Who. I think the Chief Justice shows lack of moorings, but he happens to be a Baptist and, I believe, in good standing. Religion has nothing to do with his case.

Perhaps his trouble is California. He was born in moorless Los Angeles, city of a few angels and more lunatics of left and right. Yet his career has been in San Francisco, gem of the West, compact amid its surrounding waters, moored to much that's basic and fine.

[From the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of July 4, 1957]

UNLESS CITIZENS FIGHT AGAINST TYRANNY INDEPENDENCE WILL PERISH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The 181st anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 today finds independence at low ebb in these United States.

There is a real question as to whether Americans of this day are capable of keeping whatever measure of independence is left to them, let alone restoring lost liberties.

The original Independence Day was celebrated a long time ago.

The national memory of what it means is dim. There is a certain amount of speechifying by political leaders. And the White House will hand reporters a mimeographed Fourth of July statement, written by one of the President's ghostwriters.

But the deep meaning of the day will not be especially clear to millions of Americans who are looking forward to a long weekend at the beach or other pleasure resorts.

There is no reason why the Fourth of July should be a long-faced affair. Nor is there any reason why it should be just another holiday—another day for family picnics, parties and romping in the surf.

Except for a few lines of it embodied in newspaper stories, no one will read the Declaration of Independence. And yet our ancestors read it with the greatest care, for it touched their lives.

It is an angry document, full of resentment toward a government that was steadily pushing Americans into a corner. Finally, in the Declaration, the people said they had enough.

Throughout June 1957 the American people were being pushed into a corner, precisely as the people of the province of South Carolina and 12 other colonies were being pushed in the broiling summer of 1776. No one attacked Sullivan's Island last month, except possibly mosquitoes. But liberties of South Carolinians and their fellow citizens in 47 States were under attack.

Who knows ti? Who cares? Today Fort Moultrie, which should be a national shrine, is padlocked and the grounds overgrown with grass. Today, grass is growing over American liberties.

Americans cared in 1776. Of George III, the signers said: "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world."

And so they submitted the facts. They said that King George "has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation; for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever."

Does this have a familiar ring?

Is not the Congress, on recommendation of the President, preparing a civil-rights bill that would deny trial by jury to some Americans? Isn't the Supreme Court striking down State laws, abolishing important laws of Congress and altering fundamental forms of our State and Federal governments? Isn't the Supreme Court legislating school laws for the South?

The answer to all these questions is "yes."

The Declaration of Independence says that it is the duty of a free people, when a design to reduce them to despotism has been perceived, to provide new guards for their future security.

That is what Americans living in 1957 must do. There is no need for flag-waving demonstrations—nothing of that sort. All that is needed is for millions of Americans to halt one moment, in the midst of holiday pleasure, to resolve that they will support their

elected representatives in setting up new guards against tyranny.

Unless there is such a resolve, there won't be much independence to celebrate in the years ahead.

Military Construction Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PORTER HARDY, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, the vote on final passage of the military construction bill is scheduled for Wednesday, July 10. Prior to that vote, action will have to be taken on the Arends amendment which proposes to strike out section 411. I want to reemphasize my conviction that the Arends amendment should be defeated and that section 411 should be retained.

This section is essential for retaining the congressional authority which is ours. If the Arends amendment is adopted, the effect will be not only to delegate congressional authority to the administration, but it will make administrative action final and will constitute blanket approval of administrative judgment before the decisions are made.

Some of the discussions of this matter have been confusing and have erroneously contended that section 411 affects the fundamental philosophy concerning the participation of Government in business-type activities. I subscribe wholeheartedly to the general objective of eliminating governmental business activities which compete with private enterprise. Section 411 is in complete consonance with that general objective because it is not concerned with philosophy, it is merely concerned with the exercise of judgment.

I believe section 411 is highly desirable and that it will preserve for the Congress the right to check on the judgment of administrative officials. This section in no way reflects upon any official. The Congress has heretofore authorized, in most cases on an individual line-item basis, all of the business-type activities conducted by the military departments. We have appropriated the funds to finance the construction of buildings occupied by these activities, to purchase the equipment and to pay the employees. Defense Department officials have justified these authorizations and these appropriations year after year with arguments supporting their continuance. It has always been our responsibility to approve the establishment and financing of these functions, and to be consistent we must retain the right to require that those which should be conducted in the public interest are continued. We have in the past, and we should in the future, refused to give the military departments blanket authority to establish business-type activities without approval by the Congress. Neither should we give them blanket authority to discontinue such activities and to dissipate the assets involved without at least retaining an opportunity for congressional review.

I hope the Members of the House will join me in resounding defeat of the Arends amendment.

World Integration—A New Challenge to United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the former Secretary of the Air Force, the Honorable Thomas K. Finletter, recently delivered a challenging commencement address before the graduating class of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. His address was entitled "World Integration—A New Challenge to United States Foreign Policy." I consider this address to be very germane to the subject matter which is now before the Senate, namely, the consideration of civil-rights legislation.

I ask unanimous consent that this provocative and significant address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD INTEGRATION—A NEW CHALLENGE TO UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

(By Thomas K. Finletter)

I deeply appreciate the honor of speaking to this graduating class at Hampton Institute as it finishes its academic career.

All graduating classes in this year 1957 face responsibilities far beyond the normal, far beyond the personal problems of making a career and of living one's life with which all men and women have to deal as they finish their formal education. A graduating class in the United States today faces the special duty of helping its country in a time of trial and danger.

But, you may ask, what have you to do with these great problems of government and of foreign affairs. Is not that for the men in Washington and in our foreign embassies to handle? What, you may ask, can young men and women just graduating from college do about such momentous matters?

True, the Government of the United States is in the hands of older people and is not being run by the graduating classes of 1957. But it is not true that the citizenry, whether they be new graduates or something else, can divorce themselves from the problems of the country. Public opinion, the thinking and emotions and determination of the people, particularly those who have had the benefit of higher education, must and does have a great influence on foreign policy. Indeed I do not believe that our country can have a proper foreign policy without the interest and support and participation of all the important groups in the country. In a democracy such as we have the good fortune to live in, foreign policy is essentially the expression of the will and character of the people.

This idea has been called the principle of the river and the source. Just as a river cannot rise higher than the place where it begins, so the foreign policy of a free people cannot be better than the quality of the people. It cannot be stronger than the intensity and the wisdom which the people bring to bear on the problems with which the Government must deal.

Now it is this foreign policy of ours about which I want to talk to you today.

Let me start by pointing out to you that when you think of our foreign policy problems today, you must think of them as being made up of three broad divisions. I intend to concentrate my remarks today on one of these divisions only. But I must mention the other two in order to keep our discussion in perspective.

The first of these three divisions is the pursuit of peace; or, to put it in more earthy terms, how the United States is to defend its interests abroad in the hydrogen age without getting the country into an atomic war which will destroy us whether we win it or not.

The second grand division of our foreign policy is geographical. It has to do with our so-called Grand Alliance, the alliance of the North Atlantic, of which the North Atlantic Treaty is the legal core. The North Atlantic Treaty, as you know, is an agreement signed by the United States and most of the countries of Europe whereby each of us has agreed that we will all fight together against Russia, if Russia attacks any one of us.

Important as is this business of defending ourselves against a possible Russian atomic attack, this is not the question which I intend to talk to you about today. Rather I intend to talk of the third of these three major divisions of foreign policy, the problem of the relationship of the United States with the peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa.

This latter problem is as difficult as any we are facing in the foreign field. In many ways, it is the most difficult. Whether it is the most important I am not sure. One cannot say that any 1 of these 3 main divisions is any more important than the others. We have to handle all three of them if we are to have a successful foreign policy. But, in any case, I am certain of one thing. It is that there is no possibility of our having a foreign policy which will safeguard the interests of the American people properly unless we handle successfully our relations with the peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa.

Let me now get on with discussing this question.

There are today two major revolutions with which our country has to deal in its foreign affairs.

One is the technical revolution which has come about from the fact that man has been able to release the power of the atom. In this revolution, which is of a material kind, the United States has done well. We are keeping apace with our rivals and our possible enemies in the race for bigger and better fission and fusion bombs, and more of them, and in the airplanes and guided missiles to carry these horrid weapons against any enemy who might attack us. Also, we have some official plans for the eventuual conversion of the power of the atom for peaceful purposes.

However, there is a second revolution which affects us seriously, in the handling of which we are not doing so well. This is the revolution of the formerly colonized peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa.

This is the part of the world where Western mililtary power created the condition known as colonialism, which is another way of saying that many of the peoples of this vast area were under the mililtary and political dominion of the coutries of the West.

The day of colonialism, of the domination of all this part of the world by the white man, has come to an end. The revolution of

which I speak is irresistible. The peoples of these vast areas are determined to be independent and to follow their own destiny, and their determination is not to be denied.

Let us understand how important are all this part of the world and the peoples who live there. Let us understand also the particular problems which affect the people who live in these wide areas of the world. All these peoples are nonwhite. They are of different races from the peoples of Western society. And they are numerous. These peoples, when we include the Chinese who have fallen under the Communist yoke, make up two-thirds of the people of the world. They amount to nearly 1½ billion human beings.

The people who make up this two-thirds of the world have not had in recent centuries anything like the position they are going to have in the world of the future. The world has been through a period of so-called white supremacy, when the man with the white skin has had a rule over those of different race and different color far beyond that to which his culture or his numbers entitle him.

This day has changed and any foreign policy, or any national policy, of our country which fails to understand that this change has taken place for good is a policy which is doomed to failure.

Now, this question of our relationships with the peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa brings me back to what I said a moment ago about the river and the source, that is to the proposition that what a people is at home governs what they are able to do abroad.

In a sense, the problem of the relationships of our country with the peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa is the problem of integration.

I would define integration in a broad sense as the necessity for making those changes in status which will guarantee legal, political, and psychological equality and equal economic opportunity to peoples who previously were in a lower status position.

This is a challenge we are facing within our own country in the struggle to create the proper status for all Americans regardless of their race or color. It is the same question which we are facing in the foreign field. For the great obstacle which is tormenting the peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa and is making them hesitate to work in the cause of freedom, is their feeling that the countries of the West still continue, if not the practices of colonialism, the colonialist attitude which looks down upon them because of their race and their color.

This problem of status is sometimes stated as the hatred of the peoples of the formerly colonized areas for colonialism or imperialism. For centuries, the peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa have been colonized by the western powers, by which we mean that the superior military weapons of the western countries have enabled them to dominate the peoples who lived in the continents outside of Europe and of North America. Colonialism, in short, is the use of military power to create political dominion, and this is what the peoples of all these vast areas of the world have been suffering for some time.

Now military conditions have changed. No longer are China and these other formerly colonized countries weaklings to be carved up at the will of the Western Powers. In China and in all the rest of these areas the revolution of which I have spoken is irresistibly demanding freedom for the peoples who were formerly colonized. This revolution is in many respects like our own Revolution here in the 18th century, out of which came the United States of America.

But, you may say, is not the right to independence of all these formerly colonized peoples being rapidly established? This is true. Nevertheless, there remain huge chasms of lack of understanding between the United States and the other western countries on the one part, and these peoples of the formerly colonized areas on the other part.

Of all the factors which make up this lack of understanding, the most powerful one is the difference of race and color. The most powerful force making for misunderstanding between the peoples of the West and the peoples of Asia, the Near East, and Africa is the survival of the notion of racial superiority or inferiority, the persistence of the horrid thought that men are to be treated differently because their race or their color is different.

I emphasized a moment ago that military superiority was the core of the colonial idea. But there is another idea which ranks with it and is inextricably entwined in the colonial approach. It is that the people of a colonizing country are superior to the people who are or were colonized. This is another way of saying that there still persists the notion of racial and color supremacy as between those men of Western society and those of different race and color in Asia, the Near East and Africa. This notion is rapidly disappearing, but we would be deceiving ourselves if we were to think that it has been eliminated from the international scene. Not until this problem is solved, not until there is an integration of thought and understanding and respect between the countries of the West and the peoples of Asia, the Near East and Africa, will there be hope for a successful foreign policy by the United States in all these vast areas of the world.

If any of you are not convinced that this idea of racial supremacy is at the core of the colonial idea, let me quote to you from a recent speech by a great friend of the United States, Carlos Romulo, the delegate from the Philippines, in his opening speech to the Bandung Conference.

This is what General Romulo said:

"I have said that besides the issues of colonialism and political freedom, all of us here are concerned with the matter of racial equality. This is a touchstone, I think, for most of us assembled here and the peoples we represent. The systems and manners of it have varied, but there has not been and there is not a western colonial regime which has not imposed, to a greater or lesser degree, on the people it ruled, the doctrine of their own racial inferiority. We have known, and some of us still know, the searing experience of being demeaned in our own lands, of being systematically relegated to subject status not only politically and economically and militarily—but racially as well. Here was a stigma that could be applied to rich and poor alike, to prince and slave, boss man and workingman, landlord and peasant, scholar and ignoramus. To bolster his rule, to justify his own power to himself, Western white man assumed that his superiority lay in his very genes, in the color of his skin."

The Russians understand this: and they have been making a major drive to win the minds of the people of Asia, the Near East, and Africa. The Russians' technique is to identify themselves with hostility to colonialism and imperialism and affirmatively to put Russia on the side of partnership, that is of integration, with the people of all these formerly colonized areas. No wonder the Russians have been doing so well with all these people. The United States must do something about this. We cannot let the Communists win this battle, as they have been doing.

Let me now talk about some practical measures to get this worldwide integration I have been talking about.

The fact that integration is being worked out and is going forward in this country, in my mind, gives us a substantial asset. It gives us an understanding of the problem and an insight into the emotional attitudes involved.

I don't mean to suggest that we must seek, and get, integration solely to further our foreign policy objectives.

I believe that integration in the United States has a significance wholly apart from its effect abroad, for, in fact, what we are witnessing in this country today is a clear-cut victory of national principles and beliefs over deeply ingrained emotional attitudes and deeply entrenched customs and social forms.

But it is also a fact that recognition of integration as a worldwide phenomenon and success in reaching solutions here, within our own country, will redound to our credit in all the other parts of the world where racial inequality has been experienced. If, on the other hand, we fail at home, we will have little credit with the peoples abroad who are also concerned with the same question.

It is obvious, therefore, that it is of the highest importance to us that we get to work on this problem.

I suggest that the basic weapon for us to use is the weapon of knowledge. When one has a problem about which there are violent emotional differences of opinion, the best approach to a solution is to get at the basic truths and to consider as dispassionately as possible the facts with which one has to deal. In other words, knowledge is power. Knowledge applied to this process of integration will produce significant results. If the full light of knowledge is brought to bear on it, the barriers to full integration, worldwide and within these United States, will yield much more quickly than you may think.

In answering the challenge of the technological resolution, the great institutions of higher learning created centers that worked ceaselessly on revealing the secrets of the atom.

To prepare for our role in the political revolution, I believe it essential to return to the academic resources that this great Nation contains.

Now I know that various studies are being made on this question, both as it exists in our own country and abroad. But I think I am right in saying that there is no one center where the process of integration is studied in all its aspects. It seems to me that a very valuable start can be made by creating such a center. The center I have in mind would, as I say, be a focal point for study of all the problems of integration on a worldwide basis. It would recognize the interdependence of the domestic problem with the international one.

I would see this center as having two general functions. One would be, as I say, research into the facts and emotions of the problem, worldwide, the purpose of which is to be to bring knowledge to bear on the facts.

But I would not confine this idea merely to the function of study, indispensible as that study is. I envision this center as an integrated microcosm of those societies in which our young people will be working. I believe that living in such a setting will better equip Americans to divest themselves of those preconceived stereotypes that will bar them in their assignments abroad from communicating our essence, our policy, to the new free peoples of the world.

In other words, I see in this center a postgraduate 6 months of internship that would bring a new perspective intellectually and emotionally to the future USIA staffer to Ceylon or the future sales representative of United States Steel to Ghana.

I propose the following: that a southern college or university take up this vital project. Under its auspices, I suggest that a group of distinguished social scientists who

are separately interested in this area be brought together to form the initial planning group for the proposed center.

The group should be interdisciplinary. It should include political scientists, economists, sociologists, psychologists, social psychologists, geographers, and specialists trained in the Asia, Africa, and Near East areas. I believe that their recommendations should be formally stated to the leadership of the political, business, and industrial communities of this country.

I suggest that the first of these institutes might most appropriately originate in the South—not because I think that this is a challenge which belongs to any one region of our country, but because if it were to begin in the South, it would be free of any charge that there was meddling by people of the North, or other parts of the country where the problem was less acute, with the affairs of the South, where the problem is more difficult.

And then another reason, too. Much of the best thinking on integration has come from men and women in the South. What is more natural and sensible than to take advantage of this skill?

And then, too, I would hope that on the basis of this one center, other centers might grow in all parts of the country, all to the end that we, the United States, would take the lead in bringing knowledge to bear on this problem.

Perhaps we cannot expect to go that fast. And so my specific suggestion is that one single center be started as the pilot plant for the purpose of using the techniques of knowledge to make a breakthrough toward a worldwide solution of this, one of the most intransigent and important problems of our time.

I realize that this is a subject on which you who are graduating here today cannot take the initiative. I put it to you, however, in the hope that if you find merit in it, you may think it is worth your support.

I congratulate you on your graduation here today, and I wish you all happiness in your future lives.

House Postmaster Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to bring to the attention of the Members that the Postmaster of the House of Representatives, Mr. H. H. Morris, was recently honored with the presentation by his fellow employees of a silver plaque commemorating his 25 years of service as an employee of the House of Representatives.

Although "H," as he is known by his many friends here on the Hill, hails from Henry County, New Castle, Ky., and is therefore technically a constituent of mine, I would not be presenting a true picture of the situation if I did not add that "H" is a real "constituent" of every Member. I say this because in his 25 years on the Hill "H" has won many friends on both sides of the aisle and has rendered faithful and competent service in the best tradition of an employee of the House of Representatives.

"H" came to the House in 1932 as an employee of the late Virgil Chapman—then a Representative from the Sixth District of Kentucky. In 1952, it was to my benefit and pleasure to have him serve as my secretary until he was elected to his present position as House Postmaster.

I consider it a real privilege to commend him at this time for his achievement and excellent service.

Airlines Mark Anniversary of Ocean Crossing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to realize that commercial flying operations across the Atlantic Ocean are now 20 years of age. However, it was on July 5 of 1937 that Pan American Airways pioneered service from the United States to Europe on a survey flight of Atlantic routes from Newfoundland to Southampton, England.

Two years previously, Mr. Speaker, Pan American had instituted regular service between the west coast of the United States and the Orient via Honolulu, Wake, and Midway Islands. Likewise, Pan American flew from Key West to Habana in 1927 to blaze the trail for regular airline service of Central and South America and the Caribbean.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the RECORD an AP dispatch from the Washington Evening Star of July 5 commemorating this most worthy milestone in commercial aviation history.

AIRLINES MARK ANNIVERSARY OF OCEAN CROSSING

Commercial aviation passes a major anniversary today, but plans no formal observance.

It is the 20th anniversary of the maiden survey flights of the Atlantic, which proved that regular air service was possible between the United States and Europe.

A 32-passenger Sikorsky flying boat of Pan American World Airways took off from the Waters of Botwood, Newfoundland, and flew to Southampton, England, made one of the first crossings.

In mid-Atlantic it exchanged radio messages with a flying boat of British Imperial Airways, which had taken off from Foynes, Eire, for Botwood.

SIXTY CROSSINGS A DAY

Two decades later the Atlantic is being crossed 60 times a day by commercial airlines flying the colors of 15 different nations.

While it took the Pan American boat 28 hours to fly from the seaplate base at Port Washington, Long Island, to Southampton in 1937, the airline's DC-7C's, flying 350 miles an hour, now cover the distance in about 12 hours.

Pan American said the Sikorsky flying boat had cost $210,000, less than one-tenth that of the DC-7C. The airline plans to operate Boeing 707 jet planes, costing $6 million each, on the trans-Atlantic route next year.

Most of the men involved in the two historic flights still are in the airline business.

WHERE THEY ARE NOW

Harold E. Gray, captain of the Pan American plane, is now executive vice president of the airline's Atlantic division in New York City.

The members of his crew and their present positions: First officer, W. B. Delima, now a pilot with the Pan American Pacific-Alaska division, San Francisco; second officer, William M. Masland, a captain with the Atlantic division; radio operator T. J. Roberts, also a captain with the Atlantic division; engineering officer C. B. Wright, now with a plastics firm at Canadaigua, N. Y.; assistant engineer, E. W. Smith, with Pan American's overhaul base at Miami; steward, W. T. Thaler, Hempstead, Long Island, now on the staff of the La Guardia Airport restaurant.

British Overseas Airways Corp., successor to Imperial Airways, said the captain of its pioneering plane, A. S. Wilcockson, was operations controller for BOAC in London.

Radio officer, T. E. Hobbs, also has remained with BOAC, and has more than 500 Atlantic crossings as a radio operator.

The other two members of the British crew, first officer Charles Bowes and radio officer Tom Valette, are dead.

Washington's Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which recently appeared in the Richmond (Va.) News Leader:

WASHINGTON'S RIGHT TO KNOW

A keenly interesting story appeared the other day on the city page of the Washington Post and Times Herald. The headline read, "D. C. Seen Facing Catastrophe in Illegitimacy," and the text of the story, which was based upon a hitherto unpublished report by Dr. John R. Gates of the Southwest Health Center, went on to spell out some horrifying facts upon the extent of illegitimacy in Washington's public schools.

A study of 13 junior high schools found a problem of illegitimacy more serious than in New York City, Philadelphia, or Richmond. The problem demands immediate and serious consideration. Pregnancies are increasing among teen-aged girls. So are abortions, and these latter present an alarming medical problem. Some male teen-agers have confessed to fathering 2 to 8 children. One boy, 8 years of age, has been expelled for abnormal sex play. One mother, having 7 illegitimate children of her own, reported that her 12-year-old daughter is now pregnant. That the situation is growing rapidly worse is indicated by the fact that in 1948–49, only 7 pregnancies were reported to the Southwest Health Center, while this year 82 pregnancies have been recorded among girls 13 to 17 years old.

These sordid and distressing facts were reported by the Washington Post and Times Herald; and what interests us, among other things, is that Mr. J. Russell Wiggins is

executive editor of the Washington Post and Times Herald, and Mr. Wiggins has established a national reputation and won many kudos for his defense of what is known as the people's right to know.

It would not seem too much to suggest that the people of Washington have a right to know the extent to which this problem of illegitimacy exists among Negro teen-agers, and the extent to which it exists among whites.

Yet amazingly enough, though one may read the Washington Post and Times Herald's story from top to bottom, this rather essential fact never appears.

What, we would ask Mr. Wiggins, do his people have a right to know?

Natural-Gas Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, today the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee favorably reported H. R. 6790. This is a compromise bill designed to eliminate some of the confusion and uncertainty now facing the natural-gas-producing industry, which is not only one of Oklahoma's greatest industries but one of vital importance to the whole Nation. Those of us who in the past have advocated natural-gas legislation and now support this bill have been forced to compromise in an effort to obtain some legislative relief for the independent producer now faced with regulation which threatens to stifle the incentive to explore and develop this resource. Congressional attempts to enact a more desirable law by completely removing the producer from these onerous and unneeded controls have been thwarted twice by Presidential veto and once by Supreme Court interpretation in the Phillips decision of 1954. H. R. 6790 is legislation actually providing for Federal control of certain producers' contracts.

It should be made clear in the beginning that it is still our belief that Federal control and price-fixing at the producing level of this or any other industry is contrary to the fundamental principles of our Constitution, contrary to the intent of past legislation, and contrary to the interests of our people and country as a whole. It is our belief that Federal control of this industry can only result in fewer natural-gas reserves, less gas for nonproducing States, and an eventual increase in cost to the consumer. Further, it is still our belief that natural gas is a commodity and its production has none of the characteristics of a utility service. Natural-gas producers are now under regulation by the Federal Power Commission. The Natural Gas Act of 1938 was designed to apply to the utility service aspects of the interstate movement of natural gas and not to the commodity itself, and, we believe that its present application is in error.

H. R. 6790 falls far short of this position, but as shown by testimony by industry spokesmen, administration officials, and Federal Power Commission representatives, the public utility formula of control is absolutely unworkable for this industry, which bears no resemblance to a utility. Something must be done to ameliorate the present confused situation. This bill tends to clarify the producers' status and to delimit the areas subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission and eliminates many of the undesirable features of the present formula of control.

While not all we would ask for in natural-gas legislation, it is a bill which, if enacted into law, would tend to encourage the independent producer to explore, drill, and develop sufficient gas reserves to supply fuel to all States of the Union at reasonable prices. It is our belief that this Congress with the interests of the industry and consumers in mind must provide this encouragement.

The United Nations Assembly Should Convene Immediately To Deal With Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of June 28, 1957:

HOW SOON IS IMMEDIATE?

When the United Nations Committee of Inquiry on Hungary sent in its report a week ago yesterday our own State Department declared that the report merited the most immediate and close study by all governments. Our Government called for an early meeting of the 24 countries that sponsored the resolution setting up the committee, and that meeting was held on Wednesday of this week.

But there our sense of urgency seemed to lag. There seemed to be no question in the minds of those representing the 24 countries that the United Nations Assembly ought to deal further with this outrage. The question was when the Assembly should be called into session for this purpose. Yesterday the United States formally requested that it be reconvened as soon as possible, with the understanding that his would be some time after Labor Day, maybe around September 10.

In a way, there is time enough. The Kadar misgovernment of Hungary will doubtless still be in power on September 10. The facts presented by the U. N.'s five-member committee representing Denmark, Tunisia, Uruguay, Ceylon, and Australia will still be facts.

What are these facts? If we turn back to the report we will realize again that what happened in Hungary last fall was a spontaneous uprising against an intolerable tyranny enforced from without; that the legitimate Hungarian Government headed by Premier Imre Nagy was betrayed and brutally suppressed by Moscow; and, finally, that the Kadar government is purely and simply a government of occupation.

This is the situation. The question is what to do and how soon to do it. We must not hold out hope to the people of Hungary that armed help will come to them from anything the United Nations can do. We must recognize the limitations under which in this case justice labors. The United Nations could proceed against the real culprit, which is Russia, only at the cost of breaking up the United Nations and of increasing the possibility of war.

Our own Government and other governments may be particularly sensitive at this moment to the situation in London, where Mr. Stassen has just presented some proposals under which the Soviet Union might cooperate with other countries in reducing the burden of armaments. He may feel that this is no time to annoy Moscow. It may also be argued that if a demand for justice annoys Moscow we may put small hope indeed in Moscow promises to disarm or to do any other good and wise thing. Shall we now take back the protests made last November when the General Assembly condemned "the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights"?

We are left with the question of what to do and when to do it. What to do cannot include action against Russia, even though we believe that Russia is the offender. It cannot include sanctions that would hurt the people of Hungary, who have been hurt enough already. It can, however, comprise one simple act. Since the Kadar government is not the legitimate government of Hungary it follows that the Kadar delegation to the United Nations has no business to pretend to represent the people of Hungary and should be told so.

As to when this action should be taken, we believe the word "immediate" means what it says. The Assembly may be called back into session on a day's notice. A few days might be needed for consultation among the free nations, but it is certainly not necessary to consult practically all the rest of the summer. We believe that the United States should take the lead at once in action on this issue.

Airline Fares and Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Kansas City Star of June 27, 1957. The case for a prompt increase in airline fares is further strengthened by the fact that although since 1942 the consumer price index has risen 66.7 percent, the average revenue per passenger mile of all class I railroads has risen by 39.6 percent, and the revenue of intercity class I motor carriers by 28.5 percent, the average revenue per passenger mile of the scheduled domestic air lines has increased by only eight-tenths of 1 percent.

AIRLINE FARES AND COSTS

Six of the country's major airlines have assembled a plausible case for 6 percent fare increase. A main point they make is that airline fares are at the approximate level of 1938. Yet the passenger today gets much more for his money in speed, comfort, and service.

Until now air transport has been able to absorb higher operating costs with technical advances such as larger and more efficient planes. But now the youngest type of trans-

portation is up against what its leaders regard as a cost crisis.

The recent financial history of Trans World Airlines supports the argument. Last year TWA had a 10.5 percent increase in gross revenue over the profitable previous year. Even so, TWA had to report a net loss of $2.3 million for 1956.

Now the airlines are getting ready for jet travel. They have $1.5 billion worth of turboprop and jet airliners on order. They are financing this equipment on faith in public acceptance. Meanwhile this Government-regulated industry sees its payrolls and other expenses going up.

The Civil Aeronautics Board has started a general fare investigation which won't be completed until next spring. Most of the larger airlines feel that they can't wait for the outcome of this inquiry and so they have petitioned the CAB for an immediate rate increase. These carriers aren't worrying about a resulting loss of passengers to competing rail and highway travel. They consider the need so urgent that they are willing to take the risk.

The CAB is due to rule on their request in the next few months. With access to all the facts it will be able to act on the basis of what is best for both the public and the fast-growing airline industry.

Enact in Haste, Repeal at Leisure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 9, 1957:

SOUTH COULD GAIN FROM FBI FILES

(By Drew Pearson)

Sincere, scholarly JOE O'MAHONEY, the Democratic Senator from Wyoming, argued at length on the Senate floor recently that it was dangerous to rush legislation through Congress; that the Senate must never bypass its own Senate rule 14 requiring legislation to go to an appropriate committee. He was talking about the civil rights bill, recently passed by the House.

Last week, however, the same Senator O'MAHONEY rushed the so-called FBI bill through the Senate Judiciary Committee in record time, only to have other colleagues prove the truth of what he had argued before—that haste makes for sloppy legislation.

For the FBI bill, jammed through the Judiciary Committees of both Houses allegedly to protect FBI files, is now found to have alarming loopholes which would set back judicial procedure in the United States for many years.

Senators SAM ERVIN, of North Carolina, and JOHN MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, both former judges, seemed a little concerned over the haste when the bill came before them in the Judiciary Committee. Now Southern legal experts point out that, if the civil rights bill passes, the South will benefit most from the right to examine pertinent portions of FBI files. For it will be the FBI which will be sent South to investigate violations of civil rights.

Senator ERVIN has spent weeks arguing for the right of jury trial. But either in jury trials or in trials before a judge, defense lawyers now have the right under Supreme Court rulings to examine earlier statements made to the FBI in order to impeach the testimony of witnesses. The FBI bill would curtail that right.

Yet Senators JAMES EASTLAND, of Mississippi, and OLIN JOHNSTON of South Carolina, both members of the Judiciary Committee and vigorous opponents of civil rights, were among those who wanted to O. K. the FBI bill in record time.

Legal experts now find the FBI bill would override not merely the Supreme Court but years of judicial procedure worked out by the courts and the American Bar Association to protect an individual from an oppressive government. Here are some of the things it would override and the people who should be worried about it:

The National Association of Manufacturers: The FBI bill would permit a field day to the Government in antitrust prosecutions. General Motors, Du Pont, any other corporation could be prosecuted without giving them the right to see the files of a competing firm on which the prosecution is based.

Of interest to taxpayers: In tax cases against you, the Government could seize your files and financial statements and you would have no access to them.

Of interest to lawyers: The FBI bill wipes out rule 16 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Judicial Procedure, namely the right of discovery. This has nothing to do with the Jencks case.

To get a clearer picture of what the FBI does, it is necessary to go back to the Mooney case where Tom Mooney, a California labor leader, was convicted in connection with the bombing of the San Francisco preparedness parade in 1916. Twenty-three years later, Mooney was released from jail, because the government of California had withheld evidence in the trial.

In other words, the State had evidence which indicated Mooney was not guilty, but Mooney's defense attorneys had no way of getting that evidence, because they could not see the records of the State or the State's police files. Since then the "right of discovery" under Rule 16 has been established by the courts with the approval of Congress. Under this rule, any citizen being prosecuted for a crime has a right to see the documents the Government has taken by judicial process.

The new FBI bill now wipes this out.

Catholic War Veterans Oppose Trade With Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted at a meeting of the Kings County Chapter, Catholic War Veterans, on June 28, 1957:

Whereas communism is a conspiracy which would seek to destroy our democratic way of life and Red China is an important member nation of those countries promulgating this conspiracy; and

Whereas Red China stands condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor nation; and

Whereas by its own admission, the government of Communist Red China has murdered millions of its countrymen who opposed the Communist form of government; and

Whereas the United States does not recognize the government of Red China, either diplomatically, economically, culturally, or socially, and in effect, has a ban on trade with that country; and

Whereas on June 6, 1957, on the WCBS–TV presentation Face the Nation two Senators advocated moves toward opening relations with Red China; and

Whereas the Catholic War Veterans are on record as opposed to the granting of recognition in any form whatsoever to the government of Red China: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Kings County Chapter, Catholic War Veterans, and its member posts, reaffirm their oppoistion to the granting of diplomatic, economic, cultural, and social recognition by the United States to Red China, and to trade, in any form, with this Communist country; and be it further

Resolved, That our views be brought before the President of the United States, the United States State Department, the United States Delegate to the U. N., the United States Senators from New York, and the Congressmen from Brooklyn.

Our Far East Friends Want Sovereignty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Wisconsin Veteran, published monthly by the Department of Wisconsin, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, entitled "Our Far East Friends Want Sovereignty":

OUR FAR EAST FRIENDS WANT SOVEREIGNTY

The case involving William Girard has again focused attention to the controversial Status of Forces Agreements.

Generally, under these treaties, the United States has jurisdiction over its military personnel in offenses against property, security, persons under United States control, and on strictly military cases.

However, our military personnel are subject to the laws of the country in which they are stationed, except as noted.

And actually there are very few servicemen in comparison to the number of cases who have been actually tried by foreign courts. In fact, a year or so ago Congressman CHARLES HALLECK, of Indiana, on returning from Europe, reported the American servicemen had been fairly treated by the European courts—many times better than if they had been tried by court-martial proceedings.

We are faced with a serious situation in the Far East.

These people are concerned with their sovereignty as we are with ours. One of our best friends in the Far East is Gen. Carlos Romulo, Philippines Ambassador, who put it in this way:

"We in Asia recall with gratitude and admiration that it was the United States that pioneered in exposing, denouncing, and opposing the extraterritorial rights in China. It is therefore difficult for Asians to understand why Americans should now insist in denying court jurisdiction to civil authorities for its soldiers.

"To us, court jurisdiction is part and parcel of our national sovereignty, and espe-

cially to peoples newly liberated, national sovereignty, is sacrosanct."

Our President is a man with a long military background. Certainly he is as conversant with our "rights" in a foreign country as any of us are. And certainly he is in a position to see this matter more clearly than most of us.

Isn't that one time when it might be wise to let the executive branch of our Government take over and settle a matter as it sees fit?

Our President and his advisers are men of integrity, who will make sure that William Girard receives justice, we may be sure.

Tighter Bank Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting and informative article entitled "What's Wrong With Tighter Bank Credit?" was prepared by the president of the Phoenix Finance Co., Mr. Joseph K. Wexman, of Chicago, Ill., for publication in the most recent issue of the Industrial Banker.

Mr. Wexman has for a number of years directed the management seminar for smaller business at the University of Chicago and is also a teacher at the university. He is constantly in touch with those who feel most keenly the effects of the Federal Reserve Board's tight bank-credit policy.

In the article, Mr. Wexman has summarized his findings from a recent informal poll of several hundred businessmen outside the field of finance on this policy.

For the information and benefit of the Members of the House, I am at this time inserting the article in the RECORD. It is as follows:

WHAT'S WRONG WITH TIGHTER BANK CREDIT?

(By Joseph K. Wexman)

Those of us in the finance industry know what the Federal Reserve Board policy on bank credit has accomplished. By and large, it has tightened credit for the smaller finance companies and left the larger companies untouched. Has it had similar effects in other lines of business?

The writer has directed the management seminar for smaller business at the University of Chicago for the last 10 years. This seminar meets annually for a period of 6 to 8 weeks (it varies from year to year), and authorities in various fields are invited to lecture on new product development, research, sales methods, record keeping, finance, etc. The students are mature businessmen, some owners and managers of smaller companies, others executives in similar companies. Most of the attendants are manufacturers; a good number are retailers.

Being curious about the effects of the Federal Reserve policy on businessmen outside of the field of finance, I informally polled several hundred of the men who had attended the seminar during the last few years. My findings may be summarized in two parts:

Almost all of the manufacturers and many of the retailers reported that the present monetary controls, aimed at curtailing expansion, had succeeded in hobbling their smaller businesses, but seemed to have left larger business free to expand. At least, such have been their individual experiences.

Most of the manufacturers and many of the retailers seemed to prefer selective credit controls at points where major speculative situations may exist (e. g., auto financing, home buying credit, or inventory speculation), plus some hobble on Government spending which is said to add fuel to the inflationary fires.

For these conclusions, various businessmen cited different arguments. Here is a summary of the major points made by the heads of smaller companies.

1. Prices have risen over 3 percent in the past few months as against a relatively stable price level prior to the steep rise in rediscount rates over the past year. These price rises many businessmen attributed, in the main, to Federal Reserve Board policy, which was instituted in order to have an opposite effect. "While increased labor costs have played a small part," one manufacturer said, "the coincidence of price rise and the increase in the redisount rate by the Federal Reserve, at least suggest that there may be a causal relationship between higher interest rates and price rises out of proportion to the increased cost of the money." Evidently in a time of full employment, it appears that some of the accepted theory of monetary controls must be reexamined.

2. While the Federal Reserve policy has increased interest rates and indirectly led to a temporary expansion in bank lending, many businessmen found that it had resulted in making more credit available to larger corporations, but smaller business got squeezed.

That banks have dumped a good deal of their Government bonds in order to provide more funds for lending at the more profitable rates, is perfectly clear in the fact that from September 1954 through September 1956, Federal Reserve member banks increased their reserves by $621 million (about 3.5 percent), and the money supply went up by $4.8 billion (about 4 percent), but the banking system expanded its loans by $20.6 billion, or about 30 percent in the period. This was partly accomplished by bank liquidation of Government securities.

Despite the fact that the Federal Reserve Board figured that lower bond prices would "freeze-in" many banks and prevent them from lending more, the banks merely sold off their new maturities and willingly took losses on the sale of longer term bonds in order to realize substantially higher interest charges on loans. Most of these loans went to the larger borrowers, most manufacturers reported to me. As loans increased, the ratio of bank risk assets to capital began increasing, and it was this practical matter, rather than monetary controls, which slowed up bank lending subsequently.

For this latter point, there seems to be evidence from the Federal Reserve Board itself. The latest Federal Reserve Board Bulletin shows clearly that the average number of new loans by banks increased by 30 percent from June 1955 to June 1956. "The sharpest increase," says the Bulletin, "was in loans of over $200,000." Certainly loans of this magnitude don't go to smaller business.

3. Even in the area of insurance company lending and securities issues, monetary controls seemed to have had little effect on the amount of big business borrowing. The controls merely increased the cost. Insurance companies sold a good part of their governments and loaded up on corporate bonds through private placement sales. In 1956, I find, according to the Securities and Exchange Commission, private placements totaled a record $4.3 billion, as against $3.6 billion in 1955.

And as for flotation of new issues of securities, this, too, has shown a record rise. In the cases where large companies had postponed issues because of rising cost, they merely borrowed short-term funds from banks (thereby decreasing the funds available for smaller business), and started plant improvements with bank loans and promise of long-term renewals. Larger companies hoarded their security market credit while they used short-term, renewable bank funds. Small business, as a result, found bank accommodation much more difficult to get, as most of the smaller businessmen reported to me.

Of course, high interest rates are not deterrents in the bond or security markets. What is a deterrent, are rising rates, and then, only temporarily. A corporate treasurer, finding rising interest rates in the bond market, takes refuge by borrowing short-term funds from banks while he waits to see which way rates will stabilize. Then, when rates reach a plateau, the corporate treasurer sells his bonds. Higher rates have not stopped larger corporations from borrowing from insurance companies and the stock market, according to all the indications, and these two sources are generally not readily available to smaller borrowers.

4. Further, besides making money more expensive and less available for smaller businessmen, the tight money policy has also tended to shorten the period for which businessmen can borrow. While this is a worthwhile objective in times of inflation, smaller business needs bank loans for longer terms than big business (which can get long-term loans in the security markets or from insurance companies), and hence this situation works a special hardship on small business borrowers.

5. Since tight money means a greater selectivity by lenders, many credit-worthy smaller businessmen with borrowing requests, report that they are shut off from added funds at a time when they need the credit to survive. The fact that larger combanks can provide larger bank deposits, are better bank customers year in and year out, and have better and cheaper access to capital markets (the security market, the insurance companies and the commercial paper market), makes the present situation one of overwhelming disadvantage to smaller companies, is the plain conclusion after talking with several hundred of the smaller businessmen who have attended the seminar at the University of Chicago.

By and large, it is perfectly obvious to me that smaller businessmen are as anxious to avoid inflationary trends as are larger corporations—but they resent the imposition of controls which work hardship mainly upon small business. If regulations are called for, a much more equitable arrangement is said to be credit restriction that limits activity for large and small firms alike. For that reason, many smaller businessmen indicate that they favor selective credit controls at the points where inflationary pressures may be present—e. g., auto financing, home buying based on minimum down payment with 30 years to pay, and speculation in inventories. In addition, Government spending, now at record levels, has much to do with inflationary pressures, many businessmen believe, and they urge restraint there most of all.

Diversion of Water From Lake Michigan

SPEECH
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under

consideration the bill (H. R. 2) to authorize the State of Illinois and the Metropolitan Sanitation District of Greater Chicago, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army to test, on a 3-year basis, the effect of increasing the diversion of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway, and for other purposes.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Subcommittee on Public Works it has been my pleasure to work for the passage of H. R. 2. Without giving the Army Corps of Engineers this increased diversion, there is no possible way to determine whether or not damage will result. I might say to the opponents of this legislation that the engineers may stop this diversion at any moment they feel it is causing material damage. The great metropolitan area of Chicago is badly in need of this diversion, and I am happy to join with my distinguished colleague, the Honorable TOM O'BRIEN, and other sponsors of this legislation in urging its enactment. I am proud to have introduced a companion measure to H. R. 2.

The Over-60 Employment Service of Northern Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following article which recently appeared in the Ladies' Home Journal concerning the Over-60 Employment Service of northern Virginia. This fine program was started by members of the Soroptimists International of Arlington County, an outstanding organization in my congressional district, and I feel that they are to be commended for their great contribution to their community.

OVER 60 AND LOOKING FOR A JOB?—ARLINGTON, VA., OFFERS HELP

The telephone on Mrs. Vossen's desk has been busy all afternoon. Calm and businesslike, and looking not at all like her 72 years, she answers promptly, "May I help you?"

"This is B——'s real estate," a harried voice on the line says. "Can you send me somebody who knows what the inside of a file cabinet looks like—and who has a notion of what a day's work is?"

Mrs. Vossen puts down the receiver and riffles through the green metal box on her desk until she finds the name she wants. "Indeed I can. I'll send Mrs. George over first thing in the morning."

In an ordinary employment service, such calls are routine. But the fact that many are now coming to the Over-60 Employment Service of northern Virginia means that a number of business firms are beginning to recognize that older people can fill jobs reliably and efficiently.

"You never have to worry about whether she is going to show up," is the current report from the real-estate man who interviewed—and hired—68-year-old Mrs. George, a white-haired widow who believes in punctuality. "And she keeps the office running smoothly when I'm out with a client," he adds. Mrs. George's employer previously had hired high-school girls part time, in the hope that they would fit in as permanent employees after graduation. But this didn't work out. The girls quit, were married, or did their work so carelessly he had to let them go.

Mrs. George hadn't expected it to be easy to find a job after the company where she had worked for several years closed down. But she did think her experience ought to count for something. Interviewer after interviewer, however, had the same curt smile and the same "We'll let you know," and Mrs. George soon realized they really mean, "You're too old."

In January 1956, a newspaper item about a new employment service for older people changed all that for Mrs. George and many others in the same situation.

The service, now located in the office of the Recreation Center on North George Mason Drive, Arlington, Va., was started by a group of 27 women—the Soroptimists International of Arlington County, a women's service club. Their interest in senior citizens began in October 1954, when at the request of the Recreation Department they agreed to serve refreshments at Silver Age Club meetings. But they soon learned that the silver agers wanted more than a cup of punch and a good time on Saturday afternoons. They wanted jobs, and not volunteer jobs either. Some needed money to help pay their taxes on their homes, which social-security benefits couldn't possibly cover. One member, her income having dwindled since retirement, wanted to be able to continue to contribute to her favorite charities. Another wanted to earn money to pay her bus fare to and from silver-age meetings. A number wanted something to do. "I looked forward to retirement for so long," one elderly gentleman remarked sadly, "but it's turned out to be pretty monotonous."

Several silver agers had left applications at the State employment service. "Over there they consider 45 a senior citizen," a spry little woman commented. "What chance have you got when you're 70?"

This was a problem for Mrs. Evelyn Devers, chairman of the Soroptimists' service objective committee, to solve. She asked three members—Mrs. Pearl Sharpe, a building contractor; Miss Martha Schubmehl, a secretary on Capitol Hill; and Dr. Lois Platt, a cancer researcher—to work with her. Together they called at the office of Carroll Early, manager of the Northern Virginia State Employment Service, for ideas and suggestions.

"We do try to place these older people," he told them. "They make up about 4 to 5 percent of all our applications, but it's largely a matter of getting employers interested—and frankly, we don't have the time to make personal contacts."

"That's where we could make our start," the Soroptimists decided.

When Evelyn Devers and her committee talked with W. A. Richardson, director of the Recreation Department, about setting up an employment service, he offered them use of a desk and telephone in his offices. That was in October 1955. With the help of Mr. Early, the Soroptimists drew up an application blank containing information a prospective employer would want. Then they ordered 500 forms printed. Next they began scanning newspaper ads for jobs that elder-agers might fill, including those that stated "not over 40," and called the firms to ask if they would be willing to list their vacancies with the service. Nearly everyone was willing—whenever anything suitable came up. Only a few admitted their policy was to hire within a specified age bracket.

On January 23, 1956, the Over-60-Employment Service opened officially, with scheduled hours 1:30 to 3:30 on Monday, Wednesday and Friday and staffed by volunteers from the Silver Age Club and by Soroptimists who could leave their jobs or businesses.

During the next month Soroptimists sent out 1,500 letters to businessmen on the chamber of commerce mailing list. More and more job offers came in—until the volunteers found it hard to keep track of their placements and complained they couldn't read one another's notes. Mrs. Libby Deaver, director of the Silver Age Club and a recreation department worker, found herself shouldering more and more responsibility.

Soroptimists convened a hasty meeting to discuss hiring a permanent part-time manager to take charge of the service. With Mrs. Deaver's concurrence, they decided to ask Mrs. Fannie Vossen, a charter member of the Silver Age Club and a volunteer worker at the employment service, to act as manager. Her salary of $30 a month would be raised through Soroptimist fund-raising projects.

Mrs. Vossen had worked during World War II in the censorship division of the post office in New York City. In recent years she had been living with her son in Arlington. The $30 extra income now meant that Mrs. Vossen could leave her son's crowded household and share a house with a friend.

Shortly after Mrs. Vossen took over in May, the Over-60 Service moved from the recreation department building to the new center in an apartment-development neighborhood close to two modern shopping centers and buslines.

When Mrs. Vossen first arrives at the office, which she shares with Libby Deaver, supervisor of the center, she looks over the newspaper ads for possible jobs for senior citizens, puts through calls to prospective employers to find out if they would be willing to consider an applicant over 60. At first, some are hesitant. Can they keep up the pace? is their first concern. The personnel director at one large department store is one who has come to realize that age limits deprive employers of the qualified workers they need. Arlington County is short of good workers because so many people under 35 are in the Armed Forces or employed by the Government. "I'm tired of these irresponsible teen-agers," the personnel man who previously had refused to hire anyone over 55 told Mrs. Vossen. "Do you think you could find us two salesladies, a guard and a man for our receiving department?"

Mrs. Vossen immediately began lining up appointments. Her friendly, poised manner ("She has simply bloomed since she took that job," her friends say) often helps reassure the older man and woman sensitive about being unemployed for the first time in their lives. She tries to place people in jobs near their homes whenever possible—though some applicants come from Washington, D. C., and from towns as far as 100 miles away. Applications must be made in person, and references, other than Government service, are checked by telephone when an applicant is being considered for a specific job.

A supervisor at another store which has no age policy does try to fit the older person to the job he can do best, even if it means as many as four transfers. A 62-year-old man hired in the receiving department sometimes had to handle only two packages at a time. But when as many as 70 flooded in, he got a little rattled. This was solved by transferring him to the packaging platform where he is "working circles around his 50-year-old partner," according to his supervisor. The same supervisor discovered the "gift of gab" in another employee past 60 and stationed him at the sidewalk pickup station to pacify impatient customers waiting for their purchases to be sent down from the storerooms.

The manager of a bank, which only recently became interested in hiring older peo-

pie in an effort to stem high turnover in personnel, follows the same procedure. Keep the older people away from the pressures of deadline production work, and they do an excellent job.

Through the Over-60 Service this bank employed 65-year-old Mr. Brown, who had retired at 62 after 32 years of Federal Government service, in its stockroom. Mr. Brown's earnings are a welcome supplement to his Government retirement pension, a few investments, and the income from his wife's dressmaking.

From May to December 1956, 42 applicants were placed. Altogether, though, there were 99 applicants and 133 openings, for babysitters, companions, housekeepers, clerical workers. One young mother called in September to request a babysitter for New Year's Eve; at Christmas there were four requests for Santa Clauses. Mrs. Vossen explains that many of the job openings could not be filled because some applicants had no means of transportation. A number of the offers were for live-in baby care, which few wanted, although one woman did respond to the plight of the father of a 6-week-old baby whose mother had to spend several months in a hospital. Some applicants could not be placed because they were hard of hearing. One opened a business of her own.

Many of the jobs, unfortunately, offered ridiculously low pay for the duties involved. And there are practically no offers of professional or executive positions. One attractive, young-looking woman, a former teacher, had followed up a dozen leads without success before coming to the Over-60 Service. Now she is selling in a store—and doesn't like it. Other women, among them former business and professional women, have resigned themselves to babysitting. "It seems sometimes," Mrs. Vossen laments, "that employers come to use with jobs nobody else wants."

In her followup calls to employers, Mrs. Vossen keeps tab on the progress her clients are making. One employer reported that his new clerk was inclined to be childish and a little jealous, but made an extra effort to do things right. Sometimes it's hard for an older person, especially one who has formerly been a boss, to take orders from a younger person and do things differently from his accustomed way. But for the most part, employers are well satisfied. One woman with 40 years' experience in bookkeeping systems in insurance companies and mortgage banks now is working part-time for a plastics manufacturer, has her own office and chooses her hours. A 65-year-old man who had to give up his contracting business after a back injury, but is still wiry and strong, now is the night manager of a gasoline station, earning $90 a week. For Mrs. Rose Landry, a Silver Age Club member, the service has filled the crushing need to earn enough to live. "You see," she explains to Mrs. Vossen, "when my husband died his pension died with him." She is now taking care of three small children in a motherless home.

Soroptimists understandably are concerned about the future of the Over-60 Service. They feel it should be located in an office all its own and have a full-time director. And they're meeting with other service groups to find out if this can be done. There's certainly no question about continuing interest in the service. Applications are pouring in. A number are even registering several months to a year before their planned retirement in order to have a job waiting for them.

Hells Canyon, TVA, and Niagara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD one of my weekly newsletters which I send to the people of South Dakota. It deals with the subject power at Hells Canyon, TVA, and Niagara.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HELLS CANYON, TVA, AND NIAGARA

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1957.—It's time for plain speaking in South Dakota on power—public and private. Bills now pending in Congress point up the subject.

BILL NO. 1—HELLS CANYON

The Senate has passed a bill that would direct the Federal Government to build a high dam on the Snake River in Idaho

I voted against it. Why?

Because it will cost you your share of $500 million, possibly $600 million, plus damages to the private power company which has already spent about $20 million building some low dams under a license issued under President Roosevelt's 1936 Federal Power Act.

The issue was blurred by a tax amortization certificate that should not have been issued although the Idaho Power Co. was only getting what others have been getting since accelerated depreciation was resurrected with the Korean war. I did not like that—said so—introduced a resolution to stop it and stop all fast writeoffs.

Idaho Power then turned back its tax amortization certificate before the vote—but even if it had not, it does not make sense to make a $600 million mistake just because you've made an $18 million one.

Under either plan—there would be 750,000 kilowatts of firm power. A high dam might get 15,000 more. It might also get some dump power if you take water away from the upstream irrigators to fill a high dam. But I do not see using crop water to create dump power when the British are producing atomic power competitively.

So, I voted "No" which was to say, "Let the private company continue and let them put up the dough. We need lower, not higher, taxes."

BILL NO. 2—TVA

In the Senate Public Works Committee, I have helped to shape and report a bill that will let the Tennessee Valley Authority issue its own bonds up to $750 million to increase its facilities to meet growing power needs in its territory.

TVA is public power. My friends who think TVA is creeping socialism will probably themselves get the creeps on this one. And my REA friends who have been educated to think that one should be damned politically and perhaps eternally if he did not vote for a publicly built Hells Canyon Dam may give me no credit for supporting TVA public power.

But you, my fairminded reader—don't let anybody poison your mind. FRANCIS CASE is neither under the control of the private power trust when it comes to Hells Canyon nor the Socialists when it comes to TVA. I simply think it makes sense to let the cost of these things fall somewhere else than on the backs of the taxpayer.

Since TVA, a proven operation, can sell bonds and finance its needed expansion, why do it by taxation or an increase in the national debt?

BILL NO. 3—NIAGARA

Another bill which I have helped to shape and report from Senate Public Works would let the State of New York, through its State Power Authority, develop the hydroelectric potential in the Niagara River. It will cost them $566 million.

Again, I'm in the middle. Between the folks who wanted the original Miller-Capehart bill that would turn Niagara's potential over to five private power companies and those who wanted the Lehman-Roosevelt bill to have Uncle Sam do it and pick up the check.

This will be public power—State public power—but the so-called public power people are unhappy because we did not tack on the full preference clause for public bodies and cooperatives.

I voted for modifying the preference clause because I think if New York State finances the job, the people of that State are entitled to at least 50 percent of the power in that State. And less than 5 percent of them are served by the so-called preference bodies.

Also, I respect the claim of New York to some of the power that will be produced from waters rising and dammed in their State. (You know I also think that for South Dakota, too.) New York, under Republican Gov. Charles Evans Hughes over 50 years ago asserted that claim and it has been continued through Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Republican Tom Dewey and present Democratic Gov. Averell Harriman. All have asserted the doctrine of our Western States that a State has certain rights in its waters.

So, I have never favored requiring New York to accept a Federal preference law that would require them to export their State-financed power from a State dam on waters rising partly at least in their State to cities and co-ops in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana and deny it to the 95 percent of their own citizens who are served by private distributors.

Now if I seem to have written this a bit bluntly, it is because the time has come to call the turn on a tendency to damn or praise in terms of "public power" and "private power." We have both in the United States—and should.

Without the drive that men have when there is a prospect of making a profit from enterprise and hard work, this country would not do any better than Russia does with state enterprises exclusively; without the yardstick of TVA and the example of what people will do with abundant electric power when they can get it at rates they can afford, we would not be the country we are today.

Not in our generation would the farm homes of America be lighted and modernized as they are had there been no Rural Electrification Administration. It has meant more to improve rural living than any other farm legislation you can name.

And the simple existence of a TVA yardstick makes it safe to have private power development when private capital and enterprise are able and willing to undertake the venture.

In each of these three cases, FRANCIS CASE voted—not on a public-power or a private-

power basis—but for the solution which appeared likely to get the job done with the most protection to the public purse and to you as a taxpayer. I would save on—

Hells Canyon—private power	$600,000,000
TVA—public power, private funds	750,000,000
Niagara—public power, New York funds	566,000,000
Total in 3 bills	1,916,000,000

That much power development for a growing United States without any demands on the Federal Treasury. Without any increase in your taxes.

That's the way I voted. But whether you will be saved that first $600 million depends on what happens to Hells Canyon in the House of Representatives or at the White House.

If you want to help pay for a high Hells Canyon Government-built dam, write your Congressman that you are willing to have the national debt increased or your income tax raised or your share of the tax cost hidden in the price of a new tractor, cornpicker, or TV set.

And if you'd like to have the full-preference clause tacked onto the Niagara bill, write your Congressman that you are willing to have the Niagara Dam built by the Federal Government. That's a sure way to pick up the tab New York State stands ready to accept.

And, if you want TVA to be public enterprise, pure and simple, tell us that you want all TVA growth financed by Federal appropriations instead of TVA bonds. That's a quick way to add $750 million to the Federal budget for the next 6 years.

Thanks for letting me report to you so frankly.

Move for Federal Tax Reduction Spurred by Decentralization Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 6452, introduced by the gentleman from Connecticut, our good friend and colleague, the Honorable ANTONI N. SADLAK, has received much approval from the district I represent.

Not the least important of these comments is an editorial from the San Fernando Valley Times of July 2, 1957, which I herewith insert in the Appendix of the RECORD:

In President Eisenhower's set of Government reform proposals presented to the State governors' conference, a program for Federal tax reduction came in strong. But not in a way to challenge or relieve the necessity for another pending taxcutting program, the one embodied in a bill recently introduced in Congress.

The taxcutting proposed by President Eisenhower would be a part of the program he presented to the governors for decentralization of Government powers and finances, his plan for shifting rights and responsibilities from Washington to the lower levels of Government authority—State, counties, and cities.

The program pending in Congress was presented in a bill recently introduced by Congressman SADLAK of Connecticut, who proposes income-tax reduction by stages timed to allow the losses in revenue resulting from the lowered income-tax schedule to be made up—in whole or most part—by growth of the national economy.

There is no connection between these two tax-cut programs. But neither is there conflict. Though independent of each other in origin, they are enough alike in purpose to make them look almost as if they were designed to complement each other. They have much in common.

One thing they feature in common is an implied, if not actually expressed, recognition of the fact that the present Federal tax system is confiscatory.

From the point of view of the Sadlak program, the income tax system is confiscatory in terms of money. For example, the part of the personal income tax schedule that takes 91 percent of some persons' income is licensed confiscation of property.

In almost so many words, the Eisenhower address—recommending reforms that would shift more rights, responsibilities, and tax revenues to State governments—charged that the Central Government has confiscated States' authorities and prerogatives. Mr. Eisenhower said that the Federal Government has "syphoned away State authority." He also talked of forces and factors which have "developed the excuse and fed the temptation for the National Government to poach on States' preserves." Further, he spoke of the "tendency for bureaucracy to grow in size and power."

The Eisenhower proposals contained broad suggestions for a program to pair functions assumed by the States with Federal tax reductions—on an arrangement that "presupposes Federal taxes would be cut more than State taxes would be raised" in any specific instance.

Translating from the Eisenhower proposals to the Sadlak tax-cutting program, we deal with bureaucracy in its growth in size and power, with the central Government's poaching on States preserves, with the siphoning off of powers, in terms of the effects of a confiscatory income tax system. Congressman SADLAK was talking about those very evils when, in an address introducing his bill, he said: "The growing dissatisfaction with the income tax rate structure goes much deeper than normal taxpayer irritation with a heavy tax load. It reflects a growing recognition that there is something fundamentally wrong with a tax structure which penalizes hard work, risk-taking, and achievement."

By the very nature of the case of the relationship between Federal and State Governments, particularly the relationship between the offices of President and governors, the prospects as to what may be accomplished through the Eisenhower program are obscure. But the machinery for action on the Sadlak program, action in Congress, is ready at hand. The bill is now in committee, the House Ways and Means Committee. If sufficient interest is shown—through citizens' letters and other contacts to Members of Congress—committee hearings may be scheduled and the machinery set in motion. Interested taxpayers should write their respective Congressmen, urging early committee hearings and full opening of the vital issues.

Some of the chief features of the bill are:

It provides coordinated reduction in all the progressive rates of individual tax, with the first bracket reduced from 20 to 15 percent, top rates dropped to 42 percent from present 91 percent, corporate tax rate reduced from 52 to 42 percent. Specific examples of individual tax rate drops over 5-year reduction period: $4,000–$6,000 taxable income bracket, 26 to 17 percent; $12,000 to $14,000 taxable income bracket, from 43 to 21 percent; $20,000 to $22,000 taxable income bracket from 56 to 25 percent. Scheduled reductions would be by annual stages for 5 years, this period possibly to be extended to 9 years in event postponement of reductions should be found necessary.

Procedures are provided for postponement—not more than 1 year for each scheduled reduction—by order of the President or by joint resolution in Congress, if loss of revenue from reduction in taxes might throw the national budget out of balance. This keying tax reductions to balancing of the budget has the effect of compelling big Federal spending programs to compete with regularly scheduled reductions, thus putting a brake on future spending plans.

Progressively reducing the Government's confiscation of individuals' and industry's earnings should result in increased investment capital available for building and expanding in the industrial field. This factor should stimulate production, boost earnings and thereby produce an enlarged source of revenues, in addition to those coming naturally from the normal economic growth. Here is a twofold factor giving rise to the prospect that most, if not all, loss of revenues from lower taxes would be made up.

Rough estimates place the 5-year period's total of individual tax savings at $10.6 billion, 60 percent of the sum going to taxpayers in the brackets of $6,000 and less. Total corporate tax saving for the period should be about $4.2 billion, making a grand total of $14.8 billion less taxes to be paid in that period.

The rally of popular support for the Sadlak bill, the call for committee hearings, is more than a bid for those savings. This bill represents the first concrete and formalized endeavor to root out the evils of the supergrowth of centralized government power.

Declaration of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial written by Mr. John Finney for the Daily Herald, Columbia, Tenn. In my opinion this is an excellent article commemorating the 181st anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

The editorial follows:

OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES AND OUR SACRED HONOR

Tomorrow is the 181st anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, a document which takes its place with England's Magna Carta as a milestone in the continuing fight for individual, as well as national, freedom and justice.

This Declaration of the Continental Congress, drafted by Thomas Jefferson and approved and signed by a great assemblage of men, is worth study on this anniversary date in 1957.

Its signers included John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Harrison, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee and George Wythe, among many other notables, as well as Button Gwinnett, who became well known for the scarcity of his signature, and John Hancock for the flourish of his, the first.

It is a moving document.

Its first paragraph shows that it signers had a sense of history. This first paragraph said:

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

Immediately this document plunges into the basic reasoning, the political philosophy of these founding fathers. Thus the second paragraph opens:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government."

The Declaration goes on to say that this should not be done for frivolous causes, and then lists a long catalog of injustices depriving the governed of their just rights, taking the King of Great Britain to task for refusal to allow the passage of certain laws, for dissolving the governing body, for unjust taxes and for waging war against us, adding that he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns and destroyed the lives of our people, and besides, he has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages. It is then mentioned that the people have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms but without avail and that now, therefore, in General Congress Assembled we are appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World in dissolving the former governments and setting up a new.

Then come the immortal closing lines, a vivid reminder that had the colonies lost the Revolution, which at times there seemed no hope of winning, it would have been a rebellion, its leaders would have been hung and their estates confiscated, and we might have been, until this day, a colony of Great Britain.

Here are the closing words which should give us pause today:

"And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Caught in the Wringer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, for the past several years, tobacco producers, manufacturers, and processors have met with serious problems. The demands for different types of tobacco have changed drastically. With the changing patterns problems have arisen.

In the July 8, 1957, issue of the United States Tobacco Journal there appeared a very enlightening editorial pointing out the difficulties confronting our tobacco people.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to include the editorial which is entitled "Caught in the Wringer":

CAUGHT IN THE WRINGER

The shifting patterns of cigarette consumption have caused drastic changes in the marketing of leaf tobacco and tobacco products. In a brief span of a few years, smokers' tastes have undergone a dramatic transformation with the result that today the conventional-size cigarette is smoked by only half the cigarette smokers.

Filter and king now account for the other half of the cigarette market. And the evidence is growing daily that these two newcomers will seize an even larger share of cigarette sales in 1957.

Perhaps the most violent dislocation stemming from the smoking revolution has been felt in the leaf end of the industry. Not only do the newer sizes of cigarettes require less tobacco than the regular type but, to some extent, they utilize different kinds and grades of leaf.

This has produced a heavy demand for leaf types which traditionally were accorded a secondary role in the popular cigarette blends. But the newer sizes of cigarettes and the changing of blends suddenly have given a premium value to leaf tobacco formerly carrying lower price tags.

Grades of leaf historically regarded as earmarked for the export buyers or for the noncigarette domestic market (such as pipe and chewing tobacco) no longer are available at attractive prices or ample quantities. The bidding for these once easy-to-buy types has become highly competitive.

Thus, through no fault of their own, the traditional purchasers of these types have been hard-pressed to obtain their customary leaf requirements on the auction markets. These exporters and smoking tobacco manufacturers are the victims of fate—or foible of the smokers. They are caught in an economic wringer.

Certainly, under the free enterprise system, neither the leaf grower nor the cigarette manufacturer can be criticized for this unhappy turn of events. The grower seeks the highest return for the fruit of his toil. The cigarette producer seeks to give his customers what they want when they want it.

Of course, the harshness of the facts of economic life does not add any solace to the manufacturer of smoking tobacco, for example, who must pay sky-rocketing prices for his tobacco. It does not make any more pleasant the prospect of raising consumer prices on a product which for years has been plagued with sales atrophy.

If pipe smokers are wondering why their favorite blend costs more than it did a few months ago, they can blame it on the filter cigarette smokers.

Stand of Sudeten Germans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, we are all still very much concerned with the problems of the refugees and expellees in Europe—problems attributable in the major part to the Potsdam and Yalta Agreements. These problems have given great concern to peoples interested in justice and the right of peoples everywhere to enjoy the fruits of their labors in their respective homelands.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter which appeared in the New York Times on June 30, 1957, dealing with the problem of expellees and refugees in Germany:

STAND OF SUDETEN GERMANS—LIBERATION OF CZECHS, UNIFICATION OF EUROPE SAID TO BE GOAL

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The writer of the following letter, a member of Parliament in Bonn, was before the war a member of the Czech Parliament representing the trade unions within the (Sudeten) German Christian Democratic Party.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Having spent the last few weeks as guest of the Department of State in your wonderful country, I have only now had brought to my attention the article by your Bonn correspondent, M. S. Handler, dated April 11, Refugees in West Germany Seek Return of Lands Hitler Annexed. Since it is not just a news item but deals with a basic question of interest to millions of refugees, permit me to comment upon it.

According to your report the all-German bloc stated "that any future government of reunited Germany must insist on the reincorporation of * * * the Sudetenland." While this may be the position of the all-German bloc, your readers may want to know the official stand of the Sudeten German Association and their leadership, of which I am a member.

The Sudeten German Association has a membership of about 350,000 out of a total Sudeten German population of 3,500,000, of which about 2,000,000 today live in Western Germany.

RIGHT TO HOMELAND

We do not believe that the Sudeten German question should be argued from the angle of frontiers or boundaries. We hold this to be an obsolete viewpoint. We maintain that every individual has a right to live freely and undisturbed in his homeland, just as he has the inherent right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. This aforementioned right is a new political term. We call it "Heimatrecht" in German (right to the homeland).

In a declaration called charter of the expellees the latter in 1950 solemnly renounced every thought of revenge and retaliation.

In addition, we believe more than ever in self-determination for all peoples as proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson in 1917. In practical terms this would mean the right of every Sudeten German, wherever he may live today, to return to his native country, if he wishes, and to decide freely upon its future political status. We are, of course, fully aware that no Sudeten German would want to return to his homeland while it is under Czech Communist domination.

CZECH ATTITUDE

Therefore, the liberation of our Czech friends from their own Communist dictatorship is a prerequisite for any just solution. We believe that after the experiences of the last 12 years Czechs would reconcile themselves with or even welcome the return of the Sudeten Germans with whom they have shared Bohemia and Moravia for a thousand years. Our successful negotiations with a growing number of Czech exile groups bear out this contention.

The Sudeten Germans believe in and work for a united and federated Europe in which the question of frontiers will have lost its

importance for the Czechs and Sudeten Germans as well as for other peoples.

Wherever I went in the United States I have found a great deal of understanding and sympathy for the ideas outlined above. Therefore it seems to me that all peoples concerned would welcome it if the United States were to take the lead and made an official declaration in this direction.

HANS SCHUETZ.

NEW YORK, *June 22, 1957.*

Pearson Replies to Loyd Wright

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 4, 1957, makes most interesting reading, and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

PEARSON REPLIES TO LOYD WRIGHT

(By Drew Pearson)

Loyd Wright, the Los Angeles friend of Vice President NIXON who wants newsmen sent to jail for revealing unauthorized information, has just charged a group of national magazines, newspapers and columnists as "purveyors of information vital to national security, purloined by devious means" which "gives aid to our enemies as effectively as the foreign agent."

The Army's Chief of Information, Maj. Gen. Guy Meloy, subsequently informed Congress that he didn't know of a single case where a newspaperman had "stolen or purloined secret military information."

However, since Wright singled me out among 119 well-known magazines, newspapers, and writers and chose to mention me alone by name, I should like to diagnose the columns to which he refers and let the public decide whether they gave "aid to our enemies." Here are the columns cited by Wright:

Wake Island conference: On January 23, 1951. I reported the stenographic record of the talk between President Truman and Gen. Douglas McArthur in their mid-Pacific conference at which MacArthur said: "I hope to be able to have the Eighth Army back in Japan by Christmas." The conversation included various other direct quotes.

When the New York Times published an almost identical story April 21, 1951, using the same quotes, it was awarded a Pulitzer prize.

Chinese report on United States retreat: On January 31, 1951, I published the partial text of a captured Chinese combat bulletin giving the enemy's secret estimate of American fighting ability. The report was humiliating to the United States in that it pointed to United States inefficiency and lack of morale. However, it revealed nothing to the enemy, since the enemy wrote it.

On the other hand, it pointed to weaknesses which the United States had to cure if it was to win in Korea. The United States has always operated on the theory that it could not only take criticism but benefit from it.

MacArthur's intelligence: On December 30, 1950, I published extracts from General MacArthur's own intelligence reports on the size of the Chinese army which were at wide variance with his own public statements on that matter.

MacArthur, in trying to alibi his retreat from North Korea, stated on December 2, that there were about 500,000 Chinese troops in Korea. On December 4 he upped his estimate to more than 1 million Chinese in Korea or on the border. On December 15 he announced that "a bottomless well of Chinese Communist manpower continues to flow into Korea."

I had reported that the Chinese forces were nowhere near as great as MacArthur claimed, only to be met with MacArthur's own official denials.

Therefore, on December 30, I published excerpts from the reports of MacArthur's own intelligence chief, Gen. Charles Willoughby, estimating on December 6, 2 days after MacArthur's million-man announcement, that there were only 96,000 Chinese opposite the U. N. Eighth Army. I also published General Willoughby's report: "Lack of CCF (Chinese army) on Eighth Army front due to deep withdrawal executed by Eighth Army, it is evident that enemy, lacking any great degree of mobility, has been unable to regain contact."

This, in military language, meant that the Chinese, lacking transportation (mobility) had been unable to keep up with the fast retreat of the Eighth Army. In other words, MacArthur's troops, according to his own intelligence officer, had run too fast.

Wright states that this revealed secrets to the enemy. It was published 1 month after the enemy knew all too well about the most ignominious retreat in American military history, but when the American people had not yet grasped the full portent of that retreat.

Incidentally, the above Willoughby report was published only after checking with a top Pentagon spokesman to make sure no military security would be breached.

Ridgway's promotion: On April 30, 1951, I published an abbreviated exchange of cables between the Pentagon and General MacArthur in Tokyo in which Washington notified MacArthur that it planned to promote Gen. Matthew Ridgway, newly appointed Korean combat commander to be a full general; and in which MacArthur opposed his promotion. This column, which Wright complains about, revealed nothing more than military politics.

Less consumer goods: On December 4, 1951, I published the minutes of a meeting at the Office of Defense Mobilization at which it was argued that the production of refrigerators, autos, and other consumer goods might have to be curtailed. I quoted production chief Manly Fleischmann: "If the production of consumers' durable goods is reduced more than an additional 10 percent, it will be necessary to convert entirely to defense." This revealed that the American public might have to tighten its belt, but it gave no secrets to an enemy.

Korean prison riots: On May 17, 1952, after Gen. Francis Dodd had been captured by rioting North Koreans on Koje Island, I published the teletyped bawling-out which Gen. Omar Bradley sent to Gen. Mark Clark and Gen. Charles Colson for letting the prisoners get out of hand. The riots were already front-page news. The fact that Bradley acted promptly and indignantly was healthy for the American people to know.

Subsequently on August 14, 1953, I received a letter from General Bradley as he retired as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: "As I look back over the past 8 years I think of the many times you and your assistant Jack Anderson have had our interests at heart and in this way have contributed to my getting my job done."

Apparently he would not agree with Wright.

This year the Defense Department wrote a similar letter of appreciation for the cooperation of my office in submitting a copy of the now famous Nickerson memo on guided missiles in order to make certain nothing in it would breach national security.

United States Policy on H-Bomb Testing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, on June 13, 1957, I addressed a letter to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles concerning H-bomb tests and the dangers of nuclear fallout. I have now received an official reply from the State Department which I believe is most interesting since it outlines American policy and thinking on this matter at the present time.

Briefly, I had proposed in my letter that the United States should issue a declaration to the world stating that this country will make no H-bomb tests for a period of 6 months regardless of what other countries do. In this declaration the United States is to state clearly that we are taking this action in the interests of safeguarding humanity and civilization against the mortal perils of nuclear fallout.

Furthermore, I proposed that the declaration is to call on Soviet Russia and Great Britain to follow our example in accepting "this brief moratorium or trial period for the suspension of nuclear tests," and that if this 6-month trial period proves a success on the part of all concerned then it can be extended for a longer period of time.

On July 8, 1957, the State Department addressed a reply to my letter, signed by John S. Hoghland II, Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

It is worth recalling at this point that at the disarmament conference, now going on in London, the United States recently proposed the suspension of H-bomb tests for a period of 10 months. I prefer to believe that my letter to Secretary Dulles had something to do with the formulation of the proposal made by our delegation at the London conference.

Mr. Speaker, for this reason I believe it will be worth while to insert into the RECORD the text of the State Department's reply and my original letter.

The letters follow:

JUNE 13, 1957.

Hon. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing to you not only in my capacity as a Member of Congress and as spokesman for the people of my district, but also as the father of five children. During these past few weeks I have given considerable thought, as millions of others have done, to the mortal perils of nuclear fallout—the perils for our own generation, but even more so for our children and grandchildren.

Scientists seem to be generally agreed that radioactive elements which were unleashed by A-bombs and H-bombs since 1945 are already damaging human health all over the world. There may be some debate as to the degree of such damage, but no one questions the danger involved. As more of these bombs are exploded the physical danger increases since the atmosphere becomes more polluted with radioactive material.

It has been suggested that the three major nations experimenting with nuclear weap-

ons, the United States, Soviet Russia, and Great Britain, should agree to stop these experiments for the safety of the entire human race. Others have maintained that if we stop testing nuclear weapons, then we might face the danger of losing our position of leadership in this field and in due time the United States would assume an inferior position to Russia who would utilize it for its own selfish purposes.

If there is no imminent danger to the security of our Nation, I should like to propound this question: Could we continue our nuclear research without tests for a period of 6 months and yet not suffer to any material extent the loss of our present leadership position? Would we be in a vulnerable spot if we abstained from such tests for 6 months? If the answer to these questions is that we could continue our research without tests and yet not endanger our position, then I would like to suggest the following proposal:

Let the United States come forward with a flat declaration to the world that we have decided to make no further H-bomb tests for the next 6 months, regardless of what other countries do, because we earnestly believe it to be in the best interests of humanity and civilization. At the same time we will call on Russia and Britain to do likewise during the same trial period. In other words, declare a brief moratorium or trial period for the suspension of nuclear tests. I believe that public opinion throughout the world would force Russia and Great Britain to follow our example.

By our action, we would demonstrate to the world that the American people are taking the initiative to end the destruction of the human race. It would also show that the American people and its Government are sincerely and genuinely dedicated to world peace.

Naturally, if this 6-month trial period proves to be a successful experiment on the part of all nations concerned, it can then be extended for a longer period of time. In this way, perhaps, we can avert the threat to our own and to future generations. In this way, too, we can provide our children and grandchildren with an equal opportunity of coming into this world as normal human beings and with the hope of living a normal life free from the perils of radioactive fallout which are threatening them.

I believe, Mr. Secretary, that millions of people in this country and abroad would be most interested in your views regarding this proposal.

Sincerely yours,

VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Member of Congress.

JULY 8, 1957.

Hon. VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. ANFUSO: I refer to your letter of June 13, 1957, concerning fallout and a proposal that the United States halt nuclear tests for 6 months.

It is believed that a review of the testimony given at the recent fallout hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy would not bear out the statement, "scientists seem to be generally agreed that radioactive elements which were unleashed by A-bombs and H-bombs since 1945 are already damaging human health over all the world." The record will show that there is general agreement among scientists on the amount of fallout received and the amount of strontium 90 in the body. It is recognized that the extra radiation from the test fallout is a small fraction of the natural dosage individuals receive from their own bodies and surroundings and cosmic rays. Radiation from test fallout is very small when compared with the radiation produced by medical and dental X-rays to which many individuals are exposed. Dr. Libby, of the Atomic Energy Commission, you may recall, has pointed out that an individual may receive doses which far exceed those from fallout by living in a brick house or in the mountains.

The Committee on Genetic Effects of the NAS–NRC noted in its report released in June 1956 that "the fallout dose to date (and its continuing value if it is assumed that the weapons-testing program will not be substantially increased) is a small one as compared with the background radiation, or as compared with the average exposure in the United States to medical X-rays." The following excerpt is taken from its conclusions: "The fallout from weapons testing has, so far, led to considerably less irradiation of the population than have the medical uses—and has therefore been less detrimental. So long as the present level is not increased this will continue to be true; but there remains a proper concern to see to it that the fallout does not increase to more serious levels." At the recent fallout hearings Dr. H. Bentley Glass, who is a member of the Committee, commented that no data have become available in the past year to warrant changing the earlier conclusion.

From the foregoing, one should not conclude that there is no risk to be taken in connection with nuclear testing. There is a small risk, however, it is small in comparison with the ordinary risks that we take all the time. At the fallout hearings, Dr. Libby asked the following question, to which only an affirmative answer can be given: "Are we willing to take this very small and rigidly controlled risk, or would be prefer to run the risk of annihilation which might result if we surrendered the weapons which are so essential to our freedom and our actual survival?"

Regarding the advisability of a 6 months' unilateral suspension of nuclear testing, a detailed review of the entire disarmament problem (as it relates to nuclear weapons) has led to the conclusion that the heart of the nuclear threat is ever-increasing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Accordingly, the United States has proposed that, under effective inspection, at a given date, all future production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes should cease and that transfers from past production to peaceful uses should begin. Within the framework of such an agreement it would be possible to undertake either a suspension or a complete elimination of all nuclear weapons testing. For these reasons, a unilateral move merely to suspend testing for a short period would appear not to attack the most important and potentially dangerous aspect of the nuclear threat. It might tend instead to give a misleading impression of progress toward a safeguarded disarmament agreement. It is the view of the Department of State that any agreement on testing should be a part of a first step in a general disarmament agreement that would include provisions for the cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. HOGHLAND II,
Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations
(For the Secretary of State).

A Note on Patriots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of July 6, 1957:

A NOTE ON PATRIOTS

The cynics of this world often poke fun at the dedicated, patriotic citizen who remains in the armed services—usually at relatively modest pay, at least in the noncommissioned ranks—to serve his country. Yet we are not so sure that the patriots of earlier times do not receive their rewards.

As an example of what we are talking about, we recently enjoyed a true story on television depicting the life of a master sergeant of the Air Force who had spent 20 years in the service and who was highly qualified to keep the planes flying. The sergeant had become a highly trained and vital cog in the Air Force machine, and there was no one available to replace him when he was offered a more lucrative job by private industry.

In spite of the fact that his family did not enjoy the luxuries and advantages some other families enjoyed, and in spite of the fact that he could obtain many of these things by accepting private employment, the master sergeant—who loved the service and liked the idea of serving his country—refused the tempting offer and remained in the Air Force.

In specialty fields, such as aviation, electronics and guided missiles, one can find many examples of this type of loyalty and devotion to one's country. These men and even women are the unsung heroes of their time.

It is the availability to the services of citizens who love their country, their work, and their service which strengthens our country and which gives us greater security than we could otherwise obtain. We salute the specialists in the armed services whose jobs are of vital importance and who often turn down more money in order to serve their country and be a part of the defense team of the United States. The satisfaction of leading such a life must be great. Their pay should be more.

Farmers Disgusted About Eggs, but no Spare Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a series of letters from my constituents: Mr. and Mrs. Joe Fuxa, of Bejou, show eggs going for 21 cents, top grade, 15 cents lower grade; Mr. Albert Katrba, of Goodridge, has too much rain, but inadequate egg prices to even cope with the feed costs; Mr. Adolph Brevik, of Kennedy, says egg prices are 23 cents, but were 19 cents. So you see the poultry raiser is not laying away any spare money. George M. Johnson, of Trail, Minn., urges support prices above the inadequate 23 cents per dozen for grade A eggs; Mr. Robert Sundberg, of Grygla, quotes extra large A-grade eggs at 21 cents, A-grade—medium—18 cents, B-grade, large, 15 cents, No. 2, 15 cents, pullet eggs, 15 cents This is the amount per dozen. Hens,

springers, and roosters all sell for 8 cents per pound.

Consumers should realize the hardship our farmers are going through:

BEJOU, MINN., *July 2, 1957.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE COYA KNUTSON: We are very disgusted with the egg prices.

I am enclosing one of our egg tickets.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. JOE FUXA.

BASTYR HATCHERY & PRODUCE CO.,
Mahnomen, Minn.

EGGS, grade: S. P., 21 cents; medium, 18 cents; C grade, 15 cents.

GOODRIDGE, MINN., *July 5, 1957.*

COYA KNUTSON,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR COYA: Enclosed you will find a sales ticket on eggs for June 10.

The farmers sure are disgusted with the egg prices. Very few have young pullets for replacement. The cost of feed is too high before these pullets come into production.

I live about 20 miles north of Gully. We have had too much rain since June 17 so I haven't been able to put up any hay yet. Our grain crop will only be about 50 percent. Some farmers suffered a 100-percent loss of their crop where the ditch backed up or the river ran out of its banks. With all the surplus why don't they give some of these farmers feed for their cattle. I remember in 1937 we were hard hit by water at harvest time. In the winter we received feed free. We were able to fatten our lambs and hogs and still had some left for the cattle.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

ALBERT KATRBA.

LAND O'LAKES CREAMERIES, INC.,
Thief River Falls, Minn.

EGG RECEIVING RECORD

Grade A, large, 20 cents; grade A, medium, 16 cents; grade C, No. 2, 15 cents.

TRAIL, MINN., *July 8, 1957.*

COYA KNUTSON,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR COYA: * * * The egg prices as of this week in our local community are: Eggs, No. 1, 23 cents; eggs, medium and extra, 18 cents; eggs, No. 2, 15 cents.

This is the highest they have been for several months. For a time they were a mere 19 cents for No. 1.

We are urging you to try and get supports on egg prices.

Your truly,

GEORGE M. JOHNSON.

World Government: The End of a Fantasy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting as part of my remarks an article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal yesterday by Mr. William Henry Chamberlain. He states that the foolish but once popular dream of world government is gradually being demolished by time and experience. His article follows:

What has become of the fantasy, so popular immediately after the end of the last war, of setting up a world federal government that would make good the writ of international law?

There was a time when world federalist organizations made a considerable splash in this country, when State legislatures passed resolutions favoring world government, when college professors abandoned bridge and crossword puzzles for the more exciting diversion of drawing up constitutions for a world state, with attempts to balance the competing claims of population, literacy, political and economic power in voting procedures for a world parliament.

Now there is a vast silence on this subject. Some of the State legislative resolutions have been rescinded; the others have been forgotten. Little is heard of the young man who once made headlines by proclaiming himself a citizen of the world and getting himself expelled from various countries for lack of proper passport credentials. The groups which still plug the cause of world federalism attract scant attention.

Decisive proof of the fadeout of support for the idea of a supranational organization with coercive power is the failure of any nation to take advantage of the provision in the United Nations Charter which authorizes the calling of a convention to revise the charter 10 years after it went into effect. For a time there was much talk of "strengthening the U. N." by means of such a convention. One form of this strengthening was to be the abolition or limitation of the right of the five permanent members of the Security Council to veto any action by that body.

INSUPERABLE ROADBLOCK

It was obvious to any observer that the Soviet veto, cast so many times on much less important issues, was an insuperable roadblock to any attempt to eliminate the great power veto from the U. N. Charter. Still, it would have been possible to call a conference for the revision of the charter and place responsibility for frustrating this aim on the Soviet Union if there had been any general belief that any good purpose could have been served thereby.

But a long series of experiences, including the developments last autumn in Hungary and the Middle East, plainly indicated the futility of trying to invest the U. N. with the attributes of a supergovernment. In the case of Hungary, which was about as clear a case of right against wrong as could be imagined, the U. N. achievement was precisely zero; its reaction consisted of a series of disapproving resolutions with no suggestion of sanctions or action.

It's just as in the old story of the Scottish nobles who were discussing how to get rid of an unpopular court favorite; the whole issue came down to the question: "Who will bell the cat?" Clearly the U. N. was in no position to "bell" such a formidable and predatory cat as the Soviet Union.

Formally the U. N. succeeded in stopping the fighting in Egypt. But this was only because, most unusually, the two great powers of the postwar world, the United States and the Soviet Union, were in agreement on the question—for somewhat different reasons and objectives. Had the United States and the Soviet Union been backing different sides, the deadlock would have been insoluble by anything the U. N. could have done.

The forging of a nation in which people live by consent under the constitutional authority of a government is no simple or easy task. It presupposes many generations of shared patriotic memories, of political, economic and cultural traditions.

More than once experience has shown that peoples of quite similar general backgrounds, geographically adjacent to each other, can be better friends and neighbors if they lead separate national lives. Norway and Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands are examples.

MISSING LINKS

A world state would completely lack this cement of shared ideals, common experiences, development of constitutional and political traditions. Where would be the essential link, for instance, between Switzerland and Ghana, between Denmark and Burma, between Luxembourg and Liberia?

The phrase "one world," tossed out during World War II, is highly inaccurate and misleading in its implication that there are common purposes and objectives uniting all the nations of the world. Actually the world is much more deeply and fundamentally divided in 1957 than it was in 1857, when there was no ideology aiming at world conquest, no systematic exclusion of ideas as part of a cold war.

Means of travel and technical communication have indeed vastly improved. But this is of little practical significance when peoples under dictatorial regimes are deliberately kept in ignorance of living conditions and ideas which might inspire in their subjects dangerous thoughts and unfavorable comparisons.

The upsurge of former colonial peoples, most pronounced in Asia, but spreading to Africa, creates another split in the imaginary one world. Is there any common denominator of agreed law and justice that could be successfully applied to the fierce struggle that goes on in Algeria, to the tension in South Africa, to the controversy over the nationalization and operation of the Suez Canal?

POLES APART

Unfortunately there is no such common denominator. What seems right and natural to the French settler in Algeria or to the Boer farmer in South Africa does not satisfy Algerian and South African native nationalists. There was a similar failure to agree on terms of reference between the chief users of the Suez Canal, Britain and France, and Egyptian dictator Nasser.

The cry for world government was to some extent an outgrowth of the belief during the war that the coalition which called itself the United Nations was really permanently united. As it became clear that this was very far from being the case—that Soviet purposes and objectives were widely different from those of the Western Powers—the idea of world government was more and more appraised as an unreal and unrealizable fantasy. Once again time and experience seem to be furnishing the best cure for a foolish notion.

Platform of the Young Republican National Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I was very privileged recently to sit in on several sessions of the Young Republican National Convention held here in Washington at the Statler Hotel, June 19 to June 22. These young people represented every State in the Union and hammered out a platform that deserves the thoughtful consideration of all of us interested in the future well-being of these United States:

PLATFORM OF THE YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION, ADOPTED IN WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 22, 1957

PREAMBLE

We believe that America is a great Nation because, among other things, its citizens look to the future. Always, there is a driving effort for improvement.

As young people, we must assume a major role in the determination of today's national policy for, in the American tradition, it is today's policy which establishes the pattern for tomorrow.

We must assume this role on the basis of demonstrated ability and responsibility. We must provide a "power for progress."

We believe today's policy for tomorrow must rest on certain basic principles:

A strong and nonappeasement policy with respect to the conspiratorial menace of international communism; a program based firmly on principle in our relations with our allies and neutral nations; a domestic policy which strives unceasingly for the promotion of our free enterprise system; a reduction in the national debt; a decrease in the heavy tax burden that our citizens carry and which, at its present rate, tends to destroy individual initiative and progress; a firm adherance to the constitutional separation of the powers between the congressional, executive, and judicial branches of the Government and a respect for the limited powers of the Federal Government, which in the Constitution sustains the authority of the respective States of the Union to deal with those issues that traditionally have fallen in the States rights field.

As young people, we believe the Republican Party provides the superior vehicle for the application of these principles.

We are proud of the leadership which Dwight D. Eisenhower has given to the Republican Party and to the American people in today's policy decisions for tomorrow. We deplore the acts of a Democrat-controlled Congress, alien to these principles, which are bent on the destruction of President Eisenhower's program.

We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly for the election of a Republican Congress in 1958.

We further recommend that the national party exploit every means of more firmly establishing the party in those areas in which it has been previously the minority party and that cognizance be given the necessary issues essential for such expansion in the hitherto weaker sections of Republican Party strength.

Since we are a truly national party, unlike our opposition, and particularly since our party governs the executive branch of our Government, there will be a strong emphasis on national issues in the 1958 campaign. But even though national issues might be a strong factor, it is vital that Republican candidates for United States Senate, House of Representatives, State office, State and Territorial legislature, and county government run on a basis of their own records, objectives, and proposals. Each of these candidates will be elected to represent the people of a limited area, and it is their duty to represent these areas to the best of their ability.

We strongly believe, however, that the President's program is just and rests on sound Republican principles of government and that the Republican Party platform gives ample evidence of our party's desire and ability to provide the people of this Nation with the best possible government.

We believe that the 1957 Young Republican platform reflects the views of a majority of our Nation's youth and is not just a reflection of the personal opinions of a majority of Young Republicans attending this convention.

As Young Republicans, we pledge ourselves to the continued integrity and competence of our National Government. The Republican administration will continue not to tolerate any diversion from an uncompromising code of honesty and ethics in Government service.

AGRICULTURE

We, as a generation of young people, resolve that we will seek an agriculture that is expanding to keep pace with our changing economy, prosperous in providing an abundant life for farm and ranch people in fair comparison with that of other groups of our population, and free to manage its own affairs.

We all agree that agriculture is entitled to a fair share of this Nation's record prosperity. We propose to see that it gets its. Our goal is to raise the net income per farm family.

We recognize that agriculture's problem is basically one of overproduction with resulting low prices and low incomes. We believe that the responsibility of government is to help farmers and ranchers adjust their production, so that they can sell in competitive markets at prices which will give an hour's labor or dollar invested a comparable return with returns received in other segments of our economy.

Because agriculture's problem is one of income, not prices, we commend the gradual transition from rigid price supports which have priced agricultural produce out of the market at home and abroad, encouraged substituted accumulated surpluses and otherwise interfered with production and sound farm and ranch management.

We recognize that there is at present a clear and serious problem confronting agriculture which was inherited by the Republican administration from the inept social planners of the previous administration.

While we believe that the Republican administration's Agricultural Acts of 1954 and 1956 were first steps in the right direction and while we support the disposal programs, the soil bank, and the beginning of flexibility in price support as major tools to deal with current farm problems, we know they are not the complete solution to our farm and ranch problem.

We commend the Department of Agriculture for its administration of drought relief, disaster, and credit programs which have permitted tens of thousands of young farmers to remain in operation in spite of natural hardships.

We need to revise some of our programs, however, so that they may better serve the needs of our farm people. Now is the time, while the soil bank and the disposal programs are in effect, to make the transition to a sounder policy.

We believe markets for food and markets for industrial and nonfood uses of agricultural products should be and can be greatly expanded with proper programs directed to the consumer and with adequate research.

Because America is fortunately blessed with a healthy, expanding, productive agriculture, our greatest need at present is to find economic use for the God-given abundance. We believe markets for food and markets for industrial and nonfood uses of agriculture products should and must be greatly expanded. We therefore urge an immediate expansion of farm product utilization research, believing this to be one of the most desirable means through which Government can bring about a permanent solution to our farm problem.

We recommend that the entire imported farm labor program be removed from the Department of Labor and placed in the Department of Agriculture.

We support the rural development program which gives special attention to the problems peculiar to small farmers. It can help open the doors of opportunity to more than a million farm families with incomes of less than a thousand dollars a year. We hope this program will grow in scope and effectiveness.

Because of the mechanization of agriculture it takes increasingly larger amounts of capital to establish a farm operation. This prevents many able young men from entering farming. Therefore, we urge the establishment of intermediate and long-term credit facilities to provide funds for operational loans with 5–15 year repayment periods to deserving young farm families. We feel these funds should be supplied by private lending agencies with Government guaranty.

We do not subscribe to the thinking that the agricultural programs are undeserved special treatment of a segment of our economy. A free productive prosperous agriculture is vital to our Nation's peacetime prosperity and wartime security. We see no reason why agriculture should be singled out to stand alone while other segments of our economy receive protection and assistance.

Realizing that agriculture produces some 300 varied commodities which have vastly different problems we recommend a commodity by commodity approach toward farm programs. We again suggest that employment of a two-price system on certain commodities would be an example of this approach.

ANTITRUST

We believe in nurturing and strengthening our system of free enterprises which has contributed in great measure to making this country strong.

We urge continuing vigilance by the Department of Justice in its role of protector of freedom for initiative.

We commend the Federal Trade Commission, revitalized by Chairmen appointed by President Eisenhower, for its vigorous administration of the antitrust and trade regulation laws.

We recognize that the Commission by its greatly accelerated activity against hardcore violations of the antitrust laws and its abandonment of the previous Commission's predilection for peripheral law enforcement again fulfills its historic purpose in the maintenance of the American competitive system.

We recommend that the Commission continue its enlightened program of consultation and cooperation with business so that industry and particularly small business can determine the actions that it must take to comply with the law.

BUSINESS

Historically, the Republican Party is the party of free enterprise under whose leadership we have had the most prosperous years in our history. We shall continue to fight for sound aids to small business and to promote a climate favorable to profitable research, invention, development, production, and marketing to maintain the highest standard of living in the world. Prosperous business increases the prosperity of everyone.

We commend the Republican 83d Congress for creating the Small Business Administration which has done so much to assist this key segment of our economy and urge a restudy of SBA policies to allow the inclusion of additional types of American business not now eligible for loan assistance. These additional inclusions should be in keeping with current SBA economic and financial requirements.

As young people, many of whom are just starting out in small businesses, we express our appreciation to the Republican administration for creating a climate favorable to small business, recognizing its great contribution to our economy and our national standard of living.

CENSUS

We recognize the necessity for better, faster, and more extensive data on our economy if public and private decisions are to be soundly blessed. We applaud the successful efforts of the Eisenhower administration to streamline the collection and dissemination of business statistics.

CIVIL RIGHTS

We firmly believe in the fundamental truth that all men are created equal. We urge the strengthening of the birthright of each American to grow and work, to learn and worship freely. We favor an unceasing program of positive policies in civil rights.

We applaud the great progress which has been made under the Eisenhower administration in the area of equal opportunity and justice for all Americans. We believe that the only form of true progress in this field is achieved where there is mutual understanding and good will by all concerned. Recognizing the inherent worth and dignity of each individual, young Republicans realize that this Nation will reach its total strength only where there is an opportunity for each individual to employ his talents to the full extent of his ability, free from discrimination and prejudice.

We endorse the President's civil-rights program.

EDUCATION

We believe that the youth of America are at once a priceless resource. From their ranks must come the men and women of the next generation whose talents and skills constitute our fundamental strength as a world power.

We therefore pledge our every effort to assure today's generation of children and youth the quality of education tomorrow's citizens must have. There can be no escape from the fact that to keep our economy growing and dynamic, and to strengthen the Nation's security, our school system must be expanded.

We reaffirm our faith in the American tradition to insure freedom of education by removing our schools and colleges as far as possible from politics and relying upon control by local communities rather than upon control by the Federal Government.

We favor the proposals of the Eisenhower administration to encourage greater State and local building efforts and we call upon the States and communities to act vigorously to discharge their responsibilities.

Mindful of the inevitable connection between subsidization and control, we are unalterably opposed to Federal financial aid for general public education and school construction.

FISCAL POLICY

We believe in continued balancing of the budget at the lowest possible level of expenditure, a gradual reduction of the national debt, and reduction in the very heavy tax burden on the American people. These are important in the fight against inflation and in the effort to preserve the purchasing power of the dollar.

The budget

We commend the Republican administration for presenting three successive balanced budgets to the Congress.

The administration's leadership in the reduction of Federal expenditures has made possible the accomplishment of surpluses for the Government in the fiscal years 1956 and 1957 and the administration is committed by its present estimates to another surplus for the fiscal year 1958. If this commitment is realized—and we have no doubt that it will be—a record of surpluses in 3 successive years will have been made for the first time since the years 1928–30. This Republican achievement is a basic one and makes good one of the most important promises of the administration when it took office.

We recall also that the Republican 80th Congress gave the American people a balanced budget in opposition to a Democrat-controlled administration dedicated to deficit financing.

Nevertheless, there must be a concerted, self-deciplined and continued effort to reduce systematically Federal expenditures.

The administration should take whatever internal action is necessary to make certain that those who are responsible at the lowest levels of government for the preparation of the 1959 budget have been directed to utilize every means for the elimination of unnecessary personnel, nonessential administrative functions, and proposals for new expenditures.

We pledge ourselves to resist demands for new Federal spending programs and to insist that local and State governments assume responsibility, wherever possible, for those programs where there is serious need for government action.

Taxation

Federal taxes remain at levels which impose a great hardship on our people, particularly upon those young people who are trying to accumulate the resources to build a better future for themselves and their families. We believe taxes should be equitably reduced as soon as the Government's financial position is such that a reduction in a substantial amount can be made without incurring the risk of new deficits.

We are opposed to any use of borrowed money to finance further tax reduction. We recognize that deficit financing is a mortgage on the future security of our young people. We are certain that the Treasury's policy of applying to the public debt such surpluses as were realized in the fiscal year 1956 and 1957 meets with public approval.

Substantial tax relief has become a vital necessity for the maintenance of a strong and expanding economy here at home. We must never forget that the economy of the United States is the great bulwark of the free world. The present tax burden has a stultifying effect upon the healthy development of our economic system. It is a matter of simple justice, as well, that we should permit our people to spend a greater percentage of their incomes as they choose. It is time that rates of taxation enacted for the purpose of financing a war were ended.

The Republican Party is the party of low taxes. It was the Republican 80th Congress which reduced taxes for the first time in years. It was the Republican 83d Congress which enacted the largest reduction in taxes in the history of our Nation. It will be the Republican 86th Congress which next gives the American people the further relief which they so rightfully deserve.

Debt management

We commend the foresight with which the Treasury Department in dealing with the many problems of Government financing and debt management has faithfully coordinated its actions with the sound money policies of the Federal Reserve System. The Treasury has abstained from calling on the Federal Reserve for artificial support of the market for Government bonds; it has regulated its offerings of new securities so as to interfere as little as possible with the normal financing requirements of private business and industry; it has taken advantage of whatever opportunities there have been to lengthen the public debt maturities; it has maintained a vigorous sales program for United States savings bonds. Continuation of these policies will be to the Nation's great benefit.

Control of inflation

We commend the efforts of this Republican administration to check the ravages of inflation upon our people which during the previous Democrat administrations destroyed the savings of Americans, undermined the security of our aged citizens, and placed the American consumer in a losing battle against rising prices.

We endorse unreservedly the restrictive measures of the Federal Reserve System and related policies of the Treasury Department by which credit expansion of runaway proportions has been prevented and inflationary tendencies within the Nation's economy have been kept in check during 1956–57. By the actions of the Federal Reserve in the field of monetary policy and by the Treasury in the fields of debt management, taxation and Government economy, further price increases have been held to very small percentages during a period of markedly high economic activity and continued business and industrial expansion. Seldom if ever in the Nation's history has there been a more impressive demonstration of the effectiveness with which proper policies of the Federal Government can be made to encourage private enterprise while at the same time helping avoid economic pitfalls.

FOREIGN POLICY

We commend the Republican administration led by President Eisenhower for its foreign policy based on three interlocking principles—peace, justice, and liberty for nations and peoples. We accept change as a law of life and seek to assure that change will be benign and not destructive, promoting not merely survival but freedom and well-being.

We heartily applaud this administration for its many applications of these principles. We commend President Eisenhower for proposing, and the Republicans in Congress for supporting, the American doctrine for the Middle East—a vital example of action born of this policy.

Atoms for peace

As individuals and Republican Party members, we support the consecration of the gigantic power of the atom to help the world out of fear and into freedom, always bearing in mind that competitive enterprise is one of freedom's greatest bulwarks.

Disarmament

In the interest of promoting and perpetuating the era of peace which has been introduced by the Eisenhower administration, we call for the use of all possible resources of our Government and our people to support the present administration's negotiations on mutual disarmament.

Collective defense

We applaud our friends abroad for joining together with us in common defense arrangements against the aggressive and devious designs of international communism. We are proud of our collective defense system in which each member nation is completely sovereign.

We recall the warning of President Eisenhower that "unity among free nations is our only hope of survival."

Recognizing that adequate unity among democracies cannot be achieved solely by their governments but must extend to their peoples, we believe that all practicable means to this essential objective should be employed.

We, therefore, urge our Government to arrange a conference composed of eminent citizens from NATO nations, appointed to investigate comprehensively and extensively how the peoples of these nations might achieve greater unity.

Mutual security

We applaud the Republican administration for its enlightened and realistic proposals in the field of mutual security.

With respect to the economic aspects of the mutual security program, we urge that greater emphasis be placed upon the use of private investment, believing that this will produce a more efficient and sustained rise in the welfare of underdeveloped countries

and better relations between the United States and these nations. Where private investment is not feasible or where funds from the Export-Import Bank and other existing international lending agencies are not available, and direct action on a government-to-government basis is necessary to assist in the development of such countries, we favor the use of government loans wherever possible rather than the use of direct grants.

We oppose all military assistance to Communist nations.

Trade

We know that behind the shield of our collective defense arrangement, there must be growth and development or that shield will be a paper one. We support the administration in its advocacy of trade policies which promote the interchange of goods to mutual advantage. Under no condition, however, should such an interchange of goods be to the detriment of our American industrial, mining, processing, and developing segments of the economy, ending with a resultant loss in operation and income to both employer and employee. Furthermore, we call for an immediate review of tariff legislation to bring relief to hard-hit American industries.

We believe that the sharing of markets and of development capital, and positive cooperation with other nations to promote vigorous and expanding private initiative, assures that the free world will be a vigorous, hopeful community corresponding to our interests and to our ideals.

We believe effective control over foreign trade and the trade agreements program should be retained in the Congress.

As members of the age group which is most likely to be called upon to withstand future Communist aggression, we believe that trade with countries behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains should not be permitted wherever the effect will be to strengthen their war machines or to entrench their Communist rulers.

We support American participation in international trade fairs which are of special value not only in promoting trade but also in better acquainting the world with the American way of life and the fruits of free enterprise.

At the same time we recognize the dangers implicit in an indiscriminate expansion of so-called cultural exchanges with Communist governments whose true purpose is the degradation of all culture and the extinction of freedom itself.

Newly independent nations

We support the Republican administration in its belief that all peoples should have self-government and independence if they desire it and show the capacity to sustain it. Nineteen new nations with 700 million people have come into being, within the free world, during the past 10 years. International communism is on the prowl to capture these peoples. We reaffirm our championship of their independence from foreign domination and support the Eisenhower program to assist them in reaching political maturity.

CAPTIVE NATIONS

We support President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles in their pledge that our country will never make a political settlement at the expense of captive nations. We oppose the recognition of a regime in China erected on the bones of freedom-loving men. We revere and honor those who as martyrs gave their blood for freedom in all captive nations around the world.

We particularly command the administration's continuing demands for the withdrawal of Russian troops from all nations where they hold subject peoples by force and terror, and its demands for the institution of free elections.

TREATIES

We note with concern that many of the rights and liberties guaranteed to American citizens by the Constitution of the United States are in jeopardy of being compromised by certain treaties and agreements with other nations. We specifically refer to the rights of American servicemen overseas defending the United States who, if accused of criminal acts, are subject to tribunals which in many cases do not recognize the traditional safeguards of Anglo-American law.

We therefore recommend that our Government reexamine the various status of forces agreements with the purpose of insuring that the American flag and all it stands for will protect each member of our Armed Forces, even as they are defending this Nation and the Constitution.

UNITED NATIONS

We urge upon all citizens and understanding of the processes, potentialities and limitations of the United Nations, the Charter of which Secretary Dulles has described as "* * * coupling peace with justice and providing the most significant body of international law yet known." We reiterate our approval of the administration policy of cooperation with the U. N.

We continue to oppose U. N. membership for Communist China and note with pleasure the almost unanimous concurrence of the 84th Congress in this opinion.

We commend Senator KNOWLAND for his identification of and positive efforts toward the correction of five basic defects in the functioning of the United Nations: (1) The abuse of the veto power by the Soviet Union; (2) a growing double standard of international morality; (3) the increasing trend to bloc voting; (4) an expanding tendency to interfere in the internal affairs of member nations; (5) and the unwillingness of many member nations to share equitably the monetary costs and other obligations of the United Nations and its related activities while insisting on a full and equal vote in the making of decisions, the burdens of which must be assumed by others.

We,, as Young Republicans, recommend serious study of the possibility of establishing an independent U. N. armed force for the preservation of peace to reduce the need for costly individual nation military machines.

Vice President and Mrs. Nixon

We commend Vice President and Mrs. Nixon for the significant contributions they have made to international good will as representatives of President Eisenhower and the American people in their trips abroad.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

We commend and endorse the Hoover Commission, headed by former Republican President Herbert Hoover, for its extensive study of the executive branch of the Government in the quest for better government at less cost to the taxpayers of America.

Its many recommendations to improve and modernize the organization, methods, and procedures of the executive branch have been of great value. We pledge our untiring support to the Republican administration and to the Congress in their efforts to implement these important recommendations, and we denounce those who, for selfish and partisan reasons, oppose these efforts.

IMMIGRATION

We urge adoption of the President's proposed legislation to humanize the Immigration and Nationality Act. We support his proposals which would correct hardships and would make the administration of the law more flexible; and which would provide a solution to the problem of providing asylum to persons fleeing from aggression and persecution.

We also favor simplificaton of the administrative procedure under the Immigration and Naturalization Act to achieve the purpose of the act.

INTERNAL SUBVERSION

In recent years, a series of judicial decisions have rendered more difficult the administration and enforcement of an effective internal-security program. The following specific legislative proposals deserve the expeditious attention of the Congress and the appropriate executive agencies:

1. A clear-cut declaration that the enactment of internal-security legislation by the Federal Government shall not operate to suspend the enforcement of State legislation in the field of sedition and related fields.

2. An amendment to the Summary Suspension Act of 1950 expressly extending its application to all agencies and departments of the Federal Government and to all employees thereof, without regard to the so-called sensitive or nonsensitive nature of the positions held.

3. Establishment of a uniform rule of evidence authorizing the court in a criminal case to conduct a preliminary inspection of classified reports received by the prosecution, with a view to determining their relevancy to the case of the defense.

4. An unmistakably clear declaration that the penalties of the Smith Act are to apply to all cases in which overthrow of the Government is advocated.

In addition, the executive agencies concerned should take all necessary steps to halt the maraudings of the ostensible diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union and its satellites, who in their true capacity as police agents have frequently, and in some cases successfully, sought to tertorize refugees from Communist despotism into returning to their enslaved homelands.

Finally, it should be the continued policy of all three branches of the Federal Government to give all possible assistance to those executive and congressional agencies (such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee) which are daily investigating and thereby effectively combating the subversive influence of the Communist Party and its fellow travelers upon the lives of the American people.

We commend the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its immeasurable contribution as a bulwark against internal subversion. We honor J. Edgar Hoover whose immense practical experience and unparalleled moral and technical qualifications have made the work of this agency so effective.

INTERIOR AFFAIRS

We endorse the solid record of achievement by the Department of the Interior in promoting the sound conservation and development of the Nation's vital natural resources.

National affairs

We commend the farsighted and vigorous effort to improve our great national-park system. Under the Republican administration, some 400,000 acres have been added to our national parks and 90,000 acres to wildlife refuges. The first new national park since 1947 has been authorized. The rapidly growing need for recreational areas requires that we continue to expand and develop our park system to accommodate adequately the 80 million park visitors expected by 1966.

Minerals

We support the fostering of a long-range minerals program to assure the development and wise use of mineral resources. The work of Department of the Interior agencies in

finding new domestic sources of minerals and developing improved minerals processing techniques should be continued.

Public lands

We favor the fullest sound use of our public lands under the multiple-use policies of the Republican administration. The effort to spur the development by private initiative of the vast oil resources of the outer Continental Shelf over which the Federal Government has jurisdiction should be continued.

Indian lands

We urge expanded effort to assist our Indian citizens to assume their rightful place in our society which should be promoted by continued emphasis on soundly conceived programs for Indian education and welfare and by wise development and use of Indian land and forest resources.

LABOR

We again commend the administration, as we did in 1953, for its steadfast determination to initiate and pursue policies which have encouraged the development of this Nation's economy to its highest peacetime level. This effort, however, would have been of little avail if the period since 1953 had not been one of harmonious labor-management relations, a result which has been in no little part attained by the administration's equal determination to maintain the integrity of free collective bargaining by refraining from entering into labor disputes on the side of either labor or management.

We, therefore, believe wholeheartedly in, and support Secretary of Labor Mitchell's frequently stated proposition that mature management and mature labor are capable of reconciling their differences without the interference of Government.

We commend this administration for faithfully following this principle when it would have been easier to yield principle to expediency.

We commend Secretary of Labor Mitchell for proving the workability of the principles in which he believes. We believe that this effort sets an example in labor-management relations from which only benefit to the whole community can accrue if management and labor leaders follow it.

We recognize the great contributions made by many leaders and members of organized labor in helping to improve the working conditions and standard of living for the American worker and his family. The fact that certain improvements in legislation affecting the scope of activity and internal operations of our unions need be considered in view of existing facts, should not be the signal for any hysterical campaign to undermine the strength and, therefore, the effectiveness of organized labor.

We condemn those individuals who would seek to destroy unions because of the misdeeds of some union leaders and union practices. We believe, however, that certain corrective measures should be considered by the States and Federal Government in order to protect more fully the rights of the individual worker, the integrity of the union movement itself, and the general public. In this connection the following proposals are submitted:

1. We urge the National Labor Relations Board to conduct a reappraisal of employer-employee relations so as to exclude unlawful action by labor leaders which have heretofore permitted wrongs against person and property and interference with the use of highways under the guise of serving as a legitimate function of union activity in the course of employer-employee relations.

2. We urge that legislation be enacted so that labor unions are subject, insofar as possible, to the same liabilities and legal responsibilities as business organizations in connection with their activities, especially with respect to harmful combinations which would violate our antitrust laws.

3. We urge that the Taft-Hartley law be amended to prohibit compulsory union membership as a condition of employment.

4. We urge the necessary Federal legislation to protect funds in union welfare plans and in union treasuries, which funds are often accumulated on a checkoff system of collection, from any corruption and unlawful use. We favor vigorous enforcement of the laws which prohibit both the direct and indirect use of union funds, collected on a mandatory basis, on behalf of candidates for Federal office.

These recommendations are intended to develop legislation under which both business and labor are held to the same standard of conduct, and become equally responsible for the welfare of their organizations and the public good, working together in a spirit of mutual respect and cooperation.

We believe that joint Federal-State action directed to the reduction of on-the-job accidents resulting in substantial injury rates is meritorious and urge the Congress to favorably consider the administration's legislative proposal to accomplish this purpose.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Under President Eisenhower's leadership, our Armed Forces are better prepared than ever before to meet the threat of surprise attack against our homeland and to support the nations of the free world in their opposition to Communist expansion.

Throughout a series of crises in the Middle East, the presence of our naval forces in the area, backed up by airpower and mobile ground forces in Europe and at home, advanced the cause of peace by discouraging other nations from attempting military exploitation of the region's problems.

Here, as in other parts of the world—notably along the Iron Curtain in Europe and the Bamboo Curtain in Asia—our Armed Forces have demonstrated that ready strength, coupled with strong moral principles, represent truly a power for peace.

We commend the Republican administration for the skillful manner in which it is introducing major technological advancements into our Armed Forces without materially increasing the burden upon our economy.

Nuclear power for ships, atomic warheads for battlefield missiles, supersonic aircraft for continental defense, and rapid progress in development of the intercontinental ballistic missile are providing the American people with more and better defense for their tax dollars.

Most of all, we commend efforts to improve the training and status of Armed Forces personnel, for, in the final analysis, trained young people are our most precious national asset. The program of 6 months' military training, followed by service in the Reserve forces, has met with outstanding success. Measures are being drawn up to make service life more attractive to skilled technicians. Only by fully developing the potential of our young people in the Armed Forces as well as in science and the arts can we assure our peace, our prosperity, and ultimately our survival as a Nation.

PATENTS

Patent protection is vital to the retention and advancement of America's industrial position and, consequently, the system must be protected and strengthened through the development of more efficient procedures in the Patent Office.

POST OFFICE

We commend the Post Office Department, in the face of an ever-increasing amount of mail and population, for its accomplishment in reducing the staggering Post Office deficit and placing the Department on a more nearly break-even fiscal basis while at the same time providing the American people with improved and expedited mail service.

Since there has not been any appreciable increase in postal rates since 1932, we endorse an increase in postal rates as recommended by Postmaster General Summerfield and urge passage this session of the legislation now pending before the Congress.

The reduction of the postal deficit, and an increase in postal rates, are most important and necessary if we are to maintain a balanced Federal budget and make possible a future tax reduction.

PUBLIC WELFARE

Health statistics reflect the remarkably high level of health of the American people. Our life expectancy continues to increase; the more serious communicable diseases, including poliomyelitis, are being brought under control. Unexcelled sanitation programs have produced safe food and water; advances in industrial hygiene have brought protection from industrial hazards; research in medical science has pushed nearer the day when successful prevention or treatment of cardiovascular diseases and cancer may be achieved; voluntary health insurance of many different kinds have been made available through competitive enterprise that is cushioning the shock of the cost of illness to the majority of our people.

To maintain these advances and promote continuing progress we pledge our support to the healing professions in their enterprising efforts to promote better health for all Americans.

We support the free-enterprise system in health because of its proven ability to achieve its objectives. We oppose all efforts to impose Government control over the medical profession and other healing arts through compulsory health insurance or any other proposal that seeks that end.

We endorse Federal financial support of research in health as long as such funds can be used with maximum efficiency.

We commend the constructive steps taken in vocational rehabilitation which have provided medical services and vocational training to help record numbers of handicapped persons into productive employment. We support continued progress in this work.

We support the changes made by the Eisenhower administration to expand the coverage and increase the benefits under the old-age and survivors insurance program. We believe that the primary role of this program should be to provide basic protection against loss of income and that private pension plans should be expanded and improved to provide supplementary benefits.

We favor the development of programs for the aged and applaud the establishment by President Eisenhower of the Federal Council on Aging as a means of assuring a coordinated and constructive approach to the problems of our senior citizens.

STATEHOOD

We favor and urge immediate statehood for Hawaii, and for Alaska with adequate provision for defense requirements.

We favor and urge that each Territory be considered on its own merits; that is not necessarily in a single piece of legislation.

To assure future statehood for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, we believe that the Congress should recommend to the Puerto Rico Legislature that an election be held to determine if the people of Puerto Rico want statehood.

TRANSPORTATION

We advocate the maintenance and expansion of a strong, efficient, privately owned and operated and soundly financed system of common-carrier transportation by rail, water, air, and highway, that will serve all the needs of our Nation and that will enable each mode of transportation to pass on to the shipping and consuming public the savings implicit in

full demonstration of their inherent economic advantages.

Recognizing the extraordinary growth of aviation and the advent of the jet age, we commend the Republican administration for expediting the manning and equipment of air traffic control and navigation facilities for greater safety. This improvement program, however, should be stepped up to even higher levels to prevent impeding of air commerce and national defense by outmoded ground facilities.

We favor continued development of a sound civil air transportation system by America's privately owned air carriers, under the statutory responsibilities for regulation and administration vested in the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Civil Aeronautics Administration. We urge their continued vigilance to prevent military control of the public airways.

We support the time-tested principles of the Civil Aeronautics Act so that the scheduled air transport industry can continue to develop and finance the revolutionary-type equipment it proposes to offer the public in order that the public receive the expanded benefits of the jet age.

We encourage the continued development of a healthy shipbuilding industry and merchant marine as a vital arm of defense and instrument for world trade.

We urge greater effort toward equitable rail freight rates.

We commend the leadership of this administration, as part of its atoms-for-peace program, in exploring the future of nuclear propulsion of merchant ships and in successfully promoting authorization to build the first nuclear-powered passenger-cargo vessel. We urge that every effort be made to encourage private development in this program.

We endorse the administration program to protect the public investment in the greatest public-works project in world history by regulating billboard construction on the National system of interstate and defense highways, but providing adequate protection for the historic rights of the States and for the right of the motoring public to appropriate information for their safety and convenience.

VETERANS

We believe that active duty in the armed services of the United States of America during a state of war or national emergency constitutes a special service to our Nation and entitles those who have so served to all due consideration, including adequate aid and compensation in return for this service.

We favor the continuance of the Veterans' Administration as an independent Federal agency handling veterans programs.

We favor continued effort by the Veterans' Administration to improve systems which will bring about prompt and equitable determinations of veterans' claims, and will expedite action on real-estate loans.

We favor adequate compensation for the service-connected disabled and for the survivors of those who died in service or from service-incurred disabilities, with pensions for disabled veterans and for the dependents of those who have died who are in need and unable to provide for themselves.

We oppose Federal bonuses and general pensions as being class legislation and unrelated to the real needs of individual veterans and tending to set veterans apart from their fellow citizens. We do not advocate benefits for veterans except in hardship cases.

We favor maintenance of the Veterans' Administration hospital system, with no impairment of the high quality of medical and hospital service now being rendered for veterans with service-connected disabilities.

We favor increased employment opportunities for handicapped and disabled veterans.

VOTING

We urge that the minimum voting age be lowered to 18 years of age.

We oppose the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting and we favor its elimination by the States as soon as possible.

There has been much publicity given to absentee, shut-in, and servicemen's ballots as a result of the last election in Rhode Island. After the 1956 gubernatorial election in Rhode Island, there arose a long count and court battle which made a sham of that State's election laws and procedures.

We propose, therefore, that the members of the Young Republican National Federation promote a program of research into absentee-voting laws in their respective States.

WATER RESOURCES

We recognize that accelerated demands for water and increased generating capacity, both by urban and agricultural areas, require a cooperative program of partnership under which all agencies, both public and private, do their proper share. We support the Republican Party's effort to have the electrical needs of the Nation built and expanded by private industry, which is eminently well equipped to do this at private rather than public expense.

We commend the Republican administration for leading the way with Federal development of the upper Colorado project, and we favor the continued development of the Arkansas River Basin. We specifically commend private initiative for doing its share in the development of power potentialities on the Snake River in the Northwest.

To help meet the urgent demand for additional supplies of water for irrigation and municipal and industrial use, we support vigorous reclamation programs, expanded research on converting saline water, and integrated water-conservation projects in important watershed areas.

YOUTH FITNESS

We commend Preident Eisenhower for establishing the President's Council on Youth Fitness to develop a broad understanding of the premise that fitness of youth pertains to the total human entity containing all components of mental, emotional, social, spiritual, and physical attributes of young citizens.

We agree that national policies will be no more than words if our people are not healthy of body, as well as of mind, putting dynamism and leadership into the carrying out of major decisions. Our young people must be physically as well as mentally and spiritually prepared for American citizenship.

We urge every young American to support actively the program of the President's Council on Youth Fitness. We commend Vice President Nixon for his untiring efforts, as chairman of the council, to promote these vital, nonpartisan activities.

DEDICATION

In recognition of their devotion to the ideals and future of young people, we dedicate this platform to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard M. Nixon, and to the Republican Members of Congress, and pledge ourselves to service on behalf of its principles and to the welfare of the Republican Party and our Nation, to the end that people everywhere shall live in peace with freedom.

By direction of the platform and resolutions committee.

DON BOSTWICK,
Chairman.
GRACE MAFFEY,
Cochairman.

Proposed Changes in Senate Rule XXII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, presently, a subcommittee of the Rules Committee of the Senate is holding hearings on the proposal to change the rules of the Senate. This is a matter of vital concern to the entire Nation.

The United States Congress has been a great bulwark for freedom. The United States Senate has provided a forum where each Senator could present the views of the people of his State in full, unhampered by lack of time or opportunity to state his case.

There are those in this country who for political expediency and in an endeavor to accomplish their purpose would change the present rules so that limitation of debate could be invoked whenever it suited their purpose. I know that the Senate will give grave consideration to this matter and will go into its merits thoroughly before adopting any rule that would cut off full and free discussions of momentous problems.

Today, the Honorable Ernest W. Goodrich, Commonwealth's attorney for Surry County, Va., appeared as a witness before the subcommittee and made an extremely enlightening, intelligent, and important statement clearly demonstrating the importance of allowing full and free discussions by each individual Senator. Mr. Goodrich is from my district and has rendered great service not only to the people of his county and our district but to all of the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia. He has appeared before various committees of the Congress on a number of vital measures.

Due to the importance of this matter and under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to include Mr. Goodrich's statement.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF ERNEST W. GOODRICH, REPRESENTING THE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION AT THE HEARINGS ON PROPOSED CHANGES IN SENATE RULE XXII

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, my name is Ernest W. Goodrich, of Surry, Va. I am appearing for the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties upon an invitation from the Honorable HERMAN E. TALMADGE. I have been a member of the bar in Virginia since 1935 and am admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and the Supreme Court of the United States. From 1935 through 1939 I was associated with the United States Department of Labor, in Washington. Since 1940 I have been attorney for the Commonwealth for the county of Surry, in Virginia, except for 4 years spent in the United States Navy during World War II doing labor relations work for the Bureau of Yards and Docks here in Washington.

At the outset, I should like to make crystal clear the fact that the Defenders of State

Sovereignty and Individual Liberties is not a rabble-rousing, hate-engendering organization, as some segments of the press have inferred. Over a large area of Virginia the finest people are members and active workers in this organization. While the organization came into being following the Supreme Court's decisions in the segregation cases, it has from its inception concerned itself, as its name implies, with matters other than segregation and integration. We are dedicated to the preservation of our republican form of government, wherein the several sovereign States retain all functions of government not specifically delegated to the Federal Government. It is because of this dedication that we oppose the present resolutions pending before this group which are the subject of these hearings. From our view, the present attempt to change the rules of the Senate to make it possible for less than two-thirds of the Senators to cut off debate is but another manifestation of the determination of certain elements in our society further to throttle and ultimately destroy our State governments.

While I am not familiar in detail with the resolutions which are the subject matter of this hearing, it is my understanding that the purpose of the resolutions is to change the cloture rule, making it possible to cut off debate in the Senate with less than a vote of two-thirds of the Senators, and it is to this general idea of making it easier to apply cloture that I shall address my remarks.

While it is considered old fashioned and out of keeping with the modern philosophy of government to refer back to our Founding Fathers, it seems to me that a great many people in Washington need to review the genesis of our Government. I think that we need to study again the formation of these United States of America. Subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, and prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, I do not believe that anyone would argue that the State governments were not completely sovereign in every sense of the word, answerable only to the people of the States in which always reposes final sovereignty. The architects of the Constitution—and I might say that my State contributed its full share—were zealous to retain within the several States every element of sovereignty consistent with a workable Federal system. As you gentlemen well know, the great issue before the framers of the Constitution was how to preserve this balance of power. Had Alexander Hamilton had his way, the States would have been destroyed, and I believe firmly that we would not have survived as a Nation. The great strength of our Government is the division of power between the Federal and State governments and, within the Federal Government, between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The present philosophy which permeates the Supreme Court, the executive department, as well as the legislative branches, harkens back to the philosophy of Alexander Hamilton.

Realizing the necessity of safeguarding the powers of the individual States, our Founding Fathers very wisely provided that in this august body, the United States Senate, each State, regardless of its size, territorially or population wise, should have equal representation. Thus, the Senator from Delaware has as much voice in the deliberations of this body as does the Senator from New York. I have not studied the history of the cloture rule, but certain it is, that no rule of the Senate affords greater protection to the several States of this National than does this rule. While much of the encroachment on the sovereignty of the several States has come about as a result of the grasping for power by the executive departments of the Federal Government, and by Judicial legislation by the Supreme Court, it is sad but true, that the elected representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States have also constantly, through legislation, extended the powers of the Federal Government. While the United States Senate has played its part in this unfortunate movement, it has, at the same time, served as a bulwark against wholesale extension of Federal control.

Except in isolated cases of filibusters against legislation of minor significance, I believe that the record will show that the recurrent attempts to apply cloture have come when there was before the Senate legislation affecting the basic fabric of our Government. Certain it is, the current interest in changing the rule is because of the insistent demand of minority groups that the so-called Civil Rights legislation be enacted. It is somewhat ironical that the minority groups interested in the civil rights legislation are willing to sacrifice one of their greatest protections, that of unlimited debate in the Senate, in order to insure passage of legislation that, when the final history is written, will be termed the most destructive of civil rights ever enacted by the Congress.

There is perhaps no one who has followed to any extent the proceedings of the United States Senate who has not had, at one time or another, a feeling of disgust at the waste of time as a result of filibustering. The difficulty, however, is in deciding which filibuster is a waste of time and which serves a useful purpose. It is my firm conviction, that in those cases where a filibuster has no merit, 64 United States Senators will be men enough to stand up and be counted for cloture.

In order to legally change the Federal-State relationship, two-thirds of both Houses of the Congress, and three-fourths of the State legislatures, must approve such change by amendment. Opposition to legislative attempts to change the Federal-State relationship should not be silenced by less than two-thirds of the Senate. During the past 25 years repeated efforts have been made in the Congress of the United States, in effect, to amend the Constitution through the passage of legislation aimed at the further weakening of the sovereignty of the individual States. It is essential, it seems to me, that we preserve the right of unlimited debate in this body to help, in some degree, stem this tide.

One of the great dangers in this country today is that militant vocal minority groups are able to exert great pressure on the Congress and secure the enactment of legislation not favored by the great majority of the people in the country and so often inimical to the best interest of the country as a whole. No one today is so naive as to believe that minority groups do not exert an influence far beyond their numerical strength. Were it not for the right of unlimited debate, the dangers inherent in legislation so often sought by minority groups would never be brought home to the great bulk of the American people. During the hearings before the House committee on the civil rights legislation, the chairman indicated very early that further hearings were not necessary, because everything had been said on the subject. In the course of my testimony before that committee I tried to point out that the hearings should be continued until the American people were awakened to the dangers in such legislation. Even though the same arguments may be used over and over, unlimited debate serves a useful purpose in bringing to the attention of the American people the evils inherent in legislation which seeks to destroy the sovereignty of the several States. If the civil rights legislation is debated enough in the Senate, the American people will finally wake up and demand its rejection by an overwhelming majority. If the legislation is right, then there should certainly be 64 United States Senators who are willing to stand up and be counted for cloture. However, to permit a bare majority of the Senators to shut off the debate will prevent, in this case and perhaps many cases in the future, the American people from ever understanding the full impact of the proposed legislation, now and in the future, on their freedom and liberty.

While at the present time the great reformers are bent upon bringing about the millenium, they will, surely as the sun shines again, be faced another day with a majority bent upon destroying their freedom and liberty. Failure of the Congress to enact legislation, however noble its purpose might be, can never be as bad as the enactment of oppressive legislation. The most the filibuster can do is to prevent the enactment of legislation. It may prevent the enactment of some good legislation, but if it serves to prevent the enactment of any bad legislation, then the right of unlimited debate will have served a useful purpose.

Twenty-three years ago when I was a student at William and Mary College in Virginia, the Honorable Josiah Bailey visited our campus and spoke at a convocation. Conversing with him at a luncheon on that occasion, I asked him if the filibuster should not be completely eliminated. I shall never forget his reply to that question. He said that the United States Senate is the only place where a man may talk as long as he wants about anything that he wants and that this right should be preserved as a citadel against oppression.

I say to you gentlemen, that when the Senators from 17 States believe that legislation before this body is inimical to the best interest of this country, strongly enough to conduct a filibuster against such legislation, then it should not be enacted into law. If less than the Senators from 30 States are convinced that the legislation deserves to pass, it should fail. The failure of many pieces of good legislation to pass at a given time will not result in as much evil as the passage of one piece of bad legislation.

We hope that this committee will recommend that no change be made in the present Senate rule XXII, and, that in this body at least, men who are convinced of the soundness of their position may speak unshackled as to time.

Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Lancaster (S. C.) News of July 1, 1957:

FARM PROBLEM

"Today's farming is more highly capitalized, per man-job, than is the rest of our economy." That statement comes from no less an authority than Secretary of Agriculture Benson, in his book Farmers at the Crossroads. He adds that it take an average of about $20,000 worth of investment per worker on commercial family operated farms.

This illustrates the extraordinary extent of the agricultural revolution in this country—a revolution that has made it possible for each farmer to produce enough for himself and 19 other people, where 50 years ago he could produce only enough for himself and 6 others. The driving force in that revolution has been mechanization.

Mr. Benson also said: "Had it been possible to transport, by magic, a farmer from Biblical times to an American farm of 100 years ago, he would have recognized almost every implement then in use—the flail, hoe, and rake, for example. Today he would recognize hardly any—tractor, haybaler, milking machine, or combine."

Moreover, that revolution has been a far more potent force in this country than elsewhere. Mr. Benson points out that the Russian farm delegation which visited this country a year ago was much impressed to find a father and his 12-year-old son operating a 320-acre Iowa farm without hired help. One of the Russians said it would have taken 100 men to operate a farm of that type in his country.

What the Russians didn't know and what Mr. Benson fails to point out is that the increasing need for capital to operate a farm makes it difficult or impossible for a young man to get a start in farming. Unless he inherits his acres and machinery or a sizable chunk of money farming is almost a closed career to beginners.

Supreme Court Decisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks of Harold W. Kennedy, county counsel, county of Los Angeles, and formerly general member of the counter-subversive activities committee of the American Legion, at the American Legion Department of California convention, Long Beach, Saturday, June 29, 1957:

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

Because it is the basic responsibility of the United States Government to protect its people, the far-reaching effect of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States curbing the power of the Congress to control the worldwide Communist conspiracy through a system of committee hearings and investigations and prosecutions under the Smith Act cannot be disregarded.

During the past 9 years the county counsel's office, which is the legal department for the county of Los Angeles, has actively engaged in a program which has pioneered the Nation in establishing the legal right of any unit of government to exact an oath of loyalty from a public employee and in preparing legislation and presenting test cases to our trial and appellate courts with the object and purpose of barring Communists from teaching in the public school system of this State as prohibited under the Dilworth Act.

As the county attorney I cannot disregard the far-reaching implication of the Watkins, Sweezy, Yates, Schneiderman, Richmond and Jencks decisions handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States within the last month.

Every good American, by this late date, now knows that the Communist movement has as its ultimate objective the overthrow of government by force and violence or by any means, legal or illegal. It is crystal clear that a Communist is one who knowingly intends to participate in any actions that will bring about the ultimate overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

When the Congress of the United States adopted the Smith Act in 1940, it was the Communist Party of the United States as a part of the worldwide Communist movement that the Congress sought to curb. A careful reading of these decisions points up the necessity of asking the Congress to appraise the devastating impact of these cases upon our national security and give consideration to adequate legislation which will protect our form of Government and our people.

As past president of the National Association of County and Prosecuting Attorneys, and recognizing the heavy burdens placed upon public law officers throughout the Nation, I am alarmed that the Yates, Schneiderman, and Richmond cases place in doubt the firm ruling of the High Court in *Dennis* v. *The United States of America* in the original opinion written by Chief Justice Vinson, arising out of the successful prosecution by the Government under the Smith Act. If the decisions of Mr. Justice Black and Mr. Justice Douglas in the latest Smith Act cases are taken as the true rule, it will be extremely difficult for the Congress to amend the Smith Act so that it will stand as a bulwark against the infiltration and clever intrigue that actually has been going on in this country since the original Communist Party of the United States was organized in 1919.

As I read constitutional law, it is the exclusive province of the Congress, and not the Supreme Court, to define what constitutes a crime against the security of this country. The power of punishing Communists is vested in the legislative branch and not in the judicial department under the balance of powers theory of our Government.

It is incumbent, of course, upon a public law officer representing a great governmental unit such as the county of Los Angeles to speak cautiously and temperately respecting the last word of the Supreme Court of the United States, as he is bound by his oath to recognize it as the law of the land until it is modified or repealed by the Court itself, or its effect nullified by additional congressional action. However, it is not an exaggeration to say that a close scrutiny of these cases reaches the conclusion that the private rights of the revolutionist, be he past, present, or potential, are elevated above the right of American society. Through the ruling in *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire* the door is now wide open for the revolutionist to remain silent about his revolutionary beliefs and evil theories, even though they be included in classroom lectures, so long as his instruction merely preaches revolution but falls short of a call to arms in a movement of violent overthrow of our Government.

The Department of California of the American Legion has a strong and consistent record in being in the forefront in its wise and patriotic belief that we do not have to await a declaration of extreme emergency, a military alert, or a Soviet-inspired Pearl Harbor before taking steps to protect this Government.

If, as indicated in the Jencks decision, the time has arrived in our American life when the Federal Bureau of Investigation is called upon to open its secret files to a saboteur or one who is engaged in espionage against this country, then indeed, my comrades, the time has arrived to reappraise the dire and distressful situation in which our country finds itself.

As a public law officer who has devoted a large part of his adult life to the study of constitutional principles, it is still my firm and unqualified belief that the fundamental purpose of the Constitution of the United States is to preserve the Government and not to serve as a protective shield for those who, while claiming its privileges, seek to destroy it.

People, Not Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Arab refugee problem has still not been resolved and is as acute as ever. In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article recently published by the American Jewish Congress:

PEOPLE, NOT PROPAGANDA

For 9 years the problem of the Arab refugees has engaged the attention of the world. Their unfortunate plight has disturbed the conscience of mankind. The Jewish people, themselves the object of centuries of persecution and homelessness, are particularly sensitive to suffering.

This sensitivity arises not only from the basic moral concepts of Judaism but is related to the emotional identification of Jews the world over with all victims of such tragic experiences.

But the condition of these refugees has been exploited by the governments of Arab States as their most effective weapon in prolonging instability in the Middle East. It is being employed as a cynical technique for stirring up hatred and bitterness against the State of Israel. Agencies of the United Nations, the United States, and the State of Israel itself have repeatedly offered assistance in expediting a realistic solution of the refugee problem, but the Arab States have refused to cooperate toward this end. It serves their purposes that this problem of human misery remain unsolved and be used as an instrument of propaganda to confuse world opinion.

The time has come for a final solution of the problem of the Arab refugee. The stability of the Middle East, the peace of the world, and the welfare of thousands of homeless people must not be sacrificed to the expediency of political propaganda.

A just and lasting solution of the Arab refugee problem must be based on a knowledge of the facts which brought it about.

Presented here are some of the salient facts concerning the cause and possible solution of this refugee problem.

1. Who created the Arab refugee problem?

The Arab States, not Israel. Israel did not expel the Arabs from Palestine. They fled at the behest of the Arab leaders who urged and threatened them to leave their homes in order to "clear the field" for the Arab armies who, in May 1948, had declared war against Israel, in defiance of the United Nations.

"It must not be forgotten that the Arab higher committee encouraged the refugees' flight from their homes." (The Near East Arabic Broadcasting Station, April 3, 1948.)

"Every effort is being made by the Jews to persuade the Arab populace to stay and carry on with their normal lives, to get their shops open and to be assured that their lives and interests will be safe." (Report by district police headquarters, Haifa, to police headquarters, Jerusalem, April 26, 1948.)

"We left the country of our own free will, believing * * * that we would soon return as if nothing had happened." (Mahmaud Seif e-Din Irani, a refugee from Jaffa now living in Jordan, in his book Ma-e Naas, Jordan Publishing House, Amman, 1956.)

2. How many Arab refugees are there?

The exact number of Arabs who left Palestine in 1948 is difficult to determine. In November 1949, the First Interim Report of

the United Nations Economic Survey Mission estimated that the total number of bona fide Arab refugees did not exceed 726,000, and it indicated that about 150,000 of these were self-supporting.

The 1956 Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) indicated that there are now a total of 922,279 refugees. In May 1956, Edward Kennedy, the British member of the review board of the International Refugee Organization, in commenting on the increase in the number of refugees since 1948, stated that many thousands of indigent natives of the surrounding Arab countries have been posing as former Palestine residents to take advantage of the U. N. aid given to refugees.

"Admittedly, the Arab population of the refugee camps is not as big as Nasser's press agents would have one believe: Their figure is a nice, round 1,100,000. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency, which feeds and cares for them, counted them at 922,279 as of the end of last June. However, the refugees have been known to hide their dead to hang onto old ration cards and have been known to pass newborn babies around from family to family to acquire new ones. The total may well be closer to official Israeli estimates ranging from 600,000 to 650,000" Israel and the Refugees of the Gaza Strip by Frank Gervasi, the Reporter, February 7, 1957).

The actual distribution of the refugees in 1956 is reported as follows:

"Gaza, 216,971; Jordan, 512,706; Lebanon, 102,625; Syria, 89,977—total, 922,279" (annual report of the Director of UNRWA covering the period July 1, 1955, to June 30, 1956). It should be borne in mind that most of the half-million refugees listed for Jordan are not actually "refugees" but are former Palestinian Arabs living in their original homes located in the former Palestine territory which has been annexed by Jordan.

3. What has Israel done to help the Arab refugees?

Israel has already accepted more than 45,000 refugees who are now living as full-fledged citizens of the land; and has offered full cooperation in the solution of the refugee problem as part of a general peace settlement. She has released $6 million of blocked Arab accounts and has offered to compensate the Arabs for their abandoned lands.

"On November 7, 1950, Israel informed the United Nations of its willingness to compensate the Arab refugees for their land; such compensations would be paid by Israel into the United Nations reintegration fund and would be used for resettlement purposes" (reported in U. N. document A/AC.38/SR.35; November 7, 1950).

In October 1952, Israel agreed to release all blocked accounts of Arab refugees. In its report to the seventh session of the U. N. General Assembly, 1952, the Palestine Conciliation Commission welcomed this action by Israel "as an important step to alleviate the plight of the Arab refugees."

4. What have the Arab States done to help the refugees?

The Arab States have consistently denied any responsibility for helping the refugees. They have refused to resettle them in the large Arab States that have thousands of acres in dire need of farmers. They have repudiated any moral or legal responsibility for the maintenance of the refugees and feel strengthened in that negative attitude by the generous help of the U. N.

"It is perfectly clear that the Arab nations do not want to solve the Arab refugee problem. They want to keep it as an open sore, as an affront against the United Nations, and a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders don't give a damn whether the refugees live or die." (Sir Alexander Galloway, former representative of the UNRWA in Jordan, 1952.)

"The attitude of the Arab Governments to the Arab refugees is worse than their behavior toward non-Arab refugees." (Al Harvadith, publisher in 'Amman, Jordan, May 18, 1953.)

5. What has the United Nations done to help the Arab refugees?

In 7 years, from 1948 to 1955, the U. N. has spent more than $200 million for the resettlement, relief, and rehabilitation of the Arab refugees. The Arab refugees, representing less than 3 percent of the world's estimated 40 million refugees, receive more aid in money, food, clothing, medicine, and rehabilitation than have all the homeless of China, Korea, and Pakistan. The main goal of the U. N. in working with the refugee has been to "integrate them into the economic life of the area on a self-sustaining basis through constructive work projects."

Little progress, however, has been made in this direction because the U. N. has been completely frustrated by the Arab States. These states have felt no qualm in exacting customs duties on supplies imported for the refugees; they have refused work permits for the refugees; and have refused to cooperate on setting up work projects. Their main objective has been to keep the refugee problem unsolved—a festering trouble spot of discontent and hostility toward Israel.

"Unless there is a complete change of attitude on the part of the country (Arab countries) and the refugee concerned, it appears unlikely for the U. N. that any general employment plan would be found that could provide work for the majority of these refugees." (Report of the Director of UNRWA to the Fifth General Assembly, 1950.)

"The existence of the refugee problem as it stands is an importat harassing factor vis-a-vis the Jews and the West. As long as the problem remains unsolved, Israel's political and economic existence is acutely endangered." (Mr. Abdullah Rimaw, member of the Jordan Parliament, in Falastin, June 3, 1952.)

"It must be emphasized, however, that in the long run only the open and active support of the host governments concerned (that is, Israel's neighboring Arab States) can enable the agency (UNRWA) to develop projects offering substantial opportunities for self-support to a large number of refugees." (Report of UNRWA to the 11th Session of the U. N. General Assembly, 1956.)

6. Why is it impossible for Israel to repatriate the Arab refugees?

All objective observers agree that Israel cannot, both for economic and security reasons, be expected to repatriate the bulk of the Arab refugees. During the past 8 years Israel has more than doubled its population; it has, in fact, absorbed more than 780,000 Jewish refugees largely from Moslem lands, and has had the difficult task of providing employment, housing and welfare services for these people. The Arab refugees' hatred of Israel and their spirit of revenge, which has been deliberately fanned and kept alive by the Arab leaders, would make their return to Israel a serious threat to the security of that nation.

"It is doubtful whether it is in the interest of the refugees themselves to return en masse. It is questionable whether the refugees fully appreciate the conditions to which they would return and the implications of their return. Are they aware that they must be prepared to live as peaceful citizens of Israel, accepting all the obligations of citizenship? There is a grave danger that the legacy of mistrust and bitterness will make the task of mutual adjustment of populations extremely difficult. Moreover, it is probable that the Arabs of Palestine would have great difficulty in adjusting to the highly organized economic structure of Israel, which runs counter to the economic outlook of the Arabs. It is unlikely that an Arab would whole-heartedly accept the regime of austerity, directed toward the achievement of goals for which at the best he has no enthusiasm and which might well arouse his active resentment." (Lord Macdonald, United Kingdom delegate, Ad Hoc Political Committee of the Fifth General Assembly, November 29, 1950.)

"These new lands (Arab lands that could be reclaimed by irrigation) could absorb the 750,000 Arab refugees from Palestine, at present the gravest source of unrest in the Middle East." (Report to the President of the United States International Development Advisory Board, March 1951.)

7. What proposals have been made to solve the Arab refugee problem?

The United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission, a special study mission of the United States House of Representatives, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and the Special Political Committee of the U. N. have made recommendations to solve the refugee problem; Israel is ready to accept these proposals, but the Arab States refuse.

Implicit in all of these recommendations is a recognition that the Arab refugee problem cannot be solved by attempting to force the small State of Israel to absorb 700,000 Arab refugees whose hatred of Israel has been inflamed by unceasing indoctrination. The answer must be the resettlement of the refugees within the Arab States with whom they have religious, social, and cultural ties. The resolution adopted on February 28, 1957, by the Special Political Committee of the United Nations offering economic aid to those Arab States willing to assume responsibility for the Arab refugees—can become an important beginning in such a program of resettlement.

A. RECOMMENDATION OF THE U. N.

"Concentration (should be laid) on resettlement in the Arab countries, with both the technical and financial assistance of the U. N. and coupled with payment of compensation for their property." (Supplementary report of the U. N. Palestine Conciliation Commission, October 24, 1950.)

B. SOME OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SPECIAL STUDY MISSION TO THE NEAR EAST OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1954)

"1. The Arab refugees should be encouraged to help work out permanent solutions of their problem.

"2. The refugees should become citizens of the Arab States.

"3. Responsibility for the refugee program should be transferred to the Arab States.

"4. The United States should press for compensation by Israel to Arab refugees for homes and other property lost through seizure."

C. RECOMMENDATION OF SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN FOSTER DULLES (JUNE 1, 1953)

"Some of these [Arab] refugees could be resettled in the area presently controlled by Israel. Most, however, could more readily be integrated into the lives of the neighboring Arab communities."

Progress in Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD and as a commentary on the continuing excellent relations between the

United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico I ask that there be printed with these remarks two items of interest in that regard. The one is a copy of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's column of July 2, 1957, pointing up the great progress made in the Commonwealth in recent years as a result of the enlightened cooperation between us. The other is a letter from Dr. Persio C. Franco, well known for his advocacy of democratic government in the Caribbean area, which appeared in the New York Times in July 1942, commenting on President Roosevelt's announcement on July 4 of that year that thenceforth the governors of the island would be elected by the people rather than appointed by the President. This, as we know, was the first step in achieving self-government for the citizens of Puerto Rico, a status they now enjoy.

The outstanding progress made by the Puerto Rican people since that time is a tribute to the generous spirit of friendship prevailing between us and our fellow citizens in Puerto Rico, and to the outstanding leadership of the Governor of the Commonwealth, Luis Muñoz-Marín.

The article and letter follow:

PROGRESS IN PUERTO RICO

A number of publications covering the present situation in Puerto Rico have just been brought to my attention.

Sometimes we feel that we have not moved as well as we should in dealing with our overseas situations, but such should not be the case with Puerto Rico.

The association between the United States and Puerto Rico is that of a Commonwealth and the basis is a common citizenship. The Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, in a speech on November 12, 1954, explained the political status of Puerto Rico this way:

"The Commonwealth, whose basic characteristic is voluntary association with the United States on the basis of common citizenship, is not perfect, just as there is nothing perfect under the sun, and we Puerto Ricans who created it are desirous of finding, at the proper time and after calm study, means of perfecting it within the association which is the basic part of the concept."

This makes very clear our association with Puerto Rico, and I think we ought to be proud of the manner in which this association has been carried on, particularly of the famous self-help program known as Operation Bootstrap, which is solving many of the island's most difficult economic situations.

Puerto Ricans are expanding their industry, new factories are being built constantly there by United States firms, the island is attracting more tourists, and one important product—rum—is being promoted and being received well in the United States.

Many of its people came to this country because they could not find work on the island which they love, so industrialization is essential to the improvement of living standards.

These standards are going up. In 1950 the average Puerto Rican family had an income of $600 a year; today it is $2,500. I think both Puerto Rico and the United States are to be congratulated for these achievements.

JULY 4, 1942.

On this the most glorious day of the greatest of nations no more important announcement for the Latin-American peoples could have been made than that President Roosevelt has approved of a plan under which the people of Puerto Rico would elect their own governor commencing in 1944 at the time of the regular insular vote or, if the war lasts longer, at the close of hostilities.

That would be indeed a very important step toward the solution of the problem of the political status of the people of Puerto Rico, which should be solved in accordance with the will of the Puerto Ricans and at the earliest opportunity.

Puerto Rico is an integral part of Latin America. Once its political status is satisfactorily settled, the only important cause of spiritual disharmony remaining between the peoples of the United States and Latin America would have been eliminated.

Let President Roosevelt crown his immortal work for Pan-Americanism by bringing about at the earliest possible time a just solution of this delicate problem.

PERSIO C. FRANCO.

States "Lawstrung"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article appearing in Outlook of June 28, 1957:

STATES "LAWSTRUNG"

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower unwittingly opened a Pandora's box when he urged the conference of governors to assert the rights of the States. He said:

"Never, under our constitutional system, could the National Government have siphoned away State authority without the neglect, acquiescence, or unthinking cooperation of the States themselves."

But the question now being asked is how can the States today assert their rights if the Supreme Court of the United States can pass laws or adopt legislation that takes away from the States the rights they always thought they had under the Constitution?

This Capital today has in it many officials and legislators who are angry over the latest Supreme Court decisions, and many of them are in the administration itself. The President shows an outward calm and urges respect for the Court as an institution. He said, however, with remarkable restraint to his press conference this week that "possibly in their latest series of decisions, there are some that each of us has great trouble understanding."

The Supreme Court has rendered decisions which many officials believe will endanger the security of the Nation and make it easier for Communists to infiltrate the American Government. Likewise, many officials believe the States have been rendered powerless to carry on effective law enforcement against criminals.

Rarely has there been such a sense of frustration in Government as there is today as the Supreme Court goes on releasing Communists as well as various types of criminals, including a confessed rapist, on technical grounds described conveniently as "individual rights." The idea that society as a whole needs protection against traitors and crooks is brushed aside, and the "individual right" is ruled to be supreme.

Congress is told by the Supreme Court that its investigating committees hereafter cannot punish the refusal by a witness to answer questions even if the fifth amendment isn't invoked. The edict also is issued by the Supreme Court that free speech includes the right to preach the forcible overthrow of the Government and that, only when the conspiracy is well under way and there is an actual step taken to overthrow the Government, can effective steps be taken to protect the Nation.

Naturally this type of reasoning doesn't sit well with Congress, though here and there are so-called liberals who are rejoicing over the decisions.

The FBI and police agencies of States and cities, moreover, are worried. For the Supreme Court says detectives' reports about any witness that the defendant's counsel asks for must be made public, or the right of the prosecuting attorney to use the witness must be forfeited. The difficulties this introduces for the law-enforcement agencies of the country are incalculable.

Congress doesn't know now how to proceed with its investigations on any subject. For the Court has said questions directed to a witness must be phrased with the same explicitness and clarity as is required in a law court. The witness must be told just what the purpose of any question is before an answer need be made and then, if the witness chooses, he can regard the question as not "pertinent" to the "legislative purpose."

This is a virtual sabotage of congressional procedures. But it is also a crippling blow to investigating committees of State legislatures, cities, and counties.

The Supreme Court has certainly taken away many other powers of the States in the last few years. Thus, the Court feels it has authority now to say how schools shall be operated, how pupils shall be assigned, how admission requirements shall be written, and to pass upon what parents of children in a community may say in urging other parents what to do about their children's attendance at certain schools. This amounts to virtually complete regulation of the schools under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. This power is one that the States for generations have thought was reserved to them.

Senator THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, has a direct solution. He has introduced legislation to define the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Constitution gives that power to Congress. A law which says what Federal statutes may be appealed to the High Court and what actions by the supreme tribunals of the States can be accepted for appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States would be constitutional. It has been tried for brief periods before in American history.

This isn't the whole answer, but the movement to curb the Supreme Court is growing. Bills to provide for reconfirmation of Supreme Court Justices by the Senate after 4 years of service, bills to provide for selection of only lawyers of qualified experience, and bills with other limitations are being introduced in Congress in a general revulsion of feeling against what Mr. THURMOND calls judicial tyranny and judicial usurpation.

The People Have a Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following edi-

torial taken from the Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald of July 1, 1957:

THE PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW

The United States State Department has tried to keep American newsmen from traveling in Communist China. Secretary of State Dulles has hedged on whether he will allow American newsmen to travel in Red China for the purpose of reporting the news.

If we Americans must depend upon foreign news sources for reports of what is going on in Communist countries, we will learn mostly what those countries want us to learn. We will have no guaranty that we are getting truthful reports.

The best way to make sure that the American people get honest, factual reporting of news from Communist countries is to let American newsmen cover the news for Americans.

We would not be surprised if some of the Communist countries should keep out American newsmen, for fear the American people would learn too much of the real truth. We are surprised that our own State Department wants to keep American newsmen from going and digging out that truth.

United Nations Should Act Promptly on Report of Its Special Committee Exposing Soviet Aggression in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution on Hungary adopted by the Assembly of Captive European nations, meeting in New York on June 28, 1957:

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS

Noting that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an original member of the United Nations, has assumed the solemn obligation to refrain in her "international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (Charter of the United Nations, art. 2, point 4);

Pointing to the wartime and postwar agreements, such as the declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, the Declaration on Liberated Europe, etc., concluded by the Western Great Powers with the Soviet Union, by which Hungary among other states, was promised undisturbed exercise of her inalienable right to choose by free and unfettered elections a government under which it wanted to live;

Recalling that on November 1, 1956, the Imre Nagy government: (1) repudiated the Warsaw Treaty—the military instrument of Moscow—no clause of which provided for or justified "intervention by armed forces of the Soviet Union to dictate political developments within any signatories' frontiers" (report of the U. N. special committee); and (2) "declared Hungary's neutrality, turned to the United Nations, and requested the help of the four great powers in defending the country's neutrality" (Mr. Imre Nagy's letter to the U. N.);

Recalling that even after this declaration the U. S. S. R. continued to recognize officially the same Nagy government as a legal government of Hungary, particularly by offering to negotiate with it on the details of withdrawal of Soviet forces;

Stressing that the U. N. Special Committee on Hungary also concluded that "consideration of the Hungarian question by the United Nations was legally proper and moreover it was requested by a legal government of Hungary";

Pointing to the finding of the United Nations special committee that no written text or any other proof could be procured which would confirm that the Soviet armed forces were invited to intervene in Hungary;

Remembering the conclusion of the U. N. special committee's report that the Hungarian freedom fight "was led from start to finish by students, workers, soldiers, and intellectuals many of whom were Communists or former Communists," and that it was a general and spontaneous national uprising backed by the entire Hungarian nation without having been planned and fomented in advance or from abroad;

Quoting the finding of the U. N.'s special committee's report according to which the alleged counterrevolution consisted in the setting up by Soviet armed forces of Mr. Kadar and his colleagues in opposition to a government which enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people of Hungary and that there has been no evidence of popular support for Mr. Kadar's government;

Stating that for all these reasons the U. S. S. R. Government is guilty of aggression against the independence of Hungary, as well as of massacre, deportations, mass arrests, and various other crimes against the Hungarian nation and that, therefore, since October 25, 1956, there exists an undeclared state of war between the U. S. S. R. and the Hungarian nation, which has been brought about by the Soviet Union's breach of peace within the meaning of the United Nations Charter;

Considering that the Soviets have not only failed to comply with the United Nations resolutions but have imposed a new regime of terror, harsher, more cruel, and more unabashed than ever before on the Hungarian nation;

Considering that the agreement on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary of May 27, 1957, has been concluded in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of these armed forces from Hungary, with the Kadar regime which is the local organ of Soviet colonial administration and which rules against the will of the Hungarian nation as expressed by the freedom fight which was tantamount to a plebiscite;

Requests: All governments of the free world to instruct their delegations to the United Nations to ask for the most urgent reconvening of the 11th General Assembly in order to (1) endorse the report and the conclusions of the special committee; (2) to decide upon appropriate and effective collective measures against the U. S. S. R. in order to enforce the previous resolutions of the General Assembly, first of all those concerning immediate withdrawal of Soviet armed forces, the ending of persecutions and deportations, and the conduct of free and unfettered elections under international control; (3) to expel the delegates of the spurious Kadar regime from the United Nations.

Resolutions Adopted by Nebraska Stock Growers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to place in the Appendix of the RECORD my own remarks and to include some resolutions adopted at the 68th annual convention of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association held at Alliance, Nebr., June 13–15, 1957.

Mr. Speaker, the Nebraska Stock Growers Association in their convention last month passed some sensible, down-to-earth resolutions. The resolutions reflect the thinking of the large group of outstanding Americans in their desire to promote and protect the livestock interests in Nebraska and the Nation. In presenting the resolutions they have kept in mind the necessary safeguards in order to keep the general welfare and the prosperity of the State and the Nation in a healthy condition. I commend the reading of these resolutions to my colleagues.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEBRASKA STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION

RESOLUTION 3. GOVERNMENT ECONOMY

Whereas under existing procedures there are no effective controls over expenditures by Congress or the executive branch of the government: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association endorse and recommend passage of legislation which would provide that governmental appropriation be in terms of estimated annual accrued expenditures, namely charges for the cost of goods and services estimated to be received; be it further

Resolved, That the Nebraska Stock Growers Association endorse all efforts to encourage more interest in governmental affairs with special emphasis on economy; be it further

Resolved, That recommendations made by the Hoover Commission which would save approximately $7½ billion be given full consideration by Congress.

RESOLUTION 4. CHECKOFF

Whereas provisions of the Packers and Stockyards Act have retarded voluntary deductions from sale proceeds of livestock at public markets for an effective beef promotion program; and

Whereas there is a bill pending in Congress to permit a checkoff from proceeds of livestock sales at posted markets for the purpose of meat research and promotion; and

Whereas passage of this bill is vital to an adequately financed meat promotional program: Now, be it therefore

Resolved, That the Nebraska Stock Growers Association strongly endorse its passage and a copy of this resolution be sent to each of our Senators and Congressmen.

RESOLUTION 5. CONSENT DECREE

Whereas the Nebraska Stock Growers Association recognizes that the consent decree establishes conditions limiting the free marketing of beef through four major meatpacking companies; and

Whereas it is believed that changes have occurred since the consent decree went into effect that have voided the primary arguments for the decree that were used 26 years ago; and

Whereas the Nebraska Stock Growers Association believes that all avenues of free competition should be kept open and every method explored to widen the market base for beef; and

Whereas this decree is a restraint of open competition and prevents the packers affected from utilizing to the fullest, their experience, research, and ability in developing wider markets for beef: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Stock Growers Association recommend to the Secretary of Agriculture and to the Attorney General of the United States, that the Gov-

ernment agree to the modification of the consent decree requested by the packers, which is now restricting their competing on retail level with chain stores and other major marketing agencies.

RESOLUTION 6. CHANGE OF CONTROL

Whereas there is pending in Congress of the United States a bill which would remove from the Secretary of Agriculture all jurisdiction and control of the meat packing industry and give such control to the Federal Trade Commission; and

Whereas the whole system of marketing and processing of livestock and meat is an inseparable part of the business of agriculture; and

Whereas the marketing and processing livestock of the Growers Association have been regulated by the Packers and Stockyards Branch of the United States Department of Agriculture for the last 35 years: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Stock Growers Association oppose the transfer of regulation of the meat industry from the United States Department of Agriculture to the Federal Trade Commission.

RESOLUTION 10. REPEAL FEDERAL TRANSPORTATION TAX

Whereas the Nebraska Stock Growers Association recognizes the recent rate advances of 15 percent and 7 percent in transportation charges and the association feels that these raises plus the existence of the Federal transportation tax of 3 percent is unduly burdensome upon the cattle industry and all users of our common carrier systems: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Stock Growers Association support all efforts for the repeal of the Federal 3 percent transportation tax which was instigated as a World War II emergency measure; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our representatives in Congress and the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

RESOLUTION 12. WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

Whereas H. R. 1960 if enacted would establish a national wilderness preservation system covering and setting aside many, many thousands of acres of Federal land to the exclusion of all private or economic use in productivity; and

Whereas this would represent a serious step backward from the multiple use principle in management of Federal lands: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Stock Growers Association opposes this type of legislation and recommends H. R. 1960 and similar proposals, be not enacted into law.

RESOLUTION 15. OUR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS

Be it resolved, That the Nebraska Stock Growers Association express appreciation to our representatives and Congressmen and our Nebraska Senators in Washington, and commend them for their work in Congress for the best interest of Nebraska and the cattle business, its principal industry, and hereby instruct the secretary of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association to write letters of appreciation.

Our Benefits to Germany Bearing Fruit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on previous occasions I have called attention to the new look in postwar Germany and the great industrial strides that have been made by that country during the last decade. Today, as part of that series, I would like to show how the effects of the United States policy toward Germany have redounded to our benefit, not only here in the United States of America but throughout the entire Western Hemisphere.

I cite as an excellent example the progress of a single German company which chose to inaugurate an important milestone of industrial advancement on this continent. This milestone is the world's first completely automatic steel-tube mill, which was opened in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, this month.

This $20-million marvel of automation is Canada's first truly push-button operation, and was built by Mannesmann, A. G., of Duesseldorf, one of Germany's oldest and largest steel producers. The Mannesmann brothers, about 1890, originated the process for manufacturing seamless pipe and tubing which is so essential to modern industry.

Mannesmann, whose products are in daily use throughout the United States as well as other parts of the world, has its United States headquarters located in New York City. Here the distinguished American industrialist, Dr. Gerhard Wagner, directs the Canadian and United States operations, since the company also maintains several plants in Pennsylvania.

In Brazil the Mannesmann company has recently completed a seamless-tube mill, which is headed by Dr. Sigmund Weiss, a brilliant engineer whom Mannesmann installed in South America when he had to flee Hitler's Germany. I was very much impressed with Dr. Weiss, whom I visited while recently in Brazil.

The Mannesmann company felt the Canadian opening of such world significance that three of its top executives flew over from Germany to attend the inauguration. The Mannesmann management long appreciated the importance of cooperation with the New World and encouraged the industrial opportunities to be found in the Western Hemisphere, and thus Canada welcomes with great warmth the visit of Mr. Wilhelm Zangen, president; Dr. Hermann Winkhaus, executive vice president; and Dr. Walther Eisenbraun, director of foreign operations, all officers of the global parent company, Mannesmann, A. G.

The new plant, located on the banks of the St. Marys River, permits the company to ship by water route through the Straits of Mackinac to Lake Michigan and Chicago, or eastward through the St. Lawrence to the seaboard. The seamless tubes are used largely in deep-well drilling in oilfields throughout the United States and Canada.

I have here two newspaper articles that show the importance, both to the United States and Canada, of this seamless-tube mill. One is an editorial appearing in the June 15 issue of the Sault Ste. Marie Star, entitled "Today Marks Historical Event"; and the other is from the June 18 issue of the New York Journal of Commerce, entitled "Only One of Its Kind." They follow:

TODAY MARKS HISTORICAL EVENT

The opening of the Mannesmann Tube Co.'s newest industrial plant in our city creates an historical event. Today, Sault Ste. Marie has 10 major industries, and promises to become one of the major industrial centers of Canada. We should be proud that our city has been chosen as the site of these great industries which have, and will contribute so much to the greatness of our country.

Though to most people the way to manufacture seamless steel tubes will forever remain a mystery, there is something exciting in the thought that in our city we have one of the most modern factories in the world; that at Mannesmann's automation is at the highest point so far reached in pushbutton manufacture; and that our city, already renowned for its steel, will soon become a household word to all parts of the country connected by oil and gas pipelines.

For parents, youngsters, and new immigrants, the Sault's newest industry offers the chance of a fine future. The skills required can be learned in our city; and with Canada's need for steel tubes, as her oil and gas industries progress, there will be plenty of work for many years to come. It is heartening to know also, that our main industry, Algoma Steel, in which Mannesmann's are shareholders, has a permanent customer right on its doorstep.

It takes a great deal of courage to launch a new industry in these days of cold war and panicky markets. To launch one from Europe where labor is cheap and money readily available into Canada, which has the highest currency rate in the world, and in a city where the pay is among the highest in the country and money is possibly the tightest on record, takes foresight of a particular order.

Those of us who have ourselves made some effort to demonstrate our faith in our city, welcome Mannesmann's to the brotherhood of Sault industries. We hope they will be happy, prosperous, and that they will fulfill all their hopes and aspirations.

The Sault, its people, its history, and its future mean much to us. With this great new industry, we can see greater security, greater happiness, and better conditions than we have ever before known.

ONLY ONE OF ITS KIND—CANADA'S STEEL TUBING MILL IS FULLY AUTOMATED

(By Wilber J. Brons)

SAULT STE. MARIE, ONTARIO.—What shapes up as another important phase of Canada's increasing effort to lessen her dependence upon outside markets for steel products has been formally initiated here.

The occasion was the official opening of a completely automated seamless tube mill by Mannesmann Tube Co., Ltd., a subsidiary of Mannesmann A. G., major steel producer of West Germany. The mill, said to be the first of its kind anywhere, will free Canada from importing seamless casing, tubing and line pipe for her growing petroleum production and continuous process industries.

Mannesmann Tube will be able to produce 225,000 tons a year of seamless steel tubing ranging from 4½ to 10¾ inches outside diameter. Whatever surplus exists after Canadian needs have been satisfied will be exported to oil producing areas in the United States and elsewhere.

NEAR SEAWAY LINK

Significantly, the new Mannesmann mill is located a scant half mile from the St. Mary's River, a vital link in the new St. Lawrence Seaway. Dr. Gerhard Wagner, president of Mannesmann Tube Co., pointed out that the company will be able to ship oil country goods by water to Texas fields via the Port of Chicago and the Mississippi River waterway.

Significant, too, is Mannesmann's intention to offer participation in the new enter-

prise to Canadian investors. Dr. Wagner said this would be done when the enterprise had proved itself a profitable and stable one. Mannesmann A. G., the parent company in Germany, has followed a similar policy in Turkey and Brazil where local capital was invited to come in after a period of trial operation.

Canadian equity investment, when it comes, will be through Mannesmann International Corp., the Mannesmann A. G.-sponsored company which recently acquired a one-third interest in Algoma Steel Corp., Ltd., Canada's largest producer of primary steel and iron, with indicated ore reserves of more than 500 million tons.

RAW MATERIAL FROM ALGOMA

Algoma, a Sault Ste. Marie neighbor of Mannesmann Tube, will provide the latter with its raw material in the form of tube rounds. Tube rounds will be transported by Ross straddle carriers between the two plants, a distance of less than a quarter mile. From the time this semi-finished steel is cut to proper length its progress through the casing and line pipe mill will be completely automatic.

Although tube mills have been rated as automatic for many years, the Mannesmann mill here is said to be the first in which all operations from heating the steel billets through the various inspection cycles to the final cooling of the finished casing and line pipe are done in one continuous process.

The Mannesmann mill also claims another distinction. Total connected power exceeds 22,000 horsepower, said to be the highest rating in the industry. The mail mill drives total 14,000 horsepower, exclusive of auxiliaries.

USES SINGLE-GROOVE ROLLS

Another innovation is substitution of single-groove rolls for the old multi-groove rolls which have been standard in the industry for many years. Each single-groove roll is driven by a 2,000 horsepower direct current motor, which adds substantially to rolling speed and helps keep down costs. Small diameter casings can be rolled at the rate of 1 tube every 20 seconds, and Mannesmann technicians believe the rate can be stepped up somewhat if need be.

Mannesmann International Corp. acquired its interest in Algoma Steel Corp. from the estate of the late Sir James Dunn, British industrialist. Its Algoma holdings are said to constitute some 200,000 shares, or about a third interest.

Bankers believe Mannesmann aims toward adding to its Algoma holdings whenever the opportunity presents. The combination of Algoma steel and Mannesmann machinery and techniques is regarded here as one which will provide increasingly tough competition for United States mills rolling similar products.

Mr. Wilhelm Zangen, Mannesmann president, outlined the history of his company in a speech at the plant's opening. He said in part:

The world has shrunk. Due to today's rapid transportation facilities, the Atlantic is, in my opinion, not much more than a lake amidst the Western Hemisphere, and after completion of the large St. Lawrence River Waterway, the city of Sault will play a very important role. We not only see for this special district but for the whole of Canada, a great future because of the enormous natural resources and other enormous sources of wealth. The continuously rising prosperity of your country will thus contribute to the welfare of the whole world. To participate in this development is a special pleasure and satisfaction to our company.

One of the best-known German bankers, Mr. Herman J. Abs, of the Deutsche Bank, at the 100th anniversary celebration of Phoenix Rubber Co. in Hamburg, at which the chairman of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., was present, commented on the question of foreign investments. Both gentlemen expressed the opinion that highly industrialized countries can best aid in developing other territories through private capital. They pointed out that Government credits, due to their anonymity, cannot bring about the confidence between creditor and debtor that can be achieved by private loans and participation which genuine personal contacts can produce. The Government as such should help to encourage the development and protection of foreign investment interests of its citizens and business establishments. It should not attempt itself to run business enterprises because the governmental apparatus as such is too unwieldy. Bad experience in the past, according to Abs' opinion, might be the reason why, despite inherent goodwill and the help of Government guaranties, one is reluctant to enter more than necessary into the risk of foreign investments. Mr. Firestone emphasized that private initiative could also help to solve the problem of future shortages of important raw materials which would be of equal importance for all countries. Private capital set aside for foreign investments does not wish special privileges, but only fair treatment.

I thought it worthwhile to mention the foregoing because we believe that these objectives in the countries of the Western Hemisphere can be fulfilled and we, for our part, are eager to make our contribution.

Generally speaking, these are our reasons for investing in this country, and all our hopes are for Canada's further development.

Mr. Speaker, I firmly believe that this type of international cooperation such as a German firm building in Canada, utilizing American and Canadian firms in the construction of this mill, is an outstanding example of a living partnership displaying the enterprise and ingenuity of free people who strive to build for a better way of life for all men. This is how free people man the bastions against communism.

The Boy Scout Jamboree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a youthful army in forest green shorts and multicolored neckerchiefs took over the Capitol yesterday and I for one was thrilled by its occupation.

The uniformed "invaders" were some of the 60,000 Boy Scouts from every State in the Union, the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and many foreign lands, who for the next 10 days will be camping in a city of 25,000 tents on the rolling hills of historic Valley Forge for the 1957 Boy Scout Jamboree. Many of these jamboree Scouts stopped off at this Capital City for a brief glimpse of their Government in action en route to the Valley Forge campsite while still others will be visiting us on their homeward journey.

I am told that the Scouts will be consuming some 509,000 eggs and more than 599,000 quarts of milk during the jamboree, and the 3,000 acre tent city that will house them, for the time of its occupation will be the 16th largest city in the Keystone State. I know that one of the major jamboree activities will be the swapping that goes on wherever Boy Scouts get together. There will be swapping of neckerchief slides, camporee badges, ceremonial gear and industrial samples from their respective areas, but even more important than this exchange of tangibles will be the swapping of ideas and friendships, the swapping of folkways and colloquialisms of speech. And out of all this the development of deep and lasting understanding and acceptance of the many differences that blend and merge into the harmonious pattern of our American way of life.

I recall so well my visit to the 1950 jamboree at Valley Forge when my own son was one of that great army of American boyhood encamped on the sun-warmed hillsides. I heard the rollicking Scout songs echo from rise to rise and thought how those old hills must have rocked to the strains of Yankee Doodle and Let Tyrants Shake Their Iron Rod, as the ragged Revolutionary soldiers sang to forget the misery, the hunger, and the cold.

I remember that thrilling pageant in the huge amphitheater, where the Scouts heard an address by the President of the United States and another by the top military leader of the day, the man who now sits behind the President's desk in the White House. There was a never-to-be-forgotten climax to that 1950 jamboree program when every light on the vast field was extinguished and a blanket of soft darkness fell over the buzzing, wriggling body of boys, bringing down a hush that seemed somehow sacred. Then in a far corner of the field one Scout lighted a tiny candle, its yellow flame leaping up and cutting through the enveloping blackness. One after another the boys lighted their candles until the whole amphitheater was shining with light, a moving demonstration of the power of a single candle to pierce the dark.

I like to think of those boys out there, swapping experiences and inspirations on the green hills of Valley Forge, as the shining candles of hope in this dark and weary world. May the ideals of Scouting burn brightly through all their lives and may these days at Valley Forge help them to appreciate and cherish the precious heritage that has been placed in their young and eager hands.

High Court's Errors Must Be Corrected

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in

the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Santa Monica, Calif., Evening Outlook of July 3, 1957:

HIGH COURT'S ERRORS MUST BE CORRECTED

One way to insure validity of our laws when tested in the Supreme Court is to plug all loopholes before they are subjected to High Court test. Another way is to enact a new law covering the same subject after the Court has virtually nullified the old statute. The Eisenhower administration, plainly dismayed by the Supreme Court's edict in the Jencks case, has responded swiftly to this challenge.

On June 3, the Supreme Court ordered a Federal judge to give Clinton E. Jencks, New Mexico labor organizer, access to relevant statements and reports collected by the FBI. These had been used by Federal authorities to win a two-part conviction of Jencks for falsely swearing that he was not a Communist when he filed an affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

Within 48 hours, 14 Federal judges reportedly had opened up various governmental records to defendants. In his recent appearance before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, Attorney General Herbert Brownell testified that the way one Rhode Island court had interpreted the Jencks decision could result in "the freeing of a convicted tax evader and four convicted kidnapers." The Court held, incidentally, that even the national welfare was secondary to the rights of the defendant. Suppose the Government says that letting the defendant see the FBI files would endanger the national welfare. In that event, the Supreme Court ruled, the Government must drop its case.

To fashion specific plugs to stop such leakage is the job of Congress, aided by the Eisenhower administration recommendations, Attorney General Brownell has made these recommendations in the Jencks case. After a 1-hour hearing the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee unanimously approved a bill closely modeled after the Brownell proposal. Later the fully approved bill was rushed to the floor with a must priority.

The proposed measure provides that a defendant could inspect only the FBI information that a judge holds is pertinent to the trial. Thus the FBI files could retain most of the confidential character that J. Edgar Hoover wisely regards as essential, and yet defendants gain the privilege of inspecting documents pertinent to their own case and to none other.

Congress should enact this measure speedily. It should also pass other and tighter laws until all the mischief created by the Supreme Court's ill-advised decisions is nullified.

Facts About Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I read with considerable interest an article appearing in the July 1, 1957, issue of the New Republic magazine giving the facts about fallout.

Because of the great danger inherent in radiation and nuclear fallout I think that as many people as possible should read this article.

Of particular interest to me is the renewed outline of what my good friend and distinguished colleague, the Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, has done on behalf of his constituents and the people of this country to understand and wisely harness the great force for good which is inherent in the atom. I pay tribute to CHET HOLIFIELD also for his work on the tremendous danger which is present to each of us and to our children yet unborn from the radiation with which we are filling the atmosphere.

I hope all will read the article which follows:

FACTS ABOUT FALLOUT

The 5,000 pages of testimony on radiation from nuclear-bomb tests which Congress gathered in its inquiry from May 27 to June 7 gives us the most complete public library on this subject ever assembled. A very small part of the evidence has reached the American people thus far through newspaper and news-magazine accounts—though journalistic coverage of these hearings was thorough when compared with the attention paid to the majority of congressional investigations.

The complete record will not be published for another 2 months, but the 4-foot pile of papers stacked in a basement room of the Capitol in Washington, directly under the Dome, is already available to scientists and writers. It is from that accumulation of papers that the following report has been compiled by the editors.

On the last day of the recent radiation hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the following exchange took place between Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, and a witness, Dr. Charles L. Dunham, of the Atomic Energy Commission:

"Representative HOLIFIELD. Has this committee been presented with all the pertinent information in regard to strontium-90, which is in possession of the AEC?

"Dr. DUNHAM. This constitutes the present body of knowledge of the AEC on the contamination of the environment by strontium-90.

"Representative HOLIFIELD. So there has been no withholding.

"Dr. DUNHAM. We have presented you with all the material we have developed."

It is fair to conclude that if this inquiry did not produce all the answers which the Congress and the public sought, it is because the scientists themselves are not yet in possession of sufficient data. They themselves are exploring a frontier of knowledge—one in which the disciplines of physics, meteorology, soil chemistry, biology, and the medical sciences intermingle. A working knowledge of each of these special branches of science is required of anyone who presumes to come to general conclusions about the hazards of nuclear bomb fallout. All these disciplines were represented among the 40 witnesses at the 8-day hearing.

For a congressional investigation, this assembly of experts was extraordinary. It was a carefully planned scientific inquiry, proceeding in proper order from a 30-page outline and questionnaire which had been sent to all witnesses in advance. There were no surprise questions. The witnesses themselves had been selected after wide consultation among the scientific community. And since 35 of the 40 participants were either employees or contractors of the Atomic Energy Commission, there could be no basis for charging that the hearing was organized to embarrass the administration. The hearings were almost wholly free from politics, so much so that both Republicans and Democrats praised the chairmanship of Representative HOLIFIELD, and the professional skill of the younger physicist, Dr. Hal Hollister, who had prepared the outline, and directed the roundtables in which scientific differences were narrowed.

Dr. Dunham, the witness quoted above, is director of the Division of Biology and Medicine for the AEC, in charge of the research program which traces the movement of harmful bomb particles from the mushroom cloud into the earth's atmosphere, thence to the soil, to plants, to animals, to the human dinner table, and finally to skeletal deposits. It is his division which is most directly concerned with the most important question the congressional inquiry hoped to have answered:

"How much radiation from cosmic rays, medical X-rays and weapons tests combined can man tolerate before this radiation does appreciable harm to the life span and health of the present generation, and brings about a significant increase in deformed children born in succeeding generations?"

There was no clear and concise answer. Nevertheless, the Government research program on atomic fallout, which Dr. Dunham outlined to the congressional committee, is much more impressive than the public has had any reason to believe.

For example, daily specimens of bomb debris fallout are gathered on gummed paper at 94 stations in the United States and 75 foreign countries. Similar sampling with stainless steel pots, a newer method, has now been established at 7 points in the United States and 14 abroad. Testing of bomb debris in the soil was made in 39 countries by the Department of Agriculture in 1956, and expanded this year. Sampling of the Pacific Ocean in relation to weapons tests (with Japanese help) is extensive.

"We endeavor to follow the radioactive material as it moves along with the current," Dr. Dunham said.

At Gongelap Atoll, in the Pacific, scene of some of the megaton bomb tests, there are annual followup studies of soil, plants, animals, seafood, and the human population.

The worldwide collection of human bone samples from autopsies, and the measurement of bomb debris deposited in them, is concentrated at Lamont Laboratories in New York City.

In order to test bomb debris in the stratosphere, weather balloons are sent to altitudes of 50,000 to 90,000 feet, where attached instruments filter radioactive particles from a defined volume of air, and bring the specimen back to earth. The balloons are launched from Minneapolis, San Angelo, Tex., and an Air Force base in Panama.

Samples of milk are regularly tested in Chicago and New York, and less frequently at other milk sheds, to determine the degree of contamination by strontium 90, a bomb particle. Other kinds of food are tested by the Department of Agriculture, and this food analysis is being extended worldwide.

In addition to charting the movement of bomb particles, the AEC has a series of studies on radiotoxicity—that is, how harmful is nuclear debris to animals and man? At the University of Utah a study has been going on for 6 years to determine the lifetime accumulation of bomb fallout materials in dogs—dogs having been chosen because their bone development closely resembles the human pattern. On the Davis campus of the University of California, a womb-to-womb study of dogs has just begun: the mothers are fed strontium 90, and as soon as the pups are born they are given strontium 90 throughout their lifetime. But it will be 15 years before definitive results are obtained.

A half dozen new projects are just getting underway for determining the discrimination of the digestive system in absorbing calcium and strontium 90 in the diet. This, the hearings demonstrated, is one of the important unknowns in our study of radiation. For while man obtains most of his calcium from milk products, he gets less of his

strontium from this source than one might assume, and this is because the cow's digestive system rejects six-sevenths of the strontium in the cow's diet. By contrast, vegetables which man eat show a greater capacity to absorb the radioactive poison. In the case of the human body, the precise measurement of the absorptive process, and especially the wide variation between individuals, are still unknown.

Researchers have also gone into the question of how to treat the human body after it is injured by radiation, and are experimenting with a prophylactic pill which will guard against the extreme effects of radiation. To illustrate, Oak Ridge National Laboratory has developed a bromide salt called AET which has doubled the resistance of rats, mice, and monkeys to radiation, but dogs will not tolerate it, and it is doubtful that man could take a sufficient quantity without injuring himself. Nevertheless it is being tried as a treatment for radiation sickness among cancer patients. The chief difficulty is that it must be taken in advance of exposure, and though it might be of value to troops going into battle, when the time of radiation exposure is known in advance, it would be of no help to a general population attacked by surprise. It cannot be taken habitually. Another treatment, if attempted within 48 hours after extreme exposure to radiation, is the transplanting of bone marrow. This has been done only within the past few months in the United States, using patients whose marrow was injured by radiotherapy during cancer treatment. The AEC expects to know shortly whether this might be a feasible technique in time of disaster.

Another approach to treatment is the search for a chemical agent which will remove radioactive particles from the bloodstream before they are deposited in bones. Two chemicals have been found which will divert the bomb particle plutonium away from bone and into the urine, but none has yet been found for the removal of strontium from human bones, once deposited there, although experiments toward that end are going on at Los Alamos.

Investigation of how civil defense workers can decontaminate a fallout area after attack has produced some results. A small object like an automobile can be decontaminated by soap and water. The roof of a house can be rendered safe with an ordinary water hose, so long as the material is washed some distance away from the building, but if the material is allowed to build up at the edge of the building, it may actually be more radioactive than if it were left alone. Researchers have tried spraying the fallout area with asphalt spray, then bulldozing the debris, a method which proved effective but uneconomic for large areas. Farmers can treat contaminated land only by deep ploughing, thus diluting the strontium in the topsoil. Contaminated milk can be treated by removing all the calcium and strontium, and then adding uncontaminated calcium, but this is costly.

"I think the listing of research projects which you have made in this speech," commented Representative HOLIFIELD at the end of Dr. Dunham's testimony, "will reassure the American people that there is a deep concern and a very wide range of studies."

If the reader is less reassured than he would like to be, it is no doubt because the congressional inquiry exposed the gaps in knowledge but provided few firm answers to anxious questions. The scientists' greatest contribution may have been in helping the Congress understand why some of the questions are so hard to answer.

Take for example one of the key questions of the fallout problem; when strontium 90, one of the cancer-causing bomb particles, is blown out of the earth's weather zone into the stratosphere, which begins from 6 to 12 miles above the earth's surface, how long will the bomb particles stay up there and at what rate will they drift down to earth? The best answer is that 4 to 7 years are required for half the strontium to fall. Why the uncertainty? Because, in order to get an accurate measurement, we must know the exact amount of strontium blown up there by American, Russian, and British bombs; then we must determine over how wide a zone it is falling and with what variations of intensity; and finally, from measuring the amount of strontium in the soil, we can tell how long the fallout will continue. But none of those factors can be established with certainty.

Or take the question whether cow's milk has become hazardous as a food for American children. One scientist testified the hazard was "negligible" and he would certainly feel safe in giving milk to his three children. Another scientist replied: "Suppose you assume the chances of a child contracting cancer from milk is one in a million. That is certainly negligible, as a personal risk. But when you apply the ratio of 1 in a million to the world population, you find 3,000 case of cancer resulting from cow's milk."

Then there are the various suppositions the scientists derive from medical history: the United States Government is basing its assumptions about how strontium 90 will affect man entirely on the previous experience with radium 236. Why? Because strontium 90 is a new element, unknown before the nuclear bomb, and is assumed to behave like radium. But our experience with radium is based upon a relatively small sample of persons—very small compared to the world population, and the measurement of tolerance for radium was based almost entirely upon observation whether the patient developed any adverse symptoms during or shortly after treatment. Research has been inadequate whether radium treatment of children under 15, for example, while causing no ill effects at the time, has appreciably shortened their lives or caused abnormalities in offspring.

So it makes a great deal of difference whether the scientist is testifying upon measurable risks to the individual today, or whether he is talking about the epidemiological effects upon 2.6 billion people, over the next generation. "Actually, our concern should focus not upon acute effects in man, which are highly unlikely from peacetime bomb testing, but rather with the chronic debilitating, long-term effects, say 50 years after the entry of radioelements into the body." That was the comment of physicist Ralph Lapp, a writer whose article in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists for February 1955, first broke the story of the fallout menace produced by the Bikini superbomb burst of March 1, 1954. The AEC announcement followed Lapp's article by several weeks and almost a year after the bomb test.

If the layman accepts this yardstick for measuring long-range damage, he will find a number of points on which the scientists do agree, and the consensus on these points helps to clarify the degree of hazard:

1. The fallout of bomb particles from the stratosphere, which continues for 40 years after each big bomb tested, is not uniform around the world, as had previously been assumed by the Government. It is concentrated in some areas by rainfall, and possibly by high altitude air currents. The Northern Hemisphere gets much more than the Southern, the high rainfall areas much more than the arid zones. This is confirmed by balloon testing of air at high altitude, by soil sampling, and by examination of human bones. This newly verified variation may substantially change the danger level for contaminating the atmosphere.

2. Geneticists agree there is no safe level of radiation. Even a small amount produces some adverse changes in future generations.

3. As to the increase in bone cancer and leukemia in this generation from strontium 90, scientists do not know whether there is a safe level, or a threshold, below which no damage occurs. The majority of experts assumed there is no safe level, even though the increased incidence of cancer cannot yet be proved. This assumption contradicts the safe level on which present Government policy rests.

4. The number of persons who could be damaged by increased radiation in this generation—either with cancer or with abnormal offspring—is roughly calculable. Estimates by individual scientists using various hypotheses ranged from 50,000 to several million in a world population of 2.6 billion. It will never be possible to show a causal relationship between these injuries and bomb testing, other than to note the increased number of cases. The increase will be proportionate to the increase in total radiation: that is, if bomb testing has thus far raised total radiation 1 percent, cancer and leukemia should go up 1 percent.

5. As a technical term, "permissible" dosage should not be applied to bomb tests. The term "permissible" originated in medical practice when the patient gave his permission for an X-ray, based upon his doctor's judgment that possible healing effect of the radiation outweighed the possible damage. This situation does not apply in bomb tests since the entire world population is exposed to bomb tests by three nations—the United States, U. S. S. R., and Britain. Nobody gave permission.

6. A group of 5 scientists, including 3 AEC officials, concluded that once the atmosphere is saturated with bomb particles—a situation which 1 witness estimated would arrive in 10 years—the maximum rate of bomb testing without jeopardizing the entire race would be between 2 and 10 megatons of bomb materials blown annually into the stratosphere by all nations. The upper limit—10 megatons—is the average rate at which the United States has been testing for the past 5 years.

These conclusions which are shared by the scientists justify a public attitude of most serious concern, but not, we think, of alarm.

But it is impossible not to be greatly disturbed over the fact that the world has been exposed to more than the maximum rate of bomb testing, as defined above, in 3 of the past 4 years, and the total amount of bomb debris flown into the stratosphere is still rising each year. In the 1954 Castle series of American tests in the Pacific 30 megatons of fission products were blown into the stratosphere in a 2-month period, March 1 through May 6. That is 3 times the maximum rate allowed by the scientists for all nations. Little wonder that President Eisenhower told a recent press conference that he did not expect the United States ever again to test the big dirty Bikini-type bomb.

Russian testing of dirty bombs in Siberia during 1956 raised the strontium content of American soil by a third in a single year (and the fallout over Japan was much heavier). Five of the Russian tests in 1956 were judged by fallout analysis to be over the megaton size, and two were over 10 megatons.

In 1957 the continuation of American and Russian tests combined with the entry of Great Britain into the H-bomb test competition (2 superbombs in the Pacific so far) will almost certainly carry the year's total far above the maximum estimate of the scientists. And if any fourth nation enters the nuclear weapons field, it will almost certainly want to test a dirty bomb, since without it, no equality is gained in the armaments race.

From reading the record, we conclude also that the National Academy of Sciences report on radiation hazards is almost certainly out of date and needs revising. One of the

principal authors of that report, Dr. Shields Warren of Boston, told the hearing: "If there is no threshold (or safety zone in which no radiation injury occurs), then I would be reluctant to see the average strontium-90 content of bones, particularly in children, go much above 10 times the present level." The present level in scientists' jargon is 1 "sunshine unit." So Dr. Warren is suggesting a limit of 10 sunshine units in children's bones. Yet the "maximum permissible concentration" approved by the National Academy report last year was 100 sunshine units. By this new judgment, the Academy report sets a safety level 10 times too high. This is the same Academy report described by President Eisenhower at his press conference of June 6, 1957 as "the authoritative document by which I act up to this minute, because there has been no change that I know of."

The Court and the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, a brilliant and penetrating evaluation of the judicial revolution through which we are passing has been appearing in the editorial columns of the Buffalo Evening News. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD, the first two of this series of editorials, entitled "Revolution in the Court":

REVOLUTION IN THE COURT, I—SHAKING UP THE CONSTITUTION

The United States has gone through two political revolutions in the last quarter century—and now it is deep in the midst of a third.

The first was the domestic (depression-New Deal) revolution of the thirties, which shook the Nation's social, economic, and political structure to its foundations.

The second was the foreign-policy revolution of the forties, which recognized that the protected environment in which America had grown up had been destroyed and that the Nation was in a new and fundamentally exposed position that called for a radically altered global outlook.

The third revolution is the one currently being staged by those pillars of continuity and respectability, the nine men of the "new" Supreme Court.

The full scope and significance of their many far-reaching recent decisions cannot yet be more than dimly comprehended. Yet it grows more and more apparent that what we are seeing is nothing less than a revolutionary recasting of our constitutional system of checks-and-balances—in all three of its most vital aspects:

1. The rights of individuals versus the powers of government;

2. The rights of States versus their individual citizens on the one hand and the central government on the other, and

3. The balance of political power among the three coordinate branches of the Federal Government—legislative, executive, and judicial.

Make no mistake about it. The Supreme Court's new majority is throwing the old notion of "judicial restraint" to the winds, and has embarked on a new, "strong" phase which has already gone far toward subordinating both the executive and the legislative branches to itself; toward "preempting" the States' powers in the name of the National Government; and toward enthroning the constitutional rights of individuals when these conflict with the constitutional powers of any arm of government.

This "Warren Court," in short, is making history—and not just judicial history, but political history. In fact, during this Eisenhower era of so-called political conservatism, it is making more significant history than either of the other branches of the Government—just as the "strong" Court of a century and a half ago did during the 35-year "reign" of John Marshall.

For proof of this, one need only try to name any legislation of the last 10 years that has been as significant in fixing the national policy on a new course as was the antisegregation decision of the Supreme Court in 1954—or the Steve Nelson decision of 1956, which struck at States rights by declaring that the whole field of antisubversive legislation had been "preempted" by Congress—or the Watkins case of 1957, which handed Congress a whole new rule book to police its investigative powers so they do not infringe the rights of individual witnesses.

In one field after another—and just within the last 15 to 18 months—the Court has brushed off precedent and reached boldly into the Constitution itself, or stretched the "intent of Congress" far beyond the recognition of any congressman, to find a rationale for doing what, in the Court majority's judgment, "ought" to be done.

Is this "judicial usurpation"? Or is it only a bolder and broader use than we are accustomed to see of the latent powers of judicial policymaking that have properly resided with the Supreme Court from the beginning?

The purpose of this editorial, and several others to follow, is not to attempt any sweeping judgment on that steadily mounting controversy. It is rather to explore dispassionately what is happening; to see, if possible, where it is leading; and to ask what, if anything, the people through their elected representatives should be doing about it.

REVOLUTION IN THE COURT, II—THE WARREN INFLUENCE

Ours is supposedly a government of laws, not men—but the Supreme Court, in its bold new policymaking shift to the left, is increasingly a government of men more than law. And two of the best guides to understanding it are to understand (1) the man who has become its strongest influence, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and (2) the concept of the Court's mission he has drawn from a great Chief Justice of the past, John Marshall.

The Chief Justice is only 1 of 9 members of the Supreme Court and his "vote" weighs no more than any other. And yet it is clear that a combination of circumstances has made Chief Justice Warren the dominant influence on today's Court, almost as much as Marshall was in his era.

The Warren impact has been felt only gradually, and not until this spring was it pronounced enough to justify calling the high tribunal a "Warren Court." Indeed, during most of the 1956 session, the Chief Justice was more conspicuous in company with Black and Douglas as one of a triumvirate of liberal dissenters than he was for the cases on which they spoke as part of the majority.

But this year they have been joined by a newcomer, Justice Brennan, on most types of cases. And the remaining five, while more precedent minded and disturbed by the new tendency to throw "judicial restraint" to the winds, have no cohesion as a "conservative bloc." So the Warren group will usually find one or more of them—Harlan or Frankfurter, or sometimes Clark or Burton, concurring in the result, even if offended by the sweeping rationale, of the history-making decisions.

Chief Justice Warren's conception of the Court's function is no secret. He has elaborated it many times, on and off the bench. He gave the first real clue in the breathtaking directness of his 1954 antisegregation opinion, which he rooted not in law or precedent but in the writings of modern sociologists. The rationale was blunt and forceful: the 14th amendment guarantees "equal protection"; never mind what the Nation intended when the amendment was adopted, the modern facts of life are that segregated schools are "inherently unequal"; therefore segregation could not be squared with the Constitution and had to go.

"It is the spirit and not the form of law," Justice Warren has declared, "that keeps justice alive. The beginning of justice is the capacity to generalize one's private sense of wrong." The Chief Justice has gone further; he has made clear that his controlling principle for today's Court is drawn from Marshall, who declared that his Court had never sought to enlarge the judicial power beyond proper bounds nor feared to carry it to the fullest extent that duty requires.

But what are proper bounds, and what does duty require? To many a constitutional lawyer, judicial duty requires respect for precedent, that the meaning of the law may have clarity and continuity—and proper bounds impose on the Court some sense of self-restraint about encroaching on the legislative and executive functions or on the rights of States. And in all these respects, they see the Warren Court treading dangerously close to usurpation.

To Chief Justice Warren, however, the Court's duty requires far more in today's ideological world than it once did. He declared in a 1955 speech at the Marshall bicentennial that, with the eyes of a critical world all staring at us, the mission of the bench and bar is to make the world see that the provisions of our Constitution, guaranteeing human rights, are living things, enjoyed by all Americans, and enforceable in our courts everywhere.

This is the issue with which Warren and his Court have been preoccupied in most of their precedent-shattering decisions since. And in almost every case arising out of the age-old dilemma of individual liberty versus national security, they have not only come down hard on the side of the individual, but they have entered such sweeping decrees that they have left a train of confusion and consternation among all those agencies, State and Federal, legislative and executive, which have a primary duty of preserving order, punishing criminals, ferreting out conspiracies, and otherwise protecting society against subversion by its enemies, foreign and domestic.

Address of Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton, at Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, N. Y., July 8, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted to extend my remarks, and include extraneous matter, it affords me great pleasure to insert in the RECORD an address of the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Fred A. Seaton, delivered before the 84th Annual Assembly of the Chautauqua Insti-

tution at Chautauqua, N. Y., on July 8, 1957.

This remarkable address should be read by every American because it bears out the injunction that where there is no vision the people perish. The importance of conservation to the future of this country is so great and so pressing that statesmanship requires a long look into the future.

Such a program as Secretary Seaton presents requires that all unnecessary expenditures of Government should be reduced to the end that necessary expenditures such as he suggests may be met without creating an unbearable burden of taxation.

I am very proud to have had this fine address delivered by Secretary Seaton in my congressional district.

The address follows:

"There can be no greater issue than that of conservation in this country."

That was Theodore Roosevelt speaking in 1912.

At the outset let me make this emphatically clear: Conservation is still an issue of the first magnitude. It affects our lives, the lives of our children and grandchildren, the fate of freemen everywhere. It's a vital and a huge undertaking—so vital and so huge that it is the proper concern of all our people—and I do mean all.

It requires, of necessity, enormous Federal expenditures, totaling hundreds of millions of dollars every year.

It requires, of necessity, a galaxy of State and local works, public and private.

And it requires, of necessity, the widest possible public knowledge and understanding and support.

I am therefore delighted to join with you here. I applaud what Chautauqua is doing to widen public interest in, and support for, the wise management and use of our natural resources. This series is another magnificent accomplishment in a long line which, going back for more than 80 years, have brought Chautauqua its justly deserved fame.

Our responsibility in 1957 is unmistakable: As was in the case with Alice in Through the Looking-Glass, we have to keep running just as hard as we can in order not to fall behind, if we are to have sufficient natural resources in the future.

Why is this so? One immediately apparent reason is the enormous growth in the American population. Only a few months ago we passed 170 million. By 1975 we shall number 221 million and probably more.

Really, though, the greatest reason is the inexorable appetite of our modern industry. Since 1900, our daily per capita use of water has nearly tripled. Since World War II our per capita electrical energy consumption has more than doubled.

Of all the oil and natural gas ever consumed in this country, half has been used since 1940. Of all the coal ever burned in this country, half has been burned since 1920. Year by year these consumptive totals go up and up.

As a nation, by 1975 we shall need about 453 billion gallons of water per day, nearly twice as much as we need now.

As a nation, by 1975 we shall need 321 million kilowatts of electrical generating capacity, nearly 2 times as much as we need now.

Have you ever turned the handle on a faucet and had nothing but a cough of air come out? That's a water shortage, right in your own home. Thousands and thousands of Americans have endured this experience in recent years.

Six to twelve months ago families in nearly 1,200 communities from coast to coast had experiences like that. Water use in those areas was curtailed, often to an alarming degree. The Southwest recently suffered under a severe drought of long duration. For a while, drinking water in Dallas sold for nearly three times the price of gasoline.

Today water is more plentiful. But can we be sure that our supply will continue to be adequate? Certainly not. Despite all our hopes, water shortages in certain areas will come again. And if we were so foolish as to lull ourselves into a false security, to stop our many water conservation efforts—like Alice, stop running—region after region throughout American would inevitably find itself short on water for baths, for lawns, for crops, for livestock, and for a host of industrial products from steel to plastics.

That's why the Corps of Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation have to keep on building huge multiple-purpose dams, the scope of which is beyond the capability of non-Federal interests.

That's why, last year, in the biggest single piece of legislation ever enacted for such a purpose, the Congress of the United States authorized the upper Colorado project, a development which will bring water to 360,000 arid acres in the West.

That's why the Federal Government must continue to work in harness with municipalities, farmers, and local irrigation districts in protecting upstream watersheds and preventing devastating floods.

Such measures today are a matter of simple and incontrovertible necessity. Through them we capture an ever greater fraction of the water that falls from the skies and courses down our watersheds, from the Continental Divide to the oceans. Presently the 17 Western States put only 31 percent of their available fresh water to full beneficial use. The Eastern States use 12 percent.

As a people, we must continue in our determination to increase—unremittingly increase—these percentages. We can't afford this loss.

In the years ahead we must do even more. We must go to the sea itself and bring back from it fresh water to make life possible on the land.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's Ancient Mariner saw plenty of water but not a drop to drink. Now scientists have long known how to make seawater drinkable. But the cost of the process has almost always prohibited its commercial application. As recently as 5 years ago, conversion cost $500 to $1,000 per acre-foot. But today, thanks largely to private research conducted under contract with the Department of the Interior, it is expected that this cost can be brought down to $200 an acre-foot, or 60 cents per thousand gallons, and even less in the near future.

In general, our expectation is this: In 5 to 15 years we shall have fresh water from the oceans at prices which some industries and municipalities can afford to pay.

Not all saline water is in the ocean, I remind you. There's lots of it under the soil of some of our Western States, brackish water which is now good for little or nothing. Sosemday farmers in these States will be pumping this water to the surface, running it through small household or cooperative conversion units, and then using it for at least limited agricultural purposes and for human consumption.

While we are looking ahead, let's consider another field, that of electric power. Great transformations are taking place here, too. And here again, teamwork—between the Federal Government, the States, local public interests, and private enterprise—is an absolute necessity if we are to win out.

We don't know, of course, how long our conventional sources of electricity will last. But they will certainly not be with us forever. New sites for hydroelectric power development are steadily decreasing in number and desirability. In the next 20 years falling water can provide only 8 percent of our new electric-generating capacity.

We have lots of coal. For many years it will be available for economical burning in electricity-producing steam plants. But the coal in our mines travels only one way, up. Every time we blast loose a ton, we reduce by that much a supply which is irreplaceable.

Yet our national need for power is steadily increasing; it will triple in 20 years.

What do these facts mean? Two things: First, if we are to keep on top of the rising demand, we are going to have to enlist every possible kind of cooperation. The Federal Government alone cannot, should not, and will not pay the nearly $100 billion for the new power-generating capacity we shall need within the next 20 years. Teamwork is the only answer.

Second, we must continue an unremitting search for new energy sources. Through teamwork with cooperatives, public power districts, and private industry, the Federal Government is doing just that in its nuclear power program.

On Labor Day of 1954 the President of the United States, out in Denver, closed a switch. Construction began on the United States first large-scale civilian atomic energy powerplant near Shippingport, Pa., outside Pittsburgh. By next Christmas the reactor in that plant should start to warm up. And early in 1958, commercial atomic electric power, from a generating capacity of 60,000 kilowatts, will go onto the transmission lines of the Duquesne Light Co., which will carry it to factories, homes, mines, and farms in and around Pittsburgh.

This is only the beginning. For example, right here in New York State, at Indian Point, just 60 miles north of Manhattan Island, a 275,000-kilowatt plant is being built. It is scheduled to be ready by 1960.

If these and 12 other projected plants are completed on time, by 1962 there should be about 1,300,000 kilowatts of nuclear generating capacity serving the cities and towns and rural areas of this country.

Now, I don't mean to exaggerate that figure: It represents less than 1 percent of our estimated 1962 generating capacity. It does, however, provide a crystal-clear reflection of what the future will bring.

The cost of hydroelectric power and conventional steam power are continuing to go up—and that of atomic power is coming down. Although Shippingport electricity may initially cost 52 mills or more per kilowatt-hour, the Atomic Energy Commission estimates that by 1964 nuclear power costs will be down to 10 to 13 mills; by 1967 down to 9 to 11 mills; and by 1980 down to 6 to 7 mills. This generating cost is therefore expected gradually to compare favorably with that of conventional steam power generally ranging today from 4½ to 9 mills per kilowatt-hour.

America's commercial nuclear power industry and a child born yesterday may well grow to maturity together.

Nuclear power is almost competitive now with conventional steam power in much of Western Europe where coal is expensive or even lacking, oil is costly and its supply precarious, and hydroelectric sites are for the most part developed or nonexistent. So 6 European countries are now in the process of banding together to boost the Continent's production of nuclear energy; they hope for a generating capacity of 15 million kilowatts by 1967.

Here in America we are fortunate to have the time, because of our abundant coal and liquid and solid petroleum resources, to bring the costs down before we find it necessary to go into nuclear power on a large scale.

When we do, we shall have a virtually inexhaustible source of electrical energy. One pound of fissionable uranium, once we

learn how to burn it completely, can produce as much heat as 2.7 million pounds of coal.

Every dollar that goes into our nuclear power program today is a dollar invested in a good life for our children tomorrow.

The good life is more than goods and services. It includes, of necessity, manifold opportunities for growth and fulfillment, in body, in mind, in heart, and in soul. Our children, and we ourselves, must know what it's like, again and again, to stand on a spot hallowed by history, to pass whole days on a lake or a stream, to set foot on wilderness trials, to view the world from a high mountain top.

Such experiences help set the spirit free.

The attainment of spiritual ends, however, often requires practical means. To assure the continuance of such opportunities we must act—now.

On our great scenic, wilderness, and historic areas, on our fish and wildlife resources, our immense national growth and way of life are having an unbelievable impact.

This state of affairs is not going to cure itself.

With more spare time and more and better highways, more and more people are coming to the national park areas. Thirty-three million came in 1950. In 1955 there were 51 million; in 1956, nearly 55 million. This year we may have 60 million visitors in the 181 areas of our national park system.

The meaning of this is unmistakable: Either we continue to be busy, now, to keep up with these demands, or we write off our national parks as we have known them. I'm happy to say the Eisenhower administration's response has been unhesitating and forceful; it bears the label of mission 66.

This is a $900 million, 10-year program scheduled for competion in 1966—the year of the golden anniversary of the National Park Service—when the number of national park visitors is expected to exceed 80 million.

There has been nothing like mission 66 in the 45 years since February of 1912, when President Taft sent a special message to the Congress earnestly recommending establishment of a Bureau of National Parks.

There is now before the Congress legislation, backed by the administration, to establish a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. The establishment of such a commission will focus the thinking of many organizations—Federal, State, and local, public and private, on our recreational resources needs. It will enable us, all of us together, to plan ahead, to know clearly where we are going in the field of outdoor recreation.

Conservation decisions today have to be right. With every passing year, our growing population and our increasingly voracious technology shrink our time to plan and our room to err.

Yet the questions to be answered become more and more knotty.

Should we build a dam across a canyon and create a great artificial lake for flood control, water supply, irrigation, power, navigation, and fish and wildlife recreation, thereby perhaps impairing the natural beauties of the canyon?

Shall we provide for the permanent flow of water in the streams to preserve the fish and wildlife, at the possible expense of reducing water storage?

Should water once impounded be released for the manufacture of firm power or held back for the needs of irrigation?

What provision shall we make for public recreation around the reservoirs we build? Is that a Federal obligation, a State obligation, or a mixture of the two?

Should the reservoir be considered a national recreational area? Or is it a project which will be enjoyed mainly by residents of a relatively small area and which therefore should be paid for by the people who use it?

Each correct answer to such questions is a stone in the structure of America's future. If the structure is to endure, to stand strong and sure against the stresses and strains of the future, it can only rest on the bedrock of the enlightened cooperation and understanding and support of the entire American citizenry.

We have no choice but to so build it. Our hopes, and our children's hopes, for an everincreasing economic abundance depend on the degree of our success. And so, in a large measure, does human freedom.

In a very real sense the United States is the bastion of the free world. Much of the physical strength of this mighty fortress is in its mines, its forests, its croplands, and its rushing rivers.

We, all of us in teamwork together, will not fail. We will pass on to our children and grandchildren something which they have every right to expect from us, a heritage unimpaired, and if possible even improved. Given this legacy, on this land but in their time they will be able to search out wider horizons than we have yet found, to discover new ways to better their lives, and to bear well their part in enlarging the scope of freedom and civilization and happiness around the globe.

Foreign Aid and Constitutional Complications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a very timely and thought-provoking article, by the Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., which appeared in the April 27, last, issue of America commenting upon the outlook of long-range foreign aid.

I think this succinct editorial provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of foreign-aid legislation and I recommend its reading.

The editorial follows:

WHAT PRICE FOREIGN AID?

When the Congress left for its 12-day Easter vacation, there began a tacit armistice between it and the President's program of $4.4 billion foreign military and economic aid. There continued, however, deep rumblings from this suddenly economy-minded Congress. Senator HARRY F. BYRD (Democrat, Virginia), "Mr. Economy" himself, was responsible for the uncontradicted statement that the Government already had a reserve of over $70 billion of appropriated but unspent funds, which, added to the $71.8-billion budget, made $140 billion plus that the administration was really asking for all purposes, but mostly military. Some of this money was appropriated 3 or 4 years ago.

On this a correspondent of mine, Attorney Frederick J. Gillen, of Lawrence, Mass., raises an interesting constitutional point. He writes:

"You are so right about the 'billions of appropriated funds that go into the pipeline, especially in foreign aid and defense, and do not come up again as spending for 2, 3, 4 years.' But what about the constitutional limitation contained in article I, section 8, clause 12?"

The clause quoted reads: "[The Congress shall have power] to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than 2 years." This raises the question, of course: do appropriations allowed to lie around for longer than 2 years lapse automatically?

I do not know the answer to that, but Mr. Gillen himself supplies a couple of guesses. He quotes an obiter dictum by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Woods v. Miller* (1948), which seems to imply that in time of war, or in a peacetime emergency, the powers of Congress may be swallowed up." He also quote Story (Commentaries, 11, sec. 1185): "It is vain to oppose constitutional barriers to the impulse of self-preservation."

However that may be, Congress does not like to bind succeeding Congresses, and recently Minority Leader WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND (Republican, California) demanded that all military appropriations be limited to 1 year, after which the administration must come back with an accounting of all funds spent and unspent, and ask Congress for new money.

This runs head on into State Secretary Dulles, who in a trial balloon before Congress proposed long-term loans, or even grants, for military aid and for economic purposes. However, the loans would probably be made by the Export-Import Bank, the Government's lending agency. This would avert the long-range constitutional objection, of course.

Moreover, as this review pointed out last week, Mr. Dulles agreed to separate the economic phases of aid from the military, the latter to be administered by the Defense Department and appear on its budget—under the direction of the State Department, of course, as part of foreign policy. The International Cooperation Administration would distribute economic aid, from past appropriations and new loans or grants. Thus the foreign-aid program is indeed given a better chance, though by a close margin.

Court of Law or Court of Policy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, in its careful and perceptive analysis of recent Supreme Court decisions, the Buffalo Evening News stresses something which we in this House must never forget: Namely, that if the Court has gone too far in substituting sociology for law, Federal supremacy over the States and liberty to the point of license, we in Congress have both the authority and the responsibility to act. The remedy lies here under the Capitol dome. Macaulay called our Constitution "all sail and no anchor," and certainly the Court has given cause to recall that warning. But Congress can let go the anchor any time it sees fit. Let us bear that in mind.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the concluding editorials in the Buffalo Evening News' series:

REVOLUTION IN THE COURT, III—THE GOOD AND THE BAD

Thanks to the Supreme Court, the United States is in the midst of a constitutional

revolution. And as with every revolution, even where many of the objectives are indubitably good, this one is spreading some legal havoc in its wake. Whether the good will outweigh the bad in the end is always the question.

One aim of the Warren Court's bold use of its vast powers of judicial review, it is already clear, is to revitalize the Bill of Rights and strengthen the protection of citizens against abuse by their big government.

This is good, and we have applauded it, as in the Watkins decision which told Congress it could not force reluctant witnesses to testify if it was just engaged in exposure for exposure's sake. But the zeal of the Warren Court for the Bill of Rights in this and many other recent cases has nevertheless gone far toward destroying, in the name of individual liberty, the powers of the Government to fulfill some of its basic constitution functions—to "insure domestic transquillity * * * provide for the common defense * * * and secure the blessings of liberty"—against its sworn enemies.

As a result, both Congress and executive agencies have been thrown into a state of confusion as to how they can fulfill their investigative and law-enforcement responsibilities within the muddled framework of the Court's decrees. Already, for example, Congress, at the urgent request of the Justice Department, is busily trying to protect the FBI files against being thrown open to the browsing of defendants under the Jencks decision.

Another aim of the Warren Court's revolution is to assert the power and determination of the Federal judiciary to guarantee equal protection of the laws to citizens of every color, wherever they reside. This aim, we have also applauded—as in the antisegregations opinions of 1954 and 1955. But here, too, the Court, in revitalizing the 14th amendment, has given short shrift to the 10th (States rights) amendment—and, in its more recent opinions, it has kicked States rights all over the lot in cases for removed from civil rights.

Indeed, the 1956 Steve Nelson decision deliberately ignored a contrary mandate from Congress to find that the congressional intent, in enacting antisubversive legislation, was to preempt the entire field, thereby invalidating every State law on the subject. Now, in 1957, it has gone farther and made a shambles of the principal Federal antisubversive statute, the Smith Act.

What is both revolutionary and chaotic about this recent pattern, however, is not the case-by-case result, but rather the sweeping, history-making language with which so many of the decisions are rendered. Where the old rule had been to follow precedent where possible and avoid far-reaching constitutional conclusions when narrower grounds existed for reaching the same result, the Warren Court has rushed to go far beyond the case at hand.

Thus, in the Nelson case it did not merely reverse a conviction because it found the Pennsylvania law too vague, but went on to invalidate every other State antisedition law. Likewise, in the Jencks case, the Court startled even the defense by giving it far more than it had asked. And in the du Pont case, it found no monopolistic wrongdoing, but reached deep into the mystical recesses of the antitrust laws to declare that too big is too big, and du Pont and General Motors just had to "break it up." Even more conspicuously in the Watkins case, Chief Justice Warren wrote a whole new book of don'ts for congressional investigators before coming back down to the narrow issue on which Watkins' contempt conviction was reversed.

It is this seemingly deliberate use of narrow cases as an excuse for rewriting the law in bold and far-reaching language that has done more than any actual pattern of decisions to turn the Warren Court from a court of law to a court of policy. And it is this, coupled with its disregard of precedent, its apparent unconcern over the problem of guarding the internal security against treasonous conspiracies, and its readiness to read heretofore unsuspected meanings into the intent of Congress or the Constitution that is bringing the Court into a constitutional crisis in its relations with the executive and legislative branches, and perhaps with the States and the people.

REVOLUTION IN THE COURT, IV—WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT?

For the second time in a generation, the United States Supreme Court has made itself the storm center of a constitutional crisis. But this one is different.

In the New Deal thirties, the complaint against the "nine old men" came from a strong Executive whose sweeping reform plans were being thwarted by a Court that refused to budge from its conservative reading of the Constitution.

The complaint against today's "nine strong men" is the reverse. It is that the Court, not the Executive, is hell bent for reform, misusing its judicial powers to make law and policy, and otherwise boldly reshuffling our constitutional system of checks and balances.

The last time the Supreme Court came in for this particular kind of criticism was during the long, historic reign of Chief Justice John Marshall. And there is a certain parallel between Marshall's bold use of judicial power and that by the Warren Court today. Indeed, an irreverent tribute to Marshall, written by Yale Law Prof. Fred Rodell in 1955, could stand as an admirer's tribute to today's Chief Justice:

"He used the Court to achieve the goals he was after, however he had to bend and twist the law. * * * Scorning past legal precedents to fabricate his own, turning tiny technical points into ringing * * * political principles, making mockery of the nice-Nelly notion of judicial self-restraint * * * he ran his Court with a realistic gusto as refreshing in retrospect as it would be deemed * * * indecent today."

Whether refreshing or indecent, the trend under the Warren Court has caused an unholy amount of consternation and frustration in legal, congressional, and executive circles, and in the States as well. Already, we have heard demands for everything from outright impeachment to legislation regulating the Court of curbing its jurisdiction.

Much of this, in our opinion, can be dismissed as extremist claptrap. In fact, a point that some critics miss is that, on some cases for which the Court is most harshly criticized, the last thing in the world that public opinion would support is a reversal. The segregation cases, for example, have inflamed the South but have won the solid political endorsement of the rest of the country.

On any case turning on the interpretation of a statute, the remedy for a bad decision is obvious: If Congress feels its intent has been misread, it need only pass a law to clarify it. The most glaring example is the preemption doctrine laid down in the 1956 Nelson case, where the Court said that when Congress legislates broadly against an evil (subversion), parallel State legislation cannot stand. If Congress disagrees with this, it should certainly reverse that doctrine by declaring explicitly that its actions are not to be construed as preempting any State power except where that purpose is clearly written into the law.

The remedy for every other misreading of Congress' intent likewise rests with Congress. It is where the Court is interpreting the Constitution itself tha it has the final word—and if it does too much violence to public opinion on this kind of issue, it can provoke a true constitutional crisis.

There are only certain extreme ways, after all, to reverse the Court on such a question. One is by resort to arms, as the Dred Scott case was reversed by the Civil War, Another is by constitutional amendment, as the income tax was finally validated in 1913. Another is by packing the Court, as Roosevelt tried to do in 1937. A fourth is by evading or nullifying a decision, as the Deep South is desperately trying to do on segregation.

Generally, however, the Court has been wise enough not to let a constitutional crisis go to such extremes. In 1937, the Hughes Court modified its constitutional interpretations enough to defeat the Court-packing plan. Today's Warren Court has refrained from rushing too fast to enforce integration. And even on its most sweeping Bill of Rights decisions it has thus far left open plenty of avenues of retreat. In one area, it has already drawn back from the libertarian extreme some lawyers read into a recent Michigan censorship case, by upholding four State and Federal actions against obscenity.

So far, the worst effects of the Court's constitutional reinterpretations have been to spread confusion and invite future litigation. In that sense, the Court has stored up more trouble for itself than anyone else, and it may be a long time in clarifying the new rule of law it is trying to put in the place of the settled precedents it has so casually brushed aside.

If Congress reacts to the Watkins case by better respecting the rights of witnesses at future investigations, we suspect it will still be able to punish plenty of contemptuous witnesses. And if it passes a careful law to preserve the integrity of the FBI files, we will be surprised if the Court does not let it stand. The Warren Court, in short, has used its powers so boldly that a constitutional crisis may well be in the making—but so far it has not reached the point where the siuation is beyond the Court's control. Whether the "nine strong men" will be wise enough to keep it that way is the great unanswered question.

Pox on Suburbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the April 1957, issue of the magazine Voice of St. Jude, a national Catholic monthly, carried a most interesting article entitled "A Pox on Suburbia," by the well-known Catholic author, Paul Brindel. Mr. Brindel's article discusses some of the effects he has noted on moral and religious values of family life resulting from the current widespread movement to the suburbs. It also speaks of the personal and community financial aspects of the mass relocation of city populations into the surrounding countryside. Whether or not one agrees with the conclusions reached by Mr. Brindel, his article is certainly thought provoking. To those of us who have accepted without serious analysis the belief that life in the new suburbs clustered around our cities is an unmitigated blessing, it would seem that the points brought out by Mr. Brindel merit taking a second look at this outstanding sociological development of our time.

Under unanimous consent, I include the article in the RECORD with these remarks so that we in Congress, who have much of the responsibility for the programs under which these developments have been built, will be aware of some of the less obvious factors involved. As a strong supporter of the various public housing programs instituted by Congress, I feel that the possible need for concentration on encouragement of religious and cultural outlets in these communities should be examined:

A POX ON SUBURBIA

(By Paul Brindel)

I was visiting a suburban rectory not long ago, when the door chime sounded. The pastor answered. In about 10 minutes he returned.

"Another one," he explained, shaking his head. "Another family moving into the parish * * * three youngsters, another on the way. Station wagon. They came to see about school."

"So, you have no school, Father" I interrupted. "What did they say?"

"Same old story," replied the pastor. "Why, in the city every parish has a school. Why don't we have a school? When are we going to have a school? Why doesn't somebody do something about it? Why didn't the real estate salesman tell them? Why? Why? Why?

"So, they are getting a 4-bedroom home, 2 baths, double garage, choice of 4 appliances, big yard for the kiddies. All for no downpayment. That's fine. But what of these youngsters 10 or 15 years from now? What kind of Catholics will they grow up to be? And where will they spend eternity?"

This episode, with minor variations, has been reenacted the past several years in hundreds of suburban parishes from coast to coast. It spotlights the No. 1 problem and headache of scores of chancery offices. The Official Catholic Directory for 1956 emphasizes the continued flight of United States Catholics from the cities which began after World War II. The diocese reporting the largest gains—San Diego, Los Angeles, New York, Detroit, Youngstown, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Rochester, and Newark all have booming suburbs.

Actually, more Catholics moved last year to suburbia than arrived from Ireland in any decade of the 19th century. How the church faced and met the problems of that mass migration is history, much of it creditable. Last year the United States Census Bureau reported one-sixth of our Nation's population now reside in suburbs—6 million Catholics. This is more than the entire migration of European Catholics to the United States prior to 1890. How fare these 6 million suburban Catholics?

Any comprehensive answer would require an entire issue of this magazine, or even a book. For there are many facets of suburban Catholicism—apathy, intolerance, discriminatory zoning laws in respect to parish schools and even churches; social and neighborhood pressures for uniformity and conformity; more suburban parishes without schools today then 10 years ago and few producing vocations; teen-agers who never have read a Catholic book or periodical, never have heard an Angelus bell, or have attended a mission or inquiry class; who belong to no Catholic organizations, nor do their parents.

That is one side of the picture. Turn it over, and you can find almost the reverse. For there are two kinds of suburbs. One is the village or town in existence long before World War II or even World War I. Some of these older suburbs have parishes as strong as in many cities—half a dozen Sunday masses, excellent music, active Holy Name, CYO, Sodality of Our Lady, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Daughters, Legion of Mary, Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, and whatnot. Yet while most of these older suburban parishes have schools, nearly all have long waiting lists.

Unfortunately, it is to another kind of suburb that a million or more people have moved in the past decade—brandnew communities, hundreds and even thousands of houses thrown up since 1946. Into these have been siphoned families from a score of States with their hates, their loves, their passions, their prejudices—another melting pot. Ninety-five percent of these homes have 1 child; many of them 2; the average is pretty close to 3. They will be the America of the 21st century, and they are growing up in communities with no background or traditions and usually no leadership; overcrowded public schools, inadequate mass transportation, frequently defective streets and sewers, seldom a Catholic church, and almost never a Catholic school.

All suburbs, old and new, have one thing in common—soaring taxes now averaging $1 a day on many homes, plus huge community bond issues for public schools, sewers, streets, fire and police equipment, sidewalks, lights, playgrounds, and even swimming pools. Like their communities, most suburban dwellers are mortgaged to the hilt. The no downpayment ranchhouse with white picket fence has become for thousands an economic Frankenstein, especially for Joe Catholic, who, no matter how great his zeal, can build a parish church and school only in terms of family financial solvency.

Unfortunately, only in recent months has the spotlight of realism been turned upon our booming suburbs. The Saturday Evening Post of September 17 and 24, and October 1, 1955, was the first national magazine of mass circulation to publish a critical report—Trouble in the Surburbs. The author, Hal Burton, warned that many suburbs may well be the slums of the future. Similar articles suggesting that all is not well in Suburbia, appeared in April Cosmopolitan and July Redbook last year. The Voice of St. Jude is one of two Catholic magazines to look critically at Suburbia. The St. Louis Jesuits also have scheduled a Queen's Work pamphlet by this writer on the subject.

The first of what may well become a deluge of critical suburban books was published in January by conservative Houghton Mifflin of Boston. Authored by John Keats and titled "The Crack in the Picture Window," this book would seem to be required reading for anyone contemplating a suburban home. Typical of reviews from coast-to-coast, Bernardine Kielty in the February Ladies Home Journal commented:

"This is a documented disclosure of the evils of the new housing developments that are now growing up around our American cities. The author points out the slipshod building, the all-too-frequent swindling of the young men and their brides and coming families, the deadliness of living in such intimacy with people with whom one has nothing in common but income, and the matriarchal system that eventually prevails."

By contrast, most metropolitan newspapers which have collected millions of dollars in advertising revenue from suburban real estate promoters are strangely reticent. There is a shocking parallel between their Pollyanna attitude, including acceptance of misleading, if not fraudulent, advertising, and their all-is-well policy prior to the 1929 Wall Street crash. A typical example is San Francisco Examiner advertisements as recently as January 27. Listen to this:

"Recognized nationally. Featured in the New York Times, Harper's, House & Home magazines. California's most desirable climate. Prestige location, luxury living. Not a tract look. A planned community of 4,000 homes, shopping centers, schools, churches. A very few choice homes still available from $88.68 per month. Includes principal and interest."

Sounds wonderful. However, the official records of the department of real estate of the State of California tell a tragically different story—4 miles to the nearest shopping center—4 miles to the nearest high school (1 grammar school with $200,000 bonded indebtedness recently opened)—less than 500 homes actually occupied. And of course no churches—not even one under construction. Moreover, the plain speaking daily newspaper of this suburban county headlined October 30 last how some 70 buyers in this Utopia had been refunded their deposits.

If the suburban picture is so sour why have millions flocked there in the past decade? Probably the best answer is the old proverb: "Never look a gift horse in the face." Until a few months ago, any World War II or Korean veteran earning $100 a week could move into his dream home with absolutely no downpayment. Closing costs—meaning title charges, appraisal fees, water meter, sewer hookup, insurance, impounds for estimated taxes, and so forth—were absorbed in the GI loan. How could you miss? Well, even a $15,000 dream home adds up to over $30,000 with interest for 30 years, plus taxes, maintenance, and depreciation.

The Veterans' Administration a year ago conceded that GI defaults—a polite name for foreclosures—were over $100 million, despite the then booming realty market. What will happen when today's surplus of speculative suburban homes is liquidated—Newsweek of January 28 asked on its cover: "Have We Built Too Many Homes?" In some suburbs, foreclosed GI homes are renting for barely enough to cover monthly payments—principal, interest, soaring taxes, and expensive repairs resulting from shoddy construction. Thousands of GI home buyers attempting to sell their equities—payments over several years, landscaping, improvements, painting, and so forth—are finding few cash buyers. Some accept personal notes or second mortgages and hope for the best. Many for the first time become aware of the fine print in their mortgages—of caveat emptor, let the buyer beware. They learn with dismay that if the lender sustains a loss, he will go back to the Veterans' Administration which guarantees all GI loans, the VA in turn looking to the original buyer for any deficiency for the entire term of the mortgage—20, 25, or 30 years.

So much for a housing program supposedly designed to provide low-cost homes for World War II and Korean veterans, but which already has cost United States taxpayers approximately $1 billion just to underwrite the one-half of 1 percent charged for GI mortgage insurance. (On FHA loans, the buyer pays this loan-insurance fee.) Moreover you and every man, woman, and child in the United States are paying in terms of inflation for the suburban housing boom—75 percent of all new construction since 1945 has been in the suburbs or "urban fringe areas." Could all this have been avoided?

Three major "pressure groups"—organized labor, the veterans' lobby, and the National Association of Home Builders—have allied themselves for nearly a decade to make a political football out of GI and FHA home financing. Months ago, William Levitt, who has built and sold more homes than any American, bluntly charged that duplicating GI and FHA loan programs were wasting $500 million to $700 million a year which the public pays.

It will shock residents of 47 States that California, since 1922, has provided over $635 million worth of homes and farms for 100,000 veterans of that State at an interest rate of only 3 percent, instead of the 4½-percent GI rate, plus discounts up to 10

percent or more. (For a $10,000 GI mortgage, some suburban builders are receiving only $9,000 actual cash.) Furthermore, California's veterans home program has not cost the State's taxpayers 1 cent. Actually, there is a current surplus of over $15 million. No wonder that California voters last November enthusiastically voted another half billion dollars in bonds for this Cal-Vet home program, and that these bonds were snapped up by banks and investment houses.

This is one reason why a California veteran buying a State-financed home frequently gets for $10,000 a home comparable to a $15,000 GI home in the same suburb. There is also the factor that the Cal-Vet program since its inception has been operated by veterans and for veterans, rather than for the benefit of money lenders, land speculators, "fast buck" builders, and suburban "developers." Cal-Vet appraisals are tough and realistic and for good reason—the State actually purchases the home or farm submitted for approval by an eligible veteran (he must have enlisted or been drafted from California). The State retains title and enters into a contract of sale with the veteran. Monthly payments include life and disability insurance. Not 1 home in 20 meets Cal-Vet standards.

Last May while inflationary no downpayment, 30-year GI loan commitments were still being issued by the hundreds to marginal speculative builders, J. Marvin Russell, head of the Cal-Vet program warned: "There is a lot of trouble brewing in the building field, but we have been very thorough and careful in our appraisals and will be able to make some excellent buys." You, too, can find some excellent buys if—. Would you buy a used car without having a mechanic friend look it over or without a warranty from a reliable dealer? Use the same kind of foresight when seeking your suburban home. Remember the better business bureau warning: Investigate before you invest.

Where will your wife do her shopping and at what kind of prices? What about doctors, dentists, and hospitals? What will your monthly commuter's ticket cost in comparison with your present city subway, trolley, or bus? Will you need a second car? Your present city apartment probably includes gas, electricity, water, and heat. Your suburban home will not, and most suburban utility rates are higher than in cities.

Spend several weeks or several months in the suburb in which you plan to buy. Above all other factors, examine that suburb and your new home in terms of your faith—what shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his soul? Attend mass in the nearest Catholic church—talk with the pastor and some of your new neighbors. Ask questions.

Should you move to Suburbia? Your decision may well determine whether your children and their children will be apostates. The odds are at least 3 to 1 against a suburban child receiving a Catholic elementary or high school education today or within the next decade.

Our fourth pastor in 12 months read our annual parish report at 6 masses on January 13 * * * 2,500 now in the parish, doubled in 4 years * * * contributions also doubled * * * no parish debt and $40,000 paid last year on pledges toward a school. However, that school, hoped for by 1960, will cost over $200,000, including housing for the Sisters—if any are available. In the meantime 450 of our parish youngsters will continue to attend our 4 public grammar schools built since 1948 and costing over a million dollars (50 cents out of every tax dollar in our State goes for public education.)

Our suburban county has one Catholic high school, for 25,000 Catholics, yet it is not operating at capacity. From our parish, less than a dozen attend that high school as compared with 50 Catholics in our just opened local million-dollar public high school with its 45-acre campus, free bus transportation, "snap courses," etc. Why?

Well, our county Catholic high is 13 miles away, involving either a car (minimum insurance premium now for any drivers under age 25 varies according to county from $240 to $370) or 81 cents a day roundtrip bus fare. Figure in monthly tuition, lunches, textbooks (they are free in our State to public school pupils) and you have at least $75 a month extra for a Catholic high school education—even if Junior is agreeable.

Remember, ours is a parish 65 years old—church, rectory, and $100,000 parish hall—paid for. What about new suburban communities with none of these things, where Sunday mass means driving 5, 10, or even 15 miles? Soon you fall into a typical suburban routine—you go one Sunday, mother the next—somebody has to stay home with the toddlers. If you are late, you stand as thousands do in overcrowded suburban churches. A year or two and you suddenly realize it has been months since you approached the communion rail. Deprived of the grace and strength of the sacraments, only an exceptional Catholic can avoid the daily erosion of the family's faith.

In many city parishes, Catholics usually are to be found in every block, frequently they are in the majority. Probably your missus, Agnes Burke and Ellen O'Leary now share morning coffee, a rosary, do a bit of sewing for the Order of Martha, exchange Catholic magazines and books. In most suburbs, Catholics are spread thinly indeed—the 2,500 in our parish are scattered over 75 square miles, almost twice the area of San Francisco. And our pastor has no help except 2 priests from out of town for Sunday masses. No wonder that in many suburbs, the faith is stripped down to bare essentials—daily mass, sufficient Sunday masses to keep standees within the fire laws; confessions, baptisms, an annual confirmation class; Saturday morning instruction for hundreds of children attending public schools; once-a-month sick calls, and funerals.

Parish organizations? Well, who will supervise them and when? Our 65-year-old parish had no Holy Name Society until 1953, no Knights of Columbus until 1954; our CYO is only 3 years old. A choir? How much music can you have with Sunday masses every hour from 7 a. m. to noon? A parish library? There are 3 in our entire suburban county. A magazine and pamphlet rack? The New Yorker, published 3,000 miles away, has more circulation in our county than any Catholic publication, including our archdiocesan newspaper. Our county public library has 14 branches, plus 2 bookmobiles, but its Catholic books total less than 60 titles, and these include best sellers such as The Nun's Story, The Cardinal, Fallen Away, etc.

Ninety percent of our county's 25,000 Catholics own automobiles, some 2 or even 3. Some of us have homes with a current market value of from $25,000 to $60,000. We are more affluent than any group of Catholics in history, but in terms of militancy, Catholic action and community influence we are almost bankrupt. Twenty-five percent of our public school enrollment is Catholic, but our parish never has had a school trustee. Our Rotary and Lions Clubs have less than a dozen Catholics, in both.

Most suburbs have only one movie. These, even when Catholic owned, ignore Legion of Decency ratings. What of your pledge "to stay away altogether from places of amusement which show them (indecent and immoral films) as a matter of policy?" Adults can drive 50 miles to the city for one of those rare, worthwhile films. But what will you say when the youngsters next door ask, "Why can't Patricia and Jerome go see Baby Doll with us?"

Your wife joins Suburbia's Book Study Club. Does she remain silent when Peyton Place or The Ninth Wave are discussed, and praised, but never a Catholic book? The county grand jury investigates a public high school library, and your PTA goes into the matter. How will your wife answer the alibi of "book burning" and "censorship"? Will she read an editorial from a Catholic magazine asking how those books got into the library when even excerpts from them have been banned from the United States mails as "obscene, lewd, lascivious, and filthy?"

The Under Thirty Club invites you to join—folk dancing, bridge, barbecues, etc. Then you discover that the club is an unofficial organization of the Presbyterian Church. Do you resign, or—? You are asked to serve on the annual Salvation Army fund raising committee. After all, "the Salvation Army does a lot of good" and a Catholic banker in an adjoining suburb is treasurer. What will be your decision? Neighbor Jones builds a cute "wishing well" in his yard. You order a wayside shrine from the Town & Country Apostolate of the Diocese of Worcester, affiliated with the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. Soon "the deep freeze" is on. "Why, we didn't know you were Catholics." Some of the oldtimers in the parish shake their heads. "It's all right to be a Catholic, but let's don't make an issue of it; hurts business, you know; look what happened to that writer who shot off his mouth; do you want to be hanged in effigy?"

There is nothing new in all this. From 1577 to 1829, English Catholics faced this same challenge. To them, as today in suburbs from Long Island to California, cooperation and conformity were made to sound very appealing, very plausible, very harmless. Many of them, too, went along with their neighbors, but hundreds suffered martyrdom and thousands were bankrupted by ruinous penal laws.

Do you still want to move to the suburbs?

States Rights, Security, and the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of President Louis C. Wyman, National Association of Attorneys General, 51st national conference, Sun Valley Lodge, Sun Valley, Idaho, June 24, 1957:

STATES RIGHTS, SECURITY, AND THE SUPREME COURT

Reverend Clergy, Lieutenant Governor Larsen, our genial host, Graydon Smith, members of the national association and their lovely ladies, distinguished guests, and friends, because of the very problem to which my remarks this noon are addressed, our good friend, Hon. Louis Nichols, Assistant to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, cannot be with us this noon. For this reason, instead of delivering the President's address at the morning session, Attorney General Smith has asked me to do so this noon. Because I think that the matter with which it is concerned is of national importance as well as a great deal of direct interest to everyone who is here, I

shall offer no apologies for being serious this noon. I hope you will bear with me for a few minutes, having in mind that while I am not adept at being a funny man myself, even it I were this is not a subject which at this stage of national affairs lends itself to jokes.

In earlier years I can well remember that the generation before me felt that youngsters of my time were becoming demoralized because they were staying out a little later, driving cars a little faster, and smoking cigarettes. Dire were the predictions of disaster for our generation, yet this was the generation that proved itself in World War II, and the situation did not turn out to be as bad as some people thought. At the same time today parents worry about the contempt of modern youth for parental control, cynicism toward principle and precept, and we are all concerned about some youngsters' lack of respect for law and justice generally.

Between certain types of television shows and parental preoccupation with the cocktail hour, as well as with other matters—mostly material—there is genuine cause for concern lest the generation coming along is going to succeed to control of the helm without familiarity with and belief in the basic principles upon which our forefathers rested the Constitution of the United States. It may be that these fears will prove as groundless as those of our parents before us. I hope so. But this time the problem is a little different. For now it is not sheer deviltry, it is an infection of amoral materialism, a sort of modern-day cynicism that is supposed to mark contemporary sophistication beyond the usual degree attendant to the age of 21.

No matter the precise phrase, there is little doubt but what that great instrument through which Americans have devised perhaps the most satisfactory method of community living under a government of law and not of men, is being tortured out of all rational historical proportion by decision after decision of the United States Supreme Court. These decisions in their cumulative aspect seek by fiat of five appointed Justices to substitute a philosophy of government patently contrary to that contemplated by George Washington and the great figures of our early constitutional period. Such fiat involves certain basic assumptions concerning what is best for the American way of life and through these decisions in effect amends the Constitution to the point of usurping what has always heretofore been considered as the proper function of the constitutional convention in our pattern of government. Such decisions must further confound and confuse our youth who seek and deserve real understanding of the true relationship between state and individual, between communism and capitalism.

In recent years, even months, this country has witnessed the curious phenomenon of a Supreme Court decision on one day and a bill in Congress to set it aside on the next. Were such measures and developments peculiarly local in isolated cases they would be readily understandable, but protests and outcry against these decisions have mounted from north to south and from east to west across the length and breadth of the United States. Most recent is that group of cases decided a week ago today, June 17, 1957, a day which David Lawrence has aptly characterized as a fateful one in American history.

What was originally drawn as a compact between the States to create a Federal Government with certain express powers which were delegated in the compact—called a Constitution—threatens by decision of the High Court to become a one-way ticket to a Federal bureaucracy in which the position and authority of the individual States becomes less and less with every passing year. No one questions that the powers expressly granted to the Federal Government in article I, section 8, are powers best exercised by Federal authority for the common good. But when those powers are extended by the exercise of some sort of civil liberties preoccupation or underdog complex into the kind of decision that resulted in *Griffin* v. *Illinois*, or *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson; Schware* v. *New Mexico; Konigsberg* v. *California; Jencks* v. *United States; Watkins* v. *United States; Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire;* and *Yates* v. *United States*, we face a common problem of the highest magnitude. This problem is the State's interest in its own survival.

The public record of Communist subversion both in this country and in many other countries around the world is notorious. It is equally notorious that responsible agencies within and without Federal and State Governments have repeatedly confirmed that the Communist Party in this country is an arm of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union with the objective of alteration of the form of government of the United States to a Communist state—whether or not through an intermediate step of socialism—to be attained by force and violence if necessary.

If our United States is to have any semblance of realistic national security, not essentially by guns or even bombs but through awareness of possible subversion and nonforgetfulness of the absolute enmity to the principles of freedom which has always characterized world communism, the Highest Court of the United States should not even hint that membership in the Communist Party is a mere matter of political association, much less hold, as it has in *Yates* v. *United States* that a subjective test is to be applied to advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government of this country and that the Smith Act permits advocacy of forcible overthrow short of incitement of direct action to that end.

A majority of the Supreme Court of the United States has held that at least as far as good moral character is concerned, membership in the Communist Party is apparently considered a mere matter of political asscociation privileged under the first amendment. No matter protestations of words in the opinion to the contrary (as the dissent points out), one cannot read the Konigsberg decision without observing that this is exactly what the High Court has done by telling a State court that on such a record there can be no reasonable doubt of the good moral character of an applicant for admission to the bar who refuses to answer the question of whether or not he is at the time of his application a member of the Communist Party in this country.

If this were not enough, the High Court a week ago today denied the right of the legislature of New Hampshire to inquire into the actual content of a required-attendance lecture at a State university by a former professor with a substantial record of association with Communists and Communist-front organizations, who had written that violence to preserve the Soviet system was justified but that violence to preserve the capitalist system was doubly damned—once for itself and once for its purposes, as well as more. This latter decision was rested on the astonishing ground, in part, that there was no assurance that a legislature which had delegated the investigation to an Attorney General wanted answers to the questions put: That this lack of assurance evidenced an abuse of authority in the face of a legislative resolution stating, "The Attorney General is authorized to act upon his own motion and upon such information as in his judgment may be reasonable or reliable * * *." In this case the High Court, in discussing the perennial problem of balancing individual rights with national security, dismissed the interest of a State in its own survival in an incredible dictum: "We do not now conceive of any circumstance wherein a State interest would justify infringement of right in these fields."

No matter the phrasing of words nor the rationale of individual members of the majority, it is plain that the elements of partnership between State and Federal Governments in the investigation of subversive activities have been sharply limited, if not destroyed. Mere questioning in legislative fact-finding does not stigmatize. It is the answers to questions that count. If the questions are ptrtinent and relate to a vital concern of the State they should be sanctioned, not struck down. The mere asking of relevant questions in fact-finding into possible subversion cannot destroy legitimate free speech.

Without being disrespectful, I believe it is a fair comment to characterize the language of the majority in the Sweezy decision as pure sophistry. The individual citizen in America must feel frustrated and helpless in the face of such reasoning reaching a conclusion contrary to the literal right of the governed to self-preservation. Democracy has the right of self-preservation. Freedom does not, and cannot, mean freedom to destroy freedom in this country. Preservation of academic freedom and the American way of life does not require the judiciary to constitute the campus an insulated cloister wherein the relevant question may not tread in seeking to detect the presence or absence of a virus that would potentially destroy both academic freedom and the American way of life.

We are lawyers. That we happen to be Attorneys General for the moment is either our good or poor fortune, as the case may seem to each of us. As lawyers we must have respect for the law and confidence in the integrity, ability, and enlightenment of our judiciary. The situation of the law in the field of Federal-State relations, and particularly in the field of subversive activities has never in the history of the United States descended to as low a point in terms of lack of public confidence as it has reached today. While of course I cannot speak for the Department of Justice, it must be apparent to anyone with a balance wheel in his head that the recent decisions relating to communism and the Communist Party; the tragic delay in disposal of the Subversive Activities Control Board orders relating to the Communist Party registration under the Internal Security Act of 1950; the requirement that confidential files and reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation—which may include classified material—shall be open carte blanche to cross-examination in all criminal cases including prosecution for subversion; the decision that the board of bar examiners in New Mexico were required against their judgment to have in their bar association a man who had a record of previous membership in the Communist Party and previous criminal activities; the decision that the California bar may not deny membership to an applicant who refuses to answer whether he is presently a member of the Communist Party; decisions relating to extension of Federal control in the water cases; the decision requiring compulsory transcripts to the indigent in a State court in Illinois; and decisions in derogation of State labor laws not touching interstate commerce; all these have brought about a dangerous instability in our law, a lack of confidence in Government, and in the judicial structure of this Nation.

That this has been accompanied by such spectacles as those recently presented by the abuse of the fifth amendment by Dave Beck and his son for purposes for which most assuredly it was never intended, does not help this unhappy situation. What are people to think of the law when they read about such conduct on advice of counsel? What kind of a law do we have that can permit defiance of commonsense to the extreme that it cannot sufficiently define a point in testimony at which the fifth amendment begins

to apply? Must a lawyer always tell a client, "You can't even admit to knowing your own father lest under the doctrine of the Rogers case you may be construed to have waived your right to claim the privilege?" This is nonsense. It is bad public relations for the law.

It is in the interest of improvement of the administration of justice as well as restoration of public confidence in government that at the earliest possible time there should be a decision clearly, rationally, and firmly spelling out that the fifth amendment means what it always should have been plainly held to have meant, namely, that a truthful answer if given is honestly believed by the witness to possibly furnish a link in a chain of evidence which might lead to his conviction for a crime not outlawed by the statute of limitations, and nothing less. The fifth amendment is not a shield against informing nor a barbiturate for twinges of personal conscience.

It is most essential that we chief law-enforcement officers of the States, together with the law-enforcement officers of the Federal Government, in matters of criminal law generally, and civil liberties and subversive activities particularly, should operate in partnership as a team, and without opposition and rancor. Decisions of the Highest Court in this country, which again and again insult State sovereignty and derogate from the plain language of the 10th amendment, do not contribute to such a partnership.

Cooperation between the States and the Federal Government is a two-way street. If the Federal Government wants cooperation from the States then the judiciary should permit extension of real cooperation to the States, for the proof of the pudding is in the eating. If the bar association of the State of New Mexico does not want a former Communist with a criminal arrest record as one of its members, the Supreme Court of the United States should not force it to do so. If the bar association of the State of California does not believe that an applicant for admission to the status of officer of the court, sworn to uphold the State and Federal Constitutions, who refuses to say that he is not a member of the Communist Party at the time of his application, is not of good moral character, the Supreme Court of the United States should not tell the State of California that on such a record there is no reasonable doubt of his good moral character simply because the witness contended that he did not advocate or believe in force and violence generally. Perhaps the bar examiners did not believe him.

If a legislative committee investigating subversion in New Hampshire questions a person who gave a required-attendance lecture at a State-supported university seeking to find out whether directly or indirectly he advocated force and violence to adolescents of impressionable age, the Supreme Court should not tell the State legislature that it may not so inquire. And, finally, under no circumstances in the delicate field of interpretation of the Smith Act should the Supreme Court permit exclusion from that act advocacy and teaching of forcible overthrow of the Government as an abstract principle short of incitement. Words may be combined like keys on a piano to play a tune according to the conception of the pianist. Although there is an old saying that "sticks and stones may break my bones but words can never hurt me" words from the highest court in the world are translated into action all over the United States and in those places under United States influence—which includes a goodly portion of the world. Such a play on words makes infinitely more difficult judicial establishment of an intelligible dividing line between free speech and advocacy of subversion and offers encouragement to those enemies of the American way of life, who, like termites in the foundation, are never seen and seldom heard, until the day the house falls in.

This Nation is composed of many languages, many races, many creeds, living together under a document which permits a good deal of give and take. The very flexibility of the Federal Constitution has insured its continued strength against stresses and strains which in other lands have seen as many as 17 governments fall in 2 years. This document must not continue to be interpreted in such a manner as to throw out of kilter the great divider between the powers of the States and the Federal Government, the 10th amendment. We State attorneys general are responsible through our national association for asserting our best efforts that the course of history in the United States shall be turned from a direction of paternal federalism to one of enlightened cooperation between sovereign States and the Federal Government, each working in its own sphere with recognized division of authority.

I believe that if the United States Supreme Court continues with the type of decision that has been handed down of late that the National Association of Attorneys General should support at least four specific courses of action:

First. The preparation of language clarifying the 10th amendment, to protect States reserved powers in more certain terms with its immediate recommendation to all 48 State legislatures.

Second. That a method be devised whereby the States shall have a greater voice in confirmation of appointments to the Supreme Court than now exists through the United States Senate. The more one observes the path of the growth of America, the more compelling becomes the conclusion that politics should be left out of judicial decisions, and persons without prior judicial experience should not be appointed to the Supreme Court. While 300 years ago it might have been appropriate for a scholar writing with quill pen to observe that "the law is a ass, a fool" we can no longer afford to have this considered to be the fact by people in a kinetic, dynamic society troubled with the awful awareness of the fact that society controls technologically the means to destroy itself without at the same time having devised the means to live together in peace and trust.

Third. Specific continued support of legislation of the general nature of S. 654 and H. R. 3, as amended, designed to insulate against judicial legislation in derogation of State sovereignty.

Fourth. The appointment at this conference of a special committee on internal security, instructed to immediately confer with the interested Federal agencies and with other national groups, including the American Bar Association, with a view to preparation of legislation for introduction at the current session of Congress designed to undo as great a portion of these recent decisions as is possible short of constitutional amendment. The chairman of this special committee should be further instructed to present the committee's recommendation to the permanent executive committee of this association and with its approval and authority to appear before the Congress of the United States in support thereof.

On any theory, a determined few of the Supreme Court of the United States have by these decisions mortgaged if not destroyed the reasonable attempts of hard-working, loyal Americans, including such as J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, FRANCIS E. WALTER and the congressional committees, and State legislative fact-finding committees—whose methods in the great majority of cases have in no sense or manner been either unfair nor overreaching, to keep check on the extent of Communist penetration and subversion in America. These decisions have set the United States back 25 years in its attempt to make certain that those loyal to a foreign power cannot create another Trojan Horse here.

Beyond even this incredible, compelled conclusion is the dismaying fact that the Supreme Court has sanctioned protection of the dark corners of individual association with persons disloyal to America and made infinitely more difficult, if not impossible, the taking of sworn testimony relating to subversive activity in the United States. By equating lawful politics with communism it has been suggested to America and to the world that Communists and communism may not in fact be subversive of our way of life at all, which is certainly contrary to the public record of communism which has proven to an overwhelming majority of Americans that communism is the mortal enemy of freedom everywhere.

There is no need to torture the memories of surviving loved ones to establish these facts.

On issues of loyalty to State and Nation, the life of every citizen by American law should and must be an open book.

Gentlemen, the situation is serious, even appalling. These decisions strike a mortal blow at the very foundations of the American way—at the very principles in which we believe; those same principles that when the chips are down find all loyal Americans ready to risk their very lives to defend and preserve. It is tragic to see such judicial undermining of national security and Federal-State relations, as well as of the very foundation of free America's right to protect itself.

Nixon's Popularity Rises With Voters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, many of us have watched the rise of Vice President NIXON in the esteem of his fellow countrymen. It was very apparent in the recent election that his position was considerably improved over 1952. In the last few years he has had a chance to show his ability as the right arm of President Eisenhower.

In his trips abroad he has demonstrated the good will of the United States toward other countries of the world. Each one of these trips has been increasingly important as it became recognized that he was acting as the official representative of the President.

All of this has contributed to his increased esteem in the eyes of the people generally.

I append hereto an article by Elmo Roper and associates from the Washington Star of Sunday, July 7, titled "NIXON's Popularity Rises With Voters":

NIXON'S POPULARITY RISES WITH VOTERS

The once passionate opposition to Vice President RICHARD NIXON has cooled down considerably in the last couple of years. While 3 percent of a national sample says he has slipped in their esteem, 18 percent have revised upward their opinion of the controversial Vice President. The answers

to the following question show where Mr. NIXON stands at the present time:

In regard to Vice President NIXON, which of these statements comes closest to the way you feel about him at the present time, as compared to a couple of years ago?

I liked him then and I like him now, 49 percent.

I didn't like him then; I like him better now, 18 percent.

I like him then; I don't like him as well now, 3 percent.

I didn't like him then and I don't like him now, 22 percent.

Don't know, 8 percent.

This indicates Mr. NIXON has come a long way since the time when he was being criticized for sledgehammer, unscrupulous campaign tactics both before and after he arrived on the national scene. For fully 40 percent of the people we talked to confessed a past aversion to the Vice President, a remarkable high number for any public figure. But only 22 percent persist in their dislike. Apparently the more discreet tone of his recent campaign and foreign trips, and presumably his support of President Eisenhower's policies, are the reasons.

This softening in attitudes is strikingly bipartisan. Nineteen percent of the Republicans like him better now; so do 16 percent of the Democrats. He still wouldn't win any popularity contests with Democrats, but he would do a lot better than he did a year ago, when in a precampaign poll Democrats with a low opinion of Mr. NIXON outnumbered his Democratic admirers 3 to 2.

Mr. NIXON's popularity has always varied noticeably in different parts of the country, and it's still that way today. Sentiment has warmed toward him most in the regions already most friendly to him, the Northeast and the Midwest. Elsewhere, while feeling toward him has shifted some, there is a stronger hard-core anti-Nixon sentiment that stubbornly resists change. Here's a breakdown of regional differences:

	North-east	Mid-west	South	Far West
I liked him then and I like him now	57	53	40	50
I didn't like him then; I like him better now	18	21	16	14
I liked him then; I don't like him as well now	1	4	4	4
I didn't like him then and I don't like him now	19	16	27	24
Don't know	5	6	13	8

Now probably the No. 1 contender for the 1960 Republican presidential nomination, Mr. NIXON is far ahead of where he was a couple of years ago. But his popularity is still not of the sweeping sort usually commanded by successful presidential candidates.

A year ago, when asked to choose between Mr. NIXON and a hypothetical Democratic candidate for President, the faceless Democrat won by a margin of nine percentage points. The margin may have narrowed since. Only time will tell whether Mr. NIXON can carry his upward career in voter esteem onto a presidential level.

A Plea for Teen-Agers To Participate in Sports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a very timely and informative article, appearing in the Worcester, Mass., Evening Gazette of May 9, last, by Eugene Gilbert, of Gilbert Youth Research, entreating our youngsters to relieve their boredom by wholesome participation in healthy sports activities. With all their supposed sophistication, let us hope our young people wisely appreciate the priceless value of good health as an essential foundation to a happy and useful life.

The article follows:

THE PROBLEMS OF OUR BORED TEEN-AGERS

(By Eugene Gilbert, of Gilbert Youth Research)

Most of the Nation's teen-agers are bored in spite of all the modern entertainment gadgets.

Perhaps they're not bored every minute—but a good part of the day.

Of the boys interviewed in our cross-country poll 78 percent say they are bored. The percentage of lasses suffering from lassitude is even higher: 85 percent.

LOOK OUT WINDOW

One girl sighs: "There are moments when I think I will go out of my mind with boredom."

An Arkansas small-town boy says: "My crowd and I often sit in one guy's house for hours looking out of the window."

But a 16-year-old lad from Chicago complains of the same ailment: "I take up new hobbies every couple of months to give me something to think about. But it doesn't work. I guess I'm just a blase individual."

DON'T ENVY DADS

Monotonous as they frequently find their existence, 84 percent of the youngsters we interviewed feel they get as much enjoyment out of life today as their parents did when they were children.

"I guess all kids are bored these days," notes Tommy, 15. "I bet dad did about the same things when he was young as I do now. He must have been plenty bored a lot of the time."

They agree they have many advantages today children of 100 years ago never dreamed of—television, radio, telephones, motion pictures, airplanes, tape recordings, electrical appliances.

LESS WORK

Since automation entered the home with pushbutton appliances to do just about every chore, youngsters have their work around the house cut to a minimum. Transportation is faster, too. Everything seems to give teen-agers more time and less activity.

"Machines do all the work," 15-year-old Sandy of Connecticut says. "There is nothing left for us to do. So we just have to sit around—bored to tears."

"Bored? Why, man, that's not too far from the truth," agrees a Boston lad, 17. "None of the teen-agers I know have enough to keep them busy for an hour a day. Certainly we're bored."

Television contributes to their general ennui. It's conceded that TV keeps children better informed on world affairs and in most fields of knowledge. But knowing more leads to sophistication which in turn can make young people blasé. Nothing is a surprise or a thrill any more.

Take the circus coming to town. This used to be one of the year's high spots for a child. Thirteen-year-old Maura says:

SPORTS WOULD HELP

"I'll never forget my disappointment when I went to the circus for the first time. Television was much better. You could see the animals closer and the awful smell wasn't there."

In a previous study we explored the fact that participation by young people in sports is steadily declining. There is an obvious connection between bored teen-agers and fewer young people on the playing fields.

Youngsters who like sports aren't sitting around twidding their thumbs for lack of something to do. And the physical exertion keeps them feeling alive, stimulated, and interested.

In fact, it has been medically proved that the formative years need strenuous physical activity. The teens generally are bursting with energy and require sufficient interests and activities to occupy their minds and bodies. Otherwise, they may lapse into lethargy.

America's Constitutional Crisis—The Problem of the High Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the American people are concerned about recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

In the current issue of Human Events, July 6, 1957, Mr. Frederic Nelson, who has been associate editor of the Saturday Evening Post in charge of its editorial page since 1942, has written an interesting article setting forth the problem of the High Court. As part of my remarks, I am including Mr. Nelson's statement:

AMERICA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS—THE PROBLEM OF THE HIGH COURT

(By Frederic Nelson)

If anyone wants to know what a constitutional crisis is like, it looks as if we were in the middle of one. The English put on constitutional crises when somebody in the royal family wants to marry an American or a gamesmaster. This American crisis is more important, to us, anyway, because it concerns the very nature of our political system and the continued ability of the Government to protect the country from destructive Communist attack. In a series of edicts the United States Supreme Court has rendered the Government powerless to check the organization of secret Communist cells; to expose the nature and ramifications of the Red conspiracy; to maintain the integrity of the FBI's sources of information; or to keep subversives out of sensitive Federal bureaus.

How on earth did nine eminent Supreme Court Justices, most of whom are no more radical than the average Joe at the country club on Saturday afternoon, manage to foul things up so that Americans in all walks of life fear for the security of the Nation, while the Communists openly boast that they never had it so good? There is no single answer, of course, but for one clue you might look into the tendency of middle-aged men to assume that young intellectuals just out of college know all the answers. Even a Supreme Court Justice is probably a good-hearted sucker for the idea that the top young man in the graduating class at an Ivy League law school has the latest word on the Constitution. Most of the Justices take on such young fellows as their clerks. Who are these brains and what are their backgrounds?

Even the most casual student of the Supreme Court's recent decisions in the so-called civil liberties cases wants to know, who makes up the reading lists for the eminent Justices? Their opinions bristle with citations from sociologists and political theorists whose works one would hardly expect a Supreme Court Justice to have

read. Some people suspect that those clerks—just out of law schools more or less on the left side of the fence—have been familiarizing their bosses with 4 Gunnar Myrdal 907 (instead of 17 U. S. 1165).

The suspicion that there may be some neo-Alger Hisses in the High Court's establishment doubtless accounts for the recent recommendation by the Commission on Government Security that employees of the judicial branch should be screened for basic loyalty because Federal judges, busy with overcrowded court calendars, must rely upon assistants to prepare briefing papers for them. False or biased information inadvertently reflected in court opinions in crucial security, constitutional, governmental or social issues, could cause severe effects to the Nation's security.

Anyway it will be no surprise if it turns out that the Court's homework has neglected the reports of the hearings which the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee have been holding on the general subject of Communist subversion in American life. A little more attention to these sensational but usually ignored reports ought to convince even the most liberal jurist that the cases which have been coming up to the Supreme Court of late are concerned only remotely with the rights of individuals to their political views, but have a great deal to do with a ramifying conspiracy, almost impossible to expose in its entirety, to subject America to Communist dictatorship.

Take Justice Black's opinion in the Konigsberg case, in which the Court upset the efforts of the California bar to exclude from the practice of law a young man who had refused to tell the bar's examining committee whether or not he was or had been a Communist. Konigsberg, when asked the simple question, "Are you a Communist?," went into the familiar song and dance about how he was faced with nameless accusers or informers; and that, if he did answer the question, you would get a dozen informers who would say the opposite; and that anyway the question invaded his rights of free opinion and free speech and that the legal profession should champion these rights.

As a matter of fact, one nonfaceless informer named Mrs. Bennett had testified in Konigsberg's presence that she knew him to be a Communist; but, when asked whether he cared to deny her testimony, Konigsberg said, "That is a question relating to opinions, beliefs, political affiliations."

All this might seem, as it did to Justice Harlan, to cast doubt on the desirability of this young man as a member of the California bar, or at any rate deter the Supreme Court from interfering in the matter. But not Justice Black. His assistant or clerk could have briefed him, but apparently didn't. In an encomium upon the honesty and uprightness of the applicant's life, Justice Black mentioned the fact that, after joining the Army, Konigsberg was selected for training as an orientation officer in the Army's information and education program and in that capacity served in north Africa, Italy, France, and Germany. As an orientation officer one of his principal functions was to explain to soldiers the advantages of democracy as compared with totalitarianism.

This must have split the sides of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which, in the summer of 1954, went pretty thoroughly into the activities and personnel of the Information and Education Division of the United States Army. That section was found to be loaded with Bolos and leftwingers whose activities, unearthed in testimony before the committee, included the publication of a series of Army talks, among them one on China which assured the wondering troops that "Communists" (end quote) were not really Communists at all.

But, to Justice Black and presumably the court majority, service with a group which was loaded with leftwingers is evidence of a "forceful showing of good moral character." Of course, this individual may have been clean as J. Edgar Hoover's tooth; the point is that, if you're making a case for innocence by association, don't pick this information and education outfit. Really, some alert assistant or research analyst ought to have pulled that one out of the justice's text.

If the Court is actually setting itself up as a third legislative chamber, it ought to go to great pains to understand what it is legislating about. Some research into the Internal Security Committee's investigation of the penetration of communism into the educational field might have headed off another howler, this one from the majority opinion in the case of New Hampshire's Professor Sweezy: "It is particularly important that the exercise of the power of compulsory process be carefully circumscribed when the legislative process tends to impinge upon highly sensitive areas of freedom of speech or press, freedom of political association and freedom of communication of ideas, particularly in the academic community."

Why particularly in the academic community? With almost every college and university faculty sheltering at least 1 or 2 veterans of the fifth amendment, the impartial observer might conclude that the academic community should receive especially careful attention from the investigating process. The testimony of Bella Dodd, for example, on the special vulnerability of educators to the wiles and sophistries of communism might have profitably been called to the attention of the Court by some law clerk who was not curled up with a good book on the evils of McCarthyism.

This gets us to the momentous Watkins case in which the Supreme Court undertakes to set new limits on the investigative powers of Congress. Of course, few would undertake to prove that every congressional investigation and every question posed by an investigating committee is above criticism. I myself, without knowing too much about it, doubt the wisdom of attempting to compel a witness to squeal on his old brothers in the bonds of communism. The question which the committee has to ask itself is whether the possible advantage of prosecuting Arthur Miller, for example, outweighs the disadvantage of a hostile popular reaction to all congressional investigations. The basic object is to persuade wavering Communists to leave the party and tell what they know. It is quite possible that some such people hesitate to emerge for fear of being compelled to give information concerning others.

The other side of the argument, and the one which prevailed in congressional circles, is that a repentant Communist casts serious doubts upon the genuineness of his change of heart if he refuses to name his associates in subversion. And of course it is unfair that prominent witnesses with popular followings and curvaceous wives should get a fairer deal than less fancy converts. Nevertheless, the Watkins and Sweezy decisions certainly suggest that committees of Congress would do well to pick their contempt victims with an eye to how they look on television.

However, this ought to be a matter for the discretion of the committee. If its members think it essential to punish recalcitrance by citing a witness for contempt, the Congress must retain the power to do so. As Justice Black remarked back in the days when he was a Senator from Alabama, "There is no power on earth that can tear away the veil behind which powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups operate, save the sovereign legislative power armed with the right of subpena and search", and with the power to compel reply to questions.

In those days the powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups were mainly millionaires and entrepreneurs in the electric power industry. It was considered reasonable to push them around. I seem to recall that somebody even incited a midget to sit in J. Pierpont Morgan's lap while he was testifying and nobody blew the whistle. Now that the witnesses are Communist conspirators for the overthrow of the United States, the learned Justices are for limiting the sovereign legislative power.

In this same Sweezy opinion occurs the astonishing statement, which seems intended to apply to the Communist Party, that "any interference with the freedom of a party is simultaneously an interference with the freedom of its adherents * * *. We do not now conceive of any circumstances wherein a State interest would justify infringement of rights in these fields." Sweezy is a teacher in New Hampshire and the people of that State seem to have imagined that they had an interest in what was being taught in their educational institutions. Had they read the Court's dictum in the Steve Nelson case, they would have understood that the States are supposed to have no legitimate interest in subversion at all.

A competent law clerk would have suggested that a State interest in subversion of the United States is suggested in article IV, section 4 of the United States Constitution, which reads, "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence."

It doesn't seem to me altogether a quibble—or at any rate no worse a quibble than a lot we have been getting lately—to suggest that the States have as much interest in the possible overthrow of the United States from the inside as from the outside; and that, inasmuch as the States are guaranteed a republican form of government by the United States, it would be suicidal for the States to remain indifferent to subversion which might easily make the Federal guaranty as useless as a $3 bill. The California Un-American Activities Committee for example, has turned up a lot of important leads which Federal authorities could follow up later.

It is a little difficult to see what Justice Harlan's law clerk could have done to steer him away from that dreary routine on the meaning of the word organize as used in the Smith Act. As a lay ignoramus got it, Justice Harlan meant that, unless a Communist was present when the Communist Party was organized in 1945, he could not be said to have organized Communist cells or apparatuses after that year. Perhaps, the Justice's clerk should have suggested that an equally good date for the organization of the United States Communist Party in 1919, a date which would have sheltered most Reds younger than William Z. Foster behind the statute of limitations. But for the lay ignoramus, who can't see anything confusing in the idea that a Communist might right now organize a cell in a labor union or college faculty, the Court had a hard time making sense.

Fundamental to the release of the California Communists, is the notion, which crops out throughout the Court's opinion, that freedom of speech and political belief is somehow involved. Another basic fallacy is that the Communist conspiracy is no longer dangerous. These delusions are not confined to Supreme Court Justices. The New York Times, hailing the Smith Act opinions as a new birth of freedom, declared that, "the time is passing when the existence of a small group of persons with warped minds and twisted judgments and calling themselves Communists is a menace requiring us to suppress our ancient freedoms."

Of course, we haven't suppressed any ancient freedoms, as the ability of the Communists to warp the minds and twist the judgment of a distressingly large portion of the non-Communist community is sufficient proof. More depressing are these decisions in which the Court revealed a bland indifference to the growing menace of internal subversion and appeared to accept the notion that a Communist conspirator could not be considered guilty of incitement unless he managed to incite somebody to blow up the United States Mint within the next half hour.

The idea that the Communist Party is harmless is, of course, being exploited to the limit by the party itself. In its brief asking the Supreme Court to outlaw the Smith Act, the party lawyers said: "Developments of the last few months indicate that these relationships (between Russia and the United States) are beginning to undergo a profound change. For this reason alone, the position of the court of appeals that it is legally bound to assume that the fears expressed by Congress in 1950 provide an adequate, competent, and conclusive picture of reality is unreasonable, if not wholly irrational."

Although the present Court has not overtly reversed its own opinion in the Eugene Dennis case, its latest ukase represents a substantial reversal of its earlier view that "the mere fact that, from the period 1945 to 1948, petitioners' activities did not result in an attempt to overthrow the Government by force and violence is, of course, no answer to the fact that there was a group that was ready to make the attempt." The California decision did not declare the Smith Act unconstitutional; it merely made it all but impossible to enforce.

And that may have been the smartest idea some bright law clerk has developed since he left law school.

In spite of the predictions by liberal columnists that the fuss will subside and that Congress will lie down and play dead, I have a hunch that Congress will do nothing of the kind. It can't, if only because failure to meet these repeated challenges will lead to judicial dictatorship, however amiably it may be disguised. If Congress may not question a witness without explaining in elaborate detail just what specific statute any isolated question is expected to produce; if Communists may not be laid by the heels until the Red putsch has succeeded; if a trust may be upset because the Supreme Court thinks the maker of the trust should have made it differently; if the FBI must expose its files to Communist lawyers whenever the files concern the testimony of a Government witness; and if even Dean Acheson is not privileged to fire an employee as a security risk, then we have something like judicial dictatorship already. Neither Congress nor the American people can settle for anything like that.

Twenty years ago, when the Supreme Court declared various acts of Congress unconstitutional, the liberals did not hesitate to propose drastic remedies. The late Represenative Maury Maverick declared that, unless the Court abandoned the practice of functioning as a super-legislature and a super-President, the people should require it. Senator George Norris complained that the people can change Congress but only God can change the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, he thought the people ought to try. Jackson, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Grant were quoted on the side of telling the Supreme Court to get back behind the balkline, or else. A case called *Ex Parte McCardle* was exhumed from obscurity since 1868 to show that in at least one instance the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Chase, had refused to hear a case in which Congress specifically denied jurisdiction to the Supreme Court. Maybe that device could be made to serve again.

This time, of course, the liberals see no cause for alarm, and are raising their hands in holy horror at the mere suggestion that anyone should be so bold as to defy the Supreme Court. But Congress will hardly give up so easily. Its power to do something had the endorsement of a former semi-liberal member of the court itself.

Former Justice Roberts, commenting on the McCardle case, raised an interesting question: "What is there to prevent Congress taking away, bit by bit, all the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States, not doing it by direct attack but by that sort of indirect attack? I see nothing. I do not see any reason why Congress cannot, if it so decides, take away entirely the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States over State supreme court decisions. The jurisdiction is exercised now under the terms of the judiciary act. Suppose Congress should decide to let the decisions of State courts of appeal be final on constitutional questions. How could the Supreme Court assert a power to take those questions, notwithstanding the act of Congress, in view of the language of the third article of the Constitution (the article defining the judicial power)?"

Surely this is something those erudite law clerks might have looked into, if only to warn their bosses of what might happen if they pushed Congress too far. It would be regrettable if the Supreme Court's powers as umpire were destroyed, for, without some final body authorized to decide when constitutional limits have been exceeded by Congress or the Executive, it is difficult to see how a Federal system of balanced powers could be made to operate. But an umpire who legalizes the spitball on the field and seems unable to detect a wild pitch can hardly complain when the pop bottles fly. And a Supreme Court which so far misconceives its function as virtually to paralyze Congress and the Executive in their efforts to protect the country against internal subversion must be said to have asked for whatever reprisals follow.

Pregnancies Grow in Washington Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the entire country has been following with interest the results of public-school integration in the District of Columbia. Because President Eisenhower had suggested that Washington's public school system should serve as a model of integration for other communities to follow, developments here have been carefully noted by the public.

Last fall, a subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia conducted a thorough study of conditions in the newly integrated Washington schools, and the evidence presented to that subcommittee startled the entire Nation. I am quite sure that no fair-minded person could close his eyes entirely to the disastrous effects that inevitably result from such wholesale integration if that person should take the time to read the transcript of hearings before that subcommittee.

In the current issue of U. S. News & World Report is to be found an enlightening article dealing with some of the problems brought about by integration of the District schools. The facts revealed in this article are shocking, to say the least, and should awaken even the most avid integrationists to the cold realties of life. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the aforementioned article:

PREGNANCIES GROW IN WASHINGTON SCHOOLS

Pregnancy and vandalism are being pictured officially as twin problems in schools of the Capital of the Nation.

The number of pregnancies has multiplied. In one big section of the city, the health-clinic center has recorded a rise of 1,000 percent in pregnancies among junior-high-school girls, between 1948–49 and the present. The rate of rise is reported by officials as most rapid in the years since 1954, when separate schools for Negroes and whites were ended.

At the same time, vandalism in schools is described as a problem of serious proportions. Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana, told Congress of an investigation of vandalism made by him at an elementary school newly constructed at a cost of $677,400. The story told by Representative WILSON is given in this article, as it was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

JUNIOR MOTHERS

It is the problem of pregnancy among school children that is attracting special attention at this time. The problem is described in detail by a report made to the Youth Council of the city's administrative body, the District of Columbia Commissioners. The report was prepared by Dr. John R. Pate from school records and is entitled "Junior Mothers." Dr. Pate is director of the District's Bureau of Disease Control.

What follows is from the text of the report on pregnancy among pupils in junior high schools of Washintgon:

"The members of the Commissioners' Youth Council, area M, have expressed concern over the increasing rise of illegitimacy among the early teenage group.

"A rise of over 1,000 percent in the number of such instances in comparison with 1948–49 school-year figures to that of 1956–57 has come to the attention of the Southwest Health Center clinic.

"In 1948–49, there were only seven illegitimate pregnancies in this age group (junior high school) that came to our attention. It is not expected that this large an increase would hold true throughout the city; but, because the statistics have risen so dramatically over a period of years, it was felt that a further study of this problem would be timely in order to bring to the attention of all concerned the seriousness of the situation, for the problem generally has increased.

"Further, many of these children being born out of wedlock are dependent solely on public-assistance funds for their support. This economic burden merely adds another complication to the emotional and moral one in the community.

"Alarming increase

"During the current school year there has been an alarming increase in the number of pregnant girls in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades of the junior high schools of the city of Washington coming to the Southwest Health Center to have completed and properly signed physicians' certificates of pupils' inability to attend school. This problem has been increasing over the last 2 to 3 years, more than was noted in several years prior to 1954. The fact is that, during the current school year, our records show an increase of approximately 1,000 percent in the number of ille-

gitimate pregnancies as compared to the 1948–49 school year in this age group.

"The purpose of this report is not to cast reflection on any particular group, for this situation is not confined to any one segment of the population. But it might be said that it is most prevalent in the group coming from the lower socio-economic status.

"Of the 23 junior high schools in the city of Washington, we have records on children from 13 schools reporting to this health center for confirmation of pregnancy in order to be excused from school.

"The statistics of the public schools, included in this report, cover a period of 8 months. In practically every school the report is not completely accurate, falling short of the total number of pregnancies.

"Even the official certification of live birth kept by the Division of Vital Statistics does not always give the true picture as to illegitimacy, for the certification record, which is a legal record, does not necessarily indicate whether the child is legitimate or illegitimate. This is only found in the supplementary section which is recorded in confidential files.

"The overall figures for the District of Columbia in the year 1954, insofar as were obtainable, show 3 percent of the births to whites were illegitimate and 26.3 percent to nonwhites. This figure included births in the District of Columbia of nonresidents also, which further distorts the actual picture.

"Broken homes

"The statistics included in this report • • • are the actual numbers which the public schools have on record. In analyzing the case records (of pregnancies) available at the Southwest Health Center, we find of the 78 on hand that 61 come from broken homes. Two of this number of second pregnancies. Both of these girls, 14 years of age, had their first child at 13. Only one of the 78 is an only child. For the most part, they come from large families with a number of children, live in crowded conditions, with a history of separation of parents, common-law fathers or multicommon-law fathers in one family. Some of these junior mothers come from families where this pattern has existed from 2 to 3 generations.

"Example: One patient who was first seen at this clinic in 1948 as a frail, undernourished female early in her first pregnancy now is the mother of six living children, with several men involved. She is now living alone with these small children and is being given support with funds provided by the Department of Welfare. She readily admits the more children she has, the more income she expects to receive from this source and does not anticipate changing her pattern of living. (The present ceiling is $200 per month.)

"This pattern is repeated time and time again.

"Another example, whose child is now 9 months old, left junior high school in the ninth grade. The father of the child is a 17-year-old male who has continued in school. He does well in schoolwork and in school activities. In fact, so well that he was considered for a citizenship award which was to have been presented at graduation in June 1957. But the feeling of the principal is that we should not extend such a distinction to an individual who breaks the moral code of our way of life.

"PARENTAL COMPLACENCY

"It is tragic indeed to see these children present themselves as late as the second trimester of pregnancy or even the third trimester without ever having any prenatal care whatsoever. In the majority of instances, the mother of the patient is seen. In discussing the seriousness of the situation, the parents' reaction mostly is one of complacency. However, it has been our feeling that the parents have already experienced an emotional shock, and, while at the clinic, they seem to attempt to excuse the situation on the basis of the fact that it could not be helped and now it is too late.

"However, in a number of instances, these junior mothers have returned to the clinic within 3 or 4 months with no signs of pregnancy. It can only be concluded that an abortion has occurred. This, too, presents a very serious and alarming medical problem. This situation has been increasing in the last few months.

"According to the records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics for the calendar year 1955, [in the District] there were only 86 illegitimate live births to girls under 15 years of age. Certainly, from all indications, an alarming percentage of births in the District of Columbia are illegitimate.

"In the early part of the 1956–57 school year one school in southwest [Washington] reported over half of the 240 children enrolled were illegitimate. In the past few months, in the course of the redevelopment project, many of these families have moved. However, there still remain 40 illegitimate children out of an enrollment of 210.

"Boasts and bad examples

It has been observed that, when children in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades become premature mothers and then are required to return to a school setting, there has been a psychological change, as well as an enforced degree of maturity, which greatly, affects their ability to adjust to normal school activities. For the most part, these junior mothers simply do not do well in the classroom setting, and boast of their progeny. This creates curiosity and develops disrupting attitudes among other teen-agers.

"It may well be pointed out in one instance where a young teen-ager who had a baby kept showing snapshots of her offspring to her close personal friend, an eighth-grade pupil, until she created such a strong desire in this young girl, who had never been pregnant, that she determined to duplicate the feat of her friend. After having intercourse with a number of young males and not getting pregnant, she has developed a definite psychosis. This situation is serious and, in spite of all counseling, when these premature mothers return to school they boast of their child or children to their school friends. This serious reaction and conflict of standards is demoralizing to all of the children who are aware of the situation.

"Other cities, less trouble

"Inquiries were made of several cities regarding their problem and, with the exception of Baltimore, none of the other several cities seem to be having such a dramatic increase in illegitimacy as Washington. The city of Baltimore replied on December 6, 1956, which is quoted in part:

" 'There is a catastrophic lack of knowledge on illegitimacy, probably one of the most important problems in maternal health and subsequently, in child health for cities like Washington and Baltimore.

" 'The number of illegitimate pregnancies cannot be established with finality. Of the total illegitimate babies, 50 percent occur among girls 18 years of age and lower.' In 1954 in the city of Baltimore, 36 percent of the total number of live births among the nonwhites were illegitimate. This was an increase of 6 percent over 1953 figures. There was no noticeable increase in illegitimacy among white teen-agers during this same period.

"In the city of New York there were 131 births to mothers under 15 years of age in 1955, and in 1956 there were 146 births to mothers in this age group. In 1956, 133 of these 146 were illegitimate or 91.1 percent. Of births occurring among young women between 16 and 19, there were a total of 12,074 live births. Of these, 2,687 could be identified as births out of wedlock or 22.3 percent. In New York City there has been a gradual increase in the overall proportion of illegitimate births since 1954. In that year it was 5.5 percent; 1955, 6.3 percent; 1956, 6.7 percent. These figures fall far short of those of the city of Washington, however.

"In the city of Philadelphia in 1955 there were only 98 illegitimate births to mothers under 15 years of age recorded; 7 white or 0.2 percent and 91 nonwhite or 0.7 percent.

"Special schools for mothers?

"It seems in a number of cases children have made an effort to become pregnant in order to stop school. This confession has been made by a number of pregnant girls. If the pregnancy occurs in the 13th or 14th year and they are forced to return to school against their desires, a number of these children have stated they have frankly made an effort to become pregnant again. It is felt that some form of training should be provided for these children regardless of their wishes, even if it requires the establishment of special schools for them. They should be taught how to care for their offspring and be given other forms of instruction which can be made of practical value.

"It seems that the problem of illegitimacy is more serious in Washington and Baltimore than in New York City, Philadelphia, or Richmond, Va. Since the increase in this city has been so noticeable during the 1956–57 school year as compared with several previous years, it seems that we are faced with an acute pattern that demands immediate and serious consideration.

"Within the last few days the junior-high-school nurses and counselors have again been contacted and the figures released from the Statistical Division of the Board of Education are lower than what now seems to be the facts. It can only be concluded that the problem is even more serious than our statistics reflect.

"Grade-school pregnancies

"Due to the regulation that children must attend school until they are 16 years of age, there are few figures for senior high-school students since, by and large, these pupils have reached their 16th birthday and may discontinue school without having to have an official excuse. Consequently, no accurate figures are obtainable. This report is directed primarily toward junior high-school students. However, there have been recorded in the elementary schools 8 pregnancies between September 10, 1956, and April 10, 1957. Seven of these girls were 11 years of age and 1 was 10 when she became pregnant.

"Further observation is that, in some schools the male teen-ager is responsible, while in others there seems to be a definite pattern of young adults, 20 to 30 years of age and even older, who are responsible. Some teen-age males have confessed to fathering 2 to 8 children.

"In several cases stepfathers and common-law husbands are responsible, and, in others, married men have been named as the responsible partner. Out of the total records of approximately 75 junior high-school children seen, in only 2 cases has the girl become legally married to the father of her unborn child.

"To prevent calamity

"From the statistics included in this report and the accompanying narrative, it can be readily concluded that we are now faced with a serious juvenile problem which affects both girls and boys. The result is such an enormous moral and economic catastrophe that we cannot afford to look askance at the needs of these young people.

"Sex education in the home, the church, the schools, and other social agencies must be put into effect, as the atomic weapon for the prevention of illegitimacy, and sufficient social services instituted, as well as pupil guidance and every other means at our disposal put into full force to correct and pre-

vent maladjustments which follow such experiences.

"Further, it is imperative that we join forces to circumvent this present calamity and that we instill in our teen-agers a proper code of conduct for school, church, home, and community.

"On the question of public assistance to these children, it might be assumed that it will be the responsibility of the taxpayer for many years.

"Currently, in New York State the aid for children is catching up to the aid for the aging. It would be interesting in this city to learn the cost proportionately for financial aid to illegitimate children to that of the sick and aged.

"The proposals that have been submitted to Congress to help in the field of juvenile delinquency may have a great bearing on solving this problem when this measure is put into effect."

VANDALS AND HOODLUMS

Representative WILSON, who called attention to the school-vandalism problem, is a member of the House Appropriations Committee, which handles funds for the District. Congress provides about $5 million a year for new schools in the District, and it was abuse of one of these new schools that aroused Mr. WILSON.

The Wilson speech, as reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 27, 1957:

"Two years ago—May 13, 1955, to be exact—the District of Columbia, with financial aid of the taxpayers all over the United States, completed construction of a $677,400 elementary school building at East Capitol and 55th Streets NE. The property, including a well-equipped playground, covers an entire block.

"Known as the Marion P. Shadd School, it has 26 classrooms, auditoriums, cafeterias, and all modern facilities. There are 32 teachers in addition to clerical and maintenance workers. Students total about 1,300, ranging from kindergarten through the sixth grade. It is an all-colored school in an all-colored community of modern, spacious apartments and homes.

"This is one of the finest school plants in Washington or anywhere else. It is an architectural and cultural landmark, an institution of which the residents of that Negro community should be very proud.

"A school ripped to bits

"However, this beautiful edifice is being destroyed—literally ripped to bits by vandals and hoodlums—while people of the neighborhood stand by in apparent disinterest. The Marion P. Shadd School is rapidly becoming a landmark of shame to the very people it is intended to serve.

"I inspected this school a few days ago, Mr. Chairman. I found hundreds of windowpanes broken. Mud and filth have been hurled against the building. Empty beer cans are scattered about the premises, piles of filth lie in the doorways, outdoor electrical equipment and entrance lights broken and destroyed. Three or four windows at the cafeteria end of the building have been boarded up by the school authorities because vandals break windowglass as fast as it is replaced. Obscene words and crude drawings cover portions of the neat little frame annex used for kindergarten pupils.

"This has been going on since the school was opened. I was informed by the distressed principal, Mrs. Lillian S. Glascoe, who has been a teacher in the District of Columbia schools for 34 years. The cost of replacing broken windows and repairing other damage to the building already has run into thousands of dollars, she told me. She says she has vainly sought cooperation of adults in the area.

"Lack of adult interest

"I am bringing this matter to the attention of this chamber, Mr. Chairman, because Washington, as the seat of Government, is a congressional responsibility. Perhaps some of my colleagues may have suggestions as to how this shameful situation might be corrected.

"My own background as a teacher and a school administrator convinces me that this is a shocking example of the lack of adult interest in the schools established for their children. The Negro people who live in this area are allowing their magnificent institution to be turned into a landmark of shame to them.

"If we look more penetratingly into the problems of juvenile delinquency, we can see that parental delinquency and disinterest are prime factors."

A PROBLEM IN WASHINGTON'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Pregnancies among schoolgirls under 16, based on physicians' certificates received during the period September 10, 1956, to April 10, 1957:

Total pregnancies reported	190
Among Negro girls	178
Among white girls	12
In high schools	53
In junior high schools	129
In elementary school (including 1 girl 10 years old)	8

Supreme Court Should Be Balanced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by George Todt in the San Fernando Valley, Calif., Valley Times of July 1, 1957:

SUPREME COURT SHOULD BE BALANCED

"God give us men. A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands!
Men whom the lust of office does not kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,
Men who possess opinions and a will
Men who love honor, men who cannot lie."
—*J. G. Holland.*

I have already said in a previous article that the trouble with the Supreme Court today is, quite simply, that the present 9 Justices do not correctly represent the American political or philosophical makeup in their ideological composition.

The truth of the matter is that we have a completely stacked Court.

I do not say this out of any lack of respect for the authority of the High Court. I do not say this from the standpoint of numerical superiority of either the Democratic or Republican Parties; each is well enough represented as to numbers. But still the Court is stacked—and it is stacked with superliberal thinkers who are running the Court and making its decisions. There are no real conservatives to be found on the High Bench, and only 2 or 3 who might even qualify for the term "middle of the road."

This is why the Supreme Court seems to have gone awry to so many of us. It is simply not balanced. Its composition is so far out of kilter that it is out of step with the thinking of the Nation. What else can we expect of a stacked superliberal body?

These men are human and they make their decisions in the light of their thinking processes. Now I would be the last writer to suggest that the Court ought to be composed of merely conservative members—or just Democrats—or just Republicans. On the contrary, I would be quite willing to settle for 2 liberal Republicans, 2 liberal Democrats, 2 conservative Republicans, 2 conservative Democrats—and maybe we might even let the ninth Justice hail from the newly organized Constitution Party to act as the balance of power.

Frankly, we cannot expect to get more balanced decisions from the Supreme Court until the composition of its members also becomes better balanced. But a continuing and predominantly superliberal composition of the Court is unfair to Joe Doakes. He's no superliberal. Ask him.

It is only too obvious, from the makeup of our freely elected Congress, that the Nation cannot be overwhelmingly superliberal in composition or flavor. The public might be more nearly described correctly by calling it middle-of-the-road with strong conservative overtones. Certainly we are not all extreme liberal Democrats and Republicans.

How otherwise explain that conservative coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans which has had so much influence in our House of Representatives and in the Senate for many years extending back into the past? Who sent such legislators to Washington except the American people themselves? Who, indeed, but Joe Doakes, American?

So you see, the composition of the citizenry of the Republic of the United States is far from being overwhelmingly superliberal. So why should the physical composition of the Supreme Court reflect other than a correct proportionate amount of both conservatives and liberals in its makeup?

The correct answer is that it shouldn't—and that is something which calls for honest study and forthcoming debate by Congress and the President. For this is what is really wrong with what is coming out of the Supreme Court today in its controversial decisions. It is not the Supreme Court itself. The concept of the fundamental solidarity of that institution is as good today as it was yesterday.

But we have come up to a new situation which must be dealt with successfully in the future. What this new experience should teach us is that the High Court must reflect more nearly correctly the intellectual and philosophical balance of the American people.

Liberty in Mourning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include an editorial which appeared in the April 27, 1957, issue of America commenting upon our unhappy lack of bolstering action during the Hungarian revolution, and which also emphasizes the urgent need of congressional enactment of measures currently pending to equitably liberalize our antiquated immigration laws.

The editorial follows:

LIBERTY IN MOURNING

The effort to salvage some prestige from our poor performance during Hungary's October revolution is petering out ingloriously. A State Department declaration of April 13 informs us that the United States will receive "a limited number" of Hungarian refugees in the next few months and that we

will help other countries to absorb more. It is estimated that about 3,000 more of those who fled Hungary after October 23 will be received under the new slowed-down policy. From then on, immigration reverts to the cumbersome procedures of the McCarran-Walter immigration law.

To those Hungarians still in the Austrian refugee camps, our decision came as a bitter disappointment. Unfortunately, in this case we Americans cannot explain away our attitude by pleading the risk of war or the exigencies of international politics. Our own legislation, ostensibly designed as an anti-Communist measure, has worked to the opposite effect. The McCarran-Walter law has operated to undermine the confidence of the lovers of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. By our free choice we have given the Kremlin the opportunity it much needed to argue that we have betrayed the Freedom Fighters.

It is true, as we were glad to note last week, that disunited families will be among those who will enjoy the last phase of our momentary liberality. Our performance as a whole, however, sets a poor example to other nations and leaves Australia in an awkward situation. The whole story is a lamentable one. We have yet to feel its ultimate consequences.

Huge Disparity Between Number of Needy Americans on Public Welfare and Number of Persons Receiving Surplus Food Under Present Distribution Program—Testimony by Congresswoman Sullivan Before Senate Committee on Agriculture

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, last month, when the House was considering extension of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act—Public Law 480—I attempted to amend the bill to provide for the establishment of a food-stamp plan for the orderly and regular distribution of some of this surplus food to our own needy in this country—to all of the more than 6 million on some form of public welfare, and to other deserving groups of needy. The amendment, unfortunately, was defeated on a teller vote, 89 to 128.

Some of those who opposed my amendment claimed it was introduced for the purpose of delaying or killing the Public Law 480 program for gifts and giveaway sales of surplus food abroad. Of course, that was not my purpose at all, but that charge was repeatedly leveled against my amendment and perhaps caused some Members to vote against it in that form.

Other opponents said the proposal should be considered separately, on its own merits, and not as part of Public Law 480 extension. And still others said the present program of distribution to our needy is adequate and should not be changed or replaced with a food-stamp plan such as I proposed.

I should like to urge all those who voted against my amendment on these particular grounds last month to read the statement which I delivered on June 28 before the Senate Committee on Agriculture in connection with hearings which Senator HUMPHREY has been conducting on possible changes or improvements in Public Law 480 in the future.

In this testimony, I went into some of the points of criticism which had been voiced on the House floor, including the claim that my food-stamp plan is unnecessary because the present program of distribution of surplus food is adequate and goes far in helping to feed our hungry.

Under unanimous consent, I am inserting my full statement in the RECORD and I really believe the facts it contains will surprise many of the Members—particularly the information which I found on the huge disparity between the number of really needy persons in this country—those on public welfare—as compared with the number now receiving some of the surplus food under the present hit-and-miss distribution system.

The statement referred to is as follows:

TESTIMONY BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, OF MISSOURI, BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE CONSIDERING FUTURE CHANGES IN THE AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1954 (PUBLIC LAW 480), URGING ADDITION OF A FOOD STAMP PLAN FOR DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS FOOD TO NEEDY AMERICANS, PARTICULARLY THOSE ON PUBLIC WELFARE, FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1957

I appreciate very much this opportunity to testify before you as part of your hearings on future changes in the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, but frankly, I wish things had gone just a bit differently in the House last week so that you would have to consider my food stamp plan not as some future issue but as an immediate one to be settled in the next days or weeks.

While H. R. 6974 was before us in the House last week, I attempted to amend it to provide for the establishment of a food stamp plan as provided for in my own bill, H. R. 949. Unfortunately, I lost the attempt 89 to 128 on a teller vote under parliamentary circumstances which made it impossible for me to obtain a rollcall vote on the issue. I am sure—I am positive—that if it had gone to a rollcall under the recommit motion I later attempted to make, that it would have been approved and adopted.

ONLY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF NEEDY RECEIVES SURPLUS FOOD

I don't see how anyone could oppose a clear-cut plan for getting some of this surplus to those who need it most—to those on various forms of public assistance. Yet we know that under the present hit-and-miss system of the Department of Agriculture for distributing surpluses to our own needy, that only a small percentage of those who need this food is getting any of it at all.

Let me give you just a few figures which I think will come as a surprise and perhaps a shock to some of you. They came as a surprise and shock to me when I totaled them up from a variety of sources and then looked at the result.

Let's look at this first from the vantage point of the States represented on this committee of the United States Senate. Let's take some sample totals:

In Minnesota, which has 2 Senators on this committee, you have, according to the latest figures I have seen, something like 15,352 needy persons in your State receiving surplus food under the present hit-and-miss program operated by the Department of Agriculture. I don't know how much it costs your State or the localities which participate to store this food, transship it, package it, set up distribution points, investigate the degree of need of those who apply for it, and then get them an occasional pound of butter or sack of flour or some dried beans or powdered milk, or whatever, but I am sure the expense, the redtape, the delays, the mixups, and the aggravation and disillusion are all sizable. I am sure it is a headache in Minnesota, as it is in most States which participate in the present plan.

But, in any event, you do all these things and spend this money and go to all of this trouble to get some surplus commodities to 15,352 Minnesotans in need.

DISPARITY BETWEEN NUMBER HELPED AND NUMBER OF NEEDY

But let's look at some other figures: In Minnesota, there are three times as many people on old-age assistance—not social security old-age and survivors insurance but on old-age assistance—public welfare—3 times more than the 15,352 people getting surplus food. There are about 50,000 on old-age assistance; nearly 30,000 more on aid to dependent children; more than 1,000 receiving aid to the blind; more than 1,500 receiving aid for disability; and an estimated 22,000 on general assistance. In other words, you have a total of 102,876 persons in Minnesota who should—if anyone should—be getting some of this surplus food, because I am sure these 102,000 are not getting enough to eat of good nourishing food—I am sure they are going to bed hungry.

In contrast, only 15,000 Minnesotans got any of this free food, and there is no guarantee that all of these 15,000 are in as much need of it as the 102,000 on public welfare. There is no way I have of knowing how many many of the 15,000 are themselves on welfare. They could be getting this food because they are on unemployment compensation, in a distress area or because of drought or disaster or one thing or another not related to long-range, day-in-and-day-out need—desperate need for more food to give them a basic, minimum diet.

In fairness to Senators HUMPHREY and THYE, I did not just single out Minnesota in this respect. South Carolina has 82,367 on various forms of public assistance, but only 200 people in the whole State have been getting surplus food, if Senator JOHNSTON would like to check my figures.

MANY STATES REFLECT HUGE GAP

Or Senator HOLLAND could check Florida's figures—170,175 persons on various forms of public assistance, and not a single one getting any surplus food.

In North Carolina, as Senator SCOTT knows, there are 160,308 persons on various forms of public assistance, but not a single one gets any of this surplus food as now distributed.

In my own and Senator SYMINGTON'S State of Missouri, we have 232,909 persons on public assistance—on relief—and only 10,366 persons in the whole State have gotten surplus food—and they are not, I believe, relief cases as such but drought emergency cases in one section of the State.

In Georgia, Senator TALMADGE will find 176,553 persons on various forms of assistance, but none getting any surplus food. In Senator AIKEN'S Vermont, 14,191 are on relief; but only 3,886 persons get surplus food—and, as I said in connection with other States, in this same situation, there is no way to be sure those who do get the food are necessarily in the relief categories. I do not mean to say that chiselers get it. I mean that, depending upon the basis of the State's own form of participation in the program, the food might go only to a particular county

or area where there is drought or flood or emergency or a temporary dislocation, whereas throughout the State there are hungry people in every town, but they do not come in under this present program.

I don't want to bore you with a lot of statistics but I do think it is important to get this point across. Mr. Benson speaks of the millions of needy Americans now getting free food. He counts in all those getting it as inmates of institutions and he counts in the school-lunch program, and for a while over 1 million in Pennsylvania who got this food regularly. It is now down to about 600,000 in that one State. But there is no systematic national distribution of this food which seeks to make sure it goes to those who need it most.

For instance, as Senator WILLIAMS knows, Delaware has 9,498 on public assistance, but no surplus food goes to the needy in Delaware.

PENNSYLVANIA PARTICIPATES ON LARGE SCALE

Some States do better than others on this, I must concede that. I mentioned Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania has been getting this food to 3 and 4 times as many people as it has on relief. Many were in mining areas hard hit by falling production orders. Others were unemployed elsewhere during periods of recession. The whole State got into this and spent, I know, a huge amount of money to get some of this food to the needy. But the expense was such that most States felt the cost was not worth the value of food distributed. That would be true in Missouri.

But in Chairman ELLENDER's State of Louisiana, 177,654 have been getting surplus food, which is almost as high a number as the total of those on various forms of assistance; in Senator EASTLAND's State of Mississippi, which had 139,606 persons listed on the relief rolls, more than a quarter of a million persons are getting free food—257,869, in fact; in Senator HICKENLOOPER's State of Iowa, with a total of about 73,000 persons on relief, a total of 83,730 gets free food at last count; in Senator MUNDT's State of South Dakota, a similar situation—24,162 on relief, 31,912 getting free food. So comparatively they do much better in feeding the hungry, but I know the cost to their States is very high. I think that covers all the States represented on this committee.

There are several other States which distribute this food on a rather large scale—Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Puerto Rico—all of these give out food to more persons than the total on relief. I guess or assume that most of those on relief get some of it, since the distribution apparently is on a statewide basis in those States.

NO FOOD DISTRIBUTION IN 10 STATES

But Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, North Carolina, the Virgin Islands, the State of Washington, and up to now, the District of Columbia, all with rather large lists of relief cases, have not distributed any food; and other States with large relief caseloads have given out very little of it. For instance, Connecticut with 46,000 on relief gave out free food to 612 persons; California, with more than half a million persons on public assistance, got free food to 33,500 persons.

It is therefore a haphazard, crazy-quilt pattern of food distribution, yet we know we have all of these hungry people. I mean hungry; I don't mean going without sirloin steak and fresh oranges; I mean hungry. Just try to feed even 1 person, and pay rent, and keep body and soul together on $55 a month. The cost of living has reached its ninth straight peak and food costs are up, and we have misery and poverty and hunger, and mountains of spoiling food. Why can't we get this food to those we know need it most?

I have thrown a lot of figures and statistics at you. Let me give you just one more: Nationally, we have about 3½ million people getting bits of this food, dribbles of it, an occasional package of flour or dried beans or whatever. But we have more than 6 million on relief; and millions more living on the thin edge of malnutrition. And the 3½ million are not necessarily all in the larger group.

REMOVING HIT-AND-MISS STANDARDS

Now is it possible that we can be complacent about such a situation, when the Commodity Credit Corporation groans with the burden of storing these vast hordes of food surpluses, and the farmer groans for lack of markets and loses his shirt because food sales do not expand to meet population expansion?

Perhaps I should not be emotional about this. But I just cannot help being heartsick over the contrast as between the food we have and can grow and the hunger we have in our midst.

But let's look at the practical aspects of this issue. I am asking that you consider favorably in your overall revision of Public Law 480 my plan, as proposed in H. R. 949 for a food stamp plan.

If you will look at H. R. 949, you will see that the eligibility requirements would remove the present hit-and-miss standards and replace them with clear-cut, direct, simple standards. Every person on any form of public assistance would automatically be eligible.

In addition, those who are considered by local welfare authorities to be in need of welfare assistance, but ineligible because of residence requirements or other State or local law—for instance, in Missouri, no matter how desperate your situation might be, you are not eligible for public assistance if you are employable—and that is no consolation in a recession or a factory shutdown or other situation where you just can't find work—but under my bill proven need cases would be included and would receive stamps.

HOW FOOD STAMPS WOULD BE ISSUED

The food stamps would be issued by the Secretary of Agriculture to the persons certified by the local authorities—the stamps could go out in the same envelope with the relief check. The stamps would be issued for specified varieties and quantities of surplus foods—one stamp for a pound of butter, a different stamp for cheese, or whatever was on the list. The Secretary of Agriculture would decide each month what was available for distribution and would issue the appropriate stamps.

What then? My bill permits the widest kind of flexibility on how the program shall actually operate. The Secretary can distribute through central depots, or through regular stores. He could redeem the stamps directly for a fee or through a store's supplier, replacing items from regular stocks if he so chooses. He could determine that for every pound of butter a store distributed to food stamp recipients, the store could get from its wholesaler or supplier a pound and a half or a pound and a third of butter—that is for the Secretary to work out. He can even set it up so that the stamps are redeemable through the Federal Reserve banks. I will do my best to get him whatever legislative authority he might need through the Banking and Currency Committee if he wants to do it that way.

WIDE DISCRETION PERMITTED SECRETARY

What I am trying to say to you is this: the actual mechanics of the plan cannot be written in a law. It must be worked out by the experts. It can be done and it should be done. It must be done. I don't want to see them tied up in knots by details written into the law.

That is why my bill says he shall put into operation a plan for distributing this food to the needy through a food stamp plan in which all those who are on public assistance can participate. I spell out a definition of needy people.

Then, from there, it is up to the Secretary of Agriculture, with help and advice from the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to work out details. He is to confer with the other Cabinet members I named not only on standards under the program, but on the problem of determining whether this should be expanded to cover additional groups—such as those on unemployment compensation, those on old age and survivor's insurance, those on other types of pensions, and so on.

INCLUDING ADDITIONAL GROUPS

But such people are not automatically needy people just by reason of low current income. That is my point in dividing these groups. Those on relief—on public welfare—are provably needy. They need more food to keep body and soul together. They are nearly all hungry people. They should come first in this program. After that—after we make sure we have a workable plan for getting extra food—and I emphasize that this is to be extra food and not in place of any present relief grants—but after we make sure all those on relief are getting some extra food out of this program, through a workable plan, then we can decide whether to expand it to other groups.

You will note that the Department of Agriculture itself acknowledges that there are perhaps 25 million people in this country who do not now receive an adequate diet because of low income, and that to put into operation a full-scale supplementary food stamp plan to get enough nutritious food to all of them in a way which would also have the effect of reducing or eliminating future surpluses would cost perhaps $2½ billion a year. Perhaps we can one day do that. Perhaps we should.

MAKING A PRACTICAL BEGINNING

But let's make a start—a dent—in this enormous need by taking a practical first step. The Department says a plan such as mine might cost as much as half a billion a year, perhaps $600 million. I doubt that. That figure is a guess, based on the assumption that we ought to provide an additional $100 worth of food per year per person for those at the lowest income level—in other words, this is what they say it would cost to provide that additional $100 per person in foodstuffs to the approximate 6 million persons on public welfare to assure them an adequate diet—that is, a minimum diet.

But I would like to point out that this is food we already own or food the Government will be purchasing in any event. So it is by no means a case of $600 million a year in new expenditures caused by this program. I think the total value of all of the food given out by the Department of Agriculture last year to needy persons in this country was only around $91 million, and yet this involved gifts of food to about 3½ million people.

Let me point out to you furthermore that we have donated three times as much of this food to needy persons abroad as to needy persons in this country. And in addition to the food we have donated abroad, to needy persons, through the charitable organizations and directly as an outright gift, we have also sold to foreign governments in return for their own currencies about $3 billion worth of food and frequently have paid the ocean transport costs. In return, we accepted foreign currencies to be spent in those countries, and the majority of it is to be spent and is being spent for economic development in those countries.

VAST SUMS SPENT IN OVERSEAS FOOD GIFTS

I think in the last 10 months or so, we have spent about $1 billion in disposing of this food overseas. I do not oppose the for-

eign giveaway sales and gifts, but I think we can afford to use some of this food to feed our own hungry as well. I think it is a fine thing—a fine and decent and noble thing—to get this food to needy children and needy families in other lands and we have a right to be proud of our charitable actions and also of the good we do at the same time in fighting communism by giving the poor of other lands a better share of life.

But how can we sit by and wring our hands over the supposedly or allegedly impossible financial burden of feeding our own hungry? Yet that is exactly what Mr. Benson has been doing in his opposition to this plan—saying we can't afford it.

I submit instead that we cannot afford to have hungry Americans when the food is coming out of our ears—causing a storage headache and a depressing effect upon agriculture.

Truly Alice in Wonderland would find this situation no less mystifying than those she discovered in the classic story by Lewis Carroll. Our Government seems to be saying we can't afford to feed our hungry because we have too much food.

Federal Judiciary Will Provide Fair Administration of Civil Rights Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the civil rights debate in the House of Representatives I took the occasion several times to oppose the jury trial amendment on the basis that the right of law-abiding citizens to vote without restraint is without doubt as important as the right of a wrongdoer to a jury trial. I also argued that since in most States the jury panels are selected from among the electors, the right to vote, therefore, is fundamental and essential to the conduct of fair jury trials. It is in the nature of things that some people who seek to interfere or restrain others in their right to vote must give up their right to jury trial under these circumstances so that others—equal Americans—may have the right to vote, from which all authority in our Government develops.

During the course of the argument on the floor, the opponents of the contempt provisions of the civil rights legislation argued that the legislation constituted a mass indictment of the integrity of the entire southern populace of the country and that it would be irresponsible to charge that a whole people would be faithless to a solemn juror's oath.

I want to point out that the conduct of the contempt proceedings under the civil rights bill as it passed the House of Representatives will in every case be conducted before distinguished jurists of the Federal bench who have lived and developed in their home communities. In every respect they are the products of the South and are familiar with its traditions and its culture.

Can those who oppose this legislation logically contend that these gentlemen, the judges of the Federal district courts in the southern districts, will ignore their obligation to comply with all corners of the law in passing upon the contempt charges which may be brought against their fellow men? Can it be contended that these are men who may be swayed by passion or prejudice or who will render arbitrary or indiscretionary judgments? I do not believe so.

Mr. Speaker, I am submitting a list of the Federal judges who sit in the United States Federal district courts of the Southern States. By and large they are gentlemen who were born and raised in the communities in which they now act and pass judgment as judges of the Federal district court. They are products of the schools of the South. Some were members of Congress and have served with distinction throughout their entire careers. There is no reason for anyone to suspect that the civil rights legislation will not be administered in keeping with the highest traditions of American jurisprudence.

ALABAMA

Daniel H. Thomas, judge; born, Prattville, Ala.; bachelor of laws, University of Alabama, 1928; admitted to Alabama bar, 1929; law practice, Mobile, 1929–51; assistant solicitor, 13th Judicial Circuit, Alabama, 1932–39; partner, Lyons, Thomas & Pipes, 1943–51; appointed United States district judge, southern district of Alabama, 1951. Hore: 13 Dogwood Circle, Spring Hill. Office: Federal Building, Mobile, Ala.

Seybourn Harris Lynne, judge; born, Decatur, Ala.; B. S., Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1927; bachelor of laws, University of Alabama, 1930; admitted to Alabama bar, 1930; general practice of law, Decatur, Ala., 1930–34; judge, Morgan County Court, 1934–41; judge, Eighth Judicial Circuit of Alabama, 1941–42; judge, United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama since 1946. Home: 305 East Glenwood Drive, Birmingham. Office: Federal Building, Birmingham, Ala.

Harlan Hobart Grooms, judge; born, Jeffersonville, Ky.; bachelor of laws, University of Kentucky; admitted to bar, Kentucky and Alabama; practiced in Birmingham, Ala., 1926—; former member, Spain, Gillon, Grooms & Young; judge, United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, 1953—. Member, American, Alabama, Birmingham Bar Associations, Phi Alpha Delta, Omicron Delta Kappa, Scabbard and Blade, Pi Kappa Alpha. Home: 2624 Aberdeen Road. Office: Box 34, Birmingham, Ala.

Frank M. Johnson, Jr., judge; born, Haleyville, Ala.; graduate, Gulf Coast Military Academy, Gulfport, Miss., 1935, Massey Business College, Birmingham, 1937; bachelor of laws, University of Alabama, 1943, admitted to Alabama bar, 1943; private practice in Haleyville and Jasper since 1946; member of firm; Curtis, Maddox & Johnson, 1946–53; United States attorney, northern district of Alabama since 1953. Served as private to captain, Infantry, United States Army, 1943–46. Decorated, Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster; Bronze Star. Home: 1100 Ninth Avenue, Jasper, Ala. Office: Federal Building, Birmingham, Ala.

ARKANSAS

Harry J. Lemley, judge; born Upperville, Va., student University of Virginia, 1901–03; bachelor of laws, Washington and Lee University, 1910, doctor of laws, University of Arkansas. Admitted to Arkansas bar, 1912, practiced at Hope, Ark., 1912–39; United States district judge, eastern and western districts, Arkansas, since 1939. Member Phi Delta Theta, Phi Delta Phi. Author and coauthor of papers on archeology of Arkansas. Home, Hope, Ark. Address, Texarkana, Ark.

John Elvis Miller, judge; born near Aid, Mo., student Southeast Missouri State Teachers College, Cape Girardeau, and Valparaiso (Indiana University, bachelor of laws, University of Kentucky, 1912). In practice of law, Searcy, Ark., since 1912, member Miller & Yingling; prosecuting attorney, first judicial circuit, Arkansas, 1919–22; director Bank of Searcy. Member 72d to 75th Congresses (1931–39), 2d Arkansas District; resigned on election as United States Senator to fill vacancy caused by death of Joseph T. Robinson for term ending 1943; resigned from United States Senate (April 1, 1941) to become judge of the United States District Court for the Western District of Arkansas. Member Arkansas Bar Association. Home, Fort Smith, Ark.

FLORIDA

Dozier A. DeVane, judge; born near Lakeland, Fla., student Florida State College, Tallahassee, 1904–05; bachelor of laws, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., 1908. Admitted to Florida bar 1908; practiced in Tampa, 1908–18; county attorney Hillsboro County, 1913–14; counsel to Florida Railroad Commission, 1918–20; rate attorney American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 1920–22; general counsel Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., and associated companies, 1922–30; practiced law in District of Columbia 1930–33; solicitor, Federal Power Commission, Washington, D. C., 1933–38; reentered private practice Ordando, Fla., 1938; member DeVane, Andrews & Patterson; appointed United States district judge, northern and southern districts of Florida, 1943, northern district, 1947. Member Kappa Sigma O. D. K. Phi Beta Kappa. Home, Old St. Augustine Road; office, Federal Building, Tallahassee, Fla.

George W. Whitehurst, judge; born Wauchuta, Fla. Student, Stetson University; bachelor of laws, University of Florida; admitted to Florida bar; Florida State circuit judge; now United States district judge, Miami. Home: 301 Valencia Way, Fort Myers, Fla.; office: Post Office Box 1070, Miami, Fla.

William J. Barker, judge; born Marietta, Ga., bachelor of laws with highest honors, University of Georgia, 1916. Admitted to Florida bar, 1916, and began practice in Jacksonville; judge, circuit court of State of Florida, 1925–40; United States district judge, southern district of Florida, since 1940. Member, American and Florida Bar Associations. Home: 3305 Lykes Avenue; office: Federal Building, Tampa, Fla.

Bryan Simpson, judge; born Kissimmee, Fla., bachelor of laws, University of Florida, 1926. Admitted to Florida bar, 1926, and practiced in Jacksonville, 1926–39; assistant States attorney, fourth Florida circuit, 1933–37, judge, criminal court of record, Duval County, Fla., 1939–46; circuit judge fourth Florida circuit, 1946–50; United States district judge, southern district, Florida, 1950. Trustee Bolles School, Jacksonville; member State board Children's Home Society, Florida. Served as first lieutenant United States Army, 1943–45, 12 months ETO. Member American, Jacksonville Bar Associations, Florida bar.

Emett Clay Choate, United States judge; born Columbus, Ohio; bachelor of laws, University of Indiana, 1914; admitted to Indiana bar and Oklahoma bar, 1914, New York bar, 1922, Florida bar, 1925; practiced in Oklahoma City, 1917–21, New York City, 1922–25, Miami, 1925–54; United States judge southern district, Florida, 1954. Member Housing Authority, City of Miami, 1952; member national board, field advisers, Small Business Administration, 1954. Delegate Representa-

tive National Convention, 1952. Served as first lieutenant, Oklahoma Infantry, 1914–16; major, Field Artillery, United States Army, 1917–18. Member American Automobile Association, American, Florida, Dade County Bar Associations, Phi Delta Phi. Clubs: Kiwanis (Miami); home: 3306 Crystal, Miami, Fla.

GEORGIA

Frank Arthur Hooper, Federal judge; born in Americus, Ga.; student, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta Law School, 1936, LL. M., 1937; secretary to judge, Georgia Court of Appeals, 1917, private practice, Atlanta, 1919–43; judge, Georgia Court of Appeals, 1933; instructor, Atlanta Law School, 1934–43; assistant city attorney, Atlanta, 1940–43; judge, superior court, Atlanta Judicial Circuit, 1943–49; United States district judge, Northern District of Georgia, 1949. Member, Georgia House of Representatives, 1925–28. Served as ensign, USNRF, 1919.

William B. Sloan, judge; born in Gainesville, Ga.; admitted to Georgia Bar, 1915; Representative, Georgia State General Assembly, 1927–31; assistant attorney general, Georgia, 1932; judge, city court, Hall County, Georgia, 1934–45; judge, superior courts, Northeast Judicial Circuit, Georgia, 1945–48; United States district court, Northern District, Georgia, since 1951. Member, American, Georgia State Bar Associations, American Judicature Society. Home: 1188 Cherokee Road. Office: Federal Building, Gainesville, Ga.

Thomas Hoyt Davis, United States district judge; born in Braselton, Ga.; bachelor of arts, Mercer University; admitted to Georgia Bar, 1916; in general practice, 1916–26; solicitor general, Cordele judicial circuit, Georgia, 1927–33; United States attorney, middle district, Georgia, 1933–45; United States district judge, middle district, Georgia, 1945. Member, Georgia Bar Association, Cordele Circuit Bar Association. Home: Vienna, Ga.

William Augustus Bootle, judge; born in Colleton County, S. C.; Mercer University, 1924, LL. B., 1925; admitted to Georgia Bar, 1925, since practiced at Macon; member, Carlisle & Bootle, 1933–54; United States district attorney, Middle Georgia District, 1929–33; acting dean, Mercer University Law School, 1933–37; part-time professor of law, 1926–37; judge, United States district court, Middle District, Georgia, 1954. Trustee, Mercer University, chairman, executive committee board, 1941–46, 1948–53. Member, Phi Delta Theta. Club: Civitan, president, 1936). Home: 196 Buckingham Place. Office: Post office, Macon, Ga.

Frank M. Scarlett, Federal judge; born in Brunswick, Ga.; 1898–08, Gordon College, Barnesville, Ga., 1908–10; bachelor of laws, University of Georgia, 1913; admitted to bar of Georgia, 1913; practiced law in Brunswick under name of Courtland Symmes & Scarlett, 1913–15; private practice, 1915–29; appointed solicitor of city court of Brunswick, 1919–29; entered partnership under name of Reese, Scarlett, Bennett & Highsmith, 1929–37, with Reese, Scarlett, Bennett & Gilbert, 1937–46; United States district judge since February 14, 1946; president, Brunswick Chamber of Commerce, 1936–38. Home: 902 Wright Square. Office: Federal Building, Brunswick, Ga.

LOUISIANA

Herbert William Christenberry, judge; born New Orleans, La. Student Soule College, New Orleans; bachelor of laws, Loyola University 1924, also student, New York University, 1927; private practice, 1924–33; assistant attorney, Board of Commissioners of Port New Orleans, 1933–35; deputy commissioner, Louisiana Debt Moratorium Commission, 1935; assistant district attorney, Parish of Orleans, 1935–57; assistant United States attorney, Eastern District of Louisiana, 1937–42, United States attorney, 1942–47; United States district judge since 1947; instructor, Loyola University of the South, School of Law. Member, Federal Bar Association, Louisiana State Bar Association, New Orleans Bar Association; home, 4300 St. Ann St.; office: 600 Camp Street, New Orleans.

James S. Wright, district judge; born New Orleans. Bachelor of philosophy, Loyola University, 1931. Bachelor of laws, 1934; high school teacher, 1931–35; lecturer, English history, Loyola University, 1936–37; assistant United States attorney, New Orleans, 1937–46; practice of law, Ingoldsby, Coles & Wright, Washington, 1946–48; United States attorney, Eastern District, Louisiana, 1948–49. Served as lieutenant commander, United States Coast Guard, 1942–46. Observer, United States State Department of International Fisheries Conference, London, 1943. Member, Louisiana State Bar Association (board of governors), Federal Bar Association (president, New Orleans chapter). District of Columbia Bar Association, New Orleans Bar Association, Alpha Delta Gamma (national president). Clubs: Army-Navy (New Orleans); Army-Navy Country (Washington): Home: 35 Newcomb Boulevard, New Orleans, 18; office: Post Office Building, New Orleans.

Ben C. Dawkins, Jr., judge; born Monroe, La., bachelor of arts, Tulane University, 1932; bachelor of laws, Louisiana State University, 1934; admitted to Louisiana bar, 1934, practiced in Monroe, 1934–35, Shreveport, 1935–53; member, firm, Blanchard, Goldstein, Walker & O'Quin, 1935–53; United States district judge, Western District, Louisiana since 1953. President, Shreveport Recreation Council, 1941; director Children's Service Bureau, 1947–51, Child Guidance Clinic, 1952. Member school board, Caddo Parish School, 1949–53, president, 1950–52. Served as lieutenant commander, air navigator, United States Naval Reserve, 1942–45. Member, America, Louisiana State (board of governors, 1950–52) Shreveport (vice president, 1941–42, secretary-treasurer, 1947–48; president, 1949–50), bar associations, Shreveport Chamber of Commerce (director 1949–52), Junior Chamber of Commerce (director 1941–42); American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars (post commander, 1946–47, judge advocate, Louisiana department, 1947–48), Delta Kappa Epsilon, Phi Delta Phi, Omicron Delta Kappa; Club: Shreveport Exchange (president, 1951). Home: 4054 Baltimore Street; office: Federal Building, Shreveport, La.

Edwin Ford Hunter, Jr., United States judge, born Alexandria, La. Student, Louisiana State University, 1930–33; bachelor of laws, George Washington University, 1938; admitted to Louisiana bar, 1938, member, Smith Hunter, Risinger & Shuey, Shreveport, 1940–53, member, Louisiana State Legislature, 1948–52; executive counsel, Governor, Louisiana, 1952; member, Louisiana State Mineral Board, 1952. Served as lieutenant, United States Naval Reserve, 1942–45, on U. S. S. *Saratoga*. Member American Bar Association (Louisiana State chairman, junior bar section, 1945), American Legion (post commander, 1945, judge advocate, Department Louisiana, 1948), Sigma Chi. Home: 1027 Ninth Street; office: Post Office Box 1339, Lake Charles, La.

MISSISSIPPI

Sidney Carr Mize, judge; born, Scott County, Miss.; bachelor or arts, Mississippi College, Clinton, 1906; bachelor of laws, University of Mississippi, 1911; admitted to Mississippi bar, 1911, forming law partnership with his brother, Joe H. Mize, to 1926; then firm changed to Mise, Thompson & Mize; served as special district attorney, special county judge, special chancery judge; United States judge for southern district of Mississippi since 1937. Member, Democratic State Executive Committee, 1931–37. Trustee, Gulfport municipal schools, 1930–38. Member, American, Mississippi State, and Harrison County bar associations; Phi Kappa Psi, Phi Delta Phi. Address: Gulfport, Miss.

NORTH CAROLINA

Wilson Warlick, judge; born, Newton, N. C.; bachelor of science, Catawba College; 1910 doctor of laws (honorary) 1936; bachelor of laws, University of North Carolina, 1913; admitted to North Carolina bar 1913, practiced law, Newton, N. C., 1913–30; judge, superior court, 16th judicial district, 1930–49; United States district judge, western district, North Carolina, since 1949. Chairman, North Carolina Probation Commission since 1937. Served as lieutenant, G–2, American Expeditionary Forces, Adjutant General Department, World War I; member of S. A. R. American Legion, 40 et 8, Alpha Tau Omega. Office: Federal Building, Statesville, N. C.

Donnell Gilliam, judge; born, Tarboro, N. C.; student, University of North Carolina, 1905–10; admitted to North Carolina Bar, 1910; member, firm Gilliam & Bond, Tarboro, 1923–45; State district solicitor, 1923–45; United States district judge, eastern district of North Carolina since May 30, 1945. Chairman, Edgecombe County Democratic Executive Committee, 1910–45. Member, Delta Kappa Epsilon. Home: 302 Church St., Tarboro, N. C.

OKLAHOMA

Royce E. Savage, judge; born, Blance, Okla.; bachelor of arts, University of Oklahoma, 1925, bachelor of laws, 1927; assistant insurance commissioner, 1927–29; practiced law as member firm Monnet & Savage, Tulsa, 1929–38; Cantrell, Savage & McCloud, Oklahoma City, 1938–40; appointed United States district judge for northern district of Oklahoma, 1940. Member of Phi Delta Theta and Phi Delta Phi. Home: 2135 East 25th Street; office: Federal Building, Tulsa.

William R. Wallace, judge; born, Troy, Tex.; student, Indianola College (now University of Tulsa), 1901–05; University of Oklahoma, 1909–10; doctor of laws, Oklahoma Baptist University, 1947; admitted to Oklahoma Bar, 1910, practiced in Pauls Valley, Okla., 1910–25; county judge, Garvin County, 1913–17; attorney, Magnolia Petroleum Co. and Lone Star Gas Co., 1925–50; United States district judge for the northern, eastern, and western districts of Oklahoma since 1950. Served as member of Oklahoma State Legislature, 1909–23. Chairman of Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission, 1939–42; board of regents, University of Oklahoma, 1944–48; member of American and Oklahoma Bar Associations, Kappa Sigma. Clubs: Rotary, Men's Dinner. Home: 2419 North Harvey, Oklahoma City; office: Federal Building, Oklahoma City.

Eugene Rice, judge; born, Union City, Tenn., bachelor of science, Hall-Moody College, Martin, Tenn., 1910; bachelor of laws, Valparaiso University, 1917; taught in rural schools of Tennessee, 1910–13; admitted to Oklahoma bar, 1920, and practiced in Oklahoma; State district judge, 1930–37; former member of court of tax review, Oklahoma; appointed United States district judge, eastern district, Oklahoma, 1937. Served with United States Army and AEF, 1917–19. Member of American Bar Association, Oklahoma State Bar Association; honorary member of Phi Delta Phi. Home: 1521 Boston Street; office: Federal Building, Muskogee, Okla.

Stephen S. Chandler, judge; born, Blount County, Tenn.; student of University of Tennessee, 1917–18; bachelor of laws, University of Kansas, 1922; private law practice in Oklahome City, 1922–43; appointed United States district judge for the western district of Oklahoma, 1943. Member of Sigma Alpha Epsilon and Phi Delta Phi. Clubs: Oklahoma City Golf, Beacon, and Rotary.

Ross Rizley, judge; born, Beaver, Okla.; bachelor of laws, University of Kansas City, 1915; admitted to Okhaloma bar, 1915; actively practicing law since 1915; county attorney, Beaver County, Okla., 1919–20; State

senator, first Oklahoma district, 1931–35; Member, 77th-80th Congresses (1941–49), 8th Oklahoma District; Solicitor, Post Office Department, March to December 1953; Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, 1953–54; Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board, 1955; director, City National Bank, Buymon; member, Guymon Chamber of Commerce (former president, director). Member, Oklahoma State Bar and American Bar Associations; address: Guymon, Okla.; office: Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

SOUTH CAROLINA

George B. Timmerman, judge; born, Edgefield County, S. C.; graduate, Patrick Military Institute, 1900; bachelor of laws, South Carolina College (now University of South Carolina) 1902; doctor of laws (honorary) 1952; general practice of law, 1902–42; appointed United States district judge for the eastern and western district of South Carolina, 1942; captain, South Carolina Militia, aide on brigade staff, 1905; solicitor, 5th judicial circuit, 1905–08; 11th judicial circuit, 1908–20; member, State of South Carolina Highway Commission, 1931–39, chairman, 1936–39; chairman, Lexington County (S. C.) Democratic Committee, 1914–16; Democratic State executive committeman, 1930–32, 1938–42; president, Democratic State convention, 1932; chairman, Ridge District Boy Scouts of America, 1940–43; vice president, central council, 1942–44; chairman, Batesburg-Leesville Park Commission, 1941–46; trustee, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C., 1941–47. Member, South Carolina and American Bar Associations, Phi Kappa Sigma, Omicron Delta Kappa. Home: Rutland Street, Batesburg, S. C.; office: United States Courthouse, Columbia, S. C.

Ashton H. Williams, judge; born, Lake City, S. C.; bachelor of arts, University of South Carolina, 1912; graduate law school; Georgetown University, 1915; admitted to South Carolina bar, 1914; since, practiced in South Carolina; member, Lake City Council, 1916–17; South Carolina State House of Representatives, 1921–22; senator, Florence County, 1923–26; member, Democratic National Executive Committee, South Carolina, 1948–49. Author (while in senate): Pay-as-You-Go Road Act, 1923; Coastal Highway Act; first act to tax gasoline for good roads; office, United States Courthouse, Charleston, S. C.

Charles C. Wyche, judge; born, Prosperity, S. C.; bachelor of science, The Citadel, Charleston, 1906; doctor of laws, 1952; Georgetown University, 1908–9; admitted to South Carolina bar in 1909, and practiced at Spartanburg; member, South Carolina House of Representatives, 1913–14; city attorney, Spartanburg County, 1919–33; United States district attorney, western district of South Carolina, 1933–37; appointed United States district judge western district of South Carolina, January 30, 1937; circuit judge, court common pleas, by special appointment, 1924; court of general sessions, 1924; associate justice, Supreme Court of South Carolina, by special appointment, 1929. Served in World War I, advancing from first lieutenant to major with AEF and Army of Occupation; member American and South Carolina State (president, 1931–32), Spartanburg County Bar Associations; American Law Institute; home: 268 Mills Avenue; office: Federal Building, Spartanburg, S. C.

TENNESSEE

William E. Miller, judge; born Johnson City, Tenn., bachelor of arts, University of Tennessee, 1930; bachelor of laws, Yale, 1933; admitted to Tennessee bar 1933; member, Cox, Epps, Miller & Weller, Johnson City, 1933–55; chancellor, first chancery division, Tennessee, 1939; United States district judge, middle district, Tennessee, 1955—. Member, Tri-Cities Airport Commission. Presidential elector, 1940; member, Constitutional Convention of Tennessee, 1953. Chairman, Washington County Chapter, American Red Cross, 1938–40; board of visitors, Emory and Henry College. Served as major, United States Air Force, World War II. Member, Johnson City Chamber of Commerce, American, Tennessee, Washington County (past president) bar associations; American Counsel Association; American Judicature Society; American Legion; Sigma Alpha Epsilon. Clubs: Executives, Kiwanis, Hurstleigh, Johnson City (Johnson City, Tenn.). Home: 228 Vaughan's Gap Road, Nashville. Office: Federal Building, Nashville.

Marion S. Boyd, judge; born 1900; graduate, University of Tennessee, 1921; judge, United States district court, western district of Tennessee since 1940. Office: Federal Building, Memphis, Tenn.

Leslie Rogers Darr, judge; born Jasper, Tenn.; student, Pryor Institute, Jasper, 1904–08; bachelor of laws, Cumberland University, 1909; admitted to Tennesseee bar, 1910; practiced law at Jasper, Tenn., 1910–26; judge, 18th circuit of Tennessee, 1926–39; United States district judge, eastern and middle districts of Tennessee since 1939. Home: 1506 Riverview Road, Chattanooga, Tenn.

TEXAS

Thomas W. Davidson, judge; born Harrison County, Tex.; special courses study, Columbia and University of Chicago; studied law privately; admitted to Texas bar, 1903; practiced in Marshall; city attorney, 1907; State senator, 1921; Lieutenant Governor of Texas, 1923; United States district judge, northern district of Texas, since February 1936. Member, Democratic National Convention, 1912–32. Member American, Texas (president, 1927), and Dallas Bar Associations; president, Harrison County Bar Association, 1916. Home: Maple Terrace, Maple Avenue. Office: Post Office Box 286, Dallas 1, Tex.

Joseph B. Dooley, Federal judge; born San Angelo, Tex.; practiced law, Amarillo, Tex., 1911–47; president, State Bar of Texas, 1944–45; United States district judge for northern district of Texas, 1957; member advisory committee, Supreme Court of Texas, 1940; member, American Bar Association, State Bar of Texas. Home: 3011 Hughes Street. Office: Federal Court Building, Amarillo, Tex.

Allen B. Hannay, judge; born Hempstead, Tex.; student Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1907–9; bachelor of laws, University of Texas, 1913; admitted to Texas bar, June 10, 1913; practiced law in Hempstead and Houston, Tex., 1913–30; Walter County, judge, 1915–17; appointed district judge, 113th district of Texas, March 30, 1930; United States district judge since 1942; member, committee on judicial statistics, United States courts; member, Texas Bar Association. Home: 4001 Ella Lee Lane. Address: 330 Post Office Building, Houston.

James V. Allred, judge; born Bowie, Tex.; admitted to Texas bar, 1921; bachelor of laws, Cumberland University, 1921, began practice at Wichita Falls; district attorney, same 1923–25; attorney general of Texas, two terms, 1931–35; Governor, State of Texas, 1935–39; United States district judge; southern district of Texas, 1939–42; engaged in practice of law; United States district judge, southern district of Texas, since 1951. Home: 4720 Bellaire. Office: Electric Building, Houston, Tex.

Ben C. Connally, judge; born Marlin, Tex.; bachelor of arts, University of Texas, 1930, bachelor of laws, 1933; master of laws, Harvard, 1934; admitted to bar, Texas 1933; practiced as member firm Sewell, Taylor, Morris & Connally, Houston, 1934–42; Butler & Binion, 1945–49; United States district judge, southern district of Texas, since 1949. Member American, Texas & Houston bar associations, American Legion, Houston Chamber of Commerce; Home: 244 Hedwig Road; Office: 416 Post Office Building, Houston.

Joe W. Sheehy, judge; born Saratogo, Tex.; student University of Texas, 1927–29; bachelor of laws, Baylor University, Waco, Tex., 1934; admitted to Texas bar, 1934, and since practiced in Tyler as member firm of Ramey, Calhoun, Marsh, Brelsford & Sheehy; assistant general Texas 1934; United States district judge for eastern district of Texas, Tyler, since 1951. Member American, Texas & Smith Co. (pres. 1942) bar associations. Home: 2312 S. Chilton Street; Office: Federal Building, Tyler, Tex.

Ben H. Rice, Jr., judge; born Marlin, Tex.; bachelor of laws, University of Texas, 1913; master of laws, 1914; admitted to Texas Bar, 1913; assistant county attorney, Falls County, Tex., 3 years; city attorney, Marlin, 9 years; elected chief justice 10th Court of Civil Appeals, 1940; Federal judge western district of Texas since 1950. Address: Federal Court House, San Antonio.

Robert E. Thomason, judge; born Shelbyville, Tenn.; B. S., Southwestern University, Georgetown, Tex., 1898; bachelor of laws, University of Texas, 1900; began practice of law, Gainesville, Tex., 1900; district attorney, Gainesville, 1902–6; practiced at El Paso, Tex.; since 1912; member Texas House of Representatives, 1917–21; speaker of house, 1920–21; mayor of El Paso, 1927–31; member 72d to 80th Congress, 1931–47, 16th Texas district; United States district judge, western district, Texas. Address: 1918 North Stanton Street; Office: Federal Building, El Paso, Tex.

Joe McDonald Ingraham, judge; born Pawnee County, Okla. Admitted to Oklahoma bar, 1927, District of Columbia bar, 1927, Texas bar, 1928; practiced in Stroud, Okla., 1927–28, Fort Worth, 1928–35; Houston, 1935–54; served as member United States House of Representatives, 1934–48; associate justice, Texas Supreme Court, 1936, 1938, 1940; judge, United States District Court, Southern District, Texas, 1954. Secretary Tarrant Co., representative executive committee, 1930–35, chairman, Harris Co., 1946–53, member Texas State executive commission, 1952—; presidential elector, 1932, alternate delegate national convention, 1940, delegate, 1948, 1952. Served as lieutenant colonel, United States Army Air Force, 1942–46. Member American Houston Bar Association, Texas State bar, S. A. R. (president, Texas, 1937–38.) American Legion. Club: Army and Navy Association (president, 1950). Home: 2341 Sunset Boulevard, Houston 5; Office: Post Office Building, Houston 2.

VIRGINIA

John Paul, judge; born Harrisonburg, Va.; graduate, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, 1903; bachelor of laws, University of Virginia, 1906; admitted to Virginia bar, 1906, and practiced at Harrisonburg; member, Virginia State Senate, 1912–16, 1919–22; member, 67th Congress (1921–23), 7th Virginia District; special assistant to United States Attorney General, 1924–25; United States district attorney, western Virginia district, 1929–31. United States district judge since January 1932. Served as captain, Field Artillery, United States Army, 1917–19 with American Expeditionary Forces, May 1918–19. Member, Raven Society (University of Virginia), Kappa Alpha, Phi Delta Phi, Phi Beta Kappa. Home: R. F. D., Dayton, Va. Address: Federal Building, Harrisonburg, Va.

Alfred Dickinson Barksdale, judge; born Halifax, Va., educated Cluster Springs Academy, 1907–08; Virginia Military Institute, 1908–11, bachelor of science; University of Virginia, 1912–15, bachelor of laws; admitted to Virginia bar, August 13, 1915, and began practice in Lynchburg; judge, Sixth Judicial Circuit of Virginia, 1938–40; judge, United States District Court, Western District of Virginia, since January 1940. Member, Virginia Senate, 1924, 1926, 1927. Served as captain, 116th Infantry, United States Army with American Expeditionary Forces, World War

I. Decorated Distinguished Service Cross, Chevalier Legion of Honor, Croix de Guerre. Trustee, Hollins College. Member, board of visitors, University of Virginia; member Lynchburg (Va.), State and American bar associations; Kappa Alpha, Phi Delta Phi, Phi Beta Kappa. Home: 2001 Link Road; Office: Post Office Box 877, Lynchburg, Va.

Albert B. Bryan, judge; born Alexandria, Va., bachelor of laws, University of Virginia, 1921; admitted to Virginia bar, 1921; practiced in Alexandria, 1921–47; city attorney, Alexandria, 1926–28; commonwealth's attorney, 1928–47; United States district judge, eastern district of Virginia, 1947—. Member, State board of corrections, Virginia, 1943–45; member, board of law examiners, 1944–47; member American, Virginia bar associations; American Law Institute; Phi Kappa Sigma, Phi Delta Phi. Home: 2826 King Street, Alexandria, Va. Office: United States Courthouse, Alexandria; also Norfolk, Va.

Statement of Hon. Robert C. Byrd to the Subcommittee on Civil Service Retirement, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, permit me to call to the attention of our colleagues the statement which I presented to the Subcommittee on Civil Service Retirement, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in connection with the hearings on the proposed legislation to increase the annuities of civil-service employees who retired prior to October 1, 1956. The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT C. BYRD PRESENTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, JULY 3, 1957

Mr. Chairman and honorable members of the Subcommittee on Civil Service Retirement, I am grateful for this opportunity to present my views in support of H. R. 4 and related bills, which would increase the annuities of civil-service employees who retired prior to October 1, 1956. The bill which I introduced on January 10, 1957, is similar to H. R. 4.

The proposed legislation will benefit some 240,000 retirees and about 80,000 surviving widows and dependent children. These employees did not share in the increased benefits which the 84th Congress granted under Public Law 854 to persons retiring on or after its effective date, October 1, 1956. General revisions increasing benefits under the civil-service retirement system were enacted in 1926, 1930, 1942, and 1948, and in each of those enactments benefits were also provided for persons already retired. These increases were paid from the civil-service retirement fund and did not call for special appropriations.

It is true that in the first session of the 84th Congress a token increase was provided for civil-service annuitants, but it is also true that that token increase was far below the proportionate increase in the cost of living. And, of course, that token increase was prior to the legislation of 1956, enacted for the benefit of future retirees. This fact, as well as the further fact that the cost of living has increased each month since the enactment of 1956 legislation, plainly points up the unfortunate economic situation in which retirees now find themselves.

Prior to the adjournment of the 84th Congress, the Senate passed the bill, S. 3725, to provide the necessary increases for annuitants; however, due to the approaching adjournment, the House was not able to act on the subject.

It is my understanding that about 70 percent of the beneficiaries are men and the balance women. Some 50,000 of these former Federal employees are today receiving approximately $50 a month. Another 50,000 receive between $50 and $100 a month, and still another 50,000 receive between $100 and $150 a month. In other words, 75 percent of our civil-service retirees receive less than $150 a month The plight of their survivors is even more distressing. The average survivorship annuity is $50 a month. Do not these stark facts, then, amply demonstrate that Congress has the duty and the obligation to provide equitable and necessary improvement in its program of retirement and survivor benefits for former Government employees and their survivors?

No one denies the gross inadequacy of retirement benefits in meeting the present high cost of living. The urgency for remedial action, however, was graphically revealed in a special report published in the August 3, 1956, issue of the U. S. News & World Report. That report showed that civil service retirees were down 13 percent from the 1939 standard of living. On the other hand, the report showed that 35 major groups, representing 95 percent of our population of workers, enjoyed increases above that 1939 standard, ranging from 4 to 107 percent.

Many of the individuals who will be benefited by the increases proposed in the legislation here under consideration are wholly dependent upon their annuities. The inflationary spiral has hit hard. The shrinkage in the purchasing power of the "retirement dollar" cannot be ignored either.

The average age of the annuitants to be benefited by this legislation is 67.7 years. This fact, too, points up the necessity for immediate and favorable consideration of the proposed legislation. We recognize that retirees are at a great disadvantage because the dollars which they paid into the retirement fund have greatly decreased in value. The purpose of the proposed legislation is to compensate for this loss in purchasing power and to provide some equity to these former Government workers.

The Congress has a direct responsibility to these former employees to see to it that their benefits have a sound relationship to the cost of living. Let us not overlook the real problems with which these retirees are faced. They are confronted with reduced income, reduced health, reduced living standards, and in many cases with increased medical expenses. Legislative action to assist these senior citizens is overdue.

In view of the above, I hope it will be possible for the subcommittee to give favorable consideration to the legislation here under consideration.

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The "Open Curtain" Policy—Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two very excellent editorials on the "open curtain" policy. The editorials were published in the Mankato (Minn.) Press and the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Mankato (Minn.) Press of June 11, 1957]

AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE PURSUED

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON'S proposal that the United States and Russia present their ideas every week on each other's television and radio stations probably won't get a very enthusiastic welcome from the Soviet leaders.

But an interchange of ideas—broadcast so the people of both nations can hear it—unquestionably would do more to bring about understanding than any other approach to the problem.

Tensions that exist between nations are usually the result of a failure to understand and know each other. If there could be a general trading of thoughts, and frequent discussions involving the issues that arise, the barriers to understanding can be broken down.

Senator JOHNSON said the United States shouldn't allow a day to pass without raising the suggestion that the people of each nation should be permitted to hear the other side's views. That is a good idea, and the filmed interview of Soviet Leader Nikita Khrushchev provides an opening that hasn't previously existed.

It is obvious that the United States has much to gain from such an approach and, if Russia is sincere in its desire for peace, the Soviet can gain a great deal, too. The greatest deterrent to peace is the Iron Curtain that has been set up to prevent the Russian people from getting to know more about the United States and its citizens.

If there is to be lasting peace, every avenue must be explored in its quest. And Senator JOHNSON is correct when he says we ought not to pass up the opportunity provided by Khrushchev's television appearance. If Russian opposition to such a plan can be broken down to permit even one televised interview, it will be greatly worth while.

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram of June 10, 1957]

LYNDON JOHNSON'S NEW PROPOSAL

Senate Democratic Leader LYNDON JOHNSON thinks that now is the time to batter down the Iron Curtain hindering the free flow of ideas and information. He wants this country to grant free radio and television time weekly to Soviet spokesmen in return for equal time for us on the Soviet radio and TV. He thinks that such a direct appeal to the citizens of Russia would be a new world policy of open eyes, ears, and minds, for all the peoples of the world.

Senator JOHNSON'S plan has a great deal of appeal. The idea of going over the heads of the Kremlin and talking directly to the Soviet people seems to hold out great possibilities. It is a good idea—even though there is little to indicate that the Soviet leaders are ready for such a radical proposal. With rebellion simmering just below the surface in Eastern Europe, and with considerable discontent inside the Soviet Union itself, the Soviet oligarchs might well consider such a move dangerous.

Party Boss Khrushchev gave the thing away on his recent radio and television interview. Asked by an American reporter why the Voice of America is still jammed by the Soviet Union, he muttered, "that 'voice' gives you a pain."

The plan proposed by Senator JOHNSON might give Khrushchev a worse pain. Weekly broadcasts by American spokesmen would be bound to raise sharp questions in the minds of the Soviet citizenry. They would learn things about their own government that they never heard before. The prestige of the government might be weakened.

Another indication of the Kremlin's reluctance to encourage the free exchange of ideas is the experience of the State Department with its magazine, America. By an agreement signed by the Governments of the United States and the U. S. S. R. last year, 50,000 copies of America were to be circulated inside the Soviet Union and 50,000 copies of the official Soviet magazine, U. S. S. R., were to be circulated inside this country. The Soviets have recently begun to return thousands of unsold copies of America to the United States Embassy in Moscow. Experts on the Soviet Union are certain that America would sell hundreds of thousands of copies if it were honestly distributed.

Despite these points, Senator JOHNSON has done well to make his suggestion at this time. Basically, it is an excellent idea. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose from an honest and free exchange of ideas.

This fact is sometimes lost sight of. There have been times in recent years when our Government has acted so fussily nervous about Soviet propaganda proposals for cultural exchanges that our friends all over the world have been disappointed in us.

This country has little to fear from Soviet propaganda. We have every reason to want the Iron Curtain lowered, so that the pervasive power of democratic ideas can percolate through the Communist empire.

After all, in the long run, it is ideas rather than bombs that are going to bring us out of our present dilemma.

Address by Hon. Homer E. Capehart, of Indiana, at Launching of the "Philip Sporn"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks I made on July 5 at the launching of the *Philip Sporn*, a new Ohio River boat produced by the Jeffersonville Boat & Machine Co. under the direction of Mr. Pat Calhoun, president of the Jeffersonville company and of the American Barge Lines.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR CAPEHART

The rise of inland water transportation has been one of the most astonishing and encouraging stories of the past two decades.

A little less than 100 years ago inland water transportation was a dead letter. The very mode of transportation which helped build cities like Jeffersonville and Louisville no longer was a factor in our transportation picture. But today, I am happy to say, that picture has changed. Funds voted by Congress have made possible the long-range program of the Corps of Engineers for the modernization of the Ohio River—its locks, dams, and levees.

I have always been a stanch supporter of this program and not long ago, on May 10, in a statement before the Senate Appropriations Committee, I strongly urged the support of various navigation projects on the river. I told the committee that:

"The Ohio River is a primary source of materials basic to the national security. I believe it is important rapidly to complete this program designed for modern conditions and volume of traffic which would be required for our national defense."

These navigation projects, for which Congress has appropriated funds, are to my mind examples of what Congress can do to enable private enterprise to serve the public better and cheaper.

A great deal of the credit for the growth of river transportation and the resultant solid industrial growth of cities and towns on the river is due to two gentlemen who are here today. I would like to pay tribute to them individually.

Mr. Pat Calhoun, president of the Jeffersonville Boat & Machine Co. and of the American Barge Lines, has been active in efforts to rebuild our river transportation system since World War I. Jeffboat has been building river steamers and ferryboats for over a hundred years. But what a far cry is this fine, modern new boat—the *Philip Sporn*—from the wooden paddlewheelers of the old days. To see this modern towboat,

one might think it was always so in the industry. But this is not the case.

Mr. Calhoun and I have been around for quite a few years now and I think both of us remember the twenties when Pat started in the industry. It needed a lot of courage and foresight to enter the river transportation industry then, when few people had faith in its success and fewer yet enough vision to see its growth potential. But he persevered in his efforts to reestablish this once great form of transportation and I think when we look around us today we can see the measure of his courage and foresight. And I think he can also be proud of the role these yards played in serving our Nation during the war—when the need for inland water transportation was so great.

Just a few weeks ago I learned that Mr. Calhoun and his company made another contribution to our economy and the promotion of trade with our great neighbors to the south. This was the launching of the first piggyback barges to be sent to Venezuela. Here is another example of what Indiana has done to link the United States with South America in the network of inter-American trade relations.

Mr. Philip Sporn, for whom this fine boat is named, is also a citizen of whom the people of the Ohio River can be proud. Ever since 1920 when he joined the American Gas & Electric Co., of which he is now president, he has worked toward the improvement of the electric utility industry. He has led his company's pioneering efforts in several fields of electric power generation, transmission, and distribution. These efforts have not only improved the general efficiency and economy of operation of the producers of electricity but have also served to keep down the cost of electricity to the 5 million people in this great area of ours.

I am not going to take the time to record the many achievements in Mr. Sporn's career, though I would gladly like to, but I would like to point out two things which I feel are of major importance.

Mr. Sporn has devoted a great deal of time and effort to the study of nuclear energy and particularly to the possibilities of its application in the field of power generation. I understand he is at present a member of the Edison Electric Institute's technical task force in nuclear power. This group is now evaluating various reactor types for recommendation to institute members.

The second service of Mr. Sporn and his associates to which I would also like to call attention is the creation of the Ohio Valley Electric Corp., of which he is also president. This $400 million enterprise was organized by 15 private electric utility companies of the Ohio Valley region to supply the electric power requirements of the Atomic Energy Commission's new $1½ billion diffusion plant in Pike County, Ohio.

To my mind these are two fine examples of what our utility industry is doing to insure that the utilities of our Nation rank second to none in service to national security and consumer benefit.

I would like also to point out that Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Sporn, and their associates have been successful in providing to the public, through their companies, efficiencies and economies of operation which have kept down costs during a period of constantly rising costs of virtually every phase of modern-day living. This is no mean achievement.

The value of inland water transportation is so far reaching that I imagine there are few people who can envision the tremendous contributions made by this mode of transportation to our country. Before I came down here, I refreshed my memory by looking at some of the statistics concerning this industry. I was again impressed—although I served for some time as ranking minority member of the Interstate Commerce Committee and was well acquainted with the subject—by the rapid strides made by this industry in so short a time. I think you might be interested in a few facts as to what the river—and its servant, the barge lines—is doing to serve the people of Indiana, Kentucky, and the 18 other States in our inland water empire.

Taking the valley as a whole, since 1950 more than $11 billion has been invested in new and expanded industrial and atomic plants along the main stream of the Ohio River and its navigable tributaries. The communities along the banks of the Ohio have a population of 3.2 percent of the Nation's total—but during the period from 1950 through 1955 they have been the site of 6.7 percent of the Nation's new investment in manufacturing and public utility plants.

In a recent tax and investment study made by the tax foundation, Mr. Ben Fairless, of the steel corporation, is quoted as saying that the average capital investment required to provide a job for one man in our present economy is $12,000. On this basis the industrial expansion of the Ohio valley has provided almost 800,000 jobs. This is more employment than the combined number of jobs of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.

This booming economy has also contributed a great tax flow into the Federal Treasury. Taking only the 6 States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois—which actually lie within the Ohio valley—corporation taxes paid in 1954 amounted to $2½ billion. Social security and personal income taxes added another 4½ billion. This is more than $7 billion.

And how much money has been spent for navigation development of the Ohio River during the past years? From 1824 to 1954, inclusive, the total expenditures amounted to only $150 million—spread over 130 years. No investment of the Federal Government has ever benefited more people or provided a bigger return than this stake in the Ohio River navigation facilities.

Of particular note is the massive growth of electric utilities in the Ohio Valley. The increase in number and capacity of power stations and the increase in volume of electricity generated are looked upon as key measures of industrial progress. Along the main stream of the Ohio River the capacity of electric generating plants has grown more than twice as fast as in the United States as a whole. In 1941, it was 3 percent of the United States total and now is over 7 percent. Electricity generated along the main stream of the Ohio has shown an even more impressive growth. Plants along the Ohio generated 9 percent of the Nation's power in 1955 compared to 3.7 percent in 1939. When the navigable tributaries, other than the Tennessee and Cumberland, are included, the Ohio Valley now produces about 11 percent of the Nation's power.

The rollcall answered by new industries which have come to the Ohio Valley is much too long to list here. Along with the growth of heavy industry such as steel, oil, chemicals, and nonferrous metals have come a host of others such as rolling mills, fabricating plants, integrated chemical plants and many others.

It may be said of the Ohio—it is a river come alive.

What accounts for the rebirth of industry in the Ohio Valley, which for so long has been dormant? Certainly there are many factors which have contributed to this tremendous industrial growth. When we ask the companies who have been lured to the valley what factors attracted them, we get the same answer from them all. Directly or indirectly, most of them come back to the waterway itself. The most important of these are low-cost water transportation, a vast and growing concentration of electrical energy, an adequate supply of water, limitless coal deposits, and a sufficient and efficient supply of labor.

All of these companies and Ohio Valley industry in general are increasingly dependent on low-cost water transport. The vital relationship between the traffic on the river and the economic development of the region is demonstrated by the fact that while Ohio River traffic in ton-miles was increasing 582 percent from 1929 to 1950, per capita income in the Ohio Valley increased 221.8 percent as compared with an increase of 211.8 percent during the same period for the Nation as a whole.

The annual volume of barge traffic on the Ohio has grown phenomenally from 26 million tons in 1929 to a record of 72 million tons in 1955.

In ton-miles, traffic on the river increased more than 300 percent from 1946 through 1955; from 5 billion to 15 billion ton-miles. I have just received the latest figures in a report of July 1, which records still additional gains. These show that 76,376,633 tons of commercial traffic moved along the Ohio in 1956—nearly 5 million tons more than the previous year. Ton mileage increased to 15,999,404,994, a gain of over 5 billion from 1955.

The 1956 annual report of the TVA indicated that over 1½ billion ton-miles of commercial traffic moved on the Tennessee River during 1955, an increase of 24 percent over 1953, and almost 6 times as much as in 1945. The traffic for the first 6 months of 1956 was in tons, a 19-percent increase over the same period in 1955. The TVA report finally indicated that about three-quarters of the interchange river tonnage in 1954 was accounted for by the Ohio Valley region.

When these factors are added up, there is no predicting what peaks of development this valley may reach, or what needs for river-related uses it may require. About 4 years ago a trade journal raised the question of whether we might not some day see a 100 million tons of freight a year moving on the Ohio. Now I think it not unreasonable to look forward to 150 million tons as early as 1965.

Of course, I know that one of the chief concerns of all of you is to see that this phenomenal growth continues. I know that many of you are concerned that the practical limits of the capacity of many of the present locks will be reached in a few years. It is your feeling and I know it is shared by many others in this area, that a vigorous prosecution of the long-range program on the Ohio River is necessary for the continued economic development of the valley. There are many organizations in the area who are doing splendid work toward this goal, including, I understand, a newly formed group called the Inland Waterways Common Carriers Association of which American Barge Line is a charter member.

These are times for economy; but, as I have stated previously, I believe that the benefits to be obtained from new locks and dams should not be measured merely in the conventional manner of savings in transportation costs. The true measure of benefit lies rather in the expanded productivity, the improved standard of living for millions of people living in the Ohio Valley, the protection against disastrous floods, vastly increased revenues to local State and Federal treasuries—far in excess of the governmental costs involved—and the strengthening of national security which will stem from providing an efficient modern water highway in the industrial heart of our Nation.

You gentlemen here today have dedicated many years of your lives to the cause of water-resources development in the valley. I know that you will continue to bring to the people of the valley and the Nation a deeper understanding of the vast potential of economic growth inherent in this great

river and of the problems and programs involved in the development of that potential.

I think it fitting that, in closing, I quote the words of President Hoover on the occasion of the dedication of the Ohio River canalization in 1929:

"A nation makes no loss by devotion of some of its current income to the improvement of its estate. This is an obligation we owe to our children and our grandchildren. I do not measure the future of America in terms of our lifetime. God has truly blessed us with great resources. It is our duty to make them available to the people."

Interview of Hon. Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, on CBS News and Public Affairs Hour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a transcript of the interview over the CBS News and Public Affairs Hour on Monday, July 8, the so-called Capital Cloakroom broadcast, wherein I was interviewed by three of the news correspondents of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITOL CLOAKROOM

(Broadcast over the CBS Radio Network, July 8, 1957, 9:30 to 10 p. m.—guest: The Honorable RICHARD B. RUSSELL, United States Senate, Democrat, of Georgia—CBS news correspondents: Griffing Bancroft, Bill Downs, Paul Niven—producer: Michael Marlow)

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator RUSSELL, will there be a real showdown on civil rights?

Mr. DOWNS. Senator, would this bill really punish the South?

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, would the South accept a compromise on civil rights?

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator RUSSELL, welcome to Capital Cloakroom. One of the real veterans here, you have been in the United States Senate now for more than 24 years.

And right now you are the leader of the southern Senators in this current battle over civil rights. So let's start with that.

Do you think this time there will be a real showdown on civil rights?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, there is, of course, a very decided disposition to press this bill which is titled a civil-rights bill to a conclusion in this session of the Congress. Now we have a very attractive habit here of labeling bills, sometimes, when they don't always live up to their label.

But if you are referring to the bill that is now being discussed on the floor of the Senate, it is apparent that a very determined effort will be made to force a legislative conclusion on that measure.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, we want to ask you what might happen on that, but first, you say whether this should properly be called a civil-rights bill.

If it is not a civil-rights bill, what is it?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, in some of its aspects it is more of a force bill aimed at the customs and laws of the South that were upheld for a hundred years than it is a civil-rights bill.

It has been presented to the public generally as being a bill to assure the right to vote. But as a matter of fact that is the mildest of all the provisions of the bill.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, Senator, there was a coalition of so-called liberal Republicans and liberal northern Democrats that got this bill to the floor in the first place.

What happens to the conservative coalition among southerners and conservative Republicans under these circumstances?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, I don't know just exactly what that term "coalition" implies. At times it seems to be used as a term of condemnation or derision.

In times past when some of the southern Democrats have voted with the Republicans not to move quite as fast in some areas as some of our Democratic Presidents would have had us to move, that's been called a coalition between southern Democrats—Mr. Reuther and his crowd always said Dixiecrats without regard to how loyal we had been to the Democratic Party—and the reactionary Republicans.

We do have a most unusual coalition this time in that the Republican leadership has joined hands with some of our very liberal friends, such as Senator DOUGLAS and Senator HUMPHREY and others to force this bill to a conclusion.

But, then, politics makes strange bedfellows. In this case we undoubtedly have a game where the South is a mere pawn on the political checkerboard. The minority groups have apparently convinced the leadership of both parties that the party that is willing to wage the furthest punitive expedition into the South will win the presidency in 1960.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, some Republicans have charged and northern Democrats have denied that there was a deal in the voting over the procedure of the civil-rights bill and the Hells Canyon bill.

Senator RUSSELL. Yes; I saw that in the press. If there is anything to that, I have no knowledge of it. I saw the article.

I happen to be 1 of the 5 Democrats who changed his vote on Hells Canyon. I did it because of the tax amortization feature which made it very apparent that the Federal Government was going to pay for the dam in any event. If we were going to pay for it, I thought we ought to have title to it.

Mr. NIVEN. But you did not offer and were not offered any kind of deal?

Senator RUSSELL. No; there was no deal in any sense I know of. I hope, however, such a thing as appreciation still exists even in the Senate of the United States where any Senator finds that he can out of his heart do so to vote to make this bill a tolerable bill or a reasonable bill and not a force bill, that they will vote for amendments.

I hope that the purpose of this charge was not to frighten the true liberals in the Senate who will support, for example, a jury-trial amendment.

We have a very anomalous situation when so-called liberals are trying to abolish the right of trial by jury, as is being done in this bill.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Senator RUSSELL, if there was a deal made, you apparently lost it anyway, because the bill went on the calendar over your objections.

Senator RUSSELL. Yes; and very frankly, when I saw the coalition that was there—that I called the Knowland-Douglas-Humphrey axis—I had very little hopes of getting a majority vote. I did make a fight because I believe in orderly procedure in the Senate, and I did not think that the procedure that was followed was orderly, and we are paying the penalty for it right now.

We put the bill on the calendar and it comes out later that there's been an error in the print of the bill that was sent over that they are undertaking to correct today.

When you get away from established precedents in the Senate, when you try to take shortcuts for temporary advantage, it nearly always brings a great deal of trouble.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, now, coming back for just one moment to this bill, President Eisenhower, who claims that this is a moderate bill and who says at least his principle desire is to protect voting rights has expressed some surprise at your statement, I believe, about how far you think this bill could go.

And there was some talk that you might have a conference with the President to talk about this. Is there any conference now set for you at the White House?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, now you ought to go back to what you were talking about——

Mr. BANCROFT. All right.

Senator RUSSELL. Before you get down to that.

President Eisenhower also stated that he had gotten out the bill and tried to read it and had found some of its provisions very confusing.

Mr. BANCROFT. That is right.

Senator RUSSELL. And I may say that he has a great deal of company, because it is a very adroitly and cunningly drafted bill.

I have no comment to make on the other because I am of the old school, came up here at a time when Senators didn't go out and make an announcement they were trying to get down to the White House or were invited to the White House.

I would only say that I earnestly hope that I may have an opportunity to discuss this bill with President Eisenhower, either personally or with any legal adviser that he wants there, to show him that the right-to-vote provision in this bill is the least momentous of all its provisions.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, Senator, you said that in the case of jury trial, in demanding a jury trial in voting rights cases, for example, that this bill should contain that provision.

Senator RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. DOWNS. Isn't it true, sir, that in the South, and hasn't it been proved in the South, that when you have an all-white jury voting on the rights of a Negro voter, that he doesn't have much of a chance of winning?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, that's one of the common slanders that's been repeated against the South without a word of evidence to substantiate it. You have got any number of criminal statutes on your books now where it is made a violation of criminal law, punishable by imprisonment and fine, to interfere with the voting rights of any citizen.

Now the South is entitled to have at least some proof brought forward of this charge that is repeatedly bandied that every southern white man is so irresponsible that he would forswear himself or perjure himself in a case involving a Negro citizen.

I practiced law for many years before I came into the Senate, and I did not find that to be true. And we were at least entitled, before a whole great section of this country was indicted as everyone of us being perjurers, we were at least entitled to have the Attorney General come out and say, "Here, I tried to get an indictment in this case before a grand jury for a violation of a right to vote, and I didn't get an indictment," or if "I did get an indictment," that the jury "didn't do justice."

They haven't done that; they have just gone on this wave of public sentiment, this antisouthern feeling that has been built up by just such charges as that, that the whole white South would just forswear themselves.

As a matter of fact, there is no great problem about the Negro voting in the South today. In my own State, and that's the only one I have personal knowledge of, there's no limitation or prohibition on the right of

qualified Negroes to vote. Why in the city of Atlanta they elected a Negro over one white man to one of the most responsible of all the city positions, a member of the board of trustees for the schools. He was reelected within the past few months by white votes. And the Negroes vote there, they vote generally over the State. And this is just part of this campaign to make it appear that throughout the entire South that Negroes are denied the right to vote. It is certainly not the truth.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, isn't there a good deal of social and economic pressure against Negroes to restrain them from voting?

Senator RUSSELL. I have heard that that was true in some areas. I was giving you what I know of my own knowledge in my own State. And there may be, I don't say there aren't, isolated instances where Negroes are denied the right to vote—in every State of this Union you've got wards and communities and counties where you have got so-called courthouse gangs, and they deny some white people as well as some Negroes the right to vote if they don't belong to that gang.

But we have got criminal statutes to punish that, and why doesn't the Attorney General invoke them before coming in here and making a blanket indictment of the South, "The white man in the South is so venomous against the Negro that he won't do justice." For that is not true.

The relations between the races in the South have been gravely disturbed in the last 2 or 3 years; but until that time there had never been any place in all the history of human civilization where two races so equal in number had started out with the disparity that there was between them—one coming out of slavery—and had made the progress over the period of 80 years that has been made in the South.

The white South should be commended for what they have done. They have taxed themselves even in the desolation of destruction following the Civil War to create schools. And for a hundred years, under the protection of the law, they have paid taxes and bonded themselves to build separate but equal schools for the white and colored people.

And that's the purpose of this bill, to forcibly commingle the white and Negro children of the South in the schools. This voting business is all a smoke screen for that vicious provision of the bill—and not only in the schools, but in all our places of public entertainment.

Mr. NIVEN. Well, Senator, you and other southern Democratic Senators are now emphasizing the segregation—this integration threat in the bill.

The bill was debated for about a week in the House and the southerners there did not place great emphasis on this, they seemed to debate the bill on its open merits.

Senator RUSSELL. Well, I of course don't know what took place over there. They perhaps were taken in by this campaign that it was just a voting bill. I haven't read the debate in the House. I did read the bill here. I spent the better part of 3 days with about 40 law books running down this cunningly contrived bill. And I leave it up to you and your personal attorneys, right now, to take the remarks that I made in the Senate last Tuesday on this bill and take this bill and if he doesn't come up and tell you that it can be used as a force bill to bring the whole might of the United States Government to bear to integrate the schools of the South, why you'd better get you another lawyer.

It's very clear, when you run it down.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator Russell, it seems to me you go a little farther than that. You say that not only can it do that, but that that was the intention of those who sponsored this bill.

Senator RUSSELL. Undoubtedly. This section, this part——

Mr. BANCROFT. Well then, whom do you——

Senator RUSSELL. I don't know who drafted this bill.

Mr. BANCROFT. Accuse of doing this? Do you think Attorney General Brownell——

Senator RUSSELL. I don't know whether——

Mr. BANCROFT. Deliberately brought in a bill that goes——

Senator RUSSELL. Mr. Brownell knew what was in this bill or not. I am confident he didn't draft it. But I would certainly like to meet the man who did draft it because it is a masterpiece of obscuring the purpose.

Mr. BANCROFT. If this is a deliberate plot, who do you think was——

Senator RUSSELL. I don't know who is responsible for it. But I assert unhesitatingly that this part 3 of this bill was drawn for the express purpose of obscuring a vast grant of power to destroy any system of separation of the races in the South.

And I will say that after the people of the South have known no other way of life, no other social order for a hundred years, this is a monstrous proposal to come in and to ask for any such grant of power as that over night.

This condition wasn't changed by an act of Congress, where it was debated, people had an opportunity to see what was said and discuss it themselves—it came through a decision of the Supreme Court, based on a book by the Swedish Socialist who said that our Constitution is a plot against the common people of the United States. And it came overnight—like that—with no preparation.

Mr. BANCROFT. This is the Supreme Court school segregation decision you are talking about?

Senator RUSSELL. Yes, this bill proposes to enforce judicial law, a law that has been written by the courts rather than legislative law, a law that's been written by the Congress, that's what it does.

Mr. DOWNS. Senator, you also expressed I think last week the fear or prediction that American troops could be used.

Senator RUSSELL. Why this bill is tied in with one of your old reconstruction statutes that was passed by Sumner and Stephens when they set out, as they said themselves, to put black heels on white necks in the South. The criminal counterpart of this civil statute was stricken down by the Supreme Court declaring that it was passed by an impassioned Congress at a time when the Southern States were being treated as conquered provinces.

And yet that is the law that it skillfully ties into without being apparent on its face. Why didn't they write out in this bill what they propose to do where we could read it, instead of saying "section 1895," and then having that section refer to section 1993, where it requires a lawyer who is a jigsaw puzzle expert to put it all together to see exactly what it does?

But you will see that the real lawyers of this Senate will not refute one iota of what I said when they have studied this bill, and I care not which side of it there're on. They may say "We don't intend to do it," but they won't say it can't be done.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, can you imagine Federal troops actually being sent into the South?

Senator RUSSELL. I certainly can. I certainly can. When they can make such a political pawn out of the South, as has been done now, and where they can—when men are seeking political preferment, they make all kinds of commitments, and I can very readily see that Federal troops could be sent into the South to enforce—why we have had troops and tanks at two schoolhouses in the South already, without this law.

Mr. DOWNS. That was National Guard troops.

Senator RUSSELL. Yes, that's true. But you're just as dead if you're shot by a tank bullet from a National Guard man as if you were shot by a regular or a marine.

Mr. DOWNS. Senator RUSSELL, in answer to my question you said that you do believe, then, that this bill is really designed to punish the South?

Senator RUSSELL. I have no question about it. Now I don't know why they take such an admonitory attitude toward the South, as if we were a group of wild and uncivilized people. Some of them feel that they are doing a very meritorious thing, to resort to any means to force the South to conform to what the rest of the Nation thinks is the proper social order for the South.

Well, this is a great Nation of ours——

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, I want——

Senator RUSSELL. If a man wants to move from one State to another, if the southern people want their children in integrated schools, it's might easy to move to a State where they have them; they are not more than 300 miles away from anywhere in the South. If any other person preferred for his child to go to school with children of his own race, why, he might move to the South. Then he'd be safe for the time being, until this bill passes and is enforced.

Mr. DOWNS. Don't you believe, sir, that the social order in the South has changed and is changing?

Senator RUSSELL. Oh, of course, it has, and is. But it has happened through a process of evolution, and this proposes to enforce a revolution on the South and to drive men. There's a great deal of difference between leading and in driving or letting people themselves lead and drive.

We have made great progress in the South. Why, in the voting, not in my time have there been any restrictions on Negroes in general elections in the South, but we did have a law for a long time that they couldn't vote in the Democratic primaries. Now that's all been done away with, and they do vote; there's no longer a white primary. We have moved forward very rapidly when you consider the full impact of it.

It's all well and good for a man that lives in a State where it is 98 percent white and 2 percent Negro to say, "Why, where is this problem? There's nothing to it." Let him go to a State where they are nearly equal in numbers, where the races in communities are about equal in numbers, and then undertake to enforce overnight such a bill as this.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, the colored leaders reply that, despite this evolution and this progress, large numbers of them are still denied a right which they have been guaranteed by the Constitution for 90 years.

Senator RUSSELL. You mean the right to be in integrated schools?

Mr. NIVEN. The right to vote.

Senator RUSSELL. Well, the Supreme Court said that for 90 years they had been denied the right that they were entitled to be in integrated schools. The Constitution hadn't changed; the complexion of the Court has changed.

And I deny that statement as to voting. At least, as far as the greater portion of the South is concerned, there is no real limitation or restriction on the right of qualified Negroes to vote.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, the qualifications, sir——

Senator RUSSELL. You can come to my State when they are having an election and see them; they are lined up there for blocks to go and vote, and their votes are counted just like anyone else.

Mr. NIVEN. Well, Senator, would you concede that qualification has been interpreted differently for white and colored persons?

Senator RUSSELL. I have heard that, but I don't concede it—no; I don't concede it, generally, in my State; no. There may be areas where it has been, small communities, it is probably true.

Mr. NIVEN. Well, why don't Negroes vote in larger numbers, then?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, they vote in—we have practically 225,000 registered in Georgia, and they vote. Perhaps in some of the elections they have a higher percentage voting than white people.

Oh, you pillory the South by giving the figures voting in a general election and saying only 45 percent of the people voted. But as a matter of fact we have had the one-party system in the South, and our people vote in the primaries. And you compare the vote in the primaries, when we really settle our election, and it's not too much behind the rest of the country. But we don't vote in the general election because everything has been settled in the primary.

But that's the figures they always give you, just 45 percent here in the general election.

Mr. NIVEN. But the percentage of Negro voting is not anywhere near as high as the percentage of whites voting; is it?

Senator RUSSELL. No; because there are a great many more white people in my State than there are Negroes. We have about 2,300,000 white people and about 1,200,000 Negroes.

Mr. NIVEN. Isn't that a proportionate basis?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, that may be slightly true. I concede that, because they haven't been voting long. They haven't been voting too long. We only abolished the poll tax in Georgia about 10, 11 years ago.

But where can the Attorney General come in and say, "In Georgia they violated the criminal law by denying this man, Bill Jones, the right to vote"? And he should do it and prove, "I tried to indict and I tried to convict before a jury," before you come in and indict the whole State of Georgia and say we have deprived the Negro of his right to vote illegally.

Mr. NIVEN. Sir, is it your case that until recently there were impediments in the way of the Negro voting?

Senator RUSSELL. Of course there were in voting in the primary. I explained that a while ago. They could vote in the general election, but it didn't mean anything because the man who was nominated in the primary was going to win the general election. That may be a mistake, we may have—should have been a two-party State. I sometimes think that we would have fared much better if we had been.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator Russell, I wonder if I could explore a moment what's apt to happen here on the floor of the Senate.

You are leading this strategy. And the motion made today, of course, is a motion to take up the bill.

Senator RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BANCROFT. Which, if it prevails, would of course be followed by the discussion and the motion to pass or to act on the bill and amendments. There has been some talk that you might not filibuster or unduly prolong and defeat a vote on the motion to take up. How about that?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, Mr. Bancroft, I intend to act as each circumstance presents itself and as this matter unfolds in such a way that I think will cause us to be able to get our maximum strength for the amendments to this bill that will see that it is a right-to-vote bill instead of a punitive bill against the South.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, now, on that, Senator RUSSELL, an amendment cannot be offered or acted upon——

Senator RUSSELL. Oh, no.

Mr. BANCROFT. Until after this motion to take up the bill acted on,

Senator RUSSELL. We are now debating this bill strictly on its merits. There is no part of this discussion that consists of reading long papers, the ordinary earmark of a filibuster.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, I'm trying to find out if and when——

Senator RUSSELL. I'm not prepared to say just when we'll let the bill be made to unfinished business. We want to discuss it. We have found that there are a number of Senators who have been busy with other matters and didn't really understand the full impact of this bill.

I want the situation in the Senate to jell a little where we can see just where we are going with these different amendments.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, then, after it has jelled a little, then presumably you will allow a vote to take place on the motion to take up?

Senator RUSSELL. Oh, I think the Senate will vote on amendments to this bill.

Mr. BANCROFT. On the motion to take up, first? And——

Senator RUSSELL. I think the Senate will vote on amendments to this bill.

Mr. BANCROFT. Then to vote on amendments?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, I'm not prepared to say just when, but I'm very confident that it will.

Mr. DOWNS. Senator, you indicated strongly that this is a political measure——

Senator RUSSELL. Yes; I feel that strongly.

Mr. DOWNS. Being presented by a coalition of Democrats and Republicans, and then——

Senator RUSSELL. I feel this——

Mr. DOWNS. Also you said perhaps it would be a good thing if the South did have a two-party system.

Do you think that your opposition to the bill, Democratic opposition to the bill might strengthen the Republican Party in the South?

Senator RUSSELL. No; not when the Republican Party is furnishing more votes for this particular bill than the Democratic Party is in the Senate. I don't think that it would. I was talking about we would have been in a better bargaining position if we had not all been tied up in what's called the Southern Democratic Group.

As it is now, the minority groups outside the South, though they are relatively small in numbers compared to the voting strength of the white South, they can go to the political leaders there and convince them that these elections depend on their action in these doubtful States.

And by having had strictly a one-party political system in the South, I think we have denied ourselves a similar bargaining power.

But the Republicans, of course, are going at it in a very poor way to improve their position by putting more votes behind this force bill than the Democratic side of the aisle, here in the Senate.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, what do you think the general outcome, say, in next year's elections will be as a result of this debate?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, I couldn't say—my crystal ball is not that good. I can't pass on what it will do.

I don't believe that the great mass of the American people favor extreme measures—we are all in favor of civil rights, everybody is in favor of civil rights.

The question is, Where does my rights end and where does yours intervene? That's the question that's involved here, wholly aside from this voting proposition and this separation of the races. And they put a tag on it and call it civil rights.

But if this bill were explained to the American people, there is no doubt in my mind that an appeal from the politicians to the people would be sustained and that the American people would vote down this bill in a referendum, because it is a very unfair piece of legislation.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, can you project any kind of compromise on this bill that would be acceptable to you?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, I would have to see it. I would have to see it. I am perfectly willing to entertain any ideas that any responsible leader of those that are pressing this bill might care to discuss. I do resent this whole theory of the bill that the South needs a guardian in the person of the Attorney General.

Now if there is any one State where the Negro is denied the right to vote, you have got clauses in the Constitution guaranteeing a republican form of government. Apply that without coming in here and abolishing the right of jury trial and tying it into the force bills of reconstruction so you will have the power to bring the Armed Forces of the United States to bear on the southern people.

We—the country as a whole doesn't realize what we have gone through with in this whole period. We have been a very poor people. It was from 1940, 80 years after 1860, until the tax values of my State got back to where they were, prior to the great fratricidal war.

And we have taxed ourselves, taxed our poverty heavier proportionately than any other section of the country to try to carry on this separate but equal system of education. And you can get your statistics and you will see that the tax according to wealth has been heavier in the Southern States than anywhere else for education.

We don't like to be threatened with this kind of force legislation.

Mr. NIVEN. You may recall that a national poll a couple of years ago found that 55 percent of Southern whites expected that integration in public schools would eventually take place. Would you agree with that?

Senator RUSSELL. I didn't see it, but I am not in a position to challenge your statement because I don't know. I didn't understand your question.

Mr. NIVEN. Apart from your preferences in the matter, do you feel that school integration is inevitable in the long run?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, forever is a long time. In the foreseeable future I don't see any integration of the schools in my State, particularly with this force legislation, because you can badger and arrest and bait people until they get in a frame of mind to close down the schools before they will do it.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator RUSSELL, you said that amendments, in your opinion amendments to this bill would be voted on, and I——

Senator RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BANCROFT. Presume you think some would be accepted?

Senator RUSSELL. Well, I would certainly devoutly hope so. If it is not amended it will be the worst piece of legislation ever considered.

Mr. BANCROFT. Now I presume one would be the jury trial amendment, for example, the one that was defeated in the House?

Senator RUSSELL. Yes, and the one to strike part 3 of this bill, the force provision. It is not related to the right to vote.

Mr. BANCROFT. In other words, Senator, that would leave in it simply the provision for a civil-rights commission and a new division in the Department of Justice?

Senator RUSSELL. Yes. Of course, that's a rather unusual provision.

Mr. BANCROFT. Would you accept that much of the bill?

Senator RUSSELL. No; I wouldn't be prepared to vote for a bill that was such a reflection on the people of Georgia as I deem this one.

Mr. BANCROFT. In other words, no matter how many amendments are adopted you still won't vote for this bill?

Senator RUSSELL. Oh, I didn't say that, now. You just narrowed it down. You just narrowed it down to—in the first place, this bill is wrong in policy. Here you have got a proposal that you are going to establish an entirely new division in the Department of Justice to take up all these cases, whether a man wants it done or not, and do it at Government expense.

Now the National Colored People Association and their kindred organizations have had no difficulty at all in getting up money to bring all these lawsuits.

You are starting a new system there, and the next thing you are going to do is to have some system where labor will be able to have a division in the Department of Justice to enforce their rights on employers at the expense of the Government, or vice versa, and in other fields. I don't approve of that.

I could not support such a measure. I think it is wrong in policy where a man is able to hire a lawyer, to say because it is a certain kind of case that the Attorney General can proceed at the taxpayers' expense whether the man involved wants him to or not. I don't approve of that general philosophy.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, I'm afraid that's all the time we have, and Senator RUSSELL, we want to thank you very, very much for being with us on Capitol Cloakroom, and we will watch with interest to see what happens down there on the floor of the Senate.

Thank you, sir.

Proceedings at Celebration in Honor of Birthday of General de Rochambeau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on July 1, 1957, at the third annual commemoration held in Washington of the birthday anniversary of General Rochambeau, at Lafayette Square, representatives of various patriotic organizations met at the Rochambeau Memorial to participate with the French Ambassador to the United States in tribute to this great Frenchman, who, in the early days of our Republic, contributed so much to cementing relations between his nation and our own.

As is well known, our two Republics have enjoyed continued good relations into our present days. I think it most fitting that the American people be apprised of the remarks of the Ambassador from France, the Honorable H. E. Herve Alphand, on that occasion.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by Mr. Alphand on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with a list of those organization representatives in attendance for the commemoration, and the introductory remarks of Mr. Charles Parmer, president of the Rochambeau Commission of the United States.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF MR. CHARLES PARMER

The French Ambassador, Hon. Hervé Alphand, reaffirmed the alliance between America and France that has lasted since 1778–81, when he was ranking guest at the third annual Rochambeau birthday commemoration in Lafayette Park, Washington, July 1.

Fleet Adm. William D. Leahy, United States Navy, Chief of Staff for 2 wartime Presidents, represented the United States; Miss Constance Allen Tyler, the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union; Mrs. James D. Skinner, vice president general, and Miss Lillian Chenoweth, honorary vice president general, Daughters of the American Revolution; Mrs. L. E. Tull, Gold Star Mothers of America; Mrs. Richard C. Marshall, chairman, Alexandria committee, Colonial Dames.

When the United States Marine Band under the leadership of Lt. J. B. King, Jr., played the march of old French airs for the flowers of friendship strewing, Mrs. William Granat, wife of Admiral Granat, led the congressional ladies, Mrs. William A. Purtell, of Connecticut; Mrs. James C. Auchincloss, of New Jersey; Mrs. Carroll D. Kearns, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. DeWitt S. Hyde, of Maryland; Mrs. Joel T. Broyhill, of Virginia; and others; also Master Robert Billingsley, representing New York.

The Mount Vernon Guards served as guards of honor under direction of John Charles Harris, their founder; and Maj. Gen. Charles R. Landon, United States Air Force, retired, military chairman of the Rochambeau Commission, read Washington's Yorktown victory orders.

Charles Parmer, president of the Rochambeau Commission of the United States, presided and introduced Ambassador Alphand, saying:

"From the days of the first French Minister, the Chevalier Anne-Cesare Luzerne, who was General Washington's confidante, America has been fortunate in the caliber of representatives from France. They have been scholars, statesmen, and fighters. None has stood higher than our distinguished guest today. Not only as an intellectual of the first rank, but as a fighting diplomat who served well the Allied cause at the danger of his own life."

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H. E. HERVE ALPHAND, AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES, AT THE COMMEMORATION OF THE 232D ANNIVERSARY OF ROCHAMBEAU'S BIRTH, WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 1, 1957

It is my privilege as French Ambassador to the United States to express my gratitude to all our American friends who have dedicated themselves to maintain alive the great historical souvenirs which constitute the foundation of the friendship which has linked since its very inception, the United States to France.

In this year 1957, which marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of La Fayette, celebrations have been organized all over this great land to commemorate the assistance France brought to the American colonists in their struggle for independence.

In this struggle, General de Rochambeau played a decisive part and it is highly gratifying that we should be assembled here today to commemorate the anniversary of his birth and I wish to express my special appreciation to the Rochambeau Commission of the United States under whose auspices this commemoration has been organized and to its devoted president, my friend, Mr. Charles Parmer .

For a year and a half, Mr. Parmer has worked tirelessly to have the new East 14th Street Highway Bridge designated as "Rochambeau Bridge. He enlisted, on behalf of this cause, a great legislator, Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, who sponsored a bill to that effect. This bill has been approved recently by Congress and is now awaiting the signature of the President of the United States. [Note: President Eisenhower signed the bill late that day—July 1.]

Last but not least, I wish to thank Fleet Adm. William D. Leahy who has consented to come out of a well-deserved retirement to represent the Government of the United States at this ceremony, thus giving to the French people another evidence of this continued interest in them.

The friendship between France and the United States of which today's ceremony is such a moving manifestation was cemented on the battlefields of Brandywine and Yorktown; this friendship has resisted revolutions, wars and day-to-day vicissitudes; this friendship is indeed unique in the history of international relations and one of the reasons is that the men who initiated it, the French negotiators of the historic treaties of amity and alliance of 1778 did not seek nor expect any rewards.

To this day, there are some who think that the primary motive for France's intervention on the side of the American colonists was a desire for revenge against Great Britain after the reverse suffered during the 7 years war. Indeed, the Treaty of Paris had been most damaging to our interests. The conquest of Canada by Great Britain had been a tremendous blow.

Yet, and this point deserves emphasis, in the treaties of 1778, France renounced forever any parts of the continent, of North America which, before the Treaty of Paris, or in virtue of that treaty, we acknowledged to belong to the throne of Great Britain. In so doing, our negotiators made it clear that they were not concerned with the pursuit of narrow national aims, but that they were fully conscious that they were laying a solid and lasting foundation for the friendship between France and the United States.

The basis for this friendship is to be found in the great ideal of freedom which the Americans and the French share with the same passion. Without this common ideal, it is unlikely that the two nations would have remained so closely linked in peace and in war for nearly 2 centuries.

It is for the triumph of this ideal, that, twice in this century, the French and the Americans have again fought side by side on the battlefields of Saint-Mihiel and the Argonne, on the beaches of Provence and on the Rhine.

It is for the triumph of this ideal that the French and the Americans are more closely allied than ever, within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is the bulwark of our western civilization against the danger of Soviet imperialism.

It is this common ideal of freedom which explains why, beyond momentary difficulties and obvious differences in our ways of life, there is a profound affinity between the French and the American peoples, who are just as dedicated today to the triumph of the freedom of man as they were nearly 200 years ago, in the glorious times of the American and of the French Revolutions.

Jamestown, Va., 350 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published

in the Appendix of the RECORD the excellent and timely poem of the Poet Laureate of the State of Colorado, Mr. Milford E. Shields, commemorating the 350th anniversary of the founding, at Jamestown, Va., of the first permanent English settlement on this continent. The poem is entitled: "Jamestown, Va., 350 Years."

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAMESTOWN, VA., 350 YEARS

(By Milford E. Shields)

Three hundred fifty flaming years ago
Those virile sons of freedom landed here;
With feet set firmly on this earth below
And eyes uplifted to the heavens clear,
They forged an outpost for the world to see,
A bastion for the rampart of the free.

Full time and tide and sea have proved them just:
Our country growing great confirms the trust.

Let us stand here as those strong, stalwart men
And look into the higher, clearer sky,
Here reinforce this outpost once again
And reaffirm the truth free men live by—
Then shall the wider world be blest to see
The one unconquerable fortress of the free.

Return of Seized Alien Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "It Is Not Ours To Keep," which appeared in the Easley Progress of Tuesday, July 2, 1957, in Easley, S. C., and a statement by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], concerning the Trading With the Enemy Act and proposals for the return of vested assets.

There being no objection, the editorial and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Easley (S. C.) Progress of July 2, 1957]

IT IS NOT OURS TO KEEP

From time to time we have noted in the press veiled suggestions of improper motive in legislation introduced by Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON to restore the property of German nationals seized during the war. The criticism has all along seemed unfair. In the first place Senator JOHNSTON risked his life as an active participant in the first war against Germany as an enlisted man. In the second place, being upon the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, he would not be so foolish as to introduce improper legislation in his official capacity. He would have no cause to do it in a private capacity. Because of the continued charges of persons unfriendly to him the Senator has released a full statement on the question of the return of enemy aliens' property, which we have found most interesting and clarifying. A little thought on the part of the citizen would bring him to the same conclusion that the long report leads to. The seized property held so long by the United States is not German Government property but that of citizens of Germany who happened to have it in the United States when the war began. We are of course entitled to keep spoils of war taken from the enemy government; but it is not our character and viewpoint to keep the property of individuals longer than our own safety requires. Many of these aliens were friendly to the United States. One who died in a Hitler concentration camp by his will left a large sum of money to our Rockefeller Foundation. But even though the alien was hostile, a peace treaty removes that barrier and if we keep his private property we are doing wrong. Some self-styled superpatriots can't see through that conclusion of commonsense, justice, and decency. They are the only ones who have been unfair to Senator JOHNSTON in introducing his Judiciary Committee bill to complete the adjustment of seized alien properties.

STATEMENT OF OLIN D. JOHNSTON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA, CONCERNING THE TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT AND PROPOSALS FOR THE RETURN OF VESTED ASSETS

Because of a widespread misunderstanding of the responsibilities and functions of the subcommittee on the Trading With the Enemy Act of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and pending bills affecting alien property, a statement may help to dissipate much of the confusion in the public mind with respect to such bills which provide for the return of the privately owned properties of our former German and Japanese enemies seized under the provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act.

The Trading With the Enemy Act was enacted on October 6, 1917. Its principal purpose was (a) to immobilize the properties of enemy nationals in World War I; (b) to prevent commercial transactions between the merchants of the United States and Germany and her allies; and (c) to hold the properties in trusteeship for the ultimate disposition of such assets by the Congress. Confiscation of such properties was never in the mind of the Congress when the original statute was enacted.

In 1923, the Congress authorized by the Winslow Act the returning up to $10,000 in value of the vested properties seized during World War I. In the War Claims Settlement Act of 1928, Congress returned 80 percent in value of the seized properties; the remaining 20 percent was retained as security for the payment of American war-damage claims, costs of administration, etc. In 1934, because of the worldwide depression and the defaults of the Hitler Government, further returns of the balance of 20 percent were prohibited by the Harrison Act.

Shortly after the commencement of World War II, the provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act were reactivated, enlarged by executive orders under the War Powers Act. Provision for the appointment of a Custodian of Alien Property was made.

In 1948 the War Claims Act was passed to provide payment of claims for the detention and ill-treatment of prisoners of war and on behalf of certain religious groups for property losses sustained by them as the result of the military action of the Japanese and German forces. As a ready and available source of funds necessitating no direct congressional appropriations, the Congress provided that no returns of the private properties be made and that the proceeds thereof be applied to the payment of those minor war claims. Two hundred and twenty-five million dollars of the estimated $612 millions in value of the seized properties have thus far been expended in the payments of that category of war claims. Since 1942 Congress has appropriated from the liquid assets about $52 million to the Custodian's office for his administrative expenses. That office has had an average of over 300 persons employed annually since 1942 with an annual payroll for them in excess of $3 million. That expense does not include the costs of administering the going concerns operated by the Office of Alien Property.

The properties of Japanese nationals were seized and vested up to the time of the Japanese Treaty on April 28, 1952. The President, by informal order on April 17, 1953, directed that no further seizures be made of the privately owned German properties. Thus it is apparent that much of the property was seized long after hostilities ceased and the necessity for seizures no longer existed.

The estimated values of the properties at the time of their seizures amounted to $390,808,000. The appreciation in values of the vested properties, the net income from them and other properties received through agreements with foreign governments have swelled the original total to a present estimated total of $629,701,000 as of June 30, 1956. As of that date the net value of all assets then being administered by the Department of Justice amounted to $271,879,000.

The estimated percentages of the values by countries of the vested assets are German—76.2 percent, Japanese 16.7 percent; the balance consists of properties of Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, and others.

As a result of the peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, and the others, provisions have been made for a return of the values of the properties of the nationals of those countries.

Only the properties of German and Japanese individuals and concerns controlled by them require the attention of the Congress. No governmental property of the former governments of Hitler or Tojo is included in any proposal now pending before the Congress. No return of any property will be made to any war criminal of either country.

Congress by several amendments to the Trading With the Enemy Act provided relief for American creditors against their German and Japanese debtors. Complaints arose with respect to the conduct of the business affairs of many of the properties, involving political favoritism, etc., inefficient procedures for the payment of and adjudication of conflicting title and debt claims, and also regarding the failure to make available to everyone the advances and discoveries in scientific and technical uses of a considerable part of the seized properties. As a result of these and other complaints, the Senate by resolution in 1952 created the Subcommittee on Trading With the Enemy Act to examine and review for it the administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act by the Office of Alien Property of the Department of Justice. Each succeeding Congress has extended the subcommittee.

The late Senator Willis Smith, of North Carolina, became the first chairman of this Judiciary Subcommittee. In the Republican-controlled 83d Congress, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN was designated chairman. Since March 18, 1955, after the Democrats succeeded to the control of the Senate, I have served as chairman along with Senators McClellan, of Arkansas; Price Daniel, of Texas; O'Mahoney, of Wyoming; Dirksen, of Illinois; and Langer, of North Dakota, as subcommittee members.

Continuing studies, investigations, and reports have been issued as required by the Senate resolution creating and continuing the subcommittee. Extensive public hearings have been held on many bills which have been introduced affecting the provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act. Recently, the subcommittee concluded its 25th day of public hearings. Over the years, over 3,300 pages—much in fine print—of evidence was presented to the subcommittee. Briefs, arguments, and written testimony were submitted, a preponderance of which contended that the private properties of our former enemies should not be confiscated, but should

be returned either in kind or their reasonable value to their former owners. There was a considerable number who for varying reasons contended that no return should be made but that the private properties of some 40,000, more or less, German and Japanese owners should be held in lieu of reparations, due as from the Governments of Germany and Japan.

After most exhaustive and painstaking hearings and thorough consideration of the many factors involved, Senator DIRKSEN introduced S. 3423 on May 7, 1954. In breif, this bill provided for a full return, with certain exceptions, of all the privately owner properties of the former owners who were German and Japanese. The justification for such a return met with the approval of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the bill was favorably reported to the Senate. Congress adjourned in 1954 before S. 3423 had been considered.

The administration did not liik with favor upon Senator DIRKSEN's bill. Among other reasons it was urged that no provision was made in it for the payment of American war damage claims.

As a result of the continued study and further public hearings, the subcommittee recommended and the full committee unanimously reported out favorably to the Senate my bill in the 84th Congress, known as S. 4205. This measure provided for a full return in kind or value of all privately owned properties which had been seized under the Trading With the Enemy Act and a full payment of all American war damage claims. These returns and payments were to be made progressively. Procedures and methods were adopted which permitted such a result without the necessity of any additional direct appropriations. Like S. 3423, S. 4205 failed of passage in 1956 by reason of the adjournment of Congress.

A modified version of S. 4205 was introduced by me on January 14, 1957, and is known as S. 600. This bill likewise directs a full return of all vested assets or their values and a full payment in installments of all American war damage claims not otherwise provided for by law. The bill contains provisions preventing a return of properties to war criminals of Germany or Japan, governmental properties, and properties to those residing in the Soviet-dominated countries.

There has been considerable criticism of these return bills and of me personally for authoring two of them. Much of that criticism may be traced to a lack of understanding of the reasons which prompted my action. I have long felt that a wider knowledge of the complex problems, the traditional American concepts of the human and property rights involved, and a fuller appreciation of our own national interests would dispel most, if not all, of the objections which reasonable persons could possibly entertain.

What are the reasons back of these full return bills? Why has OLIN D. JOHNSTON supported one and been the author of two others? What are some of the problems involved and the questions presented? How can it be in the interest of the people of the United States to divest themselves of title to over $629 million worth of property?

So far as I am concerned, the answers are clear. My duty is plain. My responsibility with respect to the problems is not difficult to assume. What has been the American way of handling such problems?

Before our Constitution was adopted, John Adams said:

"The moment the idea is admitted into society, that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence. If 'thou shalt not covet' and 'thou shalt not steal' were not commandments of Heaven, they must be made inviolable precepts in every society before it can be civilized or made free." (In Works of John Adams, by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1951, vol. 6, p. 9.)

There would have been no United States Constitution had the Bill of Rights (first 10 amendments) not been forthcoming as an integral part of it. While the fifth amendment provides protection for one against testifying against himself, it also contains very salient provisions which protect our property rights. Those provisions are:

"No person shall be * * * deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

The foundation of property rights originating in Holy Writ is inscribed as part of our basic constitutional rights. Our history and tradition as a free people are built upon them. The concept of our free society is founded upon them. The principle is clearly stated by a United States Senator in his testimony before the subcommittee recently when he said:

"The unpaid American war-damage claims should be paid. Private property or its reasonable value should be returned. Now, of all times, we who set the moral standards for the peoples and governments of the world must of all things adhere to them or be willing to pay in lives and our material fortune the unthinkable price involved in the savage doctrine of confiscation.

"Confiscation is the attribute of communism. Private ownership, the integrity of property rights, and contractual obligations, on the other hand, are the distinguishing characteristics and handmaidens of the free world. The issues involved are just that simple."

It is an historical fact that the United States has never practiced confiscation of its former enemies' properties. During the Revolutionary War several of the Colonies confiscated the property of the English Tories. This was compensated for in our first treaty—the Jay Treaty—with England in 1794. The formula set out in that treaty has been the uniform pattern for all of our subsequent treaties of commerce, friendship, and navigation with other foreign governments.

The language of the present Speaker of our House of Representatives which he used in 1923 in support of a full return of German properties after World War I has vital force today. He said in one of his official reports:

"From the days of Hamilton and Jefferson and Marshall down to now every man who had a reputation that extended beyond the community in which he lived * * * has looked upon the question of confiscating private property for the satisfaction of a public obligation with obloquy. That has been our policy. * * * the most savage doctrine ever announced by any people anywhere was that private property should be taken for the satisfaction of a public obligation."

Every Secretary of State of the United States without exception from Thomas Jefferson—our first Secretary—through Mr. Dulles, has opposed confiscation. Each has sought to maintain the doctrine of the inviolability of contractual rights and the sanctity of private property in time of war or national emergency.

World conditions have changed greatly since the Jay Treaty of 1794. In fact there exist today many more reasons than existed following World War I, why it is in our own national self-interest to return private property seized in time of war. A consideration of a few of those facts constitutes a compelling reason why privately owned properties should be returned and why as a Nation we should avoid the stigma of confiscation.

A most important fact to remember is that the United States today is the leading creditor Nation in the world. While no exact figures are available, we do know that Americans have private investments abroad in excess of $55 billion. As taxpayers, every American citizen has a direct interest and an investment at an initial cost of over $4 billion in over 900 of our defense installations scattered throughout the free world. As taxpayers, every American citizen has a direct interest and an investment now exceeding $4 billion in the loans made through our Export-Import Bank to private concerns and their governments abroad. These latter interests concern you and me directly because our money paid in the form of Federal taxes supports and maintains them.

Almost half of our high Federal tax burden is necessary each year for the support of our national-defense programs. We have spent over $35 billion annually for national defense since 1945. Our national-defense program is large because we seek by it to maintain our free way of life. The cornerstone of our free way of life is our right of ownership of private property. When property rights are destroyed, freedom and free government are lost. This truth is undeniable.

In addition to the direct interest so many Americans have in private investments abroad and the very large investments all Americans have in foreign countries, we have engaged in other programs since 1947 which have resulted in our people having to continue to pay heavy taxes. I refer to our foreign-aid programs. Every justification for any foreign-aid expenditure falls of its own weight when stripped of the reason that we spend this money abroad to support our free way of life and to preserve and extend American principles. Thus, it is argued that foreign-aid expenditures aggregating now almost $60 billion have been in our national self-interest. While I have not agreed with such contentions, others have agreed and they have prevailed. I do know I am taxed heavily for the support of that program.

Add these figures up and you can see a stupendous investment: $55 billion in private investments, $8 billion directly invested by all of us together with the $60 billion spent in foreign aid and the more than $35 billion each year for national defense. As the leader among the free nations of the world setting, as we must, the tone of morals in business and private conduct, for the world, can we afford the penalty of inflicting upon others any principle involving confiscation? Look at what is happening in the Middle East today. The Congress has just passed a $200 million special foreign-aid program (Eisenhower doctrine) for the ostensible purpose of keeping some of the countries in the Middle East as our allies in the struggle against communism. If, as a permanent policy, we are to confiscate these alien properties, as Egypt is confiscating the properties of the English, French, Israeli, and others, it requires little imagination to conclude that we stand to lose far more than all the rest of the world combined. Why? Because we have more at stake. It is a sad commentary on our laws that Egypt boasts in her press that she is following the provisions of the American Trading With the Enemy Act in what Nasser is now doing. Those news articles assert that if it is proper for the United States to confiscate the private property of its former enemies—the German and Japanese—then Egypt has every right to nationalize or confiscate British and other alien property in that country.

Not all of the properties whose original value at the time of vesting amounting to $390,808,000 belonged to our former enemies. Over 20 percent of that amount, namely $87,801,000 was American property. It originated in the United States. It helped our war effort through the taxes paid on it and by its owners. It is known as "estate and trust properties." Let me illustrate—an American citizen dies leaving an estate of $25,000 to his five relatives in Germany or Japan.

These relatives have been denied their legacies because the Attorney General has vested these estates. Another illustration will help. An American veteran of German or Japanese origin, honorably discharged from service in the American Army dies. His social security and death benefits are seized and confiscated by the Department of Justice. His relatives are denied the right to inherit these benefits earned under American laws by American nationals. Another illustration proves how unseemly our vesting program has been constructed and administered. A young German student studying at Harvard University under the Fulbright scholarship program at your and my expense testified before the subcommittee. He was the legatee under a will of an American and entitled under that will to $2,500. This legacy has been confiscated. Think of one Department of the American Government educating this boy at the expense of all of us on one hand and another branch of our Government seizing and confiscating his private property earned and produced here on the other hand. Or, consider the case of a lady who testified before us. She married an American officer overseas. She is now an American citizen living here and rearing a family of three children. The Russians seized and confiscated her estate in East Germany. The United States seized and confiscated a substantial inheritance here in America which was left to her by an American relative. Our existing law needs to be changed to prevent these obvious injustices. These illustrations could be multiplied by the hundreds. They all go to show how wholly unnecessary and wrong it has been to so administer the Trading With the Enemy Act—a necessary war measure—but not needed in time of peace. They all go to show how essential it is for the Congress to pass corrective legislation as it did following World War I.

There is another consideration which has influenced my views respecting the necessity for the return of these private properties. It did not take us long after the close of the war to learn the bitter lesson that our real enemy is Russia and Russian communism. That country has no respect for the right of private property. We learned soon that if we could enlist the Germans in West Germany and the Japanese in the cause for free democratic representative governments, they would eventually become our stanchest and strongest allies. That effort of ours is an accomplished fact today. Thoughtful Americans realize that both Germany and Japan are our most reliable and trustworthy friends among the free nations of the world. It cost us many billions of dollars to achieve this result. We loaned and gave West Germany, consisting of about 60 million persons, over $3¾ billions. We did the same for 80 million Japanese at a cost of well over $2 billions. We made an outright gift of $2¾ billions in our settlement of post-war loans to these 60 million Germans. We are prepared to scale down the Japanese debts to its 80 million inhabitants in the same percentage of reductions. Who is there to say that it is fair to make a gift of about $4 billions to a 140 million Germans and Japanese and retain and penalize from some 30 or 40 thousand of the same persons for the private property they either invested here or to which they are entitled by their inheritance? Such properties amounted to less than a half-billion dollars when it was first seized. If Germany and Japan owe the United States anything by way of war reparations that obligation should rest equally upon all Germans and Japanese alike. That burden should fall on all the millions of people in these countries, not on the few thousands who may benefit from small amount of properties in America.

Those Japanese and Germans who invested their properties here did so because they felt those properties were safe and secure under our constitutional protections. They felt their properties would be protected under our laws. Is it the right to deny to them the equal protection of our laws? Certainly, there can be little justification in law or morals to deny our German and Japanese friends the benefits of trust, estate, and guardianship properties originating here in the United States.

Now with respect to the payment of American war-damage claims, every sense of moral justice dictates an early payment of them. Every nation, except the United States, which engaged in World War II, has already made some provision to indemnify its nationals. We have done much, sometimes too much, for others and nothing for our own. Many civilian lives were lost, many suffered personal injuries, and there have been millions of dollars in losses in property damage. Except for the small prisoner-of-war claims and a few religious organizations operating chiefly in the Pacific area, no comprehensive war-damage claims act has been passed by the American Congress. I agree with many that this is a shameful neglect of our own. S. 600, which I introduced, makes ample provision for the payment of all proper American war-damage claims.

Notwithstanding the use of over $275 million of the vested assets by our own Government, the State Department opened an avenue for the payment of American war-damage claims and the return in value of all the vested assets. The payments may be financed through the remittances made to us by Germany and Japan in the settlement of our postwar loans and grants to those countries. This is advantageous to us for two reasons, namely, (a) it makes additional appropriations with a resulting increase in our tax burden unnecessary; and, (b) it will fix the exact amount of our total war damages so that when a peace treaty settlement is made with Germany, our negotiators will then know precisely how much in war damages is chargeable against Germany.

Such a method of payment of war claims and return of vested assets was initiated by the State and Justice Departments in presenting draft bill S. 2227, though payments in that bill were in each instance limited to $10,000. The concept employed by S. 2227 was extended in the provisions of S. 600 to provide for full return and to make full payments so that no fresh appropriations will be required.

To summarize a few of the important reasons why the United States should make a full return in kind or its reasonable value of all assets vested in wartime and subsequent vestings and also make full payment of American war-damage claims, I believe:

1. That our foreign-aid programs since the close of World War II will have been useless should we adopt a policy of confiscation which becomes a negation of the principles of the free world;

2. That our enormous national defense spending which bids fair to continue indefinitely at such an enormous rate with its crushing tax burden upon us all will have been useless unless basic and fundamental concepts of the free nations are continued unimpaired;

3. That our tremendous private and governmental investments abroad should not be subjected to or imperiled by our adoption of a policy of confiscation; hence it is essential in our own national self-interest to effectuate returns without delay;

4. That no reason in morals or justice exists why we should not finance the payments now of all legitimate American war-damage claims. No reason exists why the United States should provide funds for others and other nations so they may provide for their own, and we continue to neglect the rightful demands of our own nationals.

In conclusion the question can be asked, Why we have done all these things since the close of World War II? We have done them in the interest of a free way of life. We have done them in an effort to extend the principles of freedom, representative democracy, and the blessings of liberty to other nations and peoples. Confiscation is a barbaric relic of the Dark Ages. If we would have others do right by us, we must do right by them. Why, then, should we turn back the pages of history and embark now, at such peril to our own interests, upon a vicious program of confiscation? To me, enduring and fundamental principles are at stake.

My actions shall be charted to the only course I know to preserve those principles which have made us the greatest Nation on earth today. To do otherwise, I would betray the past, endanger the present, and imperil the future of my country. To do otherwise, I would "covet my neighbor's property," and history would convict me of violating the cherished commandment of "thou shalt not steal."

No Threat to the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial written by Mr. Frank R. Ahlgren, who is editor of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the title of the editorial being "No Threat to the Press."

The editorial by Mr. Ahlgren concerns the recent report of the Commission on Government Security. Mr. Ahlgren has written a very fine, illuminating, and helpful editorial on the subject, and I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Memphis Commercial Appeal of July 6, 1957]

NO THREAT TO THE PRESS

It was for the very purpose of increasing the flow of legitimate information while, paradoxically, increasing necessary security that the Commission on Government Security recommended changes in document classification.

That being so, some of the agonized howls going up from very few areas of the American press are empty in sound and meaning.

A great deal of news is kept out of communications channels by the same factor retarding scientific and technological progress. That factor is overclassification, and the Commission pointed out in its report that this could actually create a danger to security.

To simplify matters, it recommended abolishment of the classification of confidential both as to documents and materials and the retention of secret and top secret classifications. Documents previously classified as confidential would be declassified gradually.

Because only Government employees can be prosecuted at present for willful disclosure to unauthorized persons of classified information, the Commission has recommended enactment of a criminal statute penalizing anyone, in or out of Government, who makes public the content of secret or top secret documents.

No genuine threat to press freedom will be created if the classification recommendations of the Security Commission are carried out as intended.

American publishers, editors and others of the working press do not have to defer to anyone in quality of their patriotism, and we cannot conceive of any deliberately betraying a secret which would endanger the country. This is still the same press which so conscientiously complied with rules for voluntary press censorship—still the same press which kept the world's greatest secret—the fact that there was an atomic bomb in the making.

The only demand that the bulk of the American press will make is that there be no abuse of the recommended secret and top secret procedures.

Such abuses can and should be prevented, but even the possible danger of occasional abuse does not provide valid reason for objecting to a punitive act applying to all persons making willful disclosure of secrets to unauthorized persons. The Nation must have that protection.

Senator JOHN STENNIS (Democrat of Mississippi), a Commission member, has said emphatically that the Commission's recommendation as to document classification was aimed at reducing the number of papers classified and thus kept from the press and public.

"It was the Commission's feeling that classified items should be limited only to those of the utmost importance," he declares.

The Commercial Appeal does not take kindly to news restrictions, but at the same time recognizes the soundness of the Commission's reasoning and the need for the procedures recommended. It does not believe that freedom of the press carries with it any right or privilege of endangering the Nation's safety.

Dr. Lyman V. Ginger, President of NEA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, on Friday last the National Education Association installed as its president, Dr. Lyman V. Ginger, dean of the College of Education at the University of Kentucky. The association is fortunate in prevailing upon Dean Ginger to accept the presidency. We in Kentucky are proud of the honor that has been bestowed upon him.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial on this subject published in the Lexington Leader may appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEA PRESIDENCY DESERVED HONOR FOR UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY'S DEAN OF EDUCATION

Our heartiest congratulations go to Dr. Lyman V. Ginger, dean of the College of Education at the University of Kentucky, upon his election to the presidency of the National Education Association.

Dr. Ginger has been active in education-association work throughout his career as teacher and administrator, and was one of the leaders in the campaign in Kentucky for adoption of the minimum foundation for education program and passage of the constitutional amendment to implement it.

A native of Ballard County and a graduate of Henderson High School, Dr. Ginger obtained his bachelor of arts degree at Kentucky Wesleyan College and his master of arts and doctor of philosophy degrees at the University of Kentucky. Prior to becoming director of the University School here in 1943, he was teacher at Winchester High and principal of Owingsville High for several years.

In 1954 Dr. Ginger was promoted to the deanship of the newly created College of Adult and Extension Education and last September became dean of the College of Education, succeeding Dr. Frank Dickey, who was elected president of the university.

Interested throughout his administrative career in the elevation of teaching standards, Dr. Ginger took a keen interest in the affairs of the Kentucky Education Association and was its president in 1953–54. Last year he was unanimously chosen first vice president of the national association, and on Friday night was installed as president.

Kentuckians, and especially Lexingtonians, should be proud that such high recognition has come to one of their own educators.

The Plight of Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, few newspaper editorials express so tersely and effectively the outrage of abandoning North America's finest waterpower site to piecemeal and partial development as that which appeared in the July 5, 1957, issue of the Northern Virginia Sun. The Sun is published at Arlington, Va.

I ask unanimous consent that this fine editorial, entitled "The Plight of Hells Canyon," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PLIGHT OF HELLS CANYON

Chances are the bill providing for a Federal high dam at Hells Canyon in the Pacific Northwest is dead for this Congress, unless there is some fast maneuvering. In a surprise move last week, a House Interior Subcommittee in effect killed the bill by a three-vote margin.

This seems to us a pity, because it means incomplete development of the resources of the great Snake River. The Federal Power Commission, which granted a license to the Idaho Power Co. to develop the Snake, has said that company's dams will only produce about half as much power as would a Federal high dam. Incomplete development of this last great natural dam site means a wasting of a resource—the energy of falling water—that belongs to everyone in northern Virginia, as it does to everyone in the United States.

The entire Hells Canyon controversy has taken on an unpleasant flavor in recent months, with the Government's granting of special tax privileges to the Idaho Power Co. despite a Federal Power Commission assumption that there would be no cost to the taxpayers in the private company plan.

That plan has not been made any more palatable by the conduct either of the administration or of the Idaho Power Co. The administration has withheld vital information about the case from Senate investigators. In the last few days it was revealed that the Idaho Power Co. was privy to information about its tax benefits that the Senators could not get out of the administration. This is strange procedure indeed.

And last week, the Idaho Power Co. called the Senate inquiry "an outrageous smear campaign." In our opinion, the use of the epithet "smear" helps no one, including the user. It does not answer the merits of the charges made; it doesn't even address itself to the merits.

There are those who still cling to a hope that the Hells Canyon bill can be revived, among them the sponsor of the Hells Canyon measure, Representative GRACIE PFOST of Idaho (who is known in her State as "Hells Belle"). There were a couple of absentees when the House committee voted, and perhaps 1 or 2 on the committee can be persuaded to change their minds. We hope so, and we wish more power to those who are fighting the public's cause in this matter.

Foreign Aid Is Good Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the July 23, 1957, issue of Look magazine, entitled "Foreign Aid Is Good Business," written by Benjamin F. Fairless.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID IS GOOD BUSINESS—THE FORMER CHAIRMAN OF UNITED STATES STEEL PRESENTS A BUSINESSMAN'S CASE FOR CONTINUED AID TO OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES ABROAD

(By Benjamin F. Fairless)

Recently, at President Eisenhower's behest, I spent 6 months as the coordinator of a Committee of Citizen Advisers which took a hard look at what is called—in somewhat oversimplified terminology—our foreign-aid program. Our job was to measure the effectiveness of contributions to collective security through the flow of American dollars, know-how, and moral encouragement to the free, non-Communist world.

In addition to taking exhaustive testimony in Washington, part of the Committee went around the world in 50 days, flying 25,000 miles to visit 18 countries. On our journey, we received special reports from our representatives in eight additional nations and also sent a separate task force traveling 10,500 miles to gather further facts on 4 representative countries in the vital Latin American area. Our seven-man Committee was unanimous in its various conclusions and recommendations to President Eisenhower. Among them, there are two points which, to me, are of overwhelming importance:

First was the heartening fact that there is a partial way out of the necessary but tortuous labyrinth of foreign-assistance spending. To me, as a businessman, it is an exciting, commonsense, profitable, and effective possibility. It is simply this: Private enterprise, given the proper opportunity, can move in and do a great part of the job.

In so doing, the helping hand-up system will replace what foreign-aid critics refer to, often unjustly, as the handout system. That way, the load on United States taxpayers will be lightened; private capital will earn a fair profit; the goal of strengthening underdeveloped but freedom-loving countries against communism will be accomplished, and the countries themselves will have something solid on which to build.

The second important conclusion was the distasteful but inescapable fact that the United States is going to have to keep on spending billions abroad for a long time to come.

We should not increase our expenditures over the 1956 fiscal year level (estimated at $7.9 billion). With a combination of luck, local improvements, and careful administration—particularly if we encourage private enterprise to do more of the job—we will be able over a period of years to reduce spending considerably. But the United States still is the source of strength and determination in the deadly struggle for the free world.

Four members of our committee, including myself, took off from Washington last December 27, with Madrid our first official stop. On our journey, we talked with our own ambassadors, with military, economic, and business leaders and with statesmen. We also talked on every possible occasion with men and women in various walks of life—on streets and in fields and factories—from Ankara to Saigon.

We returned with two firm and encouraging convictions:

In general, our vast outlays to strengthen the military-defense programs of our allies abroad have been justified and American taxpayers are getting their money's worth.

In regard to the overall foreign-assistance program, we have not been "Uncle Sap." The world is at peace; economic progress is being made, and people abroad generally both respect and like us for what we have done. I can heartily second what the President said at a recent news conference—that assistance to our friends abroad should be called mutual rather than foreign aid because "we are working also for ourselves."

I realize there are some critics who will not admit there is any good in any form of foreign assistance. To such critics, anything spent for military or economic assistance to our potential allies is written off as just another dose of "Operation Rathole."

No one ever has accused me of being a hot-eyed advocate of lavish Government spending, and the same is true of my colleagues on the President's committee. Speaking for myself, I found that the evidence which we saw and heard corrected some of the erroneous impressions which I had held about the foreign-assistance program. I was convinced, as we unanimously reported to the President, that "the program is one of collective security, and not just a program of aid," and that its administration is more good than bad. Yet some of our stay-at-home critics have pilloried the committee for delivering a "superficial" report and for being off-base in finding anything good about the foreign-assistance program.

MONEY GETS RESULTS

I wish some of these critics could have accompanied us as we traveled around the world, seeing and hearing evidence that not all United States expenditures are wasted or mismanaged.

In Iran, they would have heard of a tribesman who lived in a squalid village, almost as primitive as it had been in the time of Cyrus the Great. Animals were stabled in the living quarters of the villagers' houses. What few latrines there were drained into the central water ditch, and the people and livestock alike drank from this same polluted ditch.

Some years ago, the tribesman had reported to visiting Americans that he had had nine sons. "All," he added, "die from sickness." Then came the point 4 technical-assistance program to teach the ways of sanitation. Another son was born, and this one lived. When the infant was several months old and strong and healthy, the father made a journey of several days to tell the nearest American health-mission director: "You be godfather this boy." The name of the child—Point Four Mohammedi.

In Greece, in the village square at Anthele, which was a barren salt waste even when the invading Xerxes camped there in 480 B. C., the critics of the United States aid program would have seen a marble bust of an American soil expert named Walter Eugene Packard. Working in friendly, persuasive fashion, Packard showed the Greek peasants, suspicious and resistant to new methods, how to wash and irrigate the blighted plains. He followed that up by initiating flood-control and irrigation projects that set additional hundreds of thousands of acres producing food for a hungry land. Before leaving Greece, the mild-mannered "Papou" (Grandfather) Packard, as the Greeks called him, was a public hero who, wherever he appeared throughout the area, evoked wild cheers for the name of America.

In Vietnam, where agriculture was a backward art a few years ago, foreign aid critics could have seen the thriving new National Agricultural College at Blao, established largely with funds from the United States.

In the Philippines, they could have seen the magnificent progress Filipinos themselves have made under our initial guidance, but with a minimum expenditure of our taxpayers' dollars, in community development; places that once were clusters of wretched huts set in quagmires now are tidy, paved, sanitary villages where humans can live in self respect.

INDIA IS ON THE MARCH

In India, a land of dramatic, dynamic struggle to push industrialization and development faster than the ever-climbing birthrate, doubters could have inspected a certain 8-mile stretch of new road. Ten thousand Indians had turned out and done the job, virtually by hand, in 3 days.

Prime Minister Nehru has expressed his pride over progress in community and rural improvements as "the most significant development in India." We may share this sense of satisfaction, for, while the Indian people themselves did the work and deserve great credit, the program was stimulated and materially aided by United States Government technicians and by assistance given by such private organizations as the Ford Foundation.

In India, incidentally, I remember how the difference between East and West was pointed up by the story of a fierce tribesman who had been invited to attend a point 4 movie on child care. He consented to go, but refused to allow his wife to attend because she was a lowly female. When he returned home, he thrashed his wife soundly because she did not raise their children in accordance with the methods taught in the film that he hadn't let her see.

We also saw evidence of the effectiveness of American funds used to build up our allies' military strength. In Korea, for example, inspection of Republic of Korea troops at the armistice line impressed us that our money for military aid is being well spent. In Paris, briefings from top NATO officials again reassured us that our military-aid expenditures abroad are sound investments.

As a businessman and advocate of private-enterprise methods, I would be the last man in the world to argue that everything about the administration of our collective-security foreign-assistance program is perfect, or that the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), our governmental agency primarily responsible for handling the multi-billion-dollar expenditures, has never made any mistakes.

But after seeing for myself what American financial and technical assistance had done around the world, I acquired a sharper appreciation of the viewpoint of our top officials in this field. The viewpoint is this:

You cannot weigh foreign-aid expenditures in the same manner that I, for instance, might consider an investment by United States Steel. Uncle Sam is not out simply to turn a profit. He is trying to preserve the peace, strengthen our allies, hold the line against communism, and help maintain conditions in which other nations of the free world can remain independent. To accomplish these objectives, we must consider political and military, as well as economic and enginering, factors.

Incidentally, one of the myths about our collective-security and foreign-assistance program is that Uncle Sam is footing the whole bill. The ICA refutes this by pointing out that, while we spent approximately $12 billion under the Marshall plan in 3 years, western European nations now are contributing more than $12 billion each year for defense, including NATO support.

The cornerstone of our report to the President is contained in one short sentence: "The United States—with only 6 percent of the world's population—needs the aid of other countries just as they need ours."

Our seven members also unanimously agreed that "* * * the best security for Americans is collective security, and the best hope for diminishing the burden is economic development."

PRIVATE INVESTMENTS CAN BE VITAL

As I see it, private-capital investment abroad can be the key to strengthening the economic position of the free world. It may be the solution to the cost of collective security.

This is not theory but fact. American private investment abroad already is doing a great part of the collective-security job. In the fiscal year of 1956, United States expenditures (nongovernmental) for foreign goods and services, exclusive of new investments, amounted to $15.5 billion. These expenditures gave the foreign countries dollars to pay an adequate return on private investments; enabled them to buy materials which the countries themselves did not produce, and, at the same time, created markets abroad for American producers. As we reported to the President, "This was good business—not aid."

There ought to be a lot more of it. Both the United States and the foreign governments with which we do trade should be working to knock down the artificial barriers to international commerce. That can be done by a number of measures, including a gradual series of reciprocal tariff reductions, liberalization of customs procedures, and reduction of restrictions placed on our trade by some governments.

You don't have to beat United States industry on the head to make it move into a foreign country—if the conditions are inviting. Already, the cash contributions of American business in the economic field through overseas investments are greater than Government grants. Our committee economists concluded that approximately $5 billion of new, private American capital—including investments from income earned abroad—was invested in other countries in 1956. This increased the total of private long-term American foreign investments to nearly $33 billion.

I am not contending that every foreign investment automatically is bound to be a source from which all blessings flow. Certainly, there are black marks—instances of expropriation of American and other foreign

assets in countries which were going through the growing pains of nationalistic aspirations.

There are hundreds of examples, however, of how dollars spent abroad are multiplied many times into many more dollars for both United States investors and the foreign countries.

THERE IS OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Yet, with all the spread of United States trade, there is much more that private enterprise can do. And, incidentally, I'm not talking only about American private capital undertaking investments and developments abroad. It should be done by other nations as well. In this connection, we should remember that the young United States invited foreign capital to invest in its industry and agriculture and that our laws set up no barriers to such investments. The British, Germans, French, Swiss, and others invested not only their money but their talents in America, and they made a profit—but our country also profited.

It is a long, hard, often risky venture for private industry to put large amounts of capital into an underdeveloped country. Sometimes these risks, political and otherwise, are so great that private investors cannot go in. Yet, in such cases, where our Government feels it is in the interest of the United States and of the country involved, industry can serve as an effective instrument of United States foreign policy. It also can ease the burden of government spending While I prefer to see government stay out of private business operations, I think that in some circumstances an ideal opportunity exists for appropriate joint action, a working partnership, by business and government.

I also favor Government cooperation, not only with American concerns, but also with sound foreign companies capable of undertaking developments in their own countries. Some foreign governments might argue that our assistance should be given on a direct government-to-government basis. Our report suggested an effective reply: "Foreign areas can get the most from economic cooperation with us if they accept us for what we are * * * a nation in which the reservoir of industrial ability, skills, and capital resides, not in Government, but in private hands."

At the same time, countries desiring United States capital should create an atmosphere that will encourage private investment. The countries involved should ease legal restrictions that frighten away private capital. And the whole field of taxes, both United States and foreign, on overseas investments needs a good shaking up, if business is to be allowed to do the job of helping American foreign policy by helping developments abroad.

To sum up, our committee unanimously agreed that the foreign-assistance program must be continued, but that it need not exceed the 1956 level. We urged increasing emphasis on long-range economic development abroad that will make our allies more self-sufficient and thus gradually reduce the need for American aid. Our report noted that the struggle against the worldwide and long-range machinations of the Soviet bloc will continue for a long time.

"The United States * * * must abandon the false hope that collective-security costs are temporary," we said. I feel that even to act as if we thought otherwise would undermine our allies' determination to stay in the fight against the forces of communism.

Since returning from my inspection trip, I have been specifically questioned many times on the value of United States assistance to the forces of our European and Asiatic allies. American taxpayers rightly want to know if the aid will do any good in the event of a showdown with Russia. I hope the point never will be put to a test. But from what our military leaders abroad told us, I think that our allies, if they have to, can—and will—fight.

New Vessel Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the most critical problem facing the American Merchant Marine today is the replacement of the war-built vessels that constitute the great bulk of our foreign tonnage. Constructed during World War II, these vessels are all approaching the end of their normal useful life. Their age and lack of speed and of modern cargo handling equipment place them at a marked disadvantage, competitively, with the many more recently built vessels of foreign registry.

While these war-built vessels will all become obsolescent within a 4-year period, they cannot all be replaced within such a short period. Nor should they be, even if our shipyards could accomplish such a herculean task. To do so would only assure another mass obsolescence problem in the future, such as we faced after World War I, and are facing now.

The Maritime Administration has developed a program of orderly vessel replacement, which would be initiated before the age problem becomes acute, and would extend over a period that would not overtax available shipyard capacities. Funds had been programed in the fiscal 1958 budget for Government's part in this replacement program.

However, Congress saw fit to cut these funds from the budget, and thus threw a monkey wrench into the first phase of the replacement program. How serious this is, an article in the June 25 issue of the Journal of Commerce points out clearly. I ask unanimous consent that the article in question be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUDGET CUT'S TOLL—MA FUNDS FOR NEW VESSEL CONSTRUCTION DWINDLING

(By Jacques Ozanne)

WASHINGTON.—Failure of Congress to vote more than $3 million for new merchant ship construction is already threatening to cause delays in the plans of some companies to build new vessels.

In refusing to appropriate more than a token amount for new ship construction, Congress pointed to some $92 million of unexpended balances left over from previous years' appropriations.

MOST FUNDS EARMARKED

With the new fiscal year still a week away, it now appears that the Maritime Administration's available shipbuilding funds have already been pretty well earmarked and that there will not be enough money to go around unless a supplemental appropriations bill is sent to Congress before the close of the session.

This is particularly true so far as funds needed for the Government to buy old tonnage from companies planning to build new vessels.

A Maritime Administration spokesman said that $20 million of available ship construction funds has been earmarked to buy ships from lines whose new construction plans involved trading in old vessels. This fund has been completely earmarked with the indication that three prospective builders cannot be accommodated.

At present, the Maritime Administration is counting on using the $20 million to buy 5 ships from Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., 4 from the American Export Lines, 5 from the Moore-McCormack Lines, and from 1 to 3 from Ore Transport Lines.

SUBSTITUTIONS POSSIBLE

There may be substitutions but if present plans hold firm it would appear that there will be no funds to accommodate three other companies with ship construction plans who had been counting on trading in some of their old tonnage. These would be Grace Line, American Mail Line, and the Isbrandtsen Co.

Maritime Administrator Clarence G. Morse is understood to have discussed with these companies the possibility of their transferring some of their old tonnage to foreign registry instead of trading them into the Government, but this would still leave the problem of funds to finance the Government's share of their new vessels, including both construction subsidies and national-defense features.

Furthermore, it is pointed out that in the case of subsidized lines the old vessels would have to be sold outright to a foreign purchaser and the American company would be short of tonnage until the new vessel has been delivered by the builder.

ONE BIG DIFFERENCE

One big difference between trade-in and trade-out, it has been noted, is that when an old vessel is sold to the Government, the owner can continue to enjoy the use of it until such time as the replacement is ready.

On the other hand, if the vessel is sold to a foreign buyer it is delivered to the new owner as soon as the new vessel is contracted for and is no longer available for operation under the American flag.

The earmarking of the $20 million in trade-in funds was done on the basis of the restricted world-market value of the vessels. This is the same amount that could be realized by the companies if they sold them to foreign owners.

Report of Congressman John E. Fogarty, a Congressional Adviser of the United States Delegation, at the 10th World Health Assembly, Held May 7 to May 24, 1957, at Geneva, Switzerland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, the 10th World Health Assembly met at the headquarters of the World Health Organization in Geneva last May, and I

had the privilege of attending part of the sessions as a member of the United States delegation. What I saw at the assembly confirms my belief that WHO is an important international agency, and that we have a real stake in it. It is fitting that Congress has authorized the appropriation of funds to hold the 11th World Health Assembly next year in the United States. In 1958 the World Health Organization will have been in existence for 10 years. The constitution of WHO was drawn up and signed in New York City. These considerations led to the action of Congress which made it possible for the United States to invite WHO to hold its next annual meeting in our country.

I was happy to have the opportunity to extend to WHO the invitation on behalf of the United States delegation, and to tell the Assembly that the United States Congress has shown by its actions its realization that improving world health conditions is a basic part of building a more peaceful and stable world. The World Health Assembly accepted the United States invitation. The 11th World Health Assembly will therefore be held in the United States next May, along with a 2-day 10th anniversary commemorative session to mark the special occasion.

The overwhelming vote—71 out of 75—by which the Assembly elected the United States to appoint a member of the WHO Executive Board dramatically indicates the general recognition of the contributions which the United States has made to WHO. These are contributions not only in financial terms, but also in leadership and technical knowledge. These contributions have repaid us several times over in good will and in better health for hundreds of millions of people.

There was considerable recognition at the Assembly also of the assistance which the International Cooperation Administration gives to health programs in many countries. Several delegations acknowledged in their Assembly speeches the great value of United States assistance. There was no feeling that ICA and WHO are in competition, but rather that they are working side by side constructively to help countries raise health levels.

This common objective of WHO and ICA was made even more clear by the United States delegation statements during the Assembly consideration of malaria eradication. These statements reviewed the contributions of ICA to malaria eradication and affirmed our confidence that with the leadership demonstrated by WHO a coordinated worldwide campaign against malaria will be successful. They referred also to the possibility of increased United States aid to eradicate malaria as proposed by the President. Malaria indirectly costs the American people hundreds of millions of dollars each year, and this campaign, therefore, has great significance for us in economic as well as other terms.

The United States delegation, in conversations with other delegations to the Assembly, found considerable mention of the value of medical research, especially in the United States. There is appreciation of the research work being done at the National Institutes of Health of the Public Health Service and at other centers. This applies both to research in tropical diseases, which still ravage many countries as well as indirectly burden the United States, and to research in chronic diseases, like heart diseases, poliomyelitis, and cancer.

The kind of massive scientific attack on disease which our NIH research represents is basic to our efforts in our own country, and abroad through WHO and ICA, to help free man from disease.

The World Health Organization as an international agency with limited resources does not attempt large-scale research itself, but rightly limits its part to stimulating and promoting research, and correlating work and exchanging information between laboratories in various countries. The Director General of WHO reported to the Assembly that during 1956 the Organization maintained close collaboration with nearly 1,800 scientific institutions, particularly medical research laboratories all over the world. In line with this function of stimulating worldwide research attacks on major diseases, the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution authorizing WHO and member countries to cooperate in a comparative study of the variations between cancer types in different countries and environments. This is expected to yield valuable clues to the origins of the disease.

In addition to reviewing and adopting a program and budget for WHO for the next year, the delegates to the World Health Assembly take the opportunity to engage in a specialized discussion of some important public health topic. This year the theme was The Role of the Hospital in the Public Health Program. The United States delegation was fortunate in having as a member the director of the American Hospital Association, who made a major contribution to the technical discussions and was one of the rapporteurs.

The delegation, in fact, was constituted so that it could capably represent American concepts of public health and medicine. In addition to a very able chairman, Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, and officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Public Health Service, and the Department of State, some of whom have been closely associated with WHO matters for many years, the delegation included a trustee of the AMA, deans of schools of public health and of dentistry, a member from the Department of Defense, a public member who has distinguished herself in work in voluntary health agencies, and public health workers from State and Territorial health departments. From the Congress, Mr. Wolverton and I served as advisers to the delegation. It was a pleasure to be associated with this delegation which represented the United States in a businesslike and effective way.

Attendance at the 10th World Health Assembly confirmed my belief, which I find that Mr. Wolverton shares, about the importance of the work of the World Health Organization. Its budget is small in comparison to the massive disease problems still facing the world, and the United States, yet who is spearheading strong international attacks on such problems. It has already helped to push back the ravages of diseases like malaria, yaws, and tuberculosis, and to lessen the appallingly high number of deaths among children in many areas, through whom, we and other nations are pooling resources so that they can be used most effectively to protect all of us against disease. I am proud of the part which the United States plays in the work of the World Health Organization, and of the support which we give to this agency for health.

Report of Congressman Charles A. Wolverton, a Congressional Adviser of the United States Delegation, at the 10th World Health Assembly, Held May 7 to May 24, 1957, at Geneva, Switzerland

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, recently I had a most rewarding and revealing experience—that of serving as a member of the United States delegation to the 10th World Health Assembly, which met in Geneva May 7 to 24, 1957. Attending the Assembly gave me an unparalleled opportunity to appraise the character and work of the World Health Organization.

I wish that every Member of Congress—indeed every citizen of the United States—could have the close view of this great organization that I have had. No one could come away from such an experience without a sense of deep satisfaction in what we Americans are doing through this organization to relieve misery and suffering among hundreds of millions of our fellow men. And one could not help being astounded at how much is being accomplished with so little money. Hundreds and hundreds of important health projects are being carried out even in the remotest corners of the world under the stimulus and technical guidance of this organization. I know of no money that is being spent with greater effect than the small resources of the WHO. Truly, it is changing the world for the better, building a strong and more resourceful human race.

I was delighted with the refreshing atmosphere of warm goodwill and friendship that I found among the delegates, many of whom were old and true friends of long standing. Many, indeed, are loyal alumni of our own schools of public health. Dr. Ernest Stebbins, the dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and Hygiene, who was a member of our delegation, held an impromptu Hopkins reunion that was at-

tended by a goodly number of delegates from all over the world. He was busy the whole 3 weeks talking with his former students.

It was clear at the assembly that health is a common denominator which brings all people together. Seventy-nine of the eighty-eight member countries sent delegations, consisting chiefly of physicians. Despite highly varied national and political backgrounds, these delegates spoke the same language on health matters. They all shared a determination to work through WHO to help all countries improve the health of their people, as human beings regardless of race, creed, color, or political belief.

The reason for this understanding became evident to me. Physicians and other health workers are traditionally dedicated to improving the lot of us all. They know instinctively that health is truly international, that disease knows no frontiers, and that for over half of all mankind poor health—sickness and suffering—is still the normal condition of everyday life. They know, too, that so long as major diseases exist anywhere they are a threat to people everywhere.

I am convinced after seeing the WHO at close range that it is of the greatest importance that the United States give vigorous and increasing support to WHO as it continues to grow in strength and influence. The organization provides a means through which the governments and people of nearly all countries work together on a constructive and friendly basis with the common aim of better health. The character of WHO is not nearly as well known as it should be, and in particular the fact that in this organization there is a degree of international understanding that, I believe, is unique. Over the years I am convinced that this aspect of WHO alone will make a major contribution to the building in all fields of the constructive and cooperative relations between countries which are essential for peace and even for survival.

The health programs of the World Health Organization also deserve to be much better known. They include worldwide services, such as rapid international reporting of disease outbreaks, promotion of uniform quarantine measures and of standards for drugs. Newsworthy of late has been the work of WHO in encouraging and coordinating international reporting and research into influenza epidemics, the viruses which cause them, and vaccines which may be effective against them. Its worldwide network of cooperating laboratories has been the world's watchdog as influenza has broken out in Asia and threatens to spread over the world.

WHO also provides a wide range of expert assistance and training to help countries build strong health programs of their own. It was brought out at the Assembly that in 1956 WHO assisted 700 projects in 120 countries and territories, and granted fellowships to 900 health workers for advanced training in the United States and other countries.

The Tenth World Health Assembly looked into and discussed every aspect of the WHO programs, as carried out in 1956 and as projected for 1958. The examination of the work of WHO was not merely a formality, but gave real insight into the programs. This was due to the able reporting on the programs by the WHO Secretariat, and to the high caliber of the delegations from many of the countries.

The United States can be proud of the character and performance of our delegation at the World Health Assembly. The delegation was headed by Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, and was broadly representative of public health and medicine in the United States, including such leaders as Dr. James Reuling, one of the trustees of the American Medical Association, Mr. Edward Crosby, director of the American Hospital Association, Dr. Lester Burket, dean of the Dental School of the University of Pennsylvania, and, representing the public, a charming lady from Brookline, Mass., Mrs. Viola Pinanski, who has played a prominent part in many voluntary health activities in her own community and across the Nation. The States and Territories were represented by Dr. Franklin Yoder, the health officer of Wyoming who is the president of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, Dr. Richard K. C. Lee, the president of the Board of Health of Hawaii, and by Mr. Blucher Poole, chief sanitary engineer of Indiana. The delegation included as well, experienced health officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Public Health Service, the Department of State, the International Cooperation Administration, and the Department of Defense. Mr. FOGARTY and I had the honor to serve on the delegation as congressional advisors, and I felt proud, as I am sure Mr. FOGARTY did too, to be associated with such a group.

This delegation worked. It worked hard and effectively and was a credit to the United States in every way. Following a delegation meeting at 8:15 each morning, the delegation members participated actively not only in the formal sessions, but even more important, informally in establishing warm and friendly relationships with other delegates, and acquainting them with the United States positions on the various matters before the Assembly.

The esteem in which the United States is held in the World Health Assembly was shown when the 10th Assembly elected 6 States, each of which is entitled to designate 1 expert to fill a vacancy on the 18-man WHO Executive Board. The United States headed the list, with 71 votes out of 75 voting. I believe this vote of confidence in the United States is a tribute to the able farsighted men which the United States has placed on the annual Assembly delegations and on the Executive Board. As a result the United States has had a leading role in the sessions of the Assembly and Board.

Next year, 1958, marks the 10th anniversary of the coming into force of the constitution of the World Health Organization, which was originally drawn up and signed in New York City. The 10th World Health Assembly considered plans for the 10th anniversary, and approved the holding of a special commemorative session in conjunction with the 11th World Health Assembly, 1958. Last July the Congress declared by joint resolution—Senate Joint Resolution 183—that 1958 would be particularly appropriate for holding the World Health Assembly in the United States, and authorized an appropriation to pay the additional expenses of holding the 11th Assembly in our country. Speaking for the United States delegation, our colleague Representative FOGARTY informed the Assembly of the action of Congress and the invitation that had been sent to the Director General to hold the 1958 assembly in the United States. He affirmed the wish of our country to make the occasion an auspicious and successful one. The Assembly decided, without dissent, to accept the United States invitation. We have therefore secured a unique opportunity to demonstrate the continuing support of the United States for WHO and international cooperation in health. This will also provide the people of the United States a splendid opportunity to see the World Health Organization at close range.

At the recent Assembly the U. S. S. R. and three other Soviet States—Albania, Bulgaria, and Poland—sent delegations for the first time in 8 years, during which period they declined to support or share in the work of WHO. While delegates welcomed the return of these states, the Assembly did not give the U. S. S. R. sufficient votes to enable that country to designate a member of the executive board at this time. The statements of these states in the Assembly were in general moderate and unexceptional. Eight countries, including the United States and the U. S. S. R., joined in cosponsoring a resolution to promote worldwide cooperation through WHO in investigating the causes of cancer—an illustration of how common health interests may cut across ideological differences.

The World Health Assembly discussions made clear that malaria is still a major world problem. Each year malaria attacks over 200 million people—more than the population of the United States—and kills 2 million. Characteristic of the farsighted leadership which WHO exercises on health programs is its present drive to eradicate malaria from the world. Since mosquitoes and airplanes cross frontiers, malaria must be attacked on an international scale. WHO is able to provide technical guidance and the needed coordination of plans. In 2 years the voluntary special malaria eradication fund established in 1955 has received only $70,000, and the Assembly therefore urged countries to make voluntary contributions to this fund. The discussion on malaria came on the day following President Eisenhower's message to Congress on foreign aid, and the delegation was able to read to the Assembly the passage in the President's message in which he proposed that the United States increase our contributions to the attack against the world's No. 1 health problem. I hope that this program will receive the support it deserves. Malaria eradication

will redound to the benefit of the United States through the improvement it will bring about in the economy of the underdeveloped countries. And further, there is no better way for us to show our friendship for that huge segment of the world's population that is heavily burdened by preventable disease.

The contributions which American scientists have made over the years in advancing the fight against malaria were signalized in the Assembly by the award to Dr. Paul F. Russell, the distinguished malariologist of the Rockefeller Foundation, of the Darling prize for outstanding achievements in malaria control. In accepting the prize, Dr. Russell described WHO as the "motivating mainspring in the global assault on malaria." Dr. Russell has been one of the architects of the President's malaria eradication proposals.

Of direct interest for all of us is the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. WHO has embarked on a constructive program to help countries develop the health and medical uses of radioisotopes and to promote protection against radiation hazards connected with the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The program includes exchange of information, training and seminars, and technical assistance. The Assembly with the strong support of the United States delegation endorsed the continuation and expansion of this program, in cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency when established. The United States delegation expressed gratification that WHO is recognizing its responsibilities in this field. A proposal by the delegation of India that the Assembly appeal for a ban on nuclear bomb tests was ruled out of order in committee, and the ruling upheld by committee vote. This was evidence of the determination of the WHO to proceed with its work without becoming involved in international political problems.

After considerable discussion, the Assembly adopted by vote of 50 to 10 a budget for 1958 of $13,500,000. This is a very small amount in relation to the job to be done. In my judgment, no international organization is accomplishing more for the welfare of mankind in relation to the funds which it expends. Every dollar we contribute to WHO, whether to the regular budget or to the Special Malaria Fund, is a gilt-edged investment.

The activities of the World Health Organization are almost universal in scope and respond to a universal human need. In the constitution of WHO, we have joined with other nations to declare that all peoples have the right to the highest possible level of health. WHO is helping them to achieve this rightful condition, and in so doing is bringing mankind closer together. Thus, it is directly serving the interests of the United States and of peace. It was a great personal pleasure for me to find, at first hand, what a great contribution we as Americans are making to build a better world through our participation in this splendid organization.

The United States of America was fortunate in having as delegates a very representative group of individuals, each of whom are actively engaged in promoting health, both in the United States and throughout the world.

The following is a list of members of the United States delegation who attended and actively participated in the proceedings of the 10th World Health Assembly:

Chief delegate: Dr. L. E. Burney, Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Delegates: Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, chief, Division of International Health, Bureau of State Services, United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Dr. J. R. Reuling, American Medical Association.

Alternates: Mr. H. B. Calderwood, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State; Dr. A. C. McGuinness, Special Assistant for Health and Medical Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Congressional advisers: Mr. J. E. FOGARTY, House of Representatives, United States Congress; Mr. C. A. WOLVERTON, House of Representatives, United States Congress.

Advisers: Dr. L. W. Burket, dean, Dental School, University of Pennsylvania; Col. R. L. Callison, Office of Surgeon General, Department of the Army; Dr. E. P. Campbell, Deputy Chief, Public Health Division, International Cooperation Administration; Dr. E. L. Crosby, director, American Hospital Association; Dr. R. K. C. Lee, President, Board of Health, Honolulu, T. H.; Mrs. V. R. Pinanski, consultant to the National Advisory Neurological Diseases and Blindness Council, National Institutes of Health, United States Public Health Service; Mr. B. A. Poole, chief, Bureau of Environmental Sanitation, State Board of Health, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mr. D. H. Popper, Acting United States Representative to International Organizations, United States Resident Delegation and Consulate General, Geneva; Dr. E. L. Stebbins, director, School of Hygiene and Public Health, the Johns Hopkins University; Mr. R. Olaf Waring, Office of International Administration, Department of State; Mr. L. Wyatt, Division of International Health, Bureau of State Services, United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Dr. F. D. Yoder, president, Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Address of Hon. William E. Borah, of Idaho, on January 7, 1938

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the late Senator William E. Borah, a great Republican from Idaho, made one of the greatest speeches ever delivered against the antilynching and related civil-rights bills on the floor of the Senate January 7, 1938. Senator Borah pleaded with the Senate not to pass the antilynching bill but to leave the solution of that problem to the States and the local communities. Senator Borah said that the people best acquainted with the problem, if left alone, would solve it. The bill, the so-called Federal antilynching bill, was defeated and in less than 20 years, as Borah predicted, the States and local communities solved the problem of lynching. Lynching today is unknown in the South and we never hear the subject mentioned, a tribute to the Southern States and local agencies of government.

The same argument advanced by Senator Borah in 1938 is the solution to the civil-rights problem of today. It cannot and will not be solved by Federal legislation. This would only agitate and aggravate local conditions and place it beyond solution. I hope the other body will heed Senator Borah's advice today and let the States and local communities quietly handle the problem of civil rights. These States in a few years will find a solution to this problem just as they did to the lynching problem and the poll tax.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no more appropriate time to insert in the RECORD the following speech of the late William E. Borah:

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH, OF IDAHO, ON JANUARY 7, 1938

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, this measure, in a slightly different form but embodying the same principles, came to this body about 25 years ago. At that time I was a member of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and was appointed by the late Senator Nelson, chairman of a subcommittee to pass upon the measure, particularly its constitutional features. I shall not at this time go into the history of the action of the committee at that time. It may be necessary to do so later in order to throw light upon some features of this matter. It is sufficient now to say that I reached a conclusion as to the merits of the bill, which conclusion I still entertain.

Heretofore I have confined my remarks upon this bill largely to the question of its constitutionality. Those questions still interest me, and probably I shall discuss them later. Today, however, I desire to address my attention for a time to the policy involved in this measure. Assuming for the purpose of the argument that we have the constitutional power to pass such a measure as this, I desire to invite the attention of the Senate to the wisdom of doing so. I think it only a little less important, perhaps no less important, than the constitutional question itself.

Notwithstanding anything that has been said or that may be said to the contrary, this is a sectional measure. It is an attempt upon the part of States practically free from the race problem to sit in harsh judgment upon their sister States where the problem is always heavy and sometimes acute. It is proposed to condemn these States and the people in them because it is claimed that they have failed properly to meet and adjust the most difficult of all problems. No more drastic condemnation could be offered by a measure than that which is offered by the measure now before the Senate.

It proposes to authorize the National Government to enter into the States, and to take charge of and prosecute as criminals the duly elected officials of the States, from the governor down. It proposes that the Federal

Government shall be the sole judge of the guilt or innocence of State officials.

In my opinion that requires a review of some unfortunate history, and the recalling of some unpleasant facts. These States are not to be pilloried and condemned without a full presentation of the nature of the task which fate and circumstances imposed upon them, and not without a complete record as to the weight and difficulty of the task, what has been done, and with what good faith it has been met. I shall contend that the southern people have met the race problem and dealt with it with greater patience, greater tolerance, greater intelligence, and greater success than any people in recorded history, dealing with a problem of similar nature. Let us inquire what it is that the South has had to do, how it has done it, and what reason there is now, after 70 years of great effort, to pass censure or condemnation of those great States and that great people.

Paraphrasing the language of one of the most eloquent of men, when the Confederate soldier pulled his gray cap over his brow, and lifted his pallid and tear-stained face for the last time to the graves which dotted the hills of old Virginia, and started on his slow and painful journey home, what was he to find? What were the problems, what was the task, what were the conditions which confronted him? His home was destroyed, his plantation devastated, his help gone, his money worthless, his civilization imperiled. This was the condition in addition to the other problem with which we are more particularly concerned today, and which confronted the South as it entered upon its great task of rebuilding.

I shall not go into details as to the reconstruction period. I recall it sufficiently and only that we may understand something of the antecedents of this problem and something as to the good faith and the ability with which it has been met. I recall a single instance in the way of illustration. When Congress met in December 1865, the then leader of the House—perhaps the most complete master of the House of Representatives that history records—Thaddeus Stevens, outlined the program with reference to the then pending situation. Among other things, he said:

"The future condition of the conquered power depends upon the will of the conqueror."

He said further that the conquered provinces were to be admitted as States—

"Only when the Constitution has been amended so as to secure the perpetual ascendancy of the party of the Union"—

The Republican Party—

"Every government is a despotism. * * * The Constitution has nothing to do with it [the program]. * * * I propose to deal with you [the South] entirely by the laws of war. * * * The conquered people have no right to appeal to the courts to test the constitutionality of the law. The Constitution has nothing to do with them or they with it."

Thus they were to take up the work of rebuilding and of carrying the race problem with the threat of having all constitutional guaranties withdrawn.

Mr. President, I have always felt that in many respects the reconstruction period is the most regrettable page of American history. Had Abraham Lincoln lived through his second term, it probably would have been the most readable page, one of the noblest pages in all history. It would have been characterized by wide sympathy, by breadth of understanding, and by that wisdom which flows from the heart as well as the brain, which passeth all understanding. It would have been free from that blind partisanship which disregards constitutions and constitutional limitation as well as national honor and national unity.

A short time before the Great Emancipator was removed from the scene he had outlined his views on reconstruction. What a different story would have been written had those views prevailed. What a different national life would have been lived had those views obtained. But before his body had reached Springfield the committee had met and had determined upon the complete rejection of the entire policy theretofore announced by the dead President. Ben Butler's views superseded those of Abraham Lincoln; and a more tragic thing could not happen in a crisis confronting a nation. These measures with reference to reconstruction therefore were written from the standpoint of partisanship not unmingled with a desire to punish.

The measure now before the body embodies the same principle upon which those measures were founded. The same arguments are made in support of the pending measure, to wit, that the southern people are to be distrusted and are incapable of local self-government.

We know now what those measures in those days did. They retarded and frustrated the coming together of the people of the different States. They gave us the solid South. They separated us politically, which separation continues until this day. They implanted a sense of bitterness in the minds of those people, not because of what had happened upon the field but because of what happened in Congress.

It is not in the interest of national unity to stir old embers, to arouse old fears, to lacerate old wounds, to again, after all these years, brand the southern people as incapable or unwilling to deal with the question of human life. This bill is not in the interests of that good feeling between the two races so essential to the welfare of the colored people.

Nations are not held together merely by constitutions and laws. They are held together by mutual respect, by mutual confidence, by toleration for conditions in different parts of the country, by confidence that the people of the different parts of the country will solve their problems; and that is just as essential today as it was in 1865 and 1870.

In the beginning, Mr. President, I reject the pending measure as fundamentally not in the interest of the white people of the South, not in the interest of the black people of the South, not in the interest of national unity nor of national solidarity, not in the interest of eliminating crime. History has proven that it will be a failure, and those who suffer most will be the weaker race.

Mr. President, the race problem is the most difficult of all problems, and, in addition to the conditions which I have outlined briefly, the southern people had placed upon them the race problem under circumstances and conditions never before experienced by any people, so far as I know, in recorded history. In addition to and on top of all other problems the South had to grapple with the race problem. How well has it dealt with it?

At the close of the Civil War there were a little over 5 million white people in the South; there were 3,500,000 Negroes. In Mississippi there were 100,000 more colored people than white people. In South Carolina there were something like 150,000 more colored people than white people. There were the two races, living upon the same soil, now equally free under the Constitution, one of them untrained and unschooled in the affairs of state, and untrained in citizenship. The problem had to be met. Was it easy of solution? Can one conceive of a more difficult problem placed before a people? I wish we could place ourselves in their position. It will help us to be sympathetic, sane, and just.

I call attention to some facts which lead up to the question of lynching. History shows that in the North in 1889, 1 Negro in every 185 was in jail; in the South, 1 in every 446. In the North the percentage of Negro prisoners was 6 times as great as that of the native whites, in the South 4 times as great.

Monroe S. Work, of Tuskegee College, has said:

"There is a much higher rate of crime among the Negroes in the North than in the South."

That speaks volumes for the southern Negro and no less for the whites.

Professor Johnson, of Fisk University, has said:

"The rate for Negroes is much higher in the Northern States than in the Southern States as to crime. Judging by the figures alone, for a 10,000-Negro population, the commitments were 88 in the South, 283 in the North."

In a volume entitled "Negro Housing" published in 1932, I find the following:

"The extent of property ownership by Negroes has in the past been greater in the South than in the North."

It will be disclosed that in some of the southern cities the percentage of Negro ownership of homes runs as high as 45 percent of the Negro population; in other places as high as 30 to 39 percent of the Negroes own their own homes.

In a bulletin issued by the Department of Agriculture in 1930 we find the statement that the value of land and buildings of farm property owned by Negroes increased from 1910 to 1930 as follows, giving the round figures:

	Percent
Virginia	58
North Carolina	140
Georgia	11
Florida	29
Louisiana	142
Texas	97
Mississippi	68
Alabama	41
Oklahoma	54
West Virginia	37

I mention these figures to show the progress of the Negro throughout the South in an economic way, for, after all, only in proportion as he acquires property and economic power can he hope to be secure in his political rights. That is just as true of the white man as of the colored man. And in proportion that he advances in education, in the acquisition of property, and in the acquisition of economic rights, in that proportion he will come to be regarded as an essential factor of the southern civilization, and treated as such; and to accomplish that has been the aim of the southern Negro, encouraged and assisted by the white people of the South.

I shall now read from a little volume to which I called attention a few days ago during the debate on the farm bill, a volume written by Gerald W. Johnson, who, I have been informed, is one of the editors of the Baltimore Evening Sun. He has written a remarkable volume upon the questions which pertain to the southern portion of the country. On page 8 of the volume he says, referring always to the South:

"The problem of public education, for example, has not been solved. It is further from solution in the South than in any other region. But when one considers that the South has to teach more Negro children than there are children of all kinds in New England; and when one notes that it is spending far more of its total income on schools than is spent by any other region, its effort, even though but half successful, must command respect and admiration."

They must educate more Negro children in carrying this load than all the children of

New England, and they are doing so; and by educating them they are fitting them for citizenship, schooling them against crime, and they are laying the only sure foundation there is for the extinguishment of crime among the Negroes. They are laying at tremendous cost the foundation for the good citizenship of the Negro, and while lynching can never be justified, nevertheless there is no more successful approach to the ending of lynching than through education, through bringing both races to understand their responsibility to society. I know of no finer sense of duty than that displayed by the South in the help it gives the Negro in bettering his condition as to property, as to economical strength, and as to education.

I read again from this able writer:

It has been the fashion in some quarters to assume that the Southeast has remained almost completely inert in the presence of its social problems. This is far from the truth. A mere glance at the educational statistics of the region is enough to dissipate the impression that the Southeast has been indifferent or lethargic in this respect. The State of Florida, for example, spends 5.76 percent of its total income for school purposes, and North Carolina 4.38 percent; this is the largest percentage that is spent for similar purposes by any other States save the Dakotas. * * * The Southeast spends 3 percent of its total income for higher education, the highest percentage in the Nation. It enrolled more high-school students in 1930 than the whole country did in 1900, and there are more accredited high schools in this region than there were in the United States at the end of the century. Its present army of 60,000 high-school graduates annually represents an increase of 500 percent within the last 2 decades.

I pause to say that if we knew as much about the South and what they have done and are doing as we pretend to know, we would not be so free to criticize. It is a horrible thing to see the body of a Negro burned to a crisp, swinging from the limb of a tree; it is a horrible thing to have a daughter or son, perhaps a mere child, snatched from your homes, carried into hiding, perhaps murdered. These are our problems, pressing for consideration, and they are making as determined an effort to clear the stain from the honor of the South as are we to rescue our honor in the North. "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye and considered not the beam that is in thine own eye."

During the last session of Congress we had under consideration in the Committee on Education and Labor what is known as the educational bill, and, of course, it vitally affected the Negro people of the South, and they appeared in great numbers before the committee. At that time Senator Black, now Justice Black, was chairman of the committee. The most difficult problem was to work out obsolute protection for the colored children in the enjoyment of the fund proposed to be set up. I must say that I never knew a person more meticulous, more determined, more vigilant to protect the colored students in the enjoyment of that fund than was Justice Black. I was impressed with the fact that there was a determination upon his part to reach the Negro at that point in his life where he could best serve him not only with reference to general citizenship but as to the reduction of crime. Mr. Johnson states further in this volume:

"The most conspicuous characteristic of the southern population, however, is its biracial character. A group of 8 million people of a different color from the other 17 million is a feature so startling that it may be expected to attract more attention than perhaps it deserves.

* * * * *

"The inevitable result has been enormous waste of the Negro's potential value to the social structure. Not all of this is the fault of the white South by any means. The hasty and ill-advised effort made in the sixties to project the newly emancipated slaves into a political and social position they were not prepared to occupy has made any realistic treatment of their position extremely difficult. Not only did it create appalling prejudices but it erected very substantial legal barriers against any direct and forthright approach and forced southern political and social polity into a sinuousness that has been productive of a thousand evils.

"This is, however, water over the dam. What confronts the Southeast today is the problem of making the best possible use of 8 million blacks.

* * * * *

"Only comparatively recently has any considerable effort been made to treat the disease, rather than to alleviate its symptoms—or, rather, only recently has the idea begun to spread that perhaps there isn't any organic disease, but only a series of functional disturbances. Since the turn of the century the Southeast has been making real, if not always adequate, efforts in the field of Negro education. With the rise of the Negro in the cultural and economic scale there has come also an appreciable reduction of the rigor of civil and social disabilities. And with both there is a strengthening belief that perhaps the traditional approach to this situation has been faulty."

Everywhere we find a determination to find the right way. The Negro is there. He is there to stay. The South knows that he is there to stay, that he is a part of the wealth of the South. We in the North may be interested in the Negro politically. We care little about him economically. But he is an indispensable factor in the economic development of the South. They can and will do for him far better without our interference or advice than with it.

Mr. President, the Negro has had a hard road to travel ever since he was given his freedom. A hundred-and-odd years of slavery afforded poor training for citizenship in the most advanced of nations. Almost overnight he went from slavery to take up the obligations of a freeman in a free country; but, everything considered, he has done well; his advancement has been marked. Restricted, not by the Constitution of his country or the decisions of its highest courts, but restricted, almost cabined and confined, by the iron laws of society, nevertheless he has made progress. And where has that progress been greatest? In the South. In spite of prejudice, and statements to the contrary, facts and figures show it has been greatest in the South. In the acquisition of property and economic advancement generally the Negro has fared better in the South than elsewhere.

It is true, as is contended here, that at times he has suffered from mob violence in the South, but it is equally true that he has suffered from race riots in the North. But in all things which make for the advancement of the race as a race, the North has no advantage over the South in the story of the advancement of the Negro. We have shown no greater patience, no greater tolerances, no greater ability to deal with this race than have our brothers of the South. And now, because there is the power, because there are the votes, because it is possible to do so, it is proposed to call these great States and these people before the bar of public opinion and, after 70 years of arduous effort on their part, condemn them as unfit and unwilling to deal with this great problem, condemn them for having failed in the essential principle of home government, of home rule. After these 70 years, and after 150 years, taking the Government's history as a whole, we now come to the time when we are asked to say that home rule or local government has broken down in a number of the States of the Union. We call these States and these proud people to judgment before the whole world and spread upon the records of the Congress our condemnation, our judgment that in the most vital things of free government they have failed.

Broken down. Why? Because eight Negroes were lynched last year. There were 20 kidnaping cases in the United States last year. After all the efforts of the States and all the efforts of the Federal Government, taking charge of those who crossed State lines, we still had 20 kidnaping cases as against the 8 lynching cases in the South. Is that an indication that the South is not in good faith and with honorable effort trying to protect the colored race and to give it the same protection that it gives the white race?

Lynching is the one crime, Mr. President, that is distinctly and markedly on the decrease in the United States.

I shall take time to read briefly some facts and give some figures.

Prof. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University, says:

"Taking the period of 1889 to 1893 as 100 percent, it is of interest to note that every 5-year period has shown a decrease in the total number of individuals lynched."

He then gives the figures showing that from 1924 to 1928 there was a decrease of Negro lynching amounting to 84.8 percent. He concludes by saying:

"It will be discovered from the accompanying graphs and tables that at the present rate of decrease lynching will apparently cease to be a problem in race relations due to its disappearance."

Further, he says:

"In the 30-year period from 1889 to 1918, inclusive, there were 2,522 Negroes lynched."

That is about 84 a year.

He then calls attention to the fact that in 1924 the number had dropped to 16. Last year the number was 8. In many of the Southern States lynching has practically disappeared. Virginia had only 1 case in 10 years. West Virginia had none during the past 5 years. South Carolina had none during the past 3 years. Oklahoma had 1 in 10 years. North Carolina had 2 in 7 years. Arkansas had 3 in 9 years. Maryland had 2 in 10 years, and none for the past 3 years.

I call your attention to a statement from the great Tuskegee Institute located in the State of Alabama. It reads:

"There are a number of interesting features to be noted. From 1882 to 1885 there were more whites lynched than Negroes. Concerning the decline of lynchings in the United States, I call attention to sheet No. 2, 'Lynchings, white and Negroes, by periods, 1882–1936.' You will note that there has been a steady decline in the number of lynchings for each of the 10-year periods, 1887–96 to 1927–36. Judging from the trends shown in this table, there is every reason to believe that there will be a further decline in lynchings.

"There are probably three major factors that have contributed to this decline. The first of these is the tendency for frontier characteristics in the South to disappear (lynching was a special characteristic of the frontier in America, both in the West and in the South). Second, the breaking down of isolation in the South by increased facilities: (1) Rural free delivery; (2) more telegraph offices (3) more telephones in small towns and rural areas, and (4) recently the radio and paved roads. Third, increasing agitation within the South during the past 40 years against lynchings. This has resulted in an increasing sentiment against the evil. This sentiment has expressed itself in the increasing efforts to prevent lynchings.

"From 1914 to 1919 the number of persons lynched was much greater than the number of persons prevented from being lynched. From 1920 to the present the number each year prevented being lynched has greatly exceeded the number lynched.

"These facts and trends seem to indicate unquestionably that there will continue to be a decline in lynchings in the United States. Not only in these statistics but in many other ways is there employed a growth in the humanitarian attitude of the American people. This growth, I believe, has paralleled the development of educational and social agencies, all of which bid fair to rid this Nation of the barbaric practice of lynching."

In other words, the problem is being met, the problem is being solved, and it is being solved in the way that America solves her problems when they are local and of a local nature; and that is through the activity and the cooperation and the determination of the people themselves.

Mr. President, suppose Congress passes this bill; suppose it becomes a law; where must we go for its enforcement? The bill may be passed by votes from other States, but for its enforcement we must go to the juries in those communities which we condemn. The bill may be passed in the theoretical atmosphere of Washington, but it must be enforced down among the people in the realistic atmosphere of the Southern States. There will be the southern district attorney, the southern judges, the southern juries, and they must be depended upon for the enforcement of the law. Do Senators think they will more likely enforce the law when they have been condemned in the sight of all the world, and in face of such condemnation, than when they are appealed to from the standpoint of the sense of duty of their State and their sense of duty of citizenry?

We get back, after all, to the people themselves for the enforcement of the law. We have had an experience in this country showing that we cannot enforce a law when public opinion is not behind the law. The only way in which we can hope to have the law enforced is by the method that is now pursued by the southern people—that is, to educate the people up to an understanding that it is to their interest and to their honor to maintain law and order in their communities—and that they are doing.

Some years ago a great southerner discussed this question, and I cannot refrain from calling attention to some of his language. It seems to me fair, just, and so in accordance with the sentiments of the true patriot that it is worth while for us to stop and hear the voices of those who are wrestling with the problem at home.

Mr. Henry W. Grady said:

"Nothing, sir, but this problem and the suspicions it breeds, hinders a clear understanding and a perfect union. Nothing else stands between us and such love as bound Georgia and Massachusetts at Valley Forge and Yorktown. * * *

"I thank God as heartily as you do that human slavery is gone forever from American soil. But the free man remains. With him a problem without precedent or parallel. Note its appalling conditions. Two utterly dissimilar races on the same soil—with equal political and civil rights—almost equal in numbers, but terribly unequal in intelligence and responsibility. * * * Under these, adverse at every point, we are required to carry these two races in peace and honor to the end.

"Never has such a task been given to mortal stewardship."

Is that not true? Can we find anywhere in history a task such as was assigned to the southern people at the close of the Civil War, with slaves for 100 years released, free as they should have been, but given the power to participate in politics without any training and without any experience? It was beyond their capacity, as it would have been beyond the capacity of any race immediately to assume in full, and properly discharge, the duties of citizenship. But those were the conditions which confronted the South, and with which they have been dealing.

"The resolute, clearheaded, broadminded men of the South * * * wear this problem in their hearts and brains, by day and by night. They realize, as you cannot, what this problem means—what they owe to this kindly and dependent race—the measure of their debt to the world in whose despite they defended and maintained slavery.

"If you insist that they are ruffians, blindly driving with bludgeon and shotgun to plunder and oppress a race, then I shall sacrifice my self-respect and tax your patience in vain. But admit that they are men of common sense and common honesty, wisely modifying an environment they cannot wholly disregard—guiding and controlling as best they can the vicious and irresponsible of either race * * * admit this, and we may reach an understanding without delay."

Let us admit that the South is dealing with this question as best it can, admit that the men and women of the South are just as patriotic as we are, just as devoted to the principles of the Constitution as we are, just as willing to sacrifice for the success of their communities as we are. Let us give them credit as American citizens, and cooperate with them, sympathize with them, and help them in the solution of their problem, instead of condemning them. We are one people, one Nation, and they are entitled to be treated upon that basis.

Mr. President, I now turn briefly to another feature of this measure. I shall discuss it later in more detail, referring to court opinions. But I call attention to this feature now which must be of concern to every Member of this body, to everyone who believes in our dual system of government. This bill as it is drawn—observe my language—this bill as it is drawn strikes at the very heart, at the very life of local self-government. I ask Senators to reread the bill in the light of that assertion. It would place a construction upon the 14th amendment never contemplated by the men who wrote it—in fact, specifically rejected by them—and which, in my opinion, a fair construction in no sense sustains.

The bill openly and professedly declares in effect—and that is the theory upon which it rests—that the people in these States are either unwilling or unfit to maintain the most ordinary principles of organized society, and that in the face of the facts which I have shown, that they are really solving the problem.

Permit me to say here before I go further that I make no contention but that the 14th amendment has forever placed it beyond the power of any State to deny any person the equal protection of the laws, or to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process. I recognize also that the State acts and speaks through its officers, legislative, judicial, and executive. I am not going to take refuge in technicalities, but I contend for what I believe to be a fundamental principle, and that is that while you may call a State thus acting and thus speaking to account, you cannot take jurisdiction over or deal with acts and deeds not done by the authority and by the direction of the State. It must at all times be State action. You cannot deal with acts under the 14th amendment not done by and under the authority and direction of the State. The dereliction of an officer in violation of the laws of the State, in disregard of the sworn duty exacted of him by the State, and subject to punishment by the laws of the State, cannot by any possible construction, either in law or in conscience, be the act of the State. To establish any such principle would be to undermine and break down the integrity of every State in the Union. If a State may not be entrusted exclusively with the authority and relied upon to exercise the authority to punish those who violate its own laws, public or private persons, then there is no such thing as local government, because the State is deprived of the very instrumentality by which it maintains State integrity.

Since this proposition first came before Congress the Senators from the Southern States have borne the brunt of the debate. They have been made to feel the criticism of those who look upon opposition as mere local prejudice. We are all prone to consider the race question as peculiarly a southern problem, and we leave our southern friends to deal with it without very much sympathy or interest. But assuming that we are going to continue this narrow and selfish course, when we come to read this bill it is found that it goes an arrow's flight beyond any race question. The way it is drawn and its legal terms lift the bill out of the region of the race question into the region of governmental principles.

I do not contend, of course, that the authors of the bill or its supporters are taking advantage of the horror which we all feel toward the crime of lynching to strike a blow at our dual system of government, but that is precisely what is happening; that is precisely what will happen in view of the manner in which the bill is drawn. The constitutional feature of this bill under its terms is just as vital to Idaho as to Alabama; it is of just as much concern to Massachusetts as to Georgia. If the Federal Government can send a United States marshal into the State of Tennessee to arrest a sheriff because he has failed to protect a colored man from violence, it can, under the same principle, send a United States marshal into the State of New York to arrest a sheriff, or other officer on whom the duty is imposed, because he neglected to protect the life of a citizen against the violence of thugs. It is just as much the duty of the State to protect the citizen from violence not under arrest or not assailed by 3 but by 2 or 1. The Constitution does not classify crimes. It does not say that lynching is subject to the terms of the Constitution and that death by the act of thugs is not.

What does this bill provide? There is not a word in it which indicates that the failure to protect in any instance was due to the fact that the prisoner was a Negro. There is no provision indicating that the States of the South or their officers maintain one rule of conduct for the Negro and another for the whites. There is nothing to the effect that the laws of the States favor the whites and do not favor the Negro. There is no indication or intimation in the bill that the failure of the officer to act was due to the fact that his prisoner was a Negro. This bill is not based in its terms upon discrimination against the Negro, because of unequal treatment of the Negro, but upon the theory the States have broken down in maintaining order and protecting life. That is not a local question but a national question. If the States no longer protect life and property not because of discrimination but because of failure to execute laws regardless of race then we have a great national problem to be met by constitutional amendment. The 14th amendment does not cover any such question.

In all the cases which are cited in the briefs sustaining this measure there will be found a specific provision in the statutes concerning the failure of the officer to act being due to the fact that the party in interest was a Negro. There is no such provision in this bill. This is a general proposition, dealing as much with one race as with the other. Let me read from the bill:

"SEC. 3. Whenever a lynching of any person or persons shall occur, any officer or employee of a State or any governmental subdivision thereof who shall have been charged

with the duty or shall have possessed the authority as such officer or employee"—

That would include the Governor and all his subordinates in the executive department—

"to protect such person or persons from lynching and shall have willfully neglected, refused, or failed to make all diligent efforts to protect such person or persons from lynching and any officer or employee of a State or governmental subdivision thereof who shall have had custody of the person or persons lynched and shall have willfully neglected, refused, or failed to make all diligent efforts to protect such person or persons from lynching, and any officer or employee of a State or governmental subdivision thereof who, having the duty as such officer or employee, shall willfully neglect, refuse, or fail to make all diligent efforts to apprehend, keep in custody, or prosecute the members or any member of the lynching mob, shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding 5 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

Where is the provision there that deals with the lack of equality between the races or discrimination as to the races? There are no provisions in the bill requiring a showing that the failure of communities to protect a person was due to the fact that he was a Negro. In all the cases cited, there will be found a statute specifically requiring a showing that the officer refused to act or failed to or did not act because of the fact that race was involved and that a Negro was the person involved.

Let us carry this a little further. It is the first duty of a State, is it not, to enact laws to provide officers to protect life, liberty, and property? That is the first duty of every State. Suppose that a man is killed by thugs, we will say, in one of the great cities, without mentioning any particular one—and while the South lost eight Negroes by lynching last year the North lost hundreds because of acts of violence committed by thugs—and suppose that the State failed to take proper action under its laws and by its officers to protect the citizen on the highway or in his home against the acts of thugs; may we not, under the principle of law invoked in this bill, send an officer into that State to take charge of those police officers? What is the distinction in this bill between violence committed by a combination of thugs and violence committed by those who are combined into a mob? We are somewhat at a disadvantage in discussing the bill, because its authors have been entirely silent in presenting those features, and I am having to present it upon the briefs which I have read.

I think it might not be out of place here to call attention to another matter. The proponents of the bill are undoubtedly maintaining that the Federal Government will protect men in the South better than will the local communities. They are undoubtedly basing the entire measure upon the proposition that the Federal Government will execute the law. Well, we have the Federal Government in control of the city of Washington, which now, if not the first, is at least the second capital city of the world which is most plagued with crime. Seventy-five people here have been robbed of their property in one night. How close the police were I do not know. I understand the police escaped being robbed.

We can all recall instance after instance published in the papers of young women disappearing and their bodies being found outraged and the criminals never being intercepted. Why is there any reason to believe that the Federal Government can enforce criminal laws better than can the State governments? The enforcemnt of law and the punishment of crime depends upon the will and purpose of the community where the crime is committed. Those advocating this bill are on a venture. They are going to take the responsibility away from the people in the South; they are going to say to them, "You are not qualified or willing to do the work; we are going to do it." Where is the record which shows that they will do it? What is the record?

We have now at the head of the crime department, if I may call it that, in the Department of Justice, perhaps the greatest specialist in the world in the running down of crime and criminals; we have a Federal kidnaping law by reason of the fact that kidnaping crimes generally pass State lines; but last year, 1937, there were 20 kidnaping cases in the United States, with the State and Federal Governments both working, and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover says that there never will come a time when there will not, in all probability, be kidnaping in the United States; that it is impossible to wipe out the crime; that so long as greed and the appetite for money are found in the human system, there will be kidnaping. Mr. Hoover very frankly states that it is impossible to wholly wipe out such crimes. They can be reduced to a minimum and lynching has been reduced to a minimum in the South.

Coming back to our Capital as an example of Federal enforcement, I read from a local paper:

"The criminals of Washington are taking $30 million a year from the citizens of this city."

They are being deprived of life, liberty, and property, certainly without due process of law as that term is applied here. And the men in charge of the District seem to have thrown up their hands; they do not know how to deal with the situation. Yet, the Federal Government is in control here; the Federal Government is back of them. They are not by any means doing as well as are the people of the southern States in meeting the crime problem.

Mr. President, we are dealing with the race problem. We need not blind our eyes to that fact. And the race problem is a problem which does not readily yield to legislative solution, to the rigid demands of the law. Take, for instance, the colored girl who, under great handicaps, has earned the right to be employed by her Government upon an equality with everyone else. She goes with a certificate of competency from the Civil Service Commission to one of the departments here in Washington—here in Washington, under the aegis of the Federal Government—and when she enters the door and her color is discovered, she is told that the place is filled, which is probably false. That happens not once but many times. She suffers injustice at the hands of her Federal Government. But that is a race question, and no law was ever made tight enough or strong enough to remove all its harshness and to eliminate all its injustices. Only the patient process of education, the uplifting power of religion, the tolerant, noble-minded men and women who give their thoughts to the cause, can remove or mollify such injustices or such harshness. And that is being done; it is being done in the South; that result the South is achieving; the record so shows; and the people of the South are entitled to our commendation and not our condemnation. They are entitled to our cooperation and support.

This, Mr. President, is another compromise with a vital principle of our dual system of government. It is bartering the future for the supposed and transient demands of the present, and at a time when the present is taking care of the problem. It is another instance in which our confidence in our scheme of government is not strong enough to say to all races, all creeds, all groups, and all factions: "Your problems, however serious, are subordinate to the principles of this Government; and you must work them out within the compass of the long-tested and well-accepted principles of democracy."

Every American must feel a slight sense of guilt, if not a sting of remorse, when he reads the Premier of Italy's reference to the bellowing herds of democracy, to free institutions as the decadent breeding grounds of insincerity and confusion. The fundamental principles and precepts of popular government are not in doubt. There is no confusion there. The confusion arises when we depart from those principles. It was the embodiment of the precepts and principles of popular government in the Constitution of the United States which put confusion to rout in this country, gave ordered liberty to the people, and strength and direction to government. For centuries prior to the declaration that the powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, and the dedication of a new continent to that sublime conception, there had been nothing but confusion, nothing but turmoil and misery, nothing but brute force and enslaved masses. And all that will happen again if the advocates of arbitrary power, now inveighing against free institutions in the presence of their assembled slaves, have their way and the world again comes under their sway. Contrast the conditions of those periods with the period since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, with its establishment of law and order, the spread of contentment and happiness among the masses, with its unprecedented progress in the arts and the sciences, and you not only have your answer to those whose sole right to rule rests upon the law of force, but you have the most powerful appeal that can be made by mortal man to those who would compromise or weaken the safeguards of popular power.

I am perfectly aware, as we all are, of the tide which seems to be running against popular government everywhere, of the base betrayal of the people in many countries where they once had at least some authority and hoped for more, of that profound egotism which regards as of no significance the bitter experience of men and women in their long quest for liberty. But against all these things, if we have the confidence in our form of government which we profess, we can place, not theory, not hopes, not ideals merely, but 150 years of achievement, of demonstrated popular rule, with its wealth of human happiness and human progress. How puny and hollow and fleeting in comparison are the achievements of usurped power, every hour of whose existence depends upon the continued suppression of human liberty.

And, Mr. President, in conclusion, the progress, the development, and the advancement of the South, including the last 70 arduous years, her history from Washington and Jefferson down, rich with the names of leaders, orators, and statesmen; her soil, her sunshine, her brave and hospitable people, her patient and successful wrestling with the most difficult of all problems, are all a part of the achievements of our common country and constitute no ignoble portion of the strength and glory of the American democracy. I will cast no vote in this Chamber which reflects upon her fidelity to our institutions or upon her ability and purpose to maintain the principles upon which they rest.

Word Sketches of Mrs. Lydia Lawrence and Mr. LeRoy Breithaupt, of Oregon, Representatives of Oregon Horticulture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, some of us still hope fervently that the Senate will have an opportunity at this session to vote on S. 963, which seeks to safeguard roadside beauty in the United States by limiting signboards along the interstate highway system.

For this reason, some of us are particularly appreciative today of leaders in the field of horticulture, who are striving to grow and propagate the plants and flowers which contribute so greatly to the idyllic and pastoral loveliness of the American countryside.

Two such persons recently were honored by the Oregon Federation of Garden Clubs, holding its annual meeting at Coos Bay, Oreg., along Highway U. S. 101, beside the magnificent Oregon seacoast. They were Mrs. Lydia Lawrence, of Ocean Lake, Oreg., and Mr. LeRoy Breithaupt, of Corvallis, Oreg. These two distinguished representatives of Oregon horticulture are models for the Nation in this realm.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two fine word sketches of Mrs. Lawrence and Mr. Breithaupt which appeared originally in the garden pages of the Oregon Journal of Portland, Oreg., for Sunday, June 30, 1957.

Mrs. Neuberger and I, who share a pride in our own garden in Portland when we are fortunate enough to be there, are especially interested in the outstanding horticultural achievements of these two noted Oregon residents.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MANY FLOWER SHOWS, IDEAS AIDED BY WOMAN

Lydia Lawrence was born in Elgin, Ill., December 12, 1886, of a Welsh-Irish mother and a Pennsylvania Dutch watchmaker father, on both sides from early American Colonial stock.

She was graduated in 1906 from Denison, Iowa, High School. She was married in Orenco, Oreg., January 6, 1910, to Maurice A. "Mike" Lawrence. They made their home in Portland until January 1951, when they retired to their beach home at Ocean Lake.

Portland residences were in the peninsula district for 10 years, Powell Valley 5 years, and Westwood 26 years. Their daughter and her family now reside in the family home at Westwood.

Mrs. Lawrence's garden club work started when she joined the Multnomah Garden Club shortly after moving to Westwood in 1926. During her first year, she helped put on the club's annual show, a major event with clubs in those years. She became imbued with a love of shows as important garden club efforts, studying constantly how to improve show quality and through educational features to make them more attractive to the general public.

One of the things she did during her first presidency of Multnomah was to engage Carl Starker to give a series of lessons in flower arrangement. Those studies gave purpose to her knack of creative art and started her on a course which has embraced lectures, visits, horticultural study, and continuous development.

Not a little of her success must be attributed to the many opportunities for judging flower shows in company with other able judges, especially arrangement divisions at scores of major and minor shows in Oregon and Washington. Flower shows she has managed include several for the Multnomah Garden Club, three successive national shows for the American Primrose Society in 1948, 1949, and 1950, the last one being the high point of her years of show management. She also put one for the Little Gardens Club in 1950. Lydia worked in many other shows. She was welcomed and depended upon at the Portland Men's Garden Clubs shows and the shows of the Oregon Fuchsia Society.

Her federation work began with an emergency assignment as subscription chairman when Mrs. Daniel Heffner was president of the Oregon Federation of Garden Clubs. The way this was handled led to her federation vice presidency. With that office came the editorship of the federation newsletter, a 4-year stint. Again, during the 2-year term of Miss Claire Hanley, she enjoyed serving the Oregon federation as newsletter editor.

Other things she has done during her club years included a second term as president of Multnomah Garden Club; organizational help and assistance to the Oregon Fuchsia Society (to which she was elected honorary life member in 1955). She gave assistance to the Norwood Garden Club, Dosch Diggers, Friendly Metzger Neighbors and numerous other clubs in the metropolitan area in their formative years.

She served with Mrs. Walter Wilhelm as alternate director of radio gardening broadcasts over KWJJ which were sponsored by the Oregon federation. She gave broadcasts on a wide variety of topics on the federation's home garden hour. In addition to lecturing to garden clubs, on horticultural subjects, she gave talks and demonstrations related to fuchsias, roses, hellebores, camellias, bulbs, berried and flowered shrubs, and trees.

She has written scores of articles on a wide variety of horticultural subjects, such as flower arrangement, show practices, and kindred topics. Related activities have included series of classes in flower arrangement for various clubs in the Portland area.

Out of State calls have included lectures, flower arrangement demonstrations at Vancouver, Longview, and Seattle, with judgings of important shows in Washington cities. Similar work in Oregon has been too numerous to list.

Love of growing plants, garden design, and creative arrangements have been dominant interests in her life during and following her years of active club and federation work. Of these, flower arrangement is the most important and she continues to study and practice both for her own pleasure and as a service to others.

Her philosophy as to creative art in the floral or horticultural field is that to use plant material one should grow it; that design restraint and rhythm are the keys to good arrangement. If she has any dictum about arrangements, it is that a good arrangement is one you can live with without feeling a wish to change it.

Mrs. Lawrence and her husband have developed a charming and beautiful garden at their home at Oceanside.

ASTER DEVELOPMENT WORK OF CORVALLIS MAN

LeRoy Breithaupt was born November 3, 1885, in Portland.

He attended grade and high school in Portland, and graduated from Oregon State College.

After graduation from college he served as county extension agent, then served as head of the experiment station at Burns. From there he came back to Oregon State, and for many years was extension agricultural economist. In this capacity he served for 26 years. He was retired from the extension service in 1951.

He has been working with perennial hardy asters for the last 25 years. He started growing and collecting them as a hobby, and soon found that he had about 100 different varieties, which he had gotten from nurseries in this country and also from England.

After growing them for a time, he found that the flowers were beautiful, but that most of them grew too tall for ordinary garden use, and needed too much staking so he set about to develop a hardy aster that would be useful in landscape gardening, lower growing, and for a longer blooming period.

He searched for wild varieties to find a parent that would produce the desired qualities, from the mountains to the seashore, and found the one he was looking for along the coast. From this one he got the dwarfness he desired and long-blooming qualities, and this has been the parent of all later crosses.

His asters are known as the new Oregon-Pacific dwarf hybrids. Of these Pacific Amaranth is considered by Breithaupt to be his best introduction during the first 10 years of his work with them. Twinkle is the most dwarf, and Persian Rose has created the most interest, both in this country and England. Canterberry Carpet makes a good specimen plant and is well liked by Breithaupt. Snow Ball, a dwarf white, and Bonny Blue, a true blue, were his 1956 introductions. Romany is the latest variety to be introduced and will be on the market this year.

Since he first started introducing his dwarf hardy asters, he has worked for plants that will meet his rigid requirements, and if they don't measure up they are discarded. The last five are sterile, so they don't have the bad habit of producing seedlings that soon take over the garden.

Breithaupt has not confined his gardening interest to asters alone, but he and his wife grow Early English and American hardy chrysanthemums and use them with the asters in beautiful landscape effects.

Their garden is a show place and has been pictured in many magazines illustrating the use of the asters and hardy mums in landscape design. In fact, they were the first to grow the early mums, and to realize that they were so usable for fall color in this part of the country.

Breithaupt was the first president of the Men's Garden club of Corvallis, and has been very active in all its activities. In 1954 he received the bronze award of the men's garden clubs, for service to the club and his community. In 1956 he received Pacific regional award for horticultural achievement, and also received the national award of the Men's Garden Clubs of America for outstanding achievement in the development of the hardy aster.

He's a charter member of the Corvallis Rose society and of the Corvallis Chrysanthemum society, which he served as president and publicity chairman for the early chrysanthemum show, for which Corvallis gained national recognition through his articles in garden magazines throughout the United States.

He has written many articles for gardening magazines, such as Flower Grower, Popular Gardening, Botanical Magazine, Plants and

Gardens, Household and Horticulture, besides countless articles for newspapers and garden club news letters.

He has given generously of his time and talents to convey his interest, knowledge and enthusiasm for his plant specialties to others.

America's Constitutional Crisis—The Problem of the High Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Frederick Nelson, a former associate editor of the Saturday Evening Post, appearing in the Newsletter Human Events, goes at some length into one of the most disturbing problems of our time. The problem seems to be the limits of the powers of the Supreme Court.

Most of us believed those powers were well and clearly defined by the Constitution, in that the High Court was to be the final arbiter of the law; that, and only that, was to be its function.

Today we see the Court taking over more and more the legislative powers that we believed were the sole prerogative of the Congress. This may be in part the fault of the Congress, in that it has allowed its powers to be gently but firmly whittled away. If this be true, it behooves the Congress to examine its plight today and gently but firmly take back those powers specifically granted to it by the Constitution.

At the end of Mr. Nelson's article, under the heading "This Is What They Said," Mr. Nelson gives two interesting quotes from Justices Felix Frankfurter and Hugo Black. It would seem that time has changed their thinking and it may well be that time will change it again:

AMERICA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS—THE PROBLEM OF THE HIGH COURT

(By Frederic Nelson)

If anyone wants to know what a constitutional crisis is like, it looks as if we were in the middle of one. The English put on constitutional crises when somebody in the royal family wants to marry an American or a gamesmaster. This American crisis is more important, to us anyway, because it concerns the very nature of our political system and the continued ability of the Government to protect the country from destructive Communist attack. In a series of edicts the United States Supreme Court has rendered the Government powerless to check the organization of secret Communist cells; to expose the nature and ramifications of the Red conspiracy; to maintain the integrity of the FBI's sources of information; or to keep subversives out of sensitive Federal bureaus.

How on earth did nine eminent Supreme Court Justices, most of whom are no more radical than the average Joe at the country club on Saturday afternoon, manage to foul things up so that Americans in all walks of life fear for the security of the Nation, while the Communists openly boast that they never had it so good? There is no single answer, of course, but for one clue you might look into the tendency of middle-aged men to assume that young intellectuals just out of college know all the answers. Even a Supreme Court Justice is probably a good-hearted sucker for the idea that the top young man in the graduating class at an Ivy League law school has the latest word on the Constitution. Most of the Justices take on such young fellows as their clerks. Who are these "brains" and what are their backgrounds?

Even the most casual student of the Supreme Court's recent decisions in the so-called "civil liberties" cases wants to know, "Who makes up the reading lists for the eminent justices?" Their opinions bristle with citations from sociologists and political theorists whose works one would hardly expect a Supreme Court Justice to have read. Some people suspect that those "clerks"—just out of law schools more or less on the left side of the fence—have been familiarizing their bosses with 4 Gunnar Myrdal 907 (instead of 17 U. S. 1165).

The suspicion that there may be some neo-Alger Hisses in the High Court's establishment doubtless accounts for the recent recommendation by the Commission on Government Security that employees of the judicial branch should be screened for basic loyalty because "Federal judges, busy with overcrowded court calendars, must rely upon assistants to prepare briefing papers for them. False or biased information inadvertently reflected in court opinions in crucial security, constitutional, governmental, or social issues, could cause severe effects to the Nation's security."

Anyway it will be no surprise if it turns out that the Court's homework has neglected the reports of the hearings which the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee have been holding on the general subject of Communist subversion in American life. A little more attention to these sensational but usually ignored reports ought to convince even the most liberal jurist that the cases which have been coming up to the Supreme Court of late are concerned only remotely with the rights of individuals to their political views, but have a great deal to do with a ramifying conspiracy, almost impossible to expose in its entirety, to subject America to Communist dictatorship.

Take Justice Black's opinion in the Konigsberg case, in which the Court upset the efforts of the California bar to exclude from the practice of law a young man who had refused to tell the bar's examining committee whether or not he was or had been a Communist. Konigsberg—when asked the simple question, "Are you a Communist?"—went into the familiar song and dance about how he was faced with "nameless accusers or informers"; and that, if he did answer the question, "you would get a dozen informers who would say the opposite"; and that anyway the question invaded his rights of "free opinion and free speech" and that the legal profession should champion these rights.

As a matter of fact, one nonfaceless informer named Mrs. Bennett had testified in Konigsberg's presence that she knew him to be a Communist; but, when asked whether he cared to deny her testimony, Konigsberg said, "That is a question relating to opinions, beliefs, political affiliations."

All this might seem, as it did to Justice Harlan, to cast doubt on the desirability of this young man as a member of the California bar, or at any rate deter the Supreme Court from interfering in the matter. But not Justice Black. His assistant or clerk could have briefed him, but apparently didn't. In an encomium upon the honesty and uprightness of the applicant's life, Justice Black mentioned the fact that, after joining the Army, Konigsberg was selected for training as an orientation officer in the Army's information and education program and in that capacity served in north Africa, Italy, France, and Germany. As an orientation officer one of his principal functions was to explain to soldiers the advantages of democracy as compared with totalitarianism.

This must have split the sides of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which, in the summer of 1954, went pretty thoroughly into the activities and personnel of the Information and Education Division of the United States Army. That section was found to be loaded with Bolos and leftwingers whose activities, unearthed in testimony before the committee, included the publication of a series of Army talks, among them one on China which assured the wondering troops that "Communists" were not really Communists at all.

But, to Justice Black and presumably the Court majority, service with a group which was loaded with leftwingers is evidence of a forceful showing of good moral character. Of course this individual may have been clean as J. Edgar Hoover's tooth; the point is that, if you're making a case for innocence by association, don't pick this information and education outfit. Really, some alert assistant or research analyst ought to have pulled that one out of the Justice's text.

If the Court is actually setting itself up as a third legislative chamber, it ought to go to great pains to understand what it is legislating about. Some research into the Internal Security Committee's investigation of the penetration of communism into the educational field might have headed off another howler, this one from the majority opinion in the case of New Hampshire's Professor Sweezy: "It is particularly important that the exercise of the power of compulsory process be carefully circumscribed when the legislative process tends to impinge upon highly sensitive areas of freedom of speech or press, freedom of political association, and freedom of communication of ideas, particularly in the academic community."

Why "particularly in the academic community?" With almost every college and university faculty sheltering at least 1 or 2 veterans of the fifth amendment, the impartial observer might conclude that the academic community should receive especially careful attention from the investigating process. The testimony of Bella Dodd, for example, on the special vulnerability of educators to the wiles and sophistries of communism might have profitably been called to the attention of the court by some law clerk who was not curled up with a good book on the evils of McCarthyism.

This gets us to the momentous Watkins case in which the Supreme Court undertakes to set new limits on the investigative powers of Congress. Of course, few would undertake to prove that every congressional investigation and every question posed by an investigating committee is above criticism. I myself, without knowing too much about it, doubt the wisdom of attempting to compel a witness to squeal on his old brothers in the bonds of communism. The question which the committee has to ask itself is whether the possible advantage of prosecuting Arthur Miller, for example, outweighs the disadvantage of a hostile popular reaction to all congressional investigations. The basic object is to persuade wavering Communists to leave the party and tell what they know. It is quite possible that some such people hesitate to emerge for fear of being compelled to give information concerning others.

The other side of the argument, and the one which prevailed in congressional circles, is that a repentant Communist casts serious doubts upon the genuineness of his change of heart if he refuses to name his associates in subversion. And of course it is unfair

that prominent witnesses with popular followings and curvaceous wives should get a fairer deal than less fancy converts. Nevertheless, the Watkins and Sweezy decisions certainly suggest that committees of Congress would do well to pick their contempt victims with an eye to how they look on television.

However, this ought to be a matter for the discretion of the committee. If its members think it essential to punish recalcitrance by citing a witness for contempt, the Congress must retain the power to do so. As Justice Black remarked back in the days when he was a Senator from Alabama, "There is no power on earth that can tear away the veil behind which powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups operate, save the sovereign legislative power armed wtih the right of subpena and search"—and with the power to compel reply to questions.

In those days the powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups were mainly millionaires and entrepreneurs in the electric power industry. It was considered reasonable to push them around. I seem to recall that somebody even incited a midget to sit in J. Pierpont Morgan's lap while he was testifying and nobody blew the whistle. Now that the witnesses are Communist conspirators for the overthrow of the United States, the learned Justices are for limiting the sovereign legislative power.

In this same Sweezy opinion occurs the astonishing statement, which seems intended to apply to the Communist Party, that "any interference with the freedom of a party is simultaneously an interference with the freedom of its adherents * * *. We do not now conceive of any circumstances wherein a State interest would justify infringement of rights in these fields." Sweezy is a teacher in New Hampshire and the people of that State seem to have imagined that they had an interest in what was being taught in their educational institutions. Had they read the Court's dictum in the Steve Nelson case, they would have understood that the States are supposed to have no legitimate interest in subversion at all.

A competent law clerk would have suggested that a State interest in subversion of the United States is suggested in article 4, section 4, of the United States Constitution, which reads: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence."

It doesn't seem to me altogether a quibble—or at any rate no worse a quibble than a lot we have been getting lately—to suggest that the States have as much interest in the possible overthrow of the United States from the inside as from the outside; and that, inasmuch as the States are guaranteed a republican form of government by the United States, it would be suicidal for the States to remain indifferent to subversion which might easily make the Federal guaranty as useless as a $3 bill. The California Un-American Activities Committee for, example, has turned up a lot of important leads which Federal authorities could follow up later.

It is a little difficult to see what Justice Harlan's law clerk could have done to steer him away from that dreary routine on the meaning of the word "organize" as used in the Smith Act. As a lay ignoramus got it, Justice Harlan meant that, unless a Communist was present when the Communist Party was organized in 1945, he could not be said to have organized Communist cells or apparatuses after that year. Perhaps the Justice's clerk should have suggested that an equally good date for the organization of the United States Communist Party is 1919, a date which would have sheltered most Reds younger than William Z. Foster behind the statute of limitations. But for the lay ignoramus, who can't see anything confusing in the idea that a Communist might right now organize a cell in a labor union or college faculty, the Court had a hard time making sense.

Fundamental to the release of the California Communists, is the notion, which crops out throughout the Court's opinion, that freedom of speech and political belief is some how involved. Another basic fallacy is that the Communist conspiracy is no longer dangerous. These delusions are not confined to Supreme Court Justices. The New York Times, hailing the Smith Act opinions as a new birth of freedom, declared that the time is passing when the existence of a small group of persons with warped minds and twisted judgments and calling themselves Communists is a menace requiring us to suppress our ancient freedoms.

Of course we haven't suppressed any ancient freedoms, as the ability of the Communists to warp the minds and twist the judgment of a distressingly large portion of the non-Communist community is sufficient proof. More depressing are these decisions in which the Court revealed a bland indifference to the growing menace of internal subversion and appeared to accept the notion that a Communist conspirator could not be considered guilty of incitement unless he managed to incide somebody to blow up the United States Mint within the next half hour.

The idea that the Communist Party is harmless is, of course, being exploited to the limit by the party itself. In its brief asking the Supreme Court to outlaw the Smith Act, the party lawyers said: "Developments of the last few months indicate that these relationships [between Russia and the United States] are beginning to undergo a profound change. For this reason alone, the position of the Court of Appeals that it is legally bound to assume that the fears expressed by Congress in 1950 provide an adequate, competent, and conclusive picture of reality, is unreasonable, if not wholly irrational."

Although the present Court has not overtly reversed its own opinion in the Eugene Dennis case, its latest ukase represents a substantial reversal of its earlier view that "the mere fact that, from the period 1945 to 1948, petitioners' activities did not result in an attempt to overthrow the Government by force and violence is, of course, no answer to the fact that there was a group that was ready to make the attempt." The California decision did not declare the Smith Act unconstitutional; it merely made it all but impossible to enforce.

And that may have been the smartest idea some bright law clerk has developed since he left law school.

In spite of the predictions by "liberal" columnists that the fuss will subside and that Congress will lie down and play dead, I have a hunch that Congress will do nothing of the kind. It can't, if only because failure to meet these repeated challenges will lead to judicial dictatorship, however amiably it may be disguised. If Congress may not question a witness without explaining in elaborate detail just what specific statute any isolated question is expected to produce; if Communists may not be laid by the heels until the Red putsch has succeeded; if a trust may be upset because the Supreme Court thinks the maker of the trust should have made it differently; if the FBI must expose its files to Communist lawyers whenever the files concern the testimony of a Government witness; and if even Dean Acheson is not privileged to fire an employee as a security risk, then we have something like judicial dictatorship already. Neither Congress nor the American people can settle for anything like that.

Twenty years ago, when the Supreme Court declared various acts of Congress unconstitutional, the "liberals" did not hesitate to propose drastic remedies. The late Representative Maury Maverick declared that, unless the Court abandoned "the practice of functioning as a superlegislature and a super-President," the people should require it. Senator George Norris complained that "the people can change Congress but only God can change the Supreme Court." Nevertheless, he thought the people ought to try. Jackson, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Grant were quoted on the side of telling the Supreme Court to get back behind the balk line or else. A case called *Ex parte McCardle* was exhumed from obscurity since 1868 to show that in at least one instance the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Chase, had refused to hear a case in which Congress specifically denied jurisdiction to the Supreme Court. Maybe that device could be made to serve again.

This time, of course, the "liberals" see no cause for alarm and are raising their hands in holy horror at the mere suggestion that anyone should be so bold as to "defy the Supreme Court." But Congress will hardly give up so easily. Its power to "do something" had the endorsement of a former semi-liberal member of the Court itself.

Former Justice Roberts, commenting on the McCardle case, raised an interesting question: "What is there to prevent Congress taking away, bit by bit, all the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States, not doing it by direct attack but by that sort of indirect attack? I see nothing. I do not see any reason why Congress cannot, if it so decides, take away entirely the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States over State supreme court decisions. The jurisdiction is exercised now under the terms of the judiciary act. Suppose Congress should decide to let the decisions of State courts of appeal be final on constitutional questions. How could the Supreme Court assert a power to take those questions, notwithstanding the act of Congress, in view of the language of the third article of the Constitution (the article defining the judicial power)?"

Surely this is something those erudite law clerks might have looked into, if only to warn their bosses of what might happen if they pushed Congress too far. It would be regrettable if the Supreme Court's powers as umpire were destroyed, for, without some final body authorized to decide when constitutional limits have been exceeded by Congress or the Executive, it is difficult to see how a Federal system of balanced powers could be made to operate. But an umpire who legalizes the spitball on the field and seems unable to detect a wild pitch can hardly complain when the pop bottles fly. And a Supreme Court which so far misconceives its function as virtually to paralyze Congress and the Executive in their efforts to protect the country against internal subversion must be said to have asked for whatever reprisals follow.

THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

"Undoubtedly, the names of people who have done nothing criminal or wrong, or nothing even offending taste perhaps, have been mentioned in connection with these investigations. * * * But where so much that the Department of Justice was doing under Daugherty was not innocent, it is highly important that even innocent transactions in the general field of fraud and suspicion be explained in order to separate the sheep from the goats. The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt, or names dragged through the mud, as it is called. The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional

inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations. * * *

"The procedure of congressional investigations should remain as it is. No limitations should be imposed by congressional legislation or standing rules. The power of investigation should be left untrammeled, and the methods and forms of each investigation should be left for determination of Congress and its committees as each situation arises. The safeguards against abuse and folly are to be looked for in the forces of responsibility which are operating from within Congress, and are generated from without." (Felix Frankfurter in the New Republic, May 21, 1924.)

"An investigation is precisely what it purports to be—an investigation. Sometimes attempts are made to discredit it by calling it a fishing expedition. It is not a trial based upon an indictment where the facts are already known and merely need presentation to a jury. It is a study by the Government of circumstances which seem to call for study in the public interest. And the public hearing is usually, certainly in important investigations, preceded by a long period of extensive research.

"There is no power on earth that can tear away the veil behind which powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups operate save the sovereign legislative power armed with the right of subpena and search * * * Witnesses have declined to answer questions from time to time. The chief reason advanced has been that the testimony related to purely private affairs. In each instance with which I am familiar, the House and Senate have steadfastly adhered to their right to compel reply, and the witness has either answered or been imprisoned * * *

"Public investigating committees, formed from the people themselves or from their public representatives * * * have always been opposed by groups that seek or have special privileges. The spokesmen of these greedy groups never rest in their opposition to exposure and publicity. That is because special privilege thrives in secrecy and darkness and is destroyed by the rays of pitiless publicity." (Hugo Black in Harper's, February 1936.)

All Holidays on Monday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to include an editorial which appeared in the Des Moines Tribune of July 4, 1957.

The editorial follows:

ALL HOLIDAYS ON MONDAY

Both houses of the Illinois Legislature have approved doing away with almost all midweek holidays. If the Governor approves the measure, most holidays in Illinois will be observed on Monday as part of 3-day weekends.

The holidays affected by the bill are Lincoln's Birthday (February 12), Washington's Birthday (February 22), Decoration Day (May 30), Independence Day (July 4), Columbus Day (October 12), and Veterans' Day (November 11). All will be observed on the nearest Monday, even when they fall on Saturday or Sunday.

The holiday reform had the backing of the Illinois Manufacturers Association and the State federation of labor. Manufacturers favor it to cut down absenteeism when holidays fall in midweek. Labor likes it for the extra time it provides for travel.

Several States, including New Jersey, have adopted similar holiday laws. Iowa should give it serious consideration.

There could be a good deal of confusion with neighboring States on different holiday schedules. In the Tri-Cities area, for example, members of the same family working in different States could find it impossible to spend their holidays together. There could be mixups and inconvenience in travel, arranging gatherings, and in businesses where it's important that customers and suppliers operate on the same schedule of workdays and holidays.

It may be argued that holidays like Decoration Day or Independence Day were intended as time for reflection on the meaning of the days, and they shouldn't be shifted merely to cut absenteeism or to make for longer time off from work. That is a sentiment worth considering. It's important that the significance of national holidays be preserved.

But reverence hasn't been increased by having holidays fall haphazardly in midweek. There's nothing necessarily incompatible between proper holiday spirit and a shift to Monday observance.

A National Cowboy Hall of Fame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, for millions of Americans, the cowboy is a symbol of the development of the West. Certainly there was no figure on the American frontier any more colorful than the cowboy. Little wonder that every American boy has at one time or another played cowboy. Likewise, the cowboy is a prominent figure in our radio, television, and movie dramas. It is impossible to think about the frontier without recalling the dramatic role he has played.

The life of the cowboy was not always one of color and drama, however. His life consisted also of long hours of toil, drudgery, and hardship. He was called upon to serve in many ways that made possible the opening and development of the West.

It is entirely fitting that the rich heritage of the American cowboy should be preserved. That is why I add my support to the movement to establish a National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum.

Some time ago individuals from 17 Western States, particularly interested in preserving the literary and cultural heritage of the cowboy, joined together to launch at Oklahoma City, Okla., just such a hall of fame and museum. Construction of this project is underway. I am happy to say that South Dakota, which figured prominently in the cowboy era, has furnished two trustees who are giving of their excellent abilities to make this project a great national shrine to the cowboy. Mr. Bert Hall, of Kennebec, South Dakota, a distinguished author and rancher, and Mr. Ernest B. Ham, of Viewfield, S. Dak., who comes from a long line of western cattlemen, are both active in this splendid cause.

I want to urge the Members of Congress, Mr. Speaker, to give whatever support is possible to the successful completion of this worthwhile venture. I think it deserves our attention and our encouragement.

Real Issue in Civil Rights Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL BROWN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following strong and forceful article by Mr. David Lawrence, from the Washington Evening Star of July 8, 1957, against the so-called civil rights bill:

REAL ISSUE IN CIVIL-RIGHTS FIGHT—THREATENED USE OF FORCE TO OBTAIN CONFORMITY ON PROBLEM IS DECRIED

(By David Lawrence)

What is the real point at issue in the battle over civil rights now being waged in the Senate? It is the possible enactment of a law threatening the use of military force in order to obtain a conformity of viewpoint on social problems. It is the substitution of a program of compulsion and coercion for faith in the voluntary processes of reason.

It involves not solely a means of assuring voting rights—for many Negroes do vote in the South and several have been elected to city councils there—but a question of reaching into the whole social order in the South with laws authorizing the use of military power to secure obedience to the Supreme Court's decision on school integration. Yet the Court itself admitted in the same decision that it was influenced primarily by sociological doctrines rather than constitutional precedents.

For the school question and the voting problem are interwoven in the civil-rights controversy and, curiously enough, the remedy proposed would take away the civil right of a citizen to a jury trial, the principle of which is imbedded in the Constitution.

Just because there have been a few instances of racial prejudice in some jury trials in the South, it now is argued by various Members of Congress and executive officials in their speeches that none of the tens of millions of people in the South can be trusted to give an impartial trial by jury.

This is a blanket indictment more severe than ever has been leveled in America against a substantial number of fellow citizens by the representatives of another segment of the Nation.

For the proposal implies that because the processes of reason are beset with difficulties there must be resort to the theory that "the end justifies the means."

This same thing happened once before in perhaps the most shameful chapter in American history when, after the War Between the States had ended and a general amnesty had been proclaimed, military units from the North were sent into the legislative

chambers of the Southern States. At the point of a bayonet, ratification of the 14th amendment to the Constitution was compelled in 10 States after each had rejected it. Southern Members of Congress, thereupon, were arbitrarily disqualified from voting in either the House or the Senate, notwithstanding the fact that previously the southern Members and their legislatures had in due form approved the 13th amendment abolishing slavery, and this action had been accepted as legal ratification. No historian of standing in either the North or the South disputes these facts.

For 90 years there has been a virtual truce in the northern and southern conflict as to the scope of the 14th amendment, and the racial problems it presumably covered. Meanwhile, there has been nevertheless a gradual evolution with tremendous progress toward a better understanding between the races. The doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities in public schools which was upheld as the "supreme law of the land" until 1954 was a kind of modus vivendi—a compromise between apparently irreconcilable viewpoints yet one that actually encouraged more and more flexibility through the years.

Now the truce has been broken and, instead of trying to adjust conflicting viewpoints by letting each State or each community within a State decide for itself how it shall move toward the solution of its own social problems—a basic American concept of self-government—the confusing court decisions and the threat of coercive civil rights legislation are retarding progress. Impatiently the doors are opened to bitter resentments which will grow in intensity because compulsion is the wrong way to deal with social problems in a democracy. Inevitably also there will be revived the whole controversy over the unmoral and illegal way by which the 14th amendment itself was forced into the Constitution in the first place.

"I speak in a spirit of great sadness," said Senator RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, the other day in the Senate. "If Congress is driven to pass this bill in its present form, it will cause unspeakable confusion, bitterness, and bloodshed in a great section of our common country. If it is proposed to move into the South in this fashion, the concentration camps may as well be prepared now because there will not be enough jails to hold the people of the South who will oppose the use of raw Federal power forcibly to commingle white and Negro children in the same schools and places of public entertainment."

Thus after nearly a century of debate, America is again hearing speeches in Congress about the use of military forces to back up social viewpoints. This comes, ironically enough, at a time when spokesmen for the United States in the world at large are appealing constantly for the renunciation of the use of force as a means of dealing with human friction.

Repealing a Misnamed Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I have today filed a bill to repeal the Sustained Yield Act of 1944, but I should like to point out that this is not only a misnomer but the act itself suffers considerable abuse and appears to favor a few major timber companies.

The Subcommittee of Public Works and Resources, in cooperation with a subcommittee of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, held extensive field hearings in the fall of 1955 on Federal timber sales policies. These hearings revealed that there was considerable difference of opinion among the people in the lumber industry and in the Government agencies as to the effectiveness of a 1944 act of Congress which allowed the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior to award timber to particular companies without the use of competitive bidding or with limitations on who could compete for the timber.

The committee found that in Oregon the Bureau of Land Management had created marketing areas under another act rather than through the use of this 1944 act. Communities were petitioning that these marketing restrictions either be eliminated or that they be changed so that certain areas that could not now bid for O & C timber would be permitted to do so. The committee also found that, in this same area where there is twice as much National Forest timber as there is O & C timber, the Forest Service had not set up any restrictions on who could bid for their timber.

Sustained yield, as such, is not only excellent planning but necessary. For 300 years, the people of America have gained an abundance of wood products, game, sports, and enjoyment from the vast forests growing on this continent. Today, many of these forests still remain, carrying on their role as man's most versatile natural resource. It is important that they continue to serve the needs of present and future generations.

The principles of sustained yield forest management are well imbedded in the basic statutes which govern the operation of the various Federal forests.

Repeal of the act of March 29, 1944, will in no way jeopardize, influence, or affect the management of the National Forests or any other of the forest lands operated by the Government for sustained yield forestry purposes. The repeal of this act will remove the discretionary authority to grant Federal timber to individual companies or to companies in certain selected areas.

How They Worked To Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, unless an individual reaches the very top of the ladder in his chosen profession, there is little chance of his being the subject of a success story. An exception is Frank Madarsz, a resident of West Leechburg, Pa., and an employee of the Allegheny-Ludlum Steel Corp. A brief record of this man's accomplishments, which he realized despite what might have been considered unsurmountable obstacles, appears in Steelways for August 1957. I feel that it merits publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a further tribute to a deserving American and as an incentive to young men who are willing to accept hard work as the medium of a successful career.

Now 34 years of age, Frank Medarsz was a lad of 9 when his father died. The youngster willingly gave up many of the pleasures that normally are a part of school days in order to help his mother provide for the family. After serving in the Navy during World War II, he took as his bride a young lady who, like Frank, was willing to make the sacrifices necessary in order that they might ultimately enjoy the economic advantages that would appear unattainable to a less courageous and determined couple.

By collating dreams with blueprints and manúal labor, this steelworker designed and built his own home. At the same time his devotion and application to his job at the mill has enabled him to advance rapidly and prepare for the further promotions that the future is certain to hold for him.

Mr. Speaker, there is a lesson to be learned from the story of Frank Madarsz. And from other industrious Pennsylvanians who are accustomed to hard work and sacrifice. Over the years Congress has been beset with progressively more proposals for Federal aid to almost everything. We are asked to provide for help to the so-called backward States, to construct series of dams that will bring cheap electric power to various areas of the country, and to continue an international program that is deluging scores of nations with American dollars that come from the pockets of the men and women who are devoted to work instead of mendicancy.

I submit that it is time to reverse the trend from Government paternalism in order that our working people may regain a freedom of which they have long been deprived—the freedom to spend a greater part of the money which they earn instead of being forced to contribute so much of it to an extravagant bureaucracy.

Next time a letter comes from a pressure group demanding that the United States Treasury donate the necessary wherewithal for a new school building in Louisiana, Texas, or in some of the other States that would reap the benefits of Pennsylvania's revenue contributions, I suggest that you answer it with the story of how taxpayer Frank Medarsz built his own home and is going ahead with the job of building a greater America through the use of labor, ingenuity, fortitude, and other qualities which God did not intend to be available exclusively to the people of Pennsylvania.

I include the article from Steelways, "How They Worked To Live," in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

HOW THEY WORKED TO LIVE

(By Merrick Jackson, executive editor)

If Stefina Adamchuk had not chosen to walk through the mill on her way from office

to gate, she might never have met Frank Madarasz.

Had she decided to skirt the buildings, as some of the other secretaries did, she and Frank might not now be living in a new home they have built above the Kiskiminetas River Valley, 32 miles northeast of Pittsburgh.

From the skein of such coincidences are the webs of life often woven.

Frank Madarasz (the accent is on the first syllable and the "z" is silent) had returned to the steel mill in 1946 after combat duty in the Navy, principally aboard an LST off North Africa and then Sicily and Italy.

Back in civilian life, he had been assigned to the job of flattener on a cold rolling mill that had been installed just before the war at a cost of $2¼ million.

From his vantage point at the lower end of the machine where he put the coil of steel in position to be rolled, he could see Stefina—her friends called her Steffie—making her way down the white-lined aisle at the end of the day.

At first when he tried to date her, Steffie would have no part of him, murmuring something about "those Navy wolves." But Frank persisted and at the company's next picnic, where the two could talk more freely, he persuaded her to go out with him. They were married 4 years later, in 1950, and have a chubby 16-month-old named Marcia.

It was almost inevitable that Frank Madarasz would become a third generation steelworker. His grandfather and father, both born in the old country of Hungary, had made steel there at the bend of the Kiskiminetas.

As a youngster, Frank would accompany his mother along the railroad tracks bordering the plant area and wait in front of a low fence near the hot rolling mill. Soon Frank's grandfather, the second man hired when the plant opened in 1898, would emerge for the "lunch bucket" they had brought him.

As part of the skein of coincidence, Frank is now working on the very site of his grandfather's work location so many years ago.

Frank's father, who had followed in granddad's footsteps leading into this mill, died in 1932, leaving three children. Frank, the oldest, was then 9.

His mother went out to work, getting a day's cleaning to do here and there, taking in washing, and picking up whatever she could, so that her two boys and their sister could stay in school. Frank found no time for athletics. He had to fill the hours after school with paying jobs. One of these was cutting the grass around the mill superintendent's home.

"Frank," the steelman had once said, "if you're looking for a job after you get out of high school, come down and see me."

Two weeks after his graduation, in 1941, Frank did just that. He might have tried another steel plant about 6 miles from his mother's home, a nearby distillery, or an aluminum mill. All were competing for the labor market in the valley. But for him the road led to the company his forebears had found a good place in which to work.

He started off as a laborer.

"I pushed a broom, did a little painting, ran some errands," he recalled, smilingly. "In fact, I did just about everything an unskilled kid gets to do when he first goes to work. There's no better way of finding out what's doing.

"I remember my pay most of all, because that money helped keep the home together. It was $6.28 a day."

Frank's fortunes took on rosier aspects the year of his return from the war, in 1946. Back in the mill he found the company embarking upon a record expansion and modernization program.

Vast sums of money were being invested in the plant. Modernized equipment supplanted old hand methods. New processes replaced brawn with fingertip controls. Capacity and production increased. Wages climbed.

Frank went from 97 cents an hour in 1946 to $1.29 the following year. By 1950, as third helper on the rolling mill, he had climbed to $1.56 an hour, an increase of 61 percent in 4 years.

By then Steffie and Frank felt they could afford to get married. Their first home was an upstairs apartment in town, where they saved every penny they could. Theirs was an austere economy, for Frank was still helping his mother and aiding his sister to win the college education he had been denied.

While the two were sacrificing—"there wasn't much left over for parties, dances, and clothes," Steffie admitted—they never stopped planning for a home of their own. For 3 years they clipped the home design every Sunday from the Pittsburgh Press, studied it carefully and added it to their collection.

Finally in 1953, when Frank was making $2.13 an hour at the mill and had some cash in the bank, the young people were ready to launch the largest do-it-yourself project they had ever undertaken. They selected a house design from the newspaper clippings they had saved and sent in $5 for two sets of plans and a small model. They secured a lot 150 by 170 feet looking across the valley to the lavender-crested hills of western Pennsylvania beyond. Frank found a man who would dig a cellar for him in his spare time, another who would lay bricks for his ranch-type house, a carpenter who would help with the heavier woodworking and friends who would join him in laying the floor and putting up the roof.

"I owe a lot, too," he added, "to some fellows in our engineering department. They taught me to read prints."

For a number of years Frank had been helping indoctrinate some of the youngsters around him in mill practices. He had taught them to mind their safety P's and Q's, given them a few practical tips and talked over some of their initiation problems. They returned the compliment in full measure by helping him build his house.

"This year I'll put in a walk up to the front door," he explained, as he leaned against his 1951 Plymouth and proudly surveyed the property. "And Steffie wants a patio behind her white fence with borders of double petunias."

But the interior, five spacious rooms and bath designed for comfort and convenience, is finished. The Madaraszs chose only the best fixtures, appliances, and materials they could find, sending away for aids to better living from advertisers in such well-known periodicals as Better Homes and Gardens, House and Garden, and the American Home. Studying the wealth of information, they selected their favorites and installed them over the 2-year span of building.

Contractors have estimated that a duplicate of this hand-tailored home at today's prices would cost $20,000, nearly twice the amount the Madaraszs actually spent on it.

The home has taken most of Frank's spare time. Even his hobbies have been cut to one: taking motion-picture film of Marcia and the family. But there was a time, and probably will be again, when he was especially prominent in the local Boosters Club, "a ram-rodding organization," he explained, "to get people interested in improving community conditions for our teenagers."

Today Frank is what steelworkers call a "desk man" on the 4-high mill. The designation sounds like a white collar job. It isn't at all. His mill, one might say, was ahead of its time when it went to work, as Frank first did, 16 years ago. It could take care of steels that hadn't yet appeared. Since installation it has rolled silicon steel, wide (38-inch) stainless steel, and high-finish, wide stainless steel. Now more than 30 percent of its effort is directed toward titanium for jet aircraft.

Frank's value as an operator has increased in direct proportion to the mounting value of the product he rolls, and he is now drawing down an hourly wage of $2.45, exclusive of incentive earnings and other cash benefits. One of these days this 34-year-old 6-footer, the second youngest in his job classification, feels he can qualify as a roller, top dog among the hourly rated men in that mill area.

Now that the house is finished, what next, he was asked.

"We're saving for a new car," Frank replied. "But we want more than half its cost in the bank before we buy it."

The Madaraszs have also established a savings account in their daughter's name to assure her of an education.

Frank never grows tired of telling how he first met Steffie, of the early rebuffs and the ensuing romance. He will even single out a picture of the mill area hanging on the office wall and chart the mill path she chose, as he did for Steelways.

Getting to know the man and glimpsing his accomplishments, one never grows tired of hearing him tell it, either.

More Yankee Trade—Less Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert an address by Mr. Eugene W. Castle before the Export Managers Club of New York, Inc.

The address follows:

MORE YANKEE TRADE—LESS FOREIGN AID

(Address by Eugene W. Castle)

Early in the century when the then President Theodore Roosevelt urged that our Nation speak softly but carry a big stick, the United States established a policy which came to be known as dollar diplomacy. It meant the use of American diplomatic power to promote our financial interests abroad so that Americans could invest in overseas enterprises with a minimum of risk.

However, dollar diplomacy did not set well with the liberals of that day. They decried the use of diplomatic and military pressure to insure investments, and dollar diplomacy was roundly denounced as a wicked form of meddling in the affairs of foreign countries.

Today, we are confronted—and often confounded—with a new kind of dollar diplomacy. It, too, involves the use of American money abroad, but today we are dealing in billions instead of millions. And, since the billions are public funds provided solely by the American taxpayers, there is an amazing and ever-growing nonchalance in the way our bureaucrats in Washington ladle out the money overseas. When mistakes, waste, and unwarranted extravagance result from our giveaways, no apologies for the errors in public spending are ever made. Instead, the demands for foreign spending are increased, as year after year, particularly at appropriation time, new crisis and dangers are brought forth until the aid budgets are rammed through the Congress. As soon as this is accomplished the crisis and urgency to spend promptly disappears until the next year rolls around.

Of course, profit is no longer our motive. Instead the requesters yell to Congress and to high heaven that if they can't obtain all of the money they demand—every billion of it, the world will come to an end. But the world does not come to an end.

The Marshall plan was originally offered to a skeptical Congress as a means of rehabilitating the war-ravaged countries of Europe. We were told that $17 billion and 4 years would do the job.

But it did not stop there. Since the world began, the Marshall plan has had no parallel in the resultant spending of the resources of one nation for foreign aid.

We sent our dollars marching 60 billion strong over the far reaches of the earth in quest of mutual security. The prize, like a will o' the wisp, eluded us. The world is still in turmoil and danger. There is no security, mutual or otherwise.

Before I express my views further, let me make it perfectly clear that even if Congress did not appropriate one single dollar of new money for foreign aid, there will be spent not less than $3.3 billion during the fiscal year that begins next July 1. Additionally, there are $7½ billion already appropriated and in the Washington pipeline to continue foreign aid for more than 2 years.

What I am going to discuss briefly is the matter of getting a better and more honest deal for the American taxpayer and, at the same time, continue to support those countries whose friendship we can rely on—countries who are determined to help themselves and are therefore worthy of our support.

In the light of recent events, surely the time has arrived for all Americans, both in and out of government, to reappraise critically our foreign-aid spending as a matter of our own self-interest.

From the year 1792 to 1950 our Government collected $406 billion in taxes.

From 1950 through 1956, our Government collected $433 billion in taxes.

For $406 billion in 158 years, we fought and won 6 wars.

For $433 billion in 7 years we fought 1 war in Korea without victory; we fought and are still fighting a cold war that we seem to be losing even in Formosa and, more recently, with our allies in Great Britain.

We cannot continue to support those who, if the chips were down, would not support us. We cannot buy allies and friends, but we could spend ourselves into bankruptcy and war.

President Eisenhower once realized this when he publicly stated: "The United States cannot be an Atlas; it cannot, by its financial sacrifices, carry all other nations of the world on its shoulders and we should stop giveaway programs."

Our foreign-aid careerists are gripped in the spirit of a crusade—emotional, intolerant of criticism or investigation. Those who dare question their activities are looked upon as isolationists, shortsighted penny-pinchers who are lacking in vision.

Neither individuals or nations are made friendly or even grateful by handouts. Those who are given money soon think it is owed to them. The assumption that the more money we give away the more good we accomplish is wrong—very wrong. For the emotions which really influence people—pride, custom, race, religion, and national enthusiasms are completely ignored. It is also wrong because it leads to frantic efforts on the part of our foreign aid representatives to stir up projects in other countries which have not been requested and, in many cases, not wanted.

Let us consider a few of these projects:

It was recently announced that the United States has given $1 million to Pakistan to bolster that country's fishing industry.

In Formosa, we have set up a pension program for overaged Chinese soldiers.

In the Philippines we have provided costly electronic microscopes and technical equipment for a section of that country where no power is available.

In Afghanistan we have provided expensive airfields in a country where most travel is still done on the backs of camels.

In Thailand we started to build a highway for $6.5 million that has already cost us $18 million for half of the originally planned stretch and in a country which has fewer than 9,000 automobiles.

In India we provided $1,500,000 to build hundreds of prefabricated grain silos. The material, still uncrated, rests in warehouses in Calcutta and we are probably paying the storage bill.

In India, too, we have 400 people to administer our giveaway program. They can't spend the money as fast as it is piped to them. They have a backlog of $135 million and the International Cooperation Administration is trying desperately to obtain $80 million or more a year on top of what we are already giving India.

To Tito we are still exporting military jets and treasure despite the fact that the Yugoslav dictator repeatedly reminds us that his relations with Moscow are improving. His Defense Minister is now en route to the Kremlin. Tito is now playing coy about receiving our free airplanes while he again makes goo-goo eyes at the Soviets.

Every year, at appropriation time, the giveaway mania has become a nonpartisan path to the headlines for our legislators in Washington. For instance:

Senator KENNEDY, a Democrat is anxious to give away $100 million to the Government of Communist Poland. This will not help the people of Poland. It will only help to relieve Moscow of some of its satellite overhead that it is so anxious to get rid of. Half of this gift is already on the way. The other half will soon be sent. We should have sent it all direct to Moscow. This would have saved the carrying and transfer charges. Gomulka, the Polish Communist Party chief, has already complained that this $100 million handout is "very small considering our needs" and the Moscow errand boy adds that President Eisenhower's statement last October offering aid to Poland "proved to be a sheer illusion."

Under Secretary of State Dillon, a Republican, has become an eager-beaver sponsor for the new $2 billion handout, without strings, to the underdeveloped nations of the world. Dillon, very properly and politely calls it a loan. I hope you will never have to conduct an export transaction on a similar basis. If you do, the sheriff may be looking for you.

Congressman ROOSEVELT, a Democrat, seriously suggests that we should internationalize our Panama Canal to please Egypt's Nasser who has shown no desire to please us. We built the Panama Canal. We paid for it. We own it. If we should ever internationalize it, Heaven forbid, some Russian commissar could decree that ships flying the Stars and Stripes could not enter the canal. In time of war our fleet would be bottled up. The memories of most of us are short. Too many of us forget that our Armed Forces fought, bled and died by the tens of thousands to win the war in Europe. After victory was accomplished and the enemy lands were reduced to piles of rubble, our politicians and the Military Commander of that day forgot to get a road out of Berlin for Americans. The costly Berlin airlift in half free, half slave Germany resulted. This fatal error is largely responsible for the precarious position we find ourselves in today. This tragic mistake became immediately apparent to Stalin. He detected our weakness and determined that we could be pushed around. The cold war that has cost us tens of billions of dollars resulted. We are still being shoved around and humiliated before friends and foe alike by Stalin's successors.

Senator KNOWLAND, Republican minority leader, recently propelled himself into the headlines when he suggested on a TV program that we barter Norway for Communist-dominated Hungary. The Senator, in all seriousness, offered the idea that we trade the membership of Norway in the North Atlantic Alliance in return for Soviet withdrawal from Hungary. Norway, unlike Hungary, is not a satellite. It is our firm friend and an independent nation, which determines its own destiny. Those of us with long memories will recall that the German war lords invaded Norway first, in their attempt to bottle up all Scandinavia.

These are but a few examples of why perhaps we fail to hold the respect and support of allies or neutrals. Our foreign-aid extravagances will never prove a substitute for firm foreign policies and sound pronouncements.

One month ago, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, majority leader of the United States Senate and a respected legislator, stated publicly that Congress would not write any blank checks for foreign aid and "will not surrender the right to annual checkup on the program." That's what the Senate majority leader said a month ago.

But only a few days ago the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee after reducing the White House multi-billion-dollar aid request by less than 6 percent, endorsed, by an almost overwhelming majority, an aid program for the new fiscal year which Senator JOHNSON now both supports and sponsors.

If the four items contained in this overall aid authorization, which I am about to detail briefly to you, were adopted by the responsible officials of any publicly held United States corporation, these officials would very likely face Federal prosecution:

Here are the items:

1. The budget of the Department of Agriculture includes $750 million of foreign aid for the next 3 years, which certainly should be added to the total foreign-aid bill. This item should not be concealed from the American people as at present.

Moreover, foreign currency received from these food sales spells trouble for us because it means interference in the internal banking affairs of other countries through lending and relending large sums of money within their country. Only 10 percent of the soft currencies received from food aid sales is used for the maintenance of our own overly populated Government establishments within a given country. The balance of 90 percent puts us in the foreign banking business with foreign currency, obviously a threat to the normal conduct of the fiscal affairs of any country.

Furthermore, it dumps a large volume of Government-held food supplies, at less than cost, on foreign countries receiving them, thereby restricting the normal procedures of foreign trade. This has led to an ever-growing number of complaints from United States exporters and others affected.

2. Nearly a billion dollars of defense support largely duplicates economic aid. The sum of $900 million now demanded for defense support is another scheme to attempt to justify the expenditure of this vast sum in countries where we already have military aid programs. This, to a large degree, constitutes a duplication of aid funds, regardless of any reason given for it.

Year after year, the President, the State Department, and the highest officials and lobbyists for the executive departments plead for larger foreign aid appropriations.

Year after year, the principal argument is that we are spending three-quarters of all aid funds for military purposes and only one-quarter for economic aid. However, in the case of this latest plan, the defense support funds are to be reallocated to the International Cooperation Administration, so that it ends up as before in the economic aid

pipeline and not in the percentages that are given to stimulate the superspending.

3. Now it is planned to hide foreign military aid from the Congress by incorporating it in our defense budget where it will forever repose in the spending stream that runs through the catacombs of the Pentagon.

If Congress allows this to happen it means that the so-called military aid funds will be separated from the economic aid funds in the overall budget. Actually, $2 billion will be hidden from congressional supervision, so that it will be almost impossible for our legally constituted legislators to know how much is being spent for military aid and whether or not it is being used exclusively for military hardware and training.

The purpose of this is, of course, to reduce the overall foreign-aid budget in the eyes of the public—to conceal $2 billion annually from both the Congress and from the American people. In the end, it will cost the American taxpayers more billions, because the visible part of the aid budget will go up and the defense budget, already plagued by inflation, will become a military secret and a more costly one. This is a dishonest technique. It should be condemned and rejected.

4. A new $2 billion blank check with no strings. The new blank check proposal calls for an outright authorization of $2 billion to be spent at the rate of $500 million for the first year and $750 million for each of 2 succeeding years. No strings are to be attached to the spending. This vast sum will be given away at the discretion of the Department of State and the International Cooperation Administration, and no geographical spread has been defined. It is important to recognize the inescapable fact that the first year's half-billion dollars will become the incentive, the urge, and the itch to get rid of the additional $1,500,000,000 over the 2 succeeding years. The only problem will be to see that the money is fully spent and never mind how.

It should be recalled that the last Congress flatly refused to give the President a blank check for $100 million per year for 10 years. Now, under a new authorization, the same President boldly demands another blank check for his oppointed, not elected, global spenders to ladle out $2 billion over a 3-year interval. And to toss out these billions where they please, when they please, and as they please. If Congress permits this new foreign-aid folly, the American taxpayers are stuck not only for 3 years and $2 billion but very possibly forever and for many times $2 billion. Secretary of State Dulles, pleading for bigger foreign spending and as little congressional supervision of the spending as is possible, told a committee of Congress that foreign aid must go on for at least 10 years more. This means $50 billion to $60 billion more.

Our aim should be to reduce the annual appropriation for all foreign aid, both economic and military, to $1 billion. This would stop the present waste and extravagance in our global-giving ventures. It would end the bureaucratic superstructure that the American people must now support to keep the giving in high gear. It would stop our policymaking politicians from creating their annual cry of "crisis," which immediately disappears as soon as the appropriation is made. And most important of all, it would stop the threat to our overall economy and the further spread of creeping inflation.

There are many more effective and less costly ways of assisting other countries in their economic development than direct handouts from the Federal Treasury.

We need more Yankee traders and less foreign aiders to stimulate the flow of American capital into needy and underdeveloped nations through the incentive of fast tax writeoffs, such as are now granted to industries engaged in defense production.

Another way would be to expand the capacity of the World Bank to make long-term, low-interest loans to worthy nations upon the security of such collateral as natural resources or industrial potential.

In so doing, the United States would be able to achieve its goal without insulting the beneficiaries of its assistance—and without bankrupting the American people. One thing is certain—we cannot save the world by destroying ourselves.

We are told repeatedly that it is folly if we do not continue and expand our giveaway program. I can assure you it is the height of folly if we do continue such spending.

The present policy of weakening this Nation's economy and defenses by giving ourselves away makes it inevitable that we will be forced again to send our sons to fight and die in a third World War.

To me, one of the most alarming aspects of our foreign-aid program is that so many well-meaning people have been persuaded that this vast array of money we are spending will buy us future security.

The record shows and will continue to show that we have not bought one iota of protection in case of necessity in spite of the great sacrifices we have been called upon to make. Recent news dispatches from Japan, Formosa, and other countries report numerous manifestations of anti-American sentiment. Even Western Europe, according to the United Press, is extending a cool reception to American tourists. This has been shown in country after country that have been the recipients of our bounty.

Not being satisfied with giving aid to our friends and allies, we have given billions to the so-called neutralist nations, together with vast quantities of military supplies. No thought has been given to the stark peril that in some future time these very arms might be hurled against our own sons.

We have already seen Tito, Nehru, Nasser, and others visit and play host to the Communists in wild orgies of friendship and antiwestern demonstration.

Now it is solemnly proposed that we begin a program of aid to the Communist satellite countries of Eastern Europe.

What is the reason for our policy of panic?

Why must our policies be governed by crude Russian propaganda rather than the application of our own reasoning and logic?

One wonders why this country, with its reputation for ingenuity, organization, and production, cannot secure favorable agreements in carrying out its foreign policy and programs of foreign aid.

Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that Congress has abdicated much of its constitutional responsibility over appropriations. When larger amounts than can possibly be spent in a single year are appropriated for economic aid, Congress loses control of the purse strings.

Congress has been handing to the ICA, and its predecessor agencies, billions of dollars of the people's money without any previous determination of how the money is to be spent, and without audit or accurate check to determine whether the money was spent for the purposes intended.

Lack of specific information, general vagueness and absence of coordination is a true index to the nature and character of the foreign-aid program that the Congress is being asked to continue.

With the world's problems so difficult and varied and the solution so hard to find, it is wonderful to be able to hit upon so simple and easy a way out—give away more money. But is it good, or is it harmful?

Foreign aid has become more than a continuous drain upon the American taxpayer. It has become an opiate which blinds us to the appalling fact that we are doing little more than drift in our foreign policy course. It has given us a comfortable and deceptive belief that money is a substitute for strength and firmness in a cold war. Behind our Maginot line of foreign-aid billions, we have hoaxed ourselves with the conviction that we have purchased security.

And these are added reasons why we need more Yankee traders. The ability to trade commands respect, wins friends, and prevents wars. The foreign-aid program is today supplanting the private investor and in a large measure competing with the sound expansion of foreign trade. The dead hand of the Government bureaucrat cannot take the place of American initiative—it can only dry it up.

The sterile hand of state is now interposed between human wants and demands and the private initiative which can supply them.

This is happening more and more in both our domestic and our foreign dealings.

Never before, at a time when the guns are not booming, have the American people been subjected to more brainwashing from Washington than at present. Never before has the will of the Executive been more forcefully imposed upon both the Congress and the American people. Never before have we been confronted with a more bloated Federal budget—$71,800,000,000—the greatest danger to inflation that has ever been forced upon the American people.

These are factors that compel reappraisal. Several months ago our Congressmen got the surprise of their lives. The people rebelled against the excesses of the superspenders in Washington and their protests descended upon the legislators in an avalanche, the like of which they had never seen before. For a time, Congress took notice and took out the economy knife. Then the people stopped protesting and the spending went into high gear again, spurred by the powerful propaganda from the President, his assistants, and lobbyists. Unless the people reassert their concern and maintain their protests we may soon be confronted with an inflation that not only will curl our hair but may result in the tragedy of our losing it, as well as our shirts. If that happens we will be unable to aid ourselves or anyone else in the world. Then Moscow would win without firing a shot and our own politicians would blame us for their fiscal madness.

Americans both at home and abroad can surmount any problem when, as a Nation, we put our minds and hearts to the problem at hand.

One problem now before us is to get politicians and their appointed global givers out of foreign aid and substitute the safer, surer, and sounder methods of our own Yankee traders.

Showdown With High Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, George Todt's article of June 29, Showdown With High Court, is highly desirable reading. I commend it to the membership wholeheartedly.

The article follows:

SHOWDOWN WITH HIGH COURT

(By George Todt)

"Unlimited power corrupts the possessor; and this I know, that, where law ends, there tyranny begins" (Lord Chatham).

Is the Republic of the United States doomed to be ruled by nine old men—none

of them elected by the sovereign people—in the Supreme Court? Or will the executive and legislative branches of our Government exercise their powers under the checks and balances system the Founding Fathers devised so that none of the three branches could usurp rights belonging to the other two? In short, will the President and Congress counterattack?

This is the question of the hour. I have heard it asked by citizens in all walks of life—and in both major political parties. Joe Doakes is clearly disappointed—even alarmed—at the soft-on-communism trend of the High Court in recent years. And we might even go so far as to say that he feels outraged at the well-nigh incredible judicial events of the past few weeks which have caused no rejoicing in the land except in the ranks of Communists and superliberals.

What will happen next? That is anybody's guess, of course. Mine is that Congress will take the lead in placing curbs on the Supreme Court in the very near future, aided and abetted by the President—whom I suspect is also fed up. We might note at this point that there has been no refutation by the White House of a female INS reporter's recent statement attributed to Ike that the Chief Justice was "too liberal" to suit him. And it is also something less than an open secret that Mr. Eisenhower was infuriated at the fantastic ruling which could cause FBI files to be placed in jeopardy in the future.

Now if the President and the Congress combine to limit the undue social "legislative" powers which the Supreme Court justices have assumed for themselves since 1954—commencing with the integration decision of *Brown* v. *Education*—I predict the job can be accomplished in short order. Between the executive power over patronage and the legislative power over the purse-strings, the judiciary simply cannot count enough horses to stay their thrust.

Should the executive branch hold back at this time, for whatever reason, the chances are still strong that Congress can accomplish its task alone. This remains to be seen, however. But the legislators on Capitol Hill seem definitely in the mood as of now. Will they win out in the end? Shall our Government be accomplished by elected—or appointed—officials? What will the American people have to say about all this?

In any showdown of power between the three branches, most American citizens are bound to side with their elected officials—the President and the Congress—who are responsive to the people's will at election time and at the polling places. Not so the members of the Supreme Court, all political appointees of the present and past incumbents of the White House.

The Justices have lifetime tenure during good behavior. But none of them are elected by the people. Do they have any right to legislate on social questions?

Most Americans do not think so today. I venture to suggest that the august body of high court jurists may find that they have bitten off more than they can comfortably chew in the near future when-and-if a real showdown comes. They will not find the public in their corner.

Lets go quickly to the heart of the problem here. The real trouble with the Supreme Court at this period in our history is this: the nine Justices do not themselves represent a true cross section of the American political or philosophical makeup in the Court's own ideological composition. The High Court is now predominantly superliberal. The public is not. It is as simple as that. But what can be done about it? Will anything constructive come out of the present session of Congress? Who knows the answer to that one?

Costs Absorb Mail Sorter's Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken out from time to time on the need for early action by Congress to provide pay raises for postal workers and other employees of the Government. Now that the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has at last reported H. R. 2474, the post office pay bill, to the House I believe it is timely to again call attention to the distressing situation in which so many of our public servants are existing. I certainly hope that the committee will not delay as long in requesting a rule to bring H. R. 2474 to the floor as was done in reporting the bill after its approval in committee. To illustrate why quick action is needed from the employees point of view I ask that an article which appeared in the San Francisco Call-Bulletin recently be printed in the RECORD at this point. Nothing that I can say will add to the picture this article paints. We have only to multiply the individual case cited in the story by thousands to realize how many people are being hurt by every minute of delay in action on Government employee pay legislation.

The article follows:

[From the San Francisco Call-Bulletin of May 25, 1957]

COSTS ABSORB MAIL SORTER'S PAY—FROM HAND TO MOUTH ON $68

(By Arthur Bloomfield)

As Edward Ungaretti got home from his job as a post-office clerk he lit up an ancient gas heater in the corner of his small living room at 250 Collins Street.

Then he put an undecorative pan of water on top of the heater so no fumes would escape.

Sitting nearby were his wife Angelina and their 11-month-old child, Cheryl Ann.

"This is all the heat there is in the flat except for the fireplace," said Ungaretti, "and it's in another room, and it isn't very big.

"There are five rooms to heat, altogether."

Ungaretti, who sorts mail among other chores, has been with the post office for 8 years.

TAKE-HOME PAY

His take-home pay, however, has been somewhat like a bird with an injured wing which can't get much altitude.

It's $4,285 a year, so weekly take-home pay adds up, or subtracts down to the grand total of $68.

Seventeen years from now, if wages remain unchanged, Ungaretti's pay would be an annual $4,710, with a weekly take-home of about $74.

"I like my job and the people I work with," smiled the 33-year-old, but graying, clerk.

"But we live from payday to payday. If we missed a check, it would kill us. We'd have to borrow. And I can't even get a $200 loan from the bank because I have no collateral."

OTHER WORRIES

Ungaretti had other worries than how to keep his family warm.

He was wondering just how he'd have spare time to study for the test the Post Office gives every 9 months on mail sorting.

"I can get dismissed if I don't pass the test, said Ungaretti, explaining that postal districts change from time to time as new streets are added, and new pigeonholing techniques must be mastered—on off-duty time.

"You see, I have to take extra jobs to help pay the back bills, so there's little spare time. I get up at 4:30 a. m. to get to my 3-hour job with a private mail pickup firm.

WORK NIGHTS

"After that's through at 8:30, I go to my regular job at Rincon Annex at 9.

"Sometimes I work nights, too, for my wife's uncle—doing janitorial work.

"Naturally, when my vacation time comes, I take a job—and that's no vacation."

Ungaretti said he's considered leaving the Post Office for his original trade, as a sheet-metal worker, but as he puts it:

"I've got too much time in with the Post Office, and if I went back to sheet metal, I'd be the first to be laid off in a slump."

A visitor to the Ungaretti home was Emmet C. Andrews, a vice president of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, who said that a pay raise for postal employees would actually save the Nation approximately $2,500 million annually.

The national annual turnover in post office workers could be reduced from 500,000 to 200,000, he said, quoting an official estimate of the cost of training a postal employee at $3,000.

As Andrews was speaking, the heat went out, and Ungaretti had to get up from his chair and light the stove again.

The Need for Protecting FBI Files

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I take this occasion to discuss H. R. 8341, a measure of utmost importance to the preservation of our Government.

This measure deals with the FBI files, which were in effect declared sitting ducks in an open hunting season by the Supreme Court of the United States in the now-famous Jencks case. The Court in that ruling has created and compounded confusion, not only among the law enforcement officers of the executive branch, but among the jurists of the lower courts as well. The Court, I submit, was not clear in its definitions or terminology and left much of what it intended to convey in doubt. But one fact remains inescapable through this ruling. The Court, in effect, told every criminal and his lawyer that they have the right to examine the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation if they think that through such examination they can find documentary support for whatever nefarious position they choose to take. This, of course, to be accomplished before a presiding judge has a

chance to examine the files to determine if the material is or is not pertinent to the case.

The Judiciary Committees of both the House and the other body have considered this bill and one like it with favor. In an appearance before one committee, the Attorney General, Mr. Herbert Brownell, Jr., pointed out some dangers inherent in the Court's decision. He noted that already persons accused in narcotics cases had been freed in Pennsylvania and Georgia and that convictions already won in the courts might be reversed in a kidnaping case in Rhode Island. In numerous other cases the criminals or their attorneys are now preparing to base appeals on this ruling.

I recognize, as every other Member of this House does, the need to protect the innocent and to provide the accused with every possible means of preparing his defense. This is the basic function of our legal system and one of the main differences between our own and totalitarian justice where the only defense is to throw yourself on the mercy of the court.

At the same time I recognize, as does every Member of this House, that one of the prime functions of Government is to protect itself and the citizens who depend on it for protection—protection not only against aggression from abroad and subversion from within, but also from those elements within our own society who prey on their fellow humans and who stalk the jungles of our underworld. To accomplish this protection, Government has at its disposal the Armed Forces to guard against aggression from without, and the FBI to guard society against those who would corrupt or communize it. The FBI, under the direction of that eminent public servant, J. Edgar Hoover, has done a remarkable job in this important field. Now the Court would have us destroy the efficiency of this organization and its ability to function not only as the discoverer of wrong-doing, but the protector of the innocent.

What are these mysterious FBI files? They are simply the accumulation of a generation of evidence ferreted out by the agents themselves or brought to the attention of the FBI by private citizens. Much of the material is in the so-called raw files, that is, files which up to now have been open only to expert and experienced men to evaluate the evidence and to determine if it warranted further inquiry.

Much of the material in the files is unsubstantiated stuff which is better left locked up—material containing half true or completely false allegations. It would never, under the old procedure, have gone further. But under the new Court edict, this mass of material is open to the praying eyes of lawyers and outright criminals—men who could and would use it to their own advantage and without regard for those whom it might needlessly hurt.

Equally important, the files contain names of men, who through loyal service have uncovered the criminal plots against the Government, some of them paid counterintelligence agents. To open these files would be to expose these names and thus make them useless or, indeed, in some cases to make their very existence a hazard.

Also, the files contain clues as to which direction investigations may take, and to open them would be to announce to the world—and particularly to the shrewd and evil conspirators, where they should more carefully cover their tracks, where to go underground and what incriminating evidence to destroy.

In sum, the FBI files, if open to the wrong man or men, could do this Nation untold damage.

The purpose of H. R. 8341 and its companion bill in the other body, is to protect these files, while at the same time protecting the right of defendants to fair trial. It accomplishes this purpose by directing that such files or parts of files pertinent to the defense shall be open to the defendant—but only after examination by the trial judge. We are in this measure placing the responsibility on the shoulders of experienced and trained jurists and not at the discretion of possible Communists—or men who make their living at the beck and call of the criminal element.

The bill, I feel, accomplished the purpose of protecting the life of our Nation while at the same time guaranteeing every right to those accused of crimes, whatever those crimes may be.

America's 181st Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, on July 4 on the editorial pages of the Valley Times, of California, the thoughtful opinion of Mr. George Todt appeared, giving his reflections and comments on the 181st anniversary of American independence.

Mr. Todt is a judicious, learned, and prudent writer. His article follows:

AMERICA'S 181ST INDEPENDENCE DAY

(By George Todt)

"The penalty good men pay for indifference to public affairs, is to be ruled by evil men."—Plato.

America's Declaration of Independence from European tyranny was adopted in Congress on July 2, but signed on July 4, 1776. That was 181 years ago today, perhaps 6 or 7 generations of men and women extending back into our past. In this time we have grown from a weak Nation of 3 million of hardy souls to the foremost world power of our time with a population 57 times the original number.

During this period, 50 million of European peoples have come here to America to join with us in citizenship—the greatest voluntary mass migration of humanity in all of history.

Why did they come? The answer, when reduced to the smallest common denominator, is bound up in the word "incentive." There was more here of precious liberty, freedom, and human dignity than the civilized world had ever before known—and it was the magnet which drew these hordes irresistibly to our shores from the far corners of the earth. But most of them came from Europe. They were tired of Europeanism—which meant collectivism, socialism, tyranny, and eventual dictatorship in most cases—and were eager to try that which we called Americanism instead.

Now just what is Americanism, anyway? Many of us will have different interpretations of this meaningful term, but let me quote some of the most beautiful words which play upon this item to give it strength and dignity—and universal appeal to the hearts of men of good will everywhere. It is a part of the Declaration of Independence, itself. Read this excerpt and ask yourself how closely it fits your own definition of Americanism in 1957:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among those are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evidence a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

That very first sentence tells why America is the most unique political entity on the face of the globe: We are the only Nation, even today, which has declared that its citizens are spiritual children of God—a God who has given us certain unalienable rights, not the centralized power of the state—and that we, ourselves, have set up our own form of government which derives its just power "from the consent of the governed." Therefore, we, as free American citizens, are not expected to be subservient to government; but we have a right to expect our Government to secure "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to all of us who are members in good standing of the Republic of the United States. We rule ourselves.

In going over the list of 27 stated grievances of the signers of the Declaration of Independence against the British tyrant, King George III, I found at least two of them which would not be inapplicable today with reference to the "civil-rights legislation" holocaust which is now besstirring the Congress. Allow me to quote:

"4. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"18. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury."

There are two dangerous provisions of the so-called "civil-rights bill" which would have the same effect upon accused individuals or witnesses called arbitrarily before the courts, if the controversial legislation is passed by Congress.

To most Americans, two wrongs never add up to one right. If these things were wrong in the time of King George III, many of us are bound to wonder what has occured to make them right all of a sudden in our generation? Do such fundamentals ever

really change? Can we safely afford to be indifferent to any possible loss—no matter how small—of our traditional right of trial by jury? Isn't it worth our thinking about on this, our Independence Day?

Resolutions Passed by the South Dakota American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of several resolutions passed by the South Dakota American Legion during its recent convention. The Legion continues to champion the rights of veterans and the cause of a free democratic society. These are thoughtful resolutions dealing with Federal legislative proposals. I submit them for the consideration of the Members of Congress.

The resolutions follow:

Whereas Public Law 675, 83d Congress, as amended by Public Law 651, 84th Congress, provides for the erection of memorial markers in national cemeteries to honor the members of the Armed Forces missing in action or who died or were killed while so serving, whose remains have not been identified, and have been buried at sea or have been determined to be nonrecoverable; and

Whereas said law provides for the erection of said memorial markets in the national cemeteries to be done at private expense and at no cost to the Government; and

Whereas our Federal law provides that the cost of Government grave markers, including transportation and erection in the cemeteries, which honor deceased veterans who do not fall in the above classifications, are borne by the Federal Government: Be it

Resolved by the South Dakota Department of the American Legion in regular convention assembled this 16th, 17th, and 18th days of June 1957, That the Congress of the United States be asked to amend the aforesaid law so that all expenses of the erection of Government grave markers, including transportation costs, to honor the members of the Armed Forces missing in action, or who died or were killed while serving and whose remains have not been identified, or who have been buried at sea, or who have been determined to be nonrecoverable, be borne by the Federal Government in the same manner as afforded regularly buried deceased veterans.

Whereas it has been the American Legion's long-established policy to promote a maximum-employment program for all veterans; and

Whereas the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, provides for the establishment of facilities for adequate counseling and placement service for all veterans, and the Bureau of Employment Security, the Veterans' Employment Service and the State Employment agencies, have been mandated to carry out these policies as provided in the GI bill, as amended: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of South Dakota, in State convention assembled in Rapid City, S. Dak., June 17–19, 1957, does hereby give full support to those Federal and State agencies in their efforts to better serve the employment needs of veterans; and be it further

Resolved, That the national organization of the American Legion, its national legislative commission, and the national economic commission be urged to use their utmost efforts to the end that sufficient funds continue to be provided by congressional appropriation to insure adequate service to the veterans of the Nation in the field of gainful employment.

Whereas the United States Army Troop Transport *Dorchester* was sunk by an enemy torpedo off the coast of Greenland on the early morning of February 3, 1943, while wallowing through icy seas; and

Whereas four Army chaplains of different religious faiths, namely, 1st Lt. George L. FOX, of Gilman, Vt. (Methodist); 1st Lt. Alexander D. Goode, of York, Pa. (Jewish); 1st Lt. Clark V. Poling, of Schenectady, N. Y. (Reformed Church in America); and 1st Lt. John P. Washington, of Newark, N. J. (Roman Catholic), lost their own lives in the sinking of the *Dorchester*, when they took off their own life preservers and put them on four young GI's and told them to jump; and

Whereas these four heroic chaplains helped to save over 200 persons before the *Dorchester* went down in a rumble of steam, 25 minutes after it was hit; and

Whereas the last anyone saw of them, the four chaplains were standing on the slanting deck, their arms linked in prayer; and

Whereas the conduct of these four brave men will forever be an inspiring example of courageous and unselfish devotion to God and country; and

Whereas the American Legion has dedicated its Back to God Movement as a living memorial to these four chaplains who gave their lives that others might live: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion, Department of South Dakota, That it does hereby urge the Congress of the United States to enact the necessary legislation for the purpose of authorizing the award, posthumously, to the four Army chaplains, of the Congressional Medal of Honor, as a suitable observance in commemoration of the deaths and heroic actions of these dedicated and courageous officers, who acted above and beyond the call of duty and in accordance with the highest traditions of consecrated men of God; be it further

Resolved, That the national convention mandate the national commander and the national legislative director to seek the prompt intrdouction and passage of congressional legislation to this end.

Whereas the international situation has not been improved by actual agreements; and

Whereas experience in the past leaves some doubt whether workable agreements can be reached; and

Whereas the American Legion has always supported the position of an adequate national defense; and

Whereas the requirements of the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1955 have not been met: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the 39th Annual Convention, Department of South Dakota, duly convened this 16th through 19th day of June, 1957, That the South Dakota Department, American Legion, go on record as urging implementation of the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1955; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded to the National American Legion Convention for its consideration and passage, and that copies of this resolution be sent to our congressional delegation in Washington, D. C.

Statement Made by David J. McDonald on the Increased Price of Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL–CIO, made a statement regarding the United States Steel Corp.'s increase in price which, I believe should be given widespread publicity.

The large steel corporations are propagandizing the American public that increased wages are forcing them to increase prices. However, they do not tell the public that increased productivity and increased profits have reached an all-time high.

The statement made by Mr. McDonald, I feel, shall throw considerable light on the relationship between wages and profits.

His remarks follow:

United States Steel Corp. has done it again. It has imposed higher prices on steel consumers for the 2d time in the last 6 months, the 3d time in the past year, and for the 22d time since World War II ended.

And once again the corporation refuses to accept responsibility for its own act. Instead, it seeks to hide its fabulous growth of profits by minimizing them, exaggerates the wage increase received by its employees and thereby seeks to pin the blame for higher prices on steelworkers and their union.

United States Steel's employees will receive a wage increase averaging 9 cents an hour. Benefits, other than wages, which went into effect on July 1 will cost the corporation an additional 2.5 cents an hour. Because the cost of living has risen in the past 6 months and reduced the buying power of steelworkers' wages, they will receive in July a cost-of-living adjustment of 4 cents an hour. The total cost of these wage and fringe changes will be 15.5 cents an hour.

The greatest profit ever made in a single year by the corporation was $370.1 million. This year, in 1957, the corporation's net profits after taxes are running at an annual rate of $461.9 million.

Based on the corporation's own figures of total employment and hours worked, and of shipments of finished steel found in the most recent financial report issued, United States Steel could absorb the cost of the wage increase for the remainder of 1957, reduce steel prices by $6 a ton instead of raising them by that amount, and end 1957 with the greatest net profits after taxes in the history of the corporation.

If the corporation was as sincere in its concern about higher prices as it proclaims, it would absorb the equitable wage increase which, in real terms, is an increase of approximately 3½ percent, it would keep steel prices stable, and, based on its current rate of profit, still be able to enjoy record profits of $437 million after taxes in 1957, as compared with its previous alltime record of $370.1 million.

If we have come to the point where workers cannot look forward to real increase in purchasing power of about 3½ percent when their efforts result in increasing productivity by an even greater amount each year

and when their employers reap an annual profit increase many times this amount, then we are all in trouble.

I do not believe that we are in that situation. Corporations like United States Steel may seek to make us believe that price increases must be levied to pay for wage increases. But the history of our Nation proves the opposite. The standard of living of the American people has risen through the years. This could not have happened if price increases had wiped out every gain made by wage and salary earners.

Fortunately, either because of greater vision or because of an inability to control prices like the steel companies, employers in many industries find it possible to share with their employees and the public the gains made possible by steadily rising productivity.

The record clearly shows that this path is open to United States Steel. I recommend that the corporation take a long, hard look at its pricing policies which can only have damaging effects on the entire economy.

Wage-price-profit relationships concern us all. The President of the United States has indicated his concern. I suggested a fortnight ago that the President establish a committee composed of top union and management officers who have collective bargaining responsibilities. Such a committee could serve to keep the President informed, on a regular basis, concerning this wage-price-profit problem. Through this method we can, perhaps, insure that facts, rather than arguments, are made available. I hope that the leaders of the steel industry will join with me in urging the President to establish a committee of this nature.

Texas a Wasteland in 43 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, many times I have heard Senator LYNDON JOHNSON express his views eloquently on the immediate and urgent need for greater flood-control and conservation projects throughout this Nation. Senator JOHNSON has not only spoken for these measures, but he has fought for them effectively in the Senate and while he was a Member of the House of Representatives.

My good friend, Steve Elam, the editor and publisher of the San Benito News, of San Benito, Tex., has quoted Senator JOHNSON, in the accompanying editorial, very effectively, precisely, and powerfully on the importance of such projects for the future of our State.

The editorial follows:

[From the San Benito News of June 27, 1957]

WE MUST BUILD MORE DAMS—TEXAS A WASTELAND IN 43 YEARS?

Texas will not have any water by the year 2000 unless a far-reaching development and conservation project is pushed forward aggressively, Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON declared this week.

"We must build more dams—many more dams—in Texas," Senator JOHNSON said. "We must hold onto our rainfall instead of allowing the water to run off into the gulf. If we don't develop our water supply and conserve our water resources, the Texas economy will wither on the vine and our State will become a wasteland."

The Senator said he is urging the Senate Appropriation Committee to take action this week on many flood-control and water-conservation projects in Texas.

"I am pressing for favorable action on projects on the Colorado River," he said, "on the Brazos and Trinity Rivers, on Red River, on the Neches, the Guadalupe, and the Sabine. These are projects that will pay for themselves and will return healthy dividends."

Senator JOHNSON said the 1958 Federal budget proposes a total of only 30 new and resumed water projects of all kinds in the entire country.

"We've got to do better than that," he asserted. "The problem is a giant and we are fighting it with a knitting needle."

A Congressional Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a timely article which appeared in the National News, official newspaper of the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A., Inc., in the issue for July 1957:

A CONGRESSIONAL CHARTER

It has been determined by the national legislative committee of the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A., that the major legislative effort at this session of Congress should be the attempt to secure passage of a bill to provide a congressional charter for the organization.

Our legislative counsel reports considerable progress in his efforts to secure hearings before the appropriate subcommittees of both Houses. He, together with members of the legislative committee, have pointed out to the legislators the many sound reasons for congressional approval of the measures that have been introduced to serve this purpose.

We think it pertinent at this time to list some of the cogent reasons why Congress should grant a charter to the Veterans of World War I.

1. The Veterans of World War I is the only organization that exclusively represents the veterans of 1917–18. Even 39 years after the close of hostilities, it has a larger potential membership than any previous veterans' organization in history.

2. Accreditation of the Veterans Administration goes only to those veteran groups that have been chartered by Congress. Within the ranks of the World War I veterans are thousands of men who have had years of experience as service officers. These men continue in their desire to represent all veterans and particularly their own comrades of World War I. These veterans need the aid and assistance that trained men can give them. A Congressional charter would facilitate recognition by the VA and its counterparts in many States of the Union.

3. Numerous boards and commissions that are administering veterans' affairs in many States are made up exclusively of men who are not veterans of World War I. As an illustration, the appointments of members of the Michigan Soldiers' Home Board of Managers are made upon the recommendation of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans and the United Spanish War Veterans. Over 82 percent of the veterans at this facility are veterans of 1917–18. Certainly the veterans of World War I should have some voice in the choice of personnel that will administer to the needs of their own.

4. Several States have set up agencies to handle the affairs of veterans within those States. Some of the functions of these boards have to do with the allocation of funds for those groups that have secured congressional recognition. These veteran organizations then make recommendations to local welfare agencies and administer other programs conducted for the benefit of veterans. In the present situation, the veterans of World War I have no voice because they have not yet been granted a congressional charter.

5. Recognition by the Veterans Administration, which hinges on the charter grant, would enable representatives of our organization to be recognized by county courts in the preparation of matters before probate courts on behalf of veterans and their dependents.

Every member of the organization could render a distinct service to his comrades if he would write his Senator and Congressman urging immediate action on S. 1407, S. 1440, and H. R. 5531.

Six Five-eighths- by Five-Inch Bolts Require 10 Dozen Eggs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents from Pinewood, Minn., has written some pertinent observations regarding egg prices. Mr. Clarence Wentzel, of Fisher, Minn., would like to add, "at least make a profit." Under leave to extend my remarks I request permission to insert these two letters into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PINEWOOD, MINN., *July 5, 1957.*

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
Congresswoman, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: Up until about 2 or 3 weeks ago we received 20 cents a dozen for grade 1A large eggs. I wish to make an illustration of what happened one day while I was in town. I was in a hardware store and wanted six ⅝ x 5-inch bolts. When the storekeeper had wrapped them and I asked the price he told me that they would cost $2.08 which would have taken better than 10 dozen eggs to have paid for these bolts.

The cost of raising chicks until they start laying and feeding them after, cost me approximately 31 cents per dozen to produce, so you can readily see that selling eggs at their price, the sooner I get rid of my chickens the better off I will be.

I hope that our friends will have the gumption to write you.

Sincerely,

ANDREW WHITE.

FISHER, MINN., *July 5, 1957.*

DEAR COYA KNUTSON: As Minnesota is the third largest State in egg production, I thought you would like a clipping I clipped out of our Crookston Daily Times on July 4, of all the local markets. Our egg price has

been about the same all winter and spring between 18 to 23 cents as of this day.

If you can do something about raising the price of eggs the farmer sells in our large egg-producing State, so as to at least make a profit, so we have some cash income for our time spent, which we are so much entitled to.

I remain, as ever, a farmer of Fisher township.

CLARENCE WENTZEL.

LOCAL PRODUCE, JULY 4, 1957

(Courtesy Peterson-Biddick Co.)

Poultry:	
Old roosters	$0.07
Hens	.08
Eggs:	
PB grade	.23
A grade, Medium	.18
B grade, Large	.18
Butterfat:	
Sweet	.63
No. 1 Sour	.60
No. 2 Sour	.57

LOCAL CANADIAN EXCHANGE

Exchanged at 3 percent premium.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, during the recent discussions of the William S. Girard case, here on the floor of the House of Representatives, I consistently objected to our Government allowing the Japanese court to try an American soldier.

My objection has been rewarding, in that I have received commendatory letters from citizens of all walks of life.

Today, I have received a letter from Miss Carolyn L. DeVille, of Marksville, La., a young lady residing in my Eighth Congressional District. With the thought that my colleagues would appreciate the thinking and views of a young American, I ask unanimous consent to have her letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter follows:

MARKSVILLE, LA., *July 3, 1957.*

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LONG: I am only 16 years old, but I fully understand the great injustice that is being done to Sp3c. William S. Girard. I feel that it is my duty as a citizen of the United States to defend to the best of my ability the ones who have so faithfully and bravely defended us in past wars. William Girard is now waiting to see if the country that he has helped to protect will help him in his hour of need.

I would like to have my voice heard, and if it carries any weight our Government will not turn this man over to a foreign government with the expectation of his getting a fair trial. It should not be the policy of our modern Government to sacrifice a human life just to appease a foreign government as if it were a god. The Constitution of the United States says that any person, regardless of the crime they have been accused of or of their race, color, or creed, is entitled by law to a fair trial.

Please use all your influence as a Representative to help this man. I assure you that I and all my family will pray and ask God to be with you as you fight for this man's life.

Respectfully yours,

Miss CAROLYN L. DEVILLE.

Postal Pay and Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the biggest problems confronting us is the matter of pay increases for our loyal Federal workers. I am certain that all of us are keenly receptive to the pleas sent to us daily from harassed postal people in our districts.

One of the greatest injustices associated with the current situation is the position of the administration in threatening a veto of a salary bill and the scare tactics used by the Postmaster General. It is hard to equate the Postmaster General's declaration of genuine concern for the welfare of Federal employees with his further declaration that increased productivity in the postal service is due not only to the efforts of rank and file employees but also to management improvements of many kinds.

The only rise in productivity I can see which is properly to be attributed to postal management is the growing talent shown by the Post Office Department for multiplying the number of regional jobs. On page 97 of the Postmaster General's Annual Report for fiscal 1956, it is shown that the number of regional full-time employees in 1954 was 1,104. In 1955 that number had risen to 2,599; and in 1956 the number had grown to 4,418.

Perhaps the postal administration is confused between productivity and procreation.

The unkindest cut of all is the testimony by the Postmaster General that the postal pay bill is a cruel instrument against the postal employees themselves because its adoption would cause our currency to be debased, our economic vitality sapped, and the purchasing power of all our citizens diminished bit by bit.

At this point I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the New Era, official publication of the Conference of Eastern Pennsylvania Central Labor Unions. I believe that the article's comments on the state of the postal service are extremely valid. The editorial follows:

Postmaster General Sir Arthur Summerfield took a below-the-belt punch at underpaid Federal postal workers when he tried to scare the public into believing that postage rates on letters would have to jump from 3 to 7 cents to pay the higher wage bill.

This kind of scare publicity, which is probably the most ridiculous piece of propaganda ever to emanate from the Republican boss' mouth, is certainly not going to raise morale in the badly deflated postal system.

Everybody knows that the postal service never was intended to pay its own way. No other department of the Government is required to operate on independent income. Yet this is the way Summerfield wants to run his show.

In the process, however, postal workers are put behind the eight ball. Their salaries never have been and should not now be geared to the Department's income from the sale of postage. After all, we have no right to expect employees to subsidize the Nation's postal system through inadequate pay.

What is needed most in the Post Office Department is a good housecleaning, starting with Summerfield and going right down the line to regional and district levels where a system of political patronage jobs was created for purposes of circumventing the civil-service system. The excuse for establishing the setup was to provide "better service."

It is quite obvious that service today is worse than it has been in decades. On occasions the pony express looks good by comparison.

Raises for postal workers are long overdue. Congress can safely compensate its employees properly without succumbing to Summerfield's 7-cent-mail bogeyman.

Mrs. Grace Goodhue Coolidge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed in the RECORD editorials from the Springfield, Mass., Daily News on July 8 and the Washington Post and Times Herald on July 10 paying tribute to Mrs. Grace Goodhue Coolidge, widow of the 30th President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge.

The editorials follow:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Daily News of July 8, 1957]

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE

When Mrs. Calvin Coolidge was introduced to a New York gathering in 1934 as the most lovely first lady of our land, the mother of President Franklin D. Roosevelt led the applause.

That reputation began for Grace Goodhue long before she married Mr. Coolidge in 1905. Her graciousness, tact, and charm were recognized by her friends in Vermont, at the university there, and at Clarke School for the Deaf long before they were discovered by Northampton's politics-conscious young lawyer.

Although the Nation hailed her as the loveliest first lady, and compared her graciousness as the White House hostess to that of Dolly Madison, Northampton had a special fondness for this woman who taught at one of its famous schools, and then married the man who became the city's mayor, the State's governor, and the Nation's President.

Northampton saw a Mrs. Coolidge which the rest of the world never saw. They saw her trudging through snow at 7 a. m. to get to the railroad station to say goodby and give some little gifts to a few Northampton

boys who were going off to basic training during World War II.

Northampton saw her as the woman who set the mode for gasoline-rationing days by walking down Elm Street pulling a little wheeled cart on her way to the shopping and market section. It saw her graciousness as she neatly drew attention from a Smith College maid who dropped an amply filled tea tray at a formal function. "It's so humid today, I find it difficult to hold even a spoon," she said gently.

She was a good neighbor in such quite ways, but she also realized that she couldn't always be a good neighbor by being a "Silent Grace." At one of her very infrequent visits to a political party gathering, she sat in silence for as long as she could and then stood to give a crisp challenge to the young Republicans there to raise their sights and to open their doors wider to attract the counsel and services of all young people in the community, and not to tolerate restrictions which might rob them of some of the finest available leadership.

She was similarly reluctant to speak out recently against a proposal to erect a statue of Mr. Coolidge in this State. She was relieved when the measure was sidetracked at the statehouse, but she had told Northampton friends that she feared she might have to break her silence to oppose any such action.

On the other hand, Mrs. Coolidge was greatly pleased that fellow townsmen and other friends in the State planned and completed the Coolidge memorial room at Forbes Library in the Northampton, and her last public appearance was at the dedication exercises for that memorial prepared by city and State.

All over the country and the world, many will today be saddened by the news that "the most lovely First Lady of our land" has died, but Northampton will feel her loss more keenly. There she was a good neighbor. The city afforded her the privacy which she sought, but nevertheless looked to her to do her full share of work for the community, for church, and for education. She never failed the city which she dearly loved. No one bothered her in the grocery as she stopped to compare labels on canned goods she was buying, but when her special qualities and prestige were needed in some community effort, she was asked to help, and always did.

Millions will be saddened by her death. Some knew her as teacher who reached their soundless world; others knew her only as the baseball-loving First Lady. Some knew her as a kind neighbor; others recall her days as the gracious hostess at the White House.

Where she was best known, she was best loved, and therefore her son, John Coolidge, his wife and their two daughters must sustain the greatest loss, and they have the sympathy of the country.

The Nation knows that it lost a great lady today; Northampton knows it lost a good neighbor.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 10, 1957]

GRACE GOODHUE COOLIDGE

Few roles demand such a fund of tact, ready wit, and common sense as the office of First Lady of the United States—an office carefully prescribed by tradition if not by the Constitution. By universal accord, Mrs. Calvin Coolidge filled this demanding role with dignity, warmth, and winning simplicity during her husband's two administrations. The complex social duties of the White House—ranging from baseball (she was an avid fan) to royal receptions—invite Potomac fever but Mrs. Coolidge remained immune. With poise and charm she held fast to her inflexible command, "Thou shalt not talk politics"—a command doubly difficult but nonetheless sometimes refreshing in this city festering with political feuds. Following Mr. Coolidge's retirement, she resided in Northampton, Mass., where her Yankee simplicity brought affectionate regard. She was deserving of the moving compliment paid by her husband, who in a rare moment of quotable articulation, said of Grace Goodhue Coolidge, "For almost a quarter of a century, she has borne with my infirmities and I have rejoiced in her graces."

Address by Mr. Dale Soriano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to extend my remarks, I should like to include an address by Dale Soriano, past judge advocate of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, before the Disabled American Veterans, and Friends of the DAV on Thursday noon, July 4, 1957, at the State Armory, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The address follows:

Veterans and friends, July the Fourth, as we all know, commemorates the signing of the Declaration of Independence, our Nation's first formal bid for independence from foreign rule. Even as the ink was drying on this bold document, our Patriot Fathers who signed it knew that the declaration alone would not accomplish the fact, and that our independence would have to be won by fighting for it against what must have seemed overwhelming military odds.

When our freedom as a Nation separate and self-governing was finally won, the new Nation's leaders must have believed, or at least hoped, that it would remain unchallenged in the years to come. We know only too well that on the contrary, the United States of America has had to defend her independence and security a number of times since then. We have done so successfully, thank God, but at a terrible cost in lives and well-being of millions of millions of our young men.

No shadow of a doubt has ever existed that our independence is well worth fighting for. Indeed we are so constituted as a Nation that it would be unthinkable for us to live otherwise than as a free people. The important point is that America's fighting men have willingly shouldered arms to maintain that independence, prepared to make any sacrifice for it. For millions this has meant the supreme sacrifice, and to those who did pledge and give their very lives, all honor and glory on this most significant of our national holidays.

And to those others, who fought and survived, but whose bodies and minds still bear the wounds and scars of the conflict, may we today give a moment's thought and attention?

If you were to ask the war-disabled veteran of any of America's struggles against aggression, "What did you fight for?" he might phrase his answer in a variety of ways—but essentially any reply would have the same basic meaning. In the broader sense, he was fighting for the independence and freedom of his country. Most people, however, translate such broad and noble ideas into more personal terms, so that the independence of his country comes naturally to mean, to those who defended it, the independence of those who make up his immediate world—his wife, his children, his parents, his friends, and himself.

Let's go one step further and ask the disabled veteran what he means by "independence." To him, as to all of us, our country's independence means freedom from domination by any other nation, but personal independence as a citizen of that country means physical and mental health, a decent place to live, the necessities of life for his family, a job that he can hold down successfully, and a respected place in the community where he lives.

My organization, the Disabled American Veterans, has as its single purpose the fulfillment of this independence for all of America's wartime disabled veterans. In fact, it was for that purpose that we were organized at the end of World War II. Since the DAV is composed entirely of veterans who were wounded, injured or disabled in wartime service, we know perhaps better than anyone what is necessary to achieve independence for the disabled veteran.

First of all, the disabled veteran's natural desire for independence from physical pain and mental incapacity must in many cases be modified. Often he knows that he can never achieve anything like real health and physical well-being because of his war incurred handicaps.

Let us say, then, that the disabled veteran hopes to be as nearly physically and mentally rehabilitated as is possible with good medical and hospital care. This, then, is the first necessity for making independence a reality for the disabled veteran. The Veterans' Administration is responsible for seeing that he gets the best care possible, with enough well-staffed VA hospitals to take care of the increasing numbers of veterans whose disabilities recur from time to time, or in some cases do not become apparent until some years after the war has ended. This is often a long-term problem.

Especially is this true in the case of the mentally ill veteran. His illness has been coming on for a long time, and the chances are that he has no funds to take care of the lengthy hospitalization necessary to bring him back to mental health. But he must be cared for, and the American public has a responsibility for his care which is going to exist whether the patient is cared for in an already overcrowded State mental institution or in a VA hospital, where he rightfully belongs.

Our National Commander, Joseph F. Burke, of Bayonne, N. J., recently issued a statement protesting the demands in some quarters for curtailment of the Veterans' Administration program for building additional VA hospitals to take care of this increasing veteran load. He said, "Don't let anybody tell you that we've reached a point where we have enough VA hospitals. In one State I visited this year a VA hospital had a waiting list of 1,000. The average throughout the country is one psychiatrist for every 60 VA mental patients and the VA would like it to be one for every 30 patients. We must encourage an expansion of this program."

Next, then, the disabled veteran must be assured of just and fair compensation for the handicaps which he has suffered in the service of his country, so that he can achieve independence from want for his family and himself. With today's rising costs of living, he badly needs some increase in this compensation so that he can provide the basic necessities of life for his family. And especially he must have some stability in his compensation rating, so that he can know what he has to depend on from month to month. In the case of the totally disabled veteran this may be all he has to live on, because his war-sustained handicaps make it impossible for him to earn any kind of living. In many other instances the veteran is able to work and does so, but his disability may become aggravated from time to time, requiring medical care or hospitalization, and interrupting his earning power

while he is unable to work. His modest compensation check then becomes the only source of income he has, and he must be able to depend on it. In recent years, certain off-again, on-again policies in VA determination of his compensation have created an almost impossible situation for many disabled veterans.

To achieve true independence, the veteran who has any remaining ability must have a job he can handle successfully. This is the end product of all successful physical and mental rehabilitation, and is the dearest wish of every disabled veteran's heart, because it gives him not only a measure of financial independence, but an independence of spirit which cannot be measured in dollars and cents. To make this possible, two things are necessary, after his health has been brought to the most satisfactory level possible. First, he must have the right kind of vocational training to enable him to develop new skills to replace those which were lost because of his disability. Second, the public must be encouraged to realize that the disabled veteran is an conscientious and skillful a worker as his able-bodied brother when he is placed in a job for which he is fitted. As far as being conscientious and dependable is concerned, he is often more so, because he knows that he must prove his worth. Also it has been proved conclusively that his safety record in industry is many times better than the able-bodied worker's.

Just as every American wants to see his country, as an independent power, respected by all other nations, so his personal desire is for a place of respect in his community. The disabled veteran, no less than other men, has this same desire, and he does not expect it to be handed him on a silver platter accompanied by maudlin sympathy. He is willing to work for that respect, and the community activities of our fine DAV chapters throughout the Nation bear that out. He deserves, however, the gratitude of his Nation and his community for his part in keeping America free and independent at the cost of his own physical well-being, and he deserves the sympathetic understanding of his neighbors in his struggle for a normal life and personal independence.

I have mentioned some of the basic ways in which we can achieve independence for the disabled veteran. Perhaps you feel that this has not been a typically patriotic speech, on the occasion of this Fourth of July, but I believe that if you will consider what I have said in its fullest sense you will see that it is indeed appropriate—for the independence achieved by any nation is only as great as the personal independence of her citizens. Surely there are none who deserve that independence more than those who valued it so highly that they sacrificed their health and well-being and, in many cases, parts of their bodies to preserve it.

The DAV—the Disabled American Veteran—on this Fourth of July rededicates itself to the task of making independence a reality for our fellow disabled veterans, but we can only succeed with all America's help. Thank you.

Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Dan River Mills, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, on July 2, 3, and 4, 1957, the Dan River Mills, Inc., of Danville, Va., observed its 75th anniversary. On Thursday, July 4, a celebration and party was held at the Danville fairgrounds which was attended by more than 30,000 people and was sponsored by Dan River Mills, of which Mr. W. J. Erwin is president.

The Dan River Mills is one of the largest textile organizations in the world and is the second largest employer in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Mr. Erwin and other officials of the mills are men of outstanding character and ability and they have surrounded themselves with employees of solid and dependable character. The relationship between officers and employees is wholesome and has stimulated a spirit of cooperation and fellowship in southside Virginia.

I do not believe we have any business organization which has contributed more to the enhancement of the cultural, educational, and economic development of southside Virginia than has Dan River Mills. We are all proud of their accomplishments and of what that organization has done to improve living conditions in our section.

At the celebration referred to above on July 4, Mr. W. J. Erwin, the able president of Dan River Mills, extended greetings to those attending the party, and the distinguished senior United States Senator from Virginia, the Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD, delivered a very timely and able and worthwhile address. Under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am glad to include the addresses of President W. J. Erwin, of the Dan River Mills, and Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD, of Virginia. They are as follows:

REMARKS BY W. J. ERWIN AT JULY 4 EMPLOYEES' PARTY

Senator BYRD, Congressman TUCK, fellow employees, and distinguished guests, we extend to you and your families a very warm and sincere welcome to this birthday party, which commemorates the 75th anniversary of the founding of Dan River Mills.

In planning for this anniversary year, it has always been our intention that this party for you and the members of your family would be a climax of the activities undertaken to commemorate the 75th anniversary. This party is an expression of appreciation to you for what you have done to make this company a success. We are proud of your performance and proud of what you have done for Dan River over the years.

At the same time we want to pay tribute to the many men and women who have preceded us and who contributed so much to the growth and welfare of our company.

On behalf of our entire management, I extend to all of you our thanks, our best wishes, and our hope that this will be a day you will remember pleasantly for a long, long time.

SPEECH BY SENATOR HARRY F. BYRD, DAN RIVER MILLS, INC., DANVILLE, VA., JULY 4, 1957

The Fourth of July is an anniversary of deep significance to all Americans, and it is an especial pleasure for me to observe it with the fine people of the Danville area in this year of 1957.

Here, in Virginia, we are now observing the 350th anniversary of the founding of the first permanent English settlement in Virginia, at Jamestown; the 181st anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, written by a Virginian, the great Thomas Jefferson, of Monticello; and the 75th anniversary of your great industrial institution, the Dan River Mills, which may properly be regarded as one of the finer fruits of the freedom for which the country was settled, our independence was won, and the sound progress for which Virginia has always stood.

It has been my privilege over the last few months to participate in several observances of the founding of Virginia at Jamestown, and on this day in Danville, I think it is fitting to recall that occasion, for when that small band of founders came ashore from their three little ships 350 years ago they set in motion a chain of events without comparison in human history.

With their faith in the future they marked one of the great moments in history. It was a moment of greatness because those men and their stanch followers began to build with such soundness and vision that a new world slowly but surely began to form. It was indeed a case of the infinitely small being infinitely great. These first settlers were great men in whom God and nature succeeded.

There at Jamestown respect for individual rights and responsibilities was established.

There the dignity of man was acknowledged.

There the rights of free enterprise and initiative were encouraged.

There, truth to God, and truth to self were practiced.

On this foundation was built the first representative government in the New World—the Virginia House of Burgesses, the predecessor of our State legislatures and the National Congress.

Material results are but the tardy sign of invisible activity. The courage to hope, and live, and build for a better world was the great legacy the founders bequeathed their descendants.

And from this later came the fortitude to fight for liberty when it was threatened, and to win the independence of a great nation.

Who among us does not have indelibly stamped in his heart and soul the great words of Jefferson as he penned them in the Declaration of Independence—the unanimous declaration of the Thirteen United States of America in the Congress, July 4, 1776, 181 years ago today.

And you remember the closing words—immortal and will live as long as the language exists:

"We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in general congress, assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

"And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Mark those last words, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor", and remember that our immortal Declaration of Independence was not written in a moment of victory. It was, itself, a record of uncertainty and peril—an oath taken in the most dangerous hour this country has ever known. George, the Third, regarded it as an act of treason, and the hangman's noose cast its shadow over those responsible.

Yet, Thomas Jefferson penned it, and John Hancock wrote his signature at twice its normal size so, he said, "John Bull could see it without his spectacles and double the price to be put on my head."

That great document, adopted by Congress 181 years ago today, is carefully preserved in Washington now for all to see. If you haven't seen it, please do not miss an opportunity. It is a source of great inspiration. It is the living evidence of men's hopes and courage. It expresses the fervent hope that the future may draw faith from its deep meaning.

This and the other American achievements leading to our revolution and independence were the immediate inspiration for the spread of democratic freedom in an ever-widening sphere. Today the United States stands as the beacon of hope in the world.

It is well for us today to recall these great historical developments, because they were wrought by great men with great minds, and great vision for sound progressive future. They made possible the greatness of our Nation today. They were building a great nation for us thought by thought, and deed by deed. Our institutions are the lengthened shadows of the men who conceived them and that applies to Dan River Mills.

It is on the firm foundation built by our forebears that Virginia has made its own environment; it is from them that we inherited our abiding belief in States rights, and sound principles. And it is upon these that we have built our State and local governments, and institutions.

Development comes with use, and use of our principles in Virginia has brought us out of the dark days of reconstruction into the light of sound progress.

Virginia today stands as a symbol for States rights, for the democratic principle of separate coordinate branches of government, and for unmortgaged future.

The people of our commonwealth have been generous to me, and to them I shall always be grateful. It has been my unswerving purpose to serve them to the utmost of my ability in each of the positions of honor they have entrusted with me. I believe in the people of Virginia, and I trust in their judgment, and I stand firmly on Virginia traditions and Virginia principles.

In Virginia we regard experience as a guidepost—not a hitching post. Perhaps in these days of spiraling inflation it is still possible to get a few things for nothing—but experience is not one of them.

Our progress in Virginia is based on 350 years of experience. It is our purpose to be guided by that experience. Like the Dan River Mills long experience has served Virginia well. And as one citizen of Virginia I am proud of our record.

Virginia has its critics and I well know that no government is perfect, but governments are comparative and I want now to give you just a few instances of our modern day progress.

First of all, Virginia is 1 of the 3 States completely free of State debt. And this is of significance when the Federal Government and nearly all the States have recklessly plunged themselves into indebtedness, the interest on which I predict will exceed many times the principals of the loans.

Virginia escapes this terrible burden of the annual and perhaps permanent interest charges.

Here are a few figures showing how Virginia is going ahead of other States.

In the past 25 years in population of 49 percent as compared to an increase of 33 percent in the country as a whole. Per capita income payments increased in Virginia by 253 percent as compared to the general increase of 163 percent.

Value of products manufactured in Virginia increased 328 percent as compared to general average of 282 percent.

Payroll in Virginia manufacturing increased 416 percent as compared to general average of 341 percent.

Retail sales in Virginia increased 426 percent and the general increase was 251 percent.

Deposits in Virginia banks increased 425 percent. The national average increased 269 percent.

Number of telephones in Virginia increased 360 percent. Average, 178 percent.

Motor-vehicle registrations increased 226 percent. Average 133 percent.

It is tommyrot to say Virginia is lagging behind.

We are making great progress all down the line.

We are doing this without debt and with sound governmental policies.

The Dan River Mills symbolize our sound progress in Virginia, and it is fitting that on Independence Day, 350 years after our founding at Jamestown, and 181 years after our Declaration of Independence we congratulate the institution on the occasion of its diamond anniversary.

Danville, the Danville area, and the southside of Virginia also is to be congratulated for its support of this great corporation which for 75 years has contributed so much to the community, the State and the better living of people at home and abroad.

Virginia is proud of this great leader of the textile industry. When this company was originated by the three brothers, Robert A., John H., and James H. Schoolfield, along with Thomas B. Fitzgerald, Benjamin F. Jefferson, and Dr. H. W. Cole, the country was only about 100 years old. Thomas Jefferson had been dead little more than 50 years. Virginia was still trying to rise from the the ashes of the War Between the States, the last of the military governors had been gone only 12 years.

With Virginia the Dan River Mills has grown in sound progress. Today it ranks among the great textile manufacturers of the world. In number of spindles it is a leader in the South. It ranks with the leaders in Virginia in the employment of our people. I am certain that its policy is to deliver the most value for the least cost. That means productive progress. Production is the source of wages. This is the American competitive system. This is the enemy of crippling inflation, and the source of higher living standards.

Under the sound and enlightened leadership of such men as W. J. Erwin, president, and Basil D. Browder, executive vice president, and Dan Daniels, Dan River Mills now is a corporation of more than 800,000 spindles, and more than 18,000 looms, owned by more than 9,500 stockholders, and operated by 18,000 employees, turning out useful products which sell for more than $120 million yearly.

This is truly the Virginia brand of progress represented in a great corporation operating for the profit of its owners and employees, and for the good of mankind who need and are able to use its products.

I take it that when a Member of Congress is among you, he is expected to say something about what goes on in Washington. If that is true I might say this:

The Washington Government is a place of vast and complex pressures. So many of them seem to be so foreign to the traditional concept of our form of government, under which this Natiôn has grown great, it is all too easy to regard them with an apathetic attitude in the belief that such things can't happen here—to my country, my State, my town—to me. But they do.

For instance, the Federal Government has been in the red for 20 of the last 25 years, yet since World War II we have given away nearly $60 billion in foreign aid spread around the globe. Millions of that money has gone to subsidize the textile industry abroad where they use cheap labor in competition with your own Dan River mills.

You have in your midst a fine and patriotic citizen who has properly been honored by the American Legion, as their national leader. He is, of course, as you know, Dan Daniel. He is doing excellent and effective work with reference to foreign aid. Dan Daniel is a great American. He is going throughout the breadth of the land speaking against giveaway programs to foreign countries and for sound policies at home.

Sometimes as I listen to all the talk in Washington about aid for the underdeveloped areas, I wonder if the greatest underdeveloped area of all isn't under the hats of those who propose it.

Practically all of this foreign aid has been charged into our Federal debt, the interest on which, at this moment, is costing American taxpayers more than $7 billion a year. That is a full 10 percent of all Federal taxes collected. In other words, if it were not for this Federal debt, the Federal taxes you and I pay could be cut 10 percent across the board.

But this is not the only aspect of the debt. It is difficult to comprehend, but you know that all the debt in this country totals $800 billion. That is nearly $1 trillion. More than $325 billion of it is in public debt which generally speaking is not productive debt. It is this tremendous debt—resulting from our unprecedented free-wheeling spending spree, largely encouraged by the Federal Government—that is causing the terrible inflation which even today is driving up the cost of living still more.

Yet, even in the face of renewed inflation, the President in January submitted to Congress the largest peacetime budget in history. It actually called for $8 billion more in expenditures by Federal spending agencies than they passed out just 2 years ago. Most of the increase was in domestic civilian programs, having nothing to do with military preparedness.

Think of this in terms of what you pay in taxes. All taxes collected this year in this country will total $110 billion.

That is the equivalent of nearly one-third of our national income.

It is no wonder that the people of the Nation have risen up this year in the greatest demand for reduction in Federal expenditures in all our history. But the spending is too entrenched, and the opposition of the administration was too great. Congress has done the best it could to reduce appropriations. But the result is not nearly enough.

I sincerely hope the people of the country will not be discouraged. They must keep up the demand next year, and for all the years necessary until we can get these expenditures under control, and reduce them to a point where we can reduce debt, stop inflation, and reduce taxes.

In Federal taxes alone, the Government is taking 20 percent of the workingman's salary at the lowest rate. In some cases, individuals are paying Federal taxes of more than 90 percent of what they make. Corporations are paying more than 50 percent before they begin to show a profit and put money aside to replace their machinery, and expand their plants. The average American is working one-third of his time to pay his taxes.

We need to cut taxes at all levels, at the lower levels, in the middle-income brackets where people are taking the worst tax licking, and even in the higher brackets. We need to reduce taxes for small business, and for larger businesses. In short, taxes are too high. They are virtually at a point of diminishing returns. They are killing incentive in both individuals and business.

Please believe me when I say the Members of Congress need your constant and continuing help in trying to get expenditures down

so we can get the debt down, stop the inflation and get the taxes down.

This gigantic Federal spending serves to centralize Government, and that means more and more bureaucrats in Washington tell you in Danville, and me in Winchester what to do, when to do it, and how to do it, and how much to spend for it.

This is the greatest democracy in the history of the world. It has grown to this position in the brief span of 180 years, and with only 6 percent of the world's population. This could not have been achieved without the form of government bequeathed us as a sacred heritage by our forefathers.

Strike down the power of States to control their own affairs, and concentrate all power in Washington, and you strike at the heart of what makes this Nation great.

To me the decision of the Supreme Court abolishing segregation and compelling integration in States and local public school systems was a vicious and destructive invasion of States rights.

It set aside all previous decisions by the Supreme Court on the subject, including the 1928 decision by Chief Justice Taft, a great and learned man and a former President of the United States, who held segregation was constitutional if separate equal facilities were provided.

Bad enough before, when centralization was developing through Federal expenditures, but in more recent years Federal courts have gotten into the act. I mention just a few examples. In the recent Girard case it held that a man's money could not be spent afteer his death in accordance with his will.

In another case, just a couple weeks ago, it put down the police powers of State and local governments.

Time and time again it has usurped legislative powers, which, under the Constitution, are clearly segregated to the Congress as 1 of the 3 separate coordinated branches of Government.

More recently the Federal court has even divested the Federal executive branch from its means of bringing Communists—enemies of democracy—to justice.

These are the things that the people at home must understand—understand what is happening to you. In this Nation you are the supreme voice of the land—not the Supreme Court, not the President, not the Congress—it is you.

I say these things to you on this Independence Day in the sincere hope that you, with all the citizens of this land, will rise up in massive resistance to Federal usurpation of individual and States rights, and assert your independence with an overwhelming demand for the return to the fundamental for which this Nation was founded and for which our independence was won and upon which we have built the greatest nation on earth.

Benson Friends Sentenced in Antitrust Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am enclosing a clipping from the Washington Newsletter published by the National Farmers Union of June 21, which points out some of what is happening to the American people by the shenanigans going on at the Department of Agriculture under Secretary Benson:

BENSON FRIENDS SENTENCED IN ANTITRUST CHARGES

Safeway Stores, Inc., a giant grocery chain store firm which is closely associated politically with Secretary Benson, was convicted this week of antitrust law violations.

The Safeway corporation was fined $105,000 and two of its officials were sentenced to suspended prison terms and fined a total of $82,500 by the Federal District Court of Fort Worth, Tex. The sentenced officials are L. A. Warren, former Safeway president and now a consultant, and Earl Cliff, division manager at Dallas, Tex. Safeway and its officials were charged with selling at less than cost for the purpose of destroying competition. They pleaded "no contest."

Safeway has been a perennial antitrust law violator since 1942, the Court was told by Miss Margaret Brass, Justice Department's attorney in the case. This case was the fifth brought against Safeway in that time, she said.

Secretary Benson has worked closely with Safeway officials in planning and administering the farm programs. He has borrowed several Safeway executives for important jobs inside his own office. Safeway's subsidiary, the Superior Cheese Co., got $74,000 of the $2 million an illegal windfall payments by the Agriculture Department when dairy price supports were reduced in 1954. Last year the Republican National Committee hired the Safeway chain's advertising agency, Braun & Co., to advertise Benson to the public during the political campaign.

(The contract with Braun & Co. to advertise Benson was cancelled immediately after Senate Democrats revealed that the advertising firm was involved in the Fort Worth antitrust action against Safeway. Braun & Co. was indicted in July 1955 as a coconspirator with Safeway in its effort to destroy competition. The charge was changed to a criminal information when the criminal charge against Safeway was shifted to a civil antitrust suit.)

The Dominican Republic—The Dictator Is a Flop in the Tourist Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Time magazine for July 15, 1957:

Under a molten summer sun, a portly figure in a palm beach suit set out from his seaside estate one morning last week for a constitutional along Ciudad Trujillo's palm-lined George Washington Avenue. Pedestrians were herded aside, but cars rolled by unmolested just a few yards away. Only a handful of aids guarded Generalissimo Dr. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, 65, benefactor of the fatherland, genius of peace, etc., etc., etc., as he strolled confidently along. In the dictator's island fief, poincianas were blooming, sugarcane was growing, business was booming.

A hemispheric axiom has it that when a dictator falls afoul of Washington, his opponents are emboldened to try to topple him. This year, Trujillo is in bad grace with the United States, which officially suspects that the Dominicans hired United States Pilot Gerald Lester Murphy to carry out the airplane-kidnaping of Trujillo Critic Jesus de Galindez from Manhattan 16 months ago. But to Trujillo's satisfaction, the axiom has not worked. The Dominicans are as docile as ever. The educated few who know of the Galindez-Murphy case (in some instances from Puerto Rican radio broadcasts) publicly refuse to comment, privately shrug: "What can we do?"

GETTING RESULTS

As the 27th year of the era of Trujillo neared an end, the strongman was still working a seven-day week and still getting results. The gross national product in 1956 was well over $500 million. Exports last year (mainly sugar, coffee, cocoa) reached a record high of $126.5 million. Imports in 1956 were held to $108.3 million, leaving a trade surplus of $18.2 million. The record 1957 budget, nicely balanced at $131.5 million, will buy more schools, hospitals and roads.

Trujillo is essentially a brutally efficient businessman. Name of the business: the Dominican Republic. His basic maneuver is to squeeze other investors, including those from the United States, out of profitable businesses. He sends his representatives to make what is often a scrupulously fair offer; the victims accept rather than face the tax and regulatory troubles that might follow refusal. Trujillo's cement, beer and electric-power monopolies were all acquired in this fashion, and he has nearly completed control of the island's biggest business—sugar. Most recent big United States firm to get out: the West Indies Sugar Co., for $36 million.

ONE FLOP

In only one business venture—the tourist trade—has the dictator proved a flop. He spent $25 million erecting a gigantic "International Fair for Peace and Progress," opened the doors for business only three months before the Galindez kidnaping. The strongman was splashed with a storm of bad notices unequaled since he ordered the massacre of 15,000 Haitian migrant farm workers in 1937. As he steadily blocked FBI investigation of the double crime, magazines, newspapers, radio networks, and United States Congressmen denounced him. The tourist traffic jerked to a halt.

Trujillo obviously hopes to ride out the storm, and to help him he has marshaled one of the most potent corps of propaganda agents that any foreign nation maintains in the United States. But even if Galindez and Murphy are forgotten, the strongman's state has little chance of rivaling traditional Caribbean vacation lands. The few tourists who do visit it return to report a polite but lifeless people, depressingly adept at following the rules of appeasing egomania, but no fit company for a fling.

Inspection of Poultry and Poultry Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, here is the text of a telegram which came to me on yesterday afternoon from one of my congressional constituents in the great 23d District, Los Angeles County, Calif., recommending my favorable consideration of H. R. 6814, the bill for compulsory poultry inspection:

DOWNEY, CALIF.

We earnestly recommend your support of H. R. 6814. It is the most progressive, beneficial step yet taken by the poultry industry.

Yours respectfully,

SOUTHEAST POULTRY CO.,
W. C. MCKIBBEN.

But, the wire did not come to my office until after I had already voted "aye" on passage of the bill and had returned to my office where I received the wire.

More About John M. Blair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is important for the public and the Congress to become acquainted with the background of an employee who holds such an important position with the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. The public and the Congress will be in a better position to evaluate any reports submitted by this committee of this gentleman's work.

I, therefore, under unanimous consent, insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the May 15, 1957, issue of the New York Herald Tribune written by Donald I. Rogers and entitled "More About John M. Blair":

MORE ABOUT JOHN M. BLAIR
(By Donald I. Rogers)

John M. Blair, chief economist under Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, Tennessee, chairman of the Senate's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, is the man who will do most of the research and handle most of the presentation when Senator KEFAUVER conducts his probes of the country's leading industries, including the oils, motors, public utilities, and chemicals.

Mr. Blair is reputed to be an expert on oil.

He is an avowed—an announced—mistruster of big business.

He believes that big business will reduce employment and lower wages.

He believes that big business will extract an increasing amount of work from employees at decreasing rates of reward.

VIEW OF CAPITALISM

He believes that capitalism will give an increasingly large share of the Nation's wealth to the higher income groups at the expense of the lower income groups, thus ultimately destroying its own market place.

This is the man, a man who has spent much of his life working for government, who will sit at the right hand of an ambitious United States Senator in the months until the 1958 election, assisting wherever possible in a studious effort to discredit some of the most successful enterprises in some of America's most important industries.

His views are set forth with great clarity in several writings, most important of which is his book, Seeds of Destruction, printed in 1938 and published at $4 by Covici-Friede. Mr. Blair has never publicly recanted the beliefs expressed in his book.

THE MAN BEHIND THE POST

Last Sunday this reporter quoted several excerpts from Mr. Blair's book to show the socialistic caliber of his thinking. Following are some additional quotes from Seeds of Destruction, which indicate, at least, the temper of the man who holds such an important post.

Even these excerpts show that Mr. Blair writes with bias, hostility, sarcasm and that he makes fun of the business community.

"One of the factors that enters into restriction of production is waste, waste occasionally being deliberately fostered or at least countenanced in order that output might be lessened. According to the American Federated Engineering Societies, the responsibility for this waste lies mostly upon the shoulders of management. * * *

CALLED PRICE DEVICE

"This deliberate waste brought about by management is to a considerable extent but an obvious mechanism to restrict actual or potential production, all for the purpose of keeping prices stable" (pp. 101–102).

And here's a prediction in the same book:

"For our national economy as a whole, the only scientific assumption which can be drawn * * * is that the trends brought out as operating in the past and in the present will undoubtedly continue to do so in the future, that physical volume of production will grow—providing there is a market—that horsepower will increase rapidly, that general population will grow but at a progressively slower rate while factory employment declines, that separations will continue their increase over additions, that as a consequence of all this, technological unemployment will steadily increase, that the machine industries will remain physically capable of absorbing but the slightest proportion of the workers displaced by the machinery installed" (p. 34).

KEY TO PHILOSOPHY

It behooves the reader to go over that one again. It is an awkwardly constructed paragraph, but it contains a whole theme, almost a whole economic philosophy.

It is the core of Seeds of Destruction, for the book purports to be a study of the weaknesses of capitalism.

Perhaps it is more a study in the weakness of Mr. Blair's logic—and perhaps the book embodies the seeds of destruction of his influence on the subcommittee.

Let no one in big business or a key industry underestimate Mr. Blair. He is no lightweight. He is sharp, and can take care of himself.

SACLANT's 5 Years: A Study of NATO Command Responsible for a Vast Area of the North Atlantic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of Monday, June 24, 1957, by Hanson W. Baldwin, entitled "SACLANT's 5 Years: A Study of NATO Command Responsible for a Vast Area of the North Atlantic":

One of the most important but perhaps least known commands of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced last week a series of Atlantic naval exercises in the fall.

At Norfolk, Va., the flags of the NATO nations fly outside the headquarters of Adm. Jerauld Wright, known in naval abbreviation as SACLANT—Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic. Admiral Wright's command is not so well known or as long established as that of SACEUR—Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, in Paris. But it provides a unified top command for a vast North Atlantic Ocean area from the North Pole to the Tropic of Cancer, and its strategic importance is very great.

The naval exercises in the fall—part of an extensive regular cycle of NATO training for sea, air, and land components—will be under the overall direction of Admiral Wright at his Norfolk headquarters. Subordinate commanders of the Eastern and Western Atlantic areas and of the Atlantic Striking Fleet will be in direct charge of various exercises involving fleet operations, submarine and antisubmarine warfare, mining and minesweeping exercises.

MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN

The exercises will put a capstone to the 5 years of existence of SACLANT. Since the Norfolk headquarters were established in 1952 many allied naval problems have been resolved, a working organization has been created and a joint staff set up. But many problems remain, and the command, like the rest of NATO, faces some serious future difficulties.

The staff at Norfolk now numbers 138 officers, most of them Americans, British, Canadian, and French, but with representation from all the small NATO maritime powers except Belgium and Iceland.

Admiral Wright, who is a NATO commander, is also a United States Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet. As such he has a large separate United States staff. At one time there was some thought of splitting the two jobs, but experience and study have shown that the two are almost indivisible, particularly since the United States Atlantic Fleet is the principal NATO naval force in the Atlantic.

The achievements of SACLANT, though publicized far less than those of SACEUR, are considerable. There has always been a sort of international fraternity of the sea; this is reflected in the Norfolk staff. There has been a joining together, a manifestation of mutual interests at Norfolk. The duty is so popular many of the foreign naval ministers have recently reduced the tour of duty at Norfolk from 3 years to 2.

STANDARDIZATION ADVANCED

The staff's teamwork has been matched by considerable standardization of naval procedures. A common signal, communications and cipher system has been established and communication facilities are far better integrated than formerly. A good many fuels and naval stores and some naval ordnance are now common to all. Training exercises and test procedures like those scheduled for the fall are held periodically. War plans are formulated at Norfolk and are under constant revision.

Considerable supporting infrastructure—the group's terminology for airfields, facilities, and so on—is being built up, at a cost of almost $90 million. This includes naval communications facilities in Iceland, 3 maritime patrol airfields in Norway, 1 in Scotland, a major naval base area with supporting airfields on the Clyde, Scotland; a maritime patrol airfield at Brest, France; 2 in Portugal; and fuel and ammunition facilities at Lisbon.

Some progress in command structure has been made. The position of Commander Striking Fleet, Atlantic, has been raised to a level directly subordinate to Admiral Wright, and is no longer subordinate as it was in the first year to regional commanders. Canada recently revised her dual air-naval command system and gave full authority to the navy for responsibility at sea.

BRITISH COMMAND SYSTEM

Difficulties and problems that remain are several. The British still retain in the eastern Atlantic the two-headed and difficult command system, with two coequal naval and air commanders for the same area. No solution of the IBERLANT—Iberian sub-

sector of the Atlantic treaty command—problem has been reached. This subsector embraces a large and highly important stretch of ocean off the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco and off the approaches to the Strait of Gibraltar.

The British insist this area should be commanded by a British admiral subordinate to Admiral Wright. They must have control, they say, over the approaches to the Mediterranean. The French say they cannot consider—for reasons of prestige—any non-French commander.

The United States points out that no subordinate commander in the important eastern Atlantic is an American; that our Sixth Fleet is the major naval force in the Mediterranean, and that Spain, with her important bases and her dominant position at the Strait of Gibraltar, would not favor either a British or a French command.

The British want the headquarters at Gibraltar; the French want it at Casablanca; the United States, at Lisbon. No compromise has been reached. Meanwhile IBERLANT comes under the general control of the two British commanders—naval and air—of the eastern Atlantic area, who are subordinate to Admiral Wright.

Another major problem facing SACLANT is the recent British white paper on defense. This paper, which justified and programed extensive cuts in the British armed forces, has worried the Norfolk staff. The staff fears it will establish a precedent and that at exactly the time when NATO naval forces are beginning to achieve strength, many powers will follow Britain's example.

The future worries SACLANT, yet at Norfolk there are no doubting Thomases. There is unanimity that victory without seapower is impossible.

How About a National Lottery?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to inform my colleagues that my lottery bill continues to gain more and more support every day.

Recent support for a national lottery comes from Inez Robb, a columnist for the New York World Telegram. In her column of July 3, 1957 entitled "How About a National Lottery To Keep Uncle Sam in Cash?" Miss Robb urges serious consideration of a national lottery.

I am inserting this article in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the serious consideration of the Members of this Congress:

HOW ABOUT A NATIONAL LOTTERY TO KEEP UNCLE SAM IN CASH?

(By Inez Robb)

Recent reports from the Nation's capital say that inner circles within inner circles in Washington are cottoning up to the idea of a national lottery as one more means of raising money to support the Federal Government in the style to which it has become accustomed.

Well, sir, there was a time when this intelligence from Washington would have made me bridle like Carry Nation sniffing a cupful of basic bourbon. But inflation has weakened my moral fiber, and maybe—I'm not certain, but maybe—it might be wise to keep that Irish sweeps money at home.

Interesting characters have sidled up to me in numerous nations from Cuba to Tierra del Fuego to Portugal to sell me tickets in national lotteries. I have a feeling that they sidled up to me in North Africa, too, but for the life of me I can't remember whether it was lottery tickets or dirty postcards.

In the past my lofty moral scorn of such dubious methods of national financing have even withered the kind of characters who seem to engage in the lottery traffic and, take my word for it, that's a lot of moral scorn.

Perhaps I might not have been so susceptible to the prospect of a national lottery to pay off the mortgage on the vine-covered Federal cottage if I had not read of it almost simultaneously with a financial column that bluntly said "money costs more today."

And ain't it the truth? A dollar will scarcely get you 50 cents in today's market. In Canada, it takes $1.05 face value of American coin to buy $1 face value Canadian. And up north our neighbors, great jokers, are complaining because Big Brother to the south holds them in economic bondage. They've got saddle sores from those solid-gold chains.

My moral fiber slipped another notch when it became apparent that Uncle Sam, with or without box tops, couldn't give away his long-term bonds in the present money market, since he is unwilling to pay the high interest rates it takes today to hire money.

So a lottery began to take on a kind of rosy glow. Americans are great gamblers. Nor are we totally devoid of that human greed that makes man rejoice at getting something for nothing—or a lottery ticket. Naturally, the Government would have to make the payoff prizes, say a million in cash as tops, exempt from all kinds and sorts of taxes. Otherwise, it would hardly pay to take a flier.

The football pools in England are tax-exempt. In tax-ridden Albion such pool prizes offer practically the only way a citizen can strike it rich. Britain has also copied the Scandinavian countries in offering savings bonds that amount, in the long run, to a form of national lottery.

Such bonds, in Norway and England, pay no interest. Because every so often these respective Governments draw bonds that pay off handsomely in the same way as a lottery. The top prizes are substantial. There are also any number of smaller prizes that console the gambler—pardon me, investor. Of course, the take from the bond lottery is temptingly tax-exempt, too. And the investor whose bond wasn't drawn this time can always hope that Lady Luck will be with him at the next drawing, 4 to 6 months hence.

Our new Secretary of the Treasury, Robert B. Anderson, could do worse than consider a straight-out lottery or lottery bonds. We might as well live it up, for, as Punch put it recently and pungently, money doesn't seem to have any future.

The World Bank and the Mutual Security Bill in World Trade and in World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Congress will soon consider the mutual security bill. Everyone but Congress calls it the foreign-aid bill.

When the mutual security bill comes before us, it might be helpful to review again to what extent it provides investment to increase production, to raise living standards and to bring about a better balance in world trade and a solid hope for world peace.

That was also the job the World Bank set out to do 11 years ago in 1946.

An article on the World Bank in today's New York Times, July 10, sets the goals of the World Bank with its 60 member countries who are its stockholders.

The World Bank was established to provide and facilitate international investment for increasing production, raising living standards and helping bring about a better balance in world trade.

In its 11 years, the bank has loaned more than $3 billion in 44 countries and oversea territories.

The World Bank was new after World War II. There was no such institution after World War I.

The World Bank works for world peace when it contributes to world trade and to improved living standards through increased production. It is said that the mutual security bill aims to do the same. When the measure is presented for consideration it is hoped that the benefits of the bill will be as clearly evident as those set out by the World Bank in the Times article. It follows:

WORLD BANK TO BORROW 100 MILLION IN FRANKFURT—LARGEST LOAN OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES IS PLACED WITH WEST GERMAN HOUSE—DEBTS TO RISE ABOVE 1 BILLION

A West German bank, the Bank Deutscher Laender of Frankfurt-am-Main, has agreed to lend $100 million for 1 to 3 years at 4½ percent interest to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).

The private placement is the third and largest issue of World Bank dollar obligations placed entirely outside the United States.

As evidence of its indebtedness the World Bank will issue notes dated July 11, 1957. Of the total, $40 million will mature in 1 year and $30 million each in 2 and 3 years.

Interest will be payable semiannually, with the first payment due January 11, 1958. Payments of interest and principal will be made at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

The transaction is the third sale of World Bank obligations this year. Two previous issues were offered publicly through United States investment houses, $100 million of 4½ percent 20-year bonds in January and $100 million of 4¼ percent 21-year bonds in April.

Previous placements outside the United States included $50 million of World Bank dollar bonds with investors in 23 countries in September 1954 and a $75 million issue of World Bank dollar bonds placed with investors in 22 countries in September last year.

Total outstanding obligations of the bank, giving effect to the new borrowing, will amount to about $1,135,000,000. They will consist of $935 million of United States dollar bonds and the equivalent of $200 million of bonds denominated in Swiss francs, Canadian dollars, sterling and Netherlands guilders.

The World Bank was established to provide and facilitate international investment for increasing production, raising living standards and helping bring about a better balance in world trade.

Since it began operations in 1946 it has made more than 166 loans totaling $3,006,000,000, net of cancellations and refundings, in 44 countries and overseas territories.

The 60 member countries of the bank are its stockholders, and the money the bank lends is provided partly by them. The bank derives additional funds by selling its own bonds and other borrowing in the capital markets of the world.

Who Signed the Declaration of Independence?—Who Signed the Constitution of the United States?—A short Biographical Sketch of Each Prepared by the Library of Congress for Congressman Clyde Doyle, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the following historical and biographical data regarding each of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It seemed to me entirely appropriate that at this particular season of patriotic expression toward our beloved Nation's independence it would be appropriate for you and each of my distinguished colleagues to have before you this data compiled for me at my request by the Library of Congress. You will note therefrom that it was prepared for me on April 25, 1957, and I anticipated submitting it to your attention prior to July 4; but, Mr. Speaker, the information herein contained is always appropriate, informative, and inspiring.

And also, Mr. Speaker, at my request the Library of Congress prepared for me short biographical sketches of each of the signers of the United States Constitution. They would also seem especially appropriate for us to have before us at this time. Hence, I am pleased to also include the text thereof as furnished me by the Library of Congress:

THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—SOME SALIENT FACTS

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Josiah Bartlett: He was born in Amesbury, Mass., on November 21, 1729, and died at Kingston, N. H., on May 19, 1795. At the age of 16, Bartlett began the study of medicine in the office of a practicing physician, and 5 years later began his own practice in his newly adopted home at Kingston. He was 47 years old when he signed the Declaration of Independence, and he has the distinction of being the first to give his vote in favor of the adoption of the Declaration. Although a layman, Bartlett, in 1779, was appointed chief justice of the New Hampshire court of common pleas. In 1782 he was elevated to the superior court, and in 1788 was appointed chief justice of that court. He served from 1790 as chief executive of his State with the title of president; and after June 1793, under the amended Constitution, he was elected the first governor of New Hampshire. While serving in the Continental Congress, he served on the important standing committees, and played an important part in shaping legislation. While serving on the bench in New Hampshire, he was a member and temporary chairman of the State convention called to ratify the proposed Constitution of the United States; and he contributed in no small way to the dissipation of the opposition of some of the smaller towns in the State to ratification of the Nation's premier charter. Bartlett is buried in the first cemetery at Kingston.

William Whipple: He was born in Kittery, Maine, on January 14, 1730, and died in Portsmouth, N. H., on November 28, 1785. Whipple was educated in the common schools. At an early age he went to sea, and, while in his early twenties, became master of a vessel. About 1760 he formed a partnership with his brother, Joseph, in the mercantile business in Portsmouth, continuing in this pursuit until 1775, when he gave up his share of the business to enter public affairs and work for independence. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, and served until 1779. He was 47 years old when he affixed his signature to the Declaration. His service in Congress was interrupted for short periods, when he was participating in military campaigns during the war. He was commissioned brigadier general in 1777, and served in several battles, including the Saratoga and Rhode Island campaigns. He served in the State Assembly from 1780–84, and in 1782 was appointed an associate justice of the Superior Court of New Hampshire, a position which he held until his sudden death. Whipple is buried in the north cemetery at Portsmouth.

Matthew Thornton: He was born in Ireland in 1714, and died on June 24, 1803, at Newburyport, Mass., while visiting his daughter. Thornton came to America with his parents in 1718, settling first in Maine and then in Massachusetts. He received his early education in Massachusetts, and went on to study medicine, completing his program in 1740. He began his practice in Londonderry, N. H., where, at the same time, he became very active in public affairs. He served as under surgeon with the New Hampshire troops in the Louisbourg Expedition of 1745, and for some time held the rank of colonel in the State militia. He served as a member of the New Hampshire Assembly in 1758, 1760, and 1761. He was a delegate to the First Provincial Congress in 1775, and was elected president of that body; he also served as chairman of the committee of safety. In 1776, he was elected to the Continental Congress, and although he did not arrive until November, he had the opportunity of affixing his signature to the Declaration of Independence. He was 62 years old when he signed that document. Thornton was appointed associate justice of the New Hampshire Superior Court and served until 1782. He served in the newly organized State senate from 1784 to 1786. His latter years were spent on his farm in Merrimack, N. H., where he devoted his time to writing. He is buried in Thornton's Ferry Cemetery, at Merrimack.

MASSACHUSETTS

John Hancock: He was born in Quincy, Norfolk County, Mass., on January 23, 1737, and died at Quincy, Mass., on October 8, 1793. When Hancock was a young boy, he was adopted by his uncle, Thomas Hancock, who was the richest merchant in Boston. He attended Harvard College and graduated in 1754. After completing his education, he entered his uncle's mercantile office; in 1763 he became a partner of Thomas Hancock & Company. When his uncle died in 1754, Hancock, a youth of twenty-seven, became the head of the leading mercantile house in Boston, and the heir to a large fortune. He was a member of the provincial legislature from 1766 to 1772, and served as president of the Provincial Congress in 1774. He was elected as a member to the Continental Congress in 1775, and served for several terms. From May 24, 1775 to October 29, 1777, he served as President of the Congress. He was the first to sign the Declaration and was 39 years of age at the time. He served as senior major general of the Massachusetts Militia during the war, and participated in the Rhode Island campaign. Hancock was elected the first governor of the State of Massachusetts in September 1780, and served until 1785, when he resigned because of ill health. In 1787 he was again elected governor and he died while serving in his ninth term. Hancock is buried in the Old Granary Burying Ground, at Boston.

Samuel Adams: He was born in Boston, Mass., on Sept. 27, 1722, and died at Boston on Oct. 2, 1803. No one had done more and perhaps no one else had done so much in behalf of American rights and liberties as Samuel Adams. He attended Harvard College and graduated in 1740. He found employment in the counting-house of Thomas Cushing, but stayed only a few months for he wished to establish his own business. After failing in his first business venture, he joined his father who operated a brewery. Not having a keen eye for business affairs, he soon dissipated his share of the family estate, and then entered the field of politics and public affairs, which was more to his liking. In the dispute with the mother country, Adams was at his best in firing the people for the cause of independence for the American colonies. He was chosen to draft the instructions of the town of Boston to its newly elected representatives concerning Lord Grenville's proposed stamp act in 1764. From 1765 to 1774 Adams served as a member of the Massachusetts General Court, and from 1774 to 1782 he served in the Continental Congress. He was 54 when he attached his signature to the Declaration. Adams served as a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1779, and as president of the State senate in 1781. He served as Governor of Massachusetts from 1794 to 1797. He is buried in the Old Granary Burying Ground at Boston.

John Adams: He was born in Braintree (now Quincy), Mass., on October 19, 1735, and died at Quincy, on July 4, 1826, a few hours after Thomas Jefferson. After graduating from Harvard College in 1755, he taught school at Worcester for a short period, and later decided to take up law. He studied under James Putnam, and was admitted to the bar at Boston, on November 6, 1758. His law practice grew slowly, but he soon occupied a leading place at the bar. Although opposed to mob demonstrations, Adams' name was early connected with the patriotic cause by his efforts in defending the colonies on legal grounds. He was elected to serve as a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1774, and served until 1778. During the debates in Congress on the Declaration, Adams was dubbed the Atlas of American Independence. He was 41 years old when he signed the document. It was John Adams who proposed the name of George Washington, to serve as head of the American Army during the Revolution. Adams was appointed Commissioner, with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee to the Court of France. He later served as Minister to Holland in 1782, and was appointed to serve as the first Minister to England, serving from 1785 to 1788. In 1788, he was elected to serve as the first Vice President of the United States, and was reelected in 1792, serving from April 30, 1789, to March 3, 1797. He was elected President of the United States and served from March 4, 1797, to March 3, 1801. Adams is buried under the Old Congregational Church, at Quincy, Mass.

Robert Treat Paine: He was born in Boston on March 11, 1731, and died in the same city on May 12, 1814. He attended Harvard College and was graduated in 1749. He taught for a while and then turned to the study of theology. After a brief career in the ministry, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1757. Paine served as the associate prosecuting attorney in the Boston Massacre trial and thus became connected with the patriotic cause. He served several terms in the provincial assembly, and was elected to the Continental Congress, serving from 1774–78. He was 45 years old when he signed the Declaration. In 1777 Paine was elected the first attorney general of the State of Massachusetts, and served until 1790. In 1790 he was appointed to the State supreme court by John Hancock, and served until 1804. In 1780 he became a founder of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is buried in the Old Granary Burying Ground at Boston.

Elbridge Gerry: He was born in Marblehead, Mass., on July 17, 1744, and died in Washington, D. C., on November 23, 1814. After graduating from Harvard College in 1762, Gerry entered his father's mercantile business. In May 1772 he was elected to the Massachusetts General Court, where he met Samuel Adams and became keenly interested in the cause for independence. In 1776, he was elected to the Continental Congress and served from 1776 to 1781, and from 1782 to 1785. He was 32 years old when he signed the Declaration. Gerry served in the first and second Congresses, from 1789 to 1793. In 1797 he was sent on a mission to France with Marshall and Pinckney (X. Y. Z. Affair). Gerry was elected Governor of the State of Massachusetts in 1810 and 1811. He was defeated for this office in 1801 and 1812. He was elected Vice President of the United States as a Democrat, and served from March 4, 1813, until his death. Gerry's name has been perpetuated in the term "gerrymander", which refers to the splitting up of election districts. He is buried in the Congressional Cemetery, at Washington, D. C.

RHODE ISLAND

Stephen Hopkins: He was born in what is now Providence, R. I., on March 7, 1707, and died there on July 13, 1785. After attending the public schools, he entered the mercantile business; at the same time he became a practical surveyor. From the age of 25 Hopkins served in public office. He was a member of the General Assembly from 1732 to 1752, and from 1770 to 1775; he served as Speaker of that body from 1738 to 1744, and also in 1749. He served as chief justice of the Rhode Island superior court from 1751 to 1754. Hopkins was elected to the Continental Congress in 1774, and he was 69 years old when he attached his signature to the Declaration. He served as Governor of Rhode Island in 1755, 1756, 1758 to 1761, 1763, 1764, and 1767. Despite his lack of formal education, Hopkins became the first chancelor of Rhode Island College. He is buried in the North Burial Ground, at Providence.

William Ellery: He was born in Newport, R. I., on December 22, 1727, and died there on February 15, 1820. After graduating from Harvard College in 1747, Ellery engaged in various undertakings. He was a merchant, served as a naval officer of the colony, served as clerk of the General Assembly, and after being out of college for 23 years, began the study of law, being admitted to the bar in 1770. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1776 and served until 1781. He was 49 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served again in the Continental Congress from 1783 to 1785, and in 1785 was appointed Chief Justice of the Rhode Island Superior Court. In 1786 he was appointed by the Continental Congress to serve as Commissioner of the Continental Loan Offices. He served as collector of the port of Newport from 1790 until his death. Because of his activities in the cause for independence, the British burned Ellery's property when they occupied Newport. With the exception of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Ellery was the longest lived of the signers of the Declaration. He is buried in the Old Cemetery, at Newport.

CONNECTICUT

Roger Sherman: He was born in Newton, Mass., on April 19, 1721, and died in New Haven, Conn., on July 23, 1793. Born under humble circumstances, Sherman attended the public schools, learned the cobbler's trade, and moved to New Milford. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1754. Sherman served several terms in the State assembly, and served in the Connecticut State Senate from 1766 to 1785. He served as a member of the Connecticut Superior Court in 1766, 1767, and 1773 to 1788. Sherman is noted for the various public offices he held concurrently. While holding certain of the above offices, he also served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1781, and in 1783 and 1784. He was 55 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was a member of the committee appointed to draft the document, and was the only Member of the Continental Congress to sign all four great American State papers—the Declaration of 1774: the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. He served in the First Congress from 1789 to 1791, and served in the United States Senate from 1791 until his death. He is buried in the Grove Street Cemetery, at New Haven.

Oliver Wolcott: He was born in Windsor, Conn., on December 1, 1726, and died at Litchfield, Conn., on December 1, 1797. Graduating from Yale College, at the head of his class, in 1747, he was commissioned a captain by the Governor of New York. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Wolcott returned to Litchfield and studied medicine, but did not practice. He was elected sheriff of Litchfield County in 1751, and from 1774 to 1786 served as a member of the State council. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, and served up to 1784, dividing his time between serving in the Army and serving in Congress. Wolcott was 50 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served as a major general in the militia, and commanded a brigade which took part in the defeat of General Burgoyne in 1777. Wolcott served as Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut from 1786 to 1796, and was elected Governor of the State, serving from 1796 until his death. He is buried in East Cemetery, at Litchfield.

William Williams: He was born in Lebanon, Conn., on April 28, 1731, and died there on August 2, 1811. Williams graduated from Harvard College in 1751, studied theology for a short time, and then entered the mercantile business. He served in the State assembly for several years, serving as Speaker of that body in 1775 and again from 1781 to 1783. Williams served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1778, and in 1783 and 1784. He was 45 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served as judge of the county court of Windham from 1776 to 1804, and served as judge of probate for the Windham district from 1776 to 1808. He was a member of the Connecticut convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1787. He is buried in the Old Cemetery, at Lebanon.

Samuel Huntington: He was born in Windham, Conn., on July 3, 1731, and died at Norwich, Conn., on January 5, 1796. He attended the common schools, served his apprenticeship in the cooper trade, later studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1758. He was appointed crown attorney in 1765, and served as justice of the superior court from 1774 to 1784; he served as chief justice of the court in 1784. He was a Member of the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1784, and served as President of the Congress from 1779 to 1781. He was 45 years old when he signed the Declaration. Huntington served as Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut in 1785; and from 1786 until his death he served as governor. He is buried in Norwichtown Cemetery, at Norwich.

NEW YORK

Francis Lewis: He was born in Llandaff, Wales, in March 1713, and died in New York City, on December 30, 1803. He attended Westminster School in London, and then entered the countinghouse of a London merchant. He came to the United States in 1735, and established merchantile houses in New York and Philadelphia. Lewis served in the French and Indian War as an aide to General Mercer, was captured in Oswego, N. Y., and taken to France. He was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765 which met in New York. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1889, and was 63 years old when he affixed his signature to the Declaration. He served as Commissioner of the Board of Admiralty in 1779. Lewis is the only signer of the Declaration buried in Manhattan, in an unidentified grave in Trinity Churchyard at Wall Street and Broadway.

Philip Livingston: He was born in Albany, N. Y., on January 15, 1716, and died at York, Pa., on June 12, 1778, while attending the sixth session of the Continental Congress. Livingston attended Yale College and graduated in 1737. He entered the mercantile business in New York City and took part in public affairs. He served on the board of aldermen from 1754 to 1762, was a member of the provincial house of representatives from 1763 to 1769, and served as Speaker in 1768. He was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765. Livingston was a Member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1778, and he was 60 years old when he attached his signature to the Declaration. Livingston was one of the earliest advocates of the establishment of King's College, now Columbia University. He also aided in the organization of the New York Society Library. He is buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery, at York, Pa.

Lewis Morris: He was born in Morrisania, now a part of New York City, on April 8, 1726, and died there on January 22, 1798. He was graduated from Yale College in 1746, and engaged in agricultural pursuits. Although a country gentleman, and heir to a large estate, Morris associated himself with the patriotic cause. He was elected to the Colonial Assembly of New York in 1769, but did not qualify because of nonresidence. Morris served in the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1777, and was 50 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served in the State Senate from 1777 to 1781, and from 1784 to 1788. He was a delegate to the New York convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States. He served as a member of the first board of regents of the University of New York, in 1784, and served on the board until his death. He is buried in St. Anne's Episcopal Churchyard, in the Bronx, N. Y.

William Floyd: He was born in Brookhaven, N. Y., on December 17, 1734, and died in Westernville, N. Y., on August 4, 1821. Although coming from a wealthy family, Floyd achieved only a limited academic education. When only 18, he inherited his father's large estate. Floyd served as major general in the State Militia; and when the British made their first landing on Long Island, Floyd led a body of troops which drove them off. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777, and from 1778 to 1783. He was 42 when he signed the Declaration. He served in the State senate in 1777 and 1778. He was elected to the first Congress and served from 1789 to 1791. He returned to the State senate, serving

from 1764 to 1788, and again in 1808. He was a presidential elector in 1792, 1800, 1804, and 1820. He was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1801. He is buried in the Presbyterian Church Cemetery, at Westernville.

NEW JERSEY

John Hart: He was born in Stonington, Conn., about 1707, and died at Hopewell, N. J., on May 11, 1779. He received limited schooling, and then engaged in agriculture. He became an efficient farmer and soon acquired considerable property. He served in the New Jersey assembly from 1761 to 1771, and as judge of the Hunterdon County courts from 1768 to 1775. He served in Continental Congress from June 22 to August 30, 1776, and was about 69 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was elected to the first State general assembly under the State constitution in 1776, and reelected in 1777 and 1778. He served as speaker of that body from 1776 to 1778. His estate was devastated by the British troops when they landed in New Jersey. He is buried in the First Baptist Church Cemetery, at Hopewell, N. J.

John Witherspoon: He was born in Gifford, Haddingtonshire, Scotland, on February 5, 1723, and died on his farm, near Princeton, N. J., on November 15, 1794. Witherspoon was graduated from Edinburgh University in 1739, studied theology at the university, and was ordained minister of the parish of Beith in 1745. He at first declined the presidency of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), in 1766, but accepted the second invitation of that institution, and was inaugurated as president on August 17, 1768. He became a leader of the Presbyterians in America. He served in the Continental Congress in the years 1776 to 1779, 1780 to 1781, and again in 1782. He was the only clergyman in Congress, and was 54 when he attached his signature to the Declaration. After the War for Independence ended, Witherspoon returned to Princeton and continued his duties as president of the University. He is buried in the Witherspoon Street Graveyard, at Princeton.

Richard Stockton: He was born in Princeton, N. J., on October 1, 1730, and died there on February 28, 1781. Stockton graduated in the first class from Princeton College in 1748, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1754. He served as associate justice of the State supreme court, from 1774 to 1776. In June 1776, Stockton was elected to the Continental Congress, and was reelected in November of the same year, but declined the office. He was 46 years old when he signed the Declaration. Stockton served as chairman of a committee of Congress which inspected the northern army at Ticonderoga, and on November 30, 1776, he was captured by the Tories and held prisoner in New York City until December 29, 1776. He was elected chief justice of the State Supreme Court in August 1776, but declined this office in order to remain in Congress. Stockton was a successful lawyer, and as a trustee of Princeton College contributed much to that college and higher education in general in America by his successful mission to Scotland which resulted in John Witherspoon's coming to America to head Princeton College. He is buried in Quaker Cemetery, at Princeton.

Abraham Clark: He was born near Elizabeth, N. J., on February 15, 1726, and died at Rahway, N. J., on September 15, 1794. After attending private schools, he studied law but did not practice. He was a member of the New Jersey Provincial Congress from 1775 to 1776, and from October 9, 1775, served as assistant secretary of that body. Clark served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1778 and was reelected in 1779, but declined the office. He was 50 years old when he attached his signature to the Declaration. He served in the State Assembly in 1776, and from 1783 to 1785. He again served in the Continental Congress from 1779 to 1783 and from 1787 to 1789. He was elected to the 2d and 3d Congresses, serving from March 4, 1791, until his death. He is buried in the Rahway Cemetery, at Rahway.

Francis Hopkinson: He was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on September 21, 1737, and died there on May 9, 1791. Although Hopkinson served as a delegate from New Jersey, he is usually associated with Philadelphia, where he studied and practiced law. He was the first graduate of the College of Philadelphia, receiving his degree in 1757. He served as Collector of Customs of the Port of Salem, N. J., in 1763, and was a member of the Provincial Council of New Jersey from 1774 to 1776. He was admitted to practice law before the New Jersey State Supreme Court in 1775. He was elected an associate justice of the State supreme court in 1776, but did not accept the office. Hopkinson served in the Continental Congress in 1776, and was 39 at the time he signed the Declaration. From 1789 to 1791, he served as judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. He is said to have designed the American flag, in 1777, and his son Joseph wrote the anthem Hail Columbia. Hopkinson is buried in the Christ Church Burial Ground, at Philadelphia.

PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin Franklin: He was born in Boston, Mass., on January 17, 1706, and died in Philadelphia, on April 17, 1790. Franklin was self-educated, acquiring most of his education while working in a printing shop. By the time Franklin was 42 years old, he was able to give up the management of his printing business and devote his time to public affairs and other interests. He had already established the Pennsylvania Gazette (1728), and had begun the publication of Poor Richard's Almanac (1732). Franklin served as deputy postmaster general of the British North American Colonies, from 1753 to 1774. He served as the agent for Pennsylvania in London from 1757 to 1762, and again 1764 to 1775. He served in the Continental Congress in 1775 and 1776, and was the oldest signer of the Declaration, being 70 years old at the time. Franklin served as diplomatic commissioner in France, and from 1776 to 1785 he served as Minister to France. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Franklin played an important role in the establishment of the first circulating library in America, and in founding the American Philosophical Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge. He is buried in Christ Church Burial Ground, at Philadelphia.

James Wilson: He was born in Carskerdo, near St. Andrews, Scotland, on September 14, 1742, and died in Edenton, N. C., on August 28, 1798. He came to America in 1765, lived in New York City, and later moved to Philadelphia. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1767. He served in the Continental Congress in 1775, 1776, and for scattered years up to 1787. He was the second youngest Pennsylvania signer of the declaration, being only 34 years old at the time. He served as associate justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1789 to 1798; and in 1790 he became the first professor of law in the College of Philadelphia. He was buried in the Johnston Burial Ground on the Hayes Plantation near Edenton, N. C., but his remains were reinterred in Christ Churchyard, at Philadelphia, in 1906.

Robert Morris: He was born in Liverpool, England, on January 20, 1734, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., on May 8, 1806. Morris came to America in 1747, and entered the mercantile business in Philadelphia in 1748. He served in the State Assembly from 1778 to 1780, and served as superintendent of finance from 1781 to 1784. At a very early age, Morris became a partner in the firm of Willing, Morris & Co. He served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1778, and was 42 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787; and from 1789 to 1795 he served in the United States Senate. President George Washington offered Morris the position of Secretary of the Treasury, but he declined the office. Because of his mastery of financial affairs, Morris was dubbed the "financier of the Revolution." In his later years, he lost his vast fortune in unsuccessful land speculation. He is buried in the family vault of William White in the Churchyard of Christ Church, in Philadelphia.

George Taylor: He was born in Ireland, in 1716, and died in Easton, Pa., on February 23, 1781. He came to America in 1736, and engaged in the manufacture of iron in Pennsylvania. He lived in Durham, Pa., in 1755, and served as justice of the peace there for 3 years. He was a member of the provincial assembly from 1764 to 1769, and served as judge of the Northampton County Court in 1770. He served as a colonel of the Pennsylvania Militia in 1775. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1776 and 1777. He was 60 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served as a member of the First Supreme Executive Council in 1777. He was buried in St. John's Lutheran Church Cemetery, but his remains were reinterred in the Easton Cemetery, in Easton, Pa.

James Smith: He was born in Ireland in 1713, and came to America and settled in Pennsylvania in 1727. He attended Philadelphia Academy (University of Pennsylvania), studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1745. He moved to York, and engaged in the iron business for a short time, but without success. In 1776 he organized the Pennsylvania Militia and the two regiments of the Flying Camp in Perth Amboy, N. J. He served as brigadier general of the State Militia. From 1776 to 1778 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and was 63 years old when he signed the Declaration. In 1780 he served in the State house of representatives; and from 1780 to 1781 he served as judge of the Pennsylvania High Court of Errors and Appeals. He was elected to Congress again in 1785, but he declined the office because of his age. From 1781 to 1801 he was chiefly engaged in the practice of law in York. He is buried in the First Presbyterian Churchyard, in York, Pa.

George Ross: He was born in New Castle, Del., on May 10, 1730, and died near Philadelphia, on July 14, 1779. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1750. He served as a member of the Colonial Assembly from 1768 to 1776, and was a delegate to the State convention in 1774. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777, and was 46 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was noted for his wit and good humor, and his personal popularity was demonstrated by the fact that only Benjamin Franklin received a larger vote in the election for the Pennsylvania delegates to the Congress. He was appointed judge of the Court of Admiralty for Pennsylvania in April 1779, and served in that position until his death. He is buried in Christ Churchyard, in Philadelphia.

George Clymer: He was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on March 16, 1739, and died in Morrisville, Pa., on January 23, 1813. He was orphaned at a tender age, and was brought up by a prosperous merchant uncle, William Coleman. Clymer entered the mercantile business and became a partner in the firm of Merediths and Clymer. He served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1778, and from 1780 to 1783. He was 37 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was a member of the State house of representatives from 1765 to 1788, was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, and was a signer of the Constitution. He

served in the first Congress, from 1789 to 1791, and in the latter year was appointed by President Washington as collector of excise duties for Pennsylvania, but resigned after the Whisky Rebellion. His last public service was rendered as commissioner to the Cherokee and Creek Indians in Georgia, when he participated in negotiating a treaty with those Indians. Clymer is buried in Friends Graveyard, at Trenton, N. J.

Benjamin Rush: He was born near Philadelphia, Pa., on December 24, 1745, and died there on April 19, 1813. Rush graduated from Princeton College in 1760, and studied medicine in Philadelphia and abroad. He began practicing in 1769, and became the most famous American physician and medical teacher of his generation. He founded Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, and served as president of the Philadelphia Medical Society. He was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Bible Society, and was also a founder of Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa. He received several awards from foreign rulers for his contributions to medical science. He served in the Continental Congress in 1776 and 1777, and was only 31 at the time he signed the Declaration. He served in the Army with the rank of physician general in 1777. He served as treasurer of the United States mint in Philadelphia from 1799 until his death. He is buried in Christ Church Cemetery, at Philadelphia.

John Morton: He was born in Ridley Township, Delaware County, Pa., in 1724, and died in Ridley Park, Pa., in April 1777. He attended the common schools for a very short time, but he was well educated at home by his stepfather. He became a land surveyor, and served as justice of the peace in 1757. He had served in the Colonial General Assembly since his early thirties, and from 1771 to 1755 he served as speaker of that body. In April 1774 Morton was appointed an associate justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court of Appeals. He served in the Continenal Congress from 1774 to 1777. He was 52 years old when he signed the Declaration. He cast the deciding vote to swing the Pennsylvania delegation over for the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. He was the first of the signers to die. He is buried in St. Paul's Churchyard, in Chester, Pa.

DELAWARE

Caesar Rodney: He was born in Dover, Del., on October 7, 1728, and died there on June 29, 1784. He obtained most of his educational training at home, and then engaged in agricultural pursuits. He served in several public offices, including those of superintendent of the printing of Delaware currency in 1759, member of the State assembly from 1762 to 1769, and associate justice of the Delaware Supreme Court from 1769 to 1777. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1776, and rode from his home, through the night and rain, to cast his vote for independence. He was 48 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was elected president of Delaware, and served from 1778 to 1782. He was buried on his farm, Byfield, but a century later his remains were reinterred in the Christ Episcopal Churchyard in Dover.

George Read: He was born in Cecil County, Md., on September 18, 1733, and died in New Castle, Del., on September 21, 1798. Read studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Delaware in 1752. He served as attorney general for lower Delaware in 1763. He was a Member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777. He was 43 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served as president of the State constitutional convention in 1776, and was a delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention. He served in the State assembly, and was elected to the United States Senate, serving from 1789 to 1793. In this latter year Read was appointed chief justice of the State of Delaware, and served until his death. He is buried in Immanuel Churchyard, in New Castle, Del.

Thomas McKean: He was born in New London, Pa., on March 19, 1734, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., on June 24, 1817. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, and began practicing in New Castle, Del., in 1755. He was appointed deputy attorney general for Sussex County, and served from 1756 to 1758. He served in the Delaware assembly from 1762 to 1775. He served as a Member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1783, and in 1781 he served as president of Congress. He was 42 years old in the summer of 1776, but it is unknown when he actually signed the Declaration. He served as president of the State of Delaware in 1777, was appointed chief justice of Pennsylvania in 1777 and served in that capacity until 1799. He was elected Governor of the State of Pennsylvania in 1799 and served until 1808, when he retired from public life. He is buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery, in Philadelphia.

MARYLAND

Charles Carroll of Carrollton: He was born in Annapolis, Md., on September 19, 1737, and died in Baltimore, Md., on November 14, 1832. He attended the Jesuits' College of Bohemia at Hermans Manor, Md., and studied civil and common law in England and France, returning to Maryland in 1765. Carroll, a landed gentleman, was one of the richest men in America. He served as a delegate to the revolutionary convention of Maryland in 1775, and was a member of the board of war from 1776 to 1777. He served in the Continental Congress in 1776 and again in 1777 and 1778. He was 39 years old when he signed the Declaration. Carroll served in the Maryland State senate from 1777 to 1800, and served in the United States Senate from 1789 until 1792, when he resigned, preferring to remain in the State senate. Carroll was the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. He is buried in the chapel of Doughoregan Manor, near Ellicott City, Md.

William Paca: He was born near Abingdon, Md., on October 31, 1740, and died there on October 23, 1799. He graduated from Philadelphia College in 1759, studied law in Annapolis and in London, and was admitted to the bar in 1764. He served in the Provincial Assembly from 1771 to 1774, and served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1779. He was 36 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served in the State senate from 1777 to 1779, and was appointed chief judge of the Superior Court of Maryland in 1778, and served until 1780. He was elected governor of the State of Maryland, and served 3 terms from 1782 to 1786. He was appointed by Washington to serve as judge of the United States Court for Maryland, and served from 1789 until his death. He is buried in the family burial ground in Queen Anne County, Md.

Samuel Chase: He was born in Princess Anne, in Somerset County, Md., on April 17, 1741, and died in Washington, D. C., on June 19, 1811. He was tutored in the classics by his father, an Anglican clergyman. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1761. He served in the State assembly from 1764 to 1784, and served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1778, and again in 1784 and 1785. He was 35 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was the most violent of the Maryland delegation, and because of his "fiery complexion" was given the name "Bacon face" in the Maryland court. He was appointed judge of the general court of Maryland in 1791, and in 1796 President Washington appointed him Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Chase was impeached for malfeasance in office, tried by the Senate of the United States in 1805, but was acquitted of all charges. At the end of the trial he resumed his seat on the bench, and served until his death. He is buried in Old St. Paul's Cemetery, Baltimore, Md.

Thomas Stone: He was born in Charles County, Md., in 1743, and died in Alexandria, Va., on October 5, 1787. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1764. He served in the Maryland State Senate from 1779 to 1783. He served in the Continental Congress in 1775, and again in 1779, 1784, and 1785. He was 33 years old when he signed the Declaration. He declined to serve as a delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention because of the illness of his wife. Stone died at the age of 44 while waiting for a ship to take him to England. He is buried in the Garden Cemetery, Havre de Venture, in Charles County, Md.

VIRGINIA

Richard Henry Lee: He was born at Stratford, in Westmoreland County, Va., on January 20, 1732, and died at his home Chantilly, in Westmoreland County, on June 19, 1794. After some private instruction, Lee attended Wakefield Academy in England, returning to this country in 1751. Lee served in the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1758 to 1775, and served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1780. He introduced the famous resolutions declaring "that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States * * *," and which led to the Declaration of Independence. He was 45 years old at the time. He served in the Continental Congress again, from 1784 to 1787, and was the author of the first national Thanksgiving Day proclamation issued by Congress, October 31, 1777. He was elected to the United States Senate, and served from 1789 until he resigned in 1792. He is buried in the family burying ground, Mount Pleasant, near Hague, Westmoreland County, Va.

Thomas Jefferson: He was born in Old Shadwell, Va., on April 13, 1743, and died at Monticello, in Albermarle County, Va., on July 4, 1826, a few hours before John Adams. Jefferson graduated from William and Mary College in 1762, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1767. Jefferson served in the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1769 to 1774, and served in the Continental Congress in 1775 and 1776. He served as chairman of the committee appointed to prepare the Declaration of Independence and was the author of that document. He was 33 years old at the time. Jefferson served as Governor of Virginia from 1779 to 1781, and later resumed his service in the Continental Congress. He served as Minister to France for more than 3 years. In 1789 he was appointed the first Secretary of State of the United States under the Constitution, and served until 1793. Jefferson was elected Vice President of the United States, serving from 1797 to 1801. He was elected President of the United States for two terms, serving from 1801 to 1809. Jefferson took an active part in founding the University of Virginia. He is buried at Monticello.

Benjamin Harrison: He was born in Berkeley, Charles City County, Va., on April 5, 1726, and died in City Point, Prince George County, Va., on April 24, 1791. He attended William and Mary College. At an early age he was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses, serving from 1749 to 1775. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1778; and as chairman of the Committee of the Whole House reported the resolution introduced by Richard Henry Lee declaring independence. He was 50 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served several terms in the State House of Representatives after leaving the Continental Congress, serving as Speaker of that body in the years 1778 to 1782, 1785, and 1786. He served as Governor of Virginia from 1782 to 1784. One of Harrison's children, William Henry Harrison, became President of the

United States. He is probably buried in Old Westover Church Cemetery, near famous Westover estate, on the James River, in Virginia.

George Wythe: He was born in Elizabeth City County, Va., in 1726, and died at Richmond, Va., on June 8, 1806. He attended William and Mary College, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1746. He served in the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1758 to 1768, and served as Clerk of the same body from 1768 to 1775. Wythe served as a member in the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1777. He was 50 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served as Judge of the Virginia Chancery Court in 1777; in 1778 he was appointed sole Chancellor of Virginia. He was professor of law at William and Mary College from 1779 until 1791, when he resigned. Afterward he established a private school in Richmond; and Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and Henry Clay, among others, studied under him. He was a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention in 1787. He is buried in St. John's Churchyard, at Richmond, Va.

Francis Lightfoot Lee: He was born at Stratford, in Westmoreland County, Va., on October 14, 1734, and died at his home, Menoken, in Richmond County, Va., on January 11, 1797. Lee pusued his studied under private tutoring, and became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses at the age of 24, serving from 1758 to 1775. He signed the Westmoreland declaration against the Stamp Act. He served in the Continental Congress from 1175 to 1780. He was 42 years old when he signed the Declaration. He was the younger brother of Richard Henry Lee, who introduced the famous resolutions calling for independence. He served in the Virginia State senate from 1778 to 1782. He is buried in the family burying groung at Mount Airy, Richmond County, Va.

Carter Braxton: He was born at Newington, near King and Queen Court House, Virginia, on September 10, 1736, and died at Richmond, Va., on October 10, 1797. He graduated from William and Mary College in 1755, and then spent 3 years abroad, in England. He was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1761 and served until 1771, and again in 1775. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775 on the death of Peyton Randolph, and served until 1776. He was 40 years old at the time of the signing of the Declaration. In 1777 he was again elected to the Continental Congress, and served until 1783, and again in 1785. He was a member of the Virginia Council of State from 1786 to 1791, and again from 1794 until his death. He is buried on his estate, Chericoke, in King County, Va.

Thomas Nelson, Jr.: He was born in Yorktown, Va., on December 26, 1738, and died at his son's estate, Mont Air, in Hanover County, Va., on January 4, 1789. Nelson attended private schools, and in 1761 he was graduated from Trinity College in Cambridge, England. Although English-educated, Nelson was a stanch patriot, and never leaned toward loyalism. He was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1774, while en route home from England. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1777. He was 37 years old when he signed the Declaration. It was Nelson who carried the Virginia convention resolutions to Philadelphia, which in turn precipitated the action of Richard Henry Lee. Nelson served as the commander of the Virginia State forces from 1777 until 1781. Ill health brought about by his service in the field in the campaign against Cornwallis forced his retirement in 1781. He received the public thanks of General Washington and of the Congress for his services. He served as Governor of Virginia in 1781, and then retired from public service. He is buried in the Nelson Cemetery, at Yorktown, Va.

NORTH CAROLINA

Joseph Hewes: He was born in Kingston, N. J., on January 23, 1730, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., on November 10, 1779. He attended Princeton College, then entered business in Philadelphia. In 1756 he moved to North Carolina. He served in the North Carolina State house of commons from 1766 to 1775, and was a member of the committee of correspondence in 1773. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777, and while in the Congress served as chairman of the Marine Committee. He was a friend of John Paul Jones, and was instrumental in acquiring a ship for the latter. He was 46 years old when he signed the Declaration. He served in the State House of Commons again in 1778 and 1779, and in the latter year was again elected to the Continental Congress. He died while serving in the Congress. He is buried in Christ Churchyard, in Philadelphia, Pa.

John Penn: He was born near Port Royal, in Caroline County, Va., on May 17, 1741, and died near Williamsboro, N. C., on September 14, 1788. Penn was privately educated, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1762. He was a leader in the patriotic cause, served in the Provincial Congress in 1775, and in the same year was elected to the Continental Congress, serving until 1780. He was 35 years old at the time he signed the Declaration. He served as a member of the board of war in North Carolina in 1780, and in 1784 was receiver of taxes for that State. Afterward he returned to the practice of law, but was almost in complete retirement because of poor health. He was buried on his estate in Granville County, N. C., but his remains were reinterred in the Guilford Battle Grounds, near Greensboro, N. C.

William Hooper: He was born in Boston, Mass., on June 17, 1742, and died in Hillsboro, N. C., in October 1790. Hooper attended Harvard College, graduated in 1760, was admitted to the bar, and in 1767 moved to Wilmington, N. C. He served in the North Carolina colonial assembly from 1773 to 1776, and during this period penned a series of articles against the Crown which awakened the people to the issues. As a result, Hooper was disbarred for 1 year. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777. He was 34 years old when he signed the Declaration. Hooper was a member of the boundary commission appointed to settle the dispute between Massachusetts and New York in 1786. He was buried in Hillsboro, but was reinterred in the Guilford Battle Grounds, near Greensboro, N. C.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Arthur Middleton: He was born at Middleton Place, near Charleston, S. C., on June 26, 1742, and died at The Oaks, near Charleston, on January 1, 1787. He attended St. John's College, Cambridge University, and studied law at the Middle Temple in London. Middleton returned to South Carolina in 1763, and assisted his father in the management of his plantations. At the age of 23, Middleton served in the provincial house of commons, serving from 1765 to 1768. He went to Europe, traveled extensively, and returned to this country in 1771, and again served in the provincial house of commons until 1775. He served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1778, and from 1781 to 1783. He was 34 years old when he signed the Declaration. Middleton served as an officer in the State militia during the war, and along with his fellow signers, Rutledge and Heyward, was captured and held prisoner by the British after the fall of Charleston. Middleton was elected Governor of South Carolina in 1778, but declined the office. He served in the State senate in 1781 and 1782. He was a member of the board of trustees of Charleston College. He is buried in the family mausoleum, at Middleton Place.

Thomas Heyward, Jr.: He was born on his father's plantation, in St. Helena's Parish (now St. Luke's), in South Carolina, on July 28, 1746, and died at White Hall, in St. Luke's Parish, S. C., on March 6, 1809. He studied law in the Middle Temple in London, returned to South Carolina in 1771, and was admitted to the bar. He was a member of the Council of Safety in 1775 and 1776, and served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1778. He was 30 years old when he signed the Declaration. Heyward served several terms in the State house of representatives, was an officer in the militia during the war, and was captured by the British at the fall of Charleston, in May 1780, and was imprisoned for a year. He served as judge of the circuit court from 1779 to 1789. He was a member of the State constitutional convention in 1790. He was the founder and served, in 1785, as the first president of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina. He is buried in the family burial ground, on his father's plantation, Old House, in St. Luke's Parish.

Edward Rutledge: He was born in Christ Church Parish, South Carolina, on November 23, 1749, and died in Charleston, on January 23, 1800. Like the other signers from South Carolina, he studied law at the Middle Temple in London. He returned to this country, and was admitted to the bar in South Carolina in 1773. Rutledge served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777, and was the youngest signer of the Declaration, being only 26 years old at the time. He was the brother of John Rutledge, who signed the Constitution and later served as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Like Middleton and Heyward, Edward served as an officer in the Army, and was captured and imprisoned by the British in May 1780. He served for several years in the State house of representatives, and in 1791 authored the act abolishing the law of primogeniture. In 1794, President Washington tendered him the appointment of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, but he declined the office. He was elected Governor of South Carolina, and served from December 6, 1798, until his death. He married the sister of Arthur Middleton, a fellow signer of the Declaration. He is buried in St. Philip's Churchyard, at Charleston.

Thomas Lynch, Jr.: He was born in Prince George's Parish, Winyah, S. C., on August 5, 1749, and was lost at sea with his wife, sometime in 1779. Lynch, a member of a landed family, was educated at Eton and Cambridge and studied law at the Middle Temple like the other members of his delegation. He returned to America in 1772. Owing to his dislike for law, he did not practice long, preferring to be a planter. Lynch began his service in the Provincial Congress when he was just 25 years old, serving from 1774 to 1776. It was by accident that Lynch became a signer of the Declaration. His father, Thomas Lynch, Sr., was serving as a delegate, and became ill. Thomas Junior was elected "to care for, and if necessary to substitute, for, his father," in 1776. The father was too stick to sign the document, and thus Thomas Lynch, Jr., attached his signature to the Declaration. He was 27 years old at the time, just a few months older than Rutledge, who was the youngest signer. Lynch served as an officer in the State militia in 1776. "No other signer had so short a life or so sad a story" as Thomas Lynch, Jr. Seeking to regain his own health, Lynch and his wife embarked on a sea voyage in 1779, expecting to land in southern France. They both were lost at sea in that year.

GEORGIA

Lyman Hall: He was born in Wallingford, Conn., on April 12, 1724, and died in Burke

County, Ga., on October 19, 1790. Hall graduated from Yale College in 1749, studied theology, and preached for a short period of time. He studied medicine, moved to Liberty County, Ga., sometime after 1752, and continued the practice of medicine which he had begun earlier. He was sympathetic to the patriotic cause and was a moving spirit for independence in his State. He served in the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1780. He was 52 years old when he signed the Declaration. With the fall of Savannah, and the destruction of his property, he in 1778 moved his family north, where they lived until 1782. He served as Governor of the State of Georgia in 1783. He was buried on his plantation near Shell Bluff, in Burke County, but in 1848 was reinterred beneath a monument on Greene Street, in front of the courthouse, in Augusta, Ga.

Button Gwinnett: He was born in Down Hatherly, Gloucestershire, England, in 1732, and died near Savannah, Ga., on May 19, 1777. Gwinnett engaged in the mercantile business in Bristol, England, and later immigrated to this country, settling in Charleston, S. C. In 1765 he moved to Savannah, Ga., and continued in the mercantile business. A few years later he moved to St. Catherines Island, Ga., where he engaged in planting. He served in the Continental Congress in 1776 and 1777. He was 44 years old at the time he affixed his signature to the Declaration. From February to March 1777, Gwinnett served as Acting President and Commander in Chief of the State of Georgia. While serving as chief executive of Georgia, he was drawn into a controversy with the military authorities, particularly with Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh. As a result, a duel ensued between the two men, and both were wounded on May 16, 1777. Gwinnett died a few days later from his wounds. He is buried probably in the Old Colonial Cemetery (now called Colonial Park), in Savannah, Ga.

George Walton: He was born near Farmville, Va., in 1741, and died near Augusta, Ga., on February 2, 1804. Walton attended the common schools, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1774. In 1775 he served as secretary of the Provincial Congress, and at the same time served as a member of the Provincial Congress, and at the same time served as a member of the council of safety. Walton served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1781. He was 35 years old when he signed the Declaration. Walton also has the distinction of signing the Articles of Confederation. He served as an officer in the First Georgia Battalion, was wounded, captured, and later released by exchange. He served as Governor of Georgia in 1779, and became Chief Justice of that State in 1783, serving until 1786. He served as Governor again in 1789, and Chief Justice in 1793. He was appointed to the United States Senate in 1795, and served until February 1796. In 1799 he was appointed judge of the middle circuit of Georgia, and served in that position until his death. He was buried in Rosney Cemetery, but in 1848 his remains were reburied with those of Lyman Hall, his fellow signer, beneath a monument in front of the court house on Greene Street, in Augusta, Ga.

Sources: Dictionary of American biography. Malone, Dumas. The story of the Declaration of Independence. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, 282 p. United States Congress. Biographical directory of the American Congress, 1774–1949. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950.

THE SIGNERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

George Washington, 1732–99, Virginia: Planter, soldier, statesman; colonial officer in French and Indian War; Virginia Legislature; Continental Congress, 1774–75; Commander in Chief of Continental Army; Deputy to Constitutional Convention, President of it; President of the United States, 1789–97; Commander in Chief of United States Provisional Army.

John Langdon, 1741–1819, New Hampshire: Merchant; militia service during Revolution; Continental Congress, 1775–76; New Hampshire Legislature, speaker; Continental Navy agent; President of New Hampshire; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; Governor; United States Senator, 1789–1801.

Nicholas Gilman, 1755–1814, New Hampshire: Statesman; officer in Continental Army; Continental Congress, 1787–88; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; Congressman, 1789–97; New Hampshire Senate; United States Senator, 1805–14.

Nathaniel Gorham, 1738–96, Massachusetts: Merchant, landowner; Massachusetts Legislature, speaker; Massachusetts Board of War and constitutional convention; Continental Congress, 1782–83, 1786–87; judge; Delegate to Constitutional Convention, Chairman of Committee of the Whole; Massachusetts Council.

Rufus King, 1755–1827, Massachusetts: Lawyer; Massachusetts Legislature; Continental Congress, 1784–87; Delegate to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator from New York, 1789–96, 1813–25; Minister to Great Britain; Federalist candidate for Vice President and President.

William Samuel Johnson, 1727–1819, Connecticut: Lawyer, Stamp Act Congress; Connecticut agent in England; Connecticut Council; judge; Continental Congress, 1784–87; delegate to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1789–91; president of Columbia College.

Roger Sherman, 1721–93, Connecticut: Shoemaker, lawyer; Connecticut Legislature and Council of Safety; Continental Congress, 1774–81, 1784; signer of Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation; delegate to Constitutional Convention; mayor of New Haven; Congressman, 1789–91; United States Senator, 1791–93.

Alexander Hamilton, 1757–1804, New York: Lawyer; aide to Washington and line colonel in Continental Army; Continental Congress, 1782–83, 1788; New York Legislature; Annapolis Convention; delegate to Constitutional Convention; part author of Federalist; Secretary of the Treasury, 1789–95; inspector general in United States Provisional Army.

William Livingston, 1723–90, New Jersey: Lawyer; New York Legislature; local New Jersey Committee of Correspondence; Continental Congress, 1774–76; commander of New Jersey Revolutionary militia; Governor of New Jersey; Commissioner to Constitutional Convention.

David Brearley, 1745–90, New Jersey: Lawyer; officer in Continental Army; New Jersey Constitutional Convention: chief justice of New Jersey; Commissioner to Constitutional Convention; United States district judge.

William Paterson, 1745–1806, New Jersey: Lawyer; New Jersey Provincial Congress, Constitutional Convention, Attorney General, and Council; Commissioner to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1789–90; Governor; Chancellor; Associate Justice of Supreme Court, 1793–1806.

Jonathan Dayton, 1760–1824, New Jersey: Landowner; officer in Continental Army; New Jersey Legislature, speaker; Commissioner to Constitutional Convention; Continental Congress, 1788; New Jersey Council; Congressman, 1791–99, Speaker; United States Senator, 1799–1805.

Benjamin Franklin, 1706–90, Pennsylvania: Printer, statesman, scientist, philosopher; Pennsylvania Legislature; Deputy Postmaster General of Colonies; Albany Congress; Colonial agent in England; Continental Congress, 1775–76, signer of Declaration of Independence; Commissioner and Minister to France; President of Pennsylvania; Deputy to Constitutional Convention.

Thomas Mifflin, 1744–1800, Pennsylvania: Merchant, politician; Pennsylvania Legislature, Speaker; Continental Congress, 1774–75, 1782–84, President of it, 1783–84; aide to Washington, major general and quartermaster general in Continental Army; Continental Board of War; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; President of Pensylvania and Governor; Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention.

Robert Morris, 1734–1806, Pennsylvania: Merchant, financier; Continental Congress, 1775–78; signer of Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation; Pennsylvania Legislature and Council of Safety; Superintendent of Finance, 1781–84; established Bank of North America; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1789–95.

George Clymer, 1739–1813, Pennsylvania: Merchant; Pennsylvania Council of Safety; Continental Congress, 1776–77, 1780–82, signer of Declaration of Independence; Pennsylvania Legislature; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; Congressman, 1789–91.

Thomas Fitzsimons, 1741–1811, Pennsylvania: Merchant, militia officer in Revolution; Pennsylvania Council of Safety and Navy Board; Continental Congress, 1782–83; Pennsylvania Legislature and Board of Censors; Bank of North America; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; Congressman, 1789–95.

Jared Ingersoll, 1749–1822, Pennsylvania: Lawyer; Continental Congress, 1780; Pennsylvania Attorney General; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; United States District Attorney; municipal officer in Philadelphia; judge of Pennsylvania District Court; Federalist candidate for Vice President.

James Wilson, 1742–1798, Pennsylvania: Lawyer; Pennsylvania Provincial Convention; Continental Congress, 1775–77, 1783, 1785, 1786, signer of Declaration of Independence; Continental Board of War; Advocate General for France in America; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; Associate Justice of Supreme Court of the United States, 1789–98.

Gouverneur Morris, 1752–1816, Pennsylvania: Lawyer; New York Provincial Congress and Constitutional Convention; Continental Congress from New York, 1778–79, signer of Articles of Confederation; Assistant Superintendent of Finance; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; special mission to England; Minister to France; United States Senator from New York, 1800–03.

George Read, 1733–98, Delaware: Lawyer; Delaware attorney general and Legislature; Continental Congress, 1774–77, signer of Declaration of Independence; Delaware Constitutional Convention and Council; Continental Court of Appeals; Annapolis Convention; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1789–93; Chief Justice of Delaware.

Gunning Bedford, Jr., 1747–1812, Delaware: Lawyer; Delaware Legislature and Council; Continental Congress, 1783–85; Delaware attorney general; Annapolis Convention; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; United States district judge.

Jacob Broom, 1752–1810, Delaware: Surveyor, businessman, manufacturer; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; borough officer in Wilmington; Delaware Legislature; postmaster at Wilmington; bank director.

Richard Bassett, 1745–1815, Delaware: Lawyer; militia service in Revolution; Delaware Council of Safety, Legislature, and Constitutional Convention; Annapolis Convention; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1789–93; judge of Delaware Court of Common Pleas; Governor; United States circuit judge, but office soon abolished.

John Dickinson, 1732–1808, Delaware: Lawyer; Delaware and Pennsylvania Legis-

latures, speaker in Delaware; Stamp Act Congress; Continental Congress, 1774–76, 1779, signer of Articles of Confederation; president of Delaware; president of Pennsylvania; Annapolis Convention; Deputy from Delaware to Constitutional Convention. (Though not present at the signing, his signature was added, at his request, by George Read of Delaware.)

James McHenry, 1753–1816, Maryland: Physician; surgeon in Continental Army, military secretary to Washington, aide to Lafayette; Maryland Legislature; Continental Congress, 1783–85; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; Secretary of War, 1796–1800.

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, 1723–90, Maryland: Planter; agent and receiver general for lord proprietary of Maryland; Maryland Legislature, Council, council of safety, and president of Senate; Continental Congress, 1779–81; Maryland-Virginia Conference of 1785; Deputy to Constitutional Convention.

Daniel Carroll, 1730–96, Maryland: Planter; Continental Congress, 1781–83, signer of Articles of Confederation; Deputy to Constitutional Convention; Congressman, 1789–91; Commissioner for District of Columbia.

John Blair, 1732–1800, Virginia: Lawyer; Virginia Legislature, Provincial Convention, and Council; judge of General Court and Chancery of Virginia; deputy to Constitutional Convention; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1789–96.

James Madison, 1751–1836, Virginia: Lawyer, statesman; Virginia Convention, Legislature, and Council; Continental Congress, 1780–83, 1787–88; Virginia-Maryland Conference of 1785; Annapolis Convention; deputy to Constitutional Convention; part author of Federalist; Congressman, 1789–97; Secretary of State, 1801–09; President of the United States, 1809–17; Virginia Constitutional Convention; rector of University of Virginia.

William Blount, 1749–1800, North Carolina: Landowner; paymaster in Continental Army; North Carolina Legislature, Speaker; Continental Congress, 1782–83, 1786–87; deputy to Constitutional Convention; Governor of Territory South of the Ohio River and Superintendent of Indian Affairs; Tennessee Constitutional Convention; United States Senator from Tennessee, 1796–97; Tennessee Senate.

Richard Dobbs Spaight, 1758–1802, North Carolina: Planter; North Carolina Legislature; Continental Congress, 1783–85; deputy to Constitutional Convention; Governor of North Carolina; Congressman, 1798–1801; North Carolina Senate.

Hugh Williamson, 1735–1819, North Carolina: Merchant, physician; surgeon general of North Carolina militia; North Carolina Legislature; Continental Congress, 1782–85, 1787–88; deputy to Constitutional Convention; Congressman, 1789–93.

John Rutledge, 1739–1800, South Carolina: Lawyer; South Carolina Legislature; Stamp Act Congress; Continental Congress, 1774–75, 1782–83; South Carolina Council of Safety, Constitutional Convention, President, and Governor; judge of Chancery Court; deputy to Constitutional Convention; Associate Justice of Supreme Court of United States, 1789–91; Chief Justice of South Carolina.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, 1746–1825, South Carolina: Lawyer, soldier; South Carolina Provincial Congress, Council of Safety, Legislature, and President of Senate; colonel in Continental Army; deputy to Constitutional Convention; declined Cabinet positions; Minister to France; major general in United States Provisonal Army; candidate for President.

Charles Pinckney, 1757–1824, South Carolina: Lawyer; militia service in Revolution; South Carolina Legislature; Continental Congress, 1784–87; deputy to Constitutional Convention; South Carolina Council, Governor, and Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1799–1801; Minister to Spain; Congressman, 1819–21.

Pierce Butler, 1744–1822, South Carolina: Planter; officer in British Army before the Revolution; South Carolina Legislature; Continental Congress, 1787; deputy to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1789–96, 1803–04.

William Few, 1748–1828, Georgia: Lawyer; Georgia Constitutional Convention, Legislature, and Council; militia service in Revolution; judge of Georgia County and Circuit Courts; Continental Congress, 1780–82, 1786–88; deputy to Constitutional Convention; United States Senator, 1789–93; New York Legislature and prison inspector; bank director; New York City Alderman.

Abraham Baldwin, 1754–1807, Georgia: Clergyman, lawyer; tutor at Yale; chaplain in Continental Army; Georgia Legislature; author of charter and president of University of Georgia; Continental Congress, 1785, 1788; deputy to Constitutional Convention; Congressman, 1789–99; United States Senator, 1799–1807.

Source: The Story of the Constitution, Sol Bloom, 1937, pages 54–64.

Resolution Opposing Recognition of Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I am unalterably opposed to any form of recognition of the Chinese Communist Government. I shall continue to oppose trade or recognition with Red China until the Communist regime is overthrown. I am confident that the overwhelming majority of Americans feel as I do about this matter. Under previous leave to extend my remarks, I desire to insert a letter which I have received from Mr. Francis X. McBarron, county commander, Catholic War Veterans, U. S. A. Brooklyn, N. Y. I am also inserting a resolution adopted by the county convention of the organization represented by Mr. McBarron. The letter and the resolution express strong opposition to the granting of diplomatic recognition by the United States to Red China, and opposition to trade, in any form, with the country as long as it is under the domination of the Communists.

The letter and resolution follow:

KINGS COUNTY CHAPTER,
CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS, U. S. A.,
Brooklyn, N. Y., July 3, 1957.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
Representative from West Virginia,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BYRD: We wish to commend you for your masterful approach to the problem of trade with Red China as presented on the floor of the House of Representatives on Friday, June 28. We can assure you that our organization is most heartily in accord with the views that you expressed therein.

In connection with this, we adopted at our county convention in January a resolution emphasizing these very points. To further our views, especially since hearing the remarks of Senators FULBRIGHT and MAGNUSON on the June 16 WCBS–TV presentation Face the Nation, who advocate moves opening relations with Red China, we reaffirmed our position with another resolution, copy of which is enclosed, on the same day that your scholarly speech was presented.

If each of our representatives in the Halls of Congress could be as perspicacious as yourself in understanding the Communist conspiracy, I am sure that our Nation would have no cause for alarm. Sir, you have rendered our country a great service. May you continue your inspiration to the forces of freedom, and may God grant you the foresight to continue in His infinite wisdom.

Very sincerely yours,
FRANCIS X. MCBARRON,
County Commander.

The following resolution, adopted at a meeting of the Kings County chapter, Catholic War Veterans, on June 28, 1957, is being forwarded for your information and necessary action:

"Whereas communism is a conspiracy which would seek to destroy our democratic way of life, and Red China is an important member nation of those countries promulgating this conspiracy; and

"Whereas Red China stands condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor nation; and

"Whereas, by its own admission, the government of Communist China has murdered millions of its countrymen who opposed the Communist form of Government; and

"Whereas the United States does not recognize the government of Red China, either diplomatically, economically, culturally or socially, and in effect, has a ban on trade with that country; and

"Whereas on June 16, 1957, on the WCBS–TV presentation, Face the Nation, Senators WARREN G. MAGNUSON, of Washington, and J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, advocated moves toward opening relations with Red China; and

"Whereas the Catholic War Veterans are on record as opposed to the granting of recognition in any form whatsoever to the Government of Red China: Now, be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That the Kings County chapter, Catholic War Veterans, and its member posts, reaffirm their opposition to the granting of diplomatic, economic, cultural, and social recognition by the United States to Red China, and to trade, in any form, with this Communist country; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That our views be brought before the President of the United States, the United States State Department, the United States Delegate to the U. N., the United States Senators from New York and the Congressmen from Brooklyn."

Better Than Point 4

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the observations

of the well-known columnist, George E. Sokolsky, in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mr. Sokolsky's observations on the accomplishments of the Mormon missionaries reminds me of an admonition from one of our Church's great leaders, Brigham Young: "God has given you the wood, stone and strength to make a house, but He won't come down and build it for you."

The article follows:

BETTER THAN POINT 4

(By George E. Sokolsky)

It used to be an adage before the human race became too wise for its own good that God helps those who help themselves. The real sin of our aid to other countries is that the aid has been used not to raise the standards of living of all the people but to strengthen governments.

It cannot be otherwise that in many countries what we used to call graft is a normal characteristic of political operations and this free flow of money from the United States must have encouraged a lot of graft.

At any rate, suddenly a large number of unexplainable rich men have appeared whose prosperity is not readily understood and whose personal conduct is what the French, when they were hoity-toity, called parvenu. Some of the new multimillionaires would have a tough time if their accounts were checked.

The Mormons have produced a different idea. Their missionaries, scattered over the earth, have brought something new into many countries. The missionary doctor is well known and his achievements have been enormous.

No country owes the United States a greater debt than China to which the American medical missionary gave of his heart and his means without stint. The ingratitude of the Red Chinese is only another example of the immorality of Marxism wherever it seeds down.

The Mormons have introduced the labor missionary. Their idea is that if a people want better things and better ways of life, they can learn how to "do it yourself." So they are sending out missionaries who are carpenters, electricians, masons, plumbers, and painters who will show various peoples how to do things for themselves.

This, of course, is no new doctrine with the Mormons who built their incredible economic strength by hard work. That is one reason why, during the depression, Mormons were not on relief.

So, their labor missionaries go to the Pacific islands, for instance, not to drop a pile of money which is soon dissipated.

The Mormons get together with the local community and all go to work building, let us say, a schoolhouse. Everybody works and when the job is done the local people are proud of their achievement, because they did it. They built it themselves which means a great deal more to a people than to be given money for what they do not need.

In New Zealand, 36 Mormons work with a force of 215 native Maoris in this school building operation. The Maoris will love those schools because they are themselves the builders. They also built homes for families and dormitories for single men.

The details of this project are of no particular interest here because they are typical building operations. What is important is that missionary activity, which has for more than a century been America's most valuable contribution to many countries, has found a new outlet and a new method. The missionaries over a century did an infinitively better job for native peoples than any government has ever done.

Desalting the Sea for Agricultural Water a Long Way Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, recent statements by the Department of the Interior have led people to believe that successful and economic desalting of sea water for irrigation use is right around the corner, and these optimistic statements created such a false impression that in some areas of the Far West water-development projects which should be pressed with great vigor were affected. California Grange News, in an editorial of June 25, 1957, refers to the impression of some of the lawmakers in the State capitol in California with regard to the Feather River project planned to be financed and built by the State. The fact, of course, is that desalting the sea for agricultural water is a long way off. Our committee report specifically criticized these overoptimistic statements by the Department of the Interior and called the public's attention to the true facts. The California Grange News editorial is as follows:

PLEASE PASS THE SALT

At the peak of 1 of the innumerable hassles in the 1957 legislature over the water crisis, 1 of the lawmakers remarked to a grange representative: "By the time they get the Feather River project built and running, we'll have all the irrigation water we need from the ocean."

A great many people share this lawmaker's belief. They see successful conversion of salt water as just around the corner. Within a year or two at the most, they estimate, the inevitable announcement will be made that such conversion is economically feasible. Then the problem of water shortage will quietly disappear.

Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, released a report which blasts this false sense of security.

According to ENGLE'S committee, the Department of the Interior is guilty of "misrepresentation to the American people" of progress made under the program.

ENGLE says:

"While the program has been permitted to drift along without proper emphasis, officials of the Department have made numerous optimistic statements indicating that large-scale use of converted saline or salt water is just around the corner. While we believe that several processes being studied show promise of successful economical saline or salt-water conversion eventually, such success is not just around the corner. Success can be accomplished if the Department would put this program into high gear."

He adds:

"The concern of our committee is that such misrepresentation of progress will lull the Nation into a false sense of security with respect to water and that the immediate need for conserving and making better use of the water available from natural sources will be overlooked and not given emphasis."

ENGLE is the author of two bills calling for research into sea-water conversion; he is to be commended for his interest in this project just as he now deserves recognition for bringing to light its apparent slow progress.

Most farmers view conversion as the ultimate solution to the water crisis; they unquestionably would like to see the Government spend a large sum toward research. But they must realize that to shrug off today's problems because saline conversion "is just around the corner" itself is a dangerous attitude.

Conversion remains a dream, a tantalizing one but in this State it should not detract from the necessity of seeing that the South gets water without hurting the North.

Labor's Sincere Reform Codes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a very timely editorial, appearing in the May 25, 1957, issue of the Boston, Mass., Daily Globe projecting further concrete evidence of labor's sincere intent and full competence to put their own house in order without the imposition of punitive legislative action.

The article follows:

LABOR'S REFORM CODES

The hierarchy of the American labor movement has made it plain that racketeering and corruption will not be allowed to corrode the newly merged American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Ouster from the executive council of Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is notice that the teamsters must clean house or face expulsion.

The charge against Beck was "gross misuse of union funds entrusted to his care." The top labor governing body has found Beck guilty of violating this basic trade union law.

The council has acted with dispatch on the Beck case. On March 29, the council suspended him after he had invoked the fifth amendment before the Senate Antiracketeering Committee. Beck violated the union's code of ethics by refusing to answer committee questions.

This code does not prohibit a union member from using the constitutional guaranty but an officer, questioned on union business, must reply or resign. A bill of particulars, forming the basis of the charges, was served on Beck several days before his ouster by the AFL–CIO executive council. The teamster boss again did not choose to answer.

Beck may appeal his case to the AFL–CIO convention in Miami in December, if his union decides to press the issue. This, however, is unlikely.

George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, already has initiated steps to prevent a recurrence of the Beck episode. Because some unions feel powerless to oust corrupt leaders or to correct abuses, a code of democratic procedure, designed to govern all affiliated unions, is being prepared. The federation would do well to consider putting teeth into this code by employing a citizens review board.

The United Automobile Workers, at their convention last month, set up a watchdog committee of this type to guard members against unethical practices, amending the U. A. W. constitution to permit selection of leaders in education, religion, and the judi-

clary to serve. By its composition, it is evident the board will be no rubber stamp.

This is solid protection for the union rank and file. It affords members an opportunity to speak out against malpractice, without the sword of arbitrary explusion dangling over their heads.

The Senate hearings also have pointed up the need for reform in the field of union finance. The Foundation for Employee Health, Medical Care, and Welfare offers a constructive report dealing with union pensions and welfare investments through established companies. This is a job for experts. Incompetence can be as costly as corruption.

The federation is not anxious to expel the teamsters—the largest union in the country. That could be accompanied by grave results. Internal reform, based on sound ethical and fiscal codes, is a wise alternative.

Federal Aid to Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of a letter to the editor of the New York Times from Frank E. Karelsen, which was published by the Times on Monday, June 10, 1957. For the information of the House, Mr. Karelsen is a prominent New York attorney.

It seems to me that we should give serious thought to his point that we waste many of the dollars appropriated for national defense if we permit our citizens to be inadequately educated.

The letter follows:

FOR FEDERAL AID TO SCHOOLS—DEFENSE SPENDING CONSIDERED WASTED IF CITIZENRY IS POORLY EDUCATED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Public Education Association commends the New York Times for the support it has been giving to Federal aid to school construction. However, in the hue and cry of today's controversy over the $72 billion budget proposed to Congress, certain fundamentals seem to have been quickly forgotten.

The billions of dollars which the administration has budgeted for defense spending is in fact justified only because it is needed for the preservation of our citizens and the assets of our Nation. The most important asset of our Nation is its children. The White House Conference on Education last year found that these children were being short-changed because of the shortage of classroom space throughout the country. The conference also concluded that the State and local governments could not supply sufficient funds to begin to adequately meet these needs.

FALSE ECONOMY

Certainly, a failure to develop our most important asset, our children, to the fullest extent possible—but still to spend billions for their defense—is incomprehensibly false economy. If the future generation is not equipped to cope with problems which the present budget is both creating and attempting to solve, then any expenditure of money by the Federal Government is to a great extent money wasted.

The Public Education Association is particularly distressed by the efforts of the economy-minded Congress to stifle even the little more than token Federal financial support for school construction advocated by President Eisenhower.

The present crisis in public-school housing is clearly demonstrated by the facts that at the beginning of the current academic year the schools needed 159,000 classrooms, 80,000 to relieve overcrowding and 79,000 more to replace facilities unfit for use. Official figures show that for the past 3 years State school agencies have reported that the number of pupils in excess of capacity of the schools in use has been 2,225,000 children each year. The overcrowding leads to half-day sessions, makeshift facilities, obviously overcrowded classrooms and inadequate education.

The difficulty, however, does not stop here. The anticipated increase in future school enrollments will be at the rate of 1 million more children in public schools for the next several years to come. This, together with the need for replacement due to obsolescence, makes the outlook, unless there is Federal aid to school construction, rather grim.

KELLEY BILL'S PROVISIONS

The emasculated Kelley bill (H. R. 1, as revised), now bottled up in the House Rules Committee, would appropriate $300 million a year for 5 years, or a total of $1½ billion, to the States for school construction. At the most this would provide less than 25 percent of the school-building shortage anticipated between now and 1960, after taking account of the heroic efforts of the States and local school districts to meet the demands.

The defeat of the Kelley bill will not relieve the taxpayer of any burden, in view of the fact that it concerns only one-half of 1 percent of the proposed budget, but its defeat could delay indefinitely the construction of 45,000 badly needed classrooms.

An ill-informed and poorly educated citizenry presents as great, if not a greater, danger to the future of America than the armed attack by some foreign country. All of us agree that we must face the crisis in foreign affairs, but we must not be so shortsighted that we do not see that the investment in our country's future—its children—is of vital necessity to the doctrines of democracy and the free world.

We must meet the fierce competition for the very survival of freedom in all vital fields; to postpone the decision to use the power of the Federal Government to help provide a more adequate public-school plant would be a reckless gamble for our country and the whole free world.

FRANK E. KARELSEN,
Vice President, Public Education Association.

NEW YORK, *June 4, 1957.*

The Status-of-Forces Treaties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like permission to insert in the RECORD a statement by my friend, Maj. Gen. Julius Klein, retired, of Chicago, on a subject which has and is still of vital interest to every American. I refer to the status-of-forces treaties between our country and nations where American troops are stationed:

STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN JULIUS KLEIN, RETIRED, OF CHICAGO, ILL., PAST NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES, AS SUBMITTED TO THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE

Steps to revise the status-of-forces treaties between the United States and countries where United States troops are stationed should be initiated even before the Supreme Court returns a verdict in the Girard case.

With Prime Minister Kishi, a real friend of the United States, now in this country, a useful first step could be taken by undertaking bilateral discussions with the Japanese Government.

Regardless of the decision brought in by the Supreme Court, the national interest of the United States, no less than the interests of every individual American citizen in uniform, requires a reaffirmation by our Government that it intends to preserve the constitutional guaranties that are the right of every American. To deny these guaranties to an American because he wears the uniform of his country and serves the defense needs of our own and other nations on foreign soil is to impose an additional jeopardy on every one of our young men who is required to take on the ever-present risks that go with foreign military service in a time of international tension.

It should be axiomatic that he who defends our flag is entitled to all the rights that flag symbolizes.

In analyzing Judge McGarraghy's decision in the Girard case, it appears that the determining factor as to whether William Girard would be tried in a Japanese civilian court or by a United States Army court-martial proceeding was whether or not he was acting on official duty. Had the court felt that Girard was not performing military duty, the decision may have been against him. Under present treaties, Judge McGarraghy may have had no other choice but to rule that Girard be tried by a Japanese court. That his decision turned out as it did is a tribute to Judge McGarraghy. But the issue that confronted Judge McGarraghy—the question of whether or not Girard was in performance of assigned military duty—is one that cries out for immediate remedy if the rights guaranteed to individuals under our Constitution are to be preserved.

In 1946, I testified before the Doolittle committee under the direction of Gen. James Doolittle. I believe then, as I do now, that the maintenance of a fair and effective code of military justice in the United States armed services demands that the American GI be guaranteed the same personal constitutional rights as a soldier that he enjoyed as a civilian.

I do not believe that either of my wartime commanders in the South Pacific, Gen. Douglas MacArthur or Adm. William Halsey, would have surrendered a William Girard or any other American serviceman under their command for trial by any tribunal other than a United States military court.

In testimony before a House Foreign Affairs Committee on February 2, 1956, I asserted, and reiterate now, that Communist propaganda agents are quick to exploit the inequities arising out of the status of forces treaties. Just how they are capitalizing on the Girard case is shockingly apparent.

Congress and the Executive should give close attention to the proposal advanced by Congressman FRANK BOW, who has called for either a revision of the status of forces agreements or a withdrawal by the United States from such agreements so that foreign courts will not have criminal jurisdiction over United States military personnel stationed within their boundaries.

FPC Should Say "No" on the Canadian Gas Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kentucky has a very important stake in the Canadian gas hearings now being held by the Federal Power Commission. Only West Virginia and Pennsylvania produce more coal than Kentucky, but our State's comparative position will become even further enhanced because neither of those States has the coal reserve strength of Kentucky. Beneath the soil within the boundaries of Kentucky are almost 60 billion tons of recoverable coal reserves—enough to last for approximately 900 years at the present rate of production.

Our mines have a working force of perhaps 40,000 men, and the wages which go into their paychecks have a very decided impact upon the business establishments within the 3 counties in eastern Kentucky and the 12 in western Kentucky where bituminous coal is produced. Next to agriculture, coal has the highes value in products and is the biggest employer in the entire State. Kentucky cannot enjoy complete economic progress without a vigorous coal industry.

When a foreign product enters fuel markets of the Middle West or of the eastern portion of the United States, Kentucky's economy is injured. The millions of barrels of residual oil that have flowed onto the Atlantic Seaboard from foreign refineries over the past decade have had a most injurious effect upon the Kentucky coal industry. That oil has also been responsible for loss of revenues and wages in the railroad industry of our State, and it has ultimately affected all wage earners—from bootblack to service station operator, from haberdasher to washing machine salesmen. The losses extend into our State, county, and local exchequers, into our churches, and into our charitable organizations.

Attempts to bring Canadian gas into the markets now being served by coal constitute another intended raid upon an industry that has already sustained more than its share of hardships through unwise import policies. The ambitious programs, of which the gas import plan is the latest venture, projected by world fuel merchants are astounding in their absolute disdain for domestic industry and labor. Save for the substantial profits that are to be realized by the pipeline people, what other gains would be forthcoming?

To exhaust a limited fuel resource such as natural gas while billions of tons of lignite and bituminous coal are within easy reach of consuming areas would be an extravagant use of a scarce source of energy regardless of where in nature's storehouse it may occur. At first glance into the Canadian gas proposals, a United States citizen might be inclined to say: "Let Canada send her natural gas into this country so that we can preserve our own resources." Even without concern for the American workers who would lose their jobs as a consequence, this simple conclusion is loaded with question marks.

What assurance have customers in the Midwest of a firm supply of a foreign product? Canadian statesmen have said time and again that the Dominion's newly discovered natural-gas supply should be reserved for use in Canadian homes and industries. If, after a few short years, those who advocate this policy succeed in having their views prevail, what would happen to those customers who meanwhile come to depend on Canadian gas?

Price of natural gas is a subject that has occupied considerable time on Capitol Hill and in the executive department for several year. It certainly cannot be arbitrarily dismissed in the Federal Power Commission hearings on the Canadian gas cases.

Who is to say that the controlling pipeline interests—or any segment thereof, whether it be producer or distributor—would not burden American customers with exorbitant price increases once this market had been seized and consolidated? The proposed pipeline to the Middle West from the Canadian line would bear the same public-utility status enjoyed by other lines throughout America, thus creating a fuel monopoly as soon as coal and competing oil products were displaced. When competition is out of the way, how high the price of imported gas would go is a matter over which no Federal, State, or local government body in the United States would have control.

Another question pertains to possible high export taxes that are quite likely to be imposed by the Canadian Government at some time in the future. How to get enough revenue to meet government spending is a perennial problem practically the world over. To levy a substantial tax upon a foreign consumer is a legal and accepted device that is naturally to be anticipated.

Let me make it clear that I am not challenging the integrity of the Government of Canada or its party in power. There has already been so much talk about the fantastic profits made by American investors in the pipeline that putting the squeeze on a United States consumer beholden to a fuel produced in the Dominion would seem the logical approach to bringing some of the dollars back across the border.

Until an assortment of global-minded officials in the State Department began to assume a progressively greater degree of power in the making of foreign trade treaties two decades or so ago, equitable foreign trade agreements were the recognized instrumentalities of international commerce. Since the so-called liberal element in Washington began to make fantastic concessions at the expense of our own industries and working forces, it has admittedly become very difficult to erect any semblance of protection against the onrush of foreign goods.

Perhaps the recent statement of Canada's new Prime Minister will bolster our chances of ruling out this new threat to the American coal industry. The Wall Street Journal for July 8 reported from Ottawa:

> Canada's new conservative government hopes to switch 15 percent of the nation's imports from the United States to Great Britain in a move that could slice more than $600 million a year from American exports now flowing into Canada at upward of $4 million annually. Canada's newly elected Prime Minister John Diefenbaker told a press conference the switch from United States to United Kingdom wares is the foundation of his proposal for a British Commonwealth conference he wants to hold here.

In the light of this declaration, it would seem a sensible and easy matter for the Federal Power Commission to refuse extension of the Canadian pipeline into American markets. If an explanation is needed, the FPC need only point out that the decision is in the interest of the general welfare of the United States.

On the assumption that the Commission will follow this patriotic course, let me say that thousands of coal miners and railroad workers in Kentucky and neighboring States will be highly appreciative of this wise and considerate decision.

Attention Men—Can Chivalry Be Revived in This Atomic Age?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a very pertinent and challenging editorial, appearing in the May 23, 1957, issue of the Boston, Mass., Daily Globe, expressing the unhappy conviction that if chivalry is not dead it is certainly in a very dismal and declining state. "O tempore, O mores."

Let us hope that all is not yet lost and if we are impelled to forego instinctive actions, let us resolve to still retain at least our sense of good old-fashioned chivalry.

The editorial follows:

WHY CHIVALRY IS DEAD

Of course the lady who wanted to crash the press box at the baseball park was merely an honest working girl. She had an assignment from the home office and she tried to carry it out. She didn't represent a mass demand by women that their exclusion from this last of man's preserves should be ended.

Nevertheless, she represents a female attitude to which man may well give thought, for all the good it will do him.

During the ages when man was boss he carried on most of his activities beyond the sight and hearing of his female relatives.

He climbed on his horse and sought the Holy Grail. He won a battle and came home loaded with loot. He foregathered socially with his fellows in establishments of

the gayer type. In short, he was out in the great world. And his spouse, her mother, her sisters, his daughters and his sisters all supposed he was living it up, having a wonderful, glamorous time.

Now if there is one thing a woman, particularly a married one, can't endure, it's to have any man in whom she's interested have a good time when she's not present.

It may be that the lady abhors baseball, football, horse racing, poker. She may prefer staying home to going out in company. She may hate tobacco smoke. Speeches and banquets may bore her, as well they might. She wants no part of man's activities. Invited to join she'll decline, as likely as not with a sniff.

But let man seem to be enjoying baseball, fishing or sitting around in a dim, cool place with his friends, and she becomes like the proverbial woman scorned. She does feel scorned, in a way. To be sure, she doesn't want the fellow around the house all the time. On the other hand, the more fun she thinks he has while he's away, the less she likes it.

It may be admitted that man wasn't a very good fellow when he had it. He kept all the money. He held women prisoners in the home. He wouldn't let them learn. As often as not he did his best to keep them at the level of mobile vegetables.

The broad process of shaking man loose from power still continues, even though he is by now well shaken indeed.

A woman heads the British empire, and there's another who's pretty influential in Monaco. Women teachers instruct the young, who also learn when they get home that mother knows best. Women handle all the money and they don't have to stay home except to use the telephone.

Woman has pretty well wiped out the old saloon by turning it into a cocktail lounge with chrome furniture. She's in the Senate. She heads colleges and corporations. She rides in the smoking car. She goes to war. She's seen on golf links and tennis courts.

Everywhere man is, presumably having a good time, woman wants to go also, to see whether she's missing something. When they make up the passenger list for the first spaceship some woman will insist that she be included. Not that she cares about the trip, especially, but as an expression of her subconscious feeling that man, the cad, shouldn't have all the fun.

Probably it doesn't matter much whether girls get into the press box, which is about man's last refuge. It's a small box and only a few men can hide in it at once, anyway. But the attempt does point up one modern fact and the reason for it.

Chivalry is dead, because man can no longer afford it. Once woman has taken his money, power and favorite haunts away from him he has neither strength nor means left to buy her a pedestal.

Nasser's Contradictions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following quotations of President Nasser, which appeared in the July 1, 1957 issue of Israel Digest, make most interesting reading.

"I NEVER CALLED FOR ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION," HE SAID

During a recent interview with Look magazine, Gamal Abdel Nasser, dictator of Egypt, remarked: "I have never called for the destruction of Israel. You will not find any such threat in any of my speeches—regardless of what the Zionist propagandists may say."

We therefore print below a selection of Nasser's promises of annihilation directed against Israel, the names of the newspapers in which they appeared, and the dates of their utterance.

"ISRAEL MUST BE DESTROYED

"The Arab countries look upon Israel as an artificial state which must be destroyed." (Al-Difa'a, Jordan Daily, May 7, 1954.)

"THERE WILL BE NO PALESTINE SOLUTION

"After the Egyptions liquidate the canal episode, they will only have the Palestine problem to deal with. No man forgets blood, vengeance, and honor. There will be no solution as long as the Arabs of Palestine are in the hands of the enemy." (Falastin, Jordan Daily, October 27, 1954.)

"WHEN WE BEGIN THE BATTLE

"When we begin the battle, we shall be able to restore what has been lost. We shall rely on our strength and not on the Security Council and its decisions." (Al-Akhbar, Cairo Daily, March 4, 1955.)

"PREPARE FOR THE HOLY WAR

"We must prepare for the great battle in Palestine, we must prepare for the Holy War in Palestine." (Al-Ahram, Cairo Daily, March 8, 1955.)

"THE WAR HAS NOT ENDED

"The war between ourselves and Zionism has not yet come to an end, and it may be that it has not even begun. The meaning of this war which is to be in the near future for us * * * is the realization of our hopes and the restoration of our rights." (From a pamphlet published in December 1955.)

Review of Jet Engine Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I ask for unanimous consent to reprint in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article entitled "Review of Jet Engine Costs," by Allen M. Smythe, which appeared in the June issue of Aeronautical Purchasing. The article shows how various congressional committees have aided the Defense Department in solving some of their technical and budgetary problems.

The article follows:

TOP LEVEL DEMANDS FOR ECONOMY CALL FOR PROCUREMENT—REVIEW OF JET ENGINE COSTS

Pentagon fiscal officials, pressed by White House and congressional demands for more economy in military budgets, are making a critical review of turbojet engine costs. Results could be very important to the major jet engine builders and the hundreds of subcontractors who make parts and components of these modern aerial powerplants.

This survey so far nearly resulted in the abandonment of the WS 125 atomic-bomber project. A group from the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, chairmaned by Representative MELVIN PRICE, is credited with persuading the Pentagon to go ahead on a much-reduced scale with this project to determine if a breakthrough can be found for a feasible lightweight reactor. Much of the funds required will have to come from the Atomic Energy Commission.

Military expenditures for jet engines are now running at a rate of $1¼ billion annually. New fighter aircraft require larger and more powerful engines. Demand is heavy for multiengined bombers, tankers, and transports. As a result, in 1959 expenditures may be at a rate of $2 billion annually.

While the trend of military demand calls for speed and altitude rather than numbers of aircraft, greater numbers of larger and more expensive jet engines are required. Piston engines have power and weight limitations. Turbojets are the answer to speed. Turboprops are more economical in fuel and are being adapted to aerial transports.

TURBOJETS GET BIG MONEY

The big money is being spent for turbojet engines. As speed increases in an arithmetical ratio, power and costs increase in a geometrical ratio. Tremendous heats, new metals, use of special alloy steels, intricate design, close tolerances, all require the highest type of scientific and engineering skills.

The prime contractors subcontract many of the parts and components to smaller firms which have the technical knowledge to process the heat-resisting, alloy steels. As the greater funds go to the engine builders, the Pentagon is insisting that a higher percentage be awarded to subcontractors in order to maintain a considerable portion of the prime contractor's capacity in a standby readiness status.

Another effort to reduce costs by reducing the percentage of spare engines and parts is being studied. Some engines now require 30 percent for spares. The supply for parts often goes higher. Engineers assert that present percentages for these extras can only be decreased as reliability increases. This in turn means longer and more thorough tests in the development stage before production contracts are awarded.

The proposal for the abandonment of the atomic-engine project was an economy move. It was made to Secretary Wilson by his engineering advisers last October 23. It questioned the military need for such an aircraft which could not be completed for 8 to 10 years. It would be very large and heavy and probably could not go beyond Mach 1 speed. A supplementary report on December 12 showed how enormous savings could be made if the project was to be continued only as a scientific experiment.

Over $300 million has been spent so far. The Air Force has given cost-plus research contracts for a small-scale reactor and full size turbojet engines to both Pratt & Whitney and General Electric. Costs last year were reported to be running at a rate of $150 million anually, with prospects of even larger expenditures if a workable test model reactor could be developed.

TITANIUM INCREASES COST

A congressional complaint that is giving much concern to Pentagon planners is that of the prohibitive cost of titanium in jet engines. Secretary Wilson also has a similar complaint from his engineering advisers. Titanium has many good qualities besides lightness and heat resistance. It also has some characteristics that are not liked by metalworking firms. Mr. Wilson's advisers have stated that a partial substitution of steel by titanium in the J–57 increases the price from $140,000 to $210,000 and such a 50 percent increase is not justified by the

small decrease in weight and a doubtful increase in efficiency.

Another weapon system that is being given a critical fiscal appraisal by the Air Force is the WS 110, the chemical-fueled engine bomber. This bomber would eventually supersede both our medium- and long-range bombers. Airframe design contracts have already been given to North American and Boeing.

Awarding of the engine design contract is being discussed with General Electric and Allison. This powerplant, which will use "exotic" fuel, is expected to require 5 years to develop at a cost of around $120 million.

The proposed specifications of the bomber indicate that it will not require tankers for refueling and will be in the Mach III speed range. No estimate of the total cost can yet be made but Air Force fiscal officers are hopeful that as fewer numbers will be required the overall cost will be less than that for the Boeing B–52.

The Johnson Senate and the Hébert House investigating subcommittees are complaining that Defense procurement officials are paying too much per engine. Both groups have pointed out that the J–57 now in production for 4 years costs $140,000 each. Spares and parts, if added, would raise this 30 percent. However, officials state there have been many changes in a number of models of the J–57 and that all of these have greatly increased the efficiency and the power of the engine as well as the cost.

The J–57 is in the 10,000-pound thrust category. The J–75 which will soon go into production is in the 16,000-pound class and first contracts indicate it will cost $254,000. Pratt & Whitney is the creator and builder of both of these engines and is under Navy auditing cognizance and management. The Bureau of Aeronautics is reported to have issued one large incentive-type contract of $600 million for J–57's.

The Ford Motor Co. is a licensee and second source for both the J–57 and J–75. It is under Air Force auditing cognizance and management. The Air Force has spent over $400 million in special tooling to equip this plant for mass production. It has been reported that in the event of an emergency, it could produce more than all other firms combined.

At the present moment and in the near future 82 percent of all funds allotted for jet engines will go to these two firms. Forty-seven percent is scheduled for Pratt & Whitney, 35 percent for Ford. The balance will go to Allison, Curtiss-Wright, General Electric, and Continental Motor in the order named.

The J–57 is used in the following Air Force fighter aircraft: the North American F–100, the McDonnell F–101, and the Convair F–102. The Boeing B–52 bomber uses eight of them. The Boeing aerial tanker, KC–135, uses four. The Northrop intercontinental "air-breaking" missile soon going into production will be propelled by it.

The Navy uses the J–57 in the carrier-based Douglas Skyray F4D and the Vought Crusader F8U. Two of them go into the Douglas Skywarrior A3D.

The new powerful J–75 will go into the Air Force fighter models of the Republic F–105 and the Convair F–106. The Navy has planned several unannounced aircraft for its use.

Last fall, Dr. Clifford Furnas, then research chief of the Pentagon, protested against the large percentage of funds going to these two models of jet engines. His complaint was given serious consideration but officials explain that although the funds that are paid to Pratt & Whitney and Ford will increase in the next few years, their percentage of the total expenditures will decrease. This is because General Electric is expected to jump to a strong third position among engine builders when their new lightweight J–79 goes into quantity production.

The General Electric engine plant in Cincinnati is under Air Force auditing cognizance and management. It has many research contracts but its greatest effort is concentrated on the development of the J–79. Five years under development this 11,000-pound thrust turbojet has met and exceeded every preliminary test so far. It has been built under a cost reimbursement contract that has run well over $100 million.

J–79 DOING WELL

The J–79 has developed more than its required 11,000 pounds thrust. It is well below its hoped for 3,000-pounds weight. With small frontal area and many new features, it promises to become one of the most reliable powerplants yet developed.

It will propel the Lockheed supersonic fighter F–104 and the Grumman carrier-based fighter F–11F. Four of them are expected to take the new Convair B–58 medium bomber into the Mach II speed range.

When these three airframes are ready to go into production, the Air Force plans to have their powerplants on the production line. In the meantime every effort is being made by laboratory and flight testing to insure reliability.

Initial price-redetermination contracts being issued have a target price of $230,000 per engine. As costs are determined much of the work will be subcontracted.

The Air Force has agreed to release enough of these lightweight high-performance engines to power the new commercial jet airliner that Convair is building. Delta and TWA are among the airlines that have placed substantial orders for this new commercial transport.

TURBOPROPS FOR ALLISON

The Allison Division of General Motors has substantial commercial business for their turboprop engine. Their military turbo jet J–71 is now considered obsolete and no further orders are expected. Their long range prospects in this field will depend largely on their ability to negotiate contracts with the Air Force for chemically fueled turbojets.

Curtiss-Wright has suffered from the military change from piston to jet engines. It was the largest military contractor in World War II with an annual business of over $2 billion. Its turbo-compound piston engine powers most of the commercial airliners of the world.

Over half of Curtiss-Wright's business now comes from the commercial field. Its military business is diversified with emphasis on research work. The J–65 is now a satisfactory engine but is approaching obsolesence and no further orders are expected. Research is being done on another type of jet engine that is expected to show low fuel consumption at very high speeds.

Unemployment in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, Michigan's Governor, "Soapy" Williams, with his political buddies Walter Reuther and Gus Scholle, has been running Michigan for several years. Now they find that the policies which they have forced upon the State—that is, the one of imposing excessive taxation on corporations which create and maintain jobs, meet payrolls, together with Reuther's determination to put industry in a straitjacket and levy a tribute upon every worker's pay check—are creating unemployment, tend to drive industry into other States which have adopted more lenient and fair tax and labor policies.

George M. Van Peursem, Speaker of the Michigan House of Representatives, in a letter to the public dated June 26, 1957, answered the Governor by stating:

This week's newsletter deals with a subject of considerable interest to all of us. The Governor of Michigan has been telling the people of Michigan (last Sunday, he informed the nation) that we have gained 150,000 more industrial jobs from 1952 to 1956. No one has challenged these figures, or their source. Nevertheless, they sounded suspicious to me; and, after investigating, I found my suspicions confirmed. The results of my inquiry are the subject of this week's newsletter.

The statement to which the Speaker referred reads as follows:

The Governor has been consistently asserting that Michigan has gained 150,000 more industrial jobs during the 5-year period between 1952 and 1956. The question occurred to me as to just where these 150,000 jobs are? I have checked the Governor's statements about job increases, and I can't find the jobs.

The most reliable source I know to determine the job situation in Michigan is the Michigan Employment Security Commission. This commission keeps track of job movement in Michigan, and its records show just what is happening to our industry.

This is what I find:

The total number of jobs in Michigan in 1952, excluding agricultural and the self-empolyed was 2,275,000.

In 1956, the total was 2,349,000.

This is a net gain of 74,000 more jobs for our State during the past 5 years (1952–56).

But even more important, however, is the analysis of the total job figures. Average factory employment in 1952 was 1,104,000. Average factory employment in 1956 was 1,074,000. So while the Governor brags about 104 new plants and 150,000 new jobs in Michigan, the cold figures compiled by the official commission charged with this responsibility show a net loss of 30,000 factory jobs between 1952 and 1956.

A gain of 104,000 jobs occurred during this period in nonfactory employment (retail jobs, service industries, and the like) to offset the factory-job loss.

The truth, then, is that we are in fact worse off from the standpoint of factory jobs today than we were 5 years ago. This should plainly point up the problem that is facing Michigan. We need to attract more industry, and to encourage those that are here to stay and expand in Michigan.

Our reputation as an industrial State grew on the automobile industry. But from 1952 to 1956, there was a loss of 31,000 jobs in auto production in Michigan.

In other words, we have been losing ground, and if we don't wake up fast, we will lose more than we can ever make up.

The low rate of job gains in Michigan, along with our ever-growing unemployment problem, can only be further aggravated by Michigan's rate of population growth. From 1950 to 1956, Michigan's population increased faster (18 percent) than the national average (10 percent), and faster than any other Midwestern State.

From July 1, 1952 to July 1, 1956, Michigan's population increased over 13 percent (881,000). Now, of course, these children don't need jobs today, but they will be ready

to join our labor force within a very short time, and jobs must be provided for them.

If a healthy economic climate isn't created in Michigan, and if industrial expansion by Michigan industries in our neighboring States continues, not only these children, but our entire State stands to lose.

There is no need to panic. Through cooperation, farsightedness, and adequate planning, these problems can be met. But these problems can only be solved if the Democrat administration in Lansing will, first of all, face up to them.

Resolution of Appreciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on June 25, 1957, the Government Employees' Council, AFL–CIO, rightfully bestowed upon one of our colleagues in the Congress, the Honorable OLIN D. JOHNSTON, senior Senator from South Carolina, and chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, a resolution of appreciation for his outstanding work as a Senator, with special emphasis on his activities as chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The Government Employees' Council, AFL–CIO, is made up of 23 member unions with more than one-half million members representing all phases of Government work, such as employees in the field service of the Post Office Department, employees under the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, wage board employees, printing trades and craftsmen of all types, technical engineers, draftsman, and similar types of occupations, fire fighters, and many other groups of employees in the Federal service.

Under unanimous consent, I am including a copy of the resolution of appreciation presented to Hon. OLIN D. JOHNSTON, along with my remarks, in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION IN APPRECIATION OF THE HONORABLE OLIN D. JOHNSTON, UNITED STATES SENATOR, SOUTH CAROLINA

Whereas it is the destiny of few men to devote the major portion of their adult life in the service of their country and humanity; and

Whereas it requires mental capacity, honor, and integrity for a person in public life to fight the good fight for principles rather than for the expediencies of the moment; and

Whereas the true stature of a statesman is measured in terms of intellect, honesty, imagination, humility, courage, compassion, diligence, perseverance, but above and beyond these gifts his personal integrity must be of the highest order; and

Whereas the Honorable OLIN D. JOHNSTON has consistently demonstrated that he possesses this rare combination of gifts required of a statesman, as exemplified in his words, deeds, and actions during more than 35 years of dedicated and useful service to the citizens of his native State of South Carolina and these United States; and

Whereas the Honorable OLIN D. JOHNSTON, in his capacity as chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has particularly distinguished himself in the field of social legislation, in that by his efforts and leadership he has been directly or indirectly responsible for every item of beneficial legislation affecting the men and women who work for the Federal Government that has been enacted by the Congress during the 14 years he has served with distinction as a Member of the United States Senate: Therefore be it

Resolved, That as a mark of the devotion and esteem in which the Honorable OLIN D. JOHNSTON is held in the hearts and minds of the officers and members of the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, this resolution of appreciation is unanimously adopted; and be it further

Resolved, That in thus memorializing this distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, it is the sense of the resolution that henceforth and hereafter he shall be regarded and known as "the champion of all those who toil for an existence," given this 25th day of June 1957 in regular meeting of the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, held in Washington, D. C.

THOS. G. WALTERS,
Operations Director.
ORBIN A. BURROWS,
Secretary-Treasurer.
E. C. HALLBECK,
Vice Chairman.
WILLIAM C. DOHERTY,
Chairman.

CAB Inaction Is Crippling the Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 24, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I am inserting an editorial which appeared in the July 1, 1957, edition of American Aviation. The viewpoint stated warrants careful consideration, as the public interest will be best served by economically sound airline operation—and operators.

The editorial follows:

CAB INACTION IS CRIPPLING THE INDUSTRY

(By Wayne W. Parrish)

Both domestically and internationally the Civil Aeronautics Board is on quite a spot. The issue is fares.

The sooner it takes a realistic look at the economic and operating facts of life, and either fires its economic staff or pounds some sense into it, the better off both it and the airlines will be.

Domestically, the CAB hasn't a leg to stand on by continuing to hold up approval for even another week of a minimum 6 percent fare increase.

The revelations in the current fare investigation are about as shocking as anything that has ever appeared in any government case in all American history. The CAB staff had prepared data purporting to show that instead of granting seven airlines a fare increase these carriers should actually lower their fares. It is like trying to argue that there's a drought when it's been pouring rain for 2 solid weeks.

Can anyone imagine a more ludicrous argument than the one prepared by the CAB staff forecasting a $28 million profit for TWA for this year of 1957 when this airline lost $8 million in the first quarter? This would mean that TWA would have to show a profit of $36 million in the remaining 9 months when in actual fact TWA thinks it will do well to break even.

Capital Airlines was equally surprised to learn from the CAB staff that it would net $20 million this year—later adjusted downward to $9 million after the airline decided not to take those 15 Viscounts—when in fact Capital itself estimates a loss of $2.5 million for the year.

And so with the other 5 airlines that filed some time ago for a 6 percent fare increase to stave off serious economic troubles. Thanks to H. Templeton Brown, attorney for United Airlines, the phoney, fraudulent character of the CAB's economic data was exposed to public gaze as the hearings began.

If CAB is to be true to its mandate to foster a sound air transport system, it will approve a 6 percent fare increase immediately, and then use the general passenger fare investigation to determine how much more is needed to bring airline fares into alinement with reality. Since 1942 air fares have increased only two-tenths of 1 percent while the Consumer Price Index has risen by 66.7 percent, bus fares have gone up 25.4 percent, and rail fares have increased 39 percent not including certain regional increases this year. Enough said.

Internationally, the CAB has become a storm center due to its rejection recently of the request of all airlines for a 5 percent fare increase over the North Atlantic. Every government except the United States okayed the increase. It is probable that the CAB has no real idea of the deep resentment held against it by foreign airlines and foreign governments. Repercussions and certain retaliations are bound to come.

There is even talk abroad of resorting to ICAO as arbitrator under the provisions of the Bermuda bilaterals. How many official and unofficial protests from other governments have reached CAB through diplomatic channels is not known, but one way or another there have been protests submitted amidst much fuming and steaming. Here again CAB work is undoubtedly at fault. The staff looked at overall load factors and concluded that business was good. What it overlooked was the large volume of immigrant, family-plan and other low-fare traffic. Load factors are dangerous indications of net revenues in transatlantic business.

* * * * * * *

CAB was already on a tough spot before the request for a fare increase. Last year it crammed down the throats of all transatlantic airlines a demand for a third-class or austerity-class service which would offer fares far below the present tourist category. Under CAB pressure the airlines—including TWA and PAA—agreed to such an austerity service starting in 1958. It is now clear that this hastily-conceived and ill-contrived plan is resulting in a chaotic fare and equipment situation.

It may be too late to stop the austerity service, as such, but it is as certain as tomorrow morning's sunrise that the plan pressured by CAB won't achieve its major purpose. Not only will the very low fare have to be raised, but the present tourist service will disappear and austerity will grow into just another tourist class. Meantime some of the smaller European carriers are going to be hurt—and perhaps hurt badly.

There are now so many fares and fare structures on the Atlantic that only an expert can figure them out. Part of this confusion is due to amateurs within the CAB staff level who place ideology above practicality. What is needed is a simple two-fare structure for the North Atlantic, first and tourist, combined with excursion fares for anywhere from 15 to 23 days. The excursion fares can drop to the low fare level

desired by CAB; they can be the steam valve and the filler traffic needed to develop a strong year-round transatlantic air transport system.

We hope CAB Chairman Durfee will dig into the fare mess and bring order out of chaos. He has shown a very considerable ability since he took over a year ago. He inherited much of his present trouble which is largely on the staff level.

The Operation of Our Meatpacking Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, today, F. W. Specht, president of Armour & Co., appeared before the Committee on Agriculture and made an excellent and informative statement on the operation of our meatpacking industry. I include as part of my remarks the entire statement made by Mr. Specht to our committee:

STATEMENT BY F. W. SPECHT, CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT OF ARMOUR & CO. AND MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN MEAT INSTITUTE, BEFORE THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, WEDNESDAY, JULY 10, 1957

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am grateful that you have granted me permission to appear before the House Agriculture Committee on the subject of the legislation you are considering—amendment to the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921.

I read some of the testimony before other committees of the House and of the Senate on this subject recently. When I realized the extent to which the packers of the United States were being maligned with unsupported statements, I felt that I could not remain silent. I am responsible to more than 60,000 employees and around 18,000 stockholders. It would be seriously negligent, in their behalf as well as my own, to let some of these careless and unbelievable statements stand in the record of this Congress without correction—by simple truth.

Under such circumstances, one may be expected to blame others. I do not propose to take that course today. Instead, let me explain my position in the simplest of terms. Truth alone can refute misstatements, regardless of their motivation.

Reckless and untrue charges have been hurled at my company and at the entire meatpacking industry by persons who, from their experience in the food industry, should know better.

Some of these careless charges use that dangerous technique of half-truths. Some are so patently without basis of fact that the exact opposite is true.

I, for one, have greater respect for the Congress and for its purposes than to make casual statements here. These hearings provide our greatest protection. In the final analysis, this is the way our Congress must probe for the true facts so that its legislation may be based only on the true facts.

It would be too time consuming for me to discuss each misstatement, each half-truth, and to attempt to refute each here. You are concerned primarily with principles.

Nevertheless, let me point out only a few typical examples.

At one of the recent congressional hearings, a witness was discussing Armour & Co.'s acquisition of the Hauser Packing Co. at Los Angeles. He was trying to make the committee believe that we had taken unfair advantage of our competitors; that we had gobbled them up. This witness made the following statement:

"Armour & Co. acquired that plant and property * * * for $250,000. The land was worth several times more than that."

What is the truth? The fact is that the Hauser Packing Co., at Los Angeles, had lost money for 9 consecutive years and was heavily in debt to a Los Angeles bank. The bank came to us in 1934, 23 years ago, looking for help. At their request, we first leased the plant in January 1935. We acquired the plant in October of that year for $432,680.

In addition to the original cost, Armour poured in more than a million dollars in capital expenditures. We did everything possible to make it a fine and successful plant.

Despite all this, competition is so keen that, over the years, we found it impossible to operate that plant profitably. Finally, this year, we had no choice but to close that plant.

Who gobbled up whom? The truth is exactly the opposite of what a congressional committee was told.

Here is another example of typical misstatements made before congressional committees:

Another witness testified that Armour & Co. (and other meat packers) between April 1 and May 15, 1957, were "dumping" pork loins on the market at Salt Lake City and at Ogden, Utah, at prices $3 to $6 per hundredweight below the quoted Chicago carload market for the purpose of forcing out competitors. When we heard that, we ran down the facts.

During the entire time, Armour sold pork loins in Salt Lake City on only 2 days, April 4 and April 5. These sales totaled less than 800 pounds. And the price was $1 per hundredweight or more over the quoted Chicago carload market. We didn't sell a single pork loin in Ogden during the period in question.

These are merely two examples of misstatements before the Congress. We can document them and others. We are ready to help this committee take each half-truth and nontruth and get to the true facts. I will make our people available to this committee and its staff whenever desired for that purpose.

In seeking a true perspective, let us turn back a bit. Some years ago, our research scientists discovered a way of combining edible oil with nonfat milk so that the resulting product could be churned in a butter churn, to produce a very superior oleomargarine. The United States Government gave us a patent on the process. We started making the product, advertising it as a churned margarine, which indeed it was.

In February 1951, the Federal Trade Commission started looking into the matter. We cooperated with them, since we make it a practice voluntarily to comply with FTC regulations. And the FTC approved the advertising.

Again, in 1954, the Federal Trade Commission reviewed the matter. Again they approved the advertising.

In 1955, the Commission changed its position. They decided that it was against the law to come right out and say, in a newspaper advertisement, that churned margarine is churned margarine. The Federal Trade Commission without notice filed a complaint against us.

Armour & Co. answered the complaint, pointing out, in effect that manufacturers are permitted, in fact are required, to tell the truth about their products. Armour & Co. makes the only churned margarine on the market. Our lawyers told the Commission that fact and said that it is entirely legal for us to say so, in our advertising.

But in their answer, our lawyers also cited the Packers and Stockyards Act, questioning the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission on the grounds that Armour & Co. is a meat packer; therefore, is subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture.

The Federal Trade Commission agreed with that argument. They ruled that the Secretary of Agriculture had jurisdiction in the matter.

No one, either in the Congress, or elsewhere, was much interested in the margarine case, but evidently the lawyers for a large chain of food stores made careful note of it.

This chain was involved in proceedings before the Federal Trade Commission. The lawyers for the chain pointed out that their company owned a packing plant. Hence, they said, because of the Armour ruling, the Secretary of Agriculture has jurisdiction over their company's business practices, not the Federal Trade Commission.

It was like an atomic bomb had hit the food industry. People now reread the Packers and Stockyards Act and suddenly realized that anyone owning as much as 20 percent of a meatpacking plant was considered a packer under the act.

One must remember that this case did not concern any company principally engaged in the meatpacking business. It concerned an asserted loophole in the law in no way affecting a true meatpacker.

Nevertheless, this entire matter was turned into an attack on the real meatpackers of the United States—those of us principally engaged in the meatpacking business. We were suddenly accused of being monopolists; of taking advantage of the farmer and consumer; of everything else anyone cared to imagine.

What is a meatpacker, in the true sense of the word? A meatpacker provides the vital pipeline between the farmer and the consumer, the necessary link for the farmer and the ranchers of America who grow the cattle, hogs, and sheep.

This system (whereby the meatpacker serves as the farmers' butcher, warehouser, shipper, and salesman) developed through the ages. It is nothing new. It is nothing designed by us at Armour's or by any other packing company. Like everything else which has developed in the growth of this country, it is a natural development; it has continued to exist because it is right—right for the farmer and right for the consumer. No one has been able to create or develop a better system.

The meat packers of America are an integral part of the daily life of the farmer and the consumer. The importance of the meatpacker, economically, is too little understood or appreciated.

All of the grass and much of the grain grown on our American farms can be marketed only through livestock. As meatpackers, we buy the producer's cattle, hogs, and sheep everyday. There is always a cash market for farm and ranch animals, something that did not exist until the national meatpackers developed their business. This cash market is the greatest free market in the world today.

In our plants, we perform the functions of slaughtering, chilling, cutting, curing, smoking, sausage making, cooking, rendering, and canning—all essential to the production of good food. Then we ship these products under refrigeration; we sell the meat; we deliver the orders; we give our customers credit; and we collect the money—all for a profit of a fraction of a cent a pound.

Our ability to utilize the hides, skins, tallow, bones, and other animal byproducts increases the value of every farm animal. The

meatpacker's efficiency, our progress through constant research, and the consistent improvement of livestock products have been just as important to the American economy as more spectacular developments in machines, electronics, and some other fields.

Therefore, I am proud to be a meatpacker, to be head of one of the Nation's foremost meatpacking businesses. We at Armour feel that we are fulfilling a vital function for the Nation, for the farmer, for the housewife, for every family in this country. My 60,000 coworkers at Armour's will bear me out in that feeling. Hundreds of thousands of workers in other meatpacking businesses in this Nation will similarly agree. We are proud of our work, of our contribution to this Nation's welfare, to its economy.

Let us, therefore, place this entire matter back into some kind of realistic perspective. Perhaps that will, at least, help to clear the air and to get the real issue before this congressional committee. Let us review what has been said.

We, the companies principally and primarily packers, have been repeatedly accused of monopoly; of other strange practices.

But, if one examines the record carefully, one finds that, in general, these accusations refer to a period around 40 years ago. If we are to go back 40 years, we must take cognizance of what has happened in this world during the past 4 decades.

We are talking of the period of World War I. The world has gone forward since then. Japan, at that time, was one of our allies, with Pearl Harbor not even dreamed of. Germany was then a defeated nation for the first time, not our ally at NATO. Communist Russia was considered a lot of crazy Bolsheviks, not a serious threat to our way of life. Airplanes were something that only a wild-eyed Billy Mitchell would dream of, not solid citizens or sound Army men.

And, during those 40 years, a revolution of magnitude took place in the food-retailing business. A new type of food retailing developed. The old corner grocery store started to vanish. The great new supermarkets came into being. The retail food business became more and more concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, the great chains and the independents and cooperative groups.

As this new development in food retailing progressed, concentrated buying resulted. These new groups started their own meat warehouses. Some bought or acquired interests in meatpacking plants.

What happened to our old friend, the corner grocery store? One need only look at figures from the United States Bureau of the Census: 1939, 387,337 grocery stores; 1948, 350,754 grocery stores; 1954, 279,440 grocery stores, over 100,000 fewer grocery stores than in 1939.

We, the meatpackers, have been accused of monopoly. Let us look at the figures from the United States Bureau of the Census relating to our business.

In 1921 (the year the Packers and Stockyards Act was passed) there were 1,184 meatpacking establishments in the United States.

In 1939 there were 1,392. In 1947 there were 2,154. In 1954 (the last year for which figures are available) the Bureau of the Census reports that there were 2,367 meatpacking establishments in the United States.

These official United States figures in themselves refute any ridiculous charges of monopoly. Instead of diminishing, the number of meatpacking establishments in this country has grown more than double the number when this very Packers and Stockyards Act was passed. Is that monopoly? Is that exclusive possession of the trade, or even a trend in that direction? At the same time, we witness the gradual shrinking of the number of retail grocery stores in the country, when the population is growing rapidly.

From the facts, one can see that as a result of the amazing growth of the supermarkets (both chain and independent) the retailing of food has been concentrated in fewer and stronger hands. The situation in the meatpacking industry is exactly the opposite. There has actually been an increase of more than 100 percent in the number of individual meatpacking businesses in the United States.

So one can see that this is a different day; we are different people in a different world. What went on 40 years ago is not pertinent today, unless there has been no change for the better, no progress. It should be obvious to everyone that the meatpacking industry of today is not the pioneering packing business of many years ago. That era is gone, not only for us but for most of the Nation's other businesses, too. It is a new day.

In that clarified atmosphere, let us again look at that word "monopoly." Monopoly means, in effect, exclusive possession of the trade, or perhaps a combination toward exclusive possession of the trade or commerce. Or, for practical purposes, it means the ability to obtain unreasonable profits and the ability to exclude others from the business.

We have seen that the number of meatpackers has doubled. So much for the exclusion of others from the business.

As for unreasonable profits, the meatpacking industry has consistently earned less than other American industries.

The 30-year average (1925–54) net earnings for the industry were only ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per dollar of sales.

In 1955 meatpackers earned eighty one-hundredths of 1 cent per dollar of sales and 6.7 percent on net assets, while, on the average, all manufacturing companies earned 6.7 cents per dollar of sales and 15 percent on net assets.

Armour & Co.'s net profit from its combined operations for the 12 years since World War II (1945 through 1956) averaged only sixty-three one-hundredths of 1 cent per dollar of sales and averaged only 5.65 percent on net worth.

I believe that no reasonable person would call those profits unreasonable in this day and age of prosperity.

The men who created the American meat industry were pioneers. They were leaders in their time and acted no different from others in their day. They made a great contribution to our Nation. They gave freely of their wealth to charity, to education, and other worthwhile causes. But one must face the fact that all business was rough and tough in the days of the pioneers who built our Nation.

As in most other industries in the United States, some practices developed in the meatpacking business in the early days which deserved review.

That was done, and the consent decree of 1920 and the Packers and Stockyards Act resulted. But that was more than 35 years ago. Someone recently testified before a congressional hearing that the packers virtually pled "guilty" when they signed that consent decree. If so, how many of America's other fine businesses are similarly "guilty" because of consent decrees?

But, "guilty" of what? I am not a lawyer but I understand that a consent decree is a most honorable and practical instrument of the law. Both sides, in the best tradition of the Nation, seek to find a common meeting ground according to the circumstances as they then exist. If that indicates guilt, I don't know how to argue it further.

Much as been made of the fact that we, and two other packers, have gone to the Federal court to ask for relief from certain sections of the consent decree, which enjoin us from entering many fields in the food business, wide open to our competitors.

There have been inferences to the effect that we have some wicked purpose in asking the Federal court for relief from that decree. It takes only reading of the legal papers to dispel any such inferences, for the facts are clearly and openly stated.

It might not be unwise if I made quite clear our purpose in seeking relief from that consent decree.

We are a business. We have around 18,000 stockholders, who depend on us, the executives, to look after their properties, their investments, together with some 60,000 workers who depend on us to insure that our business remains healthy; that their jobs will go on and their futures will be secure.

As head of my company, it is my responsibility to look ahead—to prepare for the future—to protect our stockholders and our workers.

Is it fair play for one competitor in today's prize ring of private enterprise, to be free to enter into any business he desires, able to sell wholesale, retail, be a packer plus a department store and drugstore—while the other competitor, ourselves, must wear manacles of restraint forged almost 40 years ago when conditions were completely different from today?

I believe it is unfair. That is why we asked the Federal court to review the situation today; to judge whether we, too, should not be entitled to freedom from restraints of almost 40 years ago. It is a matter of simple equity.

I think most people will agree that many laws and regulations often need review and scrutiny to keep them up to date, to relate them once more to the new needs of the new day, as this committee is doing here today. The true meatpacking business is an integral part of our agricultural industry. It is the necessary link between the farm and the consumer's home. I believe that no American in business, whether large or small, should be denied privileges equal to those of his competitors in the open market. Bigness in itself can hardly be a crime so long as competition remains free. Otherwise, the premium for Americans of tomorrow would be on mediocrity, not on success in our time-honored way.

That is why Armour & Co. asked the Federal court to review the old consent decree. We seek an equal chance for survival.

Let me be personal for a moment.

I came up the hard way in Armour & Co. I had no influence, no connections. I got my first pob by answering a newspaper ad. I went to night school while I worked days at Armour. I know this business. I grew up in it. Armour and the American system of fair play gave me my chance for success. I feel I owe it to the future generations in this company to do my utmost to see that they have a similar opportunity.

That is why I hope that this Congress, and certainly this House Agricultural Committee, the watchtower for the farmers, will examine the entire subject, not merely one segment of it, inspired by the acts of a company not primarily in the meatpacking business.

At times, in the testimony before the various congressional committees, the point has been raised that there has been very little legal action against the meatpackers by the United States Department of Agriculture; that the Department has been remiss in its regulatory obligations.

If viewed from a constructive angle, it demonstrates an amazing record of careful and rigid observance by those of us principally in the meatpacking business. I personally believe it to be a proud and unmatched record of observance of Federal regulations. As a matter of fact, our company considers that the law and the regulations are, and should be, minimum standards of ethical business conduct.

If anything, this could be considered a prototype for cooperation between Government and industry for others to follow. And this has been possible only because of the efficient manner in which the Department of Agriculture has administered the Packers and Stockyards Act, since its adoption by the Congress.

The Department of Agriculture supports the Hill bill, since it fully answers all arguments based on the chainstore case. The Hill bill places persons not primarily meatpackers under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission.

The Secretary of Agriculture already has adequate authority under the Packers and Stockyards Act to prevent unfair or monopolistic trade practices. The Department of Justice already has adequate authority over our industry to prevent unfair or monopolistic trade practices. Private persons or companies who feel that they may have suffered damage due to any allegedly unfair or monopolistic trade practice can go to the courts for equity under the present laws.

But the Hill bill redefines a packer, and settles any jurisdictional questions by clearly placing those only "incidentally" packers under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission.

I agree with the Department of Agriculture, that the Secretary should have authority to delegate supervision of any activity of a principal meat packer to the Federal Trade Commission when, in his judgment, that will best serve the national interest. This would enable any Secretary, from his broader understanding of the entire American agricultural picture, to retain jurisdiction when that particular activity is so much a part of the agricultural aspect of the packer's business that there is no practical way to separate it.

Therefore, in simple terms, those of us who are principally and primarily in the meatpacking business will remain where we belong—as part of the basic agriculture of the United States of America. Those who are primarily in some other business, with their meatpacking activities only a minor aspect of their total operations, would be supervised primarily by the Federal Trade Commission. Their livestock buying for slaughter would generally be supervised by the Department of Agriculture. These activities, obviously, are a part of the agricultural picture of this country and belong under the Department of Agriculture.

To anyone who really knows the agriculture industry, its many problems, the dependency of one activity upon another, this is the realistic solution to the problem.

In summation:

1. The packers principally in the meatpacking business have been accused too lightly and too freely. I hope that what I have said may, at least, have restored the perspective.

2. The Federal Trade Commission case, which has dramatized this situation, was not caused by a company principally a meat packer but by a company whose packing business is only a minor part of its entire operation. So, why turn the case into attack on the principal meat packers?

3. I favor the Hill bill for it clarifies what a meat packer really is.

4. Any proposed revision of the law, however, might well look into more generic and basic problems which have arisen since the Packers and Stockyards Act was originally written, and should give equal rights to all segments of the food industry. That will result in greater and greater competition. And the ones who will gain the most will be the important people involved—the livestock producer and the consumer.

That is really what this is all about.

I am grateful for this opportunity. Thank you.

Secretary of the Interior Seaton Terms High Dam as "Extravagant Waste"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Idaho Sunday Statesman, July 7, 1957:

SEATON TERMS HIGH DAM AS "EXTRAVAGANT WASTE"

WASHINGTON.—Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton said Saturday that construction of a Federal Hells Canyon dam would constitute "extravagant waste" which would be impossible to justify to the Nation's "overburdened" taxpayers.

Furthermore, he said, Hells Canyon would compete for funds against other bona fide reclamation projects now under construction or authorized without contributing even 1 acre-foot of water for irrigation.

He made his views known in a letter to Representative ARTHUR L. MILLER, Republican, Nebraska, ranking minority member of the House Interior Committee.

MILLER has called up for consideration next Wednesday by the full committee of all the Hells Canyon bills now pending in Congress, including an authorization measure passed by the Senate and one introduced by Representative A. ULLMAN, Democrat, Oregon. Earlier this week, the irrigation subcommittee killed a similar high dam authorization bill introduced by Representative GRACIE PFOST, Democrat, Idaho, by striking the enacting clause.

Seaton also took note of the power shortage in the Pacific Northwest. He said that due to dominance of Federal facilities in the Northwest at present, whenever a power shortage occurs, the bulk of the interruption falls upon Federal customers. We believe that the addition of non-Federal facilities now under construction by the Idaho Power Co. will bring about greater diversity in the power supply picture of the Northwest.

Representative HAMER BUDGE, Republican, Idaho, said that Seaton's letter had been placed in the record of the Hells Canyon hearings by the Interior Committee's Subcommittee on Irrigation. He said the Secretary's letter was devastating in its clear-cut analysis of the reasons for opposing the Hells Canyon project and allowing Idaho Power Co. to continue with its federally licensed projects.

In a separate letter to BUDGE, Seaton pointed out that the Bureau of Reclamation has estimated the construction and transmission costs for Hells Canyon and the allied Scriver Creek project would cost $525 million, exclusive of interest during the building, operation and maintenance costs and funds to reimburse Idaho Power for its investment or damages in its project now building on the Snake River.

Appropriations would be necessary during the next 6 fiscal years at an average annual rate of more than $87 million for construction and transmission alone, Seaton said. The estimated need of $140,484,000 for construction in fiscal year 1961 alone—provided Congress were to make appropriation this year—would exceed 87 percent of the appropriation requests for all reclamation projects in all 17 Western States in the 1958 budget, the Secretary added.

In comparison, the Secretary wrote, during the past 20 years, Congress has appropriated an average of $124,046,000 for all reclamation construction and rehabilitation.

"If S. 555 (the Hells Canyon bill) is enacted," said Seaton, "apropriations for the next 6 years for reclamation projects will have to be 60 percent higher than those appropriated for the last 6 years."

The Secretary emphasized that reclamation project already authorized or under construction will require appropriations of $2,267,189,015. And this does not include projects currently under consideration by Congress, he said.

"Authorization of Federal construction of Hells Canyon Dam," he said, "would place bona fide reclamation projects in competition with a project the major purpose of which is power production. The Hells Canyon project would not provide additional water for or reclaim 1 acre of arid land; it has nothing to do with reclamation, yet the funds therefor would be provided out of the amounts made available for reclamation construction."

Seaton reminded that 10 years ago and from time to time since then, "Congress had a choice between Federal construction of the Hells Canyon Dam and the alternative of permitting the Federal Power Commission to license non-Federal construction. During this 10-year period the theoretical benefits dramatized by proponents of the high dam have been repeatedly considered by the Congress. The Congress did not heed their pleadings and refused authorization for Federal construction.

"Today we are not faced with a theory. As a practical matter it would be impossible to justify to the taxpayers of the Nation, overburdened as they are, the extravagant waste of authorization of Federal construction at this time. The Brownlee and Oxbow projects are in the advanced construction stage; production of the electrical energy is scheduled to begin September 1958. One million acre-feet of flood-control storage should be available for the spring runoff in 1959. I am informed that more than $48 million has been committed for this construction and for turbines, generators, switch gear, and other equipment for which orders have been placed. Many man-hours of engineering design have been employed. Factory employees are fabricating the equipment which will soon be ready for shipment to the dam site.

"For these reasons and those set forth in our report to the committee, I do not favor enactment of S. 555."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Senate debate of the past few days has produced public discussion which should be of great value to our country. This is reflected in one of our leading newspapers, the New York Times. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix articles on this subject by two eminent commentators, Arthur Krock and James Reston, and an editorial which appeared in the Times this morning.

There being no objection, the articles and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of July 11, 1957]

AN OBSTACLE TO THE CURRENT SENATE DEBATE

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, July 10.—The Senate debate on the administration's civil rights bill furnishes a negative demonstration of the value of the usual procedure of referring measures to committees. Because the majority put this bill before the Senate without reference to the Judiciary Committee, there is no pro-and-con report on the possible effects of the various provisions by a group with special qualifications to make it.

Hence the Senate, lacking the guidance on which it habitually depends, must decide which of several interpretations by individual members are the more credible. And these interpretations differ markedly with respect to part III of the bill. Senator RUSSELL construes this to have been subtly drafted to permit an Attorney General to use the Armed Forces to impose racial integration in all forms on the South.

He bases this construction on the invocation, only in part III, of section 1985, title 42, United States Code. Part III authorizes the Attorney General to initiate enforcement of a new group of equal rights—proclaimed in Supreme Court decisions that ban school and other forms of racial segregation—that were not the law of land when the code was last legislated. And section 1985 invokes section 1993, which reads:

"It shall be lawful for the President * * * or such person as he may empower * * * to employ such part of the land or naval forces * * * as may be necessary to aid in the execution of judicial process * * * [or] to prevent the violation and enforce due execution of the provisions [of sections establishing equal rights]."

In the administration draft section 1993 is thus made an integral section of part III. But, as Senator RUSSELL pointed out, this provision for the use of the Armed Forces is omitted from part IV of the administration measure that deals with the right to vote and has been stressed as the principal objective of the legislation.

ARGUMENTS AND ANSWERS

RUSSELL's interpretation has been accepted by the other southern Senators, and it has disturbed the President and northern Members of the Senate to whom the existence of this factor, buried in the text, came as a surprise. Consequently, analyses of part III have dominated the early stages of the debate, Senators FULBRIGHT, EASTLAND, and ERVIN agreeing with RUSSELL, Senator BUSH asking for more clarification on the point, and Senator JAVITS dismissing it as a hobgoblin.

"What I should like to know is," said BUSH, "where is the threat of the use of the Armed Forces contained in this bill? * * * I have examined [the full text] * * * and I do not find it."

"One of the evils of this legislation," replied FULBRIGHT, "is that it itself does not set forth the terms; it incorporates by reference sections that [invoke others that provide penalties] by way of the use of force."

"The Brown case in 1954," said EASTLAND, "held that a child has a right to attend a nonsegregated school. To deny that right is a violation of section 1985 [which invokes section 1993]. * * * The Attorney General would get a decree to give the child a right to attend a nonsegregated school. * * * If the decree were violated he could [have the offender convicted and put in jail without trial by jury]. Or the President can use the Armed Forces to effect judgments rendered * * *."

"We have read the pertinent section," said JAVITS. "[It] is now in the law, and the fact that it has not been used [to enforce the right to vote] during all these years should certainly be some evidence as to whether or not it will be used in the future. * * * That is the main burden of our argument: namely, that we seek to import nothing new in the law. * * * That is why so many of us say that the idea [it] will suddenly be misused is only a hobgoblin in the closet."

TWO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

But, asked ERVIN, "does not the history of the United States show that a Republic Congress actually sent troops into the South, and that they were garrisoned in many places?

And it was not [section 1993] enacted at a time when it was officially accepted by the Republican Party in control of Congress that the Southern States were conquered provinces?"

The exchanges make plain once more an ancient division between two political philosophies. One group contends that a law should be weighted for its potential uses as well as for what it specifies. The other contends that, though these uses admittedly are potential, they should not weigh again other provisions in an essential law that are subject to no such objection; moreover, that the present Government would not, nor would a Government conceivable in the United States, give force to these potentials.

The latter position reflects President F. D. Roosevelt's attitude on the occasion when he sought power which he said, in effect, might be dangerous in other hands but not in his. But, as FULBRIGHT pointed out, the Senate's choice is made more difficult by the fact that "there is no written report by exprets * * * members of the Judiciary Committee and their * * * staff explaining the issue in detail."

[From the New York Times of July 11, 1957]

BROWNELL ON RIGHTS BILL—AN ANALYSIS OF HIS ROLE IN CURRENT FIGHT AND OF SENATORS' CHARGES AGAINST HIM

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, July 10—Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has emerged in the Senate civil rights debate as the chief whipping boy of the southern opposition.

He is charged with being the chief draftsman of an ambiguous and "cunning" bill, with presenting it as a "right to vote" bill, and attempting to conceal the fact that it could also be used at his own discretion to help enforce racial integration in the public schools and other publicly owned establishments in the South.

Like most charges in Washington, there is less here than meets the ear. It is true that the Attorney General is the chief draftsman of the bill—that he and his associates, particularly Warren Olney, 3d, assistant Attorney General, devised the formula of giving Federal judges the right to hold in contempt of court, without a jury trial, anyone who defied a court injunction against interfering with a citizen's civil rights.

AMBIGUOUS BILL

It is also true that the bill is ambiguous in the sense that it can be interpreted in many ways, and that in all his testimony Mr. Brownell has emphasized that its main purpose is to secure the right to vote of all qualified citizens, including Negroes in the South.

It is not true, however, that he has sought to conceal from the Senate the fact that the authority sought in the bill could be used under certain circumstances to assure compliance with the Supreme Court's public school decision.

In a formal statement last February 14, he told the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee that "the proposals of the administration would, of course, go beyond the voting cases and give to the Department [of Justice] the authority to invoke civil remedies in other cases of civil rights violations."

He illustrated this specifically in the case of the Supreme Court's public school integration decision by pointing to the Hoxie (ARK.) case.

In that case the local school board decided on racial integration in the schools without waiting for a law suit to compel them to follow the Supreme Court decision. Shortly thereafter, individuals mainly from out of the town came into Hoxie and, according to the court record, threatened the superintendent, and members of the school board with violence if they insisted on maintaining the integrated school.

Mr. Brownell noted before the Judiciary subcommittee that the Hoxie school board had defied the intimidation, had taken the case into Federal district court, had sought and received an injunction against the intimidators and had carried on peacefully with the integrated school. The Attorney General said, however:

"There may well develop other situations in which after voluntary desegregation the pressures placed upon the local school authorities are so great as to prevent their taking the initiative in instituting legal action.

"In this situation the Department of Justice under this legislation would be authorized to take the initiative in filing a suit for an injunction against any individuals seeking to interfere with the school authorities in their attempt to comply with the ruling of the Supreme Court."

COURT'S PRINCIPLE CITED

Mr. Brownell implied hat he would follow the Supreme Court's principle that the local school authorities "have the primary

responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems," and that he would intervene only if the local authorities were unable or unwilling to deal with persons seeking to block voluntary integration by the local school board.

Nevertheless, he did testify that the administration's new civil rights legislation could be used to help implement the school integration decision and that it did "of course, go beyond the voting cases."

The southern bloc in the Senate is unalterably opposed to this. They insist that while this may be Mr. Brownell's interpretation of the law he is seeking, the language is so broad and ambiguous that he or some other Attorney General might interpret it in such a way as to use the power of the Federal Government regardless of whether the local school authorities were trying voluntarily to integrate the local schools.

For example, in the hearings before the House Judiciary Committee, Mr. Brownell was questioned at length about whether he would intervene on an appeal from any citizen in the South who asserted that he was entitled under the Supreme Court order to attend an integrated school and was being denied that right by local authorities.

MISLEADING INTENT DENIED

"What would you do then?" he was asked. "Would you initiate an injunction against the school board in the case I gave you under this act if it is enacted?"

Mr. Brownell replied:

"I don't want to mislead you. I am not trying to avoid answering your question. I have found in my own experience that it is very unwise to give answers to a hypothetical case of that kind because there are always special circumstances."

In short, part of the reason why the southern Senators are up in arms about this legislation is that they are being asked to accept imprecise language that even the administration's officials concede could be interpreted in many different ways, most of them anathema to the South.

The administration officials have emphasized the right-to-vote aspects of the bill, because this is their main objective and because this is the most popular aspect of the legislation.

They have also made the language ambiguous and this is now being challenged and will undoubtedly be changed substantially before the end. But they have not threatened, as charged, to use troops in the South to enforce court injunctions, and they have not denied that the legislation could be used in the school-integration problem.

[From the New York Times of July 11, 1957]

THE RIGHT-TO-VOTE BILL

The lengthy conference President Eisenhower had yesterday with Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia, indicates the seriousness with which the White House views the major charge brought by Mr. RUSSELL in his speech last week against the civil-rights bill. This was the sensational allegation that hidden in one section (part III) of the bill is "a force law designed to compel the intermingling of the races in the public schools" by the injunctive process, and "to authorize the use of troops" to integrate them.

Although the inflammatory language Senator RUSSELL used in his speech does not contribute to a calm approach to this touchy subject, the fact remains that he has discovered in the pending bill terminology that may indeed be fairly interpreted in the way he chooses to interpret it. In previous discussion of the civil-rights measure there has been almost total neglect of this one point. The administration bill in something very much like its present form was debated and passed by the House a year ago; the current one was debated and passed by the House again last month; there have been extensive hearings and reports and innumerable speeches on the subject; yet in all this time no one has made a real issue of the possibility pointed to by Senator RUSSELL that the bill might be used to enforce school integration by injunction. The House minority reports both this year and last, and some brief testimony by Attorney General Brownell, do mention this possibility. But until the last few days it has been generally overlooked—so much so that some of the bill's leading proponents now admit privately that they had never even thought of it.

Now, this does not mean that the language is therefore bad, nor that on its merits the section of the bill to which Senator RUSSELL most violently objects should be eliminated. But it does mean that there is every indication that neither President Eisenhower nor the principal protagonists of the administration bill in Congress considered this measure as anything more than a bill to insure to every American citizen the right to vote in Federal elections, as guaranteed by the Constitution. The President has said as much in his press conferences: "I was seeking * * * to prevent anybody from illegally interfering with any individual's right to vote * * *." Practically everybody fighting for this bill, and we include this newspaper, has been seeking the same thing. We have viewed it primarily as a right-to-vote bill; and, as we have said here before, we believe that the injunctive process without jury trial is a perfectly proper device to enforce this basic constitutional right if necessary.

We also believe with the Supreme Court, and have said many times, that integration of the schools is likewise required by the Constitution. We believe, too, in equality of economic opportunity for all races—a point that was originally included in and then eliminated from the administration's civil rights proposals. But not all of these rights can be enforced in precisely the same way, nor can some be effectuated as quickly as others.

It would in no way prejudice the inexorable forward march of school desegregation in the South to make it clear that this bill deals exclusively with voting rights, which is what almost everybody had thought all along it deals with. Integration of schools is quite another matter; and although it may well be that the devices used in the pending bill may ultimately be found necessary to enforce the desegregation decision as well, it is the part of wisdom to take one step at a time and concentrate now, in this law, on the basic right of a free ballot.

Of course, the entire question of amending the civil-rights bill is premature anyway, because technically the question now before the Senate is whether or not to take up the measure at all. The southern oppositionists haven't a leg to stand on—though they have strong voices—in the debate over making this bill the pending business. Once that is done, then will come time for amendments and limitations. The southern diehards, Senator RUSSELL included, are not going to like the bill in whatever form it emerges. Much more important than whether or not they like it is the question whether it is an equable, moderate, enforcible bill in conformity with our best traditions. We think that it can easily be made just that.

Flood Control a Major Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the cost of controlling floods is tremendous. The cost of neglecting to control them is far greater. That point was strikingly amplified in an editorial published recently on the distinguished editorial page of the Dallas, Tex., Times Herald. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAG IN FLOOD CONTROL PROJECTS CALLS FOR ACTION ON ALL FRONTS

It is not easy to imagine flood conditions more distressing than those experienced by Texas a few weeks ago, but an expert on the subject warns that we can have even worse floods in the future.

Brig. Gen. L. E. Seaman, United States Army division engineer for the Southwest district, speaking in Vicksburg last Monday night, made the following perturbing statement:

"We can have greater floods than those recorded—including those that have been recorded in the last two months."

The general was stressing the need of extensive flood-control measures and of proper management of storage reservoirs during periods of heavy rainfall.

Storage reservoirs, as the general explained, hold back the rushing water until they are filled up, but if the downpours continue, the water must be released to save the dams and hold inundation to a minimum.

When we consider how speedily empty and almost empty major reservoirs in the Southwest were filled after 7 years of drought, we can applaud the Army Engineers for their excellent construction of dams and for fine work during a serious emergency.

A few of the small dams in Texas broke, but all the major dams, including Texoma, held firm. If the construction had been faulty or if the engineers had not judiciously released the water, shocking disaster probably would have resulted. The situation was bad enough, but it might have been worse.

In citing the value of big reservoirs as flood-control devices, General Seaman declared that they must be supplemented by other methods of protection, methods that can check inundation after the reservoirs are filled to capacity. These additional measures are essential, for during long stretches of drought the public forgets about high-water marks and puts to use land that is subject to overflow when unusually heavy rainfall comes.

Flood control is a major problem, not only in Texas but all over the country. The cost of controlling floods is enormous, but the cost of neglecting control is much greater. As Senator LYNDON JOHNSON points out, this Nation's investment for flood control and water resources development has fallen far behind the increase in population and ex-

pansion of the economy. It is high time for us to make up for this lag. The need is so great that all levels of Government must join in meeting it, Federal, State and local.

The Open Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the San Antonio Express, which has as enlightened and realistic an editorial page as will be found in any Texas newspaper, recently published a penetrating editorial discussion of the proposal for an "open curtain" exchange of information between the people of Russia and the people of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHNSON'S "OPEN CURTAIN" WORTH A SINCERE EFFORT

Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S proposal to make free exchange of information between Russia and the United States a part of the overall disarmament negotiations is certainly a fresh approach to the problem.

The Texan's "open curtain" bid, made recently in New York, might prove to be an easier "first-step" to take than mutual inspection. The Russians are already denouncing the "open skies" plan of aerial inspection, which is a basic step in present negotiations.

JOHNSON'S proposals have been widely hailed as constructive and bipartisan statesmanship, particularly in view of the fact that he embodied this proposal within President Eisenhower's overall program for easing tensions. Although the Senator's proposal is not new (the State Department offered such an exchange via radio in 1955), it came at an opportune time and gave impetus to similar suggestions in the press the day after Khrushchev's TV-radio interview.

If the combined influence of the Senate leadership, demands in the press and willingness of Mr. Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles can bring the Soviet Union to open its radio and television facilities to us in exchange for similar facilities for the Russians in the United States, we may be getting somewhere.

But even that is a long row to hoe. In essence, our job would be to convince the Russians. We believe our side has the best story to tell and we are confident that we have the people capable of telling it convincingly. However, we face the formidable task of overcoming Kremlin objections; of penertating the propagandized minds of Russian masses; of bringing about a revolution of enlightenment among Russian citizens.

It's a long shot. Perhaps we have the Russians in position to listen. Certainly it is worth the effort.

Foreign Policy Begins at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, during the recent foreign policy conference at Colgate University, Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, delivered an extremely timely address stressing how important it is for all of us to distinguish between our Nation's ideals and what is expedient. Specifically, said the Governor, we must remember that the goals toward which we are striving are "liberty, justice, and humanity," and that we must not mistake various approaches to these ideals as ends in themselves. The Governor's remarks on this subject were quite thought provoking, and I ask unanimous consent that a copy of his speech be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME

(Address of Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of Maryland, Colgate University, foreign policy conference, Hamiliton, N. Y., July 2, 1957)

The foreign policy of the United States, to the extent that it is foreign and not domestic, is a matter of details profoundly modified, not to say governed, by existing circumstances. In all that may be called really fundamental our foreign policy is identical with our domestic policy, except in one provision. That is stated in article IV, section 4, of the Constitution of the United States: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government."

But that provision is itself merely a detail. The basic policy of the United States, foreign and domestic, is to make it possible for every lawabiding man to live in peace enjoying the fruits of his own labor under laws and rulers approved by a majority of the people. In our own experience the most efficient means to that end is representative democracy, which is to say, a republican form of government; so we have guaranteed that form to every State. But it is as a means to an end. If the end be achieved, the basic policy of the United States will be furthered, regardless of the means.

So stated, this seems too simple and plain to admit of argument. Yet it is a fact that one of the chief hindrances to the establishment and pursuit of a sound and consistent foreign policy is the tendency of our own people to forget or ignore this basic principle. With shocking frequency we have confused the means with the end. We talk of democracy as if it were an absolute virtue, to be listed along with liberty, justice and humanity, forgetting, or choosing not to believe, that democracy is merely a way of approach, and there may be and in fact are other ways of approach to liberty, justice and humanity.

Does any man in his right mind believe that Winston Churchill is a slave? Yet he has lived all his life under monarchy. Does anyone believe that the Greeks who fought under Pericles and the Romans who fought under Cincinnatus were slaves? Yet they lived under dictatorship.

As a matter of fact, whenever our own Nation has been seriously threatened, we Americans have cheerfully abandoned many of the basic principles of democracy for the time being. Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus and sharply abridged freedom of the press during the Civil War. Wilson, in 1917, and Roosevelt, in 1941, both became virtually dictators. At the outbreak of war the function of the President as Chief Executive is swallowed up by his function as Commander in Chief, and until the fighting is over democracy is adjourned. Yet these temporary adjournments of democracy have not worked any alteration in the devotion of our people to liberty and justice—ample evidence that democracy is the means, not the end.

Yet a great deal of criticism of our foreign policy—most of the intemperate criticism—has been based upon some supposed failure of our diplomatic agents to give democracy first priority and let liberty and justice take care of themselves.

Here let me draw a distinction, rather a fine one, but very important, between legitimate and illegitimate criticism. More than a dozen years ago leaders of the two major parties, a Democratic President and a Republican Senator, attempted to make this distinction plain when they formulated what is known as the bipartisan policy. They agreed, and the rank and file of the parties agreed with them, that criticism intended solely to influence an election in this country is not legitimate criticism of our foreign policy.

Fair-minded men still agree with that. To denounce the Secretary of State, not because he is wrong, but because denouncing him may curry favor with some faction in this country, is rank dishonesty, and no more need be said about it.

I am interested, rather, in two widely prevalent interpretations of the principle of bipartisanism, both of which are perfectly honest but both, as I believe, dreadfully wrong. One is the assumption that the repudiation of illegitimate criticism meant the repudiation of all criticism, so that any program the State Department hands us must be accepted without a murmur.

I am sure that very few Americans accept this view 100 percent. It is too absurd. But I suspect that it is partially accepted by many honest and intelligent men and has had the effect of making them less effective critics than they would be otherwise. The more sincere the man, the more likely he is to be handicapped by doubts. When action that he deems unwise is taken in a specific case, his impulse to speak out is checked if the question arises in his own mind, "Do I object to this because it is wrong, or merely because I dislike Mr. Dulles—or Mr. Acheson before him, or Mr. Hull before either?"

Such a question inevitably dulls the edge of honest criticism, and when honest criticism is blunted we are worse off, for the finest Secretary of State never possessed a monopoly of wisdom. Any official can profit by knowing the opinions of other men of brains and character.

Yet I cannot believe that this handicap upon our establishment of a sound foreign policy is of very great importance. After all, men who refrain from criticism—or refrain from anything else—because they are too honest, have never been numerous enough to have a decisive effect upon human affairs.

Much more important is the other misconception of bipartisanism. This is the idea that American foreign policy must be so conducted as to further everything upon which our two major parties are agreed. This is by no means the case. Our parties are agreed on the ideals of liberty, justice, and humanity as absolutes whose values are unchanged by time or space; and our foreign policy should certainly be designed to further these ends.

But our major parties are agreed on a great many other things, some of which are not ideals but mere expedients. This is to say, they serve our needs very well, but it is not necessarily true that they would serve equally well another nation, in different circumstances, and with different traditions. For example, we are agreed on trial by jury as the best means of protecting the rights both of the accused and of the State. But it is certainly not the only way of protecting those rights, and not always the best way. In Maryland, for example, the accused, even in a capital case, may waive his right to a jury trial and submit his case to the judge alone; and many defendants prefer that form of trial.

We are agreed on universal suffrage, but because it works to our satisfaction does not mean that it would work equally well in a nation staggering under a heavy load of illiteracy and poverty. We are agreed on separation of church and state and the absolute prohibition of religious tests for official positions; but it would be oppression to try to impose that system upon Pakistan or India.

Yet it is astonishing and, I may add, discouraging to realize how many perfectly honest Americans fail to make the distinction between our ideals and our expedients and criticise our foreign policy for failing to do what it ought not to do. Many of us seem unable to realize that the ideal of liberty implies freedom for other nations to be different, but unless our foreign policy takes that into consideration it is doomed to failure.

It is all very well to say that foreign policy is far removed from the daily activities of the ordinary citizen, but it is true only to a limited extent. Our representatives abroad, being Americans, respond to the climate of opinion in America as surely as the rest of us do. No doubt their special training modifies their response but doesn't eliminate it, which means that an uninformed or misinformed public opinion will gravely affect the operations of foreign policy in every corner of the earth.

This is why I began my remarks by raising a question as to the distinction between foreign and domestic policy. The education of our own citizens is unquestionably an item of domestic policy; yet the maintenance of a sound and successful foreign policy depends in large measure on the development of an intelligent and informed public opinion at home.

A large number of agencies, public and private, are working to that end, and doing admirable work—as witness this conference in which we are participating. The American people are being given more complete information, more carefully and skillfully analyzed, on foreign affairs than they have ever had before. I cannot be too emphatic in expressing my admiration for this work and my hope that it will be continued and expanded.

At the same time I am inclined to believe that we might do well to balance this flood of information on the foreign situation by paying a good deal more attention to the domestic situation—not the trend of daily events, but the basic relation of the American republic to the other free nations. I have no hesitation in saying that it is not thoroughly understood by a majority of our people. The confusion of ideals with expedients is wide spread and by no means confined to the unlettered. It goes high up the scale of education and cultivation. I have encountered men whose native intelligence was powerful enough to win them great success in the world, but who nevertheless harbored positively childish notions of what the United States seeks to do, or ought to do in the rest of the world.

As long as this confusion exists it is idle to expect our foreign service to operate at the highest level of efficiency. You may have the best trained men imaginable, patriotic, hard-working, devoted; but if they are constantly subjected to criticism based on a completely wrong conception of what they are supposed to do and are trying to do, those men cannot possibly do the best work of which they are capable.

When General Hancock was running for President in 1880 he evoked a storm of ridicule by the remarks, "The tariff is a local issue." But it was perfectly true. Most men's attitude toward the tariff was determined by what they thought was the effect of the tariff on their own local interests. Perhaps I shall be inviting ridicule by the observation that foreign policy is very largely a domestic issue. Nevertheless, it is true; for until we create a domestic public opinion with a better understanding of what it is all about, our foreign policy will continue to be hampered and harassed by many avoidable faults and failures.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Swapping Civil Rights," published in the Washington Evening Star on July 11, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SWAPPING CIVIL RIGHTS

Senators opposing the civil-rights bill are properly and effectively concentrating their efforts now on showing, in terms of the surrender of certain civil rights, the cost imposed by this bill for the protection of other civil rights, ostensibly the right to vote. There is no doubt that such costs are inherent in the bill.

Senator FULBRIGHT, in an able speech, made an illustrative comparison between the value of certain civil rights involved—the value of the right of trial by jury and the value of the right to vote. He recalled that the guaranty of trial by jury is mentioned specifically four times in the Constitution, which in no place provides unrestricted suffrage for every citizen. More than relative values, however, the Senator was stressing the preoccupation of the founders with a right that is fundamental in a free society, and which is subject to damaging impairment in this bill.

It remained for Senator ERVIN, however, in an outstanding discussion of the jury trial issue, to point out the real danger, as we see it, in this bill's circumvention of the jury trial principle. That danger does not lie in the realistic possibility that arbitrary, capricious, or tyrannical Federal judges will be sent into the South and ruthlessly begin throwing into jail—for sentences restricted only by personal discretion—men and women they find guilty of violating their injunctions. The danger is in the expedient advocacy, by men anxious to accomplish an end which they find immediately desirable, of broadening the injunctive process far beyond its previously narrow field; perverting, in fact, its historical use, and coupled with the power of punishment for contempt, utilizing it in a new and extensive field of criminal law.

We do not believe that Senator ERVIN is seeing monsters under the bed, or indulging in mere oratorical rhetoric, when he says that if the Federal courts are given power to suppress crime by injunction in equity proceedings and trial for contempt without juries, in the field of civil rights, to prevent offenses already defined in ancient law as criminal, there is no valid reason to suppose that on some other day, when people are frustrated and sickened by inability to deal with crimes in another field, some other well intentioned administration headed by a President who wants to accomplish what seems to be a morally desirable and politically helpful end, will not resort to the same subtle evasion of a basic principle of free government.

The attempt to pack the Supreme Court was made by an honorable and upright Attorney General, under the direction of his President, as a method of accomplishing what they believed to be a desirable end. This expedient extension of the injunctive and contempt processes to enforce old laws in new areas has been put forward by another honorable and upright Attorney General to get around admitted difficulties in obtaining convictions by jury in civil rights cases. He is doing it for what he believes to be a desirable end, and his President is more familiar with the end than with the means employed to reach it.

We do not believe the parallel is overdrawn. We applaud the Senators of the minority who are attempting to show the cost in damage to one civil right demanded as the price of strengthening another. Those who defeated the Court-packing plan were also, at one stage, in the minority.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the debate of the past few days has been in the very highest traditions of Senate procedure.

Not only has it helped Senators in understanding the issues before us. It has generated a public discussion which is educating the people of our Nation.

As one example, I cite the very excellent editorial which appeared in the Washington Star today. This editorial points out that the bill in its present form involves a "cost in damage to one civil right demanded as the price of strengthening another."

"There is no doubt that such costs are inherent in the bill," the editorial asserts. This editorial might well have been entitled "Stop—Look—Consider."

Mr. President, this is a question that is entirely aside from the merits of the pro- or anti-civil-rights argument. It is a question that goes specifically to language in the bill that goes far beyond

anything proposed in recent years by even the most burning advocate of so-called civil rights.

The public is now aware of what it really is—and I believe that when our people are informed, they can reach sound and sensible conclusions.

Mr. President, I had intended to ask unanimous consent that the Washington Star editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, but, since my colleague [Mr. TALMADGE] has had it printed, of course I shall not duplicate his request.

Black Canyon Reclamation Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address presented at Caldwell, Idaho, on July 22, 1955, by Mr. LaSelle E. Coles, second vice president of the National Reclamation Association, on the occasion of the observance of Black Canyon Reclamation Day. The title of the address is "Reclamation at the Crossroads." Mr. Coles, who is a recognized authority on the subject of reclamation, has made a plea in his address for a realistic and equitable approach to the financing of reclamation. His speech urges the acceptance of what is referred to as a "basin account" with revenues from power providing assistance for reclamation. His proposal is even more significant and pertinent today, Mr. President, than it was at the time of its delivery. It should prove stimulating to people in all western regions who are faced with the problems of conservation of their water resource and feasible methods of financing the great programs which will have to be undertaken.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECLAMATION AT THE CROSSROADS

(Address on Black Canyon Reclamation Day at Caldwell, Idaho, July 22, 1955, by La Selle E. Coles, second vice president of the National Reclamation Association)

The title of my talk today is "Reclamation at the Crossroads." To those of you who have not followed the national trend this may be news. To you who are vitally interested in the reclamation program it is not news. In 1932 the National Reclamation Association was organized in Salt Lake City for the purpose of saving the reclamation program for the West. We will all have to admit that the problems of that era were simple in comparison to those we face today. In 1932 they merely needed money. The country was in the middle of a great depression, and we were starting on a program to spend our way out of that depression, consequently all they had to do was sell the program to the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Congress. This was ably done by the men who organized and took part in the national reclamation program. They are to be complimented, as the impetus of their work has been felt through the years.

We still need money to finance reclamation, but our problems 23 years later are much more complex. We have awakened suddenly to the fact that even here in the great Northwest, our water supply is not unlimited. The water we have left will control our development. It must be used to irrigate the desert, to turn the wheels of industry, to furnish a municipal water supply, to furnish recreation, and for many other purposes. With so many interests competing for this remaining potential water, we are bound to have problems and will have to fight for our program harder in the future, or it will go by the wayside. Our national debt is much different today than in 1932, consequently those who are looking for places to economize pick on reclamation. To you, I say this is false economy. In 1932 we had a water policy, but policies become obsolete the same as machinery. Today we are trying to operate on a policy geared to the horse-and-buggy days, consequently every conceivable method has been used by the people, the Congress, and the Bureau of Reclamation to get around this obsolete policy. In doing this a new policy has been created by each authorization which has gone beyond the Reclamation Act of 1902.

I would like to review with you what has happened to the reclamation program. During the Korean war and the Truman administration, a policy of no new starts was inaugurated. It was said that we needed the money to fight the war, and at that time had plenty of food. No one could take issue with this policy, but like so many policies, which, when once established, they are hard to get rid of. This policy lasted until last year at which time we had five new starts, though small at least the ice was broken. This year, according to the Bureau, we have seven so-called new starts. You would have to use your imagination to call some of them new starts. The bad part of this no-new-starts policy was that it extended to only part of the West. We in the Northwest stood still, with the exception of those projects which had already been authorized. In the Missouri Basin, and the Central Valley of California, they continued with their program. New projects were authorized each year this policy was in effect. Why? Because the Missouri Basin project was authorized as one project and the Central Valley was handled the same way. They could claim any project which was feasible was not a new start, but merely part of the original authorization. It looks like some place along the line, we in the Northwest missed the boat. If this policy had continued for another 5 years the Bureau of Reclamation in region I would have been out of business.

Most of you know what has happened to the appropriations for reclamation. Let's take a look at the appropriations for general investigations:

1950	$11,626,000
1951	13,212,000
1952	10,428,000
1953	8,850,000
1954	5,275,186
1955	6,109,136
1956:	
Recommended by Budget	7,675,000
Recommended by House Appropriations Committee	5,669,492

The action of Congress for next year's appropriations is now history. Thanks to the work of the Congressmen from the West, our secretary-manager, William E. Welsh, and many others, the House and Senate overrode the Appropriations committee and restored the cut. They not only restored the cut, but added projects in the Northwest, which the President and Budget had not recommended. This is one of the few times in the history of the country that this has happened. I am especially interested in the amount appropriated for general investigations. Our future program depends upon a backlog of projects being available for immediate construction. The National Reclamation Association has recommended $10 million for general investigation. We have not received this amount, but at least we have had an increase over the low of $5,275,186 reached in 1954. The above figures represent what has happened to the entire reclamation program. The tendency has been for less and less money. We do not need the large amounts of money made available to the Bureau during the Mike Strauss regime, but we do need enough money so that an orderly program can be carried on. We should have a reasonable amount each year. This would tend to stabilize the personnel of the Bureau. It takes years to train a good engineer, and it is hard to get them back once they are lost. The wielding of the ax, beyond a certain point, is often more costly than appears on the surface. What incentive is there for a young engineer to enter Bureau work?

At the present time our entire program is under attack by a group made up mostly of people from the East. I am sorry to say it, but this attack is backed by a few in the West. Those in the West who are supporting this opposition are selfish—they are fighting the entire reclamation program, because of regional differences. The mouthpieces for this group have been Raymond Moley, author; and Leslie Miller, ex-Governor of Wyoming and recently a member of the Hoover Commission. Moley has written several articles in Newsweek and later put the material into book form. Miller had an article in Reader's Digest; both are good writers and very capable. They make a good case against reclamation for anyone who does not know the true picture. They picture only the dark side. They ask the question, "Why develop more land in the West in the face of an agricultural surplus?" They do not point out that a very small percentage of the produce of the irrigation projects is not surplus, but is fruits, vegetables, nuts, meats, etc., which have resulted in a much better year-round diet for the American public. Our agricultural surplus in 1954 was less than 6 percent of the total population requirement. Mr. B. T. Shaw, Administrator, Agricultural Research Department, testified before the House Subcommittee on Agriculture, that if the people continue to consume food at the rate they did in 1953, our consumption and production of agricultural commodities will be in balance by 1962 and possibly by 1959. Moley points to the small amount of returns from reclamation projects in comparison to the money spent. He does not point out that the large percent of the money has been spent in recent years and that according to the repayment contracts a small amount would be due. Moley asks the question, "Why spend money to build expensive projects in the West when there are millions of acres in the South not needing irrigation which can be reclaimed for about $200 per acre?" I have spent only a very short time in the South so do not know the situation there, but with the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the American people, I am sure this job would have been done by private capital, if Mr. Moley is right. I do not have time to answer all arguments the opposition puts forth, but as I see the picture we will have to develop all our resources in the West, in the East, and in the South if the American people are to maintain the standard of living to which they are accustomed. Our population is increasing at about 2,800,000 per year; these people must be fed and have jobs, if this country is to remain strong.

On December 25, 1952, the Bureau of the Budget issued its famous Circular A–47, which has been with us ever since. In this circular the Bureau of the Budget attempted to set up uniform standards, which had to be adhered to before any proposed project would be considered by Budget. In recent years the Budget Bureau has gained so much in stature that in a way, they have almost gained control over whether or not projects will be built. Budget is actually the one who has been making our water policy, not the Congress. This is all wrong. It amounts to one branch of the Government usurping the power of another. All of us with proposed irrigation projects have been trying to find ways to get around A–47. The only way this can be done is by the use of power returns in the repayment feature. A–47 says a project must pay out in 50 years. How many reclamation projects do we have left which will pay out in that period of time? It also says all projects must be allocated on the "separable cost-remaining benefits" method, unless there is some very good reason why this cannot be done. In my area we have been working on a small project, the Crooked River. In the original allocation we were allowed $1,152,000 on flood control. Under the "separable cost-remaining benefit" method this was reduced to $654,800. A cut of 44 percent. NRA and the western Congressmen and Senators have complained so much about this order that Budget decided to revise it. This was attempted this year but the proposed revision is worse than the original. I would like to refer to "Discussion of Budget Circular A–47," and the Related Power Partnership Principle—Hearings Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 84th Congress, first session, March 15 and 30, 1955." On page 37 you will find Secretary McKay's statement, "The Secretary agrees with the general principle but is opposed to the standards as recommended. On page 73 in this document Mr. Dexheimer answered the chairman's question, as to how many of our remaining projects could be built under A–47. Mr. Dexheimer could only name the Ventura project in California. All other projects would be dependent upon some type of subsidy.

In the field of irrigation subsidy we have several theories. The Hoover Commission represents one school of thought. They recommend that all income be returned to the General Treasury and irrigation assistance be a direct subsidy out of the General Treasury. This is a good theory, and as a theory, I do not disagree. In actual practice, can it work? Are the people in the East ready to grant an outright subsidy to irrigation development? I doubt it very much. The Missouri Basin, the Central Valley, the Columbia Basin, Michaud, here in our own State, and many more projects have been authorized with a power subsidy. What a mess the entire program would be in if an attempt were made to change all these authorizations. It would set the program back 50 years.

We might as well be realistic. Most irrigation projects being authorized are those, which use power returns in some form or another, as a subsidy. In my thinking it all adds up to a basin account. I have had people argue with me, that we do not have a basin account in the west. In words I will agree, in practice I cannot agree. What is the Missouri Basin project, the Central Valley project, the Upper Colorado River project, as proposed by the administration, if not basin accounts in actuality. What is the difference between the Columbia Basin project, the Foster Creek division of Chief Joseph, your Michaud project, and the Missouri Basin project? They all use power as a subsidy. Some say it is a hidden subsidy and that the people are being fooled. To this I say "poppycock." Read any of the authorizations and it is spelled out in black and white what the subsidy amounts to. Suppose the law was changed and a project was considered feasible if it could be paid for by the farmers in a period of 100 years. Is there any justification in part of the farmers in Idaho and Oregon paying for 100 years and the other part paying only within their ability to pay for 40 or 50 years, with power paying the balance? In the past those in authority and the law have been favorable to those projects which have power "incidental to the project." This phrase "incidental to the project" has been stretched to the point, where I do not know what it means, and I doubt very much if others who use the term actually know its true meaning. It is one of those phrases used to fit the occasion.

All the authorizations, to which I have refered have established a precedent and thus have created a water policy for parts of the West. Can we turn back and repudiate this policy? I believe not. To be fair all should be allowed to operate under the same policy. This would mean that we in the Northwest would have a basin account or would seek authorization as a Columbia Basin project. To me it makes no difference what you call it—it all adds up to the same thing—"power assistance for reclamation." How can this be accomplished? We need leadership, cooperation among States, and planning. Where can we look for our leadership? We should look to our respective political leaders, but apparently this is impossible because of the diversity of political views. Hells Canyon is a good example of a political football. Reclamation development should never be a political issue. All projects should be authorized upon their financial and engineering feasibility. If we cannot look to our political leaders for leadership, then to whom are we to turn? I think we have one source left and that is the proposed Columbia Interstate Compact Commission. They should furnish the leadership which we need. The Commission would be composed of members from all Northwest States which should eventually result in cooperation among the States. To accomplish the above they would have to work out a plan for future development. We are badly in need of such a plan. We have not been pulling together. We must consolidate the thinking of the majority, put our shoulder to the wheel, and really push from here on out, if the program to reclaim the arid lands of the west is to survive.

Jury Trial Takes a Beating

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Jury Trial Takes a Beating," from the Baxley (Ga.) News-Banner.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JURY TRIAL TAKES A BEATING

While the Nation raves and rants over the trial of Pfc. William S. Girard by three Japanese judges where there is no trial by jury, the House of Representatives has just passed a civil-rights bill that will allow trial without jury.

The bill appears to be headed for Senate passage despite the opposition of Senator RUSSELL and other southern Senators. It is aimed at the South and will make Federal courts all-powerful in enforcing United States Supreme Court decisions.

The bill would empower the Attorney General to take into Federal court the cases of any persons whose civil rights had been violated or threatened and to protect their interests by seeking Federal court injunctions. Anyone violating the injunctions would be subject to trial for contempt of court without benefit of jury.

In short, the bill vests in Federal court judges the exclusive power to enforce civil-rights legislation.

It is also ironic that the United States Supreme Court this week reversed the conviction of 14 Communists tried in California and struck down a contempt of Congress conviction of a labor racketeer on the grounds that their individual rights had been violated. It seems to enjoy dictatorial power when it comes to forcing unpopular decisions on individuals in the South. At the moment the people of the South don't belong to the right minority.

Address by Former Senator Ashurst Before Arizona Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered before the Arizona Bar Association recently in Prescott, Ariz., by former Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NATION'S GENESIS

(Address by Henry Fountain Ashurst to the State Bar of Arizona at its annual convention at Prescott, Ariz., May 25, 1957)

When I received your gracious invitation to speak here, thoughts of bygone days came to my mind. Events of long ago seemed visible for a moment and then vanished into the distant haze of far-off things where precious recollections are stored away, for your invitation came to me just 4 days after the 60 years since I was admitted to the Arizona bar. My eyes seek eagerly for lawyers who were at the Arizona bar at the time of my admission; alas, but two remain. The others have gone to that vast realm where the innumerable dwell; their law briefs are cobwebbed, their pens are rust, they are serene upon the shining pathway of the stars—I trust, for they faithfully served their day and generation.

The formative days of my career were spent at the foot of the north Arizona mountains, whose purple crests in summer and whose snowwhite fangs in winter upthrust themselves into the turquoise sky arching above them, and I blush to admit that, among the many opportunities presented to me by this happy land, I entered the political field too early to have acquired that rich and ripe knowledge of the science of law which might have qualified me to receive the gladsome light of jurisprudence.

Whatever may be said about clergymen, physicians, and lawyers (being human they receive their share of criticism), society has confidence that the clergyman will never betray his penitent, the physician will never betray his patient, and the lawyer will never betray his client. All honor to these professional men for their fidelity. Reliance, upon their fidelity, is a diamond pivot upon

which society may safely revolve, and without which reliance in these intimate, confidential human relations, society itself could not endure, and there could be no livable life. One is minister for soul, one is minister for health, and one is minister for justice.

The word "justice" is a beautiful word; it is a close synonym for the words "fairness, impartiality." But the word "justice" has a philosophical and legal precision those words have not, and the word "justice" was used impressively by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton in his play "Richelieu's Vindication" wherein Richelieu in his own defense, exclaimed:

"I found France rent asunder,
The rich men despots and the poor banditti;
Sloth in the mart and schism within the temple;
Brawls festering to rebellion, and weak laws
Rotting away with rust in antique sheaths.
I have recreated France; and, from the ashes
Of the old feudal and decrepit carcass,
Civilization, on her luminous wings,
Soars, phoenix-like, to Jove! What was my art?
'Genius,' some say; some, 'Fortune,'
'Witchcraft,' some.
Not so; my art was Justice."

In all literature there is no finer exposition of the importance of law and judicial authority than that set forth by Shakespeare in the scene between Henry V, lately become king, and the chief justice who had formerly committed him for contempt. The chief justice stood before the young king whose life as the prince of Wales had given no warrant of wisdom or integrity; for he had, in his reckless days, been the boon companion of Falstaff and his disreputable associates.

Referring to his commitment by the judge, the king asked:

"How might a Prince of my great hopes forget so great indignities you laid upon me? * * * Roughly sent to prison, the immediate heir of England! * * * May this be washed in Lethe and forgotten?"

The judge interposed this memorable defense:

"I then did use the person of your father;
The image of his power lay then in me:
And, in the administration of his law,
Whiles I was busy for the commonwealth,
Your highness pleased to forget my place,
The majesty and power of law and justice * * *
And struck me in my very seat of judgment;
Whereon, as an offender to your father,
I gave bold way to my authority,
And did commit you."

This argument prevailed, for the king replied:

"You are right, justice, and you weigh this well;
Therefore still bear the balance and the sword;
And I do wish your honors may increase."

At the time of my admission to the Arizona bar, I did not know and could not know that our Nation was upon the threshold of a marvelous age in the world's history; an age of such incredible achievement in art, science, literature, luxury, growth, transportation, national power, chemical discoveries, and mechanical inventions that it may not be described even by a sapphire pen—dipped (for ink) into rainbow dew nor by an orator of silver tongue and golden larynx.

Our Nation is now a mighty world power and liberty-seeking peoples should be glad and joyous wherever their ears may catch the music of an American drumbeat. But human nature is the same everywhere; hence, our known wealth and puissance make us the victim of the jealousy of some of the less happier lands of Europe and Asia who have accepted American benefactions and are consumed with envy. Gratitude is one of the noblest attributes adorning mankind, but it is personal and individual. Statesmen know, or should know, that gratitude does not exist among governments—or rather that gratitude among governments is simply a lively sense of favors yet to come.

Until the birth of the United States Government, nations generally had an unregistered birth date. Their beginnings were usually legendary or obscure. They had no birthday celebrations for through the many centuries they had at some unknown date severally emerged from some dim, mysterious region said to be peopled with giants or heroes. Romance, tradition, and folklore, false in fact, but beautiful in fiction, handed down the myth that some nations were sired or mothered by wolves, some by lions, some by unicorns, some by swans, but the beginnings of our Nation are well known. If one were flippant of speech—one might say that America was a self-starter. We know the names of the founders, where they were born, and where they were educated. They were not chasing any will-o'-the-wisp; they were not idle dreamers on a sentimental journey, for they well knew that mankind cannot construct a society where all men shall be equal as to intellect, ingenuity, adaptability, temperament, and ambition. They knew that a manmade law cannot give to the nightingale the wings of the eagle nor give to the eagle the art of trilling the beautiful midnight minstrel of the nightingale, and that freedom, liberty, and livable conditions of life do not come by the graceful waving of a magician's wand but, like our daily bread, must be earned.

It would be a fascinating drama, in the realm of imagination, to see pass before us all the men who signed the Declaration of Independence, and also all the men who signed the Constitution of the United States—documents of grandeur in the world's annals. All the characters of men known to history, biography, and fiction would appear. Some wearing brocaded waistcoats; some wearing silk breeches, silver buckles at the knee and instep; the stock, the gaiters, the cork-soled boots, the powdered wig, lace cuffs, the ivory snuffbox. The quick, razor-edged tempers, the punctilious pride, the authentic scholarship, the statesmanship; some of them could have outshone Lord Chesterfield in an exhibit of graceful manners. Brilliant rhetoricians shaping sentences like daggers of jade; word stylists; sweet-singing-wasp speakers.

Many of these men comprehended the garnered wisdom of the ages and were familiar with the history of the republics of the antique world. Not a few had been graduated from colleges in the Colonies: Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, Princeton, Kings (now Columbia), and the Pennsylvania College; some had been graduated from English, Irish, and Scottish universities, and one need not be acutely imaginative to seem to hear the eager and eloquent oratory, the vibrant words and gorgeous rhetoric of that romantic long-ago. Some of them ascended the steep acclivity from obscurity to far-shining fame—some few descended the declivity from fame to oblivion. Some of them, with steady hand at sunrise, held dueling pistol and with same steady hand, at sunset, held mint julep or hot-buttered rum. Nearly all were devoted equestrians—good riders who daily printed their horses' hooves into the receiving earth. They were men of courage and fortitude, of self-esteem and self-respect, of energy and action with bold, penetrating eyes, projecting noses and convex, sunburned faces. They were drawn from the various trades, professions and occupations, and were shrewd to a remarkable degree. They each and all were fiercely determined to set up a government assuring civil liberty, and they launched mankind's first major Republic since the days of ancient Rome. They bravely raised the banner of a republic at a time when the entire world seemed fixed in autocratic systems of government. Eight of the men who signed the Constitution had 11 years before also signed the Declaration of Independence. The principles of the Declaration and the guaranties of the Constitution have withstood the mutations and vicissitudes of time, and have beaten back the wildest storms that ever blew because they embody the inborn, invincible sentiments of those who know the value of freedom, and who respect the dignity and sacredness of human life.

The founders attempted to guarantee freedom of opportunity only, and thus the right and the privilege of every citizen to employ that opportunity and to earn or win as many of the prizes of life as his character, intelligence, zeal, skills, creative imagination, courage, and luck would bring him.

Among the civil liberties protected by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is the right of every citizen to try to acquire a home, a shop, a farm; to acquire property, large or small; to earn wages; make investments and increase his fortune, so long as he does not interfere with that same right belonging to everyone else.

These civil liberties Karl Marx communism would destroy. The government should be the servant, not the master, of the citizen; but communism would make the government the master of the citizen. Communism is a fanatical delusion that has no regard for the sacredness of human life nor the value of human liberty; it would deprive labor of its wage, ambition of its stimulus, excellence of its supremacy, and character of its respect. Many, if not most Communists, are persons who will remain obscure unless they become obnoxious, and unhappily they choose the latter; but Communists when brought into court quickly avail themselves of that shield, the Constitution, which shield they had so cunningly sought to destroy.

Lack of monetary wealth does not necessarily mean lack of success. Many persons who have not accumulated riches live happy, noble, useful lives, and are truly good and great. Multitudes of American men, with the purse of a peasant, carry themselves with all the politeness, pride, and bearing of a prince. Multitudes of American women with meager financial resources walk with courage and spread sunlight, kindness, and mercy with a grace and charm that any queen could well emulate. Conversely, now and then, some indifferent person, by the legerdemain of chance or the impishness of the vice of destiny is awarded a fortune; frequently some worthy person by industry, integrity, and business judgment earns a fortune, and believe me when I say that if the refreshment of adventure, risk, and hazard were eliminated, life would be flat, insipid, and almost unbearable, but it is true that success in all departments of life generally gravitates toward those who are competent, industrious, and patient.

In the rhythm of life we revere bygone days and try to reconstruct their scenes, but let us not garnish the past too heavily with prismatic illusions. The lovely enchantments of bygone times abide with us here and now, and there is much in everyday life that inspires and gives a mighty upsurge to the human spirit.

I take no stock in the gloomy jeremiads constantly chanted that the human race will destroy itself; I do not subscribe to the defeatist attitude that human beings are but the helpless zanies of witless fate and thoughtless chance which will overthrow the wisdom of the wise, the valor of the brave, and the trophies of the truth. I reject such philosophy, and I assert that mankind is endued with reason, conscience, ample power of self-direction, and has his fate in his own hands. Those explosive forces, the atom bomb and its synthetic half-brother,

the hydrogen bomb, which have brought such specters of dreadful terror to so many persons will (before the silver of years shall have crowned the temples of the young here) be the selfsame forces that will heat and illuminate man's habitation, transport him and his commerce, and heal and cure many of his physical ills and agonies. There is somewhere a conservation of spiritual energy that preserves the core of every noble resolve and worthy action, and molds them into a beneficent achievement aiding mankind in his arduous struggle upward and onward.

The first settlements were made on our eastern coast at Jamestown, 350 years ago; and at Plymouth Rock, 337 years ago; and these intervening years of progressive development have a history, brilliant and varied in its coloring. Like a gorgeous tapestry, some of its threads are golden, some are silver, and some crimson—crimsoned with the lifeblood of the pioneer freely shed in his contests with savage men and savage beasts, but these threads are interwoven into one picture of civil freedom such as mankind has never before in all the ages looked upon.

Our frontier line, like the receding shadow line of the sundial, receded under the advancing sun of civilization, and from the date of these early settlements the American experiment of free government has been filled with sacrifice, tragedy, color, romance, and high endeavor.

Our country has inherited all in history that has gone before and every American citizen may justly exclaim: "Mine is the majestic past, mine is the shining future. Our eternal maxim: all things for America; she is the vital axle of the restless wheels that bear me onward; beyond the map of America my heart can travel not, but fills that limit to its utmost verge," for America is now the only first-rate power left in the world—where the Goddess of Liberty daily pours forth her gladsome song—a song that encourages all mankind by its amplitude and grandeur.

Federal Budget Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass., on July 1, 1957, in connection with S. 434 which passed the Senate unanimously recently and is now up for consideration in the House.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL BUDGET REFORM

The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, a nonpartisan group working for adoption of Hoover Commission recommendations, has cited 12 bills before Congress that deserve immediate attention and should be enacted before the 1957 session is adjourned.

The measures were selected from approximately 170 bills in the hoppers of the Senate and House that deal with Hoover Commission proposals. Since it is apparent that most of these bills will not get to the floor of either Chamber in the comparatively few weeks remaining in this session of Congress, a concerted effort is being made to get action on proposals that will have the most beneficial results.

Top priority is urged for a measure cosponsored by Senators KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, and PAYNE, Republican, of Maine, which would require the Federal budget to be submitted on an annual accrued-expenditures basis. Enactment of this bill, already passed by the Senate and awaiting House action, would save the American taxpayers $4 billion a year, according to Hoover Commission estimates.

The measure provides that Congress would appropriate each year only funds required to operate the Government for a period of 1 year. This would eliminate the "hoarding" of unused appropriations by Federal agencies and give Congress tighter control over expenditures.

Need for the change in budgeting procedure is brought home forcefully in the estimate by Senator BYRD (Democrat of Virginia) that the various departments of the Federal Government now have on hand approximately $70 billion in unexpended funds appropriated by Congress in previous years.

This means that if Congress appropriated an additionay $71,800,000,000 for fiscal 1958, as requested by President Eisenhower, the Government actually would have in excess of $140 billion at its disposal during the next 12 months.

It is unsound business practice to run the Government on this basis. The system encourages extravagance by Federal agencies, some of which literally have more money than they know what to do with. It is not uncommon for Federal departments to deliberately "pad" their budget requests in the hope of building a perpetual surplus.

This is an unhealthy and wasteful situation that can and should be corrected by enactment of the Kennedy-Payne bill.

Other measures on the priority list of the citizens committee would centralize procurement and supply activities of the armed services under a single agency, curtail unnecessary participation by the Federal Government in activities best handled by private enterprise, and centralize surplus property disposal in the General Services Administration.

These and various other bills designed to reduce waste and inefficiency in government should be approved by Congress with all possible speed. The sooner the measures are enacted, the sooner the American taxpayers will reap the rewards of more efficient government at reduced cost.

The Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, one of the finest and most deserved tributes I have read concerning our late and good friend Senator Joseph McCarthy was a eulogy preached by the Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, Ph. D., at the commemorative exercises held by the Queens County Catholic War Veterans of New York State on June 29, 1957, at Forest Hills Park Music Grove, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

It is a eulogy that I am sure the many thousands of devoted friends of Joe McCarthy would like to read. I ask unanimous consent that this eulogy be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the eulogy was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EULOGY ON THE LATE SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, PREACHED BY THE REVEREND EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, PH. D., AT THE COMMEMORATIVE EXERCISES HELD BY THE QUEENS COUNTY CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS OF NEW YORK STATE, JUNE 29, 1957, AT FOREST HILLS PARK MUSIC GROVE, FOREST HILLS, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

We are assembled here, united in our devotion to the great Catholic, the great American and the great Senator, for whom we have just offered this sacrifice of the Mass. We thank the Catholic War Veterans of Queens County for having made this sacred occasion a reality.

In the spring of the year and in the summer of his life, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy heard the eternal summons of God. Many times, as he flew above the clouds on military mission in the defense of his country at war, he faced the possibility of death. The winds sung a song of death. The propellers hummed a symphony of death. The bullets carried a message of death. Yet, he was spared a flier's death in the bosom of the sky, to meet a hero's death within the bosom of his countrymen.

And thus it was, in the spring of the year and in the summer of his life, that he heard the eternal summons of God and answered it. He left his loving wife and child. He left the jeweled lakes of Wisconsin. He left this Nation, to which, like Washington, he gave his best in war and peace. He left the millions whom he had inspired with the righteousness of his cause and with the vigor of his virtues. He turned aside from the pathway of the world to dwell in the eternal mansions of God. In the beautiful words of the poet, William Butler Yeats, he "paced upon the mountains overhead and hid his face amid a crowd of stars."

The death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy is one of the greatest tragedies our Nation has suffered since the close of World War II. We shall miss his face and form upon the horizon of life. We shall miss the ringing cadence of his voice. We shall miss his dynamic leadership. We shall miss his sincerity, his integrity, his energy and his courage.

Our hearts go out to his beloved wife in her bereavement. Despite the tragedy of her grief, there should be one sunburst of consolation within the shadows of her soul. She is not alone in her grief. We who are gathered here, the thousands upon thousands who have gathered around similar requiem Masses in his memory, and millions upon millions of his fellow citizens are sharers of her grief. Her tears are mingled in the ocean of tears that have been shed by all real Americans at his passing. The memory of his life will quicken and deepen the reality of her love. The memory of his life will quicken and deepen the reality of our devotion.

His entire life was motivated by love. He loved his family. He believed in the divine and spiritual as well as in the human and emotional factors of marriage. He knew that the preservation of the family means the salvation of the state. Even in this, he revealed his detestation of atheistic communism. For communism seeks to destroy the divine integrity of the family, to abolish the divine authority of the family, to wipe out the divine essence of the family, so that the coming generation may be brought up in hatred and slavery, in godlessness and war.

He loved his God. He never forgot the love of God that he was taught in his boyhood home. He practiced the command of Christ to love God with all his mind and heart and soul and strength. He learned to

use the language of prayer simultaneously with the language of his native tongue. He knew that a godless world would be a world of sin and slavery and tyranny and despair. He realized that the aim of atheistic communism is to create a godless world. He refused to compromise with the enemies of God. Therefore, he detested and defied atheistic communism as the enemy of God as well as the enemy of man.

He loved his church. He was proud to be known as the Catholic Senator from Wisconsin. He regarded his church as the extension of Christ's personality throughout the world. He was loyal to the truths of Christ, to the sacraments of Christ, to the ideals of Christ. He was good as well as brilliant. He was spiritual as well as successful. He was the greatest lay crusader in his church against the forces of atheistic communism. He never forgot the clear and ringing words in which Pope Pius XI denounced the menace of atheistic communism. "Communism," Pope Pius XI wrote 20 years ago, "is intrinsically wrong and no one who would preserve Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever." He sought to acquaint his fellow citizens with the truth of that indictment.

He loved his country. No man ever loved it more. He loved his country so much that he risked his life to defend her in World War II. He loved his country so much that he spent his entire senatorial career in ferreting out the communistic termites that had entrenched themselves in our body politic for nearly 20 years.

He was not one of those public officials who bravely denounce communism on the one hand and cowardly appease communism on the other hand. Since communism is intrinsically wrong, it is wrong in all its principles, in all its methods, in all its objectives, and in all its activities. Since communism is intrinsically wrong, it is not merely a political evil or a social evil or an economic evil. It is a spiritual evil. It is intrinsically wrong like hatred. It is intrinsically wrong like blasphemy. It is intrinsically wrong like the murder of the innocent.

No member of the Government of the United States of America ever understood the evil of atheistic communism as clearly and as dynamically as Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Because he knew that communism is intrinsically wrong, he opposed the policy of keeping communism alive, through the misuse of American tax money and through the greed of American trade, anywhere throughout the world. Because he knew that communism is intrinsically wrong, he righteously denounced all Communists, all communistic fellow travelers, all fifth-amendment liberals, and all public officials who had been guilty of ignoring or concealing the criminal conspiracy of atheistic communism.

As chairman of the Senate's investigating subcommittee, he performed a service for the defense of America that ranks second to none in the annals of the United States Senate. He was not deterred by the hatred of his communistic enemies. He was not deterred by the sarcasm of phony liberals. He was not deterred by the betrayal of his own political party. He put his country above all parties. For the sake of his country, he was willing to bear every personal affront and attack. The magnanimity of his soul prevented him from hating anyone. He even accepted the injustice of the White House-sponsored senatorial censure, with dignity and meekness.

The greatness of a man is measured by the qualities of his soul more than by the magnitude or multitude of his activities. The spirituality and the patriotism of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy have enshrined him in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen forever. We shall continue to offer him our loving prayers and our prayerful love. We shall preach the message of his life to every young American. We shall emulate the message of his life by our own undying love of God and country. We shall fulfill the message of his life by dedicating our lives to the purpose for which he lived his life and for which he laid down his life: the protection of our beloved country and our beloved church against the forces of atheistic communism forever.

British Budget Worries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, evidence of the popular acceptance of the American field service program is cumulative. An able editorial in the Pendleton East Oregonian of July 1, 1957, describes the impact on one Oregon community.

The editor heralds the program as the best answer found yet for building peace in the world.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S GOOD FOR EVERYBODY

Pendleton said goodby last week to an American Field Service student and in a few weeks will be greeting another. Werner Von Kuensberg departed on Thursday of last week for his home in Switzerland after spending a year in Pendleton High School and in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Raley Peterson. In 1955 the American Field Service sent Jan Stoltz, a boy from Sweden, to Pendleton.

The AFS program is well established in Pendleton. So successful has it been that efforts are being made to expand it. Students in the high school and adults who have been working with the program would like to bring two students here annually.

It is a very impressive experience to hear an AFS student tell what a year in this country has meant to him, what he expects to make of the knowledge he has acquired. A listener is certain that the AFS program is the best answer found yet for building peace in the world. If students in all the countries of the world could be brought into the program the misunderstandings between nations would soon disappear.

Of course the program is a two-way street. It is a great contribution to the education of Pendleton school students.

The Pendleton Kiwanis, Lions and Rotary clubs provide the funds that bring AFS students here. Other organizations and individuals contribute through the year to some of the living expenses of the students. A large contribution is made, of course, by the families that house the students.

For a recent issue of the Medford Mail-Tribune, Managing Editor Eric Allen, Jr., wrote an excellent editorial on the AFS program. This is the editorial:

"John Hansen, the young Dane who has spent the past school year as a member of the family of Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Christensen of Medford, will be returning home soon.

"From what we have been able to learn of John and his activities and friends here, his stay has been a resounding success—from his standpoint, that of the Christensens, the high school, and his new friends.

"This makes it a success for the American Field Service, which is responsible for his visit.

"The AFS, we were surprised to learn, is the same American Field Service which sent volunteer ambulance drivers to France during World War I and later in World War II. It has since broadened its ideas of service and international friendship into the sponsorship of these visits by young Europeans.

"An exchange program recently was worked out, for young Americans to go the other way for a shorter period of time. This is the plan under which this summer Dave Frohnmayer, of Medford, is going to Europe, to live with a family there.

"In the fall, another AFS exchange student will arrive in Medford to live for the school year.

"We believe the value and importance of these international visits can hardly be overemphasized. We wish they could be expanded time and time again, for they provide what is probably one of the most effective means of international understanding.

"The simple fact of finding out that there are other ways of life, and that they have their own benefits and advantages, is important.

"But there are other benefits, and they are lasting ones. We suspect that the John Hansens and the Dave Frohnmayers of this year and the years to come never will allow themselves to fall into the provincial type of thinking which makes for suspicion and misunderstanding.

"The American Field Service operates with a minimum of staff and a minimum of income out of a small office in New York. Its funds come from donations, many of them from organizations.

"It maintains certain standards as to language and background to pick youngsters who will benefit most from their year abroad. It has standardized the cost of an exchange visit at $650—which is the average—so that no host community will be penalized by having to pay more for a student from a greater distance.

"In the case of John Hansen, the cost was subscribed by the Medford Rotary Club, with funds raised by its annual suit sale. The money goes for transportation, some incidentals, and a small allowance for the student. The rest of the cost—living expenses, school, and so on—is provided by the host family, which is carefully screened before being picked for the privilege.

"The AFS committee here happens to be composed mostly of Rotarians, although there is no formal relationship between the two. It is hoped the program can be broadened in coming years, and support from the community at large would be welcome.

"We can think of few projects more worthy of enthusiastic help. President Eisenhower has declared that, if it is carried far enough it would be 'an effective agent in combating totalitarian propaganda and will help eliminate the misunderstandings that promote conflict.'

"One author writing about the AFS program quotes an ancient Sanskrit saying, which admonishes: 'Walk together, talk together, O ye peoples of the earth; then and only then shall ye have peace.'"

The Late Thomas H. MacDonald

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY DWORSHAK
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, as the interstate highway system is being

planned and constructed Americans should pay tribute to the outstanding services of the late Thomas H. MacDonald. For 34 years he served as director of the Bureau of Public Roads, and laid the groundwork for a highway system which will remain as a monument to his vision and perseverance. Recently the Asphalt Institute Quarterly published an article written by Bernard E. Gray as a timely tribute to the Father of the Nation's Highway System, and I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHIEF, 1881–1957

(By Bernard E. Gray)

Thomas H. MacDonald, the chief, is gone. By his death last April 7 the United States lost an engineer of exceptional competence, the highway building profession an outstanding leader. The crusade he headed to construct a vast highway network for America carries on without him; yet his spiritual guidance will be felt as long as roads are built.

Born in Colorado, Tom MacDonald was raised and educated in his adopted State of Iowa. His interest in highway engineering was sparked in undergraduate days at Iowa State Colege where, for his senior thesis, he wrote a pioneering study on the highway needs of farmers in which he discussed the power required to pull a wagon over different types of road surfaces. In 1904, after receiving his engineering degree, the State legislature ordered a study of the highway situation with a view toward developing methods for future improvement. Iowa State College was given the task and assigned Mr. MacDonald to head the project. The research that went into this undertaking was the beginning of a devotion to highway improvement that was to guide the rest of his life.

When Iowa launched a road-improvement program in 1907, Mr. MacDonald accepted the position of State highway engineer. He served in that capacity until 1919 when his outstanding ability and background having been recognized by officials of the Federal Government, he was called to Washington to head the newly organized Bureau of Public Roads as the Nation's Federal Highway Commissioner. He held this post continuously for 34 years until his retirement, in 1953, at age 72. Not content to stand pat on his long and distinguished career in State and Federal service, Mr. MacDonald accepted direction of the highway research center at Texas A and M. College. He had made marked progress toward the solution of several current highway problems at the time of his death.

Numerous accomplishments highlighted his fine life in public service, for which he was duly honored. Engineering societies gave him honorary membership; his alma mater conferred upon him its highest graduate degree. He was decorated with the United States Medal of Merit and the French Legion of Honor; was invested by the King of Norway as Knight of the First Class of the Order of St. Olav; and was a member of the distinguished Masarykova Akademie of Czechoslovakia. These were appropriate expressions of respect for technical and engineering contributions. More important, however, was the universal esteem in which he was held as a man. He maintained in the highest degree a personal and professional integrity at all times, often under the most trying conditions. He lived simply, on a relatively small salary, yet he administered expenditure of more billions of public funds than any other American in peacetime history, fully supported in his office by seven successive Presidents.

In the opinion of this writer, Tom MacDonald accomplished three things for which he particularly merited the title "The Chief," as he was affectionately and respectfully known.

First, he foresaw with remarkable clarity the potentialities of highway development and made long-range plans to bring them to fruition.

Second, he appreciated fully that these plans could be carried out successfully only through cooperation with the States and in complete recognition of their sovereign rights. Thus he coordinated closely with such organizations as the American Association of State Highway Officials and the Highway Research Board, in whose committees various differences could be adjusted and the next step taken. He recognized, too, the contribution that industry could make and he invited its participation in the standardization and improvement of specifications for materials and equipment.

Third, he was an excellent administrator. Establishing broad, general policies, he delegated authority for local decisions to his field engineers. But even though the responsibility for management of the huge and far-flung operations of present-day Federal aid rests heavily on these fieldmen, it is still the States that propose and make plans, and the Federal Government that approves them, in this partnership plan conceived 40 years ago.

One incident may give a glimpse into MacDonald's great foresight. At a road show some years ago, long before the Interstate System had been adopted, the Bureau had a model exhibit showing the difference in traffic capacity between a beautiful, controlled-access superhighway and a road cluttered with stop lights and hotdogs stands. It was early in the morning when this writer went to view the display. He found Mr. MacDonald alone, watching the smooth operation on the one road and the confusion on the other. "Wouldn't it be wonderful," he mused, nodding toward the superhighway, "if we could have a countrywide system like that, with no cross traffic. It would soon pay for itself many times over."

And so it will, if we, who carry on, adhere firmly to the sound principles of highway design and operation supported so stanchly by the chief, Thomas H. MacDonald—father of the Nation's highway system.

The Algerian Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I continue to receive many communications and comments regarding my speech last week on the Algerian crisis. I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article, Dissent in France, from the July 6 issue of the London Economist, whose reputation for accuracy and careful political evaluation is unmatched. I am asking for permission to insert also an article by Homert Bigart in last Sunday's New York Times. Mr. Bigart's excellent reporting, and of his other colleagues of the Times in North Africa, has furnished much of the evidence from which I drew my conclusions in my address.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the London Economist of July 6, 1957]

DISSENT IN FRANCE

When the figure of Marianne on the pediment of the Palais Bourbon was recently struck by lightning, the symbol of the Republic lost a hand in which she had apparently held a book of the law. The witticisms that followed have been greeted less lightheartedly than they would have been only a few months ago. A decreasing number of Frenchmen remains convinced that everything is for the best in the best of possible republics. True, the sun has been shining on Paris and its inhabitants are preparing to take to the road, leaving their city to the tourists. But the holiday mood lacks something. The latest Government crisis has reminded people of the dangerous state of the country's finances—and it has provoked second thoughts on the subject of Algeria.

Pacification in Algeria was fast becoming taboo in French political life, a topic on which it required courage to refuse to conform. But nearly 3 years after the outbreak of the revolt, the lack of positive results is so striking that dissenting voices cannot be drowned in official abuse. Three important books have questioned, from completely different angles of approach, the wisdom and efficacy of the existing policy. M. Servan-Schreiber, the able and youthful editor of the Mendesist l'Express, has shown in an eyewitness account how pacification has failed in its principal task and has widened, instead of bridging, the gap between the French and Moslem communities in Algeria. M. Raymond Aron, a professor and a senior leader-writer on the conservative Le Figaro, shows the falsehood of certain premises on which the official attitude is based. Finally, M. Philip, a former Socialist minister and a veteran European, attacks the policy followed in Algeria by M. Mollet and by the minister-resident in Algiers, M. Lacoste, as criminal and a betrayal of Socialist principles.[1]

Like M. Mendès-France, M. Servan-Schreiber did not consider that enough was being done to capture the imagination of the Algerian Moslem majority. It has been suggested that this critical attitude was the reason for his recall to the colors for service in Algeria. If the purpose was really to keep him quiet, the move had exactly the opposite effect. His recollections of 6 months as a lieutenant in Algeria—with names of persons and places intentionally altered—have an impact certainly much greater than anything he could have written had he stayed in Paris. The testimony is as nightmarish as the incident on which the book opens. A trigger-happy French soldier in a passing jeep shoots an innocent Arab and goes on his way. Local French settlers, on finding the corpse, conclude inevitably that this was the work of fellaghas. A few Arabs, still bold enough to work for a French firm, cross the village in a lorry at this stage and are being held as suspects. Frightened, they try to run away and are shot by a military convoy sent after them. Next day, in the officers' mess, a newcomer from France dares to question the guilt of the victims. His scruples are dismissed as suitable for a Paris drawing room: "The fellaghas are anybody, anywhere." Every Arab is a potential rebel.

[1] Lieutenant en Algerie. J. J. Servan-Schreiber. Julliard, 690 francs.

La Tragédie Algérienne. Raymond Aron. Plon (Tribune Libre), 300 francs.

Le Socialisme Trahi. André Philip. Plon (Tribune Libre), 600 francs.

It seems strange that M. Servan-Schreiber's book should have been treated as an attack on the army. If anything, he has a somewhat romatic conception of military virtue and the slight cult of the superman imparted to French letters by the novels of Malraux. Some of the protagonists—and not only those sharing the author's views—seem larger than life. But they are all almost helpless because the course of the struggle is determined by French settlers, whose apparent immediate interest is the preservation of the status quo; like the extremists on the other side, they oppose any compromise. Against this background of intrigue and impotence we are shown some of the author's real heroes, mostly former Gaullists preserving an ideal image of France, trying to establish contact with the Arabs. They do not give the impression of expecting their mission to succeed any more than does M. Servan-Schreiber, but they stick to it because, with the flower of French youth involved, something more than the future of Algeria is at stake—the spiritual and political fate of France.

M. Aron is less concerned with mood or emotion than with logic. Careful to dissociate himself from leftwing critics, he actually kept half of his brief manuscript in a drawer for a year, presumably from an anxiety not to embarrass the executives of official policy. He sees no easy way out of the Algerian tragedy; he looks only for the least evil. But in the course of his search he exposes in a devastating way some of the fictions which official repetition has elevated into dogmas. Thus he shows that Algeria is not part of France, and cannot be. Algerian nationality must be recognized as much for economic and demographic reasons as because of the insurrection. There are now 9 million Moslems in Algeria and 1 million Europeans. If present trends continue, in 1980 the number of Europeans will be much the same, but the Moslems will number about 18 million. The French can hardly hope to persuade the Moslems to control their birth rate; nor can they invest enough to keep up with the pressure of population.

The argument leads inexorably through the recognition of Algerian autonomy to the creation of a separate state and the ultimate admission of its independence. Yet France is now fighting in Algeria because it refuses to admit this violation of independence which it would have to accept even after victory. The question is really one of timing and conditions. Would it not be preferable, argues M. Aron, to accept the idea of future independence and to offer the most attractive possible settlement, while showing the determination not to surrender to force? Such a course would offer the chance of preserving French influence in Tunisia and Morocco; it might pave the way for a north African federation closely linked with France. It would involve great risks and sacrifices. Part of the French population might even have to be evacuated and resettled. M. Aron, while favoring such a gamble, does not insist upon it, against all other courses. But he does plead earnestly that the French Government should at least make its choice lucidly and not for all sorts of fictitious reasons. His plea is the more urgent because he thinks that France has very little time left to decide. In only a few months a decision will be thrust upon it by lassitude, economic difficulties, and the need for foreign aid.

Most of M. Aron's arguments are not new, but his little book is important for the directness with which he penetrates to the heart of the matter and for the personality of the author. "He cannot be accused of communism, progressism, or neutralism," is his comment on another writer; the description would fit M. Aron himself perfectly. His stand is, therefore, symptomatic. Many conservatives now share his view, at least in private; that the loss of sovereignty in Algeria need not spell the economic doom of France; on the contrary, French resources could be more usefully invested at home to make the French economy competitive.

The myth of Algeria as an integral and indispensable part of France is a conservative creation, but during the 16 months of the Mollet government its stanchest upholders have been Socialists. Other Socialists think differently. M. Philip has been a leader of opposition within the party; the severity of his judgment on the Mollet government's performance can be gathered from the title of his book, Socialism Betrayed. French economic policy under M. Mollet was, in his opinion, mistaken; the Port Said expedition was a sin; the Algerian policy was a crime. The crime first arose from its authors' ignorance of the real situation, but it was perpetuated through a campaign of intimidation and deception. Within the Socialist Party many critics were silenced through disciplinary action; outside it public opinion was lulled into a false sense of security by biased official reports. M. Philip's outspokenness has caused him to be debarred for 3 years from holding any party office. But the voice of dissent is rising again, and the Socialist critics of the Lacoste policy in Algeria last Sunday mustered one-third of the votes at the congress at Toulouse. With M. Mollet out of office, the Socialists, too, are getting ready for a change of line.

The official voices of the parties lag behind; the intellectual ferment, illustrated by these three books, is more representative of the changing mood. Repeated references to General de Gaulle as deus ex machina are another sign of the growing feeling that the Algerian conflict must not drag on forever. Pacification has proved a total failure. Though the instigator of the Suez expedition is now Prime Minister, and M. Lacoste is still in authority in Algiers, the attitude associated with their names is on the ebb. But, to use M. Aron's expression, Has France still time to make its own choice and make it lucidly? Is public opinion, for so long kept in blissful ignorance, ready for the shock? After years of fair-weather reports, the parliamentary lightning conductor has been corroded. Another storm may cost Marianne more than her hand.

[From the New York Times of July 7, 1957]

FRENCH VERSUS ALGERIANS: A DARKENING STRUGGLE—BOTH SIDES ARE SHOWING WEARINESS AS LOSSES OF THE REBELLION MOUNT

(By Homer Bigart)

ALGIERS, Algeria, July 6—More than 16 months have passed since Robert Lacoste took power as French Minister here, proclaiming that the Algerian nationalist revolution had reached its dying last quarter hour and that France would prevail.

Today, the Moslem rebellion continues with no sign of ceasing. Despite the arrival of heavy French reinforcements, the French admit that the security situation is certainly no better than a year ago. Urban terror has increased, while in the bled (countryside) nationalists bands have become more daring and aggressive.

Without question the French Army could hold Algeria. There are nearly half a million troops here plus another 100,000 armed gendarmerie, territorials and other security forces. In the face of this concentration the 16,000 armed rebels must remain scattered in small bands. No city or town of any consequence is in rebel hands. Whenever the rebels stage a major assembly, they invariably suffer a heavy defeat.

Probably the French could crush the armed rebellion quickly by resorting to uninhibited warfare. Indiscriminate bombing of regions heavily infested with rebels and their active sympathizers would seem more effective than the present tactic of waiting until the rebels strike.

Such a resort would appeal to the extremist elements who argue that, if the Moslem population of about 9 million were reduced by, say, 2 million, the balance could be dominated easily by the European population of 1,200,000.

Others protest that this is the obscene arithmetic of genocide. As it is, both the rebels and the French have committed acts that have appalled public opinion in France and throughout the civilized world.

Hopes for a peaceful solution are dim. The French and the National Liberation Front (F. L. N.) have got themselves into a psychological box. The French say they will never admit the concept of an independent Algeria. The rebels, equally adamant, swear they will never accept anything less than complete independence.

FRENCH ALLEGATION

French propaganda insists that the rebellion has the active support of less than 5 percent of the Moslem population; that the great majority are sick and tired of the bloodshed and would eagerly cooperate with M. Lacoste's reform program were they not terrorized by activists. This line fails to impress some observers who recall that most revolutions, including the American, French, and Bolshevik, were sparked by a handful of zealots, with the Adamses, Hancocks, Lenins, and Stalins imposing their will on passive, often apathetic masses.

Moreover, the weariness extends to the French settlers as well as the Moslems. Terror has forced the abandonment of thousands of French farms since the revolution began 32 months ago. Algeria is mainly agricultural, so the French administration has had to take drastic measures to arrest this trend.

Strategic farms have been fortified and garrisoned. Others have developed elaborate plans for self-defense.

Algeria has always been a deficit country, heavily subsidized by France. But until the last quarter of 1956 Algeria had enjoyed a favorable trade balance outside the franc zone. High-grade iron ore from the Ouenza mines was the chief currency earner.

However, Ouenza is in the heart of rebel country 10 miles from the Tunisian frontier. The town has a besieged look. Planes land at the airstrip only when the pilots see an armored car standing by. The rail outlet to the Mediterranean port of Bône was cut several times last year, and production dropped sharply.

TRADE DEFICIT

In trade outside the franc zone, Algeria showed a deficit of 7 billion francs ($20 million) for the first quarter of 1957. The April deficit was 4 billion francs. Heavy imports of American military equipment, notably helicopters and trucks, and of American oil-drilling equipment, were a chief cause of the imbalance.

Algeria's overall trade deficit for the first quarter of 1957 crested at 55 billion francs—more than $157 million. Traditionally Algeria has a wine and cereal economy which is exasperatingly competitive rather than complementary to that of France. But the French insist that the discovery last year of oil in the Sahara changed the whole picture and that tomorrow Algeria will be a land of wealth.

The importance of these oil discoveries is not yet established. It is much too early to say that Sahara's oil reservoirs rival those of the Middle East. But French oil companies already have invested an estimated $100 million in the venture and reports continue highly encouraging.

Visions of oil wealth have made Algeria suddenly desirable to many Frenchmen who formerly would not have minded leaving it to the natives.

It would take several years to build the proposed pipeline from the Hassi Messaoud oilfield across 500 miles of desert and moun-

tains to the nearest Algerian seacoast on the Gulf of Bougie. Two intervening mountain ranges, the Sahara Atlas and the Tell Atlas, are notorious rebel haunts.

Touring the oilfields this week Max Lejeune, Minister of the Sahara, was warned by army officers that a major operation would be required to cleanse these forested ranges of rebels.

RUSHING PRODUCTION

But M. Lacoste's administration wants production by next year. So, against the advice of some oilmen who regard the project as impractical, a small pipeline will be built from Hassi Messaoud to Touggourt, 125 miles north. From there oil would be carried in tank cars by rail to the port of Philippeville. This route could handle only 500,000 tons yearly.

A much more practical outlet would be a pipeline eastward to the Tunisian coast. But French relations with Tunisia are so bad that M. Lacoste refuses to consider negotiations with Premier Bourguiba.

Even if the oil boom collapses Frenchmen here insist Algeria cannot be abandoned. What would happen to the 1,200,000 Europeans, they ask. France does not want them and the majority have no desire to go to France.

Probably not more than 300,000 of the Europeans are of French origin. Many of these French families settled in Algeria generations ago and no longer have any ties in France. The biggest minority bloc consists of 400,000 Spaniards who have accepted French citizenship.

OTHER GROUPS

Also there are large colonies of Maltese, Italians, and Jews. These Jews, who have lived in Algeria for centuries, were granted French citizenship in 1870 when they renounced the Mosaic law and accepted French justice. There are about 45,000 Jews in Constantine and several thousand in Algiers. They are overwhelmingly pro-French, although a few have been arrested as rebels.

Any suggestion that this European minority could live at peace in an independent Moslem Algeria is dismissed by the French as fantasy.

Political contacts between European and Moslem have virtually ceased. Liberal Frenchmen who have tried to maintain social contacts with Moslem friends have been hunted and arrested by French security forces.

Anti-American feeling among French ultras (extremists) deepened last week as a result of the speech by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat of Massachusetts, demanding American intervention in Algerian issues. On the evening of July 4 a small bomb exploded against the entrance of the American consulate. There was little damage and no one was injured.

State Control of Elections—The Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding editorial from the July 9, 1957, issue of the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier. The editorial is entitled "People Should Accept No Compromise on States' Control of Elections."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEOPLE SHOULD ACCEPT NO COMPROMISE ON STATES' CONTROL OF ELECTIONS

Talk about compromise on civil rights force bills before Congress is in the news from Washington. What goes on behind the scenes the public seldom knows at the time, and doesn't always find out later. We speak with no knowledge other than what we read in press dispatches.

The comment of Senator MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, who has predicted a compromise in time to let the Senate adjourn by mid-August, is especially interesting. He said the compromise would be one "for which the South can't vote, but one with which the South can live." The terms of the compromise would be to guarantee the right of Negro and other minority groups to vote without harassment.

Qualified Negroes, like qualified white people, already have a right to vote. Race agitators from time to time dig up cases of alleged intimidation of Negro voters in the South. No doubt there are voting irregularities in the South, as in other regions of the country. In the areas that the News and Courier knows about, Negroes register and vote without hindrance. If there is widespread violation of anybody's civil rights we are not aware of it. The big question is not so much whether and where violations may occur, but who has authority to enforce guaranties of the rights.

Heretofore in our country the States have set up and supervised elections within their borders. We strongly believe that the future of the American Republic depends on saving a balance of power between State and Federal authorities. Control of the ballot and voting procedures is essential to that balance.

The force bill now before Congress, generally known as the civil-rights bill, would set up new Federal machinery, armed with power to imprison without trial by jury, to manage racial aspects of elections. It would be a short step to amend this law to put other, perhaps all, election machinery into Federal hands. Thus some of the safeguards—precious few of them remaining—would disappear.

Compromise on the force bill is a compromise with freedom. Today the Southern States may seem to be the target. But the danger exists for all 48 States.

Perhaps the danger cannot be avoided in the present mood of our Government. Senator MUNDT, in the past a stanch supporter of States rights, has forecast a compromise "with which the South can live," even though it cannot vote for the compromise.

The South could not live with reconstruction after the Civil War. Some of the proposals today seem designed to revive the spirit of Reconstruction. The News and Courier does not believe the South can live with that spirit now any better than it could live with it 80 years ago.

For that reason we reject any compromise with basic rights and basic freedom.

If the South loses to superior power, either in the form of votes in Congress or any other form of force, let it not be said that the South gave its consent. Someday, if it is not then too late, the rest of the country may come to its senses. The South may be able to hasten that day by resisting wreckers of the Republic. If the people of the United States realized what was being done to their country, they would not offer up the South as a sacrifice, nor compromise with liberty.

The South might be able to live with compromise, but not at the same time with pride and self-respect.

Annie Applegate Kruse, Pioneer Historian and Leader in Southwestern Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the truly great pioneers of my State is Annie Applegate Kruse, of Yoncalla, Oreg. Mrs. Kruse has been a leader in her community for many years. In addition to raising a large and respected family, she is a distinguished historian and the descendant of the heroic pioneers who first blazed the famous Applegate Trail into southwestern Oregon. Mrs. Kruse is 82 years of age, but she is young in heart. Her views are liberal, enlightened and tolerant. My wife, Maurine, and I always feel that we have refreshed ourselves at the fountain of knowledge and wisdom when we stop with Mrs. Kruse and her friends, while we are in the beautiful countryside of Douglas County.

I believe many members of the Senate will be interested in a splendid tribute to Mrs. Annie Applegate Kruse which appeared in the July 1957 issue of the Northwest Ruralite. For that reason I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANNE APPLEGATE KRUSE: LADY WITH A GIFT OF GAB

Anne Applegate Kruse lives at Yoncalla, in the lush, green Yoncalla Valley of northern Douglas County.

She will be 82 in November.

She bounces along the streets of Yoncalla like she was a half-century younger.

Little children who pass her on the street call her "Annie." So does most everyone else.

She reads the Congressional Quarterly from cover to cover.

She makes all of her own clothes.

She is outspoken on political questions and will debate most any political, social, or economic question under the sun.

She'd like to walk barefoot on the grass—if she just had the opportunity.

She plays the Beer Barrel Polka on the organ.

To each of the young men-about town, she is "my girl."

She dances the polka each summer at the Yoncalla rodeo dance.

In short, Anne Applegate Kruse is more than just a citizen of Yoncalla and a descendant of the pioneer Applegate brothers who trekked westward to Oregon in 1843.

Anne Applegate Kruse is an institution.

A friend once said of her, "'Annie' will argue about anything. All a fellow has to do is knock on her door and tell her he wants to argue. She'll say, 'Well, what do you want to argue about and what side do you want to take? And when the dust has settled an hour or two later, 'Annie' will usually be on top."

She says of herself, "Well, I was born with a gift of gab, all right."

"My people walked—literally walked—from the Atlantic to the Pacific. That's 3,000 miles. It took them 300 years to do it.

They came to Oregon in 1843 to save it for the union. Russia had claimed it, England had claimed it—why, if it hadn't been for Jesse Applegate and his brothers, the Russian flag might be flying over our schoolhouse right now."

That's "Annie" talking.

"• • • And you think I want to see these eastern monopolies come here and steal the land that belongs to us? Never!"

She's talking about Hells Canyon. This happens to be her hobby. She is perhaps the most avid and explosive public power proponent Yoncalla has ever seen.

"I could visualize the Columbia River fully developed—20,000 men put to work. And for each man employed, they could put two more to work in factories."

Recently, when she was in Los Angeles to appear on the television program "This Is Your Life" with Gladys Workman, she engaged in a conversation with two California men.

"As soon as they found out I was from Oregon they started to work on Wayne Morse and public power. So I told them that their old oil wells would run dry some day. But not our Columbia River. Why, we've got power enough in the Columbia to run all of their factories, businesses and homes and not even miss it.

"They said I ought to speak to the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. I said I'd love to. One of them said he could probably arrange a speaking engagement at the Lions Club. I said, nothing doing. I'll settle for nothing less than the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce."

Anne Kruse talks politics to just about anyone who comes along.

"The other day a young man came here and said for a small fee he'd fix my roof. I asked him if he was for Wayne Morse and public power. We talked about it for awhile and then he got mad and the whole deal was off. Of course, my roof doesn't need fixing anyway."

Of course, "Annie" discusses many things besides public power.

"I'm opposed to daylight-saving time," she says firmly. "You don't gain a thing by it. God put the sun in the heavens the way He wanted it, and when it's right straight up it's time to rest and eat lunch. This business of changing time is the most ridiculous thing I ever heard of. You can change your working hours—that's O. K.—but not the time."

Then someone mentioned education.

"What we need in this country is the return of the CCC, because we have lots of children between the ages of 14 and 19 who have nothing to do. Slow children need help, and the CCC would help them. Among these slow children are many who could become great scientists. Look at Mark Twain—he was the dunce of his school. Thomas Edison—they sent him home because he couldn't learn anything. My observation has been that those who go through school with straight A's are not necessarily those who do well in later life. The trouble with the schools is they herd the kids into the schoolroom and teach them all the same thing. So after 12 years they can't read, count, or spell—they don't even know whether Columbus discovered America or the North Pole."

Thus far you may have gained the impression that Mrs. Kruse's main talents lie in talking. She has a good many more. For example, she's a good cook, having once cooked for 20 workingmen (her specialty is strawberry pie, and she also makes her own bread). But it's true that she's seldom at a loss for words when it comes to politics.

"I'm trying to get people to see the light on this public power question," she says, "and I'm talking all I can."

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on Tuesday, July 2, the Special Subcommittee on Senate Rule XXII of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration was privileged to hear testimony from Hon. Eberhard P. Deutsch, of New Orleans.

Mr. Deutsch, a distinguished member of the Louisiana bar, and one of his State's outstanding leaders, presented a penetrating legal exposition of the question of freedom of debate in the United States Senate and its relation to our concept of constitutional government.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of Mr. Deutsch's testimony be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD in order that all Members of the Senate may have the privilege of reading his views.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY EBERHARD P. DEUTSCH OF THE NEW ORLEANS BAR IN OPPOSITION TO PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SENATE RULE XXII RELATING TO LIMITATION OF DEBATE

Mr. Chairman, I am Eberhard P. Deutsch, of New Orleans. I was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on October 31, 1897.

I completed my studies in law at the Tulane University of Louisiana at New Orleans in 1925, since which time I have been engaged in active practice in that city.

I served for 2½ years in the First World War and for some 4½ years in the second, following the end of which I served further as principal legal adviser to Gen. Mark W. Clark in the military administration of Austria, and as member and chairman of the Allied military legal directorate governing that country.

I am a member of the American Bar Association and of its standing committee on peace and law through United Nations. I am also a member of the Louisiana State and New Orleans Bar Association; of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; a director of the American Judicature Society; a member of the Maritime Law Association, of the American Society of International Law, of the International Law Association, of the Selden Society and of other organizations in the same and related fields.

I was special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States in the appeal of the vast Texas City disaster litigation, believed to have been the largest litigation in the history of the world.

My practice has spread over large areas of constitutional law. I was counsel for Louisiana newspapers in the case in 1936, in which the Supreme Court of the United States held unanimously that a tax on advertising constituted an infringement of the freedom of the press.

I have acted as counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union in a number of cases involving impairment of civil rights.

Articles which I have written on constitutional law have appeared in leading law journals throughout the country, and have been cited by the Supreme Court of the United States and by other courts.

I am firmly convinced that the time-honored principle of free and unlimited debate in the United States Senate is a cardinal bastion among those set up for protection of our constitutional liberties.

In accord with this conviction, I oppose any modification of Senate rule XXII which would result in either an immediate or eventual cloture provision.

Nearly 2,500 years ago, Pericles, the great Athenian statesman, said that "acts are foredoomed to failure when undertaken undiscussed."

It would seem to be no less a travesty on wisdom in the 20th century of the Christian era, to undertake to effect a self-imposed restraint on discussion in the Senate of the United States, concededly the ablest legislative body in the history of the world.

Inroads of cloture have already encroached on the Senate's original rule of unlimited debate; a principle which had steadfastly withstood the influence of the hour rule adopted by the House of Representatives in 1841.

First in 1917, and later in 1949, Senate rule XXII was amended by provisions from which the Senate's present cloture clause evolved. Because, however, it is so extremely difficult, as a practical matter, to bring this clause into play, Members of the Senate continue to have a right of essentially unlimited debate.

The case for unlimited debate in the Senate has its roots firmly planted in the tenets of our American philosophy of government. Complete freedom of legislative debate is actually one of the fundamental, inalienable rights secured by the Constitution.

It must be remembered that freedom of debate in the Senate is not a right pertaining to the individual Members of that body as such.

It is the right of "we, the people," to be assured that our representatives shall be free to discuss for us, the merits and demerits of measures pending or proposed, without regard to advocacy or opposition by majority or minority, without restriction, and without accountability except to the Chamber as a whole.

The exercise of this right serves to keep an intelligent electorate informed as to its own public affairs, and is thus allied to, and protects, our own unrestricted kindred rights of freedom of political thought and expression.

That this guardian of our other freedoms has long held its preeminent position among our fundamental liberties is manifest from the pages of our history. And, in the words of Mr. Justice Holmes, "a page of history is worth a volume of logic."

Even prior to adoption of our national Constitution, the bill of rights (article XII) of the constitution of Massachusetts provided: "The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in either house of the legislature, is so essential to the rights of the people, that it cannot be the foundation of any accusation or prosecution, action or complaint, in any other court or place whatsoever."

The Articles of Confederation provided (in article V, clause 5) that "freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress"; and this concept was carried over into clause 1 of section 6 of the first article of the Constitution of the United States.

It is true that freedom from accountability for what is said in parliamentary debate does not in terms entail a right to unlimited debate; but freedom of debate involves an absence of restriction on debate, a concept which has withstood assault throughout the history of the Senate of the United States.

In 1841, 4 days after the hour rule of cloture had been introduced in the House, Henry Clay sought to introduce it in the Senate. In support of his measure, he said: "Let our contests be contests of intellectuality, and not of physical force in seeing who could sit out the other or consume the most time in useless debate."

The Senate, however, refused to accede to Clay's appeal. The consensus of opinion in this body at that time, was expressed by Senator Rufus King of Alabama, as follows (as summarized by Thomas Benton in 30 Years' View, Appleton, New York, 1854–56, vol. II, p. 253):

"Mr. King was truly sorry to see the honorable Senator so far forgetting what is due to the Senate, as to talk of coercing it by any possible abridgment of its free action. The freedom of debate has never yet been abridged in that body since the foundation of this Government. Was it fit or becoming, after 50 years of unrestrained liberty, to threaten it with a gag law? He could tell the Senator that, peaceable a man as he [Mr. King] was, whenever it was attempted to violate that sanctuary, he, for one, could resist that attempt even unto death."

Why have Americans, through the course of our history, come to feel so strongly about preserving free and unfettered debate in the upper chamber of Congress? What primary concept has motivated their adherence to this principle which so plainly reveals the essential vitality to our Government which this freedom furnishes?

Succinctly stated, the rationale of the principle lies in the oft-repeated maxim that our American tenet of majority rule is qualified by the equally basic tenet that minorities have inviolable rights.

In a parliamentary system whose government is represented by its cabinet, the will of the majority is the supreme law of the land, unfettered by express constitutional restraints.

But the glory of such a constitutional system as our own, lies in its enforceable guaranties of protection of minority rights and liberties.

It will be recalled that the declaration of American independence was grounded on the concept that "governments are instituted among men" to secure their inalienable rights and liberties, and "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it."

When government threatens to destroy the rights of a minority, freedom of unlimited debate in the Nation's highest legislative assembly is the surest and safest method by which to avoid all-too-frequently futile appeals to the judiciary, or even the ever-present danger of appeals to force in revolution against tyranny.

On the occasion of his initial inaugural, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed: "If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one. * * * A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people."

In his first inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson said: "All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority posses their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression."

The facet of this principle now under discussion was expressed with great clarity and force by Franklin L. Burdette in Filibustering in the Senate (Princeton, 1940):

"The existence of filibustering in America today is evidence of a compromise between the authority of the many and the rights of the few. The principle of leadership is tinctured with restraints. * * * To the politician interested in practical use of the doctrine of inalienable rights, obstruction is a recourse of more than passing value. It is an effective if incalculable defense against oppression and overbearing authority. It may lie unused for years and then, in a moment of emergency, serve to good purpose in the cause of freedom. It may defeat the hand of greed or the ambition of irresponsible officials without resort to more violent means. * * * It is not an unfamiliar cry that government is constituted to protect minorities against majorities. Indeed, most Americans would uphold the argument that there are rights of individuals which a majority must respect. Natural rights, inalienable and inherent, are still significant in American thought. The Constitution contains great guaranties of minority freedom from oppression. Many defenders of the filibuster argue that when a great constitutional guaranty is being trampled by an unheeding majority, the minority should obstruct with all the vigor at its command. * * * It is contended that if a minority cannot be protected by parliamentary means, the forces restrained through majority pressure may well overturn the majority at the next election, or may burst out even in violence or revolution. Filibusters are almost always supported by minority opinion bearing at least some strength in the Nation, and if the issue is great enough that minority may never yield short of physical conflict. Filibustering is part of the democratic system to force compromise, the conserving possibility in great controversy."

The term "filibustering," as involving employment of, or capitalization on, this concept of protecting minority rights by freedom of debate in the Senate, has, at times, actually been drawn into some disrepute.

No doubt there have been abuses of this right in the history of the Senate; but abuses of a substantive right have never fairly been felt to detract from the virtue of the right itself.

When John Marshall was a member of the famed XYZ mission to France, he penned a brilliant letter to Talleyrand, in which the great constitutionalist said that the fact that liberty is sometimes carried to excess in America, is perhaps "an evil inseparable from the good with which it is allied; perhaps it is a shoot which cannot be stripped from the stalk without wounding vitally the plant from which it is torn."

A filibuster is entirely defensible on the ground that the Member of the Senate who is speaking believes that the action which the majority threatens to take will result in erosion of minority rights.

Thus, in 1922, Senator Lee S. Overman of North Carolina summed up the unyielding position of the Democratic minority in a Senate filibuster, as follows:

"When any considerable number of Senators are satisfied and conscientiously believe that any proposed legislation is unconstitutional, that it involves the integrity of the States and the liberties of the people, and if passed would undermine the very foundation stones of this Republic, I think they are fully justified in filibustering to prevent, if possible, a militant majority from roughshodding over a strong minority."

Such justification has not infrequently been vindicated. In his able work, The American Senate (Knopf, New York, 1926), Lindsay Rogers points out that, for instance, "the Force bill was passed by a partisan majority in the House of Representatives. It was defeated by a Senate filibuster. That it was the better course for the measure to fail, will not now, I think, be questioned; the will of a majority of the Senate may have been thwarted, but the minority was right."

Democratic government is often called government by discussion; and, as Ewbank and Auer point out in Discussion and Debate: Tools of Democracy (Appleton, New York, 1951): "Those who do not like this concept, who demand 'action, not talk,' forget that purposeful talk necessarily precedes intelligent action. * * * Part of America's national heritage has been the principle of majority rule by persuasion rather than by force."

Curtailment of debate may perhaps be a physical necessity, as a practical matter, in the House of Representatives, because of the unwieldy size of that body. It is therefore all the more imperative that there be unrestricted freedom of debate in the Senate, which has become the only forum in our National Government in which unhurried consideration and, if necessary, long discussion, can be employed to perfect good laws, or prevent the passage of bad ones.

Burdette submits that the role of the Senate in revising bills passed in the House is one of great importance; and that Senators are entrusted, in that regard, with responsibility for thorough analysis of legislation, and value the privilege and utility of unlimited speech to enable the presentation of every possible view.

The Senate is of course equal to this great task; and when it assumes that responsibility, achieves the senatorial stature which John Adams envisaged when he described it as "a select council of statesmen, true to their duties, not ambitious of logomachy, and not making their honorable station subsidiary to other objects."

Opposition to unlimited debate in the Senate of the United States is apparently engendered, in some measure, by advocacy of expansion of executive, at the expense of legislative, authority in government.

Rogers strenuously contends that in our constitutional form of government, with its ingenious system of checks and balances, the Executive needs an antagonist in the forum of public debate, and that without the Senate he would have none. He states:

"As the much-vaunted separation of powers now exists, unrestricted debate in the Senate is the only check upon presidential and party autocracy. The devices that the framers of the Constitution so meticulously set up would be ineffective without the safeguard of senatorial minority action. It is perfectly correct to say that in all foreign legislative systems debate can be restricted, but it is not proper to argue, by analogy, that there should therefore be restrictions in the Senate, for that body is sui generis. Foreign practice reads no lesson to the United States, for ours is practically the only system which separates the powers of government, divides and confuses responsibility, and makes things move by the calendar rather than by popular will. Had we executive leadership of, or control by, the legislature, the problem would be quite different. As things are, the justification of unrestricted debate in the Senate is the nature of our governmental system."

That persuasive argument by minorities may lead to the attainment of justice through conversion of majority views, is a common phenomenon of our daily lives. It can find no more forceful illustration than in persuasion against cloture itself.

Thus, Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, conceded frankly over half a century ago: "There was a time in my legislative career when I believed that the absence of a cloture rule in the Senate was criminal neglect, and that we should adopt a system of rules by which business could be conducted; but the logic of my long service has now convinced me that I was wrong in that contention. There is a virtue in unlimited debate,

the philosophy of which cannot be detected upon a surface consideration."

I accordingly respectfully urge this subcommittee to report unfavorably on all proposed amendments to Senate rule XXII which seek to infringe on free and unlimited debate—a basic freedom which serves as one of the important tenets of our constitutional democracy.

Thank you.

Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is quite true that using the dollars of the taxpayers in other sections of the country to build a high dam in Hells Canyon will help to develop that area.

But why should we of Michigan pay some $27 million of the estimated cost of this project to create competition with our own industry?

From the pen of Mark P. Haines, of the Sturgis Journal of June 27, comes the following editorial on this situation:

MICHIGAN'S STAKE IN HELLS CANYON

The rollcall vote of the United States Senate on the Hells Canyon project is important enough that it should be made a matter of future reference by all Michigan voters. Of special interest to citizens of this State is the fact that Senator MCNAMARA voted for the big Federal dam and Senator POTTER voted against. Both Senator CAPEHART and Senator JENNER, of Indiana were recorded as absent and not voting, but it was announced that both would have voted "nay" if they had been present.

It will be noted, too, that the two Senators from Idaho, where the proposed dam will be located, on the Snake River, split on the issue. Senator DWORSHAK, Republican, voted against the project and Senator CHURCH, Democrat, voted for it. The two Oregon Senators, MORSE and NEUBERGER, have been ardent supporters of this adventure in socialism and voted "yea."

The significance of the voting to Michigan taxpayers is the fact that, if constructed, it will cost them nearly $27 million which represents this State's share of the $465 million estimated total cost of the project, all to be financed by Federal taxes.

Michigan's share of the cost of this monumental Federal folly, which will never yield any benefits to its citizens, is $2 million more than the $25 million which the State legislature hopes to raise from a special tax on liquor and cigarettes for school needs.

It ought not to be necessary to point the moral.

Following is the rollcall vote on the Hells Canyon Dam. We suggest you cut it out and put it where you will see it when you again go to the polls to vote for a Michigan Senator.

Yeas, 45: Aiken, Anderson, Bible, Carroll, Chavez, Church, Clark, Cooper, Douglas, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Green, Hayden, Hennings, Hill, Humphrey, Jackson, Johnston of South Carolina, Kefauver, Kennedy, Kerr, Langer, Long, Magnuson, Mansfield, McNamara, Morse, McClellan, Murray, Neuberger, O'Mahoney, Pastore, Russell, Scott, Smathers, Smith of Maine, Sparkman, Stennis, Symington, Talmade, Wiley, and Yarborough.

Nays, 38: Allott, Barrett, Beall, Bennett, Bricker, Bush, Butler, Byrd, Carlson, Case of New Jersey, Case of South Dakota, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dworshak, Flanders, Frear, Goldwater, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Ives, Javits, Kuchel, Lausche, Malone, Martin of Iowa, Martin of Pennsylvania, Morton, Mundt, Payne, Potter, Purtell, Robertson, Saltonstall, Schoeppel, Thurmond, Watkins, and Williams.

Not voting, 12: Bridges, Capehart, Holland, Jenner, Johnson of Texas, Knowland, Monroney, Neely, Revercomb, Smith of New Jersey, Thye, and Young.

The result was announced, yeas 45, nays 38.

Build To Win

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting editorial which appeared in the Stars and Stripes, the voice of the veterans of the United States, on July 11, 1957.

BUILD TO WIN

At the peak of their glory in 1917–18 there were approximately 4,800,000 men in uniform—men who saw service in World War I. According to present figures there are now less than 3 million veterans of World War I still alive. It would seem safe to assume that some 2,000,000 of the men who served in the Army, Navy, and the Marine Corps between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, have gone to their final reward.

Without criticism of the older veterans' organizations which have striven manfully in behalf of their comrades of the first World War, a feeling had developed that what was needed was an organization which would devote itself primarily to the interests of the men of that conflict.

Thus, some 8 years ago the Veterans of World War I of the United States was born. It had rough sledding for a couple of years but finally emerged as a real entity in the field of veterans and little by little it has progressed to the point where it is growing in membership and influence every day.

As a feature of the program of this new group it proposed that a pension of $100 a month be granted to every honorably discharged veteran of World War I 60 years of age with the required days of service.

This was an ambitious idea and one which even the leaders of the new organization realized could not be achieved without time and struggle.

Another thing they sought was a charter from the Congress of the United States recognizing this new group as it had recognized the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, and other important veteran organizations.

This second desire was one which could have been satisfied without too much deliberation by the Congress. It asked only that the new outfit be placed on a par with other veteran groups and that it be recognized by the Veterans' Administration as a properly instituted body of men who could represent their fellow veterans and the dependents of those veterans before various claims bodies of the Veterans' Administration.

The cost of such recognition would have to be borne by the Veterans of World War I of the United States of America in the form of service officers and, except for some possible space allotted to them in various VA offices, the cost to the Government would be nil.

At this time the two bills sponsored by the Veterans of World War I, as described above, are before Congress. What their chances are for passage are unpredictable for a number of reasons. The present administration, unwilling to spend more money than it can help, and particularly where veterans are concerned, seems definitely opposed to the pension bill.

Members of Congress also are not particularly bothered about what, to them, seems only a small group of veterans. Strange as it may seem, the men who make our laws are quite realistic when it comes to numbers. Show them a voting strength which carries weight and they are impressed.

Arguments in favor of the World War I pension bill have been presented with every angle of the issue discussed and need not be discussed here.

That is where the veterans of World War I of the United States of America enter into the picture. As we have pointed out, there are approximately 2,700,000 veterans of World War I still alive. Despite great activity in the past 2 years the new organization has just begun to scratch the surface of the vast group which remains to be shown that membership in the World War I vets is worth while and that every living veteran of the First World War should join and every eligible woman should join the auxiliary in order to put forth a show of strength which will impress our legislators.

Of course, there are some people who are not joiners. Little can be done with them. There are others, sufficiently well off that they themselves, having no need of a pension, cannot understand why others should seek it. These are the self-satisfied and they may be discounted as possible members, though if they were to lose their present possessions they would be among the first to clamor for relief. They can be passed up for a time despite their shortsightedness and, despite above all, their failure to realize that consideration for others of their kind in need of aid should be foremost in their Christian minds.

Skipping these groups there still remains a vast potential to be reached and persuaded that here is one organization devoted to but one thing, the welfare of their fellow comrades of World War I and their dependents.

Present members of the organization, highly placed or just those who attend meetings because they believe in the ideals sought to be attained, should go out into the highways and byways, explaining their plans, to both the veterans and their women folk, until those still outside the fold will realize that here is a group which works for me.

This can be done if all concerned are interested enough to preach the gospel of brotherhood which should be in the hearts of all men who fought together in our Nation's first great war.

Surely when the men who have not joined understand the true meaning of what the veterans of World War I seek to achieve there will be no hesitation in signing them up to the local barracks and enlisting their women into the local auxiliary.

Now all this requires not only time and money but a true devotion to the cause they maintain. The money must come from dues-paying members and the more members enrolled the more money can be expended presenting the story of the World War I veterans in the places where its consideration means something of value to the veterans concerned.

As for devotion, while all members should be devoted to the principles at stake, the greatest devotion should come from the leaders. Here are the men who, because of prestige, can influence many—potential members of the organization and other citizens who are not veterans but are grateful for the work the veterans have done.

Here may be the crux of the situation. Let these leaders not strive for personal power, but rather for the greater good of the whole number. Such action will serve to win confidence of many individuals who are always doubtful of any new organization.

Let every move made by the individual member or the leaders of the organization be such that it will be evident that only the betterment of all is uppermost and with that one point proven we feel sure that the baby veteran organization will grow and expand and that it, too, will be a voice in the land, a voice to be listened to, and heeded.

Why Steel Prices Went Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, since United States Steel recently announced an increase of approximately $6 per ton, and since steel is one of the basic products of our industrial economy, I think it is important that the Members of Congress, who have such a great responsibility to the people of the Nation, know the basic facts, or reasons, for such increase in the price of steel. I think it is well to review the facts which briefly are as follows:

On August 3, 1956, a year ago, after the steel companies had suffered a loss of millions of dollars as a result of a 34-day strike, the United States Steel Corp. signed a 3-year labor agreement contract effective July 1, 1956, which provided a total increase each year of about 24 cents per hour annually, including a cost of living adjustment of about four cents an hour plus other benefits.

Under that agreement, which became affective July 1, 1956, the steel company to meet the increase in labor costs for the first year increased its prices about 7 6/10 percent.

At the beginning of this, the second year of the 3-year contract with the United Steel Workers, the steel company gave the employees their second increase in wages and employee benefits, which will amount to about 21 cents per year from July 1, 1957, to July 1, 1958, which includes a cost of living adjustment of 4 cents per hour and various other benefits.

Mr. Hood, president of United States Steel, in announcing the signing of the second year contract, and in explaining its provisions, said:

The new pay adjustments will bring the corporation's average hourly employment cost for wage employees engaged in steel production to about $3.52 per hour, a record high.

Mr. Hood called attention to the inflationary pressures on all other costs that have been accompanying wage increases in recent years. He made the statement that from 1940 through 1956 United States Steel's employment costs per employee-hour has risen 250 percent, which purchased goods and services, taxes, and other costs had risen 315 percent, or even more substantially. Thus United States Steel's total costs per employee-hour rose 284 percent over this period.

In contrast, the price of finished steel mill products, as measured by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, increased only 138 percent. The difference between this increase in total costs and the smaller increase in prices has been absorbed by United States Steel over the years through greater efficiency of operation, intensive cost reduction, the expenditure of billions of dollars on modernization and improvement of facilities, and partly by a decline in the profit rate.

In emerging from the depression, United States Steel made a profit in 1940 of 9½ cents on each dollar of sales, a figure exceeded in numerous predepression years, but never equaled for any year since 1940, Mr. Hood pointed out. The nearest approach to that was in 1955, when the corporation earned 9 cents on each dollar of sales. Last year it earned 8.2 cents on each dollar of sales.

The pay increases that are taking effect in United States Steel under the terms of the 1956 labor contract, which terminates June 30, 1959, and which provides for further increases in 1958, are these:

1. A general wage increase of 7 cents per hour for all hourly rated employees, plus an increase of two-tenths of 1 cent in the present differential of 6.3 cents per hour between each of United States Steel's 32 job classifications for its production and maintenance employees.

OTHER BENEFITS

2. A cost-of-living increase of 4 cents per hour for all hourly rated employees. This brings to 7 cents an hour the total cost-of-living adjustments occurring under the 3-year labor agreement in the first year of its operation. The adjustments are governed by the consumer price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

3. An increase to one and one-fifth times the regular rate of pay, from one and one-tenth times the regular rate, as the compensation for nonovertime work performed on Sunday.

4. An increase to double time and one-tenth, from double time, as the compensation for work performed on any of 7 specified holidays.

In addition to these increases in United States Steel's employment costs, other increases will result from similar and simultaneous adjustments in the pay of salaried employees who are covered by labor agreements signed last summer, as well as from appropriate increases to other salaried employees, Mr. Hood reported.

As of May 20, 1957, United States Steel Corp. for the first quarter announced a quarterly dividend of $1.75 per share on the preferred stock, and 75 cents per share on the common stock. The common stock is listed at a value of approximately $69 a share on today's market.

The following table shows earnings and some other costs of operating the steel business:

FOR THE YEAR 1956

Products and services sold	$4,228,900,000
Tax payments	427,000,000
Total net income after taxes	348,100,000
Employment labor costs	1,681,000,000
Dividends paid	170,100,000
Other employee benefits	*225,352,981

*The $225,352,981 in employee benefits which already exceeds dividends paid by over $55,000,000 does not include fringed costs paid to employees, which amount to an additional 50 to 60 percent, or about $120,000,000.

And may I say that under our tax system nearly all of these dividends the stockholders receive are subject to the regular income tax which greatly reduces the net amount.

A close look at the table above indicates that taxes paid by United States Steel are $78,900,000 more than the net earnings of $348,100,000 after taxes. Net earnings after taxes for 1956 were 8.2 percent.

Operation Alert, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on July 12, 13, and 14, there will occur throughout the United States the fourth annual national test exercise for civil defense.

I was pleased to note in the newspapers of my State encouraging word concerning the participation by civil defense leaders of Wisconsin in this exercise, as in all previous such exercises.

This year, the test exercise occurs at a time of widespread discouragement among many civil defense leaders.

The revolutionary development of the hydrogen bomb has required a recasting of many of our views concerning civil defense.

Action on civil defense appropriations has been disappointing.

Yet, there is a job to be done. It must be, and will be, done.

Each day's newspaper accounts concerning disaster in various parts of our country reminds us how civil defense grassroots leaders have proven invaluable in relieving havoc caused by nature. So, too, in the event of enemy attack, they could do an invaluable job in relieving the toll which would be taken by nuclear warfare.

We of Wisconsin take our civil defense responsibilities seriously. I note, for example, in a release from the State office of civil defense, through its director, Maj. Gen. Ralph J. Olson, that, not one, but two major survival studies, in which Wisconsin is particularly interested, are now underway, with Federal assistance. One is a Minnesota-Wisconsin study, which has been underway for approximately a year. It concerns the

movement of people from the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, and the projected impact on my State. Thirteen northwestern counties in Wisconsin are being included in the planning relating to the evacuation of the twin cities. They have been designated as the northwest disaster region.

A second study has just gotten underway. This Milwaukee-Wisconsin study is intended to provide an operational plan for civil defense in my State.

This summer, a third study—one concerning the Duluth-Superior area—is planned.

Meanwhile, I note with pleasure the action of the State civil defense council in seeking to strengthen efforts against natural disasters, as well as enemy-caused disasters.

I commend the civil defense leaders and workers throughout my State.

As an indication of their activities, I send to the desk the text of an article, from Monday's issue of the Wisconsin State Journal, describing participation in the Dane County area and elsewhere in my State in Operational Alert, 1957.. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REALISTIC CD EVENTS SET AS PART OF NATIONAL TEST

Two realistic civil defense events will take place here this week.

One will be a 3-minute air-raid alert Friday morning. The other will be a civil defense training demonstration at Franklin Field Saturday noon.

The alert will be set off at 11 a. m., when all of Madison's air-raid sirens will be sounded to help signal the start of a nationwide civil defense operation.

OPERATION ALERT

The steady wailing of the sirens will serve also as a signal for city officials to gather at the city-county building to be briefed on the tactical exercise, called Operation Alert 1957.

Mayor Ivan Nestingen will then be handed a sealed envelope from the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) which will reveal whether or not Madison has been supposedly attacked and how strong the attack has been.

They are then scheduled to evacuate to the Cherokee Heights School auditorium where they will be briefed further. Leading the discussion there will be Thayer Burnham, city biochemist, who will talk on radioactive fallout and health conditions; and Donald Theobold, of the city engineering office, who will speak on the destructive forces of the atomic bomb.

ESTIMATED DAMAGE

A report on the estimated damage done by the bomb here will be given by representatives of the Madison Gas & Electric Co., the Wisconsin Telephone Co., the Madison Metropolitan Sewerage District, Madison hospitals, the Western Union, the water, street, health, and welfare departments, and key industries.

Saturday's event, called Civil Defense in Action, will start at noon under the direction of Lester Shore, Madison civil defense operations assistant.

Civil defense volunteers will demonstrate their training in a tent exercise which will involve rescuing victims from a collapsed building, their removal to hospitals, a mass feeding test, and medical work.

SCOUT VICTIMS

The victims will be a group of Explorer Scouts who will be conveyed to Madison General and St. Mary's Hospitals in mail trucks manned by postal employees. The transportation will be supervised by Eugene Cawley, a postal employee and member of the city's civil defense commission.

The rescue teams will be commanded by John R. Howell, who will be assisted by Dr. R. M. Becker, Dr. A. E. Cowle, Dr. L. E. Holmgren, and Dr. D. L. Williams, all of whom will be in charge of mobile medical teams.

Many doctors and nurses will be on hand to receive the "injured" at the hospitals. After they are released from the hospitals they will return to Franklin Field to partake in refreshments which will be served by Dane County Red Cross personnel.

The public is invited to witness the demonstration.

SIX THOUSAND IN STATE TO WORK ON ALERT

MILWAUKEE.—More than 6,000 persons will be actively engaged in six southeastern Wisconsin counties during the nationwide civil defense operation alert next Friday.

Involved in Wisconsin's share of the big practice alert will be the combined civil defense organizations of the so-called Metropolitan Target Area—Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington, Waukesha, Racine, and Kenosha Counties.

The test will be the first coordinated effort of these counties in simulating operations of a large-scale disaster.

Operation Alert will get underway nationally on Monday. From then through Friday, the Wisconsin area will take part in simulated strategic evacuation of dependent persons from the population centers.

On Friday, the tactical phase of the exercise will take place with a simulated air attack on the United States, with air raid warnings going to major cities. Sirens in Milwaukee and its suburbs will signal a simulated evacuation.

An MTA control center will be set up in Milwaukee, with an alternate center at Silver Lake in Waukesha County. County control centers will be set up in the sheriff's office of the respective counties. The takeover signal will get its first test if Milwaukee is listed as one of the target centers.

Address by Hon. Frances P. Bolton at Ninth Annual Colgate Foreign Policy Conference, Colgate University

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert an address made by our distinguished colleague from Ohio, Mrs. BOLTON, at the foreign affairs conference held at Colgate University during the week of July 4.

The address follows:

EMERGENT AFRICA

Mr. President, Dr. Wilson, members of the conference, honored guests, and friends. To be here in this distinguished company is a privilege indeed. To me it is an especially delightful moment, coming as I do to the university begun so many years ago by 13 men of whom my great grandfather was 1. Little by little those modest beginnings have grown into this splendid institution whose roots go deep down into the earth, whose trunk is straight and strong, and whose branches reach ever more eagerly towards the stars. How proud those 13 must be to find representatives from so many nations gathered together with world-minded Americans in earnest effort to bring about greater understanding.

I hesitate to speak of that great continent of Africa to such an informed group as this. I am certain there are those among you who know far more of Africa than I, which of itself is both fearsome and challenging. However, my interest in this continent that God has held in reserve is deep, my efforts to know as much as I can about it, sincere. I am happy to give you some of my thinking.

Just here I must say to you that I hesitate to use the pronoun "it" in speaking of Africa. There is nothing neuter about Africa. But can one say he or should it be she?

Africa is so vital, so personal and yet so impersonal. There are moments when one says "she" unhesitatingly, so great is the sense of maternity, of the creative, passive, waiting forces that seem to surround one, that seem to well up out of the earth, one walks on. And then again Africa is all male—aggressive, powerful, ruthless, invincible. Above all else, Africa is a land of extremes, of such beauty by day and by night that one stands breathless before it; of such ruthless cruelty that only the bravest can support it.

The oldest land mass of earth, Africa's shores have been beaten upon so long that there are few harbors. Her great plateau has long since been made infertile, for after the trees were gone, the winds have blown away the productive soil. Her great rivers are not highways from their sources to the sea, for in their courses they must tumble down to sea level, and death is in their depths. Her incredible forests, her steaming jungles, her low marshes, her fearsome heights, her beautiful lakes, and glowing volcanoes, her snow-clad mountains, her deserts, and her rain forests. There is no end to the wonders one may see. Once seen one is never quite the same again.

Yes, Africa is a country of great extremes and many emotions. Of pygmies and men 7 feet tall. Even the climate runs the gamut from driest desert to heaviest rainfall, from snow-capped Kilimanjaro practically astride the equator to the great basin of the Congo, and, in addition, in certain marvelously beautiful areas, a temperate climate unsurpassed anywhere.

One can readily understand why, for so many centuries Africa was a coastline but not a continent. One can appreciate why there was so little accurate information to be had well into the nineteenth century, and not too much today. In searching for information, one is reminded of the four lines written by Jonathan Swift:

> "So geographers, in Afric maps,
> With savage pictures fill their gaps,
> And o'er unhabitable downs
> Place elephants for want of towns."

Those of you who have been to Africa know something of its vastness. You have felt its mystery, you have been stirred by its almost incredible possibilities. You have, perhaps, found your own emotions shaken, as never before, by the power, the force, that seems to well up out of the very earth. You have been faced with the reality of Africa's awakening. It is as if a great giant stirred for the first time in many centuries, stretching himself, opening his gentle eyes upon an unknown and very disturbing world. Perhaps you, too, have found your own world somewhat shaken by direct contact with this awakening, and all it can mean to the future of mankind.

It was to that Africa that I went in September nearly 2 years ago, I and my three

companions, on behalf of the Subcommittee on the Near East and Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I took with me a Signal Corps photographer, a transportation officer who had spent some 8 years in West Africa, and a medical observer, loaned by the Mayo Clinic.

It was our purpose to see all we could in the all-too-short 3½ months allotted us. Starting at Dakar, our route took us into countries in West Africa, south to the Cape, up the East Coast, into the Central Federation, north to Ethiopia, Khartoum and Cairo. It was a continent of contrasts that we saw: its luscious forests and deserts, its granite mountains, its indescribable beauty, its cruelty and ruthlessness. We saw the ravages of disease and the efforts being made to eradicate it. We glimpsed its vast wealth, its unbelievable possibilities. But especially did we see the people: Indians, Lebanese, Syrians, Europeans and above all, Africans, whose present awakening will have such bearing upon the future of the world.

Thanks to the great courtesy of the Washington representatives of the metropolitan countries in advising the various government heads of our coming, we were given every opportunity to learn something at least of what they are doing in their separate areas. Unfortunately we could not go to Spanish Africa, but we did visit the French, the Portuguese, the British, the Belgian areas, and South Africa as well.

It was truly exciting to see the tremendous housing programs everywhere, the schools, the hospitals, the dispensaries, the clinics, and the maternity homes and, of course, in every country, the missions, both Catholic and Protestant, which have been responsible for so much of the education and the staffing of the health work. Each metropolitan country had its own special methods, its own program, but all were moving along roads that will bring better living to all the people.

If we are to speak together of an emergent Africa, we shall have to take a moment or two to look at the past of this so little known continent of which Colonel Van der Post has written that "not even the animals understand."

We know little of the history of Africa south of the Sahara. Legend tells of an ancient and powerful West African empire known as Ghana which flourished more than a thousand years ago, and from which many of the present tribes have sprung. The Egyptians, who are more closely linked with the Middle East than with Africa, trace an unbroken civilization back nearly 6,000 years, while the Berbers and others are indigenous to north Africa. The Arabs, twice conquerors of north Africa, have left many of their people on the African continent. But these moved in upon indigenous people whose past is hidden by time, who carry in their blood strange memories of ancient glory. Today, archaeologists are finding evidence in unexpected places of very ancient civilizations.

It was not until the 19th century that Europeans came to Africa, to encounter unexpected ills. It was as if Africa had raised her own barriers against intrusion, for the West Coast was soon known as the white man's grave.

Yet the adventurous, the daring, came to explore, to settle and to exploit. They had little or no regard for the people they found there who lived primitively. Who were, as a rule, readily subjugated. Yet it was in the Ashanti country of the Gold Coast—now Ghana—that the British found violent resistance. We were told it took eight wars to conquer them.

As one reads history there seems little difference between the white man's conquest of Africa and his conquest of North America. In neither continent did he attempt to understand those who dwelt there. Land tenure? Marriage laws? They mattered not at all. Here in these United States Indians were put on reservations. In Africa there are native reserves. To our shame be it said that we are not even now seeing to it adequately that the people we dispossessed share our way of life to the full.

As I have said, each governing country in Africa has its own methods of dealing with these indigenous people. One might say that the common denominator of their work is health and education. Certainly their common experience must be amazement at the latent ability of these men who must leap across the barriers that separate them and their primitive ways from today's motor cars and airplanes. Modern invention, highways, and airfields—big and little—have found their way even into the jungles. Railroads are being built, work is underway to develop hydroelectric power, the attack on disease is slowly but surely winning the battle for health. Education is being made increasingly possible. Today's Africa has already come a long, long way since yesterday.

It is less than 2 years ago that the Sudan took her place among the free nations of the world, and but a few months since the Gold Coast became the first black country south of the Sahara to join the British Commonwealth, taking the name of the ancient empire of Ghana from which her people stem.

Here the light of nationalism is burning brightly. The emotion of the March 6 midnight moment with Nkrumah's, "We are forever free" is still strong, though the wise ones know that Ghana is only at the beginning of a long process, that the road ahead is not an easy one. No one-crop economy is ever without danger—and the price of cocoa is all important in Ghana. But great things are in the making: a harbor is being built, the Volta Dam is in everyone's heart and mind and hope rides high.

All Africa, nay, all the world, is watching. Has the tide of nationalism swept this new nation too quickly into the heavy responsibilities of freedom, or is their wisdom sufficient to their need? One cannot but wish them well. But Ghana is a favored State, for there are few if any Asians or Europeans among her people. Her problems should be far more readily solved than those of Nigeria for instance, where in her great northern region are some 10 million Muslims who seem to have little urge towards today's world. At the moment no date has been set for a free federation, although the western and eastern regions have been accorded self-government.

It is in the eastern and central areas of Africa that Britain at least, is attempting to work out methods by which the training for an attainment of complete autonomy can be achieved without upheaval. Here the African must raise his sights also. It is natural that, roused from his long isolation, his first reaction should be, this is my country, mine alone, all outsiders must go. Of course, the outsiders are so far in the minority that he could wipe them out almost over night. But were he to do so, he would have put himself back into the limbo of savagery. That is not what his heart desires, and one can but hope that those who are attempting to assume leadership will recognize this fact and will use great wisdom in the exercise of their responsibility.

What is to be Africa's role in this amazing era of revolutionary change? To what end, her fabulous wealth in bauxite, cobalt, copper, gold, uranium, diamonds, rubber, cocoa, coffee, and still undiscovered raw materials? To what end her markets, though her needs are infinite? To what end her teeming millions? To what end the many races within her borders, deriving as they do from different continents and separated by long periods of their cultural development, now thrown together to work out a common future?

There is no question but that Africa today is suffering from deep wounds inflicted by fear and mistrust between races and between tribes. The immense task of raising the masses from poverty and ignorance demands the exertion, in unity and fellowship, of all the talents that the continent can provide. Past achievements and plans for the future toward this supreme aim are alike endangered by the threat—or the reality—of internal dissension and Communist penetration.

The urgent need is for a new spirit, a patriotism stronger than racial or tribal loyalty, and for a policy suited to the true needs of the people, of which the people can be proud.

As one looks at it all there seem to be three great forces which, in interaction, will determine the future of the African Continent: (1) a growing African nationalism, (2) western civilization, and (3) increasing Asian influence. Communism will certainly do its utmost to take a hand in the game.

The growth of African nationalism cannot be stayed. Those who wish to live constructively in Africa must work with this tide, not against it. But it is not a fearsome thing, rather is it something to be cordially welcomed because of its creative possibilities.

Western civilization with its promise of better health and ever-increasing opportunity to share in the good things of the world makes its own very real appeal.

Asian influence also has its contributions to make to the emerging continent. The problem of bringing these forces together is not an easy one, but if the West and the East have a true desire to prove to Africa by their attitudes and actions that they ask only to share in the great task of equipping Africa to take her full part in world affairs, the future will hold unbelievable values not just for Africa, but for all the world.

Such an effort is being made in Central Africa within the Tropic of Capricorn (from the Limpopo River to the Sahara) by the Capricorn Africa Society. This society was founded in Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia in 1949 by a group of people composed of members of different races, who believed that a policy for Africa must come from within Africa itself. Its members are committed to the uncompromising acceptance of two purposes: First, the establishment of a way of life in which there will be no discrimination on racial grounds, opportunity will be open to all, and human capacity and merit will be the only criteria for responsible participation in public affairs. Second, and equally important, to maintain and make effective the cultural, moral, and spiritual standards of civilization. These are based upon the belief that all men, despite their varying talents, are born equal in dignity before God, and have a common duty to one another.

Is it not possible that in this great emerging continent there is present opportunity to bring about an understanding among men on a far broader foundation than anything so far tried?

In any consideration of Africa's future, it must not be forgotten that white men in considerable numbers have made their homes in Africa for generations. It is the only country they know. Asians, too, have immigrated and made it their country. This presents a new problem which would appear to be solvable only by merging this new nationalism of the African with that of the other races to whom Africa spells home, so creating a comprehensive nationalism whose influence could well be incalculable.

This Capricorn Africa lives in an area as large as the United States. Although the majority will always be black, white as well as brown Africans will share the responsibilities with complete unity of purpose. Capricorn Africa works on the policy of creating an interracial integrated life in which the different races cooperate without regard to color, for the common material and spirit-

ual enrichment of all. This positive, creative faith in the value of totality is a belief that in the conditions prevailing, a far richer and greater thing can be achieved by the active cooperation of the different races than by any more partial program. The motive power to which CAS chiefly looks for the realization of its aims is the growth of a common African patriotism which members of all races share, which all will seek to serve and which in the case of many individuals will have its roots and nourishment in a deeper, ultimate, religious view of the meaning of life.

I have reminded you that this is an age of revolutionary change. Let me suggest that the fundamental change that must be made, not just in Africa but all over the world, is in the realm of our thoughts. Only as we learn to think in terms of the whole shall we be able to prevent the moment of chaos towards which humanity appears to be heading. And a new way of thinking means a new way of feeling. "Nothing is more needed in Africa today," says one of its leading men, "than a new emotional drive strong enough to counteract the powerful passions of racialism. A new commanding loyalty must take the place of the motives which at present determine action."

So as we look at an emerging Africa let us do so with a deep sense of the immensity of her problems. Let us—all of us—be very wise in our desire to be of service to her, letting her express her need and her desire, not forcing upon her our ideas of that need. She has within her borders all the difficulties facing humanity in this great era of change. She has the opportunity to find the solutions men everywhere are seeking. Facing another moment of destruction and chaos, the world may well look to emergent Africa for new light upon the great road of God's evolution.

American Field Service Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, inasmuch as considerable discussion has been concentrated during this session of Congress on the whole question of the Federal budget, perhaps there could be found some information of value in the methods and system used by the United Kingdom in handling its Federal exchequer and expenditures. A useful article on this subject, which highlights not only the British system but also some of its serious problems, appeared in the Washington Evening Star of June 16, 1957. The author of the article is George W. Oakes, distinguished American journalist, who has spent the past several years in Britain studying its political and economic and social conditions. I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Oakes, published in the Washington Evening Star of June 16, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONTROLS ARE WEAK—THE BRITISH HAVE BUDGET WORRIES, TOO

(The American Congress and the British House of Commons both are currently battling with budgets and the high cost of government. Many in each country are deeply concerned with diminishing legislative control over the governmental bureaucracies that have grown so swiftly in the postwar years. Here is a report on how the British system works and what British leaders think of it.)

(By George W. Oakes)

LONDON.—"Parliament, like all elected assemblies, has lost the will to control Government expenses—it's constantly pressing to increase spending." Such is the considered view of one of the House of Commons' most respected Conservatives, a former Cabinet Minister, with 30 years of parliamentary life behind him.

Herbert Morrison, the Labor Party's most experienced parliamentarian in the Commons, wrote in 1954: "Whether the House of Commons is an adequate and efficient watchdog over public expenditure is open to question." That view is shared by most Members of Parliament today.

Under the British system, the House of Commons allows the majority party or the government in office to spend what it considers necessary to implement its policy. The Commons' most powerful control is its constant right and privilege to throw any government out of office by defeating it.

Unlike the American system, under which Congress can alter and amend the details of the President's budget, the House of Commons in practice accepts the Government's recommended estimates or appropriations as presented. If it rejects these proposals, then the Government must resign.

HOW IT WORKS

The British procedure works this way:

Each February the Government proposes its estimates to the House of Commons for the next fiscal year (which begins in April). These estimates are debated on certain days when the whole House sits as a Committee of Supply (Finance). Formerly the supply debates concerned financial matters, but during the past quarter century or so they have become occasions for the opposition to criticize and discuss the general policy behind the estimates.

For example, a supply debate on colonial estimates recently gave the opposition a chance to attack the government's Cyprus policy rather that the cost of implementing it. So the Commons gives less attention to government spending than it used to.

The House of Commons, in contrast with Congress, has no committees that hold hearings or question ministers on financial expenditures before all current estimates are voted. However there are two select committees of Commons that, without discussing policy, try to see that public funds are spent as economically as possible and only for the items authorized.

These are the Select Committee on Public Accounts established by Gladstone in 1861 and the Select Committee on Estimates set up in 1912. This machinery, organized when the annual budget was a mere fraction of that presented last April and the entire governmental organization about the size of a modern city administration, has remained virtually unchanged.

STUDIES PAST SPENDING

The Public Accounts Committee—by far the more important—consists of 15 members from both parties under the chairmanship of a prominent member of the opposition—often an ex-financial secretary of the treasury. It methodically examines the money already spent to determine whether it was used for the purpose intended by law. Its method is to concentrate on one government department at a time, covering thoroughly the major establishments once every few years.

The committee has a single clerk, but it also utilizes the staff services of the controller and auditor-general, an officer of the House of Commons whose duty is to audit the accounts of the government departments and report to the Commons.

Sitting every week usually from February to August, the committee questions in detail the highest permanent officials and they hold these sessions in great respect. If civil servants exceed their authority or use money for purposes other than intended their careers can quickly be ruined.

The Public Accounts Committee's chief defect is that it is examining expenses incurred nearly 2 years earlier. Former cabinet ministers believe that the committee's accounting operation should be expanded so that it could examine more departments regularly instead of covering a limited number once every few years.

The committee labors under a further disadvantage as it is not authorized to investigate the accounts of the great nationalized industries—coal, electricity, railways, and so forth. Then, too, some question whether an annual accounting checkup is adequate for long-range projects with expenditures spread over several years.

But despite its limitations, Members of Parliament regard the Public Accounts Committee as efficient and of vital importance. Its investigation of uneconomic expenditures and extravagance was particularly useful during the last war.

POLICY IS BYPASSED

The Estimates Committee, with 36 members split among the parties, is appointed annually to examine proposed expenditures and recommend economies consistent with policy. Its five subcommittees meet weekly from January and the full committee, under the chairmanship of a member of the party in power, issues its reports during the summer.

The committee cannot consider policy matters, hence in practice it can only advise on broad principles of management and economic administration. To take a minor illustration, it would inquire whether in constructing Army barracks, estimates were received from a sufficient number of contractors but it wouldn't concern itself whether the barracks should have had more recreation rooms.

Since the committee operates with half a dozen clerks and no other permanent staff, its scope of activity is limited. High civil servants appear before it to answer questions and explain appropriations. As a result of its reports to the Commons, the government usually issues a reply concerning the committee's proposals and sometimes these provoke debates. Two recent reports that attracted attention concerned the procurement of military aircraft and the construction of civil airports.

The Estimates Committee is generally regarded as considerably less effective than the Public Accounts Committee.

Many authorities doubt its usefulness for several reasons. It cannot deal with financial policy and so is unable to influence current estimates. It is handicapped by lack of an investigative staff and by the ignorance of Members of Parliament of technical financial problems. That the little time available for the vast task of checking the estimates prepared in February and voted on shortly thereafter means that in the few subjects it can cover each year it is often inquiring into funds already spent.

FEAR LOSS OF POWER

There is a conviction among experienced parliamentarians, former Cabinet Ministers and many Members of Parliament that creation of additional special advisory committees would mean a delegation of powers from the Commons and thus weaken the authority of the House itself as the center for debate and decision.

Also, it is felt that big artisan committees would tend to tie up Ministers too much and inhibit the opposition during debates. Nevertheless a special committee was set up during the current session to examine the

reports and accounts of certain nationalized industries.

Sir Robert Boothby, an independent Conservative Member of Parliament believing that Parliament needs additional means of exercising its control, has for some time favored the establishment of select all-party advisory committees in the field of defense, foreign policy, and finance which would have the power to question Ministers and high civil servants. Some Members of Parliament argue that if such a committee composed of qualified Members of Parliament could have questioned Ministers before the Suez adventure, it might never have occurred. "Nye" Bevan is known to favor a special Commons committee to supervise colonial policy. But this demand for additional committees has not attracted much general support. On the whole, Ministers and potential Ministers are against any mechanism that might restrain their powers when in office.

Is Mr. Nikita Khrushchev a Titoist?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to include an article written last winter by my dear friend, the Reverend Father Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, honorary professor of international relations in the Catholic University of Chile, a pontifical Institution. This article, Communism: National and International, produced documentary evidence to the effect that Titoism was the new, official line of the Soviet hierarchy and of the Soviet apparatus in the United States. In other words, the current password of the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world that there are many roads to socialism, meaning total domination by the disciples of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, was agreed upon by Messrs. Nikita Khrushchev, Nicolai Bulganin, and Josip Broz Tito at Brioni on the Adriatic and Yalta in the Crimea last September.

One of the most interesting developments in this Marxist-Leninist move is that the Washington Star could report on July 10, 1957, that Mr. Nikita Khrushchev could now be described as a Titoist. In short, the Marxist-Leninist conspirators have agreed upon a new formula to coax American dollars into the bankrupt Marxist-Leninist empire. The article, Communism: National and International, follows:

COMMUNISM—NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

The crisis in Eastern Europe has focused world attention upon the relationship between the national communism of Yugoslavia and international communism as exemplified by the Soviet empire.

The case for a constellation of states, independently dedicated to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, has been stated in some detail by a number of commentators, including Messrs. Walter Lippmann, George F. Kennan, Drew Pearson and C. L. Sulzberger. Their thesis can be presented in the words of Mr. Lippmann "In the interests of peace and of freedom—freedom from both despotism and from anarchy—we must hope that for a time, not forever but for a time, the uprising in the satellite orbit will be stabilized at Titoism. It is in the interests of the Western World that the Soviet Union be helped to accept Titoism in its empire, and that it should not feel that its own security is menaced." (October 26, 1956.)

According to Mr. Drew Pearson, the policy of subsidizing Josip Broz-Tito has "now richly paid off." For it was the "example of a Tito able to defy Moscow," Mr. Pearson adds, that "set the pattern now being followed in Poland, Hungary and probably soon in Czechoslovakia." (The Washington Post, October 30.)

State Department thinking appears to be in harmony with this exposition. In what seemed to be a major foreign policy declaration Mr. John Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State, in a speech at Dallas, Tex. (October 27, 1956), spoke as follows: "Today, our Nation continues its historic role. The captive peoples should never have reason to doubt that they have in us a sincere and dedicated friend who shares their aspirations. They must know that they can draw upon our abundance to tide themselves over the period of economic adjustment which is inevitable as they rededicate their productive efforts to the service of their own people, rather than of exploiting masters. Nor do we condition economic ties between us upon the adoption by these countries of any particular form of society." This may indicate, as Mr. Thomas J. Hamilton (New York Times, October 28, 1956) has pointed out that the administration "would be satisfied if the Soviet satellites, while remaining Communist, all began to copy Tito."

The ideology of communism we are told, has been shaken to the core by a phenomenon, nationalism, which it has chosen to ignore. This is the opinion of Mr. C. L. Sulzberger who has won an enviable reputation as European correspondent of the New York Times. It was to be expected, therefore, that Mr. Sulzberger, on November 7, 1956, could relate that the administration was "prepared to go to considerable lengths in recognizing national communism as a governmental form with which we can deal on a friendly basis."

The logical result of such a policy would be, not what has been described as a commonwealth of Communist republics, but rather a new federation of totalitarian Marxist regimes. Presumably, each unit in this new system would be independent. Its unifying spirit, of course, would be devotion to national communism.

This new realinement of forces within the framework of the Soviet empire received the enthusiastic endorsement of the Daily Worker (New York City) on October 19, 1956. President Tito who, prior to the demise of Joseph Stalin, had been denounced in that periodical as a criminal monster, an unprincipled double-crosser, and a Fascist beast, was pictured as a suitable candidate for continued United States aid, providing money and commodities were to be provided, as in the past, without any strings attached.

At the same time, the Daily Worker, before the reported split among its editors, urged support for expanded foreign economic aid and various forms of peaceful competition with the lands of socialism. This, as some students of Marxism-Leninism know, was an echo of a draft resolution adopted by the Communist Party in the United States of America in September 1956. The same specialists on Marxist developments noted, with no little attention, that it did not take long for the draft resolution of the comrades in the United States of America to become translated into official State Department policy. Although the two conclusions may have been arrived at independently, they now coincide with the views of the commentators mentioned at the beginning of this analysis.

It is also noteworthy that, when Mr. W. Gomulka, new head of the Communist regime in Poland, indicated his willingness to accept United States dollars and food, he emphasized, as had President Tito, that this would have to be accorded without any strings attached.

A new book by the aforesaid Mr. Sulzberger, The Big Thaw, illustrates the parallel policies of the United States Government and the Daily Worker as expounded immediately upon the eve of the heroic refusal of students, workers, and soldiers in Hungary to accept national communism under a Titoist leader, Mr. Janos Kadar. In his book, subtitled A Personal Exploration of the New Russia and the Orbit Countries, the gifted New York Times writers explains his viewpoint in unmistakable terms: "Titoism, philosophically, is a kind of decompression chamber between the Russian empire and the Western World. * * * This is a form of ideology abhorrent to us because it is avowedly Communist, against religion, private property and liberty as we conceive it. But as a form of government it is acceptable to us as long as it represents independence and national freedom of action. * * * Our tradition is to allow any country to choose its own form of government. What we oppose is enslavement by outside powers. We object to Soviet imperialism enslaving peoples clamoring to be free."

What has been proved at Budapest and throughout Hungary, however, is that men, women, and children who love God and country are not apt to be satisfied with independence from the Kremlin; they are determined to rid themselves of Soviet domination and, perhaps more importantly, of national communism. The myth of Titoism perished in the flames of Hungarian patriotism.

Fortunately, a highly laudable reappraisal of outlook, if not of policy, is already underway in the highest echelons of the New York Times editorial board. On October 17, 1956, the Times proclaimed that, "President Eisenhower's decision with respect to the continuance of American aid to Yugoslavia" seemed "a sound one" and, somewhat naively, added that "Yugoslavia is not a part of a conspiracy for Communist control of the world."

On November 9, however, the truth about this conspiracy began to dawn upon the Times' editors. Under the caption "Hungary and Yugoslavia," this great newspaper presented a totally distinct view and a conclusion perfectly in accord with the facts (i.e. the Yugoslav votes) reported from, and recorded in, the United Nations. The exact expression of this fresh approach to the issue of national communism vis-a-vis international communism may be worthy of repetition here:

"With heavy hearts and great indignation the people of the free world have watched as the Russians have drowned the Hungarian revolution in blood. They have watched, too, with horrified amazement the position of the Yugoslav Government on these tragic events.

"The Hungarian people may well be excused if they thought they had every guaranty of Yogoslav help and sympathy in their fight for freedom.

"But in the past 6 weeks the situation has changed dramatically. First Tito compromised himself morally by signing a friendship agreement with Gero in Belgrade on the eve of the Hungarian revolution. Then in the past few days, as the Soviet army, hiding behind the Kadar clique, turned with blazing guns on the Hungarian people, Yugoslavia indicated its support for that group. Last Sunday Pravda was even able to cite Borba in its editorial heralding the Soviet attack and implicitly to suggest, as has proved true, that Yugoslavia in practice supported that attack.

"At the United Nations * * * Yugoslav Ambassador Brilej did call for the exit of Soviet troops from Hungary. But he referred only to the 'involvement' of Soviet troops in recent Hungarian events, not to the mass murder done by those troops."

My own comment about this editorial, excellent as the latter is, may be summarized in the following points:

1. It was not the Russians who drowned the Hungarian revolution in blood. It was the Soviet hierarchy, completely divorced from the ordinary, decent human beings in the Soviet Union. The Slavs, it must be granted, are among the most humane in the world. This is true whether they reside in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the U. S. S. R. or Yugoslavia.

2. The Yugoslav people, if free of the much-vaunted national communism of President Tito, would have been prompt to spring to the aid of the Hungarian patriots. United States guns, planes and tanks in the hands of the totalitarian Marxist clique in Belgrade prevented any spontaneous human response on the part of Croatians, Slovenes, Serbians, Montenegrins and the folks of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As for sympathy, that is fully enlisted on the side of the brave Hungarians. Regrettably, the newspaper war of words (Cf. Pravda versus Borba) has done nothing to turn the tide of slaughter and deportation in Soviet-dominated, Titoist Hungary.

To all but the blind the mystery of the meeting of Marxist minds at Brioni and Yalta must be emerging, little by little, into the light of day. The gentleman of Moscow and the master of Yugoslavia came to an agreement: the latter was authorized, as Mr. Thomas J. Hamilton (the New York Times, Oct. 28, 1956) suggested, to act for Moscow as a kind of branch manager for some of the satellites, including Hungary. Clearly, this Chief of the United Nations Bureau for the Times was one of the correspondents who was no longer mystified, or confused, or deceived. Mr. Hamilton had been an eye-witness of Yugoslav actions (somewhat at variance with their words in the United Nations). Mr. Hamilton and his principals now understand the key to Brioni-Yalta mysteries.

National communism, with independence for all Marxist states, is compatible with international communism.

The Titoist controlled revolts erupted, to the surprise of nobody privy to the plot. In Hungary, however, the conspiracy did not work out according to plan. The wildly improbable happened. The Hungarian people wanted real freedom. They insisted upon representative government; they knew, quite perfectly, the meaning of democracy. Consequently, they refused to be satisfied with compromises, concessions, exhortations, and promises. What they wanted, more than life itself, was to escape from the straitjacket of national communism.

In the light of these developments, it would seem clear that no confidence can be placed in the independent judgment of national communism in relation to international communism. So long as national communism is maintained by a totalitarian government, allowing no freedom to its people to express themselves without fear of reprisals, we can expect that government to take the side of international communism and to be its ally in a conflict with the struggle of its captive peoples to be free.

In short communism, whether national or international, is a movement the leaders of which, no matter how or where located, have in common the objective of extinguishing freedom and rendering unchallangeable the authority which they themselves exercise.

Amending Reorganization Act of 1949

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROSS BASS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8364) to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, this proposed legislation is one which is called the extension of the Reorganization Act. I think the real description of this bill or legislation can be found on the first line in the second paragraph on page 3 of the report where it says "proven tool." That is exactly what this business is. It is a proven tool used to implement legislation by negative action. I was surprised actually when I came to the Congress and found that this sort of law existed which allowed the Congress of the United States to abrogate its responsibility by a failure to function with reference to legislation which affects the entire Nation. These reorganization plans come before the Congress and they become the law. They become statutes. They are things that the people of the country have to live under. Yet, we, as Members of the Congress, fail to act on this legislation. It becomes law if we do not act. I made that statement before a group in my district about 2 months ago. The man who is chairman of the legislative committee for a chamber of commerce asked me a question about some of the Hoover Commission recommendations. I explained to him how this reorganization plan worked. He could not believe that the Congress of the United States would allow such a thing to go on. That you just put something before the Congress that is sent up by the executive department and, if it is not voted down, then it becomes the law without affirmative action.

I do not believe 1 person in 10,000 of the informed American public knows that such a situation as this exists in the lawmaking body of the United States of America. Let me go into a little bit of this Hoover Commission deal which this reorganization plan actually has affected more than anything else. The so-called Hoover Commission or the Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government has gone over the country saying, "We have recommended this which would save $2 billion—this which would save $6 billion—and this which would save $12 billion." If you would add up all of the billions of dollars that Mr. Hoover and some of his spokesmen have said they would save if these plans were adopted, we would not have a $72 billion budget this year.

In fact, I thing we could have operated the entire Government on $100,000 if we had saved all the money they said they had told us how to save, and yet they say the Congress of the United States was absolutely responsible for not saving this because all we have to do is just to fail to act and make all of this possible.

The advocates of the Hoover Commission tell you that the President has sent up all of the recommendations this commission has made, to both the Democratic President and the Republican President, when the fact of the matter is that the second Hoover Commission spent $2 million in making these investigations and only two of those proposals have been submitted by the executive branch of the present administration to the Congress, and neither one of them became effective. We spent $2 million for them only to find out we did not need them in the first place. I think that legislation which continues such an act as this should be defeated.

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. I yield.

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Chairman, I am sure that the gentleman does not want to leave the House with the impression that the only recommendations that the second Hoover Commission made were the two, recently referred to, that were sent down to the Congress by the White House.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. No; I said that the White House only sent two of the recommendations to Congress.

Mrs. CHURCH. But I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that a large portion of the Hoover recommendations did not need legislative enactment to become effective; and I am sure that the gentleman would not want to overlook that fact.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. I was referring to those which required negative legislative action. What I am saying and what I am advocating is that they should have legislative action instead of negative action.

Mrs. CHURCH. I would assure the gentleman that I am not rising at this time to dispute his statement in that regard, but rather to refute the implication that all the recommendations by the second Hoover Commission had been rejected by the House. As a matter of fact the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission fell into two classifications: those which did not require legislative action and those which did require legislative action. Of those which could be put into force by executive direction, a large majority have already been put into effect. It is the Congress which has so far largely failed in taking necessary action on those Hoover recommendations that need legislative approval.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. I understand thoroughly the purported obligation and work of the Hoover Commission. But the cost of government has continued to grow and no savings have been affected. I think it was a waste of time, a waste of money, and a waste of a lot

of space in newspapers all over the country in an effort to make the American people believe they were making some recommendations which were going to save America vast sums of money. Instead I say this commission should not have been established in the first place and I say this bill should be defeated.

Police Might as Well Give Up if They Can't Question a Suspect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, supplementing my recent comments in the Appendix of the RECORD concerning the obvious difficulties of our law-enforcement officers in functioning under the Mallory decision, I submit herewith an article by Columnist George E. Sokolsky in which he expresses similar views on the subject:

POLICE MIGHT AS WELL GIVE UP IF THEY CAN'T QUESTION A SUSPECT

Granted that a rapist is entitled to due process of the law, are not citizens entitled to juridical protection against rapists? Granted also that there may be a wide difference of opinion as to what should be done about Communists—should they be permitted to do their party work freely on the basis of the first amendment or should they be prosecuted as spies and unregistered enemy agents—can there also be a difference of opinion about rapists?

It would seem to me that the Supreme Court, in its present mood, has done more harm by the Mallory decision which freed a rapist on such technicalities as to make it practically impossible for police to function at all. Is the Mallory decision to be applied to the mugger, the heroin pusher, and the labor racketeer?

For what the Mallory decision says is, in effect, that the police may question a suspect as long as he is not under arrest, but the moment the culprit is arrested, it is unreasonable delay in arraigning him if the police use any time to make a case against him.

I wonder whether any of the Supreme Court brethren have any knowledge of police work. In the larger cities, the nature of felonies has changed radically from what it was half a century ago. Back in those days, burglary was one of the most serious felonies; crimes were usually against property.

Today, the prevalent crimes may be divided into three categories:

1. Psychological crimes, committed by teenagers, associated with sex, often involving rape and murder; 2. Crimes related to narcotics, often involving children of elementary and high school age; 3. Rackets, involving not only gangsters but reputable businessmen, lawyers, bankers, public officials, which arise from the prospects of earning untaxed or untaxable money.

The psychological prisoner is usually a teenager or a very old man who has gone nuts over sex and to whom rape and murder are outlets for an emotional build-up. It is found in the records that rape is a repetitive crime. The rapist will rape again if he gets a chance. Most often, he can only be caught by confession, because when a fellow commits a rape, he does not invite witnesses to watch him. It is done on a lonely road; in a cellar; on a roof top.

If a congressional committee were to hold a hearing on this subject, the police of every city can produce records of denial for days, until confession comes, often with braggadocio. Without confession, the police usually do not have the slightest lead, except that a girl-child has disappeared as though in thin air.

Now the Supreme Court has told the police of this country that they must not question the suspect after he has been arrested, only before he has been arrested. In that case, the police had better drop the matter altogether. It has been experience that the psycho does not talk until the police get him downtown, as it is often called, put him through the lineup, let him tell it to the judge. No questioning at headquarters and no confessions.

The heroin and marijuana business is very big, running into hundreds of millions of dollars. Its centers of manufacture and distribution are Naples, Beirut, and Tientsin; its best market is the United States. The immediate felon is the pusher who may be your son earning an extra quick dollar to buy a black leather jacket or a motorcycle. Behind the pusher is the biggest organized crime syndicate the world has ever known, with powerful influences who are so remote from the crime itself as not to be conscious of association with it. The initial outlay requires millions of dollars; so this cannot be small business, but the pushing is done by boys, girls, candystore peddlers, etc. Those who are hooked by the habit are ruined for life. It is slow murder, often producing degeneracy and insanity before death.

How do the police get arrests in such cases? By using the methods the pushers use—by scaring the living hell out of boys, girls, candystore peddlers, and such, so that they tell where they got the stuff. If they are not scared, they will not tell. If the children cannot be questioned after they are brought to police headquarters, it is all over. There is no case.

Name, Rank, and Serial Number No Longer Enough in War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, not a single Member of this House would deliberately water down the right of our GI's as prisoners of war to rely solely on giving their name, rank, and serial number to guarantee fair and humane treatment.

Our GI's are instructed to remain silent on every point that might be helpful to the enemy except giving, in courteous response, their name, rank, and serial number. Information on troop disposition, terrain, and changing situations the enemy must obtain on his own.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that we in the Congress are not unwittingly placing in the hands of others a precedent that could be used against our boys to require them to give more information than just their name, rank, and serial number.

Could not a future wartime enemy say, in effect, "Look, GI, your own Congress requires witnesses to give more than just their name, address, and occupation. They must testify about others, else they are held in contempt. What is good enough for your Congress is good enough for us. So give with the information. Who was on your left flank? What outfit was on your right flank? Else, take the consequences."

I trust my fears in this regard are ill-founded, Mr. Speaker.

Schools Basis of Nation's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Huntington (W. Va.) Advertiser of May 10, 1957. The Advertiser is one of the leading newspapers of my State of West Virginia, and I commend its views to the membership of the House.

The editorial follows:

SCHOOLS BASIS OF NATION'S FUTURE

President Eisenhower's appeal to young people to stay in school for the full development of their God-given capacities also stressed indirectly a serious responsibility upon public officials.

"Only in this way," the appeal said, "can they hope to make their finest contribution to the strength of the Nation and reach fulfillment of their own life purpose."

Young people cannot stay in school unless they have schools to stay in. Providing sufficient classrooms and competent teachers for the steadily growing population is the duty of officials.

The bill providing Federal funds for school construction, finally voted out by the House Education Committee yesterday, has been languishing for months.

That has been possible because of public indifference or outright opposition. A great many people honestly feel that schools are the responsibility of the States and that if the Federal Government once starts contributing to them, it will never be able to stop.

Their argument is not without some foundation. On the other hand, the crowded condition of schools is critical and threatens to become worse each year.

There are no indications that the emergency can or will be adequately met by the States. In that respect the States have failed in their obligation to the young people and the future of the country.

But if the service of educated young people will be necessary to meet the country's demands of tomorrow, the arguments by which the bill is delayed threaten national growth and security.

No fine point of law or debate on the responsibility for schools should stand in the way of providing the country with the trained manpower necessary for industrial progress or military preparedness.

Public and official indifference has already resulted in a dangerous shortage of scientists and engineers. The problem has been stressed repeatedly. Efforts to relieve the

shortage have been undertaken by foundations, corporations and associations.

These efforts cannot succeed unless the public becomes sufficiently aware of the danger to make its influence felt among those who can vote the funds for sufficient schools.

New Provincial for the Order of the Sisters of Mercy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader-Evening News of Monday, July 8, 1957, commenting on the appointment of Mother Mary de Lourdes Rivers, R. S. M., to succeed Mother Mary Celestine McHale, R. S. M., as the next provincial of the Province of Scranton of the Order of the Sisters of Mercy:

NEW MERCY PROVINCIAL

Appointment of Mother Mary de Lourdes Rivers, R. S. M., to succeed Mother Mary Celestine McHale, R. S. M., as provincial of the Province of Scranton, Order of Sisters of Mercy, is recognition for a member of the community who has distinguished herself as an educator and administrator for three decades.

Mother Mary Celestine, a native of Wilkes-Barre, held the post for two successive terms, a total of 6 years, which is the limit under rules of the order. During her tenure, the province continued its march of progress. Her new assignment had not been announced at this writing.

Mother Mary de Lourdes, a native of Pittsburgh, came here 6 years ago from Altoona where she was superior and principal at St. Marks School. Since her arrival at Dallas, she has served on the faculty of Court Gate of Heaven School and as professor of English at College Misericordia. For 3 years she was a member of the provincial council and, before her advancement, was assistant mother provincial for one term.

With this background, she is eminently fitted for her new responsibilities. A keen mind and a sense of humor are not the least of her attributes. Throughout her career she has taken special interest in young people with the most gratifying results. As an executive at provincial headquarters, she enhanced a reputation for zeal and objectivity.

From all indications, Mother Mary de Lourdes will be a worthy successor to the resourceful Mother Mary Celestine in supervising the largest of the nine provinces of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States. The Province of Scranton, which embraces Pennsylvania, New York, and British Guinea, South America, officially came into existence in 1929, although the order was founded 126 years ago in Ireland and a community was formed in Wilkes-Barre 82 years ago. It has 830 nuns, laboring unselfishly in 71 convents, 70 elementary schools, 17 high schools, 1 senior college, 1 junior college, 5 hospitals, 1 leprosarium, as well as in homes for children and the aged. This broad field of service offers a challenging opportunity to these dedicated women and they have been making the most of it.

Amending Reorganization Act of 1949

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8364) to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1959.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the committee bill. I believe that I have some background of knowledge of reorganization plans.

I notice on page 4 that 56 reorganization plans have been transmitted to the Congress and 41 have become effective. If my memory serves me right, I served as chairman of the reorganization subcommittee for 4 years, and I handled 45 of those Presidential reorganization plans, and 39 that I handled became law. I also served on the second Hoover Commission, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER], who spoke a few minutes ago, has taken a completely consistent position with that which he has taken all along in regard to the extension of the Reorganization Act. He has always been against it.

I took the other side of the position for many, many years, but I am beginning to also feel that the Congress should take back into its hands as much authority as it can in the field of policy. I believe that in the delegation of authority by the Congress we are weakening the function of the Congress and therefore I think that this bill should be supported. It gives to the President the right to send up reorganization plans. As long as amendment No. 2, the amendment which provides for a simple majority rather than a constitutional majority stays in the bill, I am willing to go along with it, because this will give to the President the right to call to the attention of the Congress any important reorganization plan he wishes to make but at the same time it will in effect give back to the Congress the regular legislative power, the power of a majority vote of the Congress over that reorganization plan which the President may propose.

So, I am supporting the committee bill with this provision in it, because I think it is a step back toward giving the Congress the power that they should have, according to the responsibility which is placed upon the Congress.

There is one more comment I wish to make. After serving for some 18 or 19 months on the second Hoover Commission, I came to the conclusion—and I so stated in my concluding minority report—that the Congress should look with a great deal of caution upon the creating of commissions, particularly commissions which have the responsibility of formulating policy, because those commissions, regardless of how respectable the people are that are chosen, how widely they come from different fields of life, they still do not have a responsibility to the electorate. It is the Members of Congress in both branches that have the responsibility to the electorate. They are the ones that have to go back home every 2 years in this body and every 6 years in the other body and pass muster before the people of the districts as to whether the decisions they have made on policy are right or wrong. But, if the Congress appoints a commission, the commission serves its time, it renders its report, it has no responsibility, it either expires or the members resign, they have no responsibility except to their own prejudices or their own beliefs. They have no responsibility to the people, and therefore I think that any step toward giving back to the Congress the authority commensurate with the responsibility which the people expect us to exercise is a good step. Therefore if this amendment stays in the bill, I will support it, and if the amendment is stricken from the bill, I will vote against the bill.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HARVEY. It was my privilege to serve with the very eminent gentleman from California on the subcommittee for reorganization that implemented the very many Hoover Commission recommendations. I first of all would like to say that I think the gentleman from California, serving as chairman of that subcommittee, did a very fine piece of work, and I was very much encouraged myself with the results of that effort.

I was a little astonished to hear my good friend from Georgia [Mr. LANHAM] state a moment ago that he felt that no economies, of any significance at least, had resulted from those reorganizations. I would like to ask the gentleman from California what his reaction is as to the results of those reorganizations.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I would have to give my answer in two phases. I think that the recommendations of the first Hoover Commission which had to do with economy and efficiency in Government were on a solid basis, that we moved in many fields of legislation and that we did accomplish economy in certain of those fields and efficiency in some of those fields. I have no way of computing the amount in dollars. However, when the second Hoover Commission departed from trying to improve the structure and the function of government organizationwise, and got into the field of policy, it was my opinion, and I expressed it on several occasions in my minority reports, that they were at that time encroaching upon the area of responsibility which the Congress should exercise. I prophesied that no good results would come of most of the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

The President's failure to send to the Congress reorganization plans based on the second Hoover Commission's recommendations is proof that the President

and his advisers either lacked confidence in the merit of the recommendations or they realized that they were encroachments on the policymaking function of the Congress.

Moley and Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Newsweek:

MOLEY AND SUPREME COURT

In his latest three columns in Newsweek, Contributing Editor Raymond Moley has taken close looks at the United States Supreme Court decisions which have caused so much consternation. In writing on these particularly controversial issues, Moley has revisited an earlier field of interest in which he distinguished himself before he gained fame as a journalist. His achievements in later years have tended to overshadow his career in law administration, but they cannot diminish it.

After receiving his master of arts from Oberlin College and a doctor of philosophy from Columbia University, Moley devoted himself to criminal-law administration. From 1919 to 1923 he was director of the Cleveland Foundation, which under his leadership conducted the first monumental survey of the administration of justice in an American city. This and other comprehensive surveys of law enforcement, notably in Missouri and Illinois, led to his appointment as research director of the New York State Crime Commission during the administrations of Gov. Alfred E. Smith. For 30 years he was professor of public law at Columbia University.

He was appointed by Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1930 as a member of the commission which created a new New York State parole system. Later, Governor Roosevelt appointed him research director of his Commission on the Administration of Justice. In all these posts he served with distinction.

In 1931, Judge Samuel Seabury, then conducting the investigation of New York City's magistrates courts, employed Moley to formulate constructive suggestions for reform, and later he was Judge Seabury's chief witness in the investigation of the District Attorney's office in New York County.

Moley's reflections and conclusions resulting from these and many other firsthand observations of the workings of law, the courts, prosecuting agencies, and the police are summarized in three books published between 1929 and 1933, Politics and Criminal Prosecution, Our Criminal Courts, and Tribunes of the People, and in articles in law journals.

In 1933, after serving briefly as a member of President Roosevelt's brain trust, he embarked on a journalism career. For the past 24 years he has written a weekly column of opinion, first in the magazine Today, which he helped found, and later in Newsweek, which was merged with Today in 1937. So well known has he become for his perspective column in Newsweek, I thought readers should know that when Moley writes on the issues in law involved in the Supreme Court decisions, he draws on a background held by few other men.

Duty To Know Ignored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to insert an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean, dated July 9, 1957, concerning the importance of the President to keep informed on administration legislation. The President's statement of July 3 concerning the civil-rights legislation provoked the editorial. I am sure all Members will be interested in reading the editorial, and it follows:

DUTY TO KNOW IGNORED

While the American people's right to know is being so widely discussed, the duty of the President of the United States to keep informed on administration legislation also assumes growing importance.

For long months Mr. Eisenhower has been defending the civil-rights legislation drawn up by his smooth and politically minded Attorney General, Mr. Herbert Brownell. On more than one occasion he called the proposed legislation 'moderate' and held that it would bring peace and quiet to the South. He thought it was aimed solely at the right to vote. He believed its scope was limited.

But all the time, he didn't know.

Even as late as July 3, the Chief Executive was groping in the dark, he admitted at a White House press conference.

"I was reading part of that bill this morning," he said, "and I—there were certain phrases I didn't completely understand. So before I made any more remarks on that (rewriting the bill so that it specifically dealt with the question of the right to vote rather than implementing the Supreme Court decision on integration in schools) I want to talk to the Attorney General and see exactly what they do mean."

Whether the President had read any part of the bill before last week is left unsaid, but the possibility cannot be dismissed that he had been dependent, up to that time, on briefings by Mr. Brownell. And that leads to an additional possibility—that the Attorney General told his chief only what he wanted him to know.

In his bemusement, Mr. Eisenhower has said he was always ready to listen to anyone's presentation of his views on the matter. And it would be well if he did this so that he could strike a balance between the opinions of Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, for instance, and the chief legal officer.

Now some of the things said about the civil-rights legislation have been extreme, but at the same time there have been solid arguments in behalf of a trial by jury in contempt cases rising out of judicial action under the proposed law.

That Mr. Eisenhower is voluntarily going to make any important concessions to opponents of the bill, as now drawn, must be doubted.

Mr. Brownell will tell him, no doubt, just what he told the Senate Subcommittee on Civil Rights: That any intimation that the military would be used to enforce court orders in civil-rights cases "does not represent the true state of facts." Yet if the military would not be used, as a last resort, how would such a measure have any effectiveness?

The disturbing thing is that Mr. Eisenhower has been talking all along about an important issue concerning which he is not well-informed, and has been leaning on underlings whom the Nation as a whole cannot implicitly trust for good intentions.

Where he has not understood what was brewing, however, there is no doubt that Mr. Herbert Brownell knows to the fullest the scope of the legislation which has already entered into the most determined fight of this Congress session. And, not even his best friends could assume that moderation has been an impelling motive in the Attorney General's civil-rights plans.

Operation Good Neighbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is always pleasant to read good news in the hometown newspapers instead of the tragic and unhappy headlines that so often take prominence. So it was with real pleasure that I picked up a copy of the Paterson, N. J., Evening News this week to read the following story, which might well be titled "Operation Good Neighbor," in the Up-Country column written by Harold MacCullough, a capable newspaperman from that area. It describes the splendid public relations job being done by the commanding officer and staff of the United States Army Nike Station in the suburban community of Wayne Township, New Jersey.

The residents were not all overjoyed when the Army announced its plans to locate a guided-missile station in their back yards, but since the opening of the base, Capt. Donald E. Bull, commanding officer, and his men have become a most welcome part of the community. They have shown a civic spirit and a warm friendly approach that have endeared them to their neighbors. Captain Bull and his group deserve commendation for turning what might have been an unpleasant, friction-charged relationship for both the missile station personnel and the people of Wayne Township, into a happy, heartwarming experience.

THEY SAY UP COUNTRY
(By Harold MacCullough)

Sometime back when the United States Army announced it planned a Nike guided missile station for the area between Alps and Ratzer Roads, and Route 23, Wayne Township, an uproar went up from many who protested the installation.

Since it has been in operation we have heard no unfavorable comments.

The equipment there and the personnel, ably commanded, provides a setup that gives the residents of the area a feeling of security.

But, something rarely heard of, is what the men have done by way of saving lives through the medium of giving blood.

The enlisted men, and there are approximately 100 of them at the installation, have

given as much as 40 pints of blood to aid the ill and thereby saving lives.

Men trained in the art of handling weapons of war which are designed to kill, are in peacetime saving lives.

We are not telling tales out of school, when we speak of one case in particular, where the young men at the Nike station volunteered and gave their blood to help save a life.

The patient was the wife of an editor of this newspaper. She was desperately ill and the call went out for life-saving blood. Among those appealed to were the Nike personnel.

Others gave too, but when the men at Nike were lined up for inspection, and the appeal read to them, it was only a matter of seconds when many stepped out of line and volunteered.

We can explain it best when we use the words of the editor when he said: "I arrived at the hospital only to see men in uniform all over the place. What a comfort."

When we find soldiers, volunteering time and time again, it is something worth telling the public about.

We proudly salute those at Nike, men and officers alike.

We would like to list the names of all who have given blood but space will not permit. At a later date we plan to name the honor roll.

We list the officers at the station, all capable men, who "have the situation well in hand."

Capt. Donald E. Bull, commandant of the station; Lt. Harry Masker, executive officer; Lt. Robert J. Falvey, and Lt. Wilbur D. Lord.

Good luck to all, officers, noncoms and men in the ranks.

Polish Falcon Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a resolution adopted by the Polish Falcons of America, Nest 212, Fifth District, at its 29th meeting held in Ansonia, Conn., June 28 through June 30, 1957.

The resolution follows:

We, the delegates of Polish Falcons of America, convened in 34th convention and the 29th meeting, in Ansonia, Conn., on June 28, 29, and 30, 1957, resolve:

To be loyal and to defend the interests of the Polish nation, including its Oder and Neisse west boundary, which is racially Polish territory and which rightfully belongs to Poland.

The Polish nation, always a bulwark of Christianity, was sold into the orbit of the Kremlin.

We, as citizens of the United States in North America and with the help of our State Department will endeavor to obtain for our Polish countrymen the freedom and independence which is rightfully theirs.

We, American citizens, request our United States Government to use its influence so that our nation could free itself from the enforced outrages of Moscow; we have great regret that our Polish efforts regarding these outrages have not been more fruitful and that Poland has not gained her emancipation. As Americans of Polish descent we consider it our sacred duty to support these matters of eventual liberation and return of full freedom within her boundaries.

We request our Polish organizations to support these claims, and work for justice in the freedom of our country.

Long live the United States.

Long live the Polish Falcons with its president, Walter Laska, in charge.

As a Polish Falcon organization of United States citizens who are of Polish descent, we stand loyal by our President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and our American homeland.

Long live the fifth district of Polish Falcons of America.

For resolution committee:

K. MAJEWICZ,
Chairman.
M. ZELINSKA.
PR. PIANKA.
KL. MARKOWSKI.

Mr. Dulles on Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of July 4, 1957, entitled "Mr. Dulles on Red China." It is interesting to note the prophetic accuracy of both Secretary Dulles and the editors of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Indeed, Communist dictatorships are built on the shifting sands of oppression and brute force. No regime built on that shaky a foundation can long stand.

All Americans should remain determined not to strengthen these shaky and temporal organizations by any acts of ours.

MR. DULLES ON RED CHINA

In San Francisco recently, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made a brilliant analysis of this Nation's policy toward Red China. It was a classic argument that should go far toward reassuring our important friends and allies in Asia that Washington will not climb into bed with their worst foe—the aggressive Communist regime that holds power in Peiping.

Before Secretary Dulles spoke, some columnists circulated the report he would take this occasion to announce that Washington was backtracking on its refusal to begin doplimatic relations with the Red Chinese regime. Secretary Dulles' blunt speech was a ringing rebuttal to those who hope somehow, some way to persuade Washington to help this international aggressor get into polite society.

Secretary Dulles took particular note of the argument, often advanced by British spokesmen, that the Red Chinese regime is here to stay, and we might as well do business with it.

On this point he said:

"First of all, let me say emphatically that the United States need never succumb to the argument of 'inevitability.' We, with our friends, can fashion our own destiny. We do not accept the mastery of Communist forces.

"And let me go on to say that these Communist despotisms are not so immutable as they sometimes appear. Time and circumstances work also upon them * * *.

"Nothing could be more dangerous than for the United States to operate on the theory that if hostile and evil forces do not quickly and readily change, then it is we who must change to meet them * * *.

"If Communism is stubborn for the wrong, let us be steadfast for the right."

It is, as Secretary Dulles pointed out, an optical illusion that makes the totalitarian regime of a Stalin, a Khrushchev, a Mussolini, or a Mao seem as solid and unshakable as the pyramids. Their dictatorships are built on the shifting sands of oppression and brute force.

No regime built on that shaky a fundation can long stand.

It is not the United States that must tremble for the future, but the Red dictatorships. John Foster Dulles should get a bouquet for reminding us of a basic fact of political life that is all too often forgotten.

South Is on the March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Nashville Banner, under date of July 9, 1957, commenting on a statement of Frank J. Soday, president of the Southern Association of Science and Industry:

SOUTH IS ON THE MARCH

The South, industrially, is building—not built. Its roster of enterprises is growing—not grown. To borrow a statement of Frank J. Soday, president of the Southern Association of Science and Industry, "The South, birthplace of American industry, is coming into its own at last."

Mr. Soday documents that assertion with a summary of this expansion, published in the Manufacturers Record, enlarging upon his prediction of 2 years ago that by 1965 the South would have 30 percent of the country's manufacturing industry—a rate of growth that would require the addition of three plants each day during the period, or a total of 10,000 in 10 years. That rate of growth was exceeded in 1956, when 1,060 plants were added to the southern manufacturing potential.

"To illustrate the rapidity with which the South has been building its manufacturing potential, the Gulf States area has accounted for one-sixth of all of the industrial construction in the country during the past 10 years. The value of such construction is $3.25 billion, which is six times the value of all industry built in the New England area during the same period."

The South's proportion of the Nation's manufacturing facilities has increased from 9 percent in 1900 to 22 percent today.

The South now has 33,700 manufacturing establishments, of which 15,000 employ 50 or more persons. Some 22,000 new industrial plants have located in the area since 1939, and its industrial output has increased from $11 billion to $62 billion during the same period.

State by State and regionwide this progress shows, developments that have come because the resources are here and concerned leaders have worked at it.

The Banner observed the other day that Nashville's steady business and industrial

advance reflects the confidence of those investing in such a program of expansion. On the wide scale, the South's economic growth rests on the same essential, heartening factor.

Mr. Soday does not overstate it, drawing his conclusions from the remarkable record of facts and figures: Southern industry is on the march. It commands national attention. It denotes awakening to the fact that progress is everybody's business.

So They May See Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting to the Congress and the American people a well-written article by Ernest K. Lindley in which the constructive proposals made by Vice President NIXON at the 42d Kiwanis international convention at Atlantic City on June 27 are outlined.

The article follows:

[From Newsweek for July 8, 1957]

SO THEY MAY SEE US

(By Ernest K. Lindley)

The constructive proposals made by Vice President NIXON at Atlantic City last week deserve serious attention. He urged that the United States:

1. Increase to 25,000, more than doubling, the number of leaders from all parts of the world brought to the United States annually under the Government's exchange program.

2. Actively seek an exchange of persons and information with the Soviet bloc.

There is and has been no opposition in principle to more visitors from nations outside the Communist sphere. The chief obstacle is financial. Our Government has provided some funds for this purpose, as have foundations and other private organizations. These subventions have enabled many thousands of leaders—officials, teachers, journalists, businessmen, labor leaders, and others from many lands—to visit the United States in the last several years. A very large majority of these visitors have gone home with a better understanding of our institutions, our customs, and our purposes, and a friendlier feeling toward us. As the Vice President pointed out, what these people say about us carries more weight than what we say about ourselves through the Voice of America and our other overseas information activities.

YOUTH, AS WELL

A program so manifestly useful in its effects ought to be expanded. NIXON's proposal to double the Government's exchange program is not in the least unreasonable. The number of visitors from the newer countries of Asia and Africa might well be trebled or quadrupled. The cost would be insignificant. We should bring to this country not only more recognized leaders from other lands but more potential future leaders. The Soviet Union, Red China, and other Communist nations make an especially strong play for the young people. They bring them on temporary visits and also offer scholarships by the thousands. We should do the same and on an even larger scale. Were the scholarships available, a large percentage of the students in the new nations who go abroad to study would come to the United States. We are missing the opportunity to assist in the education of thousands of young people who in time will become leaders.

Various objections have been raised to a wider exchange of persons and information with Communist nations. NIXON himself does not advocate such exchanges with Red China now. But he favors them with the Soviet Union as well as with the smaller Communist states of Eastern Europe. As he pointed out, many of the principal obstacles lie on the side of the Soviets. If they want a freer exchange of information they can agree to a regular exchange of TV programs, can stop jamming the "Voice of America," permit American magazines and newspapers to circulate freely in the Soviet Union, and remove other barriers which they have imposed.

SLOW ON THE UPTAKE

But the fact remains that during the last 3 years the Soviet Union has sought a wider exchange of persons with us as well as with other countries. Our response has tended to be lethargic if not at times reluctant. As a result of the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian freedom movement, we halted exchanges. Whether this method of showing our disapproval served well our own long-range purposes is debatable. Now we are again arranging exchanges.

While recognizing that certain risks are involved, the Vice President has concluded that the widest possible exchange of persons with the Soviet bloc is to our advantage. He made the point that if many come, the Soviet authorities will have a hard time in making sure that all of them are hardened Communists. But even hardened Communists are likely to see things in the United States which in the future will make them less susceptible to their own propaganda.

Our hope of achieving a reliable peace with the Soviet Union rests largely on a gradual evolution of the Soviet political system. Such an evolution is likely to be stimulated by maximum exposure of the Soviet people to contacts with the rest of the world. NIXON is, I think, right and wise in urging that we actively seek to promote this maximum exposure.

China's Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of July 4, 1957:

CHINA'S PROBLEM

Most Americans do not realize the staggering scope of Communist China's economic problem, and the speech of Mao Tsetung, obtained recently by a western newspaperman, reveals the gravity of the situation now being felt inside China.

Although the Chinese Communists have unquestionably made some progress in establishing order among China's 600 million people, the rapidly increasing population is complicating the task of raising the living standard in that country. According to reliable sources, Mao admitted some 30 million births are taking place annually in China, and also that the increase in the grain harvest in the last 2 years has been just enough to take care of the increase in population—maintaining the same low standard of living.

With China on a huge heavy industry expansion, it is obvious that workers' wages cannot be increased and living conditions improved while this is going on and China's birth rate remains as high as it is. In short, China faces the problem so many countries face—that of overpopulation.

Recent indications that Mao is taking an increasingly independent line from that of Moscow and an admission from China's top leader that the Chinese economy is having its troubles, are encouraging.

The net effect seems to be that Communist China is not to be considered a major threat to the Western powers in the near future—as far as any major war or grandiose expansion in that area of the world is concerned. However, if the economic problem is ever solved in China, and the Communists continue to expand their heavy industry, eventually the regime in China could become a more dangerous threat to the world than Communist Russia.

As to Tight Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Saturday, July 6, 1957, commenting upon one recent report of one subcommittee on fiscal policy of the Joint Economic Committee:

AS TO TIGHT MONEY

The next time Democratic campaigners feel inclined to make political capital by inveighing against "tight money" policies of the Eisenhower Administration, they should be reminded of a report just issued on that subject by a subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee.

Representative WILBUR MILLS, of Arkansas, was chairman of the subcommittee. Senators PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, completed the Democratic majority. Minority members were Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Webster Groves, and Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona.

After hearing 35 economists and Government officials testify, this subcommittee unanimously concluded that the Government ought to maintain "tight money" and resist tax cuts as the best way to combat continuing inflationary pressures. Fiscal and monetary restraints on the total level of spending are essential in such a period as this, the subcommittee says. So interest rates must continue to be high, Government income must continue to surpass outlays, as long as inflationary dangers persist.

This is a courageous and unquestionably a correct assessment of the Nation's economic position. Since "tight money" always hurts somebody, and would not be effective unless it did, politicians face a constant temptation to exploit it for political purposes. But the truth is that if money suddenly became "loose" instead of "tight," the added demands thus poured into the economy would redouble the upward pressure on prices which already causes concern.

If the Government were to try to hold prices in check by other means than a restrictive monetary policy, it would have to

resort to even more rigorous measures—such as a policy of extreme fiscal austerity, increasing taxes while reducing expenditures, and imposing direct controls on prices and wages.

"Tight money" did not actually originate with the Eisenhower administration. It originated with the Federal Reserve Board, when that independent agency stopped supporting the price of Government securities in 1951, during the Truman administration, and started tightening up on credit. Ever since that time, interest rates have been gradually rising.

For a time in late 1953 and 1954, when the inflationary pressures slackened, the Federal Reserve system eased up on credit restrictions. But when the economy began expanding again, the brakes again had to be applied. They will have to stay on unless we want to see a runaway boom end in a disastrous bust.

This is not to say that some special hardships arising from restrictive credit policies need not be dealt with. For example, some of the governors at their annual conference were on the right track when they suggested a Federal guaranty for local school bonds that would permit them to be marketed at lower interest rates. But when Democratic governors converted this sensible idea into a broadside attack upon "tight money" as such, they were talking politics, not economics.

Representative MILL'S subcommittee, speaking economically, told the story—the national welfare demands fiscal and monetary restraints for as long as the pressure of prices and wages remains on the inflationary side.

Prejudice Cannot Interfere With Educational Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Jacksonville (Tex.) Daily Progress of Thursday, June 13, 1957. I commend it to the membership of the House.

The editorial follows:

PREJUDICE CAN'T INTERFERE WITH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

If this is one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all we must see to it that there is equal opportunity in public-school education for all children. This means a decent school building in Mississippi or Arkansas as much as in the east Texas oil field.

This never will be one Nation until we forget our provincialism, and bring about an equalization of opportunity, everywhere in the land.

If there is no way locally to to build a decent schoolhouse, let's see that it is done by the county. If there is no way for the county to provide the decent schoolhouse, let's make sure the State does it. Going further, if it is not possible for States to build these schools, then it is our responsibility, right here in Texas, to make sure that the backwoods child of another State gets an equal opportunity to education.

The principles of Gilmer-Aiken which brought about a high degree of equalization in teacher pay throughout Texas needs to be carried to the buildings, as well. And the same principles need to be carried out in the Nation.

All of this propaganda about fear of the greatest Government in the world—the United States Government—is sickening indeed. Believe not a word of it. What these opponents of Federal aid in school building are saying is that they don't want all children to have a fair and equal chance in America. The whole idea of civilization is concern for the welfare of others. It's the basis of Christianity and godliness, too.

Things Just Don't Happen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the causes and effects of the recent upheaval in the Kremlin will be the subject of much discussion for years to come. A number of evaluations and interpretations have already been put forth.

A particularly careful and interesting analysis recently came to my attention. It was written by Gen. Joseph F. Battley, president of the National Paint, Varnish, and Lacquer Association, in Coatings, his weekly report to the industry. General Battley, who served his country with great distinction and ability for many years, has written a piece which deserves wide attention, and under leave previously granted, I include it at this point in the RECORD:

THINGS JUST DON'T HAPPEN

The banishment of Stalinist leaders from the ruling force in Russia has implications extending far beyond those which show on the surface of a major political upheavel. More importantly, the action ties into a series of events which, in their totality, add to what undoubtedly is President Eisenhower's greatest victory in the cold war to date.

The chain of events may well be considered to start with the Suez crisis. Then, it will be recalled, Syrian allies of Russia were poised for movement into Jordan, the next objective of the Kremlin, with the Egyptian situation well under control. The goal, of course, was the teremendous oil reserves in the Middle East. The barriers, England and France, had been obliterated. President Eisenhower moved with courage and dispatch. The Sixth Fleet made its grand entrance into the Mediterranean, with nothing left undone to wring the last full measure of drama and determination from the act. The stakes were indeed high. The full evaluation awaits history's report, but the immediate outcome is in the pages of the newspapers of July 4.

Then President Eisenhower made his courageous decision based on careful consideration of possibilities and military propabilities. When the history of the cold war is written, I believe that his strategy in this instance will go down as one of his greatest achievements. New York and Detroit were not threatened with guided missiles as was London when Sir Anthony Eden intervened in the Suez. Nor did this country receive a stern warning letter from Khrushchev as did England and France. In fact, the only words from Moscow were a few jumbled sentences in Pravda against the United States. The Syrian troops broke camp, went home. Jordan defeated its enemies from within, safeguarding the integrity of its borders.

Without firing a gun or losing a friend anywhere, the United States had dealt Russia a staggering blow. It paved the way for the Richards mission. Today only Syria and Egypt are outside the orbit of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Israel knows peace in a greater measure than for many months.

Against this backdrop there was bound to be clamor in Moscow where defeat is not easily accepted, less readily admitted because rarely so openly and definitely inflicted. Heads had to roll. Appropriately, July 4, the day which is synonymous with the greatest stride the principle of independence ever has undertaken, marked the Kremlin purge.

The Russian attitude has changed in other directions. It is willing to discuss control of the atom bomb. It has freed the farmers and eliminated a principle of the Communists in so doing. Now it removes the last of the Stalinists from control. Russian threat has diminished. It is more amenable to peace talks as it realizes it must get along with the rest of the world.

Robert Edwards, writing in the London Express, said, "Successful diplomacy depends on overwhelming strength" and I would add that it also depends on a President who makes his decisions and who has removed the fear of war for generations ahead. There is no question that the change of policies in Russia is due to one man alone and Russia has found the President willing and responsive to their new proposals for peace. Nevertheless, he will be apprehensive until they prove their acceptance of a peaceful code.

Sudeten Germans Send Congratulations to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I received from Dr. Walter Becher, member of the Bavarian Landtag, Secretary General of the Sudeten German Council, in which he extends his best wishes and congratulations to the United States on the occasion of our Independence Day:

SUDETENDEUTSCHER RAT E. V.,
München, July 1, 1957.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
United States Representative,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE FLOOD: On the occasion of July 4, the American Independence Day, I should like to express to you on behalf of the Sudeten German people, my best congratulations to this national day of your Nation, and best wishes for the free and great future of the United States.

Since the past July 4, we have witnessed unfortunately, the failure of the free world in the case of the Hungarian freedom fight, when the West did not help men bleeding for freedom, and we have witnessed also a new flower of the policy of illusions, believing in the national communism—trick of international communism—a trick bringing the West to help Communist states, and we have seen efforts to trade with the Reds. This is an obvious failure which does not suit either the great American past nor a sound and moral thinking in the free world. This fail-

ure concerns all countries of the West, including West Germany.

Yet it is exactly July 4, the American Independence Day, on which also we, the Sudeten Germans over here in West Germany recall vividly the splendid past of the United States and the traditions of your great people and express our hope that these traditions of freedom for men and nations will again be revived in the future as a beacon for all freedom-loving men of all nations.

Please accept, on July 4, my best and most sincere wishes for the future of your country, and your people, for your work in the Congress, and for you personally.

Yours most sincerely,

Dr. WALTER BECHER,
Member of the Bavarian Landtag, Secretary General, Sudeten German Council.

Need Not Proved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that apparently much support for the so-called Federal aid to school construction legislation has subsided. When Congress convened the first of this year, we were importuned by certain groups to pass immediately the so-called Federal aid to school construction legislation. An all-out effort was made to create the impression, among other things, that due to the great need for classrooms it was necessary to have the Federal Government provide the funds to the States and localities to construct the necessary schools. Actually the Federal Government has a much larger public debt than do the States and localities. Also it has been demonstrated that the need for school construction is not nearly as bad as contended by the proponents of the legislation.

It has been further demonstrated that many of the proponents of this legislation are attempting to get the Federal Government one step closer toward taking over the public schools of America.

Experience has taught us that Federal aid is inevitably followed by Federal control. I am glad to see the slowing down and the waning of support for this socialistic legislation. I am also glad to know from the press that the Chief Executive is not as strong for this legislation as he originally was reported to be.

Recently there appeared in the Petersburg Progress-Index an editorial on this legislation. As usual, the editor of this fine paper has pinpointed the problem and demonstrated the fallacy of the contentions of the proponents of this legislation. I have a high regard for the editor and commend to the Members of this body the editorial. I believe it will be helpful if the Members will read it before accepting without serious study the glib statements of the proponents of this legislation. The editorial is as follows:

NEED NOT PROVED

Speaker RAYBURN says he wants the House of Representatives to pass on the $1,500,000,000 school construction bill at this session, "one way or another."

A similar bill died in the previous session because of the anti-integration rider. It has been offered again as a key part of the Eisenhower program, and the present edition is a compromise of Democratic and Republican proposals. In spite of the considerable support, it has become one of the favorite targets of the economy drive. Unofficial reports say that President Eisenhower's enthusiasm for it has been waning.

The most revealing recent commentary on the subject is the response to a questionnaire which Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER sent out to State governors. Of 27 who replied, 14 expressed opposition to Federal aid for schools. The Maryland Republican is confirmed in his belief that the professional alarmists and Socialist-inclined pressure groups have tried to create the impression there is need for a Federal school building program.

The answers to his questionnaire, not to mention all the other evidences on the subject, show that there is no consensus that such a program is needed, even if it would not be an entering wedge for Federal control of public education.

He Plowed Deep

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, Indiana's farmers recently learned that one of their most effective leaders and spokesmen plans after this year to take a less active part in farm organization activities. For more than a generation Hassil E. Schenck has been president of the Indiana Farm Bureau, and its strength and vitality today are testimony of his leadership. Although he has announced that he will retire from the presidency, we are sure his counsel and vast experience will continue to be available to farmers in Indiana and in the United States for many years to come.

I want to insert an editorial which appeared in the Indianapolis Star on Wednesday, July 10, 1957, and which is indicative of the high regard in which Mr. Schenck is held in Indiana?

HE PLOWED DEEP

In the impending retirement of Hassil E. Schenck the farmers of Indiana and the Nation will lose the active services of one of the Nation's outstanding agricultural leaders. The fact that he is both the senior State Farm Bureau president in point of service and the senior director of the American Farm Bureau Federation is an indication of the amount of time he has given to these organizations.

His leadership has been sound. He has resisted the growth of Government controls in agriculture. He has sought to steer farming toward increasing adaptation to the demands of the market place.

His leadership has been effective and successful. The growth of the Indiana Farm Bureau, during his 23 years as president is evidence of that.

Schenck has certainly earned the right to retire from organization activity. But he will be missed.

Egg Prices Do Not Improve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Henry A. Ness, of Hallock, Minn., writes:

A dozen eggs doesn't pay for a 6-inch bolt—is this equality?

Such egg prices do not leave much to eat and live on let alone buy bolts to fasten the chickenhouse door. Mr. Arthur Carlson, of Bagley, Minn., has listed the egg prices in markets in Bagley and Bemidji. Gilbert Fasse, of Staples, reports prices for eggs from January to June 1957, ranging from 20 cents to 23 cents for grade A large, and from 14 cents to 16 cents for grade C in his area. Mr. Simon Knudson, of McIntosh, reports prices ranging from 15 cents to 23 cents for different grades of eggs in his area and 8 cents for light and heavy hens and cockerels. In the Fosston market, Mr. Knudson reports the same egg price range for the different grades and prices of 8 cents for hens, 7 cents for springers, and 6 cents for roosters.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD the letters from Mr. Ness, and Mr. Carlson, together with the attached price lists for eggs and poultry:

JULY 5, 1957.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: I am very happy to receive your report from the House of Representatives. * * * I am a rather busy farmer at this time. I do not have a report from all this area.

Bagley—Eggs:	
Grade A	$0.23
Grade A, medium	.18
Grade B	.18
Grade C	.15
Bimidji—Eggs:	
Grade A	.26
Grade A, medium	.23
Grade B	.20
Grade C	.18

These egg prices have remained about the same for the past 10 days.

Most sincerely,

ARTHUR CARLSON.

BAGLEY, MINN.

Bagley markets

Eggs:	
Grade A	$0.23
Grade A, medium	.18
Grade B	.18
Grade C	.15
Hens	.08
Cocks	.06
Springers	.08

HALLOCK, MINN., *July 7, 1957.*

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
Congresswoman, Minnesota.

HONORABLE COYA: I have had good intentions of writing you for some time but it seems as though we forget to voice our appreciation to those who are doing a good job for us.

* * * * *

I realize after my trip to Washington, D. C., how futile it is to put anything across to our present Department of Agriculture. I am herewith enclosing my last statement for 15 dozen eggs which speaks for itself. A dozen eggs doesn't pay for a six-inch bolt—Is this equality?

We have just had another 2 inches of rain and I'm afraid approximately 80 percent of the crops in my area will be completely lost and I urge you to do all you can to include Kittson County in the disaster area, to provide emergency loans for the farmers, as I know if provided it will be greatly appreciated by many.

If I can be of any assistance to you in the future kindly advise.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY A. NESS.

Lancaster Co-op Produce

Eggs:	
Grade A, large	$0.21
Grade A, medium	.15
Grade B	.16
Grade C, No. 2	.15

Political Chicanery Thwarts Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the deadline on payment of income taxes coming close on the heels of a $71 billion budget shocked our people into a realization that (a) their taxes were too high, (b) the Federal Government was spending altogether too much money, (c) national financial disaster was just around the corner. The result was an insistent demand that Congress cut appropriations. That the Congress proceeded to do.

But then came pressure from many groups insisting upon new legislation; additional appropriations of billions for foreign aid, other billions for national defense, millions for Federal aid to education, to name but three.

On top of those three—and there were others—came the politician's dream. A bill to protect civil rights, though it referred to but one, the right to vote. One purpose was to secure the Negro vote in the 1958 and 1960 elections.

The bill was wholly unnecessary. We have a statute—Revised Statutes, section 2004 and following—which makes it a criminal offense to deny to any person his right to vote at any election because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. We have a crime-detecting organization, the FBI, unsurpassed. We have a Department of Justice with an Attorney General and United States district attorneys and district and appellate courts with authority and the means of enforcing that statute.

Nevertheless, though not needed, to curry favor with minority groups, along came this so-called civil-rights bill. It created a new Commission which was empowered to employ an Advisory Commission with authority to make investigations, subpena witnesses, hold hearings, and make recommendations. A new snooping agency. This though the regular standing committees of the Congress have like authority, and upon these standing committees is imposed the same duties delegated to the Commission.

The bill also authorized the appointment of a new Assistant Attorney General and provided authority to employ an unlimited number of assistants to the assistant. The Congress was given not even an estimate as to the cost which would be incurred by the Commission, its employees, the Assistant Attorney General and his assistants and employees, but the bill did contain a provision authorizing the appropriation of so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

The foregoing is an illustration of the way the Congress, under the guise of a worthy purpose, in my judgment, needlessly authorizes the wasteful expenditure of your tax dollars. It is an example of how an economy drive is halted.

To further insult the intelligence of the average citizen, the bill, while purporting to protect civil rights, took from the citizen his established constitutional right to a trial by jury when charged with a criminal offense.

I did not vote for the bill because (a) there is now on the books ample legislation to protect the right to vote; (b) we have an FBI second to no agency in the wide, wide world capable of detecting criminal activities; and (c) we have a United States Attorney General backed by able, vigorous United States district attorneys, plus United States district and appellate courts capable of seeing that the present law protecting the right to vote is enforced.

And because, most important of all, the bill deprived a citizen of his basic, fundamental, constitutional right to trial by jury.

Incidentally, it calls for additional unnecessary Federal employees and the needless spending of additional tax dollars.

Two Ohio Citizens Recognized as National Leaders in Fight To Control Tuberculosis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, an unusual honor has come to Stark County in the recognition of two of our citizens as national leaders in the fight to control tuberculosis.

Dr. William M. Morgan, of Alliance, is serving as president of the National Tuberculosis Association, and Mr. L. L. Taylor, of Canton, is president-elect of the National Conference of Tuberculosis Workers.

Each man in his own field, one voluntary and the other as a professional worker, has reached the highest office to which he might aspire in this work.

As one who has observed their sincere devotion and unceasing labors over the years, I can testify the recognition is well deserved.

Dr. Morgan, a professor at Mount Union College, has served the tuberculosis association in county, State, and national offices for 20 years.

Mr. Taylor has been in this work since 1944, and he is the third county executive ever to be elected to top national office.

Both have contributed greatly to eliminate tuberculosis as a threat to public health in our county, State, and Nation. They have brought honor to Stark County and the State of Ohio.

Beyond the Fifth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Raymond Moley from Newsweek dated July 15, 1957:

BEYOND THE FIFTH
(By Raymond Moley)

PORTLAND, OREG.—The current reflections of Dave Beck must be embittered by the thought that if his interrogation by the McClellan committee had been a few weeks later, he and his son might have spared themselves the trouble of taking the fifth amendment 328 times. For the Supreme Court in the Watkins case makes it clear that any witness, without mentioning self-incrimination, may decide for himself what is relevant to the making of the laws of the land. However, the most eminent of the defenders of the fifth amendment, Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School, in his book, The Fifth Amendment Today, justifies a witness in taking the fifth even when he has no confidence in a committee. There was a time, during the internal revenue scandals, when many of us had no confidence in the Bureau, but we responded to its questions and paid our taxes.

But we are far beyond the fifth amendment now. Silence, unembellished silence, is the law.

Since the Watkins decision, all sorts of screwballs and subversives are skipping about like rams. The Court has fitted their needs, as one lawyer puts it, "like a glove." Go ahead, folks, say what you please; choose whatever shabby, traitorous pals your heart may crave; go to their meetings, and sing in the choir. Support Communist causes with sympathy and money, and you may be invited to lecture with Oppenheimer at Harvard.

COMMUNIST REVIVAL

There is no better Member of Congress than GORDON H. SCHERER. He was out here on the coast when the Supreme Court handed down its shocking decision. He was serving as a member of a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He says that when the news of the Court's action was known, a former chairman of the Communist Party in California said that this "will mark a rejuvenation of the party in America * * * we are on our way."

SCHERER saw the rejuvenation in San Francisco. Communists swarmed into the hearing room like flies. Members of the subcommittee were subjected to snide remarks as they passed by. When the hearings opened, a lawyer appeared, armed with the Watkins decision, and before his witness was allowed to speak demanded that the subcommittee outline in detail the nature and object of its investigation and explain to his satisfaction how each question was pertinent to the subject of the investigation.

What Dean Griswold said applies with greater pertinence now, for it reflects the sentimental thinking behind these decisions. The fifth amendment, he wrote, was "an expression of the moral striving of the community * * * a symbol of the America that stirs our hearts." He argues that the taker of the fifth should be spared not only any unfavorable inferences, but any social punishment and reproach. Time was when people who stood against prevailing opinion in defense of their beliefs were prepared to take the consequences. Sidney Hook, in his devastating book replying to Griswold, "Common Sense and the Fifth Amendment," says: "Can anyone imagine a William Lloyd Garrison or a Eugene Debs hiding behind the fifth amendment?"

TEST OF HISTORY

Hook exposes relentlessly the shallow scholarship which prompts the dean to associate the immunity from self-incrimination with the great Anglo-American struggles for human rights. The renowned reformer of the penal law, Jeremy Bentham, saw no justification for the privilege. Nor did America's foremost legal scholar, John H. Wigmore. Justice Cardozo said that "justice would not perish if the accused were subject to a duty to respond to orderly inquiry." Justice Stephen, in his "History of the Criminal Law of England" wrote that the privilege was merely one of a number of rights which "arose from a peculiar and accidental state of things which long since passed away."

Perhaps it is a mark of the dilution of law and commonsense with sociological and psychological jargon in law schools that is responsible for the loose sentimentalism of Griswold, who occupies the position once distinguished by such scholars and philosophers as Roscoe Pound. Perhaps that is what is the matter with our judges.

The Supreme Court Reaches for Total Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am inserting a timely article by Mr. Forrest Davis which appeared in the July 6 issue of the National Review. The time has come for all citizens of this country to realize that something strange is going on within our High Court.

The article follows:

THE COURT REACHES FOR TOTAL POWER—IN ITS DECISION OF JUNE 17 THE WARREN COURT, SAYS ONE OF THE MOST ERUDITE OF AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, HAS THROWN DOWN A GAGE WHICH CONGRESS MUST TAKE UP UNLESS IT IS WILLING TO ABDICATE

(By Forrest Davis)

The 17th of June was a decision day in the vast, muted, alabastrine palace of the United States Supreme Court, a steamingly humid, unseasonable day without. The decisions announced within may well mark the date in future as our 18th Brumaire—the occasion on which the Court asserted its power over the Congress as on that November day in 1799 the Napoleon Consulate seized power from the Council of the Five Hundred.

On June 17 the Court, in its Watkins decision, announced itself, as dissenting Justice Tom C. Clark phrased it, the "Grand Inquisitor and supervisor of congressional investigations." That decision, written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, arrogated to the Court by profuse obiter dicta command over a vital function of the Congress, derived from Lord Coke's description of the House of Commons as the "general inquisitors of the realm" and from long usage and precedent. In its decision in the California Communist cases, acquitting 5 and ordering new trials for 9 other defendants, the Court repealed one section of the Smith Act, an act previously held constitutional by this Court. It wrote law by establishing a new standard, under which a Communist scarcely could be found guilty of conspiring to overthrow this Government by force unless apprehended on the barricades, faggot in one and, tommy-gun in the other; and the Court usurped the ancient prerogative of a jury to be the sole judge of the facts at trial.

In short, on June 17 the Warren Court (bearing the Chief Justice's name in some public derogation because to him is attributed the stiffening of the will to power in certain of his associates) precipitated a constitutional crisis long in the making which, should Congress defend its prerogatives, will give rise to a struggle for power reminiscent of the quarrels between King and Commons in Stuart and Hanoverian England.

Even more frighteningly, the court on June 17 confirmed the public judgment that in all cases dealing with Communism it hastens to the side of those guilty or accused of bearing a part in the great conspiracy, fathered in Moscow, which the executive and the Congress repeatedly have declared to be a "clear and present danger."

ABSOLUTISM

The only visible beneficiary of the Court's solicitude for the Communist cause is that cause itself; a fact to which the New York Daily Worker exuberantly testified. The Court, because it speaks in the name of civil liberties, is often described as "liberal." Yet as it suppresses the powers of the Congress, as it spreads the broad mantle of its protection over the Communist apparatus, it is reactionary; as reactionary as the endeavor to subvert and betray our fluid, flexible, tractable, but often uncomprehending society is reactionary. Where the Court, beyond the reach of the citizen, arrogates to itself the irresponsible right to make law de novo (as in the school cases); where it blurs the line between the state and society (as in the Girard College case); where it amends the law capriciously (as in the California Communist cases); the Court is not only reactionary but tinged with the political vice of the 20th century: absolutism.

Four decisions of June 17 conformed to the Court's pattern set in the Steve Nelson appeal from a Pennsylvania conviction. Two—the reversal of the conviction of John T. Watkins, an Illinois labor leader, for contempt of Congress, and the California Communist rulings—bespoke a revolutionary impulse in the Court, i. e., a desire to realine the power relationships of the State and to magnify the Court into the sole legitimate author of the law of the land.

What the Court did in Watkins was to ride down the congressional right to investigate, to press it within narrow limits of legislative intent, to surround witnesses with a wall of immunity, and specifically to deny the Congress' right "to expose for the sake of exposure," which was the Chief Justice's belittling term for the right of "informing," a right which Woodrow Wilson, in his Congressional Government, placed above even the Congress' legislative function. Said Wilson, of a right pretty well taken for granted and highly regarded by Liberals, including two members of the Court, before the Congress began seeking light on the Communist threat in our midst:

"Even more important than legislation is the instruction and guidance in political affairs which the people might receive from a body which kept all national concerns suffused in a broad daylight of discussion."

To suffuse national concerns in Mr. Wilson's "broad daylight" requires that the Congress be free to inform itself, as well as the people, through the investigative process with power to subpena persons and papers and to punish refractory and obstructive witnesses for contempt.

The Watkins decision, by adding the first amendment's guaranty of free speech and the common-law right of privacy to the fifth amendment as a screen between Congress and the witness, makes future inquiries dependent on the leave of those under investigation.

Congress' right to free inquiry, struck down by the Chief Justice and five associates in supposed deference to the citizen's right freely to discuss, has been maintained in large part by liberals. Two concurring justices in the Watkins decision, Hugo L. Black and Felix Frankfurter, upheld the congressional prerogative to the full when the reluctant witnesses were businessmen or corrupt politicians. In a New Republic article of May 21, 1924, revealing entitled "Hands Off the Investigations," Mr. Frankfurter eloquently affirmed the right searchingly to inquire.

He wrote: "The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt, or names dragged through the mud * * *. The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations upon inquiry."

In 1936, Black was conducting, as chairman of the Senate's lobby committee, an inquiry into the practices of certain corporate witnesses. He wrote feelingly for the February Harper's magazine, under the title "Inside a Senate Investigation," of the dodges employed by witnesses to withhold papers and escape his questioning. Senator Black, as a matter of course, militantly upheld the right of his committee to penetrate the special privilege of secrecy claimed by witnesses. He witheringly dismissed any invocation of the right of privacy. Wrote Black:

"There is no power on earth that can tear away the veil behind which powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups operate save the sovereign legislative power armed with the right of subpena and search. * * * Notwithstanding * * * continuous opposition, the House and Senate have uniformly sustained the right of their committees to obtain such evidence [from balky witnesses] since the first congressional investigation was ordered by the House in 1792. The courts have upheld them."

It is clear that Justice Black does not regard Communist agents and all who serve Moscow as members of powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups from whom the veil may only be torn away by the sovereign legislative power. Nor does Justice Frankfurter currently hold that Congress' writs should run against witnesses able but unwilling to reveal the scope and nature of Moscow's endeavor to undo our society.

THE KILBOURN CASE

In reaching his decision in the Watkins case, the Chief Justice relied upon an all but forgotten and long neglected Supreme Court case, *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson*, (103 U.S. 168), decided in 1881 and a rather singular finding. Warren held that the legislative purpose behind the questioning of Watkins had not been disclosed to him with indisputable charity.

This assertion Justice Clark disputed in his dissenting opinion, bluntly and specifically. Clark noted that the committee chairman remarked upon opening the hearing that the House had referred to the committee (the House Un-American Activities Committee) a bill which, if enacted, would limit the benefits of the National Labor Act to unions not Communist-controlled. It was understood, said Clark, that the committee was inquiring into the extent of Communist influence in unions in the Chicago area and that Watkins clearly knew the legislative purposes, as was evidenced by his formal statement.

Clark obviously thought this objection, upon which the Chief Justice based the reversal of Watkins' conviction, a quibble. Upon *Kilbourne* v. *Thompson* Warren relied for obiter dicta questioning the propriety of the Un-American Activities Committee's possession of the subpena power, Congress' right to interrogtae private persons, and the right to any inquiry where a narrow legislative intent is not proclaimed.

The contention that Watkins was not sufficiently apprised of the legislative intent can be understood best by a reference to Kilbourn. For there the 1881 Court found, with some reason, that the House, in establishing a committee to inquire into an aspect of the historic crash of the banking firm, Jay Cooke & Co., had neglected to state or imply a legislative intent. To bring Watkins into line with Kilbourn, therefore, it was necessary to raise a doubt about the current committee's proclamation of intent.

The Kilbourn citation itself casts a reflection upon the liberalism of the Court's motives. As the only Supreme Court decision attacking the congressional right to free inquiry, it has drawn the devastating fire of liberal historians of the Court for three generations. The House obviously was acting in its informing capacity when it authorized the inquiry into a real-estate pool involved in the Cooke failure. Kilbourn, the pool manager, resisted the committee, was adjudged guilty of contempt, imprisoned, gained freedom on a writ of habeas corpus, and sued the Speaker, the committee members, and the Sergeant at Arms, Thompson (from whom the case derives half its title), for false arrest. The District of Columbia Supreme Court upheld the defendants, the United States Supreme Court reversing.

The Kilbourn court held that the House, in the absence of intent to legislate, had no authority to make inquiry into the private affairs of the citizen, much less punish him for silence. The Justices concluded:

"This Court does not concede that the Houses of Congress possess this general power of punishing for contempt. The cases in which they can do this are very limited. The House of Representatives is not the final judge of its own power and privileges in cases in which the rights and liberties of the subject are concerned, but the legality of its action may be examined and determined by this Court."

If we are to judge the desires of the Chief Justice by the internal evidence of his Watkins opinion, Kilbourn, once he had got over the hurdle of intent, fitted his purposes with exactitude.

Prof. James M. Landis who, holding office under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was accounted a New Deal Liberal, expressed the Liberal consensus concerning Kilbourn in the Harvard Law Review of December 1926 under the heading "Constitutional Limitations on the Congressional Power of Investigations," wherein he wrote:

"No standard of judgment can be developed from *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson*. Its result contradicts an unbroken congressional practice, continuing even after the decision, with the increasing realization that committees of inquiry are necessary in order to make Government effectively responsible to the electorate."

Concerning the doctrine, so fervently announced by Warren, that a House of Congress or a committee thereof must explicitly state the immediate purpose of an inquiry in advance, Landis protested:

"That it must announce a precise choice before adducing evidence necessary for a proper judgment, is to insist upon leaping before looking, to require of Senators that they shall be seers. The grant of legislative powers by the founders 1789 carried no such implications."

FIVE COMMUNISTS ACQUITTED

In the California Communist cases, this Court flagrantly demonstrated the truth of the late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes' ironical aphorism that "the law is what the judges say it is." The majority, again with Justice Clark as the lone dissenter (although Justice Harold H. Burton demurred on one point), distorted the verb "organize" in the Smith Act out of recognition by its framer or the Members of Congress who passed it. The Smith Act included the organization of the Communist conspiracy's myriad agencies, committees and fronts. The Court confined the meaning to the reorganization of the Communist Party, United States of America, in 1945, invalidating that section of the act as bearing upon the defendants on the ground of the statute of limitations. Since the Smith Act became law in 1940, the Congress hardly could have brought the 1945 reorganization into purview.

The five defendants were aquitted on the ground of insufficient evidence. On this point, Justice Clark said:

"This Court should not acquit anyone here. In its long history, I find no case in which an acquittal has been ordered by this Court solely on the facts. It is somewhat late to start in now usurping the function of the jury, especially where new trials are to be held covering the same charges."

The Warren Court, never impressed by rights claimed by the States, found no difficulty on June 17 in denying the right of the New Hampshire Supreme Court to hold a Socialist editor, Paul Sweezy, in contempt for refusing to answer questions by the State's attorney general, acting for the legislature, regarding a lecture Sweezy had delivered at the University of New Hampshire. The attorney general was seeking to discover what affiliations Sweezy had, if any, with the Communist conspiracy. The Court's decision followed Kilbourn on the subject of legislative intent.

A tendency of the Court in 1930 to substitute personal inclination for principle moved the Great Dissenter, Oliver Wendell Holmes, to a frank derogation of his colleagues. Dissenting in a case where the majority applied the due-process clause of the 14th amendment against what he considered a constitutional right of Missouri, he wrote:

"As the decisions now stand, I see hardly any limit but the sky to the invalidating of those rights if they happen to strike a majority of the Court as, for any reason, undesirable."

Justice Holmes further doubted that the 14th amendment was intended to give us carte blanche to embody our economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions.

In the Steve Nelson case, the Court ruled that the Pennsylvania courts had no power to investigate or act upon Communist issues because the Smith Act preempted that field to the Federal Government. Congress had not so stipulated or intended. The Nelson decision had the effect of dismantling the investigative machinery of the many States inquiring into the Communist conspiracy.

The Warren Court's decisions in the so-called Communist cases from Nelson to June 17, in the sociologically founded desegregation school case of 1954, the Du Pont anti-trust case and the Girard College case which opened the door to the State's interference in the institutions and associations of society, indicate that this Court employs criteria, constitutional or not, that can fairly be termed, in lawyer's English, "terms of art."

WHY?

What lies behind the Court's lenity toward witnesses and petitioners associated with the Communist cause? Who can tell what goes on in the somewhat commonplace minds of the Court's majority, none of whom was known as a leader of the bar or (except for the literate, mercurial Frankfurter) for any intellectual distinction before mounting the bench? All owe their immense dignity and well-remunerated lifetime jobs to accidents of patronage, religion, or geography. The Chief Justice himself can only be supposed to hold his elevated office because he made the expedient choice at the Republican National Convention of 1952: Certainly no previous attainment as a jurist or scholar recommended him.

Why should the Court's majority steadfastly inhibit the Congress and the executive arm in exercising vigilance against so awful an endeavor to destroy us? Frankfurter in the 1920's, Black in the 1930's, powerfully maintained the right of free inquiry to Congress against the citizen. Back in 1941, Earl Warren, rising to the governorship of California on the strength of his prosecutions of Communist mischief-makers as Attorney General, recognized the face of the enemy. The California Parole Board had freed three Communist goons, sentenced to 20 years for murder, after they had served only a little more than 4 years of their sentences. Warren expressed his outrage and scorn in a newspaper statement which ended:

"The murderers are free today not because they are rehabilitated criminals but because they are politically powerful Communistic radicals. Their parole is the culmination of a sinister program of subversive politics, attempted bribery, terrorism and intimidation which has evidenced itself in so many ways during the past 3 years."

What warrant has Warren for believing that the Communist radicals are less potent now than in 1941? Or less sinister, less gifted in terrorism and intimidation?

Justice Black, with Justice William O. Douglas, concurred in the California Communist cases but went further because they had dissented when the Court held the Smith Act constitutional. As part of his concurrence, Black wrote:

"The first amendment provides the only kind of security system that can preserve a free government—one that leaves the way open for people to favor, discuss, advocate or incite to causes and doctrines, however obnoxious and antagonistic such views may be to the rest of us."

The statement, equating the right of the citizen freely to hold and present views, however obnoxious, with the disciplined utterance and schematic program of world communism's fabric of subordination, is either unbelievably naive or motivated by a hidden spring. Why should witnesses in 1957 with access to the methods and personnel which Moscow is using against us be relieved of the necessity of imparting when witnesses in 1936 were sternly enjoined to disclose all?

It has been said that the Warren Court could not more faithfully be advancing the Communist desire to conquer the United

States from within if each week the Justices met to con and effectuate the latest instructions from the American branch of Agitprop in Moscow. The intimation is insupportable and shameful but the Court has laid itself open to it.

I prefer, being an easy man, to take the charitable view that this Court can no more decipher the will of the Kremlin than it can bring into workable knowledge the appalling fate of those countries which have fallen to communism from internal corruption.

WARREN-BLACK-DOUGLAS AXIS

Chief Justice Warren made his sure-footed way through the depression politics of California, the ham-and-eggs, Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California, and the old-age pension gimmicks, opportunistically. Black, a former Ku Kluxer, is somewhat suspect in terms of integrity. Douglas, intellectually on the blowsy side, conditioned the Yale Law School to its current social relativity and dogmatic leftism. He has been a kind of open-faced rube among the artiful dodgers of Soviet persuasion. Alone among ranking Americans, Douglas rejoiced at the Soviet Embassy last November over the anniversary of the October revolution when Hungarian women and children were breathing their last under the shards of Red army tanks. Douglas seems to me incurably frivolous.

I doubt that the opportunistic Warren and Black and the faintly absurd, mountain-climbing Douglas would deliberately deliver their society and culture to the wolves of Moscow. I think it very likely that they would do so inadvertently, striving to make time with, for example, the intellectuals of the Washington Post, which, from condemning McCarthyism at the top of its lungs, went on to pillory something it called committeeism.

The Warren-Black-Douglas axis on the Court lies, in my judgment, under the nihilistic blight of fashionable liberalism. Intellectually inadequate, the Justices of the childish left mistake the liberty of the citizen for the franchise of the Soviet subversionist. It pains me to say this, but I fear that we have a dumb core of the Court and a timid fringe. Justice Burton, who should know better, I put in that fringe.

CONGRESS HAS RECOURSES

The remedy lies, as always in a free society, with the people and their tribunes in the Congress. The Congress can scarcely forbear taking up the gage thrown by Warren et al. If Pat McCarran and Bob Taft were alive and functioning, I would have greater assurance regarding the outcome. The Congress cannot take the assaults in the Watkins case, the California cases, and the Jencks case lying down unless it is willing to abdicate its constitutional functions and historical prerogative.

The issues are joined. To put it in vulgar terms, they lie between the arrogating political accidents in the plush-lined Supreme Court Building and the freely elected Representatives of the people across the Capitol Plaza.

The Congress has many recourses if it is bold enough to assert them. It controls the purse. The Congress could, if it so willed, reduce the salary of Associate Justices from $35,000 to $3,500 a year. That would inflict severe pain. The Congress could institute an inquiry into how the Court has become so indulgent toward persons associated with communism. It could subpena and punish for contempt before the Court could get around to interdicting such processes.

It would be illuminating to know why the Court exhibits such invariable tenderness toward citizens, or aliens, called before congressional committees to render an accounting of their commerce with the devil. We probably never shall know unless Congress finally reasserts its power as a historically coequal branch of the Government that constrains us all.

Brooklyn as an Industrial Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a very informative article which is a study of Brooklyn as a center of industry. This article is published in the June 1957 issue of Commerce Review, published monthly by the New York State Department of Commerce.

Many of the achievements listed in this article are directly due to the selfless efforts of our Borough President, the Honorable John Cashmore. His ability, devotion and deep interest in every cause for the good of Brooklyn and its 3 million population have contributed vastly to the progress and achievements in our borough for nearly 2 decades.

The article referred to above reads as follows:

BROOKLYN AS AN INDUSTRIAL CENTER

The New York State department of commerce has recently prepared an analysis of Brooklyn as an industrial center. The major conclusion of this report is that Brooklyn, the second largest manufacturing county in the State, offers definite locational advantages for a variety of industries. Some of these advantages are as follows:

1. Brooklyn is the major segment of the Port of New York, the largest port in the United States. Nearly 200 piers handle an estimated 45 percent of the commerce of the entire port of New York. In an average month, 52 steamship lines send out about 180 ships from Brooklyn piers to some 250 overseas ports, and have an equal number of vessels arriving from all parts of the globe. Its excellent port facilities make Brooklyn an ideal location for durable-goods manufacturers who produce in substantial quantities for overseas markets, and for manufacturers and food processors who depend on imported raw materials.

2. A Brooklyn waterfront location is advantageous, too, for durable-goods manufacturers who depend on rail transportation to and from markets and sources of supply in the South and Middle West. Rail-freight rates to and from Brooklyn waterfront locations on carload lots are identical with those to and from New Jersey railhead locations, despite the additional haulage via barge or car-float across a portion of New York Bay. From a rail-freight point of view, a Brooklyn waterfront location may be even better in some cases than a location with a siding on a major railroad, because it offers the equivalent of a siding on each of the nine major rail lines that converge on the New Jersey shore of New York Harbor.

3. Brooklyn is also well served by truck and air transport lines.

4. Brooklyn's labor force, totaling 1.2 million in 1950, constitutes a huge reservoir of manpower of great diversity and adaptability. There are highly skilled and experienced workers to meet almost every industrial requirement from garment making to the building of intricate machinery; ample supplies of semiskilled and unskilled labor, both male and female, to meet even peak-season demands in seasonal industries such as confectionery; and young people who are good learners and can be fitted quickly into any industrial situation. Brooklyn manufacturers agree that they can always find labor of high quality to meet almost any need.

5. The heavy concentration of so many different manufacturing industries in Brooklyn and the rest of New York City has given rise to a great deal of functional specialization in the form of auxiliary industries and service enterprises. Brooklyn manufacturers, even those of small and medium size, have ready access to a wide range of specialized services of growing importance in both production and marketing—industrial research laboratories, technical consultants, industrial designers, consulting engineers, packaging experts, advertising and market research agencies, banking, and other financial services, mills and warehouses that can deliver materials and supplies on very short notice, freight forwarders and general management consultants. The availability of such services makes it possible for small and medium-sized manufacturing firms in Brooklyn to realize economies in production and distribution which in less concentrated industrial locations would be attainable only by very large enterprises.

6. Brooklyn manufacturers are at the center of the largest industrial and consumer market in the country, with ready access to other important domestic and foreign markets via truck, rail, air and water transport. A Brooklyn location is particularly advantageous for firms in the shopping goods industries, whose immediate markets are in New York City, where buyers from all over the country gather at various seasons to compare competing lines and make their selections for the new merchandise season. Such industries include women's apparel and accessories, children's clothing, shoes, costume jewelry, house furnishings, dry goods and notions, furniture, toys and miscellaneous specialties.

Another conclusion was that the need for more space, deriving in many cases from competitive pressure to shift to streamlined operation in a single-story plant, appears to be a principal reason for the movement of manufacturing firms from Brooklyn. However, space can be made available in the borough for industrial development, for the construction of modern one-story, garden-type structures in sections readily accessible to labor supply and transportation facilities. Some of these areas are eminently suited to the development of research parks because of the relatively short travel-time distance from Manhattan with its specialized services and talented personnel.

NATURE OF BROOKLYN'S INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

Kings County, which is identical with the borough of Brooklyn, is seventh among the leading industrial counties of the United States. Measured by total volume of employment in manufacturing industries in 1954, it is outranked only by Cook County, Chicago, Los Angeles County, New York County, Manhattan, Wayne County, Detroit, Philadelphia County, and Cuyahoga County, Cleveland, in the order given. Within New York State, Brooklyn's volume of manufacturing employment in 1954 exceeded that of Erie, Buffalo, the State's third leading manufacturing county, by nearly 59 percent.

Brooklyn's share of the 1954 New York City totals of both manufacturing employment (production and other workers) and value added by manufacture was nearly 25 percent.

Brooklyn's industrial structure is characterized by diversity and stability. All but one of the 20 major manufacturing groups are represented in the borough, and there is a better balance between the durable- and non-durable-goods industries than in the city as a whole. Non-durables normally account for about 60 percent of the borough's manufacturing employment, while durable-goods industries (including miscellaneous manufactures) provide 40 percent of the job opportunities. For the city as a whole the ratio is 69 to 31 in favor of non-durables.

When compared with New York State or the United States, however, Brooklyn has a high concentration in nondurables. In the State, employment is almost equally divided between the two classes of industry. In the country as a whole, employment in durables exceeds that in nondurables by a ratio of 56 to 44.

While 19 of the 20 major manufacturing groups are represented in Brooklyn, nearly 70 percent of total manufacturing employment in 1954 was concentrated in these broad lines:

	Percent
Apparel and related products	24.4
Food and kindred products	13.4
Machinery	10.4
Metal products	9.7
Miscellaneous manufactures	9.2

In 1947 there were 34 industries in Brooklyn that reported more than $11 million in value added by manufacture for the year. (Unfortunately detailed industry data by borough are not available from the 1954 census.) Heading this list was women's and misses' outerwear, followed by beverages, men's and boys' suits and coats, ships and boats, special industry machinery, drugs and medicines and bakery products. Comparisons of the leading industries in various census years indicate that Brooklyn's present industrial pattern was already well delineated at the time the borough became part of New York City in 1898.

Over the years there has naturally been some shifting in the relative importance of various segments of the overall pattern. Sugar refining, for instance, which ranked first in 1899, had dropped to about 20th place by 1947, while women's and misses' outerwear rose from 29th place in 1899 to 1st place in 1947. But despite such shifts in the standing of specific industries brought about by changes in technology, marketing areas, consumer demand, and various other factors there has been very little change in the general nature of Brooklyn's economy through the past half century.

Stability in industrial structure during this period has been matched by a remarkable stability in Brooklyn's share of the city's total manufacturing employment. In 1899, 22.5 percent of the city's production workers were employed in Brooklyn establishments; by 1919 this proportion had risen to 26 percent, where it remained through 1954.

Although Brooklyn's portion of the State's total manufacturing employment declined slightly between 1947 (13.0 percent) and 1954 (12.4 percent), there was a high degree of stability during the same period in the borough's share of employment in New York State by major industry groups. On the plus side for Brooklyn are 11 industry groups: in textile mill products, the borough's share of total employment in the State rose from 10.3 percent in 1947 to 18.2 percent in 1954; in the other 10 groups, Brooklyn's share increased slightly.

On the minus side are 6 industry groups: 4 show relatively minor declines in Brooklyn's share of the State total, while in 2 other groups, the borough's proportion dropped substantially, for transportation equipment, from 18.9 percent in 1947 to 4.7 percent in 1954 and for nonelectrical machinery, from 12.9 percent to 8.7 percent.

RECENT TRENDS IN MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing employment in Brooklyn totaled 235,634 at the time of the last census (1954), a gain of 6,002 or 2.6 percent since 1947. For the State as a whole the comparable increase was 6.9 percent.

Trends in employment by major industry groups over the 6-year period show substantial gains for the borough in 6 groups: electrical machinery (40.2 percent); stone, clay and glass products (31.5); textiles (29.3); miscellaneous manufactures (26.5); fabricated metals (25.4); and apparel (10.0). Six other groups had more modest gains—lumber, food products, furniture, paper, chemicals, and primary metals. These 12 industries provided 25,034 more jobs at the end of the period than at the beginning, a rise of 15 percent. Of particular interest is the 29.3-percent gain in textile-mill employment in view of a statewide decline of 26.6 percent. Brooklyn's growth in this field appears to be due primarily to expansion in the knit outerwear mills there.

For five other major industry groups—leather goods, printing and publishing, instruments, nonelectrical machinery, and transportation equipment—Brooklyn employment declined between 1947 and 1954 by 17,727, or 31.6 percent. More than half of this decrease, 10,387, was concentrated in the field of transportation equipment and is attributable to a serious decline in the business of the borough's ship and boatbuilding and repair yards.

Curtailment of the Federal Government's defense program, which began in July 1953, with sharp cutbacks in Government contracts through the ensuing fiscal year, was the major cause of the large drop in employment recorded for nonelectrical machinery and instruments in 1954. For 2 years preceding July 1953 these two industries had devoted a considerable proportion of their facilities to defense work, and in 1954 civilian orders were insufficient to take up the slack created by the cancellation or curtailment of Government contracts.

The relatively small decline in leather-products employment from 1947 to 1954 (5 percent) is attributable to the general recession that hit the Nation's shoe industry in the latter year. Percentage decreases were somewhat greater for this industry group in the State as a whole and in the United States.

Printing and publishing is the only industry group in Brooklyn for which there is evidence that out-migration may have contributed to the decline in employment recorded between 1947 and 1954. In the 7-year interval three of the larger firms in this industry moved to new locations within the New York metropolitan area.

The 7,851 manufacturing establishments in the borough in 1954 exceeded the 1947 total by 553 or 8.1 percent. Relative increases in this measure varied considerably according to size of establishment, as shown in the following table:

Employment size	Increase in establishments, Brooklyn, 1947–54	
	Number	Percent
1 to 19 employees	212	4.2
20 to 99 employees	372	20.2
100 employees and over	−31	−7.7

The very substantial increase in the number of medium-sized manufacturing establishments in Brooklyn is attributable to two factors: (1) The rapid growth of many enterprises started on a very small scale immediately after World War II; (2) adverse economic developments that forced numerous large establishments in shipbuilding and in industries making apparel, nonelectrical machinery, instruments, and shoes to curtail employment rather sharply in 1954, thus falling from the largest size group to the middle one.

More indicative of what has happened to the larger manufacturing firms in Brooklyn is the material obtained from a tally of firms there with employment of 100 or more as listed in the Industrial Directory of New York State for 1946 and 1953.

The first table shows the 1953 status of the 431 larger firms located in Brooklyn in 1946. Of that total, 271 were still in Brooklyn in 1953; 216 still provided employment for 100 or more workers each, while the work force of 55 had dropped below the 100 mark. Of the remaining 160 firms, 30 were located elsewhere in New York State, and 130 were not listed in the 1953 directory. Some of these 130 undoubtedly went out of business in the interim, others may have reorganized under a different firm name, and some moved out of the State.

The 1946 status of Brooklyn's 462 larger manufacturing firms in 1953 is shown in the other table. Of this total, 326 were in the borough in 1946, 216 having 100 or more employees at that time and 110 having less than 100. Another 38 were located elsewhere in the New York metropolitan area in 1946, 28 with less than 100 workers, 10 with more than that number. Another 98, not listed in the 1946 directory, would include new businesses, some reorganized firms and some that moved to Brooklyn from other States between 1946 and 1953.

This material may be summarized as follows:

Between 1946 and 1953, 160 larger firms changed their names, moved out of Brooklyn or liquidated, while 136 larger firms changed their names, moved to Brooklyn, or started there, with a net loss of 24 firms through migration and liquidation. During the same period, however, 110 small firms in Brooklyn moved up into the top employment class, while 55 were forced back into the smaller employment groups, with a net gain of 55 larger firms. This net gain of 55 through growth more than offset the loss of 24 firms due to migration or liquidation, so that the net result was an overall gain of 31 in the number of larger firms.

REASONS FOR LOCATING IN BROOKLYN

Complete data on the migration of manufacturing firms to Brooklyn are not available. Investigation of the 1946 status of the 462 larger manufacturing firms located in Brooklyn in 1953 shows that 38 of these firms moved to Brooklyn between 1946 and 1953: 33 from Manhattan and 5 from other parts of the metropolitan area. For the 98 larger firms in Brooklyn in 1953 which were not included in the Industrial Directory for 1946, there is no indication of how many moved there from out-of-State locations.

Material submitted by the Brooklyn Borough president in March 1956 listed 15 manufacturing firms that moved there from Manhattan between January 1955 and March 1956. It also included two others which migrated from Queens and one from New Jersey during the same period.

Most of the manufacturing firms that move from Manhattan to Brooklyn do so to acquire more space. When Eagle Clothes, Inc., one of the Nation's leading manufacturers of men's clothing, moved to Brooklyn in the spring of 1951, it consolidated, in a new 2-story plant with 167,000 square feet of floorspace, the operations previously carried on in several scattered shops in Manhattan. The firm was able to increase floorspace per worker to 70 square feet in contrast to the industry average of 40 square feet. Nearly $2 million was invested in equipment for the new plant, which was scientifically designed to increase productivity and employee earnings through highly efficient flow of raw and semiprocessed materials in various stages of completion.

Two firms which moved to Brooklyn from New Jersey in 1955 cited as the principal reason their desire to be nearer the center of the market for their products.

In 1950 the Brooklyn Standard Bag Corp. bought a loft building at 62–114 Imlay Street, Brooklyn, with 250,000 square feet of floorspace from the New York Dock Co. to house its main eastern plant. The firm's president stated that in his opinion a good labor supply and facilities for shipping, plus the added convenience of the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel, made that part of Brooklyn

one of the best in the New York metropolitan area for medium and light industry.

RECENT OUTMIGRATION AND REASONS FOR MOVING

Most firms ceasing operations in Brooklyn have gone out of business. However, records maintained by the New York State department of commerce list 28 removals from Brooklyn to out-of-State locations between January 1954 and July 23, 1956, with another 15 for the period January 1950 to December 1953. Twenty-seven of these 43 firms employed 100 or more workers at the time of their migration; 16 employed fewer than 100. The records of this department also include the names of 11 firms which moved from Brooklyn to other locations in New York State during the period January 1951 to July 1956.

Reasons given for moving from Brooklyn fall into eight main categories. First is the need for more space. All of the 11 firms which moved to new locations in this State, and 18 of the 43 which moved to other States, cited the need for more space or the competitive pressure to shift to streamlined operation in a single-story plant as a principal reason for moving. One firm which moved to a less densely settled county reported that 16 man-days were required to unload a car of paper in its former multistory plant, whereas the same operation was accomplished in only one-half of 1 man-day in its new one-story plant.

Some of the smaller firms in this group might well have preferred to remain in Brooklyn—near the center of their markets, sources of supply and various business services concentrated in the city—if they had been able to find modern, single-story plants within the borough. Once a firm reaches a certain size, however, its very bigness may compel it to move from Brooklyn to an area where land values are lower. (A study of industrial migration in the New York metropolitan area between 1900 and 1922, published by the Regional Plan Association, Inc., in 1924, shows that an outward movement of large manufacturing establishments has been underway at least since the turn of the century.)

Other facets of the space problem were cited by 10 firms. Six moved out of the State because their Brooklyn plants were condemned for local public improvements and they were unable to find suitable substitute quarters within the borough. Another four stated that lower rent in their new location was their principal motive in moving.

The second major reason for removals to out-of-State locations was purchase of family-owned firms—usually by large, multiplant corporations—and subsequent consolidation of Brooklyn operations in a more modern, streamlined plant of the parent company in some other State. A good example of this is the Kirkman Soap Co. This firm was established in Manhattan in 1837 by John Kirkman. In 1894, it was moved to Brooklyn where it grew until it occupied several large buildings. In October 1930, after 94 years under family control, the enterprise was sold to Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, which continued it in operation for 20 years as its Kirkman & Son division. In the fall of 1950, however, operations at the Brooklyn plant were transferred to Jersey City for consolidation with the main Colgate-Palmolive-Peet plant. More often such consolidations are made within a much shorter period following purchase of a family-owned enterprise.

Eight firms cited personnel matters as a consideration in their decision to move out of the State, although in no case does this appear to have been the principal determining factor. Five of these eight firms expected to benefit from lower wage rates in the States to which they were moving; one planned to employ non-union labor in its new location; the others were not specific in stating the nature of their problem.

Seven firms mentioned high State and city taxes as another factor in their decision to move, but only one of these cited excessive taxes as the principal reason for its change in location.

Traffic congestion in Brooklyn was listed by four firms. City laws and regulations covering chemical manufacturing appear to have been an important consideration in another four cases. Four other firms cited lower workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance rates in other States as a significant factor in their decision to move.

A miscellaneous group of reasons, each of which was cited by only 1 or 2 firms, included the following:

Need for a railroad siding	1
Lower utility rates in new location	1
To be nearer sources of principal raw materials	2
Decline of market for burlap and cotton bags in the New York area	1
Cost of doing business in New York State too high	1
Principals' desire to live in Florida	1
Proximity to residences of workers or principals	2
More desirable location out of State	1
Attitude of landlord	1

RECENT PLANT CONSTRUCTION AND EXPANSION

Industrial structures completed or started in Brooklyn in the period 1946–53 numbered 455, according to data compiled from the records of the New York City Department of Housing and Buildings by the New York City Department of City Planning. This was 31.7 percent of the city total. Brooklyn stood second among the five boroughs in the addition of new factory buildings, being outranked only by Queens. The latter borough added 675 industrial structures during the period, 47 percent of the city total. The department of housing and buildings lists 51 factory buildings and 32 warehouse and storage-type buildings completed in Brooklyn during 1955.

New-factory construction in the borough since the end of World War II has been concentrated in the following areas: Greenpoint-Williamsburg, East Flatbush, East New York, and along McDonald Avenue. A report released by the borough president on July 22, 1956, stated that 21 industrial structures have been built on a 24-acre tract in the East New York section since 1951. The assessed valuation of these buildings totals $1.2 million. They are occupied by firms manufacturing cellophane bags, aluminum products, automobile accessories, hardware, office appliances, display cases, metal furniture, and laboratory equipment.

More recently, a Brooklyn builder and realty investor assembled a 15-acre parcel of undeveloped land in the New Lots section for development into a modern industrial center of streamlined 1-story factory buildings. He plans to erect at least 10 buildings on this site, with an average floor area of 30,000 square feet. One of the buildings already completed is occupied by Palmer Plastics, Inc., a toy-manufacturing concern which employs 400 workers during its busy season. Another building nearing completion will be occupied by Milo Mills, a weaving firm now at 570 Broadway, in Manhattan. The New Lots section is served by two subway lines and has a good potential labor supply in three low-income housing projects nearby.

Complete figures on capital invested in new-plant construction in Brooklyn since 1946 are not available. A survey made by the Regional Plan Association, Inc., however, covering the period 1946–50, indicates that Kings County ranked eighth among the 22 counties of the New York metropolitan area in value of new factory buildings erected during the 5-year period. The 230 new plants built in Kings County during those years represented a capital investment of $10 million, or an average of $43,700 per building. This was 30.7 percent of the total investment of the 5 counties of New York City. The relatively small size of individual manufacturing plants constructed in the borough is indicative of the important role the small manufacturer plays in Brooklyn's economy.

In expenditures for new plant and equipment in the census years 1947 and 1954 Kings ranked third among the 62 counties of New York State in 1947, following Erie and New York, and fourth in 1954, after Erie, Monroe, and New York counties, in the order given. The Kings County figure for 1947 was $53.5 million, or 10.7 percent of the State total. The 1954 figure for Kings County—$45 million—was 7.9 percent of the State aggregate.

Unfortunately, data of this nature are not available for other postwar years. More than 50 plant expansions completed in 1955 or scheduled for completion in 1956 are listed in material supplied by the Brooklyn Borough president in March 1956. These include:

1. An investment of approximately $1.6 million by Esso Standard Oil Co. in expansion and modernization of its Greenpoint terminal.

2. Expansion of existing plant at an estimated cost of $1.5 million by Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.

3. Purchase by Classon Metal Products Corp. of the United States Coast Guard Supply Center annex—6 buildings with total floor space of 140,000 square feet. This firm previously occupied about 85,000 square feet in several older buildings.

4. Charles Pfizer & Co., which has spent several million dollars on plant expansion in Brooklyn in recent years, has purchased additional land adjoining its plant for still further expansion.

5. Additional plant expansion by American Machine & Foundry Co., which has already considerably enlarged its manufacturing facilities in Brooklyn since the end of World War II.

6. Late in October 1956 the Coca-Cola Bottling Company of New York, Inc., announced plans for a new 1-story, block-square bottling and distribution plant to be erected on Linden Boulevard in Brooklyn at an estimated cost of $2 million. The new structure is scheduled for occupancy by mid-1957.

SUMMARY

An analysis of Brooklyn's manufacturing industries points up these facts:

1. The industrial structure of the borough is characterized by a high degree of stability derived in large part from broad diversification and the importance of consumer-goods industries. The great variety of industries located there tends to serve as a built-in stabilizer which minimizes the impact of changes constantly occurring within various segments of the economy. Moreover, consumer-goods industries tend to fluctuate less with cyclical changes than do those making industrial goods.

2. Brooklyn has maintained its 25 percent share of the city's total manufacturing employment since the end of World War I. The city's shares of the national and State totals, however, have declined somewhat during this period.

3. Employment in 12 major industry groups increased in Brooklyn between 1947 and 1954 by 25,034, or 15 percent. This sizable increase was partially offset by a decrease of 10,387 jobs in transportation equipment (mainly shipbuilding and repairing) plus a drop of 7,340 in four other industry groups. The total gain in manufacturing employment during the period amounted to only 6,002, or 2.6 percent.

4. Brooklyn had 553 more manufacturing establishments in 1954 than in 1947. This was 21.4 percent of the State increase of 2,583 establishments during the 7-year period. The largest gain occurred in the medium-sized group—employing from 20 to 99 workers. Brooklyn's expansion in this group amounted to 372.

5. More than 500 new factory buildings have been erected in Brooklyn since 1946. Expenditures for new plant and equipment in the borough amounted to $53.5 million, or 10.7 percent of the State total in 1947, and $45 million, or 7.9 percent of the State total in 1954.

6. A tally of larger manufacturing firms—employing 100 or more—listed in the Industrial Directory for 1946 and 1953 revealed a net increase of 31. A net loss of 24 through migration or liquidation was more than offset by a net gain of 55 in the number of small Brooklyn firms which moved up into the top employment class between the 2 years studied.

Slighting Jamestown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I extend my compliments to the Boston Herald, which I understand is a Republican newspaper, for its editorial comment on June 18, 1957, that President Eisenhower should have made plans to attend the recent international naval review held in connection with the 350th anniversary celebration of the founding of Jamestown, Va.

I also compliment the fact that this Boston newspaper was kind enough to point out, in its editorial, that Jamestown was founded 18 years before the colony at Plymouth. We in Virginia know of the great contribution made to the founding of America by the colonists of Plymouth Rock, and are indeed pleased that this powerful newspaper in Massachusetts has taken public note of the celebration we are now having at Jamestown. The editorial follows:

SLIGHTING JAMESTOWN

Vice President NIXON is expected to come up and take a look at the *Mayflower*, but the best the administration could do about the vast naval review down at Norfolk last week was Secretary of Defense Wilson.

Of course the President's stomach upset would have precluded his presence anyway, but evidently, he never had plans for attending and the White House showed no particular interest in the affair.

The review, which was part of the 350th anniversary celebration of the founding of Jamestown, 13 years before Plymouth, was the largest pageant of its type in America in 50 years. Ships representing all the NATO countries and many of our South American neighbors were present. Bands played, flags flew; it really was something.

We can't imagine Mr. Truman or Franklin D. Roosevelt missing such a show, and the Republican Roosevelt would have been there from start to finish. Mr. Eisenhower should have had it on his calendar, and, in his absence, should have been represented by the Vice President, especially since the latter is scheduled to see our one little ship next Sunday.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Early Americans Had Vision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the strongest and most moving Independence Day statements I have ever seen appeared in a small town weekly newspaper in Texas last week. The newspaper is the San Saba Star, and the statement consists of five brief paragraphs written by Stewart Rivers.

I commend this statement to all Members of Congress and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLAIN TALK

(By Stewart Rivers)

When we look back over the works of the Founding Fathers, we are impressed with their independence of thought and action. Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin knew the weaknesses of all the ancient civilizations and planned what they thought would be best for the colonies; they had no blueprint to guide them neither were there good fairies at their elbows.

They did not idolize their difficulties, they did not say their problems were insoluble, they worked, they sacrificed, they fought, and they had faith. They discarded Old World prejudices and set up a new conception of freedom and justice.

They had a vision of balance of power in Government; there had never been anything like it; they produced their great drama without rehearsal.

There is no guaranty that our Nation, or any nation, is going to have rights and liberties unless it has the mentality and courage to fight for them. One generation cannot guarantee the future for the next.

We must never forget "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Death of Clyde E. Palmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in the passing last week of Mr. Clyde E. Palmer, publisher of the Texarkana (Tex.) Gazette, the Southwest lost a man who was outstanding for more reasons than his success in the newspaper-publishing field.

Among the many editorial tributes paid Mr. Palmer by his fellow publishers was one in the Dallas Morning News that succinctly summed up the career of a man who undoubtedly would have achieved success in any field of endeavor he entered. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

C. E. PALMER

Those who fear that old-style individualism has faded from the American scene might consider the life of C. E. Palmer, who has just died in Texarkana at 80.

The newspaper-radio-television owner has long been a colorful figure as publisher of the Texarkana (Tex.) Gazette and seven other newspapers in Arkansas. Coming to Texas from his native Iowa as a youth, he began his career as a telegraph operator for the Cotton Belt Railway at Greenville. He established the Gazette in 1909, later creating the publication empire that amassed a fortune for him.

Fifteen years ago, the former telegrapher made newspaper history by being the first to introduce teletypesetting. He showed how news may be transmitted simultaneously by wire to eight or more newspaper plants, being converted electronically into metal type at each outlet without ever being touched by human hands.

During World War II, Palmer, at 68, became an accredited war correspondent. He covered developments in Europe as the oldest correspondent on the job.

After he was 70, Palmer learned to fly an airplane and received a pilot's license.

When the question arose of how to turn his increasing wealth to the public good, the publisher in 1944 created the Palmer Foundation, a research venture designed to find out how to develop children's moral sense without moralizing.

Not only Arkansas but the entire Southwest loses a notable citizen in his passing. The example of his life will long prove an inspiration.

Academic Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Donald C. Power, president of the General Telephone Corp., to the 51st grand chapter banquet meeting of the Sigma Chi Fraternity on June 28, 1957, at Toronto, Ontario.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACADEMIC UNITY

(Address by Donald C. Power, president, General Telephone Corp., to the 51st grand chapter banquet meeting of the Sigma Chi Fraternity, June 28, 1957, at Toronto, Ontario)

Senator GOLDWATER, Grand Consul Peterson, and other general officers, constantine and significant sigs, and other brothers and guests of Sigma Chi, I am highly honored to be invited to speak to you this evening. Indeed, I can think of no higher privilege than to occupy this position at this concluding banquet of this splendid biennial convocation of the fraternity—the 51st in its history.

It is altogether fitting, moreover, that this 51st grand chapter should take place in this beautiful city of Toronto. I am told that the name of this city comes from the word used by the old Huron Indians to signify a meeting place. It is fitting because this Canadian assembly symbolizes more than words could say the truly international scope of our fraternity and of its growth and strength over more than a century. At the same time, it should remind us of our humble beginning at that first gathering of our seven founders at Miami University in Ohio in 1855. Of them it might truly be said: "They builded better than they knew."

I should say, however, that I have been in some doubt as to why I have been selected to fill this role. I have decided that perhaps it is because, though a lawyer by profession, I am a telephone man in business. Since that business is concerned with the transmission of the spoken word, it may be that your arrangements committee has felt that it would be in order for a communications man to be on the program. If that be the reason, I certainly trust that, in the language of the industry, I establish contact with each of you and that my remarks come through.

This evening, therefore, I have the normal trepidation of the public speaker dealing with an untried subject in unaccustomed surroundings. I think that he is always fearful that his efforts may have the same reception as related in a story told by a friend of mine. It seems that a prominent public figure was invited back to the small town in which he was born to deliver the high-school commencement address. At the conclusion of the exercises, the local citizens lined up to shake his hand and congratulate him on his speech. Everything went fine until the town halfwit came by. He said in no uncertain terms: "That was the worst speech we have ever had here. It was stupid and made no sense at all." The school superintendent, overhearing these irreverent remarks, pushed the fellow aside. In an effort to atone for this disrespect, he said: "Pay no attention to Joe. He's the town halfwit. Never has a thought of his own. He's always going around saying what everybody else tells him."

So I implore you to be lenient on the judgments you pass on to your neighbors regarding my message this evening.

Seriously, I am primarily pleased to be here, because over the years Sigma Chi has meant much and stood for much in my life. I was initiated at Mu Chapter at Denison University and then transferred to Alpha Gamma at Ohio State. I attended law school there and also taught at the university. So as a student I had a somewhat longer experience with undergraduate fraternity life than do most. Thereafter I spent many years in

and around the university and participated extensively as an alumnus in the activities and the problems of the operations of the chapter.

Thereafter I was honored by being selected as a "significant sig." And, last but not least, I have served on the committee which has made possible the building of the new chapter house in Columbus which was just opened last fall.

Hence, since I believe I know something about Sigma Chi, I propose to talk about the fraternity itself tonight. What should it represent to all of us, alumni and actives alike? What is its place, not only on the collegiate scene but in our growing, vibrant, ever-changing society?

Perhaps my remarks will not seem particularly original or unique. Perhaps upon analysis they will represent nothing that each Sigma Chi, down in his heart, does not himself know and understand. But however that may be, it seems to me that this is the time and the occasion to enunciate again those essential values which have been the hallmark of this fraternity through the century of its existence.

If you are wondering just what specific thought lies behind the somewhat general title of my talk with you this evening, perhaps I should explain that it concerns the idea of preserving academic unity in an age of specialization. I say that because it seems to me that one very important function of Sigma Chi and every other Greek letter undergraduate college fraternity, should be to bridge the gap which is constantly widening between our professional and other college graduates in this day of more and more inescapable specialization.

In modern society all college men must specialize to some degree if they expect to operate successfully. And yet this very necessity imposes on the academic world a challenge—a need to find new ways and more ways for keeping open the lines of communication between those who travel the common path of undergraduate life. This pressure of modern technology and business life in general for more and more specialization does have its danger. It is the danger that we may be driven apart.

We hear many stories these days about the tendency to overspecialize. You have heard perhaps of the nose doctor who specialized on the right nostril rather than the left nostril. And right along this line, I heard recently about what happened at a diplomatic reception being held at one of the embassies in Washington. It seems that a Navy doctor, Commander Jones, was introduced to the wife of an embassy official as a very brilliant naval surgeon. The lady whispered in her husband's ear, "What did you say he was?" The husband whispered back: "I said he was a very brilliant naval surgeon." The wife blinked her eyes and then whispered back once more: "I say, John, don't you think that is carrying medical specialization too far?"

Well, it is possible, I suppose, for any one of us to carry our specialization too far unless we establish and maintain through life certain bonds of a common academic heritage which we share with our brothers. And these bonds are most effective when they are made at the time of our undergraduate life, when we all studied out of the same books and shared the same happy hours of formal education. And I know of no better or finer purpose to be served by a Greek letter fraternity than to preserve just such a community of interest, which I call academic unity.

I have sometimes wondered, in this connection, who among the ancient Greek philosophers and teachers would be the best choice as a symbol of the Greek letter fraternity, and what it stands for. Plato was a bit on the socialistic side. Socrates was a bit of a skeptic. My choice, I think, would be Aristotle. For it was Aristotle, you may recall, who gave us that magnificent ideal of the universal man, the whole man.

Aristotle visualized education in terms of such unity that he thought it might be possible for every truly educated man to become personally familiar with all the arts and sciences known in his time.

And he practiced what he preached. For Aristotle, who has been called the father of learning, was the outstanding physician, philosopher, metaphysician, logician, natural scientist, commentator on arts and ethics of his time. Needless to say, Aristotle was probably the last man who ever tried that, although we have had throughout history some amazing example of versatility. We had such examples in Leonardo da Vinci, Newton, and, in our own day, Albert Einstein. All of us realize, however, that it is no longer possible in this modern day of constantly expanding technology and research in every field of human endeavor, for any one man, however brilliant, to measure up to Aristotle's concept of universal knowledge. I say this with all due respect for those encyclopedic minds and collectors of such tremendous amounts of irrelevant information, who are able to win hundreds of thousands of dollars in prize money on television quiz programs.

And yet we can, I think, persevere in this ideal of the universal man which Aristotle had in mind. We can establish a community of intellectual interest. We can maintain an aristocracy of the spirit, if you will, whereby the broad friendship and understanding of our undergraduate days can last us an entire lifetime. We have done that very thing, or at least we aspired to do it, when we took upon ourselves the pledge of membership in Sigma Chi.

Yes, all of us took this pledge as young men at a time in our lives when we were still in our formative years—with open minds and eager hearts, looking forward with high hopes to a future before us. And the beautiful part of this wonderful thing is that it is happening today, all over the United States and Canada, wherever there are chapter houses of the brothers of the white cross. The same ritual is repeating itself, year after year, as if has for more than a century.

Oh, we did not have any trouble understanding each other then. Our communication was perfectly all right when we all walked together along the same road of academic learning, whether it was tramping with Caesar's legions through Gaul or taking our first timid steps across the pons asinorum of Euclid. We all traveled together; all too soon after, our paths divided. We have branched out into our specialities of business—law, medicine, engineering, teaching, divinity. But who among us is not able to recapture in his mind and heart those days of undergraduate understanding because it was made possible for us by this beloved fraternity?

Here, therefore, is true academic unity. There are all too few opportunities in life to maintain such lines of communication. I think we have every right to be proud that we find our solution to this problem in such a permanent, substantial, and practical form as Sigma Chi.

The modern ideal of the well-adjusted man, after all, is that he should be a man of personal integrity. That means that, while we cannot share each other's professional or specialized knowledge, we can and do have a mutual respect and understanding of what those professions and specialties are and what they represent. We are able to meet, at our chapter houses throughout the land or at grand chapter meetings, such as this one, and still talk the same language of brotherhood and fellowship which we spoke years ago. What better justification can there be for a fraternity than this?

And if it sounds a little bit as if I were pleading for the humanities in education, let me say that I do plead for them. For if we are to establish these lifetime bonds of understanding even under the protective ritual of our fraternity, we must first establish the conditions of mutual understanding at the educational level. We must build our common ground of intellectual equality before we can stand on it.

As a businessman who has also had my share of experience in the legal and teaching professions, I see, very often, examples of young men who have made mistakes about this. Unknowingly, perhaps, they have shortchanged themselves by trying to take short cuts into specialized fields without equipping themselves with the necessary background of arts and sciences. Such a mistake can be a tragic handicap for young men, otherwise highly qualified and naturally endowed with talents which could carry them to great success. There is no need to point at any line in particular. But I can tell you that the engineer, for example, who has trouble with his English construction and cannot write an intelligent or persuasive report, the lawyer who is deficient in ordinary logic and philosophical background, the doctor of medicine who somehow never got around to an appreciation for history—all can injure themselves for life because they did not take the little extra time or make that little extra effort to catch up with their full quota of traditional education at the undergraduate level. I think it is important to stress such basic educational values at this time, because the pressure of current events and the shortage of trained people, particularly in technical and engineering lines, may tempt young men to take unwise shortcuts. We are rightly concerned about Soviet Russia, for example, hatching out great numbers of technicians under a forced draft system of specialized education which ignores, in the typical Marxian contempt for traditional formal education, all reference to the humanities or preprofessional training.

But it would be a grave mistake, in my opinion, for us in the free Western World to imitate any such shortsighted hothouse approach to the education of our future professional people. Soviet Russia may succeed, for a while, in turning out large numbers of skilled technicians who know how, but do not know why. In this contest of ideology, the last thing we can afford to lose is our know why—for that is the great advantage, the secret intellectual weapon, if you will, which the Western World has over the totalitarian world—the tremendous appeal of free thought and comparative values. What would it profit a man if he were to gain all the technical knowledge in the world, if he did not understand what it was for or what it was all about or if he had failed to rationalize his life with some conviction or personal philosophy?

That is, perhaps, what I value most about Sigma Chi—that it is primarily an undergraduate fraternity. It is a fraternity which encourages young men to select each other's company, at a time of life when they are all engaged at the college level in training for their chosen career. It is a fraternity which provides these young men with a great opportunity, perhaps the last opportunity that most of us get before we branch off into our individual specialties—to meet and talk and eat together. It is a fraternity which enables these young men to learn by doing to regulate their own life and agree with each other to practice a code of conduct and principles worthy of gentlemen and scholars.

It is an interesting thing that Sigma Chi, and Greek letter fraternities in general, are peculiarly a North American educational development, although they have now spread, of course, to many other countries. But with all the tradition and prestige of the Old World universities, such as Oxford, Cam-

bridge, Sorbonne, Heidelberg, or Louvain, it is an odd thing that nothing quite like our North American Greek letter fraternities ever developed there. Now, as a believer in the natural law, my own philosophy embraces a conviction that nothing important ever really happens by chance and that there is a cause or reason or, at least, an explanation for everything. I like to speculate that our North American democratic concept may be responsible. In other words, isn't it a fact we have, in the United States and Canada, such undergraduate fraternities as Sigma Chi because there was spontaneous feeling among our college men that there was more to college life than passing grades and degrees in courses. They felt, as our seven young founders felt a century ago, a personal need for establishing their own independent rules of conduct. Born and raised in a free democratic society, they instinctively carried over into their academic life a desire to learn by doing, to manage their own houses, to choose their own company, to conduct their own affairs, and learn valuable lessons in the process.

I would carry this idea a bit further, without suggesting any odious comparison, by speculating that such a fraternity as Sigma Chi could not happen in a totalitarian society. There is no Sigma Chi in Russian colleges. There was no Sigma Chi at Heidelberg in Hitler's day, nor in Fascist Italy under Mussolini. Sigma Chi stands for a forum of free democratic self-discipline and individual responsibility that could not exist in an atmosphere of repression and faceless conformity under totalitarian dictatorship.

I would like to think that if there had been something like Sigma Chi in the universities of the Old World during the days when totalitarian of both the left and right was on the rise or on the march, there never would have been a Hitler, or a Stalin, or a Mussolini.

Perhaps that is carrying my idea a bit far. But in this clash of ideologies between the free Western World and Communist dictatorship, we are going to need all help we can get from democratic institutions which teach and encourage our young people to think for themselves and do for themselves. I do not have to tell this group that Sigma Chi is just an institution rendering valuable service at a most important place in our society—that is, the training of our young college men.

Before closing, I must recognize, in all fairness, that, in common with many Greek letter fraternities, Sigma Chi is today the subject of controversy and contention regarding the fraternity's place on the academic scene. We are facing criticism and condemnation respecting policies and practices of fraternity membership, operation and control. In certain specific situations these problems have resulted in grave crises. And in some cases they have gone so far as to obscure the true purpose and destroy the real usefulness of the fraternity.

I have no intention of discussing these issues this evening. I advert to them here because, based upon my experience as a trustee of Ohio State University, I have reached the considered judgment that our critics, including in some instances those charged with the administration of our colleges and universities, are either uninformed or misinformed as to our true purposes and objectives.

For certainly insofar as Sigma Chi is concerned, it seeks to deny nothing to anyone. Rather, its primary objective has always been to inculcate in that necessarily limited group of its members a higher appreciation for and realization of the abiding values of life. Quite naturally in the selection of our candidates for membership in the fraternity we seek to secure those who give promise of having those capacities which will enable them to ripen and develop into good citizens, good neighbors, and outstanding contributors to the life and affairs of their communities.

That Sigma Chi has discharged well its obligations in this respect is abundantly established by the record. For the history of the fraternity with respect to the generations of young men who have come to accept its tenets demonstrates that it has been an outstanding force in the development of men of high purpose and good will. Our members are scattered throughout all of the United States and of more recent years throughout this great Dominion of Canada. I think it fair to say that everywhere the name of Sigma Chi has become synonymous with good citizenship. Whether you explore the fields of statesmanship, of the professions, of business, literature, science, or philanthropy you will find among the leaders those who proudly wear the emblem of the white cross. Some of them are represented by the brothers who are being honored as "Significant Sigs" this evening. But countless thousands more of them are significant citizens and significant neighbors in the scattered communities where they live—where they have come to exemplify the high principles of Sigma Chi.

I think that the very repetition of the words which all of us have heard uttered so many times—"think no thought, do no deed which will cause the name of Sigma Chi through you to be dishonored. Cherish that standard of manhood which is noblest and best"—have never failed to leave their lasting impression upon all who have undertaken the obligations of the fraternity.

And, in closing, I would like to paraphrase remarks made on the occasion, more than 50 years ago, of the 50th anniversary exercises of the fraternity at Oxford, Ohio, in 1905: Full of faith in the future of our fraternity, which is begotten by the contemplation of its inspiring history of 100 years and by an assurance of the loyalty and devotion of its members, with joyful enthusiasm, with abounding hope, with loving hearts, we bid it Godspeed as it is entering upon the second century of its existence.

Maj. John L. Polereczky—1748–1830

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the 10th Slovak Day of the eastern district of the Slovak League of America, on July 14, 1957, in Kenilworth Park, N. J., will be dedicated to the memory of Maj. John J. Ladislaus Polereczky, soldier and hero of the American Revolutionary War, who as a Slovak gloriously contributed to the cause of American independence and liberty 175 years ago. Maj. J. L. Polereczky—1748–1830—on July 21, 1782, in command of the cavalry of De Duc De Lauzan Legion, fought heroically for Kingsbridge.

I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by Joseph A. Mikus regarding Major Polereczky be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAJ. JOHN L. POLERECZKY, 1748–1830—A SLOVAK WHO FOUGHT FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

(By Joseph A. Mikus, Slovak League, Washington, D. C.)

The American struggle for independence inspired to heroism many freedom-loving Europeans. Names like Lafayette and Rochambeau (French), Kosciusko and Pulaski (Polish), Kovac (Hungarian), Solomon (Jewish), Steuben (German), and others will remain forever connected with the history of American liberation. Their pictures will be admired in museums and their deeds exalted in schoolbooks.

But generals were not the only ones who had come from Europe to rally George Washington's fight. A number of officers, noncommissioned officers, and anonymous soldiers whose popularity has never reached up to art galleries, town squares, or history manuals were numbered among this group.

According to a penetrating research by Mr. Joseph G. Cincik, professor of history and art, Cleveland, Ohio, when soldiers of the defeated Cornwallis, in 1781, surrendered their rifles to General Washington, at Yorktown, it was done in an open field around which French Hussars had formed a circle. Included among them was a proud cavalier, a French major, dressed in an impressive Hussar uniform, in whose veins circulated Slovak blood. Strangely here was a Slovak, wearing the Rakoczy uniform, fighting with Frenchmen for American independence. It is known that Count Maurice Benyovszky de Vrbove, a Slovak by birth, was nothing less than the King of Madagascar in the 18th century; but there was no thought that a Slovak might have struggled for American independence. Yet, Professor Cincik's discoveries, proven with photocopies of original documents from Slovakia, France, and the National Archives in Washington, are convincing.

The story touches on the romanesque.

After Prince Francis Rakoczy had lost his struggle against the Hapsburgs in Hungary, he was in 1711 obliged to escape, first to Poland and later to France. To a great degree, Rakoczy was a pawn on the French chessboard against Austria. It was, therefore, natural for Louis XIV to take care of his distinguished protege. Rakoczy brought in 1713 to France, among others, two of his most loyal soldiers, Count Andrew Polereczky and Count Nicholas Bercsenyi.

As commanders of Rakoczy's light cavalry, both of these experienced soldiers were ordered by King Louis XIV to organize two regiments of riders in the region of Alsace. Count Andrew Polereczky, originally born in Polerieka, Turiec County in North Slovakia, organized a regiment of hussars in Rosenheim-Malsheim. After being appointed a German for his merits, he died in the service of the French King.

During his stay in Alsace, Andrew Polereczky fathered two sons—Frederick and John, the latter being the man of Yorktown. Both of them studied at the Royal Military School. While Frederick remained in the service of the French kings until the end of the monarchy, John, promoted to major by a decree of Louis XV (original in the National Archives), went to America with the Rochambeau expeditionary army. Rochambeau brought to Newport by ship not only men, horses and necessary ammunitions, but even a quantity of "Louis d'ors" to pay officers and men.

From Newport the expeditionary force went to Philadelphia, where they were honored by balls and concerts.

During the skirmish with Englishmen on the White Plains, New York, John Polereczky survived a dramatic event. While riding patrol, his horse was shot down from under him and he had to run away to save himself from being captured.

At the historical moment of the surrender of the British forces, Polereczky stood proudly alongside Generals Washington and Lafayette.

After the war was over, Polereczky, having renounced his titles and inheritance in Europe, became an American citizen. Then, by the favor of his good friend, General Dearborn, he was appointed deputy marshal in the county of Maine (at that time North Massachusetts). Later on, he founded Dresden Mills, a community near Viscasset. There, he spent 27 years as a municipal clerk.

Human destiny is unforeseeable. This brave rider who had led a very active life fighting for freedom's cause in America, had to spend his last years in complete seclusion as a lighthouse keeper on Seguin Island, south of Bath, near the estuary of the Kennebeck River.

Another personal tragedy: Shortly before Polereczky's death, Congress voted on his pension for which he had so many years bargained. But it was too late. The first payment reached his home only after he was buried.

Integrity—Man's Greatest Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able address made by the Honorable George E. Stringfellow on June 28, 1957, at Atlantic City, N. J.

I also ask unanimous consent to have inserted, following the text of the address, an editorial appearing in the Atlantic City Press of July 2, 1957, entitled "Reemphasizing Basic Virtues," which deals with the eloquent and pointed address of Mr. Stringfellow, who has contributed very much to the welfare and benefit of his fellow citizens.

There being no objection, the address and biographical sketch were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTEGRITY—MAN'S GREATEST ASSET

(Address by George E. Stringfellow, active member, International Supreme Council, Order of DeMolay, and Imperial Chief Rabban, A. A. O. N. M. S., before the annual banquet, New Jersey Order of DeMolay, Atlantic City, N. J., June 28, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, members of DeMolay, and distinguished guests. It is a privilege for me to be here.

I should, at the outset, like to make a few remarks about my friends, Dr. Frank S. Land, 33d, Kansas City, Mo., founder and secretary general of the International Supreme Council of the Order of DeMolay, and George M. Saunders, Chicago, Ill., 33d, grand master of our fraternity.

Dr. Frank S. Land, 33d: I know of no one who has done as much to build character and leadership in youth of the world as "Dad" Land. If there was ever a God's nobleman, he's it. "Dad" Land believes a person can preach a better sermon with his life than with his lips. Because he is dedicated to decency and the principles of clean and gracious living, he commands respect and admiration of all segments of our human family. It is a privilege to call him my friend.

George M. Saunders, 33d: I know of no person among my travels who is connected with as many worthwhile projects as "Dad" Saunders. "Dad" Saunders likes to work with people and people like to work with him, and that in my opinion explains the secret of his great success. I have been associated with him in the work of the Shrine and that of the Shiners' Hospital for Crippled Children for many years, and as the years roll by my admiration for him increases. He is a top-flight citizen, the type person with whom you like to do business and go fishing. We are fortunate in having him as our grand master.

The International Order of the DeMolay has for its purpose encouraging the practice of virtues of reverence, love of parents, patriotism, courtesy, cleanliness, and fidelity. Its ultimate aim is to create leaders and develop character. It places special emphasis on love of God, love of home, and love of country.

In my opinion, now, more than ever, there is great need for such an organization as DeMolay.

There is a feeling of unrest in the world today not only among nations, but in individuals. This unrest manifests itself in crime, cruelty, hate, and gang wars. It is important that this energy be channeled into constructive accomplishment. We should start with our young people by showing them that it is more heroic to build than to destroy.

Young people should be given the opportunity to experience the satisfaction that comes from doing the right thing at the right time. We should help our youth to develop good character. One of the first things they should learn is respect for integrity.

What is integrity? It is that quality of mind and spirit which we associate with honesty and good faith either in public or private life. Integrity is the foundation upon which virtue and morality rest. Integrity is the cornerstone of good relationship between individuals and groups. Integrity is the cement which holds the structure of human life together.

Integrity is the first requisite for domestic tranquillity, good government, and international peace.

The history of human progress is the record of men who could be trusted and who trusted themselves, men who put righteousness, truth, justice, and freedom above selfish interest.

If our people should lose their fundamental honesty, business would collapse overnight.

Everything we are, everything we have, everything we hope for, rests upon the integrity of mankind. We should be more interested in what is right than who is right.

There is a false notion abroad today that men of sterling worth, men of honesty and noble character, are not successful in a monetary sense.

Only the honest physician is successful. Only the honest lawyer reaches the peak of his profession. Only those firms that turn out quality products and render honest service stay in business. The idea that honesty does not pay is false.

Companies seek men of specialized skills and specific training in the commercial world. If there were any scientific way of measuring integrity, employers would pay the highest premium for the candidate with the most integrity. If he has integrity in full measure, almost anything is possible; without it no amount of skill or training will compensate.

The growth of character and the development of integrity takes place in three fundamental units of our community life:

1. The home.
2. The church.
3. The school.

THE HOME

Of these three institutions, the first and oldest is the home. The family is the basic social unit. It is the center of early training of the child for cooperative living. Children learn from their elders. It is in the home that habits are formed and where the child is set in its ways of thinking, its tastes, its manners, ideas and ideals. Psychologists say that traits of character are developed during the early years of childhood which later condition adult behavior. "As the twig is bent, so grows the tree."

THE CHURCH

Integrity is one of the fundamentals of religion. We know that the pastor can function effectively only when he is so steeped in his faith that his sincerity illiminates those with whom he comes in contact. In the same way, the members, in accepting the tenets of their religion, do so with faith and sincerity.

THE SCHOOL

The school is a training ground for character as well as for the mind. In fact, from the days of Plato to the present, there have been those who hold that the ultimate aim of education is training in character. The school should include mental, moral, and physical instruction.

In many schools, the merit system encourages the development of honesty and sincerity, while group and team activities provide a base for loyalty and selflessness, which are all part of the integrity of which I speak.

There is still another training field of the young. It is their own circle of companions, who wield great influence on each other's behavior. Psychologists tell us that one of the needs of youth is to belong. He wants to be a part of a group and to be accepted as one of the fellows. To maintain his status in the group, he will strive to outshine the others in whatever they do. Obviously, if we want him to expend his energies in the right direction, we must provide him with the proper kind of outlet.

It is to this phase of training that the Boy Scouts, the YMCA, and DeMolay turn their efforts. It is encouraging to note that the membership of these organizations—along with church membership—is increasing. This indicates that a great majority of our young people are seeking wholesome activities.

The scouts, the YMCA, and DeMolay offer companionship and guidance in social activities.

The DeMolay boy is prepared to face the world with confidence and a feeling of security. His opportunities for success are vastly enlarged and his rewards multiplied many times.

He is ready to accept life's challenge with the most important equipment man can possess—character and integrity "man's greatest asset."

[From the Atlantic City Press of July 2, 1957]

REEMPHASIZING BASIC VIRTUES

A glance at statistics on the rising rate of crime perpetrated by the young should convince anyone that honesty and integrity are not among the things in oversupply today.

And when someone like George E. Stringfellow, imperial chief rabban of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, goes about trying to reemphasize these virtues, it seems to us that his efforts should not go unnoticed or unpraised.

Speaking before the New Jersey Order of DeMolay here, he said: "Let our people lose their fundamental honesty and business will

collapse overnight. Without integrity, our land would be a shambles * * *. Everything we are, everything we have, everything we hope for rests upon the integrity of mankind."

He defined integrity as that "quality of mind and spirit which we associate with honesty and good faith either in public or private life * * * the foundation upon which virtue and morality rest."

Why then do so many neglect these basic qualities? The reason perhaps lies in what Stringfellow called "a false notion abroad today that men of sterling worth, men of complete honesty and noble character, are not successful in a monetary sense in this so-called hard, cold, practical world."

Could it be that some of our impatient young men and women, seeking shortcuts to success, are allowing themselves to be influenced by the fast-buck gentry so frequently portrayed on radio and television? The fact that they usually wind up with nothing but regret may have escaped some misguided youth.

"The idea that honesty does not pay is false," says Stringfellow. "Only the honest physician is successful. Only the honest lawyer reaches the peak of his profession. Only those firms that turn out quality products and render honest service stay in business."

The growth of character—and with it the development of integrity—takes place in three fundamental units of community life: the home, the church and the school. But, as Stringfellow points out, there is still another training field for the young.

"It is their own circle of companions, who wield great influence on each other's behavior," he says. "One of the needs of youth is to belong. He wants to be a part of a group and be accepted as one of the fellows. To maintain his status in the group, he will try to outshine the others in whatever they do. Obviously, if we want him to expend his energies in the right direction, we must provide him with the proper kind of outlet."

It is to this phase of training, he says, that the Boy Scouts, YMCA and DeMolay turn their efforts. The fact that these organizations, as well as the churches, report increasing membership, should be a source of satisfaction.

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the testimony of Hon. Merwin K. Hart, of New York City, president of the National Economic Council, delivered before the special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration considering proposed changes in Senate rule XXII.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE ON THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN RULE XXII, BY MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, 7501 EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 9, 1957

On behalf of the National Economic Council I thank this committee for the opportunity to appear and speak on the proposed changes in rule XXII.

While the Senate rules are primarily the concern of the Members of the Senate, yet in a larger sense this rule XXII is of vital importance to the whole people, since it insures unlimited debate. And unlimited debate always has been a guaranty against overhasty legislation.

Since the freedom the American people enjoy includes the freedom of speech, with the accompanying freedom to petition the Government against grievances, real or alleged, this freedom of necessity permits activities not only by those who wish to preserve, but by those who are willing, for whatever reason, to destroy, any of the freedoms we enjoy.

The movement to change rule XXII is of course championed by Communists. I say, of course, because, whatever its sponsorship in the past, it is presently one of the many measures that pattern the effort to bring all power into Federal hands, from which a Communist takeover could be most easily accomplished.

We hear incessant talk these days about the virtues of democracy. But the Constitutional Convention discarded democracy, just as it discarded monarchy, when it was considering the form of government to set up in the United States. It discarded democracy on the ground that throughout history democracy had always failed.

What they set up was a republic—a government with a separation of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial, with its accompanying checks and balances. Through its Bill of Rights it guaranteed the individual citizen against encroachment by either Federal or State Governments—even encroachment by a majority—on certain of the citizens' fundamental rights.

The lower House of Congress, with its 435 Members, is perhaps compelled to fix a limit on debate. Hence, as a rule it has been possible for certain measures, that many think unwise, to slip through the House, because of insufficient consideration and debate.

But the Senate, with only 96 Members, is different. By rule XXII the Senate has reserved to itself the right and duty of examining, at length and without reference to the time spent in debate, measures, unwise or inadequate, some of which may have come from the House.

This, we take it as private citizens, is the reason for the existence of rule XXII. We agree thoroughly with Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia, who said in 1951 that, "Grave evils often result from hasty legislation, rarely from the delay which follows discussion and deliberation."

During the past 20 years many important measures have been passed by Congress, under the pressure of war or depression or some other crisis, real or alleged. We can see now that it would have been far better for this country if some of these measures had not been passed.

As things are today, the existence of rule XXII, is about the only remaining bulwark the people have against unwise legislation by the Congress.

I spoke a few moments ago of the right that any group, or whatever turn of thought has to organize and petition the Congress—that is to say, engage in lobbying. For the past 30 or 40 years this country has been under constant pressure from collectivist influences, Socialist and Communist. And it has been shown that these influences have no lack of financial support. Some of this support may come from outside the United States. Americans who give money to strengthen these influences certainly receive their initial inspiration from outside the United States. Thus the Communist Internationale in 1922, established the International Red Aid (the IRA) in order to promote the weakening of the immigration laws of various countries, particularly the United States. The American section of IRA, organized in 1925 as the National Labor Defense, within 10 years has developed 800 subsidiary organizations. These, as we well know, included in their membership a tremendous number of well-meaning and often well-heeled Americans, who have worked aggressively at times to persuade this Congress to weaken its immigration laws.

And while the highly organized leftwing groups are working on Congress, directly or indirectly, those conservative groups that wish to retain the more stable factors in our form of government are inadequately organized and financed. Many indeed of the leftwing internationalist-Socialist groups have secured deductibility before taxes for their individual contributors, while hardly a single conservative group has secured such deductibility. In fact, such deductibility has been specifically denied many of them.

So rule XXII, which permits continued and unlimited debate is an absolute necessity if we are to prevent a bare majority from wiping out all those minority rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Many efforts have, of course, been made in the past to change rule XXII. Presumably in each of these cases the reason for the effort to change it has been some pending legislation of very great importance on which feeling on both sides has run high.

The legislation which has apparently stimulated the present drastic effort to amend rule XXII is the demand for so-called civil rights. The present civil-rights bills would bring about:

1. A grant of power to the Department of Justice to intervene directly by employing Federal injunctions and contempt proceedings in cases of alleged violation of civil rights.

2. The establishment of a Federal Civil Rights Commission with subpena powers.

3. Creation within the Justice Department of a special Civil Rights Division.

All of these provisions are an invasion and preemption of States rights.

Federal intervention in these State and local rights would deprive the citizens of the right of trial by jury, one of the most important rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Now what is back of all this is, of course, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization formed at the instance of the Communist Party for the very purpose of stirring up friction and discord. I am advised that there was only one Negro member of the original committee, and throughout its history its main motivation has come from white members.

The Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation case, turned its back completely upon long-accepted principles of American constitutional law and of American custom, and instead adopted the views of sociologists as "experts." One at least of these, who was of foreign birth, had expressed contempt for the Constitution of the United States. The Court has likewise turned its back on established law and custom in such cases as the Steve Nelson case, the New York Slochower case, the Michigan so-called "dirty book" case, the bus segregation case, and the Girard College case. Hence there is reason to believe that any of these civil rights bills that are pending would, if passed, be sustained by the Supreme Court, even though it meant the attempted repeal by the Supreme Court of vital provisions of the Bill of Rights.

For the Senate to modify rule XXII, thus rejecting unlimited debate, would assuredly lead sooner or later to the passage of some one or other of these objectionable civil rights laws. Then the Supreme Court, having usurped, as would be likely, the role of the Congress and the legislatures of the 48 States, would arrogate to itself the power to amend the Constitution and would remove the last bar to the destruction of the Amer-

ican Republic. And the Senate, if it weakened rule XXII, by such action would literally abdicate in favor of the communist-socialist influences that are abroad in the land.

It will be asked by some, do we not all believe in rule by the majority?

The answer is, on all ordinary day to day matters, yes. But on the great underlying principles of the Constitution there are some questions so grave and involving rights so vital to the people as a whole that experience shows it is not safe for all the people to leave these to the decision by majority vote. In the past we have prospered as a nation because we have held these rights sacred and above and beyond all other rights.

The idea underlying this thought is one of the fundamental ideas in the Constitution—in fact, in the idea of even having a written Constitution. The Constitution gives vast powers to both the legislative and executive branches and implied powers, at least, to the Supreme Court—which powers incidentally the Supreme Court is now trying to expand and augment.

But in certain provisions of the Bill of Rights, notably amendments IX and X, and in the terms of article V of the Constitution providing ways in which the Constitution can be amended, it is perfectly clear that the framers of the Constitution intended to make it difficult for the Constitution to be amended. These safeguards have been observed practically throughout our history—until very lately.

Now, since the obvious purpose of the efforts to amend rule XXII is to clear the way for the passage of pending civil rights legislation; and since the civil rights legislation would to a large extent throw amendments IX and X down the drain, there is all the greater reason why rule XXII should not be tampered with.

Human experience has taught that speedy action on ordinary matters is often required and is reasonably safe. But there are certain fundamental matters of the kind dealt with in the Constitution itself and in the Bill of Rights, which according to the theory on which we have always gone, should not be changed except over a long lapse of time, in order to give plenty of time to the people and to the people's representatives in Congress and in the States, to weigh them carefully.

This is why we have had only 22 amendments to the Constitution in 168 years.

If this rule XXII should be amended and if the present objective of those who wish to amend it were obtained, namely the passage of the civil rights legislation, then some of the most vital rights of the American people as a whole would be destroyed.

Therefore, we of the National Economic Council respectfully ask the Senate but with all possible emphasis, not to amend rule XXII, but to leave its present wording intact.

Texas, the Source of Half of the Synthetic Rubber Supply of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled, "Half of United States Synthetic Rubber Comes From Six Texas Plants," published in the Beaumont, Tex., Journal of July 8, 1957. The article gives statistical information showing the importance of this production to United States industries.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HALF OF UNITED STATES SYNTHETIC RUBBER COMES FROM SIX TEXAS PLANTS—RAPID INCREASE IN DEMAND CITED

AUSTIN.—About half of the synthetic rubber produced in the Nation each year comes from six Texas plants.

The Bureau of Business Research at the University of Texas predicted today that when a seventh plant is completed the State will account for a majority of the national output, plus production for the foreign market.

"Demand for rubber is increasing so rapidly that greatly expanded output from Texas plants already in operation and others still to be built can be expected," the Bureau said. "Total United States rubber production in 1957 may reach 1½ million tons, most of it synthetic. An additional 2 or 3 hundred thousand tons may be needed by 1960."

FEDERAL FUNDS

Most Texas plants were built with Federal funds during the war, but now are privately owned and operated. Texas could provide most of the major raw materials from within its own borders. These include petroleum, gas, byproduct gases which yield butylenes and other chemicals, sulfur for vulcanizing, and other needed materials such as salt, clays, and lime.

Two types of synthetic rubber are made in Texas.

Butyl rubber is a combination of 89 percent isobutene and 2 percent isoprene. It is used primarily for automobile innertubes. The plant operated by Humble Oil at Baytown is the only 1 manufacturing this type in Texas and 1 of 2 in the Nation.

CHEMICAL COMBINATION

The other type, known as GR-S, is a copolymer, a chemical cominbation of butadiene and styrene. The output of rubber of this type in Texas is very large and is used extensively in tires. General Tire & Rubber Co.'s Waco plant is a major consumer in the Southwest.

Goodyear recently completed an expansion program at its Houston plant to give an annual production of 220,000 long tons.

A copolymer plant owned and operated by the General Tire is building at Odessa, along with a styrene plant and a butadiene plant. The original investment in the 3 plants will total more than $40 million. An annual production of 40,000 long tons is planned.

Other synthetic rubber plants in Texas include the Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals Corp, at Port Neches, Phillips Chemical Co. at Borger, Tex., United States Chemical Co. at Port Neches and United States Rubber & Chemical Co. at Baytown.

Convention of Catholic War Veterans in Milwaukee, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am happy to state that the 22d annual national convention of the Catholic War Veterans of the United States is scheduled to be held August 14–18 in Milwaukee, Wis.

I am pleased to extend a hearty welcome to these war veterans to Milwaukee, one of the finest, most progressive cities in the country. Moreover, I wish them a most successful convention.

The Catholic War Veterans, organized in 39 of our 48 States, is one of the great veteran organizations in the country. A very active group, they engaged in welfare, patriotic, youth development, and other fine programs to strengthen our country in peace just as they fought for its victory in war. With great zeal they are carrying forward constructive work to serve God, country, and home. To their credit, it should be emphasized that their efforts are not restricted by discrimination as to race or creed.

Bound together by a common faith, this veterans' organization is governed by the principle on which our country was founded and for which we continue to strive: The freedom of the individual to worship according to his own conscience.

As always, I am glad to pay tribute to our war veterans as they close ranks in peacetime to further our great country.

Today I received from Peter J. Whelan, past State commander, a brief résumé of the history of the Catholic War Veterans and of their basic objectives and projects. The report also gives a picture of the fine activities proposed for this year's convention.

I request unanimous consent to have this report printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America will have the privilege of holding their 22d annual convention in the hospitable city of Milwaukee, Wis., August 14 to August 18, 1957.

The Hotel Schroeder will be the convention headquarters, but various State delegations will also be housed in the Hotels Wisconsin, Medford, and Plankinton. Some 3,000 delegates are expected from 39 States.

The convention will include business, religion, and social sessions, scheduled for various parts of the city. The fifth annual golf tournament will take place August 14. Highlight for August 15, one of the great Catholic holy days of the year, will be a special religious service at the national outdoor shrine of Our Lady of Fatima, at 68th and Stephenson Streets. That same evening Milwaukee will open her hospitable arms to visiting delegates with special entertainment at the new Veterans' Memorial Building, and at the Brooks Memorial Hall of Marquette University.

Competition of color guards, drill teams, drum and bugle corps, and bands will take place Friday afternoon and evening at Marquette University Stadium. A colorful parade is scheduled for Saturday afternoon that will feature floats of historical, religious, and patriotic interest. The day's events will culminate in the convention banquet at the Schoeder Hotel and the annual ball at the Milwaukee Auditorium.

Highlight of the convention will be the solemn pontifical high mass to be celebrated by his excellency the Most Reverend

Albert G. Mayer, archbishop of Milwaukee, at St. John's Cathedral.

Convention business will include reports of officers and committee chairmen on the past year's activities, passage of resolutions, administrative matters, and election of officers for a new term. Officers will report on the Catholic War Veterans' accomplishments in Americanism, Catholic action, leadership, membership, veterans' affairs, and youth welfare.

A partial list of CWV activities includes participation in civil affairs, especially in events of a patriotic nature; cooperation with other veterans organizations in various allied councils; welfare activities for the benefit of veterans in hospitals, widows of veterans, orphans; religious projects in support of church; development of leadership through special programs; participation in the Veterans' Administration Voluntary Service (VAVS); and youth projects, which include essay and other contests, sending teen-agers to summer camps, and furnishing educational scholarships.

The Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America have received commendation and encouragement from agencies of the United States Government, especially the Veterans' Administration; as well as business and welfare groups for its work in welfare and hospital work, in rehabilitation, in child guidance, and in patriotic, fraternal, veteran, and religious affairs.

Every President of the United States since 1935 has commended the work of the Catholic War Veterans. The organization also enjoys the approval of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII. The Veterans' Administration has approved it for handling veterans' cases, and has appointed accredited representatives among its membership.

The Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America has published much informative material of a patriotic nature, including pamphlets exposing fascism, nazism, and Communist propaganda; bulletins on veterans affairs; and literature designed to strengthen the moral fiber not only of members, but also of the people of the United States.

The Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America was founded by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward J. Higgins, LL. D., of Astoria, N. Y., back in 1935, in the words of its own constitution:

"To promote zeal and devotion for God, for country, and for home:

"(a) For God: To promote through aggressive organized Catholic action a greater love, honor, and service to God; and understanding and application of the teachings of Christ in our everyday life; recognizing the wisdom of the church in all matters of faith and morals.

"(b) For country: Through a more vivid understanding of the Constitution of the United States of America and through the active participation in the promotion of its ideals of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, develop a more zealous citizenship; to encourage morality in government, labor, management, economic, social, fraternal, and all other phases of American life; to combat aggressively the forces which tend to impair the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions.

"(c) For home: To promote the realization that the family is the basic unit of society; to aid in the development of an enlightened patriotic American youth; to assist all veterans and widows and dependents of deceased veterans.

"(d) These objectives are encouraged without regard to race, creed, or color."

Initiated only 22 years ago, Catholic War Veterans has spread until today it is organized in 39 of the 48 States. In the course of its two decades of existence the Catholic War Veterans has been part of the fierce war of ideologies seeking to capture the minds of men. It is to the commendable credit of this organization that it has spotted and fought totalitarian and brutalitarian philosophies of both the right and left, and stood firm on the solid stand of freedom of the individual and personal independence of its citizens, under the law.

The CWV creed from the now-famous speech, Catholicism and Americanism, of the late Archbishop John Ireland, of St. Paul, Minn., states:

"My religious faith is that of the Catholic Church—Catholicism, integral and unalloyed—Catholicism, unswerving and soul swaying, the Catholicism taught by the supreme chieftain of the Catholic Church, the Pope, the Bishop of Rome.

"My civil and political faith is that of the Republic of the United States of America—Americanism, purest and brightest, yielding in strength and loyalty to the Americanism of none other American, surpassed in spirit of obedience and sacrifice by that of none other citizen, none other soldier, sworn to uphold in peace and in war America's Star Spangled Banner."

The current program of the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America is strictly positive. The Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America are not anti anything; they are protagonists of right, truth, and justice. Their whole philosophy is based on the recognition of man's dignity and rendering "to God the things that are God's." They insist on the recognition of the moral basis, underlying all political, economic, and social themes.

Their emphasis lies in action. "It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness." They feel that no program, no matter how magnificient, can be effective unless it is acted upon.

As can be readily seen, the two decades of Catholic War Veterans' existence have proved fruitful for our freedom. And the future of America is safe, when public spirited, patriotic citizens who have fought for their Nation in war, can continue to serve in peace.

The Catholic War Veterans is organized to serve the individual and the Nation. Size is not the measure of its service, its reputation, its loyalty, its faith, or its spirit of fellowship.

As they celebrate that 22d anniversary milestone of their history, Catholic War Veterans take pride in their past—are confident of their future.

Provision for Presidential Disability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated June 21, 1957, entitled "Presidential Disability," written to the New York Herald Tribune by Harry J. Carman and James Kerney, Jr., cochairman of the American Liberal Association.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 27, 1957]

PRESIDENTIAL DISABILITY

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE:

The ambiguity in the Constitution concerning the transfer of the duties and powers of the Presidency in various obvious contingencies, whether temporary or permanent, should be removed by congressional action during the present session.

Although the Constitution provides that the Vice President shall discharge the powers and the duties of the office in case of the temporary disability of the President, it makes no provision as to how such disability should be determined or when it shall have been deemed to have been removed. Further, although it is obvious that the President should be able himself to declare such disability, there should also be provision for dealing with the situation where the President might be unable or unwilling to recognize such disability.

It is, therefore, important to entrust the decision, both as to the fact of disability and to its removal, to a duly constituted authority possessing the confidence of the people, for in such a possible crisis public support would be essential.

This authority might well include the Vice President, the three senior members of the Cabinet, namely, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Attorney General, the leaders of both major political parties in both Houses of Congress, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court who might act as chairman of the group, making nine in all. There would thus be represented in the group with the power to make the necessary decisions the three branches of the Government and both political parties.

The problems involved call for careful, sound, and prompt action.

HARRY J. CARMAN,
JAMES KERNEY, JR.,
Cochairmen, American Liberal Association.

NEW YORK, *June 21, 1957.*

Cooperation of Government, Industry, and Labor To Halt Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "O. K. Men—Cooperate," published in the Washington Daily News of July 11, 1957. The editorial points out how vital it is that there be conferences, in the highest patriotic spirit, between Government, industry, and labor, in order to hold back inflation. Calling each other names will not do the job, but cooperation will.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

O. K. MEN—COOPERATE

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, Tennessee, has started an investigation into so-called "administered" prices as factors in inflation. His first witness, testifying Tuesday, was the respected economist Dr. Edwin G. Nourse.

Dr. Nourse's contribution was a statement that he was equally worried over labor unions pushing wages up and industry pushing prices up, and that he doesn't believe the Government alone can prevent inflation by keeping money tight.

In Chicago the same day, AFL-CIO President George Meany called inflation "the real threat to our way of life at this time," and

came out strongly for labor-management cooperation to choke it off.

Well, how about it? We mean how about some purposeful and determined conferences between leaders of labor and leaders of industry, with high-echelon Government representatives sitting in? And how about these three groups working out a concerted attack on the slow but steady and deadly decline in the dollar's buying power?

Government, industry, and labor, working together, could halt this creeping inflation. It's high time for them to get moving, before the creep turns into a gallop.

West Germany Aids European Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "West Germany Aids European Unity," published in the Dallas, Tex., Morning News of July 8, 1957. The editorial points out:

The overwhelming vote by which the West German Parliament ratified the European Common Market Treaty last week brings the Union within striking distance of success.

* * * * * *

In the long run the new western European move may prove the most lasting defense against Soviet designs and threats. In the end it should attract Britain, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries into its orbit.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEST GERMANY AIDS EUROPEAN UNITY

The overwhelming vote by which the West German parliament ratified the European common market treaty last week brings the union within striking distance of success.

Equally favorable is the prospect within France. The rejection of crippling amendments in the French National Assembly Sunday foreshadows final passage in Paris this week. Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg—the other four partners in the plan—are well disposed to go along with the two more powerful members.

An economic united states of Europe can not come into existence overnight. This initial treaty to wipe out customs barriers calls for gradual steps strung out over a 12-to-17-year period. But the impetus is there. And the tremendous advantages in creating an internal market of 160 million is proving an almost irresistible magnet. The example of results from absolute free trade within our union is, of course, the guiding one for present day European leaders.

Packaged with the customs treaty is a second one that would pool atomic power projects of the same six nations. Euratom, as it is called, is a natural outcome of the first.

The enthusiasm with which the West Germans adopted both treaties is the greatest yet shown. Chancellor Adenauer's Socialist opponents joined him almost to a man in the standing vote. Perhaps many Germans were casting a backward glance at their own history. It was the customs union set up among German states and principalities back in the last century that led to formation of the German Empire of Bismarck and the Kaisers.

In the long run the new Western European move may prove the most lasting defense against Soviet designs and threats. In the end it should attract Britain, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries into its orbit.

Iron Ore in Central Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article and two editorials which appeared recently in the Lewistown (Mont.) Daily News. The article is entitled "Iron Ore in Belt Mountains Ranks With Best in World." The editorials are headlined "Iron Ore and Central Montana" and "A Steel Industry for Central Montana?"

The ore being mined in this new Montana industry averages out well over 64 percent, and has a low phosphorous content. Experts believe this Montana field to be one of the richest iron sources in North America.

I call to the attention of my colleagues, and the industrial leaders who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the fact that Montana heartily welcomes the steel industry to Montana. As the editor of the Lewistown News says, this rich ore "ought to be processed by industry right here in central Montana and used in the development of this State, the great Northwest, and the west coast."

Industrial leaders cannot know, until they investigate, the many advantages of locating in Montana, the Treasure State.

The well-known phrase of Horace Greeley still applies, particularly for men who seek bright business and industrial opportunities. "Go west, young man, go west."

There being no objection, the article and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IRON ORE IN BELT MOUNTAINS RANKS WITH BEST IN WORLD

(By Bud Conley)

The Young Montana Mining Co., Inc., headed by Ernest A. Young, Hibbing, has brought added wealth to central Montana with its iron ore mining on Willow Creek in the Belt Mountains 16 miles from Stanford.

And there are indications that this industry, which now employs 25 men, will be around for a long while.

Thursday, Young, who has 3 mines in Minnesota and who now heads 3 mining companies, was on hand to watch his pet project in action.

Young, who had arrived that morning from Minnesota, was literally here, there, and everyhere at the crushing and screening plant site where the ore was being processed and sent to Great Northern Railroad cars in Stanford by truck.

In between inspections and instructions he explained that he was sorry he couldn't take time to tell more about the plant's operation, but he wanted to see what the boys could do when things were going right.

Dewey Whittaker, Seattle, Wash., contractor, who leased the claims to Young, meanwhile took time to explain a few things about the plant's operation and a moment later his brother, Norman Whittaker, who is working for Young at the plant, and also owns a number of iron ore claims in the Belts, appeared with a specimen of ore.

"This ore perhaps doesn't mean much to you," Norman said, "but it's the kind of ore that makes an ore-man drool. This type ore—ranking with the best in the world—is the sole reason Ernie Young is here. This ore averages well over 64 percent, with a low phos. This makes it about the finest ore in the world."

Young walked to our group then and confirmed Norman's remarks.

"Gentlemen," he said, pointing to an ore sample he had picked up near the crushing and screening plant, "you are now looking at one of the finest ores in the United States. This high-grade ore is awarded a premium of $3.50 a ton and nearly pays the freight back East."

Joe Lovallo, vice president of the Young Mining Co., said that the Mesabi range miners in Minnesota are amazed when they see the quality of the ore from central Montana.

Young said that his operation was definitely in Montana to stay. From all indications there are years of mining ahead, with top-quality ore plentiful, he pointed out.

Young said that you could thank the Whittaker boys, Norman and Dewey, for bringing iron ore mining to central Montana. They showed us the claims and pointed out their tremendous possibilities.

"Some of my friends wondered why I would be interested in mining in Montana. There is the big problem of freight, but this high-quality ore is a real challenge to me. I have plenty to keep me busy in Minnesota, but this ore is just too good to overlook," Young explained.

And it is certain that Young is no novice when it comes to iron ore. In the business since he was a teen-ager, Young now owns the E. A. Young Mining Co. in Virginia, Minn., and the Haley and Young Mining Co., in Chisholm. The two companies were established in 1943 and 1944.

The iron ore setup on Willow Creek is already big.

"The crushing and screening plant is worth about $100,000," Lovallo said. "We have 25 fulltime employees, all but 2 are from Montana, and 18 are from this immediate area. Our payroll here for 2 weeks was about $5,000, and will be more than $100,000 for the year. This isn't including the truckers."

The Young Mining Co., Inc. got its start last year. First load to be taken out was in last July. The company took out 3,000 tons for testing purposes in 1956. Up until Thursday the company had taken about 6,000 tons out in 1957.

The company's quota this year is 60,000 tons, with perhaps the quota increasing to 100,000 tons next year and the years following, Young said.

The ore has been running about 8½ cubic feet in the bank to the ton. Lovallo explained. "The carloads that we've been shipping out have been between 52 and 55

tons. "We hope to ship 500 tons a day," Lovallo said.

Young was not unhappy with the way things were developing. "We've been doing all right considering the troubles we've had. It rained so much that we couldn't keep the crusher on the road to the plant site. We started out with the shovel and ran into a 2-foot snowfall in the Belts. A bridge caved in on us. Yes, we've had our problems.

"However, we're not discouraged. We have an excellent ore and we know we have a vein of ore now that averages 25 to 30 feet in width, 1,100 feet in length, and we know that it is at least 300 feet in depth. How much deeper it is than that only the Lord knows."

Young said that there is a great future for iron ore in Montana. The quality here rates with the finest in the world.

As for stupendous plans for the Young Montana Mining Co., Inc., Young said, "Right now I'm fairly happy with 10 cars a day. Remember we're only in our infancy here, we're only beginning to walk. Perhaps by next year we'll be able to run."

Iron Ore and Central Montana

Prospects for an iron ore industry in Montana are not the pipedreams of courageous prospectors any more.

The first step for the success of the industry has been taken as the Young Montana Mining Co., Inc., has been established and is shipping iron ore out of Stanford.

The Young Montana organization was established last year and 3,000 tons of test ore were sent back East. The results of the tests in 1956 were gratifying. The ore in Central Montana is top rate ore—ore that has no trouble in finding a market.

Ernest Young, Hibbing, owner of the Young Mining Co. in the Belt mountains 16 miles from Stanford in the Willow Creek area, is optimistic over the future of the iron ore industry in Montana. In the years to come, he said Thursday, it would not be far-fetched to foresee the time that Montana can take over for the Mesabi range in Minnesota, which has showed some sign of eventually being depleted of ore.

Central Montana is fortunate to have someone such as Young interested in mining here. Some persons scoffed at this prominent Minnesota iron miner coming to the wilderness to open a new mine. (Young already has three mines operating in Minnesota.) But Young came out and looked at the ore here, and from that time on "the mine has been a real challenge to me," he said.

Credit should also be extended to Dewey and Norman Whittaker, who have done much of the exploration in the Belts and hold the iron-ore claims there. The present mining site is owned by Dewey Whittaker, who has leased the claims to Young.

The ore that is coming from the Young Montana mining setup averages 64 percent iron with a low phos. This amounts to a premium lump ore that is not matched in the United States. In fact, the only ore to match or surpass this ore would be found in Sweden and South America.

From exploration done by the Young organization in the Belts and from reports from Dewey and Norman Whittaker, there seems no end in sight for the iron-ore industry here. Samples taken from the area continually stress an outstanding ore.

However, this high-type ore must be maintained throughout the mining operation here because of the high cost of shipping the ore back to the Lake Erie port.

The big problem for Young here is freight rates. The ore is definitely outstanding, but the high rates present difficulties. The whole shipping process to a Lake Erie port amounts to $9.86 a ton, $7.45 a ton going for freight rates.

The irony of the situation is that the central Montana iron ore must keep its top-notch grade or probably be abandoned.

It seems to us that the iron industry would have been so much better off by having iron mills and steel plants decentralized. The plants are nearly all clustered in the East.

By having its plants in one region, the industry itself has not encouraged exploration such as the Whittaker brothers have made. It took great persistence by these two men to get the iron-ore industry to risk the chance of coming to Montana.

But Young is the type of individual who loved the challenge this tremendous quality ore provided. And Young feels that the mining operation here will continue indefinitely. There seems to be no indication that the ore will decrease in quality.

The possibility of an iron mill in this area is remote, but if the industry continues to develop and grow here this cannot be ruled out.

Certainly the iron industry will do everything in its power to keep this ore being mined, for it is among the finest in the world. If the freight rates should continue to increase, an iron mill in this area in the future could be the answer.

This is long-distance thinking, but the prospects for the iron-ore industry in central Montana are promising—and big.

A Steel Industry for Central Montana?

In the front window of the Daily News office there is on display a sample of the iron ore about which this newspaper first told the world in last Sunday's edition.

The heavy, metallic ore looks and feels like the almost-solid iron that it is. It is an example of the ore now being mined by the Young Mining Co. in the Belt Mountains 16 miles from Stanford in the Willow Creek area.

This ore, which averages an amazing 64 percent, is from what is believed by experts to be one of the richest iron sources in North America. Indeed, if the stuff were not so full of metal, it wouldn't be feasible to pay $9.86 a ton in shipping costs to Lake Erie ports where it is processed into steel and other products.

Shipping such high-grade ore at such high costs to the East doesn't make sense when the west coast is starving for steel and iron.

This ore, because of our undeveloped industrial situation, is being shipped the wrong way. It ought to be processed by industry right here in central Montana and used in the development of this State, the great Northwest and the west coast.

Perhaps Senators Mansfield and Murray can help us persuade the steel industry to build a plant in this area to gain the tax benefit which the Federal Government offers industry for defense dispersal, not to mention other benefits which await new industry in this rich and untapped field.

Cotton Statistics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following cotton statistics:

United States by cotton States: Percent of State total number of counties and percent of State total cotton acreage allotments accounting for approximately 50 percent of total value of cotton produced in each State and related data, 1955

State	Total number of cotton counties	Number of counties accounting for approximately 50 percent of State total cotton production	Percent of total number of counties in State	Percent of State total cotton allotments in selected counties	Total value of cotton produced in selected counties (thousand)	Percent of total value of cotton in State produced in selected counties	Range in average value per allotment [1]
Alabama	67	23	34.3	30.7	$86,402	48.5	$1,495–$3,732
Arizona	10	2	14.3	20.7	49,768	43.7	38,000–62,582
Arkansas	71	7	9.3	21.6	137,456	50.4	7,313–13,929
California	12	5	8.6	30.0	100,619	50.5	13,748–31,011
Florida	25	7	10.4	25.4	1,844	44.5	586– 1,183
Georgia	150	34	21.4	29.0	60,032	50.4	1,656– 4,299
Illinois	2	1	0.98	49.8	160	56.3	532– 693
Kentucky	7	1	0.83	34.6	1,483	87.8	3,506–
Louisiana	56	9	14.1	21.8	47,649	50.1	2,904– 6,707
Mississippi	79	9	11.0	9.8	168,571	49.2	9,374–27,766
Missouri	8	2	1.8	29.7	35,551	52.9	6,947– 7,586
Nevada	2	1	5.9	94.4	323	98.8	19,000–
New Mexico	16	3	9.4	30.3	23,543	55.6	12,668–14,133
North Carolina	76	12	12.0	29.6	27,883	49.5	715– 1,713
Oklahoma	70	9	11.7	28.2	35,967	53.4	1,737– 4,361
South Carolina	46	14	30.4	32.5	50,296	53.0	1,493– 4,639
Tennessee	54	8	8.4	27.6	58,627	56.0	2,385–11,557
Texas	241	52	20.5	18.5	311,066	51.2	4,733–30,824

[1] Range in average value per allotment for selected counties indicated in col. 1.

Source: Compiled from daily Congressional Record, June 17, 1957, pp. A4758–A4769.

For a "Family Conscious" Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the basic social unit in our society is the family. It is there character is formed, character on which the success of our Government and hence the continuance of our way of life depend.

I deeply appreciated receiving the following letter from Rt. Rev. Msgr. Irving A. DeBlanc, director of the family life bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, whose national headquarters are located at 1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C. The letter is as follows:

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Was delighted to see a new development in the field of family allowances. Somehow this country has never been too family conscious. We have worked more on individual needs. Even the Constitution and Declaration of Independence fail to mention the family. Your efforts and the efforts of others then to promote a study of family allowances in Canada is more than a historical fact. It may be a symbol of a new emphasis in our Government.

With over 8 million families earning less than $2,000 a year, it seems this fact involves the rights of these people to have children. We have freedom of worship, freedom of speech, etc. I would like to think that couples should have the freedom to have children within the law. For many of our American couples that is economically impossible.

Our bureau is associated with thousands of Catholic organizations. I am sure that the majority will favor and support your efforts and those of Senator NEUBERGER.

Respectfully,
Rt. Rev. Msgr. IRVING A. DEBLANC,
Director.

White House Conference on Urban Renewal Is Greatly Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, national support has developed in recent weeks for a White House Conference on Urban Renewal Problems. Such a conference was first called for by the National Planning Association at a meeting on December 10, 1956.

A recent report by the NPA declares that urban centers of the United States are becoming obsolete because of increased traffic problems and slums, as well as inadequate schools, parks, and hospitals.

The proposed White House conference would include experts from agriculture, business, labor, the professions, and the arts, as well as representatives from Federal, State, and municipal governments.

The chairman of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, Albert M. Greenfield, the National Retail Dry Goods Association, and other individuals and groups have been working on plans for the proposed conference. I include here some recent communications which I have received on this matter:

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA,
CITY PLANNING COMMISSION,
Philadelphia, July 9, 1957.

The Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: It was very thoughtful of you to write to me as to the National Retail Dry Goods Association's resolution supporting my proposal for a White House conference on urban renewal. I am glad to have your expression of interest and support for this program.

Enclosed are copies of correspondence which I have carried on with several national organizations, the President and others on this matter to give you background as to my feeling.

I have reviewed these problems, as well as the programs seeking their solutions, in several of our major cities in which the companies of which I am executive head have substantial business interests, including Boston, New York, Washington, New Orleans, Memphis, and Miami, Fla. The problems are common in each of these cities. In each instance, they go beyond the resources of the individual cities and require Federal assistance, both as to redevelopment money and technical help in the dedevelopment and rebirth of these areas. In turn, the strength of these cities reflects directly the economic health of our Nation. Private investment, substantial enough to do the job, will not be found to undertake renewal programs unless given the assurance of Federal participation. It is for this reason that a conference at the national level and under White House sponsorship is so important to the success of these endeavors.

I hope you will continue your good work and encourage among your colleagues support for this proposal.

Sincerely yours,
ALBERT M. GREENFIELD,
Chairman.

JUNE 21, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE M. LEADER,
Governor of Pennsylvania,
Harrisburg, Pa.

DEAR GOVERNOR LEADER: Several months ago I undertook to encourage the convening of an appropriate conference under White House sponsorship for a thorough discussion, broader understanding, and more concerted action in our various cities' needs for urban renewal. In this program I have received substantial encouragement from the leading merchants of our Nation, from the National Retail Dry Goods Association, and from the chambers of commerce in several of the major cities of the country. These groups are joined by a large number of prominent industrialists, architects, engineers, businessmen, and community organizations on both statewide and local levels.

As I see it, the reason for such a convocation goes far beyond a review of the Federal Government's proper participation in urban renewal, although, of course, it would include such a program. A White House Conference would, rather, be a joining among leaders in the fields of architecture and finance, and economists, sociologists, city planners, Government officials, and business organizations so that pooling of their common experiences, as well as their unusual approaches to urban renewal throughout this country—indeed, in other nations as well—might serve to enable those concerned with these problems to do a better job.

Obviously, the goal to be served by this Conference transcends consideration purely of participation of the Federal Government in urban redevelopment; however, it may well serve to guide the Congress, the Federal agencies, as well as other levels of government, in addition to private investment resources, as to a more fruitful approach to the problems and the responsibilities which we all share to an equal degree.

At his press conference on June 19, President Eisenhower indicated that he would discuss this program at the governors' conference on June 24. I hope that you will find an opportunity to participate in this discussion and encourage the convening of such a conference for the benefit of the major cities in your State, for the State itself, and for the good of the Nation. I enclose copies of statements which I have previously made on this subject, assuring you, at the same time, that the sizable response to my appeal for such a convocation, in itself, indicates the great need for it.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely,
ALBERT M. GREENFIELD.

APRIL 15, 1957.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have become very much interested in the proposal which the National Planning Association has made to you that there be convened a White House Conference "to deal with the rising tide of urbanism and metropolitan growth." I know that the problems of urban renewal and the importance of the solution of these problems to the very continuance of our cities has been a matter of concern to you for some time.

The entire question of urban renewal, while important from an economic point of view, is of even greater substance in its cultural and social implications in the lives of our citizens in urban communities and for the generations which will follow. I know of no better device to provide the proper atmosphere in which various cities may have the benefit of the combined guidance and information available through their separate programs than through the forum of a White House Conference.

You will want to know that I have received expressions of support for such a convocation from the National Retail Dry Goods Association, as well as the chambers of commerce, merchants' associations, and important business leaders of a number of major cities throughout the United States.

I hope that you will see fit to promulgate such a convocation as early as it can be organized in order that neither delay nor neglect diminish the enthusiasm and energy which will be required to develop the proper kind of imaginative and successful development to which we look forward in our cities.

Be assured, Mr. President, of my good wishes and desire to be of service in accomplishing so splendid a program.

Sincerely,
ALBERT M. GREENFIELD,
Chairman, City Planning Commission, Philadelphia, Pa.

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA,
CITY PLANNING COMMISSION,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 30, 1957.

Mr. H. CHRISTIAN SONNE,
Chairman, National Planning Association, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SONNE: I have been most interested to read the proposal of the National Planning Association that there be convened a White House Conference to deal with the rising tride of urbanism and metropolitan growth. As you may know, within the past year Philadelphia has moved forward to take a very vigorous and realistic position among the cities of our Nation in planning and in execution of its program for central city renewal and, more generally, urban redevelopment.

The problems incident to such a program transcend all others facing the major cities of our country; indeed, the solutions to these problems hold in their grasp the very continuance of our cities.

In this whole concept of urban renewal it must be recognized that our goals are not served by the clean-up, paint-up, fix-up programs of yesteryear; rather, they depend upon a realistic approach and evaluation of the part which the central districts of cities play in our economic philosophy of life. Accordingly, we must be concerned with the economic, cultural, and sociological development of urban life.

I have taken occasion to communicate with Mr. Philip M. Talbott, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Richard H. Rich, president of the Na-

tional Retail Dry Goods Association, as well as the presidents of each of the units of the City Stores Co. to speak of my great personal and business interest in this problem and to urge their support for this proposal of the National Planning Association. Further, in my capacity as chairman of the City Planning Commission of the city of Philadelphia, I want you to know of my belief that discussion and resolution of urban renewal problems within the atmosphere and at the level of White House participation is most important at this time. When such a conference is convened under direct or indirect sponsorship of the White House, and with the cooperation of your association, I will be anxious to participate in its program and to lend the resources of our staff and their thinking as our contribution to its success. More than this, I bespeak the interest of the mayor of Philadelphia, the Honorable Richardson Dilworth, and the entire City Planning Commission in this proposed meeting.

I hope that you will keep me closely advised as your program moves forward, and I give you my assurance that I will cooperate in every way to promote its success.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT M. GREENFIELD,
Chairman.

CITY STORES CO.,
March 30, 1957.

Mr. RICHARD H. RICH,
President, National Retail Dry Goods Association, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RICH: For sometime the National Retail Dry Goods Association, principally through its committee on downtown development, has been concerned with the problems of central city renewal, urban redevelopment, and such measures as need be taken to buttress the economic life of our metropolitan districts, both in the interest of our industry and, in a fuller sense, for the economic security of our metropolitan cities.

Indeed, it is no exaggeration that the very continuance of our cities calls upon us to put forward the most imaginative and dramatic planning to accomplish these worthy objectives. Our local merchants' associations and individual merchants, representing, as they do, substantial commercial interests in each city, have participated locally in discussions and planning for various redevelopment programs concerned with the rebirth and renewal of our cities. And, yet, in many instances, the various programs undertaken in our principal metropolises have been piecemeal and lacking in that kind of coordinated effort which must be undertaken to assure their success.

In this whole concept it must be recognized that our goals are not served by the clean-up, paint-up, fix-up programs of yesteryear; rather, they depend upon a very realistic approach and evaluation of the part which the central districts of cities play in our economic philosophy of life. Accordingly, we must be concerned with the economic, cultural, and sociological development of urban life.

Recently the National Planning Association put forward a proposal for a White House conference specifically designed to deal with the rising tide of urbanism and metropolitan growth. At the same time, we have become alarmingly aware of efforts among certain governmental officials to cut back the already inadequate program and planning on the part of the Federal Government in support of urban renewal.

I believe it is in the best interests of our industry that the National Retail Dry Goods Association, either through their standing committees or through a special ad hoc committee, undertake to further this proposal as to a White House conference so that the problems involved in this question may be put in their proper perspective and realistic solutions sought from which a sound national policy may evolve. This whole question goes so deeply into the future of all cities that it is beyond partisan considerations; in fact, beyond the interests of any single industry. I want you to know that I, personally, and the City Stores Co. organization are prepared to support such positive and constructive action as may be undertaken by the National Retail Dry Goods Association in this regard.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT M. GREENFIELD,
Chairman of the Board.

NATIONAL RETAIL
DRY GOODS ASSOCIATION,
New York, N. Y., June 28, 1957.

The Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: Retailers throughout the United States are vitally concerned with the necessity for dynamic center city renewal and recognize it as a problem which can best be overcome by the combined efforts of all business, civic, and governmental bodies.

The board of directors of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, which represents 8,200 department, specialty, and chain stores in every State, feels that the review and resolution of these problems within the atmosphere and at the level of White House participation would be in the best interests of the Nation.

Accordingly, the directors, at their June meeting, adopted a resolution supporting the efforts being made by Mr. Albert M. Greenfield, president of City Stores Co. and chairman of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, to secure a White House conference to explore this matter. A copy of the resolution is attached.

Because the problem of urban renewal affects every section of the country, the NRDGA directors asked that their views be brought to your attention in the hope that you will support the conference proposal.

Very truly yours,

RICHARD H. RICH,
President.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL RETAIL DRY GOODS ASSOCIATION, JUNE 10, 1957

Whereas Mr. Albert M. Greenfield, president of City Stores Co., has advocated a White House conference on city planning and metropolitan growth and development; and

Whereas it is our opinion that this effort on the part of Mr. Albert M. Greenfield is both praiseworthy and timely and should be supported by everyone interested in the preservation of values and in business districts; and

Whereas all firmly established concentrations of population, great and small, here at home and all over the world, very naturally have established for themselves areas commonly referred to as "business districts" and "residential districts"; and

Whereas if any one of such districts is to be complete, it cannot possess certain things which, under every law of God or man, are the exclusive property of the other district; and

Whereas all our principal cities are now trying to adjust themselves to a national highway system found necessary to our common defense and to the safety and speed compelled in the affairs of everyday life; and

Whereas in the exercise of the right of eminent domain, the Federal Government is now in a position to do much that is important to the fate of many business districts and residential districts; and

Whereas the greatest and best service to the general public has always come from a dominant downtown business district, with its wider range in all things so necessary for proper selection: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Retail Dry Goods Association, in regular meeting assembled, approves the efforts now being made by Mr. Albert M. Greenfield, president of City Stores Co., to secure a White House conference on city planning and metropolitan growth and development.

The Need of Returning Responsibilities to the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on June 24 President Eisenhower made what I regard as one of the most significant speeches of his tenure in office as President. It was a speech to the National Governors' Conference and dealt with a problem which many of us in the Congress have wrestled with during the past few months and which most of us, I am sure, will tie into during the closing weeks of work here, and when we return to our home districts.

The President discussed a subject which was calculated to stir interest among his listeners, the governors of our 48 States. He discussed States rights. But, more important, he discussed States' obligations and responsibilities.

There has been much talk here in this Chamber and in the State houses all over the Nation about the rights which are being taken away from the States. There has been much talk about restoring those rights to the States.

The President, I believe, made a clear and pertinent point when he told the governors, and I quote:

> Those who would be and would stay free must stand eternal watch against excessive concentration of power in government.

That principle is the sound basis of our American democracy; but it is a principle that in recent years has been shredded almost beyond recognition.

Why has this principle of the decentralized Government been so tattered in the past 25 years?

I submit that to a degree it is our own fault: the fault of individual citizens in individual States and the fault of State governments which have turned ever more often to "good old Uncle Sugar" to help them out of the hole.

When times of trouble arise, the local governments increasingly find themselves incapable of coping with the situation. They find their treasuries strained to meet the problems and their citizens so heavily taxed at the State and Federal level that they cannot be gouged further. Additionally, the writers of State constitutions have in many instances placed in them safeguards against property-tax levies going up and up; there is a certain point beyond which they cannot go. There is also in most States constitutions a bonding limit, beyond which the local governmental unit cannot go. There is

none of this rigidity in the Federal taxing system. If we want a new program, we simply add another tax to finance it.

For that reason, many local governments are abdicating their powers and privileges to the State capitol; the governors are abdicating their powers to Washington, and our national-tax level and national-debt limit keep climbing until now they are beyond imagination.

During the thirties the situation was bad enough. Deficit spending had replaced sound finance and the theory of tax and tax; spend and spend; elect and elect had taken command here in Washington. Then came World War II and the skyrocketing budgets to meet our obligations on two fronts. Again it was deeper in debt, and deeper into the taxpayers' pocketbooks, only this time with a new wrinkle. The Government tapped the new sources of income before the worker ever got his paycheck. It was easier, less painful that way.

But the end of World War II saw no end to this spiral of spending and taxing and borrowing. It has climbed steadily higher and higher since. I have recently seen figures showing that prior to 1945—and that includes most of World War II—the Government had collected a total of $250 billion in taxes. In the 12 years since, we have collected a total of $494 billion.

The President in his Williamsburg speech makes the suggestion that a joint Federal-State commission be created to attempt to restore the historic balance between State and Federal rights. He suggests as a first step a study to designate functions which the States are ready and willing to assume and finance that are now performed by or financed wholly or in part by the Federal Government.

His second suggestion to the commission is to recommend the Federal and State revenue adjustments required to enable the States to assume such functions.

I submit, however, that the President's second recommendation should have come first. As long as the Federal Government has the unlimited taxing power it now wields, new programs will constantly be developed to eat up the money which seems so readily accessible.

An example in point: The last Congress enacted a multi-billion-dollar highway-building program and promptly slapped a new tax on gasoline to pay for it. Now, had there been a clear delineation of taxing authority in force at the time, the new Federal incursion into the taxpayers' wallets would not have been possible. Instead, the States themselves would have been forced to face the responsibility of moving heavy motor traffic from city to city, from State line to State line. The State of New Jersey faced up to that responsibility and before it, the States of Connecticut and Pennsylvania had built their toll highways which those who wish to travel speedily use and pay for.

I do not question the need for more and better highways. I do, however, wonder seriously if this is a function the Federal Government should undertake, when State administrations, if willing to face up to their responsibilities, would do a better, more economic, and faster job. There are hundreds of other instances in which the Federal Government has on its own or through neglect or abdication by State governments, undertaken services which should of right belong to the States. But the Federal Government has been able to make these excursions into new pastures only because financing was readily available. Limit the Federal Government's right to tax, and you take away from it the power to expand. Return some of this taxing power to the States, and they will be able to undertake those services which their people need and must have.

The responsibility, as the President noted, rests with the States. It rests, too, I believe, on us. It is up to us, as well as to the States, to determine in what areas we have allowed the Federal Government to incur obligations which should be met by the State or local governments, and in what areas we are taxing to pay the bills. When we have determined this, it is up to us in Congress to act to restore the principle of less government and more freedom.

Small Business Is Fed Up With Study Groups and Political Oratory

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, whenever this administration wants to avoid coming to grips with a problem which it should have tackled months or years before, it appoints a study group.

We see this tactic at work again in the testimony of Chairman William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Mr. Martin promised to make a comprehensive study of the small-business financing problem.

The House of Representatives passed H. R. 7963 recently with only 2 dissenting votes. This bill was developed by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives under the able leadership of Chairman BRENT SPENCE. The work of the subcommittee of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives was a highly significant and important factor in the deliberations of the Banking and Currency Committee.

I am convinced that the 4 million small-business men and our country are fed up with study groups and campaign oratory and want the Small Business Administration made permanent. I am certain they are as unanimously in favor of H. R. 7963 as was the House of Representatives.

The editor of the Journal of Commerce and Commercial consulted only his own intuition in reaching his conclusions which he spelled out in his July 11, 1957, editorial which I include herewith. If he took the trouble to poll the small-business men of the country he would come up with entirely different conclusions. His editorial is an outstanding example of an advanced case of ivory-towerism.

The editorial follows:

NEW TURN FOR SBA

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee has rejected the proposal for a permanent establishment of the Small Business Administration. In an unexpected move it voted to give this agency only a 1-year added lease on life.

This was contrary to the Administration's request for permanency. The Senate group also rejected the House-passed SBA bill, which set the agency up without time limit and with widened powers.

Nonetheless, the action of the Senate committee is to be commended. Now that the Federal Reserve Board has promised a comprehensive study of the small-business financing problem, the obvious step was to postpone any decision for or against the permanency of the agency.

This promise grew out of testimony by Chairman William McChesney Martin of the Board before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. In addition to the SBA renewal legislation, the Senate committee was studying proposals to fill the alleged gap in long-term credit facilities for small business by special new institutional devices. Among such plans is the proposal by Senator JOHN SPARKMAN (Democrat, Alabama) for the establishment of a system of national investment companies. Other plans contemplate that the Federal Government might seek to provide funds through State development credit corporations rather than through nationally chartered companies.

What the discussion in the committee disclosed above all, was that at present not enough facts are available to provide the basis for adopting specific legislative measures. Even within the Federal Reserve Board, Mr. MARTIN conceded, there are significant differences of view as to the need and the solution. Personally, Mr. MARTIN expressed preference for a setup which would work through State development rather than federally chartered companies, but he made it clear that this did not represent any consensus in the Federal Reserve Board.

A probe into the financing facilities available to small businesses as well as into their need for new ones, was to have been part of the national monetary probe President Eisenhower requested earlier. While Senator HARRY F. BYRD set out recently on a probe of his own, through the Senate Finance Committee, politics succeeded in killing off the broader Presidential plan. It is gratifying, therefore, that the Federal Reserve Board will at least tackle the small business problem, which is an important part of the broader probe that needs to be made.

The Committee for Economic Development has suggested that, if it were possible to develop a suitable long-term financing mechanism, it might be desirable that the SBA lending operations be severed altogether.

In any case, it would be prejudging the issues to freeze the SBA into permanency just as the long overdue study is about to be undertaken.

In voting the 1-year extension, the Senate Banking Committee has wisely avoided any additional innovations in this governmental area, except for setting up an additional $75 million fund for business loans. This will not sit well with the House, which has made a number of changes. These include the completely unsound provision for lowering the interest ceiling from 6 to 5 percent. The House members actually should be grateful to Chairman MARTIN for getting them off this limb.

Direct lending through the SBA has never been a sound solution; but it has been a

means of filling a gap. It is now time to find out whether channels exist or can be developed which will be more consistent with the private enterprise approach.

It would be a mistake to scrap the SBA lending facilities until the size of the gap is assessed more accurately and until it is certain that there are better ways to fill it. But it would be remiss to assume that no alternatives exist and to vote the existing apparatus in for all time without the kind of study that is now being undertaken. That is why the 1-year Senate Banking Committee extension is the wisest approach for the present.

Rear Adm. Webb Cook Hayes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. D. BAUMHART, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. BAUMHART. Mr. Speaker, scarcely more than a year ago, my congressional district mourned the death of an illustrious native son, Fleet Adm. Ernest J. King. Regrettably, we now pay final tribute to still another 13th District naval hero and benefactor, the late Rear Adm. Webb Cook Hayes, great-grandson of Rutherford B. Hayes, 19th President of the United States. He won renown in his own right during World War II both as a great administrator and as commanding officer of the Navy's famous transport ship, the *West Point*.

Webb Hays brought new distinction to one of the most illustrious family names in Ohio annals. He was born in Toledo on September 25, 1890, 3 years before the death of his famous great-grandfather, who had served as a major general in the Civil War and had served in Congress from the years 1864 to 1867 before reaching the White House in 1877.

Aspiring to a naval career, Webb entered the United Sttaes Naval Academy in 1907, graduating in June 1911, and receiving an ensign's commission the following April. Prior to our entry into World War I, he served for 6 years on the U. S. S. *Delaware*. During the conflict, he saw service on the U. S. S. *Melville* and U. S. S. *Trippe*, and in the closing weeks of the war, was executive officer of the newly commissioned U. S. S. *Mahan*. Early in 1919, he was transferred to duty as executive officer of the U. S. S. *Champlin*, assuming command of the destroyer a few months later.

From late 1919 on, he handled a succession of important command assignments on land and on sea. It was in the twenties that he also built up valuable experience in recruitment-experience which later proved invaluable to the Navy when that service faced its greatest challenges in World War II.

Having completed nearly 21 years of naval service by 1928, Webb Hayes resigned in that year and returned to civilian life with a USNR commission as a lieutenant commander. In 1930, he became associated with Pemiscot Land and Cooperage Co.; at his death he was the firm's president and one of its directors. He became a director and chairman of the executive committee of Baker Bros. Machine Tool Co. in 1933, holding those posts until his passing this week.

Shortly before Pearl Harbor was attacked, he returned to active naval duty, assigned as Assistant to the Director of Recruiting in the Bureau of Navigation—predecessor agency of the Bureau of Naval Personnel. He served as Director of Recruiting and Induction between April 1942 and March 1944, winning a commendation for an outstanding personal contribution to the Navy's wartime effort. The citation he received referred to his "outstanding skill and ingenuity in reorganizing the recruiting service to meet the object demanded by a rapidly expanding Navy" and identified him as having been "instrumental in establishing the policy and entire induction system of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard for maximum effectiveness." He received credit for the success of the WAVES enlistment program, as well as for having "procured skilled and technical men for various organizations connected with construction and repair."

On April 1, 1944, he assumed command of the Navy's renowned transport, the *West Point*—formerly the luxury liner, the steamship *America*—and proved that he was equally proficient at sea. In awarding him the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious achievement as commanding officer of the *West Point*, the Navy credited him with "the expeditious transport of more than 175,000 troops to forward combat areas thereby contributing immeasurably to the successful prosecution of the war." The citation made special note of the fact that he had operated his ship "skillfully, without escort throughout waters partrolled by enemy submarines and though constantly threatened by heavy gales and mountainous seas."

Relieved of active duty on May 26, 1946, Webb Hayes returned to civilian life, reassumed management of his business enterprises, and turned his talents to promoting a variety of civic and humanitarian projects. At his death, he was president and trustee of the Rutherford B. Hayes Foundation, as well as a trustee of the Ohio Historical Society and the Birchard Library of Fremont, Ohio.

He and his family lived in Fremont at Spiegel Grove, his family's ancestral home and the birthplace of President Hayes. Appropriately, the Navy Department has assigned the name U. S. S. *Spiegel Grove* to a dock landing ship christened in November 1955 by Admiral Hayes' wife.

Elevated to the rank of captain in September 1942, Webb was named commodore in November 1945, and was transferred to the honorary retired list of the Naval Reserve in that rank in August 1951. By act of Congress 2 years ago, he was promoted to rear admiral on the United States Naval Reserve retired list.

In recent years, Webb earned increasing local esteem for the support and guidance which he gave to the Memorial Hospital of Sandusky County in Fremont. A few short weeks ago he suffered a heart attack while yachting at sea. He was returned to Fremont for care and appeared to be rallying, but on Wednesday morning he died in Memorial Hospital, the institution which owed so much to him. Fittingly, his family has asked that his friends and admirers make donations to Memorial Hospital in his memory.

A great naval administrator and courageous seagoing captain, a successful businessman, a leader in civic, historical and humanitarian activities—Webb Hayes earned universal respect and admiration. To his devoted wife, Martha Baker Hayes, and to his sons, Webb C., III, Arthur and Scott, I extend my own personal deep-felt sympathy, which is shared by a grateful community, State, and Nation.

Resolution Adopted by the American Flint Glass Workers Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the American Flint Glass Workers Union recently passed two resolutions in their 80th convention in New York City. One had to do with import quotas and the other with the OTC—Organization for Trade Cooperation.

For many years Harry H. Cook guided the Flint Glass Workers Union as its president in its uphill struggle to prevent the domestic handblown glassware industry from being destroyed by cheap imports from Czechoslovakia and other foreign sources.

At its most recent convention the national union retired Mr. Cook and made him president emeritus, electing in his place Charles M. Scheff who has been its secretary for a number of years. The fight against unfair import competition will continue under the newly elected president as is evidenced by the two resolutions adopted, one in support of the Lanham general import quota bill and the other in opposition to United States membership in the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation—OTC.

Few industries have experienced more relentless competition from abroad over the years than the glassware industry. The introduction of machinery helped prevent the outright destruction of the industry by imports; but today glass-making machinery installed by foreign manufacturers is beginning to pose a threat to the so-called machine branch of our industry.

The Flint Glass Workers Union is to be commended for its tireless efforts to keep the domestic industry that gives employment to its members alive in the face of harsh competition.

We of the Congress should be more active and do everything within our power to protect American industry and

American workers from this unfair foreign competition.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the two resolutions adopted by the American Flint Glass Workers Union:

LANHAM IMPORT QUOTA BILL—RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN FLINT GLASS WORKERS UNION

Whereas for years the imports of hand-blown glassware have hampered employment in the domestic plants devoted to the production of such glassware, both by darkening the outlook for the future and by pressing down on normal wage increases such as are necessary if this industry is to keep pace with other industries;

Whereas younger people are discouraged under such circumstances from entering and learning the trade, for fear that imports will continue to encroach more and more and absorb an increasing share of the market unless such imports are regulated more effectively than is the case under the reduced tariff rates now existing;

Whereas it has been found from experience that it is all but useless to seek relief under the escape clause of the Trade Agreements Act since the recommendations of the Tariff Commission are nearly all rejected by the President under advice of the State Department: Therefore be it

Resolved:

1. That the American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America in convention assembled give wholehearted support to the Lanham import quota bill (H. R. 2815) as representing the most sound and suitable method of regulating the importation of hand-blown glassware;

2. That copies of this resolution be sent to the members of the House Committee on Ways and Means and the members of the Senate Finance Committee of the United States Congress, to President George Meany of the AFL–CIO, to the director or research, the director of the legislative service, and to the resolutions committee of the AFL–CIO; and

3. That the officers of the American Flint Glass Workers Union be and hereby are urged to do all within their power to promote passage of H. R. 2815 by the Congress of the United States.

OPPOSITION TO THE OTC—RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN FLINT GLASS WORKER UNION

Whereas it is a fundamental and hallowed principle of the Government of the United States that the Congress reflect the will of the people as expressed in elections and petitions on matters of national concern;

Whereas the power of Congress to convert the will of the people into policy and into law expressing such policy without coercion, circumvention, or schemes of administrative procedure, is of supreme concern to all whose vital interests are at stake;

Whereas the American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America has witnessed the passing of power over tariffs and trade, clearly invested in the legislative branch under the Constitution, from the Congress to the executive branch wherein the Department of State is the predominant arm dealing with foreign affairs, thus resulting in reducing Congress to the virtual status of a mere onlooker;

Whereas such deprivation of Congress is directly contrary to the best interests of all who are engaged in economic activity, whether as workers, employers, or others who are dependent upon them;

Whereas the proposal contained in H. R. 6630 which calls for congressional approval of United States membership in the OTC (Organization for Trade Cooperation) would produce the result of confirming the transfer of power over the regulation of foreign commerce and the determination of foreign trade policy and its administration from the Congress to the State Department and then into the proposed international trade body to be called the Organization for Trade Cooperatiton in which the United States would have 1 vote in 35: Therefore be it

Resolved by the American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America in convention assembled; That:

1. We do oppose in all vigor United States membership in the proposed international Organization for Trade Cooperation, known as the OTC, and the bill, H. R. 6630, that would authorize such membership;

2. Copies of this resolution be sent to the members of the House Committee on Ways and Means and the members of the Senate Finance Committee of the United States Congress, to President George Meany of the AFL–CIO, to the director of research, the director of the legislative service, and to the resolutions committee of the AFL–CIO; and

3. That the officers of the American Flint Glass Workers Union be and hereby are urged to do all within their power to prevent the enactment of H. R. 6630, the OTC membership bill.

VFW Honors Two New Jersey Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I include here an excerpt from the convention minutes of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of New Jersey, June 29, 1957, session. I had the great pleasure of attending the session of the VFW convention at which awards were presented to Mr. Addonizio and Mr. Rodino, my colleagues from New Jersey. I was delighted to join in the rising ovation which greeted the presentations of well deserved awards. I am very pleased, therefore, to bring this occasion to the attention of their friends and colleagues in the House of Representatives by including the following material in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

EXCERPT FROM THE CONVENTION MINUTES OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, DEPARTMENT OF NEW JERSEY, JUNE 29, 1957, SESSION

Department Commander KINNEY. Comrades of the 38th annual encampment, the Veterans of Foreign Wars do not give out awards promiscuously, and we do our very, very best to give those awards only to the people who deserve them. This year, by the action of the department council of administration at their last meeting in Trenton, they unanimously adopted a resolution to present to these two comrades of ours—who have not forgotten they are comrades of ours—two distinguished Congressmen from the State of New Jersey, a suitable award. These are the highest awards that are going to be given by the department of New Jersey this year.

Very few of these awards have been made in prior years, but in both of these cases the men receiving them are well deserving of them. If you recall, a few months ago in our VFW magazine a record of the Congressmen throughout the entire country indicated their voting as far as veterans' legislation was concerned. Our two distinguished comrades, the Congressmen who are with us here this morning, had a 100 percent record as far as voting for the things that the Veterans of Foreign Wars believe are right for this country.

In addition to that, they have taken up the cudgels on a number of other matters.

I would like to read to you the citation—and I think it's fitting and proper, since these two Congresmen are known as "The Twins," that they receive their awards together, even though there are two single awards. These men were elected the same year, in 1948, and for the past 9 years they have been serving in the Congress of the United States. They were reelected in 1950, reelected in 1952, 1954, and 1956—a real tribute to the excellent service that they are giving to their constituents and the State of New Jersey.

Will Congressman PETER W. RODINO, of the 10th Congressional District, and Congressman HUGH J. ADDONIZIO of the 11th Congressional District, please join me at the microphone?

(Congressman PETER W. RODINO and Congressman HUGH J. ADDONIZIO came forward. Applause.)

Department Commander KINNEY. The awards, the silver medal of merit, of the department of New Jersey, Veterans of Foreign Wars, was authorized by its council of administration, April 18, 1948. Since its authorization 10 years ago, only 3 silver medals have been presented. Today the fourth and fifth awards of this highly cherished token of sincere aprpeciation is made. We have spelled out the citations so that they explain exactly how we feel about these comrades and why we so feel, and I will read:

"The Department of New Jersey, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, awards the Silver Medal of Merit to PETER W. RODINO, Member of Congress, Post No. 848, VFW, in recognition and sincere appreciation of his consistent and favorable voting record as a member of the Congress of the United States, from the 10th New Jersey District, in matters concerning the veteran and his dependents; for his sponsorship of legislation to insert the phrase 'under God' in the pledge of allegiance and legislation designating February 4, as 'Dorchester Day,' commemorating the heroic sacrifice of the chaplains of the four faiths who gave their lives so that others might live; and for his prompt action in obtaining an appropriation to refurbish and repair the Museum of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery, when report of condition of said museum was made by this department.

"Ordered by the council of administration and presented at the department encampment in Asbury Park, N. J., this 29th of June 1957.

"CHARLES E. KINNEY,
Commander.

"BENJ. P. THOMAS,
Adjutant."

The other citation, equally as well deserved is the awarding of the Silver Medal of Merit to Congressman HUGH J. ADDONIZIO. It reads as follows:

"The Department of New Jersey, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, awards the Silver Medal of Merit to HUGH J. ADDONIZIO, Member of Congress, Post No. 8670, VFW, in recognition and sincere appreciation of his consistent and favorable voting record, as a member of the Congress of the United States, from the 11th New Jersey District, in matters concerning the veteran and his dependents; and for his determined and successful effort to bring about the full utilization of facilities at the East Orange Veterans' Administration Hospital, thereby increasing the hospital's capacity by 100 beds, effective July 1, 1957.

"This action by Congressman ADDONIZIO which is of inestimable service to the veterans of the State of New Jersey and environs was instigated by a report of said conditions by this department.

"Ordered by the council of administration and presented at the department encamp-

ment in Asbury Park, N. J., this 29th day of June 1957.

"CHARLES E. KINNEY,
Commander.
"BENJ. P. THOMAS,
Adjutant."

Congressman RODINO, it gives me a sincere pleasure, because we have been friends for so long, to give you this well-deserved tribute.

I think you comrades out there on the convention floor, know me, and Congressman RODINO knows me. There is nobody who can buy this medal; there is no one who can get the medal because he is a friend of somebody's or anything like that. This tribute has to be earned, and it has to be deserved. This is a most valuable award as far as the Veterans of Foreign Wars is concerned, and it gives me great pleasure to present the silver medal of merit of the Department of New Jersey, Veterans of Foreign Wars, to Congressman PETER W. RODINO, of the 10th Congressional New Jersey District. [Applause.]

Chief of Staff CAFFREY. Comrade Commander, I would like to, from the floor of this encampment, extend our deep appreciation to Congressman RODINO, by a rising vote of thanks, for his outstanding work in behalf of good citizenship in the United States.

(The entire encampment arose and applauded.)

(Congressman RODINO addressed the encampment.)

Department Commander KINNEY. Just in passing, Congressman RODINO was a member of an armored division. He went overseas as an enlisted man and received a battlefield commission. A real fighting soldier.

The next award, the silver medal of merit to the Congressman from the 11th Congressional District of the State of New Jersey, certainly is well deserved because, as you heard the citation, through his efforts, for the first time since it was built, the full complement of beds will be in use at the East Orange Veterans' Administration Hospital as of July 1, 1957.

Congressman HUGH J. ADDONIZIO was a quarterback behind the "Seven Blocks of Granite" a few years ago at Fordham University, a very, very fine football player who took his knowledge into the Army. He was with the 9th Infantry Division in eight campaigns, starting in North Africa and ending when they met the Russians at the Elbe River.

These two men, as I have told you before, are not only distinguished Congressmen, distinguished Americans, but distinguished veterans; and in your name, it is my distinct pleasure to present the silver medal of merit of the Department of New Jersey, Veterans of Foreign Wars, to Congressman HUGH J. ADDONIZIO, of the 11th New Jersey Congressional District.

Will the encampment join me in a rising tribute for Congressman ADDONIZIO?

(The entire encampment arose and applauded.)

(Congressman ADDONIZIO addressed the encampment.) [Applause.]

Better To Scrap the High Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Fort Mill, S. C., Times of July 11, 1957:

BETTER TO SCRAP THE HIGH COURT

A reporter asked the President at his press conference the other day about the possibility of Russia making clean atomic bombs and do we have any assurance they would use them on us.

"I would hope," the President replied, "that they would learn how to use clean bombs and would use them for the simple reason that then at least we make them specific weapons instead of weapons of general and uncontrolled destruction."

Press Secretary James C. Hagerty later corrected the first part of the foregoing quote to read: "I would hope that they (the Russians) would learn how to use clean bombs, and if they ever used atomic bombs, would use clean ones—"

But, with or without this refinement, this exchange would seem to typify the United States attitude at the London Disarmament Conference in which we seem trustingly eager to believe that the Russians would live up to any agreements that might be arrived at.

The latest United States idea is that each of the Big Four—United States, England, France, and Russia—make up a list of nonatomic weapons they are willing to scrap. Our original proposal was 10 percent of all such weapons, the Russians raised the ante to 15, but no one would agree. Hence the latest Stassen brainstorm, which we are told the Reds have accepted "in principle." These would include only the latest and best weapons—planes, missiles, naval vessels, tanks, and heavy artillery—to be assembled at depots in each country, held for a year and then destroyed or converted to peaceful uses.

The concurrent unanimous demand of the United States and 23 other nations that the U. N. General Assembly take up as soon as possible the blistering U. N. special report on the Hungarian revolt, reminds us that the Russians employed 4,000 of their tanks in this massacre of the patriots. And current reports from Hungary, Poland, East Germany, and from inside the U. S. S. R. itself indicate that many more yet may be needed.

On the other side of the world, the renewed and furious bombardment of the Nationalist-held offshore islands by the Kremlin's Red Chinese allies, the arrogance of the Red North Korean demands that we withdraw all troops from Korea, new threats by Chou En-lai of further blood purges in Red China and growing tension between Japanese civilians and United States service men combine to make the London performance look even more idiotic.

If the Reds can beguile us with worthless promises into throwing our arms away, cutting our fighting manpower, stopping atomic tests, they will certainly do so. And we cannot expect them to trouble about making "clean" bombs so long as they can clobber us more disastrously with dirty ones.

Death of Most Reverend Michael J. Ready, D. D., Bishop of Columbus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, 60 years of devoted service to God and the Catholic Church came to a triumphant close on May 2, 1957, when Bishop Michael J. Ready, of Columbus, gave back his soul to God. He was a great priest, whose ideal in life was fitly summed up by the official motto he chose as bishop of Columbus, "Render unto God the things that are God's."

Though Bishop Ready's Americanism was not limited by any sectional feeling, I take a warm pleasure in claiming him as a New Englander by birth, since he was born in New Haven, Conn., on April 9, 1893. Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York State share the credit for an education that helped to shape his powerful mind and direct his firmly disciplined will to the exclusive and lifelong service of God.

It was in Cleveland, in 1918, that Michael Joseph Ready achieved the great ambition of his life, ordination to the priesthood. No honors that came to him afterward, no authority, no fame, could turn his thoughts or feelings for an instant from the pursuit of that high calling. To those who knew him most intimately, he seemed the very incarnation of the ideals of the priesthood.

For 5 years he served his priestly apprenticeship as curate of St. Mary's Church, Painesville, Ohio, and then for 4 years taught in the Catholic Latin School in Cleveland before his talents were offered a larger scope by his appointment as diocesan director of the propagation of the faith. He served in this position for another 4 years, and then, in 1931, first achieved a position of national importance with his appointment as assistant general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Father Ready's service in this position was so outstanding that in 1934 he was awarded the dignity of papal chamberlain by His Holiness, Pope Pius XI. Shortly after the death of the general secretary, Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Burke, C. S. P., in 1936, Monsignor Ready was appointed to succeed him, and continued in the post of general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference with spectacular success until, in 1944, His Holiness Pope Pius XII called him to the post of bishop of Columbus. Here, as in the National Catholic Welfare Conference, he evinced those qualities of mind and spirit that drew from his close associate and successor as general secretary, Msgr. Howard J. Carroll, these growing words of eulogy:

Without exception, those who enjoyed the privilege of his association esteemed his talents, admired his stature, cherished his friendship and, from his direction, example, and encouragement, as from a wellspring, drew, day after day, strength, confidence and refreshment.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with the recent death of Archbishop Ready and under unanimous consent I insert a fine tribute to Archbishop Ready made by the noted commentator, Tris Coffin, and broadcast over local station WWDC in Washington, D. C., on May 8, 1957:

TRIS COFFIN FOR MAY 8, 1957

A newspaper morgue is not a good place to hunt for greatness. You are misled by yellowed clippings and headlines. They are only the hollow echo of yesterday's noise.

By this test—how much space a newspaper gives each name in the hurried, frantic rush

of news—Al Capone would be a greater man than Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

No, in this search for greatness, the seeker must go elsewhere. He must look into the small and forgotten lanes where his candidates have walked, and find what was left behind. Was it joy or tears? Was it ashes or flowers? Was it gentle, loving affection for other men, or was it the crude passions of power and hate?

Last Thursday, in the quietness of the night, a great man died. There was no splutter of bulletins at his passing, no rousting of reporters to dig up quotes. His name was Mike Ready, and he was a priest. That was the way he thought of himself, although he was a bishop.

The measure of his greatness was that Father Ready had a heart, a clear mind, and courage. He loved people. Their tears, their struggles were his. All the oppressed and unfortunate were his children.

He lived in a dangerous and confused age. In it were intolerance, depression, and mass killing; it was never quite free of fear and want.

Father Ready became secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference—his offices were here in Washington—when the stain of bigotry darkened America. The awful flames of fiery crosses, symbol of the Ku Klux Klan, burned on lawns and hillsides across the land. The white-sheeted, masked cowards paraded the streets. Their members sat in Congress.

Mike Ready rallied men of all faiths to break this rotten grip on our society. Quietly, he helped turn America away in disgust from rule by demagogs and brutal mobs. This experience shaped a love of freedom and tolerance that guided his life.

Father Ready was one of the first to speak out against the obscene persecution of Jews by a strange little man named Hitler; against the crude and ugly stamping out of religious freedom in Russia. He attacked what he called "the brutal denial of justice to millions" by the new dictators of Europe.

But there was something else about him. Wherever you sit and talk to people who knew him, their faces light up. They use such words as "kindly, gentle, thoughtful." There was the aged Negress, a servant, who could neither read nor write. She would find excuses to come into his presence, for, as she said, "Father Ready is a good man." And there is the man I saw in the Capitol. He was not of Bishop Ready's faith. But his eyes filled with tears, and he said simply, "Mike Ready was a Dr. Schweitzer; perhaps an even greater man."

Part of Mike Ready's age was lost in the depression—the melancholy lines before soup kitchens, empty freight cars loaded with gaunt hoboes looking for jobs and a bite to eat. There was hunger and want in a land of plenty. Father Ready said this was not just or fair. He was a crusader for social justice in the pulpit, on Capitol Hill, and at the White House. He said, "Society has a responsibility to establish a social program of checks and balances so that man's dignity can be guarded and the common good best served. No man can be indifferent to the moral and economic conditions under which our citizens live."

He was an early friend of labor unions, saying, "Christ, the workman toiling in honorable labor at the humble carpenter's bench at Nazareth, established the dignity of man as a laborer. The power of unionism to unite worker with worker in the battle for justice is based on spiritual brotherhood."

And, he said, "Greed for material good degrades mankind." This was a part of his creed to "teach truth fearlessly."

Father Ready's hope for man was expressed simply at President Roosevelt's third inaugural. "Inspire him to persevere in promoting justice and halting iniquity. Deign mercifully to reward his strivings and desires for peace."

Mr. Roosevelt's 4 freedoms—of speech, of religion, from want, from fear—might have been written by Father Ready.

Long before the holocaust of war was ended, Father Ready said thoughtfully, "Our work is not over until the great human needs left in the ruins are met. There will be 10 million homeless, deserted refugees. We must find a useful life for them."

With an energy that seemed almost superhuman, he aroused churchmen and statesmen, and, through them, the conscience of America. He told an assistant, "We'll stir every county in America." When others were tired and frustrated, he would say gently, "Don't be discouraged. We've got to keep pushing. This must be done."

And, it was done. Gifts of clothing, food, money, jobs poured out from an aroused country. The Government accepted his recommendations for a displaced-persons program.

Today, there are literally millions scattered over the globe leading useful lives because of Mike Ready. This is true greatness.

This is Tris Coffin reporting from Washington.

Forthright Action on Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the unanimous action of both bodies of the United States Congress in passing House Concurrent Resolution 204 on June 26 with regard to the problem of Hungary and other nations under the yoke of Soviet communism was an accurate reflection of the feeling of all Americans that this country and the United Nations should take positive steps to further expose to the world the ruthless oppression which still grips Hungary today. The objective yet horror-filled report of the United Nations Committee on the Problem of Hungary made public on June 20 makes the need for such action crystal clear.

The world should not be allowed to forget the bloody events of October and November of 1956 which tore the mask of smiling deceit from the face of the Kremlin. The failure of the United States and the United Nations to move forcefully at that time, despite the ill-fated Suez blunder, was a tragedy of major proportions and one which may have changed the course of history. Strong and courageous action then, when the curse of communism was exposed in all its weakness, its cruelty, and its hypocrisy, might have saved this generation and those to come from endless grief. We might have snatched Hungary and its brave people from behind the Iron Curtain and have set the stage for the final collapse of the Communist conspiracy. It is sad indeed that those who control this administration and its foreign policy were caught completely unprepared for the great uprising of the spirit of freedom in Hungary, that they did not know how to cope with it, and that the world saw its greatest power reduced to a pathetic spectacle capable of doing no more than mouth words when deeds were needed.

It does no good, however, to talk of what might have been when the opportunity still exists to take positive action to retrieve a part of the ground lost by our early wavering, delay, and helpless inaction. The reconvening of the General Assembly of the United Nations for the purpose of considering the report on Hungary presents that opportunity. Happily our representatives to the United Nations have taken the lead in calling for such a special session and it now appears that a meeting will be held later this summer. Let us hope and pray that at that time we will be better prepared with a program for vigorous and forthright action by the community of democratic nations to condemn the Communist aggression against Hungary, to demand that the Soviets withdraw from that country, and to call for free and unfettered elections under the supervision of a United Nations force so set up as to guarantee democratic voting procedures.

It is only by throwing the gauntlet in the faces of the rulers of the Kremlin that they can be brought to brook. Now is the time to wield the force of world opinion and of the united strength of the free peoples of this earth in the cause of freedom for the satellites. Now, when the Russian Communist hierarchy is split from top to bottom and its weakness is again laid bare, is the time to force their hands and by exerting pressure upon pressure to widen the breach between the U. S. S. R. and her helpless hostages, and the breach within the Kremlin walls. I strongly urge that the planned meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations be convened at the earliest possible moment in order that the greatest possible advantage be taken of the present weakened position of the Soviet Union. I trust that our Department of State is moving rapidly in that direction now and that they are leaving no stone unturned in planning action by the Assembly.

Although the terrible and trying situation of the Hungarian people is a matter of concern to all Americans and to free peoples everywhere, their plight is particularly heartrending to their friends and relatives exiled from their native land or voluntary emigrants who fled during the many years of oppression by Fascist and Communist dictatorships. One such group in San Francisco has telegraphed to me a plea in support of direct action to relieve Hungary such as I have advocated. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks as evidence of the deep and abiding hope in their hearts that we will not abandon their countrymen to the merciless mercies of their present rulers.

Should the U. N. act as I hope they will in demanding elemental justice for Hungary, and should Russia reject those demands in the face of world opinion, it should certainly serve to convince those so-called neutral nations who have acted as her protagonists of the vanity of any hope that bolshevistic commu-

ism can ever take its place as an acceptable and accepted form of government for any people. Such a world move to the side of western democracy and against the farcically termed "people's democracies" would be a long step forward in the struggle for containment of communism. Certainly also it should serve to weaken further the Communist domination over the satellite countries—a domination visibly shaken at the time of the rape of Hungary and waiting only a reawakening of the free spirit of the subject peoples and active urging from the outside world to crumble forever.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
July 1, 1957.

Hon. JOHN F. SHELLEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the Hungarians of San Francisco Bay area, acting as one committee, representing every man, woman, and child of Hungarian origin living in this region, do respectfully beg and urge you in view of the tragic developments in Hungary that you use the power of your office to support a U. N. resolution effecting the end of terror in Hungary by the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops and the holding of free elections under the supervision of a U. N. police force.

GEORGE J. RATTY.
LESLIE B. HADFY.

Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under permission to insert my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter with charts and tables from the Honorable Fred Seaton, Secretary of the Interior. The following letter deals with many of the problems surrounding Hells Canyon. You will note that the Secretary estimates that the construction and transmission costs of the Senate bill to be approximately $525 million. That this would call for an annual appropriation for the next 6 fiscal years at an average annual rate of more than $87 million for construction and transmission alone.

The Secretary pointed out that the Northwest power supply has been short. That it was necessary to interrupt electric energy to some of the plants last year and it affected more than 3,000 jobs in the area. There have been a number of brownouts. The area is short of the necessary electric energy.

The private power company would have this energy on the line late in 1958. It could not possibly be supplied by the high Federal dam for 6 or 8 years.

The Secretary pointed out that in the final analysis the controversy over Hells Canyon should not be one involving private versus Federal power. Personally I do not oppose Federal construction either in Hells Canyon or the great power sites on the Missouri River Basin or in the Colorado River project. I would favor them if there was no private enterprise to do the job. We do have private enterprise ready to do the job and do it more efficiently. I have supported Federal power projects all over the country. I will continue to support them. The list of the projects included with the Secretary's report has found me supporting at least 98 percent of them.

I feel the Federal Government should not be building hydroelectric plants when private industry can and will do the job. Nebraska is a public power State, but not Federal power. The directors are elected at the local level. They are doing a good job. There is a vast difference between local control and control from Washington, D. C.:

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C., July 1, 1957.

Hon. ARTHUR L. MILLER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. MILLER: In response to your request, I am pleased to send to you my views concerning the enactment of S. 555 or other similar legislation which would authorize the construction of Hells Canyon Dam and other facilities.

On March 27, 1957, this Department reported to the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee that we opposed the enactment of this legislation. In addition to the reasons set forth in the Department's report, I believe that the tremendous cost of construction of a Federal dam at Hells Canyon as compared to the amount of funds made available by the Congress for reclamation projects throughout the West in the past, and the fact that the Northwest needs and can use the power to be provided by the Federal Power Commission licensed Idaho Power Co. projects, militate against favorable action upon these bills.

The Bureau of Reclamation has estimated the construction and transmission costs authorized by S. 555 to be $525 million, $472,500,000 for Hells Canyon and $53 million for Scriver Creek. A schedule of appropriations for these purposes if construction should be authorized is attached as table I. These amounts do not include interest during construction, annual operation and maintenance, or any funds to reimburse the Idaho Power Co. for its investment or damages, as the case may be.

Appropriations would be necessary during the next six fiscal years at an average annual rate of more than $87 million for construction and transmission alone. According to the preliminary schedule of the Bureau of Reclamation (table I) the actual request for the works authorized by S. 555 in 1961 ($140,484,000) would exceed 87 percent of the appropriation request for all reclamation projects in all 17 Western States in the 1958 budget. In comparison, during the past 20 years Congress has appropriated an average of $124,046,270 for reclamation construction and rehabilitation. During the past 10 years the average has been $183,604,012 annually. (See table II.) If S. 555 is enacted, appropriations for the next 6 years, for reclamation projects, will have to be 60 percent higher than those appropriated for the last 6 years.

Reclamation projects already authorized or under construction (see tables III and IV) will require appropriations of $2,267,189,015 for construction and rehabilitation. Thus, such projects need almost as much as the total amount of construction funds that the Congress has made available for reclamation projects throughout the 17 Western States over the past 20 years. These figures do not include projects currently under consideration by the Congress, such as the $300 million San Luis project in the State of California. Authorization of Federal construction of Hells Canyon Dam would place these bona fide reclamation projects in competition with a project the major purpose of which is power production. The Hells Canyon project would not provide additional water for or reclaim 1 acre of arid land; it has nothing to do with reclamation, yet the funds therefor would be provided out of the amounts made available for reclamation construction.

Furthermore, as you know, the Northwest power-supply situation has been somewhat spasmodic in recent year. For instance, in 1952, beginning August 19, the Bonneville Power Administration curtailed interruptible loads until by September 8 the total of such loads (388,000 kilowatts) had been turned off. I am informed that such interruptions may have affected more than 3,000 jobs in that area. Bonneville started picking up the load again in February of 1953, and by March 31 of that year service to such loads was restored. Fourteen out of fifteen of the industrial loads currently carried by Bonneville include an interruptible portion. In fiscal 1957–58, the interruptible load will be 619.5 megawatts out of a total industrial load of 1,623.3 megawatts. This means that over 38 percent of the industrial power delivered by Bonneville is subject to interruption and accompanying unemployment during such periods.

This situation is again important because even in median month-year hydroelectric conditions, unless the West group customers of the Northwest power pool wish to utilize and pay premium rates for energy generated by old, small, and inefficient steam plants, there will not be enough power available to meet loads predicted for that area without again seriously curtailing interruptible loads. Hydro projects under construction, including the Idaho licensed projects, would aid the West group area to continue to carry all existing firm and interruptible loads under such conditions. The loads and resources prediction for the West group area does not include provision for any new large industrial loads, yet with normal growth, the deficit in average energy capabilities, without the utilization of expensive steam generated energy, will continue to increase unless all hydro projects are completed as scheduled.

I am informed that power supply in East group of the Northwest Power Pool will be deficient in the 1959–60 fiscal year unless the Idaho Power facilities already licensed are permitted to continue to completion. This situation could become serious because I am further informed that the existing transmission facilities from the West group to the East group will, even in the most favorable conditions, permit the exportation of no more than about 150 megawatts from West to East to meet the growing deficit in the East system. The facilities under construction by the Idaho Power Co. include a new 230 kilovolt line which would help alleviate this situation and would permit an interchange of larger loads between the West and East group. Tables V and VI attached to this letter show the load and resource predictions for the West group and the Idaho Power Co.

Due to the dominance of the Federal facilities in the Northwest at the present time, whenever a power shortage occurs, the bulk of the interruption falls upon Federal customers. We believe that the addition of non-Federal facilities now under construction by the Idaho Power Co. will bring about greater diversity in the power supply picture in the Northwest.

In the final analysis, the controversy over Hells Canyon should not be one involving private versus Federal power. We do not oppose Federal construction of Hells Canyon because it would provide more Federal power. We do oppose such construction because the Federal Power Commission found that the Idaho Power facilities presented the best plan for the com-

prehensive development of that portion of the Snake River. That Commission, the bipartisan arm of the Congress created to regulate and control private development of hydroelectric power, the need for which was pointed out for us by such great conservationists as Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, protects the interests of future generations because their licenses are issued for only 50 years and the Government reserves the right to determine who should operate the hydro facilities after the license expires.

In 1956, Federal generation amounted to 63.5 percent of all the power produced by principal electric utility systems in the Pacific Northwest Power Pool. Private utilities generated only 27.8 percent of the total. In our opinion, the preponderance of Federal activity and the resultant heavy reliance of the area upon Federal spending to meet increased demands for power supply helped bring about the curtailment of interruptible power in 1952 and may well bring about a further critical power shortage in the future if the Congress does not permit the utilization of non-Federal funds for power construction when such funds are made available.

Ten years ago and from time to time since then, the Congress had a choice between Federal construction of the Hells Canyon Dam and the alternative of permitting the Federal Power Commission to license non-Federal construction. During this 10-year period the theoretical benefits dramatized by proponents of the high dam have been repeatedly considered by the Congress. The Congress did not heed their pleadings and refused authorization for Federal construction.

Today we are not faced with a theory. As a practical matter it would be impossible to justify to the taxpayers of the Nation, overburdened as they are, the extravagant waste of authorization of Federal construction at this time. The Brownlee and Oxbow projects are in the advanced construction stage; production of the electrical energy is scheduled to begin September 1958. One million acre-feet of flood-control storage should be available for the spring runoff in 1959. I am informed that more than $48 million has been committed for this construction and for turbines, generators, switch gear and other equipment for which orders have been placed. Many man-hours of engineering design have been employed. Factory employees are fabricating the equipment which will soon be ready for shipment to the dam site.

For these reasons and those set forth in our report to the committee, I do not favor enactment of S. 555.

Sincerely,

FRED A. SEATON,
Secretary of the Interior.

TABLE I.—*Appropriation requests necessary to complete facilities which would be authorized by S. 555*

Fiscal year	Dam and powerplant	Transmission
A. Hells Canyon Dam:		
1958	$5,800,000	$5,200,000
1959	35,600,000	25,900,000
1960	68,600,000	29,100,000
1961	89,100,000	29,100,000
1962	87,500,000	19,400,000
1963	39,500,000	13,000,000
1964	16,900,000	7,800,000
Total	343,000,000	129,500,000
B. Scriver Creek facilities:		
1958	700,000	0
1959	3,783,000	117,000
1960	9,466,000	234,000
1961	21,716,000	584,000
1962	10,590,000	2,510,000
1963	905,000	2,395,000
Total	47,160,000	5,840,000

TABLE II.—*U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation*

Fiscal year:	Construction and rehabilitation
1937	$39,691,500
1938	76,570,000
1939	38,780,000
1940	74,521,783
1941	69,424,922
1942	95,852,059
1943	85,801,170
1944	34,131,339
1945	20,681,868
1946	109,430,740

TABLE II.—*U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation*—Continued

Fiscal year:	Construction and rehabilitation
1947	$101,612,103
1948	128,950,229
1949	246,916,676
1950	335,659,738
1951	243,733,000
1952	207,602,725
1953	177,797,991
1954	115,669,660
1955	132,057,000
1956	146,041,000

TABLE III.—*Bureau of Reclamation—Amounts required after fiscal year 1958 to complete projects under construction in fiscal year 1958 (based on 1958 estimates to the Congress)*

State and project	Total estimated cost	Balance to complete after 1958
Construction and rehabilitation:		
Gila project, Arizona	$55,818,664	$1,294,400
Boulder Canyon project, Arizona-Nevada	166,597,000	4,900,000
Central Valley project, California	749,336,883	[1] 185,986,800
Santa Maria project, California	14,754,263	2,902,400
Solano project, California	39,109,000	2,925,700
Ventura River project, California	26,800,000	8,277,100
Collbran project, Colorado	13,883,649	10,913,649
Colorado-Big Thompson project, Colorado	158,929,626	136,000
Little Wood River project, Idaho	2,151,000	1,751,000
Michaud Flats project, Idaho	4,475,313	578,000
Minidoka project, North Side pumping division, Idaho	10,598,809	328,000
Palisades project	61,525,000	217,640
Fort Peck project, Montana-North Dakota	21,692,000	10,460,000
Middle Rio Grande project, New Mexico	28,449,236	4,900,000
Washita Basin project, Oklahoma	40,301,031	36,301,000
Crooked River project, Oregon	6,287,000	5,437,000
Rogue River project, Talent division, Oregon	20,526,000	12,265,000
Wapinitia project, Oregon	514,000	114,000
Provo River project, Utah	33,559,132	136,000
Weber Basin project, Utah	68,780,000	30,940,900
Chief Joseph Dam project, Foster Creek division, Washington	3,780,000	808,000
Columbia Basin project, Washington	762,055,000	237,283,200
Yakima project, Roza division, Washington	21,792,807	330,000
Eden project, Wyoming	7,722,533	257,000
Shoshone project, Wyoming	23,836,649	955,000
Drainage and minor construction program	163,606,939	18,270,240
Rehabilitation and betterment of existing projects	39,604,730	20,701,000
Subtotal (exclusive of Missouri River Basin)	2,546,486,264	599,430,711
Missouri River Basin project:		
Ainsworth unit, Nebraska	25,722,000	24,022,000
Bostwick division, Nebraska-Kansas	48,449,860	14,303,000
Cedar Bluff unit, Kansas	18,862,321	4,919,300
Farwell unit, Nebraska	31,974,000	31,224,000
Frenchman-Cambridge division, Nebraska	79,297,583	21,756,604
Glendo unit, Wyoming	39,093,932	7,372,000
Helena Valley unit, Montana	11,456,113	2,892,960
Kirwin unit, Kansas	19,705,842	748,100
Owl Creek unit, Wyoming	3,122,000	330,000
Sargent unit, Nebraska	14,492,273	8,770,000
Shoshone extensions unit, Wyoming	46,804,000	46,304,000
Transmission division, various States	297,620,170	188,179,067
Webster unit, Kansas	16,348,700	3,198,200
Yellowtail unit, Montana-Wyoming	86,062,000	82,062,000
Drainage and minor construction	200,802,767	54,665,865
Subtotal, Missouri River Basin	939,813,561	491,348,496
Total, construction and rehabilitation	3,486,299,825	1,090,779,177
Upper Colorado River Basin fund:		
Colorado River storage project:		
Flaming Gorge unit, Utah	57,506,000	51,406,000
Glen Canyon unit, Arizona-Utah	299,789,838	271,572,838
Navajo unit, New Mexico	36,887,000	34,287,000
Transmission division	145,540,000	145,392,000
Total, Upper Colorado River Basin fund	539,722,838	502,657,838
Total, Bureau of Reclamation	4,026,022,663	1,593,437,015

[1] Excludes estimate of $61,032,000 for Trinity River division power facilities.

TABLE IV.—*Bureau of Reclamation authorized projects not yet under construction*

	Total estimated cost
Construction and rehabilitation:	
Washoe, Nevada-California	$42,304,000
Canadian River, Texas	87,350,000
Santa Margarita, Calif	22,370,000
Missouri River Basin project:	
East Bench, Mont	16,698,000
Garrison diversion, North and South Dakota (principal supply works)	76,492,000
Hardin, Kans	13,076,000
Almena, Kans	12,378,000
Total, construction and rehabilitation	273,653,000

TABLE IV.—*Bureau of Reclamation authorized projects not yet under construction*—Continued

	Total estimated cost
Upper Colorado River Basin fund:	
Storage units: Curecanti, Colo	$90,557,000
Participating projects:	
Hammond, N. Mex	2,314,000
Paonia, Colo	6,541,000
Pine River extensions, Colo.-N. Mex	5,085,000
Seedskadee, Wyo	24,728,000
Smith Fork, Colo	3,442,000
Vernal unit (Central Utah), Utah	6,806,000
Emery County, Utah	9,896,000

TABLE IV.—*Bureau of Reclamation authorized projects not yet under construction*—Continued

Upper Colorado River Basin fund:	
Participating projects:	*Total estimated cost*
Florida, Colo.	$6,971,000
La Barge, Wyo.	1,747,000
Lyman, Wyo.	10,646,000
Silt, Colo.	3,377,000
Central Utah, initial phase, exclusive of Vernal unit	227,984,000
Total, upper Colorado River basin fund	400,094,000
Total, Bureau of Reclamation	673,752,000

On Eagles' Wings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include the inspiring address of the Honorable Boyd Leedom, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, delivered at the spring commencement of the State University of South Dakota, on June 3, 1957.

The address follows:

One day not long ago while I was in a contemplative mood, I saw a middle-sized black bug come out of the mysterious world of bugdom into the astonishing world of human beings. Just where he was going and why he seemed so anxious to get there, only he or some other bug would know, but it was obvious to me he had a purpose.

He cut across the tile floor in a fairly straight line and made good progress until he came to the pedestal that supported the wash bowl. His first inclination was to surmount this tremendous obstacle. But the porcelain surface went straight up and was very smooth. The bug did considerable spinning of his rear wheels, so to speak. Then after a moment's serious consideration of his problem he turned in exactly the wrong direction and hastened on into another tremendous block—a wall of the room. Without much delay he retraced his steps to the stand of the wash bowl, felt his way around its edge, came to the back wall, did a left and a right and another left turn with some loss of motion, then sure of his direction, with his nose to the wall as a kind of guideline, he took the long way around to a door through which he went as if he had known from the first it was there.

With his feet on the carpeted floor of the adjoining room he made great haste, no doubt to meet Mrs. Bug at the grocery store, or perhaps to render some other great service to buganity; and out of my life he passed except for the lesson he taught me.

The bug, I thought, seemed quite stupid. The distance from the point where I first saw him, to the door through which he disappeared was so short, if he had gone directly to his objective. Furthermore he should have known that his indecision and final choice of the long way around only wasted his energy. He should also have known he could not get over the washbowl as easily as he could go around it—to say nothing of his first foolishness in going so far out of his way to find that particular trouble.

But on reflection I realized that his mistakes were much like those we humans make.

The bug is a pretty low form of animal life. While man might make the bug's mistakes, I knew we should not purposely imitate him; and so I tried to think of his opposite. I hit upon the eagle. Here was the symbol of strength and majesty. The eagle lives on a lofty plane. He has a vantage point that enables him to plot his course and execute the mission of his life with a directness, swiftness and effectiveness rivaling the best that man can do. He soars with tremendous speed and power. His remarkable flight is sustained with scarcely any flapping of his wings. His flight is in complete contrast to the wasted effort of his little black cousin, the bug.

And I knew with certainty, from a degree of wisdom gained in 50 years spent mostly along the path of the bug but with some satisfying attempts at lofty flight, that each one of you in this graduating class can, if you will, live a life equalling and even excelling that of the eagle in its grandeur, power and effectiveness. In fact the life of each of us is but a chance to choose between the course of the eagle and the course of the bug.

It was out of this kind of reflection I chose my title "On Eagles' Wings" and decided to try to show you how you can live like eagles, how your view can be the beautiful vista from the eagle's nest on the mountain top, or if you choose, but only if you choose, how you may have the dim and dismal view of the bug from the crevice alongside the bathtub.

My problem, of course, is to get you younger people to believe what I tell you, for even though you come from the ideal type of school, that is, a coeducational university in the great heartland of America, where early American tradition continues to prevail to a greater degree than in any other part of the world, you graduates have not yet learned all there is to know, though at this stage I anticipate you may show slight resistance to absorption of more knowledge.

Let me outline my case for the proposition that you can choose the high road over the low—that you can be an eagle if you will.

First, there is authority of scripture which today I ask you to accept only as ancient writing, rich in wisdom. Ancient writing is not authentic because it is ancient, rather it is ancient because it is authentic. Truth recorded lives through the ages. Second, there is conduct of nations within the framework of your own knowledge that help to prove my point. This conduct shows that the primary factor of an effective life for you has also produced the world's greatest civilization. And third, there are the wise words of contemporary men whose opinions you must respect.

First, the ancient word. About 3,000 years ago one of the wisest men of recorded history spoke directly to this proposition. His words, fresh as if spoken directly to you today, tell you in simple language how to live an abundant and effective life. He says:

"Have you not known? Have you not heard?

"The Lord is the everlasting God, the creator of the ends of the earth.

"He does not faint or grow weary, his understanding is unsearchable.

"He gives power to the faint, and to him who has no might he increases strength.

"Even youth shall faint and be weary, and young men shall fall exhausted; but they who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint."

That was Isaiah speaking. Endurance for all life's petty trials, strength for all life's glorious achievements are available in the inexhausible power that created and sustains the universe, says this prophet in his great wisdom.

The scope of this tremendous power staggers the imagination of most of us. Its mystery thwarts discovery of its limitless ramifications, except by those of greatest perception, and largeness of mind—those in closest harmony with God's laws.

Did you know that there is enough energy in 1 teaspoon of water to drive an ocean liner across the widest sea? All you need do to unravel the secret of the release of that energy is place yourself in the same scale of reference as the great Intelligence that put the energy there in the first place. Einstein has done a lot on that problem for you. He established this: that energy equals mass times the square of the velocity of light in centimeters per second. Something of the magnitude of the result involved is indicated in the figure produced by squaring light's speed in centimeters. The figure is 896,237,643,675,021,992,100.

Those who wait upon the Lord learn of His goodness. Its opposite is evil. God's goodness transposed into human conduct creates the abundant, effective life in the individual. This goodness of individuals is reflected in national life. Most of you may not quarrel with this proposition, but might regard it too nebulous or old fashioned to be taken seriously. If, however, it could be shown that this relationship of man to God in the order of the universe, is the basic reason for a drastic difference between a tremendous good and a terrific evil, both of which you yourselves recognize, the importance of this man-God concept should become more real and more acceptable to you.

Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower satisfied me on this point, and I pass on to you some part of the impact of his words. In a remarkable address given in the Statler Hotel in Washington last February 20, Dr. Eisenhower's premise was that Russian communism is evil and reactionary and that the American way of life, as a development of western civilization, is good and revolutionary in man's history. From this premise he argued with logic and persuasion that the difference between Russian communism and America is due to moral concepts resulting basically from differing attitudes and ideas regarding a Supreme Being.

He said:

"It is on the spiritual conviction that men are children of God, that the free nations of the West have built their social, economic, and political institutions. * * *

"Communism, however, denies the worth of the individual. It holds * * * that man has no God-given natural rights. Karl Marx proclaimed bluntly: 'The democratic concept of man is false. * * * [It] holds that each man is a sovereign being. This is the illusion of Christianity.' "

Dr. Eisenhower continued:

"In the Judaic-Christian view, ideas determine history. * * * Western man sees the world, not as the sum of things that are, but as the sum of things as they should be. * * * His eyes are on the stars. * * * He is committed to the ceaseless search for knowledge and truth."

In contrast, said Dr. Eisenhower:

"Communism's contempt for the idea of individual dignity has been revealed repeatedly in statements by Communist leaders, in political purges [and] in the ruthless, iron-fisted slaughter of human beings (such as we have just witnessed in Hungary * * *)."

He said: "Faith in God as a living reality is basic to Judaism and Christianity." while "The Communist philosophy rejects the reality of God and substitutes a materialistic absolutism. * * *"

Dr. Eisenhower's theme gets support from other well known contemporaries.

David Lawrence in the editorial "The Illusion of Permanence" in the U. S. News & World Report for May 25, 1956, just about a year ago, had this to say:

"Basically, there is only one permanence we can all accept. It is the permanence of

a God-governed world. For the power of God alone is permanent. Obedience to His laws is the only road to lasting solutions of man's problems."

"The destiny of the whole world," said Lawrence, "is in the hands of those statesmen who can interpret faithfully the commands of the Almighty."

W. Harwood Huffcut in an editorial in the Saturday Evening Post of May 18, 1957, deplored the inability of the average American prisoner of war to cope with the arguments made to him in support of alien isms. Huffcut wrote:

"We have drained American history and Government dry of the emotion and excitement of outstanding personalities in action. As students in schools and as adults in our communities, we have heard about America with our ears, but not with our hearts.

"It is high time that the leaders and teachers of the American way put some warm humanity and emotional appeal into their instruction. It is time to make our history and traditions glow and throb again.

"American democracy was born out of strong emotion and deep convictions. The men who mutually pledged to one another their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor were exciting and intense. American democracy can survive only among a people who are equally intense in their devotion to their heritage."

These well-known men say persuasively that deep conviction—simple faith in God—on the part of individuals is the essential ingredient in the creation and sustenance of our great Nation.

Now let us transfer our reference from these well-known men and their writings, to a man perhaps less well known, who comes from our own State, and to a publication much closer to home.

About the time that I came to the law school at this university, a friend of mine, Homer Surbeck, left Rapid City to attend law school at Yale. He graduated with exceptionally high marks and so after graduation went directly to the Supreme Court as law clerk for Chief Justice Taft. From there he went to the New York law office of Charles Evans Hughes. He has remained there, participating over the years in some of the most extensive and significant litigation in the whole country.

Less than 2 months ago the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology conferred on Mr. Surbeck an honorary degree and he delivered an address on that occasion which he entitled "Success on the Job." In it he analyzed some of the basic rules underlying success. He commended three general principles.

The first was the law of compensation. "That is the law," he said, "which governs what we get in relation to what we give." The most familiar statements of the rule, he quoted from scripture:

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

And another:

"Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal shall it be measured to you again."

Arguing that there will be some loss in return to you from the effort you put into your job, due to inefficiencies of your own and of your employer, he reached the conclusion that you can get almost anything you want—within reason—if you work effectively enough.

The secret of working effectively lies in his second great principle, the Golden Rule, which he took in its positive form, from the Sermon on the Mount:

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."

"What the rule really means," says Surbeck, "is this: Do for the other fellow what you would want done for yourself if you were that other fellow. Thus interpreted, it is the most profound rule ever put together in the field of human relations.

"But it will not work for you unless you think of the other fellow's interest first."

And the third great principle of "Success on the Job" was "Intellectual Honesty." In the development of this principle Surbeck said concerning man's attitude toward a kind of dishonesty he categorized as rationalization:

"We all know that there are two side to every coin. But, as long as we refuse to see anything except our side of the coin, and as long as the other fellow refuses to see anything but his side of the coin, we are led into useless controversy which advances the interest of no one. But we can reach that impasse only because we have already deceived ourselves into believing that there is but one side to this particular coin—our side."

And Surbeck quotes Laertes' lines from Shakespeare as the solution:

> "This above all: to thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Now Shakespeare didn't write these lines—but do you remember them? They offer essentially the same choice I have been saying you can make:

> Would you rather swing on a star,
> Carry moonbeams home in a jar,
> And be better off than you are?
> or
> Would you rather be a mule?

Thus far I have dealt with the effect of belief in God, on men and nations, pretty much in the abstract. Now, in a couple of minutes, I would like to bring it closely into the reality of peoples' lives.

In the Rapid City Daily Journal for May 24, 1957, appeared an editorial entitled "Men, Machines, and God." It deals with the little boy who just the other day fell into a well and was buried in sand. The first line is, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done * * *." The editorial develops the idea that God's hand was in the rescue of the boy. I quote a couple of paragraphs:

"Woodson, 39 a Negro construction worker, was at work Friday when he heard about the little boy pinned at the bottom of a newly dug well in the back yard of his Long Island home.

"'All of a sudden,' Woodson said later, 'I got this funny sensation all through me. It seemed to me that God was saying, "Sam, you must go and help get the boy out." It kept getting stronger and stronger. I left the job, went home and told my wife, "I'm going to see if I can help that boy in the well."'

"Hours later, when the rescue tunnel had been extended through the crumbling sand to within inches of the place where the boy was trapped, it was Sam Woodson who broke through and, with the help of the man behind him, John Arambo, pulled the child to safety.

"Assured later that Benny would survive the 23-hour ordeal, Sam Woodson expressed the grateful thought of countless persons when he said:

"'God walked with the boy this day.'"

I suppose many people would be very skeptical of the inference of this editorial. Most might scoff at the idea of a physical reaction to the presence of God in one's life such as Sam Woodson tried to describe. But I would not scoff at any one's honest conviction, because I myself have the conviction that anything—literally anything—is possible in this miraculous world in which we live.

Well, it seems to me, and I am sure you will agree, that I have labored here rather long and hard to get across my point. Perhaps like the bug of my opening, I should have taken a shorter route to my objective. Really my message is a kind of postgraduate short course to the one offered to all of us at our mothers' knees; and probably the good, if any, you may get from what I have had to say will depend on how much of a start you got from that childhood lesson your own mother tried so hard to teach you.

In a few sentences here is a summation of my message: Your real effectiveness in life depends mostly on a strong conviction that there is a supreme goodness and power present in your life, ready and willing to supply you all the direction and all the resources you need for great achievement. Of course, you must learn how to draw on the power. But that problem is not insurmountable. It is really quite easy if you take the assignment seriously and work at it.

The prophet of old has told us how. I repeat his formula: "They who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like eagles."

Not any of you are yet committed to the path of the bug. So I regard you as eaglets, and how very fortunate you young eaglets are. What tremendous frontiers for human endeavor beckon to you. The limitless, beautiful expanse of all God's creation is your workshop. The sublimity of His ultimate and perfect truth is your goal. This is the vital question: How far into this bright blue sky of endless opportunity will each of you choose to soar?

Chemical Food Additives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, national attention has been focused on H. R. 4014, the Delaney bill, and similar measures designed to assure the safety for human use of the chemical additives often used in processing foods. This is a subject of vital importance to all of us.

My constituent, George T. Pack, M. D., of Englewood, N. J., one of our outstanding authorities on cancer, is chief of the Gastric and Mixed Tumor Services at the Memorial Cancer Center in New York City. Dr. Pack has written me calling specific attention to the need for tests to determine carcinogenicity—ability to induce cancer. The subject matter of his letter is so pertinent to intelligent consideration of the proposed legislation that, under unanimous consent I include the letter in the Appendix of the RECORD where all Members may have the benefit of his expert views.

The letter follows:

DEAR MR. OSMERS: I urgently request your support for the Delaney bill (H. R. 4014) to assure safety of chemicals in food. We urge you to take all necessary steps to amend the Delaney bill, any other food additive bill, and the Miller Pesticide Act:

(a) To specify that chemicals used in or on food be tested for carcinogenicity (ability to induce cancer).

(b) To specify that approval for use of chemicals in or on food be restricted to a limited list of selected substances for which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare finds there is actual need and ade-

quate evidence of safety, provided that the Secretary shall not approve for such use any substance which he finds can induce cancer.

Need for these amendments arises from provisions permitting use of food of safe quantities of chemicals found harmful in higher concentration. A recent test case forced approval for so-called safe quantities of a chemical known to induce cancer when eaten.

Resolutions adopted by the International Union Against Cancer point out that safe doses cannot be established with confidence for chemicals that induce cancer. These have long delayed action. Single doses eaten by young test animals have resulted in cancer late in life.

The language of amendment (b) above, affords adequate provision for necessary chemicals. It affords the Secretary opportunity to exercise judgment in evaluation of claims for carcinogenicity.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE T. PACK, M. D.

Budget Cuts—Did We Mean Business?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, the last big appropriation bill will shortly be presented to us. Nominally, it requests $3.8 billion for foreign aid. But that is not all. The total spending authority, under direction of the State Department's ICA, requests another $1.5 billion to be borrowed from the Treasury for the development fund over the 2 following years, which will never be returned to us even if it is repaid to the fund.

We must add in $6.3 billion still unspent from foreign-aid appropriations of earlier Congresses.

Furthermore, under Public Law 480, there is mounting in the foreign countries where we are disposing of agricultural surpluses, large funds, also subject to ICA spending. This is already over $1 billion.

It all adds up to much over $12 billion. Every dollar of the money we give for foreign economic aid is taken from our own people. Every billion dollars is capital for roughly 10,000 jobs in this country and once given away, it will be lost forever.

Foreign aid is by all odds the most inflationary of all our inflationary Federal spending because very largely the dollars are spent here but the product in goods and services are sent overseas, thus increasing demand therefor and decreasing supply.

Mr. Speaker, this House did a notable job in cutting budgetary requests to the extent of nearly $4 billion. Lest the inflation get entirely out of hand, we simply must substantially cut foreign aid.

I am inserting an able editorial in yesterday's issue of the Los Angeles Times which might be deemed a sad commentary on the net result of our effort. Can we keep faith with the American people who really want economy in Government, who really want the budget cut, inflation restrained, and the day of tax reduction hastened? The editorial follows:

With temperatures in the nineties and humidity near the 100 mark, it is surprising that anything should evaporate in Washington; but the economy drive seems to have pulled this trick.

The billions which Congress started to cut out of the Eisenhower 1958 budget are being put back, apparently with very little shrinkage.

Symptomatic of what is happening is the action of the House in restoring $500 million to the agriculture appropriation bill, representing the amount to be paid to farmers for putting their lands in a soil bank. The House some time ago voted to eliminate the soil bank entirely. The Senate restored it. The House now goes meekly along with the compromise committee report; the soil bank stays in operation, though the Congress did include a limitation—no more than $3,000 may be paid to any one farmer.

A couple of weeks ago the Defense Department appropriation bill was passed; the House had cut about a billion dollars out of it, the Senate put nearly all of it back and the House acquiesced. The ultimate savings in the Labor Department figured out to about $31 million; in the Welfare Department less than a billion; there is a saving of about $250,000 from the requested amount for miscellaneous labor agencies. These are merely examples; the whole picture is about the same.

There were promises of great economies, performance of little ones. Probably in no case have the cuts exceeded what the Budget Bureau expected when they first projected the figure. A little is always added to allow for trimming by Congress.

Congress finally yielded on the post-office appropriation, giving the Department nearly all it asked for, but instructing the Postmaster General to trim certain services. However, Congress seems determined to give postal workers a boost in pay which the President calls inflationary. We think this raise is well merited, but it should be accompanied by an increase in postal rates to help pay for it. And Congress so far has balked on the postal rate raise, though it has elsewhere made allowance for the shrinkage of the dollar.

Meanwhile the recommendations of the Hoover report, which could save billions, continue to gather dust on the committee shelves; though whenever the subject is mentioned, some Senator or Representative proposes to see that the recommendations are carried out.

These administrative reorganizations are not being made; though everybody admits they ought to be. There is no outward opposition; but one suspects a vast underground opposition from bureaucrats whose empires might be contracted if the plans went into effect.

Nor is there any sign of reduction in the pork-barrel appropriations. Wasteful and unnecessary projects like the upper Colorado reclamation project go merrily along; the Interior Department has recommended the San Luis Dam as a Federal project though southern California is united in opposition; the high Federal dam in Hell's Canyon went through the Senate and is still being kept alive in a House committee though its sponsors admit there is little hope for it. These, again, are only samples. There are many other projects in the same category and many of them will be approved.

There is a crying need in the United States for reduction of the Federal budget and reduction of taxes. The capital to finance our growing industry can hardly be found otherwise, and once that flow of capital is halted the result is bound to be unemployment.

There is a crying need also for decreasing the size of the Federal debt; but there is no money to use in reducing this debt when Congress and the administration join in spending nearly every cent that can be wrung from the pockets of the public. Congress cannot even be brought to considering a reduction in tax rates, even though the result would almost certainly be an increase in revenue. Both our income and our excise tax rates are beyond the point of highest net return, and it would pay us to cut them.

Effective Defense Department Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, with attention currently directed toward Government in business, I recall a talk made recently by one of my most distinguished constituents and ask unanimous consent that it may appear in the RECORD.

It has been a great source of pride to Ohio that one of our own Congressmen, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN, introduced in the House the legislation which resulted in the formation of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, commonly called the Hoover Commission. Congressman BROWN served as a member of both the first and second Hoover Commission. It is a further source of pride that another Ohioan was selected to direct one of the task forces of the Commission.

Mr. Charles R. Hook, of Middletown, Ohio, in my district, is chairman of the board of the Armco Steel Corp. He has served with distinction as chairman of the Hoover Commission's Committee on Business Organization of the Department of Defense. The following talk was made to the Third National Reorganization Conference sponsored by the Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report on February 5, 1957:

THE HOOVER COMMISSION'S VIEW ON EFFECTIVE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT MANAGEMENT

(Remarks of Mr. Charles R. Hook)

The second bipartisan Hoover Commission's reports on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of Our Government—in their total, unquestionably constitute one of the most important documents of our time. Lack of implementation of these reports could mean in time that our free form of government would fall just through its inefficiencies and the weight of its own tremendous size.

At the time George Washington, our first President, left office, there was only 1 Federal Government employee for each 1,400 citizens. As of now, there are 20 such employees. Even as late as the administration of our great Chief, Herbert Hoover, the total Federal budget was only $5 billion a year, whereas the Federal budget for fiscal 1958 is approximately $72 billion.

True, today we have peace—even though uncertain—and prosperity on a scale unprecedented in history. Nevertheless, we appear to be paying a lot for Government, which alone can do no more than create a favorable

climate for industry and thrift, and the rewards thereof. We can be thankful that President Eisenhower has done much toward creating such a climate.

Because of the second Hoover Commission's unusually broad authority and the specific charge by the Congress to report on overlapping and duplication of activities, the task forces of that Commission made their investigations straight across the board on broad functional lines.

There was, however, one important exception to this, wherein—on realizing that over 60 percent of the Federal budget went to the military establishments, there was formed an overall Committee To Study the Organization and Management of the Department of Defense. It was my privilege to serve as the Chairman of that Committee, and it is on this phase of the Hoover Commission studies and the progress toward implementing same that I shall report to you today.

On this committee were all the chairmen of all the task forces whose functional studies had any important impingement upon the Department of Defense. In addition, we had other members with broad experience in industry as well as with the operation of the military services in both war and peace.

Early in our own investigations as well as the appraisal of the functional studies of the task forces, our committee recognized the great change that has taken place in military operations—the conduct of war and what now constitutes our national defense—wherein the support or businesslike activities of the military effort now far exceed in numbers of employees and dollars spent, the strictly tactical or combat side; activities and functions which not only have assumed far greater significance in the defense or war effort but in turn in the entire economy of the Nation.

This picture as it has developed technologically and through improved industrial know-how might be rather graphically shown as the horn of plenty in reverse. For example, in primitive warfare and even through perhaps the time of our own Civil War, only a very small part of our manpower, resources, and economy went into the small end of the horn, with the battle or combat activities being what came out of the large end.

Today, and as was certainly the case in World War II, the major portion of the manpower and resources of the Nation goes into the large end in a tremendous industrial effort to produce what comes out of the small end in a highly developed and concentrated battle or combat-ready activity. It is in the process, from what goes into the now big end and what comes out the other, that occurs the waste of manpower and resources and the duplication of functions and activities.

Among the support or business-type activities of the Department requiring general business management are found such as procurement, manufacturing, commercial activities, supply including warehousing and distribution, maintenance of equipment, nontactical communications, transportation, budget and accounting, legal services, medical services, personnel administration, public relations, research and development, and, last but not least, the disposal of surplus property.

These business-type activities are conducted to some degree in all of the 48 States—16,000 odd cities, towns and municipalities, and in 54 foreign countries.

The Department of Defense is factually a tremendous business enterprise—the biggest business enterprise on earth. In 1955, it spent approximately $42 billion which was roughly one-seventh of our national income. During that time, the Department employed over 4 million persons or approximately 7 percent of all persons gainfully employed, and over twice as many as employed by the 10 largest corporations.

Our Special Subcommittee on Research and Development found that slightly over $2 billion was spent yearly on direct research and development activities—which is about equal to the combined expenditures for these purposes of all private enterprise and endowed institutions.

In our studies of the military services, we found and reported upon the operation of some 2,500 separate business-type commercial and industrial activities with assets totaling more than $15 billion.

The subcommittee which made the detailed study in this area found that at least a thousand of these could be terminated as a Government function without injury to national defense or any other essential Government activity. Further, it investigated at some length the problem of 288 large industrial facilities in the military departments which were mostly held over from World War II and now constitute, in major part, the National Military Industrial Reserve. The Government investment here was in excess of $9 billion and the maintenance cost of these reserve plants exceeded $200 million annually. The subcommittee reported that 6 such plants previously disposed of had paid over $100 million in taxes during a 6-year period.

Some of these plants are competitive with private industry, some could be made to contribute to the private enterprise system. Others are essential to defense and must be retained for standby. The report of that special subcommittee proposed various methods by which a further part of these facilities could be disposed of to private industry on terms which would protect the Military Establishment, benefit the national economy, save the maintenance cost, and, by their private operation, add to the tax revenue of the country.

The report stated emphatically that: "We neither suggest nor subscribe to any proposal that might impair ever so slightly the military effectiveness or the reserve strength of the Department of Defense."

According to the latest information given our committee of Hoover Commission task force members by Mr. Kestnbaum, special assistant to the President on Implementation of Hoover Commission Report, the Defense Department has terminated 359 industrial and commercial type activities of the military services. This is a major step in the right direction, but we yet have a ways to go.

The Secretary of Defense has declared it to be his firm policy to get the military services as rapidly as possible out of commercial and industrial activities which compete with business enterprise. He has a program under way to accomplish this.

Mr. Brundage, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, has issued a policy memorandum which says, in part: "Above all, the decision whether to continue or discontinue a Government activity solely on an apparent cost basis runs counter to our concept that the Government has ordinarily no right to compete in a private enterprise economy."

The President, in his state of the Union message delivered personally to the Congress on Thursday, January 10, 1957, said:

"The administration will through future messages either directly from me, or from the heads of the departments and agencies, transmit to the Congress specific recommendations. There will be special recommendations dealing with such subjects as atomic energy, the furthering of public works, and the continued efforts to eliminate Government competition with the businesses of taxpaying citizens."

The President and the Secretary of Defense need our support. Both they and the Congress need to know that it is the will of the businessman, the taxpayer and the citizenry as a whole that these commercial and industrial activities of the Department of Defense be discontinued and that their doing be left to free and tax-paying enterprise.

This is essential to overcome the natural opposition of those operating these business-type facilities and the local community immediately affected by their operation. Nearly every effort to get the Government out of business wins applause as a national goal but often becomes something else when it reaches the home community. Sometimes the local cry is: "Close the others and good riddance, but lay not the hand of efficiency on this one."

In its final report to the Commission, which I am proud to say was accepted without change as the Commission's report, the Committee on Business Organization of the Department of Defense proposed four major programs for the Defense Establishment:

1. The improvement and simplification of its organizational framework.

2. The integration of common supply and service activities.

3. Measures to increase the tenure in office, motivation and skill of both civil and military executives in the Department.

4. A program to establish clear financial control throughout all levels of the Department.

Within each of these areas, the committee made specific and very definite recommendations on how to aicomplish the four programs. The bases for these recommendations were only reached after nearly 18 months of study and investigation into the operation—past and present—and only after pulling together in one framework the findings and recommendations of the individual functional task forces of the Commission.

So as to give you a little blueprint of the committee's report, and progress toward its implementation, I will comment individually on each of the major program areas of the report as just referred to.

First, with reference to part I of our report—Program for Improving Business Management Organization of the Department, we found that the studies of the task force on procurement revealed the inadequacies of guidance being furnished the military departments in the matter of basic procurement planning. Our committee in its own deliberations with reference to both requirements determination and basic procurement planning paid particular attention, among other things, to President Eisenhower's message transmitting reorganization plan No. 6 in which he emphasized that one of its major aims was to improve "our machinery for strategic planning for national security."

The result was that the committee's No. 1 recommendation was that the Secretary of Defense create in his office a civilian position invested with sufficient stature and authority to insure the establishment and maintenance of effective planning and review of military requirements. In doing this, the committee recognized the fact that neither the Secretary nor the Deputy Secretary could possibly give sufficient time for such a review of military requirements.

The Secretary of Defense concurred in the objectives of the Hoover Commission as incorporated in this recommendation toward more effective planning and reviews of military requirements, but not in the specific part of the recommendation calling for the creation of a new high-level civilian position. The Secretary decided that the Deputy Secretary should be the focal point in the Secretary's office for an authoritative review of military requirements. Mr. Reuben Robertson, the Deputy Secretary, has today told you how opportunities for the Deputy Secretary to devote more of his time to requirements review have now been made possible by relieving him of many exacting duties which he formerly performed, these now being delegated to other Assistant Secretaries of Defense.

Now, as to part II of our report, titled "A Program for Improving Management of Common Supply and Service Activities," the recommendations for implementation of this program are probably not only the most far reaching of any in our report, but certainly the most controversial from the viewpoint of the military. Our report noted in some detail the many studies that had been made in this area as well as the numerous approaches over the years to the question of coordination of common supply and service activities of the three main military services.

After many weeks of consideration of the problem, our committee came to the conclusion that its recommendation should be for the highest degree of integration, namely, the establishment of a separate supply and service agency within the framework of the Department of Defense, to serve all departments equally in purchasing, inventory control, and distribution to the end of the wholesale pipeline. It would be charged at the start with the handling of only those things which were clearly common to all.

While, up to this point, the Secretary of Defense has not accepted this recommendation as such, he clearly indicated agreement from the beginning with the intent of the recommendation, and the Department of Defense under its Assistant Secretary for Supply and Logistics evolved the single manager plan under which they are trying the concept of one service having the full management of given common supply and service activities. Such single manager plans to date have been initiated in such areas as food, clothing, medical supplies and transportation.

While we do not believe that the single manager plan goes far enough nor would take the place of the recommendation of the committee for a separate common supply and service agency, we do believe that the Department of Defense is conscientious in its efforts under the single manager concept to accomplish the objectives of these recommendations of our committee. We do feel that this may be a major step in the right direction, and perhaps a necessary one. It is our intention to watch closely and see how it is working.

As to part III of our report—a program to improvement management personnel, we find that much progress has been made in direct implementation of the recommendations as made, or in acceptance of the recommendations in intent, wherein either legislation is necessary or further administrative action required for their full implementation.

During the closing days of the last Congress, there was passed legislation in the form of an executive pay bill which provides better salaries for many of those in key management positions.

We need to go further in this direction, and Congress should enact legislation to minimise present obstacles to Government service by outstanding citizens, and should provide positive incentives which will attract and hold able administrators.

To me, all of this is of primary importance, because the best way to secure competent management in Government—or industry is in the acquiring and assuring continuity in office of qualified managers and administrators.

The recommendations of the committee in the field of management personnel basically underlie many of the Commission's recommendations. Most important of those things remaining to be accomplished in this area are, I believe, a further revision and simplification of the Government's hiring and firing procedures, and the creation as recommended both by our committee and the governmentwide task force on personnel and civil service of a true and meaningful senior civil service. Nowhere is the provision for such a senior civil service more important than in the Department of Defense.

Both the study of our Personnel Subcommittee and the report of our overall committee expressed concern with the opportunity for outstanding civilians to rise to top-management positions in the support or business-type activities of the Department. I am happy to say that as a result of our findings on this question, the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower has completed an inventory of key support management positions showing what the present career opportunities are for civilians as well as military in the support area. This study—a copy of which I've recently seen—supports very strongly the conclusions of our committee.

Part IV of our report—a program for improving financial management—has perhaps received more factual implementation to date than any other part. This is both with regard to administrative action by the Department of Defense, Presidential concurrence and legislation passed by the last Congress. This legislation should assure complete implementation of a major part of the recommendations for improved financial management within the Department but again we shall need to watch the actual implementation in several respects.

There remains, of course, the necessity for additional legislation particularly with regard to further fixing responsibility for the management of defense dollars. There has already been introduced in the Senate of the new Congress a bill designed to accomplish the remaining objectives requiring legislation. This is Senate bill 434, known as the Kennedy-Payne-Byrd bill. I would urge the full support of everyone. This support will be needed most when the bill is taken up by the House which last year did not concur on the full legislation as originally passed unanimously by the Senate with the result that at that time compromises were made on the legislation as finally passed.

I feel that I have talked with you seriously today about big and important things as they relate to the segment of the executive branch of our Government which, after all, spends almost two-thirds of our tax dollar. I have noted to you that it is the biggest operation on earth and it is certainly a complicated one and one which requires the best ability in its administration that our country can provide.

Make no mistake, we yet face major obstacles in assuring full implementation of the Hoover Commission report. To overcome them, the President, the executive branch of our Government, and the Congress need to know that they continue to have broad bipartisan public support.

The actual job of running the Department of Defense, and I speak not only of the responsibilities of the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary, but those of the entire Secretariat and both the military and the civilians who occupy key management positions, is enough to awe any man. They are entitled to know what you think, and to have your constructive advice and counsel.

Does the Kremlin Play It Cute: Strategic Team Out, Tactical Team In?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Malenkov has been shifted to a spot just north of the Red China border. He has not been liquidated. Nor, to our knowledge, have the other three horsemen of World War II been liquidated.

The question is, Are these four horsemen to work on Asia for the Reds while the new Kremlin lineup works on Europe and the United States?

The team that went out of the Kremlin was skilled in strategic gains for the Soviet. They knew how to hold territory for Russia while rebellion against it flared; East Germany, Hungary, and Poland went into spasms. And the Red army held its ground. In the Suez crisis Egypt's sovereignty was firmed up.

Their work done in the West, it was time for the strategic team of the Kremlin to work another flank, to firm up in Asia strategic gains for Russia while a new team of political, economic, and social charmers worked the European flank.

Remember the Berlin airlift? It glued the eyes of the world while China was lost.

Red China has spasms. The British and others woo it. Mr. Dulles threw dirt in its face.

With Malenkov just north of the China border, will a bear hug by the four horsemen keep China clasped to the Soviet bosom and bring into its sphere other parts of Asia as well?

While the tactical team of the Kremlin works the European side of the street for the Soviets, it would not be amiss for us to watch Asia, would it?

Billboards Block Highway Sites

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article which I have written for the Oregon Democrat of July 4, 1957, entitled "Billboards Blight Highway Sights; Senate Bill Provides Regulation."

In this article I have attempted to highlight and emphasize the urgent need for the Congress to protect roadside and scenic beauty along the new 41,000 miles of interstate highways which we have recently authorized in the Gore bill. The article for the Oregon Democrat was requested of me by Mr. John R. Churchill, editor of the Oregon Democrat, who shares my view that, if the Federal Government is to pay 69 percent of the cost of these roads, then the Federal Government has a definite stake in safeguarding scenic grandeur along these roads.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BILLBOARDS BLIGHT HIGHWAY SIGHTS; SENATE BILL PROVIDES REGULATION

(By Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

Nobody's for billboard control but the people.

That is my conclusion after fighting for effective control of highway advertising both as a State senator in the Oregon Legislature and as a United States Senator in Washington, D. C.

Since I introduced my proposal for regulation of commercial signboards along the new interstate highway system which will be built during the next two decades, I have received hundreds of letters from individuals across the Nation enthusiastically endorsing my bill, S. 963. Scores of newspapers and periodicals have announced their support of such legislation. A national poll has indicated that over 65 percent of the American people favor adoption of effective control of signboards, while only 25.9 percent are opposed to restrictions. Even the President of the United States has declared his opposition to "billboards that mar our scenery."

Yet, despite this broad support, S. 963 is now languishing in the Senate Committee on Public Works. Why?

Economic pressure groups complain that the legislation would adversely affect roadside businesses and the outdoor advertising industry. Yet, under the provisions of the bill, signboards in appropriate commercial and industrial locations would not be touched. Only an estimated 10 percent of highway billboards are located in other than urban areas. The New York Thruway Authority found that business increased in volume after the throughway opened—even though billboard displays are prohibited along the superhighway.

No unattractive signboards blemish roadside scenery in Switzerland. The Swiss have recognized that effective billboard regulation which protects the grandeur of nature's handiwork is a major factor in promoting the tourist trade upon which the health of the economy of this small country strongly depends. Such reasoning applies equally as well to Oregon, where the tourist business is the third largest industry in the State and provided an estimated income of $140 million in 1956.

As amended by the Subcommittee on Public Roads, my bill provides that the Secretary of Commerce may enter into an agreement with any State to regulate signs along a Federal highway project which is part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways. A participating State shall receive from the Federal Government a sum equal to three-fourths of 1 percent of the total cost of the project.

Surely this mild measure cannot be the job-eating economic monster that lobbyists paint it. Nor do the provisions of the bill justify charges of violation of States rights, because State participation is entirely voluntary.

The issue is clear cut. Will we protect the over 40,000-mile-long interstate highway system from despoilment by garish commercial signboards or will we allow the natural beauty of our countryside to be blotted out by advertising artwork? I believe there is only one correct decision.

Hon. Earl C. Michener

SPEECH
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our former colleague, the Honorable Earl C. Michener, brings vividly to my mind the wonderful record he established in his long tenure as a Member of the House of Representatives. His accomplishments in the Congress will be long remembered. I know of no Member who was more respected or revered by his colleagues. His outstanding services should be a shining example to all new Members of this body. The pages of history will show his record to be the very best in all respects.

Earl Michener was a member of this body during my first term during the 81st Congress. He, during that 2-year period, taught me more than anyone else about the traditions, rules and practices of the House of Representatives. Furthermore he wisely counseled me on many issues and problems that came before us in 1949 and 1950. I owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude which can never be repaid except by following, to the best of my ability, his example and record.

Mr. Speaker, in closing may I say again Earl Michener's passing is very sad and takes from us one of the finest gentlemen I ever knew.

Khrushchev and the Russian Shakeup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, the events in Russia during the last week are certainly of great concern to all of the Members of Congress as well as the rest of the citizens of our country. Mr. Robert Siegrist, broadcasting over radio station WLS of Chicago, Ill., and 17 other network stations in the Midwest, has made an analysis of the current situation in Russia. He points out the fact that Khrushchev is now following the Tito line. As a longtime student of Russian affairs, Mr. Siegrist presents some very interesting ideas in his radio commentary of July 3. His radio broadcast is as follows:

It came, suddenly, today, in Moscow:

The biggest shakeup in the top echelon of Russia's Khrushchev-run Communist Party since the death of Stalin.

Deposed as full members of the Russian Communist Party's 15-man ruling Presidium (formerly known as the Politburo) were 3 long-time top associates of Stalin and 1 who gained recent power as a Khrushchev man.

The three Stalin men are: V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov, and Lazar Kaganovich.

The Khrushchev man is Dmitri Shepilov.

Molotov, now 67, one-time editor of the Communist Party's official paper, Pravda (which means truth, Communist style), held power longer than any present Russian Communist leader.

Like Stalin, he became a Communist under Lenin and, after Lenin's death, rose rapidly, side by side with Stalin.

Like the name of Stalin, which in Russian, means "of steel," the name of Molotov, which means "of the hammer," is not the veteran Bolshevik's real name.

It is his Communist Party name—a name that he took back in the prerevolution days of 1917 when the Communist Party in Czarist Russia had to frequently function clandestinely—just as does the Communist Party continue to do in many of its more conspiratorial functions here in the United States today.

Through the costly years in which communism, under Stalin, was permitted its continued aggressions against the world, with the United States as its ultimate target, Molotov was properly considered as the chief dogmatist of the party line as well as the master architect of Stalinist Russia's foreign policy.

As such, he proved the master double-crosser of modern diplomatic history, having delivered a costly doublecross to every nation with whose representatives he was permitted to negotiate any deal—including Finland, Hitler Germany, the now-Red-enslaved nations of Eastern Europe, and the United States under Roosevelt and Truman.

Meanwhile, with Alger Hiss, Molotov played a master role in helping draft the charter for the United Nations.

As Soviet Russia's Foreign Minister, he served as Stalin's official mouthpiece against the world from 1939 to 1949, when he suddenly disappeared from public view in the early days of the cold war, but rose to new notoriety when, shortly after the 1950 Communist aggression in Korea, it was discovered that Molotov was playing a major role in its direction.

After the death of Stalin, Molotov resumed his post as Foreign Minister, while Georgi Malenkov rose to the Stalin-vacated Premiership, and the then relatively unknown Nikita Khrushchev assumed Stalin's position as Secretary of the Communist Party, from which Khrushchev quickly deposed and executed the other leader of the immediate post-Stalin ruling triumvirate, Lavrenti Beria, who had been a top member of the old Communist Party Politburo and the virtual czar of the dread and powerful Russian secret police.

Molotov retained his post as Foreign Minister even after the Khrushchev-forced deposition of Malenkov from the Premiership, which on the 8th of February 1955 went to Nikolai Bulganin, who became nothing more than the figurehead Premier for Khrushchev which Bulganin so obviously remains today.

It wasn't until June 1, of last year, that Khrushchev replaced Molotov as Foreign Minister with 50-year-old Dmitri Shepilov, whom Khrushchev moved up from the editorship of Pravda.

By that time, Khrushchev, confronted with continuing restiveness within Russia and the satellites, as well as within the Communist Party itself—restiveness compounded by myriad Communist failures—had found it necessary, in his efforts to solidify his growing personal power, to aline himself with Red Dictator Tito, who, though imposed upon Yugoslavia by Stalin, had broken with Stalin in 1948, when Tito and his Communist regime was at the brink of the bankruptcy from which the then-Acheson-run United States State Department saved Tito.

In wooing the American-financed-and-dignified Tito back into the Moscow fold, Khrushchev, who, with Bulganin, had made a hat-in-hand mission to Tito in May of 1955, found it necessary to clear the decks of the anti-Tito Molotov before Tito's official triumphal return to Moscow in June of 1956.

Meanwhile, pressed hard by Anastas Mikoyan, another long-time Communist Party and government leader, the power-grabbing Khrushchev openly laid down the Tito and Tito-ist wooing platform at the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in Moscow, in his major policy-making address of February 14, 1956.

At that time, Khrushchev echoed the line previously laid down by Tito, before, during and following the Khrushchev-Bulganin mission to Belgrade.

This was the line in which Khrushchev made clear that all of the things Tito had long said about Stalin were true and that

war with the United States led capitalist West was not necessarily inevitable, since Khrushchev, like Tito before him, laid down the line that Communist revolutions may be achieved, and the capitalist West be thereby overthrown, by other nonwarlike means, including even parliamentary means in some cases such as France, for example, where the Communists enjoyed over 150 open party members within the parliament.

And, also importantly, Khrushchev maintained, just as Tito before him, and just as Tito today, that, contrary to the dogma of Stalin, there could be various roads to the common goal of socialism—which, in the Aesopian jargon of communism, meant various nationalistic techniques toward international communism's ultimate goal of world domination.

And, regardless of Khrushchev's softer Tito-line sound, the Russian Red leader made crystal clear that, in his words:

"The socialist (meaning the Communist camp) is invincible," which was precisely what Tito had always maintained, and which he continued to maintain in his televised propaganda against the American people.

Meanwhile, Molotov remained close behind the scenes as a first deputy premier of the Soviet government as well as an important member of the Presidium of the Communist Party.

The 55-year-old Malenkov, while also remaining in the party's Presidium, had been retained in the relatively uninfluential government position of minister of electric power.

Replaced as foreign minister last February 15, by 47-year-old diplomatic hatchetman Andrei Gromyko, Dmitri Shepilov was assigned to the far lesser position of the head of Russian-style "culture," while retaining his position in the Presidium.

At that time, it was generally accepted as the best bet among international analysts and pundits that Shepilov's short-lived usefulness as foreign minister had ended with the enactment of the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East—a doctrine which the Eisenhower administration had claimed to have found necessary by the ominous series of Red-forced Middle Eastern events which had their formal beginning with Shepilov's arming of Nasser Egypt.

And through all of the rise and fall of the various Kremlin personalities, 63-year-old Lazar Kaganovich, an oldtime Stalinist, a onetime brother-in-law of Stalin, and the only remaining Jew on the Presidium, had seemed to go on like Old Man River, until today.

However, today's official announcement, of the ouster from the Communist Party's ruling body, which came via the official government radio voice, Radio Moscow, made no mention whether Kaganovich, Shepilov, Malenkov, and/or Molotov would also be deposed from their high government positions.

And here it is extremely important that we keep firmly in mind that the high-ranking rulers of that which is permitted to be accepted as the Government of Soviet Russia are Communists, first and last, and that they gain, hold, and lose those governmental positions by virtue of no one but the top command of the Communist Party's hierarchy which, more than ever, do we see tonight, is firmly embodied in the iron grip of just one man (for the moment at least): First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev.

Significantly, importantly, and properly, the indication that this big shakeup was imminent came first this mornng, n the form of an editorial in Pravda, the Khrushchev-controlled official party voice.

Among other things, this Pravda editorial issued a stern warning against attempts to shake Red party unity "or divert it from its correct path."

It raised anew the Khrushchev-born demand for the "cult of personality" of which Khrushchev accused Stalin in his famous 20th Party Congress proclamation, and it reemphasized the need for party unity by demanding:

"This requirement equally concerns both the rank and file and leadership of the party."

And, throughout, it must be noted that the Pravda editorial roundly condemned all party members, however high ranking, who had opposed the Khrushchev-dictated decisions at that important and historic 20th Party Congress.

And then, the official Radio Moscow announcement of the shakeup which soon followed, an announcement, by the way, vaguely attributed to the 133-member Central Committee of the Communist Party; that announcement accused the four ousted leaders of "antiparty activities," of "wrong ideas," and promised that the action would strengthen the Central Committee as well as the party itself, which the committee promised would continue along Leninist lines to fulfill its tasks.

This announcement also made clear that there had been at least one semicasualty in addition to the top four complete casualties—he is Mikhail Pervukhin, who was only recently appointed as a First Deputy Premier and Minister of Medium Machine Building in the Soviet Government, but who today was reduced in party status, at least, from full Presidium membership to an alternate membership.

This official announcement has also named to full Presidium membership the following four:

Averky Aristov, Mikolai Belyaev, N. G. Ignativ, and O. Kuusinen, with the latter replacing Shepilov as Secretary of the Central Committee.

Alternate members promoted to full membership are:

Defense Minister Zhukov, President Eisenhower's old pen pal, who became an alternate only in the last shakeup; 47-year-old Ekaterina Furtseva, who, at least, can be described as a close personal favorite of Khrushchev, who has permitted her to rise to the informal position of the "first lady of world communism," via her recent promotion which, as a Presidium alternate—and now as a full member—has given her the dubious distinction of being the first woman ever to rise so high in Communist circles.

Also promoted to full Presidium membership today are Leonid Breshvev, Frol Kozlov, and Nikolai Shvernik.

All of these, considered as Khrushchev people, now theoretically share full Presidium honors with the holdover of the old guard:

Khrushchev, Bulganin, Kirichenko, Mikoyan, Suslov, and the old Stalinist political marshal, Voroshilov, who holds the rubber-stamping title of "President" of the Soviet Union.

Through all the odd public-admitted ritual one thing becomes completely clear:

Khrushchev is in complete control, not only of the Communist party in Russia, but of the Soviet Union itself.

And, despite all of the cries from Washington, and among journalists and other observers of the international scene tonight, that this is a sure sign that the Communist thieves are falling out, that the controlling machinery of the international Red empire is breaking down—it must be kept completely in mind that tremendous power remains within that machinery, and that it, indeed, is in dangerous and bloody hands in those of the hard-drinking and impulsive Khrushchev.

Furthermore, it must be noted that he could not do this without the sanction, without the approval, without the backing, of at least the top echelon of the Russian Red army, the top man of which is Zhukov, who got this new promotion to full membership in the Presidium only today.

And it must also be noted, as we have attempted to bear out in the brief time permitted for this report, that the Khrushchev line, please remember (and the State Department will clearly try to ignore it) is the same as the line of Tito, and it's the same as the line of Mao Tse-tung, and of Gomulka and of all the other Red satellite leaders.

Tito had it first, Khrushchev then took it, and the others have only recently taken it.

It is called by the State Department the Tito line—the line of separate roads to socialism, the line of peace ful coexistence, of competitive competition and so forth—but only hark back to the speech of Khrushchev before the 20th Party Congress in February of 1956, and you will find that that line set down as the bible for international communism by Khrushchev was the line first dictated to Khrushchev and Bulganin at Belgrade by Marshal Tito, who obviously now, as we have said before, is the dogmatist of the international Communist conspiracy and may well be the actual leader tonight.

Bob Siegrist. Good night.

Khrushchev Versus Zhukov

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, a further analysis of the present happenings in Russia, as presented by Mr. Robert Siegrist of radio station WLS, Chicago, and 17 other network stations in the Midwest, was made on July 4 and Mr. Siegrist's radio analysis was as follows:

To no one's surprise, the Khrushchev-bossed Moscow Kremlin has blandly announced, today, that the three old-time Stalinists whom we learned, yesterday, had been purged from their top Communist Party positions yesterday, have also been ousted from their top positions in that which, unfortunately, is accepted as the Government of Soviet Russia.

V. M. Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich are out as First Deputy Premiers and Georgi Malenkov is out as Deputy Premier.

As yet, however, there is no official mention whether they have also been expelled from the Communist Party, or what's to become of them, assuming that they're still alive.

Nor did today's terse formal announcement which came, as did yesterday's via Radio Moscow, make any mention of the fate of Dmitri Shepilov, the Khrushchev man who also was ousted yesterday as Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

The 51-year-old- Shepilov, primarily a propaganda expert, had been considered as a protege of Khrushchev who promoted him from the editorship of the Communist Party's paper, Pravda, to replace Molotov as Foreign Minister, only to oust Shepilov after obvious failure from that high post a few months later, in favor of the 47-year-old diplomatic hatchetman, Andrei Gromyko.

Since that time, Shepilov, whose chief forte is propaganda, has been considered as the "czar" of that which the Russian Communists broadly classify as "culture."

The 67-year-old Molotov and the 63-year-old Kaganovich had come up with the late Stalin to their positions of leadership in the Communist Party and in the Soviet Government, with Molotov serving most of his time as Stalin's foreign minister, and with Kaganovich, Stalin's one-time brother-in-law, a

long-time industrial and transportation troubleshooter.

The ouster of Kaganovich signaled the end of the presence of any Jews in top positions both in Russia's Communist Party and in its government.

Until today's ouster, Kaganovich had been serving in the official capacity as Minister of Building Materials. Molotov had been serving as Minister of State Control, a nebulous position handed him after he was removed from the Foreign Ministry in favor of Shepilov 13 months ago.

The 55-year-old Malenkov, who had risen in Communist Party ranks until he became Stalin's personal secretary and head of the massively dictatorial and bureaucratic Orgburo, rose to the Premiership after the Stalin death in 1953.

It was Khrushchev, who took over the late Stalin's position as First Secretary of the Communist Party, who forced Malenkov out as Premier, and figurehead Bulganin in, in 1955.

Ironically and significantly enough, however, it must be remembered well that the so-called more liberal approach to Communist dictatorship of the world which Khrushchev professes to espouse, complete with more and better things for the Russian people themselves, is the very same line of approach for which Khrushchev ousted Malenkov.

Also importantly, if not ominously, it must be remembered, well, that Malenkov, who rose to the Premiership purely via Communist Party ranks, could not have attained that Premiership without the support of the top command of the ever-powerful Russian Red army.

Nor could Malenkov have lost the Premiership without the loss of that all-important support from the Red army's top command.

Please remember that the death of Stalin, in 1953, found Marshals Voroshilov and Bulganin in that position.

Simultaneously with Malenkov's assumption of the Premiership, Voroshilov assumed the title of President of the Soviet Union, and Bulganin became Minister of Defense.

Meanwhile, the younger, and militarily, much more able, Marshal Zhukov, Russia's hero of Berlin and mastermind of the Korean war, skyrocketed back to Moscow prominence after years of repression by Stalin who feared his tremendous popularity with the Russian people, but who recognized that he needed his equally tremendous military ability.

In 1955, however, another Stalinist, Nikita Krushchev, from his powerful vantage point as Stalin's successor as First Secretary of the Communist Party, had been able to consolidate the party behind him, and, with that, to manipulate sufficient deals with the Red Army to oust Malenkov and hand that top Government position to old Marshal Bulganin, who, although he had never been more than a political general, nonetheless meant that the army's titular head was then in top command.

This obvious Khrushchev maneuver, following by a few eventful months the Krushchev-forced deposition and execution of secret police czar and old Stalinist Lavrenti Beria, spelled the elimination of the then fantastically powerful secret police as a challenging force to total power, and therefore, a victory for the combined and obviously allied leadership of the Communist Party and the Red Army.

And at the moment of Bulganin's 1955 ascendency as the Khrushchev-manipulated Premier, it also became obvious to close long-time observers of the Moscow scene that the man of the future, if he continued to play his bright red cards properly, was the then 59-year-old Marshal Zhukov.

For it was Zhukov who replaced Bulganin as Minister of Defense, which meant, therefore, that he had finally risen to Russia's top military position.

And note, too, that in yesterday's announcement of the major Stalinist purge of the Communist Party's hierarchy that Zhukov was promoted to full membership in the party's ruling Presidium, to which he was named to alternate membership in the realinement of a few months ago.

This means, therefore, that as Premier, Bulganin is now a bigger figurehead than ever; that Khrushchev is more powerful than ever, not only in control of the Communist Party, but in control of the Russian Government which, at no time, as this reporter has been struggling to stress for years, has ever been anything but a cynical front for the Communist Party.

The Soviet Government is nothing. The Communist Party is everything—but, as we now see, rapidly rising in the ranks of the Communist Party is the top man of the Russian Army, the idol of the Russian peasants from whom he comes, is Marshal Zhukov.

And it is completely obvious that Khrushchev could not possibly have destroyed the three powerful old Stalinists, Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov, without the complete support of Zhukov, which means that Khrushchev has done this with the full weight of the Russian Army behind him.

The big question in the days ahead, therefore, will be:

Does Khrushchev need Zhukov more than Zhukov needs Khrushchev?

It is this reporter's belief that each needs the other at the moment, but, short of some costly blunder by Zhukov, a blunder which, in time, Khrushchev might well try to force, short of that—it is our belief that history will prove that Khrushchev will one day find, and perhaps soon, that he needs Zhukov much more than Zhukov needs him.

Ever since the death of Stalin, this reporter has publicly been of the opinion that, short of a blunder, or short of being victimized by a major coup against him, or short of ill health or death, that Zhukov, the brilliant tactician, was destined to eventually rise as Russia's top man.

Others have shared that opinion; in fact to many it has actually been a hope, a hope based on one theory, a theory based more on wishful thinking than on any biographical fact, a hope that history, perhaps, might one day prove Zhukov a Russian first and a Communist second, if at all really.

There is no question, as this reporter has stated on several occasions these past 2 years, but what Zhukov's World War II comrade in arms, President Eisenhower, has been one of the leading exponents of that wishfully founded but not impossibly founded theory.

There is no question but what Mr. Eisenhower, whether rightly or wrongly, employed that theory in going out of his way to have the most intimate and most highly personalized chats with Zhukov at the 1955 Geneva Conference that Red-secret-police-guarded circumstances would permit.

Nor is there any question but what Mr. Eisenhower continued to work upon this theory when Mr. Eisenhower followed up those chats with an exchange of personal letters with Zhukov, or when, for a while, it looked as if Mr. Eisenhower might even play host to Zhukov in Washington.

Yet it must be remembered that, with Khrushchev's abrupt ending of that vicious myth known as the Geneva spirit, and with his long series of loud threats and charges against us, Zhukov followed the Khrushchev tough line just as faithfully as he had followed the softer Khrushchev line.

That this new shakeup in the Khrushchev-run Kremlin may now result, for a while, at least, in at least a partial resumption of that softer line, there is little question.

For it is completely obvious that Khrushchev desperately needs more time for the solidification, not only of his own personal position, but for the solidification of the position of his communism and its puppet Soviet government in Russia, as well as in the restive satellites.

With this, as we pointed out last night, Khrushchev is following, therefore, the Tito-dictated line that war is not necessarily inevitable with the capitalist West, particularly with the United States, while at the same moment making completely clear, as has Tito—and, indeed, as has Zhukov most forcibly—that should war come (or should it become necessary as the Russians see it), as they put it, "the Socialist camp is invincible."

Here, again, however, those of the wishful thinking theory as far as Zhukov is concerned, may continue to alibi that all of Zhukov's brutal threats against us in recent months may well have been necessary to what the wishful thinkers may see as Zhukov's plan of ultimately overthrowing Khrushchev and the Communist Party and liberating the Russian people in the name of the mother Russia to which communism, in 1917, delivered matricide.

Yet, even these wishful thinkers recognize that one of the largest stumbling blocks to their Pollyanna, happy ending hopes is the hard cold fact that it was none other than Zhukov who determined to hurl the Red army he controls into Hungary for the so-called second aggression—that which became the real bloodbath—the real slaughter of the innocents which ended all hope of Hungary's liberation (which Mr. Eisenhower refused to permit via American intervention).

And there in Red Russian-enslaved Hungary tonight, puppet Premier Kadar, obviously at Khrushchev's command, has ordered his fellow Reds and the Hungarian people to remain calm and quiet, and to behave themselves in the face of the Kremlin shakeup; not to be heartened by it, and not, certainly, to take up arms once again.

At the same time in Czechoslovakia and in East Germany, the Communist Party central committees have been summoned tonight to emergency meetings, while two Romanian Stalinist officials have been fired today from high party posts on charges similar to those, of course, which were used to oust Molotov and company, as we learned yesterday, from their positions in the Communist Party in Russia, and now, as we see today, their positions in the Russian Government.

And tonight, a high diplomatic source in east Berlin reveals that a commission will be formed in Moscow almost immediately to prepare charges against First Deputy Premiers Molotov and Kaganovich and Deputy Premier Malenkov for Kremlin trial.

So, presumably, if this report is true, and it probably is, they're still alive.

And these dispatches go on to say that Khrushchev has already placed the three "antiparty" activities as they're now charged, under house arrest.

But the London Daily Mail foreign news service says that former Foreign Minister Shepilov, who was swept from the party secretariat in the downfall of the Stalinists, still was not under arrest.

But presumably they're all alive, and there's little question now, if these reports are true, but what now Krushchev, for his own personal gain, all the way around, will put up a massive show trial with those people.

First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, very significantly, meanwhile, uttering the first word from Russian leadership since the purge began, told newsmen in a United States embassy reception today in Moscow that the shuffle means, as he put it, that "things are going to be the same as before—possibly better."

Mikoyan said that those toppled from power had been "the ones who wanted changes."

So very clearly, we must keep in mind that regardless of how we feel about this situation, how we want to feel, how wishful our State Department wants to feel, or have us feel (and, boy, it's going to be a massive campaign of propaganda from out of the State Department diplomats, directly and indirectly for a while trying to prove to us that this may be a better situation).

It will not be a better situation, really, ladies and gentlemen, for anyone except Khrushchev and his fellow cutthroats in the Kremlin and for Communists everywhere, until communism is completely destroyed.

Whether it is a Communist state under Zhukov, whether it is a Communist state under Khrushchev, whether it is a Communist state under Joe Blow, it is a Communist state and therefore it is the heart of the international conspiracy against the world with particular emphasis on the United States.

And on this American Independence Day anniversary, in which we sadly, significantly have to devote practically all of our broadcast to what's going on in Russia, this we should remember:

As long as communism is rampant in the world under guise, under any direction, it is still communism and our independence is at stake.

BOB SIEGRIST. Good night.

Khrushchev Following Dogma Laid Down by Tito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Siegrist, in a brilliant analysis of the current happenings in Russia, points out in his radio commentary of of July 5 the fact that Khrushchev is following the dogma laid down by Tito, and further points out that in giving foreign aid to Yugoslavia and Tito that we may be falling into a trap.

Mr. Siegrist's broadcast of July 5 is as follows:

Khrushchev's Kremlin purge continues tonight.

Mikhail Pervukhin and Maxim Saburov have gone the way of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Shepilov.

Both Pervukhin and Saburov, ousted from the Communist Party's Presidium on Wednesday, along with the other four, have now also been ousted from their Soviet Government jobs.

Both Pervukhin and Saburov were deputy premiers, with the 52-year-old Pervukhin having succeeded Saburov only last December 27 as chief economic planner as a part of the Khrushchev shift at that time.

Although Pervukhin, like Saburov, had come up through party and government ranks under Stalin, it was widely accepted that, with his new high appointment, Pervukhin was a real comer under Khrushchev, just as it had been equally accepted in the case of the now-ousted 51-year-old Shepilov.

In Wednesday's announcement of the Presidium shakeup, Pervukhin was reported as demoted to an alternate membership, while nothing was mentioned regarding Saburov.

And with today's announcement of the governmental downfall of Pervukhin and Saburov, has come word of the promotion of Alexei Kosygin to alternate membership in the party's Presidium simultaneously with Kosygin's appointment to a Deputy Premiership in the Government, and of the promotion of Alexi Pavlenko as Minister of Power Stations, a job which Pavlenko lost to the now-ousted Malenkov at the time he was deposed as Premier in 1955.

At the same time, tonight's reports bring confirmation of this reporter's comments of last night to the effect that Khrushchev's purge was not without the complete support of Defense Minister Zhukov and the Red army Zhukov controls, and that Zhukov is now the man behind the Khrushchev throne.

For the official Red Army newspaper, Red Star, or Krasnaya Svezda and the official Red Navy newspaper, Red Fleet, or Krasne Flot, have today both given major space to reporting a speech made to Communist leaders of Russia's Army and Navy by Zhukov on Tuesday, the day before the purge was announced.

According to these official service publications, Zhukov violently attacked the now-ousted group, and "especially Molotov," as Zhukov put it, as leaders of what he called "this gang of antiparty people" which Zhukov charged, among other things, with opposing Khrushchev's favorite propaganda theme of peaceful coexistence.

"Our country," said Zhukov in that important Tuesday address now disclosed, "Our country has armed forces of the very first order. They are closely gathered around the Leninist Central Committee and the Communist Party, with absolute fealty to party and people.

"They are always ready," Zhukov continued, "at the first call of the party or government, to defend the interests of our state."

And tonight, Radio Moscow makes a big point of boasting that Lt. Gen. A. C. Jeltov, an obvious top aide to the powerful Zhukov, has punctuated Zhukov's vows by now stating:

"Today we can proclaim that all attempts to crack and undermine discipline and unity of the party will be met with lightning blows of the Communist Party and Soviet Army and Navy.

"They remain," says General Jeltov, and note this well, "They remain and always will be faithful to the great cause of Leninism."

This public Red Army pledge of continued loyalty to Khrushchev and Leninism, therefore, constitutes only further powerful punctuation of the perfectly obvious fact that, for now at least, Zhukov and his military underlings are completely satisfied, if not dedicated, to hurl their full prestige and power behind what Wednesday's Communist Party leadership called "the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism," and "to bend all their energies to the successful fulfillment of the tasks of Communist construction." (As the Central Committee's communique on the party purge phrased it, and as we reported it to you at that time.)

As we have been trying to point out these past two nights, therefore, it is extremely important to the welfare and security of our Nation that our people, and certainly our Government, keep fully in mind the full meaning of these pledges by both the Red Party and the Red Army to their continued support of Marxism and Leninism.

For here, very bluntly, they, like Khrushchev, are again serving full notice upon up that they continue totally dedicated toward total world conquest in the name of the socialism and communism of which Marx and Lenin were the chief architects.

That they prefer to do this, for now at least, via so-called peaceful coexistence, or by professed and relative liberalization or relaxation of their policies, both foreign and domestic means nothing, really, except that they obviously do not feel that at this moment they dare risk more stringent or bellicose policies, both foreign and domestic.

In so doing, Khrushchev, Zhukov and comrades are strictly adhering to one of the basic tenents of Lenin, who, though more violent and impatient than Marx, strictly dictated that the Communist Party at no time could ever afford to engage in what Lenin described as "adventurism."

By "adventurism," Lenin made crystal clear, as a matter of basic dogma, that the Communist Party, in its march to world socialism via world communism, must never, at any time, launch forth with any overt military effort unless victory were absolutely assured prior to the launching of that same effort.

In the same spirit and interest of perpetual caution, Lenin made clear, as this reporter has noted before, that the Communist Party would find, as a most convenient technique, that which Lenin classified as the policy of "ebb and flow."

That is, to move forward, boldly if possible, whenever victory (whether political, diplomatic or military) was assured, but to be prepared to hold fast, or even to appear to retreat when a given advantage might not be at hand.

And in this very specific Lenin-dictated policy of retreat when necessary, under this Lenin policy of ebb and flow, Lenin made completely clear as a matter of prime tactical dogma, that the party and the Russian Government it had seized would find it extremely useful to enter into negotiations with opposing forces and states, to enter into agreements, and even to appear to make concessions.

But then, as Lenin also made clear, and as his disciples have followed so well, whenever the moment appeared when it would become advantageous to violate any such agreements, or withdraw those concessions, that that is precisely what should be done, and swiftly.

This means, therefore, as certainly should be powerfully established by this time, that it does not matter who may be in control of Russia or any other Communist state, or whether our State Department may elect to regard that state as a Moscow satellite or as a so-called independent Red state.

What does matter, what is important, what constitutes a perpetual threat to our security and survival, is that a Communist-enslaved state and empire exists at all.

But, as we pointed out Wednesday night, in all of this Kremlin shakeup, in all of this Kremlin propaganda about the so-called Khrushchev approach to things, it must be carefully, cautiously recognized, and remembered, whether the State Department wishes to do so or not—that this so-called Khrushchev line is actually the Tito line.

Therefore, it should be obvious even to the State Department, which, tragically enough, likes Tito, that in this new top command Kremlin purge and shakeup, we are now confronted with what actually amounts to a massively cynical and insidious bright red device (in the finest tactical tradition of Marx and Lenin) wherein Khrushchev, Zhukov and comrades have the highest hopes of presenting the following alternatives to the United States and its varishaded so-called allies:

"Coexist and compete with us or we'll soon grow strong enough to destroy you."

However, these at best, are only temporary alternatives as the Communists prefer to see them.

For, actually, if we do elect to coexist and compete with them on the terms which they so obviously need, the time which Khrushchev admits that they need, in fact, until they can grow so powerful that they will not be engaging in what, to them, would be the slightest bit of adventurism in lashing out with a new aggression—whether obliquely or directly against us.

Meanwhile, the Zhukov-backed Khrushchev gang fully recognized that we will actually be hastening the day when they may grow strong enough to launch such a new aggression if we are foolish enough to permit ourselves to relax, via permission of increased trade or various know-how exchanges with them, or with Red China or with the East European satellites—and certainly if, as in Yugoslavia and now in Poland, we grant actual foreign aid assistance to those Red regimes, which they'll now seek.

And, above all, Khrushchev, Zhukov, and company fully appreciate that it will be of the most vital assistance to them if we permit ourselves to enter into any form of disarmament agreement with them, as the Eisenhower administration is now struggling to do.

For the Communists, publicly rededicated to the so-called principles of Marx and Lenin, recognize fully that under those same so-called principles—those principles of total lack of principle—that they are compelled to violate a disarmament agreement above all other agreements—and, particularly, in the life and death area of nuclear weapons.

So here, indeed, in this Zhukov-backed strengthening of the hand of the drunken and dangerously impulsive base barbarian that is Nikita Khrushchev (here indeed) do we find Khrushchev and Zhukov, in tight concert with Tito, attempting to further lay the groundwork for an historically gigantic trap in which, by offering non-Stalinist communism as good, they hope to ensnare every liberal, every leftist, every socialist, every trade-hungry capitalist and every dumbbell in the world.

And here, again, it must be recognized, and remembered well, that Khrushchev is hoping that by following the dogma laid down by Tito, which, indeed, he is, that he may succeed in that entrapment of the United States and the West with all of the success with which the United States and the West has permitted itself to become ensnared as regards Tito and Titoism themselves.

Let us remember, as this reporter warned Wednesday night, that the official public alibi for this far-reaching new Khrushchev purge is Khrushchev-claimed abject refusal of the Molotov-led Stalinist-line faction within the top echelon of the Communist Party and its front government to agree with the Tito-founded Khrushchev approach:

The approach in which Khrushchev, like Tito before him, has maintained that "the socialist camp is invincible," and that it ultimately will rule the world—but, at the same time, and for obvious reasons of that same camp's recognition that it cannot survive a major global war at this time—that war is not necessarily inevitable, that peaceful coexistence, therefore, is possible and desirable (for obvious reasons) and—further—that individual nations may be permitted to pursue so-called independent roads to socialism.

It was for adherence to these concepts that Tito's mentor, Stalin, ousted Tito from the Kremlin-controlled Cominform in 1948.

Yet, as we recalled Wednesday night, it was Khrushchev, as Stalin's floundering and endangered successor who, with his government frontman, Bulganin, made a hat-in-hand mission of peace to Tito at Belgrade—a mission which lasted from May 26 to June 3, 1955.

It was Khrushchev, with Bulganin, who, in a joint communique with Tito, there in Belgrade at the end of that mission, announced that they agreed with Tito that communism and capitalism should peacefully coexist, that every nation had a right to develop its own path to socialism, and therefore, that economic ties and cultural relations should be resumed and promoted between Moscow and Belgrade.

It was Khrushchev who, at the now historic 20th Congress of Russia's Communist Party, bitterly denounced Stalin, as had Tito before him, and who, with that, formally adopted the Tito line as the Khrushchev line, while, at the same moment, Khrushchev, side by side with Zhukov, who there became a Presidium alternate, and side by side with Anastas Mikoyan, who forced Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin (it was there) that Khrushchev and company made loudly clear that ultimately capitalism would and must be destroyed by united socialism.

And it was this same Khrushchev-accepted Tito line which was formalized upon Tito's triumphal return to Moscow on June 2, 1956, while Tito vowed that he would march shoulder to shoulder toward socialism with the Khrushchev-run Kremlin—while Zhukov boasted that they'd all march shoulder to shoulder in any future war.

This, ladies and gentlemen, as we shall certainly further document in subsequent broadcasts, will give you a basic idea of the real meaning of the solidification of the power of Khrushchev—via the dogma of Tito and the power of the Zhukov-led Red army of Soviet Russia.

Communism is still communism—and, indeed, more dangerous, more infamous, more cynical, more sinister, more threatening, than ever before.

Bob Siegrist. Good night.

Classification of So-Called Secret Government Documents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the leading weekly news magazines of the Nation, Newsweek, in its issue of July 15, 1957, in a very ably written article entitled "Who Keeps the Secrets?" analyzes the Wright Commission's recommendation that newsmen be fined not exceeding $10,000 and imprisoned not in excess of 5 years for printing articles or documents labeled "secret."

As is pointed out in this article, the effort to conceal information regarding the activities of Government bureaus strikes not only at freedom of the press, but, even more fundamentally, at the right of a free people to be informed as to the activities of their Government.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO KEEPS THE SECRETS?

It is impossible to estimate just how many employees of the United States Government may take a piece of paper and stamp it "secret." But according to best judgments, there are at least 1 million such secret makers, including 593 in the Commerce Department, 11,000 in the State Department, and untold numbers in the military.

No one knows how many secrets we possess. But according to one authoritative computation, 6 billion papers classified during World War II are still yellowing in warehouses. No one knows, either, how many papers labeled "secret" contain anything of value to an enemy, but Trevor Gardner, former Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, told the Moss Subcommittee on Government Information in July 1956: "At least half the documents that are classified need not be."

This much is certain: In some fields, including research into basic science, almost any piece of paper can be classified by almost anybody who writes it—just on his say-so. In Washington, the result is obvious: Almost nobody takes the existing multitude of classification rubber stamps at face value. Officials routinely leak some classified information. Reporters routinely print some of it.

Last week, Loyd Wright, Chairman of the Commission on Government Security and a distinguished attorney, charged that United States reporters, operating under this unwritten law, had in the past written some dark chapters of betrayal. His Commission proposed to jail and fine reporters for publishing classified information.

Was Wright's charge valid? And what about the entire system of secrets and leaks? How does it work? How harmful is it to United States interests? What can be done about it? Newsweek's Washington bureau examines these questions in this special press report.

The logical mind of Loyd Wright, attorney at law, found his dilemma understandably annoying. For 18 months, he had headed a blue-ribbon panel to scrutinize everything connected with the internal security of the United States. The most confidential records had been opened to him. His investigations had cost $732,000 and yielded an 807-page report. Surely he knew a secret when he saw one.

Yet, oddly enough, security expert Wright had a security problem last week. And this was it:

In his investigation Wright had become convinced that some American newsmen had been guilty of compromising defense secrets. To his 12-man commission[1] suggested, in addition to a general revamp of the loyalty and security program, a new law to clamp down hard on "leaks." This would apply not only to reporters but would cover anyone who leaked or passed on classified information, e. g., spies and loose-lipped barflies. The penalties: Fines up to $10,000 and prison sentences up to 5 years. Promptly, Congressman JOHN E. MOSS, an eager-beaver California Democrat who heads the House Government Information Subcommittee, challenged Wright to cite his evidence against the press.

SECRECY

Wright thought he had such evidence. In fact, he actually compiled a list of secrets which he thought had been "betrayed" by the press. Naturally, he took care to include only information which, as he put it, "no longer required secrecy." And then the annoying thing occurred. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., ruled that Wright's "evidence" was classified information and couldn't possibly be made public.

"I regret," said Wright, "that the information is apparently entombed forever, with the final rites of classified burial in the bureaucratic graveyard of a maze of files."

Loyal Republican Wright was not the only one who pointed out last week that secrecy in Government had gone too far. In the course of efforts to cut the defense budget, Democratic Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, displayed a picture on the Senate floor showing the pleasantly appointed cabin of a passenger plane. The photograph's extraordinary feature: Two rubber stamps

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Footnotes at end of speech.

proclaiming that it had once been "secret." The Senator made the flat charge that the Air Force had classified the picture to "cover up" that defense funds had been used to buy plush "administrative aircraft."

SECRECY?

Then there was Ed Lahey. Washington bureau chief of the Chicago Daily News. He uncovered the existence of a report charging "profiteering" by foreign suppliers of United States military services abroad, but he could obtain no details. "The report," he was told, "is classified."

The same love for secrecy had also prompted classification of a paper by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution on "silent propulsion of whales"; the war injury record of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy while he was still a controversial figure; and, not too long ago, the mimeographed copies of a statement by a Defense Department official after he had read it at a public session of a congressional committee.

"It has become natural," says Congressman Moss, "to put a secret stamp on everything."

Like most Washington phenomena, this fact of the Capital's life has been investigated more than once. Only last year, for example, a committee appointed by Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson and headed by former Assistant Defense Secretary Charles A. Coolidge came to this unsettling observation: "A subordinate may well be severely criticized by his seniors for permitting sensitive information to be released, whereas he is rarely criticized for overprotecting it. There is therefore an understandable tendency to play safe and to classify information which should not be classified, or assign too high a category to it."

BONFIRE?

Was it true, Chairman Coolidge was asked, that the billions of old classified papers bulging in United States warehouses go back to the Revolution? "I don't know that," said Coolidge, a cautious Boston attorney. "I have heard they go back to the Civil War."

What did the committee think should be done with such secrets?

"The best cure," Admiral William M. Fechteler, former joint chiefs member, told Congress, "is a big bonfire."

As for present and future classification of documents, the committee recommended: "Cease attempts to do the impossible and stop classifying information which cannot be held secret."

Two examples cited by the committee: The physical appearance of a bomber (the B–58) after it was rolled out of a plant near a busy Texas highway; and the speed of the Bell X–2 jet (1,900 miles per hour plus) after it had been widely touted by Air Force officers.

Not surprisingly, the security system as it stands satisfies neither the conscientious Washington reporter nor the official who thinks the public should have certain information which may be technically off limits. The result is the leak. And in the unwritten code of Washington journalism, a leak is:

Almost always a deliberate act on the part of the source.

Almost never the handiwork of a lower-echelon bureaucrat.

Virtually never the product of theft (i. e., of a document) or even cocktail-party eavesdropping.

In the case of the military, the Coolidge committee candidly admitted that leaks are generally motivated by a desire to further the interests of a particular service." Example: Col. John C. Nickerson, Jr., the recently court-martialed Army missile expert who slipped classified documents to newsmen and Congressmen to torpedo a rival Air Force missile project.

For celebrated cases outside the Pentagon, reporters like to recall Carl W. McCardle, who as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, habitually treated favorites to choice morsels, including the famous Yalta papers, which he handed over—in 2 volumes comprising 250,000 words—exclusively to the New York Times. Well remembered, too, is the occasion in 1953 when Attorney General Brownell called in four correspondents and told them that President Eisenhower had chosen Earl Warren to become Chief Justice of the United States.

Leaks, in short, may be motivated by intragovernmental rivalry, or favoritism, or an official's desire to unveil a new policy, trial-balloon style, at a private dinner for a group of hand-picked correspondents who will float the vehicle without naming its inventor. The point is: With the rarest exceptions, leaks are intentional and the techniques for receiving and publishing them are as ritualized as a presidential inaugural.

IKE ON LEAKS

The Eisenhower administration has tried to deal realistically with the realities. The President has said, for example, that leaks are not necessarily wicked. Questioned about the Brownell disclosure of the Warren appointment, he commented: "I think I have trusted subordinates who may occasionally leak news for purposes they consider proper." Mr. Eisenhower also acted to curb unnecessary secrecy. For instance, he withdrew authority to classify documents from 28 agencies, including the Railroad Retirement Board and the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission.

But when the administration eliminated the classification restricted, the chief effect was the birth of some 30 new labels, including not for public inspection, for Air Force eyes only, and administratively confidential. And while some top scientists maintain that the air of secrecy in research laboratories has grown so thick that the A-bomb could not be invented today (because it grew out of free discussion between many researchers), a very real security problem for the press still stands. It is also Mr. Eisenhower's own major complaint against the press: That much—perhaps too much—information helpful to the Russians finds itself into print, particularly in trade journals.

Dealing with this weakness in a democracy is the most sensitive of problems because it involves, as the Wright Security Commission put it, "maintaining the proper balance between the guaranty of the first amendment, on one hand, and required measures to establish a needed safeguard against any real danger to national security."

In two world wars, public opinion never tolerated censorship as a safeguard except on a voluntary basis. The 1917 effort resulted in magnificent confusion, with Chicago censors, for example, killing a story which Kansas City censors happily O. K.'d. Yet George Creel, the chief censor of the time, said later that the press itself invariably acted in good faith. During the second war, even comic strips came under the censor's scrutiny: Superman was edited when one sequence exhibited excessive familiarity with cyclotrons.

The record of the press is not unblemished. In a list surveying news stories over a period of 16 years, Security Chairman Wright last week cataloged 25 chapters of betrayal without naming any publication. Most easily spotted by newsmen were two citations from the Chicago Tribune, then commanded by the ruggedly independent Col. Robert R. McCormick. One, published December 4, 1941, and headlined "FDR's War Plans," disclosed detailed estimates of manpower and materiel needs and their proposed use in case of conflict. The other, published June 7, 1942, indicated that United States naval intelligence had advance information about Japanese naval movements, thereby hinting that the United States had broken enemy codes. But even the "Trib's" ancient enemy, the Washington Post and Times Herald, leapt to the defense. In an editorial, the paper quoted from the Defense Department's Field Press Censorship Manual (1954). "As students of the Pacific war know, the Japanese did not realize that the code had been broken."

CONFIDENTIAL

Nonetheless, most newsmen have never been proud of these Tribune stories. Last week Byron Price, former executive editor of the Associated Press and wartime censorship boss, said of the second Tribune story: "In my opinion it was a violation of the censorship code." (The case went before a grand jury which failed to act.)

Yet for every controversial example of the type cited by Chairman Wright, including seven citations of often embroiled columnist Drew Pearson (he was the only individual named by Wright)[1] numerous examples could be cited of another sort. They, too, were dug out by reporters from "confidential" sources. But their publication was in the public interest.

In a speech before the Texas Press Association, Democratic Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH listed a few of them:

The Teapot Dome scandals as disclosed by Paul Y. Anderson of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch;

Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan to take the United States off the gold standard and set up the NRA, revealed by Arthur Krock of the New York Times;

Roosevelt's agreement at Yalta to admit the Ukraine and Byelorussia to the United Nations, which was exposed by Newsweek and Bert Andrews of the New York Herald Tribune;

Plans for the use of the veto in the U. N. (New York Times);

The Dixon-Yates power deal later canceled by President Eisenhower (the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and others).

The Wright proposal to persecute newsmen for such stories, said Senator YARBOROUGH, "cannot be condemned strongly enough. It is dangerous, not alone to the press, but to all of us because it strikes at the basic right of our citizens to know what their Government is doing." Yarborough's statement pointed to the basic flaw in the well-intentioned law: Its breadth. It might curb admitted careless slips of a tensely competitive press, but would it blackout legitimate digging for Government corruption and sloth?

The press was more critical than judicious about Wright's suggestion (see below). But it was not unduly alarmed, and with good reason: Chairman Wright had fired his betrayal charge without consulting his fellow commissioners and there were indications that some of them did not feel comfortable about the Commission's proposed fine-and-jail recommendation. For example, Republican Senator NORRIS COTTON, of New Hampshire, a Wright Commission member, in introducing bill S. 2417 to put the Commission's proposal in effect, told the Senate: "I am not defending that recommendation at this time. I am not at all sure that it is entirely correct."

Other congressional comment was more emphatic. Democratic Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, called the proposal superfluous in view of existing laws (example: the Espionage Act). Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., the Missouri Democrat who heads the subcommittee on constitutional rights, thought it was of doubtful constitutionality. The consensus on Capitol Hill was that (1) Chairman Wright's indictment of the press was weak indeed, and (2) Senate bill 2417 was dead at birth.

Even in the bedeviled Pentagon, Murray Snyder, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, defended the newsmen who cover his domain: "There's no question that

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Footnotes at end of speech.

they have the interests of the country at heart." The reporters themselves were unworried and they knew why. As Richard L. Strout, veteran correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, explained it: "We all spy on each other down here, but it works."

[1] Commission was made up of 3 lawyers, 2 Senators, 2 Representatives, 2 Government administrators, 1 governor, and 2 educators.

[2] Pearson immediately printed a summary of his so-called betrayals and argued that they were healthy for the American people to know.

Disclosure of So-called Classified Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, do the internal explosions in the Soviet high command represent a further de-Stalinization there—a step toward less repression—or just another incident of a power fight for control, with the Khruschev faction using Stalin's own tactics of destroying opposition by the direct approach of liquidating it? I am afraid we will have to wait a bit longer to see how these current developments turn out, before we can say for sure just what is happening.

But what strikes me is this: While we have seen some evidences—even though only perhaps surface evidences, it is true—that the Russian dictatorship might be desirous of easing slightly the repressive nature of their setup, we have the amazing situation of a governmental commission here in the United States proposing to put every newspaperman in the country under the threat of prosecution for espionage if he digs up and uses so-called classified or secret information.

Anyone who has been around Washington for any length of time, especially in a congressional or governmental capacity, knows what a temptation it is for some bureaucrats and officeholders in the executive department to slap a secret classification on a document which may or may not involve defense information, but may perhaps be embarrassing to the agency, or to the President, or to the political party in power. It is foolish to protest that this happens only occasionally; it happens very frequently.

Thanks to the hard digging of the newspapermen in Washington, from whom it is very hard to keep anything secret for very long, much of this capriciously classified material has been dredged out and brought to light so that the American people could have the facts about how their Government is run.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LEGISLATION

But the Commission on Government Security appointed by President Eisenhower late in 1955 to report on the whole question of Federal security, while recommending many changes in the Federal employee loyalty-security program to end some of the confusion and unfairness in this field and to tighten up other provisions, then goes on to make these 2 legislative recommendations to Congress:

First. To enact a new wiretapping law to enable the Government to use evidence collected by wiretapping in certain types of prosecution, overturning Supreme Court rulings on this.

Second. To amend the espionage laws to make it an offense subject to $10,000 fine and 5 years in jail for any person—in or out of the Government—to disclose information obtained in any manner which has been classified as top secret or secret.

At present, Government employees are forbidden—and properly so—from disclosing information of a security nature, even though this information has been arbitrarily and capriciously and unnecessarily classified. We cannot allow each Government employe to be sole judge as to what should or should not be classified and withheld. There must be reasonable standards.

NEWSPAPERMEN AWARE OF SECURITY NEEDS

But when a newspaperman gets hold of information he thinks has been improperly classified, and which he believes the public is entitled to know about, the average conscientious reporter will check and doublecheck with appropriate responsible officials to make sure that he is not going to hurt the country in publishing it. Newspapermen are generally very sensitive to actual security needs, as was demonstrated so conclusively by the voluntary censorship program during the war. Now the effort is made to make them subject to espionage prosecution for printing anything of a classified nature—and that is going overboard.

Similarly the wiretapping recommendation is a bad step. I will always be proud that I was among only 10 Members of the House to vote against such a bill in 1954—and was roundly attacked for it. Yet the bill died in the Senate as the hysteria of the moment subsided—and it should remain dead.

Has Inflation Become a Way of Life?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the July 1957 issue of the Reader's Digest which discusses inflation by pointing out its effect on one of our basic industries, steel, which gives facts I believe every Member of Congress will find of extreme interest.

The article follows:

HAS INFLATION BECOME A WAY OF LIFE?

(Condensed from an address by Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board, United States Steel Corp.)

Have we, as a nation, unconsciously adopted inflation as a way of life? We all agree that something should be done about it, but we don't quite know who should do what. In probing its causes we find ourselves groping hopelessly in a maze of economic theories. But when we look at our own books and see what inflation is doing to our own business, whatever its size, there is nothing theoretical about it. The problem is all too clear.

Here, for example, are a few facts from the books of United States Steel. Since 1940 our total costs per employee hour (wages, materials, replacement, taxes, and so on) have increased by an average of nearly 9 percent per year. Meanwhile, our total production per man-hour has been going up at a yearly rate of less than 3 percent. This means that the gap between our rapidly rising costs and our slowly mounting output has been widening at a rate of almost 6 percent each year.

To bridge that gap we have had to increase prices at an average rate of a little less than 5½ percent annually—and even this has not been quite enough to do the job. Though 1955 was the best production year we have had since 1940, the profit was less per dollar. And for the entire 55 years of United States Steel's existence, this profit was not the second best, but merely the 26th best.

That is what inflation has done, and is doing, to one business. It has not only wiped out the financial benefits of all the technological progress in our plants and mills but has cut our profit margins far below those of the earlier years of our corporate life.

While shrinking our profit margin, inflation has also been generating the need for a substantial increase in profits. To understand this, we need to look at the problem of depreciation, which really means, "How do we get our seed back?"

Our farming forefathers knew that they always had to save enough seed for next year's crop. No matter how hungry they might get, they were out of business—and out of luck—if they ate up their seed corn. This principle holds true in any industrial enterprise today.

Our seed, in the steel business, consists of plants, furnaces, machines—all the things that we call capital equipment. These machines and facilities wear out a little each day. Unless we can put aside enough profit money to replace them when they are no longer usable, we, too, are out of business.

The Federal tax laws recognize, in theory at least, that the businessman, like the farmer, must be able to get his seed back. If we buy a $25 million machine that will last for 25 years, the tax laws say that the machine depreciates at the rate of a million dollars a year, and we are entitled to include this million dollars in the total cost of doing business that year. Thus at the end of 25 years, when the machine wears out, we have theoretically recovered the $25 million and can pay for a new machine to replace the old one.

That's the theory. But actually in the last 10 years the cost of equipment has been rising at the rate of almost 8 percent annually. If that rate of inflation continued over the entire life of the machine, replacing it would cost us not $25 million but more than $158 million.

Let me give you a concrete example. Twenty-five years ago we built an open hearth plant at a cost of $10 million. During the past 25 years, through the writeoff for depreciation, we have recovered those $10 million. But to replace that plant today would cost us $64 million. Where do we get the other $54 million? The answer, of course, is: Out of our profits after taxes. But in order to get $54 million in profits after taxes we had to earn $112½ million before taxes.

The law says that this $112½ million must be taxed as a profit. In truth it isn't a profit at all. It is our seed corn. It does not go to our stockholders, or to our workers or to expanded production for our customers. It is merely the cost of standing still. Like the Red Queen in Through the Looking

Glass, we have had to run faster and faster just to stay where we are. In varying degrees this problem of phantom profits has plagued every industry in America.

So, here on the books, we see a clear case of the irresistible upward pressure of inflation on steel prices.

Many people seem to believe that rising steel prices have contributed importantly to the march of inflation. Newspaper editorials keep telling us that steelmakers set the wage pattern for all industry. "As steel goes," they say, "so goes inflation." This notion is utterly false, as we found in 1948 by testing it. When our workers demanded a cost-of-living raise, we decided that instead of granting it we would reduce the price of steel by an average of $1.25 per ton. However, we made it plain that if the cost of living kept going up we would rescind the price cut and grant the cost-of-living wage increase.

What happened? Other unions demanded another big round of wage increases. Other companies, in other industries, granted them. Those companies then boosted their prices. And there we stood, like King Canute, commanding the tide to turn back, and pretending not to notice how wet our feet were getting. Eventually, we had to rescind our price cut, increase the pay of our employees, and raise our prices enough to keep our head above the swelling tide we had tried to resist.

But from this experiment we learned a few truths. One is that no one union or company or industry can stop the march of inflation. Another is that neither steel nor any other single industry ever sets the wage pattern in America. Every new wage agreement in any major industry immediately becomes the floor upon which the next union pyramids its demands for a still higher wage. And we learned that rising prices do not cause inflation; they are the result of inflation.

Just what can we do about it?

For one thing, it is time Congress recognized the urgent need for a more realistic treatment of depreciation, so that business may treat as costs those things which are costs, while Government treats as profits those things which are profits. Realization that inflation has destroyed the original purpose of depreciation provisions in tax laws has already prompted France, England, and Canada to adopt forward-looking legislation in this field.

Most important is the task of bringing home to every American an understanding that unearned wage increases serve only to fan the flames of inflation and can benefit no one in the end. If we are to escape these all-consuming flames, each one of us must understand the nature of the wage-price spiral called inflation. For where inflation is a way of life, it's a short life and a none-too-merry one.

Fresh Water From the Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article entitled "Water From the Sea," which appeared in the bulletin of the International Oceanographic Foundation, Sea Frontiers, June 1957, the article having been written by E. John Long, associate editor:

WATER FROM THE SEA

(By E. John Long)

Neither agriculture, nor industry, nor man himself can long exist without that most important of all minerals—fresh water. In many places the need for it is becoming desperate: in the Great Basin of Nevada and adjacent parts of the United States and northern Mexico; in most of north Africa; in western India; in central Asia; and in western Australia.

Only two summers ago water was so scarce in New York City that special restrictions on its use became mandatory; in drought-stricken Dallas, Tex., 5-gallon demijohns of drinking water sold in grocery stores for $1.25 in February 1957.

RESERVOIRS COSTLY

Yet engineers say the 1975 population of the United States will need about 453 billion gallons of water a day—almost twice the amount used now. Some of this increase will be met, of course, by increasing the number of reservoirs, large and small, throughout the land. The estimated 1975 demand, after all, is no more than a third of today's runoff. But dams cost money, and a reservoir holding a flood in Ohio cannot make up for a drought in Texas. Nor can we expect population to level off in 1975, any more than we can hope that runoff will increase.

So where do we go from there? More and more experts claim that there is only one practical solution—conversion of salt water from the sea, or from brackish wells or lakes of the interior. The idea of de-salting the ocean water at the shoreline, and then pumping it inland, is not new. The Office of Saline Water in the United States Department of the Interior, as well as several private corporations and laboratories, have been working on the prospect for some time. Several methods for such conversion have already been found. After all, the sea is the world's one huge reservoir of water, even if it is salt.

COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

"In a couple of the methods," Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton told the National Farm Institute at Des Moines, Iowa, in February 1957, "the estimated cost is now down to 60 cents for a thousand gallons. A third method can convert certain types of brackish water for about 40 cents a thousand gallons. Because of the progress that has been made, we could today supply you with converted sea water for less than the price you now pay for bottled mountain water. And we expect to keep on bringing the price down."

The Government's saline water research program is primarily one of cooperation with private groups by (1) stimulating the interest of private and public activities in this field, and (2) conducting scientific research and technical development through grants to and contracts with individuals and laboratories, and in Government laboratories.

FIVE MAJOR APPROACHES

What are some of the main processes that have thus far been developed under the Government's saline water conversion program? Briefly they may be divided into five major groups: (1) Distillation, (2) solar (3) membranes, (4) freezing, and (5) osmotic or solvents.

The usual water still for removing salt from sea water creates steam under high pressure. This steam is then carried into a condenser. High temperatures are also necessary to create enough pressure to get a large volume of water.

New distillation methods promise to produce fresh water at greatly reduced costs through multiple-effect stills in large sizes (several million gallons a day), and through vapor-compression equipment of rotary type in small sizes. Control of scale formation remains a problem. Flash evaporation units also hold possibilities, especially if adapted to utilize low thermal differences.

PUTTING SUN TO WORK

Solar distillation processes of various types show promising results, but chiefly in areas where the sun is sufficiently strong for efficient operation, such as southwestern United States, North Africa and Australia. Simple designs, rather than complex mechanisms using mirrors or focusing collectors, are now favored. Still in the testing stage is a solar device with a dark plastic evaporating pan and a transparent film canopy supported only by air pressure. Heat from the sun evaporates salt water, and the vapor condenses on the inside of the canopy, running off into fresh water reservoirs.

Another series of experiments is being conducted with electric membranes. A positively charged electric pole, placed at one end of a pool of salt water, attracts the sodium ions of salt, while a negatively charged pole, at the other end, draws the chlorine ions, breaking up the salt or sodium chloride. This process works best with brackish water, where tests indicate its cost would be about 42 cents per 1,000 gallons.

FREEZING AND SOLVENTS

The original great hopes for an economical freezing process have not yet been realized. Salt water loses most of its salt when frozen, and, as it takes seven times as much energy to evaporate water as to freeze it, scientists expected that this might be a simple means of getting fresh water from the sea. Tests made thus far indicate that freezing processes are no more economical than methods using evaporators.

Research in the use of solvents discloses that tertiary octyl amine is an effective demineralizer, but progress in this field awaits the development of even more effective compounds, and better recovery of solvents from the residual brine.

PROGRAM EXTENDED TO 1966

So much for experimental work, past and present, being carried out under the provisions of the Saline Water Act of July 3, 1952. Experts believe that within the very near future the costs of large-scale distillation of saline water will be reduced to 50 cents or less per 1,000 gallons. When it can be reduced to 30 cents per thousand gallons—considered the maximum feasible for municipal use—the program might well repay the $10 million that Congress has set aside for it. The program has been extended to 1966.

Another phase of the overall problem, but not included in the saline conversion program, is the power necessary to pump water from the sea and to send fresh water to industries, farms and homes wherever it is needed. For nearby use, local steam or electric power may suffice. But when the day comes that water must be widely distributed, as are oil and gas, by gigantic pipeline systems, atomic powerplants will have to take up the load.

In April, the United States Army unveiled at Fort Belvoir, Va., a package power reactor developed jointly by the Atomic Energy Commission, the Corps of Engineers, and the Alco Products Inc., of Schenectady, N. Y. While the Army designed this mobile-type unit for use on remote islands, desert terrain, or in the polar areas, similar plants could be set up where the cost of obtaining ordinary steam or hydroelectric power is excessive or uncertain.

"CHEAPER BY THE DOZEN"

The Army's pilot plant cost $3.5 million, which admittedly is a bit steep, but like many other things, "they are cheaper by the dozen." When and if atomic reactors can be assembly-line produced, they unques-

tionably will fit into the sea-to-fresh water picture, not only for pumping power, but also to operate evaporators or other conversion process machinery. Cost is now definitely a limiting factor, both for the original plant and for the reactor fuel needed.

Meanwhile it is important to keep in mind the enormous drain on the fresh water resources of the world, a demand that is steadily increasing. Consumption in the United States, including industrial and farm uses, is estimated at nearly 1,500 gallons per person each day. Power plants alone account for more than a third of the industrial use—perhaps another argument for atomic reactors, which may require water-cooling, but can use sea water for this purpose.

USED YOUR 20 GALLONS TODAY?

Individuals use of fresh water, for drinking, bathing, laundry, and other needs, now runs up to 20 gallons a day. Water engineers predict that even this high rate will increase about a gallon a day for every man, woman, and child in the United States in the very near future.

Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the expected water-shortage problem is a growing awareness of its serious consequences, plus a realization of the role that the sea can and must play to abate it. Already certain water conversion experiments are being moved from inland laboratories to test sites along the seashore, where large-scale operations can determine if they are economical and feasible.

To scientists in general and oceanographers in particular the prospect is exhiliarating. The New York Times, in a recent editoriall, takes this optimistic view: "Ever since Malthus, the prophets of doom have forecast the decimation of the world's people by starvation. They could not have forseeen the possibilities of atomic power or of the inexhaustible sea."

Speech of George P. Delaney, of the AFL–CIO, at the ILO Conference at Geneva

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL K. McCONNELL, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in June of this year. One of the very good speeches given at the conference was that of the United States workers' delegate, Mr. George P. Delaney, of the AFL–CIO, which follows:

Mr. DELANEY (workers' delegate, United States). The Director-General's Report to the Conference surely deserves the high praise which it has received from so many delegates at this conference. I compliment the director-general on both the depth and scope of his report and particularly on its timeliness. The increased use of automation and the rapid developments taking place in all fields of technology are emphasizing old problems and causing many new ones. Indeed, the social, political and economic institutions of the world are feeling the impact of the new industrialization.

We face a time of great promise in which all men can enjoy more of the good things of life than ever before. We in the ILO bear a great responsibility for ensuring that the time will come to pass when our great opportunities and our high hopes are fulfilled. Therefore, it is entirely appropriate that we should discuss and seek solutions for the specific problems attending automation.

But this is not enough, for mankind needs more than the increased productivity of material goods which flows from new automatic factories. Of what value are more and bigger refrigerators to a man who is not free; to a man who lives in constant fear for his family's safety; to a man who cannot speak his mind; who is subject at any time of the day or night to deportation to a forced labor camp; who cannot organize into a free trade union; and who has lost the right to strike? Of what value is any material thing to a man, who has lost his liberty, his dignity, his essential human rights, and is indeed a slave of tyranny?

I speak of these things today for a very special reason. A few minutes ago in New York City the United Nations released what I feel sure will become one of the historic documents in the history of the world. It is the report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problems of Hungary. Composed of eminent representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia, and Uruguay, the Committee was established to investigate, in the words of the General Assembly, "the situation created by the intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its use of armed force and other means, in the internal affairs of Hungary."

I do not believe there is a person in this hall who can fail to have the deepest interest in this document, for it sets forth in clear, complete, and precise terms an account of naked and brutal tyranny more dreadful than anything the world has ever seen. Furthermore, it is directly related to the matter of freedom of association about which we have heard so much in recent days and which is of such importance to the International Labor Organization.

I therefore propose to take the few minutes allotted to me in this debate to tell you briefly what the Special Committee discovered and I am sure you will agree with me that there is nothing more important that any of us could consider at this particular moment.

The report, first of all, sets forth the now familiar details of the heroic battle of the Hungarian people for freedom from Soviet Communist domination—the demands of the students and workers for national independence and basic human rights; the wanton massacre of demonstrating civilians by Soivet secret police; the effective attacks of freedom fighters, including old men and little children, against Soviet tanks; and the release of Cardinal Mindszenty. It goes on to describe the Soviet agreement to withdraw its troops; the declaration of neutrality agreed to by Nagy and the Soviets; and it tells us the hour-by-hour story of what will surely be remembered as one of history's greatest betrayals—the methodical, overpowering, and deadly advance of Soviet troops, who ruthlessly broke down every street barrier, routed the last desperate sniper, and crushed by sheer weight of numbers of uprising of the Hungarian people.

Now, I tell you, this has been set down on the record for all mankind to see for all eternity, attested to and confirmed by witnesses ,and sifted and judged by men of good will from the countries I have mentioned.

The report dismisses as absolutely false the Soviet claim that its troops had been sent at the request of the Hungarian Government to suppress what the Soviets called fascism and reaction. "There is no evidence," it says, "to suggest that any Hungarian groups opposed the actions of Mr. Nagy, which, in most cases, merely reflected what the revolutionary and workers' councils had insisted upon from the outbreak of the uprising."

Among the most heroic fighters in the battle were men whom no one in their wildest dreams could refer to as reactionaries. They were the workers at Csepel who refused several Soviet calls to surrender and, according to the report, held out until the evening of November 9, "despite the use of artillery against them from various directions, supplemented by aerial bombardment."

It tells further of the kidnaping of Nagy by the Russians and the Kadar puppet regime, and how on November 22 he was taken from his refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest and has not been heard of since.

After the fighting was over the Kadar regime found itself confronted by a sullen people dedicated to national resistance. So, the report says, "the Soviet military command began by resorting to mass arrests. Many of the people thus apprehended had not been directly involved in the fighting. In numerous cases the captives * * * were crowded on trains or in trucks and deported, under Russian escort, to the U. S. S. R." "No accurate figures exist regarding the number of Hungarian citizens deported," the report continues, "but these certainly run into thousands."

The role of the workers in the uprising was extremely important, according to the report. It states very plainly that the democratically chosen workers' councils were at the very heart of the revolution, often themselves electing the revolutionary councils. The report states: "All witnesses confirmed that dissatisfaction with the trade unions of the regime was one of the most important grievances of the Hungarian workers. The workers' councils at once assumed important responsibilities in the factories, mines, and other undertakings, and they exerted a considerable influence upon the government * * *." The report went on to say: "The overwhelming support given by Hungarians to these workers' councils confirms the impression that they were among the most important achievements of the Hungarian people during their few days of freedom."

Following the Soviet conquest, the workers and their families suffered perhaps most of all, despite what the Soviet delegate has told us over and over again from this very rostrum about his country's deep concern for the benefit of working people. The 48-hour protest strikes of December 11 and 12 prompted the shaky Kadar puppet government to issue a decree abolishing all workers' councils above factory level. The report says that "decrees were also issued instituting the death penalty for a large category of offenses, including participation in strikes."

The report goes on to consider in detail the Soviet charge that the uprising had been instigated by what the Communists called "imperialist colonizers" bent on "bourgeois restoration." It brands this charge as absolutely false. It says the uprising was "not only nationwide but also spontaneous in character." It was the Hungarian workers, both men and women, who bore the brunt of the fighting against Soviet tanks—a fact which did not fail in several instances to impress the Soviet troops involved, the report says, adding, "workers in the steel factories of Dunapentale declared that they would defend against invading Russian forces the plant and houses which they had built with their own hands." And when the Soviets had done their worst, it was the Hungarian workers who continue to resist as long as there was strength in their bodies.

The committee concluded, among other things, and I am quoting here: "What took place in Hungary was a spontaneous national uprising, caused by long-standing grievances, of which the most important was the position of complete subordination of Hungary with regard to the U. S. S. R."

"The uprising," the committee found, "was led by students, workers, soldiers, and intellectuals, many of them Communists or former Communists * * * It is utterly untrue that the uprising was fomented by reactionary circles in Hungary or that it drew its strength from (so-called) 'imperialist' circles in the West."

And here I continue to quote the United Nations report. "It would appear that the Soviet authorities had taken steps as early as October 20 to make armed intervention possible. The demonstrations on October 23 were at first entirely peaceable," the report concludes; adding that the change "was due to the action of the AVH in opening fire on the people * * * Following the second Soviet intervention on November 4," it goes on, "there has been no evidence of popular support for Mr. Kadar's government. Mr. Kadar has proceeded step by step to destroy the power of the workers. Strong repressive measures have been introduced and general elections have been postponed for 2 years * * * Only a small fraction of the 190,000 Hungarians who fled the country have returned."

And the last of the committee's conclusions is perhaps most significant of all to us here today. "A massive armed intervention by one power on the territory of another," said the committee, "with the avowed intention of interfering with the internal affairs of the country must, by the Soviet's own definition of aggression, be a matter of international concern."

Yet in the face of these facts you and I on Tuesday heard the Soviet Government delegate complain that the Forced Labor Committee is not being fair to him and to his satellites. We hear him imply that he and his friends are shocked at the thought that they should be guilty of such practices. We hear him say, and I quote, "the ILO should pay greater heed than hitherto to the demands of the trade unions." And we hear him talk unctuously of peace and concord among all peoples. It is a miracle to me that these words can pass his lips when he, before all of us here, must have known the facts disclosed today by the United Nations.

How long have we to listen to such prattle? How long do we propose to allow member states of the ILO to violate at will every principle of this organization and yet come here and give us lip service and boast about ratification of conventions?

Let us now dedicate ourselves and this great organization to continue the fight for freedom so nobly waged by the workers of Hungary. Let the Hungarian investigation by the United Nations be the first of many such investigations through which United Nations organizations can expose the hypocrisy of some of their members. I propose that the ILO take steps to influence member states to give meaning to our vital objective of freedom of association. If full freedom is to be achieved for both workers and employers, states must accede to the 20th century necessity of permitting international organizations to conduct special inquiries within their own sovereign areas.

It has just been announced at the United Nations Disarmament Subcommission in London that my country and other Western powers have welcomed the proposal providing for a 2- or 3-year suspension on all nuclear tests, and, moreover, the admission of inspection inside the Soviet Union to insure that the moratorium is respected. Inspection teams would also be stationed in the United States, in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere.

Why not a similar arrangement as regards freedom of association? I believe that the ILO should develop a sense of responsibility among its member States by asking them to submit to thorough investigation by international bodies within their own borders. Certainly the delegate from the Soviet Union could not object to this after speaking so feelingly the other day in favor of these latest disarmament proposals.

Just as international inspection is the only real safeguard of effective disarmament, so it would insure freedom of association for workers. And it would make the Freedom of Association Conventions of 1948 and 1949 something more than just dead pieces of paper, for they can then become true international instruments, guaranteeing basic human rights to the workers of all lands.

Chemicals in Food Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, several articles have been entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD recently, apparently on the assumption that very little is known about the effects of pesticide chemicals on humans and that the consumer is not now adequately protected against hazard from the use of these chemicals in food production. This is far from the truth. Some articles are distorted and tend to undermine public confidence in the food industry.

My amendment and other existing Federal legislation require thorough pretesting of pesticide chemicals and approval of both the United States Department of Agriculture and the Food and Drug Administration before they can be sold for use in food production. The Food and Drug Administration also has been given the authority to seize all crops which bear unapproved levels of pesticide residues before the crops reach the market place. The governing Federal legislation is embodied in the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947 and the Miller amendment to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. The Miller amendment was signed into law on July 22, 1954. Those who use the pesticides should follow closely all instructions as to their use.

The effectiveness of this legislation in protecting the health of the public has been recognized by the American Medical Association, as well as by the United States Department of Agriculture, the Food and Drug Administration, and the United States Public Health Service. This approval was affirmed recently by Dr. Bernard E. Conley, Secretary of the Committee on Pesticides of the American Medical Association, when he said:

Pesticides play an important role in providing the Nation's food supply and protecting the public health. Thanks to the Miller amendment to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, the consumer is assured of an unparalleled degree of protection. The Miller amendment requires the pretesting of a pesticide chemical for the protection of the consumer.

What substance is there in insinuations that the controlled use of pesticide chemicals in food production is hazardous? Let us look at the record. Nearly all the insinuations no matter by whom they are made are based upon charges made at one time or another by Dr. Morton S. Biskind. None of Dr. Biskind's charges have been substantiated by serious scientific research by the United States Public Health Service. Dr. Biskind's specific charges against DDT—the main butt of his attack—have been disproved by extensive research on humans.

Apropos of this matter, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD at this point a letter written by Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, in December 1953, when Dr. Scheele was Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service. The letter was addressed to the Honorable Glenn R. Davis, of Wisconsin, concerning Dr. Biskind's charges that DDT contributed to infantile paralysis, heart disease, cancer, x-disease of cattle, hoof-and-mouth disease, Newcastle disease of chickens, and other diseases. The letter follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Thank you for your letter of December 28, 1953, requesting information concerning action taken as a result of the publication of Dr. Morton S. Biskind's article in the November number of the American Journal of Digestive Diseases. None has been taken thus far pending the confirmation of his assertions.

This article recapitulates charges against DDT made by the same author as long ago as 1949. These have been carefully considered by our toxicologic experts. In spite of continuous laboratory research on DDT in animals, and clinical study of cases of alleged "poisoning" with DDT, our toxicologists have been, thus far, unable to substantiate Dr. Biskind's allegations.

Some of the diseases claimed by him to have increased in prevalence since the advent of DDT have, in fact, shown no increase Others are now reported more frequently because of the changing distribution of age groups in our population—or because of procedural changes in morbidity reporting. Certain of the diseases of man and animals included in Dr. Biskind's list were well known long before DDT was introduced to this country and occur in places where DDT has never been used.

DDT is regulated at the Federal level by the Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947, which requires reliable evidence, before registration for interstate sale, that substances (1) will accomplish the purposes for which they are recommended, and (2) are safe when used in accordance with directions, and by the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act which forbids the unnecessary contamination of food and other substances taken internally or applied externally to man.

A subsequent research project involving 51 human volunteers was carried out by the United States Public Health Service and was reported in the Journal of the American Medical Association, October 27, 1956. In this research the volunteers ate up to 200 times the average daily intake of DDT in the diet for a period of 1 year. The United States Public Health Service reported, "During the entire study no volunteer complained of any symptom or showed, by the tests used, any sign of illness that did not have an easily recognized cause clearly unrelated to exposure to DDT. * * * The results indicate that a large safety factor is associated with DDT as it now occurs in the general diet."

The use of pesticide chemicals in food production protects food crops from destruction by farm pests. The Pesticides Subcommittee of the Food Production Committee of the National Academy of Sciences reported in November 1956:

No one knows exactly what would happen if use of pesticidal chemicals on the farm should be abandoned, but it is safe to say that we could not commercially produce apples, peaches, potatoes, citrus, and tomatoes, to mention only a few crops; and yields of many others would be drastically reduced. * * * It seems evident that the American people cannot be fed adequately unless crops and livestock are protected from insects and other pests.

Equally important it protects foods from contamination by disease-carrying flies and rodents, by harmful worms, fungus, and bacteria which have been proven by centuries of human experience to cause many dreadful human diseases.

The question is whether we want an inadequate food supply, many bearing worms, and fly and rat droppings, or a minute residue of a chemical whose safety has been proved by years of research by industry, by the United States Department of Agriculture, by the Food and Drug Administration, and by the United States Public Health Service.

These agricultural chemicals are necessary to produce food. The Miller law makes it possible for growers to use these chemicals safely. This legislation provides safety for you and your family every time you eat.

In a few days the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee will take testimony on the question of chemical additives to food. The bill that I have introduced has for its purpose the protection of the public. It spells out the rights and powers of the Food and Drug Administration. It sets up definite instructions as to the procedure in the use of new additives which may be added to the food supply.

Mr. Larrick, of the Food and Drug Administration, in a recent article in a current magazine indicated that there are about 750 different kinds of additives and chemicals being used in food and out of that number, approximately 150 to 200 had not been adequately tested or passed upon by the Food and Drug Administration.

There is a tendency on the part of the public to confuse Public Law 518, passed in the 83d Congress and commonly known as the Miller pesticides residue amendment, and legislation which will soon be considered to regulate additives or chemicals to food. In my opinion, Congress intended to regulate the pesticide chemicals entirely separate and apart from the so-called food additives. The pesticide chemicals are now classified and regulated. The public is protected. As to the use of these agricultural pesticides, they must, of course, follow the directions on the label.

The term pesticide chemical was defined clearly in Public Law 518. It does regulate pesticide chemicals in or on raw agricultural commodities.

I believe there will be good legislation to follow the pattern of the provisions of the pesticide bill when new chemicals in food legislation is enacted. It will be good practice to require that industry using additives furnish sufficient and ample scientific evidence that the additive is not harmful before its use is continued. I believe these safeguards should go into effect before and not after the additive has been used. There is no reason why a first and full report on the pretesting of such additives should not be submitted to the Food and Drug Administration.

Industry has made tremendous gains in producing a better food supply by the proper use of certain additives to that food supply. I have pointed out above the great contribution made to the production of food by the proper use of pesticides. Industry has made possible the full protection of many of the fine vegetables and fruits that we enjoy every day through the proper use of pesticides in controlling the enemies to that food supply.

I trust full publicity to the pending hearings before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee will be given. I feel properly conducted hearings will put to rest many wild rumors that the public consumes daily dangerous amounts of poison at every meal. There have been too many unfortunate statements indicating that cancer, blood disease, and other mysterious ailments come from ingesting certain chemicals in our food supply.

It may be that there is a tendency that cigarette smoking might be one small factor tending to lung disorders. However, these ideas should not spread to the consumption of food.

I would repeat that the food industry has been most careful to protect the public. The Food and Drug Administration does an excellent job of handling the problems of protecting the public. I believe the food industry and the administration realizes that in a rapidly growing industry and a tough economic world, there may be some who might attempt to cut corners. Most of the industry and the Food and Drug Administration realizes that new food additive legislation is needed. The pattern set by the Miller Pesticide Act could well stand out as an example of an approach and a procedure for the adoption of a food additive amendment bill.

I am sure when the committee meets in the near future they will have an interesting and formative hearing. I look forward to presenting my views to the committee.

Ben Franklin's Prophecy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD an article entitled "Ben Franklin's Prophecy," prepared by Paul O. Peters and published in the May 1957 newsletter of the Minute Women of the U. S. A., Inc., publication:

BEN FRANKLIN'S PROPHECY

On Monday, September 17, 1787, when the final draft of the Constitution was being read to the members of the Constitutional Convention, and just prior to the affixing of the signatures of the delegates who agreed to the document, Benjamin Franklin rose in his place and asked that a speech which he had prepared be read by James Wilson. This being agreed to, Mr. Wilson then proceeded to read Franklin's criticisms and prophecy, which were in part as follows:

"THE CRITICISM

"Mr. President, I confess there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them; for having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information, or fuller consideration, to change opinions on important subjects which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is, therefore, that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them it is so far error. Steele, a protestant, in a dedication tells the Pope that the only difference between our churches in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines is—the Church of Rome is infallible and the Church of England is never in the wrong. * * *

"THE PROPHECY

"In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general Government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered, and believe further that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other."

On the day following the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention, a lady, Mrs. Powel, approached Dr. Franklin and asked:

"What have we got—a Republic or a monarchy?"

"A Republic," replied Franklin, "if we can keep it."

That is the situation which faces the United States today.

CAN WE KEEP THE REPUBLIC?

During the past three decades things have been happening in our country which have served to break down the moral fiber of the American people and to stifle those patriotic sentiments that made our people the most self-reliant and self-sufficient of any country in the world.

In the years between the end of World War I and the era of great speculation which culminated in the "big bust" of October 1929, our people were led to believe that in any great emergency which might arise, they could depend upon the might and power of their Government for deliverance from the evil, instead of being taught that in the long run dependence upon government is in the end nothing but dependence upon themselves. In a republic the people are the government.

To corrupt the government, therefore, it is necessary first to corrupt the people, at least in numbers sufficient to exercise control.

A review of events over the past 25 years indicates increasing corruption of the people by many new and socialistic devices, including so-called grants-in-aid to State and local governments and subsidies to farmers and selected industries.

The framers of the Constitution had faith that the blessings of Liberty which they

had secured for themselves would be transmitted unfettered to posterity. The document which they created was unique among the world's chapters of liberty in that it vested in the people's representatives in the Congress all legislative power, as well as the control over the public purse. By the 10th amendment, the Constitution was further strengthened by agreement that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

Today, the powers reserved to the States or the people are being challenged and compromised by decisions of the Supreme Court, and encroached upon by the executive bureaucracy which has the power to issue regulations having the force and effect of law.

By the 13th amendment, adopted in December of 1865, slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, was prohibited throughout the land.

Never before in all history had the dignity and rights of the individual been so carefully and explicitly protected. But with the passing of the years, and the infiltration of foreign ideologies into the American scene, the American way of government has been slowly changing until now we have come to a sorry pass.

The blessings of liberty are now shackled by a public debt of more than $270 billion. A debt greater than that of all other countries in the world combined, which is in fact a mortgage on posterity which can only be wiped out by dishonest repudiation or by human drudgery to provide the taxes for eventual liquidation.

The general-welfare clause of our Constitution has been so prostituted in its interpretation, that it is now being applied to localities, organizations, and foreign governments instead of for all, and only the people of the United States.

By our continuing foreign-aid programs, labeled "mutual security" for the convenience of the promoters, we are providing aid to peoples in countries on every continent and the islands of the seas, and our taxpayers are compelled to foot the bills.

Never before has a Nation, so richly endowed by nature, been so skillfully looted for the benefit of others. And the looting will continue until all the people are made to realize that government per se produces no wealth but lives and thrives only upon the fruits of production—the people's production—not the production of the connivers, the politicians, and the agitators who have sold the American people a rotten bill of goods, a mess of socialistic pottage.

In the fight to save the Republic the Minute Women of the U. S. A. can render a greater service than did the minutemen at Lexington and Concord.

As mothers and homemakers, the Minute Women of the U. S. A. have a greater stake in America's future than any other group in our country. To know the facts and fail to protest against the betrayal of our country is more un-American than the acts of the lunatic fringe who seek to deliver our Government and its people into the ready hands of the one-worlders and the economic internationalists.

The Dangers of Khrushchevism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Senator CHARLES E. POTTER has contributed to the July 1957 issue of the magazine Western World an article entitled "The Dangers of Khrushchevism." This is the Senator's statement in a debate with Pietro Nenni, of Italy, on the question, "Is Khrushchev less dangerous than Stalin?"

In view of the timeliness of the article and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Senator POTTER's statement:

THE DANGERS OF KHRUSHCHEVISM

(By Hon. CHARLES EDWARD POTTER, of Michigan)

The Soviet Union is a great world power. As such, it is potentially dangerous to the Western World in the same manner as is another powerful bull in a single cornfield.

The questions which face the West today are how dangerous is the U. S. S. R., and what makes it more or less dangerous? Are Russians fed on false propaganda more to be feared than would be an informed Russian people; a successful Soviet Union or an economically depressed Soviet? A Russia with increased relaxations and consumer goods, or a Russian people harnessed tragically to an economy geared solely to the production of a war machine and heavy industry?

I propose to defend these propositions:

That post-Stalin Soviet policies, economic, and political, are making the Soviet Union stronger industrially and militarily.

That there is no basis for believing that communism's objective of world domination has changed.

That, from the standpoint of the West, a little Soviet relaxation is more dangerous than none at all.

That while the very long-range, unforeseeable ultimate effect of post-Stalin internal relaxation may sometime modify the Soviet dictatorship and its goals, the West faces a period during which it will be more difficult, not less, to counter Soviet pressures clothed with smiles.

That if we do not have the stamina and staying power we will lose the battle.

TWO VARIANTS OF SOVIET POLICY

Up to the present time, we have observed two apparent variations of Soviet policy and attitude. They are sufficiently at variance to invite a comparison, and may afford some guideline as to a future course for the Western World:

The first is the one-man principle of dictatorship of Stalin and his predecessors, with its Siberia, its terror, its network of police, its iron fist that brooked no questioning and no discussion, its predominant policy of shouting and threats against capitalism and Western imperialism.

The second is what we shall for the purpose of definition call Khrushchevism, the policy which stems from the collective leadership of the group of men who, with some violent changes of personnel, have ruled Russia since the death of Stalin in 1953.

Now I believe this new facade of Khrushchevism is simply a new, more effective planned device to achieve Stalinist ends, and therefore is more dangerous than Stalinism.

THE SMILES OF THE SOVIETS

To the western observer, it has shown itself more responsive to experimentation, more accessible to its own intelligentsia and technical groups than did the Soviet with its former leadership. It has also shown itself apparently more flexible in its dealings with the rest of the world, and has given evidence that it can learn by its mistakes.

It is my opinion that in this added flexibility lies a much graver danger to the Western World than in the blunt iron fist of Stalin. And this is true principally because the Soviet Union itself has not changed in its objectives since Khrushchevism took over. The actions of the Soviet Union in the October revolution in Hungary indicated beyond a doubt that this smiling face of Khrushchevism is nothing more than a working facade.

Now, to put it in simple language, if the Soviet dictatorship wants to continue in power, it needs primarily several things. In peacetime it must be assured of continued economic health and greater production, and further perfection of its war potential. In time of emergency it must know that the bulk of its citizenry will say "my country right or wrong, free or slave," and take up arms in its defense. And it must so arrange its relations with the outside world that it can exist along with it, annex parts of it, and ultimately take it over completely.

Khrushchevism is furthering all three of these objectives.

First, let us look at how Khrushchevism has affected the Soviet economic picture.

The development of basic, heavy and arms industries is the principal objective of the Soviet economy, with consumer goods, manufactures, and living standards playing a secondary role. Every 5-year plan—and Russia is now in her sixth—has scored tremendously in this principal objective. I have been particularly interested in watching this phase of Soviet development because my own State of Michigan in the keystone of the Great Lakes industrial heartland. This vast midcontinent area, reaching north and south of the Canadian border, has been called the Arsenal of Democracy.

Now, from the best information we have available, let us take a quick look at Soviet achievements in this field during the 5-year plan embracing the 1951–55 period.

In 1950, Soviet production of steel was 27.3 million tons, and in 1955, 45.3 million tons. By 1955, the U. S. S. R. had nearly doubled its 1950 production of 91.2 billion kilowatt hours of electric power. In natural gas the Soviet went up from 6.2 billion cubic meters in 1950 to 10.4 billion in 1955. Crude petroleum output in the Soviet increased 75 percent from 1950 to 1955. In 1950, the country produced 261.1 million metric tons of coal, and in 1955, 391 million. Lumber production rose from 49.5 million cubic meters in 1950 to 70 million in 1955. Soviet cement production went from 10.2 million metric tons in 1950 to 22.5 in 1955. Iron ore production was 37.7 million metric tons in 1950 and no less than 71.9 in 1955.

British economist Peter Wiles sums up the picture pretty well in a consideration of the subject featured in The Soviet Economy, a Discussion. He says: "Perhaps the most important fact in all modern economics is that this rate of growth is higher in the manufacturing industry of the Soviet Union than in that of any free country at the period of its maximum development, let alone now.

"Rich countries—as the Communist countries will be, have more strategic and diplomatic strength than poor ones—as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries will one day be, relatively speaking. They can offer better terms of trade. They can bribe more politicians, finance more spies, entertain more delegations. The Communist threat is thus partly one of economic growth. In reply to it neither virtuous conduct nor cultural freedom are altogether enough. The western rate of economic growth must also be stepped up."

Let us now return to what has happened to this production since Khrushchevism took over in the Soviet. The one thing outside of an attack by an external power which would seriously impede this phenomenal production schedule in the fields of basic arms and heavy industries, would be the workers themselves. And what evidence do we have that the Russian people would undertake such an economic or political revolt more at this time than any other?

It is no secret that there has always been a hope in the Western World that political and social tensions within the Soviet Union

would develop which would eventually become the explosive Waterloo of the communistic dictatorship, and bring about a government more representative of the Russian people. And it is also very evident that under the Soviet planned economy, this phenomenal growth of basic, heavy and arms industries has not been paralleled by similar strides in agriculture, trade or service industries. Nor has it done very much to raise the level of living of the people.

So back in 1951 my colleagues of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations tried to get some facts about the extent of the tensions which would normally develop under such a society. They had a study made by experts on the tensions then existing within the Soviet Union, and 4 years ago, right after the death of Stalin, brought it up to date.

In an early part of the analysis, the committee warns against the illusion that because dissatisfaction existed in Russia, an armed and organized revolt was imminent at that time. It even questioned if those who were dissatisfied would necessarily disaffect from the Soviet Union and its Communist regime in case of a military showdown with the West. It then identified and mapped the areas of tension within the Soviet society, pointing out and documenting the special grievances of the young people, intellectuals, religious believers, ethnic minorities, professional soldiers, workers, peasants, slave laborers and their families. It named these as the potential allies of the Western World who might eventually be appealed to and mobilized.

Now the question is, have these tensions decreased or increased under Khrushchevism? All available evidence points to the fact that they have decreased because Khrushchevism has given a few carrots to the Russian people in relaxations and consumer goods in order to keep them working. Reports indicate the relaxations have not been numerous, nor would they be particularly satisfying to us of the Western World. Any relaxations, nevertheless, tend to lessen tensions and make a people less disposed to revolt against their existing government, or desert in a war emergency.

So the people of Russia, long crushed in the vise of dictatorship which permitted them none of the normal freedoms and movement and acquisitions needed for the healthy life and comfort of human beings, are feeling a lot happier about things when some of their human contours are permitted to stretch a bit at long last. It is hard for somebody in the Western World to accept the fact that freedom to talk a little more freely in a cafe, to criticize Government policies even mildly, and the indulgence in an occasional orange, a lipstick, gadget or bowl of strawberries can make a people forget its grievances. But when you haven't had these things for as long as the Russian people haven't, they do. They are in fact a useful, perhaps an essential safety valve.

NOTHING NEW IN KHRUSHCHEVISM

Now, what has happened in the rest of the world since Khrushchevism went into effect?

To begin with, the world needs reminding that the blow-hot blow-cold foreign policy of the Soviet Union under Khrushchevism is not by any means a new policy.

Under Stalin and his predecessors communism also played the opportunist game and jumped on any bandwagon headed for the locale it wanted to penetrate, and put on any mask necessary to achieve its ends. Under Khrushchevism the collective leadership has been climbing on all the bandwagons at once, or climbing off all of them. And the Soviet has been changing mask after mask, until it is increasingly difficult for the rest of the world to find out when the thing is peeled down to the skin.

In the months before the Hungarian debacle, Khrushchevism had begun to persuade the Western World that Russia might be willing to play fair ball. It was only when the Hungarians took them at their word and tried to step out from under the pressure of the Soviet Union that it had to pull off all its masks and reveal the same brute dictatorship which existed before Stalin's death—or as an alternative lose satellite Hungary, and probably all of the satellites in a chain revolutionary reaction.

Confusion piled up on confusion as the Soviet monster began talking more than ever out of both sides of its political mouth. Segments of the Western World began to break off from other segments on important issues. Khrushchevism may very well have had an influence on what happened at Suez. And before the policy of the Soviet Union in Hungary pushed Tito back to his normal state of belligerence to the brand of communistic dictatorship across its borders, the Yugoslav leader was relaxing sufficiently to permit a visit from the Soviet chieftains. It prevented any lag of production in the Soviet Union, thus enabling the Kremlin massively to industrialize Red China, and through this, help to head off any possible revolt in this brother Communist dictatorship.

Under other than Khrushchevism, I do not believe that NATO would have dared reduce its forces. Ceylon would not have invited the British out. Iceland would not have asked the United States to remove its bases. And certainly the U. S. S. R. would not have responded to our open skies proposal, however deceitfully, under any but Krushchevism.

This respectability has permitted the President of the United States to shake hands with the Russian rulers, and Queen Elizabeth of England to entertain them. Smaller and less developed countries have increasingly thrown out a more or less nervous red carpet for the Soviet chieftains.

Under the increasingly blow-hot blow-cold foreign policy, more goods are actually going to the Soviet Union itself, and to its fellow dictatorship, Communist China.

EXCHANGES BENEFIT U. S. S. R.

Announcement was made soon after the debut of Krushchevism that books from the Western World would now be permitted in the Soviet Union. Outside the Iron Curtain there was rejoicing. Now books of political science and political and social philosophy would bring new hopes to the Russian people. Histories would be read—histories written with a minimum of bias; novels and critical literature depicting civilizations other than their own would bring them vistas of freedom.

But what actually happened?

Evidence clearly shows now that in 1955 the Leningrad Public Library in ordering its books aimed at supplying Soviet scientific workers and engineers with information on the latest achievements in science and technology and not history, philosophy or belles lettres. Industrial establishments and research institutions in Leningrad were given first consideration, and the Library of the Academy of Sciences. Primarily the library was satisfying the requests of the leading branches of industry—aircraft and transportation, machinery, metallurgy, machine building, electric machinery, turbines, ships, radio engineering, and so forth. Books were ordered on problems of automation, telemechanics, electronics, television, the production of artificial fibers, fabrics and footwear, the food industry and the mechanization of agriculture. An attempt was also made to incorporate in the library's collections continuations of multivolume works in chemistry and the physical and mathematical sciences, including atomic physics.

There has been a wider exchange of technologists and scientists between the Soviet and the West under Khrushchevism. But it looks as if the advantage has been pretty much on the side of the Soviet Union. They have learned how to breed better cattle, build better tractors and houses, collect some good technical information. I cannot speak for other countries in the Western World, but when the United States sent my colleagues, Senators Russell Long of the State of Louisiana and Henry Jackson of the State of Washington along with Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force, into the Soviet, they saw very little of what they wanted to see.

What about the new underdeveloped nations groping for a way of life which will put them in step with modern living and technological development?

For long, the new bureaucratic technicians and managerial classes of these countries have been looking over the western democracies and the communistic dictatorships and making a rather observing checklist as to the debits and credits of both in relation to their own countries.

One of the things which has kept have-not nations eager to expand economically, away from communism, has been the apparently necessary rigidities of Stalinism required to attain a technological success. These underdeveloped countries eye the Soviet technological progress with considerable envy, but nevertheless cringe at the picture of Stalin whipping the people of a nation into a higher technical development, like animals at a plow.

EFFECT ON FREE PEOPLES

At the same time these groups were well aware that their underdeveloped countries needed stable governments, and a degree of planning of the consumption of goods and the investment of money and power. They felt if they were to attain the same goals as the Soviet in the same period of time, they needed a strictly disciplined order.

But with the relaxation of controls in the Soviet, the individual's freedom did not seem to be so much threatened. These nations began to roll the thought around in their top level conferences that perhaps they could have a degree of planning and a disciplined social order, and still have the substance of individual freedoms.

Not the least sensitive target of Khrushchevism are the free peoples. These peoples dearly want peace—so dearly that they are prepared to grasp at the slightest indication of Soviet good will in the hope that it will turn out to be the real thing, or at least a forerunner of that domestication of the Soviet bear which they have constantly been told is inevitable. Not even the savage Hungarian repression has quite destroyed their faith that the Kremlin, if only in self-defense, will soon agree to call its offensive off and settled down to some sort of peace with the rest of the world. Therefore, these peoples instinctively support any move for negotiations with the U. S. S. R., leap at any disarmament hint, however phony, and even, to some extent, swallow any domestic suggestions that the free countries can now safely cut their oppressively heavy armament budgets since the Soviet under Khrushchev is no longer a military danger, or is not so much of a danger.

This is Khrushchevism at its most effective, for I cannot believe the free peoples and governments would be quite so eager if the situation in the U. S. S. R. had remained the same as under Stalin and his predecessors.

This attitude certainly raises vital questions: will the Western world remember that Stalin's face and all it means lies behind the smiling mask which Khrushchevism intermittently shows to the world? And will the underdeveloped nations who are checking the debits and credits of democracy against those of communism remember what is under the future changing masks of Khrushchevism?

Probably not, unless the West remains continually alert and reminded.

George F. Quinn, a Distinguished Citizen and Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Lakewood, Ohio, recently suffered a great loss when one of their most dedicated and devoted public servants passed away. Not only was George Quinn an outstanding councilman of the city, but he was held in the highest esteem by those who knew him in the practice of his profession as a lawyer. George Quinn served his community with distinction. We all miss him, and I should like to express my deepest sympathy to his family. An excellent editorial, written by my good friend, John Shissler, appeared in the Thursday, July 11, issue of the Lakewood Post. The editorial follows:

GEORGE F. QUINN: EXAMPLE OF SOUND CITIZENSHIP

George F. Quinn, who died unexpectedly last Thursday, was a man of character in the finest and rarest sense of the term. In Lakewood his service as councilman had long ago come to be accepted as a notable example of constructive public service. Throughout Greater Cleveland, and beyond, he was more and more coming to be looked upon as this area's foremost lay authority on hospitals and institutions for the unfortunate and handicapped. Of late, Mr. Quinn had been devoting intensive study to increasing problems of older citizens. His ability, plus the knowledge and experience he had acquired in this field, represented one of the soundest reasons for hope of progress in and far beyond Lakewood.

Mr. Quinn's career as practical humanitarian not only gave his life unique meaning, but is destined to constitute a living influence through the foreseeable future. He has helped shape welfare policies and initiate procedures which will be productive of increasing good. He has created a memorable example of a successful man who made contribution to human betterment an objective in itself, separate from his professional, political, and social goals. Many men do constructive things because they believe so doing is proper, because they, often unconsciously, are spurred on by love for applause or a feeling of self-righteousness, because real or imagined sacrifice preens pride. Not George Quinn. His devotion and his contributions to human betterment were reactions to an inherent urge which was insulated from personal aspirations. Some years ago, when Mr. Quinn's status as a lawyer was firmly established and an expanding political career his for the asking, he told the writer of this editorial of the need he felt to concentrate on some activity more substantial than winning acclaim or earning personal success. In the years which have passed since Mr. Quinn so obviously came to terms with himself, there has been no mistaking his sense of values.

Even those who knew Mr. Quinn were surprised and even amazed when confronted with imposing number and varied character of charitable activities listed in his obituary notices. These catalogs were far from complete, but even had they been all inclusive they could not have reflected his constant concern with phases of charitable and welfare endeavor he felt were being neglected or could be more effectively served. Mr. Quinn's efforts paid extra dividends because he was objective and practical; he had no patience with cant, dramatization, or overt emotionalism in any form which might detract from securing maximum return for effort and money invested in welfare and charity.

Older people, in Lakewood in particular, as well as in the county at large, lost a valuable friend indeed in Mr. Quinn's passing. Long before importance of the problems inherent in increasing longevity and earlier retirement were generally realized, Mr. Quinn instituted a continuing, searching study and personal investigation of the developing situation. He was one of two Ohio representatives appointed by then Gov. Frank J. Lausche to attend a national conference called by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in Washington several years ago; he made regular visits to institutions hereabouts which served the aging; he sought firsthand information from countless sources and was looked upon as the potential initiator and leader of a pioneering municipal program in Lakewood, where percentage of older citizens is greater than in any comparable Ohio community. Some months age he prepared an editorial for the Post on the unique Lakewood situation, and he made a number of addresses before groups here calculated to increase awareness of what he considered the city's obligation to safeguard welfare and make enforced leisure more rewarding for older people.

Mr. Quinn served in Lakewood Council for 14 years, and from the start won respect and was accorded support which had no relation to political or any other sort of identification. He ranks with the ablest municipal legislators in Lakewood's corporate history.

The Post knows that it speaks for all of Lakewood, and the surrounding communities as well, when it extends deepest sympathy to members of Mr. Quinn's family. In a very real sense, every citizen shares their loss, shares their love and respect.

Egg Prices Too Low for Comfort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Roy Pearson, of Pencer, Minn., writes "the highest price on eggs in their community this year was 24 cents per dozen for grade A, which is still too low for comfort." Her egg receipts show that the price dropped to 19 cents in May and went to 21 cents per dozen in June. Grade B eggs hit a low of 13 cents per dozen, later going to 15 cents.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask permission to insert in the RECORD this letter from Mrs. Pearson:

PENCER, MINN., *July 6, 1957.*

Hon. COYA KNUTSON,
Ninth District, Minnesota,
House Office Building.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: Enclosed you will find two sales slips from our local producer which speaks for the local egg prices. Prices were as high as 24 cents, grade A, a couple times this year.

I will try to get information from other market areas in this vicinity. It is approximately the same although Warroad Market as it is reported daily by radio is from 3 cents to 5 cents higher than our market here.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ROY PEARSON.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE CREAMERY ASSOCIATION,
Roseau, Minn., May 22, 1957.

Eggs:	
Grade A, large	$0.19
Grade B	.17
Grade C	.15

FARMERS COOPERATIVE CREAMERY ASSOCIATION,
Roseau, Minn., June 11, 1957.

Eggs:	
Grade A, large	$0.21
Grade B	.16
Grade C	.15

Chiseling on Charity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to associate myself with the fine words of praise for the Republican Senator from Delaware, the Honorable JOHN J. WILLIAMS, as contained in the following editorial from the July 10, 1957, issue of the Des Moines (Iowa) Register:

The United States Senate would do itself credit if it set aside a corner in one of those ornate, guided rooms adjoining the Senate floor as the JOHN J. WILLIAMS Hall of Fame.

The Delaware Senator's calm, determined, one-man crusade for good government and the husbanding of taxpayers' dollars over the past 10 years is deserving of more than the usual rewarding words of commendation that come to an outstanding public servant.

If his colleagues feel that it would be unseemly for them to single out a Member of the Senate for honors during his term in the Senate, then the public ought to take matters in its own hands and demonstrate its appreciation for his services.

Our present burst of enthusiasm over Senator WILLIAMS' accomplishments springs from his latest exposure of the frauds that have been committed in Texas in connection with drought-relief payments.

The Delaware Senator has brought to public attention the fact that farmers, ranchers, feed dealers, and local Agricultural Stabilization Committee (ASC) members chiseled on the Nation's sympathy and compassion to line their pockets with undeserved cash.

The money was advanced to help them buy feed to maintain their drought-starved herds of livestock. In one instance a county ASC committeeman is alleged to have assigned himself approximately $6,000 more in credits than he was entitled to receive.

A relief recipient used the Government credit to pay for food for a dog, a saddle for his polo pony, a polo mallet, and a number of other items obviously used for his personal pleasure and recreation.

A few crooks and chiselers can be expected to show up whenever easy money is being spread around. But the extent to which these drought-stricken Texans thumbed their noses at sympathy and kindness is almost beyond belief.

A spot check of only 600 cases in which feed relief credits were extended revealed probable irregularities in the $212 million

drought relief program totaling approximately $2 million.

True, that is relatively small, approximately 1 percent of total expenditures. But where charity and generosity on the part of others are concerned, fraud and chiseling in any amount is the kind of explosive substance that threatens to wreck extremely valuable programs of Government aid.

Senator WILLIAMS' disclosure of this shocking scandal should, we hope, result in a vigorous investigation into the methods of administering such emergency programs, a tightening of the laws and regulations governing them and the vigorous prosecution of the individuals who took advantage of the opportunities for fraud that obviously exist.

A relatively small discrepancy in the Internal Revenue Bureau's handling of his own income tax account started the Delaware Senator on a series of private investigations that ultimately resulted in:

Disclosure of a widespread practice of income tax fixing and failure to prosecute fraudulent delinquencies.

Dismissals, resignations, and convictions of numerous Internal Revenue Bureau officials and employees.

Revelation of laxness in the collection of Federal alcohol taxes and prosecution of violations.

Disclosure of discrepancies in accounts of the Commodity Credit Corporation and grains stored in warehouses.

The existence of a hiring and firing scheme in several Government agencies enabling employees to collect cash for accumulated leave.

Putting the spotlight on careless accounting for funds allowed Members of the Senate for office stationary expenses.

The above accomplishments add up to quite a record for any one-man hall of fame, even without Senator WILLIAMS' latest contribution.

Remarks of Walter P. Reuther on the Price Increase of the United States Steel Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, in inserting the remarks of Walter P. Reuther, chairman of the economic policy committee of the AFL–CIO and president of the UAW, on the price increase of the United States Steel Corp., I am hoping that they will be read by all recipients of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The relation of price increases to wages and profits is a moot question today, and only by throwing light on what is happening in the steel industry in these three fields can the public be well informed on the subject.

Mr. Reuther's remarks are as follows:

The price increase announced by the United States Steel Corp. is unjustifiable, socially irresponsible and dangerously inflationary.

It is big business' contemptuous and defiant response to the appeal of President Eisenhower only last Wednesday for restraint by industry in initiating price increases.

The facts on steel prices and steel wages prove conclusively that United States Steel's effort to blame the price increase on increased labor costs is completely false and that this price increase, as other price increases in steel, autos, and other industries in the postwar years are nothing more than an unconscionable and greedy grab for higher and higher profits at the expense of American consumers.

This is further proof that the crushing burden of inflation imposed on American consumers by the steel and other key, price-setting industries is a rigged inflation arbitrarily fixed by industrial management. It does not grow out of the free interplay of normal economic forces.

Clifford S. Hood, United States Steel president, could well take a leaf out of the book of C. E. Wilson, now Secretary of Defense, who said in 1952, when he was president of General Motors: "I contend that we should not say the wage-price spiral. We should say the price-wage spiral. For it is not primarily wages that push up prices. It is primarily prices that pull up wages."

It is particularly significant, in view of this announced steel price increase, that the steel industry, along with other price-pacing industries, and the NAM and United States Chamber of Commerce, have consistently and vigorously fought tooth and nail against a congressional investigation into the wage-price-profit relationship, which the AFL–CIO and many of its affiliates have proposed and urged.

Such an investigation would reveal that this present and other postwar price increases by the steel industry and by other industries are completely unwarranted and cannot be justified by increased labor costs. That is why these industries fear and fight against such an investigation. Labor has no fear of what such an investigation would reveal.

A simple and brief recital of the profit figures of three of these price-administered industries prove the point that blaming price increases on labor costs is propaganda rather than economic reality. They prove that such increases in labor costs, if any which are not offset by increased productivity, can easily be absorbed out of profits and still leave these corporations and industries with record or near-record profits.

United States Steel is an admirable example. In 1939, United States Steel's profits per man-hour worked by each employee was 13 cents. In seven-league boot strides, this profit has advanced through the years, despite wage increases and other economic benefits to steel workers, to an annual rate in the first 3 months of 1957 of $1.80 for each hour worked by each employee—a fabulous increase since 1939 of 1,284 percent. And these profit rates include not only hourly rated workers, but supervisory, clerical, and executive personnel as well.

General Motors raised its prices in 1955, using as an excuse a 20 cents an hour wage and fringe benefit package won by its employees in collective bargaining that year. This action was taken during the first 9 months of the year, after the benefits won by workers had gone into effect, and during which period GM earned $2.93 in profits before taxes for every hour worked by each of its hourly rated employees. For the whole year of 1955, GM made more than $2½ billion dollars profit before taxes, highest in the history of any company in the world, representing a 79 percent return on investment. In the first 3 months of this year, which has been a comparatively bad period for GM because of a slump in sales, the company made $2.80 in profits before taxes for each hour worked by each hourly rated employee.

The spiraling profits of the oil industry is another example which deserves Presidential and congressional attention. Standard Oil of New Jersey's profits are not readily broken down into profit per man-hour, but its net total profits after taxes show the following rate of progression: 1954, $584,793,000; 1955, $709,310,000; 1956, $808,535,000.

And in the first 3 months of the current year, this same company is making net profits after taxes at the rate of $948 million—a 17-percent increase over last year.

If President Eisenhower is truly concerned about inflation and unwarranted price increases, and I believe he is, he should turn his attention, not to workers whose economic gains increase mass purchasing power to the benefit of the country as a whole, but to such corporations and their managements as those listed above and make his appeal to reason and social responsibility to them.

The classical reasons for inflation are not present in this situation. There is no excess of demand over production or capacity to produce. In fact, in the last 2 years the automobile industry, the largest single consumer of steel, has suffered a decline in sales. It is currently operating at about 60 pecent of capacity—despite a need for new automobiles and trucks.

The steel industry is operating at less than capacity.

The electrical-appliance industry, the textile industry, and other basic industries are operating at well below capacity and the workers in these industries have been suffering unemployment and underemployment.

There is a desire and need for these products but the great mass of consumers do not have the purchasing power to buy what they want and need.

The present inflation is artificial because it has been artificially rigged by a few corporations who, because of their dominant positions in industry, set the price of their products without any relation to the laws of supply and demand.

A continuation of the propaganda contest between management and labor, in which each tries to pin the responsibility for rising prices on the other, will not stop the inflationary spiral nor will it protect the American consumer against higher prices.

Both management and labor ought to be prepared to present all the facts before a congressional committee so that the American public will know all the facts and in turn fix the economic and moral responsibility for inflationary pressures which are forcing up the cost of living.

The American labor movement will continue to press for such an investigation.

Bastille Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on July 14, the people of France will celebrate Bastille Day.

In July 1789, the French Revolution reached the peak of its disorder and chaos, when enraged French mobs stormed the Bastille, ancient fortress prison of Paris, razing it to the ground. But this was not a simple act of physical destruction; it symbolized the triumph of the forces of liberty over those of brutality and corruption. It marked the beginning of freedom for the people of France from the abuses of the French royalty, the beginning of a revolutionary storm which was to engulf vast areas of the world.

Today, Bastille Day is the most important French national holiday. And, perhaps, at no other significant point in world affairs, could the world be more keenly aware of its real meaning. As the French forebears of present-day France resisted the oppression of decadent and self-seeking overlords, so, too, did the unarmed citizenry of Budapest, Hungary, seek to wrest despotic control from their overlords less than a year ago. History may not always repeat itself, it is true, but of one thing we all are sure: Man will not submit indefinitely to the irrational actions of a small clique of ruthless dictators whose main concern is to suppress freedom and justice, denying audience to the voice of the people. So, today, we are particularly proud to salute the French on Bastille Day, an international symbol of the unceasing fight for democracy and justice.

The Importance of the Flood Control Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dedicated and courageous supporters of a program of adequate development of the Columbia River Basin has been Mr. Cyril G. Brownell, of Umatilla, Oreg. It is because of such support and dedication that a beginning has been made of the proper development of the Pacific Northwest. The support typified by Mr. Brownell also insures that further development of this region will continue.

Mr. Brownell recently wrote an excellent article entitled "The Importance of the Flood Control Dams." I think his comments will be of interest to my colleagues as they spell out some of the reasons for the needed development of our resource heritage in the Columbia River Basin. Under unanimous consent I ask that this article be included in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FLOOD CONTROL DAMS

How many people that reside in the area known as the Columbia River Basin are aware of the fact that the flow of the main stem of the Columbia River, below the mouth of the Snake, during high water in June is more than 10 times the amount that flows during low water in December?

That is the reason the control of the flood waters is so important in the 308 plan of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army in development of the Columbia River Basin with the greatest benefit to all.

The floods must be controlled by storage in every available location in the upper reaches of the tributaries of the Columbia River to prevent terrific damage during unusual high waters. It will take approximately 25 million acre-feet of storage to give the Corps of Engineers sufficient control to guarantee safety along the lower Columbia River.

In order to avoid the heavy demands by Canada if storage is made on their side of the boundary line, it is necessary to build the storage dams within the confines of the United States. This clearly means we need the Nez Perce and Hells Canyon high dams on the Snake River along with dams on other tributaries of the Snake. All our damaging floods have been caused by delayed runoffs of the Snake River at the same time the Columbia high water occurs naturally. As a rule the high water of the Snake preceeds the Columbia River runoff.

The construction of numerous dams in the upper reaches of the Columbia and Snake River tributaries that will store 25 million acre-feet, or more, would make possible, not only to prevent damage during flood stage, but to increase the firm power of all power dams downstream and also to increase the depth for navigation.

The large number of irrigation projects in existence and in prospect throughout the Columbia River Basin will also become a feature of storing water that returns to the streams gradually. Very often, like the Yakima Valley, the water can be used again and again.

The suggestion of the Corps of Engineers that the navigation dams should be built from downstream up, has been proven that it would have been more feasible in the development of navigation.

It is a shame that the administration and Congress are failing to build the missing link in our navigation of the main stem of the Columbia River by delaying the construction of the John Day Dam which was approved at the same time that the Dalles Dam was approved.

It is recognized that navigation, on a large scale, can be used from tidewater to the Chief Joseph Dam on the Columbia and Nez Perce on the Snake. And also, when complete, smaller boats may be portaged around the high dams and have safe usage of the rivers for many miles above.

The public is quite familiar with hydroelectric power that can be created in such vast quantities in the Columbia River Basin and they also know that the moneys from the Government to build these dams is not appropriated but only loaned and will be paid back with interest to our Government.

On the other hand the public is not making much effort to secure the much needed navigation and no attention, in Oregon, is given irrigation by pumping from the McNary pool like the pumps used at Grand Coulee Dam.

The planning in the 308 plan to develop the Columbia River Basin included power, navigation, irrigation, and flood-control dams. If you build a building the first thing you need is a good substantial foundation. The foundation of the 308 plan is flood-control dams.

It is absolutely necessary to have flood-control upstream in order to create the greatest amount of firm power in each and every dam.

It is just as necessary to have flood-control dams in the upper reaches above in order to maintain as even a flow of water as possible for navigation.

And the construction of dams for the purpose of providing water for irrigation is in itself flood control.

The 308 plans for developing the Columbia River Basin in the great Northwest was made by a strictly nonpartisan group, the corps of engineers of the United States Army. There was no idea of creating a system to be controlled by any certain group but it was for the benefit of all the citizens of this great Nation.

Build the foundations first, build ample flood-control dams where we have complete control within the confines of our Nation. Make the Snake River and its tributaries the real flood-control area of the greater part of the Columbia River Basin.

Reds' Activities Arouse Honduras

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following news story written by Paul F. Kennedy with the dateline Tegucigalpa, Honduras. Mr. Kennedy's story appeared in the New York Times of July 11, 1957, and is as follows:

REDS' ACTIVITIES AROUSE HONDURAS—LABOR AND POLITICAL LEADERS SAY 25 TO 30 ORGANIZERS PUSH COMMUNIST LINE

(By Paul P. Kennedy)

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS, July 10.—The growth of Communist activities in Honduras is becoming a source of concern to anti-Communist labor unions and political organizations.

Competent observers report that from 25 to 30 organizers are carrying on a campaign here and in northern parts of the Republic among labor and students syndicates. The organizers are not admitted Communists but they follow the party line. Apparently they have access to more funds than do the anti-Communist organizations.

There are widespread complaints that the Honduran military Government is not exerting itself to stamp out the growth of the movement, which is illegal here under two statutes.

One source of complaints is that known organizers who operated in Guatemala under the ousted Communist-infiltrated regime of Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman are making frequent trips to Honduras for organizing purposes and are not being challenged by immigration authorities.

Two labor leaders said Abel Cuenca, one such organizer, made periodic trips to Honduras during February, March, April, and May. They said the object of the Communists was to organize an elaborate May Day parade May 1. The parade, with anti-United States overtones, was boycotted by labor organizations here.

The parade was one of the biggest demonstrations staged thus far by the Communists and the organizers, according to union leaders. They said it had succeeded because it incorporated the patriotic motif of Honduras' protracted border dispute with Nicaragua, which was just easing at that time. Nicaraguan political exiles received places of honor. Organized labor was put in the position of not being able to denounce the demonstration for fear of being thought unpatriotic.

Efforts are being made by Communist-infiltrated groups to start a central syndicate to attract labor and students away from non-Communist organizations. The campaign is being carried on by radio, pamphlets, and a weekly publication known as Octubre.

Octubre, which follows the Communist line closely, recently printed in serial form a book entitled "Syndicalist Unity."

This book, which blueprints Communist syndicate organization, was written by José Manuel Fortuny, one of the outstanding Guatemalan Communists and an adviser and speechwriter for former President Arbenz. Thousands of copies of the book are being distributed in the northern section of Honduras, where labor is strongest.

Another source of apprehension regarding the activities of the Communists is the electoral statute expected to be decreed by the military junta shortly. The law, which pro-

vides for the election of a constituent assembly, has a provision permitting any group to run candidates as an established party provided it can prove it has 500 members.

Since the new law calls for election by porportional representation, there is a possibility that the Communist organization, under a front, could elect deputies to the constituent assembly.

The fear of the stepped-up Communist activities has become so pronounced that a group of young politicians and army officers is contemplating the formation of an anti-Communist organization after the elections September 21.

Hon. Robert Crosser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, last month, upon my return from Geneva, Switzerland, where I attended the 10th assembly of the World Health Organization in the capacity of congressional adviser, I heard, with profound regret of the death of our distinguished former colleague, Bob Crosser.

Bob and I served together on the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for 26 years. We fought together on many, many issues and occasionally we were on opposite sides. I got to know him very well. Bob was a man of indomitable courage and incorruptible integrity. He was a firm believer in democracy in the true sense of the word. He was a champion of the rights of labor, particularly railroad labor. He had a deep concern for the welfare of his country and his fellow men. In short, he was a great man, highly esteemed by his colleagues.

As a final tribute to the memory of our distinguished former colleague, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on which he served very ably and faithfully for over 30 years, including 4 years as chairman, unanimously passed a resolution, which was signed by every member of the committee, expressing profound sorrow on his passing. The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLUTION IN MEMORIAM, HON. ROBERT CROSSER

Distinguished American statesman and beloved former chairman and member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, who passed away on June 3, 1957, ending a long and distinguished career of devoted public service as legislator, philosopher, scholar, teacher, and a leader of great ability, vision, and indomitable courage.

Born in Holytown, Lanarkshire, Scotland, on June 7, 1874, he immigrated to the United States with his parents in September 1881. He attended the public schools at Salineville, Ohio, and by his own effort overcame serious obstacles to achieve a higher education. He was graduated from Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, in 1897, and from the Cincinnati Law School in 1901. He was professor of law at the Baldwin-Wallace Law School in 1904–05.

Manifesting a keen interest in politics at a very early age, he was first elected to public office in 1910, when he became a member of the Ohio House of Representatives in 1911–12. He was elected a member of the Fourth Constitutional Convention of Ohio in 1912, served as chairman of the initiative and referendum committee, and was the author of the initiative and referendum amendment to the Ohio constitution. He was elected as the United States Representative to the 63d Congress from the State at large in 1912, and was reelected from the 21st Ohio District to the 64th, 65th, 68th, and succeeding Congresses and served with great distinction until his retirement in January 1955.

During his 38 years of service in the United States House of Representatives, he established a record of achievement that will be a source of inspiration to all generations to come. He served the people of his congressional district and, indeed, the people of this Nation, faithfully and with great ability. He achieved a position of great leadership and influence, culminating in his election as chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce during the 81st and 82d Congresses. He pioneered in the field of railway-labor legislation and was the author of, and led the fight for, the enactment of the Railway Labor Act Amendments of 1934, the Railroad Retirement Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. He blazed the trail for much of the great social-welfare legislation during Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. He was the champion of the working people, especially the railroad workers.

In all of his actions, he sought to achieve right and truth and justice. He was a man of great sympathy, of broad understanding, of deeply religious convictions of the brotherhood of man and the unity of creation. He was a firm believer in democracy. He built bridges over which his fellow can could pass to a more abundant life: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, as a final tribute to the memory of our faithful and beloved colleague, the Honorable Robert Crosser, express its sincere appreciation of his great accomplishments, express its profound sorrow on his passing, and extend its sincere sympathy to his family; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the records of the committee as a memorial to our departed colleague, and that a copy thereof be sent to his family.

Mr. Speaker, during the many years I have had the privilege of serving my constituents of the First Congressional District of New Jersey as their Representative in the Congress, I have seen hundreds of men come and go in and out of this body. I can say in all sincerity that never have I been associated with anyone in the House for whom there has been a higher respect and admiration than Bob Crosser.

My sincere sympathy is extended to the members of his family.

The Emerging Role of Corporate Counsel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following outstanding address by Leon E. Hickman, vice president and general counsel, Aluminum Company of America, made to the Corporation Counsel Institute of the Ohio State Bar Association held at Columbus, Ohio, on March 21, 1957:

THE EMERGING ROLE OF CORPORATE COUNSEL
(Address by Leon E. Hickman)

I. BACKGROUND

The topic for tonight's discussion is the role of the corporate counsel, the lawyer who functions for a corporation as a full-time, salaried employee. The practice of law within a corporation on a completely independent, fully professional basis is a relatively new development.

From a time antedating World War I and continuing through the 1920's, most high-ranking graduates of the good law schools practiced their profession as general practitioners, quite commonly with the large law firms.

Beginning with the depression and carrying through World War II, a career in Government was something of a fetish among the law-school graduates who were good enough to have a choice. This is not surprising because it marked the beginning of the era of big government, the emergence of the welfare state. New concepts of Government service had to be planned, enabling statutes of revolutionary scope drawn, lobbied through Congress and finally both administered and litigated. Government service is still a stimulating field for the lawyer because great responsibility comes relatively early in one's career.

The period since World War II has been the era of the salaried corporation counsel. His emergence was in response to the ever-increasing need for daily counsel on the legal intricacies of public regulation, both by statute and administrative agency. I am sure I need not labor the growing complexity of doing business lawfully in a period when regulation by the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the Wage and Hour Administration, and Robinson-Patman, not to mention the revitalization of such oldtimers as the Sherman Act and the Clayton Act, followed each other in bewildering succession. The growth of corporations to a size where their impact on the social and economic well-being of the Nation gave them public responsibilities of a vast but indeterminate nature also made the detached and trained viewpoint of full-time legal advisers quite indispensable. Today most corporations which are more than local enterprises employ counsel on a full-time, salaried basis.

The gradual evolution of corporate counsel over this half century can be roughly traced by the popular characterization of him. In the 1920's the occasional lawyer who drifted into corporate employment was rather derisively referred to by most of the general practitioners as a "kept" counsel. It was assumed that such a lawyer had sold his professional independence for a monthly paycheck, that the hand which controlled the purse controlled his conscience and that he could not advise his corporation effectively because he was employed by it.

As we emerged from the depression, the corporate lawyer gradually assumed a greater variety of duties commensurate with the growing complexities of corporate life. In this period, he rose in professional stature to the dignity of "house counsel," an humbling but honorable title which implied employment on legal housekeeping tasks, the drafting of minutes or resolutions, the preparation or examination of routine papers, the drafting of contracts of a repetitive nature, but hardly responsibility for really complex legal problems.

Since World War II, house counsel has emerged as "corporation counsel." The head lawyer has commonly become the general counsel, usually an officer of the company, not infrequently a member of the board,

and, if circumstances are right, a party to the corporation's innermost councils and planning.

My background for discussing the developing role of corporate counsel is based on 26 years in the general practice of law and 6 years as general counsel of Aluminum Company of America, popularly known as Alcoa. In my years of general practice, I was a partner in the Pittsburgh law firm currently known as Smith, Buchanan, Ingersoll, Rodewald & Eckert, a partnership that is large and successful by Pittsburgh standards.

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II. SOME POPULAR MISCONCEPTIONS

It has long been assumed by general practitioners that the corporate counsel forfeited his professional independence in accepting full-time employment, that he probably spent his time giving the advice that his nonlegal colleagues wished to hear and that, at best, he was no more than a slave to the dictum attributed to Elihu Root that—

"the client never wants to be told he can't do what he wants to do; he wants to be told how to do it, and it is the lawyer's business to tell him how."

I doubt if that picture was ever true; certainly it is completely false today. I know well the general counsel of most of the larger firms and have discussed with many of them their professional position and freedom. Kept they may be in the sense that the corporation pays their salary regularly and generously; kept they are not if one means that someone is the keeper of their conscience or of their professional judgments.

Freer men I have never known. Having staff rather than line functions, they are not subject to pressures to make a certain sales quota or to reach a production target. Often they alone are in a position within a corporation to stand out against wrongful business pressure. Their success does not depend on production or sales or a treasury balance; it depends upon being men of good judgment. That judgment must include a sound knowledge of law, the process by which both legislatures and courts make new law, and the ability to state one's convictions effectively but in good spirit.

These corporate counsel can and do take the long view. They are not entitled to exercise a veto power over corporate action and they do not aspire to that role. But if they are competent, they are listened to as one voice in the corporate family which is detached, analytical and objective, and which is raised with the corporation's overall and long-range interests always in mind.

I know of no corporate counsel who holds with Elihu Root's dictum. Mr. Root was probably right in his estimate that most corporate officials like to be told how to do what they have decided should be done, but the really responsible executives are equally appreciative of well-thought-out advice that a certain course of action is unsound, and that neither it not anything like it should be undertaken.

I suppose that many think he who controls the purse controls the mind, and that corporate counsel cannot have an independent judgment with respect to the plans of those who pay his salary. I have found it otherwise. A corporation counsel may not only reach an undesired conclusion, he is in a position to stay with it long after his brethren in the general practice might well find it the part of wisdom to rest on their record and the shield that the responsibility for error was not theirs.

The great danger to the professional independence of the corporate lawyer—and the only danger that I recognize—lies within the lawyer himself. It is that he may choose to subordinate his professional judgment to a commercial one; that he may forget that he is the lawyer but not the businessman. Yet if his interest in commercial considerations is kept in proper perspective, his value as a counselor increases. He becomes interested in keeping the company out of the red as well as out of the courtroom; in maintaining a trained, productive labor force as well as in Taft-Hartley; in employee safety as well as Workmen's Compensation; in effective salesmanship as well as Robinson-Patman; and in better production methods and new applications quite as much as in patents and infringements. This added comprehension improves his legal judgment. But he must never forget that his responsibility remains legal rather than commercial. Otherwise he is only the baseball pitcher who subordinates concentration on his curve and his control to the twice-a-season double.

A second misconception is that the corporate lawyer has a captive clientele. I have not found it so. If his judgments are not respected, if he is not available for consultation when wanted, or if he runs with the ball and makes the nonlegal decisions as well as the legal ones, his nonlegal brethren simply do without the advice of counsel when the need next arises. Of course, those corporate officials who deal only in matters of ultimate responsibility and with questions of obviously grave legal consequences, do not have this escape from lawyers; but nine-tenths of the matters that occupy the attention of a corporate legal department would simply be decided without the advice of lawyers if such counsel were not given cooperatively, promptly, and competently.

Another piece of folklore is that corporate lawyers are employed on salary to save money. I doubt that such an assumption is valid. The usual corporation lawyer would be less than human if he did not notice that outside counsel occasionally charge as much for a month's work as he may receive in a year. But such thoughts overlook the fact that corporation counsel is not only assured of a salary—and usually a good one—but of an office, a staff, a pension, possibly a stock option, and the variety of additional perquisites that go with his particular status as an official of his company. Corporate law departments have an increasing acceptance, not because of their relative cost, but because of the service they are in a position to perform.

If the corporation lawyer is to justify himself it must be on the basis that he renders a superior service. This I believe he does, not because he is a better lawyer, but because he is in a more favorable position than the general practitioner. For example, I am satisfield that I am a much more effective counsel to my corporation in my present capacity than I was as an outside general practitioner devoting almost full time to its work. The corporate counsel holds all the advantage in position, whether viewed from the standpoint of access to facts, understanding of personalities, comprehension of issues, or appreciation of long-range corporate policies and objectives.

II. THE UNIQUE ADVANTAGES OF THE CORPORATE COUNSEL

In most ways the corporate counsel functions like any other lawyer. He negotiates, drafts, and reviews contracts and written agreements of all sorts. He determines the legal meaning of statutes and written agreements. He participates in negotiations. He gives ad hoc judgments on an infinite variety of proposed corporate moves. He may or may not do courtroom work, depending largely on his own inclinations. He employs general law firms and work with them.[1]

But there are at least three aspects in which the corporate counsel is in a position to be uniquely effective. He may practice preventive law; he can be certain of his facts; and he can schedule his work on an acceptable timetable. How well he utilizes these advantages of his inside position is up to him, but the opportunity is there. If the possibilities in all three fields are fully developed, you have a lawyer at his maximum effectiveness.

1. A corporate counsel is in a position to practice preventive law: It has been said that a corporation needs a legal department in order to avoid the need for lawyers.[2] This is true for a variety of reasons.

Corporate counsel can be and usually is called into consultation early, commonly before any legal problem has arisen. He commonly participates for weeks or months in the planning, the discussions, the development of the corporate projects before legal difficulties arise. He has maximum opportunity to anticipate trouble. He may meet such legal difficulties either by counseling action that he regards as legal or by suggesting a change in the program that avoids the issue altogether. He is consulted in advance of legal trouble on an infinite variety of spot decisions; and this comes easily, both because he is available and because the advice does not add to the cost of the project.

It is not so natural for outside counsel to occupy this forehanded position. Commonly he is only consulted after a legal obstacle has arisen. While he could have been consulted earlier, there are difficulties. The corporate official who foresees the possibility of a legal problem may deprecate the time it takes to give outside counsel a correct feel of the facts or may be reluctant to incur additional expense. And perhaps the problem will never arise anyway. None of these considerations militate against a telephone call, a memorandum, or a conference with house counsel.

The long view is an important facet of preventive law. Much of a corporation's legal trouble arises from decisions to win today's battle and let tomorrow take care of itself. Consistent with this pragmatic philosophy, outside counsel, when retained, is frequently requested simply to construe a statute, draw a contract, or advise on the legality of a proposed corporate decision without being made a party to the total course of action of which the decision is but one piece. It is not so easy to limit the frame of reference of the corporation counsel. No fellow employee is in a position to tell him that he is not being asked to consider the long-range implications of a course of action or the effect of one department's moves upon the legal position of another. The frame of reference within which he operates, and must operate, is as broad as the interests of the corporation itself.

2. The corporate counsel is in a position to be sure footed on his facts: Most legal problems find their origin and their answer in the facts. One of the great values of corporate counsel is his ability to get the facts of a situation, not only promptly but accurately and fully. He has the advantage of devoting his full time to the affairs of a single company and of knowing its overall policies, programs, and problems with the assurance born of day-to-day relationship with them. He has a rather accurate basis for appraisal of the ability of his nonlegal corporate colleagues to give him the facts on which he must act. He is in a position to know who are objective and analytical, as well as those who are constitutionally optimistic or inclined to submit only those facts which will produce a predetermined answer. Additionally, house counsel is in a position to get data from any source within the corporation promptly and as a matter of routine.

Outside counsel does not commonly enjoy such advantages to an equal degree. His contact with the corporate organization usually cannot be as close or on as wide a scale. Normally, he cannot start with as thorough a knowledge of the company's overall position. The very existence of

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

factual investigations by outside counsel may arouse rumors, fears, and occasionally an effort to cover up mistakes. With rare exceptions, the ouside counsel considers only those problems which are brought to him and builds his factual background by a cross examination of the corporate employee who consults him. His knowledge of the facts is not apt to be much better or broader than the knowledge of the man which whom he talks, one who commonly is not a lawyer. Such further investigation as he may direct is likely to be on the basis of leads developed in these conversations. The general practitioner's preoccupation with the affairs of many clients, and his limited authority to probe behind the facts given to him, tend to limit rather severely the factual background of the outside practitioner. The files of many companies are replete with brilliantly reasoned opinions of general practitioners which have little or no value because of the incompleteness or the distorted emphasis of their factual assumptions.

The fact-finding advantages of the corporation counsel should be fully utilized. They are an indispensable tool to the practice of preventive law.

3. The corporation counsel is in a position to work on an acceptable timetable: I was somewhat shocked after 26 years in the general practice of corporate law to learn how little comprehension I really had of the importance of timing in corporate counseling. Litigation presents no problem, for the court determines the timing; nor does a Securities and Exchange Commission registration, for the underwriters and the Commission dictate the schedule. But in that great intermediate field of decisions on competitive problems such as the applicability of Robinson-Patman or the drafting of a contract or a deed, general practitioners, to a greater extent than house counsel, tend to view the assignment in isolation and as a timeless project. In a way this is not surprising, for the problem is usually submitted to them in isolation from the surrounding circumstances. And in the normal course of events, these legal assignments, artificially isolated from a current commercial struggle, take their place on the genefal practitioner's desk in competition with pending assignments, commonly for other clients.

Inside corporate counsel should have a better knowledge of timing. A Robinson-Patman Act question not uncommonly originates in a telephone call from a district sales office asking if a price may be cut or some other concession granted on a sale which, at that very moment, is being competitively sought by the company and its competitors on the basis of comparative price or terms. Unless the general sales representative can get legal advice within a matter of minutes, or, at most, of hours, he does not need the advice for the sale has been lost to a competitor by the company's inaction.

It is here that staff counsel has a great advantage. If a corporate legal department is well organized, there are at least 2, and preferably 3, lawyers in the department who are completely current on all decisions under Robinson-Patman and on the company's sales policies and problems. If certain commodities are under great competitive pressure, the house counsel should know it as a matter of daily liaison with the sales people with whom he regularly works, eats and plays. He is in a position to pass on the legality of a proposed sales gambit almost as soon as it is put to him. If more research is needed, he does it between legal assignments, knowing that the next problem in the same field will also come to him.

The ability to make the required legal decisions in timing with the nonlegal aspects of the same project is furthered by the common practice of assigning staff counsel to a corporate project at its inception, well in advance of any legal problem. Counsel sits in on the initial discussions between engineers, salesmen, or accountants, as the case may be. When a point of legal doubt is reached, counsel is not only there but he is completely conversant with the factual background and the personalities involved. On most such occasions, he will have had days or weeks of forewarning that at a foreseeable point in the project certain types of legal problems are to be anticipated, and when they are reached, should be able to pass upon them with a timeliness that will permit the project to continue without a break. I cannot stress too much the importance to a dynamic, competitive enterprise of a prompt legal decision.

Such speed is not often possible with outside counsel. Most corporations would be reluctant to retain a firm to absorb so much preliminary background before approaching the legal problem. The more normal procedure would be to await the legal impediment, then call in outside counsel, explain matters to him from the beginning, give him time to research the law, to get the matter on his own calendar in competition with assignments of other clients, and finally to give an answer.

Another advantage to a corporation in the employment of staff counsel is that these lawyers are available at all times for the company's work. More than that, their time can be marshaled so that they give priority to the problem that is most urgent. It is not always so with outside counsel who have a number of clients. It is no answer to one client to say that another's problem is more urgent or more important, for to the first client it is not. It is much easier within a single corporation to decide which problem is the most urgent, or, if there be a difference of opinion, to determine which corporate official takes precedence.

The timetable is also improved from the standpoint of the corporate official in that much less time must be spent with house counsel in explaining the problem than would be the case if a lawyer were called in from the outside. This makes the businessman much more ready to recognize a legal problem or the need for a lawyer's advice.

* * * * *

Thus far we have seen that the corporate counsel enjoys three unique advantages in working from within the corporate structure. If he lives up to his opportunities, he practices preventive law to the hilt; he understands the factual basis of his corporation's problems and their significance better than almost any man in the company; and he gives his counsel in a timely fashion that has an importance little understood outside the corporation. So much for the ability of the good corporate counsel to translate the advantage of his position into effective, day-by-day counseling.

The position and status of the corporation counsel give him another role to play, perhaps more significant than the ones already discussed. This is his opportunity, his right, indeed his duty, to counsel and encourage good corporate citizenship. The importance of this role can hardly be overstated.

IV. THE EMERGING ROLE OF THE CORPORATE COUNSEL AS AN ADVISER ON CORPORATE CITIZENSHIP

The corporate lawyer is in a uniquely effective position to counsel and encourage good corporate citizenship. The importance of an acceptable corporate citizenship in our delicately balanced capitalism cannot be overemphasized. Corporate freedom of action extends only so far as there is at least public acquiescence, and preferably public support; and the public is fickle. It is the corporation counsel's prime function to work toward maintaining the public's support and consent for the existing and evolving corporate form.

I do not mean to imply that his is likely to be a voice in the wilderness. Every good management is well aware of the pressures on our evolving corporate capitalism and is extremely sensitive in its appraisal of the consequences of compliance with or resistance to these pressures. But a corporation can proceed into this difficult area with much more effectiveness if its corporate counsel is also alert to the problem.

1. The growing contribution of modern corporate capitalism to the social and economic well-being of the Nation is matched by its increasing political vulnerability: The latter is its Achilles' heel. Our national mass-production industries have grown, not by any design of management, but in response to the spiraling demand of the American people for an ever-increasing standard of living. The goods and services that are required can only be produced in the quantity, the quality, and at the price required by the consuming public if larger and larger amounts of capital are pooled into single mass-production enterprises. Our corporate society has evolved as the servant of the people; not their master.

Yet the American public is worried by size. It yearns nostalgically for the horse-and-buggy days, the village blacksmith, and the corner grocery store. It respects the emergence of individuals—of human personality—and subscribes to the folklore that men develop more fully in an atmosphere of small business and individual effort. Yet, in truth, our people would not return to that earlier society if they could, for they would be repelled by the limitations imposed.

Today, the demands of the American people have brought into being an entirely different type of organization. In nearly every industry there is a hard core of mass production, on the periphery of which are thousands of suppliers, fabricators, and distributors.

The automobile industry is the classic prototype. Five manufacturers make the cars that are such a dominant part of the social and economic pattern of the United States in the 1950's. Employment by these five companies aggregates several hundred thousand men and women. Many times that number supply the raw materials, build the highways, and staff the garages and filling stations that are to be found on almost every busy corner of each municipality in this land.

Aluminum, steel, chemicals, electronics, and scores of other basic products currently in large demand present a similar pattern.

These vast corporate enterprises exist as an answer to a social and an economic need. But what has been created can be destroyed, obviously in the market place, but almost as certainly by political action.

2. Every abuse of corporate power, real or imagined, no matter how legally conceived or executed, is almost certain to be followed by governmental restrictions on corporate freedom of action: These restraints are the inevitable responses of a sensitive political apparatus to the wishes of any considerable segment of the American people.

The right of railroad companies to run their own enterprises according to their private judgments was taken from them by the creation of an Interstate Commerce Commission. The Sherman Act was a sensed and continuing judgment of the American people against monopolies. The issuance of corporate securities is strictly curtailed as a consequence of the excesses of the 1920's, albeit excesses within the law. Public utility holding companies paid for pyramiding with a sentence of corporate death. The pricing of merchandise is controlled, con-

fused, and confounded by the Robinson-Patman Act, which was an extreme response to what were believed to be abuses of corporate power in the pricing of products.

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Another deeply significant facet of this emerging corporate capitalism is its ownership by millions of relatively small shareholders. Tomorrow's capital, which will support and extend our corporate society, will be provided in relatively small amounts by millions of people and by their collective savings channeled through pension trusts, labor unions, and life insurance companies.

One vital problem of the professional managers who have succeeded to the leadership of the great corporate enterprises of today is to conduct them in a manner satisfactory to this new class of shareholders; and, quite as importantly, to explain and justify their stewardship. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. is owned by over 1,500,000 shareholders; General Motors Corp. by over 650,000; the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey by more than 400,000 people; and my own company, only recently emerged from a closely held ownership, by some 27,000 shareholders. The interests of these shareholders must be understood and protected. Corporate counsel should be their counsel, too. The problem is the more difficult because shareholders so fragmented are almost necessarily inarticulate. Yet their savings represent the capital on which our corporate society must depend. More than that, these shareholders represent in increasing percentage of the voting public, and their views will weigh ever more heavily in the shaping of the corporate future.

As a colleague [2] has put it:

"The point I want to make is that the court and jury that concerns the corporation counsel today is not sitting on an isolated case in a single courtroom. It sits as perpetual grand jury with powers just as sweeping. It sits continuously across the land; and with the speed of modern communications it can get and appraise the evidence very rapidly indeed."

3. The corporate lawyer is in a strong position to counsel and encourage legal conduct that will merit public support: It is here that corporate counsel can perform his greatest role. He is a student of the gradual enlargement of our common and statute law. If he is worth his salt, he knows better than most those economic and social pressures that will find their way into law, as well as those that are false and predatory.

The post of corporate counsel is no role for an appeaser; he must know just as well when to advise as when to yield a little in order not to lose a great deal more.

More importantly, he must know how to deploy corporate forces so that on most occasions battle lines will never be formed. He must rise above the cautious role of the lawyer who simply advises that a proposed course of action is legal or illegal and leaves to others the wisdom of the corporate policy.

The corporate counsel's voice should be insistent in favor of going beyond bare legal minima, when to do so will build for his company a reservoir of public good will, or minimize or eliminate what would otherwise be a widespread feeling of injury or injustice.

Corporate support of higher education, of hospitals, and of community betterment—explained to and supported by the shareholders whose money is being spent—are illustrations that quickly come to mind. The equitable sharing of one's own production with customers in times of shortage is another. The insistence upon the letter of a contract when the consequence is widespread distress in certain areas of our economy is an obvious example of a course to be avoided. In the long run, a corporate policy or program is not justified, and will not benefit the company expounding it, unless it benefits consumer, supplier, employee, and shareholder alike.

Corporate counsel is freer than anyone else in the corporate family from pressure, and his responsibility is correspondingly greater. He has no direct responsibility for production, sales or finance. He operates from a detached staff position. He is trained in analysis and is a student of the political processes out of which our laws and free capitalistic society have emerged. Like the abbott in the ancient monastery, the clerk to the feudal baron or the chancellor to the king, the corporation counsel is in a position to wield a unique influence. The fact that his number is rapidly increasing and the importance of his role recognized and utilized, leads me to believe that, as a group, corporate counsel are exercising their prerogatives constructively. At least, that is my hope.

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[1] A comprehensive enumeration of duties commonly lodged in a corporate law department is to be found in the Corporation Law Department by Charles S. Maddock, Harv. Bus. Rev., March-April, 1952, pp. 119, 125–133.

[2] House Counsel: The Lawyer With a Single Client, by Stephen E. Davis, 41 A. B. A. J. 831.

[3] The Role of the Corporation Counsel by William T. Gossett, Wash. & Lee L. Rev., vol. XIII, No. 2, 1956.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Fantastically Foolish To Strengthen Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Saturday Evening Post of June 29, 1957. It exposes convincingly the fallacies in the arguments advanced in some quarters for larger trade with Red China. When has our country ever benefited in the end by helping Communists?

TRADING WITH RED CHINA ISN'T NECESSARILY REALISTIC

Since the British Government served notice that it intended to permit its nationals to trade more extensively with Communist China than they have been permitted to do since the Korean war, an apparently coordinated chorus has risen to insist that the United States must eventually adopt the same policy. The British argument is that it is illogical to enforce restraints upon trade with Red China which we do not impose on trade with Soviet Russia.

There is a certain logic in this position as far as the British are concerned, although it might be more aptly stated backward: why not be as tough on Russia as we are on China? Surely Great Britain has as much reason as we to fear the triumph of communism in the world. Anyway the British argument hardly disposes of the reasons why the United States has up to now refused to remove, or significantly modify, the ban on trade with the Chinese Communists. Undoubtedly, however, Britain's action will step up the pressure upon our Government to follow suit. Indeed, we shall be fortunate if we do not find ourselves helping build up the Red Chinese war strength on the unique theory that this is the way to weaken it.

The Battle Act, which attempts to regulate trade with "nations threatening the security of the United States," has been more strictly applied to Communist China than to the Soviet Union for the simple reason that at the moment China presents the more immediate threat. After all, the Communists are holding Americans in their prisons, and in Korea are building up their war strength contrary to the terms of the armistice. Red China is still officially at war with the United Nations, having been formally condemned as an aggressor. It would be as fantastically foolish to strengthen Red China now as it was to provide Japan with the sinews of war in the late 1930's.

Another factor which is generally glossed over by advocates of more trade with Red China is the fact the West would have to accept the products of slave labor. The Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations has pointed out that, according to an official report by Secretary General Hammarskjold to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, "the Peiping regime has literally enslaved 25 million Chinese—perhaps the greatest slave-labor force in modern times, exceeding even that in the Soviet Union." The determined opposition by labor-union leaders to recognition of Communist China rests largely upon ability of countries using forced labor to dump their products abroad at prices which cannot be met where free labor conditions prevail. Even those entrepreneurs who may be tempted by the prospect of a little competition for labor leaders would hardly welcome serious damage to the economy from an unequal contest with slave-produced goods.

Finally there is the fact that the Communist conquerors of China are widely reported to be in a political and economic crisis. If this is true, it is good news for us and the free world. Why curdle so desirable a possibility? Why fasten the shackles even more tightly on the Chinese people and destroy what is left of free Asia's confidence in American good faith?

United States and International Labor Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the New York Times, New York, N. Y., on Tuesday, July 2, 1957, entitled "United States and International Labor Organization":

Failure of Congress to raise the ceiling on United States contributions to the International Labor Organization has put this country in a most embarrassing situation before the 77 other member nations. Our share of the burden of International Labor Organization expenses has long been 25 percent—the lowest proportionate contribution we make to any of the United Nations agencies. But for some time past our payments have been limited by act of Congress to $1,750,000 a year. Unless this ceiling is raised the United States will be $42,000 in arrears before this year is out.

Last week the International Labor Organization conference adopted a budget for 1958 of $7.9 million—an increase of only 4 percent over 1957. This was due almost entirely to adjustments in salaries and allowances to bring the International Labor Organization in line with U. N. scales. Our Government delegates had to cast 2 of the 3 negative votes (there were 148 yeas) because the present ceiling on United States contributions would make us fail by $214,000 to meet our share of the 1958 International Labor Organization's bills. How picayune can we be?

But it is not too late to save our pride and honor. Senate Joint Resolution 73 would raise the limit on our payments to $2 million, which would allow us to meet our obligations at least through 1958. This measure was approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and has passed by the Senate without a single dissenting voice. It is now before the House—in the Foreign Affairs Committee. We urge immediate and favorable action.

Army Missile Development Should Be Continued

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 5, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, in recent days I have noted an increasing awareness of the move to guillotine the Army's missile development program, and some of the reasons for such action. Secretary of Defense Wilson's policy of cutting the Army's program is beginning to take effect in a number of ways.

It is my sincere hope for our Nation that Mr. Wilson or his successor, will take a whole new look at the missile program and give Army the go-ahead signal to proceed with its already phenomenally successful developments in this field.

It is disturbing to see that a top German scientist, Dr. Hermann Oberth, "the father of modern rocketry," may go back to Germany because the United States cannot watch a $2,400-a-year pension. After 2 years in this country, Dr. Oberth feels now that he is ready to start "my real work." I hope that some arrangements can be made to retain in the United States this scientist, who rejected offers of the Soviet and of Germany to work on missiles over there.

That, however, is a personnel problem for Army's Redstone project.

The underlying crisis, I think, is best described in an article which appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Post, entitled "New Weapons Question." Written by John G. Norris, the article indicates clearly the fundamental issues at stake in this crucial policy struggle.

The article follows:

NEW WEAPONS QUESTION

(By John G. Norris)

DISPUTE RAISED OVER ROLE IN DEVELOPING MISSILES

Shall private enterprise take over the entire job of developing new weapons for the Armed Forces, particularly the vital, new missiles that soon may largely replace conventional aircraft and guns? Or should the Government, the universities and other nonprofit institutions continue to do a considerable part of the job? The issue, analogous in some respects to the long standing fight between private and public power interests, promises to develop into a major national dispute.

According to Col. John C. Nickerson, Army missile expert who recently was court-martialed for leaking defense secrets, this underlying controversy had much to do with the Army-Air Force row over the Jupiter and Thor ballistic missiles and Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson's decision in favor of the Air Force's Thor.

Nickerson testified that the Air Force and the aircraft industry want to scuttle the Army's missile program and maintain a profitable working relationship that runs into millions and millions of dollars. He did not suggest that the relationship or actions were illegal, but noted that many military men and civilians leave the Pentagon to take big jobs in the industry.

Beyond what the Army colonel said and hinted, there is the definite fact that the Air Force—and the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics—rely almost entirely on private enterprise for the development of new equipment, while the Army, along with the Navy Bureau of Ordnance, conduct much of their development work at Government plants or nonprofit institutions.

The Army's 1,500-mile Jupiter, which already has been successfully tested, was developed at Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Ala., largely by scientists and engineers on the Government payroll. The rocket powerplant for the Jupiter is a product of an aircraft company, and some other proponent parts of the Jupiter also were farmed out to industry. But the overall direction, much of the extensive engineering work, building of prototypes, and testing of the missiles have been in Government hands at Redstone Arsenal. When and if the Jupiter is perfected and authorized for production, private industry will tool up and build it.

Somewhat similarly, the Johns Hopkins University Applied Science Laboratory in Silver Spring has developed a whole family of missiles for the Navy Bureau of Ordnance under its basic "Bumblebee" research project. They include the antiaircraft missile Terrier, now in use in the Fleet, and the Tartar and Talos that will be ready in a year or so. Scientists at Johns Hopkins, a nonprofit institution, carry the development work on the missiles through the building of prototypes and testing stage, when private industry takes over actual production. Other leading universities have set up laboratories undertaking similar development work under nonprofit contracts.

The Air Force's Thor, in contrast, has been largely developed by private companies, headed by Douglas Aircraft, under USAF guidance and inspection.

Much of what Nickerson and other Army partisans have said is strongly disputed, but the heads of the Nation's aircraft industry make no secret of what they think about one point in his testimony. Retired Air Force General Orval R. Cook, president of the Aircraft Industries Association, brought the long standing internal controversy over missile development out into the open at a news conference this week.

"I personally think the Government arsenal has about outlived its usefulness," Cook bluntly told newsmen. He said flatly that the universities should confine themselves to teaching and basic research, and turn over all development work from conception on to industry. Cook said at the start of his press conference that he wouldn't comment on the Nickerson statements and "didn't want to get into a controversy." But it seemed clear that his words were aimed at answering the Army colonel and staking out his industry's claim for the growing missile field.

Cook argued that aircraft missiles were quite similar and that the aircraft industry can cut missile costs if given the whole development and production job. He conceded that nonprofit institutions can do development work cheaper than aircraft plants, but declared that this is more than offset by the long delays and costs incident to transferring a project from developer to the producer.

Cook made it plain that he thought all arsenals—not just Redstone—could well be abandoned. Nonprofit agencies like the Johns Hopkins Laboratory, he said, should confine their work to basic research—possibly carrying it forward to flying a handmade test vehicle but not through prototype tests.

Maj. Gen. J. F. Phillips, United States Air Force, retired, who heads the AIA's missile section, agreed that, under this rule, the Silver Spring laboratory might have developed the original Bumblebee ram-jet test vehicle but then turned over the job of developing the actual missiles that stemmed from it to private enterprise.

Proponents of the arsenal system have argued that Government engineers at Redstone save the Government money by providing a closer check on industry costs and profits. Some have compared the arsenals to maintenance of Government TVA powerplants as a yardstick to judge private power costs and rates. Cook said this was not a factor in his industry's attitude, and that "we're interested in keeping down costs."

Newsmen reminded Cook that Chrysler, an auto builder, has been slated to be prime contractor for Jupiter when and if it goes into production. They asked that when he argued for industry to take over the work of the arsenals and universities, did he mean all private enterprise or the aircraft industry? Cook said he was championing all private industry, but felt his industry was the best qualified for the job.

Basically, however, Cook is fighting for the survival of much of his industry as plane contracts dry up, and missiles become the thing. What the airframe manufacturers want is to be accepted as the developer and prime contractor handling the entire weapons system of new missiles. For the job of building the frames for missiles is a minor one and the big plane builders can only remain big by getting in on the ground floor and supervising the overall job of building the robot missiles.

Norman Chandler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, Time magazine of July 15, 1957, contains a cover story concerning Mr. Norman Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times. This article discusses the tremendous growth and impact of the Los Angeles area and points out the outstanding civic leadership rendered by Mr. Chandler in helping to make such great progress in southern California possible. I hope all of my colleagues will have an opportunity to read this interesting and thought-provoking article.

The article follows:

CITIES: THE NEW WORLD

Los Angeles wants no dudes, loafers, and paupers; people who have no means and trust to luck, cheap politicians, failures, bummers, grubs, impecunious clerks, bookkeepers, lawyers, doctors. We need workers. Hustlers. Men of brains, brawn, and guts. Men who have a little capital and a good deal of energy—first-class men.

Goatee aflutter, walrus mustache aquiver, Col. Harrison Gray Otis, 48, late of the Union Army and—in 1886—editor of the Los Angeles Times (circulation 2,500), fired his editorial cannon ball into the boom-frantic town by the Pacific. To the pueblo settlement seething with rainbow chasers, this shot barked out a gruff prophecy: Thenceforward, the Times and her guardians would man the lanyard of Los Angeles destiny.

Today—only 71 years later—Los Angeles groans in the echo of that cry. A once meager patch of sand in southern California, its rubber band boundaries stretch past a natural basin rimmed by mountains, flow over the hilltops and peaks into the valleys and deserts beyond, nudge the very Pacific beaches.

SATELLITES AND EARACHES

The "city," essentially, is no more; its 445-square mile area with 2 million inhabitants is only a mother country, and its satellites sprawl around its perimeter for 4,853 square miles—more than 3 times the size of Rhode Island—overreaching Los Angeles County, enveloping adjacent Orange County to the south. It is the Nation's fastest-growing megalopolis, with a population (6 million) exceeding that of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Nevada combined. And, like an emergized ameba, it is bewilderingly fertile.

Nourished by a generous soil and a benign climate, this open-toed, pastel empire last week beat with a great humthrumming vitality. On Wilshire Boulevard, rivet guns prattled into the fresh steel of new office buildings. The reiterated whop of the hammered nail rang out in a 6,000-house development on San Fernando farmland, in a 17,000-house subdivision in the tawny hills 40 miles to the southwest in Palos Verdes—and wherever bulldozers sliced down citrus groves to make room for more. From the swarms of workers in electronics and aircraft plants came one big, tumultuous earache. And millions of nerves throbbed with the nightmare of 3 million cars (one for every 2.2 people vesus Detroit's 1 for ever 3.2) cascading over 204 miles of multilaned freeways. Added to this was the arrival in Los Angeles last week of 4,200 pop-eyed newcomers (25 every hour of the year). Like the ever-moving, ever-changing populace that moved aside to make room for them, the new Angelenos eagerly got set to join the scurrying rhythms and busy polyphony: to work more change, to make more moves, more money, new houses, new businesses—and to crowd out of the way of next week's horde of 4,200.

MONOLITH AND CATALYST

In this bouncing scenery, the one unchanging force is the Los Angeles Times. Each morning it drops with a thick, self-assured plop on 462,257 doorsteps from Anaheim to Azusa,[1] like a faintly welcome striped-pants uncle (wealthy but voluble). Neither a great newspaper nor a poor one, the Times, from its downtown limestone monolith, serves as an unshakable herald, chronicling the region with loving detail, goading Angelenos toward the melagopolitan destiny ordained by Harrison Otis.

Presiding today over the Times is Norman Chandler, 57, a brawny, silver-haired man (6 feet ½ inch) with the sun-coppered frame of a Laguna Beach lifeguard. Grandson of Harrison Otis, Norman Chandler directs much more than the day-to-day region-raking of the Times. Individually, and with his wife Dorothy—and through the shareholdings of 4 sisters and 2 brothers—he rules a multi-million-dollar business network that glitters in paper manufacturing, real estate, securities, television, commercial printing, ranching, and oil. With his heritage and his holdings, Norman Chandler is the megalopolis' catalyst.

Beneath the foam spray of Los Angeles' motion, Chandler and the Times represent the floorless depths of calculated energy. Where other big cities grew at first into distinguished monuments only to lapse often into monumental despair, Los Angeles surges into endless patterns of change. Beginning with Harrison Otis, its builders reached out for new waves of pioneers, swept them into the dry-bed land, let in the waters and kept them churning. In shifting currents, they flooded new places and brought still more currents behind them. An endless stream of industry flowed in to tap the new buying power, and as industry expanded on a wide base of diversification, new manpower flowed in to energize it. Thus change begat change, and in an inexplicable response to the call of change, thousands of dissatisfied or adventurous Americans, rebuffing the peace of familiar surroundings, crossed the mountains and deserts to glory in a peace of change. With Chandler's powerful support, Los Angeles built the gigantic (capacity: 105,000) Memorial Coliseum in 1923—so that the city might one day house the Olympic Games (it did—with Times Reporter Henry in charge—in 1932). To end the jungle of railroad tracks and separate stations that marred the downtown area, Chandler helped push through the graceful, comfortable Union Station. Rolling briskly along, he pushed the "All-Year Club," which pulls more tourists (1,500,000) to Los Angeles in summer than in winter, as well as the mammoth (membership: 487,000), politically powerful Automobile Club of Southern California.

HOOVER AND HOT DOGS

With it all, Harry Chandler was an exceedingly practical man. Though he fought hard for the Hoover Dam on the Colorado River (7 percent of southern California's water), Chandler, who had vast land holdings below the border in Mexico's Baja California, fiercely (but unsuccessfully) opposed the building of the All-American Canal in 1934–1940, which diverted Colorado River water into the north-of-the-border Imperial Valley and thus robbed him of his Mexican development potential. He enraged his fellow Angelenos even more in the depression-ridden thirties when he sold the Times' site at Broadway and First Street to the city for $1,193,345, when the property was carried on the tax rolls for only $300,000.

But there were few to criticize; and anyway, Harry Chandler's fellow Californians were too busy being swept into wonderful new worlds of magnitude: Signal Hill, in Long Beach, had suddenly erupted with oil discovery in 1921, and other strikes followed. Geologists, homeowners and hot-dog hawkers went wild with new oil finds; corrupt politicians and dogged reformers exchanged office in a frenzied game of musical chairs; under its own klieg lights, Hollywood shimmered and shimmied in its greatest days of bosom-rattling hedonism—and was busy cranking out the newfangled "talkies."

HEAT AND URBANITY

The blusterous lead of General Otis had long passed. Harry Chandler, pulling the lanyard ruthlessly, triggered his way into the heated, frantic days of the 1920's and 1930's and, as World War II loomed, turned it over to his eldest son.

As today's scion of the Times, Norman Chandler is neither blusterous nor ruthless, casually fingers the Times lanyard with a friendly urbanity where his predecessors might well have shot the town to blazes. Under his father's no-nonsense hand, Norman plowed through boyhood farm chores, rode the range and punched cattle for a few happy years on the family's 300,000-acre El Tejon ranch 75 miles north of Los Angeles, went to Stanford University (business administration). In 1922 he married fellow student Dorothy Buffum (Buffie) dutifully settled down for a rough tour of workaday jobs at the Times, took over as boss when his father retired in 1941.

TICKS AND POLITICS

"The difference between Harry and Norman," says one oldtime Angeleno, "is that Harry sat in his office and ruled this city like a king. Norman doesn't rule; he isn't interested in ruling. What he wants is to become an institution." Yet in a town where the Times is one of the few enduring institutions, Norman Chandler knows better than to try to wield an overpowering political club. Today's Los Angeles is too amorphous for one man to rule, one newspaper to command,[2] or even one political organization to anneal. The Times itself is conservative, and, says Chandler, proud of it. "But no one can force anybody down anybody else's throat in this area. That's because we not only don't have, but can't have, anything resembling machine politics. If there's a bloc of votes that can be delivered in southern California, I certainly don't know about it." Mayor Norris Poulson exerts little personal political force, runs the city with a multipartisan 15-man council. An ultra-conservative, Poulson ticks along with the Times, but neither the Times nor Republican Chandler winds him up every day.

Nevertheless, in State and national politics the Times carries a lot of Republican weight at nomination time. It has been a strong backer in the past of such Republican sons as Gov. Goodwin Knight, Senator Bill Knowland, and Vice President Richard Nixon, and they well know that it can be a candidate's valued friend in an area that encompasses two-thirds of the statewide vote. For example, in the major fight that is shaping up between BILL KNOWLAND and DICK NIXON for the 1960 Presidential nomination, Norman Chandler's quiet word on 1960 may come as a political bombshell: "I think DICK NIXON would make one of the finest Presidents the United States has ever had. BILL KNOWLAND is a fine man, but if they are both candidates for the GOP nomination in 1960, Mr. NIXON will get the support of the Times."

POWERS THAT BE

By virtue of its overlapping and horizonless geography, Los Angeles has also grown beyond the conn of single powers like the chamber of commerce or even the select, sacred California Club, whose once-powerful members coached the city from the sidelines (and relegated newsmen—even Timesmen—to the real elevators of its pink brick sanctuary on South Flower Street). Instead, any random list of the most influential southern Californians would include both native sons and latecomers whose only connection with each other is that they find themselves appointed more or less to the same civic committees. For example:

Asa Call, 64, president of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co., rock-hard conservative, long a behind-scene Republican political operator and a big and respected voice with the chamber of commerce, Auto Club, Standard Oil of California and the California Bank, who runs the University of Southern California board of trustees with a firm hand.

Reese Hale Taylor, 57, president of the Union Oil Company of California, conservative, tightfisted member of the Federal

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Reserve Bank Board, but an enthusiastic spender and adviser on projects dealing with southern California development.

Edwin W. Pauley, 54, shrewd oilman and politico, onetime Democratic national committeeman from California, a mighty force with Democrats during the Truman administration, principal owner of the Los Angeles Rams pro football team, hardworking chairman of the University of California's board of regents.

Frank L. King, 59, president of the billion-dollar California Bank, conservative politically and fiscally, pioneer leader in bringing big capital investment into Los Angeles.

Edward W. Carter, 46, president of the Broadway-Hale department-store chain (14 stores), a handsome Ivy Leaguer (Harvard), a relative newcomer to the great circle; tough, confident, ambitious, hard worker for the unversity and community music activities.

Harry J. Volk, 51, who gave up his job as western boss of Prudential Life Insurance Co. last fall rather than move to eastern headquarters and the possibility of the presidency. Also a newcomer, now president of the Union Bank of Los Angeles and top ranker in citywide fund-raising ventures.

GERANIUMS AND BLESSINGS

But the people of Los Angeles, entranced by the magnetism of climate and the magic of a rootless but wholly accepted abandon, are beyond anybody's fiscal, political or intellectual control. They live on beaches (Malibu, Redondo), in canyons (Laurel, Coldwater), in foothills (Arcadia, Sierra Madre), on hilltops (Hollywood, Santa Monica), in valleys (San Fernando, San Gabriel), and on deserts (Antelope Valley, Palm Springs). Their new homes, built at the rate of 189 a day, range from picture-windowed crackerboxes, jammed together on vast tracts, to comfortable, everyday residences, to fancy ranches and split-level palaces perched on cliffs and ridges—and when grubby desert land 100 miles distant goes up for sale, they fall over each other in the grab. At home their gardens crawl with exotic plants, their lawns with flowers ("Goodby, California," wrote one fed-up Iowan, "and your damn geraniums").

Some segments of Los Angeles have yet to shake off the pan-cake make-up of the past: Forest Lawn Cemetery ("You can have the dignity of a Forest Lawn undertaking for as little as * * *") still schedules funerals and weddings with split-second precision in its chapels; revivalists pray to order for anybody who fills in a newspaper ad coupon; $3 high colonics have not yet fully given way to hi-fi; Hollywood, nearly torn apart at the scenes by the new assortment of prosperity makers—avionics, oil, heavy industry—is behaving itself, and, like a needy laundress looking for work, is now taking in television.

POCKETS AND BAUBLES

Fast disappearing, like Hollywood's old mask, are other symbols of the city's callowness. Its taxpayers spend more per capita than any other major city for art centers, museums. Its big but scattered pockets of industry (current annual output: $6 billion) and topflight universities have attracted one of the Nation's best pools of technical and scientific talent.

Some of the talent, like Norman Chandler's wife, Buffie, is homegrown and thrives on achievement. Trim and smart (dresses by Dior and Balenciaga) at 56, Buffie Chandler first dived energetically into public life in 1935 as a volunteer at the Los Angeles Children's Hospital, inevitably became a trustee. Inevitably, too, she became a regent at the University of California, almost singlehanded rescued the foundering Hollywood Bowl concerts, collected civic committee chairmanships like baubles on a charm bracelet. It was she, says her husband, who steered the Times into its long war on the great Los Angeles blight: smog. "Buff and I were driving downtown one day in 1946," says Chandler, "and Buff's eyes started to stream. She looked at me and she said, 'O. K., Norm, when are you really going to do something about this?' So we went to work."[3]

THE ASSISTANT

Serene as a smogless moment in the city, Buffie and Norman start their day with a swim in the Chandler pool behind the square concrete-block family mansion in the Hancock Park section of town. By 8:30 a. m. Norman rolls out his black Mercedes 300, heads off to the Times Building 5 miles away, where he imperturbably juggles the deskload of problems that reach out from all his financial and civic connections.

Not far behind, grinding downtown in her little black Simca, is Buffie. Efficient, charming, she carries the informal title of assistant to the president, works in a Chinese-modern office next to her husband's Spartan, oak-paneled room, "unofficially" runs the women's pages of the Chandler papers. Current pursuit: the drive to establish a $55 million civic auditorium and music center (against opposition that fairly cringes at the sound of her name).

Together, the Chandlers and the Times press their Otis-given faith in change and growth. In their phalanx too are the engineers, scientists, physicists, educators, artists, and managers who one day, say the planners, will stretch Los Angeles for miles beyond its explosive perimeter, embracing perhaps 20 million souls, and very likely leading the Nation in though and achievement as well as sunglasses and kidney-bean swimming pools.

SOMETHING NEW

Foremost in this design is Los Angeles' cry for more water. Underway now, with a big push from the Times, is the $2 billion project to bring Feather River water from the northern part of the State 600 miles into southern California. After that: more schools (needed: a 32-room schoolhouse each week for the next 15 years), smog research, a system to replace the area's laughably inadequate public transportation muddle, better medical and cultural facilities, and—Norman Chandler's pet project—more than 600 miles of new freeways.

Sums up Buffie Chandler: "I don't say Los Angeles is the most beautiful place on earth, or even the most desirable. I love San Francisco, for instance. But I could never live there, because everything that needed doing has long since been done. In Los Angeles, things will always need doing, things will always need to be made better. Los Angeles is a place for the kind of people who are willing to try something new. It's a place for people who want to build a new world."

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[1] "Everything from 'A to Z in the U. S. A.'"

[2] Sharply aware of that fact, Times Boss Chandler launched a breezy, halter-and-shorts afternoon tabloid, the Mirror (now the Mirror-News), in 1948, changed it in 1954 to full size. Editorially independent, the paper (circulation 308,594) is self-consciously middle of the road, still in the red ink. Chandler's Los Angeles competitors: the Hearst Examiner (circulation 350,739) and Herald and Express (344,028).

[3] Ironically, Los Angeles' one big commodity, sunshine, helps infest the area with smog. Pollutants pouring upward give off hydrocarbons, react photochemically with the sunlight and oxygen in the air, creating ozone that burns Angeleno eyes like tear gas. City authorities now run a three-stage "smog alert," only the first of which has ever been declared: (1) when the ozone count reaches .5 for each million parts of air, all burning of rubbish is forbidden; (2) when it reaches one part per million, all but essential auto traffic may be halted; (3) at 1.5 parts, an emergency is declared (at which, presumably, a squadron of planes will sweep over the city and dust it with Miltown).

The Truth About Red China—As Reported by the American GI's Who Chose It in Korea and Have Now Returned to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, there are few places about which more misinformation has been spoken or written by people who have not been there than Red China. Having been for 8 months in an area in China under Communist control in 1930, and having had rather intimate contact with their leaders on several occasions later, I have tried through the years to report what I saw, as a duty to my country and its decent and unsuspicious people.

It was too bad that a very few American boys in Korea—sick, hungry, afraid, disillusioned with a war that did not seem to make sense—were beguiled into choosing to go to Red China as a supposed utopia. But since they went and several have now come home in disillusionment, it would be folly for us not to read carefully their reports, and learn therefrom.

The U. S. News & World Report is to be commended for interviewing five of those who came back and publishing the verbatim answers to questions. I shall introduce the report of one such returnee each day. The first, after the introduction from the U. S. News & World Report of June 28, 1957, is included herewith:

THEY CHOSE RED CHINA, AND THEN—

(What is life really like in Red China? Is communism solving the people's problems and making them happy? In 1953, a group of 21 American soldiers chose life under communism in China in preference to life in the United States. Some were swayed by Communist persuasion. Others may have feared punishment for their actions in prisoner-of-war camps. Now, 4 years later, eight have come back, disillusioned, with a story to tell. The story of Red China through the eyes of Americans living with the Chinese people is told in the interviews that follow. This is a grassroots picture and gives you an understanding not to be had from reports of visitors to China, on 30-day tours with Communist guides.)

Eight Americans today can tell the down-to-earth story of Red China. They are Americans who have lived and worked with the Chinese people until recently.

These eight entered China as Communist heroes. They gave up the American way of life to accept the ways of communism. Today, they are back in the United States. The eighth man left Communist territory only a few days ago.

Most of these men came back not knowing the fate that might await them here—whether it would be jail for the remainder of their lives, or even the firing squad for having forsaken their country in time of war.

Out of 21 Americans who defected to the Communists at the time of the prisoner exchange following the Korean war, these 8 have come back so far. Most of the others are reported to be wanting to come back.

Out of the 8 who did return, U. S. News & World Report has interviewed 5, including Andrew Fortuna, who came out of China on June 15. Two others cannot be located. One prefers not to talk.

The five who tell their stories of life under communism are young Americans with average, commonplace backgrounds. In China, they experienced life as it is actually lived there. They worked in Chinese factories and on Chinese farms, attended Chinese training schools and universities. Theirs was not a guided tour, but experience with life as communism orders it.

A glance at the map shows where they went to work and live—spread over a broad area in populous northern and eastern China.

The America they once forsook looks good to them all today. The five who tell, in their words, why that is so are Richard R. Tenneson, of Minneapolis, Minn.; Otho G. Bell, of Olympia, Wash.; Lewis W. Griggs, of Nacogdoches, Tex.; David Hawkins, of Oklahoma City, Okla., and Andrew Fortuna, of Ionia, Mich.

"I HAD TO GET OUT OF CHINA" EVEN IF IT MEANT ARREST

Richard Tenneson, when offered a choice of countries during the long process of prisoner exchange, decided to stick with the Communists.

His mother, Mrs. Portia Howe, flew to Tokyo at the time and then tried, in vain, to go on to Korea in an effort to persuade Tenneson to return home.

On January 28, 1954, however, Tenneson left Korea, where he had been held as a prisoner of war by the Chinese, and entered China. He was 20 years old.

In the United States he had lived in several communities in southern Minnesota. In school he was rated as an intelligent boy. He quit the Alden, Minn., high school after his junior year to enlist in the Army. When taken to China he was put into a special school at Taiyüan for more than 6 months to be taught the theories of communism. Then he was sent to Tsinan to work in the machine shop of a paper mill.

Tenneson left Red China in December 1955. He now is working in a print shop in Minneapolis and reports that he is learning a trade and is getting on well, even though he feels that he could not return to his home town of Alden.

The interview that follows was recorded in Tenneson's room in a Minneapolis suburb:

"Question. What kind of job did you have over there?

"Answer. I worked in a factory in Tsinan. I worked in the repair shop, with a lathe, and I made little bolts and big bolts and middle-sized bolts—just various things like that—and washers. Nothing too complicated, because my skill wasn't enough.

"Question. How long did you work—how many hours?

"Answer. Forty-eight hours a week.

"Question. How much was your pay?

"Answer. Thirty dollars a month, Chinese money. That's $15 American—our dollars.

"Question. What could that money buy? For example, how much is a decent suit of clothes worth there?

"Answer. Well, that's a comparative question. A suit of clothes like we wear here would be about $350. Of course, a suit like you wear there was about $23.

"Question. How was the factory, the working conditions?

"Answer. It didn't have any windows—it had some windows, but some of them were gone. It didn't have any heat, we would take 5-gallon drums and saw them in half and burn wood in them to have heat in the wintertime. And we had a 60-watt bulb by every lathe and that's all the light we had.

"Question. How about safety conditions?

"Answer. We had the overhead-belt system. You know: One big motor pulled a string of pulleys up above, and then each machine had a belt from there. And there were guys all the time catching their hands in the belts and stuff like that.

"Question. Where did you live? Did you have an apartment?

"Answer. No. No apartment. We lived in a dormitory at the factory.

"Question. Was it pretty crowded?

"Answer. The Chinese lived pretty crowded. We didn't; we had special privileges. We had brick barracks built by the Japanese. We had four guys in a big, long room. We had our beds and we had about 4 feet in between the beds and about 6 feet on each end of the room. We even put curtains on the windows and stuff like that—and the Chinese used to come and just sit in our room to be in pleasant surroundings.

"Question. How did the Chinese live? What were the houses like?

"Answer. Mud—basically mud. They have a mud floor and have rocks around the bottom for a foundation, and then they use sugarcane stalks for the general frame and plaster them up with mud. Each house contains, usually, two rooms, and they are living rooms and bedrooms—both of them. And their kitchen consists of a little stove with one hole in the top which you put the pot on, and that's all they use to cook in—one pot.

"Question. They are pretty crowded, you say?

"Answer. Pretty crowded is right. The whole family sleeps in one room quite often.

"Question. How big a family?

"Answer. I suppose the average is about 6, but some families have 12 or 13.

"Question. These mud houses—do they have windows?

"Answer. They have windows, all right—but no glass in them.

"Question. The windows are just holes?

"Answer. Holes—and then in the wintertime they put in a piece of cardboard or something.

"Question. How do they keep warm in winter?

"Answer. Well, they put the cardboard in the window and line the door with pieces of cloth and then they heat the room—they burn charcoal and everybody almost asphyxiates.

"Question. But aren't there a good many Chinese who have luxuries? Do very many of them have cars or television—the richer ones—like Americans?

"Answer. Oh, no. Well, they know what cars are. After all, there is supposed to be 1 car for every 7,900 people in China. But television—they don't even have a conception of what it is.

"Question. There are no TV sets at all?

"Answer. No. They don't have television. Why, they just barely know the word.

"Question. How about refrigerators?

"Answer. Well, in the big hotels in Peiping I saw some. I didn't see any refrigerators anyplace else.

"Question. Such things aren't accessible to people at all?

"Answer. No. They couldn't afford them. Take cars. You know, in the factory where I worked they had a 1948 Dodge automobile. That thing cost 2.5 million Chinese dollars.

"Question. Who owned it—the Government?

"Answer. Yes. You see, the factory was a Government factory and the cars in it were also Government owned.

"Question. How did the health of the population look to you?

"Answer. The older people were in pretty terrible shape. People who were 30 years old looked like 60, but the kids, as a whole, were really quite healthy—the state was taking pretty good care of them. They are planning on making them the vanguard of the party in the near future and they want them to be in good shape.

"Question. Do people seem fairly contented?

"Answer. Well, I think—oh, I don't know. I don't think you could say for sure. I think that right after the revolution and the Communists took over, they were happy at first because they thought they were getting a good deal. At the time I was there, I think they were just beginning to wonder.

"Question. You think there is a change of atitude beginning?

"Answer. Yes. And I think that in 3 or 4 or 5 years, maybe, why, we'll have another Hungary—only in Asia.

"Question. Do you mean China, specifically?

"Answer. Yes. I definitely think so. And one thing about it in China—in China there will be more of a stirup than there was in Hungary, because there will be so many more people involved.

"Question. When did you first think you wanted to leave China?

"Answer. Well, I had desires to leave every time I wanted to do something and they said I couldn't.

"Question. Such as what?

"Answer. For instance, I wanted to go either to a farm or to a school—so they sent me to a factory. I don't know whether I was sent to the factory because I didn't want to go there or for some other reason, but anyway that's where I went.

"Then I was disappointed, and I thought, 'Well, maybe I should go home,' because I didn't think I would like factory life.

"Question. Was there anything you missed over there—things you couldn't get—that made you want to come home?

"Answer. I didn't miss anything great big you know, like the fact that I didn't have a car, or something like that. But I missed little things, like coffee when I wanted it. I could get coffee, sure—go uptown and pay 20 cents a cup for it. Customs is what I missed, actually—those things that we take for granted. We don't even think about them; we don't even talk about them.

"Question. In that why you decided to come home?

"Answer. The thing that brought about my decision to come home, the reason that I grabbed at, because I had to have one, was the fact that they were treating us better than they were the Chinese.

"One morning I went down to the mess hall to get my bottle of milk, and there was a Chinese there holding a baby, and I understood enough Chinese to hear what he said.

"What he said was, 'Look at that damn foreigner getting milk, and he's a grown man. And I can't even get none for my baby.'

"That sort of put a clincher on it. That day I went over to the party secretary, and I told him I didn't want any more milk. And he tried to talk me out of it.

"Question. Why? Couldn't you give up milk if you wanted to?

"Answer. They contended that I was being individualistic about that. They said that I shouldn't want to give up my milk until all of the Americans wanted to give up their milk—act as a group. I couldn't see that. I didn't want that milk after that joker complained about his baby not having milk. Anyway, that's when I realized I had to get out of there.

"Question. You decided to come home?

"Answer. Well, not just home, because I didn't care whether I went home or not. I mean, I just wanted to get out of China—that was my interest. Of course, I wanted to get home again, all right, but I didn't think I would. I didn't think I would get any farther than Seattle or San Francisco and I would have two MP's [military police] for boy friends.

"Question. The main idea was just to get out of China?

"Answer. That's right. Even if I was to face a firing squad when I got back. I didn't care—I had to get out of China, away from something—I didn't know what.

"Question. Now that you're back, are you settled down? Do you have a job?

"Answer. I'm a bookbinder's helper in a print shop and, right now, I get $41 a week. It's nothing stupendous, but the thing is that it's a trade—I'm learning a trade. And if I stick with it, why, a journeyman gets almost three bucks an hour right now.

"Question. How does your standard of living compare with that in China?

"Answer. Well, here I'm putting money in the bank. I've got much better clothes and I can eat much better. I've got my own room. Just everything is better. Before, in China, I didn't have to pay room rent—but I still had a rough time buying clothes even without putting money in the bank.

"Question. When you got back to the States, what impressed you most about this country?

"Answer. Pastel-colored cars, things like that. The first thing was pastel-colored cars.

"But I think the main impression—the biggest impression—I got was when we were flying into Minneapolis and it was daylight and we were over the western part of Minnesota and just the expanse of it and the fact that you could see so many little farms, each by itself. That impressed me. I think that impressed upon me the idea that there is individualism. I think that impressed me more than any single thing at all.

"Question. How did the standard of living strike you, as compared with China?

"Answer. It was about what I expected, actually, because I hadn't been gone so long that I had completely forgotten—but it made me realize—that swift a change made me realize—how poor off the Chinese are.

"Question. How did the Reds induce you to come over to their side and stay in China, in the first place?

"Answer. It's a matter of destroying your resistance. In the Korean prison camp they marched us for 7 months on the very poorest food—well, we just barely existed on it.

"And then I got double pneumonia and went to the hospital, and it was there that—I think, I don't know—that's the problem. I really can't say; I don't know what happened. I have thought all along I went to the hospital because that's where they told me I'd gone, but I don't remember anything about it.

"Question. What sort of brain-washing techniques do they practice?

"Answer. Well, they have various methods. I'm not sure any more what they did with me. I used to think that they didn't do anything to me, that they 'soft-touched' me into it, but I don't know any more; the more I read about it, the more I don't know."

Tax Relief for Low-Income Groups and Small Corporations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the revelation of the secret letter of the Bureau of the Budget detailing how the administration intends to keep departmental expenditures within the amount spent last year, it appears that there will be a budgetary surplus of on the order of $10 billion.

This is, of course, amazing in view of the fact that the Congress was constantly advised by the administration that no 1957 budget request could be reduced.

It is my feeling that a substantial portion of such surplus should be used to benefit the groups that are most in need of it by appropriate tax reductions. Accordingly, I urge the early passage of my bills, H. R. 7066 and H. R. 2541.

The first measure would offer tax relief to the low-income group by increasing the individual exemption from $600 to $800, and my bill, H. R. 2541, would provide tax relief to the small corporation.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

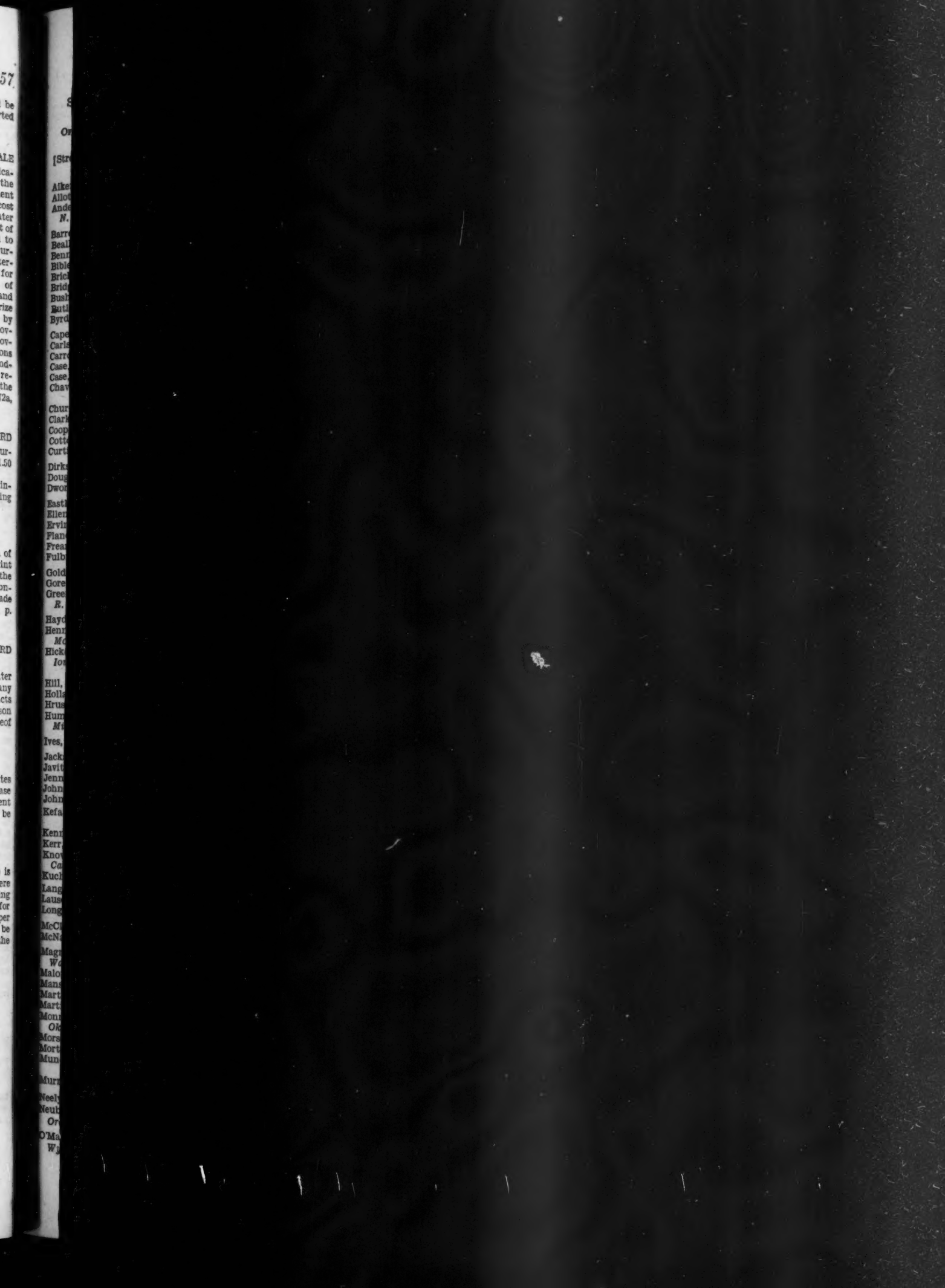

Appendix

Economic Nationalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, Americans, generally, and Members of Congress, especially, are vitally interested in developments in the Philippines. We have long cherished our friendship with the Filipinos, and having fought shoulder to shoulder with them in World War II, we know of their devotion to the cause of freedom.

A friend of mine in Manila has recently sent me an interesting address which Senator Claro M. Recto, of the Philippine Congress, delivered before the Manila Rotary Club. I ask permission that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, since it provides some insight on the thinking of at least one of the current leaders of our friendly ally—the Philippines.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

(Address delivered by Senator Claro M. Recto before the Manila Rotary Club, on March 28, 1957, in Manila, Philippines)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to speak before this select gathering of members and guests of the Manila Rotary Club on the subject of Economic Nationalism. The subject was well chosen because few can be found that are as full of interest and as important.

What is "nationalism"? Among the various definitions given by Webster I consider the following as the most appropriate: "Devotion to, or advocacy of, national interests or national unity and independence; zealous adherence to one's own nation or to its principles; patriotism."

A distinguished Filipino editorial writer, Jose Luna Castro, has recently defined "nationalism" in terms of Philippine history, saying: "Nationalism * * * was the driving force that propelled Bonifacio and his men in the revolution; it was the underlying sentiment in the works of Rizal."

And when that great American statesman, William H. Taft, onetime Governor General of the Philippines, then President of the United States, and later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, admonished his countrymen in the early days of the American occupation, that the Philippines is for the Filipinos and those who did not believe so could pack bag and baggage and leave the country, he put in a nutshell America's true and correct concept of Filipino nationalism and laid the cornerstone of an enduring Filipino-American friendship and association.

If, according to Webster, "nationalism" and "patriotism" are synonymous, then, to be a patriot is to be a nationalist, and vice versa.

An economic policy must respond to basic economic problems, those arising from the economic realities in the Nation; for instance, the kind of economy that the Nation must have and the proper approach to the related questions of foreign investments and financing.

Have we settled these basic problems? During the 1955 session of Congress an attempt was made to have Congress declare as a national policy the maintaining here of an agricultural economy by means of an administration bill sent to Congress with a provision to that effect, contained in its section 2. The bill was favorably reported by the corresponding committee, but the Senate, timely alerted, frustrated the insidious attempt by eliminating the objectionable policy declaration. But despite this, executive officials continued regarding rural development not merely as a laudable Government pursuit but as the very economic policy of the Nation. Only a year ago it was authoritatively announced that "the rural-development program of this administration is in itself the blueprint for national socio-economic prosperity." On the other hand the National Economic Council announced almost at the same time—this was about the first quarter of 1956—that industrialization was the basic economic policy for the Philippines, the very one for whose adoption I have been battling for the last 4 years. But, shortly thereafter, as if in reply to said announcement, the local head of the ICA, who is supposed to be the Republic's top economic adviser, in his speech before the Sugar Technologists Convention made the following pronouncement with an air of dogmatic finality: "Agriculture will always be the major prop of Philippine economy, and as rural existence prospers, so will industrial, business and social activities. This is planning on a long-range basis, and we know it is going to pay off in benefits to the Filipino people."

But after 3 years of economic confusion the nation has at last pledged itself to the policy of "reshaping our economic structure with the industrial side accounting for a rising proportion of our total output in the years ahead." This was stated for the first time in the President's state-of-the-nation address of last January which contains this added declaration: "We must foster an economy in which industrial expansion and agricultural progress are complementary."

We were told in the state-of-the-Nation address that there was an "economic plan adopted at the start of this administration on March 20, 1954," but because "the plan was not inflexible," it had "to be updated periodically on the basis of * * * changing conditions and prospects of further advance," and, for this purpose, a so-called Government reorganization plan No. 10 was created in July 1955, but in view of "the end of free trade with the United States in 1955 and the forthcoming Japanese reparations," it was finally decided to entrust the National Economic Council with the task of revising the 1954 economic plan. Further difficulties, according to the address, continued besetting the revision of the 1954 plan, in the form, it was said, of "trends in the council not in harmony with the Chief Executive's fiscal policies," with the result that, to do away with such "trends," a change had to be made in the composition of the council in March 1956. And it was only on January 3, this year, that "the National Economic Council submitted its recommendations for updating the 1954 economic development program," but these recommendations were not accepted in toto, but only that part referring to what in the address is referred to as "industrial priority system."

But although the Government has not been able to make any definite planning for our economy, it has at least adopted a policy, which I hope will be permanent this time, and that is none other than industrialization.

If it would not be presumptuous on my part I should say that I was in some measure responsible for the adoption of this new national economic policy. In the last 3 years I have been trying to show in a series of public addresses why the Philippines must industralize, by citing America's own experience in developing her economy from the agricultural or rural to the industrial stage. For the benefit of those who still believe that to insure our prosperity we must remain producers of raw material for the use of industrial countries, and consumers of finished products manufactured by the same countries, I beg to state anew my position in this regard with the aid of unimpeachable historical facts and statistical data.

In 1820 the ratio of America's working force engaged in agriculture to her total working force was 71.8 percent. Which means that, as the case is with the Philippines today, her major activity in 1820 was agricultural. In the decades that followed there was a gradual reduction of the percentage: in 1830, 70.5 percent; in 1840, 68.6 percent; in 1850, 63.1 percent; in 1860, 58.9 percent; in 1870, 53 percent; in 1880, 49.4 percent; in 1890, 42.6 percent; in 1900, 37.5 percent; in 1910, 31 percent; in 1920, 27 percent; in 1930, 21.4 percent; in 1940, 17.6 percent; in 1950, 11.9 percent. Today the ratio is about 5 percent. These figures show that from 1820 to 1870 America was predominantly an agricultural nation, but that she became less and less so as she changed the quality, pattern, or structure of her economy in the last quarter of the last century, until she attained her present position as the most highly industrialized nation and consequently the wealthiest and most prosperous in the world.

These figures indicate not only that there has been a continuous reduction in the ratio of the agricultural labor force to the total working force but also that there is a necessary correlation between prosperity or higher production and reduction of the working force engaged in agricultural activities.

Looking at it from a slightly different angle, we shall find that in 1910 the farmer population in the United States was 34.7 percent of the total population, and the agricultural income was 16 percent of its total national income. Since 1910 the percentages of the farm population and of the agricultural income fell continuously every decade, so that in 1952 the farm population was only 13.4 percent of the total population, and the farm income only 6 percent of the total national income. According to the latest figures the farm income in the United States as of 1955 was only 3.8 percent of the total national income, and this despite the existence of agricultural surplus. From these facts it is clear that, as the share of its farm income in the national income has

decreased, the United States economy has prospered and progressed, and that in any given year or number of years the proportion of agricultural effort to the total economic effort has been always larger than the proportion of the agricultural product to the total product. It is for this reason that economists describe agricultural occupations as occupations of low marginal productivity. Conversely, the share of manufacturing industries in the total product is always bigger than the corresponding share of manufacturing effort (working force) in the total economic effort. Thus the economists describe manufacturing occupations as occupations of high marginal productivity.

We must remember that America's need for the raw material of the underdeveloped countries and outside markets for manufactured goods and investments is increasing at a tremendous pace. If the underdeveloped countries were to industrialize they would be using their own primary materials thus lessening the supply to the United States and other industrial nations which at present take up all that supply. The underdeveloped countries would, besides, find it convenient if not altogether necessary to start manufacturing goods which they at present import from manufacturing countries because it is with respect to those goods that there is a proven market at home, with the result that home manufactured products would crowd out the imported products depriving the exporting countries of their markets.

A Canadian economist from the United Nations who served for a short time as adviser to our own National Economic Council, called the attention of our people to the evident lack of dynamism in our economy and emphasized the strong need to bring rapid changes in its structure. He said that we need a bold and ambitious program of industrialization without which the rate and pattern of our economic growth would never succeed in outrunning population growth and in bringing prosperity to the people. He warned that unless the rate of job creation is raised, open unemployment (which does not include disguised unemployment) could, by the end of 5 years, approach one-third of our labor force.

In the face of these realities the official though belated announcement that our national economic policy should be industrialization, is most welcome. It took the first 3 years for the Government to realize that to peg our economy to its present agricultural structure is to peg the Nation to poverty.

From the experience of all industrial countries we have learned that economic progress requires the shifting of the major part of the people from the soil to industrial pursuits. Rural development program must go on, but we must always bear in mind that, as has been the case with other countries, increase in agricultural productivity and in agricultural production can never hope to keep up with the growth of our population. People in the rural areas should for their own benefit gradually turn to industry, for it is there that they will find deliverance from an occupation which, according to the U. N. report I have already cited, for the greatest efforts gives the least returns to the worker, outside of domestic servants.

We must, of course, begin with industries which will use primarily raw materials produced here, and will gradually fill the needs of our own local market, but heavy industry—base metals, power and fuel, machine tools, machinery and chemicals—should not be ignored. For obvious reasons, heavy industry is the basis of any industrialization, for it is heavy industry that insures greater potentialities for continued increase in the production of consumer goods.

I said in this connection, about 2 years ago, that there were two sectors in heavy industry in which we could enter once we firmly decided to industrialize. I was referring to hydroelectric power and iron and steel industry. With respect to the first we had already made a good beginning. With respect to iron and steel, there was no justification, I said, for our timidity to venture into this field. We have enough iron, and we can make steel out of it. We export 1½ million tons of iron ore to Japan, and can increase it to 2 or 3 million tons. But we could use this iron ore ourselves. We get 17 to 19 pesos per ton from our iron exports, and then we import steel at 400 pesos per ton. We have according to the director of mines, more than sufficient iron ore to justify the establishment of steel industry. We have not only the needed iron ore; there is an abundance of manganese, chrome, limestone, and coal which are vital raw materials in the manufacture of steel. The manager of the NASSCO attests to this fact. He says that the argument that we have no available coking coal is just a bugaboo because we can use "coke briquettes" from a blend of low grade and high grade coals, or use charcoal, or hydroelectric power.

For our industrialization foreign capital is needed. But by foreign capital I mean loans in the form of capital goods coming from foreign sources, not capital as investments owned by foreign investors.

Existing foreign investments here constitute vested rights which are as much entitled to protection under our constitution and statutes as those of Filipino nationals. And when I say protection for these alien investments I mean protection not only from direct assaults to impair them or discriminate against them, but from uncertain and vacillating policies and decisions: uncertainty is the worst enemy of business. But in the interest of both groups, particularly of Filipino nationals, and for the sake of the nation itself, I propose that it is alien investments in the form of loans that should be by all means encouraged.

The best examples of direct foreign investments are those of Puerto Rico and Venezuela. In every one of them the geographical product, as should be expected, far exceeds the national income. The appearance of national prosperity based on per capita of geographical product is, therefore, misleading. In Puerto Rico as well as in Venezuela the country, in geographical terms, is rich, but the people are poor.

The experience of Canada is worth examining. I take the following from the U. S. News & World Report. Long-term investments in Canada, mostly in mining, smelting, and oil, from overseas amounted to $13 billion of which $11 billion came from the United States. Much of Canada's iron ore, nickel, aluminum, oil, and copper is directly or indirectly under the control of American investors. "This fact has proved quite galling to some Canadians." (U. S. News & World Report, March 30, 1956.) The Canadians were disturbed to discover that of the 60 biggest corporations in their country, less than one-half are Canadian controlled. (New York Times Weekly Review, June 3, 1956.) Despite the fact that the inflow of United States capital to Canada has slowed down since 1953, United States interests now actually control about one-half of Canada's manufacturing, about one-half of the paper and pulp industry, and more than one-half of her mining and smelting. The Canadians have been in an uproar. They speak of domination, economic slavery, economic colonialism, alien stranglehold, and political leaders are calling on Canadians to declare their economic independence from the United States. (U. S. News & World Report, May 4, 1956.)

If we should only ponder on the experience of Puerto Rico and Venezuela not to mention that of Canada and others, we would cease clamoring for more foreign direct investments here. They are economically disadvantageous to the countries that receive them because whatever profits, dividends, and interests on direct investments are realized flow out of the country. Since much of this outward flow of investment income is generally from investments in mines and minerals, the final result is that besides losing this income to the foreign investor, the underdeveloped country loses its irreplaceable minerals. And what does it get in return? According to Economist Das Gupta (the Theory and Reality of Economic Development—C. B. News Digest, January 24, 1956), the only gain to the country is some employment and some tax revenue. Clearly, that is national suicide by slow degrees.

Secretary Dulles reported to the American people in March 1956 after the Karachi Conference that Asian nations in general would accept aid only if it were given without political strings. I believe it will not be long now when America herself will adopt the policy of granting loans as a form of investment. Wolf and Sofrin, authors of Capital Formation and Foreign Investment in Underdeveloped Areas (1955), already suggested that the United States Government subsidize the Government banks to enable the latter to lend to foreign nations at 2 percent interest. The banks are to receive 5 to 6 percent, the difference to be covered by the subsidy purposed. If this subsidy from the American Government cannot be had, then an interest of 3 to 4 percent would, perhaps, be reasonable.

If the attitude of the American Government on important policy matters such as the one under consideration is reflected in that of a competent Cabinet member, then it may be surmised that the suggestion advanced by Wolf and Sofrin and long advocated by me is looked upon with favor by the present Republican administration. Very recently, Secretary Humphrey of the Treasury, in a letter to President Eisenhower's Advisory Committee on Foreign Aid, outlined his plan by proposing that all future economic aid would be in the form of repayable loans handled by the State Department. Our Government and economic and financial organizations should lose no time making the necessary followup of Secretary Humphrey's proposal for its immediate adoption and implementation.

Although it must be admitted that there is need for dollars for the importation of capital goods from abroad, it should not be overlooked that in any industrialization we have to depend mostly on internal financing. The reason is obvious. For payment of wages, which constitutes the bulk of the cost of production, and of raw materials locally produced, we use our currency. We only need dollars or yens or pounds for foreign purchases. I am afraid we have become unduly dollar conscious as if our economy depended under all circumstances on the dollar. That is, I believe, a mischievous error, obviously inspired and fostered by those who will benefit from our continued dependence on the dollar. It is, therefore, necessary to emphasize the fact that in any economic development the chief instrument of the entrepreneur is the local currency—the peso, in our country—and not the dollar.

In our historical archives there is no declaration of independence except that of Kawit. When we regained our independence in July 1946, we did not make a declaration for the purpose; we were satisfied with a proclamation issued by the American President, and it was the American concept, not ours, of Philippine independence that was placed in the document: A grant, not an assertion of rights. We became officially independent in the community of nations, but are we truly independent, for instance, in the realm of foreign relations, national defense, finance, and economics? Shall we blame on others our own shortcomings and complacency?

But we must not despair. A true national awakening shall doubtless come. The ranks of nationalists cannot but increase; the collective conscience continues to grow; the day of realization nears, because the moving finger continues to write. And someday this nation will realize, and will shape in deeds, Mabini's puissant and uncompromising exhortation which that immortal architect of the First Philippine Republic made just before the turn of the century: "Strive for the independence of the country because thou alone hast real interest in its greatness and exaltation, since its independence means thy own freedom, its greatness thy own perfection, its exaltation thy own glory and immortality."

These are not my words, but they are my faith, if I may say with Churchill.

Boys Town 40th Commencement Exercises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, it was my great honor to be the speaker at the 40th commencement exercises of Boys Town, which is located 10 miles west of my home city of Omaha, Nebr. At that time there were graduated 115 boys from high school and 135 boys from grade school.

My home city of Omaha and my native State of Nebraska have many outstanding achievements and places and activities of interest. Among the most unique and best known of these is the world-famed Boys Town which, although it is primarily a school, is an incorporated Nebraska village in which the students, through a mayor and commissioners of their own election, share in governance.

This school was founded in 1917 by the late and beloved Right Reverend Monsignor Edward J. Flanagan. It started from a very modest and even faltering beginning to the very modern and outstanding institution of wide renown which it is today.

It provides a home and school for homeless, neglected, and unprivileged boys. While most of them come from homes broken by death, divorce, desertion, or neglect, the program is a preventive one rather than corrective.

The great regard and high place accorded Boys Town is testified to in many ways. For example, some 3,500 applications for admission are received each year, of which only 10 percent can be accepted. Also the all-round education program is regularly accredited by the State of Nebraska. In addition to regular subjects, it has an extensive and very effective program of vocational education which offers training in one of several trades to each of the boys.

Its program of athletics is known nationwide. Its football teams have played from coast to coast. It has a strong and vigorous intramural sports and recreation program. Its 50-piece concert band, and 15-piece concert orchestra have appeared throughout the Midwest. Its Boys Town Choir of 55 voices has made an annual tour of national scope since 1946.

The philosophy of the founder of Boys Town, the late Father Flanagan, as carried on by his successor, Msgr. Nicholas H. Wegner, has been summed up in this way: "Given the love, care, and guidance which is the heritage of every boy, and the opportunity for good moral, mental, and spiritual training, a boy will grow to useful manhood, a credit to himself, to Boys Town, his community, and to his country."

Mr. President, on the occasion of Boys Town 40th commencement exercises on June 2, 1957, Monsignor Wegner who has provided leadership of vision and devotion to this school since 1948—the year of the decease of its founder—made a statement which should be printed in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that it be done.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This afternoon we are witnessing the crown of many days, months, and years of arduous labors and toil, the fruit of many untold sacrifices and many eager hopes. The anxieties and worries, and at times, doubtlessly, the disappointments accompanied in the work of rehabilitation and education of these fine young boys are already forgotten because of their cooperation, their achievements, of their accomplishments, and because of the satisfaction they have given.

I know and feel that these young graduates are deeply grateful to all those who have helped them to arrive thus far, and that they appreciate, above all, the daily tasks and labors of their teachers who imparted into their minds and hearts, not only a sound and worthwhile secular education but also a genuine Christian and moral one, which will stand by them, I hope and pray, throughout life.

Every year the lives of thousands of our youth are determined in a great measure by their teachers. Students looking desiring knowledge and truth accept quite implicitly that which teachers impart to them. Too often teachers give their students anything but the truth, and correct philosophy of life and that is the reason we, so often, hear, given by people in justification of their action, "That's what I was taught by my teachers." Thank God we have teachers at Boys Town who are imbued with the correct philosophy of life, teachers who are interested, not only in the student's temporal success but also in their moral and spiritual welfare and, above all, their eternal happiness. And, I am certain, that if our graduates of this year as well as those in the past and of the future, conform their conduct and lives to the knowledge, spiritual and mental, imparted to them by their teachers at Boys Town, they will be a success in life; they will be a pride to their country, church and Father Flanagan's Boys' Home. As long as they keep before their minds the great eternal truths, they shall not fail. All of us at Boys Town are gratified and feel justly proud of our graduates of 1957, because 115 boys have given satisfaction and completed successfully the prescribed studies of our accredited high school, and 135 have done likewise, and are graduating from our grade school. My heartfelt congratulations and the felicitiations of our entire faculty and staff, I convey to you. We are immensely proud of you because you have shown to the world that homeless and underprivileged boys, if given an equal opportunity and proper environment, can make good, can succeed, and are able to take their places in the world, and accept the burdens of citizenship. May Father Flanagan, through whom the opportunities and advantages given you here, were made, to a great extent possible, be your guide throughout life, your inspiration, your hope.

This afternoon an event is transpiring at Boys Town that will always be held in happy memory. There are persons and people we meet in the highways of life whose character, manliness, high principles, and position impress us, influence our deeds and lives, and bring a very definite reaction in us to better and improve ourselves, to work harder to reach the top. Such a person we have with us this day at our commencement exercises. His life, his character, his Christian manhood, his family life have been an inspiration to millions. He is a true American and Nebraskan. He is a graduate of Omaha and Creighton Universities, and from the latter received his law degree in 1929. He served very successfully as Douglas County commissioner from 1944 to 1952. He was elected in 1952 to the United States Congress as Congressman from the Second Nebraska District in which position he gave outstanding and faithful service. The people of Nebraska recognizing his ability elected him to the Senate of the United States in 1954. Senator HRUSKA we are immensely proud to have you here this afternoon. It is of deepest pleasure for me to present you to the members of the graduating classes, faculty, and all our friends the Honorable ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Member of the United States Senate from the great State of Nebraska.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. ALLOTT. I should like to commend very much to the attention of my colleagues the statement which the Senator from Nebraska has made, and I should also like to join in that statement.

It is my privilege to know personally the great work being done at Boys Town by Father Wegner, who is doing an inspirational job of leading back into good citizenship these younger citizens of ours, who had wandered astray.

I could not let this opportunity pass without saying something in tribute to the fine work that is being done.

Mr. HRUSKA. I thank the Senator from Colorado. I am sure that the leadership and faculty of Boys Town, as well as the boys themselves, will join me in my expression of appreciation for his kind remarks.

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the testimony of Hon. Thomas F. Cadwalader, attorney, of Baltimore, Md., delivered before the special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration considering proposed changes in Senate rule XXII.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF THOMAS F. CADWALADER

Anyone who has studied the American Constitution and its origin, as set forth in the debates of its founders themselves, and in the Federalist, must be aware of the fact that the chief function and purpose of the Senate as an institution is to defend the rights and interests of the States and more particularly of the small and weak States, against the large and populous ones. It was the then small States of New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Delaware that forced the compromise scheme of a Senate with equal suffrage of all the States as against a House with representation according to population. If this compromise had not carried, against the vigorous protest of the big States, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, the convention would probably have broken up. Later when the amending article was under debate the same influences forced the adoption of the proviso which freezes the equality of States in the Senate beyond the possibility of repeal.

The Senate was therefore established expressly for the purpose of obstructing legislation hostile to minority interests, and especially to the smaller States. It was elected by the State legislatures.

The 17th amendment changed the method of electing Senators from the legislatures to the voters of the several States. This gave to the mass vote of big cities the real choice of the Senators from the big States and the Senators from those States are chiefly answerable to the industrialized and urban centers, and tend to reflect their wishes. The small towns and rural parts of the country can hope to rely only on the Senators from the agricultural States, and these are getting fewer all the time.

The checks and balances by which the framers sought to restrain the excesses to which governments are always prone have therefore been much weakened in the National Legislature. At the same time the legal and constitutional checks to be found normally in a judiciary sworn to support and defend the Constitution have become of little value. The reasons for this are perhaps more obscure but the fact is quite obvious. Even if in some spheres such as the right of free speech it may appear that individuals are being amply protected by the courts it is certainly true that individual rights to property, and the very basic right of local self-government have suffered curtailment such as the framers never dreamed of.

The powers of government when exerted in the direction of collectivism are rarely if ever restrained by the Supreme Court, and even the right of free speech is protected chiefly when the speaker advocates collectivism in some of its numerous forms.

Anything therefore that gives States or communities that are in the minority some sort of chance to defend their natural rights and the personal liberties of their people against the overwhelming power of a mighty government is to be safeguarded as a means of defending what liberty remains. For if liberty goes it matters not whether fascism or communism takes its place. In either event the days of American greatness will have ended.

One of the principal safeguards remaining is a Senate based on the equal suffrage of the several States and the right of almost unlimited debate of its members. No instance can be recalled in our history where this right of unlimited debate, or filibustering if you choose to call it so, has operated to the serious injury of the country, except in the opinions of a few disappointed people. In the past it saved the country from a renewal of the orgies of reconstruction when the force bill was defeated in the last decade of the 19th century. Actually the shame and crime of reconstruction itself could not have occurred if the several States had been allowed the senatorial suffrage that the Constitution guaranteed to them. If the aftermath of the Civil War had been as the aftermath of Great Britain's war against the Boers the hatred and disunity that now, 100 years later, still exist and increase between the sections of the Union, would long ago have been forgotten.

A free country must be governed by the consent of the governed, as the Declaration of Independence proclaimed. Otherwise it is not free. The right of cloture in a parliamentary body is only a right to impose the will of the dominant party on the unwilling minority. It is not necessary ever to invoke it unless the minority is convinced that the action under debate is so oppressive that it never should be advocated by any person professing his loyalty to free institutions.

Take the present case of the so-called (and miscalled) civil-rights bill. If the civil rights of citizens, white or black, cannot be protected in the ordinary course of law by the governments of the States in which they live, then we should abolish the United States altogether and substitute an all-powerful dictatorship in the hope that it might prove beneficent and treat everyone alike. Has any dictatorship done so? Yes, a few, for a short time perhaps. But you and I do not believe in taking this risk. However, if you make the protection of civil rights, however you define them, the duty of a central government through its appointed agents, attorneys, judges, marshals, and detectives, you are really opening the road to the development of a purely dictatorial form of rule, from which you may find yourselves beyond the point of possible return.

This bill is aimed now at the South but its principle is equally threatening to every part of our people.

If you overthrow the possibility of "talking to death" measures of this nature then you are voting to abandon one of the few remaining lines of defense established by the sagacious strategists of the Constitution and those who so vote may thunder against communism as much as they please—they will have presented it with a very useful key to unlock the storehouse of freedom, and despoil it.

The United States Chamber of Commerce and the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD letters protesting the position taken by the United States Chamber of Commerce opposing the TVA. These are letters from the president of the Columbia-Mount Pleasant (Tenn.) Chamber of Commerce written to Philip Talbott, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and a similar one written 3 years ago to the then president, Richard L. Bowditch, pointing out that local chambers do not agree with the action and questioning the right of the United States Chamber to take such a stand without giving its member bodies an opportunity to vote.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUNE 19, 1957.

Mr. PHILIP M. TALBOTT,
President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

In accordance with a request of the board of directors of the Columbia-Mount Pleasant Chamber of Commerce, I am writing to tell you of the formal action taken by our board Monday night.

The board went on record as condemning the recent stand of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States on the Tennessee Valley Authority situation, as exemplified by the highly publicized testimony of Mr. Louis V. Sutton at hearings of the Flood Control Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee on May 7, 1957.

Our board also went on record with the opinion that the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States did not have the authority under any policy declaration or referendum to take the stand voiced by Mr. Sutton, which, if carried out, would be disastrous to businessmen who have investments in the TVA area.

I was also asked to call your attention to a letter addressed to Mr. Richard L. Bowditch, then president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, under date of March 20, 1954, signed by Mr. Moscow Wright, then president of the Columbia Chamber of Commerce. A copy is enclosed. I was asked to do this to show you that we were opposed to the 1954 United States Chamber TVA policy, and we are therefore quite consistent in our strong stand against the 1957 proposals voiced by Mr. Sutton.

Very truly yours,
VIRGIL H. MOORE, Jr.,
President.

COLUMBIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Columbia, Tenn., March 20, 1954.

Mr. RICHARD L. BOWDITCH,
President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BOWDITCH: The board of directors of the Columbia Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, took action at its regular monthly meeting in March 1954 deploring what appears to be the ingrained and, to our way of thinking, the unjustifiable antagonism of governing groups of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States toward the Tennessee Valley Authority, as exemplified by a recent report on the Tennessee Valley Authority and by other writings in official publications of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Very truly yours,
MOSCOW WRIGHT,
President.

Alexander Hamilton Scholarships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as Chairman of the Alexander Hamilton Memorial Commission, it is a great pleasure for me to report that the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Students Constitutional Convention, a re-creation of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, held in Philadelphia's historic Independence

Hall, June 18–21, was a unique and highly successful enterprise.

The participants were 55 high school boys and girls, each the winner of a Hamilton scholarship in a State, the District of Columbia, or 1 of 6 territorial divisions. It has been conservatively estimated that at least 150,000 students took part in these preliminary contests with the result that at least this number of young Americans gained knowledge of Hamilton and the formative years of the Republic which they otherwise would not have obtained. Each of the 55 winners received a $1,000 scholarship, with an additional $1,000 going to the college or university he will attend.

In the course of the 4-day convention the student delegates discussed upward of 60 proposals to amend the Constitution of the United States in committee, and debated the merits and demerits of 20 amendment proposals on the floor of the convention. Of the proposals brought to the floor for action only 1, repeal of the 22d amendment, which limits the Presidency to 2 terms, was approved. The student delegates made it very clear that they like the Constitution as it is, and are opposed to change merely for the sake of change.

Out of the 55 delegates to the convention, 13 were selected to receive Hamilton fellowships, each representing a $2,000 scholarship, plus an equal sum to the college or university the student will attend. The 13 Hamilton fellows—the number is symbolic of the original 13 States—are:

Craig S. Bamberger, Jr., 805 Fifth Avenue, Selma, Ala.

Gordon R. Chester, 2268 Gekeler, Boise, Idaho.

James M. Copeland, Jr., 3717 Vorhies Road, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Carlisle H. Dick, 2615 East Manchester Street, Tucson, Ariz.

Harlan D. Hahn, 620 Vine Street, Osage, Iowa.

John J. Kirby, Jr., 609 Knollwood Drive, Falls Church, Va. (representing the District of Columbia).

Michael G. Marenchic, 305 Lawrie Street, Perth Amboy, N. J.

Dan E. McCall, 1122 Trinity, Modesto, Calif.

Karen E. Ordahl, 963 South Delaware, Springfield, Mo.

Shannon H. Ratliff, Box 5576, Sonora, Tex.

Allen R. Rule, 330 Lenappe Drive, Columbus, Ohio.

Samuel J. Stegman, 135 East Fifth Street, Peru, Ind.

Hastings Wyman, Jr., 2708 Highland Park Drive, Aiken, S. C.

To win the award in Philadelphia, each State winner had to qualify not only on the basis of public speaking, but also on the basis of general knowledge of Hamilton and his times.

At the dinner in Philadelphia the 55 delegates each received an award certificate entitling him to his $1,000 scholarship, and a bronze Alexander Hamilton medal. The certificates were presented by Dr. Bower Aly, of the University of Missouri, chairman of the advisory committee which planned and conducted the high school contests for the Commission. The 13 fellowship awards were announced by Hon. Laurens M. Hamilton, of Warrenton, Va., a member of the Commission, and a great-great grandson of Alexander Hamilton. J. Harvie Williams, Director of the Commission, was toastmaster.

Each scholarship winner at Philadelphia was asked to write a short statement summarizing his reactions and experiences at this Alexander Hamilton Memorial Student Constitutional Convention. I ask unanimous consent that six of these representative statements be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY JAMES M. COPELAND, JR., MICHIGAN

I am only sorry that more people cannot participate in the tremendously educational and successful students constitutional convention. Discussion and study of constitutional issues and the life of Alexander Hamilton have given to me new knowledge in the field of Government. If every one could participate in such a convention and in such learning, the future of the United States would be assured.

Although I only participated in a small segment of the program of the Commission, I feel that being a State delegate is one of the greatest honors to any student and certainly the highest honor I have yet to receive.

The Bicentennial Commission has certainly accomplished its objective. Alexander Hamilton is fast being accepted into the public hearts and minds as one of, if not the greatest of our Founding Fathers. With the fallacies exposed about Hamilton, the books written about him, the celebrations in his honor, and the contest held in his name, the American people, both young and old, are coming to recognize Hamilton's true worth. The Commission should be congratulated on a tremendous task well done.

STATEMENT BY CARLISLE H. DICK, ARIZONA

I am very proud to say that it has meant a lot to me.

At first, when I won the contest, I thought of it as nothing outstanding. But as I studied the books on Alexander Hamilton and the Constitution I gained a new insight as to the origin of my country.

When I came to the convention I met delegates from all the other commonwealths. Before I always had reflected my State's view on measures like civil rights etc. But when I talked with the other delegates I saw and tried to understand their reasons for their feelings on disputed issues—and now I partially understand and am glad I do.

I gained an insight as to the workings of Government. I better understood, through proposing and debating amendments, how our Government, our Senators and our Representatives work. This to me is the most important thing because if he does not understand or comprehend the workings of his own Government he cannot be an intelligent voter or American.

I am very thankful for the opportunity to come here and to say I know all these fine delegates.

I have not the time or the sheaves of paper it would take to convey my appreciation to the convention or for the fine companionship I have found here or for the insights I have previously mentioned.

I only hope and pray there will be another one in another 100 years for my grandchildren to enter.

STATEMENT BY JOHN J. KIRBY, JR., DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

My participation has meant both the opportunity and inducement to learn about Alexander Hamilton and the Constitution. It opened up wide all the broad vistas of a self-course in political science.

The convention itself, even at this early date, has helped me to realize the problems, the differences, and the essential sameness of the residents of every State and Territory in the United States. It has been a real and, I sincerely hope, an abiding eye opener.

The reason I shall personally remember the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission is that in working at the convention and studying the Constitution and Alexander Hamilton, my decision to go into politics was finalized.

Through my entire life, the Commission will be a permanent milestone. It would be perhaps fitting to add that the scholarship has allowed to continue my education toward this goal. Another truly great memory.

STATEMENT BY SHANNON H. RATLIFF, TEXAS

Participation in the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission has meant three things to me. One is a greater understanding of our form of government and its mechanics. Two, a greater admiration for one of the truly great Americans. Third, a wonderful experience of associating with a fine, learned class of young men and women.

The first is important because I now can defend and understand my Government to a much greater degree. The second is of importance because I now believe that history has blackened a fine man's name. It also gives me a goal and a pattern which I would like to achieve and follow in life. The third has made me many friends, restored my faith in American youth, and enabled me to enrich my own life.

Because of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission I now feel I have enriched my life greatly and am more capable now of being a good citizen and of being a true help to a world plagued by many terrific problems.

STATEMENT BY HASTINGS WYMAN, JR., SOUTH CAROLINA

Participation in the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission has been important to me for a number of reasons, but foremost of these is my participation has made me more conscious than ever before of the influence our forefathers had on our very lives. In almost every field of Government and politics, history is almost domineering in influence.

This program has also given me an opportunity to get a better understanding of our governmental setup. Though I had read previously about the organization and procedures of Congress, this convention has given me an insight into the work of Congress through firsthand experience.

My greatest disappointment of the convention to date has been the fact that because of limited time and a crowded schedule, the measures that we must discuss and pass on are never really even touched beyond the surface. This is probably something for which there could be no remedy.

Probably on important lesson that I have learned is that this great country of ours has as many different ideas concerning governmental policy as there are persons who entertain any such ideas at all. This was somewhat of a surprise to me, for as I have lived in my home State all my life, I did not realize the tremendous task in effecting one policy for the entire country from so many good opinions.

STATEMENT BY GORDON R. CHESTER, IDAHO

My participation in the Alexander Hamilton Commission has opened to my eyes a great new horizon of study, the Constitution of the United States, and the communications of wisdom set down by its proponents.

The uncomprising determination of Hamilton to do what he thought was right, and his versatility in so many facets of life provide an inspiration to me.

My selection as the constitutional delegate from my commonwealth crystalized a seemingly impractical idea that I might like to enter the profession of law and to enter the government of my native State.

More than anything else, I will have benefited from my contact with my contemporaries of this Nation, meeting with them, termining differences, likenesses and customs of our respective areas. And, too, I have realized the great power and scope of this Nation. And I have been impressed of my obligation to go forth to protect its right both from external force and from internal sedition, resulting from poor government, corruption, and compromise of principles.

The Fine Work of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last month there was celebrated the 30th anniversary of the official inauguration in Montevideo, Uruguay, on June 9, 1927, of a very fine organization which is known throughout the Western Hemisphere. I refer to the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood—the only intergovernmental agency in the world serving all the interests of childhood.

This splendid organization is the second oldest of the specialized organizations attached to the Organization of American States. It has been my pleasure in the past, as it is today, to highlight its good works, just as I have been pleased to highlight the fine job of UNICEF—the United Nations Children's Fund.

The institute's good works may be seen throughout Latin America—not simply in its encouragement and technical guidance to clinics, nurseries, hospitals, workshops, but in the healthy bodies of innumerable children throughout the Western Hemisphere.

The institute and the hemisphere owe an everlasting debt to the great individual who was its godfather, so to speak, Dr. Luis Morquio, a great pediatrician of the Republic of Uruguay.

I was pleased to note in the current July 1957 issue of the magazine Americas, published by the OAS, a fine article by Elisabeth Shirley Enochs, who has served as president of the directing council of the institute, describing the great job which it has done.

I send to the desk the text of this article, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO PROTECT OUR CHILDREN—AOS SPECIALIZED AGENCY IN MONTEVIDEO CELEBRATES ITS 30TH ANNIVERSARY

(By Elisabeth Shirley Enochs)

An institution, we are told, is "the lengthened shadow of a man." The truth of this saying has never been better illustrated than in the case of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, second oldest of the OAS specialized organizations, which is celebrating the 30th anniversary of its official inauguration in Montevideo, Uruguay, on June 9, 1927.

The man whose shadow falls, through the institution he founded, in benevolent protection over all the republics of this hemisphere and extends even to European shores was the great Uruguayan pediatrician Dr. Luis Morquio. A monument erected to his memory by the Uruguayan Government, depicting Morquio with a child, stands in the beautiful park in front of the residence of the United States Ambassador in Montevideo. The statue is almost always flower-adorned, either with a formal wreath placed by a visiting official delegation or, more often, with simple bouquets put there by childish hands. This is as it should be. Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since Luis Morquio's death, but wherever America's pediatricians gather, his memory is revered, and there is scarcely a child in the hemisphere who has not benefited in some way from the life he devoted to promoting their health and welfare.

Luis Morquio was the son of poor Italian immigrants. His father worked for a while as a shoemaker. His mother had a hard time rearing her family, and Luis has been described as having been a puny child. I remember a touching incident I heard from a former Uruguayan naval attaché in Washington: "Shortly after Luis Morquio's birth," he said, "his mother came to work for my mother. Because of poor health, she could not nurse her baby. My mother had a child about the same age, and since she had an abundance of milk she offered to nurse the infant Luis too." But for this, Luis Morquio might not have lived to spread the doctrine of the mother-child relationship that is linked with his name.

Before the turn of the century, he entered the medical school of the free University of Uruguay. The school itself was struggling, and there was as yet no specialization in pediatrics. For this he later went to Paris. There pediatrics, though still in its early stages, was stimulated by ever-growing concern over the high infant-death rates prevailing in many European countries. After returning to Uruguay, Morquio worked with Dr. Francisco Soca, the first professor of pediatrics in the medical school, whom he later succeeded. As professor of pediatrics, he introduced theories that subsequently swept the hemisphere.

At that time few countries in the New World had reliable vital statistics, even in the larger cities, but it was assumed that in many areas more than half of the infants born alive died before their first birthday. (Not until 1910 was the first Ministry of public health established in an American country—in Cuba.) Because the life expectancy of adults was very low, many children became orphans at an early age. Inevitably, institutions were opened to care for them, but affection and good intentions were seldom accompanied by scientific knowledge of a growing child's needs. The unmarried mother customarily abandoned her infant. Many children, born in families in better circumstances, died because their parents knew little or nothing of the most elementary facts relating to child feeding. Luis Morquio was one of the first to recognize that the health problems of children are inextricably linked to the social and economic conditions of their families and the communities in which they live. He therefore tried to instill in his students an awareness of the child as a whole and advocated programs that emphasized all aspects of a child's life: health, welfare, education, and so on. His doctrine emphasized research and careful observation. "The most insignificant detail," he told his eager disciples, "may hold the secret of a diagnosis."

Morquio also believed in prolonging the mother-child relationship so that the child would retain the sense of security derived from the mother's continuing care. His insistence on avoiding unnecessary separation of a child from his mother from birth at least through the preschool years was an innovation that led to many advances in the philosophy and practice of child care.

A United States visitor to a Bogotá children's hospital a few years ago was surprised to find that adjacent to the cubicle with a crib for a sick baby was a tiny room with a cot for the infant's mother. "This is what Morkuio advocated," he was told. "The Uruguayan doctor said the sick baby needs the reassurance of his mother's presence. He also said that the mother is never more teachable than when she is worried about her baby." Today, more than a quarter of a century later, modern psychiatry is confirming Morquio's teachings.

Shortly after World War II, the World Health Organization began granting fellowships for study in the United States to European experts who had been cut off from the stream of scientific developments during the period of hostilities. One, Dr. Robert Montus of the French Public Health Service, told of having been in charge of a public-health district with a headquarters at Marseilles and of his concern for the high infant mortality in the area. "I did everything I had heard or read about to bring the rate down," he said, "but without much success. Then, by chance, I read a report by a Uruguayan doctor named Morquio, emphasizing the young child's need for his mother. We had been separating babies from their mothers at birth, especially the infants born out of wedlock, putting them in hospitals, nurseries, and other institutions and leaving their mothers free to work. I decided to try keeping the young infants with their mothers as long as possible. The decline in our infant mortality rate was immediate and striking."

To keep abreast of the time, Morquio maintained close contact with his colleagues in Europe and frequently attended scientific meetings overseas. In 1913, a big international child-welfare meeting was held in Brussels under the august patronage of the Belgian Premier, Carton de Wiart. In some of his writings, Morquio described this meeting, which formally recommended that Europe create an International Bureau of Child Welfare—a recommendation that could not be fulfilled because of the outbreak of the First World War.

Widespread concern over the welfare of children led to the organization of the First Pan American Child Congress in Buenos Aires in 1916. Although this first congress was not government sponsored, Dr. John Barrett, director general of the Pan American Union, stimulated participation by all the American Republics. The United States delegate described that congress as the first step toward the international interchange of ideas, which, if properly encouraged and supported, will result ultimately in the formulation of America's international ideals of childhood and its rights. Three years later, in 1919, the Second Pan American Child

Congress was held in the capital of Uruguay. In the minutes of a special plenary session of May 22, we find the following: "Continuing, Dr. Morquio presented for the consideration of the assembly the project to create an American International Bureau for the Protection of Childhood, which would be the center for study, action, and dissemination of information on all matters relating to children and which might be the official agency of the American nations which would sign the agreement."

After study by a special committee, the Congress formally approved the proposal, which invited the Government of Uruguay to serve as the host country. After many negotiations, the necessary legislation was enacted by Uruguay, a committee was appointed to draft statutes, and approval by the Fourth Pan American Child Congress, in Santiago, Chile, in 1924, opened the way for the actual establishment of the new agency.

The only intergovernmental agency in the world serving all the interests of childhood, the Institution is sanctioned by the Bogatá Charter as a specialized agency of the Organization of American States. Its work dovetails with that of UNICEF, which, of course, is a much larger organization. The Institute supplies technical information and advice; UNICEF supplies food, equipment, and training. The Institute makes studies and advises as to nutritional needs of children; UNICEF furnishes the milk that is lacking in such areas as Central America and the Andean countries. The Institute recommends standards for children's hospitals; UNICEF supplies medicine and equipment.

It was the institute that was responsible for inviting UNICEF to turn its attention to the Latin American countries as well as Europe and Asia. At the ninth Pan American Child Congress in Caracas in 1948, the institute sponsored a resolution urging the American countries to contribute generously to UNICEF and urged UNICEF to consider the needs of American children, which, though not caused directly by war, were no less compelling. UNICEF not only gave favorable consideration to this urgent plea but invited the Institute's Direcor General, Dr. Roberto Berro—who succeeded Dr. Morquio on his death in 1935—to spend several weeks at UNICEF headquarters in New York to help plan the Latin American program.

A small agency with a budget—for 1957—of $55,000 must operate with economy and discretion. The institute sees its role primarily as that of a gadfly, stimulating the responsible agencies in each country to develop an awareness of children's needs and seek practical solutions for their problems. Through surveys and field studies and research—its specialized library covers every conceivable facet of child life—the institute answers any kind of inquiry. If a women's organization in Cuzco, Peru, for instance, wants to start a day-care center for children of working mothers, a letter to the institute will bring them simple directions. Is Venezuela revising its children's code? The institute will review the draft and comment on it. No one knew how many children in Latin America had rheumatic fever until the institute made a survey, called the attention of pediatricians to the problem, and urged a Pan American Sanitary Conference to adopt a resolution making the disease reportable.

The institute touches both the child of the Bolivian highlands and the Haitian orphan. I have talked to country doctors in the interior of Ecuador who depend on the quarterly Boletin for information from the best specialists on child care. An adviser with the International Cooperation Administration in Paraguay reports that the most substantial material on social services for children in the Asunción School of Social Service library was found in the Boletin. Through the national Children's Bureau of Brazil, the philosophy of "the whole child" that Morquio bequeathed to the institute has found expression in services for mothers and children in the most remote areas of that huge country.

The institute has undertaken a number of major studies, some hemispherewide in scope, others restricted to a few countries. These have covered such subjects as Latin American Indian children (a study recommended by the International Save the Children Union); rickets; the incidence of infantile paralysis among children; medical services in school-health programs; institutions for delinquents; children's nutrition problems (in cooperation with the Argentine National Institute of Nutrition and the United States Children's Bureau); and a study of methods of caring for European children evacuated from areas under bombardment and brought to the New World (requested by the second meeting of foreign ministers at Habana in 1940).

Ecuador and the United States were the first countries to benefit when the institute introduced a microfilm service for member countries. A judge in Chicago had refused to sanction adoption proceedings for a child that was to be taken to Ecuador to live because he did not know what protection the child would have under Ecuadoran law. An appeal from the Children's Home and Aid Society brought by airmail from the institute a microfilm copy and an English translation of Ecuador's modern law, which the institute had helped Ecuadoran authorities frame. The judge was satisfied and the adoptive parents happy.

The institute's technical work is carried on at headquarters through its department of technical cooperation and five advisory committees: child health, legislation, statistics, social services, and education. These are headed by such eminent authorities as Dr. Lourenço Filho, a noted Brazilian educator; Miss Marta Ezcurra, of Argentina, probably the best known social worker in Latin America; and three Uruguayans—Dr. Adolfo Morales, a statistician of international repute; Judge Pedro José Achard, an expert in children's codes and juvenile delinquency; and Dr. Maria Luisa Saldún de Rodriguez, associate professor of pediatrics at the University of Uruguay. The acting director, Dr. Victor Escardó y Anaya, Luis Morquio's favorite disciple, has been with the institute since its first day and was in charge of technical cooperation until September 1956, when the untimely death of Dr. Roberto Berro left him acting as interim director.

One of the first OAS technical cooperation projects—known in OAS circles as Project 32—was launched to benefit the children of the member countries. Every year from 1952 to 1956, the Institute invited to Montevideo 1 specialist from each of 7 countries for a 2-month intensive workshop to study all aspects of child health, welfare, and education. The United Nations and UNICEF made extra fellowships available, so that each year from 10 to 15 people took the course. After returning to his country, the specialist, assisted by technical experts from the Institute, organized a national seminar to explore the needs of children. Agencies and institutions were visited and on-the-spot consultation offered. The governments have cooperated enthusiastically. In Colombia and Haiti, for instance, the governments provided air transportation to remote sections so that Institute experts and local specialists could visit institutions devoted to the care of lepers' healthy children. In Venezuela the seminar's daily sessions were broadcast, and the staffs of children's agencies and institutions in the various provinces held round-table discussions of the material reviewed by the experts in Caracas. Copies of lectures given at the Montevideo workshop were widely distributed by the Institute to fill the textbook gap. In some countries as many as 300 people participated in the national seminars that followed the Montevideo workshop.

When Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo was OAS Secretary General, he liked to joke about a reception he received in Santiago, Chile, during an official trip around South America. The morning after, he sent for the papers to read the accounts of his arrival. Blazoned across front pages were such headlines as "OAS Discusses Child Nutrition." "I was dumfounded," Dr. Lleras said. "None of the welcome speeches had mentioned nutrition, nor had I in my response. Then I discovered that what the papers were full of was the Institute workshop."

The Institute's late Director General, Dr. Roberto Berro, always said that the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood originated "in the fusion of two sentiments deeply rooted in our society and in our hemisphere—concern for children and the historic and traditional fraternity of the American peoples." For this reason, he predicted, its work will continue to receive even wider acceptance among nations, "because America clearly sees its future in the child."

Mayor B. F. Vance, of Bryan, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on Friday, July 5, 1957, Texas lost one of her foremost citizens, Mayor B. F. Vance, of Bryan, Tex. Mayor Vance passed away after a distinguished career of public service, covering more than a quarter of a century.

He was a national leader of agriculture and agricultural advancement in a period of change and adjustment, during the great depression, in World War II, and in the period of adjustment following World War II. He was a leader in the successful administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in Texas, and was the outstandingly successful administrator of the Production Management Act in Texas. In the latter capacity he was known to every farmer and rancher in Texas.

Because of his stanch stand for the farmers and ranchers of Texas and America, he was forced out of office by State and national administrations which were out of sympathy with Democratic measures which had resulted in such widespread agricultural prosperity.

So great was the personal integrity of B. F. Vance that he sacrificed himself rather than yield to measures that he knew were detrimental to the agricultural interests of his State and Nation. He sacrificed no principle.

In all of his courageous acts, he had the loyal support of a devoted wife and a closeknit family.

The recognition of his knowledge and integrity was spreading steadily over Texas at the time of his death. It is certain that, had he lived, he would have

been called to greater and greater spheres of service and influence. Just as his home city had placed him in her mayoralty chair before his death, his State would certainly have called him back to wider fields of service, had he lived.

I relied heavily upon B. F. Vance's advice in agricultural matters. He was my personal friend. We fought for good government together. Our joint efforts covered Texas from the Sabine River to El Paso.

Among the tens of thousands of friends who have helped me in Texas in the past 5 years, none was more patriotic or more unselfish than B. F. Vance.

Friend, good citizen, good father, patriot, good neighbor, he represented the best in American citizenship. His loss impoverishes Texas.

The Bryan Daily Eagle, one of the outstanding daily newspapers of the small cities of Texas, devoted much of its issue of Sunday, July 7, 1957, to the story of the life of this good man.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the front page editorial in the July 7 issue of the Bryan Daily Eagle. The editorial is entitled "Vance Death Loss to Bryan."

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the articles in the same issue of the Eagle, entitled "Mayor's Public Career Began 28 Years Ago," "Heart Attacks Fatal to Civic Leader," and "Tributes Paid Mayor by Many."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VANCE DEATH LOSS TO BRYAN

In the untimely death of B. F. Vance, Bryan has lost more than an excellent mayor. Had he never held that position in the city government, which he took over only 2 months ago, B. F. Vance would be remembered as one who contributed heavily to the welfare of Bryan, Brazos County, and the State of Texas.

B. F. Vance came to Bryan 23 years ago as district agent for the Agricultural Extension Service of Texas A & M College, after service in three counties, including nearby Madison, as a county agent.

When the AAA mushroomed as a New Deal project for farmers, Vance was named assistant administrative officer and later chairman and chief administrative officer. He guided the organization for 18 years, and in few States was the AAA (or PMA, or ASCS as it is now known) more important to the welfare of farmers than in Texas.

He carried his stock of knowledge of agriculture to Greece at a time when the United States was building up that country as a bulwark against rampant communism.

Making his home in what was then open territory between downtown Bryan and College Station, Mr. Vance saw a need for more housing and did as much as any man to build up the area until now there is a solid residential area in the 5-mile trip. After leaving the PMA when the Eisenhower administration came into power, Mr. Vance devoted his full time to the creation of housing. To him it was more than building houses for profit, it was building homes to take care of families.

He did not withdraw from politics after leaving PMA, but continued to support the liberal wing of the Democratic Party to which he belonged, and stumped actively for Ralph Yarborough. Those who disagreed with his stand still admired his outspokenness.

When Mayor George E. Adams resigned, Mr. Vance entered the municipal field as a city commissioner, and was twice elected in his own right. He proved a good commissioner, carefully studying new questions as they arose and proving firm in his convictions once he had reached them.

Just 2 months ago his fellow commissioners named him mayor, and an outstanding administration seemed certain. But 2 weeks ago he suffered a heart attack, followed by complications as he determinedly fought his battle to live. He will be sorely missed.

MAYOR'S PUBLIC CAREER BEGAN 28 YEARS AGO

Mayor B. F. Vance's death at midnight Friday brought to an end a career of public service which began in Wise County in 1929, and set the stage here for a special election to fill the vacancy on the city commission.

The city charter provides for a special election to fill vacancies on the commission, but does not set the date for such an election. It is expected, however, that the commission will take up the matter at its meeting Friday night.

Vance, who had been elected to his second full term on April 2, got his start in local politics in June 1954, when Mayor George E. Adams resigned from the commission. He was named to fill the unexpired term, then was elected to fill a full term and stood for relection again this year.

He stepped into the mayor's chair on April 12 after the unanimous vote of his fellow city commissioners.

Although the mayor started his long career of public service as schoolteacher, county agent, district agent for the Extension Service, the old triple A and the Production and Marketing Administration, it wasn't until after he resigned as State director of the PMA on July 11, 1953 that Vance became active in State and local politics.

He accused former Governor Shivers and the Republican administration of forcing him to resign as State director of the PMA. After Vance's resignation, Shivers said the resignation was asked by Washington. Vance had said Shivers pressured him to resign and blocked his appointment to an overseas job under the point 4 program of foreign aid.

Tom Miller, Southwest area PMA director, said at the time Secretary of Agriculture Benson had asked for the resignation in order to name a director who was sympathetic with the Eisenhower administration.

After resigning from the State post, Vance became active in State Democratic politics, alining himself with the liberal wing of the party.

He campaigned for Judge RALPH YARBOROUGH, then seeking to unseat Governor Shivers. He continued his support of Judge YARBOROUGH in his unsuccessful campaign against Governor Daniel and was active in YARBOROUGH's successful campaign to win the United States Senate post vacated by Daniel.

Although elected to two full terms on the Bryan city commission, Mayor Vance did not campaign actively for the position. His activities as a real estate developer and his many civic services won him the admiration and votes of many Bryan citizens.

HEART ATTACKS FATAL TO CIVIC LEADER

Funeral services for Mayor B. F. Vance, 57, who died Friday at midnight, will be held today at 3 p. m. from the First Baptist Church, with the Rev. Dr. W. H. Andrew, pastor, officiating. Burial will be in Bryan City Cemetery.

The mayor died after an 18-day series of heart attacks. He was stricken on June 18 while at his farm near here.

The body will lie in state at the church from 1:30 p. m. until time for the services. One hymn, Asleep in Jesus, will be sung by a quartet from the choir of the First Baptist Church. Mrs. Imogene Nash Robertson will play organ music.

Pallbearers, selected from the members of the Men's Discussion Group of the church include S. A. Lynch, J. Frank Tucker, H. L. Heaton, V. M. Nelson, A. A. Wilbanks, and J. H. Sorrels.

Born June 2, 1900, at Boyd, Vance came to Bryan 22 years ago as district agent for the Extension Service. He later became chairman of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and continued as director when it became the Production and Marketing Administration (PMA).

In 1947 he took a leave of absence and went to Greece as agricultural adviser with the American mission for air to Greece.

He resigned his post with PMA on July 11, 1953, and became a real estate operator and developer in Bryan. He is credited as being one of the major builders of Bryan, developing such residential areas as Meadowbrook Garden Acres, North Garden Acres, Highland Park, and Lakeview.

He was the first president of the newly organized Bryan-College Station Home Builders Association, and was holding the office at time of his death.

Mayor Vance was educated at Decatur Baptist College, Baylor University, North Texas State Teachers College, and Texas A. and M. He began his career as a school teacher in Wise County in 1929. Later he was county agent in Madison, Wis., and Young Counties.

Survivors include the widow, Mrs. Vonnie Ray Vance; a daughter, Mrs. Betty Vance Goff, Robstown; two sons, B. F. Vance, Jr., stationed with the United States Air Force at Marysville, Tenn., and William Ray Vance, of Bryan; two brothers, Charles Vance, Milam, and Ernest Vance, Elmhurst, Ill.; two sisters, Mrs. Frank Thurmond, Austin, and Mrs. Alice Lewis, Houston; one grandson, and a number of nephews and nieces.

Mayor Vance was a member of the First Baptist Church, Rotary Club, Masonic Lodge, and active in civic and cultural circles.

Burial will be under direction of Hillier Funeral Home.

TRIBUTES PAID MAYOR BY MANY

The death of Mayor B. F. Vance at midnight Friday brought many messages of sorrow and expressions of appreciation and affection for friends and close associates.

United States Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH late Saturday afternoon telephoned from Kansas City where he had gone to attend the dedication of Truman Memorial Library.

Senator YARBOROUGH, a close friend of Vance, said:

"I am shocked to learn of my friend's death.

"In the death of B. F. Vance, Texas has lost one of her most courageous public spirited citizens and a national authority on agriculture.

"He had dedicated more than a quarter of a century of his life to the improvement of agriculture in Texas and the Nation.

"His citizen's virtues were founded upon an unimpeachable character dedicated to the public good. This was the dynamic force in his life.

"He sacrificed much for Texas and its people. And he sacrificed much for me. I loved, admired, and respected him.

"All the people of Texas and the agricultural interests of the Nation have suffered a severe loss.

"I extend my deepest sympathy to the family of Mayor Vance during their hour of loss and bereavement."

Mayor pro tempore O. B. Donaho said:

"The mayor's death was a great shock to me. The community has lost one of its

finest men. Mayor Vance was a leader, a man of vision, unselfish and one who gave of his time and money for the betterment of his community. Mr. Vance was a Christian gentleman, a family man. I extend my deepest sympathy to his family."

Mike Barron, a member of the city commission who had served a number of years on the commission with the mayor, said:

"He was one of the finest men I have ever known. His death was a great shock and his passing will be felt by the entire community. I have lost a fine friend and the community has lost a great citizen."

Commissioner John Naylor, too, said that the "mayor's death is a great loss to the city."

He added, "I feel that I have lost a personal friend who never can be replaced. His guiding hand on the affairs of the city will be greatly missed. His death is a great loss to the entire city."

Dr. S. J. Enloe, a member of the city commission, said:

"He was a man of vision and a man who held the welfare of Bryan and the entire area near and dear to his heart. We have lost a great and good man. He will be missed by the entire city."

Mills P. Walker, president of the Eagle Printing Co., said:

"Mr. Vance was a strong and valuable member of the city commission and as a housing developer had contributed greatly to the growth of Bryan. His death is a real loss to the community."

Casey Fannin, city manager said, "I have known Mr. Vance since 1927. He was a fine gentleman. His death was a great shock to me. The entire community has suffered a great loss."

The Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, two excellent editorials from the July 10 and July 11 issues of the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner. They are entitled respectively "A Principle of Rights: South Making Its Point" and "RUSSELL Stated the Case: There Is Hope in Assurance Given by the President."

This newspaper is published by Capt. James G. Stahlman, a great Ameriman who has always fought hard through his editorial columns to preserve constitutional government.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix an outstanding editorial from the July 9, 1957, issue of the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle. It is entitled "Threat of 'Force' Laws." This editorial is most pertinent to the motion now pending before the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville Banner of July 10, 1957]

A PRINCIPLE OF RIGHTS: SOUTH IS MAKING ITS POINT

More Senators, it appears, are seeing the validity of the South's insistence on trial by jury as a fixed point of law and due process—bone of contention with the civil rights brigade. They are seeing, surely, what logic underscores; that if this principle falls under the impact of biased thinking against the South, it falls for all. It is not, therefore, a regional issue, but national. The southern protest is not addressed to a narrow, selfish view, but to a view exactly as broad as the Constitution—and as far reaching.

Senator O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, has paid tribute to the fairness of southern colleagues—having spoken out prior to this showdown for the stated right of due process; and recognizing the progress already made, and voluntarily, on race relations. As a further point of edification, the fact of voting rights enjoyed and practiced in the South should be laid before him.

Who, influenced by propaganda to the contrary, has bothered to examine the record in State after State? By what process of competent investigation have these civil-rights firebrands arrived at a conclusion of wholesale indictment?

Voting is a privilege, as well as a duty, of citizenship, asserted and protected by law. With that principle there can be no quarrel. The issue is invasion by Federal authority, and methods of enforcement begetting strife by the measures of force contemplated in this iniquitous legislation.

There are States, outside the South, where people of voting age are denied the right to vote—Indians, for example. Negro citizens do vote, under the same rules of eligibility applied in the case of white citizens; and if any Senator doubts that, he should come this way and watch.

In Tennessee, and other Southern States, he would find Negroes holding public office. In Nashville they elect their own representatives to city council; they have membership on the school board. They staff their schools. They are employed on the police department and the fire department.

Facts, it appears, are coming out in the Senate and registering—and they are facts answering organized diatribe; substantiating both the concept of justice and of constitutional law.

The South does not stand at the bar of public opinion convicted—just accused. It is not on the defensive. It is defending a basic right of responsible treatment, and the place of that defense is the floor of the Senate.

As manifested by the implied readiness of opponents to concede the trial-by-jury point, its stand to date is influencing that decision. It cannot compromise any principle to the detriment of established, constitutional rights, much less yield to the whip of caprice.

[From the Nashville Banner of July 11, 1957]

RUSSELL STATED THE CASE—THERE IS HOPE IN ASSURANCE GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT

President Eisenhower now has been given the other side of the civil-rights dispute, a conducted tour of factual study incorporating details which his legal advisors obviously had screened from view. Senator RUSSELL performed a service in presenting the facts in the case, and from that conference emerged with the reasoned hope of eliminating from this disputed legislation its force bill particulars.

Fairness demanded the respectful treatment accorded this presentation of the South's case, a quality of character on which Senator RUSSELL relied in seeking the interview and on which he rests the assurance that, in his own language, "The President has absolutely no purpose of seeking punitive action against the South."

It is none the less essential to strike from this measure those sections embodying vicious, punitive powers; for if enacted there could be no possible guaranty that a future incumbent would not employ them. Fairness and meticulous regard for principle are not the universal traits in political life, and the only safeguards are to restrict powers by the exercise of reason in the writing of law.

This is, after all, a Government of law—its statutory enactments, as its branches of balanced authority within their respective boundaries, limited to the domain clearly and properly spelled out by the Constitution. It is only when elements contemptuous of that restraint embark on power jags, or punitive expeditions of pressure and coercion, that the principle of law is imperiled.

President Eisenhower unquestionably is aware of that, and must understand the dangers implicit to any legislation that ever could be used, by some reckless successor dominated by the forces of irresponsibility, intrusion, and spite.

If the President recognizes the hazards of this mechanism as pointed out, he must realize that he has been sold a bill of goods by those devising it ostensibly under his sponsorship.

It is impossible to dispute the existence of threatening sections in the civil-rights bill, for there they are, and not just by interpretation. As enumerated by Senator RUSSELL, they are chiefly, part III, which he described to the President as authorizing the use of troops to integrate schools and all other public facilities in the South; and part IV, providing Federal injunction to protect voting rights.

It was as a Southern spokesman confident of Mr. Eisenhower's good intentions and instinctive dedications to principle that Senator RUSSELL sought this opportunity to put the facts before him.

He was receptive to those facts, for an enlightening appraisal that should have been accorded this far-reaching legislative proposal before it was advanced as an administration bill. That it goes far beyond the President's objectives, in its provisions of punitive means and ends, has not been doubted by any acquainted with his policy of moderation, and his concept of justice and constitutional restraint.

The Senator's declaration of hope, implicit to the spirit of good will and reasoned concern manifested, strengthens hope of the South to whose welfare it is addressed.

[From the Augusta Chronicle of July 9, 1957]

THREAT OF "FORCE" LAWS

Attorney General Brownell, who is opposed to guaranteeing jury trials in Federal court contempt cases, is the person who will gain the greatest power if Congress passes the civil-rights legislation.

Perhaps that is the reason why he discourages any attempt to point out the dangerous uses to which such legislation can be put.

He thinks that it is irresponsible to raise the question as to whether old "force laws," enacted at the close of the War Between the States, would be used to reenforce the power of the special court to be created under the new law.

The Attorney General asks the people to believe that the Federal Government would not use today the tactics that were employed during Reconstruction days in the South.

But those "force laws" are still on the books and the proponents of current civil-rights legislation are just about as fanatically unreasonable in their demands as were those who helped to make dark history in the South during the Reconstruction period.

The people cannot afford to accept pretty words in exchange for their right to jury trial. To sacrifice that right is to sacrifice liberty itself.

Those who are advocating current civil-rights proposals are either too ignorant to understand the full implications of the bill or they are deliberately participating in a program that would undermine basic constitutional rights.

The question is: Why are they demanding that State courts be bypassed and that supreme power to try and charge citizens by

unconstitutional methods be lodged in a single individual?

Are they so ignorant of the recent history of Italy, Germany, and Russia that they cannot recognize the kinship of the presently proposed civil-rights legislation with the methods used by Mussolini, Hitler, and Communist Russia?

Whether it be ignorance or deliberate intent to strip the people of their right to trial by jury, the results will be the same if the people permit their representatives in Congress to pass such legislation. Once the civil-rights proposals are enacted into law, citizens might not have the right even to express an opinion on the injustices that will mark its operation.

Why Inflation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the No. 1 domestic problem facing the people of our country is the constant increase in the cost of living—inflation. The Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, of which I have the honor of being chairman, is holding very interesting hearings on this all-important subject. We have had a number of economists testifying before our committee who have presented, objectively, an overall view of the forces in the American economy bearing upon this issue. The hearings more specifically deal with administered prices as they affect our economy.

Bernard D. Nossiter, of the Washington Post and Times Herald, has written some splendid articles on the testimony at these hearings. He has put into understandable language the meaning and importance of what has been said.

I ask unanimous consent to have his thoughtful and challenging column, as it appeared in the Washington Post of July 13, 1957, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN ECONOMY—SENATE UNIT HEARS FRESH IDEAS OF THREE EXPERTS

(By Bernard D. Nossiter)

Three economists ambled into the Senate caucus room this week and recited a catalog of economic blasphemies that may shake the lobbyist, agitate faculty rooms, and tax the ingenuity of the public relations boys for years to come.

The mild-mannered heretics were Edwin G. Nourse, who quit as President Truman's chief economic adviser because the Fair Deal was too liberal; John Kenneth Galbraith, onetime Fortune magazine editor and now a Harvard professor; and Gardiner C. Means, an economist with the sophisticated, business-supported Committee for Economic Development.

Their testimony, along with the coincidental release of a voluminous study showing the rapid postwar growth of concentration in industry, amounted to a fresh map of the American economy's topography. Some will even argue that the map is useful because it fits the facts as many people know them.

Hardened observers at congressional economic hearings gaped as ill-assorted Senators swallowed without visible pain heady doses of heresy.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, a vigorous opponent of business bigness, heard the economists' argument that using antitrust laws to break up concentration and bring competition to prices was a waste of time. Means said the antitrust blunderbuss, if really brought to bear, could "pulverize industry" and cost the Nation the efficiency of large corporations. Means, Nourse, and Galbraith, be it noted, were saying these things at KEFAUVER's express invitation; he is Chairman of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee before whom they testified.

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, champion of free enterprise, barely blinked as the trio told him that most of industry's prices are not set in the free market. Instead, the economists said, prices are administered by conscious decision and can be held rigid at these levels for periods of time, regardless of fluctuations in costs and demand.

The three economists do not see eye to eye on many points. But in general, they pictured the midcentury economy as looking like this:

In most of industry—steel, autos, rubber, oil, aluminum, and meatpacking especially—the classical free market of many producers, no one big enough to affect the market price, is about as relevant as the Turkey Trot. Instead, industry is marked in varying degrees by concentration, a few large corporations.

In these areas, prices are administered over an unknown range and not set by the automatic interaction of supply and demand. (Means contends that administered prices also pop up in many competitive sectors, but he agrees that concentration does play some part in furthering this kind of price setting.)

Moreover, industrialists can at any given time charge several different prices for their products and make the same amount of profit. Of course, the higher the price, the lower the output and employment. So what particular price is selected in this range has vast consequences for general well-being.

Finally, unions have a similar degree of discretion about the price they charge for labor. Therefore, it is like running down phantoms to try and determine whether labor or management is currently the villain in the mystery of the depreciating dollar.

At any rate, the trio agreed, the biggest price jumps in the recent wave of advances have taken place in these administered-price sectors. Competitively set prices—in agriculture, cotton textiles, and the like—have not kept pace.

What public policy should then be pursued? The trio, in their profession's best tradition had little to offer. Although 2 of them have been or are now prominent Democratic Party advisers, all 3 voiced strong support for the Eisenhower administration's "jawbone" attack on rising prices.

Unions and big business, they reasoned, are very responsive to public opinion and temper their appetite accordingly.

Thus, they argued, public appeals for restraint will work. They all guessed that steel would have increased more than the recently posted $6 a ton if it had not been for the war of words. The three economists groped for some way of institutionalizing such appeals. They suggested Government forums where big industries would have to announce in advance and justify price increases.

From both sides of the aisle, Senators JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, Democrat, Wyoming, and ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, Wisconsin, bespoke varying degrees of enthusiasm for such forums.

As for tight money, the economists either dismissed it or relegated it to an inferior role in curbing price rises. If money was tightened enough to stop prices, they said, it would produce unpalatable unemployment. The present, steady rein, they noted, has not halted prices' upward movement. They said this was to be expected, because big business either gets all it wants to borrow or raises what it needs to expand from higher prices or passes on to customers any increased interest costs.

Means offered the most forthright defense of big business while Galbraith and Nourse agreed by implication. Large corporations are most efficient, the story went, and are more likely to forbear from charging all the public will pay in the interests of public relations.

Senate labor-rackets hunters might well pay attention to this analysis. There is probably a strong connection between the emergent concentration in trucking, baking, and textiles and the unsavory unions leaders that are crudely acting as midwives to the birth of this phenomenon.

But all of this challenging diagnosis assumes that society's single goal is the greatest possible standard of living. As economic units grow in size, what, asked the romantic O'MAHONEY, happens to the individual? What are the implications of concentrated economic power for the spiritual aspirations of a society professing democratic ideals?

Nobody stayed to answer. They were economists, weren't they?

Freedom of Press in Jeopardy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, for weeks I have warned of the dangers to freedom of press and to the freedom of the peoples right to information about their Government, if the Wright Commission's recommendation for a penalty of not more than 5 years' imprisonment and not more than a $10,000 fine for any newsman printing a Government paper labeled "secret," were enacted into law.

The American people and press are being aroused to this danger. By today's mail, I received from Mr. George Todt, the Monday, July 8, 1957, issue of the Valley Times, in California, containing an ably written column entitled "George Todt's Opinion: Freedom of Press in Jeopardy."

I request unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: FREEDOM OF PRESS IN JEOPARDY

"If the law is upheld only by government officials, then all law is at an end." (Herbert Hoover, message to Congress, 1929.)

Any attempt by Government bureaucrats or hired commissions to infringe on the people's right to know ought to be met with the stiffest kind of resistance by every newspaperman worth his salt—and by the public.

Contrary to superficial notions entertained by those who have not thought the problem through, censorship is more harmful—and more insulting—to the ordinary citizen who

reads the news than to the man who has to write it.

Yes, censor the press—muzzle it if you will—and its members will know how to stay within the rules imposed upon them from above, and they can survive.

But what about the Republic of the United States? Freedom and human liberty? Or the uniquely American concept that our Government is set up through the consent of the governed? Can these institutions survive the onslaught of bureaucratic censorship?

I doubt it and for that reason we all must take exception to anything which smacks of censorship in this country of ours—no matter how large or small it may appear at the time. And this is why I think the controversial security report of the Wright Commission deserves a long second look by each of us.

There may be some good features contained within the report. But one of them, at least, is so highly debatable and questionable that it should be disposed of first before going on to other phases of the matter. There is an old legal maxim which says, in effect, "if one part is false, all is false." This should apply here. And very definitely.

The part of the report which most thinking persons in the Nation are taking exception to with a vengeance today concerns the part wherein—actually a bill has already been drafted to this effect by the Commission—it would become unlawful for any person who has received "secret" or "top secret" information in any field "to communicate any part thereof" to anyone else not authorized to receive such information. A reporter or a publisher could be sent to prison for 1 year and fined $10,000 if the Commission's recommendation were to be accepted.

Prior to this time, the law has banned unauthorized disclosures by Government service personnel. But Chairman Loyd Wright, of Los Angeles, made it clear that this proposed law change was aimed at the press. In a somewhat remarkable statement, he said:

"An informed citizenry is a major premise of our Government structure. But that same structure may be destroyed if a potential enemy is supplied with information critical to national self-preservation. The final responsibility for the difficult decisions of what shall be secret must be confined in those loyal and devoted public servants who are qualified to make the judgment. No citizen is entitled to take the law, and the safety of the Nation, into his own hands. With near unanimity the American journalism profession has conscientiously observed these limits. But there are a few exceptional cases which for some reason have escaped prosecution."

Asked to name such cases, Mr. Wright promised to do so within a week.

But 10 days later we find that the former president of the American Bar Association was in the embarrassing position of being unable to deliver the goods.

What happened? Well, poetic justice, of sorts, seemed to have had its way in this case. Mr. Wright was forced to issue a statement in which he said he knew of certain "dark chapters of betrayal" but unfortunately cannot talk about them. Why? Because some loyal and devoted public servant who was qualified to make the judgment persisted in stamping all the cases referred to by Mr. Wright as "secret"—and had then buried same somewhere in "deep six." Or government bureaucracy über alles.

According to Mr. Wright's own suggested ground rules in this instance, there was nothing he could do about it except gripe—just like the rest of us working stiffs.

I hope that the next time Mr. Wright feels called upon to make a deep obeisance to those "loyal and devoted servants who are qualified to make the judgment" concerning classification of pertinent Government documents, he will take a long, hard second look.

What nearly everybody seems to know—and I think Mr. Wright may now be included in this category—is that much of the classification of Government documents is done just to cover up mistakes of bumbling and inept bureaucrats. And the public's "right to know" can go to.

This is something the journalistic fraternity has known for a long time—even if it has only recently begun to dawn on some of the more outstanding legal minds of the Nation.

The Late Honorable Earl C. Michener

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I was very sorry to learn of the recent passing of Earl C. Michener, who for many years ably represented the Second Congressional District of Michigan in the Congress. While it was never my pleasure to serve at the same time as Mr. Michener, I had met him, following his retirement, on various occasions in his home town of Adrian.

I understand that, during his many years of public service here in Washington, he compiled an outstanding reputation as a statesman, a parliamentarian and a keen and conscientious legislator. His service as chairman of the two important House committees, Rules and Judiciary, shows the high esteem with which he was regarded by his colleagues.

I take this opportunity to express my sympathy to his daughter and other close relatives. Their loss has, of course, been made doubly hard by the recent passing of Mrs. Michener less than a month ago. They have my earnest prayers at this time of trial.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Address Delivered by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania, Before Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me at the 38th annual encampment of the department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars, at Harrisburg, Pa., on July 12, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE 38TH ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, AT HARRISBURG, PA., JULY 12, 1957

It is a great honor for an old soldier to be invited to address this outstanding organization of real Americans.

Your patriotism has been tested on foreign battlefields. You know what it means to face the enemies of our Nation in the hellfire of war. Sustained by loyalty and devotion to American ideals you have been willing to sacrifice everything that this Nation, under God, may live in honor, peace, and freedom.

The welfare of our country is always uppermost in the hearts and minds of the veteran. For that reason I want to discuss frankly with you some of the dangers confronting our Nation.

But first, let us look back with pride at the background of the United States. Let us review the magnificent achievements which in less than 200 years have converted a savage wilderness into the world's greatest stronghold of industrial and agricultural production. Let us be thankful that we have advanced to the highest cultural and spiritual levels ever attained by any similar area in the whole world.

The history of America is a glorious story. It tells of toil, sacrifice and heroism. It tells of victory produced by a people whose hearts and minds were aflame with the spirit of liberty and independence.

It tells of those courageous patriots who met in Philadelphia more than 180 years ago, and pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to establish a new Nation. For the first time in all the world, government recognized the divine origin of man's inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

For the first time a government was based upon the sound principal that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The story of America is the story of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and all the dedicated statesmen of each generation.

It is the story of the heroes who offered their lives for independence at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown. It is the story of Gettsburg, New Orleans, the fields of Mexico, and Admiral Dewey at Manila. It is the story of Chateau Thierry, the Argonne, the Normandy beaches, Iwo Jima, and the frozen hills of Korea.

There is no story so glorious in all world history. It should be told and retold over and over again, in our schools and colleges, from the pulpits and lecture platforms, in meetings of fraternal and patriotic organizations, in labor meetings, political rallies and every other place where Americans assemble.

Therefore, it is most appropriate, in a meeting such as this, to consider the situation confronting the United States.

The course of history has placed upon the American people the responsibility for peace and progress in the world. The United States stands as the one strong barrier against the Communist conspiracy to dominate and enslave the entire world.

We must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security by the mask of friendliness now worn by the masters of the Kremlin.

Recently there was broadcast into millions of American homes an example of Communist propaganda more flagrant than anything ever before attempted.

It was a brazen attempt to convince American listeners that Soviet Russia has no evil designs against the free nations of the world. We were told that the Russian dictators seek only friendship and peaceful coexistence.

Yes, my fellow Americans, the Communist boss talked of peace but real Americans were not fooled. The record denies their words.

The civilized world will long remember the ruthless slaughter of men, women, and children by Communist tanks and machine guns in crushing the Hungarian revolt of 1956.

Yet those guilty of this monstrous crime—those responsible for the wholesale execution of Hungarian freedom fighters—ask us to believe that this time they are sincere when they talk of peace. The record shows that the Communists have sabotaged every effort for peace and will continue to do so.

Their fundamental objectives have not changed. They have not abandoned their unholy ambition to destroy all human freedom.

Those of you who heard that broadcast will recall the prediction that the grandchildren of Americans living today will live under a socialistic system.

That was a grim warning that must not be ignored. It calls upon us to be constantly alert to the dangers of Communist influence here at home. We must fight disloyalty with every legal weapon at our command, and if our laws are not strong enough they should be made stronger.

You are all familiar with the decision of the United States Supreme Court made about a year ago, which held that the Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction in the field of sedition and subversion.

This decision struck down laws enacted in 42 States and Territories under which those guilty of subversion could be prosecuted and punished by the State.

I believe that each State should have the right to combat sedition within its borders. I believe each should have the right to punish not only those who seek forcible overthrow of the State but also those who would overthrow the Nation by force.

More recently several other decisions of the Supreme Court have greatly weakened the Federal Government's legal drive against Communists and subversives.

I have no criticism of the Court. We are a Nation of law and under our system no individual is denied equal justice. But, I repeat, if existing law is not adequate to deal effectively with disloyalty, it is the duty and responsibility of Congress to enact legislation strong enough to do the job. I can assure you that Congress is taking steps in that direction.

Now I would like to direct your attention to some other dangers that threaten America.

First, inflation. Since 1939, the purchasing power of the dollar has dropped to less than 50 cents.

One of the most difficult functions of a free government is to maintain a stable currency. At the same time it is one of the most important objectives of government. Inflation has the power to crush any economy upon which it fastens its grip and thus it can destroy a nation. In fact, more great nations have been destroyed by inflation than by invading armies or destructive bombs. A nation destroyed by a military force can rebuild itself, if the people have the spirit and the will to work, but a nation where incentive of the individual is destroyed has very little chance of recovery.

Inflation damages all with fixed incomes and inflicts severe hardship on millions of our people. The person who lives on a pension, social security, or interest on savings cannot escape the evils of inflation. There are now in the United States more than 16½ million on social security, corporation and government retirement, veterans' pensions, veterans' survivors benefits, and military retirement pay. Many are widows and orphans. Continued inflation is a threat to the many millions of savers in the United States, the owners of bonds, owners of life insurance policies, and savings accounts.

Second—big Government and Government doing things that we should do for ourselves. More than 7 million now work work the three levels of Government, at an annual payroll of $40 billion.

The vast expansion in the size and cost of Government at all levels is leading us away from the ideals of the Founding Fathers. The people are constantly demanding more and more services and many believe that projects paid for with Federal funds do not cost them anything.

The cost of State and local government has been increasing more rapidly than the Federal Government. The tendency toward more and more expensive Government by taxes and borrowing must be stopped or we will drift into creeping socialism.

It has been proposed that consideration be given to a new division of the functions of Government and a new allocation of taxes to perform those functions. President Eisenhower in a speech delivered to the Governors' Conference at Williamsburg, Va., on June 24, called upon the governors to join in an effort to return certain responsibilities to the States.

Several years ago I suggested that national defense, foreign affairs, rivers and harbors and banking and currency be Federal functions with income taxes, import duties and liquor and tobacco taxes to furnish the Federal revenues. The States would build the roads, provide higher education, administer penal and correctional institutions and conservation with estate taxes, sales taxes and the gasoline tax to furnish them the money. Local government would provide police

power, sanitation, courts and public schools and have as its tax source real estate, admissions, mercantile and wage taxes. This is just a brief outline but I am sure that such a plan would mean a big saving for the taxpayers.

Third—too much private and public debt. Never before in the history of the world have any people owed so much as we owe today. It should be a matter of deep concern to every one of us that the American people now owe a total of more than $800 billion in gross private and public debt. This is an average of about $4,700 for every man, woman, and child in the Nation, or about $18,800 for the average American family of four persons.

Net corporate debt went up from $93½ billion in 1946 to $208 billion at the end of 1956.

People have been buying out of tomorrow's paycheck. At the end of 1945 individuals owed less than $6 billion which in 1956 had increased to $42 billion.

Net State and local government debt has increased from $13½ billion in 1945 to $42.7 billion at the end of 1956 and has greatly increased since that time.

Fourth. Moral decay among the people. Great armies and great navies will not maintain a nation's strength where the moral courage and patriotic fervor of its people are permitted to decay. Every student of history knows that great nations of the past have gone down to destruction when the moral fiber of the people was undermined by greed and corruption.

Fifth. Too little interest in Government. Unfortunately, there are too many misguided Americans who do not understand and do not appreciate the real meaning of America.

They do not seem to realize that our system of free Government places upon each citizen an equal share of responsibility for our security and our progress.

Good citizenship is the basis of patriotism. That is why I am constantly urging every individual to take more active, intelligent, and patriotic part in government.

I bring these dangers to the attention of this great organization of veterans because your patriotic service entitles you to leadership in civic responsibility.

We pray that America may never turn away from its historic mission—to defend liberty, to oppose oppression, to stand against injustice and to support the aspiration of all men of good will for a world of peace and freedom.

We hope and pray for the day when all nations will lay down their arms and live in brotherhood under God.

But until that happy day dawns we must be prepared to defend the God-given freedom that we hold sacred.

Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty.

Communist Propaganda Fiasco in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, on Saturday there was published an article by the distinguished Texas writer, Stanley Walker, describing a misfire of Communist propaganda. It centered around an effort to prove that Texans of Czech birth are eager to go back to the land of their birth.

On Sunday, the New York Herald Tribune carried an editorial reviewing the incident and driving home a basic lesson. It tells the Communist propagandists: "Steer clear of Texas if you don't want your fingers burned."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPAGANDA FIASCO IN TEXAS

Communist propaganda is often supposed to be devilishly clever, but it has fallen flat on its face in the great State of Texas. On Thursday the Czech Communist radio blandly claimed that a number of Czechs who settled in Texas have found, on return visits, that their homeland under Red rule was extremely attractive. So much so, in fact, that they planned to ditch everything in the United States and return there for good. The radio boldly went on to quote a Joseph Zvolanek, of Temple, Tex., who left the old country almost half a century ago, as saying just that.

There was a very simple way to verify this story, and Mr. Stanley Walker, the former city editor of this newspaper who now lives in Texas, was quick to do it. That was to ask Mr. Zvolanek if what the radio said was really so. It was no surprise that he labeled the story, as Mr. Walker put it, a coal-black lie. Mr. Zvolanek has been a successful shoe repairman in Temple. He likes the place emphatically and so does his son. What he actually told the Czechs was that he might return to Czechoslovakia for another visit some time.

We hope the point of this revealing incident is hammered home to the Czech people and others behind the Iron Curtain who are tempted to believe, out of sheer desperation, what their rulers tell them about the outside world. As for the propaganda bureaucrats of Prague—if they still have their jobs—there is a salutary lesson, too: steer clear of Texas if you don't want your fingers burned. The spirit of Texas is sometimes difficult for even other Americans to understand, admire it as they may. For some one behind the Iron Curtain, it's clearly a hopeless undertaking.

Foreign Policy Speech by Hon. Mike Mansfield, of Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the full impact of the excellent foreign policy speech made by the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] on Saturday is gradually coming home to our country. The latest evidence is a Scripps-Howard editorial pointing out that Senator MANSFIELD operates in the best traditions of a loyal and constructive opposition.

It is an excellent editorial in keeping with the excellence of the speech itself. The theme of the editorial is Faith Must Replace Fear. There can be no better way to summarize in a few words the meaning of the editorial and the meaning of the speech than that caption.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, as carried in today's issue of the Washington Daily News, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAITH MUST REPLACE FEAR

Senator MANSFIELD's long review of American foreign policy is praiseworthy, even though you may not agree with everything he said. The Senator operates in the best traditions of a loyal and constructive opposition. The Senate and the Nation are fortunate in having a man who devotes much time to thinking hard about our foreign problems—and periodically gives the Nation the benefit of his labors.

The keynote of Senator MANSFIELD's critique of last Saturday is twofold:

In recent months only a better outlook for peace—not peace itself—has been obtained. "We have checked the descent into international chaos • • • an important achievement."

In coming months the United States must begin the ascent toward international stability. To do so it must base its possibilities on faith in itself rather than just on fear of communism.

"I speak of faith in ourselves, in the people of this country," the Senator said. "I speak of faith in the capacities of human freedom to meet the challenge of peace which, in this 20th century, is the challenge of life itself. • • •

"It is time to recognize that if there are dangers to freedom in the ideology of communism, there are even greater dangers to communism in the doctrines of liberty."

Senator MANSFIELD asserted that in recent years—under both Democratic and Republican leadership—the major and generous moves by the United States in foreign affairs almost always were motivated by fear—"the grim specter of the advantage which would fall to communism if we did not act in some particular fashion."

That can lead only to what the Senator calls the present holding action for peace. To move toward peace itself requires policies that are formulated and carried out regardless of what the Soviets may or may not do.

The President, Secretary Dulles, and State Department officials could profitably devote some time to a study of the Senator's speech.

What he is saying, in short, is that the time is ripe for someone to speak out and lead with the same kind of fervor, faith, and confidence in ourselves as Nikita Khrushchev—with far less justification—is doing on his barnstorming trips.

What better time than when there is an upset in the Kremlin?

The Farmers' Home Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, the Bank of Willmar, Minn., is one of the outstanding banks in the State of Minnesota. Its president, Mr. N. H. Tallakson, has served the community of Willmar very ably for a great many years. A letter I received from him under date of July 12, 1957, is most informative, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BANK OF WILLMAR,
Willmar, Minn., July 12, 1957.

Hon. EDWARD J. THYE,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. THYE: Your two recent telegrams have been received, and I want to extend to you my sincere appreciation for your effort and interest in behalf of the farmers of Kandiyohi County. I assure you that we all feel that Kandiyohi County should be in the flood area and while there may not be so many that will derive benefits, nevertheless financial assistance will be made available to a large number of our farmers who have suffered much loss.

Yesterday it was my privilege to attend the meeting that was held at Willmar, at which meeting Administrator Kermit Hansen presided, together with his deputy, Henry C. Smith. Much information was furnished by these men and encouragements to those attending the meeting, regarding the intention of the Government to assist the farmers that sustained losses, and especially those that had unusual heavy flood losses. Mr. Hansen is a very fine individual and I enjoyed very much visiting with him. I honestly feel that he is very sincere in his intentions to help the farmer and especially those that are in urgent need of financial assistance on account of flood water. He came to the bank and informed me that the meeting was to be held and naturally I appreciated his interest very much. I also visited with Mr. Smith and he gave a lengthy discussion on the benefits of the Farmers' Home Administration and the many assistances that can be rendered.

I have written a number of letters in behalf of the Farmers' Hhome Administration through the years, and I honestly feel that is one of the best agencies the Government has throughout the middle west, and I can assure you that your efforts in support of the agency, and urging Congress to allocate the required funds, so that the agency can continue to operate and not be out of funds, would be very much appreciated by we of the middle west, who recognize that the farming industry is one of the great industries of the Nation. When the farmer does well, small business does well, and when the farmers and small business do well, the large business in the large centers also prospers. I have been in bank work in Willmar for 46 years and I have always been very keen about the welfare of agriculture. I am convinced that the Farmers' Home Administration is one agency that the Government should always support. There will also be farmers that through some misfortune and financial difficulties need help, and it is that agency that is the one that can assist them and have done much in the past to do so.

It is not easy for a farmer to plan his work and his possible income, as he is dependent on the elements, which are beyond his control, and the results of his efforts and labor will, to a large degree, depend on the climatic and growing conditions. If there is a late and cold spring it sets back his crops and then it depends on the summer months, rain, good warm weather, too much or too little rain, draught and possible early frost. He has no control over any of these contributing factors to a good crop.

Thanking you for your letter and assuring you I appreciated receiving your telegrams regarding the meeting yesterday, I am,

Yours very truly,

N. H. TALLAKSON,
President.

Fourth National Boy Scout Jamboree at Valley Forge, Pa., and Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, Chief Scout Executive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on July 13 and 14 it was my privilege to visit the great national Boy Scout Jamboree at Valley Forge, the spot where the patriots of the Continental Army under General Washington bivouacked during the bleak winter of 1777–78.

I believe those brave soldiers would have been rewarded in full for their sacrifice had they seen 52,000 boys of our generation tenting over the Pennsylvania countryside and participating in the many varied and diverse activities of scouting.

As a former Boy Scout myself, I was particularly thrilled with this jamboree, which brings together youths from everywhere in the land. I think it instills in these boys a true sense of the greatness and variety of America—a feeling for the many traditions, faiths, backgrounds, and cultures which are blended into these United States.

I had the opportunity of eating, tenting, and talking with our fine Oregon contingent to the jamboree. I met hundreds of Oregon boys and their scoutmasters. This experience convinced me that the future of our country is in good hands. I am not one of those who weep and wail over the so-called delinquent generation. I think the present generation is fine—perhaps even more dedicated than our own generation. These Boy Scouts fortified me with hope and trust.

I should like to pay brief tribute here to the man whose genius and organizing leadership are mainly responsible for the fourth national Boy Scout Jamboree. He is Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, of New Brunswick, N. J., the chief Scout executive. Mr. Schuck and I had a most stimulating and pleasant conversation when I visited the jamboree. Dr. Schuck, I am happy to report, shares some of my views with respect to conservation of natural resources and its relationship to scout ideals.

A sketch of Dr. Schuck from the New York Times of July 15, 1957, demonstrates the versatility and capacity of the man who heads American scouting, and I ask unanimous consent that it appear in full in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FIRST-CLASS SCOUT: ARTHUR ALOYS SCHUCK—MAN IN THE NEWS

VALLEY FORGE, PA., July 14.—In 1917 Arthur Aloys Schuck became a professional Boy Scout leader. He set as his goal the teaching of boys to live in friendship without regard for race, creed, or color.

Today, Mr. Schuck, smiled with satisfaction as he surveyed the fourth national Boy Scout Jamboree. As chief Scout executive of the Boy Scouts of America, he is the camp chief. At Valley Forge Mr. Schuck saw some 50,000 boys and leaders of various races and religions living, playing, and cooperating in brotherhood and friendship.

For Mr. Schuck, at 62 years old, the encampment represents a milestone in the cause to which he has dedicated 40 years of his life. It epitomizes what he considers the principal purpose of the Boy Scout movement:

"To give America a new generation of men of character, with ingrained qualities that make for good citizenship."

He feels, too, that it is imperative that boys be trained into citizenship, rather than to stumble into it. Over the years that task has become as much his hobby as his job.

Mr. Schuck is a stickler for punctuality and he adheres to a rigid time schedule. Nothing interferes with it if he can possibly help it. There was a time, for instance, when he marked on his calendar the date on which he had figured his first child would be born. Even when it became apparent that the child would arrive earlier, Mr. Schuck went off on a scheduled field trip. His wife, Olive, had their only son in his absence.

Today his son is Rev. Arthur Alfred Schuck of the Methodist Church at San Rafael, Calif. His other child, Virginia, is married to S. Dwight Curtis, a scout executive at Stockton, Calif.

Born in Brooklyn on June 20, 1895, Mr. Schuck grew up there and in several towns of New Jersey. At the age of 18, while living in Newark, where he worked in a factory, he became a volunteer Boy Scout leader. Four years later he began his career as a Boy Scout executive.

His ability in finance and organization brought him recognition and he rose through the ranks to chief Scout executive, the highest administrative office of the movement. He has held that post since September 1, 1948.

Fortunately, he enjoys travel. He now spends one-third of his time on the road promoting scouting in this and other lands. He is responsible for the erection of the Boy Scout headquarters on the outskirts of New Brunswick, N. J., where 700 persons are employed at a 40-acre site.

Communist Control of Mainland of China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have already alluded on the Senate floor to the speech by the Secretary of State on the China problem. Reports continue to appear in the public press which indicate that Communist control of the mainland is assuredly more than a "passing phase," as the Secretary of State described it.

One such report is an article written by Gordon Walker which appeared in the

July 10 issue of the Christian Science Monitor. His article is entitled "Red Grip in China Looks Strong." Mr. Walker concludes his article by saying:

What this all adds up to is that while Mr. Dulles may believe that the Communist regime in China is merely transitory, the bulk of Asians plus most Western observers, including United States State Department representatives in this part of the world, are convinced to the contrary.

These pools of opinion do not necessarily argue in favor of United States recognition. But they believe that the United States public should get a fair picture of Red China.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RED GRIP IN CHINA LOOKS STRONG—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM THE FAR EAST

(By Gordon Walker)

TOKYO.—Hard-working, honest, and well-informed United States State Department minions in Far East posts are still rankling over Secretary of States Dulles' recent observation that communism is "only a passing phase" on the China mainland. They are wondering what has happened to all of the laboriously collected reports which they have sent to Washington—the bulk of which give solid reasons why Mr. Dulles' claim is not justified.

Whatever one may think about the Peking regime and communism in general, they believe one must recognize and accept certain basic facts:

Seven years after the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's armies on the China mainland, the Communist usurpers have unified the country to a degree never before achieved.

Red China today is undergoing serious economic difficulties. Lifting of the lid on freedom of expression recently, moreover, has shown clearly that there is widespread discontent not only among disaffected Chinese peasants but also among students and intellectuals. But, it is pointed out, there are two significant aspects which must be borne in mind:

1. None of the criticisms voiced—and some have been extremely vehement—have suggested any alternative to the regime now in power.

2. There s not a shred of evidence to show that Chairman Mao, with a gigantic party machine and an army of 2,500,000, cannot cope with any incipient revolt.

Unfortunately, United States newsmen are still barred from visiting Red China and documenting these opinions for themselves and their readers. They are forced, therefore, to rely upon the opinions expressed by a wide variety of observers stationed around the fringe—observers whose opinions range from pro-Communist to the violent anti-Communist.

This correspondent, over the past 2 years, has traveled along the China coast and all the way from Indonesia to South Korea, stopping off at almost every capital in between. Nowhere has he found any significant pool of opinion which favors the view that the Red China regime is merely transitory.

Even on Formosa, where emotional antipathy for the Chinese Reds is understandably at a peak, and where wishful thinking often colors rational reasoning, there is little genuine feeling that anything short of a third world war would unseat China's latest conquerors.

Japan, which sent 1,200 representatives of various nonofficial organizations to Peking last year, has probably had closer contact with the mainland than any other non-Communist country. The consensus here is that Mao and the Communist Party are in solid and relatively uncontested control; that significant advances have been made in industry, transportation, and communications; and that there are no grounds for believing that this type of material progress will not continue.

This feeling was reflected recently in remarks made by the managing director of the powerful Federation of Economic Organization, Koichi Yoshino, who recently headed a 14-member trade mission to China.

"Within the coming half century," Mr. Koichi observed, "Red China will probably reach roughly the same stage of industrialization as Japan. * * * If Japan stands by doing nothing to help, China will become forever closed to economic relations with Japan."

If one were to canvas all of the Western observers stationed around the eastern and southern perimeter of Red China—intelligence circles, diplomatic missions, research students, and business groups—the assessment of the Red China regime would add up to something like this:

Red China is undergoing at present an important transitional stage, out of which traditional concepts of Marxist procedure in government may be further amended, but not abandoned.

The recent wave of criticism inside China reflects a widespread dissatisfaction, not with the overall concept of government but largely with the manner in which it is being administered.

Many of those in China today who do not see eye to eye with the regime would rather have Mao than Chiang Kai-shek; they have not yet begun to look for a third component.

Material progress in China, however slow, has been sufficient to maintain the level of hope for the future which was generated during the early days when the Communists first took over and promised ultimate utopia.

Outside of China's frontiers, the Chinese Communists are playing an increasingly important role, not only in Asia, but more recently in eastern Europe. This fact was apparent following Premier Chou En-lai's tour of eastern Europe earlier this year.

Some 13 million overseas Chinese in Asia, contrary to the opinions of top administration officials in Washington, can no longer be considered as a factor in United States attitudes toward Red China. While possibly a majority would prefer to see some other sort of government in mainland China, the same majority would be unwilling to support a replacement by the old Nationalists.

What this all adds up to is that while Mr. Dulles may believe that the Communist regime in China is merely transitory, the bulk of Asians plus most western observers, including United States State Department representatives in this part of the world, are convinced to the contrary.

These pools of opinion do not necessarily argue in favor of United States recognition. But they believe that the United States public should get a fair picture of Red China.

Confessions Before Arraignment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, on June 24, 1957, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its decision in the case of Mallory against United States. Mallory, who had been convicted of rape, was in jail awaiting execution. The decision reversed the conviction on the grounds that the defendant's confession was improperly admitted in evidence and remanded the case to the Trial Court for a new trial. The prosecution, which had based its case largely on the confession, decided that without its use as evidence it would be impossible to convict the defendant and accordingly set him at liberty.

The Court ruled that Mallory's confession was inadmissible as evidence because it was extracted from him by the police before he was arraigned. The Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure require that a person under arrest without a warrant be taken without unnecessary delay before the nearest available commissioner or other commitment officer who shall inform the defendant of his right to retain counsel, his right to have a preliminary examination and his right to refuse to make a statement. The Court held that a person could not be arrested upon suspicion alone but only on probable cause, that there was unnecessary delay in the arraignment, and that the extraction of the confession before arraignment was a violation of the defendant's rights and therefore inadmissible as evidence.

The reasoning of the Court is somewhat obscure. Unquestionably every person arrested as a criminal suspect is entitled to an arraignment without unnecessary delay. However, from that it does not necessarily follow that every voluntary statement made by the suspect before arraignment should be invalidated for evidenciary purposes. Mallory's arraignment was, in my opinion, unnecessarily delayed from 2:30 p. m. when he was arrested until the following morning. However, at no time did he or his counsel contend that any of his four separate confessions were made under mental or physical duress or coercion. On the contrary, less than 2 hours after his arrest, Mallory voluntarily agreed to take a lie detector test. While two other suspects were being examined, the test was delayed until approximately 8 p. m. During the course of this test he made his first voluntary confession. Soon after, he repeated his confession to other officers and at 10 p. m. the police made an effort to reach a commissioner for arraignment. Failing in this, the petitioner consented voluntarily to an examination by the deputy coroner who found no evidence of physical or psychological coercion. Mallory then repeated his voluntary confession for the third time and about 11:30 p. m. dictated the confession to a stenographer.

There is no law on the statute books which invalidates a voluntary confession by reason of delay in arraignment, but the Court's decision will in future cases have the same effect as a criminal statute. Federal police officers will have no power to interrogate a criminal suspect to determine whether or not there is probable cause of guilt before arraignment, and prosecuting attorneys will be afraid to use prearraignment confessions as evidence to establish their case before the jury. Neither can a Fed-

eral police officer safely arrest a criminal suspect until he knows that a commissioner is readily available and until he knows that he has sufficient direct or substantial evidence to establish probable cause before the commissioner even though the suspect may have voluntarily admitted his guilt.

I want to preserve the right of prompt arraignment, but I also want to preserve the right of police officers to interrogate the suspect and the right of the prosecuting attorney to use voluntary confessions as evidence against the suspect, both in proving probable cause before the commissioner and in establishing guilt before a jury. I have drafted and introduced a bill, H. R. 8624, which states simply that "statements or confessions or other evidence shall not be inadmissible solely because of delay in taking an arrested person before a commissioner or other judicial officer." Such a provision does not change the law which invalidates confessions extracted under duress by threat, promise of reward, or other improper inducement or coercion. Such a provision of law cannot possibly injure either a guilty person or an innocent person, and most certainly can and if enacted will protect society against confessed dope peddlers, thieves, rapists, murderers, and other crooks and criminals who prey upon their fellow citizens. It is time someone had a little regard for the rights of society in general as well as the civil rights of the individual citizen. Individual liberty is no license for the transgression of the rights and safety of others.

The Westminster Choir of Princeton, N. J., Helps the Government of Japan Combat Communism, the New York Times Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of July 14, 1957, reported on the highly significant results of a recent world tour by the Westminster Choir of Princeton, N. J. This tour was under the authority of the Humphrey-Thompson Act, Public Law 860, 84th Congress, and was originally organized as part of a program to acquaint the peoples of other countries with the cultural activities of the United States.

The Westminster Choir opened a very important two-way interchange. Students are coming to the Westminster Choir College from a number of Asian countries, and members of the college are expected to go to India, Okinawa, Thailand, and Pakistan.

The president of the college, John Finley Williamson, and Mrs. Williamson, have been engaged by the Government of Japan to conduct summer schools in several cities. The Japanese Government is paying for these schools and I learn that it is doing so because there are 4,000 choirs directed by Communists who are working against the Government of Japan. The Government of Japan hopes to train choral directors who can displace the Communist leaders and the Williamsons have been asked to develop a songbook to replace the Communist songbook.

I include the article from the New York times together with some correspondence I have received on the tour of the Westminster Choir and the significant contribution that such nonprofessional groups are making in our developing relations with the people of other countries:

[From the New York Times of July 14, 1957]

THE WORLD OF MUSIC—ORIENT SEEKS TEACHERS FROM CHOIR COLLEGE

(By Ross Parmenter)

The full effects of the foreign tours being undertaken by American artists in the exchange program of the American National Theatre and Academy will not be known for years. It is probably safe to say, though, that the 4-month tour of the world made by 50 singers from the Westminster Choir College is likely to have a more far-reaching influence than some of the tours of famous professional musicians. One says this on the basis of repercussions that have already begun.

There is a hunger in the Orient for trained choral leadership. The tour, by bringing the college to the attention of people in Japan, Okinawa, Thailand, Pakistan, and elsewhere, has opened a two-way interchange. Orientals are both coming to the college in Princeton, N. J., for training here and importing college people to the Orient to give training there.

Next year, for instance, there will be 10 or 12 oriental students at Princeton, including 3 from Hong Kong. And in May a wealthy Indian banker is coming to the college to see what can be done about taking a Westminster member back to India. Okinawa is engaging a choir member to set up choral units on the island. Thailand has asked for two individuals to set up training schools for choral directors. And Pakistan has asked for a Westminster faculty man for 3 months to help the Karachi broadcasting station develop western choral music.

SCHOOLS IN JAPAN

Japan, however, is the country that has acted most decisively. It has engaged John Finley Williamson, the college president, and Mrs. Williamson to return there this summer to conduct summer schools in three cities. They will teach from August 19 to 23 in Sendai, from August 26 to 30 in Osaka, and from September 2 to 10 in Tokyo. The Japanese Government is paying for the schools and it is doing so because there are said to be 4,000 choirs directed by Communists, who are working against the government. The idea is to train choral directors who can displace the Communist leaders. The Williamsons, too, have been asked to develop a songbook to replace the Communist songbook.

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM
OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL
THEATER AND ACADEMY,
New York, N. Y., July 12, 1957.

Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
Member of Congress, Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRANK: Thanks for your letter of June 20, advising me that you have caused the Westminster Choir reports to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Like all of the attractions sent out on this program, they cheerfully made many personal sacrifices in order to carry out their mission on behalf of our country's cultural prestige abroad.

Sincerely,

ROBERT C. SCHNITZER,
General Manager.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 27, 1957.

Hon. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Under Secretary, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The Westminster College Choir of Princeton, N. J., on its recent tour abroad under the authority of the Humphrey-Thompson Act, Public Law 860, 84th Congress, made an impressive contribution to the fund of good will which other peoples have for the people of our country. It is clear that nonprofessional, as well as professional, cultural groups and organizations, have an important role to play in our relations with other people. I pointed all this out in a recent statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a copy of which is attached.

In view of this, you will know I was surprised to receive a communication under date of June 21 from Dr. Joseph E. Maddy, president of the National Music Camp, saying "At a meeting of the National Music Council (representing 940,000 citizens) held in New York, May 23, 2 members of the music panel of ANTA (American National Theater and Academy) and 1 representative of the USIA stated that governmental support (President's fund) for musical exchange programs is now limited to professional musicians. Whereupon the council adopted the following resolution: 'The National Music Council strongly urges the USIA and State Department to include youth cultural activities, particularly symphony orchestras of outstanding attainment, in the cultural exchange program designed to promote world friendship and understanding'." Other statements in Dr. Maddy's communication seems to conflict with a letter I received from the Department of State (IES 032 National High School Band/5–2557) regarding its nonsupport of an overseas tour of the National High School Orchestra by funds under the Humphrey-Thompson Act. What is particularly disturbing is Dr. Maddy's appeal for "help to remove the subversive restrictions which now exist—barring music education from our cultural exchange programs financed from the President's fund."

I would appreciate having your views on this matter, and Dr. Maddy's letter which I am attaching. Please return it with your reply.

Cordially yours,

FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
Member of Commerce.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July, 12, 1957.

The Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: Reference is made to your letter of June 27, 1957, enclosing correspondence from Dr. Joseph E. Maddy concerning the National High School Orchestra.

There is no stipulation that participants in the President's special international program must be professional performers, nor is it the policy of the Department of State to demand professional status as a qualification for assistance under the program. The Department has made considerable use of amateur groups and will continue to do so as appropriate to foreign-service post needs. Practically all athletic groups assisted have been in the amateur class, several nonprofessional musical groups have been sponsored or approved, among them the Westminster Choir, and plans are now un-

der consideration to send an amateur dramatic group to selected areas.

Neither are there restrictions barring music education from the program. The Westminster Choir, one of the country's notable institutions of musical education, admirably demonstrated American theories and practice in this field on its recent successful tour of the Far and Near East.

The Department does not believe it wise as a matter of policy to hamper the usefulness of the program by arbitrarily limiting participants to any particular category.

The correspondence from Dr. Maddy is returned herewith.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. HOGHLAND II,
Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

NATIONAL MUSIC CAMP,
June 21, 1957.

Representative FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: Thank you for your interest in the National High School Orchestra project. Are we allowing a union boss to subvert our foreign policy? Can it be that the USIA will not approve any musical exchange program which does not provide employment for members of Petrillo's Musicians' Union?

At a meeting of the National Music Council (representing 940,000 citizens) held in New York May 23, 2 members of the Music Panel of ANTA (American National Theater and Academy) and 1 representative of the USIA stated that governmental support (President's fund) for musical exchange programs is now limited to professional musicians. Whereupon the council adopted the following resolution:

"The National Music Council strongly urges the USIA and State Department to include youth cultural activities, particularly symphony orchestras of outstanding attainment, in the cultural exchange program designed to promote world friendship and understanding."

We have been forced to abandon for this year what we believe to be the most effective cultural exchange project ever planned—a mission to Poland by the National High School Orchestra (100 of America's finest young musicians and citizens aged 14–17) representing at least 40 States, presenting programs of American symphonic music, speaking the Polish language, briefed in Polish history—as guests of the Polish Government. Our request for the cost of air transportation or for two large Government planes to transport the group from this country to Poland and return was denied by the above-mentioned ANTA Music Panel. Why?

We would like to plan such a project for 1958, if you will help to remove the subversive restrictions which now exist—barring music education from our cultural exchange programs financed from the President's fund.

I am enclosing our 1957 concert calendar. May I invite you and your party to visit the camp as my guests any weekend this summer? We have excellent accommodations for visitors, but need to know of your visit in advance to assure our best. I want you to judge for yourself the quality of performance of the National Music Camp students, the efficiency of the organization, and the effectiveness of the training program provided for America's gifted youth by the National Music Camp. May I hear from you?

Sincerely,

JOSEPH E. MADDY,
President.

USDA Official Reluctant To Promise Farmers Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by Reca Jasper, from the Monroe Morning World, dated July 13, 1957:

IN CATAHOULA PARISH: USDA OFFICIAL RELUCTANT TO PROMISE FARMERS AID

(By Reca Jasper)

JONESVILLE—A reluctance to promise any aid to the farmers of Catahoula parish, some who have had their crops flooded three times this year, marked the theme of a talk by an official of the Department of Agriculture at a meeting here yesterday.

Eugene Bayol, who visited the flood-stricken Catahoula Parish after prompting from Congressman OTTO PASSMAN, said in effect that he was fenced in by law and couldn't promise farmers and businessmen here anything. State and parish officials and farmers met at Block High School to discuss the serious situation.

Bayol was asked what aid the more than 1,000 farmers, whose crops have been ruined by floods 3 times this year, could receive from the Government and when. He said he would have to go back to Washington, study the figures given him, and then send another man down here to resurvey the situation.

"JUST DON'T KNOW"

When asked if it would be within the next month, he said, "I don't know." When asked if the aid would come by next fall, he answered: "I just don't know."

Bayol visited Catahoula Parish for several hours on a side trip from Washington, D. C., and only after considerable pressure from farmers would he agree to an aerial survey of the area.

"Half of these programs" Bayol said in speaking of aid to disaster-struck farmers, "are not very good * * *. They have to be too general. It is hard to make a Federal program fit into local situations."

FLOODED THREE TIMES

Catahoula Parish has been flooded three times this year. Two times rain floods have inundated the areas; then again hurricane Audrey caused the waters to again cover the area.

More than 100,000 acres of pastureland has been flooded in the parish, as well as 8,000 acres of cropland: 16,500 acres of oats. A total of 300 families' farms have been totally submerged and an additional 755 heavily damaged.

This has affected the pasturing of more than 10,000 head of sheep and cattle, mostly cattle ,and approximately 15,000 hogs.

Aid for wards 1 and 2, the 2 of the 7 wards not now listed as disaster areas, was discussed.

Some of the officials at the meeting included S. J. McCory, State commissioner of agriculture; William S. Peak, Jr., State representative; E. E. Johnson, Catahoula County agent; G. D. Babin, Jonesville mayor; Jim Davis, representative of ASC, of Alexandia; B. R. Cain, head of Catahoula Parish Farmers Home Administration.

J. C. Gilbert, chairman of the Catahoula Parish Red Cross chapter and police juror from Ward 2; D. E. Woodin, president of the Catahoula Parish Police Jury; A. L. Brooks, Catahoula Parish superintendent of schools; W. C. Brown, members of Tensas Basin Levee Board, and C. L. Wurster, Jr., Red Cross disaster chairman.

Founding of Schoolboy Patrol in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following article concerning the organization of the Schoolboy Patrol at Clarksburg, W. Va.:

FOUNDING OF SCHOOLBOY PATROL IN WEST VIRGINIA

The founding of the Schoolboy Patrol in West Virginia had its inception as the result of a most interesting and unusual incident which occurred in the city of Clarksburg, W. Va., in October 1926.

At that time, Mr. S. E. Barnett was chief of the Clarksburg Police Department and Mr. Leo Johnson was a patrolman working, what was designated as the Main Street beat, the shift from 4 o'clock until midnight.

Mr. Charles E. Jenkins was a friend of Patrolman Johnson and an employee of the Romine Funeral Home, which at that time was situated at 353 West Main Street.

The funeral home is mentioned in this connection because Patrolman Johnson was a frequent caller at the home, from which place he reported by telephone to the desk sergeant at police headquarters, and the incident which led to the organization of the patrol occurred at a street crossing nearby, while Mr. Jenkins was conversing with Patrolman Johnson.

The late W. Guy Tetrick was, at that time, general manager of the Clarksburg Publishing Co. which published then as it does now the Clarksburg Exponent, the morning newspaper and the Clarksburg Telegram, the evening newspaper. Many schoolboys had their paper routes.

It was the experience of one of these paperboys who sold papers on Main Street, in Clarksburg, as observed by Mr. Jenkins and Patrolman Johnson, which led to the organization in West Virginia, now known as the Schoolboy Patrol.

The lad had a freckled face, his hair was red and unruly, as there was usually an uncontrolled wisp of red hair dangling over his forehead, his clothes were sometimes ragged and not too clean, but his eyes twinkled and his smile compelling—we called him "Red."

On this particular day as Patrolmen Johnson and Jenkins were conversing, Red approached them with his papers. Jenkins took a paper, gave the lad a $1 bill, and asked him to get some change at Anderson's Restaurant, which was four doors up the street.

With automobile traffic at the rush hour peak, Red with papers under one arm and clutching the 1 dollar bill in his right hand, darted into the street.

Through the mercy of Almighty God, Red reached the opposite side of the street safely, and there disappeared among the throng of pedestrians, on his way to sell more newspapers.

Because of their harrowing experience watching the boy cross the street in the traffic, Johnson said to Jenkins, "My God, Charlie, I felt certain that we would have to pick Red's body up from the street and carry it to the undertaker."

Jenkins then suggested to Johnson that it would be a splendid thing to train school boys to take care of street crossings used by children as they went to and from school. The regular police force in Clarksburg was, and is today, wholly inadequate because of lack of personnel to attempt to properly patrol schoolchildren at street crossings. To this suggestion Johnson wholeheartedly concurred.

Mr. Jenkins visited Mr. Barnett, the chief of police, and told him of his suggestion to Patrolman Johnson.

Mr. Barnett was delighted at the suggestion, promised his whole support, but reminded Jenkins that there would probably be huge obstacles in the path leading toward a workable organization.

Jenkins suggested that arrangements be made, if possible, through the police department to have one of their number designated to teach school boys to direct children at street crossings.

At this point, we discussed the idea with J. Ransel Romine, who was enthusiastic and he too mentioned rather pessimistically the idea of organization against parental and other objections which would surely confront them.

Jenkins again visited Mr. Barnett, the police chief, who reiterated his enthusiasm concerning the idea, but recited the fact that he of necessity would be governed by the city council and the city manager.

Mr. Jenkins was in consultation time and time again with Romine, who insisted that they make a well-planned attempt to organize.

After having explained the proposition to members of the city council and to the city manager, they were given the green light and Mr. Barnett was instructed to cooperate to the fullest. Then and there difficulties began.

Patrolman Johnson then began teaching boys safety measures at street crossings but many parents bitterly and viciously rebelled, explaining that they were not rearing their sons to be policemen. Many of the parents reminded them of the hazards of hot sun, cold and snow with possible fatal accidents and doctors bills. They, too, reminded them that they paid taxes to the city of Clarksburg for police protection which should include street crossings, more particularly those crossings used by school children. Such service would require only 30 minutes four times each schoolday.

They explained to the irate parents that their children would be taught to do work under strict supervision and that they felt that it would far more than prove its worth as a civic project.

The city council, Messrs. Barnett, Johnson, Jenkins, and Romine, were the objects of most severe criticism by many citizens. The criticism became so bitter and pointed that Romine felt that he should discontinue attending meetings, because of possible loss of business.

There was, however, a number of parents who wished to cooperate in the organization and from such homes boys were selected for the training and they carried on.

Mr. Tetrick continued his encouragement through the medium of the newspapers and before many weeks had elapsed many parents who had been so bitter toward us called, and insisted that their sons be given an opportunity to receive training in the art of patrolling children at street crossings.

Patrolman Johnson suggested that some distinguishing dress should be adopted for the patrol boys. At that time, funeral homes were equipped with a trimming room in which caskets were trimmed. In this room Jenkins obtained materials necessary to the making of a Sam Brown belt, supplying one of his own belt buckles and with the aid of a sewing machine, soon completed it.

Johnson was delighted with the belt and soon fitted it on his boy, who of course was very proud. Soon thereafter it became necessary to equip all the patrol boys with a Sam Brown belt and badge.

The patrol boys' mission and usefulness could not longer be questioned. Occasionally a smart aleck auto driver would violate speed rules and regulations in school zones. Their license number was promptly reported to the police, and through the close cooperation of police and public, the violators of rules were promptly punished.

The local newspapers continued their enthusiastic boosting of the new plan, and soon civic clubs, church groups, and women organizations were all exercising their influence in behalf of it.

Soon Patrolman Johnson was put in charge and devoted his entire time organizing and supervising the group now known and honored far and near as "The School Boy Patrol."

Thus, today 12,712 school children (figures supplied by Harrison County board of education) daily cross United States Route 50, a distance of less than 3 miles within the city limits of Clarksburg, notwithstanding the many other schools located in the city. A part of United States Route 50 is located between two of these schools, being the most heavily traveled piece of road in the State of West Virginia, according to traffic clock by the State road commissioner.

Not one child has been hurt or killed since the school boy patrol was organized over 30 years ago. A record of which we are proud.

Elbridge Gerry Memorial Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on July 4, 1957, there were conducted memorial services in Washington, D. C., for Elbridge Gerry, one of the foremost patriots of Revolutionary period, a distinguished citizen and son of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the only signer of the Declaration of Independence who is buried in the District of Columbia.

On the occasion of the Elbridge Gerry memorial services held on July 4, I include as a part of my remarks the address made on that occasion by Charles T. Macdonald, past president of the District of Columbia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

ELBRIDGE GERRY

Elbridge Gerry was born July 17, 1744, at Marblehead, Mass., and is one of Harvard's most distinguished sons. He was twice Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which honored him with many public offices. At 28 years of age, he was a member of the Massachusetts General Court and later became a member of the committee of correspondence, which was one of the great instruments of intercolonial resistance. He was a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and later a member of the Continental Congress, where he early advocated independence from the mother country.

At 32 years of age, he was one of 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence and the only one of those whose remains are interred in the District of Columbia.

In 1812 Elbridge Gerry was elected Vice President of the United States and he held that office until his death November 23, 1814, at the age of 70. He died suddenly in this city while on his way to preside over the Senate of the United States.

Elbridge Gerry never hesitated nor did he ask the price he might have to pay for his defiance of the English Crown. He acted with great initiative, courage, and ability in the face of the then almost overwhelming power of His Majesty's government, but when duty called he quailed not.

It is fitting indeed that on this 181st anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence that we honor this great statesman and patriot, and it is most appropriate that this be done by the descendants of those who conceived this Nation's form and, to give it life, "pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

May God preserve for posterity the brilliance of the memory of Elbridge Gerry.

Resolution by AMVETS Regarding Bow Resolution, Girard Case, Bricker Resolution, International Development Loan Fund and Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent to include a letter, from Mr. Charles L. Bailey, Commander of the Atlantic Iowa AMVETS, Post. No. 1, and a resolution adopted by that post on July 11 just past.

The resolution is as follows:

THE ATLANTIC AMVETS POST NO. 1,
Atlantic, Iowa, July 11, 1957.

Hon. BEN F. JENSEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JENSEN: Enclosed please find copy of resolution passed by the members of the Atlantic AMVETS Post, No. 1, this date.

Also, please be advised that the original resolution protesting the handling of the Girard case, was passed by the Iowa Department of AMVETS when they met in their annual convention in Fort Dodge, Iowa on June 21, 22, and 23. The same resolution was also passed by the Iowa Auxiliary of AMVETS at their convention about the same time.

This is also to thank you, for our membership, for your kindness and thoughtfulness in having our resolution entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

With all good wishes, and many thanks for your favors, I am,

Yours very respectfully,
CHARLES L. BAILEY,
Commander.

RESOLUTION OF THE ATLANTIC AMVETS POST, NO. 1, ATLANTIC, IOWA

Whereas the Atlantic AMVETS Post, No. 1, meeting this 11th day of July 1957, in a

regular and duly authorized session, have been informed that the Bow resolution (H. J. Res. 16), regarding the Status of Forces Treaty and similar agreements, was voted out of committee by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 27, 1957;

Whereas the next step for the Bow resolution (H. J. Res. 16) will be the House debate on this resolution and it is already noted that efforts are being made to substitute a so-called sense resolution which has no force or effect. And there is also a planned campaign to amend the Bow resolution by passing a watered-down version that might just request rather than direct the President to take action as demanded by the Bow resolution;

Whereas proper consideration for the constitutional rights of Americans like Bill Girard and thousands of others now serving overseas demand the Bow resolution be passed without amendments: Therefore be it

Resolved by the members of the Atlantic AMVETS Post, No. 1, meeting this 11th day of July 1957, in a regular session in their clubrooms in Atlantic, Iowa, That the Bow resolution (H. J. Res. 16) regarding the Status of Forces Treaty and similar agreements, be passed without amendments in its original form, which will require the President to modify or denounce the Status of Forces Treaty so that the United States will have exclusive jurisdiction over our servicemen abroad, as this is the only way we can restore their constitutional rights; be it further

Resolved, That the members of this AMVETS Post, No. 1, strongly urge the passage of the Bricker amendment, when it is considered before the House of Representatives, to prevent future trouble from the more than 200 treaties and executive agreements that this administration has entered into without the authority of our Congress; and, finally, it is

Resolved, That the membership of this Atlantic AMVETS Post, No. 1, does go on record as unalterably opposed to the International Development Loan Fund, which would give authority to the internationalists and the one-worlders the authority to make long-term foreign-aid commitments—as this is the only way to stop the international boondoggle now being carried on under the false claims of foreign aid.

Stop all foreign aid now.

CHARLES L. BAILEY,
Post Commander.
PAUL B. SIEN,
Adjutant.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials:

[From the Washington (N. C.) Daily News]

CIVIL RIGHTS OR POLITICAL POWER

What President Eisenhower's proposed civil-rights bill, if it becomes law, would accomplish in social advancement is only one factor in the present debate in the United States Senate.

What it would accomplish in the political arena is another. And from the maneuvering which has taken place, we wonder if the political power which the Republican Party expects to reap from such a law does not now outweigh the social benefits which proponents say would come to the Negro race.

If the Republican Party can convince the colored people of this Nation that the GOP is the champion of individual rights, that the GOP is the party which wrote the civil-rights bill and guided it to the law books, and that it is the GOP which stands ready to fight the battles of individual freedom, then Republican leaders see in that effort the complete recapture of the Negro vote in this country.

Until 1932, the Negro vote was considered to belong normally to the Republican Party. Franklin D. Roosevelt changed that and it remained normally Democratic until 1952 when President Eisenhower was elected. Then in 1956 the colored vote again went into the Republican column.

In several States the Neegro vote today could well decide the fate of that State. Whichever party captures it captures the State. New York is a good example. Because of this factor the Republican Party seems determined to court the favor of this vote.

There is one important factor which is all out of focus at the present time. The Democrats from the South are fighting this civil-rights bill just as they have done every time it has come up for consideration. But the southern Republicans are fighting it equally as hard. Take our own Republican congressman from North Carolina's 10th District, CHARLES JONAS. He is fighting the battle even though he is in the lower House which has passed the bill. But he voted against it.

Insofar as the South is concerned with this bill, it makes no difference which party a man belongs. Southern Democrats and southern Republicans alike are opposing it. But the northern Republicans are creating the impression over the country that only the southern Democrats are fighting it. And that is a misleading impression, one calculated to do the party an injustice, and more particularly southern Democrats an injustice.

All we have to do is to look around us here in eastern North Carolina. The Republican leader in our eastern North Carolina is John Wilkinson of Beaufort County. And there is no more pronounced opponent of the civil-rights bill anywhere in this country than Mr. Wilkinson.

So in reality and in truth the civil-rights fight in the Nation today is not one merely between southern Democrats and the rest of the Nation. It is one between the South and other parts of the Nation. And when we speak of the "South" we speak of Democrats and Republicans alike.

The issue in the South goes far beyond party lines. At least we in the South are consistent. We are not parading under the banner of social reform while at the same time carrying the toga of political advantage. Southerners are opposed to the bill—be they Democrats or Republicans. And insofar as the South is concerned no advantage in the area or no disadvantage should come to either party. Both parties are dedicated to the same fight. And neither party will deny that fact in North Carolina or any other Southern State.

It just happens that the Southern States are overwhelmingly Democratic. In numbers the voice of the southern Democrat is louder than that of the southern Republican. But the voices of both parties in the South blend into one chorus of opposition. And it is wrong to try to create the impression anywhere that the southern Democrats are opposed while the Republicans of the South are in favor.

[From the Greenville (N. C.) Daily Reflector of July 11, 1957]

IF NOT UNDERSTOOD, IT'S DANGEROUS

If the President and Congress do not understand the full meaning of proposed legislation, for the sake of the Nation they had better leave such bills in the pigeon holes until they either understand them or substitute measures which they do understand.

Such apparently is the case with the civil rights measure now before the Senate. The President has said quite frankly the civil rights measure which his administration is pushing "contains certain phases I don't completely understand." Among Members of the Senate there are almost as many interpretations of the various parts of the bill as there are Members in that law-making body.

On top of this confusion there is also the consideration which must be given to interpretation of any law if it ever comes before the Supreme Court. In recent years lawmakers who drafted and enacted legislation have been flabbergasted by interpretations given those laws by the highest court of the land.

Most Members of Congress agree that the measure which is being pushed reaches far beyond application only to cases dealing with alleged denial of individual rights to vote. The President has asserted his objective in urging passage of the legislation is to prevent anybody illegally from interfering with any individual's right to vote. Republican Senator WATKINS of Utah, a sponsor of the measure, declared there is no question that the bill could be used to enforce civil rights other than voting rights.

In the words of Senator ERVIN, of North Carolina, "the Attorney General could bring suits for 1,000 different purposes other than to establish voting rights."

For all the comments and views on the measure, it is quite clear that it is a far-reaching measure which will give unprecedented power to the office of the Attorney General. No one, apparently, is sure just how much power it would vest in that office so far as protecting the rights of individuals. It is quite possible that the Attorney General's office would have the power not only to protect civil rights of individuals, but just as realistically would have the authority to destroy other rights of other individuals.

The bill in its present form does not limit the power it would afford the Attorney General in cases where individual rights are involved. Under the measure individuals accused of violating injunctions secured by the Attorney General's office could be convicted and jailed for contempt by a Federal judge without so much as a jury trial.

Certainly the Senate would be unwise to pass the measure until and unless there is some manner in which it can evaluate the potential of the power it would afford the Attorney General's office and the effects it might have on individual rights.

The "Hobgoblin" of Section III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, we have seen demonstrated in the past week the truth of what I have said on the floor of this House a number of times in the past 2 months. I have said repeatedly that large segments of the press and radio and television commentators have failed or refused to give the public the true facts about the so-called civil-rights legislation. In spite of the fact that a number of Congressmen, most of whom, it is true, are from the South, have day after day pointed out on the floor of the

House of Representatives and on numerous other occasions exactly what the civil-rights bill does and the grave implications contained therein, many people in the North and West, including outstanding editors, now admit they had no idea that the bill was as far-reaching or as dangerous as it is.

Apparently, and we have no reason to doubt what they say, they thought the legislation only dealt with voting rights of minority groups. Time after time, I noticed news items in the northern press and particularly in the Washington Post wherein this so-called civil right-legislation was referred to as the right to vote bill. On several occasions the Washington Post had an editorial referring to the bill as the right to vote legislation. Time after time on the floor of the House this fact was pointed out by myself and other Members. We charged the newspapers with an attempt to fool the American people as to what was in the bill. A prejudice and distortion on the part of the press is a dangerous thing. We all know the importance of freedom of the press. We know the necessity of having a free press. At one and the same time, however, all segments of the press have certain duties and obligations that they must render to our people. A grave injustice has been done. In my opinion, some of it has been willful and malicious. I do not know whether the reporters are to blame or whether the editors edited the news articles after they were presented to the copy room. Whoever is responsible for this great injustice I trust will profit from this experience and hereafter present to the American people the news as it is in fairness to all of our people.

Even the editor of the New York Times admits that he thought the bill simply dealt with voting rights and only knew differently last week. I understand he blames this upon the failure of southern Congressmen to explain what is in the bill. The blame is not upon the Congressmen but upon that segment of the press, reporters, or news editors, I do not know which, who have failed to carry the statements, speeches, and releases of those Members of Congress who have opposed this legislation. I hope in the future that this same group will not be so prejudiced against a section of this great Nation as to refuse to give proper publicity to their grievances and opinions.

On Friday, July 12, there appeared in the Richmond News Leader an editorial entitled "The 'Hobgoblin' of Section III." This is a splendid editorial which explains one section of the so-called civil-rights bill. This same editor has on numerous occasions had outstanding editorials explaining the viciousness of the pending legislation as well as the evil it would foist upon the American people if enacted into law.

Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the News Leader, is one of the best informed editors in our country on States rights, individual liberties, and kindred principles of democracy. He has done much to preserve our way of life in the Commonwealth of Virginia. I hold him in high esteem.

In the hopes that at least some people in other sections of the Nation will have the opportunity of reading this fine editorial, I include it with my remarks. The editorial is as follows:

THE "HOBGOBLIN" OF SECTION III

Senator RICHARD RUSSELL's brilliant attack last week on the civil-rights bill swept the South to an amazing and sudden victory in the struggle to get its message across to the people of the Nation. The Georgian made no new points. He emphasized arguments that had been made by other southerners in House debate. But perhaps because it was Senator RUSSELL speaking, or because interest in the bill has jumped with the beginning of Senate debate, his arguments received an audience among northerners.

For the first time, the bulk of the Northern press last week found room to present Southern arguments against the measure. From the integrationist New York Times, among others, came well-bred cries of "for heaven's sake." No one, it appears, had understood that the civil-rights bill was anything more than a right-to-vote bill. The Times was frankly amazed.

What the Georgian made clear is that section III is not wholly new legislation. Section III is an amendment to an existing law, adopted in reconstruction days, which now is embodied in 42 United States Code 1985. The language in the bill now pending before the Senate would add 2 paragraphs to the 3 paragraphs of the existing statute. To understand the plot fully, one should read these 2 proposed new paragraphs:

"Fourth. Whenever any persons have engaged, or are about to engage, in any facts or practices which would give rise to a cause of action pursuant to paragraphs first, second, or third, the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States but for the benefit of the real party in interest, a civil action or other proper proceeding for redress, or preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order.

"Fifth. The District Courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law."

The true purpose of these paragraphs fourth and fifth cannot be comprehended until one studies the existing paragraphs first, second, and third. Here it is found that the old law authorizes the filing of civil suits against any persons who conspire together with intent to deny to any citizen the equal protection of the laws. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that for a Southern State to provide separate facilities for Negroes as to schools, golf courses, railway waiting rooms and other public places, is to deny Negroes equal protection of the laws.

Thus the innocuous "right to vote" bill that Mr. Eisenhower thought was so moderate and decent becomes on closer scrutiny something else entirely. But that is not all. What Senator RUSSELL went on to point out is that there is on the statute books still another old law—its existence had been carefully concealed—which states:

"It shall be lawful for the President * * * or such other person as he may empower * * * to employ such part of the land forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to aid in the execution of judicial process issued under sections 1981, 1983, or 1985–1992 of this title."

Mr. RUSSELL said he wondered long ago why this particular section 1985 had been chosen for amendment by the drafters of the pending bill. Other existing statutes offered more logical and rational bases for extension of the moderate aims sought by the President. The answer is that Attorney General Brownell wanted to tie in the new civil rights bill with the old law authorizing the use of troops. The result, said Mr. RUSSELL, "is the most cunningly devised and contrived piece of legislation I have ever seen—the ultimate in the technique of legislative draftsmanship to obscure purpose while creating and conferring power."

Of course, some liberals in the Senate attempted to minimize Senator RUSSELL's charge. Said Mr. DIRKSEN, of Illinois: "Seldom have I seen so many ghosts under a single bed." Mr. JAVITS, of New York added that the idea the authority in the bill will be misused "is only a hobgoblin in the closet."

Ghost? Hobgoblin? The South has learned through bitter experience to expect the worst from the Department of Justice and the Federal courts. Admittedly, it is an extreme case to suppose the proprietors of a Southern hotel, operating under a routine charter issued by a State to a business corporation, would be found in violation of section 1985 if they restricted their operations to white guests only. Yet such a finding is quite conceivable under the present trend in judicial opinion. If residents of a community objected, they could be jailed without a jury trial, and troops could be brought in to aid in the execution of judicial process. That is what this law is all about.

The hobgoblin which the South can see haunting section III of the bill walks like a man. It has the face of a man. And that face is the face of Herbert Brownell.

Congressional Primate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from this weeks issue of the Word and Way, published in Kansas City, Mo., on the election of our distinguished colleague, Hon. BROOKS HAYS of Arkansas, as president of the Southern Baptist Convention at its recent session in Chicago.

The editorial follows:

A GOOD YEAR FOR LAYMEN

When the messengers at Chicago elected Congressman BROOKS HAYS of Arkansas as president of the Southern Baptist Convention, they turned for the sixth time to the ranks of the laymen for an occupant of this important office. Not since Gov. Pat Neff, of Texas, concluded his 2-year term of office in 1946 had the convention gone outside the ministry for a leader.

It seems entirely appropriate that a layman should be selected at this time; and the fact that Congressman HAYS of Arkansas was the only member of this group among the six who were nominated at Chicago was probably a deciding factor in his election.

One of the most reassuring developments in recent years has been the emergence of the layman in the work of the churches. If there was ever a time when religion was considered a matter for women and children, that time has passed. Today the layman

takes second place to none in assuming responsibility in the work of our Lord.

Furthermore, the men of the Southern Baptist churches are holding this year their first conventionwide conference. Sponsored by the brotherhood commission, this meeting will convene in the First Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, September 18–20, next. All signs indicate that it will be the greatest meeting of its kind ever assembled. It is no coincidence that in this momentous year in brotherhood history that one of its members should occupy the highest office in the convention.

Congressman BROOKS HAYS brings to this job a good education plus a long experience in State, National, and international affairs. He will add a new and distinctive touch to the picture. Richly endowed with good judgment and a sharp sense of humor, he will be equal to the demands of any situation.

A sketch of his life indicates that President HAYS dedicated his talents to the Lord in his early years and that he has maintained that spirit of dedication to the present time. Born in Russellville, Ark., August 9, 1898, he was educated in the schools of that State. Later he received the bachelor of arts degree from the University of Arkansas and the bachelor of laws degree from the George Washington University Law School. After graduation, he returned to his hometown to practice law, and there at the age of 23 he was ordained as a deacon and elected superintendent of the Sunday school in his home church. At the present time he teaches a men's class in the Sunday school of the Calvary Baptist Church, Washington. The pastor of this church, Dr. Clarence W. Cranford, coincidentally, is the newly elected president of the American Baptist Convention. This is the first time in history that the presidents of these two great conventions have been from the same congregation.

More People Favor Federal Aid Than Oppose It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Hutchinson (Kans.) News Herald of May 28, 1957. I commend it to the membership of the House.

The editorial follows:

MORE PEOPLE FAVOR FEDERAL AID THAN OPPOSE IT

The latest Roper poll asked public opinion on Federal aid to education.

The results, which showed the public is strong for more Federal aid, are startling only in that they disagree with what some educational leaders have been saying.

The taxpayers are feeling the pinch of mushrooming school enrollments which necessitate more teachers and classrooms.

When asked if they favor financial aid which might lighten the local load most are bound to say "Yes."

Educators fear controls will follow a Federal-aid program. Yet many communities, such as Hutchinson, are receiving such aid due to a local or nearby military base which puts an added burden on the schools.

True, before a contract for a new building which will be paid for partly from Federal funds is let, plans must be approved by a Federal housing official. But experience here has shown that not only are these officials or agencies favorable to the locally made plans, but even pointed out ways to trim costs and bent over backwards when revisions were made.

If the Federal Government were to decide tomorrow morning that our crippling educational shortages were something for which it must take a heavy measure of responsibility for the first time, the heaven would not fall.

Status of Forces Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Uncle Sam Bows Down to Clamor From Abroad," and published in the Miami Herald of July 14, 1957. The editorial was written by one of the Nation's most able, discerning, and courageous editors, John S. Knight.

I may say that Mr. Knight rather severely criticized some of the actions which we have done. He does not approve of the Status of Forces Treaty. I am happy to be able to say that that is one measure for which I did not vote; and upon voting against it, I predicted that the sorrowful consequences which we now see, and in which we are involved, would result.

Also in the editorial there is a commendation of the senior Senator from Illinois concerning his attempt to reduce the budget by a billion dollars. I may say, in connection with that statement, that I think the proposal of the Senator from Illinois received five votes. I was very much pleased to be one of the Senators who voted for it.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNCLE SAM BOWS DOWN TO CLAMOR FROM ABROAD

(By John S. Knight)

The now-famous Girard case has been settled by the Supreme Court.

GI William S. Girard, who caused the death of a Japanese woman who was scavenging scrap metal on a United States firing range, is to be turned over to Japan for trial.

In effect, the Court said there is nothing in the Constitution or in subsequent legislation to prevent United States authorities from giving up Girard to the Japanese.

This means the United States, under the administrative agreement with Japan, didn't have to surrender Girard, but is not barred from doing so.

WE DID GIVE IN TO JAPAN'S DEMANDS

The Court's decision is notable in that it serves to remind us how far the United States is willing to go to appease inflamed public opinion abroad.

At first, the United States claimed primary jurisdiction and to quote the Associated Press, "There was a long deadlock before the United States finally gave in to Japan's demands that it be allowed to try Girard."

But we did give in.

WHY WERE SCAVENGERS INSIDE FORBIDDEN AREA?

The Justice Department admitted "the killing may be deemed to have arisen out of an act done in the performance of official duty," but then rationalized that Girard never "was ordered" to use his gun in the manner alleged.

Of course, Girard wasn't ordered to shoot.

But why were Girard's officers permitting Japanese to pick up scrap metal in an area clearly posted as forbidden?

What is the measure of their guilt?

GIRARD IS SACRIFICED TO BIGTIME DIPLOMACY

The Court's ruling is uncontestable. The reasoning is sound.

But why did the United States, after first claiming the right to try Girard, finally agree to waive that right?

Because, says the Supreme Court, "the issue was referred to higher authority which authorized United States representatives * * * to notify the appropriate Japanese authorities * * * that the United States had decided not to exercise, but to waive, whatever jurisdiction it might have in the case."

So there you have it. One can picture old Foster Dulles as higher authority, insisting that nothing be done to offend the Japanese.

So a young American GI, hardly out of his teens and probably not too bright, was sacrificed on the altar of bigtime diplomacy.

It smells.

EVERYONE'S KEEPING COOL AND REDS HAVE HANDS FULL

This is the season when the tired businessman stops fretting about the budget, and finds himself a cool summer retreat, or a nearby golf course.

The All-Star game is over, Casey Stengel's men have only the White Sox to fear, there's a real pennant race in the National League, and the horse tracks are swarming with hopeful betters trying to beat the chalk.

Even the newspaper editors are gathered this week in San Francisco, hearing from the experts and otherwise dedicating themselves to a round of cocktail parties and sampling California hospitality.

A few perspiring editorialists stay on the job to interpret the Russian shakeup and the sum total of what they are writing only adds up to more confusion.

This is not to derogate their intelligence. But nothing seems certain except that Comrade Khrushchev is on top and the Russians have enough troubles at home to discourage any thought of starting a shooting war before we begin our Christmas shopping.

DOUGLAS SHOWS HOW TO SAVE A BILLION

As the happy vacationers trek to their favorite pleasure spots, the Congress of the United States is hard at work.

And Washington is no summer resort.

Our duly elected representatives come in for a good deal of criticism, both deserved and unwarranted.

But in the run of the news, where Mike Todd's $200,000 party in London attracts more attention than the fight over civil rights, examples of fine public service too often escape the editor's notice.

In particular, and to make amends, attention is now drawn to the efforts of Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, to pare the shameful waste which exists in the Defense Department.

DOUGLAS, in a detailed presentation to the Senate, revealed that at least $1 billion could be saved without affecting national security in the slightest.

The Senator quoted a House report showing that the Defense Department, on June 30, 1956, had $134 billion in inventories of which $111.1 billion was in personal property.

He pointed out "there is enough money in these inventories, alone, to run the defense forces for a year or more."

DOUGLAS, who is no believer in meat-ax budget cutting, recommended using $500 million of his projected savings to equip two or more nonnuclear Army combat divisions and to provide an increase in marine units.

As he expresses it, "I was trying to reduce some of the excessive fat which the Defense Department is carrying and to increase its military muscle. * * *"

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT RESISTS ECONOMY

The Senator's amendment which would have carried out this purpose was overwhelmingly beaten. His own language will tell you why:

"The great obstacle which we face in trying to eliminate the waste is the inevitable counterattack of the Defense Department, namely, the cry that in seeking to reduce waste, we are endangering national security. They then threaten us with cutting the combat units.

"But they never admit," continues the Senator, "that they could reduce a single dollar of waste. In this way, they maneuver Congress and the country into perpetuating waste and diminishing real security."

The Senator's explanation of his failure to get expenses cut is deserving of public attention.

Together with Senator FRANK LAUSCHE, Democrat, of Ohio, he brought out that 92 percent of defense contracts were negotiated, rather than let through competitive bidding.

No improvement has been made in tihs system even though the Defense Department has 33 Secretaries, Under Secretaries, Deputy Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, and Deputy Assistant Secretaries to carry out its functions.

Charlie Wilson had no such huge bureaucracy when he ran General Motors. Nor any waste, as GM suppliers can testify.

WHO'S PAYING? YOU ARE

Perhaps this brief recitation of what Congress is up against in attempting to hold down Federal expenditures will be of more than casual interest to the people who pay the bills.

Every bureaucrat in Washington thinks his budget is untouchable and resents any effort to slice off the fat. Our so-called businessmen's administration is just as culpable in this respect as the ones we have seen before.

But praise is due in large measure to Senator DOUGLAS and those of his colleagues who have dared to buck the Defense Department while risking the charge that they were endangering the national security.

Give it a thought, won't you, when you're trying to decide whether a No. 3 iron or a No. 5 wood will get you to the green.

Public Relations Important

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Elizabeth City (N. C.) Daily Advance of July 10, 1957:

PUBLIC RELATIONS IMPORTANT

The Elizabeth City Coast Guard is one of the most important and valuable organizations in this section of North Carolina, and all of us in the Albemarle section appreciate the fine work being done by the men stationed here. Time after time they risk their own necks in order to save the lives of others who are involved in ship or plane accidents, or are having some other kind of trouble.

In spite of its fine work, however, the Coast Guard is not receiving the credit it deserves. Principal reason for that is the fact that the Coast Guard does not have a first-class public-relations program. That probably is due to the fact that the organization does not have sufficient personnel.

Frequently the Coast Guard helicopters and planes are involved in some mission of mercy for which other branches of service receive the credit. Two such examples came last week. The Coast Guard participated in the Tyrrell County forest fire and later in the Edenton railway-trestle accident, but on both occasions the Elizabeth City NAF received credit for the work in the two towns.

That would not have happened had the Coast Guard maintained a first-class public-relations program. However, when a large part of the base's personnel is participating in some project, those left behind are too busy with their various duties to keep the public advised of its activities. Consequently, news stories frequently credit other agencies with acts that should go entirely to the Coast Guard. It would be to the Coast Guard's advantage to do all it can to correct the situation.

The Civil-Rights Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Senate debate on the civil-rights issue has been on the level contemplated by our Founding Fathers when they wrote the Constitution. It has been a discussion of facts, rather than of fancies; of principles, rather than of emotions; of logic, rather than of panic.

The Washington Star calls attention to this fact in its lead editorial today. It points out that it is too early to speculate on "details of amendments," but that it is apparent already that able Senators are seeking to rid the measure of ambiguities.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON READING THE FINE PRINT

Majority Leader JOHNSON told his colleagues on Friday that the value of Senate procedures has been dramatically demonstrated by the preliminary debates on taking up the right-to-vote bill. He is right. No recent issue of such importance to the country has been examined so searchingly under conditions and in an atmosphere which so clearly reveals the traditional role of the Senate at its best.

There is a certain analogy between this debate and the soundness of advice to purchasers of insurance to read the fine print. Many able Senators have been examining the fine print in this bill and reading it aloud. What they have found has genuinely surprised good Americans who were thinking of this bill all along as mere insurance, by the Federal Government, that no qualified American, regardless of his race or creed, will deliberately be deprived of his right to vote. Conditions imposed in the fine print, however, are correctly causing discomfiture to some of those completely in favor of what they thought the policy meant. For they are not sure what it means, or whether it injects more risks than it was designed to eliminate.

We shall not speculate now on the detail of amendments that will be sought in this bill. It is now certain that such amendments will aim to rid the bill of its ambiquities, narrow its application to the right to vote and guarantee that juries will determine the facts in contempt cases. Such amendments will be wise. As an old time liberal, O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, reminded his colleagues the other day, "It is impossible for any person to stand before a legislative body in a free government and say 'I know what the law ought to be.'" The law that ought to be is the result of compromise, examination of all its implications and the avoidance of those that are dangerous. No one can argue logically that this bill should seek removal of certain evils by substituting other evils; that the protection of one set of civil rights should be strengthened by placing others in jeopardy. Yet that is what the bill, in the form it passed the House, proposes to do.

The late Justice Brandeis wrote these lines: "Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning, but without understanding."

The aptness of that warning, we think, has been demonstrated by a debate which is now about to enter its second phase.

Public Schools and Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Anniston (Ala.) Star of May 26, 1957. I commend it to the membership of the House.

The editorial follows:

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND FEDERAL AID

Stewart Alsop, one of the two brothers who contribute regularly to this paper, the one with whom we are concerned today having to do mostly with domestic issues, while Joe is commuting from one country to another in Europe and Asia, seems to be worried over the fact that Uncle Sam might never get loose if he started giving aid to the public schools of the country.

But why should he get loose? Isn't it the money of the several States, or of the individual taxpayers thereof, that keeps Uncle Sam hale and hearty and able to do a fairly good job in the conduct of the business to which he is assigned? And isn't it right that we as valid United States citizens get back some of the money we put into his till?

Jefferson and Madison and others of the Founding Fathers held it to be a paramount duty of the Federal Government to support the schools of the country. For the perpetuity of our democratic form of government depends on an educated constituency.

Hence, Federal aid to education was the hard core of the economy of the Northwest

Ordinance of 1787, and many of the great educational institutions now encompassed in that settlement got their start from the Treasury of the United States under appropriations by the Congress.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft was for several years as skeptical as Mr. Alsop and many others as to the advisability of Federal aid. But when someone called his attention to the fact that his ancestors grew up in Ohio under the aegis of governmental school assistance, he had the intelligence and moral courage to reverse his position.

But when the Northwest was divided up into States and those States became relatively selfsupporting, the Federal Government did cease its outright support to the public schools of that region. Taft finally came to the conclusion, however, that Uncle Sam's change of policy in this regard was unjustified.

The Northern States, without the natural resources that obtain in the South and the West, have grown great and rich by reason of their investment in education and research. They are richer than the South and the West combined, and it would now pay them to increase the wealth of other regions through taxes for education and thereby enrich their South-West markets.

It is unfortunate, however, that the southern region that needs education the most is the least favorable to Federal aid on a large scale. They are afraid, or pretend to be, that Uncle Sam would attempt to control the schools if he should decide to give us back more of the money we pay him through our taxes.

But the fact is that we have been receiving Federal aid for many years. The land-grant colleges could not exist without their Federal subsidy, and in recent years Uncle Sam has been spending much money through State universities for research on various projects and has been furnishing school lunches to our children every day in the school year.

And we do not hear of his attempting to control Auburn or the university or our elementary schools because of his aid. As a matter of fact, it is written into the Federal Aid Act that Uncle Sam would have no control if we should get back more of the money we contribute in taxes for education and other purposes.

In fine, we are very much concerned for fear Russia will beat us in nuclear processes, but we should be even more concerned over the fact that the educators of Russia are the highest paid class in the Soviet Union. The Communists put a premium on an educated citizenship, and we can keep ahead of them in all respects only so long as we invest our money through taxes in cultivated human brains.

Penny Wise, Pound Foolish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial from the Daily Citizen, Urbana, Ohio, which, in my opinion, is worthy of the attention of every Member of Congress, for it points out a situation that is too often overlooked, both by those of us who serve in the Congress, and by our constituents:

PENNY WISE, POUND FOOLISH

Just a month ago Champaign County dedicated a new courthouse at ceremonies in which great tribute was paid to the importance of local government.

At the time of the dedication there still echoed over the handsome modern structure the onetime strong feelings of two defeated bond issues. The defeats came at the hands of conservative residents of this county who felt that a million dollars (more or less) was too much to spend for a courthouse.

When plans for the courthouse were pared down to an estimated $650,000, local voters finally voted to accept the proposition—although still by a very narrow margin.

The issue was sold and put on the tax duplicate to be paid off by the local taxpayers over a period of more than 20 years. And there will be those persons who will begrudge every semiannual taxpayment on that courthouse over that whole period until 1980 * * * in spite of the fact that the courthouse stands as a proud, serviceable local landmark out of which generations of local people may get great use and value.

This right to be watchful of the expenditure of our own money by Government is an American privilege each of us exercises every time we vote "for" or "against" a school levy, a city income tax, or the like. We are having our say because we care. After all, 20 years to pay for a courthouse is a long time.

If the 30,000 some citizens of this county felt that it might be necessary to build a courthouse a year over those next 20 years, the predictions of community disaster would set up a buzz from Christiansburg to North Lewisburg and from Springhills to Mechanicsburg that would shake the man on Monument Square right off his pedestal. What chance would that $650,000 bond issue have had if local residents had been told "you must pay for it all in 1 year"?

Yet at the same time, Champaign County taxpayers are giving away this year this same new county courthouse—or rather, its equivalent in cash—and there is not so much as a drugstore comment or a living-room argument about it.

This year—not between now and 1980—in this 1 year, Champaign Countians will pay $645,998 in taxes that will be given in the form of foreign aid to residents of other counties. It's the same amount of money—give or take a couple of thousand bucks—that created such a stir when voters were asked to approve it for a courthouse for their own use. There are only "ho-hums" when we talk about it on the Federal level.

Mind you, this is not Champaign County's share of the total Federal budget for this year—that $78 billion pyramid of waste and extravagance. This is only our local share of one small angle of the whole.

These figures are prepared by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and are based on an estimated January 1, 1957, Ohio population of 9,044,700 and the fact that Ohioans pay 6.48 percent of every dollar the Federal Government spends. Note that this works out to about one-fifteenth—not the one-forty-eighth you might have thought at first.

The $645,998 share for foreign aid (alone) for Champaign Countians is based on the administration's attempt to have Congress appropriate $1,064 million for "economic aid" plus $2,800 million for "military aid." The total is $3,864 million.

What does the loss of one new courthouse mean to this county? Or, put another way, what would it mean to this county to have $650,000 to spend on county needs, new schools, township roads, churches, our own homes?

Independence Day has just passed and we read stories about the Colonists getting excited about the Stamp Act and the tax on tea to the point that they were willing to take up arms and shed blood for freedom from the tax oppression of their "federal government" in England. Today's patriot gets excited about the cost of a courthouse or a new school for his own use; but makes no attempt to do anything about Federal spending. Most of them won't even bother to pick up a pen or pencil to write their Congressman or Senator or President about it. The fact is, they don't seem to care about the Federal Government giving away the courthouse.

When it comes to the local level, county, school district, city, and township governments, we all are proudly penny wise. But when we start talking about the Federal Government, the same stalwart citizens and patriots are pound foolish.

The reason?

You didn't fool us for a minute, dedication speakers. The local government is only important because most of us everyday citizens know we can still control it. But the Federal Government is the one that is truly important, because here we have a Frankenstein created by ourselves which we do not have the desire, the will power, the interest, or the courage to do anything about.

Local voters berate and deny local governments, because, like the school sissy who puts little girls' pigtails in the inkwells, we are too timid to attack the bully who has everyone awestruck.

Until the individual voter and taxpayer decides to do something about it, local courthouses are likely to become harder and harder for local governments to come by and easier and easier for Federal Government to give away.

Diversion Should Have Green Light

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert in the Appendix the attached editorial from the Peoria Journal Star of Friday, July 12, 1957, entitled "Diversion Should Have Green Light."

DIVERSION SHOULD HAVE GREEN LIGHT

Now, after 2 successive years of having the Lake Michigan diversion measure vetoed, the administration has finally gotten around to sending representatives to Ottawa for the purpose of explaining the bill to Canadian officials. One of the main reason for last year's veto was the fact that the matter had not been discussed with Canada. That country, until now at least, has taken a dim view of increasing the diversion of lake water into the Illinois Waterway.

The feeling there has been that the increased diversion—from 1,500 to 2,500 cubic feet per second—would lower the flow of water through the St. Lawrence and would affect navigation and power facilities. Other cities on the lake have objected to the measure in the belief that it would lower lake levels dangerously. Yet the Corps of Engineers has estimated that the increase in diversion would make an eighth of an inch difference per year in lake levels for the 3-year test period. This would hardly affect navigation.

If President Eisenhower's veto has been based on Canadian misconceptions, he should no longer have any good reason to veto the measure. It has already passed the House. It passed the Senate in the past 2 years, and it should be passed again this year and sent on to the President.

The main advantage of the bill is that it would help purify the river. It stands to reason that more water added to the effluent discharged into the river will further dissolve it and make the river cleaner. But there are other benefits. In its present form, the bill would regulate the flow of water at

Pekin, long a critical spot during periods of low water. It would give a greater flow to carry away industrial wastes, often a critical factor in an industry's decision to locate on a waterway. It would help protect natural resources and river fish and wildlife. It has been said that increased diversion would benefit the whole Mississippi River Valley.

Canada's objections seem to be based on unwarranted fears rather than on facts. Now that the administration has seen fit to explain our position to Canada, we hope that one of the bigger stumbling blocks to diversion will be removed.

Senior Citizens and Associates of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include herein my remarks before the Senior Citizens and Associates of America, of Lynn, Mass., during their annual outing at Salem Willows on July 14, 1957. Mr. Charles C. O'Donnell is president of the group.

HONOR THE AGED

It is good to see the number of older people in attendance at this outing of the Senior Citizens and Associates of America.

And it is always a pleasure for me to meet so many friends who, in their time, have worked hard to build the prosperity that our Nation enjoys. In the process, they have raised families that are a credit to the Nation.

Not too many years ago when a person retired he was supposed to take a back seat. Older people, either singly or in pairs, used to live alone.

All that has changed out of necessity.

Older people are being seen and heard.

More and more of them are joining groups such as yours, not only for social and recreational purposes, but for organized effort to wake up the States and the United States to their problems and their needs.

From the beginning of time the younger people have been brought up to honor and respect their elders.

This Golden Rule has been reinforced by human conscience and morality.

But during this century of upheaval vast social and economic changes have cast off the customs and the standards of the past.

We must find other means to take their place.

In the pursuit of material wealth some people quite thoughtlessly forget their obligations to others.

Sons and daughters become lost in their own problems and those of their children.

The days of the large families are gone. Homes are smaller, as each member strikes out on his own, and at an earlier age. The automobile and the television have brought greater mobility and diversified interests.

The family circle that once included under one roof, a dozen or more people from the baby in the crib to the grandmother, or the great uncle, is but a memory. Sometimes brothers and sisters come home to eat at different times, because they work on different shifts.

The net result of these, and other factors, is that the older people need and want, a security and independence of their own.

The United States was one of the last nations in the West to recognize this need.

Slowly but surely we are making provision for it.

As we had no precedents to guide us, we had to feel our way.

On a modest scale, both as to coverage and benefits, we set up a program of old-age and survivors insurance, and public assistance.

Experience has taught us that the State and National Governments have been too modest and too cautious in their approach to this problem.

As a consequence, our senior citizens have organized into groups that are working for legislation to provide national old-age pensions of $100 a month or more. Many people believe that this is the only solution, embracing as it does; complete coverage, adequate benefits, and streamlined administration.

It is not enough for governments to speak of their good intentions toward the aged, or to offer them sample benefits. There is much work to be done to make that program complete and sufficient.

Until we accomplish that, we shall be faced with a social, and an economic problem, of growing proportions.

Due to the advances of medical science, the lessening of hard physical labor, and the improvement in health and nutritional standards, the lifespan of Americans is increasing.

More and more millions of our people are living to an advanced age.

This makes it a problem that concerns the Nation as a whole.

Only national legislation will solve it.

Under the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Act, which is only 20 years old, the Government sought to protect the individual and his family based on his earnings in work covered by the Federal social security law.

I have just received a report from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, concerning the number of beneficiaries, and the amount of benefits, as of December 31, 1956.

For the country as a whole, more than 9 million persons were receiving old-age and survivors benefits at a monthly rate of $483 million. This was an increase of more than 1 million beneficiaries, and $71 million in monthy benefits over the previous year.

At the present time, 73 million persons are insured. If death should take the family breadwinner, the mothers and children in 9 out of 10 American families can receive survivors' benefits.

In Essex County, Mass., which includes people within the area from Lynn to Lawrence, and Methuen, and down the Merrimack Valley to the sea, there are over 47,000 beneficiaries, receiving monthly benefits of close to $3 million.

Slowly but surely, this program is being developed. The day is not far distant, when every American will be covered by this, and/or associated programs.

Technical coverage is one thing. Benefits are another.

Because our Nation was so late in tackling the general problem of social security a number of our people were beyond the age where they could hope to build up their social security accounts.

To help them, a fill-in program of public assistance, whose benefits are contingent upon the action of the State legislatures, was established.

The State of Massachusetts has a good record in this respect as compared with most of the other States. As Charlie O'Donnell, your president and legislative director has advised you, there is every expectation that there will be some increase in the travel allowance for old-age assistance recipients, plus a cost of living increase of 5 percent, before the present legislative session is over.

Public-assistance benefits have never been sufficient. They have always lagged behind the cost of living.

We hear every subject under the sun being debated in the legislative halls and in the public press except the one which is of the greatest concern to the American people; and that one overriding issue is, the steady and dangerous rise in the cost of living and how to control it.

The problem of trying to make both ends meet as income remains stationary while prices go up is one that affects most Americans, but bears most heavily upon those with small, fixed incomes, like the good people who are trying to get by on the thin benefits called public assistance.

The experts themselves can't agree on the causes of inflation.

The other day one professor of economics said it was due to the fact that the people are living up to and beyond their incomes. Buying so many things that they hope to pay for later.

This certainly does not apply to the older people, because they do not have enough income in the first place to establish credit.

It is not enough for the younger people who will be old themselves someday to be courteous to their elders.

Our senior citizens are entitled to security and independence.

And this, in turn, depends on adequate income.

The only solution is for a national pension, or the equivalent thereof, with an escalator clause tied to the cost of living, so that no retired person will ever have to worry that changes in the economic picture will deny to him the necessities and the modest comforts that a civilized nation owes to its senior citizens.

Through organizations such as yours, the public is constantly reminded that to honor the aged we must engineer a better program to meet their needs.

There are understanding men and women in the Massachusetts Legislature and in the Congress who are determined to make social security succeed.

I hope you have a very pleasant outing made more enjoyable by the realization that there is only one direction for the social welfare programs of our Nation, and that progress, no matter how slow or hesitant it may seem at times, will not be satisfied until it reaches its goal.

One of the major obligations of our people is to provide true freedom and happiness for the aged who have richly earned the right to peace and security in the golden years of their lives.

America Needs an Army of Quality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I think it was extremely interesting to note that the late Aga Khan decided that he should be succeeded by a very young man who had grown up and been educated in the atomic age.

It would seem that we, also, in our thinking on defense and the armed might of the United States must also remember that we are living in the atomic age and that our thinking must be scientific and not the old concept of mass manpower.

This new concept is admirably presented in the following article by George Fielding Eliot which appeared in the New York Journal-American of July 14:

AMERICA NEEDS AN ARMY OF QUALITY

(By George Fielding Eliot)

The United States does not need as large an Army—Active or Reserve—as the Soviet Union does.

We have no land frontiers to defend. We are unlikely to engage in full-scale warfare in Europe or Asia under foreseeable circumstances. We must, of course, keep our commitments to NATO and our defensive position in Korea. Beyond that, the most likely demands on our Army are found in the field of limited warfare.

These demands call for a fully ready, highly mobile, sea-and-air transportable force of Regular troops, emphasizing quality rather than mass quantity, backed by National Guard and Reserve forces of sufficient strength to meet a Korea-type emergency quickly and vigorously.

Numerical comparisons with the Soviet armies can be misleading unless these facts are remembered.

The U. S. S. R. must defend vast land frontiers, stretching thousands of miles from the Arctic Ocean across Europe to the Black Sea and then east clear across Asia to the shores of the Pacific.

Consequently, the U. S. S. R. maintains a huge army, based on universal service which includes every able-bodied man from the age of 18 to the age of 50.

The Soviet youth is called up for 3 years' active service in the autumn following his 18th birthday. When he has finished his active service he passes to a unit of the first-line reserve, in which he remains until his 35th birthday. During this period he undergoes 6 periods of training of 60 days each (90 days if he is a noncommissioned officer).

From age 35 to 45, he serves in a second-line reserve unit, and is called up for 5 30-day training periods. Finally, from 45 to 50 (when his reserve service ends) he serves in a homeguard unit and does 1 30-day training period.

Based on this system of service, the Soviet Army can, within a very few days, bring all its 175 active divisions to full strength and mobilize 225 fully-trained reserve divisions to reinforce them.

But—except on its Western frontier—the U. S. S. R. can bring only a small percentage of this huge army to any one point on its enormous perimeter quickly and with assured supply lines behind it.

Further, in limited nibbling operations, the U. S. S. R. is not going to take unlimited risks.

SEA-AIR MOBILITY

The United States, commanding the seas and the air spaces above them, can as a rule bring force to bear at threatened points around the Soviet perimeter, and supply that force, much more readily than can the U. S. S. R. It was this sea-air mobility and supply that enabled us to defeat the Soviet-supported assaults on Greece and the Republic of Korea. We can do the same again if we have to.

But we can do it far more readily, and at far less cost, if we have an Army—active and reserve—tailored to this requirement.

The U. S. S. R. needs masses of men and masses of weapons.

The United States needs very highly trained men and very high-quality weapons, designed for its special purposes. We cannot hope to have superior air power and a superior Navy, and support a mass Army, too. We need, not a big Army, but a very good Army.

Department of Agriculture Appropriation Bill

SPEECH

OF

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the conferees on their action in connection with H. R. 7441, the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and especially to commend the Honorable EARL WILSON, of Indiana, for his enlightening and comprehensive discussion of this very important bill. I hope that every farmer in West Virginia will read Mr. WILSON'S statement. Of particular interest to farmers in West Virginia who have been utilizing the agricultural conservation program to carry out soil-building and soil-conserving practices on their farms is the committee's action directing the Department of Agriculture not to make any change in the 1958 program from what it was in 1957.

Mr. Speaker, I was just as shocked as my colleagues who have spoken before me were when I received a copy of the secret memorandum from Assistant Secretary Peterson to ACP Administrator Koger deleting nine practices, which in essence have been the practices which the majority of farmers have utilized in their soil-improvement work, and restricting many others. It is a little hard to reconcile Mr. Peterson's action taking out these practices which comprised nearly 60 percent of the payments to the one-and-a-quarter million farmers participating in this program in 1955 with his statements before both the House and Senate Appropriations Subcommittees. According to the official hearings of these committees, he committed the Department of Agriculture to continue the 1958 program in the same general manner in which they proceeded in 1957. For him to issue this directive at this late date after congressional action was nearly completed and in direct opposition to the specific recommendations received from the various committees throughout the Nation is questionable procedure. The recommendations from my State of West Virginia were that no major change be made in the 1958 program over the 1957, and I have been reliably informed that this was the pattern throughout the Nation.

This administration has tried repeatedly to drastically curtail this program ever since they have been in power. There has never been a national program which has reached so many farmers and received such universal support. There is no excuse for such action as Mr. Peterson has taken of trying to reduce by administrative directive what they have been unable to sell Congress to do legislatively in previous years.

I want to congratulate the conferees again and I am glad to have the assurances of the chairman that he feels that the Department will withhold this directive.

Issue in Girard Case Clarified by Decision—Furor in Congress Yields to a Calm Explanation by Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KILDAY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of Sunday, July 14, 1957, contains a concise and dispassionate article by E. W. Kensworthy on the Girard case. I include that article in the RECORD. The article gives a lucid account of some of the issues which are involved in the case and the status-of-forces treaties and agreements. I commend it to the attention of those desiring a correct understanding of the questions to be discussed should the status-of-forces issue be discussed in connection with foreign-aid legislation or otherwise:

ISSUE IN GIRARD CASE CLARIFIED BY DECISION—FUROR IN CONGRESS YIELDS TO A CALM EXPLANATION BY SUPREME COURT

(By E. W. Kenworthy)

WASHINGTON, July 13.—Second guessing the Supreme Court is hazardous, but most lawyers here confidently predicted that the High Court would wash out the ruling of District Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy that the surrender of Army Sp3c. William S. Girard to Japanese courts was unconstitutional.

Equally predictable was the tempest raised on Capitol Hill by the Supreme Court's decision. A number of legislators demanded that President Eisenhower renegotiate the status-of-forces agreements to eliminate the provisions permitting foreign courts to have criminal jurisdiction over any offenses committed by United States servicemen. The cry was, "The Constitution must follow our soldiers."

Some of this clamor can be dismissed as political sound and fury, but much of it stems quite honestly from a lack of understanding on the whole question.

TWO SIDES

The question of military extraterritoriality is nebulous, as are so many questions in international law. Authorities and legal precedents can be cited to prove that "the jurisdiction of a nation within its own territories is necessarily exclusive and absolute * * * susceptible of no limitation not imposed by itself." Other authorities and precedents can be cited to prove that jurisdiction over visiting forces in a friendly foreign state remains in the visiting sovereign.

For practical purposes, however, history has made it quite clear that the degree of extraterritoriality that visiting forces can obtain depends entirely on circumstances.

Obviously an army of occupation can insist upon complete immunity from trial by local courts, and United States forces in Japan had such immunity until the peace treaty restored Japanese sovereignty.

The immunity granted between allies depends on "who needed whom most," one lawyer said in a brief before the Supreme Court.

In 1942, on United States insistence, the British Parliament approved the Visiting Forces Act, granting complete military extraterritoriality to United States forces. During the debates in the House of Commons, one member called the bill a striking innovation. Another said it was of a completely revolutionary character.

BRITISH EXAMPLE

It was, indeed, a revolutionary departure—for Britain. But the British had been able to get the same immunity from France during World War I, and from Egypt and Iraq even after that war.

When the United States began to negotiate status-of-forces agreements with other countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Japan in 1951 and 1952 those allies were in a position to resist any demands for complete military extraterritoriality. And they did resist.

The agreements assigned primary jurisdiction to the host country for off-duty offenses, and to United States courts-martial for offenses during performance of duty. But they also provided that either side could ask for waivers, and that the requests would get sympathetic consideration.

It might be useful to recall an exchange that took place between Senator BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Republican of Iowa, and Herman Phleger, State Department counselor, when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was holding hearings on the reciprocal Atlantic Pact status-of-forces treaties back in 1953.

CASE OF IOWA

Senator HICKENLOOPER posed a hypothetical case. Suppose, he said, that an officer of a foreign country—say Canada—stationed in Chicago was ordered to proceed to a new post in San Francisco, and received permission to go by car.

"He goes through my State of Iowa, where he hits someone, and he is thought to be criminally negligent," continued Mr. HICKENLOOPER. "Suppose that the sending nation protests that the individual is acting in line of duty, and the agreement provides that when acting in line of duty, the sending nation has exclusive jurisdiction. Who determines * * * [whether his own nation has jurisdiction]?"

"What would happen," replied Mr. Phleger, "is that your courts [in Iowa] would have the right to determine their own jurisdiction."

What is likely to happen now?

For the last 3 years, Representative FRANK T. BOW, Republican of Ohio, has introduced a resolution calling for the revision of the status-of-forces agreements to prevent foreign trials of United States servicemen. Two weeks ago, before the Supreme Court ruling, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the resolution.

BOW RESOLUTION BLOCKED

When the House Rules Committee cleared the foreign aid authorization bill Thursday for floor action Monday, it failed to give a rule to the Bow resolution.

Thereupon Mr. Bow and some other Congressmen talked about tacking the Bow resolution as a rider on the foreign aid bill.

If the House approves such a rider and instructs its conferees to insist upon it in a conference with the Senate, the Senate may have to accept it in order to pass the foreign aid bill. However, if this should happen the President would certainly veto it. Therefore there is a good likelihood that the House leadership will throw its weight against the Bow rider.

For the leaders realize quite well that there is no chance that the major allies of the United States would agree to grant complete immunity, and that to insist on it would greatly impair the relations of the allies and weaken the Atlantic alliance.

Eisenhower's States Rights Boost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a column by George Todt, entitled "Eisenhower's States Rights Boost," which appeared in the June 28, 1957, issue of the Valley Times, a newspaper which serves southern California's San Fernando Valley, a great area of my State represented in Congress by my able colleague, the Honorable JOSEPH HOLT.

Mr. Todt comments on President Eisenhower's address delivered at the Governors' Conference held recently at Williamsburg, Va., makes some very noteworthy observations on the surprising indifference shown toward the President's suggestion for a return of more power and responsibility to the States. I believe Mr. Todt's comments will be of interest to many Members of Congress.

EISENHOWER'S STATES RIGHTS BOOST

My friends and acquaintances seem to run the gamut insofar as ideological differences of opinion may be concerned. I think that is as it should be—and I like to hear from all sides whenever that is possible. Differences of opinion can be stimulating.

Some of these friends of mine are ultraconservative by nature, and they have been telling me for years that President Eisenhower was not to be considered much of a States rights man. In fact, I'd heard the theme so often that I was commencing to wonder about it myself. But if I had held any doubts on this score, they were dispelled when I read the magnificent speech Ike made before the governors' conference at Williamsburg last Monday. How will his hypercritics explain away words like these?

"I believe deeply in States rights," said the President. "I believe that the preservation of our States as vigorous, powerful governmental units is essential to permanent individual freedom and the growth of our national strength. But it is idle to champion States rights without upholding States responsibilities as well.

"I believe that an objective reappraisal and reallocation of these responsibilities can lighten the hand of central authority, reinforce our State and local governments, and in the process strengthen all America. I believe we owe it to America to undertake that effort."

Then Ike went on to suggest that the States and the Federal Government get together on the composition of a joint task force to study the situation and do something constructive about it. His thinking was along the line that by removing barriers to effective and responsive government, by overhauling taxing and fiscal systems, by better cooperation between all echelons of government, the States can regain and preserve their traditional responsibilities and rights.

Failing that, he said, the States themselves might create new vacuums into which the Federal Government could plunge ever more deeply impelled by popular pressures and transient political expediences. The President made it amply clear he did not prefer the latter course. Instead, he argued to the governors that they should step in—with Ike's blessing and help—and reclaim some of the States' rights which had been surrendered to centralized government and bureaucracy in the past. What response did he get?

Incredibly, he got practically none at all. The governors and their official families hardly got off their hands. Only polite applause for Ike at the commencement and the end of his address. It seems fantastic enough—but that's what the reports told us.

I believe it is somewhat appropriate to suggest to those ultraconservative friends of mine—mentioned earlier in this article—that maybe it's time to get off Ike's back on this matter of States' rights, and stay off. Concentrate your fire on the governors of the 48 States, friends. Those are the boys who are manning the barricades of centralized power it seems—not Mr. Eisenhower.

There were some exceptions among the governors, of course. Notably California's Goodwin J. Knight, Illinois' William Stratton and Ohio's C. William O'Neill—all of whom registered strong approval of Ike's tremendous stand in favor of States' rights.

But most of the States' officials took a negative and skeptical attitude. It looks from her as though the majority of them just weren't too interested. They seem to be so used to centralized authority emanating from Washington that they no longer appear to know how to act when the headman offers they back the keys to their own house.

Now if the governors can't get fired up and steamed up when Ike offers to assist them in the matter of regaining some of their lost States' rights, then who is supposed to do so? What has all the shouting been about anyway? Who is really against States' rights? Can it henceforth be said that the President has not championed them?

Shall we allow the chips to fall where they may hereafter? In the meanwhile, Ike deserves an "E" for effort. He gave it the old college try. It's not his fault if the governors didn't have gumption enough to take him up on it. Better luck next time.

Resolution of Commendation of the Late Senator Joseph McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 1957, the Illinois Federation of Republican Women adopted a resolution which concerns the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Under unanimous consent I ask that the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE ILLINOIS FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

Whereas in the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the United States Senate has lost

one of its most courageous Members, a great Republican Senator who, like his friend Senator Robert A. Taft, will be remembered long after his passing; and

Whereas since even before the Korean war, Senator McCarthy was the leader of the patriotic fight to eliminate pro-Communists and subversives from our Government and from vital defense industries; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy fought the Communists and their supporters at the sacrifice of his health and in spite of the fact that it made him the victim of the same organized smear tactics which forced MARTIN DIES out of Congress and deprived our country of the services of General Douglas MacArthur; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy served his party well by personally campaigning for and helping to elect many Republicans to high office, but put his country ahead of his party, and fought valiantly, in war and in peace, against our Nation's enemies; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy, in the great American tradition of Abraham Lincoln, rose to high office over the handicaps of poverty and lack of an early education, yet always lived a modest and exemplary personal life, and, when his income-tax returns were scrutinized at the demand of his enemies, he was found by the Democrat in charge of the Internal Revenue Bureau to have overpaid his taxes by more than $1,000;

Resolved, That the Illinois Federation of Republican Women expresses its deepest regret at the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and consequent great loss to the State of Wisconsin, to the Republican Party, and to our country, and extends its heartfelt sympathies to his widow; and

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mrs. McCarthy, to the Governor of Wisconsin on behalf of the people of Wisconsin, and to Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN who courageously served on Senator McCarthy's committee and voted against the censure of Senator McCarthy.

Passed on May 8, 1957, Springfield, Ill.

Mississippi Waterfowl Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to recommend to the attention of my colleagues a four-point program for national waterfowl refuges adopted by the Mississippi Flyway Council. The Mississippi Flyway Council is comprised of representatives from 14 State conservation departments and Canadian provinces. At their last meeting they discussed the matter of legislation relating to the waterfowl refuge program and after a study committee report the following program was adopted unanimously. Because legislation affecting the program is under consideration in committee at this session of Congress these suggestions from a group representing a 14-State area bear considerable weight in establishing the viewpoints of experts in the field. The chairman of the council is L. P. Voigt, director of the Wisconsin Conservation Department.

MISSISSIPPI FLYWAY COUNCIL'S FOUR-POINT NATIONAL WATERFOWL REFUGE PROGRAM

1. We strongly urge the Congress to implement and speed up the National Waterfowl Refuge program because of previous delays, increasing costs, and acquisition difficulties.

2. We believe Congress should make adequate direct appropriations from the general treasury both to supplement duck stamp acquisition funds and for the major portion of the cost of development, acquisition, and maintenance of waterfowl management units to meet the United States treaty obligations.

3. We support a plan to raise the annual bird-hunting stamp from $2 to $3, providing 50 percent of each $3 be used for land acquisition and leasing.

4. We recommend that the Secretary of Interior be authorized to open up to 40 percent of any major management area to hunting and that smaller areas of less than 500 acres may be entirely open to hunting in the discretion of the Secretary when the number of birds and other circumstances warrant such action.

Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a few observations with respect to soil and water conservation in the State of Kansas. The farmers of Kansas generally are becoming more concerned about conserving their soil and water resources. Weather conditions of recent years have forcefully brought home to them some fundamental facts, especially in regard to water conservation.

Farmers who have installed permanent soil and water conservation systems on their land have found that their conservation work has paid dividends in both dry weather and wet weather.

During the drought years they found that their permanent conservation measures helped to capture and hold the little rain that did fall. Consequently, crop yields were better and their land was less subject to damage from wind erosion.

In this year's wet weather they found that their conservation farming systems induced greater insoak of moisture and carried the excess water from heavy rains off of their fields in an orderly manner with less damage from water erosion.

Understanding of these basic facts in my home district has resulted in a tremendous interest in water conservation. There is more interest today than ever before in installing conservation farming systems on individual farms and upstream watershed protection for entire communities.

The soil and water conservation services available from the Department of Agricultural for helping farmers to install permanent conservation measures are a real help to the farmers in my district. They are receiving highly valuable technical assistance through local soil conservation districts. They see great potentials in the new upstream watershed protection program.

It was because of local need that I supported the amendments to the Hope-Aiken Act in the 84th Congress, and have introduced H. R. 7756, to further amend the Hope-Aiken Act in the 85th Congress, in order tthat the intent of Congress can be carried out for developing upstream flood prevention projects such as the Walnut Creek project in Brown County, Kans. They appreciate the fact that in Kansas our policy is to emphasize ACP cost-sharing practices directed toward the installation of permanent conservation farming systems and the treatment of small watersheds.

I want to pay tribute to a man down in the Department of Agriculture who has an important responsibility for the policies under which these services are administered. I am referring to Ervin L. Peterson, Assistant Secretary for Federal-States Relations. He has proved himself to be a national leader in soil and water conservation.

Since Mr. Peterson has been in office he has given intensive attention to conservation matters. He did something, that in my opinion, more administrators should do. Soon after he was appointed he went out over the country and talked with farmers about their soil conservation problems. He saw for himself the work that farmers are doing. He learned from farmers what they think of soil conservation and what they need in the way of help.

Kansas was one of the States that Mr. Peterson traveled thoroughly. I am proud of the permanent conservation work that he saw on the land in Kansas. And I know Kansas farmers are proud of it, too.

I know, too, that what Mr. Peterson learned from farmers around the country has been reflected in the soil and water conservation policies of the Department of Agriculture. Under those policies farmers are getting more help than ever before in installing permanent conservation systems.

On behalf of the farmers of Kansas, I am taking this occasion to commend Ervin L. Peterson for the outstanding leadership that he is giving to the soil and water conservation movement in the United States. I am only hopeful that comprehensive watershed development can proceed under the Hope-Aiken Act as was originally prescribed by Congress.

The Late Honorable Earl Cory Michener

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, it is my desire to join with the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER] to pay a tribute to our late colleague and friend, Earl Michener. It is with sadness that I learned that he had passed away at the page of 80 years.

One of the first friends that I made when I came to Congress was Earl Michener. He was an able and conscientious Member of the House, and certainly one of its ablest parliamentarians. I believe he is one of the few Members of the House who served both as a Member and chairman of both the Rules Committee and the Judiciary Committee.

He was always anxious and willing to be of assistance to new Members of Congress, and much of my early education of the rules of the House was from the advice of Mr. Michener.

Those of us who knew Mr. Michener know it was with the greatest reluctance that he reached his decision to retire, and that was largely due to the fact that his wife had been in poor health and he felt it was his duty to retire to be with her as much as possible.

Mr. Michener was a veteran of the Spanish-American War. He was a deeply patriotic citizen and honored and respected by everyone. To his daughter I extend my deep personal sympathy.

Returns on Questionnaire in Second Congressional District of South Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most rewarding efforts I have made this session was the distribution of a questionnaire in my district. I was quite overwhelmed by the response received. Almost half of the individuals took the time to add personal comments on items of special interest to them, and all of them devoted a great deal of time and thought to their answers.

Because I believe the tabulation of the results reflects the general thinking in western South Dakota on these subjects, I thought they would be of special interest, and am, therefore, inserting the compilation in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where they may be studied by other Members of Congress.

It is my privilege to represent a district with diversified interests, including farming, ranching, mining, tourist, and small industry. It covers that part of South Dakota west of the Missouri River, including the lush grasslands of the plains, the beautiful and mineral-producing Black Hills with majestic Mount Rushmore, several of the largest Indian reservations in the country, and numerous friendly, active communities where the memories of pioneer days are still quite fresh in mind.

Recalling the struggle of those pioneer days, the people of the second district know the value of a dollar, and the satisfaction that comes from a hard day's work. It is foreign to their way of thinking to look to the Federal Government for help for every minor emergency. They are accustomed to taking care of themselves. At the same time, they resent the increasing tax burden, brought about by expanded Federal operations, that makes it more difficult to be independent and fulfill their own needs.

These conservative, energetic, freedom-loving sons and daughters of the pioneers who broke the prairie and opened the mines have a lot of commonsense ideas on the operation of our Government. I recommend their thinking to my colleagues.

The results of the questionnaire are as follows:

	Percentage	
	Yes	No
AGRICULTURE		
Do you approve of—		
1. The soil-bank program as presently operated?	41	59
2. The sale and barter of farm surpluses to Communist nations?	38	62
3. A food stamp plan by which needy persons could obtain surplus foods through normal commercial channels?	77	23
4. Higher support prices on wheat and corn?	23	77
BUSINESS		
Do you approve of—		
1. Federal control over the production of natural gas?	51	49
2. The continuation of the Small Business Administration and to liberalize its lending authority?	71	29
3. Tax reduction for small business?	76	24
DEFENSE		
Do you approve of—		
1. President Eisenhower's foreign policy in general?	69	31
2. Inviting to this country for conferences, the heads of foreign governments with whom we are not in agreement?	75	25
3. The exchange of atomic secrets with other countries?	19	81
4. Requiring all new National Guardsmen to take six months' training on active military duty?	73	27
IMMIGRATION		
Do you approve of—		
1. The admission of additional refugees to the United States from Hungary?	30	70
2. Admission of a greater number of immigrants from all countries?	14	86
POSTAL SERVICE		
Do you approve of—		
1. An increase in postal rates to meet the Department deficits?	64	36
2. Increased salaries and retirement benefits for postal employees?	32	68
LABOR		
Do you approve of—		
1. Regulation by law of labor union welfare funds?	92	8
2. The proposal to extend the present $1-an-hour Federal minimum wage to groups not presently covered, mainly retail and service employees?	53	47
3. The repeal of the Taft-Hartley law?	10	90
SCHOOL AID, FEDERAL		
Do you approve of—		
1. Federal assistance for a school building program?	51	49
2. Federal aid for school maintenance and operation?	33	67
TAXES		
Do you approve of—		
1. Reduction of Federal taxes even though it unbalances the budget?	22	78
2. Exemption of all pension and social-security benefits from income tax?	70	30
VETERANS		
Do you approve of—		
1. Increasing the maximum interest rate on VA-guaranteed home loans to secure more private funds for home construction or purchase?	52	48
2. Increasing disability, hospital, and survivor's benefits for veterans?	46	54

Recommendations on budget cuts were as follows: (1) Foreign aid; (2) number of Federal employees; (3) Federal aid to States, municipalities, school districts, and local public agencies; (4) construction of public works (dams, airports, buildings, interstate roads, etc.); (5) Federal aid to agriculture; (6) Federal aid to small business; (7) national defense.

Girard Ruling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting an editorial which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel on Friday, July 12, on the subject of the Supreme Court ruling on the Girard case.

GIRARD RULING

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the Girard case does nothing to recover its lost prestige. It remains our dissenting opinion that the basic rights of this American soldier have been violated.

As we have emphasized before, those rights are not related to his own degree of guilt, whether he killed a Japanese woman on a firing range through malice or accident. Nor are they affected by the probability that he will receive a fair trial in a Japanese court or be more leniently treated than by court martial.

It has seemed to us, and still does, that those rights are inherent in the fact that he was on duty at the time and therefore under United States jurisdiction.

But the unanimity of the Court's ruling serves to place on the Eisenhower administration the initial responsibility. That is where it belongs.

Under the status-of-forces arrangement (with Japan it is merely an administrative agreement and not, as with NATO nations, a treaty) the United States has primary jurisdiction in offenses committed by servicemen while on duty. Girard was on duty. Everybody concedes that.

When the joint United States-Japan committee, formed to decide jurisdiction under terms of the arrangement, met on the Girard case, both sides pressed claims. The deadlock lasted for weeks and was inflamed into a national issue in Japan, largely through leftist agitation.

In this impasse, the administration authorized the United States representative on the committee to waive jurisdiction. He did.

That was when the blunder was made. The evidence is strong that it was made in an effort to placate Japanese feeling. It was a policy decision in the cause of interna-

tional friendship. It was also a blunder of expediency at the price of justice.

If, now, the whole status-of-forces structure everywhere comes under hard congressional review, the administration has only itself to blame.

Weighing Security—Editorial Comment in Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in my weekly newsletter to newspapers in my district last week, I commented on the recommendations of the Commission on Government Security—the Loyd Wright group—as they involve the extension of the espionage laws to newspapermen who dig up and report on so-called secret information, and also as they involve the question of wiretapping. I inserted that column in the RECORD yesterday, and it was, I readily concede, very critical of the Commission on those particular points.

The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette last Monday printed an editorial also discussing the Commission's findings and report and noted some affirmative recommendations of the Commission which the Post-Gazette found had merit, particularly as they provide greater protections for the employee accused in security proceedings. Among these are the granting of hearing rights to applicants for employment, and to confrontation of accusers where that is possible without endangering national security.

My newsletter referred to several worthwhile suggestions of the Commission, but did not go into any detail. I have no hesitancy in saying the Commission made some good suggestions.

But I note that the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette agrees with the position I have taken on some of these other recommendations, including the widening of the espionage laws and the dead horse wiretapping proposal. Newspapermen have seldom, if ever, compromised our security by printing the facts and the truth.

The Post-Gazette editorial is as follows:

WEIGHING SECURITY

After 18 months of study, the 12-member Commission on Government Security recently issued an 800-page report on the Federal internal-security system. Because of the document's length, we cannot deal in detail here with its many recommendations. Each will have to be assessed as it is advanced in the form of a bill or a proposed administrative change. But the major proposals of the congressionally established group do set the tone of the report and they deserve comment. While some of the Commission's recommendations seem highly desirable, others are questionable. Too often the Commission seems to have balanced the objective of national security against traditional guaranties of individual liberty and to have weighed its decision in favor of what seems to us an unattainable airtight security.

Granting the Commission its due, however, a good word should be said for its suggested reforms favoring the rights of the citizen. Among them are proposals that:

All persons subject to loyalty investigations be permitted to confront their accusers and cross-examine them whenever it can be done without endangering the national security.

An unsuitability classification be established to completely separate such employee risks as alcoholics and sex perverts from loyalty cases.

Hearing rights be granted to applicants who are denied jobs because of disloyalty charges (only jobholders now have such rights).

The confidential category of classified information be abolished.

Among the Commission's recommendations which seem to us to go too far toward restricting traditional rights are those that would:

Extend the Federal employee security system instead of limiting it to sensitive agencies.

Make permanent those passport restrictions now applicable only in periods of war and national emergency and curb travel abroad by anyone furthering the aims of any group called subversive by Congress or an authorized official.

Provide severe criminal penalties for mere disclosure of classified information, without any showing of conspiracy or intent to cause harm (as now required).

Legalize the use of wiretap evidence in subversion cases.

Formalize the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. (Other studies of the security program have proposed its abolition.)

Federal Participation in the Acquisition of Runway Clear Zones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution concerning H. R. 6582 was adopted at the meeting of the Michigan Association of Airport Managers held on June 18, 1957. I request that this resolution be printed in its entirety.

Whereas there has been introduced in the United States Senate bill No. 1189 and in the House of Representatives bill No. 6582, which would amend section 10 of the Federal Airport Act of 1946 to provide an increased Federal participation in the acquisition of runway clear zones and for other purposes, and specifically providing that to the extent that project costs of an approved project represent the cost of acquiring clear zones for runways, the share of the United States shall be 75 percent of the allowable costs of such runway clear zones; and,

Whereas, the Michigan Association of Airport Managers realize that communities in the State of Michigan are engaged in a program of expansion of airport facilities which will involve the acquisition of such clear zones for runways; and,

Whereas, in the opinion of said Michigan Association of Airport Managers, the public interest and convenience require the enactment of the above-described legislation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Michigan Association of Airport Managers hereby goes on record (at their meeting in Flint, Mich., June 18, 1957) as supporting and urging the enactment of Senate bill No. 1189 and House of Representatives bill No. 6582, providing for increased Federal participation in the acquisition of runway clear zones and for other purposes, and does urge United States Senators CHARLES E. POTTER and PATRICK V. MCNAMARA, and Congresswoman GRIFFITHS to support passage of the above-described bills. Further copies of the within resolution to be transmitted forthwith to Senators POTTER and MCNAMARA and Congresswoman GRIFFITHS.

Passed and adopted this 18th day of June 1957, by a majority vote of Michigan Association of Airport Managers.

Bette Davis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article written by Mr. Lawrence J. Quirk, of Lynn, Mass., a nephew of the late Congressmen from the Seventh Massachusetts District, William P. Connery and Lawrence J. Connery.

Mr. Lawrence Quirk is a specialist in his field and has had considerable and valuable experience as a free lance writer, having been associated with a number of newspapers and magazines throughout this country.

The article follows:

HOLLYWOOD'S NEGLECTED GENIUS

Why are Hollywood producers neglecting one of their greatest actresses? Why aren't good roles coming her way?

Whenever I think of Bette Davis' distinctive contribution to the art of the screen over a 27-year period, I like to remember something I once wrote about her and never published. I said Bette Davis acted, as Mrs. Browning so movingly phrased it in a famous poem, "with the passion put to use in her old griefs, and with her childhood's faith; with the breath, smiles, tears of all her life."

This to me has always been the acting essence of a creative artist who gave me countless hours of deep pleasure and emotional catharsis as a boy and as an adolescent, in such moving dramas of the Davis golden era as The Old Maid, Now, Voyager, Old Acquaintance, and The Corn Is Green, all Warner films.

In those golden years—1939 to 1945—Bette Davis reigned supreme as the screen's first lady. The great glamour stars of MGM were in eclipse by that time. Only Joan Crawford remained to challenge with her passionately sincere acting style, the superb feeling and artistic precision of the actress Davis in her prime. The Davis academy awards came, strangely enough, in 1935 and 1938, before the full flowering of her art. And though she got many nominations in the years that followed, she never won a richly deserved third Oscar that would have fittingly recognized the period of her greatest achievements.

She had come to Hollywood in late 1930, a wren-like, big-eyed, scrawny ingenue. Universal executives took one look at what they had bought, and delegated her to a sex-appeal category with angular funnyman Slim Summerville.

But the intense little girl with the strong overcompensatory drive, determined to achieve her artist's due despite lack of natural good looks, persisted—and finally the better parts came her way.

By 1934 she had brought an originally amused and skeptical Hollywood to its knees with a magnificent portrayal of a sadistic waitress, Mildred in RKO's Of Human Bondage. Into that role, and into the ones that followed, she put all of the intensity and fierce emotion that had been born in a lonely and insecure childhood plagued by a parental divorce and the cruel Christmas tree fire that had nearly destroyed her eyesight and which accounted for the famous popeyed expression that critics ridiculed.

But the day was to come when writers in America and Europe were to call Bette Davis, Popeye the Magnificent. And then, and only then, as the screen idol of two continents, could the lonely, insecure little girl from Lowell, Mass., tell herself: "I am fulfilled."

The writer was born and brought up in a Massachusetts city—Lynn—very near Bette's birthplace. A decade and a half ago, the big event for me and other unabashed Davis fans was the advent of a new feature starring our idol at the Warner Theater on Union Street. Somehow, movies had real glamour then; warmth, immediacy, and concentrated emotion. And Bette Davis contributed her full share.

Davis numbered among her personal heartbreaks three marriages into which she had entered with all the hope and love in the world, and all of which ended on a negative note. Harmon Nelson, whom she wed as a girl of 24, found it difficult to weather the comparison of his wife's fabulous career with his own more modest achievements as a band leader. They were divorced, to Davis' keen regret. To this day she thinks and speaks of him fondly.

Her second husband, Arthur Farnsworth, died from an accidental fall on the street when they had been married less than 3 years. Her third, William Grant Sherry, father of her only child Barbara (she adopted two others) was ill-suited to her temperamentally, and after 5 years a stormy divorce ensued that left her even more lonely and embittered.

Finally she married actor Gary Merrill, and managed to get in some measure of domestic happiness while she was still young enough to enjoy it. Seven years wed, they are still together.

Numerous other troubles besieged Bette Davis. The difficult cesarean delivery of her one child. The decline of her box-office fortunes after 1948. A serious operation for osteomyelitis that kept her off the screen for 3 years (1952–55).

Since her last major triumph actingwise (in 1950's All About Eve), Popeye the Magnificent has had a lean 7 years of it. Her last academy nomination was for 1952's The Star, made just before the illness struck that was to leave her emotionally and physically depleted for months. An unfortunate musical, Two's Company on Broadway, and critical frowns did not help her morale.

By 1953 Hollywood was saying: "Bette's had it. The parade's over." But 2 years later she was back in there pitching again with a repeat performance of her famous 1939 role of Queen Elizabeth. But the film, 20th Century-Fox's The Virgin Queen, did not put her back on top at the box office, nor did the two that followed in 1956, MGM's The Catered Affair, and Columbia's Storm Center. The political controversy over the latter was another headache.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-seven has seen Bette Davis quite active in a number of television dramas. But pictures—the medium she helped to make great, are another matter.

Hollywood is shamefully neglecting Bette Davis. At 49 she should be in the prime of her acting art on-screen. When she was only 30 she was playing character roles. The loss of her youth should not have proven a handicap. What is behind Hollywood's attitude? As Gloria Swanson commented recently, Hollywood is fertile ground casting-wise for middle-aged actors, but not, it seems, for middle-aged actresses. Or at least not for those who have failed, or neglected, to retain the illusion of youth in their appearance.

Davis has never cared about her looks. Even when very young, she went in for realistic makeup, and clothing, and hair disarray on-screen in the interests of sound characterization. Hence no one cares less about looking middle-aged than Bette Davis. But youth-obsessed Hollywood does care, it seems. Bette also has been quoted to the effect that she is not going to starve and diet her frankly spreading figure into something angular just to please the camera. They'll take her as is, or else.

Another factor in Davis' difficulties: there aren't enough good scripts going around. And even if the script is worth while, producers want potent young names to bring in the teen-agers who pay such a large percentage of the box-office take. But with TV saturating the land and the necessity of film producers turning out quality product in order to compete, Davis should be coming in for a belated renaissance. It could happen.

But there is another possibly negative element. Bette herself. She has not exercised the wisest judgment in her choice of film roles since 1952. And her TV appearances indicate strongly that she needs a wise and firm director's hand to tone down, polish, and restrain the overly elaborate mannerisms and excessive attitudinizing that mar of late her still brilliant and authoritative acting style.

To our mind, only one role could put Bette Davis back in the big time at this late date. It could serve her as the pilot film in a wonderful new series of Davis dramas, dramas, incidentally, for which a Hollywood growing steadily more adult is now prepared. That role? Mary Todd Lincoln.

Davis, it is said, has considered the role. But nothing ever came of it. Yet the part affords her limitless possibilities. A disciplined director who guided her wisely could help her win a third award in it. Since the film could open in 1861, the year Lincoln went to the Presidency, and since Mary Todd Lincoln was already 43 at that time, the age factor would prove no barrier. And the great scenes that come to mind: Davis mourning the death of her son Willie in the White House. Davis braving Union prejudice because her relatives were in the Confederate Army. Davis battling snobbish Washington society. Davis spending extravagantly on clothes. Davis mourning Lincoln's assassination. Davis quarreling with her son, Robert Lincoln. Davis in some ripsnorting mad scenes at the close.

Such was the tragic life of emotionally unstable Mary Todd Lincoln, once First Lady of the land. It could mean a new lease on life for Bette Davis, once First Lady of Hollywood. So come on, you producers who scream constantly about the need for quality pictures with quality performers. There's a suggestion for you. Quit griping, get the rights to that story, and call Bette. Time's awasting, and this inexcusable neglect of Popeye the Magnificent should be terminated, pronto.

Honorable Jim Wright

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK IKARD

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the RECORD a tribute paid to my able colleague, the Honorable JIM WRIGHT, who represents the 12th Texas District. This tribute was paid to JIM WRIGHT by way of an introduction, when he spoke before a meeting of the Kiwanis Club, by one of our most distinguished and able judges in Texas, District Judge Jack Langdon, of Fort Worth.

President Joe, fellow Kiwanians, and guests; during the convention in San Francisco last week we heard a great deal about a character by the name of Joe Smith. There is probably a Joe Smith in every community in the United States. He may be a Republican or he may be a Democrat. Most often he is found in the smaller towns and cities of our Nation. Most of us are acquainted with his brothers and cousins, Tom, Dick, Harry, Ed, Bill, and Jim. Joe Smith is a product of the public schools of his community. Ordinarily he is a graduate of the local junior college and of his State university. Joe was well liked by his schoolmates and participated in all of the activities of his school. He was good natured and always a good sport. Regardless of the nature of the contest he was always able to give a good account of himself. He was a good loser and a graceful winner. He managed to go to college because he was willing to work at odd jobs to provide the necessary finances.

As an adult citizen Joe Smith is respected by the members of his community. His friends and neighbors bring their problems to him and find comfort in his friendship and counsel. He is a good father and husband. He finds great strength and comfort in his abiding faith in God. He enjoys outings with his wife and children. He loves to hunt and to fish. While he understands the intricacies of fly fishing and the use of the spinning reel, he is far more at home with a trotline.

When Joe Smith uses the pay telephone in the hotel lobby, he always reaches his finger in the coin return slot to see if by any chance there is a nickel in it. After he uses the phone he again feels in the slot to determine if by some inadvertence his nickel has been returned.

He loves to brag about what a hard time he had as a kid in going through school and working his way through college. This is most often done at times when in the opinion of Joe Smith his children are making unusual demands upon him for money or some unusual purchase. He loves to explain to his children the struggle he had earning his own money and how it taught him the value of money. Joe Smith, in bragging to his children and close friends, takes great joy in describing the hardships he endured as a schoolboy. He relates with ever-increasing exaggeration the distance he walked to school. He tells of the early hours he was aroused by his family to locate the livestock which had gotten out during the night. He often tells his children that when he was a child it was necessary for him to go to the creek and break the ice with his bare feet in order to get water to wash his face and hands before he could go to school.

Very often Joe Smith is elevated to a position of public trust. Everyone who knows Joe Smith feels that as a public official he will not oppose good legisaltion because it is sponsored by political adversaries, nor support bad legislation because it is sponsored by his friends. Joe Smith knows that the best test in the consideration of any measure is whether or not it is in the public interest, regardless of who may sponsor or oppose it. Joe Smith is a friendly, easy, outgoing, good-natured individual. He looks you in the eye when he talks with you and he has a firm handshake. It is not necessary for you to hand his hand back to him or look for a hook to hang it on. Joe Smith is a humble person but unafraid to take a stand for that which he knows to be right. He has the courage of his convictions but is not brash or egotistical. He is intelligent and possessed of good common horsesense. He has a strong sense of fairness. Because of these virtues he is able to assume important roles in our society. Joe Smith represents what most of us consider a typical American who is capable of leadership.

In my opinion our speaker today is our Joe Smith, his name is JIM WRIGHT. He measures up in every important detail with our fellow American, Joe Smith. JIM WRIGHT has made an outstanding record as our Congressman. It is a privilege to present him to my fellow Kiwanians and our guests.

H. R. 8681—A Bill Designed To Prevent Another Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 12, I offered H. R. 8681, a bill designed to prevent another Girard case. My bill was prepared after a careful study by me of the entire opinion of the Supreme Court and comes within the powers of Congress as expressly stated in the Girard opinion.

My bill consists of but one sentence, as follows:

Notwithstanding the provision of any treaty or agreement to the contrary, no officer of the armed services of the United States having under his command, in his custody or under his control, any member of such armed services shall deliver him, or her, to the jurisdiction or control of any foreign nation for trial or prosecution under the laws of any foreign nation.

There is great misunderstanding of the power of Congress to legislate within the area covered by a treaty. Actually there is no doubt whatever that Congress can, and many times has, legislated after the execution of a treaty to so control the officers of the Government as to prevent the accomplishment of something agreed to by treaty.

In the Girard case, the Court outlined the treaty and quoted the exact language of the protocol upon which it authorized the delivery of Girard to Japan. Then it used the following words:

The issue for our decision is therefore narrowed to the question whether, upon the record before us, the Constitution or legislation subsequent to the security treaty prohibited the carrying out of this provision authorized by the treaty for waiver of the qualified jurisdiction granted by Japan. We find no constitutional or statutory barrier to the provision as applied here.

The purpose of my bill is to provide the statutory prohibition which the Supreme Court has said would prevent the delivery of an American serviceman to a foreign country under a status-of-forces treaty.

Perhaps, my proposed language should be followed by additional language to provide for a proper review by the Secretary of the military department concerned and a limited power in him to waive jurisdiction in clear cases of the primary right of the foreign country. I am drafting such language.

How Millions Could Be Saved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD an editorial entitled "How Millions Could Be Saved" written by by Philip F. Miller and published in the July 12 edition of the Daily Tribune, Royal Oak, Mich.

The editorial follows:

HOW MILLIONS COULD BE SAVED

"Let's give Joe a couple of millions for that new yacht basin his town wants. I know it hasn't been approved by the Bureau of the Budget or the Army Engineers, but Joe's a good fellow and he'll play ball with us if we want projects like that of our own.

"Besides if we approve this project it will help him get reelected."

Remarks like this are not uncommon in one of the most important committees of the United States Legislature, the House committee on Public Works. It is one of the largest spending of the House committees. South Oakland has a representative on this committee in recently elected Congressman WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD.

Congressman BROOMFIELD does not like the way this committee wastes billions of dollars of the public's money through log-rolling methods similar to those quoted above.

I was talking with him about this the other day. Under the present setup it seems that measures like this can be tacked onto the annual appropriation bill presented by this committeee. The bill runs in the neighborhood of $1 billion to $2 billion.

"Most of the projects outlined in the appropriations bill have been approved by the Bureau of the Budget and the Army Engineers. They are necessary projects for which the money should be spent," Congressman BROOMFIELD said. "But along with these are a number of measures which have not been so approved but which certain members of the Public Works Committee think will be advantageous to them in their home territories."

The President must either approve this bill as a whole or veto it as a whole. There are enough vital projects included in the bill so that a President usually hesitates to veto it. Yet if he approves it a number of undesirable projects, boondoggles, are going to go through as well.

The solution to this problem would be to pass a measure allowing the President to veto certain items in any appropriation bill. In other words, he could approve the majority of the appropriations which were just and necessary. But he would be able to strike out those which, after careful study, were deemed a waste of the taxpayers' money and purely private or local projects.

Any of these measures which were vetoed could be returned to the floor of the House for further consideration. Careful scrutiny could be given each item on the appropriations bill and each item would have to stand on its own merit.

Millions of the taxpayers' money are being wasted through these blanket appropriations for public works. An item veto has been considered for a considerable time by those interested in economy in government.

"Out of a billion and a half of projects now proposed, I'll estimate as much as $300 million worth are not Federal responsibility at all. They are purely local in scope, pure pork-barrel stuff," BROOMFIELD said.

Certainly Congressman BROOMFIELD deserves support in his efforts to end this abuse of the committee powers and to bring practical economy into appropriations measures.

The Segregated Ballot Box

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "The Segregated Ballot Box," written by Max Ascoli, and published in the Reporter magazine of June 27, 1957; and an article entitled "A Report From the South on the Negro Voter," written by Edward Ganarekian, and published in the Reporter magazine for June 27, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SEGREGATED BALLOT BOX

Since the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, the fight for civil rights in the South has had its battleground in the schoolhouse. The education and future of children have been at stake in this fight. If Attorney General Brownell and Senator DOUGLAS have their way, there is a chance that a second front will be opened up, one concerning the large group of American adults and their right to exercise the electoral franchise.

The crucial importance of such a second frant can scarcely be over-estimated. If Federal district attorneys down South can start action so that the same qualifications which admit white people to the ballot box are made applicable also to Negroes, then the nearly century-old aftermath of the Civil War may be on its way to liquidation. Southerners who share the feeling and fears of Senator ERVIN know that the final battle for white supremacy may be at hand. They have barricaded themselves behind the ancient Anglo-Saxon right that entitles every man to a trial by his peers, in this case every segregationist to a trial by fellow segregationists.

Americans who do not happen to be southerners should be thoughtful and responsible before passing judgment on those of their countrymen for whom segregation is a harrowing issue. Thoughtfulness and responsibility, however, do not mean inde-

cisiveness or wishy-washyness. In this spirit, while we welcome the civil-rights proposals put forth by Attorney General Brownell, we would be much happier if the authority to be granted the United States district attorneys were aimed primarily at making the 15th amendment at long last operative. This admirably brief and pointed amendment states:

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Congress would be following section 2 by authorizing Federal judges to issue civil injunctions—which means no trial by jury—against those who are found responsible for having violated section 1.

Several private organizations—the NAACP first of all—have done admirable work in bringing before the Federal courts cases of violation of basic rights, and the Federal judiciary, under the leadership of Mr. Justice Warren, has reacted magnificently. But the 15th amendment needs specific reinforcement, since the devices that have been used to prevent individual citizens from exercising their rights in the polling booth have been most frequently devious and specious. To safeguard all other civil rights, other remedies can be used aside from civil injunctions brought at the request of Federal attorneys. In general, we are distrustful of all monopolies or potential monopolies, and we are unwilling to concede the monopoly of virtue or of civil libertarianism to anybody—not even to the successors of Mr. Brownell.

But again, we think that a second front in the battle for civil rights is needed, just as unrelenting pressure is needed on the first front, the one where the rights of children are at stake. The 15th amendment has been in our Constitution for 87 years, and only the Federal Government can make it operative.

If and when Negroes enjoy their franchise in the South as they do in the North, then whatever advantage they can gain will be gained by themselves, according to their skill in playing the game of politics. As has happened with other groups at various times considered inferior, the skill the southern Negroes can develop in playing this game will allow them to reach a greater measure of equality. Voting cannot make them automatically equal, but will give them the chance to move step by step, one election after another, toward political equality.

Of all the competitive games in our competitive society, politics is the fairest. It is not easily learned, and as a rule all our so-called minority groups have had a hard time at first. Before conquering their proportionate share of public offices, they have had to overcome the vested interests of other previously entrenched groups. It has frequently happened that the leaders each group has given itself at the beginning have been of a rather poor quality. But improvement both in leadership and in political skill has invariably come.

This was the case with the Irish and with the Germans and with the Italians and with the Jews, as it is the case in our own days with the Puerto Ricans, each group fighting with others that were already on top, and at the same time gaining some measure of recognition from them. Ultimately the sharper differences and conflicts dwindle, and links are established that go beyond all groups.

This is the way America has been made and is being made, thanks to the toughness and fairness of American politics. This will certainly happen south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Both whites and Negroes know that it will happen. It will never be too soon.

A REPORT FROM THE SOUTH ON THE NEGRO VOTER

On August 11, 1956, Gov. James P. Coleman, of Mississippi, told the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago that in his State Negroes were free to pay their poll tax, to register, and to vote. Somehow things didn't turn out just that way during the 1956 election: In nearly all of Mississippi's 82 counties Negroes were stalled, blocked, rejected, intimidated, and even threatened when they tried to exercise their rights as citizens. The registration figures Governor Coleman himself had compiled when he was State attorney general in 1954 showed that there were 13 counties in which no Negroes were registered at all, 9 other counties in which 6 or less were registered, and 29 others in which fewer than a hundred were registered.

Furthermore, the Governor surely knew why Negro registration was low in Mississippi. It is fairly common knowledge that in Lowndes County, where only 52 out of a possible 9,200 Negro voters were registered, Negroes received anonymous letters like the one sent to Caleb Lide: "Last warning. If you are tired of living, vote and die." In Forrest County, where only 16 out of a possible 13,000 Negro voters were registered, the registrar disappeared when Negroes tried to register, told them to come back later, said the books weren't open to colored people that day, or simply said "No." To test their understanding, Negroes might be asked such questions as "How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?" Governor Coleman could have discovered without much difficulty that some Negroes in Forrest County have been paying their poll taxes for more than 30 years in the forlorn hope of being allowed to register and vote someday.

FROM 485 DOWN TO ZERO

In Humphreys County Negroes were not even permitted to pay their poll tax until 1953. When 17 Negroes finally brought suit against the sheriff, a Federal court ordered him to end this practice, and in 1953 485 Negroes succeeded in paying their poll tax. But these 485 soon found themselves the victims of a campaign of pressure and intimidation, and only 200 of them actually registered. A year later the number was down to 126. The newly formed citizens' council began circulating lists of the registrants and still more withdrew. As the 1955 gubernatorial primary approached, Negro registration dropped to 92. These few held firm until the shotguns came out.

On May 7, 1955, one of the county's Negro leaders, the Reverend George W. Lee, was shot in the face by a shotgun fired from a car passing close to the one he was driving. His murderers were never apprehended. The sheriff said that Lee probably had had a heart attack and was killed in the crash that followed, and that the lead pellets in his face were probably fillings from his teeth. With that statement the matter was considered closed. The Citizens' Council then told Gus Courts, president of the local unit of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "We're not going to let Negroes in this country vote and we're not going to let the NAACP operate. You're leading the Negroes, trying to get them to register and vote; we're going to put you out of business." And they did. On November 25, 1955, Gus Courts, while working in his grocery store, was shot and seriously wounded by a shotgun fired, again, from a passing car. Gus Courts made up his mind. He packed up and left Mississippi.

No Negroes vote in Humphreys County today. They have given up for the time being and say they will not make another attempt until they are guaranteed Federal protection.

In the other counties the methods used to prevent Negroes from registering and voting were usually less brutal. Economic pressure was the most common weapon. Another effective technique was that used in Jefferson Davis County. The 1954 registration survey indicated that 1,221 of the 3,900 Negroes of voting age in the county were registered. During the summer of 1956, the board of supervisors called for a reregistration (Mississippi has a system of permanent registration) and cleared the rolls. All the white voters reregistered without difficulty. The Negroes who tried to reregister found that they had no interpret portions of the Federal and State constitutions to the satisfaction of the registrar. This requirement, written into the Mississippi constitution of 1890 for the express purpose of disfranchising Negroes but forgotten as soon as that was accomplished, was now revived. The United States Supreme Court had declared it unconstitutional in 1949, on the basis of the 15th amendment, but the decision was ignored. Of the 1,221 Negroes previously registered in Jefferson Davis County, only 60 were able to overcome the technical obstacles put in their way and were allowed to register in 1956.

Still another device used in Mississippi to eliminate the Negro vote was the challenge at the ballot box. Just before the 1955 primary, Tom Tubb, State Democratic chairman, notified the Democratic executive committee of each county that it was to challenge all Negro voters at the polls because they did not subscribe to the principles of the Democratic Party of Mississippi, and therefore were not qualified to vote in the primary. These principles, said Tubb, included opposition to a Fair Employment Practices Committee and the support of States' rights, segregation, the poll tax, the antimiscegenation laws, and the traditions of the South. On the assumption that no Negro could possibly subscribe to all these principles, it was not considered necessary to ask any Negro whether he did not not. He was to be automatically barred from voting in the Democratic primary—the only election that counts in Mississippi.

This was an old story to the residents of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, in Bolivar County, for their votes have never been counted. Mayor Ben Green of Mound Bayou, a Harvard graduate, said resignedly, "It's their privilege to throw our ballots out, but it's our privilege to cast them. We shall keep on voting." In Mound Bayou 295 of the 700 Negroes of voting age pay their poll tax every year and vote, even though they know it is an empty gesture.

Of course, the courts have declared the white primary unconstitutional, even in State and county elections. But according to Democratic Chairman Tubb, "We usually run our own affairs down here. Negroes have pretty good sense and we shouldn't have any trouble with them. It shouldn't take night ridings or beatings for them to use their own good judgment."

ANOTHER FORM OF MASS SLANDER

During the summer of 1956, the FBI investigated some complaints received from Negroes in Mississippi and four other States—Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina. On October 24, Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, head of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, made a preliminary report on the results of the investigations and said, regarding the forthcoming national election, "criminal prosecutions will be brought in every instance where we can show a qualified person was denied the right to vote simply because of his color." This announcement drove Governor Coleman into a state of righteous anger. "Mississippians have not been guilty of any violation of this kind," he declared, "and to make a blanket charge against them is just another form of mass slander. I have already discussed this fully with the attorney general of Mississippi and

we expect to appear personally in any Federal court where any Mississippian is indicted on these trumped-up charges and we will defend them before a jury of Mississippians." The last part of the statement was highly significant to Negroes. To them it appeared highly improbable that a Mississippi jury could convict a white registrar, sheriff, Democratic leader, or head of a citizens' council for so slight an infraction as depriving a Negro of the right to vote.

The editor of the Jackson Daily News, one of the State's leading newspapers, seemed to know as little as the Governor about what was going on in the State. In a front-page editorial, he called Olney "a plain, unvarnished, unmitigated, and conscienceless liar for trying to tell the people of the Nation that Negro voters in the South are being kept away from the polls."

It's quite true that there are 13 counties in Mississippi where Negroes don't find it actually impossible to vote. But these are the counties in which the larger cities are located. Hinds County, of which Jackson is the capital, has the largest Negro registration—4,100 out of a potential 35,000. The three Gulf coast counties have the largest percentage of Negroes registered—20 to 40 percent. Interestingly enough, the Negro vote is smallest where the Citizens' Councils are strongest. In Mississippi there are 300 local councils in 66 counties, with a total membership of 85,000.

After Mississippi, Alabama ranks second in the list of States in which Negroes have difficulty registering and voting. Of the 516,000 Negroes of voting age in Alabama, only 53,400 were permitted to register in 1956.

Louisiana ranks third. Of the 529,000 Negroes of voting age in Louisiana, 152,000 were registered in October 1956. This is a rather remarkable increase over 1948, when there were only 28,300 registered Negro voters in Louisiana, and a concerted effort has been made to reverse the trend. Last year State Senator W. M. Rainach, chairman of the State's joint legislative committee on segregation and president of the Louisiana Association of Citizens' Councils, led a campaign to eliminate the Negro vote. He and his followers succeeded in getting approximately 10,000 Negroes removed from the registration rolls in 10 parishes. If the Justice Department had not threatened prosecution and sent FBI men into Louisiana to investigate, State Senator Rainach's purge would undoubtedly have spread throughout the State.

Here is the way most of the 5,785 Negroes registered in Ouachita Parish were disfranchised. There is a section of Louisiana's registration law that gives any two voters the right to challenge the registration of any other voter. If within 10 days of notification the challenged voter can produce an affidavit signed by three other voters attesting to the correctness of his registration, he stays enrolled. This section of the law was originally intended to provide a means for challenging voters whose place and duration of residence was in question, but the citizens' council used it to challenge Negroes for any irregularity—for writing "C" instead of "Colored," or "M" instead of "Male"; for a miscalculation of age, which had to be given in years, months, and days; or for the use of any but the proper word.

THE CHALLENGE

In March the Citizens' Council set up shop in the registrar's office and began to challenge every one of the 5,782 Negroes registered. Secretaries typed out the challenges and 8 or 10 members of the council worked away at the business of signing them. In the middle of April the challenges were given to the registrar, who began mailing out the 10-day notices. A few days later, the courthouse at Monroe was a scene of complete chaos as the challenged Negroes descended on the registrar's office to protect their right to vote. Crowds jammed the corridors and overflowed onto the courthouse lawn.

Negroes who came to sign affidavits for their friends were told that they were not qualified to do so because they too had been challenged. When they said they had not received notice of a challenge, they were told it was in the mail. Undaunted, a number of them obtained the signatures of their white employers and restored their names to the rolls and began signing affidavits for their friends. As more names were restored, more were able to sign affidavits.

To slow down the process, the registrar began to limit the number of times any one person could sign, to require that signers come from the same precinct as the voter challenged, to require an interpretation of the Constitution from each person, and to limit the number of voters processed to 40 or 50 a day. Hundreds came each day in response to the challenges; some arrived as early as 5 in the morning to make sure they would be among the first 50; many came day after day until their 10 days had expired.

When the time finally ran out, 5,187 of the 5,782 Negroes challenged were off the rolls. The board of directors of the Ouachita Parish Citizens' Council commended the council president and the registrar for their interest and efforts in behalf of good citizenship.

The move to disfranchise Negroes did not spread as quickly as Rainach and the Louisiana Association of Citizens' Councils had hoped. For one thing, the presence of the FBI made many local council leaders hesitate. Rainach became impatient and demanded prompt action. At a council meeting in Grant Parish, he took the floor away from the president of the local unit and pushed through a vote for an immediate purge. Reluctantly, the council president agreed. During the following week, a committee went through the registration files and challenged 758 of the 782 Negroes enrolled in Grant Parish, following the same techniques used in Ouachita Parish. The Colfax Chronicle, a parish weekly owned and edited by Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth J. Walker, revealed the whole plan and printed on its front page a sample affidavit that the challenged Negroes could use to get themselves reinstated. It also helped develop some white opposition to the purge by publishing the names of a dozen white people who would agree to sign affidavits for Negroes they knew personally. Of the 758 Negroes challenged in Grant Parish, some 488 were able to produce affidavits and thus keep their names on the registration lists.

A total of 13 parishes responded to Rainach's prodding and the results in the majority of them were quite satisfactory to the Citizens' Councils. For example, in Caldwell Parish, where 330 of the 450 Negroes were challenged, the registrar refused to accept affidavits from a challenged voter unless he was accompanied by a law-enforcement officer and a member of the Citizens' Council. He also refused to accept affidavits signed by white people on the ground that they were of a different race.

Rainach has predicted that eventually 90 percent of Negro registration in Louisiana will be eliminated. To this end he announced a new statewide purge to get underway in 1957 that would solve our segregation problem" and make Louisiana "a shining example to the Nation on how to thwart the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

TRIAL BY JURY

After the election was over in November 1956, the Justice Department began the action it had threatened against the registrars and the Citizens' Council leaders involved in purges that had taken place in Louisiana. A Federal grand jury was empaneled on December 4 and subpenas were issued. Between January 29 and February 6, the grand jury heard testimony on three parishes—Grant, Caldwell, and De Soto. Rainach's prediction that "It is not going to be easy to get Louisiana people to indict Louisiana people" was proved correct. No indictments were issued. On February 12, the grand jury decided not to hear any testimony on three other parishes—Ouachita, Jackson, and Bienville. It announced quite candidly that there was no possibility of any indictments, whatever the evidence might be. At this point the Justice Department could have taken the matter directly to the Federal courts, but this move was considered inadvisable. Instead, Attorney General Brownell turned to Congress and asked for the power to initiate civil action for preventive relief by injunction, restraining order, and declaratory judgment. This approach, he argued, would be more effective because it would be less harsh and would not impose on anyone, particularly public officials, the stigma of criminal prosecution.

Southern Negroes are somewhat skeptical about the libertarian zeal of a number of southern Senators to amend the administration's civil-rights bill by guaranteeing a jury trial to anyone who is held in contempt of a Federal court for not obeying its injunctions. Perhaps, as Governor Coleman says, this skepticism is a form of mass slander. But, on the basis of experience, the thousands of Negroes who have been denied the right to vote throughout the South suspect that they have more to gain from a Federal court than from an all-white jury.

Twenty-five Years Ago Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Huntsville Times, Huntsville, Ala., on July 8, 1957:

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO TODAY

In these days of blooming, burgeoning prosperity, let us recall that today the bottom of the depression was reached 25 years ago.

On July 8, 1932, the New York stock market hit its all-time low. The Dow-Jones average closed at 41.22. It is now past the 500 mark.

A quarter century ago, more than 11 million American citizens were unemployed, walking the streets and seeking jobs. It was the time of the bonus army assembled on the outskirts of Washington and marching toward the Capitol. There was hunger and destitution everywhere. People were hopeless, in the depths of despair. Many formerly in good circumstances were bankrupt, or hanging on grimly.

Those were dreary years here 25 years ago, as well as throughout the Nation. Everything was at a standstill. There was no building whatsoever. The big textile mills were in sad condition, working part time, at pitifully low wages. Jobs were divided up, so that all could have a chance to eke out a living. There was no relief, no pensions, no local, State, or Federal aid.

Farmers were in terrible condition, most of them mortgaged up to the hilt. It was cotton, cotton, cotton everywhere, because it was a cash crop. As we recall, the price was around the low of 5 or 6 cents a pound.

Yet somehow people survived. Some of them bear today the scars of those tough days of yesteryear.

As we look at the two extremes of July 8, 1932, and July 8, 1957, there is some kind of a moral to be drawn from them. Perhaps it is that the people of this Nation should keep a closer eye on the economic machine, not let it get off the track and run, willy nilly, to one extreme or the other.

Speculative excesses led to much of the disaster that culminated in the great depression of the early 1930's.

Today, a quarter century later, the great threat is unbridled inflation. Unless it is curbed and held in bounds, there may come evil repercussions.

The Gentleman From Brooklyn, John J. Rooney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my proud honor to ask the privilege of the House to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article about a distinguished colleague, the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY. It was written by Frank Coleman and appeared in the New York Daily News of July 13, 1957.

I am certain our colleagues will join me in saying that any criticism of the item would be limited to the fact that it omits so many more good things that we, as authors, would be prompted to say about JOHN. Most of those sentiments can be summed up in our application to him of the words "Gentleman, scholar, friend." The article follows:

THE GENTLEMAN FROM BROOKLYN, JOHN J. ROONEY

It's awful hard for a big city boy to crack the inner circle of veteran politicians from the South and West who really run things around here when the Democrats are in power. But a spruce little Brooklyn Irishman shows signs of doing it.

He is Representative JOHN J. ROONEY, of the 14th District, which includes South Brooklyn, Erie Basin, part of Bay Ridge, and Boro Park.

The strang thing is that ROONEY is climbing to the top by breaking almost every rule for big city Congressmen. When he came to Congress in 1944 he asked for, and got, a job on the Appropriations Committee, which means a lot of work and few headlines.

He is so busy on committee hearings that visitors from back home often can't seee him. He has to spend a lot more time in Washington than some of his colleagues.

UNORTHODOX POLICY BEGINS TO PAY OFF

But after 13 years in Congress this unorthodox policy of quiet labor behind the scenes is finally beginning to pay off. In the cloakroom they say ROONEY is definitely a comer. He has the friendship and confidence of Speaker SAM RAYBURN, Democrat of Texas, and Representative CLARENCE CANNON, Democrat of Missouri, powerful chairman of the Appropriations Committee. With such backing, he can get a lot of things done for his constituents.

What is it really like to be a Congressman from New York City? How do you get the job? How do you keep it? How do you get ahead?

"I think it's the most interesting job in the world," says JOHN. "I like it."

ROONEY represents 380,000 people who have many special problems and interests. When any one of them feels like it, he can sit down and write ROONEY a letter asking for help or telling his Congressman how to vote on a big issue of the day. An average of 200 people a week do write letters.

OFFERS SPECIAL BILLS FOR HARDSHIP CASES

Much of the mail deals with immigration. Many of ROONEY's constituents are foreign-born or have relatives in the old country. When they want to bring mama or aunt Sophie into the United States they frequently need the Congressman's advice or help. Often ROONEY introduces special bills to take care of hardship cases.

A lot of the other mail deals with civil service and postal pay matters. People want jobs or pay raises. They think ROONEY can help and often he does. Businessmen write asking for help in landing Government contracts or aid in special community projects.

"When they ask us to do something, we try to do it," says ROONEY.

He is proud of getting the Gowanus Creek channel deepened and of his part in establishing the Fort Hamilton Veterans' Hospital. Getting things done for the homefolks, of course, is the secret of staying in Congress, whether you represent Brooklyn or Hot Coffee, Miss. And as ex-President Harry Truman was fond of saying "The first requirement for any statesman is to get elected."

DEMOCRATIC LEADERS GAVE HIM THE JOB

How did ROONEY get the job in the first place? It was given to him, practically speaking, by the late Frank V. Kelly, Democratic leader of Brooklyn, whose picture hangs in a place of honor in ROONEY's office, 1230 New House Office Building.

The district had been represented by Tom Cullen, who lived next door to ROONEY on Congress Street. Cullen died in office. A special election was held on June 6, 1944, to fill the vacancy. Kelly gave the Democratic nomination to ROONEY. It was tantamount to election, as they say, in that heavily Democratic district. Besides, hardly anybody came out to vote since the election happened to fall on D-day.

Why did Kelly pick JOHN for the job? ROONEY was a good organization man; he was a lawyer with some experience in public life, and he had the stuff in his background and personality to win in case of a fight, as ROONEY proved 2 years later in a close race.

FAMILY HOME WAS OVER FLORIST SHOP

ROONEY was born November 29, 1903, upstairs over the family florist shop on Court Street. His parents were Irish immigrants. The family has lived in the district now for almost 90 years. John attended St. Paul's Parochial School, St. Francis Prep and College, then went to Fordham Law School, graduating in 1925. He earned part of his expenses blowing a cornet in chop suey joints.

ROONEY practiced law in Brooklyn until 1940 when Bill O'Dwyer, then district attorney of Kings County, asked him to join O'Dwyer's staff and help clean up Murder, Inc. As assistant district attorney, ROONEY worked in the rackets division. Among other accomplishments, he sent the officials of Teamsters Local 138 to Sing Sing for extortion, 15 years before the lid blew off the National Teamsters' Union.

ONLY MEMBER ON FOUR SUBCOMMITTEES

How did ROONEY get assigned to the choice Appropriations Committee as a freshman Congressman? Ex-Congressman Walter Lynch, now a justice of the New York State Supreme Court, wangled it for him. Lynch was then a member of the Ways and Means Committee, which makes all committee assignments.

Now he is chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the State Department, Justice Department, and judiciary. And he is also a member of three other subcommittees, the only Congressman with four assignments from Chairman CANNON.

JOHN and his wife, Catherine, keep a house here on Woodley Road, as well as the family home at 218 Congress Street, Brooklyn. They have four sons and a daughter.

Rev. Armand "Father Spike" Morissette, of Lowell, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, one of the most beloved citizens of Massachusetts is the Rev. Armand Morissette, of Lowell. He is affectionately known as Father Spike to thousands of people in our State. The help he has given to French sailors visiting the United States has been widely recognized.

The Kiwanis magazine for July 1957 publishes an article about him by Edgar May which describes some of the fine work Father Morissette has done. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LE PETIT PÈRE OCCUPÉ

(By Edgar May)

In a neat wardrobe closet of the sun-filled French-style home of the Oblate Fathers in Lowell, Mass., three hats sit side by side on a plain shelf. The first is the gold-braided cap of a naval captain; the second, the dapper homburg of a diplomat; the last, the black biretta of a priest. All are worn on the same head—that of the Rev. Louis Joseph Conrad Armand Morissette, secretary of the provincial of the Oblate Fathers. Each hat represents a separate life of a slip of a man whom people call Father Spike, the busy little priest (in French-dominated Lowell: Le Petit Père Occupé).

Perhaps the most helter-skelter of his three lives is that of an officer in the French Navy. Father Spike is the only American to hold such a position, but he readily admits that he is about the worst sea captain who ever tripped across a quarterdeck. As chaplain to all French sailors in the United States, he is probably the only gob who ever mistook an admiral for a chief petty officer because their sleeves look something alike. He has the audacity to call a halyard a rope and a bulkhead a wall. His ocean voyages have been limited to a motor launch cruise around Boston Harbor. And, furthermore, he can't swim.

During World War II, sailor Spike once visited Boston harbor to deliver some important papers to the skipper of a French destroyer. Unable to locate his man, he turned to an American sailor standing guard duty.

"Pardon me, but could you be kind enough to tell me where I can find Captain Berland?"

The sailor, visibly stunned by such a request from a man in a captain's uniform, snapped to attention and fired out an answer: "Yes, sir, he's out on the cruiser, sir."

The priest surveyed the harbor filled with a fleet of gray warships, hesitated, and then whispered to the sailor, "Now can you tell me which is the cruiser?"

Recalling the incident, he says, "That poor sailor must still think he talked to a spy or the President's nephew."

Father Spike was not inducted into the French Navy; he was absorbed by it. You might say that the old fiction plot of boy meets girl was responsible. It started in the early days of World War II, when French sailors first came to Boston in great numbers. (French sailors are like all sailors, except maybe more so: they want to meet girls.) A rumor spread among them that there were many pretty girls who could speak French in a city called Lowell, only two dozen miles from the Boston naval base.

Father Spike, working in the Lowell USO at the time, helped validate that rumor. With his flawless knowledge of French, he soon became the architect of an unofficial Franco-American alliance between the young ladies of Lowell and the young men from the French warships. As the alliance was strengthened, he made more frequent trips to the Boston naval yard to hold services aboard ships, to help sailors out of language difficulties, and, of course, always to play the part of Cupid.

As the trips increased, the sailors named him their chaplain, and in late 1941 General De Gaulle made it official with an announcement that Louis Joseph Conrad Armand Morissette now was chaplain for all French sailors landing in the United States.

Now that Father Spike was Sailor Spike, he naturally had to have a uniform. Since French chaplains don't wear military dress, but clerical robes, this was an obstacle. But not for long. The American naval tailors collaborated with the French and produced a mutation that combines the style of the United States Navy officer's coat with the insignia of the French. His cap has the regulation serving of "scrambled eggs"—the braid of a staff officer. But in place of the American spread eagle is the wreath and anchor insignia of the French.

"It took me a while to learn this saluting business," Father Spike recalls, "but after a little practice in front of the mirror I could at least produce a fair imitation."

While he had to learn very few navy regulations, there were some that were impressed on him after he had broken them. One of these—Be in the right place at the right time—was explained to him in precise French by a miffed captain who was to have Boston's archbishop as his guest.

Father Spike was told to bring the archbishop on board at 12 noon. Eager to show his new military efficiency, he arrived 15 minutes early with his guest, whisked him aboard only to confront a dismayed captain whose band and sailors still were practicing the welcoming ceremony in another part of the ship.

Several weeks later, newly aware that in the navy it is as sinful to be early as it is late, he held Massachusetts Senator Leverett Saltonstall at the gate for 20 minutes before he would escort him up the gangplank.

Today this landlocked sailor's peacetime duties are much like those during the war. He blesses ships, holds services on anything that stays afloat, from the luxury liner *Ile de France* to the smallest French fishing boat, and continues to oversee the perfumed alliance between Lowell and the French fleet.

His military orders are always in his pocket. They are signed by Rear Adm. J. A. Snackenberg, commandant of the First Naval District, and read like this:

"Father Armand Morissette, of Oblate Fathers, Lowell, Mass., whose picture and signature are affixed below, holds the title of honorary chaplain in the French Navy and as such is recognized by the French Government as chaplain of all French Navy, merchant marine, and fishing fleet seamen in the United States, although he is a United States citizen. Father Morissette is hereby authorized to enter any subject activity for the purpose of visiting any French vessel berthed therein."

For his military duties, the priest receives no pay. However, there have been some material rewards. Several years ago a New England newspaper published a Sunday feature about the busy little Father with pictures that showed him in full captain's regalia, wearing his perpetual rimless glasses. The president of an optical firm saw the article and was so impressed that a navy captain would allow himself to be photographed wearing spectacles that he has sent Father Spike a free pair every Christmas since.

In 1951 the French Government investigated its strange navy hero after word of his numerous activities spread throughout the military. There was no particular fuss over the report that Sailor Spike never had been to sea, but consternation resulted when the French found a captain in their navy who had never been to France: "Monsieur, c'est impossible."

There was only one thing to do, of course: Send Father Spike to France. So, as guest of the government, the Lowell priest was bundled across the Atlantic. (Unfortunately for his naval record, the Frenchmen transported him by plane.)

Midway through the whirlwind tour, one in which Captain Spike had the services of both an American and a French naval aide, a Paris newspaperman observed that Pere Spike was the most potent medicine for France since the Marshall plan.

In the few weeks that he was on display, this clergyman in the crossbreed navy uniform was good-will ambassador extra ordinaire. As an American he placed a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the at the Arch of Triumph; as a French captain he inspected the fleet at Brest (where he almost suffered from gastronomy because he thought he had to complete the sample meals set out for him in every ship's galley) and as a man of the world he served as the visting celebrity at United Nations Day in Metz.

Sometime between these functions he received from France's Secretary of the Navy a replica of a cross worn by St. Vincent de Paul, the first commissioned chaplain of His Majesty's galleys. President Vincent Auriol gave him the lifetime rank of honorary chaplain of the French Navy, and later, at a ceremony in Boston, Consul General Albert Chambon bestowed on him the coveted Franch Legion of Honor.

Whenever he exhausted his knowledge of naval matters (which was almost always right after the mirror-practiced salute), Father Spike called on his best dipolmatic mien—a half-moon smile and a hearty handshake—to endear him to his new-found French friends.

For several years this one-two diplomatic punch has been functioning smoothly at the United Nations, where he is considered a sort of special adviser on French affairs to the United States mission. Whenever he is in New York you can find him usually at the Waldorf-Astoria, where Henry Cabot Lodge has his headquarters. The priest and the United States representative to the U. N. have been friends ever since he was a seminary student and young Lodge was a newspaper reporter.

Father Spike still keeps a post card that Lodge sent him when he first went to Europe to persuade General Eisenhower to seek the Republican nomination for President. The message was brief:

"Ike, like Spike, is a wonderful guy."

When Lodge came back and had to defend his Senate seat against young Jack Kennedy, the contest exhausted the Lowell priest. (Senator KENNEDY also was a friend of Father Spike's.) "I was in an awful fix in that campaign. I had to keep running from one camp to the other."

When in Washington, Father Spike usually is also "running from one camp to the other." At the White House, he frequently knocks on the door of Maxwell Raab, secretaary to the Cabinet, and Robert Cutler, executive assistant to the President. (He attended President Eisenhower's second inauguration with a ticket marked "Mrs. Cutler." Cutler is a bachelor.)

In the Senate or House corridors, he's greeted with a loud "Hi, Spike" by Congressmen who often request his services as a linguist whenever they have to address a French-speaking audience.

Several years ago a prominent midwestern governor bumped into the priest at the Waldorf-Astoria just before the State executive was about to address a Franco-American dinner. Father Spike scribbled a few French introductory remarks for the governor, and the two have been exchanging correspondence ever since.

With fluency in French, English, Latin, and Italian, and a reading knowledge of German, Russian, Greek, and Portuguese, Father Spike was literally speechless only once.

One day at the end of the war, a French captain approached him with a Chinese Jesuit who knew neither English nor French.

"The captain reasoned that we both knew Latin and promptly asked me to invite the Chinese priest to breakfast. I was stuck. I could tell him a few prayers, but I certainly couldn't ask him if he wanted bacon and eggs."

In Lowell (where he was born 47 years ago, the son of Jean-Baptiste Morissette, a textile worker, and Exilia Dureault), he speaks French 60 percent of the time. He thinks in French, writes himself notes in French, and when he speaks English, although he is a fourth-generation American, every one of his words is flavored with a French accent.

When he propels down Jeanne d'Arc Avenue in Lowell (he never strolls or walks), the out-of-town observer might hear this exchange:

"Bonjour, mon peret."

"Ah, Madame Montbleau. Bonjour. • • • Comment ca va?"

Even at the weekly Kiwanis meeting in Lowell, the conversation at his table more than likely is spiced with a few French phrases. As a Kiwanian, by the way, he has an attendance record that is near perfect. If he misses the Lowell session, he's likely to pop up at luncheons in Montreal, Chicago, or San Francisco.

Father Spike became a Kiwanian 4 years ago after a Lowell Sun reporter took him to several meetings. The Father Spike charm spread immediately and he was asked to join. He calls Kiwanis "America in miniature" and is the organization's supersalesman among clergymen who regard service clubs with a skeptical eye.

The Lowell club is his first port of call when a widow needs some new shoes for her brood, or when his 250 charges at the Franco-American orphanage are without a Santa Claus and the toys that go with him. Last Christmas, for example, he and Kiwanis collaborated to make it a merry holiday for a dozen needy families.

There's virtually no community project that omits his name as one of the organizers, and if all organizations in which he holds a membership card were recorded here, the list would run right off the page. The Lowell Sun's clipping file must be bulging if it has saved every article that lists the busy little priest. Hardly an issue is printed without a sentence somewhere that says "and brief remarks were made by the Reverend Armand Morissette."

His unofficial biographer, Elizabeth Larkin, who is also his number one fan, has collected 10 huge scrapbooks of news clippings—all since 1954.

The most prized among this mountain of press recognition is one that reports that he was the recipient of last year's B'nai B'rith North Shore Council Community relations award for his service to God and to his country, champion of liberty, brother to all men and a distinguished leader in the cause of furthering better understanding among men of all faiths.

Governor Christian Herter presented the bronze plaque at a dinner in his honor. Father Spike's acceptance speech before his Jewish audience was as informal as it was successful. He introduced it with this anecdote:

"The only day I really was nervous at the United Nations was when I was introduced to the Soviet's Andrei Vishinski. I was presented to him as a Catholic priest and the first thing he said was: 'Good business, good business.' And for once the old boy was telling the truth. My only amazement is that so many of my good Jewish friends are letting this good business go by."

The ovation that followed might even have brought a smile from Mr. Vishinski.

At the moment, many of his interfaith friends are contributing to his most serious project—raising funds for a new seminary for the Oblate Fathers. Last February more than 2,000 Lowell residents of all faiths feted him at a testimonial dinner. They presented him with an oil portrait of their favorite priest and generously overpaid for their roast beef and salad so the proceeds could go to the Oblate college fund.

Much of his jetlike activity now is centered on this half-million-dollar fund drive. In a recent week he skipped around the country soliciting donations in New York (for a faculty room), Chicago (for part of the chapel), and Montreal (for a half dozen rooms). Several months ago he invaded the silver-dollar capital of the United States, Las Vegas, at the invitation of a Lowell-born deputy sheriff.

His campaign assistants run the gamut from Henry Cabot Lodge, who helped him stage a huge diplomatic reception at the United Nations, to a local bookie who occasionally picks up the phone and whispers, "Hallo, Father Spike? You might call on Mr. So-and-so tomorrow. He did rather well at Arlington this afternoon."

Amid this maelstrom of activity he still manages to catch up with his clerical duties. His day starts at 5 a. m., with early Mass, and by the time the clock says noon, he's made several sick calls, dented a section of his huge correspondence, and possibly officiated at a funeral. He keeps his appointments straight in three-part fashion. His travel schedule is mapped out 3 months in advance, and a red ledger on his desk keeps him posted on the week's obligations. For day-by-day commitments the Father Spike slip-of-paper system takes over. He carries these notes to himself in every conceivable pocket.

Sundays occasionally are a little difficult. Sometimes he has to say Mass at different churches, and then his timing must be flawless. Last summer, when he was pinch-hitting for several priests, his driver, kindly Henry Belanger, who is also a Kiwanian, had to install a siren on his black sedan so that his passenger could keep his appointments for God. (Father Spike is the only Massachusetts clergyman authorized to use a siren, an act that one police official said was born of necessity rather than courtesy.)

When he has time to reflect on his triple-threat career of priest, diplomat, and sailor, this dynamo in the turned-around collar sums it up like this:

"My life is like the 'Perils of Pauline.' I'm always walking on thin ice."

If this analysis is correct, and Father Spike is the male counterpart of this intrepid movie heroine, then even strolling on a good frost shouldn't faze le petit pere occupé.

For Hollywood never lets a hero fall, and it's highly unlikely that God would!

Long Beach Naval Shipyard Employees' Association Wins Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Long Beach Naval Shipyard Employees' Association is the largest group of its kind and I am sure the most active and effective. These thoughts were summed up by Washington columnist Virginia Kelly in a recent writing appearing in the Long Beach Press Telegram newspaper as follows:

LONG BEACH NAVY SHIPYARD EMPLOYEES GROUP DRAWS HOSMER, DOYLE PRAISE

(By Virginia Kelly)

The year in and year out unified and determined efforts of the Long Beach Navy Shipyard Employees' Association have won the admiration of Representative CRAIG HOSMER and Representative CLYDE DOYLE.

Donald G. Sutherland, president of the Long Beach NSEA, and Abner Faircloth, NSEA executive council member, were in Washington awaiting the report of the House Armed Services Subcommittee which visited Long Beach recently to study shipyard subsidence problems.

Praising the two Long Beach men, Representative HOSMER said, "Don Sutherland and Ab Faircloth are men of exceptional ability who have worked tirelessly for the interests of the Long Beach Naval Shipyard. I have seen them in their negotiations with State and Federal Government officials and have observed that they have always been dynamic, courageous and well informed."

Terming the two men "outstanding citizens," Representative DOYLE said, "All through my six terms in Congress I have known the officers and members of the NSEA and have always found them to be dedicated to the best interests of the community and the Nation."

In Washington, Mr. Sutherland said that the Long Beach NSEA, with a membership of 5,500 out of 6,700 employees, is the largest shipyard employees' group in the United States. "Naturally," he said, "we are interested in preserving our jobs but there are many other reasons why the Long Beach Naval Shipyard should stay in operation."

The problem, he said, is of interest to every Long Beach citizen.

Mr. Sutherland stressed that a large percentage of the NSEA have invested their life savings in homes in the Long Beach area.

"In addition," said Mr. Sutherland, "each member of the NSEA probably has about $2,500 in obligations for an automobile and household appliances."

He said that the Navy has said the operating of the Long Beach Naval Shipyard is essential to national defense. "To preserve the skills of these trained men, the yard must be kept in operation," Sutherland said. He emphasized that the shipyard has proved that work can be done there efficiently and as reasonably as our economy permits.

Small Business Act

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7963) to amend the Small Business Act of 1958, as amended.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, for several years I have been much concerned over the position of small business in an economy geared for defense production. The importance of small business participation in defense procurement is obvious when we realize that our Government spent some $43.5 billion on defense items in fiscal 1952 and over $19 billion in fiscal 1956. During this same period the amount of defense contracts to small business fluctuated without apparent pattern but generally between 21 percent and 16 percent.

I had the honor to serve on the House Select Committee on Small Business during the 82d Congress and have since followed closely the efforts, or lack of effort, on the part of the Federal Government to assure small business a fair share of its purchases of goods and services. During the Korean war our committee found procurement offices awarding the lion's share of their contracts to the largest concerns in the country. The prevailing philosophy was that there was little or no time to be concerned about prime contracts for small business and that they should look to subcontracting as a means of contributing to our national defense. No effort was made to assure financial assistance or a supply of materials and components so that even with a contract the smaller business might produce effectively. In addition, administrative procedures on defense contracts virtually precluded a small manufacturer from handling a Government contract, if the incentive to produce for the Government had not already been killed.

Because of the lack of consideration for small concerns evidenced by procurement officials Congress established the Small Defense Plants Administration in 1951 with authority to assist small firms to secure Government contracts, to obtain adequate financing, and to find a solution to their administrative difficulties, I believe that as a result of this legislaiton small business was able to make a significant contribution to the Korean war.

In reviewing the role of small firms of Government procurement in 1953 Congress found that while defense spending had decreased greatly because of the cessation of hostilities, continued assistance was necessary to assure fair and equitable opportunities to the small firms in our economy. Many of the procurement and technical assistance programs of the Small Defense Plants Administration were carried over into the new agency and have proved to be, since the

fall of 1953, effective tools to combat the obstacles encountered by small business in its dealings with Government procurement agencies.

The Small Business Administration program in which the most effort has been expended to provide procurement assistance is the so-called joint set-aside program. Under this program, representatives of the Small Business Administration are assigned to the principal purchasing centers of the Government to review or screen with representatives of the purchasing agency, proposed procurements, and to determine which of them can be set aside either in whole or in part for exclusive award to small business. I should emphasize, however, that the law makes this program strictly a cooperative effort. SBA may only suggest which procurements should be set aside. The final decision rests with the contracting officer.

Originally SBA was precluded from screening classified procurements, sole source procurement purchases under $10,000, emergency and research and development procurement. A revision of the original agreement does now, however, permit SBA to screen procurement in all of these areas, to give greater consideration to Government purchases which are suitable to their type of production or supplies.

I might state parenthetically that considerable opposition was encountered in the early days of the agency to its full-fledged effort to assist small business to secure more Government contracts. Through constant pressure and negotiations SBA has been able to extend the scope of this program. Each year finds more and more Government contracts being set aside for small firms. During the past year, the program has been extended beyond the Military Establishments to include civilian procurement agencies such as the General Services Administration, the Veterans' Administration, the Post Office Department and the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior.

I should like to discuss very briefly at this point the procedures for set-asides for small business promulgated by the SBA in conjunction with other Government agencies. In the case of total small business set-asides, invitations for bids issued by the purchasing agency contain a notice to the effect that the procurement will be awarded to one or more small-business concerns; bids or proposals under the procurement will be restricted to small-business firms and awards will be made to a small-business firm or firms; and bids or proposals received from firms not classified as small business will be considered as nonresponsive. The advertising and awards are conducted in the same way as prescribed for formal advertising except that the bids and awards are restricted to small-business concerns.

In the case of partial small-business set-asides, the invitations for bid covering the procurement of the unreserved portion shall state that an additional quantity of a stated amount has been set aside for negotiation for small-business firms exclusively, and invitations for bid and requests for proposals for the unreserved portion shall be for not less than an economic production run as shall also be the proportion set aside for small business. After the award of the unreserved portion, procurement of the portion set aside is affected by negotiation. The right to participate in the negotiation for the quantity set aside is conditioned upon the submission of a bid upon the items in the procurement at a unit price within 120 percent of the highest award made on the unreserved portion. Such negotiation proceeds among small-business concerns beginning with the bidder which submitted the lowest responsive bid in connection with the unreserved procurement. When the procurement of the unreserved quantity has resulted in one contract only, or in multiple awards all at the same price, awards for quantities set aside shall be made at the unit price of the unreserved quantities. When the procurement of the unreserved quantities resulting in multiple awards at different unit prices, awards for quantities set aside shall be made at the highest unit price of the unreserved quantities.

Mr. Chairman, this is a good time and a good place to clear up any misconceptions with respect to the joint determination program as provided by the Small Business Act.

Section 214 of existing law provides "to effectuate the purpose of this title, small-business concerns within the meaning of this title shall receive any award or contract or any part thereof as to which it is determined by the administration and the contracting procurement agency (A) to be in the interest of maintaining or mobilizing the Nation's full productive capacity, or (B) to be in the interest of war or national defense programs."

Section 14 of H. R. 7963 utilizes the same language with the exception that "Whenever the administration and the contracting procurement agency fail to agree, the matter shall be submitted for determination to the Secretary of the head of the appropriate department or agency by the Administrator."

One of the misconceptions is that a small-business concern participating in the joint determination program gets some sort of a price advantage. That is not so. All the advantage that a small concern gets is an opportunity to participate in a given procurement. In order to have an opportunity to participate, a small concern must be within 20 percent of the lowest qualified bid for that portion of the total procurement which is open to all bidders, both large and small. For example, if the lowest qualified bid on an item is $100 each, then all of those small-business bidders whose prices range up to and including $120 have an opportunity to negotiate for the set-aside portion of the procurement. In these negotiations any bidder who is within the $120 range must compete with other bidders in that range, but in no event will a contract be awarded at more than the $100 price.

Let us say once again and emphatically that in the procurement program carried on by the Small Business Administration small business does not get one cent more than anybody else for a given procurement. This is the way it should be, and I hope we will never feel it necessary to get into a program of premium payments for one contractor as against another. This type of policy may be justified in moments of extreme peril where price is of no consideration, but certainly in the situation in which we now find ourselves, premium prices are not needed, and certainly are not wanted by the small business sector of our economy which seeks Government procurement awards. What they want is a fair and equal treatment with all of their competitors and nothing else.

Mr. Chairman, the following table illustrates the increase in activity in the SBA joint set-aside program. A great effort has been made by the Agency to obtain set-asides in those areas where small firms have had difficulty in obtaining contracts. Only through a very broad approach can the full potential of small business be realized.

SBA Set-Aside Program

Set-aside agreed to Aug. 1, 1953, through May 25, 1957

Fiscal year	Military		Civilian		Total	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
1957	8,176	$602,848,950	1,925	$42,527,238	10,101	$645,376,188
1956	5,796	489,574,912	277	8,103,520	6,075	497,678,432
1955	3,924	386,610,589			3,924	386,610,589
1954	1,621	228,504,359			1,621	228,504,359
Total	19,519	1,707,538,810	2,202	50,630,758	21,721	1,758,169,568

The Small Business Administration also renders a service to small firms through the issuance of the certificates of competency in those cases in which a contracting officer of the Government has withheld the award of a contract to a small firm by reason of the opinion that the firm lacks the necessary financial and productive capacity to successfully perform the contract. In such an event, the firm may request the Small Business Administration to make a separate and independent survey of the firm's resources as related to the procurement involved. Such technical and financial information concerning the firm as may be available from the purchasing agency is furnished to the Small Business Administration for its consideration. If the Small Business Administration, after making such a survey, is of the opinion that the firm possesses adequate capacity and credit to successfully perform the contract, it will issue its certificate of competency. When this certificate of competency is issued, the

contracting officer of the Government is, by law, directed to accept such certification as conclusive and is authorized to award the contract to the holder of such certificate without requiring it to meet any other requirements as to capacity or credit. Normally a period of 10 working days is allowed in which the Small Business Administration may exercise its authority to issue a certificate of competency. Certificates of competency have been issued by SBA in about 50 percent of cases in which requested. Very few holders of certificates of competency have failed to perform their contracts in accordance with the contract terms.

For many small firms, particularly those with limited facilities subcontracting affords the best opportunity to participate in Government procurement. SBA regional offices, which service small firms in their respective areas, are responsible for maintaining an inventory of small-business facilities in their area. The small firms register their industrial facilities with these regional offices where their facilities are classified, and the small firms are notified of subcontracting leads suitable to their type of plant and equipment.

An important service to the small firm is that of bringing to its attention various items for which adequate small-business competition is lacking. To accomplish this, SBA representatives at purchasing offices of the Government notify the SBA regional offices of items for which small-business competition is needed. The regional offices in turn bring these items to the attention of firms which they believe can supply them.

In many types of its contracts the Government inserts a clause requiring the contractor to subcontract to small firms the maximum amount that the contractor finds to be consistent to the efficient performance of the contract. Each contractor receiving a prime contract in excess of $1 million, which offers substantial subcontract possibilities, is urged by the procuring agency of the Government to establish and conduct a defense subcontracting small-business program. This program provides for the designation of the executive of the contractor as its small-business liaison officer who will be the contact man with the procuring agency of the Government and officials of the SBA on matters relating to small-business participation. This program includes the adoption by the contractor of procurement policies designed to assure that small firms will have equitable competitive opportunity to secure defense subcontracts and the placing in its subcontracts of the small-business subcontracting clause appearing in its own prime contract.

Procurement assistance counseling is another function which is performed by Small Business Administration, principally in the regional and branch offices. The staffs of these regional and branch offices are available to small firms for discussion of their problems and for assistance and guidance in solving them. In its counseling program, the Small Business Administration helps small firms to determine which items or services they can supply to the Government and assists them in being placed on appropriate bidders' lists, so that invitations for bids will be sent to them. Assistance is also rendered in obtaining bid sets for any procurement which is suitable for supply by small business. These bid sets are available to small-business firms in the regional and branch offices. Small firms are also counseled on how to sell their services to prime contractors as well as to firms needing components which they can produce.

Mr. Chairman, through legislation, committee hearings, and personal representation to Government procurement agencies, the Congress has attempted over the years to assure small firms an equitable opportunity in their attempts to secure more Government business. The full potential of small business has never been realized. While the procurement agencies themselves have rendered lip service to small-business problems and while various programs have been established within those agencies to assist small business, little has been accomplished. That is why we need an independent small-business agency to act as a watchdog and as an advocate for greater and more effective assistance.

The Small Business Administration is doing everything it can, through its own programs and through advice to other Government agencies to assist small firms in securing more Government contracts. Much more can be done and will have to be done if we wish to maintain the productive capacity of this segment of an economy. With military items becoming increasingly complex an effective subcontracting program must be developed. This program must have some teeth in it. I will not accept the statement that the Federal Government must leave the decisions of subcontracting entirely up to the prime contractor. I believe that the Small Business Administration must continue an all-out attack on the problems encountered by small firms in their dealings with the Government procurement agencies. This attack must encompass the areas of research and development, the availability of advance and progress payments, the use of sole source procurement, the availability of bid sets and specification data, the use of emergency procurement, the preponderance of negotiated procurement and numerous other fields.

Finally, I would like to state that such a program can best be accomplished by making the Small Business Administration a permanent, independent agency. Only in this way will the procurement agencies be made to cooperate to the fullest extent and to realize that Congress insists that solutions be found to the very serious problems confronting the small businesses in our country.

I will agree that when the time comes when we can greatly reduce the Federal Government's participation in the field of procurement of goods and services from our economy the need for a small-business administration may no longer exist. However, in this age of cold warfare where our defense budgets must remain high there does not seem to be any likelihood of a great reduction in the Federal Government's procurement program in the foreseeable future. During this period of great Federal Government activity we must preserve our basic system of private enterprise part of which rests on a proper balance between large and small business. Big business comes from healthy small businesses growing. Destroy the new growth or stunt it and we badly damage the future economy of our society. The SBA protects against this danger.

Those who could prolong the life of the SBA for a 1-year period or even a 5-year period instead of providing for permanent status are being completely unrealistic in their estimates of why the SBA should exist. Indeed, do they think this cold war will end next year or 5 years from now? By limiting the period of existence of the SBA they badly damage the effectiveness of SBA because they eliminate the long-range planning it must do to perform its job in this era of cold warfare.

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my weekly newsletter of last week.

The July 4th return to Dallas, 1,200 miles crossed in 4 hours of flight, strengthened my feelings of grassroots kinship with my district (as do letters and questionnaires). It's good to return home even though briefly.

The crucial natural gas bill vote awaited our reassembling in the Interstate Commerce Committee Tuesday morning. It was not a hapyy experience. The present gas bill is a highly controversial subject with a bewildering history. The Supreme Court in 1954 flatly reversed the intent of Congress by placing gas production under Federal regulation. The subsequent Harris bill was vetoed by the President because of questionable lobbying activities during Senate consideration. The President approved the bill's basic provisions, although he muddied the situation when he suggested that additional consumer price safeguards were needed, thus creating a freedom plus control contradiction. This year's bill thus becomes a strange and questionable compromise. Arguments for: (1) It frees gas from present utility ratemaking status. (2) It is a compromise between those having varied gas interests (one or more), the producers, transmission (pipeline) companies, and distributors (selling to ultimate consumers). (3) Even a bad bill is better than no bill. Arguments against: (1) The bill puts into law the erroneous Supreme Court decision. (2) In the compromise, gas producing and transmission were confused, pipelines requiring regulation but quite distinct from production which is fiercely competitive, hence no Federal regulation needed. A substitute bill (offered by MACDONALD, of Massachusetts, a regulation proponent) to free small producers from regulation, clearly demonstrated to me the confusion in the minds of some Representatives. His arguments for this bill were applicable logically to all gas producers. Later, in the final vote on the Harris bill, the

bill was approved out of committee 15–13. I voted "present" to express my disapproval of Federal regulations, though I would have voted "yes" (if the deciding vote) to bring the matter before the House and the Nation.

The Girard decision by the Supreme Court is reducible to two debatable basic propositions, it seems to me (after study of the Supreme Court decision and the district court case): (1) The Secretaries of Defense and State, together with the President, made the wrong choice in waiving jurisdiction over Girard, since under the agreement and treaty, soldiers on duty are under United States jurisdiction (regardless of Girard's conduct, he was on duty); and (2) the agreement and treaty abridges the Constitution by placing United States men under foreign jurisdiction (Bricker amendment would prevent such situations arising).

The civil-rights debate in the Senate shows no termination date yet. For my part, to leave no stone unturned, I wrote the President personally, enclosing my floor speeches analyzing some of the dangerous provisions, wherein more civil rights would be endangered than those the bill seeks to protect.

Politics may be clearly viewed by the present aid-to-education (classroom construction) bill situation. Speaker RAYBURN is pressing the Rules Committee to report the bill out. It is not to him, apparently, the principle of whether it's the Federal Government's role. No, rather it's a matter of bringing the bill to a vote so a record of Republicans voting against the President can be secured, this then becoming more important than whether or not we put the Government into building schools. Shouldn't Congressmen act rather on the merits of the bill, senior Members all the more so? True, politics has its rightful place, but should not first consideration go to the legislative provisions themselves?

The military construction bill passed allocating $1,624,000,000 for military real estate all over the United States and the world. (Texas always gets its share, $50 million this time.) The big debate occurred over getting the Defense Department out of business operation, some 2,500 businesses of 47 kinds. Again, the House refused to permit this Hoover Commission recommendation to pass, the vote being almost a party line—Democrats against, Republicans for. Now again, isn't it in order to challenge those Members who fear the loss of a Government operation in their district by stating: (1) If you were really for Small Business you'd stop Government from being the prime competitor (Government using taxpayer's own money to compete with him while the small-business man petitions for Government loan of amount similar to his taxpayment). (2) If you really want to cut the budget and economize, here's the place to do it legitimately, without endangering the military preparedness. (3) If you want to raise Government income legitimately, sell these Government enterprises to the citizens and thus put them on the tax rolls. (4) There is no constitutional justification for Government owning and operating business enterprises.

The Senator Is Dead—A Tribute to Joe McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial which appeared in the Register Times-Review of La Crosse, Wis., on May 10, 1957. It is a tribute to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The editorial follows:

THE SENATOR IS DEAD

By tragic coincidence, only several hours after the editorial on controversy above was written, on of the most controversial figures of this decade, Senator Joseph McCarthy, died.

The Wisconsin Senator's death should be the occasion of thoughful meditation for the Nation. His health gradually gave way under the frightening burden and almost unbearable pressure of responsibility placed on the shoulders of a United States Senator who fearlessly undertook his duties of office. Few political figures on the national scene today care to be controversial. As a consequence they contribute little or nothing to the future of this Nation. History shows that all statesmen were controversial in their day. Only politicians are noncontroversial. Many Senators are mere politicians swayed by fads popular at the moment. Their guiding principle is one of political expediency. They will change their course in midstream should an ill wind brush against their political fortunes. They vote with an eye on the next election. Senator McCarthy can never be accused of such a perversion of high office.

Senator McCarthy's death reemphasizes what thinking people in America have known for some time: Any prominent figure who dares to be courageous and fearless in fihting communism will be crucified and crushed. In this respect Senator McCarthy and Representative MARTIN DIES are classic examples. Few men have been crucified as viciously as was Senator McCarthy.

There will be multitudes of hypocrites who will come forward after Senator McCarthy's death with platitudinous praise. We are concerned here not with the late Senator's voting record, but with his stand on atheistic communism and his approach to this sinister menace in our midst. On this we believe he was dead right. This we have consistently held even when it was unpopular to take such a stand. We have followed his activities at close range and have had many personal conferences with him. We feel qualified to evaluate his program of anticommunism. We do not agree with those who say "his intention was right, but his methods were wrong." We have carefully studied his methods over the past years and have not found them to be wrong; at times he may have erred in judgment but who dares to cast the first stone? The greatest error in our age is silence and in that Senator McCarthy never erred.

He did make mistakes as all men do, but these were rather tactical errors than mistakes of principle. Senator McCarthy was always sincere in his objectives. As a former Marine he fought tenaciously and bravely for that objective—to weed Communist-inspired-and-led termites out of the framework of American Government.

History may well prove that the silencing of Senator McCarthy by powerful forces in and out of Government following the Senate-Army hearings in 1954 to be the turning point of victory in the United States for the subversive menace of world communism. It is our conviction that he was throttled because he had reached pay dirt at the top. His investigations brought him to the front dorsteps of men of high rank in the United States.

The world, the Nation, and particularly the State of Wisconsin, mourn the death of the courageous Senator. It will be many years before Wisconsin or any other State sends to Washington a statesman with Senator McCarthy's courage, conviction, and ability. We cherished him as a friend in life, we grieve at his death. Few have served their country more totally, unselfishly, and effectively. His death is a severe loss to the Nation—a loss greater than most now realize. Long after his worst opponents—who frequently in their criticism didn't even bother to study the record—have passed into oblivion, Senator McCarthy's memory and contribution to the Nation and the world will remain. Few are entitled more rightly to the title that is his of being a stanch, loyal Christian American statesman. Perhaps his utter fearless action was sufficient to stop the advance of communism in the land he loved; perhaps his voice was choked out too soon. Perhaps his wife and associate should be a candidate for the seat he leaves vacant.

A man of controversy—yes—but also a man of history—that is Senator McCarthy. May his soul rest in peace.

Farm Aid Suggestions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a news item which appeared in the Des Moines Tribune, Wednesday, July 10, 1957.

The editorial follows:

HILL OFFERS THREE FARM AID SUGGESTIONS

E. Howard Hill, president of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, suggested in a speech here Wednesday three ways in which the level of farm income might be increased.

Hill, speaking at a conference of Iowa vocational agriculture instructors at Hotel Fort Des Moines, reviewed the various farm-price-support programs and declared:

"Price supports may help if used in a sensible manner, but they are not the solution to the farm problem."

THREE METHODS

Instead, Hill suggested these three methods:

Discovery of new uses for agricultural products. "The untold possibilities of research, particularly for grain farmers, stagger the imagination," Hill said. "If scientists could discover a practical new use for one crop, such as soybeans, we could solve the surplus problem."

An increase in farm exports. Hill said that, in the main, America is not exporting a quality farm product and that what is exported is not being processed and packaged in the ways foreign customers desire it.

Lowering United States trade barriers so more manufactured goods could be imported, and give such countries as England, Germany, Italy, and Japan the finances with which to purchase additional amounts of American foodstuffs.

"Where we maintain trade barriers, we are preparing a welcome mat for the salesmen of communism to enter under the guise of salesmen of foods," Hill declared.

FARM INCOME

Hill told the vocational agriculture teachers that farmers' net income is down 30 percent since 1947 "and this downtrend has taken place while the income of practically all other groups has continued to rise."

Hill also suggested that farm income can be improved somewhat by increasing the consumption of meat, milk, and eggs and that there should be a concerted effort to

decrease farm expenses, particularly through correcting property-tax inequalities.

The conference, attended by 297 high school vocational agriculture instructors, is sponsored by the division of vocational education of the State department of public instruction.

During Wednesday's program eight teachers were honored for their years of service in such work.

Certificates for 10 years of service were presented to Marvin B. Baker, Sloan; Everet Berends, Fredericksburg; Raymond D. Shaw, Lenox; and Harold B. Turpin, Manson.

Keys honoring them for 20 years' service in vocational agriculture instruction were presented to Ralph W. Gruenwald, Tipton; Howard S. Wilson, Albia; Robert P. Hager, Waukon, and Clyde R. Andrews, Independence.

The conference will continue through Friday.

A United America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of finest addresses ever delivered on the subject of North American and South American solidarity was made recently by my good friend, His Excellency Dr. Ezequiel Padilla, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico. The occasion was at the conference banquet of the American Society of Training Directors in Fort Worth, Tex., on May 16, 1957.

Dr. Padilla is an outstanding authority on international law and government. The title of his address is "America: Strength and Spirit of a Free World." In it he proposes the idea that just as we have created the political solidarity of the nations of the Americas, so it is necessary to establish an economic solidarity for the entire Western Hemisphere to make it "a union against the dangers of injustice and poverty."

This is a most interesting idea which, when realized, would help to solidify and strengthen our cause against communism. Soviet Government leaders recently boasted that they can win the French elections merely by distributing bread. They also boasted that in the 1960's the agricultural production of Russia will surpass that of the United States.

Of course, we know that this is not true. Communist Russia has for several decades been boasting of surpassing the United States in many fields of endeavor, but has never succeeded in fulfilling any of its boasts. But if Russia finds it difficult to do so now, imagine how much more difficult it would be for the Communists to match our achievements if we were to establish an economic alliance with all the nations of the Americas, such as suggested by Dr. Padilla.

A united America could produce enough food to feed the whole world. A united America could supply everything needed by mankind. A united America could really be a blessing to all.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to insert into the RECORD Dr. Padilla's address and commend it to the attention of all my colleagues.

The address follows:

AMERICA: STRENGTH AND SPIRIT OF A FREE WORLD

If the splendor of this gathering were an assurance of a good speech, I should be able to deliver this evening a masterpiece. Nevertheless, my personal impression, here before you, is more or less the same as Lord Chamberlain must have experienced when, in a banquet in his honor, he was approached by the toastmaster who whispered in his ear: "Mr. Chamberlain, should we permit the tremendous gayety that is taking place in this hall to continue, or should I right away announce that you are going to speak?"

The presence in this room of more than one thousand prominent businessmen from the 48 States of this country, is the exponent of the constructive power of free enterprise; of the magic of private initiative that built this Nation, not only as the most powerful and highly respected on earth but, at the same time, the most luminous beacon of human liberties. And it is that free enterprise not only helps to develop economic power but also forges a world of just wages, of public works and institutions that complement those wages: libraries, parks, hospitals, schools, universities and, what is worth more, the basis of social security. In the course of history, man has not been able to attain economic justice and, at the same time, the enjoyment of human liberties. These realizations, of which this great country is a model and an example, constitute the ideology of democracies, which belongs not only to the United States but, as an irreductible inspiration to all of our America.

In these dramatic hours of mankind, this ideology has converted the American Continent into the spirit and strength of a free world.

Every time we look again at the Old World, we discover the spectacle of hatred, dissension, conspiracies, and anxieties. The Far East, under the subversive influence of Red China and the ominous neutrality of India; the Middle East, under the Communist penetration and discord of its peoples; Europe itself, creator of the greatest forces of human civilization—not to speak of the vast Soviet Empire whose organized conspiracy to install upon the ruins of all the liberties the gloomy system of slavery and terror—are all zones of confusion; their problems constitute the alarm and a grave threat to the conquest of man. In exchange, and in vivid contract, when we again look at our America, we discover, instead of the clouds that are descending upon the horizon, the brightness of a new day for the destiny of humanity. Here we have developed the greatest advances of international justice. The great principles that hardly a century ago were repelled by the then powerful peoples of the earth, now constitute the patrimony of America. Nonintervention, the equality of nations, the sovereignty of the people, obligatory arbitration, cooperation in peace and in war, are principles that have been born, or have been consolidated in the American nations. Doctrines converted into international law are perpetuated in the names of great patriots and American internationalists: the Monroe Doctrine with its multilateral meaning, the Pan-Americanism of Bolivar, the doctrines of Calvo, Gondra, Estrada, and other illustrious intellectuals, all Americans, have made of this continent, fertile in the sentiments of justice, equality and peace, the continent of fraternity and hope.

These great advances have culminated in resolutions as energetic as our treaties of reciprocal assistance of Rio de Janeiro in 1947 and of the preservation of our political integrity, which guarantee and safeguard us against warfare and against the Communist conspiracy.

But in this extraordinary ascension, new advances have become imperative. The frank cordiality of our peoples in demanding that the political solidarity we have established be extended into an economic solidarity of the entire continent. The union of all our nations against aggression from any exterior source, has its counterpart in the union of our nations against the aggression of misery. It is necessary to unite the policy of the good neighbor with the policy of the good partner. The dream of America has been to associate indissolubly our peoples against the dangers of war. We should also create an objective of our countries for a union against the dangers of injustice and poverty.

Economically, our peoples live in confusion and anarchy. This situation is dangerous when confronted by the forces which at this time rule the destinies of the world. The world is moving toward continental economies. This is undoubtedly a time of transition which in the course of future generations shall result in the economic unity of the world. But now the Far East, Russia, and the very Europe which is anxiously seeking its economic unity and in whose efforts England itself has broken with its traditional resistance for the uniting of the peoples of Western Europe, are all demonstrating to us that the economic forces being organized in large areas shall compete for the markets of the world.

It is not a revelation to affirm, as has already been done by economists and statesmen, that in an economic worldwide competition we are faced with the risk that Russia will gain through peace what its armed forces could not conquer by war: the domination of the whole earth. America, as a continent, until now has not been able to emerge from anarchy and economic confusion. It is pertinent to recall these prophetic words of Alexander Hamilton in 1781: "Our entire system," he stated at the time, "unfolds in disorder. Unless we can overcome this chaos, we can never become a great and prosperous nation." Now is the time to apply these words to the entire hemisphere.

One of the greatest motives which disturbs the cordiality of our countries is the exchange of our products. Latin America produces strategic materials and agricultural products of basic worldwide consumption. The United States, in turn, is the supplier to Latin America of machinery and industrial products needed for its economic development. This interchange takes place under conditions that are adverse to Latin America. Briefly it can be explained as follows: The United States has had until now the power to set by itself the prices of its own products. These prices are fixed in accordance with costs of production but in these costs the just and fair wages of its workers are strongly protected. Latin America, on the other hand, does not have the power to set its own prices. Until now its principal consumer, and practically only customer, has been the United States. Latin Americans fix prices surely also in accordance with production costs, but in these costs the wages of the Latin American worker lack equitable protection. The wage of the American worker in the United States is, without a doubt, 10 times higher than that of the worker in Latin America. This can be explained in accordance with the blind forces of economics; but we should not forget the new forces which are working throughout the world. In April of last year, the Day of the Americas, I had the honor

of addressing the Pan American Society in New York, when I reiterated my constant assertion that in order to ward off the economic anarchy prevailing in our continent, it was necessary that the representatives of the 22 American nations, including Canada, meet for the purpose of discussing and planning a common economic system for the entire hemisphere. It was a profound satisfaction for me to note 3 months later the coincidence that took place at the Pan American commemoration in Panama when President Eisenhower proposed a meeting of representatives of the presidents of this hemisphere to discuss and resolve the great economic problems of the American nations. From then on this idea is moving forward. The representative of President Eisenhower is his own brother, Milton. There are problems of great economic significance being discussed: the creation of an Inter-American Bank which shall release the energies of the common man of our nations, investments for mutual benefit, technical cooperation, and economic justice which has been the principal theme of this speech.

Neither the time available nor the known facts allow us to observe the results obtained, but one thing is certain and that is, that this idea no longer can retrogress. The question President Eisenhower presented on June 22, 1956, before the meeting of Presidents in Panama, cannot have anything but and affirmative reply. That question was: "Can we, the United countries of America, now advance to a new phase of association in which we shall dedicate ourselves to the wellbeing of the human individual with the same measure of enthusiasm and of effort that we have dedicated to the abstract principles of unity and justice?" In this interrogation, there is the recognition of the valor of man; it is an echo of the assertion of Socrates and Jefferson. It is the same declaration constantly made by President Ruiz Cortines: "Man is the essence of the Universe." The objective of Governments is not a monstrous totalitarian abstraction, in the name of which the individual is sacrificed and the peoples are enslaved; but the living man, the true protagonist of history, the man who fights, suffers, dreams and dies.

The United States is the leader of the world, but this involves the imperative moral of representing not only its own national interests, but the interests and aspirations of its allies.

The goals of Soviet conquest have made this clearer than ever. The union of America is more urgent than ever. Latin America, without the United States, would represent a sheer drop from the heights painfully attained. But it is also true that the United States, without Latin America, would gravely weaken its position, its moral force and the security of its destiny. We should not forget, on the other hand, that America, strength and spirit of the free world, has a mission to fulfill: that of putting this strength and this spirit to the service of the great causes of man in this tragic hour of humanity. There should reecho in our ears, as the voice of bleeding humanity, the appeal that the martyred people of Hungary directed to the free world in their very recent immolation:

"Our boat is sinking. The light is fading, and every minute the shadows are becoming darker; civilized peoples of the world, hear us, and offer us your fraternal hands."

An America, strong and united, should know how to reply to that call.

Bastille Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, July 14, was Bastille Day, a day on which we joined with our allies, the French, in celebration of an event weighted with significance for the people of France as well as our own citizens.

It is fitting and proper that we pause on this day to remind ourselves that Frenchmen fought, bled and died beside our own troops during our fight for independence. In reminiscing, we think lovingly and gratefully of the youthful La Fayette who, fired by the story of our gallant fight for freedom, eluded the vigilance of the French King and made his way to the side of George Washington. We still enjoy his military acumen as well as his humor in recalling his comment at Yorktown that he, George Washington, Generals Wayne and Green with the assistance of the French fleet under Rochambeau contrived to "trap Cornwallis in his own mousetrap."

Yes, Mr. Speaker, July 14 is a day on which we congratulate our allies the French and ourselves on the dawning of a new day for a well-nigh benighted world.

On this day commemorating the 168th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, while we reflect, for a moment, on the inner significance of that past event, we must retrace some of the history of the Bastille itself in order to do so.

As we all know, the Bastille was a fortress which once flanked the city gates of St. Antoine in Paris. Its construction was begun in 1370, and it was completed in 1382. It became a State prison, finally holding many ill-starred but illustrious victims. But the infamy of its treatment of prisoners made it one of the most hated institutions in all Europe. Its name became synonomous with injustice and brutality, a symbol of the despotism of the old royal regime of France. The climax of the reign of terror came during the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu. However, it was not until the mass revolution in the late 18th century, that the Bastile was to play its most historic role, when the people of France rose, as one, and destroyed it.

On July 12, as we also remember, events in Paris began to move rapidly toward chaos and destruction. Angry mobs surged through its streets festering and restive under the harsh and unjust demands of the authorities. Finally, 2 days later, the mob stormed the Bastille, forced its surrender and murdered the commander and a few of the Swiss mercenaries hired to crush the popular uprising. This mob literally pulled down the Bastille's walls, leaving not one stone in place. It is, beyond question, one of the most dramatic events in all modern history.

For the French it has become their chief national holiday, a day when liberty for the people became a reality. In recognition, also, of the closeness of Revolutionary spirit and ideologies of the French and the Americans, Lafayette sent the Bastile's key to George Washington as a relic. It is still to be seen at Mount Vernon.

The ideals of the French Revolution are universal ideals, and Bastille Day today, as well as in 1789, still symbolizes the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Today, as well as in 1789, human beings still rise, as one person, against tyranny, oppression and injustice, determined man shall guide his own destiny, follow the dictates of his own conscience, be master of his own fate. As the Hungarians battled Communist tanks with stones and sticks in Budapest last October, so did the French strike at the once-believed impregnable Bastille. Then, as now, it was proved that only fear holds people captive, a fear which can be conquered when the soul of man asserts its inherent rights and demands justice and freedom be the only voices of authority. If the United States struck the first blow against absolutism in 1776, the storming of the Bastille marks its death knell. We do well to remind ourselves of our Revolutionary past, understanding what it means to oppressed, downtrodden peoples to taste the sweet draft of liberty for the first time.

The world's struggle for peace, justice, and liberty continues today. And we cannot remind ourselves too often it will be a continuing fight as long as there are power-seeking elites tyrannizing people, refusing them the rights and privileges basic to their welfare and happiness. For the entire world, therefore—not just for France—Bastille Day remains the symbol of man's refusal to submit indefinitely to despotic rule and dictatorial mandate.

Senate Makes Mockery Out of Economy Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an

editorial from the Otsego County Herald Times, Gaylord, Mich., which in my opinion expresses the feelings of many of my constituents in the 11th Congressional District of Michigan.

The editorial follows:

SENATE MAKES MOCKERY OUT OF ECONOMY DRIVE

The Senate of the United States succeeded in losing a lot of prestige after leading all of us taxpayers to believe that it was seriously trying to protect our tax dollars by cutting unnecessary items from the budget, then turning around and voting to approve a Federal dam at Hells Canyon.

This job will cost taxpayers somewhere between $300 million and $500 million. We taxpayers here in Michigan would receive no benefit from the dam, but we would be among the heaviest contributors to it.

Oddly enough, private enterprise has already spent several million dollars to start building three private dams there which would generate almost as much power as the Government dam.

The firms have been granted a tax writeoff to encourage them to develop the dams.

What makes mockery out of the Senate's campaign to reduce expenses of Government is this proposed new expenditure of almost a half billion dollars—all completely unnecessary. The firms which will build the needed dams will pay taxes, and the money they use will not be the already overburdened taxpayers' money. It will be their own.

The Democrats who voted for it talk of the private companies making a power grab but how about the taxpayers' grab they are putting out?

We hope the House of Representatives doesn't fall for this wild new program of spending tax dollars needed now to pay off debts. We have faith that President Eisenhower will veto the project even if they do, and we don't feel that either the House or Senate can muster up enough votes to override the President's veto.

Social Security Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, many of us who live in the Middle West and have lived our entire lives in the endeavors of agriculture, appreciate the situation of the farmer. Shame on those who would try to place the blame on Secretary of Agriculture Benson. Congress must assume its responsibility and discontinue its repeated attempts to make political vassals of the farmers.

Under unanimous consent I include the following editorial from the July 6, 1957, issue of the Prairie Farmer on this subject:

SOCIAL-SECURITY WHEAT

No one really expected wheatgrowers to vote down quotas. Everybody is unhappy with the wheat situation, but nobody is ready to do anything about it. When the explosion comes, it will probably come from the Plains States where wheat has always been a principal crop.

One big reason for this is that Eastern and Midwestern States are going in for social-security wheat in a big way. Unless some means is found for cheapening wheat so it can be used for feed, the big wheatgrowers in the West are bound to lose out.

Take Illinois as an example. Wheat acres allotted for 1957 totaled 1,414,575. These have been reduced by 25,000 acres for 1958. However, Illinois farmers actually planted 1,737,000 acres of wheat for 1957. Somebody cracked the allotment to the tune of 322,425 acres. They were the small growers of 15 acres or less. Figuring an average of 10 acres, there must have been approximately 32,000 of them.

Many of these growers are in top-grade corn country and normally would not be bothering with wheat. However, wheat is an easy crop, the support price is very good, and Uncle Sam is ready. The man who raises less than 15 acres does not actually sell to the Government, but what's the difference? Uncle Sam takes the bulk of the wheat and leaves him a nice market.

Texan's Interest in Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, a good deal of misinformation has been peddled by the private power utilities concerning the cost of Federal construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon to the taxpers of other States. Characteristically, the private power companies' propaganda overlooks certain important facts with regard to who would be paying for this project. They forget to mention that it is the ratepayers themselves who would pay well over 85 percent of the total cost of the high dam plus all interest charges.

A recent article appeared in the Eastern Oregon Review, which is published in LaGrande, Oreg., in the second district which I represent. The article pictures clearly and concisely the true situation with regard to the development of the Hells Canyon stretch of the Snake River. I wish to commend the editor of this newspaper, Mr. C. J. Shorb, for an article which I believe sheds considerable light on this particular aspect of the Hells Canyon fight.

Under unanimous consent, I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

The article follows:

TEXAN'S INTEREST IN HELLS CANYON

An article printed in the John Day paper attracted our attention. It was printed as an editorial but we have a very vivid feeling that we have read that item elsewhere and feel that it might be just what it sounds like, a piece of propaganda for the power monopolies. The article is headed, "Texas Looks Toward Idaho," and goes on to relate why a Texan is so interested in the Hells Canyon because he is going to have some of the bill to pay. If that was all the item said we would not take the trouble to comment but the item was so full of misinformation that we just didn't like to let it pass without comment. We are sure that whoever wrote the article knew it was rife with misinformation and that it was run for the purpose of attempting to bias the readers against a great development which seems to be winning more favor in our section of the Nation.

First, the article states that Texas citizens will be forced to pay some $22,375,380 of the amount necessary to build the high Hells Canyon Dam way up there in Idaho. That would sound like the Idaho Power version rather than a Texan's for we believe that even the Texans know that Hells Canyon is no more in Idaho than in Oregon. Only the Idaho Power Co. and a few of their cronies in Oregon seem to feel that Oregon has no interest or personal ties with the Hells Canyon Dam. That company has completely ignored the State of Oregon and its laws and its rights in the project. Their actions have been highhanded and most assuredly a sore spot with most loyal Oregonians. We feel that our State has an interest there and our interest should be protected.

The writer of the John Day article failed to state that virtually all of the cost of the Hells Canyon Dam, were it built by the Government, would be repaid—yes—with interest to the Treasury of the United States. Other projects on the river have already repaid a very material portion of their cost and far in advance of the time limit given them.

In addition to that, the power produced at other river dams in the Northwest by the Government has brought about the appearance of wealth many times the value of all the dams combined, and every year that increased value in new business, new farms, to say nothing of new services rendered for our people at a saving to them of millions, have produced more taxes each year for several years for the Government of the United States than has been the cost of any of the dams or would be the cost of the high Hells Canyon Dam. The people of Texas should welcome that fact, and so should the editor of the John Day paper, for in that influx of new values in the Northwest is a tax base for payment of much of the taxes that might otherwise be theirs to bear.

The other statement which we want to differ with is the old one seen so often in power company propaganda works, that if the private utilities continue the job of developing the Hells Canyon reach of the river the taxpayers would contribute absolutely nothing and all the money will come from private sources. Evidently the writer did not learn of the huge tax writeoffs which the company asked for and received and later in an effort to correct their deviation from truth and responsibility, after being caught and the public informed, were willing to pass the handout of millions asked from the Government. Those millions in tax writeoffs would come directly from the taxpayers of the Nation, including Texans. The ratepayers including the patrons of the John Day newspaper would be saddled with some of the cost of the development from now on by the private producer and the tax writeoffs would not be to their advantage in any way. The rates would be predicated upon the overall cost of the project plus all expenses, necessary and unnecessary, plus an assured profit which most business people do not enjoy.

If the person from Texas, if there was such a person, worried about the expenses of Hells Canyon his worries would not be so great had he read the findings of one Washington correspondent who dug into tax writeoffs, and found that the tax writeoffs to hydroelectric companies in the United States last year would amount to approximately $10 to $12 a year for each taxpayer in the Nation. At that rate the taxpayers of Texas are paying each year an amount equal to the amount the John Day article states fallaciously they would pay for the entire construction of the Hells Canyon high dam.

Delaware River Channel Improvement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit a well-written editorial on Delaware River channel improvement.

The editorial follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of July 15, 1957]

TRUTHS ABOUT THE CHANNEL

On the principle that every bit added to what you've got is better than what you had, there will be cheers now that the Senate Appropriations Committee has upped the appropriation for the Delaware River channel for the coming year by $2 million, to a total of $11 million.

It is to be hoped that when this measure goes to a conference committee with the House of Representatives, the $11 million figure will not be cut. For it is still $5,500,000 short of the $16,500,000 which United States Army engineers said could be profitably used in channel dredging this year.

Since it will be some time before the measure reaches its next stage in the legislative process this may be a good time to spread on the record—for public understanding—some facts about our channel. Particularly, it is important to nail some recent lies and correct some flagrant misstatements.

Falsehood No. 1: This is the cry that deepening the upper channel to 40 feet will benefit only 1 company, United States Steel.

The truth: Prospect of a 40-foot channel has been attracting a large number of new industries on both sides of the channel above Philadelphia. Here are just a few who will use that channel, in addition to United States Steel: The National Gypsum Co., which is building a multi-million-dollar plant at Burlington, N. J.; the Meenan Oil Co., at Levittown; the Wood Conversion Co., which plans a multi-million-dollar plant near Burlington; the Phoenix Iron & Steel Co., which is also locating in the Burlington area.

These plants, and others, are planning their future business on the basis of a 40-foot Delaware River Channel.

Falsehood No. 2: That the measure now before Congress provides for spending $91,738,000.

The truth: The measure before Congress involves only $11,000,000. Future expenditures are up to Congress.

Falsehood No. 3: That the Delaware Channel is a gift by the Nation's taxpayers to this area.

The truth: In general taxation, the Philadelphia metropolitan area pays far more to the Federal Government than it receives in return. And over the past 50 years Delaware River development has cost the Federal Government $105,000,000—while it has received here in customs receipts more than 14 times that sum. In 1951 alone Port of Philadelphia customs receipts were $52,300,000.

If anybody is making gifts, it is Delaware Valley who is making them to the rest of the Nation, not the other way round.

Delaware Valley is growing in spite of pullbacks and carpers. From January to June 1954 our port handled 15.6 percent of the Nation's foreign commerce, compared with 12.5 percent during that period of 1953. And our increase took place at a time when the whole Nation's waterborne commerce had declined 4.3 percent. Finally, in import tonnage, our port has become the country's first.

So, we place these facts on record to spike the falsehoods. So, too, do we register our thanks to Congress, both for a prospective increase in the channel appropriation and for the decision of both houses to make it a 40-foot channel—not a 35-foot channel.

This is a good time to thank, also Senator Edward Martin, who has been in the forefront of this campaign: Senator Clark, and our members of the House of Representatives who have fought this good fight year in and year out.

They know, as we do, that it cannot be said too often, or too loudly. Delaware Valley asks no gift. It asks only its due: the right of this Nation's Birthplace to continue to serve its historic major role as one of the great ports of the United States of America.

Correction of Military Discharges, H. R. 7530

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on June 24, 1957, I had the privilege of appearing before the Special Subcommittee on Military Discharges of the House Committee on Armed Services. The following is my testimony before that committee in support of my bill, H. R. 7530:

STATEMENT OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. MULTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, for the privilege of attending here so that I can be heard in support of my bill H. R. 7530 and similar bills dealing with the plight of individuals who have been or who are hereafter discharged from the armed services under conditions other than honorable.

May I say, Mr. Chairman, that I am sure that your record of the legislative situation shows that there is no way other than Presidential pardon that a former member of the armed service can get a pardon for the offense for which he received a discharge, other than honorable. I might say when we talk about discharges other than honorable, I at least include within the terms of my bill, and I trust that the chairman means to include within the terms of his bill, not only the discharge which is labeled "other than honorable," but also the dishonorable discharge.

I think the whole subject should be covered and every type of discharge other than an honorable discharge should be subjected to review in the plan of the proposed bills being considered by the committee.

The present law and regulations permit review of these discharges only for the purpose of correcting the discharge if there was something wrong in the first instance in the manner in which it was issued or because the trial was improperly conducted or on the basis of the law and the regulations applicable, the sentence and the punishment was too severe.

The only other remedy is a Presidential pardon, and if any of you gentlemen have had experience along that line, you know how long and arduous and almost impossible it is to get a Presidential pardon, and then after he has gotten it, his discharge still remains unchanged. Even though a Presidential pardon may be issued to the man, he still carries with him for the rest of his life imprinted "other than honorable" or "dishonorable," on his certificate of discharge.

By far, the greatest number of these men have committed no serious offenses. They are, in the main, minor offenders who because of some less serious infraction have been sentenced by a court-martial, not to the punishment of a dishonorable discharge, but to the lesser punishment of discharge under conditions other than honorable.

That is not to say, those who received dishonorable discharges will not be able to avail themselves of the benefits of this law, if enacted.

Many men, who were suffering from some mental defect or disease which prevented their meeting acceptable standards of social or military conduct, have received such discharges. These men are not real criminals; they are not murderers, traitors, or rapists; they are minor offenders. Even the Armed Forces distinguishes between them and real criminals by giving them discharges other than dishonorable.

When a man receives a dishonorable discharge from the Armed Forces, it is almost impossible for him to get a job. No one wants him. He goes from job to job. He never gets started. His family and friends drop away. Let's face the hard fact; he pays for his crime the rest of his life. He never gets an opportunity to be rehabilitated. He may be, and oftentimes is, forced into a life of crime as the only alternative to starvation.

If it was intended that these offenders also should pay for their offenses during the rest of their lives, then it would be more humane to incarcerate them in jails for their lifetime. No one dares suggest that. Then why inflict this blight upon their whole lives?

I say to you, however, that today the practical result is the same. This is particularly dreadful to contemplate as to the minor offender with a less than dishonorable discharge. The ordinary civilian employers have neither the time nor the patience to draw fine lines of distinction in this matter. They say, "If he doesn't have an honorable discharge, we don't want him." Under these circumstances there is no hope of expiation for that man, nor of rehabilitation for himself or his family.

No hope, gentlemen; no hope for either him or his family. Let them pay and pay for the rest of their lives. Is this the quality of justice and mercy of which we as a Nation can be proud? Shall we mete out to these offenders the cruelest punishment which one human being can mete out to another—hopelessness? Shall we be merciless?

Gentlemen, permit me to quote to you the great words of that teacher in Israel, the Christ of the Christian world, when Peter came up to him and asked:

"Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? As many as seven times?" Jesus said to him, "I do not say to you seven times, but seventy times seven" (Matthew 18: 21).

Shall we not forgive these men once?

My bill, H. R. 7530, would give them hope. It sets up a board of pardons. It would permit them, under proper conditions, to rehabilitate themselves and their families, and, where eligible, to atone for their past offense by further service in the Armed Forces.

It proposes to establish, outside of the Department of Defense, a Board for the Correction of Discharges and Dismissals, composed of five civilian members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Members of the Armed Forces who have been, or are in the future, discharged under

conditions other than honorable would be entitled to file a petition, after 3 years from discharge, for a certificate which would entitle them to reenlist in the Armed Forces.

After 5 years from discharge, they would be entitled to petition for a discharge under honorable conditions.

In the case of certificates to reenlist, the Board would review the preceding 3-year period and grant the certificate if it finds that character and conduct during such period was good and that petitioner would be otherwise eligible for reenlistment.

An individual, his heirs at law, or legal representative, filing a petition after 5 years from discharge, could obtain a discharge under honorable conditions if the Board found his character and conduct during such period to be good.

Such discharge, however, would not entitle him to any monetary or other benefits under the laws of the United States to which he would not have been entitled if such discharge had not been issued.

The bill also contains the necessary operational provisions, such as authority for independent investigations, holding of hearings, appointment of a staff, and the like.

It is unjust that these individuals should be required to undergo lifelong suffering without an opportunity to prove that they have been and can be good citizens. Many of them are or were in their teens with their whole life still to be lived.

We cannot do anything about the reactions of the public because of the discharge. We can, however, do something about the duration of such reaction toward those young men who have attempted to reestablish their character by blameless conduct for a reasonable time.

One of our colleagues has pointed out that 69,323 boys received discharges under conditions other than honorable between July 1, 1950, and June 30, 1955; the present boards for the correction of military and naval records have, under the punitive rules under which they operate, changed or corrected only 561 military or naval records. This amounts to about eighty-one one-hundredths of 1 percent of the 69,323. Think of that, gentlemen, less than 1 percent of the 69,000 boys involved have had their records corrected.

That is not to imply that the board did the wrong thing in failing to make corrections, but they are limited. They must review the record as originally presented and ignore everything that has happened since.

The reasons for that, I believe, are that the review is in effect by the military, and the review looks not to whether the person has earned a pardon but whether the original punishment was proper.

This new board sought to be created will not review in the light of military law and regulations and not in the light of propriety of the original decision or the sentence. It will be concerned solely with whether the applicant is entitled to be pardoned in the light of his subsequent good conduct.

My bill, H. R. 7530, is not concerned with going back to correct the record because of some new factor which indicates that perhaps the sentence by a court-martial to such a discharge was unjust or too severe. This bill runs to the continuance of the punishment. It recognizes the fact that to continue to punish these boys beyond a reasonable length of times is both unjust and unmerciful. Once again, I would call to your mind the words of Jesus, that great teacher in Israel:

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy" (Matthew 5: 7).

Gentlemen, I urge the adoption of H. R. 7530, or a bill such as the chairman and the other members have submitted urging that the principle be enacted. The details I am sure you gentlemen, in your wisdom, can take care of in a good piece of legislation.

Again I wish to express my appreciation for the privilege of appearing before you to present my views.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much. We appreciate your doing so.

We have before us every bill along the lines of the subject which have been filed in the House, regardless of what variation there is in them from 1108. We have them all before us and are familiar with the texts of all of them, and we appreciate your diligent work in the field.

Mr. MULTER. I am sure we are all in agreement that it is hight time something was done about this. I believe it is the first time in 10 years such legislation has even gotten a hearing before the Congress, and I am sure this is going to bear fruit.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much.

Reapportionment Act of 1929

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article of general interest in the June issue of the Connecticut Bar Journal by Hon. John Q. Tilson, a former Member, and for several years majority leader in the House, now a member of the New Haven bar and the State Bar Association of Connecticut:

REAPPORTIONMENT ACT OF 1929

(By Hon. John Q. Tilson)

It may be truly said that the fair and equitable apportionment of the population for purposes of representation lies at the very base of the requisites for a representative self-governing republic. In our own Congress it has been a serious problem arising in acute form after each decennial census from that of 1790 down to the passing of the Reapportionment Act of 1929. The problem has arisen because of unequal population increase in the several States and the unwillingness to enact a law that would reduce the number of Representatives in a State. Until after the census of 1910 the problem was usually solved by following the line of least resistance which meant increasing the total membership enough to prevent any State from losing a Representative.

At the time of the 1920 census the number of Members had reached 435. Since 1910 a war had intervened and there had been notable shifts of population. It was evident that unless the membership of the House were substantially increased, a number of the States whose population increase had not kept pace with some of the others would have to lose or more Representatives. The results of the 1920 census confirmed the worst fears and human nature being what it is, there is little wonder that for four successive Congresses the constitutional mandate for decennial reapportionment was not complied with. This furnished the background for the passage of the 1929 act which effectually solved the century-old problem of fixing the number of House Members. To change it would now require positive legislative action concurred in by the Senate and approved by the President of the United States. With the almost universal feeling that the House is already too large for maximum efficiency and that to increase it substantially would be most unwise, there is little probability that it will be increased. It is almost certain that no Senate would concur in and that no President would approve such legislation.

The passage of the usual decennial reapportionment acts rarely attracted much attention from the general public. They were simply taken for granted. The passage of the 1929 act, although the circumstances were somewhat unusual, still created little stir outside of Congress and very few headlines in the newpsapers. This may have been due partly to the fact, as will appear later on, that in the end the outcome turned largely upon parliamentary procedure which most outsiders regard as technical. The serious character of the matter involved makes it truly a historic controversy effecting a problem historical in its origin and of tremendous importance to the future of the Republic.

In the June 1956 issue of the Western Political Quarterly, published by the Institute of Government, University of Utah, appears an article by Dr. Orville J. Sweeting entitled "John Q. Tilson and the Reapportionment Act of 1929." In this article the writer describes in some detail the parliamentary battle leading up to the passage of the act. Perhaps he gives Tilson undue credit for his skill in managing the fight, but it was, nevertheless, Tilson's immediate responsibility. The writer of the article sent a copy to the veteran parliamentarian, CLARENCE CANNON, an active participant in the controversy and now chairman of the great House Committee on Appropriations in Congress. Acknowledging receipt of the article, CANNON gives his estimate of the importance of the result, though he had fought on the losing side. In referring to the account of the contest, CANNON says "it covers one of the most interesting and most important chapters in the parliamentary history of the Nation and serves to further emphasize the invaluable service rendered by Tilson as majority leader and an incomparable parliamentary swordsman in one of the most critical sessions of the House." Further complimentary references to the influence exerted on Congress and its procedure are here omitted.

The fact that two such men as CANNON, a veteran statesman and a parliamentarian of nationwide repute, and Sweeting, an earnest student of parliamentary representation in self-government, so emphatically agree as to the importance and far-reaching effects of the legislation here involved has inclined me to add to the record a little further account of the background, the difficulties to be overcome, the turning point, and the final outcome of this historic legislation.

As stated above, it became certain after the 1920 census that on the basis of 435 Members a reapportionment would necessitate the loss of Representatives in quite a number of States. Bills were introduced during the intervening Congresses, but none reached the stage of serious consideration. This was the situation at the beginning of the 69th Congress in 1925. Coolidge had been triumphantly elected President with both branches of Congress strongly Republican. Nicholas Longworth was chosen Speaker of the House and I was elected majority leader. From the beginning of my leadership the one responsibility that lay heaviest on my mind was the fact that for half a decade the House had flagrantly failed to perform a duty clearly imposed by the Constitution. Now my own party was in power and I had been assigned a spot near the center of the stage for action. It was not a question of where do we go from here. I knew where we should go but just how to get there was quite a different matter. Of course, I took the matter up with the President, the Speaker, and many other leaders in both political parties, for fortunately

party politics was not involved. Outside students of parliamentary representation were consulted. One in particular, Prof. Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell, now in his nineties and still actively interested in the subject, was most helpful. The question was considered in all its apects. Half the decade was gone and it had become evident that no satisfactory apportionment act could be passed on the basis of the 1920 censu. The 1930 census was only 5 years away.

Consideration now turned toward some sort of anticipatory legislation. In the act of Congress providing for the 1850 census, a provision was added fixing the number of Representatives and directing the Secretary of the Interior to apportion the fixed number among the several States in accordance with the population of each as shown by the 1850 census. However, in this case, an entirely new act was passed in 1852 disregarding the earlier act though using the same number as fixed in that act. The fact that the earlier act had provided for an administrative officer to make the apportionment in this particular instance suggested the idea of a permanent act requiring such action in case the Congress failed to comply promptly with the provision of the Constitution. This idea was carefully worked out in shaping the legislation finally enacted. In effect it provides that unless Congress at its first regular session after a decennial census shall have enacted reapportionment legislation, the executive department shall proceed to apportion the then existing number of Representatives among the several States according to population as shown by the census and by a method carefully prescribed. Changes in the method, especially as to the fractions of the established ratio, may be made—already some have been made—but "the existing number" will probably not be materially changed for a long time to come.

It is a matter of interest to speculate as to what would have happened had this legislation failed at that time. It is quite certain that further attempts in this direction would have been futile until after the 1930 census. The results of that census showed an even more unequal increase of population than had the census of 1920. To prevent the loss of membership in any State would require the enlargement of the membership by about a hundred. Probably no legislation at all would have been enacted, the unequal representation would have continued, with the degree of inequality greatly increased.

The parliamentary struggle attending the passage of the act may here be dwelt upon but briefly. It consumed the major part of 2 legislative days and covers many pages of the Congressional Record. Dr. Sweeting's article quotes from it freely. What at one stage of the proceedings looked like a fatal stroke for the bill was later turned into an aid toward its final passage.

The generally accepted rule in parliamentary procedure for the introduction of amendments is that it is not admissible to inject under the guise of an amendment a subject different from that under immediate consideration. One thing at a time is the purpose of the rule. The bill was being read for amendments and at the moment had reached the clause for the exclusion of certain persons that were not to be counted for representation. From the first apportionment act passed by Congress this clause had read "Indians not taxed" and at this stage it was the one subject before the House. A Member from a State that would surely lose a Member offered an amendment proposing a new subject of exclusion, aliens. Had I been in my seat I should have made a point of order against the amendment which would probably have been sustained but I had left the hall for a bite of lunch and before I could return debate had begun on the amendment which precluded making a point of order against it. A combination of southern and mid-westren votes adopted the amendment. Its adoption established a class of exclusions and entitled Mr. Tinkham of Massachusetts to offer his pet amendment to exclude from the count disfranchised Negroes. It was agreed to by a different combination of voters including those who wished to kill the bill at any cost. It is a common way to kill a bill by loading it down with objectionable amendments. A very close vote was expected in passing the bill as it was drafted. The alien amendment alone probably doomed the bill; with the Negro amendment its passage was out of the question. At this point the battle was apparently lost.

An adjournment was secured and before the bill was taken up again 2 or 3 days later an amendment was prepared which if it could weather the storm of points of order and be agreed to would eliminate the two odious amendments. In addition to removing these, the amendment included other substantial additions so as to make it in fact materially different from any amendment previously submitted. It was readily admitted, however, that its main purpose was to remove the two exclusion amendments. Points of order came from all sides. Both these amendments had been inserted by a safe majority vote. As against my amendment it was contended that we could not do by indirection what could not be done directly. Certainly a motion to strike out singly either amendment would not be in order having been voted in by a majority. My contention was that my amendment presented a new question materially different from that of any amendment previously voted upon and being obviously germane to the matter under consideration was clearly not subject to a point of order. After several hours of heated discussion the Chair ruled in my favos.

Having cleared this hurdle my amendment was now in order for debate and a vote. Its introduction completely changed the situation. The Members from the Northeast who had voted with the Midwest for the Negro amendment were violently opposed to the alien amendment. They could not afford to vote against my amendment for it was their only chance to rid the bill of this odious exclusion provision. Southern Members who had gleefully joined with the Midwest to insert the alien amendment were furious over the Negro amendment and would not have dared to vote against my amendment, for here was the opportunity to vote out of the bill a provision that, if it could have been enforced, would have substantially lessened, the representation of several States. The adoption of the amendment was thus assured.

The storm raised by the parliamentary controversy concerning the several amendments helped clear the air for a more sober consideration of the bill on its merits. It gave occasion for an earnest appeal to Members to lay aside petty differences on immaterial things and pass a reapportionment bill, a duty that had been much too long delayed. This appeal to a high sense of duty seems to have been taken seriously. At any rate the bill was passed by a wider margin than had been anticipated. Its passage solves, probably for a long time to come, a regularly recurring problem of more than a hundred years' standing and does so without taking away or limiting any right or power of Congress conferred by the Constitution.

My membership in the House of Representatives covered eleven 2-years terms, 22 years, a record in length of service for any Connecticut Representative. Six years of this time I was elected floor leader of a Republican majority. It was my privilege as it was my duty, to taken an active part in much more or less important legislation. It was my earnest desire to do my full share of the work to be done and fair credit has been accorded to me as having performed meritorious as well as faithful service. Of all the service rendered by me during my entire tenure in office, however, it is now my opinion, 28 years later, that my leadership in connection with the reapportionment act of 1929 was the service most far reaching in its effect and the most useful to my country.

Protest Against Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks in the Record I am including a full-page advertisement from the July 12 issue of the Mexico Ledger, published at Mexico, Mo. It is signed by the Mexico Citizens Committee to Curb Inflation, consisting of some of the most prominent and progressive businessmen of the City.

It is merely one phase of a general protest which the Committee on Appropriations is receiving from all parts of the country.

The article is as follows:

Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower,
President of the United States,
Hon. James T. Blair, Jr.,
Governor of Missouri,
Hon. Thomas C. Hennings,
United States Senator from Missouri,
Hon. Stuart Symington,
United States Senator from Missouri,
Hon. Clarence Cannon,
Member of Congress, the Ninth Missouri Congressional District.

Gentlemen: We are increasingly alarmed at the spiraling inflation that threatens our national economy and reduces the purchasing power of our money.

We believe the steady upward climb of the price-wage spiral, excessive Government spending, the ever-rising public and private debt with the resulting mounting tax burden, are basic factors that have brought inflation to our door.

We want a stable dollar that will buy a dollar's worth of goods. We will do our part to help bring this about and we expect industry and labor and our public officials—local, State, and national—to do the same.

Economy and efficiency must be effected in government as in business and in the home. Waste and duplication cannot be tolerated in the present state of our country's finances when the fate of our national economy, which is the basis of our national defense, is at stake.

Excessive Federal spending means higher taxes. This not only drains too much tax money from the people but it also takes needed revenue away from State and local units of government so they do not have the funds to do for themselves. Excessive Federal spending also fosters the habit of undue dependence on the Federal Treasury by local governments and private citizens.

In the present state of the national economy, we are urging all our fellow citizens against exerting pressure on the Congress for increased Federal spending. We also urge them to restrain themselves from taking any action that will tend to force higher living costs.

Inflation must be curbed. We believe this to be the responsibility of every citizen, whether he be in government, business, labor, agriculture or any other walk of life.

With the inflation spiral continuing upward, we believe our representatives in Congress should be judged by what they save us rather than what they get for us.

We believe that taxes are too high and should be reduced unless a definite portion is earmarked for reduction of the public debt. We want this tax saving ourselves to buy the things we need unless our country needs it more for debt reduction.

We believe it to be our duty to our country and our families to do our utmost to help mobilize our people to fight inflation which is a most dangerous threat to our national life.

We feel this peril from within our country could prove to be a greater threat to our Nation's security than any attacks from abroad.

A united effort by the people and their representatives can solve this problem.

Respectfully,

The Mexico, Mo. Citizens Committee To Curb Inflation: J. B. Arthur, Judge George Adams, Arthur D. Bond, Bradford Brett, Ray B. Carroll, Alan Coatsworth, W. R. Courtney, Dr. Thomas L. Dwyer, Frank Edwards, Paul Ekern, Lowell Hagan, L. B. Hawthorne, James H. Higgs, Maurice Kemp, William S. Lowe, Elmer MaGee, Mize Morris, Herbert Morris, Edward P. O'Brien, Herbert B. Plunkett, George Stahl, Walter G. Staley, Hollis Stolte, Col. C. R. Stribling.

A Tribute to Mr. Hugh Hallidy, of Nutley, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, one of Nutley's beloved citizens passed from the scene last week. The townspeople of Nutley, and especially the children, will always remember this kindly man. His gentle nature endeared him to all. My good friend, Mr. Ralph Heinzen, editor and publisher of the Nutley Sun, in his final tribute to Mr. Hugh Hallidy describes him well as "the children's friend."

The editorial follows:

THE CHILDREN'S FRIEND

Hugh Hallidy found his greatest happiness in life in the uniform of a school crossing patrolman, in the declining decade of his 84 years. His love was children. For the youngsters who, blindly, trusted their lives to his ministrations or heeded his soft-spoken advice about safety at the busy corner of Kingsland Road and Passaic Avenue he was a soft touch. When a week's allowance had been spent, Mr. Hallidy was always good for a loan for ice cream.

The first Democrat ever to win election to the town council, back 47 years ago when Democrats were a rare oddity in Nutley, Hallidy had had a long civic and charitable career when he donned the uniform of the school police. The heavy mail of letters and postcards which reached him from "his children" during his fatal illness, the only sickness of his long life, proved that the affection which he invested in the tots he protected was a two-way feeling.

Hugh Hallidy loved children but that he was unwed and childless, himself, was the great tragedy of his life. A girl he was about to marry was killed in a railway accident and he never married. For the rest of his life, but particularly during the last decade as a school policeman, all children were "his children." They will miss their good friend.

United States-British Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent interview which Harry W. Frantz of the United Press, foreign department, Washington bureau, had at Norfolk, Va., aboard the British carrier, *Ark Royal*, on June 10, 1957. The review quotes carefully Vice Adm. Manley Laurence Power, flag officer of the British aircraft carriers, who was attending the International Naval Review, celebrating the Jamestown Festival.

As the writing of the interview is excellent, the statements by Admiral Power should be read by every American official and citizen interested in the strategic disposition of the fleet strength of the free world.

The interview is noteworthy as it gives an experienced and authoritative British opinion on the effect on the British Navy of the recent British official white paper containing the program for the future reduction of British defense forces.

Every one of us who has been a United States Navy World War II veteran, or is at present on active duty with the United States Navy or Navy Reserve, has wondered what the effect of the proposed British reduction in defense forces would have on the British Navy, with which we have so long cooperated so closely as friends, and allies, and under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Here is the simple and authoritative answer, and as the news dispatch is so well written, the meanings contained in the carefully worded statements of Admiral Power are plain.

The article follows:

Vice Adm. Manley Laurence Power, flag officer of British Aircraft Carriers, said today that United States relations with Great Britain are basically strong and that neither country can live without the other.

In news conference aboard the British carrier *Ark Royal*, here for international naval review, Power said, "The hands across the seas idea is still very strong. Some persons in both countries try to upset that idea, but it is basically as strong as ever. Neither of us could live without the other in the long run. We have fought together and we have played together pretty well."

Power said that aircraft carriers are the hard corps of modern sea forces. He said that scientists tell him they can make "a shopping list" for navies bigger than any country in the world can afford.

"You have to make your choice as wisely as you can. Once you pick up what you think is a winner there is no turning back. * * * Your (United States) Navy is luckier than ours because they have more money when they look into the shop window."

Power said regarding international naval review, "I cannot think of a more satisfactory way of celebrating the Jamestown Festival. It is very pleasing to us. We get few chances to cross the Atlantic, and the review afforded us wonderful opportunity to come here.

"I think there is not nearly enough contact between your citizens and ours, due to exchange situation and so on. Now, 3,000 of our young men have a chance to see your country and how you run things here."

Reporters asked many questions about naval effects of British white paper program for British defense forces. Power said that the proposed program would lead to reduction in manpower of the British navy but did not expect much cut in British active sea strength. He said a possible cut of 20,000 men might not have much effect on the size of Britain's seagoing fleet, and the effect on white-paper program on navy may be less than on other services.

"When the white paper was published there was a sigh of relief all through the Navy. We thought that we came out well indeed."

Admiral Power said there is a committee within the British Admiralty which is examining the redisposition of manpower and resources "to get more in the teeth and less in the tail."

He explained that in event of war, great disruption would occur in early days, before reserve ships could be recommissioned. Consequently, defense depends largely upon active sea forces.

Power said that Britain's Navy will cut away a lot of deadwood in reserve ships. He said Britain is presently converting 2 carriers and 1 is being built. British plans call for modernization of all carriers. He said no British carrier yet has full angle deck of 8½ percent in line. *Ark* carrier is 5 percent angle.

"That little battle of the pyramids in which we took part convinced us that carriers are absolutely necessary."

He said British missiles program has not gone far yet. "We are experimenting and testing now. I am not yet sure what will come out. It is possible that we might eventually come to a carrier for missiles without any aircraft."

Questioned whether Britain will have global striking force under the white-paper program or program confined to the NATO area, Power said: "We must be able to reach anywhere in the world because we have commitments all over the world. We should be able to operate in any part of the world where our interests or alliances are affects."

Earl C. Michener

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it was with considerable sadness that I read in the paper the other day of the death of the Honorable Earl C. Michener who died at the age of 80 on July 5, 1957. Mr. Michener was a Member of this

House from 1919 to 1933 and from 1935 until his retirement in 1951.

He was chairman of the House Rules Committee from 1925 to 1933 and from 1935 until his retirement he served as a member of the House Judiciary Committee. Mr. Michener is well remembered for his watchfulness over the Treasury and the taxpayers' money. He served his people long and with distinction. I had the pleasure of knowing him during my early boyhood and recall him as a kindly, gracious, and gentle man. He was much respected in Congress for his wisdom and for his decency and industry. When he retired because of his wife's illness, Congress lost a most able and conscientious man. The people of this country will miss a devoted public servant whom I know the good Lord will receive with mercy and kindness.

Peril of Creeping Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert an editorial from the July 5 issue of the Huntsville Times, Huntsville, Ala.

The editorial follows:

PERIL OF CREEPING INFLATION

The United States Government has a lot of problems—including Russia and world peace as the most obvious and immediate—but the one that grows day and night, that gnaws at the vitals of this Nation, and that affects every one of the more than 170 million people in it, is the peril of creeping inflation.

This has just been emphasized by the advance of $6 per ton in the price of steel, which soon will be translated into the price of nearly every item the American people use. Watch the cost of living march on up, from the cost of needles and pins to automobiles, refrigerators, and toasters. A few cents here, a few dollars there will be tacked on to the cost of nearly every item purchased.

The advance may be slow and uneven, and it may be even a year before all the inflationary effects of the steel rise will be felt.

This shot in the arm to inflation points up again vividly how fast this peril to our economy is growing. The old dollar has dipped below 50 cents in purchasing value, and it is still sinking.

A writer in the Christian Science Monitor cited the other day some of inflation's effects on purchasing power:

"By the end of May, the American people had spent 9 to 10 billion dollars on inflation in the past year. But the summer's warmth caught them not counting the cost.

"If someone had told the young couple buying a house in Suburbia in 1940 that their $10,000 to $12,000 project would cost $32,000 to $40,000 in 1957, the young people would have scoffed.

"If they had been told that their $1,200 modest automobile of 1940 would cost $3,400 to $3,600 in 1957, they would have thought the individual was slightly dreamy-eyed, to say the least.

"If they had been told their their insurance savings would be worth 25 percent less, they would have been shocked.

"If they had been told that their trust account arranged by their grandparents would have proven to be a sieve for large losses, they would not have believed it.

"If someone today would tell proper young suburbanites that they would need a $60,000 to $75,000 house between 1965 and 1970 for a modest residence, or that their modest, low-cost automobiles would be available at around $7,500, they couldn't be made to believe it. A lending program would be available to take up the slack.

"This is the nature of inflation. It is never believable."

This is not to say that inflation cannot be controlled. It will be a bitter pill to swallow. The longer the day is postponed, and the decision put off to meet the problem head on, that much more difficult will be the job.

It is idle to say, "Well, this can't happen to us. We'll get around to the job of controlling inflation in due time."

It can happen to us, just as it happened to nation after nation in Western Europe, as well as in other parts of the globe.

What Is Life Really Like in Red China?—First-Hand Report by GI Returnee—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the second of five interviews with American soldiers who chose Red China and then came home disillusioned. The interviews were taken and reported by U. S. News & World Report.

When one reads some of the unrealistic suggestions by other Americans that "we can do business with Red China," one could almost wish such Americans would also have to go through what these GI's did. Will we always refuse to learn until after our Pearl Harbors. The interview follows:

STORY OF GI TURNCOAT: RETURNING TO UNITED STATES IS "COMING BACK INTO WORLD THAT'S ALIVE"

Otho G. Bell was a prisoner of the Chinese for more than 3 years. He had just passed his 23d birthday—on January 23, 1954—when he went into China. He stayed for a year and a half, coming out in July 1955.

A farm boy, born in Mississippi, Bell had never taken to schooling, and it was a 10-year struggle to finish eight grades. Although books did not interest him, machinery did. He liked to tinker.

Like all the other 21 Americans, Bell was first put through a strenuous course in Communist theory and practice. Then he was assigned to a machine center on a collective farm in the Yellow River Valley, with the task of repairing farm implements and food-processing machines.

He now lives on a 2.5-acre plot near Olympia, Wash., and works at a mushroom farm nearby. On the side, he raises berries.

The following interview with Bell was recorded at Olympia:

Question: "Did you like the Chinese people?"

Answer: "The only thing I could say I did like there was the people, that were suffering so much. You could sympathize with them and they could sympathize with you. Otherwise, I didn't see anything there that I liked in particular as far as scenery or recreation that they had. As for work, they didn't have any machinery to do any work with."

Question: "Who were these people who were suffering?"

Answer: "They were the Chinese people who were brought to these plants to work. They had specified jobs and they had to learn their jobs. They would order them into the plant, and tell them, 'You're going to run the machine.' If a person would answer, 'I don't know how to run the machine,' he would be told, 'You're going to run it anyway—and if you break the machine then you're responsible for it'."

Question: "Didn't they have people to show them how to run the machinery?"

Answer: "No; they had no training course. They'd just grab a man and put him on a machine, and if he broke the machine, he would suffer the consequences according to the damage to it. If it was damaged too much, they would shoot him, or he'd go through a court and be put in prison, or they would release him from the job—put him out on the streets.

"He couldn't hold a job anywhere else after he left there because all the jobs are controlled by the government, so he couldn't even get a job on a farm. He wasn't allowed any place to eat or sleep, so he'd just have to roam until he died and no one would be allowed to give him any food."

Question: "What were the living conditions in China?"

Answer: "Rather simple. They mostly had soup to eat. Maybe they'd steal some beans or dog meat and put in into a big pot and cook it up into soup and feed it to the workers."

Question: "Did they eat in plant cafeterias?"

Answer: "Most of the plants had their own cafeterias—living quarters, mess hall and everything—in with the plant—so the people have to be in certain areas at certain times. When they leave the plant, they have to tell where they are going, and when they return, they have to give explanations of where they have been. If they were somewhere else besides where they said they were going, then they had to give explanations for that."

Question: "Would you say that people you knew were satisfied with this life?"

Answer: "They were not satisfied, but there was nothing they could do about it. They were under guard and surveyed at all times. Then they were going through a course that Communists called reformation of education. They would go to work about 6 a. m., as a rule, or at daylight, and work until it got dark. Then they would have 30 minutes to eat. Then they would go back to what they called their study class and they'd study anywhere up to midnight. They got very few hours of sleep."

Question: "Was there plenty of food in China?"

Answer: "I'd say they had plenty of food as far as rations went, but the government has monopolized it and they feed it mostly to the soldiers. Their stronghold is the soldiers, and as long as they can give soldiers good food and good clothing they know they can control the rest of the country."

Question: "Did you have different food from the Chinese?"

Answer: "On the job we ate the same food—that is, when we ate. If they were eating dog or cat, we would generally go without. You could see them killing and skinning it. By then, too, we knew a little bit of the language, and asked the workers what they were having to eat; they'd say dog meat or cat meat. If we were real hungry, we'd join them and eat. It depended on our condition. You had to live."

Question: "Could you get extra food anywhere?"

Answer: "No; you couldn't buy any extra food. Your pay just covered your living, including your food. You were allowed to buy only one suit of clothes per year."

Question: "Did they assign you work clothes?"

Answer: "They gave you a stamp. You could buy either the material, or one suit, with that stamp."

Question: "What happened if a stamp got lost?"

Answer: "Then you just went without. Few people would steal it. Among the civilians they understood that each person was working under the same strain, so they hardly would take it from one another."

Question: "Did men and women work together, or just men?"

Answer: "Men and women both in the same plant."

Question: "How did the women dress?"

Answer: "Just like the men. The material was real thin cotton. All clothes were blue."

Question: "What about cold weather?"

Answer: "They had padded clothes then, with cotton inside."

Question: "What did people talk about mostly, at meals or at work, or when they had a little bit of time to themselves?"

Answer: "Some wouldn't say anything. Others would talk. They were in the party. Soldiers were right there with them, the Communist Party and party headquarters. Everything is set up right within your own place."

Question: "Did they actually have people on the production line who were party workers?"

Answer: "Yes."

Question: "To stimulate those who were not?"

Answer: "Yes; that's what they had them there for—to boost the rest of them, and to give 'reformation' during work hours and after work. At all times, they carry on this 'education.' They don't even slow up for 1 minute. And they're not allowed to talk about anything that is counteracting to this education, no chit-chat."

PENALTIES FOR GRUMBLING

Question: "Did you ever hear any grumbling?"

Answer: "You never heard anyone say anything directly to the officials or soldiers. They would complain, but they would complain to people they knew well or could trust. If a worker complained about his machine, for instance, that he didn't like to work on his machine because it wasn't any good, if he complained to the wrong guy, that guy takes it up with the commander. It would come up during discussion. He would get criticized and receive punishment. They would call it 'corrupt ideology.'

Question: "Who does all this criticism?"

Answer: "They have meetings—that's where they criticize, not on the job. One guy knows a mistake the other one made. He gets up at this meeting and names it. Everyone has to get up during the process of criticism and first he criticizes himself. He says, 'Well, today, I didn't put out too much production.' Maybe he broke his neck doing all he could do, but still he has to say he didn't put out enough, and then they turn around to him and someone says, 'You didn't do this on the job,' or 'you made a mistake and made the wrong kind of machinery.'

"Then he gets criticized for all that, or for 'talking on the job,' or 'relaxing,' or maybe for 'talking revolutionary talk.' They're very strict."

Question: "When the workers were outside the plant or among themselves, were they ever free of someone watching them? Couldn't they talk among themselves?"

Answer: "You very seldom saw them quarreling among themselves. They would talk to a close buddy, someone they could trust. I talked to a lot of them after I learned their language.

"They would come to me and they would give me a description of how they lived before the Communist came in. They could see the difference. I would ask them, 'Do you want to go back to the old way, or do you like this way?' They'd say they would either want to go back to the old way or find something different."

"And, of course, they would ask how you lived and what kind of system you had and how much freedom you had during working hours, what kind of work you could do. I told them you could do any kind of work you wanted to. If you don't like the job, you can give notice and go someplace else. They didn't have that."

Question: "Did they believe you?"

Answer: "Yes; they believed me. They could feel that there was something else they wanted and needed, but they couldn't get it. They would tell you: 'There's nothing we can do because we don't have the guns.' It seems as if they were seeking for something that they knew existed but couldn't find."

Question: "Where did you live?"

Answer: "We lived in a compound with wires strung around it, and with guards. It was what they call a processing factory, where they do mechanical work, overhauling on trucks and tractors. They called it a state farm. The farm had Chinese and everyone else all together. Quarters were mud houses with straw tops."

Question: "How many people slept in one room?"

Answer: "Anywhere from 50 to 75. You slept on the floor or you found some wood and built yourself something to get off the floor."

Question: "There were no bunks?"

Answer: "No; they just put up a mud hut and you slept there."

Question: "Was there any plumbing or electricity?"

Answer: "No plumbing—but there was electricity to run the plant. They used it for lights because electricity was generated from motors and when night came they shut off the motors."

Question: "How about the Chinese there? Were their conditions of eating and living different from what they were accustomed to before the Communists took over?"

Answer: "Yes. They had more, before the Communists came in. Most of them were weak and skinny.

"I asked one what kind of life he led before the Communists came, and he said he worked in a garage, had his own car, and he could run it for a taxi most of the time. They had shipped him from Shanghai down there. As soon as the Communists came along, they separated him from his wife and family."

UNDER CONSTANT GUARD

Question: "At the plant you lived in a 'compound.' Did they have guards?"

Answer: "You were under constant guard. If you wanted to go some place, maybe just wanted to take a walk outside the factory, you would start and see if anyone would follow you. They said we were absolutely free, that we could go where we wanted. But immediately when you stepped out of the gate, a guard was right with you and you could only go so far, then he would bring you back. The guard told you when to come back. He had no gun, at least not in the open, but those at the gates had guns."

Question: "Were the guards friendly toward the people in the compound?"

Answer: "No, they were superior to the civilians there. Whatever the guards said to do, the civilians had to do."

Question: "What kind of work did you do?"

Answer: "They assigned us to repairing machines, trucks, and diesels."

Question: "American trucks, Chinese trucks, or Russian?"

Answer: "They were captured American trucks—GMC's. They had Ford tractors and a lot of Russian tractors. They didn't know how to fix this machinery. They didn't know how to overhaul it or repair it. They knew very little about machinery, so they put us into this plant and told us to work.

"In the process of working we figured out that they didn't know anything about machinery, so we decided to act like we didn't know anything either and to mess everything up. So we put bearings in backward or put discs in wrong, or left 3 or 4 out, and turned [piston] rings bottom-side up."

Question: "Didn't they find out what you had done?"

Answer: "For a long time they didn't know what was going on. The equipment was always breaking down, always coming back.

"They couldn't figure it out, so they began to ask us, 'Why does it all go wrong?' So we'd tell them it was the gasoline or the oil was bad.

"Then they sent one guy from Shanghai, a Chinese who could speak good English. He was pretty intelligent, so when he saw machinery sent back, he said this was done wrong or that was done wrong. So that kind of stopped our plot for a while."

Question: "Did they watch you more carefully after that?"

Answer: "At that time they watched us everywhere we went. One man was right with us all the time.

"After that, we started to make our push out of there. We refused to work, refused to do anything that they said to us. We demanded to leave."

THREATS FROM THE REDS

Question: "What did they do?"

Answer: "They came in and said, 'You'll work or else you'll suffer the consequences.' So we asked what were the consequences. They said, 'In our society, those who don't work, don't eat; those that don't work and follow the party, they don't exist.' He was in a roundabout way telling us if we didn't work, we'd be shot.

"So we told him, 'If you want to shoot us, go ahead.' We didn't know what they were going to do. We went on for a week like that."

Question: "Did they give you any food?"

Answer: "Yes; they finally gave us food after one day. So we figured we had won one victory. We found out they were going to move us into another factory, where they built plows, and which they claimed had better conditions. So we made an escape that night.

"The militia, their underground police, picked us up. We told them we wanted to get out and go home, so they sent to main headquarters to find out exactly what they were supposed to do with us, because civilians in the plant saw what we were doing. They saw how far we had got by holding a strike."

Question: "Did any of the Chinese try the same thing?"

Answer: "No; they didn't. They wouldn't dare to try the same thing. They had no hesitation in shooting them."

Question: "Did you know any cases where workers in the plant were shot?"

Answer: "They shot one worker in the same plant we were in because he broke a machine. They had him tried before all the workers in the plant and his sentence was death. They just took him out and shot him."

Question: "Did you get paid for your work?"

Answer: "You received just enough to eat and buy your clothes."

Question: "What about things like toothbrushes and soap?"

Answer: "They had a commissary, run by the Government, where you could buy stuff like that."

Question: "What about other things—shoes, belts smokes?"

Answer: "Most of it was issued. They'd take it out of your wages. You got a pair of shoes, they cost so much, they'd subtract it from your pay."

Question: "Were there any unions, or any negotiations between the workers and the officials?"

Answer: "They had what they called a union. One had to support the ideology to be accepted in the union. The rest were outsiders, but still they had to pay dues and couldn't go to the meetings.

"Actually, it wasn't a union. Communists just picked out who they thought they could control and used them against the others.

"The main object was to get more production out of the workers, not to better their conditions."

Question: "Could you change your job?"

Answer: "No; you couldn't. You had to stay at a specified factory unless you became a 'model worker.' If you put out more production than anyone else, they'd send you to another job where they had better machinery. But that was the only way to get to another plant."

Question: "Was your pay raised when your production increased?"

Answer: "No; it was still the same."

Question: "What did the cities look like over there?"

Answer: "They're building Peiping up. Russians are helping them, I guess. They're going to try and make that the showplace Foreigners will come there and the Chinese will say, 'This is what the Communists have.'"

"Outside of that, when you leave Peiping, you find civilians living mostly in old wood houses. You see very few brick buildings."

Question: "Could anyone build his own home, like a farmer?"

Answer: "You couldn't even own land. The state started off by giving so much land according to family, usually small communities on the same land. Some individuals wouldn't give up their land so they would take him out and shoot him or else they'd freeze him out—cut off his grain, refuse to let him buy anything, so he's left out. He either has to give in or die of starvation."

Question: "Did you pay taxes, income taxes?"

Answer: "They have taxes. They take a certain percent of your wages for taxes, also for unions, and for some kind of organization to serve the soldiers. When they get through you don't have much left."

Question: "When you got back, did things look different? What impressed you most?"

Answer: "To be free. Knowing what was going on over there, what was happening to people, you couldn't feel sorry for yourself because you knew their condition was worse."

UNITED STATES MEANS MORE NOW

Question: "Did being over there change your outlook on American life?"

Answer: "Yes. You can appreciate it. At first, when you come back, you are just dazed by all the people and automobiles.

"It's hard to explain just exactly how a man does feel after being over there and coming back into a world that's alive, where everything is moving.

"Before I ever saw the Communists function, I always felt we had freedom—but it's a lot more active feeling after you've seen what they do."

Question: "How about getting a job in the United States? Did you have any trouble?"

Answer: "No; it hasn't been too much of a problem. I only tried finding work in one place, the job I have now. I went out to apply for the job and got it right away. Haven't gone out any other place to apply for a job. As long as I could get a job and work and take care of my family, I wasn't interested in going any other place."

Tribute to Governor McKeldin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Albert A. Pattashnick, the field director of the Talmudical Academy of Baltimore has called to my attention the splendid tribute paid by Solomon Rogers, Esq., of the Baltimore Bar, to the very well-known Governor of the Free State of Maryland, the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin. The occasion for this tribute was the dedication of the study hall in Governor McKeldin's honor in one of the truly great and celebrated institutions of learning, namely, the Talmudical Academy of Baltimore.

Mr. Rogers, who is not only a very brilliant attorney, being a gentleman imbued with a truly civic consciousness and deep religious convictions, as can be testified to by all who have the privilege of knowing him, is also equally gifted as a brilliant and erudite orator.

The toastmaster on that auspicious occasion, which was attended by the leading citizens of the State, was Mr. Charles Rosenbaum, whose industry, business acumen, and effective ability have contributed so very much, indeed, to keep the great city of Baltimore in the front ranks among American municipalities.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including Mr. Rogers' address.

Governor McKeldin and Mrs. McKeldin, Mr., Chairman, worthy rabbis, ladies, and gentlemen, my wife and I are always happy to come to the Governor's mansion in this historic city of Annapolis, and I wish to thank you, Governor McKeldin, and you, Mrs. McKeldin, for this privilege and for your warm hospitality and many evidences of friendship. I am particularly pleased to be here on this occasion, and to have the added privilege of participating in the campaign to build the study hall at the Talmudical Academy in your honor for your outstanding public service to mankind.

The Talmudical Academy and its dedicated staff and teachers have attained a very important place in our community as an outstanding institution of learning and education, and a modern school for the teaching of Judaism and Jewish history to thousands of our children for nearly four decades. Many of Baltimore's outstanding leaders in the professions and business received their early education at the Talmudical Academy and they have done much to preserve our Jewish way of life.

This is, of course, of great importance to all Jews because if Judaism is to survive as a way of life in America, we must teach our children the wisdom, faith, and power of the ancient heritage of Israel, whether exemplified by orthodox, or conservative, or reformed doctrines and practices.

We, like many Jewish leaders on the American scene during the past several generations, are genuinely alarmed because of the drift of many of our people away from Judaism. As far back as 1906, Dr. Solomon Schector, the then president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, called it a national disaster. In an article which I read in our Holy Days Prayer Book, he said, "It is a tragedy to see an ancient people, distinguished for its loyalty to its religion and its devotion to its sacred law, losing thousands every day by mere process of attrition. We are helpless spectators of the Jewish soul wasting before our very eyes."

And, as thinking men and women, we are convinced that if we are to make our future as Jews in America happy and secure for ourselves and our children, we must teach our youth our Jewish history and traditions and make them justly proud of their heritage. Our people must be imbued with our rich traditions replete with 5,700 years of Jewish civilization, and with our contributions to the world in the fields of science, medicine, and government. We should electrify our people with the realization of the debt owed by the Christian world to Judaism for its gifts to the world of religious principles and a code of ethics of human behavior which have been adapted to and made part of the Christian religion as their own.

While we must use every means possible to hold our people steadfast to Judaism, we must at the same time, also develop a process of integration in the general community and become participants in a vibrant American Jewish life in order to give us utmost Jewish strength and unity in American public, political, and community affairs.

It seems to me the Talmudical Academy has chosen wisely in dedicating its study hall as a permanent testimonial to Governor McKeldin. It appears particularly appropriate and significant because of the governor's intense interest and devotion to the study of the Bible and various religions and the history of mankind and because he practices the religious principles and ethics of his faith devoutly. He stresses at every opportunity, the importance of spiritual and moral values in everyday life and as a consequence, has greater understanding and reverence for the religious beliefs of all other peoples and every faith. Through this practice he has made many contributions to the promotion of better relations between peoples of all creeds and in perpetuating the brotherhood and dignity of man.

The life and experience of Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin are an inspiring and fascinating story and a saga of American opportunity and achievement.

Like many of the great leaders in American history, from its founding to the present day, Mr. McKeldin, from a modest start in life, by tremendous labor, prodigious study, and indomitable will and determination to

succeed, overcame many hardships and obstacles to become one of the great and dedicated leaders and public figures on the American scene today. He is a nationally famed orator and author and he receives numerous requests to speak from religious and civic and business organizations of every description from every part of the United States.

He has been honored by the people of Baltimore and the State of Maryland by being elected by tremendous majorities to the highest office within their gift. He has taken a leading part in southern governors' conferences and occupies a very high place in the national Republican councils and his name should receive favorable consideration for any office within the gift of the people of the United States.

He has received many honors, awards, and citations from religious, fraternal, and civic organizations and numerous testimonials from organizations dedicated to the promotion of intergroup relations and understanding and brotherhood.

He holds an unbelievable number of honorary degrees from colleges and universities all over the United States, and recently had the rare distinction of receiving an honorary fellowship from the University of Jerusalem. I say rare, because the University of Jerusalem has given only a few honorary degrees during its entire existence.

But in spite of all these many honors, commendations, testimonials, and encomiums, Mr. McKeldin has never lost his touch with the common man or his love and respect for plain and ordinary people. He manifests greatest concern for the underprivileged and needy, and has demonstrated a passion for justice and mercy.

He has been in the forefront in the fight for civil and human rights and has made notable contributions in combating discrimination of every kind, and has used his great talents in breaking down many barriers against and injustices to Negroes in Maryland. He has translated into reality those high ideals which too often are only empty promises and platitudes. He has appointed Negroes for the first time in Maryland history to high office. He appointed the first Jew to the Court of Appeals in Maryland history when he appointed Simon Sobeloff chief judge, and he recently appointed the first Italian-American to the supreme bench of Baltimore.

But to my mind, his greatest public service, far beyond the call of duty, and certainly more than we have a right to expect, has been his great efforts in the interest of Jewish causes and matters affecting the Jewish people. No Jewish cause, whether it be the United Jewish Appeal, Hadassah, Brandeis University, Jewish Theological Seminary, Brith Sholom, Histradrut, Jewish national fund, or bonds for Israel, and many others, fails to receive the benefit of his great talents, energy, and even generous financial support. His efforts on behalf and unstinted support of Israel since its inception as a state and his forthrightness and courage in defending it in opposition to the stand taken by our State Department during the recent war with Egypt was of tremendous benefit to us when we desperately needed friends and moral support.

He organized and is president of the American Israel Society, an organization of Jews and non-Jews, which is doing much to promote cultural relations and understanding between Israel and America.

He has visited Israel twice in recent years and contemplates another visit early next year. We are most fortunate to have this able Ambassador and his great voice transmitting the Israeli and Jewish story to the people of America, Jew and non-Jew alike, whether it be at a Histadrut meeting or a Hibernian dinner.

I had the opportunity of hearing Governor McKeldin some months ago at one of the leading churches in Baltimore discuss his trip to the Holy Land, as the talk was advertised. No speaker at a Zionist, United Jewish Appeal, or bond dinner ever made a more constructive pro-Israel presentation.

He is one of our most dedicated and sincere friends, and I am sure I express your sentiments when I say we all value and treasure his friendship most highly and trust we may always merit and cherish it. As in the language of Shakespeare:

"The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried.
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel."

Governor McKeldin, in recognition of your high personal characteristics and humane qualities and your devotion and dedication to Jewish causes and institutions, we wish you to know that you have gained our warm affection, high esteem, and profound respect. We, your friends, are happy to make possible the building of the study hall at the Talmudical Academy as an eternal honor in your name.

We hope the Almighty in His infinite wisdom will spare you for many years to come and give you strength and the capacity to continue your vigorous and courageous stand in the defense of democracy, freedom, and justice for all mankind.

Inspection of Poultry and Poultry Products

SPEECH
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6814) to provide for the compulsory inspection by the United States Department of Agriculture of poultry and poultry products.

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Chairman, in passing the bill H. R. 6814, which provides for compulsory inspection by the Department of Agriculture of poultry and poultry products, it is of utmost importance that certain religious practices should not be overlooked.

It is my understanding, developed from the testimony at the hearings of the Committee on Agriculture, that recognized religious practices of the Jewish faith are accepted in the bill. For example, the laws of Kashruth require that kosher poultry be slaughtered by a shochet—religious slaughterer—that it cannot be defeathered with the use of steam or hot water, and that it must be offered to the consumer uneviscerated.

In order that these religious requirements should not be disturbed, poultry processed in accordance with religious dietary laws is to be exempt from the act.

I, therefore, call again these practices to the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture so that, in issuing the necessary rules and regulations pursuant to the act, he will make certain that they in no way interfere with these traditional processing requirements of the Jewish people.

Right of People To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues were disturbed by the threat to freedom of the press in the recommendations put forward recently by the Commission on Government Security headed by Mr. Loyd Wright.

In my opinion the right of the people to know what their Government is doing should only be restricted when necessary to protect the highest interests of national security. Succinct discussions of this threat were contained in the two editorials which appeared a few days ago in the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette which I am inserting in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Phoenix Gazette of June 26, 1957]

STEP TOWARD LEGALIZED CENSORSHIP

The Wright Commission's recommendations on the Government's loyalty-security program contain at least two changes that would lead the Nation in the wrong direction. The more serious of the two is proposed legislation making persons outside as well as within the Government subject to jail penalties for unlawful disclosure of information known to be classified (i. e., secret).

This would give the Government power to decree what should be published and to imprison those who disobeyed. Under the proposed central security headquarters, responsible only to the executive branch, it would be possible to mark any Government information "Top Secret," whether it was vital to the Nation's security or only to the administration's political security. If the information were leaked from a Government source, the incumbent administration would still be protected by the prison threat against publication. Except in wartime, there is no place in America for legalized censorship of that sort.

The other misguided recommendation is the one calling for stricter Government control of passports and American travel abroad. Freedom for Americans is not a domestic matter. A United States newsman should be free to visit and report on conditions in Red China regardless of State Department fears of the diplomatic applecarts he might upset. The emphasis should be on change away from restrictions which now put an

American-made iron curtain around our own nationals.

The Commission had made some good points on coordination of the loyalty-security program and in distinguishing between a loyalty threat and a security threat. But it has gone too far in trying to protect information.

[From the Phoenix Gazette of July 5, 1957]

MAKING IT EASY TO SUPPRESS NEWS

Loyd Wright, an attorney who heads the Commission on the Government's loyalty-security program, has had a sample of how hard it is to get information out of a bureaucracy. The details concerning 15 cases of publication prejudicial to the national security are denied to him by the Government.

These are cases which Wright has mentioned in justification of the Commission's recommendation for jail terms and fines for anyone violating security secrecy. Presumably they would show that newsmen have broken security on vital defense secrets—if Wright could break through Government classification of documents he believes would substantiate the charge.

Sometimes the secret stamp is entirely warranted to protect the Nation's security. But it can also be used to protect an administration's political security. The Wright Commission has recommended a step that would help bureaucrats put the secrecy lid on anything they wanted to suppress, and make it stick. Whether the information were vital to security or not, its publication would be equally prohibited under penalty of imprisonment.

This kind of blunderbuss legislation would be an invitation to Government censorship of news, since the law would back up the Government as sole arbiter of what was secret and what wasn't.

Progun Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, sportsmen and sportswomen throughout the United States are becoming increasingly alarmed at the various laws and regulations that have been passed and which have been proposed concerning firearms.

Hunting and gun sport form an integral and important part of our recreation pattern and will continue to play an ever-increasing role as our recreational activities increase in the years to come.

It is, therefore, heartening to find that William B. Edwards, the technical editor of Guns magazine, has made a thorough study of this problem and approaches it from a positive angle rather than the negative.

To all sportsmen and sportswomen, to all gunners, to all interested American citizens, I urge your serious consideration of the following editorial from Guns magazine which will appear in its September issue:

ANTIGUN LAW PROPONENTS ARE NOT ALL DO-GOODERS—LAWS THAT STRIKE AT CIVIL LIBERTIES THREATEN BUSINESS AS WELL AS OUR AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The antigun lawmakers are having a brisk season for 1957. With the practical nature of Andrew Volsteads and the subtlety of Carrie Nations they have attacked the root of all evil and the ills of mankind by the simple expedient of trying to take away all guns. Recently proposed Treasury regulations came close to this ideal; they could have destroyed the firearms industry and the shooting sport. Under the guise of protecting the people, these makers of rules who push antigun bills such as these are forging weapons, not into ploughshares, but into an iron collar of restraint, worthy of a fascist state.

Year by year more antigun laws are proposed. Meanwhile, pro-gun collectors and shooters are mollified by the excuse, these laws are thought up by well-meaning, innocent do-gooders. Certainly a few antigun advocates may seem to be well-intentioned, but lets look at well-eaning legislators in the forefront of antigun legislation.

Take a good look at genial, charming, personable Big Tim Sullivan, who disarmed the citizens of crime-ridden New York in 1911 with the grandaddy of antigun laws, then went mad the following year and was confined. Says the biographical dictionary, "Vice and crime were carefully organized in his territory and paid graft to his machine, as did many lines of legitimate business, including pushcart peddlers * * *. When charged with grafting, or partnership with crime and vice, he could rise in the (New York State) assembly or on a campaign rostrum and, by telling the story of his tenement boyhood and the sacrifices of his mother, reduce even hardened political opponents to tears * * *."

Big Tim was of the cloth of Adolph Hitler and the spellbinders of the ages. Election fights which stimulated the public pulse in those days hampered Big Tim's grasp on politics. So he pushed through a law requiring everyone in New York State to get a police permit to buy or possess a pistol or revolver. Sullivan knew he could control the police. This meant that when Sullivan's boys went on their ballotbox stuffing sprees, they could be reasonably sure of having no opposition. Big Tim was not a "well-meaning legislator" in his pistol law ideas. The Sullivan law weakened the opposition, sweetened the Tammany kitty. Antigun bills are a popular stepping stone to political fame, and many in the antigun ranks share Big Tim's motives.

A most ironic instance of the do-good legislator at work occurred in Connecticut last spring. A brutal murder of two people incensed the public against guns and a fantastic spate of 24 antifirearms bills was put into the mill, including the demand to register every pistol or revolver in the State. This is a common form of antigun bill, though just what it is supposed to accomplish is not clear. According to Fred A. Roff, Jr., of the Colt's gun company, the criminal committed the murders with a registered revolver, and the criminal was already a convicted felon.

Outlawing guns is impossible. The police themselves are often a source of pistols to people who do not bother with licenses and permits. I bought seven revolvers including a Colt DA M1878 .45 revolver and a small engraved Smith & Wesson .32 from one Chicago policeman, who did not want to insult me by asking for a permit. Though I bought them as "collector's items," they had been confiscated by the officer in the normal course of his work. He was logical in selling the guns to me, knowing me to be a gun collector; yet "confiscated guns, must be destroyed according to law," declares Chicago police commissioner T. J. O'Connor.

Another gun which came my way from a policeman violated State and Federal law. It was a .38 Smith & Wesson with numbers ground off that once belonged to the famous kidnapper "Machine Gun" Kelly. The gun was taken from one of Kelly's gang by then-detective Charles Zimmerman, later Buffalo, N. Y. chief of police. When he retired to California, Zimmerman kept the gun in memory of a high point in his career. His widow sold it to me as a collector's item. According to the penal law, section 1899, State of New York, "firearms and other enumerated dangerous weapons (confiscated in criminal proceedings) must be either destroyed or retained by the police department * * *" Evidently in New York, as in other places, there are two kinds of law—one for the police, and one for civilians. Federal law was also violated by Zimmerman by retaining a gun from which a number had been erased, and by transporting it across a State line.

While cops claim they can curb crime by taking away all guns, and the pro-gun guys come back with wornout cliches such as "with what gun did Cain slay Abel," the realities are that not even law enforcement agencies agree on what should be done with confiscated guns.

"The Los Angeles Police Department complies with law by dumping these guns into the deep waters of the Pacific Ocean each year on July 1," says A. C. Hohmann, of Los Angeles. But in Boston, the Commissioner of Public Safety "may sell or destroy the same, and in case of a sale * * * shall pay over the net proceeds to the Commonwealth." In Washington, D. C., "Pistols, machineguns, etc., are either destroyed or transferred to the regular inventories of Federal or District Government agencies," reports Inspector Earl Hartmen, property clerk. Yet by stealing from Government sources alone, criminals get nearly half the guns used in crime.

Philadelphia police recently made a smart, moneysaving move, which implicated the city government, common carriers, several gun dealers, and numerous other people, in a violation of the Federal Firearms Act. Procurement Commissioner Michael Sura decided that some confiscated Philadelphia police guns were worth money. He "scooped up 2,662 weapons which technically belonged as evidence from past trials and arranged * * * with the courts to offer them at public sale," wrote David O. Moreton in the May issue of Law & Order, the police monthly magazine. These guns were bid in by a New York gun dealer. Commissioner Sura thriftily saved Philadelphia nearly $10,000 in trade for new police equipment, yet demonstrated strikingly the logical inconsistency of the police attitude toward firearms. And he helped many people violate the Federal law.

The 1938 Federal Firearms Act states: "It shall be unlawful for any person to transport, ship, or knowingly receive in interstate or foreign commerce any firearm from which the manufacturer's serial number has been removed, obliterated, or altered, and the possession of any such firearm shall be presumptive evidence that such firearm was transported, shipped, or received, as the case may be, by the possessor in violation of this chapter." In this lot of guns were many with numbers ground off, and everybody from Commissioner Sura, to the common carrier, to the New York dealer, to final owner may have violated Federal law during their possession, transfer, shipment, or receipt of such firearms as the New Navy .38 Colt revolver illustrated, from which the serial numbers have been erased. Yet the sales and transfers in themselves were lawful transactions.

What, then, of the overall value of Federal antifirearms legislation? Has Congress any reason to make laws restricting the possession and use for lawful purposes of any kind of firearm? The answer is, no. But they are able to restrict guns by exercising a highly valued privilege of Congress, to raise and collect taxes. Congress has tried to control guns by excessive taxation.

Most of us agree that to provide for the common defense, to run our Government, we must pay taxes. We should naturally expect to give the Government considerably

more in tax money than the costs of accounting and collecting this money, so there will be a little left over for housing, defense, public works, welfare and social security, veterans' compensation, and other needs. But Congress antigun laws cost the people more to administer than they bring in.

The Treasury handles Congress gun-taxing laws because Congress has prohibited itself from making gun-restricting laws by saying in the Constitution's second amendment that "A well regulated militia being necessary for the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Contrary to what some of the more rabid pro-gun guys claim, this does not mean that everyone can go around carrying a gun. It does not mean that everyone cannot go around carrying a gun, either. The application of its meaning is in the expression "well regulated militia." The National Guard is not a constitutional "well regulated militia"; it is part of our United States Army organized Reserve forces. The militia ideas of the framers of the Constitution opposed the existence of a standing army. Formal expression of the militia concept was set forth in Plan for a Militia published in London in 1745 by a Colonel Martin. The ideas in this little book had much to do with the phrasing of the second amendment.

The army costs too much, said the colonel; militia would be cheaper. "No mercenary army (Martin's word for professional or standing army) which this nation can support without becoming bankrupt, is sufficient for its security against foreign invasion; yet a national militia is capable of defending it with great certainty, and little expense." The militia included "the military service of all men capable of bearing arms, from the age of 18 to that of 50 years; except such as may be exempted by law * * *"

Over a century later, the militia term held the same meaning. In Wilhelm's Military Dictionary (1881) under militia is the explanation, "The laws of the United States require the enrollment into the militia of all able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 45 years, with certain exception according to law (such as judges, clergymen, doctors)." And at that time, "The organized militia of the United States numbers 125,906 men, the number of men available for military duty unorganized, is 6,598,105." Out of a population in 1881 of 50 million, the figure compares well today with our 18 million licensed hunters with a national population of 170 million. Our shooters are our militia; our hunters, smallbore rifle shooters, target pistol marksmen, shotgunners, gun collectors, all are members of the militia of the United States.

But according to decree of the courts, militia is said to mean only the National Guard. And the progun guys who smart under the edict that no antifirearms laws have invaded the rights of citizens as embodied in the second amendment, flinch as the National Guard status is waved in their faces. They can flinch even more, for the term well-regulated, though not relating to the National Guard, did mean that guns were to be kept in an armory. The militia idea definitely regulated guns. When the militia companies were organized, the Government may send to every captain for each man so enrolled a good firelock (smoothbore flintlock musket) * * * and during every captain's possession of the arms, each is to be allowed an armorer to keep them clean. * * * The captain, not the individual militiaman, was to keep the firelock.

These two aspects of the much-mooted second amendment have caused conflict. The word militia does refer to everyone between 18 and 45 or 50 years of age. But secondly, the amendment does not say that everybody ought to carry a gun. The first point, that the militia includes everyone, is a score for the progun crowd; the second point favors the antigun lawmakers by proposing storage of arms in a Government armory.

But there is one more point, the heart of the controversy, for the amendment does not really relate to the concept of the militia, nor to the "security of a free state," but specifically to the "right of the citizen to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Stress that word "right," for it applies to all citizens. It is not a limitation on the States, as many examiners of constitutional doctrine generally observe. If it were, it would have been written "the right of the States to raise citizen militia to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The Bill of Rights refers to the citizens. Clearly, the second amendment means what it says. Court decisions which affirm that an antifirearms law is "constitutional" because it doesn't prevent the National Guard from carrying pistols are clearly legalistic nonsense: the National Guard is not the militia.

Times change. The National Guard is indispensible to our pattern of national defense. The militia today consists of 20 million gun owners. They face a very real problem, the present and future trend in antifirearms legislation. Basic rights are infringed, and the national security has been placed in danger by antigun laws.

Instead of implementing the second amendment, making sure that every man of the militia knows how to shoot his firelock—or Krag, or Springfield, or M–1, or BAR, or full-auto M–14 and M–15 rifles—Government has used excessive taxation to prohibit using modern military rifles for lawful purposes, and has killed the domestic manufacture of machineguns for defense. American soldiers are dead today because we did not have enough machine-firing weapons to give them on Bataan and Corregidor. The National Firearms Act (of 1934, amended 1954), was to blame. Then Attorney General Homer Cummings, after one World War and a dozen minor wars in his lifetime, still believed in 1934 that we would have no more war (it was outlawed by the League of Nations) and there was no need for guns. Then 1940 found us drilling recruits (who had never seen a gun) to fight a machinegun blitzkrieg, and the Army didn't even have guns to give them for drill. The concept of preinduction training in marksmanship was a flame nurtured by a tiny group of shooters in the National Rifle Association, men who knew the truth. Nobody would listen, though they preached the doctrine that rifle shooting is fun, as well as a duty of the citizen.

Even the Army has fallen for the antigun line. After spending 13 years and great expense in developing a full auto infantry rifle, the M–14, Ordnance has come up with a dilly; the M–14 as issued will be semiautomatic only, no advance over the M–1. By substituting a few parts the modern militiaman's firelock can be made full auto—but how do you convert an ordinary GI into a trained automatic rifleman? Will there be time?

There is a way to train 20 million citizen militia. We must have, not antigun laws, but progun laws. First step, repeal existing Federal firearms laws. They do not prevent crime. They do not curb crime. They do not give law enforcement officers any tools with which to catch or convict criminals, especially when law enforcement bodies from top to bottom ignore even Federal laws regulating firearms. And the high percent of federally owned and registered (U. S. Army) firearms used in crime reveals how ineffective Federal control of guns is. In two instances Federal firearms laws have been damaging to the national defense. The Machinegun Act has proved its folly, and prevented the creation of even a sport-shooting program in line with the Nation's need.

In a second instance, the Federal Firearms Act has been so badly written by law cranks (not gun cranks) that petty men with grand visions have seized on it as a stepping stone to power, and the abuse of the public. This mumbo-jumbo of commerce-regulating law hinders the legitimate dealer and manufacturer in guns—would, if proposed regulations went into effect, put gunmakers and dealers out of business. A house of cards, the law regulates the business of firearms making and selling, but carefully avoids the main fact, that of making a criminal's use of a gun unprofitable.

These new regulations include, for example, the requirement that records be kept permanently by the dealer or gunmaker, for the life of the business, or the duration of his successors. Records, in brief, to be kept in perpetuity. Says R. E. Train, assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, in a June 10, 1957 letter to Senator Homer Capehart, "section 177.51 requires each licensed manufacturer or dealer to maintain records reflecting the receipt and disposition of all firearms. These records are required to be preserved permanently until the licensee or its successor in interest discontinues business. The present regulations provide for the maintenance of such records, but only for 6 years. The statute itself (15 U. S. C. ff 903 (d)) provides that 'dealers shall maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment, or other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of the Treasury shall provide.'

"This section of the proposed regulations which is being widely objected to as imposing a new and unreasonable burden would seem to be clearly required by the words of the statute itself," continues Mr. Train in his opinion to Senator Capehart. "Actually," says Train, "the main difference between the old regulations and the new would seem to be that at the present time these records need only be kept for 6 years rather than permanently."

Although there is no reasonable explanation offered as to the value of records of a gunmaker kept permanently, nor is it stated who will be able to afford the tremendous cost of searching these records, citizen Train is obviously at fault in his semantic logic. "Permanent records" does not nor has it ever been intended to mean "keeping records permanently, in perpetuity." A permanent record is, if we take Webster for the meaning, one "not subject to fluctuation or alteration." In the statute quoted by Train, the word "permanent" modifies "records" as an adjective. The new regulations twist it into an adverb, "permanently," which modifies the verb of "keep." Now, does the Treasury want records kept in permanent-type ledgers, available for inspection as required for normal income-tax purposes, or does it want records kept on any old scrap of paper, or in the mind of the dealer, but retained by him for all time? One or the other, but not both, is the meaning of the statute. And once "permanent records" is allowed to mean "records kept permanently," every industry in the United States which keeps records, every businessman, every taxpayer, every citizen, who should keep records in permanent form for, say the stautory 6 or 7 years, will have to keep records as long as they are in business, as long as they are taxpayers, as long as they are alive. Why?

This firearms department is an odd offspring of an abortive push to get rid of all crime, by getting rid of all guns. The pillars on which it is propped are the National Act of 1934 and the Federal Act of 1938. Both are ostensible revenue-raising acts. Under the National Act in 1955–1956, $11,000 was taken in from transfer and registration fees, penalties, and fines. During the same period, the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit of the

Treasury (which contains the firearms department) spent an amount which the ATU director refused to reveal, though it must have run into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. In one instance, in downstate Illinois, ATU agents spent 5 years in getting 1 machinegun collector. When brought to trial, penalties could have totaled 18 years and $45,000. Charitably, the judge gave a token fine of $100, exacted no court costs, thereby apparently expressing his belief that the Government's case was a waste of time. In the southern district court in California, a Culver City dealer, harassed by ATU agents, on direct orders from Washington, spent over $1,000 fighting an action brought by the Government because he sold antique curio pistols known as Chicago protector palm pistols. Firing an unobtainable .32 extra short rimfire cartridge, the gun was argued to be a violation of the National Machine Gun Act by another one of those odd twists of meaning which the Treasury seems to enjoy. The court, however, tossed out the case, finding for the defendant gun dealer.

Since the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit also is supposed to catch bootleggers, and is ordered to apprehend criminals engaged in dope peddling, every minute spent on antigun foolishness is so much time taken away from their legitimate business. Distilling illegal alcohol is said to be the second largest illegal industry in the United States. And in the time it takes our ATU man to get the dope on an otherwise honest gun-law violator (they don't prove many cases), a narcotics peddler can suborn your boy or your girl into a life-wrecking habit.

Today, right now, there exists crying need to enact constructive legislation in the field of firearms law. Repealing existing laws is a must. Reenacting some provisions of existing laws, together with a look at the mandatory sentence, should come next. Judges and juries are reluctant to convict when stiff mandatory sentences are in sight. But let the punishment fit the crime—say, 2 to 5 years in addition to the specific charge, if the crime was committed while carrying a gun, would be workable. Don't exempt shotguns and rifles from penalties for criminal use, but don't aim antigun laws at any gun just because of its fancied criminal-type nature. Yesterday's terror weapons is tomorrow's collector's prize. There should not exist any legislation prohibiting any citizen from using any type of firearm, including machinegun, muffler, or silencer, or Buck Rogers ray gun, for any lawful purpose. But if anyone steps out of line with a gun, throw the book at him.

Enact legislation to put some teeth into the militia concept, too. Work on that militia idea, and while we cut defense spending by the billions, let's up it a few millions in the direction of the citizen soldier. Instead of trying to cut out the Army director of civilian marksmanship's puny appropriation of $300,000 in the false interests of economy, stick a couple of extra zeroes on it, and make military small arms and ammunition available in plenty for rifle club members on approved ranges. Drop some added cash into the Federal school aid program, and build decent shooting ranges as elements in the overall sports program. Get the States interested in making the sport of shooting a part of everyday life in the towns, on campus. The cadre of instructors available, free, from the membership of the National Rifle Association, the United States Revolver Association, the National Skeet Shooting Association, the Amateur Trapshooter's Association, the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association, the National Single Shot Rifle Association, and many more clubs, shooters' and collectors' organizations all over the Nation, can really implement that second amendment if we have positive firearms legislative thinking, instead of negative, false, destructive attitudes.

What you can do is twofold: First, write immediately to the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington 25, D. C., and give him the benefit of your views of the proposed new regulations. Copies of these regulations can be found in any public library in the May 3, 1957, Federal Register. If you are against the rules, say so. Your letter must be in duplicate.

Second, write to your Senators and Congressmen, in Washington and in your State capital. Tell them what kind of gun laws you think are needed to prevent crime, and what kind of laws you want to see enacted to make your sport of guns and shooting one that will not be taken from you. And consider also your rights, as a citizen under this Constitution. Tell your Congressman about those rights, too. He knows about them, but it is always refreshing to a legislator to have matters called to his attention anew by the people who voted for him. Send a copy of your letter to Guns magazine for reference. We'd like to know your ideas on constructive firearms legislation. Urge the formation of a congressional committee to recommend good gun laws.

There are plenty of advocates of antigun legislation. The results have been many: National weakness and disarmament, increased crime, novel forms of corruption and graft, political hysteria controlled for selfish political purposes, and manifold invasions of the rights of citizens. After all, why not have a progun law?

Survey Discloses New Jersey Is Undergoing the Most Pronounced Industrial Development in Its History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the State of New Jersey is undergoing the most pronounced industrial development in its history. At least $1,400,000,000 will be spent between now and 1961 by about 500 concerns for capital improvements or new plants in New Jersey, and these figures may be exceeded considerably, inasmuch as many concerns declined to disclose the extent of their planned capital outlays.

Gov. Robert B. Meyer has opened an intensive drive to attract new business and industry to New Jersey in cooperation with executives of the State's banks, business, industry, and utilities.

I include here a report on this drive for new business from the New York Times of July 15, 1957. The article was written by George Cable Wright, the Times' able correspondent in Trenton, N. J.:

JERSEY MAKES BID TO NEW INDUSTRY—EXECUTIVES TO BE ENVOYS OUT OF STATE—GROWTH ALREADY AT PEAK, SURVEY FINDS

(By George Cable Wright)

TRENTON, July 14.—Gov. Robert B. Meyner has opened an intensive drive to attract new business and industry to New Jersey. He is acting in cooperation with executives of the State's banks, business, industry, and utilities.

The executives, meeting with Mr. Meyner in Princeton last week, agreed to be economic ambassadors. All are men who travel extensively in their work. Each received a portfolio stressing the advantages of doing business in Jersey. The envoys will use this in seeking to induce industrialists, manufacturers, and financiers whom they meet to locate here.

Meanwhile a survey discloses that this State is undergoing the most pronounced industrial development in its history.

HEAVY SPENDING SLATED

At least $1,400,000,000 will be spent between now and 1961 by about 500 concerns for capital improvements or new plants in New Jersey. In all probability the expenditures will far exceed this figure, as many of the concerns have declined to disclose the extent of their capital spending.

Public utilities, which must service these new and added facilities, will spend more than 60 percent of the total outlay. The only utilities failing to keep pace with the industrial development appear to be those that furnish potable and industrial water.

The growth of industry and business is particularly pronounced in the Delaware and Raritan River valleys. Yet there are evidences of it in nearly all of the State's 21 counties. The extent of the developments is obvious to the motorist who drives south along United States Route 1 or the New Jersey Turnpike.

Among the more costly projects are 3 electric generating plants being constructed by the Public Service Electric & Gas Co., at a cost of $500 million; a $276 million completely integrated steel mill planned by the Phoenix Iron & Steel Co.; a $24 million Curtiss-Wright plant now nearing completion, and an $18 million installion about to be built by the Phelps Dodge Corp.

TELEPHONE EXPANSION PLANNED

The New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. plans to spend $220 million on new equipment over the next 4 years. In the same period the Atlantic City Electric Co. will invest $100 million in generating equipment.

Meanwhile the pressure of new business led the Prudential Insurance Co. last year to embark on a major expansion program. By 1960 this concern will have spent $21 million for additional office space.

Chemical industries alone are committed to spend $139,100,000 on capital improvements and expansion in this State during this year and 1958.

One atomic reactor plant, reportedly the first of its type in this country, was placed in operation by Daystrom at West Caldwell in March. Three other reactor installations are about to be built.

Meanwhile industrial real estate activity is reported brisk throughout the State, with choice tracts being sold rapidly. A substantial rise in employment rolls is anticipated in conjunction with this development. However, the increase is expected to be tempered by a spread of automation.

It is interesting to note that job predictions for 1960, made for the State just 7 years ago, have in many instances already been surpassed.

NINE-HUNDRED-ACRE STEEL PLANT

Phoenix Iron & Steel, a subsidiary of Barium Steel, has purchased 900 acres adjoining the Delaware River at Burlington for its ambitious project. When completed, it will provide facilities for the complete production of steel plate, structural designs, and seamless tubing. It will further assume all of the functions of the company's present plants at Harrisburg and Phoenixville, Pa.

Just a week ago $10 million in debentures were sold to finance the start of construction. The first phase will cost $50 million and will comprise the erection of adequate docking facilities, a blast furnace, and an oxygen converter plant.

The National Gypsum Co. recently completed a multi-million-dollar installation ad-

cent to the Phoenix property. And the ood Conversion Co., of St. Paul, Minn., is w building a $3,500,000 plant at near-by elanco. A few miles south at Moorestown, e Radio Corporation of America has vastly panded its guided missile and surface dar work.

At Pennsauken, on the outskirts of Cam-n, the Ford Motor Co. is constructing an 3,500,000 parts depot and export center, and e Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. is erecting a ulti-million-dollar facility.

Other concerns building major installa-ons in this area are the Owens-Corning berglas Corp., the Hussman Refrigerator o., of St. Louis, and the National Metal dge Box Co. The Campbell Soup Co. cently completed the erection here of a 00,000-square-foot warehouse and is now onstructing nearby an office building and aboratory.

JET ENGINE FACTORY

The Curtiss-Wright structure is rising at he northern end of the Delaware Valley n Lawrence Township. It is due for com-letion by 1961 and will be used for the aintenance and testing of jet engines. Nearby, in East Windsor, the Applied Science Corp. is erecting a $1 million build-ng to house its present activities at Prince-on.

Socony Mobil has purchased land for a re-search laboratory at Pennington and plans o operate an atomic reactor plant at Hope-well. The New York Shipbuilding Corp. has just completed a new $12 million graving dock at Camden.

South at Paulsboro on the Delaware the Sun Oil Co. and Esso Standard Oil are about o build new bulk-oil plants. A few miles east the Hercules Powder Co. and the Owens-Illinois Glass Co. are erecting major struc-tures.

United States Bronze Powder Works, Inc., plans a multi-million-dollar facility at Flemington, as does RCA at Somerville. Johnson and Johnson recently completely a new plant for its Ethicon Division near Som-erville and three additional moderniatic plants on a 300-acre site at North Bruns-wick. These structures will house the com-pany's shipping center, baby products divi-sion and surgical dressing activities.

The Phelps Dodge installation is rising on a 200-acre tract at South Brunswick.

The Okonite Cable Co. recently purchased a large plant on Route 1 at New Brunswick for $4,500,000 and has already moved all of its Wilkes-Barre, Pa., operations here.

Other concerns that have purchased large tracts of land or are now building in this area are the Aluminum Corporation of Amer-ica, the California Refining Co., the Ameri-can Smelting & Refining Co., the Hercules Powder Co., the Jersey Central Power & Light Co., RCA, the Bakelite Co., E. R. Squibb & Sons, the Sperry & Hutchinson Co., Ron-son, and the National Lead Co.

Revlon recently moved most of its Brook-lyn and Bronx cosmetic facilities to Edison Township, near New Brunswick. Within a 10-mile radius of New Brunswick more than $100 million is being spent or has been com-mitted by private industry, for expansion and development of production plants.

Sherwin-Williams has purchased 12 acres at South Brunswick for a new paint instal-lation. Brockway Glass completed a new plant at Freehold last year and is already expanding it, and the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. is erecting a vast plastic plant close by.

The Colgate-Palmolive Co. has bought 105 adjoining acres, and the American Coil Com-pany, Inc., has just completed a 65,000-square-foot building at Farmingdale.

The General Chemical Division of the Allied Chemical and Dye Corp., is expanding its Elizabeth facility, and the Philco Corp. is planning to erect a huge storage warehouse in that community. Close by at Linden, the General Aniline and Film Corp. and Esso are spreading their industrial wings.

Inflation: Politicians Choose Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, devotees of the Eisenhower-Humphrey tight-money form of economic strangulation have missed few opportunities to chastise their critics as half-baked political opportunists who know nothing about fiscal policy or classical economic theory. I think the fine column of July 12, 1957, by Mr. Richard L. Strout, staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, will provide interesting reading for my colleagues as it furnishes some information on the composition of the group which is attacking the so-called orthodox economic theory held by Secretary Humphrey. As Mr. Strout points out, the new economic group includes men who, indeed, are not to be scoffed at.

Mr. Strout also relates some of the arguments of this new economic school and in particular pays attention to the fact that the tight money, credit-rationing policy is uneven and unfair. Certain giant corporations continue to obtain needed financing even though interest rates soar, for they are able to pass the added expenditure along to the consuming public by charging higher prices. However, it is the little-business man and the small company in the highly competitive situation who are unable to absorb the staggering cost of current interest rates. They do not have the opportunity to benefit from an administered price.

Mr. Speaker, I think it high time we examined closely the relevance of the orthodox economic theory to the type of inflation we are now undergoing. Despite Secretary Humphrey's protestations, the theory may not be as sacrosanct as he would have us believe.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Strout's article be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of July 12, 1957]

INFLATION: POLITICIANS CHOOSE UP

(By Richard L. Strout)

Many observers here regard inflation as the No. 1 long-range economic issue before the United States.

The question increasingly is asked:

Is this another old-fashioned normal kind of inflation, or is this a new kind?

From the beginning the administration has said this is normal-type inflation which requires normal remedies.

A group of economists, however, is urging strongly that it is a new kind of inflation to which old-fashioned classical remedies aren't adequate.

POLITICIANS TAKE SIDES

Politicians are beginning to choose up sides. President Eisenhower, outgoing Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, and other Republicans are committed to the orthodox concepts and argue that the old-fashioned prescription of tight money is the appropriate remedy.

On the other hand, Democrats—almost desperately searching for a common political issue—are tending to fall behind the new group of economists. It can't be said that the Democrats always understand the new theory but they are willing to take a chance on anything.

The new economic group, although in a minority, includes men not to be scoffed at. At one time or another doubts about the orthodox theory have been raised by Elliott Bell, editor of Business Week and former fiscal adviser to Thomas E. Dewey, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Seymour Harris of Harvard, Gardner C. Means of the Committee on Economic Development, Leon Keyserling, former head of the Truman Council of Economic Advisers and—in greater or lesser degree—a good many other well-known figures.

PRESIDENT ASKS HELP

The administration's problem is that although it has backed the "tight money" policy courageously for almost a year prices have kept going up. As an editorial in the current Life magazine (supporter of the Eisenhower administration) says:

"The consumer price index has gone up for 14 of the last 15 months and is at another all-time high * * * prices have risen nearly 4 percent in the past year."

There are signs that the administration is less certain now that it has the answer.

President Eisenhower at his press conference has with increasing frequency stated that the Government by itself cannot halt inflation, that this is a problem in which the people must cooperate. Increasingly, he singles out corporations and trade unions. This in part approaches the theories of the "nonorthodox" school. Shortly after making one of his urgent exhortations Mr. Eisenhower was faced with the latest price boost of United States Steel.

Secretary Humphrey's economic views, as presented in lengthy current grilling before the Senate Finance Committee, are almost 100 percent traditional and orthodox, but some people think that even he is shifting.

In a militant opening statement he appeared to take the position that current inflation is due to big Government spending and goods "scarcity," that prices are rising because too much money is chasing too few goods. This is the classical concept.

On July 11 he amplified this to include another feature, huge Federal expenditure for unproductive armaments. It appeared that his is one of the chief villians in Mr. Humphrey's concept. It leaves unanswered why prices were fairly stable for 4 years between 1951–55 even while armament expenditures were big.

The group of new school economists, increasingly backed by a number of Democrats, is charging that what Secretary Humphey says is happening isn't happening, and that he is taking the wrong steps to prevent it from happening.

ARGUMENTS STATED

If the diagnosis of "to much money chasing too few goods" is correct then the orthodox remedy for the orthodox problem is correct—cut down the supply of money. This the Federal Reserve Board has been doing vigorously by boosting interest rates, throttling credit. This has the effect of rationing loans, just as water is rationed on a life-raft. Those who get credit survive; those who fail succumb.

But what the new economic school argues is that this remedy is no longer adequate; in fact, may actually be harmful. Credit rationing as an inflation remedy is uneven and unfair, they assert.

At the risk of oversimplification, the argument runs like this:

Small companies can't get credit easily, neither can competitive groups whose prices are fixed on the market place. The building industry and small business, it is widely accepted, are having difficulties.

But the giant corporations (so runs the argument) are less affected. Instead of borrowing money, they raise prices.

MORE SUBTLE EFFORT?

Other speakers go further and argue that credit stringency is injuring small business and not affecting or even aiding monopolies, while the banks which have money to lend are prospering disproportionately.

Prices are going up at the same time that the value of Government bonds are sinking, it is pointed out.

Many economists cite the one-two effect of trade unions raising wages in escalator agreements while simultaneously employers pass on the cost to the public in higher prices.

"How can 'tight money' affect this kind of thing?" they ask. Dr. Sumner Slichter, of Harvard, has partially stressed the inflationary significance of this union-employer procedure.

To get at the real causes of the "new inflation," according to many witnesses before the two current Senate hearings, remedies at once more subtle and up to date are required.

Minneapolis Youth Wins Propeller Club National Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, Ronald C. Johnson, a student at Central High School in Minneapolis, has won first prize in the annual essay contest sponsored by the Propeller Club of the United States and conducted among the Nation's high schools to stimulate active interest in the American Merchant Marine. His award is a 40-day, 8,000-mile-round-trip voyage to the Mediterranean.

Ronald's essay topic was the "American Merchant Marine: Its Importance to the American Farmer, Miner, Manufacturer in World Trade." He related the vital role of American shipping in maintaining reliable means for exporting surpluses produced from each of the above fields and in providing supply lines at home for dozens of commodities essential to the welfare and economic health of workers in those fields.

The National Propeller Club is an organization with about 12,000 members in various commercial fields who actively advocate and support the need for an American-flag shipping industry. In addition to his top national prize, Ronald's essay won first prize in a contest which the Twin-Cities Port of the Propeller Club conducted among high-school youths in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Naturally we are proud of Ronald Johnson's fine achievement.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the winning essay.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN FARMER, MINER, MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By Ronald C. Johnson)

FOREWORD

I am entering this contest because ships have always fascinated me. Having lived inland, I have had only a slight firsthand knowledge of our great merchant marine.

The more I studied this vast subject, the more I have become aware that our very existence as a powerful and prosperous Nation is directly linked to our merchant marine. Its inland, coastal, and world shipping represents the very lifeline of commerce, upon which the American farmer, miner, and manufacturer must depend for the transport of raw materials and distribution of finished products.

Most important of all, I have discovered that our merchant shipping affects the people I know and see every day. The paperboy and the mailman, for example, could not bring us news if it weren't for mass shipping of wood pulp, ink, minerals, and machinery. My corner drugstore, as well as the big department store downtown would not be so reasonable in price, nor so diversified, without the benefit of our vast and complex family of merchant ships.

The Propeller Club, through its Harold Harding Memorial Essay contest, is doing a great service to all Americans of my generation by giving us this opportunity to study and more fully appreciate the vital importance of our great merchant marine.

THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE AS A BENEFACTOR OF WORLD ECONOMY

With the world's surface being composed of more than 70 percent water, the ships from all countries weave a network of commerce, making possible a freer interchange of goods and ideas. The United States Merchant Marine, as a leader in world shipping, is one of the greatest forces for a more stabilized and unified world civilization. Through recent years, spectacular strides have been made in transportation and communication that have seemingly melted vast distances between continents. American shipping is also keeping its pace with progress. In the future as well as for the present, our merchant marine will remain to be our most reliable and economical means of transport for a variety of American goods stemming from our mines, our fields, and our factories. The United States possesses more than one-third of the total sea tonnage of shipping (see chart A), and has the world's largest merchant marine.

OUR SHIPS ARE BUILT TO SPECIALIZED REQUIREMENTS

Our world shipping fleet is comprised of tramp or charter vessels, the company-operated vessels, and the liner vessels. There are a wide variety of ships in each category. Each is designed for a certain type of service. For example, there are ships built for overseas trade, intercoastal shipping, Great Lakes shipping, and inland waterways. Each vessel must be built to best suit the trade route for which it is intended. Most ships are designed for one purpose, or a single type of cargo. These include the sleek passenger liner, the combination passenger-freighter, the company liner, which might include ships designed exclusively for transporting coal, grain, ore, chemicals, or foodstuffs. There are also combination freighter-tankers, which haul both package freight and bulk cargo—such as oil and other liquids. Barges of all types are used extensively on inland waterways. These are generally built for one type of commodity, such as grain, coal petroleum, and other bulk cargoes. Some barges are specially built to transport hundreds of automobiles and trucks.

Some vessels must be limited as to length, beam, or draft, due to certain size lockages or shallow waters in which they operate. Commercial fishing fleets are noted for being designed to meet the requirements of the particular type of fishing for which they are used. Our Great Lakes ore boats are a typical example of the way our merchant ships are often completely designed to perform a specific cargo hauling task. Their job is to economically move iron ore from the head of the Great Lakes to the steel centers of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Marine architects and engineers developed mammoth 600- to 800-foot long ships for this task. The record for filling one of these ore boats is 11,000 tons in 15 minutes. Normally, however, boats are filled in 3 or 4 hours, from huge overhead hoppers, which receive ore from railroad dump cars, with tracks running out on the pier, above the hoppers. Giant unloaders empty the ore boats in from 4 to 5 hours.

The design of a ship is all-important, because it affects its efficiency, and its ability to best serve the miner, farmer, and manufacturer.

OUR POSTWAR MERCHANT MARINE

The United States merchant marine includes 25.8 million gross tons, 30 percent of the world's active ocean-shipping tonnage (see chart A). World War II left us with a surplus of 4,000 war-built ships owned by the Government. Their tonnage equaled two-thirds of the world's prewar dry-cargo fleet, and one-half the tanker fleet. Nearly a thousand of the best of these ships were sold to United States citizens, which were given preference. Most of these surplus tankers, Victory, and Liberty ships have been remodeled to efficiently meet our Nation's present-day shipping needs. Eleven hundred surplus ships were sold shippers of other nations, and 1,888 have been set aside as our national-defense reserve fleet.

The value of our moth-ball merchant fleet was proven only recently, when the Suez Canal was closed. Many of our reserve tankers were quickly recommissioned to carry United States fuel oil to Europe. Hundreds of these surplus ships have also served agriculture by providing emergency grain storage capacity.

UNITED STATES POSTWAR OCEAN SHIPPING TRIMMED TO INDUSTRY'S NEEDS

As statistics indicate, we presently have a vast, powerful modern fleet of merchant ships to serve American industry. In fact, World War II, and our international commitments in Korea from 1948 to 1953, spurred us into overbuilding our merchant fleet.

For the sake of economy, we have cut back our active shipping tonnage to proportions that best suit our current requirements.

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES ARE VITAL

With our high wage scales and high operating costs, our ships cannot economically compete with the merchant fleets of other countries. It is estimated that foreign ships can be built for less than half of what United States shipyards can produce them for. The typical foreign freighter can also operate for hundreds of dollars per day less than ours. It is therefore inevitable that the Federal Government subsidize American shipping and shipbuilding to insure the continued strength of our merchant marine. Much of this subsidy cost is regained through our protective import duties. This expense to our national budget is a

necessity. It must be included as a part of the overall cost of insuring our world leadership and our ability to be self-sufficient in the event of another war threat.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE IS BIG BUSINESS

In analyzing costs, it is well to realize the tremendous stake American shipping has in American industry. Passenger liners such as the *United States* represent a $70 million investment. A modern freighter ranges from $3,500,000 to $6 million each. Private investors have a long-range investment that must show a profit and be amortized over a 20-year period. Yet, Government arrangements with the United States Maritime Commission provide only for 12-year subsidy contracts. This presents a serious threat to encouraging private capital, and hinders the continuing strength and prosperity of our merchant marine. A high proportion of United States owned ships must be Government subsidized in order to remain in operation (see chart B).

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, PLUS PRIVATE CAPITAL CAN SOMETIMES IMPROVE SHIPPING SERVICES

One exception to the trend toward increasing dependence upon Government aid, is the Federal Barge Lines operating in the Mississippi River and its tributaries. This line, for many years, was a Government-owned facility, consistently operating at a loss. Recently acquired by the St. Louis Shipbuilding & Steel Co., it was gradually built into an organization earning a substantial net profit in 1956. This was accomplished by reequipping the line with faster, more powerful new diesel towboats, introducting completely new-style integrated sectional barge tows, and by using modern loading and unloading methods.

American industry benefited by this company's improved handling of freight, and faster service. Federal Barge Lines is no longer a taxpayer's burden. Instead, it is a profitable, taxpaying enterprise.

SHIPPING ROUTES MUST BE ECONOMICALLY SOUND

To best serve industry, cargo space must be fully utilized, and runs with empty or light loads avoided. Short shipping seasons can also make a route costly.

OUR STRATEGIC LOCATION, PLUS ABUNDANT HARBORS AND WATERWAYS, FAVORS SHIPPING

Another important phase of the merchant marine's ability to serve the American farmer, miner, and manufacturer in world trade, is our abundance of excellent natural harbors and well-managed port facilities. These natural harbors are strategically located on both the east and west coasts, and on the gulf. Enormous manmade harbors and inland water facilities have also been developed to bring the world's markets to industry's doorstep. North America, blessed with the most fabulous inland sea—the Great Lakes—is soon to become an important link in world trade through the great St. Lawrence seaway.

The North American Continent, with its vast coastline, is uniquely placed as a natural center of world trade on both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. With the Panama Canal, the United States holds the key to important east-west shipping—both for our coastal industries and a great portion of all world shipping. (See chart E.)

THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE OF THE FUTURE

Today marine engineers are vitally concerned about the possibility of future block obsolescence of our merchant ships of World War II vintage. To counteract this, far-reaching experimentation is going on in testing newer, stronger, more durable materials that can go into the building of our ships.

Completely radical new designs are being worked out to make our ships more functional. Stowage, loading, and unloading processes are being improved to cut handling costs and speed shipment. This will be a tangible aid to American industry and agriculture. New techniques are being tried. "Piggy-back" shipping of semitrailers on the decks of intercoastal ships, Great Lakes ships, and inland waterway barges. Two new rollon train ships to be started this year, will permit the Alaska Steamship Co. to roll on 110 railroad cars and transport them on an 8-day turnaround schedule between Seattle and Whittier, Alaska. Huge mariner cranes and other automatic loading and unloading machinery are fast replacing archaic boom gear.

New turbo-generators using nuclear power are expected to be built within the next 5 years. Such developments might hold the key to revolutionizing the entire shipping industry. There might be a day when nuclear powered ships can travel many times around the world without delay for refueling. Greater operating efficiency should result. By eliminating much bulky machinery and fuel storage, such a ship could provide 20 to 30 percent added cargo space.

All of these new developments hold great promise for the new merchant fleet of the future, and its ability to offer new standards of transport to benefit the American farmer, miner, manufacturer, and ultimately all of us.

The Supreme Court—Has It Legislative Functions?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the pen of Mark P. Haines, of Sturgis, Mich., publisher of the Sturgis Journal, comes the following editorial of June 22, 1957, which can with profit be read by the average citizen:

GOVERNMENT BY USURPATION

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States make convincing evidence that the lawmaking powers of Congress have been usurped by 9 men who hold their positions by appointment and are frozen into their jobs for life. What President Roosevelt was unable to accomplish with his Court-packing scheme in the 12 years he was President, President Eisenhower has achieved in less than 5 years. We now have government by philosophy and political opinion instead of law.

The Supreme Court has preempted the legislative functions of Congress and is decreeing—not interpreting—what laws shall govern our people and our economy. The irresponsibility of some of its decisions are incredible.

People of this country now have a better understanding of what President Eisenhower meant when he gave his reason for the appointment of Justice Earl Warren—that the former California Governor had a good middle-of-the-road philosophy. A judge's personal convictions and philosophy should have no bearing on his judgment in matters of law. The Supreme Court's duty as defined by the Constitution is to apply the law to the facts as determined by the lower courts unless there has been a gross abuse of discretion with regard to the latter. Personal views and prejudices should have no part in the Court's reasoning.

Adding to the confusion is the fact that the Supreme Court can't make up its own mind.

On June 11, 1956, the United States Supreme Court by a 5 to 3 vote upheld the right of military courts to try civilian dependents accompanying the United States Armed Forces overseas. Last week, ruling on the same two cases, less than 1 year after its first decision the Court reversed itself completely. There are now nearly 400,000 of these overseas dependents, plus 24,000 civilian employees, who have no papa, no mama, no Uncle Sam.

Even more serious in its implications is a recent decision of the Supreme Court practically nullifying the authority of Congress to deal with Communists on the Federal payroll. Reversing its own decision upholding the Smith Act 6 years ago, the Court has now freed 5 California leaders of the Communist Party from sentences under the Smith Act, and ordered new trials for 9 others. The Court's reasoning is, that in order to convict under the Smith Act, which makes it a crime to conspire to teach and advocate overthrow of the Government by force and violence, it is necessary to prove that action toward violent rebellion is being advocated. A simple showing of advocacy says the Court, is not sufficient for conviction.

This seems to be a distinction without a difference. Does it mean that a man who plants a bomb in an airplane or a theater or a home can't be convicted unless he is caught touching a match to the fuse? The intent of Congress in passing the Smith Act was perfectly obvious. It was designed to enable the law-enforcing agencies to prosecute and convict Communists on the Federal payrolls. Now the Supreme Court is releasing them faster than they can be put behind bars.

No wonder Government lawyers are bewildered. Commented Columnist David Lawrence: "It all adds up to the bewilderment of the public which is being solemnly told that it must always bow to the supreme law of the land—whatever that is today."

Well might the people inquire as did a certain Cassius in another time of threatened tyranny:

"Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed
That he is grown so great?"

Unless something can be done to curb the autocratic power of the Supreme Court, Congress might as well pack up and go home. Let the Supreme Court write as well as pass judgment on the Nation's laws.

If there comes a time when the people are convinced that the Supreme Court wishes to overthrow our Government by judicial degree, there would seem to be no reason why impeachment proceedings would not be available because the Court is an independent, continuing body, 1 of the 3 branches into which the Federal Government has been divided.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Address by Hon. William E. Jenner, of Indiana, Before Sigma Delta Chi Journalistic Fraternity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the Sigma Delta Chi Journalistic Fraternity, in Indianapolis, Ind., Monday, June 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM E. JENNER BEFORE THE SIGMA DELTA CHI JOURNALISTIC FRATERNITY MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1957, INDIANAPOLIS ATHLETIC CLUB, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

I'm very glad to be with you today because it gives us a chance to talk freely. I always enjoy an exchange of ideas. I know the questions you ask will be stimulating.

The other day I asked myself why I go on fighting communism. Why don't I pack my things, move into my house in Bedford and just go fishing?

But that day I was feeling a little low. We were in session for more than 12 hours and I've just had an operation.

I'll tell you why I go on fighting and why I will continue to fight as long as I am able to.

Because communism is a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States.

Its methods and techniques may change. Its purpose will not.

The Internal Security Subcommittee, of which I am a member, is responsible for knowing and ferreting out the many diverse ways in which the Communists work.

As long as the Communist conspiracy exists—and that means as long as communism exists, my purpose will not change.

The recent Supreme Court decisions make our committee's work more difficult.

The net result of the Jencks case is that no one can be prosecuted under the Smith Act, or under any other statute unless the FBI is willing to turn over to the defendant's lawyers all reports which the FBI has received from witnesses the Government plans to use against him at the trial.

Before that, it was left to the judge to look at the documents and decide whether they should be given to the defense.

The Communists scored in that decision. They can ask for anything in the FBI files touching their cases.

In the Yates case, the Supreme Court reached the remarkable conclusion that the Smith Act prohibits advocacy of forcible overthrow of the Government, if such advocacy is coupled with an "effort to instigate action to that end," but that Congress did not intend to prohibit advocacy of forcible overthrow "as an abstract principle."

The net result of the Yates case is to cripple the Smith Act. That invalidates all the prosecutions thus far obtained under it, including Jack Hall and the other Hawaiian Reds.

Victory No. 2 for the Communist.

In the Watkins case, the court practically says that hereafter it is going to make a critical judgment as to whether any legislative purpose justifies the disclosures sought and, if so, the importance of that information to the Congress in furtherance of its legislative function.

The court ruled the defendant would not have to testify about persons he knew as members of the Communist party because the mandate setting up the House Committee on Un-American Activities is too broad and vague.

Consequently, every Communist hereafter called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and perhaps by other congressional committees, will have the right to demand a detailed and lengthy justification of the interrogation, perhaps of every question.

The net effect of the Watkins decision is to gravely harrass and hobble the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Fortunately, the mandate of the Internal Security Subcommittee is much less vulnerable to criticism by the court, though of course, only a very brave man would prophesy that it will not be attacked in its turn by the present court.

In *Sweezy* v. *the State of New Hampshire*, also decided on June 17, 1957, the Supreme Court reversed the contempt conviction of a witness who refused (without pleading the 5th amendment) to answer the questions of the Attorney General of New Hampshire. The attorney general was acting under the authority of a resolution of the New Hampshire legislature authorizing him to investigate possible violations of the New Hampshire subversive activities of 1951. The court held that the investigative area assigned to the attorney general was too broad, and that the legislature should have defined more precisely what matters it wanted investigated. The net effect of that decision is to cripple still further the power of the individual States to investigate subversive activity—a power already greatly limited by last year's decision in *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson*, which struck down the sedition laws of no less than 42 States.

In *Service* v. *Dulles*, also decided on June 17, 1957, the Supreme Court held that John Stewart Service had been invalidly discharged from the Foreign Service by Dean Acheson in 1951. Despite the prevailing impression, the Court's decision has nothing to do with Service's loyalty or suitability, and does not constitute a ruling that he is or was loyal or a sound security risk. The decision merely holds that Secretary of State Acheson blundered in discharging Service before completing all the investigative steps. The case is, therefore, important to Service, but not especially to us. The Reds and their sympathizers naturally distorted it to mean that Service has been cleared by the Supreme Court on the issue of loyalty—which is nonsense. Yes, the Communists are doing fine.

Think of the gains the Communists have made since that night in 1917 when Lenin arrived at St. Petersburg's Finland station to take communism out of a book and bring it into the lives of men.

Think of the gains the Communists have made since the end of World War II, when we vowed to plant the four freedoms and the ideals of the Atlantic Charter everywhere in the world.

Think of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania. Think of little Latvia, Lithuania, Albania. Think of all the others.

Then remember, the powerful, well financed, thoroughly trained and artfully concealed Communist agents in government bureaus, embassies, foreign offices, intelligence headquarters, editorial sanctums and university faculties, not only in our own country but also in every one of the countries of our so-called allies.

Think of the immense wealth and influence of those who try to foster and protect this ignorance.

Three years ago, when I was chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, we issued our now famous report Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments. That was the report, you will recall, which laid bare the design by which Communists penetrated into the United States Government and helped each other to rise to command posts in that government.

That was the report which described the members of the Red underground in these words: "They used each other's names for reference on applications for Federal employment. They hired each other. They promoted each other. They raised each other's salaries. They transferred each other from bureau to bureau, from department to department, from Congressional committee to Congressional committee. They assigned each other to international missions. They vouched for each other's loyalty and protected each other when exposure threatened."

You will recall, I am sure, the impact those words had on thinking Americans. One paper wrote that it sold as fast as the Kinsey Report. People who were uncertain before, people who had doubted before, doubted no longer when they were shown the tunnels through which those Red moles had crawled into our Government. It became enormously important not only to the conspirators, themselves, but also to the many, many others who have a vested interest in concealing their conspiracy, to obliterate the impression made by our report.

When we said the members of the Red underground used each other's names for reference on applications for Federal employment, we said it because there were scores of documents in the record to prove it. When we said: "They hired each other; they promoted each other; they raised each other's salaries; they transferred each other from bureau to bureau, from department to department, from congressional committee to congressional committee; they assigned each other to international missions; they vouched for each other's loyalty and protected each other when exposure threatened."

We said all this because there were not scores, but hundreds of documents in the record to prove it.

This is precisely the reason why our report did so much to form the prevailing image of Communist infiltration. The Communists knew all this. So did their friends, who help the cause so much by pretending to be anti-Communists. They knew, they all knew that the only way to destroy the influence of our report was to plant a lie about it in a respectable place and then circulate that lie under respectable auspices. That's why I go on fighting.

I don't give up in any fight, simply because it is going against me. Every American instinct recoils at the thought of quitting. America was not settled by quitters, it was not built by quitters, and it will not be saved by quitters.

But that is the response only of my instincts. What about my intelligence?

Have I dedicated myself to a lost cause? Is communism really the wave of the future, the tidal wave which cannot be resisted?

Not if I have anything to say about it.

Communism is a lie and a lie can always be resisted, successfully resisted, until it is consumed by its own inner evil.

This is the central fact of our time, the fact that communism is a lie. It is a lie that communism is a people's movement. It is a lie that communism is the dream of the toiling proletariat. Communism is the soul sickness of white-handed bourgeois intellectuals and has been ever since Karl Marx, the husband of a baroness, and Frederick Engels, Marx's rich boy patron, wrote the Manifesto in 1848.

In the 108 years since that brain child of Marx and Engels was laid on the world's doorstep, communism has never won a free election anywhere on earth. It came out of a book and into the lives of men in 1917 when V. I. Lenin, the son of a petty nobleman, and his handful of Bolshevik conspirators, seized power in Russia. They had just been outvoted 5 to 1 in the election for a constituent assembly, the only free election ever held on Russian soil. The manifesto of the third international, written 8 months later under Lenin's own direction, contained their own description of what happened then. "Communists voted in the election for the constituent assembly," the manifesto said. "They met in the hall. But they came there to break up this constituent assembly within 24 hours." Lenin himself boasted: "Just as 150,000 lordly landowners under czarism dominated the 130 million Russian peasants, so 200,000 members of the Bolshevik Party are imposing their will on the proletarian mass."

Conspiracy, coups d'etat, and arms—but never the free choice of the people fueled the Red juggernaut in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania, China, and Indochina.

It is a lie that communism is a people's movement.

It is a lie that communism is a program of human welfare. It is the parent of famine, and has been ever since Lenin's fingers closed around Russia's throat. There were famines all over Russia immediately after the Bolshevik triumph. There was an even more fearful famine in the early 1930's, which Stalin himself planned, in order to punish the small farmers for the crime of wanting to own their own land.

There were famines or near famines in Communist Poland and Communist Yugoslavia. There were famines in Communist China. There will be famines wherever there is communism. Famine is an integral part of socialist production.

It is a lie that communism is a program of human welfare.

It is a lie that communism offers workers of the world a way to throw off their chains, as the manifesto promised. The chains of workers in the capitalist world are mere figures of Red rhetoric. But the chains of workers in the Communist world are real.

The manifesto itself expressly calls for the creation of industrial armies, especially in agriculture. The very first Soviet constitution required forced labor on the part of the whole population.

Forced labor and Marxism—Leninism are husband and wife. They cannot be divorced from one another.

Was it only lies, was it only conspiracy, coups d'etat, and arms that propelled the Red advance? No; there was one more thing.

Capitalism helped communism to advance. Capitalism saved communism from disaster again and again—capitalism, which communism seeks to wipe off the face of the earth.

It was so from the very first. Lenin came to power by singing the siren song of peace and persuading his country's soldiers to lay down their arms before the German assault. The inevitable happened.

The Kaiser's army engulfed Russia. Under the Prussian heel, Lenin signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which, according to one historial, lost for Russia 26 percent of the total population, 27 percent of her railway system, 33 percent of her manufacturing industries, 73 percent of her total iron production, and 75 percent of her coal fields.

Communism could not have survived for a year after this craven performance, save for one thing. The capitalist nations of the West, France, Great Britain, Belgium and the United States fought on, broke the Prussian power and made the treaty of Brest-Litovsk a dead letter. Then they sent Herbert Hoover to feed the Russian people, who were starving to death under the Red dictator's policies of socialist production.

Who saved Stalin's bloody neck when Hitler struck toward the east in 1941? Was it socialist production? Any schoolboy knows the answer to that.

It was capitalist production in capitalist ships braving the North Sea routes, which brought Stalin the tools and weapons without which he could not possibly have survived. He almost failed to survive anyway. Hitler overran Stalin's Russia just as Hindenburg had overrun Lenin's Russia a generation before.

Who saved China's Communist leader, Mao Tse Tung, when Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists had him bottled up behind Kaigan Pass and were preparing the death blow for China's Communist revolution? Capitalist America saved him, acting through George Marshall. That great hero, Gen. Claire Lee Chennault told the story to our subcommittee in these words: "The Nationalists were persuaded to pull out of the pass and open the highway through there, so the Communists could move northeast. They did that, and they moved into Manchuria where they received arms."

The arms they found in Manchuria were left there by the Japs whom capitalist America had just defeated.

Now do you understand why I go on fighting communism?

I go on fighting communism because I do not believe that this lie, the most monstrous lie ever concocted in the whole history of mankind, can permanently withstand the assaults of truth. I do not believe the liars who conceal it can permanently withstand the assaults of those who would snatch the veil of concealment away.

I do not believe that the colossal blunders of the West, real blunders sometimes, cowardly blunders sometimes, contrived blunders sometimes, can go on forever.

What are the American people going to do in the face of the overwhelming victory which the Communists have just won in the Supreme Court? Are they going to quit? I am sure we will never quit.

General MacArthur told us, during the Senate hearings on his dismissal, that in every situation there is a way to victory. You, the editors of our free press, I, and the other Members of Congress, must find it.

American strength is leaking away. It would be foolish indeed to pretend otherwise.

The American Congress and the American people—writers, lawyers, labor leaders, businessmen—have worked long and hard since the the thirties to map out the lines of Communist attack and to plan the American defense against subversion. We have tried in every way to carry on our fight, against this conspiratorial war, within the framework of our law and our cherished political liberties. We have spent weeks and months taking testimony. We have spent long hours in legislative drafting. We have imposed on our Department of Justice every reasonable requirement for protection of the innocent. If anything we have erred, as we wished to err, in protecting the innocent rather than convicting the guilty, though we knew the danger to our country was great.

Now the Supreme Court says all our caution was in vain. It says we can forget all about subversion, and leave everything to the FBI, but the FBI must open up its files, to the legitimate questions of the innocent, and to the cleverest questions of the Soviet Union's smartest subversive agents.

We, in Congress, knew the argument was false that the FBI alone could defeat this conspiracy. The Justice Department and the FBI cannot issue subpenas or compel testimony under oath. We knew Congress must take the lead in finding remedies for conspiracy. Congress has paid a heavy price. You know what happened to MARTIN DIES, to the long list of Members of the House and Senate who failed of reelection, because they were good fighters against communism. You know what happened to Joe McCarthy.

I promise you that I will not quit. I promise that Congress will not quit. I promise you the American people will not quit. We will say, as John Paul Jones said, "We have not yet begun to fight."

When the fight is finished the Communists will be a dark stain on the pages of history, and American liberty will again enlighten the world.

Address by Hon. Herman E. Talmadge, of Georgia, Before the Alabama American Legion Convention

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] before the convention of the Alabama department of the American Legion, in Montgomery, Ala., July 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE, SENATOR FROM GEORGIA

Commander McCray, Mayor Gayle, Senator Sparkman, Congressman Grant, distinguished guests and my fellow Legionnaires, your invitation to speak at this convention is a cherished one for me.

I can think of no place where I feel more at home, outside of my home State, than in this hallowed city amidst friendly neighbors.

The invitation to speak here and spend some time with you which was so graciously extended by Commander McCray, Senators Hill and Sparkman, and Congressman Selden is most appreciated.

I want to tell you at the outset of my remarks today how grateful I am for the thoughtfulness and many courtesies your distinguished Senators have extended to me during my initial service in the Senate. You are to be congratulated upon your State's able representation in both branches of the National Congress.

The Alabama delegation in the House of Representatives is noted as a strong one. Senator SPARKMAN, the Democratic vice-presidential standard bearer in 1952, is a keen student of Government and a tireless and energetic worker. Senator HILL is

renowned for his championship of the cause of the rank and file of citizens of this country.

Typical of Senator HILL's effort in the field of public welfare is the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act which bears his name. This act has afforded every area of every State modern hospitals, health centers, nursing homes, laboratories and other facilities so needed in ministering to suffering humanity.

In Georgia, we have taken full advantage of this program and our people from the mountains to the sea are grateful for its benefits.

Yes, Alabama always has furnished her share of statesmen to the world's greatest deliberative body.

I am reminded of the great Senator John Bankhead; the renowed leader, Senator Oscar Underwood; and the two immortals from your State, Senators John T. Morgan and Edward C. Pettus.

It is an inspiration for me to visit again the birthplace and first capital of the Confederate States of America.

It is good to see the majestic capitol building where President Jefferson Davis was inaugurated and the very spot where he stood to deliver his inaugural address to an assembled throng.

All of the interesting shrines in Montgomery serve to emphasize our mutual heritage.

Georgia and Alabama are similar in many respects. We have the same social customs and traditions. We share most of the same religious faiths. And a common characteristic of our two peoples is their reputation for patriotism and sacrifice—a willingness to do more than their share in any emergency.

Geographically, our states are much the same. So are our cities.

Our educational systems are comparable in many ways.

We produce essentially the same raw and manufactured products.

Our forebears are the same in many families of both States.

The histories of our two States are parallel in many respects.

We have suffered together in adversity. We have fought side by side in many battles of several wars. We have labored together in peace and have shared together the fruits of those labors.

We have witnessed together the birth of the new southland. We have seen an industrial empire added to an agrarian economy giving new life and added strength to our whole region.

The result has exceeded every dream. Despite all obstacles, the future is full of promise. During the next 25 years, Georgia and Alabama can look forward to another unprecedented period of growth and development which, I predict, will far exceed the progress of the last quarter of a century.

If we are to guarantee this desired goal, we are going to have to see a wider unity of purpose among the people of our States and among the States of our region which share the same problems and objectives.

There is a definite need throughout the South—and, for that matter, throughout the entire country—for organized political action on the part of responsible individuals, responsible businesses and responsible groups interested in preserving our form of government, interested in maintaining our constitutional liberties and interested in preserving the rights of the States and of the people.

I say this for today relatively insignificant pressure groups are wielding far more power in our Government than their numbers deserve simply because of their militant organizations and activities.

If the masses of the people of this Nation would make their feelings known through concerted efforts, we would see a big change for the better in Washington.

I value my American Legion membership because I know that this is one organization which is working 24 hours a day, every day, for our American way of life.

When I think of the Legion and of all for which it stands there comes to mind the pages of our history which record this land's greatest triumphs in deeds of Americans far beyond the usual standards of loyalty, patriotism, bravery, and sacrifice.

I think of Bunker Hill, San Juan Hill, Tripoli, the Marne, Flanders, Belleau Wood, Chateaux-Thierry, the Argonne Forest, north Africa, Sicily, Mount Casino, Tokyo, Ploesti-Schweinfurt, Bremerhaven, Normandy, the Bulge, Bataan, Corregidor, Midway, Guam, Guadalcanal, Korea, Inchon Peninsula, Heartbreak Ridge and all the other sanguinary battles which have been waged in the annals of our Republic—battles which have been waged at so great a cost in lives and material substance.

The American Legion has not forgotten.

On no occasion has the Legion ever failed to stand up and speak out vigorously in defense of our institutions, our ideals, and for maintenance of our guaranties of liberty and freedom. The Legion has done so courageously, sometimes in the face of severe hostility and at actual peril to the organization itself.

The undeviating record of the Legion, therefore, has been and will ever be, to keep faith with those Americans who have gone on before, many of whom have given their lives for the cause of freedom.

My friends, with that past record and that solemn dedication on the part of this organization, I want to take this opportunity to discuss with you the most deadly and dastardly threat ever to confront us as a nation—the sustained and vicious attack aimed at the destruction of constitutional and representative government in this country.

Let us look at some of the ways in which we have seen this attack pressed in recent years.

We have seen the United States Supreme Court forsake its constitutional role of interpreter of the law and seek, through usurpation of legislative power, to make the laws instead.

We have seen the executive branch of our Federal Government demand unprecedented power to regiment the social, economic, and political life of this Nation.

We have seen Congress abdicate more and more of its authority to the executive branch and we have heard proposals that the Senate relinquish its traditional freedom of debate despite the fact that it is an integral part of the delicate balance of powers afforded under our form of government.

The Supreme Court has deliberately ignored the Constitution of the United States and substituted impractical and unproved theories for established law and precedent as the basis for its rulings. It has sought to obliterate the reserved rights of the States. It has sought to dictate to Congress. And it has proved itself more concerned about the rights of Communists and rapists that it is for the rights of the innocent, law-abiding citizens whose rights such individuals violate.

The President and his Attorney General have demanded that Congress give them authority to interpose the Government of the United States between the individual and his right under the law to seek either damages or criminal prosecution for any violation of his civil rights. They have demanded that Congress enact a new force bill which, through adroit manipulation of the amendment process, robs every citizen of his right of trial by jury and authorizes full use of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and militia of the Nation to enforce the Attorney General's notions of what are and are not civil rights.

Because that is a subject of much current concern on our part—and one which should be of concern to every American who values his liberty and constitutional heritage—I should like to point out and emphasize some of the grave dangers posed to our freedom as individuals and our form of government by the misnamed civil rights bill presently being considerd by the Senate.

Although we of Congress are told by the President and his Attorney General that this measure is designed principally to protect the already constitutionally guaranteed right to vote, it is very carefully grafted into the existing civil rights statutes of the Nation.

By amending laws which stem from the passions which flamed throughout the Nation immediately before, during, and for years after the War Between the States, it brings into play statutes which—if implemented to the letter by vicious or vindictive Federal officials—could be used to punish the South with another period of reconstruction, 90 years later.

Let me read to you one of these old laws which would be revived by the bill presently under consideration. It is found in the United States Code as section 1993, chapter 21 of title 42. Entitled "Aid of Military and Naval Forces," it states:

"It shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary * * * to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of the provisions of sections 1981–1983 and 1985–1994 of this title."

For the sake of clarification, let me point out that the section 1985 which that language states can be so enforced is the section which this bill would amend to permit the Attorney General to initiate injunctive proceedings in the name of the United States.

Therefore, let there be no misunderstanding on the part of anyone. Under this measure the full might of the United States Army, the United States Navy and the United States Marine Corps could be used to enforce with bayonets and bombs the provisions it is proposed that Congress enact into law.

And by the very vagueness and general terms of the language of the present law which the administration wants to amend, the bill now being debated would extend the authority of the Attorney General of the United States over the entire field of civil rights.

The law, as it now reads, prohibits any interference with or denial of the equal protection of the laws or any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States.

That language covers an area as broad as the imagination of mankind and as fathomless as the minds of some individuals who may transiently enforce its provisions.

Who is to say what constitutes equal protection of the laws?

Who is to enumerate the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States?

Under the authority of that loose language the Attorney General could initiate injunctive proceedings affecting not only the full range of laws governing relationships between individuals, groups and races but also such totally unrelated fields as taxation and the location of roads by Federal and State agencies.

He could take the position that failure to employ a person because of race, creed, color, national origin or any other factor constitutes a denial of the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States and thereby set himself up as a one-man FEPC with authority to use the military might of the United States to regiment the industry and business of the Nation.

There is not an area of human thought or conduct which the language of the bill now before the Senate does not cover. It runs

the gamut from sowing to reaping, from sleeping to waking, from thought to action and from the cradle to the grave.

The Attorney General, through clever manipulation of the amendment process, would subvert the language of the present law under which trial by jury is inherent and limits of punishment specified, into a cloak for actions in the name of the United States under which trial by jury is denied and the extent of punishment left to the unbridled discretion of the presiding judge.

If enacted, this so-called civil-rights bill would change private action to Government action.

It would interfere with the right of Americans to pursue their equitable remedies.

It would deny Americans the right of indictment.

It would deny Americans the right to confront and cross-examine their accusers.

It would deny Americans the right of trial by jury—a right now guaranteed by law to even rapists, murderers, and traitors.

It would have the net effect of completely changing our form of government from one under which rights are inalienable with the individual to one under which rights are arbitrarily determined by the Attorney General of the United States.

It does not confer upon a single American a single additional right. The only person to whom it grants any new rights is the Attorney General of the United States, on whom it confers the arbitrary and unrestricted power to use the Federal judiciary as an instrument of his political caprices to deny civil rights.

It would make of the Attorney General a czar of civil rights superior even to the Constitution of the United States.

The protection of the civil rights of our citizenry lies not in the enactment of new, confusing, contradictory, and unconstitutional laws but rather in a strict adherence to the constitutional guaranties, processes, and prohibitions which already are the law of the land and which, without question, are adequate to meet every requirement of those who are concerned about protecting the rights of the American people.

Every civil right which we as citizens of the United States cherish is set forth and guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

These guaranties are stated clearly and unequivocably in language which can readily be understood by any person with a fourth-grade education.

As great as is my respect for the collective judgment and intellect of my colleagues in Congress, I cannot concede that Congress can improve on the Bill of Rights.

In a nation as large as ours, it is possible to find examples of injustice anywhere—from among the Indians of the Southwest to the Eskimos of Alaska. Civil rights are violated in the Middle West and the East just as often as they are in the South and on the west coast.

But the mere fact that injustices do occur and civil rights sometimes are violated cannot by any stretch of the imagination be said to be justification for the destruction of constitutional government and the abrogation of constitutional guaranties.

State and Federal courts are now available to protect civil rights—they have been doing just that—and no one has submitted the first bit of evidence to show they are not doing their job in this regard.

It remains to be seen whether Congress will abdicate its constitutional role to safeguard the rights enumerated by the Bill of Rights in this instance. The House of Representatives, under extreme pressure from the executive branch, has done so.

In the Senate another chapter in this fight is unfolding.

There, I am proud to report, a group of determined men, including myself, presently is in the process of alerting the people of this Nation to the grave jeopardy in which their rights are placed by this legislation.

And I wish to state to this Alabama audience that there are no two Senators who ever have done or are doing a more effective job in opposing such punitive legislation than Alabama's Senators HILL and SPARKMAN.

While I could not predict what the outcome of this debate will be, I will say this: I cannot bring myself to believe that the masses of the American people, once acquainted with the facts about this monstrous legislation, will countenance its enactment or enforcement.

In conclusion, I make this observation.

Sometimes we may be justified in feeling frustrated with the direction of our Government and with the policies of our leaders.

But we must never sell America short nor discount the loyalty, courage, ability, honesty, and sincerity of purpose of the American people.

They have demonstrated again and again their intense determination to meet and overcome whatever challenges may confront them.

Because of this, I am confident that this Nation will survive in spite of all the mistakes that our leaders and Government may make.

I put my faith in the good sense of the American people to save us from ourselves.

I hold fealty for both my State and my Nation.

In no instance has there ever been any conflict or problem for me for I know, as every loyal American knows, that what is best for my State also is best for the country as a whole.

Washington needs to pause for reflection and for a reevaluation to realize fully once again from whence comes all freedom, all equality, all strength, all integrity, all security, and all those other precious attributes identified with our growth as a Nation.

There must be a sincere rededication to the fundamental teachings of the Holy Writ.

There must be a renewed respect for the true meaning of the Constitution and a respect for the law as it is written.

There must be a practical recognition of the fundamental laws of nature.

There must be an instillment of sound business practices into Government.

And there must be a solid determination on the part of all public servants to keep faith with the people.

The American people must be freed from the attendant evils of bureaucracy, redtape, intimidation and tyranny so they once again can be masters of their own destiny.

Let no one be deceived by the cries of those who would destroy us. A return to fundamentals is the key to survival in this day and age even more than was the case in all the other periods of great stress and strain that have marked the life of our Nation.

We must not lose sight of the unchallenged fact that a militarily impregnable America and an economically invincible America are the world's best and only hope for peace.

If we are to perpetuate our blood-won birthright for ourselves and for our posterity, the welfare of the American people and the solvency, safety, security, and sovereignty of our own country must be our primary concern.

As for me, and the future of this country, I put my faith in Almighty God and in the sound judgment of my countrymen as we work shoulder to shoulder for right and justice.

To that concept I am pledged.

To that concept I give my energy and devotion.

Anniversary of Texas Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Sunday was the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Texas Bar Association.

Taking note of the occasion, the Kilgore News Herald said editorially:

The basic principles and objectives established by the founders of the Texas bar three-quarters of a century ago remain.

Charles K. Devall, the energetic and forward-looking young publisher of the Kilgore News Herald, which is one of the outstanding newspapers of east Texas, shows a keen awareness of the valuable contributions made by the State bar of Texas.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE BAR'S SERVICES NOTED

An event of major importance—especially important for members of a distinguished profession—occurred on July 14, 1882. It was on that day that the Texas Bar Association came into being.

It was the first organized effort of the Texas legal profession, which is celebrating its diamond anniversary month. More specifically, the week beginning today has been designated Diamond Anniversary Week of the Texas bar by proclamation of Mayor Crim in tribute to the American system of judicial administration.

As part of the local area celebration, the Gregg County Bar Association will be paid an official visit in Longview by the Honorable Ruel Walker, member of the Supreme Court of Texas.

From its inception, the State bar has continued to push its proposals to improve the administration of justice, for no one knows better than the legal profession that the very foundation of our American way of life rests on the law.

The association has brought changes for the better in our penal laws, it has stood strongly for constitutional government, it has, through the legislature, placed innumerable important and needed laws on the statute books, and it has often removed conflicts and ambiguities in the law which had become prevalent through the years.

The basic principles and objectives established by the founders of the Texas bar three-quarters of a century ago remain. Changing times and conditions only have resulted in additions to early objectives. The creed the pioneer lawyers recognized and wrote will remain so long as members of the profession are privileged to practice law in a free land—never to falter in their efforts that everyone shall enjoy equal and prompt justice, fairly, efficiently and impartially administered.

Congratulations to the State bar association and to members of the Gregg County Bar Association—on their great heritage and on their service which has enriched the lives of so many people.

Water-Development Projects Pay Big Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, once of the best weekly newspapers in Texas, which has hundreds of good weekly newspapers, is the Liberty Vindicator. The Vindicator has an editorial page in keeping with the paper's general policy, which is kept to a high standard by Editor Jake Smyth.

Jake Smyth is an editor who knows the needs of his community. This knowledge was well exemplified in a recent editorial in his newspaper on the value of flood-control and water-conservation projects, a subject of vital concern to the people of the Liberty area.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A HEALTHY RETURN

Flood control and water conservation projects on the major rivers of Texas "will pay for themselves and will return healthy dividends," United States Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON declared this week.

But our senior Senator is deeply concerned.

Unless a far-reaching development and conservation project is pushed forward aggressively, said the top-ranking Democrat from the heart of Texas, we will not have the water we need by the year 2000.

Dams and more dams is the Johnson solution.

That is the kind of language that can be easily understood by the folks of the Trinity Valley, who suffered for several years from drought and are now suffering from more than 2 months of overflow waters.

Senator JOHNSON mentioned the Trinity specifically when he said we must hold onto our rainfall instead of allowing the water to run off into the gulf.

"If we don't develop our water supply and conserve our water resources," he emphasized, "the Texas economy will wither on the vine and our State will become a wasteland."

Speaking of the approach to the water solution in the 1958 Federal budget, the Senator asserted that "the problem is a giant and we are fighting it with a knitting needle."

It is his contention that our investments in flood control and water-resources development have lagged far behind the increase in population and the expansion of the economy. He quotes figures to show that Federal expenditures for water projects actually were 14.9 percent less in 1956 than in 1950.

"At a time when, by every sound standard, we should have been doing more, we have been doing less," Senator JOHNSON reiterated. "Our failure to do more has been costly in lost industrial opportunities, in heavy flood damage, in loss of human life."

The leading Democratic Senator thus echoes officially what we along the Trinity have been saying in layman's language for a number of years. The problem, of course, is leadership. State and local water problems cannot be solved by Uncle Sam alone, as we were plainly told by a United States Army engineer at the White Heron fish fry at Anahuac 10 days ago. The only solution is through a combination of Federal, State, and local perseverance, funds, and planning.

It now appears that the Trinity River Authority, as far as our river is concerned, is doing a commendable job of bringing to a head our local and regional water and conservation needs under the long-discussed master plan.

Our problem down here on the lower Trinity is to do just what Senator JOHNSON suggests—work and plan constructively now, on a long-range basis, if we want to whip this major problem before the year 2000.

Talmadge Debunks Inane "Aid"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Talmadge Debunks Inane 'Aid'," which appeared in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel June 29, 1957. This editorial pays deserved tribute to my colleague, the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], for the very able speech which he delivered on the floor of the Senate recently in opposition to the further squandering of American taxpayers dollars on foreign aid. This editorial from the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, one of Indiana's outstanding newspapers, is further evidence of the fact that the opposition to continued foreign aid by American citizens transcends sectionalism and political party lines.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TALMADGE DEBUNKS INANE "AID"

There have been many excellent speeches delivered in Congress on our endlessly and senselessly squandering our substance all over the world on inane foreign aid projects. However, it has remained for Senator (former Governor) HERMAN TALMADGE, of Georgia, to present perhaps the most damning detailed chapter and verse indictment against this shocking fallacy of the Washington bureaucrats and internationalists.

After the fashion of the able trial lawyer he is, he launched his case against foreign aid with a typical opening statement, in which he presented a general synopsis on United States expenditure of $40 billion in economic aid and outright grants, relating how the money has been used to subsidize tax cuts in foreign lands, while as a result, tax cuts are denied our own people at home. Of how the billions went to stabilize foreign currency while the resultant inflation further feeds the fires of devaluation of our dollar. Of how this misbegotten aid builds hydroelectric projects, irrigation dams and flood-control projects all over the world, while floods still ravage America and there is an insistent cry for more power to enable our industry to keep up with the rest of the world.

Then submitting the detailed allegations in his complaint, "Barrister" TALMADGE declared that:

"While many of our farmers cannot get their crops to market over muddy roads, we build a huge six-lane turnpike to a gambling resort in Portugal.

"While millions of Americans are sweating over their tax returns, our Government sends a "hot lips" musician on a foreign tour and pays him more than the President.

"Why, we even have built public rest rooms in the Philippines and bathing facilities for Egyptian camel drivers. We have sent collapsible toothpaste tubes to Cambodia, dress suits to Grecian undertakers, and iceboxes to Eskimos. We have sent opera singers to Italy and ultraviolet ray lamps to India.

"And we have set up a pension program for overage Chinese Nationalist soldiers. And while rice production is less here than in Korea, our technicians have gone there to tell them how to raise rice.

"HUMMON," as he is affectionately known to many of his colleagues, introduced many other similar exhibits in evidence and then presented his summation to the congressional jury in which he appealed to them to end all economic aid as of now, and to reexamine military aid with the confirmed objective of seeing that the American taxpayer gets a dollar's worth of national security for every dollar that is expended. He realistically declared that:

"Economic aid could be liquidated without another dollar being appropriated by Congress. It could be ended this year without substantially disturbing the commitments already made. This could be done because there is still $7,500,000,000 already appropriated and yet unspent, for supplies and techniques in the many pipelines extending from our Treasury in Washington—these pipelines could flow for several years more to discharge their contents without putting new money into them."

TALMADGE emphasizes that it is of utmost importance that we "stop this inane foreign-aid foolishness now, before we wrap ourselves up into a perpetual commitment of perpetual monstrous waste."

He soundly predicated this appeal on the demonstrable premise that our many billions wasted on foreign aid have bought us neither friends nor any promise of national security.

TALMADGE speaks with the conviction of first-hand experience on the matter of national security, for he served in the United States Navy from 1941 to 1945, advancing to the rank of commander in which he participated in various engagements with the Japanese Fleet and in the Battle of Okinawa. TALMADGE soundly advocates the very antithesis to our senseless squandering of more billions in our frantic and futile quest for friends and security when he sensibly rationalizes that:

A militarily impregnable America, and an economically invincible America, are the world's best and only hope for peace. If we are to perpetuate our blood-won birthright for ourselves and for our posterity, the welfare of the American people, and the solvency, safety, security, and sovereignty of our own country must be our primary concern."

We reiterate that no one has thus far, presented a more convincing case for perpetuation of a strong and free America, than this distinguished Senator, former Governor and son of a former Governor of Georgia.

Government and the Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the

Appendix of the RECORD a speech by Lillian Gish entitled "Government and the Arts," delivered recently at the centennial celebration of the American Institute of Architects.

I believe that the suggestion of Mrs. Gish is well taken, and I hope the administration and the Congress will give serious consideration to this proposal.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT AND THE ARTS

(Address by Lillian Gish, actress, centennial celebration of the American Institute of Architects, Washington, D. C., Sheraton Hall, May 15, 1957)

I hope all of you subscribe to Christopher Morley's formula that a happy life is spent in learning, earning, and yearning; and that today will find you yearning for more beauty in this land of ours; and that you will share my belief that the Government should play a definite role in encouraging the arts in America. To date, our country's official interest has been outstanding in its absence. Such neglect could not have been the intention of our Founding Fathers, else our first President would not have commissioned the French architect, Pierre L'Enfant, to draw plans for this city. As you know, he only worked 1 year when he was dismissed because of his untoward disposition, though his plan was, in general, followed. Our second President, John Adams, wrote to his wife in 1780, "I must study politics and wars that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy that their children may have a right to study painting, poetry, music, and architecture." Our third President, Jefferson, supervised the building of his own beautiful home and our lovely University of Virginia.

In France, Napoleon III, with the help of Haussman, planned Paris as it exists today. Without the Greek statesman, Pericles, who was a patron of the arts, the Acropolis could not have been planned and rebuilt after the Persian War. The Greek population was brought up to be sensitive to it, to criticize it, and to be proud of it.

This new Nation, growing so swiftly, had better pause and look to its future here at home. Since 1917 we seem to have concentrated on other lands more than on our own. We have given away many billions to others while our own shrines come down one by one for lack of funds to care for them. Why? Because the artist has no court of appeals as the laboring man, the war lord, or the businessman. They all have a Secretary in the President's Cabinet; but not the artist, not the scientist. He does not exist in our Republic.

When they opened the George Washington Bridge, that dream of beauty across the Hudson in New York, President Roosevelt came up from Washington, the governors came from all the States around, the mayors arrived, and bands played for hundreds of thousands of people, but they forgot to ask the architect. Of all the hundreds of people I have asked if they knew the name of the man or men who created this beautiful bridge, only one person knew, and he was an architect. When the brochure was prepared for the cornerstone laying of the new State Department Buildings, all participating officials, all responsible Government officials, contractors, and so forth, were listed, but not the architects. Why you do not sign your work as a sculptor or painter signs his, and in the same proportion, has always been a puzzlement.

Your architects are not entirely blameless. You remind me of my own family who believe that one should have his name in public print just three times—when he is born, when he marries, and when he dies. In my lifetime I have heard of only two architects: Frank Lloyd Wright, God bless him for what he has done to make even the word "architecture" known to us; and the other is a memory of my childhood, Stanford White, who got shot. A prizefighter gets more publicity and, in some instances, a truck driver is better paid. It would seem that our system of values has reached an Alice in Wonderland absurdity, worthy only of satire.

A nation is great only when the essence of its mind and spirit is great. We judge every ancient culture by its works of art. Why should we not judge ourselves by the same standard? Think for a moment what we would be like without the contributions of our Rockefellers, Fords, Mellons, Carnegie, and others of our great philanthropists. Where will we find the great, far-sighted and generous men in the future? Who will have enough private capital to restore a Williamsburg? Where will we get our art collections to equal Widener, Kress, and Chester Dale? Our enormous taxes make it less likely that we shall have men and families like these in the future. Such great sums of money are going to the Federal Government. Billions for arms and armies to defend this country, and not 1 cent for the background and beauty which these arms and men defend. Why should our Government not take some responsibility and give us a Secretary of Fine Arts, independent of the party in power, who would devote himself solely to getting the best possible assistance to help and advise each branch of the arts? This is really one of the most essential things for a government to consider.

For art, the most lasting product of a civilization, has no value that can be assessed in money. Imagine trying to sell the Parthenon, a Mozart Mass, or Paradise Lost today. Yet art is the only lasting aristocracy. Kings come and go; countries, governments come and go—only art remains. You and you and you, more than any other, are the unsung artists of our time. You have the ways and means to reach every part of this Nation.

Nothing lasting is every put into construction without a plan and solid structure. You devise the plan, and let the Government put up the structure, which, in your case, is recognition and authority. You must look ahead since you build for tomorrow You are the future. As an artist, you come pretty near to working in eternity. You start with a plan for a church, a house or a bridge. Then why not a plan for our cities that will enrich living by placing all the needs of the populace within harmonious reach in beautiful surroundings? That could end the confusion of running in narrow streets, many of which originally were cow paths from one end of town to another, looking for a hairpin. Does this sound fantastic? As you move through the United States, growing so swiftly, it is not too late for planned cities, instead of those that just growed, like Topsy.

Every town or city has something of which it is proud and would like to keep lovely or make beautiful. At Phoenix, where we played a few weeks ago, the natives pointed with pride at their camel-backed mountain, but told us it was being ruined and would soon look like any hillside dotted with houses. You are the ones to preserve our landmarks, the parks we already have, and see to it that other parks are made in this swiftly expanding land. But for this you must have authority and help.

If you agree that we need a Secretary of Art and Science, will you not devise a plan to be submitted with the plans of all the other branches of the arts and sciences, so that we may take it to the White House?

Our President has already gone on record and said that something should be done for the arts. Now it is up to us to tell him what that something is. Since he gave us a Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, because he believed it was a good thing for the country—and by the way, since then has been one grant alone of half a billion dollars—if we can persuade him that our cause has an equal value to the future of America, we have every reason to hope that this dedicated man will support us in every way. Canada has its Minister of Fine Arts. Canada, with a population not as large as two of our cities, has just voted a grant of a hundred million dollars to its Minister of Fine Arts. England has it Arts Consul; in 1950–51, their expenditure was $81,998,000. Sweden, France, Italy—every country but ours.

In Austria the summer before last, we were looking at one of Fisher Von Erhlick's—an Austrian architect of several centuries ago—lovely buildings, when 2 school children, around 11 or 12 years old, came by and told us that if we like his work, we could find a much better example of it 2 blocks further down the street. All the cultured nations of the world look to their artists to help build and preserve their civilization. Every nation in the world except ours. If you share my belief that we need this recognition, please work on your plan and make the artists of our country at long last belong to our country. "Forgive me that I cannot speak definitively on these mighty things. Forgive me that I have not eagles' wings. That what I want, I know not where to seek, except through you."

Editorial Comment on Foreign Policy Speech by Hon. Mike Mansfield, of Montana

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial in today's Washington Post commenting on the very thoughtful foreign policy review given us by my esteemed colleague, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, the junior Senator from Montana, who is the Democratic whip as well as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a longtime student and teacher of history.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN SEARCH OF SECURITY

The suggestion advanced by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD that the Secretary of State survey firsthand the changes in Eastern Europe seems to us admirable. In another of his comprehensive and unpartisan reviews of foreign policy, the Montana Senator spoke cogently about the climate of fear that shrouds American attitudes and actions toward the Communist bloc. This fear can and ought to be replaced with faith in America's own capacity to influence change.

What Mr. MANSFIELD proposes is not an American propaganda campaign to democratize the satellites. He does not envisage dramatic liberation in the sense in which it has been used as a political slogan. Rather, he points to the error, demonstrated in the

instances of Poland and Yugoslavia, of regarding the countries of Eastern Europe as a single monolithic entity. He suggests that the Secretary of State visit these countries when feasible to note the individual circumstances of each; and he suggests expanded commercial, diplomatic, and cultural contacts as the best means of encouraging more independence from Moscow. "We do not serve the cause of freedom or the interests of this country," he asserts, "when we blockade these eastern European countries as a closed Communist corporation and merely seethe in the juice of our own moral indignation."

Somewhat the same rigidity unhappily governs relations with Russia. Mr. MANSFIELD notes that the expenditure of billions for security has not brought the feeling of security, and he suggests that despite the real threat of Soviet military aggression the fear of Russia has been magnified into a catechism. Anyone who has watched the relations between the Executive and Congress knows that this fear has become a political tool. It is invoked in order to obtain defense and foreign-aid appropriations, and, indeed, whenever reference to international communism will further the uncritical acceptance of this or that bill.

Such censure, of course, cuts two ways; there has been at least some question in the past whether Congress would have been disciplined enough to buttress American responsibilities in the free world without a goad. But a mature effort to reduce the fear of the Soviet Union to more realistic dimensions is well worth the effort. Among other instruments, the exchange of information espoused by Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and the people-to-people campaign already in progress should be useful. No government, even that in the Kremlin, can be wholly and indefinitely insensitive to public opinion.

There is the danger, to be sure, that too much focus on peace as an objective could create an atmosphere for peace at any price. It is important to remember that a more stable peace may well be the by-product of small accommodations—and that a nuclear strategy which focuses too much on deterrence of big wars and not enough on flexibility to fight small or limited wars in an invitation to instability. Insecurity is perhaps the trademark of the nuclear age, and Senator MANSFIELD is wise enough to recognize that absolute security is unattainable. The kind of self-confidence he urges will not end the competition with the Soviet Union. What it could do is bring about a more rational basis for examining the balance of power. The experience of both Hungary and Poland have proved Mr. MANSFIELD's thesis that "it is time to recognize that if there are dangers to freedom in the ideology of communism, there are even greater dangers to communism in the doctrines of liberty."

Combat Readiness—The Cordiner Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolution adopted by the military affairs committee of the Amarillo Chamber of Commerce, of Amarillo, Tex., regarding the importance of combat readiness of the Armed Forces, and the Cordiner plan.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the constant and growing turnover in trained personnel is costly to all defense services of our Nation, with the Air Force alone losing 4,000 pilots whom it has trained at a cost of $480 million; and

Whereas this turnover in trained personnel is impairing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces by the constant need to keep skilled manpower busy training personnel who will return to civilian life as soon as they have served out their enlistments; and

Whereas there is a bipartisan drive in progress to enact into law the major proposals of a plan evolved by Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric Co.; and

Whereas the Cordiner plan would create a new basis for paying trained specialists in the Armed Forces, putting their remuneration in accordance with their skill rather than their seniority, thus increasing the pay to career servicement: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the military affairs committee of the Amarillo Chamber of Commerce endorse the principles of the Cordiner plan and urge the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation to cover the problems herein set forth.

Dated this 8th day of July 1957.

Wallowa Lake, Oreg., State Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, almost any day one may read in his newspaper some statement heaping criticism on some public servant. It takes on the aspect of a minor indoor sport at times. The contrary reference occurs so infrequently that it, in itself, is an occasion for comment.

This past week, Mr. President, my attention was caught and held by an editorial praising a public servant. It appeared in the July 4 issue of the Wallowa County Chieftain, a weekly paper edited by a devoted conservationist and naturalist, Gwen T. Coffin. The editorial is entitled "Wallowa State Park." The editorial could very appropriately have been entitled "A Tribute to a Devoted Public Servant." I know personally of the devotion to his job exhibited by Al Zimmerman, about whom Mr. Coffin writes. Al Zimmerman's diligent work has evoked enthusiastic commendations from many people who have a professional interest in the development of public recreation facilities. Al Zimmerman's efforts have wisely capitalized on a gift of nature and the wisdom of the State highway commission, which procured the Wallowa Lake site. The dividends go to the hundreds of thousands who over the years will enjoy the grandeur and comfort of Wallowa State Park. It is a magnificent spot.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WALLOWA LAKE STATE PARK

Credit for the fact that approximately a quarter of a million tourists visited Wallowa Lake State Park last year is sometimes taken by the local chambers of commerce through their publicity committees. However, it is quite probable that a major reason for the attraction of this park to so many visitors is the tremendous job which Al Zimmerman and his associates are doing in making this spot one of the most beautiful in Oregon.

Too often we are inclined to make jokes and disparaging remarks about the ability of public employees and the amount of work they turn out. The truth of the matter is that they probably rank as high as the average worker, and very often their devotion to their work and their pride in achievement is decidedly superior. The latter is certainly the case with Al Zimmerman.

One of the first places to which Wallowa County residents like to take their visiting friends is Wallowa Lake State Park. It is definitely the top show place in the county and an object of great pride on the part of everyone. The beauty of the surroundings there is particularly impressive for those people who remember the area when it was largely neglected, covered with swamp and brush, dotted with abandoned buildings, and without provisions of any kind for picnics and camping.

Week by week, month by month, and year by year a steady addition of improvements is being made at the park. Grounds are cleared, more picnic tables, fireplaces, and benches are built, overnight camping facilities are enlarged, washing room and shower facilities are improved, shrubbery is planted, and many other landscaping projects carried on. Returning visitors are delighted to find the park more beautiful than the last time they saw it.

Al Zimmerman is the man behind this magnificent job. We take our hats off to him, and we hope that Oregon State park officials and the public generally fully appreciate the very outstanding job which he is doing.

Expansion of Wisconsin Colleges To Meet Needs of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues a tremendous program for expansion of private colleges in Wisconsin. I am proud that these independent schools are forging ahead with farsighted plans to meet our educational needs. Our school leaders, teachers, local communities, and all others who have contributed to the development and expansion of these meccas of learning are to be highly commended.

The great problem facing our independent schools, of course, is that of finances. We need wider, more generous support to help these schools continue and expand their facilities and programs to provide more educational opportunities for our youth.

In this technological age, when we are confronted by both the benefits and the hazards which science has created, we do, indeed, need a full corps of liberal arts students with a full understanding of our human relationship problem.

I am pleased, also, to point up the fact that we have a tremendous inflow of students from the other 47 States. This is, indeed, a fine reflection upon the high standards of our Wisconsin educational institutions.

An article in the July 14 issue of the Milwaukee Journal gives a detailed résumé of the proposed expansion of facilities, and increase in enrollment, planned by many of our Wisconsin colleges.

I request unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRIVATE COLLEGES MAP EXPANSION PROGRAMS—INSTITUTIONS IN STATE TO SPEND 16 MILLION ON FACILITIES IN NEXT 3 YEARS

(By Robert L. Dishon)

Private colleges in Wisconsin are planning to build more than $16 million worth of additional facilities in the next 3 years.

With these facilities, the independent colleges should be able to increase enrollment some 15 percent through 1960, according to a survey by the Wisconsin Foundation of Independent Colleges, Inc. (WFIC). Enrollment in the 16 liberal arts colleges in WFIC last year totaled some 10,000.

The expenditures now planned include two new campuses, dormitories, laboratories, classrooms, and numerous other facilities, according to the WFIC survey.

SEEK LARGER ENROLLMENT

Robert D. Steele, president of WFIC and of Carroll College, Waukesha, said the independent colleges in the State would like to take a fair share of the larger enrollment we all see coming.

He said that all the independent college presidents were concerned about maintaining or improving the quality of the educational programs while trying to serve more students.

"The colleges would welcome the opportunity to serve more students if the funds were available," Steele said. "They may be able to do more if a trend would develop for more contributions to private schools."

SOME PROGRAMS STARTED

Private colleges operate on a sounder financial basis than public colleges, Steele said, because the students pay more of the educational costs. This is said to be one of the reasons why more businesses and industries are increasing support to private colleges.

The planned construction on the private campuses merely will continue some expansion programs that were started after World War II, but which have been accelerated the last few years. Since 1952, the 16 colleges have spent nearly $25 million on capital improvements, according to the WFIC survey.

Carroll's recent expansion and its plans for the future are typical of what has been happening to private colleges throughout the State and Nation. In recent years, the college has built a men's dormitory, a sorority house, and 2 fraternity houses, and modernized 2 other structures.

NEW DORMITORY FOR GIRLS

Steele said the college expected to spend about $1 million to build a new dormitory for 150 girls and additions to the gymnasium.

The college board has decided to expand to 800 students immediately and has started a study to determine what facilities would be needed to handle 1,200 students. Some 765 students were enrolled last year.

Steele estimated that in order for Carroll to handle 1,200 students it would need some $7 million more than it had now—$3 million to add to its endowment fund and the rest for capital improvements.

Frederick O. Pinkham, president of Ripon College, Ripon, said his school "intends to stay small unless we can expand without changing the nature of the school."

GOAL IS 750 STUDENTS

However, the trustees have decided, said Pinkham, to increase from the 600 students last year to about 750 because they felt that the school "could operate more efficiently with that size enrollment."

Presidents of some other colleges said their boards had decided to increase enrollment to a certain level. Others said they expected increases but had not determined definite figures. Gus Turbeville, president at Northland College, Ashland, said his school planned to expand from 300 to 500. Milwaukee-Downer College expects to expand to 500 sometime in the 1960's, according to John B. Johnson, Jr., president.

NEW CAMPUSES PLANNED

New campuses will be built by Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee, and Dominican College, Racine. Exact details and costs have not been compiled, according to the presidents of the colleges.

Cardinal Stritch will build three initial buildings on a 60-acre site across North Port Washington Road from Nicolet High School in Glendale. Dominican plans to construct an administration-classroom building on a 26-acre site on Lake Michigan just north of Racine. Several other buildings will be constructed later.

COLLEGES LIST PLANS

Here are some of the plans by the private colleges:

Alverno College, Milwaukee—No immediate building plans, although the administration is preparing to increase enrollment from 600 to 900 in the next few years. The college has completed 3 buildings in the last 2 years.

Beloit College, Beloit—A new women's dormitory for 116 coeds and an all-campus dining room, $700,000; new men's dormitory and fraternity house, $200,000. Enrollment expected to increase to about 1,100.

Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee—Expects to increase enrollment from 154 to between 400 and 500 with the new campus, which will cost several million dollars.

SIX BUILDINGS FOR CAMPUS

Carroll College, Waukesha—A $1 million women's dormitory planned. Greatly enlarged enrollment being studied.

Dominican Colege, Racine—Expects to increase enrollment from 142 to some 400 with a new campus of 6 buildings. An administration-classroom building will be the first erected, at a cost of more than $1 million.

Edgewood College, Madison—A new residence hall, chapel, and library now being constructed, $900,000. Enrollment will be increased from 200 to 400.

MARQUETTE HAS PROGRAM

Lakeland College, Plymouth—Completion of residence facilities, sewerage plant, additions to physics department and offices, $325,000.

Lawrence College, Appleton—$1,800,000 for new residence space and a music-drama center.

Marquette University, Milwaukee—Only the MU liberal arts college is in WFIC, but some of the $5,500,000 in new buildings to be erected in the next 9 years will be used by liberal arts students. Some $1,500,000 of that amount may be spent through 1960.

Milton College, Milton—Student center and music studio, $30,000.

Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee—Expects to begin expansion to handle some 500 students eventually. Some $300,000 is being planned for a commons-union building and an infirmary. A women's dormitory and a president's home on the campus will be built in the 1960's.

FIELD HOME PLANNED

Mount Mary College, Milwaukee—No immediate construction plans but some increase in enrollment expected.

Northland College, Ashland—A $125,000 men's dormitory and a $1 million fieldhouse planned to help expand the school to handle some 500 students.

Ripon College, Ripon—Two dormitories for 188 men, $800,000; a science building, additional coed housing, and enlarged dining facilities, $1,550,000.

St. Norbert College, West DePere—Exact plans have not been developed but the administration has estimated expenditure of $1 million.

Viterbo College, La Crosse—A new residence hall will be completed by September and a new music hall is being planned at a cost of $300,000.

The Boston Metals Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I have had occasion from time to time to remind my distinguished colleagues that the great port of Baltimore, which I have the honor to include in my constituency, is one of the leading shipbuilding and ship-repair centers of the world. Today I would cite another Maryland leader in the maritime industry, a company which disposes of the vessels built in Baltimore and elsewhere after they have lived out their useful lives.

I refer to the Boston Metals Co. of Baltimore, which, since 1904, has been engaged in the business of scrapping vessels of all nations. To give some idea of the scope and breadth of this company's operation, I might cite just one dramatic transaction in its long history—the purchase from the United States Shipping Board in 1932 of 124 vessels, totaling 1,800,000 gross tons.

The Boston Metals Co. not only scraps vessels, however, it serves the merchant marine on a round-the-clock basis, supplying needed parts in emergencies. Recently, I recall, a cargo vessel was incapacitated in Panama with a cracked propeller shaft. Boston Metals Co. was contacted on Friday evening, a new shaft was tested, disassembled, and dispatched in two planes the following day, and on Monday morning the work of installing the new shaft was begun.

An article in the July 1 issue of the Maritime Reporter told in graphic style the story of the Boston Metals Co.'s operations. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLDWIDE SHIP BREAKING

The Boston Metals Co., of Baltimore brings to ship breaking scientific skill and practical know-how acquired during more than half a century devoted to the art. Through its yards have passed such famous vessels as the battleships *Florida* and *Louisiana*, and the passenger liners *Mount Vernon, Monticello,* and *George Washington*.

Its founder, Morris Schapiro, started in business in 1904 with a capital of $30. Today, as Boston's very active chairman of the board, he heads an enterprise whose activities are international in scope.

Boston Metals' 30-acre plant in Baltimore has its own oxygen plant, machine, electric, and blacksmith shops, and two piers extending into Chesapeake Bay, one for scrapping, the other for stripping. The Atlas, a giant floating crane capable of 125-ton lifts, and three 45-ton Colby gantry cranes, are employed in moving huge dismantled sections.

Among the other companies in the Boston Metals family is the National Metal and Steel Corp., in Los Angeles Harbor. This Terminal Island subsidiary occupies over 130 acres formerly used by the California Shipbuilding and Drydock Corp. It is generally acknowledged as the West's largest ship breaker and supplier of salvaged and surplus marine equipment.

Boston Metals also owns Baldt Anchor, Chain & Forge, of Chester, Pa. The Baldt firm, in conjunction with the Navy, developed the Di-Lok chain, now standard on United States naval vessels.

President of Boston Metals is Morris Schapiro's son, John D. Schapiro, who grew up in the ship-breaking business. He also heads the famous Laurel Race Course in Baltimore. Harold B. Chait is vice president and executive sales manager of Boston Metals.

Joseph Schapiro is president of National Metal and Steel, and Nicolai Joffe, executive vice president. E. J. McGuiness is vice president in charge of Baldt Anchor, Chain & Forge.

Many of Morris Schapiro's transactions have become industry legends. In 1932 he purchased from the Government's Shipping Board the largest block of ships ever handled by any ship breaker in the world at one time—124 Hog Islanders (totaling 1,800,000 gross tons).

A recent Boston Metals' transaction which has commanded wide attention involved the purchase, resale, and delivery for scrapping of two Argentine naval vessels. In order to obtain the battleship *Moreno* and the coastal patrol cruiser *Pueyrredon*, Harold Chait successfully bid against buyers from all over the world.

Subsequent resale negotiations exemplify the high degree of teamwork which exists between members of the Boston Metals family. The *Pueyrredon* was sold directly by the Baltimore office, but the *Moreno* was sold through the cooperation of Nicolai Joffe, of National Metal and Steel. The prices paid for the vessels were an all-time high in the scrap markets of the world.

The delivery of the 26,000-ton *Moreno* involved a 15,000-mile voyage, probably the highest ton-miles towage in the history of ocean towing. Tugs of a total 5,000 to 6,000 horsepower were required. Boston Metals contracted with L. Smit & Co.'s Internationale Sleepdienst, of Rotterdam, Holland, which assigned the 4,000-horsepower tug *Clyde* and the 2,000-horsepower tug *Ocean* to the job.

While in Europe negotiating the towing contract, John Schapiro, together with his insurance broker, Stanley Brandt of Frenkel & Co., Inc., of New York, negotiated with Lloyds of London, what is probably the highest valued voyage insurance on a single vessel for scrapping ever placed. The *Moreno* was insured for the long voyage for $3,500,000.

One of the conditions required by Lloyds underwriters before accepting the insurance was that the certificates of seaworthiness for the ships be issued by Capt. W. D. Noble of Messrs. Mylchreest, Noble & Co., London, England. Captain Noble is one of the world's foremost authorities on ocean towage.

In 1946, the Boston Metals Co. became seriously engaged in the sale of ship machinery. Its large warehouses stock everything from Liberty ship boilers and engines to marine furniture. If a vessel owner, be he ocean or Great Lakes operator, needs a deck or engineroom replacement, the chances are excellent that Boston Metals will be able to satisfy his needs, and quickly.

Its policy of marketing only salvaged machinery and new surplus machinery built not earlier than 1942, except in rare cases where preservation and little use make earlier built machinery attractive, has removed the skepticism that once surrounded reconditioned machinery.

Boston Metals through its sale of reliable machinery helps keep existing tonnage profitably employed; and through its scrapping of uneconomic vessels contributes much-needed steel for new ships.

Gift of Warplanes to Tito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel on June 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JENNER HITS WARPLANES TO TITO

It was bad enough for the executive department of the Government in Washington, supported by modern Republicans in the Senate, seriously to propose starting Communist Yugoslavian Dictator Tito on his second billion in foreign aid, after we had worse than nothing to show for the first billion we lavished on him.

However, when at week's end it was proposed in this connection, to give Tito hundreds, perhaps thousands of latest type jet fighter planes, that, commendably, was way too much for Indiana's United States Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, and he hit the roof of the Senate with a bang that literally rocked the Capitol with its repercussions.

Expressing his amazement and righteous anger that many in the upper House should be utterly indifferent toward arming Tito with large numbers of the latest warplanes, JENNER charged that "the Senate doesn't give a damn about the facts behind the furnishing of fighter planes to Yugoslavia's Communist President Marshal Tito."

How these selfsame hundreds of thousands of fighter planes given away to Communist Dictator Tito could very well ultimately be turned against our own boys, killing and maiming many thousands of them, promoted the fearless Hoosier patriot to work himself into a veritable fury of wrath over the utter inanity that could make such a frightful eventuality possible.

"Let's get the facts," JENNER exclaimed, adding, "I'm sure the Senate doesn't know them and doesn't give a damn." He then gave a highly realistic description of how Tito is "on top of a balanced seesaw with the United States in the air on one side and Russia on the other side."

In sharply clipped words he described President Eisenhower's foreign-aid program as "window dressing" for an administration attempt to bolster the economies of so-called neutral and Iron Curtain countries.

We share Senator JENNER's revulsion at the "every other country first and America last" concept that has ever increasingly in the past 20 years become the Washington Government's international doctrine. He said pursuant to this inane concept, Iron Curtain countries "can be legally financed" with millions upon millions of American dollars "even though Americans are cruelly pinched by resultant enormous taxes."

Hoosiers can well take pride in the fact that their United States Senator is valiantly fighting shoulder to shoulder with such other patriots as Democratic Senator BYRD of Virginia; and Republican Senator BRIDGES, of New Hampshire.

Senator JENNER's resounding blast at the particular kind of "foreign aid" that may be destined to be hurled back at us in hot flaming death and destruction, ably seconds the recent stand taken by Senator BRIDGES when he said:

"I have fought in the past, and I shall continue to fight in the future, against aid to areas which embrace philosophies and practices contrary to our best interests, while eagerly accepting our bounty. I am only too afraid that jet planes given to Tito would be turned against us in a global conflict, just as was all the scrap metal we shipped to Japan, which I also opposed at that time."

It is heartening to know that such stalwart guardians of our freedom and security as Senators JENNER, BRIDGES, and BYRD, are speaking out so fearlessly against the awesome peril that menaces us. And, we repeat, we can feel pardonably proud that a distinguished son of the Hoosier State is one of them.

The Oldest Twins in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, July 16, 1957, marks a rather unusual anniversary date in the Long family. On July 16, 1862—95 years ago—twin daughters were born to John M. and Mary Long, of Tunica, La., 7 miles south of Winnfield, La. These twins are believed to be the oldest living twins in the United States today.

In this day and time not too many folks live to reach the age of 95 and it is even more unusual for twins to reach that age. I am happy to state that my two aunts, Mrs. Olive Long Wright, of Winnfield, La., and Mrs. Julia Long Nugent, of Alexandria, La., both residents of the Eighth Congressional District of Louisiana, which I have the honor to represent, are enjoying excellent health. They attribute their longevity to an active life, devoted to homemaking and a keen interest in church, social, and political affairs. Both are devout members of the Baptist church, having joined the Corinth Baptist Church in Louisiana at an early age. Their husbands, the late Riley Wright

and Doc Nugent, were engaged in farming and cattle raising.

The twins are aunts of the late Senator Huey P. Long, who was also a Governor of the State of Louisiana, the Honorable Earl K. Long, present Governor of Louisiana, the Honorable George S. Long, Member of Congress, the Honorable Julius T. Long, attorney of Shreveport, La., and great-aunts of United States Senator Russell B. Long.

Longevity is not unusual in the Long family. The twins had four brothers who lived to be over 80 years of age. Their father and mother lived to be 83, and two cousins, Perce and John Smith, of Sikes, La., lived to be 99½ years of age.

Mrs. Olive Long Wright is the mother of 8 children, 10 grandchildren and 10 great-grandchildren. Mrs. Julia Long Nugent is the mother of 9 children, 14 grandchildren, and 26 great-grandchildren.

A Letter From Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the Baltimore Sun occasionally runs articles and letters written by Lord Winster, a member of the British House of Lords who was colonial Governor of Cyprus during the period 1947 to 1950. One of Lord Winster's letters to The Sun dealt with the grave situation on the island of Cyprus, and a copy of this communication was recently forwarded to me by Mr. Evaff A. Chriss, president of the board of trustees of the Greek Orthodox Community, Baltimore. At the request of Mr. Chriss, I ask unanimous consent that Lord Winster's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LETTER FROM BRITAIN—SALISBURY AND CYPRUS

(By Lord Winster, London, England)

I have always had, and still have, a great admiration for Lord Salisbury, who has qualities fitting him for our Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary outshining those of recent holders of the two posts. All eminent men occasionally slip up and much as I regret to say so, I do not think that his second resignation will enhance his reputation as did, most undoubtedly, his first. The fact is that he has resigned this time for an inadequate reason and one cannot help feeling that pique has played its part.

It is inevitable, looking to their past history, their great position, the part they have played in history, the position and authority they have always enjoyed, that the Cecils should have an authoritarian streak in them. It was very noticeable in the great Prime Minister and in Lord Balfour.

They are modest, even diffident in manner, but this is mostly due to their world having always deferred to them. It is very easy to go to the bottom of the table when you know with absolute certainty that you will be called up to the top.

The Cecils undoubtedly have a deep sense of public duty and serve their country with great devotion. But it has always seemed to me that they impose a condition, which is that they must be agreed with and must have their way. A study of Lord Salisbury's photographs reveals a somewhat obstinate mouth.

This, I should say, is a case where the doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility should have applied. Lord Salisbury differed from his colleagues, but having expressed and argued for his opinion, I think he would have done better to accept the majority decision, especially as, after all, the heavens are not going to fall because Archbishop Makarios is being released. The Government stands confronting far more important problems—very serious problems, indeed.

* * * * *

The resignation is not based upon a great issue of principle or of morality. Presumably, Lord Salisbury wants to see a settlement in Cyprus so he goes only because he differs from his late Cabinet colleagues on how to achieve that end; his quarrel is over tactics, not over grand strategy.

Suez did involve principles and morality and the making of statements to Parliament which, in the lightof subsequent events, appear not to have always been candid. Here, Lord Salisbury saw no need to resign, but stood by what some of the best minds in the country outside politics thought highly questionable conduct. I find his action very peculiar.

When the Crown had to make a choice between two men for Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury is credited with having tipped the balance in favor of Mr. Macmillan, although many good judges thought and think Mr. Butler the better man. Mr. Macmillan confronts today the most anxious national problems.

Not all the Conservative Party likes what happened at Bermuda and anti-Americanism is once again in the air. It seems pretty clear that we shall make little impression on Nasser over the Suez Canal and the Middle East. The industrial and financial position is most grave.

The Times editorial on April 1 said: "The fall in the value of the pound has been unrelieved. Now all the reserves have been thrown in. Britain is living behind a shield of borrowed assets and on borrowed time. The capacity to live on our fat and to borrow further has come to an end. It is said that another dose of inflation is now inevitable. Britain's reserves are weak. They might be hard put to withstand the flight from confidence in sterling that could develop with severe and prolonged strikes."

On all fronts, Mr. Macmillan is hard pressed—foreign, internal, industrial, financial, party.

Yet this is the moment when the man who advised his appointment leaves his side and leaves it on a secondary issue. "Lord Salisbury's resignation," says the Observer, "could hardly have come at a more unfortunate moment. A government trying to deal with two great strikes can hardly afford any loss of prestige." I cannot help feeling that when the whole business is weighed up, it will be Lord Salisbury who will lose and the Prime Minister who will gain in esteem and influence.

* * * * *

I can feel little sympathy with the Government over Cyprus. "The whole story of Cyprus," said a recent Times editorial, "has been one of delay, blunders, bloodshed, and mounting suspicion." A few days later the Sunday Times weighed in: "The Government's latest declaration has created the impression that it does not seriously want negotiations with the Cypriots at this stage."

Lord Salisbury has at times shown a lack of judgment about Cyprus. His resignation now, just when the Government shows some signs of moving, however tardily, toward a solution, will stimulate Greece and Turkey to increase their claims. It is true that the Archbishop has not 100 percent denounced violence, but he has gone some way to doing so, far enough, in my opinion, to meet the Government's statement that should he reprove violence "a new situation would arise."

EOKA's offer to suspend operations, coupled with the archbishop's halfhearted condemnation of violence, makes it impossible for us not to respond in some form, otherwise our moral case would be worse. Lord Salisbury's reactionary attitude will never bring about a just and peaceful settlement and he has weakened his once great influence by an unjustifiable act.

While I agree that the Government has made a move in the right direction, I do not think they have as yet any idea of their next move.

To clear their minds, they should ask themselves two questions: (1) Exactly what use to us is Cyprus, (2) why is it right to grant liberty to India, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, etc., and deny it to Cyprus?

Prerequisites of a settlement are that we abandon the colonial regime in Cyprus; give up the impossible idea of partition, withdraw the defense regulations, offer a complete amnesty, admit that there can be no negotiations without Makarios and no longer allow Turkey to exercise a veto on our policy.

The Nickerson Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there recently was held in my hometown of Huntsville, Ala., at the Redstone Arsenal, a court-martial proceeding against Col. John C. Nickerson, Jr. Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, the military authority for the New York Times, attended that court-martial proceeding. He has written a very interesting column in today's New York Times. The article is quite thought provoking. I ask unanimous consent that the column, entitled "The Nickerson Case," be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NICKERSON CASE—AN ANALYSIS OF THE PREJUDICIAL EFFECT OF COLONEL'S ROLE ON THE MISSILES RACE

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

A comparatively light sentence, but one of the stiffest reprimands an officer could receive, has ended, it is to be hoped, the unfortunate case of Col. John C. Nickerson, Jr.

Colonel Nickerson is the Army officer who pleaded guilty to using documents marked secret to proselytize writers and manufacturers in behalf of the Army's intermediate range ballistic missile, the Jupiter. The facts reported from the court-martial—many of them based on Colonel Nickerson's own testimony, appear to justify the harsh language of the reprimand. In and out of court Colonel Nickerson talked too much; in the words of the official reprimand he "presumed" himself to "be above law and regulations." There was bound to be punishment, as Colonel Nickerson himself agreed.

Yet a consequence considerably more important than a ruined career is the possible effect of the Nickerson case upon the development of the intermediate range ballistic missile. Colonel Nickerson not only showed an excess of zeal and a deficiency of judgment, but the means he selected to achieve his ends, and particularly the things he said before and during his court-martial, tended, unintentionally on his part, to defeat the purpose he wished to attain.

Colonel Nickerson was carrying a torch for Jupiter, the Army's version of the intermediate range ballistic missile, which has been under development at Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Ala. in competition with the Air Force Thor. The ruling last year by Charles E. Wilson, the Secretary of Defense, that the Air Force would operate any intermediate range ballistic missile led to Colonel Nickerson's unwise acts.

Yet Mr. Wilson's decision did not by any means exclude the Army from the use of ballistic missiles or from the development of long-range missiles. The Jupiter, fortunately, has continued under development.

PREJUDICE FEARED

Yet the Nickerson court-martial might well tend to prejudice judgments and imperil continued development of the Jupiter.

By Secretary Wilson's ruling, the Air Force, which will operate the 1,500-mile missile when it is ready for use, is now the Army's sole customer for the Jupiter. The Air Force, through private contractors, has been developing the Thor, another version of the intermediate range ballistic missile.

To date, the Jupiter appears to have been more successful than the Thor; it may well be, as Redstone Arsenal claims, a much superior missile. But the Army has to convince the Air Force and the Department of Defense of the truth of these claims.

In mid-June shortly before the Nickerson court-martial, Redstone Arsenal, headquarters of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency, played host to Maj. Gen. Bernard A. Schriever of the Air Force and his staff. General Schriever and the Air Force ballistic missile experts were thoroughly briefed on Jupiter, on the Army's ballistic missile team and on the great capabilities—in missile development—of Redstone Arsenal. They came away impressed.

Then came the court-martial and Colonel Nickerson's testimony in and out of court, which was certainly not calculated to win friends and influence people in the Air Force. The testimony seemed to hint that Secretary Wilson's verdict giving operational control of the 1,500-mile missile to the Air Force was influenced in part by vested interests of aviation companies. It cast aspersions not only at Thor but at the Air Force.

It defended Jupiter but the defense was an attack upon the Air Force, which is the potential user of Jupiter. It showed, what was already known, that the Jupiter was potentially an excellent missile, whose development should be continued. But its attacks upon the Air Force, and particularly the unproved and implied inferences in the testimony, were bound to react against Redstone Arsenal and the Jupiter missile.

One cannot but conclude that Colonel Nickerson talked too much. The sooner the wounds left by the Nickerson case are healed the better for the Nation. We are engaged in what could be a life-and-death missile development race with Soviet Russia.

Already budgetary pressures appear to be curtailing United States missile developments. The promising Navaho long-range missile, for instance, has just been abandoned. A technical evaluation of the potential capabilities of other more promising missiles and of new chemical-powered piloted jet bombers may offer some justification for this cancellation. But there is no doubt that the defense dollar squeeze was a major factor.

ONE CRITERION USED

There are several timely lessons, therefore, to be drawn from the Nickerson case. The first is that there must be only one criterion in the selection of weapons and in development plannings; the criterion must be what is best for the country, not merely for the individual service.

The second is that the administration will make a major mistake if it adopts in military budgetary matters a penny-wise-pound-foolish policy in research and development. Parallel and competitive, but different, approaches to the same end—for instance, the Jupiter and the Thor—are absolutely essential to the best product.

And Government research teams, laboratories and arsenals like Redstone are an important part of the whole development effort, and should serve as a kind of guide and yardstick for private industry in the development of the new technology of the missile age.

A National Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to inform the Members of this House that my proposal for a national lottery continues to gain more and more support. The most recent endorsement comes from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of California.

In a letter which I am pleased to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the State commander, Alva J. Fleming, informs me that at their recent State convention held in Fresno, Calif., the delegates, representing 50,000 Veterans of Foreign War members, and 516 Veterans of Foreign War posts in that State, passed a resolution unanimously endorsing a national lottery.

Because of its significance and importance, I am inserting in the RECORD not only the above-mentioned letter but the resolution which was introduced by the San Francisco Post, No. 58, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The letter and resolution follow:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS,
OF THE UNITED STATES,
San Francisco, Calif., July 10, 1957.

Hon. PAUL A. FINO,
United States Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FINO: We have read with interest an article in the Sunday, June 30, 1957, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle of your bill currently before the House Ways and Means Committee dealing with the establishment of a national lottery. Under your proposal, we understand, the proceeds from such a lottery would be used for Federal Hospitals, care of the blind, recipients of old-age assistance and disabled veterans.

We thought that you would be interested to know that at our recent 37th annual State convention held in Fresno, Calif., the delegates representing 50,000 Veterans of Foreign Wars members, and 516 VFW posts, in California, passed a resolution seeking and endorsing a national lottery. A copy of the resolution as adopted is enclosed for your information.

In view of the fact that this department is on record favoring such a lottery as you propose, it is requested that we be furnished a copy of your bill. Our resolution has been forwarded to the National organization to be considered by the delegates to our 58th National Convention to be held at Miami Beach, Fla., August 25–30, 1957.

Sincerely yours,

ALVA J. FLEMING,
State Commander.
ROBERT J. NUTT,
State Adjutant.

CALIFORNIA 1957 RESOLUTION, No. 117, SEEKS NATIONAL LOTTERY

Whereas San Francisco Post 58, VFW, introduced this resolution for a national sweepstake, the proceeds from this sweepstake to be used for pensions, hospitalization for all veterans—also pensions for widows and orphans; and

Whereas it is introducing this resolution, asking that it be acted upon and adopted at the State Encampment at Fresno, Calif., and then forwarded to the National Encampment of the VFW at Miami, Fla.; and seeking that this resolution be given a hearing before the delegates of the VFW, explaining what it will do, and also seeing that the commander in chief of the VFW be authorized to contact other veterans' organizations and to ask Congress to put this national sweepstake ticket on the national election in the autumn of 1958; and

Whereas it should be explained that a national lottery was in existence during the Revolutionary War and was authorized by the Continental Congress and was called the United States Lottery, the proceeds of the lottery helped to finance the birth of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That all comrades and the ladies auxiliary give this resolution all-out support, as it is one of the most vital resolutions that will be presented before this great organization at Miami in August, as it is constructive and not destructive; and be it further

Resolved, That we hope this will not be sidetracked like the resolution we introduced in Sacramento at the Encampment in 1955, in which was the only resolution we introduced that got headlines in the Sacramento Bee—get behind this and give it a push.

Adopted by the 37th Encampment of the Department of California, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, assembled in Fresno, Calif., June 16–20, 1957.

A. J. FLEMING,
Department Commander.

Attest:

ROBERT J. NUTT,
Department Adjutant.

Set Your Sights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. PAT JENNINGS
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a poem by a young constituent of mine in Pulaski County, Va., Miss Charlena Wright.

This poem, Set Your Sights, has been selected for publication in a volume of religious and philosophical poetry to be called Sermons in Poetry. It was chosen from among thousands submitted

by students to the American Poetry Society.

I believe Miss Wright's poem merits the attention of the Members, and I am happy to have her as a constituent.

The poem, as printed in the June 30, 1957, edition of the Southwest Times, of Pulaski, Va., follows:

SET YOUR SIGHTS

(By Charlena Wright)

America, set your sights high,
Higher, higher, as high as the sky.
Look at the clouds so free from strain,
Listen to the birds' happy refrain.

America, set your sights over,
Over the fields filled with clover,
Look at the mountains so peaceful and free,
Look over the mountains and on the sea.

America, set your sights down,
Down to the valleys and all around.
See some of our freedoms? The heritage of man,
This is America, God's cherished land.

The "Dilemma" of the Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news article from the Oregon Journal of July 13, 1957, describing a thoughtful address given by Dr. John M. Swarthout before the City Club of Portland, Oreg., on July 12, 1957.

Dr. Swarthout, who is head of the political science department at Oregon State College in Corvallis, has emphasized the dilemma of the conscientious and idealistic citizen who attempts to assay a role in public service. He discusses the difficulties of such service, and he faces up to the fact that, in his own words, "there is no easy solution."

Professor Swarthout is particularly qualified to undertake this subject because he is soon to become associated with the Citizenship Clearing House of New York City, a national organization which attempts to encourage able young men and women to become actively interested in politics and Government. This organization was founded through the wisdom and vision of the late Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey. I can personally attest to its effectiveness. On many college campuses, I have addressed chapters of the Citizenship Clearing House, and both my wife and I have been favorably impressed with the quality and caliber of the students who have thus been motivated to take a genuine interest in our Government at State, municipal, county and Federal levels.

All of us in Oregon, while regretting Dr. Swarthout's temporary absence from the State, are pleased that a political scientist of his knowledge and attainments is about to become identified with the Citizenship Clearing House.

The article describing Professor Swarthout's speech, entitled "Workers' Dilemma Described," follows from the Oregon Journal of July 13. There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORKERS' DILEMMA DESCRIBED

The dilemma of the public servant was described to the City Club Friday by one of them, John M. Swarthout, chairman of the department of political science at Oregon State College.

The dilemma is to leave public administrators free enough to do the things which ought to be done without allowing them too much freedom to do the things which ought not to be done.

Swarthout told his audience there is no easy solution.

He said that in the United States today 1 out of every 10 wage earners is an employee of some branch of the Government.

This, he said, does not include men in the Armed Forces.

He contrasted this situation with the State of Federal civil service in 1800, when the entire United States Government employed only about 100 clerks and office workers.

He attributed the tremendous growth in the rolls of public employees in the Nation's increase in population and the growth of its amazingly complicated economy which causes citizens increasingly to turn to the Government for service.

He listed these drawbacks to public employment:

1. Government jobs generally carry relatively low prestige.

2. In the democratic tradition, the American public is likely to be suspicious of anyone with authority.

3. Businessmen trend to distrust the Government.

4. Most of the dealings the public has with Government are probably of an unpleasant variety such as receiving traffic tickets or paying taxes.

5. The pay of public employees is not munificent, though it is better than it used to be.

6. Government employees are subject to a certain amount of harassment from their bosses, the public.

Offsetting these drawbacks, he said, the two principal reasons that people enter public service today are the fact that Government does the kind of work that these people (social workers and teachers for example) are trained to do, and that a lot of people are just dedicated to doing the things that are done by Government for the benefit of others.

A decreasing number, he said, are drawn to public service by the prospects of job security or simply by accident.

Disabled American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein a very complimentary and deserving editorial which appeared in La Gazzetta del Massachusetts, an Italian-American newspaper of Boston, Mass., on Friday, July 12, 1957:

DAV HAS MADE AMAZING PROGRESS IN AIDING VETERANS IN PAST 25 YEARS

There is no more dedicated organization to the protection of the welfare and the physical well being of disabled veterans of wars in which United States soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen have participated than the Disabled American Veterans.

It is fitting, in view of the observance at the State convention of the organization, this week, of the 25th anniversary of the issuance to the DAV of a Federal charter, to pay deserved tribute to the men who have so capably directed the activities of the Massachusetts Department of the national association of disabled veterans.

Unlike other veterans' organizations, the DAV is identified exclusively with those who suffered disability either in active service or because of such wartime activity in assuring the maintenance of American democracy, freedom, and the way of life that has inspired millions of foreign born to seek peace, opportunity, and happiness under the American flag.

The DAV is geared to protect and advance the interests of the disabled. The organization has fulfilled the purposes for which it was created and Massachusetts has always held a rating of prominence in the record of worthwhile and actual achievements.

Obviously the DAV numerical strength is limited because it embraces in its membership only the disabled veterans. The DAV concentrates and with marked success upon aiding the disabled in securing the full benefits to which they are entitled; to securing hospitalization and adequate care for the unfortunates suffering from serious disabilities; to promoting goodwill among all veterans; and to making certain that shut-in veterans are made happy by the knowledge that the DAV never forgets them.

In countless ways the DAV makes life more worth living for the disabled. In its years of activity the DAV has established a remarkable record. It is a record of accomplishment—the fulfillment of the purpose for which the organization came into being.

Demands have multiplied many times in the quarter of a century that the DAV has been leading the fight to gain increased benefits for the disabled. Massachusetts stands high in the list of States where the DAV is known for its achievements.

All veterans are indebted to the DAV. Its work in behalf of the disabled has brought added benefits and more advantages to veterans. To call the DAV a worthwhile organization of veterans is to greatly understate its true value. It is a fine organization made up of men who are unselfishly devoted to helping their less fortunate comrades.

OTC Still Stalled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the legislation to approve United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation remains pending in the Congress. According to an editorial which appeared in the Denver Post, and which has recently been reproduced in the Northern Virginia Sun, some 35 other countries are waiting for the Congress to

act on this significant legislation. The OTC has no tariff-reducing powers. It would be a strictly administrative organization to smooth out the day-to-day operation of reciprocal trade agreements.

In this connection, under unanimous consent, I include the editorial which was reproduced in the Northern Virginia Sun, an excellent new newspaper, published in nearby Arlington, Va., and whose publisher is Clayton Fritchey and editor is Philip M. Stern, two outstanding and enterprising newspapermen, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

OTC STILL STALLED

The legislation President Eisenhower has pleaded for more frequently than any other now appears to have virtually no chance for passage this year. So many Republicans are opposed to it that Representative JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, says he doesn't want to risk putting the proposal to a vote.

The bill in question is one approving the establishment of and United States membership in a 35-nation Organization for Trade Cooperation.

Since United States approval is necessary to the launching of the trade organization, the 34 other countries are waiting for Congress to act.

About 50 nationwide organizations—including such diverse groups as the AFL–CIO, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and the League of Women Voters—have supported the OTC legislation. The opponents are high-tariff protectionist groups.

Actually, OTC would have no tariff-reducing powers. It would be strictly an administrative organization to smooth out the day-to-day operation of existing reciprocal trade agreements.

At present the 35 countries have their trade representatives get together once a year to discuss trade concessions and check on how reciprocal efforts to increase international trade is progressing. OTC would function between the annual meetings to provide review and consultation on trade-barrier problems.

There is no possible ground for opposition to OTC except by those who do not want our reciprocal trade agreements to work and, therefore, look with disfavor on any plan to set up an administrative agency.

But whether protectionists like it or not, trade isolationism is no longer possible in the world in which we find ourselves today—a world in which the United States has more to gain than any other country from a constantly expanding flow of raw materials and goods between countries.

OTC may not be approved by Congress this year. But OTC, or a similar organization, will become increasingly necessary in years ahead.

Fifth Anniversary of the Enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution presented by the Honorable Mitsuyuki Kido at public meeting, Joseph R. Farrington Community Auditorium, June 27, 1957, which was approved unanimously, in observance and celebration of the fifth anniversary of the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act:

Whereas the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act was enacted on June 27, 1952, and all laws relating to immigration, naturalization, and nationality became part of one comprehensive statute for the first time in the history of the United States; and

Whereas said act advances the fundamental American principle of the equality of man by removing a sweeping and inequitable ground for the exclusion of immigrants long present in previous statute, namely, the racial origin of the immigrant; and

Whereas said act further provides that "the right of a person to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of race"; and

Whereas said act has further enabled many persons of elderly years who have resided in the United States during a substantial part of their adult lives and who owe undivided allegiance to the United States to acquire the status and privilege of United States citizenship: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we who are here assembled in the Joseph R. Farrington Auditorium in Honolulu, T. H., on June 27, 1957, to observe and celebrate the fifth anniversary of the enactment of the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act do hereby reunite in a vote of appreciation to and confidence in United States Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, and do further commend the devotion and courage he is showing in fighting to preserve and advance the foregoing principles; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, United States Congressman from Pennsylvania.

United States Supreme Court's Decisions Either Innocently or Deliberately Lend Aid and Comfort to Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. PILLION

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two resolutions adopted by the American Legion of Erie County, N. Y., at its 39th annual convention held in Angola, N. Y., on June 29, 1957.

These resolutions are a symbol of the concern that is permeating the American public as a result of the recent Supreme Court decisions. These decisions of the Supreme Court almost appear to have a deliberate purpose of lending aid and comfort to every Communist purpose and every Communist advocate.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION FOR THE NULLIFICATION OF THE JUNE 3, 1957, JENCKS CASE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the various intelligence services of the Federal Government, notably the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, the Bureau of Narcotics of the Treasury Department, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue, have for years enjoyed the respect, admiration, and confidence of the American people by reason of the magnificent service they have rendered in their never-ending job of securing inviolate the fabric of American society; and

Whereas it has been made abundantly clear year after year by those men charged with the responsibility of operating our intelligence services, and is indeed a matter of common knowledge, that an intelligence organization worthy of the name demands an unimpeachable informant system; and

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States of June 3, 1957, in the so-called Jencks case determined that confidential files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation must be made available to the defense if a Government witness in a trial has previously furnished written reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and

Whereas this ruling, if permitted to stand as law by the Congress of the United States, will result in the gravest consequences, crippling our intelligence services beyond workability, thwarting the Government's efforts to protect our peoples from the marauding depradations of international Communism and to detect and punish counterfeiters, dope peddlers, racketeers and other threats to our peace and well being; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Erie County Committee of the American Legion, a patriotic organization whose purpose is to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America, to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State and Nation, to make right the master of might, and to promote peace and good will on earth, does hereby petition the Congress of the United States to provide for such changes as may be necessary in the rules governing procedure in the Federal court to preclude the necessity of our intelligence services exposing their secret files to defendants in criminal cases so that such services may continue to render the invaluable service to our peoples which they have always done in the past.

Resolved further, That the Erie County Committee of the American Legion transmit copies of this resolution to the congressional delegates from our area: Hon. JOHN R. PILLION, Hon. EDMUND RADWAN, and Hon. WILLIAM MILLER.

Resolved further, That the Erie County Committee of the American Legion does hereby petition the department of New York to pass this resolution and forward same to national headquarters for passage into the national convention.

J. DONALD GRIFFIN,
Erie County Commander.

RESOLUTION FOR THE NULLIFICATION OF THE JUNE 17, 1957, SMITH ACT DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the Congress of the United States, after extensive hearings extended throughout the decade 1930 to 1940, recognized that international communism was poised like a dagger ready to strike at the heart of human dignity the world over, and

Whereas acting on the basis of such knowledge and cognizant of the terrible danger to our institutions and our peoples as well as human dignity and liberty everywhere, the Congress enacted the so-called Smith Act in the month of June 1940 for the purpose of prohibiting the systematic recruitment of individuals dedicated to the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States and to prevent the organization within the United States of fifth columns in the literal sense of that phrase operating in the interest of foreign governments, and

Whereas the Smith Act has enabled the Government of the United States to gain

the conviction and sentencing of well over 100 of the very top brains and effective leadership of this treacherous and rapacious army of traitors without in any fashion impinging upon the civil liberties of freeborn Americans but operating entirely within the framework of every constitutional right, thus proving to be a wonderfully effective weapon for the defense of our people and a weapon worthy of a people governed by law instead of men, and

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States on Monday, June 17, 1957, in its decision involving the review of the conviction of the leaders of the Communist Party of the State of California has effectively wrenched this weapon from the American people leaving them vulnerable with a breast once again bared to the traitor's dagger by rendering it impossible as a practical matter for the Government of the United States to successfully use the Smith Act as presently construed, and

Whereas this construction acts to the detriment of the people of our Nation by defeating the basic purpose of the Smith Act: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Erie County Committee of the American Legion, a patriotic organization whose purpose is to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and Nation; to make right the master of might; and to promote peace and good will on earth; do hereby petition the Congress of the United States to provide for such changes as may be necessary in the Smith Act of 1940 to reestablish its integrity and restore it to the American people as a potent weapon in their eternal struggle with despotism and darkness.

Resolved further, That the Erie County Committee of the American Legion does hereby petition the Department of New York to pass this resolution and forward same to national headquarters for passage into the national convention.

Resolved further, That the Erie County Committee of the American Legion transmit copies of this resolution to the congressional delegates from our area: Hon. JOHN R. PILLION, Hon. EDMUND P. RADWAN, and Hon. WILLIAM MILLER.

J. DONALD GRIFFIN,
Erie County Commander.

The Big Bend, Tex., Civil Air Patrol Squadron

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the work of the Big Bend, Tex., Civil Air Patrol Squadron. Many Members of the House of Representatives may have read in the newspapers of the outstanding job turned in by the Big Bend CAP members in a recent rescue operation in Texas.

The Big Bend CAP instituted a search in the Big Bend National Park for a missing couple, Mr. and Mrs. Clifford S. White, of Houston, on June 26. On that same day the body of Mr. White was found after he apparently died from heat exhaustion.

As the newspapers of the Nation carried headlines proclaiming that Mrs. White was likewise feared dead, the Big Bend CAP—made up of members in the Alpine-Marfa area—continued its tireless search. On the morning of July 1, some 5 days after the exhausting search was started, CAP pilot Herbert Ogle discovered Mrs. White, weak and ill but alive, in a small canyon located in a remote portion of the Big Bend National Park.

Mrs. White has publicly stated that without the aid of the CAP members in the Big Bend area she would never have survived. This points up the wonderful job that the Civil Air Patrol squadron turned in and I wish to commend those who gave of their time, efforts and personal financial resources to successfully conclude this dramatic and humanitarian act.

At the beginning of the search the Civil Air Patrol sought to receive official permission from CAP Headquarters in Fort Worth to begin the operation. George Miller, Superintendent of the Big Bend National Park, wired the Fort Worth headquarters asking for Official Civil Air Patrol participation. For some reason, probably due to a breakdown of communications within the CAP, that telegram has not to this day been replied to, according to information I have received.

Knowing there was little time to waste, the Big Bend CAP Squadron commanded by Maj. Bob Crawford, pooled their resources and raised more than $400 of their own money to cover aviation gas and oil costs in conducting the search. And as I have related, the search was successful.

Unfortunately, the Big Bend CAP members have been informed they cannot be reimbursed for their expenditures because the request for participation did not come from the proper authorities. According to Southwest Wing Commander Col. Sydney Perryman of Olney, Tex., in order for the members to be able to collect for their expenses the original request for an official search must have come from either the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the Governor of Texas, an Air Force base commander, or the sheriff's department of the county in which the search was conducted.

I well realize the need for adequate administrative regulations, but by the same token I can understand that the Big Bend CAP officials had to begin its search as quickly as possible, and thought a request for aid through Park Superintendent Miller would be sufficient.

Although not one single member of the Big Bend Civil Air Patrol has requested that I attempt to help them secure recovery of the money they spent on their errand of mercy, I intend to take the matter up with the proper Civil Air Patrol authorities. It seems inconceivable to me that these persons should be penalized because they did not have time to follow to the letter the normal administrative regulations.

Many people in the Big Bend area helped in this rescue mission, and it is impossible to mention all of them by name, but in addition to those already mentioned I think Mr. Aaron Green, Mr. Buddy Lane, and Dr. W. E. Lockhart should be noted for their actions.

But to all the persons who participated in this mission of kindness, and in particular to the Big Bend Civil Air Patrol Squadron members who displayed courage, initiative and a high sense of duty in the face of personal danger and discouraging circumstances, we owe a debt of gratitude.

The Sudeten Germans—The Policy of Liberation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the following article presents the Policy of Liberation as outlined by the Sudeten Germans. I commend it to the attention to all who are interested in seeing freedom and liberation once again dominating the world picture.

THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

Under the present conditions, with regard to the long years' tradition of illusions in America, there is no wonder that the policy of illusions had originated and is being carried out by the United States of America and by the German press installed in Germany in the reconstruction time.

But it is also no wonder that another policy, a policy 100 percent opposite to treason and naive illusions, a manly, intelligent policy, originated in America. It is the policy of intelligence, of patriotism, of reason—the policy of liberation. This policy reflects the true character of the majority of the Americans, although it is, in the same way as its authors, not presently in power in the United States of America.

It was Gen. Douglas MacArthur who advocated an intelligent and firm course in Korea:

(a) Economic blockade against Red China;

(b) Bombing of the assembly points of the Chinese invasion army in the Chinese hinterland;

(c) Permitting the national Chinese to operate against and on the Chinese mainland.

MacArthur did understand that the Reds won't start any major war because of these measures—that they will start a world war only and when they have the chance to win it on a worldwide scale and not because of the Korean situation.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft, when candidate for United States presidency in 1952, asked for the following policy:

(a) A great Air Force in America to avoid fight of the land armies, in which the Russians are stronger;

(b) Better radio broadcasts;

(c) Support for anti-Communist forces—and only for anti-Communist forces—in the entire world;

(d) Active support for anti-Communist underground, when time will be mature.

The policy of liberation is inseparably connected with the name of former Congressman Charles J. Kersten. He, for the first time, formulated several points of a unified and classic policy of liberation, including the forming of national military units of the refugees, interruption of diplomatic and economic relations with the Reds and support for anti-Communist underground, economic blockade, etc.

The late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy asked on July 11, 1955, for the establishment of the exile governments out of the refugee politicians and took a sharp stand against the Geneva Conference, based on illusions. To McCarthy belongs the immortal merit to have aroused America and the West to the danger of Communist treason within the free world.

Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND asked for the policy of liberation and for exclusion of the Soviet Union from the United Nations, for the blockade of Red China. He has taken his stand against coexistence with the Red criminals and also against economic and other assistance to Communist Poland.

On January 10, 1957, Representative USHER L. BURDICK asked in the House of Representatives for the expulsion of the Communist governments from the United Nations, for the stopping of trade with the Communists, and he asked for banishing the fear of Russia that has permeated America for several years, clearly recognizing that Russia and her bloc are too weak to lead war.

Congressman CARROLL REECE declared on May 16, 1957, in the House of Representatives that the Oder-Neisse territories are German and that their occupation by Poland ties Poland to the Soviet Union. Poland should give up these territories, return them to Germany, and the bond between Poland and the Soviet Union will thus be abolished.

On February 28, 1955, the Committee of Endorsers published in the New York Times "A Program To Govern Our Foreign Policy," representing the policy of liberation. Two years later, on February 11, 1957, these endorsers constituted the Citizens' Foreign Relations Committee which subscribed to this program of foreign policy, stressing especially two points: Withdrawal of recognition of Communist regimes and underground activities against the Communist world. The committee asks that the free world, in order to save itself, finally starts to do unto the Communists what they have been doing unto us for such a long time. This is, indeed, a revolutionary idea, an idea which marks a turning point in the thinking of anti-Communist Americans. Members of the committee include men like General Willoughby, General Wedemeyer, General Stratemeyer, Ambassador Cromwell, Congressmen Jackson, Gwinn, L. H. Smith, W. Smith, Dean Clarence Manion, Robert E. Vogeler, Adolphe Menjou and others.

FINAL OUTLINE OF THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

If we take all these proposals together, the policy of liberation looks in its final form, as follows:

1. An extremely strong Air Force, guided missiles as well as atomic, scientific, and technical superiority on the part of the West, which can prevent war of land armies on European soil and air attacks against America and which could attack Russia directly in her cities and factories; an immense superiority, which thus can prevent war at all, because Russia can never dare to attack the West and America, strong in atomic weapons and Air Force, strong in science and technics—in a field which is the natural domain of the West and of the United States of America.

2. Complete extermination of Communist subversive activities and of the secret Communist conspiracy in America and in the West.

3. Cessation of diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries and the exclusion of these countries; i. e., of their Communist governments, from all international organizations; e. g., the United Nations.

4. A 100 percent economic and other blockade against the East bloc and neutrals trading with the Communists, general boycott of transport, persons, and societies serving the Communists.

5. Recognition of exile government of the refugees and expelles and

6. Formation of national military units composed of refugees from the enslaved nations based on the recognition of the full right for self-determination for all nations and groups. These units would be a magnet of defection for members of eastern armies as well as for satellite nationals generally.

7. More effective and anti-Communist radio broadcasts to be relayed to the East than are the present programs of Radio Free Europe and of the Voice of America; broadcasts, picturing also the true face of the state security police and the true face of the entire international Communist conspiracy; and the true means of defense and fight against it.

8. Military, economic, and other aid to be extended only to nations that are anti-Communist.

9. Opposition to every type of supernational pseudostates aiming to set up a world government.

10. American and Western policy to be adjusted to moral laws, Christianity, and enlightened nationalism of every nation.

11. Proclamation of just aims for future arrangements:

(a) Restoration of the status quo before Communist and Nazi changes.

(b) Full right for self-determination for every nation, as small as it may be.

(c) Punishment of the Communists and of their helpers.

12. Explanation to free nations and to the world of the real strength and the real weaknesses of the Communist system and of Soviet Russia: Banishing fear of Soviet Russia.

13. Explanation to all nations that this policy is the only way to reduce oppressive taxation in the future, to abolish armament and all burdens of the citizens in every state, including citizens of the presently enslaved nations.

14. Proclamation of the readiness of the free nations to give full aid to the presently enslaved nations after their liberation.

15. Active and material support to underground movements in the subjugated countries, so that communism in the East can be destroyed and disintegrated without war, from within, within due course of time.

16. When time will be mature, the West should give sign for general strikes and laydown in the East, if this will serve the aims of liberation without war.

17. Use of all means, in addition to the above-mentioned ones, to reach liberation without war—to prevent war; use of all strongest deterrents to war.

Is More "Packing" of United States Agencies in the Making?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article which appeared in Labor, dated April 27, 1957.

The article bearing the captioned title follows:

IS MORE "PACKING" OF UNITED STATES AGENCIES IN THE MAKING?

New developments may provide more "grist for the mill" of the House Interstate Commerce Subcommittee, which, as Labor has reported, will soon begin a probe of President Eisenhower's "packing" of Federal regulatory agencies with friends of the special interests they are supposed to regulate. Among the developments are these:

1. In a move so unusual that it lifted many eyebrows in Washington, Eisenhower this week took J. Sinclair Armstrong off his job as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and made his an Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This means a $500-a-year salary reduction for Armstrong, but there were some suggestions that he was being "kicked upstairs" to get him off the SEC.

As the Wall Street Journal commented, "some financial leaders have been critical of Armstrong's management of the Commission." For one thing, he has cracked down on Canadian and American oil and mine stock swindlers who are said to have powerful connections in high government and financial circles of both the United States and Canada.

When reporters persisted in asking White House Press Secretary James C. Haggerty why Ike transferred the SEC chief to the Navy, Haggerty snapped angrily: "Stop that goddarn nonsense. When the President appoints a man, he appoints him, and that's all there is to it."

WHAT ABOUT MURRAY?

2. Eleven of the eighteen members of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee wrote Eisenhower urging him to reappoint Thomas E. Murray as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. Murray is the one member who opposed the scandalous Dixon-Yates deal arranged by AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss. Murray also is the only member who has opposed the Strauss program of giving the power trust a private monopoly of atom electric power developed at public expense. Reports say Strauss has asked the President to drop Murray from the AEC.

The House investigating committee undoubtedly will be watching to see whether Ike reappoints Murray when his term expires next June 30. The committee also will be watching what happens in the following case:

3. The term of Harry A. Curtis as a member of the 3-man board of directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority expires next May 18. He has reached an advanced age and is willing to retire, but the question is who will Ike put in his place?

The law which created TVA says members of its board must be men who believe in the principle of Uncle Sam's great electric power yardstick. Several years ago, Eisenhower refused to reappoint Gordon R. Clapp, who had proved his devotion in a long TVA career which made him chairman. Instead, Ike appointed as a new chairman Army Gen. Herbert Vogel.

Many Members of Congress and local leaders in the seven-State TVA area have repeatedly charged that Vogel, despite his oath to defend the TVA, has done all he could to cripple it. As just one example, he supported the Dixon-Yates deal, which was designed as an entering wedge for destruction of TVA and its low-cost public power program.

So far, Vogel has been outvoted by the other two Members of the board, Curtis and Raymond Patty, both proved fighters for TVA. If Ike replaces Curtis with a man who holds views like those of Vogel, he will control the Board, and the future will look dark to the friends of TVA.

STAKES ARE BIG

These three cases are examples of what's at stake in the Government boards and commissions which, it is charged, are being packed by Eisenhower. The stakes were recently described by Congressman JOE L.

EVINS (Democrat, Tenn.), who headed a committee which made a preliminary investigation of the packing.

In a long and detailed speech to the House, EVINS recalled how Congress found it impossible to devote the necessary time to regulation in the public interest. So Congress, in the years since 1887, created regulatory boards, commissions and other independent agencies, which were supposed to be free from control by the White House.

EVINS described the histories of these agencies, beginning with the Interstate Commerce Commission and going on through the Federal Trade Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, TVA, AEC and many others.

They deal with almost every human activity, he said, and they operate under a mandate to further the declared public policy by breathing life into legislative enactments. That mandate, EVINS charged, is being undermined by Eisenhower's packing program.

Foreign Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, as we begin debate upon the mutual security bill, I think it is helpful to know what informed observers throughout the country have to say about this legislation. Mr. Clifford Ward writes a column for the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel and, under unanimous consent of the House, I include it herewith:

President Eisenhower's father-knows-best appeal to American taxpayers to back him up on his foreign-aid program is not likely to be too effective. He is making the mistake that many public officials make who are elected by overwhelming majorities. The people may elect a man by a big vote and not accept what he tells them as infallible.

Foreign aid has been with us ever since the end of World War II. It was first argued as a necessary relief for countries of Europe which were made almost penniless by devastating war. Then it was argued that unless they got aid, Europeans couldn't do business with us, and our own prosperity at home would suffer. It was also argued that giving foreign nations help makes friends for us. It was also argued that we must even up the standard of living of other countries somewhat more closely with our own.

It is now argued that foreign aid is primarily money to build up the defenses of other nations so they may resist communism. The presumption is that these nations can't build up their own defenses, or if they can they won't unless we lead the way by helping them. If communism is a world threat which one of our allies wholely accepts and which allies have neither the means nor the will to resist, then we are in serious trouble.

OFF OUR ROCKER

As a Nation, we are slightly off our rocker. The people of Europe find no greater pleasure than in making fun of the manner in which Americans work, without appreciation of the joys of living. They laugh at our daily pursuit of the American dollar, but after we have caught that dollar, they are very insistent that we turn it over to them.

It is true that we, as Americans, work our heads off without too much appreciation of the joys of living, which is characteristic of Europeans, but we are getting just a little tired of working so hard on behalf of Europeans and being laughed at as a result. Furthermore, there are gimmicks in our foreign-aid program which are not being honestly discussed.

Most of the aid which went to European countries never trickled down to the poor and the needy. It stayed in the hands of the rich, who accept tax evasion as a way of life. Only peasants in some European countries pay taxes, not the principal beneficiaries of our foreign aid.

We have poured billions and billions of money, taken from average American workers, into the pockets of the rich of Europe, and today there is no real friendship for us anywhere in Europe.

TWICE BURNED

Any resistance to communism there is American resistance and that resistance is also being laughed at as unnecessary. We draft American boys and send them all around the world to protect nations that have more manpower than we do and that won't think of letting their own youth be drafted. What are we—nuts?

The world is indeed worth saving, but does Ike insist that with all our bad experience behind it, foreign aid is still the way to save it? Furthermore, the question eventually has to be faced: Is it worth laying the United States on the sacrificial altar so that the rest of the world can be saved? An individual might find himself in a situation where surrendering his own life to save another would make moral sense, but it is difficult to conceive how a nation such as ours could find moral sense in destroying itself to save the rest of the world. What do you salt things with after you have destroyed all the salt? It is a good political question as well as a good religious question.

We went to war twice to save the world. Now we find out from our allies that we went to war only to save ourselves and that the wars weren't won by us but in spite of us. Yet we keep on thinking and making the same mistakes as before.

Ike's plea for his foreign-aid program should fall on deaf ears.

That Awful Fingerprinting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Bulletin of July 14, 1957:

THAT AWFUL FINGERPRINTING

Before getting a visa to come to the United States, all aliens must by law furnish a set of fingerprints to go with their consular application. The regulation does not apply to diplomats and their qualified staff members.

There is, of course, an irrational reaction to putting ink on your fingers and rolling the tips on an official form. It is almost as if the next step is the prison haircut and an issue of shoddy clothing. This accounts for most of the nonsense written about the law. It is supposed to be degrading.

But why should it be? It is only a matter of identification, and in that sense no more humiliating than the requirement to present a perfect stranger with a signed photograph for passport purposes. Everybody who has ever served in the Armed Forces or applied for a Government job must have given up his fingerprints, and that means many millions of people. It is hard to see why it is any more shameful to give your prints than other information, often very personal, required for passport and visas.

The Soviets are particularly sorrowful over this dreadful imposition. It is the only thing, they say, which prevents them from deluging us with musicians, ballerinas, philosophers, and scientists who would do much to uplift and improve the American scene. They say nothing of MVD agents and professional saboteurs, who are the real objective of a measure which ought to be no more than a passing nuisance for innocent people with commonsense.

Speech of Congressman Willliam M. Colmer Before the Mississippi Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, on June 29, 1957, our colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM M. COLMER, of Mississippi, delivered the principal address before the Bar Association of the State of Mississippi meeting at Biloxi, Miss. The address is an able and timely one and points out many of the dangers confronting the country today. The distinguished Mississippian alludes in particular to the manner in which the Supreme Court is undertaking to usurp the powers not only of the States but of the Congress and the people. I commend his address to the Members of the Congress and to the people of America.

As we all know, Congressman COLMER is one of the ablest and most useful Members of the Congress. Along with the Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH of Virginia, he has taken the lead in resisting the flagitious forces seeking to destroy America as we have known and enjoyed it for lo these many years. At the present time, in my opinion, the Supreme Court is the greatest offender along these lines, and unless their activities are curbed by positive action of the Congress, our liberties will be destroyed.

Under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address of Congressman COLMER, which is as follows:

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN WM. M. COLMER BEFORE MISSISSIPPI BAR ASSOCIATION, JUNE 29, 1957

Mr. President, my colleagues of the Bar of Mississippi, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, as a lawmaker for nearly a quarter of a century, I am chagrined to admit that in no similar period has this country strayed further from the sound philosophy and the principles of good government upon which this Republic was founded. While I cannot escape my own responsibility, as a Member of Congress during that period, for the assaults that have been made on the very foundation stone of our society, the Bill of Rights, I think you will find me recorded most often among the

dissenters. However, those years of service in the Nation's capital have afforded me an unusual opportunity to view the national scene at close hand, and I should like briefly to emphasize for you some of the rocks and shoals that lie ahead.

I am sure that you, as members of the Mississippi bar, are justly alarmed over the ever-increasing tendency toward consolidation of power in the Federal Government at the expense of the States and the freedom of our citizens.

Jefferson, who contributed so much to the cornerstone of our freedom, warned: "It is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into States, that division must be made, that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly, and what it can do much better than distant authority."

It was to prevent this consolidation of power that the 10th amendment was adopted, providing that, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

For more than a century that mandate was scrupulously honored. On the few occasions when Congress, with an excess of zeal, invaded the domain of the States, the Supreme Court firmly pulled it back. Thus, when Congress attempted by the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to exercise the police power of the States by requiring the operators of inns, theaters, and other places of public amusement to serve white and colored people alike, the Supreme Court held the measure void. It told Congress that neither the 13th nor 14th amendments conferred any authority for this interference with the conduct of private individuals.

How changed the situation today! Apparently the States no longer have any rights which the Federal Government is bound to respect.

Congress, I am sorry to admit, is partially responsible for this development. It has passed laws, expressed in vague general terms, empowering the Federal agencies to regulate vast areas of our economy. Immediately these agencies set up all the trappings of bureaucracy. They issue directives, regulations, and interpretations, which, as time goes on, bear less and less resemblance to the act passed by Congress.

But the evil wrought by the executive and the legislative branches has been minor in comparison with the transgressions in the past two decades of the nine black-robed gentlemen who occupy the marble palace across the plaza from the Nation's Capitol.

You won't find anything about "preemption" in the Constitution, but the Supreme Court, with ever-increasing frequency, is applying that doctrine to whittle down the jurisdiction of the State courts. Of course, in doing this the tribunal always professes to be carrying out the intent of Congress; the effect is the further centralization of power in the Federal Government. Among the most flagrant examples of this practice in recent months have been the Steve Nelson and the Slochower cases. In the Nelson case, the Supreme Court held, under this doctrine of preemption, that Pennsylvania's antisedition law was void. And in the Slochower case, the Court denied the right of the city of New York to discharge a teacher who had invoked the fifth amendment in a congressional committee investigation concerning his past membership in the Communist Party.

If this doctrine is permitted to go unchallenged, our State courts will become but empty shells. Yet remedial legislation, sponsored by a number of us under the leadership of my able colleague, Congressman SMITH of Virginia, has been languishing in committees of Congress for the past 2 years.

More recently the Supreme Court ordered applicants admitted to the bar examinations in New Mexico and California, after the State board of bar examiners had refused to approve the applications and after the State supreme court in each case had upheld the action of the examiners. This decision provoked the Richmond News Leader to appropriately editorialize that the Supreme Court of the United States had thereby "continued its studied campaign to obliterate the States of the American Union."

Of course, one can conceive of no more flagrant example of digression from the doctrine enunciated by the Founding Fathers than the recent school segregation decision of the Supreme Court, in which the Court admittedly substituted its own political and social theories for legal precedent.

Among the most recent attacks upon the American way of life, as we have known it, by the High Court was the Girard College case. Here, you will recall, one Stephen Girard many years ago founded Girard College for the education of white orphan boys. He set up a trust fund for its operation. But now, the Supreme Court has decreed that he had no right to stipulate that only white orphan boys were to be the beneficiaries of his will. The flimsy reason given was that "the board which operated the college is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania."

Then again, within the past few days, this same Court has made meaningless and ineffective the Smith Act. This law, sponsored by my warm personal friend and chairman of my Committee on Rules, Congressman HOWARD SMITH of Virginia, was overwhelmingly passed by the Congress for avowed purpose, in plain English, of jailing the Communist leaders in this country who advocate the overthrow of our Government by violence. Congressman SMITH told me just before I left Washington that he knew of no way to amend the act so that this Court would construe it to be effective.

If a State no longer can fix standards of propriety and fitness for its teachers (as in the Slochower case a year ago); if a State no longer can operate its public schools exclusively with its own funds so as to avoid domestic strife (as in the school segregation cases); if a State no longer can establish its own rules for appellate proceedings (as in the Griffin case); if a State no longer can pass upon the fitness of prospective lawyers who would become officers of State courts—what, then, is left to the State?

What, indeed?

And how, Mr. President, did this all come about? The answer is obvious. You will recall that during the early days of the New Deal the then President Roosevelt set out to pack the Supreme Court so as to have it conform to this new venture into liberalism. The Congress, as the representatives of the people, refused to go along. But retirements and death intervened. The result was the same; and the nine staid old gentlemen of the moderate and conservative school yielded their seats to men of the so-called liberal school of thought.

And what, I am led to wonder, would the Founding Fathers say to all this?

"There is no danger I apprehend so much," Jefferson wrote, "as the consolidation of our Government by the noiseless and, therefore, alarming instrumentality of the Supreme Court."

Jefferson's basic philosophy is set out in the oft-quoted: "That government is best that governs least."

The Kentucky resolution of 1798, of which Jefferson was the author, spelled out the kind of union that he hoped to see:

"The several States composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government, but * * * by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government."

How different from the philosophy of Jefferson's principal antagonist, the Federalist Hamilton, with his plea for "complete sovereignty in the General Government," his proposal at the Federal Convention that "all laws of the particular States contrary to the Constitution of the United States to be utterly void," and his plan to prevent such laws from being enacted by having the governor of each State appointed by the Federal Government and given a veto power over laws passed by the respective legislature.

From this handful of freedom-seeking men cast into the wilderness of the New World came those sacred institutions guaranteeing the liberties and freedom of its citizens. It is, indeed, an enigma that these sacred liberties, achieved at such an immense sacrifice, are now slowly but surely yielding to the iniquitous doctrines of the false advocates of liberalism.

The trend away from the Jeffersonian theory of government, and toward the Hamiltonian concept, makes one wonder if these pseudo-liberals, who are now predominant in our present-day government, have forgotten that it was Jefferson, and not Hamilton, who prevailed in the writing and the adoption of the United States Constitution and the immortal Bill of Rights.

Only a few nights ago, the great President of the United States warned the governors of several States of the Union in conference assembled of the dangerous trend toward centralization of power in the Federal Government in Washington at the expense of the sovereign States. I was pleased to hear this warning from the prestige of the high office of President. I wish, however, that his actions in such fields as the public-school construction and civil-rights programs were more consistent with the soundness of his argument for States rights.

How different, too, Jefferson's philosophy of government is from that of the self-styled liberals of today, who loudly proclaim themselves his heirs and followers at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners, on the one hand, while sponsoring legislation, on the other, to deny the basic right of trial by jury in the name of minority rights. I refer, of course, to the so-called civil-rights bill, which the House has just had under consideration.

But before discussing the civil "wrongs" bill further, please permit me briefly to make clear my own position and philosophy. I emphatically refute the idea that one who opposes this type of legislation is either a bigot or a Negro baiter. I repeat, that I love my fellow man of whatever hue his skin. But in approaching these social and political problems, one must be realistic and frankly face the facts of life. The Negro in the United States has made the greatest progress of any race of people in a similar period of time in the history of the world. That progress has been made chiefly because of the guiding hand of his white southern brother. It must be remembered that only a few generations past he was a savage in the jungles of Africa, and less than a century ago he was a serf in the shackles of slavery. To envision a program, by either a decree of court or a parliamentary statute, overnight placing him upon an equal basis of both opportunity and responsibility with another race of people who for thousands of years have enjoyed the benefits of education, civic responsibility, culture, civilization and Christianity, just does not square with the facts of life. We are proud of the progress that he has made. We deplore the disruption of the good, and ever improving relations between the races, engendered by these ill-conceived and hasty actions of the do-gooders and the politicians. If history of man is not to be ignored, the progress of the

Negro race like that of his white brother must, of necessity, be slow and gradual.

Having just emerged from the hardest fought legislative battle of my service in the Congress on this iniquitous proposal, I can truthfully and sincerely say to you that this is not the innocuous and moderate bill that its advocates pretend it to be. The bill is revolutionary. It is politically inspired, with both major parties confessedly seeking minority votes.

If enacted into law, it would set up under the Commission provision a veritable gestapo with paid snoopers and informers, with the powerful arm of the Federal Government further invading the rights of the citizens of the sovereign States. Moreover, it would, in effect, remove control and supervision of both our primaries and elections from the States into the far-off hands of the Federal Government.

Its proponents claim that its purpose is to permit the Negro in the South to vote, but its implications and its revolutionary machinery could only result in the deprivation of many rights and liberties now enjoyed by all of our citizens. The proponents admit that the alleged evils which they seek to cure are already covered by Federal statutes. Under this bill they would resort to equity, with the provision for the broadest type of injunctions. In fact, the bill is designed deliberately to avoid the right of trial by jury, which defendants under existing statutes would enjoy. The gimmick, as we pointed out in opening the debate in the House, is a provision for making the Federal Government the complainant and administering the law by the Central Government in Washington without the right of trial by jury. Those sponsoring the bill brazenly charge that the southern juries, if the existing criminal statutes were pursued, would not convict.

This is an unwarranted indictment and assault upon the cherished trial-by-jury system, the cornerstone of our criminal jurisprudence.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Congress in 1932 passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which specifically provided for jury trials in labor disputes. This action was taken because of the alleged abuse by Federal judges of the injunction power.

It is of further interest to observe that the great liberal, Congressman CELLER, of New York, the author of the civil-rights bill, was one of the chief advocates of the jury trial in the Norris-LaGuardia bill. As a member of the House Judiciary Committee, he argued eloquently for the jury trial on the ground that Federal judges were dictators and that we should follow the old English law for jury trials.

"I have read injunctions," he said when the bill was under consideration, "so fantastic, so arbitrary, that they were practically but one step from a threat of jail to a striker if he coughed, spat, or chewed. Some injunctions read very much like orders of an army of occupation bent upon vicious revenge. Many injunctions are not used to protect property from irreparable loss, but issued to disorganize unions and to terrorize and intimidate those on strike."

Again, in 1947, when the Taft-Hartley bill was being considered, Congressman CELLER made a similar argument against the injunction, as follows: "In those days the judges, without hearing, issued injunctions based upon affidavits of stooges and stool pigeons and agents provocateur. The abuses in the granting of these injunctions so aroused the Nation that in 1932 we passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act which outlawed the granting of ex parte injunctions against labor. This bill would reinstate those ex parte injunctions against labor and would turn the clock back and return us to the robber-baron days and the days of the industrial buccaneer."

But the same Congressman CELLER, who pled so earnestly for the right of trial by jury where labor was involved, argued most vehemently against our jury-trial amendment, which would provide our State, county, and municipal officials, as well as private individuals, the same right of trial by jury.

Just incidentally, every southerner except one voted for the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which is something of an irony in view of the fact that the labor moguls in Washington were among those beating the drums loudest for passage of the punitive civil-rights bill, without the jury-trial amendment, aimed like a gun at our section.

This proposed legislation is just another step in the conspiracy of the modern false prophets of liberalism to concentrate the administration of government in an all-powerful centralized Federal state. I would be as bitterly opposed to it if there were not a Negro in the entire South.

But irony of ironies is the complete reversal of position between the conservative and the liberal elements of our society that has occurred in the course of the Nation's history and especially in recent years. We are now told that centralization is liberalism. Jefferson called it "toryism in disguise." By whatever name called, if the present trend is continued, it can only end in totalitarianism.

The basic principles of human freedom are as invariable as the solar system. They are the same today in the jet and nuclear age as they were in the horseback and ramrod and musket days.

"This is the greatest democracy in the history of the world," another outstanding Virginian, Senator HARRY BYRD, recently said. "It has grown to this position in the brief span of 160 years, and with only 6 percent of the world's population. This could not have been achieved without the form of government bequeathed us as a sacred heritage by our forefathers."

"Strike down the power of States to control their own affairs," he continued, "and concentrate all power in Washington, and you strike at the heart of what makes this Nation great."

Mr. President, I have given you a rather dismal analysis of the picture, as I see it, of the future of not only the South, but of the Republic, itself. I wish I could, with integrity and honor, paint a different picture; but I am sure that you and thoughtful Americans who love this young Republic and its institutions, must share with me genuine alarm at the assaults which are made upon the basis and the bulwark of the Nation's fortress and its institutions, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. While it is true that the South is often the target, it must be borne in mind that the real objective is to remake America, the New World, along the line of the modern isms and ideologies of the Old.

It would appear that the proponents of the program have succeeded in capturing control of both of our major political parties. For the past two decades this movement has gained momentum. In this movement, principle yields to expediency. And today, both parties are the captives of minority groups.

Up until the past few years the conservative South and the conservatives in the Republican Party were able to work together in holding the line. But now, with the advent of modern Republicanism and the all-out drive by those in charge of that party to recapture the powerful Negro minority bloc vote, the South stands alone as the defender of the true Jeffersonian liberalism.

Mr. President, in my considered judgment there is an answer to the South's problem. We find ourselves politically isolated. In spite of the fact that the South has been the bulwark of strength of the Democratic Party for these many years—in spite of the fact that it has in the past two national elections furnished the only electoral votes, with the bare exception of one border State, received by the Democratic nominee for President, we receive no consideration from that party. We are merely taken for granted while those who control the party seek the support of the CIO, ADA, NAACP, and other so-called liberal minority groups. At the same time we expect no consideration at the hands of the Republicans because we give them nothing. As one who tires of that treatment, and who is apprehensive of the grave and inevitable results—not only for the South, but for the Republic itself—I have long considered the advisability of a two-party system in our section. I have reasoned that under such a system the South would no longer be taken for granted but it, too, would be wooed by both parties. But with the new modern Republicanism and its active entry into the field of competition for the suffrage of the minority groups, I seriously doubt that this is the answer. Therefore, I am driven reluctantly to the conclusion that in this day when political expediency rather than high principle motivates those in charge of both our political parties and the Government, itself, where minority groups hold the balance of power, that the South must itself become, too, an organized political minority. If our southern leaders, forgetful of self-aggrandizement and personal political preference, will take the lead, I am sure that the people of the South will rally to the cause. Then, and only then, will the South's once-powerful voice be heard in the council of the party and be felt in the Congress of the United States.

With such unity the South would become the balance of power in both party and legislative programs. It would no longer be the whipping boy of the Nation. Its strength, particularly in the Congress, itself, would be considerably augmented by the gravitation of the conservative wing of the Republican Party.

Such a program, of course, calls for a crusade of the highest order. In it there is no room for southern politicians who render lipservice to the principles we advocate, while, at the same time, seeking national political preference at the hands of those now in the control of the party machinery.

If, Mr. President, to the timid this proposal appears drastic and revolutionary, I answer that the situation is grave. It calls for new, bold, and affirmative action. No longer can we afford to follow the path of concilation and appeasement.

Surely, the present path now being trod by freemen leads but to the ultimate surrender of all of our cherished, God-given institutions of freedom and liberty, wrested from the tyrannies and oppressions of the past. Assuredly, even in this day of materialism, the descendants of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson have the courage and the will to see to it that America, the last haven of refuge of freemen, shall not perish from the earth.

What It Means To Be a Port City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the Oregon Journal, published at Portland, Oreg., the May 23, 1957, issue carried an editorial under the heading "What It Means To Be a Port City." This editorial, although emphasizing facts of great importance about Portland, by changing a few names and figures might very appropriately have re-

ferred to any one of a number of American port cities whose access to the sea is by river or canal. The importance of channel maintenance, the trend toward freighters of deeper draft and greater length, the improved bulk handling facilities bring increased activity to ports and with it the need of deeper and wider channels. The investment of public works funds in these routes to the sea are wise investments that increase our Nation's and the world's wealth.

Mr. President, these statements pertain not only in Portland, Oreg., but in Stockton, Calif.; Houston and Beaumont, Tex.; New Orleans, La.; Savannah, Ga.; and Philadelphia, Pa.; to mention a few. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial included in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A PORT CITY

An elderly gentleman, nearly a lifelong citizen of Portland, sitting next to us at luncheon the other day said: "The people just don't know how important ocean shipping is to this city."

His remark was pertinent because the luncheon was connected with the observance of World Trade Week and was a forerunner of National Maritime Day (which was Wednesday).

Portlanders do not see as many ships as they used to, and some may think this means a decline in harbor activity. The reasons are simply, however, that all our major docks are downriver, so ships happily don't need to interfere with our bridge traffic (except on rare occasions), and ships are several times larger than they used to be, so not so many of them are needed to carry equivalent tonnage.

Despite this, however, 1510 vessels, flying the flags of 24 countries, visited Portland last year. They handled 10 million tons of cargo, including petroleum, having an estimated dollar value of $750 million.

Portland led the Pacific Coast in total dry cargo tonnage handled, of which 2,054,250 was in export and 168,500 in import. This great disparity between what we ship out and what we receive is not as great as it used to be, and helping to change the ratio are the bulk handling facilities installed by our commission of public docks which have boosted the inbound movement of sulfur, ore concentrates and other bulk items. They have also increased the outbound shipment of coal, scrap and ores to supplement our No. 1 export item, wheat.

Trade dollars find their way into many pockets in Portland, because so many business and commercial activities are allied with the waterfront industry, either directly or indirectly.

If we did not have a harbor, we would not be much of a city. It is well to remember that we did not become an ocean port by accident. We are more than 100 miles from the sea. Ships reach us through a channel that was artificially created and has to be maintained. The time is coming when the channel we have, 35 feet deep and 500 feet wide, will be inadequate to handle our water traffic. Our next goal is a channel 40 feet deep and 750 feet wide. This will have to come through action in Washington, D. C., and it will not come easily, but it is important for our citizenry to be reminded from time to time of our dependence on the port and of what has to be done to keep the port functioning.

Will Taxes Destroy America?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette. We are all deeply concerned over the matter of taxation, and it seems to me that this editorial contains much valuable food for thought.

The editorial follows:

WILL TAXES DESTROY AMERICA?

Inflation and excessive taxation are as old as civilization.

Yet they curse us today—right here in democratic America—just as they did in the nations which existed before the beginning of the Christian era.

And those nations which flourished so long ago—where are they?

Many of them have gone into oblivion—destroyed by excessive taxation and inflation.

Perhaps there was some excuse for their economic mistakes and failures. Their mistakes and failures were made in cruder and less enlightened times.

We have the whole history of human experience to profit by. Can we learn to avoid the mistakes of the past?

Sometimes that seems doubtful.

America was built by free men. They were also practical men. They prized self-reliance.

From early colonial times, they resisted excessive taxes. They fought against inflation and whenever inflation got a hold, they suffered from it.

It is one of the conditions of free men that they are permitted to spend most of the money they earn, rather than have the government spend it for them. When they lose that condition, they are no longer free men.

Are the American people in danger of losing their freedom to spend most of the money they earn?

The trend certainly is in that direction, and the speed is increasing. Every year national, State, and local taxes increase. Government is skimming off the cream of income and leaving the people the milk. And if the income is high enough, they also take a large portion of the milk.

When there is no limit on the amount of taxes the Government may take from an individual or a corporation, it is possible to tax private property out of existence.

If taxes get too high, they destroy the incentive to produce and invest. If the tax structure does not permit the accumulation of capital or does not permit capital to make a profit, then dynamic capitalism such as we have known—and it is the goose which has laid the golden eggs—will die for lack of nourishment.

Where then would be our expansion and growth? There would be none.

Many people will say: "Oh, this couldn't happen in America."

How sure are you that it could not happen?

The 16th amendment to the Federal Constitution which permitted a Federal income tax was adopted in 1913. The people who backed the amendment had no idea at that time that rates would ever be as high as they are today. If somebody back in 1913 had accurately predicted the Federal income tax rates as they are in 1957, he would have been called a crackpot by his contemporaries of just 44 years ago.

How high may the rates be in the year 2001—just 44 years from now?

These are things for the American people, who wish to remain free, to think about.

It is possible that we may become so caught in the web of confiscatory taxes that we can never return to the way of life which came down to us from the Founding Fathers of the Nation.

Most Americans Want Alaska, Hawaii in Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by George Gallup, written after taking a poll on the question of Alaska-Hawaii statehood. This article appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of July 12, 1957:

MOST AMERICANS WANT ALASKA, HAWAII IN UNION—GALLUP POLL SHOWS IT WOULD HAVE PASSED 11 YEARS AGO IN REFERENDUM

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N. J., July 11.—If the American public had had a chance to vote in a referendum, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii would have gone through 11 years ago.

Since 1946, institute surveys have found overwhelming sentiment for admitting Alaska to the Union. The most recent test, just completed, finds a 9-to-1 vote of approval.

The story on statehood for Hawaii is similar—the latest test shows a vote of more than 4 to 1 in favor.

The fight over statehood for Alaska and Hawaii is a classic illustration of a dozen or more major issues where the lag between public opinion and legislative action has been a matter of years.

Here are high lights of the trend in sentiment for the two territories:

Would you favor or oppose having Alaska admitted as a State in the Union?

Statehood for Alaska?

	Favor (percent)	Oppose (percent)	No opinion (percent)
1946	64	12	24
1950	81	8	11
1953	78	10	12
1955	82	9	9
1956	74	10	16
Today	71	8	21

Would you favor or oppose having Hawaii admitted as a State in the Union?

Statehood for Hawaii?

	Favor (percent)	Oppose (percent)	No opinion (percent)
1946	60	19	21
1950	76	10	14
1953	72	14	14
1955	78	12	10
1956	71	11	18
Today	64	14	22

The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs recently reported out the bill on Alaska. Efforts are being made to obtain a rule from the Rules Committee to bring the bill to a vote. If this is granted, there is little better than even chance that the House of Representatives will pass the bill this session.

Alaskan political leaders have called for an end to American colonialism. Ernest Gruening, Governor of Alaska from 1939 to 1953, has said that "America does not practice what it preaches as long as it retains Alaska in colonial vassalage."

Statehood bills have been introduced at every congressional session for many years but have met opposition from several quarters.

One important obstacle has been the fear of some Senators of a shift in the political balance in the Senate.

The political complexion of Hawaii has been normally Republican, while Alaska has been Democratic. Although Alaska reversed the trend in 1952 and went Republican, the Democrats scored a sweeping victory in Alaska in the 1956 general election.

As in previous surveys, today's study finds little difference of opinion by political party members on the statehood issue. Democrats and Republicans join hands in voting in favor of admission.

Here is the vote by party affiliation:

Statehood for Alaska?

	Republican (percent)	Democrat (percent)	Independent (percent)
Favor	69	71	74
Oppose	9	8	7
No opinion	22	21	19

Statehood for Hawaii?

	Republican (percent)	Democrat (percent)	Independent (percent)
Favor	63	64	67
Oppose	14	14	13
No opinion	23	22	20

In the case of Alaska, there is also a military factor involved.

Early this year, President Eisenhower for the first time asked Congress to grant statehood to Alaska. But he specified admission to the Union should be "subject to area limitations and other safeguards for the conduct of defense activities." In repeating his request for Hawaiian statehood, the President laid down no conditions.

Hawaii became a Territory in 1900, Alaska in 1912.

Mrs. Rogers' Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Standard-Times of July 9, 1957:

MRS. ROGERS' WARNING

Congresswoman EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, of Lowell, a seasoned veteran of 32 years in the House of Representatives, made noteworthy comment on recent Supreme Court decisions, in a House speech that was as outstanding as it was brief.

The remarks by the Massachusetts Republican were inspired by a letter she had received from Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy, which Mrs. ROGERS inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Recalling the vigorous fight against Communism waged tirelessly by the late Senator McCarthy, Congresswoman ROGERS warned that decisions by the Supreme Court make it more difficult for the Government to destroy subversive forces from within.

"If in its wisdom, the Supreme Court cannot find within the Constitution the authority for the protection of American freedom," Mrs. ROGERS declared, "then it is the duty of the Congress of the United States, representing the people whose Government this is, to write a new amendment to the Constitution in which this authority is plainly spelled out. Subversive planning to overthrow the Government of the United States must be ended by law."

Mrs. ROGERS concluded: "I hope the Congress of the United States will act. I fear for the safety of our country if it does not act."

Representative ROGERS did not exaggerate the danger in the slightest, for the American people never have faced a more treacherous enemy that the Communist conspiracy. Congress needs to strengthen the anti-subversive laws of this country before the Communists are firmly entrenched as the result of Supreme Court decisions in their favor.

The Coast Guard and Hurricane Audrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, seven Coast Guard aircraft flew over remote Louisiana-Texas reaches of the gulf coast for 164 hours to give warning of the approach of hurricane Audrey or—when the hurricane had struck—to aid its victims.

Three helicopters pitched about in winds sometimes as high as their maximum forward speed while flying search and rescue missions, in the course of which they evacuated 75 persons whose lives were imperiled, transported civilian and military authorities, and delivered emergency rations and canned water.

Four Grumman amphibian planes, faster than the helicopters, ranged over the southwestern Louisiana disaster area on observation and communications duty, directing helicopters and boats to spots where they were most needed.

The pilot and his 1-man crew of one of the helicopters spent 13 hours in the air on Friday, June 28. One of their exploits was the hazardous rescue of a child and 3 women—1 weighing 250 pounds and with 2 broken legs—from a mass of floating debris on which they had taken precarious refuge. The helicopter hovered over the debris while the 4 persons were pulled inside by the crewman.

As the hurricane swung through the gulf toward the Louisiana coastal areas, amphibian planes from the Coast Guard air detachment at Biloxi, Miss., and helicopters from the air detachment at New Orleans were sent out to warn small craft, fishing camps, and isolated communities in the Mississippi delta and westward. Helicopters displayed a large sign, "Hurricane Approaching." An amphibian plane from the Coast Guard's Corpus Christi station dropped warnings to isolated groups on the Texas side of the threatened zone.

The hurricane's high winds, extending far to the north, east, and southwest as the storm swept along, kept planes out of the immediate area which was to suffer most—a stretch of coastal lowlands south and southeast of the city of Lake Charles. The hurricane struck this stretch on Thursday morning, June 27, and tides of 5 to 9 feet quickly inundated the lowlands and their sparse settlements. The communities of Cameron, Grand Chenier, and Pecan Island were among those hard hit.

The Coast Guard helicopters and amphibians and a lone privately owned helicopter converged on this area as the winds began to subside and air access became possible, and began their work of search and rescue, the maintenance of radio communication, and emergency transportation. They kept at it until the Fourth Army took over.

Coast Guard floating units from gulf coast points from New Orleans to Galveston ably assisted in the twin tasks of spreading warnings of the hurricane's approach, gathering up survivors and bodies of the dead after the storm had passed, and providing emergency aid of many other sorts.

Patrol boats, buoy tenders, motor lifeboats, and 16-foot flood-relief boats powered with outboard motors were deployed in the hurricane's wake as quickly as possible, by their own power or by truck. They performed a wide diversity of emergency tasks.

A report of the actions of the 165-foot Coast Guard patrol boat *Dione* is typical. At Cameron, this vessel's personnel rigged emergency lighting, rigged city water and sanitary pumps, dewatered courthouse basement, rigged power supply for emergency communications, repaired ferry ramp, and provided transportation in small boats for Corps of Engineers personnel, State police, radio beacon station personnel and patrols assigned to look for bodies.

The 91-foot buoy tender *Bluebonnet*, cruising in the Cameron-Lake Charles area throughout the night of Thursday, June 27, took 29 survivors and 2 bodies to Lake Charles, brought back to Cameron 3,000 pounds of food, medicine, and blankets, and then spent all of Friday, June 28, helping get the Calcasieu radio beacon back into action.

The 29 survivors and 2 dead delivered to Lake Charles by the *Bluebonnet* had been picked up and transferred to the *Bluebonnet* by a privately owned motor vessel, the 106-foot *Houston*, ordinarily in service as a tow vessel out of Wilmington, Del. A Coast Guard report took occasion to give highest praise to the *Houston* for the assistance she rendered in the disaster area both prior to and after other assisting units arrived.

Tenure of Justices of the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by David Lawrence, published in U. S. News & World Report, July 5, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD BEHAVIOR OF JUDGES—WHO DEFINES IT?

(By David Lawrence)

Does the Constitution of the United States really provide for the life tenure of Justices of the Supreme Court? The words "life tenure" do not appear anywhere in the Constitution.

The prevailing impression, however, is that, once appointed to the bench, a judge can be removed only by impeachment. But the Constitution says that the impeachment power can be invoked solely in the case of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Supposing, therefore, that no such crime or misdemeanor is committed and that in all sincerity the Supreme Court Justices render judgments which nevertheless have the effect of nullifying important provisions of the Constitution, what steps then are available to the President or to the Congress to see that the Constitution is not destroyed by decrees of the judiciary?

Where is the protection against arbitrary and capricious action by the judges? Five Justices of the Supreme Court, constituting a majority of the nine, are able to establish themselves as an oligarchy and rule the United States. How does our famous system of checks and balances, inherent in the Constitution, deal with such a contingency?

The Constitution says: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

"The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

Since Supreme Court Justices may hold office only during good behavior and since obviously the Court itself cannot be the judge of its own behavior, it follows logically that the President and the Senate, acting together, have the constitutional power to determine just how good behavior shall be defined.

The Constitution does not use the word "confirmation" but says that "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," the President "shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law."

Since the Senate can give consent, it can withdraw consent, as Alexander Hamilton once argued in The Federalist. There is nothing in the Constitution which says that the Senate must acquiesce in the retention of any judge who does not conform to the standards which may be set up to define the term "good behavior."

Congress could require by statute that every Justice come before the Senate periodically—perhaps every 6 years—for reconfirmation. There is no hint in the Constitution that confirmation once given is an irrevocable action. Reconfirmation occurs regularly now on the reappointment of various administrative officers of the United States, and in the case of judges of the Court of Tax Appeals and members of quasi-judicial bodies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Federal Communications Commission. In all these instances, the term of office is definitely fixed by Congress.

Where the tenure is not fixed, however, as in the case of ambassadors and public ministers, the process of reconfirmation becomes merely a method of reexamination looking toward the termination or extension of the period of service.

The phrase "good behavior" in the Constitution indicates a continuing jurisdiction by the President and the Senate over the tenure of the judges.

The Supreme Court, on its part, has recently proclaimed a continuing jurisdiction over the States and all their schools and over all citizens who may do or say anything in connection with Court orders issued in segregation cases. This continuing jurisdiction is accomplished through injunctions issued by the judges which may not be terminated for decades to come.

There is no reason, therefore, why the Senate of the United States on its part may not maintain a continuing jurisdiction and a process of observation to determine whether the Supreme Court Justices are confining themselves to those judicial functions specifically granted to them by the Constitution or by Congress.

Congress can clarify the whole problem in a law—indeed, there would appear to be no need for a constitutional amendment—which would provide a suitable method of establishing whether the official conduct of such Justices still complies with the meaning of the words, "good behavior." Such a law should provide that a two-thirds vote be required for an adverse judgment—withdrawal of consent by the Senate.

The President, because he is a part of the appointive power, should be given by law the authority to consent or refuse to consent to the Senate's judgment.

This would give both the executive and the legislative branches an opportunity to share in the responsibility for whatever action is taken. The American people would be able to fix responsibility, too. They could deal at the polls every 2 years with a mistaken Congress and every 4 years with a mistaken Executive.

The hearings in the Senate in each instance relative to the determination of whether good behavior has been achieved or disregarded should be based on the specifications set forth in such laws as Congress may pass concerning appellate jurisdiction. For the Constitution does give Congress the right to say what cases may be appealed to the High Court and to define what authority the Supreme Court shall have in particular cases. This power is derived from the Constitution, which says:

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

Certainly if a Justice has not lived up to the rules set forth by Congress when it defines by law the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, or if he refuses to appear before the Senate for reconfirmation, he would not be fulfilling the meaning of the term "good behavior" as defined by Congress, and his term could thereupon be ended. If he still disobeyed, he could be impeached and removed for violating a specific law of Congress.

It is to be noted that to Congress is given the power of regulation of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction.

This is the main safeguard which the American people possess as against what a member of the Supreme Court itself once described as a power inherently oligarchic. Thomas Jefferson all his life regarded the Supreme Court as an irresponsible body and independent of the Nation itself.

It was never intended by the Founding Fathers that the American people should be governed by five men, sitting as a majority of the Supreme Court, who could by judicial order frustrate the FBI, release confessed rapists, and prevent law-enforcement officers in Federal, State, and city governments from nipping treason in the bud or stopping corruption before plots of this kind can be consummated and grave damage done to the Nation.

One of the laws which Congress clearly has the power to make relates to the conduct of its own preceedings, including investigations. Congress has the right to say by statute that the Supreme Court shall not be permitted to pass on cases which involve in any way a change in the rules of the Senate or the House. This must be respected by the Supreme Court because the Constitution explicitly says:

"Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member."

The Supreme Court in its decision 2 weeks ago conceded that a legislative investigation is part of lawmaking.

Plainly, therefore, there is no right bestowed on the Supreme Court to tell Congress what rules it may or may not make for the conduct of its own investigations which are admittedly part of those proceedings.

But the Court nevertheless undertook recently to tell the Congress that whatever rules of its proceedings it might adopt, these are subject to further review by the Supreme Court of the United States. This is a plain violation of the Constitution.

Can it be persuasively argued that the framers of the Constitution ever intended to leave the President and the Congress helpless to carry out their constitutional functions in the face of such deliberate interference by the judiciary? Can it be said that no means of restraint at all was provided in the Constitution against such arbitrariness on the part of members of the Supreme Court who could indefinitely constitute a majority and issue decisions with all the force of law.

The obvious answer is that Congress, as the body which is representative of all the people, was given such power. It is up to Congress, therefore, to exercise it promptly by defining good behavior and at the same time limiting the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

This, to be sure, is the system of checks and balances which the American people have written into their Constitution. It is time for the American people, through their elected representatives, to stop judicial usurpation and to prevent the growth of judicial despotism.

It is time to bring well-meaning but misguided Justices to a realization that they cannot and must not expect to function in contempt of the Constitution itself and still remain in office.

Visit of Attakapas Council, Boy Scouts of America, Alexandria, La.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, one of the most enjoyable experiences in the everyday life of a Member of Congress, in my humble opinion, comes from visits from his constituents. It is always a pleasure to play host to someone from home, and this pleasure was mine on July 10, 1957, when I had as my honored guests scoutmasters and Boy Scouts of the Attakapas Council, Alexandria, La., in the Eighth Congressional District of Louisiana, which I have the honor to represent. I personally was privileged to serve as district chairman of the Attakapas Council for a period of 2 years.

These fine young men, who constitute our confidence in the well-being of our America of tomorrow, stopped off briefly in Washington enroute to the National Boy Scout Jamboree in Valley Forge, Pa. I made an appointment for these Boy Scouts with a member of President Eisenhower's staff for July 10. These Boy Scouts presented a scroll of greetings from the city of Alexandria, La., on its 150th anniversary, and Hon. Homer H. Gruenther accepted the scroll in behalf of the President.

After having our picture taken on the steps of the Capitol, I turned my office over to these Scouts, where they enjoyed a regular boy's lunch of hamburgers, potato chips, and cokes, and each received a copy of the Constitution.

I know that much good will come from this National Jamboree where the Boy Scouts from every section of our Nation will get together. The Boy Scout movement is one of the finest single factors working for the development and improvement of youth all over the world.

My guests on this pleasurable occasion were C. J. Schexnayder, Jr., Pineville, La.; E. E. Jones, Jr., Jena, La.; Richard Tullos, Jena, La.; Dwight Beridon, Moreauville, La.; James Phillip Gaharan, Jena, La.; Ivan Butterfield, Alexandria, La.; Sidney Kaplan, Alexandria, La.; Harold E. Beridon, Moreauville, La.; Richard Van Natta, Alexandria, La.; Eldridge Roark, Alexandria, La.; George Kellogg, Elizabeth, La.; Mike Baker, Tullos, La.; Mickey Holmes, Pineville, La.; Hugh Tarver, Pineville, La.; George Cameron, Colfax, La.; Woodie Flowers, Jena, La.; Gene Cooper, Jena, La.; Fred Dozier, Urania, La.; Bill Jones, Jena, La.; Sonny Trammell, Alexandria, La.; Neil Fleckman, Alexandria, La.; Jerry Stevens, Jena, La.; James Smith, Colfax, La.; Bascom Smith, Colfax, La.; Howard Aiken, Tioga, La.; Tracey Urban, Alexandria, La.; Gene Rodney Willbanks, Pineville, La.; Steve Campbell, Jena, La.; Louis Staples, Alexandria, La.; Rowland Vernon, Pineville, La.; Bill Patty, Pineville, La.; Keith Chesson, Kinder, La.; Teddy Tannehill, Tullos, La.; Oscar Cheneval, Alexandria, La.

Undue Protectionist Influence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, on July 9 my colleague and fellow member of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. THADDEUS MACHROWICZ, of Michigan, made a significant speech on the floor of the House. He directed his remarks to the fact that a Commerce Department official recently visited Switzerland and audacity to predict to representatives of the Swiss watch industry that the United States Government would soon reaffirm the defense essentiality of the domestic watch industry and would impose quotas on Swiss watch imports unless the Swiss "voluntarily" agreed to adopt quotas on their watch exports to this country. In so doing, as Mr. MACHROWICZ pointed out, the Commerce Department official took steps which undermined the President's avowed objectives of eliminating quotas and reducing international trade barriers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ performed a distinct public service by writing the President on July 3 and advising him of this improper and untenable situation, and by then bringing the facts to the attention of the Members of the House. In his public statements, Mr. MACHROWICZ consciously refrained from naming the Commerce official because, as he said, it was not his purpose to single out any individual for criticism. Rather, he was deeply concerned about the larger and more basic issue; that the Commerce Department appears to have been attempting to exert an undue protectionist influence in the current consideration by the executive branch of the alleged defense essentiality of the domestic watch manufacturing industry, and has been taking other actions which tend to undermine the stated objectives of our Government to eliminate quotas and lower other barriers to international commerce.

The Washington Post and Times Herald aptly referred to this point in its excellent editorial of July 13 when it stated, "The alleged action is consistent with the Department's cozy and overprotective attitude toward the domestic jeweled watch industry."

In order to cooperate fully with the Government, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MACHROWICZ] did provide, in writing, the name and title of the individual involved to the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary of Commerce. He has received some preliminary information from them and is now awaiting a more complete report on this unfortunate incident.

The Washington Post and Times Herald editorial noted that Congressman MACHROWICZ is quite right in asking the White House for a thorough investigation of any moves to undermine this country's trade policies with a friendly nation.

I wish to associate myself with these comments of the Washington Post and Times Herald and with those of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MACHROWICZ], in speaking out against the deplorable actions of the Commerce Department official. Since the ill-advised tariff rise of 50 percent on Swiss watches which the administration established in 1954, protectionist influences have continued to loom large in the administration's handling of problems affecting the watch industry. The time has come for the President to insist that his views on reciprocal world trade be followed by his associates in the executive branch of the Government, and that contrary and mischievous acts become unfortunate memories of the past.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial entitled "Tangled Watchworks," published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 13, 1957.

The editorial follows:

TANGLED WATCHWORKS

If the charges made by Representative THADDEUS MACHROWICZ, of Michigan, are accurate about the meddling of a Commerce Department official in American trade policy—and there are reasons for believing that they are—then one hand of the administration seemingly does not know what the other is doing. Mr. MACHROWICZ was recently in Geneva as an adviser to the United States delegation at the conference on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The purpose of the meeting was to reduce trade barriers; yet, according to the Congressman, shortly before the Geneva meeting a Commerce Department official met with Swiss watch manufacturers to attempt to pressure them into adopting voluntary export quotas.

The Department of Commerce has denied any knowledge of the meeting and so far Mr. MACHROWICZ (perhaps unwisely) has withheld all names. However, the alleged action is consistent with the Department's cozy and overprotective attitude toward the domestic jeweled watch industry. The domestics, incensed at Swiss competition, have appealed for relief to the Office of Defense Mobilization on the grounds of defense essentiality. Until a ruling is made, any attempt by an American official to apply backstair pressure on the Swiss is presumptive and mischievous. Congressman MACHROWICZ is quite right in asking the White House for a thorough investigation of any moves to undermine this country's trade policies with a friendly nation.

Historic Names on the United States Map

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article on an interesting phase of American history, at the request of Bernard Postal, my constituent. Mr. Postal is the author of the article and editor of the Jewish Digest, in which it appeared, in the June issue:

Jewish Names On the Map of the United States

(By Bernard Postal)

"It's 14 miles to Kaplan." "Turn right at Levys." "Let's stop for lunch in Seligman." "That sign says Aaronsburg." "There's a detour at Cohen's Bluff." "That new motel is just outside of Weiner."

This is familiar talk to everyone who has traveled anywhere in the United States by car, but who ever heard of those places? What map are they on?

You've lunched in Ypsilanti, detoured at Wenatchee, had a flat at Tuscaloosa, gassed up in Fiddletown, spent the night at Rising Sun, visited in Wantagh, turned off the turnpike at King of Prussia, and stretched your legs at Altadena. You've sped through hundreds of places with odd names, historic names, hard-to-pronounce names, but you've probably never seen—and perhaps even heard—of places bearing such common Jewish surnames of Cohen, Levy, Goldman, Edelstein, Altman, Strauss, and Goldstein.

But there are such places on the map, even though most Jewish tourists are unaware of them. That's because so many of the 92 towns, villages, hamlets, counties, mountains, lakes, and forests named for Jews are not along the main traveled highways.

This writer has located one of more geographical units named for Jews in 34 States. More than a third of these places are in the South. In Texas alone there are nine. Sixteen can be found in eight of the original 13 colonies. The only States without at least one place named for a Jew are Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, and West Virginia.

The combined population of the 92 places named for Jews is 230,000. Most of them, however, have no Jewish residents. The two largest towns having Jewish patronymics are Levittown, N. Y., and Levittown, Pa., both founded by and named for the Levitt brothers, real estate developers, and both with substantial Jewish communities. The oldest place named for Jews is Aaronsburg, Pa., population 350 (see A Town Founded by a Jew, Jewish Digest, May 1956). It was founded in 1779 by Aaron Levy, a Revolutionary patroit. It's on Route 45, a few miles from the geographic center of Pennsylvania.

America's heritage of place names is linked to the story of the people who built the Nation. Our place names tell of men and women who struggled and hoped and dreamed, who succeeded and failed, who sought fortune and lost it, whose life blood was poured out to keep America free. Among the hundreds of thousands of names of cities, towns, villages, rivers, mountains, and lakes, only a few hundred recall names known to all Americans. The rest are little names, sometimes even unknown to those who live nearby. One by one these names came to stand on maps as the names rose on the tongues and in the memories of people of different time and origin and blood and language.

Wherever you go in the United States this summer you'll probably not be too far from places whose Jewish namesakes contributed in some way to local, State, or national history. • • •

In Texas you'll find 2 of the 3 counties named for Jews. Castro County, in the Panhandle, south of Amarillo, honors Henry Castro, a French-Jew, who in 1842 signed a contract with President Sam Houston, of the Republic of Texas, to colonize the area west of the Medina River. The town of Castroville, on the west bank of the river, was founded by Castro in the 1840's. Kaufman County, and its county seat, Kaufman, just east of Fort Worth, memorializes the services of David S. Kaufman, who was one of the first Members of Congress from Texas after that State joined the Union.

The third county that bears a Jew's name is Levy County, on the gulf coast of Florida. Levy was the original name of David Levy Yulee, who helped draft the first constitution of Florida. Chosen Florida's first Congressman at large in 1841, he was the first Jew elected to Congress. In 1845 he also became the first Jew to win a seat in the United States Senate. Levy Lake, a popular fishing spot in nearby Alachua County, is named for Moses Levy, Yulee's father, who settled in Florida before it became American territory.

If your summer route takes you through Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona you'll be in country with 15 places named for Jews and another that was once so named. Near the Dallas Divide, in the Colorado Rockies, is Mears Peak, named for Otto Mears, a Lithuanian-born frontiersman, road builder, and colonizer, who helped settle the San Luis Valley in the 1870's. The abandoned mining town of Aitman, in the Cripple Creek area, recalls Sam Aitman, who ran a sawmill there during the gold boom of the 1890's. Just outside of Denver is Spivak, which gets its name from the late Dr. Charles Spivak, one of the founders of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, whose buildings occupy most of the town.

On United States Highways Nos. 60–70, near Safford, Ariz., you pass Solomonsville, once the seat of Graham County. It stands where Isador Elkan Solomon opened a trading post in 1876. Seligman, on United States Highway No. 66, at the point where Pacific Time begins, is named for Jesse Seligman, New York banker and philanthropist, who financed the old Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. Nogales, on the Arizona-Mexico border, was founded by Jacob Isaacson, and for years the place was known as Isaacson.

In Northwest New Mexico is a tiny hamlet called Levy, which acquired its name from an early merchant who ran a commissary for the workers who built the first stretch of the Santa Fe Railroad to reach New Mexico. On the route of the Santa Fe is a crossroads hamlet known as Seligman. It is named for Bernard Seligman, who came to New Mexico in 1850. His son, Arthur, was governor of the State from 1930 to 1933.

You'll be within reach of many other places named for Jews if you vacation in the Ohio and Mississippi valley States. On the Mesabi Range iron ore country in Minnesota you'll run into the St. Louis County village of Sax, founded by Solomon Sax, a Lithuanian immigrant who opened that area to settlement in 1893. Just north of Madison, Wis., is the oddly-named town of Slinger, which is a contraction of Schlesingerville, founded in the 1840's by Solomon Weil Schlesinger.

Through Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana the tourist will see road signs bearing the names of 15 towns named for Jews. In Arkansas you'll pass through the rice-growing community of Goldman, named for J. D. Goldman; Levy, a suburb of Little Rock, which honors Max Levy, a Jewish businessman who lent the town's founder money to open a store; and Weiner, a spot on the St. Louis Southwestern Railroad, named for a railroad official. Mississippi signposts point to Kahnville, founded in the 1850's by Louis Kahn; Marks, established in the 1870's by Leopold Marks; and Mayersville, county seat of Issaquena County, named for David Mayer.

One of the largest rice-growing towns in the South is Kaplan, La., founded in 1902 by Abram Kaplan, who pioneered the rice industry in Vermilion Parish. Marksville, seat of Avoyelles Parish, memorializes Marc Eliche, an Alsatian Jew, who came there in 1820. Brandenburg, Ky., recalls Col. Solomon Brandenberg, who fought in the War of 1812 and ran a tavern in Meade County. The once bustling but now virtually deserted Kentucky River town of Gratz is a reminder that the Gratz family of Philadelphia had mercantile interests that linked the east with the newly opened western country in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Whatever corner of the country you select for your vacation, you won't be too far from some place named for a Jew. If you're in Oregon, take a look at Roseburg, in Douglas County, named for Aaron Rose, who founded it in 1851. In King's Canyon National Park, Calif., you can climb Mount Reinstein and Goldstein Peak, memorials to early Jewish settlers. In Montana you can hike through the Bob Marshall Wilderness Area at the entrance to the Flathead National Forest. It's named for the great recreation and forestry leader, Robert Marshall, a son of Louis Marshall. In Idaho, remember Stein Mountain, in the Beaverhead Mountains, named for Henry Stein, prospector and sheepman; and the tiny hamlet of Alexander, which recalls Moses Alexander, governor of Idaho from 1915 to 1919. In Wyoming you'll see Hahn's Peak on the Wyoming-Colorado line, burial place of Joseph Hahn, pioneer prospector.

East or West, North or South, the Jews are on the map of the United States. There's Fleischmanns in New York, Gilman in Vermont, Manassas in Virginia, Mendes in Georgia, Gratz in Pennsylvania, Falkville in Alabama, Marcus in Washington, Seligman in Missouri, Edelstein in Illinois, Lehman Caves National Monument in Nevada, Cohen's Bluff and Levys in South Carolina, and many more.

When you find the places that go with the names you'll stub your toes on some of the bits and pieces that add up to the exciting story that is American Jewish history.

Indiana Farm Bureau President To Retire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CECIL M. HARDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mrs. HARDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to call attention to an editorial which appeared in the July 10 edition of the Indianapolis News. The editorial comments on the recently announced retirement plans of Hassil E. Schenck, for the past 23 years president of the Indiana Farm Bureau. Mr. Schenck, who, I am happy to say, resides in the Sixth Indiana District, is one of America's outstanding agricultural leaders and his decision to retire will leave a deep void in the ranks of farm leadership in this Nation. Happily, President Schenck is not leaving the rural scene entirely, for he intends to settle down to active farming in his native Boone County and I know his wisdom and sound judgment will continue to be available to those of us in the Congress who have gained so much knowledge of agricultural problems from him over the years.

The editorial which follows expresses, I know, the sentiments of Hoosier farmers:

A Leader Turns Over the Reins

Farmers the Nation over, especially those in Indiana, owe much to Hassil E. Schenck who, after 23 years as president of the In-

diana Farm Bureau, has announced his retirement.

His record of service to farmers, and to the State in general, is attested by the fact that during his tenure the Indiana Farm Bureau rose to its present membership of 133,000 families from a 1936 total of 20,000. It is second only to Illinois in the Nation.

Mr. Schenck's interest has been broader than that of helping farmers to produce and market better crops and finer livestock at better prices. It was his conception—brought into action—that the farm bureau has a major role in lifting the levels of rural communities—in bringing better homes, better schools, churches and roads, in bringing electricity to farms and in many other ways.

A genial man of vision and energy, this Hoosier farm leader also has been a pillar of strength in the American Farm Bureau Federation, serving on its board of directors longer than any other man. He rightly believes that farmers can handle their own problems through their own organizations, and that the trend will be away from Government controls.

The Indiana Farm Bureau will go forward under younger leaders, at his request, but on the same sound basis and with the momentum which he did so much to establish.

Hassil Schenck deserves the thanks and good wishes of every Hoosier as he plans to go back to his Boone County acres to continue active farming.

The Place of Paper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial from the Laconia Evening Citizen, Laconia, N. H., which appeared on Tuesday, July 9, 1957:

THE PLACE OF PAPER

Laurence Whittemore, chairman of the board of the Brown Co., was one of the speakers at the hearing held in Laconia on April 5 last by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on the subject of foreign aid. Mr. Whittemore in his remarks covered a wide range, and he took the position, as did the editor of the Evening Citizen, that our assistance to underdeveloped countries should be more rather than less.

Mr. Whittemore expressed the view that to be most effective many of our assistance plans should be longer than 1 year—long enough, for example, to build a paper mill. To support his point he observed:

"One of the things that many of these countries need is the ability to produce paper. Paper has an effect on a way of life, and so forth, beyond anything else that I know of except perhaps food. You can't start a project and bring it to any kind of fruition within 2 or 3 years, and if there is anything that is useless in the world it is a half-finished paper mill."

We thought of Mr. Whittemore's remarks as we read an editorial which appeared this week in the New York Times. The piece in the Times seemed to spell out the values that Mr. Whittemore had in mind. Here is what it said:

"We take paper for granted. Not merely newsprint, which we know is costly, but just everyday paper. Paper sacks, paper towels, paper cartons, wrapping paper, writing paper, paper matches, paper on cigarettes, paper raincoats, paper tablecloths, paper, paper, paper. We crumple it, we burn it, we throw it into litter baskets. We use it and forget it. And we use more than 300 pounds per person every year in this country.

"It is hard to understand, therefore, the plight of so many of the world's people whose paper supplies are totally inadequate. In most of Asia, for example, the use of paper is less than 9 pounds a year per person as compared to those 300 of ours. Every scrap must be salvaged. It must be used again and again if that is possible. Wrapping the fish in the old newspaper is only the beginning of it. A torn magazine is a bonanza.

"The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has just pointed out that this is a serious problem in the economy and progress of underdeveloped areas. It is hard to make educational progress when there is no paper available upon which to print textbooks. We were faced with that acute problem when we began to discuss the rehabilitation of Korea. It is hard to hold an election if there is inadequate paper upon which to print the ballots. That has happened, too. Paper can be a cultural as well as an economic instrument, as we are finding out.

"After a meeting of the Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission in Bandung it was decided to undertake more ambitious programs of forestry planting to obtain additional supplies of needed pulp. Naturally, the first solution of the problem that presents itself is the use of a wider variety of pulp sources such as bagasse (sugar cane residue) abaca (Manila hemp), bamboo, sisal, cogan, and straws. Experiments are being made in all these fields, but they take time. In some cases, such as rice straw, for example, the cost may be prohibitive. Meanwhile the need remains.

"One thing that can and should be done is an immediate exploration of the possible use of paper that is now wasted in the large consuming countries. Repulping is certainly possible on a larger scale. There can be a campaign of education in the matter of saving. It was done as a war measure. It can be done in peacetime, and it should be."

Catahoulans Wonder Why Billions for Foreigners; No Flood Protection Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Jonesville (La.) Booster of July 5, 1957:

CATAHOULANS WONDER WHY BILLIONS FOR FOREIGNERS; NO FLOOD PROTECTION HERE

Catahoulans are on the eve of another big flood control and relief rally. Records in the Catahoula County agent's office show that Catahoula suffers a major flood on an average of every 3.2 years. Records in the Catahoula Publishing Co. office indicate that big flood control and relief rallies take place at astonishingly similar intervals.

Catahoulans are sick of big flood control and relief rallies.

A little barbecue in the stomach and a torrent of soothing words and promises from politicians and semipoliticians does little to restore the $1,330,630 to the parish that is lost every 3.2 years in agricultural crops, livestock, and damage to farm real estate alone. This is not to mention the countless thousands of dollars that are lost annually in minor overflows. Nor is this to mention the human suffering and misery brought about when families are torn from their homes and crammed into hot, smelly tents in strange communities.

The people of Catahoula Parish are a simple folk. Made up primarily of farmers and fishermen, they understand simple things. They can understand the simplicity of the founding of our country. But they cannot understand the present complicated abrogation of this simplicity.

Catahoulans understand taxes. They understand the necessity of throwing much of what they earn into a kitty to provide for the common good—the building of roads, the administration of necessary welfare programs, the providing for the defense of the Nation.

They understand helping a neighbor when he is down and out. They provide such help without hesitation. But they are reluctant to provide 1 red cent for a leech of a person, who has had ample opportunity to help himself. They were willing to sacrifice to help the war-torn countries of Europe get back on their feet following World War II, 12 years ago. But they cannot understand the countless billions of dollars that have been poured into these countries—billions that could have reclaimed millions of acres of desert and marshlands, built public facilities, and provided superhighways—billions that could have already made these great United States the Utopia it could be.

They have been told by experts that their parish could be protected from devastating flood losses by the expenditure of $2 million. This is a pittance beside the billions that have gone to so-called foreign-aid programs.

Catahoulans wonder.

They are proud that their friends and relatives in next-door Concordia Parish are happily going about their business, tilling the land, anticipating another bumper crop. They wonder, though, why in heaven's name they can't have the same protection. They wonder what terrible crime they have committed that the omnipresent governmental powers that be deny them this equal right.

Catahoulans wonder.

They know where their 'stanch political alliances have lain in the past. They know the benefits they have accrued. They wonder where these alliances will lie in the future.

They remember with a sick feeling in the pit of their stomachs the words of Gen. John R. Hardin, on Saturday afternoon, September 19, 1953. (He was then head of the United States engineers in this flood area that drains two-thirds of the United States.)

The general stated, and we quote, "I cannot promise that in the near future your problems will be solved, but I can promise that we'll do our best in helping you solve them." Catahoulans wonder what the general meant by the "near future," 4 years ago, and what he meant by "we'll do our best."

The general pointed out that the Concordia levee is 1 foot below 1927 flood stage, and any additional levees must also be below that stage. He said, "This pattern must be followed. A reservoir must be available for storage when floods as great as the 1927 flood come."

Catahoulans wonder.

They would be glad to have their lands serve as a reservoir in time of floods as great as the 1927 flood, if they can have the protection they so richly deserve and so desperately need in times of floods not as great as the 1927 flood. They just wonder, when?

General Hardin stated on that sunny afternoon in 1953 that "We will give every con-

sideration. We will weigh and consider the benefits in protection and productivity, but," he warned, "there must be an analysis of the cost and the benefits."

Catahoulans wonder.

They wonder what kind of crooked scales and distorted slide rules "we" are using in weighing and considering the benefits in protection and productivity. They wonder how long it takes to make an analysis of the cost and the benefits when the cold, glaring figures are immediately available in the Catahoula County agent's office. They wonder what line of reasoning justified not expending $2 million that would save $4,461,260 during only 2 of the major floods, which come 3.2 years apart.

They wonder if this year's big flood-control and relief rally will be forgotten, like those of the past, as the politicos and the semipoliticos slip away to their spectral realms, to be disturbed and called back 3.2 years from now.

Catahoulans wonder in anger today. Will they act tomorrow?

Will Future Farm Production Be Under Contract?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Nation's Agriculture of July-August presents an interesting account of farming under contract. This may well be an important change in our whole concept of farming.

Many will not like the thought of contract farming, yet it does seem to fit the modern pattern of living, in that it will produce uniformity, security, and bigness.

The family farm is being harassed and squeezed on every side in spite of some rather forced optimism in high places:

WILL FUTURE FARM PRODUCTION BE UNDER CONTRACT?

(By Forest L. Goetsch, Doane Agricultural Service, Inc.)

Producing farm commodities under contract is not a new practice—tomato growers have contracted with processors for years and the same is true of sugar beets. Western cattle ranchers have often sold their calves for fall delivery at a certain price, established by bargaining with feeders in early summer.

But recent talk about vertical integration in the poultry industry has created new interests in contract arrangements and raised questions as to how far the practice might reach into the whole business of farming.

This term "vertical integration" can be explained most simply as any arrangement which ties together the various parts of an industry, so that it operates as a unit from production clear through marketing. One concern may own all of the farms and the plants involved, or it may have contracts which give it the same degree of control.

The term "integration" is most frequently applied to the situation involving broiler and egg contracts with operators who have hatcheries, feed mills, and processing plants.

In the case of perishable fruits and vegetables, it has been to the mutual advantage of both grower and processor to have a contract. The grower can't hold the crop once it is ripe and he could very well end up taking a ruinous price if plants were temporarily glutted.

Processors want to insure a supply of raw materials and often try to spread it over a longer period of time by specifying different planting dates and varieties for their growers.

Financing is one of the attractions for poultry producers who sign contracts. In discussing the broiler situation, a feed industry spokesman recently stated, "Broiler production requires much short-term capital.

"Studies show that 60 to 68 percent of total production costs are feed expenses, 14 to 19 percent are chick expenses and 3 to 6 percent litter and other supply expenses. Suppliers have furnished much of the necessary capital swiftly in ample amounts—a unique situation in agriculture where capital availability has often been a major problem."

This need for financing and also the need for up-to-the-minute advice on nutrition, disease prevention and other management information was filled by the feed companies.

Many of the manufacturers have opposed broiler financing programs, but the extremely competitive nature of the industry eventually forced all feed companies to offer complete financing if they wanted a share of the broiler business.

Today over 90 percent of the Nation's broilers are produced under some type of contract. These range all the way from a simple arrangement to buy the feed on credit and pay for it when the chicks are sold, to deals with integrated operators where the grower supplies nothing but the house and his labor and receives a flat amount per head or per pound of broiler produced.

Certainly the feeling of security in having a guaranteed price or income is one of the really big appeals where production contracts are able to provide it. Many farmers remember the terrible depression of the thirties; younger operators look at the recent decline in farm prices and tend to feel that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."

Last summer a big feed company got together with an egg processor and some building and equipment people to offer a contract to farmers which went further in setting a man up in a farming enterprise than anything to date. The man who signed it agreed to carry out specific management practices which would guarantee a quality product and a high rate of production.

The 3-year contract spelled out the kind of pullets to be used, the type of house to be erected, the make of cages and ventilators to be installed and, of course, the brand of feed to be fed.

For abiding by the terms of the contract, the egg producer was guaranteed a minimum of 37 cents per dozen for grade A large eggs, or 2 cents over the consumer grade A market of Kansas City. Prices for other grades were based on the Kansas City market.

The farmer was provided with a "turn key" laying flock operation of 1,680 birds, including the pullets themselves, with an estimated value of approximately $11,000. Financing was on the "time payment" plan, with pullets to be paid off in 9 months and the equipment and building somewhat later. Downpayment was $2,500.

Nothing is ever perfect. This is certainly true of the egg and broiler production contracts. In the case of the Kansas egg deals, it's reported that some farmers have not been satisfied with rate of lay obtained. Egg prices went so low that the companies involved undoubtedly lost money during the spring season of 1957.

Their more recent contracts do not provide a minimum price for eggs—payment is tied to quoted prices at Kansas City or Denver. Some houses that were built under an earlier package deal in Texas have been foreclosed. But then, success can only be built out of past failures.

Of course, giving up individual freedom of action is the thing that irritates lots of folks and would keep them from ever signing such a contract.

Ohio extension service publication puts it this way, "A producer raising broilers or producing eggs on a contract basis for an integrated organization loses some of his independent status.

"He is restricted in the decisions he can make concerning his operations. The producer accepts these restrictions in return for the assurance of a steadier income. This is not unlike the industrial or office worker of a manufacturing plant."

The publication also points out that, "A rapid increase in vertical integration in the production of market eggs would result in overexpansion which depresses price during certain periods."

Don't expect contracts to give you something for nothing. They are carefully written, and before you commit much time or money you should have your own lawyer read the agreement.

Hogs may well be the next important farm product to come under some type of contract production. Recent developments in housing, nutrition, and other management practices make it clear that swine growing can easily move into the hands of specialists.

One group can supply the meat-type breeding stock that is going to be in greater demand, another can produce the feeder pigs for sale at 35 to 50 pounds, and finally these can be fed out by men who specialize in feeding.

The whole industry is being affected by the broad promotion of a type of confinement rearing program by a national feed manufacturer. Starting in Texas and Tennessee, the plan has spread rapidly across the South and then into other parts of the country.

Contracts vary somewhat between feed dealers in different towns, but all of them provide financing of protein supplement for the pigs from 50 pounds until marketing and give the farmer the plan for a simple pig parlor, consisting of an open shed with sloping concrete floor.

Here again the deal brings good management practices to people who in many cases had no previous experience with hogs. Financing is often provided for pigs as well as protein and grain. With good feed and care, the results have been encouraging to many. The feed manufacturer expects 5,000 of these units to be in operation in the South by the end of the year. That's a quarter million hogs grown under contract.

Some of these feed dealers have gone so far as to provide everything except the building and the labor, paying the farmer so much per pound for gain put on the pigs from 50 pounds till marketing. Most broiler contracts, likewise, furnish everything but labor and buildings (note—most broiler contracts do not pay so much per pound of gain).

Naturally this program is not going to expand as fast in the established hog-producing States of the Corn Belt as it will in other areas. It's just like egg contracts in the Northeast.

Corn Belt farmers are likely to take the same attitude toward contract hog raising in the South as Northeast poultrymen have toward egg contracts in the western Corn Belt. They don't like 'em. Specialized production under contracts could very easily result in a number of smaller swine growers and egg producers being squeezed out. As in broiler growing, prices will be set by costs of the big efficient operators.

Cattle feeding on a contract basis has boomed in the Far West and is sure to in-

crease in the Southwest as more milo is produced there. In many instances, the rancher does not want to sacrifice his feeder cattle on the lowest market of the year and so he puts them in a commercial lot where he pays for feed and certain yardage charges. There are a lot of variations of these contracting agreements.

Quite a few processors, such as sugar companies, own feed lots and handle cattle on a custom feeding basis to provide a market for such byproducts as beet pulp, cottonseed meal, and hulls and malt barley products.

Feeding in these completely mechanized, highly efficient commercial lots is bound to increase substantially. The more efficient lots are set up to handle 1,000 head of steers per man each time the lots are filled. More are being established all the time, especially in newer feeder areas. However, it is doubtful that they will ever completely replace the farm feeder.

It's the opinion of our Market Research Department that United States agriculture will make much more use of the practice of contracting, especially in livestock and poultry production.

Capital needs in farming are going to continue to increase, making risks greater. This situation encourages contracting. Farmers today are willing to sacrifice part of their chance for maximum profit in order to have a degree of certainty in their income. The old idea of "going for broke" is not so popular as in the days when everyone was a rugged individualist.

Contracts will also be used for most new crops, such as castor beans, sesame, and special varieties of corn grown for industrial purposes.

All of these things lead us to believe that whether it is through the futures market, through agreements with private business concerns, through contracts with farmer cooperatives, or through some new type of operation, there will be more use of contracts to reduce the risks of farming.

Flood Meeting in Jonesville, La.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Jonesville (La.) Booster of July 5, 1957:

FLOOD MEETING SET IN JONESVILLE, LA., FRIDAY

With Catahoula Parish facing one of the worst economic crises in its flood-ravaged history, the telephone and telegraph wires between Jonesville, Washington, and Baton Rouge were a-buzz with activity this week.

Fifth Congressional District Representative OTTO E. PASSMAN and United States Senators RUSSELL B. LONG and ALLEN J. ELLENDER have promised all out assistance.

Representative PASSMAN, along with other Government officials, is to be in Jonesville Friday for a meeting in the Block High School auditorium at 10 a. m.

The American Red Cross has returned a field representative to the parish. She is currently issuing food orders to those farmers who have been forced from their homes by floods and have no income or resources to provide food for themselves. Assistance has also been promised by the Red Cross to folks whose homes were damaged in hurricane Audrey who cannot repair the damage.

Two meetings of parish officials have been held. The first resulted in appeals for help to Washington and Baton Rouge. The second was held to formulate plans for specific requests for aid to the Government officials who attend the Friday meeting in Jonesville.

Telegrams and letters from elected Government officials are too numerous to quote here.

A press release from the Washington office of Representative PASSMAN said that:

Louisiana Fifth District Congressman OTTO E. PASSMAN has suspended hearings of the House Foreign Appropriations Subcommittee, which he heads as chairman, in order to hold an important meeting Friday at Jonesville. Flood-control protection and Federal assistance for farmers in Catahoula Parish and other flood-stricken areas of Louisiana will be discussed by Representative PASSMAN and several other outstanding authorities who deal directly with these problems.

Others on the program, Congressman PASSMAN reported today, will be Representative George S. Long, of Louisiana Eighth Congressional District; S. J. McCrory, Louisiana commissioner of agriculture; Gen. Norman R. Moore, acting president of the Mississippi River Commission, with headquarters at Vicksburg; Colonel Barschdorf, Vicksburg district engineer; Engineer Morris, of the Vicksburg district; Engineer Baehr, of the New Orleans district; as well as others.

Congressman PASSMAN said General Moore is serving temporarily as president of the Mississippi River Commission, pending the assumption of the post by Brig. Gen. William A. Carter, Jr., who is now assistant chief of staff, G–4, United States Army Far East Forces, and the Eighth Army. He will succeed Gen. John R. Hardin, who recently retired from active duty.

The program has been scheduled to begin at 10 a. m. in the auditorium of Jonesville's Block High School. A large attendance is anticipated.

The Fifth District Congressman is working in cooperation in the present situation with State Senator Ralph E. King, of Winnsboro; State Representative William Peck, of Sicily Island; Roy Snider, president of the Tensas Basin Levee Board of Delhi; Hon. G. D. Babin, mayor of Jonesville; Hon. L. W. Franks, mayor Sicily Island, and other area leaders.

The Jonesville meeting will culminate a series of Washington conferences with relation to the problems involved in which Representative PASSMAN has been active for the past several weeks. A survey of Louisiana's flooded areas, including Catahoula Parish, by a representative of the Department of Agriculture has already resulted from these efforts.

The Congressman reported today from Washington that Undersecretary of Agriculture True D. Morse indicated at a conference Monday the Agriculture Department will cooperate in moving promptly toward implementing livestock feed programs and emergency production loans in the flood-stricken areas.

In northeast Louisiana, Catahoula Parish has been declared a flood-disaster area.

Plus the flood-control-protection information to be presented at the meeting by the two Congressmen and Army engineers, Representative PASSMAN will report on the various Federal emergency-lending programs for farmers, as well as the emergency-feed program possibilities for the area. He will also assist directly in putting the plans for Catahoula Parish into effect.

"We are insisting on help, and in a hurry, for our stricken areas," Congressman PASSMAN has emphasized to Agriculture Department representatives. "As a result of the conferences we have had," he said today, "I believe we are going to get help promptly and effectively.

"Certainly," he added, "there must be no playing of politics with human misery."

Greatest hope of Catahoula officials and citizens is that more will be gained from the Friday meeting than has been gained from the promises of similar meetings of the past.

Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am happy to include a significant statement on education written and presented by Geraldine Fisher, of Zion, Ill., upon her graduation this year from the eighth grade:

EDUCATION

"Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained."

This is a quotation written by Charles Kingsley, an English clergyman and novelist. It shows that freedom and justice are most important, but you could not have either without education.

What does freedom mean? Freedom could mean personal liberty or the possession of the rights or privileges of a citizen.

Every person living in these United States, no matter what color or creed, has the following freedoms: Press, speech, assembly, and religion as provided in the Bill of Rights.

What does justice mean? Justice could mean the principle of just dealing or the administration of law.

What does education mean? Education is the manner of training youth for their station in life. We would not have highly trained attorneys, judges, or men who work and fight for freedom if they were not educated.

Our country was founded so that every person could have equal opportunities of freedom and justice. Our flag is also based on this idea. All of the men who wrote the great documents of freedom: The Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, must have been educated as well as dedicated to the principle of freedom and justice, otherwise these documents would not have stood the test of time.

In John, chapter 8, verse 32, Jesus says: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." How else could you know the truth unless you were educated to know it?

The three qualities that young people need to face life's responsibilities are vision to see things as they really are, imagination to dream of things that may be, and courage to act boldly and make these dreams come true. To develop these qualities, children should start learning in the home followed up by elementary school, high school, and then college.

People, like the natives in Africa, who are not educated, could easily be taken over by other people and countries and completely lose their freedom. An example of this is the countries which have been taken over by communism. The countries in which the people have been educated and trained

have a better chance to defend themselves against oppression.

We have many wonderful opportunities in our educational system today. Therefore, to maintain our freedom and justice we must make use of the privilege given to us for getting our education.

Everybody Can Help Lick Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the remarks of Hon. CRAIG HOSMER, Everybody Can Help Lick Inflation. We are becoming more aware not only of the danger but the need for understanding inflation, what causes it, and how it can be corrected. In this the Government figures prominently and Congressmen should responsibly shoulder the job of studying and combatting this terrible menace to our form of society. In this spirit I commend this article to my colleagues:

[From National Republic of July 1957]

EVERYBODY CAN HELP LICK INFLATION

(By Hon. CRAIG HOSMER, United States Representative from California)

Perhaps the most important fact that Americans of our time have need to understand is that the causes of inflation must be removed or the burdens will become heavier and heavier until the breaking point is reached. To remove the present causes of inflation involves sacrifices which our people cannot be expected to make unless they realize fully the consequences of not making them.

Who is responsible for inflation? Who is hurt by it? Who must work to stop it? The answer to each of these questions is: Everybody.

We will get out of our inflation difficulty only as each of us comprehends the nature of the problem and the means of attacking it. We must get out of it if we are to avoid disaster.

The aged living in retirement, teachers, Government workers and others on relatively fixed incomes, have long felt the squeeze of prices spiralling beyond incomes. But that is only one of countless tragic burdens of inflation. Others are just now appearing to millions of Americans who formerly regarded "creeping inflation" as no more than an election year catch phrase, without real meaning in their own lives.

Let us start by tracing inflation developments from the years of World War II, when most of the Nation's productive capacity was devoted to making the weapons of victory. Civilian goods were scarce; rigid controls stopped people from bidding up prices. A high proportion of earnings went into savings simply because they had no place else to go.

Postwar removal of controls freed our economic system to return to its historic function of supplying civilian demands, and people began using their savings as well as current income to satisfy pent up desires for consumer goods.

New homes, new cars, new furniture became the rule rather in the American way of life. Power brakes, the second bathroom, hi-fi, and innumerable other refinements were added to old products. Television sets, television dinners, automatic dishwashers and a host of other completely new products were developed. For all these things the American people had a tremendous appetite. This vast new production has meant a constantly rising standard of living for the Nation.

At the same time the people's tastes became richer in the things they wanted from all levels of government. Welfare programs were expanded, thousands of miles of highways turned into freeways, and other new programs undertaken by the score because the people wanted them. Government expansion has been based on quantity as well as quality, for our rapidly growing population has multiplied the needs for schools, police protection, and all other services of government, old and new.

Taken all together, these evergrowing private and public demands for goods and services have aggravated more than could be produced. Since World War II the remarkable growth in our productive capacity each year, except for agriculture has been fairly consistently outpaced by an even more remarkable growth in demand.

With goods and services thus constantly in short supply, buyers and employers were willing to pay higher prices and wages until enough of each were priced out of the market to restore the balance between supply and demand. Had the process stopped there competition among purchasers, which drives prices up, would have shifted to competition among sellers which, if it does not drive prices down, at least keeps them stable. We would have had a little inflation, but not the tremendous amount we have experienced.

The price spiral did not stop because individuals and business alike used not only accumulated savings and current earnings to bid up prices, but another seemingly limitless resource—their future earnings, available by borrowing and repayable in easy installments. Governments vast powers to borrow against future revenues further swelled this inflationary force.

The result today is that not only has the bidding-up process operated to cheapen the value of money, but the very free availability of future dollars (credit) has had a further depressing effect on the value of current dollars.

Another complicating factor has been the steady pressure by workers and business to increase prices they receive as producers, to compensate for the steady increases they face as consumers. This is part of the endless circle known to economists as spiralling inflation.

Spiralling or not, that part of the increased money wages of a bricklayer, for example, resulting from this process and not from increased productivity is inflation. The same is true for that part of the increased price of the home he helped build which does not represent an actual increase in its intrinsic value. Dollars which buy less work or less goods are worth less.

It takes $4.65 today to buy what $4 did 10 years ago. During 1956 wages in California rose by an average of 6.7 percent; but two-thirds of the increase was canceled by rising prices. Only one-third went into increased purchasing power; two-thirds was "taxed away" by inflation. To the person whose wages did not rise, or who lives on a fixed income, the year meant a net loss in purchasing power.

For every family budget, an income of $116 a month is required for every $100 in the 1947 budget, to maintain the same living standard.

It is obvious that inflation will continue to impose this tremendous tax as long as our productive capacity for goods and services cannot fully meet our unrestricted demands. After all, 100 percent of supply is all there there is and when the grand total of all the demands add up to 110 percent, prices are bound to rise until supply and demand are brought into equilibrium. This balance must be brought about speedily before inflationary pressures wreck our economy and bring disaster to all. It means doing something to expand our productive capacity faster and also doing something to put the brakes on demand while accomplishing it.

That sounds simple, but doing it in our complex economy is not so simple.

Expanding productivity depends largely on new and improved plants, machinery, and other instruments of production. The price tag on these for corporations alone is estimated at $60 billion a year. Probably an almost equal amount is needed by unincorporated businesses. The money can come only from reinvested earnings and new investments by individuals of their savings. At the present time neither source is proving adequate to finance as rapid an expansion of productive capacity as needed to remove inflationary pressures. Business has attempted to meet the deficiency by overborrowing, but capacity in that regard is coming to an end. An unpleasant side effect of such borrowing has been to help to drive interest rates up because so many additional borrowers were in the market clamoring for money.

The basic reason our economy has not been getting the amount of investment money it needs for expansion is taxes. High corporate income taxes have siphoned away large amounts of earnings that otherwise would be reinvested. High individual income taxes, which have caused many a TV quiz contestant to stop short of the top prize, because the tax bite makes the risk foolish, also discourage investors from risking their money for a disproportionately small return after taxes.

Although circumstances vary from industry to industry, the overall result is that only about $3.5 billion annually is being invested in new corporate stock issues, whereas capital from this source totaling $6 billion a year is required to finance the necessary anti-inflationary expansion of corporate productive capacity. The investment picture for unincorporated businesses is no less gloomy.

A reshaping of our tax policies is needed to provide both the means and the incentives for an accelerated investment in building up the Nation's productive capacity. Only in this way can we boost supply up near the demands we make, and only in this way can we create the vast number of new jobs needed to employ our rapidly expanding population.

Such tax changes are not a matter of lowering taxes on "big business and the rich" while "the poor" get no relief. Saying so is good demagoguery, but poor economics. Tax revision is a commonsense matter of doing what is needed in a free enterprise economy to eliminate the burdens of inflation and the threat of unemployment, both of which are far more disastrous to "the poor" than to any other economic category.

On the side of putting brakes on demand while supply is catching up, there are also serious complications.

It is not enough to say that government should cut its spending. Government in American democracy is but an instrumentality by which the collective will of the people is expressed. Government can cut spending only in response to a common decision of the citizenry that its highest welfare lies in foregoing desirable but not essential expenses of government until the inflation problem is licked.

Present dim prospects for this Spartan decision exemplify the vital need for a more realistic public understanding of the consequences of not making it. A wholesale constriction of Government spending is involved and even the most ardent advocates of public economy usually want it accomplished by sacrificing somebody else's pet programs.

Probably little short of a reasoned fear of inflation—to almost a point of terror—can generate an effective public demand for even temporary Government frugality.

A similar public awareness of the economics of our situation is needed if Americans as individuals are voluntarily to forgo satisfaction of personal demands for desirable but not essential consumer items during the period needed for productive capacity to be brought up into balance. The prospects for developments in this regard before it is too late also are somewhat on the dim side.

For that reason other inducements to individuals to forgo some of their demands for a while have either been brought, or allowed to come, into play.

Recent increases in interest rates by savings banks is an example. By making savings more attractive, bankers induce more people to put their money in the bank instead of spending for current wants. In this way some existing wealth is being taken out of the market place. The pressure on prices is lessened.

The rise in interest rates to borrowers is having a similar effect by taking some future dollars out of today's market places. As money becomes more expensive, some potential borrowers are priced out and others decide to forego satisfaction of their wants until borrowing becomes less costly.

Unfortunately high interest rates are a shotgun approach to the problem of reducing demands on the economy. They often eliminate those for whom loans will accomplish the highest social purposes. The GI homeownership loan (a loan for an unquestionably desirable purpose) serves as an example.

The Government does not lend the money. It merely guarantees a private lender that his loan at not more than 4½ percent interest to a veteran home buyer will be repaid. In prior years that was about the going interest rate, so the guaranty feature made lending to home-buying veterans very attractive. As a result, nearly $40 billion of credit was channeled to GI housing.

However, today's going interest rates are up to at least 5½ percent. That rate is much more attractive than 4½ percent, even with a Government guaranty, so mortgage money for GI home loans has all but dried up. At the same time, others whose reason for borrowing is perhaps much less worthy get loans because they can afford to pay the added interest cost.

The result may help curb inflation, but it creates hardships by failing to direct the flow of available credit toward homeownership, financing schools, and attaining many other highly desirable objectives. Some say the answer lies in simply granting direct Government loans for socially desirable purposes. They ignore or fail to understand that creation of new and additional credit in this manner would seriously augment inflationary forces and soon drive prices of everything, including money, upward.

In any but the most extraordinary and limited cases Congress should forthwith reject proposals which involve pumping new sums of credit into the economy. If hardships are to be relieved and social objectives attained, the answer primarily lies in directing the flow of existing credit toward them, not in creating new amounts of credit to swell the inflationary stream.

But even this requires extreme caution. Legislation directing the interplay of economic forces toward accomplishment of social objectives, regardless of desirability, is always risky.

Our vital objective is permanently to remove inflationary forces from our economy. To do it we must increase productivity to the level of demand and, until that is done, artificially lower the level of demand. Any actions we take to alleviate hardship occasioned during the process must neither feed inflationary forces, impede rapid expansion of productive capacity, nor interfere excessively with the workings of our capitalistic, free-enterprise economic system.

The end product of that system is enjoyment by today's Americans of the highest standard of living, the most abundant general welfare, the most jobs and the highest wages of any people of any nation in any period of history. Our experience has shown that a certain amount of governmental regulation of the system—antitrust laws, minimum wages and the like—is needed to prevent abuses of the freedom inherent in it.

The experience of other countries, notably France and Great Britain, has shown that excessive governmental interference aimed at social objectives ends in economic chaos. These countries even experience difficulty in agreeing on the social objectives toward which to direct their impaired economies.

Victory in the battle against inflation, just as in battles against hostile nations, requires a willingness to sacrifice.

The people's understanding of these things is needed to guide their own individual courses. And, since political courage is sometimes as much a matter of public understanding as it is strength of personal character, the people's understanding is also needed to spur their public officials to take politically unpopular actions prerequisite to defeating inflationary forces and to resist alluring ones with an opposite effect.

An Open Letter to the Editors of Life Re the Galindez-Murphy Case

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert an article by Mr. Juan Arce Medina, attorney at law, Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic.

What makes this article of vital importance is that its author, Mr. Juan Arce Medina, a gentleman whose integrity is beyond question, is the Dominican Republic lawyer who represented the De la Maza family in paying the sum of $50,000 to the family of Gerald Lester Murphy, who met his death in the Dominican Republic at the hands of Octavio de la Maza. De la Maza was promptly apprehended by the Dominican police and then ended his own life by committing suicide while awaiting trial in a Ciudad Trujillo jail.

Mr. Speaker, I hasten to add that the insertion of this document in the RECORD is not to be construed in any way as an attack upon Life magazine or any person connected with Life magaine. Life magazine, in both of its diametrically opposed stories about the affair Galindez-Murphy has been very careful to present them only as theories. The article follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF LIFE RE THE GALINDEZ-MURPHY CASE

(By Juan Arce Medina, attorney at law, Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic)

LIFE,

New York, N. Y.

SIRS: Last February 25 Life magazine published an article concerning the Dominican Republic, presenting a theory which was pieced together linking the government of this country, and missing Basque exile Jesus Galindez and the American copilot Gerald Lester Murphy in a dark and deadly conspiracy.

The selling of this theory to the American people seems to be the joint project of the small but vociferous Caribbean revolutionary group in New York, their allies—the North American leftist intellectuals J. Edgar Hoover labels pseudoliberal—and Life.

As a Dominican citizen and the lawyer who represented the De la Maza family in the civil suit filed against them by the parents of Gerald Lester Murphy, I strongly feel that the allegations should be objectively examined 1 by 1. I am quite aware that I will not be able to match the voice of the Luce empire in volume; I believe, however, that truth and justice will eventually prove more effective than mass circulation.

The theory is an interesting one. It is regrettable, however, that a clear distinction is not made between what is established fact and what is not. It is possible that the average Life reader was not aware that he was reading mere speculation and unsupported assertions interwoven with conjecture, presented as a theory.

Life says, "it adds up to an amazing tale." But I feel that Life readers would be even more interested in all the facts—facts not twisted out of proportion to support a preconceived conclusion. I, therefore, submit questions which might be of value in preparing future articles on this and related subjects.

First, let's examine congressional reaction to your theory.

1. Representative EDWARD A. GARMATZ, of Maryland, made this comment: "This intriguing article was evidently not based on fact. It was apparently an excursion into the fictional, if not melodramatic field."

Quite a charge, isn't it, to be made against a magazine that purportedly deals mainly with facts, not fiction? I am also curious why such an excursion was made, so obviously in glaring contrast to your usual high standards.

MURPHY IN THE UNITED STATES

2. This reaction is typical of many Congressmen and other observers who have troubled to study your "theory" in depth. The reason is simple: the "theory," as presented in Life and read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon, falls apart under close scrutiny. It is a physical impossibility that events took place in the manner alleged.

There is, for instance, Life's caption:

"Based on a description by Gerald Lester Murphy, drawing shows how Galindez was hustled out of subway to go into an ambulance to airport."

Very impressive—until the real basis of that "description" is made known. It was told to Congress by Mr. PORTER, it was not told to your readers: "Gerry, learning from newspaper reports about the missing Galindez, began to add 2 and 2."

I suppose it is possible "to add 2 and 2" "from newspaper reports" and come up with just about any "description" desired. But to solemnly report that "addition" as truth is something less than honest reporting. Wouldn't you agree if another publication did so?

3. Then there are various other events serenely ignored in the "piecing together" of your "amazing tale." Let's take geography.

While the "kidnaping" took place—which Murphy is supposed to have described for the edification of 6 million readers—you have him a good many miles away. He is back at Amityville Airport, "hired by Dominicans * * * waiting with a plane * * * for a drugged and bandaged man believed to be

Galindez * * * ready for a long flight to the Dominican Republic."

But not only is that description—the crux of your theory—allegedly based on the stories of a man who didn't see the kidnaping, but also on that same "witness" who is supposed to have had no idea he was taking part in a "kidnaping" nor even knew the identity of his alleged passenger.

The theory as told to Congress, is that Murphy at first merely "presumed" he flew "a wealthy invalid" on a charter flight from New York to Tampa, Fla.—not a sinister "drugged and bandaged man" hustled out of a subway.

By choice of words and phrases the "wealthy invalid" is later transformed into a "mysterious 'invalid' who was hustled into the plane." Then into a "drugged and bandaged man believed to be Galindez;" finally, now full-blown, it's "Galindez hustled out of subway to go into an ambulance to airport."

All this, according to that very same theory, and as read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, allegedly is based on a description by Gerald Lester Murphy, who his own fiance has said, had merely speculated, months later, on the possibility that his charter passenger had been Galindez.

You say you had "to build a picture * * * from chance remarks." While everybody gets their wires crossed once in a while, the entire presentation shows a progressive fictional development more in the style of a cloak-and-dagger comic strip than Life.

I cannot believe your article was written entirely by regular Life staff writers. Was it?

4. But let's clarify exactly what you mean regarding this crucial part of your theory. That is, the drugging of Galindez on a crowded subway and his kidnaping in the midst of thousands—and its relationship to Murphy who is allegedly on Long Island with a plane, unaware that he is a pawn in your dark and deadly conspiracy.

PORTER was asked in Congress about this. His answer:

"As I understand there were no witnesses to the actual abduction."

Can you explain that statement, please? Who was where and saw what and did what? Please—no possibilities, no adding 2 and 2 from newspaper reports. Can you give a simple precise statement of facts in this regard—and in accord with what is already on record?

5. But in going over your theory point by point, I find a great deal that is not merely the result of sloppy sensationalism. You state, for example, that: "Government investigators identified the ambulance that had been used in the job." The "job" was the kidnaping of Galindez from the subway and his transportation to Murphy's plane at Amityville Airport.

That is a very specific statement. I hope you can give an equally specific answer to the following question:

Can you have the statement verified by the New York police, the New York district attorney, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or any other qualified United States Government, State, or city investigation agency?

Or do you, like Congressman PORTER, suspect an element of collusion between those agencies and the kidnapers because they do not back your theory?

6. And why don't they back it? Congressman BERNARD W. KEARNEY, of New York, aptly sums up one major reason: "To me it seems strange, because, knowing New York as I do, I know that this entrance to the subway is in a very, very busy section of the city, and the minute an ambulance comes to that particular area there are certainly not only police officers but prowl cars and also plenty of curious spectators."

Police officers have informed me such is the case—that reliable witnesses, policemen, subway attendants, and others, would certainly be available if such an event had really taken place. Yet we are told, "There were no witnesses to the actual abduction."

For my own information, what happened to those police officers, prowl cars, and spectators who were at that subway station when Galindez was being kidnaped? They are not in your "drawing of Galindez being bustled out of a subway to go in an ambulance to airport." The streets, as shown in the drawing, are empty—as they would have to be to make your theory possible. Or do you claim that your cartoonist isn't familiar with midtown Manhattan in the evening?

Isn't it true that neither the drawing nor the description is an accurate, unbiased presentation of known facts? Isn't it true that by your method of piecing together you could just as easily have had Galindez abducted by small green men in a flying saucer as by Murphy in a Beechcraft? I am serious. Could you or couldn't you?

7. You make this statement about Murphy's entries in the Amityville Airport records: "Other entries proved false." You can prove, then, that Murphy did not leave the airport and remained on that airfield, unquestioned by authorities, for some 9 hours waiting for Galindez to arrive in his ambulance? According to the same record book, same page, Murphy had left New York long before the alleged kidnaping. Do you believe Amityville Airport authorities collaborated with Murphy to produce those allegedly false records?

8. Congressman JAMES G. FULTON, of Pennsylvania, asked the following questions about Murphy's allegedly amazing ability to ignore civil air regulations and authorities:

"If it [Murphy's plane] went from the New York airport, how was the plane cleared there?"

Porter's answer: "I suggest that to the gentleman we have a prima facie case."

What does this mean in plain English? And to repeat the question, how was it cleared?

9. Life attempts to substantiate that Murphy and his "invalid" flew the length of the eastern seaboard? In so doing he crossed the entire east coast radar screen of the United States Army; it will not be difficult to establish the exact date and time, if such a flight took place as you allege.

However, apparently you did not check or, if so, ignored the findings. Isn't it possible that by so ignoring you overlooked a story of even greater national import than Murphy's kidnaping of Galindez?

Representative KEARNEY makes this comment:

"I am especially interested [in this point] remembering that we are voting millions and billions of dollars for the defense of our shorelines and our country. It would seem very peculiar and strange indeed for an individual to fly the length of the eastern shoreline to the Dominican Republic without being spotted and checked on."

Do you also find it very peculiar and strange or do you believe that United States' security measures are ineffective? Do you suspect an element of collusion between Murphy and the United States Army? Do you think that a good many other readers, like Congressman KEARNEY, might be especially interested in reading all the facts on this point?

Don't you believe that if Murphy made his alleged flight unnoticed and unhampered by any security service or agency, as you theory indicates, then isn't an exposé in order, a Life article detailing exactly how it was done—without prima facie evasions, just facts—which might well result in a sweeping reexamination of the entire United States system of internal and external security?

10. You state that early on the morning of March 13, N68100 landed at Miami's Tamiami Airport, looking for gas. Do you have airport records to verify that statement? Have you given very careful attention to the exact hour, date, and other facts since Murphy was a Miami-based pilot and apparently had made a number of flights in the south Florida area?

However, there should be little confusion in determining the specific flight you refer to. You may or may not be aware that smuggling of aliens into south Florida long ago resulted in the enforcement of the tightest security control by Immigration and Customs Services, airport management, and local police. Those officers can tell you that illegal or unrecorded landings can no longer be made in swampland or cow pasture, let alone a major airport. You can prove that Murphy and Galindez illegally landed as so stated?

11. Then, you say, Murphy took off for Lantana Airport near West Palm Beach because he was unable to buy gas at Tamiami. The foregoing is even more true concerning Lantana. It is near a large Air Force base and military planes also operate from that field. No flight—in or out of Lantana—is unrecorded.

Can you back that statement with official Lantana records?

I am curious on one point: You have Murphy pay cash for gas here "to avoid signing a gas slip." Why? If you will remember, as Porter has said, at that time what Murphy only presumed to be an invalid was his charter passenger? Wasn't it only much later that Murphy's "wealthy invalid" became the "drugged and bandaged Galindez" by the process of "adding 2 and 2" * * * from newspaper reports?

12. Next, "Murphy flew him to Montecristi in the Dominican Republic." Lantana will have a flight plan of that departure—if it took place. If there is no such record, do you believe that the management of Lantana Airport is also in cahoots with the kidnapers?

But, most important, Murphy's alleged flight from Palm Beach to Montecristi, Dominican Republic, would bring him directly into the Air Force guided missile range extending from Cape Canaveral to Puerto Rico. The Air Force has been operating that range since 1950. It is probably the site of the world's most elaborate system of electronic warning and detection devices.

If Murphy made that flight he was spotted by the United States Air Force and there is a record of that flight.

Have you checked?

13. Mr. Porter indicates no such check was made before the theory was presented to the American public. But you flatly claim that you undertook extensive investigations.

Either you must assume, if belated investigation shows no such flight was made, that the United States Air Force, like all the other responsible authorities concerned in the theory of aerial kidnaping, is derelict in its duties, or in collusion with the kidnapers. Which is your conclusion?

14. Then Murphy returned to Miami. And again Murphy could not have landed a plane in south Florida—that could have carried aliens, Communist spies, narcotics and atomic bombs, as well as Basque exiles—without some official recognition. Again can you substantiate the exact details of that flight with records of the Customs, Immigration, aeronautic and military authorities? If so, please produce them—and all the other necessary flight plans, clearances and records that Murphy would have needed for his alleged flight.

I think you will agree it is presumptuous to accuse responsible authorities of dereliction of duty or collaboration with kidnapers. When you produce specific, documentary evidence from official agencies concerning Murphy's flights—and particularly of that specific flight—only then can this case

be studied to determine what is relative to the sensational charge you have brought against the Government of my country. Can you produce? If so, please do and turn it over to the properly constituted United States authorities. Fair enough?

MURPHY AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

15. "About that time (November 1955)" you say, "Gerry said he had made a new friend, Arturo Espaillat, New York Consul General for the Dominican Republic." This is interesting because Espaillat was a well-known general in the Dominican army at that time and was not made consul general until April 23, 1956. He did not arrive at his post until May 1.

Also about that time, according to American witnesses, Murphy claimed to have made another new friend at an island hideout. Said alleged friend was Arthur Vining Davis.

Arthur Vining Davis denies having known Murphy. Aturo Espaillat does likewise. Are they both lying? Is Davis also implicated in the kidnaping? Or might it be that both friendships existed only in Murphy's imagination?

16. When Murphy was hired by the Compañia Dominicana de Aviacion in April 1956, you say that the general manager refused him a captaincy because he was short on experience. True enough.

But is this inexperienced young man with defective vision who was not qualified for a Dominican pilot license and never authorized to be anything but a copilot on even the most routine flights also Life's daring aerial kidnapper?

Is this the sinister figure "hired by Dominicans" who—knowingly or unknowingly—hopped invisibly from airport to airport committing offenses ranging from civil air violations to kidnapping?

Is he the master criminal who foiled the United States Air Force, New York police force, aviation authorities, army radar, customs, immigration, and other security services; who flew great distances at night after Galindez was dragged from a crowded subway; flying him alone, unguarded, unattended—and unseen; the man, in short, whom you allege committed the most sensational crime of the century?

There is a modern phenomenon with which police officers—professional investigators—are only too familiar. It is called confabulation. Ever hear of it?

17. One of your photo captions reads: "Living it up in the most expensive hotel in Ciudad Trujillo." Apart from the fact that the hotel in reference is not, now nor then, "the most expensive hotel in Ciudad Trujillo" (as you well know since pictures of the most expensive hotel in Ciudad Trujillo had appeared in Life only a few weeks previously)—don't you think you were straining a bit in your eagerness to represent Murphy as "living it up" from the proceeds of Galindez' kidnapping?

18. Equally unsubtle is the pointed statement that Murphy "said he was making $800 a month plus overtime." That is not quite true; as a matter of fact, you will be happy to hear, he told associates he was making $1,000 a month. As you so correctly state, Murphy "had done a lot of talking." He made the following public statements concerning his wealth and financial history:

"I made a fortune in the lumber business back in Oregon but lost everything because of the manipulations by others."

"I promoted stock in nonexistent corporations and made a lot of money. But I had to get the hell out of the United States when the buyers found out how I'd taken them."

"Arthur Vining Davis told me that he might back my new business."

"I have big investments abroad."

"I have thousands tucked away in the bank."

"I have a lot of women after me but I'm not going to get married unless it can do me some good financially. I expect to be a millionaire and retire before I'm 30."

"I have a lot of big connections—millionaires, politicians, etc. All I have to do is call on them."

"I'm getting a lot of big-money offers from the major airlines. They want me to fly for them and are willing to pay plenty."

It is unfortunate that the above—all pure make-believe, of course, but said before witnesses both American and Dominican—has been completely ignored in the presentation of your theory. Nor did you bother to check Murphy's finances to shed light on his hinted-at reward.

Investigation at his Miami bank failed to show that he had "thousands tucked away;" he did have a $3 deficit. Another check for $20.25 bounced.

Might not that omission be considered slanted reporting in unbiased newspaper circles? Or just how extensive was your investigation?

19. "He showed friends papers from Trujillo which he said would let him get away with anything," is the way Life describes it. He may have said that, all right. But you might have pointed out that those papers were exactly the same as those required of every other American working in the Dominican Republic. Nor were they from Trujillo but from ordinary government offices performing much the same duties as their counterparts in the United States Government concerned with such matters. You accepted idle, harmless boasting as fact. Can you support your claim with exact information about those papers which would let Murphy "get away with anything?"

20. You state that "He (Murphy) flew often with a Dominican pilot Octavio de la Maza." If you had troubled to send a single investigator to check flight records, if you had not confined your investigation in that direction to posing Mr. Porter in the Dominican Embassy in Washington and snapping his picture, you could have had ample opportunity to establish the truth. The fact is, only when absolutely necessary were Murphy and de la Maza scheduled to fly together. Their bitter enmity was known to CDA officials, Murphy's associates, and the United States Embassy alike.

That feud began almost immediately after Murphy came to the Dominican Republic. The mutual antagonism was probably inevitable. One of Murphy's roommates, after listening to his endless adventures and exploits, dismissed them with a shrug. "Little boy talk," he said. Unfortunately, it was not "little boy talk" to de la Maza.

A person such as Murphy, living his own world of idle talk, revery, and adventure magazines, seldom gets into trouble with anyone else. Murphy was just not taken seriously by those who knew him. But with de la Maza he clashed head-on with hard, unpleasant reality. Vain and completely humorless, de la Maza took an intense dislike to the younger man. He sought to deflate him at every opportunity.

Naturally, Murphy resented de la Maza's taunts. Moreover, Murphy—who sometimes claimed to have been a "jet pilot with the United States Army"—was never permitted on a flight without a qualified pilot at the controls and was generally treated casually. His salary remained at $350 a month. But de la Maza was promoted to captain and given a raise. It was too much for Murphy.

These facts were not brought out in the article. They were—and are—easily checked. Do you think their disclosure might have taken some of the punch out of your theory?

21. You state: "they (Dominicans) sought out the pilot de la Maza, who must have felt their hot breath." You indicate that this was about December 10. You ignore an interesting fact in that regard: that "hot breath" was initiated by the American Embassy, not Dominican authorities.

On the afternoon of December 17, United States Consul Harry Lefton notified Attorney General Francisco Elpidio Berras that, acting under instructions from Ambassador William T. Pheiffer, he was passing on "the information that bad blood existed between Murphy and Octavio de la Maza of CDA, and de la Maza should be investigated."

This was done. De la Maza was arrested, interrogated, and detained when he was totally unable to account for his movements during the evening of Murphy's disappearance.

You say you have "pieced together a theory." Don't you think it fair to your readers to also admit that you have discarded facts when they did not quite fit that theory?

22. You speak of "* * * his (Murphy's) Spanish friend (De la Maza)." Apart from the obvious facts that De la Maza was neither Spanish nor Murphy's friend, you ignored an incident regarded by more objective investigators as being of the utmost importance in their relationship.

As indicated previously, CDA executives tried to keep them apart. But on one of their few trips together, Murphy photographed nearby mountain peaks and trees to show the low altitude of the aircraft over dangerous terrain. He then turned the pictures over to the operations manager as proof that De la Maza was a reckless, irresponsible pilot. This episode, which speaks for itself, was completely passed over. Why?

23. You write that "De la Maza and Bernardino has a gun battle in which the latter was killed." Is that the clearest way you can say De la Maza shot to death a fellow Dominican for the very same type of provocation that Murphy gave him?

De la Maza believed that the victim, Bernardino, had informed their superiors of a drunken brawl de la Maza had with the London police.

His reaction to Murphy's photosnapping can be imagined. Unfortunately, Murphy did not stay away from him.

Again, a few words are used to obscure important facts. Why?

24. De la Maza later committed suicide in his cell by hanging himself with a rope made from a mosquito netting which he suspended from a shower fixture. You call it a strange suicide; you have United States officials insinuate that he could not have hanged himself.

That's a trifle presumptive, don't you think, making an extremely serious accusation, considering that even your lofty Olympus in Rockefeller Center is almost 2,000 miles from the scene and you never got much closer?

However, unlike Mr. Porter, I do not suggest that we have a prima facie case. The suicide was carefully investigated and the results turned over to the American Government. And investigation is continuing.

Since you are quick to make conclusions about suicides in other countries, I suggest you first get in practice by studying those at home. I suggest you start with a strange suicide that took place in your country a few weeks ago. A United Press dispatch from Chicago, dated March 31, 1957, reported that a convicted murderer "was found hanged in the maximum security section of the Cook County jail * * * A guard found the body * * * suspended from a bar in the shower stall by a rope made from a bedsheet."

You may want to prove that one can hang oneself in a shower with a bedsheet but not a mosquito net. Or perhaps you can write an article (being careful not to check with authorities or do any on-the-spot investigating) insinuating that Chicago authorities are responsible. Apparently a prisoner could not have hanged himself in that manner in neither Ciudad Trujillo—nor Chicago.

25. "The Dominican officials—as if to justify themselves—released the text of what they said was De la Maza's suicide note." Apparently you would be happier if the Dominican officials had concealed evidence.

Then, no doubt, you could accuse those officials, as you do elsewhere, of a runaround. We just can't win with you people, can we?

26. "It (the note) was full of stark contradictions." Permit me the luxury of a snide comment: If so, it is not the only thing full of stark contradictions. However, it was a letter from a husband to his wife, a letter seeking to excuse murder.

You mention as a major contradiction the fact that De la Maza confessed his crime to his wife, not to the police. Was that really so absurd as you claim? You have, then, infinite insight into the workings of the human mind.

In any case, De la Maza was confronted with insurmountable evidence against him when he wrote that letter and took his life. He knew it; he knew the police knew. It is unfortunate that De la Maza's letter does not conform to your standards. How do suicides write farewell letters in the United States?

27. Don't you think that your general handling of the story was something less than objective? Do you honestly think it was unbiased reporting? Such statements as, "But he did not get away that easily," referring to Murphy, is typical of the stock prose you use to arrive at an already cut-and-dried conclusion.

And Galindez, "Fearing Dominican agents * * * had doorman carefully announce visitors," when that doorman, the New York police and other unbiased observers can tell you Galindez had a great deal more to fear than Dominican agents.

Or, "After 4 harried and futile days the United States authorities hustled them (Murphy's father and fiance) out of the country for their safety's sake." Which apart from the fact that no United States official ever said they were in the slightest danger nor hustled anywhere (Mr. Murphy left because he was short of funds; he had to sell Gerry's car for expenses), your writing has a pulp fiction ring to it oddly out of place in a magazine like Life.

You use loaded verbs and adjectives to substitute for more prosaic fact. I admit, your choice of words and phrases makes exciting reading—but is it journalism?

THE THEORY—FRIENDS AND CRITICS

28. Another intriguing aspect of your dark and deadly conspiracy is the manner in which other enthusiastic proponents of your theory outdo even Life in squeezing the story for melodrama.

There is, for instance, your statement that "When she learned of his disappearance, Sally (Claire) quit (her job as stewardess for Pan American), joined Gerry's father and went down to the Dominican Republic to look for him."

Mr. Porter gets more mileage from that one: "She (Sally) said she had been forced to quit her stewardess job because Pan American officials said it would be too dangerous for her."

Come on, fellows, let's get our stories straight. However, wasn't it your sister publication, Time, that had Mr. Galindez in a ship's boiler, not an airplane?

29. Mr. Porter's uninhibited enthusiasm ("There are any number of conspiracies. I have a tremendous file on them.") makes his telling of your theory the more fascinating.

He told the House of Representatives that De la Maza's father-in-law, "Mr. Rua * * * desperately sought refuge in various embassies and now has been given asylum in the Spanish Embassy."

Mr. Porter's zeal—for investigations of any number of conspiracies as far as possible removed from those in Oregon—is matched only by the imagination of the group pipelining both of you such material.

In any case, Rua and the Spanish Embassy staff were a bit surprised by that revelation: De la Maza's father-in-law is not in asylum in the Spanish Embassy nor any other, nor has he sought such asylum, desperately or otherwise.

But it's a good story—on a par with the rest of the theory. Why didn't you use it?

30. But mere fictioneering is not enough, of course, to dampen the enthusiasm of a few newspapers ever alert to the opportunity to have a go at the Dominican Republic. The Washington Post and Times Herald was quite impressed by your effort. It commented: "It is an unhappy commentary on the efforts of the New York Police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation that a picture magazine has taken the biggest step toward explaining the mysterious disappearances of Dr. Jesus de Galindez. [It] should stir police officials out of the torpor they have previously shown."

Well, I guess you can say you really showed up J. Edgar Hoover, New York Police Commissioner Kennedy, and all the rest. Has it aroused them from their torpor, galvanized them into action following the trail you have pointed out? Have they been duly grateful for your assistance?

But why do those same police officials ignore your theory publicly and ridicule it privately? Could it be that you and those police and FBI officials are not in the same business: that is, you publishing; they trying—quietly and objectively—to solve the Galindez mystery and hoping for a minimum of sensational false leads?

Another admirer is the New York Post. It editorializes: "In a documented and detailed inquiry, Life magazine has produced evidence strongly suggesting that Galindez was kidnaped by Trujillo agents." The Post editor is apparently blessed with better reading ability than am I. Stripping away the prose and getting down to the facts, I don't find that documented and detailed evidence in the article that the Post so gleefully salutes. Where is it?

31. Unfortunately, not all your readers are so ready to embrace your "theory." One such is Representative FLOOD, of Pennsylvania.

He told the House: "I have been around here long enough to know that there are 2 sides to every question and sometimes 3 or 4 sides." Do you agree that there are two sides in this case? Do you think that you have fairly covered the other side or sides?

Representative ANFUSO, of New York, has labeled your theory mere suspicion or innuendo. Can you disprove that charge with documented and detailed evidence?

Congressman FULTON makes this comment: "I wonder whether we should not have some basic facts rather than a lot of this magazine story-business." If you did not provide those basic facts to support your theory, is that not, as the Washington Post and Times Herald would say, "an unhappy commentary" on a news magazine?

Mr. FULTON goes on to say: "I am a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. We get a lot of these lurid stories about foreign intrigue and so forth but I would like to see the bases of them before I jump to conclusions." Question repeated.

Do you consider, as does Representative MULTER, of New York, that the theory as told to Congress consists of "very startling charges"?

Do you think that, as Representative MULTER says, it has implicated Members of Congress, the FBI, the New York police, the New York district attorney, the State Department, and so forth? Again, "collusion?"

Do you disagree with Representative ROBSION of Kentucky that the "State Department and the Justice Department have been working with the Dominican Republic (and) I do not believe that there can be any question but that these departments are pursuing the matter diligently." Can you instruct them in how "to piece together a theory" without awaiting the results of investigation?

Would you comment on this statement by a former friend of Galindez: "We have not met anybody with an objective mind, ready to examine all the data and analyze it without any political bias." And, "We must not be blind and deaf to any evidence tending to lead investigation away from the Dominican path.

Do you agree or disagree with Congressman FULTON's statement: "I certainly think that the Customs Service should be asked and the officials at the Miami airport, if that is where he [Murphy] cleared, what kind of an inspection was made." Mr. PORTER says he heartily agrees. However, isn't that one of those "details" the New York Post cited—a detail which might have changed your theory and which should have been checked long before the article appeared?

32. Congressman KEARNEY, attempting to determine if your theory had any basis in fact at all and if even the most routine checks had been made, asked—among other questions—if "the Strategic Air Command had any information concerning the flight of that plane to the Dominican Republic?" Mr. PORTER answered:

"I think that is a very good question. I do not know the answer."

We agree; it is a good question. Do you think it's a good question? Do you have a good answer?

JESUS GALINDEZ ND HIS FRIENDS

33. Do you disagree with this statement published recently by a New York newspaper: "There are certain people in influential positions who want only certain truths to be known or who prefer the truth to be twisted." And that those people are working intently with others who spend night and day in an effort to convince the public that their friend Galindez was killed by orders of Generalissimo Trujillo?

Do you reject the validity of this statement by the newspaper El Diario de Nueva York: "In their [enemies of Trujillo] desire not so much to determine what has happened to Galindez, but rather to prove—whether true or not—that a foreign dictator killed him, they have even withheld information that does not contribute to this theory"? Do you claim that no information was "withheld" in your "theory"?

34. Another of Galindez' postdisappearance "friends" is Gen José Asensio, a leader of the exiled Spanish Left. Asensio seldom misses an opportunity to attend the various political wakes ostensibly held in Galindez' honor. Like his associates, Asensio uses these affairs as a springboard for his own purposes: principally an ambitious program to take over the powerful political position in New York's Latin American colony that Galindez so suddenly vacated. These meetings are also useful as occasions to launch the usual diatribes against Trujillo, Franco, United States Government policy, and so forth.

The Spanish-language newspaper with with which Galindez was closely associated, El Diario de Nueva York, has noted that phenomenon: "Some of those who today call themselves 'friends' of Galindez openly showed hatred against him while he was alive. The campaign against [Trujillo] using Galindez as a cause celebre has thus united people who, up to his disappearance, would not have wanted anything to do with one another. Some pro-Galindez meetings are only manifestations against Trujillo."

What is your personal opinion? Can you honestly say that the people supporting your theory are motivated only by a sincere love of the truth, Galindez and Gerald Lester Murphy?

BEHIND THE GALINDEZ CASE

35. Most of these pro-Galindez meetings are sponsored by a group calling itself the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. It might even be said that

every propaganda barrage against the Dominican Republic—including your theory—can eventually be traced to 67 West 44th Street, the association's headquarters.

The Inter-American part of the association's name is at least accurate. The leaders are also active in many other organizations supporting ultraliberal causes but when they don the hat of this group they are on the receiving end of a direct pipeline from the Caribbean.

That pipeline runs from Mexico City to San José, Costa Rica to San Juan, P. R., to 67 West 44th Street, and other addresses, in New York City.

The political spectrum undergoes a progressive change in each stage of that network. If you had checked, really done your extensive investigation, you would inevitably have come across that pipeline. Or maybe you did but did not recognize it for what it is.

Just for the record: Do you believe such clamor as you helped unleash against the Dominican Republic just happens? Do you think someone isn't trying awfully hard to create a stereotype in the American mind that Generalissimo Trujillo and the Dominican Republic should somehow be beyond the pale of concern as friend, neighbor, and ally? Do you have any idea for what purpose?

Why don't you trace that pipeline back and find out the facts—for yourselves?

36. Representative FLOOD has made this comment regarding those previously mentioned professional exiles who use the United States as a base to launch attacks against that country's neighbors:

"I believe that my country should be a haven, refuge, and political asylum for people from all over the world, but by the same token, that sanctuary must not be abused by those receiving such asylum, and enthusiasm for their cause must not be permitted to transgress upon the integrity of the sovereignty of this Nation."

Have you considered the possibility that such asylum is being abused? If the charges formulated by the international revolutionary movement are not true but have been wholeheartedly accepted by you would that not be an abuse of your confidence as well as a transgression against both our countries?

Without polemics, just consider the question academically. Would it or wouldn't it?

37. Do you reject the validity of Representative FLOOD's statement: "I am concerned with its (communism's) skillful process of infiltration in this country and in the Central and South American areas."

Do you believe prima facie and without extensive investigation that I am crying red herring? Or do you think Representative MULTER might be right in saying "we ought to have more information" on the ramification of the whole affair?

Finally, don't you think that an unshakable confidence in one's own knowledge and omniscience is an expensive luxury to indulge at this period of the world's history?

38. Herbert Philbrick, nationally famous expert on Communist subversion, has noted the increasing tendency of Communists to form united fronts with non-Communist elements. Orders have been issued, he says, to "Intensify the campaign to establish united fronts and alliances with the left wing forces in America toward a 'united party of socialism.'"

He quotes the party line as laid down by top United States Red Eugene Dennis: "We can have only the most positive approach to all honest socialist and Marxist-oriented groupings and individuals; whatever our differences may be on certain tactical and programmatic questions."

"Toward the accomplishment of these ends," the ex-FBI agent continues, "anti-anti-Communists, 'one-worlders,' 'neutrals,' and leftists of all stripes including multitudes whom the Communists themselves have succeeded in confusing, are being wooed as never before on all fronts and in every sphere of human activity and endeavor."

Mr. Philbrick points out that the Communists are making every effort to have their causes backed by "sponsors who are demonstrably non-Communist * * *"

I'm not saying you're Red, or even pink. I do say that the "groupings and individuals" who have cooperated with you in hurling your theory of Galindez' disappearance at my country do not hesitate to use international communism—or any other force—in their drive for power. I think you were deceived, that what you thought was a journalistic coup was no more than what Representative KEARNEY has labeled a "gross fabrication."

Are you going to reject the above statement "prima facie"?

39. Representative ANFUSO has warned: "In these critical times when the United States is engaged in a death struggle against a common enemy which threatens our very existence, we cannot discard or insult an ally without positive and justifiable cause."

You are sure, then, that you have—really have—a "positive and justifiable cause" to present the "theory" that you did, and in the way that you did?

40. Is it not true that this present assault by slander against the Dominican Republic has been successfully implemented as a bandwagon operation?

That is, for a variety of reasons many oddly motivated elements have joined in these denunciations? Do you disagree with this statement by the Senate Internal Security Committee: "Front organizations enable the Communist Party to mobilize what appears to be a body of public opinion outside the party in support of their campaigns, projects, legislation, or demands. In many cases the statement of such an organization is printed by the press without investigation."

When you initiated what has become a program of campaigns, projects, legislation, or demands aimed at the Dominican Republic did you consider that bandwagon effect on the press and on various political elements? Is that what you planned—or did someone else?

Moreover, I don't think you'll deny that the Life-launched bandwagon as pushed into Congress has had strong impact on the Department of State. Isn't it a fact that such a statement as the following made by Congressman Porter:

"(Life's theory) inevitably leads one to suspect an element of collusion between some United States officials and the Dominican regime somewhere along the line * * * does not force the State Department—always hypersensitive to congressional criticism—to go out of its way to make an issue of the Murphy case in order to disprove the charge of collusion?"

41. Now let's go back and check your statements concerning Galindez:

"There he [Galindez] came to hate and fear Trujillo and had to flee again." Check it, Mr. Galindez merely moved on to the greener pastures of New York City.

"When Galindez dropped from sight, his friends and Trujillo's foes raised a great outcry." Very true, of course. But don't you think that statement might warrant a little unbiased study from a new angle?

Do you see anything significant in this statement by Porter: "His sensational revelations, endorsed as a doctoral dissertation from an American university would take on a prestige that similar disclosures in journals or books, however accurate, would not possess." Porter was, of course, speaking of Galindez, Columbia University, and the book that was the mainspring of the previous propaganda campaign against Trujillo.

The newspaper for which Galindez was a columnist has presented one theory: "Knowing that Galindez' book had already been submitted to the university for publication and that Galindez alive could no longer cause harm to Trujillo, they (Trujillo's enemies) decided to kill him, in order to put the blame on the Generalissimo. * * * One police chief says privately that he backs this theory."

Correct or incorrect: Columbia University gave the book attacking Trujillo prestige; Galindez—vanished—gave it publicity and "assured the sale of at least 100,000 copies?"

You, of course, have Galindez kidnaped from the subway on his way home. On what grounds do you refute general police opinion that Galindez returned to his apartment but left again immediately to keep a mysterious appointment?

Do you find it strange that a note telling the authorities to look for his kidnapers in the Dominican Republic, signed ostensibly by Galindez, suddenly appeared on top of Galindez' desk after his apartment had twice previously been searched by police and the Bureau of Missing Persons?

Who do you think alerted the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom that a propaganda offensive against Trujillo was going to get under way?

Investigators have turned up evidence proving that Galindez did not write the original book "Era of Trujillo." He rewrote it. Would you be interested in following this up?

42. As you say, "Gradually speculation about it faded from newspaper columns. Then in December a second man disappeared—this time in the dictator's own capital, Ciudad Trujillo."

So, according to Porter, "in the minds of those who know and understand the methods of Trujillo, the story of Gerry Murphy's mystifying disappearance began to add up."

True. Those minds began to add up a story as soon as the news of Murphy's disappearance was spotted in the Dominican press. It afforded a pretext for a renewal of Operation Galindez. Do you think those minds were grateful for your cooperation?

43. Do you have any comment on this statement on kidnaping by Senator JAMES EASTLAND, of Mississippi:

"We have evidence in our files that Iron Curtain countries, notably Soviet Russia, have used their U. N. delegations as a base for illegal repatriation of refugees. * * * With almost unbelievable audacity (Soviet agents) defied the authority of the United States by the use of bluff and deception."

The Galindez kidnaping or murder was obviously the work of highly skilled professionals. Which agents are most expert in such operations? Who stands to gain most from driving a wedge between the United States and the only stable government in the turbulent Caribbean? Is it possible that those minds through bluff and deception have made a big step toward realizing that goal?

44. Do you know that the Dominican Republic has twice before been the target of this type of propaganda assault? Twice before, 1947 and 1949, the campaign was coordinated with Communist-inspired attempted armed invasion. Would you like proof of that statement? Do you think it possible that the present smear campaign is to be used as the backdrop for another such move, possibly in the economic field?

45. Inasmuch as your theory of the kidnaping of Jesus Galindez could have been pieced together by anyone literate enough to read a newspaper, you may want to make a sincere effort to see justice done, to determine Galindez' fate beyond all doubt, even if you cannot make the Dominican Government the kidnaper.

In line with this thinking, Representative BARRATT O'HARA of Illinois, states:

"There should be the same fair treatment afforded nations in the protection of their reputations as under our concept of American justice we accord to individuals."

Do you think it possible you can "accord that same fair treatment" when the Dominican Republic is concerned?

Until now, of course, as El Diario de Nueva York notes: "The publicity given to the anti-Trujillo accusations has been so enormous as to drown out the voices of certain people—including high-ranking police officers—who hold contrary views."

I believe it is not unfair to say that you have saddled yourself with the burden of presenting proof in the Galindez case. Don't you think you owe it to your readers—if not us—to back off a bit and perhaps study the Galindez mystery from a less rigid perspective.

You are probably quite aware that any lack of anti-Trujillo bias by Life or any other individual or publication is an invitation to immediate smear attack. As the Diario de Neuva York can well testify:

"The opinions prevailing in certain circles are so strong that he who tries to express his views objectively is attacked by the anti-Trujillo people."

Is objectivity too much to expect from you?

46. You conclude: "But with the Galindez-Murphy-de la Maza cases Trujillo seemed to have given unprecedented ammunition to his enemies." Have you thought of the possibility that that unprecedented ammunition is more in the nature of what military ordnance men call a shaped charge—a shaped charge fabricated by the enemies of both our nations?

Do you think that the unprecedented ammunition, that shaped charge which you fired against us might just possibly be aimed more at the people of the United States than at us?

In short, haven't you been a bit trigger-happy?

Sincerely,

JUAN ARCE MEDINA,
Attorney at Law.

Even Our Secretary of Agriculture Should Be Able To See We Can't Come Out Even With Egg Prices Like This

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Marvin Nilson of Twin Valley, Minn., pointed out in a letter to me on egg prices: "Even our Secretary of Agriculture should well be able to see that we can't come out even with prices like that."

Under leave to extend my remarks I request permission to insert this letter in the RECORD.

TWIN VALLEY, MINN., *July 12, 1957.*

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: At the present time we are getting 24 cents a dozen for No. 1 eggs—the price has been as low as 19 cents. Even our Secretary of Agriculture should well be able to see that we can't ever come out even with prices like that.

I can quote these prices for the following towns in this vicinity: Twin Valley, Fiom, Ulen, Ada, Hendrum, Halstad, Mahnomen, Waubun, Moorhead, Hutterdahl, Hawley, and Gary, so you can see how unhappy we all are with the situation.

Sincerely,

MRS. MARVIN NILSON.

I Am An American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, as national cochairman of the Helios Foundation and I Am An American Day Committee, I would like to call the attention of the House to the 20th annual I Am An American Day held on May 19, 1957.

Because many of the Members of the House and the Senate are sponsors of this organization, I will be brief in my remarks, but feel that new Members will be interested in the history and objectives of this organization.

This event was first celebrated in May 1938 prompted by Mrs. Paul d'Otrenge Seghers, native of Poland, founder-president of the Helios Foundation. At her instigation, the movement is now observed throughout the Western Hemisphere and is motivated by a desire to cultivate American ideals and better understanding among mankind.

I take the liberty of quoting a few of the messages received by the committee at the recent celebration from leaders here and elsewhere:

From Jose Luis Cruz Salazar, Ambassador of Guatemala:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your very esteemed letter of April 27, 1955, in which you attached a copy of the letter which you addressed to His Excellency, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, President of Guatemala.

"There is no doubt but that the celebration of I Am An American Day will form another link in strengthening and uniting the countries of the Americas.

"Thanking you for your courtesy, and with renewed expressions of my esteem."

F. Antonio Rizzuto, Buenos Aires, Argentina:

"He tenido el agrado de recibir su muy atenta carta del 18 del actual, en la que me informa de la celebracion del Dia Yo Soy Americano, en el mes de mayo de cada año.

"No puedo negarme a aceptar el ofrecimiento que usted me hace en nombre de la señora Bronislawa Seghers, presidenta y fundadora de la Helios Foundation, en virtud de mi intensa labor panamericanista. Nadie mejor que yo puede ver con gusto y satisfaccion inciativas de este indole.

"Le agradezco la distincion que me hace y quedo a sus ordenes, esperando mayores detalles al respecto.

"Saludo al senor alcalde con mi mas distinguida consideracion."

Embajada DePanama, Washington, J. J. Vallarino, Ambassador:

"Thank you for your note of April 27, enclosing copy of a letter to His Excellency the President of Panama with reference to the celebration of I Am an American Day.

"I sincerely believe that the decision of the Helios Foundation to dedicate its 19th annual celebration to the Latin American neighbors and friends is of great significance in furthering closer friendship, better understanding and mutual cooperation between the states of this hemisphere and also believe that the decision taken by the Helios Foundation should have a far reaching effect, the good results of which it is impossible to estimate at present.

"I wish to extend my most cordial congratulations to the Helios Foundation for their decision and best wishes for a very successful I Am an American Day celebration throughout the American States."

From the Presidency of the Dominican Republic signed by Hector B. Trujillo Molina:

"The initiative adopted by the Helios Foundation in dedicating the celebration of the 19th anniversary of I Am an American Day to the Latin American countries constitutes a warm and heartening recognition of the mission of the men and women of America.

"To be an American implies, in the first sense, the militant conviction that America should be the common country of all the peoples which make it up. Therefore, to defend the liberties and independence of our continent, strengthening its solidarity and collaboration, both politically as well as economically and socially, contributes, by virtue of our example, to the realization of the universalist fate of America, not only among ourselves but also in the world.

"It pleases me, therefore, to know that the Helios Foundation looks with this transcendant vision at the noble objectives which it has laid down, in such a way that it is for me particularly pleasing on the occasion of the 19th anniversary, to send you a message of warmth and congratulations in the name of the people and the Government of the Dominican Republic."

A message from Poles in exile:

We Poles, filled with gratitude and love for the country which in our greatest need in life, has embraced us and opened its doors to us—bow our heads in deep humility before the Stars and Stripes—the symbol of freedom.

May we also take this opportunity on this I Am an American Day dedicated to the ideals of America, to express our pride that one of our sisters, Bronislawa Seghers, who came to these shores 34 years ago, immediately recognized the importance of preserving and cultivating the ideals upon which this democracy was founded, and out of her grateful heart originated the I am an American Day, now observed throughout the entire Western Hemisphere. That this 20th observance is being dedicated to the millions of people throughout the Western Hemisphere and captive European nations is very gratifying and we send all of those sponsoring this noble work and those in bondage, looking to us for liberation, our prayers.

We finally want to join in again expressing our loyalty, our faithfulness, our readiness to live, to fight, and to die—if necessary—for the protection of the flag of the United States.

For the Poles in exile: Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski, Dr. and Mrs. Bohden Nagorski, Mr. and Mrs. George Szczerbinski, Ambassador and Mrs. Michael Mascicki, Gen. and Mrs. Wladyslaw Bortnowski; Prof. and Mrs. Oskar Halecki.

A message from the curator of I Am an American Day Museum:

"In 1938 an idea was born in the West Hills of Long Island where Walt Whitman first saw the light. Today the widespread appreciation of being an American proves the importance of the inspiration of this idea. When I Am an American Day was conceived by Mrs. Paul d'Otrenge Seghers, who keenly felt the depth of such privilege, few others realized as she did the urgency of its need.

Mrs. Seghers has through her I Am an American Day programs supplied the drive of a great force for the preservation of the things we Americans cherish. Heritage is lost if traditions die. Our sacred rights, our American way, must be protected for us and those who follow.

"I am proud to be a charter member and to have taken part in all of these patriotic activities since their inception.

JESSE MERRITT,
Historian-Curator.

Hon. Fred J. Munder, county judge of Suffolk County, N. Y., founder-member of the Helios Foundation and cochairman of the day:

"For 20 years I have had the privilege of participating in the observance of I Am An American Day at Sunnyhill Farm. The origin in 1938 of this observance was the result of the hope of Mrs. Paul d'Otrenge Seghers.

"To preserve American doctrines, we must be ever alert. I know of no better way to remind all of us in our great Western Hemisphere of the need for this awareness than through the continued observance of I Am An American Day, being dedicated this year in unity with our valued friends, the Latin American Republics and the Dominion of Canada, to the 100 million people in the 9 captive European nations."

Cardinal Spellman's message for I Am An American day:

"From the very birth of our country all her varied peoples have lived and worked together to make and keep our country consecrate. Yet we, their heirs, have often failed to put the proper price upon the precious things of life our forefathers and sons bought for us with blood. Freedom is one of these. But freedom is not a treasure which, once possessed, cannot be lost, and it will be lost for us and for our children and their children unless it is cherished, defended and preserved as it was fought for and won.

"Liberty is God's gift to America and faith in God is America's might. May God bless America."

From Hon. Edgar F. Hazleton, Surrogate, Suffolk County, N. Y.:

"Here at Sunnyhill Farm where in the spring of 1938 I am an American Day was born, we foregather each May to take stock, as it were, of Americanism, but at this 20th annual I Am An American Day observance, we are fortunate to welcome and honor our true and loyal neighbors of the Western Hemisphere, the 21 Latin American Republics and the Dominion of Canada, into our group of freedom-loving Americans, express our admiration for their cultures and their great contributions to the world of science and the arts. I know that their old traditions combined with our new way of life, will fortify the existence of our all-American unit and out of this a firm mutual appreciation and strong path toward an everlasting peace, in the world, at large, will be cemented.

"A dream long dwelt upon amounts to prayer, and prayer wrought in faith comes true. So has it come to pass that the vision of prayer of Mrs. Bronislawa Seghers, to fix in the minds of our people the dignity and meaning of being an American, celebrates its 20th anniversary here at Sunnyhill Farm, where I Am An American Day was conceived and born."

DeLesseps S. Morrison, mayor of the city of New Orleans:

"Today the meaning of I am an American takes on new significance. Oftentimes the men and women of the North and South American Continents have felt that the meaning was I am an American in the United States. But, through the unity and brotherhood with which we are ever widening our efforts in the United States and New Orleans, La., we find more and more that we are Americans together. We have a common heritage for we all fought for our independence. We all came to this New World in pursuit of a new and better life. And here we have established a vision that our mother countries now hasten to add to their own ways of life. We are united in one heritage, one belief, and one thought. A thought that finds expression throughout the United States and the Latin American neighbors. Together we lift our voices to proclaim in unit, I am an American.

Rt. Rev. James P. DeWolfe, bishop of Long Island:

"You have the assurance of my prayers for God's blessing and guidance to be with you in every endeavor.

"May I take this opportunity to extend my good wishes for the complete success of the observances."

Robert D. L. Gardiner:

"I heartily endorse I Am an American Day as it is an annual reminder to everyone in the Western Hemisphere to thank God for the great privilege and all the blessings that go with being an American."

Mort S. Cox, manager, Hot Springs Chamber of Commerce:

"The observance of I Am an American Day means much to us in Hot Springs National Park, particularly because of your many delightful visits here with us. May the acknowledged benefits derived from the healthful hot waters of Hot Springs National Park continue to be yours to give you strength and health in your work of cultivating American ideals and better understanding among mankind.

"Our thoughts are with you, with best wishes on the occasion of your 20th I Am an American Day celebration."

Hon. Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture:

"It probably rarely occurs to many of us that people from the tip of the vast continent of South America to the Arctic Circle, and on many of the offshore islands of this hemisphere, can proudly say, 'I am an American.'

"As Americans, as the people of the New World, we own lands in every climate, vast mountain ranges, mighty rivers, magnificent cities, and endless reaches of fertility on which are based all our riches, agriculture. But we own more than that. We own and cherish dearly-bought freedoms of the individual.

"We can give thanks in many tongues for these blessings, but in spiritual solidarity, when on May 19 we celebrate I am an American Day throughout this hemisphere."

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States Representative to the United Nations:

"May I extend all good wishes for a successful observance of I am an American Day. This 20th observance should do much to help American citizens reaffirm faith in their heritage of freedom."

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield:

"The 20th anniversary of the observance of I am an American Day deserves the full support of every American as well as the citizens of our good neighbors in Canada and the Latin American countries.

"I am glad to join with my fellow postal workers in this expression of hearty endorsement of the ideals of I am an American Day. It is our prayerful hope that the mutual understanding and trust existing between the countries of the American Continents will continue to flourish."

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson:

"I am an American Day is designed to bring democratic values and responsibilities into clear focus. It is an occasion also for honoring all those who, by coming of age or through naturalization, have attained the status of citizenship.

"I hope that the splendid objectives of this 20th annual observance will be realized this year in gratifying measure.

"This commendable movement, which originated on May 31, 1938, at Huntington, Long Island, deserves official recognition."

Rev. William J. Dunne, S. J., president, University of San Francisco:

"I would like to express my great admiration for the splendid work you are doing through the Helios Foundation and particularly the spreading of I Am an American Day. Never have we had a greater need for emphasis upon the blessings we have received in the United States of America.

"I am proud to have met you who originally undertook this work. I pray God to grant you many years of good health and spare you for these important tasks."

Mayor Floyd A. Housley, of Hot Springs, Ark.:

"The citizens of Hot Springs National Park, Ark., America's oldest Federal reservation, join me in sending this greeting and encouragement to you on the occasion of the 20th annual celebration of I Am an American Day.

"We know your stay and treatments in Hot Springs have benefited you in previous years. We earnestly pray that the waters of this world famous resort make possible your continued work and presence at many, many more I Am an American Day celebrations.

"From all of us, best wishes."

Senator FRANCIS CASE of South Dakota:

"I am glad to learn that the theme for the 20th anniversary of I Am An American Day is 'peace with freedom and justice for all.'

"Eventual attainment of the objective so well begun will ultimately result in bringing to all peoples the peace for which they yearn and hope. To the people over whom the Iron Curtain has fallen this anniversary gives a ray of hope on a distant horizon. Our prayers and willingness to help will encourage them once again to strive for that freedom which was lost."

Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN, of Vermont:

"I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the many persons who are endeavoring to make the 20th annual observance of I Am An American Day a successful program dedicated to our neighbors in the Dominion of Canada and in the 21 Latin American nations.

"In a very real sense we are all Americans sharing in common heritage of freedom. We should do all within our power to help improve relations between these countries, and at the same time make for strong unity of purpose on international problems.

"The interchange of students, journalists, scientists, and leaders in other walks of life is a valuable tool for improving relations. The Helios Foundation is to be commended for fostering this exchange work that is making closer bonds of understanding between the people of Latin America and North America."

Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, of Ohio:

"Military solidarity and the maintenance of cordial relations between the people of the United States and the people of other countries of the Western Hemisphere are essential in the worldwide struggle against atheistic communism. I hope that the 20th anniversary of I Am An American Day will strengthen the bonds of personal friendship and military unity which are so essential in the global fight for freedom."

Senator FRANK A. BARRETT of Wyoming:

"I read with a great deal of interest the efforts of your organization to contribute to a better understanding and friendship among the peoples of the United States and other republics of the Western Hemisphere. May I commend you and your organization for striving toward such a lofty goal.

"It is through such organizations as yours, having for their purpose such unselfish principles as better understanding and increased friendship among nations, that the free world continues to remain free."

Message from Gen. Frederick M. Waterbury, national cochairman I am an American Day Committee:

The auspicious day when Bronislawa Seghers became a citizen of the United States started a chain of reactions for all present and future citizens. She had suffered cruelly at the hands of Communists—physically ill and heartsick. She had groped through fogs of every kind of frustration.

The only tangible asset left her was the comfort of spirituality—that never left her. And because she must rise from this horrible depression, she found solace and comfort, in her aloneness, in the voice which spoke to her, recalling that she is an American.

It was then that I am an American penetrated into her subconscious mind, consoling her, in spite of all her tribulations and sorrows. She then conceived the idea of having a day set aside for all Americans to rededicate themselves to the ideals of their country. The sympathetic and generous thought for others who too could find uplifting courage in the realization of I am an American encouraged her and brought about the first I Am an American Day at this memorable spot at her home, Sunnyhill Farm, Huntington, Long Island, in May 1938.

It is now being observed throughout the Nation, and each citizen can proclaim his thankfulness and pride in the ringing words, I am an American.

Today, Mrs. Paul d'Otrenge Seghers, the founder of I am an American Day is still devoting her entire life to spreading a great appreciation and love for her adopted land—America.

I Am an American Day message from Tiburcio Carias, Jr., Ambassador, permanent representative of Honduras, to the United Nations:

The word "pan-Americanism" already has an illustrious place in the annals of the history of nations. Pan-Americanism is a potent appeal that has transformed the horizons of human aspirations in an entire continent. Yet we must confess that lapses in the practical application of these high aspirations have frequently been observed.

This is why the praiseworthy purposes of the Helios Foundation, as revealed by the tireless, constructive, and imaginative work of its originator, Mrs. Paul d'Otrenge Seghers, and her coworkers in the foundation, merit the admiration of all who labor for the intensification of our spirit of collectivity and toward a more impulsive fervor in our pan-American consciousness.

Those in the Americas who must be practical as well as idealistic, should begin by encouraging the extension of genuine patriotism so that its sentiment embraces not merely one area but the entirety of our hemisphere. Should this enlightened goal be accepted, we would see progress in our movement toward a supreme continental well-being.

When the lavish measure of our geopolitical potentialities are not only recognized but placed in their proper perspective, then the scope and dignity of this majestic conception will have produced its own reward.

In a world flooded by dark prophecies which confuse the spirit of mankind, we must not be discouraged by the complexity of our problems, but must, on the contrary, strive to conquer our apathy in resolving them.

Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE:

"It gives me great pleasure to commend the Helios Foundation as it observes the 20th annual I Am An American Day. Our country has need of such organizations which cultivate American ideals and traditions and which work to promote better understanding among the peoples of the world. It is my sincere hope that the leaders of Helios will continue this inspiring program which this year recognizes our kinship to the citizens of the Dominion of Canada and the 21 Latin American Republics."

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY of Massachusetts:

"It is gratifying that on this 20th anniversary of I Am an American Day we in the United States can join hands with our neighbors to the north and our neighbors to the south to the very tip of the southern continent in celebration of a common heritage and a common goal. And in both the inheritance which we share and the goal to which we are together dedicated there is one word which stands above all others—and for which we can be thankful above all—and that is: peace. Rich is our heritage; great be our goal."

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee:

"It is a pleasure for me to participate in the I Am an American Day celebration of the Helios Foundation.

"The ties between the nations of the Western Hemisphere have shown the true spirit of brotherhood by trading together and living together in peace for many years."

Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California: "I am happy to send a message of greetings on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of I Am an American Day, sponsored by the Helios Foundation.

"A great deal has been done in the past few years in creating a better understanding and friendship among the people of the United States and our neighbors to the north and south. The Helios Foundation has played an important role in this effort. The importance of personal contacts and friendship on an international level should never be forgotten and cultural interchanges amongst the countries of North and South America should be greatly encouraged."

Senator CHARLES E. POTTER, of Michigan:

"This year we celebrate I Am an American Day on the theme peace with freedom and justice for all. Not only should we observe this day with reverence, but we should carry uppermost in our minds and hearts our thanks that we enjoy peace and freedom every day of the year. While we treasure peace with freedom for ourselves, we must hope and work toward that day when all men of all countries will enjoy the same blessings that we as Americans enjoy."

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois:

"Best wishes in your every endeavor to advance the cause of this country through the I Am an American Day observances. It is an excellent way to dramatize our duty, our interest and our devotion to this great Nation in a feverish world."

Senator STUART SYMINGTON of Missouri:

"I Am an American Day 1957 is an occasion to be proud of the energy, the ability, and the cooperation of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

"As a Nation, we are confronted by the growing menace of communism striving to destroy those freedoms and rights for which Americans have fought so valiantly. This is a time for all of us to be alert.

"Even in our freedom loving countries, there are prejudices, unemployment, slums, and areas of distress. The elimination and cures of such weak spots are goals which we should seek .

"Above all, we must stand strong in defense of our freedoms. We dare not relax our vigilance, lest we find ourselves with only memoraies of the greatest of all civilizations."

Senator RALPH E. FLANDERS of Vermont:

"I was glad to learn from your letter of recent date of the proposal to mark the 20th anniversary of I Am an American Day on May 19 and to have it dedicated to our neighbors to the north and to the south.

"It is most unfortunate that we who are citizens of the United States seem to have taken to ourselves the designation of American. There are two Americas, North and South. The people who live to the south of us in Latin America, all the way to Cape Horn, are all Americans. We have a common pride and a common interest. Anything which extends that interest and draws us closer together makes better Amercians of us all.

"I congratulate you on your efforts toward this end."

Senator FREDERICK G. PAYNE, of Maine:

"The efforts of the Helios Foundation to cultivate American ideals and better understanding among mankind have my hearty endorsement on this, the 20th anniversary of I Am an American Day. Dedicating the day this year to the countries of the Western Hemisphere is a fitting tribute to, and reminder of, the free interchange of good will which American neighbors enjoy.

"The Americas provide an excellent example to the entire world that free nations can exist in peace and harmony. It is my hope that your program will serve to focus attention on the brotherhood of the Western World; that it may be a beacon of hope to the enslaved areas of the world—areas where totalitarian communism today deprives millions of people of their liberty and freedom."

Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, of Maryland:

"It is most appropriate that the 20th anniversary of I Am an American Day be dedicated to our freedom-loving neighbors. The fine spirit of friendship between the nations of the Western Hemisphere has set a notable example for the entire world.

"We cannot, however, rely entirely upon these accomplishments of the past. All peoples of the Western World must strive continuously to protect our common ideals of freedom and foster the development of even better understanding and mutual respect.

"I am confident that the program of the Helios Foundation will have a significant and lasting effect on the achievement of this essential goal."

Jacques Leger, Ambassador of Haiti:

"Je me fais le plaisir d'accuser reception de la lettre du 28 avril ecoule sous couvert de laquelle votre Honneur a bien voulu me transmettre copie de celle qu'elle a addressee le 26 du meme mois a Son Excellence Le President de la Republique d'Haiti.

"Je remercie Votre Honneur de cette courtoise communication qui a recu ma meilleure attention.

"En retour, je me fais le vif plaisur de l'assurer que la Republique d'Haiti, tout comme les austres Republiques Americaines auxquelles echoit le privilege de se voir consacrer le XIXeme anniversaire de I am an American Day, saura accueillir avec enthousiasme une telle initiative et al recommendation qu'elle inspire.

"Partageant l'ideal de la Fondation Helios, le Gouvernement de mon Pays ne manquera pas de s'associer a son herureuse initiative dictee par le loyable souci d'aviver le courant de sympathie qui existe deja si heureusement entre l'Amerique Latine et les Etats Unis.

"Veuillez agreer, Monsieur le Maire, les assurance de ma haute consideration."

Miguel Angel Campos, Ambassador of Cuba in Washington:

"I take this occasion to congratulate you on such a worthy and commendable undertaking, and I wish you every success."

From the Capital de Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico:

"Recibi su amable carta de fecha 18 de abril de 1955 en la cual me invita para que sea miembro del Comite Interamericano encargado de la celebracion del Dia Yo Soy Americano.

"Gustosamente acepto su cordial invitacion y le ofrezco mi mas decidida cooperacion para que la celebracion de ese dia sea un rotundo exito interamericano.

"Espero de usted que me envie las instrucciones pertinentes para yo poder desempenar

cabalmente mis responsabilidades como miembro de ese Comite.

"Con mi mas profundo buen deseo por sus continuos exisito, quedo."

Embajada Honoraria de la Cuidad De Nueva Orleans, Asuncion, Paraguay:

"Complazcome en acusar recibo de su atenta de fecha 18 del corriente mes, en la que me extiendo una cordial invitacion para sea uno de los miembros del Comite Interamericano, encargado de la celebracion del dia Yo Soy Americano.

"Acepto can el mayor gusto su amable y gentil invitacion pudiendo contar desde ya con la colaboracion entusiasta de mi parte.

"Hago propicia este oportunidad para saludar of Senor Alcalde con mi mas alto y distinguida consideracion."

Antonio Ruiz Galindo, Mexico, D. F.:

"He tenido el gusto de recibir su grata carta de 18 del presente mes, con su atenta invitacion para que sea el suscrito uno de los miembros del Comite Interamericano encargado de la celebracion del dia Yo Soy American.

"Agrdezco muy sinceramente su invitacion y solo quisiera que tuviera usted la bondad de decrime en que debe consistir mi cooperacion para el objecto de que se trata.

"Quedo en espera de sus letras y con muy afectuosos saludos, aprovecho la ocasion para repetirme su afectisimo atento amigo y seguro servidor."

A. D. P. Heeney, Ambassador of the Dominion of Canada:

"We are most gratified that the celebration is being dedicated to Canada and the Latin American Republics. I wish you every success in this neighborly enterprise."

Victor Andrade, Ambassador of Bolivia:

"I want to congratulate you for the decision to celebrate the 18th annual I Am an American Day celebration to the Latin American Republics. This action shows the true and strong hemisphere position adopted by the city of New Orleans as well as the Helios Foundation."

Manuel Resumil Aragundo, District Governor of Santo Domingo:

"Tengo recibida su atenta carta del 18 de abril ultimo por la cual tiene usted la gentilesa de hacerme la mas cordial invitacion para que sea uno de miembros del Comite Inter-American encargado de la celebracion del Dia Yo Soy Americano.

"Estimo muy plausible el proposito que animo a la senora Bronislawa de Seghers, al crear la Helios Foundation, y con el proposito de prestarle la cooperacion que este a mi alcance, le agradeceria remitirme los estatutos y reglamentos que rigen dicha organizacion a fin de estar mejor edifacado y poder ofrecer una mejor colaboracion.

"A agradecerle la fina cortesia que ha tenido al extenderme la invitacion aludida, saluda a usted muy atentemente."

Enrique Bustos, Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul General of Chile:

"Congratulations and best wishes on the ninteenth annual I Am an American Day celebration and your wonderful work."

Jorge Hazera, Ambassador of Costa Rica:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 27, 1955, addressed to Ambassador Facio who is retiring from his post, and transmitting a copy of the neighborly proposal you have sent to President Figueres concerning the possibility of dedicating the third Sunday of this month as I Am an American Day thereby extending to the inter-American level the celebration established and observed yearly by the Helios Foundation on a national plane.

"We have become accustomed to the awareness that you never fail to demonstrate of the importance of promoting good neighborliness and good partnership among the peoples of the hemisphere and congratulate you on this new evidence of your feelings."

Joao Carlos Muniz, Brazilian Ambassador:

"Thank you for your letter of April 27 regarding the observance of the third Sunday in May as I Am an American Day.

"Please accept our best wishes for this excellent initiative in promoting stronger bonds of friendship and culture between nations of the American Continents."

Senator MILTON R. YOUNG, of North Dakota:

"Thank you very much for your recent letter concerning I Am an American Day. This is certainly a very worthwhile project. During these days of international crises and ill feeling, it is more important than ever that the freedom-loving people of the world coordinate their efforts to the advancement of real democracy.

"The activities of your I Am an American Day cannot help but foster warm relationships between the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and the Latin American Republics to the south. As we continue our interchanging of ideas and work together on mutual problems, we cannot help but advance the common cause of freedom and good will.

"Mrs. Seghers; pursuant to your request, I am pleased to enclose an autographed picture. I hope and trust this will be satisfactory. Thank you again for writing."

Senator IRVING M. IVES, of New York:

"On this 20th anniversary observance of I Am an American Day, I am tremendously gratified by the news that this significant occasion is being dedicated to our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere.

"The citizens of the Dominion of Canada and the citizens of the 21 Latin American Republics share with us in the Divine blessing of peace and progress. It is most desirable and appropriate that they join with us in an appreciation of the liberties and opportunities that have ennobled the common history of the North and South American Continents.

"And as we share in these blessings and seek to measure up to the responsibilities they bring with them, let us join also in prayer that the millions of less-fortunate human beings behind the Iron Curtain may someday—and God grant that it be soon—have equal cause to rejoice with us in man's long struggle to unfetter the human spirit."

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, of Washington:

"I am happy to hear that the Sunday, May 19, observance of I am an American Day will witness an extension of this significant ceremony to our neighboring nations to the north and south of us. It is good to know also that Ambassador Dr. Carias of Honduras has accepted the chairmanship of the expansion in Latin American countries.

"But a moment of reflective thought on the part of each of us, whether in North or South America, is required on May 19, or any other day, to reaffirm the great heritage which is ours through American citizenship. However, the same reflection strengthens and renews the conviction and realization that our full responsibility is not realized until we have bent every effort to guarantee others those privileges and dignities which are ours.

"I am happy to enclose the autographed photograph which you requested.

"My best wishes for a most successful observance this year."

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG, of Louisiana:

"I appreciate having the information contained in your recent letter regarding the forthcoming celebration of I Am an American Day. I am convinced that your program is very valuable, and I sincerely hope that it will enjoy continued success."

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota: "On Sunday, May 19, we will all celebrate I Am an American Day. I welcome your decision to dedicate the day this year to our Canadian neighbors to the North, and our Latin American neighbors to the South.

Nothing is more important to a continued and increased exchange among the peoples of the Americas. The benefits to ourselves and to the world are incalculable.

Best wishes, and good luck to you in your endeavors."

Senator FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho: "It is a pleasure to respond to your request that I contribute a message to be published in your forthcoming 20th anniversary program.

"The true spirit of brotherhood, which is the heart of Americanism, has validity for the hemisphere, as it does for the Nation, the neighborhood, and the world. In your efforts to propagate this spirit, I wish you well."

Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS, of Utah: "Congratulations to the Helios Foundation as it prepares to celebrate its 20th anniversary of I Am an American Day which is dedicated to the propagation of Americanism each day of the year among all of the peoples on the American continent.

"Best wishes for your efforts in keeping with this honorable ideal."

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, Alabama:

"In this great country of ours, it seems to me that every day could appropriately be I Am an American Day. It is well, though, to designate a specific day to take stock of the many blessings that we enjoy simply because we live in America.

"And it is appropriate that we dedicate this day to our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. By working together, and maintaining friendly relations, these nations can be mutually beneficial in promoting the well-being of each of us. We can form a strong bulwark for individual freedom and for our national security.

"Two great Americans—President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull—working together as a team recognized this fact. I am delighted that the wise policies which they set forth have been followed by their successors.

"I am glad to assure you that I will work for an even better understanding by the people of my own country and those of the other republics of the Western Hemisphere."

THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Senator of California:

"The many bonds between all of the republics of the Western Hemisphere will be tightened and made more meaningful as I Am an American Day takes on international significance.

"This annual observation has done much to build unity in our own Nation. The peoples of all countries in this hemisphere share a common heritage, in that each nation was built by emigrants from the Old World who joined with the inhabitants in forming new governments and affording broader opportunities for rewarding lives in the true spirit of freedom and democracy.

"I commend the Helios Foundation for its steps in improving the relations between all Americans regardless of nationality."

Senator HOMER S. CAPEHART, of Indiana:

"Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to participate in I Am an American Day.

"It occurred to me that your slogan Peace With Freedom and Justice For All, was particularly appropriate this year and I join with you and millions of others in expressing the hope that the freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain may regain their independence in the not-too-distant future."

Senator Earle C. Clements, of Kentucky:

"Peace With Freedom and Justice For All, is a completely appropriate theme for the annual I Am an American Day program.

"A peace that would mean enslavement of the bodies and souls of freedom-loving peoples of the world would be a living death. As we work toward peace in the world, we must ever be on the alert to guarantee that the rights of all people to life, liberty and the pursuit of their own happiness shall be safeguarded."

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, of Washington:

"It is only fitting on this 20th I Am an American Day that our theme should be Peace With Freedom and Justice For All.

"We need to remind ourselves today and every day that there are vast areas of the world where people are not free.

"This is especially true at a moment when the new turn in Soviet foreign policy is in danger of obscuring the fact that 100 million freedom-loving peoples are still captive behind the Iron Curtain.

"We say to the world: If the Soviet Union really wants to show good faith, it can return to these peoples the freedom that once was theirs. This is an important message to tell the world. But this alone, is not enough.

"Equally important, we must continue to protect and strengthen our freedoms at home as a symbol of hope for captive peoples everywhere. And we must pledge our untiring efforts to help free them from their bondage."

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon:

"I am happy to join my colleagues who have written you in their commendation of your idea of dedicating I Am an American Day this year to all the peoples of North and South America. I think it is a splendid idea thus to celebrate the long-standing friendly association of the two hemispheres and to reaffirm the American ideals of peace and freedom which we hold in common."

Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH of New Jersey:

"I am happy to send these words of greeting to the Helios Foundation on the occasion of the 20th I Am an American Day.

"It is with special gratification that I note this year's theme, Peace With Freedom and Justice for All, and the tribute your group is paying to the millions of captive people behind the Iron Curtain.

"We must never cease our peaceful efforts to restore to those people the freedom, independence, and self-determination they once enjoyed before their subjection to Communist totalitarianism."

Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia:

"The 25th anniversary of I Am an American Day is a most appropriate time for every citizen of the Americas not only to render thanks for the blessings of constitutional liberty but also to pledge his devotion to the cause of protecting that liberty.

"The United States desires to cooperate with our neighbor democracies in this effort but, in my opinion, the most important service we can render them is to continue to provide a successful example of a republican form of government.

"The genius of this system lies in constitutional guaranties of the kind set forth in our Bill of Rights and the careful balancing of powers between Federal and State Governments and among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Federal Government.

"While these remain intact we can concentrate our efforts on combating communism and similar threatening ideologies. If they are nullified by allowing one branch of the Government to usurp the functions of another, our greatest danger will be from within our own land and we will be headed toward the destruction which overtook attempts at democratic government in ages before our own."

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, of Montana:

"I am tremendously gratified that the Helios Foundation is dedicating I Am an American Day to our northern and southern neighbors and becoming a Western Hemisphere movement. It is a step toward international solidarity, oneness, and brotherhood which mankind must achieve.

"The Helios Foundation is making a great contribution through its work and activities."

Senator JOSEPH H. CLARK, of Pennsylvania:

"Thank you so much for your letter concerning the preparations for I Am an American Day.

"It is fitting that the 20th anniversary of this program should be dedicated to our good neighbors to the north and south. The understanding and mutual respect that exists between the United States and Canada on the one hand and the Latin American republics on the other is something for which we are all grateful and may well be proud. We must encourage and further this spirit of cooperation.

The Helios Foundation and the I Am an American Day celebration have my best wishes for continuing success."

Gov. Earl K. Long, of Louisiana:

"This is to extend my congratulations to the Helios Foundation for its sponsorship of I Am an American Day on Sunday, May 19, 1957.

"It is fitting and proper that those of us who are citizens of so great a country as America should from time to time pay tribute and reflect upon those great ideals which have made this country what it is today. Americanism, with its many meanings to many people in our country, signifies a single ideal and way of life that is known by all of us who have lived to enjoy the wondrous freedom and liberty which is ours.

"Because of my strong feelings on the subject of Americanism, I am most happy to extend my greetings, and wish the foundation great success in the celebration of this year's I Am an American Day."

Senator GEORGE SMATHERS of Florida:

"I am happy to join in paying tribute to the 20th anniversary of your I Am an American Day.

"The great harmony and the atmosphere of cooperation which has been created throughout the Americas is an example of strength in unity to the entire world. I think it is fitting that a day be set aside each year on which we focus attention on the feeling of Americanism, which is such an important part of our lives every day of the year. There is no greater cause than the continued strengthening of the ties among American nations and the foundations of freedom which characterizes our relationships."

Senator EDWARD MARTIN of Pennsylvania:

"I was greatly pleased to learn that the 20th anniversary of I Am an American Day has been dedicated to strengthening the bonds of friendship which unite our Republic with Canada and the Latin American Republics.

"The cordial relations which happily exist among the Nations of the Western Hemisphere are a powerful influence in support of our mutual devotion to the ideals of liberty and independence. Patriotism finds its highest expression in the love of freedom which every true American holds to be a divine endowment—an inalienable right bestowed by God upon all mankind.

"As we observe I Am an American Day I am happy to salute our American neighbors of the north and the south and join with them in prayer that all our people may be brought closer together in understanding and cooperation for peace, progress, and prosperity."

Senator KARL E. MUNDT:

"We who are fortunate enough to live in the Western Hemisphere should take the occasion offered by I Am an American Day to thank almighty God for the blessing of freedom and self-determination, which we enjoy under our systems of elected governments and we pledge ourselves to the eternal task of protecting our institutions of freedom against foreign ideologies which have brought unhappiness and human slavery to so many human beings.

"In no other area of the world, save our Western Hemisphere have so many people for so long enjoyed the peace and progress provided by our democratic processes. The very term "American" has become recognized around the world as being synonymous with the rights of self-determination, private ownership, and a reward of merit system which permits people to move forward and upward in conformity with their aptitudes, ideals, and strength of character. Here we recognize no hereditary rules and we refuse to yield our freedom to dictators supporting themselves by one party political machines which permit no opposition and deny the cherished freedoms recorded in the Bill Of Rights of the Constitution of the United States. We seek to impose our system upon no other country but we deny to none the right to emulate if they choose and to profit from the experiences and examples available here on the Western Hemisphere. The association of countries in the Western Hemisphere comprise a family of progressive people determined to protect themselves against all invasions from abroad, either military or ideological and eager to help like-minded people everywhere attain the rich rewards available through operation of government based on free enterprise and upon free elections."

Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER, of Louisiana:

"Please feel free to use my name as a sponsor in your observance of I Am an American Day.

"The efforts you are undertaking are deserving of deep appreciation by all our people. I am particularly pleased to note that you have decided to dedicate your forthcoming celebration not only to Americans of the United States and Canada, but also to our fine allies and loyal friends of the Latin American Republics.

"It has been my privilege to travel extensively among the South and Central American nations. Truly, our Latin American friends offer us great hope for the future. Their lands are rich in resources, their cultural backgrounds are admirable. Only their economic development has lagged. Unfortunately, the United States, as a nation, has sometimes ignored the possibilities for mutual assistance which these underdeveloped lands offer us. While we have extended the hand of friendship to them in the past, and have been richly rewarded for our efforts, I believe we should now embark upon a comprehensive and unselfish program of assisting these lands in raising their living standards and improving their ways of life.

"This undertaking, we must make clear, is not motivated by greed or avarice. Rather, it must advance in an enlightened manner, investors must not exploit; they must help develop. A fair share of the profits obtained from any operation in the Latin American countries should be reinvested in those lands. Fortunately, the policies of past exploitation have given way to bona fide development. This must be our policy in the future as well.

"The United States of America is a technically advanced nation. Our know-how, if shared in a friendly spirit and combined with Latin America's resources, can bring this hemisphere an era of plenty which even the most visionary of our leaders cannot today envision.

"Please accept my best wishes in your endeavor; it is an honor for me to have my name associated with your 20th I Am an American Day celebration."

Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island:

"There will be a thrill beyond the confines of our continents as you dedicate I Am an American Day to our neighbors to the north, from whom no fortress separates us; and our neighbors to the south, to whom we are joined by the finest ties of friendship.

"I say that the thrill will reach far and wide because we draw our cultures, north and south, from other continents to which we bear such close kinship that we begin to understand the essential unity of mankind with a common origin in God and a common destiny in human dignity.

"Add to all this the fact that the proud title "I Am an American" belongs to us all—

north and south—but the pride of possession is also an obligation—not only to be grateful for the opportunity that America has meant—but to share its blessings with a world which is drawn closer—people to people—as time and space no longer build a wall of selfish separation."

Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, of New Mexico:

"May 19 is I Am an American Day. On this day we publicly proclaim the best freedom of the individual in the world today. So long as there is one island of freedom and security in the world, it will represent a hope and a haven for all those who want this sanctuary."

Tolls and the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, knowing of the congressional interest in the St. Lawrence Seaway, and particularly as it affects the Great Lakes area, I thought my colleagues would be interested in reading this very appropriate editorial which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on Sunday, July 14:

TOLLS AND THE SEAWAY

Mr. Seaway—Dr. N. R. Danielian of Washington—is worried. Ever since early spring he has been expressing apprehension over what inflation is doing to the great St. Lawrence waterway project.

Danielian, who was lead spear carrier for the seaway from the early 1940's on, has now reached the stage of saying it will not pay for itself and will have to be operated at a deficit. These things he told a Capital audience Wednesday.

Directly opposed in views is Lewis G. Castle, Administrator of the Seaway Development Corporation. His prime job, along with Canadian counterpart organization, now is to set tolls. And Castle breathes optimism. Despite the fact that the estimated annual costs of operating and amortizing the seaway have skyrocketed from $15 million (a 1953 figure) to $28 million over a 50-year period, Castle insists user tolls will still cope with everything.

Well, as the nurse sang in South Pacific, Castle could be a cockeyed optimist. To be of any value, the seaway must be used. There's no sentimental value attached to it, no waving flag which commands business to employ this new transportation alley. The seaway is just another cold-blooded dollars-and-sense proposition. Potential users, who advise and counsel with Danielian, are saying they'll go right on doing what they've done before if toll rates are set too high.

There's sound ground behind their argument. Why should they be asked, much less required, to underwrite inflation and the mistaken estimates of both the Seaway Development Corp. and the Corps of Army Engineers?

It can also be reasoned fairly that there should be no tolls at all. We taxpayers underwrite vast improvements on the inland waterways (notably on the Ohio River and upper Mississippi) for reasons of the general welfare and national defense. Millions are allotted for dredging the Delaware above Philadelphia, too.

The international passages at the Soo, the Cape Cod Canal, and between Seattle and Vancouver—all these are operated as free facilities. Is not the seaway a greater defense asset than all these?

Of course it will be. But we do not ask that tolls be abolished. It's just that they must be set at the level which encourages the greatest number of users and still be fair to other modes of transportation. And, if this means a partial Government subsidy, then what of it?

The railroads and east-coast ports will scream; let them. There are satisfactory ways of settling this thing, such as extending the seaway's amortization period beyond the 50-year deadline. There might also be a moratorium on tolls for the first few years until the operation shakes down.

In any case, there must be a decision on toll policy soon. Shipping companies have their plans for new vessels pegged on tolls. Cities are holding dock projects in abeyance until action is taken. So are industries who hope to locate on the Great Lakes standing by.

No one can possible justify spending hundreds of millions for a facility that won't be used. There is a limit to what can be placed on the users' shoulders, and that surmounts any so-called moral obligation to make the seaway self-liquidating.

Pay TV Trials Should Await Approval by Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD a letter which I forwarded to Federal Communications Commission Chairman John C. Doerfer on July 8, 1957, urging that the Commission refrain from conducting proposed field demonstrations of subscription television unless express approval is first obtained from Congress. The text of the letter follows:

JULY 8, 1957.

Hon. JOHN C. DOERFER,
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOERFER: I have been following with great interest and some concern the progress of the Commission's current proceedings in docket No. 11279, looking to the introduction of subscription television. Although more effective use of television in the service of all the people is a worthy purpose, it is imperative that no expedient be adopted that will impair the traditionally free television system authorized by Congress.

Since the television spectrum is a limited natural resource belonging to all the people, the interest of the public in its exploitation must always be paramount. Now the Commission contemplates diversion of a portion of the spectrum frequencies hitherto devoted to free television to the service of television for a price. If it were reasonably clear that, as its proponents claim, subscription television would supply new financial resources and supplemental programming to support the present system, and that it would not withdraw broadcasting stations and spectrum frequencies from their present service in television (as might be the case if the new service were limited to newly constructed stations and unused channels), the proposed experiments would merit wholehearted support.

Present indications, however, militate against the achievement of these goals and give rise to the danger that improvident experimentation with subscription television may permanently frustrate existing national objectives for a nationwide and competitive free television service.

First, as the recent report of the House Antitrust Subcommittee found, critical television station shortage already contributes to the obstruction of these national objectives. The Commission itself has stressed the time-consuming character of allocations problems. These problems have not to date been solved. Second, restrictive industry practices leading to concentration, also noted by the Antitrust Subcommittee, remain to be corrected. Third, the Commission has not yet received the report of its own network study group with respect to television industry problems.

Introduction of subscription television, even on an experimental basis, before these problems are solved, must not only further delay their solution, but may bring in its train a number of disastrous consequences. Stations to which the television audience is accustomed to turn may be blacked out for those who cannot or do not wish to pay, thereby impairing the utility of viewer-owned receiving equipment; the best existing programs that the public is accustomed to receive without charge may be siphoned off; the trend, noted by the Antitrust Subcommittee, toward the monopolization of outstanding talent may be accelerated; the television audience may be divided along economic lines; and a method of broadcasting will be inaugurated, having such an unparalleled builtin profit potential that it may drive free network television as we know it from the airwaves.

These dangers, of which the Commission is well aware, contain such a grave threat to the public interest in television that no action authorizing even the experimental diversion of television frequencies to the use of subscription television should be taken without the express approval of Congress.

Fundamental questions of law and of public administration combine to dictate this result. In the first place, the communications act does not, of course, expressly authorize pay television. Rather, an underlying purpose of the act is regulation that will make communications systems available, so far as possible, to all the people. The expedient under consideration by the Commission would not only divide the public into economic classes with reference to their eligibility to enjoy the benefits derived from exploitation of a public resource, it would introduce a method of spectrum utilization for which Congress has provided no clue of approval nor any framework of regulation.

The perplexity of the problem as to the Commission's authority under existing law to authorize and regulate subscription television is highlighted in the Commission's Notice of Proposed Rulemaking of February 10, 1955, and in its Notice of Further Proceedings of May 23, 1957. In the earlier document, the Commission propounded the following questions of law:

"A. Whether the Commission has the authority under the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to authorize and regulate subscription television operations.

"B. Whether subscription television constitutes broadcasting within the meaning of section 3 (o) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended; and if it is not broadcasting whether subscription television constitutes a common carrier or other type of service, and whether the Commission has authority to permit subscription television to employ channels assigned to television broadcasting.

"C. If, under the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the Commission does not have the authority to authorize and regulate subscription television, what amendments to the act would be required in order to permit the Commission to authorize and regulate such a service?

"D. What rules and regulations of the Commission would have to be amended in order to permit the Commission to authorize and regulate subscription television operations?"

In reply the Commission received many briefs and statements of law, but these appear to have left the Commission uncertain as to the answers to a number of important questions. Thus, in addressing the NARTB convention in April 1957, former Chairman McConnaughey stated:

"We have difficulty in knowing just what it (subscription television) is; it's not quite a common carrier, yet it has many attributes of a public utility."

In its Notice of Further Proceedings the Commission declared its inability at this stage of the proceedings to classify subscription television under the Communications Act or to say whether it is broadcasting or something else.

Predictably, subscription television will not take the form of a common-carrier operation. Such classification would be inconsistent with broadcaster responsibility for programing and with the avowed object of producing superior programs.

Existing law provides no basis for regulation of a non-common-carrier public utility. No such enterprise was within the contemplation of Congress when it passed the Communications Act. Classification of subscription television as a public utility other than a common carrier would thus require firsthand congressional consideration of such policy matters as rate and financing control and program responsibility.

These problems are not solved if subscription television is classified as broadcasting. The question then remains whether the Commission must permit subscription television to compete without limitation with existing broadcasting and, if so, whether this would stack the deck against the survival of the latter. A further question is whether the Commission's existing licensing authority alone is adequate to assure competition and program responsibility on the part of subscription television broadcasters. Past difficulties of the Commission in bringing network practices within the ambit of its regulatory influence, and the extensive litigation required to establish the authority of the Commission's chain broadcasting regulations are well remembered. Subscription television would subject added and more complex relationships to regulation under the Commission's already burdened licensing authority, namely, as the Commission has pointed out, relations between subscription program producers, distributors, community franchise holders, television stations, manufacturers, and distributors of encoding and decoding equipment, and the public.

In light of the complexities and basic departures from established practice inherent in the regulation of subscription television, the Commission's refusal prematurely to classify the proposed technique is prudent. The same cannot be said for the Commission's conclusion, stated in its notice of further proceedings that it does have the statutory authority to authorize the use of television broadcast frequencies for subscription television if it finds that it would be in the public interest to do so. The Commission states that it believes that this authority falls within the powers conferred on the Commission in the Communications Act for licensing the use of radio frequencies.

The statement of this far-reaching conclusion in the face of uncertainty as to the classification of subscription television under the act and without any indication as to why or how the Commission reached it it disturbing because the notice of further proceedings implies that the Commission is considering, or would under circumstances satisfactory to it, consider embarking upon widespread authorization of the use of subscription television without seeking express congressional approval.

For the Commission to make its authority to license frequencies the sole basis for authorizing so radical a departure from existing methods in television would be to stretch the licensing authority to its very limits, if not beyond them. Even if ultimately held to be legally sound, the Commission's conclusion would assuredly be subjected to judicial test. Avoidance of protracted litigation is thus an added reason for seeking congressional sanction of such proposals as the Commission ultimately determines to be in the public interest, rather than embarking on a course that is likely to be fraught with waste and delay. Clarification by Congress in advance will not only assure a more accurate reflection of the desires of the people, but will also go far to avoid costly, time-consuming litigation and possibly corrective legislation.

These considerations apply as fully to experiments like the field demonstrations projected by the Commission as they do to full-scale nationwide authorization of subscription television operations. Such experiments involve the dilemma that if the trial is conducted on too narrow a basis it provides no information of value as to the ultimate effects of the method on trial, whereas if the demonstration is conducted on a basis broad enough to be meaningful, investments are made and interests tend to jell so that it becomes well nigh impossible to reverse the forces that have been set in motion.

Examples of such nonreversability are readily found in the history of television. In its 1941 report on chain broadcasting, for instance, the Commission stated that it would oppose network ownership of stations if it were deciding the matter ab initio. More graphic and more apt is the experience of the Commission in attempting to remedy its 1952 error in authorizing UHF broadcasting on a basis which permitted intermixture with VHF stations having established receiver-set circulation. Over the past 5 years, the Commission's concern with this problem has not provided an effective solution, and UHF remains on the critical list—with the Nation's hopes for a truly nationwide and competitive television system hanging in the balance.

The Commission has expressed full awareness of the dilemma involved in the proposed demonstrations, but states that it may be possible to avoid the objectionable results of either extreme. It is entirely proper for the Commission to pursue this happy mean, but it is necessary to recognize that experimentation on any meaningful scale will inevitably create interests and unleash pressures which, in comparable situations, the Commission has been unable to control. Such experimentation must therefore be regarded as potential commitment to a course from which there may be no return. The built-in profit potential of subscription television, arising from the fact that any charge for program reception would be many times greater than the present per set per program cost of program production, practically guarantees that an experiment that proves at all successful in terms of public acceptance will mean the withdrawal from free television of the channels and stations employed.

The potential effects of such withdrawal cannot be exaggerated. For example, one of the alternatives proposed in the Commission's Notice of Further Proceedings is that the demonstrations should be conducted in cities having four or more stations or services. On first impression this seems practical, but when it is recalled to what extent existing broadcasting depends upon the larger stations in the larger cities, the potential consequences of this proposal assume alarming significance. In 1955, 14 network-owned stations accounted for over 30 percent of all broadcast income before Federal tax of all television stations. The three network stations in New York City, alone, accounted for 15 percent of that income. The 9 network stations in the 3 cities (New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles) in which CBS, NBC, and ABC then each had a station accounted for 25 percent. Should experimental subscription television be inaugurated in one or more of these cities and prove successful, would not the networks become eager applicants for the privilege of using the new technique? Would the Commission have the capacity, or even a valid rationale, for denying their applications? Could networking as we know it survive the withdrawal of its most profitable stations? Such hypothetical examples could, of course, be multiplied.

In these circumstances, it is clear that the proposed demonstrations of subscription tlevision involve a calculated risk of such magnitude and with such vital implications for the future of television broadcasting that the decision whether or not to embark on them should be made by Congress and not by the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman.

H. R. 8609—Self-Expression for the Blind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, on July 9, 1957, I introduced a bill H. R. 8609 to protect the right of the blind to self-expression through organizations of the blind. That bill was inspired by a very real situation which is developing in certain areas throughout the country—a reluctance on the part of a number of agencies to recognize our blind as normal people, and to consult with them in matters which concern their welfare and affect their opportunities.

I would like at this time to insert in the RECORD a copy of a speech made by my administrative assistant which supports H. R. 8609. This speech was made on the occasion of the 17th annual convention of the National Federation of the Blind.

While Seward spoke as a Lion in behalf of Lionism, his remarks might well be made here, not only in behalf of my constituency, but in behalf of our entire blind population.

His speech follows:

TALK BY TIM SEWARD AT THE 17TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF THE BLIND IN NEW ORLEANS, JULY 6, 1957

It is a very special privilege to be with you here in New Orleans on the occasion of the 17th annual convention of the National Federation of the Blind. I am beginning to feel like one of your official family, since I have

had the pleasure of attending two of your State conventions and this is the second national convention I have visited.

By way of introduction, I might say that I am here today as a Lion—not to bring you a message from Lions International and not to officially represent the Lions Clubs of Washington, D. C., or the Capitol Hill Lions Club, of which I am a member, although that club has asked me to express to you their every good wish for a successful convention and to congratulate you on your splendid work. I came simply as a Lion in behalf of lionism, because lionism lives in the hearts of men the world over. It is something within ourselves that is subject only to broad definition, as our great patriots have given such eloquent definition to freedom and democracy. Lionism is something intangible. It is cloaked in qualities, principles, and ideals. Among other things, lionism stands for selflessness, understanding, and cooperation.

On this premise, we as Lions salute you of the National Federation of the Blind for the great job you are doing. The philosophies you have developed have given vitally to your programs, and purpose and courage to your membership. You have come a long way since the inception of your organization. I know this is manifested at not only national level but also at both State and local levels as well. For the past several years, and until I recently moved to Washington to serve on the staff of Congressman BARING, I belonged to a Lions club in Las Vegas, Nev. I am proud to be here today with the delegation from that State.

There it was our privilege to grow up with Southern Nevada Sightless, Inc., the southern chapter of the Nevada Federation of the Blind. I remember about 3 years ago when our club held a car raffle to raise funds to purchase a piece of equipment for the blind workroom. The same year the blind of Nevada held their annual State convention in Las Vegas. That year the Lions Clubs made the convention arrangements for them. It was suggested that every member of our club invite a member of Southern Nevada Sightless to be his guest at the banquet. It was of course our banquet and the blind were our guests. Nevertheless at that time they were thankful to us.

Last year the blind held another State convention in Las Vegas, but this time all of the arrangements were made without any assistance from the Lions and the work in perparation for that convention was done by the blind themselves. It was a good convention, and the Lions were invited to the banquet as guests of the blind. Last year Southern Nevada Sightless conducted its own White Cane drive and the Lions lent only a helping hand. I believe these 2 years contrast the changing attitudes toward blindness, which is due to your own efforts, and it shows progress within your State organizations.

I know there are still many of us who do not understand this progress, because we do not understand the purpose and the objectives of the National Federation. I know there are many sighted people who want to help the blind, but they want to do it in their own way. The do not know the difference between working for the blind and working with the blind. They would be charitable rather than understanding. They would be kind rather than cooperative. They still fell that the blind should be content with the things they have learned to do with their hands in their sheltered, subsidized workshops. They do not realize that blind people are perfectly normal people who simply cannot see. They do not understand that blindness is merely a physical nuisance. They do not realize that like everyone else, the blind want to live normal and useful lives; to marry; to raise families; to own their own homes; and to vote for those who will represent them in government.

To accomplish this end the blind are willing to fight for their right of self-expression, as individuals, and through their organizations. Yes, you who were born without sight and you who have lost your sight later in life have these rights as your birthright, because you are just as much citizens of this country as we who can see. I am afraid some of the workers for the blind might not agree with that statement. You are entitled to both social and economic equality, and to this your organization is directed. From the beginning of Lions International, Lions Clubs all over the world have felt a particular closeness to their blind neighbors. Then it was no problem to recognize the blind, because the blind were quite in evidence in every city, town, and country place. The blind beggar was folklore. Writers of the day characterized the blind as a symbol of poverty. In truth, this concept of blindness was simply a reflection of false attitudes. It was a misconception.

There have always been those among us less fortunate than others, who could not provide for their own needs and who were forced to beg for a living. They were not necessarily blind. But because there were blind individuals who were dependent on charity, Lions have become used to considering the welfare of these individuals their dedicated work. For the past 25 years Lions International has set aside a day each year to pay tribute to the blind. That day is called White Cane Day. Today there are few blind people on the streets seeking charity, and there are fewer blind individuals appealing to service organizations for assistance. Does this mean, then, that the blind and the Lions should now go separate ways? What is the relationship today between the blind and the Lions?

To answer these questions we might review for a moment your own progress. We know that for years groups of blind people have worked together to improve their opportunities. They have learned to read and write Braille. They have learned to work with their hands. They have learned trades and they have learned professions. In many places clubs and various types of organizations were formed. Officers were elected and responsibilities were assigned to the membership. Then in 1940 the National Federation of the Blind was established as the only national organization of the blind in the United States. It worked with the individual blind groups and organizations, and one by one these organizations have become a part of the national federation. Today, as you all know, the blind organizations of 43 States are affiliated with the National Federation of the Blind. Today the membership has swelled to approximately 40,000 active members. This organization fairly represents the blind because this organization is the blind.

In purpose, I would say that it is principally devoted to the task of correcting the misconception of blindness, and further to the rehabilitation of all the blind people of our country. Its philosophies are well known to all of you because, you are the national federation. It believes that blind people are essentially normal people and that blindness in itself is not a mental or psychological handicap. As I said, it is merely a physical nuisance. The federation knows that legal, economic, and social discriminations based upon the false assumption that blind people are somehow different from sighted people must be removed, and equality of opportunity should be made available to the blind; that because of their personal experience with blindness, the blind themselves are best qualified to lead the way in solving their own problems; that the general public should be made aware of those problems and should be asked to participate in their solution. In other words, in its philosophy the federation is not dependent, nor is it independent. It is interdependent. Within the framework of these philosophies we have today active, energetic, and purposeful organizations in practically every State in the Union, working toward the same goals and living the same ideals.

You, as members of various State organizations, are a part of that great effort. Through your work the blind have now taken their place in every segment of our national economy. There are in this room today eminent doctors, lawyers, educators, craftsmen, businessmen, students, and, I expect, statesmen. I did not say politicians. Many of you do own your own homes. Many of you are married and have families. All of you, I am sure, are capable of answering the question often put to the person seated by you—does he want sugar in his coffee? Yes, you are the blind of today. You are the ones who will provide opportunity for the blind children of tomorrow. Through your efforts they will have the same chance to attend our schools and our colleges as their sighted neighbors. They will be taught braille as a matter of course—not as a special privilege. It is you to whom we will come should we lose our sight as you have, and it is you who have taught us in lionism and in our communities to live together and to work together. Yet there are many problems you must still face. There are still many blind people whose only job opportunities are in sheltered workshops, and there are even some of these organizations requiring their workers to publicly voice their praise of their benefactors for giving them employment opportunities as a special privilege. I am sure this is not the equality of opportunity you seek.

I realize there are still Lions and even Lions clubs that do not know the National Federation of the Blind and do not know what you are trying to accomplish. I know there are some of us in lionism who feel that the blind are infringing on our rights by conducting their own white-cane drives, because, as I have said, the Lions for the past 25 years have honored White Cane Day. The white cane is a symbol of blindness, and what more understanding and true spirit of lionism than to return the symbol of blindness back to the blind and thank God they are able to carry their own banner.

Again, does this mean that the Lions and the blind should go their separate ways? I believe not. I believe we are on the threshold of a new era. I believe that it is time we better understand our relationship with the blind and to do that we must better understand the blind. We should understand that you not only seek but are entitled to both social and economic equality; that you are normal people and as such you have the right of self-expression is individuals and through your organizations; that both Federal and State agencies should consult with your representatives in formulating programs that concern your welfare, or further your opportunities. Most certainly no official of such agencies should exert his influence against your right to belong to an organization of the blind. To this end I believe we can work together as a team, and lend a hand when it is needed. I believe we can look with pride on the progress you have made. I believe that it is far better that we learn the purposes and objectives of your organization and help you accomplish them rather than try to steer you on a different course. In short, I believe we should work with you rather than for you, and this I believe is true Lionism.

Indiana University Curator Organizes Oldsters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I have previously mentioned the work of Dr. Frank Beck, who has become such a leader in trying to bring about conditions which will allow our older people to lead full, useful lives. The Borrowed Time Club, which he founded in Bloomington, Ind., has become widely known and used as a model for similar clubs throughout the country. He has served on the Indiana State Commission on the Aging and Aged, and recently accepted the position of curator of the chapel at Indiana University. His energy and vigor are an inspiration to young and old alike, and his ideas make him the subject of frequent interviews and stories such as the following which appeared in the Indianapolis Sunday Star, on July 14, 1957:

INDIANA UNIVERSITY CURATOR ORGANIZES OLDSTERS

(By Hortense Myers)

BLOOMINGTON, IND.—One of the country's greatest resources is being wasted at incalculable cost to the entire American Nation, in the view of an 85-year-old "borrowed timer."

Dr. Frank O. Beck, who recently began a new career as a chapel curator at Indiana University after retirement from Northwestern University, said in an interview:

"In the 70 years I have been around universities, I never knew a day when experience had as little value as it has today."

The short, lively, retired educator, who also is a Methodist minister, is founder of the Borrowed Time Club. The organization of some 200 oldsters developed from a meeting of 10 persons in his home at Bloomington, a university town of some 25,000.

The curator of the new Beck Chapel at Indiana University noted that by 1975 the national population will include 21,000,000 persons past the customary retirement age of 65. At present, nearly 14,000,000 men and women in the United States are more than 65 years old.

Dr. Beck said of this growing segment of society:

"We are the only leisure group that is not parasitic. We don't live off society. We have the largest contribution of leisure for local projects. Very often we can do better work than we ever did before—just not as much of it."

But busy Dr. Beck mourned that society is not making much effort to use the contributions of the over-65 group.

"I talked with a group of Chinese and Japanese students here at the university and asked them what they noticed about our Nation. They said it was our failure to get value from the aged.

"I don't want ancestor worship, but we are failing to educate our youth to see the value of maturity. As it is now, maturity has little chance in this competitive world until you do retire. All the pressure is to live up to certain standards. You get to retirement age, when these pressures no longer count, and the tendency is to sidetrack us.

Yet we are people who have done things, and can do things. Lots of people in their 60's and 70's have made great contributions to society.

Dr. Beck believes society will have to correct its entire attitude toward the aged to be able to use their contributions. He noted also, that current economic trends make it difficult for many persons to acquire enough income to retire on.

Beck stressed that the Borrowed Time Club is not a do-gooder organization nor does it want anybody to do anything for it. Members hold a monthly birthday party, complete with cakes, candles, gifts and entertainment.

"Old folks like to celebrate birthdays," he said. "We think of life as having a certain number more years. We are a fellowship. We have no constitution, no password, no handshake. Anybody our age can come. And we have no dues, just a birthday collection."

A few lonely, retired persons have moved to Bloomington on the strength of stories about this group of past-70 men and women who help each other take another hitch on life beyond the Biblican threescore and ten years.

But moving to a strange community is one of the errors Dr. Beck believes is being made at present by many retired persons.

The lively oldster, smartly dressed with a flower in his buttonhole, snorted:

"Homes for the aged are somebody's hobby—they are no solution at all, but an ugly step in evolution. And all these books on how to retire to Arizona, how to retire to Florida—misleading, that's all."

But Dr. Beck admitted:

"As the situation is now, there are places that offer opportunities not available in most of our hometowns. As long as old people can't find a suitable place to live in their own communities, they will be attracted to places where everything is done for the aged.

"We can't cut the grass any more or shovel snow. We can't care for a big house. Transportation becomes a problem. The services society gives must be brought to us—churches, libraries, stores, nurses, doctors."

The U. N. Hails a Cab

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial from the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass., on Monday, July 15, 1957:

THE U. N. HAILS A CAB

The United Nations has decided to make use of the greatest latent publicity force in New York—the city's 20,000 taxi drivers. This should help it reach one of its destinations—full popular support—in considerably less time than if it did all the driving itself.

The world organization on the East River is not exactly putting the cabbies to work as salesmen. It is merely inviting them and their families to take the tour of the U. N. buildings this summer—free.

This friendly gesture will serve, we hope, to cement good relations between the Organization and the gentlemen who more often than not drive visitors to its door.

We have heard of hackies grumbling to fares about how much the U. N. was costing American taxpayers. Now, in addition to finding out that the First Avenue headquarters is a fascinating place where a lot of very important, useful work is being carried on, we will expect those few misinformed cabbies to discover that the average American is assessed less than a good taxi tip to pay for his annual share of U. N. costs. About a dime, to be exact.

Overtime Ban Pinches Workers' Budgets; More Cutbacks Likely; Congressman Doyle Asks Air Force Secretary Why Navaho Missile Contract Canceled and Asks for Other Workload as a Necessity Against Community Chaos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I present the test of a very important and timely and significant article appearing in the Wall Street Journal, Monday, July 15, 1957, by one of the feature staff reporters of said valued publication.

Treating as it does especially about the matter of the aircraft industry in the Los Angeles area, and because it especially mentions the fact of the very recent cancellation of the Navaho missile project centered at the great North American plant at Downey, Calif., I feel it especially timely for me to present the text of two telegrams just received by me in connection with this cancellation several days ago by the Air Force.

The telegrams follow:

DOWNEY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Downey, Calif., July 13, 1957.

Congressman CLYDE DOYLE,
Congressional Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

The economic impact on North American Aviation Navaho Missile decision and related subcontractual cancellations by Air Force severe blow to community of Downey and surrounding areas. Urge Air Force Secretary Douglas' recommendations and $500 million investment in Navaho Missile be reevaluated from national defense and economic viewpoint.

DAN D. MACKENZIE,
President.
EDWARD W. KOEHLER,
Executive Secretary.

CITY OF DOWNEY,
Downey, Calif., July 12, 1957.

Congressman CLYDE DOYLE,
Congressional Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: We have been notified that the missile contract awarded to North American Aviation Co., Downey Branch, known as Navaho, is being cancelled out by Defense Department due to lack of funds. This will cause approximately 11,000 workers to be relieved of employment resulting in great economic stress to this community. For a city of 90,000 to have 11,000 unemployed would create economic chaos. I appreciate your assistance and any help that you can give to prevent this catastrophe. With best personal regards.

HOLLIS M. PEAVY, *Mayor.*

Mr. Speaker, I also herewith present the text of a letter by me dated July 15, 1957, to the Secretary of the Air Force in connection with this Navaho missile contract cancellation and its resulting chaos as identified by the honorable mayor of the important city of Downey in the great 23d Congressional District of California.

The letter follows:

JULY 15, 1957.

Hon. JAMES H. DOUGLAS,
Secretary of the Air Force,
Department of the Air Force,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Here are copies of two very, very important telegrams received by me as Representative in Congress of the great 23d District, wherein the important city of Downey, Los Angeles County, Calif., is located. Downey is also the location of the North American Aviation Navaho missile project, about which these telegrams are concerned. These notify me of the cancellation by the Air Force of the Navaho missile project and subsequent to receiving same I talked with the mayor of the city of Downey, Calif., and he informed me he believed the notive of cancellation was a great surprise.

I am now immediately undertaking to speak with you directly so that I may transmit to the officials of the city of Downey and the Downey Chamber of Commerce the fact I have spoken directly with you.

Realizing that you also comprehend something of the economic and total shock to the community and area—and the thousands of families, both adult and children, which this cancellation notice has already caused and will continue to increasingly cause, I solicit from you at the earliest possible moment (in duplicate, please), a comprehensive, clear-cut statement which I will immediately furnish to the community of Downey in order that you will be telling them the whys and wherefores of the cancellation of the Navaho missile project which it is now believed will throw out of employment almost immediately about 11,000 North American workers at the Downey plant alone (to say nothing of the resulting unemployment to several thousand other employees of auxiliary plants or subcontractors, etc.).

You will note from copy of telegram from the mayor of the city of Downey, amongst other things, he says, "For a city of 90,000 to have 11,000 unemployed would create economic chaos."

And now, Mr. Secretary, isn't there some reasonable basis of considered review of this decision on account of possible later discovered material factors which were not presented to your attention when this cancellation order was made? Or, Mr. Secretary, if such is not the case and that you presently continue to feel it is imperative and in the best interests of our national defense that the Navaho missile contract order with North American continue to be in a canceled status, isn't there some necessary and reasonable workload which can be immediately assigned to North American at Downey so that these appreximately 11,000 present employees of North American at the Downey plant (as well as the several other thousands of auxiliary plants) can be stabilized in their employment necessities?

And I know, Mr. Secretary, that you and your distinguished associates realize that for every North American employee presently about to lose his or her employment with North American, there are corresponding dependent families of adults and also minor children. This 11,000 unemployed then means 40 to 50 thousand dependents necessarily in a state of economic uncertainty and insecurity which logically results in a terrifically destructive and hazardous attitude and circumstance surrounding each of the families concerned; surrounding the total community and geographical area, including the merchants of all necessities of life, and conveniences also.

For these reasons, and all the other reasons, which I am sure you must take into consideration in making such major decisions of policy as you had to make in the Navaho cancellation, I earnestly solicit your earliest possible statement as above requested.

I have the honor to be
Sincerely yours,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

This Navaho missile, Mr. Speaker, I am informed has already consumed more than $500 million in expense and was designed to fly about 1,700 miles an hour. No doubt the contracting manufacturer had reason to believe, until the last several days, that the plant would receive another authorization of over $100 million on this contract which had already used about $700 million, I am informed. Thus it is that our Defense Department finds it necessary, expedient, and in the best interests of national defense, in their judgment, to make such radical changes in projects on account of the rapidity with which technical development produces radical changes.

This article by Mr. Bush in the Wall Street Journal, together with the cancellation of the Navaho missile contract in one of the great aircraft industry manufacturing centers of our Nation, to wit, Downey, Calif., again demonstrated how intimately the entire family life of American workers, in urban areas such as Los Angeles County, is increasingly dependent upon what happens in the field of our national defense manufacturing requirements, policies, and technological improvements and changes.

My letter to the Air Force Secretary, Mr. Speaker, but briefly sets forth some of my natural concern. I am sure that you and all of my other distinguished colleagues likewise comprehend the economic shock which definitely results in the 11,000 American workers' homes and families who will forthwith have no immediate source of income; to say nothing of the several other thousand employees in the related aircraft industry in that immediate vicinity who held gainful employment in that aircraft industry as result of the basic, prime contract between the Air Force and North American.

Would not it be an all-round magnificently sound assurance of much less such chaos in American industry if there could be agreed to and rigidly observed by the nations of the world a safe and sound disarmament policy which would logically result in more of the wealth of our Nation and the nations of the world being safely channeled into peacetime production and peacetime programs of daily life? Mr. Speaker, no doubt many other millions of people in our beloved Nation also daily pray and hope that out of the disarmament conference now in being in Paris there will come an agreed disarmament policy which will be safe and sound and likewise resultant in a defense budget which will not necessarily require such a huge portion of our total national budget each year. Believing as I do in an always present national strength and ability to resist any totalitarian aggressor, I nevertheless have my faith fixed toward a recognition of the soundness and the commonsense and the necessity too of their being agreed to and put into practical effect an international arms program which will also accomplish some of my hopes and prayers herein set forth; looking to the preservation of mankind and against the day of possible destruction of mankind by man himself.

The article follows:

OVERTIME BAN PINCHES WORKERS' BUDGETS; MORE CUTBACKS LIKELY—ENGINEER DELAYS BUYING RUGS, AIR COOLER; AUTO DEALER COMPLAINS OF A "BLIGHT"—LIVING ON A 40-HOUR CHECK

(By Thomas W. Bush)

LOS ANGELES.—Mrs. Al Ignatowski, wife of a Lockheed Aircraft Corp. engineer, only a short time ago was shopping for carpeting for the living room and dining room of the family's tract home in nearby Canoga Park.

Mr. Ignatowski was pricing a small air conditioner for the front room.

Then Lockheed handed Al some bad news. In two steps the company cut his work from 45 hours to 40 hours, ending a 3-year stretch of $25-a-week overtime pay. The cuts reduced engineer Ignatowski's weekly take-home check to $128.

PURCHASE PLANS DELAYED

"Our carpets and air conditioner were pushed way into the future," says Al, a veteran of 9 years with the big airframe maker.

Thousands of aircraft workers throughout southern California are giving their budgets the same hard scrutiny. They and the communities in which they trade are beginning to feel the impact of a recent Defense Department order chopping off overtime in military airplane building plants.

And the present belt-tightening is but a shadow of things to come. Aircraft industry officials expect a flurry of order cancellations, resulting in some unemployment and further reductions in workers' take-home pay. The Air Force last week canceled development of North American Aviation's Navaho intercontinental guided missile, a move which the company says will idle 10,000 workers. Overtime trimming and the prospect of more order cuts results from pressures on the Defense Department to pare its spending; the Air Force, largest of the military spenders, has been ordered to knock $1 billion to $1.2 billion out of its 1958 spending plans. Overtime cutbacks and the Navaho cancellation will save only a fraction of the spending that must be eliminated.

MORE COMPETITION FORESEEN

So far the main impact of the aircraft slowdown has been felt in southern California; the Navaho cancellation will hit the same area, since most of the work on the faster-than-sound missile was centered at North American's Downey, Calif., plant. Overtime has been reduced somewhat at some aircraft plants in the Southwest and East, but workers and the merchants they buy from haven't felt as great a pinch.

The slowdown also is expected to sharpen aircraft industry competition—with some big concerns bidding against smaller ones for subcontracting jobs—and stiffen union demands for higher pay. Already some union officials have said they'll bargain for pay hikes to make 40-hour pay envelopes as fat as the old overtime checks.

Overtime reductions and small cutbacks in employment so far this year have reduced earnings of southern California's 278,000 aircraft workers by an estimated $1.5 million to $2 million a week. Although total aircraft employment in this plane-producing

corner of the country is considerably higher than a year ago, the latest statistics available show May employment down about 1,000 from April. These figures, of course, don't take into account the Defense Department overtime order or the Navaho cancellation.

SAW HANDWRITING ON WALL

Some companies had started to trim work schedules before the order to end overtime. "We saw the handwriting on the wall in January," says D. M. Wilder, Lockheed's director of industrial relations. Lockheed, which employs 33,500 persons locally, estimates that its overtime cuts affected 10,000 to 11,000 persons who, Mr. Wilder says, "are getting an average of $25 per week less than they were before."

Convair division of General Dynamics Corp. reports that $366,000 has been lopped off its weekly payroll at a San Diego plant as a result of the overtime cut.

Jack Hurst, president of United Auto Workers, Local 887, says about half the union's 8,000 members in North American Aviation's Los Angeles airframe division lost varying amounts of overtime before and after the Government cut.

Douglas Aircraft also wes seriously affected, according to union sources. "A majority of our 14,000 members were making between $24 and $60 a week overtime," says Robert E. Roberts, president of the International Association of Machinists, District Lodge 720.

Shrunken pay checks are being pushed through the pay windows of smaller companies as well as the big ones.

"We've cut out all overtime except what's vitally essential," says an official of Ryan Aeronautical Co. near San Diego. "Before the cut we were working 25 percent of our 8,075 work force an average of about 10 hours a week overtime." These 2,000 workers draw about $92 a week for 40 hours; the 10 hours overtime previously added about $37 to their week's wages.

"The overtime cuts have been serious, because many of our people had been working overtime for so long they took it for granted and budgeted to include their expanded pay checks," says Machinist official Roberts. "We have been trying to get our members to budget for 40 hours' income a week," adds Mr. Hurst, "But they won't do it, especially if they can buy a TV set for nothing down except their promises to pay."

Individual workers are quite specific about the changes wrought by reduced overtime.

"I got cut 11½ hours a week," says Bob Anderson, a Douglas Aircraft jig and fixture builder. "It's costing me roughly $2,000 a years." Mr. Anderson says he's had to dig into savings to pay for a second car for which he'd signed a sales contract before his personal budget was trimmed. And now he's decided to get rid of one of the autos as he "can't afford both."

Leo Randall, another Douglas machinist, says, "I paid income taxes on $7,800 last year; this year I'll hit about $5,600."

In small communities clustered around the Los Angeles area aircraft plants retail merchants already are feeling the overtime cutbacks.

CUTTING THE GROCERY BILLS

"Our volume is off about 5 percent from 3 or 4 weeks ago," notes Donald McCleary, manager of Toluca-Mart, a supermarket near Burbank. "Since they can control their food budget, food is about the first thing they cut down on."

"Young fellows in my department who were hired as much as 3 years ago never knew what it's like to live on a 40-hour pay check," explains Engineer Ignatowski. "They made time purchases that takes as much as 40 percent of their income even though it's income over which they have no control. One of the fellows who rides to work with me has set up a rigid food budget. He eats eggs for breakfast 3 days a week, and 18-cent-a-box cereals the other days. Instead of steaks he has spaghetti and meat balls for dinner. His entertainment budget is wiped out."

There's only so much that can be cut out of the grocery budget, though, so many other types of merchants report sales declines that trace directly to the Defense Department order.

"There's a blight here; sales are on a level with a year ago, but a month ago they were a third ahead," states Ray Vane as he looks across the deserted showroom of his Inglewood Chrysler-Plymouth agency. Inglewood, hemmed in by North American, Douglas, and Northrop Aviation, is especially sensitive to aircraft workers' reduced buying power.

Mr. Vane says he hasn't yet had trouble with repossessions or collections, but he's taking steps to avoid credit troubles. "Our service department is going on a cash basis instead of opening new charge accounts." he says. The decline in new car sales has been accompanied by a 30 percent increase in service and repair business at Mr. Vane's garage. This means "people are fixing their old cars instead of trading them in on later or new models," he reasons.

BUY BONGOS, NOT RADIOS

"I hadn't had a red month in so long I could hardly remember what it feels like, but June was the worst month I've had in 2 years," says an official of another Inglewood auto dealership, Harvey Smith Oldsmobile. "Business was off a good 40 percent to 45 percent from earlier this year."

Youthful Mike Gallicchio, a partner in Mike 'n' Bob's record shop in Inglewood, notes, "We're getting the same number of people in here, but those who were spending $10 to $15 at a time are now spending $5 and $6. And those who spent $5 to $6 before the overtime cutbacks are now spending only a dollar or two. A lot of people tell us that it's really hurt them to live on 40-hour-a-week pay instead of 52 hours. We haven't sold nearly as many radios this season as we did last year at this time. People are buying bongo drums—a $10 item. But you have to sell three bongos to make up for one radio."

"Collections are anywhere from a week to 30 days slow, and sales are off about 10 percent from last year," says C. A. Ross, mustached manager of Joy's, a gift and jewelry store on Inglewood's Market Street. "People were buying gifts, expecting to pay for them out of their overtime earnings. Now that they're falling back on their regular paychecks, they come in and browse, but they don't buy."

Sales at A. B. & S. sporting goods in Inglewood are down 15 percent to 20 percent from a year ago, complains Albert W. Bogen, a partner. "This is a luxury business. If people don't have extra money they don't buy from us."

But elimination of overtime hasn't greatly affected collection and loan activities, according to lenders. A Bank of America official who handles small loans in the bank's Inglewood office reports a few requests to allow borrowers more time to pay back their obligations. However, loan delinquencies are unchanged from a year ago.

Further pay check shrinkage due to stretchouts or cancellations of contracts would bite deeper into the southern California economy. This would be especially true if cutbacks are extensive enough to affect the area's many smaller concerns who subcontract defense equipment. Subcontractors also fear new competitors.

BIDS FROM BIG FIRMS

"What we're concerned with is the stretchout, which may cause big firms to compete with small companies for subcontracting jobs," says John Marschalk, executive director of the Strategic Industries Association, a trade group representing 112 defense subcontractors. "In the past 48 hours 2 fairly large firms have bid on small subcontracts and have succeeded in taking them away from the small outfits."

The president of a Los Angeles company that produces components for the aircraft industry adds: "By the end of the year I expect our aircraft division to be closed out; I see no new work coming up for it."

To bolster individuals' earnings, unions are planning to ask for pay increases aimed at making up for lost overtime pay.

"Very likely we'll bargain for salary increases next spring to offset the overtime cuts," says Ritchie Payne, business representative for the aircraft chapter, an engineers' union representing about a third of Lockheed's 3,400 engineers in the California division at Burbank.

A spokesman for Machinist Lodge 727, which represents 16,000 Lockheed workers, adds, "We're going to gear our sights to higher wages to offset these cutbacks." The pattern of demands won't be set until fall, but "it'll be a sizable chunk," the spokesman adds.

The Sudeten Germans—The Policy of Illusions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, as I have done in the past, I wish again to insert in the RECORD an article on the Sudeten Germans sent to me by Dr. Walter Becher, of Munich, Germany, who is the secretary general of the Sudeten-German Council, and member of the Bararian Landtag.

The Sudeten Germans settled uninhabited border regions of Bohemia and Moravia more than 700 years ago. Here they founded cities and industries, contributed much to the cultural development of the countries, and for centuries lived in peace and cooperation with the Czech people. In the Czechoslovak Republic after 1918, the right of self-determination was given to the Czechs, but was denied to the Sudeten Germans, the Slovaks, the Hungarians, the Carpate-Ukrainians and the Poles, who made up the majority of the inhabitants.

Since Dr. Benes, the leftwing leader, made a pact with the U. S. S. R. in 1935, the Sudeten Germans have suffered oppression and misery; and since 1945 all adversaries of communism in Czechoslovakia have been suppressed, and the Hungarians and the 3.3 million Sudeten Germans, who constituted the main anti-Communist force in Bohemia and Moravia were dispossessed and expelled.

The Sudeten Germans now want to return to their homeland in freedom, and to live there under the full right of self-determination as neighbors of the Czech people. They want to contribute to the liberation of the enslaved nations in the East, to the Czech people, and to the fight for survival of the free world.

The article follows:

THE POLICY OF ILLUSIONS AND THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

THE POLICY OF ILLUSIONS

The West's policy of illusions is of an old date. It started with the recognition of the

Soviet Union before World War II, went high in the West's wartime cooperation with the Communists, and found its temporary peak in the secret agreements of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. In these agreements, the Western statesmen, in a naivity and childish-like trust toward the Communists, gave to the Communists the present positions of power. The illusions continued later through China, where Chiang Kai-shek was forced to accept Communists into his government because they were just "agrarian reformers," until China was completely lost, and it continued through Korea, where Americans were forced to fight with tied hands.

The policy of illusions experienced a decline in 1951 with the return of Douglas MacArthur and later with McCarthy's and congressional actions and revelations. This decline of the policy of illusions lasted until 1954 or until 1955, until the Geneva Conference.

At present, we are living in a period of a very flower of this policy of illusions again. This policy considers as its greatest wisdom to maintain that there is a genuine, real movement among the Communists in the East towards a "de-Stalinization" and liberalization of communism, toward "national communism," Titoism and Gomulkaism. This policy of illusions neglects willfully the fact that the international Communists are deceivers and that they can pretend anything, it neglects the fact that the real power of communism is the secret State security, the "invisible government" and that therefore changes on the surface are mere changes of puppets directed from behind the scene, which can perform any play necessary to fool the West. The policy of illusions neglects also grossly the Hungarian revolution which clearly proved that any Gomulkaism or national communism is a phony nonsense—that the subjugated peoples want a full, absolute freedom and that the road to this freedom does not lead through Tito and Gomulka.

PRESENT ILLUSIONS ABOUT GOMULKA

This policy of illusions sees the great example of the development toward de-Stalinized national communism, independent from Moscow, in Gomulka's Poland.

We have been told that Gomulka represents the yearnings of the Polish people, that he is a Polish statesman and popular hero, that the Polish masses are standing behind him. We are being told—and I have here in mind also the German press—that the Polish elections of January 1957 were held in a free atmosphere, that, as the distorted expression says it, "they were free within their scope" (Sueddeutsche Zeitung). We are being urgently taught that the West must give the Poles economic assistance in order that Poland be kept on its free way or even go on it forward. We are, at the same time, being admonished that this economic help must be made in such a manner that it does not endanger the relations between Soviet Russia and Poland. We are being taught, indeed, that we must strengthen the Polish Communist economy in the same way as the Soviet-Polish friendship.

We are being taught that in order to strengthen the democratization process in Poland, Germany should give up its eastern territories and recognize the Oder-Neisse line and set up diplomatic relations with that Communist Gomulka.

Parallel to this, we have been taught—by the German press too—that it is necessary to recognize Red China for membership in the United Nations, to give Formosa to the Red Chinese in order to win them over from the Soviet Union.

We are being taught the illusion that Poland can detach itself from Soviet Russia, though everybody knows that the Red army in Poland can direct and stop everything as it did in Hungary. We are being taught that we are giving aid to the Polish people (Sueddeutsche Zeitung) while we are giving it in reality to the Communist regime.

All these opinions are of the same kind, all these suggestions—economic help to Poland, as well as the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line, and the cession of Formosa—are of the same stock.

ILLUSIONS ARE COSTLY

As far as decent men are concerned, on whom this policy of illusions is being enforced, all these opinions have one support and ground. It comes from the illusion that we—Europeans and Americans and all free peoples—can preserve our freedom and, indeed, even liberate those presently enslaved by measures based on such illusions, without any sacrifice, very comfortably, in a lazy manner, and even with profit in trading with the Reds.

These comfortable illusions, we are being taught presently, are similar to those of World War II. The way in which we are being told that the Polish Communists want independence from Moscow, that they are de-Stalinized, national Communists—it is the same way in which we had been taught that the Chinese Communists were mere "agrarian reformers." These illusions can lead only to the final victory of communism and to our destruction. These comfortable illusions are in reality treasonable illusions. The policy of illusions is the policy of treason.

We have found this already about the past. It seems sure, that we again will discover in the future—in the case we still remain free in the future—that again treason was at work, that it is presently at work.

In the future, we will have to pay perhaps by our lives for this treason; by millions of lives. At present, we pay by our taxes. As long as communism and the threat of war exist, we will continue to do so at an ever increasing rate. There is no solution for this, as long as we keep on the road of the policy of illusions, because illusions must always be paid for.

Farmers Are Losing Their Pants With the Price of Eggs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, "Vertical integration in poultry raising is a reason for present low prices of eggs," Roy Fletcher, of Dent, Minn., writes me. The Haugen Bros. of Argyle, Minn., say they received 19 cents for grade A eggs for a few weeks, and the highest price this year has been 25 cents. John L. Radniecki, of Trail, Minn., one of my old and dear friends, says, "The egg-producing farmers are losing their pants on the price of eggs this year. I hope Congress can do something about it."

This trend runs through most of the letters I receive, even those regarding other subjects. Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert the letter from Roy Fletcher.

The letter follows:

DENT, MINN., *July 13, 1957.*

Congresswoman COYA KNUTSON.

DEAR MADAM: The price of eggs at present is 21 cents per dozen for No. 1, and the average price is 18 or 19 cents. Thanks to vertical integration in poultry-raising. This deal where the commercial feed dealer furnishes the feed and the farmer is left holding the bag. I think that is the greatest threat to the family-type farm, especially the diversified farmer. We will continue to have a surplus of poultry and eggs and no price until that is remedied. I will send you a detailed report on what I think should be done at your request.

Sincerely,

ROY FLETCHER.

Seely-Brown on Connecticut Towns' Contribution to American Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for leave to extend my remarks today, and it has graciously been granted, so that I may insert in the RECORD a portion of a speech which was made the other day by my colleague, the Representative from the Second District of Connecticut [Mr. SEELY-BROWN.]

The occasion of the speech was the centennial celebration of a town in his district, the town of Scotland, which just 100 years ago was incorporated by the General Assembly of Connecticut as the 158th town in the State in order of establishment.

We have in Connecticut, as many Members who are somewhat familiar with our State perhaps know, a number of towns that are named for famous cities the world over, such as Washington, Berlin, New London, Lisbon, Manchester, Canton, Bethlehem, and even Brooklyn, but we have only two towns named for countries, unless we count the Promised Land of the Israelites, Canaan. Those two towns are Lebanon and Scotland.

It was Scotland, in Windham County—population in 1857, 720; population in 1957, about 600—that on July 12, 13, and 14 commemorated the centennial of its establishment as a town, and it was at the principal ceremonies on July 13 that the gentleman from Connecticut, Congressman SEELY-BROWN was a speaker. All honor to Scotland on its hundredth birthday. But it was not that event alone which caused me to ask for permission to extend my remarks, but also and in particular the significance of the remarks made on that occasion by my colleague, and which remarks I ask to be presented herewith:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN SEELY-BROWN

Isaac Magoon, Scotland's first settler and who gave it its name would be proud if he could be here today, on the 100th anniversary of its incorporation as a town, because throughout Scotland's century as a municipal entity and for 157 years before that it has continued to be, as it was first intended, a community where every resident could enjoy to the fullest, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Let other towns boast, if they wish to do so, of the great growth of population that has been theirs through their history,

or let them rejoice in the flourishing industries, or the fine public buildings, or the great institutions which are inside their borders, but I think that every person who counts Scotland his home can be happy that here is a community that has enjoyed progress that still does not mean drastic change, and the fact that Scotland's population is about the same today as it was in 1857 when the general assembly incorporated it as Connecticut's 158th town is a measure of the durable virtues that obviously are abundantly present in the people today as they were a century ago.

Years ago I selected Windham County as the spot I chose to call home for the rest of my life, and the place to live and to bring up my family, after an opportunity to see and to enjoy many other fine sections of our country. The early history of the towns of this county, yours and my own and all the other 13, always has had a particular fascination for me, and this has been true especially since I have had the opportunity to serve you in public office.

My own town of Pomfret had been settled only 14 years when Isaac Magoon established this settlement here within the town of Windham, and Pomfret had been incorporated as a town only 19 years before Scotland was organized as a parish in 1732, continuing as a part of Windham until it became a separate town of 1857. Others more scholarly than I, and better versed in local history than I, will review some of the illustrious facts from Scotland's past, but it is naturally of interest, not only to all who live nearby but to every passing traveler, that here in this town of Scotland General Rochambeau's army camped for a time, during the American Revolution, on its way to reinforce the hard-pressed Continental forces.

I think it is particularly interesting, too, in the light of present-day efforts to develop more and more employment opportunities here in eastern Connecticut that according to your own town records, manufacturing began here in 1706 when Josiah Palmer was given water rights on Wolf Pit Brook to "set up a mill, he building the same within 3 years and ditching and damming there as he thinks needful on the commons, not to damnify particular men's rights."

It often has been said of Connecticut that its greatest exports through the years have been men, men of character and ability, who gave their strength to build greatness in other parts of this country, and Scotland, of course, has had a share in this, both before 1857 and since then, but I would like to mention just one thing in which Scotland has played a typical part, not because of the works or the efforts of any one man, but because of the type of community that it is, a small town in Connecticut that glories in being small but independent.

What I am referring to is the part that Scotland has played, and that of every other Connecticut town, in giving to the United States of America one of the most important devices of government that has helped to make our country the greatest in the world.

This was the introduction into the Constitutional Convention of 1787 of the "Connecticut compromise," which proposed that one body of the Congress was to represent the States, and the other was to be representative of the people, by districts. The body that represents the States, of course, is the Senate, and every State has two Senators and only two, whether it be Nevada, which has fewer people than the city of Hartford, or New York, which has a larger population than many of the sovereign countries of the world. The body that represents the people by districts is the House of Representatives.

This whole idea was taken from Connecticut, where the idea has been in successful operation for more than 2 centuries.

Here it is the Senate that represents the people by districts and it is the House of Representatives that represents the towns. The next time you hear some well-intentioned but poorly informed person urging a Connecticut constitutional convention so the "basis of representation" of the House of Representatives can be changed, you will be on sound ground if you will plead that the best that Connecticut has in its past and in its future, like the best that our country has in its past and in its future, so far as self-government is concerned, can be credited, in part at least, to the marvelous balance established in our Constitution, and which promotes freedom and progress at the same time.

I extend my sincere felicitations to every son and daughter of Scotland, including alike those who are here today and those who may be far away. While your centennial celebration is an event of greatest interest to your community and to your neighbors, I am sure that the true significance of this event will not be minimized by any person who is proud of Connecticut's great past and hopeful for a long and even greater future.

What Is Life Really Like in Red China?—Firsthand Report by GI Returnee—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the third of five interviews conducted by U. S. News & World Report with American soldiers whom the Reds captured in Korea and persuaded to go to Communist China. The interview follows:

UNDER RED RULE YOU CAN EXIST BUT YOU CAN'T ENJOY YOURSELF

David Hawkins was taken prisoner at the end of November 1950, in the first big attack made by Chinese volunteers in the Korean war. In prison, the Chinese appointed him a mail clerk; and at the expiration of the deadline for return to the United States in January 1954, Hawkins became a resident of China.

The Chinese picked him as a prospective leader and sent him to Peiping University after 6 months of indoctrination. He spent 2 years in the Communist capital as a student and as an employe in truck-repair plants, then worked 6 months in Hankow, training the Chinese to run trucks. He returned to the United States in February 1957.

Hawkins grew up in Oklahoma City. He is remembered there as a boy of average intelligence who quit high school when he was 16 to enlist in the Army. He returned there after leaving China, now is employed in the pattern department of a metal-casting firm at Bethany, a suburb of Oklahoma City.

The following interview with Hawkins was recorded in Oklahoma City:

Question: "You spent quite a while in Peiping. Did you see a lot of Russians over there?"

Answer: "In Peiping, I guess they have close to 10,000 Russians—technicians, specialists, and their families."

Question: "Do they get along with the Chinese all right?"

Answer: "Well, the Russians are rather standoffish. From what I saw of them in the streets and in the cafes, they don't mix much with the Chinese. They keep more or less to themselves."

Question: "What's Peiping like? With all these technicians from Russia, are they building anything?"

Answer: "The city has been practically made over. All the streets have been widened, and they have built up around the outskirts—built new houses, factories, schools, colleges, set up new traffic regulations."

Question: "You mention traffic. Are the roads any good?"

Answer: "They are in the city. But so far as transportation by road—highways from one city to another—the highways are very poor. In fact, they hardly exist. Outside the city limits you can't travel for more than, I guess, 200 or 300 miles.

"For instance, from Peiping the farthest you can go is to Tientsin. From Tientsin to other cities, the road doesn't exist. You have to go by rail or fly."

Question: "Are there many cars in Peiping?"

Answer: "Quite a few. They are all owned by government organizations. There aren't any privately owned cars."

Question: "The private individual cannot buy a car?"

Answer: "Well, he could if he had the money. But the price is up in the thousands of dollars."

Question: "How about radios and TV sets and things like that?"

Answer: "There's no TV at all. Radios, we could get little sets for 50 or 60 dollars."

Question: "How is the housing in Peiping? Pretty good?"

Answer: "It's very crowded. One flat that I was in had eight people in a room that was not much bigger than an average American bathroom."

Question: "Do they have good plumbing?"

Answer: "Oh, in the cities it's adequate. They've cleaned up the old, antique plumbing in all the cities—like the sewer gutters in the street. They've done away with all that. In the countryside they still use outside toilets, but in the cities most houses and tenements are built with flush toilets, sinks, and tub showers."

Question: "Is Peiping the most modern city in Communist China?"

Answer: "Tientsin is more modern than Peiping. In Tientsin there used to be an international settlement—the French concession, the American concession, and so on—and they all built buildings that are European in style.

"Peiping is wealthier, though. There are a lot of new buildings. They are putting up new tenement houses, but separate family houses like we have don't exist—except, of course, away out in the countryside. There they are made of mud like an adobe house, with a thatched roof, or a clay roof."

Question: "Did you have heat in the winter?"

Answer: "In Peiping and Tientsin, they do. In Hankow—I worked in Hankow for 6 months—they don't."

TO KEEP WARM—GO TO BED

Question: "How did you keep warm during the winter?"

Answer: "When I got home from work I just went to bed. I had plenty of covers."

Question: "Can you travel around in China?"

Answer: "It is very much restricted. A foreigner—a westerner or a European or any foreigner in China—cannot travel outside the city limits without a visa. To go even a short distance—say from Peiping to Tientsin—you have to go to the Security Bureau and ask for a travel document; you have to tell them where you are going, who you are going to see, what business you are

doing there, and how long you are going to stay.

"Then, even if you get this travel document, when you get to the other city, you have to go and register at the nearest police station within 24 hours.

"The Chinese can travel from one city to the next without these documents, but they cannot move permanently from one place to another without permission."

Question: "Is permission to move granted to the Chinese?"

Answer: "The probabilities are very high that permission would be denied, especially if the person is going there alone. If he has a family—a wife there, or a place to go to—then perhaps he could get permission. But otherwise there is not much chance."

Question: "Is it easy to get a job in Communist China?"

Answer: "Not by asking for it, no. You see, everything that is run in China is run according to a plan. You don't walk up to a plant or a factory or any organization and ask for a job. You don't do it. If you don't belong to an organization, it's very difficult to get work. A fellow gets a job in a certain place and he is obliged to work in that place until the organization finds that perhaps he would be better fitted in another factory. For instance, if they open a new factory, he might be transferred to that factory. He won't be transferred just by going to the boss and asking for a transfer."

Question: "How did you get a job?"

Answer: "Actually, at the indoctrination center in Taiyuan I asked to be sent to a farm. Instead, they sent me to the university. And in the university, when I asked to be sent first to a driving job, they sent me to a repair factory in Peiping. Finally, after I asked the Chinese Red Cross to help me get transferred, I got this job in Hankow. I was a driving-and-repair instructor there."

Question: "Did you teach people to drive, or what?"

Answer: "I was mostly concerned with trucks—Soviet, Polish, Hungarian, and Rumanian trucks. I just taught the Chinese to drive them and to make repairs on them."

Question: "Are they good drivers?"

Answer: "You must understand that China is still backward. Most American high-school kids of 17 or 18 could have taught them as much as I could. Some of them learn to drive in the army. My job was to try to improve the Chinese method of driving so they wouldn't take a truck and just drive the wheels off it in 6 months, so it would have to be sent back to the factory for repair."

Question: "What was the pay?"

Answer: "Well, it depends on what grade you have. They have 1 to 8 grades. We were paid according to our grade—that is, according to our technical ability. And the Chinese Red Cross also gave me 50 extra Chinese dollars every month."

Question: "What did they pay at the first factory where you worked?"

Answer: "I was a mechanic in the engine-repair department and I didn't know too much about it, so the salary was only about 80 Chinese dollars a month. That included what I got from the Red Cross."

Question: "The Chinese didn't get that much? They didn't get any Red Cross money?"

Answer: "No. From the factory itself—for a third-grade worker, which I was—the Chinese would get about 45 to 50 Chinese dollars a month."

Question: "Did you get raises? How much did you make as a driving instructor?"

Answer: "I got more at that time. I had a quota of hauling to fulfill every month with my truck besides instructing. If you overfulfill the quota, then you are paid a bonus by your factory.

"Being that my driving ability was a bit higher than that of the Chinese, I was overfulfilling my quota and getting a bonus every month. So in that job I was getting about 170 to 180 Chinese dollars a month."

Question. "How much is that—how much in American money?"

Answer: "It would be about 85 to 90 dollars a month. The equivalent of the Chinese dollar is a little over half. A Chinese dollar is worth 52 cents."

Question: "How far did your money go? Could you afford to buy a suit once in a while?"

Answer: "Yes. And when I was working in Peiping I bought two suits of Air Force fatigues."

Question: "How much did you have to pay for them?"

Answer: "Thirty-four dollars and fifty cents a pair—that's Chinese dollars. An ordinary Chinese, of course, couldn't afford them. Like I say, I was paid more than the ordinary Chinese, so I could do it."

Question: "What does the ordinary Chinese wear?"

Answer: "He wears a very simple blue cotton uniform—all one color."

Question: "How about the women? How do they dress?"

Answer: "In 1956 they started to begin wearing dresses, blouses and stuff like that. Before, they wore the same clothes as the men."

Question: "How about the food? What was breakfast like?"

Answer: "I didn't eat any breakfast at all."

Question: "Why not?"

Answer: "Well, because the Chinese eat soupy rice. They have these preserved turnips, and I never could get accustomed to it, so I didn't eat breakfast at all. For dinner and supper during the weekdays I always ate at the factory. An average meal at the factory would cost you about 20 cents, in Chinese money."

Question: "What was this dinner like?"

Answer: "The main meal consisted of rice. Then you could have a side dish—some sort of food to go with your rice—fish or meat and vegetables, something along that line."

FOOD WAS ADEQUATE

Question: "How about the Chinese? Did they have enough to eat?"

Answer: "Well, as I say, I ate in the factory, and ate the same food as the ordinary Chinese worker ate. It was adequate.

"In our terms, we would not consider it adequate because we eat a very wide variety of meats and fish and everything like that. But the Chinese are by no means starving—their food is adequate. They subsist quite well on it.

"You would more than likely become very tired of Chinese food that is served in a factory, because they serve it in a very common way that is most suitable for the Chinese in the factory as a whole. They fix it only 1 or 2 ways. They vary their meat only 1 or 2 ways."

Question: "Were there vegetables with the meal?"

Answer: "Yes, they have peas, carrots, turnips, cabbage. Cabbage is eaten to a very great extent—potatoes not so much."

Question: "Did the food taste good? Did you like it?"

Answer: "Well, I got used to it eventually. I still preferred the western style of food, but I could eat the Chinese food. It tasted commonplace and quite flat."

Question: "What was it that made you want to leave China?"

Answer: "Well, of course, the way of life was a lot different from what I was used to. Insofar as material life was concerned, it was very inferior to what I was accustomed to in the States. The regimentation—I didn't like that at all. And what we consider personal freedoms are really hampered under their type of system.

"You can exist under such a system, but you can't live or enjoy yourself. But I was afraid of coming home. I figured that if I come home I stand to be sent to prison for 20 or 30 years, something like that. So I figured even though I'm not happy in China, I can make it if I have to."

Question: "In ordinary living over there, just day by day, how is it different from this country?"

Answer: "I missed my own type of food. You couldn't buy, for instance, hamburgers, hot dogs, or cokes, or anything like that. The commodities you wanted to buy—that most of us are accustomed to—just didn't exist."

Question: "Like what?"

Answer: "Good shoes—keeping up in the fashions so far as clothes are concerned—a wrist watch—things along that line. To put it into general terms, I missed the American way of life.

"You go to a movie, it's always a Chinese movie. You just get tired of talking Chinese all the time. Dances are conducted in a much different way than we conduct them. Life is very restricted—there is not any privacy."

Question: "No privacy at all?"

Answer: "It just doesn't exist. If you want to be alone, it is pretty difficult to be alone. If you meet a Chinese, even if he has known you for only 3 minutes, he will ask your name, your address, where you work, how much you get paid a month, how you were captured, where you fought—all different kinds of things like that which we consider very private or intimate questions."

Question. "Couldn't you tell him to mind his own business?"

Answer: "No. If you don't answer such questions, they think you have an ideological problem—that you're not following the party line."

Question: "Did you get used to their ways?"

Answer: "No; you feel you're not part of them. You feel like you're living in Oklahoma City filled with Eskimos, and you're the only Oklahoman there.

"There's no night life. Everything closes at 9:30 regardless of what day of the week it is. There's only certain places you can go. Everything is set. And then, there's the criticism meetings."

Question: "What are they like?"

Answer: "You have to bring out all different kinds of things—well, picture it like this:

"For instance, if you went with a girl on Saturday night, the next week you had to tell every place you went, what you did, perhaps how many times you kissed her, all different kinds of stuff like that, right down to the most minute details. If you can picture that, then you can picture a criticism meeting. At the university, they had them every week, on Friday.

"It takes some getting used to having no thoughts of your own. I mean, you're obliged to have your mind like an open book, no hidden thoughts or anything like that."

Question: "How did you feel when you started to come back to the United States?"

Answer: "All the things that I had missed before were right at my fingertips. In Hong Kong, I saw an American movie and the first 5 minutes I couldn't even understand it. I was all set to understand it spoken in Chinese, and when they started to speak in English, I couldn't understand it."

ALL HUSTLE IN THE UNITED STATES

Question: "And when you arrived in this country——"

Answer: "Well, I could buy clothes without having to have them tailored. I could go to a movie any time I wanted to. And there was a lot of talk about. Life itself

was all hustle and bustle with lots of places to go and enjoy yourself."

Question: "What did you buy?"

Answer: "Well, one thing—I bought myself a dog. I didn't have a dog in China."

Question: "Why not?"

Answer: "They killed all the dogs. They said they were running wild, spreading disease, and what not."

Question: "Do you consider yourself better off over here?"

Answer: "Yes. There are many things that you can't buy in China that are considered very ordinary, everyday things here—for instance, different styles of shirts, different styles of trousers, shoes, fingernail clippers, watches, cars, motorcycles, furnishings in your house, radios—everything."

Question: "You missed clothes and 'gadgets' while in China?"

Answer: "That was only part of it. You have to understand the part that the difference in systems played. The regimentation—the freedom that you have here that you don't have there.

"Like I say, here if you want to go to another city, you just jump into your car and go. But you don't over there. And here you don't have to attend criticism meetings. You don't have everybody else minding your business.

"You're not watched. In China, everywhere you go, they know where you go, what you did, and everything like that. Here you don't have to worry about everybody else poking their nose in your business or breaking into your house any time they get ready to."

Question: "Who could break into your house—the police?"

Answer: "Yes. Special service, the police, or even your local citizens committee—they have them in every neighborhood. If you beat your wife, the citizens committee can come in and turn you over to the authorities. If you don't keep your house as clean as they think you ought to, you can be turned in. You don't have that here."

Report by Congressman Elmer J. Holland, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I am always pleased to read the newsletters which Congressmen send to their constituents. I was particularly interested in an article written by the Honorable ELMER J. HOLLAND, pertaining to natural-gas legislation which I am sure will be considered in the future. At this time I would like to insert it in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

YOUR REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN ELMER J. HOLLAND, 30TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

THE STORY OF THE MONTH: THE GAS AND OIL DEPARTMENT

Apparently President Eisenhower feels that he can't do enough—let alone too much—for the oil crowd that helped finance his election.

He gave them the tideland oil—the oil companies, of course, enjoy the 27½ percent depletion allowance in their income taxes—they get away with not paying 1 cent tax on over $300 million they make in net profits from their operations in the Middle East—and now, he is trying to give them even more privileges.

At the insistence of the big oil interests, the President has again asked Congress to exempt them from effective Federal rate regulation on natural gas. If this is done, according to the experts, it would cost the American people upward of $950 million a year. Such a proposal—the passage of the Harris-O'Hara bill—has been called "a betrayal of the American public." However, on June 9 President Eisenhower wrote to Chairman OREN HARRIS, of the House committee considering this bill, and said:

"I wish to reemphasize the importance of enacting natural-gas legislation at this time."

Today, more than 21 million American families (over 60 million people) use gas in their homes and depend upon it for heat, hot water, cooking, and other essential daily needs. Over $12 billion have been invested by consumers alone in cooking stoves, home heating units, hot-water heaters, clothes dryers, and other equipment that require gas as fuel.

A vast network of interstate pipelines brings gas to nearly all the major cities of the Nation. These have been built since 1938 when the Natural Gas Act went into effect. Municipalities and consumers alike have supported this pipeline development—and have invested billions of dollars to distribute and utilize natural gas. This was done, of course, with the assumption that the Natural Gas Act would be enforced by the Federal Government and gas costs would be held at a reasonable level.

These millions of consumers of gas are indeed captive for certain companies serve certain locations, there is no competition here, and the consumer has accepted this captive status in good faith, for he thought gas would be considered a public service commodity and the price he would pay for gas would always be fair, because Federal price regulations would guarantee justice.

The bill that the President wants passed would take the control over the initial price of natural gas in the field from the Federal Power Commission, and would outlaw cost as the determinant of fair price, and would substitute a new concept, "reasonable market price," in its place. With gas producers now enjoying an almost unlimited sellers market, the new rate concept of market value would require the Federal Government to legalize whatever price the traffic will bear.

Even with Federal control, in the last 10 years, the average price at the wellhead has gone up from 5.3 cents per thousand cubic feet to 11 cents per thousand. This is a rise of 91 percent during the 10-year period on the wholesale price. The American Gas Association reports that in 1938 there were less than 7 million consumer gas connections, by 1955 there were 23 million. In 1938 there were 184,900 miles of pipeline, by 1955 there were 449,400, and the natural gas utility revenues soared from $406 million in 1938 to $2,970,000,000 by 1955.

According to industry spokesmen the goal is to raise the price of gas at least 15 cents higher at the wellhead; that is what they would call a reasonable market price. This would not only add $950 million annually to the gas bills of the captive consumers, but could add another $175 million to the bills of electric energy consumers who buy power from companies that use gas as fuel in generating electricity.

Who will be the real beneficiaries of the handsome rewards which the enactment of the Harris-O'Hara bill would bestow?

It is little known that 85 percent of all the natural gas sold in interstate commerce for resale is produced by less than 100 companies, most of them oil companies, and that about one-third of the supply is furnished by 7 oil companies. The fact is that a few big oil companies make most of the sales. It is they who would get most of the millions gained from the new rate, and the billions which would be added to the values of the reserves they now hold.

If consumers are to be properly protected at the bargaining table when gas prices are established, the Federal Power Commission must be required to establish prices in relation to producers' costs, and not have prices set by reasonable market price.

Eisenhower's election was an expensive one when you realize he was forced to request the passage of such legislation at the price of the general American public.

The Sudeten Germans: The Policies of Reason, Morale, and Liberation in the Abolishment of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the following article points up the part that a policy of reason and morale plays in the overall policy of liberation of enslaved and oppressed peoples which it is hoped will result in the abolishment of war:

THE POLICY OF REASON

The policy of liberation was not only devised by America's most able heads: it is, in fact, a policy based on knowledge of the Communist system, on intelligent and far-seeing thinking, on reasonable courage and moral feeling.

It is a policy which sees the strong but also the weak sides of the enemy, not veiled in illusions. It is the policy which sees the weakness of Russia in her political forced system and her economy, the weakness in the satellite nations and the weakness of the entire unholy Communist international conspiracy so as they are, without illusions.

The traitors in the West were a clue to the communization of a great part of the world without war—they are in our hands the clue to the decommunization of the world without war.

This policy does not seek comfort in doing nothing and profit in trade with the Communists. This policy does not sacrifice future full freedom of the Communist slaves and of all of us for temporary improvement for the Tito and Gomulka governments.

This policy is a policy of commonsense which says that an enemy cannot be weakened by our strengthening him, that he cannot be defeated when you help him. The policy of liberation restores again that reason and sound human thinking so much suppressed for a long time in the West by illusions and treason.

THE POLICY OF MORALE

The policy of liberation is, however, also a moral policy. It sees the basic truth that the world cannot remain half free and half slave. It wants to have it fully free and sets finally, instead of the wavering and ineffective passive reacting of the West to Communist initiatives, based on comfort and pro-Communist illusions, an active policy of liberation against the active Communist policy of subjugation.

The policy of liberation is thus a policy of reason and of morale.

THE POLICY OF LIBERATION IS THE POLICY OF ABOLISHMENT OF WAR

In the same way as the removal of a criminal brings peace to a community, the

abolishment of criminal communism is the only way to abolish war and bring peace to the entire world.

The policy of liberation puts a most important stress on the abolishment of communism without war.

While the policy of illusions and treason can lead only to the perpetuation of the Communist system and to our destruction, either without war or in a final war catastrophe in which the free world would be destroyed and would definitively lose, the policy of liberation is a policy seeking the abolishment of communism without war and to the abolishment of war at all. It is first point of the policy of liberation which states that the West must be so strong in science and technics, that the Communists cannot start any war. In the same way, all other points of the policy of liberation, including the dissolution of the Communist system in the East from within, represent measures of abolishing communism without war.

Here lies the deep wisdom of Douglas MacArthur who, being an anti-Communist of first class, preaches the abolishment of war at all.

In the policy of liberation, American and Western intelligent thinking and moral greatness unite in complete harmony. Those who are preaching the abolishment of communism, are at the same time preaching the full abolishment of wars for ever.

There is no doubt that the time of the policy of liberation will come in the United States of America and in the West. It is only a question of the time. The West is not in its majority naive and treasonable. The nations of the West are moral and intelligent peoples. They will accept a moral and intelligent policy.

THE POLICY OF LIBERATION IS THE POLICY OF THE FUTURE

Marx based his predictions of the final victory on the greediness and inhumanness of "capitalists" which would bring their own destruction. He proved wrong, for free men proved to be better than he had calculated.

The present masters of communism, analogically to Marx, reckon with the naivete, thoughtlessness and greediness for profit of the West, which tend to support the East and trade with it. They will prove wrong, too.

Before long, the free nations will awake of their weakness, of their sleep, of their trade with criminals and of their illusions and will unite under the principles of reason and morale. These principles are embodied in the great policy of liberation.

Real Purposes of Kremlin Purge Is To Confuse and Soften the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the best hope the Kremlin has of confusing and defeating the United States and our allies is by making us think the recent purges in the Kremlin mean a fundamental change. Threats do not scare us; but pretended conversion and reform might dupe us. If the reform were genuine, they could show it in 10 minutes by setting free the captive nations. Until they do that, the old, old peaceful coexistence ruse is more dangerous to us than the belligerence of Molotov, et al. I include a penetrating article on this by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. The article follows:

KREMLIN UPSET AIMED AT DEMOLISHING NATO

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

The Kremlin shakeup may be many things to many people. Most important for us, I think, are two aspects.

The first, the dropping of the last of Stalin's old guard (Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov), is obviously a new step in streamlining the Khrushchev policy of disrupting the West by peaceful coexistence.

Without the slightest doubt, Krushchev and company have embarked upon a great gamble. They are loosening their hold upon satellite countries and liberalizing their internal regime. They know—Hungary proved—there is danger in this policy. But the Kremlin men are betting the new policy will disrupt the West and ultimately destroy NATO before it will do real harm to the Communist world.

For so long as the Russians continue to allow a certain freedom to Gomulka and to court Tito, the West, it seems, is quite ready to overlook the fact that the suppression of the Hungarian revolt was Stalinism at its worst and demonstrated to all those who have eyes to see that Russia has not essentially changed.

SOCIALISTS RESPOND

Another proof of the success of the peaceful coexistence racket is its effect upon German and British Socialists.

The former, led by the indecisive Ollenhauer who has a chance of becoming Reichskanzler in the September election, are willing to exchange the real protection provided by the North American Treaty Organization for a purely theoretical European security system, in order thereby to secure from Moscow permission to reunite divided Germany.

British socialists led by Gaitskell seem ready to go along, though they are somewhat less outspoken about it.

Yet the effect of any such exchange would be the return of United States forces from Europe to the United States and the virtual certainty that thereafter a Soviet attack upon West Europe with conventional weapons would not bring about American retaliation by H-bombs, at that point the only thing which could save West Europe.

Khrushchev is obviously playing for just such a European security system and the end of the (to him) hateful NATO, and is ready to take chances to bring it about.

But to win he obviously had to appear to bury Stalinism forever. In order to make that credible, Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov had to go. Once more the Soviet wolf pack is eating its own leaders.

DECISIVE CHANGE

The second, and for me more decisive, aspect of the change in the Soviet leadership is the acceptance by Marshal Zhukov of a place on the presidium of the central committee which runs the U. S. S. R.

From the time he arrested Beria, Zhukov has been an authority within the Soviet Union. Obviously at that time he, who hated Stalin for having humiliated him after he led the victorious Soviet army to Berlin, could have had almost any position he wanted. Yet he was satisfied to be a substitute member of the presidium. Just why I do not know. Perhaps it was in order not to reveal to foreigners the full extent of military influence within the U. S. S. R.

Many foreign correspondents in Moscow have denied that Zhukov is anything more than the most obliging servant of Khrushchev. The wise Finns have known better. Now Zhukov emerges as one of the Supreme Soviet leaders, openly.

Some Americans find comfort in the marshal's rise to power. As Ike's old friend, with whom he corresponded privately as President, he seems to these people a reassurance against any sort of Stalinist adventures. Just a bluff old soldier.

I cannot share this reassurance. Zhukov is both the conqueror of Berlin and the butcher of Hungary. I find him in no respect morally superior to Stalin.

Nor am I certain a Soviet regime increasingly tending toward bonapartism will be any less expansive than its predecessors. It will be somewhat different, when it finally arrives. It may not be less malevolent or a lesser problem for free peoples. It needs all the watching we can give, and an end to current illusions.

Dr. Blair's Later Writings Explored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. LATHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Members of the House of Representatives and Senate will be interested in the following article concerning Dr. John M. Blair, chief economist of the Senate's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of May 24, 1957]

DR. BLAIR'S LATER WRITINGS EXPLORED

(By Donald I. Rogers)

Dr. John M. Blair, chief economist of the Senate's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, headed by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, has accused this correspondent of being unfair in the several columns I have written about him because I used the words "dialectic" and "socialistic" in successive sentences. It is his contention that since his writings in "Seeds of Destruction" (1938, Covici-Friede, $4, New York) have been rejected by Marxism and the Daily Worker, he does not qualify for the label.

Dr. Blair's writings reveal him to be suspicious of big business; fearful that under the capitalistic society as it exists the workingman will fare worse and worse; apprehensive that the expanding corporations will form into oligopolies (near monopolies) at the top levels, and unsure of the durability of America's economy under capitalism unless the system is further policed.

In his answer to me, Dr. Blair did not deny these premises. Though he said that space would not permit him to restate his views which, naturally, have changed since he wrote the book prior to 1938, he did find space to recite favorable reviews which appeared in a number of newspapers.

It is obvious for me to point out that reviewers in 1938 might have taken more kindly to the persuasions of Dr. Blair than would reviewers today. Furthermore, one hardly regards reviewers in book-review sections of the general press as competent economic spokesmen.

However, it is on the point of creeping oligopoly that the Kefauver committee will strike at American business in the forthcoming hearings. Therefore it seems logical to this commentator to have the beliefs of Dr. Blair known to the intended victims of the inquisition prior to the hearings.

On the subject of the "good faith" amendment to the Robinson-Patman Act, introduced as S. 11 by Senator KEFAUVER, there will be considerable discussion. Around

this discussion will center much of the philosophy propounded by Dr. Blair. It has to do with "rigid pricing policies" which Dr. Blair holds to be detrimental to the consuming public.

The issue revolves around the good faith meeting of competition, as a defense to a charge of price discrimination under the Robinson-Patman Act. If the amendment is adopted, a producer would not be able to give a more favorable price to one customer in an area without giving it to all customers in the area.

Dr. Blair is an expert in this field. He has spent much of his professional life in it.

Thus, since he will take a leading role in two issues of paramount importance to American business, let's explore some more of Dr. Blair's writings—later writings. In the American Economic Review of May 1955, he wrote:

"Two decades ago, one of the liveliest issues engaging the attention of economists was price rigidity—particularly the relationship between such price behavior and the structure of industry. Largely because of the war and the subsequent abnormal sellers' market, the issue seems to have been all but forgotten. The industry-by-industry analysis presented in this paper shows that in four major areas of the economy—farm products, foods, textiles, and lumber—prices were flexible in both depressions since these areas were generally atomistic in both periods. Moreover, the analysis also shows increasing rigidity, following the concentration of the industry, in such diverse fields as iron and steel, salmon, salt, biscuits and crackers, molasses, matches, plate glass, window glass, and anthracite (the last two in an inverse manner).

"Now that the abnormal postwar sellers' markets appear to have come to an end, it may be highly appropriate for the economic profession to focus its attention again on the subject of price inflexibility. If one agrees with this observer that price rigidity during a downswing is economically injurious, the reasons for examining the factors which might contribute to such price behavior are self-evident.

"The results of this analysis suggest that one of those factors—and an important one at that—is economic concentration. But even if one holds that price rigidity is not harmful, further examination should be made of the manner in which such prices are set, the considerations behind their determination, the economic effects of their being imposed at alternative levels, etc. If this paper has done no more than to contribute to a reopening of interest in this whole question of depression price behavior, it has more than served its purpose."

There, then, is the line of Senator KEFAUVER's upcoming campaign. The words are in Dr. Blair's economic paper: price rigidity—economic concentration—prices at alternative levels.

Ten Men Who Moved a City—Greater Philadelphia Magazine Honors Dedicated Leadership of Handful of Bold Men

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the national magazines and leaders in civic affairs in every city in the Nation and in many cities abroad have been fascinated by the Philadelphia Story—the facts in the rejuvenation of our great and wonderful city from a decaying, corruption-ridden community living on past glories to a modern city taking its rightful place among the greatest cities in the world.

We who live in Philadelphia have proudly traced this urban miracle in the changes we could see before our eyes each day, as each new project got underway. Chiefly, however, we traced it in the spirit and forward-looking outlook of our city officials, our civic leaders, our business community, and the enthusiastic cooperation of friends and neighbors in every part of the city. It has been a truly great achievement.

Recently, the magazine Greater Philadelphia, edited and published by Mr. Arthur Lipson, attempted to tell this story in thumbnail sketches of 10 of our citizens who have worked for, and who continue to work for, the improvement of Philadelphia. These 10 are all closely related to, or are part of, our business community, although 2 of them are known primarily in the Nation as political figures, United States Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, our former mayor, and our present mayor, Richardson Dilworth.

Others named to this select and honored list by the magazine are Mr. Harry A. Batten, board chairman of N. W. Ayer; Mr. William Fulton Kurtz, of the First Pennsylvania Co.; Mr. Robert T. McCracken, attorney; Mr. Edward Hopkinson, Jr., of Drexel & Co.; Mr. Harry G. Schad, of Atlantic Refining Co.; Mr. Albert M. Greenfield, man of many business interests; Judge Edwin O. Lewis, of Common Pleas Court; and Mr. James M. Symes, head of Pennsylvania Railroad.

This is, as I said, the group of selections of Greater Philadelphia magazine. As the magazine itself concedes, in an undertaking as vast as this one has been, many Philadelphians have played outstanding roles, in addition to the 10 it cites.

Personally, I think many others in the city who are not among the 10 named by Greater Philadelphia magazine could also be considered eligible for any list of the outstanding 10 who have contributed to Philadelphia's progress, but each person would probably have a different list.

For instance, I think the men in our congressional delegation who over the years played leading parts in the enactment of the Independence Hall renewal project, in the restoration of the Delaware River channel, in the housing and redevelopment laws, and in other Federal programs which have been so singularly useful in helping Philadelphia to build its modern miracle city could properly be included in any list of those who have done much to rebuild our city.

And of course Philadelphia's newspapers have been in the very forefront of all of this progress, and have maintained a steady drum-beat of interest and crusading zeal for our city's improvement. Their editors and publishers deserve a great deal of the credit for our success.

Nevertheless, the men selected by Greater Philadelphia magazine for this high honor are all most deserving, Mr. Speaker, and under unanimous consent, I hereby submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this outstanding article entitled "Ten Men Who Moved a City," an article which I believe will be of interest to every Member of Congress and to those in every city who look forward to duplicating the great achievements of Philadelphia.

The article referred to is as follows:

TEN MEN WHO MOVED A CITY

"The sickest city in the land," observed a national maazine in the sticky summer of 1948, "is Philadelphia. It is suffering from the longest case on record—81 years—of machine politics."

Yet in less than 10 years Philadelphia has been transformed from a national scandal into a national model. That it was possible at all is a tribute to the eventual triumph of the democratic process. That it transpired so swiftly is a tribute to the dedicated leadership of a handful of bold men.

Philosophers and social scientists hotly dispute over whether leaders create history or history creates leaders. But they all agree that leaders are rare.

Philadelphia came out of World War II in worse shape than most American cities. Its municipal government was at best incompetent, at worst dishonest. Its ledger was saddled with debt. Its backbone industry—textiles—was heading for sunnier southern climes. Its port was filling up with sludge. Its residential areas were rotting. And its citizenry was smothering under a stifling blanket of apathy.

At this critical juncture, isolated and indignant groups of businessmen angrily boiled up to the city's troubled surface. The groups coalesced, and a hard core of executives rolled up their sleeves and learned the science of government.

To it they applied the organizational techniques which had elevated them to high and powerful positions in banking, in law, in industry, in commerce.

And they shed their political affiliations for a common allegiance and a common cause.

It was a unique American reform movement: it smelled of money and influence. Skeleton after skeleton was shaken out of musty municipal closets and their rattling aroused an electorate after almost a century of lethargy.

To symbolize the achievements of this group, Greater Philadelphia magazine has selected 10 local executives whose dedicated leadership and shirt-sleeve participation ran the course of that decade and is still running—men who patiently and unremittingly committed their time and talents to help create this civic renaissance. If their interests were selfish, it was an enlightened selfishness—a desire to create a better city in which to live and work.

All of these men were, and—with the exception of two—still are, nonprofessionals in government. They do not complete the roster. There are others. But for an area which counts over three million heads there are not many others.

JOSEPH S. CLARK

Nestled in the northern reaches of Philadelphia is a small principality called Chestnut Hill. For a long period it was almost exclusively inhabited by a happy band of squires who claimed to have all of the virtues of the main line aristocracy and none of the vices.

It is a strange phenomenon, peculiarly Philadelphian, that from this silk-stocking section should come much of the political leadership which transformed city hall from

a symbol of entrenched reaction to an instrument for the public welfare.

JOSEPH SILL CLARK has much about him which is Chestnut Hill: A prep-school-Harvard education, a background in corporation law, inherited wealth and position, and an articulate seignorial drawl.

Born into Republicanism—he reportedly left the party on the prohibition issue—he campaigned actively for Al Smith. Except for a brief try at a councilmanic seat, his first venture into municipal politics was to support the unsuccessful bid of Richardson Dilworth for the mayoralty in 1947. Two years later he was a candidate himself, took the city controllership with the aid of the independent vote. The post gave him a sounding board for reporting irregularities by the score. He was an easy victor in the mayoralty campaign of 1951.

Thin, boyish, yet tough as nails, CLARK set a standard for a political leadership which would be hard to match. Relieved of many ceremonial and technical administrative functions by the new charter, he was able to broom the hall with a thoroughness which at first dismayed and then aroused regulars in his own party.

Not enormously popular personally when he entered office, his militant uncorruptibility soon captured the imagination of his constituents who endorsed him for the Senate with a plurality so overwhelming, it reversed for CLARK himself, the national Niagara which deluged his party.

HARRY A. BATTEN

From his sedate office on the 12th floor of the N. W. Ayer Building on Washington Square, board chairman Harry Batten gazed out over the smoky expanse of south Philadelphia. At the tail end of his vision was the burning dump which surrounded marshy Stone House Lane—the last Hooverville in Philadelphia, inhabited by a gamey mixture of derelicts, squatters, goats, cows, and dogs. He was pondering a pesky problem.

As a prime mover in Philadelphia's projected $90 million Food Distribution Center, adman Batten took his civic assignment seriously, studied central food markets in Cairo and Chicago, Paris and Pittsburgh. He was therefore disturbed by reports from real estate scouts that the task of assembling a 400-acre site was downright impossible.

Philadelphia's breadbasket is a sprawling cumbersome business: Produce is hawked nightly amid the tangle of ancient stalls, tractor trailers, and municipal filth which is Dock Street. The city's wholesale meat market is more than a mile away; still further are separate egg and poultry bazaars. To pick up provisions the small grocers and butchers (who sell 50 percent of the city's foodstuffs) swarm across the downtown streets congesting them with 8,000 vehicles nightly.

Although the 500 food wholesalers who trade here have complained about the situation for generations, it wasn't until the Greater Philadelphia Movement initiated a United States Department of Agriculture survey that any plan for remedying the situation received serious consideration. GPM's ball was picked up by the city, the planning commission, and then the redevelopment authority which took the necessary steps to acquire ground.

But no practical sites were in the offing until Harry Batten, musing at his window seized upon an idea. If no land were available, then make land. The burning dumps and river fill were shoveled into the marshland near Stone House Lane and a site created. Today giant earth movers are scooping out foundations and sewer lines are worming in from the Delaware. Batten is watching and prodding as Philadelphia prepares the world's best and biggest coordinated food center.

WILLIAM FULTON KURTZ

One of the Wall Street Journal's favorite anecdotes—it turns up about once a year—concerns a crusty banker with a glass eye which is invariably mistaken by customers for his good one.

Despite its persistence, that story is becoming obsolete—at least in Philadelphia. The Quaker City banker today, if not a new breed, is definitely a new strain. He is no longer insulated from the affairs of his community, but more often than not, finds himself plump in the middle of them.

The best example of this new look in financiers is urbane, frank William Fulton Kurtz who retired as board chairman to become chairman of the executive committee of the First Pennsylvania Co., Philadelphia's first billion dollar bank.

Kurtz, who has steered most of Philadelphia's federated charity drives since 1940, was a leader of the indignant band of executives who joined forces at a luncheon meeting in the Midday Club in 1948 to form the Greater Philadelphia Movement—an extra-governmental, non-partisan, non-profit, civic-minded conclave of the city's power elite. Kurtz, offered the chairmanship of the group, felt that if the organization was to be more than just another name on a letterhead it needed active participation from the top down. And the task ahead was so staggering that one man could not spare enough time from his job to handle it. He advanced the idea of a three-pronged cochairmanship where responsibilities could be divided and strengthened. "It was his original vision," one GPM founder reported, "which gave direction and focus to the infant organizatiton. It's impossible to overestimate his contribution."

Although Kurtz stepped down as cochairman of GPM in 1952 to serve a 4-year stint as vice chairman of the high-powered Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, his work in GPM has continued to be significant.

And while he stoutly insists that he is a banker first and last, his most precious coin is a broad, consistent contribution to his community.

ROBERT T. M'CRACKEN

If society is based on law, then the city's startling political and economic comeback is strongly rooted in its streamlined new charter, overwhelmingly endorsed by a public referendum in the spring of 1951. Among other things, it took the bulk of municipal workers out of politics and into civil service, it created a strong executive branch and it untangled a hodgepodge fiscal operation.

Prospects for a vigorous new charter were dim in the middle forties. The last revisionist movement occurred in 1938 when a group of young Turks made an abortive attempt to hammer one through.

It wasn't until 1948 when a runaway committee of 15, appointed by city council as a sort of cost-cutting Hoover Commission, made a series of shocking revelations about irregularities in the public till.

The reform movement which followed rallied its forces around the job of creating a new, workable home rule charter. Leading that movement was Robert McCracken, a distinguished Philadelphia attorney who had been president and chancellor of the State and city bar associations. As a cochairman of GPM he was instrumental in the organization of the city charter committee at a get-together in the Warwick Hotel in 1949.

McCracken, who commanded a great deal of influence in Republican circles (although he never sought or held public office) was acquainted with then mayor, Bernard Samuel; he had helped draft some city-county consolidation legislation and acted as an arbitrator in several local party disputes. He called on Samuel and told him that he had a more than passing interest in seeing that the commission which was to draft a new charter was nonpartisan and nonhack. Samuel agreed, asked him to serve on the commission and, together with the president of city council, appointed a majority of McCracken-suggested nominees. McCracken, who was one of the principal drafters of the charter, spent at least 3 afternoons a week on the assignment for one 5-month period.

Nor did he relinquish his interest after the charter was enacted. In 1954 he helped set up the committee for good government which opposed some crippling charter amendments and has watched over it since with an eagle eye.

EDWARD HOPKINSON, JR.

An old-line Philadelphian (his great-great-grandfather was a signer of the Declaration of Independence) and the successor to E. T. Stotesbury's senior partnership with Drexel & Co., Edward Hopkinson, Jr., was not an obvious choice for czar of city planning.

Not that he wasn't sensitively aware of the needs of the city: He had wrestled with traffic and transportation problems as chairman of the executive committee of the PTC; he was thoroughly familiar with municipal financing—his firm had handled and given advice on many local bond issues; and he knew Philadelphia intimately—grew up in the heart of the downtown area.

But Hopkinson was a banker and corporation director, and city planning to many respectable Philadelphians and most of its politicians smacked of welfarism and radicalism. It was regarded as the proper domain of the weepy social worker and the long-haired architect.

In 1942, from his top post with the chamber of commerce, Hopkinson issued a challenge: After the war ran its inevitable course, long-delayed civic improvements must be set in motion immediately. When Mayor Samuel announced the formation of a new commission for city planning a few months later, Hopkinson was chosen chairman.

And observers who expected to see a financier allocate planning funds with a closed fist were disappointed. Philadelphia, Hopkinson observed in 1945, was "running downhill because it wasn't spending enough to keep itself on the map. The unpropertied taxpayer knows the difference between good and bad municipal service," he pointed out at a realty luncheon. "And the propertied are not foolish enough to believe their holdings can retain their value in a deteriorating city."

Under his 13-year reign the blueprints for the new city—public housing, highways, zoning, redevelopment—were carefully and realistically drawn. And when he stepped down late in 1955 he could already find concretized in expressways and dwelling developments—many enduring monuments.

HARRY G. SCHAD

When Harry Schad was finishing up his studies at Philadelphia's stubborn, sturdy Girard College he was also finishing a work-study program which meant spending part of each week as an apprentice in industry. His assignment: Clerking at a local shipping concern.

After graduation he was asked to join the firm and has been up to his gunwales in maritime activity ever since. He is today a vice president and a director of Atlantic Refining Co.

While Schad's arena for port development is frequently on the bridge of local shipping organizations (from the board of managers of the Seaman's Church Institute to the board of commissioners of the port authority, and currently at the head of the joint executive committee) he has executed his

most telling maneuvers in the gleaming marble corridors of government where he is a persistent and brilliant infighter. In the last two decades he has made more than 100 excursions to Washington, Harrisburg, and Trenton where he has buttonholed legislators and technicians, budgeteers and engineers in the interest of the Delaware River Port with a bulldog tenacity.

His convincing explanations and unequivocal statistics have helped win for the region victories which range from the establishment of a port authority to the appropriation of channel deepening funds.

The port, which skidded to fourth place at the close of World War II is today a comfortable second, and leads the Nation in import tonnage. Schad's big guns are now turned on appropriations for further improving the channel and for better general cargo-handling facilities. Under his admiralship, no shred of doubt surrounds the outcome.

ALBERT M. GREENFIELD

"While the other kids were building forts with alphabet blocks, Albert was building a real estate empire with city blocks," joshed a long time friend of astute Albert M. Greenfield. His jest was not too far from fact. For Greenfield's career in real estate and commerce dates back to his 14th year when he left school to clerk with a Philadelphia realty lawyer. Four years later—with a $500 shoestring capitalization—he was in business for himself; and at 23 he completed his first multi-million-dollar deal.

Greenfield has since made, lost, then remade a large personal fortune and, although he divorced himself from his vast real estate interests when he assumed the chairmanship of the Philadelphia Planning Commission a year and a half ago, he still chairs an investment banking house with farflung mercantile holdings.

Greenfield's participation in the public life is longstanding under difficult circumstances; because his financial interests have so permeated the commercial life of the city it is difficult for him to make any contribution—no matter how altruistic—without having his personal motives questioned by dissidents.

Despite the handicap of power, he has not shirked what he felt was the duty of a citizen toward his community and has pioneered on rostrum and agency board the cause of interracial, interdenominational, and international fellowship.

Probably his most significant contribution is in the field of redevelopment. Under his direction a $250 million renewal program for the Society Hill section of Philadelphia is gracefully sliding down the ways. The target: Restoration and reinhabitation of the decaying "Old City"—a 4 square mile expanse of loft buildings, slums and revolutionary shrines once the heart of Penn's Greene Countrie Towne.

In the works is the most ambitious planning project ever taken by an American city: A lengthy, detailed, comprehensive plan for tackling the long-range regional problems of an exploding urban population.

EDWIN O. LEWIS

In 1939 a local chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution listened to the rumblings of cannon across the Atlantic with an experienced ear. It turned its attention to ways and means of preserving Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell from possible bomb damage. In the group was a hearty, distinguished son of Virginia who presently sits as presiding judge of Philadelphia's common pleas court No. 2.

"That's when I first became interested in the hall," Edwin O. Lewis recalls. He subsequently widened his interest to include Congress Hall, the Head House, Christ Church, Carpenters' Hall, the old Stock Exchange, and a dozen other neglected relics of the War for Independence gradually wilting in the weed patch of loft buildings, slums, and rag-tag stores which comprised Philadelphia's bloody fifth ward.

It was also in 1939 that a group of private citizens living in the vicinity petitioned Congress to appropriate funds to improve the rundown neighborhood, rip out the deteriorating buildings, replace them with grassy malls, restore the old buildings, and create a national shrine.

To implement this project, the Independence Hall Association was formed and Judge Lewis persuaded to head it.

As one associate recalls, "the judge plunged in with messianic fervor. He talked Independence Hall to anyone who would listen. He never let a day go by without a conference or a meeting to further the cause.

For a span of 15 years Lewis supplied the necessary determination, diplomacy, and energy to make the project a success. It was Lewis who presented then Governor, now Senator MARTIN, with the idea for the Commonwealth's Mall from the State House north to Vine Street. The mall—budgeted at $27 million plus—is off to a healthy start. And not to be overlooked is its influence in upgrading the neighborhood; it provides the solid core for the redevelopment of the Old City.

RICHARDSON DILWORTH

"I am accused of being an emotional man," remarks Richardson Dilworth. "But where would this city be today if it didn't have emotional men who were willing to fight for it?"

Probably the stormiest petrel ever to occupy the mayor's perch is the scrappy incumbent. A fiery, extemporaneous orator, Dilworth's golden tongue and lightning mind have done much to set the aggrieved, enlightened tone of Philadelphia reform.

Like Clark, Dilworth was a Chestnut Hill lawyer; like Clark, he is a well-heeled liberal. There the resemblance ends. For to Dick Dilworth politics is more art than sense, and his connoisseurship is unquestioned.

His entrance on the local political scene in 1947 as a mayoralty candidate was spectacular. He came out of nowhere (that is, a prosperous legal practice rather than the organizational hierarchy) to wage a ferociously personal campaign which rocked the city and brought him within 92,000 votes of upsetting a 63-year-long Republican hold on the office.

His stump was a sound truck, and his arena the street corner. More than any other contributing factor, it was Dilworth's sensational charges of graft and corruption—larded with names, dates and places—which set off the chain reaction that blew the lid off city hall.

Two years later, he carried the city in his campaign for treasurer. He carried it again, but lost the State, in a bid for the governorship in 1950. The following year, in tandem with Clark, he was elected district attorney with an overwhelming plurality.

Ten years after his first major fling at politicking, Dilworth is as indefatigable as ever, spends up to 16 hours a day at his job. He is also still ferociously personal. He does not hesitate to brand as bums, louses, and liars his political enemies with a refreshingly bipartisan wrath. And except for one defection—reportedly to honor a campaign promise—he has continued to muster the support and admiration of the good government crowd in and out of his party.

JAMES M. SYMES

Center city renewal revolves around two constellations. To the east is Independence Mall, to the west, Penn Center—the largest, single, central city plot ever thrown open for renewal.

Charting the course for the latter swing is James M. Symes, the 13th man to head the sprawling corporate dynasty which is the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Although it has been forgotten in the press of contemporary headlines, the Penn Center concept has been championed vigorously by the railroad since the late 1920's when the Pennsy was able to complete phase one of a grander scheme: the construction of underground suburban station and the towering 21-story office building which caps it. The removal of anachronistic Broad Street Station and the formidable, red buttress of trackage, the Chinese Wall, was blocked first by the capital famine provoked by the depression, then by the materials-manpower shortage of World War II. Shortly after war's end Symes, then executive vice president of the Pennsy, was assigned the task of implementing the postponed development. While planners debated where and how to begin, Symes chafed at the bit. Newton's observation on inertia: "A body in motion tends to stay in motion," he felt, made a sound precept. He gave the project a healthy push by starting demolition of the Chinese Wall and hired consultants to recommend an approach for redevelopment.

The logjam was broken. In less than 2 years from the date Broad Street Station shuttered (to the tune of Auld Lang Syne played by the Philadelphia orchestra), construction of the first office building was underway.

Symes personally nursed the 22-acre site through conferences with planners and politicians, realtors and investors.

It would have been easy to sell off the center piecemeal for indiscriminate development, but Symes took a determined stand not to let the land become another Market Street.

"The railroad," he maintains, "is only in the redevelopment business to make sure that Penn Center and nearby land is consistent with the best interests of Philadelphia."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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Appendix

Each Age Has Its Problems and Its Opportunities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a deeply thoughtful and realistic discussion of the problems of the pioneers, as compared with the problems of our people today, was published recently on the editorial page of the Tulia, Tex., Herald.

The Tulia Herald has a truly outstanding editorial page, made so by the skill and knowledge of H. M. Baggarly, editor and publisher of this national prize-winning weekly newspaper. Mr. Baggarly has the gift in his writing of going directly to the heart of matters.

That gift is well demonstrated in the editorial I have mentioned. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIFE THEN—AND NOW

Again we pause to honor Swisher County pioneers who were responsible for developing a virgin wilderness into one of the most progressive farming regions of the Nation.

In many instances these hardy pioneers left their friends and relatives in other sections of the country already developed and struck out for a new frontier much more rugged and brutal than it was romantic. Like all of us, our pioneers tend to remember the pleasant and forget the unpleasant as they reminisce. Some even venture the wish that they could turn back the calendar and live again the "glorious past" in preference to 1957 with its many problems.

Nevertheless, life was no bed of roses in 1890, even though man was not confronted with the problems of a civilization as complex as it is modern.

Not only were the pioneers deprived of conveniences not then developed, but they were also deprived of most of the comforts enjoyed back in the older sections of the Nation at that time.

Consider life without electricity, natural gas, and even coal in some instances, life without improved roads and automobiles. Consider life in a country where the nearest shopping center was 50 miles away with little or no public transportation. Consider life without ice in the summer, without air conditioners or even electric fans, not to mention such things as insulation.

There were the natural hazards of blizzards, grass fires, grasshopper plagues, against which man had little defense.

There was the absence of medical attention just around the corner, and a hundred other things we take for granted today.

We have not mentioned such hardships as loneliness and longing for friends and relatives back home.

Surely it took stamina and fortitude for our hardy pioneers to stick it out.

Today most of the real pioneers are gone. A new generation has taken over.

Gone are the hardships faced by the pioneers. We live in a new age. We live in a country which has conquered those things which made life hard for the pioneers. Transportation and communication leave little to be desired. Many Swisher farmers live better than kings lived in 1890.

But dare we say that the frontier has at last been conquered, that all our problems of life are solved?

Certainly not.

We moderns are faced with problems just as perplexing and difficult as those faced in 1890. They are different, to be sure, but they are just as real and just as taxing to our intellects.

We have the problem of what to do with the fruit of our land in an age when synthetics are stealing our markets.

We have the problem of financing our many needs in a day when taxation is already back breaking. Every political subdivision is clamoring for more money, the school, the city, the county, the State, and the Nation. And the needs are real.

We have an ever-growing delinquency problem that has yet to be solved.

We have the problem of a cold war that ever threatens to become hot.

These are only a few.

Life is relative, to a great extent, in comparing life in 1957 with that in 1890, the really important thing is man's reaction to life as it was or is. It includes such things as contentment, happiness, neighborliness, helpfulness, friendliness, sturdiness, fortitude, progressiveness, and morality.

If the 1890 pioneer was better contented than the 1957 person, then the 1890 man did a better job in meeting one of his problems than has the modern. If the 1957 person displays greater fortitude in tackling his problem than did his grandfather, then he is a better man.

The important thing isn't when we lived. It is how we lived.

National Interest Calls for Curbing Excessive Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, if oil imports have reached a point at which they damage the Texas oil industry—and they certainly have—then those imports are too high from the standpoint of our national security.

That is the telling point made in a thoughtful and factual editorial in the San Antonio (Tex.) News.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGH OIL IMPORTS WORRYING TEXAS

The oil and gas industry pays more than one-third of the taxes supporting the Texas government.

That revenue fluctuates sensitively with the level of production.

The State government, with a billion-a-year budget, is now committed to spend right up to the limit of its anticipated income.

Since the Suez Canal reopened, Texas allowable oil production—legally geared to market demand—has been cut 700,000 barrels a day, while imports of foreign oil have zoomed to 1,700,000 barrels.

Should that trend continue, the State government could be thrown into a deficit tailspin, crippling vital public programs.

Those are the fundamental facts behind Senator LYNDON JOHNSON'S campaign to get the Eisenhower administration to order a reduction in imports, a move now reportedly under serious consideration.

Congress has recognized, in law, that a healthy petroleum industry is essential to national security. When imports reach a level discouraging to domestic explorations and development—and hence detrimental to mobilization preparedness and related to economic stability—they can be restricted to a reasonable level.

Any level of imports damaging to the Texas oil industry—which fills a third of United States demand—is also too high from a national security viewpoint. Both national and State interests, therefore, dictate import restrictions.

Part III of the Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT S. KERR
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, the distinguished journalist, and vice president of the United Press Associations, Lyle C. Wilson, sets forth in clear language today the known facts about one of the great mysteries of our time.

It is: How did part III get into the civil-rights bill?

Mr. Wilson points out that the provisions of this title—whatever the intentions of the authors—are tricky and devious, and they add up to a roundabout but effective method of bringing troops into the South.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wilson's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of July 17, 1957]

WHO DRAFTED HIDDEN GOBBLEDYGOOK IN RIGHTS BILL?

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

It would be a fair question to ask Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., who in his department drafted the administration's civil-rights bill and, also, the names of any outsiders who helped on the job.

With the authors identified, it would be reasonable to ask them about the legislative gobbledygook in part III of the bill. Part III authorizes the use of the land and naval forces of the United States and the militia to enforce civil rights for Negroes in southern communities.

About all that is known of the authorship of the bill is that it was drafted in the Department of Justice or, at least, was made available to the House and the Senate by that Department. Intentionally or not, the bill's authors chose a tricky and devious method of empowering the President to use troops in the South to enforce such rights as integrated schools.

It would be fair to ask the bill's authors whether they sought to bury out of sight the provision for the use of troops. Their method was round-about but effective. Back there in reconstruction days, roughly 1866 to 1871, Congress imposed some heavy-handed legislation on the South and backed it up with the Armed Forces of the United States.

One of those reconstruction bills with a legislative history spanning from July 31, 1861, to April 20, 1871, is identified now in the United States Code as act No. 1985. Part III of the civil-rights bill pending now before the Senate actually is an amendment of that reconstruction time act No. 1985.

This act, in turn, depends for its enforcement on still another reconstruction force bill now identified as act No. 1993, enacted first in 1866 and amended in 1871. The authority for the use of troops to enforce a miscellany of civil rights is well disguised.

From line 12, page 9 of the administration bill it is necessary to pursue the hidden meaning all the way back to 1866–71 before the reader encounters this language:

"It shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such persons as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land and naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to aid in the execution of the judicial process."

It would be fair to question the authors about another interesting point. Why was this great enforcement power by land and sea forces provided for the miscellany of civil rights and not provided to enforce the greatest right of all—the right to vote?

The Senate bypassed its Judiciary Committee in bringing the bill to the floor. If the bill had been referred to that committee, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, could have sought the presence of the bill's authors as witnesses and such questions as are suggested here undoubtedly would have been asked. Senator RUSSELL doesn't like any part of the bill. He especially objects to what he regards as deceit and double talk in its presentation.

"The purpose of this bill," he told the Senate, "was to tie the whole proposition into a law authorizing the use of troops to integrate Southern schools and not for the purpose of assuring the right of any citizen of this country to vote."

Another fair question to the authors and assistant authors would be: Was that the purpose?

Situation in the Sugar Beet Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, during the last session, the Congress passed a bill making certain amendments to the Sugar Act. The bill was signed by the President, and has been in effect for approximately 1 year.

For the first time in many years the raisers of sugar beets have been able, by reason of that law, to participate in the expanding sugar market. For example, by reason of those amendments, the sugar-beet industry was able to make and to market 150,000 extra tons of sugar, which thus were made available to the consumers in the United States. Furthermore, if the consumers need it, the sugar-beet industry is able to supply an additional 350,000 tons of sugar this year.

Mr. President, a number of statements have been made in regard to the effect of the passage of the bill last year.

Early this week there was prepared by Mr. Harry Clark, of the American Sugar Beet Industry Committee, a statement bearing on those matters. I wish to ask unanimous consent to have the statement printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Furthermore, I may say that the American Sugar Beet Industry Committee represents the Nation's sugar beet growers and the beet sugar processing companies.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT MADE BY AMERICAN SUGAR BEET INDUSTRY COMMITTEE THROUGH ITS CHAIRMAN, HARRY CLARK, SUGAR BEET GROWER OF AULT, COLO.

THE STATEMENT

Just about everybody in the sugar business recognizes that a tug of war is going on with respect to the price level of foreign and domestic offshore raw sugar supplies for the United States market. Various forces and groups, domestic and foreign, are involved. In recently published statements concerning this situation, the United States beet sugar industry—a bystander in this contest—and the American Government's sugar program have both been accused of being at fault.

Specifically, it has been charged that the 1956 amendments to the Sugar Act and the increased beet sugar marketing quotas resulting from those amendments are responsible for the level of refined sugar prices in Northeastern States. It has been alleged that a shortage of sugar exists in that region. The beet sugar industry has been accused of not providing its full share of consumers' needs and, by inference, of not having the ability to produce or market its full share. Such charges and inferences are utterly without foundation. Here are the facts:

THE NORTHEAST SITUATION

The level of refined sugar prices in the Northeast is basically the result of two factors, both obviously beyond the control of the beet sugar industry. One is the cost of raw cane sugar to eastern cane refiners, and the other is the cane refiners' margin or spread between what they pay for raw sugar and the price they charge for refined sugar.

Today's raw sugar prices are the direct result of (a) the fact that nearly all raw sugar supplies in offshore areas are in the hands of a few strong sellers, (b) the effect on the United States market of higher prices for raw sugar elsewhere in the world, and (c) the buying practices of raw cane sugar purchasers.

There is no shortage of raw sugar available for the Northeast. More raw sugar supplies are available this year to cane refiners than were available last year, with no indication that consumers are going to buy as much refined cane sugar as last year. The Sugar Act still permits refiners to refine and market in the Northeast as much of the total raw sugar supply as may be necessary to meet the needs of consumers in that area.

All evidence points to the fact that there also is no shortage of refined sugar available to the Northeast. Eastern refined cane sugar is being shipped hundreds of miles westward where abundant beet sugar supplies are available. Refined cane sugar is being freely offered in the Midwest at prices substantially below the basic eastern seaboard price plus freight.

Beet sugar is being offered at less than eastern cane prices as far east of the normal beet sugar sales area as Buffalo and Pittsburgh, but buyers there have so far shown little interest in the face of abundant offerings of cane sugar.

BEET SUGAR MARKETING ABILITY

Beet sugar marketing during the first 6 months of this year exceeded those for the same period last year by more than 80,000 tons. Cane sugar sellers, on the other hand, have marketed almost 120,000 tons less than at this time a year ago.

Some of the most significant increases in beet sugar deliveries this year have been in the States on or just beyond the eastern fringe of the industry's normal marketing territory. For example, most recent trade figures show that compared with 1956, beet sugar deliveries during the first 5 months in 1957 were up 144 percent in Ohio, 130 percent in Indiana, and 16 percent in Illinois—in view of the heavy beet distribution in June these percentages no doubt will be significantly higher when the June figures are available.

The crop report issued by the Department of Agriculture just last Wednesday indicates that sugar beet production this year, from 11 percent more acres than last year, will be large enough to provide an alltime high quantity of beet sugar—2,150,000 to 2,200,000 tons of sugar, topping all previous production records by 150,000 to 200,000 tons. With adequate stocks on hand and the harvest of this huge crop to begin in a few weeks, the beet sugar industry's ability to market its full proportionate share of whatever volume of sugar consumers may need this year is at an alltime high.

For the obvious purpose of affecting sugar prices in the Northeast, the Department of Agriculture has set total marketing quotas this year at an admittedly inflated figure of 9,300,000 tons. This is 500,000 tons higher than the Department's own estimate of actual consumption and distribution for the year. The beet sugar quota resulting from the Department's action is now 2,101,000 tons—about 150,000 tons greater than the record beet sugar quota and marketings of 1,955,000 tons in 1956.

The 1956 amendments to the Sugar Act gave American sugar producers the opportunity to share with foreign suppliers in filling increases in sugar requirements of a growing nation. Part of the increased need for sugar arises because of the West's fast-growing population. It was both natural and imperative that this increase be supplied in considerable part by increased quotas to the beet sugar industry, which produces in the Midwest and West.

There has been and is plenty of sugar available for every hamlet and every consumer in the United States, and there will continue to be ample supplies to meet all American demands. Thanks to the present Sugar Act, the average prices of sugar to United States consumers has resisted the upward pressure of prices to a much greater extent than have the prices of virtually all other food products. While there has been a moderate advance in the sugar price level, it has not advanced proportionately with living costs and is even below the level considered reasonable and fair as measured by the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index, which the Sugar Act authorizes as a

gage. Because of the present Sugar Act, American consumers have been protected from the skyrocketing world sugar market, on which prices more than doubled in the last few months of 1956. Since last November, the world market price has been above, much of the time substantially above, the United States price.

The beet sugar industry's increased marketings and its prospective greater output for this year—both of which are direct results of the 1956 amendments to the Sugar Act—will continue to help give positive assurance of adequate supplies and reasonable prices for American sugar consumers.

Federal Aid to Education—Resolution by Idaho State Federation of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, at its annual convention in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, last June 10 to 13, the Idaho State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution setting forth its views on the subject of Federal aid to education. The resolution contains a cogent summary of the reasons which make such aid imperative, and reflects the typically constructive and intelligent attitude of this great labor organization toward a problem of great public interest. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE 41ST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE IDAHO STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO, JUNE 10–13, 1957

Whereas although 63,000 new classrooms were erected last year, this construction hardly accommodates the 45,000 additional classrooms needed each year merely to take care of the enrollment rise plus normal replacement of buildings that have been in use for 50 years; and

Whereas failure to provide Federal Aid to School construction threatens the freedom and welfare of all Americans; and

Whereas millions of children are now being deprived of their birthright—a decent education opportunity; and

Whereas communities throughout the country are now bearing the heavy burden of child delinquency, crime and social maladjustment—a bitter harvest reaped from both their own local educational deficiencies and that of communities from which new migrants come; and

Whereas many Americans are very migrant there has been great concern of all people of all States to see that all American children are deucated no matter where they live; and

Whereas State and local taxes for schools have reached the point of tremendous burden on its source; and

Whereas we viey with great alarm the tendency to postpone needed Federal aid to education: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFL–CIO go on record as supporting Federal aid to education by urging its passage, and that copies of such be sent to members of the House Education and Labor Committee and our own Congressmen.

Wheat Marketing Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the RECORD the GTA Daily Radio Roundup of June 24, 1957, prepared by the public relations department of the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minn.

There being no objection, the radio broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY ROUNDUP, MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1957

The wide margin by which farmers O. K.'d marketing quotas in the wheat referendum last Thursday did more than surprise Washington. It shocked the experts in the Department of Agriculture. They should have been shocked, because it was clear proof that the experts in the Department of Agriculture have lost contact with farmers—don't know how farmers feel or what they really think. The experts in Washington said that the wheat referendum would pass, squeak by on a narrow vote—might even be defeated. Farmers, they said, were filled up with regulations, and wanted the free market so assiduously preached by the Secretary of Agriculture.

And, what was the result? The vote was the smallest in any wheat referendum. That was what we told you to expect, because most of the disgusted vote stayed at home. The vote was about 225,000, compared to 280,000 last year. That' about 1 out of 4 eligible voters. But, here in the strong GTA and Farmers Union States, where the Farmers Union Central Exchange and other co-ops also joined, there was another record-breaking "yes" vote. North Dakota, alone, accounts for more than one-fourth of all the votes. There are seven counties still missing in North Dakota. But, the vote so far is more than 55,000 "yes" and about 1,700 "no." That makes 96-percent "yes" for North Dakota, and pulls the national "yes" average up to 86 percent.

We want to make one thing clear. The vote is in no way an approval of the $1.78 price for wheat. It's 25-percent short of parity, 40-percent short of what a wheat farmer should have in order to get a fair share of the national income. It is just a matter of not jumping out of the frying pan and into the fire. The vote is no blessing on the way the wheat program hase been run—clip, clip, clip on support prices, year after year, by the Secretary of Agriculture. But it is better than no program at all. Farmers did recognize that it stopped the Secretary of Agriculture from putting the wheat price still lower, which he would have liked to have done.

In Congress, the vote is a real boost to Members who have tried to get a fair farm program worked out. It served notice on some farm-organization leaders, too, that they had better listen more to farmers and less to the Department of Agriculture experts. Already, the more alert of the farm papers are saying that the wheat-referendum victory, the big "yes" vote, serves notice on Washington, that come what may, farmers don't want to go back to the free market, depend on the grain exchange, to fix their prices. They are saying it at the very time when one farm organization is booking a grain operator to talk at picnics, telling farmers to stay out of politics and just farm harder.

Farmers are not fooled by that kind of talk. The real disagreeable truth is that farming is a sick industry, and the medicine that farmers have been getting (the treatment from the Department of Agriculture policymakers) has been making them sicker and sicker. The prescription is more politics, not less; better farm laws, not fewer; more leadership, not less. The Nation is starting to recognize this, and in the months ahead you'll be hearing a lot more about what causes the sickness and what kind of a remedy will cure the sickness without killing the patient.

This concerns not only farmers, but all of us. People must eat, and they want to have enough at reasonable prices. What GTA and the Farmers Union want is a program that will do that, and do it fairly for consumer and producer. We believe a good farm program is as big a concern to city people as it is to farmers.

Cooperation Among Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Cooperation Among Scientists," published in the Norman, Okla., Transcript of July 14, 1957. This editorial deals with the International Geophysical Year, and the pattern which scientists have set in world cooperation, to help advance the frontiers of science.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COOPERATION AMONG SCIENTISTS

The most remarkable thing about the International Geophysical Year just getting under way this month is that it is being undertaken in a fine spirit of cooperation.

The year actually will cover 18 months. In that time scientists of some 60 nations will give the earth the most intensive checkup it has ever had in such a time span.

They will record coordinated measurements of the earth's crust, its interior, the oceans, the atmosphere, and the forces beyond the atmosphere—cosmic rays, effect of sun spots, and the like.

That the world's scientists should agree to the wisdom of this study is an inevitable tribute to their insatiable curiosity, their willingness to seek again and again for fresh understanding of this well-trod planet.

For centuries men have been applying the yardstick to this earth, sniffing its atmosphere, poking into its depths, climbing its heights, plumbing the oceans. No one imagines the task is complete, and of course it has been going forward steadily with the passing years.

Yet much vital measuring and discovering has long since been done, and it was quite an idea, therefore, that the scientists of many lands should cooperate in so intensive a survey as has now been launched.

Of necessity, much past measurement has been on a limited, more or less individual basis. An overall portrait of the earth and its interior has been gained by piecing together the assorted fragments.

The great virtue of the studies in the Geophysical Year is that through the fortunate collaboration of so many nations the findings will be fully and thoroughly coordinated. General conclusions may emerge from this study that otherwise might not come to notice for decades or longer.

We wish all of the world's political figures would show the same willingness to cooperate in international relations that the scientists are showing in this project.

The "Big Cheese Deal"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the RECORD the GTA Daily Radio Roundup of July 15, 1957, prepared by the public relations department of the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minn.

There being no objection, the radio broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, MONDAY, JULY 15, 1957

The Government's big-cheese deal is back in the news. You remember that one. It happened in 1954, but the odor still lingers on, because dairy farmers were hit with a big price cut, and processors and handlers of cheese got a big windfall. In 1954 Secretary of Agriculture Benson had been in office 1 year. Farmers were beginning to get a real taste of price flexing, because Mr. Benson already was trimming supports every time he could find a loophole in Federal law.

Dairy farmers had been getting a price support at 90 percent of parity. In March of 1954, Benson trimmed that down to 75 percent of parity, as low as the law allowed. It's still down there. But, just before it cut the dairy price support, the United States Department of Agriculture moved to take care of processors and handlers of dairy products, who might be caught with an inventory worth a lot less money, because of the price cut from Washington. The Department offered a special purchase-resale deal to the processors and handlers. It worked this way: Cheese firms were allowed to sell cheese to the Government at 90 percent of parity, and then buy it right back again at 75 percent of parity. The cheese, of course, never went into Government warehouses at all. The food firms kept it all the time—just a paper transaction, but worth plenty of money.

Now, it's pretty hard to keep a deal like that under cover. There was an investigation by Congress, and now the Government is suing the various food firms. It wants to get back almost $2,400,000 which the congressional committee says were nothing more than windfall profits to the big food firms—Swift & Co., National Biscuit, A. & P., Kraft, Borden, and others. The courts will decide whether or not they have to pay it back to Uncle Sam.

But the courts can't do anything for the farmers who took a 15-percent dairy price cut in 1954, and are still living with it, at least those that survive. A lot of them have had to close the barn doors for the last time. Benson was within the law when he cut dairy price supports, and the supports on all the other crops. Now he is asking Congress for a new law giving him power to make farm prices even lower in Washington.

Every farmer ought to understand this low-farm-price attitude in Washington, because he's got to shape his plans to fight it at every turn—at the ballot box, through his farm organizations, and through GTA, the co-op way.

Saving the Trees—The Importance of Wood Products Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the great institutions of my State and of this Nation is the renowned Forest Products Laboratory, located at the edge of the campus of the University of Wisconsin, in Madison.

This laboratory has contributed invaluably to all the woodworking industries of the United States.

It is one of the best illustrations of the value of research conducted by the Federal Government.

Time after time, down through the years, I have pointed out how a single tax dollar invested in the Forest Products Laboratory repays itself in terms of new national wealth created and new taxable revenue created—by ratios of 10 to 1, and even higher.

I was pleased, therefore, to note in yesterday's issue of the Wall Street Journal an article describing some of the amazing research projects carried on by this Forest Service Laboratory.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAVING THE TREES—FEDERAL SCIENTISTS FIND WAYS TO TRIM WASTE, STRETCH WOOD SUPPLY—UNITED STATES LAB TURNS CHIPS INTO CHEMICALS AND HARDWOOD INTO NEWSPRINT—A NEW SAW SAVES ON SAWDUST

(By Richard P. Janssen, Jr.)

MADISON, WIS.—A husky chap in a white T-shirt pours sulfuric acid and wood chips into his huge green percolator.

Another man, neatly attired in a business suit, hacks vigorously at a board with a tiny, half-inch-long saw; he throws the pieces of wood away and carefully saves the sawdust.

Two attractive girls, a blond and a brunet, sit busily whittling on pine sticks.

These odd goings-on have a serious design. They're taking place here at the edge of the University of Wisconsin campus in the trim limestone building that houses the United States Forest Service's Forest Products Laboratory, the Nation's largest wood research facility. The wood projects these men and women are tackling are among the hundreds the laboratory's 440 scientists and other workers are engaged in. The 47-year-old lab's research is aimed at finding ways to use more of each tree toppled, discovering applications for weed species, and improving products of the Nation's wood industry.

DOUBLE BY 2000

The research should help make United States tree resources go further and help provide enough wood to meet fast-growing demand. Two of the biggest users of wood—paper makers and homebuilders—have slowed down this year, but the dip is likely to prove temporary. Lab Director J. A. Hall predicts wood use will double by the year 2000. In 1956, paper producers consumed about 36 million cords of pulpwood, up from 18 million as recently as 1940. United States lumber output last year was 37.5 billion board-feet, nearly one-third more than in 1939.

"The annual cut is in precarious balance with new growth," says Dr. Hall, "but too much of our growth is on kinds and qualities of trees for which our use is limited."

Research now in progress here promises to contribute to such diverse benefits as lower cost house siding, boats, bridges, and baseball bats from layers of wood glued together; blue-blood strains of trees producing stronger wood, and newspapers printed on paper made, not from softwood, but from such hardwoods as oak, magnolia, and gum.

Roger Lloyd, the man cooking up the queer concoction in his green percolator, is one of the lab's chemical engineers. He's not, of course, striving to invent some kind of fiendishly strong coffee, but is searching for ways to use scraps of wood and types of trees now wasted. The wood industry already has made considerable progress in this direction, but even so, about one-fourth of each tree cut is still left on the forest floor, at the sawmill or wasted by paper firms. Mr. Lloyd's experiments are aimed at converting wood into chemicals.

MAY OVERSHADOW COAL, PETROLEUM

"We're about 10 years away from extensive use of wood as a source of chemicals," predicts Dr. Edward G. Locke, chief of the division of wood chemistry. "In another 50 years, wood that's now discarded may overshadow petroleum and coal as a source of industrial chemicals."

Mr. Lloyd shovels chips of aspen in the top of the 2-story-tall percolator, pours in dfluted sulfuric acid, and turns on the heat. From the spout at the bottom comes a sweet, sticky material, something like molasses.

The lumber lab men once thought this might be useful in livestock food, but it couldn't compete with blackstrap molasses. Dr. Locke's researchers now are processing it with the aid of a type of microscopic plant.

The plant is a type of yeast known by the jawbreaking name of torulopsis magnoliae. Its relatives, of course, earn their keep by fermenting beer, producing antibiotics, and making bread rise. The variety that's at work here is a black sheep species, the lab men found it in spoiled honey at the university's agricultural college.

Digesting the molasses-like material, the yeast turns part of it into alcohol. From the solution that's left, chemists also extract glycerin (used in such widely varied things as cosmetics and high explosives) and acetic acid, an ingriedient of rayon, plastics, and mother of such common products as vinegar.

Dr. George Hajny, who is in charge of this phase of the yeast research, says that lab studies indicate that the break-even cost of making glycerin is about 28 cents a pound, that's roughly equivalent to the present market price for this versatile product. Glycerin is now made both from petroleum gases and as a byproduct of soap.

USES FOR LIGNIN

The lab is hard at work, too, searching for uses for lignin. Wood, basically, is made up of cellulose, the fibrous material used to produce paper, and lignin, the substance in a tree that binds the fibers together. The paper industry now discards most of the lignin, only about 1 percent is used. The balance is a nuisance, polluting streams into which it is dumped.

The lab has been helping Howard Smith Paper Mills, Inc., Cornwall, Ontario, perfect a way to salvage lignin by bubbling carbon

dioxide gas through papermaking waste liquids. The mill sells the product to companies which blend it with more costly resins used in sticking together sheets of paper which make up laminated kitchen counter tops. Other firms use the dark brown powder to make vanillin flavoring (spelled that way to distinguish it from genuine vanilla), linoleum paste, and bug spray. Long used in Portland cement, it retards setting to give workers more time to work with the product.

Several technicians are even subjecting bark to chemical analysis, probing potentialities of that largely neglected part of the tree.

Experimentally, the lab also has discovered how to make some chemicals now produced from coal—phenol or carbolic acid, cresol and catechol. This group of chemicals is particularly useful in making such products as drugs, dyes and plastics. Up to now, however, researchers here have not been able to produce these chemicals cheaply enough to compete with their coal tar counterparts.

RENEWABLE RESOURCE

Wood has one big advantage over coal and petroleum as a source for chemicals, Dr. Locke notes: Wood is a renewable resource.

The Nation's hardwood forests get a great deal of attention from researchers here. More than half the 489 million acres of commercial forest land in the United States is covered with broadleafed hardwood trees, yet they account for only 30 percent of the current wood supply being used. One segment of research in this field is just starting to pay out.

Because of their hardness and short fibers, hardwood trees (distinguished from the needle-bearing softwoods by the leaves they shed each autumn) cannot be made into newsprint by conventional methods. To soften the wood and make it possible to separate the fibers to produce usable newsprint pulp, the laboratory has found a mild chemical treatment necessary. One such method is the lab's cold soda process. The cold soda process gives extremely high yields from hardwoods; it involves soaking the chips of wood in caustic soda for 2 hours or less at room temperature.

The first pilot plant to use the new process for newsprint went into operation at the Bowater Southern Paper Corp., Calhoun, Tenn., several months ago. That plant is using such hardwoods as gum and oak, which are available in large quantities. After operating for several months the pilot-plant experiment is considered a success, not only as a means of extending the wood supply but also because of the enhanced quality of the newsprint.

PLAN TO HIKE OUTPUT

It is understood that Bowater will boost its current 40-ton-per-day pilot-plant production to 200 tons daily in a year or so, blending the hardwood pulp with conventional softwood pulp.

A second pilot plant to use the cold soda process started operation quite recently at Coosa Pines, Ala., at the mill of the Coosa River Newsprint Co., a subsidiary of the Kimberly-Clark Corp. The Alabama plant is using wood from such hardwoods as magnolia, cottonwood, red gum, birch, and oak, which cover half of the company's forest lands.

Even sawdust gets consideration at the Forest Service laboratory here. The man wielding the midget saw, L. H. Reineke, is a technologist who is at work attempting to cut down the amount of sawdust. His saw has alternating long thin teeth and wide short ones. The long tooth makes a deep cut and the short tooth widens the cut. Result: A smoother cut, less sawdust, little or no planing, less power to drive the saw.

BOARDS FOR 120,000 HOMES

Weighing the sawdust, Mr. Reineke finds the blade produces about 25 percent less of this waste product than an ordinary saw. So what? To answer the question, he picks up a slide rule and figures that the annual output of sawdust in the United States is equal to 4.8 billion board feet of lumber. If his two-cut saw were used to produce all the lumber in the United States, it would save enough boards to build 120,000 two-bedroom framehouses, he figures.

Glue opens a number of ways for upgrading the value of forest products. Researchers here, for example, have utilized an adhesive in a way that could cut the cost of lumber and is already proving beneficial to sports fans at the University of Wisconsin. The adhesive-aided process prevents bleacher seats from splintering, with obvious advantages to the fans who sit on them.

The process involves an overlay—resin-impregnated paper is glued firmly to knotty, low-grade lumber. Covering visible defects with a smooth, easily paintable surface, the overlay cuts lumber shrinking and swelling by one-third, laboratory men say. Through three seasons, 300 Wisconsin stadium seats with paper overlays are little worse for wear—"even the ones that look like they've been gouged with track-shoe spikes haven't peeled off," a Government gluer reports.

Overlays are going commercial. The Boise-Payette Lumber Co., in Everett, Wash., is using a variation of the process, the laboratory reports, and paper-covered plywood is made by such firms as Georgia-Pacific Plywood Co., for applications in highway signs and elsewhere. Cost of applying coatings to both sides of a board runs about a nickel a square foot, the laboratory estimates.

BOWLERS BENEFIT

Perhaps unknowingly, bowling enthusiasts are benefiting from another of the laboratory's glue projects. To get around the shortage of knot-free hard maple needed for bowling pins, the laboratory worked out a method of gluing together 8 or 9 chunks of maple. This way, bowling-pin makers can use much more than the 15 percent of the tree utilized when solid pins are made, and don't have to discard a whole pin-sized piece when one defect turns up. Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co. has been producing this new type of pin for the past 5 years.

Not content with getting the most out of today's trees, the laboratory is devoted to growing bigger and better ones for future generations. That's why the two young women are whittling the pine stocks.

Their whittling is aimed at trimming down chunks of tree to segregate one slice of annual ring—the alternating light and dark concentric circles you see when you look down at a stump. The light portion of each year's growth ring is called springwood, which has large open spaces within thin-walled cells so great amounts of water can be carried to rapidly growing parts. The dark part is called summerwood—cell walls in this portion are thicker, with smaller open spaces.

This is of more than academic interest, as the summerwood areas, having a higher specific gravity (or the ratio between their weight and the weight of an equal volume of water) and greater density, produce a greater yield of pulp for papermakers, more strength for builders.

GROWING BETTER TREES

Weighing and measuring of the two types of wood have revealed that a tree's density—and value—increases in the parts that grow in later years of a tree's life. "We can't say yet how this will be applied," Dr. Maxon Y. Pillow, who is in charge of this research, concedes, but he's sure this new basic information will help grow superior trees in the future.

While basic studies such as these make the scientists most happy, they're kept hopping to solve more pressing problems posed by trade groups, corporations, and individual home owners who are having their troubles with timber. The load of mail, half of which requires an answer, currently runs around 110,000 pieces a year, up from 75,000 10 years ago. Advice seekers whose queries touch off a sizable research venture usually pay their share of the expense. Any new process or product turned up by lab workers, incidentally, becomes public property; anyone can use it without fear of infringing on a patent.

The Oregon Lumber Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the problems confronting the lumber industry are numerous and complex. The impact of the Government-stimulated increase in interest rates and its result in curbing construction of new homes for American families is well known. But the makers of wood products are perplexed also by the penetration of the home-building and construction market by substitute materials.

The competitive difficulties which beset the lumber industry are discussed in an editorial in the Eugene Register-Guard of July 9, 1957. The writer of the editorial has provided a penetrating analysis of the conditions which hamper the industry's progress. He has also directed attention toward possible solutions of the problems. More precutting of lumber, more primary processing of wood into forms readily usable for building, better advertising of the finished products and promotion of lumber's versatility, low cost, and other factors which favor wood over substitute materials, have been proposed in the editorial to improve the demand for lumber.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the editorial from the Eugene, Oreg., Register-Guard, entitled "Modern Techniques Can Help Lumber."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MODERN TECHNIQUES CAN HELP LUMBER

Lumbermen—scrambling to overcome the effects of falling consumption in their primary market, the home construction industry—also are becoming generally aware of another inroad being made in their business. This is the campaign being waged by aluminum, steel, plastics, and ceramics industries to take a bigger share of the housebuilders' dollars.

This campaign by individual companies and by trade associations is having a telling effect on the long-run future of lumber-producing areas, not only in the Northwest but in the South and the Lake States. One producer of substitute building materials, for example, feels justified in spending more in promoting its products on a single television show than is being spent by the entire west coast lumber industry in promotion of all kinds.

For several months, this subject of product promotion has been a popular topic among lumbermen. Producers and wholesalers associations, such as West Coasts Lumbermen's

Association, and the Western Pine Association, have made some tentative steps toward a "beefed-up" promotion program. At least one trade magazine, the venerable and sometimes testy Crow's Digest, for several months has cajoled and needled industry readers into a greater awareness that the battle must be joined with the producers of substitutes. Fight them, or sit back complacently and watch the business go to the manufacturers of metal studs and window frames. That is the choice given the lumber industry.

Advertising, intelligently and consistently used, can create a public appetite for a product. It is a necessary part of any battle for the building and maintenance dollar. There is another important flank, however, on which the lumber industry also is vulnerable.

To appeal to today's market in competition with other industries will require more than pretty pictures and modern promotion. It will also require a modern product. Too much lumber these days is still being made and sold as pieces—not component parts but just pieces of half-finished raw material only a step better than the "jap squares" of the old days. The plywood industry has made some beginnings toward producing merchantable parts: sheathing panels, box beams, and embossed panels are examples of products which come on the building site ready for placement without additional manufacturing. Studs which have been precut to standard lengths and the efforts at prefabrication made by some individual mills are other examples of the first primitive attempts to meet the competition.

But the industry has a long way to go. To hold its own—certainly if it is to gain on the producers of substitutes—lumber is going to have to overcome the resistance of buyers to such situations as these:

You want to build window screens for your house. If you make cost comparisons, you'll find lumber is less expensive than aluminum for the frames. But, if you use wood, you'll find yourself handling 8, possibly 9, separate pieces; counting both frames and molding, you will have to carefully cut and fit 8 corners; then you must stretch the screen straight and taut; you'll have to nail cautiously to avoid splitting; and you must paint the 16 surfaces at least twice to protect the wood.

Or, you can cut and bend one piece of aluminum channel, fit the screen and press it into the channel by using two previously-formed clips. You may paint it, or simply hang the bright, weatherproof screen without finish.

The conclusion for most purchasers is obvious, whether they are making one screen or enough for a development of 100 homes: take the easy, timesaving way.

At stake in this contest between building materials producers is a multi-billion dollar business. On one side are a few large manufacturers who learned long ago the advantages of offering a brightly packaged product which requires little additional work and which is preceded on the market by thousands of dollars of advertising.

On the other side is our lumber industry made up of hundreds of businessmen. Many are too busy to see the threat. Too many think that grandpa's products and grandpa's methods of merchandising still are adequate.

Lumber today has the edge over other products. It's traditional. It feels and looks and smells good. It's versatile enough to meet the challenge—provided the hundreds of individualists in the industry will rally behind a few farsighted industry leaders.

The Future of Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the development of a nationwide television system in this country is gravely imperiled today. In fact, the future of our entire television system appears to be at the crossroads.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has held extensive hearings on television broadcasting, with special emphasis on the problem of preserving the so-called UHF—ultra-high-frequency—portion of the television spectrum. When the FCC lifted the television freeze in 1952, its allocation plan provided for a nationwide competitive television system made up of 1,875 commercial assignments and 252 educational assignments. Of this total, almost three-fourths of them are in the so-called UHF band. For a number of reasons, UHF stations encountered almost insurmountable obstacles; and, as a consequence, only 90 are on the air today. The failure of a fuller utilization of the UHF channels has greatly impeded the expansion of our competitive UHF situation. Unless something is done to improve the utilization of the UHF channels, these valuable frequencies will fall into disuse, and the potential service to the people which they represent will be lost.

Many different explanations and solutions have been offered to our committee, but on one proposition all parties concerned are in agreement. All the witnesses who appeared before us indicated that one of the chief causes of the UHF problem lies in the fact that only 7 million of the 40 million TV sets in use today are capable of UHF reception. In order to remove this disparity and to encourage the manufacturing of all-channel television receivers, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has strongly recommended that the Federal excise tax be eliminated on all-channel TV sets. This would serve to eliminate the price differential between VHF sets and all-channel sets, and would lead to the general production of all-channel sets.

Every impartial group, every congressional committee that has looked into this subject matter, as well as the Federal Communications Commission, has strongly recommended the removal of the Federal excise tax on all-channel sets as a necessary device to develop fully the all-important 70 UHF channels, which are so essential to a nationwide competitive television system.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Jack Gould, radio and television editor of the New York Times, and one of the most outstanding and knowledgeable men in the industry. In the article he forcibly demonstrates the importance of developing UHF television channels and the important role the removal of the Federal excise tax on all-channel TV sets will have in this development.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of July 14, 1957]

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT AND TV'S FUTURE

(By Jack Gould)

It may come as a surprise to many viewers that the Treasury Department in Washington could exercise an influence over the television programs that the public may or may not see for perhaps generations to come.

Yet it happens that a Treasury Department policy stands as one of the most formidable barriers to the full development of television in the national interest. This policy clearly deserves urgent and earnest re-examination, if only because the matter is scheduled to be acted upon momentarily by the Subcommittee on Excise Taxes of the House Ways and Means Committee.

The fundamentals of the situation may be stated simply: On the one hand, there is roughly $100 million in annual tax revenue to be considered. On the other, there is the long-range expansion and development of a medium with a social force surely not to be minimized.

UNANIMITY

What adds to the intriguing aspects of the case is the list of individuals and groups taking a position opposed to that of the Treasury; it constitutes a display of unanimity almost without parallel in broadcasting's history.

Included in these ranks are the Federal Communications Commission, which licenses all stations; Republican and Democratic Congressmen intimately acquainted with the problems of the airwaves, including major committees which are particularly alert to possible monopolistic practices; the national networks, the small independent broadcasters, the set manufacturers and numerous educational groups.

The heart of the problem involving the Treasury Department lies in a question that this corner recently discussed in part: The importance of finding enough physical room on the airwaves for an adequate national television service. Because of the shortage of space, many important communities still have only one or two TV outlets, the cause of educational TV has been severely handicapped and the introduction of pay-as-you-see television greatly complicated.

CHANNELS

To recount briefly, the only way to obtain this additional room on the air is to activate channels 14 through 83, known as the ultra-high-frequency band. But because channels 14 through 83 cannot be received on most existing sets, the UHF band, except in a few areas, appears likely to be abandoned and wasted. It is this lack of audience for UHF that threatens to stunt TV's expansion.

The reason for the preponderance of sets receiving only channels 2 through 13 is twofold. First, for many years these were the only channels authorized: this initial band of channels, known as very high frequency, gained a terrific head start.

But, more to the point, the production of a set with a tuner equipped to cover channels 2 through 83 involved an additional manufacturing cost. With no substantial public demand for all-channel sets, manufacturers operating on narrow profit margins concentrated on the less expensive device; namely, the channel 2 through 13 receiver.

It can be argued, and perhaps should be, that manufacturers acted selfishly in not assuring the usefulness of UHF television by making all-channel sets. But in a free-enterprise system the law of competitive economics cannot be ignored. Crying over spilled milk, in any case, is no excuse for not thinking about possible remedies that have the important virtue of practicality.

There is such a remedy. All television sets are subject to a 10-percent Federal excise tax that is imposed at the manufacturer's level. The proposal that has been advanced for a long time—and is now coming to a vote by the Subcommittee on Excise Taxes—is that this tax should be set aside in the case of all-channel receivers, but retained on sets picking up only channels 2 through 13.

COST

The effect of the proposal is to equalize the retail cost of the all-channel receiver and the channel 2 through 13 set. In other words, there would be no competitive advantage for a manufacturer not to make an all-channel receiver. On the contrary, the situation would be exactly the reverse of what it is at present. Anything less than an all-channel receiver would not be competitive.

In other words, all concerned with television could anticipate a steady, if gradual, expansion of UHF television in the course of normal replacement of obsolete receivers. If 6 million sets were sold annually, in only 5 years it would mean a potential of 30 million homes for UHF.

Adoption of the proposal would not of itself mean an immediate easy life for those interested in UHF channels. But it would give a purpose and a direction to the whole future of television. With today's channels protected and 70 new channels opened up, there would be a minimum of intraindustry politics, more opportunity for producers of all types to see their wares on the home screen and a challenging opportunity for new services as yet untried.

POSITION

The Treasury Department, however, has come out formally against the proposal and for reasons that are not hard to understand. If only all-channel sets are made, the Treasury has noted, there will be no excise revenue from any sets. Such a change, it was added, would involve "modification of the tax law for an ulterior purpose, a particular form of industrial development."

The Treasury Department's reluctance to open Pandora's box in the matter of the excise taxes is altogether understandable. But at the same time its narrow concept of the future of television as involving only industrial development must be deplored.

Any medium that disseminates ideas, information, and entertainment—or has the potential to do so—must not be considered in the same light as routine commerce. The avenues for reaching the public mind and national consciousness also must be judged in terms of their cultural and social importance. The destiny of an instrument of communications that absorbs the attention of millions upon millions day in and day out surely is not to be dismissed without searching concern and caution.

The Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which unanimously favors removal of the excise tax on all-channel sets, has noted that broad stimulation of the TV industry might ultimately result in greater revenue to the Treasury than would be temporarily lost. In any case, there are a number of precedents for such action. It must be hoped that the Treasury Department will reconsider its position. Failing that, the Subcommittee on Excise Taxes, headed by Representative AIME J. FORAND, Democrat of Rhode Island, should favor the proposal.

Levittown, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is in Bucks County, Pa., known as Levittown, a community of 50,000 people, and it has grown to that size in a period of 5 years. This community, if incorporated under one municipality, would rank as the 10th largest city in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I ask unanimous consent that a report on the community be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as I know many of my colleagues would desire to read it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Five years ago this month, amid clouds of dust and unseasonably hot weather, the first families began to move into Levittown, Pa.

Crazy people, some said. Levittown was a question mark, a big unknown, and many were its Cassandras. Prospective buyers, stopping at small towns along the way to ask directions, were greeted with a solemn shake of the head and a warning forefinger. Everyone had a story about Levittown.

"They're built on swamps, them houses. Couple years and they'll be under water." "There ain't no cellars and I'm telling you, them houses are gonna be cold and damp all year round." "The way that fella builds them houses, just one good rain and your cellar'll be waist-high in water." "You don't really own the house when you buy it, ya know. He owns the land, anyway. He's the boss and you can't do nothin' he don't want you to." "Tar paper and spit, that's all them houses are."

But the crazy people keep coming, and buying, and by June 1952, when the first families took possession, an entire year's production had been sold out. Today, more than 15,000 homes have been occupied and the population of Levittown is over 50,000. Next year, when building is expected to be completed, 70,000 people will be living in the 17,000 homes that will be Levittown.

What is Levittown like today? Even its most grudging critic will admit that it's in pretty good physical shape, while its ardent boosters point to Hurricane Hazel and the damaging floods and proudly proclaim to the world that neither left a mark on Levittown.

The community is so big and so different from every other city in the country that newcomers at first are confused by the lack of landmarks, such as corner drugstores, for example, which were not allowed to be built anywhere except in neighborhood shopping centers. This was to give the community a clean, open look.

To this end, it has been successful, for here in the country is everything a city needs—and none of the grime. A dozen new schools embodying the most modern educational concepts dot the community, and more are on the drawing boards. There are churches of all faiths. The community has its own downtown section containing 60 stores in a vast shopping center covering 60 acres—as well as other smaller centers located within the community at major intersections. Levittown has its own railroad station on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The community recreational facilities are among the finest in the Nation.

All metropolitan services such as sewer and water systems, streets, street lights and sidewalks are built-in by Levitt & Sons. There is a town hall with two auditoriums plus smaller meeting rooms, now being used as headquarters by the Levitt firm. These will be turned over free of charge for community use after the building job is finished.

The shopping centers serves as a trading hub not only for Levittown but for the entire surrounding area. The stores, including branches of leading national chains as well as Pomeroy's large department store, are arranged on both sides of a landscaped L-shaped mall that is centered in a parking area for some 5,000 cars.

Levittown's built-in recreational facilities consist of 5 highly developed park areas spread throughout the community and averaging 4 to 6 acres in size, as well as a baseball field of major league dimensions. The hub of each recreational area is an Olympic-size swimming pool, 75 feet wide and 125 feet long.

Additional facilities in each recreational park are wading pools and play areas for tots, sun decks, hard surface courts and Little League ball fields. These facilities are turned over free to the community. Maintenance is provided by an annual charge of $10 per family. This charge includes free and unlimited use of all facilities, and provides for a summer-long field sports and water safety program, including free swimming lessons.

Much has been written about life in Levittown. In the past 5 years it has become the most photographed, most written about community in the world. Foreign and domestic magazines, newspapers, radio and television have covered everything in Levittown from high fidelity to infidelity. Levittowners have been told that they are unique, that they are subnormal, that they are above the national income level and that they will be living in a slum 10 years from now.

If there is anything unique about Levittowners, it stems from the fact that the population consists mainly of young, married couples. Single men and women are rarities and only in the past few years has the teenage population appeared. This offers an explanation for the low crime rate and the high birth rate in the community.

Socially, Levittowners are possibly further along than other communities but more through necessity than choice. In the beginning of Levittown, before adequate communications with the outside world were established, Levittowners felt a strong need for companionship and comfort. Friends and relatives, along with the railroads and bus lines, registered dismay and sometimes even horror, at the thought of coming to Levittown. As a result of this enforced isolation, every time one Levittowner met another on the street, an organization was formed. Today, almost every Levittowner belongs or has belonged to some organization, league, club, association, or group.

Politically, Levittown is a nightmare. Its active officeseekers, like young athletes, leap blithely back and forth across established party lines to the chagrin and bewilderment of old-line politicians who have been known to resign in disgust. Falls Township, Bristol Township, Middletown Township, and Tullytown Borough all lay claim to Levittowners but none feel secure, for among the secret dreams of many Levittowners is a united Levittown, the 10th largest city in the State.

After 5 years, Levittown shapes up as a vigorous, youthful, growing community, playing an active role in the country's everyday life. While there are still critics who rant about the drabness, the sameness, the mediocrity, and the cracks in the picture windows, Levittowners see only a few smudges that can easily be wiped away.

The New Security Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The New Security Proposals." The editorial relates to the Commission on Government Security and Loyalty.

The editorial is thoughtful and analytical, and discusses with objectivity what I consider to be the good points and the sound points in the recommendations of the Commission, as well as the recommendations which have stirred up a considerable amount of controversy, and which in my opinion are not very helpful.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of June 30, 1957]

THE NEW SECURITY PROPOSALS

"The most crucial problem of our day is to find the formula for obtaining the maximum degree of security with the minimum sacrifice of our great national traditions."

Those words were spoken by HUBERT H. HUMPHREY in opening Senate hearings on a joint resolution to establish a Commission on Government Security, in March 1955.

They were good words, for they recognized both the necessity for effective security and the truth that any quest for absolute security could destroy basic American freedoms. They recognized, in short, that no Government employee loyalty-security system could be perfect.

The Commission subsequently created has now completed the most exhaustive search ever conducted in America for that formula of which Senator HUMPHREY spoke. It claims with justice that its 800-page report, drafted after 18 months of work, represents the first complete and detailed study of the subject. As such, and because of the quality of Commission members—Senators, Congressmen, a Governor, Government officials, lawyers, and educators—it deserves the most respectful consideration by Congress and the country. We strongly recommend a reading of at least the report's basic recommendations.

In our judgment, some of these would bring us substantially closer to the Humphrey formula and others would represent retrogression from it. First, the good points:

1. The Government once and for all would separate the problem of loyalty from that of security or suitability. Thus, a loyal but indiscreet employee could be transferred to a nonsecurity job or dismissed under ordinary civil-service procedures without risking the disloyal onus he may acquire under the present system. This would end the so-called numbers game with the loyalty-security dismissal statistics.

2. An employee subject to a loyalty investigation could confront and cross-examine his accusers under oath, except when this would compromise national security. This would be fairer to the accused and would give pause to the busybody type of informer and gossiper, who has been protected by anonymity in the past.

3. A vigorous effort would be made, partly through the efforts of a new central security office in the executive branch, to standardize loyalty and security rules, regulations, and procedures in all Government departments and agencies. This would eliminate, for example, a situation such as that of Wolf Ladejinsky, who was found unsuitable for work overseas by the Agriculture Department after he had been cleared by the State Department.

4. A legal basis would be provided for the United States Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and any future listing would be made only after FBI investigation and a hearing for the accused organization. It still can be argued that no such list should exist, but if it is to be continued, this provision would help to minimize possible abuses.

On the other hand, we are disappointed that the Commission would restore loyalty checks for all Government employees and would otherwise greatly expand the security system's coverage. Only a year ago, the Supreme Court ruled that under existing law, only employees in sensitive jobs were subject to the loyalty-security program. That made sense to us and also to a committee of the New York City Bar Association, which urged that on grounds of workability and efficiency, the program be confined to such employees.

But the Commission would also extend the program to the civil air transport industry; would broaden its application to Americans working for international organizations; and would even have Congress and the judicial branch establish their own loyalty-security systems.

Finally, we are disturbed that the Commission wants a law that would make it a criminal offense for anyone inside or outside the Government willfully to disclose information classified as secret or top secret.

This would make it a crime for newspapers to publish information labeled secret by some Government official. Under such a law, either of the two men in our Washington bureau who won Pulitzer prizes for uncovering classified information which the Tribune believed Americans had a right to know could have been fined $10,000 and jailed for 5 years.

We repeat: This report deserves respectful consideration. The country is in the debt of this Commission. But with Humphrey's formula as a guidepost, the administration and Congress should proceed with great caution in considering some of the Commission recommendations.

Civil Rights Bill Stresses Negro Ballot Impact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, heretofore granted, in the RECORD, I am inserting in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by Mr. Richard L. Strout, which article appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of Monday, July 15, 1957. Mr. Richard L. Strout is staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor.

The facts which Mr. Strout sets forth give light to speculation as to the psychological change which will take place in our Government in the years to come, if the civil-rights bill, as now written, becomes the law of the land, which it undoubtedly will.

The article follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL STRESSES NEGRO BALLOT IMPACT

It is time more Negroes voted in the South.

That belief, in essence, tells the story of the present civil-rights battle in the Senate.

Complicating factors as to how this administration goal is to be achieved have produced side issues, but the basic issue is and remains that at a time of global controversy over democracy the voting rights of millions of Negroes in the United States are seriously limited.

The Senate has agreed to vote July 16, around suppertime, on step one in the administration civil-rights bill. This is a preliminary motion to take up (make the bill the pending business of the Senate). Approval of step one is certain probably by a good margin. This in itself will be a landmark in recent civil-rights history.

Then comes the real debate and chances of modifications, changes, and amendments. The big issue still goes back to the feeling, not confined to the North, that the time has come to make some new advances in Negroes' voting rights.

The story of Negro voting in the South can be told statistically. Here are figures from the Southern Regional Council showing by States the estimated number of Negroes eligible to vote and those who actually do so.

State	Eligible	Voters
Alabama	516,000	23,000
Arkansas	233,000	68,000
Florida	367,000	149,000
Georgia	634,000	163,000
Louisiana	510,000	161,000
Mississippi	497,000	15,000
North Carolina	550,000	102,000
South Carolina	390,000	98,000
Tennessee	371,000	149,000
Texas	551,000	200,000
Virginia	423,000	85,000

There has been a marked increase of Negroes' voting rights in the past couple of generations. It is widely believed that this will continue whether the current measure is passed or not. The pressure of the present debate in Congress is apt to spur the progress. Most observers, northern and southern, believe that forward movement of the franchise is inevitable.

UNITED STATES REBUTTAL DULLED

The question involves the rate of progress and as often happens in major social changes there is a tendency to accelerate as the trend is established. At present only about 85,000 Negroes in Virginia vote out of about 423,000 eligible, and only 18,000 out of 497,000 in Mississippi. These are difficult figures with which to face Communist arguments in the cold war in Asia, Africa, and around the world.

A rise in Negro voting in southern states would have profound political consequences at home. If the factor of Negro votes became something for politicians to consider in the South (as it already has in northern cities) the slowly improving social and economic status of the race would be accelerated.

Many sitting southern Congressmen who have fought civil rights for years would have trouble. However sincere their motives, they also have a self-interest in the matter for the increase in the Negro franchise will almost certainly disturb the old, comfortable, one-party system that reelected them and gave them seniority in Congress which the hard-pressed northern Democrats had to fight for.

COMPROMISE HIT

Senator PATRICK V. MCNAMARA, Democrat, of Michigan, counseled backers of the civil-rights bill to stand firm against compromise proposals which he said are aimed to gut this bill of any effectiveness, according to the Associated Press July 15.

In a Senate speech, Senator MCNAMARA said that no matter what changes were made the die-hard opponents of this legislation will vote against it.

His own position, Senator MCNAMARA said, is to "support this proposed legislation, word by word and section by section."

Arguments for and against the injunctive procedure for enforcing court orders under the proposed administration bill are the center of current debate.

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, an advocate of civil rights, points out that the Federal judges who would be called upon to enforce the provision in the South are themselves almost 100 percent southerners born and reared in the traditions of the area.

One of the leading jurists, for example, is a brother of Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia—the spokesman who has used the most emotional language in drawing a picture of rule by the bayonet if judicial enforcement is provided.

Over the weekend the civil-rights debate proceeded by radio and television over the Nation. Millions of listeners heard the arguments from one end of the country to the other.

Many of these arguments dealt with details of the administration program and not the heart of it—the simple question of voting rights of citizens. Few opponents cared to meet the issue on this point. In the long run, however, this is the basic matter involved.

In Defense of Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column entitled "In Defense of Civil Rights," written by Dillard Stokes and published in the July 14, 1957, issue of the Council Bluffs, Iowa, Nonpareil. It is a presentation which puts the present debate on the Brownell bill in its proper perspective and is an analysis which is deserving of the careful study and consideration of every Member of this Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN DEFENSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS
(By Dillard Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—The citizen's right to cast his ballot is precious. To tamper with it was a crime at common law and is a crime today, both in the States and by Federal law.

Backers of the civil-rights measure think these laws not strong enough; they want to put more teeth in them.

This raises issues on which honest men may differ, which reasonable men may debate.

But so far the civil-rights debate has been addressed, not to acknowledgment of any right but to denial of a right.

What is being dealt with in this case is no petty wrong, but a crime.

A crime, for which men may be fined and slapped in jail.

This is as it ought to be, to be sure: it would be an odd code of laws that did not make it a crime to deny a citizen his right to vote.

By the same token, one accused of crime has a right to a trial by jury. This is an old right, wrung—from the English crown at Runnymede, and written in plain words in the Bill of Rights.

Yet so far debate has been chiefly about whether to take this right way.

Backers of the civil-rights bill say frankly they do not think juries could be trusted to convict, in cases of denial of the ballot.

But they have a curious faith in judges, seeming to feel that putting a black robe on a man and calling him "Your Honor" will somehow make him more brave and honest than if he sits in a jury box.

The pending bill would allow the judges to order people not to commit crimes, and then—if men were accused of doing so—to try the offenders without a jury.

Thus, to secure one civil right, the bill would strangle another.

Where does this lead us?

In time of war, why not have the judges put out injunctions saying nobody must commit treason, or sedition, or dodge the draft?

At any time, why not enjoin housebreaking, homicide, rape, robbery, and obtaining money by false pretenses.

These, too, are horrid offenses and people accused of them are tried by juries every day, and turned loose.

If it is wise and just to bypass the jury in the case of an offense against a man's franchise, surely his person and property ought to have no less protection.

These proposals, of course, rest on a theory new to American law, though well understood in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

That is, that the aim of a trial is to convict somebody. And so the trial must run in such a manner and by such rules as will bring this to pass.

It is said denial of the right to vote is so horrid that these measures are called for.

If Congress agrees, will it not be argued next year that some other crime, too, is so horrid that it must have the same summary process?

And so on, until there is one simple, sweeping court order forbidding anybody to violate any law at all.

Thus the issue is drawn, and thus the lines of debate, in the Congress day by day, and as seems likely, for weeks to come.

United Nations Emergency Force Helps Keep Middle East Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article concerning the United Nations emergency force. The article was written by Mr. Wilbur Elston, editorial editor of the Minneapolis Tribune.

I note that on yesterday the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] called to the attention of the Senate the action of the Foreign Relations Committee in approving the resolution calling for the establishment of a United Nations emergency police force. The article I now have before me pertains to that very subject matter, and, I believe, sheds considerable light upon the importance of an emergency police force under the auspices of the United Nations. The article points out the excellent work accomplished by the UNEF, and discusses in some detail how the UNEF was established.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNEF HELPS KEEP MIDDLE EAST PEACE

A small band of 6,000 men—an international army representing 10 different countries—is playing an important role in keeping the peace in the Middle East.

The Eisenhower doctrine is perhaps the major deterrent to further Communist penetration and use of force in the Middle East. But the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) also performs an essential role in helping keep the peace in Israel and Egypt.

UNEF was created last November under a resolution of the U. N. General Assembly proposed by Canada's Lester Pearson. Its job was to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in Egypt and take over the policing job after the invading forces of England, France, and Israel had withdrawn from different parts of Egypt and the Gaza strip.

However, Egypt quickly reestablished its sovereignty over the Suez area that had been occupied by the British and the French, and later over the Gaza strip after the withdrawal of the Israeli forces. As a result, a new U. N. General Assembly resolution authorized UNEF to take on a new role: Implementation of the Egyptian-Israeli armistice agreement in order to safeguard peace between the two countries. This still is UNEF's job although Israel maintains that the demarcation lines have no validity because Egypt has broken the armistice agreement.

UNEF patrols the Egyptian side of the Gaza strip—the Israelis have refused to permit UNEF to patrol their side. UNEF troops also are stationed in the Sharm-el-Sheikh area. From an air station at El Arish, UNEF's air arm—provided by the Canadian air force—flies regular communication flights to and from its base at Naples, Italy.

Canada, with 1,180 men in various units, has the largest contingent in UNEF. Other nations represented, largely by infantry, are India, 840 men; Denmark and Norway, 1 composite battalion of 650 men, plus another Norwegian medical company of 195 men; Yugoslavia, 760 men; Indonesia, 580 men; Brazil, 530 men; Colombia, 520 men; Sweden, 330 men; and Finland, 250 men.

UNEF still is an emergency and temporary force. Its duration still is to be determined, although the purposes for which it originally was set up—to secure the cessation of hostilities in Egypt and a withdrawal of the invading forces—has now been accomplished. UNEF is in Egypt only by Egypt's sufferance or consent, and Egypt even exercises an informal veto over the troops and officers to be stationed in the country. In addition, the members contributing troops can withdraw them at any time.

Even though it may be a weak reed, it has been effective in patrolling the armistice line (although Israel has complained that UNEF in Gaza has become a shield for the fedayeen raiders and has protected them from retaliation). Perhaps of greater importance is the small force of 250 Finnish riflemen stationed at Sharm-el-Sheikh, where an Egyptian battery formerly blocked Israel's access to its port of Elath. The Finns' presence helps keep the Gulf of Aqaba open, discourages the Egyptians from setting up a new blockade at that point, and thus prevents the outbreak

of hostilities that Israel has promised in event of a new attempt to halt its ships.

UNEF's greatest influence, however, may be as a precedent for a permanent international force to halt aggression. Admittedly, UNEF's influence is limited and its power is slight, but it may well be a beginning toward the organization of a force that someday under international jurisdiction may be strong enough to keep world peace.

Canada's Pearson sees UNEF as providing the U. N. with a precedent for "a halfway house at the crossroads of war." On the basis of the experience obtained in Egypt, he suggests, in a recent issue of Foreign Affairs quarterly, that some principles be adopted now to set up U. N. machinery and, as required, a peace supervision force to be used in avoiding, ending, or limiting any future hostilities. Among his proposals are:

Member governments should be invited to express a willingness to contribute contingents to the U. N. for noncombatant purposes, such as the supervision of agreed cease-fire and peace supervisory functions; the Secretary General should be given a permanent military adviser and a small staff to assume responsibility for directing any truce arrangements agreed upon; an advisory committee similar to the one that now assists the Secretary General with the UNEF should be appointed; the force should be capable of defending itself; and the force should enter a country only with the consent of the country involved, as in Egypt.

"The early arrival of a U. N. force of this kind at a scene of an emergency would give assurance to the fearful and hope to the despairing," Pearson says. "It would act as the U. N. policeman and his watchdog * * *. [But] if a plan anything like that I have outlined is to succeed, governments must, both within and outside the U. N., follow policies consistent with its objectives and its capabilities.

"Are we to go from crisis to crisis improvising in haste? Or can we now pool our experience and our resources, so that the next time, we, the governments and peoples whom the United Nations represent, will be ready and prepared to act?"

Oregon Participation in 100th Annual Convention of National Education Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, few States were more active or prominent than Oregon at the recent 100th Annual Convention of the National Education Association in Philadelphia. This was only fitting and proper, because Oregon has an outstanding school system of which all of us are justifiably proud. Heading the Oregon delegation to the NEA Convention were Miss Martha Shull, Portland classroom teacher who served as national president of the National Education Association, and Miss Mildred Wharton, a Multnomah County High School vice principal, who is president of the Oregon Education Association.

An excellent article describing the vital role of Oregon delegates appeared in the July 5, 1957, edition of the Medford Mail-Tribune, of Medford, Oreg. Author of the article is Mrs. Olive Starcher, women's editor of the Medford Mail-Tribune, who accompanied the Oregon delegation to the NEA meeting in Philadelphia.

I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Starcher's informative article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON IN LIMELIGHT AT NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION'S 100TH ANNUAL CONVENTION

(By Olive Starcher)

PHILADELPHIA, July 2.—Oregon is in the limelight for the centennial convention of National Education association which opened here yesterday with Miss Martha Shull, Portland teacher of English and national president, presiding, the Oregon delegation is seated on the main floor of convention hall directly in front of the platform. This morning when Miss Shull opened the first business session, her home State delegation was 106 strong, plus the press.

AMENDMENT OFFERED

When business began, Oregon took the spotlight almost immediately for the delegation had been instructed by the Oregon education association to offer an amendment to the proposition which would raise NEA dues from $5 to $10 annually. Wilfred Burgess, of Pineville, immediate past president of OEA and delegation head, offered the amendment which would have increased the dues to only $8 and spoke for it. After an hour's debate during which only 2 or 3 delegations supported the Oregon amendment, the convention voted the raise of dues to $10.

Just prior to the convention opening, the Oregonians met at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel to organize the delegation. Mrs. Antonia Crater, Newberg, past president of OEA and NEA director from Oregon, presided, and Mrs. Maxine Smith, Medford, was named secretary.

OTHER DELEGATES

Included among the delegates was Mrs. Mabel Winston, Ashland, dean of women and registrar of Southern Oregon College, who had just come from the annual convention of American Association of University Women held in Boston. Mrs. Winston, who for the past 6 years, has been Pacific Northwest regional director for AAUW, was replaced during the convention by Dr. Marian Cox, Seattle. Mrs. Winston brought the news that Mrs. Robert Y. Thornton, Salem, past president of Oregon AAUW, was named to the arts committee of the national body and that two Pacific Northwest colleges, Marylhurst, Portland, and Whitworth, Spokane, had been accredited by AAUW.

Dr. F. M. Hunter, Eugene, NEA president in 1921 and former chancellor of higher education for Oregon, was introduced and honored. Dr. Hunter is attending his 50th annual NEA convention.

GAVEL PRESENTED

At the convention's opening ceremonies Monday night, the Oregon delegation presented Miss Shull with a gavel, with Miss Mildred Wharton, Portland, OEA president, making the presentation. The entire delegation stood and was presented to the assemblage. Miss Shull was also given a portfolio of the anniversary postage stamp issued in celebration of the NEA centennial, and for which first-day envelopes were sold and postal cancellations arranged.

Monday afternoon another Oregonian, Ewald Turner of Pendleton, was elected first vice president of the department of classroom teachers of NEA. Miss Vivian Powell, librarian of Priest School, Detroit, Mich., was elected president. This department, largest of the 30 NEA affiliated departments, has a membership of almost 600,000 members. This made two Oregonians named to national office during the teacher sessions, since Jim McDonald of Medford was elected president of Student National Education Association at the student's meetings in Washington, D. C., last week.

Signs on the walls of convention hall state that NEA was founded in 1857 in Philadelphia with an enrollment of 43 members, including 2 women. Membership is now 703,829, with men outnumbered 3 or 4 to 1. One of the organization's current projects is completion of a large headquarters in Washington for which teachers raised the sum of $9 million.

TALK MERIT RATING

Merit rating, adopted on a trial basis recently by the Medford School system and opposed nationally by many teachers, was discussed at a special press conference which Miss Shull held Monday noon. She said she approved of some types of merit rating but believed that more study and investigation should be carried on before it is adopted by more systems.

Teacher shortages, better salaries, improvement of teacher education, curriculum changes to meet the demands of changed world conditions, and other phases of education were discussed at the conference. Miss Shull said everyone should work to promote better understanding and communications between the profession and the rest of the citizenry.

Questioned about teacher shortages, she estimated the shortage figure would be at least 150,000 teachers by fall. Asked how this could be remedied, she mentioned methods to interest more youth in teaching, cooperation of parent-teacher associations and other groups, better salaries and better working conditions, and Federal aid to education. She said the latter should be channeled to the areas in greatest distress.

CURRICULUM NEEDS

Asked about curriculums to keep pace with world technological needs, Miss Shull said there is need to increase instruction in the field of science and technology, but that the proper balance must be maintained with the humanities. She mentioned that teachers must be adequately trained in world affairs and conditions and said they should have a broad cultural background.

Speaking of teachers in general, Miss Shull declared the most important thing is to have sufficient properly trained teachers and added "there is no substitute for the good relationship between teacher and pupil." She added that such methods as television can only supplement and not replace personal classroom instruction.

Are We Getting Our Money's Worth Out of Foreign Aid?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of our colleagues an address made by Bernard S. Van Rensselaer before the Detroit Economic Club on April 22, 1957. Mr. Van Rensselaer's address was as follows:

ARE WE GETTING OUR MONEY'S WORTH OUT OF FOREIGN AID?

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you one of the most difficult and

controversial problems confronting our Nation, our efforts to assist three-quarters of the world with American financial and material resources.

For, like it or not, that is exactly what we are trying to do.

To travel here I boarded an airplane in Washington, D. C., at 2:40 p. m. yesterday. I arrived in Detroit 3½ hours later. In that very brief space of time our Federal Government spent $1,500,000 for military and economic aid to foreign countries.

I mention this because I think it illustrates two of our national characteristics. We move fast, and we do things in a big way.

In little more than 100 years we overcame every imaginable kind of human and material obstacle and forged a bright new world from millions of square miles of tangled wilderness and open plains. By faith and relentless efforts we created a new way of life and made it the best mankind could offer.

We believe so much in this way of life that we have fought for it in nearly every part of the globe. American cemeteries in many countries are moving evidence that Americans, more than any other people, have proved it really is a small world.

With the highest of motives and with our usual superabundance of energy and optimism, we are today contributing to the economies and welfare of some 60 countries. For a time at least, ours is a necessary mission. Foreign aid has become, in just 10 short years, an important part of our foreign policy. We are now so deeply committed that we simply cannot pull out in the foreseeable future.

This entire program is being conducted with a great sense of urgency. We are constantly led to believe that if we don't move fast the roof will fall in, that only our dollars can save the world from communism. If large sums of money are squandered, it's unfortunate, but the Communist threat must be overcome.

At this point, however, the situation loses focus. We're told in effect that we can only fight communism successfully if we lift up all the underdeveloped areas of the world by their bootstraps, and change their ways of life, and make them over into what we think they should be. Thus the idealism and emotions of a generous people become involved and practical considerations tend to be brushed aside.

I personally believe very strongly in the principles of American aid to needy countries. But this must be done within our own ability to pay the bill and administer the program efficiently. It must also be kept within the capacity of the recipient countries to absorb and make good use of what we give them.

And we must be realistic and admit frankly that we have a self-interest motive: specifically, gaining and holding trustworthy friends in the family of free nations.

When we first launched a formal program of assistance to other nations, back in 1947, our primary concern was the relief and rehabilitation of war-torn Europe. We poured money and materials and technological know-how into the area, and in a very short time our European friends were back on their feet.

Then we branched out into the Middle East, Africa, southeast Asia, the Far East, and Latin America. We approached this worldwide undertaking with the same formula that had worked so well in Europe, do it big and do it fast. And here we ran into trouble. The old formula didn't work any more.

It is obvious now that the methods that had rescued Europe simply could not produce the same results in the arid deserts of north Africa and the teeming areas of southeast Asia and the remote back country of Latin America. Our efforts to do big things in a hurry in underdeveloped countries has resulted in chaos, confusion, and dollars down the drain.

Unfortunately, this lesson remains unlearned within the high councils of foreign-aid planning in Washington. Evidence of this abounds in thousands of pages of congressional reports and transcripts of hearings.

Between July 1, 1945, and September 30, 1956, the United States paid out $56.8 billion for military and economic assistance to other nations. Besides this staggering sum, $10 billion more had been appropriated by Congress but was still unspent. For fiscal year 1957, Congress granted $3.75 billion for foreign aid, both military and nonmilitary. For fiscal 1958, the President is asking a foreign-aid budget of $4 billion, a modest increase over the current year.

In addition to all this, we have provided overseas aid totaling $2 billion in the form of surplus agricultural commodities.

I do not intend to comment on the purely military phase of foreign aid. This is a highly technical and complicated program which the average layman is not qualified to discuss. When the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff tell us that our national security will suffer unless we continue to provide military hardware, training, and logistical support at present level, we are in no position to argue, and few Members of Congress care to assume the responsibility of trimming military aid dollars in the face of such authoritative pronouncements.

However, I think the American taxpayer is directly concerned when military aid becomes interwoven with economic aid, when civilian planners are allowed to influence the programing and day-by-day conduct of military assistance, and when complicated economic projects are disguised in military garb.

The need for a clear-cut separation between these two basic forms of foreign aid is strikingly illustrated by a half-billion dollar project to rehabilitate and expand the British Royal Air Force.

In 1953 and 1954 hundreds of millions of American dollars were committed to add new aircraft to the RAF. It was known that these planes, when and if they were finally delivered, would be greatly inferior to the supersonic planes then in production in this country and in Russia. But the effect of this grant-in-aid to the RAF was to release British Government funds to subsidize the development and production of commercial jet aircraft in competition with American airframe and engine manufacturers.

In short, what purported to be purely a military program was actually a fiscal maneuver to ladle more American dollars into the British economy and fortify that nation's budget. For this the then Director of Mutual Security and his economic planners were really responsible. Furthermore, Congress was not fully informed about the nature of this transaction when the funds were requested. It's quite probable, that if Congress had known all the facts, it would have refused to grant the necessary funds. But as it turned out, the disguise worked, and as usual, the American taxpayer paid the bill.

Even disregarding military assistance entirely, our present economic-aid program is vastly more complex and far reaching than anything contemplated under the original Marshall plan 10 years ago. Economic aid today includes point 4 activities; the economic development of backward countries; a nebulous sort of thing called defense support; budget support; and the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for local currency which is then returned in the form of grants or loans.

Regardless of the terminology and sometimes confusing categories, it all adds up to one thing—economic assistance on a grand scale. In one form or another, this program covers more than 2,000 projects in virtually every field of human activity as well as all kinds of commodities, services, and even United States Treasury checks. No less than 8,000 persons are employed by the Government to plan and administer this program.

What do these people do to keep busy? Sometimes even Government officials wonder. An official visitor to one of our Asian missions reports that he asked an attractive young woman the nature of her assignment. She explained that she was revising the third reader for the local schools. The visitor expressed interest in the project and asked if she had any help. "Oh, yes," she replied, "I have nine assistants."

Here are other examples of what we are providing for a large part of the world: engineering and technical services; factories; dams; power stations; highways; the procurement, transport, and distribution of huge quantities of machinery and basic commodities such as food, raw materials, fabricated steel, medicines, and hospital equipment; and railway rolling stock.

Obviously, a program of such magnitude, involving the expenditure of vast sums of money—not to mention the welfare of millions of people abroad—requires a high degree of careful planning and efficient management if it is to operate successfully.

Is this what we're getting? Let me illustrate the kind of "careful planning" that goes into our foreign aid program:

A few years ago it was discovered that out of a $14 million allocation for the country of Burma, only $8 million had been obligated by June 1. Only 30 days remained before the fiscal year would end. Following standard procedure, a rush meeting was called to discuss new ways to commit the remaining $6 million without delay. I attended this meeting.

After several possible projects were discussed and summarily dismissed, one of the planners present suggested importing blacksmith equipment into Burma. Someone quickly pointed out that you couldn't put much of a dent in $6 million with these items. But the planner had big things in mind; he wanted enough blacksmith equipment to put a complete unit in every town and village in the country. This, he said, would use up a million dollars or more.

But one of those present opposed the idea. Rather cynically, he asked his colleague: "What are you trying to do, shoe every elephant in Burma?"

This little story, however, has a happy ending. Eventually enough projects were improvised to commit all of the $6 million before the fiscal deadline and it was spared the fate of lying around gathering dust in the Federal Treasury.

Now I think we will all concede that in any large institutionalized undertaking, whether private business or government, we must expect a certain percentage of human error. It's inescapable. But the disturbing fact is that available evidence of bad planning and mismanagement in our foreign aid program transcends anything that might reasonably be expected or forgiven. This is all a matter of public record. And the sad truth is that we were making the same costly mistakes in 1956 that we made in 1952, indicating that somewhere along the line of command there is an inability or unwillingness to learn from experience.

The brief history of American foreign aid provides a lesson in itself in the intricacies of bureaucratic nomenclature. We started with the Economic Cooperation Administration, progressed through the Mutual Security Agency, the Technical Cooperation Administration, and the Foreign Operations Administration to what we now call the International Cooperation Administration.

But while the titles have changed, there have been too few new faces on the policy-making and planning level, except at the very top. In the past 7 years the economic aid program has had 5 directors. None has

been on the job more than 2½ years and one stayed only only a few months.

Repeated congressional investigations of our foreign-aid program have failed to turn up anything resembling a well-defined governing policy. And so we sometimes find ourselves offering aid before it is even requested. Or on occasion being forced to sell the need for economic aid to the recipient country when it becomes obvious to our aid planners that the nation we are dealing with just doesn't know what is good for it.

It's a matter of record that some of the countries which accepted our aid were so little interested in the grand projects we had planned for them that they failed to contribute their agreed share of the cost and frequently benevolent, generous old Uncle Sam wound up paying the entire bill.

Here are several pertinent examples: In Mexico a cooperative agricultural contract under technical assistance was made at a proposed cost of $750,000 to the United States. The project never got underway because there was opposition within the Mexican Government, which then failed to meet its contribution amounting to about 25 percent of our share. Reportedly our contribution was reprogramed and reobligated for other purposes.

Similarly, in Uruguay the United States committed itself to technical assistance projects in 8 difference fields, for a total obligation of $1,121,000. Uruguay, however, made substantial contributions to only 1 of them, after agreeing earlier to helping defray the cost of all 8 projects.

Now let me quote from the findings of a congressional subcommittee: "A 1954 United States contribution of $300,000 to the agricultural services in Brazil was held up for 2 years because Brazil failed to make a matching contribution. Another $150,000 set aside in 1952 for a rural education program was carried over as an expended item year after year because the Brazilian Government never put any matching funds into the program."

Does this sound like the reaction of governments sincerely interested in the kind of projects we were promoting?

Another major problem is the exchange rate at which our foreign aid dollars are converted into local currency. In certain countries, this conversion has been made at unrealistic rates to the great disadvantage of the dollar. In Korea, for example, where the volume of our economic aid program is very large, we are compelled to convert our dollars at the rate of 500 Korean hwon to the dollar, while the free rate of exchange fluctuates between 800 and 1,300 to 1 This means we are surrending half of the purchasing power of our dollar; it costs us twice as many dollars to accomplish our aid objectives as it should.

The tragic part of the situation is that we tolerate it. We seem to be unable to persuade the Korean Government to adopt a more realistic attitude.

This penchant of ours for picking up the tab, this apparent overanxiety to demonstrate to one and all that we are ready, willing, and able to foot the bill for everything from blacksmith tools to hydroelectric projects, runs sharply counter to the fundamental concept of foreign aid: that our mission is to help others help themselves, and to cement lasting international friendships in the bargain.

It is difficult, indeed, to reconcile this concept with a policy of helping those who haven't asked for help simply in the hope that after they receive what we can give them, they will be everlastingly grateful because they will see what they have been missing.

I have strong doubts, however, that we encouraged this reaction when we helped construct sugar plants in Iran, where there is little sugar, and when we helped erect cotton mills in Korea, where there is no native cotton, and when we helped put up flour mills in Korea and Formosa, where there is little or no wheat.

We have constructed industrial plants, but failed to install the needed power. In Iran we helped finance a textile factory. We spent some $500,000 for American-made looms and installed them in the plant. Unfortunately, the looms required high-grade cotton—of which there was very little—and skilled operators and maintenance helpers—of whom there were none available in the native population. But we installed a half-million dollars' worth of looms anyway, then didn't provide the power machinery to run them.

The deplorable situation in Iran, as you know, has been widely explored by Congress. Perhaps you are not aware, however, that in 4 years the industry division of our foreign-aid mission there had 6 directors. In order, they were: A weaving technician, a fishery expert, a retired industrial consultant who had never been overseas before, a former investment counselor, a graduate forester, and a mechanical engineer who specialized in engine design.

Little wonder, then, that our foreign-aid planners, when taken to task, have defended many of our projects, technical and otherwise, solely on political grounds when economic justification was impossible.

I believe the evidence is clear—and you may have reached the same conclusion as you watched the development of our foreign-aid program—that the planners and theorists in the State Department and the International Cooperation Administration have been too preoccupied with the outflow of dollars and too little concerned with the things for which the dollars are spent.

A big program isn't necessarily a worth while program, just as a big budget isn't necessarily a justifiable one. This, too, is a lesson still unlearned in many Washington offices. Can the taxpaying public think otherwise when a member of our aid mission in Pakistan is reproved for planning a limited technical-education project which his superiors rejected on grounds it was too modest? In this particular case, the planner was assured that his idea would be approved if he expanded it to national scale.

Unfortunately for Congress and the country at large, the true cost of this free-wheeling, irresponsible approach to a program of tremendous scope, the true cost of mismanagement and lack of direction and just plain bungling is extremely difficult to compute. It shouldn't be, but it is. There is a startling scarcity of reliable information available to those trying to bring the entire program under close scrutiny and review.

Early last January, the Comptroller General of the United States wrote a letter to the Director of the International Cooperation Administration enclosing a General Accounting Office memorandum calling attention to certain operational deficiencies in the economic aid program and suggesting remedial action. Among other things the memorandum stated that ICA had asked for new appropriations to meet the expenses of specified projects, although funds previously allocated to these same projects had not been fully used or even obligated. The memorandum also observed that there were no systematic records in ICA to enable anyone to say how or why aid levels were established in Washington for given countries or projects. It further noted that ICA's presentations to Congress in support of appropriation requests were inadequate and that ICA headquarters failed to maintain sufficient information regarding the progress of field projects and the use of funds.

After a lapse of 3 months during which ICA paid no attention to the letter and memorandum of the Comptroller General beyond an acknowledgment of their receipt, the matter came to the notice of the Hardy subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations which opened public hearings. The Director of the International Cooperative Administration testified that he had instructed his people to reply to the Comptroller General within 2 months and was surprised to learn that it had not been done.

This is indicative of the difficulties that confront Congress and the public in obtaining reliable information regarding the foreign aid program.

Congress is disturbed by this situation, as it should be. My good friend, Representative GEORGE MEADER, of Ann Arbor, and others are calling for a top-to-bottom review of our foreign aid structure. This concern in Congress is pushed forward by each new committee report unearthing new instances of waste and chaotic conditions in this program.

Let me read a particularly significant passage from a report issued only a few months ago by the House Government Operations Committee. Here is what the committee concluded after questioning the top policy-makers in the International Cooperation Administration:

"The overwhelming reluctance which key ICA officials have displayed in laying their cards on the table before this subcommittee, indeed the apparent intent of some of the principal witnesses to snow the subcommittee under with irrelevant and gratuitous side issues, has shaken the subcommittee's confidence in the soundness of the reports on which Congress has based its judgments of the entire foreign aid operation. As a result, the serious deficiencies in the Iran program are not now the principal concern of the subcommittee. With the exercise of a good deal of charity it might be possible to understand many of these as isolated and peculiar to the time and place. But the most far-reaching and disturbing discovery the subcommittee made in the course of this investigation was that the principal officials in charge of this program either could not recognize these deficiencies or were dedicated to the task, especially in dealing with the Congress, of defending by highly questionable means indefensible performances."

That's tough talk. And not to be taken lightly. These are the views of some 30 Members of the House of Representatives, a bipartisan cross section basing its conclusions on documented evidence and direct testimony from the administrators of our foreign aid program.

In the light of such authoritative opinion, I for one am not inclined to laugh off the remark of one Government official of a country in which we have spent many hundreds of millions of dollars, to the effect that American aid projects were "wasteful but"—and get this—"inoffensive indulgences." In this man's mind we were literally tossing our money out the window, but we weren't hurting anybody, so what's the harm? Nor am I disposed to applaud the comment of a foreign-aid official, still on the job with ICA, who said, in referring to a last-minute obligation of aid funds, "We told them we would give them the money. What difference does it make how it's spent?"

I hope, in these few minutes, that I have been able to convey to you my grave concern with our foreign-aid program, even though in many instances this program has performed a useful service. Some of our technical assistance projects have yielded excellent results; the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt training programs have proved truly useful; and I have nothing but admiration for our antimalaria project in a number of nations. I also wish to pay tribute to many able and dedicated people in the program, from the rank of mission chief down the line.

As I noted earlier, we are committed indefinitely to a foreign assistance operation of

substantial proportions. We can't abandon it, but we can—in fact, we must—improve it.

What we need most today is a realistic recognition by all concerned—and that includes every American taxpayer—that our assistance was never intended to be perpetual, that the indiscriminate expenditure of dollars in one country after another on projects that are too costly on one side and unwanted or inappropriate on the other can only lead to a state of mutual distrust and frustration.

Our original conception of foreign aid was to help others help themselves, and then let them stand on their own feet. It's a splendid idea; and it's high time we put it into practice.

I profoundly believe that unless we quickly and vigorously overhaul the foreign-aid machinery we have put into motion, work the kinks out of an engine that has been lubricated too often with too many American dollars, we will find ourselves saddled with an international WPA of frightening dimensions, with all its implications of state socialism and economic imperialism and with a fantastic bureaucracy of reckless planners and irresponsible spenders.

The effect of such a state of affairs upon our foreign relations would be nothing short of disastrous. And in these days of uncertainty and international tensions, it's a disaster we cannot afford to risk.

Now, where do we start the overhaul? I think our first job must be to find out in accurate detail just what has happened to the money we have already spent. Some can be traced today; some cannot. But at least if we know where and how some of it has gone we can learn both from our mistakes and accomplishments and chart a new and more effective course.

In 1956 seven members of the Hoover Commission's task force on economic overseas operations, under the leadership of Mr. Henning W. Prentis, Jr., former chairman of this task force, and the Honorable Charles Sawyer, former Secretary of Commerce, urged Congress to create a joint committee or Hoover-type commission to conduct such a review in the field of foreign-aid operations and spending. The objective is a comprehensive study tracing foreign-aid dollars from their appropriation to final expenditure. These actual costs could then be related to the impacts of our aid projects both on the recipient countries and on the United States. A majority of Congress has not yet shown any disposition to act on this proposal.

However, the need for this type of study is obvious. We cannot plan for the future, unless we know definitely what has happened in the past.

The foreign-aid program is 10 years old. The Marshall plan, in spite of waste and mismanagement, had happy results. The emergency was met and dealt with. Since then, under the pressure of other emergencies, a new set of programs has blossomed all over the world. The end has not been reached.

This program has taken on the characteristics of a mushrooming improvisation. It seems to be impelled in part by the noblest motives and in part by an apparent belief that enough dollars, enough dams, enough powerplants and enough steel mills, if provided rapidly wherever there is poverty, illiteracy, brutality, corruption, and suspicion, will somehow save the souls of men and rescue the world for our type of democracy. Of course, this isn't true. Nevertheless, we are permitting ourselves to be pressured into the continuing expansion of a program that has already gotten out of control and has exceeded the ability of its administrators to manage it properly.

This country has always been, and I pray always will be, ready to assist other less fortunate countries in realizing their legitimate aspirations and improving their lot. But we cannot live in a dream world, and many things we would like to see accomplished in other parts of the globe will take a long time and must be done bit by bit within the capacities of the struggling nations to carry their own load. They can be helped but not permanently subsidized. What we are doing at present encourages a spirit of dependence rather than independence among a number of young countries that have only recently thrown off their colonial ties and are just learning to stand on their own feet. This can defeat our purpose by embittering the people we are trying to help. As a high Pakistan official told one of our economic-aid officials when he learned of the size of our prospective staff in his country, "We have just got rid of the British because we didn't like to have them ordering our lives, and we have no intention of permitting the Americans to move in and replace them."

It's time to create rigid policy framework for our foreign-aid program and stay within it. Let's commit ourselves to a useful and sensible point 4 program doing a few significant things in each country. Let's assist in industrial development within realistic limitations, to the extent that hard-bitten judgment justifies a given project from our point of view as well as the other fellow's. And when I say hard bitten, I mean the reasoned opinion of experts, not dreamers or promoters. Let's cut out grants-in-aid except in the most unusual circumstances, remembering when we lend that loans beyond a certain point can break a country, not make it. Let's stop, or at least reduce, a lot of the so-called budget support which is advancing rather than controlling inflation. When we decide to render such support, let's do it in a straightforward and businesslike manner.

Management is another problem. Foreign aid is the greatest merchant banking and engineering business in the world. There are few commercial banks in this country big enough to handle all of ICA's banking business. As in any vast enterprise, the need here is for practical, realistic, experienced management. Until the invaluable asset of sound administration is added, we cannot hope to wipe out the waste and extravagance which has beset this program for 10 years.

A final word. We have not sought leadership in this troubled world. It has been forced upon us, and to the best of our ability we have tried to respond to the call. We have made mistakes and we have absorbed a lot of criticism, but when the chips were down we did our best—and I think every one of us has the right to be proud of the part the United States has played to bring about a better world.

But I sometimes wonder if we haven't been a little oversold on our duties to the rest of the world and if perhaps we might not be entitled to a greater degree of cooperation from some of the people we are trying to help. I would like to regard it as a two-way street, with our representatives, both here and abroad, acting just a little bit tougher in defending the interests of Uncle Sam and the American taxpayers.

We must discard, once and for all, the notion that foreign aid can ever become a substitute for diplomacy and a realistic foreign policy. We cannot hope to win respect or affection by ever being jockeyed into a position of paying tribute, bribery, or even blackmail to accomplish our objectives. After all, we are dealing with some very realistic and tough-minded people. We'll help them out, but we don't want to be exploited and we don't want our generosity to be regarded as a sign of weakness. Let's encourage stiffer trading on the part of our own people, to insure that what is good for the rest of the world is in fact good for the United States.

Programs like foreign aid never remain static; they expand or contract; they improve or deteriorate. If our economic aid program continues on its present course, I believe the ultimate results will be most unhappy for everyone concerned, and the cost will be terrifying.

Our real hope for reforms in the foreign aid program rests in the application of the democratic process. It is everyone's business. To the extent that opinions exist, they should be expressed to those in authority. In so doing, it is my firm belief that a great service will be rendered both to the United States and to the world.

An Inconsistent Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, there have been many editorials written concerning the recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

An exceptionally fine one appeared in the Monday, July 8, issue of the Evening Outlook, Santa Monica, Calif., entitled, "An Inconsistent Supreme Court." I feel that all Members of Congress should have the benefit of this splendid editorial and I am, therefore, inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editorial follows:

AN INCONSISTENT SUPREME COURT

As the Supreme Court prepares to give its final decision of an historic term—in the case of William Girard—it finds itself the center of a controversy unequaled since the 1930's. The High Court's novel rulings on congressional investigative powers claim the brightest spotlight, this including the cases of 14 California Communists who were either freed or given new trials after having been convicted by Federal courts in this State. But also on stage are decisions indicating that the pendulum has swung a full arc since the days of the nine old men.

In that era of the thirties, the New Dealers, led by Franklin D. Roosevelt, complained that the Court leaned over backward in rigid interpretation of the Constitution, in reliance on precedence and continuity in the administration of law. Today's Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, is criticized for an opposite tendency—for what is seen as a purely sociological interpretation of the Constitution and a blithe nosethumbing at precedence and consistency.

The Court's critics among the legal profession point out that an orderly civilization demands a degree of predictability and strict legality in legal affairs. Wholly unpredictable, inconsistent and cockeyed was the Court's recent ruling reversing itself to free two women convicted by military courts of killing their husbands, on the grounds that military trials of civilians charged with capital offenses overseas are not constitutional.

The ruling overturned a previous Supreme Court decision, handed down only a year before, that such trials are constitutional. The cases were the same; the Constitution is the same. The only change was in the reasoning of the Court.

Another example of startling inconsistency was the decision requiring Du Pont to divest itself of General Motors stock. For 40 years, interpretation of antitrust statutes had held that companies could hold stock in noncom-

peting companies but not in competitors. The Court's new ruling, disregarding all precedent, put thousands of law-abiding corporations in the category of lawbreakers overnight.

The Court's decision outlawing segregated schools reversed a 60-year-od decision legalizing separate but equal school facilities—the basis for enormous expenditures by the South in its public-school plant. Irrespective of the sociological aspects of the Court's reversal, it was in marked contrast with its own rulings in another controversy involving organized baseball.

In 1922, the Supreme Court held baseball was a sport, not a business, and did not come under the antitrust laws. Recently, the Court held that the 1922 ruling was really wrong, but declined to reverse it because enormous capital had been invested by the baseball magnates in reliance on its permanence.

A still more glaring inconsistency was that of Justices Hugo Black and Felix Frankfurter in their opinion sharply challenging the rights of congressional committees to question Communists. In the 1930's, these two New Deal Justices wrote opinions strongly upholding congressional inquiry into the alleged wrongdoing of big corporations. The civil liberties which they are now so zealous to invoke for Communists were not so sacred to Black and Frankfurter when bankers were the targets of inquisition in the 1930's.

It is hard to respect a Supreme Court which turns the Constitution into an emotional weathervane, capable of reversing whenever the social predilections of certain Justices are involved. For this we fear that Chief Justice Earl Warren is in part responsible.

Los Angeles—It Works Toward Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Kimmis Hendrick of the Christian Science Monitor, entitled, "Los Angeles—It Works Toward Greatness."

The amazing development going on in Los Angeles is one which, because of its implications on the entire country, is really of note, and while we may be accused of provincial pride, I hope this article will be of interest to all. The article follows:

LOS ANGELES—IT WORKS TOWARD GREATNESS

(By Kimmis Hendrik)

For years Los Angeles has been aiming to become the greatest city in the American Far West. It has plumed itself on the thousands pouring in month after month, on its industries, its freeways, its shopping centers, its schools, its playgrounds, and its weather.

It has advertised. It has—tell it not in Gath—boasted.

But now somebody has suddenly made the target so compelling that it seems certain Los Angeles will actually pull the trigger.

Los Angeles is to have one of the biggest, most impressive, most useful, and possibly one of the most esthetically effective skyscraper building groups ever designed and constructed.

Announced today, Ambassador International is a building project breathtakingly bigger than New York's famed Rockefeller Center. But the size is almost of secondary importance. The compelling factor in the plan is the dramatic center it will give this huge, spread-out city, a kind of center that seems bound to influence city design in every direction for miles and years.

Details are just now available to the public, but the preliminary planning has been a drawing board and conference job for over a year. The world experienced architectural-engineering firm of Daniel, Mann, Johnson, and Mendenhall has the assignment.

It is an assignment to transform the 21-acre site of the gracious Ambassador Hotel, in three stages probably and over a long period of years certainly, into a sky-piercing hotel and commercial area for Schine Enterprises, the present owner.

This is the largest single piece of property on Los Angeles' most renowned thoroughfare. Only a quarter of a century ago, when the hotel opened, the grounds were almost completely surrounded by open country. Wilshire Boulevard west from this point was still a dirt road.

Now it is the very heartland of prospering Los Angeles. The Tishman buildings, the new Texas Co. building, Bullock's Wilshire, Maghin's, the Brown Derby, the Chapman Park Hotel, and the Town House—these, and the familiar wide, handsome gardens of the Ambassador, are famous with all who know Los Angeles.

DMJM partners are reluctant to describe the Schine property development in dollar terms. They suggest what they regard as more meaningful comparisons.

LIKE EXPLODING A CANNON

For instance, Douglas Russell, a DMJM partner who has worked closely with Schine Enterprises during the early planning, says the ultimate office space goal for the project is 10,500,000 square feet. The Empire State Building has 2,500,000 square feet.

Another way to look at it, Mr. Russell says, is that Rockefeller Center occupies about 12 acres. Ambassador International will cover 21 acres, with parking underneath and outer space above.

For Los Angeles, limited for years to buildings 13 stories in height, undoubtedly the transforming touch that will be felt soonest will be the 35-story tower addition to the present Ambassador Hotel.

Lloyd Aldrich, who was for 21 years the city engineer here and now in private practice is associated as a consultant to DMJM on this project, describes the impact of the Schine announcement by saying with a quizzical smile, "For the city fathers, it is just like exploding a cannon in their living rooms."

But this is the kind of big boom everybody has been waiting for.

People and automobiles and plenty of space have made the city what it is today. Planning has scarcely entered the question. City hall has turned out at least three master plans, and citizen groups have devoted dedicated hours to studying the transit dilemma without solving it. The pattern has lacked center, focus, simply because there seemed to be no need for either.

But now comes along a private interest that has built its fortune on sensing trends. It sees the enormous significance of Los Angeles' rapid growth as a hub for global airways. It sees the continuing influx of population, the new market, the holiday possibilities. Jet airlines will soon be bringing Los Angeles within 4 hours and 15 minutes of New York, 4 hours and 40 minutes of Honolulu, 11 hours and 25 minutes of London.

So the trigger becomes a group of buildings.

"There has never been an outstanding building except city hall," Mr. Aldrich comments. He means, he indicates, that the low height limit, to which city hall is a deliberate and handsome but quite modest exception, allows nothing that excites the horizon.

Last year the voters removed the height limit, and this month, for the first time, planners of commercial buildings can let their vision soar.

INTENTIONS MONUMENTAL

Of course, J. Myer Schine and his son, G. David Schine, are fully aware that Ambassador International will not be the only pioneer of Los Angeles' upper space. The father is chairman of the board, the son is president, of Schine Enterprises. They are men who understand that a project like theirs will spark, attract, and encourage others.

What makes their project potentially unique for this city is their intention to use their land in a monumental way.

S. Kenneth Johnson, the DMJM partner in charge of the architectural concept, points out that they might have covered the 21-acre site with huge boxlike buildings. Instead, they plan to keep the present park that fronts on Wilshire Boulevard, enhance it with a lake, and take the buildings clockwise around the property.

In this the development will somewhat resemble Rockefeller Center. But the latter's beautiful forecourt is some 60 feet in width. Ambassador International's will be 260 feet.

As Mr. Aldrich indicates, what makes the project so revolutionary for Los Angeles is not so much its size and cost as its challenge to find answers to basic, long-neglected questions. For a catalyst has this effect. And the catalyst is not just the Ambassador; it is the practical consideration that where one vast investment comes others are bound to follow.

The questions are such as these:

When is Los Angeles going to get a mass transit system? Can it ever catch up building the freeways that today are overcrowded before they are done? What about smog? Is smog at least partly the effect of having induced industry to settle on cheap land—in the wrong places?

Questions like these take time. Schine Enterprises realizes this, and has asked DMJM to anticipate a development that can be completed over as long a span of years as the Los Angeles economy requires. Its further stipulation is that, throughout this time, whatever portion of the project is completed will be operable without interruption during further expansion.

Phase 1 contemplates the tower enlargement of the hotel, plus office and convention space.

Phase 2 adds further office buildings, gradually occupying the grounds now used by the beautiful Ambassador bungalows.

Phase 3 finally replaces the old hotel with the new, pushes the garden center clear back through the property, and places three 50-story office buildings at the south end of the property for backdrop.

The U-shaped use of the large property, keeping Wilshire Boulevard the open side, is intended to give Los Angeles' commercial area a parklike openness that will protect for a busy city something of the resort atmosphere that surrounded the present Ambassador in its early days.

This kind of planning sounds a thrilling keynote, as everybody from Mayor Norris Poulson on is saying. It sets a pace. It establishes a tone. It works toward greatness.

Hold Yourself Accountable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, for years one of the chief objectives of the

Communist conspiracy in the United States was to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. Such a movement coming from the Communists is understandable since most of the legislation controlling the Communist Party activities in the United States was recommended by this committee. Furthermore, it was the Un-American Activities Committee that brought to light the penetration in the Government agencies by the Communist apparatus.

Today, the cry for the abolition of the committee has been taken up by much of the leftwing of this country. There is a volume of propaganda being fed the American people to the effect that the Communist Party in the United States is disintegrated and that it is no longer an effective force in this country. It is further charged that the members of the committee are beating dead horses for their own political advantage.

J. Edgar Hoover, who perhaps knows more about the internal subversion of this country than any other individual, was the guest columnist of Victor Riesel on Independence Day, July 4. In this column he effectively and conclusively answers these contentions.

Mr. Hoover's statement reads as follows:

HOLD YOURSELF ACCOUNTABLE

(By John Edgar Hoover)

Men risked their lives to secure the freedom which we enjoy in this Republic. They did so deliberately and with full understanding of exactly what they risked. A wise leader had warned them as they emphasized their revolt against tyranny by signing the Declaration: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

With each stroke of the pen, every man present knowingly put his life in jeopardy. Those men took the chance which gained us our freedom, yet no one knew better than the Founding Fathers that the winning of freedom was only a first step. They knew that the problem of maintaining freedom is complex and demanding, and they dedicated themselves to its maintenance.

No one recognized more clearly than those early Americans that only by personal accountability could freedom be retained uncorrupted. The concept of government which they projected was based upon individual responsibility. That concept proclaims today, as it did then, "Freedom depends on you. You are accountable."

When we cease to be accountable as citizens, we sign the death warrant of freedom.

Abraham Lincoln once said: "If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all times or die by suicide."

Public apathy is the sure way to national suicide—to death of individual freedom. Public apathy enabled Hitler's fifth columns to prepare Europe for each Nazi coup. Public apathy allowed the Communists to penetrate and make satellites of once free countries, and it is presently enabling them to honeycomb and weaken the structure of freedom in the remaining countries. And there is today a terrifying apathy on the part of Americans toward the deadliest danger which this Nation has ever faced.

Some of that apathy is deliberately induced by elements which desire you to believe that the Communist Party, U. S. A., no longer represents a threat to America. You hear that domestic communism is reduced in numbers, that it is divided, split, shattered. You read the proclamations of well-meaning but uninformed individuals who, from their mountain of ignorance, maintain Americans are too worried over domestic communism. They charge that citizens who consider the misguided aberrations of a handful of persons to be a danger to our security are mistaken.

The facts indicate the contrary.

The Communist Party in the United States is not out of business. It is not dead. It is not even dormant. It is, however, well on its way to achieving its current objective—which is to make you believe that it is shattered, ineffective, and dying.

When it has fully achieved this first objective, it will then proceed inflexibly toward its final goal. And let no one for a moment forget that the Communist Party, U. S. A., is part and parcel of an international conspiracy whose goal is conquest of the world.

Nor should any citizen forget that it was through force, through deceit, through infiltration, and through citizen apathy that this conspiracy gained control of 17 countries, and that by the iron first of ruthless suppression it maintains control of approximately 40 percent of the peoples of the earth and 25 percent of the world's land surface.

The Communist conspiracy will not halt its forward march automatically. It must be halted. We have succeeded for a brief moment in throwing alien-inspired domestic Communists off balance. We must keep them off balance. We must expose them. We must not let them regain the desperately sought cloak of respectability behind which protection they wrought such infinite damage to American security.

Is the Communist Party, U. S. A., small in numbers? So, likewise, it was in Russia when freedom died in that unhappy land. The informed do not measure the strength of the Communist conspiracy in numbers, but by the areas where it finds its support and by its ability to influence, to pull strings, and to wield control.

The United States is presently the major bulwark of freedom. We who are aware of the many insidious moves to destroy that bulwark cannot be apathetic. We know the character of the Communist Party. We know it to be an active, effective adjunct of the international Communist conspiracy, and that those who try to minimize its danger are either uninformed or they have a deadly ax to grind.

But apathy toward the danger of communism is not the only threat to freedom today. We have been apathetic in other areas. We have not held ourselves accountable. We have allowed men to get by with small violations of the law, and those small violations have suddenly become large violations. The record reflects a high of 2,563,150 major crimes committed during the year 1956. This is 13.3 percent above 1955 and the first total above the 2.5 million mark.

And what are we doing about it? No one knows better than readers of this column what can happen when public apathy allows the development of a climate where the criminal mob can flourish. The war with the mob must not be left to one man to fight, or even a few men. The war against crime is everybody's war, for if the arrogant men of the mob are allowed to stand above the law the freedom of every citizen is in peril.

A President of the United States summed up the individual's responsibility in a message to Congress:

"It is the duty of a citizen not only to observe the law but to let it be known that he is opposed to its violation."

The maintenance of freedom, as the Founding Fathers knew, is a complex, demanding task for which every American citizen is responsible. If a free America is to survive, you must hold yourself accountable.

Foreign Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL E. NEAL

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I am not one who shares a profound reverence for the total admonitions of George Washington at the time he relinquished command of the original army of our Republic.

At that day and time, when fledgling America was separated by weeks, even months, from the shores of Europe, with Asiatic affairs only a quaint and distant echo across the Pacific and our total continent, General Washington could speak with considerable authority when he urged the wisdom of no entangling alliances.

We did not need them, nor did we desire any connection with the quarreling family of nations across the Atlantic.

This was, I might say, the golden age of American political innocence. It endured, roughly, for more than a century, during which time we engaged in numerous wars, but always, it can be said, as the sole participant, unentangled by any firm commitments to another power.

Then, as history measures time, in a comparative moment of development there burst upon the world the internal combustion engine, the telegraph, and the other great and wonderful technological developments which, still continuing, have reduced our globe to the size of an acorn, where planes fly faster than sound and there is no section too remote for us to have fast and accurate intelligence concerning it.

We have lived to see the embers of human freedom spread into worldwide conflagration involving many nations of people imbued with the desire for freedom and self-determination. In sympathy with their struggle against dictatorial aggression we have indeed become entangled in a web of moral responsibility for their welfare.

With our capacity to improve our lot, we have built trade alliances but with humanity's innate mischief, kept well apace in destructive capacity. For every peaceful use of atomic power, there goes hand in hand with it the ominous shadow of its sinister companion—the bomb.

For every minute lopped off the flying time of an oceanic trip, the chilling fact is brought home that less time now is required for an enemy bomber to strike at our family hearth.

We do great deeds in the field of prolonging life through new and shining effort in the areas of medical research, but the same laboratory where means are found of lengthening our span can also be used as the breeding place for fantastically deadly germs which, also, are enlisted now in the arsenals of total war.

It is against the backdrop of these inescapable facts that I have considered S. 2130, officially styled Mutual Security Act of 1957.

From my study of the entire question of foreign aid, I am compelled to believe that this is a long road upon which we have set our feet. In a great many instances, it has been a road full of twists and turnings, with unpleasant surprises awaiting the Nation at many of its convolutions.

Yet, its proponents present a persuasive case.

They measure past accomplishments since the first Mutual Security Act of 1950 and boldly state, as did President Eisenhower some months ago, that it has operated virtually as an antiwar insurance policy.

How much the absence of war has been due to this mutual-security program and how much due to Russian unwillingness or unpreparedness, I am not able to detect. Yet, in the absence of any proof of Russian timidity, one is forced to the conclusion that mutual aid probably has kept the world, so far, in a single piece.

Under this bill, our State Department, ICA, and the other official almoners downtown propose to spend $3,242,333,000, a reduction, I might say, of more than $600 million from what the administration had originally requested.

There is some doubt in the minds of many that friends that we have purchased are friends worth keeping. They point out that there is no abundance of love for America abroad. Mutual aid has been likened to a great scheme of international blackmail in which the United States is cast in the role of sucker.

To this, I can only say that the United States through the inexorable courses of history has been forced into a position of world leadership.

And, being a nation whose foundations are securely cemented to immutable moral law, we cannot in conscience and before God maintain that leadership by raw and naked force as world leaders have done since the days of the Pharaohs.

The American concept of world leadership is a startling departure from the record of the Romans, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, and other dominant men and nations.

We believe in peace, and peace we shall give the world, better bought with dollars and the things of the marketplace than with the blood of our sons.

It is too late in the day for this House to reverse the tide. We can only hope to apply the brakes. History is carrying us along in its relentless sweep. For better or for worse, we are committed to the burden of carrying the free world upon our shoulders in order that, should war come, we will again be fulfilling the classic military strategy of the United States, that of keeping actual war as far from our shores as it is humanly possible to do.

Yet, the coin has another side.

What has gone before was idealism. Now, let us face the realities.

In maintaining our position of world leadership we must necessarily have a great national strength and unity at home. In respect to these things, I wonder from time to time if we truly possess these required qualities.

We have a huge national debt, a growing inflation as people everywhere demand more goods, a need for conservation and costly public works projects, all demanded of our society whose citizens are bearing an abnormal tax load.

We can build armies and public works projects around the world, but yet we can sacrifice our preeminent position in world affairs if we fail to bolster and sustain our national solvency.

It is totally unsound to assume that we can continue foreign spending indefinitely at the present rate. After 10 years of lavish outpouring of our substance, the time has come to reduce commitments in substantial amounts each year in order to encourage foreign nations to stand on their own and at the same time take steps to restore our own financial and economic storehouse.

Our people will not, in fact they cannot, afford deficit spending and high taxation indefinitely.

Only a strong and united America, financially sound, can continue to play her traditional role as friend and supporter of struggling free nations.

FBI Files Need Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, the results of the case of *Jencks* v. *United States* (353 U. S. 657) decided by the Supreme Court on June 3, 1957, are alarming indeed. I urge the Congress to take immediate steps to clarify this decision.

In further reference to this serious problem I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD by including the following editorial from the Glendale News-Press:

FBI FILES NEED PROTECTION

The administration has responded swiftly and prudently to the recent Supreme Court decision that has the effect of opening up of FBI files.

Time was indeed of the essence.

On June 3, the Court ordered a Federal judge to give Clinton E. Jencks, a New Mexico labor organizer, access to relevant statements and reports collected by the FBI. These had been used by United States attorneys to win a two-part conviction of Jencks for falsely swearing that he was not a Communist when he filed an affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

Within 48 hours 14 Federal judges reportedly had opened up various Government records to defendants. In an appearance before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, Attorney General Herbert Brownell testified that the way one Rhode Island court has interpreted the Jencks decisions could result in the freeing of a convicted tax evader and four convicted kidnapers.

It would be unfair to charge that the Supreme Court was shortsighted or fatuous in its Jencks decision. The decision was 7 to 1, Justice Clark dissenting and Justice Whitaker not participating. The Court had to deal with a specific case and to determine whether justice had been done.

It ruled that justice had not been done. Doubtless the fact that the unsavory Harvey Matusow had supplied some of the crucial information influenced the seven judges.

It was not within the Court's province to propose specific plugs for the loopholes it had to open. That is the job for Congress, aided by the administration's recommendations.

Attorney General Brownell made those recommendations. And after a 1-hour hearing the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee unanimously approved a bill closely modeled after the Brownell proposal. The full Judiciary Committee approved the bill and rushed it to the floor with a must priority.

It appears to come to grips with the central issue. Under its provisions a defendant could inspect only the FBI information that a judge holds to be pertinent to the trial. Thus enemies of society will be denied the Roman holiday rummaging through confidential files that Justice Clark decried. The FBI files will retain most of the confidential character that J. Edgar Hoover regards as essential. Yet defendants will gain the right to inspect pertinent documents.

Capt. Stephen Darius and Lt. Stanley Girenas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD with respect to an important commemoration taking place in Chicago on Sunday, July 21. I am going to attend this ceremony.

I refer to the annual parade under the auspices of American Legion, Darius-Girenas Post, No. 271. This parade commemorates an event occurring in 1933, when Capt. Stephen Darius and Lt. Stanley Girenas began their flight from New York to Kaunas, Lithuania. The flight as we all know ended tragically.

We have not forgotten Captain Darius or Lieutenant Girenas. These men were trailblazers just as our Charles Lindbergh was. The three had something in common. They were pioneer airmen. They had infinite courage. They loved freedom.

As we live today we know abundance in almost every department of life but we also know uneasiness. This condition has become more manifest by another event occurring in 1933 at which time the United States recognized U. S. S. R. The two events are diametric in nature. One was symbolic of man's quest for peace. The other act spearheaded the way for international subversive communism. We shall long remember the courage of Darius and Girenas but we have lived to regret the dark days free peoples everywhere have had, and still have, because of communism.

History shows that freedom was never very far below the surface in any Lithuanian. Our Lithuanian friends have

been caught in mighty tides of diplomatic intrigue, Napoleonic wars, and oppressions of the czars. Their love of God and freedom, two cardinal virtues, has sustained them. I am confident that no force will conquer or change this inherent belief but instead will cement our national affection, understanding, and sympathy for our Lithuanian friends.

Address by Lt. Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, at Vaihingen, Germany, July 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith a short speech delivered by the distinguished commanding general of the 7th United States Army, now in Europe, Lt. Gen. Bruce C. Clarke.

His is a significant and most thought-provoking pronouncement. General Clarke made his address on the occasion of the celebration of July 4 at Vaihingen, Germany. I consider it a great privilege to place these remarks in the permanent archives of the Congress.

The speech follows:

REMARKS BY LT. GEN. BRUCE C. CLARKE, AT VAIHINGEN, GERMANY, JULY 4, 1957

Distinguished guests, officers and men of the 7th United States Army, ladies and gentlemen:

A year ago at a similar ceremony held here, I spoke to a group of distinguished guests and my officers and men on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the organization of the 7th United States Army. Now another year has passed and I think it fitting that we pause again to commemorate its organization.

This year we considered it appropriate to combine organization day of the 7th Army with the 181st anniversary of the independence of the United States of America. Therefore, we have asked you to assemble with us briefly this morning while we celebrate these two occasions, to pledge allegiance again to the principles for which our country stands, and to observe the birthday of one of the instrumentalities of the United States, the 7th United States Army.

The 7th United States Army is a unique organization. It is the only full-strength, combat-ready field army ever maintained by the United States in time of peace. The 7th Army being maintained on foreign soil in a friendly host country 4,000 miles from our homeland adds to this uniqueness. You can realize the tremendous effort 7th Army represents when you consider that its personnel with their dependents number about one-quarter of a million Americans. They are stationed in about 160 localities of the Federal German Republic in an area roughly equivalent to one of our larger States.

Every soldier who arrives in the 7th Army is impressed immediately with the reasons for his being in Germany. These reasons are illustrated in poster form and are kept constantly before him in his barracks. They are:

To play his part on the NATO team.

To help maintain the peace by being constantly combat ready.

To be a good neighbor to our German neighbors.

To fight, if necessary, for the rights of free men in a free world.

It is my belief that the 7th Army is performing, or is capable of performing on short notice, all of these missions.

Last year in speaking at this occasion, I made the statement: "The presence here today of such distinguished visitors and guests and their willingness to join with us in this celebration points up another grave responsibility those of us in the 7th Army have to the community in which we work and live. The freedoms which we are dedicated to preserve must not be jeopardized by thoughtless acts prejudicial to the harmonious relationships within each community.

"The 7th Army must combine, along with its combat readiness, the ability and the desire to live in harmony with its neighbors. I insist that we conduct ourselves in our personal behavior in such a manner that it reflects only the highest credit on the 7th Army and the United States. This is a job for all of us, and if well done—as I expect it to be—will contribute materially to the overall effectiveness and reputation of the Army."

Now, a year later, I feel I can report to you that the 7th Army has achieved the goal which we set for ourselves in the field of good German-American relations. I should be remiss if, at this time, I did not express my appreciation to our distinguished guests and to my officers and men and their families for the part that so many have played in our mutual effort to be good neighbors together in Germany. My aim during the coming year shall be to further cement these good relations wherever and whenever possible.

In addition to celebrating our organization day, today we are celebrating the anniversary of our country's independence.

One hundred and eighty-one years ago a group of American patriots assembled in Philadelphia and displayed their courage before the world by announcing that they believed in and would fight for the basic rights of freemen. They proclaimed a set of principles by which they believed freemen in a free world should be governed. Some 7 years later, by force of arms and with the assistance of France, they achieved their independence and established a form of government which has existed since that time; a form of government that emphasizes the dignity of man and his rights as a freeman. The pattern set by these early American patriots has profoundly influenced the thinking of liberated people everywhere.

The freemen that contributed to the foundation and growth of the United States of America did not come from any one land. They came from many nations and spoke different languages; however, under the benign governmental atmosphere of the New World, they developed into a nation of 48 States which in unity has become a leader among the free peoples of the world. It is in furtherance of this leadership that the Seventh Army finds itself today as a part of the shield of NATO. Behind this shield many nations of the Western World live and carry on their daily activities in confidence and with assurance that any aggressive act toward a partner nation will be dealt with promptly and effectively.

We of the Seventh Army are strengthened by the knowledge that, if called upon to fight, we are provided with the finest men and equipment our country is capable of producing. We are also strengthened by the knowledge that we are a part of the great NATO dedicated to the preservation of peace and to the observance of the fundamental rights in which we believe.

So I say to you that the Seventh United States Army will endeavor to fulfill its assigned missions with the same enthusiasm and dedication that have characterized it in the past, and that it will strive to achieve even greater success in accomplishing the purposes for which it is stationed in Germany. It knows it can count on your cooperation in its efforts.

Airline Reservations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, since I have been a Member of Congress, almost weekly during congressional sessions I have had problems with the airlines involving reservations.

This week, the airlines, in an apparent effort to solve the almost unbelievable tangle that has developed over reservations and no-shows, have issued new orders with reference to this matter.

Mr. Henry N. Taylor, the Cincinnati Post's fine Washington correspondent, in an excellent article has analyzed the effects of the new regulations. Congress may, sooner or later, be compelled to deal with this problem, and, therefore, I am including in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues, Mr. Taylor's article. The article follows:

AIRLINE RESERVATIONS

The Nation's airlines this week struck a blow at troublesome no-show passengers by making it more complicated for everyone to ride an airplane.

Beginning September 14, it will cost you $3 to miss a plane.

Meanwhile, new ticketing rules, now effective on all scheduled airlines, require that passengers phone or visit airline offices at least 6 hours before flight time to reconfirm that they're in town and still want to ride.

The airlines are frankly holding their breath to see how the customers will react.

The new rule, second of three hurdles set up by the Air Transport Association and approved by the Civil Aeronautics Board, aims to separate sincere passengers from the kind who make half a dozen reservations, keep only one, and don't bother to cancel the others.

This habit has been costing the airlines millions of dollars a year, according to industry sources. It's also proved most irksome to passengers of good faith waiting for planes booked solid which later take off half empty.

"We wish we could run airplanes like buses; everybody just show up and climb aboard," said an ATA spokesman. "But gas and these new planes cost too much to operate empty seats. So now we're trying for a firmer advance idea of just who really plans to ride where."

First step, last June, was to require all passengers to pick up tickets a certain number of days or hours before flight time. Second step is reconfirmation, compulsary to all riders except those in town for less than 12 hours.

Penalty is loss of the reservation. Beginning in September, penalty for missing the flight—even if all other rules are observed—will be $3, collected when the passenger tries to cash in the unused ticket or use it for another trip.

This 3-rule plan is only a trial run, for 1 year. Some airline observers are afraid it's

asking passengers to jump through too many ticketing hoops. They cite the following dangers:

Reconfirming and cancelling calls will put new burdens on airline telephone exchanges, already so overloaded that in many cities it can take 15 minutes to get through.

The $3 fine will mean vast new paperwork and intercity communications, all subject to human error. Passengers who cancelled reservations by phone will have no proof on their tickets that they did so in time. Many will have to pay the $3 then wade through more paperwork to re-collect.

For many passengers, a mere $3 won't be enough penalty to change their no-show habits.

The whole new set of complications can't help but antagonize many riders, who so far this year have already sent the CAB a record number of complaints of airline passenger policies.

Some will get so fed up they'll skip reservations entirely and just go-show, in other words show up at the airport unannounced and hope to go.

If this were to happen on a large scale, it could turn out to be as much of a headache as the no-show habit these new rules were designed to combat.

Treatment of Mental Illness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, leaders in the field of medicine and social welfare throughout the Nation are constantly searching for better methods of coping with the great problem of mental illness. Important strides have been made at the Oregon State Hospital in Salem, Oreg., in this urgent and important realm of endeavor. An excellent article analyzing these advances at the Oregon State Hospital appeared in the Oregon Journal of Portland for July 7, 1957. The article goes into detail in explaining the innovations and reforms developed by the capable staff of the Oregon State Hospital under Dr. Dean Brooks, superintendent of the Oregon State Hospital. Author of the article is Mr. Tom Humphrey, editor at large of the Journal, and a newspaperman who has made a specialty of studying problems involving social welfare, human health, and public education.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the July 7 issue of the Journal by Mr. Tom Humphrey entitled "Editor Sees Heartening Gains at Oregon State Hospital," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITOR SEES HEARTENING GAINS AT OREGON STATE HOSPITAL—TREATMENT METHODS, CARE, FOOD REFLECT VAST CHANGE

(By Tom Humphrey)

David Snider's experiences in Oregon State hospital for the mentally ill, some good, some bad, but all intensely interesting in that he wrote of it from the voluntary patient's point of view in a series of articles recently, impelled me to revisit OSH the other day.

Parts of the Reverend Snider's articles, especially those parts recounting the unhappy times he had 10 years ago and even 3 years ago with misfit attendants, poor equipment, poor food, antiquated methods, understaffing, underbudgeting and his bouts with hospital routine, reminded me of the horror stories I wrote 15 and 10 years ago in an effort to shock the public, the legislature and the State board of control into remedial action.

I found, just as Mr. Snider found on his last trip to the hospital earlier this year, that great improvements have been made to the physical plant and a heartening change has occurred in treatment methods and facilities and attitude toward patients is evident today, as compared with a decade ago.

But I also found that we still have a long way to go to bring OSH up to the level people of the State have learned to regard as necessary, prudent, and humane.

Oregon State hospital is better managed, better staffed, quieter, cleaner.

There are more open wards, less physical restraint. The food is better, especially since the ration system developed at Oregon State penitentiary by Al Richardson has been adapted to OSH needs.

The appearances and attitude of attendants or aids are much better. The place looks better, smells better, feels better.

It is successfully making the transition from the custodial bedlam, which I encountered and blasted 15 years ago and again 10 years ago, to the modern mental hospital for the mentally ill.

This doesn't mean that we've got it made at Oregon State Hospital.

The Journal's Rolla Crick found this out 18 months ago when he actually worked in the hospital and wrote of his personal experiences. I found it out on revisiting the hospital the other day, and recalled previous inspections 5 years ago, 10 years ago, and 15 years ago.

OSH still is overcrowded, despite a multimillion-dollar construction program. Its attendants still are overworked and underpaid.

Its doctors—there are 19 for 3,550 patients today, as compared with 8 for 2,700 10 years ago—still can give patients only minutes a week when they'd like to give hours.

Despite the food-ration system which provides better balanced meals more economically the food should be better. You can't provide sufficient red meat and desirable special diets on a net food cost of 54 cents per patient a day.

Old ward 7, with 46 elderly, bedridden patients out of a total of 72, looks exactly the same today as it looked 10 years ago. It's still the worst-crowded ward in the 60-ward hospital. It still cries to high-heaven for more geriatrics wings, such as the new six-story geriatrics wing at OSH and the one planned at the new Wilsonville Hospital. It's quieter, of course, thanks to the new tranquilizing drugs. It doesn't smell as bad, thanks to 2,500 sheet changes a week. But it's nothing to be proud of.

The same goes for ward 21 for elderly women. Its 52 bedridden patients still occupy the ancient temporary frame structure originally built for TB's, and since replaced by a modern TB hospital. But it, too, is quieter and better staffed.

And old ward 38, the maximum security ward for the so-called criminal insane, hasn't changed. Though it's quieter and safer, it's still a problem ward.

While I saw only 2 patients in physical restraint in the dozen wards I visited (where it used to be common to see 8 or 10 to the ward) I saw something new had been added—something I did not like.

Scattered through the various wards are a score of children under 18—some mentally ill, some mentally retarded, some merely incorrigible runaways from Woodburn. They're in Oregon State Hospital simply because there was no other place for the courts to commit them—no psychiatric wing for children, no room at Fairview or Woodburn or Hillcrest. Truly a tragic problem.

To summarize:

Oregon State Hospital, Oregon's largest institution, is getting out of the physical facilities jam it was in 10 years ago. It is in the second phase—the better staffing phase, or what Dr. Menninger calls the brains instead of bricks phase.

As the Mental Health Association of Oregon points out, and as I rediscovered, the hospital got from the 1957 legislature only half of the additional doctors it asked for and needs 6 instead of 10. It was denied enlargement of the outpatient clinic, and last its able director, Dr. Reid Kimball, accordingly.

But Oregon State Hospital will have 22 doctors on the job by fall and has authorization to bring the medical staff up to 27 in the current biennium. Its budget for drugs has been doubled. The social workers staff will be hiked from 3 to 11. One psychologist and two industrial therapists are being added to find jobs to fit patients instead of patients to do jobs.

In spite of Reverend Snider's reaction to shock treatment and the tranquilizing drugs, these psychiatric tools are proving exceedingly useful and beneficial, coupled with followup therapy in treating the mentally ill.

They aren't cure-alls, either alone or in combination with therapy. They have bad side effects on some patients. But they permit doctors to reach and treat patients who heretofore were unreachable and untreatable. And they have brought the necessity for physical restraint down toward zero.

There still are too many bars at Oregon State Hospital, as Mr. Snider points out.

But there are now five open wards where patients move about freely, set up their own regulations and move more rapidly toward mental health. And the ward-adoption program of the churches and civic groups has been extended to 13 wards, speeding their journey to open-ward status.

A new trial run total rehabilitation program will be started in the fall. Four chaplains are taking hospital training. The educational program is being overhauled. A psychology fellowship is coming up, though not yet officially approved.

There still is a 42-percent turnover in attendants, due to the low wage scale, in comparison with the State scale for laborers and prison guards. But improved conditions in the hospitals have made it easier to fill vacancies on the registered nursing staff of 30 and has won conditional approval of the APA board as a standard mental hospital.

Public-health nurses and social workers who do field work for the hospital come in 10 at a time for orientation work. College groups from Monmouth and such groups as the group of 15 sponsored by the American Friends service committee, we encountered the other day, work in the hospital summers as teachers, aides, and recreation directors. Ex-patients groups such as the Friendship Club of Salem and the Transition Club of Portland are being formed as self-help organizations remindful of AA.

The overall ratio of employees to patients—1 to 10 in 1947—gradually is being reduced. It's 1 to 3.8 now.

All these things, taken together, account for the most favorable sign of all, the complete reversal of the first admission ratios between court and voluntary committals. About 53 percent of all admissions were voluntary last year. Ten years ago less than 20 percent of the first admissions were voluntary. In short, the public now accepts Oregon State Hospital as an effective mental hospital to which it can turn in time of need.

True, the ratio of medical and technical staff to patients still is far short of desirable goals. Followup work with patients leaving the hospital still is sketchy. Preventive work, research, and outpatient clinical work are barely started. Integration of the University of Oregon Medical School and the hospital is below par; perhaps a better job will be done at the new, closer in Wilsonville Hospital. And there still isn't an adequate training program for psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, and psychologists.

The medical staff still spends three times as much time on telephone calls and relatives as it does on continued treatment.

But we're moving in the right direction at Oregon State Hospital—from custodial care to treatment, from bricks to brains. All too slowly, but surely nonetheless.

Give Dr. Dean Brooks and his whole staff credit. They're doing right well with the tools we've provided.

Pacific Powerland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point, an editorial from a newspaper in the Second Congressional District. The editorial, entitled "While Others Argue," appeared in the July 11 issue of the Mount Vernon Argus, a weekly newspaper published at Mount Vernon, Wash.

In his editorial, publisher Steve Mergler points out the harmonious and progressive development of the Puget Sound-Cascade area's hydroelectric resources. This program has enabled our section of the country to be ready with an adequate source of power for new industries. Just last week the Puget Sound Power & Light Co. signed a 10-year contract to supply power for a giant new oil refinery being constructed by the Texas Oil Co. at March Point.

The people of this area, much of which comprises my congressional district, have made their outlook on power known—they want it on the line, not as a political football. Through the Puget Sound Utilities Council, several groups embracing various forms of ownership, are working together to make certain that the power for tomorrow's industrial needs will be available through today's action, not argument.

Text of the editorial is as follows:

WHILE OTHERS ARGUE

While other regions continue embroiled in argument over who shall develop new sources of electricity—most noticeably Hells Canyon—people of the Puget Sound-Cascade section of Washington State appear more settled than ever (1) in the belief that their power agencies, private and public, can and should cooperate and (2) in a feeling that the less we look upon power problems as a political issue, the better.

One strong reason people of this region hold such convictions undoubtedly is that in past years they had enough of political electricity. Even stronger probably is the progress they are today seeing come out of cooperation, such as fostered through the Puget Sound Utilities Council. Seattle and Tacoma City Light agencies are busy developing new hydroelectric facilities; Chelan PUD acquired unused portions of Rock Island Dam and installed new generators; Snohomish PUD is working out its power needs, and Puget Sound Power & Light Co. is pushing ahead with its big Baker River Dam, has within the past week started up its new equipment at Snoqualmie Falls to add 20,000 kilowatts of new hydro energy, nearly doubling that plant's former output. Here we are indeed seeing the fruits of power agency cooperation as new industries come in, finding the electricity they need assured, the electric agencies devoting their management energies to service instead of wasting effort on shooting off political fireworks and building backfires against political attacks.

That the people of the Puget Sound-Cascade region do approve was shown by the 1957 opinion poll taken by Lou Harris and Associates, on behalf of Puget. The Harris report found that our people did not consider power a top issue in the 1956 elections. It indicated that the region's performance for the partnership-cooperation, philosophy had grown from 3 to 1 in 1956 to 4 to 1 in 1957, with nearly 7 out of 10 citizens expressing a rather firm belief that electric utilities work in harmony to meet today's and future power needs and to fully develop the Puget Sound-Cascade region.

Long an advocate of local control of our power services, the Mount Vernon Argus says a fervent "amen" to the conclusion of the Harris survey that people feel that they have found in the Puget Sound Utilities Council a new middle course on power, best suited to the maximum growth of the region.

Plane Crash Sounds New Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, a situation in California, particularly in my district, is extremely alarming in connection with airplane crashes in recent months and on July 10, 1957, there appeared an editorial in the Glendale News-Press which I wish to have included in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial follows:

PLANE CRASH SOUNDS NEW WARNING

How much longer do residents of Glendale have to live in constant fear of airplanes falling through their homes or onto schoolyards?

The crash of a fast jet military plane in densely-settled Glendale yesterday again highlights the need for something to be done, and to be done quickly, to protect civilian populations from this sort of thing.

That no lives were lost is fortunate, but purely accidental.

The fatal crash some months ago at Pacoima when 1 of 2 planes which collided in midair spewed its wreckage over a schoolyard was only a signal of a series of crashes to come.

Yesterday's was the climax for Glendale.

Action has been promised back in Washington.

In this case the pilot apparently saw no alternative to bailing out. His plane could have landed in a crowd instead of a yard occupied only by a dog.

How many of these accidents must occur, how many Pacoima school tragedies spread across the front pages, before the military test planes actually are barred from the metropolitan area?

The News-Press pointed out last February 1 that precautions should be taken to prevent test flights over populated areas.

Let's have less whitewashing and some action.

A Note on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil of July 11, 1957:

A NOTE ON FOREIGN AID
(By Dillard Stokes)

Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of the world, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of foreign ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

These inquiries are not wholly new. An old man asked them once before, in almost these same words.

It may be he just did not have the international outlook. He wrote: "There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion."

A hardheaded fellow, this George Washington. He had the idea the Government of the United States ought to address itself to the interests of this country and no other.

He knew other nations would take care of their interests, and he warned: "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence * * * the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that—foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

In coddling other nations Washington saw dangers at home. He said the practice "gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country."

The first President said, too, that real patriots who resist foreign intrigue are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

Now it is not advanced here, that President Washington foresaw that 161 years after he wrote these words, the Congress would seriously deliberate how much of the wages and profits of his countrymen to give to five dozen foreign nations.

Whether to give an amount equal to the income of all the people of Iowa, or only 75 or 80 percent of that sum?

Whether to put this global giveaway on a permanent basis?

Those are the issues this week engaging the House of Representatives here in Washington.

What would the old general think of such goings on?

He might ask some questions. For instance:

What reason is there to suppose the nations that get these billions ever will fire a shot in our behalf?

Or that any of them will serve any interest but its own?

And without such reason, why give them a dime?

It is rather a pity President Washington is not here this week. So far, those questions have not been asked nor answered.

Annual Accrued-Expenditure Accounting System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial appearing in the July 7 edition of the Hartford Courant, the editors of the Courant have performed an outstanding public service to the people of Connecticut. They have drawn a clear picture of what is entailed in the passage of H. R. 8002 which embodies the recommendations of the Second Hoover Commission for an annual accrued accounting system for the Federal Government.

One of the most important things to be considered in this legislation is the effect it will have on long-range defense contracts which affect many industries in Connecticut. This should be studied quite thoroughly as well as the overall impact of the legislation.

The editorial follows:

A BUDGETING SYSTEM THAT CAN SAVE MONEY

The Hoover Commission's proposal for an annual accrued-expenditure budget has now moved into a stage close to action. Budgeting is a dull subject. The saving that this measure represents should not be dull. Basically, it calls for agency budgets to be expressed in terms of what the Government would get in any one year. That would permit Congress to retain supervision over expensive programs leading to the acquisition of aircraft, ships, construction, and other items that usually take more than a year to select, order, and build.

Right now, Congress votes an entire appropriation to cover a class of aircraft or missiles. It may take years to get them from the drawing boards to test flights, from production to the flight line. In that time, changes may be made, there may be reason to resurvey policy, or the class itself may become outmoded. But Congress has no chance to reclaim this obligational authority. Transfers of funds often challenge the purpose of Congress.

An example of how this system works is ready at hand in the present budget. It has been estimated that $70 billion, almost equal to the entire new budget, is available in carryover funds. If Congress had authority to take a new look at the need for these expenditures, it might well make substantial savings. The President, Secretary Humphrey, and 50 Senators are among those who have urged that the new method of accounting be adopted. Professional accountants have endorsed it. Spokesmen for the Hoover Commission believe there is no single recommendation that could save as much money as this one item. A reduction of only 1 percent in carryover funds could save the country $700 million.

The Senate has passed a measure endorsing the budgeting method unanimously. A similar measure, H. R. 8002, has been favorably reported by the Committee on Government Operations, of which Representative MAY is a member, and should soon come up for a vote.

There are reservations that can and should be made about the program. They must be studied carefully. Efficiency in some cases is dependent on greater freedom in planning expenditures than even the present system now provides. The House decision to ratify long-term economic assistance is a case in point. So is the citation that has been made by opponents of the new budgeting method, who contend that when Congress has reviewed contract authorizations in the past, it has often increased spending through cancellation, acceleration, or delay of projects being done by private business. But the case for closer congressional control of spending appears overwhelming. If Government waste is to be controlled, this measure is imperative.

A Letter to President Dwight D. Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. SMITH
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the President:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 12, 1957.

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The President, The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In your news conference of July 3, you are quoted as saying that your objective in the civil-rights bill was only to prevent anybody illegally interfering with an individual's right to vote, but that you are always ready to listen to anyone's presentation of his views.

Since the bill goes much further than you believe, we feel impelled to call your attention to some of its provisions and their legal effect.

The points we wish to discuss at this time are as follows:

1. The bill by its terms specifically includes, in the extraordinary powers given the Attorney General, not only voting rights but all other alleged civil rights now on the statute books. The existing statutes are broad enough to cover any and all real or imaginary civil rights protected by the Constitution, and go way beyond any sectional application.

2. It was represented to the House by the advocates of the bill that it was not intended to deprive any citizen of a trial by jury for an offense that he would be entitled to jury trial for under present law. The bill definitely does deprive citizens of a right of trial by jury in contempt cases. It does so by the simple device of requiring all such cases to be brought in the name of the United States instead of in the normal way, that is, in the name of the aggrieved party.

3. Since the founding of the Republic, the courts have uniformly held that a citizen claiming that his rights under the Constitution have been invaded must first exhaust his administrative remedies provided under State law before resorting to the Federal courts. This bill, for the first time in history, seeks to abolish this rule. This provision likewise is not confined to voting rights but to all varieties of civil rights protected under the present law.

In order to document the foregoing statements beyond any doubt, we will discuss them in the order mentioned above:

1. The bill does not deal only with the right to vote, but covers all the broad categories of civil rights now encompassed under existing civil-rights statutes. This is accomplished under the bill in the following manner:

Part III. To strengthen the civil-rights statutes, and for other purposes: This section amends section 1980 of the Revised Statutes (42 U. S. C. 1985) by adding two new paragraphs numbered fourth and fifth. The paragraph numbered fourth provides that the Attorney General may bring suit in the name of the United States when any person commits or threatens an act which would constitute an offense under paragraphs first, second, or third. Obviously, the injunction powers given the Attorney General apply with equal force to every right protected under paragraphs first, second, and third, and are not confined to voting rights as you apparently have beeen led to believe. These first three paragraphs cover voting rights plus every other civil right claimed to exist under the Constitution.

We refer you specifically to page 16 of the House report enclosed where paragraphs first, second, and third are printed in their present form followed by the proposed amendments, paragraphs fourth and fifth. You will note that the paragraph fourth proposed in the bill covers all types of civil rights and extends the injunction power of the Attorney General not only on voting rights, but all the various categories of civil rights mentioned in paragraphs first, second, and third of existing law.

We call particular attention to the broad language in paragraph second as follows: "* * * if two or more persons conspire for the purpose of impeding, hindering, obstructing, or defeating, in any manner, the due course of justice in any State or Territory, with intent to deny to any citizen the equal protection of the laws, or to injure him or his property for lawfully enforcing, or attempting to enforce, the right of any person, or class of persons, to the equal protection of the laws."

We also call your special attention to the broad language in paragraph third of existing law prohibiting conspiracies, "for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the law."

Paragraph fourth, which is the proposed amendment, then gives the Attorney General the power to seek injunctions in any of the instances mentioned above. It will be seen that by this method the Attorney General is authorized in the name of the United States to proceed by injunction not only in the matter of voting rights, but in all the broad categories of civil rights protected under paragraphs first, second, and third.

2. The bill has been represented as not intended to deprive any citizen of a trial by jury for an offense that he would be entitled to jury trial for under present law. Representative KEATING, the ranking minority member of the Judiciary Committee, in discussing that phase of the bill on the floor of the House, said:

"I will say to the gentleman that I was the author of this provision as it came to me from the Justice Department. I say to the gentleman categorically that, while it may be an admission of ignorance, it never entered my mind that I was taking away anybody's right to a jury trial when I introduced this measure or when I voted for it in committee and in the last Congress. Such a motive was never in my mind. I do not know whether it was in the mind of anyone else or not."

Whereupon Representative CELLER, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said:

"I want to say at the outset I agree with what the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING] said with reference to our motives. As I said before, I am a libertarian, and I would not want by any stretch of the imagination to take away any rights from anyone.

All of the civil remedies under section 1980 are covered and prohibited as crimes under the Criminal Statutes. Section 3691, title 18, United States Code, entitled the accused in a contempt proceeding to a trial by jury where the contempt complained of constitutes a criminal offense, except in those cases where the United States is a party.

Paragraph 4 of section 121 above referred to, by requiring all suits to be brought in the name of the Attorney General, effectively and positively deprives the accused of a right to trial by jury in all civil rights cases.

Can there any longer be any doubt that in any case of alleged discrimination, including discrimination by school segregation, that any person accused of violating an injunction would be tried and sentenced by the judge without a jury?

3. The bill abolishes the present law that a person claiming violation of his civil rights must first exhaust his administrative remedies before resorting to Federal courts. The bill in two places specifically abolishes this law and permits the Attorney General to invade the age-old States' rights requirement and proceed by injunction before the aggrieved party has even applied to the State authorities under State law for the relief desired.

On page 12, line 9, the bill provides: "The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law."

On page 10, line 8, amending section 1980 of the Revised Statutes above referred to, the bill provides:

"Fifth. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law."

In conclusion, permit us to call your attention to section 1993, title 42, United States Code which implements section 1985 referred to above as covering all the broad field of civil rights. Section 1993 provides that the President, or such person as he may designate, may employ land and naval forces of the United States or the militia to aid the Federal courts in the enforcement of their orders under section 1985. Since the enactment of this statute in 1866, the dictates of experience and common decency have caused this provision to fall into disuse. The present bill revives and emphasizes the potentiality under which the President may delegate to the Attorney General or other person the power to commit the use of the Armed Forces to enforce all civil rights statutes (including the right to vote) by hauling hordes of citizens before a district court and committing them to jail for indeterminate sentences without trial by jury.

The virtues or evils of laws should not be tested by what a well-intended administrator will do, but by what evil can legally be done under their provisions.

Although these views are respectfully submitted for your earnest consideration, we do not request a formal reply.

Sincerely and respectfully submitted,

Alabama: FRANK W. BOYKIN, GEORGE M. GRANT, GEORGE W. ANDREWS, KENNETH A. ROBERTS, ALBERT RAINS, ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR., CARL ELLIOTT, ROBERT E. JONES, GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

Arkansas: E. C. GATHINGS, WILBUR D. MILLS, JAMES W. TRIMBLE, OREN HARRIS, W. F. NORRELL.

Florida: WILLIAM C. CRAMER, CHARLES E. BENNETT, ROBERT L. F. SIKES, DANTE B. FASCELL, A. SYDNEY HERLONG, JR., PAUL G. ROGERS, JAMES A. HALEY, D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS.

Georgia: PRINCE H. PRESTON, JOHN L. PILCHER, E. L. FORRESTER, JOHN JAMES FLYNT, JR., JAMES C. DAVIS, CARL VINSON, HENDERSON LANHAM, IRIS F. BLITCH, PHIL M. LANDRUM, PAUL BROWN.

Louisiana: F. EDWARD HÉBERT, HALE BOGGS, EDWIN E. WILLIS, OVERTON BROOKS, OTTO E. PASSMAN, JAMES H. MORRISON, T. ASHTON THOMPSON, GEORGE S. LONG.

Mississippi: THOMAS G. ABERNETHY, JAMIE L. WHITTEN, FRANK E. SMITH, JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, ARTHUR WINSTEAD, WILLIAM M. COLMER.

North Carolina: GRAHAM A. BARDEN, HERBERT C. BONNER, L. H. FOUNTAIN, RALPH J. SCOTT, CARL T. DURHAM, ALTON LENNON, A. PAUL KITCHIN, HUGH Q. ALEXANDER, CHARLES RAPER JONES, BASIL L. WHITENER, GEORGE A. SHUFORD, HAROLD D. COOLEY.

Oklahoma: CARL ALBERT, TOM STEED, TOBY MORRIS.

South Carolina: L. MENDEL RIVERS, JOHN J. RILEY, W. J. BRYAN DORN, ROBERT T. ASHMORE, ROBERT W. HEMPHILL, JOHN L. MCMILLAN.

Tennessee: JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR., JOE L. EVINS, J. CARLTON LOSER, ROSS BASS, TOM MURRAY, JERE COOPER, CLIFFORD DAVIS.

Texas: MARTIN DIES, WRIGHT PATMAN, LINDLEY BECKWORTH, BRUCE ALGER, OLIN E. TEAGUE, JOHN DOWDY, ALBERT THOMAS, CLARK W. THOMPSON, W. R. POAGE, FRANK IKARD, J. T. RUTHERFORD, OMAR BURLESON, WALTER ROGERS, GEORGE H. MAHON, O. C. FISHER.

Virginia: EDWARD J. ROBESON, JR., PORTER HARDY, JR., J. VAUGHAN GARY, WATKINS M. ABBITT, WILLIAM M. TUCK, RICHARD H. POFF, BURR P. HARRISON, HOWARD W. SMITH, JOEL T. BROYHILL.

Minnesota: JOS. P. O'HARA.
Illinois: RUSSELL W. KEENEY, N. M. MASON.
New York: WILLIAM E. MILLER.
Iowa: BEN F. JENSEN.
Ohio: CLIFF CLEVENGER.
Idaho: HAMER H. BUDGE.
Iowa: H. R. GROSS.
Wisconsin: LAWRENCE H. SMITH.
Kansas: WINT SMITH.
Missouri: PAUL JONES.
Michigan: AUGUST E. JOHANSEN.
Kentucky: FRANK CHELF, NOBLE J. GREGORY.

A Vicious Catchpoll Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interesting editorial which appeared in today's Richmond Times-Dispatch in which Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, is commended upon the able, courageous, and forthright manner in which he enumerated and criticized the iniquitous proposals contained in the so-called civil-rights bill.

The editorial is as follows:

A VICIOUS CATCHPOLL BILL

Josef Stalin died March 5, 1953. It is safe to assume that he had no hand in drafting the "civil rights" bill now before the Senate. Yet had the Soviet arch-strategist dictated its monstrous terms, it could not be more calculated to foment destructive discord.

The broad scope of this "iniquitous bill," as Senator BYRD branded it, could reduce the South to the status of "a conquered province," it could disinter the mouldering bones of reconstruction, and reestablish the political autocracy which humbled the South after Appomattox.

Senator BYRD's fierce frontal attack on the bill came as a surprise, not only because Senator JOHNSON had tried to finesse the administration into a mood of compromise, but because the senior Senator from Virginia rarely resorts to such devastating oratory. He did so in this instance, presumably, because he considered it his duty as a statesman to expose the bill's hidden evils in the most scathing words at his command.

His denunciation of "the modern Thaddeus Stevens, now cloaked in the robes of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court" did not come from a lax-lipped demagog, but from a Senator universally respected by colleagues of both parties.

It seems hardly necessary to stress his parallel by recalling that the sardonic Stevens whipped the Reconstruction Act through the 1867 Congress—not only to crush the South economically, nor to exact atonement for secession, but principally because the Republican Party then, as now, was nationally a minority—and Stevens was determined to emasculate the Democratic Party of the South.

Having thus classified the erstwhile Governor of California, and Mr. Eisenhower's Attorney General as a man "whom this bill would make a 20th century American caesar," Senator BYRD reverted to his role as a skilled legislative anatomist. Wielding a razor-sharp scalpel, he dissected this monstrosity to reveal the cancerous growths within.

He demonstrated that, under the terms of the bill, a reconstruction era statute could be invoked to authorize the use of "armed might" for enforcement of its provisions, including the school decision.

He damned the railroading tactics by which its sponsors evaded the regular course of legislation through committee in the hope of passing it amid the confusion of "rewriting the bill on the floor."

He showed, with searing irony, that the President, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and Representative KEATING, as one of its patrons, had confessed failure to grasp the explicit or implicit provisions of the bill.

He quoted Mr. Eisenhower's self-humiliating admission (at a news conference) that he was baffled by the general language of the bill whose passage he had urged, and that he was stumped by its legal quirks.

Then the Senator proceeded to do what the White House palace guard had deliberately failed to do—he cited, and analyzed, 20 legal quirks, which would give the Attorney General the one-two subpena-contempt punch, under purposely vague provisions, to protect citizens against discrimination by reason of color, race, religion, or national origin—not only after such discriminations had been proved to a hodgepodge semivolunteer commission, but even where such discrimination is merely threatened.

These vast powers this bill would grant to the 20th century Caesar—leaving to a kangaroo commission the discretion to determine what precisely constituted a threat against civil rights, presumably including the refusal of southern communities to accept compulsory race mixing in the schools * * * with defendants to be tried, fined, or imprisoned without jury trial.

Mr. Eisenhower now says he hopes that the bill can be softened by amendments. If he values national unity as essential to free world defense—he should demand its withdrawal.

The Guiding Light for Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial written by Mr. Harry H. Schlacht for the East Side News, a weekly publication with wide circulation in the 19th Congressional District of New York:

THE GUIDING LIGHT FOR OUR YOUTH
(By Harry H. Schlacht)

The guiding light for our youth must be the home. The spark of this light must be the knowledge of God. The fuel of this light must be the strength of prayer.

J. Edgar Hoover, the distinguished head of the FBI, once electrified the Nation with frightful revelations of juvenile delinquency. It is an appalling toll of moral disaster in the ranks of our youth. It is a callous and shameful picture. It is a challenge to every American. We are facing a condition and not a theory.

The adult criminal of tomorrow is the juvenile delinquent of today. It has been shown that the impressions of our childhood remain with us through life. It is never seriously modified. It is recognized that habits of thought and pattern of life become part of oneself.

It is much easier to learn, than it is to unlearn. The churches, the schools and the homes have a duty now more vital than ever. It is better to light a candle than curse the darkness.

We must combat the forces that weaken our moral structure. We must provide wholesome recreation. We must encourage spiritual guidance. We must help our children into good citizenship founded on respect for the laws of God and man.

A democracy cannot long exist unless the great body of its citizens be not merely intelligent but moral. In an illuminating article Herbert Hoover advised that the cure for juvenile delinquency lies in the home of the Nation.

"A godless home," he wrote, "is built upon sand. Buffeted by the tides of envy, avarice, greed, and sloth. The structure weakens and finally crumbles. Decay seeps into the physical and moral structure and crime finds an inviting breeding ground."

A godly home is the fortress against evil. The child who heeds the teachings of his parents, of his spiritual leader, of his school teacher, is not likely to become a delinquent. They are the greatest influence in building the life of a child.

Tracing through Bible pages stories which have graced the ages, parsons, rectors and rabbi's gray, O'America hear their message today. There is no substitute for religious education. Nothing can take its place.

Every time a bad boy is reclaimed, a good man is born. It is our greatest concern that the children be saved from vicious habits—for the vicious child is the father of the vicious man. Mr. Hoover admonished us to combat juvenile delinquency and turn again to the faith of our fathers and reap the harvest of God's blessings.

May we and our children serve God in deeds and thoughts as well as in words. May we and our children realize that today and tomorrow are one even as the morning wind and evening breeze are one—and in this united thought—let us dedicate ourselves to the glory of God and the service of our country.

"Sow a thought, reap an act.
Sow an act, reap a habit,
Sow a habit, reap a character,
Sow a character, reap a destiny."

The time to teach our youth is in the high chair, and not in the electric chair.

Growth of the Port of Los Angeles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and list of figures regarding the port of Los Angeles, sent to me by Mr. Carl F. White, collector of customs, Treasury Department, Bureau of Customs, which describes the tremendous growth of the southland, and I trust the Members will find this data of interest:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF CUSTOMS,
Los Angeles, Calif., July 5, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROOSEVELT: Herewith some rather startling figures reflective of the tremendous growth of the southland, which may be of interest to you and possibly useful on occasions.

We may today be pushing Philadelphia for second place only to New York if and provided the nationwide increase is 6 percent (as I have been informed) as compared to our 27.4 percent. The increase in workload (entries) of 20 percent is consistent with collections; that is, 20.8 percent for the last fiscal year and 85.7 percent over the 4-year period 1953–57. This has been accomplished with the same number of employees, less one, than we had in 1953.

Very truly yours,
CARL F. WHITE,
Collector of Customs.

Port of Los Angeles (Los Angeles-Long Beach)

	Total collections	Dutiable entries
July 1, 1956, to June 30, 1957	[1] $54, 520, 458. 93	[2] 41, 164
July 1, 1955, to June 30, 1956	42, 785, 332. 01	34, 084
Increase	11, 735, 126. 92	7, 080
Increase (percent)	[3] 27. 4	20. 8
July 1, 1956, to June 30, 1957	$54, 520, 458. 93	41, 164
July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953	28, 498, 848. 96	22, 171
Increase	26, 021, 609. 97	18, 993
Increase (percent)	[4] 91. 3	85. 7

[1] Average per week, $1,067,780.50.
[2] Average per week, 791.
[3] 1957 over 1956.
[4] 1957 over 1953.

School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter I received from the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, together with a statement of the executive council on Federal aid to school construction.

The letter and statement follow:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D. C., July 15, 1957.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am writing at this time to urge your support for the enactment of the school construction bill (H. R. 1), which, we understand, is to be scheduled for floor action during the month of July. The bill provides a $1.5 billion program of grants to States and localities over a 5-year period. Half of the grant funds would be allotted to State educational agencies on the basis of total school age population, and half on the basis of need.

The critical shortage of classrooms in the Nation's schools continues unabated and has become a serious problem. Failure to build much needed classrooms places a terrible handicap on the future of our children. It is apparent that most of the States cannot solve this problem unaided. Immediate financial assistance is needed and only the resources of the Federal Government are adequate to meet this challenge.

As you know, the President and Secretary Folsom of HEW have on numerous occasions spoken out in favor of this legislation, and both political parties in the recent campaign pledged their support for such action. The AFL–CIO also issued a statement on school construction, copy of which is enclosed for your information.

The school construction bill (H. R. 1), as reported, is a compromise reached by both Democrats and Republicans in committee, and should be entitled to the support of all Members of Congress without any complicating and crippling amendments which have helped to defeat it in the past.

Prompt enactment of this legislation is vital to the future welfare of our country.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE MEANY, *President.*

STATEMENT BY THE AFL–CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FEDERAL AID TO SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION, MAY 21, 1957

For years, the critical shortage of classrooms in the Nation's schools has continued unabated. At the beginning of the present school year, there were 159,000 fewer classrooms than needed to adequately house America's more than 32 million schoolchildren.

Failure to build these needed classrooms has meant a terrible burden on the future of our children.

Hundreds of thousands are forced to go to half-day sessions in over-crowded buildings. As a result, they have not been able to get the kind of education which American society demands of its citizens, and which they need if they are to compete successfully in a world where expanding technology makes greater and greater demands on individuals.

Other schoolchildren daily risk injury and death in ramshackle firetraps kept in use long after their useful life has ended.

This is a heritage to our children which America should not and cannot permit. The implication of poor education extends not only to the children themselves, but to the future of our nation in a divided world.

We deplore the action of the United States Chamber of Commerce in misusing statistics to minimize the apparent school needs. Misrepresentation in this critical area is inexcusable.

It has been clear for some time that the States cannot meet this problem alone. Despite heroic efforts the States have been unable to erase the backlog of school construction.

Only the resources of the Federal Government are adequate to meet this challenge, and progress has been made to this end. The Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives has reported favorably a bill, H. R. 1, authorizing $1.5 billion in grants to the States for school construction.

The bill is a compromise measure. It is entitled to the support of all Americans, without any of the complicating amendments which have helped to defeat it in the past.

The AFL–CIO urges the Congress to meet its obligation to America's children by promptly enacting H. R. 1 into law, without crippling amendments.

Modern Republican—One Who Bows to Pressure on Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in an excellent editorial, the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier states that the only important split in the Republican Party relates to governmental expenditures. I, for one, am proud to be branded as old fashioned, if that is the label to be worn by those who advocate economy in Government. The editorial from the Courier follows, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues, especially those on the Republican side of the aisle:

There are some 60 million separate and distinct political philosophies in the United States, these being the ideas and attitudes of that many American voters.

But, somehow, these 60 million different viewpoints must be compressed into the ideologies of only 2 major political parties. And it is no more possible under these circumstances to have party unity than to expect 60 million women to wear the same style of hat.

Much talk has developed about alleged disunity in the Republican Party; and President Eisenhower has sharpened and intensified the disunity that exists by his talk about modern Republicanism. This is intended to leave the impression that anyone in the party who disagrees with him is an old-fashioned Republican.

Such designations are only superficial slogans which have little relationship to the realities of politics. Essentially, the Republican Party is the political agent of the American middle class; and it can continue to win in elections only so long as it continues to serve the interests of that class. The rapid increase during the postwar years in the number of Americans with middle-class incomes has been the dominant factor in the recovery of the Republican Party from its eclipse during the New Deal and Fair Deal period.

The only important split in the Republican Party today relates to governmental expenditures. In this connection, the Eisenhower Republican wants to spend more money than the anti-Eisenhower Republican but probably a little less money than the New Deal type of Democrat. It really is as simple as that.

And we believe that President Eisenhower's advisers have failed to grasp the attitude of the millions of middle class Americans on whom the Republican Party must rely for its success. These Americans respect and admire President Eisenhower and cast their votes solidly for him in the 1956 election. But these same Americans are energetically tax-conscious and realize that they are paying a third of their incomes for governmental services, many of which they do not want or need. And they do not conceive that the Republican Party is serving their interests unless it can accomplish a moderate decline in governmental expenditures.

On the other hand, many voters who are influenced more by slogans than by analysis of the issues would probably develop an unfavorable attitude toward the GOP if headlines proclaimed that old-fashioned Republicans defeated Eisenhower on the budget issue. They would conclude that by some mysterious process reactionary elements had taken control.

Thus, if the Republican Party is hurt by the difference of opinion over the budget, it will be primarily Eisenhower's doing. If anyone who advocates governmental economy is to be branded as old-fashioned, then we might as well turn all our incomes over to the Government and let the Government take care of us.

Mrs. Roosevelt Banned From China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger, of July 13, 1957:

MRS. ROOSEVELT BANNED FROM CHINA

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has been refused a passport to visit Communist China. The State Department rejected her request, just as it has rejected requests of newsmen who seek to go to China to report on the situation there.

We have never agreed with the State Department's policies in banning American newsmen from China, nor do we believe that it had the authority to ban travel by newsmen to a foreign country with which we are not at war, even though admittedly we are on opposite sides of the totem pole.

We do not think Mrs. Roosevelt is entitled to any special privilege, or that she is entitled to visit China any more than legitimate newsmen, who have sought to go there. However, the fact that the wife of a former United States President is refused permission to travel to China brings out the ridiculous nature of the State Department's policy.

She holds no official position, she could not speak for the United States, and all she could do would be to report her views and tell what she sees in China. The American people are mature enough to digest such reporting without turning Communists or being overimpressed by any achievement Mrs. Roosevelt, or any other reporter, might encounter in China.

We cannot accept the conclusion that American newsmen are so naive that they would gullibly fall into the propaganda traps the Communists set up for them, or that they would be won over to the Communist claims that they have done great things for China. On the contrary, American reporters could report the truth from China, and that is something which had been sadly lacking in recent years.

Newsmen Have Kept Top Secrets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Commission on Government Security, headed by Mr. Lloyd Wright, has charged that American newsmen have been guilty of deliberately betraying the Nation's security. I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article by Lyle C. Wilson, Washington manager of the United Press, revealing the little known story of how the World War II Chief of Naval Operations found he could trust reporters with some of the Nation's top secrets. Mr. Wilson's story appeared in the Washington Daily News of July 10. The story follows:

HERE IS EVIDENCE NEWSMEN CAN KEEP TOP SECRETS

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

The idea that special legislation is needed to prevent newsmen from endangering the national security is a puzzler for the paunchy World War II veterans of Adm. Ernie King's Arlington County Commandos.

Chairman Loyd Wright, of the Commission on Government Security, wants such a law. It would impose a fine and imprisonment on newsmen found guilty of exposing Government information classified as secret or top secret.

The Chairman has not come up with much specific proof of need for what is known around town as Wright's law. The little known story of the admiral's commandos is pretty good evidence that news reporters can keep top secrets. The commandos were a slack outfit, short of spit and polish. The late Fleet Admiral Ernest Joseph King's fellow officers will never believe the wartime navy boss ever could have taken up with their likes.

Admiral King did, however, and how and why make one of the better hidden stories of the late, great war. Admiral King became Chief of Naval Operations and commander in chief of the United States Fleet after the Navy's humiliation at Pearl Harbor. Franklin Delano Roosevelt wanted a tough man for those jobs and he got him.

The commandos were organized in October, 1942, shortly after Navy prestige was hard hit again with announcement of the loss of five cruisers in the Solomon Islands. Three were Americans 1–1, the brightly new *Quincy, Vincennes,* and *Astoria.*

The announcement stirred bitter criticism of what then was the Nation's most costly military arm. Much of this sharp talk was in the National Press Club among newsmen in a position to give the Navy a hard time. The late Cornelius Bull, a former newsman, and husband of the admiral's niece, sensed that the Navy was in for some hard going. Bull took a chance.

Despite his knowledge that next to Japanese and Germans, Admiral King most disliked newsmen, Neely Bull proposed to the admiral that he meet a hand-picked group of Washington reporters. "The hell with 'em," said Admiral King.

He finally was persuaded, however, and within a fortnight a chilly meeting took place in Mr. Bull's Arlington County home. Admiral King talked a little, explained a bit and stiffly answered questions.

Perhaps to the admiral's surprise, news of the secret meeting was not all over town within a single day, or ever. Mr. Bull arranged another some weeks later. Admiral King was warmer by then. A third meeting came after a lesser interval.

They continued throughout the war in an atmosphere of real warmth and friendship. Admiral King's frankness sometimes was frightening. The newsmen got a lot of information and guidance from Admiral King during the war years and the admiral unquestionably got the Navy's story before the public in its best light.

The commandos alone knew how and why Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was picked to lead the Normandy invasion. And there was the day when FDR was half minded to kick Gen. George C. Marshall upstairs to some kind of global command, exact duties unknown.

Admiral King didn't like the idea and rallied his commandos in opposition, leading the charge in person. The blast of unfavorable publicity was beautiful to behold. The project folded. And of all the top secrets Admiral King divulged over a friendly can of beer, none ever leaked.

Soil Bank May Knock Kansas Out of 20-Year Top Spot as Wheat Producer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following article by Max Good which appeared in the Southwest Daily Times of Friday, June 14, 1957:

Kansas, because of heavy participation in the soil bank program, stands to lose its rank as the Nation's top wheat producing State this year for the first time in 20 years.

The June 10 Department of Agriculture estimates of State-by-State wheat production shows North Dakota as the probable top producer supplanting perennial Kansas, with Montana having a chance of edging the Sunflower State for second.

North Dakota's 1957 crop is estimated at 110,629,000 bushels; Kansas, 101,680,000; Montana, 98 million. These are the Nation's three as of June 10.

What happens during the later growing season in the two northern States will have a decided effect on which one ranks where, the crop experts agree.

And they agree too, it is the soil-bank participation that will cause Kansas to drop from first place—an ironic twist is that late 1956 and the first months of 1957 have had better moisture and growing conditions than for several years in many sections of the State.

The story is told in the soil-bank figures taken from the State agricultural Stabilization and conservation office statistics here.

Kansas had an allotment of 10,193,958 acres for 1957 wheat crop planting; 4,260,007 are in the soil bank in the State.

Not all the four million-plus acres soil banked are wheat land, the experts pointed out, but they generally agree that most of it is. There is no doubt that a healthy chunk of Kansas wheat production has been cut out because the farmers have chosen to get paid for not planting rather than sowing wheat.

In the 10 top wheat-producing counties of the State there were 1,980,722 acres allotted for wheat production this year. And in the same 10 counties 979,307 acres were soil banked—or 49 percent of the total wheat acreage.

In some individual counties the percentage—the bulk of it potential wheat land—is even higher.

In Gray County, for instance, 208,495 acres were allotted for wheat and there are 164,794 acres in the soil bank—79 percent. Meade County, with 160,691 acres allotted has 121,984 in reserve for a total of 75.9 percent. Numerous of the heavier wheat-producing counties have percentages in the forties and fifties.

But there are some much lower. Sumner County, always in the top bracket, if not first, in bushels harvested, had 290,826 acres alloted for wheat planting but banked only 32,511 acres or 11.8 percent.

The top 10 wheat-producing counties of the State in 1956, their acreage allotments, amount in soil bank, and percentages:

	Acreage allotment	Soil bank	Percentage
Sumner	290,926	32,511	11.8
McPherson	198,516	56,468	28.4
Barton	233,330	45,929	19.6
Dickinson	140,701	10,286	7.3
Saline	127,354	12,462	9.7
Reno	276,770	79,992	28.9
Sedgwick	186,491	46,779	25.1
Harper	191,008	35,941	18.8
Kingman	168,089	45,028	26.7
Rice	161,369	41,756	25.9

That soil bank payments are a pretty good harvest to reap is indicated in the ASC figures. With 37,711 acreage reserve agreements in effect on 4,260,007 acres there is a total maximum compensation potential of $79,406,680 providing all agreements are lived up to.

The soil bank, although heavily participated in as a whole over Kansas, has not caught on in all sections.

In the extreme Western section, where the percentages are the highest and where there are the greatest acreages devoted to wheat, the participation is an outgrowth of exceptionally dry weather during the planting season last fall. Farther East and in the southern tier of counties where moisture was better for fall sowing, there are counties like Sumner with its 11 percent.

Although Kansas stands to lose its first-place record of 20 years, this year's crop estimates, again ironically and to be laid to soil bank participation, are based on a higher per-acre average yield than anytime since 1952, according to John L. Wilson with the USDA crop reporting service in Topeka. This would seem to indicate better growing conditions in the State for the most part.

The estimate of 101,680,000 bushels for this year's Kansas wheat crop compares to the average annual output of about 145 million bushels. The greatest production on record was slightly in excess of 300 million in 1952.

Dr. Bela Schick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Abe E. Eisensten for the East Side News, a publication with wide circulation in my congressional district, on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Bela Schick:

DR. BELA SCHICK

"To him who devotes his life to science, nothing can give more happiness than making discoveries, but his cup of joy is full only when the results of his studies find practical applications"—Louis Pasteur.

July 16 will mark the 80th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Bela Schick, East Side, New York, and America's famous devoted physician to whom so many are indebted and who saved millions of children's lives throughout the world. He is the discoverer and developer of the Schick test for immunity to diphtheria, pioneered in many other fields, and is one of the world's famous medical scientists and pediatricians.

Son of Jacob and Johanna (Pichler) Schick, Bela Schick was born to the Jewish faith at the home of an uncle, Dr. Sigismund Telegdy, in Boglar on the shores of Lake Balaton in Hungary, where his mother had been visiting. He is 1 of 4 children. His father was a grain merchant and his mother was then considered the most attractive woman in Graz. Papa Schick died August 2, 1922, in the 74th year of his life and Mother Schick passed away on January 12, 1939, in her 80th year.

The physician, healer, researcher, educator, lecturer, and tireless Dr. Bela Schick obtained his preliminary and professional education in Graz, Austria. He received his M. D. from Karl Franz University in 1900. For more than 20 years he was connected with the University of Vienna. It was here as extraordinary professor of children's diseases he found the Schick test.

Thirty-four years ago, Dr. Bela Schick was called from Vienna (he was one of the first to receive the honor to practice medicine in America without passing the doctor's examination) to become chief pediatrician (now a consultant) of Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City and has held this post for 20 years. In his long years of service as a child specialist, he has served as chief pediatrician (consultant) at the Sea View Hospital (Staten Island), the Willard Parker Hospital, the Beth Israel Hospital, the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, and had taught 7 years at the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons. He is chief of the Pediatric Department at Beth-El Hospital (Brooklyn), Chief of Pediatric Consultant to the nonsectarian Jewish National Home for Asthmatic Children at Denver, Colo., and a visiting professor at the Albert Einstein University's medical school. The pediatric department at the university bears the name of Bela Schick Department of Pediatrists.

He is coauthor of Scarlet Fever, Child Care Today (the foundation for sound physical and mental health should be laid in infancy and childhood), and in addition he wrote articles on concentrated feeding in childhood, diphtheria, the nutrition of newborn children, tuberculosis, allergy, etc., and today he is concentrating on the problem of premature births.

The story of his life and achievements can be read in the highly absorbing book Bela Schick and the World of Children, by Antoni Gronowicz.

This great servant to our society and truly great humanitarian and one of the great scientific benefactors of mankind, Dr. Bela Schick was awarded the New York Academy of Medicine Gold Medal, the Addington Gold Medal (British award) for the most valuable discovery for relieving pain and suffering in humanity. The Forum of Allergy Medal for his pioneer work in the field of allergy; the John Howland Medal from the American Pediatric Society, among others.

Dr. Bela Schick married the former Miss Catharine Carrie Fries in 1925.

East Siders, New Yorkers, and countless friends in America and throughout the world, add their tribute to the general chorus of praise, Dr. Bela Schick, on your 80th birthday. God bless you so that you may continue enriching medical knowledge and practice and particularly in the world of children.

Address by Hungarian Delegate Baron George B. Bessenyey, Before the Assembly of Captive European Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following speech made before the Assembly of Captive European Nations, on April 26, 1957, by the Hungarian delegate, Baron George B. Bessenyey:

ADDRESS BY HUNGARIAN DELEGATE BARON GEORGE B. BESSENYEY, BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS

The Hungarian revolution has shaken the very foundations of the Soviet system and nullified the results of Communist propaganda. As these events have already received unparalleled publicity, it would be superfluous to evoke them here, but a brief analysis of the inherent political conclusions might be useful.

As a point of departure let us use the speech made by Mr. Khrushchev at the 20th congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1953. The Communist leaders were then at the height of their power, and they sincerely believed that they were on the point of winning the cold war. "One and a half billion men, the majority of the population of the globe, have joined together in the peace camp," Mr. Khrushchev cried out. "We are convinced," he added, "that the workers, the workers of the entire world, seeing with their own eyes the advantages which the Communist system presents, will take the road to socialism."

It goes without saying that this favorable evaluation of the general situation was based not only on the extraordinary progress of Soviet industry and the obvious successes of Communist propaganda abroad, but also on Moscow's deep conviction that 10 years of occupation, indoctrination, and propaganda had transformed the so-called satellite states into real people's democracies, tested and tried friends and allies of the Soviets.

This gigantic error is due to several circumstances. The present Soviet leaders, no longer knowing from personal experience that the entire world has fallen victim to their own propaganda, knowing thoroughly only their own country, having the feeling that they have given Russia—at the expense, to be sure, of enormous sacrifices—a heavy industry, an army, and frontiers such as they have never possessed, forgot that the conditions in the captive countries were entirely different and that, consequently, the system which had produced spectacular results in Russia must be a complete fiasco in the occupied countries. These nations, which, in effect, had enjoyed not only remarkable material well-being but also all the advantages afforded by the democratic freedoms, could be compelled only by force and terror to bow to the doctrinary intolerance, economic exploitation, and national humiliation to which they have been submitted.

The deception (disappointment?), confusion, and fear must have been terrible for Moscow at the end of October and beginning of November 1956. Too bad that the Western World, divided within itself, and taken by surprise by the rapid and startling successes of the Hungarian revolution, did not know how to react vigorously and promptly. It is very likely that a solemn warning issued at the opportune moment by the Government of the United States would have made a deep impression on the Moscow leaders who, during those critical weeks, would—at the first indication of American dissatisfaction—have withdrawn their tanks from the Austrian border, ceased talking about volunteers for Egypt, and moderated their intervention in Syria.

It seems rather difficult to understand the reasons for the complete passivity of Washington. Is it true, as some have said, that, after Yalta, Hungary as well as the other captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe were regarded as part of the Soviet sphere of interest?

Or was it, rather, the fear—and, may we add, the enormous responsibility—of unleashing by an unforeseen action world war III? This apprehension was not altogether fantastic. On the occasion of their visit to London in April 1956, Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev told Mr. Eden that there were certain regions of vital interest to the Soviet Union, and that it had decided to fight in order to maintain its blanket of ice (absolute domination) over Central Europe.

Or, simply, didn't America—satisfied with the results of its strategic, economic, and psychological offensive, the success of which it was ready to attribute, at least in part, to the revolutionary state of mind in the captive countries as well as to the effervescence among the young people and the intelligentsia in Russia, the traditional revolution foci in that country—want to take additional risks? In his remarkable book, War or Peace, published in 1950, Mr. John Foster Dulles stated: "Even today the Communist structure is overextended, over-rigid and ill-founded. It could be shaken if the difficulties that are latent were activated." That is exactly what America has tried to do, and, as the facts have shown, not without success. Why then, from the Washington viewpoint, plunge into a hazardous adventure when a little patience, about 10 or 15 years, might lead to the desired result? Be that as it may, America has limited itself to expressions of sympathy and aid which it generously gave to the refugees.

Insofar as the United Nations is concerned, we also feel that we have justified complaints. For some 10 days, from Imre Nagy's installation as Prime Minister on October 24, until his régime was crushed by the Soviet armies on November 4, there was ample time for the despatch of official observers to Budapest as well as for a personal visit by Secretary General Hammerskjold. That was the moment, the only moment, when a rapid and vigorous intervention by the U. N., combined, as stated before, with a solemn American warning, would have had a positive result. As the chance of that moment was missed, the whole thing became bogged down in the morass of sterile debates and ineffective resolutions.

The passivity of the great Western Powers, divided, besides, by the Suez problem, as well as the impotence of the United Nations, had the natural and logic consequence of encouraging Moscow to adopt, after some hesitation, an even more rigorous attitude and to apply to unfortunate Hungary a policy of bloody repression which surpassed even the horrors of the Stalin era.

Insofar as the United Nations is concerned, the psychological moment for positive intervention having been missed, we have very few illusions concerning its effectiveness in the future.

It seems, however, that, in spite of everything, there is still some hope. The special committee set up by the U. N. to study the Hungarian problem has just terminated its work and is about to present its final report. According to reliable information, this report, drafted with utmost care and greatest objective, is so damning for Soviet Russia that many governments, which had up to now hesitated to take a positive stand, might change their attitude and join the majority which has already condemned the intervention of Moscow.

A new, overwhelming majority within the General Assembly might have a salutary effect on Moscow. In any case, the least that may be expected from and even demanded of the United Nations, would be that it keep on its agenda, continually, the question of Hungary and that of the other captive nations.

Knowing, however, the limitations of the United Nations Charter, we would, besides, have confidence in measures taken directly by the great western powers, under the leadership, naturally, of the United States. Such measures might take the form of diplomatic intervention, international blockade, refusal to participate, with the Soviets, in international conferences, until the martyrdom of Hungary as well as the tyrannic oppression of the other captive nations is terminated.

We know full well that we are here touching upon the great problem of risks. For years, the Assembly of the Captive Nations and the national and international delegations, have refrained from even alluding to the famous risk of war. But I think that the time has come for approaching the problem frankly. First of all, one must take into account that no policy, especially foreign policy, is without danger. Besides, risk is an integral part of life, and even the daily existence of a peaceful citizen is full of risks and dangers.

After the end of the hostilities, there was not a moment without danger for mankind. Suffice it to mention the civil war in Greece, the Berlin blockade, the wars in Korea and Indochina, the events on Cyprus, the Suez affair, etc. It is, therefore, not a matter of seeking to create an international situation without danger (that would be impossible), but of coldly judging and comparing the possibilities of finding a policy offering relatively less danger than all others that might be pursued.

Many well-informed minds, seeking an answer to this problem, believe to have found a solution in the neutrality idea. I hasten to say that, as a Hungarian, I would naturally be delighted to see an end being put to my country's suffering by application of that principle, which has, besides, been officially voiced by the government of Imre Nagy.

However, I fear that, not only in the case of Hungary but in relation to the entire problem of Central and Eastern Europe, it will be but a psychological escape act, a refusal to face reality.

Besides, it seems that a certain confusion obtains with regard to the subject itself, since the word "neutrality" may be inter-

preted variously even by those who are accustomed to using it. Suffice it to point out that there is an appreciable difference between imposed and freely adopted neutralization, between armed and disarmed neutrality, between neutrality guaranteed by the great powers or by a general security pact or one without any guaranty, and so forth.

The neutralization plans discussed in the assemblies and in the press fall generally into two categories:

One of these theories contemplates the possibility of creating, within the presently captive countries and part of Germany, a broad demilitarized and neutral zone serving as a buffer between the Soviet empire and the NATO powers. The fact that, if this were the case, the Soviet as well as Western troops would have to withdraw from the zone in question renders this solution completely unrealizable. Since last year Moscow has known full well that only with the support of the Red Army and of the Communists in the people's democracies can it remain in power, and that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops would be equivalent to the loss of the entire area.

This plan would be out of the question from the Moscow viewpoint in that, parallel with the Soviet evacuation of the territory of the captive countries, the armies of the Western Powers would withdraw from Germany to a distance such as would render their intervention in a conflict entirely illusory. It is in that sense, therefore, that one must interpret the Bulganin plan of last fall, which proposed a demilitarized zone of at least 1,600 kilometers, by far exceeding Mr. Eden's plans as well as all other plans of this kind. The zone proposed by Mr. Bulganin would encompass not only the whole of Western Germany and the Benelux countries, but a part of France itself, while it would leave the Soviet armies in eastern Poland quite close to their natural basing point.

I believe it is important to underline here the difference between Moscow, the Russian capital, and Moscow, the vatican of the Communist church. Moscow, as the capital of a conventional great power, might decide to accept a compromise solution; but as the capital of the Communist world, never for this would mean at the same time giving up its ambitions of world domination. And we are still very far from that.

The second favorite theme of the neutrality theorists is the neutralization of all Germany. A Germany evacuated by the Western and Soviet troops, being neutral and disarmed, would obviously be the solution dreamed of by Soviet policy and strategy. That Western statesmen and even German politicians may visualize and discuss such a possibility seems difficult to understand, even in view of the pseudo-guaranty of a so-called general security treaty.

On the other hand, a unified and neutral Germany, free from all obligations, and militarized as only the Germans know how to do it when they apply themselves thereto, is a solution not without danger for the West and absolutely inacceptable for Moscow both from the Russian as well as Communist viewpoints.

It seems, therefore, that, despite the ingenuity of the advocates of neutrality, it is impossible to find a formula which, satisfactory to the Russians, would simultaneously accord reasonable security to the free world. For, and that is the essential point, a neutral zone in the heart of Europe cannot be, by its very nature, but a defensive solution for both sides. So long as the live forces of communism are not crushed, Moscow will continue to pursue its goal of world domination and refuse any agreement that would present serious obstacles for its aspirations.

I believe, therefore, that real peace in this world is not possible until the vital forces of Soviet communism are broken and Moscow loses faith in the realization of its dream of world conquest. This real peace can be obtained neither by uncertain negotiations nor by a policy of neutrality, but only by vigorous action under the leadership of the great powers and within and without the framework of the U. N., as proposed above.

Almost 2 years ago, at Geneva, the Western powers had been in the much desired and so laboriously obtained position of being able to negotiate from a position of strength. They had preferred conciliation and generosity, in hopes of arriving at a peaceful solution satisfactory to all interest parties. They had been cruelly disappointed. Let us hope that this mistake will not be repeated, and that Moscow will not again be given the time and the occasion to bring about an almost desperate situation. A weak policy would certainly be the most dangerous of all policies, for Moscow has well learned the lesson of the events in Hungary and has reacted with all the force inspired by fear. Having lost all illusions, it now knows that there are only two means by which its world domination can be accomplished, i. e., force and fraud. And it will make ample use of both.

It seems, on the other hand, that the time has never been so propitious as right now for taking a vigorous stand. The de-Stalinization campaign has shaken the foundations of the Communist doctrine; the concessions made to the Russian people have given sustenance to new intellectual currents unfavorable to the regime, the economic and financial situation of Moscow, suddenly deprived of the resources from the satellite countries, is lamentable (see the freeze on loans and the new, feverish, economic reorganization decrease). Finally, the Hungarian revolution and events throughout the captive world have shown that Moscow can count neither on the young people, nor on the intellectuals, nor on the workers, nor on the armies, nor on the peasants of these countries.

Everything that we other exilees and emigrees from central and eastern Europe have loudly stated for many long years was not wishful thinking, a reproach to which we have so often been subjected, but the pure and simple truth. The bloody and victorious Hungarian revolution, which symbolizes the spirit of resistance of all captive Europe, has shown that our people hate communism wholeheartedly, and that, despite 10 years of indoctrination and terror, they have adhered faithfully to the ideal of freedom and national independence.

But the Hungarian revolution has also shown that the simultaneous presence of two elements is necessary to attain that greatly desired freedom and independence: courage and the spirit of sacrifice at home, and vigorous and effective support from abroad. The European captive nations are ready to play their part in this greatest human drama; let us hope that the free world will no longer hesitate to play the role which fate has assigned to it.

Savings Bond Sales Down Despite Increase in Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of July 9, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

SAVINGS BOND SALES FELL, CASH-INS UP DURING FIRST HALF—SALES WERE DOWN $200 MILLION AS REDEMPTIONS ROSE 14 PERCENT DESPITE INCREASE IN RATE—CASH-INS TOTALED $2.8 BILLION

(By a Wall Street Journal staff reporter)

WASHINGTON.—Despite the new 3¼ percent interest rate, sales of Uncle Sam's savings bonds during the first half of the year fell 16 percent below the like period of last year and cash-ins continued to exceed sales.

The Treasury reported 6-month sales of series E and H savings bonds, the types usually bought by individuals, totaled $2.3 billion. This compared with sales of more than $2.5 billion during the same 6 months of last year.

At the same time, investors cashed in nearly $2.8 billion of E and H savings bonds from January to June. This was 14 percent increase over cash-ins of $2.4 billion during the like period of 1956.

INTEREST RATE RAISED

In April, the Treasury hiked the interest rate on series E and H savings bonds to 3¼ percent from 3 percent and made the increase retroactive to all bonds bought after February 1, 1957.

The higher interest rate was designed to perk up sales of new savings bonds which had fallen behind cash-ins since August of last year. The lagging program got so bad the Treasury decided to discontinue its monthly sales report this spring.

The new sales report for the first half year showed that savings bond sales had failed to perk up despite the new 3¼ percent rate since cash-ins have exceeded sales each month. In April, redemptions topped sales by the substantial margin of $97 million. In May, this gap was reduced to $62 million, but in June it increased again to $88 million.

The series E bonds can be bought for as little as $18.75 and the interest is paid only when the bond is cashed in. The series H bonds can be purchased only in denominations of $500 and interest is paid by check every 6 months.

BOND SALES DECLINE

The Treasury said sales of the series E bonds during the first half of the year dropped 10 percent to just under $2 billion from more than $2.2 billion during the like period a year ago.

First-half sales of series H bonds totaled $332 million, the report said. This was 38 percent decline from the $540 million sales total for the like period of last year.

As for cash-ins, the Treasury said investors turned in nearly $2.7 billion of their series E bonds during the first half of the year—12 percent more than a year earlier. Redemptions of series H bonds totaled $113 million, or an 86 percent increase over the first half of 1956.

The Budget, the Cabinet, and the Farm Bloc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the June 6, 1957, issue of the Grant County Review carriers three excellent editorial comments that I think will be of interest to the Members of Congress.

Mr. W. S. Dolan, the editor of this paper, is one of the oldest and most respected editors in South Dakota. What

he has to say on the issues of the day is always of interest to thoughtful citizens.

I include the editorials as follows:

WOULD YOU BELIEVE IT?

If someone told you that the Federal budget for the year 1935, back in the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President, the drought, depression, and NRA, WPA, CCC, PWA with all their various ramifications, and what various and sundry prophets assured us would bankrupt the Nation, was the sum of $6,136,000,000? The budget for the present year is $75,975,000,000, or about 12 times greater.

Strangely enough, too, we now have no paralyzing drought, no war, no depression, yet our Government is spending more than 12 dollars for every 1 it spent in 1935, and with far less direct benefit to the average citizen, yet we are told that to cut down two or three billion our lavish Federal spending would so cripple our national defense as to endanger national security.

By 1940, under Roosevelt, the Federal budget had risen to $9,933,000,000. Then in late 1941 the Japanese made their sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, plunging us into another world war and emergency defense spending. The result was a boost in the budget to $14,533,000,000 for that year, and by 1942 it had climbed to $35,142,000,000.

This was skyrocketed to $80 billion for 1943 and by 1945 had been upped to $97,957,000,000 by the time the dropping of atomic bombs brought a quick cessation of war, and a prompt slacking off of wartime spending.

Under the administration of Harry Truman the 1949 budget was down to $43,003,000,000, and in 1950 it was $46,567,000,000, before another spiral started.

In 1955 under President Eisenhower and promised curbing of inflation, the budget went to $74,541,000,000, and by 1956 was up to $75,975,000,000. The estimated Federal spending for this year is $80,200,000,000 and proposed for 1958, including balances to be carried over and added to the budget appropriation asked by President Eisenhower, the amount is set at $86,200,000,000.

Any way you wish to figure it, we are now spending more in a peacetime period than at any time during our great wars, which is not too surprising when you consider that our national defense departments are still handing contracts out to big industries without bids, on what they call "negotiated" agreements, which amounts to eliminating competition and letting the industries set their own prices.

This explains enormous costs to an extent, but does not entirely make clear the many billions that are being dished out. Congress, it would seem, might well take action to put all Government business on a competitive basis, as it is supposed to be.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey has tendered his resignation from President Eisenhower's Cabinet. There seems to be general feeling that it would be well if John Foster Dulles did likewise and made place for a younger and more vigorous man, while a lot of farmers wouldn't have serious regrets if Ezra Taft Benson should elect to seek an easier way to make a living. Few, we believe, question the sincerity of Mr. Benson or his efforts, but his theories just haven't worked out as he or most of the rest of us had hoped.

FARM BLOC DIFFERENCES

For many years the interests of farmers of the Nation have gotten sympathetic treatment in Congress because of what has been known as the farm bloc, a group of Members from agricultural States who united in support of needed farm legislation, without regard to their political differences otherwise.

Opponents of farm legislation have frequently endeavored to stir dissention and cause this group to become disorganized but until this year with very little success. Now, however, the picture seems to have changed and sectional strife is believed to have become so bitter that no longer can the Democrats of the South, interested in cotton, rice, and tobacco, be depended upon to unite and vote with Republicans and Democrats of the North interested in corn, wheat, and other of our major farm products.

This has caused rejoicing on the part of Members from the big industrial centers, as well as residents of such communities, who have long swallowed the propaganda that the high costs of foods is largely, if not entirely due to high prices paid producers, thanks to the farm program.

As a matter of fact nothing could be further from the truth. What the producer is paid constitutes a minor share of the cost to consumers.

United States and Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following sincere and truthful editorial which appeared in the Boston Daily Record of July 9, 1957:

UNITED STATES AND RED CHINA

In Mao Tse-tung's infamous report on the achievements of his revolution, made a fortnight ago, he blithely announced that 800,000 Chinese—his own countrymen—were killed to establish his government.

Chou En-lai, his premier and foreign minister, reminding the opposition of what the Chinese Communist Party can do if it needs to, gives the impression that those killed were even in larger number.

The admission was made by Mao and Chou that China had suffered great natural calamities, meaning floods and loss of crops.

Those who have lived in China know that very often crop failures are not due to natural calamities but to frightening results of passive resistance, during which the Chinese peasant plants a crop but does not reap it.

There have even been instances of scorched earth in China.

In fact, the process was invented in that country, the peasants burning the standing crops as a mark of rebellion.

It is becoming clear that the British insistence upon the sale of goods to Red China and subsequent recognition in the United Nations amounts to bailing out the Red Chinese who cannot hold the good will of the Chinese people but can only control them by murdering them.

Why should the British want to bail them out?

For the comparatively small trade that Hong Kong can get out of Red China?

Even if that trade is important to the old China firms that are still sticking it out, of what value is all this to us?

After all, the British have long since thrown up the sponge in the entire Pacific area, except Hong Kong.

They have loaded upon us the defense of the interests of the Western World and even of such countries as Australia, New Zealand, India, and Indonesia.

Thus far, it has been our armaments, our money, and principally our sons that have been thrown into an effort to contain the Red Chinese in the territory which they now hold.

We shall have to fight for Japan, the Philippines, and even India when the time comes.

Therefore, why should we agree to the proposition that bailing out the government of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai is to our interest? Why? What is the reason?

Correctly, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles have turned down the proposition of the British and the neutralists, to whom a dollar today looms too large and blinds them to the tremendous loss of life that it will bring in the future.

Correctly, the President and Secretary read the history of this miserable regime.

Chiang Kai-shek has recently written a book, Soviet Russia in China, in which he recounts in detail how the Russians and the Chinese Communists fooled him and other Chinese.

He says:

"It is my earnest hope that the bitter lessons China has learned may prove instructive to countries and governments, and especially those in Asia which now face the same threat of communism.

"Often it is not easy for most people to realize the presence of this threat in their midst, and by the time they do it may already be too late. * * *"

Dulles has made this pertinent point:

"Trade with Communist China is wholly controlled by an official apparatus, and its limited amounts of foreign exchange are used to develop as rapidly as possible a formidable military establishment and a heavy industry to support it.

"The primary desire of that regime is for machine tools, electronic equipment, and, in general, what will help it to produce tanks, trucks, planes, ammunition, and military items."

Why do people exaggerate the volume of foreign trade when actually, in comparison with the total economy of the United States, it hardly equals a sneeze upon the ocean?

If a calculation were made of our trade with China since 1840, and our contributions to churches, hospitals, and schools over that period, including the numbers of Chinese who studied at American universities at the expense of the American Government since the Boxer Rebellion in 1901, the balance is against us.

And yet this Chinese Communist Government preaches hate against us as though we had always done that country evil.

The historic truth is that we have served China as we have served no other nation for more than a century—strictly from the heart.

Girard Deserves Court-Martial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Cheraw (S. C.) Chronicle of July 11, 1957:

GIRARD DESERVES COURT-MARTIAL

By the time this editorial appears in print, the Supreme Court may have overruled a lower district court which ordered the Army to give Private Girard a court-martial.

However, until the Supreme Court rules one way or the other, we shall assume that the lower court order will stand and that

the American soldier from Illinois will be tried by the American military.

That is as it should be, we believe. We do not know all the facts in the case. Certainly, Mr. Dulles and President Eisenhower are intelligent, honorable men, and if they wanted Girard tried in the Japanese court, they must have information which would back up their decision. One legal expert who has studied the case says that it can be argued with merit on both sides.

We do not know whether the shooting was an accident or whether Private Girard lured the woman onto the base by throwing out shrapnel which the Japanese had been collecting for scrap. Certainly we do not agree with Girard's brother, who told him a few days ago that, while the Japanese might hate him, Girard was a hero in America.

Well, no man who shoots a defenseless woman and leaves her five children motherless is much of a hero to us. Such remarks are scarcely calculated to win friends and influence people in Japan. Our relations with our former enemy and present ally are already shaky enough.

Be that as it may, we believe that any soldier who commits a crime while in the performance of duty and while on American territory, as an Army base is considered to be, deserves a trial by American authorities. It would have been a different matter if Girard had cracked a Japanese Giesha girl over the head with a beer bottle in a Tokyo night club. In such a case Japanese civil authority would surely prevail. In this country we expect to try in our courts any foreign personnel who commit a crime while in our land. But if they commit such a crime in a foreign consulate, we would recognize the right of their homeland to try them.

The question of American relations with Japan is not a proper one to consider in this case. Furthermore, it's dubious to us how much respect and friendship we can comand by supinely appeasing mob demonstrations and mass hysteria, whether it occurs in Japan, Formosa, or elsewhere.

Communism in the Caribbean

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD an address entitled "Communism in the Caribbean," by Ambassador Manuel de Moya Alonzo, delivered before the Commonwealth Club of California, in San Francisco, Calif., April 5, 1957.

Ambassador de Moya is an expert on the subject of communism. As he so ably points out, his own country, the Dominican Republic, has little to fear from Communist infiltration. His country knows how to deal with the Communist menace. Atheistic communism is concerned with his country only as a steppingstone to be used in its stated and ultimate goal of conquering our own great Nation, and thus imposing upon our people a brutal and pagan form of government which deliberately aims at the complete and final elimination of our individual liberties and the destruction of our Christian faith. The address follows:

COMMUNISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

(An address by Hon. Manuel de Moya Alonzo)

My topic is Communism—Communism in the Caribbean. It's such a vast and complex subject that I can only hope to provide you with a frame of reference—a context—which will enable you to better understand some of these rather strange, often mystifying stories that come out of the Caribbean from time to time.

I cannot stress too strongly the need for greater American comprehension of the situation. The Communist penetration and exploitation of the Caribbean forms a definite pattern. American unawareness of this pattern of subversion is the Soviet's secret weapon in the farflung area we are discussing.

Now in discussing Caribbean communism, we don't have to go at once to the Caribbean. We can start right here in San Francisco, United States of America.

I don't think you realize what a large colony of Central Americans you have here in San Francisco. Just as hundreds of thousands of people from the Caribbean islands have poured in to New York and other eastern seabord cities, so have other thousands of Central Americans migrated to New Orleans and San Francisco.

Now the vast majority of the people in both migrations are decent, hard-working people—loyal to their homelands and to their adopted country. They are basically anti-Communist.

But, it was inevitable that some of the social and political agitation which is keeping the Caribbean area in a turmoil be imported—imported to New York, to Miami, to New Orleans, and to San Francisco.

What is going on is this: Outside every Caribbean country there are organized exile groups that are seeking the downfall of their respective governments. Those groups have tended to merge together into a loose-knit federation. They have formed what amounts to a cooperative—a cooperative designed to destroy almost every stable government in the Caribbean. They have established centers—underground and openly—in every nation which will receive them as host—and that includes the United States of America.

In San Francisco, as in the other cities I mentioned, this group—the Caribbean revolutionary movement—has penetrated the local Latin American colony and established cells. And, until recently, this activity was not concealed. The various propaganda organs of the Caribbean revolutionary movement habitually printed the names and addresses of new members and the establishment of new cells.

And now we get to the crux of the problem and the main point I hope to make clear today.

You are entitled to tell me: All right, so you have a lot of revolutionary exiles and agitators in the Caribbean—if that's news—so we have even got a few in San Francisco—but what does that have to do with communism?

It has a great deal to do with communism, ladies and gentlemen, to very great deal. International communism is seeking—and has at least partially succeeded—to channel the traditional revolutionary currents of the Caribbean for their purposes. It is capitalising on the present discontent of the great masses of the peoples of the Caribbean who are now being suddenly exposed to the 20th century industrial revolution. It is using power-hungry office-seekers, corrupt politicians, rapacious political opportunists. It is using the idealism and discontent of the youths in the universities. And, perhaps above all, it has harnessed many, many intellectuals of both Americas into the service of Soviet imperialism.

Now at the risk of boring you with now-familiar Communist tactics, I will let Comrade Manuilsky—the late Comrade Manuilsky—take the mike and tell you how this was done.

Speaking at the Sixth International Congress in Moscow in 1938 Manuilsky told the Latin American delegations the following:

"Never take direct action. Leave that to our friends. Always remember that one sympathizer, generally speaking, is worth more than a dozen militant Communists. A renowned writer, a retired general, an educator or a union leader is more effective than 500 poor devils who only know how to get beaten up by the police. Everything is relative in value, and you must avoid falling into sentimental confusion. Keep in mind that a party card by itself means little. The labor leader, the writer—anyone in a position of respect or authority—their assistance is worth more than any number of party cards."

At this point the also-late Comrade Dimitrov took over.

"Those who are not party members enjoy much more freedom of action. Activity not undertaken in the direct name of communism evokes less resistance, less immediate opposition, than would a Communist frontal approach. We learned in the revolution—the Bolshevik revolution—and are now having the lesson repeated in Spain, that it is possible to mobilize people who do not think as we do and who would reject any overtures to enlist themselves in our ranks."

"In the application of this tactic you must use all who approach whatever their motive. There are some who come to us out of romanticism, the love of danger, the spirit of adventure. Those are usually young people. Others are moved by literary vanity, by intellectual influence. They desire to ease the sufferings of the world. They are sometimes sincere, sometimes not. Then there are those who are coming in increasing numbers—the opportunists, the ambitious politicians, the restless men who seek to rise above their present station in life. They see the party as a ladder. We will put them on that ladder, and we will take them off when it suits our purposes. We can work with them all * * * and we will."

In 1948, Maj. Sergei Yuwowro, writing in the Red Star, the official Red army newspaper said: "The strategic zones of America are: (1) The Colombia-Panama zone; (2) the Antillean belt; (3) the Central American isthmus; (4) the Brazilian hump; (5) the Bolivian plateau; (6) the Argentine-Chile meridional tip."

He said in this article, "The Antilles, which include Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and the other islands will require a large number of men for occupation. Therefore, it is necessary to occupy them by other means."

And, ladies and gentlemen, that is the policy that is being implemented today in the Caribbean. We have the phenomenon that there are vastly more non-Communists serving the Soviet cause in the Caribbean than Communists. But by the term "Communist," I mean the cardcarrying, red-flag-waving party militant. The fellow traveling variety is just as effective in the service of Soviet Russia and every bit as dangerous to the cause of the western democracies whatever name he gives himself.

Now, of course, popular front tactics are not confined to Latin America. But it is particularly in Latin America—and above all, the area of the Caribbean—that such tactics are used. It is not merely more easy for Communist infiltration * * * it is absolutely necessary. It is only in alliance that communism can survive in the basically unfriendly atmosphere of our nations.

Marxist theory is too complicated, too exotic, to have much appeal for any Americans—North or South. It's alien. It's an Old World import, and communism—standing alone—will always be alien to this hemisphere.

Let's look at the names of some of the founders of Latin American communism—Frederick Glaufbauf, Leton Guralsky, Humbert Droz, Leon Vernochet, Mauricio Luft, Adi Stachlovich. Going way back to the first Kremlin missionaries to Latin America, we find the Hindu, Manabanta Math Roy, and the Japanese known as Katayama San.

Now, how well did they succeed? Did they establish strong Communist parties? No; they did not. But did they establish Communist influence? They certainly did.

You see, even the official Communist countries of the Caribbean seldom use the word "Communist" in their nomenclature. Generally they call themselves something like the "Popular Socialist Party," "The Revolutionary Socialist Party," or "The Socialist Revolutionary Party." Names like that. But make no mistake—they are as Red as any party this side of the Iron Curtain. Costa Rica's party, for instance, which calls itself the National Vanguard Party, recently stated—when the blood of Hungarian patriots was flowing in the streets of Budapest—that "We once again confirm our solidarity with the great Soviet Union."

Now these parties are generally illegal. About the only officially recognized Communist parties you will find in the Caribbean are in Mexico and Costa Rica. So they operate either underground or in exile, or both. They don't lack for company, nor for allies. There are literally scores of other leftwing exile groups giving themselves almost the same names. They also have two other traits in common, they want power, and they hate the United States. For one thing, these revolutionaries consider the United States the great barrier to that power. And there are many other reasons, emotional as well as political. Let's face it, Uncle Sam would win no more popularity contests among Latin American leftists and nationalists than among Egyptians or Syrians of the same type.

Now, it would be a mistake for you to dismiss these people as comic opera revolutionists. They are not. They are both deadly serious and deadly. They kill people. They have killed many people, and will kill more unless the governments of the Americas make a concerted effort to break this thing up.

I wonder how many of you really know what happened in Guatemala in May and June of 1954. Guatemala at that time, if you will remember, was just about as far down the road to communism as a nation can go. With one exception—the army was not completely undermined. That ultimately proved fatal to the Reds—but not before they had released a Soviet-type terror that had quite literally never before been seen in this hemisphere. As their power crumbled, the Reds went mad with rage and frustration. They attempted to liquidate every possible anti-Communist in Guatemala. Thousands were massacred, other thousands were tortured. Tongues were torn out, genitals were smashed with clubs, limbs lopped off with machetes. People were buried alive, machinegunned, drowned in tubs. * * *

Ladies and gentlemen, Guatemala had temporarily ceased to be an American nation. Guatemala was not comic opera. Guatemala was not leftwing or liberal. Guatemala was Soviet terror in this hemisphere. All this has been amply documented and reported. I invite you to look into it further.

Now who was responsible? Some Guatemalan Communists, yes—but only a handful. The fact is there were never enough local Reds to possibly control the country. They called in allies. We find the Dominican Revolutionary Party—of which so many members are enjoying the sanctuary of New York and the usage of the press. More about them later. We find the Dominican Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Dominican Popular Socialist Party—the official Communist parties of our country. All three are composed of about the same members, but the Revolutionary Party is the more effective because it can operate under the non-Communist label.

Then there were Venezuelans from a group known as Accion Democratica—Democratic Action—which is probably the smoothest operating unit in the whole movement. Accion Democratica people are the intellectual type—meaning they seldom kill people themselves; they get others to do it.

There were also many Nicaraguans. Those Nicaraguans have plenty of parties, all with about the same members and the same activities. We find the regular and very tiny Nicaraguan Communist Party, the large Nicaraguan Revolutionary Party, the Movement of Nicaraguans Supporters of Democracy, and so forth.

And Salvadoreans. The Salvadoreans are specialists in labor agitation in the revolutionary movement's scheme of things. And Spaniards—republican Spanish exiles who are both tough and smart. They are a kind of Soviet version of the point 4 program. They provide the know-how for a lot of Caribbean operations requiring both strong-arm tactics and a knowledge of subversion.

And many others: Mexicans, Costa Ricans, many Chileans, Cubans, and even a few Europeans besides the Spaniards.

Well, that was the group in Guatemala in 1954. That is the group that butchered thousands of innocent people. And that is the group that is active today. Active in the Caribbean, in the eastern and southern cities of the United States, and active here in San Francisco.

Now I want to review briefly a few of the major operations of the Caribbean revolutionary movement up to their debacle in Guatemala in 1954. In 1945 the Democratic Action government took over Venezuela. It was, however, ousted 3 years later. In 1947 the Caribbean Legion—the military arm of the international revolutionaries—attempted to invade the Dominican Republic from Cuba by sea. That was broken up. They were successful, however, in 1948 when Caribbean Legion invaders from Guatemala joined with local rebels to take over Costa Rica—control that continues to this day. They were unable to get another invasion launched against Nicaragua. And in 1949 they made another assault on the Dominican Republic. That time by air. Again they were routed. Then they shifted tactics.

Let me tell you briefly some of the background of the current unrest in Cuba. First of all, Fidel Castro and his brother are both dedicated Communists. Castro, while a student at Havana University, assisted in the uprising in Bogota in 1948. He was indicted by the Colombian Government, but escaped to his home in Cuba through the usual method of finding sanctuary in the Cuban Embassy. A previous Cuban Government found it agreeable to play ball with him, and so he had no trouble in his Communist activities until the present regime came into power.

He is a dedicated Red, despite what his apologists have to say about him. He publicly bragged about killing seven priests in the Bogotá uprising. His operation in the deepest jungles of Cuba is characteristic of similar operations by the Communists in Indochina and in other places.

A month ago, Cuban police raided a bomb factory in the outskirts of Havana and captured 12 men making bombs. Nine of the 12 were card-carrying Communists who had been trained in sabotage behind the Iron Curtain. The other three had been trained in sabotage in the United States. It is significant that in the present Cuban troubles out of 28 bombs planted in recent weeks 24 of them were against property owned or controlled by Americans—notably, electric-light companies and other American services.

The uprising got the blessing of a distinguished New York reporter several weeks ago, and shortly afterward a bold attack was made by 15 or 16 heavily armed men upon the presidential palace of General Batista. The leader of that uprising was Jose Antonio Echevarria. He was a student, and records obtained not only in Cuba but also in Mexico indicate that he was trained 3 years ago in a Communist school, and specialized in assassination and attack upon constitutional authority.

That is the story in Cuba.

Now I won't bore you with the endless intrigues, plots and conspiracies, the unceasing propaganda, the arms smuggling, the war of nerves, the intermovement bickering, the assassinations of minor political enemies, the constant agitation, that they undertook meanwhile, and particularly after their military defeats. There is a Caribbean Legion, and it exists today, but as a weapon of power it just has not been effective. Incidentally, one last word on the Caribbean Legion:

There are some very interesting haciendas in Mexico's Yucatan peninsula and on the island of Cozumel off the coast. The "cowboys" are made up of the usual exiles; they wear a semblance of a uniform, are armed with automatic weapons, and are organized into military units under the command of Colonel Francisco Cosenza, a Guatemalan exile. Colonel Cosenza recently transferred some of his "cowboys" to Costa Rica after the assassination of Nicaranguan President Anastasio Somoza last September.

But, as I say, the Caribbean Comintern shifted tactics. They went on an orgy of self-criticism after they were thrown out of Guatemala. They had a lot to criticize. You see, they had disregarded part of Manuilsky's and Dimitrov's instructions, a very important part. They had all kinds of popular front operations in the Caribbean—but not in the United States apart from infiltrated Latin American colonies. They had neglected to establish contact with the revolutionary proletariat in the United States as they had been ordered. They had seriously alarmed and antagonized the United States. And that was at least a major cause of their downfall in Guatemala.

So, on June 11, 1955, 26 leaders of the movement gathered in a home in Mexico City and charted the new course. They discarded the idea that the United States was one inseparable monolithic unit, that it was the enemy. That was a luxury they could no longer afford. They agreed that the American public must not be alarmed. They agreed that contact must be established with the American Revolutionary proletariat if there is such a thing. They agreed that American power could even possibly be used. Finally, they agreed that the major objective must be to drive a wedge between the United States and certain Latin American states, that those states were to be isolated to break up the common front.

Now—how do we know this? We know this because Generalissimo Trujillo has developed one of the finest intelligence services in the Caribbean, an intelligence service that is designed to be our country's first line of defense against a threat that will be with us in the Caribbean as long as there is communism in this world. And we know it because like Hitler and his Nazis, like Stalin and his disciples, the leaders of Caribbean communism often do not hesitate to tell you exactly what they are going to do. And then—apparently to everyone's sur-

prise—they do just that. It is only when speaking for American ears that they make much attempt to hide their true character.

Well, the New Look of Caribbean communism has at least temporarily been successful. Apparently they did not find much of a revolutionary proletariat with which to work in the United States. But they did find a number of intellectuals willing to undertake any activity that is sugar-coated with the words, "democracy," "freedom," and "civil liberty."

This strange alliance is one of the great phenomena of our age, and of our struggle against the forces of international communism. It was J. Edgar Hoover who recently commented that pseudoliberals as self-styled reformers "have become the ready tools of the Communist conspiracy."

This was a speech a few weeks ago at Valley Forge, Pa., when Mr. Hoover was presented Freedom Foundation's highest award for 1956. He also said that, "the pseudoliberal has increasingly conceived committees in the name of defending every freedom, but none to uphold authority he claims social progress. To be sure, the pseudoliberals proclaim themselves anti-Communists * * * but they have made efforts in recent years to curtail the Government's authority to defend our national security. Some of them may be honest and sincere, but they are misguided. Others seek the pseudoliberal cloak to conceal more sinister objectives, because deceit is the very essence of communism."

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that we in the Dominican Republic can probably most fully appreciate Mr. Hoover's words. Generalissimo Trujillo was the first to recognize what the Communists were doing in Guatemala. He warned the peoples of both Americas that what was going on was not liberalism, it was not spiritual socialism as one Guatemalan Communist leader called it, nor was it agrarian reform, which if you will remember was the euphemism also applied at that time to the movement in China that was led by Comrades Mao Tse Tung and Chao En Lai. It was the birth of communism, that later showed its brute fury, just as surely as did the Soviets in Budapest.

But that warning was not heeded until thousands had died, nothing was done until international communism in the Caribbean grew to a size and degree of organization that survived even the loss of Guatemala itself. The cry of "red herring" has become such second nature to the pseudoliberal intellectuals of both Americas that there are those who simply refused to believe the facts, refused to admit their error even after that error was conclusively proved. And so today I am equally sure that in some quarters this warning will be met with the same reaction—red herring.

Now, let me explain a bit about the machinery of the revolutionary movement, and I think it will give you some idea of Soviet subversion in the Caribbean, and how it ultimately links up with pseudoliberalism in the United States.

Oversimplified perhaps, the Communist-revolutionary alliance operates on a Mexico City-San Jose, Costa Rican-San Juan, P. R., axis. Mexico is home base, and the direct link with the Soviet Union through the Soviet Embassy there. San Jose, capital of Costa Rica, is the stronghold of the movement in Central America, the site of the development of a peculiarly Latin American neocommunism, and the link with the intellectual author of Caribbean subversion, who has his present base in San Juan, P. R.

Now, self-confessed or publicly stated political coloring undergoes a progressive change between Mexico City and San Juan. What begins a deep red fades to pale pink by the time our intellectual leader in San Juan makes contact with New York pseudoliberals. And if you doubt that, that pipeline exists between San Juan and New York, just watch the reaction this speech will get from a New York group calling itself the Inter-American Association of Democracy and Freedom.

This gentleman in Puerto Rico, our intellectual leader of the Caribbean alliance of professional revolutionaries, is a rather fabulous character. He is the man who twice instigated armed invasion of the Dominican Republic; the man accused of the attempted assassinations of President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua and President Marcos Perez Jimenez of Venezuela; a leader who, after decades of outspoken Communist affiliation, changed his label only when it was politically expedient; the mastermind who has directed subversive operations against virtually every anti-Communist government in the Caribbean; and the intellectual who is the darling of New York pseudoliberals. He is Romulo Betancourt, chief of Accion Democratica and ex-President of Venezuela. He is also the master propagandist behind the present smear campaign aimed at the Dominican Government, and particularly at Generalissimo Trujillo.

Now if you will think back, you'll notice that most major political thrusts in the Caribbean are aimed at individuals—not at political parties, nor dogmas, nor systems of government. There is a reason for this.

The structure of most Latin American governments is based on an individual leader. That is, people who believe in that leader, who support him and his policies, form themselves into a political party dedicated to those principles that he represents. I am not saying that it is better or worse than the United States system. I am saying that is the way it is.

Necessarily, the destruction or weakening of that leader, by any means, is a demoralizing blow to national stability.

The assault against men occupying key posts may take several forms. The revolutionary movement has increasingly used assassination; it has also successfully used the threat of assassination and a war of nerves. It has had less luck with armed assault.

But when all else fails, there is one weapon remaining in the Communist arsenal of political warfare—assault by slander: character assassination.

The last method is now being attempted against Generalissimo Trujillo. Internal subversion has failed. Armed invasion has been beaten off. A loyal, alert people have made attacks on his person virtually impossible. It is their only remaining weapon.

He has become a priority target for several reasons. Trujillo has made the Dominican Republic a rock of stability in the otherwise turbulent Caribbean. Moreover, as I mentioned previously, he has never been content to isolate his country in self-satisfied prosperity while communism makes inroads elsewhere in the Americas.

Generalissimo Trujillo knows communism. He knows how to fight it, and he knows how to win. Moreover, he has fought alone. He has fought with little aid or encouragement. Nor does Trujillo need such prompting.

There is no need to bribe or cajole Generalissimo Trujillo into taking action against the forces of international communism. His record speaks for itself. It is this role that has infuriated the enemy, that has made him the leader most feared and hated by Communists in the Caribbean.

Through their present assault by slander, they hope to discredit his warnings of the danger in the Caribbean. They hope to have raised the familiar cry of "red herring" when their activities are revealed for what they are.

They hope, moreover, to reduce Trujillo's effectiveness as a fighter for freedom by isolating him from the other peoples and governments of America—including, particularly, those of the United States. Such isolation, they reason, will also have adverse economic repercussions, as well as sabotage the tourist program now being developed.

Now I'm sure you have heard of the two recent attempts of these elements to do just that. The Communists call them operation Galindez and operation Murphy. Both were beautifully timed and executed propaganda offensives. And both times the opposition succeeded in having non-Communist elements carry the ball.

If you will remember, Jesus Galindez was a Spanish Basque exile who disappeared from New York a year ago last month. A hate campaign aimed at the Dominican Republic got underway immediately. It was timed with the appearance of a book purportedly written by Mr. Galindez. This book was a virtual encyclopedia of every propaganda lie, accusation and innuendo formulated by those people against the Dominican Republic for the previous 25 years. And, naturally, Mr. Galindez—vanished—converted that rehash of aging investment into an up-to-date propaganda barrage. Various groups in New York managed to keep the program going by a series of sensational charges that culminated in the headline-grabbing accusation that Mr. Galindez had been inserted in the boiler of a Dominican ship.

Well, a number of facts about Mr. Galindez later came to light showing that he was involved in a great deal more undercover activity than that related to the Dominican Republic. In any case, the story soon died out. But it was not forgotten by the enemy, and we knew it.

Then last December an American copilot named Gerald Lester Murphy turned up missing in the Dominican Republic. Investigation by Dominican and American authorities got under way immediately. Suspicion pointed to a fellow employee of the same local airline where Murphy worked, and that man was arrested. Some days later he hanged himself in his cell, leaving a note confessing to the murder of Gerald Murphy. The story was printed, of course, in the local press. That issue immediately caused a great deal of excitement. We knew that a new campaign—or rather a renewal of the former one—would get underway just as soon as they could get ready. Mr. Betancourt flew to New York where he conferred with the veterans of "Operation Galindez."

Well, they pipelined it to the press and to the Congress. The story broke first in Life magazine, and then was picked up by Representative PORTER of Oregon. You have probably read or heard about it. Galindez was removed from the boiler and put aboard a plane flown by Murphy. But actually the new assault wasn't as dangerous as we had expected. It was too hastily done, far too flimsy. A score of representatives in the House took it apart and showed it for the crude manufacture that it was. Moreover, unbiased investigators—both private and official—had long since pretty well established the facts up to almost minutes before Galindez disappeared. They can assure you that no matter how Galindez vanished, it wasn't into Murphy's plane.

Now, naturally when someone starts beating you over the head, you want to find out what kind of a club he's using. Maybe you can get one bigger. That's what we did. After the uproar of the Galindez case died down, we continued to study it. That wasn't the first time, you know—they did the same thing in 1947 and 1949 in coordination with armed invasions—nor would it be the last.

There wasn't much to go on at first; just a lot of intriguing facts. For instance, the police searched Galindez's apartment twice, and found nothing directing suspicion to the Dominican Republic. Then, the third time, there was a note lying right on top of his desk. The note, addressed to the police and signed ostensibly by Galindez, said that

if he was missing to look for his kidnappers in the Dominican Republic. Then there was the million dollars Galindez had allegedly collected for the Basque Government in exile in Paris. The fact that half of the money is still missing is, of course, interesting. And almost equally so is the fact that not a single Basque in the United States has ever reported donating a nickel to the so-called government in exile. That is according to the records of the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue.

But most of all we were interested in the smooth coordination of the operation. A man vanishes, and the campaign got under way with machinelike precision, every charge perfectly timed and placed. Even apart from the fact that a human life was the newspeg for this offensive, it was evident that there was a tremendous organization behind it.

Well, we followed a trail that led us to Mexico City, to Havana, and Miami—way south to Santiago de Chile—then back to Mexico City, and finally up to New York.

We soon found that Mr. Jesus Galindez did not write that famous book. He rewrote it. It was based on material long before prepared by a Dominican exile named Juan Isidro Grullon. That material was expanded and revised as a joint project by several other Dominican exiles—particularly one named Enrique C. Henriquez—and by several Spanish Republican exiles, members of a group calling itself "the Democratic Front of American and Spanish Exiles."

The project began about 1949 in Mexico City. Galindez was approached late in 1951 and was offered a large unspecified sum of money for the use of his name. He was also required to rewrite the material in his own peculiarly tortuous style. Galindez agreed, and the following year secured permission from Columbia University to present the work as his doctoral dissertation.

During this time Galindez talked a great deal about the book and about Trujillo. His activities, however, centered about the New York Latin American colony, and little seems to have been accomplished until 1955.

His closest non-Latin American associate during this time was a writer named Frank Tannenbaum who was induced to believe that he was responsible for "persuading" Galindez to publish his thesis. It was no coincidence that the publishing house selected was the Editorial del Pacifico—which had also published some of Tannenbaum's books. Editorial del Pacifico had long since been so designated.

A check in Santiago—something that nobody else for some mysterious reason had done—produced some interesting facts. First, the publishing house is probably the major print shop in this hemisphere for Soviet propaganda. Secondly, it is run by such party liners as Alfonso Naranjo who was directly in charge of the book's publication. And lastly, we discovered an interesting crew associated with that publishing house, or active in publicizing the book throughout Latin America. There was Pablo Neruda, Stalinist intellectual wheelhorse. There were several Guatemalans like Luis Cardosa y Aragon and Manuel Galich. But biggest star of all was the expresident of Guatemala, Juan Jose Arevalo. Mr. Arevalo, if you will remember, is the man who launched an American nation down the road to complete Sovietization, a journey that was only interrupted by the armed invasion of Guatemala by the forces of Carlos Castillo Armas in 1954.

But it was in Mexico City that "Operation Galindez," per se, seems to have been most developed. It was there that the Spanish Republican brain trust was most openly active on the project. It was there they published a condensation of the book at least 2 years prior to the official publication. And it was there—for reasons which are still not clear—we were contacted by an agent of Galindez. He offered to "sell" the book to us for $25,000. It was, of course, not his to sell. Was Galindez seriously considering double-crossing his sponsors? Or was there something else behind it? We don't know.

Until the spring of 1954 Betancourt was in contact with the Operation Galindez task force in Mexico from his headquarters in Costa Rica. He was forced to leave them when the Nicaraguan Government named him as the sponsor of the first of a series of assassination attempts against the now late President Somoza. He went to Puerto Rico. His forced move to a new base of operations actually worked to his benefit; it put him in closer contact with New York pseudo-liberals, and enabled him to set the stage for the events that exploded in March 1956.

Well, there is a great deal more to the background of those twin propaganda assaults—much that canont be brought out at this time. A comprehensive report has been turned over to a unit of the United States Government that is also interested in communism in the Caribbean and the manner in which it is penetrating into the United States itself. You will be hearing more about it.

Meanwhile, investigation has returned to New York and what happened to Mr. Galindez after about 10:15 p. m. on the evening of March 12, 1956. The answer is in Manhattan's Spanish-speaking colony, and I have a feeling the final solution is not far distant.

To us, the explanation of Operation Galindez-Murphy is not only important to give the lie to the smear campaign against our country. It will—it should—expose once and for all Communist tactics in the Caribbean—and in the United States. When we have done this, that tremendous barrage of propaganda against us will have only served to finally alert the American people to a threat that is really posed at them. You—not Generalissimo Trujillo and the Dominican Republic—are the ultimate target of international communism.

Newsmen and Security Leaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of July 16, 1957:

NEWSMEN AND SECURITY LEAKS

A great stir is being caused among the newspaper profession and in Congress by the report of the Commission on Government security. The report, among other things, proposes to make it a crime for newsmen to reveal secret security information, a crime punishable by a maximum penalty of 5 years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

It is charged that some reporters have been guilty of stealing secret information, and it is known that, during World War II, in a few instances, security information of a vital nature was willingly published, to the harm of American fighting men.

We hold no truck with those who believe that newsmen are immune from accepting a responsibility in the field of security. We do not think there is any justification for allowing newsmen to get whatever information they can, and publish it, and then blame the Defense Department or military security officials for not being able to keep them from obtaining the information.

The freedom of the press, as we know it in the United States, is a freedom which entails a responsibility. It will last only as long as those who enjoy it and control the press exercise at least reasonable judgment and accept the responsibility that goes with the great power of the press.

Therefore, while we will fight to the last for the established principle that a newsman cannot be forced to reveal the source of his news, we believe that if he is guilty of revealing security information to the detriment of this Government, information which he obtained under shady circumstances, he should be made to accept the responsibility.

In these days, security is a vital concern of every American and no group of citizens can be given an unlimited right to sneak, steal or obtain whatever information they can, and publish it in the newspaper. Therefore, some sort of control over security and some law enforcing the control is necessary.

Further Record of Arab Border Violence and Robbery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following listing of Arab incursions upon the Israeli border, as recorded in the May 20, 1957, issue of Israel Digest:

FURTHER RECORD OF ARAB BORDER VIOLENCE AND ROBBERY

In spite of the presence of UNEF on the Gaza border, in spite of the existence of armistice agreements with Syria and other Arab States, the daily border violations, infiltrations, robberies, and other incursions continue, sometimes at the rate of three a day.

April 27: The guards of Gvulot opened fire on infiltrators from the Gaza strip and caused them to flee.

Four infiltrators from the Gaza strip stole 17 irrigation pipes from the village of Kissufim. The tracks of the four led into the strip in the direction of Dir el-Balah.

April 28: Five Syrian soldiers opened rifle and machinegun fire on Kfar Szold. There was an exchange of fire but no casualties were reported.

April 29: A Syrian outpost opened rifle fire on Ashmurah. The fire was not returned.

The guards of Gvulot caused four infiltrators to flee. They had tried to enter the settlement's area.

An Israel patrol chased off two infiltrators who entered with their herds into Israel territory past the barrier at Erez.

The guards at Mivtachim chased off infiltrators who attempted to penetrate into the settlement. The raiders fled to the Gaza strip.

April 30: Rifle shots were fired on the bridge of Benot Ya'acov from Syrian territory. Members of the settlement of Mishmar HaYarden were specifically attacked. There were no casualties.

May 2: The guards of Nir Yitzhak chased off infiltrators from the Gaza strip who tried to penetrate into their settlement.

May 3. The guards of Gvulot chased off three infiltrators from the Gaza strip who had penetrated into their settlement.

May 4: A Syrian post opened automatic fire on fishing boats which were about 150 kilometers from the northeast shore of the Sea of Galilee. Four of the fishermen were wounded. An Israel police patrol boat which came in to evacuate the wounded, was itself attacked by fire for about 5 minutes.

Two hundred irrigation pipes were stolen from the village of Beit Re'im. The foot tracks of nine thieves led to the Gaza strip.

Cattle was stolen from the villages of Tkumah and Moshav Shovalim. The tracks of two men led to the Gaza strip.

May 8: An Israel patrol chased off three infiltrators from a settlement near Ein Hashloshim. Foot tracks led to the Gaza strip.

May 10: Irrigation pipes were stolen from the village of Kissufim. The foot tracks of five thieves led to the Gaza strip.

May 11: An Israeli guard chased off 20 armed Jordanians who penetrated into Israel territory in the Gilboa, south of Hephtzi-Bah.

May 12: Ten armed Jordanians who infiltrated into Israel territory south of Zichalg opened fire on an Israel guard. The guard returned the fire and chased off the marauders. The guard was then again attacked by automatic fire from across the Jordan frontier. The shooting continued for 3 hours.

Max Abelman's 70th Birthday Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include with these remarks the following transcript of the proceedings had upon the occasion of the 70th birthday of Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, Max Abelman

SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY PARTY FOR MAX ABELMAN

Dr. LASKY. Friends, it is our great pleasure to welcome you to our home to help us honor Max Abelman, Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. We are all delighted to greet the distinguished members of the Philippines to the United Nations headquarters. The Honorable and Mas. Abe Stark, president of the City Council, City of New York, are also present to help us honor Max Abelman.

We hope that you will all enjoy to the utmost the cordiality and good fellowship that enriches our home on this happy occasion. Shortly we hope to be able to have a few words from each of the dignitaries present on behalf of Max Abelman's 70th birthday anniversary. Mr. Abe Stark, president of the City Council of New York City, would like to say a few words at this moment. Mr. Stark.

Mr. STARK. Dr. Lasky, it's awfully good being here with you at your home, with your lovely wife and your many friends, celebrating the 70th anniversary of our very dear friend, Max Abelman. Seventy years sounds like a long amount of years. Well, that might have been some years ago but 70 years ago today, due to the study of geriatrics by doctors such as Dr. Lasky and others, we've overcome that. It's not old any more, it's young.

And here's a man that really deserves to be young for the things he has done all his life. I've known Mr. Max Abelman for a period of at least 30 years, always actively interested in every worthwhile cause on behalf of humanity, one of the inspirations and founders of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, has done much on behalf of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, and so many other things that I can go on enumerating.

However, I'm happy to be able to be here a little while to spend at the home of Dr. Lasky and Mrs. Mortimer I. Lasky. And I want to wish you, Dr. Lasky, and your dear wife, the very best of everything because I know how fine a gesture you have done. Nothing that could have made Max Abelman happier than having all his dear friends here with you this afternoon. God bless you.

Dr. LASKY. Thank you; that's wonderful.

Mr. ABELMAN. Doctor and Mrs. Lasky, His Excellency Felixberto Serrano, my dear friends:

Now after being joshed and kidded today at the party here by "70 years young," and I'll tell you what kept me young all my life. I always said to myself, and I read a poem and I repeat it wherever I go: "I shall go through this world but once. Any kindness or good that I can do, let me do it now. I may not pass this way again."

And I've been doing that all my life—money was not my goal in life. I had money. I lost a great deal of money.. I lost—more than money, my companion of my life. I'll say this, that today the Laskys have made me very happy.

I didn't want to have an extensive party; any number of people wanted to give me a 70th anniversary dinner and what not, but the Laskys are so sweet. When we went to the United Nations where we were invited by His Excellency Ambassador Serrano, permanent delegate to the United Nations, we enjoyed it so much and we felt that the ties of the Philippines and America, the United States, are closer. And I hope that it will be continued as life goes on that we shall be real and great friends to the Philippines. They are warm people, they're sincere people, and I want to thank them, and also through myself thank them for the Laskys who are very happy to have them with us. And I'm very happy to be with you. Thank you very much for being here.

Before I call on Mr. Nick Young, my friend, I want to pay official thanks and tribute to a man who had to leave, who has been working with me for many years in trying to help make possible for 600 doctors in America to practice. I have reference to the Honorable Abe Stark, the president of the city council. He and I worked shoulder to shoulder and we've accomplished much.

I've also tried to help the Philippines, but now I'd like to see and I've written to His Excellency, the President of the Philippines, the Honorable Ramon Magsaysay, asking him to try and establish a course of nursing in the Philippines. And I'm going to Washington on some other mission. I'd like to say—we have a shortage of doctors and nurses in this country, and not only a shortage of doctors; we have a shortage of medical schools. And I should like to see our Government establish medical schools in larger important cities wherever there are veteran hospitals in the country.

And I hope that this will be accomplished.

I notice in the room there's another gentleman, also a dear friend of mine. He—Nick Yang. He's known by the Filipinos as the executive of the Filipino community. I wonder if my dear friend, Nick, would say a word.

Mr. YANG. Dr. Lasky, Mrs. Lasky, His Excellency the Ambassador, fellow Americans and my Filipino compatriots. When Max asked me to say a few words, I was laughing because I realized the funny position that I'm going to put you in. I said—I used the word "you" advisedly for the simple reason that you are not receiving a newcomer in New York. I've been here a good number of years. As a matter of fact I live in Brooklyn. I have a family of my own, and those in Brooklyn who don't know my nation of origin, I happen to have the distinction of being the only Chinaman in Brooklyn that sells Israel bonds.

The truth of the matter, however, I am a Filipino by national origin. I'm really very happy as the chairman of the Filipino Community of Greater New York and New Jersey to be able to participate, and together with His Excellency, our Ambassador to the United Nations, to express my personal appreciation in behalf of our community for the great humanitarian work and activities that Max has been doing in behalf of all people—besides the fact that he has also seen fit to help many Filipino doctors.

I believe that Max would be bothered, especially by Nick Yang, so I don't know if he's doing himself a favor by having me around. We happen to have launched a counterpart of the Philippine Science Foundation that was enacted in the Philippines, I think in 1952, if I am not mistaken. And it is now known as the Filipino-American—or American-Filipino Science Foundation. The leaders of this group are composed of many prominent businessmen, scientists, and many other Americans of all walks of life. And the president of this group is our other distinguished diplomat, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, also Max's friend.

I'm not trying to lose sight of the fact that this is a celebration of Max's birthday. I'm only trying to show to you the vital factor that the Filipino life and Filipino achievements and contributions has been and will continue to be to the American-Filipino relationship. Max, to us, is not merely a friend. I'm happy, of course, to see that Max has reached half way of his life, because I expect him to live as long as 140.

So, joining our people in thanking—in saying thank you very, very much to Dr. and Mrs. Lasky and to many—to all of you folks for receiving us with such beautiful hospitality. And to Max, of course, with the best wishes I'm sure of all Filipinos, both here and in the Philippines, that may he live so long that we would forget that at one time we celebrated his 70th birthday. Thank you very much.

Mr. ABELMAN. Thank you, Nick.

Surrogate Di Falco Urges Nationwide Legislation for Protection of Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Surrogate S. Samuel Di Falco, of New York, given at the National Conference of the American Society of Appraisers:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I am indeed privileged to be your guest speaker.

Usually, I am obliged to sit quietly and listen to appraisers—reciting the value of property, real or personal—the basis for their appraisal and justifying the conclusion they have reached. Presiding over a trial, I am a so-called captive audience. Tonight, however, I am getting even with all you appraisers—because tonight you are my captive audience.

Bearing in mind the story of the young boy who, when asked: "What different forms of punishment we have in this country" replied: "In the United States many people are put to death annually by elocution." I will try, therefore, to have my beginning and my conclusion placed not too far apart.

You know, great men differ on different subjects—lawyers differ about the law, judges differ about the interpretation of statutes and jurors on quality of the testimony, but of them all, the greatest differences exist in the nature and amount of appraisals which are offered in courtrooms. I know they are offered in the well-intended spirit of sincere and honest belief—yet they are misinterpreted—misunderstood and confusing to the layman. The vast variances in the value of property can sometimes pose a serious problem. One appraiser with a different background may see a far greater extrinsic or intrinsic value in an object than does another. This is especially so in the appraising of antiques, objects of art, real estate rather than in commercial and industrial appraisals.

I respect your talent and ability. You men have studied, done research, and intensively and minutely analyzed many varied shapes, forms, and types of properties. You have developed a highly technical and skillful knowledge on a multitude of subjects. Your appraisals in my courtrooms, in the Supreme Court, and now in the surrogate's court have dealt with real estate, jewelry, antiques, the arts and even the value of a racehorse. I might add that, where there was only one appraisal offered—and no jury—I have had to study the art of appraising so that I could make up my mind and fix my own value in my decision, naturally guided by your testimony.

While talking about the courts and testimony, may I suggest to you appraisers, who testify as experts in your respective fields, to bear in mind a very important factor: The judges and jury are not technical experts on values. Whenever you testify before a judge or a jury, it is not only for you to know your subject matter, but it is equally as important that you testify in such a manner so that the explanations and details whereby you arrive at your opinion will be made in simple language—and be clear, cogent, and understandable to the judge and jury. I say this because, in my experience as a practicing lawyer and now as a trial judge, I have seen top experts in their respective fields fail to communicate their superior knowledge to the judge or jury because of persistant use of technical language not clear to either the judge or the jury.

So I urge you appraisers, when you testify, do so in such a manner so that any person can readily understand and appreciate each and every part of your testimony.

You appraisers are to be commended for policing your own industry. You have cleaned out the charlatans, the fakers, the imposters, the unqualified and inexperienced. You have sought to maintain a high degree of responsibility and integrity both in your conduct and in the nature and quality of your testimony in court. The difference between the dispensing of justice and committing an irreparable injustice is oftentimes dependent only upon the quality and nature of an appraiser's testimony. The court draws heavily upon your experience, knowledge, and testimony for guidance and direction on the facts concerning appraisals and values. If you mislead the court, you have ill reflected not only upon yourself and your organization but upon the court and our entire system of jurisprudence as well.

Your responsibility to society is a grave and serious one—to be fulfilled in the same lofty traditions of the great curators upon whose word royalty invested their fortunes and staked the futures of their empires. You must educate the public and the businessman to depend on your opinion and advice. I might suggest that—for the protection of the honest appraisers, and for the prevention of any possible injustice—your organization should strive to obtain legislation in every State in the Union whereby those seeking to hold themselves out as appraisers will be only those who have been properly tested, apprenticed, experienced, and then licensed. Of course, men who have been in this industry with the wide variety of experience and background which your members have, should not only be automatically licensed, but should serve as the examiners of the potential applicant for appraiser. As a matter of fact, I strongly feel that an appraiser should not be privileged to be called such, or even be permitted to testify in any court proceeding as an expert, unless and until he has been thoroughly and properly tested, qualified, and licensed by the State to practice the profession of an appraiser.

Antiques and fine art, because of widespread travel today, have come to the fore as commodities. The word of the appraiser may be the difference between a man investing his fortune fortuitously, or buying a "lemon." It seems to me that with such responsibility resting on his shoulder, the appraiser should be a man in whom the basic elements of background, experience, and integrity have been examined, passed upon, approved, and licensed. What recourse does the innocent public have today against an inexperienced appraiser who may have caused irreparable harm? Absolutely nothing, or at most perhaps some insignificant lawsuit which might result in a noncollectible judgment. However, if a man were licensed, then action could be taken to recover in a proceeding before the licensing agency which could then, if proven guilty, bar an unscrupulous appraiser from practicing his profession or in the alternative order restitution to an aggrieved person.

I find that I must advocate this course of conduct concerning appraisers because of my newly assumed duties as surrogate wherein the amount of legacy, the amount of property sale price, the amount of transfer tax, inheritance tax, commissions and fees depend mainly upon the opinion of the appraiser.

Unfortunately anyone who so decides can hold himself out to be an appraiser. So of what value is the best law, the best judges, or the best legal procedure when all that can be wiped out by the well-intended testimony of an inept or unqualified appraiser in court.

I would be remiss in my duty as Surrogate if I did not tell you that I am most seriously concerned with the degree and nature of the testimony of the appraiser.

Whatever protective action you pursue, whatever high standards you establish, whatever close security is adopted for appraisers will be most welcome to the courts, will relieve the conscience of the judges and jury, and will promote better justice and the best interests of the public.

At any rate I want to conclude by saying that the appraiser has emerged to the forefront and has contributed as an unchallenged expert in his field comparable to the scientific and technical contributions rendered by the doctor, lawyer, dentist, engineer, insurance or real-estate consultant.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is my appraisal of the appraisers.

Thank you.

Memorandum by the 35th Congress of the Slovak League of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following memorandum by the 35th congress of the Slovak League of America, Cleveland, Ohio, May 28, 1957:

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE HONORABLE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA, CLEVELAND, OHIO, MAY 28, 1957

Greetings:

Solemnly assembled in the regular 35th congress on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the founding of the Slovak League of America here in the great Slovak center of Cleveland, Ohio, the officers and delegates of the Slovak League of America hereby declare that:

1. We rededicate ourselves to the preservation of the basic moral principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights of the United States of America.

2. We condemn all forms of tyranny and totalitarian political systems, especially repudiating the atheistic philosophy of materialistic communism as the most ruthless conspiracy against free humanity.

3. We commend our Government for every effort expended to resist and to resolutely counteract the aggressive policies of Soviet imperialism with all the spiritual and material forces at its command and we heartily endorse every action of our Government to expose, demobilize, and outlaw the evil forces of brutal communism in the United States of America, these forces which are dedicated to the destruction of our country and the western civilization.

4. We respectfully request that—in accordance with the basic principle that every political formation and form of government imposed on any people by the force of an alien power should be refused recognition—our Government should no longer recognize the Czecho-Communist regime in Slovakia, the land of our ancestors.

5. We respectfully submit that a reexamination be undertaken by the United States of America of the question of the validity of the Slovak independent nation, which, we hasten to recall, was recognized by 27 countries of the family of nations, large and small, but, unfortunately, not by the United States of America, with whose support Slovakia would continue today and for many future years as a great force for peace in the powder keg of Europe.

6. We strongly denounce the intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the internal affairs of other countries, particularly in the affairs of the land of our fathers, Slovakia, and we urge that our Government insist on the withdrawal of all Soviet forces from non-Soviet territories, including Slovakia, as rapidly and as expeditiously as will be in keeping with the best interest of the United States of America.

7. As stated so often in the past, we, individually and as representatives of the 300,000 organized Americans of Slovak descent—having rejoiced on so many occasions when the various nations of the world attained their freedom and independence—submit that in all justice and fairness the nation we have descended from should likewise enjoy the blessings of true freedom and independence.

In support of the above outlined principles, all of which are in keeping with the basic fundamental truths of our American way of life, we have prepared and make available the research and historic proof which justify our legitimate claims and aspirations.

Therefore, on the solemn occasion of our golden jubilee, as representatives of the vast majority of the Slovak ethnic group, we deem it our moral right and obligation to respectfully request, seek, and, if the need arises, to insist that our Government through its executive branch, in its various sections and divisions, not excluding our able ambassador to the United Nations, take all legitimate avenues of action in keeping with the sacred moral law of God and the law of nations to make certain that a true and lasting independent Slovakia may again take its rightful place in the community of nations which seek to preserve peace and promulgate the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

In pursuance of these privileges and duties which we honorably accept and carry out, we seek, Mr. President, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Ambassador, your personal as well as official support.

As loyal sons and daughters of this great Republic, we beseech God's blessings upon you and your efforts to bring about His greater honor and glory, and we convey to each of you our sincerest and warmest personal regards.

In witness whereof, we have unanimously adopted the above sentiments at this historic 35th congress at Cleveland, Ohio, on May 26, 1957, the 50th anniversary of the first enunciation of these principles by our predecessors of happy memory, our founding fathers, and the organizers of the Slovak League of America.

The memorandum committee of the Slovak League:

JOHN J. SIROTNAK,
Pennsylvania
JOHN J. LESKOVJANSKY,
Ohio
EDWARD J. BEHUNCIK,
Connecticut
JOHN B. HASSAY, *Ohio*
ELIZABETH ANDREJKO,
Pennsylvania
PHILIP A. HROBAK,
President, the Slovak League of America.

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CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Algerian Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a number of recent editorials and two articles commenting on the Algerian question which has been raised in the Senate. The volume and intensity of newspaper commentary on this problem indicate that the Algerian crisis has become a matter of more general public concern. These editorials and articles represent a selection from the many recent ones which comment on the position I took, and which are in general agreement that this matter is of vital concern to the American people.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of July 14, 1957]

SOLOMON WANTED

Just to show that no one can win, Radio Moscow has managed to blast both Senator KENNEDY for his recent speech advocating American support of Algerian independence, and Secretary Dulles for disagreeing with it. The Communists as usual are busy working both sides of the street in an effort to capitalize on the controversy stirred by Mr. KENNEDY's remarks. The last thing they really want is a solution to the harrowing dilemma of France's relations with Algeria.

Whether what Senator KENNEDY has proposed would facilitate a solution is the great question. This newspaper respects his motives as well as much of his analysis of the French record. Too little and too late is the unhappy epitaph for the proposals of reform, and there are altogether too many parallels with the Fernch performance in Indochina. The demonstrable effects of the Algerian situation on NATO and the free world make it far more than a concern of France alone. The United States unquestionably does have a deep interest in retaining the sympathy of African nationalism and in preventing the capture of this nationalism by the Communists and fanatics.

Yet it is easy to oversimplify the problem. The issue in Algeria is not merely one of independence versus colonialism. For one thing, a not inconsiderable part of Algeria's population is European with roots going back a century or more, and it is violently opposed to the sort of independence that might jeopardize its position. For another thing, the waves of independence sometimes wash toward shoals. There is no certainty that an Algeria abruptly cast adrift would be a boon to the Moslem population which is in need of understanding and help. The hope of our fragmented world is more recognition of interdependence; and, slogans apart, the question in Algeria is as much one of genuinely equal rights as of sovereignty.

There is the further consideration that France herself must make the decision. Many leaders are anguishing for a solution that would end the drain on French blood and francs. The Mendes-France, Faure, and Mollet governments all had broad reforms in mind. The trouble is that no government has had the strength to carry through a program against the combined resistance of the conservative diehards at home and the colons abroad, and the new government of M. Bourges-Maunoury seems scarcely less paralyzed.

Possibly, in the end, radical surgery will be the only course. It will be a long time, however, before French opinion will agree to this, for Algeria is far nearer and dearer to the hearts of Frenchmen than was Indochina. American efforts at this point might better be channelized away from public resolutions into vigorous encouragement for practical reforms that still might prove mutually acceptable to Algeria and France.

For example, M. Mollet often talked of a cantonal system for Algeria that would permit diverse groups to live side by side with equal rights. It remains for a French government to implement such a program. Paris maintains that Algeria is an integral part of Metropolitan France, and that Algerians are French citizens with Frenchmen's rights. It remains for France to face up to this concept by proposing an equal basis for representation in the French Assembly, even though this would mean a large Algerian bloc. France could end the unrealistic insistense on pacification as a prerequisite to negotiation, as Mr. KENNEDY has suggested, and could repudiate the notion that it is impossible to talk with rebels. As a further token of conciliation she could replace the stern Resident Minister, M. Lacoste, who is the symbol of bloody measures that promote bloody reprisals.

The United States could encourage such steps without directly affronting the Paris government. Most of all, it could encourage renewed cooperation with Premier Bourguiba, of Tunisia, and the Sultan of Morocco, who are the best friends of the West in promoting a moderate settlement that would respect French as well as Algerian rights. It may be that such steps would come too late, but they are at least worth trying. It is premature to conclude that the people and Government of France who have offered so much to the world and who have within days faced up to the great challenge of Euratom and the common market, are incapable of applying similar vision to Algeria.

[From the Berkshire Eagle, Pittsfield, Mass., of July 6, 1957]

SENATOR KENNEDY ON ALGERIA

In his forceful declaration in favor of the Algerian nationalists, Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY raised an issue that the western allies have consistently ignored, and to their peril.

By his speech on the Senate floor and the accompanying resolution, Senator KENNEDY has come out for international negotiation leading to Algerian independence. In so doing he has placed himself flatly against the administration's policy of support for the French Government against the insurgents.

That policy is faulty, he says, because it merely marks time while allowing anti-colonial pressure to build up in north Africa. It strips NATO "to the bone" by requiring 400,000 French troops in Algeria. It damages our prestige with anti-imperialist countries throughout the world. It weakens the influence of the Eisenhower doctrine in the Middle East. It lends ammunition to the cause of anti-Western propaganda in Asia and the Middle East. And it drains the power and wealth of one of our most important allies.

The points strike us as well taken, even though they do not seem so to Secretary Dulles. The State Department's consistent view on the matter has been that Algeria is an internal French problem which other countries should not be concerned with. The United States has long abetted the French in their refusal to have the dispute aired in the United Nations.

The policy has seemed necessary to maintain a cooperative relationship with the French Government. As a price of cooperation, we have consented to a French colonial policy that not only runs counter to our own avowed principles but weakens our stand for freedom from Soviet domination in other parts of the globe.

Granted that the special political, military and economic intermingling of France and Algeria makes this something less than an outright case of French imperialism, it still seems to be another case where the United States has much to gain and little to lose by espousing the principle of self-rule for young countries before they gain it themselves.

Secretary Dulles perhaps is too encumbered by pledges and compromises to put the issue in its true perspective. But Senator KENNEDY can afford to take a stand on this intricate and controversial Algerian problem, and he has done it well.

[From the Pilot, Boston, Mass., of July 13, 1957]

THE PROUD AND THE COMPLEX

Algeria was once a word that meant no more to most people than a far-away, exotic land of turrets and veils and Arab mystery. Today it means trouble, violence, bloodshed and grave international distress. Senator KENNEDY last week entered this strange world with strong words questioning American policy on Algeria and at least by implication suggesting that France reevaluate its present strategy there. It was a forthright and deliberate speech and the Senator, we can be sure, was aware of the storm that would follow upon its delivery.

The President and the Secretary of State in public statements quite understandably soft-pedaled the whole business, but it is likely that they will give the Senator's suggestions some serious consideration. The issue which centers about the matter of Algerian independence is full of complexity. It is not simply a question of French intransigence or one side, nor of nationalistic local autonomy on the other. There are many issues involved which are so mutually conflicting that one almost despairs of a solution without large compromises all around. Senator KENNEDY plainly understands all this but he argues forcefully that the present hands-off attitude of our own country is costing us dearly in the world opinion of the newer peoples. These nations just now moving toward national self-determination, and often prematurely, should feel friendly toward America with its long record of anti-colonialism but they are distressed by our policy of silence and inaction on Algeria.

It is convenient of course to say that this is primarily a French question and that it

can be best solved by France, so long familiar with north African complexities as in Tunisia and Morocco. While French opinion is surely not unanimous on the wisdom of present French policy in Africa, President Coty has just announced that full Algerian independence will never be granted. Certainly no solution will be acceptable that does not give consideration to the Communist influence in Algeria, the unreliable character of the rebels and the presence of more than a million Europeans there. There just is no easy solution for Algeria, as indeed everyone admits.

At the same time Senator KENNEDY's basic concern is a legitimate one and also one to which Americans must give immediate attention. Without judging the French position, we know that it is interpreted in Asia and Africa as an imperialistic one, since there Algerian rebel action is seen as totally legitimate and French retaliation as fully vindicative and repressive. This is a ridiculous over-simplification but like all such it sells easily among simple people and it allies us with those who are classified as the enemies of freedom. This is actually both unhappy and unnecessary.

We can sympathize with the incredible difficulties facing the French policymakers in Algeria and we can also show an understanding of the legitimate aspirations of the Algerians for self-determination. Up until now we have emphasized the first at the expense of the second and we have as a consequence lost the confidence of those vast areas of the world in ferment for the future. We are judged as a people ready to sacrifice our traditional principles rather than embarrass our allies, as opportunists shifting to suit the wind in the changing world.

Senator KENNEDY does well to call this to the attention of America and the administration, for we neglect it at a very real peril indeed. It is appropriate too that true friends of France make the point plain for it is one that should not be misunderstood. None of us meanwhile forgets that in modern times it is to France that we may look in the Western World for the most resounding declaration of the ideals of free men and free nations.

[From the Boston Traveler of July 8, 1957]

NO. 1 CAUSE: KENNEDY TAKES UP ARMS FOR ALGERIA

(By Peter Edson)

WASHINGTON.—Senator JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY of Massachusetts has seized on the Algerian struggle for independence from France as his No. 1 cause.

Later on, he said in what he obviously intended to be a major foreign policy speech in the Senate, he will take up the cause of more aid for Poland.

The Algerian revolution has been going on for the better part of 10 years. It is a fight about which most Americans know little and care less. Vaguely, there is some knowledge that the United States maintains an air base in Algiers—or some place in north Africa. But that's about all.

The official American policy under both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations has encouraged this indifference. The line has been that Algiers was a part of France and therefore trouble there was an internal matter for the French to settle.

But now along comes the junior Senator from Massachusetts to demand that the United States change this policy. Senator KENNEDY even introduced a resolution authorizing the President and Secretary of State to achieve a solution which will recognize the independent personality of Algeria and establish a basis for a settlement interdependent with France.

This marks Senator KENNEDY as a courageous, original thinker on foreign policy. It also throws a tough challenge to President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles. It is not an endorsement of bipartisan policy.

The Senator likewise has a few criticisms for other bigwigs in the Republican administration for their stands.

He criticizes Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge for having opposed United Nations' consideration of the Algerian question three times in the past.

He criticizes Douglas Dillon, former United States Ambassador to France, now Under Secretary of State, for having declared, "The United States stands solemnly behind France in her search for a liberal, equitable solution of the problems in Algeria."

And he criticizes Vice President NIXON for having "failed even to mention this sensitive area in his report," on his special mission to Africa this year. NIXON was urged in both Tunisia and Libya to help stop the fighting in Algeria.

In May the Ambassadors from all the Arab countries represented in Washington called on Secretary Dulles. They asked that the United States aid in solving the Algerian crisis and stop supplying arms to France for use in Africa.

This appeal was rejected on the same old grounds. But now Senator KENNEDY has revived the issue in more embarrassing form.

The effects of this Kennedy speech will be far reaching. It will be hailed and made much of in the Arab world.

Just as certainly, it will be condemned in France. Having lost Indochina, Tunisia, and Morocco, France is desperately trying to hold on to Algeria. One of the principal French defenses is that the rights of a million Europeans in Algeria cannot be sacrificed. Eight million Moslems look at it otherwise.

"The essential first step," says KENNEDY, "is the independence of Algeria along the lines of Tunisia and Morocco.

"Unfortunately," he adds later, "the Tunisians and Moroccans also know they owe little, if anything, to the United States for their new-found freedom."

Again he says, "No matter how complex the problems posed by the Algerian issue may be, the record of the United States in this case is, as elsewhere, a retreat from the principles on independence and anticolonialism."

[From the Christian Science Monitor of July 15, 1957]

SHOWDOWN IN ALGERIA?—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

(By Mary Hornaday)

NEW YORK.—The milkman in Omaha may not at this moment be too interested in the issue of independence for Algeria raised in the United States Senate by the young Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, JOHN F. KENNEDY, but if he understands the "whys" and the "wherefores" he may become deeply interested.

If you were to sit in the press club of that tall, glass building beside the East River and hear news correspondents from all over the world mulling over the Senator's pronouncement that he is about to begin a lengthy examination of the role of the United States in the struggle that has kept North Africa in turmoil for many months, you would see how important this issue is destined to become.

Outside of the East-West struggle on disarmament, Algeria is the most crucial political issue on the United Nations docket—which is the reason all eyes here have turned inquiringly and interestedly on the Massachusetts Senator's move.

No one who sat through the tumultuous session of the U. N. Political Committee last February when it considered the Algerian issue can doubt that there is a deep rift in the world today between those nations which believe that international concern with Algeria, for 100 years an integral part of France, is interfering with French domestic affairs and those which see France as standing in the way of U. N.-guaranteed self-determination of peoples.

The Senator's aim, as seen here, is to force the formulation of a firm American policy that will put this powerful country on the independence side of this so-called colonialism issue.

The Algerian story at the U. N. goes back to the winter of 1955 when the General Assembly first decided to debate the question and then dropped the matter after the French delegation had walked out.

At that time the United States joined leading European powers and members of the British Commonwealth in opposing U. N. consideration of the problem, which was put temporarily on the agenda by just one vote.

With bloodshed continuing and France trying to keep order with approximately 400,000 troops, it was natural that the so-called Bandung nations would not let the issue drop. They did not even wait for the next General Assembly but tried unsuccessfully in June 1956 to get the Security Council to take up the question. The United States voted with the majority not to consider it.

By the time the 1956 Assembly started much had happened. The United States State Department found itself squarely between France, with whom its relations had been strained as a result of the Suez crisis, and the Asia-Arab bloc, with which it had been in a somewhat more favorable position since the intervention in Suez.

Instead of walking out as they had done the year before, the French sent a strong delegation to New York to present their case, but they were extremely worried. French officials were heard to express the view that French-United States friendship could not survive a hostile vote by the United States. They said a dangerous wave of nationalism would be set up that might damage NATO. Dr. Albert Schweitzer sent a letter to President Eisenhower urging him to support France.

In the end the United States decided to oppose the 18-nation Arab-Asian resolution which would have called on the U. N. Secretary General to assist France and Algeria in negotiations looking toward a cessation of hostilities in Algeria. Instead, the General Assembly merely expressed its hope that a peaceful and democratic solution of this question will be found.

The situation in Algeria has not improved. Establishment of friendly relations between France and its former protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia, both interested in a free Algeria, has not been accomplished. In May, the Arab-Asian bloc called the U. N.'s attention to the slaying of 303 Algerian villagers in the single mountain village of Melouza. The issue is bound to come up again in next fall's General Assembly.

The United States position on the Algerian question has been interpreted throughout the Asian-African world as an American stand on the side of colonialism.

This is where Senator KENNEDY enters the picture. The issue, if he can get it over to the American people, is bound to be one that will touch their emotions. On the other hand, the State Department has maintained that Algeria was an internal affair and under the charter not properly a subject for U. N. debate.

The American political battle over Algeria has been joined. The consensus at the U. N. is that it is bound to have far-reaching ramifications.

[From the Dayton Daily News of July 7, 1957]

FACING THE FACTS IN ALGERIA

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY is leading a movement to persuade the State Department

to stop temporizing over the Algerian struggle for independence. He is author of a resolution under which President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles would be authorized and strongly encouraged to strike out for a mediated solution of the civil war there.

The Algerian problem admittedly is complicated. Legal intricacies and divisions among the Algerians themselves add to the difficulties of bringing the state into independent status to match that recently achieved by Tunisia and Morocco.

For the United States there is the diplomatic embarrassment of seeming to take sides against France.

Senator KENNEDY, however, is right in pointing out that the Algerian situation has deteriorated to the point at which quibbles are overswept by the inexorable tide of history. In a speech delivered in the Senate just before the holiday he quoted Turgot, the farseeing 18th century French statesman who said that "colonies are like friut which cling to the tree only till they ripen."

Submerged peoples everywhere are on the march to fulfillment of nationalist aspirations. In Algeria these have been dammed back so long that compromises and palliatives that once might have worked no longer are feasible. Algeria is on the way to becoming another Indochina.

As Senator KENNEDY points out, helping France hold the line in Algeria does her no favor but a long-term disservice. It prolongs a military and economic drain that cannot indefinitely delay Algerian freedom. Meanwhile, it gives Moslem extremists more leeway and invites Communist infiltration. It places the United States in a false light throughout the Moslem world and in the eyes of peoples who resent all vestiges of colonialism.

It is time for the United States to face facts in Algeria. It is time to take the lead in cutting through to the heart of a problem which France claims is of purely domestic concern but which, in truth, vitally affects the fortunes of the entire free world.

Broadening of Educational Horizons To Include Alien Cultures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Chicago American of July 14 there is a noteworthy editorial entitled "We Should Know Our World." This editorial brings out the fact that one of the outstanding citizens of the Midwest, Robert Sargeant Shriver, Jr., has just been reelected to the presidency of the Chicago Board of Education. The editorial deals with his philosophy that education in high schools and colleges should broaden its horizons to include the study of alien cultures, such as Moslem, Latin, Sino-Japanese, and Hindu civilizations. Such a broadening is necessary, Mr. Shriver says, because of the effect it would have in widening and broadening the culture of individual Americans as a whole. Our understanding would become better, and our tolerance of other people would thereby become more understandable.

I point out also that the last paragraph in the editorial in the Chicago American reads as follows—and I think it is something we all should take to heart:

Willingly or not, the United States is now the leader and spokesman of the free world—and good intentions are no longer good enough. As a leader, this country must train its citizens for leadership; in the great debate between communism and democracy, we must have able spokesmen.

I wish to compliment the Chicago American for this fine editorial, and also to congratulate Mr. Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., upon his reelection to a third term, as president of the Chicago Board of Education. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE SHOULD KNOW OUR WORLD

Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., just reelected president of the Chicago Board of Education, has started his third term by offering a challenging idea.

Shriver declared that education in high schools and colleges should broaden its horizons to include alien cultures, such as Moslem, Latin, Sino-Japanese and Hindu civilizations. Such a broadening is necessary, he told an education conference at Northwestern University, because distances are dwindling to nothing in the age of jet travel; as the world shrinks and its population grows, understanding becomes more necessary for peace than bombs or radar.

His ideas set a course between sullen mistrust of everything foreign on one hand, and wild-eyed visions of "one-world" conformity on the other.

Said Shriver: "He who knows only one language doesn't even know that one well"—and the same is true, he pointed out, of one culture. Studies limited to English and American literature or history cannot give a student the needed understanding of other world cultures, or even a profound knowledge of his own.

Shriver's idea would help provide those leaders and spokesmen. We salute him for presenting it.

Shriver's idea would include greater concentration on teaching foreign languages, an area in which Americans as a Nation are woefully weak. Language is the most important tool of thought; as the embodiment of a nation's character and culture, it is indispensable to any student of that nation. Yet Americans, as a whole, show a deep unwillingness—or inability—to learn any language but their own. Compared to the average European, the average American is a linguistic boob.

Such provincialism is a luxury we can no longer afford.

A thorough understanding of American civilization as it stands, for example, is impossible without some knowledge of the civilizations and ideas that produced it. America is the product of a millenniums-long process—a filtering through historical layers of one basic idea, the responsibility and worth of the individual. Our traditions are built on those of ancient Israel, Greece, Rome, European Christendom.

Ignorant of our own background, how can we defend it? How can we persuade other cultures of the value of our own, if we understand neither ours nor theirs?

The general blindness of Americans to the languages, traditions, and history of other countries has hampered us in the past. It has contributed to the world's image of us as a blundering giant, whose good intentions cause as much trouble as a lesser nation's bad ones.

Willingly or not, the United States is now the leader and spokesman of the free world—and good intentions are no longer good enough. As a leader, this country must train its citizens for leadership; in the great debate between communism and democracy, we must have able spokesmen.

The Rights Bill Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Rights Bill Controversy," written by David Lawrence, and published in the Washington Star of July 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHTS BILL CONTROVERSY—QUESTION OF POSSIBLE USE OF POLICE FORCE IN ELECTIONS VIEWED AS A MAIN ISSUE

(By David Lawrence)

The whole business of the Congress—including many a vital measure desired by the executive branch of the Government—is stagnated because of the efforts of a few politicians to gain some votes in the next election by enacting now a so-called civil rights bill. Weeks and weeks of debate are ahead, and the really important civil rights that ought to be protected are being ignored.

Communists can openly preach overthrow of the Government, and subversives can plot against the security of the United States and infiltrate the Government itself, but not a single law of prevention is being pressed for passage.

All the Senate's time is being spent to pass a bill to punish, without jury trial, officials of State or local governments for offenses they have not committed but theoretically may commit in ruling on the eligibility of voters. This could mean eventual intrusion into the direct supervision of the manner in which State and city elections are conducted everywhere in the United States. It could mean investigations into alleged impairment of voting rights by the use of undue influences before election day.

The whole controversy is centered on how to police the States of the Union, which have always had full authority to make their own vote eligibility laws. There is talk of using troops to coerce the States.

President Eisenhower says he can't imagine any circumstances under which Federal troops would be used to enforce school integration or other provisions of the pending civil rights bill. But the natural question which this in turn propounds is why any such statutes should remain on the books or any new measures be proposed that could be used to invoke military force.

The truly liberal point of view abhors military intimidation in any form in a democracy. Only in a Fascist or Communist state is the military threat held over the heads of the people in order to get them to conform to a centralized government's edicts.

Every day that passes widens the gap between those in Congress who understand and those who do not understand the problems of the South. The debate in the Senate has brought out some significant information. It has revealed, for instance, that white

juries generally do convict white persons accused of harming Negroes.

Basic is the misconception of the South's true position on the matter of mixing the races. It is often remarked in the South that the southerner dislikes the Negro race but likes the individual Negro, whereas the northerner likes the Negro race but dislikes the individual Negro.

During the current debate in the Senate a characteristic comment was made by Senator SCOTT, Democrat, former Governor of North Carolina, who said:

"My father had a considerable farming operation in the South. I worked under Negro foremen until I was 21 years of age. I got along with them all right. When I was only a little tot I would slip away from home, and when my mother could not find me she knew exactly where I was. I was in one of the colored homes, eating dinner or breakfast. I enjoyed it. I enjoyed their company, and I think they enjoyed mine. I have always helped them, and will help them again. They are my friends.

"Modern-day carpetbaggers, if you please, are not interested in the welfare of either the white or the Negro people in the South, but are interested only in the political advantages they can gain on election day."

Day after day, charges are being made in the Senate debate that the southern people cannot be trusted to give fair trials by jury to Negroes. This is the justification claimed for passing a law making it possible to try, through the device of contempt proceedings, those persons accused of offenses growing out of disputes over voting eligibility. And, of course, in contempt cases trial by jury is automatically denied.

As to the fairness of southern juries to Negroes accused of crime, Senator MCCLELLAN, Democrat of Arkansas, said this to the Senate:

"In the South, if a white jury gets the impression that someone has imposed upon a helpless Negro, they will immediately find the Negro not guilty. I have seen that happen many times.

"If we are going into these matters a little, I have said that I have no prejudice against the Negro race. When I was a prosecuting attorney, I defended a number of Negroes who were not able to employ a lawyer. I defended them without pay, because I believed they were innocent."

The debate on civil rights indicates that the proponents of civil-rights legislation have been persuaded, as were the radicals of reconstruction days, that the end justifies the means. This certainly is not liberalism.

Permanent Drought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial which was published in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, one of the leading daily newspapers of the Southwest. The editorial is entitled "Permanent Drought," and reviews the reports of the United States Geological Survey to the effect that, despite the heavy rainfall in the Southwest, the underground water tables have not risen, and there is a constantly declining reservoir of water—our most valuable resource.

I should like to add that the 13 percent of the land in Texas which is irrigated, produces more than 40 percent of all the money earned by farmers there, and the most valuable source of water has been our underground water supply.

We believe the committee's recommendation for appropriations for the building of dams is most vital in the interest of the welfare of the Nation; and we hope that when that bill comes before the Senate, those particular appropriations will receive the full support of the Senate of the United States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PERMANENT DROUGHT

With all the rains we had this spring, with the lakes so full we've had to open spillways and send water tumbling down to the gulf, you'd think some of it seeped through the topsoil into the deep sands and added to the ground-water supply.

You would if you were a layman. The engineers have found different. R. W. Sundstrom, United States Geological Survey district engineer at Austin, reported that while the spring rains and floods substantially helped shallow underground reservoirs and streamflow, the effect was nil on the deep sands.

"The pumper is faced with an underground drought forever," Bob Littleton, chief ground-water engineer for the State board of water engineers, agreed. "Although there's still billions and billions of gallons of water under Texas surfaces, more water is being taken out of the ground annually than goes into the surface."

In this situation, it would seem obvious that increasing attention should be given to long-range planning for reservoir systems that will provide storage even for unusually abundant rains such as we experienced this spring. Conservation of all possible water, rather than permitting it to run off into the gulf, appears to make plain commonsense.

The Right To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "The Right To Vote," which was published in this morning's New York Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The primary objective of the civil-rights bill now before the Senate is, in the words of President Eisenhower's most recent formal statement, "to protect the constitutional rights of all citizens to vote regardless of race or color."

Basic to all the other civil rights that are talked about by those seeking fair and equal opportunity for the Negro and other minorities is this right to vote. As PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, intellectual leader of the civil-rights forces in the Senate, repeatedly says, "nothing is more important to the progress of our country and to economic and political justice." Other things can and will come later. The right of free access to the ballot box is elemental in a democracy.

In order to achieve this objective the pending bill would allow enforcement of this right to vote through the injunctive process, and without jury trial. The President points out that "we seek to uphold the traditional authority of the Federal courts to enforce their orders" and that "this means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt-of-court cases growing out of violations of such orders." Note the word "traditional," which is a reminder that there is nothing new about lack of jury trial in contempt proceedings.

In fact, a provision for jury trial would in some if not all Southern States destroy the effectiveness of the bill. Senator DOUGLAS notes that jury lists in the South are composed "by law in five States and by practice in many others of those who are on the voting lists." Therefore those to whom the vote is denied would be automatically excluded from the jury. As Senator DOUGLAS says: "The great proportion of Negroes are denied the right to vote. Because they are denied the right to vote they are ineligible to serve on juries. Because they are ineligible to serve on juries * * * they would be unable to protect their right to vote by jury action."

How do we know they are denied the right to vote in the first place? Senator DOUGLAS has supplied the figures that tell the story. Let us look at these figures for a few of the 9 Southern States whose 18 Senators vainly voted against taking up the administration's civil rights bill this week. Alabama: The number of Negroes registered was 10.3 percent of those entitled to vote. In at least 9 Alabama counties, each of which according to the 1950 census contains from a few hundred to a few thousand eligible Negroes, not one was registered to vote. Arkansas: Only 16.5 percent of the eligible Negroes are registered. Mississippi: 4 percent. South Carolina: 25.3 percent, including a county or two without a single Negro registered. Virginia: 20 percent. And of course the figures for registration are greater than those for actual voters.

Interference with the right to vote has occurred at times in the North as well as in the South. Property ownership has been a prerequisite; and poll taxes have existed above as well as below the Mason-Dixon line, in Pennsylvania as late as 1933. It was a mere 40 years ago that New York granted women the suffrage. But the disabilities have been falling away until now only the southern Negro citizen is denied the ballot in significant numbers. Impairment of this constitutional right cannot and must not last much longer.

Mrs. Charles E. Ford, President of League of Women Voters of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the most useful organizations in the United States is the League of Women Voters. It helps to alert our female population, now larger than the male population of the United States, to the need for good government and for progressive and humanitarian public policies.

We in the State of Oregon are particularly proud of the League of Women Voters of Oregon, which has maintained

high ideals and high standards for many years.

Mrs. Charles E. Ford, the new president of the League of Women Voters of Oregon, measures up to this caliber and quality. Both Mrs. Neuberger and I value highly the advice and counsel of this capable leader of Oregon women. As a member of the League of Women Voters herself, Mrs. Neuberger frequently consults with Mrs. Ford on various public issues.

I would like my colleagues to read this sketch of Mrs. Charles E. Ford which appears in the June 1957 issue of the News Bulletin of the League of Women Voters of Oregon.

Let me add that Mrs. Ford is the successor to a previous president of the League of Women Voters of Oregon, who likewise has been an outstanding leader in public affairs in our State, Mrs. Ronald K. Campbell, of Corvallis, Oreg.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW PRESIDENT

Mrs. Charles E. Ford, newly elected president of the League of Women Voters of Oregon, has had lots of experience in league work. She started out in 1949 as a unit leader in the Eugene league, then became finance chairman. She was vice president with finance portfolio in 1951–52 and elected president for 1953–55. She has served on almost every committee that local league has had so has a good understanding of all league problems. She has been active on voter's service, was chairman of continuing responsibilities, election procedures, speakers bureau and still assists with the finance drive. She has made innumerable appearances before groups in Lane County and has been on many radio and TV programs. On the State board 1955–57 she has served as chairman of continuing responsibilities, legislative chairman and advisor for the Salem league.

Her family consists of her husband and two teen-age daughters. One just graduated from high school and the other entering high school this fall. Mr. Ford is a league husband par excellence. Mrs. Ford just never got around to getting a driving license, he has ferried her all over during her league career. He calls for her, no matter what the hour, delivers league material, mails her letters, takes messages ad infinitum. And keeps smiling and still likes the league. The daughters deserve a word of praise, too, for their cheerful lending of their mother for these busy years.

We in Eugene are very proud of Mrs. Ford and grateful for all she has done through her personal influence to increase the stature of the league in our area.

Effects of the Drought on Massachusetts Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter I addressed on July 17 to the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, calling attention to the drought which now is affecting the farmers of Massachusetts.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 17, 1957.

Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BENSON: I wish to call to your attention the severe drought which has hit the State of Massachusetts as well as other east coast areas and to urge you to invoke Public Law 38 granting emergency credit to farmers.

I am aware that the area cannot be declared a drought disaster area except by request of the governor of the State. However, I urge you to use the powers invested in you by the emergency credit law to extend 3 percent 1-year loans for operational purposes after determining that local credit sources have been exhausted.

I am informed that the coastal areas of Massachusetts, particularly the counties of Plymouth, Bristol, Norfolk, and Barnstable, have had no sustained rain since the middle of April. Plymouth County, for instance, has had only 6½ inches of rain since April 1 compared with 11 inches for the same period last year and less than 1 inch of rain during the entire month of June.

I have been told by Harold F. Thompson, State Administrator of the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Committee, that dairymen have been particularly hard hit because pastures are drying up. The second crop of hay has not yet started and farmers are now using hay that was intended for use next winter. Mr. Thompson informs me that vegetable farmers who do not have irrigation are down and out and that even farmers with the benefits of irrigation have suffered crop losses of about one-third.

The farmer is always hit hard by circumstances over which he has no control. It is my view that the Federal Government should do everything within its powers to ease the economic hardships wrought by the drought.

Thanking you for your prompt consideration in this matter, and with every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

New Concord Flier Sets New Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, residents of Ohio's 15th Congressional District are proud, indeed, that Maj. John Glenn, Jr., of the United States Marine Corps, has succeded in establishing a new speed record for transcontinental flight. Reducing the time for the flight to 3 hours, 23 minutes, and 8.1 seconds, Major Glenn takes his place among the pioneers of the 20th century who have contributed so much to the security of our Nation and to the progress of mankind in surmounting the barriers of time and space.

This young man's feat, as reported by all of our news media, quickens the spirit of adventure in all Americans and makes us realize again that the progress we are charting in this midcentury decade is in the finest tradition of those leaders who since our earliest history have challenged our physical and intellectual frontiers.

Major Glenn is a native son of New Concord, Ohio, in my congressional district. Although he has served in the Marine Corps since 1942, his family home remains in this community which has produced so many other distinguished Americans. It is most natural that his family and all southeastern Ohioans should share with him the satisfaction of what he has accomplished.

The following is the press account of his flight and the story about him which appeared in the Zanesville, Ohio, Signal for Tuesday of this week:

NEW CONCORD FLIER SETS NEW RECORD—NATION SPANNED AT BULLET SPEED—FLIGHT LASTS 3 HOURS 23 MINUTES—SECOND PILOT FORCED TO DROP OUT

NEW YORK.—The Navy, represented by Marine Maj. John Glenn, Jr., of New Concord, beat the Air Force's transcontinental speed record today by flying 2,460 miles coast to coast in 3 hours 23 minutes 8.1 seconds.

The previous record, set by an F–84–F on March 9, 1955, was 3 hours 44 minutes and 53.88 seconds.

Major Glenn piloted a F–8–U–1 Chance-Vought Crusader from Los Alamitos, Calif., Naval Air Station to Floyd Bennett Field here to set a record.

A second Crusader, which took off at dawn with Glenn, had to land at Albuquerque when it ran into refueling in the air trouble. It was piloted by Lt. Comdr. Charles Demmler, 33, of Hastings on Hudson, N. Y.

Major Glenn, 36, is stationed in Washington with the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics.

The cross-country flight was officially billed as a test of the Crusader's "sustained capability * * * at near-maximum power over long distance."

Last month two Crusaders flew from a carrier off California to a carrier off Florida to demonstrate the Navy's flexibility for President Eisenhower and defense officials.

On the flight, Glenn slowed for descents to refuel in the air and for the letdown over New York.

A Crusader flew 1,015 miles per hour in the 1956 Thompson trophy race.

MAJOR GLENN'S FAMILY CONFIDENT HE WOULD SET NEW SPEED MARK

"Johnny was hoping he could make it in 3 hours."

So said Mrs. John Glenn, Sr., of New Concord Tuesday morning as she followed the progress of her son by television and radio as he sped across the country in an F–8–FU Crusader Jet.

But the Glenns weren't able to remain at home. Their television set went on the blink, and they hurried to the home of neighbors to keep tab on the flight.

"Johnny told us," Mrs. Glenn said, "that his route would take him between Coshocton and Otsego."

Of course, his plane would have been too high to see although a vapor trail may have been visible. According to the CAA station at the municipal airport, Major Glenn notified the Columbus airport at 10:33 a. m. that he was north of Columbus and expected to be over Johnstown, Pa., in 20 minutes.

Glenn's wife, Anna Margaret, and two children, Carolyn 9, and David 11, today occupied the presidential suit in the Roosevelt Hotel, New York, and Major Glenn was to join them after he landed.

During the morning, Mrs. Glenn and the children were interviewed on the nationwide television program, Home, conducted by Arlene Francis.

Mr. and Mrs. Glenn, Sr., as well as Mrs. Glenn's parents, Dr. and Mrs. Homer Castor, also of New Concord, were not concerned over the major's safety. However, all followed progress of the flight closely, hoping he would break the record.

Major Glenn earned the title of "Mig-Mad Marine" in the Korean war by bagging three Chinese Communist planes in the last 9 days of fighting there.

He has been stationed with the Office of Design and Procurement in Washington but was given leave to make the test.

He was graduated from New Concord High School in 1939 and was a junior at Muskingum College when Pearl Harbor plunged the United States into war. He entered the Marine Corps in the spring of 1942 and was commissioned in March the following year.

Assigned to the Marshall Islands, he flew 59 missions in propeller-driven Corsairs, after which he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and two air medals.

After the war, he was stationed at the Naval Air Station, Corpus Christi, Tex., where he served as flying instructor. He was then transferred to Quantico, Va., air station.

He arrived in Korea in February 1955 and flew 63 bombing attack and strafing missions with a jet squadron before being assigned temporarily to the Air Force as a marine exchange pilot.

He later became a jet test pilot at the Naval Air Test Center, Pautuxent River, Md., where he remained until assigned to Washington.

Spiraling Living Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Productivity Shaping Up as a Key Factor as Labor, Industry Argue Blame for Spiraling Living Costs," written by George H. Hall, and published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of June 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRODUCTIVITY SHAPING UP AS A KEY FACTOR AS LABOR, INDUSTRY ARGUE BLAME FOR SPIRALING LIVING COSTS—UNIONS ASSAIL PRICE INCREASES ACCOMPANYING WAGE RISES AS "IRRESPONSIBLE"—MANAGEMENT SAYS LABOR COSTS HAVE RISEN FASTER THAN REAL OUTPUT

(By George H. Hall)

WASHINGTON, June 29.—The persistent rise in the cost of living, up three-tenths of 1 percent in May to the ninth consecutive record high point, has increased the concern of economists over changing wage-price-productivity relations.

The new living cost rise, announced Tuesday by the Department of Labor, brought the consumer price index to 119.6 percent of the 1947–49 average, or 3.6 points above a year ago. Because of it, nearly 1 million workers will receive wage increases under contracts equating pay scales with living costs.

There is no indication that the rises in wages and prices will end soon. On Monday, compensation to workers in the steel industry will go up about 17.1 cents an hour because of various provisions in a contract signed last year. About the same time, steel prices will be advanced by $6 a ton. There is a comparable situation in automobiles, railroads, and many other big industries.

UNION ACCUSES STEEL INDUSTRY

Pinning down responsibility for the so-called wage-price spiral, is a subjective matter. Earlier this month David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, said, "Steel management leads the field in the irresponsibility of its pricing policies which have contributed to the rising trend of prices for more than a decade."

The net profits of the United States Steel Corp. so far this year, McDonald said, are running at an annual rate of $461,900,000. He said the increased labor charges to be incurred this year under last year's 3-year contract would cost the company $51,500,000 and that after tax adjustments the corporation would have an indicated 1957 net profit of $437 million. McDonald used these statistics to argue that the new price increase was not necessitated by rising labor costs.

Opposed to the union argument that wage increases can be taken out of profits is the management position that profits are not high enough to meet industry's need for new capital and to pay investors a reasonable return. Higher prices must follow if pay increases cannot be met out of increased efficiency of production, employers say.

STEEL EXECUTIVE'S VIEW

In a recent interview in the magazine U. S. News & World Report, President Joseph L. Block, of the Inland Steel Co., was asked:

"Where is this spiral going to end? If labor keeps adding and you keep adding to prices, what is going to be the end result?"

"I wish I knew," Block said. "I'm not as concerned about the spiral per se as about the relationship. If you had everything in proper perspective—which you don't—if everything was in nice proper balance, then you could say that labor advances could go on directly in proportion to productivity without ever raising the price again, but you haven't got that. Your labor costs have gone up substantially more than your steel prices."

The key to an important aspect of the question of wages, prices, and inflation is productivity, a complex subject about which not too much is known. Productivity crops up endlessly in labor-management negotiations. In his state of the Union message last January 10 President Eisenhower took note of the subject by stating:

"If our economy is to remain healthy, increases in wages and other labor benefits, negotiated by labor and management, must be reasonably related to improvement in productivity. Such increases are beneficial, for they provide wage earners with greater purchasing power. Except where necessary to correct obvious injustices, wage increases that outrun productivity, however, are an inflationary factor."

PLEA BY EISENHOWER

At his press conference Wednesday Mr. Eisenhower repeated his thought. In pleading for statesmanlike action by business and labor, the President said business should approve a price rise only when it is absolutely necessary in order to continue to get the kind of money they need for the expansion demanded in this country and at the same time labor should demand wage increases that conform roughly to the increase in productivity of the individual.

The Department of Labor concedes the need for additional studies of productivity, which is the relation of units of output to units of input, but complains that it does not have enough money to do the needed work. It has published only one major specific industry study in recent years, on the basic steel industry between 1939 and 1955.

Unions find productvity analyses difficult. The United Auto Workers, for example, has an unusually expert economic and statistical staff, but has not published a productivity study, asserting the manufacturers will not give the union adequate figures. One of the few nontechnical handbooks available for public distribution is a 48-page treatise prepared in 1952 by the National Association of Manufacturers.

LABOR DEPARTMENT REPORT

The subject is a technical one and in a recent report titled "Productivity, Earnings, Costs, and Prices in Private Nonagricultural Sector of the Economy From 1947 to 1956" the Labor Department went out of its way to warn readers that the data could be interpreted "and possibly misinterpreted" in various ways.

Despite this caveat, a considerable controversy was stirred up by publication in the New York Times of an article which Ewan Clague, Labor Department Commissioner of Statistics, said misinterpreted the data and which the executive council of the AFL–CIO charged "manipulated" the report.

The Times article said the report "strongly implied" that wages had been "a key cause" of recent price increases, though the article pointed out the report did not reach a cause-and-effect conclusion. The report specifically advised caution in determining the cause of price increases.

WHAT THE REPORT SAID

The report said this:

"Between 1947 and 1956, average hourly earnings of all employees (wages and salaries) increased by about 59 percent. If one adds to earnings the contributions of employers for social security, private health and insurance funds and similar supplemental payments, then total compensation per hour increased by slightly more than 61 percent.

"During the same period the consumer price index—reflecting the prices of goods and services purchased with the income received by labor—increased by about 22 percent. If an adjustment is made to earnings for the increase in the consumer price index, in order to convert money earnings to real earnings with constant purchasing power, then the increase in real earnings per hour was about 30 percent, including employer contributions, close to 33 percent.

"At this point a comparison can be made between productivity and either of the two earnings estimates. From the viewpoint of labor's share in the real gains in productivity achieved during the postwar period, the more appropriate comparison would be with earnings adjusted to reflect real purchasing power. On questions of changes in labor costs and other costs of production, the actual payments to labor in the current dollars of the given year should be used.

TABLE SHOWS VARIANCE

"An accompanying table indicates that the increase in output per employee man-hour between 1947 and 1956 was about 26 percent, less than the increase in real earnings during the same period, regardless of the inclusion or exclusion of the supplements to wages and salaries.

"It is important to note, however, that between 1947 and 1952 real product per man-hour increased more than real hourly earnings (excluding supplements).

"By 1953 real earnings had about caught up with the increase in productivity; they remained in line through 1955, and it was not until 1956 that real earnings definitely exceeded productivity. Real earnings, including supplements, overtook productivity somewhat earlier and have remained ahead since 1954.

"The increase in average hourly compensation in current dollars represents an increase in labor costs only to the extent that it exceeds the increase in productivity (real

product per man-hour). This is true because unit-labor costs are affected not only by the increase in compensation per hour, but also by the number of man-hour required per unit.

"It is in this sense that productivity is a crucial element in the wage-cost-price relationship. It represents the margin within which wage increases can be granted without increasing production costs or curtailing the amount available for other income payments.

"With this relationship as a background, the figures indicate that average hourly compensation in current dollars increased much more than productivity during the postwar period. The former increased by about 61 percent, the latter by 26 percent, leading to an increase in employee compensation per dollar of real product of about 28 percent."

FINDINGS IN NAM STUDY

From another angle, a recent report of the National Industrial Conference Board states that rising wages have been an important factor in inflationary trends in recent years. Martin R. Gainsbrugh, chief economist of the board, said that "wage costs in current dollars, including fringe benefits of all forms, have outstripped the gains in productivity since World War II."

Wage-price movements were sharply affected by the last war. During the war, price controls were somewhat tighter than controls on wages. After the war, prices outran wages for several years. Lately wages have gone up faster than prices. These factors vary a great deal from industry to industry.

The BLS study shows that in the steel industry output per man-hour (productivity) increased at a rate of 2.9 percent a year between 1947 and 1955. Other figures show that since 1950 in the steel industry productivity has increased about 15 percent, hourly pay 59 percent, and prices 47 percent.

Fumbling Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, while foreign aid remains a vital part of our foreign policy in order to stem the tide of communism, our foreign policy on a whole has been sadly lacking in imagination and vision. The Communists have suffered 3 distinct violent shakeups in the past 4 years; Stalin's death, the Hungarian revolt, and the recent purge of a number of the top Reds in the Moscow regime. The Eisenhower administration has unfortunately failed to take advantage of these excellent opportunities in the field of foreign policy. These facts are ably pointed out in the following editorial published in the Milwaukee Journal, July 15, 1957:

FUMBLING FOREIGN POLICY

The Communist world has suffered 3 severe shocks since the Eisenhower administration took office in 1953; the death of Stalin, the revolt in Hungary, and this month's purge of Malenkov, Molotov, and other top Reds.

In each instance, the United States was apparently not prepared to take advantage of these crises in communism. After Stalin's death and the Hungarian revolt, certainly, we did nothing effective to prevent the Reds from rallying, regrouping and resuming their drive for world domination. There is no evidence that we have any program to profit from Moscow's present headaches.

Here is another part of the same picture. During these years, Soviet policy has undergone at least a tactical shift. Stalin's frown has been replaced by Khrushchev's grin. "Peaceful coexistence" is today's slogan. Khrushchev and Bulganin flit over Europe and Asia trying to sell themselves as missionaries of moderation, good will, and peace.

These policies are harder in some ways to counter than the cold war of Stalin, with its emphasis on military preparation, threats, and intransigence. They call for new attitudes, policies, and plans on the part of the United States. Most of all, they demand free world leadership that is imaginative, courageous, vigorous, and decisive.

The Eisenhower administration has not provided such leadership. It has not developed the political, economic, and cultural programs essential to keeping the free world safely out front in a fluid and dangerous contest.

Most of the time the administration has improvised in foreign policy, reacted to Communist moves, or acted belatedly to salvage something from a situation which shouldn't have been permitted to develop in the first place.

Communists din into the world ears (Khrushchev is doing it again, now that his coup has succeeded) that the United States can't make up its mind about disarmament, blocks peaceful coexistence, wants world war, prevents international trade and rejects cultural exchanges between East and West.

Most of these charges are based on distortion or falsehood and are easily disproved. But no one in top places acts to answer them. President Eisenhower, who enjoys the hearing and respect of the world, could puncture them, but he has not made a comprehensive statement about American foreign policy since before his reelection last November.

All this is not to say that the Communists are winning. Thanks in large part to their own blunders, dissensions and inherent weaknesses they are not. One can say, however, that this country has missed, and continues to miss, tremendous opportunities to push imperialistic, Soviet communism further on the way to decline.

History may note it as one of the misfortunes of this crucial period that the free world was led by a well intentioned President who did not have the necessary interest in and vigor for his job. It may also note that he had an unimaginative Secretary of State who was great with slogans and pious platitudes, and had lost the confidence of just about everyone except the President himself.

Employment of American Musicians and Service Employees in the Hotel Industry Should Be Our Guide in Reducing the Unjust Cabaret Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, steps are being taken at last to reduce the unjust and discriminatory so-called cabaret tax which was first imposed as a temporary, emergency measure during the First World War. This is the only excise tax remaining at the high wartime rate of 20 percent.

The harmful effects of this tax on employment of American musicians and employees in the hotel service trades is well known. Former Congressman Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL–CIO, director of legislation, has estimated that about 50,000 jobs could be created for musicians and others by the repeal of this unfair tax. Also, he points out, this tax hurts the average man's recreation haunts more than the big, expensive night clubs where spending runs high.

Mr. Biemiller says:

These 50,000 jobs need protection and the country should help, not hurt, a leisure occupation that many Americans need and enjoy.

The current lack of employment of American musicians is so pronounced as to threaten the very existence of music in our society. When we permit a fallacious Federal tax policy to strike at the vitals of a basic culture we are indeed surrendering the main redoubts of our free world to the enemies of our way of life.

On January 30, 80 Democratic Members of this House signed a statement which said, among other things:

We favor a revision of the tax law to close the loopholes in the 1954 act to eliminate unwarranted privileges and to provide tax adjustment for small-business men.

I would like to take this occasion to commend my colleagues on the House Ways and Means Subcommittee and the subcommittee chairman, the able and distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FORAND], for overriding administration opposition and approving a bill to cut the 20-percent Federal tax on night club and cabaret checks to 10 percent.

The gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FORAND] has stated publicly that he expected opposition to the reduction in the cabaret tax from "do-gooders who think cabarets mean honky-tonks." And he said this infamous and discriminatory tax should be reduced to give our great hotel industry some much-needed relief.

I agree, and I believe a majority of the Members of Congress agree, with the representatives of the Music Educators National Conference, the National Federation of Music Clubs, and other great national organizations that:

No impediments of a financial nature, taxwise, should be a deterrent to the future of the United States artist. Further, no deterrents of a financial nature, taxwise, should be continued which stand between the millions of people in the United States, all of whom have come through the United States school systems, and the right of these millions of people to enjoy and participate in music whenever and wherever they find it, whether as performers or audience.

It was a matter of widespread comment that Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, in a recent radio interview, said he favored repeal of the cabaret tax. This put him at loggerheads with the Treasury Department which has all along recommended against enactment of any remedial legislation to reduce or repeal this unjust and discriminatory tax.

This so-called cabaret tax has many ramifications and has led to unfortunate and unwise decisions by Federal officials which result in further hampering our small-business men in the restaurant and hotel industry.

I desire to call attention of my colleagues in the House to a recent ruling of the Internal Revenue Service concerning the application of the so-called cabaret tax to vending machines. Reference is made to Revenue Ruling 57-263, Internal Revenue Bulletin, June 17, 1957, page 48.

The ruling holds generally that amounts received for food, refreshments, or merchandise dispensed by means of vending machines in an establishment which qualifies as a cabaret under section 4231 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 are subject to the tax imposed by that section—cabaret tax. The person receiving such payments is liable for the return and payment of the tax, whether he is the owner of the cabaret or a concessionaire.

While the ruling specifically discusses amounts paid for food, refreshment, or merchandise, there is a distinct inference that amounts paid for service would be taxable also.

Your attention is invited to the following language in the ruling:

Under the provisions of section 4231 (6) of the Code, a tax is imposed upon all amounts paid for admission, refreshment, service, or merchandise, at any roof garden, cabaret, or other similar place furnishing a public performance for profit, by or for any patron or guest who is entitled to be present during any portion of such performance. That section also provides that the tax shall be returned and paid by the person receiving such payments.

The statute imposes the tax upon all amounts paid for admission, refreshment, service, or merchandise, at a cabaret, and there is no qualification with respect to how the serving or selling of food, refreshment, or merchandise must be accomplished. The law also provides that the person receiving such payments at a cabaret is liable for the tax thereon, and there is no provision that liability shall be limited to the owner or operator of the cabaret. Nor is there any statutory requirement that, where a concessionaire receives such payments, the concession must constitute a cabaret in and of itself for the payments to be subject to tax. The determination of who receives the payments must be based upon the facts of each particular case.

Likewise, it appears from a reading of the statute that there is no qualification with respect to how the selling of a service must be accomplished. It is, therefore, submitted that amounts paid for telephone service—a pay telephone is a vending machine for selling a service—in an establishment furnishing a public performance, would be subject to the cabaret tax. Furthermore, the poor hat-check girl would obviously come under this ruling. So I suppose when we are out for dinner at a place furnishing entertainment we will have to add a nickel to the quarter for the hat-check girl, so she can take care of the cabaret tax on her little fee.

This ruling accomplishes the ridiculous in arbitrary, literal interpretation of the law with no regard whatsoever for the reasonableness of its application. Most establishments subject to the cabaret tax are open for business from 16 to 20 hours per day. During that period, there is entertainment for not more than 3 or 4 hours. The only income taxable is that derived from patrons who are entitled to be present during any portion of the entertainment. There is no possible way in which the proprietor or the concessionaire can determine what proportion of the income from vending machines is attributable to patrons entitled to be present during the entertainment. Let us say a package of cigarettes is obtained from a vending machine in an establishment where there is public entertainment. When receipts of the machine are checked for tax purposes there is no possible way to determine whether that package of cigarettes was purchased by a patron entitled to be present for the entertainment, or by a person who dropped in the establishment simply to get a package of cigarettes. And since it is the practice of the Internal Revenue Service to send agents into an establishment to determine from on-the-spot observation the proportion of gross revenue attributable to patrons entitled to be present during the entertainment and then to apply retroactively that proportion to the gross income of the establishment for a 3-year period, we can assume that revenues from vending machines will be included in the tax base for future assessments of this tax.

Under the theory of this ruling, a telephone company which places a pay telephone booth in the establishment; retains control over it; receives the proceeds from it; pays the operating expenses; and provides the necessary maintenance and service, would be liable for the return and the payment of the tax on the receipts from the telephone. Further, telephone companies throughout the United States would be liable for the tax over the past 3 years together with the interest and penalties.

Obviously, such a result is ridiculous but it does illustrate the fact that this burdensome tax which was originally intended to be a wartime tax on luxury entertainment has now become a 20-percent income tax on the gross income derived in or about any restaurant, tavern, hotel or other establishment serving the public by selling food and beverage for consumption on the premises where, practically, any entertainment is provided.

Thus, it would appear that this tax on entertainment, which has already put thousands of musicians out of work and which has long since become a serious deterrent to the advancement of one of our basic cultural arts—namely music, is now spreading out under rulings of the Bureau of Internal Revenue like the tentacles of an octopus to grab income from other fields.

The complete text of the ruling to which I refer is as follows:

SECTION 4231.—IMPOSITION OF TAX (ADMISSIONS)—REVENUE RULING 57-263

(Reference: Internal Revenue Bulletin, June 17, 1957, p. 48)

Amounts received as payments for food, refreshment, or merchandise dispensed by means of vending machines in an establishment which qualifies as a cabaret under section 4231 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, are subject to the tax imposed by that section. Amounts received for photographic or checking services are also taxable. The person receiving such payments is liable for the return and payment of the tax, whether he is the owner of the cabaret or a concessionaire.

Advice has been requested whether amounts paid for food, refreshment, or merchandise dispensed by means of vending machines in an establishment which qualifies as a cabaret are subject to cabaret tax; if so, it has been requested that a determination be made as to the person liable for the return and payment of the tax in the situations described below.

1. A cabaret owner or operator rents certain vending machines which he places in his cabaret for the dispensing of food, refreshment, and cigarettes to patrons. The cabaret owner or operator has control over the machines, pays the operating expenses, maintains them, and receives all the proceeds therefrom. Under the rental agreement, the owner of the machines receives either a flat rate each month or an amount equal to a percentage of the gross receipts from the machines.

2. A cabaret owner or operator grants to another person rights to concessions in the cabaret. The concessions include the operation of food, refreshment, and cigarette-vending machines, the photographing of customers, and the maintenance of checking facilities. Under the terms of the agreement between the parties, the concessionaire receives the proceeds from the concessions, pays the operating expenses, provides necessary maintenance and service, and has control over the vending machines and the photographic and checking facilities. The concessionaire pays the cabaret owner a flat rate for the concessions rights or an amount equal to a percentage of the gross receipts derived from the concessions.

Under the provisions of section 4231 (6) of the code, a tax is imposed upon all amounts paid for admission, refreshment, service, or merchandise, at any roof garden, cabaret, or other similar place furnishing a public performance for profit, by or for any patron or guest who is entitled to be present during any portion of such performance. That section also provides that the tax shall be returned and paid by the person receiving such payments.

The statute imposes the tax upon all amounts paid for admission, refreshment, service, or merchandise, at a cabaret, and there is no qualification with respect to how the serving or selling of food, refreshment, or merchandise must be accomplished. The law also provides that the person receiving such payments at a cabaret is liable for the tax thereon, and there is no provision that liability shall be limited to the owner or operator of the cabaret. Nor is there any statutory requirement that, where a concessionaire receives such payments, the concession must constitute a cabaret in and of itself for the payments to be subject to tax. The determination of who receives the payments must be based upon the facts of each particular case.

It is held that amounts paid for food, refreshment, or merchandise at a cabaret are subject to tax even though such items are dispensed by means of vending machines. It is further held that, under the circumstances described in (1) above, the cabaret owner or operator who rents and operates the vending machines is the person receiving the payments for the food, refreshment, or merchandise within the meaning of section 4231 (6) of the code, and he is liable for the return and payment of the tax on the total receipts from the machines. Under such circumstances, the owner of the machines is not liable for rental of the machines, regardless of the basis upon which the rental payments are made.

On the other hand, it is held, that under the circumstances described in (2) above, the concessionaire is the person receiving the payments for the food, refreshment, or merchandise, and he is liable for the return and payment of the tax on the total receipts from the machines. A photographic or checking concession is considered to provide a service within the meaning of the statute and fixed amounts paid by patrons of the cabaret for such service are subject to the cabaret tax. Under these circumstances, the cabaret owner or operator is not liable for tax on amounts paid to him for the concessions rights regardless of the basis upon which payments are made."

Industry Moves to the Indian Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, when Mr. Glenn L. Emmons became Commissioner of Indian Affairs, one of the first things he evidenced as being the basis of his attitude regarding the Indians was his belief in the importance of the full development of industry on the Indian reservations, wherever possible. Mr. Emmons has diligently pursued this goal; and I believe that today one of the great accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration can be found in the attention paid to the Indians, particularly in bringing industry and jobs to the reservations, or, where that is not possible, in taking the Indians to where the jobs exist.

We in Arizona are particulraly proud of this work, because the man who has headed this particular division of the Indian Bureau is Carl Beck, a man who came from Springerville, Ariz., a long-time resident of the State, who grew up among the Navaho and Hopi Indians, and who has a real feeling for the Indians.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Industry Moves to Indian Country," written by Mr. Glenn Emmons, and published in the Conway publication Industrial Development for June 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDUSTRY MOVES TO INDIAN COUNTRY

(By Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs)

For years we heard so much about the vanishing American that many people today assume that our Indian population is steadily growing smaller. Quite the contrary is true. The vanishing American is no longer vanishing. Thanks to a high birthrate and a declining deathrate, the Indian is now increasing in number faster than the population of the United States as a whole. But his land base—two-hundred-odd reservations scattered mainly west of the Mississippi—remains fixed in size.

Therein lies the crux of the Indian problem. Surveys made in recent years show that even if the natural resources of the reservations were developed to their maximum potential, through improved methods of farming, grazing, lumbering, and mining—and this is a goal we in the Bureau of Indian Affairs are constantly striving toward—it is doubtful if the reservations would provide a decent standard of living for the more than 300,000 Indians now living on them.

Let me give you just one example. The Oglala Sioux live on Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. If that fairly large reservation were divided up into economic livestock units, cattle-raising would provide a good living to about 500 families. Unfortunately, there are 1,800 families living on that reservation right now, and they are having more children almost every day.

That is why we in the Bureau have been emphasizing industrial development in our three-point program to provide more education, better health facilities, and wider economic opportunities for the first Americans. Thousands of healthy, young Indian men and women are growing up on the reservations yearly.

I've known many of them personally in New Mexico before coming to Washington in August 1953. They need jobs—interesting jobs, rewarding jobs—badly. Only a few of them want to become farmers or stockraisers.

Many of them would like to go into industry, and Indians, as a group, seem to have a special talent for work requiring skill with the hands. They are teachable and patient. Yet industrial jobs near the reservations have for years been almost totally lacking.

As for the newer plants, the production manager who opened the furniture factory at Gallup, N. Mex., got to know Indians through those who came to work for him in his main plant in Los Angeles. "Indians are not strangers to us," he said recently. "A number of them have been, or are now, regularly employed by our firm. Some were skilled workers when they joined the company and others proved their ability. It has been this exceptionally fine experience with Indian workers in the Los Angeles plant that first influenced company officials to negotiate with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Navaho tribe for the branch factory in Gallup." Possibly I should explain that the Indians he spoke of as being in Los Angeles came to that city through the voluntary relocation service, another phase of our effort to help Indians to improve their economic status.

At Flagstaff, Ariz., where Lear, Inc., of Santa Monica, Calif., has established a small branch, Navahos skilled in weaving and silver craft are now being trained in the intricate assembly of electronic components. Navaho women have already demonstrated their aptitude for this work, according to the plant manager. "We're here to stay," he said, "and we'll continue to expand to the limit of our ability to sell and to produce."

Fly-by-night outfits are not desired. They bring dislocation and social problems. Healthy industrial development, on the other hand, secures benefit to all Americans. The businessman finds new vistas in opening a new labor market and in helping to develop a new sales market.

Americans-at-large benefit by having an Indian population which has become more selfsupporting. But the Indians benefit the most. Not only does industrial development in their areas give them more economic freedom and larger purchasing power, but it enables them to participate in and share more fully both the activities and rewards of modern American life.

For many years my belief has been that if we give the Indians education and economic opportunity, the socalled "Indian problem" will do the vanishing—not the Indian. Indians are now getting an educational opportunity. With the intelligent aid of all concerned, we shall continue to help them find economic opportunity.

The reasons why such jobs have been so scarce are fairly obvious. Few Indian reservations are situated near large consumer markets or main lines of transportation. Most of them, let us face it, are hidden away in isolated parts of States like Montana, Idaho, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma. That is why an industrial development program might seem to have two strikes on it before it started.

But within the past year, thanks to the Indian Bureau's industrial development program, seven small industries employing Indians, exclusively or to a very large extent, have opened their doors in New Mexico, Arizona, Montana, South Dakota and North Carolina. It has not been easy to get these pilot industries underway.

It has required hard work and protracted cooperation on the part of the factory owners, townspeople, Indians, and the Bureau in Washington. Nor is it all clear sailing ahead. But the fact is over 500 Indian men and women will have jobs who did not have jobs before. And, despite what you may have heard, they are arriving for work on time. They are sticking to the job.

Some of the new factories are making what you might expect them to make. The First Americans, Inc., at Lame Deer, Mont., for instance, is manufacturing plastics and wood products, and Cherokee Leathercraft, Inc., at Cherokee, N. C., is turning out moccasins. But the Indians employed by Lear Navaho at Flagstaff, Ariz., are engaged in producing electronic components, and Navaho Furniture Industries, Inc., at Gallup, N. Mex., a branch of the Baby Line Furniture Co., has just shipped its first carload of tiny tots' furniture to Sears, Roebuck.

Nor should we overlook an older, defense-sponsored, jewel-bearing factory in Rolla, N. Dak., operated by the Bulova Watch Co., which has been in successful operation since 1953, and the even older plant of the Simpson Electric Co., at Lac du Flambeau, Wis., which has been providing steady employment for local Chippewa Indians for approximately a decade.

Perhaps I should point out here that the Bureau of Indian Affairs definitely does not subsidize these plants. Its role is confined to stimulating and encouraging their establishment by acting as liaison among the several parties concerned.

A very few of the Indian tribes, like the Navahos who have earmarked $600,000 of their income from oil and gas leases for industrial development, have money of their own to invest. In such cases our job is pretty much to see that the Indians get a fair deal. Most tribes, however, have little capital to invest, and here the Bureau has recently made a helpful move by liberalizing its regulations for loans to the tribes to permit the financing of industry-attraction programs.

For it is the tribe which actually offers the inducement to the businessman. In return for his agreement to employ its members, the tribe may provide facilities such as a rent-free building for an initial period. The employer must also agree to pay prevailing wage rates.

Last year Congress gave the program a big boost by authorizing the Bureau to undertake a vocational-training program for adult Indians. Part of the funds appropriated under the new act will be used for on-the-job training.

This means that, beginning probably July 1, industries cooperating in the program may be approved as training facilities. Industries so approved will be paid directly by the Government for the training of Indians during limited periods, which will be determined according to the degree of skill to be achieved by the Indian. This new arrangement will operate very much along the lines of the GI on-the-job training program after

World War II. Its advantages to both the Indians and the infant industries should be apparent.

Solid evidence of Indian capabilities is found at the Bulova plant at Rolla, N. Dak. This plant, which turns out precision ordnance products, employs over a hundred Chippewa Indians from the nearby Turtle Mountain Reservation. Precision work demanded of Indian workers involves ruby bearings with a diameter of 0.0394 of an inch and a drill with a diameter of 0.00177 of an inch.

Plant officials with whom I have talked say they cannot praise too highly the ability of their Indian workers to meet these minute requirements. Besides dexterity, the work demands better-than-average eyesight and infinite patience. The Indians have all three. Absenteeism and the turnover rate are each about 3 percent; the national norm, I understand, is almost twice that.

PLANTS ESTABLISHED RECENTLY AT INDIAN SITES

As of April 1, 1957, achievements of the Bureau's industrial development program were as follows:

Name and home office of company	Name and location of new plant	Type of plant	Approximate opening date	Anticipated employment of Indians and tribe involved
Saddlecraft, Inc., Knoxville, Tenn.	Cherokee Leathercraft Co., Cherokee Reservation, N. C.	Leather goods (moccasins, etc.)	May 1956	40 eastern Cherokee (North Carolina).
Baby Line Furniture Co., Los Angeles, Calif.	Navajo Furniture Industries, Inc., Gallup, N. Mex.	Juvenile furniture, shutters	November 1956	100 Navaho (New Mexico).
Lear, Inc., Santa Monica, Calif.	Lear Navajo, Flagstaff, Ariz.	Electronics	do	100 Navaho (Arizona).
Parsons & Baker Manufacturing Co., Phoenixville, Pa.	Casa Grande Mills, Inc., Casa Grande, Ariz.	Garments	March 1957	125 (immediately); 700 (ultimately); Pima and Papago (Arizona).
The First Americans, Inc.	The First Americans, Inc., Lame Deer, Mont.	Fishing tackle, plastics and wood products.	January 1957	75 to 100 northern Cheyenne (Montana).
New Moon Homes, Inc., Alma, Mich.	New Moon Homes, Inc., Rapid City, S. Dak.	Manufacturing of house trailers	March 1957	75 to 100 Sioux groups (South Dakota).
Martin S. Meyers & Associates, Los Angeles, Calif.	Zuni Industries, Zuni Reservation, N. Mex.	Ceramics (mosaic table tops, etc.)	April 1957	100 Zuni (New Mexico).

Declaration of Corfu of July 20, 1917

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, July 20 will mark 40 years since the Declaration of Corfu was signed.

During the First World War, the seat of the Serbian Government in exile was the island of Corfu in Greece. The Yugoslav Committee, the representation of the Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary in exile—with their seat in London—decided at the end of May 1917 that an invitation from the Serbian Government to participate in a conference should be accepted.

The Yugoslav Committee nominated as delegates: The President of the committee, Ante Trumbic, Hinko Hinkovic, Dusan Vasiljevic, and Bogumil Vosnjak. Also participating in the discussions were the following Serbian Ministers: Premier Nikola Pasic, Stojan Protic, Momcilo Nincic, Vojislav Marinkovic, Marko Djuricic, and Milorad Draskovic.

The Declaration of Corfu was a solemn manifest of the Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee, as the representatives of the Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary, which proclaimed that all Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes have to be united in one state. The declaration had the character of a state program which laid the foundation of Yugoslavia.

Dr. Bogumil Vosnjak is the sole survivor of the committee. He lives in Washington and is presently vice president of the National Committee for Slovenia.

The Declaration of Corfu has been enthusiastically hailed, not only by the whole Yugoslav emigration, but also by the Serbian Army, the Yugoslav Volunteers, and by public opinion of the allies. Lord Cecil declared in the House of Commons on November 28, 1917, that "the ideas of the Corfu Declaration enjoy the full sympathies of the Government of Great Britain." Even the Yugoslav press in Austria-Hungary published the text of the declaration without commentary, and that was characteristic enough.

DECLARATION OF CORFU OF JULY 20, 1917

At the conference of the members of the late Coalition Cabinet and those of the present Cabinet, and also the representatives of the Yugoslav Committee in London, all of whom have hitherto been working on parallel lines, views have been exchanged in collaboration with the President of the Skupstina, on all questions concerning the life of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in their joint future state.

We are happy in being able once more on this occasion to point to the complete unanimity of all parties concerned.

In the first place the representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes declare anew and most categorically that our people constitutes but one nation, and that it is one in blood, one by the spoken and written language, by the continuity and unity of the territory in which it lives, and finally, in virtue of the common and vital interests of its national existence and the general development of its moral and material life.

The idea of its national unity has never suffered extinction, although all the intellectual forces of its enemy were directed against its unification, its liberty, and its national existence. Divided between several states, our nation is in Austria-Hungary alone split up into 11 provincial administrations coming under 13 legislative bodies. The feeling of national unity, together with the spirit of liberty and independence, have supported it in the never-ending struggles of centuries against the Turks in the East and against the Magyars in the West.

Being numerically inferior to its enemies in the East and West, it was impossible for it to safeguard its unity as a nation and a state, its liberty and its independence against the brutal maxim of might goes before right militating against it both East and West.

But the moment has come when our people is no longer isolated. The war imposed by German militarism upon Russia, upon France, and upon England for the defense of their honor as well as for the liberty and independence of small nations, has developed into a struggle for the liberty of the world and the triumph of right over might. All nations which love liberty and independence have allied themselves together for their common defense, to save civilization and liberty at the cost of every sacrifice, to establish a new international order based upon justice and upon the right of every nation to dispose of itself and so organize its independent life; finally to establish a durable peace consecrated to the progress and development of humanity and to secure the world against a catastrophe similar to that which the conquering lust of German imperialism had provoked.

To noble France, who has proclaimed the liberty of nations, and to England, the hearth of liberty, the great American Republic and the new, free and democratic Russia have joined themselves in proclaiming as their principal war aim the triumph of liberty and democracy and as basis of the new international order the right of free self-determination for every nation.

Our nation of the three names, which has been the greatest sufferer under brute force and injustice and which has made the greatest sacrifices to preserve its right of self-determination, has with enthusiasm accepted this sublime principle put forward as the chief aim of this atrocious war, provoked by the violation of this very principle.

The authorized representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in declaring that it is the desire of our people to free itself from every foreign yoke and to constitute itself a free, national, and independent state, a desire based on the principle that every nation has the right to decide its own destiny, are agreed in judging that this state should be founded on the following modern and democratic principles:

1. The state of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known as the southern Slavs or Yugoslavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with indivisible territory and unity of allegiance. It will be a constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary monarchy under the Karageorgevitch dynasty, which has always shared the ideas and the feelings of the nation, placing liberty and the national will above all else.

2. This state will be named "the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." And the title of the sovereign will be "King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes."

3. The state will have a single coat of arms, a single flag, and a single crown. These emblems will be composed of the present existing emblems. The unity of the state will be symbolized by the coat of arms and the flag of the Kingdom.

4. The special Serb, Croat, and Slovene flags rank equally and may be freely hoisted on all occasions. The special coat of arms may be used with equal freedom.

5. The three national designations—Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—are equal before the law throughout the territory of the Kingdom, and everyone may use them freely upon all occasions of public life and in dealing with the authorities.

6. The two alphabets, the Cyrillic and the Latin, also rank equally, and everyone may use them freely throughout the territory of the Kingdom. The royal authorities and the local self-governing authorities have both the right and the duty to employ both alphabets in accordance with the wishes of the citizens.

7. All recognized religions may be freely and publicly exercised. The Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Mussulman faiths, which are those chiefly professed by our nation, shall rank equally and enjoy equal rights with regard to the state.

In consideration of these principles the legislative will take special care to safeguard religious concord in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our whole nation.

8. The calendar will be unified as soon as possible.

9. The territory of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will include all the territory inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the three names. It cannot be mutilated without detriment to the vital interests of the community.

Our nation demands nothing that belongs to others. It demands only what is its own. It desires to free itself and to achieve its unity. Therefore it consciously and firmly refuses every partial solution of the problem of its national liberation and unification. It puts forward the proposition of its deliverance from Austro-Hungarian domination and its union with Serbia and Montenegro in a single state forming an indivisible whole.

In accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, no part of this territorial totality may without infringement of justice be detached and incorporated with some other state without the consent of the nation itself.

10. In the interests of freedom and of the equal rights of all nations, the Adriatic shall be free and open to each and all.

11. All citizens through the territory of the kingdom shall be equal and enjoy the same rights with regard to the state and before the law.

12. The election of the deputies to the national representative body shall be by universal suffrage, with equal, direct and secret ballot. The same shall apply to the elections in the communes and other administrative units. Elections will take place in each commune.

13. The constitution to be established after the conclusion of peace by a cofistituent assembly elected by universal suffrage, with direct and secret ballot, will be the basis of the entire life of the state; it will be the source and the consummation of all authority and of all rights by which the entire life of the nation will be regulated.

The constitution will provide the nation with the possibility of exercising its special energies in local autonomies delimited by natural, social, and economic conditions.

The constitution must be passed in its entirety by a numerically defined majority in the constituent assembly.

The constitution, like all other laws passed by the constituent assembly, will only come into force after having received the royal sanction.

The nation of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, thus unified, will form a state of about 12 million inhabitants. This state will be the guaranty for their independence and national development and their national and intellectual progress in general, a mighty bulwark against the German thrust, an inseparable ally of all the civilized nations and states which have proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and that of international justice. It will be a worthy member of the new community of nations.

Drawn up in Corfu, July 7–20, 1917.

The President of the Jugoslav Committee:
Dr. ANTE TRUMBIC,
Advocate, Deputy and Leader of the Croatian National Party in the Dalmation Diet, late Mayor of Split (Spalato), late Deputy for the District of Zadar (Zara) in the Austrian Parliament.

The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia and Minister for Foreign Affairs:
NIKOLA P. PASHITCH.

Why Not Investigate the Court?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by Mr. James Burnham, a well-known writer, which appeared in the July 20 issue of the National Review. Mr. Burnham is an editor of that magazine and argues that Congress should undertake an investigation of the working of the judiciary in order to determine to answer its recent encroachments.

The article follows:

WHY NOT INVESTIGATE THE COURT?

(By James Burnham)

(In the article that here follows I seek to motivate the following conclusion: A congressional investigation of the judiciary is the present reply to the Supreme Court.)

HOW POWERFUL IS THE COURT?

In a footnote to Federalist No. 78, Alexander Hamilton quoted Montesquieu: "Of all three powers above mentioned, the judiciary is next to nothing." Amplifying, Hamilton wrote: "The judiciary, from the nature of its functions, will always be the least dangerous to the political rights of the Constitution; because it will be least in a capacity to annoy or injure them. The judiciary * * * has no influence over either the sword or the purse; no direction either of the strength or of the wealth of the society; and can take no active resolution whatever. It may truly be said to have neither force nor will, but merely judgment; and must ultimately depend upon the aid of the executive arm even for the efficacy of its judgments. It is beyond comparison the weakest of the 3 departments of power; [and] can never attack with success either of the other 2."

Chief Justice John Marshall was repeating the same essential conclusion when he declared in 1824: "Judicial power, as contradistinguished from the power of the laws, has no existence. Courts * * * can will nothing." And Justice Owen Roberts echoed in 1936: "All the court does, can do, is to announce its considered judgment upon the question. The only power it has, if such it may be called, is the power of judgment."

Reflecting on the decisions of the Earl Warren Court in re Slochower, Steve Nelson, Watkins, Du Pont, Jencks, Sweezy, Girard College, the Smith Act defendants, what are we to make of this traditional estimate? Were Montesquieu, Hamilton, Marshall, and Roberts ignorant as analysts and false as prophets? Have changed conditions made their words irrelevant? Or have we on our side failed to make necessary distinctions?

The answer is suggested in the same Federalist paper: "Though individual oppression may now and then proceed from the courts of justice, the general liberty of the people can never be endangered from that quarter; I mean so long as the judiciary remains truly distinct from both the legislative and executive powers. * * * Liberty can have nothing to fear from the judiciary alone, but would have everything to fear from its union with either [or both] of the other departments."

And is this not really obvious? The act of a court is a judgment, and this can be rendered only on an individual complaint that is brought—after the event—before it. The court cannot directly compel anyone to initiate the complaint or to accept its findings. Police and army—the means of coercion—are under command of the executive, not the judiciary. The courts cannot even assure the material conditions of their own existence; the taxing and appropriating powers belong to the legislature.

The judiciary can usurp undue power only with the support of compliance of the other 2 branches, only in a united front with 1 or both of them. In the long run the judiciary must inevitably lose in a direct conflict with the executive and legislature—if, let us add, they choose to fight.

Not merely in theory but in historical practice, our system provides an arsenal of weapons—too many, perhaps—for checking judicial encroachment.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD

In 1849 the Supreme Court ordered the Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Co. to destroy its bridge over the Ohio River as an unlawful obstruction to navigation. The company, disregarding the decision and a subsequent injunction, turned to Congress, which in 1852 passed a statute declaring the bridge to be a lawful structure. The Court, accepting, noted that although the bridge may still be an obstruction in fact, it is not so in the contemplation of law.

In 1868, when Ex parte McCardle—an action that implied a challenge to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts—was actually before the Court, Congress passed (over President Johnson's veto) a rider repealing the Supreme Court's jurisdiction in all cases arising out of the relevant statute. The Court then dismissed the case. The Franklin Roosevelt administration similarly exempted from Supreme Court scrutiny the workings of the wartime Price Control Act.

Numerous States have simply refused to carry out Supreme Court writs, or to obey Federal court injunctions, and at least a dozen States have released Federal prisoners from jail. Throughout our history, judgments of the Federal judiciary have frequently been softened, bypassed, or negated by many kinds of State interposition: As in the South today, in resistance to court orders for racial integration.

Congress' act of March 1, 1863, prohibiting slavery in the territories, flatly contradicted the Dred Scott decision.

In drawn-out conflict with the Court, the "political departments" have threatened to use, and have a number of times actually used, their power to alter the number of its members. Under the original Judiciary Act (1789) there were six Justices of the Supreme Court. As episodes in Jefferson's struggle to control the Court, the number was changed to 5 in 1801 and back to 6 in 1802. It was raised to 9 in 1837 (to water down the influence of John Marshall), and to 10 in 1863 (to give the North a safer

majority); dropped to 7 in 1866 (to prevent Andrew Johnson from appointing new members), and rose back to 9 in 1869, when Grant could name the new Justices—who, as expected, brought a reversal of the Court's previous finding against the Legal Tender Act. Frankin Roosevelt's 1937 "Court packing" proposal was never adopted; but its threat, combined with his manipulation of public opinion and Willis Van Devanter's forced resignation, brought the Court around to acceptance of the New Deal measures.

The Court can always be corrected by constitutional amendment: amendments XI XIII, and XV were specifically adopted in order to overrule Court decisions. Impeachment is also always a formal possibility, although it has not been attempted for Supreme Court Justices since the Jeffersonians failed against Salmon Chase. Still, even the latent possibility of impeachment serves as a psychological curb on the judiciary. And what finally settled the constitutional problems of slavery and secession was the bloody arbiter that has always been the court of last appeal.

CONGRESSIONAL CONTROLS

The Constitution provides for only the barest minimum of our judicial system; all the rest is for Congress to determine. The Constitution decrees "one Supreme Court" (composition unspecified), but only "such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." These inferior courts—their numbers, kinds, jurisdiction, funds, duties, rules, their rights to issue writs and injunctions and orders—exist only by virtue of congressional statute.

But the Supreme Court itself—though existing by constitutional and not statutory fiat—is not exempt from congressional control. The number of its members, its budget, even where and when it meets, are subject to the legislative will.[1] The Constitution assigns the Supreme Court "original jurisdiction" only "in all cases affecting ambassadors, only public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party." This paragraph (in Art. III, Sec. 2) then concludes: "In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

Let us also note that the justices do not grow topsy-like from the bench. They are selected by the Chief Executive and confirmed by one House of the legislature. Though by virtue of permanent appointment and human mutability, they, like other men, change through the years, they and their court usually reflect the basic opinions and values of those who have chosen them. The members of the present Court were appointed by Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower, and in each case confirmed by a legislative chamber tending toward subservience to the executive power. The Court is a product of new dealism, fair dealism, modern republicanism—in short of the egalitarian, demagogic, welfare-statist ideology of contemporary liberalism. It behaves as we should expect it to behave.

TO ACT OR NOT TO ACT

The Court decided that the Du Pont holding of 23 percent of General Motors common stock is illegal under section 7 of the Clayton Act. It is naive for those who object to the ruling to blame only the Court. The executive arm, not the Court, brought the suit against Du Pont. Congress could overturn the decision in a day by a bill repudiating the Court's interpretation of section 7, but there is no reason to think that a majority in Congress or in the Nation wants it overturned.

In the Steve Nelson decision the Court declared that Congress had pre-empted the field of subversion for the Federal Government, and thus superseded all State laws thereon. (Nelson himself, having been convicted under a Pennsylvania law, was set free.) This decision, like others of the Earl Warren Court, is simultaneously a blow at States rights, an encroachment on the legislature and a setback to domestic security. But here too an easy method of correction is at hand: Congress need only repudiate the Court's dicta, and declare that the national laws on subversion supplement, without supplanting, the State laws. The last and the present Congress have failed to do so. It is to be noted in this instance that the executive, in practice if not always in words, agrees with the centralizing tendency expressed by the Court. Congress is too lethargic or too divided to take the initiative on its own.

The immediate response to the Jencks decision on opening confidential files is an instructive contrast. Here the executive (spurred no doubt by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover) as well as Congress realizes that the Court's ruling might make a shambles out of law enforcement. Within a couple of days the administration came up with a proposed bill to plug the gap, and Congress prepared to act on it.[2]

The recent decision freeing a number of California Communists convicted under the Smith Act was based partly on technicalities, partly on a constitutional interpretation of the first (free speech) amendment, and partly on a criticism of the evidence adduced at the trial as insufficient. The Court's criteria would make it hard to convict anyone of any kind of subversion unless he were caught throwing a bomb. But under its constitutional powers Congress could remove all questions of fact in these cases (including the question whether the Communist Party is a conspiracy or a debating club) from the appellate jurisdiction of the Court; and could without too much difficulty revise the rather sloppy wording of the Smith Act.

Even the Court's decisions on school integration would not have much practical meaning if they were not correlated with already existing political trends. *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, in the 3 years since it was rendered, would not have had wide repercussions if the Executive and Congress had been sharply opposed to it, and if it had been wholly out of line with national sentiment. The truth is that the executive establishment agrees with it: both with the policy of school integration, and with the use of national power to coerce the States to carry out that policy.

As on many of the other issues, congressional opinion is divided. If it were firmly opposed, Congress would by now have taken away the power of the circuit courts to issue the orders by which they are implementing *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, and would have made a stab at removing the entire field of education from Federal jurisdiction.

Instead, the House has just passed and the Senate is now considering a Civil Rights Act that would not diminish but vastly extend the power of the Federal courts to coerce individuals, local communities, and States in these racial matters. For the present it is only State interposition that is offering any serious resistance to the integration rulings.

THE GENERAL TREND

Some of the problems raised by specific decisions of the Earl Warren Court can be handled, and in some cases even will be, by specific legislation. But there is also the more general problem of the Court's fundamental trends, to wit: (1) its assault on States rights; (2) its legal sabotage of security measures; (3) its encroachments on the other two branches of Government, especially on the legislature, reaching a climax in the Watkins decision, which presumed to tell Congress how to go about its sovereign business of legislating.

Is there any action, politically feasible at present, that would in some measure counter these trends, and pull the Court back toward judicial continuity and restraint?

Impeachment or any of several constitutional amendments could, of course, do so, but these means (even if desirable) are for the time being excluded in practice. Nor would a Court-packing bill make much sense. In the unlikely event that Congress would vote it, what point would there be in having President Eisenhower name another half-dozen Earl Warren's?

There remains, however, a traditional but hitherto unmentioned alternative: a congressional investigation of the Federal judiciary, in particular the Supreme Court.

Whatever its collective attitude on States rights, Congress is overwhelmingly opposed to the Court's dilettante treatment of security; and Congress' own political existence is threatened by the Court's tendency to transform itself into a supreme legislature. Very practical motives thus prompt Congress to some sort of broad counteraction. A thorough investigation would be both effective in itself and the best way of determining exactly what further steps are needed.

Instituted under Congress' constitutional mandate to "ordain and establish" the inferior courts, to regulate the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and to provide the funds for the maintenance of the judiciary establishment, the propriety of such an investigation could not be challenged even under the provocative reasoning of the Watkins decision. The legislative objective would be clear cut: to determine, by examining the workings of the judiciary, what changes, if any, should be made in the Judiciary Act and other statutes regulating the judiciary in order to insure its efficiency and effectiveness in fulfilling its assigned role under the laws and Constitution of the Nation.

As directly relevant to such an inquiry the investigative committee would presumably wish to discover the way in which the staffs of the Supreme Court and the inferior courts are selected, the functions of "law secretaries" and other aids of the judges, the exact manner in which decisions are being prepared and written—and by whom.

During the past two decades, comparable congressional research has turned up some remarkable facts concerning many executive agencies and certain of Congress' own committees. Congress found, for example, that though some of its committee orders and reports had been signed by a Gerald Nye, a Harley Kilgore, a Claude Pepper, James Murray or Robert La Follette, they had been written largely by an Alger Hiss, John Abt, Henry Collins or other Communist or fellow traveler. (Come to think of it, before going to work for Congress Alger Hiss had started his career as law secretary to a member of the Supreme Court.) It would be of more than idle interest to learn just how books by fellow travelers were cited among the "authorities" of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, and how the Smith Act decision's amazing comments on the nature of the Communist Party were arrived at. And a study of the recent swelling of the Federal injunctive power would be worth while from every point of view.

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[1] Not in respect to a salary cut applicable to sitting members, however. In his suggestion that this would be an effective way to discipline the Justices (National Review, July 6), Mr. Forrest Davis overlooked the constitutional injunction (art. III, sec. 1) that their compensation "shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

[2] Though, as Mr. Bozell explains in this issue, the bill itself is faulty.

In a republic there is nothing sacrosanct about the judiciary to exempt it from scrutiny by the legislative representatives of the people. If the judiciary has nothing to hide—as we must presume—it should welcome a serious and public inquiry. If the judges have been inching beyond their due role in a republican system, an open investigation by the sovereign legislature is an ideal means to remind them of the traditional duties and restraints that bind the true judicial conscience.

Is Congress—are Congressmen—afraid of the Court? Under the Court's galling crossfire Tom Walsh or Pat McCarran would not have waited this long, we can be sure, to propose such an inquiry. And how quickly either one of those tough, fighting Americans would have jumped for the chance to head it.

Serviceman Overseas Loses His Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, no proponent of status of forces agreements has ever refuted the charge that an American serviceman who is subjected to trial in a foreign court loses certain rights supposedly guaranteed to all citizens of this country under our Constitution.

As the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier properly points out in an editorial which appeared in the July 12 edition of that newspaper, he becomes a kind of seminational. As one who has fought for more than 2 years to seek revision of these agreements, I commend the Courier for its stand in opposition to trial of our servicemen in foreign courts.

Now that the Supreme Court has handed down its ruling in the William S. Girard case, the only way to correct this situation is through legislation, and once again I urge the Rules Committee to clear H. J. Res. 16 to the floor of the House. Author of the resolution is the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow], and I am proud to be associated with him in this fight.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I desire to include the excellent Courier editorial mentioned above:

The United States Supreme Court, which has presumed to instruct Congress as to how it can conduct its business and which has been most careful of the constitutional rights of Communists, now says it has no jurisdiction in protecting the constitutional rights of American servicemen overseas.

By its unanimous decision in the controversial case of William Girard, accused of killing a Japanese woman while on duty at a firing range, the Court establishes that an American who is drafted and sent overseas loses all rights to the protection supposedly granted by the American Constitution. He becomes a kind of seminational, subject to trial in courts where:

1. A language is spoken which he cannot understand.
2. Trial by jury is not guaranteed.
3. The prosecution can appeal a verdict of not guilty.
4. Cruel and unusual punishments are not prohibited.
5. He can be sent to prisons where appallingly inhumane and unsanitary conditions exist.

This is not to say that Girard or any other American serviceman would not receive a fair trial in Japan. The agreements under which the United States yields jurisdiction attempt to provide protections for the accused. But once the accused has been turned over to Japanese custody, there is no guaranty that the agreement will be observed.

Congress should seek to correct this situation by legislation.

Federal Timber-Sales Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL CHUDOFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. CHUDOFF. Mr. Speaker, on July 15 I introduced H. R. 8718, a bill to repeal the act of March 29, 1944. The Subcommittee of Public Works and Resources, in cooperation with a subcommittee of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, held extensive field hearings in the fall of 1955 on Federal timber-sales policies. These hearings revealed that there was considerable difference of opinion among the people in the lumber industry and in the Government agencies as to the effectiveness of a 1944 act of Congress which allowed the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior to award timber to particular companies without the use of competitive bidding or with limitations on who could compete for the timber.

Our committee found out that in Oregon the Bureau of Land Management had created marketing areas under another act rather than through the use of this 1944 act. Communities were petitioning that these marketing restrictions either be eliminated or that they be changed so that certain areas that could not now bid for O. and C. timber would be permitted to do so. We also found that, in this same area where there is twice as much national forest timber as there is O. and C. timber, the Forest Service had not set up any restrictions on who could bid for their timber.

When we got into the State of Washington, we heard about the 1 cooperative agreement under which over 4 billion feet of national forest timber and 1 billion feet of timber owned by a single company were pooled, and that company was permitted to buy the national forest timber at its appraised price. This agreement runs until the year 2046 and is in the nature of a contract. We listened to petitions from other groups, some of whom wished to have national forest timber made available especially to them, and others who opposed the idea.

When we issued our report, we called upon the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior to review the operation of this act and report their findings to us. The Secretary of the Interior had a consultant study the marketing areas in the O. and C. lands, held a separate public hearings, and then revoked the marketing areas. The Secretary of Agriculture made a separate study and reported to our committee that he would not object to the repeal of this law. Senator MURRAY, the chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, requested the Secretary of Agriculture to prepare such repealing legislation, and the bill I introduced on July 15 is a response to that request. The bill has been cleared with the Bureau of the Budget, and there is no objection to the repeal of this act. This repeal amendment would permit the continuation of existing Federal units and the one cooperative agreement. It would be my hope that the committee considering this legislation would review whether or not it would be desirable to terminate these agreements at a specified date in the near future, rather than to let them run on.

I would like to emphasize, for the benefit of my colleagues who may have a question, that the repeal of the act of March 29, 1944, will in no way jeopardize, influence, or affect the management of the national forests or any other of the forest lands operated by the Government for sustained-yield forestry purposes. The repeal of this act will remove the discretionary authority to grant Federal timber to individual companies or to companies in certain selected areas. The principles of sustained-yield forest management are well imbedded in the basic statutes which govern the operation of the various Federal forests. This law has as its popular title "The Sustained Yield Act of 1944," but the title is a misnomer. The agreements made under it never caused 1 more tree to be grown on Federal land, and there is doubt in my mind that it caused trees to grow on the lands of the 1 company that was favored by a cooperative agreement.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., June 24, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: Reference is made to your letter of June 4 requesting a draft of legislation which would revoke the Federal unit and cooperative sustained-yield unit authority of the act of March 29, 1944.

Attached is a draft bill which would repeal those authorities but would not affect the sustained-yield units heretofore established under the act.

You inquired as to authority for cooperative agreements between Federal departments. The draft bill makes no exception with respect to the authority under section 4 of the act (16 U. S. C. 583c) regarding interagency agreements. This is because (a) the interagency authority under section 4 pertains only to land-management plans authorized by the March 29, 1944, act and (b) other authority to cooperate with Federal agencies is considered to be ample.

We would have no objection to the enactment of this bill.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that there is no objection to the submission of this draft bill.

Sincerely yours,

E. T. BENSON,
Secretary.

Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, mounting evidence of overwhelming support for Alaska-Hawaii statehood by the Congress and the people of the United States continues to be evidenced.

For the information of the Members of Congress, I include herewith editorials further supporting this fact.

The editorials follow:

[From a Myrtle Creek, Oreg., newspaper of June 13, 1957]

STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII, ALASKA

There are times when this newspaper and Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER are on common ground. One of these concerns the granting of statehood to the Territory of Hawaii and that of Alaska. It seems ridiculous to this writer that these two dependencies should be kept at arm's length concerning the matter of statehood. They have both demonstrated that they are well aware of both the privileges and responsibilities of statehood.

Senator NEUBERGER, in a recent address, said that the approval of the two Territories for statehood would have a strong effect regarding our foreign policy—in that it would demonstrate our willingness to include peoples of other races into our national scheme of things. Perhaps this is so. However, we like to think that there are more practical and justifiable reasons than this for their inclusion into the Union of States.

Critics of statehood have pointed out that both Territories are hard to defend against aggression and therefore they should not be included within the Union. This is silly, too. We all well know that any act of aggression against either would be looked upon as an act of war (as in the case of World War II) and that we should be in the thick of the fight. So they are removed from our mainland? What of it? And who needs to worry more about a residency vulnerable to attack more than the resident himself?

There are a few drawbacks to statehood in either case, it is true, but they are minor ones, and certainly many of our own State Territories which were granted admittance to the Union were received on occasion with greater handicaps to the Federal organization than either of these offer today.

[From the Albany (N. Y.) Times-Union of July 8, 1957]

TIME FOR A DECISION

The Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood project took a necessary step toward final approval by Congress the other day when the Territories Subcommittee of the United States Senate gave an affirmative vote to separate bills designed to admit the two Pacific outposts into the American family of States.

But in keeping with the discouraging record that has attended this vital matter in past years, the action is once more up against the heavy handicap of needing a decision in the middle of the summer. With adjournment in the offing, the end-of-session rush of bills always leaves many important matters caught in the jam, and this has been the fate of the statehood bills in many previous sessions.

It is not to the credit of the Congress that statehood has so long been withheld from Alaska and Hawaii. The objections have reflected the prejudices of opponents far more than their wisdom, and their partnership much more than their understanding of national interest.

It should never have been pertinent to the issue whether Alaska and Hawaii would be Republican or Democratic, and it has been a sad thing that so many votes against statehood have been swayed by the civil-rights issue.

The real case for statehood, and it is a strong one, is that Alaska and Hawaii properly belong in the American Union, that their people are entitled to something better than second-class American citizenship, and that the American people as a whole would be safer, stronger, and more prosperous with the additional safeguards against aggression and invasion.

The statehood issue has been too long kicked around and muddled by politicians and partisans. It is time for a higher quality of American statesmanship to take over and make the needed favorable decision in this important matter.

[From the White Plains (N. Y.) Reporter Dispatch of June 11, 1957]

WILL THERE BE ANY MORE STARS IN OUR FLAG?

It has been 45 years now since our flag makers were called on to sew more stars into the upper left hand corner. That was when New Mexico and Arizona became States in 1912, and pushed the number up to 48.

That 45-year span sets a record. Previously the longest period between admission of States was 15 years. That interlude came between admission of Missouri in 1821 and Arkansas in 1836.

Going back still further into the history of the stars and stripes, it was in 1794 that Congress ordered 15 stars and 15 stripes into the flag. Vermont and Kentucky, you remember, had been added to the Original Thirteen States.

Then in 1818 Congress remade the flag, reducing the number of stripes to 13 again in honor of the Original Thirteen States, and providing for 20 stars, with 1 to be added for each new State. That brings us up to our present flag of the 13 stripes, with the 48 stars in 6 rows of 8 stars each.

Now there's a chance that Flag Day on Friday may be the last in which we'll have 48 stars in Old Glory. Hawaii and Alaska are again knocking at the door. In 1950 the House of Representatives voted for statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska. In 1954 the Senate voted for statehood for both. Now there is a good chance both the House and Senate may approve in the same congressional session. That would mean a new arrangement of stars alongside the stripes.

Our flag manufacturers probably would prefer admission of one or the other of the Territories, but not both. For, on admission of only 1, the present arrangement of 6 rows of 8 stars each could be easily changed to 7 rows of 7 stars. But if both Hawaii and Alaska come in, how can 50 stars be presented symmetrically?

At any rate, that little problem won't be the determining factor. Whether we are to remain a commonwealth of 48 units, or become one of 49 or 50, will be decided on other points. And this may be the year of decision.

Jaycees for Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report to the House that once again the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce has gone on record for Alaska statehood. Meeting at Milwaukee, the Jaycees unanimously adopted this strong resolution:

Whereas in view of the fact that immediate statehood for Alaska and Hawaii is supported by both major political parties and the national administration and hence is nonpartisan; and

Whereas the people of both Territories have demonstrated their readiness and ability to assume and discharge the obligations of statehood; and

Whereas the people of these Territories have upon their own initiative and expense adopted by more than a 2 to 1 majority a State constitution in conformity with the principles of American government; and

Whereas the legislatures of these Territories have year after year passed memorials urging Congress to enact enabling legislation; and

Whereas the people of these Territories as United States citizens are denied the right to vote for the President and Vice President of the United States and have no voting representation in Congress; and

Whereas Territorial status in view of its temporary nature discourages investment capital and thereby hinders the economic development of the Territories; and

Whereas statehood for these Territories would result in a decrease of Federal expenditures for the operation of government in Alaska and Hawaii; and

Whereas Territorial status contributes to an indifferent and slothful attitude toward government while statehood encourages an active interest and participation in government; and

Whereas it is in accord with cherished principles of American Government to grant the responsibility and privileges of local government to American citizens who have suffered the hardships of frontier areas and developed the same: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce in annual convention assembled in Milwaukee, Wis., this 26th day of June 1957, That the President, the Congress, the Secretary of Interior, the delegates from Alaska and Hawaii be urged to support immediate statehood for the only two remaining incorporated Territories under the American flag, Alaska and Hawaii; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, each Member of Congress, the Secretary of Interior and the Delegates from Alaska and Hawaii.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, what has become of the Nation's farm problem? During the 1956 political campaigns—just about this time 1 year ago—the plight of the country's more than a million low-income farm families commanded daily, front-page headlines in the national press as both political parties vied with each other in promises and programs to bring the farmer's economic status up to the level of prosperity enjoyed generally by the rest of the country. Is it possible—now that the votes

have been counted—that both Congress and the administration need to be reminded that his problem is still with us?

Today, despite the very commendable efforts of the Committees on Agriculture of both the House and the Senate, the circumstances of these farm families remain relatively unimproved and it would seem to me that we are very little further advanced toward solving this one among the Nation's most vexing and worrisome problems.

A glance at the figures on net farm income over the past few years is enough to convince the most skeptical that the farmers of America have been experiencing a real recession, if not an actual depression, in the last 6 years. Since 1951 when net farm income was $16.1 million, this income has consistently declined to the estimated figure of $11.6 million in 1956. During this same period, it is worthy of note, prices received by farmers dropped from 112.2, compared with 112.6 for retail food prices in 1951, to 87.4 and 111.7, respectively, in 1956. And with the cost of living rising ever higher, while there are no immediate figures available, I have little doubt that this disparity between the prices farmers receive and what they have to pay is even greater.

In West Virginia, where the net income of farmers has decreased from $95 million in 1951 to $60 million in 1955—the last year for which this data is available—our farmers have fared even worse than have those of the country at large. Throughout the State there are some 21,000 commercial farm operators—more than 10 percent of West Virginia's total population. Seven out of every ten of these operators have gross sales of less than $2,500 a year.

In the fifth congressional district, the situation is even worse. Half of our commercial farm operators have gross sales of less than $1,200 a year. Compare this figure with the 1955 median income of $4,400 for all the Nation's families and you will have some idea of the want and deprivation, the hardship and human misery endured by the great majority of West Virginia's farm population.

According to the United States Bureau of the Census 1954 census of agriculture, based upon the value of products sold, there are six classes of commercial farms operated in the United States. In class I are those farms with a value of products sold at $25,000 and over; in class II are those at $10,000 to $24,999; class III, $5,000 to $9,999; class IV $2,500 to $4,999; class V, $1,200 to $2,499; and class VI, $250 to $1,199.

The following table, also from the 1954 census of agriculture, reveals that a staggering 48.5 percent of the commercial farms operated in the Fifth District of West Virginia fall within the lowest income group:

	Total	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI
State	21,479	350	1,158	2,264	3,137	5,737	8,833
5th District	2,428	34	106	241	283	586	1,178
Greenbrier	751	12	72	126	138	162	221
McDowell	35					10	25
Mercer	388	10	5	10	51	86	226
Mingo	11					6	5
Monroe	767	12	28	94	72	191	370
Summers	408		1	11	21	85	290
Wyoming	68				1	26	41

These figures add up to one indisputable fact—that the majority of the farm population in the Fifth District of West Virginia lives in meager circumstances, and, in contrast to the rest of the Nation, exists in a depression second only to that one of harrowing memory, the great depression of the 1930's.

To be sure, we now have numerous farm programs—but are these really geared to help our low-income farmer? I fear not. The low-income farmer has little to sell, and, therefore, farm price supports on basic crops do not aid him very much. Indeed, it is debatable whether they do not hurt more than they help him for they tend to keep feed prices high while the price of the livestock he takes to market has declined. Nor is the soil-conservation program of any great benefit to the low-income farmer, for he has little land to put into such a program.

The rural development program is, therefore, the only farm program now in effect which is aimed at alleviating the problems resulting from the restricted opportunities and limited resources of our low-income farm families. Unhappily, it would seem to be a program which is more loaded with good intentions, noble sentiments and fine-sounding speeches than with the concrete assistance these people really need.

During the past fiscal year the total amount of money allocated to the rural development program was less than $2 million, or $1.60 per farm family for the total year. This year the administration has recommended a slight increase in the rural development program, but commendable as the program's intentions may be, it is not expected to offer any real solution to the needs of more than a million American families.

The result of their misfortune serves as a depressant upon our whole economy. I submit that if small business and industry were in a similar plight, we in this country would now be moving heaven and earth to find both the immediate and the long-range answers to this problem. Indeed, only recently, Congress moved to increase the lending powers and resources of the Small Business Administration, established for the specific purpose of providing credit for the small-business man when private sources of credit are not available to him.

We need urgently a similar positive and comprehensive program of assistance for our low-income rural families. I might point out here that in his book, Farmers at the Crossroads, Secretary of Agriculture Benson remarks that it takes an average investment in equipment of about $20,000 per worker to operate the average commercial family-run farm. Many a small business undertaking has been launched and successfully established on far less capital.

Clearly, therefore, an expansion of credit facilities for low-income farm families, and a point 4 program of technical assistance for the underprivileged at home as well as abroad, are immediate and long overdue necessities and should be enacted at soon as possible.

As a further step and one which would serve to stabilize and benefit our entire economy, we must continue to work to bring new industry into our depressed low-income rural areas in order to diversify their economic base and to allow our farmers to supplement their too-low agricultural income with wages from industry. Several bills to accomplish this, to aid these depressed rural areas—one of which, H. R. 1949, the area redevelopment bill, I introduced in the opening days of this session—are now before the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

Last year this committee approved a bill to aid the depressed industrial and rural areas of the country. This bill died with the 84th Congress. I earnestly urge the committee to consider the bills now before it and to report a comprehensive program of aid to depressed areas to the House before the close of this session of the Congress.

In the pressure of world events, it is my most fervent hope that the fundamental needs of our own people shall not be overlooked or cast into the background of unfinished business.

Future "Pearl Harbors": National Policy in Treatment of our Commanders in Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the evaluation of military and naval policies of great nations has often followed a tortuous course featured by heroism and tragedy, at times requiring many years to crystallize. One of the elements in this policy that transcends all questions of personal consideration is the treatment of our military and naval commanders, particularly those holding positions of grave responsibility just prior to the outbreak of war, as well illustrated by the case of Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, the Commander in Chief of the United States Pacific Fleet, at the Battle of Pearl Harbor.

The story of that tragic event, as admirably summarized by Vice Adm. John F. Shafroth, was included in my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 3, 1957. The treatment

of Admiral Kimmel and his retirement in the reduced rank of rear admiral has roused the vitally important issue of what should be our national policy in such cases, for with our Armed Forces stationed in critical areas in various parts of the world there may well be new Pearl Harbors.

It is obvious that the minds of our responsible commanders should not be burdened with concerns over their personal rank after supreme tests, particularly at the outbreak of war. They have enough to worry about without adding avoidable cares.

In this regard, we can learn much from the history of nations that have had prolonged experience in warfare. Rome, one of the greatest military powers in history, was one such nation that had a calculated policy of honoring all commanders regardless of their fortune on the assumption that this was the wisest course to follow. The restoration of the rank of full admiral to Rear Admiral Kimmel would be the precedent for such policy by the United States.

A summary of the Roman policy as presented in chapter XXXI in the Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius, by Niccolo Machiavelli, gives a deeper insight into the nature of this problem and the remedy adopted by the ancient power.

In order that this chapter on Roman military history may be more widely known, under leave to extend, I include its text:

EXCERPT FROM THE PRINCE AND THE DISCOURSES, BY NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

CHAPTER XXXI—SHOWING THAT THE ROMAN GENERALS WERE NEVER SEVERELY PUNISHED FOR ANY FAULTS THEY COMMITTED, NOT EVEN WHEN BY THEIR IGNORANCE AND UNFORTUNATE OPERATIONS THEY OCCASIONED SERIOUS LOSSES TO THE REPUBLIC

The Romans (as we have shown above) were not only less ungrateful than other republics, but were also more lenient and considerate in the punishment of the generals of their armies. For if their misconduct was intentional, they punished them humanely; and if it was caused by ignorance, they not only did not punish them, but rewarded and honored them nevertheless. This mode of proceedings had been well considered by them; for they judged that it was of the greatest importance for those who commanded their armies to have their minds entirely free and unembarrassed by any anxiety other than how best to perform their duty, and therefore they did not wish to add fresh difficulties and dangers to a task in itself so difficult and perilous, being convinced that, if this were done, it would prevent any general from operating vigorously. Suppose, for instance, that they had sent an army into Greece against Philip of Macedon, or into Italy against such tribes as had at first gained some victories over them. Now, the commander of such an expedition would naturally feel the weight of all the cares attendant on such enterprises, and which are very great. But if in addition to these anxieties the mind of the general had been disturbed by the examples of other generals who had been crucified, or otherwise put to death, for having lost battles, it would have been impossible for him, under the influence of such apprehensions, to have proceeded vigorously. Judging, therefore, that the ignominy of defeat would be sufficient punishment for such a commander, they did not wish to terrify him with other penalties.

The following is an instance of how they punished intentional faults. Sergius and Virginius were encamped before Veii, each commanding a seperate division of the army; Sergius being placed on the side where the Tuscans could make an attack, and Virginius on the opposite side. It happened that, Sergius being attacked by the Faliscans and other tribes, he preferred being beaten by them and put to flight rather than apply to Virginius for assistance; and, on the other hand, Virginius, waiting for his colleague to humble himself, was willing rather to see his country dishonored, and the army of Sergius routed, than march unsolicited to his succor. Certainly a very bad case and worthy of note, and well calculated to cause unfavorable conjectures as to the Roman republic, if both these generals had not been punished. It is true that, while any other republic would have inflicted capital punishment upon them, they were subjected by Rome only to a pecuniary fine. Not but what their misconduct merited severer punishment, but because the Romans, for the reasons above explained, would not vary from their established custom.

As regards faults committed from ignorance, there is not a more striking example than that of Varro, whose temerity caused the defeat of the Romans by Hannibal at Cannae, which exposed the republic to the loss of her liberty. Nevertheless, as it was from ignorance, and not from evil intention, they not only did not punish him, but actually rendered him honors; and on his return, the whole order of senators went to meet him, and unable to congratulate him on the result of the battle, they thanked him for having returned to Rome, and for not having despaired of the cause of the republic.

When Papirious Cursor wanted to have Fabius put to death for having, contrary to his orders, given battle to the Samnites, among the other reasons which the father of Fabius opposed to the obstinancy of the dictator was this: that after the most bloody defeats the Roman people had never treated their generals as Papirius Cursor wanted to treat his victorious son.

H. R. 6630

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, a significant segment of the industry of southeastern Ohio and a very important part of the economy of some of its counties is being adversely affected by the low tariff policies. Specifically, the pottery, ceramic tile, and handmade glass industries are seriously and substantially affected by a program of reduced protection.

Considerable concern is being expressed in my congressional district over the proposal to adopt H. R. 6630.

Herewith is a resolution of the Kiwanis Club of Cambridge, Ohio, which is self-explanatory:

Whereas wage costs in countries abroad are greatly below those in the United States for many like or competitive products;

Whereas imports reflecting those lower wage costs are capturing an increasing share of our domestic market, with resultant harm to employment, investment, and domestic prosperity here;

Whereas our Government is inhibited in its use of tariffs and quotas to remedy or prevent this worsening situation, due to United States participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which the State Department entered into without the approval of Congress; and

Whereas to strengthen GATT, the Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC) has been proposed as GATT's continuing, policing arm, and Congress has been asked to endorse OTC through enactment of H. R. 6630, the effect of which also would be an endorsement of GATT: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That:

1. Congress reject H. R. 6630, and any other proposal to authorize the United States to join OTC or GATT;

2. Congress reassert its constitutional prime responsibility for regulating the foreign commerce of the United States, the determining of tariff policy and, where necessary, the setting or changing of individual rates or duty.

3. Congress uphold and strengthen the United States Tariff Commission in its work of determining facts as to the impact of imports on domestic industries and of recommending such tarriff changes and other regulatory action as will prevent or remedy injury to such industries.

4. Copies of this resolution are being sent to our Congressman, Senators, and the President of the United States.

H. CLARK ARMSTRONG,
President, Kiwanis Club of Cambridge, Cambridge, Ohio.

Tennessee Paper Supports Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, along with all Alaska and Hawaii statehood advocates, I want to thank those of the Nashville Banner for the gratifying editorial which appeared in the July 6 issue of that very fine Tennessee newspaper supporting statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. Under leave to extend my remarks, that editorial is reproduced.

ENACT THIS STATEHOOD NOW

There is reason to believe—and hope—that the bill for Alaskan statehood will be introduced in Congress this month; and at least to hope that it is enacted. A companion measure should grant this same full commonwealth status to Hawaii.

The proposals have been kicking around long enough.

Not only do these two Territories want statehood; they are prepared for it, fully capable of discharging their responsibilities of state government and to the Nation, and as vital security outposts need that tie of official relationship with the mainland.

The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has favorably voted out the bill for Alaska's statehood. That is a good augury, up to this point. But 10 years ago when a similar bill was passed for Hawaii in the House, it failed of passage in the Senate. Now is the time, therefore, for all to go to work on behalf of this legislation. It has hung fire too long already.

Alaska has demonstrated its readiness, and complete good faith. It has followed the so-

called Tennessee plan (the approach by which Tennessee prepared itself for admission) having elected its 2 Senators, and 1 Representative, adopted a constitution, and organized the machinery of State government.

The House committee reports states that "The committee is convinced that statehood for Alaska at the earliest possible date will promote the best interest of the Nation as well as those of the Territory," and adds that "by historical standards, Alaska is ready and qualified for statehood now." Those standards it lists:

1. Belief by the inhabitants in the principles of democracy as exemplified by the United States of America.
2. Wish for statehood.
3. Sufficient population and resources to support State government, and at the same time carry a fair share of the cost of Federal Government.

Admission to the Union is not lightly to be bestowed. Of course that is true. But from a valid point of view, including that of national welfare and interest, the appeals of Alaska and Hawaii make an adequate case.

To the far Northwest, Alaska stands as a bastion related to American security. Its development is essential, and the status sought would advance that.

Outward in the Pacific, Hawaii stands as an outpost and security stronghold; today the headquarters of our whole defense team in that ocean and to the Far East.

The Government has recognized that—a bipartisan acknowledgement; yea, a pledge.

Most of the Tennessee delegation in Congress are on record approving Alaskan statehood—and presumably for Hawaii. The Banner believes all of them should be.

In the interest of justice to the people of these Territories, it should be enacted now. The action is consistent with the best national interest, too.

Fairness to Verrazano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a copy of a letter sent to the Governor of New York, the Honorable Averell Harriman, in which the Italian Historical Society of America through its director, John N. La Corte, points out an historical fact apparently overlook by the committee planning the 350th anniversary celebration of Henry Hudson's voyage up the Hudson River. The society calls to the Governor's attention the fact that New York Bay was discovered by Giovanni de Verrazano, whose name to date has not been included in the anniversary programing.

The letter follows:

ITALIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA,
Brooklyn, N. Y., July 17, 1957.

Hon. AVERELL HARRIMAN,
Governor, State of New York,
Albany, N. Y.

DEAR GOVERNOR HARRIMAN: We have learned, through newspapers, that you have appointed Mr. Carl Carmer as chairman of a committee to plan the 350th anniversary celebrations of Henry Hudson's voyage up the Hudson and the discovery of Lake Champlain.

It is learned, with great surprise, by many citizens of New York State, who know of the discovery of New York Bay by the great discover and navigator, Giovanni de Verrazano (which event has been noted by a proclamation issued by Your Excellency and which event has been and will be marked by the Italian Historical Society of America annually, that no mention of Verrazano has been made in connection with the 1959 celebration.

Verrazano was the first European to cross the uncharted waters of the Atlantic, and he arrived in New York Bay in April, 1524—85 years before Henry Hudson. According to historians, Hudson used maps prepared by Verrazano when he, Hudson, crossed the Atlantic, years later.

In all fairness and justice to history, and to Verrazano, the feat of Giovanni de Verrazano should be made an integral part of the 1959 plans and celebration. We do believe that this letter should receive due consideration by you and the committee involved in the plans.

With best wishes, I remain,
Yours very truly,
JOHN N. LA CORTE,
Director.

Status-of-Forces Treaties Essential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Galesburg Register-Mail, Monday, July 15, 1957:

STATUS-OF-FORCES TREATIES ESSENTIAL

Proposals in Congress for nullifying all status-of-forces treaties seem ill advised. Naturally Americans are concerned that justice be accorded their sons in military service on foreign soil when they are charged with civil or criminal offenses. Nevertheless, the position held by United States forces stationed abroad still seems to give rise to some misconceptions—in official circles as well as among the general public.

Foreign courts that try our soldiers for certain types of offenses are not doing so as a special privilege they enjoy under dispensation from this country. It's just the other way around, in fact. Like ourselves, these are sovereign countries with full authority over the territory within their borders.

If we did not have so-called status-of-forces agreements with these nations which convey to us the right to try our servicemen for various offenses committed under certain conditions, then the host lands would automatically have the power to mete out justice.

Stirred largely by the William Girard case in Japan, some lawmakers in Congress now are proposing that all status-of-forces pacts be nullified. The effect of such a move, obviously, would be to leave the United States military without any control whatsoever in this field. This is not to say that there are no flaws in the status-of-forces treaty plan, because there are some serious counts against the system. Yet the proper solution hardly seems to lie in such a sweeping act as to eliminate this useful arrangement altogether. Secretary of Defense Wilson, speaking for the administration, says the canceling of these agreements would compel the United States to withdraw its forces from all foreign overseas posts. The reason is that our military would not wish to abandon all judicial authority in criminal cases to the host nations.

Under the existing agreements, foreign courts have jurisdiction over servicemen for offenses committed against local inhabitants while off duty. They also act against the most serious on-duty crimes. Other on-duty offenses come under the sway of our own courts-martial.

We have troops abroad under the NATO treaty and other obligations. Having them there is indeed a favor to our foreign friends, but it is also a favor to ourselves, since our military experts believe it is a vital part of an effective defense for America and the free world.

But in all fairness we can hardly demand as a price for this defensive assistance the abandonment by our friends of their sovereign right to adjudicate crimes committed on their soil. We would not do this for them.

Reasonable concessions already made to us by the foreign nations in this field make it plain that a satisfactory quality of justice is meted out to United States servicemen by their courts. Agitators for abrogation of the treaties should be rebuffed by realization of the facts.

Do We Mean It?—Chapter 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, the following article, clipped from the Washington report of the United States Chamber of Commerce, hits at a very sensitive spot. Most Members of Congress have publicly expressed themselves in favor of cutting out waste and unnecessary Federal expenditures, especially as recommended by the Hoover Bipartisan Commission.

Of the more than 140 recommendations of the Commission which require legislation, only a handful have passed.

Do we mean what we say?

Barring a last-minute surge of unexpected activity, the 1st session of the 85th Congress will adjourn with a shameful record of inaction on the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Grassroots pressure for thrift in Government was unprecedented during most of this session. Despite this citizen mandate, the congressional committees that must initiate the action needed to put the Commission's legislative proposals into effect haven't even bothered to hold hearings on 80 percent of the more than 170 pending bills.

Instead, for a variety of reasons, ranging from lack of political courage to belief in paternalistic Government, the economy drive has been restricted to nibbling at appropriation requests.

This approach ignored the plainest of facts—that it is impossible to cut the cost of Government significantly unless the size and scope of Federal activity is reduced.

The task forces of the second Hoover Commission not only documented the accuracy of this age-old truth but pointed out literally hundreds of ways and places to reduce the size and cost of Government without impairing our national security or eliminat-

ing truly essential Federal programs or services.

A special national chamber analysis and comparison of the 1958 budget and the Hoover Commission proposals identified 24 places where the adoption of specific recommendations would make possible a cut of at least $1 billion.

Instead of leaping at this magnificent opportunity, the 85th Congress has virtually ignored it. Worse yet, it has taken at least a dozen actions that are in direct conflict with Commission proposals.

With 7 months of the session already gone, Congress has sent only two minor Hoover Commission bills to the White House. Indications are that not more than five such measures will be acted upon favorably prior to adjournment. Only 3 pending bills have passed either the House or Senate, and only 3 additional measures have won committee approval.

The Hoover Commission completed its painstaking Government audit on June 30, 1955. The plausible alibi for congressional inaction that year was: "We got the recommendations too late in the session and must study them."

In 1956, 32 laws implementing 39 relatively minor recommendations were enacted. But the major dollar-saving proposals were ignored because they were too controversial to take up in a presidential election year.

"Wait till next year," we were told. "The results of our studies will be in, it's a nonelection year, and real headway can be expected."

This—1957—is that next year and the record of apathy and indifference speaks for itself.

An examination of the legislative history of the law that established the second Hoover Commission reveals that it had unanimous, bipartisan House and Senate support.

That law declared it to be the policy of Congress "to promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public business."

It directed the Commission to examine the wisdom of the policies of Government, as well as the appropriateness of its structure, and to submit to Congress its recommendations regarding any changes that are necessary to achieve the above policy objectives.

The Commission completed its assignment 2 years ago and immediately won nationwide bipartisan praise.

But Congress has failed miserably to recognize and discharge its moral obligation to evaluate the Commission's proposals; to translate those having merit into dollar savings, and thereby expedite the achievement of long-overdue debt and tax reductions.

The great danger of the prevailing congressional attitude does not lie in the possibility that the Commission's proposals will go down the legislative drain. The real danger is that no review of Government—such as that made by the Hoover Commission—will again be made. The size and difficulty of Government operation make such periodic reviews imperative.

Airlines Protest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune of June 29, 1957:

AIRLINES PROTEST

Recent decisions of the Department of State to approve applications of Australian and Dutch airlines for extended routes across the United States have brought a voluble protest from American airlines.

The protest, we believe, is justified. Even though the agreements with Australia and the Netherlands were on a reciprocal basis, on paper, in reality there is discrimination against United States carriers.

In return for privileges to the foreign airlines by which they will be allowed to compete with American lines, rights for domestic carriers to extend their operations in the other countries were also granted.

But by comparison, the domestic lines were seriously short changed. It is not difficult to fathom the temper of the Air Transport Association of America when it contemplates the difference between distances and potential travelers in the United States and Holland; or the additional traffic they can expect from Australian rights to fly into and over the bush country.

The State Department, of course, is anxious to foster goodwill wherever it can and by whatever means. But it seems incongruous to make American lines suffer as the result of this specific phase of goodwill promotion.

Talk to Plenary Meeting of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, Friday, June 28, 1957, on the Anniversary of the Poznan Uprising and on the United Nations Report on Hungary, by Christopher Emmet, Chairman, American Friends of the Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following text of a speech made by Mr. Christopher Emmet, chairman of the American Friends of the Captive Nations, before a meeting of the Assembly of Captive European Nations on June 28, 1957:

I am deeply honored to address this plenary session of the Assembly of Captive European Nations. I bring you the greetings of the American Friends of the Captive Nations, and I am especially happy to be here today with one of our most distinguished members, one who has done so much for the cause of your countries' freedom, Congressman BENTLEY.

All of our members feel closely linked with you. You blazed the trail and created the conditions which made possible the formation of our young committee only a little over a year ago. In fact, the inspiration for the formation of the American Friends came from a discussion in this very room.

Busy as most of our members are, and with very limited financial resources, we never could have attempted the task without the example and the inspiration which the success of your assembly had given us. You lifted the cause of your captive countries out of the obscurity and confusion of divided refugee groups into an institution which has played an increasingly important role in the war between freedom and communism. What you have done has not only helped the cause of your own countries, and you did not do it only for the sake of your own countries. You have given all of us the benefit of your special knowledge, expressed in your statements with a dignity and a clarity in the English language which has clarified the thinking of the American people and the people of Western Europe.

As far as the American friends of the captive nations are concerned, it is you who have helped us, not we who have helped you. But I do want to pay tribute here to some other Americans who by their work for the Free Europe Committee, had the wisdom to encourage and help you in the great work you have performed. I am thinking of Joseph Grew, C. D. Jackson, John Hughes, Adolf Berle, and their colleagues.

One of the sources of defeatism in America, which produced the myth about the finality of the Communist enslavement of Eastern Europe, was the impression that the countries of Eastern Europe were hopelessly divided by nationalist rivalries. It was commonplace to hear the remark among Americans that the exiled leaders could not even unite in the face of the overwhelming disaster which had overtaken their countries. The formation of this assembly has refuted that impression. The fact that you showed what you could do to help yourselves made it possible for us to help you.

The other common charge against you was the claim that, as refugees, you were out of touch and unrepresentative of your countries. Poznan and Budapest have given the lie to that. The increasing recognition you have received from the council of Europe and from the press of Europe, as well as of this country, has proved the measure of your success.

Another sign of your success is the decision of the 24 nations who sponsored the Special United Nations Committee Report on Hungary to call for the reconvening of the General Assembly. Incidentally, I am proud of the modest part which the American Friends of the Captive Nations also played in that achievement. We began in April to enlist the support of great national organizations to this end, and it was actively led by our distinguished Members in the Senate and House, including Congressman BENTLEY.

Of course, this is only a first step and we are only at the beginning of the tremendous task we have set ourselves. The honor and recognition you have earned abroad mean little to you personally as long as your countries remain occupied by Communist armies. It must be almost unbearable for you to witness the mistakes of the free nations, knowing as you do not only the wickedness but the weakness of communism, and knowing as you do that the West does not yet fully understand either that weakness or that wickedness. For the Hungarians among you, especially, nothing that has happened can relieve the terrible sense of tragedy.

Nevertheless, you must try to remember that the success you have had is all the more remarkable and meaningful because it has been achieved in the face of a dangerous trend of world politics, ever since Stalin's death. The people of Hungary and Poland proved with their blood the truth of many of the facts and judgments first revealed in the publications of this Assembly. As a result Soviet crimes in Hungary remain a living issue at the top of the agenda of the world organization, and the story of Hungary remains the most vivid foreign policy issue in the minds and hearts of the American people.

There was a period in recent months when it seemed that Hungary had been forgotten

despite the immortal glory the Freedom Fighters won last November. For months there was a virtual blackout of news and comment. But now the United Nations report, and the world agitation to do something about that report, show that the peoples' memories are not so short as cynics believed.

The appearance that Hungary was forgotten was wholly deceptive. It was based entirely on the technical problems of news dissemination. News value is supposed to involve novelty, and in recent months there was nothing new about the Kadar tyranny in Hungary. It was the same continuing ghastly story that has been going on in all the captive countries, like a prolonged nightmare. Poland is the only exception. But the unanimous United Nations report signed by neutral nations is a great news event in itself, and its text makes the tremendous events of last November live again.

It will be asked what a new session of the General Assembly will accomplish for Hungary now, since it failed to act when the events in Budapest shook the world. The answer is that even though a new session of the Assembly will probably fail as before to secure compliance with U. N. resolutions, it will again focus the spotlight of world opinion on Hungary. That in itself will be a blow for freedom. It will prove to the Hungarian people that their bravery and their sufferings are not forgotten. It will prove to the Soviet Union that their crimes will never be forgotten as long as their troops remain in Hungary.

In November, world public opinion, as expressed in the U. N. General Assembly, was temporarily able to check the deportations which were then reported by so many refugees. When the U. N. turned away from Hungary the deportations were resumed. This indicates that even the Soviet dictatorship cannot wholly ignore the pressure of world opinion. They do care what the world thinks and says, otherwise the Kremlin would never spend the billions of dollars it does on propaganda abroad. Measured in terms of public relations or advertising values alone, a new meeting of the U. N. Assembly to discuss the Special Committee's report on Hungary could not be purchased by any amount of money spent in a publicity or propaganda campaign.

EXPULSION OF THE KADAR DELEGATES

However, there is a real chance of achieving some definite action if the U. N. meets. In its leading editorial today the New York Times not only rightly urges the reconvening of the Assembly before September, it specifically demands that the Assembly can and must take the minimal and long overdue action of kicking out of the U. N. the delegates of the Kadar government, which has been murdering and torturing the leaders of Hungary's fight for freedom at the behest of its Soviet masters. In view of the strong and justified language which Ambassador Wadsworth used to this Assembly today when he referred to members of that government as murderers, it would seem impossible in all decency for them to be allowed to sit as members of the very Assembly which has indicted them for these crimes through the Committee's report.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS?

While rightly calling for the expulsion of the Kadar delegates, the Times editorial mentions in passing that sanctions against the Soviet Union are impossible. If that is true, it is only because so many intelligent people, like the editors of the New York Times, assume it to be true. All the evidence from the captive countries, from Communist China, and from the Soviet itself, indicate that the various degrees of unrest and incipient revolt from Poland and Hungary to North Vietnam, are mainly due to economic causes. The Soviet economy which must carry the main burden of production for this whole vast area is overextended, while at the same time the U. S. S. R. is trying to subvert various African and Asian countries by economic aid. Why should we help them to meet these difficult economic problems, at this of all moments, by relaxing trade restrictions as the West is doing?

How could it fail to increase the economic cost of the Soviet suppression of Eastern Europe if we impose sanctions, however mild? If the United States would even propose sanctions at the U. N., whether they were voted or not, it would certainly reduce the present trend toward increased trade by arousing the conscience of public opinion in the countries now promoting such trade, and by indicating that their action was estranging the American people.

Of course, the trade restrictions would involve some sacrifice for the Western nations and businessmen concerned, but the West as a whole is enjoying unprecedented prosperity. We need the increased trade less than the Soviets. If necessary the few free countries where the restrictions in the East-West trade are a real burden, could be compensated. Are we unwilling to make even this small sacrifice to encourage the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, not only for the sake of the hundred million people it would liberate but because it would be the greatest step toward peace?

One reason the Soviets are anxious to make some "first step" toward disarmament, which would offer no real security from their future aggression, is because it would reduce the economic burden of the competitive arms race, which lies even more heavily on them than on us. Also by arousing optimistic reports on disarmament deals the Soviets encourage unilateral arms cuts, including those voted by Congress. Why should the Soviets pay any price for trade relaxation to reduce the economic tensions in their empire if the West agrees to ease their arms burden and ease the trade restrictions without asking any Soviet political concessions in return? The British have removed some 400 items of China trade from the banned list, goods which formerly had to be produced or at least transshiped by Soviet Russia for China.

But even assuming that these arguments are invalid and that economic sanctions would be wholly ineffective, a United States effort to impose them would serve a very real political, psychological, and moral purpose. Even at this late date it would help the unity of the American people, the morale of the Western World, and the prestige of the United Nations if the United States would propose economic and diplomatic sanctions in the U. N. to end Soviet intervention in Hungary. This is true whether or not the U. N. majority votes for sanctions, and whether or not, if voted, they would prove effective. It is better to try and fail than not to try.

What power the United Nations has is moral power which must appeal to the conscience and sense of justice of the member nations for its implementation. The U. N.'s influence may survive failure to enforce justice against the defiance of great states, but it cannot survive failure to seek equal justice for all its members. Above all, it cannot survive if it proposes one law for the strong and another for the weak. But that is precisely what both the U. N. and the United States did when they threatened Israel with sanctions while ignoring the aggression of the Soviet Union.

CONCLUSION

However, let me end by reminding you again that no matter when it meets or what action it takes, a new meeting of the U. N. Assembly on the Hungary report will in itself be a victory for our cause. The Communists thought they had buried the revolt. Order has been restored, the Iron Curtain rebuilt, and a blackout of silence imposed on Hungary. But the U. N. report, and the worldwide response to it, have shattered those Communist illusions. The memory of the freedom fighters has risen from the ashes to haunt the Soviets. Their deeds still live, and the remembrance of those great November days in Budapest will rise again and again until Hungary is free.

With the freedom of Hungary will come, inevitably, the freedom of all your countries, and when that day comes you will be honored there as well as here for the part you played in winning the victory.

You will return to play parts in rebuilding your countries, as so many German and Italian exiles returned to build the miracle of postwar Germany and Italy. My message to you is: Be proud of what you have done; be confident of what we will do together in the future.

Gun Duel in Palestine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of July 11, 1957:

GUN DUEL IN PALESTINE

With United Nations troops maintaining an uneasy truce along the Egyptian-Israeli border, violence is beginning to erupt along another frontier around Lake Hula. Since the middle of last month border incidents have been taking place in that area, culminating in a 10-hour gun duel between Syrian and Israeli forces on Tuesday.

As usual, each side blames the other for starting the trouble. But there are some fundamental considerations which should help in determining where the responsibility lies. The fact is that, despite the seeming onerousness of its terms and the occasional ruthlessness of its retaliatory actions, Israel has been pleading for peace and for peace negotiations. As tokens of its earnestness it has, privately at least, offered territorial readjustments; it has eased the lot of its Arab inhabitants; it has released the blocked funds of Arab refugees, and it has been negotiating in Rome with private refugee representatives to solve the problem on the basis of compensation, some repatriation and resettlement of the rest.

But the Arab States continue to proclaim their determination to destroy Israel, a state created under United Nations auspices, and so insist on maintaining a state of war with Israel enforced by guerrilla warfare and blockade. They are doing so in defiance of the armistice agreements which call for permanent peace, in violation of a security council decision denying them any belligerent rights, and in repudiation of their own declarations affirming the international character of both the Suez Canal and the Aqaba Gulf.

Recent events have clearly revealed that this policy is both futile and dangerous. It has brought the Arabs nothing except Communist penetration and Nasser's imperialistic ambitions, which combine to produce plots for the overthrow of established governments. Furthermore, since United Nations pressure was able to compel even Britain and France to stop their military intervention and withdraw, it should surely be

able to stop any new aggression by Israel or the Arabs.

This reduces the Arab state of war to an absurdity and leaves as the only alternative the road to peace. Some Arab rulers have recognized this and have dissociated themselves from Nasser and his Syrian helpers, at least on the Communist issue. One can only hope that they will also find the strength to embark on a policy that will at last bring peace to themselves and the whole Middle East.

Address by Brig. Gen. J. P. Berkeley, USMC, to Reserve Senior and Junior Courses Graduation Exercises, Quantico, Va., June 28, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, my attention has just been directed to an address made by Brig. Gen. J. P. Berkeley, United States Marine Corps, to Reserve senior and junior graduation exercises at Quantico, Va., on June 28 of this year.

The address appealed to me as an old marine, and one who has always believed that the secret of success of the corps lies more in men than in the machinery they use to make war.

General Berkeley's remarks are especially timely in these days of emphasis on awesome weapons and a very probable public misconception of what can or cannot be accomplished by pushbutton warfare. They are worthy of study by Members of Congress, and by the general public:

Members of the Reserve junior and senior courses, I am particularly grateful for this opportunity to be with you today. Although your number is small, nonetheless, because of what you represent and who you are, I consider this a most worthwhile occasion.

You represent a great organization—the Marine Corps Reserve. It is the Marine Corps body in time of war, of which the Regular Marine Corps is the sinew and bone. As the Reserve's representatives here today, you not only do honor to your organization, but, in my mind, to yourselves. Your presence here today is indicative of your interest both in bettering yourselves professionally and in making the Reserve a better organization.

I understand that during your brief sojourn here at Quantico you have had the opportunity of listening to several selected lectures which are illustrative of some of the things we are teaching in the Marine Corps schools. I am sure you have already concluded that we are bending every effort to maintain a high type of professionalism in the Marine Corps of today.

But it is not my purpose to elaborate on any of the subjects you have already heard, or to talk of the place of the Marine Corps in the national defense effort, or anything along that line. I would like to depart from the usual type of talk you might expect to hear upon completing a course of military instruction and talk with you about some random thoughts that have occupied a prominent place in my mind for some time.

As you know, the papers have been filled with much talk—pro and con—about the President's budget, and there has been considerable emphasis on the defense portion of that budget. This isn't new, of course, and in some ways defense spending sometimes seems to be a barometer. When there appears to be reason for people to think that the danger of war is receding you always hear of proposed cuts in defense spending. And when war is imminent, or there are threatening indications, then the Congress, the administration, and the people say little about defense spending and are inclined to look for an out more in the line of pork-barrel legislation costs.

Of course this defense spending barometer hasn't always worked well. It was predicting some pretty fair weather in 1949 and in June of 1950 we had to do a quick about-face. The Commies in Korea evidently had been watching a different kind of barometer. But defense spending has always seemed to be something tangible, although the amount of money involved is almost beyond human comprehension. Perhaps its tangibility arises from the things it represents—men, arms, planes, ships, and so on. It isn't hard to get accustomed to thinking in terms of the largest navy in the world—and the only one with nuclear-powered submarines; or of total forces amounting to almost 3 million men; or of an Air Force with its Strategic Air Command with the capability of flying around the globe. All of these things are tangible enough to accept as sort of working terms in our mental and oral vocabulary.

This is as it should be. Evolution and growth go on every day. I remember when the abbreviated term "IBM" used to provoke a second glance. Now IBM is as much of a household word as automatic coffeemaker. ICBM is the new word—the intercontinental ballistics missile. It not only suggests evolution, it implies a veritable shrinking of the globe.

All around us are signs of change. As I mentioned before, we have nuclear-powered submarines; at Norfolk recently we displayed one of our supercarriers, in the over 60,000-ton class; the next largest carrier present from a friendly foreign nation was in the 38,000-ton class. In the years since World War II the Marine Corps has developed its vertical envelopment tactics, adding new techniques based on a new dimension. The Army has come up with its pentomic division concept. The Air Force has its SAC and a horde of restless monster planes, and interceptors who think as little of passing the sound barrier as a Pentagon secretary thinks of taking a coffee break.

All of this is wonderful and astonishing. We must be forever grateful that it is our Nation, so richly blessed in wealth, resources, and talented and industrious people that leads the world in this, as in so many ways.

But I would like to suggest that the defense dollar and what it represents—in numbers of men under arms, in planes, in ships, or in any other tangible method of expression—only provides a part of the whole picture when we talk about the military posture of our country. As you well know, machines at best are simply an integrated organization of a lot of otherwise inanimate parts. Somebody has to design them and build them. Somebody has to learn to use them, and to turn them on and off. Machines do not think. Machines do not reproduce.

An intercontinental ballistics missile is an inert thing that must be aimed and set properly and controlled until it eventually destroys its target—and itself.

Our superships of today can only be super when manned by the proper crews. The same is true of our superplanes. The jet age has not placed a lower premium on men; conversely, it demands more of the men who are involved in building, flying, and maintaining its supersonic planes than ever has been required before.

It might appear that qualitative manpower, then, is another important part of the whole defense picture—and it certainly is. The Cordiner Committee has emphasized to the Nation that one of the greatest single problems facing the armed services today is the training and retention of adequate numbers of highly skilled men to meet the many and complex technological requirements we are faced with today.

But there is another part of the defense picture which, I believe, exceeds and transcends the other parts. It is not as tangible or as visible or as easy to understand. Its requirements are many and perplexing.

I refer to something more qualitative and demanding than manpower requirements as we usually think of them. I refer specifically to the spiritual and moral qualities which must characterize not only our fighting men but the citizens of this country behind them. The new dimensions of war, if and when it ever comes, probably will be all encompassing. ICMB, the nuclear age, and the jet age have rendered almost all of our oldtime and space factors obsolete. The war of the future will not be from continent to continent or sea to sea; it will go past the battlelines wherever they are drawn to the family hearth, wherever it may be.

In order to prepare for such a war, we must be reminded of the principles that made our country great. We must reinculcate in ourselves and in others these principles. Our belief in them and our understanding of them are necessary if we are to insure the quality in our manpower—not only in the military establishment but in the citizenry of our country as a whole—that we will need so badly if a future war starts.

We must never let any kind of barometer lull us into a false sense of security where these principles are concerned. I am not going to try to state these principles to you in high-sounding terms or phrases. I intend to say them in common terms.

There is no reason why the word "duty" should be outmoded today. A sense of duty cannot be separated from a person's conscience. Nor should the word "honor" be obsolete. A reputation for honesty, forthrightness, and fairness must be just as prized today as it used to be.

Patriotism becomes an overpowering emotion when our country is threatened with war. But must it take the threat of war to make us feel love of country? It would seem, rather, that the constant threat of communism and the dismal lot of the people who are under its shadow should serve as a daily reminder of how wonderful our country is and a thousand reasons for feeling proud and grateful.

Although you don't hear it as much now as before, you still hear people talk of their sons "having to go in the service," or being obligated because of the draft. They seem to forget that serving our country is a privilege; that because they wanted such a country, American fighting men deemed it a privilege to die at Lexington and Concord, to freeze at Valley Forge, to face the raking musketry at Gettysburg, the machinegun bullets at Belleau Wood, the almost wholesale exposure to death all over the world in World War II and, most recently, the relentless onslaught of the Communists in Korea.

Oh, we have obligations all right. We have an obligation from birth to be a man in the eyes of God and our fellow men. Such a man cannot close his eyes to the many privileges that are his birthright. Patriotism, love of country, willingness to serve, to carry a fair share of the load—these are the words that describe the principles I am talking about.

An Army psychiatrist who has become an expert on the Communist methods of brainwashing prisoners in Korea was asked what effect this brainwashing had on the Americans captured there. He replied that his studies indicated that brainwashing revealed

certain weaknesses and shortcomings in the character and education of our military personnel. In his own words, he said:

"In my opinion, the behavior of too many of our people fell short of the historical American standards of honor, character, loyalty, courage, and personal integrity."

Let me repeat those key words: Honor, character, loyalty, courage, and personal integrity.

With them I can define for you our outstanding personnel requirement in the armed services today. This is the real qualitative requirement we must meet. And this requirement goes further than just the Military Establishment. It goes back to every home in our country. For in the war of the future, the citizen back home, comparatively speaking, will very probably be only one platoon back from the fighting man.

Today we need a rededication—or a new dedication, where necessary—to the old principles that made our country great. We must direct more attention to the spiritual values that support a desire to fight for liberty.

We need to instill new spirits—or revive the old spirits that made Americans fight in the past—into each new generation and into those of the older generations who have lost sight of them.

All of the money in the world will not buy the personal armor we need. We can manufacture planes and tanks and ships; personal integrity is another matter.

Can the personal traits and qualities we have always taken for granted be assumed tomorrow, if war should come, from the people who must defend our country and fight for its liberty?

As a first step, all our citizens might respond with an individual code, a part of which might read as follows:

"I will never forget that I am an American citizen, responsible for my actions, and dedicated to the principles which made my country free. I trust in God and the United States of America."

I hope this hasn't sounded like a lecture to you, but I feel very strongly about the things I have talked about. I feel that each of us, in his own way, has a real duty in furthering an understanding of what our privileges are, what our real obligations are, and what we must do to be a man in the eyes of God and our fellow men.

I ask that, in addition to what you are doing to serve your country by helping to maintain a better Marine Corps Reserve, you seriously consider what you can do to help insure that the new generation grows up with a full understanding of all these things you and I have known for so long and prize so highly.

Ex-Representative Earl C. Michener: A Life That Was Dedicated to Public Service

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 5, in Adrian, Mich., our former colleague, ex-Representative Earl C. Michener, passed away.

For 30 faithful and fruitful years he had served the people of Michigan's Second District, and the people of the United States.

It was an honor, and an education, to serve with a man like Earl Michener.

No one had a higher standard of his responsibilities as a public servant. To measure up to this standard he applied himself with diligence and devotion. In the process he acquired a remarkable knowledge of our Federal Government and he was determined, to the extent of his power, to make that Government the very best on earth.

He brought prestige to this House by his long and exceptional service as chairman of the Rules Committee.

It was as a member of the Judiciary Committee that I came to know and admire him. The members of that committee were greatly indebted to his ability and his integrity. The clear and painstaking manner in which he explained legislaiton, left no room for misunderstanding or error. It was a pleasure to work with him, and be helped by him.

In spite of the tensions and the pressures to which lesser men succumb, he never lost the dignity of spirit which was his outstanding characteristic.

He was always kind and considerate to those he met along the way of life, treating the exalted and the humble with equal courtesy.

Earl C. Michener was an exceptionally able Congressman, and a good man through and through.

Fourth of July Speech by Hon. William T. Corbett, Acting Governor of Guam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Fourth of July speech, 1957, by William T.—Ted—Corbett, Acting Governor of Guam, so that we people in America remember and keep in mind the fine people of this United States outpost, our United States officials, and our United States servicemen and their families who are stationed there:

Reverend clergy, Your Excellency the Consul of the Philippines, Admiral Ammon, General Schott, distinguished guests, citizens of the Philippines, and citizens of America, I welcome you today to the commemoration ceremonies of American and Philippine independence.

It is unfortunate at this time that Governor Lowe is not with us; he being detained on official business in the city of Washington. I wish to read a telegram received from our Governor:

"Congratulations and best wishes to the Filipino community of Guam as you celebrate the 11th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of the Philippines and we celebrate the 181st anniversary of the independence of the United States. The common bonds of friendship which link our peoples together in democratic government is a source of pride and satisfaction to all of us."

"RICHARD BARRETT LOWE,
"Governor of Guam."

This is the second year we have met together in a joint Filipino-American celebration of our independence, the Philippines' 11th anniversary and America's 181st anniversary. As I said to you a year ago in our first joint observance, it is fitting that we should bring together the citizens of America and the citizens of the Philippines to jointly consider what Independence Day means to the people of each country.

I am reminded that just 1 year ago the President of the Philippines, Ramon Magsaysay, shared the platform with Vice President RICHARD NIXON, and each pledged the continued friendship of our countries. They pledged themselves further to continue together the fight to keep men free, for each recognized that we have much in common. President Magsaysay in his entire political life believed in liberty and freedom of man, and his whole endeavor was to keep the Filipino free and independent, and he joined with America and all free nations of the world in this effort. Today, before making further remarks, I would like all to stand and bow their heads in a minute of silent prayer for the beloved late President of the Philippines, Ramon Magsaysay.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

In the life of a nation 181 years is a comparatively short space of time. But in just that period, the American Republic has been transformed beyond the imagination of its founders. From 13 small agricultural colonies we have built a unified nation of 48 States and are at the present time the leading industrial power of all the world. From a newly born nation of 3 million people we have grown to 165 million people. The American Revolution was fought and won under a banner of liberty, justice, and freedom, and we have never deviated from the pledges of that day. The Declaration of Independence, which we commemorate today, appeals to the laws of nature and of nature's God, and we held then and still hold today a belief in natural law, in the inalienable rights which man possesses independently of government and in which no government may lawfully withhold or deny, and lastly in the existence of a divine providence that guides the affairs of men. These are the foundation stones of the American conception of liberty and freedom. Nowhere in our Declaration of Independence, Constitution, or the Federal newspapers is there any support for the conception of a government that gives the people who live under it all the good things of life, but one does find a good many specific injunctions as to what government may not do in interfering with the life and the liberty and the freedom of the citizen. The American Revolution was directed against tyranny, against bureaucratic arbitrariness, against artificial class lines based on privilege and snobbishness. It did not seek universal leveling but did seek the equality of opportunity. In the extensive literature of the Revolutionary Days we find no hint of socialism, no effort to discourage the right lawfully to earn and acquire property and the right to own that property and use it to our own use and raise our families and build our homes, schools, and churches, and raise our boys and girls to be good, solid, self-supporting American citizens. We must always remember that the minute property rights are no longer sacred, freedom and liberty is no longer ours, and we have tyranny and rule by man and not by law. America believes in natural law and in the inalienable human rights, intense distrust in any concentration of power in government, firm rejection of tyranny, whether by a monarch, a dictator, or a mob, and faith in equality of opportunity. Because of the respect for these principles America has prospered and grown great.

But we must pause on this 181th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and realize that American civilization has not produced cultural values to match its amazing wealth in material values. Not all of the problems created by modern industrialism

have been solved. America's crime rate remains disgracefully high and the quantitative gains in education have been to some extent offset by the qualitative failures in our educational system.

All in all, America has been a success, and America's prestige among the people of all the lands of this world stands high, higher than that of any other country in all the world. On this joint celebration of the Filipino independence, I want to say to you that we welcome you as our friends, and we want to continue yours. We believe that we have much in common, and believe as did your late President that in the friendship of our two Nations much good will come to keep our people free and happy.

In the airplane crash that cut short the life of President Ramon Magsaysay, the people of the Philippines were robbed of a great leader who well deserved all of the confidence and affection they reposed in him. A man of great integrity, he labored tirelessly in their behalf for their material well-being and the strengthening of their free institutions, and to that end, among other things, he had liberated them from the terrorism of Communist-led Huks and proceeded from there to promote their economic progress and insure their security as a nation, allied with the United States and the Asiatic Treaty Organization. In the international field there never was any doubt where President Magsaysay stood, and under his leadership was the overwhelming backing of his fellow men. The policy of the Philippines was stanchly pro-America, proliberty, and anti-Red. Accordingly, since Filipino politics are volatile, and since his firm guidance will be sorely missed, there must never arise a fear that the opposition elements, those against America, may be able to stage a comeback or change the excellent programs he had set in motion in domestic and foreign affairs. And I trust, on this memorable occasion, that whoever comes into power in the Philippines will remember his predecessor and remember the things he stood for—liberty and freedom and justice, side by side with America, in an endeavor to keep all men free and independent. And so it is great to be here today in this joint celebration. It is great to know that there are people many, many miles away from America who think and feel and love as we do, and so I join with you in this happy expression today, with a hope that other days such as this will find us again standing on the same platform, and thinking the same thoughts, and doing the same acts in the interests of our fellow men.

Lead-Zinc Mines Soon Out of Business Unless National Legislation Is Speeded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, hardly a week goes by that does not find in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an account of the closing or retrenchment of some important lead-zinc mine. These mines, so essential to national security, will be put completely out of business unless Congress enacts the administration's long-range minerals program at this session.

The lead-zinc mines cannot be turned on and off like a faucet. When once closed they are likely to remain closed because of filling with water and deterioration.

As a result of discontinuance of national stockpiling and barter of these minerals and competition of the low-priced labor abroad, zinc has dropped from 13½ cents a pound to 10 cents a pound since May 6, a price far below the cost of production in most of our mines.

The following clipping taken from the Wall Street Journal, July 18, is only one of an almost continuous list of disasters:

UNITED STATES STEEL UNIT CUTS WORKWEEK TO 4 DAYS AT TENNESSEE ZINC MINE

JEFFERSON CITY, TENN.—Tennessee Coal & Iron division of United States Steel Corp., cut the workweek in its zinc mines here to 4 days from 5.

The curtailment of zinc production was attributed to a decreasing market by Arthur V. Wiebel, TCI president. At his headquarters in Birmingham, Ala., Mr. Wiebel said, "the industry is not presently able to absorb the output of zinc concentrate."

Mr. Wiebel noted that since May 6 zinc concentrate prices have dropped five times, from 13½ cents a pound to 10 cents a pound. He said he could not predict how long the curtailment would last. About 300 workers were affected by the curtailment.

New Jersey Zinc Co., which also operates mines here, previously had announced reduction of output at its smelters in Palmerton, Pa., and Depue, Ill. A company spokesman said, "further production curtailments in zinc mining and smelting are bound to occur unless the Government adopts some means of controlling exploitation of the domestic market by foreign producers."

Random Thoughts on Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

WEST GERMANY ANENT ISRAEL

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, tribute should be paid to West Germany for her endeavor to reestablish the good name of Germany amidst the family of nations. She has tried to expiate the crimes of the insane paperhanger, Hitler. He vowed to make Germany Judenrein, and well nigh carried out his horrendous vow. Six million dead—untold suffering, were the price.

Chancellor Adenauer, his cabinet, and his people wisely seek to wipe the slate clean and have imposed reparations upon themselves. West Germany has indemnified many thousands of lives ruthlessly snuffed out and for properties confiscated or destroyed. The tragically dead cannot be helped, but little Israel, which has afforded asylum for many of the victims of Nazi persecution, has received from West Germany thus far upward of $830 million. These restitution payments take the form of industrial goods which have helped Israel keep its head above water—helped her take unto her thousands of the helpless and homeless. The Bonn Government has undertaken to shoulder this financial burden, but more than that, it has had the courage to ignore threats that such aid to Israel would destroy all chances of German trade with Arab nations.

West Germany thus far is obviously entitled to genuine praise. She seeks to establish herself for fair dealing and desires, above all, to wipe out the Hitler stains. In this way West Germany cushions the memories of the Gestapo herding Jews to Poland; memories of S. S. thugs smashing and burning shops and synagogues; memories of the treachery and the sadism of Goebbels and his torchlight buffoonery in the jammed Olympic Stadium.

HARD-WORKING GERMANS

I have been to West Germany several times since the cessation of World War II. Each time I have visited her cities and countryside, I was more and more amazed at the energy, vitality, and industry of the German people. They pulled in their belts and made the most of the little they had. Hours of work, back-bending chores meant little. There was so much work to be done. Germany was literally rebuilt. The ruins were leveled, new structures erected, new fields plowed, old factories were refurbished, and new ones were set up. No job was too burdensome. There was ever present the will to work—the will to achieve.

I have traveled in many parts of the world. Nowhere have I seen such feverish activity to rebuild upon the spoils of war. We salute the ingenuity, the prowess, and the disciplined industry of the German people.

When I say "German people," I refer to the inhabitants of West Germany, not East Germany, to the inhabitants of West Berlin, not East Berlin. In East Germany and in East Berlin the dead hand of communism holds back progress. Indeed, going from East into West Berlin is like going from melancholy drabness into the happiness and dignity of work well performed. Yea, it is like going from the 18th century into the 20th century.

Although the Germans in the past were stable and sturdy people under the then rigid authority, I think they have already shown stability and sturdiness to an even greater degree under liberal democracy. Under excellent leadership, they are determined to throw off the shackles of the past and set for themselves new and better standards of behavior.

LITTLE EUROPE AND EURATOM

It is well to know that West Germany has played no little part in the creation of what is known as Little Europe. As the New York Times says:

Taken singly, the West European nations measure against Russia or the United States as pygmies to giants. But spurred by the menace of Russia, and with encouragement from the United States, six of the states have been striving to create a European community that might some day rank with the Big Two. The European 6—France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—cover an area of 450,000 square miles and contain a population of 173.4 million people.

The creation of Little Europe, as the community of the six is called, has run into great difficulties. But they have

been overcome, due to great statesmanship shown by Germany and France. I refer to the difficulty of the ancient animosity between those two countries. The Schuman plan led the way. It pooled the coal and steel industries of the six countries. The coal and steel community has been in business for 4 years. It has an executive, called the high authority; a legislature, called the council of ministers, and a court of justice. Now an additional step has been taken toward European economic union. I refer to the approval of the treaty for the establishment of the so-called Euratom project and for a European common market. The West German Parliament has already passed these two pacts. I am sure other countries will follow suit. Under Euratom, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg will pool their nuclear skills and resources, research and development programs under a single agency. This agency will own all Europe's fissionable material. The agency will have institutions patterned after those of the coal and steel community. The United States Atomic Energy Commission has promised to make available to Euratom nuclear materials and technical assistance. With the common European market, all customs barriers between the six states will eventually be scrapped. The six countries will maintain a common tariff toward the outside world. There will be a series of permanent institutions controlling this common market, also modeled on the coal and steel community structure.

In all these projects, West Germany has played an important part. It is making history. These movements all tend toward a more highly coordinated Europe. Many conquerors have dreamed of European unity; among them were Caesar, Napoleon, Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm. Intelligent thinkers likewise advocated European union. The great Dutch advocate of peace, Grotius, had this in mind, as did Aristide Briand.

ANTICARTEL

I look forward to a great future for the new European community in which West Germany will play an important part. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the West German Bundestag recently passed an anticartel or antitrust law. Germany, and most of Europe, has been ruled for decades by cartels. We in this country have shunned and abhorred cartels and monopolies. I believe that we have attained our great industrial supremacy and our high standards of living primarily because of our desire for free enterprise, for free and open competition. Our laws preclude and punish monopolistic practices and undue restraints of trade. Apparently West Germany is now taking a leaf out of our book. The passage of the anticartel law, to my mind, puts Germany upon a sound, healthy track. Its economy will now move forward with greater and more telling safety and speed.

I am informed that Germany, as of 1925, had over 2,000 cartels. Later, Hitler and the Nazis streamlined these cartels in aid of their totalitarian control. The American occupation helped break up these cartels. Now they have a statute that will point the way to anticartel policies. It is a victory and a vindication for free enterprise. It is not a perfect bill. It contains compromises and loopholes. Economics Minister Ludwig Ehrhard said of the bill a short time ago:

This new spirit of freedom and competition will certainly have its effect beyond the borders of Germany.

GERMAN "NEW LOOK"

Indeed, Germany is assuming a new look. I have noticed small reactions which nonetheless portend much. For example, as was stated by Richard C. Hottelot recently:

Liszt's Les Preludes will probably not be heard in Germany's concert halls for a generation because Goebbels used it to herald his victory announcements. The war burned out the roots of totalitarianism. The chauvinistic overtones which colored German behavior before the First World War, and which Hitler heightened to the point of insanity, have been discarded. A recent survey showed that the university professor ranked first in popular respect, followed by the bishop, the business executive, the Cabinet minister and the prince, with the army general a poor sixth. The old days, when flags, uniforms, and warlike glory were essential to self-respect, seem to have been buried. The old Fuehrer has received short shrift. The name Adolf has been registered on few birth certificates in the past 12 years. The big Nazi anniversaries are forgotten.

I find that Germans today are very receptive to foreign ideas—more so than they ever have been in the past. They are borrowing much from the United States. The industrialists lean heavily on American experience. "Public relations" is being imported in wholesale manner. In fact, Germany not only borrowed the technique, but borrowed the name as well. I suppose there was no German term that described public relations. Market research and public opinion polls are now quite common in Germany. They have even copied the American installment plan, and salesmen go from door to door persuading the housewives that a new iron, vacuum cleaner, or electric refrigerator is necessary to modern living. You pay so much down and the balance weekly or monthly.

EMERGING GERMAN WOMEN

Even more significant is the position now held by German women. There is a complete change of attitude. The German woman now uses lipstick, rouge, nail polish, and perfume. I am speaking of the average German woman, not only the so-called lady of elegance and so-called genteelness. Not only has her outer appearance changed; so has her social position. She is no longer confined to the home and kitchen. She wants to know about politics and business. She is getting more self-assurance. There are more women in the Bundestag than in any other western European parliament. While the men were in the army or in prison camps, it was the women who kept the home fires burning, kept the family together, and fended for themselves and their broods. It was the woman who bore the brunt of the bombing raids and experienced the horrors of Soviet occupation. When her husband came back, she was no longer his mere hand servant or his mere cook. She became a partner. She now has equal political rights with men. She now has the legal right to own and dispose of property.

Concomitantly, the idea of the old tyrannical father image is gradually fading. There no longer is the stern father who demands total submission—the stern father who was followed by the equally stern teacher and by the stern sergeant major, and followed by the stern boss of the business, on top of all of which was the dictator. A public opinion survey recently showed that the father is now considered the stern overlord in less than 20 percent of all families. The youngsters are becoming more independent, although they are not as free in their manner as American children. Yet they are not tonguetied in the presence of their elders.

CIVIL AUTHORITY

In the Bonn Republic civil authority is supreme. It was never so before, not even in the Weimar Republic. The legislative branch of the Government presently has unprecedented influence. Organized labor is well on guard against any threat to civil liberty. Both the press and the radio are independent of the state and jealously watch over independent freedom.

The present constitution is a basis for one of the most stable governments in Europe. The citizens of West Germany are very jealous of their rights and take their duties seriously. Eighty-six percent of the voters cast their ballots at the last general election. This is far greater than the standard maintained in American elections. The West Germans loathe Russia and all its works. They have observed in the Eastern Zone, the horrible examples of Russian economy—the horrible example of a partnership with Russia. Although the Soviets have repeatedly offered unification of East and West Germany on Russian terms, the Bonn government has consistently refused.

Perhaps the most important change that has come over Germany is the decline of nationalism. I believe the people are now realizing that Germany cannot again become the power that it was under the Kaiser. Their experiences have been too brutal and harsh and tragic. It is for that reason that they joined the Western Alliance and have become part of the European union.

I believe, finally, that West Germany will go forward boldly and courageously from strength to strength.

I say all this despite the fact that we warred against Germany and that we suffered because of German mistakes under Hitler. But look at the map and you see the strategic importance of Germany. The West can neither forsake her nor disregard her. She must be a partner of the West. She is one of the Western bastions against Russian aggression. It is necessary to buckle Germany securely to ourselves in any war against Russia—cold or hot. We need Germany as much as Germany needs us.

The Presidency; a Residual Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 14, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have received one final communication which rounds out my survey of scholarly opinion on the 22d amendment. The author of this letter, Dr. Harry V. Jaffa, of the Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, has presented a somewhat novel idea concerning a residual power which any President has—if he cares to use it—to preserve some of his strength during a second term.

I present herewith Dr. Jaffa's letter of opinion on this important question:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Chicago, Ill., June 14, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: The unprecedented weakness of presidential leadership we are currently witnessing must, I think, be attributed in increasing measure to the impact of the 22d amendment, now operative for the first time. No mere lack of skill in presenting and defending his budget could account for the open repudiation of the President by the congressional leaders of his own party, nor his desertion by the numbers of Democrats who, by and large, accepted his guidance in the last Congress, when they believed or feared he would again be a candidate.

A continuance of such powerlessness could be disastrous, not only because of the substantive importance of budgetary items, but because of the lack of firm direction of the free world coalition. The only enduring remedy is to repeal the no-third-term-amendment. But there is a stopgap which, I think, could do much to alleviate the present situation. This is not so much a recommendation for action, as for recognition of a constitutional device, available to the President, which might offset the drastic weakening of his office. The President, in short, might deliberately use the power of resignation, in place of the power to run again, to compel support of his policies.

Traditionally, it has been felt that when a President stands for reelection, he pledges his faith to serve out his term, and to resign would be a deception of voters who believed they were putting him, and not the vice presidential candidate, in office. But a President who is a lame duck from the day of his inauguration, and who, moreover, being in his second term, has less patronage than a first-term President, must be capable somehow of taking the political initiative. If he did resign, he would kill off the aspirations of members of his own party (e. g., the Knowlands), because an incumbent President (i. e., NIXON) is almost certain of the next nomination, if he wants it. If the new President had more than 2 years in prospect, he would have sufficient time to grasp firmly the reins of party control; if he had less than 2 years, the fact that he could be elected twice, and serve nearly 10 years, would almost inevitably start a rush for preferred places on his bandwagon. Since it is extremely difficult (it has happened only twice in this century) to defeat an incumbent President standing for reelection, the prospect facing the opposition party is scarcely less appealing. The Democrats would not contemplate Mr. NIXON'S candidacy with such confidence, were he in such a position.

I am not here suggesting Mr. Eisenhower's actual resignation. Mr. Roosevelt apparently did not make up his mind to run for a third term until late in his second. Yet the fact of his ability to run was exploited by infinitely varied and subtle appeals for group and personal support. His pledges, quasi-pledges, implied pledges, and anticipated pledges to the ambitions of other men were dependent upon the control of party machinery, a control dependent in turn upon the possibility of his own candidacy. Mr. Eisenhower seems to be losing all semblance of such control. A threat of resignation might restore many errant affections.

Mr. Eisenhower has already warned the people who voted for him that he would, in the event of failing health, resign; and Mr. NIXON'S qualification to step into his place was a major campaign issue. Finally, I would point out that a threat of resignation, to enforce congressional acquiesence in his policies, is not unprecedented. Abraham Lincoln once warned that, if Congress made it the President's legal duty to enslave any man set free by the Emancipation Proclamation, someone else would have to execute that law.

Very truly yours,

HARRY V. JAFFA.

Robert Briscoe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein a very timely editorial which appeared in the Chelsea Record, of Chelsea, Mass., on July 16, 1957:

GOOD WILL AMBASSADOR

Robert Briscoe, Dublin's first Jewish lord mayor, has finished his first term of office. But for the luck of the draw he might have had a second 1-year term. Members of the Dublin City Council, who ballot yearly to select the lord mayor, gave Briscoe and an independent opponent 21 votes each. By custom the names of both men were drawn from a hat, and Briscoe lost.

Lord Mayor Briscoe was one of the most popular figures ever to visit the United States. He was welcomed as a symbol of something that all the world is always anxious to see, the recognition of a man for his own merits. Mayor Briscoe is a Jew, yet he has won high political honors in a country where the vast majority of the electorate are stanch Roman Catholic. He was elected because of his political astuteness and his long record of service to the Irish people.

Yet Mayor Briscoe's welcome in this country was more than a tribute to Irish religious tolerance. It was a sincere feeling of kinship with a warm, wise, and courageous man who has always been willing to stand up for what he believed to be right, even when his beliefs were unpopular or dangerous to his own career and safety. Lord Mayor Briscoe was more than lord mayor of Dublin, he was one of the most effective good-will ambassadors ever sent forth by the Emerald Isle.

Cussing the Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Gerald W. Johnson, which appeared in the New Republic of July 15, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

THE SUPERFICIAL ASPECT—CUSSING THE COURT
(By Gerald W. Johnson)

More than 50 years ago a North Carolina jurist, his name lamentably lost to fame, uttered an obiter dictum memorable for its recognition of substantive justice. "Every defeated litigant," he said, "has a right to proceed from the courthouse, take his stand in the middle of the big road, and cuss the court."

This right, as was to be expected, has been exercised, with great energy since last month's batch of Supreme Court decisions, but some of the wrathful have not been content to stand on the highway, which is no trespass. Presumably sane men have promised an effort to impeach the whole Court, and certain Members of Congress hitherto conspicuous for their rationality are drafting legislation which they openly avow is designed to vacate the decisions.

Such reactions transcend the disapproval with which men normally look upon what they consider fallacious reasoning. Fury so extreme is provoked only by a sense of personal injury and loss. Yet the trend of the decisions was not toward any deprivation but, on the contrary, toward the restoration to certain persons of rights which had been unjustly denied. This invites speculation. If the individual litigants gained, who lost and exactly what did he lose?

The answer to that should be indicated by considering who is enraged—not merely critical, but enraged. Some careful students of the law—Prof. Bernard Schwartz, of New York University, for example—finding no legal flaw in the decisions themselves, are yet critical of the obiter dicta accompanying them, especially those of Chief Justice Warren; but such critics feel no great emotional disturbance. The angry men are Members of Congress, of the FBI, and of other administrative agencies—holders of political office.

The decisions mean more and harder work for the law enforcement agencies, so their indignation needs no gloss. But in a less obvious way, they also mean more and harder work for the politicians. The decisions mean that what has been a political bonanza is just about worked out. Not since the Bloody Shirt of John J. Ingalls' day have the politicians had an issue as safe, yet effective, as the Red scare.

Its universality is attested by the fact that it was used to drive from the Senate men as diametrically opposite as the liberal Frank P. Graham of North Carolina, and the conservative Millard E. Tydings of Maryland. Its fraudulence is attested by the same record. When the self-same argument is used against opposite types it is bound to be fraudulent in one case or the other. As a matter of fact is was faked in both cases.

Ingalls stayed in the Senate 18 years on the one issue of keeping Jeff Davis out of the White House. There are men in Congress today who are clinging to their seats on the one issue of keeping Stalin out of the White House. Davis and Stalin both died while the campaign was on, but that did not mat-

ter to Ingalls, nor to the modern floggers of a dead horse.

What finished the Bloody Shirt soon after 1890 was the fact that the people began to yawn whenever it was waved. But the Supreme Court has, if not finished, at least damaged the Red scare before the people's yawns had become widely prevalent. Of course, the politicians are outraged. If they are deprived of this issue they will have to look around for another, at imminent risk of picking a live one; and no politician ever forgets the poetaster's mournful quatrain:

"Beneath this mossy stone there lies
A politician who
Touched a live issue without gloves,
And never did come to."

Nevertheless, while their high dudgeon is understandable, in this particular case it may not be justified. It is possible that instead of impeaching the Supreme Court they ought to give it a vote of thanks. For if Mr. Dooley was correct in his observation that the Supreme Court follows the election returns, it is obvious that there may be occasions on which the Supreme Court is a step and a half ahead of the election returns; in which case, instead of sustaining the verdict of the polls, the Court is sustained by it.

In politics nothing is more certain than that the man who begins to bore his constituents is finished, not merely defeated, but obliterated, never to rise again. No other form of disaster is as final, as irretrievable. Being run over by the Supreme Court is nothing, by comparison, with being run over by election returns. If, as many people believe, the Red scare was wearing out anyhow, the tub thumper who is prevented from sticking to it too long has been done a favor. For he can cuss the Court with impunity, but if he is caught in the campaign with a wornout issue, he is a gone gosling.

The Department of State and the United States Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by the Honorable Robert C. Hill, formerly the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations and now the Ambassador to Mexico, on the occasion of Maritime Day.

The address follows:

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE

(Address by the Honorable Robert C. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, at the Maritime Day Dinner of the Maritime Association of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, at the Sheraton Plaza Hotel, Boston, Mass., May 22, 1957)

In celebrating Maritime Day throughout the United States, we are not only paying tribute to our merchant marine, the largest in the world, we are not only calling attention to the fact that it earned $2.8 billion for the national economy in 1956 in helping to move abroad $23 billion in American goods and services and in assuring the import of materials and products necessary to our record peacetime prosperity. We are also recalling that shipping is a great American tradition.

It was not by accident that the first American-built vessel was launched in the same year as the founding of Jamestown. As you all know, we are now celebrating the 350th anniversary of Jamestown. Our virgin forests and fine natural harbors assured a booming production and use of American-flag ships from colonial days, when our struggling Nation was largely dependent upon shipping its products and importing manufactured goods.

Shortly after we attained our independence came the Napoleonic wars—with consequent high freight rates, destruction of the merchant tonnage of other nations, and booming neutral trade. This assured us a mighty merchant marine. By 1815, the label "U. S. built," which usually meant New England built, assured a premium in setting the value of vessels for sale.

Those beautiful vessels known as the clipper-ships, set world records for the expeditious and safe delivery of cargo, and Yankee seamanship and ingenuity were esteemed by maritime nations the world around. Just before the Civil War, United States bottoms carried no less than 90 percent of United States commerce.

You are all aware of the sad story of what happened thereafter. You know that the Civil War destroyed 110,000 gross tons of private shipping and that panicky shipowners sold another 752,000 abroad, cutting our merchant marine in half. At first, we could not compete on iron hulls and steam. From 1900 to 1905, only 9.9 percent of American cargoes were carried in United States bottoms.

That the American flag flies over the biggest merchant fleet in the world once again is primarily the result of two factors: Its enormous, amazing, and forced expansion during World War II and our determination, as a national need and because of the strained world situation, to keep it that way. We must be assured of our own bottoms to make certain that under any circumstances we can import what we need and export our products, upon which the survival and betterment of much of the free world depends.

Congress is to be congratulated, in my opinion, for its deep concern with keeping the American flag paramount on the seas.

The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 remains the declared maritime policy of the United States and Congress has done everything in its power to implement its declaration that:

"It is necessary for the national defense and the development of its foreign and domestic commerce that the United States shall have a merchant marine:

"A. Sufficient to carry its domestic waterborne commerce and a substantial portion of the waterborne export and import commerce of the United States and to provide shipping service on all routes essential for maintaining the flow of such domestic and foreign waterborne commerce at all times.

"B. Capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency.

"C. Owned and operated under the United States flag by citizens of the United States insofar as may be practicable, and

"D. Composed of the best-equipped, safest and most suitable types of vessels, constructed by the United States and manned with trained and efficient personnel."

My own interest in this is a heartfelt one. As a youngster, one of my first jobs was that of a laborer working on the first Liberty ships at the Todd-Bath Shipbuilding Corp. at South Portland, Maine. Later, I became an assistant vice president of W. R. Grace & Co., which operates the Grace Lines. As you can see, shipping is in my blood.

Today, I can state to you in this regard that the United States has insisted upon the maintenance in foreign affairs of two primary policies—that the greatest freedom of movement be accorded its vessels and that its flag have equal opportunity in, and access to, all ports of the world.

This represents the basis of United States shipping policy. It is a result of historical growth and experience, having its roots in our earliest history as a Nation.

Secretary Dulles has asked me today to extend to you, as representatives of our great fleet of ships today sailing the seven seas and discharging cargoes in ports of every continent, his warmest greetings. He has requested me to thank you for your voluntary cooperation during the Suez crisis. He has asked me to commend the industry for the complex and difficult task it has performed of getting essential oil to Great Britain and Europe while the Suez Canal, intended to serve always as a great international waterway for use of all nations, has been blocked.

In the period between November 1, 1956, and May 8 this year, a total of 93,300,000 barrels of oil, of which 51,300,000 were crude oil, were carried to Europe. This represented almost exactly the 500,000 barrels a day planned and was a tremendous achievement. In this our tanker fleet played its full part.

May I add that we in your Government are all proud of the almost unnoticed part you have played in making certain that Europe was not crippled by the temporary cutting off of oil from the Middle East where two-thirds of the free world's oil reserves are located. International communism was struck a bitter blow when you proved that you could rise to the occasion and move enough of the deficit to save the situation.

Because some of you are not aware of it, or have been inclined to be critical, I should like to tell you of the role of the Department of State today in maritime matters of concern to you. The different functions in the Federal Government with regard to shipping are reasonably clear.

The Maritime Commission is primarily concerned with the interests of domestic shipping companies, builders and the labor organizations; the Defense Department with the security and military defense aspects of shipping, and the Treasury Department, through the Coast Guard, is interested in the design and construction of ships, their safety, and the enforcement of United States regulations.

Only the Department of State is qualified properly to assess the foreign policy implications of proposals regarding maritime shipping. And only the Department of State has the authority to consider or recommend proposed action on grounds of foreign policy. Its Shipping Division performs the valuable function of contributing to this decision-making process.

The responsibility for reconciling domestic and international conflicts of interest must be properly discharged to the end that both the merchant marine and United States foreign policy are benefited.

State's Shipping Division, for instance, performs important functions with regard to legislation requiring that at least 50 percent of Government-generated cargoes must be carried on American-flag ships. It has had to explain to the world that this applies only to lend-lease, mutual aid, and other United States Government—and not to commercial—cargoes. The Department of State is now thoroughly behind this 50–50 policy. You will recall that the Department at first opposed enactment of S. 3233, a bill which ultimately became Public Law 664. But, in 1956, during hearings on S. 2584 on shipment of Public Law 480 (surplus disposal) cargoes, the Department altered its position. It did so after it had become clear that an element of the merchant marine, particularly

tramp shipping, could not survive without the 50–50 policy.

It is fairly apparent now that the effect upon world shipping of this policy is very small indeed, and I assure you that the Department is not only formally, but vigorously, behind this policy.

The Department of State, moreover, is working actively, day by day, to eliminate discrimination against shipping. Our files reveal that we have, in recent years, worked on bases of discrimination in no less than 41 countries.

These discriminations have fallen into three general types: preferential treatment in ports, exchange controls and bilateral trade agreements specifying that cargo shipments be made in ships of the two countries involved, to the exclusion of United States and other third-country ships. Of these, preferential treatment in ports represents the most direct type.

This category includes higher port dues and charges for pilotage, berthing, and light dues, preferential berthing and use of storage and handling facilities. Many less-developed countries, seeking to create their own merchant marines, have neglected to expand their port facilities adequately. Local pressures sometimes, therefore, cause national ships to be berthed, bunkered, and cargoed first.

The Department of State, through its representatives abroad, seeks constantly to eliminate such discriminations, as discriminatory exchange controls, and to encourage measures designed to facilitate the free flow of goods and of international payments.

The Department also feels that restrictive cabotage regulations are undesirable, such as those which include farflung colonies in the domestic trade of a country and require landing in the mother country of goods for transshipment in national bottoms.

United States foreign economic policy is concerned with the elimination of discriminations because of their adverse economic effects. Discriminations provoke reprisal and retaliation. Discriminations usually result in the uneconomic employment of the factors of production, leading to overcapacity in the world shipping market, diversion of traffic from low- to high-cost shipping, and interference with the world level of freight rates normally established by the law of supply and demand. They thus increase restraints on international trade.

Not only has State's Shipping Division been active, making effective repersentations and setting forth the United States position in many specific cases, but it has participated in the extension of FCN treaties providing for reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment. A persuasive device exists in the Department's ability to recommend that waivers under PR–17 be refused to a discriminating country until such time as discriminations are removed. We have tried to correct situations without resort to direct reprisals or measures of retaliation because of the wider considerations always involved, and we have been criticized by the industry for this. The fact that we could do so if necessary is known abroad, however. Because of vital political considerations and the extensive system of cooperation with our allies, the Department of State prefers to utilize diplomatic negotiation as a method of remedy. This has often achieved more satisfactory results than reprisals could.

What I do want to emphasize to my friends of the industry is that today the Department of State is thoroughly aware of your problems and that they are not being submerged in a mass of other matters with which the Department must deal on a day-to-day basis.

Let me note in this connection that the Department of State participates in conferences or meetings, coordinates United States positions, instructs United States delegations, or closely follows the work of some 15 international organizations active in world maritime shipping matters.

In a world where economic development, trade and full employment are pressing requirements for political stability and, thus, for checking the attempts of international communism to obtain world sway, maritime shipping will continue to be a vital interest of all governments.

I say bluntly that the United States intends to maintain its place in world maritime activity and that it will take its full share of responsibility for the increased cooperation, freedom of choice, and economic health of the United States shipping industry.

The Department of State will continue to play its role in this, well aware that the freedom of movement of cargoes and an enlightened economic policy are essential to survival of the free world.

Our great superiority, with our reserve shipping, over 12th-place Soviet Russia in merchant shipping gives us a tremendous advantage in the worldwide struggle between the free-enterprise system and international communism. For our shipping provides an important trade link between the free nations of the world on a day-to-day basis which the Soviets cannot hope to meet. This, I feel, is well worth stressing on this day when we pay tribute to our merchant fleet and its officers and men. It is more important today than ever to keep our merchant marine strong.

It was my pleasure last weekend to participate in the inaugural cruise of the *Matsonia* of the Matson Lines which carries the flag to Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa, the Fijis, New Zealand, Australia, and other Pacific points. It was a fine occasion. Friends of American shipping from all over the United States made the run from Newport News to New York.

It made me feel good to have the sea beneath me on a fine and well-manned ship with the American flag flying at her gaff. I am sure all Americans are equally proud of our ships plowing the sealanes of the world.

USDA Egg Price Figures Don't Agree With Farmers' Egg Receipts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture made a release July 17 entitled "Poultry and Egg Situation." Although optimistically stated, it does not reflect the low egg prices my farmer constituents have been receiving. For example, it states that "during the first half of 1957, average of 31 cents per dozen" was received by farmers. My farmers report a range of 16 cents to 24 cents, with the 24-cent figure being received only for 1 or 2 weeks during this same period.

The release states that "average prices received by farmers was 20 percent less than in the same period of 1956." Three recent egg receipts from Mr. Willie Linstrom of Orleans, Minn., indicate an average of 20 cents. In other words, Mr. Linstrom now receives on average about 48 percent less than the already low of last year. Even if prices increase, as the USDA release happily predicts, the prices will have a long way to climb if they are to reach last year's low.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert in the RECORD the receipts for Mr. Linstrom's eggs as well as the portion of the USDA release which deals with eggs.

The matters follow:

Egg prices, first half of 1957

May 6:	
Grade A, large	$0.21
Grade A, medium	.18
Grade C, No. 2	.15
May 9:	
Grade A, large	.21
Grade A, medium	.18
Grade B	.18
Grade C, No. 2	.15
May 11:	
Grade A, large	.19
Grade A, medium	.17
Grade B	.17
Grade C, No. 2	.15
May 21:	
Grade A, large	.19
Grade A, medium	.17
Grade C, No. 2	.15
May 27:	
Grade A, large	.20
Grade A, medium	.17
Grade B	.17
Grade C, No. 2	.15
June 3:	
Grade A, large	.20
Grade A, medium	.16
Grade B	.16
Grade C, No. 2	.15
June 13:	
Grade A, large	.21
Grade A, medium	.16
Grade B	.16
Grade C, No. 2	.15
June 17:	
Grade A, large	.22
Grade A, medium	.18
Grade B	.16
Grade C, No. 2	.15
June 24:	
Grade A, large	.23
Grade A, medium	.18
Grade B	.16
Grade C, No. 2	.15
June 28:	
Grade A, large	.21
Grade A, medium	.18
Grade B	.16
Grade C, No. 2	.15

[From the U. S. Department of Agriculture daily summary of July 17, 1957]

POULTRY AND EGG SITUATION

Seasonal increase in farmers' prices for eggs in next few months is likely to be more pronounced than in other recent years; and, after late summer, prices are likely to be higher than year earlier. Hatchery reports indicate almost 20 percent fewer replacement pullets are being raised than last year. Egg production in second half of 1957 is likely to decline more than usual. Egg production during June continued little ahead of year earlier, as it has in other recent months. Number of layers on farms July 1 was almost equal to 281 million of year earlier and rate of production per bird continued at new record levels. Because of increased output so far this year, egg production for 1957 as whole probably will total close to 1956 record of 170 million cases. Prices for year are likely to average little under 1956. During first half of 1957, average of 31 cents per dozen received by farmers was 20 percent less than in same period of 1956. Consumption of eggs per person this year has not changed appreciably from 1956 despite sharply lower prices and record consumer incomes. Stor-

age of shell eggs increased this spring. Stocks on July 1 were second largest for date since 1952 though well below prewar levels. Total stocks of frozen eggs are about same as last year, while so far this year hatcheries have taken fewer eggs than in 1956.

Panama Canal: Transit Delays Possible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 4 and July 1, 1957, I commented at some length on the possibility of the capacity of the Panama Canal being reduced because of a threatened shortage of water for Gatun Lake during the recent prolonged dry season.

A special dispatch from Balboa, C. Z., published in the New York Times of July 11, 1957, gives the latest information regarding that situation.

The indicated dispatch follows:

CANAL DELAYS SEEN—AGENTS IN PANAMA FEAR LOW WATER MAY SLOW TRANSITS

BALBOA, C. Z., July 10.—Shipping agents foresee that delays of a day in transiting the Panama Canal may become necessary if the present low-water level in Gatun Lake continues along with heavy traffic.

Thirty oceangoing ships transited yesterday.

Agents predict that with slower lock procedures going into effect starting Monday to conserve the falling water level of Gatun Lake, delays to large vessels seemed certain.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

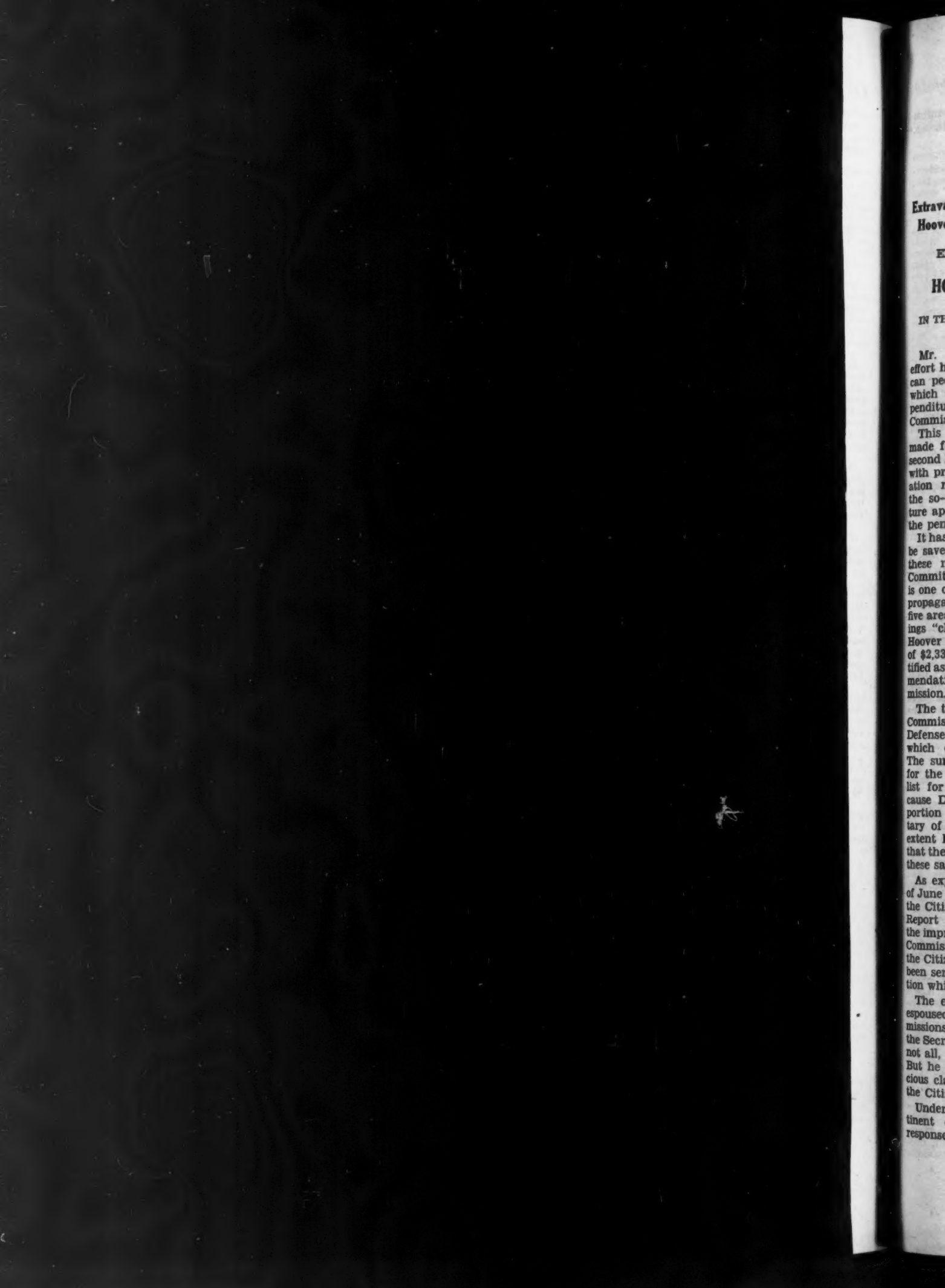

Appendix

Extravagant Claims of Savings From Hoover Commission Recommendations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, every effort has been made to sell the American people a bill of goods on savings which could be made in national expenditures by adoption of the Hoover Commission recommendations.

This is especially true of the claims made for the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission having to do with proposed budgetary and appropriation reforms, and more particularly the so-called annual accrued expenditure appropriation scheme embodied in the pending bill H. R. 8002.

It has been insisted that billions would be saved if Congress would just adopt these recommendations. The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, which is one of the leading dispensers of this propaganda, recently claimed that in five areas studied, it could pinpoint savings "clearly attributable" to the first Hoover Commission in the total amount of $2,337,900,000 and $480,100,000 identified as savings thus far from the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

The total thus attributed to the first Commission included $569,500,000 in the Defense Department, first inspection of which discloses some amazing items. The sum of $235,900,000 was included for the Department of Defense in the list for the second Commission. Because Defense accounted for a sizable portion of the totals, I asked the Secretary of Defense to corroborate, to the extent he could, the validity of claims that the two Commissions brought about these savings.

As expected, the Secretary's response of June 28, 1957, conclusively shows that the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report is without basis for imputing the impressive savings to the two Hoover Commissions. It is proof positive that the Citizens Committee and others have been sending out preposterous information which has misled many people.

The executive branch has vigorously espoused the work of the Hoover Commissions. Understandably, therefore, the Secretary warmly endorses some, but not all, of the work of the Commission. But he will have no part of the fallacious claims of savings disseminated by the Citizens Committee.

Under leave to extend, I include pertinent excerpts from the Secretary's response:

It must be recognized that the Hoover Commission recommendations, which have been wholly or partially implemented, generally had application to qualitative improvements in Department of Defense operations. Accordingly, it is not feasible to place specific price tags on the associated savings. There has been an apparent tendency for overzealous supporters of the Hoover Commission to make unsupportable claims of great monetary savings allegedly resulting from the Commission's recommendations.

* * * * *

At no time did the first Hoover Commission concern itself with specific Department of Defense programs or recommend specific changes in such programs. Nevertheless, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report has cited specific savings totaling $569,675,000 for the 1949–50 period as "stemming in whole or in part from the Commission and its task force."

No basis exists to demonstrate any direct relationship between the specific savings cited and specific recommendations of the Hoover Commission or its task forces. Assertion that an indirect relationship exists is apparently based on the following line of reasoning:

(a) These savings and program adjustments were directed or approved by the Secretary of Defense, whose authority was strengthened by the National Security Act Amendments of 1949; (b) these amendments incorporated a number of the recommendations of the Hoover Commission; (c) therefore, the Hoover Commission can be considered to be indirectly responsible for all subsequent budgetary and organizational actions of the Secretary of Defense using the authority of the National Security Act Amendments of 1949.

Such a line of reasoning would, of course, be wholy specious. Thus no basis whatever exists to support the claim of savings.

Continuing to quote the Secretary:

With respect to the specific question as to whether the items listed in the report of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report represent savings resulting directly from recommendations of the Hoover Commission, the answer is necessarily in the negative. The reports of the second Hoover Commission and the associated task force reports pertaining directly to the Department of Defense were issued in May and June 1955. It is obvious, therefore, that none of the savings listed for fiscal year 1955 can be attributed directly to the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission, since those recommendations were not available in time to affect operations during fiscal year 1955.

Similarly, so far as the savings cited for fiscal year 1956 are concerned, it is clear from the record that efforts to effect savings and economies, similar to those cited in the "Eighth Annual Progress Report Under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956, by the Comptroller General of the United States" were underway in the Department of Defense and publicly reported prior to release of the Hoover Commission recommendations. There is no precise way of identifying, however, to what extent the investigations and discussions of the various task forces may have indirectly affected some of the actions taken.

* * * * *

It should be noted that a sizable arithmetic error has been made in the tabulation prepared by the Citizens Committee from the material contained in the Comptroller General's report. The Comptroller General's report lists various savings applicable to the Department of Defense for the period January 1–September 30, 1956, which collectively add to $205.9 million. In its report, the Citizens Committee rounded this figure to $202 million and then listed individual items accounting for $172.5 million of this total. However, in arriving at the figure of $2,359,000,000, which represents the gross reported savings against which the 10 percent "Hoover Commission" factor was applied, the Citizens Committee staff included both the $202 million total and the $172.5 million of individual items already included in this total. Accordingly, the $2,359 "gross savings" figure appears to be overstated by $172.5 million.

These are official statements by the Secretary of Defense under date of June 28, 1957.

Exaggerated claims of savings have characterized propaganda campaigns attendant upon recommendations of both Hoover Commissions. The original caim for the scheme embodied in the pending bill H. R. 8002 was $4 billion. More recent estimates, varying with each source, range from "over $3 billion" down to "several millions of dollars."

The truth is that the scheme, if adopted, would actually cost the Treasury money. It would not save a dollar. It would actually cost the Treasury vast sums because the bill H. R. 8002 requires return to use of contract authority which hard experience over the years proved to be so expensive a device, that it was generally abandoned in appropriation bills in 1951.

The Cold War Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Mr. Walter Lippmann in his column of the 16th addressed himself to the subject of the future of the cold war.

As usual, his thoughts on this subject deserve the most careful consideration by Members of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COLD WAR TODAY
(By Walter Lippmann)

The Soviet Government very much wants the outer world to understand that Malenkov, Molotov, and the others have been

purged but are not being exterminated. As of now, we know definitely only about Malenkov, the chief offender, Khrushchev's most serious rival.

He is being sent far enough away from Moscow to be in political exile, and there he is to live with the charge hanging over his head that he has committed capital crimes. It is a kind of parole before trial or conviction. This, as compared with Stalin's purges, is lenient treatment, and presumably Molotov and Kaganovich, who are too old to be dangerous, will get off at least as well.

All the evidence we have, which now includes Khrushchev's story, but not Malenkov's, supports the view that the object of the purge is to get rid of the main opposition to what might be called a more modernized communism. The Soviet economy has grown too big and too complicated to be run without normal economic incentives and to be managed by a highly centralized oligarchy, relying principally upon the secret police. The Communist world, what with the growing strength of China and the increasing nationalism of the European satellites, can no longer be held together, as in Stalin's day, by imperial fiat from Moscow.

Khrushchev, who was a good Stalinist when Stalinism was the vogue, is not much of an ideologue. He is very much of a pragmatist. Insofar as he has turned against Stalinism, it is because, being a practical politician with an acute sense of the Russian realities, he knows that Stalinism will no longer work. The purpose of his reforms is to make the Communist system work, to consolidate the regime within Russia and to hold together the alliances with China and with the satellites.

There is in high places in Washington some wishful thinking which supposes that we are witnessing the beginning of the breakup of the Communist system. There is, it seems to me, no public evidence to support this notion, and even if, by some change, it turned out that the Soviet problems at home and abroad are insoluble, it would still be a great mistake to make such an assumption now. We are least likely to mislead ourselves if we make the contrary assumption, which is that the Khrushchev reforms are likely to make stronger both the Russian state and the Russian system of alliances.

There are no indications that the internal problems are so severe that the Russian ruling class is becoming desperate and may become violent. Nor is there any indication that out of internal weakness the Government will now make substantial concessions to the West about Gormany, Korea, Formosa, the Middle East, or disarmament.

On the contrary, with Marshal Zhukov and the army playing a larger role, we shall be dealing with a government which can be expected to be firmly opposed for military and national reasons to any strategic retreat. We must bear in mind that while it has been the Communists who have pushed forward the Russian sphere of influence to the lines of the Iron Curtain, those lines have been for more than a century the objective, or let us say the great dream of Russian imperial strategy.

We must suppose that there will be no substantial retreat, nothing, for example, which brings the whole of Germany within the sphere of NATO, or takes Poland outside the military system over which Marshal Zhukov presides. What about an advance? Is it likely that a modernized Communist regime will try to expand—to absorb West Germany, South Korea, Formosa, South Vietnam, or to make a physical lodgment say in Syria or in Egypt?

There can be no certain answer to these crucial questions. We are dealing not in certainties but in probabilities.

The most probably correct answer is, it seems to me, that Russia and China will try to expand by all means short of overt, organized, military action. It is highly probable that with the balance of power in nuclear weapons as even as it is, any organized warfare which could involve Russia or the United States would be an incalculable risk for both of us. There is not likely, therefore, to be another limited war as in Korea. For even if the biggest weapons were not used, the weapons that would be used would not only be enormous by the old standards, but the tendency to raise the anto would probably be irresistible.

Without undue risk, we can assume that the deterrent strategy will prevent war above the level of propaganda, insurrection, subversion, infiltration, and intrigue. Considering the State Department's rather expert performance in Jordan and elsewhere in the Middle East during the past few months, there is no longer reason to think that in a cold war, we are hopelessly outclassed.

Tomorrow's Aircraft and Airports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the foremost manufacturer of commercial aircraft in the world, whose ships at one time carried 90 percent of the world's passenger traffic and whose firm has built more than half of the civil air transports now flying, is Donald W. Douglas, president and board chairman of the Douglas Aircraft Co. at Santa Monica, Calif.

His forecast of tomorrow's aviation, with particular reference to the jet age, thus should be as interesting to Members of Congress as it was to the American Society of Newspaper Editors to whom he spoke last week in California. I ask unanimous consent to have the speech printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Of particular note is his forecast regarding flying freighters in which his company has pioneered. Also very provocative is his discussion of air traffic control since traffic has grown from 406 million passenger-miles per year in 1933 to the present rate of 40 billion passenger-miles per year, and is expected to reach 60 billion passenger-miles per year in 1960 and 90 billion in 1970.

The attention of the Douglas Co. and other aircraft manufacturers in increasing speed and comfort in air travel is now being turned toward lowering operating costs of carrying freight by air and to the use of shorter runways than originally expected for jet takeoffs and landings. It is heartening indeed to hear from this ace aircraft manufacturer than even the noise element that has caused fear of creating a jet air age nuisance is being overcome in the civil jet aircraft of the future.

I commend these remarks to the attention of my colleagues and newspaper editors throughout the country.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the address is estimated to make 2⅔ pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at a cost of $205.34.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOMORROW'S AIRPLANES AND YOUR AIRPORTS

(Address by Donald W. Douglas, president-board chairman, Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc., Santa Monica, Calif., American Society of Newspaper Editors, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Calif., July 12, 1957

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a rare privilege indeed for me to be invited to address so distinguished a group as the American Society of Newspaper Editors. There is the added opportunity, which I deeply appreciate, of being able to speak through you to millions of newspaper readers throughout America. For I know that if there is any merit or message in what I have to say today, my thoughts in due time will be transmitted to your readers. This may be accomplished directly in the news columns, in editorial comment, or as background information which may help you determine editorial policy or news play. I have the greatest respect for the integrity of the American press and for its ability to maintain a free flow of information and opinion. Given this, the people can make their own decisions as to the proper course of action in any given situation. This applies to issues which may arise in the world of aviation just as it does to other spheres of our national interests and activity.

The press has been generous to aviation and deserves much of the credit for the tremendous progress we have made in the air since the early days of this century. I can think of only one dereliction and I bring it up today only by way of contrast. An event of considerable importance to aviation occurred one December day in 1903 on the bleak sands of Kitty Hawk in North Carolina. But for days after this event readers of most newspapers were oblivious of the fact that the long-sought goal of powered flight had been attained. Most editors either hadn't heard about it, didn't believe it, or failed to understand its significance. It is true that the residents of Dayton were at least informed by the local newspaper that the Wright boys were going to be home for Christmas after completing their experiments at Kitty Hawk. It has been recorded that one of the first scientific accounts of the flights appeared in a magazine called Gleanings in Bee Culture. Perhaps the Wright brothers could have used a public-relations man.

I mention this historic oversight only for emphasis. It probably is the last time on record that the American press ever failed to give a significant aviation event its just due. The diligent coverage and consistent support of the American press have made it aviation's most powerful champion. And now, in asking me to discuss Tomorrow's Airplanes and Your Airpgrts you have demonstrated once again your awareness of the trends, accomplishments, and problems in our industry. It is typical that you should want to be fully informed well ahead of time about developments which will profoundly affect the cities you serve.

Before we peer into the future at tomorrow's airplanes and airports let us take a brief look at the status of commercial aviation as we have known it up until now. There is no need to hark back this time to the days of the Wright brothers. Air transportation as we know it today is a comparatively recent development, even though it is the direct outgrowth of pioneering effort by many people through many decades. In some of these efforts I have been privileged to play a part, and must necessarily draw upon some of my own experiences and those of my company in this discussion. Therefore, I hope you will be forbearing if from time to time the name of Douglas unavoid-

ably pops up in my remarks. Perhaps you will be charitable and put it down not so much to vanity or salesmanship as to the fact that this happens to be the company with which I am best acquainted. Of course there is no escaping the fact—and being only human I am proud of it—that slightly more than 50 percent of all the aircraft operated by airlines throughout the world are Douglas-built. Our views and conclusions, therefore, have a broad basis of experience and information.

Our first significant entry into the transport field dates from August 2, 1932. Many aviation historians regard the events set in motion on that date as marking the real beginnings of practical air transportation. That was the day on which my friend Jack Frye, then vice president in charge of operations for Transcontinental and Western Air, happened to write me a letter. He wanted to know if we would be interested in building a new type of airline transport for the newly developing transcontinental routes. We were interested and we did build one. It was the DC–1, first of the Douglas commercial series.

This was followed immediately by the DC–2 and then the DC–3. Including military versions, we ultimately built more than 11,000 DC–3's. Thousands of them are still in service. Over the years people all over the world have told us that without question the DC–3 is the best-known and most beloved of all airplanes. In giving our company the Exceptional Service Award, the Air Force said the DC–3 ranks as "the best single airplane ever built."

The thing about all this that is pertinent to my talk today is the fact that the DC–3 largely shaped 1 of the 3 important periods of air transportation growth. Since the DC–3 at one time carried 90 percent of the world's passenger traffic, airline route patterns were developed between 1933 and 1941 to conform to the capabilities of this airplane. Traffic during this period expanded by a factor of 5—from 406 million to over 2 billion passenger-miles.

The next significant period came during the war. The four-engined DC–4 made overwater flights a routine experience for thousands of operational crews and passengers. New routes were established everywhere because a new airplane made them feasible. This is a pattern that keeps recurring and will do so in the future.

The third important period, from the end of the war to the present, was made possible by the manufacture of greatly improved, pressurized 300-mile-per-hour airplanes such as the DC–6 series and the Constellation. In the last 3½ years cruising speeds have been stepped up to 365 miles per hour in our DC–7 and DC–7C series of aircraft. These postwar land-based planes have enabled the airlines to establish a worldwide network of commercial trunk routes for efficient overland and overwater operations.

As a result, world air traffic has increased from nine and a half billion passenger-miles in 1946 to more than 40 billion today. And the end is not yet in sight, as I shall tell you a little later. Before going further, however, let us examine some of the factors which have brought about this amazing growth in air travel. I think you will find that most of them are linked to the performance characteristics and other features of the airplanes themselves, together with ground facilities necessary to their operation. This is an extremely important point to keep in mind in the light of the revolution in airline equipment which the various types of jet aircraft will bring to pass in the next 2 or 3 years.

The advantage of speed, of course, is one of the most obvious reasons for the remarkable increase in travel by air. But it is far from being the only one. Economy is another important factor. Even though the value of the dollar today is a little less than half that of 1934, airline fare actually has declined from 5.9 cents per mile to 5.3 cents. If dollar values were equal, the fare today would be 2.6 cents per mile as compared to 5.9 in 1934.

Any of you who traveled by air before the war should be well aware of the advances in another aspect—that of comfort. Pressurized cabins now make it possible for you to fly at high altitudes where gust frequency, or bumpiness, is greatly reduced or completely eliminated. There is air conditioning, room to move around, and a reduction in the noise level, among numerous other refinements.

Reliability has been vastly improved. Now you can make appointments dependent upon arrival by air and expect to keep them. The old slogan, "If you've time to spare—go by air," no longer applies. Ranges have been extended greatly so that nonstop flights across both continents and oceans have become routine. Since introduction of the DC–7 in 1953, nonstop flights in either direction between the Pacific coast and New York have played their part in stepping up airline traffic. The DC–7C has performed the same function across the North Atlantic in providing nonstop service in both directions between New York and major cities of Europe beginning a little over a year ago. The Lockheed 1649–H, now going into service, also is capable of similar long-range overwater flights. A few weeks ago a DC–7C delivery flight carried a group of notables and extra crews from Long Beach, Calif., to Paris nonstop for a journey of more than 6,000 miles, arriving on a prearranged schedule in time for a preview of the Spirit of St. Louis motion picture in a Paris theater.

In addition to range, we have seen a great improvement in what we may call the factor of destination. Now the passenger can schedule a trip to any section of our country or to any country of the free world and plan to get there by air.

All of this has been accomplished in a little more than 20 years principally by a process of evolution in which reciprocating engines of the same basic type, with periodic improvements, have been used.

Now we are about to take the big leap into an entirely different type of propulsion. Let me point out one way to grasp the significance of the change to jet-propelled aircraft. In the 20-year period between the DC–3 and the DC–7, which I have been discussing, cruising speeds were gradually increased in the amount of about 200 miles per hour. The DC–8 jet transport, which will begin its test flights next year, in one step will accomplish the same speed gain which took us 20 years to achieve previously. It will cruise at 550 miles per hour and will be capable of top speeds approaching 600 miles per hour. Transcontinental trips will require 4½ hours. Gains in comfort and quietness fully comparable to the advances in speed also will be accomplished.

What effect then will jet aircraft have in generating new airline traffic? This obviously will be an important consideration in determining the requirements for future airport facilities. First of all, we must bear in mind that even during the balance of this decade, before the jets go into wide use, there will be substantial increases in passenger traffic. We anticipate that by 1960 air travel will increase from the present worldwide figure of somewhat more than 40 billion passenger miles to a total of 60 billion. By 1970, after a decade of jet operation, world-passenger traffic should increase to a total of at least 90 billion passenger miles. We believe this estimate to be well on the conservative side since no attempt is made to project any increase in the rate of growth during this decade. Even so, what I am saying boils down to the fact that traffic will double at the very least in a little more than 10 years.

My discussion so far has dealt only with passenger traffic. I have pointed out how the new type powerplants have made possible the increased speed, dependability and economy so essential to the growth of air travel. I also want to emphasize that these same engine developments, both turbojet and turboprop, offer great new opportunities in the field of commercial air cargo.

Turboprop airplanes now in existence as well as those which may easily be flying late next year can carry products never before dreamed to be within the capability of aircraft. They can do this at much greater speeds and at an actual saving of 40 percent in direct operating costs.

These airplanes can help us achieve the goal of freer and more expanded world trade which President Eisenhower recently advocated.

Flying freighters of this type promise to change our whole concept of domestic and international trade. They will be the means of establishing a new, more healthy business relationship with our friends all over the world. In this way we can help those countries which the President spoke of as "having a hard time making a living."

Furthermore, and in line with our subject today, these new aircraft will present no new problems where ground facilities are concerned.

In discussing airport facilities, we must remember that they are actually as much a part of this expanded passenger and cargo traffic which we anticipate as are the new airplanes themselves.

The interrelation of many factors in governing the progress of air travel has been well described by Lt. Gen. Joe Smith, who had much experience in this field as commander of the Military Air Transport Service. General Smith said this:

"In the satisfaction and enthusiasm of developing new and revolutionary aircraft, we all too often lose sight of one very major point. Air transportation depends upon more than just transport aircraft. Air transportation depends upon an integrated air transportation system composed of aircraft, personnel, airfields, weather forecasting, communications, navigation facilities, ground handling, air traffic control facilities, logistic support, maintenance standards and procedure, rules and regulations and, above all, good judgment. The whole system must develop and grow with the aircraft. The potentiality of an aircraft out of phase with the rest of the system is never fully realized."

Perhaps no one in our company ever expressed this thought quite as succinctly as General Smith but you can be sure that we have been aware of this interrelationship for many years. And I am sure we are not unique in the industry in that respect. In other words, airplanes are not designed by dreamers in ivory towers. At all times we must and do take into consideration the environment in which the aircraft must operate. The jet airplane must be capable of an orderly integration into existing airport facilities or those already in process of planning and development. I am convinced there has been an undue amount of concern about our readiness for the jet age. Continuing improvement of our airports is a matter of national policy which usually receives strong support at the community level, and which, in general, is proceeding very well. It is erroneous to say that we must initiate a crash program in order to beat some arbitrary deadline associated with the advent of jet aircraft. I think generally it is correct to say that the cities which are scheduled to have jet service initially will be ready when the time comes. Extension to other cities will come in a gradual and orderly manner.

If you think I am unduly optimistic about this, I would like to cite the recently ex-

pressed opinion of James T. Pyle, CAA Administrator, a man who is very much concerned with this matter. Speaking to the jet age airport conference of the American Society of Engineers, Mr. Pyle listed some of the more pressing problems facing the Civil Aeronautics Administration. He then said:

"Because I feel that we have a reasonably good national system of airports and have been enjoying the benefits of a program of Federal aid for many years, I would place airports as the final problem of the jet age."

It is significant that he listed the CAA's primary problems as those of meeting the existing and long-range needs of air-traffic control. I think all of us in the industry, or associated with it, are conscious of the need for improvement in this area. Many of you have commented on it editorially in recent months. I am confident of our ability to solve this airspace problem, just as we have solved other technical problems in the past, but it must be attacked promptly and vigorously on a national and international scale. The publications you direct can and undoubtedly will do a good job on this.

In discussing airport requirements, I realize that you gentlemen would like for me to get down to specifics. You would like to take something back with you of a concrete nature which could be applied to your own community. There are so many variables involved, however, that no such blanket approach is possible. Each airport must be studied individually and appropriate action taken from the points of view of the airline operator, the airport management, and the traveling public.

A few general principles can be expressed, however, which might be of value to you. Runway lengths are a subject of frequent concern because of the cost of acquiring additional land, if indeed there is any available at all in many cities. It should be remembered in this connection that the most critical factor where long ranges are involved is the takeoff requirement because the airplane is heavily loaded with fuel at this point. The amount of fuel carried is determined by the length of the flight. This in turn is governed by the volume of traffic, which, in turn, depends upon population.

Therefore, nonstop transcontinental and intercontinental flights originate at major terminals, most of which already have adequate runways. Intermediate point airports, where flights of shorter lengths originate, also are presently equipped to handle DC-8's with the lighter fuel requirement.

In general, airports with 7,000- to 9,000-foot runways can expect to handle the DC-8 adequately. The higher limit of this bracket will be needed only in cities where the longest flights originate. These cities already have or soon will have runways of this length, or greater.

Extreme lengths, you may have heard mentioned, ranging up to 13,000 or 14,000 feet are required only where there is a combination of maximum range, high airport elevation and high temperatures. No cities in the United States combine high elevation with high temperatures such as we find in places like Johannesburg or Mexico City.

One point to keep in mind about the big jet transports, both the DC-8 and the Boeing 707, is that they will be used initially only over routes that generate a large volume of traffic. The DC-8, for example, will carry anywhere from 118 to 179 persons depending on its seating arrangement. A high load factor will be sought to justify the large investment which each jet aircraft represents. This brings me to another phase of the airport situation.

Economic operation of the big jets will require that ground time be kept to a minimum. Therefore, there will be a definite need for improved aircraft servicing and passenger handling facilities at our major airports if maximum utilization of the airplanes is to be achieved. Some of these requirements can be met by the airline operators themselves. In other cases changes in fixed installations probably will be necessary. Some refinements can come later, after the jets are in operation.

Studies conducted by the Douglas company indicate that a complete turnaround of the DC-8 can be accomplished in 30 minutes. This survey covered operational practices at several airports. It was followed by experimental tests in the airplane mockup constructed at our Santa Monica plant. The servicing operation has been expedited by the inclusion in our jet transport of 2 passenger doors, 2 buffet service doors, 4 cargo compartment doors and underwing pressure refueling. Fueling may be accomplished through 4 connections at the rate of 1,500 gallons per minute.

To provide all this simultaneous servicing, however, wou id require 19 pieces of mobile equipment, our survey showed. This has been a problem even with current aircraft. The cost of the equipment and the space it occupies are steadily mounting. Damage as the result of collision with such equipment has reached the sum of $1 million annually in the case of one airline. Obviously, extreme caution will be a necessity.

Some of this mobile equipment has been eliminated at new airports by such fixed installations as fueling hydrants, ground electrical power supply, and air conditioning. A further major reduction can be made by providing a water supply, sewage lines for servicing lavatories, and an air source for pneumatic power to start the jet engines.

Our studies show that new airport facilities could include one feature that I am sure passengers would welcome. The door at the forward end of the cabin in the new airplanes will make it possible to keep the passengers out of the weather if airport designers take advantage of this feature.

A nose dock, which incidentally could be added to existing structures, will make it possible for passengers to walk directly into the terminal at door level, without passenger stairs. We believe unloading at the same level can be accomplished as quickly through 1 door as it can through 2 when stairs are required. Another welcome feature of such installations will be a conveyor which will carry luggage to the claim area before the passengers arrive there.

Taxiing in to the passenger ramp is simplified in the case of the DC-8 by having the aft wheels of the bogie landing gear castered. This means that in a 180-degree turn the wing tip will swing on a radius of about 90 feet. This is only a little more than the 81-foot requirement for the DC-7C.

Landing gear design also takes care of any possible problems associated with the weight of a fully loaded jet airplane, which will be twice as great as that of the largest current transports. In the case of the DC-8, there are four main wheels on each side and a dual nose wheel. The use of so many wheels has the effect of reducing runway bearing pressures per square inch to a level comparable to or less than those of present aircraft. In other words, there need be no change in runway thickness requirements. At comparable range-weight values the DC-8 actually requires less runway strength than the DC-7C.

Some concern has been expressed that jet aircraft will not be able to take their place in the holding and landing traffic control patterns. Such fears are unfounded because in this respect, also, environmental factors have been taken into consideration in the design of the airplane. The fuel capacity is such that the jets can join the parade of other aircraft. Despite the high cruising speeds of these airplanes, wing and flap design make it possible to reduce holding and landing speeds to conform to those of present-day aircraft.

Another feature of the jets is the use of thrust reverser installations. These will be used on jet aircraft to reduce landing roll but we have not included their effect in establishing runway requirements. This provides an added margin of safety. For example, with 40 percent reverse thrust on four engines and no braking, the DC-8 can be stopped in a 4,450-foot ground-run at maximum landing weight of 190,500 pounds. This at at sea level and with zero wind conditions.

Any discussion of jet aircraft inevitably leads to the subject of external noise, which may well be the greatest problem we have to face. There are two types of noise associated with jet engines. One is the high-pitched whine of the compressor, coming from the nose of the engine, which is heard only in taxiing operations. The other is the roar of the exhaust, most noticeable during the takeoff run. One noise which happily is not associated with commercial jet aircraft is the roar of the afterburner used on military jets. I am convinced that most of the alarm in the public mind over jet aircraft noise is related to these military aircraft. Few people in this country have heard the sound of a commercial jet transport and no one, except those concerned with the development, has heard jet engines with sound-suppression devices.

When the jet aircraft go into operation, they very definitely will have sound suppressors. This problem of noise is being given high priority by Douglas and Boeing; the engine manufacturers, Pratt and Whitney and Rolls-Royce, and many other manufacturers and Government research agencies.

I can assure you substantial progress already has been made. Our test program, and those of others, have been advancing on schedule—and I am confident that the sound will be reduced to a level acceptable to the public by the time the jets go into operation.

In summary, I would like to say that the technical problems associated with the operation of jet aircraft, while not to be minimized, can and will be surmounted. Many of the fears that have been expressed are based on invalid assumptions, as I have tried to point out. The problems that do exist are being vigorously attacked by many companies and many agencies. I am sure that with faith and patience we shall achieve success in solving them.

Far overshadowing the problems, in my opinion, are the tremendous gains which the jet age of commercial aircraft will bring to the world. The swift movement of people throughout our country and to all parts of the globe are important in themselves. But this in fact is only a means toward an end. That end is a new era of international understanding and world peace, which may very well receive tremendous impetus from the increasing mobility we are about to experience and pass on to the world. At least those of us in the business of manufacturing aircraft can fervently hope that at long-last the full potential of the airplane as an agency of peace and progress, instead of war and destruction, will be realized.

The American press can play a deciding role in making this dream a reality.

Civil Rights—Fallacies in the President's Views

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN J. ELLENDER
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Shreveport Times of June 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FALLACIES IN THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

President Eisenhower said in a press conference that nonlawyers, like himself, may have "very great trouble" understanding some of the recent Supreme Court decisions, but that "I still believe that the United States respects the Supreme Court and looks to it as one of the great stabilizing influences in this country. * * *"

Mr. Eisenhower also declared that the civil-rights bill now pending in Congress is intended to "educate rather than to persecute people" and that he regarded it as "a very moderate, decent thing." He added that he thought it was only simple justice that a person could be punished without trial by jury for disobeying the orders of a Federal court.

These statements indicate that the President may have, of late, lost contact with the people—with public opinion and public reaction.

There are other indications of this.

It was brought out recently in Washington that the President personally sees—as a rule—only 3 daily newspapers, 2 of them published in New York and 1 in Washington. All three are of the extreme liberal type which repeatedly have taken sides against anti-Communists, particularly in congressional investigations, and frequently stand up for organizations and individuals who attack anti-Communists. All three are vigorously—at times unfairly—opposed to segregation.

Two of these three newspapers have been revealed—concededly and without denial—to have had former active Communists on their staffs, and even in a policy-making position in at least one instance, with only the word of the former active Communists as to when they quit being active and became former.

The President thus personally does not see with any regularity either news accounts or editorial opinion in any way representative of the whole Nation and the whole people.

The same thing seems true as to civil-rights legislation. The President has set up Max Rabb as a sort of personal secretary of race relations in the White House. Mr. Rabb is from Connecticut. His vocational and political life has centered in New England. He was, before taking his present race relations position in the White House—and still is—an ardent foe of segregation, a vigorous supporter of integration, a firm believer in trial without jury in Federal civil-rights cases.

Prominent southern political and civic leaders, including Members of Congress, have complained that it is impossible to get any information to the President in person in support of segregation or other phases of the general race situation stemming from the Supreme Court antisegregation decision. They say that if they write to the President the letters never get beyond Mr. Rabb. The only replies received are from Mr. Rabb.

They must deal with the enemy in their quest for justice.

President Eisenhower has been beloved and respected by both foes and political friends as a man of the highest honor, character, personal integrity, and determination to be fair to all. But he cannot be fair when he receives information on only one side of an issue, and when an iron curtain is drawn between himself and the other side.

The President also stated that he believed integration is primarily an educational program which cannot be decided summarily by laws or (court) decisions. At the same time he upheld the Supreme Court's antisegregation decision, particularly on the grounds that it was unanimous.

These two statements do not fully jibe.

The Supreme Court has called for integration by Federal judicial edict regardless of State laws or dispute over meaning of parts of the Federal Constitution. It has done this, somewhat admittedly, on sociological grounds rather than on statutory or constitutional grounds. It has based its sociological opinions in part on writings of persons of known communistic or socialistic advocacies or leanings.

If integration had been attempted, under judicial edict or otherwise, through an educational program the Nation would not today be in its present dangerous and tragic racial mess. How can President Eisenhower contend that integration should be achieved by an educational program and uphold the Supreme Court decision which seeks to impose it through judicial tyranny?

In his contention that the American people still hold the Supreme Court in high esteem and respect, the President seemingly has failed to grasp the difference between the Supreme Court system and the personnel of the present Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court system, as part of a triple-headed Government, perhaps cannot be improved upon if held within the intent of those creating it. The system was established in the expectation that all Presidents would be of the highest political as well as personal integrity and would select, for the Court, only persons of maximum judicial qualifications and of deep humility in recognition of their responsibility to preserve the Federal Government structure of which they themselves are such an integral part.

It also was established in the expectation that the Senate diligently would exercise its constitutional responsibility to reject as well as confirm Presidential nominations to the Court.

All Presidents have not been of the highest political integrity. In most instances, the Senate has confirmed Presidential nominations to the Supreme Court as mere routine. The Supreme Court system has been sabotaged through politicalizing of appointments to it.

When President Eisenhower says that the Supreme Court has been handing down decisions of late which nonlawyers like himself do not understand, he shows a lack of understanding of the whole situation. Many of the strongest attacks on the Supreme Court as bypassing or rewriting the Constitution, as usurping the authority and responsibility of both the executive and legislative branches of the Government, and as legislating instead of adjudicating, have come from lawyers and their organizations.

The most recent—only a few days before the President made these statements—came from the president of the National Association of State Attorneys General who, at that organization's convention, vigorously denounced the Supreme Court. The two strongest Senate critics of the Supreme Court are men of recognized legal background—Senators ERVIN, of North Carolina, and MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas.

Senator ERVIN stated a few days ago that he could not recall any decision of the Supreme Court, as constituted now or in recent years, against Communists or communism. Senator MCCLELLAN said that what the United States needs most right now is a Supreme Court of lawyers with a reasonable amount of commonsense.

As a nonlawyer, the President would do well to read and study and heed the criticism of the Supreme Court by some of the outstanding attorneys of the Nation.

More than 40 years ago a learned scholar, the late Dean Walter Williams, of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, made a statement to a class which seemed startling at that time but now is becoming somewhat self-evident. He said:

"In the final analysis the Supreme Court is, or can be, the Government of the United States. Because there are no specific restraints upon it in the Constitution, it can establish a judicial tyranny or despotism if at any time its personnel is willing to assume this cloak."

With or without intent, various Supreme Court decisions of recent years cumulatively are in the direction of judicial tyranny.

Congress does have some power to remedy much of what so many people consider the evils of decisions of the present Supreme Court.

It can move to submit Court-curbing constitutional amendments to the people.

It holds sole authority to determine, by legislation, procedures of all Federal courts below the Supreme.

A majority of the present Supreme Court Justices—sometimes all nine—in recent decisions treat communism as a debatable and possibly acceptable political belief, perhaps even a religion in some senses, instead of as a world conspiracy to destroy freedom by violence, including murder in individual or mass form.

These Justices apparently hold to the threadbare fallacy dragged forth so often by pompous and pious dupes of communism during the McCarthy hearings of the early 1950's—especially in the ministry: "Better a thousand guilty Communists should go free than one innocent person should suffer."

On the contrary, better a thousand innocents should suffer than 160 million Americans—and the free world itself—should be hogtied by judicial tyranny in efforts at physical self-preservation and at moral protection of their inherent liberties.

Humanity and civilization of today were built on the suffering of the innocent few that many might gain.

The outstanding example is Jesus Christ.

Electoral College Reform—Resolution of Catholic War Veterans of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, recently I received a copy of a resolution adopted by the Catholic War Veterans of America. The resolution pertains to the apportionment of the electoral college vote according to popular division. I think the Catholic war veterans are to be commended for giving attention to the pressing problem of election law reform. Of course, the popular vote must reflect accurately the voting potential, and this

it fails to do in the Southern States. I look forward to the elimination of such unequal voting opportunity in the South, and then we can better proceed to electoral college reform.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS OF AMERICA, IN ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, AUGUST 1956

Whereas the present system of selection of the President of the United States can permit a President to be designated by the electoral college without receiving the majority of the votes cast; and

Whereas such a division of the electoral college vote in each State would assure the election of the people's choice for President, and would eliminate the inequity of the present system of a majority vote of the State carrying the full electoral vote of that State; and

Whereas it is fitting for a democratic republic to insure the election of their President by mandate of the voters: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America support in principle and in fact legislation to have the electorial college vote, cast in each State by proportional vote of the electoral votes, based upon the popular vote division; and that we urge Congress to enact the necessary legislation to permit this system of voting by the electoral college in presidential elections.

What Is Montana?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Montana Standard of Butte, Mont., and the magazine Dude Rancher, there appeared two interesting articles on Montana. One is entitled "What Is Montana?" The other is entitled "Montana Is Doing Just Fine, Thank You." Both the articles were written by George McVey, the chief editorial writer of the Montana Standard, of Butte, Mont.

Mr. President, if anyone wishes to find out just what Montana is, what it has been, and what it will be, and to have that stated in a very few words, he should read these two fine articles, because the whole story is told there, for all to see. I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dude Rancher]

WHAT IS MONTANA?

(By George McVey)

(Reprinted from Montana Standard, Butte, Mont.)

We have been asked to define Montana. What is it? we are asked. What does it mean? Where did it come from? Who owns it? Where is it going? Who runs it?

Those are tough questions, when you attempt to answer them.

You might say: Montana is one of the biggest wheat piles in the world. It's one of the biggest copper piles. It's one of the biggest lumber piles. It's a million sacks of sugar.

It's potentially the biggest hydroelectric powerhouse in the world. It's a silver dollar. It's one State west of the divide and one State east of the divide. There's enough waste material left over to make a third State.

Montana is Robbers' Roost. It's the vigilantes hanging Henry Plummer. It's a million Christmas trees. It's Custer's last stand.

Montana is Lewis and Clark and Sacajawea. It's the world's largest giant spring from which flows the mighty Missouri and the turbulent Columbia.

Montana is Fort Peck Dam, the largest earthfill dam in the world. It's a cattle ranch with the front gate 30 miles from the front porch. It's a rodeo. It's a dude ranch. It's Old Faithful. It's Gunsight Peak. It's Going-to-the-Sun Highway.

Montana is Charlie Russell. It's the Richest Hill on Earth. It's Last Chance Gulch. It's a 50,000-mile trout stream.

Montana is Marcus Daly looking into the earth and seeing billions of dollars worth of copper.

Montana is Big Hole Basin with 10,000 haystacks.

Montana is a jewel-like mountain lake.

Montana is a miner, a cowboy, a lumberjack, a farmer, a dude rancher, an Indian, a cattle baron, a vigilante, a road agent, a fur trapper, a banker, an oil driller, an engineer, an artist, a writer, a soldier, a millionarie.

Montana is a pine forest.

Montana is a fat steer.

Montana is a gold mine, a silver mine, a copper mine, a zinc mine, a manganese mine, a lead mine. Montana is a ghost town. It's a Grasshopper Glacier. It's Yellowstone Park. It's Glacier Park.

Montana is a church spire. It's a school. It's a boy with a dog and a fishing rod.

Montana is a scenic wonder. It's a volcano. It's a geyser. It's hell cooled off.

It's a cherry tree, an apple tree, a potato, a mustard seed, an alfalfa patch, a lovely flower.

Montana is all these things and millions more.

It's home to some 600,000 people.

Some 2 million visitors come annually to drink in its beauty, enjoy its built-in air-conditioning system, mingle with its friendly people.

These visitors spent some $90 million last year, according to Jack Hallowell, State advertising director.

Mr. Hallowell states that if more people knew about Montana the annual tourist crop would be considerably greater.

There isn't any doubt about Mr. Hallowell's being right. When you try to add up the total of what Montana is, the column is simply too long. It can't be added.

When you attempt to define Montana you have to say it's everything and then some. Who owns it? It belongs to the ages. Who runs it? It has 600,000 operators, and there's room for 600,000 more. And it's the greatest State in the Union, if anyone asks. Any more questions?

[From the Montana Standard, Butte, Mont., of July 13, 1957]

MONTANA IS DOING JUST FINE, THANK YOU

Montana is doing fine. Yes, sir, just fine.

The crops are coming along. The moisture is adequate or abundant. The cattle are in good shape and their condition is improving.

The forecast is that Montana will harvest is fifth largest wheat crop, almost 93 million bushels.

Its largest barley crop in history is coming up, about 43½ million bushels. The previous record was set in 1955 with 40 million bushels.

There is only one thing wrong with the picture. The price of many of the commodities Montana produces is down.

Wheat, for instance, is going at $1.91 a bushel at the farm. Wheat is usually Montana's most valuable cash crop. Montana's high protein wheat usually brings a premium on the market.

However, it is anticipated that the price may rise, for some of the other wheat producing States are falling behind in production.

Kansas, for instance, usually produces over 200 million bushels of wheat. The crop there this year may fall below that of Montana.

The Kansas crop has been drowned out and hailed out.

The harvesters have been unable to get into some of the fields with their machines because of mud.

It is a change from recent years. For the past 5 years Kansas has been in the drought area.

Montana is in a good position in relation to livestock.

With plenty of feed available, Montana ranchers are holding their cattle in anticipation of better markets in the fall.

Stock feed prices have been declining, another favorable factor for the Montana grower.

On a hundredweight basis, according to Montana crop and livestock reporting service, laying mash and mixed dairy feeds declined 10 cents each from mid-May to mid-June.

Corn decreased 15 cents and oats 5 cents. Baled alfalfa hay was off $2.50 per ton and all other baled hay was down $3.

Feed prices were also down on a national basis. This would mean that it would be more profitable to market the hay and grain in the form of beef or pork.

And with a plentiful supply of feed, the livestock grower could hold his product off the market until such time as the price seemed better. Under such a condition, the market would be almost sure to improve.

Montana's third ranking source of income, the tourist industry, is booming. Recent checks at entrance stations indicate that travel is better than last year, a record year.

And Montana's vistors are seeing the Treasure State decked out in inexhaustible splendor.

Yes, sir, Montana is doing fine. Just fine. Thank you, sir.

Importance of Completion of the McGee Bend Dam, on the Angelina River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "On With the Dam," which was published in the Beaumont Journal of Saturday, July 13, 1957. The editorial deals with the McGee Bend Dam, on the Angelina River, in eastern Texas, which ultimately will be a $50 million project, and which the Army Corps of Engineers has stated is one of the nine most critical and most needed dams in the United States.

The committee has recommended an appropriation of $500,000 in order to pro-

ceed with the preliminary work on the dam. I submit the editorial as further evidence of the importance of this great project; and I hope the Congress will, when the time comes, make the small appropriation; namely, one-half a million dollars, for this project, which the Army engineers have stated is one of the nine most needed in the United States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Beaumont Journal of Saturday, July 13, 1957]

ON WITH THE DAM

Unusually heavy rains earlier this year should help rather than hinder the completion of the Congress-approved full-sized McGee Bend Dam on the Angelina River.

They should help because, now that the floodwaters have been swallowed up in the Gulf of Mexico, authorities on such matters have found that the excess rainfall didn't penetrate deeply enough to break the drought in the deepwater sands of the State.

Farm tanks were filled, as were most lakes throughout Texas, and the water soaked the ground sufficiently to solve a serious problem for thousands of farmers and ranchers. But the United States Geological Survey district engineer in Austin is quoted as saying the rains didn't reach down to the deep sands, the fountainhead of billions of gallons of water pumped up for surface use each year.

Since it is unlikely that Texas will soon have so much rainfall in such a short period, the problem of a plentiful supply of water for present and future use becomes more serious. Clearly, if such whopping rains as we had last spring don't add to the deepwater sands and the underground water supply, there is great need for storing more and more water on the surface.

People in other sections of the State are looking out for themselves in the matter of storing surface water. The people of southeast Texas should do likewise. Their answer to a full supply of water, now and in the immediate future, is the full-sized McGee Bend Dam. They ought to get together, stick together, and pull together for its completion.

Jobs for Older Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Jobs for Older Workers," which was published in the Buffalo Evening News of July 9. The resolution deals with a report on a pilot project of the New York State Employment Service, which investigated the employment impediments in the case of persons over 45 years of age. It was the encouraging conclusion of this experiment that discrimination is nullified when employers hire on the basis of individual skills and personalities, rather than age.

I join the Buffalo Evening News in urging that practical steps be taken to assist older workers to find jobs, especially in the light of the ever-increasing proportion of our population in the age group over 45.

I also invite the attention of my colleagues to the bill I have introduced on this subject, the National Act Against Age Discrimination in Employment.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOBS FOR OLDER WORKERS

A report on a pilot project of the State employment service offers encouraging evidence of what can be accomplished in overcoming the employment barrier for people over 45. Two special older worker counselors were assigned to the Hempstead, Long Island, employment office to find out what could be done for older job seekers if sufficient staff were available to help them.

In 11 months, the counselors interviewed 581 unemployed, and found jobs for 158, or better than 1 out of 4. Others later found jobs for themselves. Although the proportion of those over 65 who were helped was less than that of the 45–65 group, the experiment showed that headway could be made in finding work for even the oldest workers.

The conclusion to be drawn is that most of the arguments against hiring older workers vanished when employers consider them as individuals, with special skills and unique personalities. As the study observes, "the employer who sees and acts on this homely truth will hire a man on the basis of his abilities * * * knowing full well that a good worker is a good worker, regardless of the number of candles on his birthday cake. Unfortunately such employers are in the minority. Most react to age as they would to a stop sign on the highway. In this sense, businessmen hold the master key to the older worker problem."

Even as generalizations, most of the arguments against older workers just don't accord with the facts. A State labor department publication points out that with respect to productivity, absenteeism, accidents, sickness, and work attitudes, older workers generally have a better record than those below 45.

Arbitrary age limitations represent an injustice to individual workers and an incalculable loss to the economy of skilled, reliable labor. The rate at which the over-45 age group is increasing in the Nation makes it urgent that States and localities take practical steps to help older workers find jobs.

The Economic Cost of Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished Representative from South Dakota, Mr. GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, recently addressed the IUE–AFL–CIO civil-rights conference in Chicago, Ill., on the topic of the Economic Cost of Discrimination.

Today, at a time when we are discussing a related matter of basic civil rights, it is important for us to remember that in the industrial and economic areas of our national life discrimination is as costly as anywhere else. Discrimination there, as elsewhere, cannot be prolonged forever.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Congressman MCGOVERN's excellent address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ECONOMIC COST OF DISCRIMINATION

More than a century and three-quarters ago, Thomas Jefferson penned the words that have stirred Americans from that day to the present: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

The doctrine of equality as enunciated by Jefferson and other philosophers of the American Revolution has never been confined to America. It has from the very first fanned the flames of freedom and stirred the hearts and minds of human beings in every quarter of the globe.

Today, with vast portions of the world searching for better, more satisfying, standards of life, the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence is particularly appropriate.

The words of Jefferson and Lincoln have genuine meaning to the millions of Africa and Asia who have caught glimpses of what life can be under conditions of comparative freedom and equality. I have no doubt that the strongest weapon in our struggle with communism is our long tradition of respect for basic human rights.

That is why everyone who hopes and prays for the triumph of freedom over tyranny is troubled by the tragic and costly remnants of discrimination which persist in the America of Jefferson and Lincoln.

It is hard to make much sense out of racial and religious discrimination in America at a time when we are called upon to be the leaders of a world in which two-thirds of the inhabitants differ in color from us. Every alert observer of the contest now in progress between the Soviet bloc and the free world knows how grievously we are injured abroad by the discrimination which exists at home.

The uncommitted peoples of the world will not be won permanently by propaganda shows and speeches. They are watching, more closely than we sometimes realize, the actual circumstances of life under our own and competing political systems.

If discrimination in America is indefensible in terms of our position abroad, it is all the more indefensible on the narrower grounds of economy and domestic welfare.

Laying aside all considerations of ethics, discrimination is a costly extravagance that no nation can afford. A true believer in economy can never justify such expensive practices as the building of duplicate public facilities and schools for whites and Negroes, or the infinitely more costly practice of curtailing opportunities for jobs, education, and housing for minority groups. Regardless of how energetically such practices may be defended on the grounds of social niceties and traditions, they can never, for one minute, be defended for reasons of economy.

Your great union, under the inspired leadership of President James Carey, has known for a long time that penalizing a human being because of his color or his religion is literally "bad business."

You have known that discrimination can divide and weaken workers until effective union organization becomes impossible. All those who believe in the brotherhood of man and the necessity of healthy labor organizations are in the debt of President Carey and the IUE–AFL–CIO for courageous recognition of the facts of life in the field of human relations.

There is no way to fully measure the dollar cost of discrimination. Recently, how-

ever, Elmo Roper and his experienced staff analyzed those losses resulting from discrimination which can be estimated in dollar values.

They came up with the startling conclusion that discriminatory practices are costing the American people $30 billion each year.

Said Roper: "If you take into account the amount of purchasing power which is denied minority groups by low wages * * *, if you add the possible contribution to society by workers of minority groups who could move into high-paying vocations where there are manpower shortages, such as medicine, chemistry, engineering, and so on, if you add the costs of crime, delinquency, and social maladjustment which can be traced directly to discrimination and prejudice, and if finally you add the costs of segregation which are the direct results of discriminatory practices, you'll find on calculation that this discrimination comes to roughly $10 out of every $75 paycheck, or in total dollar terms, $30 billion lost every year."

Roper estimates that the cost of maintaining duplicate white and Negro schools and other public facilities because of discrimination is in itself an added expense of from one of five billion dollars a year. The significance of this one item, segregation, as a part of our national discrimination cost is realized when we consider that it is three times the size of the Federal aid for education expenditure now recommended by President Eisenhower.

The $30 billion cost of discrimination estimated by Roper does not include an estimated tax loss to the Federal Treasury of more than $3 billion; nor does it include the sharply increased cost of Government services which the public finds it necessary to sponsor in communities where groups discriminated against are living.

Competent study groups have discovered that public expenditures to deal with such matters as crime, delinquency, and disease are 2½ times greater in minority group areas than elsewhere.

The predominantly segregated slums of Atlanta, Ga., for example, provide the city with only 5½ percent of its real property tax revenue, but these same slums are responsible for 53 percent of the city's police, fire, health, and other public service expenses. In San Francisco, the most depressed minority area with one-third of the city's population contributes only 5 percent of the tax revenues. Yet, this is the area where San Francisco has 60 percent of its tuberculosis; 55 percent of its juvenile delinquency; 50 percent of its arrests; and 45 percent of all the city service costs. Much the same pattern can be found across the Nation.

Discrimination is a many-headed monster and its costs appear in various ways. The basic economic cost of prejudice, however, is the staggering waste of manpower and purchasing power. We all know of groups or individuals whose skills, talents, and energies have gone unused, or only partially used, because of discrimination.

In some cases, jobs are closed entirely to Negroes, Jews, and certain religious and nationality groups. In other instances, promotions are denied for similar reasons. It will be noted that in some plants with large numbers of Negro workers, there are no Negro foremen. The same situation often exists with reference to the granting of supervisory jobs to qualified women.

Julian A. Thomas, industrial relations director of the National Urban League, estimates that in the case of Negroes alone, more than 1 million employed Negro workers are in effect underemployed.

They are confined to jobs below their capabilities and the Nation pays the bill in lost manpower, reduced purchasing power, and poorer standards of living for all our citizens. It is an undisputed economic fact that any practice which depresses the employment level of one group will in the long run lower the economic level of all the rest of us. We need to make use of the full potentiality of our manpower if we are to achieve improved living standards for our people as a whole.

In 1956, our gross national production was $412.4 billion. This is an average of $6,075 of production for each employed worker. That means, in effect, that for each employed worker, a total of $6,075 in purchasing power was required to keep him on the job. It should be obvious that discriminatory practices which depress the purchasing power of minority groups actually are a dagger aimed at the job security of all workers.

Every informed worker knows that his wage scale is dependent upon the purchasing power of his fellow citizens. Yet, in many cases Negroes and other minority groups are not only barred from jobs and professions, but they are paid less for doing the same job as other workers with the same qualifications.

Some years ago it was estimated, for example, that if the salaries of Negro teachers in the South had been raised to the level of their white fellow teachers, $25 million per year would have been added to the income of those teachers. It is obvious that the teachers are not the only ones who are paying the cost of this loss of purchasing power.

Depressed purchasing power resulting from discrimination is a serious threat, not only to workers, but to the Nation's farmers and businessmen. We have heard much of the depressing effect of farm surpluses on farm income. But, we have not given sufficient heed to the relationship of consumer purchasing power and farm income.

A study completed a few years ago by the Department of Agriculture demonstrated that if every American family were consuming as much food as families earning $2,500 a year or more, we would have to increase farm production instead of worrying about surpluses. Discrimination, then, which holds back the economic power of Negroes, Indians, and other minority groups is a serious continuing threat to the American farmer.

Furthermore, discrimination is a burdensome cost to industrial and commercial management. Objective surveys have shown a higher operating cost in businesses that base employment and promotions on grounds other than individual merit. There can be no doubt that businessmen and industrialists who practice discrimination are setting the stage for the kind of frustration and tension that disrupt the morale and the productivity of their employees.

The personal incentive, personality, and usefulness of many a worker have been stunted by the gnawing realization that advancement was hampered by color, religion, or national origin.

It is certainly not sound management for a commercial concern to deny itself the service of qualified personnel because of discrimination, or to encourage interracial friction among its employees.

There is, too, the tragic cost of discrimination in terms of lost professional and scientific manpower. At a time when the Nation is confronted by serious shortages of doctors, technicians, engineers, and scientists—we are still confronted by discriminatory college-quota systems.

Furthermore, professional opportunities are closed or restricted to members of certain minority groups in many business and professional areas. The blight of discrimination continues to rob us of the full potentiality of highly trained personnel at a time when the Soviet Union is going all out to surpass us in the training and utilization of manpower and brainpower.

The greatest cost of discrimination in the field of education is, of course, the lifelong handicap placed on millions of school children who have been given substandard schooling because they did not have white skin or because they belonged to an economically depressed minority group that cannot afford adequate education. There can be no doubt of the fact that depriving millions of Negroes and other minority-group students of adequate educational opportunities limits their earning capacity and purchasing power in later life. Furthermore, it limits their contribution to national security.

The statistics of our Federal Selective Service System tell the tale. These statistics show conclusively that in those States where education is hampered by the expensive luxury of segregated schools and where discrimination depresses the economic level of the people, there is a shockingly high rate of rejection of selectees, both white and Negro.

There is no section of the country any more patriotic than the South. Yet, because of educational deficiencies, 40.4 percent of the Louisiana draft registrants were rejected during the Korean War. In Mississippi, the percentage of rejected registrants was 41.7 percent, and in South Carolina it was 46.8 percent. The average of educational rejections for the Nation as a whole, however, was only 15.4 percent.

To look at the problem from another angle, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina were short 36, 31, and 27 boys per hundred, respectively, of their draft share based on population. Michigan, on the other hand, in spite of many occupational deferments in defense industries, contributed nine boys per hundred more than its population share. South Dakota contributed 13 boys per hundred more than its share.

Facts such as this led the directors of our Selective Service System to conclude several years ago that: "The question as to whether or not one community, county, or State provides adequate educational opportunities is a matter of concern for all of the citizens in all States. Communities, counties, and States with high educational standards are compelled to absorb the manpower procurement deficiencies of States with poor educational programs. In the final analysis, the former actually pay in lives for the education deficiencies of the latter.

"The safety of the Nation depends in a large measure upon citizens in every State and section having a reasonable minimum of education." (Source: Selective Service System, Special monograph No. 10, vol. 1. Special Groups, 1953, p. 166.)

I have suggested just a few of the many costs that we pay for the luxury of discrimination. Needless to say, discrimination takes an even greater moral and spiritual toll.

I am pleased that through industrial unionism, you have for years been waging an effective and winning fight against the blight of discrimination. While unions have little to say about the employment practices of many employers, once the worker is hired he receives the full protection of union contracts regardless of race, creed, and, increasingly, of sex.

I am sure that you who lead labor appreciate at this critical hour in our history the perennial timeliness of Lincoln's warning: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it."

Ike Risks Getting Blame in Civil Rights Retreat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, Mr. Lyle C. Wilson, one of the ablest newsmen in the Nation's Capital, has written some able articles analytical of the pending so-called civil-rights bill. One of these articles appears in today's Washington Daily News. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IKE RISKS GETTING BLAME IN CIVIL RIGHTS RETREAT

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

The printed record of Senate Judiciary Subcommittee hearings on the administration civil-rights bill spans nearly 1,000 pages.

These hundreds of thousands of words, however, do not include the answers to some questions which have belatedly arisen in Senate discussion of the proposed legislation. The bill upon which the hearings of last February and March were focused never got out of the committee.

The bill now before the Senate is an identical measure already passed by the House and referred to the Senate for disposition. The bill is in serious trouble. The trouble is so serious that President Eisenhower apparently has decided on a major strategic retreat.

If the retreat takes place and the bill is shorn of its guaranty of a great miscellany of civil rights, other than the right to vote, blame may fall heavily on Mr. Eisenhower.

It is possible, also, that the President is retreating because he has obtained, a bit late in the game, the answers to some of the questions which have arisen around his civil-rights bill.

Question No. 1 arises from the fact that the President, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and others have repeatedly said that their greatest civil-rights objective was to protest and to guarantee the right to vote.

It is fair to assume that the author of the bill—whoever he or they may have been—did not know that was Mr. Eisenhower's prime objective. That is a fair assumption because when the chips were all down the strongest and most bitterly resented enforcement procedure was withheld from the right to vote. Very emphatically, the bill authorizes the President to use the Army, the Navy, and the militia to enforce such civil rights as the right not to be segregated, the right to inform a Federal officer of a violation of Federal law and so on.

There are 21 specific civil rights protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, plus the right to vote.

It was this miscellany of rights, including the right of the Negro to be protected against segregation in the schools, to which the bill's authors attached the powerhouse Army and Navy enforcement machinery. Mr. Eisenhower probably knows by now why that was done and by whom. The answer may come in the Senate debate.

Mr. Brownell spent 3 days before the Senate subcommittee last February. When, at last, the questioning touched on the authority to use troops to enforce miscellaneous civil rights in the South, the Attorney General seemed both hurt and surprised and, finally, annoyed.

The Attorney General sharply complained that the questions were not properly respectful of the President of the United States on whose order the troops would march and the Navy would sail in defense of civil rights. Mr. Brownell argued that Mr. Eisenhower never would order the Army to march or the Navy to sail and, therefore, that the subcommittee should not discuss it.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR. (Democrat, of North Carolina), insisted the question was proper, adding:

"It is a matter that ought to be seriously considered by the Congress, whether or not Congress is going to authorize a new type of suit (by injunction) to be brought by the Attorney General, while there is a statute which provides that the President has the power—regardless of whether he intends to exercise it—to call out the Armed Forces of the Nation to enforce those [injunctive] decrees."

The Great Role of American and World Scouting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I know that my colleagues have read with deep interest, as I have, the reports from Valley Forge, Pa., concerning the great assembly of over 52,000 Boy Scouts of America and their adult leaders at the fourth national jamboree.

It is most appropriate that at this historic location, where American independence was saved through immortal sacrifice, the youngsters who represent the future of this country gather for fun and for rededication to the principles of their fathers and forefathers.

I need hardly describe in detail the marvelous role which has been played by the American scouting movement.

I previously brought to my colleagues' attention the fine work of the present chief Scout executive, Mr. Arthur A. Schuck, in his capacity as chairman of the youth activities committee of the people-to-people program.

The Boy Scouts of America were, as we recall, incorporated on February 8, 1910. They were chartered by Congress on June 15, 1916.

Ever since then, they have rendered superb service in building the youth of this Nation.

The leadership of the Scout movement—nationally and at the grassroots—has comprised the very best type of American.

At the present time, I send to the desk three items:

First, a list of the distinguished men who serve in the national leadership of the American Scout movement.

Second, an article from Jamboree City, written by Mr. Lawrence C. Eklund, of the Washington bureau of the Milwaukee Journal, describing the role of Wisconsin's Scouts at Jamboree City.

The third item is an article from the July 12 issue of the Christian Science Monitor, entitled "Prepared for Friendship." It is based on the meeting on August 1 in England of the Ninth World Scout Jamboree.

With it are two additional articles describing 50 years of international scouting. I ask unanimous consent that these items be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL COUNCIL, BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

HONORARY OFFICERS

Dwight D. Eisenhower, honorary president; Herbert Hoover, honorary vice president; Harry S. Truman, honorary vice president; Amory Houghton, honorary vice president; John M. Schiff, honorary vice president; William D. Campbell, international commissioner; George J. Fisher, national Scout commissioner; Elbert K. Fretwell, chief Scout.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Kenneth K. Bechtel, president, San Francisco; Francis W. Hatch, vice president, Boston; Cherry L. Emerson, vice president, Atlanta; Gale F. Johnston, vice president, St. Louis; Ellsworth H. Augustus, vice president, Cleveland; Norton Clapp, vice president, Seattle; Gerald F. Beal, treasurer, New York; Arthur A. Shuck, chief Scout executive; Pliny H. Powers, deputy chief Scout executive.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Charles E. Cotting, J. M. T. Finney, Jr., Philip L. Reed, Edward V. Rickenbacker, R. Douglas Stuart.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

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[From the Milwaukee Journal of July 14, 1957]

STATE HAS THOUSAND SCOUTS AT JAMBOREE—"ON WISCONSIN," THE PACKERS, BUTTER, AND CHEESE HEADLINED IN SHOW BY BOYS

(By Laurence C. Eklund)

VALLEY FORGE, PA.—More than 1,000 Boy Scouts from Wisconsin are contributing to the color and gaiety of America's newest, youngest, and busiest city.

Jamboree City occupies 2,033 acres here where George Washington and his army camped, lived, and suffered in the bitter

winter of 1777–78. It is inhabited by 52,251 Boy Scouts and adult leaders who are holding their fourth national jamboree. They live in 25,000 tents pitched over the rolling hills of this State park.

HAVE MONKEY BRIDGE

One hundred and eighty Scouts from Milwaukee have erected huge Indian headdress gateways and built a monkey bridge over which boys from all over the camp have been scrambling.

This bridge, a single strand of rope, is supported by poles lashed together and the boys are hoisted onto the bridge by an ingenious frame of poles.

The Madison delegation of 114 and the Racine group of 80 have contributed drum and bugle corps that seem to be constantly on the march. When they aren't performing at campfires or on radio programs, they are practicing on their parade ground.

The Milwaukee Scouts believe that their tents, made to their specifications by a Milwaukee tentmaker, are the best for all-round purposes, but the 84 Waukesha Scouts have the most colorful tents, even though it doesn't seem they would keep out the rain. These Potawatomis are living in big Indian tepees.

PACKERS ADVERTISED

The 60 Scouts from Green Bay advertise the Green Bay Packers at the entrance to their camp. The 41 from Oshkosh favor Wisconsin butter, and Racine boys have strung out a huge "On Wisconsin" sign with the notes of the song placed properly on a long fence.

The Wassau area has a delegation of 80, with Scouts from such towns as Merrill and Tomahawk.

S. G. (Chief) Bowman, an adult leader who carves totem poles in his hometown of Merrill, has attracted attention with his waggish historical museum, showing where Washington slept and displaying logs split by Abraham Lincoln as well as logs not split by Lincoln.

IS PAGEANT NARRATOR

Other Wisconsin Scouts are here from councils with headquarters in Kenosha, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, Beloit, Appleton, La Crosse, Janesville, and Eau Claire, which sent a whopping delegation of 107. Scouts from the Superior and Ashland area are in another village.

Michael Chy, Jr., of 2600 North 50th Street, Milwaukee, was 1 of 2 narrators of a historical pageant. Ray Hammell, of Madison, was selected to appear on a television show because he had saved another boy's life.

Just the statistics of this gathering of Scouts are staggering.

It will take 1,330 steers to supply the needed cuts of top sirloin for the final dinner Thursday. By the time the Scouts break camp they will have consumed frankfurters which, if laid end to end, would extend more than 17 miles.

The daily fresh milk requirements—74,480 quarts—would take the full average production of 7,448 cows. Each camper paid a $50 fee to take part in this self-liquidating enterprise.

It cost $2,500,000 to set up the camp. Congress passed a law authorizing the loan of the equipment, jeeps, trucks, tents, refrigeration units, and cots. Army engineers moved 90,000 cubic feet of Government earth in building a huge amphitheater with a stage the size of a football field. Army officers here marvel at the skill with which 50,000 Scouts move in and out of this amphitheater for special events.

KNOW WHERE TO GO

They come swinging in cadence over the hills from all directions, shouting and singing and blowing their bugles, and everyone seems to find the exact spot of grass reserved for him at just the right time. Young America thus on the march presents a thrilling and colorful spectacle.

The managers of this event—the top brass of the scout movement, which includes some of the country's most important business leaders—figure it is worth all the fuss and bother.

They are convinced the boys are catching the spirit of patriotic service here.

To Chief Scout Executive Arthur A. Schuck, this living together in a spirit of brotherhood and friendship is one of the continuing objectives of the scout movement.

"We cannot live together here this week without catching something of the immortal Valley Forge spirit which won independence for America," said Schuck.

HAS 38 VILLAGES

Jamboree City has 38 villages of about 1,400 campers each. The 1,100 Wisconsin campers, including 85 adults, have pitched their tents on the 15 acres of artillery park where General Knox's artillerymen were billeted.

A number of Congressmen and other public officials have come here to visit boys from their home States. Senator HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, was here to have chow with scouts from Rochester, Minn., and other Congressmen have gone so far as to spend a night in a tent.

No such hardy member has as yet shown up from Wisconsin congressional delegation.

Senator WILEY, Republican, of Chippewa Falls, however, did send greetings. He expressed pleasure, in a message delivered here, that the theme of this jamboree is "Onward for God and my country."

"In this world filled with so many problems, it is well for us to recognize and seek to obtain the guidance of God in the interests of our country and the free peoples of the world," WILEY told the scouts.

Governor Thomson, of Wisconsin, expressed gratification over the steady increase in the number of scouts the last 47 years. He said he was confident the scouting movement would keep growing and continue to be an inspiration to all the youth of the world who seek to maintain our precious freedoms.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of July 12, 1957]

PREPARED FOR FRIENDSHIP

(By Ralf Markarian)

SUTTON COLDFIELD, ENGLAND.—Boy Scouts from more than fourscore lands are converging on Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, England, for the ninth World Scout Jamboree, which will open here on August 1. Commemorating both the golden jubilee of Scouting and the centenary of its founder, Robert Baden-Powell, it will be the biggest jamboree ever held.

For the first time Scouts (25,000), Rover Scouts (5,000), and Scout leaders (5,000) will hold a jamboree together, although each section will have a separate program of activities and a special camp area within the main jamboree boundary.

SETTING

The jamboree is sited in Sutton Park, only 8 miles from Birmingham, England's second largest city. Once a royal hunting forest, Sutton Park was given by Henry VIII to the people of Sutton Coldfield in 1528. Through it runs an ancient highway, constructed more than 2,000 years ago by the Romans. The park's 2,400 acres of woods and moorlands, with its running streams and lakes, have been preserved as a sanctuary for wildlife.

LAYOUT

Two years of careful planning and preparation by Ken Stevens, the organizing commissioner, and his team of assistants have made the park ready to receive the 35,000 campers of all nations, who will flock there for the opening ceremony on August 1.

New arrivals will pass under the 56-foot-high tubular steel archway bearing the words Jubilee Jamboree into the park, 2½ miles long and 2 miles wide. Somewhere they will be given a small camp site which will be their home for the next 12 days.

If they are Scouts their site will be in one of five centrally located subcamps named after great jamborees of the past: Copenhagen (1924), Arrowe Park (1929), Gödöllö (1933), Vogelenzang (1937), and Moisson (1947).

The Rover subcamp is to the north and is named Bad Ischl after the Austrian jamboree of 1951.

In the west, and named Niagara-on-the-Lake after the 1955 Canadian Jamboree, is the subcamp for the Scout leaders. The remaining subcamp, to be occupied by jamboree headquarters, is called Olympia, after the very first jamboree, held in 1920 at Olympia, London.

The staff of the jamboree will be 1,000 British Scouts who will act as policemen, firemen, runners, typists, drivers, interpreters, etc. Many will be constantly employed on the tremendous task of receiving and distributing 10,000 gallons of milk and 70 tons of food daily.

Quite separate from the subcamps will be a complete canvas town with market place, churches, shopping center, telephone exchange, banks, and post office.

PROGRAM

Scouts, Rovers, and leaders will in the main follow their own special programs of activities. Rovers, for example, will go off for a 2-day adventure hike. But all will be able to see the arena displays each afternoon, the United Kingdom Air Scout display on Saturday, August 3, and the Sea Scout display on August 10. Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip will visit the jamboree on August 3. Tuesday, August 6, will be visiting day for the Wolf Cubs.

The camp theater will present twice nightly shows of an international character. Even later at night an open-air cinema, using the largest outdoor screen in Britain, will show films of Scouting and general interest.

Plenty of time has been left for the boys to meet each other informally in accordance with the founder's wish that jamborees should be opportunities for boys to develop friendships.

SPECIAL FEATURES

A 12-page camp newspaper, Jamboree Journal, with features in English and French, will be produced by a Scout editorial staff and sold daily in the camp.

Jamboree commemorative stamps will be issued by the General Post Office with values 2½d., 4d., and ½d. Official first day covers are available bearing all three stamps and canceled with a special cachet to be used exclusively at the camp post office. Costing 6s. 6d. each ($1 in Canada, South America, and the United States) these can be bought from the sole world distributors, the Mayflower Stamp Co., Ltd., (Department J), Polebrook House, 1a Golden Square, London W. 1.

A radio station operated by Scouts and using the call-sign GB 3 SP will broadcast Scout news at regular intervals from Sutton Park, on the amateur wave bands of 160, 80, 40, 20, 15, and 10 meters.

White Strobe Light System, Safety Device

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I had the opportunity to observe and study the new anticollision light, which I believe is a

step forward to aid in the safeguarding against air collisions of planes.

Mr. President, an article appeared in the magazine American Aviation, May 6, 1957, entitled, "New Anticollision Lights Win Pilots' Favor. White Strobe Light System, Invented by H. W. Atkins, Gets General Approval in Washington Demonstration."

Mr. President, there also appeared in Aviation Age of May 1957 an article relating to this safety device, and there appeared in the Montreal Gazette an article referring to the same light.

I was very much impressed by the light, Mr. President, so I ask unanimous consent that these three articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I hope that the Civil Aeronautics Board and other Federal agencies, such as the Bureau of Standards, will examine the light very carefully, because there is a need for action in this field. If any light can be placed upon aircraft to make them safer not only for the pilots but for those who use them, it seems to me we must proceed to have such lights approved in order that the manufacture of them can be obtained and the plane operators may have the benefit of such protection.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From American Aviation for May 6, 1957]

NEW ANTICOLLISION LIGHTS WIN PILOTS' FAVOR—WHITE STROBE LIGHT SYSTEM, INVENTED BY H. W. ATKINS, GETS GENERAL APPROVAL IN WASHINGTON DEMONSTRATION

(By William O'Donnell)

A new concept in aircraft exterior lighting, formally flight-demonstrated for the first time in Washington, D. C., appears to be gaining favor among air safety officials.

The light, invention of Northwest Airlines Pilot H. William Atkins, is a departure from conventional aircraft relative danger lights in that it is white and gives positive directional indication. Atkins says that it can be adapted for use on all type aircraft from light planes to jet transports.

The group that attended the Washington demonstration included airline and private pilots, military and Civil Aeronautics Administration representatives. All were openly enthusiastic as to the light's potential. Previously, some 160 airline pilots who had observed the device in informal demonstrations were unanimous in their approval, Atkins said.

Basically, the Atkins light uses a combination of three flashing Xenon condenser discharge strobe units. One light flashes forward, another to the side and another to the rear. The forward-facing lamp flashes 160 times a minute, the side 80, and the rear 40.

The differential in flashing time allows a pilot of another aircraft to determine the direction of flight of the plane and its relative position. The blue-white flash is similar in color and intensity to an electric welder or a trolley-wire flash. Each flash is of one thousandth second duration and, despite its intensity, does not spoil the pilot's darkness adaptation nor is halation pronounced.

Atkins explained that the white light was selected purposely. He said the condenser discharge light has a color temperature of 7,100° Kelvin, greater than daylight. The full color spectrum of the light contains the entire rainbow. Whatever color is best for penetration of a particular type fog or haze is available.

"Besides," Atkins said, "white light can be seen off to the side of the eye better than red. Red light is visible through an arc of from 30° on one side to 45° on the other, while the white can be detected from more than 60° on one side of the eye to more than 90° on the other."

Atkins also expressed the opinion that red is used too much and cannot be seen over great distances. He said that the strobe light can be seen three times as far as conventional lights under all conditions.

Models demonstrated at Washington were mounted in two configurations. One system had lights on the top and bottom of the fuselage of a General Mills DC–3 and the other had installations at the wingtips. Each system was operated independently and then together.

The fuselage-mounted units had 4 lamps each, 1 forward, 1 to each side, and 1 aft. The wingtip versions had 3 lights in each unit, forward, 1 side and a rear.

The DC–3 operated the lights over the lights of Washington and nearby Virginia. Other aircraft carrying observers made passes from many angles and compared the flashing lights with city lights, stars, and other aircraft safety lights.

Observers reported that the lights were effective in both configurations but that the wingtip version seemed to give better indication of the aircraft's size. Passengers in the DC–3 also reported a preference for the wing-mounted system because the fuselage lights reflected off the wings and were considered distracting.

The front light was especially effective, according to pilots.

"That flash is light a machinegun and the immediate impulse is to get out of the way," said one pilot. "The slower flashing side and aft lights were effective in that they were attention arresting and alerting and the natural reaction was to watch closely and take appropriate evasive action."

Other mountings suggested by Atkins were:

One light each at the nose and tail of the fuselage and on each side of the vertical fin.

One light each at the nose and tail and one on each side of the fuselage near the nose.

Side and forward flashing units on each wingtip and a rear flashing unit on the tail.

One lamp each at the nose, tail, and wingtips.

The Atkins light has no moving parts, all switching and timing is done electronically. Printed circuits are used. The unit is entirely self-contained, requiring only the aircraft power supply.

Development of the light is being carried out by the Aircraft Danger Light Corp. of Minneapolis with an assist by the mechanical division of General Mills. No production models have yet been built but several airlines have been using or have ordered test models.

SPECIFICATIONS OF ATKINS ANTICOLLISION LIGHT

Voltage required: 115 volts, 400 cycle alternating current, 12–b–24-volt, 450-cycle dynamotor power source.

Power consumed: 60 watts.

Fuse required: 3 amperes.

Effect of altitude: no difficulty to 30,000 feet.

Radio interference: power supply self-contained and shielded.

Size: 6 x 4½ x 32 inches (airliner model).

Approximate weight: 5 pounds.

[From Aviation Age for May 1957]

ATKINS LIGHT DEMONSTRATION AT WASHINGTON, D. C., LAST MONTH WAS CONVINCING ARGUMENT FOR WHITE CONDENSER-DISCHARGE LIGHTS

General Mills' DC–3 equipped with 3 Atkins relative danger light installations flew rectangular patterns in formation with Twin-Beech equipped with normal red anticollision light. At 20 miles and 5,000 feet red beacons were hardly visible, but Atkins light was readily spotted.

Wingtip Atkins lights were installed in temporary rigs. Another unit was mounted on top of fuselage just forward of vertical fin. All units were clearly visible from all quadrants.

Most spectacular was head-on view with 160 flashes per minute. All who took part in the demonstration agreed it gave unmistakable warning.

Some observers thought 40 flashes per minute from tail-on view were too much. NWA Capt. Bill Atkins, inventor of the light, readily agreed.

His original design called for 20 flashes per minute in the tail zone. Change was made at urging of Government lighting experts.

White flashing light cut down on time it took to find DC–3 when you didn't know where it was.

Riding in NACA's Cessna 195, AvAge Operations Editor William G. Osmun took part in demonstration. NACA Pilot W. L. Alford flew a pattern of deliberately losing sight of DC–3, then trying to locate it again. He found he could pick up the Atkins light in 5 seconds every time.

Background of city lights didn't make it harder to pick up flashing light. Haze cut down on visibility of red anticollision lights at 15–20 miles—but blue-white condenser discharge light was unmistakable at these distances.

Remaining question is how white flash will work in clouds. There wasn't a cloud in the sky at Washington.

Capt. R. A. Stone, chairman of ALPA aircraft exterior lighting committee, says, "We want to be sure the flashing reflection from clouds isn't so annoying to a pilot that it will make him turn the light off when he flies into the overcast." Then, when he comes out of the overcast, he won't have the protection the lights are supposed to give him.

Another obstacle is present CAB rule calling for red anticollision lights. If CAB insists on a red filter on the Atkins light before it can be used commercially, this will destroy about all the value of the light's danger warning, Atkins says.

Atkins light now is limited to experimental installations.

Steady-burning position lights will replace flashing types on all future aircraft. Recent CAB action deleted requirement for flashing red taillight and called for steady red and green wingtip lights plus steady white taillight.

Board contends flashing anticollision lights together with steady position lights give the best aircraft lighting arrangement.

[From the Montreal Gazette of April 15, 1957]

FIFTY-MILE LIGHTS SHOW DIRECTION OF AIRCRAFT—DEVICE'S AIM TO PREVENT AIR COLLISION

(By Lauchie Chisholm)

International, national, military, and civilian aviation interests took a look this weekend at a new type safety light for aircraft, said to be one of the best devices yet developed to ward off midair collisions.

The lights, a series of three flashing signals in each tear-drop shaped unit, were demonstrated by the inventor, Bill Atkins, a young Minneapolis pilot and aeronautical engineer, to representatives of the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Department of Transport, RCAF, and Trans-Canada Air Lines, at Montreal airport.

SIGNALS TIMED

The flashing signals in the forward, middle, and rear zone of each unit, are timed so that a pilot may distinguish whether an

aircraft is approaching, flying a parallel course, or flying away.

Normally, the units would be placed on each wing tip, another on the top of the fuselage near the tail, and a fourth attached to the underside of the aircraft.

Called a relative danger light by the inventor, each unit is built of aluminum and plastic, contains a condenser and transformer, an electronic timer and electrical circuits. The power is supplied by the aircraft's electrical system.

Tests have shown that the light has a visibility range of about 50 miles.

Three strobe bulbs, containing a gas known as xenon which has luminous properties, are mounted in the three zones of each unit.

THREE TIMES A SECOND

The light in the forward zone is timed to blink three times a second, a sign to any pilot that an aircraft is approaching. The light in the middle zone blinks once a second, a signal that would be seen by an aircraft on parallel course.

And the light in the rear zone blinks once every 3 seconds, telling the pilot that another aircraft is flying away from him.

Spectators at the demonstration appeared interested and took notes. In anticipation of Canadian interest in the safety device, a Montreal aviation firm is acting as agent for the United States product.

The warning lights have been installed for evaluation on intercontinental bombers of the USAF's Strategic Air Command.

PLANE TESTS ANTICOLLISION LIGHTS

WASHINGTON.—A pilot inventor demonstrated in the skies over the Nation's Capital Thursday night a photo-flash type of airplane anticollision light.

The persistent flashing of the new light aboard a DC-3 airplane, plainly visible in the darkness for more than 30 miles startled airline and military pilots in this congested air traffic area.

Designed by H. William Atkins, a Northwest Orient Airlines pilot, the warning system gives a mild warning flash from wing lights when an approaching airplane is a safe distance away, a furious warning from a nose light when it is dangerously close, and a slow signal from a tail light when going away.

The lights, flashing at different speeds, are of the condenser discharge type known to photographers as strobe lights. They would replace the blinking red, green, and white lights with which planes are now equipped under Government regulations.

Fine Foods From Wheat for Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Senate Committee on Agriculture has been hearing this week from various Government officials and leaders among commodity groups who can speak with authority on the operation and results of Public Law 480. It was my privilege as a Senator from Oregon to introduce one of these leaders this morning when he presented, before the committee, a report of compelling interest and significance. Richard K. Baum, secretary-treasurer of the Oregon Wheat League, gave the committee something more than a statistical recital on exports of Oregon wheat to the Japanese. His facts and figures revealed graphically the impact a commodity like wheat may have on the dietary habits of a great people—namely Japan. His report had freshness and authenticity gained by personal observation of a program that has gone far to popularize wheat as a food item among the Japanese. I am sure the Senate Agriculture Committee will make this statement available to all when the hearings are printed.

However, Mr. President, Mr. Baum's report reminded me of something on the subject I had read in the May issue of the GTA Digest, published in St. Paul, Minn., by the Grain Terminal Association. This informative farm journal carried an article that describes the splendid work of the Oregon Wheat League in Japan and the wide acceptance it has found for its commodity. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this article, entitled "Fine Foods From Wheat for Japan," printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FINE FOODS FROM WHEAT FOR JAPAN

The people of the world are learning how to eat better. They are learning the value of a well-rounded diet, and American farmers are helping them to get the diet they are learning to like.

Japan is an example of the kind of change that is coming about. For centuries that country has been eating a diet that consisted for the most part of domestic rice.

Today, the Japanese are learning the value of other foods—especially the high protein grains. As this happens, Japan is becoming a better American customer.

Since 1951, Japan has become the leading consumer of American farm products. The Japanese buy more American cotton, rice, barley, soybeans, tallow, hides, and skins than any other country. They are our second best customer for wheat.

A well-integrated program is underway at present to show the Japanese man-in-the-street what can be done with wheat products.

The "brainstorm" for the program came from a privte group in America—the Oregon Wheat Growers League. Helping out with program administration are the United States Department of Agriculture, Japanese food scientists and health authorities as well as the Japanese Government. The story is told in USDA's Foreign Agriculture magazine for April 1957.

The first part of the program is to give Japanese citizens, especially in rural areas, a chance to eat American wheat products—bread, doughnuts, crackers, the foods which are the general staples in our own diet.

To get the wheat products to rural Japan (where domestic milled rice composes 81.5 percent of the diet, as compared to a 41.7 percent figure for Tokyo) eight mobile kitchens are touring the nation, giving demonstrations on Japanese main streets and rural roads. As in the American general store or supermarket, after the demonstration the audience samples the product.

The buses, incidentally, were financed in America, but designed by Japanese engineers and built in Japanese factories.

Part 2 of the program is to teach the Japanese baker, housewife, and nutrition expert what vitamins and minerals are in wheat, and how these nutrients can best be integrated into the Japanese diet. It also teaches them techniques of baking—the culinary know how which turns flour into bread.

The Japanese Nutrition Association administered part 2 of the program. For 3,000 American dollars, a thorough exhibition on both theoretical and practical aspects of wheat marketing, sale and cultivation was prepared. The exhibition was seen by the experts of many foreign countries in Tokyo for the Fourth Nutrition Conference of South and East Asia Nutrition Committee sponsored by the World Health Organization and the Farm and Agriculture Organization.

The exhibition included informaton on the world supply and demand for staple foods, methods of improving diets, a display of bulgur (parched, crushed wheat) wheat, a display of wheat cultivation, production and harvest, and a cooking demonstration of doughnuts.

The last part of the program is designed to bring baking information to Japanese commercial breadmakers and home extension workers. The plan was worked out with the Japanese Food Life Improvement Association.

The association arranged for a 3-month training course to be taught at the Japanese Institute of Scientific Baking Research at Shibuya-ku in Tokyo. Forty students have been graduated so far.

Fifteen hundred more home extension students from every prefecture have taken short courses on preparing wheat foods.

The program is financed under United States Public Law 480. This law allows the Japanese to purchase American food products for yen rather than dollars. We, in turn, are reinvesting the yen in Japan through projects such as the one thought up and managed by the Wheat Growing League of Oregon.

The results of these efforts are an ever-increasing market for high quality, high protein United States wheat.

In 1951–55 period, America supplied $1.3 billion in farm goods to our largest food customer, Japan. With our foods, the Japanese are learning about the American way of abundance and good living.

"Liberal" Division on Jury Trial Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Arthur Krock column entitled "'Liberal' Division on Jury Trial Right," published in the New York Times of July 19, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIBERAL DIVISION ON JURY TRIAL RIGHT

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, July 18.—Temporarily obscured by the critical examination of part III that has imperiled this section of the administration's equal rights enforcement bill, the jury trial issue posed by part IV is resuming the prominence it had at the outset of the Senate debate. On this section also there is a division among liberals who generally are champions of equal rights enforcement legislation at this session of Congress.

It has been debated with the dignity compatible with a problem where one established civil right comes into conflict with another. In part IV the first is the voting privilege, for which States may prescribe certain quali-

fications, but none based on race, color, religion, etc. The second concerns the right of trial by jury for offenses of individuals that are punishable by sentence to prison.

NORRIS' DECLARATION

In any group of American citizens the infringement of this right, by statute or by judge, is a disturbing proposition. The late Senator Norris, of Nebraska, ensconced in the liberal pantheon, when achieving jury trial for labor union defendants in contempt cases also declared that "any man charged with contempt in any court of the United States * * * in any case, no matter what it is * * * where there is a dispute of facts * * * ought to have a jury trial"; and "it is no answer * * * that there will sometimes be juries which will not convict." This justification is frequently offered for part IV, which fails to specify jury trials for persons enjoined by Federal courts from carrying out a suspected intent to interfere with voting or tried on charges of actual interference in violation of an injunction. Both sets of defendants are subject to prison sentences for contempt of court findings by the judge.

BLACK'S OPINION

Associate Justice Black of the Supreme Court, another champion of the political philosophy associated with Norris, also is on recent record with a sweeping assertion of the right of trial by jury. He was dealing, in Covert and Krueger, only with high criminal cases—two Army wives had killed their husbands, been convicted by courts-martial, and sent to prison. And he was asserting the right of jury trial after presentment to and indictment by a grand jury. But his words could be read to apply to all individuals in penal jeopardy.

"The concept that the Bill of Rights and other constitutional protections against arbitrary government," he wrote, "are inoperative when they become inconvenient or when expediency dictates otherwise is a dangerous doctrine and if allowed to flourish would destroy the benefit of a written Constitution and undermine the basis of our Government."

KEFAUVER AND O'MAHONEY

"A third member of the liberal group," Senator KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, has moved to amend part IV to provide specifically for jury trials in certain circumstances. His proposal is for juries "in criminal contempt cases arising out of civil actions, but not in civil contempt cases." The former "are used not only to force compliance with the court's orders but also to punish the offender for flaunting [sic] the court's authority." In the latter instances a man "detained" [jailed] by the court if he fails to comply * * * will be released as soon * * * as he can purge himself of contempt."

This does not meet the objection of those who hold that persons in jeopardy of imprisonment under the administration bill have the implicit constitutional right of trial by jury in such cases, where the facts are bound to be disputed. And this group has a spokesman whose entire record is classified in the current political parlance as consistently liberal. This is Senator O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming.

A MENACE TO ALL

"It is clear," he told the Senate, "that this bill goes far beyond voting rights and attempts to place in the hands of the Attorney General * * * the power to try citizens * * * by the injunctive process for crimes for which they are now punishable only when convicted by a jury * * *. The bill is directed not only against the South; the authority proposed * * * could be exercised anywhere. * * * The argument * * * [is that in 28 laws] Congress has authorized government by injunction without a right to trial by jury. But [these statutes] seem to deal * * * with the activities, not of natural persons, but of artificial persons known as corporations. * * * I shall vote for a bill to make voting right secure for all * * * but not take away other sacred rights which belong to the citizens of the United States."

Among those O'MAHONEY has impressed is the Evening Star, of Washington, a sturdy advocate of equal rights. "The procedure to bypass jury trials," it said today, "is being pictured by men in high places as an inocuous application as a frequently used legal device. In reality it is a radical and even highly dangerous departure from one of our most prized traditions and fundamental rights."

Address by Hon. Watkins M. Abbitt, Before Lunenberg County Farm Bureau, July 13, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Virginia, the Honorable WATKINS M. ABBITT, delivered a very able and informative address to the Lunenberg County Farm Bureau on Saturday, July 13, 1957, at the Plymouth Community House in Lunenberg County, Va. The distinguished Virginia Congressman recognizes the dangers confronting the country today and has been outspoken in vigorous opposition to the trends in government which threaten to bring about a complete destruction of our liberty and freedom. Congressman ABBITT enjoys in an unusually high degree the confidence and esteem of the people of our great Commonwealth of Virginia which he has earned by reason of the high caliber of leadership which he has provided during the time he has been in Congress. Since I have become a Member of Congress, I have found him able and alert and ever willing to be of help, and I have leaned upon him for counsel and for guidance.

Under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include his address hereinabove referred to, which is as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT, BEFORE LUNENBERG COUNTY FARM BUREAU, JULY 13, 1957

This year, we have witnessed a revival of interest in our Government by our people. More people appear to be interested in what is happening and going on in the country than they have for a long time. For the past decade, our people have been so interested in making money that they have overlooked the necessity of keeping a close watch over the operation of their Government. They have awakened to find that this country has been almost taken over by a socialistic-minded national government. Apparently when the present administration presented its enormous budget to the Congress early this year, many of our people were shocked into a realization of what was happening. They became aware that unless something was done and done immediately the creeping socialistic trends of the Government would soon blossom out into a socialistic welfare state. The reaction of our people was wholesome. It made the Congress realize that something must be done to stop the octopus-like growth of the Federal Government. As a result of the grass roots sentiment, a real effort was made to stop the expansion of the Government and to cut off at least some of the unnecessary expenditures.

The budget request included funds for numerous new functions, projects, and activities, as well as funds for renewing and expanding old ones. Apparently the budget was made up without any thought or consideration of the burden placed upon the taxpayers of America. It was intended to be a luxury budget. It contemplated at least 33 cents out of every dollar earned by the American people going into taxes. It contemplated at least 10 percent of our taxes to pay the interest on the national debt.

An attempt was made to fool our people into believing that the increase in the budget was due to military needs. This is far from the truth. It actually called for $2 billion less than in fiscal 1957 but asked for approximately $7 billion more in domestic and civilian expenditures.

In view of the above, it is no wonder that the people were aroused. As a result of their action, substantial reductions have been made by the Congress.

Unfortunately, so much has been happening in the past month or 6 weeks to divert the minds of our people that there has been a slowing down or lessening on the part of the grassroots to follow through on the economy drive.

In recent weeks a change has gradually been taking place in the Congress. There is a waning of interest in economy, both on the part of the people back home and the Congress. I am indeed disappointed to see this. The House of Representatives and the Senate have made a real effort to curb spending. The House so far has reduced the request slightly over $5 billion. The Senate has gone along very well indeed with the cuts imposed by the House, although in 1 or 2 appropriation bills, particularly the defense appropriation, the Senate has put back substantial amounts of the House cuts.

It should be noted that even with this substantial reductions have been made in the budget requests. However, for the good of this country we cannot afford to slacken the demand for economy and reduction in expenditures.

There is an allout effort on the part of certain groups to continually enlarge and strengthen the Federal Government. They desire that all power be centralized in Washington. They are endeavoring to centralize the purse strings of the Nation in the Federal Government and to make of this country a socialistic welfare state.

We saw in the early part of this year a real resistance to such philosophy. It was heartening indeed to those of us who have tried to stem the tide of the socialistic-minded groups that have been trying to foist upon our people their philosophy.

Our people must constantly be on the alert. They must constantly press for a continuation of sound economy in Government and a maintenance of the private-enterprise system that has meant so much to the development of our civilization. We must realize that we must ever be alert to the dangers of the Communists but that is not the only danger. There is a real danger that our economy will collapse due to inflation and the expansion of our Government into many fields of private enterprise which is just as much a threat today and just as dangerous as the Communist threat.

If we are to win the fight for economy and stop the constant growth and expansion of the Federal Government the people must continue to demand action by their Representatives in the Congress. Even though we have made progress, we will lose this fight unless continued interest is manifested by our people.

I hope that our people have enough interest in the future of this country and in the maintenance of our way of life to see that

real economy is achieved. I cannot reiterate too strongly that the only hope of achieving it is an aroused people who will continue to demand such action.

Unless substantial action is taken to continue reduction in expenditures the door will be closed to tax reduction in the foreseeable future, inflation will continue its upward spiral, and the spread of socialistic centralized government paternalism will be unchecked.

Our free-enterprise system is the greatest deterrent in the world today to Communist aggression. Our competitive-enterprise system can only exist under a solvent Government. We cannot remain solvent long unless inflation is stopped. Inflation cannot be stopped unless governmental expenditures are checked. Governmental expenditures will not and cannot be checked unless the people of this great Nation continue their allout fight for a reduction in Federal expenditures, a termination of Federal handouts, and a return to sound principles of operation of the Federal Government as intended by our founders. If we are to survive as a free people, we must stop the expansion of Federal handouts. We must retain individual initiative and the will to do for ourselves.

In the next week or 10 days, the House will have before it the administration's proposal for Federal aid to school construction. There are those in this country who are determined that the Federal Government take over the operation of the schools of our Nation. They are using this legislation as a steppingstone toward their goal.

This legislation, if passed, will greatly endanger the future freedom of our people. The question to be decided in passing upon this legislation is very simple. We must decide whether the public schools are to be operated, maintained and controlled by the localities and the States or whether the public schools of the Nation are to be turned over eventually to the Federal Government.

Our schools have been the foundation stone of our democracy. We must know that as the Federal Government gradually takes over the financial burden of the schools so will they take over the control of them. It is impossible to distribute Federal funds for public education without the imposition of a corresponding increasing measure of Federal control. Local control is fundamental and necessary to the continuation of our Republican form of Government. To remove the responsibility of educating our children from the local level will necessarily and unavoidably weaken democracy at the grassroots. The separation of education and the Federal Government is as important as the separation of church and state.

There is now an all-out effort to federalize the schools and nationalize the lives of all American citizens. The vast majority of the proponents of this legislation desire the concentration of power in Washington and the centralization of all Government at the national level. We know that the adequate education of America's youth is essential to the preservation of the Republic and the welfare of the Nation. This can be provided by localities and States more satisfactory and equitably than by the Federal Government.

If we are to remain a free people and desire to retain our way of life, it is necessary that the control of the public schools remain at the local level. There is no such thing as Federal aid without Federal control, nor is there any such thing as a Federal handout.

The localities and the States are more able financially to provide the necessary educational opportunities for our youth. The States are better off financially than is the monstrous Federal Government today. There are those who would have us believe that the States are not able financially to carry on the proper educational program to meet the needs of our youth. They contend that the Federal Government has the financial ability to undertake this great task. Unfortunately, nothing is further from the truth. Sadly enough, the national debt now amounts to more than eight times State and local indebtedness. The Federal Government has a national debt of approximately $275 billion. Apparently, there is no hope in the foreseeable future that this debt will be reduced in any appreciable amount. It is saddening to see on all sides grasping bureaucrats and people who believe in centralized power trying to reach out on behalf of the Federal Government to continue to take over functions and obligations of the States and local communities. We are now at the crossroads. We are about to see this country embark on a gigantic long-time journey into the field of local public education. It is disheartening to me to see this administration sponsor such a program.

Truthfully, the 1958 budget of the Federal Government is such a bizarre combination of fantasy, mystery, and irresponsibility that it alone should convince any individual person of the necessity and urgency of stopping the growth of the Federal octopus. I believe if the people of this country will let their wishes in this matter be known that we will have an excellent chance of defeating this legislation. Its defeat is vitally necessary to the welfare of the freedom-loving people of this great Nation.

Outstanding Scholarship of Barbara Stewart Jenkins at Wayne University School of Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, it was with a sense of pride and inspiration that I read this week of a former Minnesota girl who has received recognition for her outstanding scholarship while attending medical school. Barbara Stewart Jenkins, daughter of the Reverend and Mrs. Carlyle F. Stewart, pastor of the People's Community Church in Detroit, has just been graduated from Wayne University School of Medicine with high honors. At the same time, and all during her time in medical school, Mrs. Jenkins was caring for her young son. Because, to me, she typifies the highest type of American womanhood, which should serve as an inspiration to all, I ask unanimous consent that the article referred to, from the Minneapolis Spokesman of July 12, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LONE GIRL, FORMER MINNESOTAN LEADS MEDICAL CLASS

A former Minnesota girl was lauded in an article in the Michigan Chronicle newspaper of Detroit for leading the men in her class in the Wayne University College of Medicine.

She is Mrs. Barbara Jeanne Jenkins, the former Barbara Stewart, daughter of Rev. and Mrs. Carlyle Stewart.

The Chronicle article said:

When Mrs. Barbara Jeanne Stewart Jenkins enrolled in the Wayne State University College of Medicine, the 66 male members of her class thought that because of her sex and race she would not finish.

Last week, Mrs. Jenkins was graduated with highest honors and with the Alexander McKenzie Campbell award for distinction in the field of obstetrics and gynecology.

She was also honored by Omega Alpha, national medical society, in recognition of outstanding scholarship.

However, the most astounding fact is that Mrs. Jenkins led her class in scholarship every year while caring for her son, now 3 years old.

Her parents, Rev. Carlyle F. Stewart, pastor of the People's Community Church, Woodward at Pingree, and Mrs. Alyce Stewart, told the Chronicle reporter: "We are proud of the achievements of our daughter. Our prayers have been answered. We know all things are possible through faith in ourselves and God."

Mrs. Jenkins, now 28, is a graduate of Northern High School and the University of Michigan.

She also attended Howard University Medical School in Washington, D. C., before coming to Wayne State University.

After spending a few days with her parents following graduation, Mrs. Jenkins left for Fort Sheridan, Ill., to join her husband, Dr. Sidney B. Jenkins, captain in the United States Army Corps.—By Jones.

Civil-Rights Maneuvers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on Tuesday, July 16, there appeared in the Christian Science Monitor an editorial entitled "Civil-Rights Maneuvers." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL-RIGHTS MANEUVERS

For a week the United States Senate has been debating a civil-rights bill in an effort to decide whether to debate it. This is not quite so foolish as it sounds. In the course of discussing whether to take up the Eisenhower civil-rights program the Senate has sifted the proposals and shaped potential amendments. Also the band of Senators who will oppose it, amended or unamended, have blockaded all other legislation without drawing public opprobrium for filibustering.

A majority of the Senate could have cut short this maneuvering by insisting on a vote to take up the bill. But advocates have felt it wiser to refrain from forcing the pace. And opponents have decided they might hurt their cause by further delays. So a vote is scheduled. The motion to begin official consideration requires only a majority and is expected to carry by a good margin. But then the real battle opens. And the size of the margin can well determine what compromises will be offered.

A big margin—enough to indicate that 64 votes will be available to halt a filibuster and bring the legislation to a vote—would suggest a need for only minor concessions. But a small margin would indicate that ad-

vocates must make major changes in order to enlist the necessary support for their program.

So far 4 or 5 main compromises have been most widely discussed. One would limit the legislation to upholding voting rights. A second would provide a jury trial in all cases arising under the new law. A third would require it only in contempt proceedings where questions of fact were not readily determined. A fourth would drop the provision for a Commission to investigate violations of civil rights. A fifth would limit this Commission's operations.

To this newspaper it would appear wise—and more practically effective in advancing civil rights—if advocates centered at this time on obtaining greater freedom for Negroes to vote. We would consider almost any amendment of the Eisenhower program "minor" so long as that objective were gained. For voting rights are the protectors and precursors of other rights. And the essential degree of consent will be far easier to obtain in the South. For voting is more readily recognized as a right, and requires less social mixing than school integration, for example.

It should be clearly understood that the Constitution guaranteed no one a right to vote. It left voting qualifications to the States. But by two amendments it has barred the States from denying the right to vote on account of sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude. States can still make other requirements. Nineteen demand a certain degree of education. Two-thirds of these are outside the South. But often great latitude is left to officials administering election laws. There have been many complaints that they were being used to bar Negroes. Also there has been intimidation.

Yet educational and economic standards among Negroes in the South have been rising. And there has been a marked increase in the number voting. In 1947 only 440,000 were reported voting in the nine States of the old Confederacy. In 1956 the number was 1,011,000. Continued gain at that rate would soon leave little ground for complaint about voting—and much ground for progress toward other rights. Legislation may be required to support and maintain the pace of this voluntary change. It seems to us that action at this time should be centered on it.

H. R. 4520

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 4520 is legislation in which the city of Portland, Oreg., has been interested for some time. It is legislation, indeed, which is not only important to Portland and other sections of my State of Oregon but to the entire Pacific Northwest as well as to Alaska.

Since the fall of 1951 Portland has had direct air service to Alaska on the Alaska & Pacific Northern Airlines. They have become vital links in the chain of commerce between Portland and Alaska. The growth of trade on this route, particularly in perishables, has been a development of great economic value and importance to our area. Only air service is adequate to serve these markets and maintain this trade.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Portland regard this service as vital to their interests and well being. Unfortunately, temporary certification has been a major handicap to the development of these two airlines. With permanent certification the lines could plan and finance on a long-range basis for better, faster, and more dependable service. By the same token, businessmen could lay their plans on a long-range basis.

The port of Portland International Airport has an investment past and planned of over $18 million, which is directly dependent in part on the future of these airlines.

It is my firm conviction that if the carriers operating between the States and Alaska are to render the service necessary to trade, commerce, and the national defense, they must be relieved of the uncertainties implicit in short-term certificates. The instability inherent in their present temporary status not only handicaps the carriers in obtaining resources to expand and develop their services but also inhibits the public in placing reliance upon these services.

The need, I am convinced, is great and this legislation should have been passed in the last Congress. I, therefore, urge passage of H. R. 4520.

The Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I want to insert the tribute paid to the late Senator McCarthy by the Long Island General Assembly Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus which was read at the Independence Day memorial service in his honor.

IN MEMORIAM: HON. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, UNITED STATES SENATOR

De mortuis, nil nisi bonum: Dean Acheson.

Soldier, patriot, legislator.

Creator of McCarthyism as a symbol of courage, love of God, love of country.

Fighter who stirred strong opposition and keen loyalties.

Man of strong convictions and willing to pay the price for these convictions.

Champion responsible for impressing dramatically on the American people the danger of communism within our Government.

Ceaseless battler for the right as God gave him the power to see the right.

Stalwart advocate of our traditional American concepts.

Courageous warrior against fellow travelers.

Resourceful expert in the art of ferreting out subversives.

Masterful defender of our country's honor.

Dedicated to the battle to protect our Nation from its termitic enemies.

The conscience of the security-in-Government movement.

This was a man.

May his soul rest in peace.

Support for Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in the July 12, 1957, edition of the Asheville Citizen, Asheville, N. C., is indicative of the great interest in Hells Canyon which exists throughout the country. It is indeed a mistake to consider full development of the Snake River as an issue of only sectional importance. The benefits to be derived from the high dam at Hells Canyon are not limited to the Pacific Northwest, for our natural resources are indeed the heritage of all citizens of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I think this editorial comment contained in a newspaper published thousands of miles from the Hells Canyon dam site will be of interest to my colleagues, and I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

HELLS CANYON GAINS NEW LEASE

A Democratic maneuver in the House Interior Committee last Wednesday kept alive, though rather uncertainly, the bill passed by the Senate for construction of a high dam in Hells Canyon by the Federal Government. Thus automatically a far-ranging controversy also gained a new lease on its rugged life.

Hells Canyon, located in the course of the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon border, has been described as "the finest remaining dam site in America."

Advocates of a public-power development of the canyon, including apparently majority of the voters in the Northwest, favor one high dam. They assert that it would produce more power at lower cost than the three dams for which the Government finally granted permit and contract to the Idaho Power Co. These dams would flood some nationally famous scenery.

On larger scale in general, the high dam project would also provide for extensive irrigation, flood control and developments of watersheds.

The opposing contenders for the three dams raise with some force the argument of Federal subsidies to public power projects—after the manner of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The examiner for the Federal Power Commission filed a report in favor of the Federal high dam. But the FPC, allegedly under the influence of Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams and other administration voices, overruled its examiner, turning the project over to the Idaho Power Co.

The battle at this stage seemed over. And, those who like Ike also being inclined to like his partnership policy with local private power interests, the issue seemed to many persons well settled.

Yet some observers noted that Mr. Eisenhower had hesitantly excepted the Tennessee Valley development from his condemnation of creeping socialism. These persons asked if Hells Canyon was not also in a sort of class by itself.

Then events unfavorable to the Government's decision began to pop off.

The preferences of the northwestern voters were being countered by the claim that the plans of the Idaho Power Co. would save the taxpayers millions of dollars.

Then somebody discovered that Sherman Adams and Defense Mobilization Director Gordon Gray were arranging what is called a fast tax writeoff for the benefit of the Idaho Power Co. The officially stated justification for the writeoff was that the dams were necessary for national defense.

But, in practical terms, the writeoff meant a subsidy, temporary or not, worth about 80 percent of the cost of building the dams.

Even anti-public-power Senator HARRY BYRD denounced the writeoff as utterly indefensible. Secretary of the Interior Seaton had opposed the writeoff, but his letter was a sort of top secret for a while.

Public and congressional clamor now induced the Idaho Power Co. to announce that it would not accept the tax concession. But the fat was in the fire. A surprising Senate vote sidetracked the three dams and left the question up to the House.

And there most of the Democratic members of the Interior Committee are trying to prevent the vote that would shelve the Senate bill, thus saving Mr. Eisenhower from the political embarrassment of his probable veto if the House should concur with the Senate.

The veto would be highly unpopular in a region where the same issue defeated Douglas McKay and a good many other Republican candidates in the 1956 election.

We hope that the $500 million project will be decided on its merits alone. Political considerations should be set aside for the general welfare of our country.

The American Legion Firing Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion is one of the great national organizations of our country, which throughout the years has exerted a strong influence in behalf of good government, military preparedness and the best interests of the American people generally. In the many controversies which arise from time to time the American Legion has not gone to extremes on either side of an issue. It has rather served as a balance wheel to keep our country and our Government on a safe and sane course.

The Legion does not dodge issues. It will always be found in the open, championing constitutional government and supporting those principles which must continue to prevail if America is to maintain its position as the citadel of liberty and the stronghold of freedom.

One of the publications of the American Legion is Firing Line. This publication is prepared and distributed by the Legion's national Americanism commission. In the issue of July 1, 1957, Firing Line deals with recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court. This article is so timely that I believe it should be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and thus be brought to the attention of many who might not have the opportunity to read it otherwise. I concur in the conclusion of the editor that "unless immediate remedial legislation is enacted, irreparable harm will be done the entire security program" of the United States Government.

I insert this article herewith:

RECENT DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

In its December 31, 1956, report to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, the Internal Security Subcommittee sharply declared certain Supreme Court decisions have "seriously restrained the course and progress of America's struggle against its domestic Communist enemies." While these rulings have created legislative problems in Congress, the American Legion, in a 1956 national convention resolution, stated the Supreme Court "has, in all practical effect, repealed article 10 of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution." For a better understanding of the background of these aforementioned assertions, let us examine 13 of the following more important Supreme Court decisions in the field of internal security:

1956 RULINGS

1. *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Steve Nelson* (April 2, 1956): Steve Nelson, "an acknowledged member of the Communist Party, was convicted in the Court of Quarter Sessions of Allegheny County, Pa., of a violation of the Pennsylvania Sedition Act and sentenced to imprisonment for 20 years and to a fine of $10,000 and to costs of prosecution in the sum of $13,000." While State's superior court affirmed the conviction, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania subsequently reversed the lower court's ruling on the ground that only Federal law applied to such offenses. (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 10, October term 1955, pp. 1 and 2.)

In affirming the decision of Pennsylvania's high court, the Supreme Court of the United States held that Congress, "in enacting the Smith Act of 1940, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954, had 'intended to occupy the field of a sedition' to the exclusion of State legislation on the same subject, and that, accordingly, the Pennsylvania Sedition Act was unenforcible. As a result of this decision, comparable sedition laws in 41 other States were likewise rendered ineffective and the work of State legislative committees investigating Communist penetration was seriously curtailed." (See Internal Security Subcommittee, report for the year 1956, sec. XII, p. 218.)

Three Supreme Court Justices filed dissenting opinions in this case. They declared "the State and National legislative bodies have legislated within constitutional limits so as to allow the widest participation by the law enforcement officers of the respective governments. The individual States were not told that they are powerless to punish local acts of sedition, nominally directed against the United States. Courts should not interfere. We would reverse the judgment of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 10, October term, minority decision, 1955, p. 9.)

On April 25, 1956, 35 State attorneys general petitioned the Supreme Court for rehearing of decision of April 2, 1956, and warned "it is dangerous to public safety as well as to State security to leave the States impotent to regulate acts of sedition or subversion occurring within State borders." This petition declared "the majority opinion (of the Supreme Court) is believed to be in error in failing to have considered and ruled upon that portion of the record showing separable counts of the indictment against Steve Nelson charging criminal conduct with a view to overthrowing and destroying by force and violence the government of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as well as the Government of the United States of America." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 10—October term, 1955, petition for rehearing of decision of April 2, 1956, pp. 1, 6, 7, and 8.)

The attorney general of New York, in a separate brief filed with the Supreme Court on May 10, 1956, joined the other 35 State attorneys general in petitioning for a rehearing of the High Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case. In the form of a brief order ignoring the State attorney general's petition, the Supreme Court announced on May 14, 1956, it had refused to reconsider its April 2, 1956, decision invalidating State sedition laws. Fourteen bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives and two in the United States Senate, for remedial action to permit each State to enact anti-sedition legislation within its own limits. (See Daily Worker, May 15, 1956, p. 8.)

2. *Harry Slochower* v. *The Board of Higher Education of The City of New York* (April 9, 1956): Harry Slochower, an associate professor at Brooklyn College, New York City, appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and invoked the fifth amendment when asked whether he had been a member of the Communist Party during 1940 and 1941. Shortly after his appearance before this congressional committee, Slochower was notified that he was suspended from his position * * * 3 days later his position was declared vacant pursuant to the provisions of section 903 of the New York City Charter. (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 23—October term, 1955, pp. 2 and 3.)

In deciding this case, the Supreme Court reversed all lower court rulings and held unconstitutional * * * section 903 of the New York City Charter, which provided for the discharge of any city employee who pleaded the privilege against self-incrimination to avoid answering a question relating to official matters. The Internal Security Subcommittee reported recently, "As a result of the Court's decision in this case, proceedings already have been commenced to compel the reinstatement of more than a dozen teachers in New York City educational institutions." (See Internal Security Subcommittee, report for the year 1956, sec. XII, p. 218.)

Dissenting from the majority opinion, three Supreme Court Justices wrote the "Court finds it a denial of due process to discharge an employee merely because he relied upon the fifth amendment plea of self-incrimination to avoid answering questions which he would be otherwise required to answer. We assert the contrary—the city does have reasonable ground to require its employees either to give evidence regarding facts of official conduct within their knowledge or to give up the positions they hold. * * * Numerous * * * colleges and universities have treated the plea of the fifth amendment as a justification for dismissal of faculty members. When educational institutions themselves feel the impropriety of reserving full disclosure of facts from duly authorized official investigations, can we properly say a city cannot protect itself against such conduct by its teachers?" (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 23, October term, minority decision, 1955, pp. 2, 5, and 6.)

In another minority opinion, a fourth Supreme Court Justice declared, "dissent because I think the Court has misconceived the nature of (section) 903 as construed and applied by the New York court of appeals, and has unduly circumscribed the power of the State to insure the qualifications of its teachers." Complying with the Supreme Court ruling, Slochower was reinstated as a professor of German with back pay and interest of about $40,000. Upon his reinstatement, he was immediately suspended by Brooklyn College President Harry Gideonse, "on a broader charge of conduct unbecoming a member of the staff." On February

26, 1957, the eve before his scheduled appearance before the New York City Board of Higher Education "on charges of misconduct," Slochower unexpectedly announced his intention to resign from the public-school system. (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 23, October term, minority decision, 1955, p. 1; the New York Times, February 27, 1957, p. C–14; and the Philadelphia Inquirer, February 27, 1957, p. 14.)

3. *Communist Party, U. S. A.* v. *Subversive Activities Control Board* (Apr. 30, 1956): The Supreme Court "reversed and remanded an order of the Subversive Activities Board directing the Communist Party of the United States to register with the Attorney General as a 'Communist-action' organization, as required by the Subversive Activities Control (internal security) Act of 1950. The majority opinion pointed out that the testimony of three witnesses before the Board may have been 'tainted,' in view of evidence of their possible perjury adduced subsequently to the issuance of the Board's order." (See Internal Security Subcommittee, report for the year 1956, sec. XII, p. 219.)

Three Supreme Court Justices filed a dissenting opinion in this case. They argued that the Supreme Court "refuses to pass on the important questions relating to the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950, a bulwark of the congressional program to combat the menace of world communism. Believing that the Court here disregards its plain responsibility and duty to decide these important constitutional questions" Justice Tom Clark said "I cannot join in its action." (See Supreme Court of the United States No. 48—October term, minority decision, 1956, p. 3.)

In strong language, Justice Clark's minority opinion declared "I have not found any case in the history of the Court where important constitutional issues have been avoided on such a pretext. * * * In this case the motion itself was wholly inadequate and even if the testimony of all three challenged witnesses were omitted from the record the result could not have been different. There is no reasonable basis on which we could say that the Court of Appeals has abused its discretion. I abhor the use of perjured testimony as much as anyone, but we must recognize that never before have mere allegations of perjury, so flimsily supported, been considered grounds for reopening a proceeding or granting a new trial. The Communist Party makes no claim that the Government knowingly used false testimony, and it is far too realistic to contend that the Board's action will be any different on remand."

Continuing his dissenting opinion, Justice Clark stated "The only purpose of this procedural maneuver is to gain additional time before the order to register can become effective. This proceeding has dragged out for many years now, and the function of the Board remains suspended and the congressional purpose frustrated at a most critical time in world history. Ironically enough, we are returning the case to a Board whose very existence is challenged on constitutional grounds. We are asking the Board to pass on the credibility of witnesses after we have refused to say whether it has the power to do so. The constitutional questions are fairly presented here for our decision. If all or any part of the act is unconstitutional it should be declared so on the record before us. If not, the Nation is entitled to effective operation of the statute deemed to be of vital importance to its well-being at the time it was passed by the Congress." (See Supreme Court of the United States No. 48—October term, minority decision, 1955, pp. 3, 5, and 6.)

The Firing Line of May 15, 1957, page 43, reported the Subversive Activities Control Board, in a reaffirmed order (modified report) dated December 18, 1956, "recommended that the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirm the Board's order entered April 20, 1953, requiring the Communist Party of the United States to register as a Communist-action organization under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950." The constitutional question of the aforementioned act will undoubtedly be raised again and passed upon by the (Supreme) Court on a future appeal. In a tactic to forestall registration as agents of a foreign power, representatives of the Communist Party on June 6, 1957, used the *Clinton E. Jencks* v. *U. S. A.* case to demand access to confidential Federal Bureau of Investigation reports. (See Internal Security Subcommittee, report for the year 1956, sec. XII, p. 219; and the New York Times, June 8, 1957, p. 10.)

4. *Kendrick M. Cole* v. *Philip Young et al.* (June 11, 1956): Kendrick M. Cole, a food and drug inspector for the New York district of the Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, was suspended without pay in November 1953 pending investigation to determine whether his employment should be terminated. When confronted with charges of alleged subversive activities, he declined to answer these charges, or request a hearing. Subsequently, the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, determined that Cole's "continued employment was not clearly consistent with the interests of national security and ordered the termination of his employment." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 442–October term, 1955, pp. 2 and 3.)

After Cole's appeal to the Supreme Court, the judicial body upset the Government's decision in this case, and ruled a "Federal employee can be fired as a security risk only if he holds a sensitive position." Cole's position with the Food and Drug Administration was classified as nonsensitive. Speaking before the 38th annual convention of the department of Pennsylvania American Legion in July 1956, the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, FRANCIS E. WALTER, declared: "The United States Supreme Court's recent decision overturning the law under which Federal employees could be fired for alleged Communist associations has had the effect of opening the entire Government to the infiltration of our mortal enemies." (See the Philadelphia Inquirer, July 21, 1956, p. 1; and Daily Worker, June 12, 1956, p. 1.)

In a dissenting opinion, three Supreme Court Justices clearly remarked: "We believe the Court's order has stricken down the most effective weapon against subversive activity available to the Government * * * (and) might leave the Government honeycombed with subversive employees. * * * It is not realistic to say that the Government can be protected merely by applying the act to sensitive jobs. One never knows just which job is sensitive." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 442–October term, minority decision, 1955, pp. 2 and 5.)

5. *Steve Nelson* (*Stephen Mesarosh*) *et al* v. *United States of America* (October 10, 1956): Five Communist Party leaders in western Pennsylvania, namely, Steve Nelson, William Albertson, Benjamin L. Careathers, James H. Dolsen and Irving Weissman, convicted of advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, were freed and granted new trials by another Supreme Court ruling. The Court stated that Joseph D. Mazzei, a principal government witness "may have lied" in the defendants' first trial. Two weeks prior to the High Court's decision, the United States Department of Justice asked the Supreme Court "to send the case back for determination as to Mazzei's credibility. It said it believed the testimony he had given was the truth, but statements he made before other tribunals had cast doubt on his credibility." With three dissenters, the Supreme Court denied the Government's motion and vacated a lower court judgment. (See the New York Times, October 11, 1956, p. C–19; and the Washington Post and Times Herald, October 11, 1956, p. 1.)

1957 RULINGS

6. *Ben Gold* v. *United States of America* (January 28, 1957): Ben Gold, former president of the now defunct International Fur and Leather Workers Union, "swore before the National Labor Relations Board on August 30, 1950, that he was not a member of the Communist Party nor affiliated with it. He had announced his resignation a few days previously." The Government subsequently claimed Gold "lied when he made the oath, required by the Taft-Hartley Act, and that the resignation had no real meaning." He was indicted in 1953 and was later convicted of falsifying the non-Communist affidavit. (See the Washington Post and Times Herald, January 29, 1957, p. A–10.)

In a split decision ordering a new trial, the Supreme Court held that when the Federal Bureau of Investigation inadvertently questioned three members of the Gold's jury in the "probing an unrelated case," such action by the FBI was "'official intrusion into the privacy of the jury.' It acknowledged the violation was unintentional but this 'does not remove the effect of the intrusion'." Resulting from this decision, the Government announced on May 9, 1957, its dismissal of the Gold case "since the alleged commission of the crime, and careful reappraisal of the evidence against Gold has led to the conclusion that certain material evidence is not available. 'Considering this loss of testimony in light of the age of the case it was concluded that Gold could not be successfully retried'." (See the Washington Post and Times Herald, May 10, 1957, p. A–12.)

Four Supreme Court Justices filed dissenting opinions. Three charged that the FBI interviewing incident had "no effect upon the jurors adverse to the defendant." In a very strongly worded separate minority opinion, Justice Clark declared: "I am * * * disturbed by the refusal of the Court to decide * * * important questions urged upon us * * *. Among these are the applicability of the perjury rule of evidence to the false statement statute * * * admissibility of evidence of prior activity in the Communist Party to disprove the sincerity of a resignation therefrom, the use of expert witnesses to prove continuing membership and the correctness of the Court's charges as to membership in the party, etc. * * * The refusal of the majority (this Supreme Court decision) today to pass upon them thus deprives the Federal judiciary of this Court's opinion, which renders today's error multifold. It will cause undue hardship in the trial of all of these cases, not only on the Government but on the defendants as well" (See Supreme Court of the U. S., No. 137—October term, minority decision, 1956, p. 2.)

7. *Rudolph Schware* v. *Board of Bar Examiners of the State of New Mexico* (May 6, 1957): In examining Rudolph Schware's application for admission to the New Mexico State Bar, the board of bar examiners denied "Schware the right to take the bar examination" because of his admissions concerning membership in the Communist Party from 1932 to 1940 and other criminal activities. After appealing to the New Mexico Supreme Court, this body concurred with the State in denying Schware's motion. This court stated ("Schware's membership in the Communist Party), together with his other former actions, in the use of aliases and record of arrests, and his present attitude toward those matters, were the considerations upon which (we approved the denial of his application.)" Adversely, claiming "there is nothing in the record which suggests that Schware has engaged in any conduct during the past 15 years which reflects (against) his character," the Supreme Court of the United States concluded that Schware's "past

membership in the Communist Party does not justify an inference that he presently has bad moral character * * * There is no evidence in the record which rationally justifies a finding that Schware was morally unfit to practice law." (See U. S. Supreme Court, No. 92—October term, 1956, pp. 6, 7, 13, and 14.)

8. *Raphael Konigsberg* v. *The State Bar of California and the Committee of Bar Examiners of the State Bar of California* (May 6, 1957): Raphael Konigsberg, in applying for admission to the California State Bar, the "State committee of bar examiners * * * refused to certify him to practice law on the grounds he had failed to prove (1) that he was of good moral character and (2) that he did not advocate overthrow of the Government of the United States or California by unconstitutional means." Like the aforementioned Schware decision, the Supreme Court upset the State's ruling and upheld the right of Konigsberg to practice law. In his dissenting remarks, a Supreme Court Justice claimed "what the (Supreme) Court has really done is simply to impose on California its own notions of public policy and judgment. For me, today's decision represents an unacceptable intrusion into a matter of State concern." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 5—October term, minority decision, 1956, pp. 1 and 36.)

9. *United States of America* v. *George I. Witkovich* (April 28, 1957): George I. Witkovich, a former employee of the Slovenian-English language newspaper Prosveta, was ordered deported in 1953 for membership in the Communist Party. When the United States attempted to deport him to Yugoslavia, that country refused to admit Witkovich. Remaining in the United States, he was subject to the supervision of the Attorney General, which was made possible by a statute of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. In October 1955, he was indicted "for having refused to answer questions about his activities, including whether he had attended Communist meetings since the deportation order was issued." When Federal District Court quashed the indictment, the Government appealed directly to the Supreme Court. The Government claimed that if the lower court ruling was upheld, it "would hamper * * * (the Government) efforts to control subversive aliens and would jeopardize internal security." The Government pointed out that "more than 3,000 deportation cases could be affected by the ruling." (See the New York Times, April 30, 1957, p. C–11.)

Ruling against the Government's motion, the Supreme Court said that "an alien awaiting deportation was not compelled to answer questions about Communist activities." In a minority opinion, two Supreme Court Justices claimed that the "majority (Supreme Court) decision stripped the Attorney General of an important power necessary to the protection of internal security." (See the New York Times, April 30, 1957, p. C–11.)

10. *United States of America* v. *Mrs. Antonio Sentner* (May 20, 1957): While under a deportation order in April 1953 "on the ground that she was a member of the Communist Party," Mrs. Antonio Sentner was served an order by the Attorney General to terminate membership in this subversive organization. When a Federal district court criticized the Immigration and Naturalization Service for its handling of the case, the Department of Justice appealed directly to the Supreme Court. Upholding the lower court, the High Court ruled, "the Justice Department lacks authority to ban Communist activity by an alien who has been under a deportation order for 6 months." In a dissenting opinion, two Supreme Court Justices warned that this decision "makes ineffective those clauses of the McCarran-Walter Immigration (Immigration and Nationality) Act of 1952 which are vital to effectuation of the purpose of Congress in controlling subversives whose order of deportation has been forestalled by technical difficulties." (See the Washington Post and Times Herald, May 21, 1957.)

11. *Max Halperin* v. *United States of America* (May 30, 1957): When Max Halperin, a New York lawyer, was called before a Brooklyn, N. Y., grand jury, "investigating corruption in the Bureau of Internal Revenue," he refused to answer certain questions on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate him. Halperin was subsequently indicted. At his trial he repeatedly invoked the fifth amendment when asked the same questions he had refused to answer before the grand jury. Prior to Halperin's conviction, the trial judge instructed the jury "that Mr. Halperin's claim of his constitutional privilege not to be a witness against himself could be considered in determining what weight should be given to his testimony." (See the New York Times, May 31, 1957, pp. 1 and 11.)

In a unanimous ruling, the Supreme Court held in effect "against the popular tendency of assuming that a man must be guilty of some wrongdoing, if he invokes the fifth amendment." The Court held that "under the circumstances of this case it was prejudicial error for the trial judge to permit cross-examination of petitioner (Halperin) on his plea of the fifth amendment privilege before the grand jury, and that Halperin must, therefore, be given a new trial." (See the New York Times, May 31, 1957, p. 11.)

Commenting on the subject of the fifth amendment at a news conference on March 27, 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower declared, "that in some instances it is absolutely a basic safeguard of American liberty or it would not have been written as the fifth amendment to the Constitution, although I must say I probably share the common reaction: If a man has to go to the fifth amendment, there must be something he doesn't want to tell." (See the New York Times, May 31, 1957, p. 1.)

12. *Shirley Kremen et al* v. *United States of America* (May 13, 1957): Convicted of harboring fugitive Communist Party national leader, Robert Thompson, three individuals, namely, Shirley Kremen, Samuel Irving Coleman, and Sidney Steinberg, won new trials in a divided Supreme Court decision. The majority ruling declared "the seizure of the entire contents of the house and its removal some 200 miles away to the Federal Bureau of Investigation offices for the purpose of examination is beyond the sanction of any of our cases. While the evidence seized from the persons of the petitioners (Kremen, Coleman, and Steinberg) might have been legally admissible the introduction against each of petitioners of some items seized in the house rendered dence of guilt otherwise." (See Supreme Court of the U. S., No. 162—October term, 1956, p. 2.)

A minority decision claimed "only a fragmentary part of the items listed by the Court as seized was admitted into evidence and if any items were illegally seized their effect should be governed by the rule of harmless error since there was ample evidence of guilt otherwise." (See Supreme Court of the U. S., No. 162—October term, 1956, p. 2.)

13. *Clinton E. Jencks* v. *United States of America* (June 3, 1957): The last Supreme Court decision summarized for Firing Line readers in this compilation, cut a serious gash into our present internal security programs which greatly favored the Communist conspiracy in the United States. Convicted in 1950 for filing a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board, Clinton E. Jencks, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, appealed his case to the Supreme Court. Granting Jencks a new trial, the High Court subsequently ruled in effect that the Government must make confidential Federal Bureau of Investigation files "available to defendants in criminal cases or dismiss the charges." (See the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 4, 1957, p. A–1.)

Sharply dissenting from the majority opinion, Supreme Court Justice Clark warned "unless the Congress changes the rule announced by the Court today, those intelligence agencies of our Government engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop for the Court has opened their files to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets." Quoting from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's 1950 congressional testimony, Clark said that if confidential investigative files were "spread upon the record, criminals, foreign agents, subversives, and others would be forewarned and would seek methods to carry out their activities by avoiding detection and thus defeat the very purposes for which the FBI was created." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 23, October term, minority decision, 1956, pp. 2, 3, and 4.)

This decision resulted in the introduction of legislation in Congress on June 4, 1957, by Representative WALTER, permitting "the Attorney General to refuse disclosure of any information if the disclosure would be prejudicial to 'the public interest, safety, or security of the United States'." "Without its prompt enactment," Representative WALTER said, "we might just as well expect a complete breakdown of our internal security." Also commenting on the Supreme Court's decision, Senator KARL E. MUNDT warned the "ruling must be overcome by legislation." In preparing separate legislation to circumvent this High Court decision, Representative KENNETH B. KEATING said if the Court's ruling is followed, "the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigative agencies 'might as well close up shop'." (See New York Herald Tribune, June 5, 1957.)

Unless immediate remedial legislation is enacted, irreparable harm will be done the entire security program.

The Great American Sport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as every good westerner knows, rodeo time is now upon us. A recent article which appeared in the June 30 edition of the Herald and News, Klamath Falls, Oreg., included some frequently overlooked facts concerning this great sport.

For example, I doubt if many people realize that last year more Americans attended rodeos than attended college football games. And, while I certainly do not want to precipitate a quarrel with baseball enthusiasts, I cannot restrain myself from pointing out that the rodeo remains as the only great American competition which is restricted almost exclusively to the United States and western Canada and thus perhaps has first claim as the great American sport.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this article will prove interesting not only to my western

colleagues, but also to the city-bred Members of this body. I ask that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

RODEOING HAS GROWN IN NATIONAL POPULARITY

Rodeos, born on the open range as a sport of lonely cowhands in the days after the Civil War, has spread across the Nation as a truly indigenous American sport which today has a draw at the gate comparable to college football.

A news service (United Press) has compiled figures showing that 585 college football games last year drew 13,600,000 spectators. In the same year the nearly 600 rodeos approved by the Rodeo Cowboys' Association drew an estimated 14 million spectators.

If one adds in the spectators who viewed high-school, college, and amateur rodoes during the year, the total may well reach 25 million.

There is no record of the first rodeo. Undoubtedly it began as an outlet for lonely, hardbitten cowhands when they assembled to work together on trail drives and roundups. There was betting on horse races, roping, and bucking contests when the hands of different outfits got together.

In those early days the only spectators were the crews of the various ranches involved and the arena was the open plain. The only prize money was that which was bet on the contests.

From Texas, rodeos moved north and west with the trail herds. In the late 1880's the cowboys began to stage their contests of skill and stamina at the towns where they ended their drives. The cowboy tournaments, as they were called, began to draw crowds of townspeople.

About the time of the First World War an old Spanish word for roundup, rodeo, first was applied to these contests and by 1930 this purely western competition had established some beachheads in big eastern cities after spreading the length and breadth of the western half of the Nation.

As rodeo grew like Topsy, it experienced typical growing pains. There were great variations in the rules from one contest to the next and the purses were not large. The cowboys who tried to earn his living in this rough sport had a difficult time of it.

Each paid his own entry fee—but those fees were not always added to the prize money. In 1936, when the rodeo at the Boston Garden offered a purse so small the winners couldn't even cover their expenses, the cowboys went on strike.

The purse was increased and they went back to rodeoing. But these rugged individualists had learned a lesson: cooperative effort obviously was the way to overcome some of their problems.

They formed the Cowboys' Turtle Association, the first organization of rodeo contestants. The name Turtles and the reason for its choice are forgotten now, although there is one legend that the founding cowboys decided they'd move slowly, like the proverbial turtle, toward collective operations for the good of the sport.

The name came to mean unity among rodeo performers. Today, when a man says "I was a Turtle," he immediately wins the respect of this generation of rodeo cowboys for his part in making rodeo what it is today.

The Turtles became the Rodeo Cowboys' Association in 1945 and 2 years ago the association was incorporated under the Colorado not-for-profit act. Today the RCA is the backbone of professional rodeo.

It has striven to protect not only the rights of its members but of the communities in which rodeos are put on. It has helped eliminate unscrupulous promoters who preyed on unwary city leaders in the old days and it polices its 3,000-member organization to rid the sport of the rodeo bum.

It has established a fair and accurate way to determine the national champions. It has sponsored a group life and accident insurance program for the rodeo cowboy who until a few years ago had been considered an uninsurable risk.

The RCA approves all professional rodeos and nonmembers can appear in no more than three RCA rodeos a year. Members cannot even work one amateur or unapproved contest.

This distinction assures the producers of RCA-approved rodeos of the best professional contestants. It also prevents the experienced pros from winning the purses from beginners at local, amateur rodeos.

The RCA has lifted rodeo to its present stature as an outstanding spectator sport of America. And it has lifted the individual performer to the point where he can make a living—perhaps a very good one, depending on his skill—in the arenas.

Many of the pros average from $5,000 to $10,000 a year, depending on how many rodeos they work. Last year's all-around champion, Casey Tibbs, won more than $42,000, and Bill Linderman, RCA president and all-around winner in 1950 and 1953, has won more than $140,000 in the last 5 years.

Only about half of that is profit even before taxes. Cowboys pay their own expenses and entry fees. They are on the road a great deal of the year. Often the bigtimers shooting at the all-around crown spend up to $3,000 on airline tickets alone as they "commute" from rodeo to rodeo during the busy part of the long season.

The approved rodeos largely are sponsored by groups of citizens, civic or fraternal organizations. More than half of the RCA rodeos are sponsored by committees of local citizens serving with no pay. Another 30 percent are under the aegis of civic or fraternal groups.

Rodeo contestants are professional athletes, so expert in handling horse and rope that the veterans of the open range two generations ago would look like rank amateurs beside them.

While many of the top hands are ranch-born, several skilled pros hail from city streets and college campuses.

The sport remains the only great American competition which has not been adopted abroad, except for the natural spillover into the range country of western Canada. Its steady growth in popularity attests primarily to the fact that Americans are proud of their heritage, a part of which lives on even in big-city arenas when the rodeo is put on.

Hon. James B. Bowler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues from the Chicago area and the State of Illinois paying tribute to the memory of the Honorable JAMES B. BOWLER, whose death has just been announced to the House.

It was my pleasure to form a close acquaintanceship with Mr. BOWLER since he came to the House in July of 1953 to succeed the late Honorable Adolph J. Sabath.

I am certain that my admiration and respect for this fine public servant is shared by every Member of this body. Few men in American public life have had such a distinguished record of service, which covered a span of over a half century beginning with election in 1906 to the city council of the great city of Chicago.

I extend to Mrs. Bowler my sincere and deepest sympathy.

A View From the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article written by Prof. Harry Kalven, Jr., a professor of law at the University of Chicago. The article appeared in the May 27, 1957, issue of the New Republic:

A VIEW FROM THE LAW

(By Harry Kalven, Jr.)

"May I say that moral scruples, however laudable, do not constitute legal reason for refusing to answer the questions" (Representative DONALD L. JACKSON, of California, hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, June 21, 1956, in the matter of Arthur Miller.)

On June 21, 1956, Mr. Arthur Miller, one of America's major playwrights, appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. The committee, under Chairman FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, had been engaged in the investigation of the unauthorized use of United States passports. Mr. Miller was accompanied by able counsel, Mr. Joseph Rauh—former national chairman of ADA, and the interrogation was handled with decorum. The inquiry covered a range of topics including Mr. Miller's opinions on Ezra Pound, the repeal of the Smith Act, Elia Kazan, Howard Fast, the Spanish War, the preferred position of the artist, and Red China. It also touched more than once on Mr. Miller's views of congressional committees. There was even discussion of several of his plays.

As might be expected, Mr. Miller is on occasion eloquent and is permitted by the committee to handle himself with dignity and seriousness, as when he says: "I have always been, since my student days, in the thirties, a partisan of Republican Spain. I am quite proud of it. I am not at all ashamed. I think a democracy was destroyed there;" or when he attempts to convey to the committee what the objectives of a serious writer are. He is also at times effectively witty as when counsel asks him about one of his plays being produced by the Communist Party: "I take no more responsibility for who plays my plays than General Motors can take for who rides in their Chevrolets."

Representative HAROLD VELDE, Republican, of Illinois, observes at one point that Mr. Miller has every right to urge publicly the repeal of the Smith Act; at another point Representative CLYDE DOYLE, Democrat, of California, shows genuine concern lest questions about Mr. Miller's relationships with Mr. Kazan intrude improperly into his private affairs. Chairman WALTER acknowledges

that in the past he, too, made a contribution to the Anti-Fascist Committee. There are, of course, the usual questions about Mr. Miller's affiliations with Communist fronts and with the party itself; he answers these candidly and in general without apology and to the apparent satisfaction of the committee.

Then as the hearing is about to conclude he is asked about Arnoud D'Usseau and mentions that he, Miller, was present at meetings of a small group of Communist writers in 1947, 5 or 6 such meetings. Inevitably, he is asked who was present at those meetings, and replies:

"Mr. Chairman, I understand the philosophy behind this question and I want you to understand mine. When I say this I want you to understand that I am not protecting the Communists or the Communist Party. I am trying to and I will protect my sense of myself. I could not use the name of another person and bring trouble on him. Those were writers, poets, as far as I could see, and the life of the writer, despite what it sometimes seems, is pretty tough. I wouldn't make it any tougher for anybody. I ask you not to ask me that question."

He is carefully advised by the committee that his reasons for refusing to answer are not accepted and is formally directed to answer. He declines to change his answer and after a few more questions the hearing adjourns with the chairman expressing the hope he will in the future raise his important voice against the Communist conspiracy.

These then are the relevant facts. Now Mr. Miller is on trial for contempt of Congress, before the District Court in Washington, D. C. The question of law is whether Arthur Miller has committed a crime in refusing to answer. Although the matter is not completely free from doubt and although a relevant case is currently pending before the United States Supreme Court, I think he will quite possibly be adjudged guilty. It is the purpose of this comment to sketch how the law has come to this conclusion and to survey the principal legal issues on which argument still remains in Mr. Miller's case.

THE BASIC ISSUES

Legislative investigations have had a long and a troubled history in the United States as the excellent books by Telford Taylor and Alan Barth document. Whenever used vigorously they have been a center of controversy. Perhaps it will bear repetition that the title for Taylor's book, Grand Inquest, comes from a letter written by Mr. Justice Miller, of the United States Supreme Court, in 1880:

"I think that the public has been much abused, the time of legislative bodies uselessly consumed and the rights of the citizen ruthlessly invaded under the now familiar pretext of legislative investigation and that it is time that it was understood that courts and grand juries are the only inquisitions into crime in this country. I do not recognise the doctrine that Congress is the grand inquest of the Nation, or has any such function to perform, nor that it can by the name of a report slander the citizen so as to protect the newspaper which publishes such slander."

The issues raised by the famous committees investigating communism are not very different from the issues raised when we have Senator KEFAUVER looking into the affairs of Frank Costello or Senator KENNEDY into the affairs of Dave Beck, (or to go back a few years, when we have the Black inquiry into public utilities, the Pecora inquiry into investment banking, or even the Teapot Dome investigation itself). Undoubtedly, the congressional inquiry is a remarkably powerful weapon and a remarkably effective way of getting at certain types of facts and forcing them on public attention. Undoubtedly, too, it can look like the grand inquest running up and down the Nation calling individuals to account without regard to traditional decencies.

History is again instructive. Legal doctrine about the limits of congressional investigative power developed slowly. The first great case, *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson*, did not come before the Supreme Court until 1880. In it the power of Congress was found lacking under the particular circumstances and the Court bequeathed an opinion full of cautions about intrusions by Congress into the private affairs of the citizen. The next 40 years produced little further legal precedent, and as late as 1920 the investigative powers of Congress were in considerable doubt. Then came the Teapot Dome investigation and two major Supreme Court decisions in *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* and *Sinclair* v. *United States* which served decisively to underwrite a broad power to compel testimony. The literature of controversy at this time now seems nicely ironic. For it was the liberals—Prof. Felix Frankfurter in a famous New Republic article, Hands Off Congressional Investigations, and Prof. James Landis in a most influential article in the Harvard Law Review—who were the strong proponents of virtually unlimited legislative power of investigation. And it was the conservative, Frederic Coudert, who entered the debate on the other side with an article in the Virginia Law Review entitled Congressional Inquisitions and Individual Liberty.

The source of this ambivalence toward congressional investigations is not hard to locate. It arises because the investigation both looks a lot like and a lot different from a criminal prosecution and trial. It is best to begin with the differences: All that a congressional committee can do is to compel the individual to testify; if he talks and talks honestly that is the end of the matter. The committee has no power to deal with him further, it is not adjudicating or determining any of his rights or duties; it is simply collecting information for legislative use. If a witness does not answer truthfully under oath, he may expose himself to a perjury prosecution. If he does not answer at all, he may expose himself to a contempt prosecution.

If this were the whole story, which it is not, there would still be some question about the limits of this power to compel testimony in a society where the right to be let alone by government is prized. Realpolitik adds another dimension. For such hearings have been inextricably tied up with publicity; and the publicity, with the prestige of government behind it, invites a public response to the witness in which are found imprecise but additional sanctions. There is thus some merit in the popular phrase that an investigation may become a trial by publicity.

The difficulty cannot be solved, as was thought possible a few years back, by improvements in committee procedures. The procedures can, of course, be somewhat improved as in fact they have been in recent years. But the hearings cannot contain the safeguards of the trial of an individual without in fact becoming a trial.

Let us return to Arthur Miller. The law might have provided 1 of 2 answers to his legal problem, either of which would have been clear. It might have held that a congressional committee never had the power to compel testimony; or it might have held that there was always a power to compel testimony. The law has done neither, however, electing rather to discriminate between situations where the power exists and where it does not. To this detailed legal profile we now turn.

MOTIVES OF THE WITNESSES

Does it matter that Mr. Miller's refusal to give a committee the names of others is keyed to principle and to a genuine doubt that the committee had the legal power to compel an answer? To answer that, we must take note of three steps in the contempt process.

Under the statute, a congressional committee must first itself decide whether it wishes to treat the refusal as contempt and must then submit the question for vote to the house to which it belongs. The first step, therefore, is for the house to certify the contempt to the United States Attorney for prosecution under the statute. The second step is the criminal trial itself which may be held with a jury; and the third step is the sentencing by the trial judge, if the defendant is found guilty. Mr. Miller's motives may have a bearing on any or all of these steps.

We shall begin with the trial. The laws have become abundantly clear that the state of mind of the witness does not matter legally so long as he deliberately and intentionally refused to answer the question. The only criminal intent required is the intent not to answer and the witness will be equally guilty if he was pursuing an erroneous but plausible legal theory or if he was acting out of the highest moral scruples or simply being recalcitrant. Unlike grand jury proceedings, or the special investigative proceedings in New Hampshire involved in the Paul Sweezy case, a witness before a congressional committee challenges the committee's power at his peril, he is not entitled to the advice of a court first.

Let us now go back for a moment to the exercise of discretion by the committee and Congress in voting the contempt citation. Here the Miller case has already made an important and encouraging precedent. In theory the requirement that the full house approve the contempt is an important safeguard and an important device for enabling Congress to review the activities of its investigating committees. But in recent years, with the exception of the Rumely case which did not involve any issue of communism, the ratifying of the contempt citation by the full House has been totally perfunctory. The Miller case differs in two respects. First, the committee itself agreed to withhold its decision for 10 days so that Miller's counsel could submit a memorandum in support of the committee not voting the contempt. With Mr. Lloyd Garrison joining Mr. Rauh as counsel, a thoughtful and forceful statement of the case for Miller was submitted. More important, the citation evoked serious debate on the floor of the House with Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, making an impassioned defense for Mr. Miller. "We seriously indict ourselves," he said, "if we pass this bill of indictment." And a bit later, "A Miller is not born every day. A Miller comes rarely. Do we foster talent, the type he has, by way of jail?"

Perhaps even more striking was the contribution of Representative ABRAHAM MULTER, Democrat, of New York. He repeatedly, and to my mind effectively, challenged the committee members to explain what possible relevance the names Miller refused to divulge could have to the legislative purposes of the committee. Representative MULTER was raising a fundamental query: Does Congress need so exact an inventory of individual cases in order to legislate? "Why," he asked the committee members, "do you not proceed to legislate?" The vote was another matter. The contempt was certified by a score of 373 to 9.

Now, a word about the sentencing power. The contempt statute provides for a maximum sentence of 1 year imprisonment and $1,000 fine and a minimum of 1 month and $100. Thus a final avenue for the exercise of common sense as to the gravity of Mr. Miller's offense is left by the law to the trial judge.

SEPARATION OF POWERS

The most interesting and puzzling legal question is whether the Constitution limits in any way the committee's exercise of power. Since under our constitutional theory there is judicial review of the constitutionality of legislation, is there not also judicial review of the constitutionality of legislative inquiry preliminary to legislation?

Unquestionably, in theory and in judicial dicta there is a limit on congressional inquiry. The formula of *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson* that Congress has no power to investigate private affairs has been repeated with respect by all courts since. The inquiry, the courts have repeatedly told us, must be for a legislative purpose. Can Mr. Miller then challenge the committee either on the grounds that the questions were an intrusion into his private affairs or on the grounds that the inquiry itself had no valid legislative purpose?

Since the Teapot Dome cases the courts have neatly avoided the task their own formula would appear to have imposed upon them. In brief the law has virtually reached the point of asserting that only inquiries for a legislative purpose into the affairs of a public interest are constitutionally permitted to Congress; but that any inquiry which Congress authorizes will conclusively be presumed to be for legislative purposes and of public interest—with issues specified in advance, adversary proceedings, active participation by counsel, introduction and cross-examination of witnesses and a final determination of the issues. And the legislature cannot be, and should not be, that interested in the exact truth as to the individual case.

Immediately after the war in a series of cases involving the Un-American Activities Committee, ingenious efforts were made to show that the committee's actual purposes were not legislative. The courts turned a deaf ear, even to statements made by the committee members themselves. Two very recent cases, however, indicate that this argument may still have some life in it. In the Icardi case, decided in April 1956, Federal District Judge Richmond B. Keech directed a verdict of acquittal for the defendant in a prosecution for perjury before a special House committee investigating crimes by our Armed Forces abroad and the death of Major Holloban in particular. The committee had completed its investigation and had the materials for its report ready when Icardi testified. The court, in part influenced by the tone of the subsequent report which in effect found Icardi guilty of murder, held that in questioning him the committee was functioning as "a committing magistrate" and that no legislative purpose was furthered by its questioning him. Judge Keech observed near the end of his opinion:

"Counsel for the Government has suggested that frequently individuals are adjudged guilty of an offense by a congressional committee in the exercise of its functions. This court doubts the accuracy of such statement; but, if it be true, such practice should not be condoned, as it denies to the accused the constitutional safeguards of judicial trial."

This is a remarkable and important decision and suggests that the closer the inquiry comes to a traditional category of crime like murder, the more likely it is the court will be genuinely disturbed by the resemblance to a legislative trial.

The Watkins case, which was decided by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia a year ago, is perhaps more directly important to the Miller case, and resembles it very closely on its facts. In the course of an inquiry into labor unions by the Un-American Activities Committee, Watkins answered a series of questions about his own Communist affiliations, denied he had been a Communist, identified certain others as Communists, and then refused to answer as to a list of some 30 additional names. The inquiry referred to a period from 1942 to 1947, and Watkins made an eloquent and careful statement of his reasons. He was willing, he said, to discuss those whom he still believed were active in the party but "I do not believe that any law in this country requires me to testify about persons who may in the past have been Communist Party members or otherwise engaged in Communist Party activity but who to the best of my knowledge and belief have long since removed themselves from the Communist movement."

Watkins was found guilty of contempt by the trial court but the conviction was upset in January 1956, in a 2-to-1 decision of the court of appeals, with Judges Henry W. Edgerton and David L. Bazelon in the majority. A rehearing was ordered before the Court of Appeals en banc and in a 6-to-2 decision the original conviction was affirmed, the momentary majority opinion of Judges Edgerton and Bazelon now being preserved as the dissent. It is this case which may be decided very soon now by the United States Supreme Court and which may largely control Mr. Miller's case.

What is so striking about the Watkins case is the seriousness with which the lack of proper legislative purpose was argued. The majority, speaking through Judge Walter M. Bastian, said that Congress had a power of exposure "if the exposure was incident to the exercise of a legislative function." So long as a legislative purpose could be served by the inquiry any exposure of individuals in the course of it was incidental and did not affect the validity of the inquiry. The dissenters pointed out that the congressional committee did not ask Watkins several questions which were obviously relevant if its purpose was legislative; the period involved was so long ago as to make it difficult to see the utility of the information to a legislative purpose; the chairman in replying to Watkins' challenge totally failed to indicate what the legislative purpose was; the committee appeared to know already what it was asking Watkins; and finally, said the dissenters, a closed session would have served every purpose except exposure.

The question is thus a difficult one for the courts. Undoubtedly the committees investigating subversion have for years been collecting far more information about the details of individual cases than would be reasonably necessary for legislation; undoubtedly too the congressional hearing has functioned as a highly efficient variant on the loyalty program. But it is also true, as the majority of the court of appeals notes, that Congress can certainly legislate on subversion and that facts are useful to that end.

Many years ago Woodrow Wilson in an oft-quoted passage discussed as an important aspect of congressional inquries the function of informing the public. The court cases, however, are interesting in their steady rejection of this rationale. The investigating purpose remains legislative, and that means having some connection with legislation, at least where private individuals and not Government agencies are the subject. It is a safe prediction that however the Supreme Court decides the Watkins case it will repeat the caution that the power to compel testimony exists only in aid of legislation.

THE FIRST AMENDMENT

What of the other constitutional approach to the Miller case—the challenge to the investigating committee's authority under the first amendment: "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech"? The great day for the first amendment challenge was a decade ago in two court of appeals cases, Josephson and Barsky. Each challenge failed by a 2-to-1 vote, but the strong dissenting opinions of Judge Charles E. Clark in Josephson and of Judge Edgerton in Barsky indicate how vital the point was. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court declined to review either case, or the other cases which soon followed such as Lawson, arising out of the investigation of the movies.

There are several troublesome points in connection with a first amendment claim. First, can mere inquiry constitute a restraint? Second, what is the appropriate standard for testing the restraint on speech since the classic clear-and-present-danger formula is not easy to use in this context? Does the freedom of speech include the freedom of silence? And finally, there is the somewhat technical question of whether only the particular question of the entire scope of inquiry is to be tested; can, that is, the defendant be a vicarious champion against restraints on others?

The matter was brilliantly debated between Judge Elijah Barrett Prettyman and Judge Edgerton in 1948 in the Barsky case. Judge Edgerton, in dissent, viewing the entire scope of inquiry in light of what he takes as the realities of the investigation, concludes:

"The free speech point comes to this. Congressional action that is either intended or likely to restrict expression of opinion that Congress may not prohibit violates the first amendment. Congressional action in the nature of investigation is no exception. Civil liberties may not be abridged in order to determine whether they should be abridged. The House committee's investigation is both intended and likely to restrict expression of opinion that Congress may not prohibit. That it actually does so is clear and undisputed."

And earlier in his opinion he had said: "What Congress may not restrain, Congress may not restrain by exposure and obloquy."

Judge Prettyman's rejoiner for the majority was, however, eloquent in its own right. He takes the issue presented more narrowly than Judge Edgerton and decides only that questions as to direct Communist affiliation are permissible. He acknowledges that the inquiry may realistically be a restraint upon free speech and "that even the most timid and sensitive cannot be unconstitutionally restrained in the freedom of his thought." But this does not for him dispose of the matter, since there still remains the countervalue of public interest in security. He notes that the freedom to remain silent may rest on somewhat different constitutional premises of privacy than the freedom to speak but agrees that there is more than an infringement of privacy involved here. And he finds that clear and present danger is an unsuitable formula for measuring whatever restraint there is since it would involve sheer folly for the Government to refrain from inquiry until the danger to itself was clear and present. The appropriate test therefore is whether the inquiry is dictated by "some reasonable cause for concern." And that in his judgment that test was adequately met in this instance.

In future cases Barsky is cited as the decisive precedent for rejecting first amendment claims. The exception is the Rumely case which was decided by the same court of appeals in 1952 and by the Supreme Court the following year. This time the witness wins and there is a strong first amendment shadow across the proceedings. The facts, however, are very different. Rumely was an officer of a private group which published and distributed widely to Congressmen and others books and pamphlets on public affairs with a conservative emphasis. Rumely was called before a House committee investigating lobbying and requested to furnish the names of major contributors to his organization. He refused. His conviction for contempt was reversed in the court of appeals and the reversal affirmed in a unanimous decision in the Supreme Court. The principal grounds were that Congress, in authorizing the committee to investigate lobbying,

had not authorized it to investigate activities such as these.

But Judge Prettyman also had his second opportunity to speak about the first amendment:

"To publicize or to report to the Congress the names and addresses of purchasers of books, pamphlets, and periodicals is a realistic interference with the publication and sale of those writings. This is another problem which we examined in the Barsky case, and we there held that the public inquiry there involved was an infringement of free speech. We are of the same view here. There can be no doubt in that case or in this one that the realistic effect of public embarrassment is a powerful interference with free expression of views. In that case the tenents of communism and the apparent nature of the Communist Party created a public necessity for congressional inquiry. In the case at bar no such dangerous factors are represented to us. There is no suggestion that the publication or distribution of these books and documents constitutes any public danger, clear or otherwise, present or otherwise."

In the Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter in carefully construing the investigating committee's authorization so as to avoid the grave constitutional question observes that the Court would in Justice William Howard Taft's phrase have to be blind not to see what others can see—"that there is wide concern both in and out of Congress, over some aspects of the exercise of the congressional power of investigation."

Justice William O. Douglas in a separate opinion joined in by Justice Hugo Black thought the committee's authorization did cover the particular investigation and thus came, of necessity, to the constitutional question. The inquiry was unconstitutional, he thought, under the first amendment:

"A requirement that a publisher disclose the identity of those who buy his books, pamphlets, or papers is indeed the beginning of surveillance of the press. True, no legal sanction is involved here. Congress has imposed no tax, established no board of censors, instituted no licensing system. But the potential restraint is equally severe. The finger of Government leveled at the press is ominous. Once the Government can demand of a publisher the names of the purchasers of his publications, the free press as we know it disappears. Then the specter of a Government agent will look over the shoulder of everyone who reads. The purchase of a book or pamphlet today may result in a subpena tomorrow. * * * The subtle, imponderable pressures of the orthodox lay hold."

The box score indicates that in the past decade five able judges—Clark, Edgerton, Prettyman, Black, and Douglas—have taken seriously the first amendment challenge, although no court has as yet squarely limited a congressional inquiry on this ground, and in perhaps a dozen cases it has been rejected by the minority.

What then of Mr. Miller? As a creative writer he will present a strong case in the speech field as could be desired, but this was true of film writer John Howard Lawson in the movie investigation and was not enough. There remain two interesting possibilities. Miller was asked many questions having to do with his opinions in general. One is tempted to suggest that from a legal point of view he answered the wrong questions and refused to answer the right ones. Perhaps if he had declined to debate under oath with Mr. Arens, to discuss Red China, Ezra Pound, and committees, he would have had a powerful case. This suggests the possible first point. It might be argued that the inquiry is to be read as a whole and that so read it is an instance of Government surveillance of a writer far transcending any needs of Congress. The legitimacy of the question he declined to answer, so the argument would run, is in effect forfeited by the total pattern of inquiry. Perhaps, just perhaps, a court might see it this way.

The second point is one suggested by Mr. Taylor in his book. The refusal of the witness to answer arises not from any fear of publicity, but from the fear of being called upon to inform. And as a consequence, free interchange among writers and artists is, to borrow the rhetoric of Justice Douglas, under the shadow of the subpena calling upon one to inform.

One final point. Perhaps the argument about legislative purposes and necessity can combine with the arguments under the first amendment. The resulting argument would be the simple but sensible one that the court should particularly scrutinize the legislative claims of need for the particular information where the request impinges on first amendment freedoms or where it impinges on deeply held notions of privacy.

THE TECHNICAL APPROACH

One last corner of law remains to be examined, although it may not be directly relevant to Arthur Miller's case. In the past year or so several recalcitrant witnesses—Keeney, Lamont, O'Connor, Kamin—have won their cases. The manner of winning represents an interesting example of legal craftsmanship; the courts may choose to express their actual distaste for excesses of congressional investigating bodies not by resort to classic constitutional principles, but by technical examinations of the vagueness of questions or of the exact scope of the committee's authorization. The result will leave the basic balance of power between court and committee unchanged. But the result will be to acquit the present defendants. And the result in the eyes of the public will be to curtail sharply committee power—for now the committee is losing the battle of publicity.

In the O'Connor case, the witness was asked whether he was a member of the "Communist conspiracy." The case bristled with fundamental questions since it was part of the McCarthy inquiry into books in Government libraries abroad. But the court rested its acquittal of O'Connor on the narrow ground that the question thus phrased was too ambiguous to serve as a basis for criminal prosecution for contempt, although the witness in no way suggested that his refusal to answer was keyed to his inability to understand the question. In Lamont, Unger, and Shadowitz, the court found that the McCarthy Committee on Government Operations was authorized to inquire into economy and efficiency and that the prosecution had totally failed to bring the questions asked the witnesses at the hearing within that scope.

Finally in Kamin, Judge Aldrich displayed this technique at its fullest. In an elaborate set of opinions he slowly and painstakingly reviews the authorizations from the subcommittee to the chairman and from the parent committee to the subcommittee as though he were reading a trust indenture and finds one by one that the questions Senator McCarthy had asked Mr. Kamin each fell outside the committee authorization.

The reliance is thus chiefly on the statutory requirement that the question be pertinent, and pertinency is to be tested by the authorization of Congress to the committee. The court can under this technique fully acknowledge the power of Congress to investigate and yet repeatedly find that as agents of Congress the committees have exceeded the exact scope of their authority. Since the House committee was ostensibly investigating passport fraud at the time of the Arthur Miller hearing, the pertinency of its questions may perhaps be tested against that purpose rather than against the very broad congressional authorization to the Un-American Activities Committee as such. If so, it may be relatively easy and quite congenial for a court to hold that the committee utterly failed to establish any connection between a small group of writers meeting in 1947 and passport frauds in 1956. And Judge Charles McLaughlin, who is hearing the Miller case, made it clear at the outset of the trial that the sole issue before the court is the pertinency of the questions Miller refused to answer before the congressional committee.

I indicated at the start that I thought Arthur Miller had the worse of the legal issues involved. But Watkins had a brief moment of triumph in the Court of Appeals in a very similar case; and in any event, the Supreme Court, after carefully avoiding these issues during the past decade, will soon decide the Watkins case. In so doing it will in all probability also cover the issues in the Miller case. I doubt if Mr. Miller will win. But I hope very much I am mistaken.

Communist Invasion of Korea in 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on June 25, many appropriate remarks were made with reference to that being the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the Korean war. Surely the memory of that day is a poignant one to all of us, and all the more so to the leaders of the people who lost so much in that conflict. Here is the text of an address given by Dr. Syngman Rhee, President of the Republic of Korea, at a ceremony in Seoul on June 25, 1957, observing the invasion of Korea by Communist forces on June 25, 1950:

OUR PLEDGE TO THE FUTURE

My fellow countrymen, 7 years ago, on June 25, the world was given stunning evidence of the nature of the enemy who is challenging the right of human beings to live in freedom. The attack that was launched upon our nation was part of a calculated plan announced as long ago as 1922. In that year, Nikolai Lenin set forth the basic political policy of international communism. "First," he said, "we shall take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia. After that we shall surround and undermine the United States." This is the goal that has motivated the masters of Communist strategy for the past 35 years. This is the aim which the free world must defeat in order that freedom and democracy may survive.

In this fundamental struggle between liberalism and reactionary totalitarianism, our nation has become a key to the success or failure of the free world alliance.

The part Korea was supposed to have played in this calculated design of global conquest was minor. In 1945, Joseph Stalin thought that he could wipe out our nation with his bland proposal that Korea be placed under trusteeship, just as in 1592 Hideyoshi thought that he could intimidate Korea into becoming an open corridor through which the Japanese Armies of aggression could march to the conquest of the Eastern World.

But twice in modern history we have upset grandiose plans of empire building. In the 16th century our effective weapon was the invention of the world's first ironclad war

vessels, commanded by a superb leader, and manned by patriotic fighters. In this 20th century our great weapon has been the determination of a whole population—men, women, and children—who love freedom enough to die for it and who are supported by a free world alliance that has gradually been awakening to the danger which confronts us all alike.

ONE-THIRD OF HUMAN RACE IN CHAINS

The Communists, by combining threats of total war with deceitful diplomacy, have already engulfed into their slave empire more than one-third of the human race.

Through exploitation of the enforced labor of these captive 900 million, they have been able to devote tremendous resources to their lying propaganda, to the huge armaments which they use for threats and blackmail, and to building a worldwide network of subversion.

Through the guiles of diplomacy, before our independence was reestablished, they gained domination over northern Korea. For 5 years they sought by means of subversion, propaganda, and infiltration to capture the south. With a heavy barrage of skillful lies, emplanted in publications all over the free world, they sought to undermine the support of our allies.

Up to a point, they were successful. They claimed that the Korean people preferred communism, and many neutralists and misty-minded liberals believed them, despite the millions of refugees who poured into southern Korea from the north.

They claimed that they wanted only the peaceful reunification of Korea under a coalition government—and they persuaded our allies this Republic must remain unarmed in order to provide a relaxed atmosphere for possible negotiation. Then, when they calculated that their propaganda had deprived us of friends and had undermined our own patriotic devotion, they struck across our border in what they believed to be unbeatable strength.

Their calculations proved wrong. Our land was devastated, but we fought fiercely rather than surrender into slavery. And our friends were suddenly awakened, as by an alarm bell in the night, to the danger this attack presented, not only to us, but to them as well.

If Communist aggression were conducted like the invasions of Hitler and the Japanese and other conquerors before them, the problem would have been solved long before now. In the face of direct military attack the free world reacts with courage and with overwhelming power.

THE COMMUNIST METHODS OF OPERATION

But the Communist strategists operate with a coldly shrewd intermingling of force and beguilement. When attack fails, they turn to diplomacy. Time and again they have snatched a temporary victory out of defeat by pretending that at last, however reluctantly, they are adopting the methods of democratic negotiation. The Korean truce is an important achievement of their evil deceitfulness.

As we survey the world situation today, 7 years after the attack against our Nation was launched, we find that the onward march of Communist success has not been reversed. But we trust that an understanding of how to deal with it is at last becoming clearer in the minds of our friends.

Here in Korea, our friends are moving at last to reestablish a position of unshakable defensive strength. This move is indispensable, but it is far from enough.

Communist leadership, aware of internal weaknesses and anxious to prevent the gradual swing of the democratic powers toward a policy of liberation, are frantically proclaiming anew the supposed advantages of a status quo agreement on peaceful coexistence. Recently Mr. Khrushchev blandly proposed to the United States the division of the world into two more or less equally divided spheres of influence. Fortunately, this Machiavellian suggestion was spurned by President Eisenhower.

Nevertheless, the idea that our tragically beset world can be stabilized without further struggle and without rectification continues to lure the democracies which are still free and which enjoy an unparalleled high standard of living. In order for them to accept this cunning lure they would have to forget all they know, all they have learned, all that experience teaches about the nature of the Communist conspiracy.

They would have to abandon their own principles of justice in leaving 900 million enslaved victims under Communist tyranny. And they would have to believe that communism has absolutely changed its fundamental policy of world domination.

WHAT THE FREE WORLD STATESMEN MUST DO

The dilemma which confronts statesmanship in our time is how to restore freedom where it has been lost without unleashing an impossibly destructive war.

The solution of this problem, we believe, is less difficult in our complex 20th century society than it would have been in earlier and far simpler civilizations. Technology is a vast consumer, demanding specialized goods and raw materials from every part of the globe. The very success of industrialism makes it vulnerable to blockades and embargoes, to trade restrictions, and restrictive international fiscal arrangements. Highly industrialized nations must have access to the raw material resources of the world. This is a foundation fact upon which statesmanship today must build to achieve a restoration of justice and freedom.

In this situation there is great need for unselfish understanding on the part of entire populations. In nations where governments rely on the democratic ballot box, it is essential that the people realize they must accept limitations and deprivations in order to enforce the economic pressures which alone, without war, can enforce justice against aggressors.

Unfortunately, this realization is developing slowly. Leaders in democratic nations are pressed by their own peoples to relax trade restrictions—at the very time such restrictions should be tightened and extended—and often they are tempted to yield to these demands.

But events are also moving inevitably in the direction of greater and greater pressure upon totalitarian nations that are surrounded with an iron curtain of isolationism. In order to permit the freedom of exchange which their aggresive policies and new technology demand, Communist leaders will have to relax the censorship and police control upon which their power necessarily is based.

THE TEMPTATION TO COMPROMISE

We recognize that tyrannical aggression has achieved tremendous success during the past generation. We know it has been fearfully hard to keep alive the faith of mankind in democracy, liberty, and justice. Many nations have given up the struggle, either to surrender wholly to the aggressors or to try to stand aside from the conflict as neutralists. Even in the very heart and citadel of democratic freedom, the tendency to compromise with the evil of totalitarianism has been too often a temptation too great to resist.

When the history of this period is written, the Republic of Korea will be remembered for the courageous determination our people have shown to stand wholeheartedly against both open aggression and unjust compromise. Our weight has never been great enough to determine the policy of our allies. But nevertheless our example has had an effect. We can be proud of the spirit of resistance which you, our people, have demonstrated in the face of grievous suffering and sadness.

Our message to our powerful allies must be the same now as it has been in the past: To stand firm, to reject compromise, to refuse through blind confidence to bolster up the vulnerable internal weaknesses of the totalitarian Communist empire.

If leadership can rise successfully to the challenges which confront us; if firmness and courage can surmount the temptations to compromise and make concessions, a just and free world society of civilized nations at last will be achieved.

We will do our part and we call on our friends around the world to join firmly together in the greatest crusade for freedom ever waged.

Freedom and justice are our goals. We shall not rest nor falter until these blessings are assured. This is our pledge to the future as we meet to pay homage to those who have died and to dedicate the service of our lives to generations yet unborn. This is the great tradition of our Nation. We, on our part, shall carry it forward to success.

Mr. Speaker, here is a statement made by Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States:

THE COMMUNIST INVASION ANNIVERSARY

Today marks the seventh anniversary of the Communist invasion of the Republic of Korea with its tragic memories of a ruined and devastated land, of more than 2 million casualties, military and civilian, and, next to us, of some 150,000 American dead, wounded, or missing.

It was a stilly Sunday morning, June 25, 1950, and church bells were ringing in Seoul when the Reds, without warning, launched an attack, the purpose of which was to conquer and enslave the people of our young republic. The enemy came in forces with Russian tanks, Russian planes and Russian guns and munitions. Our little army had only the sidearms of a constabulary, but, responding to the inspired leadership of President Syngman Rhee, the entire nation rose up to fight the fight of desperation, truly a struggle for liberty or death.

At the beginning, so rapid was the advance of the Communists, that it looked as if we would be overwhelmed and perish as a free people. That would have been our fate, had not America come to our rescue immediately and later been aided by military units of other United Nations countries. The tide of invasion was stemmed under the magnificent command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur and the Red forces were sent reeling back to our northernmost boundary, the Yalu River.

Then it was that the Communists, in the guise of a million so-called Chinese volunteers, swept out of Manchuria at the order of the evil men in the Kremlin. With General MacArthur forbidden to bomb Red Manchurian bases and to disrupt lines of supplies, the war, instead of ending in victory and a unified Korea, ended in a stalemate and the uneasy armistice in effect today.

But we are grateful that modern planes and arms soon will be furnished us to offset the multitude of violations of the armistice terms by the Reds and their Moscow masters. This step will at least give us an even chance against a ruthless foe and that is all our army of 750,000 men on the very frontier of freedom ask. Koreans are proud that this army has proved itself on the battlefield, and that it is today the largest anti-Communist army of actual warfare experience in the world.

Yet, it and all the other military and civilian forces of the free world now are confronted by an even more dangerous situation than actual open conflict. It is the success of the Communist coexistence campaign. They have already breached our walls of common unity and alert defense. Anything and everything the Free World sells them

will help them meet the necessities of their own home economies, and thus afford them additional manpower and time to increase their production of instruments of slavery and death. And, lest we forget, those instruments—the H-bomb, the atom bomb, the new planes and submarines, to mention just a few—are meant for us.

Challenge Facing Ambassador Smith in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times on July 17, 1957:

TWO AMBASSADORS

Earl E. T. Smith, our new Ambassador to Cuba, has just arrived in Habana to take up his duties. Far to the south, John Moors Cabot, the new Ambassador to Colombia, has just reached Bogotá and started his mission.

The tasks and the men are very different. Of the two, the veteran career officer, Mr. Cabot, with his long knowledge of Latin American affairs, has much the easier mission. Colombians have thrown out their military dictator, Lt. Gen. Rojas Pinilla, and are now democratically preparing a new government. Relations with the United States are friendly and uncomplicated.

Mr. Smith's mission, on the contrary, is just about as difficult and delicate as any post in the world today. He himself is new to diplomacy, having gone from the brokerage business to the Habana Embassy. At the time of his appointment he knew nothing of Cuban affairs and he does not know Spanish. The situation in Cuba is working toward a climax in which the United States has a great stake, thanks to our heavy investments in the island, the sugar exports, the strategic importance of Cuba and our historic links which led us originally to fight a war on behalf of Cuban independence.

Yet, anti-American feeling has never been stronger in Cuba. The policy of the State Department has been friendly to the dictator, President Batista, and the sale of arms to General Batista by the Pentagon has aroused bitterness, since these arms are used against Cubans. The whole atmosphere of Cuban life today is tense and charged with violence.

Every eye in Cuba is going to be on Ambassador Smith. Every move he makes; every word he speaks; and everything he does not do will be watched, evaluated, criticized, or praised. Cubans expect him to represent a new line of policy, one that is neither friendly nor unfriendly to the Batista regime. This can reasonably be asked of the State Department in its relations with Latin American dictators. The criticisms to which the State Department and some of its envoys have rightly been subjected in recent years lie in the unnecessary friendliness so often shown to these dictators.

Ambassador Smith faces a great challenge but also a great opportunity. As he begins his mission he deserves the best wishes and cooperation of all concerned, and not least of the Cubans.

Address by Dr. Frederick Taylor Wilson on the South and the Presidency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, there was delivered at Shepherd College in Shepherdstown, W. Va., on July 17, 1957, by Dr. Frederick Taylor Wilson, widely known historian and authority on the Presidents, an illuminating address on The South and the Presidency. Dr. Wilson was introduced on that occasion by Dr. O. S. Ikenberry, president of Shepherd College. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including the following excerpts from Dr. Wilson's informative address:

It seems a bit strange that no southerner has gone to the White House as President by election at the hands of the people in more than 100 years. That seems especially so when we recall that one of our major political parties, the Democratic Party, is of southern origin, and that 11, or one-third, of all the men who have thus far been elected President were natives of the South, 8 of that number having been born in Virginia and 3 in North Carolina.

Zachary Taylor, elected as a Whig in 1848, who went to the White House from Baton Rouge, La., was the last President from the South elected by the people and Baton Rouge still remains the most southern home of a former President. Taylor, a Mexican War hero and owner of many slaves was put forward as a candidate for President by northern Whigs who had opposed the war in Mexico and were on record as enemies of human slavery. Taylor, like the present occupant of the White House when he took office, found both Houses of Congress in the hands of the opposing party (Democratic). No President serving between Taylor and Eisenhower has faced such a situation.

It is true that Andrew Johnson who became President when Lincoln died was a southerner but he was not so chosen by the people. Johnson like Jackson and Polk before him was a native North Carolinian who migrated to Tennessee.

Every Whig candidate for President during the 20 years' life of that party was a native Virginian. They were Clay, W. H. Harrison, Taylor and Scott. Only two of that number however were elected, Harrison and Taylor, both of whom had long lived out of Virginia when they became President, the one in Ohio and the other in Kentucky and Louisiana. Harrison was the first President to go from the Middle West.

As fate would have it Harrison and Taylor both died in office, the one 30 days after becoming President and the other 16 months after his inauguration. The bodies of both Harrison and Taylor now rest near the banks of the Ohio River, the one near Cincinnati, Ohio, and the other near Louisville, Ky. Harrison was succeeded by Tyler, a fellow Virginian, and native of the same Virginia county (Charles City County). Taylor was succeeded by Fillmore, a native New Yorker. Neither Tyler nor Fillmore was able to succeed himself in the Presidency.

Van Buren, a New York Democrat and Jackson's handpicked successor as President, was indirectly responsible for both the election of Harrison and Taylor as President. A depression early in the Van Buren administration made certain Harrison's success in his bid for the Presidency in 1840 and 8 years later Van Buren's nomination for President on a third party ticket, the Free Soil Party, took enough New York votes to enable Taylor to carry that State and win the Presidency.

As every schoolboy knows, Virginia is known as the Mother of Presidents with eight of her native sons in the White House. In addition Ohio, the birthplace of seven Presidents and Kentucky, the birthplace of Lincoln, were both once a part of Virginia. So it can be said that one-half of all our Presidents before the present incumbent were born at places once or now a part of old Virginia.

Despite these historical facts it has been 136 years since a native of Virginia (Monroe) went directly to the White House from Virginia by election at the hands of the people. Monroe received all but one electoral vote in his campaign for reelection (1820).

Virginians have proper pride in the fact that 4 of our first 6 Presidents, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, were exactly one-half of all the men who have been President who served for 2 consecutive terms or more in that high office. Wilson, who went to the White House from New Jersey, was also a native Virginian. The last of the 8 who served for 2 terms or more consecutively was F. D. Roosevelt who was in that high office for 12 years and 39 days. F. D. Roosevelt and U. S. Grant the only 2 natives of Northern States who thus far have served 2 consecutive terms or more in the White House, the one a Democrat and the other a Republican.

Let us not forget that it was a Virginian and southerner, Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and Madison, the friend and neighbor of Jefferson, who is known in history as the Father of the Constitution.

The great division in the Democratic Party, a southern product, came in 1860 when Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was the candidate of the northern wing of the Democratic Party for President, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, was the candidate of the southern wing of that party. Breckenridge 4 years before at 36 years of age had been elected Vice President on the ticket with the aging Buchanan, of Pennsylvania (66). The issue of human slavery, which then divided the Democratic Party and made Lincoln a minority President, has its counterpart in the unfortunate present day issue of integration in our schools and elsewhere.

It has long been taken for granted that our Southern States would vote Democratic whoever might be the candidate for President. That, however, has been changed in recent years. In both 1952 and 1956, Virginia, the home of Jefferson, and Tennessee, the home of Jackson, both patron Democratic saints, cast their electoral votes for General Eisenhower, the Republican candidate.

It is noteworthy that Georgia in the South, like Vermont in the East, has been consistent in its party loyalty through all the years, the one a Democratic State the other a Republican one.

Though the Republican Party has been in control of the Government for 60 of the past 100 years, no candidate of that party has come from the South.

Perhaps the time has come for the spirits of Jefferson and Jackson to come forth like the spirit of Samuel of old and remind our major political parties of their historic origin and warn them of their possible destiny.

Interventionism Clarified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the writer of this letter, which appeared in the New York Times July 17, 1957, clarifies the meaning of intervention in connection with the sad situation in Venezuela:

CONDITIONS IN VENEZUELA: DICTATORSHIP IS SAID TO MAINTAIN SITUATION OF TERROR

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The writer of the following letter, at present an exile in New York, is secretary of the Republican Democratic Union Party (URD). Formerly chargé d'affaires in Habana and Counselor Minister to the Venezuelan Embassy in Chile, he was kept in prison in Caraças for 3 years without trial following the military coup in 1952.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I agree with the Venezuelan Ambassador, whose letter you published on July 10, in denying to any foreigner the right to interfere in the political affairs of our country. But at the same time I cannot understand how such a diplomat, whom I know to be versed in and informed about the matter of intervention, can place your editorial of July 5, on our national holiday, among those acts which have to be condemned as interventionist.

Interventionism has been and is intimately connected with dictatorship in the history of our hemisphere. I would say they both are faces of one single reality—here in the United States because its promoters have been those groups who selfishly believed that their investments in our lands are better guaranteed by fuedal despots, and in Latin America because it has been our dictators and their followers, conscious as they were of their unpopularity and weaknesses, who assiduously begged the powerful backing of vested interests and the State Department.

FUTURE SAFEGUARDED

At a moment in which our peoples, and especially the new generations entering upon their political life, are disillusioned and worried by the policy of compromise with dictators which prevailed in the Pan-American system, I find that you, with other outstanding voices of the American press, are safeguarding for the future our common friendship and good neighborliness. For this reason you may be sure of receiving from the noble people of Venezuela not the irate protest of Ambassador Gonzalez but sincere applause and thanks.

Venezuela is today a wealthy country, with a peaceful, cultured, democratic people. But a dictatorship established against the will of the people maintains a situation of terror, with an iron grip upon the press, jails full of prisoners not submitted to due process of law and hundreds of exiles treading the paths of ostracism; with no representative bodies being allowed control of the government functions.

Under these conditions they are preparing a new mockery of the constitution to promote the extension of the presidential term or the election of Pérez Jiménez by means of a congress which the very dictator appointed by decree in 1953. As they know this is a potion very bitter to drink, they are trying to hang a curtain of silence around Venezuela and to sell their formula as the only possible guaranty for the continuance of the present economic boom and the program of public works today underway in Venezuela.

Nothing is more absurd and baseless than this argument. Our present boom, the so-called Venezuela's miracle, is not the work of the dictatorship itself. The present political situation has not the merit of its accomplishments but the guilt of its wrongdoings and failures.

FAILURES CITED

What are these wrongdoings and failures? They are the lack of a plan to make public works serve the requirements of our economic development, instead of the propaganda of the regime; the hideous centralism which invests most of the resources in the metropolitan area of Caracas, while most of our States lie abandoned in misery and backwardness; the shameful traffic of the 5 percenters and the inadequate financing which swallows 20 percent and sometimes as high as 40 percent of the cost of the works; the iniquitous distribution of the oil benefits within the circle of the few privileged while hundreds of thousands live, as Archbishop Arias recently affirmed in his famous letters, amid infrahuman conditions.

Venezuela owes everything to the prodigious wealth of its land and the fine condition of its people. If these two elements were welded together and molded by a democratic government, able to end corruption through a free press and parliamentary control and to substitute for the forced unanimity of terror free discussion of all official initiatives, we are sure that the Venezuelan miracle would become, at last, a true one.

To help spread these truths in the way the New York Times is doing does not mean intervention but friendship and cooperation. And it is also fulfillment of a mission that belongs to the press of every democratic country: To fight for the freeing of men without consideration of frontiers, race, or creed; to try to extend the good everywhere and to attack social and political evils wherever they exist.

REGULO BURELLI RIVAS.

NEW YORK, *July 11, 1957.*

Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include a resolution on the death of Senator Joseph McCarthy, adopted on May 6, 1957, by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

Resolution adopted May 6, 1957

Whereas the whole Nation was shocked last week at the sudden death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy, while a very controversial figure in the United States history, was deeply loved and respected by many citizens of our State and Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of the general assembly express their regret at his untimely passing and extend sincere condolences to his bereaved widow and family; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, signed by the speaker and attested by the clerk, be forwarded to Mrs. McCarthy.

ELLEN MILLS,
Speaker of the General Assembly.

Attest:

WILLIAM J. KOHM,
Clerk of the General Assembly.

Expansion of Alcoa at Davenport, Iowa, Indicates Healthy State of Our Free Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an item from a recent issue of the Christian Science Monitor which indicates the healthy state of our free economy. When companies like the Aluminum Company of America take such forward-looking steps in "gearing for tomorrow" all of us can have renewed faith in the system which has given us the highest standard of living in the world. The article follows:

GEARING FOR TOMORROW

(By Nate White)

DAVENPORT, IOWA.—What is going on here in the American agricultural heartland is going on all over the country.

Beautiful new modern factories are springing up on the prairies and in the New England hills, on the dark dirtland of the South where once only cotton grew, in the green Northwest, and the summer-tanned valleys of California and the Southwest.

Here the Aluminum Company of America has just completed $54 million expansion of its relatively new plant on the banks of the Mississippi River. Ten years ago Riverdale, which is just 10 minutes east of Davenport by car, was just a tiny river town of 500 people.

Today's Alcoa's 72 acres of plant worth about $130 million represents one of the finest and most integrated aluminum sheet and plate mills in the world.

But this is only a tiny spot on the economic map of the United States. Expansion of the Nation's plant and equipment for satisfying the needs of consumers in this country and abroad has grown from a rate of $20 billion in 1947 to an annual rate of $37 billion this year. It is now at a rate for this third quarter of nearly $38 billion.

This is an expansion of 9 percent over last year, and last year saw an expansion of 11 percent over the year before.

What does it all mean?

William Mittman, Alcoa sales manager, put it simply. The rate of expected growth in the numbers of American consumers by the middle 1960's is so great that production plans for today must be geared to the demands of tomorrow.

Of course, there are mixed patterns. Not every industry is experiencing this tremendous growth. Some of them are in the doldrums. But in the main, American industry sees a demand for its products ahead which has forced it to put up plants in every corner of the land to take care of the need.

Many folk, still laboring under the depressed economic fears of the 1930's say that industrialists should be wary of a saturation point. But their sales managers and market research specialists point to the immense growth of the marriageable population of the early 1960's as their signal to get ready.

From housing starts of slightly less than 1 million new homes this year to a mid-1960 rate of 2 million new homes a year is the chart line in William Mittman's view.

So the theme song of industry is Get Ready.

The biggest changes have occurred in the durable goods industries, such as nonferrous metals, iron and steel, chemicals, petroleum and coal, and electrical machinery.

But Department of Commerce reports show what industries have reached a stopping point for the moment: Those which have shown a change downward from the expansion rate of last year.

These stand out: Textiles and motor vehicles.

Even so, the competitive picture in business is becoming more complicated. Today an aluminum company must not only try to outsell its competitors. It must find ways to challenge other industries. The race to find new products and newer ways of producing and distributing them is challenging the master salesmen and the master technicians of the country.

What goes on here in Iowa is but a symbol of this change, this immense stepup in the pace. It is a pace beyond the most enthusiastic dreams of the empire builders of the late 19th century. Modern Americans with their machines, techniques, and their dollars are something to behold.

The West Is Moving To Preserve Its Historical Landmarks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, in the West, where history is still relatively young, it has been difficult for residents to realize the historical value of pioneer landmarks. Daily familiarity with these objects tends to create for a time a lack of interest in saving and restoring homes and other historical items which one day will proudly tell visitors and people of the area part of the story of the West.

I am proud to say that there is an ever-growing interest on the part of Oregonians, for example, in the preservation of these landmarks. In Lincoln County the Yaquina Bay Lighthouse has been saved.

In Portland many citizens and organizations are working to preserve the Old Pioneer Post Office. Throughout the State there are residents who would like to see a museum erected at the site of the former Celilo Falls to commemorate the centuries of fishing activities ended with construction of The Dalles Dam.

In my district, members and friends of the Douglas County Historical Society are working valiantly for a museum site and museum. Their crusade was given a wonderful assist by Congress last year with the approval of Public Law 883 which gave the society the home of the late Lillie Lela Moore. Her pioneer house is situated on a small parcel of land in the heart of Roseburg.

At the request of the society and its many friends, and because I believe that Lillie Moore meant for her home and property to become a museum site, I have introduced legislation (H. R. 6995) which would amend Public Law 883. Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, a man well aware of the historical import and need for amending legislation, has introduced an identical bill in the Senate.

Miss Moore deeded her home and property to the United States Government many years ago in the belief that it would become a museum. Since that time, the Government has received nearly $100,000 in rental and sales fees from the property which came to it at no cost. Recently, the property remaining, some had been sold to private business firms, was declared surplus Government property.

I believe H. R. 6995 gives the Douglas County Historical Society members deserved help in their fine work.

I should like to insert in the RECORD at this time an article from the July 14, 1957, Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian, written by Oregon historian Lancaster Pollard. The story concerns historic buildings in my State and the author aptly notes that sometimes people are slow to realize the incalculable value of history:

OREGON SLOW TO PRESERVE ITS HISTORIC BUILDINGS

(By Lancaster Pollard)

The abandonment of the Tillamook Lighthouse between Seaside and Cannon Beach, is a reminder that we in Oregon haven't succeeded too well in preserving our historic buildings.

A few successes stand out. The Flavel Mansion in Astoria, itself an architectural period piece, has been converted into a popular museum. The original county courthouse in Jacksonville is another excellent historical museum. Most recently the Yaquina Bay Lighthouse has been saved.

The Yaquina Lighthouse isn't old by New England measure, having been built in 1871, but it is the oldest still standing on the Oregon coast and has much historical interest and importance.

It stands near the first recorded landfall made by white men on the State's shores. That was in 1778, when British Capt. James Cook approached land at a place he named Cape Foulweather, the first English name attached to any part of the Pacific Northwest.

The publication of his voyages a few years later advertised the region's rich fur trade. As soon as ships could be outfitted and the voyage made, traders from a dozen nations were off the northwest coast. A Yankee among them, Robert Gray, discovered the Columbia River, inaugurating the American drive to the Pacific coast.

Another Yankee, John Ledyard who had an irresistible itch to travel, was a member of Cook's crew. When Ledyard later met Thomas Jefferson in Paris he aroused an undying interest in the future President about the far west. Twenty years later the Lewis and Clark expedition was dispatched by Jefferson to add to American claims upon the old Oregon country.

It isn't wholly fanciful to say that Oregon history began when Cook named Cape Foulweather.

Yaquina Bay Lighthouse was in operation only 3 years. It was then abandoned but happily not destroyed. (By an unbelievable mix-up the lighthouse that replaced it was built on the wrong site.) Until 1948 nothing was done about the old structure. Then the newly organized Lincoln County historical society, under the continuous agitation of James M. Howes, moved to preserve the lighthouse as a museum.

Several times State officials were persuaded to postpone plans to raze the building. However, it was 7 years before the State Highway Commission decided to maintain the lighthouse as a historic structure. A small sum, $2,000, was appropriated and needed repairs made.

Although Yaquina Bay lighthouse is not yet a museum or open to the public, it is being preserved and Oregon is richer by another architectural record of our history.

The Late Honorable James B. Bowler, a Representative From the State of Illinois

SPEECH
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois. I yield.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I want to join Congressman O'BRIEN, Congressman O'HARA, and my other colleagues from Illinois, in paying tribute to JIM BOWLER. JIM BOWLER was a fine man and a fine Congressman. It was not my good fortune to know him as long or as well as Congressman O'BRIEN and Congressman O'HARA have known him. Theirs is a proud memory to be cherished as a result of their long association with him and their heart-warming close friendship with him. Mine is much more recent, but quite enriching nevertheless.

I came to know JIM BOWLER when he was a member of the city council of the city of Chicago, shortly before he entered the Congress of the United States. He was for many years one of the leaders of the city council. I came to know him better as a result of our close association since he became a Member of Congress, and I know I have benefitted greatly from that fortunate friendship. It was a privilege to share his warm personality, to share in the richness of his experience, to benefit by his knowledge. His has been a long life of helping his fellow man.

There was nothing that anyone wanted that JIM BOWLER was not ready to help him with. To my mind he was the very inspiration for the poem about the man who wanted nothing more than to live in a house by the side of the road and be a friend to man. This was JIM BOWLER. And I think of another famous poem that embodies JIM BOWLER's philosophy, the poem that was written by John Donne in the 16th century. He said:

No man is an island entire of itself.
Every man is part of the continent, a piece of the main.
For every clod that is washed away the continent is the less;
Every man's death diminishes me, for I am a part of mankind.
Therefore do not ask to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

This was JIM BOWLER's philosophy. It epitomizes the love that one has for his fellow man. I, too, will miss him very much and I want to express on behalf of Mrs. Yates and myself our profound sympathy to Mrs. Bowler and JIM's family.

Repeal of the Hatch Act, H. R. 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is my statement before the House Administration Committee today in support of my bill, H. R. 1967:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER, DEMOCRAT, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE JULY 19, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished committee, my presence and purpose here today is to lend the greatest possible emphasis to the importance I feel attaches to the enactment of one of the many bills, similar to the one I introduced in this session of Congress—H. R. 1967. They seek to eradicate the acknowledged evils experience has revealed in the Hatch Act.

The Hatch Political Activities Act, 1939, as amended, and the 1940 amendment to the act, strike at the heart of man's most cherished possession in a free society: his political self-respect, his political freedom, his independence in his citizenship.

The Hatch Act is an act that bluntly proclaims itself as a downright legislative gesture discriminating against the Government employee almost as if he were to be regarded as some kind of political pariah. As the act now stands it puts a gag, a halter and a straightjacket on the political activities of one of the best informed, most articulate, highly educated and civic minded voting groups in the population of the United States.

Surely none of us here can be persuaded that it was ever the intent of Congress or the intent even of the most inflexible sponsors of the Hatch Act to so curtail the interest, enthusiasm, energy, and educational influence of Government employees as to produce as a consequence 2 million ciphers and political nonentities amid the American electorate. The act paralyzes deliberately a vast reservoir of political talent and knowledge capable of a very high order of political progress which should be given full vent and not stifled.

However, in fairness it must be said that the Hatch Act came as a climax and a stopgap to a period of abuse when this country was in the very pit of economic despair. It therefore attracted to itself extreme provisions—which my bill now aims to eliminate—to meet a then possibly extreme situation.

For the record I explain that the Hatch Act struck out in its day—the late 1930's—at actual or alleged political malpractices that misused the WPA for questionable vote-getting ends. Because of this—a fact that no longer exists in a context that has long disappeared from the American scene—the act prohibited Federal officeholders below the policymaking echelon in the executive branch of the Government to participate actively in political campaigns.

My bill eliminates this dead legislative wood from the act. It eliminates also the 1940 amendment to the act extending its provisions to State and local government employees whose salaries are drawn in whole or in part from Federal funds. This politically paralyzed still another solid group of interested and alert Americans into political nonentities.

The legal and ethical values of the Hatch Act that have a genuineness and validity are in no way molested by my proposed bill. Its broad features remain.

The decayed carcass that my bill would cut from the Hatch Act are the second, third, fourth, and fifth sentences of section 9 (a) of the act entitled "An act to prevent pernicious political activities, 1939," approved August 2, 1939, as amended (5 U. S. C. 118i). My bill would also cut away the second, third, and fourth sentences of section 12 (a) of the act (5 U. S. C. 118k), and sections 15, 16, and 18 of the act (5 U. S. C., 118i, 118m, 118n).

The effect would be that the Government employee would have restored to him the full rights of United States citizenship. The effect would be also to free from political bondage the State and local government employees whose salaries are drawn in whole or in part from Federal funds.

This, it seems to me, apart from the other evil features of the measure, represents a gratuitous invasion—and in a sensitive field at that—of a regulatory function that should properly be left to the several States where it definitely belongs.

It is provisions like this, using the Federal Treasury to make applicable to a State employee Federal acts because the payroll is derived from Federal funds, that excites so much suspicion and fear of Federal legislation. The idea, it seems to me, is wrong in principle and the provision is mischievous in its execution.

Another phase of the Hatch Act that is relegated to oblivion should my bill become law, is embodied in sections 15, 16, and 18 which I have already mentioned. These sections concentrate powers in the Civil Service Commission, powers of discretion, that should be removed. Thus the Commission, as in the States of Maryland and Virginia, or in municipalities the majority of whose voters are employed by the Government of the United States, may determine whether in these areas populated mostly by Government employees, the Government worker may participate in political management and political campaigns. The act now provides that the Commission has the right to determine the extent to which the Government employees' participation may go. These and other kindred provisos my bill would nullify.

These, substantially, are the Hatch Act evils of which I have been speaking, and it is these my bill would correct.

It is needless to report to this committee that the agitation for change in the Hatch Act has a considerable history.

There has come to my office here in the Capitol, considerable correspondence, informed, intelligent, honorable, from not merely my own district, but from distant parts of the country: Plymouth, Wis., for instance; St. Paul, Minn.; Portland, Oreg., complaining of the Hatch Act.

In one instance, I find that a post office employee was prevented from holding the position of mayor of his city to which he had been duly elected. There had been in the first instance no objection to his holding the job of alderman. But when he rose to the position of mayor, the postal regulations were suddenly made applicable to all municipal offices prohibiting their occupancy by Federal employees.

I do not think it would be hard to prove that this was a loss to the man himself, to his city which had tried to honor him and to use his dedicated civic spirit and services, and a loss in the end perhaps to his State and his country. It is from these grassroots that our greatest statesmanship and leadership has been derived and will continue to come.

I have received complaints in which alert and active men and women who would like to take part in their political affairs declare that they have been relegated to what is properly labeled second-class citizenship. It certainly seems to me that this is not overstating the case.

Of course, I know that section 9 of the Hatch Act while forbidding political management or political campaigning on the part of Government employees permits them—I quote: "the right to vote as they may choose and to express their opinions on all political subjects and candidates."

Giving the Government employee the right to vote and speak his mind on elections is almost made to seem here like an act of largesse, as if it were a bonus of some kind, instead of the granting of a basic human right.

As I view the situation even this becomes a somewhat sterile gesture in light of the restrictions to which the Government employee is otherwise confined.

He may vote and he may gossip politics but he may not do any of those things that will make his political personality in a free society effective and meaningful. He is forbidden to participate in political management. He cannot pitch into and be a part of the campaigns of politics which give American life vividness and color and excitement and interest. The Hatch Act turns him into a political wallflower, the ugly duckling, who must be isolated from the most vital activity of his country. It deprives him of his political red blood corpuscles.

Gentlemen: The Hatch Act is outmoded, archaic, unjust and unnecessary. The time has come to subject it to the legislative surgery that will keep alive whatever genuine virtue it possesses and radically eliminate the portions that experience have proved unwise and unfair. That surgery, I humbly suggest, can be performed effectively if my bill—H. R. 1967—is enacted into law.

Thank you for the privilege of submitting my views to you.

Belated Applause at Curtain Call

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday our esteemed colleague, the Honorable PAUL F. SCHENCK, from the Third District of Ohio, informed the House of the passing of a truly great American, the late Governor James M. Cox, on July 15, and, along with you, Mr. Speaker, and others, paid fitting tribute to the memory of this outstanding statesman.

Under leave previously granted, I desire to insert an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on July 17, 1957, eulogizing this distinguished citizen. The editorial follows:

BELATED APPLAUSE AT CURTAIN CALL

Occasionally, in the drama of human history, a tragic figure of might-have-been crosses center stage, utters lines misunderstood by an emotional audience, then passes into the wings amid the hisses and boos.

In calmer reflection, ofttimes, the audience realizes too late that this forgotten

actor was, in truth, the most talented performer in the play. Such, in a sense, was history's role for Mr. James M. Cox, publisher, former Governor of Ohio, and presidential candidate.

World War I had ended in victory for our Nation and severe nationalism flooded this isolationist "fortress America" when Mr. Cox was given his cue. An intelligent man, he was politician enough to be aware of this feeling, but statesman enough to shun its exploitation. A lesser star would have recited the popular lines, but Mr. Cox, disciple of a "warped idealist" named Woodrow Wilson, cried out from the depths of the fortress for a foolhardy experiment called the League of Nations.

His political opponent, Mr. Warren G. Harding, swept him down in humiliating defeat beneath the wave of emotion. Teapot Dome was born of his victory and the dream of President Wilson died of it.

The actor was never called back for his encore, although he went on to wide success in the publishing field. He died Monday, at 87. At this late date, it would be considered disrespectful, perhaps, if we stood and applauded his performance at curtain call. But he deserves it.

Tribute to the Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin will long mourn the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. On June 2, 1957, the American Legion, Department of Wisconsin, in session at Hurley, Wis., adopted a resolution in his memory. I request permission to insert this resolution in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF SYMPATHY

Whereas the membership of the 11th district, the American Legion, Department of Wisconsin, has always held most high the principle of a 100-percent Americanism; and

Whereas we have felt most deeply the loss of our late Senator, Joseph R. McCarthy, one of our fellow Legionnaires and outstanding advocate of this principle: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 11th district, the American Legion, Department of Wisconsin, this 2d day of June 1957 in conference duly assembled at Hurley, Wis., unanimously devote 1 minute of silence in memory and honor of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and be it further

Resolved, That a letter of sympathy be sent to Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy, by the district adjutant, on behalf of the Legionnaires of the 11th district, the American Legion.

Mr. Speaker, I also request at this time, permission to include in the RECORD the text of a resolution adopted by the members of the Republican caucus of the 10th Wisconsin Congressional District expressing the sympathy of the group to Senator McCarthy's widow, Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy, and other members of the McCarthy family. The resolution follows:

We, the members of the Republican caucus of the 10th Congressional District of Wisconsin, do hereby resolve:

1. To extend to Jean Kerr McCarthy and the other members of the McCarthy family our heartfelt sympathy in the passing of Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy.

2. To express our appreciation for the services of Senator McCarthy to the people he represented and to the Nation at large.

3. To express our gratitude for the example set by Senator McCarthy in his allegiance to the principles in which he believed.

There Is Need For Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, a major flood or other such natural disaster creates two significant problems. First, of course, is the need for immediate relief action to prevent suffering and privation of the people involved and assistance in the rehabilitation of homes, businesses, farms, and public facilities. Second, emphasis is given to the need for constructive action where possible to prevent recurrence of such damaging disasters.

A flood is one of the very few natural disasters which can be prevented or, at least, its damaging effects minimized. Flood protection and flood prevention cost money, often lots of money, but these are capital investments and they result in permanent improvement of our Nation. By contrast, floods themselves cost lots of money but they represent total losses—many times losses of topsoil and other property which can never be restored or replaced.

When we weigh the two in the economic balance, there can be no argument about it. As long as it is going to cost us money one way or the other, who is there to say that it is not best to spend the money constructively rather than lose it destructively?

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the following editorial from the July 1957, issue of the REA News published at Alexandria, Minn. I commend it to every person interested in the preservation and development of our great national wealth and resources. It is objectively written and worthy of careful reading. The editorial follows:

THERE IS A NEED FOR FLOOD CONTROL

The recent floods in Minnesota which have resulted in millions of dollars worth of damage to cities, towns, farm buildings and crops, are just further proof that Congress should appropriate funds to build large and small dams and to put into effect other necessary flood control measures.

The Nation as a whole has been hard hit by floods this year in Texas, Oklahoma, Connecticut, the Pacific Northwest and in other areas, with total damage costs in the billions, to say nothing of lives lost.

Congress has been trying to get flood control appropriations through, but those supporting such measures have been strongly opposed by people who call these programs "pork barrel" projects. Much of the opposition, no doubt, comes from people who live in the comfort and safety of metropolitan, flood-free areas. We wonder if they would so strongly oppose these appropriations were they to actually see what a flood-stricken area looks like, or if they were to suffer through a flood.

Senator JOHNSON recently said in Senate debate:

"I doubt whether any other single form of appropriation of Federal funds is returned to the American people in such a direct and tangible form as the money we have spent for dams to control our rivers. The cost of these projects is an investment in the future of our country—and not the far distant future, either."

Johnson reported that the Federal Government had invested $65 million in a flood control project in north Texas, and said the Army Corps of Engineers, conservatively, estimated that this project had saved $68 million in damage during this year's floods.

Senator BUSH, of Connecticut, said that had $8 million been appropriated for dams in his State back in 1947, there would have been some $90 million of damage avoided during the floods of 1955, to say nothing of lives saved.

The Tulsa (Okla.) Daily World reported April 29:

"Farmers in the Double Creek Valley here had waited 3 years to see if the Government's network of small upstream dams would hold back the raging waters once it rained enough to send the creek on a rampage.

"The test came last week when more than 6 inches of rain were dumped on the Double Creek watershed in 10 days, and it was still raining Monday. In previous years that much water would have flooded 2,000 acres in the valley, destroying crops on more than 40 farms.

"But this time there was no flood. The dams held back the water.

"Farmer James Little said he believed he would have had 'more than 800 acres on his farm flooded if it hadn't been for the dams.'

"Farmer Floyd Hand was enthusiastic about the dams. 'We can sleep at night now when it rains, since the flood hazard is removed and we don't have to worry about losing our crops.'"

This writer does not pretend to be an expert on flood control * * * that is a job for the Army Corps of Engineers and other experts. But it seems rather senseless to allow these floods to take place if effective measures could be taken to prevent them. It seems senseless to wait for a flood to happen, declare an area a disaster area, and then have to spend Federal and Red Cross funds to help the people. Funds spent before the tragedy occurs are worth much more than funds expended after people have lost their lives and properties.

We need an effective flood-control program, not only in Minnesota, but all over the Nation in affected areas. As the gross national income indicates, we are a wealthy Nation. Certainly, a very small portion of this wealth could be used to protect our people from rivers which turn destructive during heavy rains.

Where Did Big Economy Drive Go?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the following news item from the Chicago Daily Tribune was forwarded to me by a good American and believer in constitutional government, with this comment:

It is difficult to believe that this could happen in the United States of America.

It is indeed difficult to believe that this sort of thing can be carried on. It is outrageous that the apostles of big spending have now worked out programs under which the taxpayers of America pay the cost of schemes of this kind to brainwash the public. I insert herewith the article by Willard Edwards:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of July 15, 1957]

WHERE DID BIG ECONOMY DRIVE GO?—HOW AGENCY REVERSED TIDE OF LETTERS

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, July 14.—Congressional investigators are nearing a solution to one of the great mysteries of the 1957 session.

The mystery: What happened to the big economy drive of a few months ago which was sparked by a tremendous flood of mail from indignant taxpayers?

Evidence gathered thus far by House Government Operations Subcommittee, headed by Representative HARDY (Democrat, of Virginia), indicates the following:

The Government used taxpayers' money to launch a propaganda drive in behalf of continued big spending.

The State Department dipped into "emergency funds" to pay for "public opinion polls" which allegedly showed the vast majority of Americans in favor of keeping foreign aid spending at high levels. These were "leaked" to Washington and New York newspapers.

PRESSURE ON CONGRESS

Special letter-writing drives were organized to pressure Senators and Representatives who were outspoken in favor of reducing the Eisenhower foreign spending budget.

This last operation functioned so swiftly, in response to Washington orders, that some legislators were astounded when they received telegrams urging them to support President Eisenhower's radio and television appeals for spending abroad. The wires were sent before Mr. Eisenhower began speaking.

As a result of this organized drive, economy sentiment began to wane in a Congress which, in any event, was conditioned to swollen budgets. Written protests of the hundreds of thousands, who joined last February and March in spontaneous demands for budget reductions, were forgotten. Logrolling (the swapping of votes for pet spending projects) helped keep appropriations large.

HERE IS AN EXAMPLE

The experience of Representative GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB (Republican, of California), a member of the investigating subcommittee, furnished a revealing example of how the administration moved to pressure Congressmen.

LIPSCOMB, 42, was a senior partner in a public accounting firm in Los Angeles before he came to Congress. His professional training gave him a pronounced aversion to huge Government spending.

LIPSCOMB, like other Members of Congress, was overwhelmed by mail from his constituents early this year attacking the President's $71 billion budget and criticizing, in particular, the President's request for more than $4 billion in foreign-aid spending.

ASTONISHED AT POLL

He was, therefore, astonished in February to note a page 1 story in the Washington Star which revealed that public opinion polls taken by the State Department showed the American people 90 percent in favor of continued high spending abroad.

LIPSCOMB wrote John Hollister, head of the International Cooperation Administration which administers the foreign-aid program, asking for information on how these polls were taken and who paid for them. The use of public funds to propagandize the American people in behalf of foreign aid was specifically forbidden by Congress in 1952 under an amendment sponsored by Senator DWORSHAK (Republican, of Idaho).

LIPSCOMB received a reply from a Hollister aid which stated that the requested information could not be supplied—it was for official use only.

CHANGE IN MAIL

Almost immediately LIPSCOMB noted a curious change in his mail. A number of his constituents, who had not previously shown interest in his attitude, began writing urgent appeals that he support the foreign-aid program.

Subcommittee hearings last week pointed to Mrs. Elinor K. Wolf as a key figure in the ICA's propaganda efforts. Mrs. Wolf is an old hand in promoting foreign spending. She was a protege of Paul G. Hoffman, former director of foreign aid when it was known as the Economic Cooperation Administration, and a leader of the committee for the Marshall plan back in the forties.

Mrs. Wolf was hired last January 17 by William J. Caldwell, Director of the Office of Public Reports, ICA, as a $30-a-day consultant.

He testified that her job was to provide information for study groups, labor organizations, and foreign-aid-groups in line with his Department's objective—to put the mutual security program in its proper perspective and correct public misconceptions. Caldwell vigorously denied that his office put out propaganda in violation of the Dworshak amendment.

Mrs. Wolf compiled a long list of organizations to which she forwarded material in behalf of the foreign-aid program. She also, according to reports, stimulated the letter-writing campaigns to Congressmen opposed to foreign spending but Caldwell said he knew nothing about this.

ADMITS HER PART

Mrs. Wolfe's services were abruptly terminated April 18 when ICA Director Hollister discovered the nature of her duties.

Hollister told Caldwell to fire her because her employment was an unjustifiable expense on the taxpayer. Hollister has since announced his resignation.

Mrs. Wolf later admitted that she helped organize the sending of telegrams and letters to Congressmen urging support of President Eisenhower's foreign-aid appeals.

The investigating staff confronted Caldwell with a memo dated February 4 urging release of the public opinion polls which contradicted congressional mail showing popular demands for a cut in foreign spending. Caldwell admitted slipping the poll results to the Washington Star and the New York Times.

The memo mentioned admiringly the educational program which preceded the Marshall plan 10 years ago and advocated a new educational program to counteract a public impression that the foreign-aid program was a giveaway.

"You were putting out propaganda rather than legitimate information," HARDY accused the witness.

The Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following resolution recently adopted by the Young Republican Club of Arlington, Va., an outstanding club in my district, in behalf of our late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy:

Whereas death claimed the junior Senator from Wisconsin on May 2, 1957; and

Whereas the junior Senator from Wisconsin helped to awaken the American people to the intrigues of international communism; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy was one of the most tireless workers in the Republican Party; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy was to many Republicans more than the junior Senator from Wisconsin because of his fight against communism and his work for the party: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Young Republican Club of Arlington, Va. expresses its sympathy at his untimely death; and further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Senator's widow, Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy.

Communism and Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the folowing resolution:

RESOLUTION 41, COMMUNISM AND COURTS

Whereas every Russian Communist leader from the inception of the movement to the present has publicly announced the destruction of the United States of America as a cardinal aim of communism in terms as clear as those of Hitler in Mein Kampf; and

Whereas the evidence of the aims of the Communist Party of the United States of America so clearly establishes that organization as a dedicated member of an international conspiracy, under the absolute control of the U. S. S. R., devoted to the forceful overthrow of the Government of the United States of America, that even the Supreme Court of our Nation has been forced to recognize this fact; and

Whereas public knowledge of the menace is gravely lacking and recent court decisions protect the conspiracy to such an extent that additional publicity and legislation are obviously necessary: Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That the hereinafter listed provisions be accepted as a part of the official position of the Department of Virginia, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on communism and that wherever indicated, such action as is necessary to activiate any provision be taken.

1. We recognize the Communist conspiracy as the threat that it is to the security of our Nation and pledge ourselves to combat it with all legitimate means in our power.

2. (a) We recognize and appreciate the magnificent efforts of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Judiciary Committee under Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND and of the House Committee on Un-American Activities under Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER and recommend that the 58th National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States adopt a resolution vigorously endorsing the continued existence of these committees and, in view of recent court decisions curtailing their investigative activities, recom-

mending such legislative action as is necessary to enable these committees to function in an unhampered manner including prohibition of the abuse of the fifth amendment.

(b) Sympathetically consider the 1957 recommendations of the aforementioned committees and adopt a resolution recommending that Congress enact legislation covering those recommendations which are approved by the National Encampment.

(c) That copies of this resolution be sent to Senator EASTLAND and Representative WALTER as an expression of our appreciation of their efforts and of the service rendered by their committees.

3. That we endorse the activities of Comrade MCNAMARA and his American sovereignty campaign and recommend the wider dissemination of his publication and if feasible by its regular incorporation in the National magazine.

4. That we recommend a resolution by the 58th National Encampment endorsing the enactment by Congress of the following legislation.

(a) Empowering the various States to legislate against subversive activities within their borders.

(b) Protecting the secrecy of FBI files on subversive activities.

(c) Permitting the expulsion of subversive employees from nonsensitive agencies of the Federal Government.

5. We recommend that the 58th national encampment review all recent Federal court decisions which hamper the investigation and prosecution of communism and formulate a comprehensive resolution or resolutions pressing for such legislation as is necessary to protect the United States against subversion.

6. In addition to our condemnation of communism, we unqualifiedly oppose totalitarianism in any form.

Approved by the 35th annual Department Encampment, Department of Virginia, which convened in Ocean View, Va., June 16–19, 1957.

Indecisive Ike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that very little study was given to the so-called civil rights legislation by the Chief Executive before his bill was introduced. It is also apparent that very little study has been given to this legislation by the Chief Executive since its introduction until now. I hope that in view of the debate in the House and the Senate which brought out so vividly the evils of this bill that the President of the United States, who is the President of all of the people, will give serious thought and study to this legislation so that he will know what his bill contains, the evils it foists upon the American people and at least try to have the legislation amended so as to conform to what he says he wanted in the bill.

Now for the first time during the long controversy over this legislation which has been going on since January, the northern press is beginning to publish accounts of all phases of the legislation. I hope this will continue so that the people in all sections of the country will be fully informed as to just what this legislation permits the Federal Government acting through one official can do to the rights and freedoms of the people of this country.

On Thursday, July 18, 1957, there appeared an editorial in the Richmond News Leader entitled "Indecisive Ike." It is a splendid editorial pointing out facetiously the lack of knowledge of what this legislation contains on the part of the President.

In the hope that it will be read by some of the people in all sections of this country, I am including it with my remarks. The editorial is as follows:

INDECISIVE IKE

It was on July 3 that James Reston of the New York Times addressed a question to Mr. Eisenhower. The President, said Mr. Reston, had twice described his civil rights bill as fair and moderate; now Senator RUSSELL had asserted the bill was not really a measure to protect a right to vote, but actually was a cunning device to enforce school integration. Would the President care to comment on that?

Well, said Mr. Eisenhower, he knew what he was seeking, and that was a law to prevent anybody from illegally interfering with anybody else's right to vote. He wanted a civil rights division in the Department of Justice, and he wanted a commission to investigate these things. It was rather incomprehensible to him that respected men would suddenly make statements that the bill would lead to disorder.

Mr. Reston persisted. In the light of those comments, would the President be willing to see the bill rewritten to deal specifically with the right to vote, and not with school integration?

"Well, I would not want to answer this in detail," said Mr. Eisenhower, "because I was reading part of that bill this morning, and I—there were certain phrases I didn't completely understand."

The President's obvious uncertainty about the bill gave hope to opponents, and caused some consternation among the measure's supporters. Senator KNOWLAND of California, leading Republican advocate of a strong civil rights bill, visited the White House to stiffen the President's spine. He returned—this was on Monday—with a statement that the President approved the bill as it appeared before the Senate; indeed, the President regarded all four sections of the bill as highly desirable.

On Tuesday afternoon, while the President was out playing golf, Press Secretary Hagerty released a still stronger statement of White House support. The President did not intend to retreat or compromise.

Yesterday reporters had another direct go at the President. The first question came from Merriman Smith of the United Press: What about the use of Federal troops to enforce school integration orders? Mr. Eisenhower replied that he couldn't imagine any circumstances that would ever induce him to use troops, and he certainly was not seeking additional authority of that kind.

Later in the conference, Rowland Evans, Jr., of the New York Herald Tribune gained the floor. He asked if the President were convinced "that it would be a wise extension of Federal power at this stage to permit the Attorney General to bring suits on his own motion to enforce school integration in the South."

Mr. Eisenhower seemed to be completely befuddled. The transcript reads:

"Well, no; I have—as a matter of fact, as you state it that way, on his own motion, without any request from local authorities, I suppose that is what you are talking about—

"Yes, sir. I think that is what the bill would do, part III.

"Well, in that we will see what they agree on * * *. I personally believe if you try to go too far too fast in laws in this delicate field, that has involved the emotions of so many millions of Americans, you are making a mistake. I believe we have got to have laws that go along with education and understanding, and I believe if you go beyond that at any one time, you cause trouble rather than benefit."

Is it any wonder that even Senator DOUGLAS of Illinois, a rabid partisan of civil rights legislation, suggested extended debate to educate Mr. Eisenhower? It should be evident to the President by this time, if he reflects on the matter for so much as 5 minutes, that he has been thoroughly victimized by his palace guard.

He wanted a bill relating to the right to vote. Such proponents of the pending bill as Senator JAVITS of New York now are confessing, for the first time, that the measure really is designed to enforce school integration. Voting rights are secondary.

The President was shocked to learn that his bill is cunningly tied to an old reconstruction statute authorizing the use of troops to enforce court orders. Yet that is the status of the bill.

Mr. Eisenhower plainly is not aware that his bill permits his Attorney General to obtain ex parte injunctions—that is, injunctions granted without a hearing to the defendants—compelling school integration. He does not comprehend that the filing of such proceedings does not depend upon any request from local officials; he does not know suits could be brought without even the consent of named plaintiffs.

To this moment, the President of the United States has not the foggiest notion of what his own bill is all about, what it says, what it does, what it would mean. And if a President is so easily misled, so wholly befuddled, what of men in lesser offices? Does the Senate of the United States really propose to act in this disorderly confusion, this morass of misunderstanding?

Mr. Eisenhower's performance is, in a way, pathetic. The Senate's performance is disgraceful.

Tribute to the United States Marines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report of Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, our very able and distinguished Chief of Naval Operations, who recently returned from an inspection of the Mediterranean maneuvers of the Sixth Fleet. His military evaluation of the Marine Corps fighting units is highly significant and very gratifying to those of us who have served in the Marine Corps.

Admiral Burke's report follows:

During our recent visit to Sixth Fleet, I inspected the 1st Battalion, 2d Marines. It is an impressive organization, in fine combat condition, and ready if needed. This battalion is typical of what I see everywhere when visiting Marine Corps units. I continue to be impressed, but certainly not surprised, by the efficiency with which the Marines are doing their job throughout the world. The strategic versatility of our sea-

power was enhanched by the combat-readiness of the Fleet Marine Force units which embarked in Japan and sailed to the Persian Gulf during the Suez crisis. The ready-to-go FMF units with Sixth Fleet gave Cat Brown a powerful and immediately available high card during the Jordanian difficulties. It's the same everywhere—the Marines are ready.

This capability to move instantly and to be combat ready on arrival is not achieved by accident. It is the result of outstanding leadership and a lot of hard work. The leadership of the Marines from their Commandant on down has been and continues to be outstanding. With such leadership, we in the Navy can be confident that the Marines will continue to be ready and able to pitch in and help with any job we undertake.

Legislation by Scare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the New Republic of July 15, 1957, is most timely:

LEGISLATION BY SCARE

We have heard and will continue hearing, from southerners in particular, that considered deliberation is an essential of democratic government. Legislation, especially legislation concerning civil rights, must not be rushed; all sides must be heard, and at length.

The theory is sound. But it would be more convincing if it were consistently applied. Take the case of one piece of civil rights legislation now before the Congress about which little has been written and on which there has been no debate—S. 2377, a bill designed according to its partisans to protect the FBI's confidential files from indiscriminate public scrutiny. We shall come later to some of the questionable contents of the bill; what concerns us at the moment is the speed with which it shot through the appropriate subcommittees and committees of both branches of Congress.

S. 2377 came up before the Senate Special Subcommittee on Improvement in the Federal Criminal Code on June 28. Two, and only two, witnesses were called to testify. Both spoke for the bill—Attorney General Brownell and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury David W. Kendall. Immediately after their statements, the subcommittee approved and forwarded the bill to the full Judiciary Committee, presided over by that illustrious advocate of unlimited debate, Senator JAMES EASTLAND, of Mississippi. On July 1, the full committee took up the bill, and within a few minutes, it, too, approved it. No further witnesses were called upon, nor were any dissenting statements placed in the RECORD.

Similarly in the House, the bill was endorsed by both the subcommittee (June 27) and the full Judiciary Committee (July 2) on the same days it came before those bodies. The only witnesses were Mr. Brownell, Mr. Kendall, and Representatives Kenneth Keating and Francis Walter.

Why the speed? Because on June 3, in its ruling in the Jencks case, the Supreme Court directed the Government to produce the statements made to the FBI by witness Harvey Matusow, and restated the traditional proposition that Government may not undertake to prosecute someone and then invoke its privileges to deprive the accused of information which might be material to his defense. Nothing radical in that. As the dean of the Harvard Law School put it, the opinion "simply blueprints procedures used right here in Boston and every criminal court."

But that is not the impression of the Jencks ruling one got by reading the newspapers. A front-page story in the New York Herald Tribune signed by Don Whitehead, author of The FBI Story, opened with the dramatic warning that, "the FBI is prepared today to drop out of the prosecution of espionage and criminal cases if such a drastic step should be necessary to protect the confidential nature of its files."

Attorney General Brownell warned of a "grave emergency." Nothing so frightening had been heard in Washington since Postmaster Summerfield threatened to slow up mail deliveries if the Post Office were not given more money, or since Secretary Dulles said communism would take over the Middle East if the Eisenhower doctrine were not approved. There was no time to waste in, say, reading what Brownell's legislation said.

And what it says is worth reading. It would, among other things, deny the defense in criminal trials access to any FBI reports which were not signed or otherwise approved by the witness, thus permitting the FBI in effect to determine itself whether any statements it takes down will ever be disclosed. S. 2377 also would permit the Government to withhold even those portions of FBI reports which the trial judge has ordered turned over to the defense. Under one provision of the Brownell bill, the judge would then have an option: He could declare a mistrial or, and this is new, he could proceed with the trial and merely strike out of the record all testimony of the prosecution witness concerned. In effect, then, the bill invites a relaxation of rules governing mistrials.

Address of Brig. Gen. John L. Person, Assistant Chief of Army Engineers at Dedication Ceremonies Held at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on Tuesday, July 16, 1957, Upon Completion of the Multi-Million-Dollar Flood Control System for the Wyoming Valley Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following address:

REMARKS OF BRIG. GEN. JOHN L. PERSON, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF ARMY ENGINEERS, AT GREATER WILKES-BARRE FLOOD CONTROL DEDICATION CEREMONY, WILKES-BARRE, PA., JULY 16, 1957

I am very happy and honored to have been invited to take part in these ceremonies which dedicate the multimillion flood-control works in the greater Wilkes-Barre area.

General Itschner, the Army's Chief of Engineers, has asked me to express his regrets for not being able to attend. Other earlier commitments have made it impossible for him to be present.

I feel that the flood protection which has been completed in the Wyoming Valley places me in an enviable position among my comembers of the Armed Forces. From time to time, all of the military services find themselves called upon to assist a local community in an emergency. When they have finished that job, the soldiers, sailors, airmen, or marines return to their primary task of training for the military defense of America.

We in the Corps of Engineers, however, find ourselves with a twofold assignment. In addition to our combat mission and our military construction responsibilities, we have been charged with another great responsibility—to investigate, plan, design and construct flood-control and navigation improvement projects that enable American citizens to work for the future of our Nation.

Now, I am sure that you, of all people, know that floods are costly. There is damage whenever a river overflows its natural banks. Farmlands and crops are washed away or burdened with undesirable waterborne debris. Homes are flooded and furnishings are quite often ruined. Lives may be lost, people made homeless and health endangered. Industries are forced to shut down during the flood period and usually remain shut down for weeks, or even months, while repairs are being made and flood-borne debris is being cleaned up. This results in loss of production with losses for the owners and loss of wages for the workers. Also of importance is the disruption of transportation and communication. This happens because river valleys offer natural avenues which have been followed by highways, railroads, and communication lines. Floods often wash out these facilities and by so doing have economic effects reaching far beyond the river basins in which the floods occur.

Flood stage at Wilkes-Barre, the river height at which the Susquehanna River used to overflow its natural banks, is 22 feet. There are records of many such overflows. There is, for instance, a detailed account of the famous "pumpkin" flood of 1786 which occurred at harvesttime and which got its name because it brought down a large number of pumpkins bouncing along on the crest of the floodwaters and striking like cannonballs into the sides of houses and barns right here in the Wyoming Valley. But the greatest floods of which we have record were in March 1936 and March 1865. Both reached a stage of 33.1 feet. The 1936 flood alone caused damages of $3,780,000 at Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Township; $3,930,000 at Kingston and Edwardsville; $1,320,000 at Plymouth; and $420,000 at Swoyersville and Forty Fort—a total of $9,450,000. At today's prices, it would, of course, be very much more.

For the people of Luzerne County who were just beginning to make a comeback following this Nation's worst economic depression, the 1936 flood was a serious blow. The flooded area in Kingston extended back for more than a mile and a half from the river, that in Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Township for distances ranging up to a mile. Many were homeless. Industry and commerce were shut down. To say that the communities here in the Wyoming Valley were crippled, and crippled badly, is certainly not exaggerating.

Although some progress in flood protection was made a short time before, the important financial support needed to accomplish the projects we dedicate today came after the first Flood Control Act was passed by Congress and approved by the President on June 22, 1936. With the authority

granted by that act, the United States Army Corps of Engineers undertook flood-control work in the Wyoming Valley. The Baltimore district engineer was assigned the responsibility of doing the job.

In spite of the delays caused by World War II and the Korean emergency, the task in this valley which was initiated by and authorized by the 1936 act, has now been completed.

Lest I mislead you into thinking that only the Federal Government has had an interest in providing flood control for Luzerne County, let me state that you, yourselves, have made a substantial contribution to these projects. Nearly one million dollars in funds, in rights-of-way and in real estate have been contributed by local interests—the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Luzerne County, the city of Wilkes-Barre and the various boroughs in this valley receiving this flood protection. In addition, the city of Wilkes-Barre, the boroughs and the county officials have undertaken the maintenance and operation of these completed works. This is a most important job. For these flood-control works will serve you well, will protect you from floods, only if they are property maintained and operated.

To date, the benefits already realized from Wyoming Valley flood control include savings of more than $34 million in flood damages which have been prevented. They already represent 2½ times the cost of the flood-control works which we dedicate today. But the benefits have been much more than that. They include security and safety and the opportunity to build without fear that what you build may be swept away next year by floodwaters.

Now this work is finished, but we should not forget that the reservoirs yet to be built in the watershed of the Susquehanna upstream from here will add still more to the protection of this valley.

Your chamber of commerce is striving to increase the prosperity of this area by inviting more diversified industries to settle here. A recent story in one of the local papers stated that Scranton and Wilkes-Barre are rated 40th among the Nation's retail markets and that they comprise the third marketing area in Pennsylvania. I trust that the work accomplished here by the Corps of Engineers has contributed to and will be instrumental in the growth and progress of your communities. Added to this are my fervent best wishes for your future safety and well-being along the banks of this Susquehanna River.

Comparison of Proposed Hells Canyon Dam With Three-Dam Project Licensed by Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following comparison of proposed Hells Canyon Dam with three-dam project licensed by the Federal Power Commission:

Comparison of proposed Hells Canyon Dam with 3-dam project licensed by FPC

[All figures in this tabulation are from Government sources and records]

	FPC 3-dam licensed project	Proposed Government dam at Hells Canyon
1. Power output, dependable capacity (see note on item 1).	767,000 kilowatts (FPC finding No. 32; staff exhibit 375).	785,000 kilowatts (FPC staff exhibit 367).
2. Average annual energy production (see note on item 2).	5,720,000,000 kilowatt-hours (BPA power study, June 15, 1956).	5,185,000,000 kilowatt-hours (BPA memorandum, Aug. 11, 1955, Committee Print 1–A, S. 1333, p. 16).
3. Cost of project (see note on item 3)	FPC estimate $175,766,000	USBR, estimated; letter of Secretary of Interior, July 1, 1957 (House hearings on S. 555, p. 215) $343,000,000
	Company and contractor's estimate 133,000,000	Transmission lines 129,500,000
	Transmission lines 21,000,000	Total cost 472,500,000
	Total cost 154,000,000	
4. Power cost, at market (see note on item 4)	3.15 mills, before taxes (FPC staff exhibit 372); 4.5 to 5 mills, including taxes paid.	3.79 to 4.4 mills (no taxes paid); testimony of USBR witness, S. 555 hearings, p. 89; Army and USBR reports on Hells Canyon estimate power costs at 4 to 4.4 mills.
5. Benefit-to-cost ratios (see note on item 5)	2.5-to-1 (examiner's finding 161)	1.83-to-1 (examiner's finding 160).
6. Availability of power to entire region	Yes; required by FPC license	Yes.
7. Active storage space	1,000,000 acre-feet	3,880,000 acre-feet.
8. Effective storage for flood control	do	2,300,000 acre-feet.
9. Annual flood-control benefits (see note on items 9–11)	$1,000,000	$2,300,000.
10. Navigation benefits	$108,000	$189,000.
11. Recreation benefits	Larger dam might attract more tourists, but "insofar as hunting and fishing are concerned, the 3-dam plan would probably be superior" (FPC decision, p. 11).	
12. Taxes payable (per year)	Federal (per year) $5,790,000	Federal: None.
	State (per year) 3,960,000	State: None.
	Total (per year) 9,750,000 (House hearings on S. 555, p. 276.)	
13. Power revenues to aid reclamation	Yes; if Congress so provides	Yes; if Congress so provides.
14. Development of phosphate fertilizer	No difference. Transmission cost alone for Federal power, 400 miles to phosphate beds, would be 2 mills per kilowatt-hour (testimony of BPA chief engineer, House hearings on Interior Department appropriations for 1955, p. 1211).	
15. Development of electro-process industry	No difference, with cost and losses for transmission to areas where labor and transportation are available for industry location.	
16. Best plan of comprehensive river development	Yes. FPC found (decision, p. 19) that the 3-dam plan is "best adapted to a comprehensive plan of development."	No. FPC recommended (decision, p. 19) that the United States should not undertake the development of Hells Canyon.

NOTES

Item 1. Power output: Government dam proponents compare power output figures of 924,000 kilowatts for the Hells Canyon Dam, as against 505,000 kilowatts for the 3 dams licensed by FPC, derived from the report of the FPC hearing examiner. The report itself shows, however, that these figures are not comparable: The 505,000 figure for the 3 dams is "at site" power production only (the comparable output from the high dam is 513,000 kilowatts); the 924,000 figure for the high dam is at site power, plus power assumed to be produced at 8 plants farther downstream, 5 of which are not in existence. To build these 5 additional plants would cost the Government another $873,000,000 (Public Works Appropriation for 1958, hearings, pp. 129, 144). Even this added cost would not change the dependable capacity comparison as, if these 5 plants were constructed, FPC staff exhibit 367 shows that the dependable capacity would be: High dam, 800,000 kilowatts; 3-dam licensed project, 783,000 kilowatts.

Item 2. Average annual energy production: When the high dam reservoir is low, the turbines could not operate efficiently, and Hells Canyon would produce less power than the 3 dams. At the 1952 hearings on H. R. 5743, p. 360, the Power Manager of BPA testified that in low water years, generation at the high dam would have to be cut down to only 66,000 kilowatts for 3 months of the year. (See also note to items 7–9, below.)

Item 3. Cost of project: The above estimates do not include other costs included in the pending bills to authorize Hells Canyon. Total costs authorized by these bills would amount to over half a billion dollars. The Secretary of the Interior reports (letter of July 1, 1957, House hearings on S. 555, transcript, p. 215) that the construction authorized by the Hells Canyon bills would require appropriations averaging more than $87,000,000 per year for the next 6 years.

Item 4. Power cost: A power-cost comparison, appearing in a tabulation prepared by high-dam proponents, of 2.7 mills for the high dam, as against 6.69 mills for the 3 dams, is based not only upon the incomparable "power output" figures in note 1, but also upon an assumed construction cost for the 3 dams of $191,000,000 (see item 3 in above tabulation), and upon assumed operating costs "370 percent higher" than the actual costs of the Idaho Power Co. The examiner made this clear in his report (pp. 17, 19).

Item 5. Benefit-to-cost ratio: The FPC findings (Nos. 33–35) show a benefit-to-cost ratio for the 3 dams of 1.3 to 1 on power output alone, without giving credit for the flood control and navigation benefits (over $1,100,000 annually) resulting from the licensed project. The ratios shown for the high dam include these benefits. Thus the actual benefit-to-cost ratios are even more in favor of the 3-dam project than indicated in item 5, in the tabulation, above. FPC Staff Exhibit 372 showed that the additional power from the high dam would cost (annually) $8,189,000, and would have a market value of only $5,221,000—i. e., a benefit-to-cost ratio of only 0.64 to 1—and would therefore be economically unfeasible.

Items 7–9. Comparative storage capacity: The 3,880,000 acre-feet of storage space behind the big dam cannot be filled except in about 4 years out of 20; the 1,000,000 acre-feet of storage in the FPC licensed project can be filled every year (hearings on H. R. 5, chart, transcript, p. 237). The FPC found (decision, p. 9) that the 1,000,000 acre-feet of storage in the 3-dam licensed project is consistent with the Army's flood-control plans.

Items 9–11. Flood control, navigation, and recreation: The FPC found (decision, p. 11) that "the public purposes such as flood control, navigation, and recreation could be effectuated to about the same extent under either plan of development."

Professor Hits Cigarette-Cancer Link

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, every few years certain people raise the old tobacco-cancer scare. For what reason I do not know. We see it being prominently played up in the press again at this time.

There appeared in the New York Journal-American issue of Wednesday, July 17, 1957, a news article by Walter Bazar entitled "Professor Hits Cigarette-Cancer Link" and in the same issue there appeared an article by Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York Journal-American entitled "Too Much Talk, No Evidence, So We'll Keep On Smoking."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the two articles, which are as follows:

PROFESSOR HITS CIGARET-CANCER LINK
(By Walter Bazar)

A prominent medical pioneer in cancer research today challenged the theory that cigaret smoking is a cause of human lung cancer.

Evidence from both statistical and experimental approaches to the theory "does not appear sufficiently significant to me to warrant forsaking the pleasure of smoking," declared Dr. Harry S. N. Greene, chairman of the Department of Pathology, Yale University.

CITES ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Dr. Greene stated his reasons for doubting that existing "evidence" shows a cause-and-effect relationship between tobacco and lung cancer in his introduction to the new book, "Science Looks at Smoking."

The book, written by Eric Northrup, feature editor of Scope Weekly, a national medical newspaper, was published by Coward-McCann, Inc.

Of reports that the incidence of lung cancer has been rising, Dr. Greene wrote:

"Despite the absence of definite proof in one or the other direction, the assumption generally has been made that the incidence has increased and this has been considered as a clue in the search for a related environmental agent.

"STATISTICAL STUDIES NOTED

"Many factors in man's environment have changed in the past 50 years and several of these pertain to lung cancer. The atmosphere has become polluted with the exhaust gases of industry and automobiles; tobacco smoking has become a universal habit; and X-ray examination for the early detection of tuberculosis has become a standard procedure to which many individuals are subjected at frequent intervals.

"There are many other factors, any one of which shows an increase in prevalence comparable to that believed to obtain in lung cancer; but for reasons that appear more subjective than objective, major attention has been directed toward smoking."

Of statistical studies, Dr. Greene declared:

"Nearly everyone is familiar with the statistical studies purporting to establish a casual relationship betwen cigarette smoking and lung cancer. These studies have been the subject of a barrage of propaganda both in the press and over the radio, and the controversy has provided the entertainment world with much free talent.

"The arguments go on endlessly, for, like the question of how many angels can sit comfortably on the head of a pin, there are no pertinent data on which to base a definite answer."

Northrup wrote of the recently released American Cancer Society statistical study on smoking and lung cancer. It was based on interviews by 22,000 volunteers of 188,000 men between 50 and 69.

"The only questions asked," Northrup wrote, "had to do with their smoking habits. No questions were asked about their general health, occupations, family background * * * amount and kind of industrial and other pollution in their surroundings. The experiment was dropped after 4 years, although cancer requires from 20 to 30 years of latent development."

OTHER QUESTIONS POSED

Concerning experiments with mice, the book states that "mice are highly susceptible to cancer from many agents including sugar and olive oil."

Other questions posed by the book:

If smoking causes cancer, why don't as many women die of cancer as men? The ratio is 5 to 1. As many women smoke as do men, the book states. And why, it adds, do as many women as men die of cancer in industries where other known cancer-producing elements are present?

If smoking causes cancer, why has there been no increase of cancer of the mouth, larynx, tongue, lips, windpipe?

If smoking causes cancer, why do lung cancer death rates vary so sharply from country to country and from region to region, regardless of smoking habits?

TOO MUCH TALK, NO EVIDENCE, SO WE'LL KEEP ON SMOKING
(By Leslie Gould)

As a longtime cigarette, cigar, and occasional pipe smoker, we're getting fed up with some parts of the medical profession, including the United States Public Health Service.

There is or there isn't a tie-in of cigarette smoking to lung cancer.

From public statements of the Surgeon General of the United States—Dr. Leroy E. Burney—we don't know. And we don't think he does.

Last week he issued a long report which got some page 1 scare headlines:

"United States Study Confirms Cigarette-Cancer Tie."

"United States Links Cancer With Cigarettes. Health Service Cites Data."

Dr. Burney started off that report, saying the Public Health Service was concerned with broad factors which substantially affect the health of the American people and has a responsibility to bring health facts to the attention of the health profession and the public.

MAKES STRONG STATEMENT

Then he teed off, saying in light of certain studies it is clear that there is an increasing and consistent body of evidence that excessive cigarette smoking is one of the causative factors in lung cancer.

He went on:

"Many independent studies thus have confirmed beyond reasonable doubt that there is a high degree of statistical association between lung cancer and heavy and prolonged cigarette smoking."

In that and the succeeding trading day on the New York Stock Exchange, shares of the 5 leading tobacco companies lost $29¼ million in value.

A few days pass and Dr. Burney, of the Health Service, clearifies his earlier statement. He backs up quite a bit. Speaking of benzypyrene, which has been found to produce skin cancer, Dr. Burney now says:

"There are some scientific studies which indicate benzypyrene has been identified in cigarette tars. There is no evidence to indicate, however, that benrypyrene in itself is present in sufficient quantities in cigarette tars to cause human lung cancer."

That's a lot different from his previous flat statement.

In his earlier scare report, Dr. Burney cited the "report of Dr. E. C. Hammond and Dr. Daniel Horn of June 5 to the American Medical Association in New York." He refers to them several times as Drs. Hammond and Horn.

"The average reader would assume, particularly with Dr. Burney linking them to the American Medical Association, that they are medical doctors. They are not. One is a "Ph. D." That is a doctor of philosophy. The other holds bachelor and doctor of science degrees. Their field today is chiefly statistical, not pulse feeling. One specialized earlier in child psychology. The other on "experimental population in lower organism," whatever that is.

CAUSE STILL UNKNOWN

The truth of the matter is that no one knows what does cause lung cancer. It could be air pollution—fumes from trucks, buses, and autos. In London, where there is a high incidence of lung cancer, the air breathed by the average Britisher contains the equivalent in benzypyrene to 100 cigarettes a day—5 packs. Who smokes that many?

Until there is better evidence than is now at hand, we will string along with Dr. Harry S. N. Green, chairman, department of pathology, Yale University. In an introduction to a just-published book Science Looks at Smoking, by Eric Northrupp, Dr. Green writes:

"The case against tobacco is derived mostly from statistical association and some experimental work with animals * * *. This evidence from both approaches, statistical and experimental, does not appear sufficiently significant to me to warrant forsaking the pleasure of smoking."

Pyrrhic Victory in Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of July 12, 1957, commenting on the Supreme Court's decision in the Girard case:

PYRRHIC VICTORY IN GIRARD CASE

The Eisenhower administration won a Pyrrhic victory yesterday when the United States Supreme Court upheld the surrender of GI William Girard to Japan for trial in the death of a Japanese woman. Washington well may rue the day.

The Nation's highest tribunal reversed the ruling of Justice Joseph McGarraghy in the District of Columbia, barring the turning over of the American soldier to Japan on the ground that he was engaged in the performance of duty and his constitutional rights would be violated. Not even the administration disputed the fact that Girard was on duty at the time of the alleged offense, but

the Court held the administration trespassed on no provision in the law when it waived any right to try Girard.

Significantly, the Court added:

"The wisdom of the agreement is exclusively for the determination of the executive and legislative branches."

What gripes the American people is that assorted reds, pinks, punks, and racketeeers have full protection under the Constitution of the United States, but a defender of our country has none. This does not make sense.

The Court restricted itself to the narrow issue that since there was no law to the contrary there was no obstacle in the path of the administration. Congress, as the voice of the people, has a pressing obligation to meet that challenge with legislation that will leave no room for doubt about how far these status-of-forces agreements can go. There must be no question about the rights of servicemen, no matter what the diplomatic exigencies of the situation.

In effect, the State Department overruled the Defense Department which originally took jurisdiction in the Girard case. To all intents and purposes, Secretary of State Dulles replaced Secretary of Defense Wilson with the approval of President Eisenhower in a showdown on this issue in an obvious attempt to placate public opinion in Japan. This may be diplomacy, but it is not justice. Girard becomes a pawn and we frankly don't like it, even though he gets off lightly in a Japanese court and possibly might not fare so well in a United States court-martial. There is a principle involved that transcends all other considerations.

This ruling will have a tendency to destroy morale in the Armed Forces abroad. If every American serviceman is expendable diplomatically, he is on mighty shaky ground. This must not be.

The duty of Congress is clear in the light of the ruling of the Supreme Court. The loophole must be plugged. The time element may not make it possible to spare Girard, but his buddies in Japan and in other lands must be safeguarded.

The United States should go only so far in these pacts with foreign lands where our troops are stationed. It should not forfeit the constitutional rights of a serviceman under any circumstances or, for that matter, of any American citizen. We are not prepared to pay that price, for the preservation of the American way of life is the sole justification of all our sacrifices.

The Washington Jungle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House an article which appeared in the well known Massachusetts newspaper, the Berkshire Eagle. It concerns our very hard-working and intelligent colleague from the State of Oregon, Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, who has set out some very amusing yet penetrating definitions which are helpful in defining certain aspects of life here in Washington.

The article follows:

THE WASHINGTON JUNGLE

(By Peter Potomac)

That time of the year has arrived—and fortunately almost past—when people from all over the country descend on their Nation's Capital to stare at the strange sights and stranger inhabitants of the Washington jungle. These people, while they are safely at home minding their own business are known as constituents and are usually considered to be fine upstanding people—"the backbone of the great State of ——."

But once they set foot within the Washington city limits (speed limit: 25 m. p. h.) they quickly become known by a less endearing term which I happen to know is quite popular in the Berkshires right now. ("Madam, I don't care if they are almost through the first movement. Will you kindly get back in the monstrous automobile and remove it from my phlox.")

Any place that is worth its weight in fallout has its tourist attraction and the Washington jungle is no exception. What Mr. Munch's trained seals are to the Berkshires, the strange animals in the Washington jungle are to the Nation's Capital. This year there are some especially interesting animals on the prowl, as I am sure any one who has been here and chanced to see, for example, the donkey-eared elephant will agree.

For those of you who have not had a chance yet to come look at the strange beasts, perhaps you will make an extra effort to do so when you hear some of them described. Let me hasten to add that the descriptions of these rare Washington animals which I am about to offer were created by that remarkable Congresswoman from Oregon, EDITH GREEN, and first set forth in a travelog which she gave not long ago before a group of her constituents (tourists, 3,000 miles removed) back home. I am sure you will find them intriguing.

The modern elephant: Sometimes called the streamlined mastodon, the modern elephant is rather new to the Washington jungle. It is a very elusive specimen and so far has been seen in large numbers only during the fall of last year. It is rarely seen now. Some old Washington hands deny its existence; however, those intrepid explorers, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, assure us it does exist. There is a general feeling that it will reappear in the fall of 1960.

The regular elephant: This animal is, of course, a familiar sight here and is easily recognized in its usual stance—both ears to the ground, eyes fixed on the memory of Capt. Warren Harding and its great legs straddling several fences. Its familiar call has been described by some as a stentorian "I like Ike, but."

The migratory President: A strange bird known to the natives by several names such as Sherm, Jim, and quite often Ike. The migratory President flies very rapidly and far above the strife of the Washington jungle. In fact, it only rarely stops at the large white nest house in the center of the forest, on its flights from Pennsylvania to Georgia.

The coalition dinosaur: A rather remarkable cross between a donkey and a regular elephant which often travels with the herds of one or the other but is never really depended upon by either. Most of its time is spent in the deep recesses of the committee chairman mountains.

The despotted leopard: A substitute for the migratory President which has seasoned hunters very confused. This amazing animal, according to Helen Gahagan Douglas, was first seen in California. Many people maintain this leopard's spots have been removed. Others say that its strange appearance is really protective coloration, but that the spots will be reappear once it becomes king of the Washington jungle.

The party lion: Almost extinct now, although some of its worst enemies are beginning to wish it were back.

The long-nosed snooper: Thought to be extinct, but appears to be increasing in alarming numbers with an entirely new set of feathers. Adept at raising large clouds of dust in the eyes of legitimate snoopers, permitting the prey to escape in the ensuing confusion.

The presidential bug: A recurrent pest, which is not too bothersome right now. It is difficult to tell just how many animals have been bitten by it, although it will probably show up in great swarms before long, and an outbreak of presidential fever is expected after 1958. In fact, a few cases have already been reported. The earliest symptoms are a bad case of cold feet when confronted with issues, and a serious impediment of vision.

The loudmouthed buffoon: Otherwise known as the filibusterer, the loudmouthed buffoon has almost been trapped several times only to emerge stronger than ever, with the aid of the coalition dinosaur. The Texas longhorn is still the dominant jungle animal of this species, but there are those who say that the power of this animal is greatly exaggerated.

Well, there are some of the remarkable animals which have been bringing the tourists to Washington by the thousands. If you haven't been able to come down to see them yet, you should make a special effort—but, if you do, remember, please, don't feed the animals; they are pretty well overfed already. Also, if you are coming, you had better try to make it soon, while the animals are still here. The heat is slowly making the steaming banks of the Potomac uninhabitable and most of the animals will soon be heading for the mountains or the shore—and just we crazy natives will be left.

Can Government Costs Be Cut?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit for the RECORD, a speech by a distinguished citizen in my district, Mr. Clarence Francis, delivered at the 61st annual convention of the New York State Bankers Association, Lake Placid Club, Lake Placid, N. Y., June 21, 1957.

I do not know why businessmen ask the question as Mr. Francis does, Can Government costs be cut? I should think they would be clamoring with placards flying with the words "Government costs can and must be cut."

At any rate, here is Mr. Francis' way of stating the proposition:

CAN GOVERNMENT COSTS BE CUT?—ADDRESS BY CLARENCE FRANCIS

Our discussion today concerns the reduction of governmental costs. This is an important question. We cannot appreciate its true importance, in fact, unless we consider it within the framework of all of the complex, vast, and varied public problems which we face today.

We will talk concretely in terms of the economic meaning of governmental costs and the practical measures which can be taken to reduce them. But I would also like to suggest that the costs of Government can take more than 1 form and have more than 1 meaning.

Let us begin, therefore, by asking ourselves why we are here? Of course, I know that you have gathered to discuss your mutual problems, to exchange information, and to consider public issues in a constructive way as you have done every year for 60 years.

And, of course, you know why I am here. My purpose is to deliver the message of the Hoover report to a group of thoughtful Americans, leaders in their own communities, who have a very special interest in the solvency and stability of our Federal Government.

But let me ask, in a broader sense, why are we here? Why are you and I and all our 170 million fellow Americans here on the North American Continent, here as citizens of the United States of America? This Nation of ours is still a new Nation founded on ideas and ideals greatly different from those prevailing among the vast mass of all the people who have lived in the world in the past and even of those who are living today.

Why, to put it another way, have the people of this continent transformed a wilderness into a dynamic economy in such a short time and why today has this Nation become the leader of the free world in the global contest between liberty and totalitarianism?

These questions may seem far afield from our topic but I think they have a special pertinence to your concerns. Let us consider your role in the modern economy. It was not so long ago, as you know, that a bank was literally a bench. In the Middle Ages the money changers of Lombardy worked at what they called a banca and their French counterparts a banque, both of which may have stemmed from the Latin, bancus.

The exchange of currency was a basic function then and it is today but it is now one of many. The whole history of banking in modern times, it seems to me, has involved the assumption of a series of new functional responsibilities piled one on top of the other. Today we find you occupying some fine, 50-story, air-conditioned benches and this, to me, is a symbol of the vitally creative role which banking plays in every area of our industrial and commercial development.

Now somewhere in the course of your rather breathtaking evolution, a need arose for scorekeepers in national and international transactions. So you became the scorekeepers and you are still scorekeepers but this function, too, has expanded. You are more precisely monitors, with an eye not only to the balance sheet but to the broad trends which affect so many decisions, financial and otherwise.

The economic and social indicators which you have to monitor today are as numerous as the instruments of a jet plane. Having been a personal observer of all the dazzling developments we have witnessed from the horse and buggy to the helicopter, I can testify to the complexities of your task. And one of the most significant single long-range developments concerns our natural resources. In less than a lifetime, we have sounded bottom and gone over to an import position on oil, iron ore, and a host of other commodities which we once considered domestically inexhaustible. This is partly an effect of modern warfare, and partly a result of the inventive energies of our people. At any rate it puts us on a new footing, especially in view of the intricate international obligations we have meanwhile assumed. And it means that our footing must at all times be sure.

For this reason we are obliged, almost daily, to take careful note of every flicker on the economic dashboard. We can dare to be pleased, but we cannot afford to be deluded, by signs of great and continuing prosperity. These signs we see abundantly today but we also note such factors as tight money and the profit squeeze, and we must constantly ask ourselves questions about the relationship of consumer credit to savings, of wages to prices, of automation to productivity, and so forth.

You will note that all these factors, so important today, were of little or no concern to the banking scorekeepers of the past. This is doubly true of what today is the most pervading single question mark of all—governmental costs. As recently as 25 years ago, the Federal budget was less than $5 billion and its influence on the cost of doing business was relatively minor.

Today the interest on the national debt is larger than the whole cost of the Federal Government in 1933. The Government's paperwork alone costs nearly $4 billion a year. Federal taxes, corporate and individual, intrude themselves importantly into every transaction, on the economic scene. They must not be permitted to outrace the immense capacities of our productive industrial machine. And so, when we see a thing called Federal budget—1958 model, a big, red light goes up on the dashboard.

We ask, therefore, "Can Government costs be cut?" To me, the answer is not can they but will they? They can be cut in two ways. Congress and the administration can lop and pare and argue as they are doing right now. But I have come to you to talk about a more fundamental and enduring means of reducing costs. That is by the installation of modern business methods, the elimination of waste and duplication which by sheer habit have lodged themselves in countless areas of governmental operation, and by the reversal of costly trends toward governmental competition with private business.

That is, in short, by adoption of the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission, unanimously created by Congress, which with the aid of some 200 outstanding experts, made a thorough study of the whole Federal Government between 1953 and 1955. The Commission, as you know, made 314 specific recommendations for modernizing Federal procedures of which to date some 39 percent have been adopted by congressional and administrative action combined.

It is not my purpose today to sell you on the validity of the Commission's findings, for I know you need no selling. I will not even exhort you at length to support the Commission's recommendations, though their acceptance depends on public support. I know that many of you are working in behalf of the report and I will content myself with expressing the confidence that all of you will.

Today I want to make just two points: Governmental costs can be cut, substantially, by application of the Hoover report. We set out not long ago, to track down some of the savings which the Federal agencies themselves officially attest as results of the recommendations of the first and second Hoover Commissions. The study we made covered only a part of the governmental departments and the figure we arrived at is cumulative, not annual. But it came to $2.8 billion and it did certify, OED, that savings can be made.

My second point is this: We dare not let national discussion of the Hoover report bog down in contention over savings. Whether the potential is $5 billion, $4 billion, $2 billion or even $1 billion, the economies inherent in the report are sufficient unto themselves. Let us not lose sight of the far, far larger gain which will be made by arresting the trends of today, by awakening the public to the dangers of waste, by producing a new spirit of citizen participation in the daily conduct of governmental affairs, and by a return to the self-reliant, critical, and independent spirit of our forefathers.

Just 3 days ago, in Washington, there was a meeting of citizens interested in effectuating the Hoover report. They came from every corner of the country to discuss the issues, first among themselves, and then with their Senators and Representatives. There are, as a matter of fact, some 170 pieces of Hoover Commission legislation before the current session and of these just 12 bills were selected as a basis for prompt congressional action.

Some of these measures are more important than others, of course, but they all promise distinct benefits, some in terms of economy, others in terms of more efficient government. You may be interested in some of them yourselves and, if so, I hope you will give them your special support.

First is the bill to install annual accrued expenditure budgeting as governmental procedure. This measure has already been approved by the Senate and, as H. R. 8002, awaits House action. I don't think I need belabor to you the importance of modernizing the Government's admittedly antiquated budgeting practices. Will doing so save money? In any private business it would. Whether or not in Government the saving is several billion dollars a year (as has been contended), there is a principal at stake which transcends dollar economy.

What the Commission found, in effect, was this: Under present methods, huge unspent appropriations carry over from year to year and pile up in the agencies exempt from all further congressional review. Their present total is estimated by the Comptroller General at $70 billion, in fact, nearly equal to a year's budget. But the underlying issue is even more important. It involves legislative control of the purse, an absolute principle of self-government since time began.

Another measure illustrates the way in which governmental functions continue to operate long after the need has passed. This is the bill to discontinue the postal savings system. Again, I need not point out to you that the system, originally created to serve the rural areas, today largely duplicates private facilities in urban areas. Will closing it down save money? There is no precise price tag, but it certainly would free the Government of a needless responsibility and it would take a workload off the postal staff for it has deposits of $1.7 billion and 2,482,000 depositors.

Or take the anti-Government competition bill (S. 1539) introduced by Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN and 6 cosponsors of both parties. This would amount to a positive policy declaration by the Congress reinforcing the Commission's position that every business-type governmental enterprise in competition with taxpaying private business should be abolished. In this field, by the way, we can chalk up one of the Commission's chief accomplishments to date. Since the report was issued, some 532 such businesses have been closed, largely in the Department of Defense, while an additional 161 have been ordered to discontinue.

Would this bill save money? Again, there is no way of pricing it out, but what does reason tell us? Even the Government businesses that claim to operate at a profit usually forget to include taxes, depreciation, and other basic costs in their accounting. And again—what is the real worth of any measure which reverses the constant and dangerous encroachments of Government in areas which a free country must reserve for free enterprise?

Or take the amendment to the new Defense Appropriations Act which would establish a Defense Supply and Service Administration, civilian controlled, to handle the procurement and management of common-use supply items. Here huge dollar savings are clearly visible. This measure strikes straight at a source of duplication and habitual waste costing no none knows how many billions of dollars a year. Every spadeful of evidence that the Commission turned up in this area confirmed that fact. One of the most understandable examples is the oft-quoted instance in which the Army shipped 800,000 pounds of tomatoes from the west coast to the east coast while the Navy was shipping 775,000 pounds of tomatoes from the east coast to the west coast.

So here, obviously, is an opportunity to save money, big money. But again let me point out that the principle is more important than the dollars. The principle is genuine unification of the armed services. Lack of unification is a definite danger to the Nation in war and peace and its cost may be reckoned in lives as well as money. Another principle, equally involved, is that of civilian control over matters which civilians should control.

As another example consider the bill to create a Federal Council of Health and thus reorganize and consolidate a score or more of Federal hospital systems. All over the country, some Federal hospitals stand half-empty while new ones rise nearby. Money would be saved by putting a stop to these practices. But, better still, the Federal hospital systems would no longer compete for scarce physicians, nurses, and technicians. We are talking here about a nondollar economy of major significance, the wise utilization of the Nation's precious heal services.

Now let us turn to a bill which is not even intended to save money. I refer to the measure which would create an administrative court with special jurisdiction over actions now handled by the regulatory commissions. Often enough, as you know, these commissions serve as arresting officer, prosecutor, and judge. No one planned it that way, necessarily, but that's the way it is. The Commission found here a direct contravention of constitutional principle and a dangerous infringement of individual liberty.

Still another measure would relax the present inhibitions on disposal of Government real property. At present any transaction over $25,000 must be laboriously reviewed by 2 and sometimes 4 congressional committees. To expedite these sales, considering the Government's huge holdings, would certainly constitute a considerable economy.

Yes, Government costs can be cut. But the big thing about that meeting in Washington was this: Here were men and women who had come to Washington from near and far at their own expense. They are leaders in their own communities and completely representative of thousands of others just like them. They knew why they were there, to express an unselfish and constructive interest in the strengthening and improvement of their free Government. Is this not one of the most heartening signs of our time?

In the course of their 2-year study the members of the Hoover Commission also asked themselves: "Why are we here?" Then they wrote down a 6-point definition of their goals.

Bear in mind, these were 12 seasoned, touch-minded men of both political faiths. They represented widely diverse backgrounds and points of view. They sometimes disagreed on specific proposals but when it come to a statement of their purposes, they agreed completely. Observing that the problems before the Commission have by no means been purely financial, they signed unanimously this declaration of their objectives:

"First, to preserve the full security of the Nation in a disturbed world.

"Second, to maintain the functioning of all necessary agencies which make for the common welfare.

"Third, to stimulate the foundamental research upon which national security and progress are based.

"Fourth, to improve the efficiency and eliminate waste in the executive agencies.

"Fifth, to eliminate or reduce Government competition with private enterprise.

"Sixth, and perhaps the most important of all, to strengthen the economic, social, and governmental structure which has brought us, now for 166 years, constant blessings and progress."

With these words the Commissioners not only understood the social and historical significance of the Hoover report; they laid down a challenge which no thoughtful American of today can afford to ignore.

In effect they reminded us that we cannot maintain world leadership in the fight for freedom if we cannot manage our own affairs; that the vitality of our social and political system depends on the freedom of our economic system; that when citizens become indifferent to their responsibilities, they create a vacuum which government is certain to fill.

Let us grant every necessity for the expansion of government's role in the life of these times. The fact remains that overdependence on government can lead only to encroachment by government, first upon our enterprises, next upon our institutions, and finally upon our fundamental liberties.

The great republics of antiquity won battle after battle and war after war only to lose the ultimate struggle for freedom within their own borders. This was simply because they fell into the habit of dependence on the state and literally voted themselves into bondage and ultimate destruction. Perhaps the change was hardly noticeable at first. Their resources may have seemed largely the same, their talents and energies unimpaired. But along the way somewhere they lost their interest in their responsibilities as citizens.

Now in any age, lack of interest in government on the part of a free people denotes nothing more or less than lack of faith in freedom. That faith is the source of our national strength. It is literally why we are here. The here, of which I speak, of course, is a state of mind, not a place of being. And the recent arrival of the new *Mayflower* provides us with a timely reminder of our own first principles.

When the first *Mayflower* landed, what sort of people had been penetrating the New World? We think immedately of the great adventurers, the Balboas, the Cortes', and De Sotos with their bright plumes and flashing swords. For sheer physical courage and daring, history has seldom seen their like.

By contrast, the Pilgrims somehow seem sombre, sanctimonious, and drab. That, at least, is the storybook impression. Actually the Pilgrims were Elizabethans, lusty, two-fisted, and tough, and the contrast is all in their favor. The courage of the adventurers was one-dimensional, bent only toward conquest and gold. The Pilgrims had all the physical bravery it took to invade the wilderness but they had tremendous moral courage besides. Instead of seeking fortune, they left their fortunes behind them, and they came to stay. With their wives and children beside them, they faced and conquered inconceivable hardships. And they did these things for the purpose of establishing a few simple principles.

Stripped of all ecclesiastical trimmings, the principles of the Pilgrims were basically these: First, no government should be able to tell the individual what to think or what to believe. Second, freemen, working together, are capable of governing themselves and bettering their lot.

Did I say simple principles? So they may seem to us today. But in their time they were strikingly new. The Pilgrims were bold, original thinkers, impatient with the past, eager to improve the future. The beacons they erected drew millions of freedom seekers to our shores, cargoes of human enterprise, initiative, and independence more precious than gold.

In the complex world of today it is difficult to relate simple principles to the vast and bewildering problems which our own energies and ingenuity have in part created. Our capacity to govern ourselves is being put to the test as never before, and upon the outcome depends our success on all other fronts.

The Hoover report supplies us with a vitally-needed guide to the mastery of our governmental machine, the wise use of our resources, both human and material, the maintenance of our solvency, and hence the preservation of our freedom. It calls for a return to the disciplines and responsibilities which form the foundation of what the Commission describes as "our constant blessings and progress."

Finally it confronts us with questions which we alone can answer: Will we stay here? Will we hold the ground we have won, meet the challenge of the present, and hand on to the future a basic heritage enhanced by our own remembrance of first principles? Will we, specifically, make use of this well-wrought instrument called the Hoover report to put the brakes on our runaway governmental machine before it gets wholly beyond control?

My faith in the future is great and I know that you share that faith. No faith can be greater, however, than that of the former President who has devoted his energies so unselfishly to the preparation of the monumental report which bears his name. On his 80th birthday, August 10, 1954, Herbert Hoover noted certain dire predictions concerning the fate of our society and observed, "Civilization does not decline and fall while the people still possess dynamic creative faculties, devotion to religious faith, and to liberty. The American people still possess these qualities."

We can take encouragement from these words, but only to the extent that we make them true. And we, you and I, can make them true only by our own actions. It is not enough to be for the Hoover report any more than it is possible to be passively patriotic. The time for action is here and the course of action is perfectly obvious.

We, you and I and every good citizen, can vote every day of our lives for better government with a little time, a little thought, and a 3-cent stamp. When we do, we are voting not only for economy, not only for Federal stability, not only for national security, peace, and progress but for the right to vote itself.

Teacher's Deduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under the income-tax laws, any money spent by the taxpayer for the production of taxable income can be deducted as a business or professional expense. Under those rules, businessmen can deduct money spent for entertainment of prospective customers and union members can deduct union dues. Membership fees in bar associations, medical societies and other professional organizations are treated as expenses necessary for the production of taxable income and accordingly are deductible for income-tax purposes. The same is true of money spent to train employees in special skills.

Under the laws of most States, including Virignia, schoolteachers are required periodically to take refresher academic courses at some educational institution in order to maintain their accreditation. Unless they maintain their accreditation they are not eligible for further employment or promotion as a teacher. The

money spent for tuition, books, supplies, travel, and living expenses while away from home comes out of their own pockets.

Under the present law this money is not deductible for income-tax purposes. Clearly it is an expense absolutely essential to the production of taxable income. Without spending it, the teacher could earn no salary at all. Certainly it is as much a business expense as money spent for customer entertainment and union dues. Accordingly, I have introduced a bill which wuold permit a schoolteacher to deduct up to $600 every year for money spent for refresher courses required to maintain accreditation or to further their educational attainments in order to qualify for promotion in the teaching profession. Perhaps no person in our Nation's economy with so much responsibility for the future growth and welfare of the Nation resting upon his shoulders is so underpaid as the schoolteacher. Most assuredly he is entitled at least to stand on the same footing with other taxpayers.

Federal Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I am most happy to note that President Eisenhower on June 28, 1957, issued a directive to all Federal agencies and I quote: "Keep the rates of commitments, obligations, and expenditures for the fiscal year 1958 at or below the level of the fiscal year 1957." Of course, some of the spenders and New Dealers are putting up a howl that this directive is not in accord with the President's budget request for 1958. Our Federal indebtedness and Federal taxes are not determined by budget requests. They are determined by the amount of money spent by the Federal Government.

The President some months ago submitted a budget setting forth the maximum amount of money that could be spent by the various departments, nearly $72 billion in expenditures. In his recent directive to the departments, they were told to reduce their expenditures at least to the level of 1957, which was $68 billion. I join with the President in attempting to hold our expenditures to that level and if this can be done, I am certain that we can have a tax reduction for all in 1958 and have a sizeable amount to pay on our national debt. The national debt is now about $270 billion but was up to a little higher than $275 billion during the previous administration.

Just for the record, Mr. Speaker, I might add that our national debt is now about $5 billion less than it was 3 years ago. This is not a bad record, and it certainly is excellent in comparison with that of the previous administration, but we can do better. Let us continue to follow the policy of cutting out all unnecessary expenditures so that we can continue to reduce our debt and reduce our taxes.

A reduction in taxes is a wage or salary increase for all.

Huntington Park Elks Lodge, No. 1415, Huntington Park, Los Angeles County, Calif., in the Great 23d District, Annually Sponsors Significant Competitive Essay Contest for Youth Participation and Pays Winners $900 Cash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent, heretofore granted me so to do, I am very proud and pleased to present for your consideration, and also the consideration of all the other distinguished Members of this great legislative body, the text of the four winning essays on the subject What Democracy Means to Me, together with a letter to me dated July 10, 1957, from Mr. Sheldon E. Bannister, chairman of the youth activity program of the Huntington Park Elks Lodge, No. 1415, at Huntington Park, Calif.

This Elks Lodge is recognized as one of the foremost in the Nation in connection with youth activity programs and you will please note from Mr. Bannister's letter to me that the Huntington Park Elks Lodge was selected as the State of California winner at their recent statewide Elks convention competition in this field.

The letter from Mr. Bannister to me, dated July 10, 1957, comes in answer to my request for authority to ask unanimous consent to insert these four winning essays, about which I had heard previously and favorably, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Also note the outline of the Huntington Park Elks Lodge, No. 1415, youth activity essay contest, under which contest rules the four young people chosen as winners of this significant essay contest were victorious.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that every Member of this great legislative body, in which I have had the honor and responsibility of now being a Member, this my sixth elective term, join with me in congratulating each of the four young winners in this very appropriate contest, and likewise that you one and all join me in very sincere and cordial congratulations and compliments to the Huntington Park Elks Lodge, No. 1415, for taking the necessary time and appropriating the necessary considerable sum of money for the cash prizes. This is an annual contest and I personally know the very splendid and dedicated volunteer services of the youth activity program committee and the very strong support given to this youth activity essay contest by the members of this splendid Elks lodge situated in the beautiful and important city of Huntington Park where my great 23d Congressional District office is located in the Post Office Building:

HUNTINGTON PARK LODGE, NO. 1415,
Huntington Park, Calif., July 10, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: With regard to your letter of June 10, Exalted Ruler F. L. Brown has requested that I, because of my close relationship with this particular activity, handle the reply to your request.

This annual youth essay contest is one of the many youth activities under the promotion and direction of our youth program committee.

As you are well aware, the Order of Elks is distinctively American. The destiny of our order paralleling the destiny of our flag. It is therefore only fitting that Americanism be foremost in our thoughts and actions. With these thoughts in mind, our contest is directed to students, in both junior and senior high schools in our jurisdiction, to encourage free thinking of our youth toward their coming responsibilities of adulthood. Our actions are directed toward having these participants express themselves on paper about a subject on which there has been no previous rehearsal or advance time to prepare a perfect paper based on any research, conference or consultations.

Eligible students, a boy and girl having been previously selected by their school on the basis of a preliminary contest, are certified to us as qualified to participate in a final contest to be held in our lodge quarters. It is at this time that the final subject is given, on which they are to write 1,000 words in a maximum time of 2 hours. This method, being somewhat spontaneous in application, has the desired effect of inducing a contestant to express what is in his heart as well as the mind.

Our contest has 4 winners, a boy and girl from each of 2 divisions—junior high and senior high. It is therefore with a great deal of pleasure that we attach a copy of the essay of each of these winners. Their name, school, and grade are affixed to their individual effort. Full permission is granted for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

For us, it is extremely gratifying to know that our efforts on behalf of the youth of our country has penetrated so far. As a further note of interest to you, our lodge was selected through statewide competition as the State winner in Elk youth programs.

On behalf of my brothers, may I express our thanks for your kindly interest. With my personal best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,
SHELDON E. BANNISTER,
Chairman, Youth Activity Program.

WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANS TO ME
(By William Henn, eighth grade, St. Rose of Lima School, Maywood, Calif.)

Man has ingrained in himself as it were, an innate desire for freedom, for personal advancement, for security. How can man realize these desires? The only way lies in a democracy. That is why I want democracy.

What is democracy? That is the next step. Why do we value it so highly? For me, democracy is a government that is based on the dignity of man; that helps all—the rich, the poor; the literate, the illiterate; the successful and the failures; that respects the wishes of the people governed. Why this? Because, a government's principal object in a democracy is to provide services for the governed; and in a democracy or in any gov-

ernment, the source of authority is from God through the people.

What personal advantages does a democracy hold? What general advantages? What freedom does it allow for me and others? What guaranty do we have of not losing these rights? What security does a democracy offer? How does the Bill of Rights insure our democratic principles? I will treat these questions one by one in the succeeding paragraphs as they pertain to me and to others.

What personal advantages does a democracy hold? In a democracy, every man has a chance at achieving greatness. He has the advantage of being in a democracy. In some countries for years, even for generations, men are locked in the same occupation in the same position without any chance for advancement. This is a pathetic state especially when certain men like these have brilliant minds that could donate great things to modern day society and to the world for all time. In a democracy like ours, a man of genius has his chance at doing great things and advancing to high places. Also, a man of average intelligence can rise to prominence, even more so a man of this kind with ingenuity. These to me are the greatest personal advantages in a democracy.

What general advantages does a democracy hold? In a democracy we are free to choose our representatives, those whom we think will portray the best interests in our locality, or State, or Nation. In that manner we know that we need no fears about our Government, a democracy.

What freedoms do we know in this democracy? We Americans have the privilege to say what we please, and when we please. We have freedom of the press, in the sense that our publications can say anything they deem to be true about the Government or its officers. These two freedoms have but the impediment of restriction of plotting against the Government. We also can practice our religious beliefs without fear of reprimand. These are some of our important freedoms.

How do we know these rights and privileges are protected? We are insured in this aspect of democracy by one of the greatest masterpieces of writing of all times, the Constitution. This great document provides a limited Government of popular sovereignty, and it balances the power in a Federal Government. The Constitution supplies a National Government with a balance of power over the State governments. But this National Government is kept in check by the three governmental branches—the executive, the judicial, and the legislative. This, to me, is a guaranty against oppression and for justice.

What security does a democracy offer? In this America it assures us of our inalienable and ingrained right. We have no fear of losing these or our property or position or life. Democracy, to me, is an insurance policy against fear.

Finally, how does the Bill of Rights insure our democratic principles? The Bill of Rights is democracy itself, in my opinion. Every one of its 10 amendments is at least 1 basic democratic principle. It insures that this United States Government of ours is a Government of the people, by the people, and one that works through the people.

This democracy has endured helping my family, my associates, my fellow Americans, and myself, and it will continue to be an advantage to Americans as long as this Nation, under God, lives on.

What Democracy Means to Me

(By Elizabeth Kossler, eighth grade, St. Emydius Parochial School, Lynwood, Calif.)

Democracy means so very much to me, because it is based on fundamental principals. Democracy is living in our own country this very day. Democracy is based on our Constitution. It is for the people, of the people, and by the people. Democracy has adjusted itself to any period of our national history.

By the Constitution all rights are insured to the people who live in our free country. In this way democracy is living in every State, and is being practiced at all times.

Through democracy the people in our country have gained for themselves freedom of speech, the people of our country are free to say what they think should be law. They may defend their rights whenever necessary.

Freedom of press has also been instituted through democracy. Men are free to print their ideals in any paper or magazine.

Most important, we have freedom of religion. Before democracy men, women, and children were killed for their faith, they had to belong to whatever religion their rulers and kings belonged.

To me democracy means that I am an active part of the Government, of the United States. Democracy has given me the right to vote, when I have reached a certain age. It gives every man a feeling of dignity and respect. He actually has a part to play in the Government. Democracy is based on one living document, the Constitution. In the Constitution democracy is brought out more than any other subject. That is what the Constitution is about, the rights of the people. Democracy, through the Constitution, has made provisions so that all rights may be insured to people in our free country.

An example of how these rights are given to us is through the amendments. As time goes by people will change their needs and wants. Democracy can be kept by adding an amendment to our Constitution. That way we will not destroy all basic foundations for democracy.

Democracy can be interpreted in two ways, Government affairs or everyday living. When I grow older I will use democracy in government affairs. Right now I have more use for it in my daily life. Democracy can be used at all times. Even in school, we may use it. I have the right to speak up when I would like something changed or when making a decision.

Democracy in all periods of our national history has survived. In the time of war democracy went on through battles and bloodshed. In time of peace democracy has still kept alive.

I'm glad that I live in a country that has democracy. The American people are almost the only people who have such rights. In other countries the people are forced to obey the laws and commands of their kings and rulers. We have the right to say what we think should be law and what we wish to be governed by and by whom we would like to be guided by.

Democracy in all respects shows dignity for the people as human beings. It gives everyone the right to a free trial. Also, we the people, have a voice in the Government.

I have a life to look forward to, the life of being free, of being a citizen of the United States, and being able to take an active part in the Government. I will always remember that I was born in a democratic Nation. I am free to do what is right.

In our Government democracy is used at all times. In a bill, becoming a law, it is used very much. Democracy keeps branches from having too much power. It also sees that one branch or one man does not receive too much power.

An example of this is when a bill is being passed, the majority must vote accordingly. The President has power to veto a bill if he thinks it will be bad for the people. Congress may override the President's veto if the majority finds good qualities in it. In this way, no law may go into effect which is bad for the people.

Through democracy the Supreme Court has much power. It tells us whether a law is unconstitutional or not. It has the power to decide what the Constitution means. Democracy has made it possible for them to punish a person for going against the laws of Congress or any state.

Democracy is used in many forms. It is used in factories, businesses and stores. Every day an incident occurs where it is used.

Since democracy is used in showing respect for the people, it is always remembered. Democracy shows respect for me. In return I will try to live up to it.

Democracy today is much more vital than it was a century ago. People appreciate it more today because they understand it and feel they are a part of it.

I am so lucky to be an American, who is free. If I live a life as a good American citizen, I will be practicing democracy.

Democracy is Americanism, that is what the American Nation is most noted for, its freedom and rights. Americanism is living up to the ideals of our forefathers. It doesn't matter of what country you came from or your customs. It is how you live your life. If you live like an American and live up to the ideals expressed in the Constitution you will be living like an American and most important you will be living in a democracy and you can be proud of it.

The democracy of the United States is living at all times. It should be brought into our daily life. Democracy is the most important thing in my life. I will try to be a good American. Democracy is in all truths today living.

What Democracy Means to Me

(By William Walters, 11th grade (Junior), Lynwood High School, Lynwood, Calif.)

As a student, I realize that I am young and that I have yet many things to learn. However, I believe that the meaning of the word "democracy" is sufficiently evident in my mind. On many occasions and different times, this word has been presented to me. It has been mentioned in various and indirect ways; nevertheless, though it has never been clearly defined to me, I have developed, in no evasive way, a definite meaning of the word "democracy."

Democracy is a way of life. Perhaps it is best exemplified in our American way of life, which is widely renowned for this quality. The way our country operates, the method by which our Government functions; this points out what democracy is. For a truly democratic country, a long-lasting nation, democracy is present in the fact that all of the people take part in our country.

There have been, and still are, dictatorial governments. They have risen in power and they have fallen—in such states there have been revolutions and uprisings of the people. It is natural for people to want democracy. A dictatorship is the exact opposite of democracy.

Here in our country the people are granted the right to vote. Our Constitution allows for equal representation of all the inhabitants. The citizens may voice their opinion. They may circulate petitions to make changes. The majority rules. A relatively few men are chosen to act as representatives. Our Constitution was written by such men and passed by a majority vote. This document was devised to run our country efficiently and provide for the needs of practically all the people. These things our Constitution was planned to do and have done, because it was based on a democratic form of government and this is what the people want.

Several other countries have written constitutions containing the same type of democratic principles. But, as we well know, these countries, some of which are still in power, have a completely dictatorial government, and a disparaging way of life. This is because the operations of their country

does not contain the democratic element. A small group of people have risen to power, not as representatives of the people, but to control the country for their own selfish interests. This life of obedience, completely absent of democracy, cannot exist forever. Time only will tell if the thousands of common people will unite and rebel against their suppressors.

Democracy controls the lives of the inhabitants of the entire country. Every single person is affected by the degree of democracy he is given. In small-town politics, democracy determines if better schools are built and other civic improvements. Democracy concerns everyone; people develop a democratic government as they say what they want, and when everyone votes.

However, democracy is not a matter of determining what the people want, and giving it to them. A democratic life is one of almost complete freedom. People may do what they want, when and where they want, within reason. There are no large numbers of militia and supervisors to control the every movement of the people. Our country was first given its freedom in 1776 at the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. At the close of the War Between the States, all slaves were given freedom. Freedom is a basic necessity of democracy; we must be free to make our desires known and to take part in representing ourselves.

As I have mentioned, these is often much difficulty in expressing democracy. It is, of course, an intangible thing, part of the requirements I have mentioned. However, the part which is most evasive, which is necessary to form our democratic way of life, is the spirit which we have, and that the American people are known for.

When our colonies were first formed, our forefathers were content to leave England remain our mother country. But, when Britain took advantage of us in high taxes, unfair tariff, etc., the weak 13 colonies united and developed a spirit which gave them the courage to break away from their original country. Not only did these brave men formally declare independence, but their desire for complete democracy was such that they battled against what was then the strongest, largest, and supposedly best force in the world. They narrowly won this battle; and, I believe, their spirit and initiative led the way to making America a world coveted and completely democratic nation.

What Democracy Means to Me

(By Carol Bettey, 12th grade (senior), Huntington Park High School, Huntington Park, Calif.)

Democracy is the method of arriving at decisions by the free discussion of the people and their majority consent. Webster might define democracy in this way as a general meaning but it has far greater meaning to me.

Democracy to me is the privilege of worshiping where, how and what I please without interference or ridicule from the Government or people around me. I am free to worship a Supreme Being in the way I choose and not in a way chosen by my Government.

Democracy is the freedom from want that gives us a feeling of security. In the security it gives, it also furnishes us with protection from intrusion by military or public officers. Democracy is our protection against the ills suffered by those people in foreign countries.

Democracy might also be defined as my privilege. It lets me walk down the street with my head held high, knowing that no matter what my social standing, I am equal with all of my associates and all of the people I might pass.

Democracy is the little children at play on a warm afternoon. Their cheery hellos and laughter that shows they are carefree and secure. Their feeling of security comes from within because they haven't known any great want or any governmental inflictions on their happiness or freedom.

Democracy is my chance to bring up my children to be happy and secure. In democracy I can let them live lives of happiness and contentment. Democracy will give my husband a fair chance to earn money to support our children.

Democracy also means my education and the education of my family to me. In many foreign countries only the intelligent children or those with a potential or those with money have a chance to learn. In America under our system of democracy we all have an equal chance at education. However, even with our equal chance we only learn what we want or earnestly try to learn.

Democracy is a form of freedom to me. It furnishes us with the four basic freedoms. The desire to be free is a natural instinct in men of all nations. Our freedom actually began many years ago, long before the Constitution, that gives us democracy, came into being. It might be said that it started way back with the Magna Carta, the Mayflower Compact, and the Declaration of Independence and then our democracy was finally rested upon the Constitution.

Our freedom furnished by democracy is a powerful thing. In this freedom I believe we reap as we sow, with every right there is a duty, with every privilege a price to pay, with every power there is a responsibility and with every blessing there is an obligation.

Democracy is our final goal achieved from the spirit of reform to be our guidepost to happiness.

Democracy is founded in this country so that the responsibility falls on the people as a whole, not on a few, on persons not property and on the free development of public opinion, not authority.

Democracy gives me two political rights also. It gives me the privilege to vote for the people I feel most qualified to hold office and it gives me the privilege of holding office when I become of legal age if I so desire.

Our democracy has given me the opportunity to freely breathe, to be unafraid and to respect public officers within myself, knowing that they are for my protection.

This democracy we all enjoy gives me the blessing of enjoying my family and my country to the degree I wish. I can live with or near my family and always feel secure that they are all right and free from harm. I can love them freely and enjoy their company in travel and various amusements. If I so desire I can travel through the United States and the world to be better prepared to appreciate my country and the democratic methods it stands for.

Democracy is the lights seen in a city at night from high on a hill, telling the world that the city is free and unafraid.

Democracy is our chance to travel by the many methods that the great industries of America have developed such as the automobile, the boat, the bus, the airplane, and someday, the jet. These have all contributed to make our Nation into a neighborhood.

Democracy gives me the expressed freedom in the Bill of Rights or first 10 amendments to the Constitution. They consist of such things as freedom of the press and freedom from intrusion in our homes.

Our method of exercising democracy includes everyone, no matter of their race, creed, or color. We have fought and won this privilege and now it is our duty to preserve it.

Democracy argued against tradition, accepted forms of government and precedent when we put it into effect. Great men fought and died that it might live. Now it is in our hands. Democracy is our responsibility in my estimation. Democracy truly means responsibility to me. Democracy will never fail—only the people are able to fail in exercising it. It is a sure and sound system and the people can live with it as long as they practice the rules of free discussion and majority consent. When you are playing a game and forget the rules you are no longer playing the game. The game itself has not changed but the people have started to play another way creating a new game. Democracy is the game we are engaged in and we must remember to use the rules and play fair to make the game worth playing.

There is a famous poem that expresses my understanding of democracy and our way of life quite clearly. It is called the New Colors. It expresses that America accepts the tired, poor, homeless, and tempest tossed of all nations and holds a light beside her golden door to show the pathway in. I feel that democracy is the guiding light along our way to obtain and preserve true freedom.

Democracy to me personally is God's gift. Only a supreme being could have created such a system that could withstand war, conflict, strife, and even civil war. I believe it to be divinely inspired and that it is our job to make the best possible use of the gift He has given us.

Last but certainly not least, democracy is your and my chance to prove to the world that a system so conceived and dedicated can work. It it our chance to show the doubting Thomas's that a government of the people can work. Let us all go forth with the desire to make our democracy last so that I and my posterity will forever know the meaning of democracy, that a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Rules and Regulations Governing Contest, Huntington Park Elks Lodge, No. 1415, Youth Activities Essay Contest

1. The participating school shall hold a 1,000-word essay contest on Why Our Constitution Has Survived, to determine a boy and girl winner from the school.

2. The winners of each school contest shall meet during March 1957 (date to be announced) at the Huntington Park Elks Lodge and compete in a final contest.

3. All final contest essays shall be 1,000 words or more and such words as "a," "and," "the," "is," and "as" shall not be counted in the essay.

4. Eligibility for contest shall be determined as follows:

Senior division (9th to 12th grades, inclusive): All senior high-school students.

Junior division (seventh and eighth grades): All junior high-school students.

To be eligible, participant must be a student within the eligible grades during the spring semester.

5. Deadline for submitting names of school finalists shall be March 1, 1957. Names of school winners shall be submitted by letter to Robert M. Storer, chairman of Youth Essay Contest, Huntington Park Elks Lodge, No. 1415, 3355 East Gage Avenue, Huntington Park, Calif.

6. Contestants of individual schools must abide by such rules and regulations as the school deems necessary to conduct the essay.

7. Judging of school essays shall be done by the individual schools.

8. School essays and final essays will and must be judged for the following: (1) Relation of essay to topic; (2) clarity of thought; (3) forcefulness of thought; (4) sincerity of topic by thought shown in essay.

9. School finalists will be luncheon guests of the Elks Lodge at which time the topic of the final essay will be given to the contestants.

10. The final essay to be eligible for awards must be written during the afternoon of the luncheon at the Elks Lodge.

11. Awards for the winners of the final essay shall be as follows:

(a) Senior division: (1) Boy winner, $350; (2) girl winner, $350.

(b) Junior division: (1) Boy winner, $150; (2) girl winner, $150.

12. Essays of the school finalist shall become the property of Elks Lodge, No. 1415. (These) essays will not be used in any form by the lodge or any member thereof for monetary gain.

13. The judges for the final essays will be announced during February 1957.

14. Announcements of the final winners will be made on the evening of May 3, 1957, designated as Youth Night at the Huntington Park Elks Lodge. All finalists will be required to be present on this evening.

15. Each individual school finalist will receive a certificate of participation.

16. The winning schools represented by the four final award winners will receive an appropriate plaque.

17. All decisions shall be binding and final.

ROBERT M. STORER,
Essay Contest Chairman, B. P. O. E. Elks Lodge, No. 1415.

Japanese Helping Orange County Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Japanese nationals brought into our country as temporary farm workers under our immigration laws are playing an important role in California agriculture. The Judiciary Committee recently reported on this program and concluded that it was operating satisfactorily and urged a limited expansion of it.

The Los Angeles Times of June 23, 1957, carries an interesting article on what the Japanese nationals are doing in the Orange County area. It is important to note, Mr. Speaker, that Japanese nationals cannot be employed in any case where American farm workers are available; they must be paid the prevailing wage in each agricultural community; they do not interfere with the continuation of our Mexican labor program.

The article follows:

JAPANESE HELPING COUNTY'S FARMERS

(By Helen Johnson)

An Orange County farm and America's foreign relations may seem to be subjects far apart. But put a Japanese man to work on that ranch, give him a chance to see what this country is like, and international understanding begins.

That is happening on all county ranches taking part in a new program developed through the Federal Government to ease the farm labor shortage in California. For the first time Japanese workers are being imported to supplement local and Mexican national labor pools.

One hundred and fifty of the Japanese are now at work in the county, most of them employed by members of the Orange County Vegetable Growers. They are part of the contingent of 876 brought to California during the winter under plans worked out through the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service whereby 1,000 were to be admitted.

APPROVAL STILL AWAITED

While all the farmers who have taken part in the pilot project are enthusiastic about its success, approval of a continuation of the program this year still is awaited. To gather data about the workings and the results of the program a subcommittee of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee visited Orange County and other California ranches and also conducted formal hearings but no decision on the new project's future has come yet.

The Japanese program is never expected to take the place of the Mexican national program but is looking toward the day when Mexico's economy will be developed to the point where California needs a new source of farm labor. Tom Keeler, secretary-manager of the Orange County Vegetable Growers, said the 1,000-man quota of the Japanese program amounts to less than 1 percent of the number of Mexicans brought in for farmwork.

READY TO LEARN

The intent of the program is well described in the agreement signed by the worker and the farmer:

"The association and worker mutually desire that the worker be beneficially employed in the State of California, United States of America, to alleviate the continuing shortage of agricultural labor and at the same time to give the worker an opportunity to participate in the American way of life and to learn the latest technical methods in American agricultural development."

After listing regulations on hours and living quarters and guaranteeing work, the agreement adds, "The worker shall avail himself of opportunites to attend classes and other projects in English, United States history, agricultural methods and machinery, etc."

Because of the high quality of Japanese men brought into Orange County they are ready to take advantage of the opportunity "to particpate in the American way of life," Keeler said. All are high-school graduates, some are college men, and many are sons of the prominent men in their prefectures.

Chosen in keen competition conducted by the Japanese Government, they were selected as the best element in Japanese agriculture, physically, mentally, and spiritually.

TAKE SPECIAL COURSES

Before being flown to California the young men underwent a 2-week orientation course that included basic English and an outline of American history and customs as well as an explanation of the worker's agreement, examination, and use of agricultural machinery and field work under simulated agricultural conditions.

Now that they are in America they want to learn as much as they can. Quick to learn in the field, they also are quick to learn in their spare time. The televison sets in their housing units are good teachers, and opportunities to see something of the community are taken up eagerly.

Because many members of the Orange County Vegetable Growers are Japanese-born themselves or of Japanese descent, the newcomers come in for some extra-special attention. One grower, for instance, has bought a bus for the express purpose of showing his employees southern California, and visits to factories, the San Diego Zoo, and similar places which would interest them are arranged.

ADJUSTMENT NOT COMPLETE

The men aren't expected to adjust to everything American, though. The menus for their meals provide foods to which they are accustomed as well as typical American dishes. In some of the housing units Japanese-type baths have been built.

Although the Mexican nationals and the Japanese are housed in different units, the two groups get along well and the Mexicans seem to enjoy helping the newcomers and exchanging languages.

The men are paid the regular wage for field work. Making sure they are properly protected in their working and living conditions are Japan's Council for Supplementary Agricultural Workers, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, the United States Department of Labor, and the California State Department of Employment's Farm Placement Service.

Each man is hired on a 6-month contract that is renewable up to 3 years. As the program was set up, the 3-year limitation is to give others from Japan the opportunity to come to America to work.

JAPANESE FAVOR PROGRAM

Japanese reaction to the program is shown in a report prepared by the Japanese consulate general in San Francisco. He said, "Being scrupulously selected from among 10 times as many aspiring applicants as are jobs available, the workers who have already arrived have attained a higher reputation than had been expected or hoped for. The general impression of the local Japanese consulates is that the program is more successful than had been anticipated."

The Orange County Vegetable Growers' opinion of the new program was expressed by President Robert A. Heil in writing to Representative PATRICK J. HILLINGS, a member of the investigating congressional committee:

"Our organization now has 121 Japanese workers. Our member-growers are very well satisfied with these Japanese and we have requests for many more. We are anxious to receive the Department of Labor certification for continuation of this program in California. We feel that no further authorization would constitute discrimination against the Japanese in favor of the Mexican nationals. It should be the growers' choice as to which workers to use."

SANTA ANAN WANTS 2,000

Another Santa Anan, Jack J. Miller, manager of the California Farm Labor Association, who helped set up the Japanese labor program, is in favor of bringing in 2,000 men this year.

"I'm very well satisfied with the program from practically every aspect," Miller said. "Those workers who are being brought in from Japan fill a need in agriculture that is difficult to fill by domestic or other foreign labor. The Mexican worker has been a good and loyal worker for us and the Japanese program will never replace the Mexican. But we're going to have a shortage in agricultural labor and we need to have another source of supply available should the economy in Mexico develop to such a place that we won't get workers from south of the border."

Miller added, "The Department of Labor has taken the position it doesn't want to approve Japanese labor on the basis that the Mexican labor is adequate. But the farmers would like to have a choice of selection."

Then he pointed out the great effect the now program is having against communism in Japan. The Japanese consul general in Los Angeles 4 or 5 years ago said such a project would improve Japanese-American relations and keep out communism and recent evidence is proving that, Miller said.

Testimony at the hearing conducted by Representative HILLINGS in Los Angeles indicated that a Japanese prefecture expected to go communistic in its last election voted the opposite way because of the reports of America sent home by Japanese farm workers in California.

Ike's Grasp of Fiscal Policy Shown in Erratic Tactics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Nashville Tennessean. It is my opinion that this is a commendable editorial and one which presents the true facts in regard to the President's fiscal policy, or lack of policy. The editorial follows:

IKE'S GRASP OF FISCAL POLICY SHOWN IN ERRATIC TACTICS

One of the most curious things about Mr. Eisenhower's administration has been how, for the major part, he has always escaped criticism.

Few, if any Presidents, have ever been so politically blessed. If the Eisenhower administration makes mistakes, it is never Mr. Eisenhower who gets the blame, but rather some department head or cabinet officer.

The Republicans always leap to his defense when criticism is uttered or implied, and invariably the tenor of their defense, is couched in tones of outrage to be expected if the flag were critcized, or the honor of their home States.

President Abraham Lincoln certainly never got such consideration, nor did Presidents Grant, Harding, Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman. When their administrations erred, the critics turned no major barbs on a cabinet officer; the shafts were saved for the President himself.

So, when Senator ROBERT S. KERR commented in the Senate that President Eisenhower, on the subject of fiscal policy * * * has no brains, and went on to say that fiscal experts could be paraded for months before the President and he would remain just as uninformed as he is now, the Republicans acted as if they been stabbed.

Perhaps the connotation of the word "brains" registered more strongly than Senator KERR intended. In clarification he asserted he meant a lack of understanding.

To anyone who is not blinded by the aura of the great white father must come the realization that Mr. Eisenhower's understanding of many of the facets of his administration is either severely limited, or that he is kept purposefully uninformed by members of the team.

If Mr. Eisenhower must depend upon people like outgoing Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey or Assistant President Sherman Adams for being fully informed, the possibility is that he is kept in the dark. But one would think after all this time that Mr. Eisenhower would at least have caught on.

Mr. Eisenhower's lack of knowledge about the natural resources policy and special privileges for big electric utilities has been agonizingly apparent. During the Dixon-Yates controversy, it was discovered during a press conference that the President had not been informed by his staff of details of this case affecting a big section of the country and an important Government project. More recently it became apparent that Mr. Eisenhower knew little of what was going on in the Idaho Power Co. tax writeoff.

When questioned about a possible appointment to the TVA board, Mr. Eisenhower displayed in his remarks an amazing lack of knowledge about the TVA Act.

When Mr. Eisenhower's $71 billion budget was presented, along came Mr. Humphrey to say that it could be cut and to talk in gloomy terms of depression curls of hair. Then, Mr. Eisenhower admitted cuts could be made and finally wound up by lopping $520 million from foreign aid requests. After a short time, Mr. Eisenhower came back with speeches to the Nation telling why the budget could not be cut, and talking in terms of absolute minimums.

Now it comes to light that Mr. Eisenhower has written a letter to the Budget Bureau asking Federal agencies to hold their spending and contract signing to levels of the fiscal year just ended. Federal spending in fiscal 1957 was about $70 billion. The estimates for this year are about $73 billion. In other words, after talking of absolute minimums, Mr. Eisenhower now seems to propose slicing $2 to $3 billion off the anticipated rate of spending.

If Mr. Eisenhower's off-again, on-again tactics in regard to the budget are any indication, then we must agree with Senator KERR to the extent that the President does not understand the fiscal policy of this administration. And why he should be above and beyond criticism in this respect is beyond comprehension.

Memorial to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a memorial to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy by the Catholic War Veterans. The memorial was delivered in the Catholic cemetery in La Crosse, Wis., May 30, 1957, by the Past State Commander Patrick J. Whelan, on behalf of Catholic War Veterans' Bishop McGavick Post 421.

MEMORIAL TO SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY

In the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the Catholic War Veterans have lost one of their most distinguished members, and the Nation has lost a patriot and a leader in the struggle to free the world of the Communist menace.

Born and educated near Appleton, a law graduate of Marquette University, he was judge of the Wisconsin circuit court for a term before serving with distinction in the United States Marine Corps in the Pacific during World War II. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1946, and re-elected in 1952.

Senator McCarthy soared to national prominence as member, then chairman, of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee. In his short career, in a period of confusion and doubt, he was one of the few of our national leaders to have a clear vision of the great political problem of our time. With this vision went the cold courage and the tenacious determination to solve that problem. Many today understand that problem through his pioneering efforts. Only history will bring to light for posterity the full record of his unprecedented almost lonely efforts for a great cause.

Since 1946, Senator McCarthy had been a member of the Appleton, Wis., post of the Catholic War Veterans. Through his help, Congress passed a bill introduced by the Catholic War Veterans by which the United States Post Office now uses a "pray for peace" stamp on envelopes for cancelation purposes.

Senator McCarthy's pastor and other persons close to him have testified to his sincere devotion to his church, and to his faith. He died as he had lived, a loyal son of the church, with the consolation and strength of the last sacraments. May his soul rest in peace, and may his bereaved family take comfort in the prayers of his millions of friends.

Address by Judge Hyman J. Reit at the Temple Bnai Israel and Sheerith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure at this time in presenting the address delivered by Judge Hyman J. Reit at the Temple B'nai Israel and Sheerith Judah, located in Washington Heights in New York City, on Sunday, June 9, 1957. Judge Reit's remarks are as follows:

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, tonight we are celebrating a great event in the history of the Community Center of Washington Heights. The burning of the mortgage that encumbered the Temple B'nai Israel and Sheerith Judah and its community center for the past 40 years. At the very outset I want to take this opportunity of extending the sincere thanks and appreciation on behalf of the temple and our congressional Representative, the Honorable HERBERT ZELENKO, who, upon this occasion, presented to the temple the American and the Israel flags which will adorn our pulpit.

It is not amiss upon such an occasion as this in the presence of such a multitude of attendants and a great number of distinguished guests who play such an important role in the politcal, philanthropic, and religous life of the city of New York to relate the history of the temple and the first Jewish community center built in the city of New York.

It was in the year 1916 when a small body of men determined to build an institution that could take care of the religious, educational, and physical needs of the men, women, and children who resided in Washington Heights.

I was privileged as its president, which office I held for 35 years, to carry out the will of the community. It was determined that the building to be erected by the congregation should house within its walls, no matter what the cost be, a talmud torah to care for the religious training of the children, a synagogue to meet the needs of those more advanced in years, a gymnasium and swimming pool to take care of the physical needs of the young and old alike, club rooms, lecture hall and reception rooms for the purpose of advancing social needs of the community and to enable the members and others to meet each other in closer bonds of fellowship. It was decided to throw the doors open to all movements of every kind, nature, and description affecting civic improvement for the good and welfare of the community of Washington Heights as well as of the city of New York.

Our temple meant a great deal to every man, woman, and child who came under its

influence. Not only is it a most beautiful and stately house of prayer, but it also meets the social needs of the neighborhood. The community of Washington Heights at that period did not have any institution which took into account the fact that the neighborhood can be a potent force in developing the spiritual life of the individual. It was this need and with this thought in mind that the synagogue has been made a true community center, fostering activities of a scope broad enough to include the old as well as the young, with adequate provision for the recreational as well as the spiritual requirements of our community.

Facilities for the welfare of our children have been carefully provided with an eye to physical comfort, as well as to their religious training. One floor of our institution was given over to excellently equipped classrooms and an assembly room. Nothing has been spared in order that the child be given an appreciative knowledge of Judaism and its duty toward the community, state, and Nation.

For the adolescents, classes were established in Bible, Jewish history, and in Hebrew, and adult classes and discussion groups in Bible and Jewish ethics.

At a certain time in the life of every boy and girl there comes a craving to be affiliated and associated with a club, and such organizations for boys and girls were established and directed by trained leaders who fully understood the nature of the adolescent. Boy and Girl Scout troops, literary, social, and dramatic clubs were organized for that purpose. It was possible to serve the community in ways that a house of prayer alone cannot possibly undertake. It welded the people of our neighorhbood together and made them a large family, sharing in the joys and happiness of the community.

After 5 years of constant struggle in connection with the construction, in 1922 the building was fully completed. On May 27, 1922, the temple was dedicated, and a program was arranged that continued for a period of 1 week. On Saturday evening, May 27, at a banquet held at the temple, the congregation and its many friends were honored to hear addresses delivered by Hon. Otto A. Rosalsky, judge of the court of general sessions, Hon. Louis Marshall, the great leader of the Jewish people in the United States, and the Honorable Julian W. Mack, judge of the United States circuit court.

On Sunday, May 28, at 2:30 o'clock, the temple was further received by the then Honorable John F. Hylan, mayor of the city of New York, who was the recipient of a key to the temple, and in his address stressed the importance of community centers of the nature that was erected in the city of New York. Also upon this occasion the Honorable Samuel Untermeyer, the Honorable Nathan Strauss, the Honorable John P. Cohalan, the surrogate of the county of New York, and the Honorable Isaac Siegel, who was then the congressional Representative of Washington Heights, were present and delivered dedication addresses. The dedication selections were beautifully rendered by the late Cantor Joseph Shapiro and his choir, and the invocation and prayers were delivered by the then Rabbi Max Kadushin. All of the rabbis of Washington Heights—Rabbi Max Drob, Rabbi Herman Martin, Rabbi Rudolph Lupo—participated in the dedication during the week of celebration.

It was in the year 1924 the Jewish community was thrilled by the arrival of Dr. Chaim Weizmann in the United States. This was his first visit to the country. The congregation determined to extend a great welcome to Dr. Weizmann and arrangements were made that his reception was to take place in the temple. Upon that occasion the then mayor of the city of New York, the Honorable John F. Hylan, and a great number of distinguished leaders in the political, philanthropic, business, and religious world were present and participated in this great reception. His mission in this country was to organize the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) for the purpose of helping the development of the then Palestine and exerting an effort to unite the Jewish people for the establishment of a Jewish state in the land of Israel.

Since the erection and dedication of the temple and the community center the synagogue became the center of all philanthropic drives for all causes both Jewish and Christian, and took a very active part in the civic work of the city of New York.

It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude to the officers, directors, trustees, the sisterhood, and the men's club for their untiring loyalty and unstinting devotion to all of the causes that were embraced in the work of this community center. I am very grateful to the distinguished guests who upon this occasion have favored us with their presence.

I cannot conclude without expressing my deep and sincere appreciation to our distinguished and learned Rabbi Philip Alstad who has unstintingly given of himself continuously and constantly to the great work of religious training and education to the thousands of our parishioners.

He, like the great Prophet Isaiah, combined knowledge and wisdom and like the Prophet Hillel, taught us never do unto others that which is hateful to yourself.

May it be the will of God that we continue with greater spirit and strength the noble work of religious, educational, civic, and philanthropic work which we have commenced 41 years ago.

Hon. James B. Bowler

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to our late colleague, JAMES B. BOWLER.

JAMES BOWLER was first elected to the House of Representatives to represent the Seventh District of Illinois on July 7, 1953, after serving 43 years on the Chicago City Council. He was assigned to the Committee on Education and Labor which he served diligently and well. He also took an active role in the legislative program of the House, and it was indeed a rare occasion for him to be absent from the floor. During the 85th Congress, JAMES BOWLER was made a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and one of his subcommittees was Agricultural Appropriations, on which I have the pleasure of serving.

JAMES BOWLER'S contributions to good government were many and will long be remembered by his colleagues. But JAMES BOWLER is forever implanted in our memories for reasons other than public service. Endearing him to all were the qualities of devotion to his family and friends, a keen sense of humor, rugged integrity, and good commonsense which he possessed in such abundance. I am acutely aware of the privilege afforded me in being associated with such a man.

The State of Illinois and the United States deeply mourn the passing of JAMES BOWLER. A man of his ability and character is irreplaceable. To his wife and family I extend my profound sympathy in their sorrow.

Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL W. KEENEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. KEENEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include two resolutions unanimously adopted by the Du Page County executive committee of the American Legion, and one by Hinsdale Post, No. 250 of the American Legion, memorializing one of our Nation's great, courageous, dedicated public servants, the late Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTION OF HINSDALE POST, NO. 250, THE AMERICAN LEGION, HILLSDALE, ILL.

Mrs. JOSEPH MCCARTHY,
Appleton, Wis.

The following resolution was spontaneously and unanimously accepted on the floor of a business meeting May 6, 1957:

"Whereas your beloved husband, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, has met an untime end; and

"Whereas he was one of the Nation's great, courageous, dedicated public servants; and

"Whereas he was a hero to many, anathema, only, to those of doubtful purposes; and

"Whereas many of the things for which he fought are one and the same with the purposes of the American Legion; and

"Whereas we of the Hinsdale American Legion Post, No. 250, Department of Illinois, feel a deep sense of loss at his untimely passing: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this resolution of condolence be forwarded to you, and we further resolve to carry on, to the utmost of our ability, that work which he has, thus far, so ably advanced."

As proposed by Past Commander R. Noble.

Respectfully,

C. A. BURKHARDT,
Commander.

RESOLUTION OF DU PAGE COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS, HINSDALE, ILL.

Mrs. JOSEPH MCCARTHY,
Appleton, Wis.

The following resolution was spontaneously and unanimously accepted on the floor of a business meeting May 8, 1957:

"Whereas your beloved husband, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, has met an untimely end; and

"Whereas he was one of the Nation's great, courageous, dedicated public servants, and

"Whereas he was a hero to many, anathema, only, to those of doubtful purposes; and

"Whereas many of the things for which he fought are one and the same with the purposes of the American Legion; and

"Whereas we, of the Du Page County executive committee, Du Page County, Department of Illinois, feel a deep sense of loss at his untimely passing: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this resolution of condolence be forwarded to you, and we further resolve to carry on, to the utmost of our

ability, that work which he has, thus far, so ably advanced."

As proposed by Comrade Jack DeRosa.

Respectfully,

WENDELL JACKSON,
Commander.

The Establishment of an International Trade Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I recently wrote to the Honorable Walter Williams, Under Secretary of Commerce, Department of Commerce, on the subject of the establishment of an International Trade Commission as provided in legislation which I introduced, H. R. 637:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 13, 1957.

Hon. WALTER WILLIAMS,
Under Secretary of Commerce,
Department of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.,

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Many thanks for your helpful letter of June 25, 1957. It was a source of regret that the Department of Commerce did not see its way clear to endorse my bill H. R. 637 but I appreciate the study and attention which the Department has given to my views and understand thoroughly its point of view.

In 1955, I had the opportunity of giving some study to our problems in Turkey and Italy, and do envy you your trip last fall. I have always wanted to attend the Seattle International Trade Fair, and intend, some day, to see what you have so courageously created in the Northwest.

I am certain that you would have welcomed such a Commission as I hope will at some time be established in the early days of this fine effort. We are both trying to accomplish the same purpose and I am certain that we shall continue to be mutually helpful.

Many thanks for having brought up my statement as regards the lack of trained personnel. I heartily agree that it would be most unfair to judge the present personnel in these programs at this phase, from the standpoint of the trained professional.

Being an international trade fair and exposition professional takes many years of careful training and there has not, up until the present time, been a real necessity for such a group of men in the United States. Abroad this is a profession and we naturally want to meet other countries with trained staffs equal to theirs. This takes time but I am convinced that we will eventually be able to meet them on their own grounds.

My reference to personnel had to do with the period from 1931–55, with which I and my advisers have been, through actual experience, closely associated, however, I have been disappointed that the available experience in the United States has not been more fully taken advantage of in our Government's programs.

May I recall to your attention the long letter I wrote on March 16, 1955, and which was entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 30, 1955, with my bill H. R. 5301, which originally proposed the creation of an International Trade Fair Commission, restricted to operation within the limits of the United States in the field of international trade fairs, expositions, and trade marts.

In this letter, appreciation of the work of the Department of Commerce personnel took form as follows:

"I know of the stalwart services of numbers of unsung civil servants in the United States Department of Commerce, who have labored long to develop these foreign-trade media. To them goes great credit."

The program of the Trade Mission Division of the Department has been of special interest to me. Last year one of my constituents had the real opportunity of being a member of one of these missions abroad. We lunched with the Director of this Division and my constituent was most enthusiastic as to the results being accomplished through this program. As you stated, much assistance is being given to American businessmen in participating in these foreign trade fairs, and much valuable information is being distributed in foreign countries through our taking part in the international trade fairs.

To my mind, this is the proper way for the Departmnt of Commerce to participate in international trade fairs abroad. I am not in favor of using the Department for purposes of propaganda as is now being done. It is neither dignified nor in accord with the long-established customs of the countries in which we are exhibiting. I do not think that this is the intelligent way to make friends.

The international trade fair is solely for purposes of trade.

The International Bureau of Expositions in Paris felt so strongly about certain violations of the Convention of 1928, under which treaty it was established, as to define the purposes of the Foire—the trade fair—at its semiannual meeting of November 5, 1953. It is as follows:

"Trade fairs are regularly recurrent bodies. They take place at fixed dates and are intended to create wide markets where manufacturers can show their products and transact business."

Under article 1, International Convention, signed at Paris, November 22, 1928, concerning international exhibitions, manifestations in which member nations participate of less than 3 weeks do not have to be cleared through the bureau. This excludes the usual trade fair.

The regulations of the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition, 1958, governing the manner of participation by foreign nations were also accepted at this session of the bureau. I speak of this as it would be impossible for any great international exposition to take place without the official participation of the member nations of the bureau.

The negotiations by the New York World's Fair of 1939 before the bureau for the acceptance of its regulations were long and delicate, and there is much unfinished business with the bureau which faces any future international exposition in the United States which may wish to have the bureau's blessing.

You know the warm support I gave to Public Law 860 of August 1, 1956. In July 1956, I flew especially from Wilkes-Barre to Washington, exercising my congressional prerogative, to attend a closed session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where I strongly advocated the voting of sufficient funds to make those programs possible.

I still support the Government's purposes. However, in following the performance in this field, both at home and abroad, by governmental and private agencies, I was more strongly convinced that legislation of the character of H. R. 637 was not only desirable but highly necessary. I could mention the unsatisfactory results of projects in this country as well as abroad, but, for the moment, it would serve no good purpose. My whole desire is to be helpful and cooperative.

The success of the recent United States World Fair in New York has been a source of much satisfaction and the promoters as well as the directors of the New York Coliseum deserve great credit.

The opening of the St. Lawrence seaway in 1959 and the possibility of a great international exposition of the type of the Brussels Exposition of 1958, in this country during 1960, where the great nations could participate, has stimulated considerable interest in numbers of our great cities.

Our problems in this field are being multiplied and it is the opinion of the really experienced that there will be a need for Government financial assistance as envisaged in H. R. 637, under private management.

It has been demonstrated by projects launched within the last few years in the United States that the pioneer dollar is a thing of the past, and that in any future development in this field, that public financing of one sort or another will be necessary. That does not exclude the United States Government, which has generously contributed for many years to our various international expositions.

It was a pleasure to hear from you, and do be assured of my constant cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL J. FLOOD.

The Late Honorable Fred A. Blake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include therein a speech, which I recently delivered at the exercises dedicating a memorial plaque to the late Honorable Fred A. Blake, of Gardner, Mass., a former very prominent, able, and distinguished member of the Massachusetts General Court for many years and a beloved citizen of that beautiful city.

The dedicatory exercises were largely attended by friends and fellow citizens and distinquished public officials and were a most impressive tribute to a great American.

I also ask unanimous consent to include in my remarks an article relative to the exercises from the celebrated Gardner News, one of the outstanding newspaper publications in my district and State.

A very touching incident of the dedication was the attendance of Representative Blake's family and his seven young grandchildren, who conducted the unveiling.

The speech and article follow:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN AT DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL PLAQUE TO THE LATE HONORABLE FRED A. BLAKE—NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY, GARDNER, MASS., JUNE 29, 1957

My dear and distinguished friends, we are gathered here this afternoon in this splendid National Guard Armory to dedicate this meaningful, impressive memorial plaque

in honor of our very dear friend and distinguished public servant, the late Representative Fred A. Blake.

In a very real sense there is a special fitness and appropriateness about the dedication of this plaque because it will perpetuate the memory of one whose service was outstanding and unselfish and whose constant aim was to help the people of his district, and to sustain and improve the great government of our beloved Commonwealth.

Fred Blake was a modest, humble man. He was not given to show or ostentation. He was deeply devoted to his family and his friends. He was dedicated to his tasks. He was high and noble in his purpose, and able, painstaking, honest and effective in everything that he undertook.

Fred Blake was a solid, successful businessman who came up the hard way by virtue of his own ability, perseverance, and hard work.

He knew there was no easy road to success. Because he was so close to the people that he lived with and served, he was so much the better fitted to assist them with their problems and to represent them with such conspicuous results in our great general court and in this beautiful city which he loved.

He was honored by all those who knew him, by his friends, his business associates, and those in the public service who knew so well the integrity of his purpose, the depth of his sincerity, his allegiance to those who struggled, his aim to make his full contribution to community, State and Nation.

In the general court he was a valued member of the important Committee on Military Affairs, and had expert knowledge of our needs in the great field of national defense and State cooperation.

He was a loyal friend of our great National Guard, and did everything in his power to assist and sustain this indispensable arm of our defense, to maintain and expand its facilities for even greater service to our country. It is most fitting that its outstanding leader, General Harrison, should be with us on this moving occasion.

To be sure, I could not possibly encompass the career of this illustrious legislator in these brief remarks, but we may all be sure that what he did, what he achieved, what he contributed will live long in the memory of his district and in the annals of our Commonwealth. His life, his unselfish work, his ever ready willingness to help the people regardless of race, class or creed, exemplified the finest that there is in American public service.

Devoted husband and father, gracious considerate neighbor, capable businessman, acknowledged civic leader, esteemed public servant and long term member of the general court, and above all, a man of character, ability, stature, and Christian virtue, Fred Blake typified everything that is stable, sound and inspiring in American life. He was a great law-maker and a great American. He is mourned by a veritable host of friends and associates, his memory will ever be green among the people and especially among those of us who knew him for the gracious and devoted friend that he was.

It was a privilege and a blessing indeed to know and work with him. But it was even a greater privilege and blessing for his community and his constituents and our Commonwealth to have the benefit of his high motivations and his unflagging efforts to lighten the burdens of the common people.

It is difficult, I know, for any of us on this occasion, in the presence of Mrs. Blake and his family, to express words that may console them for the irreparable loss they have suffered, and the great irreplaceable void that has been left in their lives by his untimely passing.

It is comforting to note, however, that Mrs. Blake, his loyal helpmate and wife, has been brave and resigned in the spirit of her Christian faith to the heavy affliction which has come upon herself and her wonderful family, and it is due in very large measure to her love, devotion, interest, and cooperation that this impressive plaque has been made possible.

I know we have all been very much impressed and touched by her wonderful example of devotion to the memory of her esteemed and beloved husband, and that also of all her family. While we have heavy hearts today, we also have a sense of great honor, privilege, and pride, because in dedicating this plaque, we are joining together as family, friends, and comrades to pay heartfelt tribute to the memory of one who has kept the faith with the people, the memory of a beloved husband and father, a loyal friend, and an unfaltering champion of democracy and justice, the late Fred A. Blake.

May he find rest and peace in his heavenly reward.

And may this beautiful memorial ever inspire us and those who come after us to serve the people with courage, integrity, and devotion, in the words of the poet:

"So live, that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan, which moves
To that mysterious realm where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death
Thou go not, like the galley slave at night
Scourged to his dungeon but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

MEMORIAL TO FRED BLAKE IS UNVEILED

Seven grandchildren of the late Representative Fred A. Blake and Mrs. Victoria Blake unveiled a bronze memorial plaque to their grandfather in the drill shed of the new State Armory on West Broadway Saturday afternoon.

The unveiling in which the seven youngsters were escorted by Maj. Gen. William Harrison, Jr., adjutant general of the Commonwealth, was the high point of a program honoring the former representative who served this district at the State house for 20 years.

The septet included Donna Rae, Virginia Jean, Victoria Jane, and Marion Patricia Blake, children of Dr. and Mrs. Edward A. Blake; Alan Fred and Diane Mary Dernalowicz, children of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Dernalowicz, all of this city; and Susan Mary Fortune, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Fortune, of Northboro.

Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN was the chief speaker in the exercises which were attended by nearly 150, including State and municipal officials, delegations from the city's veteran organizations and the Gold Star Mothers, the Gardner Fish and Gun Club, Hillcrest Aerie F. O. E. and other organizations in which Mr. Blake had been active; and Company G, 181st Infantry, which is based at the armory. Martin H. Walsh, his successor as Gardner's representative on Beacon Hill, was master of ceremonies.

Congressman PHILBIN who worked with Representative Blake in bringing about the erection of an armory here paid a warm tribute to him as a public spirited, forward looking, and liberal representative who gave generously of his time and effort to help not only his constituents but the citizenry-at-large. "Fred Blake was devoted to national defense," Congressman PHILBIN said. "He recognized the need for a strong America and worked unceasingly for the Military Establishment and the National Guard which bulks so strongly in it.

"Fred Blake introduced the first bill for a Gardner Armory back in 1943. He lived long enough to see the building started, but his untimely death in March of 1956 prevented him from seeing it an accomplished fact. This memorial plaque will be a testimonial to his unceasing and unselfish work for all time and a source of inspiration to his family and to all of us."

Adjutant General Harrison lauded Mr. Blake for his constant support of the Guard on Beacon Hill and Mayor Ulric O. Fredette paid a warm tribute to Mr. Blake's contributions to the community. Other speakers were Capt. Robert L. Croteau, municipal assessor and commanding officer of G Company, State Senator Elizabeth Stanton of Fitchburg, and Gordon Rayner, secretary of the Massachusetts Laundry and Linen Supply Association which Mr. Blake had served as president for several terms.

Captain Croteau, who formally accepted the plaque for the company and the Guard, expressed the deep gratitude of himself and the members of his organization for the splendid building which has been provided for the unit. Senator Stanton touched in some detail on her association with Mr. Blake at Beacon Hill and his constant work on behalf of his district. Mr. Rayner said that despite the heavy demands on his time, Representative Blake had worked long and effectively for the association he headed.

Rev. John B. O'Connell of Holy Spirit Church in South Gardner delivered the invocation. Seated on the platform and introduced to the gathering were Col. Ralph Noonan, State quartermaster, Col. Burr G. Jacobsen of the Company G citizens' committee, Representative J. Robert Mahan of Leominster and Miss Ann Shirley retired Phillipston teacher who had taugh Representative Blake from the fourth through the ninth grade.

Telegrams from Governor and Mrs. Foster Furcolo, Lt. Gov. Robert M. Murphy, former Gov. Paul Dever, Speaker Michael Skerry of the house, Senate President N. H. Holmes and Congressman Thomas O'Neill of Cambridge, and Gen. Otis Whitney, State commissioner of public safety, were read by the toastmaster.

Hells Canyon and Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, in my home State of Nebraska there is a bit of controversy raging concerning my stand in opposition to the Federal Government building a high dam in Hells Canyon on the Snake River. Most of the criticism has come from a group of public-power officials but with the exception of these people my attitude has been pretty generally approved in Nebraska. At the close of my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD the text of two editorials which appeared in the Ord Quiz, a weekly newspaper published in Ord, Nebr., and considered one of the outstanding weeklies in the State and the Council Bluffs Nonpareil in Iowa.

I have explained my stand on Hells Canyon to the people of Nebraska by newspaper, newsletter, and radio. I have explained to them I stand for public power such as we have in Nebraska, locally controlled and managed. This

type of power is far different than the Federal power which is controlled from Washington.

I have explained that I am also a believer in free enterprise. In the Hells Canyon case private money is available for the construction of 3 dams from which will come approximately the same amount of power as from the 1 high dam. The hydroelectric heads would be exactly the same.

What some people fail to realize is that power is needed in the Northwest now. The private power company can supply this power starting sometime next year. Power from the high Federal dam would be several years away, and would cost the taxpayers of America about $700 million to fully complete. The private power company will provide an adequate power supply for the future from a taxpaying enterprise that will pay millions of dollars in taxes to the county, State and Federal Government. This would not be true if the dam was built by the Federal Government. In fact the records show that half of the Federal power in the Pacific Northwest is being sold, much of it at less than the cost of production, the FPC when it granted the permits for the three dams project said:

> They found the three-dam plan best adapted to a comprehensive plan of development as required by the Federal Power Act.

This was a unanimous decision by the bipartisan board. The board gave the Idaho Power Co. a license to build three dams—Brownlee, Oxbow and Hells Canyon. Its decision was confirmed by unanimous decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and twice by the United States Supreme Court.

Acting in good faith, the Idaho Power Co. has already started construction of one dam which is about half completed. The company has spent some $57 million already and the construction cost is daily mounting. If the Federal high dam were to be granted, this construction would be utterly wasted and would wipe out the millions of dollars worth of work already accomplished by the 1,200 men who are working around the clock to get power on the line late in 1958.

Under the license granted by the Federal Power Commission the private company must impound up to 1 million acrefeet of flood control water at its own expense. The company must make its power available from the three dams to the Northwest power pool which would help serve the power needs of the whole region.

The company must provide fish traps and equipment which will permit the salmon and other fish to get to the head water to spawn. This is done at a cost of millions of dollars and does not cost the Government one penny.

The rates of the power company will be controlled by the local State power commission. Their securities must pass Government inspection. They must pay local and Federal taxes. They are willing and able to do the job.

Secretary Seaton has described the building of the dam as "wasteful and extravagant expenditure of the public funds." This Congress is economy minded. I cannot believe they would appropriate nearly $100 million a year for 6 or 7 years when the job can be done by free enterprise at a much reduced figure.

I cannot believe that those who propose the one high dam will really give serious consideration to stopping the development by the private enterprise company which would deprive this area of badly needed power and in addition have the dam built at the taxpayers' expense, particularly when it can be done by the private group.

The people of Nebraska well know that I do not believe the Federal Government should do for the people what they can and should do for themselves.

I don't mind the criticism I have received from a few people in Nebraska. I am a little amazed that some public power advocates would want me to compromise my position and do what they call horse trading. I am just a boy from the country, but it seems that trading a $10 million project for a $700 million project would not be a very good trade. In the 15 years that I have been in Congress I have never yielded to political or legislative coercion or blackmail. I do not expect to do so now. When a project has merit it will have my full support. When it does not have merit and is not feasible, I must in all good conscience oppose its construction.

The two editorials that follow, one from the Ord, Nebr., Quiz, in the heart of my district, has given me a little pat on the back. I believe it sums up pretty well the thinking of the folks in Nebraska. The other editorial from the Council Bluffs, Iowa, Nonpareil, is entitled "Hells Canyon Federal Power Would Mean Higher Taxes." I commend the reading of these two editorials to my colleagues.

The editorials follow:

[From the Ord (Nebr.) Quiz of July 18, 1957]

IN PRAISE OF DR. MILLER

We're getting doggoned fed up with the politically inspired carping at Congressman A. L. MILLER by some of the public-power interests in Nebraska.

To one who has studied the record, it's very apparent that these groups are trying to make Dr. MILLER the whipping boy for their own ineptness and dog-in-the-manger attitude of some years back. They are being joined loudly by a few remnants of New Deal zealots, who would use the issue at stake, the heavy transmission line from Fort Randall to Grand Island, as a coattail on which to ride to public attention.

The whole criticism of our Congressman is laden with absurdities. A Democratic Congress voted down a public-power dam in Idaho. Ergo, Dr. MILLER as a Member of that Congress is labeled as an anti-public-power leader. A Democratically controlled Congress voted down Government building of a heavy transmission line from Randall to Grand Island; ergo, Dr. MILLER is blamed because of what happened on the Hells Canyon, Idaho, proposal.

It wasn't so very many years ago—about 5—that the Randall line would have been built except for the resistance of some of Nebraska's big power-producing interests. At that time they foresaw the heavy line and cheap power as a possible threat to their virtual power monopoly in the State, and decided they wanted nothing to do with it.

At that time, the cheap power from Randall would have been the nemesis of such boondoggles as the Columbus power plant, whose haphazard production of electricity at the expense of irrigation farmers is only too well known to farmers of the Loup Valley.

Apparently, our public-power interests couldn't foresee a future with air-conditioning, television, and pump irrigation. They couldn't believe the rural electrification would expand until every farm became an electrical customer with an ever-increasing demand for power.

So much for the critics. Their shortsightedness today is just as absymal as it was several years ago.

What is so asburd about the public power interest's choice of a whipping boy, is that no Nebraska public official, since the days of the late Senator George W. Norris, has done as much in Washington in the interests of irrigation and the bringing of electricity to our rural areas as has A. L. MILLER.

His record of active promotion of reclamation and irrigation projects in Nebraska—whether in his district or not—is unchallenged. His devotion to the cause of rural electrification is admitted by his severest critics.

You'll note we haven't said that Dr. MILLER is an ardent backer of public power. Public power in Nebraska means one thing, in the Nation, the meaning is different. In Nebraska public power is locally controlled, and locally managed, even though there are some who would like to see a glorified Federal control similar to that in the TVA area. Let's keep our public power a Nebraska power. And let's give credit to farsighted Americans like Dr. A. L. MILLER who are helping us maintain our local stature and ideals.

[From the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil]

HELLS CANYON FEDERAL POWER WOULD MEAN HIGHER TAXES

Approval of the Federal electric power project in Hells Canyon would shift a billion-dollar burden upon the taxpayers at the very time most people want Government expenses reduced.

Furthermore, approval of the Federal project on the Idaho site would mean an indefinite delay in production of electric power needed in the immediate future.

The Idaho Power Co. already is building a dam which will be producing power next year, unless forced to discontinue construction.

Costs alone should persuade Congress that a Federal dam in Hells Canyon would be an irresponsible waste of public funds.

The proposed Federal dam would cost at least $400 million. Federal, State, and local tax losses over the 50-year period of the Idaho Power Co.'s license would amount to about $487 million. Another $68 million would have to be paid to the Idaho company for construction already completed at company expense.

Since the Federal Power Commission licensed the Idaho Power Company to undertake the Hells Canyon project, not a single new fact has been placed on record to challenge the validity of the Commission's decision.

The tax amortization granted the Idaho Power Co. has been removed by the company itself rejecting tax privileges.

It should also be noted that the usual arguments for Federal power projects—the accompanying benefits of navigation, flood control, and reclamation do not hold for the Hells Canyon project.

Justification for a Federal dam at Hells Canyon is based almost entirely on power development. It is not a multipurpose project with byproduct electric power.

The dams the Idaho Power Co. plans to build would develop almost as much power as the high dam proposed by advocates of

public power. The company expects to begin producing power much sooner than the high Federal dam could possibly get into operation. The company will pay taxes which the Federal Government of course would not do.

It seems inconceivable that Congress would approve the costly Federal project at the very time citizens everywhere are demanding Federal economy.

Greater Wilkes-Barre Flood Control Works Dedicated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address presented by Maj. Gen. Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., Pennsylvania adjutant general, at dedication ceremonies held at Wilkes-Barre on Tuesday, July 16, 1957, upon completion of the multi-million dollar flood-control system for the Wyoming Valley area:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. ANTHONY J. DREXEL BIDDLE, JR.

I am sensible of the honor of speaking to you on this significant occasion.

I don't suppose anyone—outside of the residents of the nearby affected area—had a closer view than I of the flood two summers ago. I had come up with the Pennsylvania National Guard to lend a helping hand. I saw the damage being rent—people being made homeless; bridges washed out, roads inundated, factories and other places of business falling before the force of the torrential waters. So I know what this system of dikes means to you. Its creation reflects the foresight and determination of the community to counter the challenge of ravaging floods, and as an engineering achievement it is a tribute to the officers and staff of the United States Army Engineer Corps and to the effective cooperation accorded by the department of forests and waters headed by our able friend Maurice Goddard. Then too, and very consequential, there is the credit due to the community's statesmanlike representation in Washington, D. C., for this dynamic individual has contributed handsomely indeed, through sustained efforts to engage and hold Federal interest in the project. He's been a good friend of mine for years. I have come to recognize in him a rare combination of forcefulness, tact, and greatness of mind and action.

And, in this connection, it has been found by those who've perhaps not always gone along with this distinguished Representative of yours, that, once he's on the warpath for a project he considers good for his community, it takes more than a system of dikes to cope with him.

There's a story they tell about him in the Nation's Capitol and with the permission of the clergy I'll tell you: It was about the time of the 1955 floods—one of his colleagues asked the other: "Say, have you read about the rumpus that d—— flood is raising?"

The other colleague who was a bit hard of hearing, replied, "No, but if he keeps on insisting on those dikes, we may as well go along, for nothing short of a tank will stop DAN FLOOD."

Now, every one of us in all parts of the country is faced with a new challenge of a different kind. This one was hurled at us on June 12 by Soviet Foreign Minister, and Chief of the Soviet Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev. He challenged the United States to a duel of economics and ideology.

Commenting on communism's sacred ideology, Khrushchev said there was only a single road of good revolutionary theory, and that was Marxism-Leninism.

This Communist challenge in the economic and ideological fields is one that all of us in this country will have to accept, and we shall probably be spending the major part of our lives in meeting it.

The fundamental concept of communism is atheism. This, together with the materialistic philosophy involved, represents, of course, a major difference between the ideologies of the free and captive worlds.

In the Communist world it is a case of the disbelief in God, of atheism, and the economic exploitation of the individual by the state, in a country where the people are slaves of the government; here we have our faith in God, our belief in the dignity of the individual, and free enterprise, and equality of opportunity for all the people, in a country where the Government is the servant of the people.

So it is up to us to accept and meet this challenge—even if it takes the rest of our lives to do so.

At the same time, we must seek all possible means to improve our relations with the Communists. And, in our dealings with them, we must always be ready to lend an ear to any proposals which might advance a better understanding. But it would be only prudent to apply the test of "acts—not promises."

The cold war is not our invention, nor does its continuation correspond to our desires.

Since the close of World War II, we have observed the cynical, mercurial switches in Soviet foreign policy: from bluster to affability, and back again to bluster.

In light, moreover, of the historic duplicity of the Russians, and until they demonstrate a willingness to translate words into such concrete acts, as would warrant some measure of free-world trust—we would be justified in maintaining a strong posture of defense and in insisting—as they traditionally do in Missouri—upon being shown.

So, while we shall have to accept and meet this new Communist challenge in the economic and ideological fields, we must at the same time bend our efforts to preserve the peace—but, bearing in mind that to prevent war, we must remain strong.

What with the modern weapons of destruction and the capabilities of delivering them—any general atomic war would be so destructive, that no true victor would emerge.

All of us are effected directly or indirectly by the requirement to make this Nation secure in a period of unremitting tension. We are frequently impelled to ask ourselves whether these vast expenditures of funds and efforts are really necessary for peace. Yes, I am afraid they are, as long as we are confronted by the Communist conspiracy, which has as its ultimate aim, the destruction of the United States and the moral, ethical, and spiritual foundation on which the American way of life is based.

As the atomic capabilities of the potential enemy increased, our military authorities have turned to a re-examination of all their efforts to verify that they blend with our our political, economic, and moral assets to form a national strategy designed for the prevention of war—an integrated strategy combining all our national assets. Nor is this response to the Communist threat exclusively military. It includes the political, economic, and moral assets as well. It is in recognition of this need for an integrated strategy that there has been developed the philosophy for security based on the deterrence of war. Thus, all our military preparations find justification in their contribution to prevent war.

We must be prepared to defend ourselves in the new forms of cold war techniques, whether they be propaganda, psychological or subversive attack—but these unconventional weapons will not be successful unless backed by armed power. Armed power still is at the core of a nation's protective shield. The armed power may never be used, but it must be in the wings.

If our deterrent strength is to be effective and to carry conviction, we must have a combination of moral, as well as physical force, capable of driving home in the mind of the potential aggressor the fact that any action against the interests of the United States and its allies, would bring unacceptable consequences. And it must be evident that our leaders are determined, that our policies are just, that our people are well informed, and our Nation is strong in spirit, as well as in material weapons. We must show a potential aggressor not only our military strength, but also that we have the mind and the will capable of directing these weapons with purpose and consistency.

But there is a further important defense consideration. Because of the new and advanced weapons of warfare, it is to our national advantage to meet aggression as far as possible from our own shores.

We must therefore have outlying bases throughout the world, and forces at those bases with a capacity to retaliate instantly and effectively in event of a major act of aggression.

It will therefore be necessary for the United States to develop a wider participation in international affairs and to vigorously reinforce the principles of the free world through such instruments as NATO.

NATO is, as you know, an association of free nations to keep the peace through collective strength. And this concept of collective strength is based on enlightened self-interest.

American forces have helped to erect this bulwark against possible Communist aggrandizement, in Europe, in the Far East and Middle East. The resultant collective security helps to protect the territory of our Allies, and it protects our own territory as well.

Now a word about this collective strength—it consists of three parts:

First, the spiritual force of the operation; second, the economic, then the organized military strength.

Now the military contribution to war deterrence is important, indeed indispensable, but it is far from being a complete answer in itself. Without economic and political stability and spiritual stamina, military strength is devoid of its essential foundation. All effective strength must have its roots in the elemental or spiritual and moral strength which derives from the devotion of people to the values, which are the essence of their nation—and from their dedication to the preservation of these values.

A strong economy is a prime essential in an ally, and its military burden must be such that it can manage to carry it for the long haul. Defense budgets necessarily represent the proper dividing line between national danger and excessive expenditure.

The Soviet bloc has a force of considerble magnitude in being all the time. If we tried to match it division for division, plane for plane, we would be running into economic difficulties, we would risk overturning the very system we are determined to support.

NATO's strength has increased 4 to 5 times since it was organized. Indeed, I venture to say, far more than that. For there's taken

place a general acceptance of the concept of collective security. Moreover, there now exists a farflung network of airfields serviced by a vast fuel feeder line system. Furthermore, there has been developed a flexible logistics system in support of the Armed Forces—and, among other things, cooperation in the economic field.

I believe that peace and security can be won through sustained strength, which, if maintained at the point of keeping the military scales in balance, will keep us in position to speak effectively in the interests of assuring peace for the future, and of keeping this world a decent, tranquil, humane place in which to live.

The Current Situation in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, recent events compel me to bring to the attention of the House a most serious situation which I view with great alarm as it involves the security of our country and that of the entire Western World. I refer to the fact that three Soviet submarines have joined the Egyptian fleet, which is obviously disquieting news to say the least, for it is an obvious fact that this is but further evidence that an ever-increasing shipment of arms of war, munitions, planes, as well as other military equipment will be sent by the Reds to Egypt and other Arab countries, thus further enlarging their already vast stores of the implements necessary to wage aggressive warfare

It is also a well-established fact that both Egypt and Syria are reported to have initiated a major effort to regain the amity and friendship of King Saud of Saudi Arabia. It is through this policy that President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and his stanch followers in Syria are sponsoring Soviet penetration into the strategically important and oil-rich Middle East. I submit that the recent acquisition by Egypt of these submarines is clear evidence of the implementation of Russia's desire to acquire effective control of that entire area of the world.

The Middle East, a vast and complex region, is a strategic crossroads linking three continents. It is the repository for two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves. But even more important, it is a region seized by conflicts that are threatening international peace.

Even before so much oil was discovered beneath the sands of the deserts, the Middle East had left deep imprints on world history. It gave rise to the three great religions—Christianity, Islam and Judaism. It would indeed be a great pity, nay, a great shame and indeed a sin, if such an important part of this globe, which naturally includes the Holy Land, were to fall as a prey to the hands of a Godless and cruel nation which subscribes to the erroneous and wicked idea that religion is the opium of mankind.

It was at the beginning of this year that Egypt entered into another arms deal with Russia, a nation dedicated to world domination and conquest. It is not by chance that Egypt's Nasser remarked that that arms deal alone "was worth more than a quarter of a billion dollars in propaganda to Soviet leaders."

This latest move as to the submarines is but further indication of the many activities that are helping to tie Egypt to the Communist world and the danger of Egypt's complete alinement with the Communist bloc is now more than a possibility with which we must reckon.

Yet, in the face of all this, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, according to a dispatch reported in the New York Times of July 17, 1957, suggested that perhaps the United States should play a less important role than in the past in the search for a solution of Arab-Israeli issues. This is indeed strange and does not augur well for future American foreign policy. We may properly ask Mr. Dulles whether we should turn our backs to our true friend in the Middle East—the State of Israel—which is a genuine democracy and a God-fearing nation.

The press of July 19, 1957, reports that Saudi Arabia has begun fortifying the entrance to the gulf of Aqaba. The gulf is the State of Israel's only means of access from the Red Sea to its growing port of Eilat. It is said the Saudis made contacts with Egypt through the Egyptian-Saudi joint command headed by Egyptian Gen. Abdel Hakin Amer. By this ominous news, the picture became clear. The submarines from the communistic Russians are to be used as means of blockading the straits of the Gulf of Aqaba and, thereby furthering the evergrasping, rapacious appetite of the Soviets for increasing its sphere of influence. This we must stop before it becomes too late.

A distinguished characteristic of our country in all its history has been our insistence on maintaining our standards and principles as a democratic nation in all our dealings in the field of international relations.

I earnestly urge that we redouble our efforts to bring peace and stability to the Middle East. Essential to the prevention of hostilities in that area is a fair and clear American foreign policy. The world has a right to expect progressive leadership from the United States of America. Lack of American leadership in the Middle East will result in continued violence which may eventually spread to other areas. Promises, which have been made or implied by the President of the United States to Israel concerning the use of the Suez Canal and the gulf of Aqaba, must be fulfilled if we are not to yield to the blackmailing devices of Arab and Egyptian potentates who flirt with communism. Egypt must not be permitted to return to the position from which it may again blockade the gulf of Aqaba and its international waterway. No doubt it appears that is what Egypt had in mind when it acquired these submarines.

We must ever be vigilant and not permit atheistic and despotic Soviet influence to be further extended. If the United States wishes to keep the Communists at bay, it will have to move fast.

The "Unloading Fee" Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an article by Matt Triggs, assistant legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, appearing in the July-August 1957, issue of the Nation's Agriculture, official publication of the federation, which spotlights a racket plaguing farmers and dealers in farm products. Congress sought to end this unscrupulous business through the Hobb's Racketeering Act, but enforcement in recent years appears to have been indifferent. In addition, it may be that tightening of the statute is indicated.

The article follows:

THE "UNLOADING FEE" RACKET
(By Matt Triggs)

A trucker hauling farm products (or nonfarm products) to most middle Atlantic cities will have to pay tribute to local labor unions before being permitted to unload.

The forced collection of truck unloading fees is spreading rapidly. Most truck arrivals in New York City, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Akron, Pittsburgh, Jersey City, Youngstown, Columbus, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Albany, Providence, Wheeling, Wilkes-Barre, Scranton, Johnstown, and many other middle Atlantic cities are currently subject to unloading fee collections.

The collection of fees in most cities was at first restricted to a few points, and a few large volume commodities. But as the system in a particular city gradually becomes more firmly established few trucks escape payment.

Farmer-owned trucks are often exempted at first, but as the program gets well established collections are also made for farm trucks.

The amount of the fee varies by city, and sometimes even within the city. Most fees in Philadelphia, for example, are $18.40, irrespective of the size of the truck or the load. In New York the more-or-less-standardized charge is $19.68. It takes between 1 and 2 hours to unload most trucks.

The normal situation is for the truck-driver to unload the packages on pallets, which are then moved away by worklift operators. But when the collection of unloading fees is started, the truckdrivers are not permitted to unload. They must stand by while the unloading is done for them.

Local labor unions, usually teamster union locals, have been responsible for establishing and enforcing the collection of unloadings fees. The union assigns a man or men to each unloading station. These men are not employees of the warehouse or other receiving concerns—although for all practical purposes they take possession of the unloading premises, decide who is to be unloaded next, and otherwise supervise the unloading operation.

I watched three trucks of apples being unloaded at a Philadelphia chainstore receiving warehouse. Three men assigned to the platform by Teamsers Union Local 107 were in full charge of the operation. A fee of $18.40 was collected from each truck-driver. Efforts to elicit information from two of the men were unsuccessful. Their reply was "Ask Foley. He's the boss."

Mr. Foley was reluctant to talk but finally did so. The conversation went like this:

Question. What happens to the money you collect?

Answer. How do you mean?

Question. Do you give it to local No. 107?

Answer. Oh, the union doesn't have anything to do with this.

Question. They assigned you here, didn't they?

Answer. Well, it used to be there were a lot of bums and drifters hanging around the warehouse trying to get a job unloading and the union thought the situation ought to be cleaned up.

Question. Well, who gets the money?

Answer. Well, me and my helpers.

Question. You mean you're sort of an independent contractor?

Answer. Well, I guess you might call it that.

Question. Suppose a load should tip over on one of the helpers. Do you cover him with workmen's compensation?

Answer. I don't know. Nothink like that ever happened around here.

Question. Do you make social-security payments and withhold income taxes?

Answer. Oh, Uncle Sam takes care of that all right. * * *

Question. How about unemployment-insurance payments?

Answer. Oh, that's O. K., too.

At this point Mr. Foley had to go some place in a hurry.

I asked one driver—"Why don't you join local 107; then you wouldn't have to pay the unloading fee each trip." He said he had tried to do this but was advised local 107 was closed. He was told to join his local Teamsters Union, which he did, but this did not prevent the imposition of the unloading fee thereafter.

One driver said he got mad one day and tried to unload himself.

However, nobody would take the pallets away—so after a while he had to go hunt up Mr. Foley and pay him the unloading fee.

Unloading fees are not new. Many years ago they were fairly common. With the approval of the Hobbs Antiracketeering Act the practice died out in most areas.

But experience with the Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Act has indicated the collection of unloading fees does not constitute a violation of the act unless violence or fear of violence is present. While this element may be present in particular instances it is not ordinarily present. All that usually happens is that you don't get unloaded.

Although the fee is actually paid by the truckdriver, it is charged back to the farmer. Many farmers are paying this fee who do not know they are paying it.

It is either included in the transportation or marketing charge they pay or deducted from the price they receive. This includes farmers in all areas whose commodities are shipped by truck to middle Atlantic markets, even though the practice may be unheard of in their areas.

The collection of unloading fees is a very lucrative business for somebody, and may be expected to expand into all areas unless stopped.

Farm Bureau has urged the McClellan committee to make a complete investigation of the forced collection of unloading fees, and to recommend amendment to the Hobbs Antiracketeering Act to prohibit such extortionate practice.

Farm Bureau told the committee: "We submit that to compel a person to purchase a service who does not desire such service and would prefer to perform it for himself, is not a legitimate labor-union activity, but may be more accurately described as a racket."

Lester Pearson's Political Blackmail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lester Pearson, the former Canadian Minister of External Affairs, spoke to the convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in San Francisco during the past week.

Apparently, Mr. Pearson undertook to tell us how to run our Government, and implied certain counteractions unless we changed our ways.

Mr. Pearson also lectured the assembled editors on matters concerning Canada's internal security. Apparently, though, Mr. Pearson failed to take into consideration one of the reasons for his ouster from power, which was his evident mishandling of the E. Herbert Norman case, in which he tried to hide from his Canadian voters the full implications of Norman's Communist connections and affiliations.

The Chicago Tribune, in their editorial of Thursday, July 18, covered this matter as follows:

POLITICAL BLACKMAIL

Admitting a somewhat substantial prejudice on past performance against Lester Pearson, we are still shocked by the exercise in political blackmail the former Canadian minister of external affairs perpetrated before the American Society of Newspaper Editors at its convention in San Francisco. Mr. Pearson, a member of the Liberal government which was unseated by the Progressive Conservatives in Canada's recent national election, retains a seat in the dominion parliament. If he was stating an official Canadian position, in behalf of the incoming government, Americans will be bound to raise their eyebrows. If he was speaking without present authority, the Canadian government may well be concerned over his presumption.

Mr. Pearson's general theme was that Americans had better mind their manners and keep their noses out of Canadian affairs, meanwhile cooperating with Canada on Canada's terms.

First, Pearson said, the United States should export less to Canada and take more Canadian imports. Canadians, he said, are "irritated" by United States trade restrictions. If there is not a substantial alteration in the present flow of goods, Canada "obviously will have to take some kind of remedial action."

The implicit threat is that Canadians will be required by their government to buy less in this country or that restrictions will be placed upon American investment in Canada. Inasmuch as the industrial development of Canada depends to a large degree upon American capital, Mr. Pearson seemed to be hinting at a policy of cutting off the nose to spite the face.

The former minister also spoke sharply about the dumping abroad of American farm surpluses which compete for markets with Canadian wheat. He said that if this continued, our relations generally will suffer.

Mr. Pearson further specified that while Canada was content to share the shelter of the American defense tent, it reserved full independence in dealing with matters of internal security. Apparently he is still piqued by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's investigation which prompted Pearson's friend, E. Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, to jump to his death from a high building in Cairo.

Pearson's explanations of this affair in the Dominion Parliament were something less than candid. He admitted that the Canadian Government had knowledge of Norman's early affinity for communism, but insisted nevertheless that Norman was worthy of trust. It has since developed that Norman feared that 60 or 70 Canadian and American officials might be drawn into the inquiry if it were allowed to proceed. His suicide, generating an outcry from Pearson and others, had the effect of stifling the Senate inquiry before it moved on to others.

Nevertheless, Pearson was unwilling to say in Parliament that the Senate subcommittee's facts were in any way untrue or unjustified, prompting the present Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker, to charge, "He equivocates."

Canada is an ally of the United States in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is concerned with the mutual security of 14 nations against communism, yet Mr. Pearson is unwilling to agree that the conspiracies of Communist nationals in the member countries are part of the common defense problem. He is a vocal Atlantic Unionist and has been his country's spokesman at the United Nations, but his extreme internationalism is directed only against the national sovereignty of the United States.

The many breaches of Canadian and British security represented by the cases of Dr. Alan Nunn May, Klaus Fuchs, Bruno Pontecorvo, Donald Maclean, and Guy Burgess have apparently not convinced him that Communist treason is any serious threat, or that the United States has a right to be concerned about it, even if America suffered injury because of unwise trust reposed in these men and others. It is a curious outlook, and the editors who attended Mr. Pearson's speech may be tempted to wonder what cause he is arguing.

Judge Michael F. McDonald, of Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of July 15, 1957, which comments on the passing of former Judge Michael F. McDonald:

MICHAEL F. McDONALD

Former Judge Michael F. McDonald easily qualified for a place among the leading members of the Luzerne County bar.

Judge McDonald had the good fortune to be born in Sugar Notch which has given the professions, the church, and Government so many outstanding figures for half a century. At the time of his death, he was a resident of Hanover Township.

As a trial lawyer, associated at the onset of his career with John T. Lenahan, he was

in the limelight a great deal because of the demand for his services in many of the outstanding cases during 51 years of active practice. Well versed in the law, poised and gifted with a silver tongue, he commanded respect and inspired confidence.

Professionally, he received recognition in many forms. Gov. George Earle elevated him to the bench. The State supreme court named him to the State Board of Law Examiners. He held a number of important solicitorships. And perhaps the finest compliment was paid to him by his three sons who followed in his footsteps.

Judge McDonald duplicated his success as a lawyer in his extracurricular activities which ranged over a wide field. Among other things, he was a prominent Roman Catholic layman and Democrat. His contribution to the development of the Wyoming Valley Playground and Recreation Association added to his reputation as a useful citizen and good neighbor.

Pacific Northwest Stands on Its Own Feet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point an article from the forthcoming August issue of the Reader's Digest. I believe this article pays the people of the Northwest a fine tribute. Ours has long been a tradition of do-it-yourself, and of people who are not afraid to roll up their sleeves, to pitch in to a job and get it done.

This article explains the tremendous job of hydroelectric power development that we in the Northwest have done, and what we are doing to make sure we have a continuing supply of power for the future.

I am certain that in these days of dependency on the Federal Government for many of the functions that have traditionally been assumed by local agencies or private enterprise, that this article will create good will and respect for the people of the Northwest among thinking Americans all over the Nation, who will, through the Reader's Digest, read about the self-reliance and ambition of our people.

The story reads as follows:

PACIFIC NORTHWEST STANDS ON ITS OWN FEET

(By William Hard)

My favorite American region, right now, is the Pacific Northwest, reaching westward from Montana to include Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. It contains the most vigorous effort now existing in the United States toward getting away from undue dependence on the Federal Government and toward a renewal of local self-reliance.

The problem is one that pervades the whole country. It is authoritatively calculated that the Federal Government now has 67 different varieties of grants to States and localities. They amounted in 1954 to some $3 billion. In 1958 they will amount to more than $5 billion.

It is idle to say that these grants are imposed upon the States and localities by the Federal Government. They are demanded by the States and localities. Reform cannot come from the stratosphere of the District of Columbia. It has to come from a revived belief in themselves by energetic citizens at the grassroots. Such citizens are now spectacularly appearing in the Pacific Northwest.

In that region the financial assistance of the Federal Government has been especially profuse for great dams on the great rivers with which the Pacific Northwest is so abundantly blessed. In the last 20 years the Federal Government has spent $2 billion on these rivers. But the light-and-power requirements of the region have steadily expanded. To meet them in the next 10 years the Federal Government would have to appropriate $3½ billion. That would be at the rate of approximately $1 million a day.

The response in the State of Washington tends to prove that local agencies can meet their own light-and-power needs without a penny from the Federal Government in the Pacific Northwest, or anywhere else.

I now salute a valiant band of rebel local agencies in the State of Washington, called the Puget Sound Utilities Council. It has five members. Two of them are municipally owned: Seattle City Light, and Tacoma City Light. Two of them are county-owned: Chelan County Public Utility District, and Snohomish County Public Utility District. The fifth is the privately owned Puget Sound Power & Light Co. Their different ideologies do not prevent them from working together toward independence from the Federal Government. They have declared:

"Our utilities agree that it is their responsibility to take care of the total electric power needs of the Puget Sound-Cascade area for all purposes, including industrial growth, and they intend to do so."

This is a shot that should be heard around the Nation.

The most striking adventure growing out of this declaration of independence is the Chelan County Public Utility District's immense project on the Columbia River itself. The Columbia, mightiest of the region's rivers, has been virtually a Federal preserve. On its broad course the Federal Government has built a series of world-resounding dams: Grand Coulee, Chief Joseph, McNary, The Dalles, Bonneville. Now the little Chelan County Public Utility District, at a point impudently near the Federal Government's Chief Joseph, is building a dam called Rocky Reach, rated at an ultimate enormous capacity of about 1 million kilowatts.

How does Chelan dare do it? Why, because of cooperation from its partner, the Puget Sound Power & Light Co. Privately owned Puget has agreed to buy all the electricity produced at Rocky Reach by publicly owned Chelan, except what may be needed by Chelan itself and by a neighboring public-utility district called Douglas. Thereupon Chelan has been able to raise $23 million—and proposes to raise $227 million more—through sales of revenue bonds to investment bankers.

So what now becomes of the notion that only the Federal Government can finance large dam projects? Chelan PUD has killed it. And another public-utility district in the State of Washington, the Grant County PUD, has killed it some more by means of the most amazing mingling of local agencies ever contrived in the United States.

This Grant County PUD has been licensed by the Federal Power Commission to construct a project called Priest Rapids and Wanapum, also on the Columbia River. Toward that end it has already raised $166 million through sales of revenue bonds to private investment houses. Why do those bankers welcome those bonds? Because they are backed by power-sales contracts which the Grant County PUD has arranged with twelve cooperating local purchasers.

Two of those purchasers are public-utility districts. Six are city-owned electric systems. Four are unregenerate, unrepentant, privately owned electric companies. The 12 together have contracted to buy three-fifths of the electricity produced by the new Grant County PUD project. This cooperation is accepted by investment bankers as gilt-edged security. It could be imitated by local agencies, public and private, in many other parts of this country. It is the way out from power dominance by the Federal Government.

How large is the Priest Rapids and Wanapum project? It will be the third largest producer of hydroelectric power in the United States. And I am convinced that there is no American powerplant project, however large, that cannot be financed by local agencies within States—or between States.

Let's see how far that process has gone in the Pacific Northwest. There are a number of unfinished Federal hydroelectric projects in the region's rivers. When finished, including installation of additional units in existing projects, they will produce some 2.3 million new kilowatts. But look at the surge of local initiative. Hydroelectric projects now under way by local private agencies and by local public agencies and by minglings of both will produce, when finished, more than 4 million new kilowatts. In other words, the local horse is far outstripping the Federal horse in the Pacific Northwest as they go into the stretch.

Clearly the Federal power advocates must now do something to retrieve their fortunes. And they are doing it. Led by Senators WAYNE MORSE and RICHARD NEUBERGER of Oregon, they are claiming that certain victories of Democratic candidates over Republican candidates in the Pacific Northwest in last year's elections prove that the voters there have issued a mandate for Federal power. But was Federal power the principal concern of the voters? It was not.

Surveys of the moods of the voters in last year's elections in Idaho, and Washington, and Oregon establish the solid fact that Federal power was a minor issue in their minds. They were more interested in American foreign policy, in world peace, farm relief, the high cost of living. Only a tiny number of the voters interviewed said that any passion for Federal power determined their votes.

So what must we conclude? We must conclude that the reign of Federal power as a dominant factor in the thinking of the Pacific Northwest is over. And we must conclude that Federal power can be made to yield to local power in every other region in America.

I now take you to the Pacific Northwest's must truculent and controversial river, the Snake.

The Snake wriggles its way westward through southern Idaho and then turns northward on the border between Idaho and Oregon and plunges into one of the deepest river gorges on earth, where it presently arrives at a most romantic and most political spot called Hells Canyon. For now some 7 years the Federal power advocates have been imploring the Congress to authorize the building of a Federal Hells Canyon Dam. There is no more persistent political effort in the United States. It is energetically supported by a quite thrilling female Congressman from Idaho named GRACIE PFOST. She is widely known in Washington as Hell's Bells Gracie. She is immortalized by letters which appear on a Hells Canyon cliff and which say, "Gracie Slept Here."

Nor is the project without money backing. In recent years the National Hells Canyon Association, out of contributions from certain labor and farm groups, has spent more than $100,000 on behalf of the Hells Canyon bill.

This bill affects the honor of the Federal Government. It would violate and annul a solemn compact between the Federal Government and a private enterprise: the Idaho Power Co. Long ago the company asked the Federal Power Commission to give it a license to construct three dams in the Hells Canyon stretch of the Snake River. The Commission took 20,000 pages of testimony from the company's friends and from the company's foes. It then unanimously recommended that the Federal Government should not construct a Hells Canyon Dam. It gave the Idaho Power Co. a license to build its three proposed dams: at Brownlee, at Oxbow, and at Hells Canyon. Its decision was confirmed by a unanimous vote of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia; and the United States Supreme Court refused to overturn it.

The company in good faith went immediately to work. It began construction at Brownlee and Oxbow, and began planning for construction at Hells Canyon. It has now spent some $40 million on construction expenses and obligations. The Federal Hells Canyon Dam would not only supplant the Idaho Power Co.'s license for its Hells Canyon Dam but would inundate and drown out all of the millions of dollars' worth of work already accomplished by the company at its Brownlee and Oxbow dam sites.

Senator MORSE is fond of talking about morality. He might well be asked, "Is it moral to break a Federal contract and destroy $40 million worth of private investment?"

Senator MORSE and his Federal power colleagues justify such treatment of the Idaho Power Co. by saying that its license to build three new dams is a giveaway. It is a phrase hurled at every license issued by the Federal Power Commission to a private company. It is nowadays a viciously misleading phrase. Let us look at it in the case of the Idaho Power Co.

Under the license granted by the Federal Power Commission the company must do the following things:

It must impound up to 1 million acre-feet of flood-control water at its own expense.

It must take the power it gets from its Snake River dams and link that power with the Northwest Power Pool, thus helping serve the power needs of the whole region.

It must provide fish traps and fish ladders to enable salmon and steelhead trout to survive its dams (at a cost of millions of dollars) for the benefit of the Pacific Northwest's fishermen.

It must provide marsh areas for waterfowl to nest in.

It must provide recreational areas in consultation with the Government's National Park Service.

In other words, the Idaho Power Co., though a private company, must perform all the public services that benevolent publicly owned enterprise would perform.

On top of which it must do three more things that the Government would not have to do.

1. It must submit its retail selling rates for power to the local State regulatory commission.

2. It must submit its issues of securities to the Government's Federal Power Commission.

3. It must pay local and Federal taxes.

Isn't this a strange sort of giveaway? I think that the true "giveaway" would be if the Federal Government, for the sole benefit of the Pacific Northwest, should finance a Federal Hells Canyon Dam at a cost to us taxpayers of $350 million.

Some Senators recently hurled a fog of abuse at the Idaho Power Co. for a so-called fast tax writeoff granted by the Government's Office of Defense Mobilization. Faced with this misleading attack, the company has now rejected the writeoff privileges, to eliminate further beclouding of the real issues.

But suppose the Idaho Power Co. had accepted these privileges? Would it have been guilty of sinning against the public? Let's look at the facts of the fast tax writeoff.

These certificates should really be called certificates for rapid depreciation. That's all. Under them the company could have deducted from its taxable income, for 5 years, some two-thirds of the construction costs of 2 of its new dams in the Snake River. But then what?

Then the company would begin to make up for it. For 5 years it would have paid less than normal taxes. Thereafter, it would pay more than normal taxes. At the end of the lifetime of the two dams it would have paid full Federal taxes on all of the income from the operation of the dams.

The rapid depreciation certificates certainly would have given the company a temporary advantage. Was such an advantage deserved? Again, let's look at the facts. The Idaho Power Co. serves some 60 defense plants and military installations. Thereupon it rates inclusion in the rapid depreciation law which was enacted by a Democratic Congress and reenacted by a Republican Congress. This has been a bipartisan national policy for promoting the construction of facilities for future national defense. Some 22,000 rapid depreciation certificates have been issued, 929 of them to electric light and power companies. Is it not odd that the Senators should have singled out the Idaho Power Co. for their wrath?

Finally, is it not equally curious to hear the advocates of a Federal dam at Hells Canyon complaining because the Idaho Power Co. could have received a temporary deferral of taxes? At present rates the Idaho Power Co. will pay $500 million in Federal and State taxes during the course of its licenses. The Federal dam, being owned by the Government, would never pay any taxes at all.

We have in the Congress today a so-called economy wave. It is an odd wave. It shows a lot of force in cutting down expenditures for Federal functions which are really truly properly Federal, such as the Defense Department, the State Department, the United States Information Agency. But it wavers when it comes to cutting down Federal expenditures for regional projects that the local folks themselves could handle.

When I consider what is being done by the Puget Sound Utilities Council, by the Chelan Public Utility District, by the Grant Public Utility District, by other neighboring municipalities and public utility districts, I can only repeat: "The Pacific Northwest is right now my favorite region." It is producing men who can stand on their own local feet.

The Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I am including a resolution approved by the Republican Party in my own congressional district of Wisconsin. It extends sympathy to Senator McCarthy's widow and commends the late Senator for the services he has rendered to his party and to his country.

Be it resolved, That the Republican Party of the First Congressional District of the State of Wisconsin does express:

First, its most sincere sympathy to Jean Kerr McCarthy, widow of our late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and

Second, its commendation of and appreciation for the service rendered the State, the party, and the Nation by our late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Putting the Brakes on Government Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the request granted me, I submit a telegram from Charles R. Sligh, Jr., to the President and an editorial from the NAM News on the current efforts being made to reduce expenditures. The editorial is entitled "Putting the Brakes on Government Expenditures."

The telegram and editorial follow:

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

According to press reports, you have directed all Government departments and agencies to hold fiscal 1958 expenditures to the levels of the 1957 fiscal year, except for extraordinary circumstances. This step toward firm control over spending by your office is welcome news and points the way to economy and moderate budgets, not only in the current year but in succeeding years. Industrial leadership strongly commends and supports this kind of action and believes it will greatly aid the fight against inflation and the goal of economic stability.

Congratulations and best wishes.

CHARLES R. SLIGH, Jr.,
Executive Vice President, National Association of Manufacturers.

PUTTING THE BRAKES ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Students of Government finance have long recognized that Congress does not really have control of the purse strings anymore and that the amount the Government spends is not determined by how much it appropriated but on how the various departments and agencies carry out their functions.

Congress authorizes the spending programs, to be sure, but these may be operated thriftily or lavishly, depending on how the administration chooses to handle them. If a Government agency decides to be overgenerous with the taxpayers' money, and isn't brought up short by the Budget Bureau or the White House, spending can mount rapidly and Congress is caught in a dilemma. It is virtually forced to supply whatever money is requested to carry out the program.

Thus, President Eisenhower's order of last week to all departments and agencies of the Government to hold spending down to the level of fiscal 1957 is the most significant news the Nation's taxpayers have had in many a day. If the Budget Bureau rides herd on this directive and sees to it that it is carried out, the way is cleared for orderly reduction of personal and corporate income taxes along the lines of the Sadlak bill. This bill, introduced early in the present

session, calls for earmarking most of the additional revenue which results from the Nation's economic growth for tax reduction rather than for increased spending programs.

NAM has been pointing out for a long time that the real key to Government economy lies in action by the President to hold spending down. That is the reason Charles R. Sligh, Jr., executive vice president of NAM, immediately sent Mr. Eisenhower the telegram which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

Do Not Tamper With the McCarran-Walter Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to call attention of my colleagues to the splendid article in Southern States Industrial Council Bulletin of July 15, 1957, on the subject of the McCarran-Walter Act. It seems to me that all of us would want to think carefully before attempting to tamper with the McCarran-Walter Act. We have many problems in this country and considerable pockets of unemployment and certainly we would be adding to our problem and to the unemployment situation in many places if we should break down the provisions of this tried and tested immigration law that we now have. It is difficult for me to see how the friends of our common people and our laboring people could give their approval to any dissipation of the provisions of the law that protects these people here in America. The article mentioned by me is as follows:

DO NOT TAMPER WITH THE MCCARRAN-WALTER ACT

While little has been said publicly, we are informed that opponents of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act are stealthily planning another effort to emasculate the statute and to open the floodgates to foreign immigration.

Notwithstanding the claims of the Communists and others who seek to destroy this law the McCarran-Walter Act was no hysterical spur-of-the-moment legislation, rushed through the Congress on the wings of fear of communism. On the contrary, the study and preparation that went into this law were the most extensive, and over the longest period of time ever devoted to a single piece of legislation. Nearly a thousand persons were called to testify by the committee, and the act as passed by the Congress had the endorsement of the Departments of State and Justice, as well as the Central Intelligence Agency. The House vote on the bill was 206 for, 68 against, and the favorable vote in the Senate was unrecorded. For some reason Mr. Truman exercised his veto power of the bill; which action the Congress speedily overrode—278 to 113 in the House, 57 to 26 in the Senate.

In spite of the charges of its opponents that the act is reactionary, Fascist, and racist, the experience in its administration shows that it is the most liberal immigration law in United States history. Congressman WALTER H. JUDD, once a medical missionary to China and an authority on the Far East, said the act "removes at one stroke the remaining racial discriminations in our nationality and immigration laws which have so greatly contributed to ill feeling in many parts of the world."

The effort to amend the McCarran-Walter Act will have as its objective, among others, the adoption of amendments that will increase annual immigration to this country from around 250,000 to in excess of 600,000; repeal the chief screening and security safeguards of the law; and, most important of all, destroy the national origins immigration system set up in the statute, which gears the flow of immigration for maximum assimilation and for the preservation of our cultural integrity.

Without discussing contemplated amendments in detail, it suffices to quote from a recent statement by Congressman FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, a coauthor of the McCarran-Walter Act:

"Analysis of these and literally dozens of other pending amendments reveals a common thread: they all aim to subordinate the interests of the United States to the interests of other countries and their citizens. This is, in fact, the major theme of diatribes against the McCarran-Walter Act."

In the last session of the Congress there was a tricky effort to destroy this immigration law. In view of the fact that it is now being suggested that Congress will soon adjourn, we can be assured that the same kind of effort will be made, and soon. It will succeed unless we are alert to the situation.

In an article The Truth About the Immigration Act written by Mr. WALTER shortly after the immigration law was passed, he said, "Are we to have a policy based primarily on the desires of Europe? Or are we to have a policy which is based primarily on what is good for America?"

The council believes the test of any immigration policy must be, what is good for America. If you agree, write your Senators and Congressman urging them to oppose any effort to tamper with the McCarran-Walter Act.

No Compromise With Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, in the current struggle in both bodies of the Congress to secure to all our citizens their constitutionally guaranteed rights to participate in choosing those who will represent them, we have heard much of late about compromises.

A very thoughtful and thought-provoking editorial in the Milwaukee Review for July 4, 1957, points out some of the dangers inherent in compromise on this all-important subject. It emphasizes the crucial point that we shall in the years to come reap the harvest—for good or for evil—of what we now do.

I, for one, cannot and will not compromise with principle. On this issue we are not dealing with abstract, technical legal points. We are dealing, instead, with human liberties—with fundamental rights and freedoms—with the basic tenets of our form of Government.

The editorial to which I refer should be read and studied and pondered by every Member of this House and of the other body. It carries a deep and enduring lesson from history as to what we may expect if we again attempt to compromise with principle.

I, therefore, under unanimous consent, include this editorial in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

SOME THOUGHTS ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1957

Thomas Jefferson warned us * * * Jefferson's warning censored from Declaration * * * "extirpation" the penalty * * * America's greatest weakness * * * racial arrogance degrading, un-Christian.

Thomas Jefferson, as everybody knows, wrote the Declaration of Independence. Today we honor, presumably, the great event. Out of July 4, 1776, has come the world's most powerful nation. By the accident of birth, except for the few who chose this Nation, we are all the heirs of incredible good fortune—and of Tom Jefferson's ringing handiwork.

Everyone knows, I said a moment ago, that T. J. wrote the Declaration. On this anniversary perhaps you would be interested to know that the Continental Congress worked over the draft that the great Jefferson wrote, adding words here, deleting phrases there. The most extensive deletion was the most important, and the error done when this section was struck out haunts our Republic to this day.

The error has cost our Nation at least a half million dead. It has tarnished our name among most peoples of the earth. How vastly more wise was the red-headed, 33-year-old Virginian than the property-minded conservatives who, even in the midst of the revolutionary breakaway from Britain, were unwilling to follow Jefferson's lead.

We refer to the section against slavery.

Perhaps you would like to read, 181 years later, the manifesto against slavery which, had it been in our original Declaration, would have committed the young Nation to equality between races as we pretended to do among all men.

In the list of abuses of mankind by King George III against which the colonies were in rebellion, Jefferson wrote this:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people (Africans) who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the approbrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this excrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: Thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

This was no new or incidental theme with young Jefferson. Long before the Congress asked him to draft the Declaration at Philadelphia, the Virginian had already taken his firm stand against slavery.

In his famous Notes on Virginia he struck out against human bondage:

"There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one hand, and degrading sub-

missions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it * * *. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are a gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath?

"Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever * * *. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest * * *. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed in the order of events to be with the consent of the masters rather than by their extirpation."

How prophetic were Jefferson's words. Thousands of masters were indeed "extirpated" in the Civil War, and in conflicts before and since. Hundreds of thousands of others, black and white, were "extirpated" because South Carolina, Georgia, and a couple of other southern colonies even then would not vote to strike against slavery as well as against King George. And New Englanders, too, who sat in the Continental Congress, found the shipping of Africans in the molasses-cotton-slaves triangle a profitable business.

LOST BY ONE VOTE

Jefferson tried again during the years of the Confederation. By one vote only, in 1782, Congress defeated Jefferson's proposal to exclude slavery forever from all the territories. By one vote only—and again it was fraught with terrible consequences in later years.

At the other end of his life he wrote in 1825, as follows, to Miss Frances Wright, a friend:

"At the age of 82, with one foot in the grave and the other uplifted to follow it, I cannot permit myself to take part in any new enterprises—not even in the great one (of emancipating the slaves) which has been through my life my greatest anxiety. The abolition of the evil is not impossible; it ought never, therefore, to be despaired of. Every plan should be adopted, every experiment tried, which may do something toward this ultimate object."

Jefferson spoke not of the institution of slavery alone, but of the arrogant theory of race superiority. This was contrary to every fiber of his democratic nature, and he saw clearly it was the weakest spot in the armor of the new Republic.

STILL OUR WEAKEST LINK

To this day, 90 years after slavery itself is abolished, it is still the weakest link in the chain. Jefferson foresaw more than anyone of his time that the destiny of our Nation must be rooted in democracy, not aristocracy and arrogance. Today we live in a world more than three-fourths of which is populated by people of darker pigmentation. Jefferson's lexicon knew no such phrase as the lesser breeds. For our Nation to practice slavery and later discrimination on a basis of race, was to violate both our religious pretenses and our democratic honor.

How clearly he saw the price we would pay for this infidelity.

RACIAL ARROGANCE DEGRADES US

We have paid bitterly as a Nation for failure to face this basic issue at the outset, as Jefferson pleaded with his colleagues to do. We have fought several wars with tragic racial overtones. Our credit is low in Asia and Africa and South America and the islands of the seas as our racial arrogance and false pretenses to democratic equality have become known. Our enemies, some of them more conceited than ourselves, have maliciously magnified our weakness.

Our American people have awakened to the racial issues in our generation as never since Lincoln's time. Great progress is being made in our Nation every day. Young people of all races, North and South, are far ahead of their parents and grandparents in ability to live together, in mutual respect and good will.

But the atomic era is a violent one, in which the passion of a moment can destroy for a millennium. Behind sound economic or political relations, as Jefferson saw so clearly, must lie a belief in people, a faith in mankind.

THE GREATEST ISSUE STILL

This, then, is the greatest issue of our day. We take this much of our readers' time and attention on this traditional holiday to discuss it because it lies at the root of our fears, costs us our wealth in sterile billions taxed for defense, fritters away the genius of our productive system, and cancels out the gospel of good will which is the root of the Christian faith.

As Jefferson said with feeling so long ago, but as if it were pointed squarely at us today: "The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."

On Limiting Atomic War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STERLING COLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, the part which nuclear energy should properly play in our military armament has been a matter of grave concern to me for some period of time and, in fact, for several years I have felt that a greater concentration on perfection of small, versatile, tactical atomic weapons should have been made by our Government rather than production and perfection of the whoppers.

On July 1, 1957, I presented to the House a discussion on the subject of the atom and our military posture. Only yesterday I happened to read an article in the June issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, entitled "On Limiting Atomic War." I read it with great interest and no small degree of approval, although it must be conceded that there are areas in the article which seem somewhat illusory and unrealistic. The article is a condensation of a pamphlet prepared for the Royal (British) Institute of International Affairs, the authors of which are Rear Adm. Sir Anthony Buzzard (Royal Navy, retired); P. M. S. Blackett, professor of physics, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London University, and Nobel prizewinner in physics; Denis Healey, Labor Member of Parliament; and Richard Goold-Adams.

I commend the article most seriously to the careful study of all those in and out of the military establishment having any responsibility for our national defense. It is also deserving of the attention of the thoughtful citizens.

The article follows:

ON LIMITING ATOMIC WAR

The new age of the hydrogen bomb has introduced into military strategy more changes than most people have yet admitted to themselves. It has also made a fundamental difference to the political background against which military strategists must think and plan.

The indictment against the two leading Western governments—American and British—is, first that they have not really told the public what they are thinking about defense; and secondly, since there is almost no evidence to the contrary, that they are in fact pursuing contradictory theories without knowing their own minds. The essence of the dilemma is the way the West is relying on being the first to use atomic weapons, without public opinion in fact being prepared to support any such step. Thus, there is in practice no intermediate stage between the use of conventional forces and a course that most people believe would lead to the use of H bombs and mean mass suicide.

The final American rejection of the idea of using an atom bomb at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 suggests that the West will in practice shrink from massive retaliation with its unknown consequences. The threat of unlimited retaliation is in reality useless for local wars, for the only kind of situation, in fact, that is likely to confront the free world during the period immediately ahead.

The opponents of graduated deterrents argue that to remove the threat of strategic bombing with hydrogen bombing weapons is to make both sides more willing to embark on war. If the ultimate horror is gone, they argue, we get back to somewhere near where we were before. In such circumstances, while one group of powers might be less hesitant about opposing any future aggression by the other, it is obvious that the first side would be equally less hesitant about starting an aggression.

In reality this argument cuts both ways. If there is no fear of global nuclear war, then substantial aid for the victim of aggression will be more readily forthcoming. And the balance would seem to come down more heavily in favor of the theory of graduated deterrents on the grounds that for a country to embark on aggression, knowing that this would mean atomic war even on a limited scale, is very different from starting an old-fashioned conventional war. It is all too easy to treat lesser atomic weapons as of little consequence. In reality, by any previous standards, they are huge and terrible in their effect. Any sane aggressor would think twice before risking such retaliation, even on a limited part of the area of his own side.

Logically, the argument surely goes even further. Indeed, the boot is on the other foot. It is not so much the possible removal of the strategic H-bomb threat by means of graduated deterrents which makes minor aggression more likely, as the very existence even now of the thermonuclear stalemate. To leave both sides afraid to use their maximum force because of the fear of world suicide is surely more, not less, dangerous to local peace than to impose an intermediate stage which could act as a very formidable deterrent in particular cases without fear of world suicide.

Against the whole of this complicated background there stands a confusion of Government purpose and performance which is only less in Washington than it is in London. There is an attempt to cater for major war both with atomic weapons and without.

The weakness of British and American policy as expressed in statements (from their military and political leaders) is that it ignores the key problem of defining distinctions between the tactical and strategic use of atomic weapons. Clearly, if the West is to be free to select the intermediate grade of action of tactical atomic warfare then it is vital to convince all concerned that such warfare can in fact be waged without its spreading to total war.

Those concerned are, on the one hand, the public in the western democracies, on the other, the governing clique in the Soviet Union. For, if public opinion in the West believes—as it does at present—that the use of any atomic weapon means starting down the slippery slope that ends with the H-bomb, then the democratic governments will have their hands tied behind their backs. Equally, unless the Communist leaders can be convinced that western governments can and will use atomic weapons to resist large-scale local aggression, half the retaliatory forces of the West, and, what is more important, its ability to deter aggression will be lost.

Three points must be made clear at the outset. First, this is avowedly a presentation of the case for graduated deterrents. Secondly, in discussing distinctions between the tactical and strategic use of atomic weapons, the idea has been to suggest practical lines of inquiry rather than any cut-and-dried formula.

Lastly, the word tactical needs explaining. In terms of weapons it is being used here to mean those which can be used at anything up to 500 or even 1,000 miles from the center of the fighting. And tactical atomic weapons refers to those containing small atomic explosive charges, whether they be bombs, shells, or missiles. Strategic nuclear weapons are those delivered at much longer ranges, and containing atomic explosives many times more powerful. In terms of targets, tactical refers to the manifestations of the enemy's war effort and his armed forces; strategic targets represent the sources of power supporting the armed forces, that is, industry and civil population.

DESIRABILITY OF LIMITED WAR

If the western governments genuinely believe what they have begun to suggest so tentatively, namely, that there are three possible categories—global war, limited war but with the use of tactical atomic weapons, and conventional war—then they must also take steps beforehand to see that the differences are understood.

What is even more important is the role of defense policy in preventing war from breaking out. The possibility of a limited atomic defense is a far more flexible, effective, and specific deterrent to Russian or Chinese ambition than the vague fear that aggression will lead to global war. For there are two elements in any deterrent; its severity and its certainty of application. And it is no good trying to overemphasize the severity, if the deterrent is thereby made uncertain. A deterrent will be more effective if it is reasonably severe and certain to be applied, than if it is disastrous in its severity and uncertain to be applied.

The fact that those responsible for Western defense have rightly embarked on a policy of equipping American and British forces with atomic weapons. While no one would ask the generals and air marshals to reveal their technical plans, the whole question of trying to make proper use of all grades of atomic weapons hinges on publicity rather than secrecy. It is, therefore, an urgent question of great public interest to decide exactly how far it is in fact desirable, in peacetime, to distinguish between tactical and strategic nuclear weapons.

Undoubtedly, the first and overriding argument in favor of making any such distinctions is that, unless all concerned are convinced of the practicability of such distinctions, no country threatened with attack would even be willing to accept assistance from American or British forces if this involved the use of atomic weapons on its own territory.

The Soviet Union, moreover, appreciating these fears, would be free to play upon them by intensifying its propaganda that tactical atomic war would inevitably spread to total war. This would enable the Russians to exploit a situation with their superior conventional forces. If this exploitation were to take the form of actual aggression, either tactical atomic weapons would in fact be used after all—with great division of opinion in the West and great risks of total war—or the anti-Communist forces would probably be defeated.

The second reason why it is highly desirable to make a clear distinction in peacetime between the tactical and strategic use of atomic weapons is that unintentional war is almost certainly the main real danger.

The third reason for trying to establish distinctions now is that the longer they are worked out beforehand the more likely they are to hold good in war. If tactical atomic war should break out, unintentionally and despite the existing deterrents, uncertainty would be bound to increase the chances of such warfare spreading to total and global war. A last-minute declaration about drawing lines between tactical and strategic nuclear weapons and between tactical and strategic targets would have little chance of being observed.

The fourth reason why distinctions are desirable at this stage is that they would diminish the risk that either side would resort to war over a local dispute. It cannot be repeated too often that a deterrent is more valuable if it is certain to be applied than if it is greater in severity but less certain of application.

Lastly, the threat of tactical atomic retaliation by itself is, after all, likely to be a sufficiently severe deterrent to any probable form of deliberate local Communist aggression. As we all well know, during the decade since 1945 the world has found it hard to believe that anyone in their right mind would use even small atomic weapons against an enemy, until the other side had first incurred responsibility for initiating such appalling destruction; or, that any people, except possibly in the huge expanses of Russia and North America, could stand up to more than a minimum bombardment even with these small atomic weapons, let alone destruction from the hydrogen bomb. Let there be no mistake, therefore. The threat of tactical atomic war is a terrible and tremendous deterrent in itself.

The study of atomic warfare is, in fact, a daunting one, since it consists of an endless series of balances between realism and emotion. Thus, although it may be argued that there will never be another atomic bomb dropped in anger, since no country, least of all a Communist one, will be willing to accept such a responsibility before the bar of history, it is only by pursuing the present arguments to their rational conclusion that the chances of avoiding any kind of atomic war can be properly assessed.

There are, for instance, two further factors which logically bear on the desirability of creating acceptable distinctions between tactical and strategic atomic weapons. One is that, from the point of view of the free world, it is the West which enjoys—and will probably enjoy still for several years yet—considerable superiority in weapons suitable for tactical atomic war. There is a constant danger of underrating Soviet technical progress—and the capacity of the Soviet Union has certainly been misjudged in recent years in many different fields—but, however rapid Soviet progress in the atomic field, America's sheer start in time must give the West a quantitative lead in atomic bombs and warheads at least until the early 1960's.

There is admittedly the further important question of means of delivery. Some airmen are extremely sensitive to the lessons learned over the past 17 years about the significance of air superiority. They wisely stress the constantly changing technical position in terms of obsolescence. They emphasize the value of having the initiative, being, if one chooses to call it that, the aggressor rather than the country caught out by a surprise attack. And, above all, some of them insist that so-called tactical air power cannot operate effectively until air superiority has been gained; nor do they believe that this can be secured over a first-class air force without a strategic air offensive.

On all these points the layman would be foolish to dispute the views of the experts in their own element. There are, on the other hand, three factors which render this expert experience only one aspect of a wider picture. First, the arguments just advanced essentially concern a global war.

Second, the implication that overall air superiority has to be obtained, in order to drop tactical atomic bombs on their targets, does not do justice to the devastating power of the single weapon.

Third, those who regard the strategic air arm as indispensable to tactical operations ignore both guided missiles and atomic artillery. Even if tactical command of the air had been entirely lost by either side, the trend toward guided missiles makes it virtually certain that atomic weapons could cause immense destruction up to several hundred miles into an enemy's territory.

Another argument which suggests that the use of tactical atomic weapons would at present suit the West more than the Communist bloc is that, when used tactically, they favor the defender of territory. And while there is always a considerable danger that this kind of military view may be proved as false as others have in the past, it does at present stand on two logical calculations. The attacker, for his part, is normally compelled to concentrate his land forces for the assault and hence to move them about in the open; in the atomic age both would mean that he presents better targets for atomic weapons than the defender, who is more able to dig in. Then, from the defender's point of view, the potency of tactical atomic weapons and their ability to contaminate the ground and communications reduces the forces required to defend a given front. Admittedly, some airmen query the effectiveness of atom bombs against troops. But, until such time as the question may have been put to a practical test, it seems illogical to suppose that atom bombing is not a very severe hazard indeed for an army in the field.

Lastly, the other factor bearing on the desirability of distinctions between tactical atomic weapons and targets is the picture as it presents itself around the table in the Kremlin. Even asuming that the Western case for these distinctions were to become widely accepted, the criticism would remain that the Communists would never confirm them in war. The very advantages that may be claimed for the West would render the policy unacceptable to Moscow, which would then turn the tactical atomic war into a global war. This, however, is a hasty judgment that does not stand up.

What, after all, would a global war be about? It would be about the domination of the world by either the Communist idea or the ideals of the free nations. The evidence from Moscow during the past year has in fact emphasized that the Russian leaders are unwilling to gamble on any step that might lead to global nuclear war, in which immense destruction would be wrought in the Soviet Union itself. They are even less willing than many people in America to face such risks. Compared with these possibilities and this evidence, it is fair to argue, that in the event of conflict, the establishment of clear distinctions between local and global war would seem to offer very considerable attractions and advantages to the Communist leadership, just as it would to the West. And it should be emphasized here that the chances of success of any such proposals would depend entirely on Russian self-interest. The accusation

that the implementation of these ideas would always depend on Russian good faith simply misses the point.

Coming back, finally, to the broad argument of the deterrent, the knowledge in Moscow that, if pressure on a non-Communist country were pushed too far, it might lead to a local war in which they could count on atomic weapons being used against them tactically, would almost certainly act as strong deterrent. The political cost to the Communist cause of a local adventure involving tactical atomic weapons would almost certainly be too high. There is, therefore, little doubt that, both to prevent war and to limit it if it should break out, the earliest possible establishment of distinctions is highly desirable.

PRACTICABILITY OF LIMITED WAR

Granted for the sake of argument that distinctions between the tactical and strategic use of atomic weapons are desirable, are they practicable?

There are in fact three principles which should determine the main character of any proposed rules about distinctions between the tactical and strategic use of nuclear weapons, or, to put it loosely, between the weapons themselves. The first is that even tactical atomic war should be sufficiently costly to an aggressor to make local aggression not worth while, either militarily or politically, or both. Secondly, on the other hand, every effort should be made to prevent tactical atomic warfare being automatically so terrible that any threatened country or its allies would shrink from the possibility of resorting to atomic weapons in order to defend itself. Thirdly, any rules about distinctions should be sufficiently clear and simple to stand a reasonable chance of being observed for as long as hostilities might be expected to last. All this is a tall order.

In considering this problem, there are three separate but interrelated questions—theater, weapon, and target—and it is a matter of opinion which should be discussed first. Because the central problem is to avoid the indiscriminate use of nuclear weapons, particularly the H bomb, the best course is to start with a study of the practicability of making distinctions between one kind of weapon and another; then to consider whether a line can be drawn between various types of target; and finally to discuss the problem of confining atomic war to a definite area or theater.

Is it possible, then, to define an atomic weapon limit beyond which neither side would go if it knew that the other would not do so first? One advantage in judging an atomic explosion by its results is that, given proper preparations, these can be measured. Thus, once an agreement had been reached, either tacit or explicit, a country overstepping the limit could be detected by means of the effects left by the explosion of its weapon. The growing popular fear, that even the current rate of hydrogen bomb tests will eventually raise the universal background of radioactivity to proportions dangerous for the whole human race, already makes this line of inquiry something which would certainly receive instinctive public support.

In considering the necessary rules, four factors must be recognized which bear on the character of any atomic explosion—though they are necessarily an oversimplification of a very complicated case. These are the type of bomb (and the word "bomb" is to be taken as a general term meaning bomb, shell, or any other atomic weapon or device); the height at which the bomb is exploded; its power (depending on its type and construction); and the nature of the surface on or over which it may have been exploded.

It is the indiscriminate character of fallout that must be eliminated so far as is possible from tactical weapons. Hence, the kind of bomb to be used tactically should obviously not in general be of the three-decker fission-fusion-fission type. On the other hand, these so-called H bombs appear to vary in effect according to their construction and they may not necessarily produce such significant fallout effects if exploded at a great height. Equally, coming down to straightforward fission or so-called atomic bombs, the smaller the bomb or shell the nearer it can be exploded to the ground and so to its target without significant after-effects. From a military point of view, incidentally, a small bomb accurately aimed might be best against certain types of targets, while a bigger one, burst higher up, would be more useful against others; in the present limited state of knowledge, however, there is still a good deal of dispute about the relative military advantages of various types of explosion. Lastly, bomb for bomb, and height for height, the residual radiation effects seem worse and more widespread if the explosion takes place in or near water than if it takes place in or near a land surface.

These points suggest certain lines on which distinctions might be made. First, the general basis would be height plus type of bomb, as judged by the effects produced; and already military experts are talking of some of their existing atomic weapons being clean and others dirty. Secondly, any line drawn on this basis would inevitably be quite arbitrary. The actual power of a bomb would be important but not decisive; the aim, it cannot be repeated too often, is to stop the unlimited absolute, to change and curtail, that is, the indiscriminate nature of atomic weapons. Thirdly, the limit for tactical use should be as small as possible since, apart from anything else, the possibility of exploding a quantity of any tactical atomic weapons at all should be an adequate deterrent to local war. On the other hand, weapons should not be so small as to make it unreasonable to expect the Soviet rulers to conform to the limits intended. Lastly, the limit should be such that, even if marginally exceeded, it would still not come near the megaton range.

Assuming it is in fact practicable to make a distinction between the all-out hydrogen bomb and the explosion of limited effect, what about the other two main sides of the problem—the target and the war area? First of all, is it practicable to draw a line between one type of target and another, between one that may legitimately be attacked under a particular code of rules and another that may not? The broad objective is certainly clear enough. This must be to spare from mass destruction as many civilians as possible, without unduly upsetting the relatively military situation either in favor of the Communist powers, whose possible aggression must be effectively deterred, or in favor of the West. The main reason for this latter condition is that on it seem bound to hinge the real chances of getting the Communist powers to conform to any proposed new rules of atomic warfare put forward by the West.

Throughout this discussion two assumptions are being made. The first is that, while these rules of atomic warfare would be drawn up mainly with the struggle between the two great power blocs in mind, they could also apply to the use of atomic weapons in any war. And in due time, it is not to be supposed that only the great powers would possess atomic weapons.

The second assumption is that, when discussing the practicability of target distinctions, a war in which such distinctions were to be observed would be one of limited area as well as limited scope. When war is mentioned most people in this country, somewhat naturally, think of war in Europe. But whatever else may hold true about the proposition of limited tactical atomic warfare, Western Europe itself presents a special case, because of its political and economic importance to both sides. It should, therefore, be excluded from the immediate argument and it will be dealt with briefly as a unique problem at the end.

In trying to establish distinction between one type of target and another, there are two lines of thought to follow. One is to consider drawing a line between civilian and military objectives. The other line of thought broadly relates to the conception of distance from a front line, the idea being, of course, to limit atomic attacks to something like a battle area, in its widest sense, but to allow all kinds of attack within that area. The difficulty of this, however, is that it requires yet another definition—say, the land-battle area—which both sides would have to observe.

With these two thoughts in mind, the first possibility would be to bar from all atomic attack, any town or city, including ports, over a certain size regardless of the targets it contained, with only very limited exceptions. The value of this is its simplicity. Not only can it be understood by democratic public opinion; there is also more chance of having it observed in war. The minimum exceptions to this simple formula would almost certainly have to be those cities in the actual land-battle zone which had not previously been declared and proved to be open; those from which offensive weapons had already been used, this would include the launching of guided missiles—the points of origin could usually be detected—and those whose nearby airfields had been used for offensive purposes.

A second possibility would be to bar from atomic attack all towns and cities over a certain size not containing important targets of tactical military value. This would represent, in effect, an attempt to combine a distinction between long-term strategic targets and those of immediate military significance to a particular campaign, with the general idea of preventing the atom bombing of large concentrations of civilians. Incidental to this concept also lies the theory that any local war in which atomic weapons were used would not be a long war; it could thus be decided by tactical attack rather than by strategic bombing. One prerequisite for any such delimitation, however, would be that those types of military targets considered urgent and tactical would have to be listed. They would include, say, airfields, areas of troop concentrations, military communication centers, missile sites, operational naval bases, and so on. But they would exclude such long-term strategic targets, however vital to an ultimate and long-drawnout decision, as war industries, major communication centers far from the battle area, training and administrative headquarters, and, of course, distant big cities.

Both these possibilities—a simple ban on all towns over a certain size and a ban on targets not of immediate military importance—raise several further questions. One is inspection. Any city declared "open" in the land-battle zone could probably be inspected without insuperable difficulty by highly mobile teams of United Nations or other neutral observers, as it would not lie so very far from the front line. The ban on cities not falling within this category, however, would require a more elaborate system for being declared open, and their status would have to be proved by more thoroughgoing inspection; this problem would loom less large if some form of international inspection had already been organized in connection with disarmament. On the other hand, a ban on big cities can be argued to

be largely self-monitoring, since it would normally be easy to tell whether their airfields were being used offensively. Experience with guided missiles also now suggests that their origins can be pinpointed fairly accurately.

A third possibility, following a distinctly different general line of thought, would be to base a system of distinction between tactical and strategic targets purely on distance from the center of a battle zone, and to confine tactical targets to the decisive area of land fighting; there would also have to be a corresponding arbitrary line at sea. If this could be achieved in any realistic sense it would, of course, be the safest way of guarding against tactical atomic warfare spreading to the indiscriminate H-bombing of cities.

There are, however, several fairly strong objections to it. Tactical aircraft now play a major role in land battles and they would probably do so in atomic warfare. Yet, in terms of modern high-speed aircraft, even considerable distances mean very little. For this distinction to hold, therefore, the atomic bombing of tactical airfields would probably have to be barred; and this seems impractical—at least if both sides possessed tactical atomic bombers. Some distinguished military experts nevertheless believe that only in some such conception as this does there lie any real possibility of developing a distinction between the tactical and strategic uses of atomic weapons.

There is another quite different objection which is easily overlooked when talking about the use of atomic weapons. This is that distinctions by distance over such a short depth as the actual land-fighting zone—say, 50 miles—might not provide a sufficiently severe deterrent to an aggressor, since his airfields and communications away from the land-battle zone would be open only to attack with so-called conventional high explosive and naphthalene bombs.

A further though not insoluble objection relates to the problem of airfields in general; this applies to all the possible target distinctions so far mentioned, that is, by size of towns as well as by distance from the front. On the one hand, many airfields are near big towns, which means that an atomic attack on any airfield would almost certainly do serious damage to a neighboring town; on the other, airfields will, in fact, be the key points in any war of the future. And in this sense tactical support of a land battle might even extend to over 1,000 miles. But, surely, ways could be found for showing that any given airfield was not being used.

Lastly, there is one other possible line of thought about drawing distinctions between one kind of target and another. The idea is that atomic weapons might be confined to purely defensive use, that is, to action directly concerned in repelling an enemy's attacking land, air, or sea forces.

One immediate objection, some people might say, is the difficulty of deciding what constitutes defense and what constitutes offense; in modern war the definition of an aggressor is becoming a matter of opinion depending on the stage at which the political argument is considered to have begun. But the fact is that a purely military distinction about defensive use as such should not be impossible to draw up, and it is at least worth attempting since such a concept would be less far removed from the world's conscience than some other ideas that have been put forward in this connection.

Some forward limit would also have to be defined. And here the best deterrent might be to say that targets in the enemy's own territory could be attacked with tactical atomic weapons back to a distance at least as far as the penetration by aggression; a corresponding line would also have to be drawn arbitrarily at sea. Admittedly, the idea of using atomic weapons anywhere within one's own territory, while observing a limit on the other side, would obviously not receive any willing approval from one's allies. But the proposal is in fact designed to meet the moral criticism that nations with superior development in the west are rattling their atom bombs, eagerly waiting for an opportunity to use them against the backward colonial peoples of Asia.

As with weapons, target distinctions would clearly have to be known and thoroughly understood by both sides well in advance, if they were to stand a reasonable chance of holding good in local war.

In regard to theater limitations, there is less room for detailed argument. The best approach is to illustrate a line of thought by means of 1 or 2 assertions, partly obvious and partly contentious. In the first place, the fear of global H-bomb war, in fact, the thermonuclear stalemate, makes limitation of a war area something which both sides would probably want.

The second general assertion is that a local war might either be limited to the suggested rules of tactical atomic warfare, or it could be total and unlimited within a given area. As to the second possibility, there is no inherent reason, for instance, why all-out war with full-scale hydrogen bombs should not develop in the Far East without spreading to Europe, and obviously there are various grades of risk. But the chances of a local war spreading would certainly be far less if H-bombs were not used, and if the proposed rules of tactical atomic warfare had already been established beforehand.

An additional reason why a tactical atomic war in a limited area, not vital to the survival of either side, need not spread is that neither would be likely to demand unconditional surrender as the price of victory. In spite of the murderous havoc wrought by even tactical atomic weapons, peace should be possible by negotiation, as it was in Korea.

The third and last general assertion to be made is, once again, that Western Europe itself must be regarded as a special case, lying outside the mainstream of the argument presented here. If distinctions between the tactical and strategic use of atomic weapons could be elaborated and accepted for lesser theaters, they might in due course play a part in saving the center of Europe from total destruction in a global war. Even distinctions between targets might, in time, also hold partially good. But it cannot be emphasized too strongly that this is not what the present discussion is about. As things stand today to limit atomic war in Western Europe to tactical atomic weapons would certainly be difficult, though by no means out of the question. The case for graduated deterrents, however, does not hinge on Western Europe. Its applicability there, in the highly special circumstances of this crucial central front of the western world, would be a bonus that no one could count on.

Western Europe is in fact an exception because both sides regard it as a vital area; because its dense population in such small and crowded territories seems a serious obstacle to the effective exercise of target distinctions; and because specific sections, notably the Ruhr, are of critical economic importance. Thus, in spite of loose talk in the United States about fortress America, neither Washington nor Moscow could afford to see the balance of power changed in Western Europe; this is the essential factor which makes the German problem so important.

One last word should be said about limiting atomic war to those of any other given areas. A special feature of the great Communist empire now bestriding Asia and Europe is that the Soviet Union stands in a class by itself. Development in Communist dogma about the fundamental role of the Soviet state, as well as Russian national characteristics, imply that any attack on even the fringe of Russia's own territory must be considered only with considerable reserve. In general, to touch Soviet territory must greatly enhance the risk of global war. On the other hand, there is every reason to be realistic about the problem. One can well imagine, for instance, that if the Russians or their local Communist henchmen became involved in a limited atomic war in northern Persia, Soviet Azerbaijan might be attacked without starting a global war. In any case the Russians should be left in no doubt about the possible extent as well as the limits of the retaliation against them.

There is also one last point. The question of deterrence is the most important of all. The distinctions outlined are designed to prevent war quite as much as to win one if it starts. Obviously, it is impossible to make distinctions which are certain to hold in war. But, provided the possibility of their holding is good enough to make measured retaliation likely, then the uncertainty only serves to increase the deterrent. On the other hand, the fundamental condition is that the distinctions should have become established in the first place.

To summarize the conclusions, the first is that the West could not contain deliberate Communist aggression in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the China Seas, Korea, and other smaller places, with conventional forces alone. Indeed, no one educated in the military and political facts of the present decade now disputes this. What is in mind is a major local Communist-sponsored attack on the countries and interests of the free world; a war genuinely limited to minor local forces would be another matter.

Second, therefore, only 1 of 3 possible courses lies open to the West. Either it must be readily prepared to risk total war on an issue that is not vital; or it must greatly increase its conventional forces; or it must take such measures as it can to ensure that nuclear defense is made possible on a limited scale. Of these three, the first and second are politically and militarily impractical. The third is the only rational course in spite of its political undesirability.

Third, however, limited nuclear defense would be impossible without, first of all, drawing a definite line to distinguish between the tactical and strategic use of nuclear weapons, and then educating people on both sides of the Iron Curtain to understand and recognize it. As regards the Russians, this can be achieved only by showing them that it would be in their own interest, as well as that of the West, to observe the distinctions in local war. As regards Western public opinion, it is essential to pursue a policy of far more and far better-informed discussion than any that has taken place up till now. And this in turn hinges on the Government at least knowing its own mind. The Government may defend the ambiguities of its present policy by claiming that greater definition would diminish the deterrent to war, and that in any case the less the public is told about atomic weapons the better. But this is not so. Unless public opinion does become better informed, the current growth of half-knowledge about the terrible effects of major nuclear weapons will lead to such rigid opposition to their use that the West might find itself committed to the alternatives of total war or surrender.

Fourth, if it really is disputed that distinctions between big and little nuclear wars are practicable, then the present costly policy of developing large quantities of small-scale atomic weapons is already wrong. Some would certainly be required, it is true, in support of ground troops in the opening days of an attack, for instance, on the NATO area. But once the decisive major weapons were involved in a global war, a decision would be reached relatively quickly and in would not depend on what had happened on

the ground. Already acceptance of these distinctions is inherent, even if not openly admitted, in Western defense policy. And to reject the basis for them at this stage would be to condemn an immense amount of existing expenditure as a great waste of public money.

Fifth, Western Europe is a special case make it a vital area to both sides. Some of the lessons of limited war may apply. But, by and large, peace will be maintained on the central front in Western Europe by virtue of the overall thermonuclear stalemate.

Sixth, an important byproduct of establishing effective distinctions between different types and uses of atomic weapons will be made ecentual international control and disarmament easier.

Karl Marx—The Almost Capitalist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article entitled "Karl Marx: The Almost Capitalist" written by Mr. Louis O. Kelso and printed in the March 1957 issue of the American Bar Association Journal:

KARL MARX, THE ALMOST CAPITALIST

(By Louis O. Kelso)

England of the mid-19th century, in the throes of the industrial revolution, was not a pleasant place to work. Anyone who entertains the contrary idea need merely consult the writings of the economists of that period, or its historians, or even its novelists, such as Dickens.

It was against a background of the disintegration of the agricultural economy of England, and the human chaos incident to the industrialization of production that Karl Marx set himself the task of improving the lot of the factory worker.

Beginning slowly during the first 75 years of the 18th century and reaching a crescendo during the last quarter of that century and the first half of the 19th century, incalculable changes took place in the lives of laboring people. The transformation was initiated first by the intensification of the division of labor and later by the crowding of workers into hand or hand-and-machine factories. This phase was, in factory after factory, followed by the mechanization of progressively more of the manual tasks, shifting to animal power, then water power and wind power, and then to steam for basic motive power.

The resulting disorganization in the lives of the people affected was stupendous and frightful. Only the few who were quick to adapt themselves to the era of the machine were able to avoid the destruction—frequently successive destructions—of their means of livelihood through the radical changes resulting from rapid technical obsolescence of the methods of production. The impact of these swift transformations was more than could be safely digested and absorbed by the farm populations which began to turn to the industrial cities for their means of living.

The division and subdivision of tasks once calling for the most highly developed skills until the tasks could be performed in many instances by women and children provided the opportunity, and the indigence entailed in the shifting from an agricultural life to dependence upon the fluctuating employment in factories provided the inducement: thousands of parents exploited their children by forcing them into the factories. Wives neglected their families to become factory employees. The full fury of competition between man and machine, between merchants, between manufacturers, and between nations was unleashed among people who had not the faintest idea of its implications. Methods by which producers could become reasonably informed about markets were almost wholly lacking. Laws against adulteration of products had not yet been enacted. Industrial safety codes and means of compensating the dependents of injured workmen were unknown. The sanitary conditions of factories in general were incredibly bad. An employer who worked the men, women, and children in his factories only 12 hours a day was something of a public-spirited paternalist. Foreign trade brought the local supplier into competition with foreign producers he had never seen or heard of.

Newly born industrial enterprises and the people whose fortunes were tied to them, learned the nature of industrial production primarily by successive bitter experiences. Businesses ran through constantly recurring cycles of expansion, boom, overproduction, liquidation, and depression. Superimposed upon this disorganizing parade of booms and slumps were the disrupting effects of primitive money and credit systems providing mediums of exchange containing built-in erratic gyrations of their own. The money system of Great Britain, like that of other countries experiencing the industrial revolution, suffered not merely from irresponsible banking, inadequate knowledge, poorly designed regulatory laws, and rampant exploitation of the opportunities for financial fraud, but also from the results of heavy importations of gold and silver—the monetary metals—from the New World.

Without analyzing here the causes, we need merely note that the problems of the workers fell upon deaf political ears in Britain and elsewhere as the industrial revolution progressed, until their agonized suffering reached the notoriety of an unsuppressible public scandal. Even then, the factory owners, who could point proudly to the fact that for the first time in history, per capita increase in the output of goods and services was beginning to race ahead, had no basis in experience for knowing whether they could at once be humane in their labor relations and still maintain their positions in the unprecedented hurly-burly of competition.

MARX' WORK—THE CAUSE OF INJUSTICE

Against this background, in which the mere outlines of industrial production under free enterprise were vaguely taking shape, Marx set himself the task of finding the cause of economic injustice. His masterpiece, Capital, draws and documents the picture of the industrial revolution from the standpoint of the industrial worker. He was the one primarily responsible for having attached the name "capitalism" to the theretofore unclassified economic system of Great Britain. Marx' source materials, in addition to his own indefatigable personal studies of factory life, were the reports of the Royal Commissioners on the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Trades and Manufactures, the Reports of the Inspectors of Factories (who were appointed under the Factories Regulation Acts of 1859), the Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors on the Wages of Agricultural Laborers, the Reports of the Select Committee (of the House of Commons) on the Adulteration of Food, and other official documents, as well as the writings of the economists of his day.

Because of the dire suffering of the industrial workers, Marx, who knew the facts and knew how to describe them, made a powerful emotional case for economic reforms to improve the lot of the worker. Since the actual operation of the system, which he called "capitalistic" was as enormously beneficial to the segment—less than 10 percent—of the population who owned the factories as it was destructively detrimental to most of the 90 percent who worked in them, Marx could have led a revolt against the established order by pointing to this disparity alone. But he did not choose to do so. He made the most painstaking and ponderous effort to seek out the cause of the injustice.

At length, Marx rendered his verdict. The malefactor, the cause of all this limitless human misery, was the capitalist. His crime, felonious by all canons of human decency and fairness, was the unrecompensed piracy from the defenseless industrial workers of most of the wealth which they alone created. No plunder in history, said Marx, could compare with the enormity of the offense of the capitalist who, without working himself, appropriated the products of the worker, leaving the worker with only the minimum amount paid as slave-wages to keep him alive and to enable him to produce.

MARX AND CAPITALISM—THEY ALMOST MEET IN THE DARK

The root of all of the evil Marx surveyed was, he concluded, the private ownership of the means of production. The emotional case which he built in favor of a revolution to improve the position of the industrial worker was mountainous. The method of carrying out the revolution, he advocated, was for the workers to seize the government by force and then to use the state to expropriate the ownership of capital. Unfortunately, the moral truth of the massive case which Marx marshaled for improvement of the lot of the industrial worker was dwarfed by the magnitude of his error in assigning as the cause of the maldistribution of wealth, the private ownership of capital.

In the course of his investigation, Marx actually saw, but was prevented by this error from comprehending, the underlying principles of capitalism. Since there can be no doubt about Marx' honest effort and fierce desire to find the key to a workable industrial economy, we are justified in venturing the speculation that had Marx understood the implications of the principles of capitalistic distribution which presented themselves to him as appearances only, he might have become a revolutionary capitalist instead of a revolutionary socialist.

Karl Marx, as he reflected upon the causes of economic injustice in the first century of capitalism, came to a conclusion as momentous as it was mistaken. The world was to suffer as much from the critical error of the decision as it had suffered to provoke Marx to make it. Had he not been blinded by a borrowed myth, Marx might well have proclaimed, "People of the world, unite. Extend the benefits of capitalism to all mankind." Instead, he exhorted the workers of the world to unite and "throw off the chains" of capitalism.

Had Marx chosen the capitalistic alternative rather than the socialistic one, the world would be a vastly different place in which to live today. Without the false and seductive promises of socialism, Russia, the nation built on Marxism, would be without the principal rhetorical weapon which it uses to seduce the minds of men.

Yet it is a fact that Marx actually considered the problems which should have led him to discover capitalism. But for three basic errors in reasoning, Marx might have been looked upon today as the apostle of capitalism rather than its detractor and tormentor.

The three mistakes that turned Marx away from capitalism rather than towards it, have made Marx the false prophet of the industrial worker. Together with the Socialist writers who have followed in his footsteps, Marx deprived generations of workers from realizing that in capitalism—not in socialism—lies their hope for economic well-being, the good life, and political freedom.

THREE MISTAKES—THE COURSE OF HISTORY CHANGES

The three errors which Marx made were these:

1. His adoption of the labor theory of value which had previously been advanced by David Ricardo.

2. His failure to understand that the private ownership of property, including capital instruments, is indispensable to political freedom; in short, his failure to understand the menace to human freedom of the ownership of the means of production by the state.

3. His mistaking the wealth produced by capital for surplus value, that is, value which he thought was created by labor and stolen from the laborer by the capitalist.

Let us examine each of these mistakes. In the course of doing this, we shall see in each case how closely Marx came to acknowledging the actual principles of capitalism. Yet in every case, having grasped the principles, he also rejected them because of his fundamental errors.

Error No. 1: The labor theory of value.

Except for the few wants which man can satisfy directly by things adequately supplied by nature, human labor, for untold ages, had been the primary source of the creation of wealth. Man, with his hands and his brain, has given value to raw materials found in nature by imparting to them qualities which render them able to satisfy his wants. Similarly, man has performed personal services for himself or for others which have also satisfied needs. Nothing is more obvious than that man must wrest his living from nature through the cleverness of his mind, the strength of his muscles, and the skill of his body. Since, at the outset, then, man was the only acting force, the idea that all changes in nature's raw materials were wrought by man alone was both obvious and indisputable. The labor theory of value—the idea that labor is the only agency capable of creating wealth, i. e., adding value to raw materials and performing services—must have been approximately correct in primitive times and, to a lesser degree, in preindustrial economies.

But once men applied their intelligence to constructing tools and machines which were able to produce wealth, or at least to cooperate with human labor in the production of wealth, a basic change occurred, the significance of which was not at once fully appreciated. The fact that all economic value was not created by labor, but rather by labor and capital together, was obscured by the fact that, in the early stages of machine production, machines were usually operated by their owners. As a result, the services of the machines were indistinguishably commingled with those of the machine owner and so there was yet no occasion for recognizing the separate economic functions of each.

The significance of the labor theory of value is more than academic. If labor is the source of all value created in the productive process, then labor has a valid moral claim to all wealth created through production. Then the only moral claim of the owner of capital is to have his capital restored to him, that is, to get back the value of his capital with compensation for the effects of wear, tear, and obsolescence. Honestly to reach his conclusion that the capitalist was thieving from the laborer, Marx had only to believe that labor did in fact create all economic value (that is, the values added to raw materials found in nature).

But confronted with the fact that capital instruments were actually performing more and more of the functions which added value to raw materials and were even beginning to compete with labor in the performance of purely service activities, Marx could not prove the proposition that labor was the sole creator of value and he did not try. He merely asserted, again and again, that the proposition was historically true and that its truth was of very recent discovery. All commodities, including capital instruments, said Marx, "are only definite masses of congealed labor time" (Capital, Modern Library Edition, page 46, New York.)

"The recent scientific discovery that the products of labor, so far as they are values, are but material expressions of the human labor spent in their production, marks, indeed, an epoch in the history of the development of the human race, but by no means dissipates the mist through which the social character of labor appears to us to be an objective character of the products themselves." Marx is here saying flatly what he elsewhere elaborates—that although capital instruments appear to create wealth, this is merely an illusion, and that there is some sort of mysterious "congealed labor" hidden in the capital instrument which enables it to give value to its products.

At this point Marx actually saw one of the basic principles of capitalism: that capital instruments do create wealth, just as labor does. But he rejected the idea as an "appearance" only and held doggedly to his belief that only labor could create wealth. By denying the obvious, that in an ever-increasing number of instances, the performance of particular production tasks may be carried out alternatively either by labor or capital instruments; and by asserting that regardless which method was used, the capital instruments owned by a "capitalist," were in fact, "labor instruments"; and by concluding that whichever method was used, labor in fact created all the value, Marx put the capitalist in the unethical role of getting something for nothing.

Today we are not merely familiar with the phenomenon of machines to make machines, we are also acquainted with the trend to make automated machines with automated machines. Nevertheless, tracing the process backward through several technological generations sooner or later brings one to the point where the predecessor of a particular machine was made by hand labor. Since Marx regarded human labor not only as an ingredient in an economic product, but as the only ingredient other than raw materials provided by nature, the problem of machines made largely by machines was a disconcerting one for him.

The value of a product, he said, is determined by the amount of labor time it contains. After a few technological generations of producing machines primarily by machines, what could be said of the machine which, although it contained almost no value in terms of man-hours and required very little assistance from labor in the form of an operator's man-hours, turned out a vast quantity of products, all of which sold for very good prices?

Marx actually considered this problem. How could he square the labor theory of value with a machine containing very little value (in terms of man-hours of labor) which at the same time is operated with very few man-hours of labor, yet which produces a great amount of wealth? Confronted with this problem, Marx might have announced another of the basic principles of capitalism: that the productiveness, the productivity of capital instruments, in comparison with that of labor (other than the top echelon of labor consisting of management and technical workers) is steadily rising. But here again Marx rejected the clearly discernible truth and supplanted it with a corollary to the labor theory of value.

In this case, he said, the machine, after yielding up what little "value" it contains, works gratuitously, just as the sun works ripening the corn in the field. Marx here came within a hair's breadth of recognizing the increasing productivity of capital instruments in comparison with that of labor. Had he allowed himself to see the point, it is safe to assume that a man of Marx' sincerity would have cried, "If capital instruments are the source of the increasing production of wealth in an industrial economy, the owners of capital instruments are rightly the persons who should receive the proceeds of the wealth so produced. Let us then set as our goal the greatest possible accumulation and perfection of capital instruments for the greater production of wealth. And let us so regulate our economy as to extend the opportunity of engaging in production through the ownership of capital instruments to an ever-increasing proportion of the population."

Marx missed this critical point. Faced with the spectacle of the production of vast wealth through a large contributory effort by capital instruments and a negligible contribution by labor, Marx could merely say: "In modern industry man succeeded for the first time in making the product of his past labor work on a large scale gratuitously, like the forces of nature." Thus did Marx substitute for objective analysis the dogma he had borrowed from Ricardo.

Error No. 2: Marx' failure to understand the political significance of property.

Before examining Marx' second critical error, it may be helpful to take note of what the concept "property" means in law and economics. It is an aggregate of the rights, powers, and privileges, recognized by the laws of the Nation, which an individual may possess with respect to various objects. Property is not the object owned, but the sum total of the "rights" which an individual may "own" in such an object. These in general include the rights of (1) possessing, (2) excluding others, (3) disposing or transferring, (4) using, (5) enjoying the fruits, profits, product or increase, and (6) of destroying or injuring, if the owner so desires. In a civilized society, these rights are only as effective as the laws which provide for their enforcement. The English common law, adopted into the fabric of American law, recognizes that the rights of property are subject to the limitations that (1) things owned may not be so used as to injure others or the property of others, and (2) that they may not be used in ways contrary to the general welfare of the people as a whole. From this definition of private property, a purely functional and practical understanding of the nature of property becomes clear. Property in everyday life, is the right of control.

Property in land: With respect to property in land, we need merely note that the acquisition of an original title to land from a sovereign is a political act, and not the result of operations of the economy. If the original distribution of land unduly favors any group or type of persons, it is a political defect and not a defect in the operation of the economy as such. A capitalistic economy assumes and recognizes the private ownership of land. It may, as under the Federal and State mining laws and Federal homestead acts, encourage private ownership of land by facilitating private purchasing of mining, timber, agricultural, residential, or recreational lands.

Property in capital: In a capitalistic economy, private ownership in all other articles of wealth is equal in importance to property in land. From the standpoint of the distributive aspects of a capitalistic economy, property in capital—the tools, machinery, equipment, plants, power systems, railroads,

trucks, tractors, factories, financial working capital, and the like—is of special significance. This is true because of the growing dependence of production upon capital instruments.

Of the three components of production land is the passive source of almost all material things except those which come from the air and the sea, while labor and capital are the active factors of production. Labor and capital produce the goods and services of the economy, using raw materials obtained, for the most part, from land. Just as private property in land includes the right to all rents, the proceeds of sale of minerals and other elements or substances contained in land, private property in capital includes the right to the wealth produced by capital. The value added to iron ore by the capital instruments of a steel mill becomes the property of the owners of the steel mill. So in the case of all other capital instruments.

Property in labor: What is the relationship of the worker to the value which he creates through his work? It has been said that no one has ever questioned the right of a worker to the fruits of his labor. Actually, as was long ago recognized by John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau, the right of the worker to the value he creates is nothing more than the particular type of private property applicable to labor. Each worker, they said, has a right of private property in his capacity to produce wealth through his labor and in the value which he creates.

Marx and property: Marx did not err in his understanding of the dependence of capitalism upon private property. In fact, the Communists, following Marx, appreciate this absolute dependence more than do non-Communists, many of whom influenced by the conviction that Marx is full of errors, have falsely entertained the idea that this is one of them.

Marx, however mistaken he was in his program for achieving the economic changes he thought were needed, cannot be charged with having intended to worsen the economic and political condition of modern man. The facts of his life and character permits us little doubt that his intention was to eliminate suffering by substituting a fairer distribution of ecoonmic goods and services, and through this, a more equitable distribution of leisure and the opportunity to lead a good life. Marx was rightly, if also vehemently, critical of the exploitation of the many by the few.

Had Marx seen that the socialization of capital (i. e., its ownership by the state) would of necessity place the control of capital in the hands of those currently wielding political power, thereby unifying economic and political power, the two basic sources of social power, we can assume that Marx would not have advocated the destruction of private property in capital instruments. If the factory owners of the 19th century, having political influence but not unlimited political power, were in a position to exploit the worker, the bureaucrats of the 20th century in a socialized state, possessing not only unlimited political power, but also unlimited economic power through ownership (i. e., control) of the instruments of production, are infinitely better equipped to exploit workers and other nonbureaucrats. What better proof of this than Russia and the Russian satellites?

THE COMMUNIST POLITICIAN—A TRUE TYRANNICAL CAPITALIST

It is the Communist politician who sees in Marxism the opportunity for personal power and wealth which Marx, if we may take him at his word, failed to perceive. The Communist politician perceives in communism the personal advantage to himself which comes with the transfer of property (working control) in the means of production to the state, and the elevation of himself to a place in the management of the state. The Communist politician is thus able to epitomize in himself the kind of tyrannical capitalist Marx declaimed against, with the further opportunity for unlimited despotism that is inherent in the fusion of political power and economic power in the same hands.

Marx' failure to perceive the political significance of private property has allowed his doctrine to furnish the most perfectly designed ruse for potential tyrants that has ever been devised. In the name of benefiting society as a whole, the actual control of the capital instruments and land is placed in the hands of those wielding political power.

Marx' second great error prevented him from seeing that the ideal "classless society," of which he dreamed, is not one in which a political group in power has the function of distributing wealth. It is rather the political economy in which the individual ownership of property—particularly capital instruments—is spread over the entire population. Only such a broad distribution of private economic power can guarantee individual freedom and the power of the people as a whole to limit or turn out at will a political group in power.

Marx was actually on the verge of recognizing that, so long as men are what they are, capitalism is the only possible classless society. His failure to do so derives from his failure to understand the political significance of private property. He consequently also failed to understand the political significance of state ownership in a Socialist state. To concentrate control over the means of production in a political group is to establish that administration as a class—an all-powerful class—and to remove all possibility, so long as such a group exercises its power fully and ruthlessly, to overthrow such despotism by means other than force.

Marx recognized that the men who were the owners of productive property also enjoyed individuality, leisure and opportunities for culture and education. (Ibid., p. 581.) This being so, it is nothing short of fantastic that he brought himself to these illogical conclusions: (1) Destroy private ownership of productive property. (2) Make all men workers. (3) Appropriate all wealth produced in excess of that required to sustain workers, and let it be distributed by the state as its political leaders see fit.

The political commissars, however, who employ Marx' ideas for their own purposes—the exploitation of power and wealth which socialism offers to a ruling bureaucracy—are not so illogical. The destruction of private property in the means of production is their guaranty of self-perpetuation.

There is a Marxian tenet that the nature of a society is determined by the mode of production (whether agricultural or industrial), and the ownership of the means of production. It is sound. The conclusions here reached are within and consistent with this fundamental insight.

Thus the second great Marxian error caused Marx to seek in socialism what he could have found only in capitalism.

Error No. 3: Mistaking the wealth created by capital for wealth created by labor and stolen by the capitalists. Each of the three critical mistakes which Marx made in his study of capitalism arose from the fact that he began his analysis with a study of distribution, rather than with a study of production. At the distributive end something less than a tenth of the population, for the most part owners of land and capital, were faring infinitely better—receiving a proportionately greater share—than were the other nine-tenths, whose only participation in economic activity was as workers or as recipients of public charity under the poor laws. The pattern of distribution was bad from whatever standpoint it might be judged. Those who were receiving the great share were the capitalists, the owners of the expanding industrial and commercial enterprises.

For Marx, capitalism was simply what he observed in the European world around him, and primarily in Great Britain. Since the distributive pattern was unsatisfactory, capitalists and capitalism, he concluded, must be at fault. Labor had historically been the source of all production of wealth, and the workers were now receiving a progressively smaller proportion of the proceeds of production. Down with capitalism.

Had Marx started with an objective analysis of production and a deeper insight into the property-freedom relation, he might well have concluded with a declaration of war against capitalists for hoarding capitalism.

Let us now examine once more the principles of capitalistic production that Marx might and should have used as a starting point. In an exchange economy, and particularly in an economy of freely competitive markets, each service and each commodity is valued for its peculiar ability to satisfy a certain desire of the consumer. Whether the service or commodity is produced by labor alone or by capital alone or by the cooperation of these two, is unimportant to the potential purchaser except as the method of production implants specific characteristics in the thing marketed. It is the finished product which is demanded by the purchaser, not the knowledge that it is produced in one way or another—a mere means by which the product was brought forth. Contrary to what some sentimentalists think, there is nothing sacred about the products of labor that is not equally sacred about the products of capital or those produced jointly by capital and labor.

To effect any change in the nature or position of material goods or to perform any kind of a service, material goods must be acted upon. Marx recognized this; but, because of his obsession with the labor theory of value, he contended that only labor could be credited with the value of material goods produced or services performed. "Useful labor," he said, "is an eternal necessity imposed by Nature without which there can be no material exchanged between man and Nature, and therefore no life." To effect such changes in matter, or to perform such services, purely physical, that is, mechanical means, must be used. With rare exceptions, pure thought is not economically compensable. Speech, writings, mechanical action—all these things, performed by man, are capable of entering into economic transactions. The thought behind such speech, writings, mechanical action, is not by itself capable of entering into ordinary commerce.

Man as a nonscientific and nonmanagerial subsistence-laborer is, from the standpoint of economics (aside from his separate nature and position as the consumer), a primitive, low-horsepower engine, relatively clumsy and of brief durability, for the production of economic goods. Man the worker, except in the fields of science and management, has grown steadily less impressive since the onset of the industrial revolution. He can work 8, 10, or 12 hours at a stretch and then must rest. His strength and speed of action are quite limited. He is subject to numerous ailments, often adversely affected by climate, temperamental and not infrequently lazy. He makes many mistakes. As a factor in the production of wealth, man is progressively less successful in competing with capital instruments, except, again, as a scientist or as manager.

It is not as a worker that man is master of the earth. It is as the intelligence behind all production, and as the consumer—the reason for production and the destiny of the things produced—that he is supreme.

It may well be that confusion between man the worker and man the thinker—the

source of all ideas and plans—contributed as much as any cause to Marx' failure to recognize capital as a producer of wealth in the same sense that labor is. Mental activity enters into economic transactions primarily in two ways:

1. The mental activity of the scientist and manager is responsible for the invention, development, improvement, and production of capital instruments, and the supervision of productive activity of both laborers and capital instruments. Scientists and managers are in general the top echelon of labor—the professional level. Their services include entrepreneurial activities, in which they provide the initiative in organizing the capital and labor to institute or expand particular business activities. A substantial portion of their services is rendered in improving the productivity of capital instruments, thus promoting the substitution of machines for men and otherwise reducing labor requirements, where to do so will reduce the costs of production and render the businesses in which they are engaged more efficient and competitively better. The steady improvements in capital instruments, systems of production, and organization of productive processes, are the results of the mental activity of the scientists and managers. Their ability to produce in these fields is the secret of their rising productiveness and the increased demand for their services.

2. Mental activity enters into nonscientific work and nonmanagerial work in varying degrees. The intelligent direction by the worker of his own activities is incidental to the mechanical work performed by him. Labor is compensated for a particular type of service of a physical nature which could not be rendered in the absence of intelligent direction on the part of the worker himself.

Marx recognized that machines and men are competitors in the sense that scientists and managers, in carrying out their function to produce goods and services in a competitive market, strive to eliminate labor costs and to improve upon hand methods of production. "The instrument of labor [meaning, of course, machines, the instruments of the capitalist] when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself." In speaking of this competition, Marx comes as near as possible to recognizing that capital instruments are active forces in the production of wealth, performing an economic function of the same sort as labor, and frequently performing functions which can interchangeably be performed by either.

Marx observes that in the case of the handcraft industries, "the workmen are parts of a living mechanism. In the factory we have a lifeless mechanism independent of the workman, who becomes its mere living appendage. * * * By means of its conversion into an automaton, the instrument of labor confronts the laborer, during the labor process, in the shape of capital, of dead labor, which dominates and pumps dry living labor power. The separation of the intellectual powers of production from the manual labor, and the conversion of those powers into the might of capital over labor, is, as we have already shown, finally completed by modern industry erected on the foundation of machinery. The special skill of each individual insignificant factory operative vanishes as an infinitesimal quantity before the science, the gigantic physical forces, and the mass of labor that are embodied in the factory mechanism and, together with that mechanism, constitute the power of the 'master'." It may well have been Marx's failure to recognize that capital instruments in practice supplant not only physical forces but intelligence, that deterred him from recognizing that capital works just as labor works.

Whether Marx could have closed his eyes to the facts of production in the now-dawning age of automation is an interesting speculation. Yet even in Marx's own day it should have been possible for him to recognize that the scientists (engineers) in designing capital instruments build into these instruments the capability of performing operations which, if performed by labor, would require the application of brainwork. His obsession with the labor theory of value rendered him incapable of this insight.

But today, with the development of feedback, self-correcting and self-programing machines, capable of automatically performing a sequence of logical operations, correcting their own errors as they perform their productive tasks, choosing from built-in instructions or characteristics their proper functions, it is likely that even Marx would have broken through his barrier obsession that labor does all the work.

Human minds ultimately direct the production of goods and services. This is true of the functions of capital instruments as it is of workers. As a production process uses more and more capital instruments, more of the human mental control of the process of production is shifted away from workers to scientists (and their mechanical progeny) and to management. Thus the private ownership of labor is not, in action, essentially different from the private ownership of capital. Each involves the right of control of an active means of production, the right to take the fruits of such production, to produce where and when the owner desires, and to accept or reject conditions of production. The most significant difference is that the owner of capital instruments is not required to be personally present in the productive process; he produces, or in any event he may produce, vicariously. Mental activity as such is not the basis of the property rights of either labor or capital owners in wealth produced.

What difference would it have made to Marx' theory of capitalistic economics if he had recognized both the power of labor and the power of capital instruments to create wealth? It would have made all possible difference.

If all wealth is created by labor, and if the total wealth created is in excess of that distributed to labor on the basis of the market value of labor, then the excess is surplus value. This surplus value, according to Marx, is something really stolen from labor by the capitalist. It is elementary that wealth belongs to him who creates it, and if only labor can create wealth and capital instruments cannot create wealth, then the owners of capital have no possible claim to a share in the proceeds of production. The most they could legitimately claim would be to have the value of their original capital, which has been partly or wholly consumed in the productive process.

More About John M. Blair and His Philosophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, since we are hearing a lot about the Senate's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, the following editorial from the May 25, 1957, issue of the National Review is of timely interest:

Under the chairmanship of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, the Senate's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee is about to launch a riproaring, muckraking investigation of American business practices, a project that, the chairman is undoubtedly hoping, will carry him to the 1960 Democratic Presidential nomination. For chief economist in this inquiry, Senator KEFAUVER has hired one John M. Blair. Mr. Blair is author of a book named Seeds of Destruction, greeted upon publication in 1938 by the enthusiastic applause of the English Marxist, Harold Laski. The book's thesis, argued by standard Marxian dialectical proofs, is simple, namely: That capitalism and private enterprise are no good, that they throw the masses out of work, lower their real living standards, and pile up luxuries in the hands of the upper classes. It is not on record that Mr. Blair has repudiated or changed his views. It takes the oldtimers back to the good old New Deal days when the staffs of similar congressional committees were being run by Alger Hiss, Lee Pressman, John Abt, Henry Collins, and friends.

Congress Makes Mistake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, for months I did everything I could possibly do to persuade the House Appropriations Committee, not only to recognize a moral obligation to the western mining industry which acted in good faith in reliance of Public Law 733, and to the Government's direct appeal to produce tungsten, but to appropriate the $30 million authorized by the law in order to avoid what would otherwise be a crippling blow to the domestic mining industry.

What I predicted has come to pass. It is also with deep regret that I feel compelled to insert in the RECORD today, a letter addressed to me by K. C. Li, chairman of the Wah Chang Corp., which informs me of the demise of an entire town in my State.

Unfortunately many of my colleagues, in all conscience, could not visualize the consequence of permitting Public Law 733 to die. It was a promise by the Congress to the people.

The letter follows:

WAH CHANG CORP.,
New York, N. Y., July 16, 1957.
Representative WALTER S. BARING,
Congressman for Nevada,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BARING: Thank you for your letter of July 10.

Since I know your deep interest in this matter, I take the liberty of reporting to you, with profound regret, the action of our board of directors in closing the Lincoln mine at Templute, Nev., until further notice. A copy of the board's instructions suspending operation until such time as Public Law 733 is reactivated or until the long-range program promised by the President is promulgated, is attached.

I am sure, Representative BARING, as one who has worked so industriously for the continuance of the tungsten industry, this deci-

sion, made necessary by the failure of the House of Representatives to appropriate the necessary funds, in spite of your gallant efforts, will be a great disappointment to you as it is to me.

It is a pity that the growing town of Tempiute will have to be abandoned. Several hundred people are presently bereft of a livelihood and will be forced to pull up roots and migrate to other places. The loss to the State of Nevada and county of Lincoln in revenue will be substantial.

As for Wah Chang, the venture has been a losing one but we have gained a measure of satisfaction in that we feel we have accomplished what many considered impossible, namely the establishment of an industry in Tempiute with real potential contributing to the independence of our country in the production of a vital and strategic mineral, sorely needed at the time of its inception in 1951. At the close of 1956, the production rate of tungsten in the United States was 1 million units annually, making our country the world's largest producer, and production at Tempiute was a substantial factor in this achievement.

We have built a town in the wilderness, supplied it with electricity by constructing a 63-mile powerline, and provided ample water and services incidental to life in an independent community. We pray that in some way Tempiute can again be of service to the State of Nevada, rather than become a blighted ghost town reminiscent of a past era.

The mine and mill are equipped with the most modern machinery capable of producing more than 100,000 units of tungsten per year. What a tragedy that all this must be abandoned.

My associates join with me in the expression of our deep appreciation to you, dear Congressman, and to your staff for your understanding and sympathy of our position in this matter.

Faithfully yours,

K. C. LI, *Chairman.*

H. R. 8002—Perhaps the Most Dangerous Bill of This Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 8002, the so-called accrued expenditure bill, is scheduled for House floor consideration within the next few days. It is opposed by practically everyone who has been exposed to it heretofore. It is favored by many who unfortunately have been misled by extravagant claims of savings and who do not really understand that every major argument advanced for it is without real substance. The truth is, the bill, if adopted, will cost the Treasury money rather than save any money.

Under leave to extend, I include an excellent summary by the Honorable JOHN TABER of the effects the bill would have. He knows something about the business of appropriating. He refers to H. R. 8002 as "perhaps the most dangerous bill that has been brought before the House at this session."

His letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 2, 1957.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: Because I feel so strongly that the bill H. R. 8002 is a very dangerous bill, perhaps the most dangerous bill that has been brought before the House at this session, I feel impelled to write to you and ask you to join with those of us who understand it and oppose it.

This bill will make it easy to get appropriations in large amounts by way of contract authorizations, and absolutely destroy the power of the Appropriations Committee to keep things in line and give the United States Treasury a chance. It will utterly destroy all prospects of a tax cut and break down our hopes of balancing the Budget. It is going to make membership upon the Appropriations Committee an almost impossible task, and I feel that I am justified in submitting this to you.

It is so easy to get an appropriation for a small amount tied to a contract authorization for a big amount that we will not be able to stop any raid on the Treasury, no matter what it is, if this proposal is adopted.

May I quote in part from the Report of a Temporary Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, which subcommittee was appointed to study the administration plan to improve Congressional control of the Budget: "it is the view of the subcommittee that the accrued expenditure method should not be adopted. It has disadvantages and offers no improvement. The best system that can be devised ought to be employed, but the accrued expenditure method is not it."

The spenders are delighted with this kind of an approach because they know it will be easy to get money and impossible for those who would like to save to stop it. The departments tend to get better prices on things they buy when they have the appropriations in hand.

Those who advocate the accrued expenditure basis lay great store by the idea that the present large unexpended appropriation carryovers are a problem but the fact is with the contract authority procedure there are also large unexpended balances. The fact of the matter is that the Appropriations Committee reviews all unexpended balances at the present time annually, and they go into it so carefully that there is no question but what they know what is going on and appropriations which have been made that are not needed longer are recovered.

The passage of this bill means not only greater spending but it means practically giving up the control which the power of the purse has given to the Congress and which has been the source of our liberties.

I hope that you will join in trying to stop this dangerous bill.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN TABER.

The Late Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the Menominee Indian Advisory Council in memory of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy:

A RESOLUTION F-16 (1957)

Resolved by the Menominee Indian Advisory Council in regular meeting assembled this 14th day of May 1957, on behalf of the Menominee Indian Tribe, That we do hereby convey to the family of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, its sincere sympathy and condolence in the passing from this world of Senator McCarthy.

Resolved further, That the advisory council, on behalf of the Menominee tribe, pays this special tribute to a great man who devoted many years of his lifetime as a valuable and devoted friend of the Menominees. His relationship with this tribe as a whole was one that stands out as an example of good fellowship and can be best exemplified by the many friends he made in this tribe.

It is our prayer that his soul may rest in peace.

A MOTION

GORDON DICKIE. I move for the adoption of the resolution.

PETER WAUKECHON. I second the motion.

ACTING CHAIRMAN. All those in favor of the motion raise your right hand; contrary; the motion is carried unanimously.

JENNIE WESO,
Acting Chairman and Secretary of Menominee Indian Advisory Council.

The A B C's of Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I am glad indeed to see that now for the first time the press, the daily columnists and news commentators generally are letting the people know what the so-called civil rights bill really is. For some reason, heretofore there has been a blackout on the evils of this legislation. It has been referred to as "a simple little right-to-vote bill." Actually anyone who has studied the measure knows that the part referring to voting rights is one of the lesser parts of the measure and possibly would be the least objectionable part of the bill.

On July 17, 1957, the columnist James Marlow had an enlightening article entitled "The A B C's of Civil Rights" This column appeared in the Northern Virginia Sun as well as in other papers. This article points out some of the evils of the bill and I hope it will be widely read by the people of America. I am convinced that if the American people knew what the bill really contained they would demand that the legislation be defeated promptly.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the article which is as follows:

THE A B C'S OF CIVIL RIGHTS

(An analysis by James Marlow)

WASHINGTON.—This is an A B C on the civil-rights bill, backed by the Eisenhower administration and despised by southern Democrats. In the Senate they'll fight it for weeks.

They'll try to soften it with amendments. But Senator RUSSELL (Democrat), Georgia,

has said the goal is to kill it. Senator ERVIN (Democrat), North Carolina, has said, "It can't be patched up enough to make it palatable."

It has four sections, each of which is in for a rough going-over:

No. 1 would set up a 6-man Commission to study civil-rights problems for 2 years. It seems to give the Commission an almost unlimited field. The Commission could subpena records and witnesses—although only in the States where witnesses live.

Refusal to obey the subpena could land a man in jail. The President would appoint the Commission. The Commission would appoint a staff director, who'd really run the show and who could accept volunteer investigators.

The Senate would have final say—by approval or disapproval—on the Commission members. RUSSELL wants the Senate to have final say on the staff director, too. This would give southerners a voice in picking him.

And RUSSELL wants no volunteer investigators. He said he wants to avoid trouble from "long-haired or short-haired reformers."

No. 2 would create a new Assistant Attorney General to preside over a new civil-rights division in the Justice Department. Now there is only a civil-rights section in the criminal division.

No. 3 is an extremely wide ranging piece of legislation. Southerners storm over this, want it knocked out entirely. It would give the Attorney General brand new powers in the civil-rights field.

No one yet has listed all the civil-rights situations into which he could step under No. 3. Attorney General Brownell himself has said he could use it to back up the Supreme Court's ban on public-school segregation.

It would amend several old laws—going back to 1861 and 1871—on civil rights. Now, under those laws, an individual whose civil rights are violated can sue for damages and ask a Federal judge for an injunction.

Tacking No. 3 onto those old laws would mean that the Attorney General, without waiting for an individual to act, could ask a Federal judge for an injunction to stop civil-rights violations in a variety of fields.

Anyone disobeying the order could be tried by the judge himself—without a jury—and sent to jail for contempt of court.

Another old law on the books—passed to support those laws of 1861 and 1871—authorizes the President to call out the troops to back up a court order.

Thus section 3—by amending those old laws to which the calling-out-the-troops law now applies—would give the President authority to call out the troops to back up a court order issued under No. 3 of this bill.

No. 4 would let the attorney general get a court order to stop anyone from interfering with an individual's voting rights. Again, as under No. 3, disobedience would bring trial by a judge, without a jury, and possibly a jail term.

Southerners protest that in such a case a man should get a jury trial. Brownell has said there's nothing new about trial by judge without a jury for contempt of court. He has cited 28 laws under which this can be done.

The bill's supporters argue that action is faster through trial by judge. For example: A voting registrar ordered to stop interfering with a Negro's efforts to vote could, if he disobeyed, be tried by a judge before election. Thus a Negro would still have time to vote.

But a trial by jury in such cases would probably come after an election, still leaving the Negro voteless. And the bill's supporters question whether a southern jury would convict a registrar in such a case.

The Duck Stamp Bill, H. R. 8699

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the contents of the recent issue of the Outdoor News Bulletin, issued biweekly by the Wildlife Management Institute, dated July 19, 1957, setting forth the reasons why the new duck stamp bill, H. R. 8699, authored by my good friend, Congressman FRANK BOYKIN, should be enacted into law.

BULK OF DUCK STAMP FUNDS SLATED FOR LAND PURCHASE

Under the terms of H. R. 8699, a new bill by Congressman FRANK W. BOYKIN (Alabama) that would amend the Migratory Bird Hunting Stamp Act of 1934, a large part of the annual duck stamp receipts actually would go for acquiring land for the national waterfowl refuge program, according to the Wildlife Management Institute.

H. R. 8699 would earmark 65 percent of the duck stamp revenue for land purchases. The remainder would be available for refuge development, maintenance, research, law enforcement, and the printing and distribution of the duck stamps. The measure was drafted to meet the objections of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee Chairman HERBERT C. BONNER of North Carolina to earlier bills which sought to raise additional funds for land purchase either by increasing the duck stamp fee or instituting a Federal matching plan.

The use of the Migratory Bird Hunting Stamp Act revenue has been criticized widely in recent years because of the way in which the nearly $50 million in collections has been dissipated. Sportsmen endorsed the issuance of duck stamps in 1934, and the increase in the fee in 1949, because they thought that the extra cash would be used to speed up the waterfowl refuge land-acquisition program. To their dismay, however, only about $4½ million have been used for that purpose. The greatest part has gone for the routine operations of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

H. R. 8699 would halt the misuse of this special fund by requiring that a significant part be set aside for land purchase. This plan has widespread support in that conservationists believe that the routine operations of the Service should be financed from regular appropriations rather than from the sportsmen's pockets. After all, the Federal Government has well-defined obligations and responsibilities for the preservation of migratory birds under the terms of the Migratory Bird Treaties with Great Britain (Canada) and Mexico.

A second provision of the Boykin bill would authorize the Fish and Wildlife Service to lease or purchase small marshes and potholes as special waterfowl management areas. The aim is to enable the Service to assist the States by helping to compensate for the tremendous loss in natural waterfowl habitat through the drainage of wetlands in the Dakotas and other North Central States and in the wintering grounds. The stimulus of Federal subsidy and technical assistance has accounted for the drainage, and hence the destruction for wildlife purposes, of about 350,000 potholes in the Middle West since 1943. Wildlife leaders are deeply concerned about the impact that wide-scale drainage is having on what is potentially the finest natural waterfowl breeding grounds in the United States.

These so-called waterfowl production areas have their principal value, of course, for the nesting and rearing of waterfowl. Any other use made of them by waterfowl is of lesser importance. It is planned that the areas thus preserved would be kept separate and apart from the national waterfowl refuge system.

The Fish and Wildlife Service, therefore, would not be obliged to establish costly permanent boundary lines, or to patrol the small tracts regularly or prohibit hunting. The major form of hunting near the small wetland areas would be for pheasants and other upland game birds rather than waterfowl.

The main point of this provision is to take a positive step toward protecting more of the remaining small water areas for nesting waterfowl from drainage.

H. R. 8699 has strong public support and Chairman BONNER and the other Members of Congress obviously will be receiving a flood of requests for prompt and favorable attention of this important wildlife legislation.

Opposition to the Foreign-Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government's first obligation is a cut in income taxes rather than a continuation of the foreign-aid program which I call the international charity bazaar sponsored by Washington party givers and paid for by the people back home.

Although there have been many pious intonations regarding the desire to increase individual income-tax exemptions, the general feeling is that Congress will wait another year to take this humane and long-overdue action. Meanwhile, foreign aid is presented as an irrevocable responsibility.

For my part, I believe that the overburdened American taxpayer should be granted immediate relief. Nations which have milked the United States Treasury since the end of World War II should have been weaned long ago.

The $64 billion turned loose all over the world in the past decade through the foreign-aid program is equivalent to the total cost of a twenty-thousand-dollar-plus home for every family in Pennsylvania. While this worldwide project has been continued year after year, Congress has consistently rejected enactment of depressed-area legislation that would provide assistance to our own American citizens in surplus labor regions of this country.

This indifference to the needs of the American citizen first is too fantastic to comprehend. Originally offered as a short-term plan designed to help friendly nations bolster their economies, the foreign-aid program is now pushed as a part of Uncle Sam's necessary annual

expenditures. The bureaucrats who handle the disposal of these grants have, of course, an important personal stake in this lush philanthropy, yet it is difficult to understand how their selfish philosophy can prevail over the interest of the American people.

What is all the more ridiculous is that the current program calls for handouts to Tito and other representatives of communism which our dollars are supposedly combating.

Civil Rights That Breed Civil Wrongs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a timely editorial by David Lawrence, which appeared in the June 19, 1957, issue of the U. S. News & World Report:

CIVIL RIGHTS THAT BREED CIVIL WRONGS
(By David Lawrence)

What is being proposed in Congress these days in the name of civil rights and what is being decreed by the Supreme Court makes a mockery of a written Constitution.

For, under our Constitution as written, there has always been reserved to the States of the Union the right to determine the qualifications of the voters. But now the Federal Government, without the slightest sanction from the same written Constitution, is trying to deprive the States of the right they have always exercised—to specify by law the qualifications for eligible voters. To take away this right is a civil wrong.

Every State has restrictions on the voting privilege. Some require educational tests. Some specify property ownership. Others fix the time of residence within a State. All States fix the age limits. An article on pages 45–47 of this issue gives a summary of such laws.

The right of each State to pass its own laws governing qualifications for voting is not challenged anywhere in the Constitution, except that the right to vote cannot be abridged because of race, color, or sex.

But it is alleged that, under cover of educational or literacy tests, there are some denials of voting rights in the South because of race or color. So the Federal Government, through a civil-rights bill, now is proposing to become a policeman and psychology expert—to inquire into the motives of the State officials everywhere and to harass them by the investigative process of a national commission set up for the purpose.

It is a fact that more than 1,500,000 Negroes do qualify for voting in the South and that, in three southern cities, Negroes have recently been elected to city councils. The issue, therefore, is not whether any Negroes are being permitted to vote, but whether the Federal Government shall review in each case the actions of a State election board on the suspicion that the State's requirements have not been or will not in the future be uniformly applied.

If election boards can be punished, the Federal Government can coerce the Governors and the members of the State legislatures and the mayors of our cities and the governments of our counties.

Is there any limit, then, to the Federal power? Are we to have an era of "civil wrongs" perpetrated in the name of "civil rights"—a return to the tragic follies of the "Reconstruction" years of 1866 to 1880?

The civil-rights legislation now proposed would enable the Federal Government—by force of arms, if necessary—to compel the integration of races in the public schools. This is a "civil wrong."

Furthermore, the proposed law would set up a system whereby suits would be filed in the name of the "United States" instead of by individual complainants. Thus automatically would trial by jury be prohibited. This is a "civil wrong."

But where is there any concern shown by the President and the majority of Congress for the civil rights taken away from white and Negro citizens alike throughout the United States when, against their will, they are obliged to join labor unions to keep from being dismissed by an employer acting under the duress of a labor contract? This is a civil wrong.

Where is there any concern for the civil rights of the tens of millions of citizens, who wish to be protected against the enemy's infiltration of our institutions but who now see the Supreme Court of the United States rewriting the first amendment to the Constitution to permit Communists and Communist sympathizers to be immunized from congressional inquiries? This is a civil wrong.

Where is there any concern for the civil rights of Congress itself when it wishes to obtain by investigation the necessary information for the law-making process but now is impeded by the fiat of a reckless Supreme Court? This is a civil wrong.

Where is there any concern for the civil rights of the American people as a whole when the Supreme Court rules that it is lawful now to advocate publicly the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States?

The establishment of a judicial oligarchy and a Federal despotism is not the way to assure civil rights. It is the way to inflict more civil wrongs.

It is a deliberate defiance of everybody's civil rights, particularly the rights of the people themselves and of the several States as guaranteed to them heretofore by the 10th amendment.

It is the way to disunity and national frustration.

It is the way to a breakdown of the spirit and letter of the Constitution itself.

It is the age-old way of coercion and tyranny that leads inevitably to violence. It is not the way of volition, the way of patient persuasion, the way of reason.

Hon. James B. Bowler

SPEECH
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I want to take advantage of this opportunity to pay my respects to the life and public service of our departed friend, JAMES B. BOWLER. I had the privilege of serving with him on the Committee on Education and Labor during the 83d and 84th Congresses, before he went to serve on the Committee on Appropriations.

Congressman BOWLER had a high sense of duty in the public service. He had served his own Chicago for a period of 50 years before coming to this body. As we sat on the committee together, we sometimes had an occasion to talk before the committee opened its deliberations, and he sometimes told me stories of his public service that were of the greatest interest. On one occasion I suggested to him that he should take the time to write some of his rich experiences into a book.

I found the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. BOWLER, to be a man of very practical mind. It was easy for him to see through conflicting contentions and come to a sound, workable conclusion. He loved the people. He had their interest always uppermost in his mind. He was a kindly man. He suffered much physical pain and anguish, yet he lived in the spirit of the Ella Wilcox poem which says:

Laugh, and the world laughs with you;
Weep, and you weep alone,
For the sad old earth must borrow its mirth,
But has trouble enough of its own.

I was in position to realize that our departed friend carried a heavy burden in his physical limitations, but he never complained. As a matter of fact I never heard him mention it at all.

Mr. BOWLER was a very cooperative person in all his dealings with the Members. He was a good party man. He took great pride in being a good Democrat.

He was a fighter for what he believed in. The things he stood for were good for the people. They were good for the country.

I shall miss his friendship very much.

Proposed Closing of Corona Naval Hospital Protested

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Navy's proposal to close the Corona Naval Hospital has caused a storm of protest from the southern California area. I submit two samples. The first is an editorial from the Long Beach Press Telegram and the second a letter from the Fleet Reserve Association to Representative SAUND in whose congressional district the hospital is located.

CORONA NAVAL HOSPITAL CLOSING WOULD CAUSE SEVERE HARDSHIPS

If a tentative plan for closing the Corona Naval Hospital December 31 is carried out, it will work a severe hardship on thousands of Navy men and their families in Long Beach and the surrounding area.

The Corona Hospital appears on a lengthy list of possible economies by the Navy. This list, the Secretary of the Navy points out, is a tentative plan and not a directive. But even a cursory survey of the situation in this area with regard to Navy medical facilities would show that the Corona establishment is performing a vital service.

It has been the central naval medical facility for the entire region ever since the sharp curtailment in 1954 of services at the Terminal Island Navy Base dispensary. An

estimated 25,000 members of the Armed Forces and their families are served by the Corona Hospital.

The hospital's patient load has been so large that it was necessary, recently, to berth the hospital ship U. S. S. *Haven* in Long Beach as a relief measure.

But the hospital ship could not be considered a replacement of the Corona facility. It has limited personnel and is not suitable for treatment of dependents.

The Navy itself, in its planning for the future, acknowledges the need for hospital facilities in this area. Tentative plans call for a 250-bed naval hospital to be constructed in Long Beach in 1959.

But before such a hospital has been built and is open for service, it would be folly to close down the Corona Naval Hospital.

We can appreciate the reasons for the Navy's review of shore-based establishments. The Navy's ships have become the first line of national defense. Their maintenance is costly.

But the Navy and Congress should think twice before making arbitrary cuts which would eliminate critically needed hospital facilities in an important coastal defense area.

FLEET RESERVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., July 11, 1957.

Hon. D. S. SAUND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SAUND: Members of the Fleet Reserve Association, numbering upward of 50,000 career enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps, have received reports of your opposition to the closing of Corona Naval Hospital with great interest and approval.

This association has several thousand members in the area of the State of California which is served by the United States Naval Hospital, Corona, Calif. These career military personnel, both active and retired, in Long Beach, Los Alamitos, El Toro, March Field, Inyokern, China Lake, Los Angeles and other adjacent areas of California, have come to rely upon these facilities, as evidenced by published press reports that the hospital delivers some 300 babies a month in addition to other treatment of various diseases including polio, tuberculosis, rheumatic fever and other ailments.

Particular attention is invited to the fact that the medicare bill restricted career personnel on the inactive list (retired, Fleet Reserve and Fleet Marine Reserve) to use of military and Public Health Service hospitals, and this use was further restricted by the clause "subject to availability of space and facilities".

It is obvious that elimination of a military facility like Corona, with its 750-bed capacity, will have aded impact on the morale of all military men and women in that area, when one considers that thousands of career military personnel have settled in this area of California, to spend their declining years of life, after having served a full career in the armed services of the United States.

Please be assured of our active support in your endeavors to retain Corona in commission. The big question in everyone's mind is "How does the Navy propose to provide adequate and timely medical service and facilities to personnel in this area if Corona is closed"?

Very respectfully,

R. A. LANGDON,
Administrative Assistant to the National Secretary.

(Copy to Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Representative BOB WILSON, Representative CLYDE DOYLE, Representative CRAIG HOSMER.)

Federal Aid to School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following reprints from various newspapers regarding school construction legislation, prepared by the Division of Legislation and Federal Relations of the National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

These comments are, I believe, indicative of the attitude now prevailing in many areas of our Nation, and I feel they they are indeed worthy of note by the Members of this body.

The reprints follow:

[From the New York Times of June 30, 1957]

FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOLS HAS NOT RESULTED IN FEDERAL CONTROL IN CASES STUDIED

(By Benjamin Fine)

Federal aid to education received support last week from several sources. President Eisenhower again endorsed it in a letter to Republican Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., of New Jersey. And 75 business leaders from across the country signed a statement calling for passage of the measure.

In spite of such indication of support and the steady pressure for Federal aid on the part of organizations like the National Education Association, the aid bill remains bottled up and its prospects are not good.

Because much of the opposition to the bill hinges on the charge that it would mean Federal domination of local school affairs, a study made public by Teachers College, Columbia University, was very timely. The study indicated that Federal aid does not necessarily mean Federal interference.

The study was of some of the 3,000 school districts that now receive Government funds under Public Law 874 because they have swollen enrollments caused by Federal activities in their areas, such as defense plants or military bases.

The estimated amount of Federal aid given these districts in the 1955–56 school year was $90 million.

Under the guidance of the department of educational administration of Teachers College, Dr. Robert I. Sperber studied 500 of the 3,000 school districts. The study found that only a tiny minority of the districts complained of any Federal control over their educational programs, even though they received substantial Government support.

"Federal control over school personnel, the curriculum and instructional programs had not accompanied the distribution of funds," the study concludes.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The specific conclusions that the study reached are:

1. No Federal control had resulted from field examinations of school districts by regional representatives of the Division of School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas, a unit of the Office of Education.

2. Discretionary control powers granted to the United States Commissioner of Education by the law had not led to Federal control.

3 The vast majority of school officials spent very little time in handling matters pertaining to Federal aid.

4. Most school officials felt that citizens were more willing to support their local school programs as a result of receiving Federal aid.

What are the implications of this study? Dr. Sperber contends that Federal control is not likely to occur when Federal-support legislation is carefully conceived and when the Federal officials who administer the program are sensitive to the dangers of Federal control over personnel, curriculum and instructional programs.

The question arises as to whether the lack of control noted under the emergency measure would carry over under the administration bill now in Congress. From all evidence available, the same standards would be observed. As the study points out: The greatest single weapon against Federal control is the feeling of the American people against it. A sensitivity to control and interference has been built up over the century and a half of American history.

[From the Anderson (S. C.) Independent of June 30, 1957]

CHARLESTON PROSPERS ON FEDERAL AID

In Charleston the newspapers constantly harp on the evils and dire consequences of Federal aid and the expenditure of Federal funds to develop national resources.

Paradoxically, much of Charleston's prosperity is derived from Federal spending of one sort or another. Right now they're also looking forward to spending $28 million of South Carolina taxpayers' money on ports improvements for private gain.

In Charleston, also, there is ranting over Federal aid to schools. The papers and States rights politicians say they want none of it.

Yet more than $650,000 in Federal aid to schools in Charleston County is accepted without a murmur of protest.

It must be concluded that in Charleston eyes the spending of taxpayers' money—Federal or State—is an evil practice not to be condoned. Unless, of course, it is spent in Charleston.

[From the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald of July 2, 1957]

BRIGHTER OUTLOOK FOR SCHOOL BILL

WASHINGTON.—The recent civil-rights battle and the overwhelming victory won by the White House-directed liberal group in the House of Representatives may mean a better chance for the controversial Federal aid to education legislation when it comes up in the House very soon.

The vote on the civil-rights bill weakened the already tenuous link between southern Democrats and conservative Republicans. The southern Democrats were willing to trade one of their future votes against the school bill for a GOP vote in favor of the jury-trial amendment to the civil-rights measure.

No Republican came through on the deal as they had in the past, so the Dixiecrats may return the favor and vote for the school bill which many Republicans want to beat.

The Democrats can do this in good faith since their States would be the major beneficiaries under the school-aid program.

[From the Philadelphia Bulletin of July 2, 1957]

EDUCATION TO THE FORE

Philadelphia is host to the National Educational Association in a year when education has grown to become one of the most vital concerns on every level of Government. All of the 48 States are digging into their pockets to find money to finance a tremendously expanding need of the schools. Federal aid to education now has the endorse-

ment of the President, and the measure is high up on the congressional calendar.

Whether or not the NEA will this year see victory in its long battle for Federal aid, the proposition has advanced to the stage where it is no longer looked upon as chimerical. Increasing numbers of Americans have been converted to the NEA's point of view that every American child has a right to an adequate education, no matter where he lives.

Families no longer stay put as much as they did a generation ago. Children born in a locality that cannot afford them a good education turn up as adults in distant cities, and become problems.

With the apparent breakdown in family discipline, an added social responsibility is placed on teachers. Their care of children is not measured by the opening and closing of school doors. The whole life and development of the child is their concern. Surely the bearing of such a responsibility justifies the demand that teachers be granted salaries in line with their professional obligations.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of July 3, 1957]

THE TEACHERS AND FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

The emphasis placed by the National Education Association on Federal aid for school construction in the present period of unusual expansion and overcrowded classrooms entails certain dangers of which the teachers gathered in this city are not unaware.

That is why their representatives were at such great pains to qualify a request for more vigorous Presidential support of emergency legislation to help the States. Such funds as are advanced to local districts from Washington must not be permitted to result in Federal control. It is because of this danger particularly that many oppose help in any form from outside the local community.

The responsibility for paying the bills of education should rest upon those who benefit from it. Traditionally it has been up to the local community to support its own schools, with some help by the State where necessary. Governor Leader's warning that to break with this tradition might mean Federal control is one that should not be ignored.

Yet the very character of the emergency which now faces the schools of the Nation shows why temporary help at least has a validity which did not apply in other times. It is not only that the Nation is faced with the task of keeping abreast of an unprecedented rush of technological progress in order to survive but that in this rush it dare not permit any substantial proportion of its young people to miss out on the basic training they must have to serve themselves, their community and their country.

Communities that are unable to meet their obligations to education inevitably pass their problems on to the rest of the Nation. Many of their young men can't qualify for military service because of illiteracy or similar handicaps. When they and their families move to other localities, their lack of preparation imposes a terrific strain on the facilities of communities that had always before succeeded in maintaining good schools.

Thus it is imperative that schools everywhere in the Nation be brought up to acceptable standards, that teachers be competent and adequately paid and that classrooms be available to shelter all the children of their districts without crowding.

The obligation for attaining this goal belongs primarily, we believe, to the local community, but it does not stop there, particularly in the emergency now facing the Nation. For this reason, we join the NEA in urging that Congress pass pending legislation to help the States meet their school construction problems and do it as quickly as possible.

Murphy Army Hospital, Waltham, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following material prepared by FELA and other persons interested in retaining the Murphy Army Hospital at Waltham:

DATA PERTAINING TO DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY PLAN TO CLOSE MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL, WALTHAM, MASS.

1. REQUIREMENT FOR MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL

(a) Army claim: "The number of patients at Murphy is too small to justify the operation of this hospital."

Fact: The number of patients is deliberately kept at a low level, the result of special policies applied only to this hospital by the Surgeon General; if these policies were applied to any other hospital the result would be the same low patient strength. Among such special policies are the following:

1. Military patients who are to be hospitalized for a prolonged period are normally transferred to a hospital near their homes so that their families may visit them. Such patients whose homes are in New England are not moved to Murphy Army Hospital; instead, they are sent to hospitals in such distant places as Pennsylvania and Colorado. An example of this is M. Sgt. Nunziato DiBona, 79 Miller Street, Quincy, Mass., was transferred from Germany to Sampson Air Force Base, N. Y., on November 2, 1955, and kept there for almost 4 months.

2. Army hospitals are normally staffed with sufficient doctors to care for all types of illnesses but for over a year the Surgeon General has failed to provide doctors at Murphy Army Hospital who can perform certain specialties. As a result, many patients must be transferred to other hospitals for treatment. There is only 1 dentist here while the Boston Army Base has 3.

3. Air Force personnel at Bedford Airbase and Army units stationed in the Greater Boston area have been directed to send personnel requiring medical treatment to Fort Devens or to Chelsea Naval Hospital. There are now over 125 Army and Air Force patients at the Chelsea Naval Hospital; these patients should be at Murphy Army Hospital.

(2) Army claim: "After the medical-care bill becomes law, the need for a hospital in Waltham will be even less than it is now."

Fact: Under the medical-care bill thousands of dependents will be entitled to hospitalization. As shown in the House of Representatives Committee Report No. 1805 on this bill, the cost to the Government for this care will be far less when it is provided in a military hospital than when dependents go to civilian hospitals. Further, it was pointed out by the House Committee on Armed Services that it is vital to insure that military hospitals continue to treat dependents in order that career medical personnel may be retained by the Armed Forces. The committee's report states (Rept. No. 1805, p. 10):

"It is obvious that career physicians worthy of their profession need and expect to treat many types of illnesses that are common in a civilian practice. It is doubtful if the career medical groups of the respective services could be maintained with any degree of stability if their practice eventually became restricted to service personnel who are normally the healthiest group in the Nation. And those physicians who did stay in the service with a restricted type of practice might later be transferred to a foreign station where they would be expected to treat dependents. Such physicians might then find themselves in the unfortunate situation of having to treat diseases and illnesses ranging from pediatrics to geriatrics without having had sufficient experience to maintain the skill of their profession while serving in the continental United States where their practice had been limited to service personnel.

Since the Murphy Army Hospital is located in a section of the country which is heavily populated it is obvious that great numbers of dependents will come here for medical care as authorized under this new law.

(c) Army claim: "Greater Boston is a poor location for an Army hospital."

Fact: Boston is renowned as one of the world's leading medical centers. The Army could and should take advantage of this fact by transferring patients to Murphy Army Hospital when their illness requires the advice of competent consultants. Here, the assistance of doctors and clinics such as the following are available:

1. Dr. Paul D. White, heart specialist.
2. The Leahy Clinic.
3. The Joslin Clinic for Diabetes.
4. Harvard Medical School.
5. Massachusetts General Hospital.
6. Pratt Diagnostic Clinic.
7. Kennedy Memorial Foundation.
8. The Children's Hospital.

2. COST OF OPERATING MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL

(a) Army claim: "If Murphy Army Hospital can be closed as a hospital, an annual savings of $3 million will result."

Fact: If this hospital were closed very little would actually be saved. The following costs which are included in the annual cost referred to by the Army would not be saved; they would arise at other Army medical facilities to which military personnel would be transferred and in which patients would be hospitalized:

1. Pay of all military personnel now stationed here.
2. Pay of additional civilian personnel required to care for the resulting increased patient load at other hospitals.
3. Cost of medical supplies and drugs.

3. USE OF MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL BUILDINGS BY THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS

(a) Army claim: "The buildings at Murphy Army Hospital are needed for the Corps of Engineers."

Fact: There is more than 400,000 square feet of vacant space at Boston Army Base which is available for the Corps of Engineers. This space is now idle.

(b) Army claim: "It will be more economical for the Engineers to be located in the hospital buildings than in the Boston Army Base."

Fact: The engineers' study of necessary alterations at Murphy Army Hospital was kept low by failure to show all of the work which would ultimately be required there. On the other hand, their estimates of $500,000, for alterations at the Boston Army Base were padded to an unreasonable degree. A correct estimate would be about $200,000. One instance of padding is the inclusion at considerable cost of electrical outlets set in the concrete floor at all desk locations; simple inexpensive ceiling fluorescent lighting would be adequate. Another instance was the provision for a system of new passenger elevators when existing elevators could be modified for a tenth of the cost of new ones. There are sufficient telephone lines already in place at the Army Base to satisfy the division engineer's requirements; at Murphy Army Hospital 200 additional lines would have to be installed. The annual cost for utilities and maintenance at Murphy Army Hospital for the engineers would be $1 per square foot; at the Army Base the cost to the engineers would $0.30 per square

foot. After the Air Force vacates their part of the hospital in 1958 as planned, the engineers will have to carry the entire cost of the installation; this will increase their cost per square foot of required space to $1.75.

(c) Army claim: "By replacing the hospital activity and moving the division engineers into the hospital buildings there will be an increase in business in the area. This will satisfy the Members of Congress."

Fact: Whether the division engineer offices are in Waltham or at Boston Army Base will make no difference; the personnel will continue to live, where they do now, in towns throughout the Greater Boston area. On the other hand, closing the hospital will result in removing over 600 military personnel and dependents from this area. Although Maj. Wallace King, hospital executive officer and Mr. Robert Lafrenz, division engineer executive assistant, have informed the hospital custodial employees that they will be transferred to the engineer organization, both of these officials have acknowledged that as soon as the hospital closing has been accomplished the custodial employees will have their positions abolished. This is an example of the attempts being made to keep the closing operation quiet so that Members of Congress will not know of the plan until it is an accomplished fact.

Additional note: The Surgeon General appears to be repeating an error made in 1950. At that time, 3 months prior to the beginning of the Korean fighting, Murphy Army Hospital was closed. When the fighting broke out it was necessary to reopen the hospital at a cost of almost $500,000.

Now, with the situation in the Middle East at the explosion point, it could very well prove disasterous to close this hospital. If hostilities should break out, Murphy Army Hospital would again be one of the most important hospitals for the care of our battle casualties.

MEMORANDUM

The Army has given a number of reasons for closing the Murphy Army General Hospital. Primarily the Army seems to feel that the closing of the hospital is an economy measure and is in the best interests of the Government. The Army has also indicated that the hospital facilities will be utilized by the Corps of Engineers and the Air Force more advantageously than now.

As a matter of fact, the hospital site is far from being advantageous to the Corps of Engineers, and the present Air Force project which is located at the installation is due to disband within the coming year. It has been suggested to the Army that there is 400,000 square feet of vacant space at the Boston Army base which could be used as a headquarters for the Corps of Engineers. The Army in rejecting the possibility of the use of the airbase facilities, made this comment in a letter to Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, dated April 19, 1957:

"The Boston Army Base was considered as a possible site for the New England division engineer office in June 1955. The Boston Army Base is a large multistoried, dockside, warehouse facility. It is located in a strictly waterfront industrial area and while well suited for warehouse and dockside terminal usage its location and structural character are considered undesirable for a general office facility. The Army estimated that it would be necessary to expend approximately one-half million dollars to convert the warehouses to adequate office space. A highly important consideration in this matter is that the Boston Army Base will be required for warehouse and pierside terminal purposes in the event of mobilization. Additional expense would be incurred at that time to return the facility to its existing condition were the warehouses converted to office space. It is reiterated that the other military medical treatment facilities in the Boston area are capable of assuming the workload accomplished by the staff at Murphy Army Hospital without depriving anyone of the medical care and treatment authorized under current laws and regulations."

You will note from the Army's comment on the use of the Boston Army Base that they do not feel it is desirable for a general office facility because in the event of mobilization the Army base would be required for warehouse and pierside terminals in addition to expenses which would be incurred at that time to return the facility to its present condition. It should be borne in mind that this is exactly the same reason why it is felt the Murphy Army Hospital should be kept in operation and not converted to an engineering project because in the event of mobilization the hospital too would have to be reconverted at tremendous expense and at the same time it might very well be impossible to recruit the trained personnel necessary for a hospital facility. As a matter of fact this is exactly what happened in 1950, when the Army closed the hospital and 3 months later had to reopen it at tremendous expense because of the Korean conflict. If the Army feels that it is necessary to maintain the 400,000 square feet of idle space at the Army base because of the possibility of mobilization, it should be equally true that the hospital facilities at Waltham should be kept in a similar standby status for the same reason. It is interesting to note that the Corps of Engineers are engaged in river and harbor work, and use a great number of boats for this purpose. The Army base would give the Corps of Engineers docking space for these boats which is not available at Waltham.

At the present time the Corps of Engineers is located on Causeway Street at the North Station in Boston. There is an irrevocable 3-year lease on the premises which still has 2 years to run, and it is considered extremely dubious that any economy in operations will result if the Government finds it necessary to pay rental for 2 years on premises which it cannot occupy. The economy aspect of the closing of the Waltham Hospital is further open to question when one considers the following statement of Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY contained in a letter dated July 11, 1957 in which he said, "and the engineers have indicated that considerable new personnel will be required to provide installation support-type services." The only conclusion that can be drawn from Senator KENNEDY's statement is that to operate from the hospital grounds the Corps of Engineers will have to engage additional personnel which are not now necessary at their present location.

Bedford Air Force Base, which only has dispensary facilities, utilizes the Murphy Army Hospital for its personnel. Murphy Hospital is 12 minutes by auto from Bedford, while the Chelsea Naval Hospital is 40 minutes from Bedford, and the Fort Devens Hospital is 30 minutes traveling time from Bedford. It can easily be seen that in the event of an emergency at Bedford, adequate care for personnel could not be obtained unless the Murphy Hospital is retained.

Housing Industry Needs Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to discuss the urgent need for implementation of the Housing Act of 1957, which the Congress has voted to spur the lagging home-building industry. Members of the building trades, builders, real-estate people, lenders, and suppliers from the district which I represent in California, all await implementation of this legislation which, among other things, lowers the downpayment schedule for FHA-approved loans.

To date, the FHA has not put into effect the new downpayment schedules which were approved and authorized by the Congress. I wish to place in the RECORD a news story and an editorial from the Stockton, Calif., Daily Record of July 13, which indicates the need and demand for implementation of the Housing Act.

REAL ESTATE SLUMP IN SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY

Real-estate lending in San Joaquin County in June slumped considerably from the level for the same month last year, according to the Security Title Insurance Co.'s Stockton office.

The company's report shows that 484 loans totaling $3,840,223 were issued last month on real estate in the county, compared with 604 loans totaling $6,012,215 in June 1956.

FHA BILL SIGNED WITH RESERVATIONS

Because of its possible inflationary effect, the fate of the FHA bill on the President's desk was in doubt until he signed the measure yesterday with reservations. These include his limitation of spending to his budget figure of $1,025 million, nearly $1 billion below the amount approved by Congress, and his lack of action thus far to effectuate provisions for permissive lower downpayments.

We hope the President will go along with the latter provision as a further stimulus to home ownership and construction. Especially desirable is the deduction in downpayments on residences in the $10,000 to $15,000 category, the area of heaviest demand. Rising costs have virtually priced middle-income families out of the housing market because of the present demand for nearly $2,000 in cash to swing a loan on a $15,000 dwelling.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Civil-Rights Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Baltimore Sun this morning highlights in an editorial the sobriety and the lack of dogmatism with which the present debate is being conducted.

It is strengthening to the Nation to realize that men can approach such a controversial issue as civil rights on a nonpartisan, realistic basis. One of the finest examples is the partnership between the junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], two of the great statesmen in this body.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Baltimore Sun editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIKEN AND ANDERSON

The remarkable and comforting thing about the civil-rights debate in the Senate so far is the extent to which it has fanned out from being a merely regional issue. There is no doubt where the southern—the Deep South—Senators stand, and no doubt what kind of a bill they would like; namely, no bill at all. But there is far from an embittered confrontation at this point and so far there is wide disposition among the Members to avoid dogmatism and to make haste slowly.

The most graphic indication of this is the sponsorship of the amendment to strike part III from the administration bill as it passed the House. Part III is captioned, "To Strengthen the Civil-Rights Statutes and for other purposes." This is the place where the proposed act broadens widely into desegration and the general civil-rights area, though the right-to-vote was thought at first to be the only civil right it aimed to protect. Part III is the place where by reference to other statutes, Federal troops were brought into the picture as an at least conceivable enforcement of court injunctions against civil-rights violations.

It was Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia, who pointed out the full implications of Part III in a speech on the Senate floor which may prove the pivot of the current civil rights fight. The implications had not really been hidden, as he suggested, because they had been discussed in hearings on the bill. Senator RUSSELL'S vivid statement alerted the country, generally, however, to the content of part III. He made clear the Deep South's quite unqualified dismay at this part of the bill.

Whereupon the amendment to strike part III was offered, and—this is the point—by a Republican Senator from Vermont, AIKEN, and a Democratic Senator from New Mexico, ANDERSON. Obviously neither of these men is in the deep southern tradition. More to the point, neither of these men is in that northern conservative camp which in times past has been apt to deal with the South on civil-rights matters in exchange for southern support on conservative issues in the North. AIKEN is a liberal Republican and ANDERSON is a liberal Democrat. Both come from the group, represented in both parties, which in the past has tended to push civil rights against southern opposition.

The Associated Press has now taken a poll and finds that 40 Senators out of 64 would favor limiting the civil-rights bill to the protection of voting rights. Efforts to frame an amendment competing with the Aiken-Anderson proposal on part III have failed. They may yet succeed, but the informal poll shows that there is great strength in the Senate for cutting the bill back to the voting protections which were originally believed to be its sole objective. And whatever the fate of their amendment, AIKEN and ANDERSON symbolize the sobriety and the lack of dogmatism with which the Senate is proceeding on the touchiest of all issues now before it.

The Open Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in its lead editorial this morning, the New York Times outlines what is one of the basic issues of our day. The issue is the need for broad exchange programs to penetrate the Iron Curtain.

There can be no enduring and lasting peace until the Soviet erected Iron Curtain is pierced. There must be some way for people on both sides to have access to each other. Once that occurs, we can look forward to a period of truth and justice in international affairs.

That was the thought that motivated my "open curtain" proposal some weeks ago.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES–SOVIET EXCHANGE

The subject of exchange of persons between the United States and the Soviet Union is very much in the news these days. At the level of visits by high-ranking persons, President Eisenhower reacted favorably at his last press conference to the notion of a meeting between Soviet Marshal Zhukov and his opposite number here, Defense Secretary Wilson. At the level of cultural and technical exchange, a revival is now planned of Soviet-American technical and cultural exchanges. A State Department announcement last week end indicated that the program of such exchanges, which largely ceased after the bloody Soviet repression in Hungary last fall, will expand once more to a modest scale the remainder of this year. At still a third level of activity, a small number of American young people are planning to attend this summer's so-called World Youth Festival in Moscow.

These different kinds of exchanges raise different kinds of problems. In commenting on the Zhukov-Wilson meeting idea, for example, the President warned against holding meetings which might arouse exaggerated expectations. Certainly the so-called Summit Conference in Geneva 2 years ago produced little despite the fact that it brought together the chief figures in the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. A Zhukov-Wilson meeting, if it took place, could hardly hope to solve any key problems. Moreover, many Americans are keenly aware that Marshal Zhukov commands the Soviet Army which slaughtered Hungarian freedom fighters less than a year ago.

Cultural and technical exchanges fall into a different category. They have limited, realizable aims, and do not arouse unwarranted expectations. The cultures of the Soviet peoples should certainly be more available to us than they have been, and we can certainly gain in some areas from knowing more about Soviet technical development. Conversely, it is all to the good if Soviet citizens get a chance to see and hear more of our cultural achievements, and in many technical fields—as the Soviet Union now admits—the Soviet Union is anxious to learn from us. So long as there is genuine reciprocity, we may hope that such contacts will increase.

The most difficult problems arise in the area of arranging exchanges of ordinary people. We have only gains to anticipate from having large numbers of Americans see the Soviet Union and large numbers of Soviet citizens see our civilization at first hand. Unfortunately, our present legislation is not based on that premise. In particular, our legal requirement that foreign visitors be fingerprinted, except in the case of official visitors, has been cleverly used by the Soviet Government as a pretext for prohibiting the visits of Soviet tourists here. Since limited numbers of American tourists have been admitted into the Soviet Union, the comparison has permitted Soviet propaganda to make dishonest, but not entirely ineffective, charges of a United States "Iron Curtain." All this has been further complicated by the Soviet effort to use American travelers to the Soviet Union for propaganda purposes, as in the case of the World Youth Festival.

We need not have any exaggerated notions about the contributions of any presently foreseeable exchange of Soviet and American tourists to see that the present situation requires correction. Senator DIRKSEN has introduced a bill which would ease the fingerprining requirement. That bill would seem the very minimum we need to do to disarm the Soviet propagandists.

But beyond that it would seem desirable that we adopt a much more imaginative approach to the subject. We must realize that the Soviet people have been raised on a diet of lies about our way of life. Anything which will contribute to permitting Soviet people to see that what they have been told about us is false should be encouraged. The United States is the world's mightiest piece of evidence as to what freedom and free enterprise can achieve, and it is in our interest that those living under socialism should get a chance to compare what our and their systems can accomplish for the great mass of the people.

Resolution of Texas Press Associations Calls for Adequate Pay for Skilled Military Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the recent annual convention of the Texas Press Association, held in San Antonio, adopted a resolution calling for an adequate pay scale for trained military personnel, in order to retain them in the service.

The resolution is important, because, to quote from an editorial regarding it in the San Marcos (Tex.) Record, "The people of the Nation need to understand the situation, and to correct it."

The San Marcos Record, edited by Walter Buckner and Addison Buckner, is one of the truly outstanding smalltown newspapers of Texas. This editorial is typical of the Record's thoughtful approach to matters of public interest, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESS RESOLUTES

The Texas Press Association in convention last week in San Antonio passed several resolutions, one of which needs special mention:

That we recommend a pay scale for military personnel commensurate with the duties performed and adequate to retain for the services sufficient trained technicians to fully man our machines of defense, and to carry out further research and development; a pay scale which will retain trained personnel for the military service rather than surrendering them to private industry too soon after they have become proficient.

It was pointed out by Senator LYNDON JOHNSON in an address at Kelly Air Force Base that "the Air Force spends $43,000 to train an airman for 4 years; then, when he has become proficient, he quits the service and goes to work for private industry—because he can make twice as much money."

He continued: "Gen. Curtis LeMay told me recently that only 8 percent of his Strategic Air Command is fully trained; the other 92 percent stays in only 3 or 4 years which is not long enough to produce fully trained technicians."

In view of the statements quoted by Senator JOHNSON, the press group passed its resolution.

The people of the Nation need to understand the situation, and to correct it.

Productivity and the Older Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mrs. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, the maximum productive level which the United States can achieve depends on the greatest possible utilization of all the technical know-how of the men and women of our laboring force. When the skills of any of them are wasted because of unfounded prejudices of management against our older citizens, then we are not utilizing our great potential to best advantage. Our industrial might has not grown great on the basis of any fear to embark upon unchartered courses. Industry has moved where opportunity beckoned, and the laboring man and woman have felt free to offer their skills where needed.

Prejudice against our older workers constitutes a barrier to the full utilization of their skills that will prove costly to America unless it can be broken down.

In a column in the Washington Post and Times Herald for July 18, 1957, that astute commentator, Malvina Lindsay, has pointedly and clearly indicated the current and needless waste of manpower in the United States because of this unreasonable prejudice against the older worker. Under unanimous consent, I include her column in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

"MEAT AND BUTTER" ARMY DWINDLING

(By Malvina Lindsay)

If this Nation wins the productivity race to which Nikita S. Khrushchev has challenged it, the many will indeed owe much to the few. For the corps that produces is being compressed from both ends of the age yardstick—but especially from the one marked "past 45."

Growing discrimination against persons between 45 and 65 seeking reemployment is concerning business organizations, civic groups, and legislators. In fact, discrimination is moving down the age scale, reports the Office Executives' Association. Men, it says, are beginning to meet hiring resistance at 30 and women at 35. By the time a man reaches 50, 42 percent of companies are closed against him. A woman job seeker of 50 is turned down by 56 percent of firms.

This, says the association, represents economic waste and unrealistic hiring policies, especially in view of the shortage of office workers.

At the same time, increasing enrollment in high school and college, and prolonged scientific and technical training, are pushing up the age at which youth becomes productive.

But youth still has the upper hand in the market place. Here is one example: A man past 50 with wide experience and varied background in a nonscientific field recently found himself jobless because of a geographic shift in personal affairs. In his job-seeking rounds he received the familiar rebuff, "too old." But a friend's son, just out of high school, was hired in the same area of work, for $60 a week—a salary the older man would have accepted.

Labor Department studies put 45 as the age at which it becomes harder to get a new job. The person 45 or more has one-third the chance to get a job as does the one under 45.

Recently Representative THOMAS J. LANE, of Massachusetts, proposed that the House Labor Committee make a full-scale investigation of job barriers for persons past 40. He charged a conspiracy of silence concerning the problem.

New jobs for mature workers constitute a special problem in New York, where about one-third of those on the city's payrolls are between 45 and 65. Because of this a Committee of Employment and Retirement Practices for Older Workers of the Community Council of Greater New York made a study of how to increase mature workers' opportunities.

It found government and private agencies throughout the country were trying to provide placement facilities for older workers, also turning to research to learn the effects of aging on job performance. However, much more urgently needs to be done in both fields, the committee points out.

It was found that while employers were generally willing to retain workers who could "pull their weight," they were reluctant to hire new ones past 45 because of pension plans, prejudices, emphasis on building for the future.

A survey of reemployment practices for older workers made by the Department of Labor in 7 large cities showed that 52 percent of all openings had age limits under 55, that 41 percent drew the line at 45 and 20 percent at 34. Yet studies of job performance show that mature workers are generally more dependable, more skilled, and have less absenteeism than young employees. Other studies have shown there are means of minimizing or eliminating increased costs of private pension plans as applied to older workers.

About one-fifth of the Nation's population is past 45, and the average adult in the labor force is now at the beginning of this category. Any big upset in industry, including a shift in activities or skills, would mean hardship for many workers trying to make new starts.

While relatively few mature workers are directly engaged in producing the meat and butter that Mr. Khrushchev has set as the measure of victory in the cold war, all contribute to the standard of living that is the pride of the American system.

If workers tend to be frozen from youth to age in their jobs for fear of hazards of change in their forties, or even their thirties, the American system will lose much of its dynamic and creative force. The trend to hire from an ever smaller age group will put more persons on the sidelines—and more on public assistance, also increase the psychological toll of depressed morale.

Address by Hon. Herman Talmadge, of Georgia, Before Annual Department Convention, American Legion of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the address which I delivered on Saturday, July 20, 1957, before the annual department convention of the American Legion of Georgia, which was held at the Bon Air Hotel, in Augusta, Ga.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HERMAN E. TALMADGE BEFORE THE ANNUAL DEPARTMENT CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION OF GEORGIA HELD AT THE BON AIR HOTEL IN AUGUSTA, AT THE GEORGIAN DINNER ATTENDED BY SOME 850 LEGIONNAIRES, THEIR WIVES, AND MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY—THE SENATOR WAS INVITED TO SPEAK BY DEPARTMENT COMMANDER GEORGE OSBORNE OF MARIETTA

Commander Osborne, Mrs. Hodgson, distinguished guests, ladies of the American Legion Auxiliary, and my fellow Legion-

naires, it is gratifying to me that events in Washington were such that it was possible for me to get away these few hours to be with you on this memorable and traditional occasion.

I recall with found memories other occasions in years past when I have had the privilege of meeting with you, discussing our mutual hopes for Georgia and exchanging ideas for the advancement of our State and region.

I feel a close attachment for this organization.

I stand with you in your ranks and join you in supporting the imperishable principles for which you stand.

Our common bond as members of the American Legion and former comrades in arms is an enduring one.

I value my membership in the American Legion.

I know that this is one organization which is working 24 hours a day, every day, for our American way of life.

When I think of the Legion and of all for which it stands, there comes to mind the pages of our history that record this land's greatest triumphs and deeds of Americans far beyond the usual standard of loyalty, patriotism, bravery, and sacrifice.

I think of San Juan Hill, the Marne, Flanders, Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, the Argonne Forest, North Africa, Sicily, Mount Cassino, Tokyo, Ploesti, Schweinfort, Bremerhaven, Normady, the Bulge, Bataan, Corregidor, Midway, Guam, Guadalcanal, Inchon, and Heartbreak Ridge. I think of all those other sanguinary battles which have been waged in the annals of our Republic—battles which have been fought at so great cost in lives and material substance.

The American Legion has not forgotten.

On no occasion has the American Legion ever failed to stand up and speak out vigorously in defense of our institutions and ideals and for maintenance of our guaranties of liberty and freedom. It has done so courageously, sometimes in face of severe hostility and at actual peril to the organization itself.

The undeviating record of the Legion, therefore, has been, and ever will be, to keep faith with those Americans who have gone on before, many of whom made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of freedom.

My friends, with that past record of the Legion behind us, and with solemn dedication to the future, I want to take this opportunity of discussing with you the most deadly peril ever to confront us as a Nation.

That threat is the sustained and vicious attacks now being waged on two broad fronts, the objective of which is the utter annihilation of our system of representative constitutional government in this country.

These attacks, clever and calculated in design, are twofold.

One is aimed at destroying constitutional processes and the protective safeguards of freedom they afford.

The other is aimed at destroying the Nation through internal bankruptcy.

Should either succeed, it will succeed with finality.

The attack on constitutional government goes to the very heart of our existence as a nation.

That is true because once we lose our precious rights under that instrument, we cannot defend ourselves against any other threats, either from within or from without.

What threats have been posed to constitutional government in the last few years?

We have seen the United States Supreme Court, in a series of partisan political decisions, deliberately ignore the Constitution of the United States and substitute impractical and unproved theories for established law and precedent as the basis for its rulings.

We have seen the Federal judiciary invade and seek to obliterate the reserved rights of the States in many fields of their internal activivty.

All of these decisions are flagrantly unconstitutional.

They are not the "law of the land," as some falsely insist.

They are the judge-made law of force and force alone.

It is not the people of the South who defy the Constitution; rather, it is we who uphold it.

We will never submit to this unlawful and unconstitutional judicial tryanny.

We will resist its imposition with all the strength at our command.

We are not going to sit idly by while an unconsititutional, arbitrary, and illegal extension of Federal judicial power is attempted.

This is not only an attack on the rights of the States to govern their own affairs but also is a gross abuse of judicial processes imperiling the civil liberties of every American citizen.

Equally dangerous to the liberties of all the people of the whole United States is the misnamed Brownell civil rights bill now being debated in the Senate.

This diabolical 6-point program is a grave threat to our traditional concept of constitutional government.

If it is enacted, any army of Federal agents will swarm over every State, harassing and intimidating the people and usurping the functions of local law enforcement authorities.

Under this measure the full might of the United States Army, the United States Navy and the United States Marine Corps could be used to enforce with bayonets and bombs the provisions it is proposed that Congress enact into law.

And by the very vagueness and general terms of the language of the present law which the administration wants to amend, the bill now being debated would extend the authority of the Attorney General of the United States over the entire field of civil rights.

The law, as it now reads, prohibits any interference with or denial of "the equal protection of the laws" or "any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States."

That language covers an area as broad as the imagination of mankind and as fathomless as the minds of some individuals who may transiently enforce its provisions.

Who is to say what constitutes equal protection of the laws?

Who is to enumerate the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States?

Under the authority of that loose language the Attorney General could initiate injunctive proceedings affecting not only the full range of laws governing relationships between individuals, groups, and races, but also such totally unrelated fields as taxation and the location of roads by Federal and State agencies.

He could take the position that failure to employ a person because of race, creed, color, national origin of any other factor constitutes a denial of the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States and thereby set himself up as a one-man FEPC with authority to use the military might of the United States to regiment the industry and business of the Nation.

There is not an area of human thought or conduct which the language of the bill now before the Senate does not cover. It runs the gamut from sowing to reaping, from sleeping to waking, from thought to action and from the cradle to the grave.

The Attorney General, through clever manipulation of the amendment process, would subvert the language of the present law under which trial by jury is inherent and limits of punishment specified into a cloak for actions in the name of the United States under which trial by jury is denied and the extent of punishment left to the unbridled discretion of the presiding judge.

If enacted, this so-called civil rights bill would change private action to Government action.

It would interfere with the right of Americans to pursue their equitable remedies.

It would deny Americans the right of indictment.

It would deny Americans the right to confront and cross-examine their accusers.

It would deny Americans the right of trial by jury—a right now guaranteed by law to even rapists, murderers, and traitors.

It would have the net effect of completely changing our form of Government from one under which rights are inalienable with the individual to one under which rights are arbitrarily determined by the Attorney General of the United States.

It does not confer upon a single American a single additional right. The only person to whom it grants any new rights is the Attorney General of the United States, on whom it confers the arbitrary and unrestricted power to use the Federal judiciary as an instrument of his political caprices to deny civil rights.

It would make of the Attorney General a czar of civil rights superior even to the Constitution of the United States.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the serious nature and far-reaching implications of this proposal for evil results.

To me, it is regrettable that we are called upon to establish an American inquisition to smear the name of our generation on the pages of history.

To me, it is regrettable that we are called upon to usher in another age of hate, similar to reconstruction days, to blight an otherwise peaceful Nation and destroy the unity which exists among our citizens.

To me, it is regrettable that we are called upon to force on an unsuspecting populace legislation which had its inspiration in the dark ages.

To me, it is regrettable that the Congress is wasting its valuable time and energies on such a worthless measure.

The same effort applied along constructive lines to develop the human and natural resources of this great country; to stimulate new job opportunities; and to provide decent housing and more effective governmental services for the masses of our people—would result in the advancement of real civil rights and human security for minorities and majorities alike.

My friends, I assure you, that as long as this bill is pending before the Senate, all of my strength and energies will be devoted to exposing its iniquity and in laying bare is tyranny before the Nation.

I am proud to take my stand under the inspired generalship of my able and distinguished colleague, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia, who has done a masterful job in this fight, in defense of the rights and liberties of the American people and the sacred Constitution of the American Republic.

A situation of grave concern to me is that brought on by the so-called status-of-forces treaties and related bilateral agreements. Under them American service personnel and their families stationed in foreign lands have been placed at the mercy of foreign governments and courts.

Our State Department has negotiated these treaties and executive agreements with some 50 foreign countries in which hundreds of thousands of our military personnel are located.

These treaties do nothing less than abrogate the basic constitutional rights of the American soldier who serves abroad and any dependents who might be with him on foreign soil.

While the language of these agreements is complex and seeks to cover every possible situation, interpretation is left largely to foreign governments. This is true, particularly, where the foreign government is the first to get custody of the soldier after the complained-of offense is committed.

The wording of these treaties and agreements completely ignores the provisions of our sacred Bill of Rights.

Foreign courts, under the status-of-forces agreements, do not have to afford our servicemen or their families even the minimum procedural safeguards to which they would be entitled as a matter of right as United States citizens pursuant to the Constitution in our own courts.

The American soldier and his family, thus, are subjected to the laws and procedures of the host country which in many cases are completely repugnant to our own.

It is unthinkable that the United States should draft its sons to protect its freedoms and then rob them of those same freedoms while they wear the uniform of their country.

If an American serviceman or one of his dependents commits a crime while abroad, he, by all means, must be punished. However, the punishment should be imposed by an American tribunal operating under American law and in accordance with the guaranties of the United States Constitution.

Prior to the negotiation of the Status of Forces Treaty and related agreements, the United States undeviatingly followed the policy laid down by Chief Justice John Marshall during the early days of the Republic that the Constitution follows the flag.

This treaty and related agreements should be repudiated and the Marshall tenet once more reestablished as the policy of this Nation.

If the United States, as the strongest nation on earth, cannot protect the rights of its servicemen and their families in foreign countries, then it should bring them home.

So, we have seen, that through unconstitutional usurpation of power by the Federal courts, through proposed force bill legislation, through surrender of our service personnel to foreign courts and through a myriad of similar devices, our system of government, as wrought by the Founding Fathers, is under sustained attack.

Not being able to carry their point under the system, its enemies have set out to destroy the system itself.

Of course, you and I know that if they succeed, they would not only destroy the greatest country on earth, but themselves in the process.

I am convinced, too, that irresponsible fiscal policies now being followed by our Government constitute a threat to our national existence.

Being such a threat, there is always the danger that some of the clamor for increased spending may be prompted, without full justification, by those who would hasten the day of our insolvency.

The President's promise to stabilize the cost of living has fallen by the wayside.

The dread specter of runaway inflation threatens every institution in American life today—the home, the church, the school, and the business.

Proposed Federal spending contained in the budget for the current 1957–58 fiscal year is $7.1 billion more than it was 2 years ago.

During the current fiscal year the Federal Government expects to collect out of the United States taxpayers the stupendous total of $75.8 billion.

Today, roughly one-sixth of the gross national product of this country is being paid in Federal taxes.

One wonders how long this Nation will survive such a drain on its economy.

It is completely inconsistent to give lip-service to controlling inflation while feeding it at the same time with profligate spending.

Our Government has grown so large and its activities become so extensive that no one disputes the fact that there is much waste in its operations.

Tremendous defense and other savings could be realized through a continuing congressional review of all unexpended appropriations to determine their validity in the light of present conditions.

As far as the armed services themselves are concerned, appropriations to them should be determined in light of the latest technological advances as well as through a concerted effort to eliminate duplication and to reduce manpower through full utilization of latest developments and ideas in weapons and tactics.

In the field of foreign spending, the time has come for elimination from the budget of purely foreign economic aid and for a thorough and searching examination of each and every military assistance project, to insure that the American taxpayer is getting his money's worth in national security.

The American taxpayer has a right to demand that this Nation cease doing for people in other countries what it either is unable or unwilling to do for our own citizens here at home.

In conclusion, I make this observation.

Sometimes we may be justified in feeling frustrated with the policies of our Government.

But we must never sell America short nor should we discount the loyalty, courage, honesty, ability, and sincerity of purpose of the American people.

They have demonstrated again and again their intense determination to meet and to overcome whatever challenges may confront them.

Because of this, I am confident that this Nation will survive in spite of all the mistakes its governmental leaders may make.

I put my faith in the good sense of the American people to save us from ourselves.

We must not be deceived by the cries of those who would destroy us. A return to fundamentals is the key to survival in this day and age even more than was the case in all the other periods of great stress and strain that have marked the life of our Nation.

Washington needs to pause for reflection and for a reevaluation, to realize fully once again from whence comes all freedom, all equality, all strength, all integrity, all security, and all those other precious attributes identified with our growth as a nation.

There must be a renewed respect for the true meaning of the Constitution and a respect for law as it is written.

There must be an instillment of sound business practices into the Government.

There must be a solid determination on the part of all public servants to keep faith with the people.

Americans must be freed of the attendant evils of bureaucracy, redtape, intimidation, and tyranny so that our people may once again be masters of their own destiny.

And we must not lose sight of the unchallenged fact that a militarily impregnable and economically invincible America is the world's best and only hope for peace.

We, of the American Legion, look forward to the future with confidence.

We do so in kindred spirit and with renewed dedication.

As legionnaires, we share an unwavering conviction that the welfare of the American people and the solvency, safety, security, and sovereignty of our own Nation must be our primary concern.

To that precept, we are solemnly pledged.

It is with a prayer to a divine providence for guidance that we give to our common country our enduring love, our heartfelt patriotism, and our boundless devotion.

Address by Hon. Chapman Revercomb, of West Virginia, Before the State Convention of the Sons of Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me before the State convention of the Sons of Italy, at Logan, W. Va., on July 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR CHAPMAN REVERCOMB BEFORE THE STATE CONVENTION OF THE SONS OF ITALY AT LOGAN, W. VA., JULY 15, 1957.

It is a great pleasure for me to meet with you here this evening on the occasion of your State convention and I want you to know that I feel highly honored to be your speaker.

I am acquainted with many of you personally and am proud to number among my friends and acquaintances hundreds of men and women throughout our State and Nation who are of Italian descent. I know from personal association with them that no more patriotic group of citizens is to be found in our land than those whose family descent is from Italy.

It can truly be said that you have helped make America the wonderful Nation that it is today. I congratulate each of you on the splendid contribution you have made to our State, and I want to take this opportunity to commend the Sons of Italy Lodges throughout the Nation. The good works of your organization stands out in countless communities throughout the land.

Few nations have contributed so much to civilization as the land to which you owe your origin. The culture your forebears bequeathed to the world through the centuries has enriched the lives of civilized men everywhere. The testimony to this contribution is to be found in the marvelous buildings they erected, in the great works of art they produced, in the new movements they originated for the betterment of mankind. The works of your painters, sculptors, musicians, writers and scientists are known and appreciated in every land. The contributions your patriots have made to the cause of human freedom likewise looms large in the annals of history.

Few nations experienced greater travail in emerging a free and united nation than did Italy. For centuries European armies fought their battles on her plains for continental supremacy. The Po Valley provided France and Austria for many decades with arena in which to wage war. From the downfall of the Roman Empire to the middle of the last century virtually every major power endeavored to establish a foothold on Italian soil. They did not succeed. But political unification was long retarded.

Through the centuries of division and subjugation, independence and liberty was ever the dream of your people. That dream was to become a reality through the bold and daring action of men like Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi, each of whom holds a distinct place in the history of Italy. Each of these great leaders knew how to channel into the service of the Italian cause those sovereign principles of liberty and nationality.

No more inspiring hope for mankind has been expressed than that voiced by Mazzini when he said:

"I raise my vision to the future and foresee the people arising in their majesty, brothers in the same faith, with a sole bond of equality and love and an ideal of civic virtue which daily increases in beauty and power. I foresee the people of the future who have not been spoiled by luxury, who have not been driven by misery, conscious of their rights and duties."

Permit me to dwell briefly on the great issues that face us in this era. The age-old aspiration of man to be free is more dominant everywhere in the world today than at any previous time in history. It warns us that the freedom we enjoy here in America is the most priceless heritage we possess. At the same time, it makes us aware that freedom once won is not eternal; it has to be jealously guarded against the recurring disease of tyranny.

It is significant to note that in our lifetime most of the world's people have changed their forms of government. Since the end of World War II, no less than 19 countries have won their independence—and during the same brief span of time, several hundred million other people have become enslaved by dictatorial Communist regimes.

Communism, which now has inflicted the disease of tyranny on nearly a billion people, is inflamed with fevers as freedom struggles to reassert itself in nations like Poland and Hungary. And who can tell whether the pressure of this struggle for freedom may not burst the seams of the Iron Curtain and involve the free world in military action?

Elsewhere in the world, tensions are equally great. A militant nationalism possesses the former colonial areas of the world as they struggle for independence. Great empires, such as Britain and France, are shrinking as their former possessions and power fall away.

We are living in a revolutionary age—perhaps the most revolutionary age in recorded history. The world has changed more in the last 40 years than in the previous 400, much more in the last decade than in the last half century.

Science spawns new and terrible weapons, such as the H-bomb, the jet plane, and guided missiles, which are capable of unbelievable destruction.

Against this background, ready to exploit every weakness, every difficulty in nations not yet under domination, we have the specter of an evil force that would destroy the way of life enjoyed by the people of this country and free men everywhere.

Even if we in this country had the assurance that communism did not include the destruction of the United States—and our assurances are all to the contrary—we would have sufficient reason to oppose it. We know from experience that man and his immortal destiny will always seek freedom and that freedom long denied builds up irrepressible pressures. A world in which almost one-half is held in subjugation is a world in which the tensions are such that no one can live in complete peace and security. In addition, the very principles of communism fly in the face of man's timeless quest for self-betterment.

Communism rejects every value man holds sacred—the dignity of man, the independence of nations, free governments, freedom of enterprise, religion, and of the press, the right to private property, and the precepts of morality and humanitarianism. Communism openly sows hostility. It employs duplicity, conspiracy, betrayal, subversion, aggression, and revolution.

Therefore, our first concern must be for the security of our Nation and our people.

We know that conditions are such in the world that we must maintain a defense force capable of deterring aggression in every area of the world vital to our own security.

How best to provide such a defense force is a question that looms more and more important in this age of revolutionary changes. Scientific developments are taking place so rapidly that our whole concept of defense has changed radically in the last few years.

For example, the modern B–52 atomic jet bomber can place more explosive force over a target on a single mission than all the thousands of planes that flew many thousands of missions in World War II. Just last week it was announced that a new jet bomber, far more powerful than the B–52, has been completed and tested. Thus, each new scientific development inevitably produces revolutionary changes in our defense program.

Under these circumstances, I am convinced that if we are to maintain a defense force adequate to meet our changing needs, we must rely more and more on a professional Army, Navy, and Air Force made up of volunteers.

I am convinced that the present policy of using the draft to replenish our military forces is not only more expensive but also gives the Nation less security than would a smaller, highly trained professional army.

Men who are drafted today are out in 2 years. New methods and machines are being developed so rapidly that the training a man receives today may be entirely outmoded within a year or two.

What we need is a highly trained volunteer Army and National Guard equipped with the most modern weapons available. In my judgment, this would give us greater security at less cost than the present draft system.

Next to providing for the Nation's security, our second major concern in this age of revolutionary changes must be to foster a sound and strong economy here at home for the benefit of all our people.

From the Nation's beginning to the present time, America has undergone vast changes. Its growth and development have been fabulous, certainly far beyond the dreams of any of its founders.

The most significant thing about this remarkable growth, in my judgment, is the fact that it has been achieved under conditions of freedom which permit every individual the opportunity to make of his life what he will.

We have grown from a nation of 3 million people with a gross national income of less than $1 billion to a nation of 170 million and a gross national income of more than $400 billion. Our people are better fed, better clothed, better housed, and enjoy better health than any other people anywhere else in the world. We have reached the highest standard of living enjoyed by any people in all history. Today there are gainfully employed more than $65 million persons and our economy continues to expand.

This is not to say there are no serious problems facing us here at home. However, it is my conviction that if we do not sacrifice the priceless principles of freedom and liberty which have made America a great, good, and united nation of people, we shall retain the strength to triumph over any adversity.

I am reminded at this point of a statement made by Benjamin Franklin when he emerged from Philadelphia's Independence Hall to announce to the waiting throng that a Constitution had at least been adopted for the new Nation. A woman rushed up to him and cried:

"Pray tell us, Mr. Franklin, what kind of a government have you given us?"

He replied: "A republic—if you can keep it."

A free form of government we still have today, but the challenge to keep it is as great today as it was in 1787.

And as we fervently seek the pathway of peace and labor together to maintain a strong economy, and to improve the living standards of all our people, let us not forget the words of a great American spoken nearly a century ago. He said:

"The primary cause of our great prosperity is the principle of liberty for all—the principle that clears the path for all—gives hope to all—and, by consequence, enterprise, and industry to all."

Small Business—Testimony by George J. Burger, National Federation of Independent Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, recently Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, appeared before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency to testify with reference to proposed legislation affecting the Small Business Administration. During his testimony, I engaged in a colloquy with him. I ask that a portion of the colloquy be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the colloquy was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM OPEN HEARING ON SMALL-BUSINESS LEGISLATION, JUNE 3, 1957

Senator CAPEHART. Will the gentleman yield?

There is not any question that you and your organization did a lot in the early days of the Small Business Administration to help in formulating policies and programs, because the whole thing was new, and the Korean war was going on, and someone had to do it. You and your organization did a splendid job in assisting. But once they started to stretch their legs and got the process working out, has it not worked well since then?

I agree with you it should be on a permanent basis. Either that, or we should extend it for 5 years, or something of that sort. I do not like this year-to-year extension, or every 2 years. I agree with you on the policy. At least it should be every 5 years, or every 10 years. I have nothing against the policy, but do you not think it has been working fairly well?

Mr. BURGER. Senator CAPEHART, let me answer both your question and Senator CLARK'S. There was a statement made very recently, within the past 30 days, quoted in the press, by the Under Secretary of Commerce, or the Assistant Secretary of Commerce. He charged or stated, as it was told in the press, that one of the contributing reasons for the failure of small business was the lack of managerial experience. We have heard that and we are wondering whether that theme or that thought goes down to the policy board in setting the overall policy.

Senator CAPEHART. It does not follow because some employee of the Department of Commerce, which has thousands and thousands of employees, made that statement, that that is the policy which they follow.

Mr. BURGER. But I believe that same gentleman acts as the Secretary of Commerce's

alternate. I think in your counterpart committee, the House Banking and Currency Committee, just as a matter of information—and maybe you members of the committee are aware of it—there have been recommendations made by other witnesses, and even by some of the members of the committee of an advisory board bringing in the Secretary of Commerce or his alternate, and a small-business man. We did not make the recommendation.

Senator CAPEHART. If I were going to make any recommendation on this subject it seems to me that it might well be to keep the setup as it is, but have an advisory group of 25 men by regions in the United States, which would meet every quarter, or twice a year. Then they would make a report to the Congress and to the President as to the general policies adopted by this group as to the operation of the Small Business Administration.

I would favor something like that, which I think might well be helpful, but I cannot agree with you on a one-man operation. I am not particularly wedded to having the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary of Commerce, but I think you would have to have some group or board of directors in there to take their place, because you have it in your own business. Your small-business agency has a board of directors.

Mr. BURGER. Exactly.

Senator CAPEHART. And they make the policies.

Mr. BURGER. Not as far as legislative or economic programs are concerned. The members do.

Senator CAPEHART. But they make the general policies. They elect officers. We are here to listen to the witnesses and get their ideas and suggestions on what we are doing, but I do want to say this—and I want the record again to show it—that you were a great help, in my opinion, to the organization of this agency from its beginning. As you know, I was chairman of this committee when the bill was passed.

Mr. BURGER. That is right.

Senator CAPEHART. You remember the big debate we had on the floor of the Senate and the great interest there was in it. Then, after it was set up, you remember it took some little time to get it going, and going properly. We had a couple of directors. Mr. Barnes was the second director, was he not?

Mr. BURGER. That is right. He was acting counsel and moved in as director.

Senator CAPEHART. Yes. But I remember the great help you were to the committee, not only in writing the bill but also in getting it going well. I am under the impression it is doing exceptionally well. Am I right or wrong about that?

Mr. BURGER. It is. It is.

Senator CAPEHART. I think if we make it permanent, or extend it for 5-year periods, just like we do the Export-Import Bank, that would accomplish the purpose. I do not believe we should increase the amount that they can lend to any one concern. We should keep it a little-business organization.

Mr. BURGER. As to the ceiling on the loans, we have some recommendations on that.

Senator CAPEHART. But I wish you could help us to get a graduated income tax for business.

Mr. BURGER. We are working on that, Senator CAPEHART.

Senator CAPEHART. And also a permanent amortization for the facilities that they buy.

Mr. BURGER. Our position on that is with you. We have been before the Senate Finance Committee.

Senator CAPEHART. I know you have been advocating both of those things. They will do more good than any two things or any dozen things we can do to help little business.

Mr. BURGER. The Senate Small Business Committee has recommended that the Administration be made a permanent agency, and since that time bills have been introduced by both Senators SPARKMAN and THYE providing that the agency be made a permanent agency of the Government.

I want to pay particular credit to the line of questioning put to me during my appearance before the Senate Small Business Committee by both Senators SPARKMAN and THYE as to the overall operation of the Small Business Administration during the life of the agency, but it would be my opinion that they would concur in our recommendations.

Senator CLARK. This is again the Select Committee on Small Business you are referring to.

Mr. BURGER. I would like to see the day come that I have been fighting for for the last 6 years when we will have that a standing committee.

Senator CLARK. Yes, but the only point I want to make is that it is not this committee.

Mr. BURGER. I know it is not this committee.

Senator CAPEHART. You would not want to take that jurisdiction away from us?

Mr. BURGER. You know, Senator CAPEHART, the fight we made on that thing, and only a year ago last July I was able to get 72 Senators to go along with that.

Senator CAPEHART. I used to be on that Select Committee on Small Business myself.

Mr. BURGER. I will make that correction then.

Shortly after the agency was created in the summer of 1953, and continuing right up to the present moment, we have made it our personal interest to check at the top and the local levels into the operations of the Small Business Administration to make certain that the will of Congress is being carried out. To a degree, we feel satisfied that our action in this respect has been helpful to the agency itself and to small business which we represent.

In July 1956, speaking for the federation, in a conference with Dr. Arthur Burns, the then Economic Adviser to the President and chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business, we made seven specific recommendations on small business to be considered by this group, and one of the principal recommendations was that the Small Business Administration be made a permanent agency and that full control be vested in the Administrator in setting the policy.

In our appearances, by invitation, before the platform committees of both the Republican and Democratic national conventions in Chicago and San Francisco, again one of the principal recommendations we made before those groups was that the Small Business Administration be made a permanent agency, with control vested exclusively in the hands of the Administrator. There were no outward comments from members of the platform committees of both parties as to any objections, and in this respect we are glad to note that after my appearance before the Small Business Committees of both the Senate and the House, Mr. Barnes, the Administrator, announced the administration would favor the agency being made a permanent agency.

There are bills presently before your committee which embody the recommendations of the membership of the National Federation of Independent Business, and in each instance the vote has been overwhelmingly in favor of adoption of these bills.

In our appearances before the Small Business Committees of the Congress we have made our recommendations as to the overall policy which should be used in a continuing agency which would be as Congress expected it to be, as a real help to efficient, progressive, independent business of all descriptions.

In my appearance before the House Banking Committee under date of May 15, it will be found, to the credit of that committee, their interrogation during the time I was on the stand was most complete as to the overall problem facing small business.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we know of no other agency in the Federal Government that is subject to policymaking in conjunction with any other Government agency. We do not believe that the Treasury Department has a full understanding of the problems of small business, and we hold the same view as it relates to the Department of Commerce. Both of these Departments have their rightful place in our Government, but they do not belong in any direct action that will be helpful to small business.

Indian Lands, Indian Rights, and the Stockgrower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by me in the July 1957 issue of the South Dakota Stockgrower.

An explanation in part of S. 2446, the article points up some of the problems facing Indian and white alike in fractionated heirship lands.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIAN LANDS, INDIAN RIGHTS, AND THE STOCKGROWER

(By United States Senator FRANCIS CASE)

We have all heard of the $64 question. And of a $64,000 question. But not until I was reading a report by the Comptroller of the United States dealing with a land problem in South Dakota did I ever hear of a question divided into 54 trillion parts.

The report is entitled "Administration of Indian Lands by Bureau of Indian Affairs." The 54 trillions comes in as the lowest common denominator for the varying amounts of interest held by 99 heirs to a tract of 116 acres of land taken by the Army engineers for Fort Randall Reservoir.

"Arrows Sticks in Him" (or Walking Many Arrows) was determined to have the right to 4 trillion, 199 billion, 168 million, 842 thousand, 4 hundred/54 trillionths of the 116 acres. The value of that interst was computed at $585.67.

On the other hand, Francis Hairy Chin was determined to have only 2 billion, 887 million, 907 thousand, 628/54 trillionths of an interest worth exactly 37 cents.

Only one other Indian heir had as many 54 trillionths of interest as had Walking Many Arrows. Four other Indians had the 37-cent interest. Three had a 43-cent interest.

Some ninety other Indians had interests ranging from 64 cents to $384—all expressed in numbers of the 54 trillionths of an interest. I have been using 54 trillion as a round number. Actually, the fractional interests were in terms of a 54,268,714,886,400th share of the 116 acres.

ONLY HALF SINGLY OWNED

The Comptroller General's report says that as of June 30, 1954, out of 103,774 Indian

allotments, only one-half were held by single owners whereas 28,576 were held by from 2 to 5 owners and 20,480 were held by 6 or more owners.

At the Billings area office, one allotment of 160 acres was owned by 78 heirs, another by 73 heirs. Those figures were for February 1955.

In the 2 years that have elapsed—how many of those heirs have died and their interests passed on to others, with further fractionating of interests? Who knows?

The Comptroller General discovered:

1. Indian heirs ordinarily do not have the facilities or cash to settle estates.

2. No economic incentive exists for the Indians to simplify the status of heirship lands.

3. Indian family relationships are complicated. Marriage and divorce may follow tribal custom rather than State law.

COMPTROLLER RECOMMENDS ACTION

So, the Comptroller has now formally recommended that "Congress consider legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell or partition inherited lands held under trust patent, without requiring the consent of all competent owners and without limiting that authority, as at the present time, to cases where one or more of the heirs is determined to be incompetent."

I think the Comptroller simply threw up his hands as the Army engineers must have when they found that this mounting fractionating of interests required denominators of millionths, billionths, and trillionths to reach a common factor that could express the size of an heir's interest.

If that was the fix of the Comptroller General of the Army engineers in making a settlement for lands acquired once and for all, what is, or has been, the plight of the stockgrower who wanted to rent one of these tracts of land from Indian owners?

Or, of the Indian who finds himself with an interest in land that he cannot use, rent, or sell?

MANY COUNTIES ARE INVOLVED

In Roberts County, S. Dak., thousands of acres lie idle and produce weed seeds that wash down to fertile croplands because of the practical impossibility of fixing responsibility and ability to manage the land.

In other counties with Indian lands, the problem is similar. And that goes for a very large number of counties in South Dakota.

Fractionated heirship Indian lands tantalize the Indian owners and torment the stockman who tries to use them.

Leasing through the agency offices brings a round of bookwork, frayed tempers, and frustration.

And, when heirship interest can be determined, some Indians find themselves like the young returned soldier Sioux did in Denver, a few months back. He got a check for 7 cents as his share of a lease fee. It would cost him 10 cents to cash it.

How much it cost the Government to lease the land, determine the interests and mail the checks, you guess.

PROVISIONS OF S. 2446

So—once again I have introduced a bill to meet this problem. It is S. 2446 and I have put into it certain ideas developed through correspondence and conversation with many people, white and Indian.

This bill (S. 2446) specifically does these things:

1. Permits any Indian holding an undivided interest in trust land to petition in State court for partition of interest, with a grant of fee title to result.

2. Requires the court to cause the lands to be sold at not less than appraised value when partitioning of the land is not practicable and the proceeds distributed according to interests.

3. Permits the tribe of the reservation where the land is located to meet the high bid or appraised value and buy within 30 days—or, any member of the tribe within 20 days after the tribe's right expires.

4. Continues the land in trust for Indian heirs or purchasers not determined to be competent, but requires the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to Indians determined to be competent or individuals who are not members of a tribe.

5. Permits any Indian to apply to any court with naturalization jurisdiction for a determination of free and unrestricted status if (a) honorably discharged from 2 years of peacetime or 90-day wartime military service, or (b) graduated from high school or equivalent, or (c) found to meet the requirements for a certificate of naturalization.

6. Authorizes the Secretary of Interior to issue an "interim trust patent" to any Indian who has a certificate of free and unrestricted status which "will keep such lands and property in a trust status and not subject to taxes until disposed of by him and title is transferred to another person."

HELPS BOTH INDIANS AND STOCKMEN

The provisions of this bill will, in my opinion, provide a fair answer to the mounting fractionating of interests in Indian lands and contribute toward solving our so-called Indian problems in South Dakota.

The sole-owner Indian who wants to be on his own can seek a certificate in the circuit court that will give him full management of his property. And, if he wants to sell a tract of land and use the proceeds to buy a home where he has a job, he will be free to do so.

Until then, he can retain his presently-owned land in a tax-exempt status. This is necessary for the protection of the Indian who does not have the resources as yet to operate his lands in the tax world. But if he sells the lands, the buyer gets a fee patent and the lands go on the tax rolls.

The Indian boy or girl who has served in the Armed Forces the period of time which is recognized for veterans' benefits, or who has graduated from high school or who meets the tests for naturalized aliens is clearly as entitled to free and unrestricted citizenship as the alien who joins the Foreign Legion or who goes through naturalization proceedings.

The stockman who wants to rent from the owners of Indian lands will know there is a procedure for the untangling of lands in probate and the establishing of rights and interests that are clear and unmistakable and fair to all concerned—with protection for the Indian or tribe who wants to exercise Indian preference. We will be glad to receive suggestions and comments. Ask for a copy of the bill if you want one by dropping me a card—FRANCIS CASE, 325 Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Do Not Sacrifice One Liberty to Gain Another

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I received from Mr. Yale B. Bernstein, an attorney of Philadelphia, Pa. Mr. Bernstein states that he is active with the Philadelphia branches of the ADA, NAACP, and the American Civil Liberties Union. He favors integration at all levels. Nevertheless, Mr. Bernstein commends me for my stand in favor of a proper amendment to provide jury trials in connection with the civil-rights legislation, pointing out eloquently that we should not sacrifice one liberty to gain another.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *June 18, 1957.*

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KEFAUVER: Even though you are not the Senator from my State, I felt that I should write to you and commend you for your vote in committee to amend the pending civil-rights legislation to provide for jury trials in criminal contempt cases. I am writing to you because you will most likely get abuse and criticism from both the pro-and anti-civil-righters; the former because of your stand for jury trials (they will forget your courageous lone vote against the Communist Control Act of 1954), and the latter because of your position in favor of the pending civil-rights legislation per se. You have, in my opinion, taken the difficult but correct position from the point of view and liberalism.

To set the record straight let me premise this discussion with the statement that I am unalterably in favor of integration at all levels, just as soon as possible (and maybe just a little sooner than that). I have worked, as the national organizer of the student branch of the Americans for Democratic Action, to set up prointegration groups in your State and other States in the South. I am now an attorney active with the Philadelphia branches of the ADA, NAACP, and American Civil Liberties Union. However, let me emphasize that in this letter I am speaking as an individual and not as a member of any of these groups for I find myself in disagreement with their stand with relation to the above-mentioned jury-trial provisions. I find myself in an odd position in holding these views as I am advocating a position that is held by many of those who would oppose all civil-rights legislation. But I have learned that one cannot refuse to speak his convictions merely because his enemies agree with him. Just because the Communists profess a belief in civil rights, we should not be afraid to advocate civil rights, and just because the KKK profess the belief in jury trials in civil-rights cases is not reason to oppose such jury trials.

It is not an easy decision. The right to a jury trial and the right to vote and be free from discrimination are both basic values. However, I think it is time that we learned that we cannot take away one right in order to try to secure another. I think that it was Franklin who said that he who would give up liberty for a little safety deserves neither liberty nor safety. It is time we learned that we must look at yesterday and toward tomorrow and not only at the expediency of today, and that we must not have one stand for our friends and another for our enemies. Liberty is for both friend and foe alike or it is not liberty.

The law usually provides for contempt proceedings in two major cases. One is where something disruptive occurs in the courtroom itself, or in the immediate vicinity of the courtroom. Here, the judge before whom it happens, or another judge assigned by him, prosecutes the breaker of the court's order without trial by jury. I do not think that this fact situation is relevant to our discussion as this is not the situation at which the pending civil-rights legislation is aimed. The second situation is where the court, usually by injunction, orders something to be done or not done. In

this case, it would be a civil contempt where the refusal to obey the order does not also involve the violation of a State or Federal law, and it would be criminal contempt if the refusal to obey the order does involve the violation of a State or Federal law (i. e., court orders no violence on a picket line. X hits a strikebreaker. X is guilty of criminal contempt, because in his violation of the court order he also committed the act of assault and battery). In criminal contempt, the general law states that the accused may demand a jury trial, except in cases where the United States is a party to the action. (The general law has been modified with regard to certain labor-injunction statutes.) Convictions for contempt are subject to the usual appeal procedures.

In the proposed civil-rights legislation, the law was framed to permit the United States to seek injunctions to protect an individual's right to vote, etc. This is somewhat of an extention of the usual injunction sought by the United States for, in this case, the United States is seeking an injunction for the protection of an individual and not for the United States itself. I agree with this extention for I realize that in many communities the individual, if he secured an injunction in his own name, might be subject to retribution.

The problem arises when we say that the individual accused of contempt shall not have benefit of a jury trial, and may be tried by the judge issuing the injunction (the same judge who determines whether the individual should be arrested for allegedly violating that injunction), or by another Federal judge also without a jury trial. It is true that this is not strictly a criminal trial, but if the accused is found to be guilty, he may be sentenced to a long term in jail, so irrespective of what name you give it, the law, prior to your vote for the amendment, would have provided for the placing of a man in prison without benefit of a trial by a jury.

The argument against jury trials in civil rights injunction cases is usually twofold. The first being that there is no constitutional question involved and that if you are against trial without jury in contempt cases, you should change the whole contempt law and not merely that portion involved in the civil-rights legislation. The second, which is the main thrust of the argument, is that today southern juries may or will not convict violators of Federal antidiscrimination injunctions, and that since the factual question of guilt is rarely in dispute and that since the right to vote, etc., is so basic and cannot be safeguarded if convictions cannot be secured, the proposed civil-rights legislation should not provide for trial by jury in contempt cases.

The first argument presented above is, in my opinion, without merit. The mere fact that trial by jury in contempt cases is not deemed to be required by the Constitution does not indicate the wisdom or lack of wisdom of this position. If Congress is willing to extend trial by jury (for whatever motives) beyond what is deemed to be constitutionally required, the liberals should praise the decision as a fuller measure of freedom, and not condemn it as unnecessary or unwise. And the proposition that it has generally been the law to refuse jury trials in contempt cases of this sort does not require the conclusion that we must work only to amend the whole contempt trial law. Of course we should do this, but meanwhile, if we are opposed to convictions without jury trial, we should oppose this concept wherever we can, and not merely cry all or nothing.

The whole question, it seems to me, rests upon one point, and only one point. Is it worth allowing individuals to go to jail without trial by jury in order to attempt to make more secure the right to vote and be free from some forms of discrimination, and whether trial by jury will harm the securing of these rights. As I have said before, it is a tough decision and one where liberals can honestly disagree, athough to me, the answer is clear.

I think that it is incumbent upon us to look deeply into the value of convictions for civil-rights violations, and their effect on guaranteeing civil rights. I believe that the mere fact that there is a Federal injunction will deter many from acting in violation of it. (Previous Federal injunctions, i. e., "white primaries," desegregation of graduate schools, etc., worked in many instances.) Irrespective of whether they agree or disagree with the injunction, the strength of the Federal mandate will deter some, and the risk of a trial, jury or otherwise, will deter others. (In this point Osmond Frankle, ACLU counsel is in agreement. He also questions the desirability of contempt convictions without jury trials.) I also believe, from some personal observations in the South, that some juries will convict, although not all will, where guilt is shown. But law that does not have the support of the community will have little positive effect and could cause harm if unintelligently enforced. Law is only part of the picture. If a man is convicted without benefit of a jury trial, and that conviction does not have the support of at least a large minority of the community, you will create a martyr and not an example. Of course, in the short run, you may make more secure the right to vote, but at what cost? I am fully in support of the civil-rights legislation, as laws are needed, but not laws that take away some freedom to try to get some other.

Placing a man in jail is the absolute denial of his civil rights and liberties. This must be done to some men to protect others, but we should not abrogate any man's liberty without absolute necessity, and without as many safeguards as possible, especially if we are to take away his liberty in the name of liberty. We have fought too long and too hard for jury trials to permit them to be disregarded without serious misgivings. The fact that a jury will not convict a guilty man is no more reason to eliminate jury trials than it would be to eliminate trials themselves. The fear that the jury will not agree with the law, or is sympathetic toward the defendant should not cause us to bypass the jury. We should, of course, attempt to get as impartial a jury as possible, and this can be done by challenges at the trial itself. If we cannot get 12 relatively impartial men in the entire community, especially if the prosecuting officers are Federal and not local, we should look toward a new solution to the problem (i. e., cutting down the representation of those areas that deny others the right to vote) but not eliminate jury trials. To bypass the jury in this situation would be unwise, for a logical extension of this argument would be that a man should never be tried by members of his own race, or nationality, or religion, or sex, or economic group, etc., since they might be sympathetic to the defendant. We all would balk at trying southern violators by northern juries, or vice versa. If we ever get to the state where we are willing to say that we should refuse jury trials because juries won't convict, we will have taken away a basic right for which we have fought for many centuries. It is my belief that civil liberties dictates, as does the spirit of the Constitution, that no man be placed in jeopardy of jail unless he has the right to a trial by a jury of his peers if he so desires.

I also believe that the argument that there is little factual disagreement in these contempt cases and that therefore juries would not be necessary is, to my way of thinking, invalid. There will be factual questions to be decided, and besides, the jury historically, serves two purposes; to determine the physical facts and to look at the entire situation and to apply the general law to the particular circumstances which only the community can know. Of course in the South this may mean a low rate of convictions, but civil liberties is not measured by the number of convictions, even when those convictions are aimed at enforcing civil rights. I have no sympathy for those who would try to deprive another of his rights, but my sympathy does go out to those rights, and it is for that reason that I believe that we cannot circumvent jury trials, no matter what the cause. Appeal provisions and safeguards are not enough. Every lawyer knows that in the main, what happens during the trial will prevail. No matter how fair the procedures, or how thorough the appeal, the very elimination of the jury, in my opinion, deprives the accused of the fair trial civil libertics demands. I have great respect for the Federal judges in the country, but I also know that history has produced a Web. Thayer, and his sort also. I do not want to allow freedom versus jail to be left up to one man.

Let us look at history for a moment. Consistency is not always wise, but in the area of personal liberty, there is no greater cornerstone than equal rights for both friend and foe. There cannot be one justice for us and one for them.

Before the Constitution was written, William Penn was indicted for speech against the crown. The jury in this case, although pressured unmercifully by the bench, refused to convict, reserving the right to interpret the law as well as the facts. This case has come down to us as a hallmark of liberty. Also, before the Bill of Rights was written, John Peter Zenger was tried for criminal libel. The attorney for the defense (Andrew Hamilton, Alexander Hamilton's brother) admitted the facts that constituted guilt under the law, but demanded that the law be changed by the jury. This acquittal is another hallmark in our fight for liberty. How many of us would have voted to convict John Brown even though he was, in fact guilty under the law? How many of us would have voted to convict the violators of the Fugitive Slave Act, or would have sat back while permitting a judge, without a jury, to decide guilt or innocence? In fact, no jury was permitted under this act, a fact which roused the Abolitionists to arms.) As I have said, there is not two brands of freedom, according to who is in the driver's seat.

But let us look a little closer into the use of the injunction and contempt itself. The major case which liberals thought wrongly decided was the Debs case. When the Government could not gain a conviction against Gene Debs for his participation in the Pullman strike (they first tried to convict him for conspiracy. This conviction required a jury trial), they turned around and sentenced him, without benefit of a trial by jury, for contempt, Debs having allegedly violated a Federal injunction. Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, decried this trial without jury, as did one of the greatest liberals of all times, Clarance Darrow. The liberals, like Debs, Altgeld, and Darrow, who had to fight to establish the right to trial by jury, condemned the injunction-contempt-no jury trial procedure one of our greatest threats to liberty. Yet, today, all seems to have been forgotten by the liberal.

Labor, historically harrassed by injunction-contempt proceedings, fought hard and long and finally got through Congress the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Among its provisions are the following:

"In all cases arising under this act in which a person shall be charged with contempt of a court of the United States * * * the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed * * * [except where the contempt was by an officer of the court or in the court's presence]."

This was considered another landmark for liberalism.

Today, it appears as if labor and the liberals have forgotten the past as well as the possible future. Let us suppose someday Congress decides to take away our rights,

not by criminal statute, but by contempt action without trial by jury. A minority could be destroyed this way, as well as helped. Also, why not injunctions against all crimes. We could get convictions without worrying about juries.

This is, of course, not too likely to happen, but as I have tried to point out, we cannot have one set of rules when the Government is going our way and another set when it is going against us. Procedural consistency is too valuable to allow it to be controlled by the particular ideology in power, even if we agree with those in power and even if we unalterably oppose those against whom it is aimed. The ends, no matter how desirable, do not justify the means.

Associate Justice William O. Douglas in his book Almanac of Liberty wrote the following with regard to the above-mentioned William Penn case.

"* * * Short cuts are always tempting when one feels his cause is just. Short cuts have always been justified on the ground that, the ends being worthy, the means of reaching it are not important. Short cuts, however, are dangerous. If they can be taken against one person or group they can be taken against another. Our greatest struggle has been to provide procedural safeguards that will protect us against ourselves and make it certain as possible that reason and calm judgment will not be swept away by passion and hysteria. Experience shows us that it is the William Penns of the world, not the criminals, who suffer most when the procedural safeguards for fair trials are relaxed."

We cannot give up civil liberties for civil rights. It is not enough that all men are equal, unless all men are free. The liberal must, and I congratulate you, Senator KEFAUVER, for realizing this, work for a society where all men are equal and all men are free. It took us too long to build the strong road of jury trials to now cut into the wilds of contempt trials.

The right to vote will come, as will the end of discrimination, irrespective of the jury-trial provisions. Perhaps it will take a little longer by taking the main road (although we can never know unless we try). If we don't guarantee jury trials, we may find ourselves in the position that Justice Black spoke of when he dissented against the Illinois race liable law. There he said that if any minority group rejoices at that method of trying to provide civil rights they should remember the old adage: "Another such victory and we are undone."

By voting for jury trials, you have been consistent with your high principles. It is true that politics makes strange bedfellows, but so does courage, and by voting for the civil-rights legislation with jury trials you will have declared the principle that there shall be no denial of civil liberties, either on the grounds of race, religion, sex, creed, or national origin, or on the grounds that someone is your enemy.

Sincerely,

YALE B. BERNSTEIN.

Job Difficulties of People Over 45 Years of Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include an article which appeared in the Reader's Digest recently and an article that appeared in the Dallas Morning News, June 29, 1957, concerning people over 45 years of age who have difficulty obtaining employment.

For 20 years I have undertaken to focus attention on the unfair disadvantages this group has in its efforts to obtain employment. It is encouraging to note that more and more interest is being shown in the problems of this group.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Reader's Digest for July 1957]

HELP WANTED: FOR THE FORTY-PLUS

(Condensed from Your Life)

(By Ronald Schiller)

Forty-seven-year-old Harry Davis boarded his usual commuter train in a pleasant suburb. There was nothing in his appearance that set him apart. But the appearance was a mask, for Harry Davis was a man in desperate trouble. After 23 years with the same firm, he had lost his $11,000 job as office manager when his company merged with a larger concern. And despite a year of heroic effort, he had been unable to find another position—because of his age.

When the train reached the city, Harry strode purposefully down the platform. But instead of boarding a bus or taxi to his office, as did the other passengers, he went into the waiting room. This was the moment when that feeling of despair and panic invariably assailed him. He waited for it to subside, then telephoned the three employment agencies where he had applications on file. He got the usual answers: "Nothing interesting for you today, Mr. Davis." Next he opened his newspaper to the employment section (he didn't like to read it on the train where friends might see him) and scanned the long columns, skipping those ads which specified "under 40" or "under 45," circling others which required personal letters. Most of the rest of the day he spent sitting in offices waiting to be interviewed by personnel managers, most of them younger than he, who had answered his letters regarding previous ads.

Harry's interviews usually went well. He is capable, intelligent, and well qualified for the positions he has sought. But he cannot hide the damning "Age: 47" on his application blank. He is on the wrong side of that mysterious, senseless 40-year age barrier which, in the American labor market, separates the employables from those considered "too old" to hire.

Among Harry's worst enemies are the pension and retirement plans that many firms have instituted to protect their employees. To hire a man Harry's age a company may have to pay twice as much in premiums as for a man in his thirties. When Harry has offered to waive his pension rights or pay the additional premiums himself, he has usually been told that it is against company policy or that it would mess up the bookkeeping.

A big problem to a man in Harry's position is to maintain his morale. A dozen times a day he has to remind himself, "You're in fine health, you're in the prime of life, you've had valuable business experience. You may land the very next job you apply for. Just keep plugging."

But these self-administered pep talks cannot stay Harry's rapidly deteriorating financial condition. Like many white-collar workers, he has never been able to save much money. There has been a family to raise—two sons—and his position has required that he maintain a good standard of living. He received 2 months' severance pay when he was discharged, and State unemployment compensation helped while it lasted. But, outside of a little money in the bank, his only assets are a 3-year-old car, some life insurance, and a $16,000 house on which there remains a $10,000 mortgage.

I do not know what is going to happen to Harry and his family. When I last saw him he was on his way to another interview, for a job as supervisor of a shipping department for a small firm that would pay him $4,000 a year. "It's a young company," said Harry hopefully. "With my experience there should be plenty of room for advancement * * *."

Everything related here about Harry Davis is true except his name. But whatever we call him, he is important to us. He is representative of a growing reservoir of unemployed American men over 40, and women over 35. I have interviewed many such men and women, ranging from factory and office workers to professionals and executives. Their stories differ in detail from Harry's, but they all share three things: frustrated lives, shattered hopes, and fear of the future.

Age bias in employment is an increasingly serious matter in the United States because the proportion of middle aged in our population is rocketing upward. Fifty years ago the average life expectancy of American men was 47 years; today it is 67. Moreover, people today stay young longer. Their normal useful working life has stretched considerably. Yet employers continue to set age limitations in their hiring policies that might have applied in the 1890's.

The Department of Labor recently made an extensive survey of employers to find out why they don't hire older workers. The reasons were difficult to pin down. But the general feeling was that older people were too slow to meet production requirements, "too set in their ways," less creative than younger workers, harder to train, more prone to absenteeism, and that their physical condition was not as good.

The latter charge is undeniably true: if a job involves heavy physical work, a young man is apt to be better. But the other reasons have turned out to be myths. A survey of 3,313,000 employees made by the National Association of Manufacturers showed that in work performance 93 percent of the older workers were equal or superior and only 7 percent were not equal to younger workers. A more detailed study by the University of Illinois revealed that rates of absenteeism and lateness are actually lower among older employees, and that their loyalty, sense of responsibility, and morale are higher. They are also less prone to accidents.

On the white-collar and executive level a common myth is that serious morale problems develop if older men are put to work under executives younger than themselves. In cases where circumstances have forced the issue, this theory has failed to hold up. Two years ago, for example, a New Jersey electronic concern, needing executive help, violated its own employment age policy by hiring 2 men in their fifties. They turned out so well that last year 5 more were hired. "From now on older men get preference here," the young president of the firm told me. "They've upgraded the whole level of work."

"Actually," states the NAM report, "older workers are the cream of the crop."

As a result of such findings, a few large concerns have begun to reexamine their employment practices, with good results. One department store now makes it a policy to hire older workers. "Hiring employees over 40 is good business for us," reports a Chicago manufacturer, adding that any slowing of speed among older workers is more than made up by higher quality work. An insurance company, disturbed by the fact that many girl office workers quit work after a short time, now makes it a policy to hire older women.

The 40-plus clubs, composed of older unemployed executives who have banded together in several cities to help each other find jobs, were among the first agencies to dramatize the situation, and over a period

of years report some remarkable successes.

The New York club has placed so many of its members in the past 2 years that it has had to advertise for new job seekers. The Boston club reports it returns to employment "83 out of every 100 men" within 8 to 28 days. The San Francisco club's roster has dropped by two-thirds.

Meanwhile, to help women over 40 find employment, San Francisco businessmen last year established an organization called Careers Unlimited. It has placed more than 50 women in jobs each month. Similar organizations have been springing up in other cities.

But hopeful as these activities are, they have not yet succeeded in skimming off more than a fraction of the middle-aged job seekers who report to Government employment agencies each month. The tragic fact revealed by the Department of Labor survey is that half of all employers still have age restrictions, and that between 50 and 60 percent of the job openings are still not available to men over 40 or 45, or to women over 35.

Federal and State Governments have not been idle. Two years ago the Federal Government took the initiative by abolishing age restrictions on Federal jobs. Five States—Colorado, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island—have passed laws forbidding age discrimination against workers, by either Government or private employers.

But employment experts now place their greatest hope in a new concept: special job counseling for workers over 40. The Department of Labor plans to help install trained counselors in all 1,700 of its employment offices this year. The program is based on the highly successful experiences in Canada and New York State, where special advisers have succeeded in raising job placement of older workers by as much as 400 percent.

The job counselor's task ranges from helping an applicant to recast his whole plan for the future down to such simple advice as telling a woman to use less lipstick. Sometimes the counselor's most obvious advice requires the most persuasion, such as convincing a job seeker to be more realistic about pay demands, or to look for a job on the fringes of a city where younger people are often reluctant to work, or to retrain himself in a skill that is in greater demand.

In analyzing an applicant's qualifications the counselor also searches for hidden employable talents the job seeker may not himself know he possesses. Examples: A 55-year-old textile salesman, unemployed for 16 months, found satisfying work as a proofreader; a 59-year-old former Army paymaster won a position as head of the research department of an advertising agency.

Persuading employers to drop their age bars is the toughest part of the counselor's job. It takes missionary zeal, diplomacy, "and sometimes a touch of honest guile," says Joe Nawn, special counselor to the 40-plus job seekers at the Newburgh, N. Y., State employment office. Once an employer phoned Joe asking if he had a receptionist—"under 30, of course." Joe knew a widow who qualified in everything but age and badly needed the work. He talked so fast and enthusiastically about the lady's experience, ability, and charm that the question of age never arose again. A month later the employer called to say how pleased he was with his new receptionist. "Did you know she was over 50?" asked Joe. "Gosh," exclaimed the shocked employer, "I forget to ask her age."

"No community today can afford to be without the services of a special job counselor for the 40-plus," says Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman of New York State's Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging. "But the counselor cannot do the whole job. He needs the community's help."

Desmond's plan for community action consists of four steps: (1) Organize a steering committee of members from the local chamber of commerce, service clubs, and other civic groups; (2) make sure a special job counselor is appointed to the local employment agency; (3) utilize the local schools' vocational and adult-education services to retrain the unemployed when necessary; (4) enlist the community's biggest guns to help break down local employers' prejudices against older workers.

Any suggestion that older workers should be hired as a charitable gesture, or as a civic duty, infuriates Senator Desmond. "It should be no such thing," he explodes. "Employers should hire them because it's to their own economic self-interest to do so. Older workers earn every dollar paid them."

The crisis that confronts the 40-plus right now, in an era of almost full employment, will seem minor compared with what we may expect in tthe 1960's, when the World War II "baby crop" enters the labor market. Unless business changes its attitude soon, warns Secretary of Labor James Mitchell, the growing number of middle-aged unemployed could become "the most potent group this country has ever known and forbe some kind of public program for its own survival."

The fact is, as President Eisenhower has stated, "We cannot afford to squander our manpower through a prejudice which obscures the values of maturity, responsibility, and constancy found in older workers."

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News of June 29, 1957]

THE CASE FOR FOLKS OVER 45

(Reprinted from the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times)

A myth, says Webster, is an imaginary or fictitious thing or person. The Times recently referred to the "vicious myth" concerning working ability of those over 65. Now, these unreal dragons again have been attacked by the New York State Labor Department. The department listed eight reasons given by employers for not hiring workers over 45 years old. The reasons and the truth:

1. They are less productive. The truth: Three surveys, says the New York Industrial work by older workers are equal to or superior to that of younger employees.

2. They are often absent. The truth: Older workers have a 20-percent better attendance record than younger workers, said a 1956 United States Labor Department survey.

3. They are involved in more accidents. The truth: The same survey showed workers 45 and over had 2.5 percent fewer disabling injuries, 25 percent fewer nondisabling injuries than those under 45.

4. They do not stay on the payroll long enough to justify hiring expenses. The truth: Studies show separation rates for older workers much lower than for younger employees.

5. It is too costly to provide them with adequate pensions. The truth: "This is an easy generalization."

6. They will cause major increases in employee group insurance costs. The truth: Here again it all depends on the nature of the plan.

7. They don't have needed job skills. The truth: "On the contrary," the article says, "the older worker is likely to possess more skills, training, and know-how than younger job hunters."

8. They are inflexible and unimaginative, have trouble getting along with younger workers. The truth: An unjust, sweeping generalization which is seriously overrated.

The Bulletin points up again our national inconsistency in clinging to age limitations long since overcome, in deliberately wasting a large and necessary portion of our manpower potential. In the common interest, it is every man's business to challenge and correct any and all of these myths whenever faced with them. Equally, we should support and encourage such practical efforts as Industrial Experience, Inc., now being organized in St. Petersburg, to employ skilled workers over 65. In this aging Nation the bell of time is tolling. Either we will overcome these mythical figures or they will overcome us.

Death of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on the occasion of the passing of our late beloved colleague, Joseph McCarthy, memorial resolutions were passed across the country by representative civic groups. Two of such resolutions were adopted by the Republican State Central Committee of California and by the board of supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of each resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the texts of the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 2

Whereas Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin had during his lifetime been in the forefront in humanity's fight against Communism; and

Whereas his death has been a great loss to the American people; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Republican State Central Committee of California regrets the passing of Senator McCarthy; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mrs. Joseph McCarthy and California's Representatives in Congress.

Adopted May 10, 1957.

RESOLUTION 17787—IN MEMORIAM, SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY

Whereas thousands of San Franciscans have been profoundly saddened to note the passing of United States Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin; and

Whereas the tragic loss visited on the sorrowing family of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy is one which will be shared in great measure by all enlightened people throughout the world, who accorded him the deepest respect for his uncompromising honesty and steadfast devotion to the highest American principles: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco adjourn its meeting this day out of respect to the memory of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy; and that a suitable copy of this resolution be tendered to his bereaved widow, Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy, as an expression of the Board's heartfelt sympathy and condolence.

(The foregoing resolution was introduced by Supervisor James Leo Halley, on behalf of all members of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, and

adopted by unanimous vote thereof at the Board meeting held on Monday, May 6, 1957.)

JOHN JAY FERDON,
President of the Board of Supervisors.
JOHN R. MCGRATH,
Clerk of the Board of Supervisors.
GEO. CHRISTOPHER,
Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco.

Tribute to the Late Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, since the decease of our late colleague, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a large number of organizations and institutions, including State legislatures, political groups and others, have adopted resolutions expressing their deep regret and profound sympathy over the passing of this true patriot, who did so much to alert this Republic to the Communist danger.

Among such organizations is the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, who on May 8, 1957, uttered a proclamation expressing the sense of loss over the passing of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. I request unanimous consent that a copy of this proclamation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas in the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the United States Senate has lost one of its most courageous Members, a great Republican Senator who, like his friend, Senator Robert A. Taft, will be remembered long after his passing; and

Whereas since even before the Korean war, Senator McCarthy was the leader of the patriotic fight to eliminate pro-Communists and subversives from our Government and from vital defense industries; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy fought the Communists and their supporters at the sacrifice of his health and in spite of the fact that it made him the victim of the same organized smear tactics which forced MARTIN DIES out of Congress, and deprived our country of the services of Gen. Douglas MacArthur; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy served his party well by personally campaigning for and helping to elect many Republicans to high office, but put his country ahead of his party, and fought valiantly, in war and in peace, against our Nation's enemies; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy, in the great American tradition of Abraham Lincoln, rose to high office over the handicaps of poverty and lack of an early education, yet always lived a modest and exemplary personal life, and, when his income tax returns were scrutinized at the demand of his enemies, he was found by the Democrat in charge of the Internal Revenue Bureau to have overpaid his taxes by more than $1,000: Therefore

Resolved, That the Illinois Federation of Republican Women expresses its deepest regret at the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and consequent great loss to the State of Wisconsin, to the Republican Party, and to our country, and extends its heartfelt sympathies to his widow; and

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mrs. McCarthy, to the Governor of Wisconsin on behalf of the people of Wisconsin, and to Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, who courageously served on Senator McCarthy's committee and voted against the censure of Senator McCarthy.

Done at the spring meeting of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women on this 8th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1957.

Disarmament Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an excellent editorial entitled "Urges Caution on Disarmament Plans," from the July 17, 1957, issue of the Greenville (S. C.) News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

URGES CAUTION ON DISARMAMENT PLANS

Hope is still entertained in many American circles that some new agreement can be reached with Russia that will provide for a certain degree of curtailment in armaments.

To the citizen following the disarmament news, this hope appears very slim, especially when every proposal made from the western side seems to meet with somewhat contemptuous Russian disparagement.

But voices of caution are being raised which may very well cause more of us to be less eager for the West to seek too hastily to bring up proposals that will please the Kremlin. Our experience with Russian tactics suggests that if Russia ever agrees to armament cutting proposals, it will insist on a plan that will give the Soviets some distinct advantage in a military and political way.

That is the fear of some who view with a certain uneasiness the current talks. A case in point is the opinion presented in a recent article by G. F. Hudson, director of Far East studies at Oxford University. Mr. Hudson is a distinguished historian who served 6 years in the research department of the British Foreign Office.

His studies of the world situation lead him to the conclusion that "unfortunately it is extremely difficult, because of the actual circumstances of the strategic situation in Europe, to imagine any agreement on limitation of arms which, however fair it might seem on the surface, would not in practice work out to the disadvantage of the West."

It may seem an extreme view to say that almost any arms curtailment agreement would give Russia an advantage over the West, but there can be little doubt that it is the determined Russian aim to gain such an advantage. The Kremlin policy is likely to be to keep stalling on really fair and equitable proposals in the hope of eventually gaining concessions that will give it a real victory.

And this country could do itself a grave injury by allowing eagerness to reach an agreement to blind it to the traps which shrewd Kremlin negotiators will lay.

The Treasury's Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in yesterday's Washington Post there appeared an editorial entitled "The Treasury's Dilemma." It has reference to the recent offering by the Treasury of Government bonds at 4 percent interest. It correctly points out that a part of the trouble was brought about by the Treasury itself, in originating the high interest rate when it offered the 3¼ percent issue in 1953.

It is a very readable and thought-provoking editorial. I ask unanimous consent that it be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to bt printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TREASURY'S DILEMMA

Criticism of the Treasury for the 4-percent interest rate it has offered on some of its refinancing has been coming hot and heavy from Democrats in Congress. Such criticism would be more constructive if it pointed a feasible alternative way out of the dilemma. The Treasury has $24 billion in Government obligations coming due during the remainder of this calendar year. It either had to refinance these at rates which would attract funds or pay them off in cash—which it is in no position to do. Although the response will be the test, the rates of 4 percent for 4-year notes (actually redeemable in 2 years) and 3⅝ percent for 120-day certificates do not seem out of line with present market requirements.

To castigate the Treasury for the predicament is easy. It did, judging from the oversubscription, pay too much when it sold long-term issues at 3¼ percent in 1953. Because of the outcries during the latter business decline, it may have been gunshy and may have neglected opportunities for placing more of the debt on a long-term basis. Secretary Humphrey has not been conspicuously successful, certainly, in stretching out the debt. The average maturity stood at 46 months in 1953; in May of 1957 it was 43 months. In the past, too, various high Treasury officials proclaimed their belief that interest rates were too low; and this belief (which may well have been correct at the time) is now being cited against them.

Yet no one can think that the Treasury is pleased with the rates it now has to offer. The Treasury's job is to finance the activities of Government and manage the Federal debt. The new issues, which replace issues ranging downward from 3¼ percent to 1½ percent for certain short-term obligations, will increase debt service costs substantially—adding perhaps hundreds of millions of dollars to the Federal budget. Moreover, the Treasury is approaching the legal limit of 4¼ percent on Government bonds, although this does not apply to other types of securities.

The fact is, however, that the Treasury is a competitor in the tremendous demand for funds from corporations and from State and local governments. This demand remains heavy despite the high rediscount rate set by the Federal Reserve Board. It would no

doubt increase rather than diminish if interest rates generally were made easier.

Thus the Treasury is caught in a squeeze. Its immediate concern with refinancing calls for a lower Federal Reserve interest rate. Yet its broader concern with preventing runaway inflation calls for support of the Fed. Actually there have been many disagreements between the Treasury and the independent Federal Reserve. Critics who complain that the relationship is too cozy overlook the fact that one proof of coziness would be a suggestion that the Fed again support the government bond market—which has not occurred.

A case can be made that the present inflation is not of the classical variety, since excess capacity exists in steel, automobiles and other heavy industry, and hence that easier money would promote more demand. But it is hard to argue that easier money for more plant expansion would be a curative when the labor market is already tight in most instances and surplus capacity already exists.

Certainly the philosophy of postponing unessential expansion, which is one objective of the high interest rates that influence the Treasury's action, involves some risk that the economy may become stagnant. It is necessary to apply the brakes very carefully, and to watch closely the effects on small business. But this risk is preferable to the risk of wild inflation which many of the alternate suggestions would invite. It is far easier to talk of cheaper money than to face the morning-after consequences.

Annual Report of the United States Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois, July 1, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the northern section of Illinois has as its chief law-enforcing official at the Federal level a man whom it was my pleasure to nominate. His name is Robert Teiken. He is the United States attorney for northern Illinois. In my judgment he has made an excellent record. Ever so often he issues a very brief report of some of the accomplishments of his office. I think it is quite worthy of a place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

It is again a pleasure to report to the Attorney General and to the people of the 18 northern counties of Illinois concerning the activities of the office of the United States attorney for the northern district of Illinois for the fiscal year just ended.

Since litigation is the chief activity of the office, it is fitting to report the successes and failures we have had in the courts.

The United States Supreme Court passed on four important cases originating from this district and ordered reargument in another.

In *U. S.* v. *Achilli*, the Court decided that the Government must prosecute income-tax evasion as a felony and not as a misdemeanor. Achilli's felony conviction was, therefore, upheld.

In *U. S.* v. *Witkowich*, the district court ruled that, during the period between a deportation order and the deportee's actual departure from the country, he may be compelled to answer only those questions which concern his availability for deportation.

U. S. v. *Korpan* is significant because it is the only Supreme Court case which has interpreted the phrase "so-called slot machine." The court of appeals had reversed the defendant's conviction in the district court. On certiorari, the Supreme Court reversed the court of appeals and upheld the Government's position.

U. S. v. *Roviaro:* In this now well-known case dealing with the identity of Government informers, I regret to say that the Supreme Court did not follow the lead of our court of appeals and reversed the Government's position.

In *U. S.* v. *Lightfoot*, the Supreme Court has ordered reargument. It is significant to note in respect to the Lightfoot case that despite *Yates* v. *U. S.*, recently decided, the Lightfoot case apparently has sufficient merit to require further study by the Court.

In the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit we represented the Government in some 51 appeals during the year. Some of the more important decisions include:

1. *U. S.* v. *Nathan* represents the first time this court of appeals has dealt at length with the problem of denial of civil rights by vote falsification. The decision is notable for the court's highly technical and erudite discussion of the application of general intent as against specific intent in suffrage cases under the civil rights statute, 18 U. S. C. 241. The distinction made by the court of the Williams and Screws cases is a notable contribution to this field of law. The Supreme Court denied the defendant's application for certiorari in this case.

2. In *U. S.* v. Ansani the court affirmed the conviction of members of the Chicago crime syndicate who attempted to evade the provisions of the Johnson Act by selling so-called trade boosters which were nothing but electronic devices to substitute for the familiar spring and reels found in one-armed bandits. Certiorari was denied by the Supreme Court in this case.

3. *U. S.* v. *Holsman* is of significance to the practical administration of mail-fraud statutes. We obtained a reaffirmance in this field of the familiar doctrine that a bench judgment may not be disturbed on appeal except for a total lack of evidence, and that good faith is a factual defense and not a legal defense.

4. In re April 1956 term grand jury, another facet of the Shotwell tax case is examined. The case extends the doctrine of Grand Jury secrecy to prevent the Government from using grand-jury documents in a civil proceeding.

5. In *U. S.* v. *Parker*, the defendant's conviction for perjury was affirmed on appeal. The case is of the utmost significance to the Government for its definition of the word "material" as used in the perjury statute (18 U. S. C. 1621).

6. In *U. S.* v. *Rodriguez* the court of appeals wrote 1 of the 2 existing Federal opinions recognizing the fact that in a criminal case an oral stipulation between counsel for the Government and counsel for the defendant, made in the presence of a defendant, is admissible in evidence and binding.

7. In *U. S.* v. *Killian* the court affirmed the defendant's conviction for falsely denying that he was a Communist in a certificate filed with the National Labor Relations Board. Although the case was decided after the decision of the Supreme Court in *U. S.* v. *Jencks*, the court of appeals made no reference to the Jencks case and followed its own former decision in the Lightfoot case concerning the right to inspect Government investigative reports.

8. *U. S.* v. *Walker* will be of practical importance in the administration of the Narcotic Control Act because the court flatly holds that hearsay evidence may constitute probable cause for search and seizure without a search warrant.

9. In *Hsuan Wei* v. *Robinson* the Government obtained a reversal of a ruling by Judge Perry. The court of appeals held that a Chinese marine who was admitted to the United States for Marine training was deportable upon the termination of such training.

Now pending in the court of appeals is the United States attorney's petition to disbar Attorney Abraham Teitelbaum, twice convicted of income-tax fraud. The district court denied the petition on the ground that no moral turpitude was involved in the tax fraud cases.

In the district court, the Government's most important victory was in the 5-week trial of 3 steel companies found to be discharging solids in the Calumet River to such an extent that the channel became blocked. Judge Barnes ordered the companies to restore the channel to "its established depth."

The Government won denaturalization cases against two top Chicago area Communists, Leo Fisher and Anthony Minerich. Paul "The Waiter" Ricca, alias Paul DeLucia, a leader of Chicago's crime syndicate and one of the Nation's top hoodlums, was also ordered denaturalized. The Ricca case culminated about 3 years of intensive work by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

A number of important criminal cases were also tried during the year. The notorious "Mr. Five by Five," who had been previously acquitted in Buffalo, was convicted of using an interstate wire to defraud. Joseph Marzec and other officials of the Polish Roman Catholic Union were convicted of income-tax evasion arising out of their failure to pay taxes on kickbacks from loan brokers dealing in Polish Roman Catholic Union loans. Convictions were also obtained in 3 major bank robberies, 3 bank embezzlement cases, and a manslaughter case. Guilty pleas were entered in several obscenity cases. One heroin peddler was sentenced to 17 years, the longest narcotics sentence in the history of the District. Recently, 3 defendants were found guilty of selling 56 pounds of marijuana. During the year, Hodge, Hintz, and Epping pleaded guilty and were sentenced, as was the former secretary of the Sigma Chi Fraternity. Anthony DeRosa, whom the Chicago police have never been able to convict, pleaded guilty to theft from interstate shipment and is awaiting sentence. The former mayor of Joliet, Ill., was sentenced for failure to pay income taxes on unreported kickbacks from contractors installing parking meters and a waterworks for the city of Joliet. We were unsuccessful in two important cases. Although a jury found an escort service operator guilty of violating the White Slave Traffic Act, the judge set the verdict aside. Joseph Glimco and his codefendants were found not guilty of labor racketeering. Two other cases came to an abrupt end before trial; a prominent banker was shot before trial for misapplication of bank funds and a well-know lawyer jumped or fell from his apartment window on the eve of a Mann Act trial.

Several important indictments returned during the year will be tried this coming year. One of these is a mail-fraud indictment against Nathan Shavin, a Chicago lawyer with a large personal-injury practice. Albert Paull will be tried for fencing stolen furs, Dr. Jay Schmidt for using the mails to defraud, and Harry Cohen for submitting false and fraudulent documents to obtain FHA loans. Paul "the Waiter" DeLucia, de-

naturalized this past year, will now be tried for income-tax evasion. Max Podalski and Jack Perno are awaiting trial on labor racketeering indictments. Taft-Hartley Act indictments are pending against Youngblood, of the painters union; Gallagher of the tuckpointers union; and Angelo Inciso, of the independent auto workers.

As in past years, we have often been able to correct questionable practices in the business community without actually instituting criminal proceedings. For example, as an aftermath of the Hodge case, we called in approximately 150 bankers who had been paying local officials to keep public funds on deposit. As a result of our warnings issued in this conference this practice has been discontinued.

We started the 1955–56 fiscal year with 12 grand juries on call and we ended this year with the same number. During this time we had 22 grand juries sitting for a total of 340 sessions as compared to 206 for the preceding period.

The most gratifying result of our activity this past year has been the upsurge of respect for the Federal criminal process in this district. The 1955 conviction and sentencing of a precinct captain and his "ghost" election board in the first ward started this upsurge and brought about three things. First, it demonstrated to the professional precinct election officials that their ward committeemen were powerless to protect them from Federal prosecution. Second, it gave renewed courage to the various individuals and civic groups who, for many years had been laboring in vain for clean elections. Third, local election officials were put on notice that tolerance of corruption might make them parties to a vote fraud conspiracy. With this background, a Federal grand jury commenced an investigation in the summer of 1956 to determine why 100 to 150 fraudulent names per precinct appeared on the poll lists in the transient and river wards, as the evidence collected in our 1955 vote fraud investigation had shown. Precinct canvassers appeared as witnesses before the grand jury, and had difficulty explaining how names remained on the poll lists for 5 and 6 years after the registrants had moved away or died. Evidently, word was passed among the precinct canvassers that the Federal grand jury knew its business, for, in the final canvass before the 1956 fall general election, about 177,000 names were removed from the poll lists by the canvassers themselves. The professional precinct workers evidently realized what it meant for the "Feds" to be interested in an election, for on November 6, 1956, Chicago experienced its cleanest election since the turn of the century. It is too much to believe that the professional precinct workers had voluntarily reformed, so it must be concluded that fear of Federal prosecution motivated the renaissance in Chicago's political morality.

The most significant law-enforcement technique this office has developed during the year has been our ever-expanding cross-index system of tabulating the activities of those involved in organized crime. This system implements our belief that we must not wait for a case involving organized crime to come to us, but, rather, we must identify and bring to terms those on the ascendancy in the rackets before they become so entrenched that it is virtually impossible to obtain evidence against them.

Financially, we have much more than "earned our salt." Nine tort claims cases were tried; 5 were decided in favor of the Government and 4 for the plaintiffs. Of the $765,635 claimed in these cases, we paid out only $16,065. In addition, we settled 18 other tort cases involving claims of $240,238 for $29,010. In other words, injury claims of $1,005,873 against the Government were disposed of for $45,075, or a face-value saving of $960,797. Our collection unit recovered fines of $114,099, civil obligations of $355,281, undocketed collections of $111,894, bond forfeitures of $3,020, a $100 penalty, and $119,678 of compromised claims, for a total collection for the Government of nearly $700,000.

Again this year, in conjunction with our Chicago Police Department liaison officer, we have escorted some 2,000 high school civics students through this office and the other nearby Federal agencies concerned with the judicial process. It is always inspiring to meet with these splendid future citizens who visit us with their civics instructors to get firsthand knowledge of the Federal process. Members of our staff have on their own time and at their own expense talked to over 150 civic and service groups about the work of our office and the Department of Justice. The numerous letters of appreciation we receive from participants in both programs highly attest the usefulness of these programs in interpreting the Federal judicial process to our citizens.

The law school student program has again proved its worth to us and to the students who participate in it. We feel that the introduction of these law students to the public service not only is beneficial to the student, but also to the profession and the Government service.

The accomplishments of this office over the past year have been made possible by a highly competent group of enthusiastic men and women who devote their full time and energy to one client, the United States of America. The record reflected in this report is also due to the wholehearted cooperation of our judges and the investigative agencies. Without them and our very loyal staff of civil servants our workload would be impossible to carry.

Though our obligation as Government lawyers requires zealous and resourceful representation of our client, we are ever cognizant of the fact that, above all, we must seek a just result in every case in which we appear.

It is an honor to be called by our President to represent the United States in this Judicial District of Northern Illinois, and it is a real privilege to enjoy the leadership and support of the Attorney General of the United States of America in this representation.

The Algerian Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a further series of comments and editorials on the Algerian crisis.

The growing number of reports both here and abroad on the Algerian problem appearing in the press during the past weeks indicates that the political atmosphere may be improving to the point where reasonable settlements can be explored.

The selections I insert today confirm this growing interest, and the need for a reexamination of the problem by our own State Department.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of July 20, 1957]

KENNEDY, ALGERIA, AND FRANCE—SENATOR'S VIEWS ON ISSUE SEEN SHARED BY INCREASING NUMBER OF FRENCHMEN

(By Dorothy Thompson)

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY's call upon the administration 2 weeks ago to stop supporting the French war in Algeria pleased neither the State Department nor the French Government, which profoundly resents outside intervention in what they have chosen to consider a domestic affair.

His proposal was that the good offices of the Premier of Tunisia, the Sultan of Morocco, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization be used to reach a settlement in Algeria which would achieve independence for Algeria and interdependence between France and her north African neighbors.

Dulles' reply was that Algeria is an extremely complex French problem, that he would "hate to see it made ours," and that if the Senator wants to tilt against colonialism he ought to concentrate on the Russian variety.

It may be that the Senator's public remarks were ill advised from the viewpoint of French reactions, but there was certainly nothing anti-French about them. The French position in Algeria is becoming increasingly hopeless. The problem is complex, as all great problems are. It is ours, whether we want to make it so or not. France is a member of NATO, as such is organized in the common defense of Europe, and is the recipient of American arms, while the bulk of her army is engaged in a squalid guerrilla war against Algeria nationalists. This war prejudices the position of the whole West in all Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, and greatly contributes to pro-Russian sentiment.

Furthermore, the administration, itself, shares the views of Senator KENNEDY about how the problem should be settled.

And so do an increasing number of able, influential Frenchmen. If Senator KENNEDY's intervention aids them, he will have done a service. If his remarks only serve to harden the minds (and the arteries) of upholders of the present policy, and whet the appetites of Algerian extremists, he will have done more harm than good. But nothing he said should encourage either.

The revolt in Algeria has endured nearly 3 years, and until recently it almost amounted to treason in France to criticize the policy of pacification by force.

But dissenters are now coming to the fore as the result of the total failure of that policy.

Three books have recently appeared in France by authors known to all Frenchmen, who represent quite different political orientations.

M. Servan-Schreiber is the young editor of L'Express, the paper of former Premier Mendes-France. M. Philip is a former Socialist minister and veteran pro-European. Finally, M. Raymond Aron, professor at the Sorbonne and a senior editor of Le Figaro, is an outstanding conservative.

All report on the Algerian situation from first-hand experience and profound study. The conclusions of each are colored by the temperaments and general political views of their authors.

M. Servan-Schreiber, an early critic, being of military age, was called to the colors and shipped to Algeria to halt his typewriter. The result is "Lieutenant in Algeria," is as devastating an account of the idiocies and confusions of French policy as one can read.

M. Philip writes in the "Social Treason" as a liberal Socialist despising the lack of principle of his own party and the adverse effect on European socialists in general.

M. Aron, whose mind is lucid and cool, writes in the "Algerian Tragedy" with his

usual detachment and intellectual objectivity.

But all agree that the policy initiated by M. Mollet cannot succeed; that it is based on a myth—that "Algeria is an integral part of the French nation"; that the loss of French sovereignty in Algeria need not mean the economic ruin of France; and that a solution lies along the lines suggested by Senator KENNEDY and strongly upheld by Premier Bourguiba of Tunis, perhaps the ablest prowestern statesman in the Arab world.

Many Frenchmen of all parties have privately shared these views for some time. The difficulty has been to break the deep-freezing French public opinion. But it is breaking, and the thaw has not been induced by leftists.

Both enlightened conservatives, Senator KENNEDY and M. Aron have much in common apart from their views of the Algerian question.

[From the Syracuse (N. Y.) Herald American of July 7, 1957]

SENATOR KENNEDY AND FRENCH IMPERIALISM

(By Alexander F. Jones)

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY of Massachusetts has again demonstrated that he is amply equipped with a rather rare quality—political courage.

For the young statesman has made a speech on the Senate floor reciting the French record in Algeria and in Indochina and calling on the United States to stand for its old ideals on independence. He asked that the United States come out against colonialism and for Algerian independence.

Naturally every newspaper in Paris is storming for Senator KENNEDY's scalp.

And Secretary of State John Foster Dulles coldly remarked the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on United Nations could more profitably spend his time opposing Communism and the Soviet Union.

As a matter of fact the Kennedy speech on French colonialism and our supine support of it has been crying to be made for nearly a decade.

Only a man dedicated to the truth and impervious to the maudlin cries of French sentimentalists would make a speech on this subject.

Senator KENNEDY is not anti-French.

But neither is he a hypocrite and he cannot study the record of France in Indochina and in north Africa without nausea.

And he cannot remain silent on our support of French imperialism and colonialism while we cry out—on the other side of our mouths—for the independence and self-determination of all peoples.

We are for independence and self-determination of people just so long as it does not include the millions in economic slavery in French colonies.

The phrase "economic slavery" is not used loosely. Anyone who has ever been in Indochina knows those peoples could not so much as build a clay tile—everything had to come from France.

We paid a billion dollars a year to help France try to defeat independence in Indochina—and we lost the respect of Asia.

Senator KENNEDY pointed out how we helped defeat the U. N. proposal to debate on independence for Tunisia and Morocco.

Those countries won independence despite our support of Franch imperialism.

Now it is Algiers and France has an army of 400,000 there attempting to defeat the independence rebels.

The United Nations has been told Algiers is not a colony of France—it is an integral part of metropolitan France.

It is none of the business of the outside world what happens in Algiers, Paris insists.

Senator KENNEDY is equally insistent that it is the business of the United States and all other freedom-loving countries.

He said the treatment of Poland by the Soviet Union is a Communist imperialist counterpart of French imperialism in Algiers.

He intends to discuss the Polish situation in a second speech.

Young Senator KENNEDY, convalescing from a war injury operation in a hospital last year, wrote a small book entitled "Profiles in Courage." It discussed the way Members of Congress met crises in our national life with courageous stands that sometimes meant their own political futures.

From this speech it is evident JOHN KENNEDY has set his course as did the men he discussed in his book.

This speech is so graphic a picture of French colonial operation and of our policy in supporting it that publication of major proportions is deemed worthy of reproduction. Because of its length, it will be divided in three installments.

It is recommended reading.

[From the Indianapolis Star of July 14, 1957]

WHERE RIGHT MAKES MIGHT

Democratic Senator JOHN KENNEDY has offered a resolution to the United States Senate proposing that the United States Government place its influence behind efforts to fulfill the aspirations of the Algerian people for independence from France. We hope the Senate approves this resolution. We hope the President and Secretary of State act upon it.

There are three ways Americans can view the Algerian problem. One is that it is none of our business and we should not get mixed up in the internal affairs of France. Another is that we should support the French position because we need our great French ally more than we need Algerian support. The third is that it is consistent with American tradition and American principles to support the national independence of all peoples, to oppose colonialism of all kinds and to seek to end imperialism by whatever peaceful means we can.

It was certainly our business when we freed the Philippines and Cuba, helped establish free Liberia, pressed for the independence of Indonesia and India, helped Greece, Iran, and Turkey in their struggles for independence. It was our business to urge the British withdrawal from Egypt and to oppose the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. All of these actions were consistent with the mainstream of American political philosophy and with our American belief in the rights of men to govern themselves.

France is our ally and an important one. But if French policy violates American principles are we bound to support it just because France is an ally? On that basis we should have supported France and Britain in their invasion of Egypt. We may need France as an ally in Europe, but it is quite obvious that France needs us as an ally far more than we need France.

While France is using American helicopters and planes to suppress Algerian rebels, how good an ally is France for us in Europe? A France that is bleeding itself white and spending itself into bankruptcy by carrying on this fruitless struggle against native Algerians is hardly a dependable and powerful partner in our own defense against Communist aggression.

Even most Frenchmen will admit that the Algerians will eventually win freedom. Why not now? Why not before the Algerian Arabs become so embittered and so intransigent that a harmonious settlement will be made impossible?

There has risen in the Arab world a new vigor, a new nationalism, and new drive for independence that cannot be stopped. It has driven the British and French and Italians from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, and Morocco. It will drive them from Algeria. These people will no longer lay supine under the rule of foreign strangers. Repression will only bring more violent revolt. Bullets will only bring more bombs. Tanks will only bring more massacres.

Paradoxically France can only remain in Algeria by getting out of Algeria. The British learned this in India and forgot it in Egypt. The longer France persists in trying to hold on to Algeria by force, the less influence France will have when these people finally wear down their oppressors and win their independence.

The United States does have a direct interest in Algeria. We supply France with guns and planes and money—ostensibly for the defense of Western Europe. But France is wasting both her substance and ours in this hopeless attempt to turn back the colonial clock. Why should we finance and support the oppression of people who, even as we, want only to be free from foreign domination and rule themselves?

Like the British the French do not want to admit that history has caught up with them. They are no longer the great colonial power they once were. This last remnant of French colonialism in North Africa is striding toward freedom. Why should not we aid what we cannot stop, support what we cannot defeat, aline ourselves with a cause that is as much our own cause as it is the cause of all men seeking freedom in this world?

In the recent past the United States Government has supported France or stayed neutral on the Algerian question. This is neither a brave nor an intelligent policy. What counts is what is right in Algeria, not what is expedient. The right policy for Americans is, of course, to support the aspirations of all people for national independence.

If we wish to keep communism out of the Middle East—as our Government insists it does—we will not do it with dollars. This has already been proved by the relative failure of the Eisenhower doctrine and the Richards mission. As Senator KENNEDY so rightly put it, "The strength of our appeal to these key populations * * * lies in our traditional and deeply felt philosophy of freedom and independence for all people everywhere." When we have supported this philosophy unreservedly we have never failed. When we have abandoned it, we have abandoned not only our own national interests but the cause of human liberty itself.

[From the New York Times of July 21, 1957]

PARIS UNDER PRESSURE FOR PEACE IN ALGERIA—GOVERNMENT HOPES NATIONALISTS MAY BE INTERESTED AS WELL

(By Harold Callender)

PARIS, July 20.—It came to light this week that the French Government had again been in secret and unofficial contact with the Algerian rebels in quest of a negotiation. Similar feelers had been put out last October without success.

They were secret, for a while, because it was hoped that if they failed the fact might not become known. Anyhow, it is difficult for a great nation to seek talks with those whom its leaders have condemned as terrorists unworthy of speaking for Algerians, and who demand an independence that France refuses to concede.

The feelers became known when three Paris newspapers opposed to the Government's policy published what appeared to be circumstantial details of the visit to Tunisia by an aid of the Foreign Minister. These details were, of course, known to the rebels who might have desired their publicity.

Meanwhile the sincerity of the Goverment was called into question because another of its arms, the counter-espionage service, had arrested and searched a Moslem interme-

diary who had flown to Paris from Tunis in connection with the feelers.

The divisions that always exist within governments are especially conspicuous in Paris since all governments here are coalitions. If some ministers hoped for peace by compromise, or perhaps only for a gesture toward peace that might impress the foreign world, others have so far stood stiffly against any major concessions.

PERSONAL EMISSARIES

Apparently the Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau, and the Minister for Algeria, Robert Lacoste, had separate personal emissaries in Tunis this month, though not necessarily for the same purposes. M. Pineau is concerned about United Nations criticism of France's Algerian policy. M. Lacoste is concerned mainly with beating the rebels.

The tough line personified by M. Lacoste, who has been subject to increasing criticism in France, has dominated official policy so far. But the general opinion is that it has failed to achieve its aims.

The somewhat hectic quest of a new policy is dictated by several considerations:

1. There is the United Nations deadline. Algeria will again be discussed by that organization in the autumn. The view here is that in February the Political Committee of the United Nations gave France a kind of respite, meanwhile suspending judgment. The respite has still brought no solution and no new policy.

2. There is European union, symbolized by the treaty for a European common market which the French National Assembly has just approved. The treaty calls for associating the overeas territories with the common market. This can hardly be seriously undertaken while Algeria is in a state of guerrilla war.

3. There is the Sahara, rich in minerals and oil. Some suggest it may become a second Middle East in terms of oil resources. Many suggest it may go far toward making France independent of Middle Eastern oil.

There are two reactions here. One is that France's oil independence would be worth the price of Algeria's political independence.

OIL FOR DEVELOPMENT

Another reaction is to suggest that France should use the oil to pacify Algeria. It is proposed that France announce that what she wants is the oil, not the profit on it; that she intends the profits shall go to the adjoining territories, including Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, to finance the economic development in those countries which is now financed by the French state.

Although the Algerian problem is closely linked with France's economic needs, it has been discussed mainly as a political issue.

The President of the Republic, René Coty, and the Premier, Maurice Bourges-Maunoury, have virtually ruled out independence and it would be difficult to withdraw from this position. At the other extreme are some, notably the writer Raymond Aron, who urge that Algeria cannot be considered a part of France and that its future independence should be accepted. Between these two views is that of Jules Moch, French delegate to the United Nations disarmament subcommittee, who proposes partition of the country between an Algerian state with wide internal sovereignty and a European community forming a prolongation of France.

The French were also reluctant to grant independence to Tunisia. The Tunisians were wise in not at first demanding it. They first sought and obtained internal autonomy and independence quickly followed. A similar procedure is predicted for Algeria.

But Algeria is a very different problem because of the approximately 1,200,000 Europeans, mostly French, who would perhaps revolt before accepting an Algerian state comprising about 8 million Moslems. It is their attitude that ties France's hands. Nobody has yet found a way of reconciling independence for Algeria with the rights and interests, and above all the emotions, of these descendants of 19th-century French settlers.

Consequently public opinion has not crystallized behind any of the views outlined above, or behind any other views. The same is true of parliamentary opinion, which varies even within party groups. But the trend is away from the official line and toward admitting that Algeria is destined to become independent to some extent and at some time. Although it runs directly counter to the traditional French doctrine of assimilation of overseas territories reflected in the constitution, the British term "commonwealth" is creeping into the French language to designate the ultimate status of overseas territories.

FOREIGN CONCEPTION

It is a very un-French word, for it embodies an un-French conception. Its use signifies that many Frenchmen are coming to believe that former empires have to be liquidated and that Britain has found a good way to liquidate hers while France has found none.

The comparison has limited validity. For the British Commonwealth, a delayed result of the American Revolution, was developed as a new kind of link with English-speaking dominions and was later extended to Asiatic and African countries like India, Pakistan, and Ghana as an experiment too recent to be finally judged. Yet the term "commonwealth" has its uses here in suggesting there might be a kind of independence that need not mean complete separation of overseas territories from France.

Freedom of Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Why Not 'Freedom of Association' For Everybody?", from the July 26, 1957, issue of the U. S. News & World Report.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY NOT "FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION" FOR EVERYBODY?

(By David Lawrence)

The Supreme Court of the United States on June 17 last added to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution a new phrase—"political belief and association."

The Court said: "Nor can the first amendment freedom of speech, press, religion, or political belief and association be abridged."

The words "political belief and association" have never been in the Constitution, nor has there ever been a definition by the Supreme Court of what is included under "political belief and association."

We are ordered now, however, to accept as the supreme law of the land this edict from the Court:

"Merely to summon a witness and compel him, against his will, to disclose the nature of his past expressions and associations is a measure of governmental interference in these matters."

This means that the citizen who knows, for instance, through his associations that members of a so-called political party are plotting the overthrow of his own Government, is under no obligation to divulge his knowledge of a prospective crime of treason.

This raises a significant question: Does such ironclad protection for Communists and subversives extend to the political belief and association of loyal Americans?

Many workers, for example, conscientiously hold, as a right of political belief and association, that they should not be compelled to join a labor union organization—and, of course, labor unions are in politics. But employees are forced to sacrifice their beliefs as the price of a job.

Many employers hold, as a right of political belief and association, that they should not be compelled to dismiss employees who decline to join unions. But Federal law today compels the employer to dismiss such employees unless they are willing to conform to the belief of the majority in a plant.

May we assume now, therefore, that the right of association—which, in theory, is a right given to the employee and the employer alike—cannot hereafter be abridged and that this provision of the existing law now violates the first amendment?

What shall be said, moreover, of the compulsory process visited on the employer by the same statute requiring him to bargain collectively with the agents of a majority of his employees? The employer today is not permitted to recognize any minority of individuals who may wish to make separate arrangements with him for compensation.

Since by mere fiat of the Supreme Court the Constitution is now so readily amended, it would appear logical to petition the Court to add just a couple more words so that the phrase will read: "political, economic, and sociological belief and association."

An economic or sociological right is precious as any political right. Indeed, the three are inseparable.

As for sociological belief and association, the Supreme Court can hardly forget that it specifically emphasized sociological considerations when it ruled in 1954 in favor of mixed schools. Sociology can be regarded now as a part of political science anyway.

Surely citizens who band together to choose the companions for their children in public schools are entitled to all the privileges and immunities that members of the Communist Party now are to enjoy. Should not freedom of association be applicable also to education generally? Is it to be limited solely to the professors and teachers and not granted to the parents or to the students themselves?

If, for instance, some citizens wish to join with others in establishing mixed schools for their children, should not this right of association be respected, along with the right of a community to provide separate but equal facilities so that all-white associations and all-Negro associations can be preserved through processes of volition rather than compulsion?

For if freedom of association is now an integral part of the Constitution, this freedom should be available to the millions of citizens who never have faltered in their faith in the American system of government. It should not be confined to those who now have been given by the Supreme Court the right to advocate publicly the forcible overthrow of our Government and to conceal their associations with a political party having secret alliances with a foreign government that is hostile to us.

Let us hope that the Supreme Court, which now has become virtually a legislative body, will, as Congress does, respect the right of petition.

May the Supreme Court of the United States listen to the pleas of the people and apply the equal protection of the laws to all citizens, so that not just a few thousand Communists but everybody may enjoy freedom of association.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I have much admiration for Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey. I have differed with him on many of his viewpoints, but I have always recognized both his ability and his sincerity. As he leaves the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, we are entitled to the views of those who have been in position to appraise his work. One such viewpoint was expressed in a recent letter to the Washington Post from Seymour Harris, chairman of the department of economics, of Harvard University.

I ask unanimous consent that this letter be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. HUMPHREY'S LEGACY: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

The press almost universally has greeted Secretary Humphrey's announced departure from public life with encomium. Indeed the Secretary has many virtues: he is smart, shrewd, persuasive, aggressive, hard working, and determined. (Even when in disagreement, one senses a powerful intellect in presenting the wrong position.) Above all, one knows where he stands. I wish I could join the chorus of praise that is traditionally showered upon a departing official.

But the above virtues are not enough to make a great Secretary of the Treasury. Future historians will not be misled by the paeans of praise. The originality and skill of Alexander Hamilton in dealing with our monetary and debt problems, the theoretical insight and genius for finance and administration revealed by Albert Gallatin, the unusual capacity shown by John Sherman in the resumption of payments after the Civil War, and the flexibility, and ability to use staff of Morgenthau—these are missing in Mr. Humphrey.

In 1954, when he was called before the joint committee to assess once more the foolish and clumsy dear-money policy of 1953, he would only say and say again and again that if he had to do it over again, he would do it in every detail as in 1953. He would not change a single move, he told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. In contrast, Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board freely admitted mistakes had been made. This is an example of the Secretary's rigidity.

His inflexibility and unwillingness to learn is suggested by his asserting time and again that taxes should be cut at the top of the boom just when virtually every economist would hold taxes should be increased. He, like ex-President Hoover, had failed to learn that fiscal policy should be tailored to fluctuations in the private economy. (One can be a conservative and yet absorb the A B C of modern economics, as Congressman MILLS so eloquently showed recently.)

When, in 1954, a tax cut was the appropriate action, Secretary Humphrey supported such a policy—but it is clear now, not because he had absorbed or shown the slightest interest in the advances of modern economics, but rather because tax cutting was part of the administration's platform.

Throughout his 5 years in office, he has adhered to economics of a bygone age which takes little account of the relation of spending to economic prosperity.

His ignorance of the elements of modern economics is also attested by the furor he raised over the 1958 budget. Had he not concentrated on the dollars involved but on the budget in relation to the size of the economy, or the rising national income even as public expenditures rose, he would have known that there was no danger in the current budget. In fact, the weight of the budget had been greatly reduced in the last 5 or even 10 years.

The danger, in fact, lay elsewhere. It lay in the attempts of a powerful personality to impose his outmoded views on the Government. In the giant budgetary cut of 1954, which weakened our military and international position, the Secretary was not satisfied to be merely a Secretary of the Treasury.

He had to take over defense—even as today his interference in the spending on health, education and social security has endangered the programs of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and numerous other programs, such as foreign aid, depressed areas, slum clearance, flood insurance, and, of course, defense. At least, Secretary Folsom, the able head of HEW and former Under Secretary of the Treasury, has lost the Treasury touch, a good thing for the country.

Perhaps Secretary Humphrey's greatest blunders result from his determination to take over the budgetary prerogatives which are not traditionally his. This country has a budgetary system under which the Director of the Budget, reporting to the President, squeezes the water out of the budget. But not content to assume the responsibility for proposing tax measures, Secretary Humphrey tried (and to some extent succeeded) to take over the Budget Bureau as well. It is common knowledge in Washington that acting over the head of the Director of the Budget he pressured departments to cut their budgets.

His final outcry which has so embarrassed the President, despite the President's announcement of identity of views, reflected his intense frustration, his determination to impose his views on economic policy, and his violation of the principles of the American system. Never before had the Secretary of the Treasury repudiated the budget of his President and asked Congress to make it over.

In 5 years, despite his persuasiveness and determination, the Secretary has failed to achieve any of his fundamental objectives.

Federal expenditures are way above those of any peacetime year.

The rate of interest has gone sharply upward.

In the last year inflation has exceeded that of any peacetime year in the last 25 years and averaged several times that of the nonwar years (exclusive of immediate postwar years) under the Democrats.

In no area are the failures more evident than in the management of the national debt. The redistribution and the lengthening of maturities were "musts" for the Treasury. Yet despite the meteoric rise of rates, not since the latter part of the 19th century has the Government security market been in such bad shape as at present. It requires some genius to accomplish this, not when debt is rising as in World War II or in the 1930's, but when debt is falling.

We have every hope that the able new Secretary will not follow in the footsteps of the departing Secretary. Not the $72 billion budget, but the lack of comprehension of modern economics such as shown by Secretary Humphrey might conceivably bring a hair-curling depression.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Segregation: Sauce for the Goose?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Segregation: Sauce for the Goose?" from the July 1, 1957, issue of Newsweek.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEGREGATION: SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE?

There are more Italians in New York than in Rome, so the legend goes, more Irish than in Dublin, more Jews than in Israel—and more Negroes than in Birmingham, Ala. This compound of 8 million heterogeneous souls most of the time lives in peace.

But, last week, the melting pot was set to boiling.

The fire under the pot was started with a bill offered by New York City Councilman Earl Brown, a Democrat, and Stanley M. Isaacs, a Republican, aimed at barring all discrimination—on the basis of race, creed, or color—from all 1.8 million privately owned apartment houses and tenements in the city. (Previous bills had already outlawed discrimination in housing projects in which public funds were involved.)

The bill was regarded as a sure thing—so much so that organizations interested in its purpose did practically nothing about it. After all, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr., himself has come out in favor of the bill at a dinner of the Urban League, and Joseph T. Sharkey, majority leader in the city council, had signed his name to it—a familiar New York City political maneuver to demonstrate that it was administration-sponsored and, therefore, should be passed without any back talk.

UNEXPECTED ATTACK

Then, just 4 days before the bill was to come up before the city council's committee on general welfare, property owners of New York woke up and rushed into battle with a vigorous campaign of newspaper advertisements and leaflets. The real-estate boards delivered a message to tenants:

"We abhor prejudice based on color and race and we abhor bigotry," the ads read. "But we strongly object to this wanton invasion of basic property rights. This proposed law would compel the rental of apartments and the sale of cooperative apartments to persons whose occupancy could make your homes less attractive to you."

The New York Times, unrelenting in its demands for desegregation in the South, devoted a column of type to deciding it was against the bill as "the wrong way to a right end." "Compulsion," the Times felt, "is a dubious substitution for education * * *."

The forces of nondiscrimination countered (40 organizations signed an advertisement, The Truth About the Fair Housing Bill, that appeared in the papers 3 days later), but it was too late. The mail flooding into City Hall was 3 to 1 against the bill. The council's welfare committee voted to shelve the measure indefinitely "for further study."

"What is sauce for the Dixie goose is not sauce for the Manhattan gander," wryly commented the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier, while the Evening Post (also of Charleston) remarked: "One's heart is apt to be wrung with compassion over the agony suffered by the New York Times."

The Situation in the Kremlin and in the Communist World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there are many different viewpoints regarding the present situation in the Kremlin and in the Communist world.

In the New York Times of July 20, 1957, a column by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger under the heading, "Can Communism's Melting Ice Pack Be Refrozen?" Mr. Sulzberger has given us a most interesting discussion of the present situation and some of the prospects of its outcome.

I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN COMMUNISM'S MELTING ICE PACK BE REFROZEN

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, July 19.—There can now be no doubt that the great Soviet ice floe has broken and is floating cumbersomely downstream on an uncharted course toward some unknown ocean. Both physically and politically there is more movement in the Communist world than at any time since its glacial formation was extended to the Danube and the China Seas.

The wanderlust of Marxist leaders has become frenetic. Not only do Khrushchev and Bulganin continue their uninhibited voyages. Mao Tse-tung, the orbit's grand old man, is planning a journey to the U. S. S. R. and satellite Europe. Ho Chi Minh is on the first lap of a western tour. The Albanian and Bulgar bosses are in Russia. And Tito's two lieutenants, Kardelj and Rankovic, have gone to Moscow—a capital which 3 years ago regarded them as renegades. Presumably they seek more than healthful mineral waters.

At the same time there is creaking and groaning within communism's political structure. Soviet purges have certainly not ended. All the minor followers of Molotov and Kaganovich, of Malenkov and Shepilov, are bound to be displaced. Where they will end up—whether in prison or in anonymity—cannot be foretold.

SATELLITE PURGES

Dislocations at the Empire's heart are being mirrored on its peripheries. Dutiful Rumania has staged its own little purge, demoting one renowned Stalinist and his chameleonlike associate. Bulgaria has followed suit—but in paradoxical Balkan fashion. Three party chiefs were fired. But the upshot was to make Chervenkov, the country's outstanding Stalinist, stronger rather than weaker.

Nobody pretends to know where this drift will end. The Yugoslavs are happy because their battle against Stalin seemingly has been vindicated. They do not disguise their delight at Molotov's downfall. But they admit to no knowledge of total doctrinal reconciliation between their strange heresy and orthodoxy. Titoism insists one of its bases is the system of factory workers' councils. Khrushchev regards the idea as nonsense.

Czechoslovakia wants to establish order in the disintegrating pack before it crumbles and sweeps with it the survival capacities of Prague's present leadership. For they are the same men who, at Stalin's command, liquidated every reputable Titoist.

A NEW COMINFORM?

In an effort to refreeze the situation Czechoslovakia has suggested to the Kremlin that some new kind of Cominform be established. This idea is being chewed over among the divers Marxist travelers.

From Prague's viewpoint this is particularly desirable before the cracking ice engulfs the local administration, the only one outside of miserable Albania which has not been altered substantially since Stalin's death. If the Communist pattern can be tidied up, the Czechs think they can adjust to whatever new conformity is decreed.

Otherwise they fear the swirling current. Already they see to the north of them a Poland which, in the name of Marxism, is tolerating the Catholic Church, private land ownership, and small capitalism. To the south they see sulky, turbulent Hungary. And still further south is Tito's stubbornly sectarian Yugoslavia.

But what is the value of another Cominform? Eighteen leaders from nine national parties signed the communique creating that body in 1947. Now, 10 years later, seven of these are in prison, in exile or disgrace. Four are dead. Only seven survive in positions of authority.

THEIR PREDECESSORS' FATE

Any insurance company would consider rates prohibitive for a new batch of ideological censors. The Yugoslavs, who have reason to be cynical, think the most that should come from Prague's maneuver is a new magazine discussing dogma. But who would guide it, Moscow? Would Khrushchev accept the heretical views of Mao, Gomulka, and Tito?

The fate of Comintern and Cominform officials is small inducement for anyone to lend his name to a revived organization. Stalin's brutal murders took care of the majority of well-known Cominternists. As for the Cominform, abandoned only last year: Djilas, of schismatic Yugoslavia, is in jail. Poptomov, of Bulgaria, is dead. Rumania's Ana Pauker is under house arrest. Hungary's two signers, Farkas and Reval, are respectively in prison and in exile. Poland's Minc has been politically castrated. Czechoslovakia's Slansky was executed and his colleague, Bastovansky, disappeared 6 years ago.

Italy's Reale was fired from the party. Russia's Zhdanov is in the grave. Malenkov may soon wish he were. Only in France, where the obstinate Communist hierarchy remains both strong and Stalinist, are Duclos and Fajon, the two original Cominform signatories, alive, kicking, free, and respected by their comrades.

Nobody can tell whether Khrushchev, who released the ice jam, will try to again congeal the forces he has liberated. Nor can anyone foresee if he will endorse attempts to invent a neo-Cominform. Such a body could scarcely be conformist.

Oil Industry's Financing Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, in our country governmental expenditure is not the only item in connection with which large figures are mentioned.

The oil industry states that it will require $73½ billion in new and improved facilities in order to meet the demands by 1965.

The subject is discussed in an editorial appearing in the Oil City Derrick of July 15, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OIL INDUSTRY'S FINANCING PROBLEM

When a figure such as $73,500,000,000 is mentioned, we automatically think of Federal spending.

But the $73.5 billion in this case has nothing to do with the Government. It's the amount of money, according to an official of a major oil company, that the oil industry must invest in new and improved facilities to be able to meet anticipated demands by 1965, a mere 8 years away.

There are three principal sources where the industry can get such funds. First, the industry has relied heavily on plowing back profits to finance growth. In the most recent year for which such figures are available, the industry spent a substantially higher part of its profits for this purpose than it did in paying dividends to stockholders.

Second, there are depreciation funds—money set aside to cover the cost of facilities that are wearing out. In this era of inflation, however, these funds are inadequate to meet replacement requirements, hence are of no help in expansion programs.

Third—and of growing importance—is new capital attained by selling shares in oil companies to investors. In other words, this new capital must come out of savings.

As the oil company official says, "the problem of savings is the keynote of the oilman's problem of where the money is coming from; he so desperately needs a financial climate that makes it possible to save and to provide the incentive for others to invest in his business."

Those who write our laws on taxes and other subjects should remember this

A Way Out in Algeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Senate's attention has recently been directed to the disintegrating situation in Algeria. Among the proposals for a constructive resolution of this explosive problem is the suggestion that there is a role for NATO to play in conjunction with the Sultan of Morocco and the Premier of Tunisia. This proposal is discussed in an article entitled "A Way Out in Algeria," which was written by Sal Tas and appeared in the New Leader magazine for June 24, 1952.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A WAY OUT IN ALGERIA

(By Sal Tas)

PARIS.—When Robert Lacoste took power in Algeria as Resident Minister 16 months ago, he told the French Assembly: "Give me 70,000 men and in 2 weeks I can settle the matter." There are now 400,000 French troops in Algeria, and peace is farther away than ever.

Guy Mollet, the Socialist Premier-designate, had appealed to Lacoste on February 6, 1956, in a state of nervous collapse. Appearing in the city of Algiers, Mollet had been greeted by a Fascist demonstration, which placed him in a mood for complete capitulation to the colonial elements in Algeria. He turned to Lacoste, and Lacoste's repressive policies gained the Mollet government the rightwing support that enabled it to set a record for longevity in the Fourth Republic. The rightwingers swallowed some courageous social measures, but they refused to pay the bill when Mollet finally presented it. Mollet was overthrown, and, after several others had attempted to rally support, Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury organized a new Cabinet.

Bourgès-Maunoury, a member of the Radical Party, had served in the government of Pierre Mendès-France, then in the Cabinet of Edgar Faure, Mendès-France's adversary, which succeeded it. He was Defense Minister in the Mollet government, a leading advocate of the Suez expedition, and supporter of Lacoste in Algeria. As Resident Minister in Algeria in his new Cabinet, Bourgès-Maunoury promptly named Robert Lacoste. And so the policy of armed repression which both Mollet and Mendès-France denounced during their electoral alliance in January 1956 will continue.

Yet the situation in Algeria seems as hopeless as 2 years ago. At Melouza, the rebel National Liberation Front (FLN) recently massacred 300 Arab men and boys, for the sole purpose of retaining its political monopoly among the guerrillas. The massacre showed again how cruel and reckless were the present leaders of the Algerian resistance movement, giving point to Mollet's question: How can one deal reasonably with such people and expect to protect the 1.3 million Frenchmen who live in Algeria?

Yet the solutions advanced by the loudmouthed leaders of the white minority in Algeria are of no help either. They not only boycott every measure of reform that might benefit the Arabs; they even strike against measures which would give Arab intellectuals a share in the civil and economic administration. The political power of the colon leaders must be smashed before any reasonable compromise can be attempted. For though the Algerian Arab community has been shocked by the Melouza massacre, it has not joined the French. The Algerian Moslems understand that a French victory in the present circumstances, with the colonial group in undiminished power, would condemn them to eternal subservience. They have no confidence in paper promises, even if the paper is that of the French Constitution.

How, then, can this terrible war be ended? It is doubtful that France can do it alone—first, because of its own political contradictions, and second, because it is not strong enough to enforce any deal it might make with the Algerians. Its 400,000 troops are already unable to protect both the French in the cities and the Arabs in the villages.

Of course, Algeria might be abandoned completely and its 1.3 million Europeans evacuated. But this would present the French state with huge problems of resettlement; it would cut France off from the Sahara; and it would mean economic catastrophe for Algeria itself.

Partition is another possibility. But this makes little sense, because Algeria is short of fertile land. To please the French, one would have to deprive the Arabs of almost every acre of decent land; and the Arabs would be fully justified if they refused such an offer.

Perhaps NATO channels offer the best possibility of solution. NATO has a stake in North Africa's military bases. It has the power to impose its decisions. And it has the funds to soften the economic effects (for both sides) of Algeria's separation from France.

But little can be done without the cooperation of Tunisia and Morocco. It is through the frontiers of these two countries that the men and material come to support the Algerian rebels. Without such assistance, the FLN would have had to capitulate long ago. On the other hand, the governments of Tunisia and Morocco are far more realistic than the present Algerian leaders and realize the ill effects of the continuation of the war. Therefore, they could well play the role of the Arab voice of reason in efforts toward a solution.

Perhaps one might try to create a North African Federation, with a ruling council, in which the leaders of Tunisia and Morocco would sit along with those of Algeria. All these together would then guarantee the new status of Algeria, including guaranties for the lives and goods of its 1.3 million Frenchmen. NATO would have great influence on such a council, because all three lands have economic deficits and Algeria is most deficient of all. In accepting a North African Federation (and this has long been a pet idea of Tunisian Premier Habib Bourguiba and Morocco's Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef), the Tunisians and Moroccans would be taking on even greater deficits than they face today. This would make them most receptive to a broad program of NATO economic aid for the area on reasonable but decent conditions.

Bourguiba and the Sultan should work out such a solution together with representatives of France and of NATO. When a solution is formulated, the two North African leaders should present it to the Algerian Arabs. Surely they will persuade the reasonable elements among them, and quite probably the rebel leaders could also be induced to cooperate. At worst, the FLN would split, with its more reasonable leaders following Bourguiba and the Sultan.

The West, however, must take one important precaution: In inviting Bourguiba and the Sultan to work out a solution, it should be understood that they will stick to the solution they have worked out. In other words, should the rebels reject a proposal that bears the stamp of independent Tunisia and Morocco, then the Sultan and Bourguiba would have to break off relations with them and close their frontiers to them. For then it would be apparent that the rebels would reject any reasonable compromise. If stern measures then became necessary, the world would know who was responsible.

The solidarity of Tunisia and Morocco with NATO in evolving a joint policy for Algeria is essential. For only thus can the extremists in both camps be isolated. The problem cannot be solved unless NATO's policies command the support of a large group of Algerian Arabs. The way to win that support is to create a united front with the independent Arab leaders of Tunisia and Morocco.

The Tunisians and Moroccans are realistic enough to understand that we have no interest in listening to their counsels unless they themselves are willing to fight for the solutions they work out. Such a solution is, quite obviously, in their own best interest. It will become all the more obvious the more attractive we make a solution in economic terms. The Algerian war is so costly that a major effort is certainly justified.

The Government Bond Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in the Washington Post of yesterday there appeared an article, originating with the Chicago Daily News Service, entitled "Prudent Man Pulls Props of United States Bonds." It is a very interesting article, and throws further light on what we are going through with the high interest rates in the Government bond market. One point the article makes clearly, as careful analysis shows, is that it is the little man who usually gets frozen out.

So it is in this instance. The E-bonds are sold, and have been sold over the years, upon the plea of patriotism. The people are told it is patriotic to buy them. Yet, it is the little purchaser of the E-bonds who is always frozen out when the high-rate bonds are issued by the Federal Government.

I ask unanimous consent that the column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MYTHICAL FIGURE: "PRUDENT MAN" PULLS PROPS OF UNITED STATES BONDS

CHICAGO, July 20.—The "prudent man" has been quietly pulling the props from under the United States savings bond program. A mythical, legal figure, the "prudent man" is one who handles other people's money with the responsibilities of a trustee.

He may be the trust officer of a bank or an official of a pension fund, credit union, or savings and loan association.

He differs from the rest of us in that his legal liability is always judged by what a prudent man would have done under the same circumstances.

Because of this liability, he tends to be less influenced by emotions in handling money than others whose only responsibility is to themselves.

Bankers and brokers here report that in recent months they have been deluged with requests about savings bonds from the "prudent man." He will call up and say that he is holding savings bonds for his client.

ADVISERS OPPOSE CASHING

He wants to know how much of a gain he could make by cashing the savings bonds and investing the proceeds in the usual, open-market, coupon-type United States Government securities.

Many of the Nation's large banks and brokerage houses have an inviolable rule that no official or employee should ever advise a customer to cash United States savings bonds. Such a course might be considered "against" the Government, even unpatriotic.

This has helped prevent any rush to cash savings bonds. When the customer comes in proposing to cash bonds, the adviser generally fails to go along with the suggestion.

But the "prudent man" type is a more-than-average sophisticated investor. He isn't turned away easily.

So the bankers and brokers give him the information. They know he'll get it somewhere else if they don't provide it.

During the period of tight money the indicated gain by switching to open-market United States securities has been about one-half of 1 percent.

REDEMPTION FIGURES

That sizable amounts of funds, handled by this class of investor, have been deserting the savings bond program is indicated by redemption figures.

In 1956 redemption and maturities of series F, G, J, and K savings bonds totaled $3.4 billion, against sales of only $475 million.

Of the $2.3 billion of F and G series redeemed in 1956, $1 billion represented bonds that had not matured.

In April 1957, the redemptions and maturities of these series hit $237 million, against sales of only $18 million. Sales of the J- and K-bonds, which replaced the F- and G-bonds in 1952, were terminated on April 30, 1957.

In contrast, the series E and H bonds, sold by payroll deduction, had redemptions of $4.8 billion in 1956 against sales of $5 billion. In April this year the redemptions of these series were $469 million, against sales of $372 million.

On May 31, 1957, the Treasury had $14 billion of the F-, G-, J-, and K-bonds still outstanding. The redemption threat from these issues may have been enhanced by offer Thursday to pay 4 percent on 1-year Treasury certificates.

Railroad Service for Wisconsin and the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the severe problems which is being encountered in many long established communities throughout the United States is that railroad service is being cut down, in instance after instance.

Anyone who has ever lived in a town which has suddenly found that the one passenger train coming to it has been withdrawn, or that rail service has been reduced in frequency each week, knows the problem that this can cause to an entire community.

I send to the desk now an article from the front page of the Milwaukee Journal of July 20. It describes an action by Wisconsin's State Public Service Commission in objecting to numerous applications for the reduction of passenger-train service. I cite this article because it is symptomatic of a problem being encountered throughout America.

Naturally, the decision of a State regulatory body such as the public service commission is a matter basically of State jurisdiction, and it is not for us, of the Federal Government, to interfere either pro or con. But the question of the economic health of America's railroads, their economic capacity to furnish service, is a matter for us very carefully to consider at the Federal level. Therefore, I hope that our colleagues of the Senate and House Commerce Committees will give this overall issue of the railroads' economic health and capacity to serve their careful attention.

The lead article in this week's issue of Business Week is devoted to the plight of the railroads.

We are not going to get back better railroad service by denouncing the railroads. Nor are we going to get better railroad service by closing our eyes to the fact that the rails themselves have not always been as foresighted as they should have been in modernizing their services and improving their help to the American public.

Nor are we going to get better railroad service by failing, in all fairness, to note the advantages which accrue to the Nation's air carriers or highway carriers.

This, then, is not a subject for abuse; it is a subject for earnest, fair, objective study. I am sure that would be the position of the Association of American Railroads, or that of any other group which is interested in solutions to this problem, and not in criticism.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Milwaukee Journal be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION RAPS AT CUTS IN RAILROAD SERVICE—ROADS URGED TO RECONSIDER PUBLIC EFFECTS—STATE BODY "PUTTING FOOT DOWN" UPON AN INCREASING NUMBER OF REQUESTS

The State public service commission (PSC) in effect has put its foot down on increasing railroad requests to cut passenger services in Wisconsin. In an unusual action, the PSC urged railroads to reevaluate passenger train services with public interest as the primary consideration. The PSC statement, in the form of an opinion, was attached to an order Friday denying a Milwaukee road application to end passenger train service between Milwaukee and Berlin (Green Lake County) because of rising costs. Opinions of this kind are rarely issued by the commission.

George P. Steinmetz, Madison, chairman of the three-member regulatory board, said the statement dealt particularly with the Milwaukee road discontinuation case, but applied in some degree to all passenger train cases.

"PUTTING FOOT DOWN"

Steinmetz said there had been a great number of such requests in the last year, and blamed the decrease in service on both rising costs and lack of passengers. As an example, he said, there is now no train service between Milwaukee and Madison because travelers use their own cars or ride buses.

In effect, Steinmetz said, the board was "putting its foot down."

Advantages of adopting small, self-contained passenger rail units should be studied by railroads, the commission's opinion urged. Those units, powered by diesel engines, would require smaller crews and operate profitably on considerably less revenue, it suggested.

The law requires the Commission to consider whether proof that a more economical means of providing passenger service than the means used exists in train discontinuation proceedings. In some cases, railroads have cited bus service as an alternate for areas left without further passenger rail service.

MAY BE TURNING POINT

The statement of policy by the Commission may be a turning point in its attitude toward alternatives—pointing up to railroads the necessity of exploring fully the possibilities of providing alternate passenger rail service.

The Commission said it had found that crew wages comprised a substantial portion of the total cost of operating the trains which railroads sought to discontinue. It said that apparently was due to contract and operating rules provisions.

"The Commission realizes that it has no jurisdiction over contract negotiations between management and labor," the statement said, "nor does it intend to interfere with the fundamental rights to bargain."

Referring specifically to Friday's Milwaukee road discontinuation denial, the Commission said it had not been established to its satisfaction that possible use of alternate equipment had been fully explored. It said it believed that a single Budd diesel car, having a seating capacity of 71 passengers and a 17-foot express-baggage compartment, would serve the purpose.

PUBLIC INCONVENIENCE SEEN

Abandoning the service, the PSC said, would cause hardship and inconvenience to the public. Two weekday trains serve Horicon, Hartford, Waupun, Ripon, and intermediate points.

Need for continued service outweighs the financial loss of 70 cents a train mile which the railroad claimed it is suffering, the PSC order said.

There is no proof, the Commission noted in referring to this case, that a serious attempt has been made both by management and labor to negotiate a method under the unique circumstances prevailing, that would permit operation of present equipment or single unit self-propelled equipment.

This should be done at a level where revenues equal out of pocket expenses, it stated.

Steinmetz said the nationwide passenger train discontinuance problem was being studied by the National Association of Public Service Commissioners.

He suggested that both the men who run the trains, conductors and enginemen and all, should work together with the railroad owners to exhaust all possibilities of continuing present service before attempting to halt schedules.

MAY ORDER RECALLED

Steinmetz said Saturday he could not estimate the number of requests made of the PSC in the last year, but there had been a greater than average amount.

Many of the cases involved limited service between small communities. The biggest recent case was last May, when the PSC authorized the North Western road to drop 9 passenger trains in Wisconsin, partly eliminate or consolidate 5 and substitute bus service for 4 others. The trains affected represented about one-fifth of the road's passenger service in the State.

The city of Milwaukee, in that case, had asked for a Statewide study of rail passenger operations.

The Milwaukee Road was authorized to terminate its 103-year-old service between Milwaukee and Madison last January. North Western service between the cities was dropped in the May order.

Commenting on the PSC opinion, Leo T. Crowley, board chairman of the Milwaukee Road, said he would be very happy to cut operating costs. He said railroads had been continually studying the problem.

"It's not as easy as it sounds," he said. Railroads have been losing short-haul passenger business, Crowley said, because families prefer cars or buses.

CITES LANNON CREWS

"We can't hope to break even between Milwaukee and Madison," he said.

To the PSC's suggestion that railroads might run some schedules with smaller crews if it could be arranged with the unions, Crowley said that Wisconsin law provided for at least 5-man crews for any train with more

than 3 cars. That law, he said, would have to be modified and new arrangements made with unions.

Smaller trains are being studied now, he said.

Crowley said the Milwaukee Road had dropped 7 or 8 trains in Wisconsin in the last 2 years.

Ben W. Heinman, board chairman of the North Western road, declined to comment until he had read the PSC statement.

Death of Emil Syftestad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, last Wednesday and Thursday, in the St. Paul Dispatch and the St. Paul Pioneer Press, Mr. Alfred D. Stedman wrote two articles on the death of Emil Syftestad, a great leader in our State. Mr. President, we have lost a great farm leader in the death of Mr. Syftestad. I ask unanimous consent to have the articles, written by Mr. Stedman, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul Dispatch of July 17, 1957]

DIES IN AMBULANCE—EMIL SYFTESTAD, WHO HELPED FARMERS CO-OP, DEAD

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Emil A. Syftestad, of St. Paul, 65, who as its general manager led in building the Farmers Union Central Exchange into one of the Nation's biggest supply cooperatives, died Tuesday night.

Death came to Mr. Syftestad in an ambulance on the way to the hospital.

He had suffered a heart attack at his home at 1724 Berkeley, Tuesday evening. An earlier attack of coronary thrombosis struck him down more than a year ago, putting him in the hospital for several weeks. Recently he had been working at the Farmers Union Central Exchange headquarters building in South St. Paul a couple of hours a day.

A native Minnesotan, Mr. Syftestad devoted his entire life to the cooperative movement. First he was a grain-elevator employee in Montana. Then he went with the Equity Cooperative Exchange, the embattled pioneering grain co-op of St. Paul. Finally he moved into the supply cooperative field.

A trained accountant, he moved naturally into the business and financial end of the cooperative. He grew up with the Farmers Union Central Exchange, practically nursing it himself from an infant in swaddling clothes to a giant.

At first he was manager of the supply division of the farmers union grain co-op. Then he grew naturally into general management of the Farmers Union Central Exchange when that was separately established 26 years ago.

He built this business of farmers in supplying themselves with oil, fertilizers, feed, seed, equipment, and other supplies up to a total volume of more than $66 million last year, or to a point where it surpassed even the Grain Terminal Association in total dollar volume. The farmers' total savings through the co-op he built to $22½ millions.

Mr. Syftestad was a veteran of World War I, in which he served as an enlisted man. He received his high-school education in New Rockford, N. Dak., and his training in accountancy in Seattle. He is survived by his wife and two daughters, Mrs. Katherine Wills and Mrs. Margaret Failes, both of St. Paul. Funeral arrangements have not been completed.

[From the St. Paul Pioneer Press of July 18, 1957]

SYFTESTAD DEATH NATIONAL BLOW

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Northwest farmers lost in the death of Emil A. Syftestad of St. Paul an outstanding cooperative leader and his passing was described Wednesday by men who knew his work best as a national blow.

But they said that in the Farmers Union Central Exchange, which as general manager through most of its life he helped to build from a small business into one owning and operating itself or with other co-ops oil wells, pipelines, refineries and fertilizer deposits, Mr. Syftestad left an enduring monument.

Funeral services were announced for 2 p. m. Friday in the Willwersheid mortuary, 1167 Grand, and many identified with the cooperative movement are to attend. Gifts to the Heart Fund were suggested by those in charge in lieu of flowers.

President James G. Patton of the National Farmers Union was one who described the cooperative's loss through his death as profound. Mr. Syftestad, 65, died Tuesday night of a heart attack on the way from his home at 1724 Berkeley to the hospital. He had been hospitalized by a coronary thrombosis more than a year ago, but had considerably recovered and had been working part time to the day of his death.

Mr. Syftestad, a quiet, kindly man, exerted a steady and insistent leadership in building up Central Exchange. It became an institution through which many thousands of Northwest farmers have equipped themselves and cooperatively purchased their operating supplies. Its business volume exceeded $66 million last year. Central Exchange and Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association have been major members in the FU team of co-ops.

"Death of Emil Syftestad," President Patton telegraphed from national headquarters at Denver, "is indeed a great shock to me—first, because he was one of the greatest people I have ever known, and, second, because his passing will leave a great void in the Farmers Union family.

"I know that what he has done and created during his lifetime will be a standing monument to him."

The Case of Gerald Murphy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, democracy and freedom are indivisible. That is why we must be as concerned about respect for liberty in countries of our own hemisphere as anywhere else in the world. The disappearance—and probable tragic death—of a young aviator from my State has focused attention on this great issue. The aviator was Gerald Murphy, of Eugene, Oreg., only 23 years old when he vanished on a flying mission in the Dominican Republic.

Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of the Fourth Oregon District, is the Congressman who represents the father and mother of Gerald Murphy, and Mr. PORTER has relentlessly attempted to ferret out the facts about this disturbing and troubling case.

Recently, Representative PORTER undertook a journey to Latin America in further quest of truths about the fate of Gerald Murphy. He was accompanied by an outstanding and reliable newspaper reporter, Mr. A. Robert Smith, of Washington, D. C., who covers the National Capital for many leading Oregon publications, including the Oregonian of Portland, the Register-Guard of Eugene, the Statesman of Salem, the Mail-Tribune of Medford, and the East-Oregonian of Pendleton.

In the Mail-Tribune of Medford for July 9, 1957, Mr. Smith has discussed the ramifications of the Gerald Murphy case, with its impact upon the uneasy dictatorships of Latin America. The title of Mr. Smith's article is "Latin Leaders, Editors Convinced Gerald Murphy Didn't Die in Vain."

I ask unanimous consent that this informative story by A. Robert Smith be printed in the Appendix of the Record. There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LATIN LEADERS, EDITORS CONVINCED GERRY MURPHY DIDN'T DIE IN VAIN

(By A. Robert Smith)

WASHINGTON.—Top political leaders and newspaper editors in two Latin American Republics are convinced that Gerry Murphy, the Eugene flier, did not die in vain.

In Columbia and Panama, where this reporter interviewed them about the case of Murphy and Dr. Jesus Galindez, the missing Columbia University lecturer, the editors and politicians reflected these thoughts:

1. Trujillo, the dictator of the Dominican Republic, who apparently called the shots in the Murphy-Galindez mystery, is the symbol in Latin America of what all democratic elements hate and seek to undermine. With 27 years of dictatorial rule behind him, Trujillo is now the senior dictator of Latin America.

Editors and democratic leaders in Colombia, who suffered during the dictatorial rule in their own country of Gen. Rojas Pinilla before his ouster in May, are looking anxiously to the United States to shift its policy of treating the dictators as fondly as the democratic governments of Latin America. They hope for continued pursuit of the Murphy-Galindez case by the State Department so as to reveal the Trujillo regime for what it is, a reign of terror that is abhorrent to all those who love freedom and individual liberty. The feeling is no less strong in Panama.

The Murphy case, because it was vigorously pursued by Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, Democrat, of Oregon, has helped crystallize anti-Trujillo sentiment. And this has also had the effect of making Congressman PORTER, a 38-year-old Eugene lawyer who had never before been south of Panama, a hero to democratic forces throughout Latin America.

2. When the late dictator of Nicaragua, Anastasio Somoza, was shot last fall, he was flown out of his country to a hospital in Panama, where a team of Army doctors from Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, D. C., was dispatched by President Eisenhower in an effort to save Somoza's life. Eisenhower also sent a note to Somoza in which he de-

cried this dastardly attack on the Nicaraguan leader.

Editors in both Panama and Colombia said Latins who favor democracy were indignant over the President's choice of terminology. "That was not a dastardly attack," said an editor in Bogotá. "It was courageous."

In Panama City, the newspaper El Dia found several days after the shooting was over, there was so much sentiment for Roberto Lopez, the man who shot Somoza, that the paper published a special edition with a big picture of Lopez. Everyone wanted to have his picture, one of the editors explained. He said many in this Catholic country wanted to mount it and burn candles for Lopez, who was killed immediately after firing on the dictator.

Mixed in with this strong feeling against Latin dictators is quite another feeling which was on full display in the Maxim Grill in Panama City, where a calypso singer has gained fame by mocking the dictators in calypso couplets. His number about Somoza has, of course, a happy ending when the dictator is killed—"ra-ta-ta-ta-ta-ta-ta—Somoza is dictator no more."

In his number about Trujillo the singer uses the Gerry Murphy affair to ridicule Trujillo's tenuous claim to international respect. And his hero is "Senator Porter" who he sings "wants to send Trujillo to the electric chair." The reaction of the crowd is perhaps more significant than his calypso artistry, for it roared and clapped for more, obviously enjoying this ritual of laughing at the dictators.

3. Finally, there is only one overriding political issue in Latin America—democracy versus dictatorship—which energizes students and statesmen alike and provides a most stimulating intellectual atmosphere for the visitor from Washington, where a type of political cynicism and superficial sophistication too often seems to dull sensitivity in official quarters to such fundamental concerns as now preoccupy our Latin American neighbors.

Democracy for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most frustrating struggles in our national history has been the effort of the people of the District of Columbia to secure democracy. It has always seemed ridiculous to me that the citizens of this country who live in the Nation's Capital are not permitted to participate in government as voting citizens. The following editorial from the Mitchell (S. Dak.) Daily Republic of July 19, 1957, points up the shallow arguments of those who would deny the extension of democracy to the District:

IKE'S STRANGE STAND ON WASHINGTON HOME RULE

When a delegation of citizens of Washington, D. C., called on President Eisenhower in the interest of home rule recently, the Chief Executive told them that they need more good arguments for self-government and franchise. This was a remarkable statement for the President of the Unied States to make to a group of citizens who are seeking the privileges and rights of citizenship.

What arguments could they possibly need other than the fact that our Constitution declares that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State" by reason of race, color, and so on? It is inherent in the American tradition that the people have the right to govern themselves and that there shall be no taxation without representation.

There would seem to be a considerable paradox in the equanimity with which the Eisenhower administration views the withholding of the franchise from the people of Washington and its avowed concern that Negroes—those outside of the city of Washington, that is—shall not be deprived of the right to vote.

Incidentally, the administration has proposed for the National Capital a territorial government, with a governor and lieutenant governor appointed by the President, an elective legislative assembly over whose acts the President would have a veto, and a nonvoting Delegate in the House of Representatives. It offers that as a counterproposal to pending bills calling for an elective mayor and council.

And, speaking of taxation without representation, which did so much to bring on the Revolutionary War, Thomas Stokes points out that the Eisenhower proposal harks back to the Crown Colonies of the pre-Revolutionary era, with a governor appointed by the King, and the royal right of veto over the local assembly. (A rereading of the Declaration of Independence will refresh memories as to what this led to in the days before the formation of the United States of America.)

Home-rule bills have succeeded of passage in the Senate but they are always pigeonholed in the House by the District of Columbia Committee, which is packed to suit the southern viewpoint. Of its 14 Democratic members, 10 are from the South. All Chairman JOHN MCMILLAN, Democrat, of South Carolina, has to do is elicit the support of three Republicans, which has always been easy, and the bill is stymied. And the reason that the southerners are opposed to home rule in Washington is that they don't want the large number of Negroes who live in the Capital to have the vote. This, therefore, is in direct contravention of the 15th amendment to the Constitution, quoted from in paragraph 2, above.

But if the administration and the House at large were sufficiently aroused about this travesty on American principles, we are sure that the matter could be brought to a head successfully.

Stokes states that the futile efforts in the past 86 years to restore democracy to the Capital (which should be a showpiece of democracy) provoked one observer to raise the question whether, if our people had it to do over again, they would choose democracy as the form of government for our Nation—so unresponsive have Congress and our people been to the attempts to reestablish democratic government in Washington.

It's a sad commentary, but, in view of the record, an entirely reasonable one.

The American Taxpayer and British Rubber Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the current column of the National Federation of Independent Business, written by the Federation's president, Mr. C. Wilson Harder, calls attention to what it is costing the American taxpayers to stockpile natural rubber. Mr. Harder points out that natural rubber production is a virtual British monopoly, and he raises the very serious question as to whether the taxpayers of this country, through the Government's stockpiling program, are being forced to support the price of British rubber.

What makes this situation all the more confusing is the fact that earlier this year it was announced in London that the British will build and equip in Communist Russia, the largest tire factory in the world outside the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to include the Federation's column as part of my remarks:

There is a growing suspicion in Washington that a portion of the Government's program of stockpiling so-called strategic materials is merely a plan to give some foreign monopolies a surplus program such as afforded to the American farmer.

The Government now has stockpiled 1,200,000 long tons of natural rubber, acquired at a cost of $825 million, which is costing United States taxpayers an estimated $38 million per year to maintain, plus interest on the investment. That is the report in a recent speech by the president of the B. F. Goodrich Co.

What makes this situation all the more confusing is that last year's production of natural rubber totaled only 1,900,000 tons. Thus, the United States has almost a full year's production of natural rubber in storage.

It is also significant that the production of natural rubber is a virtual British monopoly, and that it was not too long ago British rubber interests publicly complained profits for year had fallen to slightly below 35 percent.

As a matter of fact, with the great developments made in synthetic rubber, natural tree rubber has become almost as obsolete as the buggy whip. There are a few minor uses where natural rubber is best, but by far, in most applications such as tires, hoses, other uses, synthetic rubber does job better.

Actually, without Government buying up natural rubber and storing it away, price of the natural product would undoubtedly drop to quite a low level.

American rubber industry leaders say that in event of a national emergency of serious proportions, Nation could be entirely independent of foreign rubber.

Last year, when due to a heavy worldwide demand of rubber, the price of natural rubber was being boosted, an effort was made to get Government to release a part of this vast store as it would have been the most logical time for the taxpayers to get back a reasonable share of the money that has been poured into an excessive stockpile. Government refused to do so.

But so far this year, reduced demand for rubber has brought the price of natural rubber down, so that it would be hard for Government to get back a fair share of the investment.

It very much appears that natural rubber bears the same relation to synthetic rubber that silk does to nylon. In other words, premium price is paid for synthetic because of its better qualities, and natural product is considered secondary in value.

Thus, there is no telling what price levels natural rubber would have dropped to by this time, to the detriment of the British monopoly, had not the United States been price supporting the product with huge stockpiles.

At the present time, when not only Congress, but the entire Nation, is appalled over the extraordinary high Federal budget, it would perhaps be the logical time to launch a probe to get at the bottom of this situation.

Obviously, the American taxpayer is paying huge sums to price-support American farmers.

It would be quite ironical if it developed United States taxpayer is also being assessed to price-support British rubber tree farmer.

Knoxville Chamber of Commerce Member Objects to National Chamber of Commerce Becoming Tail of the Kite of Private Power Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, Hon. George R. Dempster, prominent businessman, former mayor of Knoxville, and director of the Citizens for TVA, has sent to me a most illuminating letter which, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD.

Mr. Dempster, it seems, is awakening to that which other businessmen are rapidly learning, namely, some of them are working at cross purposes in paying dues to the National Chamber of Commerce, which dues, in turn, are used in propaganda campaigns against the Tennessee Valley Authority and other great developments in the public interest. Mr. Dempster expresses the matter very vigorously when he says that he "objects to having the chamber of commerce become the tail of the kite of the private power interests."

I believe the letter should have the widest possible circulation.

Mr. Dempster's letter follows:

DEMPSTER BROS., INC.,
Knoxville, Tenn., July 9, 1957.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
Congressman, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Please accept my sincere congratulations on your exposé of the background of one Louis V. Sutton and his opposition to the TVA. I wrote the chamber of commerce about this gentleman and was advised by letter that the members of the United States Chamber of Commerce staff had prepared the article which Mr. Sutton read before your committee. As a member of the chamber of commerce I had objected to having that organization become the tail of the kite of the private-power interest and the party who wrote to me vigorously defended the attitude of the chamber.

It has occurred to me that perhaps I am working at cross purposes here by, on one hand, supporting the Tennessee Valley Authority and on the other, contributing to the budget of the chamber of commerce which uses most of their dues and contributions to hammering the TVA. I intend to drop the membership. We perhaps will continue our membership in the local chapter if I can find that none of the money sent locally will be funneled into Washington to continue their unfair battle against public power.

Your defense of TVA is the most able I have ever read. Were it not for such friends as you, of course, TVA would have gone down the drain many years ago. I wish that our Tennessee newspapers would give more prominence so much articles as yours in order that our people might become more fully aware of the insidious efforts being made to first discredit the TVA and then abolish it altogether. Many of our new voters know nothing of the pre-TVA days and can easily be misled by the vicious propaganda put out by the private-power people at the expense of their subscribers.

The average citizen has no conception of what these tax writeoffs mean to the very people who are the greatest opponents of TVA. At the very time the power companies in the Northwest were getting great tax writeoffs on the theory that they were producing something for the benefit of the defense effort, my own company was denied a similar concession for a building we were erecting even though a considerable portion of our product was being absorbed by the Armed Forces. There is no doubt but what the power people are the favored children now. I yet hope that there will be some way of bringing the power companies to task on the large amounts of money they have spent for propaganda purposes without the knowledge and consent of many of their stockholders.

With all good wishes and many thanks for your vigorous stand, I remain,

Sincerely,

GEO. R. DEMPSTER,
President, Dempster Bros.

Amendment of Internal Revenue Code Relating to Deduction From Gross Income of Certain Teacher Expenses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, on February 28, 1957, I introduced H. R. 5390, which is to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction from gross income for certain amounts paid by teachers for their further education. Numerous similar bills have been introduced, among them being H. R. 4662 by Mr. KING, and H. R. 6105 by Mr. TEAGUE, both fellow Californians.

If enacted, this legislation could make a significant contribution toward alleviating hardships existing under the income-tax laws concerning teachers continuing educational expenses. It should, therefore, receive the serious attention of all Members of Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement I have prepared on H. R. 5390, which goes into the matter in more detail. The statement follows:

H. R. 5390, a bill which I introduced on February 27, 1957, 1st Session, 85th Congress, would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers income tax deductions for certain educational and travel expenses. There has long been a need for more equitable income tax treatment of teachers in this regard and consequently there is a pressing need for enactment of this legislation.

Today more and more educational institutions and systems are requiring teachers to continue their studies as a normal occupational requirement. In addition, the nature of teaching is such that additional expertness and proficiency through further education are highly desirable. However, as matters stand, teachers who spend their own money to acquire additional education in most instances are unable to gain meaningful recognition of such expenditures under the Federal income tax laws and regulations.

For a number of years, various groups and individuals have endeavored to have teachers' continuing educational expenses recognized in the income tax regulations as a deductible item of business expenditure for income tax purposes, first under the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 and then under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. The results, however, have been very discouraging and largely unfruitful.

In 1950, a Virginia schoolteacher, Mrs. Norah P. Hill, did succeed in obtaining a favorable court ruling allowing her to deduct the expenses of a summer-school course on the ground that the expenses were necessarily incurred by her to maintain her teaching certificate in Virginia. However, though the Bureau of Internal Revenue then modified its regulations to permit such deductions, it restricted the scope of the regulations to the ruling in that particular case, ruling that only when summer-school expenses are incurred by a public school teacher to maintain the teaching position were they deductible as ordinary and necessary business expenses, or when the facts were similar to that case. As it turned out, little relief was afforded to teachers.

Many teachers residing in the 24th Congressional District have contacted me, expressing grave concern over what they considered gross inequities in the treatment of teachers as compared with deductions available to other individuals who are in the trades, businesses, or the professions. As a result of these protests, I have been in touch with the Bureau of Internal Revenue concerning this matter over the course of many months.

In July of 1956, the Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, proposed new regulations relating to expenses for education under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (published in the Federal Register, July 10, 1956, page 5093, Vol. 21, Numbered 132.) It was anticipated that the new regulations would contain more liberal provisions relative to teachers' educational expenses. However, the regulations as proposed appear to be even more restrictive than those presently in effect.

Briefly, under the regulations as proposed, a teacher's expenses for education would generally not be deductible if the expenditure is made, or would have the result of obtaining a position for the taxpayer, establishing or enhancing substantially his reputation in trade or business, substantially advancing him in salary, earning capacity, status, or position, or primarily fulfilling the general cultural aspirations or other personal purposes of the teacher.

Among the so-called exceptions to the general rule is that an expenditure made by a teacher for education which is a prerequisite to continued employment is deductible. This exception is so qualified, however, as to render it practically meaningless. Thus, it would be provided that a teacher would deduct education expenditures if the education is a prerequisite to his continued employment even though academic credit accrues (which under another part of the section would be a factor weighing against a taxpayer's deducting educational expenditures) but it is provided that, even so, the expenditures are not deductible if they have the result of obtaining a different position for the taxpayer, establishes or enhances substantially his reputation in his trade or business, or substantially advances him in earning capacity, salary,

status, or position. Therefore it would appear that under the proposed regulations, even if a school teacher were required to take a summer-school course to retain his or her position, if at the same time it would qualify the teacher for a raise in salary, there could be no income-tax deduction.

In September 1956 I filed a statement with the Internal Revenue Service for consideration at the hearing on the proposed rule-making, stating that the rules as proposed would unduly discriminate against teachers, and stating that the obstacles interposed by the rules are so formidable that in practical effect, few if any teachers, could ever qualify for tax deductions for education and travel expenditures. The proposed regulations are still pending, and there is no indication that when they become effective they will provide for more equitable tax treatment for teachers' education expenses.

To correct this situation, I have introduced H. R. 5390 to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that established teachers may be allowed an income-tax deduction of not to exceed $600 in any taxable year for expenses incurred for further education. Items that would be included as expenses are tuition, books, other equipment, travel, and living expenses while away from home, to the extent they exceed normal living expenses, and to the extent such expenses are paid during the taxable year in connection with a teacher's enrollment at an accredited institution of higher learning.

It is my hope that this measure will be enacted at an early date to provide necessary tax relief for members of the teaching profession.

A Free Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times, Friday, July 19, 1957:

A FREE SOCIETY

The Fund for the Republic is embarking on an important study of one of the great problems facing our democracy: the effect on freedom and a free society of the large-scale organizations and institutions that have grown up in the last half-century and that were as unknown to the Founding Fathers as the jet airplane and the atomic bomb.

Big business and big labor, to name two major forces of the new age, inevitably affect our life as a nation and our freedom as individuals. These new groupings—in industry and in labor, in voluntary associations and in pressure groups—have helped change our society from the relatively simple association that it was to the highly complex network of interrelationships that we see around us. Their profound impact on personal freedom and on the structure of the state must first be understood before it can be properly coped with. In announcing the new study, Robert M. Hutchins, president of the fund, said: "We must find out how these developments affect freedom and justice. We must discover the basic issues they present."

This "basic issues" program is described as a principal part of the present phase of the fund's operations, which began with a grant from the Ford Foundation over 4 years ago. The fund has been spending its money by and large in some exceedingly useful directions despite ill-informed and often irresponsible criticism that has been directed against it. In so doing, the fund has helped strengthen American democracy, and the new study just announced gives every indication of being a major contribution to this end.

Force Bill Repugnant: Brownell Should Be Told Face to Face

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I want to insert in the RECORD an excellent editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn., on July 18, 1957, concerning the authority being sought by the Attorney General for the President in the so-called civil rights bill.

I think all Members of the House will be interested in this editorial and I suggest that you give it your close attention.

The editorial follows:

FORCE BILL REPUGNANT: BROWNELL SHOULD BE TOLD FACE TO FACE

Attorney General Herbert Brownell should not have to learn by reading the newspaper that his boss, the President of the United States, is against the force provision of his so-called civil-rights bill.

The place for him to have been told that was the White House. It still is. With whatever emphasis is necessary to unequivocally instruct this department head who is, after all, a subordinate of the Chief Executive.

President Eisenhower again has said, and this time most specifically, that he cannot imagine any set of circumstances that ever would induce him to send Federal troops to enforce Federal court orders in the South.

Nobody can doubt the sincerity of that assurance. As the soul of honor and truthfulness, Dwight D. Eisenhower's word is its own bond of integrity.

He cannot bind that assurance on some future incumbent. If this measure were enacted, a successor in the White House could invoke it.

The point is that somebody has written into a bill in the administration's name, and bearing ostensibly its blessing, methods of enforcement foreign to the President's intention—and concerning which, as stated, he holds views of personal opposition.

Facing the fact of reconstruction devices in that piece of legislation, Lyle C. Wilson, chief of the United Press Washington bureau, has suggested that Mr. Brownell be asked who in his Department drafted this bill and who (outside the administration) helped.

These are questions the President might well be concerned about, too; for as has been pointed out to him, somebody loaded these dice for a dangerous public gamble. Somebody reached a long way back into the most vicious era of national history to borrow reconstruction measures. Far from the liberal premise that the Constitution, in salient points, needs a "modernized" interpretation, these harked to an ancient footing from which hate poured out its anathema on the South nine decades ago.

The President has learned, because some candid southern men told him, that these provisions are in the bill. They will be there throughout the interval of Senate debate, and, unless defeated, until by Executive order they are stricken from it.

The Chief Executive is boss of his Cabinet. As such, he certainly does not have to accept the ideas and recommendations and legislative excursions of Mr. Brownell.

Obviously, the authority solicited for him in this bill is repugnant to him, and just as repugnant to him for any President to possess—or for any official of the Government, executive or judicial, to toy with.

The time and place for telling Brownell that is now and in the White House.

He should be told to withdraw this bill, for purposes of rewriting it without the force implications—fitting the President's specific views—or tender his resignation.

The American Legion Department of California Convention Forwards Six Resolutions Adopted by Convention June 27 to 30, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent, heretofore granted to me so to do, I am pleased to present herewith communication to me just received from Gordon A. Lyons, department adjutant, American Legion, Department of California, in which he forwarded me the text of the six resolutions identified in his letter of July 18, 1957.

I am sure that every Member of this Congress appreciates receiving the considered opinion of the distinguished veterans of our beloved Nation:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
DEPARTMENT OF CALIFORNIA,
San Francisco, July 18, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Attached for your attention is a partial group of resolutions which were adopted by the American Legion, Department of California, in convention assembled at Long Beach, Calif., June 27-30, 1957:

Resolution 7, Civil Defense Reorganization Act (H. R. 2125).

Resolution 23, San Diego Veterans' Administration regional office.

Resolution 24, Construction of a Veterans' Administration hospital.

Resolution 27, Chapel at Veterans' Administration hospital in San Francisco.

Resolution 45, Retain without amendment Walter-McCarran Act.

Resolution 63, Protest removal of Letterman Army Hospital from Presidio of San Francisco.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

GORDON A. LYONS,
Department Adjutant.

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
DEPARTMENT OF CALIFORNIA,
San Francisco.

CIVIL DEFENSE REORGANIZATION ACT (H. R. 2125)

Whereas the American Legion of California disaster relief and civil defense program has been in operation for the past 30 years and Legionnaires have participated in all major

disasters in California during that period, rendering assistance in time of emergency; and

Whereas such participation has been on a voluntary basis by legionnaires, in cooperation with the civil authorities (State, county, cities) and in augmenting law enforcement agencies; and

Whereas, there is now a bill H. R. 2125, cited as the Civil Defense Reorganization Act submitted by Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD and referred to the Committee on Government Operations, which includes in section 407 the following, "utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services by individuals and/or organizations as might from time to time be needed; and authorize the States to establish and organize such individuals and organizations into units to be known collectively as the United States Civil Defense Corps": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of California, in regular convention assembled in Long Beach, Calif., June 27–30, 1957, does hereby go on record in support of that portion of the bill pertaining to the United States Civil Defense Corps which encompasses organizations comparable to the American Legion Emergency Corps and should such bill be enacted by Congress, the American Legion Emergency Corps would qualify as a United States Civil Defense Corps unit.

SAN DIEGO VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION REGIONAL OFFICE

Whereas it has now been almost 2 years since the consolidation of many of the functions of the San Diego Veterans' Administration regional office with the Los Angeles Veterans' Administration regional office; and

Whereas the difficulties of efficiently serving the veterans of San Diego and Imperial Counties in veterans matters when their claim files, financial records, and the rating boards are located in Los Angeles have proved such as to far outweigh any potential savings accomplished by the consolidation; and

Whereas the veteran population of San Diego County is continually growing and is now such as to well justify a full regional Veterans' Administration office for that area: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion, Department of California, in regular convention assembled in Long Beach, Calif., June 27–30, 1957, That a full regional office of the Veterans' Administration should be restored to San Diego in order to better serve the veterans in that area; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution shall be furnished all California Congressmen, its two Senators and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs with a request that they take every action possible to restore a full regional Veterans' Administration office to the San Diego area.

CONSTRUCTION OF A VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Whereas the Veterans' Administration has been authorized to construct a new Veterans' Administration hospital to replace the existing Oakland Veterans' Administration Hospital; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has failed to appropriate funds for the construction of such hospital as requested by the Veterans' Administration; and

Whereas the American Legion, Department of California, believes that the failure to appropriate and authorize such funds as requested constitutes an unjustifiable delay in the construction of this badly needed hospital: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we deplore the present plan to replace this 712-bed hospital with a 500-bed hospital because of the terrific and continuous increase in the veteran population in California; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge that the plans be changed to provide for construction of a 1,000-bed hospital to replace the Veterans' Administration Hospital at Oakland; and be it further

Resolved, That the Department of California urge the California congressional delegation to assist in every way possible in securing the immediate construction of this hospital.

CHAPEL AT VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL IN SAN FRANCISCO

Whereas patients in Veterans' Administration hospitals need spiritual as well as medical care; and

Whereas there should be a place of worship in a proper atmosphere, used for religious purposes only; and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration Hospital in San Francisco, Calif., does not have a suitable place of worship. Religious services are now being conducted in a portion of the chaplain's office or the auditorium day room: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of California, in regular convention assembled in Long Beach, Calif., June 27–30, 1957, does petition the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in Washington, D. C., to provide funds to the Veterans' Administration Hospital in San Francisco, Calif., for the purpose of building a chapel within the hospital grounds, to be used only for the purpose of religious services of all faiths.

RETAIN WITHOUT AMENDMENT, WALTER-M'CARRAN ACT

Whereas the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act is the result of more than 5 years of intensive investigation and research; and

Whereas pending amendments would destroy the security provisions by which the present law keeps all groups and individuals opposed to our American form of government away from American shores: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of California, in regular convention assembled in Long Beach, Calif., June 27–30, 1957, does hereby oppose any and all further attempts now being made to repeal, weaken, or destroy the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act, either by direct weakening amendments to the act, or by any other legislative procedures; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all California representatives in the Congress and to the national commander of the American Legion.

PROTEST REMOVAL OF LETTERMAN ARMY HOSPITAL FROM PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO

Whereas considerable publicity has recently been circulated that the United States Army contemplates the removal of Letterman Army Hospital from its present site at the Presidio of San Francisco; and

Whereas the proposed new location of the aforesaid hospital is alleged to be approximately 140 miles from its present location; and

Whereas there resides in or adjacent to the city of San Francisco approximately 2,500 families, comprising at least 5,000 persons, who, because of retirement privileges of the United States Army, are entitled to and depend upon medical care at Letterman Army Hospital and would be deprived of this medical care in the event of such removal of the hospital; and

Whereas it is our opinion that the staff and facilities of Letterman Army Hospital are materially augmented when necessary by highly trained personnel and modern medical equipment from civilian institutions in and adjacent to San Francisco which would not be immediately accessible at the proposed new location of the hospital: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of California, in regular convention assembled in Long Beach, Calif., June 27–30, 1957, does hereby protest the removal of said Letterman Army Hospital from the Presidio of San Francisco, Calif.

The above resolutions were adopted by the American Legion, Department of California, in regular convention assembled in Long Beach, Calif., June 27–30, 1957.

What Is Life Really Like in Red China? Firsthand Report by GI Returnee—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the fourth of five interviews conducted by U. S. News & World Report with American soldiers whom the Reds captured in Korea and persuaded to go to Communist China and who have now returned to the United States.

The interview follows:

FOR GRIGGS, A "NIGHTMARE" HAS ENDED—IN CHINA, A PERSON "DOESN'T EVEN TRUST HIS OWN FAMILY"

Lewis W. Griggs, son of an electrician, grew up in Neches, an east Texas village, and went to school in Palestine, 12 miles away. In high school he was absent a good deal, joined the Army at 17 without getting his diploma.

In the Army Griggs became a medic—a stretcher bearer—and served 9 months in Korean battles before he was captured in April 1951. Griggs took the same path as the rest of the 21 who stayed in China—rejected a chance to come home, entered China in January 1954, and was assigned a job after finishing his course in communism.

Griggs was assigned to a state farm in the Yellow River Valley to work in the cotton gin and flour mill in the farm's processing center. He came back at the same time Bell did, in July 1955, caught up on his missed schooling, and now has just finished his freshman year at Stephen F. Austin State College in Nacogdoches, Tex. This summer he is staying in school, trying to finish his education as quickly as possible.

The interview which follows was recorded in Grigg's room in the college dormitory:

"Question. Are you glad you came back home?

"Answer. Definitely. Yes, sir, I'm glad.

"Question. What was your first impression of the States?

"Answer. I went walking down the streets of San Francisco and I was able to look in the windows of shops and you could see things which you haven't seen in so long, and see people dressed like you remembered them in the past. It was just like waking up out of a nightmare back into real life again.

"One of the first things I saw that I hadn't seen in a long time, which looked awful good, was seeing a woman dressed up like a woman instead of a man. The new automobiles, and the television—everything was strange.

"Question. What was so impressive about looking in store windows?

"Answer. One of the main things—the thing I remembered most that interested me a lot—was passing nice restaurants and looking in and seeing people eating decent-looking food and enjoying themselves.

"Of course, I noticed the clothes in the windows, especially the shirts. I like good-style clothes and I noticed that quite a bit. You couldn't get but one kind of shirt over there.

"Question. Is that the main difference—the things you can buy?

"Answer. Oh, no. The main difference is the way you feel. Over there your life is just study and work and wait for the next day. You have an occasional chance to go somewhere but you really haven't got much freedom. It is just an entirely different concept of life, and over there you feel no different than when you live in a prison.

"Over there I didn't feel much different than when I was in their prisoner-of-war camp. But here I went into military confinement for a while and I would even consider confinement here much better than being loose over there.

"And since I have come out, I still haven't completely gotten used to the idea of being free to do what I wish to do. I just do the same things I was free to do over there.

"Question. What are some of the things you don't do any more?

"Answer. Like going to a good ball game and getting out there and yelling and cheering like a normal student does, like I used to do when I was a kid. Or maybe going out with a bunch of the guys on a big hunting trip and spending the night out by the river, hunting and fishing. Or maybe going swimming at the beach or going to parties—things of that nature which I used to do all the time.

"But now, I'm just not used to it and I don't do things of that nature.

BROKEN PROMISES

"Question. When you got to China did you have any say-so about where you would settle down or what kind of job you would get?

"Answer. The way that ran—in my case, I was promised from the very beginning that I would be sent to the university, and I later specified Peiping University, and I was going to take foreign languages and journalism. But when the time came, some men got what they wanted but a large percentage of us didn't. In my case, I didn't want the state farm, but I got it—a state farm down on the Yellow River.

"Question. How big was this farm?

"Answer. There were a little over 900 workers there. I don't know the exact acreage of the farm—it was scattered in numerous places—but I understood it covered parts of 3 counties.

"Question. Did the farmers make a profit?

"Answer. If there was any profit it was made by the Government. The Government owns the land and the tools. The actual farmers—the farm workers—are hired strictly on a wage basis, from the highest official down to the lowest.

"Question. How much did they get paid, in wages?

"Answer. An average worker at this particular farm got about 200,000 yuan a month, which would be about 8 United States dollars.

"Question. How do they get farmers to work for that kind of money? Do they draft them?

"Answer. In a lot of cases they came there because they could make better wages than they could on a small farm. A lot of them were poor peasants, and after the redistribution of land they lost what they had, so they came to the state farm because they could get better wages.

"And then there were some sons of former landlords. In the case of this one I knew, he came there because the Reds had pretty well confiscated all his family's belongings. They turned the peasantry against the old landlord class, and this man was trying to rebuild his reputation under the Communist system.

"Question. Was farming pretty highly mechanized on that farm where you worked?

"Answer. I would say in some respects it was fairly mechanized. For example, they had a number of tractors—the majority of them were American tractors, old Allis-Chalmers and Fords, and they had a number of American combines. They had quite a few Russian combines and tractors—the Joseph Stalin tractor, for one.

"But picking cotton and stuff of that kind was all done by hand. I believe they did have one cottonpicker, which wouldn't work half the time. They weren't mechanized by the standards of a good farm in the United States.

"Question. Did they take good care of the machinery?

"Answer. Oh, they were always working on it constantly, but most of the workers did the repair work right in the fields and they were usually fairly poor at it. The result was a large number of breakages, and repair was always going on—on all the different machines.

"Question. What kind of houses do they have on the farms?

"Answer. The house I lived in on the farm was a hut, a type of old shed. It had mud walls and a straw roof. The roof leaked. All but 1 or 2 windows, including the windows in the door, had the panes knocked out of them. The floor was made of mud—and that was about the way it was. Of course, the walls were very crude. It was more like an old shed out in some very poor farming area in the States.

"We had two stoves in the hut, but neither one worked well enough to let you get any heat or keep warm.

"Question. Did the Chinese live in the same kind of quarters?

"Answer. Yes; they did. In fact, the place where we were living—there was also Chinese living in the same hut. And the other houses were all about the same.

FIFTEEN OR TWENTY LIVING IN A SHED

"Question. You lived right with the Chinese? Was it crowded?

"Answer. In our shed there were about 15 or 20 Chinese living with us. It was very crowded—the beds were practically against each other on all four of the walls. This was only a one-room house. I would say it was about 20 feet wide and maybe 40 feet long.

"Question. What were the roads like, out there in the country?

"Answer. The roads were all dirt and there was a lot of sand in it, and in the summer when a truck would go by—which wasn't very often—it would knock up a huge amount of dust. In the winter months, when the snow and ice and rains would come down at different periods, the road would get so gummy that a truck couldn't go on the road at all. It was difficult even for a mule cart and, therefore, except for a few mule carts which just had to be used at that period, there wasn't any transport on any of the roads.

"About the most common way of traveling in the winter is on foot. Sometimes the mud is so deep it comes up to your knees.

"Question. Suppose a worker wanted to quit working on a place like that? Could he do it?

"Answer. Oh, no. That is impossible. You can't just get up and leave a place like that.

"You have to have permission to leave and it's very hard to get such permission because, the way they look at things, the needs of the state are ahead of the needs of the person—the individual—and therefore if the state needs you there, then you stay. But if the state agrees that your needs can be coordinated with the state's, they will allow you to leave. But usually this isn't the case.

"Question. Did the people get enough to eat? Did you see any signs of the kind of famine we often hear about?

"Answer. I didn't observe any of what you could term 'famine,' but I noticed that in Chenghow, the main town near this farm, there were large numbers of beggars, all the way from small children to old men and women. They were all over the place, crawling on all fours with cans on their necks. Just any time, you could see 50 or 100 of them in this town.

"Question. Were they starving?

"Answer. Well, they were begging for food—that was the main thing they were after—but they would take anything you gave them.

"Question. But the Communists always say they don't have beggars in Communist countries——

"Answer. I know. They told us that beggars had been done away with in China, that there weren't any more beggars. And then after we saw all these beggars, the explanation was that these were people who were too lazy to work.

"Of course, I would say that some of them, those that were crawling on all fours, were abnormal. It couldn't be that they were too lazy to work. They just weren't taken care of by the state as they were supposed to be.

"Question. What were the crops on this state farm?

"Answer. They raised wheat and cotton and some kind of beans. There was also a lot of grapes.

"Question. Didn't they have any animals?

"Answer. They had two cows. I believe they had a bull, a Holstein bull, and they had a number of pigs. I believe they had a few chickens, and they had some goats—not too many goats. And they had a number of work horses and mules which they used for transportation.

"To take care of them, they had animal-husbandry sections, and I would say they took very good care of their livestock because they are so scarce.

"Question. Did the animals look pretty good?

"Answer. On the state farm the animals were in pretty good shape because a lot of these animals were imported from England, Holland, or Czechoslovakia—some foreign country. They did have a few Chinese hogs, but the rest were brought in from foreign countries and were in very good shape.

"Question. The animals seem to get a better break than the people, from what you say——

"Answer. That's right. They take better care of the animals than the people, because the animals were so much harder to get and they were overpopulated with people.

"Question. Did you stay at this farm until you left China?

"Answer. No. In the last weeks over there we were sent to a factory."

ESCAPE, THEN ARREST

"Question. How did that happen?

"Answer. We were transferred after we had escaped from the farm.

"Question. You didn't get away with it? You still had to go to the factory?

"Answer. We were arrested by a large number of militia and they marched us to the capital of that country, which was quite a distance away, west of there. After a few weeks we were forcibly removed to Kaifeng to go to work in this factory and, as they claimed, to earn our keep until our permission to leave came through and all arrangements were made.

"That is when we were taken to Kaifeng to this factory that made plows—horse-drawn plows, and things of that nature—and were put to work there.

"Question. How did you like it there, in Kaifeng?

"Answer. Well, it was a pretty large-sized town, and the workers in the factory thought more like we did—they were a lot like us. They were either young people who had been working in Shanghai and these larger places

which were used to good American clothes and were used to living a lot like Americans—they were pretty Westernized and didn't like the Reds at all—or there were people in there who had come from foreign countries.

"Some were Chinese Nationalists with foreign dependents, wives, from Japan, Vietnam, and even a few from the United States. They had other foreigners there, plus us, and we got along fairly well. In fact, the whole group of people in this factory were mainly people who really opposed the regime in some way or other, except for about 1 percent, who were the Communist leaders—the cadre—at this place.

"Question. What did the workers say about the regime?

"Answer. They spoke very frankly about it. Some of the things they didn't like: They didn't have enough freedom; they couldn't go home; they couldn't work where they wanted to, and they couldn't do what they wanted to. They didn't like the food.

"And they refused to study—they hated the course in indoctrination—and some of them would hit their head and they would say it gave them a headache to study—might drive them crazy.

"SURROUNDED BY POLICE"

"Question. Was the discipline pretty strict at the factory?

"Answer. Where we lived, in a dormitory, we were in a little compound surrounded by the industrial-police compound, and it was not much better than the farm.

"Question. Did you see lots of police?

"Answer. The police were everywhere. They were constantly on patrol. They guarded theaters, stores, factories—they were all over the place.

"Question. You had already decided to try to get out of China before they sent you to this factory. What made you want to leave?

"Answer. The main thing was the discovery that the Communist system, as practiced in China, was in reality not a truly Socialist state, or a "people's state," as they referred to it. It was strictly a slave state. I suppose the main thing is that I started to believe in individualism and the right of privacy of the human being—and that's something which just cannot exist in that type of society.

"Question. The individual has no privacy over there?

"Answer. That's exactly what I mean. Actually, the people never know who to trust—children, mothers, fathers, husbands—you never know who is actually a spy for the state, and it gets down to where a person never expresses his own thought, even to his own family. He doesn't even trust his own family. And when a person can't even trust his own father or his own mother, then it's really getting pretty bad. It's certainly not a very decent place to have to live in.

"Question. Individualism—you mentioned that. Do you mean you can't have a life of your own under communism?

"Answer. I just wanted to do the little things in life, like having a job, going to school, having a family—that's something that's just practically out of your reach there. You were supposed to develop your ideology toward their way, but the things which were really necessary for a person's happiness, you just didn't have.

"For example, the idea of settling down and having your own home, your own family, going to school, working on a job that you're interested in, having your own hobbies, going on vacation like a person looks forward to in the United States—things of this nature you just can't look forward to there.

"All you've got is what they place before you—it's the life of the masses, they call it."

Is It Un-Christian To Believe in Segregation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, Walter B. Jones, presiding judge, 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama, recently delivered an address, "Is It Un-Christian To Believe in Segregation?" before the Baptist Laymen of Alabama.

Judge Jones' father was a gallant soldier, a distinguished Governor of Alabama and an outstanding Federal Judge.

Judge Jones is a deep student of the Bible and is one who for many years has taken an active interest in the religious, social, civic, and business life of Montgomery. He is the president of the Alabama Bible Society, Jones Law School, past national archon—president—of the SAE Fraternity, an author of lawbooks, writer, and has had many honors—too numerous to mention—bestowed upon him. It can, therefore, be said that he knowns whereof he speaks.

IS IT UN-CHRISTIAN TO BELIEVE IN SEGREGATION?

(Remarks of Walter B. Jones, presiding judge, 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama, before the Baptist Laymen of Alabama, at Montgomery, July 11, 1957)

It is a distinguished privilege to be here this evening and to speak before you, the Baptist Laymen of Alabama, your friends and guests.

You stand unflinchingly for the ancient principles of separation of church and state, segregated schools and churches, local self-government and of race. You are doing a man's part in preserving for your people the true teachings of the Bible and to keep pure the blood of the white race.

You seek to promote the active participation in the affairs of your churches of all good men, and you repudiate and reject all philosophical and sociological rules laid down by modern, so-called prophets, of whom the Prophet Earl is the archetype.

It is good for our State and her people that you Baptist Laymen of Alabama have organized for action. Plato, the Greek philosopher, said many years ago:

"All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

You realize the truth of the statement and you are doing something to block the forces of evil and discord in religion.

The times and conditions in which we live make it necessary that all church people, who insist upon their rights to worship their God according to the dictates of their conscience, must organize. We must wage, at all times, the Christian and honorable struggle for religious freedom. Liberty-loving Americans must stand up for the rights of their churches. We must speak the truth and "if an offense comes out of the truth," wrote St. Jerome, "it is better that the offense come than that the truth be concealed."

SEGREGATION DOES NOT CONFLICT WITH TEACHINGS OF CHRIST

In all the discussion today about integrating the white and Negro races in the public schools, in all public recreation facilities, and in the churches, we hear it constantly said, day in and day out, by vast numbers of deceived and misguided people, that it is unchristian to believe in the ancient and time-honored doctrine of separation of the races, that segregation is in conflict with the spirit and teachings of Christ and the Apostles.

It is dinned into our ears that those who conscientiously oppose integration in our churches are acting contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and lack Christian sympathy and Christian idealism.

It is always safe to follow the dictates of one's conscience, and conscience is a knowledge or feeling of right and wrong, with a compulsion to do right. Conscience has been defined by Browning as:

"The great beacon light God sets in all,
The conscience of each bosom."

And, of course, the very first step to having a religion is that there must be liberty of conscience.

Others, who have never experienced life in communities where a large part of the population is of the Negro race, tell us that, "integration is the Christian way," and that the believers in segregation are identifying themselves with the forces of iniquity. We are asked to believe that, "the segregation pattern is out of harmony with the spirit and teaching of the Bible."

The World Council of Churches says segregation is, "abhorrent to God"; that "segregation is essentially and necessarily a sin."

It is regrettable, too, that many of our great Protestant denominations are using as reference material in their church schools pamphlets of the United Nations which are frequently void of Christ and his teachings, and some of our denominations are using pamphlets and material of the National Council of Churches, which have been condemned as being "frequently socialistic and political."

NAME CALLING

Whenever name calling is resorted to, this is an unfailing sign that the ideas of the name callers are without merit—that their reasoning won't stand examination and analysis.

Washington, the Father of our Country, was called a rebel; Jefferson and Tom Paine were called atheists; Lee and Jackson were called traitors; people who lived in the North and sympathized with the Confederate States when the South was fighting for its independence, and did not cheer Lincoln's invasion and subjugation of the South, were called copperheads; and back in the eighties those who bolted the Republican Party because they believed in independence in political thought were called mugwumps.

And so today, those who have suddenly become disciples of the prophet Earl the First, realizing how untenable their position is, seek to terrify and frighten true Christians from their conscientious convictions by branding them as un-Christian, that is, lacking in the Christian spirit.

According to the base standards of these self-righteous critics, a person may love justice, do mercy, walk humbly before his God, and follow the teachings of the Master; and, yet, because the beacon light God set in his bosom, all the teachings of history, all the experiences of mankind, will not permit him to believe in integration, he is denounced as un-Christian by people who would lead their race, and their Nation, to destruction.

Their touchstone disregards all of Christianity's teachings: you are Christian or un-Christian as you accept or reject integration.

UNKIND CONDEMNATION

Others who pretend to believe that the Negro race is the equal in all respects, if not the superior, of the white race, tell us

that Christians and church groups who believe in segregation, stand condemned because of their honestly held beliefs.

It will come as no surprise to you to learn that the National Council of Churches and its predecessors, the Federal Council of Churches, have for many years made racial integration in the churches of our Nation, one of its main objectives, and it is a deep regret to know that nearly every religious denomination in the United States, some in a small degree, and yet others in a larger degree, are using their central organization to work for integration. Many of our religious denominations, the NAACP, and it has the financial and moral backing of the American Jewish Congress in New York, committees of labor unions, and the Supreme Court of the United States, and both of the Nation's chief political parties, are all working together to achieve complete integration of the races, and this we know is the first step toward amalgamation, the consolidating and fusing into 1 race the 2, the white and black races.

One of the world's best known evangelists, Billy Graham, now conducting a revival in New York City, recently said that "He believes the church in the South 'should lead the way toward bettering racial relationships' and that ministers should take a 'very firm stand in teaching their people along these lines.'

"Graham said he tries in his own evangelistic 'crusades' to 'set an example' and permits no racial segregation at such meetings."

In Minneapolis, May 1956, the Methodist Church condemned racial segregation by any method or practice. At Kansas City, May 1956, it was noted that the Southern Baptist Convention had 2 years before expressed its approval of the Supreme Court's decision banning segregation in public schools. In May 1956 the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States adopted a report calling for "total elimination" of racial segregation in the United States. In July 1955 one of the Presbyterian synods voted 283 to 151 in favor of desegregation in all its schools and churches.

It is almost unbelievable, yet it is true, that the Presbyterian Church in one of our Southern States, underwrote the race-mixing activities of the Communist-dominated NAACP, and advanced $10,000 in cash to "relieve pressing obligations" of the NAACP.

In May 1956 the delegates to the annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Chuch in North Carolina, voted overwhelmingly in favor of gradual integration in the churches; and an executive council report, urged the Episcopalians of North Carolina to abolish segregation in all public schools and to work diligently "in an effort to effect an orderly transition toward an integrated public-school system in the diocese of North Carolina."

The Fund for the Republic, an organization which often follows the Communist line and is being investigated by a congressional committee, recently made a grant of $50,000 to the legal defense and educational fund of the NAACP.

It has organized a committee of social scientists to educate the Negroes as to their equal rights. This same Fund for the Republic also granted the Christian life commission of the Southern Baptist Convention $15,000 to support interracial programs to ease racial tensions, in the North and South.

CONSCIENCE CANNOT BE FORCED

The church should remember that conscience cannot be forced even by fat grants of money from the Fund for the Republic.

It is more than passing strange that this new liberal doctine of integrating the white and black races in all the churches never reared its ugly head until recent years, and then not until the black Monday (1954) decision of the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington, a Court headed, as Vice President NIXON called him, "a great Republican Chief Justice." The Vice President didn't say headed by a great judge. The rest of the Court dominated by Mr. Warren owe their appointment and office first of all to political considerations.

Not since reconstruction days when the Supreme Court cringed before the clamor of the mob have the people had less confidence in its judges and rulings than they have today.

In days now "gone with the wind," Americans could depend on the judgments of the Supreme Court when its decisions were generally based on settled constructions of the Constiution and followed known legal precedents.

Where, during the past century, were those who are now so anxious for the integration of the races? Why, all these years, did their convictionss trouble them so little? Is it possible that only the Prophet Earl could summon them to repentance?

If it is today regarded by many so highly unchristian to believe in the separation of the races, why wasn't it so generations and generations ago? Times and conditions change, but great fundamental principles are the same today as they were years ago.

IMPERISHABLE NAMES

Look back over the list of the justices who have sat on the United States Supreme Court. You find illustrious names like James Wilson, John Rutledge, John Marshall, Joseph Story, Roger B. Taney, Stephen J. Field, Horace Gray, Melville W. Fuller, David J. Brewer, Oliver W. Holmes, Charles E. Hughes, and William H. Taft. Many of the justices named served terms ranging from 10 to 30 years. They were not only wise jurists, but they were men who cherished the American way of life and reyered the principles of our Constitution. Did any one of them ever suggest that it was un-Christian to believe, for the good of both races, and in the interest of law and order, that the separation of the races was un-Christian and should be done away with?

Recall the men who have served as Presidents of the United States, and who have left imperishable memories, do you find any word from them stigmatizing believers of segregation as un-Christian? Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson—did any of these great American statesmen condemn the millions and millions of their own race in America, who, in their day and time, believed in the wisdom of the separation of the races?

BIBLE PROOF FOR SEGREGATION

So, now, let us reason together and see if we who believe in the time-hallowed separation of the races, in our schools and in our churches, and who stand firm for our conscientious beliefs, are doing things that are unworthy of a Christian and abhorrent to God.

Let us go back to fundamentals. A Christian is one who bases his life on the teachings of Jesus Christ; and Christianity is a religion which adopts the doctrines taught by Christ. So let us turn now to the fountainhead, to Jesus Christ, to study His teachings and see if the separation of the races is un-Christian or was ever condemned by Him during His ministry here on earth.

Dr. J. E. Flow, of Concord, N. C., in a recent sermon, answered the question: Is segregation un-Christian? by stating that he believes in segregation for three reasons:

1. It is in harmony with the plan and purpose of God as the best means to prevent the amalgamation of the races;

2. It is in harmony with a well-known law of nature, stated in the proverb, "Birds of a feather will flock together." Sparrows will not flock with robins, nor crows with quail; and

3. Because experience has shown that race segregation contributes to harmony and peace among the races.

These words from Dr. Flow are worthy of keeping before us:

"Segregation was decreed by God Himself in one historical instance. God called Abram out of Ur of Chaldees, to go into the land which he should afterward receive as an inheritance. The patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, lived in that land for many years. Jacob's clan, because of famine, went down into Egypt, and were settled in the land of Goshen, where they remained 400 years. Then God sent Moses to lead the tribes of Israel out of Egypt into the wilderness for 40 years, and Joshua led them into the land of Canaan, where the various tribes were settled. For 1,500 years till the birth of Christ they were a segregated nation. They were forbidden by God to mingle socially, to intermarry or to amalgamate with the nations around them. They did not always obey God, but nevertheless God commanded it, and many times punished them when they disobeyed His command. If allowed to mingle socially with each other the inevitable result would be amalgamation either with or without marriage. Then he notes:

"Out of that segregated nation, through inspired prophets from time to time, from Moses to Malachi, came the revealed will of God in the Old Testament. Out of that segregated nation came the Saviour of the world, and the New Testament which tells us of Him. Does anyone dare to say that God made a mistake in segregating the Jewish nation? Does anyone dare to say that segregation is wrong and un-Christian when the Almighty Himself did it?"

NO APPEASEMENT TO ATHEISTIC COMMUNISM

Recently, the Right Reverend Albert S. Thomas, retired bishop of South Carolina, wrote an article on Development or Obliteration, in which he expressed the view that many integrationists seemed to have the motive of appeasing atheistic communism abroad, and this, wrote the bishop, seems more important to them than the happiness and well-being of a large portion of our own land which would be made secure by the ancient and accepted principle of the separation of the races. The bishop, continuing further, said: "There is virtue, rather than sin, in the maintenance of the integrity of every race as it has come to be in the providence of God. Do we not read in Acts (17: 26, RSV) that God 'has made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation?' These words seem clearly to indicate a divine purpose for every race. The plain implication is a racial separation, not inconsistent with love, but rather the appointment of God. It is a wonderful thought in keeping with divine revelation that in the increasing purpose of God through the ages there is a part to be played by each separate race, through the maintenance of its own integrity, especially with its accomplished self-realization. The unity of all men in the Body of Christ, their personal equal value in the sight of God, is not denied by such a conception, but rather assumed."

Frequently, you hear a lot of clap-trap and expressions from some of the Negro preachers, designed to gain applause, that, "I don't want to be your brother-in-law: I want to be your brother." Of course, all Christians are brothers in Christ and in Him there is no east nor west. But there is no principle of Christian brotherhood which implies any sort of equality, over and beyond this; and, surely there is none which gives a person a "preemptive right" of intrusion where his

presence is not wanted. It is unreasonable that the concept of brotherhood should be used to describe a condition of worldly equality.

WHAT IS BROTHERHOOD?

Dr. C. K. Brown of Davidson College, in a very interesting address, The White South is a Minority Group, tells us that:

"Brothers are not equal and cannot be; brotherhood is status in a family. There are big brother and little brother, each with duties of his own and responsibility to the other. Nowhere in the New Testament can I find that it is the purpose of Christianity to wipe out the differences that exist among men. It deals not with the many points in which they differ, but with the one point in which they are all alike. Some men have black skins, but all have black hearts. In dealing with this common characteristic, Christianity does not destroy the differences of men. It does something grander than that; it makes those differences irrelevant. If Jesus had intended to endorse the struggles of men for worldly position and prerogative. He could never have said that the meek shall inherit the earth. And if all the differences were to be wiped out, little room would be left for the charity enjoined by the rich 13th chapter of First Corinthians."

We Christians, who stand unawed by the insulting epithet of "un-Christian" and remain firm for the principle of segregation, find support in the Bible, Acts 17: 26, which reads:

"And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;"

The words, "hath made" mean that the Lord was acting in a sovereign will, power, wisdom, and disposal in setting the bounds of the habitation of the different races.

The word "nations," if you remember your Greek, comes from an ancient word "ethnos," meaning a multitude, whether of men or beasts, associated or living together of the same nature or genus, and this latter word "genus" means: "A category of classification between family and species, a group of structurally related species or an isolated species exhibiting unusual differentiation."

The writer of Acts, in using the word "nation," refers to the different races of the world, and not to the geographical boundaries of certain empires, nations, or republics.

The misguided integrationists, the people who want to destroy God's work in making and setting apart the great races of mankind, who want only one blood on the earth and that a mixture and amalgamation of white, black, and yellow, argue that their main support for integration of the races is the Golden Rule ("as you would that men should do to you, do you even so to them"). In the light of the verse I have just discussed from Acts, the race-mixtures have nothing upon which to stand. In the Golden Rule, Jesus was upholding the fair and just treatment of our fellow human beings. He was not thinking of the integration of the races, of destroying the work of His Father.

This new religion, which was revealed to us on black Monday, by Prophet Earl Warren, is gradually destroying many of our churches. Many Christians are leaving the integrationist churches and are staying at home.

A RELIGIOUS FRAUD

Prof. W. C. George, a native North Carolinian, connected with the School of Medicine at Chapel Hill, made a telling point in a recent address made at Dartmouth College, "Human Progress and the Race Problem." In this address he said:

"It is asserted that integration is the Christian way and that separation of the races is un-Christian. It is not clear why anything should be accepted as Christian when its virtue has not been demonstrated. Strange connotations have been given to words nowadays. I believe you will join me in saying that it is a religious fraud to claim that Christianity would require us to adopt a public policy that would lead to destruction of our race."

Later on in this splendid address, made in the heart of the integration country, Professor George tells us that many strange and evil things have been advocated in the name of religion. He recalls that there was a time when Abraham thought that his religion required him to sacrifice his son, Isaac, as a burnt offering to God. So today, the integrationists are telling us to sacrifice our children on the altar of integration.

When people ask you: Is it necessary for a Christian to support integration? You can answer with all confidence: No.

Is it our Christian duty to preserve the integrity of our race and the purity of its blood strain as God Almighty created it? If we do not, we will become a hybrid race, and that, of course, is an inferior race.

WHY GOD CREATED THE RACES OF MANKIND

The Reverend James P. Dees, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, Statesville, N. C., recently asked this question and answered it:

"How can this be the will of God or of Christ? or even the natural product of natural processes or natural law? Even if there were no intermarriage—though I am convinced that that is what is intended—it is contrary to and violates principles intrinsic to the created order and to apparent universal moral law. Races, I believe, were created by God to witness to Him as races, as well as individuals were created to witness as individuals. Every race, I believe, should have something to contribute to the eternal plan."

Mr. Dees stated that his view that integration is contrary to the moral law, finds support in commonsense as you look around you. He says:

"Do blackbirds intermingle with the bluebirds? Does the redwing fly with the crows? Would it make sense for my senior warden to mix Black Angus cattle with his purebred Herefords? Commonsense, knotty-headed commonsense, cries out against it, 'No.' It is abhorrent to the natural created order. * * * I cannot conform my intellectual integrity to any other position than that the integration of the races is contrary to natural law, which natural law, even though corrupted, is the product of the hand of God."

PRESERVING RACIAL INTEGRITY

The North Carolina clergyman notes, as I stated at the beginning of this talk, that those of us who, true to the dictates of our conscience, believe in segregation are branded un-Christian and anti-Christian. He denies this false charge and says:

"I believe, to the contrary, that this position is more in harmony with the ultimate Christian position in this particular situation, than is the position of those who are pushing the contrary position, and certainly more in accord with natural law. * * * It is argued, and rightly so, that segregation discriminates against the Negro race in many areas. Where this is so, the answer is not unification, but rather a bettering of the discriminating situation. As one southern governor has stated: 'When schools are unequal, the remedy is not to destroy the schools or the law. The remedy is to require that the schools be made equal.' And with this I heartily concur. As the retired bishop of South Carolina, Rt. Rev. Albert S. Thomas has said: 'Where segregation is un-Christian, this is due to man's fallen nature, not to segregation itself.' The supreme command is 'Love thy neighbor.' I recognize my neighbor in the Negro. Carrying out this command implies helping him to attain to the fullest stature possible as a child of God, both as an individual and as a race. I am compelled to conclude that he can come to his fullest development when his racial integrity is preserved. The destruction of his racial integrity seems to me to be contrary to the natural primal creation of God and to natural law and to enlightened commonsense."

In the name of conscience, what is it that makes it so un-Christian, in the United States above all lands, where we stand for freedom of association and against association forced by law, for a person to sincerely desire to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, among his own people, among the people of his own race and moral standards?

Always remember that God created us as free agents and our right to select our associates is of vital importance to our happiness. No government and no court has the the right to demand of us what people we must associate with and make our companions. This principle holds good in all conditions of life, especially in our social and religious relations.

I cannot find anything unchristian in a group of loyal American people, sincere followers of Christ, building through their own efforts and sacrifices, and with their own money, a church where they may worship God—a temple into which their money and sacrifices are builded and a church which no other race has contributed 1 cent to its building, and nothing whatever to its maintenance and desiring to worship there without intrusion.

THE RIGHT TO WORSHIP WITHOUT INTRUSION

Is it un-Christian for members of the white race, created by God himself, and who have always aided the Negro race, to better itself, to wish to remain members of the white race and to preserve the race as God created it? What is wrong with those whose conscience, and conscience, remember is the voice of God, tells them that their high moral duty is to preserve the integrity of the white race, wishing to worship God in temples builded by their own hands, in their own way, according to their conscientious convictions and wishing to follow countless centuries of custom and practice.

HOLDS FAST TO GOD-GIVEN CONVICTIONS

And now, my friends, may we who believe in the Constitution of the United States as so soundly construed by upright and patriotic judges of wiser and happier times; we who worship God according to the dictates of our conscience; we who believe it to be a sacred duty to preserve the integrity of our race as God created it, and we who love our churches and who do not wish them disrupted, our church people torn and divided by dissension and discord—may we hold fast to our God given convictions, cling with fortitude to our beliefs and the ancient beliefs of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, and having taken our stand, may we be "steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowning that our labor is not in vain in the Lord."

INTEGRATION IS NOT INEVITABLE

Do not be deceived by all the talk that integration is inevitable; that it is bound to happen; that do what we may against it, integration is certain to come. Do not accept this defeatist attitude, do not swallow this deadly opiate.

Have faith in the commonsense of our people and in the final triumph of our right to worship God according to the command of our conscience. Let us pray that it is our God's will that this struggle for freedom of conscience and liberty of association will be won. Let us stand steadfast, yield not 1 inch, not be terrified and beaten back by the sinister forces of evil now rampant throughout the land, if we will do these things, then the victory will be ours:

"Ye that have faith to look with fearless eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world of strife,
And know that out of death and night shall
Rise the dawn of ampler life:
Rejoice, whatever anguish rend the heart,
That God has given you the priceless dower
To live in these great times and have your
Part in Freedom's crowning hour,
That ye may tell your sons who see the light
High in the heavens—their heritage to
take—
I saw the powers of darkness take their flight;
I saw the morning break."

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my weekly newsletter of July 20:

WASHINGTON REPORT BY CONGRESSMAN BRUCE ALGER, FIFTH DISTRICT, TEXAS

JULY 20, 1957.

The Veterans Beneficiaries Act (amending World War Veterans Act, 1924) (H. R. 72, is remembered by some of us as an example of the frequent "painful responsibility" versus "political demogogic" legislative choice in the job of being a Congressman. This act is a credit to the Veterans' Affairs Committee since their majority vote brought before the House this bill to get approximately $200,000 back to the Federal Treasury. The bill provided that Federal payments of gratuities to guardians of veterans who have legal disability (mental incompetence) shall revert to the United States Treasury if the veteran dies leaving no spouse, child or dependent parent. Gratuities are defined as: (1) Compensation for service-connected disability or death; (2) pension for non-service-connected disability or death; (3) emergency officers retirement pay; (4) serviceman's indemnity; and (5) retirement pay—these as distinguished from United States Government life insurance or national service life insurance. Further, the money would revert only after payment of debts and satisfaction to all creditors including expense of death and administering the estate. It was never the intent of Congress that veterans' benefits should be accumulated for the enrichment of uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews, cousins, and other distant relatives who had little, if any, to do with the veteran. By intention, no provision of the bill would have affected any veteran adversely. Could we pass this eminently responsible piece of legislation? No; it was defeated 191–161 and left some Members with a feeling of "what's the use of being fiscally responsible anyway." Here's another example of legislation which would become law if the people know the facts and kept the pressure for economy on Senators and Representatives. It also is additional proof that, except for political speeches, the "cut the budget" effort in Congress is almost forgotten. The people, if enough were vocal, could change this by demanding economy—but won't. And so we drift on into bigger Government expenditure and control.

The Mutual Security Act of 1954 amendment, known as foreign-aid authorization for 1958, came to us as a bill of 33 pages, accompanied by a 108-page report, based on 7 volumes of hearings, explaining the need for $3.242 billion financial aid to 59 countries. Ten countries get military assistance, 28 get military and economic aid, 21 get economic aid only. This continues the program under which, between 1945 and 1956, $69 billion have been given away (an amount equivalent to all real and personal property of our 17 largest cities, including Dallas). Argument for: To keep peace through military strengthening of our allies and through helping backward areas develop economically. Has it succeeded? There's the debate. Some say the proof is that "we are not fighting" and "communism's spread has been decelerated." Hence, it is successful. This is a powerful argument, not to be dismissed lightly. Others hold the program is self-defeating, wasteful, mismanaged, even unconstitutional.

As for me, I have opposed foreign aid repeatedly and have clearly stated why, for any and all to hear. In this and every legislative matter, an open mind is a must. Facts and principles, not blind prejudice, should hold. I have tried to be objective, but some criticisms of the program are so damaging that my opposition has been strengthened. They include: (1) Congress (the taxpayers' representatives) is now asked to surrender control in blankcheck fashion, (henceforth the military will control all defense expenses, the executive the revolving loan program); (2) too much money—there is now $6.2 billion appropriated but unspent, plus $2 billion of agricultural surplus gifts (Newsletter, June 22) and now $3.2 billion which totals $11.4 billion (plus $1.275 billion for 1959 and 1960); (3) better correlation and efficient planning of various programs is needed (military, economic, food disposal, etc.); (4) the national debt may be increased by the new loan fund, particularly dangerous since no loan plan has been developed and presented; (5) six nations have paid down their public debt with United States money.

Basically, we have failed to convey American belief and ideals because of contradictions and inconsistencies. We are a paradox to others, defeating our purpose "to win friends and influence." We attempt by dollars, strict materialism, to help others, contradicting our own historical development, a Christian society which succeeded because of individual effort based on private enterprise, individual freedom under a Declaration of Independence which guaranteed nothing but the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Now we try to support and secure for others a higher standard of living which can happen, not by our gifts, but only if and when others want to work for it, as did and do United States citizens. Indeed, we are supporting communism (Yugoslavia) and socialism (in India, Italy, France, and even England), idealogies denying people the freedom from which resulted the United States wealth. We are subsidizing alien philosophies at a time when the world is locked in a deadly struggle testing which philosophy will win.

Court's Backing of Girard Deal Sets an Ugly Precedent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 12, 1957, there appeared in the Nashville Tennessean an editorial concerning the unanimous decision handed down by the Supreme Court in the Girard case.

As the editorial points out, the opening of this Pandora's box may well lead to the GI becoming a pawn to be sacrificed at will in the game of international politics and diplomacy.

The editorial follows:

COURT'S BACKING OF GIRARD DEAL SETS AN UGLY PRECEDENT

The Constitution does not follow the American soldier overseas, according to a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the Girard case, and the Eisenhower administration is said to be happy over the news.

Boiled down to its essentials, the Status of Forces Agreement between Japan and the United States left the way open, in the Court's view, for our country to give up its primary jurisdiction and waive its rights when this was of particular importance to the other nation involved.

The GI therefore becomes a pawn to be sacrificed at will in the game of international politics and diplomacy.

This is true, not only in Japan, we learn, but in other countries.

Like Judge Joseph McGarraghy of the Federal district court, the Supreme Court concedes that Sp3c. William S. Girard was on official duty at the time of a Japanese woman's untimely death at Camp Weir range in Japan. In firing an empty cartridge case from a hand grenade launcher the GI was guilty of reckless and stupid behavior which unquestionably deserved punishment.

But whereas Judge McGarraghy held that jurisdiction lay with the American military command by reason of the Constitution, and that this was something that could not be bartered away, the highest court abruptly declares "delivery of Girard is not prohibited by the Constitution," and "in the absence of such a ban, the judgment of the executive department should be upheld."

There is nothing in the opinion to indicate that if the executive department had refused to deliver Girard to Japan, and the case had been brought on this issue, the court would not just as readily have ruled that the administration was right for constitutional reasons.

There are, of course, certain spheres of activity beyond the line of duty in which soldiers overseas should be subject to the laws of guest nations. This has traditionally been the case. But there are shocking implications that duty, however wrongly carried out, does not prevent the deprivation of hitherto accepted rights when some other nation claims it is of particular importance.

This, we think, is playing fast and loose with the rights of American boys who go overseas as defenders of democracy.

Carrying weight with the Supreme Court, it is clear, was the stand of the President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armies, in company with his Secretary of State, that Girard must be tried in a Japanese court in furtherance of national security.

We are in this case appeasing Japan, but at the same time we are opening a Pandora's box of troubles.

For who can doubt that the pattern set by the administration will be marked down by Communists and leftist troublemakers in all countries where our troops are quartered? Instead of less incidents of this kind, more can be expected.

The fate of GI Girard, who long since should have been firmly dealt with by court-martial, now bids fair to become symbolic of what to expect from the United States Government if enough furore can be raised through riots and threats.

We, too, are inclined to think that Japanese courts will try to deal fairly with Girard in what is equivalent to a manslaughter case. But that is beside the point.

It is a grim development when an American soldier is traded off to a foreign nation for an uncertain good will, and when eight members of the highest Court (one is absent on vacation) are so quick to give this their stamp of approval.

Our respect for the incisive reasoning of District Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy on this issue grows by leaps and bounds.

International Woodworker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extent my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from Labor's Daily of July 20, 1957, which is a reprint from the International Woodworker on Federal aid to education.

The article follows:

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKER

Critics of Federal aid to education—especially those from Minnesota and Oregon—should take another look at the facts that bear on this quesion.

Politicians and chambers of commerce who rant and rave and in certain instances drive themselves almost to the point of frothing at the mouth about the alleged "evils" of such aid are apt to find themselves in a poor position if they come from either Minnesota or Oregon.

If they hail from South Carolina or Mississippi, they are probably in a pretty good position.

Why, you ask, should this be true?

Well—just for a minute—put yourself in the position of a Congressman or Senator from either of the two southern States.

If you oppose Federal aid to education, you can, as a southern representative, go before your electorate and proclaim—with a great decree of honesty and truth—that Federal aid will educate the young folks to the point that almost two of them will go to war in the next one for every one that went last time.

The reason for this is that the educational level of South Carolina (the Nation's worst) and Mississippi (the Nation's second worst) was so low that their young men failed to qualify for service in the Second World War by a far greater percentage than any State north of the Mason-Dixon line.

Even the Army's skimpy educational requirements were high enough that only a little more than half of the young men from South Carolina and Mississippi were acceptable for service in any capacity—including that of yard-bird.

On the other hand, in Minnesota (the Nation's best) and in Oregon (the Nation's No. 2 State) 97 percent of the young men called up by the armed services were acceptable. Minnesota topped the Nation with a rate of 97.4 percent acceptance and Oregon followed with exactly 97 percent.

Thus, Minnesota and Oregon subsidized the need of the country for its warriors by a rate of almost 2 to 1 over what South Carolina and Mississippi did.

A Congressman or Senator from either of these two Southern States—if he wants to continue the practice of letting the North do the South's fighting—should oppose Federal aid to education.

Those who oppose Federal aid to education—and the improved educational level that would follow—must bear in mind that the educational requirements of a modern army will go up even more in the future. If this happens, States like Mississippi and South Carolina will fall even further behind.

However, if you hail from Minnesota and Oregon, and represent as you would, the most literate people in the Nation—you had better work for Federal aid to education—so that the sons of your constituents won't be sent out as cannon fodder at the rate of almost 2 to 1 over the men who lack enough book learning to qualify as infantrymen from the Deep South.

The North and West should take another look at the manner in which they are subsidizing ignorance and the Surgeon General's annual report, page 329, for the calendar year 1953, will prove to be a fine source.

We think it is high time that the Nation woke up and demanded a program for education that will make it necessary for States like South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina, in that order, to carry their share in selective service quotas.

Local Communities Are Meeting School Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am including an editorial from the Beloit (Wis.) News reporting on new schools going up. It is obvious that local communities can meet the need for public schools. They will continue to do so unless Uncle Sam becomes involved. There is no need nor would it make sense to spend taxpayers' money on a Federal aid to education bill.

MEETING SCHOOL NEEDS

While millions of youngsters were trooping out of schools across the land in June for their summer vacations, school officials and taxpayers were making preparations for an ever-increasing enrollment expected during the next few years.

In fact, it was a rare day in June when some State, county, municipality, township, school district, or State authority didn't do something about building new schools or planning additions to existing ones.

June bond sales, the Investment Bankers Association of America statistical bulletin reports, amounted to $134 million for elementary and secondary schools. The sum brought the total school bonds sold in the first 6 months to $1.2 billion, described as "an alltime first-half record."

The report reveals that the $134 million school bonds sold in June amounted to something more than one-third of the total municipal bonds sold for all purposes.

During the next 5 months, taxpayers across the Nation will vote to tax themselves to provide for their needs to the tune of some $502 million, of which $296 million will be exclusively for education, which means more schoolrooms.

These figures would tend to prove that communities are aware of their obligations to furnish school facilities, despite Federal claims to the contrary.

Meeting of International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Tunis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is meeting this month in Tunis in one of the most important international events of the year. The consequences for the future of freedom and democracy everywhere in the world are tremendously enhanced by this kind of close international contact among free trade unions.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of an article "The ICFTU Meets in Tunis," written by Mr. Al Zack, and appearing in the current issue of the AFL-CIO American Federationist, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ICFTU MEETS IN TUNIS
(By Al Zack)

TUNIS.—The uncompromising opposition of American labor to totalitarianism and all forms of oppression and exploitation was demonstrated clearly at the fifth world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, meeting in one of the world's newest free nations.

Each AFL-CIO delegate addressing the convention and participating in committee discussions reiterated unswerving determination to aid all workers in realizing freedom, decent living standards, security, and brotherhood.

Arne Geijer, of Sweden, was elected president, succeeding Omer Becu, of Belgium. J. H. Oldenbroek was reelected as general secretary. The new president of the ICFTU is the head of Sweden's LO, or the Confederation of Trade Unions, and was formerly the president of the Swedish Metal Workers Union.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler presented to the congress a major six-point program to achieve the ICFTU goal of bread, peace, and freedom.

Based on fighting communism and other forms of totalitarianism into the ground, the program proposed the exploitation of political and economic weaknesses in the Soviet empire, elimination of social injustices and all forms of discrimination, eliminating colonialism and helping new countries to develop, building up enough military strength to quell aggression, eventual disarmament, and the cooperation of free peoples for common goals.

Mr. Schnitzler denounced the leaders of Soviet Russia and pointed out that in the Communist system colonialism has now taken on a new and more vicious form. He emphasized the AFL-CIO's uncompromising hostility to every form of totalitarian tyranny.

The delegates representing 55 million trade unionists in 93 countries, at the closing session of the congress, unanimously approved a resolution warning that a disarmament agreement without an adequate system of international control and inspection would involve the greatest dangers for the security of the free world.

Another resolution called for cease-fire negotiations between the French and the Algerian independence forces. There were

no dissenting votes, but the French delegates did not vote.

A major human-rights speech by AFL–CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph was enthusiastically received by the congress. In a virtually unprecedented move, the congress unanimously and enthusiastically extended his speaking time.

Mr. Randolph said racial discrimination in the United States is steadily, though slowly, fading. He hailed the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision as momentous and monumental.

Thunderous applause greeted his plea that the congress support the African workers' efforts to build free-trade unions so that Africa will not be lured into the trap set by the Soviet Union, which stands against freedom for workers and dignity for the human personality, and would make slaves of all men, regardless of race, creed, color, national origin, and ancestry.

AFL–CIO Vice President James B. Carey told the congress that labor in the United States has been greatly strengthened by the recent merger. Unity means that new advances are possible legislatively and organizationally, Mr. Carey said. He also pointed out that the merger means new strength is available in the international arena.

Mr. Carey said that United States unions are engaged in a cleanup operation which will not be halted until the job is completed. He promised complete defeat of the forces of corruption through the same democratic process by which the Communists were driven out of the American labor movement.

Irving Brown, AFL–CIO representative in Europe, urged the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to redouble its efforts on behalf of Algeria before the United Nations. Emphasizing the need for an early solution, he recommended that all ICFTU affiliates put pressure on their governments to back the Algerian cause.

A blistering attack on Soviet Russia's savage suppression of the Hungarian democratic revolution was unanimously voted by the delegates after they had heard a moving and inspiring report by Miss Anna Kethley, who was a member of the shortlived government of Imre Nagy.

A hushed congress listened intently as Miss Kethley, in quiet, almost desperate tones, described the intolerable conditions imposed by the Soviet slave world which led to the October revolution in Hungary. She spoke warmly of the AFL–CIO's support of the cause of freedom in her country and praised Austrian labor's hospitality to the Hungarian refugees.

American labor's six-point program, which Mr. Schnitzler described as "a positive composite program nonmilitary in character and designed to supplement the military strength of democratic, peaceful nations," included:

1. Improvement and strengthening of our social fabric by eliminating economic and social injustices, and racial and other discriminations.
2. Extending the area of freedom by eliminating colonialism and giving generous economic and technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.
3. Exploitation of the political and economic weaknesses of the Soviet Empire.
4. Adequate military strength to deter and, if need be, to defeat any aggressor.
5. Continuous and expanding cooperation of free peoples for preserving peace and freedom.
6. Efforts to secure even limited disarmament, with a view toward furthering disarmament, coupled with an effective international inspection system.

The AFL–CIO delegation arrived in Tunis on a symbolic day—symbolic not only of the primary issue before the fifth world congress of the ICFTU but as well of the unquenchable desire which is today changing the African continent.

It was the Fourth of July—America's Independence Day.

Only a few hours after landing in Tunisia, Mr. Schnitzler led the delegation to the residence of the American Ambassador, G. Lewis Jones. The Ambassador, in keeping with the custom in United States embassies throughout the world, was holding a Fourth of July party celebrating America's own fight for freedom.

Among the other honored guests were Premier Habib Bourguiba, the dynamic leader of the Tunisian people and a stanch friend of the United States. Premier Bourguiba greeted Mr. Schnitzler and the American delegation warmly, recalling with delight his visit with the leaders of the AFL–CIO a few months ago.

That celebration of America's independence launched the 8-day conference which devoted a major share of its attention to the problems of freedom for all people seeking escape from the yoke of oppression.

Mr. Schnitzler paid tribute to newly independent Tunisia in his speech at the opening session.

"Throughout its struggle for national independence," he said, "Tunisia had an outlook which extended far beyond its own limited territory and the bounds of the Arab world. The democratic aspirations of the new Tunisia and its inspiring leadership are a pivotal rampart of human freedom now gravely imperiled by Soviet imperialism with its new and savage colonialism masquerading as a liberator of colonial peoples and as a movement of profound social reform.

"The democratic forces in the Arab world can only draw inspiration and strength from young Tunisia's firm devotion to genuine social reform. It has shunned narrow nationalism and religious bigotry. Free trade unionists and other liberty-loving people everywhere can only view with the greatest satisfaction the fact that there is nothing fanatical or jingoistic in the Tunisian Government's extensive development program."

Mr. Schnitzler said that the people who prize liberty, equality, and fraternity should welcome the solidarity between Tunisia and the Algerians, "now in the decisive stage of their heroic struggle."

"There can be no better guaranty for north Africa becoming a fortress of freedom and social progress than close cooperation between the free and independent peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, and Algeria," he declared.

He noted the rising pressure of French domocratic forces to have their government pursue toward Algeria "the same enlightened and liberal policy" it had applied to Tunisia and Morocco. He expressed confidence that the French people will play a decisive role in promoting "independence, liberty, equality, and fraternity, and social and economic progress" in north Africa.

SAK, the trade-union confederation of plucky Finland, was accepted as a member. Its delegates were seated amid vigorous applause.

Is the Attorney General Trying To Imitate Sam Slick?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when the civil-rights bill was before the Judiciary Committee, of which I am a member, nothing was said or intimated that this present bill, now before the Senate, contained provisions to enable the Federal Government to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court banning segregation.

The Attorney General this morning is quoted in the Washington Post as saying that one of the purposes of the bill is to give the Federal Government more power than it now has to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court. Senator RUSSELL has been saying this right along, but I was sure that no such purpose was intended.

If this is the situation, then there was an undisclosed purpose behind the bill, and if it means what the Attorney General now says it means, I would not have voted for the bill. Not a word was said about this purpose by the Attorney General when he testified before the committee. Congressman KEATING, of New York, in charge of the bill, never intimated in any of his frequent statements that this was the purpose, or at least one of the purposes, of the bill.

Somebody has failed to disclose that which should have been disclosed, and it looks very much like the Judiciary Committee has been deceived. I don't believe this hidden purpose was disclosed to Congressman KEATING. If he had known it, I am certain he would have disclosed it. Narrowing the investigation down as far as I can go, the conclusion is unescapable that there was a Sam Slick working on the matter, and who Sam Slick is, appears now to be the Attorney General.

Address of Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat, Pennsylvania, at the Commanders Banquet, 13th Annual Department Convention of AMVETS, Hotel Easton, Easton, Pa., July 20, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE FRANCIS E. WALTER, DEMOCRAT, PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE COMMANDERS BANQUET, 13TH ANNUAL DEPARTMENT CONVENTION OF AMVETS, HOTEL EASTON, EASTON, PA., JULY 20, 1957

It is a distinct pleasure to be here with you this evening. As one of the godparents, so to speak, of your organization, I have always been keenly interested in your affairs and I have felt a personal pride in watching the AMVETS grow into an important national enterprise.

It was just 10 years ago, on July 23, 1947, that the United States Congress issued a charter for the AMVETS. I can still remember—and I am sure that you can, too—the great hopes and prospects which moved us after World War II as we looked forward—soberly and without delusions, we thought—to a new era of international accord; to the establishment of an ideal way of life for all mankind, to the flowering of the traditions and institutions of our own country, which we had purchased anew at such great cost in battle.

I would like to read the preamble to the AMVETS constitution. It expresses eloquently our thoughts of that time:

"We, the American Veterans of World War II, fully realizing our responsibility to our community, to our State, and to our Nation, associate ourselves for the following purposes: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States; to safeguard the principles of freedom, liberty, and justice for all; to promote the cause of peace and good will among nations; to maintain inviolate the freedom of our country; to preserve the fundamentals of democracy; to perpetuate the friendship and associations of the Second World War; and to dedicate ourselves to the cause of mutual assistance, this by the grace of God."

The values and the objectives that were set forth in the preamble seemed capable of clear definition then: The Constitution, principles of freedom and liberty, the cause of peace and good will among nations—all of these were concepts toward which everyone of us could proceed, sure of our course and our direction.

When we look at these words again today, however, they seem to emphasize the momentous crises which confront us. The very words around which we rallied have now become sources of division instead of unity.

The great problem of our time, of course, is the Soviet Union and its vehicle of conquest—international communism. We have tried to deal with this problem by a variety of means: We have entered into far-reaching international security alinements; we have poured vast sums of money into potential Communist target areas; we have met force with tentative force in at least one place; we have participated in endless conferences and negotiations with our adversaries. We have even tried to wish away the specter of communism and the Kremlin—to delude ourselves into thinking that they represent a passing threat which will disappear without struggle on our part.

It must be obvious that none of these efforts have won any substantial degree of success. In the span of time since the AMVETS were founded, the banners of communism have been carried into the satellite nations of Eastern Europe and to China. Nearly half the people of the world now are slaves of Communist regimes; and a host of so-called neutral nations eagerly curry the favor of Soviet Russia.

Here, in the United States, we have made attempts to repress the Communist movement. But while the Communist Party has lost some of its membership, its influence has spread far beyond what its founders ever dared contemplate.

It would be tragic enough if we had to blame this situation upon the superior might of the enemy, if the legions of the Soviet Union camped upon our borders and compelled our submissiveness. By the same token, such circumstances might be easier to meet, for throughout our history we have been able to rise up almost miraculously when threatened directly. We did this after Pearl Harbor and we may hope to do it again if the occasion presents itself.

The danger does not derive from superior force, it derives from the fact that we are basically uncertain of who the enemy is.

I say frankly that the developments which I observe from day to day in Washington are frightening. I do not think there is danger of a Communist revolution, or of the Communist Party as such, suddenly stepping into positions of power, but if the present trend of events continues we may find our status as a free nation extinguished even without such extreme developments.

We are progressing toward the time when our scientists assure us we shall have the latest rockets and guided missiles and the most advanced weapons that modern technology can produce and yet we may find them without value. We may not even get to use them in our defense.

Several months ago, Archibald Roosevelt, whose father, Theodore, was one of the country's great Presidents, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities in the course of its investigation of Communist political subversion. Mr. Roosevelt has spent a lifetime in studying the menace of communism in the United States, and in trying to awaken the American people to an awareness of that menace. "Most people," he declared, "do not realize that the Kremlin has already invaded America." Let me continue his words for a moment:

"The reason that most Americans are not conscious of this invasion is due to the fact that it has been going on gradually for 39 years. The Soviet leaders have moved entire divisions of their political army into our country unnoticed by all except a few security-minded citizens. These Red forces are a political army which is civilian in appearance and walk the streets of America indistinguishable from the rest of the population. Their weapons of war consist of infiltration into Government, education, finance, and communication by subversion, disruption, poisonous propaganda, and espionage. They are largely an invisible enemy acting behind fronts and, therefore, difficult to pinpoint. Operating as a disciplined and dedicated force they insinuate themselves into various sensitive and key areas of our society."

As chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities and the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, I am acutely conscious of the eventualities that lie in store. If the present trend continues, it will be impossible to expose and punish members of the Communist conspiracy who are working day and night for our destruction; it will be impossible to keep Soviet agents outside our borders and it will be impossible to get rid of those that we uncover.

Let me emphasize this point again: These things will happen not because Khrushchev or Bulganin are able to impose their wills upon us, but because we, through confusion and indifference, are steadily robbing ourselves of our internal defenses.

In just the past few weeks, the United States Supreme Court has conferred a virtual immunity upon treason. Conspiracy has been decreed an acceptable mode of political life, and those who seek to combat it are themselves stigmatized. Foreign born who come to our shores are free to abuse our hospitality, and work for the annihilation of our Government, and everyday it becomes more and more difficult to take any counteraction whatsoever.

These recent Supreme Court decisions dealing with so-called individual rights have provoked a nationwide controversy. I do not want to go into the legal arguments which demonstrate how they violate the constitutional separation of powers of the various branches of the Government. I would just like to put the issue on the basis of commonsense. I do not see how anyone could consider it commonsense to tie our hands so that we cannot bring into public scrutiny persons who are in the service of a foreign power dedicated to the conquest of the United States.

No one has more concern for individual rights than I have. No one is more opposed to tyrannical excesses of government than I am. But let me say this: I have presided at many hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities and I have had ample opportunity to observe the type of persons who have been summoned before the committee in its investigation of subversion. These people are not innocent men and women, who have been seized from their homes and jobs and subjected to an invasion of their private lives without reason. Everyone of them has been a part of the Communist conspiracy and in defying the committee they have chosen to side with that conspiracy rather than with the people of the United States.

I am at a loss to see how they merit any sympathy, yet by bringing them forward in the hope that we may obtain information about their activities, it is, we, who stand accused of trespassing against their constitutional freedom.

Last fall, the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, as part of a nationwide inquiry into Communist political subversion, namely, the attempts of the Communists to destroy our entire security system. Several of the lawyers who represented witnesses before the committee, had to be ejected from the hearing room because of their conduct. They had been permitted to appear with their clients as a privilege extended to them under the rules of the Congress—a privilege, let me remind you, not a right. It became apparent, however, that their real function there was not to aid their clients but to disrupt the hearings. The California Bar Association severely criticized the committee for having these lawyers removed from the hearing room. One of the most vehement of the group was a secret member of the Communist Party and was identified as the Party's legal advisor in Southern California. Now by any rule of commonsense, who should have been rebuked by the California Bar Association—the Committee on Un-American activities or the Communist Party lawyers.

The No. 1 Communist target today is the Immigration and Nationality Act of which I am proud to have been a cosponsor. At its national convention in February, the Communist Party assigned the highest priority to a nationwide campaign to smash the law.

Now, the Communists by themselves, member for member, would not be able to bring about the destruction of the Immigration Act; but they have been gaining a great number of Allies, some of them deluded by the fraudulent propaganda appeals of the Communists, others who find it expedient to espouse the same objectives as the Communists.

At this moment in Washington, a new assault upon the immigration system is taking shape. It is led by the professional panderers of the minority interests, who are willing to sell the national welfare for a vote for themselves. If this attack is successful, it will mean the end of our last barrier to an influx of subversives from abroad.

If this happens, the greatest jubilation will be heard in the ranks of the comrades. The Communists have good reasons for wanting to destroy the immigration system. There are no humanitarian impulses involved, let me assure you. The Communist efforts are directed solely at enabling the Kremlin to move its army of spies and saboteurs into the United States and to keep them here after they have been exposed.

It is amazing how many citizens accept the Communist claim that action against Communists is an attack upon the rights of all Americans. When pro-Nazis were ordered out of the country, there was no outcry that the deportation of these totalitarians represented a blow against liberty. When Italian Fascists were expelled, no one seriously argued that America would suffer because of it. Under the Walter-McCarran Act many dangerous criminals have been deported, and no one ventured to say that this threatened our 14 million foreign-born. Curiously, it is only the deportation of Communists that excited alarm about the rights of noncitizens.

It is equally curious that no one ever mentions the generosity of the United States in providing a new home for millions of dis-

placed and dispossessed persons. I, myself, have worked actively for the legislation which has brought many of the homeless Europeans to these shores and given them the opportunity of a new life.

The Immigration and Nationality Act, as a matter of fact, has enlarged the quotas for immigration and removed the last racial tests which had discriminated against prospective immigrants because of color or origin. But when we seek to remove persons, who have come here fraudulently in order to work in the interests of the Communist conspiracy, we are accused of inhumanity.

Of course, anyone who has studied the Communist program knows that they don't really care about minority rights. Some of the most brutal programs the world has ever known have been carried out by the Kremlin against minority groups. Millions of Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Jews, and other nationality groups in the Soviet Union have been deliberately slaughtered to implement official state policy.

The hypocrisy of the Communist concern of minority and national rights was brought out vividly in the hearings on political subversion that I referred to a few minutes ago. A number of the witnesses, who had been active in the Communist Party nationality work, were asked how they felt about the fate of the Hungarian freedom fighters when the Russians marched back into that country. Not a single one of them voiced a protest against the brutality of the Red army and the wave of terror and executions and mass arrests that followed the suppression of the revolution there. On the contrary it was the Government of the United States which these collaborators condemned for its efforts to rid the country of undesirable subversives.

A few weeks ago, we had as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Dr. Frederick Schwarz, an Australian physician and psychiatrist, who has spent many years in research into the basic philosophy of communism. Dr. Schwartz is also executive director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, a worldwide movement dedicated to the exposure of the ideology of communism. The first step of Communist conquest, Dr. Schwarz warned, is the conquest of the mind. If the Communists can succeed in capturing the minds of the free people of the world, then, he said, the Kremlin will be able to achieve its goal of world rule without another war.

It is this battle which we are losing, and the Communists know it better than anyone else. If you want confirmation, just ask Abner Green. Green is one of the chief Communist agents in the United States, and is head of the notorious American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, the Communist Party's action organization in immigration and minority affairs.

At a recent national convention of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, Green boasted that the Communists were becoming increasingly successful in creating what he described as a new atmosphere in which the Communist program could thrive and in which an effective anti-Communist action would wither.

It is easy to see this new atmosphere: Tolerance of communism has become the mark of the reasoning man free of emotion and prejudice. Communism itself, which the Supreme Court once denounced as a foreign-controlled conspiracy, has now become, in the current view of the Court, merely a political belief. We deal with the gangsters of international communism as if they were men of good faith and sit by as the Hungarian people plead in vain for our help. Communist sympathizers are returned to their jobs in the Government and Communist authors and directors, once banned from Hollywood are again introducing their poison into the motion pictures and into stage plays and television programs.

The new atmosphere extends to the highest levels of leadership; for years we were under the impression that Poland was a Communist satellite. Now we learn from the Secretary of State, in a letter dated December 28, 1956, that, and I quote, "Poland is not now dominated or controlled by the U. S. S. R." At that very moment the leader of Poland, Gomulka, was in Moscow pledging his solidarity with the Soviet Union. On October 15 of last year, President Eisenhower said, and I again quote, "that Yugoslavia does not participate in the world Communist movement led by the Soviet Union." And as he said this, Tito was busy as one of the Kremlin's chief emissaries, wooing neutralist nations into the Communist camp.

In a similar vein, we are told that communism in Red China is just a passing phase; and in London we find our representatives earnestly negotiating a disarmament agreement, although we know that the Soviets have violated every single treaty they have ever entered into.

Throughout our history, we have been exceedingly fortunate; we have never been defeated in war. We have been separated from foreign conflicts by almost impassable distances, and we have been imbued with a buoyant optimism which holds that we can never suffer serious reversal. It is well to remember that no nation has a guaranty of its survival. Other civilizations, as stalwart in their time as ours is today, have crumbled and vanished. We cannot dissipate our strength; we cannot spend away every principle that has made us great, and still expect to keep our freedom.

If we cast away our heritage, future generations will place the blame not upon the leaders of the Kremlin, but on us.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the Girard case may be off the first page of the daily press, but people back home still write their Congressmen in regard to this decision of the Supreme Court.

We are sometimes prone to believe that many of our so-called vital questions of the day are new and different than those of our ancestors. The Girard case is a good example, because the Supreme Court—"guardian" of Communists' liberty, has spoken. It is said, "There is no constitutional or statutory barrier to the administration waiving jurisdiction."

But there are still quite a few persons in the United States who do not believe that American soldiers should be turned over for trial by a foreign court for the mere convenience of the Federal Government.

The Supreme Court is supposed to be—and at one time was well versed in English common law—the foundation upon which our system of jurisprudence was built. The Supreme Court at one time gave great weight to precedence. It is suggested from one who has studied, read, and practiced law—that the honorable Court ask their law clerks to again read Blackstone's Commentaries—they will find one careful reading that in ancient days in Britain it is proclaimed in Blackstone "that no naval or army officer may turn over to a foreign government any British soldier or sailor for trial on any charge without subjecting himself to a fine of £500 and a jail term." That is what Britain thought a few hundred years ago.

Let us examine a few comments from nonlawyers back in my district and get their viewpoint on issues:

[From the Norton Daily Telegram]

THE GIRARD CASE

To quite a few people who regard the Constitution of the United States as sort of a blanket protection policy for American citizens with the Supreme Court as a hallowed body dedicated to enforcement of the Constitution, yesterday's Court decision on the Girard case comes as more or less of a shock.

The Court voted without a single dissenting opinion to order GI William S. Girard turned over to a Japanese court for trial on an offense committed while he was on duty with the United States Army.

Something is wrong.

The young soldier might be guilty. But his guilty or innocence should not be the determining factor concerning the scene of his trial. If the status-of-forces agreement requires turning Girard over to the Japanese under the circumstances involved, the Court decision might well have been to declare the status-of-forces agreement itself unconstitutional.

It would appear that the Nation is much closer to war than quite a few of us have been led to believe. It would appear that the Nation is so close to war that our leaders are afraid. It would appear that our leaders managed to convey some of that fear to the United States Supreme Court.

American leadership is stripping the country's pocketbook in an effort to buy foreign friendship. Interpretation of the status-of-forces agreement, and the agreement itself, indicates that the leadership is willing to augment its cash outlay with khaki-clad sacrificial lambs.

The waste of money in foreign appeasement has drawn some protest. But that protest has been but a whisper in a tornado to the protest that is likely to come the day Japanese court issues judgment in the case of Soldier Girard.

Mother, where art thy apron strings?

[From the Norton Daily Telegram]

POOR CHOICE OF MARTYRS?

Regret has been expressed in this column concerning the handling of the case of the American soldier who is to be turned over to the Japanese for trial on his part in the shooting of a Japanese woman while he was on guard duty in Japan.

William Girard stands accused of enticing the woman to come out onto an American rifle range, then taking a shot at her by firing a cartridge case from a grenade launcher. The blow from the cartridge case is alleged to have caused the woman's death.

The opinion expressed here should not be construed as defense of Girard's alleged action. The criticism is directed toward a situation under which the United States feels required to turn one of its soldiers over to a foreign power for trial concerning an act which he was supposed to have committed while on duty.

The United States Army should try its own cases. The United States Army should punish its own people found guilty of

wrongful acts. It is quite possible that if the Japanese court finds Girard guilty its sentence will be milder than that of a United States military court.

The Army has a real good problem in dealing with some of its members, ranging from sadistic hooligans to thoughtless punks, who insult, abuse or commit crimes against the citizens of foreign countries in which the Army is stationed.

But stern measures by the Army itself would do more good in curbing their actions than turning them over to foreign courts. More concentrated instruction concerning public relations before sending soldiers overseas also would help.

Harsh as it might be, the justice of a military court should not be denied any American soldier accused of a crime in a foreign land.

The Girard case points up the contradiction to Americanism in turning American soldiers over to foreigners. The Girard case is expected to bring forth a wave of public opinion which may rectify the situation making such action necessary in the eyes of at least the Army, the administration and the Supreme Court.

Question mark in the case is the choice of martyrs. Is William Girard the kind of a young man who deserves elevation to the role of a hero in the public eye?

Probably not.

A Kansas mother writes a letter to the President:

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: These are the times that try women's souls.

I write as the mother of four young sons who will one day be in the service of their country. I am teaching them to love their country as I love it. I am hoping that, by protesting today in the strongest terms of which I am capable, I can avoid tomorrow a bitter and tragic disillusionment for them and for me. I speak with only one voice, but I am sure that the voices of mothers everywhere will echo what I say.

It would be presumptous of me, a layman, to attempt to lay out a legal case for Girard. Especially so after the Supreme Court has ruled. But there is a profound feeling of uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the utter inadequacy of both the administrative and the judicial actions. Nothing has really been answered.

The position of our administration and the decision of the Supreme Court notwithstanding, I believe that soldier Girard's constitutionally guaranteed rights as a United States citizen have been sacrificed—and with them our Nation's most priceless contribution to mankind. I believe this because of the findings of other men in other times. Let us compare:

1. The administrative position:

Today's State and Defense Departments in their official statement reported that our representative at the negotiations was authorized to waive jurisdiction of Girard's case to Japan. We can not waive jurisdiction that we do not have in the first place.

When Daniel Webster was Secretary of State, however, he established the American doctrine regarding the men on our merchant ships: The flag of the ship protects its crew and determines its nationality. If the crew of a merchant ship is protected by its flag, how much more so the personnel of the Armed Forces when on official duty.

2. The judicial decision:

Today's Supreme Court ruled: "We find no constitutional or statutory barrier to the provision as applied here."

A former Supreme Court (in 1866) in reprimanding the military high command for overstepping its authority, had this to say: "The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism."

We are told that it was necessary to surrender Girard "to preserve the integrity of the pledges of the United States." To preserve their relations with their pagan gods, it was "necessary" for the ancient peoples to toss their living babies into fiery furnaces. To preserve wholesome German race, it was "necessary" for Hitler to exterminate the Jews. "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety"—Benjamin Franklin.

We cannot effectively lead the opposition to totalitarianism by creating a totalitarianism of our own. Our Nation's strength lies in the hearts and minds of its citizens. Our military security will be found in the loyalty and trust and the stand-for-something spirit of its Armed Forces, not in the half-hearted support of reluctant allies.

I believe that our solution to this age-old conflict—is it within the power of governments to sacrifice individual human beings "for the general welfare"?—will decide the fate, not only of our country, but of the human race. If individuals mean nothing, then nothing means anything; and we have already succumbed to the godless doctrines of communism.

Very sadly yours,

MAJORIE C. WEISS.
(MRS. L. E.).

AUGUSTA, KANS., *July 15, 1957.*

I have been reading a lot in the newspapers, and hearing a lot from news commentators re the 49-cent dollar. That is a pure myth, there is no such thing. This paper dollar we are carrying around is worth 12½ cents and no more. For instance, when I was a child, my father hiring a carpenter would pay him $1 for 4 hours work. When I hire a carpenter now, I pay him at least $1 for each half hour's work. In my book that makes my dollar worth 12½ cents. Also my father used to buy his whisky by the gallon in Kansas City. It cost him $4 per gallon delivered in our hometown. I buy my whisky by the gallon now and it costs me $41 per gallon. That makes my dollar worth 10 cents. My father used to buy a wheat drill for $75, I pay $500. That makes my dollar worth about 17 cents. However, I think taking every thing into consideration the dollar is worth about 12½ cents. That is getting pretty low and according to all reports it is still going down.

If Congress would only pass one piece of constructive legislation, it would be so encouraging. For instance:

Repeal my three pet peeves, or abolish the International Labor Office in Geneva, or reduce the guided-missile project by 50 percent, or reduce the aviation development project by 50 percent, or kill the bill authorizing the international development corporation, or reduce the President's budget by about $7 billion, or abolish the Federal income tax, or abolish the soil bank, or return unemployment relief to the States, who in turn could pass it on to the counties, where it belongs, or amend the social-security law so that employees would pay all the tax. If Congress believes that our people have deteriorated so far, are so profligate and are such spendthrifts that they cannot be depended upon to provide their own security, then make it compulsory that they pay, but lets stop sucking blood-money out of employers, or tear down the trade barriers and make it possible for us to sell, trade or barter our wheat, corn and cotton where , when and as we will, importing the products we receive duty free.

Any of the above would give us courage and restore the will and desire to do. As it is we only sit out here and pay and hope. (I mean pay not pray.)

I listened to Mr. Cordiner in his Meet the Press interview last Sunday evening. It is quite obvious that he was asked to do a job for which he was wholly unqualified. He is undoubtedly a fine man, a wonderful business executive and so on, but he knows nothing of the basic essentials necessary in building a strong defense force. Any time you start promoting people or raising their pay on the whim and fancy of any individual or group of individuals, ignoring the principle of long and faithful service, you undermine the whole structure. Selective promotion took the morale out of the Army and it will not come back until that invention of the devil is removed.

The Girard case leaves me cold. Shortly after World War I, doctoring the Manual of Court Martial became a hobby. Down through the years since then it has been changed and modified, until, in my opinion, it no longer serves the purpose for which it was intended. Turning over members of the armed services to foreign countries for trial is a byproduct of the doctoring which has taken place. In my opinion it is all wrong. I believe that members of the armed services and their dependents, also civil service employees on duty with the armed services providing a new home for millions of disany offense committed in a country in which they are serving. My opinion is based on 35 years' service in the Army and occupational duty in several countries.

These times are very critical and trying. As I see it we are rushing into a dictatorship as fast as we can go. (Just listened to a radio broadcast in which Senator BYRD was quoted as saying that if the civil-rights bill passed as now written, it would make the Attorney General a dictator.) I do not know what the nature of the dictatorship will be. It might be Nazi, it might be a form of fascism, or it might be communistic. It looks to me as though it will be a triumvirate on the order of the first triumvirate in Rome. God forbid that any of it comes to pass.

LESTER A. SPRINKLE,
Colonel, United States Army, Retired.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald of July 13, 1957]

WITHOUT JUSTICE

The day politics took over in the Girard case, all hope for justice virtually disappeared.

If Girard were given the protection of the Constitution and tried by a United States Army court-martial, he would be almost certain to receive the stiffest possible sentence in an attempt to soothe Japanese feelings.

If, as has happened, he were delivered to the Japanese he might expect extraordinary lenient treatment. Having won their point, the Japanese are not now likely to be vengeful.

But getting off easy should not be confused with justice. Justice means a fair trial, and in Girard's case that is now manifestly impossible.

Injustice to Girard, however, is not the end of this matter. Hundreds of thousands of other Americans are in military service overseas.

And where status-of-forces agreements prevail these Americans, like Girard, are now at the mercy of foreign courts if they are accused and if their military superiors choose to make them pawns of State Department policy.

For all such men and women the Supreme Court's ruling has ominous significance. And once the implications of this sellout of their constitutional rights are fully apparent to them, what a morale booster that will be.

Men and women in uniform overseas won't like it. And we can guarantee that their relatives and friends in the United States won't like it either.

Moves are under way to revise the United States Military Code of Justice by congressional amendment. One such measure would provide that no serviceman shall be subject to the criminal laws of any foreign nation. Representative Bow, Republican, of Ohio, leader of the House fight against the status-of-forces agreements, is trying to tack his amendment onto the foreign aid authorization bill.

However the think is done, it must be done, and quickly. The American people are demanding that the protections of the Constitution be returned to their men and women overseas.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT YOUNG REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, 1957

Be it hereby

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans in convention assembled in Stevens Point, May 12, 1957, hereby extends its deepest sympathy to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy and Tierney Elizabeth on the untimely death of our deeply beloved Senator, Joe McCarthy.

Whereas Wisconsin and the Nation has lost a valiant fighter for the cause of the American Republic and for the long-standing principles of the Republican Party; and

Whereas Senator Joseph R. McCarthy has paid the supreme sacrifice for opposing those who would subvert and destroy America: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans in convention assembled at Steven Point, Wis., on this 12th day of May, 1957, do hereby go on record as strongly urging our Senator, ALEXANDER WILEY, to immediately introduce a resolution in the Senate to strike from the record of that body the unwarranted condemnation that cannot but serve as an extremely dangerous precedent for future thought control in our legislative halls.

To the honorable the Board of Supervisors of Outagamie County:

GENTLEMEN: Whereas Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was born in the town of Grand Chute on November 14, 1908, attended school in Outagamie County and began a career as a businessman-farmer here, and

Whereas it was the people of Outagamie County who contributed heavily to his victory margin when he first successfully sought public office and became one of the youngest circuit court judges in Outagamie County at the age of 30; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy served his Nation faithfully, energetically, and in the best tradition in the Marine Corps in the South Pacific during World War II during which time he received several commendations for the manner in which he assumed his duties and fought for his country; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy was elected to the United States Senate in 1946 and there carried forward his fight against the enemies of his country against great odds and at great personal sacrifice; and

Whereas the people of Wisconsin and Outagamie County in particular showed their faith in Senator McCarthy and their desire that he continue his crusade to rid the United States of enemies from within by returning him to the Senate by a substantial margin in 1952; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy kept the welfare and safety of his Nation and his State foremost in his mind as he served the people of Wisconsin and Outagamie County long and well until his untimely death on May 2, 1957: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of Outagamie County, That it expresses its heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy, their daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, and other members of the McCarthy family in their personal loss and also feels profound sorrow at the death of a great American and our good friend; be it further

Resolved, That the Outagamie County Board of Supervisors commends Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for a job well done for service to his country above and beyond the call of duty both in wartime and in peacetime, for his courageous devotion to duties in making his country alert to the great menace of communism and for his untiring efforts on the bench and in the United States Senate while serving the people of Wisconsin and Outagamie County; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting as a memorial to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and that a certified copy of this resolution be delivered by the clerk of this board to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy, her daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, and to the Messrs. William, Howard, and Stephen McCarthy, Mrs. Roman Kornely and Mrs. Anna May Long, the brothers and sisters of Senator McCarthy.

Dated this 14th day of May 1957.

Respectfully submitted.

Alvin Fulcer, Fred Hill, George Kroes, Emmett Root, Irvin Paul, Doug Evans, Ervin Conradt, Peter Farrell, Al C. Fischer, Walter F. Fredericks, Edward Peotter, John Fuhrman, Tom Duffey, Claude Bomier, Cecil Carpenter, Armin B. Scheurle, Steve L. Otis, Chris Roepcke, Michael Jacobs, Gordon A. Schultz, John R. Schreiter, Oliver Kloehn, George Miller, Sylvester Esler, Harry J. Cunningham, Patrick J. Heenan, Matt Verfurth, William P. Kopish, Max Kuehnl, Arthur Lecker, Erwin F. Teflock, Gerhard Ruhsam, Fred Krause, Leo Bleck, Norman M. Helms, F. R. Appleton, J. W. Weyenberg, Irving A. Grunwaldt, Desmond G. Schade, Lawrence J. Rebman, Fred Kranhold, Cornelius Crowe, Paul Kostka, Russell De La Hunt, Walter Laedtke, Walter Stearn, Jos. J. Weyers.

STATE OF WISCONSIN,

Outagamie County, ss:

I, Mollie E. Pfeffer, County Clerk in and for Outagamie County, Wis., do hereby certify that the attached resolution is a true and correct copy of resolution No. 27 which was unanimously adopted by the County Board of Supervisors on May 14, 1957, by a rising vote.

Miss MOLLIE E. PFEFFER,
County Clerk.

Dated May 15, 1957.

Who Teaches Your Children?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting and enlightening article with some factual information that is worthy of the attention of every Member of the Congress. I am satisfied that the writer, Mr. Carl J. Megel, as president of the American Federation of Teachers, has a vast knowledge of the subject matter gained over years of experience in his chosen field.

The following article appeared in the AFL–CIO American Federationist for August 1957:

WHO TEACHES YOUR CHILDREN?

(By Carl J. Megel)

Every union member, whether he be in the professions, trades, or occupations, is generally conscious that he would like his children to have a better education, including better teachers, than he did. But bluntly, realistically, except in some areas where labor has been successful in raising educational standards in terms of better teachers' pay, job security, and fringe benefits, his children may not be getting the kind of schooling he thinks they are, while even a greater shortage of qualified teachers is anticipated when the public schools throughout the Nation reopen after Labor Day.

When today's adult realizes that, while he studied for this mechanized age, his children must in the immediate future face the atomic age, conditions in our public schools become quite ominous.

The research department of the American Federation of Teachers recently undertook to examine teaching standards and teacher welfare in the approximately 1,345 school districts of more than 10,000 population in the United States.

The survey was conducted against the backdrop of knowledge that in these schools, as elsewhere, the crux of education is the teacher-pupil relationship. This presumes that the teacher is a competent, adequately trained teacher, and that all children are entitled to receive equal opportunities for learning.

There are yardsticks by which adequate teacher training and competency may be measured. To these can be added the value of teaching experience gained only from continuing years in the classrooms.

Generally, in recent years, it has been presupposed that an elementary schoolteacher should have a bachelor's degree, obtained from a college of education in 4 years of successful study beyond high school. A master's degree, ordinarily requiring an additional year in college, is the proper prerequisite for qualification as a high school teacher. The doctorate, calling for 2 more years of college study and a thesis, is the supposed yardstick for a college teacher.

These teachers' qualifications may be safely accepted as to what every American child is entitled to and should have. But replies of 71 percent (965) of the 1,345 school districts to American Federation of Teachers' questionnaires show that teachers with less than a bachelor's degree are currently being employed in 57 percent of school districts

(cities) having more than 100,000 population, 61 percent of districts with 25,000 to 100,000 population and 52 percent of districts of from 10,000 to 25,000 population.

If this condition exists in the larger and wealthier urban areas, what is happening in the 58,655 smaller city and rural districts? An estimate that more than 300,000 of the 1,100,000 teachers in grade and high schools hold less than a college degree is conservative. A report of a new Harvard survey estimates that less than 70 percent of grade school-teachers are college graduates.

Such a collapse is obviously due to refusal of school boards to find ways of paying salaries sufficient to attract and hold properly qualified teachers. Teachers' unions and State superintendents of schools in California, Michigan and Georgia estimate that these States have as many degree teachers not teaching as there are teaching—because of better pay in business and industry. Similar situations exist in other States.

Instead of providing State-supporting salary laws adequate to attract and keep qualified degree teachers, the legislatures of 29 States have laid the groundwork for the educational short-changing of their children by authorizing lower State-supported salaries for nondegree teachers than for degree teachers.

These States are Alabama, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Additional States with districts shown by the survey to be also employing teachers with only 1 to 3 years of college training include Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nesbraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming.

Other States having no minimum salary laws for teachers include Arizona, Montana, Nevada, and New Mexico. What school conditions are in the rural areas of these non-minimum States can only be imagined.

The employment of nondegree teachers is comparable to the licensing of medical or dental undergraduates to practice or to the employment of partially trained apprentices as full-fledged master craftsmen.

Salaries paid the nondegree teachers by school districts employing them are pitifully low, and in many area are under and in violation of even the bargain-basement State schedules. Mississippi has a nondegree pay schedule of $1,600 to $1,800 in five steps for cities of over 10,000, but one Mississippi district reports starting such teachers as low as $787 a year, another at $831.

Starting salaries for nondegree teachers in most of the school districts employing them are less than $2,500 a year, with up to 10 to 20 years required to reach a low maximum salary. Actual salaries paid in many areas are below the State-supported minimums.

Arkansas, Alabama, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas have laws authorizing the certification of teachers with 1 year or less of college training. In other areas the need for adequate certification standards is manifest in the absence of any kind of such law.

This trend in education under the label of emergency need is used as a club over qualified teachers to make them accept low salaries. Along with traditional inadequate pay of degree teachers it creates a situation that should be looked into, if it exists, by central labor councils in their communities.

The employment of nondegree teachers is less prevalent and the standards as well as salaries of degree teachers are generally higher in cities where there are strong locals of the American Federation of Teachers. But uniformly higher salaries, along with strong State tenure laws, are still the top prerequisites to an adequate teacher supply.

The American Federation of Teachers research statistics from the 970 school districts of over 10,000 population show the salaries of degree teachers less uniform over the country than are the incomes of any others of the employed professions.

Pay of beginning teachers with bachelor's degrees range from a national low of $2,000 in Fayetteville, Ark., which has no A. F. of T. local, to a new $4,902, the highest, in East Chicago, Ind., where the East Chicago Teachers Federation, local No. 511, is strongly backed by organized labor, and a new second highest $4,800 negotiated by the new Niles Township High School (Skokie, Ill.) Federation of Teachers, local No. 1274.

Maximum bachelor of arts pay varies from Fayetteville's $2,500 deadend after 5 years of teaching to $7,900 a year in Long Beach, N. Y., after 15 years.

Fayetteville also has the dubious distinction of starting teachers with master's degrees at $2,100, the lowest for high-school teachers in the country, while Hempstead, N. Y., pays its beginners with master's degrees $5,300, the highest.

Maximums for masters range from $2,770 after 11 years in Camden, Ark., to $8,500 in Garden City and Great Neck, "silk stocking" New York suburbs, after 19 and 24 years. Anderson, S. C., offers doctors of philosophy $3,956 and Hempstead, N. Y., $9,400. The salaries for doctors of philosophy in all public grade and high school schedules are, however, mostly window dressing, since few are actually employed.

Somewhere between these minimums and maximums are the great majority of the Nation's qualified teachers, with regional pay averaging as follows: Bachelors—northwestern area, $3,243 minimum to $5,179 maximum; north central, $3,462 to $5,124; southern, $2,874 to $4,103; and western, $3,670 to $5,227. Masters' maximums for the same areas average: northwestern, $5,412; north central, $6,090; southern, $4,486, and western, $5,626.

It should be kept in mind that these averages are for cities with 10,000 or over population and are before income tax. The goal of the American Federation of Teachers is a bachelor's starting salary of $5,000, reaching $10,000 in 8 or less annual steps, with a spread of $500 for training above the bachelor's.

Highest salaries are paid in the so-called tenure States, where State tenure laws enable teachers to go under tenure after 2 or 3 years' probation and become subject to discharge only for formally proven cause.

Not too many tenure laws are worthy of the name, but the American Federation of Teachers has helped finance court cases in recent years that strengthened the statutes. Without tenure protection, a teacher may be and generally is subject to discharge from year to year without explanation or reason.

This means that, in the absence of tenure, the classroom teacher is subject to contract insecurity and sandbagging from the front office. The school administration is free to create situations intended to make the teacher with an idea of bettering her lot "come crawling."

Result: The dedicated teacher hangs on, while upwards of 100,000, or 10 percent, of all the country's teachers decide every year that their jobs are not worth the price, and quit teaching to take other jobs.

Few union men and women whose unions long ago gained them status, security, and respect can conceive of the conditions under which American teachers often work. State labor federations were shocked this year to learn that State laws would be necessary to provide teachers with as much as 30- or 40-minute duty-free lunch periods, and backed bills to make the lunch periods mandatory.

Principals uncurbed by strong teachers' unions traditionally assign teachers during their supposed lunch hour to hall duty, call them in for conferences, and so on. State labor federations took over the sponsorship of the lunch-period bill against opposition from organized school administration in many States.

Collective bargaining by teachers' unions is being successfully done in some cities, but it is still in the pioneering state as compared with progress by other AFL–CIO affiliates. Farsighted leaders of the American Federation of Teachers know that collective bargaining, plus tenure, is the key not only to a stabilized teaching profession but also to uniformly adequate education.

Pioneering locals of the American Federation of Teachers have been successful in initiating collective bargaining for salaries and other benefits, quite frequently and most effectively with the support of their central labor unions.

In Montana, the Butte Teachers Union, Local 332, is defending its union security clause, one of the first in the country, in the district court, against attack by non-union teachers backed by the Montana Education Association. The A. F. of T. is supporting local 332, as is the Montana AFL–CIO.

Gains have been made in fringe benefits—such as sick leave, pensions, health insurance and so on—but only in a relatively small percentage of the Nation's school districts. Negotiations for these benefits, as compared with the fringe gains achieved by other international unions, are still in the pioneering stage.

Summed up, progress, steady and certain, is being made by A. F. of T. locals in salary negotiations and collective bargaining, academic freedom and political action, and grievance procedures.

Community struggles for better schools and better teachers against reactionary politicians and school administrators that the reader may have witnessed on television are not fiction.

Unbelievably, while the general public is agreed on the need for better schools and higher-paid teachers, numerous education gimmicks highlighted today in many areas include:

The merit rating system of pay for teachers, in which supposedly superior teachers are paid more than others.

Teacher aids, in which housewives are employed to help teachers in the classroom.

Double and triple shift classes which short-change children, some because of the teacher shortage.

Attempts to teach classes by television, with the student unable to ask questions and get answers from teachers.

Attempts to eliminate such things as kindergarten, physical training, driver training, art and playground and recreation supervision, to cut school costs.

Probably the most vicious of all gimmicks—since there is no way of rating one teacher about another of equal experience on a dollars-and-cents basis—is the so-called and misnamed merit rating system now being promoted over the country. Suffice it to say, this system was tried and found wanting, to the extent that it disrupted the teaching staffs in numerous localities in the late twenties and early thirties.

Strong teachers' unions have been successful in defeating also the harassment and restrictions attempted upon them by superintendents and principals. These range all the way from a school board order in San Francisco forbidding teachers to take part in politics to bans on the use of school mailboxes for union mail.

The San Francisco taboo resulted in an act by the legislature guaranteeing political freedom of teachers, and our Local 781, in Kingston, N. Y., has just won a 2-year fight

for the right to use the school mailboxes and bulletin boards as do other teachers' organizations.

The fight of the American Federation of Teachers for better educational standards and to organize and protect the good teachers that we now have has become a continuous running battle across the country, in the courts, in the schools, in the State legislatures and in the communities.

A bitter opponent of the American Federation of Teachers and its State and local federations is the National Education Association which, while impotent in union techniques, battles the A. F. of T. as a competitor for its members.

It will surprise most union members that, while professing to be a classroom teachers' organization the NEA is comprised of both administrators and teachers, or anyone else who applies and pays the membership dues.

In a recent issue of Time it was said:

"The NEA is fiercely opposed to the AFL-CIO's efforts to organize a teachers' union, considers the NEA's own methods far sounder in helping teachers improve their lot.

"'The American people,' says the NEA's executive secretary, William G. Carr, 'do not want their teachers to become a part of a particular segment of American life.' Should organized labor ever get a real hold on the profession, 'the whole character of American education would change.'"

Against this background, unbelievable to union leaders, the American Federation of Teachers is constantly gaining. Every union member has a stake in the battle, because it is a battle for his or her children.

Using the trade union armor, it is a drive to attract and keep good teachers in America's classrooms to teach your children and mine so that they may be able to build a better world and live better lives. Labor leaders will hear more about this from the A. F. of T.'s 41st annual convention, to be held August 19 to 23, in Chicago.

Communist Threat in United States "Backyard"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the Sunday, July 21, 1957, issue of the Washington Post carried a review of Robert J. Alexander's new book, Communism in Latin America. The author, a professor at Rutgers University, is well versed in this field. He has long been concerned with labor and social questions in Latin America. I respectfully call to the attention of the Members of Congress this review written by Mr. A. Irwin Rubinstein.

Author Alexander names names and documents facts and figures in this definitive study which took 10 years. His book shows how communism has developed in Latin America. He points out that a country under dictatorship is not safe from communism, and also notes where the communistic grip has been thrown off. I agree with the reviewer that Professor Alexander's study is "indeed a noteworthy contribution to a field where there are all too few voices raised in defense of liberty and democracy 'in our own backyard.'"

The review follows:

COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA

(Reviewed by A. Irwin Rubinstein, Chief of CARE mission in Honduras and a political scientist specializing in Latin American affairs)

The Communist-controlled Argenz government overthrown 3 years ago in Guatemala, opened many North American eyes to the possibilities and dangers of the threat of communism in Latin America. Robert J. Alexander, in a definitive work, presents those possibilities and dangers to those of the American reading public interested in knowing who the Latin American Communists are, what their history is, and how they function.

Alexander names names, gives places, cites publications, and lists dates because he has spent 10 years in compiling facts, studying and working throughout Latin America, interviewing Communists, rightwing dictators, labor leaders, socialists, military men, and every other type of person who influences or has influenced the political and ecenomic life of our 20 southern neighbors.

This is not a quick-reading book. It is a documentary presentation of fact upon fact in the development of communism in Latin America via a carefully exposed country-by-country analysis.

The claim that Latin American Communists are somehow "different," that they are "indigenous social reformers" or "anti-imperialists," or "agrarian reformers" must not be accepted, says Alexander.

"The Latin American Communist Parties are an integral part of the international Communist movement," he states, "and their role in Latin American affairs cannot conceivably be assessed with accuracy unless this basic fact is recognized."

That is the heart of the book. That statement, together with the Alexander prescription (though he does not present it as a cure-all) for removing the causes of communism, is the why and wherefore for the presentation of his documentary evidence.

Alexander explains that "the salvation of the region from Communists lies precisely in the real indigenous social reformers, agrarian reformers, and radical nationalists or anti-imperialists. For it is characteristic of the Communists that they have grown to important proportions in exactly those countries where there have been no local, native, radical movements which could catch the imagination and arouse the loyalty of the workers, students, and intellectuals of the nation."

Military dictators are transitory, and physical repression of either communism or social revolution is merely a stop-gap measure. The irony is that the very dictators who today claim to be the strongest supporters of the United States and the strongest enemies of communism in Latin America have, at one time or another, struck accords and alliances with the Communists to improve their own personal position.

Alexander feels the most effective opponents of communism in Latin America are "those elements of the democratic left (the Venezuela Accion Democratica, the Apristas of Peru, Figueres' National Liberation Party in Costa Rica, the Batallistas in Uruguay, the liberals of Colombia, Ecuador, and Honduras, and others) which are trying in a democratic way to bring about the social revolution which is so necessary to the future of Latin America."

He is strongly opposed to United States military aid to Latin America, which would be useless against a major enemy but is sufficient to "rivet existing tyrannies on the helpless civilian populations."

It is indeed a noteworthy contribution that Professor Alexander has made to a field where there are all too few voices raised in defense of liberty and democracy "in our own backyard."

Do Not Hamstring TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, the Senate will soon consider the appointment of Arnold B. Jones as a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, by the President. The Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal of July 16, 1957, comments editorially upon the significance of the appointment and notes that "under the law a Board member must take an oath that he believes in the 'wisdom and feasibility' of the TVA and in public development of the entire river for everyone's benefit." Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like the full editorial submitted for the consideration of my colleagues in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

DON'T HAMSTRING TVA

Arnold B. Jones, President Eisenhower's new appointee as a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, still hasn't had his innings before the Senate which must approve his appointment. His views on TVA are not known. But supporters of TVA are understandably worried by the appointment.

Jones is Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, which has been most unfriendly to TVA and its needs. But even more, he is the candidate of the same group which supported President Eisenhower's first appointment to the Board, Gen. Herbert D. Vogel, the present TVA Chairman.

Under the law, a Board member must take an oath that he believes in the wisdom and feasibility of TVA and in public development of the entire river for everyone's benefit. General Vogel took that oath, but he has spent his time since trying to hamstring TVA in even its most urgent needs for growth. He was deeply involved in the Dixon-Yates mess. He has opposed legitimate need for funds—standing against both congressional appropriations and their alternative, adequate bond issuing authority under which TVA could raise its own funds.

General Vogel has been outvoted 2 to 1 on the Board time and again, but his influence with the administration has enabled him to block progress. He has said airily that the time would come when a new appointment would change Board membership and he would get his way. TVA backers fear that in Jones the change has come. One reason for thinking so is that Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, Republican, Kentucky, ardent TVA supporter, wasn't even consulted on the Jones appointment as tradition would require. His own recommendations were ignored by the President.

A Board director need not be a backer of public power. But he should at least be objective. TVA has developed a huge area for private industrial use. It also has one important public customer—the Atomic Energy Commission. The customers are running short of power. Some of TVA's powerplants

need to expand to supply that power. To refuse expansion is to prevent industrial growth.

There is no longer the excuse of depression days for TVA serving as generous sugar daddy to its region. The Tennessee Valley can stand on its own feet now. And pretty largely it is doing just that. It is desirable that TVA's power production be run on a businesslike basis. Increasingly it is. But to be businesslike it must be able to meet customer needs—it must be allowed normal expansion, not of area but of capacity in the area it now serves.

The Senate has a duty to make sure that the Jones appointment means a businesslike approach to TVA and not the scuttling approach of General Vogel.

New Schools Going Up—No Need for Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from the Janesville (Wis.) Gazette, which states that there is no need for Uncle Sam to become involved in local school matters. The editorial follows:

NEW SCHOOLS GOING UP

Reports on a score or more of annual school meetings in the Janesville area this week have one thing in common. They demonstrate without any doubts that each separate local community is going ahead with its building plans without any regard to the possibility of Federal or increased State school aids. If there were any such thinking, most districts would be dragging their feet awaiting such grants. The fact is, however, that building discussions seldom take such possibility into account. The programs are being home planned, and are or will be home financed.

Clinton, which has completed building arrangements for a new community high school, authorized borrowing of an additional $125,000. In Elkhorn, approval was given to a $175,000 bond issue to get started on 2 new elementary schools. Williams Bay authorized $120,000 for an elementary building. Brodhead has set August 5 for its adjourned annual meeting to discuss new building plans.

In the rural areas, the Hebron area in Jefferson County proposes a new $100,000 building for a consolidated building. Newville, in the Edgerton vicinity, has spent $50,000 for school building since 1955, and now proposes to build 2 more rooms.

In Lake Geneva, those attending the school annual meeting considered setting up a sinking fund to meet long-range school-building needs. Milton electors discussed building needs for the coming few years and studied merits of a possible consolidation with its neighboring village of Milton Junction to meet a community problem. In Fort Atkinson, the annual school meeting heard without any consternation that three or four additional classrooms per year must be added to school facilities yearly for at least 5 years into the future.

The list is impressive, and it is not less impressive in the way that the public accepts the responsibility for big school budgets and the immense building demands. One reason, of course, is that taxpayers anticipate community growth and a broader tax base. The fact that such school-building needs exist is in itself proof of population growth and an assurance for the future. The communities which do not have to worry about school-building programs have a much greater worry—they are the ones which are in great danger of slipping backward.

The other great stimulus to school building is the changing pattern of education in rural areas. Consolidation was a theory rather than a fact for many years. It had to await adequate roads and transportation facilities and a change in educational methods before coming into flower. The progress in the 1950's has amazed even its most enthusiastic supporters.

While the many decisions to get ahead with building plans on a strictly local basis gives proof that there is no grassroots demand for Federal building aid, there are other proofs that such aid is unnecessary from an economic standpoint. It ought to be noted that the school-building boom is going ahead at the same time that taxpayers are burdened with excessively heavy Federal taxes and are also financing a wide variety of other municipal improvements. While paying for all this, the hard-pressed businessmen and wage earners have also managed to put money aside for the erection of more new church buildings than has been seen in generations as well as financing one of the biggest home-building booms.

It will take more arguments than so far voiced by Federal aid supporters to overbalance the evidence which any citizen can see with his own eyes. Home planning for school needs, so evident at the school meetings, shows how the average community is ignoring the attempts to first take tax money to Washington and then dole it out again in the form of aid.

The Shelbyville Chamber of Commerce Denounces Political Activity of National Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. J. M. Tune, president, Shelbyville, Tenn., and Bedford County Chamber of Commerce, which is typical of many of the chambers of commerce in the Tennessee Valley area, and which is most critical of the political activity of the national chamber of commerce in its underhanded campaign against the Tennessee Valley Authority. The letter is of such significant importance that I think it should be read by the Members, and I am asking that Mr. Tune's letter be reproduced in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

SHELBYVILLE AND BEDFORD COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
June 8, 1957.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

(Attention: Arch N. Booth, executive vice president.)

DEAR MR. BOOTH: We note that in your meeting of recent date that Mr. Sutton has made a vigorous speech advocating the sale of the TVA and indicated that his program had been approved by the National Chamber of Commerce.

I am at a loss to understand how such a program could be approved by the United States Chamber of Commerce when the members of your organization had not been given a voice in same.

We are bitterly opposed to Mr. Sutton's program and to any program that you might be sponsoring advocating the sale of the TVA.

It is our recommendation that you and all other associations leave TVA alone as it is at the present time.

I do not think any chamber of commerce should sponsor political activity for or against anything that is functioning as this agency is and if it is your thought to sponsor activities against the TVA I would like to advise that you have one less member in your organization.

Very truly yours,

J. M. TUNE, *President.*

Eisenhower Administration Peace Efforts Impressive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, if there is one thing this counrty is not short on, it is people who consider themselves experts on international affairs. It is such a big subject that almost anybody can pose as an expert on it without too much fear of challenge. Additionally, most self-styled experts are so busy carping at those who actually have to deal with the subject that there is little opportunity left for lateral criticism between them.

These people accomplish little, if any, good because their efforts are directed at criticizing the actions of others, rather than posing constructive courses of action themselves. That naturally leads to the conclusion they have in mind no such courses and therefore are not experts at all.

The idea is summed up somewhat more gently than I have done by the following editorial from the Long Beach Press-Telegram written by Harry Karns:

RESULTS ARE WHAT COUNT

Most sensible people go fishing or sit under a tree in weather like this.

But editorialists and Congressmen just take off their coats and keep on talking.

This is an elongated "Editor's note" on a remark by Columnist Doris Fleeson. Her remark:

"Senator MIKE MANSFIELD has literally begged the Eisenhower administration to embark upon a rational and frank search for ways to peace and has promised bipartisan support for it."

The obvious implication—Miss Fleeson's if not Senator MANSFIELD's—is that the Eisenhower administration has not been conducting a rational and frank search for ways of peace.

We don't accept that.

Sure, mistakes—many—have been made. But the net results have to be credited.

A rational, frank search for peace is exactly what Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles embarked on in 1952.

The end of the Korean war was negotiated at the beginning of this administration.

Other advances and explorations in the field of peace:

Eisenhower's "atoms for peace" proposal at Bermuda.

Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal at Geneva.

Eisenhower's refusal to condone aggression by Britain, France, and Israel in the Middle East, though they were America's friends.

The Eisenhower doctrine for aid to the Middle East.

America's disarmament proposals at the London Conference.

We cannot see where there has been a lack of candor in the pursuit of these policies. What could have been franker than Ike's television-radio speech on the Middle East at the height of the crisis?

As to whether the program has been rational, we can only ask:

Would it have been rational to continue the bloody war in Korea which was getting the world nothing but dead men?

Would it have been rational to condone the attack on Egypt, thus sacrificing all future hope of appealing to Middle Eastern nations on the basis of principle?

Would it have been rational to leave a vacuum in the Middle East, instead of promoting the Eisenhower doctrine, which has proven its value already by winning us a solid block of friends among the Arab States?

Would it be rational for the free world to negotiate disarmament agreements without protective provisions for inspections, which Russia refuses to accept?

Perhaps the crusade for peace could have been conducted more effectively by someone other than Eisenhower. But we don't see that someone among his critics.

Let the carpers remember that the Eisenhower policy has been effective enough to keep us out of war.

That's what counts to mothers and fathers. Not the hairsplitting political arguments about diplomatic technique.

Closing of Corona Naval Hospital Points Out Humane Need for Naval Hospital Facilities at Long Beach-Los Angeles Harbor Area Where Sizable Portion of United States Fleet Operates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, following the announced closing of the Corona Naval Hospital, Washington Columnist Virginia Kelly devoted one of her columns to a penetrating analysis of the dire necessity for naval hospital facilities in the Long Beach-Los Angeles Harbor area where a substantial part of the United States fleet is operating.

One of the most serious problems of the services today is that of retaining qualified personnel. Volumes have been written on the cost to the taxpayers of the large turnover in service personnel. One of the major reasons given for this is inadequate attention to the needs of the families of servicemen.

In contradiction of this need and necessity the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the Navy has never aggressively pursued the problem of providing adequate hospital facilities for both active duty and retired personnel or dependents in the important Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor area.

Since the closing of the Long Beach Naval Hospital in 1949, admittedly without the concurrence of naval authorities, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery has done little to allay the humane need for hospital facilities in the area. Although a hospital was authorized by Congress in 1950, funds have not been requested to implement the authorization. Rather, facilities some 40 to 50 miles distant at Corona, Calif., were deemed sufficient to fill the need. Now those facilities have been ordered closed.

It is high time that naval authorities in the Bureau of Medicine come to Congress and recite the need for hospital construction in the area where the people are who need it. I am certain from conversations with my colleagues that this humane need would not be regarded impersonally.

Further details are contained in the Kelly column as follows:

(By Virginia Kelly)

Would it be practical to ferry expectant mothers by helicopter from the Long Beach area to San Diego Naval Hospital when the Corona Naval Hospital closes?

This question is asked by an admiral who recently commanded ships stationed in Long Beach and who knows the hardship that will come to naval facilities when the Corona hospital closes.

Other admirals point out that the Marines have helicopters at El Toro.

A high-ranking Bureau of Medicine and Surgery officer states that the hospital will close: that chronically ill patients in the San Diego Naval Hospital are now being transferred to veterans hospitals and that Navy families, in general, will use San Diego Naval Hospital facilities. He pointed out that active duty dependents may use the part-payment civilian medical-care plan in their home area. Although the law allows it, the Defense Secretary did not include service widows and their children in this part-payment plan. Retired personnel and their dependents are excluded from the civilian part-payment plan.

Navy families everywhere would be worse off if it were not for the rugged assistance of Vice Adm. Herbert G. Hopwood, DCNO for logistics. When the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery meekly accepted, without a protest, a congressional appropriations cut of more than $8 million, Admiral Hopwood sternly advised the doctors to "reclaimer" Congress. After some argument, the doctors put up a fight and the money was restored.

Admiral Hopwood believes—as do other line officers—that the Congress has never failed to provide for the health needs of servicemen.

Other line admirals say bluntly that the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery did not ask for enough funds for their needs. The most amazing aspect is that the Corona Naval Hospital is evidently being closed to provide funds for the badly needed new influenza vaccine—which Congress would have certainly consented to.

Recently, Representative CRAIG HOSMER, Republican, of California, wrote Navy Secretary Gates urgently requesting that the Navy ask for funds to build the Long Beach Naval Hospital (which was authorized back in 1950 by the ardent efforts of Representative CLYDE DOYLE). The reply came from the Navy's Deputy Surgeon General, Rear Adm. B. E. Bradley, who made these points:

1. That an unbudgeted requirement of $775,000 for Asian-type influenzal vaccine plus other unbudgeted requirements plus personnel reduction compel the closing of the Corona and Mare Island Naval Hospital.

2. The Navy agrees there is grave difficulty in providing adequate treatment for active and retired personnel and dependents (he did not mention the widows and orphans) in the Long Beach area.

3. The Defense Department deferred plans for the Long Beach triservice hospital until a positive need was demonstrated.

4. The new San Diego Naval Hospital has not detracted from the Navy position that Long Beach needs a Navy hospital. Nevertheless, Navy BuMed's limited funds demand priority for hospitals that more directly support the operating forces.

5. When the Corona Hospital closes, more outpatient care will be offered at Long Beach Naval Station Dispensary and the "Haven." Some strictly emergency inpatient care will be given at those facilities but most of the Corona dependent inpatient load will go to Camp Pendleton or San Diego.

In Washington, Representatives CRAIG HOSMER, CLYDE DOYLE, JAMES UTT, CECIL KING, CHET HOLIFIELD, and D. S. SAUND held an emergency meeting to question Bureau of Medicine and Surgery officials: Rear Adms. B. E. Bradley, F. B. Gilmore, and I. L. V. Norman.

Stressing the need for the Long Beach Naval Hospital, Mr. HOSMER explained the compelling needs of service families plus the lowering of Navy morale that will hamper reenlistments.

Mr. DOYLE said he was incredulous that the Navy would close the Corona Hospital to save $890,000 in the first year—when the need for the hospital is so great. He demanded that the Navy give Congress the facts on how many patients died en route to distant hospitals and how many babies were born in automobiles with great misery and danger to their mothers.

Judge SAUND said he was amazed that the Navy would—to save $890,000—close the hospital leaving the large Long Beach area with no service hospital facilities except the driblet to be offered in the "Haven." He demanded that the Navy ask for additional funds to keep the Corona Hospital open. Congress, he said, asked the Navy to cut away fat not to slash medical care.

Wilson's Creek

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. BROWN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the Congress a matter of great importance to the people of the Ozarks, in south Missouri, well expressed by an editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch July 18 of this year.

The editorial follows:

For 50 years and more Missourians—even Union and Confederate veterans together—have tried to get the Federal Government to make a national park of the site of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, south of Springfield. Now Senator HENNINGS and Congressman BROWN, of Missouri, say the Budget Bureau contends that the battle was a "secondary engagement" of no national significance.

The Budget Bureau's strategic thinking here seems both inaccurate and tardy. It is

a little late to tell 10,000 or more Confederates and 5,000 Federals that their bloody 6-hour engagement of August 10, 1861, was really not very significant. The fact is that while the South claimed the field, and the victory, the larger Confederate force suffered as many casualties as the Union. The strategic result was that Gen. Sterling Price never again mustered so powerful a force for an effort to seize Missouri for the South.

There is one other significant aspect of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, too. This is perhaps the only engagement of size in which the confederacy would admit to outnumbering the Union, and outnumbering the Federals 2 to 1. The dogged fight of the outnumbered Federals was a credit to them and to Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed in action.

Today there are more than 800 acres of scenic rolling land which bore the battle and have changed remarkably lit'le since. The tract should at least be marked adequately. In time, we suspect, the Budget Bureau is going to lose the second Battle of Wilson's Creek.

The Boston & Maine Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, the Boston & Maine Railroad again has proposed cutting back its local passenger service advancing as a reason that this will materially reduce its overhead.

This proposal comes at a time when the Interstate Commerce Commission is preparing an investigation of this railroad on other complaints.

This bid for reduced services to the public also has come less than 3 months after State authorities have granted a 35-percent increase in passenger fares to the Boston & Maine. If this contemplated cut were put into effect, at least four communities in my congressional district would be left without fast and direct service to Boston. This seems to me to be a blatant disregard by the railroad of its responsibilities to the public interest.

On April 10, the president of the road told his board of directors, at an annual meeting in Boston, that his railroad's primary function was to serve industry, not the public and that this would be done, to quote the words used at that time, "at whatever the cost to the passengers." This would appear to be another in a series of moves to discourage hard-pressed commuters from using Boston & Maine Railroad facilities in order that commuter services might be cut down completely and the more lucrative freight business be given even further priority in the conduct of Boston & Maine affairs.

For instance, the railroad is seeking to discontinue service to four stations in Medford, Mass., and in addition to other such populous communities as Malden and Everett also in my congressional district.

I think it is significant to see that eliminating these stops does not save the railroad money in form of employment compensation, as the trains all go through to further points. Of course, loss of employment to ticket sellers and baggage exchange employees in my district will follow. In other words, the railroad is reducing its revenue and yet gaining only a few minutes saved between Boston and points further along the line. This would seem to be false economy. A railroad that wants to make money by giving service to its passengers does not logically cut service for the sake of a minute or two.

The railroad says that Boston's Metropolitan Transit Authority should carry these passengers. I wonder if the officials of the railroad know the MTA has only bus service to the communities where the B. & M. intends to cut service. These buses are few and as all of us know are already overcrowded. This means the MTA would have to provide additional buses to take care of these railroad-stranded passengers. This would also mean that even more congestion on streets already overtaxed with private and commercial traffic would result. It would mean further delays and inconvenience for the thousands of persons in my district who now depend on the Boston & Maine Railroad to reach Boston.

In recent months the management of the Boston & Maine has obtained permission from State authorities to reduce the frequency of train service to many cities and towns surrounding Boston. I understand even more cuts are to be proposed. But on three occasions, the State department of public utilities has rejected these attempts to reduce service as incompatible with the public interest. The chief reason advanced by the road on 2 of these occasions was that the trains were running 6 minutes late. Obviously this would seem a highly questionable reason for reduction. Additional evidence of bad faith with the traveling public is the fact that commuter fares have been rigged to penalize the Massachusetts commuter of service.

This is most clearly illustrated by the situation that follows: It is a fact that a person buying a commuter 20-trip ticket to Newburyport, Mass., pays $3 more than a commuter to Atlantic, N. H., is charged, even though Atlantic is some 3 miles farther from Boston than is Newburyport and one must travel through Newburyport to get to Atlantic.

In view of the utter lack of consideration for the comfort and convenience of the revenue-producing public already evidenced by the Boston & Maine, I intend, as a member of the Subcommittee on Transportation of the Interstate Commerce Committee here in Congress to ask the Interstate Commerce Commission to include these aspects in its current investigation of Boston & Maine Railroad activities.

Only recently it has been charged that the president of the line has diverted railroad employees from their normal jobs to his personal use. It also has been charged that the public safety has been sacrificed in B. & M. Railroad maintenance for the sake of false economy.

I know nothing of the merit of these charges. The ICC, I understand, is looking into them and will determine the factual situation. However, it is apparent that the management, by the words of its president, does not particularly care about the interest of the traveling public. It also is apparent that a series of devices are being utilized as an excuse for reducing the line's current passenger operations. This clearly is a violation of our railroads' responsibility to the public and should be stopped. I intend to do my utmost to see that these abuses do stop.

New Army Division Is Kept Battle Ready

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Star of July 21, 1957:

NEW ARMY DIVISION IS KEPT BATTLE READY

(By Bem Price)

FORT CAMPBELL, KY.—For the first time since the dawn of atomic warfare, the United States has a revolutionary new Army division—fully trained and able to move into a nuclear war on 4 hours' notice.

In organization and battle tactics, the new pentomic Army, of which this division is the forerunner, will be almost totally unrecognizable for survivors of any American war, whether Spanish-American or Korean.

Although there is only the 1 division trained now—the 101st Airborne—the Army plans to have all divisions converted to the new command and combat doctrine within 2 years. It has already begun the 82d Airborne at Fort Bragg, N. C.

The 101st is a five-sided division of parachutists, packing its own atomic punch. That's where the name pentomic comes from: "Pent" for pentagon, or five-sided; "omic" from atomic.

Gone are the old battalions and regiments. In their place is a new unit called the battle group. Five battle groups make up the division; each battle group has five companies. The same general outline will apply eventually to all divisions, airborne, infantry, or armored.

The 101st, famed as the Screaming Eagles of World War II, was reactivated last September. It is totally transportable by air, ready to begin moving anywhere on the globe within 4 hours—assuming planes are available.

It will carry four Honest John rocket launchers and rockets with atomic warheads. The payload of an Honest John is reported to be about 2,000 pounds of TNT, or an atomic warhead with a destructive capacity of between 10,000 and 30,000 tons of TNT.

FOR THE MISSILE AGE

In the 101st, the Army has designed a division which looks forward to the end of the air age and the beginning of the missile age. Implicit in this is the employment of atomic weapons, missile destroying rockets and the use of launching sites as far as 1,500 miles away from target. These missiles would be used as long-range artillery and tactical aircraft.

The new battle groups call for distribution of 1,500- to 1,700-man formations over an area 30 to 35 miles in diameter. Two major combat techniques have evolved with this development:

First, since wide dispersion invites enemy infiltration, the Army has a family of atomic warhead missiles of varied power which can be used relatively close to our own troops.

Second, the Army has developed the air-burst technique for its atomic shells and missiles. This minimizes the radioactivity in a blasted area, permitting our own troops to move into the area.

Right now the 101st is capable of fighting three types of wars:

The so-called brush-fire war of limited aggression, using conventional weapons, as in Indochina and Korea.

The limited war, calling for atomic weapons only in and around the battlefields.

The all-out war in which everything goes, including the hydrogen bomb.

MORE FIREPOWER

By eliminating assorted headquarters, supply, and special troops, and shortening the chain of command, this new division manages to reduce overall manpower but puts more men on the firing line.

The current infantry division contains 17,460 men; the new type, 13,748. Yet the latter contains 450 more riflemen.

Despite the availability of small rockets, artillery still remains the weapon used against targets where pinpoint accuracy is necessary. If the 101st went into battle, it would carry with it 5 batteries of 105-millimeter howitzers of which 5 pieces each—the only 5-gun batteries in the Army today. Four is normal. Battle groups would always be close enough to support each other.

Because the essence of the 101st is mobility and flexibility—in and out by air, hit hard, and hit fast—the division has no tanks and few trucks. Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Sherburne, who put the 101st in its new format, listed some of its accomplishments in less than a year in an Army Digest article:

Making more parachute drops in formation and airlifting more personnel for redeployment than all other Army units combined.

Development of revolutionary engineering methods for rapidly putting rough landing strips into shape.

Mastery of laying telephone lines by helicopter until the operation is now routine.

Elimination of much heavy equipment and vehicles, so that the new division needs only a little more than half the number of planes required by a conventional airborne division.

ATOMIC MODIFICATION

Fundamentally the tactics to be used by the new divisions are a combination of the perimeter defense always used by airborne troops and dispersion to meet the atomic threat.

The theory behind this is to force the enemy to concentrate his forces if he is going to knock out any one of the dispersed battle groups. Presumably this concentration on the part of the enemy would set him up as a favorable target for an atomic missile.

This is, of course, a two-way street. The 101st is now working out battle tactics of a highly mobile sort to cope with an enemy employing the same formations.

Officers explain that in the conventional airborne division there would be three regimental combat teams, a fact which would not permit wide dispersion.

An atomic weapon, they say, could account for a third of the current airborne division as casualties, whereas this division would lose perhaps less than a fifth of its fighting force to the same type weapon—and they think that even that is too extravagant an estimate because the units would offer a much less likely target for atomic attack.

To assist its mobile tactics, the 101st is equipped with airborne television and radar to keep tabs on the enemy, including infrared ray equipment to spot troop concentrations at night.

Further, it has a ground radar unit, easily carried by two men, which guards against enemy surprise attack.

READY FOR ACTION

Since it was reactivated last September the 101st has acted precisely as if war were going to break out tomorrow.

Every man in the outfit has, or shortly will have, all the required shots and vaccinations for overseas duty. He has made out his will, signed a power of attorney for his next of kin and made arrangements for disposition of his personal property.

The battle groups within the division take turns at standing by on the alert. When a preliminary alert is sounded for a battle group, all men who live off the post must move back to barracks.

During my visit to Fort Campbell, the battle group commanded by Col. George I. Forsythe, was on standby alert when somebody hit the panic button just for practice.

It was an amazing demonstration of orderly confusion. Men out for physical training came racing into barracks to change into battle dress. Jeeps pulled up to the quarters. Live ammunition, machineguns, and bazookas were loaded aboard.

Across the street, in the unit's vehicle area, radio-equipped jeeps kicked over to provide power and in less than 5 minutes, Colonel Forsythe was in touch with the commanders of all his 5 companies.

Military police raced to block off roads leading to the airport. Buses to transport the troops rolled up. In less than 4 hours the troops were ready for combat.

AIRLIFT A SORE POINT

This brings us to a sore point: Airlift. On the basis of 1 airplane taking off from 1 airport every 15 minutes, Colonel Forsythe figures the head and tail of his column would be separated by 13 hours. The Army wants the troop-carrier command planes of the Air Force ready for immediate use because, it contends, more than one airfield could be used and the time for transporting the battle groups shortened considerably.

The Army men here advance the argument: What good is it for us to be ready, if the Air Force's troop planes are scattered all over the world hauling supplies and spare parts for Air Force operations?

In Colonel Forsythe's words, the 101st is now a fire brigade without fire engines.

But even without the engines, Colonel Forsythe and his men go through an almost constant fire drill.

"We've reached the point," he said, "where we can slide down the pole and hit our pants nearly every time."

Florence, Ala., Chamber of Commerce Denounces as "Bias, Unfair and Untrue" Statements of the National Chamber of Commerce With Respect to TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. C. H. Jackson, manager, Chamber of Commerce, of Florence, Ala., be reproduced in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Florence, Ala., July 20, 1957.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: Your thoughtfulness in sending us a copy of your speech, made in the House of Representatives Wednesday, May 22, entitled "The TVA—A Great National Asset—Defended Against Tirade of Misrepresentation" is appreciated.

We are indeed happy that you so forcefully and effectively brought to the attention of your colleagues in the Congress the misrepresentations made by Mr. Louis V. Sutton when he testified before the House Public Works Committee. His statement was completely bias, unfair, and, we believe, untrue, nor are we as tolerant toward the Chamber of Commerce of the United States as you seem to be. We feel that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is knifing the TVA in every way that they can.

We are deeply grateful to you and our other friends in Congress, such as our own Bob Jones who continually fights so valiantly for the preservation of TVA. Please know that if we can ever be of service to you, it would afford us real pleasure to render it.

Yours very truly,

C. H. JACKSON, *Manager.*

Ernest Roedel, 1957 Driver of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, each year the trucking industry honors a driver of the year for outstanding safety record and acts of heroism.

It is my pride and pleasure to congratulate Mr. Ernest Roedel, of New Franklin, Mo., the man who so rightly merits the title of "1957 Driver of the Year." The people of Missouri and the 11th Congressional District are proud of Ernest Roedel. He was chosen from approximately 7 million truckdrivers whose tremendous task is that of transporting the necessities of life to and from every part of our great country. Ernest Roedel has operated a big-carrier truck over half a million miles without accident. His father, who also drives for a trucking firm, Freight Ways, has been driving a truck over the highways of America since 1940 without a single accident—like father, like son. The Roedels are outstanding citizens of Howard and Cooper Counties of Missouri; the kind of citizens who make America great and strong.

This year, when the judges considered the fine records of truckdrivers nationwide, they were impressed with the heroism and quick thinking of Ernest Roedel, who is credited with saving the life of a small child.

The particular incident I refer to happened last September on Highway 40, near Boonville, Mo. Ernest saw a station wagon go out of control and plunge over a 75-foot embankment. He stopped his truck, sent a passing motorist for help, and then ran to the assistance of the victims.

The driver was dead. Two children were in a drainage ditch. Ernest Roedel pulled them from the water and danger of drowning. His prompt action is credited with saving the life of the 3-month-old child. The other child was severely injured and our driver administered first aid and kept her quiet, preventing further injury. The mother of the two children died before she could be taken to the hospital.

I want to spare you further details of this horrible accident—but it is men like Ernest whom we are so proud of—truck-drivers who consider safety and rendering aid on the highways as part of their job.

California Legislature Commemorates Memory of Harry Lundeberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, in January of this year Mr. Harry Lundeberg, an outstanding leader in the field of maritime labor for many years, passed away as the result of a heart attack. His passing left a deep void in the American labor movement and particularly among organizations of American seamen, since it was to Harry Lundeberg that our seafarers owed a great deal of the credit for the security, the better living, and the vastly improved working conditions which they enjoy today.

I knew Harry Lundeberg personally through the greater part of his career in the labor movement and I can testify to the great vigor with which he led the battle for the rights of American seamen and against the inroads of communism on the waterfront and on the seas. It was through those efforts that we can now feel secure in the knowledge that our American Merchant Marine is not under the domination of disloyal elements and that we can count on it for complete support in our peacetime economic life and in times of war and national crises.

For these reasons I am gratified to learn that the California State Legislature recently passed a concurrent resolution honoring the memory of Harry Lundeberg and commemorating his contributions to the life of the Nation. Under unanimous consent, I include this resolution in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a mark of the respect in which the United States Congress holds the lifework of this remarkable man:

California Assembly Concurrent Resolution 92

Resolution relative to the death of Harry Lundeberg

Whereas the members of this legislature have learned with deep regret of the passing of Harry Lundeberg, one of the Nation's most influential labor officials; and

Whereas thanks to his vigorous efforts, the men who sail the seas do so in substantially better quarters, under vastly improved conditions, and at appreciably higher wages; and

Whereas Harry Lundeberg, who was born in Norway on March 25, 1901, the son of a leader in the Norwegian Labor Party, went to sea at the age of 14 years and sailed under 9 different flags before becoming a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific; and

Whereas in 1935 he was elected the business agent for the S. U. P. and later became its secretary-treasurer, thus succeeding Andrew Furuseth, the founder of the organization; and

Whereas although he had stepped into big shoes Andrew Furuseth being remembered among seamen the world around as the emancipator of the American seamen and the godfather of the Seamen's Act of 1915, the task was not beyond his ability, and under his leadership the union continued to grow in power and influence; and

Whereas as soon as Harry Lundeberg saw the west coast seamen firmly organized, he established and became the first president of the Seafarers International Union of North America, which is now composed of over 40 unions representing fishermen, merchant seamen, and allied workers on all coasts and on the Great Lakes; and

Whereas Harry Lundeberg was the first president of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, the vice president of the California State federation of labor, and the president of the AFL–CIO maritime trades department; and

Whereas he hated communism with a fierce passion and fought it to a standstill everywhere on the waterfront; and

Whereas with equal passion he drove hard bargains in behalf of his men and as a result won almost incredible advances in wages, hours, and working conditions for those who sail the seas; and

Whereas his presence on the American waterfront will be sorely missed; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California (the Senate thereof concurring), That the members of the legislature do hereby note with the deepest regret the death of Harry Lundeberg and do hereby extend to his bereaved ones their most sincere sympathy; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit a suitably prepared copy of this resolution to Mrs. Ida Lundeberg, and to the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Seafarers International Union of North America, the California State Federation of Labor, and AFL–CIO maritime trades department.

Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 92 read and adopted in assembly March 7, 1957.

L. H. LINCOLN,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Attest:

ARTHUR A. OHNIMUS,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Aseembly Concurrent Resolution No. 92 read and adopted in senate March 7, 1957.

HAROLD J. POWERS,
President of the Senate.

Attest:

JOSEPH A. BEEK,
Secretary of the Senate.

Meader Is Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Jackson (Mich.) Citizen Patriot of July 18, 1957:

MEADER IS RIGHT

One of the main points in Representative GEORGE MEADER'S article on foreign aid in the April Reader's Digest is that the International Cooperation Administration doesn't always level with Congress on money needs and the effectiveness of its program.

"This bureaucracy," says Mr. MEADER in the piece, "has become so powerful, so cocksure, that it has defied Congress and done whatever it wanted."

Recent developments in the foreign aid story indicate that ICA, unwittingly perhaps, has proved Representative MEADER'S point.

After the article appeared, the ICA Director testified before a Senate committee and called the story unfair. A memorandum from ICA was included in the committee record, holding that Mr. MEADER had presented a distorted picture of the total program.

The editors of the Reader's Digest immediately set out to check the Michigan Congressman's facts, and now report they are accurate in every detail and were taken, in large measure, from the ICA's own records.

We never had any doubts about the article. Foreign aid is a field in which the Second District representative knows his way around.

And the fact that the ICA tried to discredit him seems to prove that the foreign aid bureaucracy is out of hand and will go to any lengths to protect itself from nosy Congressmen—and public indignation.

Instead of correcting the glaring errors exposed by Mr. MEADER, it went after the one who dared to bring them to light. That typifies one of the gravest threats the public faces from its entrenched bureaucracy.

Blow at Atoms-for-Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remark in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of July 22, 1957:

BLOW AT ATOMS-FOR-PEACE

In a move that could imperil the whole atoms-for-peace project, the congressional Joint Atomic Energy Committee has voted 14 to 2 to approve legislation forbidding the President to allocate atomic fuel to the International Atomic Energy Agency without specific approval by Congress.

The international agency, supposed to pool the resources and knowledge of all member nations for worldwide development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, is being created under a treaty signed by 80 nations, including the United States. It marks the realization of the dramatic proposal by President Eisenhower before the United Nations nearly 4 years ago to make the atom the servant and benefactor and not the destroyer of mankind. The Senate approved the treaty a month ago by a vote of 67 to 19. But if the proposed legislation is passed by Congress as a whole, the International Atomic Energy Agency may well share the fate of the League of Nations, which was also proposed and then repudiated by the United States with grievous results.

Under present circumstances, and for some time to come, the main supply of atomic

fuel for the international agency must come from the United States. Unless the agency is assured of a continuous supply of such fuel it can scarcely undertake or support the construction of costly atomic power plants throughout the world which might suddenly find themselves without fuel. It cannot be so assured as long as its main fuel supply depends on unpredictable political maneuvers in Congress which, as in the case of mutual-security aid, prevent long-range planning. The result might well be the end of the agency.

The drive for the proposed legislation is spearheaded by Senator BRICKER, who has long sought to impose new limitations on the President's power in international affairs. As the atomic fuel is to be sold or leased to foreign nations, he cannot denounce the project as another "international giveaway." But that does not stop him and his followers from advancing other arguments which, while pointing up unavoidable risks, either ignore the inspection and control system provided by the treaty or lack a realistic basis. The Senate defeated Senator BRICKER's attempt to attach an analogous reservation to the treaty itself. It must be hoped that Congress wil lalso defeat his move to kill the international atoms-for-peace project by a flank attack.

Our Vital Overseas Base System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, on July 13 there appeared in the Oregonian an editorial which I think exhibits a sane perspective on the issues involved in those proposed resolutions and amendments to the Mutual Security Act of 1957 which would have the effect of scrapping our overseas base system. In this connection I wish to call attention to a point which I think has not and cannot receive enough emphasis.

This point is that our system of 250 overseas bases is the sole remaining military advantage of major strategic importance which this Nation possesses over the Soviet Union in that country's unceasing struggle for world domination. As has been pointed out during the debates on the Mutual Security Act, the Russians have 175 divisions of troops; we have 17. They have the second largest navy in the world, numbering among its craft between 400 and 600 atomic-powered submarines. They have an air force with tremendous striking power. They have the A-bomb and the H-bomb. The only thing they do not have is anything comparable to our system of strategic bases capable of launching a devastating retaliation into the very heartland of their country, by means of the intermediate range ballistic missile, should they ever become so ambitious or so drunk with power or so foolhardy as to launch a sudden attack on the free world.

As this editorial states, there is real danger that passage of the Bow resolution or any similar resolution would have the effect of destroying our entire mutual defense apparatus. No nation in the world—including the United States—would consent to such a surrender of its sovereign rights under international law as is envisaged in these resolutions and amendments. We would have to withdraw our troops from each one of these countries, arm to the teeth here, and wait for the Soviets to attack us on our own soil if this they decided to do.

In our chagrin over the administration's handling of the case of Pvt. William Girard, we must never forget these facts. The proposed resolutions to scrap the overseas base system are no remedy for the administration's regrettable lack of judgment. They are a formula for suicide.

I include as a part of my remarks the editorial from the Oregonian of July 13, 1957.

The editorial follows:

LEADERSHIP IS THE ISSUE

The United States Supreme Court's unanimous opinion upholding the Government's power to turn Soldier William S. Girard over to Japanese authorities for trial on charges of manslaughter has settled the judicial issues involved. But, as anticipated, it has stirred up a legislative assault on the entire framework of America's laboriously constructed postwar mutual-security system.

There is considerable support in Congress for a resolution introduced by Representative FRANK T. BOW, Ohio Republican, the effect of which would be to prevent the Federal Government from turning over United States servicemen to a foreign government for trial under any circumstances. Its supporters contend that the Girard case demonstrates the need for such a prohibition to protect the constitutional rights of American servicemen stationed abroad.

But let's take a close look at the baby Mr. Bow's supporters would toss out along with the bath water. In its relatively new position as leader of the non-Communist world, the United States has executed with the governments of a number of other free countries a series of status-of-forces agreements. In these, the foreign powers have, in most cases, granted permission to this country to station Armed Forces on their territory. For its part, the United States has acknowledged the right of the foreign nations to try American personnel in their courts under certain circumstances, usually when the alleged offense is committed while the accused is off duty.

It is the United States position in the Girard case that he was on duty at the time. Another provision in the United States-Japanese treaty permits United States authorities to waive their primary interest in such a case when the Japanese request it, or vice versa. It was the administration's decision to grant such a waiver in the Girard case which was the issue in the Supreme Court case.

Those of Mr. Bow's persuasion appear to have overlooked an important point. It is not the United States that has made a concession affecting the jurisdiction of American soldiers in foreign posts. It is the other party to the treaty, the nation on whose soil the United States has stationed troops. The Supreme Court decision in the Girard case includes this elementary statement on international law: "A sovereign nation has exclusive jurisdiction to punish offenses against its laws committed within its borders, unless it expressly or impliedly consents to surrender its jurisdiction."

No nation need agree to grant extraterritorial rights to United States forces; and it is logical to assume that many of them would decline to play host to American troops shoud this Nation demand such rights without exception, as proposed by Mr. Bow. There is real danger, therefore, that passage of the Bow resolution or any similar legislation would signal the destruction of American's mutual-defense treaty apparatus.

Now, let us assume that the situation was reversed, that a Japanese soldier, either on or off duty, had slain an American on American soil. Mr. Bow surely would not contend that America lacked jurisdiction. The status-of-forces agreements are reciprocal. They operate here with respect to foreign servicemen as well as abroad with respect to American soldiers. They cannot be otherwise, unless Americans are to assume we can maintain a sort of colonial subjugation over our weaker allies.

Ostensibly the steam behind the Bow resolution is born of a desire to assure to American servicemen abroad all the rights to which they are entitled under the United States Constitution. Actually, however, the resolution, like the Bricker amendment to restrict the President's treatymaking powers, is an oblique attack on America's role of world leadership. Mr. Bow and Mr. BRICKER would prefer that the United States revert to the isolationist role that was possible before World War II.

It cannot be done. We are big boys now, with a heavy responsibility in the world community. Long passed is the time when we could pick up our marbles and go home because the game was not played precisely by rules to our liking.

These Family Farmers Ask the President "What's the Matter?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, without comment, I insert in the RECORD a letter on the plight of the family farmer under this administration, addressed by my constituents, Mr. and Mrs. Gudvangen, of Gatzke, Minn., to Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower:

GATZKE, MINN., *May 25, 1957.*
Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Please read my letter. Thank you.

I don't know just how to write this letter to you Mr. President of the good old United States of America. I am just going to let you know just how us poor or small family farmers are treated in this country. We get 19 cents tops for our eggs and it takes that amount just to feed the chickens. What do we get to live on? Nothing. Why do we keep the chickens? Because we are hoping the price will go up. We get pretty fair for our cream but we only got 5 or 6 cows. Why not more * * * most of us are grain farmers and it takes money to buy cows, too, which we haven't got. We put in for an emergency loan FHA and they turn us down. Why? The FHA man say, "They weren't any relief agency." We don't want relief, we want a little help; a loan of some kind just to help us through the next 2 or 3 years. We haven't lived so poor in years. We have a hard time to meet the REA or light bill which is $5 and clothes about $3 a month. Then just see how much flour and sugar and coffee you get from what's left to raise a family on.

I wish you could try it sometime. What is that emergency loan for if poor families like us can not get it? I know of 5 or 6 other families around here that didn't get the FHA loan either.

What can we do? We cannot give up our homes and go to town. Someone has to work the farms. It isn't so easy to go to towns and get a job either. The cities are getting pretty full too. We are American born, raised and it's a tough life for a child to grow up in a city. They learn how to be outlaws. Farm life is the only decent wholesome thing in this United States of America or world either.

I became very ill last fall, 1956, from overwork, shoveling grain and carrying feed and water to turkies and chickens, and it left a bill of $600 that has to be paid this fall. We owe $200 on our car and we will loose the car if it doesn't get paid. We want to buy some more cows and sheep but that will cost too. What can we do to get a loan?

Our Representative, COYA KNUTSON, is for the farmers so I am writing her to ask her to help us. We had that FHA loan in 1939 and we paid it out in full in a short time. I can't see why our farm isn't good enough now. It was good enough then. I think it's these Marshall County men in Warren who are behind it all. Our farm was a victory farm during World War II. What's the matter with it now?

Sincerely,

JOHN GUDVANGEN.
Mrs. EDNA V. GUDVANGEN.

NAACP in Calm Deliberation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pursuant to permission granted, a short editorial from the Michigan Catholic, published in Detroit, Mich., June 27, 1957. That issue outlines the very calm and objective meeting held in Detroit by the NAACP.

I hope all will read this excellent article. It will do much to show the clear and the real purpose behind the NAACP as manifested in their recent meeting in Detroit:

NAACP IN CALM DELIBERATION

Citizens of Detroit and the Nation this last week have gained a better appreciation and clearer insight into the problems facing not only the Negroes, but all people. The convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the convention of the Urban League, to be held soon, have generated this interest in problems that affect the whole Nation.

Segregation and discrimination constitute not just a white problem, a Negro problem, or a southern problem; they are a national problem and almost everywhere a local problem.

These two national associations, while they differ in procedures and aims, both use thoroughly acceptable methods to achieve their ends. They are outstanding examples of democratic organizations functioning in a pluralistic, democratic society.

The clear and extensive coverage of the proceedings of the NAACP convention, their editorial comments and a fine series on The Role of the Negro in Detroit by the Detroit Free Press did much to show thinking people here that the delegates to this convention were not tinged with Communistic or Fascist tendencies. The workshops, discussions and proceedings of the convention followed the keynote theme, "In calm deliberation and reasonableness will we study a solution to our problems."

That objective of the NAACP was stated in a preamble to the resolutions of this convention:

"We ask for the Negroes only that to which they and other minorities are morally, legally and rationally entitled. To ask more would be to demand special privileges. To accept less, would be to deny the brotherhood of man. We will continue to use the time-honored instruments through which notable progress has already been made; namely, the courts of justice, the legislative chambers and appeals to the public conscience. We reaffirm our deep conviction that our goals can be, and will be, attained within the near future and within the American constitutional and democratic system."

There can be no criticism of these statements from a group of people who wish to live, to work, to worship, to rear their children, to own property, to vote, to be members of a community just the same as any other people. They are merely asking to be recognized on merit and to be able to live in a manner befitting the dignity of a human person, and to possess and use basic civil rights which should be theirs as citizens of our country.

The very capable and qualified leaders of the NAACP imposed on the delegates and their people an obligation to live as good citizens in every community so their example will be the only argument against the charges of racial bigots.

We hope that the results of their workshops and the proceedings of this convention will bear fruit because it means so much for the social well-being of every community and the ultimate good of our country.

R. F. A.

Cut Reserves, Says Federal Reserve, But Does Nothing About It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Leslie Gould, financial editor, which appeared in the New York Journal-American on July 19, 1957, is most interesting reading:

CUT RESERVES, MARTIN SAYS, BUT DOES NOTHING ABOUT IT

(By Leslie Gould)

The Federal Reserve requires its member banks to keep a percentage of their deposits with the central banking system. These are known as reserve requirements. They total nearly $19 billion. They are nonworking dollars.

They range from 20 percent of the demand deposits of the New York and Chicago banks down to 12 percent of the demand deposits of the country banks.

In addition, banks must keep with the Federal Reserve 5 percent of their time deposits.

This requirement is a factor in the present tight money situation.

SHOULD BE REDUCED

They should be reduced to a more realistic percentage, and Federal Reserve Chairman Martin, interestingly, also believes they are too high.

Before the House Banking Committee, when Representative MULTER, Democrat, of New York, remarked the present reserve requirements "create inequities and inconsistencies," Martin said:

"You and I are in complete agreement on that."

Yet, Mr. Martin hasn't done anything about changing them, although the Reserve Board is studying them.

The Reserve has the power to raise or lower requirements. The ceiling is 26 percent for the New York and Chicago banks, and the floor 13 percent. They are now 20 percent. Country bank requirements can be reduced to 7 percent, with the ceiling 14.

NOT CUT SINCE 1954

The last change was in the summer of 1954, when a 1 percent reduction was made across the board.

For 19 years, from 1917 to 1936, the New York and Chicago banks had to keep only 13 percent of their demand deposits with the Federal. They were raised in 3 jumps in 1936 and 1937 to 26 percent. The next year they were reduced to 20 percent, which percentage held until 1948 when they again were lifted in 3 stages to 26 percent. After that the trend was generally down by small changes, with the last change in 1954.

COULD LOOSEN MONEY

Money is very tight and one way to ease the present situation would be reduce the reserve requirements, which even Martin believes are unrealistic. A reduction to 18 percent for the New York and Chicago banks and 16 percent in the other reserve cities would provide close to $2 billion in additional lendable funds.

Under the 5 times multiplication—a dollar deposited would make $5 in credit—this would provide aroudnd $10 billion in additional credit.

The reserve requirements should be cut more than 2 percent. Over a period of time they could well be brought down to as low as 10 percent, as some bankers in the past have urged.

Address by Hon. Sam Rayburn, of Texas, at Dedication of the Harry S. Truman Library

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I had the great privilege of attending the dedication ceremonies of the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Mo., on July 6, 1957.

It was an auspicious occasion when a group of distinguished Americans gathered to pay tribute to a great former President of the United States.

Former President Herbert Hoover and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt together with the governors of 8 States and many ex-members of Mr. Truman's Cabinet joined to do him honor. The ceremonies drew distinguished men and women from both political parties.

Our honored and loved Speaker, 8 Senators, and 4 other Members of this body were the congressional representatives on this memorable occasion.

The Honorable Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the

United States, delivered the principal address.

One of the finest speeches of the day was delivered by Speaker RAYBURN. He spoke, as he always does, from the heart in paying tribute to Mr. Truman with whom he has been so long and closely associated.

Through the courtesy of radio station KCMO, who made a tape recording of the proceedings, I was able to obtain a copy of the Speaker's remarks. I include them for presentation in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that there may be preserved for posterity the evaluation of one great American by another:

SPEAKER RAYBURN'S ADDRESS

President Truman, Mrs. Truman, President Hoover, Chief Justice Warren, and other distinguished guests, I am happy to be on this ground today because this town is called Independence and always when I hear Harry Truman referred to as "the man from Independence," I always want to add that he is a man of independence, courage, fidelity, devotion to duty and to the things that are best for his community, his State, his country, and the world.

He has proven himself to be not only a leader of his own people but as a great leader of the free peoples of all the earth. For him and his friends to rear this magnificent building to house his and many other papers will teach this generation and the generations to come after us how to be real Americans.

I want to say this to you. There are a lot of old fogies of my generation who think that all of the good girls and boys were born and reared when they were. I know that is not so. I know the boys and girls of this generation are smarter than I was. They have a better opportunity to be smart. It is a long cry from a one-teacher country school and a teacher with about a second-grade certificate down on the prairies of Texas to the magnificent structures in which these children are taught. I know they are smarter than I was and I believe these boys and girls have lived good lives and just as clean ones.

I have the faith to believe that in the years to come when the burdens—and there are burdens—and when the responsibilities—and there are tremendous responsibilities—of citizenship are shifted from our shoulders to their shoulders, their shoulders will be broad enough, their minds keen enough, and their hearts big enough to preserve, protect, defend, and perpetuate this, the greatest, the freest, and the mightiest Government devised by the wisdom of statesmen.

Item Veto in Appropriations Bills Favored by 60 Percent in Survey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an article from the Washington Post and Times Herald on Saturday, July 20, 1957, entitled "The Gallup Poll: Item Veto in Appropriations Bills Favored by 60 Percent in Survey," by George Gallup:

Although Americans ordinarily take a very cautious attitude toward changing traditional procedures of government there is one reform which appeals to a substantial majority of voters.

The public would authorize a President to veto specific items in appropriation bills.

The issue was put before a cross-section of the voters of the country in an institute poll as follows:

"At present, when Congress passes a law to spend money the President cannot approve just parts of that law, but must approve it in full or turn it down in full. Should this be changed so that he can turn down some parts of the law without turning down the entire law?"

The vote of the public today follows:

	Percent
Yes, should be changed	60
No, should not	26
No opinion	14

An analysis of attitudes today by political party affiliations follows:

	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Should be changed	68	56	60
Should not	20	30	29
No opinion	12	14	11

Proponents of the plan point out that Congress still could override a Presidential veto.

Disestablishment of Electrical Control Division, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the memorandum issued on July 19, 1957, by the New England Council for Economic Development, Boston, Mass., to the New England congressional delegation on the subject of the disestablishment of the electrical fittings inventory control division, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard:

THE NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL
FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT,
Boston, Mass., July 19, 1957.

To: The New England congressional delegation.
From: Gardner A. Caverly, executive vice president.
Subject: The disestablishment of the Electrical Fittings Inventory Control Division, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard.

The following is a copy of the text of my letter, sent to the Secretary of the Navy, Thomas S. Gates, Jr., and to the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, on July 19.

We appreciate very much the active interest which you have taken in this matter, which is so important to our New England economy:

"It has been called to our attention that the Department of the Navy is considering the disestablishment of the electrical fittings inventory control division at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, in Portsmouth, N. H. Because of the importance of this activity to the New England economy, we are vigorously protesting this move, as we did in 1952, when similar action was contemplated.

"The New England Council, representing approximately 3,300 firms in industry, business, and commerce in New England, is in complete accord with the Navy's desire to economize, and save taxpayers' dollars. We do not believe, however, that the disestablishment of this facility at Portsmouth will result in any true economy.

"We have been informed by the shipyard that this facility awards around $8 million worth of electrical contracts annually, and that 48 percent of them are in New England. This high percentage of contracts in New England is not surprising when one stops to consider that approximately 11 percent of the electrical industry is in the same region.

"It would seem to us that it would be false economy to decentralize a facility of this importance. Such a move would not make for the expeditious completion of contracts for the Navy and would result in a serious handicap to almost half of the present contractors. Such a move could not help but result in an eventual loss of business to New England firms and an attendant labor problem.

"We sincerely hope that the Department of the Navy will reconsider their action and its manifold serious implications, both to themselves and to New England, and rescind the order calling for the disestablishment of the electrical fittings inventory control division, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, N. H."

Equal Rights for Women

SPEECH
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to join today in this expression of support for the equal rights amendment introduced by the energetic and dedicated Congresswoman from New York, Mrs. ST. GEORGE.

Over a generation ago, this Nation took a tremendous stride forward by adopting the 19th amendment to the United States Constitution. The right of every citizen, regardless of sex, to participate fully in the political life of our Nation was thus assured. Looking back from 1957, it is hard to believe that the struggle to achieve equal suffrage could have been a long and bitter one. The right of women to vote today appears self-evident. Yet it was achieved only through unremitting effort and devoted sacrifice.

Not only at the ballot box but in every walk of life, women today stand side by side with men. Women represent almost a third of the national labor force. They own, as we men are often reminded, more than half the Nation's wealth. They hold high public office in State and national government.

Yet our laws have been slow to keep up with such progress. A survey made by the National Women's Party has revealed as many as 1,001 discriminatory statutes on the Federal and State law books. They range all the way from prohibitions on the performance of jury duty, restrictions on property ownership, to limitations of guardianship rights over offspring. These laws lay a heavy and unfair burden on American women.

Once again, therefore, I believe that we must take the fundamental step of amending the Constitution so as to guarantee that before the law American women shall be free and equal citizens in every respect. To this end, I am proud to share in sponsoring the equal rights amendment.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, a frequently heard argument against Federal aid to education is the contention that Federal aid is synonymous with Federal control. Many opponents of Federal aid have, of course, utilized this easy phrase with something less than good faith. However, I am certain that there are many public-spirited citizens who, despite their concern over the present state of their school systems, have nevertheless felt compelled to oppose Federal aid for education because of certain supposed dangers of Federal control.

Many arguments could be put forth to show that Federal aid need not be Federal control. But I think an examination of the experience of a federally impacted school district in the congressional district which I represent will do much to allay the fear of such opponents. An editorial appearing in the July 15 edition of the East Oregonian, of Pendleton, Oreg., commented at length on the experience of the Hermiston School District and the effect upon that school district of substantial Federal assistance for education. I think it will be of great interest to my colleagues to examine this editorial, now that the school-aid bill is before the House. Under unanimous consent, I insert this in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Federal aid to schools does not mean Federal dominance or control of education, according to Armand Larive, superintendent of schools at Hermiston, a district which probably has had more experience with such aid than any other area of Oregon. Mr. Larive, to the contrary, contends officials administering the program in the Hermiston School District have leaned over backward to keep away from any action which might be construed as Federal interference or control.

Closest thing to Federal dominance of the Hermiston School District, which had about 600 students last year under Federal aid, is an audit of the books, according to Larive.

Under the program, the Government pays one-half of the estimated local cost to the taxpayer per student whose parent or parents are federally employed.

"An escape for those who oppose Federal aid to schools," says Mr. Larive to charges of Federal dominance of control of education. The Hermiston superintendent contends school officials of the area have been more than satisfied with the results. "There has never been even a hint of Federal interference," says Larive, who has been active for many years in the program of study of need for Federal assistance to schools.

More than 3,000 school districts in the Nation now qualify for Government financial assistance because their school enrollments have been enlarged by various Federal activities, such as military posts, defense production plants, Federal dam projects, and so forth. Hermiston is one of these.

Oregon's Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, speaking recently before the Senate, pointed to a study just conducted by Teachers College at Columbia University, in New York City, as "one of the most convincing presentations in favor of Federal aid to schools." The study, said Senator NEUBERGER, "has demonstrated that Federal aid to schools in no measure means Federal dominance or control of education."

Teachers College sponsored a study of 500 of the previously mentioned 3,000 school districts, to determine whether payment of Federal funds resulted in Federal domination. The study concluded that, "Federal control over school personnel, the curriculum, and instructional programs had not accompanied the distribution of funds."

The study, noted NEUBERGER, thoroughly refuted the old charge that the Federal Government cannot assist our school construction needs financially without controlling the operation of schools.

Only a tiny minority of the 500 districts complained of any Federal control over their educational programs, even though they received substantial Government support, the study found.

Federal control over school personnel, the curriculum, and instructional programs had not accompanied the distribution of funds, the study concludes. The specific conclusions that the study reached are:

(1) No Federal control had resulted from field examinations of school districts by regional representatives of the Division of School Assistance in federally affected areas, a unit of the Office of Education.

(2) Discretionary control powers granted to the United States Commissioner of Education by the law had not led to Federal control.

(3) The vast majority of school officials spent very little time in handling matters pertaining to Federal aid.

(4) Most school officials felt that citizens were more willing to support their local school programs as a result of receiving Federal aid.

The teachers college study, conducted by Dr. Robert I. Sperber, also found that Federal control is not likely to occur when Federal support legislation is carefully conceived.

Dr. Sperber contended Federal control is not likely to occur, either, when the Federal officials who administer the program "are sensitive to the dangers of Federal control over personnel, curriculum, and instructional programs." If Mr. Larive is to be believed—and certainly he has adequate experience and excellent standing for his comments on the subject—those who administer the program in the Hermiston district appear to be sensitive to these dangers.

What then are the arguments advanced against Federal aid to education? Undoubtedly they are many. Mr. Larive believes most of the arguments against aid are weak and have little basis, particularly when opponents to aid for education are advised of the many merits of such aid.

Probably the greatest opposition comes from those who fear any form of Federal controls, regardless of benefits. These people would turn thumbs down on almost any form of Federal aid, reasoning that there is too much opportunity for Uncle Sam to dictate how those receiving the aid should conduct themselves. That opportunity, of course, does exist.

But, as the teachers college study points out, the greatest single weapon against Federal control is the feeling of the American people against it. A sensitivity to control and interference has been built up over the century and a half of American history.

One can be certain the Hermiston district is in the latter category and would refuse aid before surrendering rights to attain it.

Centennial of the Birth of Theodore Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, our Nation will celebrate next year the centennial of the birth of a great man, Theodore Roosevelt.

It is fitting that we learn as much about his life and public career as possible. For that reason I am submitting a reading list, prepared by experts, that will be helpful to that end:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT CENTENNIAL READING LIST

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Bradley Gilman, Roosevelt the Happy Warrior. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1921 (also another edition).

John J. Leary, Talks with T. R. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920.

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Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., All in the Family. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929.

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[1] See also section on Hunting and Exploration.

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William D. Harbaugh, Theodore Roosevelt—a biography.

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(For further information write or phone Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission, 28 East 20th Street, New York 3, N. Y. Phone: Algonquin 4–1700.)

Gets $209,000 Check—Raps Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago the distinguished gentleman from Arizona, Congressman UDALL, related the story of the Arizona farmer who had accepted a $209,000 soil-bank check for retirement of lands growing price supported crops including cotton and almost simultaneously leased 4,500 acres of land to grow cotton for which he did not have an allotment. The implication was that either the farmer was violating the law or the Department of Agriculture was guilty of maladministration. It develops that neither implication was true. Everything was done according to statute. It is clear that the fault lies in the statute.

It was, however, not this aspect of the problem which intrigued me. It was rather the question of what a farmer could gain from planting approximately 4,500 acres of penalty cotton. The phrase "penalty cotton" needs some explanation. It refers to cotton on which the grower must pay the Government approximately 18½ cents a pound. With the support level at a minimum of 28.15 cents per pound, a figure which represents 77 percent of parity and presumably only 77 percent of a profit it became clear that something was suspect in the economics of our parity formulas. The profit motive for this grower was the only incentive because he could not establish a history of cotton planting with this penalty cotton and would derive no benefit beyond 1 year's crop. I thought of writing to Mr. Harris to ask whether or not he could make a profit on cotton which he would, in effect, sell at approximately 10½ cents a pound but I dropped this idea with the discovery of the following article in the Fresno Bee of July 17, 1957. This article reads as follows:

FRESNAN GETS $209,000 CHECK, RAPS SOIL BANK

Jack A. Harris, of Fresno, is the recipient of one of the biggest soil-bank checks in the country—$209,000.

And the distinction is causing him some headaches, largely in the form of criticism from Congressman STEWART L. UDALL, Democrat, of Arizona.

Udall is critical of Harris because Harris is getting the $209,000 for taking land out of cotton production at the same time he is growing cotton without an allotment on other land.

"UDALL is a politician," said Harris. "What he doesn't say in his criticism of me is that I will have to pay a penalty of 18½ cents on every pound of cotton I grow without an allotment.

"So even though I will get about $209,000 in soil-bank payments, I will have to pay about $650,000 in penalties on the cotton I grow without an allotment."

This apparent losing proposition does not bother Harris.

Here is the way he outlines his farming operations, which total about 25,000 acres in California and Arizona:

The soil-bank payment comes from 1,600 acres owned by Harris Ranches, Inc., south of Tucson.

The penalty cotton is being grown on 4,500 acres of leased land farmed under the name of Jaresa Cotton Co. 85 miles southwest of Phoenix.

In addition, he has another 1,000 acres of cotton operated by the Harris Cattle Co. near Phoenix, and another 2,000 acres farmed as Jack Harris, Inc., near Five Points.

The remainder of the 25,000 acres is in alfalfa, barley, cantaloups, and vegetables.

The crux of Udall's criticism is that Harris is taking advantage of the soil bank on one hand and farming nonallotment cotton on the other.

"Make it plain that I'm against Government controls and supports," said Harris. "We ought to be able to compete on the world market.

"I was hoping this 4,500 acres I'm farming outside the program would show how silly the program is and how unnecessary it is."

GIVES ILLUSTRATION

He illustrated the situation this way:

Suppose cotton sells for 36 cents. If he pays 18½ cents a pound penalty, that leaves him 17½ cents to operate on. He says he can just about do it, but that it will not leave him any profit.

But he says he also is a cotton ginner and he will make money ginning the cotton.

He says he is shooting for two bales an acre or better on his penalty acreage and is not planning to try for any exceptionally high yields. Some department of agriculture sources estimate the penalty payments may be closed to $800,000 than the $650,000 mentioned by Harris.

"They may be right," he says, "because they base the penalty on the estimated yield rather than actual yield."

DIFFERENT GROUPS

Harris stresses that the farming operations which brought him under fire from Udall are not all carried on by the same companies, although he owns them all, and that they are carried on in different counties under different agriculture stabilization and conservation committees.

"This was all cleared with the soil bank people and it was done with their knowledge," he said.

"I hope it shows how ridiculous the soil bank is. There are a lot of people growing cotton who shouldn't be. The efficient cotton farmer doesn't need Government help."

You will note that Mr. Harris says that he can just about break even on cotton selling at 10½ cents a pound. If this is true—or even approximately true—and 28.15 cents a pound is only considered to be 77 percent of parity—77 percent of a profit—something is wrong with our parity formulas. This information points up the fact that our support programs have created millionaires at one end of the farming scale in the guise of helping a subsistence farmer at the bottom. I will add that they have resulted in the economic squeeze of our best class of farmers and the most numerous worthwhile class in the middle.

I would suggest to the Agriculture Secretary that he engage in some studies to determine the real cost of producing the various price-supported crops in order that we might have some fair idea of a reasonable support price whether it be couched in terms of some percentage of parity or some other mathematical formula.

Disappearance of the Loyalists in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune, in their editorial of Sunday, July 21, commented on the Socialist New Leader and their viewpoint of the invigorating new climate in Washington according to the New Leader standard.

The editorial is as follows:

HOPEFUL SIGNS?

We learn from the Socialist New Leader that the air has been "massively cleared" in Washington and thus there has been "released the vast talents of the National Capital."

Instead of saying, "Is that so?" we shall inquire, "Why?" permitting the New Leader to inform us.

All this, we learn, has come about because of the Supreme Court, "in a series of major decisions on civil liberties." The New Leader apparently refers to 11 cases involving Communst Party membership or association that have been decided adversely to the Government by the present Court.

There are other reasons for the invigorating new climate in Washington, according to the New Leader. Among these are the censure of Senator McCarthy, and, presumably, his demise, although the New Leader does not go so far as to say so, merely reporting that it has been helpful that the conservative Senator STYLES BRIDGES "has been in the hospital for weeks."

The New Leader also finds that the defeat of Senator Herman Welker of Idaho through the liberal application of New York money has had a salutary effect. Also that Adm. Arthur Radford has retired as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; that Senator KNOWLAND is retiring from the Senate; that Scott McLeod has departed as Chief of the State Department's Security Bureau "and packed off to Ireland as Ambassador"; and that Representative FRANCIS WALTER, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been told to keep the bolos off TV.

It is true, in the New Leader view, that an American, Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, still remains on the Washington scene as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. The New Leader find this deplorable, because Admiral Strauss had something to do with the fact that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer "was tried for heresy." We always thought that Dr. Oppenheimer was called before a loyalty board and was denied clearance because he. palled around with too many Communists, even having a Communist as a mistress, marrying the widow of a Communist, admittedly lying in behalf of a suspected Communist espionage agent, and contributing freely to many party causes.

The removal of most of the loyalists in Washington, the New Leader reports, has lifted the "fear that some security office has a thick folder filled with gossip and half truths"—such folders one may assume, as reflected on the integrity of Hiss, Silvermaster, and Coe brothers, Noel Field, Lee Pressman, Abt, and countless other bureaucrats and former bureaucrats.

This fear which the New Leader detects "had sterilized Washington of all but the most cautious thinking." Now that it has been lifted, we can see the rich result: The comrades are free to pursue their innocent interests, the Supreme Court to expound its attenuated aberrations, the President to admit that he is hardly equal to winning a debate on the question of whether communism is superior to the American system, and Congress and the bureaucracy to blow the national substance against the background of a declining market in Federal bonds. The bottom has dropped out from under these, we learn, because Secretary Humphrey won't attend the inflationary preachments of Dr. Seymour Harris, the Harvard Keynesian.

Now that "the vast talents of the Nation's Capital" have been released, we can, with the New Leader, look forward to something absolutely gone. Up to now, those Washington cats have simply been rehearsing.

Resolution on the Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution by the Pennsylvania Department, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, resolved at its 77th annual encampment, recently held in Wilkes-Barre, on the William S. Girard case:

PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT,
SONS OF UNION VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. DANIEL FLOOD,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

Whereas the rights and privileges guaranteed to all American citizens under the Constitution of the United States, including members of the Armed Forces, have always been upheld and protected; and

Whereas the Constitution of the United States of America specifies that anyone charged with any crime or violation of the law shall be tried by 12 men of his peers; and

Whereas the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution has been jeopardized and threatened in submitting one of our American members of our Armed Forces, William S. Girard, to trial by a foreign court, thereby breaching the guaranties of the Constitution of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War in 77th annual encampment at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., definitely go on record in defense of the rights and privileges of William S. Girard to be tried under

American jurisdiction and by an American court and/or United States military court; and be it further

Resolved, That the department secretary of the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War be instructed to send copies of this resolution to the two United States Senators from Pennsylvania and Congressman DANIEL FLOOD.

Approved this 25th day of June 1957.

CARL P. GUTEKUNST,
Department Commander.

Attest:

CHESTER S. SHRINER,
Department Secretary.

Inflation: The Poor Man's Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Henry Hazlitt, as usual, has again pointed out that there is a great swindle underway in this country and all over the world.

Inflation is in the saddle. At this point I am inserting an article by Mr. Hazlitt which indicates how currency has been shrinking throughout the world. Our so-called leaders should get busy immediately.

THE GREAT SWINDLE

(By Henry Hazlitt)

A year ago (Newsweek, June 25, 1956) I printed here, under the above title, a table showing the depreciation, in terms of domestic purchasing power, of the currencies of 53 countries in the 10 years from 1946 to 1955. This table had been compiled by Franz Pick. He has now carried it forward, for the 9-year period from January 1948 to December 1956, in the 1957 edition of his Currency Yearbook. I present the results below, showing the depreciation of 56 currencies in that period.

It is important to keep this appalling worldwide picture constantly before our minds. For it reminds us that inflation is nothing but a great swindle, and that this swindle is practiced in varying degrees, sometimes ignorantly and sometimes cynically, by nearly every government in the world. This swindle erodes the purchasing power of everybody's income and the purchasing power of everybody's savings. It is a concealed tax, and the most vicious of all taxes. It taxes the incomes and savings of the poor by the same percentage as the incomes and savings of the rich. It falls with greatest force precisely on the thrifty, on the aged, on those who cannot protect themselves by speculation or by demanding and getting higher money incomes to compensate for the depreciation of the monetary unit.

WHY INFLATION?

Why does this swindle go on? It goes on because governments wish to spend, partly for armaments and in most cases preponderantly for subsidies and handouts to various pressure groups, but lack the courage to tax as much as they spend. It goes on, in other words, because governments wish to buy the votes of some of us while concealing from the rest of us that those votes are being bought with our own money. It goes on because politicians (partly through the second- or third-hand influence of the theories of the late Lord Keynes) think that this is the way, and the only way, to maintain full employment, the present-day fetish of the self-styled progressives. It goes on because the international gold standard has been abandoned, because the world's currencies are essentially paper currencies, adrift without an anchor, blown about by every political wind, and at the mercy of every bureaucratic caprice. And the very governments that are inflating profess solemnly to be fighting inflation. Through cheap-money policies, or the printing press, or both, they increase the supply of money and credit and affect to deplore the inevitable result.

The following table is based on official cost-of-living indexes, many of which understate the real extent of currency debasement. Russia and its satellite countries are omitted because disparities between actual and official price levels are so wide and the statistics are meaningless. The American dollar, to which so many other currencies are ostensibly tied, itself shows a depreciation of 15 percent in the period. The British pound sterling, the world's most important trade unit, lost 34 percent, the French franc, 52 percent, the currencies of Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Korea, from 93 to 99 percent.

Currency shrinkage: Percentage decline in purchasing power of monetary units, January 1948–December 1956

Dominican	2
Egyptian	6
Portuguese	6
Haitian	8
Swiss	10
Ceylonese	11
Burmese	12
Dutch Antillean	12
Ecuadorian	13
Pakistan	14
Belgian	15
United States	15
Indian	15
West German	18
Venezuelan	19
Hong Kong	23
Guatemalan	23
Canadian	25
Italian	25
Honduran	26
Costa Rican	27
Irish	28
Mayalan	28
Danish	29
Swedish	29
Netherlands	30
South African	31
Iranian	33
Norwegian	33
New Zealand	33
Spanish	34
United Kingdom	34
Thailand	35
Turkish	36
El Salvador	40
Nicaraguan	40
Mexican	45
Colombian	46
Uruguayan	48
Finnish	49
Icelandic	51
Australian	52
French	52
Japanese	55
Austrian	55
Peruvian	55
Greek	58
Indonesian	59
Israel	66
Brazilian	70
Argentine	73
Taiwan	85
Chilean	93
Paraguayan	96
Bolivian	99
Korean	99

Address of Mrs. L. M. Bashinsky on the Occasion of the Dedication of the Stonewall Jackson Bronze in the Hall of Fame, New York University, May 19, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. L. M. Bashinsky of Troy, Ala., and chairman of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, promoting the Stonewall Jackson bronze for the Hall of Fame, had the privilege of seeing her dream fulfilled.

She worked for many years in promoting General Jackson for the Hall of Fame; this became a labor of love for her. The crowning effort was her participation in the dedication.

I am pleased to have her remarks recorded for all time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

ADDRESS OF MRS. L. M. BASHINSKY ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE STONEWALL JACKSON BRONZE IN THE HALL OF FAME, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, MAY 19, 1957

Dr. Newsome, Dr. Sockman, participating guests of the university, and others, today I recall my first appearance, and these, my first words spoken in public—"I am too young to speak in public on the stage." On this occasion, I face that condition in reverse, but even for a woman of my rather mature years, I am somewhat embarrassed in addressing an audience so distinguished.

We wish to thank you, Dr. Newsome, Dr. Sockman, and other representatives of the university for the gracious welcome accorded us and to express our pleasure in having these eminent speakers and the West Point and Virginia Military Academy cadets here to join with us in paying tribute to our beloved general. I feel that somehow, in some way, he must know they are saluting him today with "Well done, great and noble teacher and alumnus of the South."

This is the second time I have been privileged to participate in a Hall of Fame ceremony. In 1931, as the representative of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, I had the honor of presenting the bronze of Matthew Fontaine Maury. Other representatives of this orgahization have presented bronzes of General Lee and Sidney Lanier. Since then this glorious colonnade has become populous with bronzes. Today it is the proud privilege of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to bring you General Jackson to join General Lee and other great Americans here enshrined. Let us hope that through the years to come, they will be an inspiration to those who visit this beautiful colonnade.

Mr. Churchill, in conversation with President Roosevelt, declared Lee and Jackson "two of the greatest Americans born on the American Continent." What could be more fitting than that these two, so closely associated in life, should be thus linked in memory?

I know of no other institution, anywhere, which commemorates its native sons and daughters as does this Hall of Fame, and it is gratifying to learn how judiciously and effectively this shrine has been administered by New York University, its trustee for the Nation.

To the members of the distinguished College of Electors, many of them potential candidates in future years, I particularly wish to express the appreciation and gratitude of the United Daughters of the Confederacy for their selection of General Jackson. In their choice of the general, these electors, representing every State of the Union, have attested not only to the eminence of this spiritual leader, but also to the esteem in which he is held throughout the Nation. His election is a national recognition of his nobility of character, his supreme faith, his greatness of mind and heart, as a conscientious teacher, a humanitarian, who made no distinction of race or color in his benevolences and to his unmatched genius as a military leader whose tactics electrified the world and have never been surpassed and seldom, if ever, equaled.

Sir Francis Bacon in his essay entitled "Honor and Reputation," stated that "The honor that ranks greatest is that of those who sacrifice themselves to danger of death, not for acquisition of territory, not for acquisition of power, not for fame, not for self-enrichment, or self-glorification, but for defense of a principle." Jackson won many such honors notably at Contrevas, Cherubuscuro, and Chapultepec, often in his valley campaigns; and at the first Battle of Manassas, he leaped into immortality and by the dying lips of that great Georgian, Gen. Barnard Bee, Thomas Jonathan Jackson was baptized with a new name, "Stonewall," in the fiery font of battle.

Last, he won that honor at Chancellorsville, where he accomplished his greatest achievement in a daring flanking movement that established his reputation as master of the art of war. It was in that, at the age of 39, he sacrificed his life, not for acquisition of territory, not for power or fame, but for a principle.

He was not only a great soldier in war, but a great soldier of the cross. His religion, deep and sincere, was no shining Sabbath garment, but his everyday service uniform. Like St. Louis of France, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and Sir Oliver Cromwell of England, he is classed among the soldier saints of the world.

That name, Stonewall, is still a bright shibboleth of all the qualities of honor, courage, force, and steadfastness that every American should aspire to attain. Stonewall Jackson as an ideal of conduct will last as long as our culture lasts. After all, we realize that our country's first line of defense is the moral integrity of our people, the stabilizing influence of spiritual ideals, and force of character—characteristics potentially represented in the lives of those commemorated in this sacred Valhalla of America's immortals.

I thank you.

Shakespeare's Word Applied to Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following poem written by 13-year-old Sandy Holtzman, of Brooklyn, N. Y., as it appeared in the Kings Courier of July 20, 1957:

SHAKESPEARE'S WORD APPLIED TO HUNGARY

Thirteen-year-old Sandy Holtzman who attends Andries Huddie Junior High School wrote this poem in February at the same time he was reading Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and the Hungarian situation was before the eyes of the world. With the Hungarian story again receiving headlines in the United Nations we are publishing Sandy's poem below:

"SPEECH IN THE U. N. BY THE HUNGARIAN DELEGATE

"Friends, delegates, and Mr. President, lend
me your ears
I come to praise Hungary and not to bury her.
The evil that a country does lives after it;
The good is oft interred with its defeats;
So let it be with Hungary.
The noble Russians have told you that Hungary was rebellious;
If it were so, was it a grievous fault, and did
she have to answer for it so grievously?
Here, under leave of Russia and the rest—
For the Russians are honorable men—so are
you all—honorable men,
Come I to speak in Hungary's behalf.
She is my homeland and I love her:
But Russia says she was rebellious, and Russia is an honorable country
They suffered strife and misery under Russian rule,
And wanted freedom from oppression.
Did this in Hungary seem rebellious?
While the Hungarians have starved, the Russians have feasted:
If it was rebellion, had it not just cause?
Yet the Russians say she must be punished
and the Russians are honorable men.
Bear with me; my heart is in Hungary with
my people,
And I must pause till it comes back to me."

Tobacco on Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle of July 17, 1957. It is my opinion that the statements contained in this editorial regarding the possibility of the removal of tobacco as 1 of the 6 basic crops are of much merit and deserve serious thought and study:

TOBACCO ON TRIAL

Drew Pearson writes that Senator NEUBERGER, of Oregon, is all set to ask that tobacco be removed as 1 of the 6 basic crops which is receiving subsidies through support prices.

NEUBERGER's proposed move is based on the suspicion that tobacco may be the cause of some cancers, particularly lung cancer. Pearson adds that Secretary Benson is happy over the NEUBERGER plan since Benson is a strict Mormon and does not use tobacco in any form.

Of course NEUBERGER will make some headway in his proposal to remove the support prices from tobacco, especially since there is belief in some circles that tobacco may be the villain in certain cancer cases. But it should be added here that so far there has been no concrete proof of this suspicion.

Barring the suspicion against tobacco, it should rank as one of the basic crops and should warrant support prices. Aside from the fact that tobacco is an important cash crop in Tennessee, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and of some importance in several other States, the Government derives a tremendous revenue from taxes on tobacco products.

If the cause of cancer can be traced to tobacco's door, then it should be treated as a health menace and it use discouraged if not forbidden. But until there is proof of the charges, tobacco should be accepted as a basic crop entitled to its subsidies from the standpoint of the tobacco grower as well as from the viewpoint of the treasuries of both State and Federal Governments.

Hon. Joseph McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Americanization bureau of the National Republic, dated May 10, 1957, and including also a resolution from the Public Affairs Luncheon Club of Dallas:

AMERICANIZATION BUREAU,
NATIONAL REPUBLIC,
Washington, D. C., May 10, 1957.

MY DEAR FRIEND: It is not news to you or to the millions of newspaper readers, radio and television listeners that Senator Joseph McCarthy has passed away, but it would be amiss for this writer to shirk this opportunity to add to the praise that has so belatedly been bestowed upon him.

The late Senator it is said was a "very controversial figure," which is nothing new, in that to date anyone and everyone who has dared attack the subversive elements in this country are immediately so labeled. Look back over history and the toll is great. Senator McCarthy was at least conscientious, patriotic, and determined to do his utmost, even against the odds of ill health, to rout the enemies of our country from the public payroll. He did his part nobly.

From the day of his now famous speech in West Virginia, his maiden speech on the subject, until his censure by the Senate, he kept the enemy groggy.

It may appear irony that no Senator, once censured, has been paid greater honor at death than Senator McCarthy.

Even his bitter enemies were softened by the news of his death, or at least by the official and public respect paid him. Thousands of people lined the funeral parlor outside in Washington and in Appleton, Wis., to pay him their respects. The Senate Chamber and the gallery were crowded to the limit and hundreds stood outside who could not be admitted. A Marine honor guard stood beside the casket, which was draped with the flag he so loved. Newspapers, many that had often panned him, devoted pages to him. Radio and TV commentators praised him.

Senator REVERCOMB, West Virginia, said: "Senator McCarthy's death is a tragedy to the Nation. He was a great patriot. He loved his country and he fought consistently to protect it." The Most Reverend John J. Cartwright said: "Senator McCarthy filled a role which will be more and more honored as history unfolds its record." Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, said: "All Americans can hail his clearly defined objective—which was to expose cunning foes who under cowardly cover plot the betrayal of our freedom."

This writer says well done, Senator McCarthy, may eternal peace be with you, and

may another great Christian patriot spring up amongst us to take up the battle where you left off.

Your Washington reporter,

WALTER S. STEELE.

Whereas the Senate of the United States voted censure of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and

Whereas Senator GEORGE MALONE has stated his intention to use his efforts to have this censure and all debate and discussion pertaining thereto expunged from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Public Affairs Luncheon Club here assembled this 13th day of May 1957 do heartily commend Senator MALONE for his proposal; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this organization and copies be sent to Senator MALONE and to Senators LYNDON JOHNSON and RALPH YARBOROUGH and to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Respectfully submitted.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE,
WINNIFRED E. DILLARD
(Mrs. Joe P. Dillard),
Chairman.

Unanimously adopted May 13, 1957.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS LUNCHEON
CLUB OF DALLAS,
SUE B. FITCH
(Mrs. Robert Fitch),
President.

Memorandum of Observations Made While Visiting Hungarian Refugee-Escapee Camps in Yugoslavia

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include a Memorandum of Observations Made While Visiting Hungarian Refugee-Escapee Camps in Yugoslavia, by observer Adam Tarnoczy, and prepared by the Hungarian Catholic League of America, Inc., of 30 East 30th Street, New York City, together with a status report prepared by the same league:

MEMORANDUM OF OBSERVATIONS MADE WHILE VISITING HUNGARIAN REFUGEE-ESCAPEE CAMPS IN YUGOSLAVIA

(Observer: Mr. Adam Tarnoczy)

HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

The Yugoslavs already show complete willingness to cooperate in moving the Hungarians out of Yugoslavia. However, there is no freedom of movement as far as the refugees themselves are concerned, and if he leaves the camp without the permission of the Ministry of the Interior—this permission is only granted by a high official in the Ministry in Belgrade itself—he is thrown into prison without trial. There are known instances of the Hungarians receiving severe beatings for leaving the camp without permission.

The secretaries and interpreters in the high commissioner's office, who are furnished by the Yugoslav Government, are supposedly all Communists, which makes the operation of the office difficult. Three of them have definite Communist connections. Colonel Stefanovic, who is a top-ranking member of the state secret police, is a frequent visitor to the high commissioner's office. The international personnel of the high commissioner's office are watched 24 hours a day.

VISITING CAMPS

In order to visit a camp, one must first obtain the permission of the Ministry of the Interior. A visitor may then go through a camp but he is accompanied by a guard. In view of the presence of the guard, the refugees in the camp are afraid to talk. It is extremely difficult to be alone with a refugee for a sufficient priod of time to learn anything. They want to talk but they are afraid.

During the month of June, 17 reporters were invited by the high commissioner to visit the camps in Yugoslavia. Later, I saw newspaper headlines in Austrian and German newspapers reading "Refugee Camps or Concentration Camps?" (Die Presse, June 4, 1957). These reporters left with a terrible impression of the situation under which these refugees live in Yugoslavia.

CAMPS

The quality of the camps vary from very bad to fairly good. Most of the camps are surrounded with barbed wire and under guard. When normal camp facilities became overcrowded, the Yugoslav authorities put large numbers of refugees in country estates and beach hotels. Some of the camps are badly overcrowded and far out in the country. The Yugoslavs have placed most of the single male and female refuges in camps while the beach hotels were mainly filled with families.

CAMP RATIONS

While it is claimed officially that the food meets the required 2,600 calories per day, from all reports I have had and I wish to say these reports are verbal, the food is insufficient. The refugees complain that they are always hungary. I spoke with one doctor who told me that in his opinion the people will be able to resist disease for some time to come, but that the inadequate diet will eventually prove harmful to their constitutions. They live chiefly on soup and bread, and a bit of meat served twice a week.

MORALE

The morale of the refugees in the camps is terrible. The refugees who have already left Yugoslavia for other countries had hoped to emigrate to the United States. It is also the hope of those who remain in Yugoslavia to emigrate to the United States. In other European countries, particularly Sweden, I met refugees from Yugoslavia who had been resettled. These refugees told me they had planned to go to the States, but they had an opportunity to go to other countries so they went rather than wait and possibly get to the States.

One of the main problems is that these people in Yugoslavia have no connection with the outside world. For example, they are not informed of the fact that the U. N. agreement with Yugoslavia prohibits the Yugoslav government returning any refugees to Hungary without their consent. Because of the lack of information of this kind, the refugees are afraid that one of these days Tito will return all of them to Hungary. They live in a world of rumor. My opinion is that they could resist any other hardship but the thought of returning to Hungary or being returned is frightening to the refugees. The only newspaper I saw in the hands of the refugees was the Hungarian language Communist newspaper printed in Yugoslavia.

REGISTRATION

The registration of Hungarians in Yugoslavia was carried out solely by the Yugoslav authorities on a form based upon the one used by ICEM in Italy. The voluntary agencies have complete control over all of these registration forms and the preparation and detail are excellent.

RELIGION

Ninety-two percent of the refugees are Catholic. There were 80 Jews and the balance Protestant. At the time of the registration of the refugees by the Communist authorities in Yugoslavia, only 13 persons out of 19,000 said they were of no religious faith. In other words, out of 19,000 refugees only 13 apparently followed the Communist line to the extent of leaving their faith.

REPATRIATION

Two thousand three hundred refugees returned to Hungary of their own free will because they were discouraged and hopeless. Their return was used by the Hungarian government for propaganda purposes in Hungary. I met Hungarian refugees in other countries who said that they had definite information from their relatives in Hungary that the refugees returned en masse from Yugoslavia. I have the impression that these facts were used by the Hungarian authorities to force Hungarians in Hungary to write their relatives outside Hungary and call them home by telling them that nothing would happen if they would return and that they could have a nice life in Hungary.

Only 13 teen-agers were sent back to Hungary from Yugoslavia, and those returned at the request of their parents. This action caused many rumors in the camps, and many of the refugees are now afraid that they, too, will be returned to Hungary.

CONCLUSION

It is my opinion that the eyes of the free world are closely watching these refugees in Yugoslavia, who were forced to seek asylum in a Communist country. I asked many of them why they did not flee before the border between Austria and Hungary was closed. Their answer was that they hoped that they could fight further against communism and for the freedom of Hungary. They saw the hopeless situation in Hungary and the fact that the Communist government was getting stronger day by day, so they decided to take a chance and go through the last open door to communist Yugoslavia.

I can say that the refugees in Yugoslavia are far above the average of refugees. One representative of a voluntary agency in Belgrade said to me, "In all my years of immigration experience, I have never come across a group of people who are of such fine caliber."

The remaining refugees in Yugoslavia are mostly young people and, judging by their occupational breakdown, intelligent. However, I feel that if the situation, which is extremely tense, continues for a long period, the refugees who are confined to camps, surrounded by barbed wire, and in most instances have not been outside of these camps since their arrival 6 months ago, will become completely demoralized through inactivity and frustration, and will rise up and return to Hungary. If this should happen, and I pray it does not, then all the millions of dollars which have been spent combating communism will have been spent in vain, and the West will suffer a tremendous blow to its prestige; it will mean just one more political victory for Russia and the Communist bloc. Many Hungarians I met, especially those leaving Yugoslavia, told me they wanted to be free envoys of the suffering refugees in Yugoslavia, and begged me to call their plight to the attention of the State Department of the United States as well as the Congress of the United States inasmuch as the freedom-loving people of America were their last hope.

Status report: Hungarian refugee situation in Yugoslavia for the week ending June 11, 1957

Total influx of refugees into Yugoslavia	19,335
Total number of arrivals during the above period	58
Refugees presumed residing in Yugoslavia:	
In camps	11,407
Integrated	581
	11,988
Repatriation cumulative total	2,327
Declared intention of refugees in camps:	
For emigration	11,224
For integration	133
For repatriation	50
	11,407
Ethnic origin:	
Hungarians	11,144
Germans	18
Jews	50
Others	195
Number of refugees in camps	11,407
Number of complete families	1,847
Number of noncomplete families with children	593
Single women	965
Single men	4,334
Children:	
With parents:	
Up to 14	2,183
14 to 18	393
Without parents:	
Up to 14	17
14 to 18	657
Total	3,250
Others:	
10 to 25	3,593
25 to 34	2,700
35 to 45	1,200
45 to 55	650
Others	14
Social statistics:	
Unqualified workers	1,351
Qualified workers	3,369
Highly qualified workers	827
Farm workers	715
Educational workers (teachers, professors, etc.)	137
Highly qualified specialists (with university degrees)	257
Civil servants	840
Public workers (journalists, artists)	78
Free professions	292
Military persons	115
High school and university students	1,379
Others	2,047

James M. Cox

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn., under date of July 17, 1957. I feel sure the membership of the House will want to read this fine editorial about a great American, the late James M. Cox:

JAMES M. COX

Death at the age of 87 years has closed the rather remarkable career of James M. Cox. He rose from teacher and reporter to newspaper publisher, Governor of his native State of Ohio for three terms, service in Congress, and presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket in 1920. When he died he owned seven newspapers and had wide interests in TV and radio.

The rise of Governor Cox was not by chance. From the beginning he showed those qualities of tenacity and integrity that were to bring him honors from fellow citizens and take him to the top of the newspaper field. He was a stalwart figure on the United States scene, a man loyal to his principles and policies, a most able publisher. He was a good American, a true example of the type who reached the heights from the little red schoolhouse—in his case, one at Jacksonburg, Ohio.

Resolution Passed by New Hampshire State Association of Letter Carriers in Memory of the Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a a resolution which was passed in memory of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy by the New Hampshire State Association of Letter Carriers:

Whereas the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, was an American fighting the Communist conspiracy in order to make a great America greater; and

Whereas Senator Joe McCarthy was on the Honor Roll of the National Association of Letter Carriers: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the New Hampshire State Association of Letter Carriers assembled at Concord, N. H., for our State convention, extend our sympathies to the widow and daughter of the late Senator McCarthy.

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS,
ALPHONSE J. ANDRUSKEVICH, *Secretary*.

The President Stays Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle of July 10, 1957, which comments on the President's absence from the dedication of the Truman Library:

MR. EISENHOWER STAYED AWAY

It seems that President Eisenhower, who has time to take vacations, not to speak of enjoying his rounds of golf, could have found time to attend the dedication of the Truman Library. If not, he certainly could have sent a warmer, friendlier message to observe the occasion.

The only two living former Presidents attended the event, Harry S. Truman, whose official and semiofficial papers are in the library, and Herbert Hoover. It would have been a graceful and fitting gesture on the part of the incumbent president to have attended. The President's absence and the terse, informal note he dispatched indicate again an unpleasant characteristic of many commendable characteristics that Mr. Eisenhower has. He cannot take criticism, even in politics, and once antagonized by an opponent he cannot forgive and forget.

To the credit of the man from Independence, he views politics in one light and patriotism and statesmanship in another. What is said about him in a political fight is little heeded and quickly forgotten. That is not true of the present occupant of the White House.

Hon. Allan Oakley Hunter

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I feel a great personal loss from Oakley Hunter's decision to leave Government service to enter the practice of law in his home town of Fresno, Calif. But I feel that what is the Nation's loss will be Fresno's gain.

Oakley Hunter was a splendid colleague and a great Representative in Congress. He was an able member of the executive department. Always he conducted himself as a fair-minded gentleman and his hard work and efficiency was genuinely appreciated by Members from both sides of the aisle. I regret that we will be losing him but recognize the fact that Oakley owes an obligation to himself and his family. He has rendered great service to his country and now deserves the right to establish himself in the world of private business. Washington and the Federal Government has lost a wonderful family. May I wish him well and at the same time congratulate the citizens of Fresno. They have gained what we have lost. They now have another able lawyer and one of the most public-spirited families I have ever known.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Trinity River Survey Is Important Step Toward Building of Great Industrial Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the public works appropriation bill recommended by the Senate Appropriations Committee carries funds for a resurvey of the Trinity River watershed, in Texas.

A thought-provoking letter to the distinguished newspaper, the Dallas Morning News, written by one of the Lone Star State's industrial leaders, explains forcefully the need for this survey. This letter is signed by Mr. John W. Carpenter, chairman of the board of the Southland Life Insurance Company of Dallas. Mr. Carpenter is a longtime worker for full development of the Trinity River Basin.

I ask unanimous consent that this outstanding Texan's thoughtful letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This is comment on your editorial (July 10) entitled, "Reservoir Sites in Texas," and quoting Senator LYNDON JOHNSON saying before a hearing of the Reclamation Bureau in Washington last Monday that "Texas needs reservoirs to contain many additional millions of acre-feet of water." Senator JOHNSON has been cooperating with the Trinity (River) Improvement Association to help bring about a resurvey of the Trinity River watershed. Such a survey will give data and information helpful toward the building of more needed dams on the Trinity River and its tributaries.

The Fort Worth-Dallas area is becoming a great industrial one. The main thing needed to induce and invite more industries is an abundant industrial water supply. The recent flooded conditions of the Trinity River and its tributaries, lasting for approximately 90 days (the Trinity River is bank full today), is very convincing that the Fort Worth-Dallas area and the entire Trinity River watershed will have an abundant supply of industrial water just as soon as the people of Fort Worth and Dallas and all over the Trinity River watershed decide not to wait longer, but to proceed vigorously with a program to bring about the building of dams at proper locations on the tributaries of the Trinity, and the main stem of the Trinity River as well.

It is stated by the corps of engineers that from rains already this year, July 1957, more than 7 million acre-feet of water which fell on the Trinity River watershed above the town of Trinity in Trinity County will waste into the Gulf of Mexico. The water falling on the Trinity River watershed below the town of Trinity will be in addition to the 7 million acre-feet and will approximate 2½ million acre-feet, making a total of 9½ million acre-feet of water going to waste into the Gulf of Mexico for this calendar year, to say nothing of the rainfall between now and December 31.

If the people in the Fort Worth-Dallas area can visualize their great opportunity, they will militantly get behind the Trinity Improvement Association and the Trinity River Authority in the building of dams on the tributaries and on the main stem of the Trinity that will give to the people of the Trinity River watershed a great and sufficient amount of water, which will insure the Fort Worth-Dallas area and the whole area along the Trinity River to the Gulf becoming one of the greatest industrial situations in the whole United States of America.

Thanks to the Dallas Morning News for its foresight and assistance toward helping to bring this important program into fruition.

Effect of Advertising on Living Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I think no one will question the statement that advertising has been a potent force in making possible the kind of life Americans as a people enjoy today.

Thoughtful comment on the role of advertising in America was contained in an editorial which appeared recently in the Cleburne, Tex., Times-Review. The Times-Review is published by an energetic and enterprising young man named William Rawland. This editorial is typical of the comment that appears regularly in his newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Advertising has aided greatly in increasing the standard of living of the United States, said Elon Bardon, head of the Advertising Federation of America, speaking in Dallas last week. That only begins to state the case for advertising. The impact of advertising upon our entire way of life has been beyond calculation. It has been for the good insofar as it has been good advertising. And most of it, thought not all, has been good advertising.

The deepest social effect of advertising comes from the fact that it constantly keeps the lower income brackets—the have-nots—reminded that they live in a land of plenty. They are kept standard-of-living conscious. They realize this every time they pick up a newspaper or magazine. They are encouraged to ask themselves: "Why can't I have these things by the same means that others possess them?" Advertising is an antidote for political gimmeocracy.

This, as much as anything else, has tended to even up the distribution of this standard of living. In other times and countries, the disparity between upper and lower income brackets has grown until revolution followed. In our country, and largely throughout the remainder of the civilized world, advertising has maintained a constant revolution that has meant economic and social stability.

Reading Habits of Senators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a very interesting article by our colleague the Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] on the reading habits of Senators, which was published in the New York Times Book Review for Sunday, July 21, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR OUR SENATORS, READING TIME IS STOLEN FROM HOURS OF SLEEP

(By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

(Mr. NEUBERGER, a former Oregonian newspaperman, was elected to the United States Senate in 1954.)

In the stately Marble Room, which has been set aside in the Capitol for the reading purposes of United States Senators, there are no books or magazines, only newspapers. This is symbolic. Few of the 94 men and 1 woman[1] who exercise in the Senate Chamber great authority over the Nation's affairs, have time to read very many of the books which come off the Nation's presses, even when those books relate directly to issues that will be decided by rollcall votes in this same Senate Chamber. Let the solitary member of the female sex to whom I have referred sum up the reading opportunities of a Senator. MARGARET CHASE SMITH of Maine, one of the most conscientious of my colleagues, recently observed to me:

"To be completely honest, the schedule of the full Appropriations Committee and the five subcommittees of it that I am on, plus the work of the Armed Services Committee and the Government Operations Committee, plus the heavy mail that I have from Maine, altogether gives me little reading time. At present, I am not reading any book because my schedule is so overloaded with official duties that there is no opportunity for adjustment to read."

Although I am far more limited in the length of my Senatorial services than is Mrs. SMITH, I can corroborate fully what she says. As a Senator, I am unquestionably less thoroughly informed about the complex world beyond the Capitol's fluted walls than prior to my election. When I was an ordinary citizen, I had time to read a substantial quantity

[1] Senate membership numbers only 95 at present, due to the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

of current literature. Today, I see innumerable books advertised and reviewed that might bolster me greatly in the decisions I must reach as a Senator, if only I had time to read them.

Any reading time now is stolen from needed hours of sleep. Even though my working day begins at 6:30 in the morning, the 60 minutes before breakfast are spent with the New York Times, the Washington Post and Times Herald and the latest issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This reading is indispensable to some knowledge of the day's probable agenda, but it fails to put me in intimate touch with the books that are being published as a mirror of our period.

I carry a heavy speaking schedule before political, religious, school, and conservation groups. This means that only a rare evening is available for reading. By then, the tensions and stress of crowded days have made me disinclined for heavy reading. Instead, I pick up books about mountain-climbing, upland forests, canoe voyages and pack trips into the solitudes. They bring back the tang of alpine fir and help me to forget the unpleasant bickering so endemic to American politics. Occasionally I peer again into Penguin Island, by Anatole France, to make certain that we humans are really not so peculiar as these awkward birds.

What about other Senators? Do they have time at all to read? If so, what do they look at? Is my experience typical, or do others adjust their schedules more successfully?

I talked with my senior colleague from Oregon, WAYNE MORSE. This former dean of the law school at our State university said to me, "When I compare the reading time I have time to do as a Senator with the reading I once did as a teacher of law, I feel that I am almost becoming book-illiterate." Senator MORSE added that his principal dissatisfaction was that he had no chance at all for continuity in reading. He had to snatch a few chapters at a time aboard planes or trains. Even so, he said he was trying to read Benjamin Shwadran's The Middle East, Oil, and the Great Powers, as well as Guides to Straight Thinking, by Stuart Chase.

I put this inquiry to whitehaired ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"ALEX, do you have sufficient time to read the books, magazines, newspapers, reports, and documents you consider essential for the information necessary to your job?"

"No," answered WILEY.

He went on to say, candidly, "I do not get a chance to read any books. Once in a while I have an opportunity to scan through one. Music is my solace. I enjoy good music on both radio and television, as well as on records. I also gain real relaxation from my wife's talented piano playing."

To Senators who would read to any considerable degree, an ascetic routine is practically a prerequisite. FRANK J. LAUSCHE, the new Senator from Ohio, is omnivorous in his appetite for books. He has just finished The American Story, From Columbus to the Atom, by 60 members of the Society of American Historians, and Wilderness for Sale by Walter Havighurst.

Senator LAUSCHE told me that this feat was accomplished by going to bed early each evening. "I wake up at various hours of the night," he added, "and in those periods of waking, I do most of my reading." To climax this stern regimen, the former governor of Ohio is up every morning at sunrise, to spend the time before 8 o'clock either with a book or at a dictating machine where he handles most of his extensive correspondence.

The most proficient quoter of the Bible I have ever met is MATTHEW M. NEELY, 81-year-old Senator from West Virginia. No matter what the question before the Senate may be, NEELY can contribute a scriptural citation that provides a perfect moral for the occasion. I asked him how this was done. He told me that he eschewed nearly all social events and thus has been able to read through the King James version of the New Testament seven times.

Next to NEELY, the most prolific fountain of quotations in the Senate is PAUL H. DOUGLAS, the ex-college professor who is senior Senator from Illinois. His specialty is the classical poets in general and Shakespeare in particular. I imagine DOUGLAS is the Senate's most indefatigable reader. As in the case of Senator LAUSCHE, his reading is done at the expense of sleep. DOUGLAS informs me that he seldom sleeps more than 6 hours during any one night. "Hence," he says, "I do most of my reading in bed after 9:30 p. m. and before 6 a. m., when I arise."

Senator DOUGLAS has his reading as routinized as a train schedule. This is the way he broke it down for me:

Before breakfast: The New York Times, the Washington Post and Times Herald, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

At noon: The Wall Street Journal, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Sun-Times, and five downstate Illinois papers.

In the evening: The New Republic, New Leader, the Progressive, America, Commonweal, Unitarian Register, Friends Journal, Manchester Guardian, the London Observer, and the London Economist.

Weekends: Bulletins from the Federal Reserve Board, Bureau of Labor Statistics, etc.

In between this rigorous reading timetable, the snowy-thatched intellectual from Illinois explained that he was attempting to complete the perusal of five books: C. Van Woodward's Reunion and Reaction, George Santayana's Three Philosophical Poets, Thomas and Marva Belden's So Fell the Angels, Bacon's Essays, and Bertrand Russell's Portraits From Memory.

When I showed this reading program of the 65-year-old Senator DOUGLAS to my seatmate in the Senate, 32-year-old FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho, we both felt humble and inadequate by contrast. CHURCH, youngest citizen to sit in the Senate for many years, remarked frankly, "I must need a lot more sleep than PAUL, because I haven't yet been able to solve satisfactorily the question of when to do my reading. I only hope it can be done during the 4 months when Congress isn't in session—otherwise I will feel pretty much isolated from the books I used to have time to read as a lawyer in Boise."

Another Member of the Senate who admits that a crowded schedule makes much of his reading "superficial" is JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, the only Senator ever to win a Pulitzer prize for biography. The author of the best-selling "Profiles in Courage," a study of political valor and independence during periods of national hysteria, shares with WAYNE MORSE the habit of reading while on the move. Senator KENNEDY generally takes along a book when speaking engagements require travel by train or plane. His current agenda in this respect includes Crisis of the Old Order, by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.; Road to the White House, by Arthur S. Link, and Oliver Cromwell, by John Buchan.

Senator KENNEDY, whose principal committee posts are Foreign Relations and Labor, tells me that he can give scant time to reading on governmental matters beyond these immediate assignments. "As to the areas outside my own committee responsibilities," he adds, "I rely on the judgment of others with whom I have an identity of interest and in whom I have confidence."

This practice, I believe, is far more general than most people realize. Senators, who are pressed even to find hours for eating even and sleeping, tend to restrict their reading—particularly in the realm of nonfiction—to their own specialties. Then like Senator KENNEDY, they depend upon trusted colleagues to counsel them in other fields. For example, I serve on the two principal natural-resource committees, Interior and Public Works. Most of the books on my bedside table apply to the realm of timber, water, and wildlife.

A penchant for following one particular vein or ore in reading habits is extremely prevalent among southerners. These individuals harbor a brooding nostalgia for the old South and for the Civil War. Whenever I hear such Senators as STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, or WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia, talking about some recent reading, it usually applies to a book about the rise and fall of the Confederacy. Senator JOHN STENNIS, of Mississippi, a stern but fair man, is one of the most scholarly of southerners. A Phi Beta Kappa key dangles from his watch chain, and he himself is the author of many brilliant and moving speeches on the life of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

"I read slowly," Senator STENNIS said to me. "I cannot scan a book like some of you young fellows. I have to savor every word. Thus, my limited time with books is spent with something that really means a lot to me. I read all I can about the Civil War, even northern viewpoints and prejudices. Bruce Catton's This Hallowed Ground is the latest I have been reading. I have learned much from it, despite the fact that I might not share Mr. Catton's entire outlook."

Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, is an ardent bibliophile specializing in western history and folklore. A tall and restless man, he piles his home with books about Lewis and Clark, Fremont, and John Wesley Powell. The reading of other Members of the Senate reflects the locale that they represent. Senators GEORGE D. AIKEN and RALPH FLANDERS, who carry the colors of the Green Mountain State, assure me that they read every possible book about Vermont. ESTES KEFAUVER and ALBERT GORE both pride themselves on their reading about Tennessee, and they can cite book, chapter and verse concerning such illustrious Tennessee careers as those of Andrew Jackson and Cordell Hull. Yet every Senator, when he discusses his literary propensities, always adds the inevitable qualification—"time permitting."

One night I sat at a banquet given by the Philippine Embassy with WILLIAM A. PURTELL, the junior Senator from Connecticut. I mentioned to him that I was attempting to read through the book Water, published by the Department of Agriculture, in view of the importance of rivers, lakes, and harbors to my seacoast State. I also said I had been trying to read, in fits and snatches, A History of the English-Speaking Peoples—if only to worship at the feet of that master of our tongue, Sir Winston Churchill.

"At night when I stay home with Mrs. Purtell," he said, "my greatest pleasure is to eat a plain home-cooked supper and then to read a western or a detective story. My day is packed with committee meetings, Senate sessions, and conferences with constituents. Connecticut is near enough to Washington so that my office overflows with callers from home. Following 10 or 12 hours like this, I find that I require reading that will relax me rather than stimulate."

That is the problem of the United States Senator. In Oregon my wife and I trudged up mountain peaks, played long games of golf, and swam in glacier-fed lakes. This did not make nearly the inroads on my vitality that a single day of political strain does beneath the dome of our country's Capitol. My evenings were available for reading, and so was an occasional afternoon. I could keep reasonable pace with the new literature, both fiction and nonfiction.

I once would never have imagined that the Senators struggling with the terrible

dilemma of chattel slavery had not read Uncle Tom's Cabin, which was stirring Americans of that area. Yet, how many of us in the Senate today are reading the books that move or influence our fellow citizens, as we poise on the threshold of the great decisions inevitable in this atomic era?

The Algerian Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several editorials from leading newspapers in my State commenting on my recent speech on the Algerian question. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed a letter published in the New York Times, signed by M. Henri Pierre, the respected Washington correspondent of Le Monde, a newspaper which enjoys a stature in France similar to that of the New York Times. While M. Pierre does not share all my views and interpretations, his letter indicates that there are independent French observers and thinkers who are deeply concerned with the stagnation of French policy in north Africa.

There being no objection, the editorials and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Herald of July 11, 1957]

POLICY BY RESOLUTION

Senator KENNEDY's big speech on the Algerian question has gotten a big reaction. The Algerian Nationalists are understandably delighted to get support in such a quarter, and the French, with equal predictableness, are furious at the intervention.

More interesting, however, is the response in the United States, which has been generally cool. One can see why Secretary Dulles' nose should be slightly out of joint over it. The Senator was sharply critical of the administration's pro-French policy. But why should so much of the press follow the Dulles line?

Surely Mr. KENNEDY's basic thesis is unassailable. The French are fighting a losing battle in Algeria and their stubbornness is doing not only themselves but the whole free world great harm. Unless Paris compromises with the rebels soon, Algeria is almost certain to go the way of Morocco, Tunisia, and Indochina, leaving a legacy of ineradicable bitterness in return for all the blood and money expended.

Why not face the facts? More and more Frenchmen are doing so every day. Several books published in France—Lieutenant in Algeria, by J. J. Servan-Schreiber, and the Algerian Tragedy, by Raymond Aron, to mention two—have gone much further than the Massachusetts Senator in blasting French policy in Algeria. The consistent refusal of the National Assembly to provide new revenue for the pacification campaign is also evidence of wavering support.

And if Mr. KENNEDY is right about this, is there anything wrong in asking the State Department to fit its policy to the changing situation? Mr. Dulles says the problem is exceptionally difficult. There is no doubt about that. Diplomatically we would like to remain on good terms with both France and the north Africans, and neutrality looks like the easiest way out. But Mr. KENNEDY's point is that we are now neutral on the side of the French. Nonintervention in this case amounts to a discrimination against the Algerian Nationalists.

If we are going to intervene, why not throw our weight on the side of self-determination for the Algerians? That is more in line with our natural bent and tradition. We did it in Indonesia. We did it to a lesser extent in Indochina and the other North African States. Why draw the line at "difficult" Algeria?

The best argument against the Senator is that by introducing a joint resolution on foreign policy he is usurping the State Department's function. It was the founder of Mr. KENNEDY's party, Thomas Jefferson, who said, "the transaction of business with foreign nations is executive altogether." Too many policymakers in foreign affairs could be disastrous. By embodying his ideas in a formal resolution, the Senator may have overstepped the line.

But he is certainly entitled to an opinion in this field, the more so since, as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, he may be called upon to help implement Mr. Dulles' policies. We cannot believe that anything but good will come of his invitation to debate on Algeria. French and American policy in this whole area can well stand an airing.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) News of July 2, 1957]

A SENSIBLE FOREIGN POLICY

While our foreign policy has been bounding from head-in-the-sand to head-in-the-clouds, from massive retaliation to tremendous retreat, from boycott to economic aid, and from brink of war to key to disarmament, Soviet foreign policy has made considerable progress along a well charted course.

Almost in despair, Americans have been looking to Washington for some indication that our foreign policy is something more than a modern mobile of statements, declarations, and doctrines, all in motion, and all hanging by the weakest of threads. We have looked in vain.

Today, United States Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on U. N. Affairs, addressed the Senate and offered a foreign affairs policy. Such a statement would be welcome simply because it proposes a specific course of action instead of the present American policy of a lick and a promise, a threat and an aid grant, and a pact and a declaration.

However, Senator KENNEDY's address is not only a breath of fresh air, it is a current of new thought. It avoids the clouds of generalizations and gets down to the rocky road of practicality. Senator KENNEDY exposes himself to bumps, pitfalls, and even attacks, but those are the hazards of getting down to earth.

The Senator identifies the world's most powerful force as man's desire to be free, and identifies its enemy as imperialism, Soviet and western. In his first of two speeches, the Senator considers western imperialism, particularly in Algeria.

Senator KENNEDY says that if we do not meet the challenge of imperialism, then "no amount of foreign aid, no aggrandizement of armaments, no new pacts, or doctrines, or high-level conferences can prevent further setbacks to our course and our security."

The French will not enjoy reading the Senator's words. They would concentrate their anger on his blunt refutation of their oft-repeated claim that Algeria is the business only of France, if it were not for the fact that his frank reference to the myth of a French empire will attract oil the fury of the French Government and citizenry.

However, the Senator does not speak off the top of his head. He offers concrete proposals for the direction of American foreign policy to effect a solution to the Algerian tragedy. He speaks only after a 15-month intensive study of the Algerian crisis. His contentions are documented and substantiated; his proposed solutions are based on knowledge and intelligence. They are specific enough to invite refutation, but they are logical enough to stifle unintelligent criticism.

Mr. KENNEDY reviews American policy toward Algeria and our attitude toward Africa as evidenced by United Nations actions. He concludes: "This is not a record to view with pride as Independence Day approaches." He adds: "The record of the United States in this case is, as elsewhere, a retreat from the principles of independence and anticolonialism, regardless of what diplomatic niceties, legal technicalities, and even strategic considerations are offered in its defense."

Senator KENNEDY has offered to Congress a resolution calling upon the President and Secretary of State to have the United States work through NATO or through the good offices of the Prime Minister of Tunisia and the Sultan of Morocco to achieve a solution which will recognize the independent personality of Algeria and establish the basis for a settlement interdependent with France and the neighboring nations.

If no progress is made by the time the United Nations General Assembly opens its session, the resolution would have the United States support an international effort to derive for Algeria the basis for an orderly achievement of independence.

Senator KENNEDY has examined our foreign policy in this field and found it ineffective, vacillating and actually disgraceful. He calls for a new policy, and outlines it for examination.

It is now up to the administration either to refute his arguments that there is a need for a change in policy, to prove that his suggested solution would be as weak and shameful as the present policy, or that the administration has some new plan superior both to its present policy and to Senator KENNEDY's.

One thing is certain, Senator KENNEDY's calm but devastating indictment of America's foreign policy cannot be ignored. It must either be answered or accepted, and that is the decision which our President and State Department must make, whether they like it or not.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) News of July 3, 1957]

MERITS INTELLIGENT STUDY

The immediate reaction to Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY's call for an end to United States support of France's war against Algeria followed the easily predictable pattern.

France exploded. The French press, which rarely can agree on anything, looks as if it came from one set of plates. Wire service reporters in Paris noted that even newspapers which have made proposals which closely parallel Senator KENNEDY's nevertheless upbraided the Senator and said that the Algerian crisis is none of his business. The chief author of France's Algerian policy, Resident Minister Robert Lacoste, said that he would formally invite Senator KENNEDY to visit Algeria to prove his statements. He said that he would reply to the Massachusetts Senator in a speech Sunday.

French reaction was no surprise, and it is understandable nations which criticized as unjust our war against Mexico, which showed sympathy to the Confederacy, or which claimed that we forced Spain into war, received little support even from Americans who agreed with those views.

One French comment merits special attention however, because it utilizes a device made popular in character assassination at-

tempts in this country. Defense Minister Andre Morice accused Senator KENNEDY of aiding the Algerian rebels consciously or unconsciously. This way of saying that a man is either a criminal or a buffoon has apparently won favor in France after having been tested in the United States.

Whether the subject be the St. Lawrence seaway, wool importation, New England railroad rate schedules, or the Algerian war, Senator KENNEDY speaks only after the most careful review of the facts. His speech on Algeria is the result of 15 months of intensive research into that subject. He is certainly not only conscious of the content of his remarks, but able to defend them, and to make an intelligent judgment of the reaction to them.

Reaction in the Senate went according to unanimous predictions. Several Democratic Senators endorsed Mr. KENNEDY's resolution asking the President and the Secretary of State to start working for Algerian independence. The assistant Republican leader in the Senate, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN of Illinois said that the Kennedy proposal would embarrass the administration and undoubtedly offend the French. Senator DIRKSEN cannot be accused of making ungrounded speculations.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles lived up to his reputation. When asked about the Senate resolution asking that the United States work for Algerian independence, the Secretary made a reply of more than 400 words which were later multigraphed and released in his news conference report. In answer to a question seeking a clarification of his remarks, the Secretary said: "I have not seen the resolution."

Mr. Dulles used more than 400 words to comment on a 167-word resolution which he had not seen. It should have been very obvious that Mr. Dulles had not read the resolution, or the speech that preceded it. Mr. Dulles said that there is a lot of colonialism in the world and he listed nations living under Communist rule. "If one is really interested in going after the most evil manifestations of colonialism * * * one could perhaps find a better place to start than Algeria."

However, if Mr. Dulles had taken only a few seconds to scan even the preface to Senator KENNEDY's speech, he would have realized that such is Senator KENNEDY's intention. The Senator carefully explained that he would discuss western imperialism and particularly Algeria in his first talk and would discuss Soviet imperialism, and particularly Poland, in his second.

Senator KENNEDY's well documented and thoroughly considered report on Algeria demands more reaction than the French flare-up, or the inane comments of Mr. Dulles who hadn't seen the resolution, and obviously hadn't read even the prelude to the Senator's speech.

In his address, Mr. KENNEDY made it clear that Soviet imperialism and western imperialism are not to be equated. However, he knows that imperialism in Algeria is not good, just because it is less bad than imperialism in Hungary or Poland. He does not appear to believe that the Western World can win the uncommitted millions in Asia and Africa simply by being a bit less tyrannical, less imperialistic, and less freedom hating than the Reds. In short, he does not want the lovers of freedom's white banner to be forced to choose between jet black and tattletale gray.

Senator KENNEDY's speech is serious business, and merits more than emotional, political, and uninformed comment.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) News of July 10, 1957]

MR. COTY SAYS "NO"

The Algerian question has toppled more than one French government, and more will probably fall over the same issue before it is finally settled. The general trend of French feeling, however, was spelled out in no uncertain terms yesterday by President Rene Coty, who took a firm stand against independence for the Algerians and declared that the "abdication of France" in that territory would lead to "chaos and misery."

It is a little difficult to see how there could be much more chaos and misery in Algeria than there is at present, with half a million French troops roaming the hills, burning villages, massacring natives, raiding the various casbahs, and performing all of these unpleasant duties in the name of "retaliation."

The blame, of course, is not all on one side. For their part, the native insurrectionists have been equally bloody in their reprisals, but this is a situation that will not only continue but will grow worse as both political entities engage in conflict over the same territory.

Reason and mediation are part of the right answer. Force is the wrong one. Acts of violent revenge beget more of the same, and, following this course, the bloody vendetta could continue indefinitely.

Independence, said President Coty, would mean turning over both the French and Moslem populations of Algeria to the rebels. In part, he is correct. Should the French evacuate the territory, there would certainly be a certain period of confusion immediately following, until the more sane elements of the population were able to take command of the situation.

But French withdrawal would remove the major source of irritation. Continued occupation of the area is an extremely expensive operation for the Paris government, whose position is clearly untenable and will grow more so, instead of less.

What has happened of course is that France tried to hang onto the remnants of her colonial empire too long, and now doesn't know how to let go. The rebel uprising is the major physical manifestation of nationalistic desire. The Algerians feel they should have the right to govern their own country, without interference from outside sources. This is the general trend in the world today, and one to be highly applauded.

Some may not be able to attain that status overnight, but they should be allowed to make a beginning; to find their own way in the world, just as others have before them. They should be permitted to make their own mistakes, and certainly the type of severe paternalism that France is imposing upon Algeria is completely contradictory to the democratic concept of free government.

In an indirect swipe at criticism of French foreign policy recently uttered by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, Mr. Coty said, "To those states who dare accuse France of colonialism, what Frenchman cannot proudly answer: Is there a country among you where there is less imperialism, less race prejudice, less enslavement than in ours; what country is more widely humane than the French Republic?"

Well, this is all very stirring and patriotic, and ought to be good for a few more flags on the Eiffel Tower, but it doesn't really answer any questions.

It is true, of course, that very few nations, in this respect at least, are in any position to cast the first stone, and that goes for the United States just as much as for others. We have our own internal problems, but we do not attempt to force our own political doctrines down the throats of others. We may suggest, and argue and even bargain, but, in the long run, we let them go their own way, if that's what they want to do.

We do not send troops to beat them into submission, Mr. Coty's "broad" concept of "humanitarianism" is all very well, but it might be better if he and his fellow countrymen applied it a little more literally, and gave it a more specific focus.

[From the Fall River (Mass.) Herald News of July 3, 1957]

KENNEDY ATTACKS IMPERIALISM OF ANY KIND

Senator KENNEDY has expressed forcibly and well the central dilemma of our time—the difficulty of adjusting the Western World to the legitimate desire for freedom so passionately shared by the peoples of Africa and Asia.

The Massachusetts Senator asserted in a speech to the Senate yesterday, that imperialism, whether Communist or western, is the greatest enemy to that drive for freedom, and that the future of this country will, to a considerable extent, depend upon our ability to disassociate ourselves from the western form of imperialism, the form so deeply hated by formerly subject races.

Algeria was the specific topic of most of Senator KENNEDY's remarks, and he properly pointed out that the continuing crisis there has become a matter of concern to far more than France. It is now affecting adversely the strength of NATO, the effectiveness of the Eisenhower Middle East doctrine, and is providing a standing example to Communist propagandists of the evil nature of western colonialism.

The blunt fact is that the colonial policies of the European empires were for too long repressive and exploitative. It is absurd to expect Asians and Africans to forget centuries of humiliation and spoliation overnight. And as long as the United States is associated with the western imperialisms of the past and present, this country will be at a fatal disadvantage with communism in its contest to maintain freedom in the world.

Senator KENNEDY has put these facts of life squarely before the American people. It is to be hoped that his words will be read widely, and that they will have some effect on the evolution of a new foreign policy in terms of Asia and Africa in particular.

[From the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot-Leader of July 3, 1957]

TRUE TO IDEALS

Tomorrow Americans throughout the world will celebrate the 181st anniversary of the signing of the noblest document in their Nation's history.

Jefferson's haunting phrase "all men are created equal" found in the beginning of this declaration has had a profound effect on American history. Whatever greatness this Nation has achieved at home and abroad has depended upon how well Americans have lived up to this statement of principles.

For 181 years white Americans have been uneasy about their treatment of colored Americans. This uneasiness led to a Civil War mid-way in United States history. Those today who are fighting desegration realize in their hearts that history is against them. Deep down they know that their's is only a delaying action because it is un-American in the true meaning of the term.

In foreign affairs Americans have been uneasy whenever they have compromised their ideals on the equality of men. Senator KENNEDY recognized this yesterday when he called upon the United States to help Algeria gain its independence.

No nation is perfect. The United States has faltered in the past and it will falter in the future. But it will remain strong as long as the Jefferson's expression of Locke's philosophy of the purposes of man and government remain imbedded in the American conscience.

[From the New York Times of July 10, 1957]

KENNEDY SPEECH PRAISED—SENATOR DECLARED TO HAVE SOUNDED WARNING IN ALGERIAN PROBLEM

(The writer of the following letter is United States correspondent for the French daily Le Monde.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your comments on Senator KENNEDY's speech have been very severe. Strangely enough, as a Frenchman I feel that on the whole Mr. KENNEDY is more to be commended than blamed for his forthright, frank, and provocative speech.

Many of his remarks were indeed untrue or unfair and cannot be accepted. Unfortunately, some others are justified. It is very interesting to listen to those truths when they are uttered by a foreigner.

It would be tempting for any French Deputy, when the Senator mentions the inadequate representation of the people in Algeria, to stress from the rostrum of the Assembly in Paris the poor political conditions prevailing in your Southern States, where the Negro people are in fact second-class citizens. But that kind of controversy would lead nowhere and uselessly damage Franco-American relations, already strained.

The argument that Senator KENNEDY is encouraging the rebellion is an old one, but not very valid. For the rebels have not waited for Mr. KENNEDY's speech to know exactly the feeling of Congress, the administration, and of the public in general about the Algerian problem. They probably know more about the reactions of the Americans and the world situation than many Frenchmen who deliberately prefer to ignore the harsh facts of life.

SERVICE SEEN

Senator KENNEDY performed a service to the French people, I think, by giving them a warning and putting before them a clear choice:

Either we will ourselves find a solution—a strictly French-Algerian solution—in a relatively short time, or we shall face the risk, with the prospective deterioration of the situation, that the problem will be internationalized through the United Nations, NATO or the good offices of someone.

It may be that some elements in France, even in governmental circles, hope for this internationalization in order to excuse their own failure and to blame others.

An internationalization, which in fact would confirm our inability to cope with the problem, would create a dangerous political situation in France and exacerbate the nationalist and isolationist feelings, with the risk of ruining the nation's democratic institutions.

Mr. KENNEDY's speech has made the dangers of internationalization more clear. The Senator has pulled the alarm and, we hope, opened the eyes of many Frenchmen so that the French Government will have to act quickly and boldly to find a French-Algerian solution of this Algerian tragedy.

HENRI PIERRE.

WASHINGTON, *July 7, 1957.*

Death of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Bristol Township Republican Club, of Bristol, Pa., composed of stalwart, old-fashioned American Quakers, adopted a resolution relative to our late colleague, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy from Wisconsin devoted his life to his God and to his country; and

Whereas the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, under severe pressure, harassment, and unjust persecution, fought the Communist Party and the Communist infiltration in our Government and in our great country; and

Whereas the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was slandered, ridiculed, and falsely accused because, being a good American, he courageously attempted to save our American heritage and strengthen our national security; and

Whereas the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy became a "martyr without blood" for the cause of exposing Communist activities in our Government and the apathy toward those activities by many high-ranking Government officials; and

Whereas the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was a brave and loyal American and a devoted public servant: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we the Bristol Township Republican Club of the County of Bucks in the State of Pennsylvania honor the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and sincerely regret his passing from the American scene; be it

Resolved, That his memory and his unselfish crusade and worthwhile accomplishments be always in our hearts.

Why Limit Earnings?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which appeared recently in the Christian Science Monitor on the subject of increasing the earning allowance permitted to retired beneficiaries under the social-security program. This letter was sent to me by my friend, Ted Ward, editor of the Benton County Review, in Philomath, Oreg., and I believe it states very well the case for removing this very restrictive ceiling on the income which may be earned by our social-security beneficiaries.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY LIMIT EARNINGS?

To the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

Recently the first convention of its kind to be held in the United States took place in New Orleans when representatives of the Golden Age Clubs and Senior Citizens of America met for a celebration. One of the very worthwhile results was the proposed plan to form a national organization of such old folks' clubs, with maybe a central office in Washington, D. C.—where contacting their Senators and Representatives would be a comparatively easy matter.

One of the first things they should do is to urge Congress—and those administration officials responsible—to kill that part of the social security program (the old-age and survivors' insurance part) which states that no one drawing OASI benefits will be allowed to earn over $100 a month. This same program allows anyone having an income of $1,000 a week or more from stocks and bonds and rentals and other investments to draw their social security monthly pay without question. It simply means that the poor man willing and anxious to work in order to better his circumstances is penalized if he dares to earn over $100 monthly, while the rich man is allowed an unlimited income besides his OASI benefits.

Not only should this cruel and unjustified limit on the earnings of OASI recipients be eliminated completely (and many Members of Congress of the conscientious, humane type agree to this) but the monthly benefits should be increased materially—with a minimum of $100 a month.

A. L. DUNN.

NEW ORLEANS.

Commencement Address by Roderick MacLeish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, last month Roderick MacLeish, formerly news director of radio stations WBZ and WBZA in Boston, Mass., and at present chief of the Washington news bureau of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., delivered a commencement address at Baypath Junior College in Longmeadow, Mass.

Earlier this year Mr. MacLeish was selected by the Boston Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the 10 outstanding young men of Greater Boston in 1957.

I think Mr. MacLeish's address is particularly important as the analysis by a young man who is regarded as an astute observer of the events of the day and of some of the extremely difficult problems which face our Nation and our people in these troubled times.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. MacLeish's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORALS IN AN AGE OF ANXIETY

In the year 399 B. C. a great man died. He was an ugly, misshapen creature with a hideous face, a gleaming bald skull, a rasping voice, and a brilliant mind. He lived in a decaying seaport town that had long since seen its day of temporal glory. Furthere, and we might be shocked by this, our man died, not in battle, not of some disease, not in the exhausted aftermath of a great labor, but by his own hand. The town in which he died was called Athens. The man's name was Socrates.

I choose to begin my comments here this afternoon with this reference to Socrates

for two reasons. First, a vain one. I am a devout admirer of this grotesque little man. His service to me, personally, across the far and frightening time of years that separates his epoch from mine, has been invaluable. I often think of Socrates as I often think of my other gods of the flesh—Voltaire, Jefferson, John Stuart Mill—and in thinking of them I am helped by the shining example of men who lived, who were excruciatingly human and yet who performed and thought things of greatness. I speak of Socrates here in this place, at this particular time and occasion because this last act of his typifies what I shall say to you as a group of young people about to assume the attitudes and burdens of adults.

It is the custom of commencement speakers, I believe, to dwell on a particular theme—a theme we shall call by its commonest title "The Challenge of the Future." I can conceive of a time when this theme was a happy one. Picture, for instance, this graduating class set back 50 years. What a rosy, halcyonic future that June of 1907 must have offered. For those fortunate enough to graduate from an institution of higher learning, God was indeed in His heaven and all was very much right with the world. Enough that the restless fevers of revolution were still burning in Europe—they were far away. Unimportant that the greatest economic society on earth—the United States—had yet to readjust its social consicence. The poor and underprivileged, while still very much with us, were also, happily far, far away; 1907. The challenge of the future, the challenge of bettering one's social graces, improving one's croquet game, refurbishing one's Edwardian outlook and making a good marriage.

Today, I offer you no such happy limitations for a future. I offer you, instead, a world torn by dissenting ideologies, a world fraught by the sharpest of fears, a world in which many weep and many despair. The challenge of the future now is a bleak and indeed forbidding aspect so let us discard the phrase and shelve the idea. Let us talk, instead, about Socrates for a moment and go on from there.

Socrates killed himself for a very particular reason. By trade he was a philosopher and teacher. It was his custom to wander the streets of Athens speaking on many things to a large group of disciples that followed him, among them Plato and Alcebiades. Basically, what Socrates talked to these people mostly about was morality—and a very particular sort of morality; the relationship between society and its individual members. Socrates, probably the greatest exponent of the seemingly difficult business of people living in harmony together, maintained that there were two definite sets of obligations: The obligation of society to the individual, the obligation of the individual to society. Ultimately the time came when Socrates' teachings got him into trouble with the wrong people in Athens—the important people. Socrates was declared guilty of treason and condemned to die by his own hand which was the customary way of executing people of his class. But the story didn't end there. Socrates was a man of powerful and influential friends. A group of these friends arranged for the great teacher to escape. They came to him in his prison and begged him to run away. But Socrates refused. In essence he said, "All my life I have been protected and cared for by Athens. She has looked after my needs as a citizen. I have been, in effect, a child of Athens. And now Athens has decreed that I must die. I would be," said Socrates, "a very poor and ungrateful child if I reject this particular decision and wish of my city simply because it is against my own best interests." With this thought Socrates drank poison hemlock and died.

The notion, you may say, of a madman. In the context of today this act is utterly and completely mad. But let us remove ourselves from this troubled context and examine the act objectively. For his whole life Socrates had preached a principle. He believed in it, very devoutly. So, at the end of his life, finding that he still believed in it, he acted upon it—even though the consequences for himself were, to say the least, ultimate. Put in another way Socrates found that principle was more important even than the preservation of his own physical being.

To a reporter who has covered the last 10 years of history, this story of Socrates has a rather special meaning. We live in a time when this act of this man does, indeed, seem insane because the whole impulse of this time is toward the elemental process of survival. Survival and security have almost replaced everything else as the ultime thule of individual social life, frequently even to the detriment of principle or any other consideration.

For a long time men have been trying hard to solve the riddle of how to live together in harmony—the riddle that our Athenian friend explored so brilliantly. To this end, society has erected a set of laws—laws to protect the greater number of men from the selfish instincts of a few. Laws are basically negative things. I don't say bad; I say negative. Take for example, that greatest of all collection of laws, the Ten Commandments. They begin with a positive: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." A positive thing. Thou shalt. But shortly thereafter, this great set of canons goes into thou shalt not—thou shalt not kill, steal, covet, worship graven images, and so forth. Basically negative; good, but negative because they are directed as deterrents against the negative in man.

So the law in its majority is negative. It must be. Where, then, is the positive? The positive, I submit, comes in the law's great handmaiden, morality. Law tells us what we can and cannot do. Morality etches out for us those things in which we believe. This sense of morality and law is very ancient within the accumulation of our history. It is as old as Abraham at least and probably older. In his great and troubled books, Fear and Trembling and The Sickness Unto Death, the much-misunderstood 19th-century Danish theologian, Philosopher Sren Kierkegaard, brings the twin struggles of alw and morality to a sort of titanic climax in the story of Abraham and Isaac. Looking back from this point, we can see other enormous struggles of morality and law—sometimes against each other; sometimes against their common enemies, expediency, hypocrisy, disinterest, and despair.

Today we have a surfeit of law, much of it unobeyed. I do not speak so much of the laws of this or any other particular land, but rather of the recent structure of international law by which men hoped at last to find the pragmatic answers to the problems of living together. If we place our hope for order in the law—and I, for one, do—then we must, perforce, react in sorrow and regret when the law is broken. What do we do when this happens? I think we must apply morality. I think, then, we have come back at last to the terrible burden of the future and its challenges in this year, 1957—your future—its particular challenges.

I would say that your challenge lies in this one word, "morality." You must decide, as the literal inheritors of the earth, where the particular impulse toward personal and social survival ends and where the force of morality must begin. The decisions will not always be easy. I should like to submit an example of one such problem that occurred recently. I am rather close to this particular example because I saw some of it happen. The incident started in the final week of October last year. The locale was Hungary, specifically, Budapest; the issue at stake was the interference by a brutal power, the Soviet Union, in the sovereign affairs of another state.

Historically it was nothing new. We had watched it happen during the thirties and forties when a bloody-handed little egomaniac named Adolph Hitler whipped Germany into a state of irrational frenzy and then proceeded to plunder Europe. We saw Poland crumble and fall, Holland go under, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and finally France. We went to war in those years and, at the cost of great blood and billions of dollars and not a little shame, we finally managed to bring the madness of Hitler to a cinder-blackened halt. It was not long before another of this century's evil giants, Stalin, began the whole hideous process all over again. But this time the world had something else to reckon with: the new terror of atomic and hydrogen weapons that could obliterate nations.

This was something to stay the hand of those whose instincts demanded that they defend Hungary. Simply, Russia's ill-concealed threat that she would plunge the world into ultimate, final war, if any nation interfered with her ghastly sport of rape, plunder, and death in Hungary.

At that time I was doing my broadcasts from the United Nations in New York. I was privileged to watch that body struggle with the twin problems of invasion—Egypt and Hungary. What should the solution have been? Should it have been the simple, yet terrible course of ultimatum, by which we would have drawn the line, told the Communists not to cross it and then, if they did, have gone to war against them?

In today's context he who would advance this answer would promptly be labeled either insane or stupid. He would be asked, Why risk death and destruction for the world for the sake of Hungary?

To answer this is painful. We cannot answer without reassuring our belief in justice, our opposition to tyranny, and the lengths to which we should go in circumventing our belief for the sake of survival. The decision is not easy. There are certainly those who believe that a world in which the sacking of Budapest could happen is not a world worth living in.

I give this example to you not to refight issues or justify points of view as dead now as last autumn's leaves, but rather to illustrate the dilemmas that centuries such as this one impose. Perhaps, in all of us, there was a minute fragment of shame as Hungary cried out in the dark and no voice answered her. Hungary has become, in the sense of international tragedies, the symbol of the great dilemma that the totality of the world's people face now in a time of confused morals and swirling fears. It is not the sort of problem you here this afternoon can contemplate academically any longer. It is your problem now because you are leaving this place today and you are joining the rest of us in that great arena of ultimates—the whole world.

I have said that it is more difficult for you than it was for your counterparts of 1907.

This is quite true. But there are benefits and rewards for you that 1907's young women never knew.

We are all looking for security whether we like the word or not. You will find, I suppose, that your personal battles for security intensify as you leave this lovely campus and go out to pursue your own private destinies whatever they may be. There will be the struggle for economic security, the struggle for social security—the sort that antedates the contemporary fiduciary variety—emotional security and physical security. Security has become a very important concept to us these days. As the dangers and

complexities of life grow and enlarge, we think more and more about security as people * * * and as nations. People have bounded about from psychoanalyst's couch to health fads to installment buying in their search for security * * * or happiness or peace of mind or whatever you wish to call it. It is perhaps significant that, of late, we have developed little pills we can buy at the drugstore and take to make us tranquil and calm * * * a temporary substitute for security. None of this, however, has really brought much security.

As a nation we have joined other nations in the search for security. While seeking peace the world has contrived fancier ways of making war. While seeking national security, we have witnessed what many responsible and respectable authorities regard as serious invasions of citizens' security. Our search has led us to the summit of world political leadership and to the valleys of the shadow of military conflagration. But none of this has yet brought security to nations * * * no more than psychoanalysis and little pills have brought security to people.

Perhaps, as people and as nations, we are looking in the wrong places. I personally think we are. Further, one wonders if there isn't some common answer * * * for people and for nations. In all of our frantic search we seem to have overlooked that answer. It has been lying quite clearly before us all the time. If I may be so bold, Jesus of Nazareth proposed it to us; so did a man named Paul. Gandhi enunciated it in our own century, and a man named Socrates swallowed a draft of hemlock in his own performance of the answer.

First, and this is the most difficult part, we must devote our deep and prayerful attention to the basic question: What do we believe in? We must go on this quest for our own values as conscientiously as that other great Athenian, Diogenes, raised his lamp in the search for honesty.

In defining those things that we, as people and as members of a total society, commonly believe in, we must start with the possible. To believe in the implausible, improbable, or impossible is a waste of endeavor, a profitless mockery of idealism. As we define what we believe in, we must take ourselves and our limitations into consideration for that day may come when we shall be called upon to demonstrate in deed those things in which we profess to believe. So we must match the depth of our beliefs with the capacities of our souls and bodies and make sure that we are capable of what we profess and that what we profess is worthy of us.

Second, we must enunciate our belief with consistency. It must be enunciated in actions more than in words. Our belief must govern every day of our lives. It must provide for us the boundaries of our orderly passage through a disordered world.

As people, let us not profess against hatred and then indulge in the hatred of the spiritual wastrel.

As people, let us not profess for honesty and then spend out our self respect in the convenient and devious.

As a Nation, let us not raise a great cry against tyranny and then make our house with tyranny's ugly sister, fear.

As a Nation let us not rail against the brutal self-interest of others and then take solace in our own self interest by proclaiming it enlightened.

You face now, as you leave this place, a time of paradox and doubt. You come into a world crying for clarity and—if the word has not fallen into disrepute through the rationalization of behaviorists—a modicum of virtue.

Your own security, I am sure, lies in the simple delineation of what you believe and then fidelity to that belief in all things, however difficult such fidelity may be. The road is virtue lies in the ancient maxim of saying what you mean—and meaning what you say.

You face now, as you leave this place, a world crying for order. As you cannot escape the obligations imposed upon you as members of the human race, you cannot escape the need for your contribution to that order.

Decide for yourself when morality dictates that compromise has become pointless. Raise your voice in proclaiming the advent of that time. Define for yourself the morality of those lesser moments when crisis does not sharpen our awareness of each situation's meaning, and demand that morality from society and the forces of government.

We journalists are human. We cannot go on forever reporting to you the blood baths of tyrants. There must come a time when you, by the insistence of your professed belief, relegate us back to the ball park, the Sunday picnic and all the peaceful pursuits of a world restored to order.

A world governed by the guided missile is a world of strange and incomplete values.

A world in which the act of Socrates perhaps appears sane and reasonable is the world you are being asked to make.

No other world is worth living in.

No finer challenge was ever held out.

Good luck. And God bless you.

The Petunia Amendment—The Repeal of the Troop Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Petunia Amendment," published in the Washington Evening Star of July 23, 1957, which makes reference to the worthy action taken by the Senate yesterday.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PETUNIA AMENDMENT

It is probably true, as Senator JAVITS said during an able analysis of part III of the civil rights bill, that the old law giving the President power to enforce civil rights by use of troops is dead anyway. He saw no reason why it should be stricken from the bill; nor did he see any reason why it should be retained. He regarded the old law as obsolete and the President still has the power under other statutes to enforce order by use of troops.

At another time in the debate, the proposal to repeal the old statute was referred to as the Petunia amendment. It reminded Senator AIKEN, who wants to strike out all of part III, of which the troops provision was a part, of the song, I Am a Lonely Little Petunia in an Onion Patch. Repeal the old law, Senator AIKEN argued, without touching the rest of part III and all that has been accomplished is to transplant the petunia, removing it from the onion patch, or, Senator RUSSELL added, taking out the petunia while leaving the poison ivy.

Nevertheless, there was some significance in the Senate's unanimous action yesterday repealing the old troop law, not only taking it out of the civil rights bill but wiping it off the books. The significance lies in the fact that until Senator RUSSELL exposed the presence of the petunia, nobody seemed to know it was there. And while Senator RUSSELL was ridiculed for mentioning it, nobody could deny that what he said was true. If the vote of 90 Senators indicated unanimous belief that the petunia was innocuous anyway, it also vindicated Senator RUSSELL's contention that it had no business in the bill. Which is true of other things still in the bill.

Death of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of Hearst newspapers, published and editorial in all Hearst newspapers on Sunday, May 5, 1957, concerning our late colleague, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, Hearst newspapers)

The sudden and untimely death of Senator Joe McCarthy late this past week came as shocking and saddening news to his millions of friends and rooters.

I first met Joe in Washington in 1947. At the time, he was a newly elected, handsome, jovial young Senator from Wisconsin and we hit it off right from the start.

In addition to our proximity in age, views on politics and opinion of communism, we held similar views concerning the beauty and attractiveness of a young newspaper columnist on the Washington Times-Herald, named Austine.

When Austine and I were married a year later, among our wedding presents we received a little silver children's cup engraved "To William Randolph Hearst III, from Uncle Joe McCarthy." He was right about his hunch on that and he was right about his hunch that there was Communist influence in high places in our Government.

Joe did not have positive proof that many of those he suspected were actual card-holding Communists. Such proof is almost impossible for one man to obtain. There was no secret about it, nor on the other hand any cause for disparagement, although his enemies tried to make a big issue out of it.

A grand jury does not have positive proof, either, when it returns an indictment. It does have what it considers sufficient evidence. That was the same basis on which Joe proceeded. He was convinced that once the fight was joined further evidence would accumulate to substantiate him.

The Senate appointed a committee to investigate his charges of communism in the State Department, headed by Senator Millard Tydings, of Maryland, but the goal of the committee seemed to such a degree to be a whitewash of the State Department and to ridicule Joe's charges, that the good people of our country overwhelmingly felt that Joe was probably right and that he had not gotten a fair shake.

The proof of this was demonstrated when Senator Tydings, an able veteran, was defeated at the polls when he next ran.

Joe was a dedicated and indefatigable worker, with experience in law, having been a judge. It is not my purpose here to review the history of these years, but from firsthand knowledge and close acquaintance with him, I can truthfully say the charge of demagogery against him is completely unfounded. Overzealousness, perhaps. Recklessness in some of his charges and conclusions, perhaps. But demagogery, no.

He was utterly convinced that his country was being betrayed by people with communistic feelings, and he was determined to expose to the American public the facts he knew and expected to prove.

I have never seen anybody work as hard in an office as Joe McCarthy. He sensed from the start that he had taken on a formidable task and that many opposed to him were not only out to get him personally, but in doing so to ridicule the justice of his cause.

At his side through it all worked on of his secretaries, tall, brunette, bright, and beautiful Jean Kerr. She had joined his staff in 1950, after attending Georgetown University for 2 years and then graduating 2 years later from Northwestern University. He was, of course, conscious of her help and beauty, so it was not a surprise in the fall of 1953 when they were married.

Her belief and faith in him never wavered. Unquestionably she made possible his philosophical acceptance of the inner hurt caused him by the subsequent rejection of his cause by the majority of his party and his President.

Joe's life on this earth is finished, but the job he set out to do has been done better, I think, than even he realized.

They are going to hold an election in Wisconsin soon to fill his vacancy in the Senate and I think it would be altogether fitting and proper were the good people of Wisconsin to elect his able widow, Jean Kerr McCarthy, to fill his unexpired term.

I have not spoken to Jean about this, so I don't know whether she would consider it or not, but the people of Wisconsin might, I think, look a lot further and do a lot worse than to elect Jean to Joe's old job. She is fully capable of handling it and, if elected, as I believe she would be, it would be a fitting answer to those anti-anti-Communists who attempted to smear Senator Joe McCarthy's fight against communism.

The Late Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Warwick, R. I., in memory of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, of Wisconsin.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved—

1. That the mayor and the City Council of the City of Warwick hereby extend to the family of the late United States Senator Joseph McCarthy their heartfelt sympathy and condolences on the occasion of the untimely death of Senator Joseph McCarthy, who succumbed on the 2d day of May 1957.

2. That the city clerk is hereby authorized and directed to forward a copy of this resolution, suitably inscribed, to Jean Fraser McCarthy, the wife of the late Senator.

3. This resolution shall take effect upon its passage.

Proposed Amendment of Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial written by George Draut, editorial-page editor for the Patriot, Harrisburg, Pa., on Monday, July 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KENNEDY BILL WOULD EASE ROUGH IMMIGRATION LAW

Hopes for an easing of our immigration laws during this session of Congress are brighter than they have been since the McCarran-Walter Act was passed in 1952.

Those hopes are riding on a bill introduced last month by Senator JOHN KENNEDY. It is a bill which includes the best features of the many bills being readied on the subject in both the House and the Senate.

President Eisenhower has been calling for changes in the law since he first took office on the grounds that it contains injustices and that it does, in fact, discriminate. That is our appraisal, too, and it is the appraisal of many Americans. But Congress, to date, has dragged its feet and hasn't seen fit to take any action.

One important reason for congressional reluctance to come to grips with the immigration law has been Pennsylvania Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, the key Washington figure on immigration legislation. He always raises his voice, his seniority, and his committee chairmanship in vigorous defense of the law he coauthored.

During a press conference with the Sunday Patriot-News last April, Congressman WALTER called the McCarran-Walter Act "the most generous, liberal immigration code in the world" and added:

"When you are dealing a piece of pie, you are going to discriminate against somebody. You have 6 pieces of pie and 100 people looking for it. Somebody is not going to get a piece of it."

The purpose of the bill introduced by Senator KENNEDY is to see to it that more people do get a chance to share in our immigration pie in keeping with humane considerations. Primarily, it would see to it that families are not kept apart because of rigid provisions of law.

Under its provisions, orphans adopted by citizens or pledged for adoption, parents of citizens and the immediate families of lawfully admitted aliens could enter the United States under a non-quota status. Certain misrepresentations, now grounds for deportation, could be forgiven if it meant splitting up a family, and tubercular members of families would be permitted to enter this country under strict health safeguards. Skilled aliens and their families now here would be granted permanent residence status, and more refugee-escapees from Europe and the Middle East would receive non-quota visas not yet issued under the provisions of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

Two of the bill's provisions go into more controversial territory. These would end all quota mortgages (the cutting of quotas by the numbers of refugees permitted to enter the United States under special acts of Congress) and would permit unused quotas to be redistributed to those countries where the number seeking to come to America far exceed the annual quotas.

Such quota changes have been strongly objected to by Congressman WALTER in past years, but Senator KENNEDY now says that the provisions of this bill "are in accord" with the Pennsylvanian's thinking on the subject and that Mr. WALTER supports the measure.

If his support extends to those provisions concerning the quotas, as Senator KENNEDY intimates it does, then proponents of this bill can be heartened in their efforts to ease the immigration laws in line with world conditions today.

While the changes offered by the current bill will be welcome if passed by Congress, they do not go as far as President Eisenhower and many Americans had hoped they would.

The members of Congress should support this measure at this session for the liberalization it provides. But they should continue to do the fact-seeking and soul-searching that will lead to a complete overhaul of our immigration laws.

The Parity Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, one of the great agricultural publications of the country is the Progressive Farmer, which is under the direction and supervision of Dr. Clarence Poe, a great friend of the farmer and a very fine writer. A recent issue of the Progressive Farmer contained an editorial written by Dr. Poe entitled "Let's Keep the Parity Principle." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S KEEP THE PARITY PRINCIPLE

A new crisis seems to be developing in American agricultural legislation. The important lesson for all farmers from our standpoint is this: By all mean's let's fight to maintain the principle of fair parity prices for farm products.

To begin with, we may need to go back to the A, B, C's of the whole parity problem. In 1920, a sudden and calamitous drop in prices of farm products brought bankruptcy thousands of farmers both in the South and the West. But, as had often been the case, prices of what the farmer bought did not drop much as compared with prices of what he had to sell. In Congress and elsewhere, farmers started a great campaign for what they called "Equality for Agriculture." Three basic facts were emphasized:

1. Manufacturers were protected by high tariffs. These tariffs prevented foreign products from coming into America to lower prices as fixed by American business.

2. Labor unions, although not so powerful as they now are with their minimum wage and collective security acts, nevertheless could hold up wages in large measure by strikes.

3. But farmers had no way to get or keep fair prices for their products. What they

grew was thrown on the open market with no price tag affixed and with every farmer in competition with every other farmer.

To remedy this situation, a nationwide campaign for cooperative marketing was carried on. Many farmers joined, with highly helpful results. But not enough of them worked together to enable agricultural producers to fix prices as business had usually been able to do. Nor can they yet do so. But the great 1920 collapse in farm prices had also brought on a business depression. Consequently, many business and professional men were willing to join farmers in asking, "What can we do to prevent farm income from dropping unjustifiably?" How can farm purchasing power be kept up and the farmer's standard of living maintained?" Economists and others made profound research studies. "Back in the years before 1909–14—just before the First World War," it was said, "farm prices were reasonably satisfactory as compared with prices of what farmers had to buy. Would it not be to the benefit of farmers, laborers, and businessmen to have the Government keep farm prices in about the same level of equality with other prices as was the general rule in 1909–14? Let's compile a list of the most important things for which farmers have to spend money. Then let's so control prices that a bale of cotton, a bushel of wheat, or a hundredweight of pork will buy about as much farm equipment, machinery, fertilizer, and everything else the farmer buys, as it did in this 1909–14 parity period."

How to do this? It was agreed that the Government would guarantee farm prices up to this point, and would buy and store farm products which failed to bring the full parity price just indicated. At the same time, however, it was realized that the Government could not pay parity prices to farmers unless farmers would agree not to flood the market with unwanted surpluses. Hence, the programs for acreage allotments, production controls, etc., were set up.

Such, in brief, are the A B C principles of our parity price programs. Now it is being said that the policy of guaranteeing parity prices—or even 90 percent of parity—has failed. Secretary of Agriculture Benson virtually calls for the ending of all price supports in his recent letter to Senator ELLENDER, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. And Mr. Benson goes to great length to explain just where production controls have failed and why price supports must fail, also.

The Secretary's analysis, however, contains enough material to knock out his own arguments. For year after year he quotes figures which show that the allotments by which farmers were asked to control production were far too high. Each year many farmers, dealers, warehousemen, etc., demanded larger acreage allotments for tobacco and cotton, for example, than the market prospects justified. Congress and the Department of Agriculture yielded to pressures they should have resisted. The result is seen in the excessive surpluses that have accumulated and which have forced prices of many farm products below production costs.

Secretary Benson has not proved that the parity principle has failed. He has simply proved that there has been too much looseness in enforcing or carrying out the parity principle. We ought not to end parity. We ought to mend parity. A vigorous fight by farmers at this time may save the parity principle, even though it may be necessary to change the methods by which fair or parity prices are obtained. If we do not save the parity principle, our farm prices may drop to bankruptcy figures any year.

Reds' Secret Weapons: United States Socialism, Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine editorial which appeared in the Chicago Daily News of Saturday, June 6, 1957, written by the publisher, a very distinguished American, John Knight.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REDS' SECRET WEAPONS: UNITED STATES SOCIALISM, INFLATION

(By John S. Knight)

On July 4, 1776, the Thirteen United States of America declared their independence from the oppression and tyrannies of the King of Great Britain.

These they described as "a long train of abuses and usurpations" which were documented as facts to "be submittted to a candid world."

We have come a long way in the ensuing 181 years, which have seen a tiny, struggling Republic win its fight for survival and go on to become the world's major power.

And yet, even as we honor the memory of those intrepid men who broke the chains of our bondage, we may well ask ourselves whether we are as determined to preserve the Republic as our forefathers were to found it.

We live in times of great peril. Fear of international communism and the threat of Russian conquest are ever with us.

Billions of our substance have been spent to weld together economic and military alliances with other free nations for our mutual security.

A powerful defense force, capable of destroying our enemies with its fearful atomic and hydrogen weapons, has persuaded Russia there is no profit in open aggression.

In these areas we have succeeded reasonably well. The United States will not lose its precious freedoms through lack of courage in facing up to potental adversaries.

RUSSIA'S GREAT HOPE: A DEPRESSION IN UNITED STATES

But there are other and more subtle dangers to this Republic than the menace of war.

If left unchallenged they can undermine our concepts of freedom and collapse the Nation's economic structure.

Our twin perils are state socialism and inflation.

They walk hand in hand. Socialism breeds inflation, and inflation makes more socialism possible.

These are likewise Russia's secret weapons—more to be feared than hydrogen bombs or intercontinental missiles.

Russia's present leaders envision a socialistic America, following what they consider the inevitable breakdown of our economic system.

And they could be right.

The strain on America's capitalistic, or profit-and-loss system, comes from two sources:

1. Big government spending, and
2. The wage-price cycle.

At last Wednesday's press conference, President Eisenhower somewhat dolefully observed that business and labor must help hold the line against inflation, since the Government alone cannot keep a stable economy.

This was a restatement of his earlier comment on June 26 that wage increases should be related to productivity, and that business concerns should exercise restraint in raising prices.

A few days later, he was slapped in the face with an announcement by the United States Steel Corp. that steel prices would go up $6 a ton. Other leading steelmakers immediately followed suit.

United States Steel offered a ream of statistics to show that the rise in the price of steel was justified because of wage increases provided in the 3-year contract which settled a costly 34-day strike last August.

Other steel producers thought the price rise inadequate and suggested that it should have been in the $8 to $10 range.

Whatever the merits of their contention may be, the President's request for pricing restraint was flatly ignored.

The President has fared no better in his appeals to union leadership to relate wage demands to increased productivity.

Every proposed union contract is loaded with wage hikes and innumerable fringe benefits. The employer, with a gun pointed at his head, usually agrees to most of the demands and passes the cost along to the consumer.

So everybody gets hooked, including the union members and their families.

WAGE-PRICE SPIRAL REBUFFS IKE'S APPEAL

The unanswered question is how long can the wage-price squeeze continue without adversely affecting the consumer market. When people stop buying, production drops, jobs dry up, profits decline and the Government gets less in taxes to support its welfare programs.

President Eisenhower has said there must be statesmanlike action by businessmen and labor to combat inflation, or we are lost.

He added that "the next step, if this thing got out of hand, would be Government controls which in time of peace * * * means the beginning of the end."

The President, though right, is in a real dilemma.

He could have knocked a few heads together before last year's steel strike, but avoided the issue.

Now he asks for restraint, but says he won't use the controls club.

Business and unions have brushed him off, and will do so again.

Ike should get mad.

The President's further statement that he stands firmly on the idea that the Government alone cannot keep a stable economy is more puzzling.

Apparently, he assumes that the Government has done all that it could in the fight against inflation.

Actually, the Government's big spending policies have contributed to inflation. As the First National City Bank of New York has said:

"If the Federal Government wants stable money and lower interest rates, it can have them by reducing expenditures, its demands on the money market, and its tax claims upon the citizens' income."

MILITARY MIGHT FUTILE IF WE FAIL AT HOME

The Government, which could set the example for economy, constantly increases its commitments and thereby its costs.

The Federal budget is loaded with nonessentials and includes many new projects which will entail higher and higher expenditures every year.

It is, as Senator HARRY BYRD, Democrat, Virginia, has said, an "irresponsible budget" but the administration is stoutly resisting every effort to bring it down to size.

The very bigness of government, the steady growth of bureaucracy, the social and welfare services being provided, and the moneys we are sending abroad all give rise to more inflation.

For all but 40 years of our Nation's existence, we managed to build a great America while avoiding foreign entanglements.

Two world wars have failed to bring lasting peace. We are pledged to fight on a score of fronts in case of aggression.

In our position of free world leadership, we are called upon to solve many perplexing problems.

But of what avail is our prestige and preeminent position in the world if we fail to deal resolutely with the perils we face at home?

It is not the force of arms that could spell disaster, but decay from within.

Ending the Tito Farce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, recent events have indicated with a measure of certainty that our policy of extending aid to Soviet satellites demands a reappraisal. On this subject, the Catholic Review, of Baltimore, Md., in a lead editorial on July 12, entitled "Ending the Tito Farce," presents an interesting point of view.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ENDING THE TITO FARCE

During a recent TV interview with Edward R. Murrow, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia made one notable comment—he admitted that there was little difference between his brand of communism and that expounded by his Soviet mentors.

On the surface there is nothing surprising in this admission. Indeed, some people will suggest that it's not even news. But we wonder how many realize the implications of this admission, particularly with regard to loans and subsidies handed out by this country to keep Tito in command in his.

In the past, our Government has sought to justify aiding Tito by arguing that his survival was in the interest of the free world; that his opposition to Moscow was aiding the ultimate fight against Soviet colonialism. Yet here we have an admission from Tito himself that there is very little difference between him and Moscow. Moreover, we learn that the Yugoslav Vice President and Defense Chief both are going to Moscow to "make up" with the new Kremlin bosses. The path for such a rapprochement is said to have been smoothed by the purging of Molotov, Malenkov and others.

Then there is the question of Tito and his persecution of Christians. His TV answer that he has freed Aloysius Cardinal Stepinac from jail and allows him to live in his native village is typical nonsense. Unfortunately lots of people are taken in by such statements. We all know that as long as the Yugoslav cardinal is prohibited from publicly carrying out his duties as spiritual leader of Yugoslav Catholics, then he is not free in any true sense of the word.

Finally there are Tito's views on the Hungarian revolt of last November. Despite the fact that the Reds reneged on a promise to Tito's Budapest embassy that they would grant safe passage to former Premier Nagy, we find the Yugoslav dictator admitting before an American audience that he feels the Russians were right in applying their bloodbath to squash the revolt by Hungarian patriots.

We would wish no more comment other than to suggest that our Government make their much threatened "agonizing reappraisal" of foreign policy. We would suggest that perhaps we seek a rapprochement with our West European allies and cut the line that now links us to the marshal of Belgrade. After all, there has to be some morality in Foreign Relations.

Tobacco Price Supports and Effect of Smoking on Human Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on July 17, 1957, I introduced a bill to remove tobacco from price support, marketing quota, and soil-bank programs of the Department of Agriculture, beginning with the 1959 crop. I took this action because it seemed contradictory and inconsistent for one agency of Government to be raising warnings about the use of tobacco and its dangers to health, and for another agency to be providing subsidies from the Federal Treasury to assure the continued growing of the crop.

On the day following introduction of the bill, the Deseret News, of Salt Lake City, Utah, published an outstanding editorial expressing similar views. This historic newspaper pointed out compelling arguments for removing tobacco from the list of basic crops eligible for Federal financial assistance. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the editorial from the Deseret News of July 18, 1957, entitled "Do You Want To Support Tobacco?"

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DO YOU WANT TO SUPPORT TOBACCO?

Last week's official declaration by the United States Public Health Service that cigarette smoking causes lung cancer is having its repercussions in Congress.

Senator NEUBERGER, of Oregon, made a floor speech Monday calling for a Government-sponsored campaign to "educate the American public of the perils faced by smokers." And Utah's Senator BENNETT followed up Tuesday by introducing a bill that would require every package of cigarettes sold in America to bear a label warning of the danger of smoking.

The label required in Senator BENNETT'S bill would read: "Use of this product may result in heart and circulatory ailments and diseases of the heart and lung, including cancer."

Certainly, by every standard of commonsense, at least that much ought to be done. The statistical relationship between smoking and lung cancer has been long since established. It is unmistakable and unarguable. Now, for the first time, the Nation's official health agency is on record with an official statement that cigarette smoking is a "causative" factor. The same official statement declares there is a "high association" between cigarette smoking and such diseases as coronary artery disease and cirrhosis of the liver, and a "very high association" between smoking and pneumonia, influenza, and duodenal ulcers.

Certainly, as Senator NEUBERGER said, "If our people can spend $15 billion annually on liquor and tobacco, units of Government can afford expenditures to warn of perils involved in their use."

And certainly, as Senator BENNETT said, "Compared to the hazards of cigarette smoking the highly publicized hazards of atomic radiation fallout are negligible."

Unfortunately, however, commonsense does not always prevail in such matters. To be perfectly frank about it, there is very little chance that Congress will do a great deal along the lines Senators BENNETT and NEUBERGER are talking about.

But there is one thing Congress can and should do—about which, in fact, we should all hang our heads if it doesn't.

It should remove tobacco from the list of basic crops eligible for Federal price supports.

There are compelling reasons for doing so and doing it now.

The basic reason, of course, is that it is cynically immoral for one agency of Government to be using taxpayers' money to support production of a crop that another agency of Government has condemned for causing one of mankind's most horrible diseases.

Another reason is that the price-support program is getting critical attention anyway. Secretary of Agriculture Benson just this week asked Congress to drop corn from the list of basic crops eligible for mandatory price support. The other five are wheat, rice, peanuts, cotton, and tobacco. How can Americans justify dropping one item from this list and retaining tobacco?

And a third reason is that while tobacco has not needed much support in recent years, its future is questionable in view of the mounting medical evidence against it. Suppose the American people finally awake to the danger and swear off smoking in considerable numbers. The market would be shot. Government supports would be mandatory under the present law. Are Americans willing to pay taxes to pile up in Government warehouses a crop that can't be sold because the public no longer wants it? Far better to end the legal requirement of supports now, when they aren't needed, than to try to do it when they are.

Our readers know that the Secretary of Agriculture has no desire to see tobacco under Government supports, but it is not for him to decide. Congress designates which crops shall be on the basic price-support list. That list should certainly be reduced by at least one.

The Army Takes to the Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article entitled "Army Takes to the Air," written by Hanson W. Baldwin, the military expert of the New York Times staff, and published in the New York Times of July 23, 1957. The article relates to some of our new defenses. It is very readable, and I commend it to the attention of all Senators.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARMY TAKES TO THE AIR—AN ANALYSIS OF THE GROUND FORCES' USE OF SMALL PLANES FOR COMBAT MOBILITY

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The Army's efforts to increase its mobility in the atomic age focus on the sky as well as on the ground.

The plane, in the Army's concept, is essential for both strategic and tactical mobility to lift units and supplies across seas between continents and to lift troops and equipment within the combat zone of a ground battlefield. Aircraft are also essential to the ground army for reconnaissance and observation, liaison and command duties, and in the new role of sky cavalry.

The strategic and most of the tactical airlift mobility of the Army is dependent upon the Air Force. Under the roles and missions assigned to the services, the Air Force must provide the transports and troop carriers essential for strategic mobility and—except for small-scale airlift operations—the planes needed for transport and supply within the combat zone.

The Army is reorganizing its divisions into five-sided units, lighter and more mobile than the present divisions. It is tailoring its equipment, as far as possible, to be transportable by air. The new airborne division, with 5 combat or battle groups, instead of the 3 regiments of the past, is organized and equipped—unlike the World War II division—to be entirely transportable by air. It does not have to have a cumbersome "land tail."

Despite its streamlined strength of 11,486 men, the new division has at least 1,000 vehicles, including 655 of the new mechanical mules, 75 jeeps, sixty-three ¼-ton trucks, and forty 2½-ton trucks.

HONEST JOHN NUCLEAR PUNCH

The nuclear punch of this division is provided by the 762-millimeter Honest John field artillery rocket, which is scheduled to be replaced by the smaller and lighter Little John.

When this replacement is made, 713 of the Air Force's C–119 Fairchild Flying Boxcars will be required to lift simultaneously the new airborne division with all its equipment. There are not enough troop-carrier aircraft today to combat load and airlift an entire airborne division simultaneously.

Probably about one-third to one-half a division at a time could be airlifted—ready for combat—across the oceans. The Lockheed C–130, now coming into service, has a greater load capacity than the C–119 and has superior performance.

The number of C–130's required to lift the airborne division would be about half the number of C–119's. A still bigger aircraft—the Douglas C–132—could carry 50 tons about 3,500 miles at 400 miles an hour. However, it has been canceled in the economy drive.

Each of the Army's new divisions—airborne, infantry and armored—is being equipped with a considerable number of Army planes and helicopters to perform various combat functions. Any large-scale troop lift in the combat zone is still the function of the Air Force. The Air Force is also charged with providing close air support for the Army, although the Army's missiles are gradually taking over some of the air-support duties.

FIFTY-THREE ARMY CRAFTIST DIVISION

The new airborne division has 53 Army aircraft assigned. Thirty-seven are helicopters, and 16 are light, fixed-wing planes. These perform a variety of functions.

Thirty-five of the Army planes are organized in a combat aviation company. These include 10 H–34 Sikorsky helicopters, 15 H–13 Bell helicopters, and 10 L–19 Cessna fixed-wing planes.

They perform command, liaison and communications duties. Helicopters, for instance, have been used for aerial wire-laying. They provide observation both visually and photographically and adjust firing. They carry out aeromedical evacuation and limited airlift of small combat units and equipment.

The 18 other aircraft are 10 H–34's, 2 H–13's, and 6 fixed-wing L–20 De Havillands. They are organized in a reconnaissance troop. These aircraft provide the Skycav or sky cavalry elements and are intended to carry out, with modern weapons and equipment, some of the traditional functions of the cavalry of the past.

Their primary mission is reconnaissance and battlefield surveillance. But the helicopters—sometimes supplemented by attached helicopters of the Transportation Corps—could lift small units to an enemy's flanks or rear to aid in the seizure of an objective.

GROUND PLATOONS IN TROOP

The reconnaissance troop has a motorized reconnaissance platoon for ground reconnaissance and an infantry platoon that can be lifted by the helicopters into an enemy position.

Its fixed-wing aircraft have various types of novel equipment for battlefield surveillance. One of the small planes is equipped with radar; another with television; others with cameras for day and night photography. Even drones for photographic purposes are being developed.

This same sky-cavalry concept for reconnaissance, battlefield surveillance, and limited tactical transportation of patrols or small units over the battlefield, is utilized in the new infantry and armored divisions.

In the armored division a reconnaissance battalion is provided with an integral sky cavalry platoon. Experimental tactics envisage both ground and air scouting and patrolling and coordinated attacks with armor, infantry, and units landed near the objective by helicopters.

Helicopters, armed with .30-caliber machineguns and 80-millimeter. Oerlikon rockets have even been used in hovering a few feet above the earth, to provide suppression fire to help cover the assault of tanks and infantry.

New Illustrious Potentate of Shriners of North America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to note in last week's newspapers that there has been elected to the high office of imperial potentate of the Shrine of North America Mr. Thomas W. Melham, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, and for 27 years, a resident of my State.

Mr. Melham is the first member of the Tripoli Temple in Milwaukee to be selected to this honored post. He joined Tripoli Temple in 1930, was elected its potentate in 1943, and is still a member of that temple, as I, too, am proud to be.

Mr. Melham, who is now Manhattan office manager of the Prudential Life Insurance Company of America, carries with him, I know, the good wishes, not simply of the 780,000 members of the shrine, but of all Americans who appreciate the worthy role of this grand organization.

As an indication of that role, I send to the desk an article which appeared recently in Look magazine entitled "The Shriners."

The article concentrates on the finest single activity of all the splendid endeavors of this organization. I refer to its services since 1922—on behalf of 220,000 crippled children, in what the shriners call their "17 temples of baby smiles"—the famed shrine hospitals for crippled children.

The photos in that article spoke volumes, but I believe that the brief text will speak for itself, as well.

Here in Washington, D. C., in Almas Temple; in Chicago, in Medinah Temple; in Milwaukee, in Tripoli Temple, and elsewhere, the shriners are active 365 days a year in humanitarian endeavor.

What is more, they remind all Americans of the wholesomeness of life, and the pleasure—the fun—to be enjoyed in it.

I send to the desk the captions of this article as an indication of the high position to which Noble Melham has just been elected.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SHRINERS—THEY HAVE FUN FOR A GOOD CAUSE

Red fezzes with tassles flopping, elaborate hijinks, a nationally known football game and hands that stretch out quietly to help needy crippled children are the hallmarks of the colorful and paradoxical, secret Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. The 780,848 Shriners of North America are dedicated to a happy mixture of fun and charity.

Although many Americans are suspicious of secret organizations, they have come to laugh with and love the Shriners, whose best-kept secret is that they really have no secrets except in the form of their rituals. Their headgear and insignia are purely decorative.

The shrine is a part of freemasonry and only a Mason can become a Shriner. Three Presidents—Warren G. Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman—and Chief Justice Earl Warren have been among the distinguished members of the shrine during its 85-year history. Another well-known Shriner is movie potentate Cecil B. DeMille, who inspired the props and sets for the recent initiation feast of his temple (Al Malaikah, in Los Angeles).

Every candidate for shrine membership takes the charitable duties of shriendom seriously. Those elected are ready to participate in circuses, football games, and other events to raise money for shrine charities—crippled children's hospitals, Masonic old people's homes, children's homes, or Masonic hospitals. At the Al Malaikah Temple ini-

tiation (with 22,000 members, Al Malaikah is the second largest shrie temple in the country), 300 candidates were initiated. The height of their initiation ordeal came when they were required to walk barefooted through hot sands in groups of four. Since the advent of television, attendance at temple functions has decreased, but Shriners are confident that new members they are acquiring nationally will keep their temples full in the future.

THEIR REAL JEWELS ARE THE CAST-OFF BRACES AND THE CRUTCHES OF CHILDREN

Irrespective of race, creed, or color, more than 250,000 crippled children have been treated since 1922 in what the Shriners call their "17 temples of baby smiles," the hospitals for crippled children. Those who can pay may not enter; those who cannot are welcome. The annual hospital budget is met by a yearly $5 assessment paid by each Noble of the Shrine, together with funds that come from Shrine-sponsored events. Last year, $6.5 million was raised for Shrine hospitals. The Philadelphia hospital received $300,000 for operating expenses alone. Typical of the kind of case paid for by Shriners in the Quaker City is that of Ruth Pachik, 8½. Her right leg was half the length of her left. Doctors had to remove her right foot and fit her with an artificial leg. The following pictures tell her story.

HELPLESS CHILDREN ARE MADE WELL BY "WORLD'S LARGEST CHARITY"

Skeptics have referred to Shrinedom as "the playground of the Masons." There was a time before 1920 when the code of Shriners was simply, pleasure and fun. They considered themselves the humanizing agency of Masonry, seeking to keep alive in men the spirit of youth. Then, in 1920, Potentate W. Freeland Kendrick put it to Shriners that pleasure is something we take out of life, but happiness is something we share. He recommended to the 46th Imperial Council Session that the order establish a series of Shriners hospitals for crippled children. They have become what the Shriners call the "world's largest charity," and saving children like Ruth Pachik is now the heart of Shrine work. Shriners today have as their code Jesus' words, "As ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Safety Training Program of Electric Cooperatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the rural electrification program is one of the most beneficial programs for rural life, dairying, and agriculture in general that has been developed in the history of this Nation.

In my home State of Texas there are 78 electric cooperatives, with a vast network of transmission lines serving the rural areas of Texas.

One of these cooperatives, the Navarro County Electric Cooperative, has made one of the most outstanding industrial safety records in the Nation. That electric cooperative operated for 546,000 consecutive man-hours, handling high-voltage wires, without an accident.

This outstanding record was compiled under the direction and leadership of Osie Cauble, of Corsicana, a statewide leader in Texas in rural electrification.

The account of this record of the Navarro County Electric Cooperative under the leadership of Osie Cauble is interestingly told by one of the ablest Texas newswriters, Mr. Thomas Turner, of Waco, Tex., whose account appears in the Dallas Morning News of Sunday, July 21, 1957.

I ask unanimous consent that this account from the Dallas Morning News be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIQUE PROGRAM—TRAINING HELPS REDUCE ELECTRIC CO-OP MISHAPS

(By Thomas Turner)

CORSICANA, TEX.—Several weeks ago a 43-year-old truck driver suffered a somewhat unusual accident when a long length of heavy electric wire, after being cut, coiled up quickly like a snake and poked the end into the man's leg.

The man, after the first shock of the incident, came close to crying. Not at the pain but at the disappointment—his leg injury snapped one of the Nation's outstanding industrial safety records.

For 546,000 consecutive man-hours, the Navarro County Electric Co-Operative went about its dangerous work of handling high-voltage electricity without an injury that kept a worker off the job.

That's about the equivalent of a busy company going 10 straight years without a serious accident—something very few homes or companies have ever done.

The safety record was by far the best ever attained in Texas by any of the State's 78 electric co-ops. It ranked sixth among the thousands of co-ops in the Nation when it was ended by the snaky wire.

The boss of the unhappy injured truck driver, ironically, is one of the main reasons Texas' electric co-ops today have high standards of safety. Osie Cauble, a Hill County native who almost grew up on an electric pole, has been State chairman of a unique co-op safety training program for 13 years.

Cauble was instrumental in the founding of the Texas Job Training and Safety Program, a statewide organization supported mainly by the co-ops who take part. As long as 6 years ago all but 3 of the State's 78 rural co-ops joined in the safety program, and now all but 2 do.

"When I first went to work in this business, over in Hillsboro with a private power company in 1924, electric companies just handed you a book with safety rules in it and warned you what would happen if you didn't follow it," says Cauble.

"It was a good book, but there is more to safety on the job than just reading a book. It's a matter of constant education, and the biggest need in most cases is for management education. Emment is really interested in their personal safety, more than just for economic reasons. And safer workers do better work, too."

Cauble is manager of the Navaro County Co-op. It has 19 workers, 12 of them men out in the field engaged in work of hazardous nature at best and extra-dangerous in storms, darkness and such times.

Under the statewide co-op safety training program, they attend weekly safety meetings. Once a month 1 of 6 highly-trained specialists from Texas A and M College comes in for a detailed lesson on transformers, regulators, meters and the dozens of other types of equipment used in the big business of moving electricity. First-aid and artificial respiration courses are constantly kept up to date.

It's hard for the laymen to see, but saving lives in one industry saves money for them all over the long haul.

Navarro County's co-op has a sizable collection of citations and awards for its fine safety record. Cauble was surprised at the most recent State conference of the job training and safety program in Austin by the presentation of a fancy plaque praising his work in promoting safety. The safety evidence he likes most, however, is a live and active employee.

Mutual Security Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2130) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I see what the clock says, 7 o'clock; in fact, both clocks. And, I know that an amendment such as the one I offered and this second one should have been considered by the committee, and had they been in shape in time, they would have been considered and I can assure the Members of this House that they will be considered by appropriate committees in the future, should this House reject both of them. I also think that in the interim perhaps the American people will make their wishes better known to the Members of this House in regard to our treatment of dictators in Latin America, and perhaps that will help in deciding the issue the next time.

Now, this amendment simply seeks to say that we give no direct economic or military aid to countries in Latin America which the State Department determines to be governed by dictators.

The basis for the amendment is that we should not give economic or military aid to countries whose form of government we abhor unless the military necessity is clear and urgent, a condition which does not exist in Latin America. I want to make it plain that exceptions are specifically set forth, such as requests for funds for health programs, including mosquito control and international organizations. This amendment only affects economic and military aid.

I received a letter from Mr. Andrew J. Biemiller, former Member of this House, now the able legislative counsel for the CIO.

This is a letter giving official endorsement by that body to this amendment:

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations strongly supports the use of United States foreign policy to develop and nourish democratic institutions in other nations. It is clear to us, as we are sure it is clear to the Members of Congress. That this principle is negated when our country provides military economic aid to those Latin American na-

tions which are firmly in the grip of dictators. We believe that the product of our democratic institutions should not be used to shore up and perpetuate totalitarian institutions anywhere in the world.

I have a great deal of faith in the judgment of military men, but I have looked at the Defense Department report, as I hope you gentlemen have, and I see, for example, what they say about Venezuela. I call it to your attention. They say that Venezuela is "a model of the private-enterprise system which constitutes an example for the rest of the hemisphere."

I have news for the man who wrote that balderdash. Venezuela is a dictatorship, a tight police state, whose present ruler overthrew a representative regime, something that Mr. Truman at the time publicly condemned. Model of a private enterprise system indeed.

I could also tell the writer about the good American citizen who was in my office last week to tell me how he had been imprisoned for more than a week by the Venezuelan Security Police less than a month ago and had been denied the right to see American authorities. Model of private enterprise? I could refer the gentleman to what the Archbishop, the leading Catholic prelate in the country of Venezuela, that model of private enterprise, said about that government in a pastoral letter. He said:

Our country's wealth is increasing with astonishing rapidity. But no one can say that this wealth is being distributed in a way which enables all Venezuelans to share it, since a very large number of our people live in conditions that can hardly be called human.

Among the social evils condemned by Archbishop Arias are Venezuela's widespread unemployment and extremely low wage rates. He pointed out that these exist at a time when owners are growing richer and richer "at an almost dizzying speed."

Is this one of the countries we want to help? I say "No."

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oregon has expired.

"A Golden Opportunity" on Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful column from the New York Herald Tribune of July 18 by Walter Lippmann on the civil rights problem.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY
(By Walter Lippmann)

Now that civil-rights legislation is before the Senate, the crucial question is whether the leaders from the Southern States are willing to let a bill pass which is directed solely to securing and protecting the right of Negroes to vote. There have been some indications that Senator RUSSELL may be willing, after the southern minority have argued their case, to let the majority of the Senate pass such a bill. There is, also, some reason to think that Senator LYNDON JOHNSON is feeling his way toward a compromise based on limiting the substance of the bill to the single issue of suffrage in the Southern States.

By such a compromise the southerners would be making a very big concession. But they would avoid, or at least postpone for some considerable time to come, what would amount to a decisive defeat on the whole range of civil rights issues. If they resorted to a filibuster to destroy a bill amended to deal only with Federal voting, there is a very good chance, as Mr. Rowland Evans, Jr., reported in the New York Herald Tribune the other day, that they will provoke a movement to amend the rules of the Senate in order to abolish the right to filibuster.

If ever the rules are amended, the southerners will be faced with a majority in the Senate which is prepared to use the Federal power to enforce all the civil-rights laws, including that against segregation in the public schools.

The South, therefore, has much to lose by being intransigent, and it has much to gain by a concession on the right to vote.

The word "compromise" needs to be defined. A genuine compromise would be an understanding that the bill should be amended by cutting out part III, which deals with integration in the schools and other civil rights. Such an amendment would mean that the special feature of this bill—the use of injunction—would be limited to the cases where there is a denial by local election officials of the right to vote. The injunction procedure would not apply to the school problem, or to the other civil-rights problems.

It would not be a true compromise, on the other hand, to cut out part III, and then also to amend part IV to require trials by jury in all election cases. That would amount to the emasculation of the bill, and would mean that Congress was passing a bill that was not meant to be enforced. Either the Federal Government is to have power to secure and protect the right to vote or it is not to have that power. That power can be, and should be, strictly defined. But there is no half-way station between granting and not granting the power.

There may be in the making something bigger than a compromise on the bill which is now before the Senate. We may venture to hope that for the first time there exists an opportunity for something like a national settlement and understanding based on the inherent principle and implied policy of an amended bill.

The principle of the amended bill would be that the paramount civil right of an American citizen is the right to vote. If he can qualify under rules that are the same for all, the right to vote is his guaranty that he will be heard and listened to and counted.

The corollary of this principle that the right to vote is the paramount civil right is that the other civil rights are not to be enforced by the executive power of the Federal Government. They are to be brought into being by persuasion, experiment, negotiation, and by judicial process.

It would be a bright day for the country if there could be a general national understanding based on such a view of the scope and nature of Federal intervention in the problem of civil rights. There are great reputations to be made by those, be they in Congress or in the administration, who seize the opportunity which is open, and make themselves the architects of such an understanding.

The Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PERKINS BASS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an article by the senior Senator of my State, the Honorable STYLES BRIDGES, which appeared in the Hearst papers, together with a resolution passed by the House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, in tribute to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin.

The article and resolution follow:

(By United States Senator STYLES BRIDGES, Republican, of New Hampshire)

WASHINGTON, May 4.—Since Joe McCarthy came to the United States Senate after his election in 1946, Communist power has been in the ascendency. Since that time, communism has continued to expand and today it holds fast in its grip one-third of the earth's surface and imprisons almost a billion human beings. Its advance agents, moreover, are diligently at work in areas all over the still-unconquered world.

Communist forces have almost without diminution scored one victory after another. These Communist victories had been achieved not so much by direct Soviet conquest, but too often because of the weakness, the vacillation, and even acts of betrayal on the part of people in the still-free world. Joe McCarthy saw all this very clearly and in his direct fashion undertook to grapple with the forces responsible for our deterioration in his own area—Washington.

Because he never gave ground and never retreated in the face of the most devastating counterattacks, there was always dust swirling about him. History seemed to have ordained him for this very rugged role and he played it like a martyr. In so doing, he dramatized resistance to underground Communists such as it has never been dramatized before—either here in the United States or anywhere abroad. He stirred most of his countrymen for a time from the complacency that even now blankets the land. He should have earned the gratitude of the whole free world.

The Communists, however, had mapped out a campaign the purpose of which was to portray him as a symbol of resistance to Communist infiltration. They thereupon undertook a diabolical campaign to destroy the symbol. Whether they have succeeded in this, the future will tell.

Joe in the face of 7 years of unremitting assault never yielded. His spirit was a fighting one to the end. But his once powerful body, however, could not keep pace and he died—died of attrition and in battle. I hope, however, that the spirit of resistance that he sought to engender will not depart the land with him.

When history views this performance of Joe's, I am sure it will reserve for him a very high niche on its fabled walls. It has always reserved for the courageous a place of prominence, and as the legions of communism march closer to our homeland, there will be more and more people who will, like Joe, rise up and do battle.

The struggle that lies ahead for all of us will be a titanic one. It will probably take a great toll of lives—just as it has taken Joe's. But if his successors play their particular roles with the same show of courage that characterized his every action, we cannot fail to win in the end.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE DEATH OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Whereas we have learned of the passing of Joseph R. McCarthy, United States Senator from the State of Wisconsin; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy has served his country with valor and has won the respect of all who knew of him: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, do hereby pay tribute to this fearless crusader who, more than any other one person, has awakened Americans to the dangers of communism; and be it further

Resolved, That when the house adjourns today it adjourn in memory of this dearly beloved Senator; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mrs. McCarthy.

W. DOUGLAS SCAMMAN,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
JOSEPH P. ECKER,
Representative from Manchester.
GEORGE T. RAY, Jr.,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

Inflation Awareness Grows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted, I present some thoughtful comments upon the problem of inflation which appeared in last evening's Washington Star over the signature of Sylvia Porter. The specter of inflation is becoming increasingly real and important in the minds of rapidly growing numbers of people throughout the country. Miss Porter's article is a useful reminder of the seriousness of the problem and that we in Congress should be doing something about it.

INFLATION AWARENESS GROWS
(By Sylvia Porter)

A new attitude seems to be emerging—an attitude which I can't recall having sensed as strongly since the war.

It is an awareness among average folks who ordinarily don't bother to think about inflation or the constant rise in prices.

It is an awareness which is not taking just the form of a grim resignation to the trend. Rather, it is an awareness which is taking the form of an angry determination to try to force the spiral to a halt by individual action.

NATIONWIDE TRIP CITED

Maybe I'm whistling in the dark, but in the past 3 weeks I have made a wide swing around the United States. On this trip I have listened to dozens of ordinary middle-class folks blow off steam about what's happening to prices. I have received scores of letters, taken notes on many telephone calls. Surely, I can't be hearing only from the exceptions.

Here are samples of what I'm hearing:

From a minister in Ohio: "I thought you might like to know that here is one man who is getting really mad about the continuing inflationary trend of our American economy. I'm mad clear through and mostly because nobody, from President Eisenhower down, is doing anything about it.

"How do I fight inflation? Well, we have a 1953 Chevrolet station wagon which is completely paid for. To fight inflation, I am planning to drive this car until it falls apart. * * * I'm fed up with continually rising prices and I will go on my own private strike."

From an insurance salesman in upper New York State: "I never thought about this (inflation) much because I've always made money. Now I find selling insurance is harder and harder because people ask me how much their insurance will be worth 10 years from now, and I can't convince them that the $10,000 or $20,000 policy they buy will protect them as much in 1967 as in 1957. I don't believe it will myself. I'd like to do something about this. What can an average citizen do? Where is the leadership on this?"

WAGE EARNER DISCOURAGED

From a well-paid union member in northern California: "I'm paid above the minimum and I've not been complaining. But this is starting to get me down. Every time I get more money it disappears into more payments for what I have to buy. I feel like a dog chasing his tail. I might be too small to do anything on my own, but whatever I can do—from writing to Washington to boycotting firms I think are profiteering—I'm going to do."

From a housewife in Washington, D. C.: "What gets me are the little increases they think I won't notice—a dime more for this, a quarter more for that, and the money just dribbles away. We had to cut our vacation short a week because we ran out of money and it wasn't because we splurged."

Perhaps this anger will evaporate. Perhaps it's only a reaction to the wide publicity given to the fact that recently living costs have been climbing to new highs every month. Perhaps, because of my job, I hear more squawks than others.

The Public Works Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement.

May I take this opportunity to acquaint my fellow Congressmen with some of the happenings in the Public Works Committee of the House of Representatives during the past few weeks.

Only last Wednesday—July 17, 1957—the Public Works Committee reported out four major pieces of proposed legislation. These included the so-called omnibus Public Works bill; an amendment to the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933; a bill to kill the present lease-purchase agreement for the construction of Federal buildings and a return to direct appropriations for such construction, and an authorization for the construction of certain improvements in the Niagara River for power.

Two of these bills—H. R. 8643 concerning the Niagara power question and H. R. 4266 on the Tennessee Valley amendment—were railroaded through the Public Works Committee without the benefit of subcommittee action or hearings. One member of the committee, who was kind enough to grace us with his presence for this meeting, then announced that any amendments would be voted upon en bloc.

As to the merits of the two pieces of proposed legislation, I have no comments. Since committee members were not furnished with reports on the proposed projects, nor did we have the opportunity of hearing witnesses, I for one have not had enough information to pass on the merit of these two bills.

Certainly, gag-rule tactics should have no part in the operation of the Congress of the United States. And certainly projects which are going to be paid for by the taxpayers of our Nation should at least have the benefit of some study by members of the House committee before they are brought out on the floor for final vote.

There also has been disagreement in Public Works Committee sessions on the so-called omnibus bill, which contains about $1,400,000,000 of Federal funds in various rivers and harbors and flood-control projects throughout the United States.

Most of these projects are of undoubted value to the health, safety, and welfare of our Nation. But it appears that the majority members of the Public Works Committee are intentionally seeking a Presidential veto of this measure.

The bill has been jammed with a deluge of projects which have not been approved by the Chief of Army Engineers or the Bureau of the Budget. These objectional items which make up 9.2 percent of the proposed public works appropriations amount to some $133,600,000.

Last year, the President was forced to veto the omnibus bill because of the inclusion of projects which had not been adequately studied. The same situation exists again this year.

In still another action by the majority members of the committee, the present lease-purchase agreement for the construction of Federal post offices and other Government buildings has been killed in favor of the outmoded and antiquated direct appropriation method, which hasn't been used to build a post office building outside the District of Columbia since WPA days.

A return to the spoils system of direct appropriation would mean an immediate increase in the Federal budget of more than $1 billion to take care of the 141 projects now ready for construction under the present lease-purchase agreements which expired last night. Another $3 billion to $5 billion probably would have to be added to the Federal budget in the near future to provide for the 200 to 300 projects now about ready for approval.

This lesson in Government economy escapes me. The addition of billions of dollars to the Federal budget can mean only one thing—an increase in income taxes if the Federal budget is to remain in balance.

The type of political shinanigans which have been displayed by the majority members of the House Committee on Public Works are to be decried. They are in the worst interest of the Nation as a whole, and are a disgrace to the orderly legislative processes of the House of Representatives and the United States Government.

Cotton Marketing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and fact sheet from the Textile Workers Union of America:

WASHINGTON OFFICE,
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., July 19, 1957.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Enclosed herewith please find copy of a fact sheet just issued by the research department of this union dealing with the problem of raw cotton.

The primary purpose of this memorandum is to inform our own membership as to the position which the Textile Workers Union of America takes on legislation on cotton marketing now pending before both the Senate Committee on Agriculture and the House Committee on Agriculture. In view of the background and statistical data on this subject which our research director has compressed and included in this fact sheet we believe that you might find this document of some immediate interest.

A spokesman for the manufacturers of cotton textiles, in a recent appearance before the House Agriculture Committee, has taken a position very similar to that taken by the Textile Workers Union of America. The serious difficulties with which the cotton-textile industry is now confronted compel all those who earn their livelihood from or in this industry to seek immediate and adequate relief.

We earnestly bespeak your active assistance in achieving legislative action on this matter of "one-price cotton" at this session of the Congress.

Very truly yours,

JOHN W. EDELMAN,
Washington Representative.

RAW COTTON—TWUA FACT SHEET I

I. GENERAL POSITION OF THE TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

TWUA's position is that it is in the best interests of the American consumer, the cotton textile worker, the cotton textile industry, the cotton-growing industry, and the Government, that (a) a single-price system—the world price of cotton—replace the present two-price system which establishes a higher price for domestic than for foreign cotton, and (b) that farmers receive compensatory production payments equal to the difference between the market price and projected price of cotton.

II. THE PRESENT CRISIS IN RAW COTTON

The crisis was precipitated by a number of different factors:

A. The existence of a program for the sale of cotton held by the Commodity Credit Corporation on the world market at world prices, 5 to 7 cents a pound below current support prices and domestic spot market prices. The CCC will have sold about 7.7 million bales for export between August 1, 1956, and August 15, 1957, and will sell an additional 2.9 million bales for export between August 16, 1957, and August 1, 1958. As a result, the accumulated stockpile has been substantially lowered and will continue so contract.

This program was fostered not only by the low prices charged by the CCC but also by the financial help provided by Export-Import Bank loans, the International Cooperation Administration, and titles I and II of Public Law 480.

B. The cotton products export program, which compensates exporters of processed cotton goods, has resulted in the payment of $12,388,000 in differential payments in the period from August 1, 1956, through June 21, 1957, and has raised total exports slightly above previous years' levels.

The differential payment equals the difference between domestic and foreign prices of raw cotton; it is, therefore a measure of the disadvantage suffered by American cotton textile producers in competition with foreign manufacturers.

C. The current high level of raw cotton exports has helped reestablish America's position in the free world cotton market but, at the same time, it has substantially reduced the American carryover to about 11.6 million bales, 3 million bales below that of August 1, 1956. As for the new crop, it is expected that the acreage devoted to cotton will be the lowest in 80 years; upland cotton in cultivation on July 1, 1957, totaled 14¼ million acres, compared to 16.8 million on July 1, 1956. The allotment was 17.6 million acres but 3 million were placed in the acreage reserve program under the soil-bank provision. Raw cotton production in the 1957 crop year (August 1, 1957–July 31, 1958) is currently estimated at 11.3 million bales as compared with 13.3 million last year. This drop in cotton production will leave a small margin out of the current supply for exports. There is, therefore, some concern about the adequacy of the cotton supply. With output declining and exports continuing at high levels under the export subsidy programs, domestic cotton prices may tend to rise and thereby place the domestic textile industry under a greater competitive disadvantage.

D. The relative position of cotton in total fiber consumption in the United States has been constantly dropping, with its share being diverted to synthetic fibers. This trend has recently aroused the concern of the manufacturers and the raw cotton interests who see a need for lowering cotton prices to meet this competition.

E. The cotton middlemen (particularly the brokers, merchants, and ginners, compressors, shippers, and warehousemen) have begun to complain that, with so much cotton bought and handled by the Government, especially in the case of exports, they are losing out on the business.

F. Raw cotton cultivation costs have dropped measurably because of the mechanization of many processes, increased use of irrigated lands and of fertilizers, and the growth in the size of farms. Many farmers, particularly the big ones, are able to make substantial profits at much lower prices than the support level and even the world price.

G. The rising cost of living has made the public more sensitive to the cost of the support program and there has been considerable concern about high prices. Those doubting the value of these programs have become more articulate as the present price-support program with its acreage limitation and soil-bank-payment provisions has not solved the farm problem. Scandalous practices and irrational payments are being uncovered.

H. The present administration has been unfriendly to the high price-support programs, preferring flexible price supports. With the failure of the soil-bank program, it has renewed its interest in flexible-price programs with the hope of moving toward a completely free price market.

I. These developments are worrying the agricultural groups who are concerned lest the price-support programs lose out under the impact of the economy wave. They have, therefore, become more sympathetic to the idea of such compensatory production payments as the program in effect in the wool-growing industry.

J. Local merchants oppose the soil-bank program, because the soil retirement, though maintaining the farmers' income, has reduced local business.

III. ALTERNATIVE POSITIONS

A number of plans which seek to meet the present cotton crisis have been proposed in Congress.

A. Continuance of the current plan. Under this program, national acreage allotment will continue; under the sliding provisions, the support price of 77 percent of parity (32.74 cents) may be raised to about 85 percent of parity.

B. Free market prices with no compensatory payments. The administration would prefer to support prices at a level which would eliminate all surplus (about 24 cents a pound) and maintain current marketing quotas. Farmers would not be paid any compensatory payments.

C. Lower support prices and more acreage. One bill (S. 2273), sponsored by the Farm Bureau, would give farmers a choice between the current program and a plan for 75 percent support prices with a 20 percent rise in acreage allotment.

D. Loans and compliance payments. The Poage bill (H. R. 877) provides for loans at 75 percent of parity plus compliance payments up to 90 percent of parity with a limit on payments to a single farmer of $10,000.

E. Two-price system. H. R. 7816 would give farmers 90 percent of parity on their share of the domestic market and the world price for export. The domestic market quota would be limited to seven-tenths of the present acreage allotment.

F. Two-price system plus processing tax. H. R. 7836 would provide producers full parity of income (36 to 48 cents a pound) on domestic allotment, equalling two-thirds of present allotments, and world price for exported cotton, with financing provided by a tax on all processors of cotton and synthetics.

IV. TEXTILE WORKERS UNION POSITION: WORLD PRICE PLUS COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS TO FARMERS

TWUA believes that the present situation is intolerable from the point of view of the textile worker, the textile industry, and the consumer. We are in favor of protecting the farmer but believe that the present approach will, in the long run, provide no solution to the cotton problem. Maintenance of the current high cost of cotton will only discourage expansion of cotton usage and thereby aggravate the problems of surplus accumulation. The wide gap between foreign and domestic prices makes the domestic textile industry vulnerable to outside competition. With the Federal Government unwilling to provide direct controls on imports, the cotton-price program will lead to the strangulation of the domestic textile industry.

We therefore propose the following program:

A. A single price, determined on the open market, for raw cotton, to equalize domestic and world prices.

B. Compensatory production payments to farmers, equal to the difference between the price received and the support price for that portion of the crop used for domestic consumption or that produced under a defined marketing program.

C. Maximum production payments of $10,000 to any single enterprise; under present price-support levels, this would mean payments for approximately 400 bales.

D. We have also proposed that, pending the adoption of this program, support be given to the Smith bill (S. 314)—and identical bills introduced by Congressman COFFIN (H. R. 7446), COOLEY (H. R. 8155), MCINTIRE (H. R. 7054) and HALE (H. R. 7032)—which would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make available to American tex-

tile manufacturers of cotton products for export the "surplus cotton owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation at such prices as the Secretary determines will allow the United States cotton textile industry to regain the level of exports of cotton products maintained by it during the period 1947 through 1952" and to meet competition from foreign imports.

We see the following advantages to the various affected interests under this program:

A. Textile worker: Lower prices for cotton would permit the industry to push the product into new uses and to expand markets. A 20-percent or 25-percent reduction in raw cotton costs would also permit an increase in wages, since labor costs on medium count fabrics represent about 40 percent of the current raw material cost.

B. Consumer: Prices of cotton products would be substantially reduced at a time when all other prices are being increased.

C. Cotton farmer: His interests would be safeguarded, since he would be compensated directly for the cotton he produces under the protected program. The limitation on payments to any one farmer would insure the protection which the family farmer needs. The large mechanized farmer, already producing cotton at costs below the world price, is making money thereon. The industry would be able to hold its world markets.

D. The Government: It would be freed from all the responsibilities of cotton purchase and marketing, and be able to disband its complicated administrative structures. There would be a saving in actual outlays by the Government, depending on the plan, variously estimated as running up to $100 million a year.

Farm Economy Muddle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, Senator W. KERR SCOTT, of North Carolina, is recognized throughout the Nation as one who understands the problems of the farmer. His recent Washington report has again brought to the attention of the people of North Carolina the weaknesses of our present agricultural program. The Gastonia (N. C.) Gazette on July 20, 1957, in an editorial, reiterated Senator SCOTT's views.

I commend the contents of this editorial to the Members of the Congress as being worthy of their perusal and earnest consideration:

FARM ECONOMY MUDDLE

Senator W. KERR SCOTT, of North Carolina, in his current Washington report, has some rather disturbing things to say about the condition of our farm-economy program.

We quote Senator SCOTT:

"Every year, it seems that our farm economy faces tougher and more difficult decisions than the year before.

"This is generally true for all segments of the farm economy, and it seems particularly true for cotton and tobacco, which are the main money crops in North Carolina.

"Next year, for example, both these commodities are facing the most crucial test in Congress in the past 20 years.

"Secretary Benson has served notice that he will seek authority to set price-support levels anywhere he pleases between zero and 90 percent of parity.

"There is a good chance that his efforts to throw tobacco in with the rest of the farm commodities so far as price supports are concerned will be defeated. Everyone agrees that tobacco is a unique product and must be treated as such, but most anything can happen when catch-all legislation is put before Congress.

"Cotton, however, is a different story. This commodity must walk a tight rope between foreign competition on the one hand and competition at home from synthetic fibers on the other.

"Many people feel that the present formula under which cotton operates is unrealistic and should be changed.

"The Farm Bureau, for example, has recommended that the 1958 crop be supported at 75 percent of parity, which translates into price supports per pound at about the same figure the 1957 crop is supported. Unless some changes are made in the present law, price supports on cotton will inch up a few cents per pound next year under the flexible price-support program.

"Most everyone agrees that a matter of a very few cents per pound means the difference between the use of cotton or synthetics in many fabrics. Price trends show that cotton must stay at about the present market price to compete successfully with synthetics.

"Taking a different approach from the Farm Bureau is quite a large segment of producers and cotton manufacturers who feel that farmers should be allowed to plant all the cotton they desire and let only that portion of their total production that goes into domestic manufacture be supported by the Government.

"This is the twice-price approach. That is, farmers would receive 90 percent of parity for that part of their crop that is used in the United States. The cotton would be sold on the market at competitive market prices, and farmers would receive a direct subsidy from the Government between the market price and 90 percent of parity. On the remainder of their crop, there would be no subsidy or price support.

"This would certainly put cotton on a competitive basis with both synthetics and foreign production.

"At the same time, it would enable American textile manufacturers to more effectively compete with imports in this country and in overseas markets alike.

"There are some dangers, however, in the two-price approach as it would apply to cotton. Among other things, it would be hard to tell where the market price would go under conditions where there are no price supports. That is, there is no way of knowing how low the producers of synthetic fibers would be willing to push their products to compete with cheaper cotton. It could well be that the larger synthetic manufacturers would deliberately lose money on their production for 2 or 3 years in the hope of increasing the subsidy to cotton to the point where Congress would refuse to appropriate money for that purpose.

"Which brings us to the really basic danger of any two-price plan for farm products. There is no way of knowing when Congress may snap its fingers and say this is the end. There will be no more money to subsidize this crop or that. If that danger can be avoided, it will greatly improve the chances of two-price plans in Congress next year.

"I have always felt that it would be a good idea to give two-price plans a chance and see what they would do. Basically, it is a good approach, and I would certainly like to see it tried if the kinks can be worked out.

"But even then, there is another danger. To except what he has recommended himself, Secretary Benson has said a flat 'No.' Which means trouble for any program he refuses to go along with."

A Longtime View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article from the June issue of the Michigan Courthouse Review, by Elwood M. Brake, entitled "A Longtime View":

A LONGTIME VIEW

(By Elwood M. Brake, county school superintendent of Ionia County, and dean of the county superintendents of the State)

I was elected county commissioner of schools for Ionia County in 1923. I served 24 years in this elective political office and by July 1, will have served 10 years as an employee of the county board of education in the capacity of county superintendent of schools. This combined service is longer than that of any county superintendent serving in Michigan at the present time. I have recently signed a new 3 year contract.

During the time I have been in office, school enrollment has increased more than 50 percent, though the number of school districts has decreased from 141 to about 80. Annexation will continue until there are but 10 or 12 districts. It is unfortunate that Michigan copied after the Eastern States and divided into so many districts. The Florida system with only one board of education and one superintendent in the county is capable of giving all schools in the county equal services and the tax rate is the same to all. However, Michigan is evolving into a system of community school districts, most of which will eventually offer a 12-grade program.

The county office will be the intermediate office between the State school office and the local community district. It will provide those services on a countrywide basis, which districts of less than 10,000 cannot afford to provide locally, but which their citizens will demand. I refer to such services as supervision of instruction, providing speech correctionists, homebound instruction for those physically unable to attend school, classrooms for mentally and physically handicapped and health programs including such preventive programs as the fluoride program to prevent tooth decay.

Administrative services will include (1) tax allocation and administration, (2) financial accounting and auditing, (3) administration of the tuition provision of the State School Aid Act, (4) administration of the school transportation code, (5) teacher certification code, (6) administrating national school lunch and special milk program, and (7) administration of the Federal commodities distribution program.

It is my opinion that only office and traveling expense should be provided from the county budget and that all other funds should come from State school aid. State school aid should go only to local districts and to the county district. All services should be rendered by one or the other. Thorough study indicates one-half of 1 percent of the State school aid should go to county districts to provide those services not possible on a local level.

I feel that the county school office is much more important to all the people in large districts, as well as small, than at the time I was first elected. It will continue to grow in importance as it better serves the needs of our future citizens.

Everybody Can Help Lick Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 26, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, of course the basic cause of inflation is Government spending, but we cannot lick Government spending unless the people of the United States are back of us.

Our colleague, the Honorable CRAIG HOSMER, of California, wrote an outstanding article recently, which resulted in the able editorial in the Long Beach Press-Telegram, which is herewith quoted:

One of the best statements we have read on the nature, causes, and cures of ruinous inflation appears in the July edition of the magazine National Republic.

The author, Representative CRAIG HOSMER, of California's 18th Congressional District, which includes Long Beach and Lakewood.

His constituents should be proud, for the article demonstrates his incisive understanding of a complex subject, and thus reflects the good judgment the district has shown in reelecting him.

But his comments are more than an intellectual exercise. They contain candid, practical advice on how officials and public alike can help bring to an end a vicious spiral of events that threatens the country's well being.

To many persons this threat is very real right now, and has been for some time. The article, herewith digested, observes:

"The aged living in retirement, teachers, Government workers, and others on relatively fixed incomes have long felt the squeeze of prices spiraling beyond incomes. * * * It takes $4.65 today to buy what $4 did 10 years ago. During 1956 wages in California rose by an average of 6.7 percent; but two-thirds of the increase was canceled by rising prices. Only one-third went into increased purchasing power; two-thirds was taxed away by inflation. To the person whose wages did not rise, or who lives on a fixed income, the year meant a net loss in purchasing power."

This unfortunate condition, HOSMER points out, is rooted in the fact that since World War II the increasing private and public demands for goods has aggregated more than could be produced. Supply and demand have been out of balance. Thus:

"After all, 100 percent of supply is all there is, and when the grand total of all the demands add up to 110 percent, prices are bound to rise until supply and demand are brought into equilibrim. This balance must be brought about speedily before inflationary pressures wreck our economy and bring disaster to all. It means doing something to expand our productive capacity faster, and also doing something to put the brakes on demand while accomplishing it."

How do you expand productive capacity? Mainly by improving the facilities for production, and that requires investment money.

"High corporate income taxes have siphoned away large amounts of earning that otherwise would be reinvested. High individual income taxes, which have caused many a TV quiz contestants to stop short of the top prize because the tax bite makes the risk foolish, also discourages investors from risking their money for a disproportionately small return after taxes."

So the solution is to reshape tax policies to provide greater incentive for business. But how about the little guy? Isn't that leaving him out?

"Such tax changes are not a matter of lowering taxes on 'big business and the rich' while 'the poor' get no relief. Saying so is good demagoguery, but poor economics. Tax revision is a common-sense matter of doing what is needed in a free enterprise economy to eliminate the burdenss of inflation and the threat of unemployment, both of which are far more disastrous to 'the poor' than to any other economic category."

As for putting the brakes on demand, that brings up a topic much on the front pages for the past 6 months; economy in government. Government? That means all of us.

This, we believe, is the most significant passage of the entire article, the one whose truth touches home:

"Government can cut spending only in response to a common decision of the citizenry that its highest welfare lies in forgoing desirable but not essential expenses of government until the inflation problem is licked.

"Present dim prospects for this Spartan decision exemplify the vital need for a more realistic public understanding of the consequences of not making it. A wholesale constriction of government spending is involved and even the most ardent advocates of public economy usually want it accomplished by sacrificing somebody else's pet program."

Mr. HOSMER's prescription for bringing inflation under control plainly contains a very bitter ingredient—sacrifice.

Almost everybody agrees with the prescription, of course.

But how many of us are willing to take the medicine?

The Late Honorable James B. Bowler

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK CHELF
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our colleague and friend the Honorable JAMES BOWLER, of Illinois, has saddened us all. "Mr. JIM," as I used to call him, was a conscientious, sincere, industrious, dedicated representative of the people of his great congressional district and of the entire Nation. For several years our offices were just across the hall on the fourth floor of the Old House Office Building and because of this close location of our respective workshops, we just quite naturally became close friends.

Although "Mr. JIM" was a man of advanced years—one would never know it because he had the energy and drive of a man at least 25 years younger. There was no problem of his constituents that was to small for "Mr. JIM" to carefully study and to lend a helping hand.

His sage advice, his kindness, his humor, his ability, his friendliness, were all marks of his sterling character.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the Master has prepared a fine resting place for "Mr. JIM" in that great mansion on high. May God bless and keep his loved ones—always.

Golden Jubilee of Rt. Rev. Msgr. Peter Abouzeid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I bring to the attention of the House the heartfelt tribute that was paid to the Right Reverend Archimandrite Peter Abouzeid, B. S., on the golden jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood.

Monsignor Abouzeid is the pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Lawrence, Mass., which is the mother church of the Melkites in America.

As a spiritual leader, Monsignor Abouzeid has few equals.

His accomplishments are truly remarkable.

All who have the pleasure of meeting him are impressed by his zeal, his devotion, and his saving grace of humor.

We who live in Greater Lawrence are very proud of him because he possesses the great human qualities that mark a true priest of God.

In his honor, therefore, I submit the jubilee program that was celebrated on Sunday, June 23, 1957, and the biography of Monsignor Abouzeid:

PARISH COMMITTEE FOR THE GOLDEN JUBILEE

General chairman: attorney Wilbur A. Hyatt.

Cochairmen: George A. Hajjar and Edward Kfoury.

Secretary: Albert G. Peters.

Financial chairmen: Michael Sabbagh and James Hajjar.

Arrangements chairman: attorney Michael J. Batal.

Religious cochairmen: Rev. Nicholas Abraham, B. S., and Rev. Lucien Maloof, B. S.

Church decorations chairmen: Irene Korbey, Eleanor Haffar, Georgette Nahil, and Rose Sabbagh.

Choir cochairmen: Rev. Nicholas Abraham, B. S., Claire Hajjar, Magda Stephanou, and Nesta Saba.

Auditorium chairman: Joseph Aziz.

Reception cochairmen: Dr. John T. Batal and Zahia Hajjar.

Program cochairmen: Doris Hajjar, Sam Saba, John Korbey.

Program committee: Phyllis Hassey, Mrs. Said Solomon, Mrs. Sam Saba, Mrs. Richard Morway, Mrs. Claire Hajjar.

Ticket cochairmen: Charles Morris, Virginia Aziz.

Ticket committee: Jessie Morris, Josephine Nahil, Dora Ann Hikel, Carol Williams, Edward Hikel, Jr., Jenna Aziz, Ted Shiepe, Claire Hajjar.

Publicity cochairmen: Edward Hikel, Jr., Brenda A. Finn.

Invitations cochairmen: Rosalie Habeeb and Jennie Nassar.

Invitations committee: Anna Shiepe, Eveleyn Hajjar, Emily Hassy, Viola Hassy, Angie Morway, Delia Hajjar.

JUBILEE PROGRAM, GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF ARCHIMANDRITE PETER ABOUZEID, B. S., SUNDAY, JUNE 23, 1957

11 a. m., Solemn Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Archimandrite Peter Abouzeid, B. S., celebrating, His Excellency Archbishop Cushing, presiding and preaching.

Cocelebrants: Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Nicholas Borkhoche, B. S., of Boston; Rt. Rev. Justin Najamy, D. D., Central Falls, R. I.; Rev. Theophilos Atala, B. S., Montreal, Canada; Very Rev. John Jadaa, B. S., St. Basil's Seminary; Rev. Emile Sharanevych, Salem, Mass.

Master of ceremonies: Rev. Lucien Maloof, B. S., St. Basil's Seminary.

Choir master: Rev. Nicholas Abraham, B. S., St. Basil's Seminary. Assisted by: Mrs. Claire Hajjar and Mrs. Madeleine Stephanou.

Organists: Nesta Saba and Lorraine Hassey.

1:30 p. m., Jubilee banquet at Central Catholic Auditorium.

Invocation: The Most Reverend Jeremiah F. Minihan, D. D., V. F. LLB., auxiliary bishop of Boston.

American national anthem: Theodore Shiepe.

Lebanese national anthem: Rev. Nicholas Abraham, B. S.

General chairman: Attorney Wilbur A. Hyatt.

Cochairman: George A. Hajjar and Edward Kfoury.

Toastmaster: Attorney Michael J. Batal.

Speakers: Mayor John J. Buckley; Congressman Thomas J. Lane; Mr. George A. Hajjar; Cor-Bishop Joseph David; Msgr. Francis M. Juras, pastor, St. Francis Church, Lawrence; Hon. John E. Fenton, judge of the land court; His Excellency Most Rev. Jeremiah Minihan, D. D., V. F. LLB.; His Excellency Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, D. D., LL. D., archbishop of Boston; Very Rev. Archimandrite Peter Abouzeid, B. S., Jubilarian.

Polikhronion (Long Live the Archbishop).

OUR HONORED JUBILARIAN, RT. REV. ARCHIMANDRITE PETER ABOUZEID, B. S.

It is customary to refer to golden jubilarians in the priesthood as venerable. Although well entitled to be held in veneration because of what he stands for and because of what he is and has been to us in St. Joseph's Parish, it is hard to think of Monsignor Abouzeid as being venerable. His youthful appearance and his energetic administration of our parish make it difficult for us to realize that he is now completing 50 years in the sacred priesthood.

The beloved spiritual father whom we now honor was born in the city of Zahle, Lebanon, June 25, 1885. He received in holy baptism the name Joseph. His early education included studies as the Jesuit School and the diocesan schools of his native city at a time when the illustrious and far-sighted Gregory II Yussef still occupied the patriarchal throne.

Fifty-six years ago, in 1901, our jubilarian entered the Basilian Order of the Most Holy Saviour at the Motherhouse near Saida, Lebanon. He received the name Raphael in the novitiate. Two years later, he pronounced his simple vows. In January 1907 he was admitted to solemn vows. On April 14, 1907, the event we now solemnly commemorate—his ordination to the sacred priesthood—occurred with His Excellency the Most Reverend Basil Hajjar, D. D., bishop of Saida, officiating as the ordaining prelate.

As a Basilian Salvatorian Father, our good pastor became known as Father Peter. In the early days of his priesthood, he exercised the sacred ministry in various parishes to aid the local bishops and clergy, working under the direction of Bishop Clement Malouf of Cesarea di Filippo and Bishop Basil Hajjar of Saida. Later he was assigned to teach in the diocesan schools of Zahle where he himself had once been a student. During this period, Father Peter worked under and became well acquainted with the then bishop of Zahle, Monsignor Cyril Mogabgab, who was destined to reign as patriarch under the title Cyril IX.

In 1912, our jubilarian received permission from his superior general and from his patriarch to visit his father in New Zealand. His travels to and from New Zealand took him through Egypt, Palestine, India, and Australia. While in New Zealand, he visited Melkite colonies in Wellington, Auckland, and Christchurch and exercised the priestly ministry among these people with the permission and hearty encouragement of Archbishop Redwood of Wellington, Bishop William Cleary of Auckland, and Bishop John Grimes of Christchurch.

Upon the return from New Zealand, where his missionary labors among the Melkites were much appreciated, Father Peter was apointed vicor general of the Diocese of St. John of Acre in Palestine and superior of the Basilan Salvatorian Fathers working in that diocese. There he labored for nearly 2 years in close collaoration with Bishop Gregory Hajjar, B. S.

Toward the end of 1914, Father Peter returned to the Monastery of the Most Holy Savior. During the next 6 years, he devoted all his time to study and writing, translating from French to Arabic some meditations on A Happy Death, and a volume entitled "Chastity," addressed especially to teen-agers and young adults. At this time, too, he commenced the monumental task of compiling the first concordance to the Bible in Arabic, work of some 1,200 pages which he published somewhat later.

On September 10, 1920, Father Peter was assigned to parochial work at St. Joseph's in Lawrence. At Christmastime that year, he was welcomed here as an assistant to the then pastor, Msgr. Basil Nahas, B. S. Since then, except for the 8-year period of his pastorate in Boston, Father Peter has been in our midst counseling, directing, and encouraging us. He is the founder of all the St. Joseph's Parish societies now in existence and he continues to be their inspiration.

A few months after Father Peter's arrival here in Lawrence, we were honored by the visit of His Excellency the Most Reverend Maximos Saigh, M. S. P., archbishop of Tyre, who now reigns gloriously as Maximos IV, patriarch of Antioch and all the east, of Alexandria and Jerusalem. Father Peter was chosen to serve as secretary to the archbishop during his tour of eastern United States and Canada.

From the very beginning of his life in the United States, Father Peter was active in ministering to the scattered Melkites in Springfield, Fall River, and Manchester, N. H. He visited these cities regularly, in addition to attending to his duties as an assistant to Archimantrite Basil Nahas at St. Joseph's here in Lawrence. Also, Father Peter was selected to preach missions to Melkite congregations in New York, Fall River, Mass., Ohio, and in Canada. His work among the Melkites of the diocese of Manchester is especially worthy of note, encompassing as it did some 30 years during which he served under 3 bishops. At present, the Manchester mission is staffed by the fathers from St. Basil's Seminary in Methuen.

Upon the return of Monsignor Nahas to the mother house of the Basilian Salvatorian fathers in Lebanon, Father Peter was promoted to the pastorate of St. Joseph's. Two years later, in 1925. His Eminence the late Cardinal O'Connell assigned Father Peter to be parish priest of the Church of our Lady of the Annunciation in Boston. An account of our jubilarian's discharge of this important assignment appears elsewhere in this book.

In 1933 we at St. Joseph's had the happiness of welcoming Monsignor Abouzeid back to Lawrence as pastor. While in Boston he had been advanced to prelatial rank and given the title of Archimandrite by Bishop Athanasius Khoriaty, of Saida, and also by the then reigning patriarch (1927), his beatitude, Cyril IX Mogabgab, whom he had served well during the latter's tenure as Bishop of Zahle.

Since his return to St. Joseph's 24 years ago, Monsignor Abouzeid has worked diligently for the welfare of the parish. Despite many duties outside the parish, including a term as provincial superior of the Basilian Salvatorian fathers in the United States, and his work in connection with the founding of St. Basil's Seminary in Methuen, he has breathed new life into the parish societies.

The obvious material result of Monsignor Abouzeid's labors among us is our beautiful Byzantine-style St. Joseph's Church, dedicated less than 5 years ago. This sacred edifice is a fitting temple of the Most High God modernly equipped and tastefully decorated. It affords us a proper setting for the celebration of our beautiful Byzantine liturgy and for the other ceremonies of our Melkite rite. Truly, it is one of the crowning achievements of monsignor's 50 years of priesthood, especially when one considers the number and the variety of the difficulties he faced during the long preparation and construction periods.

Yet it is not the church itself, beautiful as it is, that we are proudest of. It is monsignor himself whose effectiveness as a spiritual leader and as a wise counselor is well known to us. He has impressed upon us the truths of our holy religion in kindly though firm fashion so that we are today better Catholics, better Melkites and better Americans than before his coming. By his prayerful intercession before the throne of God, by his preaching, by his zealous labors for us, and by his good example, he has led us gently to the feet of Christ. In this way, he has rekindled and kept aflame our love for God and the church, our special attachment to our Melkite traditions, and our love for the United States of America. Without this firm spiritual basis for the material advancement of the parish, the beautiful new St. Joseph's Church could not have become the wondrous reality that it is. With grateful hearts we salute our dear archimandrite and pastor on this his golden jubilee and wish him long life and true happiness.

Dangerous Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Greenville News, Greenville, S. C.:

DANGEROUS POWER

The President rather strongly denies he would ever send troops into any community to enforce a court order. He says he can't imagine a set of circumstances that would call for such action.

Senator JAVITS, liberal New York Republican, describes as "hobgoblin" fears the objections of the opposition to portions of the civil-rights bill and suggests that the southerners should have faith in Presidential and judicial restraint.

Why should we have any such faith? Maybe we could trust Mr. Eisenhower to forego the bayonet and the concentration camp, but how can we be sure his successors will?

The late President Roosevelt violated the Neutrality Act when, in 1940, he shipped a vast store of arms and ammunition to Great Britain. Perhaps he was right and did only

what should have been done, but he broke the law and went against the advice of many of those around him.

President Truman broke the law when he attempted to seize the steel industry to end a strike by giving the unions what they wanted.

Are these "hobgoblins"?

As for judicial restraint, recent history is so vivid and so bitter that the topic needs no discussion.

Both the President and Senator JAVITS appear to be arguing that the authority in question would never be used. To that extent they are agreeing with the Southern position that it not only isn't needed, but is dangerous.

Then why insist that it be in the law?

Veto Predicted Again for Flood-Control Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by William F. Pyper and appearing in the Flint, Mich., Journal of July 11, 1957:

VETO PREDICTED AGAIN FOR FLOOD-CONTROL BILL

(By William F. Pyper)

WASHINGTON.—Democratic as well as Republican sources in the House are predicting a veto if and when Congress passes the omnibus public works bill which contains a $16,085,000 Saginaw Valley flood control and conversation project.

The $1,450,000,000 bill is up for a final vote of the House Committee on Public Works, and may be reported out before nightfall. The House committee has cut nearly $100 million off the Senate version, but it still contains a large number of projects which lack approval of the chief of Army Engineers or the Director of the Budget or both.

It was lack of such approval for a number of projects which led President Eisenhower to veto a similar bill last year—just ahead of an election.

Republicans on the House Public Works Committee have been suggesting for weeks that the same thing might happen this year.

The Republicans blame the Democrats for loading the measure with objectionable projects. Michigan's representative on the committee, Republican WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD of Royal Oak, has been particularly active in objecting to such projects, especially when the Democrats used proxies to insert the amendments.

Now comes a Democrat high up in the councils of his party in the House who is frank to say that the unapproved projects again jeopardize the public works authorizations for another year.

"He couldn't possibly sign this one after having vetoed the one last year," said the Democrat who preferred to remain anonymous.

The bill goes to the Committee on Rules which normally would provide a rule under which the measure could be considered on the floor of the House. In view of the circumstances, there is some doubt about such a rule.

If the bill does reach the floor, Republicans will repeat their efforts to eliminate the objectionable projects as well as efforts to cut the amounts authorized. They have little hope, however.

"If any changes are made on the floor, they'll make the bill worse," according to the Democratic source. "There isn't a chance we'll get a bill that the President can sign this year."

The House amendments would require that the bill go back to the Senate where it originated. The Senate might agree to the amendments or send the measure into a conference committee to iron out differences between the two Chambers. With the civil-rights filibuster underway, Senate action on anything is extremely doubtful at this moment.

Michigan has a considerable interest in the bill, as it did last year. Involved besides the Saginaw Valley project, are the $5,358,000 Kalamazoo River flood-control project at Kalamazoo, a $9,825,000 Grand River flood-control authorization and some smaller river and harbor projects which are said to be vital.

Deep Freeze Treatment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an interesting editorial which appeared in the Lawrence, Mass., Sunday Sun on July 21, 1957:

DEEP FREEZE TREATMENT

Barring a last-minute surge of unexpected activity, the first session of the 85th Congress will adjourn with a shameful record of inaction on the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Grassroots pressure for thrift in government was unprecedented during most of the session. Despite this citizen-mandate, the congressional committees that must initiate the action needed to put the Commission's legislative proposals into effect haven't even bothered to hold hearings on 80 percent of the more than 170 pending bills.

Instead, for a variety of reasons ranging from lack of political courage to belief in paternalistic government, the economy drive has been restricted to nibbling at appropriation requests.

This approach ignored the plainest of facts—that it is impossible to cut the cost of Government significantly unless the size and scope of Federal activity is reduced.

The task forces of the second Hoover Commission not only documented the accuracy of this age-old truth but pointed out literally hundreds of ways and places to reduce the size and cost of Government without impairing the national security or eliminating truly essential Federal programs or services.

A special United States Chamber of Commerce analysis and comparison of the 1958 budget and the Hoover Commission proposals identified 24 places where the adoption of specific recommendations would make possible a cut of at least $1 billion.

Instead of leaping at this magnificent opportunity, the 85th Congress has virtually ignored it. Worse yet, it has taken at least a dozen actions that are in direct conflict with the Commission proposals.

With over 6 months of the session already gone, Congress has sent only 2 minor Hoover Commission bills to the White House.

The Hoover group completed its painstaking audit on June 30, 1955. The plausible alibi for congressional inaction that year was: "We got the recommendations too late in the session and must study them."

In 1956, some 32 laws implementing 39 relatively minor recommendations were enacted. But the major dollar-saving proposals were ignored because they were "too controversial to take up in a presidential election year. Wait till next year. The results of our studies will be in and it's a nonelection year, and real headway can be expected."

This—1957—is that "next year" and the record of apathy and indifference speaks for itself.

An examination of the legislative history of the law that established the second Hoover Commission reveals that it had unanimous bipartisan House and Senate support.

That law declared it to be the policy of Congress "to promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public business."

It directed the Commission to examine the wisdom of the policies of Government, as well as the appropriateness of its structure, and to submit to Congress its recommendations regarding any changes that are necessary to achieve the above policy objectives.

The Commission completed its assignment 2 years ago and immediately won bipartisan applause.

But Congress has failed flagrantly to recognize and discharge its moral obligation to evaluate the Commission's proposals; to translate those having merit into dollar savings and thereby expedite the achievement of long-overdue debt and tax reductions.

The great danger of the prevailing congressional attitude does not lie in the possibility that the Commission's proposals will go down the drain. The real danger is that no review of Government—such as that made by the Hoover Commission—will again be made. The size and difficulty of Government operation make such periodic reviews imperative.

Hon. James B. Bowler

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I join with his many friends and distinguished colleagues in mourning the death of JAMES BOWLER, our respected colleague from Illinois. To his wife, I extend my deep personal sympathy in her great loss.

We know she will take comfort in the admiration expressed in this House by the many Members who came to know JIM BOWLER during his service among us. His long and distinguished career in public service will be a continuing source of inspiration just as his wealth of experience in public administration contributed to our work in the Congress.

His friendly manner was missed during the period of his illness. His love for the House of Representatives was demonstrated by his faithful attendance

and his careful attention to the legislation before the Congress.

Those of us who knew him respected his judgment and valued him as a friend.

Jury Trial Is Still the Best System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Greenville News Greenville, S. C., on Monday, July 22, 1957. The editorial follows:

JURY TRIAL IS STILL THE BEST SYSTEM

One of the primary objects of the proposed civil-rights bills is to move Federal civil-rights cases from the criminal side of the court, where juries must judge the facts, to the equity side, where judges may convict and punish without a jury trial persons accused of violating injunctions forbidding them to tamper with the rights of others.

Proponents of the bills justify their position by the charge that, out of prejudice, southern juries will not convict officials or plain citizens accused of civil-rights violations.

They point to the failure of a Mississippi jury to convict on purely circumstantial evidence two white men charged with murder in the death of a Chicago Negro youth and to the refusal of a South Carolina grand jury to indict five men charged with a nocturnal flogging.

They are awaiting the verdict of the Federal jury in Knoxville, which soon will decide the fate of 11 or so persons accused of violating a sweeping Federal injunction having to do with integrating the public schools of Clinton, Tenn.

We do not believe in going behind the verdict of a jury. But since these people have chosen to do so in other cases, they might well consider the action of the jury which on last Friday acquitted teamsters union official James R. Hoffa of charges of conspiring and bribing to plant a spy within the Senate subcommittee investigating union rackets.

Robert Kennedy, chief counsel of the subcommittee which originated the case, remarked beforehand that he would jump off the Capitol dome if Hoffa were acquitted. The Government prosecutor thought Hoffa had been caught with the goods on him and expressed surprise at the verdict.

The jury was drawn not from the often questioned South, but from the District of Columbia, the National Capital. It consisted of 8 Negroes and 4 whites. Joe Louis, Negro ex-heavyweight boxing champion, sat in a conspicuous place in the courtroom for a day and a half and told newsmen he was there to see what was happening to my good friend, Mr. Hoffa.

The jury considered the facts and reached a verdict. Unless evidence is produced to show that it was tampered with, that ends the case and it's good enough for us. No man should be forced by his Government to stand trial, and risk loss of life, freedom or property, except before a jury.

But if, as the proponents of civil-rights legislation imply, there is something wrong with the jury system, something should be done about it, and the District of Columbia is a good place to start.

Historical Key West, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, an article appearing in the July 1, 1957, edition of the National Airlines Star Reporter, written by Mike Silver, very accurately portrays the historical island city of Key West, Fla.

Nowhere else in the United States is there to be found such a unique community. It is replete with all the advantages of a vacation and business community. The huge naval installations at Key West and Boca Chica play a vital part in our national-defense system. Nowhere else in the world can there be found the quality of fishing opportunities that are readily available year round to tourist and resident alike.

The residents of Key West are proud of their community, and justly so. They welcome the opportunity to explain the origin and history of Key West and to extend a friendly greeting to the tourists.

I encourage all of my colleagues, both in the Senate and House, to follow the footsteps of some of our Presidents and explore the salubrious climate of this island city.

Mr. Silver's article follows:

KEY WEST VIA NATIONAL

(By Mike Silver)

He was a distinguished-looking executive from New York and, out of sixty-odd passengers aboard 405, I picked him to sit beside. As I was seating myself, he opened his briefcase and began working feverishly on the various papers in it.

We were airborne before I asked him why he had taken a window seat if he was so engrossed in his work. He gave me a startled look and, recovering his composure, told me, rather pointedly, "Look, son, I have been flying to Miami 3 times a year for the last 4 years and I have yet to look out of the window, nor do I care where I sit. Would you like to trade seats?"

"No, sir," I said, "at least, not for the present. My main concern is your indifference to where you've been, what you're over, and where you're going."

"Well, son," I said, "I wouldn't worry too much about it, if I were you. I have two very important business conferences scheduled for tomorrow. Now, if you don't mind, I had better get back to work."

"You're awfully touchy," I said.

"Keyed up," he said.

"Speaking of keyed up," I said, "have you ever been to Key West?"

He was beginning to get that panicky, trapped look on his face, but there was nowhere for him to turn. He couldn't move into the next seat because I was in it, and he couldn't jump out because his window was closed and sealed. I had him where I wanted him.

"Why should anybody go to Key West?" he asked.

So I told him, like this:

Key West is the bottom island in a string of keys south and west of the southern tip of Florida.

It is easily accessible by plane, car, boat, or a combination of all three.

National Airlines has flights daily into, and out of Key West. After a delightful 45-minute flight from Miami over the sparkling Gulf of Mexico, a rental car and boat with trailer will be waiting for you. This can be prearranged at almost any city along National's route * * * through Couture Sea-Fari. These people also supply complete fishing or skin diving equipment.

By car, it's a 150-mile drive from Miami along the beautiful toll-free Overseas Highway. Yachtsmen and skippers of larger craft are aided by the 24- to 30-foot water at various docks around the island which permits the handling of tankers and ships up to 15,000 tons.

When you arrive, you find an exotic coral island, surrounded by the clear, blue waters of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. Key West is unique as an American city because it blends Cuban, West Indian, and Bahamian atmosphere. Its facilities for comfort, health, recreation, and business however, are on modern American standards.

Key West architecture is predominantly Bahamian as the pictures illustrate, with upstairs and downstairs balconies and an accent on coolness in summer. There are also many modern housing developments. The average tourist has his choice between modern motels with pool facilities and the quaint Bahama-type guest houses.

Key West enjoys the most equable climate in the United States as it is the Nation's southernmost city. In fact, the lowest temperature ever recorded was 41 degrees in 1886. The highest was 95 in July of 1956.

Key West, like all of Florida, has a fabulous history.

It was the base for Spanish adventurers, pirate crews, and commercial fishermen. English and Negroes from the Bahamas were the first permanent settlers in the early 1800's. Families from New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas settled there after Commodore Porter and part of the United States naval fleet drove the pirates into the seas. Salvaging wrecks was profitable in the early days, then came cigar making in 1828, when Key West was incorporated. Key West is the English version of the name given the island by a Spaniard who saw the bones remaining from an Indian battle. He named it Cayo Hueso, Island of Bones.

In 1950 vast shrimp beds were discovered in the waters between Key West and the Dry Tortugas, a stretch of 65 miles. Shrimping has since grown into one of the main industries on this island.

The local species is known as Tortugas pink shrimp and is highly prized because it is tasty, eye-appealing, and easily shelled.

Some 400 shrimp trawlers operate out of Key West. Fishing is done in waters ten to 20 fathoms deep—the deeper the beds the larger the shrimp. Their catch now averages 1 million pounds a month.

The dominant sport in Key West is fishing. The Gulf Stream, which flows northward along the Florida Keys provides one of the world's finest fishing grounds. Only 5 miles offshore from Key West, this natural habitat of fighting game fish is easily and quickly reached from the docks.

A fleet of over 30 deep-sea fishing boats is available for charter. Native guides, who have fished these waters all their lives, introduce the uninitiated to the area that the United States Bureau of Fisheries says is the Nation's finest, with over 600 varieties to be found in Key West waters.

Gulf Stream fishing produces tarpon, bonito, kingfish, jack snapper, bluefish, barracuda, jewfish, shark, marlin, wahoo, dolphin, cobia, mackerel, and grouper. In the shallow flats, from small boats and off bridges, typical catches include grunts, yellow-tail, snapper, sea perch, grouper, and bass.

Underwater spear-fishing and skin-diving are practiced by many fishermen and sportsmen in this area. In fact, people come from all over the world to take part in these increasingly popular sports. The clear water, and numerous islands with sloping beaches,

give the gogglemen an excellent opportunity to enjoy these sports to the fullest.

Key West offers such a perfect natural environment for underwater activities that the United States Navy trains their underwater demolition teams (frogmen) extensively there. This is only a small part of one of the largest Naval installations in the world. Also at this famous naval station are the Little White House where President Truman stayed during vacations and Quarters L where President Eisenhower convalesced from his heart attack.

Some of the most unusual structures in the South are in Key West.

The oldest house was built in 1825 and is located at 322 Duval Street which, according to Ripley, is the longest street in the world as it reaches from one ocean to another. Ernest Hemingway's former home is at 907 Whitehead Street and the southernmost house in the United States is located at the end of Whitehead Street on South Street.

East and West Martello Towers are old Civil War forts built in 1861. Incidentally, Key West, although southermost city in the Nation, was never under the Confederate flag. East Martello, with a fine museum and art gallery, is adjacent to the airport.

Still other attractions are the Key West Aquarium, where different species of underwater life are brought in each day, and the Turtle Kraals. Kraal is the Dutch word for corral. Giant deep-sea turtles, caught off the coast of Nicaragua and averaging 500 pounds apiece are brought here to the kraals to be slaughtered and canned into soup and steaks. A part of the harbor is set aside and subdivided by wooden partitions in order to keep the turtles alive prior to slaughtering, enabling tourists to see these huge turtles in their natural state.

There are a great many dining places in Key West, many famous for their Key lime pie. The adventurous can always find native dishes cooked and served excellently here, where the local chefs are noted for their turtle steak, chicken, conch, fish and yellow rice with black beans. For dessert there's always Key lime pie (what else?).

Night life in Key West has its complement of atmospheric nightclubs that have been the scenes for several movies. The Nation's southernmost city's colorful history, as you can see, blends the enchantment of yesterday with the excitement of today and makes this coral island a unique setting for a different vacation.

"Mph," he said, still ruffling the papers from his briefcase.

Apparently, I thought, he had not been listening. I didn't see how he could keep from it, but he obviously was preoccupied. As I value my life, I did not pursue the subject further, and besides, we were touching the end of the Miami International Airport runway.

Walking to the national ticket counter to claim our baggage, he turned to me and asked if I could direct him to the person who gives information on flights to Key West.

So I told him.

Politics and Post Offices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Grand Rapids, Mich., Press of July 18, 1957:

POLITICS AND POST OFFICES

If the Democratic Members of the House Public Works Subcommittee have their way Grand Rapids and 148 other communities probably will not get much-needed Government buildings for a long time. The Democrats on this particular committee are opposed to the present method of having the Government buy post offices and such buildings on a sort of deferred payment plan; they want to buy the buildings outright. But it would cost about $1½ billion for a scheduled 149 projects—and as Representative BROOMFIELD says, Congress isn't about to lay out that much money at one time.

The present system has worked very well. Private interests have put up the buildings and then leased them to the Government. The rent paid by the Government has applied against the purchase price, with the Government eventually gaining possession.

This has made it possible to provide Federal buildings that otherwise would have to be put off for perhaps many years. The cost has been spread over fairly long periods, thus relieving taxpayers in any 1 year of having to shoulder the entire load. In short, it would be hard to find a more satisfactory way of getting needed buildings without boosting the Federal budget to a sizable degree.

Why the Democrats couldn't go along with this procedure we don't know—unless they want to put the projects on the shelf until such time as they may regain control of the executive branch and use public works for political purposes. But whatever the reason, the public should object strenuously to their upsetting so reasonable and workable a method of getting done what needs to be done.

The Significance of Rural Life and Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by W. B. Young, dean and director, College of Agriculture, the University of Connecticut, at the dedication of the Middlesex County Agricultural Center on June 30, 1957.

Dean Young is well known not only in our State but throughout New England, and to the farming sections of the country. His views are always well respected by those of us who have been privileged to work with him. I believe his remarks to be of particular significance at this time, and I consider it a great privilege to place them in the Appendix of the RECORD so my colleagues may have the pleasure of reading them.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RURAL LIFE AND LEADERSHIP

(Speech given by W. B. Young, dean and director, college of agriculture, at the dedication of the Middlesex County Agricultural Center, June 30, 1957)

President Merriam, Reverend MacLeod, Commissioner Watrous, Commissioner Gill, Congressman Seely-Brown, officers and directors of the Middlesex County Farm Bureau, Middlesex County Commissioners, and friends of agriculture, this is a distinct honor, a high privilege, and a challenging responsibility. It is a genuine pleasure to be invited to participate in this dedication program today.

It is with a real sense of pride and pleasure that I bring you the warm and cordial greetings of the College of Agriculture of the University of Connecticut. My pride today is severalfold: (1) In your confidence and continued interest in agriculture in Middlesex County, in the cooperative agricultural extension program (as demonstrated by your presence and the dedication of this building today as the Middlesex County Agricultural Center); (2) in our fine staff of Middlesex County extension workers (so ably headed up by Gregory Curtis and Earl Prout in the agricultural programs, Mrs. Danforth and Mrs. Russell in homemaking, and Lloyd Wilhelm and Mrs. Watson in 4–H Club work); (3) in the outstanding accomplishments and contributions to agriculture and society made by the splendid cooperation of the Middlesex County Farm Bureau, the Middlesex County Commissioners, and the Middlesex County Extension Service.

The college of agriculture and the university and the citizens of Middlesex County shall always be indebted to you for your generosity, your vision, and your sponsorship in developing in this county such an outstanding extension educational program in agriculture, in homemaking, and in 4–H Club work.

Since 1914, when the Congress created the Agricultural Extension Service with the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, establishing the so-called county-agent system, which had as its objective "To help people help themselves"—and made it cooperative, local, State, and National, Middlesex County has been in the forefront in this program. Time will not permit to tell the whole story, but let me highlight a few of the meritorious programs, events, etc., which have occurred in this county.

Middlesex County was one of the early leaders in the grow healthy chick program. Through this and other programs came the development of your outstandingly successful poultryman of today. Your county was was also an early leader in the improvement of dairy herds by sponsoring a purebred bull campaign in the early 1900's. The dairy farmers in this county were keeping milk-production records in the 1920's. Of recent interest, is the leading position which Middlesex County has occupied again in the dairy field and the statewide leadership in the eradication of brucellosis.

Your county has had successful programs since early years in both the fruit and vegetable fields. And men from your county are known far and wide as leaders in these areas, and have been so recognized by their commodity organizations.

Today Middlesex County ranks 22d of all the leading counties in the United States in the value of nursery and greenhouse products sold.

In the home demonstration field, a significant program has been in home efficiency planning for homemakers. You were one of the first counties to gain the outstanding cooperaiton of the Heart Association, the Red Cross, and the PTA.

In 4–H Club work, Middlesex County had the first 4–H sheep club program. You developed and held the first county 4–H fair in the United States, put on by 4–H Club members for 4–H Club members. I would like to mention a current 4–H program, and that's the 4–H auction held at Durham Fair Grounds. As you know, the money from this has been used to make it possible for an increasing number of 4–H Club members to participate in statewide and New England 4–H activities. A former 4–H Club member of your county holds the distinction of being the first 4–H alumnus to be elected president

and leader of the Connecticut Farm Bureau Association, Frank Roberts.

Speaking of leadership, I note that the program for today's activities lists a great many of the very active agricultural, homemaking and youth leaders who are important here in Middlesex County and who are active not only with their extension program, but with other programs which have a vital relationship to agriculture. I would like to call your attention, though, just a moment, to some of the other leaders that Middlesex County developed and who have risen to positions of trust in public service and other work. There are, for example, Russell Anderson, now county agricultural agent in Hartford County; Sidney Edwards, who is managing director of the Connecticut Development Commission; Henry Hansen, our own associate director of agricultural extension; Phil Dean, State administrative officer of the agricultural stabilization and conservation program.

In the comparatively short time since America became a Nation, our agriculture has achieved a pattern of success that is the cornerstone of our national strength as well as the envy of the world. The land-grant college system of education through research, teaching, and extension has played a leading part in making it so.

Standing out above all other features in this pattern is a spirit of productivity. This ever-growing fruitfulness has been the basis of our national prosperity and has given character to our civilization. American historians are inclined to attribute our surprising production to good land and exploitation of our natural resources. This explanation is at best a superficial one. There are other places on the globe where land and resources are good, but somehow their people have never found the key with which to unlock their wealth. Our form of government, our belief in free enterprise, and our public education system with our agricultural education programs in each State of research, education, and extension to provide people the know-how have been the key in the United States. No other country has anything to match it.

A hundred years ago it took four farm families engaged in agriculture to provide a bonus of life's necessities to supply one family engaged in city pursuits. Now the ratio is reversed. One family on the land can now release four or five families for the manufacture of the goods and services, as well as the cultural and educational pursuits which determine our standard of living and set the tone of our civilization.

Think what an enormous advantage we enjoy because less than one-fifth of our people are needed to wrest the necessities from the land. Think of the good that could be accomplished if all this released talent and energy could be used for the advancement of mankind and the enrichment of life. Willingness to work hard, eagerness to discover and use new scientific information, and a curious kind of joy in competition and improvement have combined to make this productivity a fact and a blessing in our country.

Another significant feature of American agriculture has been the uninterrupted farm-to-city migration. A farm-to-city movement is common to all growing civilizations. American families who have been displaced from the land, or liberated have adapted themselves to industrialization with amazing success, and brought with them to the city much of the enterprise and productivity that has characterized our farm population.

The third great characteristic of American agriculture grows directly out of the two I have just mentioned. The American countryside sent its growing cities habits of work and thrift that spring from the rural pioneer. In the city these virtues blossomed into courage and resourcefulness that built great businesses and institutions.

It has been brought to our attention in the last 2 or 3 years that socialism has largely replaced capitalism in European countries because European capitalism has grown corrupt and placid. The European businessman long ago lost his desire to stand on his own feet, and he set about escaping healthy competition through governmental favor and monopolistic schemes. American business has not escaped this blight entirely, but it owes its extraordinary success to its willingness to improve its products and lower its price in a healthy competitive economy. Since industry was built largely by farm boys, it speaks well for the quality and courage of these boys who left the land to build our industrial economy.

People who come to our land from distant shores speak with respect of the honesty, the integrity, and the responsible nature of the average American. The traditional American virtues of hard work, thrift, ambition to improve, willingness to take responsibility, and respect for God were born in the farm homes of this country.

Rural life in our time is faced with disturbing dilemmas. Take, for instance, the very fact of our great productivity. We are actually beginning to wonder whether our productivity is a good or an evil.

On the good side, we admit it has freed us almost completely from the fear of hunger which has dogged the human race through most of its existence. It has also freed a large majority of our population to do a multitude of useful and exciting things.

On the bad side of the ledger, we can list such doubts as these: Is urbanization of our population really good? Should we try to slow it down? What should we do about the thousands who are displaced by mechanization? Are we producing ourselves into poverty by trying to keep farm production free while other segments protect themselves by monopoly?

For me, there can be only one acceptable answer. Productivity is good because it builds people and also administers to their needs.

I derived great satisfaction recently when I picked up a publication of the University of Illinois, entitled "Illinois Farm Economics" and I read this: "Farm people are the most religious, the most conservative, the kindest people on earth. If they succumb to a dog-eat-dog materialistic philosophy there is no hope for the Nation." I read further: "Our great chance for survival and for maximum happiness of future generations is tied to the great nonmaterial values for which our ancestors were often willing to sacrifice material welfare. I refer to belief in absolute truth, love, of our fellow men, belief in the rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the submission of the state to the will of the people governed, the belief that peoples have minds and souls, and that there are nonmaterial satisfactions as well as the material ones—the moral or ethical considerations far outweigh the short-term economic consideration."

Rural people are important as the custodians of the soil and producers of the world's food supply. But even that is secondary. Rural life has its greatest significance as the fountainhead of the habits, the ideals, and moral responsibility that we must have if our civilization is to prevail. The great feat that hangs over the world is a dread that we may have gone too far in substituting selfish materialism for the moral laws and spiritual values that were the strength of rural America during our formulative years as a Nation.

We cannot possibly turn back time and make America primarily rural again. Our great skill and deep reserve of productivity will be sorely needed in the great struggle that is shaping to save the world from slavery. But we must define those human virtues which are best reared and nourished in the rural environment and shoulder the responsibility of preserving these virtues. In doing so, we will be setting up yardsticks that will have strong influence upon our urban civilization, and we will be assuring a supply of wholesome and effective leadership for our country's future. I can think of no task which is more important and to which I would rather be dedicated than working with the rural people of Middlesex County, or for those of Connecticut or of this Nation.

You, the leaders of Middlesex County, are performing a service which money can never buy. For example, your interest in the boys and girls, your interest in their welfare—helping them to achieve their goals, their desires, and their needs so they may be recognized for having done something worth while—is nonmeasurable in wealth. You are building family, community, county, State, and national loyalty, achievement, and citizenry. You are doing the same for adults of this county in your agricultural and homemaking programs.

I do not believe I need to define the word or term "citizenship," for it is something we all understand. But we need to arouse, throughout our communities, our State, and Nation, a greater sense of responsibility in enthusiastically living and promoting the ideals of democracy. This, of course, is a part of our deed of citizenship.

Good citizens and good citizenship should begin in local communities and counties. Your county leaders certainly exemplify the grassroots beginning. We must love our own homes and communities and neighbors, and be good citizens there, before we can be like the pebble dropped into the water with ever-widening circles, until our influence of citizenship reaches throughout the State and Nation.

Our homes, our home communities, our friends, our State, our Nation, have specific meanings and attractions for us which other regions, other people, can never rival.

Yes, citizenship is built upon pride, upon accomplishments, upon faith, upon knowledge, upon service, not for ourselves but for others.

Certainly, you local leaders have truly demonstrated the high ideals of American citizenship and leadership in the development of this agricultural center. I congratulate you on your vision, your cooperation, and your objectives.

To anyone who holds, as I do, a deep and abiding faith in our American way of life, and in all that it stands for, there could be no prouder honor than to be recognized as a leader and as an outstanding citizen in this great county, or State, or Nation.

Personally, and in behalf of the college of agriculture and the university, we salute each of you and thank you most sincerely for your splendid leadership, your support and cooperation in furthering the agricultural extension program for the welfare of the boys and girls, the men and women—the citizens of Middlesex County.

What Does It Mean?—Loose Use of Proxies Again May Bring Public-Works Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in

the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by William F. Pyper which appeared in the Flint, Mich., Journal, Wednesday, June 26, 1957.

The article follows:

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?—LOOSE USE OF PROXIES AGAIN MAY BRING PUBLIC-WORKS VETO

(By William F. Pyper)

WASHINGTON.—Loose use of proxies in approval of public-works authorizations again may jeopardize the public-works bill which President Eisenhower vetoed last year.

That's the word from Michigan's member of the House Public Works Committee, freshman Republican Representative WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, who already has started a fight against proxy voting which he criticized recently.

A former member of the State house of representatives and the State senate, Representative BROOMFIELD has the support of other Republicans on the committee, including Representative J. HARRY MCGREGOR, of Ohio, ranking minority member. The policy which permits one member of the committee to vote for others who are absent by holding a general proxy may be restricted to tighten up on the approval of questionable projects, it was indicated.

It was because Congress approved a number of projects which lacked approval of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Budget Bureau last year that Mr. Eisenhower vetoed the whole bill. The President has no item veto power, so approved projects fell along with those without legal support. A statute which fixes congressional policy requires expressed approval of the chief of Army Engineers for each project to be included in the authorization.

Representative BROOMFIELD had said that one of the greatest disappointments he had experienced in Washington was absenteeism at committee sessions and the use of general proxies on important decisions. He had added that he intended to fight the practice, particularly when his committee reached the omnibus authorization bill.

Tuesday the House committee started going through the bill. On the first page, a motion was made to insert a $500,000 item for the East Moriches Channel in Long Island Sound, it was reported. The committee had no O. K. from the Chief of Engineers and no approval from the Budget Bureau.

However, the committee was told it was a project in which the chairman, Representative CHARLES A. BUCKLEY, New York Democrat, was interested. BUCKLEY was absent, but the committee was asked to approve the addition as a favor to him. It was at this point that BROOMFIELD voiced objection.

He demanded a roll call on the motion. It carried, 15 to 14, but 4 Democratic proxies were voted to make the vote 19 to 14.

"If some of those Democrats had been present, they might have voted against the $500,000 item," BROOMFIELD speculated.

Later a Republican motion to cut a $954,000 Texas project, in line with a GOP policy to require 50 percent local contributions, was defeated by the same vote, with the same use of general proxies. The committee was to continue work on the bill today.

"They're going to jeopardize this whole bill and all of the worthy projects again, if they load it down with objectionable programs," Representative BROOMFIELD predicted. Representative MCGREGOR, who had predicted last year's veto, agreed, saying he does not see how Mr. Eisenhower could approve such a bill with any consistency.

Involved are such important Michigan projects as the Saginaw Valley $16,085,000 combination flood-control and wildlife-refuge program, a $9,825,000 Grand River flood-control authorization, and a $5,358,000 flood-control program for the Kalamazoo River at Kalamazoo, all of which have approval of the Army engineers and the Budget Bureau. Such programs have been through long years of laborious study before reaching this point, and the work is badly needed, but they can be delayed another year if the President again has to veto the bill because of the loose back-scratching practices.

"We are against the general proxies," MCGREGOR said in support of BROOMFIELD. "Proxies are sometimes justified, but they should be dated and restricted."

BROOMFIELD, however, is against all use of proxies, and he intends to take his fight to the floor of the House, showing among other things what the present practice will cost the taxpayers.

Civil-Defense Workers Annoyed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the editor of the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of July 21, 1957, which stresses the apathy on the part of the public in the work being carried on by volunteers comprising the ground-observer corps:

GROUND-OBSERVER CORPS VOLUNTEER DECRIES APATHY OF THE PUBLIC

Last Tuesday's mail brought two letters to the editor of the Sunday Independent dealing with two separate phases on the important subject of civil defense.

The first letter, written by Mrs. Dorothy Todd, 77 Sullivan Street, Wilkes-Barre, deals in a serious vein with the public apathy displayed in this region in the work being carried on by volunteers comprising the ground-observer corps.

The second letter, written by a person who identified himself only as a "Discouraged CD Man," takes issue with this newspaper for its coverage of a recent civil-defense test.

Mrs. Todd's letter follows:

"Editor, Sunday Independent: As a 40-year-old housewife and mother, born in Wilkes-Barre and raised with a love of God, my country, and fellow man, I am writing to you with a fear down deep inside, for my fellow Wilkes-Barreans. Are they so confident, so sure that they are smug and safe and cannot be touched by the ravages of war? I cannot bring myself to believe that it is complete indifference.

"My husband, 2 children, 13 and 15 years of age, and myself are members of the ground-observer corps. Until last December, when the Wilkes-Barre post went on ready reserve, with constant recruiting and hard work, we boasted 140 members, mostly children, and were on 24-hour duty, 7 days a week. Because of ready reserve we have lost 100 members. Now as a ready-reserve post, we must be prepared in case of a red alert (which, of course, means we are under attack), to man our post within one-half hour.

"TEEN-AGERS ASK WHY

"I believe right now, we have with us 15 adults and the rest children. It is quite a turnabout with all the talk of teen-agers, to hear them ask, what's wrong with the adults? I wonder if a 'red alert' should occur, whether the parents of our young members would allow them to go on duty?

"Upper New York protects Wilkes-Barre and we here protect Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, and Baltimore, or rather these important cities actually depend on us to do our share.

"Has too much been said about our wonderful radar detection system? Can it be that the public is not aware that our valley here affords a perfect protection from radar for low flying bombers? If radar cannot locate these aircraft, who else is there than these trained volunteers to spot them and give warning.

"REASON FOR WRITING

"Why am I writing all this to you? Let us say it all started one and a half years ago when I joined the GOC. Besides being a spotter I agreed to do some recruiting. Oh, how big were my plans and the wonders that I would do. I was warned not to be surprised at the refusals and letdowns I would encounter, but I was too confident and was slowly given shock treatment after shock treatment until now I am convinced there is something wrong here.

"My friends laughed at me and the groups and organizations that I spoke to were very kind and listened carefully and 1 or 2 people joined. Please do not misunderstand, our supervisor, chief observer, Air Force personnel, and others were recruiting with me or rather I with them, but I am speaking strictly on my own in this letter.

"PROGRAM WAS FAILURE

"The climax of my shock treatment was our fifth anniversary program at the West Side Armory last Sunday. I need not tell you the months of planning and the weeks of actually working day and night to put on such an affair. It would have been rather simple if the GOC had money to work with, and it certainly would have helped if we had more adults to share the responsibilities. A handful of members put on the whole affair.

"I cannot tell you how delighted we were when informed that the 1st Air Force Band from Mitchell Field would be here for the occasion. What a treat for the public.

"We worked many hours on backdrops to make a live enactment of exactly what happens when an unknown aircraft is reported. We thought the people would really like to know. We also planned other interesting things for the public.

"Our programs alone took us three nights from 7:30 p. m. to 1 a. m. to put together. Arrangements for the band to sleep and eat had to be made and also transportation. Of course I could go on and on.

"INVITATIONS SENT OUT

"We wrote 25 organizations, inviting them to attend, with special seating arrangements. Only CAP showed up. Our television and radio stations here were wonderful to us. They read the announcements I wrote over and over and were kind enough to give us interviews on radio and TV that I had requested. All our drive-in theaters announced night after night our program to be. We even wrote to Hazelton, Pittston, and Scranton radio stations and they announced our program. The Dallas Post, Hazleton, Pittston, and Scranton papers ran the announcements I sent. The Times Leader and Record ran a small announcement and your paper printed the fine announcement that it did. We even made a sign, spotlighted, and attached it to the Observation Post to advertise.

"Now, I for one am tired of any coverup and pretense. I think it should be known that it was one big flop. Did you know that not more than 20 people attended our program. Oh, yes, beside some of our faithful observers and six CAP representatives, my mother attended.

"Air Force personnel was on hand. Franklin Coslett put himself out to M. C. Congressman FLOOD said he was not surprised at the turnout. His very words were, 'I knew who would be here, you people.' Colo-

nel Townend and other dignified guests were there.

"During the dinner that we gave for the band and guests, some of the boys in the band said they had been told that there would be a poor showing in Wilkes-Barre and asked if we knew why. They usually play to 25,000.

"SOMETHING IS WRONG

"I'm trying hard to blame our lack of advertising in some way, but surely with all we did, more than 20 people knew about it. I'm afraid because of my experience in recruiting and the attitude of the public in general, that something is very wrong here and that definite steps should be taken. One very old man told me that the only thing that would wake Wilkes-Barre up would be to drop a bomb on Public Square. I hope he is wrong.

"ON HER OWN MOTION

"I am sending this to you strictly on my own. No one but my husband and children know I am writing this. I doubt if my supervisor would approve because everything must look good for the Corps, but I feel not at all disgraced after our snub from the public and I do not feel that our dignitaries feel disgraced in any way. They know Wilkes-Barre, know what to expect and honored us with their presence anyhow. Real troopers, I'd say.

"Oh, yes, when I was a little girl, on Flag Day, July 4th, etc., when one walked down the street just about everyone had a flag displayed. But not today. Why? There has to be a reason.

"DOROTHY TODD."

Election Polling and Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by my old friend, Louis Harris, who has done a great deal of work in the field of surveys and polls. I was impressed with the content of Mr. Harris' article and thought it would be helpful to those who are interested in the growing use of election polls:

ELECTION POLLING AND RESEARCH

(By Louis Harris)

Whatever else might be said about it, election polling is the glamor girl of social research. This is certainly true as far as the general public is concerned. One doesn't have to ring many doorbells before finding out that the quickest way to identify survey research is to say, "You know, it's a poll—like the election polls." Surprisingly, perhaps, this is also the case among colleagues in other disciplines and among articulate men and women who indeed know something about the field.

The reason, perhaps, lies most of all with those of us who are engaged in this work. Nearly everyone likes to have at least a small finger in the election research pie. And this is as much the case among academic people as among those who describe themselves as market researchers, or practitioners of consumer or public relations research. Election research has been the irresistible magnet, just as attractive to those who claim their primary interest lies in the political field as those who have achieved peeminence in other facets of research.

The consequences of this attention have not always been salutary. When the polls fell flat on their faces in 1948, confidence in all forms of opinion research was shaken. Commercial business fell off; major segments of the press wanted to throw the baby out with the bath; foundations took a second long look as this burgeoning area of potential grants; the Government cut back on programs involving surveys; and students seemed less interested in becoming researchers.

Everyone in the field realized that survey research had become too closely identified with election polling. There were a few untoward snipers who suggested they were in a quite different field. Some said: "Well, advertising research is something quite different." Corporate researchers added, "We would never try to use such a close margin of error on which to base recommendations for management policy." Academic researchers muttered, "It should be clearly understood that we use a much more sophisticated methodology, and our interests are not in the spectacular."

It was a wise man who realized, back in 1948, that anyone in research who tried to get out of the boat was toying with utter nonsense. For better or for worse, the public reputation of this field has been inextricably wedded to the quadriennial pre- and post-election spectacles.

As a consequence, the field has a serious obligation to itself to look the whole area of election research squarely in the eye and confront it with candid and searching criticism. For election research is an integral part of nearly all other applications of research. It has played a critical role in the development of action analysis and decision analysis; it is probably the father of public affairs and public relations research; and it has been a training ground for social researchers of all varieties. Let us look first, therefore, at some of the areas in which election polling and research, as we know it, have contributed to political knowledge.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESEARCH TO POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING

Broadly speaking, research has contributed most appreciably to our understanding of four areas:

1. How voters decide to cast their ballots the way they do.
2. Who votes and who does not.
3. How the social and economic structure reflects itself in elections.
4. How the events of our time affect the political complexion of America.

Out of researches in these four areas have come a number of more or less hard findings which have led to some responsible generalizations.

Most voters have made up their minds well in advance of the campaign: Despite the protestations of politicians and students of politics that campaigns are "great democratic forums" the overwhelming evidence indicates that most voters have decided how to vote well before the campaign has got under way. A small group of voters may be honestly undecided and may switch in midstream, but not the vast majority. Campaigns may have the polarizing effect of making partisans even more partisan, but for the most part they are sound and fury affecting relatively few voters, and in many cases not affecting the ultimate outcome. (But woe betide the poll taker who says, "There is simply no point in surveying from here on in, for no appreciable change can take place.") An exception to this rule is that larger and later shifts may be made when the voters do not feel strongly about either candidate, as in 1948. Also, the more local the election, the more likely it is that a campaign can change voting intentions.

Independent voters tend to be those who know and care the least: More and more elections in the United States are unquestionably being decided by voters who split their tickets within a given election, or who switch from one party to the other from election to election. Yet, when the much-discussed and even glorified independent voter is looked at and empirical data about him are analyzed, he almost invariably tends to be a sporadic voter, to be quite poorly informed, and to have done little integrated thinking on political subjects. In fact, this slippery political animal tends to be more bored than other voters with the election process. The independents include some are above politics and some who are below—those who are excessively ideological and those almost lacking in ideology. The people who used to be independents no longer are, and people who never dreamed of being independents have indeed become switch voters. I shall cite but two cases of this juxtaposition. First, independent liberals, such as those who kicked over Democratic Party traces in the 1930's to elect New York mayor, Fiorello LaGuardia, time and again have now almost entirely joined the Democratic Party and, in many cases, have risen to positions of responsibility within it. Second, larger numbers of Irish Catholic voters, almost monolithically Democratic from 1928 through 1940, have since then gone more and more heavily over to the Republican column in national elections, and yet have by and large remained Democratic in local elections. They must now be classified as among the most independent of voters.

Turnout can alter the basic political balance: Who votes and who does not vote can make a critical difference in the traditionally close elections that mark American politics. The fact that proportionately more upper-income people vote gives the Republican Party an advantage in most elections. In 1952, there is no doubt that increased turnout by middle-income women, heavily disposed toward Eisenhower, was an important element in changing what might have been a close election into a relative landslide. In nonpartisan local elections, where turnout is low and disproportionately of upper-income people, the results generally tend to favor a conservative victory. On the other hand, overconfidence in 1948 cost the Republicans heavily.

Voting in America is a symbol of social affiliation: Despite the tradional claim that each voter is an individual who makes up his own mind, social group pressures limit choices sharply, and are highly significant determinants of individual voting patterns. The fact is that political allegiances are a basic reflection of social allegiances. When the group tends to shift, cross pressures on the individual may be heightened, but the pressure to shift with the group is usually dominant.

American politics tend to be highly personalized and unideological: These group patterns have much deeper roots in social and economic bases than in any firmly held ideological dogma. Americans are perhaps the least subject to ideological dogma and integrated lines on political thinking than any people in the world. In election after election, whole groups of voters have reacted in a similar fashion, but almost always in terms of a protest against a specific fear (the depression, the Korean war), in terms of a man they trust to work for the things that will personally enhance their lot (Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower), or in terms of pocketbook self-interest. This tends to personalize American politics. American voters most nearly approached integrated mass thinking in their acceptance of the tenets of the New Deal, but even then, as was dramatically illustrated in the case of World War II, the allegiance turned out to be more a trust in

Roosevelt and the Democratic Party than in a specific foreign policy program.

Class cleavages run deep, though the balance of power rests with the everchanging middle income group: Every cross-section political survey ever conducted shows the inevitable pattern of low-income people being dominantly Democratic and upper income people being Republican. Irrespective of their leadership and program at any given moment, the two parties do, indeed, have very different economic bases. To this extent, politics in America are a reflection of econmic divisions as well as varied social affiliations. The divisions were sharpest in the depression years. Recently, however, important exceptions have arisen. For instance, low-income Germans are more Republican today than low-income Catholics. Most of these exceptions reflect a clash between traditional economic ties and changing cultural pressures. Although the middle class may have been effectively squeezed out in Britain, it maintains the balance of power in any American election. The recent trend in American politics, however, has been toward a sharp deemphasis of class lines and a regrouping along cultural patterns which sensitize voters to such issues as those involving civil rights and foreign policy.

Class cleavages grow more diffuse as foreign policy becomes a major issue: In the United States, as opposed to Europe, separate issues tend to cut across economic lines and make for a blurring of the traditional political structure. Surveys have provided abundant evidence that lower income groups tend to be less internationalist (rooted in the belief we have enough unsolved problems at home), while upper income groups tend to be more internationalist (though until Eisenhower's pronounced internationalism, they believed in the traditionally Republican high tariffs and noninvolvement overseas). With the shift of the Republican Party, or at least of Republicans in the executive branch, to an internationalist position, the confict for upper income groups tends to be resolved. At the same time, the lower income groups have tended to split. In 1956, whole segments of the lower income groups, especially those of Eastern European origins, switched to the Republican Party in defiance of their traditional economic base in politics. This switch was in response to the charge that the Democratic Party was a war party. When faced with apprehensions of war, they yielded to religious and cultural, rather than to economic pressures.

Sharp and meaningful political differences emerge when an electorate is viewed in terms of the length of time particular ethnic groups have been in this country. The newer the arrivals, the more Democratic their inclinations. As time passes, and the more prosperous third and fourth generations emerge, economic pressures push them toward the Republicans. This process may be accelerated, in the case of the Germans for instance, for almost entirely noneconomic reasons, and can be reversed or decelerate, as among Jewish voters, again for almost entirely noneconomic reasons. It can also be switched in one 4-year span, as among the Negroes in 1956, and again for noneconomic reasons.

Single issues can change long time trends: As of 1952, there seemed little question that the Negro group would continue to go more heavily Democratic in the future. The old-time Republican base among Negroes seemed to have nearly evaporated; the combined civil rights-New Deal base among Negroes seemed nearly monolithic. Nevertheless the dramatic events of desegregation under a Republican administration produced wholesale shifts among Negro voters in 1956. The cause is clear: the Negro group is today almost wholly absorbed with a single issue, and the Republicans have convinced many that their chances are greater under their leadership, and that the Democrats must be punished unless they set their own civil-rights record straight. Much the same thing happened when the farmers broke from their Republican pattern in 1948.

Historical issues can dominate voting long after the event: In some parts of Kentucky, vote patterns are still determined by bitter battles over road construction which took place some 70 years ago. The slavery issue has dominated southern voting patterns with regularity over the same period. The antieastern tradition has been dominant in important sections in the Pacific Northwest. The indigenous radicalism of Wisconsin politics has its roots in the antiwar tradition of those who emigrated from Germany more than a century ago.

Political party images persist despite changing events: To millions, the Democratic Party is known as the party of the "working man," the "little fellow," the "common man," while to these same millions, the Republican Party is known as the party of "big business," "the bosses," "the rich." To others, however, the Republican Party is known as the "party of peace," and "the party of moderation." To these people the Democratic Party is known as "the party of war" and the "party of radicalism." For years the Republican Party suffered mightily under the impact of the "big business" image. In recent presidential elections, the Democrats have labored under the handicap of the "war radicalism" image. Yet even in the 1956 Eisenhower sweep, the underlying distrust of the Republicans must surely account for an important part of the electorate splitting its ticket on the congressional and gubernatorial level.

These are only a few of the generalizations about politics toward which survey research has made contributions. Many others, both more general and more specific, may be found in the growing library of election studies.

CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A distinct advantage which election research has enjoyed and perhaps continues to enjoy over research in other substantive areas is that it has continuity of problems of design and execution—a continuity which is probably the basic condition of long-term methodological advance. We can trace to election studies the beginnings of some of the most important developments in the entire field of survey research, many of which are discussed in more detail elsewhere in this 20-year survey.

Among those methodological advances which deserve special mention is the reinterview or panel technique, in which the same respondents are subjected to repeated interviews over time. Progress in precision sampling has also been sparked by election studies; the modified area, pinpoint, and precinct sampling methods employed in recent years are distinct marks of progress. Another area is that of questionnaire design: The early awareness of the need to document the role of issues in elections led to the development of techniques to elicit opinions in an increasingly broad area. Indexing and scaling methodology have been similarly advanced by the experience gained in studying elections. Indeed, there is scarcely any major technique of opinion research which has not been called into play—and further developed—in the course of researches on voting behavior.

SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Even a cursory review of election research over the past 20 years must include many of the practical problems that those on the firing line have faced with regularity.

A four-cornered debate is still raging, for instance, as to which is preferable: the direct question—"Are you for Mr. X, the Democrat, or Mr. Y, the Republican?", the cafeteria question (a four-part alternative question, developed first by Elmo Roper and Carolyn Crusius), construction of an index or series of indices, or a series of short, scalable questions. This writer sees no special point in selecting one over the other, but believes that the direct question works much better than its critics would allow, and that indexing and scaling provide a much more flexible and subtle tool for analysis than the old direct-question advocates realize. In certain areas of psychological subtlety, projective techniques work better than direct questions, but the vast majority of respondents are able to answer forthrightly a question on their political preference.

Still another practical problem is that of convincing researchers and interviewers alike that people are probably more easy to interview on their politics than on nearly any other subject. One constantly runs into a timidity of approach suggesting that the problems are comparable to those faced in eliciting Kinsey-type information. To be sure, some people will not reveal their political views, but with sound and effective interviewing this reaction can be limited to no more than 1 to 2 percent.

Another much-discussed problem is the "don't know" response. The problem, of course, is that people whose views cannot be ascertained might settle a close election one way or the other. This writer must confess that he is prejudiced about this question, having felt for some time that a high number of "don't knows" is a function of a low standard of interviewing and inadequate analysis of data on decisionmaking. Too often interviewers are frightened off from pinning their respondents down. Often, too, the study design does not take account of critical influences which can shed light on the real direction of the respondent's choice. This was borne out in the past election, when in the course of conducting over 2,000 interviews personally, the writer found no more than two percent who were really undecided. To be sure, degrees of certainty about choice and the possibility of developments which could switch voter preference are very real factors. But the "don't know" dilemma probably receives more attention, by both professionals and amateurs, than any other single question. It merely highlights, in this writer's view, the absurdity of making flatfooted percentage point predictions.

The dilemma caused by the nonvoter is as distressing as the "don't know" problem. Some progress has been made in this area. We know, for instance, that the two soundest indicators of turnout are past voting and interest in the current election, provided, of course, that questions about both are asked properly and the replies are analyzed skillfully. But up to now, election surveys have not really solved this problem, which can be a thorny poser to those on the firing line.

Then there is a bugaboo which has occurred only once in a presidential election in the history of modern survey research, the last-minute switch in vote in the Truman election of 1948. While the switch was a very real phenomenon, one over-the-shoulder criticism of 1948 research which was not emphasized enough in the SSRC committee analysis was that if the full dimensions of that election had been analyzed, the chance of a Truman comeback would have been recognized. The possibility of an upset has been more fully explored since 1948.

THE FARCE OF PREDICTIONS

There is a legitimate need to validate a cross section by comparing the results obtained from it with the actual results of an election. A 1956 cross section showing Stevenson winning 55 to 45 percent would not be very trustworthy in retrospect.

But this writer has been of the view for all of the 8 years during which he has been directly responsible for major election research undertakings, including two Presidential

and some 27 local and State election studies, that prediction in election research tends to abort and becloud the purpose of sound political research; to give essentially superficial research an air of profundity; and to thoroughly mislead the public and even fellow researchers as to the preciseness of the current state of attitude and social research.

Having made such categorical objections to predicting, the writer should elaborate at some length, but space limitations make this impossible. One can only list some of the errors, measurable and not measurable, which make precise predictions scarcely more than an informed guessing game:

1. Sampling, for all of the claims, is still not so precise as to warrant much less than a 3 percent margin of error (and this is generous on the low side);

2. Interviewing is not, nor is it likely to be, as standardized as question wording and interviewer instructions would suggest. This is mainly due to the fact that respondents insist on answering questions in their own way and not necessarily in the content of the questionnaire, thus necessitating judgmental editing by interviewers;

3. The positioning of the key question or series of questions in itself can make an important difference;

4. Qualitative dimensions of intensity and firmness of opinions have rarely been systematically analyzed, but may make a real difference in any kind of precise percentage point result;

5. Researchers have not learned how to determine who in a sample is going to vote and who isn't.

A MORE EXCITING BUT NOT AS CONTROVERSIAL LOOK TO THE FUTURE

One cannot think about the vibrant and living election research world of these past 20 years without at least listing some of the possible contributions now in the offing. In this writer's view, the fact that the future is so full of challenges is proof enough of the pioneering and substantively rewarding character of election research.

Here are some subjects on which further research is desirable:

1. Ticket-splitting and switch-voting, not only within elections, but from election to election;

2. How the so-called "new independents" (Catholics, Negroes, etc.) are replacing the old "independents" (non-conformist liberals, etc.);

3. The declining role of political parties in determining voter behavior;

4. The role of mass media versus personal appearances in major political campaigns;

5. Extension of reference group research, especially in the suburban vote shifts, the urban South's political transition, and the Negro vote protest, by drawing universes of such groups for separate study instead of trying to isolate relatively small samples as part of a larger sample;

6. The role of so-called conscience issues (foreign policy and civil rights versus self-interest issues) in elections, with special emphasis on the possible gradual shift to foreign-policy orientations among a key and growing number of voting subgroups;

7. The role of personality types in voting behavior, done on a systematic and centrally focused basis, rather than by tossing in a few personality questions. (One might debate the current state of methodology in this area but its substantive promise may be enormously revealing.)

8. The gyrations in turnout from election to election. (This might be more profitable than trying to crack the hard shell of the ephemeral nonvoter in presidential elections alone.)

9. Cross-pressure situations, election by election, as well as the respective and relative roles of issues, personalities, and political parties in major elections.

Apart from work in these substantive areas, there is much methodological progress to be made in such directions as integrating qualitative data with quantitative measurements, developing structural methodology in the reference group area, giving more serious consideration to the implications of research findings for democratic theory, making greater use of the experience of those working on the analysis of election returns and ecological analysis, continuing to fill in the many gaps in our knowledge about the political decision-making process, and documenting the full role of personal influence in politics.

Acceptance of election studies appears to be on the rise. Politicians are coming to use political survey research as they now use advertising and other standard campaign aids. In addition, of course, the public will continue to be rather insistent to hear about itself in the course of any major election. With the entry of the New York Times, the Alsop brothers, and others into the business of talking with live voters, many reporters are astir with the prospect that in election research they have discovered a new dimension to reporting. There is no doubt now that election studies have become an indispensable contributor to empirical political science. Acceptance by traditional political scientists is growing, and the next 5 years should see more blending of political theory, ecological analysis, survey research, and political sociology—much to the improvement of all of them.

Corona Naval Hospital Closing Calls for Bureau of Medicine and Surgery Initiative Toward Obtaining Authorized Naval Hospital in Los Angeles-Long Beach Naval Area

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, since 1950 there has been an authorization for a naval hospital in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area to serve large numbers of naval personnel, active and retired, together with their dependents. The Naval Vessel Register indicates that 14.15 percent of the entire United States fleet operates from the port of Long Beach. This amounts to 30 percent of the Pacific Fleet. In short, 1 out of every 7 families of our considerable Naval Establishment live in Long Beach or nearby cities. It is reasonable to expect that almost 1 out of every 7 retired naval men and their families also live in this area.

They were poorly provided for indeed by Corona Naval Hospital, which required a round trip of some 80 or 90 miles for medical care. With Corona Hospital closed, the nearest naval hospital facility will be Camp Pendleton, requiring a round trip of some 140 miles for medical care.

Now in these days of difficulty in keeping personnel in the naval service, it seems to me that the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery will not be doing its share of the job unless and until it vigorously carries to success an all-out campaign for construction of the hospital authorized in 1950. This hospital would be located at the area where it is needed, repeat, at the area where it is needed. Aside from purely humane considerations, it would do much to make the naval service an attractive career, repeat, much to make the naval service an attractive career, not only for the 1 in 7 stationed there now, but for all naval personnel, because during a career every naval man would normally be stationed in that area for at least 1 tour of duty and possibly several.

The time for equivocation and timidity by the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery on the issue of building this hospital is long past, if in fact it ever was. I believe the Bureau has a clear duty to make the proper recommendations to the Secretary of the Navy and his budget staff for the inclusion of this construction in its next budget. I say this duty is upon the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery because whatever that Bureau does is to some extent wrapped up in the technical mysteries of the medical profession. Generally, its decisions are not competently evaluable by nonprofessionals. But this is one case where they are and where it is apparent that the Bureau should exercise a strong initiative.

For the RECORD I submit an exchange of correspondence between myself and the Navy Department on the matter of Corona's closing:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY,
Washington, D. C., July 16, 1957.

Hon. CRAIG HOSMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HOSMER: The Secretary of the Navy has referred your letter of July 9, 1957, to me for direct reply. The following information is provided on the reasoning behind the Navy's decision to inactivate the United States Naval Hospital, Corona, Calif. The Department of the Navy has been concerned for some time with the problem of maintaining high standards of medical care in an adequate hospital system as a result of increasing budgetary limitation and rising costs.

Inadequate funding during 1957 had to be compensated for by drastically reducing the program for equipment replacement and for repairs to the physical plant of naval hospitals. As a result, a backlog of over $1,500,000 in equipment and approximately $3,150,000 in work requests accumulated. This Bureau originally requested new obligation authority of the Congress in the amount of $87,200,000 for fiscal year 1958. This amount was reduced by House action to $85,200,000 which latter amount is now proposed to be reduced by an additional $1,700,000.

The above reductions in expenditure and obligations will result in the following effects:

1. Funds for hospitals in 1958 will be less than those for fiscal year 1957 when taking into consideration the additional cost during 1958 wage board increases and civil service retirement fund contributions.

2. In addition to the foregoing requirements, this Bureau is faced with the unbudgeted requirement of $775,500 for a new influenza vaccine to combat the threat of the spreading influenza epidemic from the Far East and an additional $300,000 to provide for directed financing of the Navy's

share of the cost of operation of the Armed Forces Examining Station. Other anticipated but unbudgeted requirements, including wage board and price increases, must be considered which cannot be estimated at this time.

The planned military strength reduction of 18,500 man-years was considered in the foregoing plan of reducing obligations by $1,700,000. In effect, this planned military strength reduction accounts for an average decrease of approximately 7 patients per hospital which would not constitute any significant fund saving in individual facilities.

As a result of the foregoing action, the Navy considered all possible alternative means of satisfying the prescribed cut in Medical Department funds. As a result of these considerations, several basic conclusions were reached with respect to Medical Department financing during the coming fiscal year. First, it was determined that none of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery programs or functions could be feasibly eliminated in order to satisfy the budgetary cut.

The compound effect of the present reduction together with the fundamental stringency of the 1958 budget and the impact of heavy unbudgeted requirements necessitated serious action. Accordingly, the Department of the Navy proposed closure of the naval hospitals at Corona, Calif., and Mare Island, Calif., as the only feasible method by which the accumulative financial problem facing the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery can be alleviated and an effective, efficient medical care program be conducted throughout the rest of the Navy.

This proposal also permits a directed reduction of 340 naval personnel and 387 civilian personnel in naval hospitals.

In regard to the closure of the United States Naval Hospital, Long Beach, Calif., in June 1950, it may be restated that this hospital was not closed and transferred to the Veterans Administration at the Navy's request or with the concurrence of the Navy. It is agreed that there has been great inconvenience and difficulty in providing adequate treatment and hospitalization to military personnel, their dependents and retired personnel since closure of the hospital because of the relative remoteness of another Navy hospital. Considerable correspondence has accumulated on the difficulties of providing adequate medical care in this area since 1950.

It may be recalled that incident to the Korean fighting, the construction of a new temporary hospital was projected at Long Beach. This hospital was planned and approved as part of a triservice hospital expansion program in 1950–51 based on anticipated military patient loads incident to the Korean fighting; that is, on the basis for active service military personnel. At that time, reviewing authorities would approve inclusion of only 10 percent beds for dependents. On May 8, 1952, this hospital project was deferred by the Secretary of Defense "until planned strengths and hospital expansion indicated a positive need for these beds." This statement effectively stopped all Navy plans for construction of this hospital as it was impossible to project a further military buildup or resumption of severe fighting in Korea. The Navy never receded from its stand that a naval hospital was and is needed in this area. It is believed the record clearly shows that the Navy pushed its plans for construction of a hospital in this area as vigorously as the other hospitals involved in the hospital expansion program.

The project for new construction at San Diego was approved essentially on the basis of relieving the extremely overcrowded patient conditions by permitting as many beds as possible to be placed on 8-foot centers rather than 6-foot centers with double-decking in some areas, and also to provide a modern surgical suite. This construction did not detract from the need for beds in other areas. As the postwar condition settles down, the new building will permit the placing of patients in permanent construction and the inactivation of the deteriorated, obsolete, temporary buildings constructed from 1922 through World War II. These temporary buildings have proved to be expensive in upkeep and maintenance. In addition, this new construction permits the consolidation of existing widely dispersed laboratory and clinical facilities. In connection with the provision of inpatient dependent care in this area, the Navy found it essential due to budgetary limitations to close the family hospital on North Island to inpatient dependent care in April 1957.

The dispensary at the United States naval station was never designed to carry out its current mission which overtaxes the capability of the facility. The location of this facility within the station does not readily lend itself to expansion. In addition, the Navy does not deem it advisable to expend any large sums of funds for expansion of the dispensary as any alterations or expansions that could be accomplished would not solve the long-range needs of the service in this area.

Although the justification for a United States naval hospital in the Long Beach area still exists, the limited funds and personnel made available to the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery for operation of naval hospitals require that priority be given to retention of those hospitals that more directly support the operating forces.

The utilization of the hospital ship at Long Beach has served a very practical purpose. A large number of military patients, requiring specialty treatment, have been saved a round trip to Corona; and secondarily, this arrangement has permitted a greater utilization of the overcrowded United States naval station dispensary for outpatient care. This is important as outpatient care for dependents is not currently authorized in civilian institutions at Government expense. When the United States Naval Hospital, Corona, is inactivated a greater utilization of the hospital ship for military personnel is anticipated. Although the details have not been worked out, additional provisions will also be made for expanded outpatient dependent care at either or both the United States naval station dispensary and the hospital ship. Some provision for strictly emergency inpatient dependent care will be provided at the dispensary or hospital ship. The Corona hospital patient load will be distributed to the United States Naval Hospital, Camp Pendleton, San Diego, and the U. S. S. *Haven*, Long Beach.

The inactivation of the United States Naval Hospital, Corona, does not mean that all buildings will stand idle. Approximately one-third of the buildings are currently in use by the Naval Ordnance Laboratory. It may be that the Naval Ordnance Laboratory, upon inactivation of the hospital, will request the use of additional buildings.

In summary and in reply to your two requests, the planned inactivation of the United States Naval Hospital, Corona, has been carefully reviewed and studied; and it has been determined that this hospital must be closed if we are to meet budgetary and personnel reductions. In reply to your second request, plans are being completed to meet needed hospital facilities in the area through greater utilization of the U. S. S. *Haven* as a temporary measure. The Navy has not receded from its stand for the requirement of a United States naval hospital at Long Beach and the requirement for a new hospital in this area will be reintroduced into a long-range construction program at such time as the Navy will be reasonably assured that such a program will be approved by reviewing authorities.

Your great interest and understanding in the Navy's problems in this area are appreciated and it is with an earnest hope that the foregoing information will be of assistance to you.

I will be happy to provide any additional information you may require.

Sincerely yours,

B. E. BRADLEY,
Read Admiral, MC, USN,
Acting Surgeon General.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 9, 1957.

Re proposed Corona Naval Hospital closing.

Hon. THOMAS S. GATES,
Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: You are familiar with the above-captioned proposal announced by Senator DOUGLAS during a speech on July 1, and amplified by your July 2 press release. Subsequently, estimates have been furnished to the effect that several hundred thousand dollars annually would be saved by the move, which money the Navy deems vitally needed to help support its minimum basic overseas missions now in danger of being constricted by rising costs and decreasing appropriations to a point below that essential for the public defense.

If this cost-appropriations squeeze is so severe as to dictate this move for the purpose stated, then there is a patriotic obligation for citizens affected to accept it without complaint.

My first request is that the planned deactivation of the hospital be reviewed carefully by you to determine with certainty if conditions of such severity do, in fact, exist.

My second request, in the event you are certain deactivation is dictated by such necessity, concerns alleviating the hardships that will ensue. It is necessary to relate background information in order to state it.

Early in World War II a 1,600-bed naval hospital was constructed at Long Beach, Calif., to provide for the wartime needs of the service. These needs persisted in the postwar period and the hospital continued in operation until 1949. In that year the then Defense Secretary, during an energetic but apparently planless economy drive, swung a meat ax around the Defense Establishment. One of the places hit was the Long Beach Naval Hospital. It was closed and promptly transferred to the Veterans' Administration.

During the hospital's operation by the Navy a very large number of retired naval personnel located in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area because of the availability of the hospital. At the same time, other substantial numbers of dependents of naval and Marine Corps officer and enlisted personnel, both shorebased and shipbased, located in the area because of the availability of the hospital.

Its 1949 closing worked a very real hardship not only on these satellite naval groups, but upon active duty personnel as well. Several deaths occurred while afflicted persons were on the highway making the long trip to Camp Pendleton Hospital or the San Diego Naval Hospital. Numerous babies were born in automobiles on the way to these hospitals.

Of course, it can be said that insofar as dependents and retired personnel are concerned, their access to naval medical treatment is not a matter of right, but only of privilege on a space-available basis. As a practical matter, however, whenever it has not been deem a right, serious morale and other problems have followed, which eventually forced a return to the matter of right concept for the best interests of the service.

The wisdom of taking steps to obviate such problems before, rather than after, they occur is evident.

At the inception of the Korean war, the problem was to some extent relieved in the locality under consideration by the reopen-

ing of Corona Naval Hospital. I say "somewhat" because Corona is only somewhat less remote from the homes of these people entitled to medical attention than Pendleton and San Diego; and also because both Corona's reopening and subsequent operations have been costly and otherwise ill located. There has never been a moment since the Long Beach Naval Hospital was closed in 1949 that the needs of the service for a naval hospital in the Long Beach area has not been strikingly apparent. Recognizing this, Congress in 1950 authorized construction of a new naval hospital in the area. However, the Navy Department has lacked aggressiveness in requesting appropriations for its construction.

My own opinion as to the reason for this is that Bureau of Medicine and Surgery planners persistently have had in mind a grandiose plan for a super medical center at San Diego dedicated as much to medical research as medical treatment. In implementation of that plan they have recommended requests for funds to enlarge San Diego rather than build at Long Beach. These ambitions for San Diego have caused a neglect of both the advantages of dispersal and the growing humane need for hospital facilities in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area.

The last-mentioned need, of course, has grown because the requirements of national defense, which do not appear in the foreseeable future to be abating, have concentrated many naval and Marine Corps activities in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area. At the present time the Naval Vessel Register indicates 14.15 percent of the United States Fleet (30 percent of the Pacific Fleet) operates in and out of the Long Beach Harbor area. Estimated hospital needs of the area are for 25,000 naval and Marine Corps active duty and retired personnel and dependents. Corona is the only naval hospital facility even reasonably accessible to these people.

Recognizing the utter inadequacy of medical facilities in this area, naval authorities have maintained the U. S. S. *Haven* in a noncommissioned but active status at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard which, together with the Los Angeles Naval Base Dispensary, provides a much overcrowded outpatient service.

Although the *Haven* has a capacity of 744 beds, it now is staffed with only sufficient personnel to serve 150-bed patients. These have been limited to active-duty personnel except in rare emergencies because the whole makeup of the ship would make it unsuitable for treating dependents, according to her officer in charge.

Nonetheless, if the effects of closing Corona are to be eased before they reach intolerable proportions, I believe that steps must be taken to provide beds for active-duty and retired personnel dependents aboard the *Haven* until such time as a more aggressive approach to the matter of implementing the authorization for constructing a hospital shoreside has succeeded.

My second request, therefore, in the event you decide to go through with plans to close Corona, is to provide the basically needed hospital facilities in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area: (1) Temporarily through use of the *Haven;* and (2) permanently by veering the Navy Department's appropriations requests toward construction of the naval hospital now authorized for this area.

Your early reaction to my two requests is most earnestly desired as the Department's publicized intentions with respect to Corona have caused much distress in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area.

Very truly yours,

CRAIG HOSMER,
Member of Congress, 18th District, California.

Unapproved Items in "Pork Barrel" Bill Create Possibility of Presidential Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article written by William F. Pyper which appeared in the Flint, Mich., Journal of July 2, 1957.

The article follows:

UNAPPROVED ITEMS IN "PORK BARREL" BILL CREATE POSSIBILITY OF PRESIDENTIAL VETO

(By William F. Pyper)

WASHINGTON.—Although the $1,600,000,000 public works authorization bill has been cut deeply by the House Committee on Public Works, it still stands a good chance for another veto by President Eisenhower.

This is a minority viewpoint as the committee winds up work on the so-called pork-barrel legislation covering rivers and harbors, and flood control.

But the minority opinion seems sound when it is pointed out that the majority on the committee has loaded the bill with projects which lack approval of either or both the chief of engineers and the Bureau of the Budget. It was for this reason that President Eisenhower vetoed a similar measure last summer, just ahead of his bid for reelection.

Republicans on the committee, who have opposed the unapproved project amendments, have sponsored a series of cuts which they estimate will total nearly $500 million by the time the bill is completed. They have advocated whittling the Federal share down on most items to 50 percent, asking State and local contributions to make up the rest.

Representative WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, Michigan Republican, newest member of the committee, has fought the practice of using proxies in voting in the additions proposed by the Democrats. Having received praise from senior Republicans for his work on the committee, he also won some kind of recognition when the Democratic chairman, Representative CHARLES A. BUCKLEY, of New York City, sent word to have a $500,000 Long Island Sound project dropped from the bill.

The item had been added as a favor to the chairman as the committee began consideration of the bill. Representative BROOMFIELD opposed it vigorously, since it lacked approval from the Army engineers and the Budget Bureau. He insisted on a rollcall, and the project was voted in with proxies of four Democrats being used. This week, however, the committee dropped the item on request of Chairman BUCKLEY.

Republican opposition to unapproved projects has knocked out at least one Michigan project, calling for improvement of the harbor at Port Austin. No change in the amount of funds authorized was involved, but studies had indicated superiority of revising breakwater lengths and dredging area. The revised plan lacked approval of engineers, so the committee dropped it. Representative ROBERT J. MCINTOSH, Michigan Republican, will seek such approval before final conference committee action on the bill. The item already has passed the Senate.

But big Michigan projects are involved. They include the $16,085,000 flood control and wildlife refuge program in the Saginaw River Valley, a $9,825,000 flood control program on the Grand River, and a $5,358,000 flood control project on the Kalamazoo River at Kalamazoo. These fell by the wayside last year when the President vetoed the public works bill, although they weren't specifically without authority.

Visiting Turk Farmers Welcomed by Ochitree County, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excerpt from the column of my good friend Harold Hudson, editor of the Ochitree County Herald, Perryton, Tex., which appeared in the July 18 issue of that paper.

The weekend of July 11–13 found 15 members of the Turkish Ministry of Agriculture visiting in Ochitree County. The citizens of Ochitree County extended to their guests from Turkey the traditional hospitality of the Texas Panhandle. The official greeting of the Panhandle was extended at an old-fashioned chuckwagon barbecue. During their stay the Turks visited several farms in the county to witness the harvesting of hay and wheat.

The fine comments of Mr. Hudson which I am inserting pertain to the most important aspect of the occasion, goodwill and friendship. Visits by our foreign friends to our great country present the opportunity for honest and sincere demonstrations of our democratic way of life. There is no better way to bring about the understanding and friendship that we seek in the struggle for world peace.

The article follows:

We made part of the trip with the Turks last week and enjoyed it, especially listening to the pint-sized interpreter, Charley Iran, talk. At least everyone calls him Charley, although I doubt if that is his name. He just joined the party in Perryton on Thursday, and will stay with them until September, then go back to Turkey. Charley speaks a good brand of English and has been studying in this country for several years.

It appears that the group of Turk farmers and agriculturists received their warmest welcome right here in Ochitree County. They were impressed with the barbecue, with the presents given them, and with the friendly reception they received all along the way. We will bet that these 15 men, all of them in important positions in the Department of Agriculture of Turkey, will go home with a better understanding of America and Americans than they could ever have received from all of the experts our State Department could send abroad.

These Turks were unfamiliar with a lot of our machinery, and looked upon the giant

Equity elevator with awe, but they weren't fooled when it came to wheat. They recognized at once that this lightweight, bleached-out wheat crop wasn't good stuff. After all, Turkey is a wheat country, and if you will remember, this country got into the wheat business with Turkey Red wheat seed, still the basis for most of our better varieties.

When the Turks got to Perryton they had been rushed around quite a bit, and some of them were getting tired. The tour and the meal here was planned to give them a chance to see things without the feeling of being rushed.

We didn't know until last week that the average Turk doesn't use soap and water for bathing—uses olive oil to clean his skin. This must present somewhat of a problem on these hot, dry, and dusty days.

Anyway, this was one of the best gestures of international good will that Perryton has ever produced, except perhaps the Lions Club sending Cecil Regier to Iran 2 years ago. Entertaining these Turks cost a little bit of money, but it was well spent.

Move Along on Diversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to have included in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Peoria Journal-Star of July 18, entitled "Move Along on Diversion":

The State Department announced in Washington yesterday that it had completed discussions with Canada concerning an increase in the amount of water being diverted from Lake Michigan.

The State Department did not disclose what the result of its talks with Canada had been, but that really isn't very important. There actually is no reason why Canada should have been consulted at all because the matter of water from Lake Michigan is entirely a concern of the United States and some Canadian newspapers have gone so far as to say so.

The Eisenhower administration has been reluctant to do anything to offend Canada and the lack of consultation with our neighbor to the north was the principal reason President Eisenhower vetoed the diversion legislation passed 2 years ago.

The negotiations with Canada now have been held and, regardless of what opinion she expressed, there no longer is any reason to hold back on the legislation which will permit a realistic diversion.

Objections of the Illinois River valley to the increase in diversion are pretty well satisfied by the inclusion in the bill of Representative ROBERT MICHEL'S amendment setting 8,000 cubic feet per second as the flow to be maintained at Pekin. Senator DOUGLAS, the chief proponent of the bill in the Senate, told the Journal Star that the Michel amendment was agreeable to him.

As the Senator pointed out, Lake Michigan is wholly within the territorial boundaries of the United States, utilization of water from the Great Lakes for sanitary purposes is authorized in the treaty of 1909, and Canada herself took action some years back to change the flow from the Great Lakes without consulting the United States. All of these points support the contention that Canada's consent is not necessary to any diversion from the lake now.

Principal threat to Senate consideration of the lake diversion bill is the civil-rights filibuster in which the Senate now is engaged. It would be regrettable if as important a matter as diversion were blocked because of that and it is to be hoped that a way will be found to get the diversion bill called before the Senate adjourns.

Can the Present Farm Program Go On?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial by the editor and publisher of the Indianola Record-Herald, Indianola, Iowa:

CAN THE PRESENT FARM PROGRAM GO ON?

(By Don L. Berry)

At the risk of reprinting something a great many of our readers have already digested, we reprint herewith a part of Dan Murphy's column in the Farm Bureau Spokesman for June 22. We fear that a good many did not take the time to read it in the midst of corn plowing and alfalfa haying when it appeared.

Perhaps we consider it important because it agrees so completely with what the Record-Herald has been preaching for 15 years, that any farm program, to stand up and be permanently helpful, must be one that can be sold to the rest of the body politic as fair and equitable as between farm producers and consumers. One-sixth or one-eighth of the population cannot permanently maintain a program in their own favor to which the other five-sixths or seven-eights do not agree. We may get by with it for a time by skillful lobbying and temporary concentration of voting power. But we cannot keep it up for very long.

Life magazine and Dan Murphy have brought this out admirably. If you did not read Dan's column when it appeared, read it now:

"Life magazine recently took a critical look at the effects of the Federal farm program on cotton. The headline of the editorial sums up Life's analysis thus: 'Our Government's farm madness pays a successful industry to wreck itself.'

"Your first reaction may be mostly irritation. But, regardless of your past thinking on the values of these programs, you should review the situation. Because pertinent questions were raised—and agriculture must either answer them satisfactorily, or face the loss of public support for the programs.

"Life termed cotton successful for these reasons: Since 1930, producers have increased average yields from 157 to 409 pounds; have cut per-bale man-hours from 260 to 108; have learned to produce as much cotton on 17.5 million acres as were produced on 43 million acres in 1930. The industry has kept up, via machinery, seed improvements, fertilizers, insect controls.

"These are the reasons the Federal program for cotton is called madness: The program has not helped the small farmer it was supposed to help (but a single British-owned corporate firm last year got a cotton-support check for $1.4 million); it is not needed by the larger producer who is getting most of the help; it is costing taxpayers fairly large sums ($1.7 billion in total, $600 million the past 2 years); and finally, the artificial price has strangled both domestic and foreign sales, while use of synthetic fabrics has increased 1,000 percent.

"Do we have good answers to the obvious questions? Can we justify paying the big producer while the marginal man is still in the same old trouble? Is it economically sound to price-fix a farm product out of its own markets while substitutes rush in? Is any program a good one which merely switches a production problem from cotton to corn, via diverted acres?

"I know it's been political suicide for anyone to even question the price-support and control plan. Suggestions to modify the machinery in any way get a man cussed out. AFBF President Shuman was practically read out of agriculture last winter for asking farmers to completely review the program, its success and its shortcoming.

"Now outsiders are asking questions * * * analyzing results * * * digging out the inconsistencies. We're forced, by virtue of our minority numbers, to justify the thing, or face losing it."

It seems to the Record-Herald that the soil bank program is one that can be sold to the public on the ground that it is equally as sensible and forehanded to store fertility as it is to store uranium, steel, battleships, airplanes, and ammunition for possible attack. But the soil bank must be greatly simplified to be practical and it should be administered by a sympathetic Secretary of Agriculture.

A Carlisle farmer has offered to Congress a simple soil bank plan, too simple to provide all the jobs Washington office holders want.

We take the liberty of quoting a letter from Hon. Clifford R. Hope, recently retired (by his own choice after 30 years' service) Kansas Congressman, who held the confidence of American farmers to a degree exceeded by no other Congressman in national history, Mr. Hope said:

"The Goodhue plan is probably too simple to make much of an appeal in Washington. It is certainly basically sound and comes a whole lot nearer fitting in with the original concept of the soil bank than what we have now. The fact is the original soil bank idea is only a very small part of the present program. As you know, the original soil bank legislation, as introduced in Congress, contemplated purely the conservation idea that you mentioned in your recent editorial."

Here are some things to think about from the standpoint of solid economics and national defense, rather than vote getting, and Federal handouts.

Resignation of Selective Service Board Member Due to Supreme Court Ruling in Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, some of decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have created confusion and concern, not only among Members of the Congress but, also, with all citizens in all walks of life. Representative of this concern is a brief news article from the July 19 issue of the Peru (Ind.) Republican—Miami County's oldest, largest, and most widely read newspaper, now in its 100th year.

Under unanimous consent, I include this article in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

George D. Arnold, chairman of the Miami County Selection Service Board, Thursday announced his resignation. He had served on the board 10 years.

His action is explained in the following letter which was forwarded to Col. Wayne E. Rhodes, State Director, and Gen. Lewis B. Hershey in Washington, D. C.:

"For practically 10 years I have served in local board No. 54, Peru, without compensation, and, during that time I have always felt it was a patriotic duty that any citizen would be proud to participate in and also felt that when a registrant was inducted into the Armed Forces that he was assured of the protection of our Government to the fullest extent.

"It was with much regret that I have learned that this does not seem to be the case as one of our boys has been turned over to a foreign power for prosecution.

"This boy was an American citizen, the highest honor that anyone could hope for, and when it became the duty of a local board member to induct such men and our Government fails to give them the support and protection an American citizen should expect and have, my conscience will not permit me to be a party to the induction of such a citizen."

Mr. Arnold is president of the Dewey-Shepard Boiler Co., Inc., and recently was appointed to the Peru City Council, to fill a vacancy.

Scholarship Winners of St. Peter's College, Jersey City, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, St. Peter's College in Jersey City, N. J., has long been recognized as one of the outstanding colleges in the United States. Her student body has immeasurably contributed toward the betterment of our social, cultural, and educational welfare. Her sons have gone into politics, medicine, the legal profession, and various other fields. They have distinguished themselves in all walks of life. We are indeed proud of these men.

I would like to list below the names of the St. Peter's boys of the graduating class of June 1957 that have won scholarships:

Crowley, Cornelius, centennial law scholarship, Seton Hall.

Grady, Donald J., John Ben Snow scholarship, law, New York University.

Greene, Joseph, teaching assistant, State University of Pennsylvania.

Hession, John, Fulbright scholarship, French literature, University of Montpellier, France.

Josenhans, Paul J., scholarship, law, Georgetown University.

Kiernan, Bernard M., graduate fellowship, St. Louis University; graduate fellowship, Notre Dame; research assistant, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; National Science Foundation, honorable mention.

Murray, Lawrence, fellowship, physics, University of Maryland; teaching assistant, physics, University of Delaware; assistant, physics, Boston College.

Parella, Robert, scholarship, law, New York University.

Petrella, James J., centennial law scholarship, Seton Hall.

Poli, Oscar A., scholarship, economics, University of Illinois; assistant, economics, Boston College.

Sexton, William, assistant, mathematics, St. John's University.

Tobin, Ronald W., Fulbright scholarship, French literature, University of Toulouse; Woodrow Wilson fellowship, modern language, Princetown University.

Wiecke, Albert O., assistant, English literature, Johns Hopkins University.

Frank H. Smith Dies—Editor of The Clarion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, the thousands of readers of the New Haven Register and residents of the area were greatly saddened by the death of Frank H. Smith on Saturday.

The beloved Mr. Smith was the author of a column in the Register called the Elm City Clarion. The Clarion made brisk and delightful reading, covering many points from information on stray cats to the best fishing areas. It was, no doubt, one of the greatest attractions in the New Haven Register.

I include at this point excerpts from an article in the Register of Sunday, July 21, on the death of Mr. Smith:

WELL-KNOWN NEWSPAPERMAN, A VETERAN MEMBER OF REGISTER EDITORIAL STAFF, SUCCUMBS TO LONG ILLNESS AT 76

Frank Hovey Smith, editor of the Elm City Clarion column in the Register and one of the best known newspapermen in the New Haven area, died Saturday afternoon in his home at 106 Martin Street, West Haven. He would have been 77 years old in December.

* * * * *

JOINED REGISTER AT 16

Mr. Smith's notable newspaper career began on the New Haven Register in 1896 when, as a boy of 16, he took a job in the circulation department. Since then he had filled, at one time or another, every executive position in the Register's editorial department, after first qualifying as one of the city's ablest reporters and writers.

He had been sports editor, Sunday editor, editorial writer, city editor, and managing editor.

During his years as a reporter he covered every beat on the newspaper, including sports, police, courts, politics, business, and waterfront news.

For a large part of that time he had a status known then as star reporter, a title given to the man first in line for difficult assignments or top-rank feature stories.

The Elm City Clarion column, he recalled, was established more than 50 years ago by Clarence Smedley Thompson, then the Register's managing editor, who put it together as a small daily feature from paragraphs contributed by members of the staff.

Later Mr. Smith took over the column in collaboration with H. I. Phillips, who subsequently left the Register to work in New York. Through the years, Mr. Smith's keen mind and sympathies, and his remarkable knowledge of men and events, made the Clarion perhaps the most distinguished local column of its kind in existence.

* * * * *

Mr. Smith was a reporter, writer, and editor in the classic tradition. A man of action who loved the outdoors and the atmosphere of hearty sociability, he was uncompromisingly serious about his work, driven by an obsession for accurate, complete, and arresting reporting.

The files of his Elm City Clarion down the years make a unique record of a long era. Humorous, packed with news and occasionally a little caustic on man's inhumanity or transgressions, the Clarion creates a tapestry of community commentary almost unparalleled anywhere.

The universal appeal of his column was a reflection of his own almost limitless range of interests.

While the Clarion was enjoyed for its many short and newsy items, Mr. Smith also wrote with keen authority on major topics—famous happenings of yesteryear, careers of notable figures, newsworthy developments in business and industry. Occasionally he anticipated the news with a well-founded forecast of an important coming event.

PAINSTAKING IN RESEARCH

Despite the condensation demanded by the confines of his column, many of his stories represented long and painstaking research before they could satisfy his insistence on all the facts accurately presented.

He took his education from men and books but found that men were a more profitable study. His natural sociability combined, fortunately, with an intense professional curiosity to make many valuable friendships.

* * * * *

Although the Clarion was the institution most closely identified with him personally, it was, until the last few years, an extra labor he performed in addition to a full day's work as reporter or editor.

In his time he interviewed scores of celebrities of the theater, sports, and public life.

He accumulated a long list of personal friendships among the great and the near great, although completely unimpressed by celebrities as such.

The recipient of countless honors and tributes from groups and organizations, he took particular pride in the fact that he, a non-Catholic, was the first person selected by Father McKeon Division, Ancient Order of Hibernians, to receive the division's annual distinguished friendship award. It was presented to him on St. Patrick's Day, 1950.

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VERSATILITY WAS LEGENDARY

Mr. Smith's versatility was legendary, and to many people unbelievable. He knew ships, yachts, and boats, navigation problems and marine technicalities with the familiarity of a master mariner.

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On an instant's notice he could respond with remarkably accurate reports on such various trivia as the concessions at Savin Rock, the horse-betting situation in New Haven, or the election prospects of a political candidate. He generally had a close knowledge of latest developments in sports, banking, real estate, the stock market, and the New Haven business scene.

At the same time he could qualify as an expert on the current state of farms and flower gardens, migration of waterfowl, un-

common happenings in the night skies, pedigrees among the cat aristocracy, visitations by rare birds—all this together with a good working knowledge of world affairs.

HAD TRAVELED WIDELY

Strangers were often astonished in conversations with Frank about far places, to have some unfortunate inaccuracy corrected mildly and in slightly professorial style. He had traveled widely and his photographic memory could bring up voluminous detail.

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For many years, before an auto injury and later illness reduced the scope of his physical activity, he hunted waterfowl and game birds along the Atlantic seaboard from Connecticut to Florida. He could not only inventory the game resources of those areas but could report shrewdly and with colorful comment on the human scene and the economic conditions he observed there.

AN EXPERT MARKSMAN

He formerly owned a valuable collection of hunting guns which he disposed of when the strenuous life lost its appeal for him. An indication of his prowess as a marksman was his standing for many years as the third highest scorer of the New Haven Gun Club, whose members did their trapshooting on grounds on Dixwell Avenue near Pershing Street.

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Often plagued with ailments of the flesh, he tried to beat them off with such handy weapons as violent outbursts of oratory, searing comments on the state of the world, or a disparaging dissertation on the quality of the steak served him at dinner somewhere.

At his best, which was most of the time, he was a prized companion, a storyteller without peer—wit or comic as the situation demanded—ripe with strange humors, always ready with a capsule vaudeville act to delight an audience of his own choosing, and incurably fond of his favorite target of banter, the human race.

In his column he told of the unusual doings of personages and plain persons, ventured curbstone comment on the stock market, the weather, bus drivers, beefstakes, carnivals, and clambakes. Now and then he served a sharp notice on officialdom that some failure in public service had better be corrected.

He found homes for abandoned kittens, rounded up wayward dogs, and faithfully recorded reports from birdwatchers on feathered migrants arriving in the vicinity.

When he believed an appeal to be meritorious he had no difficulty in finding a piano, a radio, or a television set for a boys' club, orphanage, or hospital, and in general he performed the function of official good neighbor to the whole community.

Thanks to his tireless devotion to the aims of readability and solid entertainment, the Clarion became an institution with its own character and personality. It was discussed wherever people gathered, and thousands of readers said they turned first to the Clarion and after that to the front page.

His career as a newspaperman went back beyond the beginnings of the century. His colleagues on the Register and the Journal-Courier are agreed that New Haven will be a poorer place without him.

Microscopic Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, a lot of talk has been heard relative to newsmen being permitted to enter Red China.

On this issue I recommend as good reading the following editorial which appeared recently in the Omaha World-Herald. It sums up my views in this debate very well:

MICROSCOPIC ISSUE

If any of our readers have been waiting for us to join in the campaign to force the State Department to permit American newspapermen to travel in Red China, we are sorry to say we must disappoint them.

Of all issues now before the American public, this, we think, is the most microscopic.

We have read and reread the Bill of Rights, and find nothing in it which guarantees to newspapermen or microwave commentators the right to travel in hostile territory.

From the practical point of view, American reporters could learn just about as much about Chinese affairs by visiting San Francisco's Chinatown as by journeying to Peiping or Shanghai. For once inside China, they would be able to go only where the Red bureaucrats wanted them to go, and see only what the regime wanted them to see.

For some years American journalists have been allowed to penetrate the European section of the Iron Curtain, and so far as we can recall they have come up with little if any news worth mentioning. Pravda and Radio Moscow are still the most important sources—and virtually the only sources—of information about the Soviets.

Undeniably the opening up of Red China to American journalists would provide interesting trips for a few writers and commentators. It would give the Red bosses a chance to present some of their propaganda to the American people. But so far as the American people are concerned, we can foresee no beneficial results. Newspapermen who have been trumpeting this cause would spend their time better, we think, by digging into the mountains of news which remain unexplored in every American county seat and capital. Especially Washington.

Pro Football's Draft Law Is Sound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the House Judiciary Committee will initiate its investigation into the National Football League's player draft rule tomorrow, I should like to call to the attention of the Members of this body the following article which appeared in the Washington Daily News for Tuesday, July 23:

PRO FOOTBALL'S DRAFT LAW IS SOUND

(By Ev Gardner)

It will be extremely interesting to see what the House committee investigating professional sports does with the National Football League's player draft rule when hearings open on the Hill tomorrow.

No rule in modern sports has been the victim of so many inaccurate statements; so many phony tears.

It's said this rule, which allows teams to draft the top college stars, restricts players to one team, removes their bargaining rights. There's no denying the fact that it restricts them to one club.

But remove their bargaining rights? Since the draft has been in operation, salaries of rookie players in professional football have gone only in one direction, up.

In fact most rookies today are paid out of proportion in regard to the salaries of established veterans. Restrict them, yes; cost them money, no.

And the restriction is balanced by the fact that the draft rule is the only rule major professional sports ever have had that protects the fans, the people who foot the bill.

And the draft rule had produced a league in which any team can win, unlike baseball which has been dominated for 30 years by one city, New York, and primarily by one team, the Yankees. Without a draft rule the Yankees have been able to corner the market.

Even such a respected baseball man as Hank Greenberg only today came out and said that baseball's only hope of making the American League an eight-team championship race and not a perennial Yankee parade was a form of football player draft.

The NFL's football draft works so well for the player, no player has ever been heard to publicly object to it, teams and fans, Congress would leave well enough alone. The American public likes its pro football the way it is today.

The football player selection system to which Mr. Gardner alludes is embodied in the following resolution adopted by the National Football League in May 1935. In addition to Mr. Gardner's observations on the soundness of the football players selection system, I should like to point out that so far as bargaining is concerned there is unrestricted bidding between the clubs in the National Football League and the clubs in the Canadian Football League for the top college players in the United States.

RULE RELATIVE TO THE SELECTION OF PLAYERS, NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE

The following resolution was passed at a special meeting of the National Football League held on May 19, 1935, at Pittsburgh, Pa.:

"Motion by Mr. Bell, seconded by Mr. Marshall, that the following rule relative to the selection of players entering the National League for the first time become operative beginning with the season of 1936:

"1. At the annual meeting in February, and each succeeding year thereafter, a list of first year eligible players be presented by each club, and their names placed upon a board in the meeting room for selection by the various clubs. The priority of selection by each club shall follow the reverse order of the championship standing of the clubs at the close of the preceding season; for instance, the club which finished last in either division, to be determined by percentage rating, shall have first choice, the club which finished next to last, second choice, and this inverse order shall be followed until each club has had one selection or has declined to select a player, after which the selection shall continue as indicated above until all players whose names appear on the board have been selected or rejected.

"2. Any first year player who is not so chosen, or whose name does not appear on the list referred to above, is eligible to sign with any club in the league.

"3. If for any valid reason it would be impossible for a player to play in the city by which he has been selected, or the player can show reasonable cause why he should be permitted to play in a city other than that designated for him, then through such arrangements as can be made by sale or trade with another club, he shall be permitted to play in the city he prefers, if the president of the league approves his reasons as valid. (The fact that a job is to be secured for a player in any city as an added incentive to sign shall not be considered

sufficient reason for his transfer from the club by which he was originally selected.)

"4. In the event of a controversy between a selected player and a club, the matter shall be referred to the president, and his decision shall be accepted by all parties as final.

"5. In the event a player is selected by a club and fails to sign a contract or report, he shall be placed upon the reserve list of the club by which he was selected.

"Carried unanimously."

Is the Russian Atomic Energy Program Dragging Its Feet?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, since there is so much concern about Russia's progress in the field of atomic-electric power, the following article which appeared in the July 1957 issue of the Atomic Industrial Forum Memo should be of interest:

SLIPPAGE IN THE U. S. S. R.?

In early 1956 the Soviet Union announced to the world the electrifying news that it planned to install 2 to 2.5 million kilowatts, presumably electrical, of nuclear power capacity under the 5-year plan ending in 1960—a program which presumably would bring world leadership to Russia by 1960 in the sense of sheer volume of nuclear power. Until last month the only authoritative details on the Russian 5-year program has been provided in a speech delivered in England in April 1956 by I. V. Kurchatov, a leading member of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences (see Memo for May 1956, p. 19). Kurchatov said that Russia planned to build 5 nuclear power stations by 1960, including 2 stations which "will be equipped with water-moderated and cooled thermal and epithermal 200,000-kilowatt reactors and 70,000-kilowatt turbines," and another station "equipped with graphite-moderated and water-cooled reactors of the type used at the first atomic powerplant of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences," with each reactor "feeding turbines of 200,000 kilowatt total capacity." A third type of station would use a heterogeneous heavy water-moderated and gas-cooled reactor, "feeding turbines of 200,000 kilowatt total capacity."

Early estimates: Kurchatov said the power stations would "be put into operation beginning with the end of 1958; some of them will start operation in 1959 and in 1960." He left ambiguous such matters as how many reactors would be placed in each station, and whether he was referring in each case to thermal or electrical kilowatts.

Kurchatov also said that Russia would build by 1960 "several pilot plants each with an individual capacity of 50,000 to 70,000 kilowatts." He said these would include a boiling-water reactor, a "homogeneous heavy water-moderated thermal-breeder reactor with the U–233–Th–232 cycle," a sodium graphite reactor and a sodium-cooled fast breeder.

Since the Kurchatov speech, Russia has been notably silent about its rate of progress in fulfilling the ambitious nuclear power goals of its 5-year program—to the point where a curious world was beginning to wonder whether the silence might mean that the program had slipped badly off schedule.

Last month, in response to a detailed questionnaire submitted to it and to all other leading atomic nations by the United Nations, Russia brought up to date what it is willing to say about the state of its nuclear power program. Although many points in the report are still ambiguous, it appears to confirm the Western suspicion that all is not on schedule with 1956–1960 atomic power program.

The program: The current program was outlined by Russia as follows:

PWR's: "Two of the stations to be built under the Ministry of Electric Power Stations' plan will have water-moderated and water-cooled reactors. A two-circuit system has been adopted. The water in the primary circuit, at 100 atm. pressure, is heated in the reactor from 250° to 275° C. and passes into the stream generator where it transfers the heat derived from the reactor to the water and stream in the secondary circuit. * * * The turbo-generators (3 of 70,000 kw each) will be driven by saturated steam at 30 atm. pressure from one reactor." Thus each of these reactor is apparently expected to generate 210,000 kw of electricity.

The PWR stations will each have a total capacity of 1,520 thermal mw, 420 gross electrical mw and 390 net electrical mw (indicating apparently that there will be two reactors per station). The expected burn-up is 3,500 megawatt-days per ton, and the fuel charge will be 40 tons. (It is not clear whether this means 40 tons per reactor or per two-reactor station.)

Russia said that an average uranium enrichment of "about 1 percent" will be used in its PWR's, and that they are expected to produce enough plutonium "to supply the reactor with all the enriched material required for the next charge: thus it is possible that uranium–235 will be needed only for the initial charges."

Water-graphite: "A third power station is to be equipped with reactors similar to that used in the first atomic power station of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R., which is in operation. These will be graphite moderated, and the heat transfer mediums will be water and steam circulating through channels in the reactors. Some of these channels will be used for superheating the steam in the primary circuit to approximately 540° C. The heat taken from the reactor by the steam will be used in the steam generator to produce and superheat secondary steam, which will then be fed into the turbines. High-parameter secondary steam—90 atm and 500° C.—is expected to be produced; modern turbines designed for such parameters, with a power of 100,000 kilowatts each, will be used at this station."

The pressurized water-graphite reactor station will have a total capacity of 1,150 thermal mw, 400 gross electrical mw and 375 net electrical mw. There is no indication of how many reactors there will be per station. The calculated burn-up is 2,500 mw-days per ton, with a fuel enrichment of 1.2 percent. The fuel load is given as 185 tons, again without indication of whether this means per reactor or per station.

Both the PWR's and the water-graphite reactor stations are calculated to run 7,500 hours per year at full capacity. No location was indicated for any of the stations.

Prototypes: Russia went on to say: "In addition to the large-scale power stations, it is planned to construct four relatively small powerplants with reactors, of between 5 and 70 mw capacity, requiring thorough experimental study before they can be recommended for use in large power stations." The four reactors are the same types mentioned earlier by Kurchatov—BWR, SGR, homogeneous and fast breeder. No mention is made of the heavy water, gas cooled reactor power station referred to by Kurchatov.

Totals: The figures given by the Russians for their planned nuclear power capacity add up to 1.24 million gross ekw in three power stations, plus somewhere between 25,000 and 285,000 ekw in prototype capacity including the 5,000 ekw water-graphite prototype which has been running since 1954. The maximum capacity under this program thus comes out at about 1.5 million ekw—a figure substantially less than the 2 to 2.5 million ekw scheduled under the original 5-year plan.

The Russian report does not give dates either for the start of construction or for estimated completion of the nuclear power stations.

On the subject of status, the report did say that Russia is conducting "research on the nuclear phenomena likely to occur" in the PWR's and in the experimental prototypes, using its RPT testing reactor. It is also conducting tests relating to the stress which will be imposed on PWR pressure vessels. The 5,000 electric kilowatts prototype water-graphite reactor of the Academy of Sciences is being used for "preliminary experimental research work" on water-graphite reactors. (Russia said that this reactor "has been functioning since July 27, 1954, and throughout that time nothing has ever gone wrong with a single fuel element.")

"Lack of experience": In a revealing statement, Russia said it does not plan to use nuclear energy for residential heating at an early stage "in view of the possible danger of radioactive discharges, and of the complete lack of experience in the operation of nuclear powerplants." In another statement related to status, the report said: "There are a number of possible technical improvements which might well effect the economic profitability of power produced in nuclear stations. In the planned stations research work will be concentrated mainly on increasing the period of service of the fuel elements. According to preliminary estimates it will take about 3 years of operation to accumulate the necessary experience; thus we shall be able to take the improvements in question into account in the construction of the next series of installations (1961–65)."

Relatedly, the Soviet newspaper Tass reportedly announced last month that Russia has begun construction of the first of its major nuclear power stations, to have a capacity of 420,000 electric kilowatts from two reactors, each of which would use three 70,000 kilowatt turbines. (This would appear to indicate that the station will be the first of the two PWR stations.) The report said that the station is scheduled for completion by 1960. No location was given.

A Good Return for Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial by the editor and publisher of the Indianola Record-Herald, Indianola, Iowa:

A GOOD RETURN FOR TAXES

The Kaiser thought the United States would not fight. He started World War I. Japan thought we were not ready to fight. She started World War II. Russia knows that we will fight and she knows we are

ready. She has not started world war III—not yet. Let's keep her well informed that we are ready. It is cheaper to keep our soldiers well supplied with weapons and well trained than it is to have them fighting. We probably get more for our taxes for defense than for any other taxes we pay.

Industrial Area Redevelopment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to say that it is a matter of deep satisfaction to me, to the other members of the congressional delegation from the Greater Detroit area and, I am sure, to many other Members, to know that the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, Mr. SPENCE, of Kentucky, has given assurance that the bills which many of us have introduced to provide for area redevelopment, both in industrial centers and in rural sections, will be the subject of committee hearings early in the 2d session of the 85th Congress, beginning January 1958.

Likewise, we are greatly heartened by the interest and support which the Speaker has given this important matter which vitally affects millions of American facilities, thousands of American businesses and virtually every State in the Nation.

Recently it was my privilege to take part in a conference with the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee and the Speaker at which a delegation representing more than 310,000 auto workers and their families in the Detroit area described that area's industrial blights, the obsolete multistory factories and outmoded facilities, and the need for Federal assistance in the way of loans and grants to clear away industrial slums and housing slums so that modern plants may be built in the Detroit area which has the world's greatest skilled labor supply in the automotive field. This delegation was composed of George Merelli and Ken Morris, codirectors, UAW region 1, Detroit—East Side—Mich., and Edward Cote and Joseph McCusker, codirectors, UAW Region 1A, Detroit—West Side—Mich.

This delegation reported that the UAW in Detroit area has committed substantial funds as "seed money" to be put into a common effort to develop practical plans for the modernization and redevelopment of the blighted areas of my native city. At this point in my remarks I ask unanimous consent to insert a brief summary of the area redevelopment bill which I have introduced as H. R. 7462 and which has been introduced by Congresswoman MARTHA GRIFFITHS as H. R. 5471, by Congressman MACHROWICZ as H. R. 5205, by Congressman LESINSKI as H. R. 5268, by Congressman DINGELL as H. R. 5302, and Congressman DIGGS as H. R. 7800. Senator MCNAMARA, of Michigan, also has introduced an area redevelopment bill, S. 964:

SUMMARY OF AREA REDEVELOPMENT BILL

1. Purpose: To assist communities, industries, enterprises, and individuals in areas needing redevelopment to expand their productive activity to alleviate excessive and prolonged unemployment and underemployment by providing new employment opportunities and developing and expanding existing facilities and resources without reducing employment in other areas.

2. Organization:

(a) Creates an Area Redevelopment Administration with an Administrator appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation.

(b) Creates a national Advisory Committee to assist Administrator.

3. Redevelopment areas defined:

(a) Industrial redevelopment areas are defined as "Those within the United States in which Administrator determines that there has existed substantial and persistent unemployment for an extended period of time."

(b) Rural redevelopment areas are defined as "those rural areas within the United States in which he determines that there exist the largest number and percentage of low income farm families, and a condition of substantial and persistent unemployment or underemployment."

(c) Administrator may designate several counties or municipalities or a part of a county or municipality as a "redevelopment area."

4. Local committees: Once a redevelopment area is determined, local redevelopment committee shall be appointed by Administrator consisting of at least 7 residents of area, representing management, labor, commercial, industrial development, and agricultural groups. Committee shall submit plans and cost estimates for:

(a) Development of resources, processing and marketing facilities of area;

(b) Construction, rehabilitation, and alteration of industrial plants or commercial facilities of area;

(c) Purchase of machinery or equipment for use in area to attract new industry and stimulate economic activity.

5. Loans:

(a) On application approved by a local committee, Administrator may make loans to assist in financing (1) purchase or development of land for industrial usage; (2) construction, rehabilitation, or alteration of industrial plants or other manufacturing, commercial, or processing facilities; and (3) purchase of machinery or equipment for use in area, if he finds borrower will not transfer business operations to such plant so as to effect a significant reduction of employment in any other area within the United States.

(b) One hundred million dollars authorized for making industrial redevelopment loans, on revolving fund basis. One hundred million dollars appropriated for rural redevelopment loans, with limitation of $6 million to any one State, on revolving-fund basis.

6. Assistance to public facilities:

(a) Loan for public facilities: Upon application of any State or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, private or public redevelopment organization, Administrator is authorized to make loans to assist in financing purchase or development of land for public-facility usage, and construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of public facilities in redevelopment areas.

(b) Grants for public facilities: Administrator may conduct studies of needs and probable costs in redevelopment areas for needed land acquisition for public-facility usage, and for construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of useful public facilities. May receive proposals from States, Indian tribes, organizations, etc., showing plans, costs, and contributions to be made to proposal, and Administrator may make grants where he finds appropriations authorized not to exceed $50 million for making grants.

7. Financial assistance under Housing Act:

(a) Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized to use slum clearance and urban renewal projects in redevelopment areas for industrial and commercial rebuilding without regard to requirements of existing law that project area be predominantly for residential uses. This is, however, subject to the limitation that not more than 10 percent of the funds authorized under existing law for loans or capital grants for slum clearance and urban renewal shall be available to provide financial assistance under this section.

(b) Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized also to make urban planning grants for planning in redevelopment areas.

8. Vocational training: Secretary of Labor shall—

(a) Determine vocational training or retraining needs of unemployed individuals in redevelopment areas and cooperate with Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and State and local agencies engaged in vocational training to assure that all facilities are available to such unemployed persons.

(b) Determine additional facilities needed to meet vocational training or retraining needs. Secretary of Labor shall then so advise Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare who shall furnish assistance, including finances, to State agencies to meet needs. If State agencies are unable to meet vocational training and retraining needs, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may contract for such services with public or private institutions. Secretary of Labor shall provide any necessary technical assistance for setting up apprenticeship, journeymen, and other job training needed in locality.

9. Retraining subsistence payments: Secretary of Labor shall—

(a) Enter into agreements with redevelopment area States whereby the States, as agents of the Federal Government, make weekly retraining payments to unemployed individuals not entitled to unemployment compensation (exhaustions or not insured) and certified by Secretary of Labor to be taking training.

(b) Make retraining payments to such individuals for not more than 13 weeks in amounts equal to average unemployment compensation payments payable in State making payments.

Representative James Bowler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, all of us mourn the passing of our dear friend and colleague, the Honorable JAMES BOWLER of Chicago. There is an empty space in the Illinois delegation that will

be difficult to fill. JIM BOWLER had an outstanding record of public service.

I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial by the Chicago American of July 20, 1957, that outlines some of the great work performed by our departed friend.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES BOWLER

Representative JAMES BOWLER, who died Thursday at the age of 82, had been a Congressman since 1953 and before that had served as a member of the Chicago city council longer than any other man in history. He became an alderman in 1906.

As Mayor Daley says, "He played a major part in the progress and development of the city" in the course of his long service in the council.

Among the great civic achievements in which he had a leading part was the building of the Congress Street Expressway. He was in front of the long fight to overcome the countless obstacles to the project, and in the end his advocacy had a decisive part in persuading the council to approve the plan.

He was an effective leader also in the development of the West Side Medical Center.

In Congress Representative BOWLER worked energetically for the development of O'Hare Field and for increased lake diversion.

Transferring to the new field of national politics in the closing years of his life, he served the people of Chicago there with intelligence and vigor until illness put an end to his service. He will be remembered as a man who helped make Chicago history.

A Citizen Looks at the Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I submit the following letter written to the editor, published on the front page of the Fayette, Miss., Chronicle, under date of July 11, 1957:

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

EDITOR, THE FAYETTE CHRONICLE:

The civil-rights bill, which would give the Federal Government police power over our public schools, has been driven through the House by the Republican administration heavily supported by northern Democrats. Now it is in the Senate pushed along by the same elements. Twenty-two southern Senators are fighting it with loyalty and great ability but only a filibuster can defeat this bill and that defeat might not be permanent. The threat of a momentous change is now so great that we should be adjusting our minds to it. Jefferson is more vulnerable than other counties. The hour is late.

The legislature has made it possible for us, as a last resort, to give up our public-school system—an event so unfortunate that we shrink from contemplating it.

However, the choice would not be between coeducation of the races and no schools, it would be between coeducation of the races and private schools, for such schools would certainly be organized at once to fill the vacuum. Taxes could be greatly reduced. The present buildings could be leased, and present teachers could be employed, by corporations or individuals. Private benevolence would arrange tuition for children (if any) whose parents are too poor to pay anything. Let the following facts be remembered:

For about 75 years our State had no public school system. There were many private schools, some of them excellent. Mothers did much teaching at home. This writer has known a mother who taught her own children to read and afterwards taught separately two little colored girls, the daughters of her cook. We have many Catholic citizens who pay tuition to their parochial schools although they are paying the ad valorem tax to support public schools. The private school of the late Doctor Grafton at Union Church was justly famous for the training it gave its students, and on the other side of the county there was a 1-room log schoolhouse where fundamental teaching was given to a number of fine citizens, including 2 very useful ministers of the gospel and a lieutenant general of the United States Army.

If the civil-rights bill should be passed and enforced, all would not be lost. The saddest and most appaling feature of the present conflict is the vindictive effort of a powerful majority to deprive us of self-government and substitute government from Washington in a matter that is of little interest to that majority but as important to us as the breath of life.

Yours respectfully,

A CITIZEN OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.

New-Type Red Rule Under Test in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newspaper clipping from the Washington, D. C., Evening Star of July 19, 1957. I think that article sets forth very thoroughly the problem faced by the Polish people.

They are caught between the millstones of Communist government on one hand and danger of a holocaust of the type that killed and injured so many thousands of Hungarians. The Poles are taking a realistic course and will ultimately triumph over Russian domination. I hope all will read this article.

The article follows:

NEW-TYPE RED RULE UNDER TEST IN POLAND

(By Richard Fryklund)

WARSAW, POLAND.—The Communist regime here is entering the make-or-break phase of its experiment in a new kind of government.

In the next few months the regime must demonstrate that it has really invented, in the words of one party leader, "a kind of socialism people can like." And to make it tougher, the new brand of government must also be a kind of socialism the Polish and Russian Communist Parties can like.

It is no sure thing that the Polish experiment will succeed.

This is, of course, a Communist government, committed to the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat—the dictatorship operated on behalf of the workers by the Communist Party. The government also is committed to Marxist-Leninist socialism, and it considers advocacy of capitalism to be a subversive act.

But at the same time—and this is what makes this Communist government worthy of new interest in the Western World—the present regime is determined to build socialism in an atmosphere of individual freedom and apparently is determined also to live in genuine harmony with all of the world.

The experiment is only 9 months old, and rough times lie ahead. In the past 9 months, Poland has passed the stage of exhilaration brought on by the unexpected success of October's gamble for national and individual freedom, and is entering a period of slow, hard grind. The people are used to their new freedom. Now they want to see if the Communist Party can do a good job of running a country over the long haul.

The party insists it can please the Polish people, satisfy the Soviet Union and prove that Marxism works.

Party leaders say they will succeed through a program combining Communist Party dictatorship, individual freedom, rapid economic progress and doctrinaire socialism.

Poland is full of people, however, who believe that this program is one of "contradictions." They believe something in that program eventually will have to give way: Either party rule or individual freedom; either socialism or economic progress.

The people say they will fight rather than give up their freedom or their expectations for economic gain. The party and the Kremlin say flatly that party rule and socialism will not be sacrificed.

Western observers, therefore, who wish the Polish people will find themselves in the slightly paradoxical spot of rooting for success of the Communist program.

What are the forces working for and against success of the Polish experiment? First, those against:

1. The overwhelming majority of the Polish people are not Communists. Most are anti-Communist. The party is at best only tolerated.

2. Poles hate the Soviet Union, yet a successful Polish Government today must be linked with Russia.

3. Most Poles are not Socialists, and they have little enthusiasm for building socialism.

4. The Polish economic system is Socialist, but there is no indication that doctrinaire socialism will be able to solve Poland's economic problems.

5. The people are determined to keep their freedom, including the freedom not to cooperate when they don't want to.

6. Poles want fast improvement in their standard of living, but even under the most happy economic and political circumstances progress will be painfully slow.

7. Poland lacks leaders. The Germans and Russians for 15 years systematically "liquidated" Poles who showed ability for moral or intellectual leadership. There is a general contempt for government or any authority in Poland today.

In other words, to sum up the difficulties the Polish Communist Party faces, the regime is trying to put over an unpopular political system and a perhaps unworkable economic system, both efforts handicapped by the determination on the part of the regime to maintain national independence and personal freedom.

FAVORABLE FORCES

There are of course important forces working for the party:

1. Poles believe they will be slaughtered like Hungarians if they don't keep a Soviet-approved Communist government.

2. The Catholic Church—the only widely supported force in Poland—accepts the present Communist regime as the only alternative to revolution and a return to the old terror system.

3. The new Communist regime is showing signs of flexibility which may in fact carry it to a workable economic and political system, even though in theory the party remains true-Red Communist.

4. Poles are tired of stress, of instability, of bloodshed. They don't want to fight the Communists again.

5. The Polish people are not without hope; they believe the Soviet Union and the whole Communist bloc is changing for the better. Poles believe the world eventually will be a safe place for a fully democratic Poland, so there is no need for desperation today.

6. Many countries in the West and in the Soviet camp want to see the Polish experiment succeed and will continue to give important ideological and financial aid.

And so, the Communist Party has working in its favor the widespread conviction that Poland has no other place to go, plus the hope among Poles that things will continue to get better.

WHAT LIES AHEAD

Then what is the future of the new Polish regime?

This is a favorite question of outsiders in Poland, but the Poles themselves seem to avoid working out the answer. One Pole put it to me this way:

"We don't make detailed plans about the future here. We have learned during the German ocupation and then the Stalinist days that it is useless to look ahead. We get what we can out of today.

"Of course, we hope things will get better, and we hope we don't lose our freedom. But it doesn't seem very important to wonder what kind of government we will have a few years from now."

Visitors who like to worry about the future on behalf of the Poles generally conclude that the party, itself, has no real long-range plans—just plenty of ideas wrapped up in the strange artificial language of communism, and not even the party officials can agree on what the ideas will mean in practice.

The people, on the other hand, may be against communism, but they don't seem to know just what they would like.

SOME KEYS TO THE FUTURE

Actually, the future for Poland seems to rest on several unanswered questions:

How long will the people remain patient under an unpopular government and a limping economic system?

If the party must some day either reapply terror to maintain its rule or sacrifice communism in order to maintain freedom, which will the party choose?

Will the Soviet Union permit the Polish people to lose patience? Or will the Kremlin permit the Polish Communist Party to water down classic Communist doctrine.

Poles both in and out of the party believe the recent changes in Moscow—the ouster of "conservative" Communist officials—widens the scope of choice in Poland.

From the Polish point of view, the essence of the Kremlin change is that Russia now affirms the right of all Communist states to have their own independent brands of communism. The Polish party sees it as a green light to unlimited flexibility within the framework of the Marx-Lenin-Engles textbooks. And those textbooks can be made to say almost anything one would like to hear.

Flexibility would not extend, of course, to the admission of opposition parties capable of ousting the Communists from power.

BEST OF WHAT IS NECESSARY

The people would like freedom of choice to be extended much further. The Polish Communist regime of Party Secretary Gomulka is tolerated only because today the Poles must have a Communist government, and his is the best they know of. If the Poles had their choice, it is quite probable they would throw out the Communist government tomorrow and substitute for it—well, they don't seem to know just what.

But the desires of party and people combined with political and economic realities in Poland seem to be leading Poland in one general direction: Addition of more and more capitalistic features to the Polish economy and growth of increasingly vocal opposition groups preaching political liberalization within and without the party.

No one, of course, expects to see Western-style political and economic freedom in Poland as long as communism remains the way of life in Russia. But at the same time no one—even Communist Party officials—say a reversal of the present liberal trend is possible.

No one knows whether Poland eventually can produce a kind of socialism people can like. But already Poland has produced something new under the sun, and the country already is vastly better off because of it.

Subsequent articles in this series will take up the question of what's new in Polish economics, foreign policy and civil liberties and attempt, above all, to show what it is like to be a Pole living today in this new kind of Communist state.

Increased Pay for Postal Workers: Same Consideration Should Be Given for All Government Workers

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 22, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2474) to increase the rates of basic compensation of officers and employees in the field service of the Post Office Department.

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Chairman, the bill now before us will, if adopted, raise the salary of postal workers $546 per annum across the board for all of them in their several grades. They are entitled to this recognition. It will bring the salaries of these faithful workers in line with the increases that have come to industrial workers in the last few years.

We are all grateful for the fact that we have today in this country the highest national income of any time in our history. Certainly, our postal workers and all other Government employees are entitled to share in this prosperity. If they were workers in industry, or any commercial pursuit, or any form of activity they would receive salary increases incident to the increased national prosperity.

Furthermore, we are all aware of the increased cost of living that has come as part of our increased prosperity. Our workers both in and out of Government are entitled to have such fact reflected in their rate of wages and the salaries they receive.

Too often there has been a lag in bringing our Government workers wage increases to meet the increased cost of living. This has in many instances made it necessary for such workers to look for additional employment or for their wives to take on employment duties to meet the necessities of the family. This should not be so in America. Our national economy can and should recognize the needs of Government workers. They are entitled to an increase and I give my support to this bill that raises the salaries of postal workers; and I will be equally pleased to give my support to raise the wages of all Government workers to the point that is necessary and proper under existing conditions.

A Strange Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, in the current debate on the civil-rights bill in the other body much has been said about the possibility that troops might be used to enforce the provisions of the bill. As has been pointed out on this floor by me and by others, there is much more to this so-called civil-rights bill than meets the eye. It is encouraging, to say the least, that others are now agreeing with us.

However, while there is a great deal of sentiment for assuring the South that troops would not be used, there still is a determination on the part of the administration to keep part III of the bill intact. This is, of course, saying one thing and doing another.

This fact is brought out forcefully by the Lynchburg News, of Lynchburg, Va., in an editorial this morning. I wish to insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD as an indication of the sentiment of our people on this question:

A STRANGE POSITION

The civil-rights bill as passed by the House of Representatives and which its advocates are now trying to get through the Senate without change gives power to the President to call out troops to enforce laws and court decrees in the whole vague field of civil rights. It gives the Attorney General power to create situations in which a President might find it necessary or desirable to call out troops or otherwise exercise the extreme of Federal power.

President Eisenhower says that he can conceive of no situation which would lead him to take such action. He can't imagine himself doing anything of the sort.

Then he rejects striking out the section which gives the President the power to do so. He doesn't want the power, he wouldn't use it if he had it given him. Yet he favors the grant of that power.

President Eisenhower may be taken at his word about his intentions or lack of intentions. There's no reason to doubt his sincerity when he says he can imagine no circumstances under which he would use Federal troops. But Mr. Eisenhower will be President for only 2 years after this bill, if it is passed, becomes effective. Mr. Brownell will be Attorney General for no longer period. After that may come a President and Attorney General who have no such horror of using the powers granted under the provisions of the bill. He might be a Nixon or a Knowland or even a Humphrey, a Harriman or a Douglas, none of whom share Eisenhower's compunctions.

To take such chances would be criminal. The Senators opposed to passage of this bill without sweeping amendments will be justi-

fied in using whatever legitimate means are at hand to defeat it and should do so. We have no doubt they will. If President Eisenhower's legislative program is completely stymied let him blame himself and his trusting faith in his Attorney General.

Nor is the situation changed much by the offer of a so-called compromise amendment to the part giving power to the President the incumbent doesn't want and won't use. This proposal is that the reconstruction force laws passed by Thad Stevens' Congress be repealed. That is no compromise at all. It is just something that should in all decency be done even if there were no civil-rights legislation pending. By all means repeal this hate-inspired and oppressive legislation but spare us talk of concessions to the fears of the South and of many in other sections of the country. It would be a concession to nothing but a decent regard for human rights and the Constitution the Union's founders framed to support them.

Emma Lazarus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial printed in the East Side News on the 108th anniversary of the birth of Emma Lazarus, the beloved American poetess who is probably best remembered as the author of the inspiring sonnett which is engraved upon the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor:

EMMA LAZARUS, 1849–87
(By Harry H. Schlacht)
"THE NEW COLOSSUS

"Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon hand
Glows worldwide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
'Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!' cries she
With silent lips. 'Give me your tired, your poor
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door'."

Monday we commemorate the 108th anniversary of the birth of Emma Lazarus, the beloved American poetess. Children of liberty will clasp her hand in loving memory.

Emma Lazarus is the author of the inspiring sonnet, The New Colossus. Her message to the world, all the world may read. It is engraved on the Statue of Liberty. It is standing in the gateway of democracy.

The noble soul and human heart of Emma Lazarus are symbolized in the Goddess of Liberty. It was given to a child of oppressed generations, to understand the true meaning of this liberty-loving nation; to pen the immortal lines with such prophetic pathos; to express the spirit of democracy with such eloquence: to welcome the persecuted of the Old World, to the glorious promise of the New World.

And through the years we can hear the echo of Miss Liberty's voice speaking to these pilgrims to our blessed land. As you breathe the free air of our shore, homeless wanderer, reaching home, become one with us in freedom's cause, take the riches of our liberties and repay the gift of becoming one with us—an American.

The Goddess of Liberty and Emma Lazarus have become synonymous. No poet of any nation has ever received such worldwide distinction. The Lady With the Torch was presented by the people of France to the American people to commemorate the first centennial of American independence.

Emma Lazarus was born on July 22, 1849, in New York City. She was the daughter of an old Jewish family. The story of her literary evolution is the story of the fulfillment of the evolution of a soul. Many women of every race, many men of every race, have evinced literary ability.

But it is rarely given to man or woman to so combine the powerful poetic expression with the clear insight and courage, with the conviction and devotion, as it was in Emma Lazarus. Her poems had power. Her poems had fire.

Since Miriam sang of deliverance and the triumph of the Red Sea, the Jewish race has had no braver singer. Her songs of divine unity repeated on the lips of her own people, in all zones and continents, have been heard round the civilized world.

Her poem, The Crowing of the Red Cock, written when the Russian sky was red with blazing hatred, is a powerful lyric worthy of the Maccabean age. Her poem Banner of the Jew, has the ring of Israel's war trumpet. It sounded the clarion call to all Jews to unite for human rights, for new achievements and for new glories as in the days of the Maccabees.

She was one of the pioneers of Zionism. She was one of the outstanding advocates of a Jewish homeland. It was in that cause that her character had its fullest flowering.

It is heartening to see that the same poetess who was the first to give expression for the national renaissance of her people has become the symbol of humanity and democracy. She died on November 19, 1887. She was in her 38th year.

On that tragic day no better appreciation of Emma Lazarus was expressed than that of the famous American poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, who wrote: "Her people will mourn the death of this woman. But they will not be alone. At her grave the tears of the daughters of Jerusalem will mingle with those of the Christians."

As long as liberty shall live in the human heart—as long as the Statue of Liberty shall remain our symbol of freedom—the name of that symbol as the champion of liberty.

O, take Miss Liberty, O, take thy radiance 'round, when dimmed, revive; when lost, return; till not a shrine through earth be, on which thy glories shall not burn.

More Egg Prices—Depressing, Aren't They?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I regularly pay in the market anywhere from 4 to 5 cents apiece for eggs. But my constituent, a farmer, Mr. Ray Korinek, of Campbell, Minn., says eggs have been less than 2 pennies apiece for a good long time. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD Mr. Korinek's letter and some of his egg and poultry receipts:

CAMPBELL, MINN., *July 19, 1957.*
Hon. COYA KNUTSON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN KNUTSON: You will find enclosed statements of eggs sold, also statements of what the laying hen (Leghorn) herself is bringing here at the local markets at the present time.

These can be for your keeping as I have copies of same for my records.

Sincerely,
RAY KORINEK.

P. S.: Eggs have been less than a penny apiece for a good long time.

June 18: Eggs, 21 cents per dozen.
June 27: Eggs, 21–18–18–15.
July 11: Eggs, 25–19–19–15.
July 11: Hens, 8 cents per pound; cockerels, 7 cents per pound.
July 16: Eggs, 22 cents per dozen.
July 16: Hens, 8 cents per pound.

Archibald M. Main, Sr., Honorary Chairman of the Board of the Bath Iron Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. COFFIN
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John R. Newell, president of the Bath Iron Works Corp., in Bath, Maine, recently delivered an address in that city honoring Mr. Archibald M. Main, Sr., honorary chairman of the board of the Bath Iron Works. Thirty years ago, Mr. Main, together with Mr. Newell's father, who is now deceased, pooled their wealth of experience, talent, and business acumen to bring this company back to its honored place as one of the great shipyards in the country. The Bath Iron Works, under their guidance, emerged from the shipbuilding slump following World War I and the throes of the great depression, to become once again famous for its contributions to our naval fleets.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting excerpts from Mr. Newell's address which is a tribute to a distinguished and resourceful citizen of our State, and provides an interesting sketch of the history of this shipyard located in the city where America's first ship was built in 1607:

MR. NEWELL'S TRIBUTE TO MR. MAIN

When the old Bath Iron Works, Ltd., closed its doors in receivership back in 1925, there were few people in Bath who thought the Shipbuilding City—where America's first ship had been built in 1607—where, since that time and up to 1925, some 4,000 oceangoing vessels had been built—would ever build another ship. * * *

DARK DAYS

There was no subsidy to offset the differential between foreign operated ships at

sweatshop wages and the high wage standards and costs facing our American steamship operators. * * *

Business was good in all other industries; the war to end wars was over and we could, so it seemed, let our merchant navy—and our shipyards—go to rot. And go to rot many of them went. * * *

FLAME REKINDLED

And so it was that the city of Bath, dependent on ships and shipbuilding for over 300 years, came upon very hard times when its principal industry ran on the rocks in 1925. * * * But before the embers of her fame and skill as a shipbuilding center completely died, two men got their heads together and resolved to rekindle the slumbering Bath Iron Works and to try to revive it with not much more than a hope and a prayer and less money than it would take, today, to buy a first-class engine lathe.

NEWELL AND MAIN

One of these men was my father. The other we honor today—Archibald MacNicol Main. * * * Every Saturday they worried whether there'd be enough in the bank to meet the payroll. Every time they bought major materials it had to be on a basis of "we'll pay just as soon as we can—which may not be when you want it—but you'll get paid." * * *

Gradually, as the years went by, they built up a fair balance sheet and things looked better—then came the depression. A half-million-dollar yacht left on their hands; no new yachts to build; practically nothing until the Coast Guard came along with seven patrol boats—which they were determined to get and got at an extremely low price—but it kept the wheels turning until better times slowly came back.

BACK TO NAVY SHIPS

Finally they got the iron works back into Navy shipbuilding and with the rising awareness of our woefully weak military position, the business of building up our fleet put the old mare back in the running again. The pre-war days, the hectic pace of World War II, the let-down after the war, and the rising activity of the last 10 years are pretty well known to most of you here and do not need to be related now.

What kind of men did it take to perform this industrial miracle? * * *

STARTED AT 14

Born in Greenock, Scotland, April 24, 1870, Archie Main was apprenticed at 14 as a shipwright and draftsman in Clyde shipyards. He studied naval architecture and marine engineering at the Royal Technical College, from which he graduated in 1895. His early shipyard experience was in several British and Scottish yards on all types of vessels, including sailing and steam yachts.

He came to this country in 1900 as naval architect for the Eastern Shipbuilding Co., at Groton, Conn.

TWO BIG EVENTS

It was while in Groton that two big events happened to Archie Main. He met and married Jane Avery, his devoted and lovely mate in 1903, who bore him five children, all of whom are well-known and dearly loved by the people of Bath.

The second great event was the construction for James J. Hill, president of Great Northern Railway, of the largest steamships built in America up to that time—the famous *Minnesota* and *Dakota*—over 30,000 tons displacement. No bigger ship was built in the United States of America until the steamship *America* was completed in 1939. * * *

BUILDS MANY SHIPS

From Groton Archie Main went to Wilmington, Del., where he was associated with the Harlan and Hollingsworth plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. In 1917, as vice president of the Merrill Stevens shipyard at Jacksonville, Fla., he supervised the construction of a new shipyard for that company. From Jacksonville Mr. Main returned to Groton as general manager of the Groton Iron Works. After World War I that yard closed and Mr. Main became consulting naval architect for Pusey and Jones Co. of Wilmington, Del., and with W. G. Cox had a consulting naval architects' and marine engineers' office in Philadelphia. He did a great many fine, large yachts during this period.

COMES TO BATH

In 1927, when the Bath Iron Works was reopened again, Mr. Main was one of the original partners. He was made vice president and naval architect of the new Bath Iron Works Corp.

Coming to Bath was Archie Main's third experience in taking over a drawing room in which there were no drawings and no data for reference. All drawings, tracings, blueprints, and design data of the old Bath Iron Works, Ltd., had been sold and removed when the plant was dismantled in 1925. * * *

Soon after the new company got going, Mr. Main was made vice president and general manager. Then, early in World War II, he was made executive vice president of the Bath Iron Works, and during 1940 and 1941 was vice president of the Todd-Bath Iron Works Shipbuilding Corp. and later the South Portland Shipbuilding Corp., building Liberty ships for England and for our own Government. From 1954 to 1956 he was chairman of the board of directors of the Bath Iron Works Corp., and is now honorary chairman of the board.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Aside from raising a large, fine family and bringing literally hundreds of ships of all types into the world, Archie Main has ever found time for worthwhile activities outside his immediate family and business. He has been a very active member of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers and a member of the Institute of Naval Architects in Great Britain.

He is a director of the Bath Trust Co., past president of the Maine Port Authority, a member of the Bath Recreation Commission, president of the Bath Memorial Hospital, and president since 1938 of the Bath Y. M. C. A. He is a member of the Propeller Club of the United States, the Engineers Club of New York, the Thames Club of New London, a Lion and now a Rotarian.

A FRIENDLY MAN

But it is not for all these great accomplishments that we know Archie Main best. He is best known in his adopted community for his friendly, kindly manner, his bubbling enthusiasm and never-failing good humor; for his generosity to people and to causes, for his humility and his wise advice freely given with complete selflessness. He is a great oak of strength in the city of Bath and we pay honor to him today because he is a symbol of the things we all hope to be and do ourselves. We salute you, Archie Main, and wish you continued good health.

The Kislak Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the month of June, a wonderful American celebrated his 70th birthday; namely, Julius I. Kislak, of Jersey City, N. J. Julius is known and loved throughout Jersey City, Hudson County, the State of New Jersey and the metropolitan area. He has a dynamic personality and has brought all of this vigor into the real estate business. Today, the Kislak firm enjoys an enviable reputation; it is the largest real-estate organization in our State.

I have known Julius for what he has done for the less fortunate and for the underdog. I have known him for what he has done for the veterans, the widows, the orphans, and the various religious communities. God blessed us with Julius Kislak. May he and his wonderful family enjoy the most bountiful fruits of accomplishment, happiness, and contentment.

I enclose a copy of an article which appeared in the Jewish Standard, Friday, June 21, 1957, telling "The Kislak Story," in order that we may fully know of the work and activities of this friend to mankind.

The article follows:

THE KISLAK STORY—J. I. KISLAK MARKS 70TH BIRTHDAY; HEADS STATE'S LARGEST REALTY FIRM

This month, a very remarkable man celebrated his 70th birthday.

At threescore and 10, when many of his contemporaries have retired from active work, Julius I. Kislak heads New Jersey's largest real-estate organization. He's on the job every day, all day. His indomitable spirit continues to shape company policy. He is closeted with his executives and salesmen, guiding, counseling, and instructing. Very often he is right out on the firing line helping to close one of the fabulous transactions for which his firm has become famous.

FEEDS ON OBSTACLES

Julius Kislak's rise to prominence has been distinguished by his keen perceptive powers as well as his fighting will. He has been acknowledged as one of the best negotiators on any type of deal, whether it's for a small dwelling, a tremendous industrial plant or for a half interest in a large daily newspaper. His drive and determination appear to feed on obstacles. This is the rare type of man who seems to draw from problems themselves the power to overcome them.

Proud of his record as a builder of successful men, he has conducted a lifelong campaign to eliminate from our language the words, "I can't" and "I assume." He contends that anything can be accomplished. He wants facts, not assumptions. The very hint of a negative approach makes him fighting mad.

CAME TO UNITED STATES AT SIX

If Julius Kislak is full of fight, perhaps it is because he has had to fight his way up every rung of the ladder against tremendous odds. He was only 6 years old when his parents migrated from Russia and settled in Hoboken. Though these strange shores and the new language may have confused the future real-estate genius, it is a safe bet he was not frightened.

His father, Abraham, a traditionally bearded patriarch, served as the temporary rabbi of Congregation Moses Montefiore at 82 Grand Street, in Hoboken, until the trustees were able to bring Rabbi Hirschenstein here from Palestine. The Kislak family was host to the new rabbi until he could bring his family over to join him. Rabbi Hirschenstein later became Chief Rabbi of Hudson County and his daughter married the prominent Rabbi de Sola Pool, of New York.

Oldtimers and their children still recount tales of the early days in Hoboken. Mr. Kislak's mother, Tilla, is gratefully remembered as one who delighted in sharing their meager portion with those who were less fortunate, with never a thought of their race or religion.

STARTED IN 1906

In 1906, long before the days of license commissions, realtor organizations, and the like, the enterprising young Kislak, who had tried his hand at various jobs, took a fling at real-estate brokerage, operating from his home at 408 Clinton Street. Within 3 years he had progressed to the use of desk room in the Jersey Journal offices at 57 Newark Street, which he shared with the late Haddon Ivins. By 1922, by dint of hard work and fair dealing, he had carved a solid niche for himself in the realty field and opened the first Kislak Building in the former Steneck Trust Co. building at Newark and River Streets, Hoboken.

His organization's present home office building on Journal Square was opened in 1937. Since then, Mr. Kislak's firm has continued to make tremendous forward strides, taking over an entire floor in the adjoining Jersey Journal building; opening a 6,000-square-foot office for their Kislak Mortgage Corp. at 2900 Hudson Boulevard; a branch office for the investment department in the Raymond-Commerce Building in Newark; and a Bergen-Passaic branch office at 179 Main Street, Hackensack. A Miami, Fla., branch office was added about 3 years ago.

For Julius Kislak, the development of his company and the steering of its destinies has been a lifelong romance—an unending source of satisfaction and inspiration, as well as a medium for community service.

COMMUNAL LEADER

Despite the considerable pressure of this highly competitive profession, he has found the time and the energy to help others. As chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, he set a new record for contributions in Jersey City. He is a director of the Hebrew Home for Orphans and Aged, the Jewish Community Center, American Technion Society, and Red Feather campaign.

He has also served as chairman of the disaster preparedness committee of the Red Cross and of the real-estate committee of the Salvation Army, State chairman of the Joint Defense Appeal, and as a member of the national committee of 300 for the centennial celebration of American Jewry, and State treasurer of the governor's committee for the refugee relief program.

Mr. Kislak is a past president of the Jersey City real-estate board; a former State director of the New Jersey Association of Real-Estate Boards; a charter member of the Society of Industrial Realtors, and a life member of Farragut Lodge, F. & A. M.

HAS 11 GRANDCHILDREN

With his wife, the former Sophia Segal, of Fall River, Mass., Mr. Kislak resides at 50 Glenwood Avenue and at 54 Roosevelt Avenue, Deal. They have 2 sons, 2 daughters, and 11 grandchildren.

Mr. Kislak interrupted his business career to serve as a sergeant in the United States Army in World War I. Following in his footsteps, his elder son, Jay, was a Navy pilot in World War II and the younger son, David, fought with the United States Army in Korea. Daughter, Sima, is married to Martin Jelin and resides in South Orange. Younger daughter, Naomi, is married to Arthur Fisher and they live in Englewood.

Revising the VA Rating Schedule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter from Mr. T. K. Stapleton, service officer, Department of Mississippi, Veterans of Foreign Wars, together with a column Mr. Stapleton wrote and which appeared in the July issue of the V. F. W. newspaper, the Mississippi Overseas Veteran.

The letter and column follow:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Jackson, Miss., July 18, 1957.

Hon. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS: I am enclosing the "Service Officers' Column" from the July issue of the Mississippi Overseas Veterans, official paper of the Department of Mississippi, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

It seems that after the Congress has refused to give consideration to the report of the Bradley Commission the Veterans' Administration is trying to put its recommendations into effect by revising the new looseleaf rating schedule.

I understand that the Veterans' Administration proposes to reduce all gunshot injuries to muscle groups by 10 percent in each category.

There is a lot of talk about lack of civil rights. I know of no group that has less civil rights than the wounded combat veterans, whose compensation can be reduced or discontinued by executive fiat.

With best wishes,

Respectfully,

T. K. STAPLETON,
Department Service Officer.

SERVICE OFFICER'S COLUMN
(By T. K. Stapleton)

From all indications, the Veterans' Administration is planning to put into operation many of the recommendations of the Bradley Commission, although they have been discredited (in a manner of speaking) by the Congress itself. In other words, the Veterans' Administration is taking rounders on its beneficiaries, and may put the Bradley Commission recommendations in effect by means of changes in the rating schedule.

Strange to say, these revisions of the schedule will hit most savagely at the combat veterans. The ratings for gunshot wounds will probably be reduced more drastically than others.

The Veterans' Administration knows (or should know) how difficult it is for a wounded or otherwise combat-disabled veteran to get a job under modern conditions, but it is blithely going ahead to take away much of the little compensation he is now receiving.

The VA is relying to a large extent on the opinions of medical specialists—without obtaining other data as to employment opportunities for the disabled. The medical specialists either don't know, or won't make any effort to find out, how hard it is for a man with a disability to obtain a job where the prospective employer is covered by workmen's compensation insurance.

While the Government is exerting every effort to get money to send overseas to take care of every nation other than this one, one of its agencies is busy trying to find ways to reduce the pittances paid to those who have made it possible for Uncle Sam to play Santa Claus to those who a few years ago were doing their best to kill off our young men.

If the Government, after World War II and the Korean conflict, had endeavored to find a way to help men enter businesses of their own, or make their own jobs, the pressure would not be so great on the wounded and disabled veterans. But the Government insisted on setting up the so-called GI bill for training and schooling purposes, instead of giving men the alternative of accepting the benefits in cash in the form of a bonus. Thus they were in most cases constrained to enter the ranks of the employed rather than of the employers or owners.

Then, too, in many cases the VA gave such short courses in manual trades that the man was actually not capable of getting and holding a job in that occupation after he was rehabilitated. For instance, a man might be given 18 months' training as a machinist and would not know how to set up a lathe to cut threads or how to cut gears on a milling machine, and yet the VA would not give him further training. You can imagine his chances to get and hold a job. At the same time he may theoretically have been eligible for 4 years' training.

We suggest that our members write to their Congressmen and Senators and ask them to watch this trend, before it is too late.

We are reproducing a letter written to the editor of the State Times by your service officer and published by that newspaper:

STATE TIMES:

I see by the papers that President Eisenhower is desirous of transferring the cost of providing certain services for the people from the Federal Government to the various States. He offers the prospect of a reduction in Federal taxation, and offers his suggestion as a means of "restoring States rights"—according to the papers.

If the Federal Government would adequately care for those who are its legitimate charges, maybe the States would not require so much money for welfare work.

When a combat veteran of World War II or Korea fails to have his disabilities recorded in service or at time of discharge, he may never get the compensation to which he is entitled, and yet the same disabilities which make him morally entitled to compensation may prevent him from working and caring for his family. Or they may prevent him from getting a job where the prospective employer is covered by workmen's compensation insurance.

So this man's misfortune is directly traceable to the indifference or hostility of medical officers in the armed services—a part of the Federal Government.

Or the man may not be adequately compensated for the disabilities for which he has established service connection. He, too, is a candidate for aid from State funds—funds which may be derived in part from Federal sources.

Before putting the loan of welfare work entirely on the States, President Eisenhower should conduct a survey to determine whether the Federal Government is generously providing for those who are its legitimate charges, so they will have no excuse

for asking any part of the funds that should be used for the benefit of the general public.

Otherwise, the men I have mentioned will have to seek aid from the local agencies to supplement the meager amounts that Uncle Sam provides some of them.

T. K. STAPLETON.

Knoxville, Iowa Druggist Known for His Poems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Des Moines Tribune of Tuesday, July 9, 1957, with reference to Ernest O. Osborn, a druggist in Knoxville, Iowa:

DRUGGIST KNOWN FOR HIS POEMS

(By Herb Owens)

KNOXVILLE, IOWA.—Touches of Will Rogers and Edgar Guest are discernible in Ernest O. Osborn, 77, veteran druggist who is serving Knoxville a 57th year.

The poems of Osborn, which started a half century ago when he advertised specials in verse on a blackboard in the store window, have been recorded in proceedings of the Iowa House and Senate, as well as in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

For more than 40 years, Osborn's advertisements in a weekly newspaper have included a poem. His first volume of poetry was published in 1913 called Osborn's Pen Points. Another volume was published in 1928.

"I was working in a Knoxville drugstore before the birth of the late Gov. William S. Beardsey, who became a druggist—and my friend. He once read one of my poems, called Highway Prayer, on a radio program. Yet the Governor himself died in a highway accident."

The final verse of Highway Prayer reads: "I ask no guarantee of life; for death there's no defense. But, God, sit near and help me drive with just plain commonsense."

WROTE WORDS FOR FLAG SONG

Osborn wrote words for the Iowa Flag Song, with music by Esther May Clark, of Oskaloosa. The song was adopted as official by the legislature in 1949.

As late as 1955, Osborn appeared before the Iowa Senate to read four poems. His poems published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 1913 and again in 1956, when read to the United States House of Representatives by Congressman PAUL CUNNINGHAM, of Iowa.

The final verse of another recent Osborn poem reads: "Born dumb and dumb we shall remain until our Master's voice makes peace and love and fellowship the universal choice."

Born on a farm in Dallas County, Osborn attended school in the Bear Creek rural school, a Quaker settlement. At 14 he drove mules, hauling a covered wagon, as his family moved to Lake Charles, La.

REAL ESTATE OWNER, TOO

At 18, Osborn enrolled in a college of pharmacy at Valparaiso, Ind., graduating in 1899. He worked a few weeks as a drug clerk in Des Moines before an appendectomy "retired" him. He came to Knoxville in 1901 to clerk in a drugstore, which he bought in 1904.

A member of the Masonic lodge and the Iowa Pharmaceutical Association, Osborn has been successful in pharmacy and in some real-estate ventures. He now owns nine store "fronts"—business spaces—in Knoxville.

The key to Osborn's happy, successful years has been a rough-cut sense of humor—a life of wit and little jokes by which he has endeared himself to his customers.

For years he kept a heavy volume handy—a book he handed to inquirers about his latest writing.

"Best thing I ever wrote," he'd say.

It was blank.

Oregon's New Department of Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the July 12, 1957 edition of the Oregon Journal contained an article by the Governor of the State of Oregon, the Honorable Robert D. Holmes. In this article Governor Holmes, who has long been a firm supporter of the sound development of our natural resources, discussed the recently created Oregon Department of Development.

I certainly share with Governor Holmes his enthusiasm over the new State agency. A State such as Oregon, which is endowed with rich natural resources as well as an intelligent hard-working citizenry, provides fertile ground for a program of development which such a department can formulate.

I believe this article by Governor Holmes will be of interest to my colleagues and I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD under unanimous consent:

NEW DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT SHOULD TURN TIDE

(By Robert D. Holmes, Governor of Oregon)

As long as men are willing to use the brains, the inventive capacity, the courage and the hope with which they were endowed, they will create miracles of social and economic good from their natural resources.

Oregon is particularly blessed with natural resources: A bounteous water supply for the development of cheap electric power; undeveloped industrial sites close to rail, to highway, river, and ocean transportation, farms and ranches already in operation, plus arid acreages that can be made to bloom when irrigation is provided; great stands of timber, the full uses of which will be realized only when we enjoy all the skills presently available to make lumber byproducts into needed materials and goods; minerals under the ground.

Our basic problem is to use what we have—the brains, the initiative, the ambition and vision of our own people, working with our natural materials.

Economic stability is basic to social stability. Oregon's economic stability has been shaken, and the facts say that we have lagged behind other States in sharing the general business and industrial prosperity of the country.

Things will become different only if we build positively, and build with a statewide vision.

In every part of Oregon there are men and women who know and understand the problems of their communities; who can feel the soft spots in the economy and have ideas for making them tough once more; who can see either limited or big opportunities for creating new businesses and establishing new industries.

But these people have never had a device for making their needs and their ideas known.

The department of development of Oregon, made a State agency by passage of house bill 445 by the 1957 legislative assembly, will be such a device, such a resource and such a system of statewide communication.

Of itself and by itself it can perform no miracles. Of and by itself it cannot make sudden and dramatic changes in the economic life of the State.

But professionally staffed and well organized, and supported by an advisory committee of able, experienced, and imaginative businessmen and local industrialists, it will become the repository of all the facts pertinent to economic development and the chief source of information for new venture capital both inside the State and throughout the Nation.

The first step, of course, will be for us to accumulate all the facts about Oregon.

The people will be invited to tell the stories of their communities through a series of grassroots regional meetings now being scheduled. At these meetings every community leader constructively concerned with the economic development of his area will be urged to talk, to ask questions, and to make suggestions.

You often hear it said that taxes drive business from Oregon. Actually, surveys show that venture capital seeking locations for new investment or expanding existing facilities considers seven factors more important than taxes. We think that this will be a stimulant to arouse Oregon residents out of a slough of pessimism into an atmosphere of optimism.

One of the immediately helpful factors in these first days of creating a development department has been the support of most of our newspapers. The Journal, for example, on its own initiative has done a first rate job of drawing a picture of our present situation and of making a reporter's analysis of the problems we face and possible solutions we may use.

AMVETS 10th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to call to the attention of the House that today marks the 10th anniversary of the congressional charter granted to AMVETS.

I was still a freshman Member of this body 10 years ago when this charter was granted, but over the past 10 years, I have enjoyed a close relationship with the national commanders and legislative representatives of this veteran organization, a relationship which I feel has

been most profitable to me. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include the editorial and the overall AMVET legislative program for the past 10 years which appeared in their 10th anniversary brochure. After reading these articles, I am sure that benefits I derived from my association with this young group of veterans will be most obvious:

WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

AMVETS note another anniversary this month. It was just 10 years ago on July 23, 1947, that we became the 10th veterans' organization to be chartered by Congress.

The fact that AMVETS had in 3 years from its founding, achieved enough stature to be recognized by the Congress of the United States, is a tribute to the hard work of the dedicated group of early veteran pioneers.

In July of 1947, we were on our way.

In July of 1957, the question is, Where are we going?

AMVETS, as a national organization recognized and respected among legislature leaders, has reached a crossroads. Since the year this organization was born amid the turmoil of World War II, we have become somewhat indifferent to the crossroads we have encountered.

It is uncomfortably true that for the past 5 years, our membership has remained virtually static. The gains in new memberships have been offset somewhat by renewal losses.

Like the two men looking into a half pail of water—one who says the bucket is half full, while the other says it is half empty—we can look at our membership.

From the negative viewpoint it can be said that AMVETS has stopped growing and did so almost before it was out of swaddling clothes.

From the positive approach, it can be argued that today's members represent an intelligent hard core, a loyal dedicated group, carrying on the work of AMVETS without being hamstrung by undependable fringe membership.

A decade ago, when we received our Federal charter, there were great hopes and plans for the future of AMVETS. We were the only group of World War II veterans to receive such recognition. We had a potential membership of 20 million. We looked at World War I veterans groups, and were sure that we would far outshine them.

We were fired with enthusiasm. We worked hard to spread the name of AMVETS the length and breadth of the Nation. We received recognition that some thought we didn't deserve. We told America that we were the voice of the men and women of World War II, and they listened for a while.

Something went wrong, though. World War II veterans did not flock to our rolls.

Why?

The answer boils down to this: the stereotype veteran of the Nation's other wars failed to emerge from the boiling cauldron that was World War II. He didn't emerge simply because a generous Nation provided returning men and women with veterans benefits, jobs, and a rapidly expanding economy. The returning veteran for the most part wanted to forget the war and get down to the business of peace. The veteran was no longer a freak in American society.

However, many of us did join veterans groups. We joined AMVETS because we found we could preserve the friendships and experiences brought on by war.

Today, World War II has almost become ancient history. The war stories which once formed a common bond between us are outdated, tarnished and worn thin. We find our own ideas, goals, and ambitions fulfilled or replaced with new ones.

Unless the membership momentum starts to roll again, AMVETS, the organization which brought us together to perpetuate these ties, could become as outdated as our war stories.

We are truly at a crossroads. Down one road lies obscurity for the organization which perpetuates the product of gimmeism. Down the other road, lies the realistic appeal to the millions of men and women of World War II and Korea, who have not joined any veterans organization because there has been no appeal to them in mature terms, mature thinking, and mature programs.

The day of sterotype grab-bag veteran is over. For the first time since the turn of the century, Congress has turned a deaf ear to the other veterans organizations which made an appeal for a multimillion-dollar handout. Significantly, not one of the Congressmen who voted against this legislation was defeated—but rather supporters of the proposal were bounced from under the Capitol dome. All AMVETS can be proud this legislation was vigorously opposed by their organization.

We cannot sell membership on the basis of veterandom only. We sell the veteran program on a positive and realistic approach on what is right for America.

We must revitalize ourselves internally as well as externally. This can't be done by a few, but must be done by the many. Ideas are needed but action in carrying them out is imperative.

Here is how you begin. Assign yourself this simple task.

Recruit one—just one—new member for AMVETS per year. Interest that member in the realistic programs so that he stays with the organization. If each AMVET will join the one-a-year club we will double our membership next year, triple it in 2 years.

It is up to you. Only you can decide whether we will celebrate our 20th anniversary with a loud bang or soft pop.

AMVETS LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM: YOUTH WITH WISDOM SETS US APART

Ten years ago this month, AMVETS became the 10th veterans' organization to be granted a Federal charter.

Even in those early days the legislative program of the young organization reflected a maturity and wisdom far beyond its years. Recognizing the need for preparedness, AMVETS sought legislation to maintain a strong and well-organized Reserve force. A nonpartisan foreign policy of firmness, and fairness toward all nations and conquered territory was advocated.

In 1949, AMVETS became the first major veterans organization to recognize that the Federal Government had a responsibility in providing education for the children of veterans who died in service or as the result of injury incurred in service during World War II. Legislation accomplishing this worthy purpose was finally enacted last year with the approval of the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act. AMVETS played a leading role in the enactment of this measure into law.

Viewed in retrospect, certain AMVET legislative objectives in the pioneer days appear to have forecast things to come. As early as 1948, AMVETS were seeking a strong civil defense program with equal participation by Federal and State governments. In 1951, subcabinet rank equal to the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force was advocated for the head of the Civil Defense Agency.

Legislation providing Federal aid to education was first sought in 1950. As far back as 1949, AMVETS were calling for regional alliances among nations in the Middle East and Pacific Ocean areas. Worldwide disarmament with necessary guaranties of international inspection was first called for in 1949 and then temporarily shelved as tensions mounted in Korea.

Regional alliances among nations with common interests are continually being made. Federal aid to education may soon be a reality. Disarmament is rapidly becoming the issue of the day.

As AMVETS grew, its prestige in official Washington grew as well. The Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, popularly known as the Korean GI bill, marked the successful attainment of AMVETS principal legislative goal during the 82d Congress. Because of his active participation in the hearings and conferences on this important bill, AMVETS national legislative director was officially commended by the sponsor of the bill and the Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

In 1953, AMVETS became increasingly aware of an interest in the veterans benefit program and its costs by nonveteran economy groups. At the same time, the organization leaders recognized that there were weak links in the benefit chain. Antiveteran groups and economy advocates pointed to these weak links as proof of the need for wholesale slashes in veteran benefits.

Believing that veterans themselves are better qualified to point out luxuries and abuses in their own program, AMVETS made a thorough analysis of the entire structure of veterans' benefits. The result was a nine-point recommendation to the Congress, the White House, and the Veterans' Administration, designed to reduce the Veterans Administration appropriation by approximately $50 million annually without lessening essential services to veterans. This unprecedented action by a major veterans' organization was hailed in Congress as clean and courageous.

AMVETS can take pride in the knowledge that their legislative program over the past 10 years has reflected a new philosophy among organized veterans—a philosophy that recognizes the fact that veterans have a vital stake in the economy of this Nation, as taxpayers as well as veterans. Every legislative action points vividly to the fact that AMVETS have never been reluctant to oppose those so-called veteran benefits that were not in the best interests of veterans. By the same token, we have defended vigorously the hard core of legitimate veterans' benefits.

AMVETS' philosophy in action was best demonstrated in 1956 when the organization championed legislation to increase the rates of compensation for service-connected disability. At the same time, a costly unwarranted expansion of pensions for veterans having no service-connected disability was actively opposed.

AMVETS' position on this controversial issue was again commended. One prominent Member of Congress said, "Commander Pesata has made it abundantly clear that AMVETS place principle above expediency by his steady insistence that compensation increases should have priority over pensions."

Still another distinguished Congressman said, "I am grateful to the AMVETS for having fought for increased compensation for those with service-connected disabilities."

Ten years ago, the Committee on the Judiciary in the House of Representatives placed a trust in the then new organization known as AMVETS. The chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, OLIN E. TEAGUE of Texas, in addressing a national convention of AMVETS said, "Your entire leadership has clearly established AMVETS as an independent-thinking organization with the courage of its conviction—as one that does not follow the leadership of others when it would be much more comfortable to do so. Your determination to stand for things in which you believe show you are not an also ran, but a power to be considered in veterans' affairs. I congratulate you on this splendid record. In the past year, AMVETS has increased in stature and I have no doubt your reputation will be further enhanced in the years that lie ahead."

Remarks of Walter S. Hallanan at 88th Birthday Celebration of M. L. Benedum, Bridgeport, W. Va., July 16, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under previous leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an address delivered by the Honorable Walter S. Hallanan upon the occasion of the 88th birthday celebration of Mr. M. L. Benedum. Mr. Hallanan's address was made on July 16, 1957, at Bridgeport, W. Va. I am proud to bring to the attention of my colleagues the statement paying tribute to an outstanding West Virginian. The address follows:

We are happy to be here on this delightful occasion to pay our affectionate tribute to one who has made his eventful life count so much for the good of so many.

Here in the sacred precincts of this beautiful church it is a genuine pleasure to bespeak the feeling of respect, devotion and affection that is enshrined in our hearts for one whose life has been so truly unselfish—whose daily thoughts run so strongly to those ideals of human relationship which give first consideration to the welfare and contentment of others.

As he has advanced in years to the sunset side of life, Mr. Benedum's vision has never dimmed in his devotion to those human problems which have characterized his whole life in his contact with his fellowman.

Many men who have achieved great eminence in our national life think of success in terms of dollars. We are glad today to honor an outstafiding American leader who believes that the obligations of a successful career go far beyond that—in his conception it means the prudent use of those dollars in a way that will contribute to the happiness and contentment of people.

I am grateful that a kind fate brought me the great privilege of close association with Mr. Benedum for the greater number of years of my life. It has been an interesting and exciting and dynamic experience. In a thousand ways we, who have been privileged to enjoy this close association with him, recognize the bigness of his heart, the tolerance of his mind and the close bond he has always sought to maintain with those thousands who work on the Benedum team in his vast empire of enterprises.

Mr. Benedum has made a valued contribution to the understanding of the significance of individual freedom in the development of our country and the enrichment of life in America. Freemen—men free to dream, to think, to invent, to explore, to take risks, and to progress—made this country, materially and spiritually, the envy of the world today. He is an illustrious example of the success of that kind of individual freedom. He recognizes that today that order of society is under assault and that America faces a crisis in preserving those fundamental freedoms which have made possible the fruits of success which we visualize on this occasion.

Mr. Benedum was a commoner at birth, he is still a commoner, success never went to his head or changed his fundamental character of being a kindly, friendly, devoted man, devoted in his daily life to the abiding interest he feels in doing good for others.

The many benefactions which Mr. Benedum has so generously bestowed upon this and other communities do not, my friends, represent just so much mortar and brick and cement. In a real and larger significance, they symbolize the will and the desire of a great humanitarian to use his means for the common good. They represent the unselfish devotion and aims of a man who has a heart filled with gratitude for the opportunity that was given to him by the God-fearing training he here enjoyed as a youth, to start at the bottom of the ladder and come to the top. That he has done with the greatest humility.

Here today as we see the beautiful cemetery on the hill, this magnificent church edifice where we are gathered and the wonderful civic center to be dedicated today, we find the practical manifestations of a grateful heart and mind to the community which gave him the opportunity to go forth with an unconquering will and determination to achieve success. That he has done, his name has been a challenging influence, not only in our own land, but in the four corners of the world where the name of the great wildcatter has been blessed.

I am proud to be one of Mr. Benedum's associates. To me, it is a badge of honor which I shall always cherish. What I say of myself personally, is also written indelibly in the hearts of hundreds of others who have had the opportunity to know him for what he really is—a kindly and dependable friend and adviser and a patient and tolerant Christian gentleman.

Mr. Benedum, as you observe your 88th birthday anniversary here today, surrounded by your relatives and friends and admirers from every area of life, may I, on behalf of all who are gathered here, express to you our real joy that we are permitted to share with you the happiness of this very happy birthday anniversary, and to wish for you many more beautiful horizons along the sands of time.

We join earnestly on this occasion in soliciting God's richest benedictions upon you.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the Business and Professional Women's Club has presented us this month with an overall picture of the views on legislation providing equal pay for equal work for women workers which are held by the Governors of 14 States having State equal-pay legislation on their lawbooks. Their testimony in favor of such legislation is a double-edged argument for Federal action in this field. As State legislation has yielded benefits to the worker and the economy, so will Federal law. And Federal law is needed to affect the majority of our workers—about 68 percent of them—engaged in interstate commerce or the production of goods for interstate commerce.

Many of those who have consistently opposed Federal equal-pay legislation in every Congress since 1945 have contended that what "little" remedy remained to be made would be effected by voluntary action. How false their assumptions have been is made clear by the recent Bureau of the Census report that the average income of women in the United States has increased by only 24 percent since the Second World War, while that for men has increased by 85 percent. And the average income of women was, in 1955, only one-third as great as the average income of men. In view of the widely recognized contribution made by women in the working world, is this fair or reasonable or economically sound? I submit that it is not, and that Federal action must be taken without further delay.

Under unanimous consent, I include this article from the National Business Woman of July 1957, entitled "The Governors View Equal Pay," in the RECORD.

THE GOVERNORS VIEW EQUAL PAY—THE HEADS OF 14 STATES HAVING THE LAW IN OPERATION TESTIFY IN FAVOR OF EQUAL PAY

Sixteen States and Alaska have enacted equal pay laws. Michigan and Montana were first in 1919. Arkansas, Colorado, and Oregon enacted legislation in 1955. Equal pay legislation was introduced this past year but at our press time had not been enacted, in: Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, Utah, and Wisconsin. There is no Federal equal pay law, although bills have been introduced in a number of sessions of Congress.

ARKANSAS, LAW ENACTED IN 1955

Gov. Orval E. Faubus says:

"There is no question today about the contribution which women are making in business and the professions. Their ability to rise to the heights in any field of their choice is limited only by their individual talents and ambitions. The members of your organization fill many important roles in our national life as producers, consumers and taxpayers. Likewise, business and professional women have measured up to the responsibility of citizenship and concern with public affairs.

"The Arkansas Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, as an affiliate of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., is likewise contributing much toward the improvement and progress of business, industry, and civic needs in our community."

CALIFORNIA, LAW ENACTED IN 1949

Gov. Goodwin J. Knight says:

"In our expanding modern economy, the vital role of women in business, industry and Government of our Nation has become increasingly apparent. Through such organizations as the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, they are enthusiastically active in the commercial, cultural and civic advancement of their communities, States and country."

COLORADO, LAW ENACTED IN 1953

Gov. Steve McNichols says:

"Colorado has always pioneered in the field of equal rights for women. We were among the first of the States to enact woman suffrage legislation and we are proud that we now have laws giving women the right to equal pay for equal work.

"During the last 25 years our hisory in the United States has been greatly influenced by the constantly increasing participation of women in business, professional, political, and civic affairs. This influence has been constructive and beneficial, and in my opinion was long overdue."

ILLINOIS, LAW ENACTED IN 1943

Gov. William G. Stratton says:

"Like your organization, we here in Illinois have been deeply interested in all matters that affect the working women of our State. Illinois has enacted legislation giving women equal pay, and protected their rights in all phases of their work.

"Our State has recognized women's role in our stores, offices, and factories. Not only have they helped to meet shortages of skilled employees in various fields, but their influ-

ence is also felt in local and State political forums."

MAINE, LAW ENACTED IN 1949

Gov. Edmund S. Muskie says:

"Women have proven their ability in economic, social, and political affairs. In our State, they have contributed materially to the economic stability and social advancement as they have nationally.

"In our legislature, eight women in the house—led by the senior member, Lucia Cormier, and Senator Hazel Lord—have made a great contribution to the betterment of our State.

"Our State creates no bars or handicaps to women's advancement. We were one of the first States to admit women to the practice of law and medicine and to jury duty.

"Where I cite the leadership shown by women in the legislative field, they are also contributing in the administrative, judicial, and business fields. Of our total nonagricultural work force of approximately 270,000, women constitute 27.5 percent of the total. It is not an overstatement to say that if all women took a vacation or retired from the work force tomorrow, the wheels of industry and commerce would stop."

MASSACHUSETTS, LAW ENACTED IN 1945

Gov. Foster Furcolo says: "Massachusetts is proud of its equal-pay legislation enacted in 1945 during the administration of our late Gov. Maurice J. Tobin who later became United States Secretary of Labor. Our business and professional women are outstanding citizens who hold many responsible positions."

MICHIGAN, LAW ENACTED IN 1949

Gov. G. Menner Williams says: "Each year the number of career women becomes greater, and the task of reaching the higher levels of success somewhat easier. We in Michigan are proud of the fact that we are one of the States with equal-pay legislation, and we join with your group in hoping that ability alone will soon be the measure of selection and of payment for services in the business and professional fields as in all areas of gainful employment."

MONTANA, LAW ENACTED IN 1919

Gov. J. Hugo Aronson says: "The influence of women has always been great, but never has it been as great as today. I speak both as Governor of Montana, a State which has enacted legislation providing for equal pay for women, and as one who has experienced and seen the work of women in industry, government, and elsewhere in the Nation."

NEW HAMPSHIRE, LAW ENACTED IN 1947

Gov. Lane Dwinell says: "New Hampshire owes much to its womenfolk, throughout more than three centuries of history. We were among the first to recognize by legislation the just rights of women to equal economic opportunity, and we long ago learned to appreciate the role of dedicated women in our government at all levels. Because our State is heavily industrialized and dependent on production for profit, we deeply respect the thousands of wives and mothers who work in our factories and offices, as well as our schools and hospitals, to create better standards of family living."

NEW JERSEY, LAW ENACTED IN 1952

Gov. Robert B. Meyner says: "The emergence of the workingwoman has been one of the swift and silent social and economic revolutions of our times. One does not have to be very old to recall that yesterday's young woman preparing the notice of her wedding for the press usually struck off a letter of resignation at the same sitting. And consider the vast change in the number of occupations and professions now freely open to women, who not long ago were expected to confine themselves to the secretarial, the tutorial, or the menial callings.

"There is no question but that the new dimensions of American productivity trace in good part to the increasing employment of women."

NEW YORK, LAW ENACTED IN 1944

Gov. Averell Harriman says:

"I highly commend your continuing fight to obtain equal pay legislation. New York is proud of being one of the first six States to write into law the principle of equal pay for equal work. The rest of the Nation will eventually be persuaded to accept the simple justice of that principle by women like you and the effective campaigns conducted by your fine organization.

"In New York State, we have more than 2 million working women, and I know how greatly they contribute to building a sound and expanding economy."

PENNSYLVANIA, LAW ENACTED IN 1947

Gov. George M. Leader says:

"The equality of women has never been a problem nor a cause for dispute in Pennsylvania.

"From our pioneer days, the women of Pennsylvania have had a place as partners, whether it was in the affairs of the home or in the affairs of State. Above and beyond that, Pennsylvania was among the first of the States to ratify the voting franchise for women.

"As technology increased and the demand increased for the business skills that women could bring to business, industry and government, Pennsylvania again was among the leaders. As a demonstration of our confidence and belief in the equal competence of women, Pennsylvania has enacted equal pay legislation."

RHODE ISLAND, LAW ENACTED IN 1946

Gov. Dennis J. Roberts says:

"Two World Wars and the determined forward march of women in the business and professional fields have set a record for their present position as exceedingly important factors in the complex machinery of our economic status.

"Women bring a glowing idealism to the political forum. They are instinctive champions of the home, of peace, order, security, and good will among men and nations. Theirs is an impressive record. Many have served their country with distinction as ambassadors, scientists, economists, as Congresswomen and administrators."

WASHINGTON, LAW ENACTED IN 1943

Gov. Albert D. Rosellini says:

"In 1890 the opportunity for women of the State of Washington to engage in any business, profession, vocation, or calling, followed and pursued by men, was made possible by legislative action. In 1943 the State legislature further provided that women shall obtain 'equal pay for equal work.'

"Women have accepted and successfully met the challenge afforded by the passage of these two laws. During World War II, women were employed in many occupations and industries which were vital to our wartime economy and to our survival—including the armed services.

"Their contributions did not cease, however, at the end of the war. The 1950 national census figures show that women comprise 27 percent of the total employed work force of the State of Washington as compared to the 21 percent in 1940, with an increase of 19,000 women workers in professional, managerial, technical, and proprietary fields and in the trades and crafts."

Foremen Warm Up to Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of an article from Business Week dated May 4, 1957.

The article details how foremen are warming up to the idea of union representation and the very important and valuable rights which go with it.

The article follows:

FOREMEN WARM UP TO UNION

In the tug of war for the loyalty of the foreman, management may be losing ground. Caught in the middle, the foreman on the one hand has to carry out management's policies in which he often has no voice, while at the same time he has to hold the cooperation of the production union. To a certain extent both groups reject him, since—by their books—he is neither fish nor fowl.

A survey just released by Opinion Research Corp. points up the dissatisfaction of foremen with their ambiguous status. And a Business Week survey leads to the conclusion that industry still hasn't developed the most effective techniques for making supervisors management men.

Drop in morale: In a broad survey covering over 500 companies—large and small—in 59 industries, ORC pollsters talked to 911 foremen and supervisors. Their findings sound a clear warning to employers. The survey, the first since 1954, shows a definite drop in foreman morale. For example:

Only 63 percent of the foremen interviewed think that management-foremen relations in their companies are very good—compared with 73 percent in 1950 and 70 percent in 1954.

Only 65 percent identify themselves with management, compared with 69 in 1950.

For employers, probably the most ominous finding is that 34 percent of the foremen polled believe it's all right to have a foreman's union—the highest ratio ORC has spotted since the immediate postwar period. Only 4 percent of those interviewed belong to a foreman's union but another 9 percent would like to.

Heavy going: The threat of unionized foremen has been looming on management's horizon since 1941, when the Foreman's Association of America started at Ford Motor Co. FAA spread into other Detroit auto plans, and John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers drove hard for supervisors in coal mines.

The Wagner Act was not specific about foremen. At first, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that they were guaranteed the rights provided by the act. Then, after a series of NLRB reversals and re-reversals, the United States Supreme Court in 1947 upheld the Board's contention that foremen were covered by the Wagner Act.

But the reprieve for the foremen's unions came too late. Only a few months later, the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, guaranteeing to employees the right to bargain collectively, but excluding supervisors from its definition of "employees." This means that foremen can form unions, but employers don't have to deal with them.

Management's strength: ORC's survey shows that in the matter of foreman loyalty management's strength lies mostly in the oldtimers, particularly those who have had systematic training to prepare them for their supervisory roles. Of the low-seniority supervisors polled, only about 45 percent believe that they are part of management, while 58 percent do not agree that foremen should stay out of unions. The conclusion is that foremen are most susceptible to unionization during their first years on the job.

The survey findings also spotlight the fact that new foremen are often ill-equipped to handle their jobs, and that only one-third of the foremen appointed within the last 2 years have had any real training for their new jobs.

Remedy: When a company wants to offset these factors, it usually sets up some form of special training program. But that raises all sorts of questions. How much does it cost to turn an hourly rated worker into a functioning supervisor? How much time should a supervisory training program take? Should it be flexible or should the routine be fairly set?

Business Week reporters sampled the training programs of a dozen companies and found that they vary from long, formalized training courses to short, casual preparation sessions. Despite the range, training experts in the companies interviewed agree on one thing: The day is gone forever when you can tap a worker on the shoulder at quitting time Friday, and say, "By the way, Fred, better wear a shirt and tie to work Monday. You're going to take over department 37B."

As Dr. Philip Ash, of Inland Steel Co.'s industrial relations section, puts it, "You can't take a skilled worker, give him supervisory responsibilities and expect he'll wind up right side up without further training or guidance. Those are things you learn, and are not born with."

Foremen's woes: One reason is that manufacturing processes in many industries have become increasingly complex, and the intricacies of the foreman's job have grown apace. Unions, too, which have caused management concern about personnel relations and employee communications have complicated the picture. Today's foreman not only has to be familiar with the mechanical operation of his department, he must also serve as an extension of the company's personnel office, hearing grievances, settling disputes, and handling a myriad of personal problems as well.

A group of human relations researchers at Yale have pointed up some of the problems that dog the foreman. In the Foreman on the Assembly Line, Harvard University Press, the researchers list the detail in a typical day in the life of a foreman on an automobile body assembly line. After figuratively following the fellow around for a day, you conclude that he should be at least three separate people: One to keep his line running smoothly by jumping in to help out when needed; one to deal with other departments and keep supplies flowing; and one to handle personnel details such as paying the men, setting up vacation schedules, replacing absentees.

In a spot: The foremen's union is keenly aware of the problems of the front-line supervisor. Carl Brown, executive director of the Foremen's Association of America, emphasizes the insecurity that comes from the foreman's ambiguous position. "They're in the same spot today that the production worker was in 20 years ago. They lose seniority rights when they become a supervisor in many cases, can be fired pointblank, and then are on the street or have to start again as hourly-rated without seniority."

Then, too, there are two forces working at cross-purposes on the foreman. As Industrial Psychologist Ross Stagner, of the University of Illinois, shows in his book The Psychology of Industrial Conflict (John Wiley & Sons), the foreman—the marginal man—is pulled backward through identification with the group from which he has come (the workers), and pulled ahead by a desire to become accepted by the group he has joined (management).

Cost factor: It's generally agreed that careful preparation and training can go a long way toward offsetting the foreman's early qualms about separating himself from his old union—and its benefits—and allying himself with a group that in many cases he has regarded with some degree of hostility.

The question is: Are current programs doing the job, and are they justifying their cost? Tentatively, the answer is yes. But training directors are constantly rejiggering, never quite satisfied with results.

So far as training costs go, most companies refuse even to estimate the figure. Many say they don't want to know the cost. "If we did, it might take some of the steam out of our program," says a west coast management service director. Only a few of the companies interviewed ventured a guess. Inland Steel thinks its training program ranges from $2,500 to $4,000 per foreman—probably closer to $2,500. Aluminum Company of America spent about $36,000 to send 16 foremen to a 13-week refresher course.

The key: Most of the companies agree, however, that—regardless of its cost—the real key to any successful supervisory training program is the proper selection of trainees. Of the companies interviewed, all said it does no good to indoctrinate and groom a man if he is unsuited temperamentally, mentally, or in other ways.

Generally, a company tries to bypass such mistakes by a careful prescreening of likely candidates. Most methods of selection break down into two main types: (1) Continuous sifting of likely candidates, and (2) special sorting to fill specific openings. Some companies combine both types in their programs.

Usually, foremen are asked to keep an eye open for likely supervisory material. When a man's name comes to the attention of management, he's called in, told he looks like managerial timber, and asked to take aptitude, personality, and other tests. After that, there's a series of conferences with personnel people, higher supervisors, production brass, and others. The final choice usually rests with the line organization—departmental superintendents, plant managers, and the like.

Typical programs: Once candidates for foremanship have been chosen, their training program begins. Here are four different methods used by the companies Business Week interviewed:

Presupervisory training: Under this method—used among others by Inland Steel, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., and General Motors—workers get a full-course training in what to expect when they become foremen. Then they are placed in a status somewhere between foreman and worker. At GM and Kaiser, they're placed on salary and put in a "foremen pool" from which they move around to fill in temporary vacancies. Inland's "spell turn" moves foremen from vacancy to vacancy during their instruction.

Supervisory training with almost full time spent in instruction: Typical is Alcoa's program, where workers attend classes and conferences, as well as on-the-job work, 8 hours a day, 5 days a week, for 2 months.

Combination on-the-job training with outside instruction: This is how Boeing Airplane Co. tackles the problem. Candidates taking Boeing's presupervisory training course get 36 weeks of instruction—3 hours a week in class, 2 hours homework—on their own time. After a worker graduates into a foreman, he gets 14 to 15 days of special instruction over a 4-month period.

Informal training with no fixed-time period. Kearney & Trecker Corporation of Milwaukee uses this procedure. Potential foremen are rotated from department to department, not according to any particular schedule and for no fixed length of time.

A number of companies use combinations of these plans. Goodyear Rubber Co., for example, uses a whole year, splitting the time between job rotation and classroom instruction.

How long? Estimates vary on how long it takes to make a worker into a smoothly functioning foreman. A spokesman for a large southern textile mill says, "You can bring a man along for 1, 2, or 3 years, and during that time his thinking is adjusted prior to actually becoming a supervisor. Once he gets the job—depending on the individual—it takes 6 to 12 months to complete the adjustment." W. A. Borrie, of Kaiser Aluminum, likes to think his company can make a satisfactory first-line foreman in a year. Kearney & Trecker, on the other hand, doubts that it's possible inside of 6 years.

In general, these training programs seem to be doing a job of lining up foremen with management, though many experts feel that the one best way of training foremen hasn't yet been devised.

NLRB Lends Ear to "Orphan" Disputes—Labor Relations Board May Step in if Congress Doesn't Give States More Jurisdiction in Interstate Cases

Small employers and their workers, who now have no place to go with disputes over unfair labor practices and bargaining agency elections, may get some help from the National Labor Relations Board.

Boyd Leedom, NLRB Chairman, said this week that their problem is the biggest now confronting the board. If Congress doesn't do something about it—by ceding more jurisdiction over labor disputes to the States—the Board intends to do what it can to alleviate the problem.

For many years, NLRB operated without precise standards for taking jurisdiction over cases; it handed down ad hoc decisions on how much impact upon interstate commerce must be proved before the Board could—or would—exercise its statutory jurisdiction.

Yardstick: In 1950 NLRB set up its first de minimis standards for determining whether the board would take jurisdiction over cases. These were revised in 1954, reducing the areas in which the Board would function.

Under these rules, NLRB will not take jurisdiction in a case involving a manufacturing plant unless it receives across State lines commodities with an annual value of $500,000, if shipped directly, or $1 million otherwise. Shipments out of the State must total $50,000 directly, $100,000 if handled indirectly. Retail stores that have no out-of-State sales or shipments must buy at least $1 million worth of goods across State lines before NLRB will act.

No man's land: The United States Supreme Court recently ruled that State courts and State laws cannot take over in labor-management disputes when NLRB refuses to act under its regulations in such cases covered by the Taft-Hartley Act (BW-Mar. 30, 1957, p. 161). Since then, courts in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and California have ruled against State jurisdiction over cases over which NLRB has but declines to take jurisdiction.

Admittedly, this leaves small employers and their workers in a sort of "no-man's land" in labor disputes, Leedom said after a conference with regional staff people.

"In the wake of the Supreme Court's decisions * * * I suppose that the board's role will now be more difficult than ever," Leedom said. Small businessmen complain that they aren't protected from the "organiza-

tional tactics of unions"; unions allege "improper conduct on the part of employers" who do not come under the board's de minimis regulations.

AFL-CIO's legislative department held a conference of attorneys of all international unions in Washington this week to draft recommendations. Meanwhile, labor boards of New York, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Puerto Rico last week agreed on a joint petition to Congress to broaden the States' now-limited jurisdiction over labor disputes.

Hazleton, Pa., Boy Scouts Win National Honors at Jamboree Held at Valley Forge, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story and an editorial from the Hazleton Plain Speaker of July 20, 1957, as well as an editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of July 19, 1957, calling attention to and commenting on the national honors won by the Shawnee Patrol of the Anthracite Council of Boy Scouts, Hazleton, Pa.:

[From the Hazleton (Pa.) Plain Speaker of July 20, 1957]

Twenty-four jubilant Boy Scouts of the Anthracite Council and three of their leaders returned to Hazleton yesterday afternoon after a 10-day encampment in the Fourth National Boy Scout Jamboree at Valley Forge.

The boys came home with national honors for winning the logrolling and woodchopping events in competition with more than 52,000 Scouts from all over the Nation and abroad, the first time that local Scouts have won national recognition during a jamboree.

Members of the triumphant Shawnee Patrol, which took part in the national competition, all explorer Scouts, are: John Koch, post 15, Hazelton; Howard Wolfe, post 63, Drums; Clyde Fetterman, post 207, Sugarloaf; Michael Panco, post 12, Hazleton; Richard Zanolini, post 63, Drums, and Edward Sharp, air squadron 163, Drums. Two other Scouts, members of the Pittsburgh's Allegheny Council, were on the team. They were Robert Croyle and Michael Weatherspoon, who were enlisted in the local patrol to make up a full complement of eight boys.

DR. SCHUCK MAKES AWARDS

Each of the boys received championship area and national medals, awarded by Chief Scout Executive Dr. Arthur Schuck at Thursday afternoon ceremonies.

The boys disembarked at Church and Maple Streets near the Boy Scout office at the Delsroth Community Center at 2:45 p. m. yesterday, an hour and 45 minutes later than their scheduled arrival time. Their planned departure by bus from Valley Forge at 10 a. m. was delayed until 11:30 a. m. at the motor pool. A lunch stop was made en route.

SCOUTS ARRIVE SINGING

A busload of singing, happy Scouts was greeted by a large contingent of family members, friends, and Scouters. The boys emerged looking tanned, fit, and smiling. Heading the group were local field director Jarus Keller and Scoutmasters Bart Schumacher, Jr., and Dominic Cusatis.

MAN'S WORK

The leaders lauded the boys for their victory over Scouts from States such as Washington and Oregon, where lumbering is an active occupation, and said it was amazing to see area boys do man's work with such amazing skill and speed.

The Scouts agreed that it was tough going against a mess of big boys. They attributed their triumph to teamwork and team spirit.

In the woodchopping contest they had to chop through logs about 12 inches in diameter with the least number of strokes. They won with 96 strokes against about 180 from their closest rivals.

Two-man relays using bucksaws had to cut through 12-inch logs. Speed and a straight cut were primary requirements.

Using long-handled picks familiar to lumbermen, the contestants were required to maneuver a 16-foot log some 12 or 14 inches in diameter down a grade between sets of pegs, pivot the log and return up the hill without breaking any pegs. There was also a hand-rolling log event of a similar nature—all tests of strength, skill, and speed. Rolling on land rather than water made the job doubly difficult.

WIN 8 OF 24 MEDALS

The local Scouts accounted for 8 of the scant 24 national medals awarded in the special events competition. The remaining 16 medals went for pioneering and personal fitness winners. This year marked the first time that these contests have been held at the national jamboree.

[From the Hazleton Plain Speaker of July 20, 1957]

SCOUTS BRING HONORS HOME

Hats off to the Boy Scouts of the Anthracite Council.

Their victory in the national woodchopping and logrolling competition at Valley Forge projects brought the Hazelton area into the news once again. Their feat in conquering all comers in what has rightfully been termed man's work has been made known all over the Nation through the medium of the news services.

The Scouts and their leaders have proven that our youth takes no back seat in Hazleton's march of progress. Can-do, the centennial celebration and other community projects have brought us national acclaim. Now we may point with pride to the accomplishment of our Boy Scouts. In terms of the future, theirs may well be the greatest achievement.

When the Scouts went to Valley Forge, their going created scarcely a ripple. Overnight, they have become national heroes. Their victory is a victory for Scouting and the community at large. The Scouting movement in this area will be bigger and better as a result of the job our boys did at Valley Forge.

Hail to the Shawnee Patrol and all the Scouts and Scout leaders of the Anthracite Council. The teamwork and team spirit that brought victory also produced the team that made it possible.

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times Leader Evening News of July 19, 1957]

SCOUT HONORS

Our neighbor, Hazleton, seems to be continuously in the limelight these days. Last week, it was the observance of the city's centennial. This week, the Shawnee Patrol of Boy Scouts focused attention on the lower county city by winning top honors at the Valley Forge jamboree in the national logrolling and woodchopping events, no mean achievement in view of the stiff competition. This is a boost for Scouting in Luzerne County. It is a pleasure to salute the contingent on the accomplishment.

Dulles Hits Hard on Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by George Todt in the North Hollywood (Calif.) Valley Times of July 6, 1957:

DULLES HITS HARD ON RED CHINA

(Hamlet, act III, scene 1)

"To be, or not to be, that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune;
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them?"

—*Shakespeare.*

"Nothing could be more dangerous," said Secretary of State Dulles, speaking of the Red China situation, "than for the United States to operate on the theory that if hostile and evil forces do not quickly or readily change, then it is we who must change to meet them."

Just who was the Secretary talking to here?

In another part of his major foreign policy address, Dulles also said:

"Our policies are readily adjustable to meet the requirements of changing conditions. But there are occasions when others, and not we, should provide the change."

Was Mr. Dulles providing a subtle warning at this point to somebody else in addition to the Red bandit leadership of Peiping? I think that he was. And—hold onto your hats—it may have been our No. 1 allies, the British. Does the shoe fit? Dare he do this?

Impossible, you say? Not at all. For despite any appearances to the contrary, Foster Dulles knows how to be a realist when the occasion demands it. His long years of experience in the diplomatic field have taught him to understand readily the handwriting on the wall. He knows how to gage the temper of the people. In short, Mr. Dulles can read the signs of the times along with the best of them. What does he observe on the world stage today?

If he possesses the wisdom which his years should have taught him—and I am assuming that he does—then it must now be apparent to the Secretary that our grand alliance with the British is rapidly nearing a highly critical and controversial period in the history of the two great English-speaking Nations. We are swiftly approaching a stage where a showdown will become necessary. It is no longer a question of pinpricks and petty psychological disputes which separates us. Instead, there is a huge gulf of ideological differences yawning between us and the British today—and it is now becoming a matter of principles versus expediency.

This is what I believe Mr. Dulles has perceived at this point, certainly with reference to the odious and obnoxious matter of recognition of the murderous Red Chinese regime, and he has made his position clear to the world: He rejected every argument for major change in American policies of nonrecognition, cultural isolation, and trade embargo.

Frankly, the Secretary has never taken a more popular stand with the public than this one—and he is being roundly applauded from one end of the Nation to the other for it, we may be sure. Here is a cult of murderers who openly boast of liquidating 800,000 human beings to consolidate their posi-

lion in the last decade—we know the figure is actually closer to 20 million pitiful victims instead—and they have the brass to demand admittance to the United Nations, which we are led to believe is a respectable body. Now how can any self-respecting body representing world opinion desire to have this beastly, bloodstained brotherhood of atheistic Red Communists sitting in its midst? Worse, how can any so-called friends of the U. N. seek to place it in such a reprehensible position?

In his first major speech about Red China in 3 years, Mr. Dulles has placed himself, President Eisenhower, and the Nation firmly on the side of morality over expediency in this trying matter. For this we can all be grateful, including those who wish the U. N. well over the long haul. Frankly, the only basis the American people will accept the world organization is on a moral basis alone. It isn't worth while for us to continue to play in a league where there are double standards of morality—where those we associate with refuse to abide by the lawful rules of the game. What rules have the Red Chinese leaders ever abided by except the law of the jungle? Remember the 50,000 dead American servicemen in Korea? Many were shot on orders from Peiping in the back of the head with their hands tied behind their backs with wire.

Mr. Dulles says correctly that our recognition of Red China would discourage the freedom fighters inside that ill-starred nation, would cause millions of Chinese who now live in non-Communist nations to give up the ghost, would crush our honorable allies on Formosa to whom we are honor-bound to stand firm, and would destroy the will to resist communism in the balance of the non-Communist nations of Asia. This would mean ultimate and certain disaster.

But our British friends are not concerned with these legitimate preoccupations of Mr. Dulles and the United States. Their sole interest seems to be trade with the brutal Reds. And for this they appear quite willing to set us adrift from our alliance with them, if necessary. Are they bluffing? Is Mr. Dulles calling their hand? Do the American people back up his morality here?

I believe that they do and will, increasingly so, in the future. For our people have not supported the global anti-Communist crusade to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of free gifts and expensive armaments for the free world—merely to see it all go down the drain as the British leave their post in a selfish play for trade with our mutual enemy.

This column has long advocated our leaders talking straight and strong to our allies and requiring them to play ball within our alliance. It appears that Mr. Dulles has done so at this time. I think the word for him should be—Bravo.

Address by Petras Dauzvardis, Consul of Lithuania, at Observance of Anniversary of New York-Kaunas Flight of Darius and Girenas, July 21, 1957, Marquette Park, Chicago

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMMET F. BYRNE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to attend a memorial service Sunday in Chicago commemorating the historic and tragic flight of Capt. Stephen Darius and Lt. Stanley Girenas. I would like permission to insert the remarks of the Lithuanian Consul, Petras Dauzvardis, who addressed the gathering. His address was splendid as well as timely. As Mr. Dauzvardis portrayed Lithuania's recent history, my thoughts were about America and the need that we must adequately take care of by vigilant attention to safeguarding our freedom.

I was most appreciative of the opportunity to say a few words of greetings to the Americans of Lithuanian extraction who were gathered on Sunday to commemorate Darius and Girenas.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY PETRAS DAUZVARDIS, CONSUL OF LITHUANIA, AT OBSERVANCE OF ANNIVERSARY OF NEW YORK-KAUNAS FLIGHT OF DARIUS AND GIRENAS, JULY 21, 1957, MARQUETTE PARK, CHICAGO

Capt. Stephen Darius and Lt. Stanley Girenas are symbols of the close friendship of the United States and Lithuania. Born in Lithuania, they came here as youngsters, studied, and were volunteers in the United States Army, then fighting for the freedom of all nations. Lithuania regained her freedom and became an independent state as a result of the war and the determination of the Lithuanian nation. Darius returned to Lithuania to help her rebuild.

After Darius' return to this country he projected the idea of a nonstop flight to Lithuania to strengthen American-Lithuanian ties. Girenas joined him in carrying out the plan. They accomplished their mission, even though they did not reach Lithuania alive. Their heroic sacrifice was highly esteemed by both countries. Eloquent testimony of this is this imposing monument in Marquette park, this and other patriotic observances, and the sincere and ardent expressions by people of both nations.

These expressions touch upon America and Lithuania as well as on Darius and Girenas. The flight and death of Darius and Girenas occurred in the month of July. This month is replete with significant historical events: America's Declaration of Independence, the legal recognition of the State of Lithuania, and the Soviet treachery against Lithuania and the community of nations.

The Soviet Russian-Lithuanian Peace Treaty, by which Lithuania was recognized as a sovereign and independent state, was signed on July 12, 1920. On July 28, 1922, 35 years ago, America recognized Lithuania as a full-fledged state. The Lithuanian Legation at Washington and the consulates at New York and Chicago were opened after this recognition and continue their functions to this day.

The American Legation and consulate in Lithuania, however, no longer function. They were closed by the imperialistic Soviet occupant of Lithuania, who seized Lithuania in June 1940, deposed the lawful Lithuanian Government and substituted its illegal puppet agency, which still rules Lithuania and annihilates its people, although the Stalin-Molotov regime has been dammed and condemned by the present Soviet bosses for its many iniquities.

Lithuania, as I said, was seized by the Soviets in June of 1940. On July 14 and 15, 1940, the occupants, in violation of the Hague Convention, enacted the tragicomedy of elections—actually the appointment—of a so-called peoples parliament. By order of Stalin-Molotov this body (illegal by international as well as Lithuanian law, and even by the doctrine of the father of Russia's Communists, Lenin), on July 21, exactly 17 years ago, voted to sovietize Lithuania and incorporate it into the Soviet Union.

All free Lithuanian representatives and freedom-loving Lithuanian people denounced this illegal act by the Soviets. Lithuanian Minister in Washington, P. Zadeikis lodged his protest with the Department of State on July 22, and the Department of State published its condemnation on July 23, 1940.

So the month of July is a month of triumph and of tragedy for Lithuania. Triumph, because in that month Lithuania was recognized de jure by America and Russia, and because America continues to recognize her as an existing state—and is making every effort to free her. Tragedy, because Russia violated her pledge and throttled Lithuania's independence—enslaved her people and is mercilessly torturing and exploiting them.

However, just as every tragedy teaches a lesson, so Lithuania's tragedy teaches a lesson to the nation and to the world. The nation steels itself for the struggle for freedom; the people become more freedom conscious and feel that like all other cherished possessions, freedom must be guarded and defended, otherwise it can be lost.

The tragedy of Lithuania teaches the world that the leaders of the United States are honorable men, while the rulers of the Soviet Union are hypocrites. America does what it says, while the Soviet Union says one thing—but does another.

Here is an example of Soviet fraud: After the Soviet Union imposed mutual-aid pacts upon the Baltic States, citing the treatites of peace and nonaggression, and inserting an article about the noninterference of one state in the affairs of another, Commissar of Foreign Affairs V. Molotov declared (on October 31, 1939) to the Supreme Soviet and the world:

"These pacts are based on mutual respect for the political, social, and economic structure of the contracting parties, and are designed to strengthen the basis for peaceful neighborly cooperation between our peoples. We stand for the scrupulous observance of pacts on a basis of complete reciprocity and we declare that all nonsense about sovietizing the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs."

Less than a year after the signing of the pacts and the solemn declarations, the Soviet Union seized and Sovietized Lithuania and the other Baltic States—in flagrant violation of agreements and pledges. This is clearly a crime against international law and morality.

The present rulers of the Kremlin accuse Stalin and Molotov of all kinds of crimes—Khrushchev and Bulganin also swear allegiance to Lenin, but break their word and violate even Lenin's doctrine.

If Stalin and Molotov offended peace, friendship, and coexistence—and they did this by seizing Lithuania and other countries—then Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Zhukov must right these wrongs, by restoring freedom and independence to Lithuania and the other enslaved states.

Khrushchev, Bulganin, and their cohorts say that the Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians joined the Soviet Union freely, that their parliaments voted this move. This is a bald-faced lie, the alibi of culprits. They do not mention the illegality of these parliaments, or their lack of any right to convert independent states into colonies of a foreign power. They also refrain from mentioning the doctrine of their father Lenin, which plainly states:

"Any incorporation of a small or weak nation into a large or strong state without the definite, clear, and voluntary desire to that effect of that nation * * *" and especially "* * * if this nation is not accorded the right to decide the problem of the form of its political existence by a free vote—implying the complete withdrawal of the

troops of the incorporating or strong nation—then the incorporation is an annexation, i. e., an arbitrary appropriation of a foreign country, an act of violence."

The Lithuanian nation had no say regarding the incorporation of Lithuania. The country was arbitrarily and violently annexed to the Soviet Union, with the Soviet army and Molotov's deputy Dekanozov present and operating in Lithuania.

All evidence shows that Lithuania was occupied by force, illegally incorporated into the Soviet Union, and is illegally restrained by the Soviets.

The Lithuanian nation wants to be free and act freely, and to have its own independent state, in which it could govern itself.

The Lithuanian nation demands that the occupants get out of Lithuania and restore sovereign rights and self-government to her, as set forth in the Lithuanian-Soviet Peace Treaty, the Atlantic Charter, and the Charter and Declaration of the United Nations.

The Prayer Pilgrimage Was an Object Lesson for United States and World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the New York Age of June 15, 1957]

THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE WAS AN OBJECT LESSON FOR UNITED STATES AND WORLD

(By John Young III)

So many questions and criticisms have followed in the wake of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom that an inside, but independent, evaluation seems both necessary and desirable. Having served as director of public relations for the event (a post I no longer hold), I feel that such an evaluation will serve both the public interest and the leaders of the pilgrimage.

First of all, since all 3 cochairmen signed the call for the April 5 meeting which planned and executed the final event on May 17 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., all 3 must share equally the grand credit for the great achievement and whatever blame may come from small and negligible errors of omission.

Since the April 5 meeting became the initiating body and force, it is pertinent to note (1) that leaders in labor forces attended that meeting because they were urged personally to do so by Cochairman A. Philip Randolph, a member of the executive council and vice president of the AFL–CIO; (2) that NAACP officials and connected civic leaders attended the meeting because they were urged to do so by Cochairman Roy Wilkins; and, finally, that religious leaders attended because of the great prestige of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and at his urging.

The logical deduction to be drawn is that without any one of these three streams of Negro life, the pilgrimage would have been a dismal failure, instead of the great success that it was. Here is why.

SHOWS STRENGTH

When put to the test, the great respect for A. Philip Randolph in the very highest labor circles came through with stunning results. For instance, from New York City we carried a delegation—our largest—of some 7,000 persons of all races to Washington. Approximately 5,000 of these persons were recruited through unions, with the Randolph approval a green light for participation and the around-the-clock work of such labor officials as Cleveland Robinson and Joe Overton, the guiding impetus.

Moreover, it was Mr. Randolph who personally signed for funds with which to reserve the first special train. Again, it was he who secured large cash donations from unions. It is easy to see, from the inside, that without the help of labor and Mr. Randolph, he would have failed.

NAACP ROLE

The NAACP played a vital part in the pilgrimage by providing the necessary base of operations in cities and States across the country. This is extremely important in any national program.

Large delegations from Detroit, Chicago, Boston, Richmond, Norfolk,, California, and Cleveland were due to the direct leadership of NAACP branches. They were led and recruited by, respectively, Arthur L. Johnson, Willoughby Abner, Edward L. Cooper, Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Rev. J. H. Westbrook, Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins, and Herman M. Sweatt. All of North Carolina came under NAACP leadership, in addition to other scattered sections.

Moreover, a very large part of the funds were advanced by the NAACP. Again, it is clear that without the NAACP the pilgrimage would have failed.

Some mention has been made of the refusal of NAACP branches to drop their membership campaigns completely and work on the pilgrimage. There is no doubt but that some branches could have done more to aid the pilgrimage. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that membership is the lifeblood of the NAACP and the direct responsibility of the branches.

Even the April 5 meeting occurred long after many branches had set up promotions and meetings for membership. In practically all instances the May 17 pilgrimage came in the midst of membership campaigns that could not be canceled. Under these circumstances, in my opinion, the NAACP branches did a creditable job in the pilgrimage.

THE SYMBOL

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, contribution to the pilgrimage was of equal and vital importance. It was he who provided the dramatic symbol of moral and spiritual dignity around which all rallied. His Montgomery Improvement Association not only contributed a large sum to the funds, but had the assignment of rallying the whole South.

Large delegations from Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, all attest to the fine leadership of Reverend King.

Reverend King is a hero to me—a fellow Morehouse College alumnus—and to a great mass of people who admire and respect him, but it would be a serious mistake, in my opinion, to claim that he, alone, could have made the pilgrimage a succes; or, that he has emerged as the one leader of 16 million Negro people.

For such a claim, I believe, could do considerable damage to his future and the fine unity demonstrated so ably in the pilgrimage. Moreover, Reverend King's future depends on the help and cooperation of many leaders, most of whom want to help him, but are not willing to surrender their seniority to him at this early point in his career.

WORK IN PHILLY

Some mention has been made concerning those ministers in high places who did little or nothing to aid the pilgrimage. There were some, of course, but in my opinion, those ministers who did participate far outweighed and outnumbered those who failed to do so.

For instance, one of the real achievements of the pilgrimage took place at Philadelphia, where Rev. Leon A. Sullivan and the ministers of the city delivered the second largest delegation, consisting of 5,000 persons of all races and creeds.

The contribution made to the pilgrimage by Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr., was a great one. Although he was late receiving an assignment by pilgrimage officials, he immediately contributed the full facilities of his church and congressional office and gave his associate minister, Rev. David N. Licorish to head the church mobilization division. Moreover, he read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the 3 co-chairmen's call and distributed it to 150,000 persons.

Was the pilgrimage a success? Should the crowd have been larger? What did we accomplish at the Lincoln Memorial? In my opinion, these are the answers.

SHOW UNITY

As I understand it, the prayer pilgrimage was a psychological move to demonstrate unity of purpose in informing the people of the United States and the world, that the Negro people—all of them were wholly dissatisfied with (1) the slow progress of civil-rights legislation in this Congress; (2) attacks on the NAACP in the South; (3) bombings of Negro churches and the homes of ministers in the South and, finally, that in not meeting these issues, both political parties had failed to meet the moral challenge of the times, and thus had created the necessity of a demonstration to arouse the conscience of the Nation.

Did we demonstrate a unity of purpose? I don't believe that there is any doubt but that we did. For in uniting, for the first time in our histroy, the great forces of religion, labor and social action, we accomplished a near miracle of cooperation, one that might well serve as a frontal action for the future.

To me, the prayer pilgrimage represented, in one bold, decisive, united move, the first time we acted like first-class citizens who deserved what they were asking. Whether we aroused the conscience of the Nation and our political parties remains to be seen.

SELF-RESPECT

In my opinion, the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom is one of the real achievements of the Negro people in this century. It was a demonstration of the vision, stability and maturity of Negro leadership that was vitally necessary at this time, as a striking contrast to that of the irresponsible leadership of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan and their sympathizers in the Congress, State legislatures in the South and in the land.

What did we accomplish at the Lincoln Memorial? The answer is simple—self respect. If, at the same time, we did not gain the respect of the people of the United States for our position, the fault is theirs, not ours. Under God, we sought to arouse them to this end.

[From the New York Age of June 22, 1957]

THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE: AN EVALUATION

(By John Young III)

(This is the second in a series of articles by the official who served as director of public relations for the Prayer Pilgrimage For Freedom. Mr. Young is a former Washington correspondent and winner of the Willkie award in journalism.)

There has been much argument pro and con based on the number of people attending the Prayer Pilgrimage For Freedom in Washington, D. C., on last May 17.

The issue has been whether the 25,000 who attended the pilgrimage, constitute a success, or, whether the aggregate fell short of the intended goal. Some have suggested that from

50,000 to 100,000 should have been in attendance, that persons in places of high authority would look with askance at any attendance below these.

Personally, I believe that 5,000 persons of the same qualitative caliber would have been equally as demonstrative of unity of purpose. For the 25,000 who attended the pilgrimage were, for the most part, leaders on every level, with hundreds of thousands of followers behind them in their participation. It would be a tragic mistake if the people of the United States did not evaluate the attendance at the pilgrimage for its qualitative worth.

REPRESENTED BIG GROUPS

In the California delegation, for instance, every single person in a group of 150, represented one or more organized bodies of thousands; participation of the Elks (supporters of Ike in the last election) represented another 500,000 people; participation of Bishop H. L. Greene, meant the unqualified support of all the AME churches in the country; a bus from Tennessee contained 40 ministers whose congregations runs into thousands. And so it was all down the line—leaders on every level and from every faith and political persuasion, comprising delegations.

The fact, that the crowd at the pilgrimage was not larger, is a compliment to the leaders of the event, rather than cause for question and criticism. Here's why:

First, we had only 3 weeks of pitch activity—from April 20 to May 17—to promote the pilgrimage; second, no passionate appeal intended to incite the emotions was made; third, a three-pronged leadership created a lag in policy clearances; fourth, there was a lack of funds in a budget which was far too small for the time we had in which to operate; and, fifth, the fact that the occasion fell on a working day.

SOLEMN IN PRAYER

Too, the early policy decision not to invite political leaders to participate, further limited support from this area and explains why such leaders were not active. Rightfully, the pilgrimage leaders held the occasion to be solemn in prayer, and outside politics.

Cochairmen A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., were entirely correct, in my opinion, in making these early policy decisions which limited attendance, but added, immeasurably, to the prestige and dignity of the occasion.

MOMENT OF DECISION

From the very beginning, these leaders decided that a strict obedience to the time factors of the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation would be observed, above all else. This meant that the pilgrimage would be held at the precise moment the decision was handed down—noon, May 17. The date fell on Friday this year.

The exact-hour-and-date-of factor imposed a serious handicap on a large attendance. In New York, for instance, this meant that pilgrims not only would have to take a day off, but would have to leave the city at 5 a. m., in order to arrive in Washington at noon.

It is obvious that had the pilgrimage leaders desired a large crowd, above all else, they would have changed the event to Saturday or later in the day on Friday. Rightfully, they chose to honor the exact moment of the Supreme Court decision and thus emphasize the solemnity of the occasion, rather than compromise this high principle with hopes of a show of strength in a massed crowd.

THE NEGRO PRESS

The pilgrimage brought into sharp focus the importance and value of the Negro press to the cause of freedom for the Negro people.

Excepting the progress story of Rev. Milton Perry's walk from Jersey City to the Lincoln Memorial, the daily press was loath to print any advance stories that would contribute to the attendance. Especially was this true in Washington, where almost a complete blackout existed. A major press conference and briefing we held in Washington on the Wednesday, prior to the pilgrimage, wound up in the back of the newspaper near the want ads in the so-called liberal Washington Post; other Washington dailies didn't bother to print anything at all, although they had reporters covering the conference.

Yet, 3 hours after the occasion, all Washington dailies printed 5- and 6-column pictures on their front pages with a story alongside.

On the other hand, the Negro press went all out—despite political ties—in the advance coverage, and was a great factor in the pilgrimage success.. As a public relations person, I was brought face to face with the reality that whatever the Negro intends to achieve with movements which directly challenge the white majority, he must achieve through the Negro press and without the help of the daily newspapers, however liberal they claim to be and no matter how loudly their editorial columns preach liberty and freedom.

WASHINGTON ATTENDANCE

So much has been said on the negative side concerning the lack of participation on the part of Washingtonians, that I feel it necessary to make some positive observations. First, I attended one meeting in Washington where over 100 ministers and civic leaders were actively working on the pilgrimage. In addition, some 25 churches there opened their doors to receive out-of-town delegations, many such churches providing free meals. Also, a group of 100 private cab owners donated their cars and provided free taxi service to those who wanted to attend the pilgrimage.

Why didn't Washingtonians appear in great numbers? One reason, I believe, is that the churches were so concentrated on receiving out-of-town pilgrims that they were psychologically turned from the task of getting their own congregations to attend the pilgrimage. A grave apathy exists in Washington and is due, I believe, to the fact that they are a voteless people, not given to the usual civic and political urges brought on by the existence of election machinery. Too, some of them suffer deep fears over losing their government jobs.

The pilgrimage never had enough funds put to use in Washington to overcome these shortcomings.

In retrospect, 25,000 people of all races and creeds—on a 3-week appeal—spent well over a million dollars to go to the nation's Capital and hold a 3-hour ceremony of prayer for the freedom of the Negro people. They came from 32 States and represented every level of liberal and enlightened leadership. They came at the call of three Negro leaders, who felt that the conscience of the Nation needed arousing at a time when the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils were challenging the very freedoms upon which our country was founded.

It is a highly irrelevant and specious argument which attempts to belittle the event and the power behind it, by placing a yardstick on the number of people who attended. The Prayer Pilgrimage proved that the Negro people—all of them—want their freedoms now. Any other deduction could prove very dangerous to the future of the United States, both here and abroad.

(Next week. What did the White House think of the pilgrimage? What was the underlying strategy of the pilgrimage? What is the next step?)

[From the New York Age of June 29, 1957]

THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE: AN EVALUATION

(By John Young III)

(This is the third in a series of articles by the official who served as director of public relations for the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom. Mr. Young is a former Washington correspondent and winner of the Wilkie award in journalism.)

The White House was acutely aware of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, however phlegmatic its interest may have appeared on the surface. This I discovered when I visited there 2 days before the event.

(Here, it is relevant to note that I was not delegated by pilgrimage officials to visit the White House. My visit was an unofficial and personal courtesy call, growing out of past political endeavors.)

The high official I talked with there for more than an hour showed great anxiety, if not fear, over possible untoward actions that might occur in connection with the pilgrimage. (It was obvious, from the conversation, that the pilgrimage had been widely and seriously discussed in the White House.)

The first anxiety expressed by the official was that Communist groups would picket the White House on the day of the pilgrimage, and that it would be difficult to separate such an action—because of the pictures that would appear in newspapers—from the general story of the pilgrimage.

(Although it was not discussed, there is no doubt in my mind but that this particular anxiety reflcted fears that such publicity would be highly damaging to United States prestige throughout the world, and especially in Africa and Asia.)

POLICY AND PROCEDURES

I told the official of the policy and procedures which Cochairmen A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., previously had outlined for the press. They were:

1. That pilgrimage leaders had disclaimed any support by Communists and had pointed out, in the meantime, that there was nothing the leaders could do to prevent them from attending a public assembly;

2. That, as a protective measure, pilgrimage policy prevented the carrying of signs by anyone connected with the event (Reverend King's own delegation had been turned down in its request for permission to display banners. * * * Also, even a participating union's request to be allowed to walk in a body from the railroad station to the Lincoln Memorial had been refused).

PICKETING PLANNED

At this point, the official revealed that he had been reliably informed that such a picketing actually was planned.

I suggested that there was a probability that pilgrimage leaders would further clarify this issue in a press conference we had scheduled for Reverend King on the following day, Thursday, May 16. (The next day Reverend King read a statement prior to his press conference. In addition to repeating the leaders' policy previously announced on this issue, he added: "* * * we plan no picketing or any such demonstrations. Any group carrying on such activities is doing so without our approval and against our wishes.")

The second anxiety on the part of the White House official was that out of the thousands of pilgrims entering Washington from over the country, there would be some who would resort to disorder, and possibly mayhem; that the authority of the pilgrimage leaders would not be strong enough to completely eliminate such action in a body of thousands, many of whom were attending on their own.

RESPECT FOR LEADERS

I, of course, held no such fears and told him so. I informed him that the Negro people had great respect for both their leadership and their religion; that, therefore, given the correct premise, his fears were based in non sequitur reasoning.

FEAR

Make no mistake about it. Fear ran like a nagging thread through the hearts of every white person in Washington on the day of the prayer pilgrimage. Negro leadership, therefore, was on trial as never before in the Negro people's long struggle for freedom in the United States.

I left the conference at the White House with the official's parting words of challenge echoing clear and crisp:

"If Negro leadership," he believed, "can bring thousands into Washington on this occasion, hold a cermony and have them depart as planned without incident or disorder, it will be an achievement in responsibility and maturity which cannot help but bring the respect of the Nation and the desired results."

MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

Well, we accomplished our mission as we planned it. We wrote an editorial along side the Lincoln Memorial, tall enough for the whole world to see. We're on record. We've given the people of the United States a mandate. The Pilgrimage was our first step—a shifting of the burden of proof to the shoulders of the white majority of our country.

What follows after this first step? There is an old adage or custom in the courts that before you sue for the collection of a debt, the court requires that you first write a letter asking that the monies be paid voluntarily. A period of grace then ensues. If no action of payment is forthcoming, the aggrieved party then sues.

SUE FOR RIGHTS

In the Prayer Pilgrimage we have written our letter. We now are in a period of grace. When and if, it becomes apparent that no action is forthcoming as a result of our letter, we then will have no alternative but to sue for our rights.

That such a suit has been considered is a part of the record. When asked at a press conference during the Pilgrimage what followup was planned, Reverend King said that some step was in order, but indicated that the form of such a step had not been decided.

On the other hand, Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr., recommended in his speech at the Pilgrimage that a third force of all faiths be launched. It would be a program of direct action even to the extreme of work stoppage. It would not be a third party, yet, it would be political but nonpartisan.

In retrospect, dynamic Negro leadership demonstrated—in a poignant portrayal—its vision, wisdom, responsibility, maturity, and savoir faire in carrying out the prayer pilgrimage.

Those who ask what was accomplished by the pilgrimage should be satisfied that this, alone, was worth the cost in money, time, and energy in its behalf.

The fact that we proved that for safety's sake, it no longer is necessary that a white person head a civil rights activity that is delicate and fraught with possible disaster, should come as a bonus to our protracted thinking on the values of the pilgrimage.

Historians of the future well might write in the annals of our times, that on May 17, 1957, at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., the Negro people in the United States finally came of age.

(Next week. The third force. What is it? How does it work? Will politicians and leaders find Reverend King's program feasible in and for the North?)

[From the New York Age of July 6, 1957]

THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE: AN EVALUATION

(By John Young III)

(This is the fourth in a series of articles by the official who served as director of public relations for the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom. Mr. Young is a former Washington correspondent and winner of the Willkie Award in journalism.)

THE THIRD FORCE

Out of the inevitable redundancy of the speeches at the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL'S statement shines as a rare jewel of distinction.

For, whether they agree with him or not, practically all observers have said that he was the only speaker to offer a positive plan of action as a panacea to our ills.

"What we need," he said, "is a third force of all faiths."

While he did not go into details, he did project the idea that such a force would include direct action in the form of economic boycotts and even work stoppage, all within the framework of a program of passive resistance.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

It can be seen, at first examination, that he was proposing an organization of religious nature, where the church would be the dominating factor, with political leaders forsaking their parties under the obedience of their religious leaders, when called upon to do so under extraordinary circumstances.

By describing the "third force" as being political but nonpartisan, Congressman POWELL evidently reasoned from a major premise which held that neither of the two major parties appeared willing or able to mount the needed full offensive in the field of civil rights; that efforts to affect such a combination or coalition of liberal forces between members of the two parties either had failed, or, had appeared unlikely. Such reasoning deems a third party unwise and impractical.

COMBINATION OF FORCES

There can be little doubt but that the great progressive surge among all churches, at this time, made such a combination of forces seem irrevocably feasible and desirable.

How would such a "third force" be organized? Presumably, the heads of the various faiths (on a call signed by several), would meet and agree on a plan of action to extend the boundaries of freedom to the greatest possible horizons, immediately. In graduated steps, there would have to be an agreement to pursue this goal to the extreme of work stoppage, should the coalition mean business.

(Here, it must be said that this writer is interpreting what appears to be the logical deductions in Congressman POWELL'S proposal. It is quite possible that he may be in disagreement with any or all of the conclusions drawn by the writer. However, the basic premises herein are based upon brief conversation with him; his recent illness having precluded the possibility of any thorough interview).

Once having set up such an "executive council" of religious leaders of all faiths, it would appear logical that political leaders then would be invited to join a "laymen's auxiliary," or appendage, set up in juxtaposition to the council, but, actually, under the jurisdiction of the religious organization.

With this combination of nonpartisan religious and political leaders established at the very top, the organization then would barrel out to include every city and State under the banner of the "third force." It is assumed that the "executive council" representative of each faith would be responsible for recruiting political leaders belonging to his faith. The representative would be held accountable, but not necessarily responsible for the actions of his political leaders.

How would the "third force" work? Perhaps the recent imbroglio over the city council bill to end discrimination in private housing in New York City can be used as an example of application.

It is a matter of record that the real estate board circulated literature against the bill when it was at the stage of passage. This effort on their part brought a mere 3,000 letters to city hall and stymied the bill, forcing lukewarm council members to back down and pigeonhole the bill.

It is conceivable that had the third force been organized it would have been in position to take immediate action, once the pattern of the opposition had been established. On the basis of its theory, the third force would have swung into action with the following weapons:

1. A letter approving the bill, written by every minister in New York City, to the mayor at city hall.

2. A sermon in the pulpit of every church in the city, asking members to fill out prepared cards to be mailed to the mayor.

3. A delegation from each faith to visit all councilmen of that faith and pledge them to hold firm for the bill, or lose the religious support.

4. A citywide mass meeting of protest, called by the ministers of all faiths in New York City.

It is easy to see that such a prompt and united action, led by a third force of all faiths, would have brought 100,000 letters to city hall in answer to the measly 3,000 arraigned against the bill by the real estate board.

It seems to be an elementary deduction that the bill would have been rescued and discrimination in all housing ended in New York City.

What about a boycott by the third force in this same situation? One speaker in a small and rather disorganized meeting, held recently, proposed a boycott of businesses belonging to an organization whose executive council publicly and unanimously opposed the bill. Presumably, an organized and prepared third force would have swung into action to lead such a boycott.

ACTIVISTS

Parentetiacly, the third force idea possibly finds its moorings in a newer interpretation of the philosophy of activism. Members of the third force would become activists in the newest possible sense of the word.

These newborn activities would believe that dignity and freedom can come only from positive action—through religion—on the basis of reason and principle, from a basic sense of justice, not from banal rationalization at this crisis point in the progress of our democracy. They would believe that the only ultimate necessity is the necessity of being free.

This, then, I believe, is a logical, though unofficial interpretation of the third force as proposed by Congressman POWELL in his speech at the Lincoln Memorial.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Need and Purpose of Integrated Federal Water Program for Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, recently I have asked the Chief of the Corps of Army Engineers and the Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation to coordinate the efforts of their agencies, down to the field level, in establishing and carrying out an adequate water-development program for Texas.

In a memorandum addressed jointly to the heads of the two agencies, I set forth briefly the need for such a program and what it should accomplish. I ask unanimous consent that the memorandum be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORANDUM TO MAJ. GEN. E. C. ITSCHNER, CHIEF, CORPS OF ENGINEERS, AND WILBUR A. DEXHEIMER, COMMISSIONER, BUREAU OF RECLAMATION, FROM LYNDON B. JOHNSON, UNITED STATES SENATOR—SUBJECT, INTEGRATED FEDERAL WATER PROGRAM IN TEXAS

Texas must have a predefined, realistic Federal water program that embraces both flood control and water supply requirements. This program must be so designed that (a) Texas will receive maximum benefits from its water and (b) The Federal Government will get maximum return on its water investment in Texas.

Texas has suffered disastrously from 7 to 10 years of drought; total cost estimated at $2.7 billion. Texas has suffered periodically, and specifically this year, from floods; cost this year estimated at $106 million.

The future annual loss to Texas will be measured in billions of dollars unless a firm water supply is provided for industry, cities, and agriculture. Water supply is the controlling key in the future of Texas. Unless effective action is taken immediately, Texas will literally run out of water in 10 or 15 years. The water problem is the only limiting factor on the continued growth and economic expansion of Texas.

Texas is 25 years behind other Western States in dealing effectively with its water problem.

In view of these facts, I consider it of the utmost importance that the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation collaborate closely down to the lowest field level in establishing and carrying out a program that will insure adequate supplies of water in Texas and that will reduce to the minimum loss of life and property from floods.

The State Government of Texas will be requested to coordinate its efforts with those of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation.

I urgently request that the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, working together, devise and submit to me, not later than April 30, 1958, a "mockup" of a Texas statewide water program where Federal funds are involved with an initial division of responsibilities as between your two agencies. This is to be a coordinated Corps-Reclamation program, particularly where water supply is involved in an integrated, inter-basin activity. Since water supply for all needs is the key, the controlling element in a realistic Texas water program, other facets such as hydro power, flood control, etc., will necessarily be integrated into the basic water supply decisions.

It is assumed that directives will go to the corps and Bureau, field level offices requiring:

1. Immediate collaboration on the programs of the two agencies.

2. Reappraisal of proposed reservoirs of each agency in accordance with the realities of water supply requirements as now established.

3. Submission of future reservoirs for authorization on a basis of complete field level agreement as to space allocations prior to the interagency comment process.

I want to receive from the corps and the Bureau proposals on a basin-account system for water sales from Federal reservoirs concerned with the interbasin water plans to support irrigation. In this connection I request that the two agencies initiate discussions to the end of establishing in Texas a uniform policy for disposal of conservation space in Federal reservoirs to the appropriate State agency.

The Bureau of Reclamation has been ordered to formulate a statewide water supply plan. This investigation is now about two-thirds finished and the final report is due in approximately 30 months.

The Bureau has defined water needs by areas for (a) agriculture and (b) municipal and industrial use. It is now known what key dams will be required and on what streams in order to meet water requirements of an integrated, statewide water supply plan. About nine corps dams now authorized, will have to be increased in size to meet water supply requirements of the statewide plan. The Bureau of Reclamation will propose 12 or 14 new dams, primarily for water supply.

The probable total cost over a period of 25 to 30 years of the Federal water supply program in Texas, including Bureau and corps projects, will approximate $1,300,000,000. It is on this program that I request from the corps and the Bureau a mockup by April 30, 1958.

Your comments on the above are invited.

Irrigation in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the smalltown newspapers of Texas are truly community newspapers in the sense that they are close to local problems and local progress. We are fortunate in having over 500 of these newspapers in my State.

Outstanding among them is the Benavides Facts, published by J. L. C. Beaman and edited by Wallace H. Smith. These two gentlemen believe strongly that a newspaper should have an editorial policy and an editorial page. On that page, there recently appeared a thoughtful and informative editorial discussion of the role that irrigation plays in Texas agriculture.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IRRIGATION IN TEXAS

Irrigation plays a much bigger part in Lone Star agriculture than most Texans realize.

Nearly a half billion acres of Texas land are now irrigated. About one-fifth of the cropland harvested in the State is irrigated land.

Although many centuries old, the practice of irrigation is relatively new in the State. There were no definite reports on the amount of irrigated Texas acreage until 1940, when less than 895,000 acres were irrigated.

But with the advent of larger, more mechanized methods in recent years, irrigation systems have spread to all corners of the State.

Irrigation has fit well into the ever-changing agricultural picture. It has been the answer to problems of drought, low yields and cost-price squeeze. And there probably isn't a farmer in Texas today who hasn't given some thought to irrigation.

This is no wishful thinking on the farmer's part—to want "rain" at the right time in the right amount. Many farmers in the heavier rainfall sections of Texas are setting up irrigation systems for small tracts and increasing yields up to 200 percent.

Although 95 percent of the irrigated farms are located in just 78 counties, the scientific principles of irrigation are rapidly being applied in all areas of the State.

During the past year, numerous irrigation clinics and demonstrations have been held under auspices of county agents, soil conservation districts and irrigation engineers, and manufacturers.

One Hundred and Tenth Anniversary of Arrival of Mormon Pioneers in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared in commemoration of the 110th anniversary of the arrival of the Mormon pioneers in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CHURCH

Today any of the people of my State join those of our good neighbor to the south, Utah, as well as hundreds of thousands of Latter-day Saints throughout the world in commemorating the arrival of the Mormon pioneers into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. One hundred and ten years ago this afternoon, Brigham Young and the rest of his train arrived in that barren valley bordering the American Dead Sea. Earlier President Young had uttered unforgettable words as he looked from the top of the Wasatch Mountains onto the valley, "this is the place."

This was the place for the pioneers who traversed a thousand miles of the Great Plains and the Rockies to establish their refuge from the unjustifiable persecution they had found to the east. But, despite their courageous and wearying trek, the persecution was still to continue. Exactly one century ago this afternoon, President Young and the residents of the valley were celebrating the 10th anniversary of Pioneer Day in the mountains above Salt Lake at Brighton when news came that the largest peacetime Army ever assembled in this country was being sent to further punish them. This time, however, for all practical purposes, they emerged victorious, victorious without taking the life of a single member of Johnston's army.

But the Saints had more important things to do than fight wars. When Brigham Young said that "This is the place," he did not only mean the valley of the Great Salt Lake, but the entire great basin and intermountain area. President Young sent his followers to all parts of this region, establishing for himself a reputation as the greatest colonizer in this country's history, a history illustrious with the names of such men. The Latter-day Saints established the first settlement in my own State of Idaho, Fort Lemhi, in 1855, as well as the first permanent settlement at Franklin in 1860, where they founded the first school. The Saints went on to colonize the whole eastern part of Idaho, making it verdant with irrigated crops.

The Mormons were the first people to make significant use of irrigation on this continent. They turned that valley of sagebrush that President Young first looked over into one of the most beautiful cities in America today, Salt Lake City, and they made "the desert blossom like the rose" wherever they settled. The Lombardy poplars you will see if you travel through many parts of the West are not native to the region, but were most likely planted and watered to maturity by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Western States have followed their example in irrigation, but it is unlikely that any group without the unity of the Mormon Church could have brought to productivity many of the places of beauty that can be seen in the West today.

The epic of the Mormons is a noble and dramatic one, one which members of all faiths in my State honor and respect. The Latter-day Saints have achieved a position where "All is well" for them with other peoples. They are completely accepted as they so completely accept those from outside their faith. My State is one of harmony, and on this day we pause to pay tribute to the people that settled much of our great West, the Mormon pioneers.

Freedom of Debate in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the testimony of Hon. Ernest W. Goodrich, of Surry, Va., representing the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, before the special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration considering proposed changes in Senate rule XXII.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ERNEST W. GOODRICH, REPRESENTING THE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION AT THE HEARINGS ON PROPOSED CHANGES IN SENATE RULE XXII

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, my name is Ernest W. Goodrich, of Surry, Va. I am appearing for the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties upon an invitation from the Honorable HERMAN E. TALMADGE. I have been a member of the bar in Virginia since 1935 and am admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and the Supreme Court of the United States. From 1935 through 1939 I was associated with the United States Department of Labor, in Washington. Since 1940, I have been attorney for the Commonwealth for the county of Surry, in Virginia, except for 4 years spent in the United States Navy during World War II doing labor relations work for the Bureau of Yards and Docks here in Washington.

At the outset, I should like to make crystal clear the fact that the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties is not a rabble-rousing, hate-engendering organization, as some segments of the press have inferred. Over a large area of Virginia the finest people are members and active workers in this organization. While the organization came into being following the Supreme Court's decisions in the segregation cases, it has from its inception concerned itself, as its name implies, with matters other than segregation and integration. We are dedicated to the preservation of our republican form of government, wherein the several sovereign States retain all functions of government not specifically delegated to the Federal Government. It is because of this dedication that we oppose the present resolutions pending before this group which are the subject of these hearings. From our view, the present attempt to change the rules of the Senate to make it possible for less than two-thirds of the Senators to cut off debate is but another manifestation of the determination of certain elements in our society further to throttle and ultimately destroy our State governments.

While I am not familiar in detail with the resolutions which are the subject matter of this hearing, it is my understanding that the purpose of the resolutions is to change the cloture rule, making it possible to cut off debate in the Senate with less than a vote of two-thirds of the Senators, and it is to this general idea of making it easier to apply cloture that I shall address my remarks.

While it is considered old fashioned and out of keeping with the modern philosophy of government to refer back to our Founding Fathers, it seems to me that a great many people in Washington need to review the genesis of our Government. I think that we need to study again the formation of these United States of America. Subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, and prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, I do not believe that anyone would argue that the State governments were not completely sovereign in every sense of the word, answerable only to the people of the States in which always reposes final sovereignty. The architects of the Constitution—and I might say that my State contributed its full share—were zealous to retain within the several States every element of sovereignty consistent with a workable Federal system. As you gentlemen well know, the great issue before the framers of the Constitution was how to preserve this balance of power. Had Alexander Hamilton had his way, the States would have been destroyed, and I believe firmly that we would not have survived as a nation. The great strength of our Government is the division of power between the Federal and State governments and, within the Federal Government, between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The present philosophy which permeates the Supreme Court, the executive department, as well as the legislative branches, harkens back to the philosophy of Alexander Hamilton.

Realizing the necessity of safeguarding the powers of the individual States, our Founding Fathers very wisely provided that in this august body, the United States Senate, each State, regardless of its size, territorially or populationwise, should have equal representation. Thus, the Senator from Delaware has as much voice in the deliberations of this body as does the Senator from New York. I have not studied the history of the cloture rule, but certain it is, that no rule of the Senate affords greater protection to the several States of this Nation than does this rule. While much of the encroachment on the sovereignty of the several States has come about as a result of the grasping for power by the executive departments of the Federal Government, and by judicial legislation by the Supreme Court, it is sad but true, that the elected representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States have also constantly, through legislation, extended the powers of the Federal Government. While the United States Senate has played its part in this unfortunate movement, it has, at the same time, served as a bulwark against wholesale extension of Federal control.

Except in isolated cases of filibusters agatinst legislation of minor significance, I believe that the record will show that the recurrent attempts to apply cloture have come when there was before the Senate legislation affecting the basic fabric of our Government. Certain it is, the current interest in changing the rule is because of the insistent demand of minority groups that the so-called civil-rights legislation be enacted. It is somewhat ironical that the minority groups interested in the civil-rights legislation are willing to sacrifice one of their greatest protections, that of unlimited debate in the Senate, in order to insure passage of legislation that, when the final history is written, will be termed the most

destructive of civil rights ever enacted by the Congress.

There is perhaps no one who has followed to any textent the proceedings of the United States Senate who has not had, at one time or another, a feeling of disgust at the waste of time as a result of filibustering. The difficulty, however, is in deciding which filibuster is a waste of time and which serves a useful purpose. It is my firm conviction, that in those cases where a filibuster has no merit, 64 United States Senators will be man enough to stand up and be counted for cloture.

In order to legally change the Federal-State relationship, two-thirds of both Houses of the Congress, and three-fourths of the State legislatures must approve such change by amendment. Opposition to legislative attempts to change the Federal-State relationship should not be silenced by less than two-thirds of the Senate. During the past 25 years repeated efforts have been made in the Congress of the United States, in effect, to amend the Constitution through the passage of legislation aimed at the further weakening of the sovereignty of the individual States. It is essential, it seems to me, that we preserve the right of unlimited debate in this body to help, in some degree, stem this tide.

One of the great dangers in this country today is that militant vocal minority groups are able to exert great pressure on the Congress and secure the enactment of legislation not favored by the great majority of the people in the country and so often inimical to the best interest of the country as a whole. No one today is so naive as to believe that minority groups do not exert an influence far beyond their numerical strength. Were it not for the right of unlimited debate, the dangers inherent in legislation so often sought by minority groups would never be brought home to the great bulk of the American people. During the hearings before the House committee on the civil-rights legislation the chairman indicated very early that further hearings were not necessary, because everything had been said on the subject. In the course of my testimony before that committee I tried to point out that the hearings should be continued until the American people were awakened to the dangers in such legislation. Even though the same arguments may be used over and over, unlimited debate serves a useful purpose in bringing to the attention of the American people the evils inherent in legislation which seeks to destroy the sovereignty of the several States. If the civil-rights legislation is debated enough in the Senate, the American people will finally wake up and demand its rejection by an overwhelming majority. If the legislation is right, then there should certainly be 64 United States Senators who are willing to stand up and be counted for cloture. However, to permit a bare majority of the Senators to shut off the debate will prevent, in this case and perhaps many cases in the future, the American people from ever understanding the full impact of the proposed legislation, now and in the future, on their freedom and liberty.

While at the present time the great reformers are bent upon bringing about the millenium, they will, surely as the sun shines again, be faced another day with a majority bent upon destroying their freedom and liberty. Failure of the Congress to enact legislation, however, noble its purpose might be, can never be as bad as the enactment of oppressive legislation. The most the filibuster can do is to prevent the enactment of legislation. It may prevent the enactment of some good legislation, but if it serves to prevent the enactment of any bad legislation, then the right of unlimited debate will have served a useful purpose.

Twenty-three years ago when I was a student at William and Mary College in Virginia, the Honorable Josiah Bailey visited our campus and spoke at a convocation. Conversing with him at a luncheon on that occasion, I asked him if the filibuster should not be completely eliminated. I shall never forget his reply to that question. He said that the United States Senate is the only place where a man may talk as long as he wants about anything that he wants and that this right should be preserved as a citadel against oppression.

I say to you gentlemen, that when the Senators from 17 States believe that legislation before this body is inimical to the best interest of this country, strongly enough to conduct a filibuster against such legislation, then it should not be enacted into law. If less than the Senators from 32 States are convinced that the legislation deserves to pass, it should fail. The failure of many pieces of good legislation to pass at a given time will not result in as much evil as the passage of one piece of bad legislation.

We hope that this committee will recommend that no change be made in the present Senate rule XXII, and, that in this body at least, men who are convinced of the soundness of their position may speak unshackled as to time.

The Jamestown Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Festival Visit Rewarding Experience," published in the Staunton, (Va.), News Leader of Tuesday, July 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FESTIVAL VISIT REWARDING EXPERIENCE

Virginia's Jamestown 350th anniversary celebration is drawing thousands of visitors from all over the Nation. Mingling with many of them at the festival last week, one was impressed with their obviously favorable impressions and their keen interest in the historical nature of the celebration. Throughout, it stresses in drama, in reproductions, in exhibits, statuary, etc., Virginia's leading role in the Nation's founding and the ideals of freedom as conceived in the first permanent English settlement on this continent and written, largely by Virginians, into the basic laws of the country.

The festival plan was imaginatively conceived and has been effectively carried out. One heard expressions of disappointment that it is on the mainland, upstream from the site of the Jamestown settlement, and that it is necessary to make a special trip to the latter rather than seeing it as an integral part of the festival, but this was due to the fact that Jamestown is a national shrine and the island on which the first settlers established their homes does not lend itself to use as an exposition grounds.

Jamestown is an inspiring place to visit, but so is the exposition which celebrates its founding. The original island fort and village has been recreated with accuracy and realism. Entering the stockade, one can easily imagine he has stepped back to 1607, or a little later, into the midst of those hardy adventurers who set sail from England to start life anew in the wilderness of an unknown continent. The mud huts with thatched roofs, the first crude church, shops and storerooms, are all there, with costumed personnel to demonstrate the early arts by which the settlers sought to maintain life and to relate their difficulties, trials, and dangers, 3,000 miles from the old country and encircled by Indians who for the most part were hostile and killed many of the Englishmen.

Visitors to the festival swarming aboard the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* (the latter being absent at an area celebration just now) almost unanimously express amazement that these tiny, frail-looking craft survived the stormy Atlantic and that the first settlers, packed in like sardines, ever reached America's shores. Accurate production of these little ships was one of the fine achievements incident to the celebration, and they should not be missed when one goes to the festival.

Close by the reproduction of Jamestown are the concourse and Old and New World exposition buildings, in which one learns the story of the explorations of North America, the founding of Virginia and other colonies, and of the long fight for freedom and self-government, from Magna Carta down through the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It has been told in huge illuminated texts, in maps, and pictures, in groups of wax figures of the persons engaged in the long struggle, in narrations by guides, and through various other media. These exhibits have been done with magnificent artistry, and no one who sees them can fail to be impressed not only with the terrible struggle which the early settlers endured and the labor pains of the young Republic's borning, but the courage and sacrifice it took to win the individual liberties and self-government which are so much taken for granted today.

En route to the festival grounds are the amphitheaters in which the two Paul Green outdoor dramas, The Common Glory and The Founders, are presented. The former has been radically revised, and not from the best. In its original version it was a gripping portrayal of the founding of Virginia and the Nation which conveyed deep understanding and appreciation of the struggle and the ideas of the Founding Fathers. The new version includes too much gaudy costuming, too much interpretative and allegorical dancing, too much of Thomas Jefferson and too little of Patrick Henry, whose flaming oratory and leadership are given little attention. The impact of the original symphonic drama has been lost, and the effort to make the play more colorful and entertaining is no compensation. The Founders is a sound story of the Jamestown settlement, but is too long and its cast needs more experience and tighter direction.

The festival has many other features, and either alone or combined with Williamsburg restoration tour, is thoroughly rewarding and a fine achievement of which the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission and its large staff, and the people of Virginia, can well be proud.

Civil Rights Force Bill Brazenly Antisectional

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Cincinnati, Ohio, Enquirer which was reprinted in the State,

of Columbia, S. C., on July 17, 1957. It is entitled "Civil Rights Force Bill Brazenly Antisectional."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS FORCE BILL BRAZENLY ANTISECTIONAL

There are two fundamental objections to the so-called civil-rights bill which should engage the thoughtful attention of all Americans, north and south, who cherish our traditional liberties and constitutional processes.

It is brazenly a measure aimed at one section. It places in the hands of the judiciary its unrestricted power of enforcement, denying trial by jury to those falling afoul of it.

Considering the current demeanor of the United States courts, with the Supreme Court careening on a Jacobin course, it scarcely seems prudent to vest enforcement of the rights of the citizens with the judges unless those citizens are involved in the Communist conspiracy.

But there are even more specific dangers lurking within the bill itself, dangers to which Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, appropriately called attention. The language of the bill, which President Eisenhower conceded he had not studied, makes it a force bill of the sort that produced a reaction in the States of the late confederacy in reconstruction days from whose consequences we have not yet recovered.

Thus, while section 4, dealing with the right to vote, contains no reference to item 1993, title 42 of the United States Code, section 3 is directly related to it. Section 3 is available for use in compelling desegregation in schools and public places of resort.

What does item 1993 of title 42 convey? It conveys to the President the authority to use the Federal armed forces and the State militias to aid in the execution of judicial process. That, badly stated, means that the civil-rights bill would empower this and succeeding Presidents to enforce the Supreme Court's desegregation enactments by sending the Army into the States.

As Senator RUSSELL cautioned the Senate, the Government may as well begin building concentration camps to detain citizens resisting the Army if the bill is enacted into law and attempts are made to enforce it by military means.

The Supreme Court substituted one coercive doctrine for another in the school cases. Do the American people wish that doctrine crowded upon citizens at the point of the bayonet? Senator RUSSELL's elucidation of this point served at least one useful purpose. It induced Mr. Eisenhower to a study of the bill which he had previously endorsed with the full weight of the administration.

Secrecy Gimmick in Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in today's Washington Daily News there appears an interesting article written by Mr. Lyle C. Wilson, entitled "Surprise—There's a Secrecy Gimmick in Rights Bill." I believe the article will make interesting reading for everyone, particularly for members of the press. I therefore ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SURPRISE—THERE'S A SECRECY GIMMICK IN RIGHTS BILL

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

It may come as a surprise to the newspaper editors of the United States, but here are the facts: They or their reporters could be fined or imprisoned for an all-out reporting job on the Civil Rights Commission to be established by the administration bill now pending in the Senate.

It is a fact that the proposed legislation has some built-in secrecy provisions to be invoked by Commission whim. It also is a fact that the bill would provide a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than a year on individuals who either leaked or used certain Commission material marked "Secret."

The Eisenhower administration cannot be charged with responsibility for this secrecy gimmick which would permit any or all evidence or testimony in a Commission hearing to be withheld from the public. This bureaucratic rosebush was planted in the bill by Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, House Judiciary Committee.

The explanation given the United Press was that these and other procedural provisions were written into the bill after it reached the House to make the whole thing "less unpalatable to the South." Southerners had protested that, as received from the Justice Department, the proposed legislation confided to the Commission authority both too vague and too broad.

In repairing that mistake, if any, the Judiciary Committee men authorized the Commission to proceed at will in secret. On what grounds this was done is not evident. It scarcely could be, however, on grounds of national security, which is the defense of most bureaucrats here in Washington when they want to keep from the public the manner in which they are transacting the public's business.

Paragraph E of the bill's title I, which sets up the Commission, provides that:

"If the Commission determines that evidence or testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall receive such evidence or testimony in executive session."

Executive session means secret session from which reporters and all other representatives of the public are excluded. Paragraph G is the enforcer, as follows:

"No evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the Commission. Whoever releases or uses in public without the consent of the Commission evidence or testimony taken in executive session shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisonment for not more than 1 year."

The Commission, thus set up with authority to conduct its business in secrecy, will have trouble enough without settling itself in the middle of the controversy now roaring in the United States about bureaucratic abuses of the secrecy privilege.

The Commission on Civil Rights will be operating every minute of every day in an area of angry controversy. Its duties are such as these:

To investigate allegations that certain citizens are being deprived of their right to vote.

To appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the (civil rights) laws under the Constitution.

Whatever the Commission may say or do, one side or the other in the civil rights controversy is likely to complain. The temptation of the Commission to conceal what it may of its controversial hearings will be almost impossible to resist.

The secrecy provision probably will prove to be a time bomb set in the Commission's innards.

The Identity of the Unknown Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article entitled "The Identity of the Unknown Soldier," by Prof. Bernard Joseph Rubenstein, of the Brooklyn Law School, Brooklyn, N. Y.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IDENTITY OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

(By Bernard Joseph Rubenstein)

World War I's trench warfare—a gigantic siege operation, practically a page out of the Dark Ages—was literally strangling the Prussian warlords' only hope for victory by a short war. In this attrition on the western front stretching from the North Sea to Switzerland there was unglamorous but most costly nibbling and hacking by both sides at elaborate entrenchments.

Snaking through the deepening mud of November 1918, a quagmire immobilizing much of the attacking, were firing trenches, hundreds upon hundreds of miles of them. These were not the puny shallow fox-holes of later wars. These were 6-foot-deep cuts in the very soul of our beautiful mother earth, with revetments (facings) within the trenches to help the soil where it would not stand by itself, and with firing steps, so that soldiers could stand upon the steps and fire over parapets. These firing trenches, first line, second line, etc., were horizontal to the enemy and octagonal, so-called: just picture a horizontal line, a diagonal line, a horizontal line, etc. The communication trenches to the rear, with no firing steps, of course, were vertical to the enemy, and were wavy. The octagonal and wavy designs had a purpose: to provide protection against enfilade fire and to limit the otherwise disastrous results of bursting shells.

Between antagonistic firing trenches, so-called no man's land, had contraptions that would have delighted the devil himself: barbed-wire emplacements, sometimes single-apron and double-apron, interspersed with ditches with posts in the ground, as artificial antitank obstacles. The putrescence of the dying and the dead was mixed with the wildest assortment of abandoned, damaged, or destroyed property.

Unknown to these trenchmen who were brutalized by war and who had sicknesses that are still not known to the medical men, the leading Prussian strategist, Gen. Erich von Ludendorff, in panic on September 29, 1918, urged his civilian leaders to sue for peace. President Wilson received the plea on October 4. The enemy received our counterproposals and agreed to them on October 20. On November 5 the rest of our Allies agreed. On November 7 there was a false but wildly celebrated rumor of armistice. On November 11, at 5 a. m., in the train of Marshall Ferdinand Foch in Compiegne Forest, near Paris, the armistice was

signed, to be effective at 11 a. m. Diplomatically, things moved fast indeed, but mighty slowly for those in the trenches.

In November 1918 large dugouts were going out of style, because it was too difficult for the men in them to get out of them in time in case of an attack. However, those that were left had lights and sleeping and living quarters. It was less than a minute before the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month of 1918 that a Prussian meinenwerfer made a lucky hit on a shallow part of the ground over a dugout crowded with munitions and 31 men. Their cramped condition had made the 40 and 8 torture voitures Grand Central Stations in comparison. All 31 were killed, plus over a hundred more in surrounding dugouts and trenches. Only bits were found of their bodies. All were buried in individual graves in the unmarked graves of their particular country's army dead, identified by the bits of uniform.

Among the 31 was an American Negro, a poet of great sensitivity, a man who never griped about his plight, and who ever remarked that progress was ever being made to help his race in our great country; an Italian soldier, an operatic singer from La Scala, who lived on Via Roma in Naples; a French soldier from Oran, Algeria, a dancer of some prominence; a Scot from Sauchiehall Street in Glasgow, a composer who had great works yet to give to the world; a Belgian artist from the old school.

Many people believe that France's Unknown Soldier under the Arch of Triumph, Belgium's at the base of the Colonnade of the Congress in Brussels, Italy's before its statue of Victor Emanuel in Rome, Britain's in Westminster Abbey are a dancer, an artist, an opera singer, and a composer, respectively.

Our own Unknown Soldier, picked from four hero dead by a soldier chosen by Gen. John Pershing, most Americans hope, both northerners and southerners, is that Negro poet. All through our history most of us figuratively rooted ourselves hoarse for Crispus Attackus, a Negro who gave his life resisting tyranny in the Boston Massacre, and thus being among the first killed in the Revolution; for Shaw's brave regiment of Negroes from Massachusetts who fought so valiantly in the Civil War; for the Booker T. Washingtons, the Hulan Jacks, Joe Louises, Bill Robinsons, Ralph Bunches, Jackie Robinsons, George Washington Carvers, Althea Gibsons, Jesse Owenses, Marian Andersons, Dizzy Gillespies, Ertha Kitts, Sammy Davises, and so forth.

Inscribed in the memorial rectangular block of marble on the tomb in Arlington, Va., is:

"Here rests in honored glory an American soldier known but to God."

The Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished dean of the Institute of Technology, Athelstan Spilhaus, recently delivered an important speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. His remarks were entitled "Shall We Revamp the Atomic Energy Commission?" and his comments are worthy of widespread attention.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from his speech which appeared in the Minneapolis Star of July 20, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHALL WE REVAMP THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION?

(By Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the Institute of Technology, University of Minnesota, in a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors)

After the fullest recognition of the magnificent if frightening accomplishments during its existence I believe the Atomic Energy Commission has outgrown its usefulness. I believe that it is time to separate out into the normal elements of the pattern of our society the manyfold functions of the Commission.

We have proven and tested patterns in American society and in our democratic form of government. Some of these patterns are the normal agencies of government (both State and Federal), our great universities, and our imaginative and competitive system of private enterprise.

In the very best ordered society or organization it is sometimes necessary to set up a special group or agency (temporarily if possible) to meet a new challenge. Such was the case in the Atomic Energy Commission.

The Atomic Energy Commission was established because the first applications of atomic energy emerged in secrecy for wartime purposes. It was necessary at that time to have a special group to guide these applications during the transition period into permanent channels.

We must therefore accept the idea that the Commission was to effect a transition.

One measure of such a (transitional) Commission's success is how smoothly, rapidly, and efficiently it eliminates the need for itself. And this it should do by seeking ways to pass on its work to appropriate, competent, permanent organizations so that they may be able to take over.

The Atomic Energy Commission has failed in this respect in that during 10 years it has not substantially reduced the activities under its direct or indirect control. It has not pursued vigorously enough the aim of getting itself out of business.

On the contrary it has become a monopoly in the area of nuclear energy which is broadening its scope to embrace all aspects of high-energy physics and their potential applications.

In doing so the Commission dominates in its too little understood and too loosely defined field of atomic energy, research education, private exploitation to develop useful outcomes, and even usurps controls in atomic energy which should become logical extensions of the separable functions of numerous long-established departments of our Government.

It is time that university research in modern physics be freed of any of the controls that accompany Commission support. University people have been unusually productive historically if given the means and left alone.

Our private initiative and competitive system of industry has traditionally been the tremendously successful place where ideas are turned into things for better living.

It is time that much more information be made openly and quickly available on a wider scale to permit industry to bring its collective strength to bear on the development of peaceful application of atomic science.

There are, of course, certain functions and controls which properly should rest with the Government. Such things as the development of nuclear weapons, insuring the secrecy of such developments, and safeguarding the Nation from hazards to health and well being that may result from them.

Even these that are proper tasks of Government are not best carried out under one closely held group. It is time that they were split up and that appropriate permanent division in Government be charged with their execution.

I have said that I believe that if the numerous functions with which the Commission is now charged were separated out in normal elements of our society and Government, some other serious problems would be in the seriousness of their impact. Take as an example the recent nationwide discussion on fall-out and radiation effects.

Here again, the trouble comes I think from the Atomic Energy Commission's having too many functions under one head. It is most difficult for those who make and test bombs to be as well the arbiters of the health hazards that these produce and in addition to have to pass final judgment and enforce controls.

The United States Public Health Service watches over health hazards to the Nation except atomic energy.

The Department of Defense is charged with all weapons development—except nuclear weapons.

The Federal Power Commission is concerned with all aspects of power—except nuclear power.

The Department of Commerce both stimulates and controls commercial development—except atomic applications.

And so on through the other departments of Government.

In each case, the normal extension of the functions of these permanent departments to include its proper concern with atomic energy is inhibited by the overriding mandate with which the Commission is charged.

It can be freely admitted that certain Government agencies may not be able, at the present time, to discharge these duties as well as the AEC.

But the way to correct this is to strengthen them to enable them to take over the extension of their normal responsibilities, not to weaken them by perpetuating a special agency to do part of their job.

It is our Government's stated policy to stimulate industry's role in the development of atomic-energy application yet there are still major stumbling blocks in getting the necessary fresh information initially to the potential contribution. It is the old question of how the industry starts even if it has competent people and an interest in the field.

Fresh information is necessary to get the idea that establishes the need to know that opens the door to fresh information. And so the tiger chases its tail around the tree.

If the responsibility of the development of nuclear weapons and nuclear power were separated in a clear-cut fashion then surely at least some of the secrecy attached to bombs would not flow over and obscure the power area. A freer flow of fresher information should certainly result in stimulating a greater contribution from industry.

Separation of other parts of the atomic-energy program and delegation to other deportments would have a similarly desirable effect of reducing the need for secrecy in a number of areas.

Another part of the effect of overcentralization and control is the control that I have mentioned that he Commission is gaining in research and education. And this is not only in a limited area of nuclear energy but inevitably tends to move into other fields in the forefront of modern physics and the technology related to it.

These controls come unwittingly perhaps. They accompany the much needed assistance that universities are receiving from the AEC to purchase the expensive machines needed for much of modern (especially high energy)

physics and to assist in the development of educational patterns in nuclear sciences and technology.

Here again the separation of AEC functions and putting them where they belong would help to insure that the danger of a single control that tends to freeze patterns of education and fix research aims would be avoided.

The Atomic Energy Commission is the only agency of Government which can subsidize the expensive facilities for high energy research. This has tended to result in an unhealthy concentration of such facilities in national laboratories and some other laboratories under more indirect AEC control.

Inevitably this causes a gravitation of the most competent physicists from widely scattered universities where the students are to the concentration points where the facilities are.

This is an undesirable trend, for if it goes on, students will be forced to migrate to these establishments, there will be a gradual usurping of the function of the universities and ultimately the Commission might have to grant degrees.

I have only touched on a few items and yet in every one of the cases I have mentioned, it must be admitted that the commission has made at least a gesture of delegation to other groups.

The National Academy of Sciences has brought out a report on radiological hazards.

The universities have been assisted and brought in to the national laboratories in various ways.

Industry, at least certain segments, have worked extensively for the AEC. And there are others.

The important thing is that here already is the experience which could be used to segment AEC's overmany functions—we have already a blueprint for the delegation of functions so that AEC could get out of much of its business smoothly without interruption of the work if it can be allowed to relinquish control.

So that in summary, and with the utmost admiration for the extraordinary substantive accomplishments of the men who have worked for AEC I would like to suggest:

That our Congress moves positively to apportion out the operational and fiscal control of the AEC functions to the several appropriate permanent agencies of the Government.

That the high level of performance in urgent development which AEC has set need not be impaired by this action.

And that, if this is done, the tremendous impact of nuclear energy on our whole society would not be subject to the inevitable hazards that accompany overcentralized control—overcentralized control which otherwise may have adverse effects on education, freedom, free, flexible, and varied patterns, economy based on fair imaginative competition and government based on an informed public.

Jury Trial Is Still the Best System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding editorial from the July 22, 1957, issue of the Greenville, S. C., News entitled "Jury Trial Is Still the Best System." This editorial discusses the outcome of the Hoffa case which was tried here in the District of Columbia. It was written prior to the verdict which was returned by an all white southern jury in the Clinton, Tenn., case.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JURY TRIAL IS STILL THE BEST SYSTEM

One of the primary objects of the proposed civil rights bill is to move Federal civil rights cases from the criminal side of the court, where juries must judge the facts, to the equity side where judges may convict and punish without a jury trial persons accused of violating injunctions forbidding them to tamper with the rights of others.

Proponents of the bills justify their position by the charge that, out of prejudice, Southern juries will not convict officials or plain citizens accused of civil rights violations.

They point to the failure of a Mississippi jury to convict on purely circumstantial evidence two white men charged with murder in the death of a Chicago Negro youth and to the refusal of a South Carolina grand jury to indict five men charged with a nocturnal flogging.

They are awaiting the verdict of the Federal jury in Knoxville, which soon will decide the fate of 11 or so persons accused of violating a sweeping Federal injunction having to do with integrating the public schools of Clinton, Tenn.

We do not believe in going behind the verdict of a jury. But since these people have chosen to do so in other cases, they might well consider the action of the jury which on last Friday acquitted Teamsters Union official James R. Hoffa of charges of conspiring and bribing to plant a spy within the Senate subcommittee investigating union rackets.

Robert Kennedy, chief counsel of the subcommittee which originated the case, remarked beforehand that he would "jump off the Capitol dome" if Hoffa were acquitted. The Government prosecutor thought Hoffa had been caught with the goods on him and expressed surprise at the verdict.

The jury was drawn not from the often questioned South, but from the District of Columbia, the National Capital. It consisted of 8 Negroes and 4 Whites. Joe Louis, Negro ex-heavyweight boxing champion, sat in a conspicuous place in the courtroom for a day and a half and told newsmen he was there to see what was happening to my good friend, Mr. Hoffa.

The jury considered the facts and reached a verdict. Unless evidence is produced to show that it was tampered with, that ends the case and it's good enough for us. No man should be forced by his government to stand trial, and risk loss of life, freedom, or property, except before a jury.

But if, as the proponents of civil-rights legislation imply, there is something wrong with the jury system, something should be done about it, and the District of Columbia is a good place to start.

Private Investment Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, private investment of capital overseas, which is a critical element of American foreign policy, is growing more and more critical all the time as the need for such capital abroad increases and as our efforts in behalf of the economic development of the underdevelopment areas gain momentum.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the New York Times today entitled "Private Capital Flows Globally." The article shows some very encouraging improvements with respect to United States private capital investment abroad, as well as with respect to private investment abroad by the United Kingdom and the West German Republic. The West German Republic is now coming increasingly into this field in a very substantial way.

I commend this item for the interested study of the Members of the Senate, and I urge that we give our attention to this subject, in an effort to further increase and make more effective, in terms of our foreign policy, the flow of overseas private investment.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRIVATE CAPITAL FLOWS GLOBALLY—U. N. FINDS THAT UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, AND BONN RAISED FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN 1956

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., July 23.—Outflow of of global private capital for investment abroad in 1956 set a record for the postwar period, Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold declared today.

The total was substantially above that of preceding years, he said, due mainly to large increases of capital exports by the United States. Britain and West Germany contributed substantially to the trend.

The Secretary General's review prepared for consideration by the Economic and Social Council now in session at Geneva, said that the tide of new investment funds from the United States more than doubled in 1956 as compared with 1955.

A "reasonable assumption" was that undistributed profits of foreign subsidiaries were at least as large as in 1955. On that basis, it was believed, the outflow of long-term capital from the United States rose from $1,800 million in 1955 to more than $3 billion in 1956.

"The expansion was so sustained that a rise took place in virtually all regions," the Secretary General said, "and both direct and portfolio investment increased sharply."

The term "direct investments," a footnote explained, refers to those controlled by non-resident interests.

OIL INDUSTRY AIDED

To a large extent, Mr. Hammarskjold said, the petroleum industry benefited most from the increase, and a large part consisted of purchase of new concessions. Canada and Latin America absorbed major portions of the flow, although there was a perceptible advance also in United States investment in Western Europe, partly attributable to "a few sizable transactions."

Replies by the United States Government to a 1956 United Nations questionnaire on employment and balance of payments, it was said, noted that although interest rates were increased in 1956, the price of capital funds still remained below that prevailing in most other countries. The outflow of private capital is likely to continue high in 1957, the report indicated, if only to complete direct investments already initiated.

For Latin-American foreign capital, including reinvested earnings from foreign subsidiaries, played an unusually large part in the region's capital formation, the report said. The inflow, predominantly of foreign origin, increased by 50 percent and represented 9 percent of total investment, including public funds.

Excluding the undistributed profits of subsidiaries, the review showed, the outflow of new United States funds to Latin America rose from $141 million to $521 million between 1955 and 1956. Principal recipients were Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela.

The Venezuelan Government has sold new petroleum concessions for $400 million, of which nearly $250 million was received during the last year. New foreign investment in productive facilities of the petroleum industry also was noted.

LATIN AMERICA HELPED

Brazil's substantial increases in receipts of private long-term capital were in the main absorbed by the metalurgical and chemical industries catering to the growing domestic market, but capital flowed as well into the mining of iron ore and manganese.

Mexico's growing foreign private investment continued upward, focused particularly on manufacturing and chemical industries. In Peru, as in Chile, the inflow was directed largely to expansion of the copper industry.

New capital also entered Argentina at an increased rate in 1956, it wais said. Since 1955, government policies relating to private foreign capital have undergone extensive examination and revision.

The present policy of the Argentine Government is to restrict petroleum development to state enterprises, but the secretary general's summation noted reports of greatly increased interest in foreign investment in manufacturing in Argentina in 1956. Projects under study include enterprises to produce adhesive tapes, plastics, soft drinks, tractors, pharmaceutical products, paper and pulp, and automatic vehicles.

Most regulations on incoming capital adopted or modified during 1956 related to particular branches of national economy, the report said. Awarding of concessions was noteworthy, it added, in countries that have enacted new and liberalized legislation in recent years. These include Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Israel, Peru, and Turkey.

Highway Building in Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, because of the great national interest in the Interstate Highway program, authorized by the last Congress, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a letter from Mr. Rex M. Whitton, chief engineer, Missouri State Highway Commission, reporting on Missouri's participation in the program during this past year.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MISSOURI STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION,
Jefferson City, Mo., June 8, 1957.

Hon. STUART SYMINGTON,
United States Senator, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SYMINGTON: We believe you will be interested in a report on the progress Missouri has made on the Interstate System in the first year under the provisions of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, the passage of which you were so instrumental in bringing about.

Missouri's apportionment for the Interstate System during the first year was $27,086,494. We have $38,500,000 under agreement and authorization from the Bureau of Public Roads for an additional $7 million. The total apportionment to Missouri for the second year (1958 fiscal) is $46,047,041.

The above figures do not include one interstate project of 9.4 miles in Greene County from Springfield east, on which we received bids June 27. The low bid on this project was $2,948,529.24. We purposely left this project out of the first year's figures because it will not be awarded until later this month which will put it into the second year's activities.

We are particularly pleased with the way the expanded Federal program fits into the regular operations of the Missouri Department. It allows us to step up activities in both the metropolitan and the out-State areas. We have laid more stress in the last year on the metropolitan areas on the Interstate work because that is where the greatest need exists.

Early in the program our expenditures for right-of-way will be greater than in later years of the period. This is especially true in the metropolitan areas where we are getting right-of-way considerably in advance of construction to cope with the rapid expansion in the metropolitan areas. It is more economical than to have to do it after these areas have been further improved.

We realize that this is only a general answer as to the status of the Interstate System and if you desire specific information on the overall program, we shall be pleased to supply it.

As a result of the increased interstate funds we are able to free more State funds for other much-needed State projects. The increased Federal funds during the first 3 years of the program for the primary, secondary and urban systems are a definite stimulus to the overall program.

We are aware of the concern of many as to whether or not the several States can cope with the increased engineering work required to keep pace with the expanded program. Likewise, there is question in the minds of some as to the adequacy of contractors, materials producers, equipment manufacturers, etc., to meet the requirements of the program. Missouri's experience to date in these respects has been quite encouraging and tends to dispel apprehension as to capacity to meet the demand.

Progress thus far under the new program is quite satisfactory and we believe the State will continue to show similar results as the program moves forward.

We are ever mindful of your interest in Missouri's highway welfare and sincerely grateful for your assistance in making the expanded program a reality.

Very truly yours,

REX M. WHITTON,
Chief Engineer.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, we, in Missouri are particularly proud of our highway department and the fine record it has made. Missouri has the lowest gas tax of any State in the Union. It was the first State in the Union to cooperate in the new Federal highway program, with 3 of the first 4 projects approved in the entire United States being located in Missouri.

Because of Missouri's highway building record, I believe there will be great interest in a speech made by our former Governor, Lloyd C. Stark, at the mortgage-burning celebration dinner commemorating the final payment on Missouri's $135 million in State highway bonds, on June 12, 1957, in Jefferson City, Mo.

Governor Stark has long been a leader in the good-roads movement in Missouri, was particularly active in the State's $75 million bond issue in 1928. Therefore, he speaks with authority in giving the history of our State road program. I recommend his talk to Members of this body, and to all those interested in State and national highway programs.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Governor Stark's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY FORMER GOV. LLOYD C. STARK AT THE MORTGAGE-BURNING CELEBRATION DINNER COMMEMORATING THE REPAYMENT OF MISSOURI'S $135 MILLION STATE HIGHWAY BONDS, JUNE 12, 1957, HOTEL GOVERNOR, JEFFERSON CITY, MO.

There is an old-fashioned saying in the commercial world that "the way to make time fly is to sign a 90-day note"—I ought to know, I have signed a few in my own time—and Missouri has made time fly in the last 28½ years by the signing of $75 million of State highway bonds, many of which I personally signed as Governor. We are now paying off the last of those bonds here today and are celebrating the event in a sort of mortgage-burning ceremony.

Of course, the $75 million bond issue, voted in 1928, was the second State highway bond issue and it was voted to "finish the job." The original bond issue, voted in 1920, was for $60 million and the slogan in that campaign was: "Lift Missouri out of the mud."

Most of you here shared in the $75 million bond campaign in 1928 and it is good to see all your faces back here at the time when we can go back to the bank and pay off. Actually, Missouri's signing that note for 28½ years has certainly made time fly.

There's another old-fashioned saying in the commercial world, which is: "Never incur an obligation without at the same time making definite plans for paying it off." Well, this ceremony certainly illustrates the idea that Missouri is just old fashioned enough in its ways to adhere to those early-day virtues that have built our State to such a proud place of distinction and integrity.

We not only made the time fly in the last generation by signing a good-sized note for good roads, but we also laid careful and sound plans for meeting our obligation and there never has been, in the entire history of Missouri's road program, the slightest question about the soundness of her highway bonds. The obligation has been met to the letter, and on time every time.

Truly, it may be said that this marks a milestone of progress in the history of Missouri and I think it is most fitting that we are privileged to be here today to help celebrate this significant affair.

I want to express my deep appreciation for the enthusiasm with which our present Governor, the Honorable James T. Blair, has entered into this ceremony and I also want to thank all of my fellow former Governors, Caulfield, Donnell, Donnelly and Smith, as well as members of the highway commissions down through the years, for their participation in this historic event.

Actually, this is a most unique and unusual occasion in the history of finance—finance either associated with government or transportation in any of its forms. We

are all familiar with the general idea that government debts traditionally are not paid off—they just keep getting bigger and bigger.

We also know that in the history of financing of such transportation systems as railroads, steamships and the like, practically the only way debts have been paid off is to put the outfit through the wringer of Federal receivership, but here is an instance where a great commonwealth, the State of Missouri, is wiping the slate clean of what at one time we reckoned as a big bond issue, $135,000,000.

Now, the next questin that usually occurs is: "What did we do with the money?" "What did we get for our money?" "Was it worth it?"

To this audience, I hardly need to explain that road bonds made the backbone of our financing plans for our marvelous highway system of today. I guess it's even getting a little difficult for most of us to remember back to the days when we had to "lift Missouri out of the mud."

Although Missouri has the lowest State gasoline tax (3 cents) in the Nation, her splendid concrete and bituminous ribbons attract so many vehicles that, with careful expenditure, we are able to finish the job on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Let's not forget the foresight and courage of our early day road leaders, who showed us how to get these roads built quickly on borrowed money. And here may I pay a tribute to the foresight of the people of the State of Missouri for accepting their leadership in voting these highway bonds.

These bonds have paid off from every standpoint.

* * * * *

Back in 1921 when we first bonded the State for highways with the $60,000,000 bond issue, Missouri had only a pitifully few miles of all-weather roads, largely the result of unusual local road building organizations in their widely scattered localities. When it rained, travel was hopeless.

* * * * *

Missouri was first to plan and build a system of farm-to-market roads as part of the State highway system. The orginal centennial road system has been completed rs to original standards, plus many improvements and relocations. Raised standards have been built into the system, along with a veritable maze of feeder roads, through the farm-to-market system.

You ask if we got our money's worth. It is one of the biggest values ever produced in the history of the expenditure of public money. No politics, no graft, and every penny of gas-tax money spent on Missouri highways.

Actually, as of January 1 this year, Missouri had more than $776,000,000 investment in highway construction cost alone, in its State highway system, and approximately $250,000,000 invested in maintaining that State highway system, a total of $1,026,000,000.

It is axiomatic in highway circles that a highway system is only as good as its maintenance, so we are fully justified in describing the Missouri overall highway system today as being a billion-dollar-highway system, a thing that got its original start from the $135,000,000 State highway bonds voted by the people of this State.

Now, in making a report of this kind, perhaps I should indulge for just a moment in a few significant figures, as to what we actually have in this system. I have the report from the highway department itself that, as of January 1 this year, the highway commission had a total of 29,353 miles of roads under State maintenance.

The inventory I have just given you includes completion of about half the 10-year modernization program set up in 1951 when the legislature increased our gasoline tax from 2 cents to 3 cents a gallon and increased bus and truck licenses and fees by a small amount.

The estimate at that time called for an average annual program of $55,750,000. In the first 4 years, from 1952 to 1956, the commission expended or obligated more than $240 million of highway funds toward improvements on almost 14,000 miles of State highway.

So we see that by now this 10 year modernization program was well on its way, when, emerging from the national picture, the new Federal-aid program for interstate and defense highways was enacted into law by Congress, June 29, 1956.

Missouri was the first State in the Union to take advantage of this new Federal highway program and 3 out of the first 4 projects approved in the entire Nation were located in Missouri.

At this time, may I pay high tribute to the men who have been personally responsible for our highway achievements.

The governors who have named the highway commissioners.

The high type citizens who have served on the State highway commission.

The engineers and staff who have directed the actual work.

The ranks of department employees.

All have been dedicated men and women to whom we, as citizens, owe a great debt for an outstanding job, honestly and efficiently done.

And we should not overlook the contribution that our great civic organizations have made to our highway program—in planning, financing, and mustering public support for specific proposals that have put the Missouri highway plan in the Nation's forefront.

The net result sems to be that we, here in Missouri, are going forward with road development at a pace accelerated as never before. Actually, the new Federal program is serving as a gigantic supplement to Missouri's State highway program.

Already, during the first year of the new Federal program, effects of the expanded aid can be seen. During the fiscal year which ends on the 30th of this month—June—the commission will spend approximately $100 million on the State's highways.

This compares to $72 million spent during the fiscal year 1956. And allocations from the Federal program will gradually increase for the next 2 years.

It would seem that if we had a problem 40 years ago, when we were struggling to "lift Missouri out of the mud," we have equally as tough a problem today in "lifting Missouri out of its traffic congestion."

I doubt if there are any of us in this room who would want to say when we have finished the presently designated highway programs, both Federal and State, that we have reached the end of our road development.

Actually, we are on the threshold of a new day in highway building and we must be as foresighted in our attitude toward the problems of the future as our old highway boosters were 40 years ago, when we started up "out of the mud." Not only must we be foresighted in our planning for the future, but we must also be cautious and careful lest we permit special interest groups to impose their dangerous and undesirable influence upon our highway program.

I think that this occasion points up the fact that it is not too soon for our State officials to recognise the obligation of careful planning for our future highway development, and I would like to say that not only the expert technical assistance of the highway department itself should be directed into these channels, but also the cooperative counsel and help of leading Missouri organizations, composed of our citizens who use and pay for these highways, should be recruited and enrolled for the job. Their help can be invaluable in designing the wise course of our future.

Our problems of the immediate and long range future are many and varied. They challenge the best brains that we possess.

At this time, I can only point out to you a few of the most serious problems that the citizens, public officials, legislators, and highway engineers must face up to.

Increased mileage is one of the problems. How much mileage should be included in a State highway system and to what extent should the mileage included in this State system be developed to handle traffic of the future? Most of the 2-lane roads built in the 1930's have shown their inadequacy to handle present traffic loads and divided-lane roads are rapidly appearing on the main thoroughfares of the State.

Most of the gravel roads in the supplementary or farm-to-market system have been converted to all-weather blacktop roads in the last several years. It takes wise planning to anticipate our future needs in both mileage and types of surfacing.

Controlled access highways pose another important question. If we don't want to see these new, modern highways degenerate into narrow roadside commercial developments, stifling traffic and creating death traps and further congestion—controlled access is our only answer. Fortunately, we have an adequate controlled access law in Missouri now, and it is up to us to prevent any encroachment by anyone.

Brand new technological developments are also in the future picture. Already, turbine motors for highway vehicles are being tested. Questions as to their effect on the roads and other vehicles must be determined.

It is possible also that before the 13-year Federal road program is completed, we will have atomic fuel for highway vehicles. Where would such fuels leave our present gasoline tax revenue? A whole new concept for motor fuel taxes may possibly be needed in view of such future developments. We should anticipate and be ready for them.

The Federal aid law itself raises questions which require careful study for planning Missouri's highway future.

By law, it calls for a cost study to determine the basis for apportionment to the States beginning with the fiscal year 1959. The amount of Federal aid Missouri receives will certainly affect our future highway plans.

The question of reimbursement to States for portions of the Interstate Highway System already built by the States, either toll roads or free roads, is being studied. These two studies are important to us because they will affect the amount of Federal aid available to Missouri.

Another study being conducted under the Federal legislation is concerned with the maximum dimensions and weights of commercial vehicles. The Missouri Legislature has recently passed a bill increasing the weight and length of commercial vehicles on Missouri highways. We are not here tonight to discuss the merits and demerits of this legislation, but it must be apparent to everyone that maximum weight limits must be established and maintained or our whole highway system will be jeopardized.

When roads are subjected to weight loads which exceed the specifications to which they were built, it can only lead to rapid destruction of these roads.

I would like to give an example which illustrates the effect on the life of highways of vehicles of different weights. The Red Feather Expressway in St. Louis was completed almost 20 years ago. This expressway, which prohibits heavy trucks and buses, carries the greatest traffic count of any road in the State. Yet, this road has never had to be resurfaced. It points up the fact that the millions of light vehicles which have used this road for 20 years have not de-

stroyed it, while most other roads have been rebuilt or resurfaced or both.

Another study called for in the Federal aid act of 1956 is the determination of the tax obligation of various classes of users of the highways, such as passenger cars, light trucks, ordinary farm-to-market type trucks and heavy over-the-road commercial trucks.

Let me make it clear that I am in no way trying to imply that trucks do not have a place in our economic system or that any effort should be made to remove them from our highways. There is, however, a serious question as to the establishment of dimensions and weights of these vehicles and to the establishment of equitable taxes to be paid by the heavy trucks for their destruction of our highways.

It certainly is not fair for any group, such as passenger car owners, to pay more for their use of the highways than they are receiving in benefits. The passenger car and the ordinary farm-to-market and other light truck owners are already paying a major share of highway costs. For example, the $200 tax increase voted on heavy trucks recently would bring Missouri only enough money to build about 3 miles of present type four-lane highways.

The impact of heavy trucks upon our highways present three problems that everyday are growing in importance and magnitude. Incremental cost studies in many States all raise serious doubt that these heavier commercial trucks pay their fair share of the cost of (1) destroying present highways; (2) maintaining present truck routes; and (3) the tremendous cost of new pavement built to standards to carry the increased loads of these larger, heavier commercial trucks.

A determination should be made to see if the heavy trucks, which amount to approximately 1 percent of the motor vehicle registration, are paying their fair share of highway costs commensurate with highway destruction and the burden they place on the cost of new construction of highways to carry their heavier loads.

When the Federal study now underway has been completed, these questions should all be resolved. Then, our legislature should take necessary action to write these findings into our State law. Each class of vehicle should shoulder its full tax obligation without favor to any special group.

As to today, no one doubts that the passenger car owners, ordinary and farm-to-market truck owners are paying for most of the destruction and construction caused by the heavy commercial trucks, but we must remember that the highways must be able to support our national defense efforts and be ready for any emergencis. We are a nation on wheels, wheels that have built a better, more prosperous life for all of us. These same wheels, when provided with adequate roads and highways, will build an even better future and provide us with a web of defense highways unmatched by any other nation.

Smokescreen Cracks—The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the July 13, 1957, issue of the State, of Columbia, S. C. It is written on the subject of the so-called civil rights bill, and is entitled "Smokescreen Cracks."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SMOKESCREEN CRACKS

Some of the steam seems to have gone out of the drive to push an unadulterated version of the deliberately misnamed civil-rights bill since President Eisenhower frankly admitted that he did not fully understand certain parts of the measure.

The President, apparently relying on the briefings given him by Attorney General Brownell, believed his administration was fighting for passage of a mild bill which would only guarantee Negroes the right to vote.

Following a penetrating analysis of the bill on the Senate floor by Georgia's able Senator RICHARD RUSSELL—in which the Georgian clearly documented his charge that the vicious bill was cunningly devised to empower the Attorney General of the United States to call in Federal troops to force integration of the schools—President Eisenhower said he was going to ask Brownell about some words he, the President, didn't exactly understand.

Ike also said he would be glad to discuss the matter with such a person as Senator RUSSELL. Senator RUSSELL has since talked at length with the President.

There is now talk by some Republicans close to the administration of moving to amend the bill so that it will apply only to voting rights—the only right specifically mentioned by Eisenhower as something he thought should be safeguarded.

Part of the President's trouble in this matter—and a few others—is that he has listened to his Attorney General too often. In this particular case, it seems the wily Attorney General almost maneuvered his boss into a position of no return before Senator RUSSELL finally broke through Mr. Brownell's concentrated smokescreen.

Southern Senators and Representatives, plus some courageous Republicans from New York and Midwestern States, have, for many months, been explaining why parts of the bill are repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution, how the so-called civil-rights bill would place dictatorial powers in the hands of the Attorney General—at present the same Herbert Brownell the President has been relying on for advice.

Mr. Brownell has never been adverse to acquiring power, either as Governor Dewey's associate (hatchetman) in New York or as Attorney General of the United States. His whole political outlook has been colored by the New York approach to politics. There, every minority group must be appeased, or offered most, by the candidate who wishes to be successful. Because of one minority, New York politicos have found it pays to stage deliberate hate South campaigns. It seems to become an obsession with most of them.

The President has repeatedly said he was the President of all Americans, not the President of any particular party or group. From this the South has to date assumed that Eisenhower would have as much interest in the millions of southerners as in the minorities in the big cities.

Many southerners did not believe the President would knowingly push a piece of vicious legislation which would seek to punish one section of the country. The softening of the Republican position on the matter now indicates the President probably would not have pushed for passage of the more reprehensible portions of the bill had he listened to someone other than Brownell.

But the administration should not have pushed the bill if everyone in the administration did not know precisely what the bill will do if it becomes law—if all did not know how much broader and more sweeping powers are bestowed upon a nonelective official than the power to protect voting rights.

The bill was aired by cynical political opportunism, and nurtured on sectional vengeance behind a smokescreen of falsehoods. Such a child will only create more of the same.

When Senator Russell succeeded in blowing away part of the smokescreen raised by the Brownell-Douglas axis, naked Federal power, the power of despotism, stood revealed.

It is hoped the President looked well, and decides the civil rights bill as now written is not only immoderate, but unnecessary and dangerous.

Read It and Weep

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, where our money goes, everybody knows.

It goes to run the three branches of our Government.

Each Cabinet official takes a chunk of it to run his department.

A few other outlets handle the rest.

This is an attempt to personalize our budget, to show who handles the money and how he stacks up with his colleagues.

Too bad the post office does not issue each year a series of stamps, one for each Cabinet official showing how much of a chunk he takes out of the budget. So that when you got your mail you could see Charlie Wilson with 53.5 percent credited to him, George Humphrey with 11.1 percent, Ezra Benson, 7 percent; and you would be surprised to see how little the rest take.

The stamps would be issued at the same time the President reads his budget message to Congress. The people would immediately know that the President and his Cabinet meant what they said. Then Congress could go to work on the budget and appropriate the money needed.

Had the Cabinet stamps been issued last January, in addition to the 53.5 percent shown in halo form over Charlie Wilson's head, and 11.1 percent over George Humphrey's head, and 7 percent over Ezra Benson's, we would have for Mr. Folsom 4.2 percent, Mr. Dulles 0.3 percent, Mr. Brownell 0.3 percent, Mr. Mitchell 0.6 percent, Mr. Seaton 1 percent, Mr. Summerfield 0.1 percent, and Mr. Weeks 1.3 percent.

Just how the stamps would dramatize three other items is not known. But they would show 20.4 percent for independent offices and miscellaneous items, 0.1 percent for legislative, and 0.1 percent for judiciary branches.

The budget could become so personalized and so easy to understand that soon people would realize that the 11.1 percent of the Treasury chunk contains interest on the national debt. Some people think that the interest they get on their bonds comes from money earned by Uncle Sam, money that Uncle Sam

gets from profitable investments and not from taxes people pay each year. They would realize that if they are not buying bonds, they are certainly paying taxes to cover interest due on other people's bonds and maybe more would get on the bandwagon.

The budget could become so personalized and so easy to understand with the issuance of Cabinet stamps, that soon people would realize that about a penny out of every tax dollar taken in by Uncle Sam goes to cover the post-office deficit.

The budget could become so personalized and so easy to understand with issuance of Cabinet stamps that soon every housewife and every schoolchild would be able to rattle off where the other 99 cents of every tax dollar Uncle Sam takes in goes and why.

As a step in that direction, Mr. Speaker, I am citing below a budget chart. In its form, I think it is new, simple, and easy to understand. It is conspicuous by its absence of words, phase lines, and programs.

In a flash, it can tell us, if at all, who is rocking the boat; too much to the left or too much to the right?

I hope it helps. Perhaps there are artists like Herblock and Berryman, of the Washington press, who can drive Uncle Sam's budget home on a more personal basis come next January. It follows:

Distribution of 1958 budget estimates by branch and Cabinet office

Branch and department	Expenditures		Obligational authority	
	Millions of dollars	Percent	Millions of dollars	Percent
Legislative	122	0.2	93	0.1
Judiciary	44	.1	45	.1
Executive:				
Agriculture	5,330	7.4	5,158	7.0
Commerce	772	1.1	944	1.3
Defense	38,700	53.9	39,203	53.5
Health, Education, and Welfare	2,831	3.9	3,071	4.2
Interior	704	1.0	718	1.0
Justice	226	.3	235	.3
Labor	418	.6	438	.6
Post Office	58	.1	67	.1
State	230	.3	230	.3
Treasury	8,132	11.3	8,154	11.1
Independent Offices and miscellaneous items	14,240	19.8	14,983	20.4
Total	71,807	100.0	73,341	100.0

Why Not

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, when the House on Tuesday appreciably cut the foreign-aid bill, it was a victory for the American taxpayers, and my only regret in connection with this legislation is that drain on our economy could not be completely eliminated. The mail which I have received from my constituents and the replies compiled from a recent questionnaire sent to residents in my District, firmly convinces me that the American people are in favor of abolishing most of the foreign-aid program.

One of the leading daily newspapers in the First Congressional District of West Virginia, the Wheeling Intelligencer, in an editorial on July 22, 1957, has very pointedly asked the question, "If economy is in order at home, who not in foreign aid?"

The editorial follows:

WHY NOT?

In cutting nearly $728 million from the foreign-aid bill and rejecting the principle of long term commitment, the House of Representatives, this newspaper believes, came much closer to reflecting public sentiment than did the Senate. The upper branch cut but $375 million from the administration's $3,800 million request, and approved the development loan plan.

Instead of the $900 million the President wanted for support of the defense program of our allies this year, the House voted only $600 million, compared with $800 million approved by the Senate. It limited the economic development loan program to 1 year instead of 3, and put a $500 million ceiling on it. The President wanted $500 million for the first year and $750 million for each of the succeeding years. The Senate agreed.

We have just learned that while the Government wound up the last fiscal year with a balance, it was lower than expected—$1,645,000,000—and dispels the hope of an early tax cut. We know too, that the Defense Department has ordered the release of 100,000 men now under arms, and the President has directed all domestic agencies to hold spending to last year's level wherever possible.

If economy is in order at home, why not in foreign aid? If we are to tighten up our own official belts, why not impose some economies on the governments of other peoples we are helping support?

The Supreme Court and the Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the July 15, 1957, issue of the Aiken, S. C., Standard and Review. It is entitled "Protective Responsibility."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROTECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

The Supreme Court of the United States, in another of its far-reaching decisions tending to make the Constitution a mere scrap of paper, has upheld the administration in its desire of appeasement and made a sacrificial lamb of William S. Girard, a soldier of this Nation on duty in a foreign country.

William S. Girard will be a martyr to the cause of American soldiers forever. He will remind all Americans that though they bleed and die to protect this Nation, this Nation will not protect them.

Japan has saved face by the Supreme Court decision, without a dissenting vote, to turn the young American over to a court in a conquered country for trial; but America has lost face, has been put to shame before the highest court of all—public opinion.

The Congress of the United States must now step in, exert its rights under the Constitution, to enact legislation to protect the servicemen of this Nation as they, under orders from a government who values political appeasement far more than the rights of its native sons, are sent to the far-flung countries of the world after having been abruptly snatched away from the pursuit of a career in the primest years of life under the edict of a draft, which should be scrapped in time of peace and all under the most mistaken guise of all—"military obligation."

Across this Nation there are countless thousands of ex-servicemen who fought to the death with an army of a nation which without provocation attacked this Nation in a sneak blow, killing thousands of young Americans, attempting to conquer and rule this Nation. By dint of untold fortitude the American people as a whole rallied and after years of suffering, death and determined aggressiveness saved this Nation from being under the iron hand of an aggressor.

If the shoe had been on the other foot—what then? Would Japan have saved face of America? Would Japan have poured billions of dollars to raise up a conquered foe? Would Japan have had mercy for an American civilian? Their tactics proved they would have not.

America needs to look toward America more today and to protect and defend its citizens rather than being a rich uncle to every nation in the world, while at home citizens slave to pay high taxes to send abroad, suffer from administration boondoggling in foreign affairs, and are deprived of rights of citizenship under the Constitution because of political expediency and Federal desire to rule as a central government regardless of States rights or individual freedom.

America needs to awake and take drastic action before the final blow falls; too soon will come the straw to break the camel's back; and decay from within, not aggression from without, will destroy the Nation.

Jet Age Study Pends in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. McINTOSH
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. McINTOSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Don Irwin

in the New York Herald Tribune for July 21.

This article indicated the critical problem immediately facing our Nation in jet-age air transportation and the steps being taken to bring about modernization of our air-traffic-control system.

The article follows:

JET AGE STUDY PENDS IN CONGRESS—BILL AWAITING ACTION BY THE HOUSE; OVERALL AIR AGENCY IS PROPOSED

(By Don Irwin)

WASHINGTON.—An important first step toward long-deferred modernization of the Nation's airways to meet the inexorable split-second demands of the jet age is now quietly in the making in Congress.

It takes the form of a bill authorizing creation of a temporary Federal agency to be called the Airways Modernization Board.

As the bill reads, the Board's most imposing aspect is its assignment to "develop, modify, test and evaluate systems, procedures, facilities and devices to meet the needs for safe and efficient navigation and traffic control of all civil and military aviation, except for those needs of military agencies which are peculiar to air warfare."

The job requires a substantial excursion into unexplored fields, involving development of new equipment and procedures to meet problems of safety, speed, and traffic volume which, while already very real, are still developing in acuteness and magnitude.

But the Board's 3-year assignment is only the first phase in a substantially more ambitious program developed by Edward P. Curtis, President Eisenhower's special assistant for aviation facilities planning.

UNIFICATION THE AIM

He has proposed the new Board as the trail-blazing predecessor to a unified Federal Aviation Agency in which would be merged the functions of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and nonemergency aspects of military air traffic control.

Generally, the new Agency would take over all present Federal aviation functions, and undertake wholesale reforms in traffic handling to keep jet-age aviation as safe and efficient as it is swift.

Chances look good for the first step toward fulfillment of the detailed report submitted last May by Mr. Curtis. An administration bill creating the Airways Modernization Board has passed the Senate, and has been ordered reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Barring a legislative accident, House approval appears routine.

The relatively modest $7 million first-year price tag placed on the Airways Modernization Board certainly didn't harm its chances in this economy-minded Congress. But its smooth progress has received more effective assistance from the genuine concern about urgent new problems in aviation safety that has been developing on Capitol Hill.

Some credit for the broadened congressional awareness of the need for early action goes to one of the bill's House sponsors, a 36-year-old, first-term Congressman, Representative HARRY G. HASKELL, Republican, of Delaware.

Partly because an average of 1,500 flights cross daily over his small State, Representative HASKELL has made it a personal project to find out all that's available about the problems of air-traffic control, and to pass the data on to his colleagues in a series of floor speeches.

The most thought-provoking aspect of the Haskell message is that near-collisions involving aircraft of all types were being reported to the Civil Aeronautics Board at the rate of nearly 4 a day during the first 3 months of 1957—and the trend is up, not down.

FEW TECHNIQUE CHANGES

The problem is a byproduct of aviation's progress. Planes go faster than they ever have before, and are increasing in number daily. Air-traffic control equipment and techniques haven't changed much in 20 years except for the addition of radar on the most-traveled routes.

There is ample evidence that human controllers just can't keep up with the traffic.

All these conditions have been the best of arguments for action to create the Airways Modernization Board. One of the Agency's top-priority assignments is to foster the development of new electronic devices which are essential if there is to be effective—and safe—regulation of present-day air traffic.

Radical action becomes the more necessary in view of sober forecasts that the number of aircraft operating under ground traffic control will increase 10 times over by 1975.

Most Members of Congress, like the Nation at large, didn't give much thought to modernization of air-traffic control during the years when the problem was building up. They pared most CAA appropriation requests for new equipment during the postwar decade.

USEFUL AMMUNITION

There are indications now that the Curtis report has given useful ammunition to those Members who, like Senator A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, Democrat, of Oklahoma, have warned for years that air traffic would eventually swamp control systems and airports alike, unless serious thought was given to the hard, expensive job of modernization, expansion, and reorganization.

Senator MONRONEY's only criticism of the new program is that the Airways Modernization Board bill fails to go far enough fast enough to catch up with the problem. He feels that prompt action should be taken to create the unified Agency proposed in the Curtis report.

Mr. CURTIS has told Congress that detail work must still be done to convert the proposal into a workable legislative draft. An administration bill will probably be offered after Congress reconvenes in January.

The "Right" To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the July 18, 1957, issue of the Ridge Citizen of Johnston, S. C. It is entitled "The 'Right' To Vote."

This outstanding weekly newspaper is edited and published by Mr. J. L. Aull, one of South Carolina's most distinguished newspapermen.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE "RIGHT" TO VOTE

Much of the discussion of the force bill now being debated in the Senate has to do with the alleged "right to vote" which is said to be denied to Negroes in the South.

We enclose the phrase "right to vote" in quotations, because there is no such thing, actually. Nowhere in the Constitution is such a right mentioned except in a negative way in the 14th amendment which says it may not be denied because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The ballot is a privilege conferred by the State, and there are as many different qualifications for voters as there are States.

The real intent of the administration's force bill is to be found in its section III, as was pointed out by Senator RUSSELL. This section is designed to force the intermingling of the races in our schools, even though there is no desire on the part of either race for this to happen. And obscure cross references in the bill which provide for its enforcement refer to the old force bills of the reconstruction era which empower the President to use the land and naval forces of the United States as means of enforcement.

But back to the privilege of voting. Far from extending that privilege, we think it ought to be restricted further. We think rigid qualifications should be adopted which would be designed to improve the quality of the electorate rather than increase the quantity, and that these qualifications should be strictly enforced without regard to color.

The election law of 1950 was a needed reform of improvement in the mechanics of voting in this State. The next legislature should give some thought to extending this reform further to the improvement in the quality of the voters.

Address By Hon. Gordon H. Scherer Before the Westchester County American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable GORDON H. SCHERER, of Ohio, was the recipient of the sixth annual Americanism award of the Westchester County American Legion, at a ceremony at Mamaroneck, N. Y., on July 12.

Because the ceremony was significant and meaningful, I request, Mr. Speaker, that I be permitted to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include the speech of the Honorable GORDON H. SCHERER.

The award was presented by James B. White, chairman of the county Americanism committee, who praised Congressman SCHERER for his militant defense of American ideals.

In accepting the award before a throng including many distinguished notables, among whom were a number of Westchester village and county officials, Mr. SCHERER stated that—

Unless recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court hampering attempts of investigators to uncover the Communist conspiracy to overthrow this country by force can be nullified, there will be a resurgence of Communist activity in the United States that will not only make your hair curl but your stomach turn.

It was my pleasure to join with Mayor Joseph Dalfonso of Mamaroneck in ex-

tending to Congressman SCHERER a warm welcome on behalf of the village and the community. In welcoming Congressman SCHERER, Mayor Dalfonso told the crowd of more than 250 persons that Mamaroneck was proud of its own Legion post and was happy that the convention had come to the friendly village. He praised the work of the Legionnaires in deterring un-American activities.

Among the guests introduced were Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, executive director of the American Jewish Legion Against Communism; Gardner Osborn of the Federal Hall Memorial Association, and past president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; Joseph C. Keeley, editor of the American Legion magazine; Archie Roosevelt, son of the late President Theodore Roosevelt, and president of the Alliance Corp.; Alfred Kohlberg, head of the China Lobby; George Mead, past president of the New York department, commander, and rehabilitation chairman; and Norman Marks, vice commander of the department of Italy.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. GORDON H. SCHERER, OF OHIO

Chairman White, County Commander McKay, distinguished officers of the American Legion, Father Flynn, Rabbi Schultz, Mayor Delfanso, Mr. Archibald Roosevelt, Mr. Gardner Osborn, Mr. Alfred Kohlberg, and my colleague, EDWIN DOOLEY, who is so admirably representing the people of New York in the Congress of the United States, a generation ago an award such as you are giving me tonight would have been applauded by most people. Today the honor you confer upon me brings wide and varied reactions. They range from approbation by America's fast-waning patriotic societies to contempt and hatred by the Communist conspirators within our American community.

The ill will of the latter, our sworn enemies and would-be destroyers, we accept without question. They are the challenge we must face in our time. They are the Marne, the Anzio beachhead, and the Iwo Jima of today, tomorrow, and God only knows when after that.

And then there is that fast-growing, cynical segment of the populace which scorns and scoffs at an Americanism award. To them patriotism represents immaturity, narrowness, and old-fashioned sentimentalism. To them reverence for the flag is an emotional display for those who relish parades and silly rituals. To them Americanism is not even secondary to one-worldism. To them the American heritage and basic constitutional rights should be chipped away and even surrendered when political expediency—a Girard case—demands.

We then come to that group of so-called loyal citizens to whom the world "Americanism" is distasteful although they will not admit it. They are the extreme left-wing, who for one reason or another have lost faith in the American system. They love socialism and have even flirted with Marx and Lenin. These are the boys who through the years, wittingly and unwittingly, have given their names, money, and prestige to the innumerable Communist-front organizations in this country. They are the boys who are the foolish and naive puppets of the Communist agents within. They are the boys who, more vigorously than all others, have fought and attempted to discredit the Americanism Commission of the American Legion and the investigating committees of the Congress. Why?

The answer is simple. The Commission and the committees are the forces which have turned back the cover and shown how these gentlemen were foolishly and carelessly sleeping in the same beds with the agents of the Kremlin. They did not like the exposé and ever since have been attempting to discredit those who put the spotlight on the naked truth of Communist-front subversion within the United States.

So it is evident that not all applaud an Americanism award. However, I am deeply grateful and in all humility I thank God that I am on the American Legion's side in this fight.

Yes, it was the American Legion—which on the battlefields of the world had repelled aggression from without—which first saw the threat from within. It was the Legion and a few kindred spirits which first recognized that the United States and the free world were faced with a new method and weapon of warfare. Legionnaires who had fought the enemy with gun and bayonet soon learned that there was a new, subtle, and more deadly weapon created for our destruction—a weapon more effective than the hydrogen bomb, namely, the internal subversion of our country and the free world.

The Legion early recognized the subtle, diabolical strategy of boring from within, not only in the various agencies of Government but into every activity and institution of American life, for the purpose of weakening those institutions so that, when the time came to move in, the task would be so much easier of accomplishment.

The Legion saw how one country after another of the free world was taken behind the Iron Curtain by this new weapon, this new method of warfare—the internal subversion of these countries.

Legionnaires saw what was happening in America. They saw how agency after agency of the Federal Government was infiltrated by Communist conspirators. They knew that one agent within was more dangerous to our safety and security than 10,000 enemy troops poised on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

They knew that the Communist Party was not a political party as we know political parties in the United States—that we were not dealing with an economic or political philosophy. They knew then, as was pointed out years later by E. H. Cookridge in his book, that we were dealing with the sordid story of theft of atomic and NATO secrets, or arson, sabotage, poisoning, assassination, and abduction, plotted in Moscow and carried out all over the world.

Members of the Legion knew how to deal with enemy troops; they had demonstrated that ability on the battlefields of Europe. They were, however, a little uncertain how to deal with the Communist agents who worked underground in the agencies of government, in the school and in the shop.

They pondered the statement of George Dimitrov, one of the top world Communists, who said:

"As Soviet power grows, there will be a greater aversion to Communist parties everywhere. So we must practice the techniques of withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground: Let our friends do the work.

"We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant Communists. A university professor, who without being a party member lends himself to the interests of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with party cards. A writer of reputation, or a retired general, is worth more than 500 poor devils who don't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police.

"Every man has his value, his merit. The writer who, without being a party member, defends the Soviet Union, the union leader who is outside our ranks but defends Soviet international policy, is worth more than a thousand party members."

The Legion realized it needed help in its fight because Americans in high places would not listen to its warning.

The Legion was accused of seeing ghosts, of witch hunting. It realized it was necessary to expose these agents of the Kremlin and their activities to the cold light of common day so that all America might understand this new and subtle weapon of modern warfare, so that all America might see that the same thing was happening to it as had happened in other parts of the world.

It was the American Legion which went to its Government for help.

It was the American Legion which played a leading role in the creation of the Un-American Activities Committee of the Congress of the United States. The American Legion has walked shoulder to shoulder with this committee for more than a decade.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had patiently and carefully put its finger upon the traitors within, yet it could not expose or prosecute. It could not pass legislation needed to deal with this sinister conspiracy.

It was the investigating committees of the Congress which finally brought to light the penetration of this fifth column. Law after law was recommended by the Un-American Activities Committee and adopted by the Congress so that we could deal more effectively with this threat from within.

With one fell swoop in the last few weeks the Supreme Court of the United States has seriously weakened, if not destroyed, most of the weapons that have been available to deal effectively with the Communist conspiracy.

Our committee was commencing hearings in San Francisco 3 weeks ago last Monday when the Supreme Court handed down the Watkins decision and the one freeing the convicted California Communists. On that day—Red Monday—a former chairman of the Communist Party in California rejoicingly exclaimed that it was "the greatest victory the Communist Party in America has ever received." She said:

"It will mark a rejuvenation of the party in America. We have lost some members in the last few years, but now we are on our way."

The committee saw and felt that rejuvenation at the San Francisco hearings. During the last few years, the Communist hangers-on at such hearings had diminished. Enthusiasm had been dampened. The witnesses exhibited less confidence in the rightness of the Communist cause.

All this was changed in San Francisco. The Communists filled the large hearing room and overflowed into the corridors. Their snide and vituperative remarks to committee members as they passed through the halls and on the elevators were again in evidence. The witnesses and the lawyers were jubilant as well as arrogant. The delaying tactics, the evasiveness, and the long Communist propaganda speeches returned.

As we grappled during the hearings with the strangling directives of the Court, we came to the conclusion that Justice Tom Clark, in his dissenting opinion, was right when he said that the investigating committees and the Federal Bureau of Investigation "may as well close up shop" and go home. Yes, it was a great day for the Kremlin but an ominous one for the people of the United States.

I predict that, unless these decisions can be nullified by action of the Congress, there will be a resurgence—a rejuvenation—of Communist activity in the United States that will not only make your hair curl but your stomach turn.

Lenin, Stalin, and other top Communists have always predicted that the United States would be destroyed from within, as have

been most of the countries that have been taken behind the Iron Curtain since 1933. Their predictions have a far better chance of becoming a reality as a result of these decisions.

Perhaps I can illustrate by example how one of these decisions, namely, the one in the Watkins case, affects the committee's fight against subversion. Following the public hearings in California, the committee on Saturday held an executive session for the purpose of obtaining evidence in the commencement of an investigation into a new and unexplored field of Communist subversive activity in the United States.

The hearings were held in executive session because it was imperative that for the time being at least the objectives of our investigation be kept highly secret and that no notice be given to the Communists as to the fact that the committee had even any knowledge of these particular operations.

It was apparent that if they had such knowledge, the whole investigation might fail completely. As an example, some witnesses and documents would conveniently disappear; witnesses would be alerted and their testimony changed or slanted. Of course, if Communist agents were aware of the fact that we had knowledge of the activity, it might be discontinued or go underground.

Now let's see what happened. When the witness appeared, his lawyer, armed with the decision in the Watkins case, demanded, before he would let his client even answer as to his occupation, that we outline in detail the nature and object of our investigation and then explain fully how each question we asked his client was pertinent to the subject and object of the investigation.

Obviously, we had no alternative except to dismiss the witness and forego the investigation. Certainly it was better to do this than to tell the Kremlin what we knew.

The tragedy of the Watkins decision is that the conclusion reached by the Court is based on a false premise. The Court assumes that the Un-American Activities Committee is investigating communism as an economic and political philosophy and that the Communist Party in the United States is a political party as we know political parties in this country. On the basis of this false assumption, the Court comes to an apparently logical but novel conclusion.

However, every school boy should know by this time that the Communist Party is not a political party but a conspiratorial apparatus—a fifth-column arm of the Soviet Union with whom we are at war even though it may not be a shooting war. In fact, the Congress of the United States has by law so stated.

Perhaps the Court has never read the secret oath an individual takes when he joins the Russian conspiracy—the Communist Party. This oath reads:

"I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, a land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself at all times to remain a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

Much has been said and written recently about the influence which the law clerks of the Supreme Court have on its opinions.

But there has been little or no discussion of the activities of certain professors and the part they may have played in these recent unorthodox decisions. It is no longer a secret that there is a considerable amount of ill will, bordering in some cases on hatred, by these professors for congressional investigating committees. They have determined in one way or another to destroy these committees ever since some of their clique were subpenaed to tell about their Communist and Communist-front activities.

As examples, on March 1, 1956, Lawrence Raymond La Valle, a professor at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., who had been identified under oath as a Communist, was called before the Un-American Activities Committee. He did not deny his Communist activity. He refused to answer all pertinent questions on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate him. The board of trustees of the college, after an investigation, removed him. Within a few days the American Association of University Professors severely censured the college for its action.

Two years before Prof. Byron Darling was discharged after a hearing by the president of Ohio State University, following his appearance before our committee where he had been identified as an active Communist while he was doing research work on a project for the Government of the United States. The same American Association of University Professors censured Ohio State for its action. There are other instances in which the association acted similarly.

These professors have been indoctrinating students not only with their pet philosophies but also with their animosity against the investigating committees.

A short time ago I spoke to a group at a university. Before the meeting I overheard two students discussing the fact that their professor, who had a violent antagonism toward congressional investigating committees, had insisted that they attend so that they might heckle me. In fact, he had supplied them with questions which he felt certain would stump the "witch hunter."

Some of these young indoctrinated law students, with no practical experience in the practice of law and the realities of life, wind up as clerks in the Supreme Court.

I have read in some of the recent shocking Supreme Court decisions almost the exact words, phrases, and arguments that have been used by some of these professors in their attacks against the committees.

The Justices and the clerks have been hesitant to explain to the press what part these law clerks play in the preparation and writing of decisions. It would be interesting to know and to be able to trace the source of some of the language and conclusions found in recent opinions. There are some telltale paragraphs which might indicate that they come from minds which have lived in ivory towers, far removed from the realities of the trial of causes in the courtroom or the functioning of investigating committees of the Congress.

There is another phase of this whole discussion that has not been given too much attention. It must be remembered that this long series of decisions, freeing common criminals and Communist conspirators, have been reversals of the so-called lower Federal courts by the Supreme Court. It is significant to note that these varied cases arose from different parts of the country. Different Federal district judges and members of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals tried and reviewed each of these cases.

The same lawyers appeared; the same briefs were filed; the same arguments were heard attacking the constitutionality of laws passed by the Congress and the procedures of its investigating committees. These Federal courts and some State courts have sustained these convictions, have sustained the constitutionality and validity of the laws involved and the procedures of the congressional investigating committees.

It is generally recognized that most of the lower court judges, both at the State and Federal level, are career men, have more experience and are better versed in the law than the members of the Supreme Court and their law clerks. Can these Federal and State judges always be wrong in these particular matters?

From what I say, I would not want you to believe that the dilemma in which we find ourselves in this whole field which I am discussing today has been caused 100 percent by the Supreme Court. The Congress and the executive branch both today and in the past, share some of the responsibility.

Let's look for a moment at just one phase of the Girard case. Here Congress shares part of the responsibility for not passing the Bricker amendment; the Executive in yielding to expediency; the Supreme Court for avoiding the real constitutional issue involved.

Let's take this brief look at the result. Within the last few weeks we find that an alien Communist in this country, dedicated to its overthrow by force and violence if necessary, is not guilty under the Smith Act until and unless he takes actual steps in urging some specific act or deed toward the overthrow of the Government by violence. He is now free to thumb his nose at congressional committees when asked to name his fellow conspirators and tell about their activities in the conspiracy.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and congressional investigating committees are strangled, handcuffed, and hogtied by new and undreamed-of restrictions so that they cannot deal effectively with a member of Russia's fifth column or a common rapist.

By contrast, last week the Supreme Court placed the stamp of approval on the policy of this Government and the law which permits an American boy who is drafted into the Army and compelled to serve in a foreign country, to be tried by the courts of that country. He has no choice as to whether that service will be performed in the country of a friendly ally or in one which was bombing him at Pearl Harbor or sniping at him on Corregidor or Iwo Jima.

This American boy, away from the restraints of home, in a community where there is always animosity against occupying troops, if he transgresses the law, can be and has been tried against his will by the people of a foreign country.

His trial not only starts in a biased, prejudiced, and often hysterical atmosphere, but he is also deprived of the basic constitutional rights of every American—rights which his country gives to an alien Communist conspirator and a common rapist. He may be tried without a jury—without the presumption of innocence—without the right that his accuser be required to prove his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt—without the right of habeas corpus, without the right to face his accuser, without the right to cross-examine the witnesses against him, as provided by American procedures.

Then, if this American boy is found guilty, he is often compelled to serve a sentence in a foreign jail, where the accommodations and standard of treatment are far below those in this country. In many instances, for the same offense in this country, he would be placed on probation.

Gentlemen, the Constitution and the flag no longer follow the American soldier.

But the strange thing about all of this is that the leftwing liberals in this country—who shed oceans of crocodile tears over some Communist being asked embarrassing questions by an investigating committee—have applauded or have been strangely silent about the loss of these basic constitutional rights by the guardians of our liberty and security—the American boy.

The investigating committees of the Congress, the American Legion, the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution, the Minute Women, and other patriotic organizations during the years have had some dark days in their fight against the internal subversion of the United States. We have been bitterly attacked and maligned. We might as well admit that we and the American

people have suffered in the past few months some rather disastrous defeats.

There are times when the situation becomes so frustrating and seemingly hopeless that one is ready to give up. It is not the Communists who discourage us. It is their apologists in this country, so-called respectable and influential citizens who are constantly vilifying the anti-Communists, who dishearten one. These are the people who are trying to convince the great mass of apathetic Americans that, if there ever was a danger, it is past—that we who are in this fight are beating a dead horse for publicity and personal aggrandizement—that Americanism commissions and investigating committees should be abolished and buried in ignominy. This cabal is making some headway with help from high places, as high as the Supreme Court of the United States.

As Al Smith, a great Governor of your State, once said: "Let's look at the record."

J. Edgar Hoover, perhaps the greatest authority on international subversion, in his Independence Day warning to the American people just last week said.:

"Public apathy is the sure way to national suicide—to death of individual freedom. It allowed the Communists to penetrate and make satellites of once free countries, and it is presently enabling them to honeycomb and weaken the structures of the remaining countries, and there is today a terrifying apathy on the part of Americans toward the deadliest danger which this country has ever faced. Some of that apathy is deliberately induced.

"The Communist Party in the United States is not out of business; it is not dead; it is not even dormant. It is, however, well on its way to achieving its current objective, which is to make you believe that it is shattered, ineffective, and dying. When it has fully achieved this first objective, it will then proceed inflexibly toward its final goal.

"Let no one for a moment forget that the Communist Party, United States of America, is part and parcel of an international conspiracy whose goal is conquest of the world. The Communist conspiracy will not halt its march automatically; it must be halted. Those who try to minimize its danger are either uninformed or they have a deadly ax to grind."

Within the last year the Attorney General of the United States, in his report to the President, said:

"Communists and their agents will remain a serious threat to our internal security so long as Communist dictatorships threaten the peace of the world. It is only by continuing to expose their tactics and activities that we shall prevent the resurgence of this international conspiracy in the United States."

That is in part what the investigating committees of the Congress are doing. That is what the Americanism Commission of the Legion, the Firing Line, and the American Legion magazine are doing.

In spite of these and many more warnings by men who are in a position to know, many segments of our people, including the Supreme Court, are falling into line and making a reality of the Communist Party's present objective.

People are told that the investigating committees are beating dead horses; that they are exposing and smearing persons who merely joined the Communist Party many years ago as an intellectual excursion into Marxism.

This is not so.

As an example, let's look at a recent revelation of the committee, to determine the truth or falsity of these charges.

Last year the committee began an investigation of the illegal use of passports by American Communists and fellow travelers. A great hue and cry went up from the left-wing against the committee. It was charged with censorship and violating civil rights—the right of Americans to travel freely abroad.

The clamor, however, died down. The critics became strangely silent and turned their attack in another direction when the hearings revealed that passports were being obtained by fraud and perjury. Passports thus obtained were being used by Communists to go behind the Iron Curtain and attack the United States at phony peace meetings and other gatherings.

Let me give you just one example out of hundreds to show what was happening.

Louis Wheaton, a college-trained man, in his application for a passport, stated under oath that he wanted to go to France and Switzerland to further his education. Instead he went to Peiping, China. He made a series of radio talks over the Communist radio. They were monitored by our State Department. In his first speech, he said:

"It is necessary to end war now being conducted with such horror and savagery. What has been done in the name of the United States against the peoples of Korea and China is an unspeakable shame before history and humanity.

"I have seen the evidence that we are using bacteriological warfare and jellied gasoline to burn defenseless women, children, and the aged. I say the evidence is damning."

A few days later, in another vicious attack against the United States, Wheaton charged American boys with ruthless and inhuman behavior. He said that in one village in Korea, he saw more than 300 children put into a warehouse, their mothers into another building: That gasoline was poured around the warehouse and set afire; that American boys then machinegunned the mothers as they rushed to save their children in the burning building.

Is there any doubt that Louis Wheaton was giving aid and comfort to the enemy in a time of war?

Yes; as I have said, there were those who claimed the committee was wrongfully interfering with Americans and their right to travel freely abroad when it was attempting to obtain evidence to warrant recommending legislation to plug up loopholes and strengthen the laws relating to passports.

An incident which brought world-wide attention in the last 2 weeks demonstrates the necessity for such legislation.

Russian-born George Zlatovski and his wife were indicted for espionage and spying. Two years ago these two people made application for a passport. The court said that the State Department must either give them a passport or disclose why it was being refused.

It is obvious from what has now happened that the security of the United States would have been jeopardized if the State Department had revealed that these people and others were being investigated for espionage. Therefore, under a court ruling which invades the prerogatives of the executive branch, the State Department was compelled to issue them a passport. As a result, we have had persons now indicted for espionage traveling freely abroad for 2 years on a United States passport. Now we must try to get them back to face prosecution.

No, the Communist threat is not something that is dead, something of the past, not something that is present in every other place in the globe but strangely absent in the United States.

The Soviet leaders over the years have themselves laid down the challenge and blueprinted their program, which even the left-wing cabal should be able to read.

Dimitri Z. Manuilsky, who was an instructor in the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow, said as early as 1931:

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years." (Thirty years will be up in 1961.)

"To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

If the skeptical think that this is simply the mouthing of one of the Russian conspirators and that, as has been so often stated, the Communist Party of the United States has no such objective, I call attention to the statement of William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party in the United States. Foster said:

"When a Communist heads the Government of the United States—and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises—the Government will not be a capitalistic government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

My friends, is there any question but that we are engaged at this very moment in a war—in a struggle to the death with the Soviet Union?

Americanism commissions of the American Legion all over the country are in the forefront of the battle with this new, deadly, and sinister weapon of modern warfare. May God give us strength, courage, and wisdom to carry on to the end that we may combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses, and safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy.

Food for Civilian Survival in Event of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, we are confronted today by the startling fact that this Nation is utterly without a plan to meet the emergency food needs of its civilian population, in event of a nuclear war.

This frightening situation is brought forcefully to the attention of the American people in a report just released by the Consumers Study Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture.

The report sets forth the further fact that we have no plan in being to meet the emergency food needs of our allies, should war break upon us.

Mr. Speaker, this subcommittee, headed by Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, of New York, has rendered the Nation an immeasurable service in focussing attention on what it so fittingly describes as "perhaps the weakest link in the chain of defense planning." This bipartisan group issued its report by a unanimous vote, without thought of politics but in consideration of the safety of our Nation.

With the unanimous consent of the House, I shall insert the report in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that the text may be readily available not only to the

membership of the Congress but will be circulated throughout the Nation.

The Consumers Study Subcommittee's report on food for civilian survival in event of war follows:

FOOD FOR CIVILIAN SURVIVAL IN EVENT OF WAR

In the event of nuclear war the United States is utterly without a plan to immediately feed its civilian population, including its Territories and possessions. Moreover, there is no design in being for immediate availability of food for our allies.

This constitutes perhaps the weakest link in the chain of defense planning, within America's boundaries, and in concert with other nations of the free world.

The subcommittee is aware of the many important civil-defense studies and programs which are in process or have been completed. It recognizes that at the Federal level very good work has been done in developing civilian-defense programs, and these have been carried out in cooperation with the State and Federal agencies. These programs have included emergency feeding of people evacuated from military installations and urban communities. Valuable experiences also were gained in the national alerts in 1956 and in 1957. Yet the subcommittee is forced to conclude that if war should strike tomorrow the United States would find itself without an adequate emergency food-reserve program.

The Federal Civil Defense Act, known as Public Law 920, was enacted by the Congress in 1950. It was designed to protect life and property in the United States from attack. It was foreseen that the attack could be "in any manner by sabotage or by the use of bombs, shellfire, or atomic, radiological, chemical, bacteriological, or biological means, or other weapons or processes" (sec. 3). The act is to be administered by an administrator known as the Federal Civil Defense Administrator with power to delegate responsibility for preparing national plans and programs and to delegate any of these responsibilities to the several departments and agencies of the Federal Government. There is nothing in Public Law 920 designed to sustain or protect the civilian population in any foreign country where the United States now has, or in the future will be required to have, military forces.

The Consumers Study Subcommittee was created on March 14, 1957, by Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture. One of its functions is to study and investigate the stockpiling of food for national emergencies.

REPORTS AND VIEWS ON STOCKPILING PRESENTED

On June 12 and 13, 1957, the subcommittee held hearings on food stockpiling. Witnesses appeared from the Department of Defense, Department of State, Department of the Interior, Department of Agriculture, the Office of Defense Mobilization, the National Grange, and the National Farmers Union. A representative of the Office of Civil Defense also attended these hearings.

The subcommittee finds that 7 years after the enactment of Public Law 920 there is not in being a comprehensive or otherwise adequate overall food program aimed at maintaining sufficient emergency food supplies for the civilian population in the United States, its Territories and possessions. Of deep concern to the subcommittee, also, is the fact that there is no plan in being to protect civilian populations in foreign territories which are part of the defense orbit of allied military operations.

The Department of Defense reported to the subcommittee that it maintains only minimum stocks of food for the Armed Forces. Large additional quantities of food would be required for the military in the event of an attack. The Department of Defense depends upon the Department of Agriculture for assurance that the needed food supplies will be available when and where needed. Yet no plan for strategically located civilian food stocks has been developed.

The Department of Interior reported that United States Territories and possessions import from 20 to 90 percent of their food supplies from the mainland. Interruptions in ocean shipping would cut off normal food imports. For example, 2 of our most strategic areas, Guam and Alaska, import 90 and 80 percent, respectively, of their food supplies. Another and perhaps even more serious example is Hawaii, where the people are dependent on food imports from the United States mainland. In the event of war enemy submarines or other type of warships could isolate the islands and force the people thereon to capitulate for lack of food. Yet no plans have been developed for emergency feeding in our Territories and possessions.

The Department of State reported that our foreign policy embraces assistance to friendly countries who wish to build up reserves or strategic stockpiles of food. In some cases a part of the purchases of surplus foods under title I of Public Law 480 have been used to build more adequate food reserves, notably in India and Poland. Yet no plans have been formulated for United States cooperation with other countries in building strategic food reserves to buttress our NATO and other military alliances.

The Department of Agriculture presented to the subcommittee a detailed statement embracing explanations of what it has done in the way of formulating an overall program of food preparedness. The Department concluded its statement as follows:

"The need for stockpiling must be critically examined, and it must be clear that there is a justifiable need, and that there is no satisfactory and less costly alternative for the safety of our people, before undertaking this difficult and expensive task."

FARMERS WANT CITY POPULATIONS PROTECTED

The subcommittee was impressed by the position of the National Grange, a major farm organization, on the stockpiling of food near major centers of population. The Grange presented a statement saying in part:

"The National Grange is particularly pleased that this subcommittee is holding hearings on food stockpiling for defense. It is a subject of tremendous importance. The welfare of millions of Americans is involved and perhaps even the survival of our country in time of war.

"The National Grange favors the establishment of food reserves at strategic locations throughout the country. We consider such reserves as a matter of fundamental prudence and a basic part of national preparedness.

"As well as we have been able to learn, there is no emergency food plan in existence today. If there is one, it's a well-kept secret. * * *

"If Baltimore (as an example) were hit by an enemy missile or bomb today, several hundred thousand people from Washington—along with survivors of the Baltimore attack—would be roaming the hills and valleys of Virginia west of here by tonight or tomorrow. The Virginia counties west of here are not prepared to feed and take care of several hundred thousand refugees from Washington and Baltimore. The food isn't there. Without food and without a plan, there would be extreme disorder, to say the least."

Conditions would even be more chaotic in cities like New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and the rural areas surrounding them.)

"There could be wheat in Minnesota, corn in Illinois, and beef in Nebraska, but it might as well be a million miles away unless there is an orderly and practical plan for getting it to the hills of Virginia in time to be used. * * *

"If there ever is an attack—or even the imminent possibility of an attack—it will be the farm countryside that will bear the burden of feeding and caring for the millions of our fellow Americans who come out from the cities to stay with us during the emergency. The farmlands would become the support areas—the place where a great many Americans would catch their breath and organize for the next step in fighting back. We hope against hope that all this may never happen, but if it ever does, we think food stockpiles will be vital—and cheap at any price."

FINDINGS

The survival and safety of the civilian population are the basic responsibility of Government in times of enemy attack. This is not to say the States, private organizations, and individuals can abdicate their responsibilities.

In this respect it must be noted that in any major war the first enemy blow may be expected to fall upon concentrated civilian populations, to cripple industrial potential and in the expectation of destroying a people's will to resist.

Food is the one indispensable element in survival and morale. Its presence would be likely to lessen fear and prevent panic and terror in an evacuating population of a city.

The subcommittee finds (1) that such plans as have been devised under the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950 are by no means sufficient in the event of an attack to take care of our American civilian population within the continental limits of the United States, its Territories, and possessions; (2) that there is absolutely no plan in being to sustain or protect civilian populations of foreign countries having allied military operations or bases; and (3) that there is too much delegation of responsibility under Public Law 920.

Insufficient urgency has been attached to the planning of emergency food supplies.

We recommend that the Government move swiftly to formulate plans and gather facts to assure that emergency stocks of food commodities will be available at accessible locations as reserves against possible disaster.

We have heard testimony regarding the vital importance of adequate food supplies in strategic locations in case of military operations. We consider an adequate emergency food program both within the United States and in friendly countries a vital part of our program of national and international defense. We consider the cost of such a program as much a part of the general cost of defense as the payments made for aircraft, bombs, missiles, ships, and tanks.

This subcommittee recognizes that an emergency food program involves a number of problems, such as rotation of stocks, not encountered in other defense supply programs. None of the peculiar problems are insurmountable, however, if the technical staffs of the executive agencies are given instructions to develop remedies.

We believe there should be a relocation of food-storage facilities throughout the country so that each major city will have strategic reserves in the accessible rural areas. We believe that these facilities can be planned, constructed, and operated in such a way that the food stocks can be rotated into normal trade channels and that the facilities can contribute to our ever-growing civilian needs for additional food storage.

We recommend that consideration be given to the utilization of existing underground facilities in the large metropolitan areas and the development of such new facilities which, while serving a peacetime purpose, can be used to stockpile essential

food, water, and other necessities as a part of our national-defense program.

We are convinced that the departments of Government mentioned in this report recognize the necessity for an overall food program attuned to possibilities of war or other national emergency and that each department wishes to cooperate in the solution of this problem. However, we believe that this matter of strategic food stockpiling is too important and too complex to be handled entirely by any single department of Government, and that the authority created under Public Law 920 is insufficient to provide for all of the emergencies contemplated by this report.

CONCLUSION

The subcommittee finally recommends in the light of the above findings that the President give this important problem his immediate attention, that he create a new coordinating board or council from personnel of existing agencies of Government, and that he delegate to it the specific authority and responsibility of devising plans for national and international food programs designed (1) to protect the civilian populations in the event of attack, and (2) that this subcommittee be kept informed of the planning of said board or council in order to propose such legislation as may be necessary to make the work of said board or council more effective.

Mundt Speaks His Mind on Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the July 23, 1957, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald. It is entitled "These Days—MUNDT Speaks His Mind on Civil Rights." It was written by Mr. George E. Sokolsky, one of America's most distinguished writers, who has always stood for the preservation of the principles of constitutional government.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THESE DAYS

(By George E. Sokolsky)

MUNDT SPEAKS HIS MIND ON CIVIL RIGHTS

KARL MUNDT, who may be remembered as the star of the televised Army-McCarthy hearings, is a direct sort of person who somehow has avoided taking on the double-talking characteristics of so many public men. In discussing the civil-rights bill, now distracting the Nation, he said on the floor of the Senate:

"I live in an area of the land where there are no political potentialities to cultivate on this issue, and no political actualities to consider."

While to many this will only appear as an introductory statement to a long speech and the introduction of an amendment which may ultimately be accepted, to me it is explanatory of what is really wrong with our Congress. It is the explanation of the general fears of Senators and Representatives who say what they do not mean and submit to pressures which they should be able to withstand.

Senator Robert A. Taft was not nominated for the Presidency, although all representative Republicans felt that he should have been, not because he was disliked or disrespected but because it was believed that he could not be elected, "political potentialities to cultivate," as Senator MUNDT puts it. Senator Joe McCarthy was destroyed politically and psychologically for the same reason—his political potentiality was no longer of value to the leaders of his party. The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security is now slowly being slaughtered because the Democratic leadership fears that its "political potentiality" is dangerous to them.

Senator MUNDT has coined an interesting phrase which explains why the present Congress displays so little courage in the face of the Supreme Court's unconstitutional assertion of legislative power—an assertion made on several occasions by the Court and always knocked down by Congress. James Burnham has an important and informative article on this subject in the National Review for July 20 which might be read to advantage.

The issue that Senator MUNDT raises is the right to a jury trial which is denied those disobeying the civil rights bill. Obviously a provision in any bill denying trial by jury is unconstitutional. But what is the Constitution among politicians? Again Senator MUNDT comes up with a descriptive phrase, political actualities, which explains why so few politicians are ever philosophers, in the sense that they like to think out their problems.

In a way, it is amusing to see the dilemma of those who call themselves liberals. They want to guarantee by act of Congress civil rights to the Negro, making the Department of Justice a police agency to enforce the law; yet they would deny to the officials of a State, trial by jury if they evaded the law or violated it, fearing that no jury in the South would convict such an official.

Therefore to win the 1960 election, they would risk losing one of our most sacred traditions, benefits and rights, namely, trial by jury.

Senator MUNDT calls attention to this danger:

"* * * Opponents of the jury-trial amendment somberly claim that its addition would emasculate the civil-rights bill, that southern jurors might be reluctant to convict. This argument is as old as it is shortsighted. It is the same justification that was given for the establishment of the star chamber, for the ruthless acts of Parliament depriving colonists of jury trial, for the opposition to jury trial for workers involved in labor disputes. Historically viewed, it stands as the favorite argument of the absolutist, an indispensable tenet of tyranny or mobocracy."

That of course, is the essence of the problem. The politicians are in a hurry to pass a bill that affects directly perhaps 15 million citizens and indirectly many more. The northern branches of both parties are competing for these votes.

Random Thoughts on France, Frenchmen, and Algeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, recently, the French National Assembly made history, highly important history, when it approved 2 treaties with the avowed purpose of merging the economies of 6 European nations into an economic whole and also into an atomic power bloc. These nations comprise 175 million people. The action of France puts into effect treaties previously approved by Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, West Germany, and Luxembourg. These treaties laid down the legal foundation for, first, European Economic Community, and, second, European Atomic Energy Community.

The first, for short, is called Euromarket and the second Euratom. These communities will function under a supranational executive, as well as parliamentary and judicial systems. To these three branches, executive, legislative, and judicial, the component nations surrender some of their national sovereignty. It is hoped that these unions are only a beginning; that they will inevitably lead to a final European federation and that eventually also Great Britain will join the plan.

In both these projects, the six nations mentioned, under the aegis of the North Atlantic Alliance and under the protection of their own defense forces, in effect, deliver a massive defeat to Soviet Russia. Khrushchev and his gang have done all and sundry to prevent the formation of these communities. There were threats, coercions, blandishments, and inducements—all used to prevent any European unification. To the great credit of France and the other nations, the efforts of Russia were successfully resisted. Each of these nations will partake of the strength of each other and will help restore the old European continent as a major war power. Under Euromarket, France and her five neighbors create a single market in the nature of a customs union where all custom barriers will be gradually leveled off, save against those nations outside the union. The plan will give a new impetus in turn to the British plan for a Free Trade Zone associated with Euromarket, and including most of the other free European nations.

We in the United States welcomed the action of the French National Assembly and the approval of these momentous treaties. We do well to lend every aid and comfort to France and those other countries in this undertaking.

I have been in France many times. Sometimes I wonder whether the French appreciate fully the glories and beauties of their own country. I believe it was George Bernard Shaw who paraphrased one of his own bon mots. He said, "France is a wonderful country. Why waste it on the French?" Many thousands of Americans appreciate France and flock to it every spring and summer. It is indeed the favorite mecca of American tourists. I love everything in France, except its bad plumbing.

Criticism is free in the United States and it is equally free in France, and the Americans and the French frequently carp at each other but no two countries or no two peoples have had such a long record of mutual friendship. America has never made war on France and France is the only major power in the world that has never made a war—hot or cold—on the United States. We have

fought against the British, the Spanish, the Italians, the Germans, the Japanese, the Chinese. Our present cold war with Russia has burgeoned with more animosities and hatreds than any hot war we fought, but France has been the ally of the United States and her friend ever since we were a Nation and declared our independence.

There is a famous document in the Archives in Washington; it is a letter sent by Gen. George Washington to his military envoy in Paris on April 9, 1791, which reads as follows:

> We are at this hour suspended in the balance * * * our troops are fast approaching nakedness. Our hospitals are without medicines and our sick without nutrition. In a word, we are at the end of our tether and now or never, our deliverance must come.

That deliverance did come. It came from France when our fortunes indeed were at low ebb.

It is well to remind some of the detractors of France of that Washington letter. I would remind a certain gentleman of a famous legislative body of our long hallowed friendship for and with France. He probably did not know of that letter when he made a recent speech which has subjected him to condign criticism—a speech which added fuel to a raging fire. He suggested that the United States use its good offices to solve the Algerian problem. That was a rash statement. It betokened most serious criticism of French policies. We are all entitled and may be under duty sometime to criticize the policies of the American administration on the Algerian issue, but when we consider the ill wind and distrust and jealously that have been created in France by previous pronouncements of our officials and nonofficials on this subject, intervention of this character at this time is a very risky business. The gentleman in question rather oversimplified the whole issue. He disregarded the many complications inherent therein. He has indeed made a bad situation worse. The idea that he created—that the United States should intervene on behalf of Algerian nationalists—has already stiffened thier resistance against the French and has given rise to considerable outbreaks of brutality. The gentleman forgot that much of the trouble stemmed from the aid and comfort given nationalists by the Egyptian megalomaniac, Nasser. The latter has constantly fulminated against the French over his Cairo radio. He has been constantly sending arms and ammunition received from Soviet Russia into the rebel nationalist territory.

It was refreshing to note that Secretary Dulles promptly and properly demurred to the suggestion of intervention. Our ally, France, is deserving in her hour of need of our help—not our acute criticism and condemnation and inane suggestion of interference.

I have been to Algeria. I am somewhat acquainted with the situation. France, far from being guilty of imperialism, as charged, has steadily sought to raise the standards of the people of Algeria through the years. I have seen great evidence of economic, cultural, and spiritual progress. The gentleman in question gave no credit to France for all this. It may be true that France might have done more.

Algeria has been in French hands for almost 200 years. It is a legal part of Metropolitan France, just as Alaska is a part of the United States. Most of its inhabitants are citizens of France. To show her anti-imperialism, France only recently gave independence to Tunisia and Morocco and helped convert her mandates over Lebanon and Syria into independent countries.

France is on her way toward making peace with Algeria. Delicate diplomacy rather than intemperate attack is essential. I can testify that the people of Algeria at this time, particularly those in the south, are not ready for independence, eager as they are to move forward and undoubtedly working hard to reach such readiness. France plans to spend vast sums of money for the future education and advancement of Algerians. She is well-nigh impoverishing herself for this purpose. France has built many schools and hospitals and will build more. She has done much to remove the tin-can shanties and hovels found in the crowded Casbah of Algiers.

The city of Algiers has a population of about 600,000, half of whom are Europeans. The municipality is led by a liberal, forward-looking mayor, Jacques Chevalier, who has made heroic efforts for slum clearance and good housing developments.

Americans are prone to judge other countries by American standards. This is a fatal mistake. Gen. Leon-Augustin Guillaume, an able soldier who spent much of his career in north Africa, said of Morocco and Moroccans:

> You Americans always confuse the nationalists here with your own American forefathers, seeing them as fighters for independence against a colonial tyrant. You are quite wrong. The Moroccans are not this historic equivalents of the American colonists. If you must seek historical parallels, then the truth is that the Moroccans are the Indians, the indigenous people. Your American colonists never had to cope with native nationalism because they drove the Indians off the land, killed most of them, and cooped up the survivors on reservations. We French, however, did not drive our "Indians" off the land. Instead, we showed them how to care for it with modern farming methods. We explored the subsoil and found great mineral treasure. We did not steal those treasures from them by offering them glass beads in exchange. We nationalized the phosphate fields of Morocco for the Moroccan state so that all the profits would go to the Moroccan people and you Americans call us colonial exploiters. Really, my friend, it is most exasperating.

I believe Guillaume was eminently right. In his statement I would substitute Algeria and Algerians for Morocco and Moroccans.

It is all very well for Americans to talk glibly on independence. Independence does not necessarily mean democracy. It is, indeed, highly questionable whether Algeria should at this time receive self-government. Such a gift may actually be dangerous, if not fatal. As Thomas F. Brady said, in a recent New York Times magazine article:

> To want to fly with one's own wings implies serious preparation, trained men, stability, and political equilibrium—all things that cannot be acquired in a day or a year.

Unfortunately, at this date violence in Algeria shows no abatement. The national liberation front seems as strong as ever. The European element, numbering 1,200,000, opposes any real concessions to the Moslems. The Moslems outnumber them 7 to 1. Many of the Berbers and Arabs want peace, but they are so cowed by the ruthless pressure of nationalist rebels that they dare not openly stand by France. We find in Algeria a bleak picture. American Members of the House and Senate should be very careful in their remarks, lest they exacerbate the serious situation. Certainly, it is ridiculous to urge cavalierly that the French grant immediate independence and ignore the labyrinth of difficulties inherent in the area. Meanwhile, the Arab-Asian bloc in the United Nations is driving for a United Nations General Assembly debate—a debate which will only fan the embers of discontent and conflict.

Whenever I get into mixed American company and I speak of France, many questions arise to the lips of my listeners. These are some of the questions: Will the French fight? Is France a reliable ally? Why do they have 2-hour lunches? Why do not the French pay their taxes? Are the French anti-American? And so forth.

Will the French fight? I will say they will, when properly provoked. Will the French fight? They have been doing nothing else for a century, indeed, for the past thousand years. The French have made manifest their courage in fighting many times in history. Reflect but a moment. See the bloody battle of Verdun. Verdun is a badge of courage that any nation would willingly wear with great pride. For almost a year the disciplined Germans and the undisciplined French were locked in a deadly embrace, but it was the so-called tough Germans who gave way, and the French triumphed.

Sometimes we hear it said that the French will not fight a crusade against Russia or against communism. Those who query forget that the Communists were thrown out of the French Government and purged from the army and the police away back in 1947, 10 years ago, and have not been able to come back into the army or the police or the Government ever since. The French resisted all Communist endeavors to keep her out of the Atlantic Pact and to keep the Atlantic Alliance headquarters out of France.

All this is to the credit of the democratic French and they were able to challenge successfully, not only the Communists outside but inside of France. There are many nominal Communists in France. Remember, at times 1 out of every 4 French citizens vote Communist. The question might be asked, "Why do so many Frenchmen vote Communist?" The preponderant number of French Communist voters are not Communists. There are about 4 million who are malcontents, fed up with the failures and broken promises of some of the weak governments, and some of the administrations of France have been weak.

These voters are tired of being gouged by profiteering speculators. They are weary of hot, cold, and colonial wars. They say, "Where else can I register my protest? How else can I frighten the Government into cleaning up whatever mess there may be?" They also add, "If I thought there was any chance the Communists would come into power in France, I would never vote for them."

If the Communists ever try a coup d'état as they did in Prague, these so-called French Communists would go out on the barricades to stop them.

Remember, General Eisenhower did not choose Paris for his headquarters or France as a key area for NATO because he liked French wines or French hotels or the Champs-Elysees. Indeed, France strategically is a keystone of any European coalition. General Gruenther has put it this way:

> France is essential to the Atlantic Alliance. We need and want German troops, but not as a substitute to the French. No defense of Europe is possible without the participation of France.

And the French do pay their taxes. Remember, the French national tax burden is as heavy as that of the United States, but unfortunately is not as equitably shared or as directly assessed as our taxes. Tax evasion is practiced by the peasants and shopkeepers. They are difficult to control. But most Frenchmen pay taxes, very heavy taxes.

They also eat 2-hour lunches, but they do not take morning coffee breaks and afternoon teatime recesses, like the Americans and the British. Also, they work later. They work until 7 or 8 o'clock. New York offices are empty at 5.

Are the French anti-American? Some are, but most are not. They criticize us, we criticize them. But when we need them, they are on our side.

One cannot praise France too much for its artistic creations. More than a half-million foreign students have enrolled at the Sorbonne, more than at any other university in the world. From every corner of Europe and Asia have come students, writers, painters, architects, engineers, to study in Paris.

Here is an interesting bit of information: John Howard Payne wrote Home Sweet Home, one of the most homespun of American songs—in Paris. James Farrell wrote of that American boy, Studs Lonegan—in Paris. James Fenimore Cooper wrote of The Prairie of America while sitting in the sidewalk cafes in Paris. James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, John Steinbeck—all have made the pilgrimage to Paris and partaken of her inspirations and written glowingly.

What would doctors do without the stethoscope? It was designed by Dr. Laennec in 1890. The stethoscope is a French instrument. The blind of the world can read, thanks to the ingenuity of a Frenchman named Louis Braille, who was also blind. When you next drink a glass of pasteurized milk, you might well give a toast to the great French biologist, Louis Pasteur. A measure of electrical current has been immortalized by the name of a French physicist, André-Marie Ampère. Louis-Jacques Daguerre gave us the French photographic invention, the daguerrotype. Neon lights are the invention of the Frenchman, Georges Claude. The adding machine, the balloon, the gyroscope, the screw propeller, smokeless powder, the machinegun, rayon, the thermometer—all were French inventions. Pierre and Marie Curie discovered radium. Marie Curie was the first person, and the only woman in history, to win the Nobel prize twice.

Despite its political vicissitudes, France is the only major power on the continent of Europe that has remained loyal to democratic traditions. In the past 50 years, Russia has gone Communist; Italy, Fascist; Germany, Nazi; Spain, Phalangist. France alone of the important continental powers never succumbed to any of these "isms" that seize Europe. She stood alongside democratic Britain and democratic America.

In evaluating France, we Americans must see the picture whole. We cannot lose sight of the forest for the trees. We cannot pick out a little incident here and another incident there that might not be to our liking and judge her exclusively by those limited factors. France was a great country; France is a great country, and will remain such.

Clinton Trial and the Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Clinton Trial and the Rights Bill," written by David Lawrence, and published in the Washington Star of July 24, 1957.

This article bears most importantly on the bill which has been pending in the Senate, and I hope every Member of this body will read it carefully.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of July 24, 1957]

CLINTON TRIAL AND THE RIGHTS BILL—PENDING LEGISLATION'S BAN ON JURY TRIALS IN SIMILAR INJUNCTION CASES CITED

(By David Lawrence)

On the surface it looks as if a southern jury of white persons did convict seven white persons for failing to obey a Federal court injunction against interference with integration in a public school at Clinton, Tenn. This is being hailed in Congress as a vindication of the right of trial by jury. But actually the case isn't as simple as it appears.

For the defendants at Clinton were really not entitled by law to a trial by jury and got that privilege only after a lot of pressure from public opinion throughout the country.

The truth is the Department of Justice did its utmost to prevent a trial by jury and used precisely the same tactics as are now proposed in the pending civil-rights legislation. It sought to change the docket in the case from one filed by private individuals to one in which the United States would be a party. Under existing law, of course, any contempt case in which the United States Government is a party automatically takes away the right to trial by jury. To resort to the device of a change from private persons to the United States as a party is like changing the rules in the middle of any game.

The judge in the case was on the spot. The Department of Justice was on the spot, too. Public criticism was mounting. The judge finally devised his own solution. He decided not to grant the request of the Department of Justice to change the docketing in the case. This removed the barrier against jury trial, and the case was tried in the names of the parties who originally filed it and a jury was then impaneled.

Some interesting comments came from the judge during preliminary arguments. In the May 2 proceedings, Mr. Dobbs, an attorney for one of the defendants, was arguing before the judge that the injunction was too broad and that it enjoined everyone from everything.

"Well, of course," replied Judge Taylor, "you are entitled to your interpretation, and I am not saying that you are wrong in any respect. You are entitled to your views about it, but I want to say to you that in that injuction it was not the intention of the court to enjoin everybody and everything; it was the intention of the court to enjoin the persons that were named from interfering, hindering, or impeding the carrying out of this order which was granted, I believe, on January 4, 1956. * * *

"If the language used was construed that way by you, Mr. Dobbs, and by others, then it was an unfortunate choice of language by the court. In other words, when these matters are presented, the court is required to act. That was the language of the court. The court didn't have the time to spend a month, like you do on a brief, putting every sentence and exactly every word just where it ought to be."

Yet, out of the original 17 persons arrested and named as defendants in this case, 6 were released before trial and 4 more after the jury acquitted them. Here were 10 law-abiding citizens hastily hauled before a judge for allegedly disobeying an injuction. They were not indicted by any grand jury. Their reputations were besmirched. They were led from their homes, handcuffed, and thrown into jail—all for allegedly violating a court injunction. If the Department of Justice had had its way, when it sought to change the docket in the case, there would not have been any jury trial.

In the cases which would be brought under the injunction power by the pending civil-rights legislation, the United States would be party to the suits from the beginning. Hence, unless Congress actually inserts the requirement that a jury trial be given to those who are charged with acts committed or words spoken outside the courtroom, there will be no jury trial such as was granted by an accidental turn of events to the defendants at Clinton, Tenn.

The case now goes up on appeal through the higher courts, and eventually the Supreme Court of the United States will have to decide whether those defendants who stand convicted today—and who did no more than associate with one another to express opinions to their fellow citizens on the subject of segregation in the schools—are to be given the same benefits so generously bestowed on members of the Communist Party. For in recent decisions of the Supreme Court it was ruled that freedom of speech, as guaranteed by the first amendment of the Constitution, includes the right publicly to advocate even the forcible overthrow of the Federal Government itself.

Individual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. F. NORRELL

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the graduation of our daughter, Judy, at Ohio Wesleyan University last month, it was the privilege of parents and friends attending the exercises to hear the commencement address given by Mr. Lawrence A. Appley.

Mr. Appley chose as his subject Individual Security, and in the development of his thesis he presented a basic tenet of Christianity: That the only real security lies in "well-founded confidence, certainty, and faith."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I will include the full text of Mr. Appley's address to those fortunate young people who are now entering responsible careers of adulthood. I believe that we of the older generations will also find a profound stimulus in the forthright discussion of individual security.

INDIVIDUAL SECURITY

(Commencement address delivered by Lawrence A. Appley, president of the American Management Association, Inc., at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, on June 10, 1957)

President Flemming, honored guests, members of the class of 1957, their friends and relatives, little did I realize when I sat in your position 30 years ago that I would ever be standing here some subsequent year presenting the commencement address. It is with a sense of heavy responsibility and deep humility that I accept this honor. I feel it particularly as a member of the distinguished class of 1927 and of the debate team to which President Flemming has referred in his opening comments.

Ever since I was initially asked to appear on this platform, I have been thinking day and night of what might be the one thought I would like to leave with you this morning. Out of the years that I enjoyed in this institution and the years I have had since leaving it, what stands uppermost in my mind in its simplest form is this: In this day and age, when security seems to be a paramount consideration, educated and intelligent people should face squarely the proposition, What is real individual security and what are the most reliable means by which one may attain it?

We are living in an age that is characterized by an intense drive for individual security, as well as a general unwillingness to earn it. Last week at the Statler Hotel in New York, president Flemming was a member of a distinguished panel that was discussing the ways and means by which the modern top executive looks for future management talent and the indexes of such talent. The members of this panel, in addition to president Flemming, were the presidents of: Corn Products Refining Co., the Boston and Maine Railroad, Chicopee Manufacturing Co., and the American Stores Corp.

In the course of the discussion, a comment was made that if a college senior, being interviewed for a possible position with a company, should ask as his first or second question about the company's pension plan, there was little use to talk with him much beyond that. Another observation was to the effect that a most important quality in a management candidate is a willingness to work. This is an old saw, but it still ranks high, regardless of how little it may impress some people today.

What is security? Whenever I am faced with a question of this nature, I am inclined to rely upon the dictionary and I find there that security is "freedom from care and apprehension; freedom from doubt; freedom from danger and risk; well-founded confidence, certainty, and faith." Let us examine each of these types of security that have been so clearly outlined here.

"Freedom from care and apprehension" we should not have. This is for the irresponsible. Those in this life who are worthy of their salt are deeply concerned about the consequences of their actions and about the activities of those for whom they have some sense of responsibility. There is no escape from care and concern for those who are considered to be reliable.

"Freedom from doubt" we should not want. This is for the happy imbecile. Intellectual curiosity is highly desirable for those who would be the leaders in life. Accepting everything at its face value is a shallow trait.

"Freedom from danger and risk" is impossible. This can only be in terms of economic freedom or physical well-being, which cannot be guaranteed in any case.

Just a few years ago, one of the vice presidents of my organization was telling me how he had just completed a comprehensive physical examination through which he went regularly every year. He had been given a complete good bill of health. I have never known one to be any more conscious of his physical condition. Two hours after telling me this, he dropped dead in his office. This is happening all around us. Physical security cannot be possessed by any human being.

Now, let us take a look at economic security. According to a radio talk by Ervin Seale on Sunday, December 18, 1955, there are some very interesting facts about a group of men whom no one would question had economic security many years ago. During the year that I entered Ohio Wesleyan as a freshman—1923—a meeting was held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago attended by nine of the world's greatest financiers. Let us look at whom they were and what happened to them within the next 25 years.

One was the president of the world's largest independent steel company, Charles Schwab. He died a bankrupt and lived on borrowed money for 5 years before his death.

The president of the largest utility company, Samuel Insull, died a fugitive from justice and penniless in a foreign land.

The president of the largest gas company, Howard Hopson, lost his mind.

The greatest wheat speculator, Arthur Cutton, died abroad, insolvent.

The president of the New York Stock Exchange, Richard Whitney, spent a number of years in Sing Sing Penitentiary.

A member of the President's Cabinet, Albert Fall, was pardoned from prison so he could die at home.

The greatest "bear" in Wall Street, Jesse Livermore, died a suicide.

The head of the greatest monopoly, Ivar Krueger, died a suicide.

The president of the Bank of International Settlements, Leon Fraser, died a suicide.

If this be security, anyone who wishes it can have it. I certainly would not identify it as the kind of security worthy of one's search.

Well-founded confidence, certainty, and faith—this is the only real security. This is the reward of a good life.

The basic purpose of life, the reason for life is to contribute more to society than we take from it. Anyone who is physically and mentally fit has no right to much consideration if he or she does not produce more than he or she consumes. What a terrific amount of confidence it gives a person when he or she realizes that life is really worthwhile and of value to others.

The only real security for an individual is, therefore, the capacity to render a service which the community needs and wants. One could lose everything material which he has tonight, but with the ability and the skill to render a service which society wants, he starts right off again tomorrow morning without any insecurity whatsoever. It was once my privilege to know a retired vice president of the Ward Baking Co. by the name of Sam Graphlin and he had a definition of happiness that I have never forgotten—"Pick out the thing you can do better than anything else and do it so well that people will send for you and pay you to do it."

A further definition of real security, in addition to capacity to render a needed service is: A feeling of worthwhileness, and a continuing sense of attainment. What impact is one having or has one had? This is the real test of individual security.

Is the class of 1957 any better because you are a member of it? Is your sorority or fraternity any better because you have been in it? Is the athletic squad on which you served a good one because of your contribution to it? Have the literary, the dramatic, or the music activities of this school been any better because of your participation?

Is Ohio Wesleyan any better because you have been here? Have you done anything consciously to improve the conditions you did not like, or have you gone through complaining and taking things as they come without any effort on your part to leave your footprints? Is the alumni organization going to be any stronger because you are now a member of it?

Will the job you go to be any better done because you are on it? Will the home you have be any better because you are in it? Will your children be any better because you are one of their parents? What has been and what will be your impact upon people and life about you? The answers to these questions will determine what sense of attainment you possess, and sense of attainment is what gives one confidence, certainty, and faith in oneself.

The basic purpose of education is to help train human beings in how to attain something of value, how to get things done. How does one have an impact on the world about him? How does one attain this feeling of worthwhileness? The formula is quite simple and it applies to any activity in life.

First, set objectives; determine what it is you want to see done or get done; establish long-range plans which reflect the impact you wish to have.

Second, organize your work in a way that these objectives can be attained. This means a determination of what has to be done to reach the goal. It takes some carefully organized thinking.

Third, train oneself for the work to be done. If we know clearly what it is we want to accomplish, if we have organized the work that is required to accomplish it, then it should be clear what knowledge, skills, and capacities we must have to do the required work. It is then easy to determine what training is required.

Fourth, evaluate the progress of the work. Is it being done satisfactorily enough to assure attainment of the established objectives? This requires careful, periodic attention to measurements of effectiveness.

Fifth, take the corrective action indicated by the evaluation of progress. Be decisive. Do not leave things to chance. Real leaders act rather than react. They do not wait for the future; they determine the future.

To summarize what has been said here about how to attain individual security, take these steps: Set objectives; organize work; train for work; evaluate work; correct work action and attitudes.

All of this approach just outlined must be sprinkled with idealism. Our objectives must be set high. There is no better guide than fundamental basic Christian ideals.

There is much loose criticism today of those who are reaching for the unattainable. There is the laughing, snarling, cynic who, in his earthly realism, belittles the dreamer. It is this type of person who says: "Why set and publicize ideals which cannot be reached?" Such people were adequately answered by Thomas Watson, Sr., the late president of International Business Machines, who said: "When you reach for the stars, you will never get a star, but neither will you get a handful of mud."

In conclusion, it has been the contention of this presentation this morning that the only attainable, retainable, and admirable individual security is confidence in self, certainty, and faith. This can be attained by setting worthwhile objectives and by developing the skills and abilities to attain these objectives.

Might I suggest in all humility that it helps once in a while to get down on one's knees and pray God for help. It is a good thing in the morning to thank God for another day and for strength to make it a day of value in your life. It is a good thing at night before going off to sleep to thank God for the day just past—good, bad, or indifferent. There is nothing more precious than a day of life and regardless of what has happened during it, it has been a day of experience and this adds to every life.

My final plea is that if one cannot accept some of the thoughts contained herein, he or she at least not be a cynic. I am reminded of an experience I had some years ago when I climbed Mount Vesuvius. It was in eruption for the first time since 1929.

Mount Vesuvius was just like an inverted ice cream cone with the tip blown off. The crater inside the jagged edge of the tip was about a mile across and right in the center of it, a new tip to the cone was forming. It was about the size of a hill. The volcano would boil and steam and blow tons and tons of lava into the air which would settle back on this new cone being formed within the crater.

As I approached this new center cone, I was conscious that it had a regular rhythm. It would growl and groan and boil for about 4 minutes to the watch and then would blow tons and tons of lava into the air. As I walked around on the windward side of the base of this new one, I came upon a little fellow about 5 feet high. He had come up out of a crack in the crater's floor. There he stood in all of his pride with a tip on him, just like the mouth of a fish. He sounded like a tugboat as he puffed, puffed, puffed, and blew these smoke rings out of this fish-like mouth. As I watched him, I realized that he, too, had a rhythm and that it was related somewhat to the mother cone.

As the mother cone would rumble, and growl, and groan, this little fellow would go "chug, chug, chug—chug, chug, chug." Then, as the mother cone blew tons and tons of lava into the air, this little fellow would hesitate momentarily and then go "pfft" and blow one little piece of lava out.

It came into my consciousness how much like many people that little cone was. While the great majority of the people in the world are working and struggling to produce something, this little fellow goes on chug, chugging about his business bothered by and impressed by no one. Then, when some section of the world of humanity suddenly produces something, this little fellow goes "pfft" and continues about his own little business. He is the cynic.

My plea is, let us get in on the big show because this show is governed by a basic plan of civilization which, in turn, is controlled by a supernatural power which we call God.

South Now Getting National Hearing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding article by Mr. Ray Tucker which appeared in the July 19, 1957, issue of the Greenville (S. C.), News. It is entitled "South Now Getting National Hearing." Mr. Tucker is one of America's most distinguished newspaper writers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTH NOW GETTING NATIONAL HEARING

(By Ray Tucker)

WASHINGTON, July 18.—Veterans on Capitol Hill admit that they have rarely witnessed such a skillfull parliamentary operation as southern Senators have staged in their battle against the extreme civil-rights bill originally proposed by the administration.

While their first objective is defeat or drastic modification of the measure, a secondary purpose is to present the South's viewpoint on the racial problem, as well as its difficulties, to the American people. There are psychological as well as political undertones to their strategy.

They have contended, at least until recently, that non-South mediums of communications have not presented their side of the controversy to their audiences and readers. Now, for the first time since the dark days of Reconstruction, they have had that opportunity. Moreover, they are speaking for the new South that has emerged since World War I.

DEBATE ON HIGH PLANE

They have performed this task with remarkable restraint, relying on close legal arguments rather than on political or emotional exhibitions. There have been no ranters or demagogs such as "Cotton Tom" Heflin, of Alabama, "The Man" Bilbo, of Mississippi or "Kingfish" Huey Long, of Louisiana.

In fact, such leaders and strategists as Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia, and Senator SAMUEL J. ERVIN, JR., of North Carolina, have routed the ablest advocates of the civil-rights bill. ERVIN was a former chief justice of his State's supreme court, and RUSSELL was speaker of the Georgia General Assembly when he was only 26 years old.

The two leaders—Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, of Texas, and Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California—also have used their influence to keep the debate on a high plane.

THREATS OVERLOOKED

The southern bloc has concentrated on two originally unnoticed sections of the measure which, in their opinion, offend the Americans' sense of fair play and equality before the law. Even President Eisenhower did not appreciate their threat to civil liberties as essential and fundamental as the right to vote and to attend unsegregated schools.

Even such "liberals" as Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, were shaken when their attention was called to these proposals in floor debate.

The first, of course, is the provision for a juryless trial of persons alleged to have violated general and vague sections of the civil-rights bill. Nobody can say now what future United States prosecutors will regard as violations.

The result will be endless litigation and court delays, especially in view of the attitude of the legal staff of the National Association of Colored People. They have indicated that they intend to police and supervise whatever enforcement methods may be established, should the bill pass.

COULD CAUSE FRICTION

The second provision offensive to many fairminded people is that which permits the President to call on the military or militia to enforce the proposed statute, which could mean the use of colored troops.

Such an action would endanger the general peace and worsen relations between the races. Nor would it tend to endear the national-defense forces with the population against which they were dispatched.

Finally, southern spokesmen ask another question which has gained them sympathy and understanding in other sections of the country:

Is the Congress of the United States willing to classify and condemn so many millions of Americans as "second-class citizens"?

Francis J. Larkin Elected President of American Law Student Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a recent release of the American Bar Association relative to Mr. Francis J. Larkin, a constituent of mine from Milford, Mass., and a student at Georgetown University Law Center, who was recently elected President of the American Law Student Association.

That such a great honor should come to this brilliant young man from my district is gratifying indeed and impressive testimony of the high regard in which he is held by his fellow students of this association.

I am happy to extend to him and his distinguished family heartiest congratulations upon this well-merited honor and express the hope that Mr. Larkin will enjoy a most successful administration as president and continued success in his legal career.

I may say further, Mr. Speaker, that the people of my district and State join me, I am sure, in expressing our pride in the progress of this fine young man. I have no doubt that his achievements to date, not only reflect his high character and ability, but presage for him out-

standing advancement and success in the years to come.

The release follows:

NEW YORK, July 16.—Francis J. Larkin, a student of Georgetown University Law Center in Washington, D. C., was today elected president of the American Law Student Association, a national organization of 40,000 law students with chapters in 115 law schools in the United States.

Larkin is a graduate of Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., and formerly served as a circuit vice president of the American Law Student Association. At Georgetown he was president of the Student Bar Association, and was a member of the Georgetown team which last year won the championship of the national moot court competition sponsored by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

Larkin is a resident of Milford, Mass. In his new post he will have an extensive speaking itinerary embracing many of the Nation's law schools and bar associations. The American Law Student Association is the student affiliate of the American Bar Association.

The National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have often had occasion to state on the Senate flooor that our laws are only as good as the people who administer them. During the present administration we have time after time found administrators appointed who are out of sympathy with the basic legislation they are supposed to be administering.

An excellent case in point has been the record of the National Labor Relations Board since 1953. The current issue of Textile Labor has an article entitled "Ike's NLRB: Its Bias Is Showing." The article recounts statistics to back up its allegations of the contrasting record achieved by the new NLRB as compared with its pre-1953 predecessors in the areas of unfair labor practice charges and complaints.

I ask unanimous consent that this article by Alexander Uhl be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IKE'S NLRB: ITS BIAS IS SHOWING

(By Alexander Uhl)

Like the old gray mare, the National Labor Relations Board ain't what it used to be—but there's nothing to joke about after you've made the comparison.

Once the NLRB was—or was meant to be—a neutral agency. But under the Eisenhower administration it has degenerated into a club designed to beat labor to its knees. The NLRB's own annual report for the year ending June 1956 proves that in tables of cold figures.

Tear the report apart, and you'll find four major ways labor has been hit heavily. Both Board decisions and actions within the Board itself have encouraged management to fall away with the Taft-Hartley Act's built-in bludgeons more vigorously than they did in the past.

The thing that hits you in the eye right off the bat is the way the Office of the General Counsel has been used to beat unions down and down and down.

The second way labor is being crimped shows in the drastic reduction of union victories in representation elections during the period the NLRB has been controlled by Eisenhower appointees.

The third factor is that employers have been greatly encouraged to bring charges against unions. While at the same time—and this is the fourth area in which the change has occurred—unions have been losing more appeals on unfair labor practice cases.

On each of these fronts, hope is dwindling for the fair shake labor once expected. But particularly harmful has been the impact of the General Counsel—especially the swath cut while the office was in the hands of Theophil C. Kammholz from March 1955 to January 1957.

Before the Senate confirmed Eisenhower's appointment of Kammholz, responsible union leaders reeled off his dreary antilabor record (Textile Labor, September 1955). At that time, they warned of the consequences that could be expected once this Chicago management lawyer was handed such unrestricted power.

That the office is one of such tremendous striking power can be attributed, of course, to the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Under the Wagner Act, the General Counsel was the servant of the Board. With the arrival of Taft-Hartley in 1947, his office was given separate stature. And to compound this, the Board cravenly handed him even more authority—the right to hire, fire, discipline, and maintain the regional offices of the NLRB.

The dire result of this can easily be illustrated. Suppose a regional officer receives an unfair-labor-practice charge filed by a union.

In the first place, since that regional officer was picked by and is at the mercy of the General Counsel, not the Board, his decision is preordained. He'll base his decision on how the General Counsel thinks and would act in such a situation. With a Kammholz in the saddle, chances of dismissal are high.

Add to that the fact that the union can appeal this dismissal only to the General Counsel (the man who really dismissed it in the first place) and not the Board, and you can see the farce made of justice.

One union attorney estimated that less than 1 percent of these dismissals are now reversed by the General Counsel. And the General Counsel's decision is final. There is no higher tribunal in such cases.

What happened when Kammholz took over is there to see in the NLRB's report.

The machinery works this way. Unions or individuals bring an unfair-labor-practice charge against an employer (or vice versa). Then it's up to the General Counsel to decide whether or not to prosecute. If he decides to, he issues a complaint. If he doesn't, he dismisses the charge.

Before Kammholz, roughly 75 to 80 percent of all charges filed were brought by unions and individuals against management. And logically enough, just about 75 to 80 percent of all complaints issued by the General Counsel were against employers. The first year of Kammholz' tenure saw a violent change.

In 1955, for instance, the percentage of charges brought against unions was only 29.3 as against 70.7 against management. Yet, the percentage of complaints issued by Kammholz against labor shot up to 42.3.

In 1956, it got even worse. The percentage of charges against labor was only 33.1 in contrast to 66.9 against management. But Kammholz' percentage of complaints against unions leaped up to 56 percent while those against management were only 44 percent.

Clearly, here was a complete flipflop of the normal pattern. Here was powerful evidence the union leaders were right when they charged Kammholz with antilabor bias.

The year 1956 marked the first time in the history of Taft-Hartley that complaints against unions went over the half-way mark—even though the charges filed against labor were actually less than half those filed against management.

A similar trend is apparent in the decline of union election victories. In 1953—when the board's complexion shifted as Truman appointees were replaced by Eisenhower's choices—unions won 73 percent of the elections. A year later that figure had dropped to 65 percent.

Even sharper was the falloff in the number of workers in units which chose bargaining agents. This statistic dropped from 79 percent in 1953 to 63 percent in 1956.

Union leaders concede a less favorable attitude on the part of the board toward unions. What really distresses them is that this blow can be blamed on the Eisenhower board's widening of the "free speech" rights of employers.

These decisions have emboldened management to the point where intimidation of workers is becoming more open and more common—a bitter, first-hand experience textile workers know only too well.

In any event, the figures are clear: In 1952 there were 584,080 employees in units that chose bargaining agents. In 1956 there were 291,292.

At the same time the board was giving employers encouragement to file charges against unions. From 1952 through 1956, employers' charges against unions leaped 100 percent. Last year they repreesnted 16 percent of all charges filed and 47 percent of those filed against unions, a jump of 12 percent over 1955.

And while employers were being patted on the back into believing they could win their cases against unions, labor was getting the back of the hand by losing more appeals to the NLRB to resolve unfair labor practice charges.

The 1956 figures show a drop of 44 percent as union confidence in the board dwindled. In 1952, 75 percent of the unfair labor practice charges brought against employers were brought by unions. By 1956, this percentage had dropped to 63.

It doesn't take a posse to discover that, more and more, labor is finding the NLRB openly unsympathetic to its cases. The old gray mare is showing her heels.

Kammholz' black record

Year	Percentage of unfair labor practices charges against—		Percentage of unfair labor practices complaints issued against—	
	Employers	Unions	Employers	Unions
1948	77.3	22.7	69.2	30.0
1949	78.2	21.8	73.8	26.2
1950	77.0	23.0	77.8	22.2
1951	79.1	20.9	79.5	20.5
1952	79.0	21.0	83.1	16.9
1953	80.6	19.4	79.7	20.3
1954	73.7	26.7	72.0	28.0
1955	70.7	29.3	57.7	42.3
1956	66.9	33.1	44.0	56.0

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does the article state that we are protecting our labor as much as we protected it during the past years?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I regret to say that the article does not demonstrate that kind of consideration. It shows, to the

contrary, that that is not being done. The Senator from South Carolina has always been a friend of the working people, and he will find this article of great interest to himself and to his constituents.

Civil-Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, the question has been raised by Senator LAUSCHE, of Ohio, and others as to who is the author of the civil-rights legislation. This question has been asked many times in and out of the halls of Congress.

For the information of the United States Congress, I advise that the National Lawyers Guild on July 27, 1955, wrote the gentleman from Massachusetts, Hon. THOMAS J. LANE, chairman, Subcommittee No. 2, House Committee on the Judiciary, a letter, a copy of which was sent to the other members of that subcommittee, and amongst other things, that letter said:

> The National Lawyers Guild, which has pledged its full effort to secure a comprehensive civil-rights statute and which drafted the model civil-rights bill, urges you to report favorably upon one of the pending comprehensive bills, such as H. R. 389 or H. R. 3688, in this session of the 84th Congress.

On April 23, 1956, the National Lawyers Guild wrote the various members of the House Committee on the Judiciary, and, among other things, said:

> The guild drafted the model omnibus Civil Rights Act because we believe that the passage of legislation can have a strong effect upon the positive action of individuals, as well as providing a method of punishing those who violate the constitutional and moral principles of equal protection of the law and equal treatment regardless of race, color, or creed. The United States Supreme Court's decisions outlawing discrimination and segregation in public schools, universities, and recreational facilities have laid down a pattern which has already been followed in some parts of the country and in some aspects of life, and it only needs the coercive force of some additional Federal legislation to give the 14th and 15th amendments new life and strength.

Reference to hearings before Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 85th Congress, 1st session, pages 170–187, will show the contents of H. R. 389, and on pages 187–204 will be found H. R. 3688, both introduced in the 84th Congress.

Reference to the same hearings, pages 325–347 will show the legislation proposed by the then Attorney General, Hon. Tom Clark, before the House Committee on the Judiciary in the 81st Congress, together with his arguments and his legal discussions.

A casual reading of H. R. 389 and H. R. 3688, together with the legislation proposed by Attorney General Tom Clark in the 81st Congress, will completely demonstrate that there is nothing new and novel in the proposals of Attorney General Brownell which are now pending in Congress. Indeed, a study of that legislation will show that the same drastic powers for injunctive relief, to be instituted by the Attorney General, were then and there recommended. The only difference that I have been able to discover is that the Brownell legislation provides civil remedies, whereas the other legislation provided for civil and criminal remedies. With this single exception, there is a marked similarity.

Doubtless the National Lawyers Guild claims great credit for the pending legislation. It might be well to ask them if the Brownell legislation substantially represents their brain child.

Certainly it is interesting to observe that the omnibus legislation heretofore referred to, which the National Lawyers Guild in a resolution passed at their 1956 convention said they proposed, contains almost identical provisions relating to the setting up of a commission, the duties of the commission, the salaries of the commission, the use of uncompensated personnel, the establishment of a civil-rights division, and the appointment of an Assistant Attorney General, deals with the same provisions in the conspiracy statute on civil rights, and empowers the Attorney General to seek injunctive relief. Certainly, the Attorney General must have had these omnibus bills before him when he prepared this legislation, although it is possible that he did not investigate the authorship. I feel reasonably certain that the Attorney General did not know the claimed authorship of those omnibus bills, because he is proceeding to have the National Lawyers Guild listed as subversive.

Resolution Calling for a Study by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the Censorship Practices of Television and Radio Networks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, I have been shocked by recent reports that major television and radio broadcasting networks pursuant to pressures from minority groups, have been, as a matter of general policy, banning references in the texts of Stephen Collins Foster's songs which are allegedly objectionable to such groups.

This, to my mind, suggests strongly the type of action taken by communistic Russia in its suppression of certain styles of literary writing deemed by the despotic leaders in that country to be objectionable and "non-Marxist."

As of today, so far as I know, this policy has been made applicable to such of Foster's works as My Old Kentucky Home, Kentucky's State song, which is known and loved throughout the world. However, the logical application of such a policy might well equally apply to the literary works of Margaret Mitchell, William Faulkner, Mark Twain, Harriett Beecher Stowe, and to such currently popular musicals as Damn Yankee, The King and I, and so forth. The list could be a long one.

With a slight modification of the policy, according to the wishes of those who make the policy decisions for the major networks, the policy could be broadened so that most any type of economic, political, religious, or literary censorship could be invoked according to the likes or dislikes of the censor.

I maintain that these censorship acts are repugnant to our constitutional rights of freedom of speech. In fact, this is the worst incidence of "book burning" that has been called to my attention in the United States in modern times.

Of course, I am not criticizing the right of the networks or radio stations to edit material for adaptation to particular programs or for different uses. But there is quite a difference between such editorial license and a general policy banning particular phrases or references in literature, news, or other material.

Television and radio facilities are operated under license by a Federal agency and are granted monopolistic privileges in the dissemination of material to the general public. A thorough study of this policy should be made for this reason. I offer the following resolution calling for an investigation by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the policy and the authority of the Federal Communications Commission to cope with it in the light of our constitutional safeguards.

Report of National Projects Committee to the Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SID SIMPSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the report of the national projects committee, which was unanimously adopted by the recent 44th national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington on May 16–18, 1957.

The permanent national projects committee of the congress consists of an outstanding expert on water-resource problems from each of the major drainage basins of the United States. They serve without compensation of any kind whatsoever and bear all of their own expenses when coming to Washington and while here serving on this committee.

The committee's purpose is to assist the sponsors of projects in preparing and presenting their data, so that they may be placed in line for approval. The projects recommended by the committee and endorsed by the congress are vigorously pressed for inclusion in the Government's public-works program, and appropriations or allocation of funds sought therefor.

We are grateful to the members of this committee for their public-spirited service in an effort to assist the Congress of the United States and the governmental agencies charged with the responsibility for these public works, as well as the people in the areas to be served thereby.

The members of the committee who served at its recent session follow:

NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS—PROJECTS COMMITTEE

Representative SID SIMPSON, of Illinois, chairman.

New England division: William S. Wise, executive secretary, Flood Control and Water Policy Commission, State of Connecticut, Hartford, Conn.

North Atlantic division: Brig. Gen. James H. Stratton, United States Army (retired), consulting engineer, New York, N. Y.

South Atlantic division: H. H Buckman, consulting engineer, Jacksonville, Fla.; vice chairman.

Southwestern division: Dale Miller, executive vice president, Intracoastal Canal Association of Louisiana and Texas, Houston, Tex.

Lower Mississippi Valley division: Hu B. Myers, chief engineer, Department of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La.

North Central division: Al Hansen, comptroller, city of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minn.

Missouri River division: John B. Quinn, executive vice chairman, National Resources Development Association, Inc., Lincoln, Nebr.

Ohio River division: J. I. Perrey, chief engineer, Indiana Flood Control and Water Resources Commission, Indianapolis, Ind.

North Pacific division: Harold B Say, manager, Washington office, Portland, Oreg., Chamber of Commerce.

South Pacific division: Col. Thomas J. Weed, United States Army (retired); Washington representative, city and county of San Francisco, Calif.

Western Inter-Mountain Region: E. W. Rising, Washington representative, State Water Conservation Board of Montana, Helena, Mont.

REPORT OF THE PROJECTS COMMITTEE TO THE 44TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS

MAY 18, 1957.

Hon. OVERTON BROOKS,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In pursuance of the call of the president, your projects committee met on May 16, 1957, to consider the projects submitted since the last session of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. Hearings were afforded all who made appearance.

The committee at this session has examined 56 proposals embracing all resource improvements with which this congress is concerned, including navigable waterways, harbors, flood control, soil conservation, reclamation, and water conservation.

Of the proposals examined, this committee is convinced that 14 constitute projects sound in conception, needful, and sufficiently advanced in status to warrant endorsement, involving a total estimated cost of $354,467,000. Five proposals appear to be without sufficiently advanced development to warrant project endorsement at this time, but are believed to be meritorious and entitled to further consideration by this committee, if and when additional information may be adequate to warrant an endorsed status. We find that on 23 proposals, surveys have been authorized but the reports on such surveys have not been completed and we therefore recommend in these cases that the congress request the appropriate authority to complete reports of its investigations and surveys as soon as practicable in order that action may be taken toward classification by this congress. We find nine proposals, which on preliminary examination appear to be desirable and needful, and we accordingly recommend that engineering and economic investigations of survey scope be made in these cases with a view to developing projects for subsequent authorization. Of the proposals investigated, we find five are without necessary data or sponsorship to enable the committee to reach a reasonable conclusion on their worth. However, we desire to give the applications sympathetic consideration, and, if possible, offer to the proponents the services of this congress in reaching a solution to their problems. We have, therefore, not classified these but have suggested that the secretary communicate with the applicants concerned and request additional data upon the receipt of which further consideration will be given to their proposals.

Appendix A of this report sets forth in detail a list of all proposals and projects examined and the action taken thereon.

At the time of our national convention last year, the Congress of the United States was considering an omnibus rivers and harbors and flood-control bill. The bill had passed both houses of the United States Congress but was vetoed by the President. In the Presidential veto message, reference was made to 32 reports which had not been completely processed to Congress which was one of the principal reasons for the veto. In addition, questions were raised concerning 8 other reports which had been submitted to Congress prior to the veto message, making a total of 40 reports which were questioned by the President. As the Members of this Congress know, bill S. 497, which was reported by the Senate Public Works Committee contains all the projects that were in the vetoed omnibus bill, with the exception of one project. In addition, several projects and items were added to the bill in the committee and on the Senate floor. The bill is now before the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, for consideration.

Since consideration of the 1956 omnibus bill, additional river an harbor and flood-control surveys have been completed by the Corps of Engineers and reports thereon submitted to Congress. Some of these reports which are scheduled for consideration by the committee recommend construction of additional needed improvements for navigation, flood control, and other allied water uses. A total of 104 reports is included in the present authorization bill now under consideration by the House Public Works Committee; 53 are flood-control projects estimated to cost $552 million; 40 are navigation projects estimated to cost $120 million; and 8 are shore-protection projects costing an estimated $5 million. The bill also includes increased river basin authorization for 15 basins and 2 Bureau of Reclamation projects estimated to cost $863 million. The additional 15 favorable reports of all types now before Congress not included in the bill as passed by the Senate have a total estimated cost of $107 million. All of these projects have been found to be economically justified and the anticipated benefits will materially exceed the costs. Many of the pending recommendations in the reports included in bill S. 497 and those being considered by the House Public Works Committee are of high importance to the Nation's expanding economy, and should be provided as soon as possible. Your projects committee, therefore, recommends that the Congress of the United States be requested to give consideration to early authorization of these projects, and to the appropriation of funds for construction.

Since our last meeting, there has been much activity in connection with the Federal civil-works construction and investigation program and in the field of water resources policy. During the past weeks and at the moment another great flood is taking its toll of destruction in the States of Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Heavy inundation is occurring on the Red River below Shreveport, La., and the flood on this river is the second highest of record. Several lives have been lost, and the estimated damage to agriculture, residential and industrial areas in Texas alone has exceeded an estimated $50 million. The damages in this area would have been much larger had not some of the authorized flood-control projects been constructed and placed in operation. Existing projects on the Trinity and Brazos Rivers have prevented an estimated $88 million in damages and authorized projects would have prevented an additional estimated $29 million of damages. The devastating floods in New England and Pacific Northwest during the past few years are still fresh in our minds, and show that much remains to be done in the field of flood control particularly in the determination of the feasibility of projects for the prevention of these flood damages and the loss of human lives. Where or when another great flood may strike is not known, but it could be in any river basin at any time.

As we all know, the Corps of Engineers' survey program is nationwide, and it includes specific investigations called for by Congress in recognition of the devastating floods in the Northeastern States and the Pacific Northwest in 1955 which authorized investigations of these areas to determine the practical means of reduction of loss of human lives and damages to property. Reports recommending flood-control works, on the most severely damaged areas in New England, have been completed and submitted to Congress by the Corps of Engineers and are included in the omnibus bill now before the Congress. As a result of hurricane damage to our coastal and tidal areas, Congress has authorized an investigation to study hurricanes to include the securing of data on hurricanes' frequency and behavior and the establishment of means to prevent loss of human lives and property damage. It is evident, therefore, that the development of plans for the control of floods and minimizing the destructive force of hurricanes are of paramount importance. Areas severely damaged by the hurricanes of 1954 have been studied in detail and less severely damaged areas are receiving a general appraisal to ascertain if more detailed study is warranted. Field reports on two of the areas most seriously damaged have been completed and are now in the process of being submitted to Congress. In this connection we must never for one moment lose sight of the objectives of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in supporting this great program of water resource development.

The need for funds for carrying out investigations for flood control, hurricanes, navigation and related uses is as urgent at this time as any time in the history of this program. The investigations should go forward in order that a well-planned construction program can be made for the time that construction funds can be made available

for those projects which may be recommended as a result of these studies and that are authorized by Congress. We have watched with concern the gradual retardation of the navigation and flood-control program of the Corps of Engineers, not only for new work but also for maintenance and investigations. Although much work remains to be done in the field of water resource development throughout the country, we feel that the problem is being expertly handled by the Federal agencies in cooperation with the States concerned. The need for full-scale development of our water resources program is greater today than ever before. The projects committee, therefore, considers it highly important that sufficient funds be provided in order that the Federal agencies can carry out their respective water resources program in an orderly fashion. Your committee is concerned over the large backlog of investigations authorized by Congress to be carried out by the various Federal agencies and recommends that appropriations be increased at this time in order that the backlog be reduced and that a reserve of projects may be built up for activation at such time as the economy of the Nation demands.

We wish to commend the various Federal agencies involved in the investigations and provisions of water resources projects on their improvements in development of sound procedures of project analysis and formulation, and the increased cooperation among agencies and with the States and local interests. We believe that true partnership between the Federal Government and its citizens lies not only in the sharing of costs, but also from the common sharing of problems and their development and solution. An example is the pending hurricane studies being made along the eastern and southern seaboards, in which the States, local municipalities, and many of the Federal agencies are cooperating in making these studies.

We renew our previous recommendations that existing and proposed channels for inland navigation be studied with a view to developing a practical and rational method for evaluating their strategic importance. The Committee hopes to develop procedure under which, when specifically requested by the proponents, it may assign to navigation projects and to the navigation features of multiple-purpose projects a "strategic value rating" in addition to and aside from their peacetime economic value. These ratings would express the Committee's judgment as to the relative strategic value of any project for inland navigation according to the standards, considerations and definitions which the Committee may develop. The purpose of assigning such ratings is to develop our strategic reserve of inland-water-transport facilities and the coordination of these with facilities for other means of transport in order to aid local, State, and Federal Governments to assess the value of the contribution by a project to such reserve so that it may have weight in the overall evaluation of the project. A high strategic value rating is not at all necessary to the complete economic justification of a project, but such a rating may serve to justify a project not justified by the application of strictly economic criteria alone. In general, the Committee would include in its definition of "strategic value" any existing or potential use, device, or feature of a project which may be reasonably expected to importantly and specifically contribute to the defense potential of the United States, either military or civilian, with respect to its overall rail, highway, waterway, and air-transport network.

The Committee further recommends that the executive vice president be authorized to issue to proponents, when requested by them, an appropriate certificate of classification with respect to any project classified by the Committee.

Attention is called to the fact that the recommendations made by the President's special committee appointed to review the rules governing the applications by proponents for the classification of projects are pending before the board of directors, and that promulgation of the revised rules may be expected within the near future. The Committee recommends a careful study of these by all future applicants.

Respectfully submitted.

SID SIMPSON,
Chairman.

NOTE A.—A project which has been placed in class II, III, IV, or V by the Committee may be reexamined from time to time upon due application and the submission of material supplementary information, with a view to advancing its classification; but no project will be reported upon by the Committee more than once in each year.

NOTE B.—Attention is called to the fact that when a project is once put in class I, endorsed, such status continues and it is unnecessary to follow up at subsequent sessions with new applications. All projects endorsed by the Congress, upon the recommendation of the Committee, retain their status until finally constructed, unless such action is rescinded by the Congress, and the Congress stands pledged to do everything possible to assist in reaching that goal.

APPLICATIONS FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECTS RECEIVED BY THE PROJECTS COMMITTEE

APPENDIX A

[Letter "R" following the project number indicates revision of a previous application]

CLASS I. PROJECTS ENDORSED

Endorsed.—This means that the committee is convinced that the project is sound, needful, and sufficiently advanced in status, and should be promptly constructed in the public interest.

Docket No.	Name of project	State	Division
898-R-1	Salem, Mass., Harbor Navigation project	Massachusetts	New England.
898-R-2	Salem Harbor	do	Do.
740-R-1	Annisquan River dredging	do	Do.
852-AR-3	Norfolk Harbor	Virginia	North Atlantic.
870-R-3-B	Delaware River, Philadelphia to Trenton	New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware	Do.
875-R-5	Whitewater River East Fork at Brookville	Indiana	Ohio River.
883-R-3	San Juan Harbor, improvements to channels and turning basins	Commonwealth of Puerto Rico	South Atlantic.
1041-R	Dillon Reservoir project	Ohio	Ohio River.
1042-R	Oscoda harbor of refuge	Michigan	North Central
1043-R	Whitefish Point harbor of refuge	do	Do.
1044-R	Harrisville harbor of refuge	do	Do.
1045-R	Morehead City Harbor and Beaufort Inlet	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1063	Monroe Reservoir on Salt Creek near Harrodsburg	Indiana	Ohio River.
1072-A	Toledo Harbor	Ohio	North Central.

CLASS II. PROJECTS CLASSIFIED AS MERITORIOUS

Meritorious.—This means that the committee believes that although the project is not sufficiently advanced in status to warrant its present endorsement, it is meritorious and open for further consideration by the committee.

Docket No.	Name of project	State	Division
793-R-3	Cleves flood protection	Ohio	Ohio River.
890-R-3	Kahului Harbor improvements, Maui	Territory of Hawaii	South Pacific.
909-R	Seedskee project	Wyoming	Missouri River
910-R	LaBarge project	do	Do.
1039-R-2	New York and New Jersey channels	New York and New Jersey	North Atlantic.

APPLICATIONS FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECTS RECEIVED BY THE PROJECTS COMMITTEE—Continued

[Letter "R" following the project number indicates revision of a previous application]

CLASS III. EXPEDITIOUS REPORT ON AUTHORIZED SURVEY REQUESTED

Expeditious report on authorized survey requested.—This means that the committee believes the Congress should request the engineering authority to expedite the report of its investigation and survey of the project to the end that appropriate further action may be had thereon in regard to classification by the Congress.

Docket No.	Name of project	State	Division
2-R-2	St. Johns River, Fla., Jacksonville to the ocean, 42-foot channel	Florida	South Atlantic.
720-R	Cape Fear River Basin	North Carolina	Do.
788-R-3	Waccamaw River	do	Do.
806-R	Neuse River Basin	do	Do.
843-R-4	Levees east of Chandlerville (Sangamon River)	Illinois	North Central.
870-R-3-A	Delaware River, Philadelphia to the sea	New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware	North Atlantic.
967-R	Breakwall—Port of Cleveland	Ohio	North Central.
979-R	Wilmington Harbor (lower Cape Fear River)	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
994-R	Flint River channelization flood control, and hydroelectric development	Georgia	Do.
1033-R	Drum Inlet	North Carolina	Do.
1040-R	Hudson River channel	New York and New Jersey	North Atlantic.
1057	Penobscot River	Maine	New England.
1060	Corea Harbor	do	Do.
1062	Passaic River Basin flood control	New Jersey	North Atlantic.
1066	Black River Bay as the port of northern New York	New York	North Central.
1067	Tunnel Mill Dam	Iowa	Do.
1068	Lobster Cove—Gloucester Anchorage Basin	Massachusetts	New England.
1069	Knik Arm Causeway Dam	Western Alaska	North Pacific.
1070	Siuslaw River and bar	Oregon	Do.
1071	Rogue River and tributaries survey report	do	Do.
1072-R	Toledo Harbor	Ohio	North Central.
1073	Snake River project, Mountain Home division, Guffey unit	Idaho	North Pacific.
1074	Sanford-Titusville Canal	Florida	South Atlantic.

CLASS IV. PROJECTS RECOMMENDED FOR SURVEY

Recommended for survey.—This means that the committee believes that sufficient showing on behalf of the project has been made to warrant further examination in the form of an adequate survey by an appropriate agency of the Federal Government.

Docket No.	Name of project	State	Division
1053	Big Bay harbor of refuge	Michigan	North Central.
1054	Little Lake harbor of refuge	do	Do.
1055	Lac LaBelle harbor of refuge	do	Do.
1058	Breakwater, Monhegan Island	Maine	New England.
1059	Portland, Maine, harbor	do	Do.
1061	Stave Island	do	Do.
1064	Additional improved anchorage in Norfolk Harbor	Virginia	North Atlantic.
1065	Channel from Old Point to Newport News	do	Do.
1077	Wilkes-Barre-Hanover township flood-control project	Pennsylvania	Do.

Supreme Court Aids Subversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the July 1957 issue of the National Republic, a monthly magazine published in the Nation's Capital and devoted to the cause of fundamental Americanism.

The editorial follows:

SUPREME COURT AIDS SUBVERSION

All America is shocked and dismayed by the recent trend of Supreme Court decisions aiding and abetting Communist penetration and subversion in the United States. In little more than 1 year our Supreme Court has handed down 12 major decisions undermining and weakening the Federal Government's drive against Communist infiltration at home. In short, the Supreme Court has given the green light to communism.

In the opinion of the president of the National Association of State Attorneys General (Louis C. Wyman, of New Hampshire), these recent hairsplitting decisions "have set the United States back 25 years" in its efforts to control world-wrecking communism. Moreover, these decisions, Attorney General Wyman continued, "have made infinitely more difficult, if not impossible, the taking of testimony relating to subversive activities."

The upshot of the Supreme Court's recent rulings is a new doctrine in United States law, namely, that communism is merely another political party, worthy of all protections and securities under the Constitution of the United States, just like Republicans, Democrats, or any other American organization.

"By equating lawful politics with communism," Attorney General Wyman added, the Supreme Court now has "suggested to America and to the world that Communists and communism may not, in fact, be subversive of our way of life, at all."

One vigorous and determined piece of new legislation promptly enacted by Congress could set the Court right on this scope, in short order.

Communism, in whatever country, is always the instrument of a foreign government. Communism comes only to destroy. The first power of any government is to protect itself against destruction by its enemies. This fact our present Supreme Court appears to neglect and ignore.

Some of the Court's recent rulings have limited drastically the scope of antisubversive laws and regulations. Others have made it much more difficult for the Justice Department to prosecute violators of these laws.

In still other cases, the Court has ordered new trials for Communists on technical grounds, which dissenting Justices have called picayunish and immaterial.

The Court has split on most of these rulings. But three members have concurred in all critical decisions. They are Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black.

Justice Felix Frankfurter has concurred in all but two decisions. Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., has concurred in all 5 of the decisions reached since he joined the Court.

Justices Tom C. Clark and Harold H. Burton have dissented from most of these decisions. Justice John M. Harlan has concurred in 6 and dissented in 4. Justice Charles E. Whittaker has not participated in any of the cases.

Here is a brief summary of the Court's actions in the 12 cases:

Communist Party case: Sent back to the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) on grounds that testimony of three of the Government's witnesses might be tainted. The Board threw out the disputed testimony, but the Court will have to pass again on its finding that the party is Soviet-dominated.

Cole case: Limited the Government's security-risk program (under President Eisenhower's Executive Order 10450) to employees in sensitive jobs.

Slowckowner case: Invalidated a provision of the New York City charter providing for dismissal of city employees who took the fifth amendment.

Gold case: Ordered a new trial for Labor Leader Ben Gold, who had been convicted of lying when he signed a non-Communist affidavit. The decision was based on the technical ground that FBI agents, investigating alleged jury tampering in another case, had questioned members of the Gold jury. The Government has dropped prosecution of Gold as a result.

Kremen case: Ordered new trial for Shirley Kremen and two others convicted of sheltering Communist Leader Robert C. Thompson while he was a fugitive from justice. Court held FBI lacked warrant to search the mountain cabin in which Thompson was hidden.

Nelson case: Upset conviction of Communist Leader Steve Nelson in Pennsylvania State courts on ground Smith Act gave Federal Government exclusive jurisdiction in

subversive cases. This decision has effectively blocked all prosecutions of subversives under State laws.

Nelson case: Ordered new Smith Act trials for Steve Nelson and four others on ground testimony of one Government witness might be tainted.

Konigsberg case: Overruled California courts to force applicant to be admitted to bar even though he refused to answer questions about past Communist associations.

Schware case: Upset New Mexico's refusal to admit to the bar an applicant who admitted past Communist Party membership.

Jencks case: Ordered new trial for Clinton E. Jencks, labor leader convicted of lying when he signed non-Communist affidavit, on grounds trial court had denied him access to FBI reports.

In another case the Court freed 5 of 14 California Communist leaders and ordered new trials for the other 9, convicted for violation of the Smith Act, which outlaws organizations advocating overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

The Court set aside State court convictions of 3 Communist leaders in Ohio; ordered new trials in the contempt convictions of a top Communist Party leader of Illinois and another in North Carolina; ordered a review of the cases of 6 Communist leaders in Michigan; reversed a decision of the New Hampshire courts in the case of a professor who defied the State's investigative body; upheld the right of individuals to defy congressional committees through fifth amendment pleadings and denounced an assumption of guilt of those adopting the protection.

Finally, the Supreme Court ruled in late June that Secretary of State Dean Acheson was without authority to dismiss John Stewart Service for alleged Communistic sympathies and associations during his State Department career.

Taken together, all of these decisions appear to parrot the doctrine so long advocated by the Fund for the Republic, the Ford Foundation satellite allegedly set up to block and frustrate effective Federal action against communism.

Perhaps it is time for a rigorous congressional inquiry into the personnel of the Supreme Court below the level of Justice?

Who writes these anti-American decisions and then converts a majority of the Justices to their Red logic?

History will long remember the words of Congressman HOWARD W. SMITH, of Virginia, author of the Smith Act of 1940. Commenting on the recent trend of Supreme Court decisions, Representative SMITH told the House:

"I do not recall any case decided by the present Court which the Communists have lost."

For the Particular Attention of Name Callers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, under date of July 23, 1957, I received the following letter from Emil Ammann of the Newark Spinning & Stamping Co., Hillside, N. J. The third paragraph of this letter is particularly pertinent and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues.

The letter follows:

NEWARK SPINNING & STAMPING CO.,
Hillside, N. J., July 23, 1957.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MULTER: I wish to express my opinion that I am 100 percent in agreement with the speech made by Senator MANSFIELD which I read in the Newark Sunday News of July 14, 1957.

As long as we fear the Communists and don't trust them, I think it is the wrong time to talk disarmament, air inspection, and making the H-bomb obsolete. As long as we have the H-bomb, there will be no major war. In my opinion it is like advising the enemy that we are throwing our weapons away, disconnecting our burglar alarm and inviting them to our store.

The best thing to do is first make friends. This can be done by doing business with the nations. Eliminate calling other countries names and creating hatred through the newspapers, radio and television. After we have made friends and trust one another, then it will be the proper time to talk disarmament.

I trust that you will give this letter your sincere consideration.

Very truly yours,

EMIL AMMANN.

This Could Be Carried Too Far

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, in connection with a resolution that I have introduced today concerning certain censorship policies of major radio and television networks, under unanimous consent I include an editorial appearing in the Lexington Herald on July 23, 1957, following my remarks:

THIS COULD BE CARRIED TOO FAR

NEW YORK, July 20.—The big radio and television networks have banned the original texts of My Old Kentucky Home and Way Down Upon the Swanee River and hereafter any writings to which any racial group or people might take exception will have to submit to censorship. Words or phrases which come within the ban must be removed and substitute words provided on all networks, it was stated.

If words or phrases of any of our old songs are offensive to any groups they should, by all means, be changed. It will not affect in any great degree the sense or theme of the songs but it will serve to satisfy every listener—and, after all, isn't that what we want?

Let's take that Stephen Collins Foster masterpiece, the song that is known from one end of the world to the other, the song that makes every listener wish that he were a Kentuckian, and make it presentable for network singing:

"The sun shines bright, in my old Kentucky home."

(Make it brightly, as the original is offensive to grammarians.)

" 'Tis summer, the darkies are gay."

(The networks already have made this "people.")

"The corn top's ripe, and the meadows in the bloom."

(This is a reflection on the farmer who hasn't cut his meadow.)

"While the birds make music all the day."

(By permission of Petrillo and American Federation of Musicians.)

"The young folks roll on the little cabin floor."

(Word folks is archaic, use folk. Cabin indicates poverty and we suggest "On FHA housing project" floor.)

"All merry, all happy and bright."

(The way we were before the radio and TV took over.)

"By and by hard times comes a-knockin' at the door."

(This is awful. Hard times in 1957. "Comes a-knocking" is poor grammar and rather silly, don't you think?)

"Then my old Kentucky home, good night."

(With about one more of these foolish rules, you've said it.)

Thank goodness we were permitted to see the late Al Jolson drop on one knee and implore the "mammy" of the old South to take him once more on her knee before the broadcasters made him change it to "mother" or "mam-ma," or told him that he would have to substitute "nurse of my childhood" for the familiar:

"Just hang my cradle, mammy mine, on that Mason-Dixon line."

What this country needs more than anything right now is a songwriter to write a ditty to the broadcasters of America under the title, "How Silly Can You Get."

By what new name shall we call Abie's Irish Rose? Shall we ban from the stage My Fair Lady, Dam Yankees, and the Mikado because they reflect upon some group or nation? Shall we forego hearing the great George Jessel talk over the telephone with "mamma" or miss the delightful humor of Molly Berg as she takes off on the members of her race?

This Is the Right Place

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, this is a very special day for Utah and for Utahans wherever they may be. One hundred and ten years ago, on July 24, 1847, the main body of the first party of Mormon pioneers—143 men, 3 women, and 2 children—emerged from a nearly impenetrable mountain fastness into the then-barren valley of Great Salt Lake.

What they, and the thousands who followed them, accomplished in that arid wilderness is too well known to need repetition here. By faith, energy, and determination they subdued the wilderness and made the desert bloom. I know of no epic to match it in American history.

Now, each July 24 is a Utah holiday during which Utahans of all faiths pause to celebrate this anniversary of pioneer settlement; to pay homage to these forebears of ours; to draw on accomplishments of the past for the inspiration for the future.

I invite my colleague to share with us the pride we feel in these Mormon pioneers who made such a contribution not only to their church but to their country. I am sure no one can ever visit that now-green valley without affirming the prophetic words of Brigham Young: "This is the right place."

Call To Save Hoover's FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by Mr. George Todt, noted columnist of the Valley Times, North Hollywood, Calif., which I feel is worthy of attention by every Member of this Congress.

The editorial follows:

CALL TO SAVE HOOVER'S FBI

"We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is."—Charles Evans Hughes.

The highest court in the land is no better than the men who comprise it. There is no such thing as sancrosanct courts or sancrosanct judges. The latter are human beings, the same as everyone else, and as such are not infallible in their wisdom.

What is a judge? In the majority of cases in the United States—especially in the lower courts—he is simply a lawyer who runs for election and beats his opposition. Then he sits on the bench for the duration of his term in office and interprets the law as an umpire, or sorts, between opposing lawyers who try their cases in his court.

Generally speaking, the judge does not make the law—that is left to the legislators to do. However, in his interpretation of the law, a judge can sometimes cause the same effect to be felt by the public as though he had actually created new legislation on his own. If his decision is a wise one, it will probably hold up—even if challenged in higher courts. But what if his decision is an unwise one?

Well, such a judicial decision—granting that it is a wrongful one, for whatever the reason might be—stands an excellent chance of being defeated and reversed when argued in a higher court upon appeal at a later date. And if not—the public can make it quite certain that judges who render uncalled for verdicts may have a hard time standing for reelection the next time up to bat. That's one way to recall unpopular jurists.

But what about the higher court justices who do not run for office, being instead appointed to their positions? In the case of the Supreme Court, tenure is for life. No member of the high court has ever been impeached or removed from office. So what recourse does the public have if it considers that such an august body might get out of line? The answer is a difficult one to give with any degree of assurance.

However, I believe that the strongest remedy—all things considered—lies within the reach of Congress alone. For the President only has the power of appointment—not removal—of the members of the Court. Once they are in, he cannot touch them. Not so with Congress, however. For the legislative branch of our Government has the authority to make the kind of legislation which can be so crystal clear in its intent that it defies misinterpretation.

"In questions of power," said Thomas Jefferson in the Kentucky resolution, "let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution." Man, in this case, might be applicable to some of our "modern justices" of the Supreme Court. It would not be untrue to say that there is a large segment of the American people today who would like to see the chains of the Constitution applied here.

One such person, as an example, might be J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington. The last I heard, Mr. Hoover seems to think that the opening of FBI files to defense counsel in the future might spell the doom of his department's efficiency—not to mention the very lives of many of his intelligence agents.

Another such person who seems deeply offended at this incomprehensible action, according to a female INS reporter, is none other than Ike, himself. In the account I read, he seemed infuriated at the lack of judgment which put the FBI in such an untenable position. If this was his true reaction, and I assume it was, the President has about 95 percent of all normal Democrats and Republicans in his corner on this one.

I cannot think of anything this country needs more as an emergency measure today than for Congress to come up immediately with some strong remedial legislation which will reverse the effect of this unfortunate decision of the Supreme Court regarding disclosure of the FBI files. Barring that, Mr. Hoover might as well be told to close up his shop.

Judge Edgar Hoover has been one of the greatest bulwarks in the Nation against the criminal Communist conspiracy directed by Moscow over the years against our country. He has used his power wisely and well—as a first-rate American should do inherently. To hamstring this man and his dedicated mission would be a miscarriage of justice. It's up to Congress to see that it doesn't happen. Note to Capitol Hill: Roll up your sleeves and get on with it, Mr. Congressman.

Resolution of Condolence, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a resolution adopted by council No. 275 of the Knights of Columbus, Kingston, N. Y., which was presented to Mrs. Jean McCarthy, beloved wife of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy:

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His infinite wisdom, to withdraw from our midst Senator Joseph R. McCarty; and

Whereas Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was a Brother Knight of Columbus and a distinguished Senator of the United States; and

Whereas Senator Joseph R. McCarthy performed an outstanding service by alerting the American people to the dangers of Communists in our Government; and

Whereas by his death, we have sustained the loss of a beloved patriotic American: Therefore be it

Resolved, That while we bow in submission to the will of our Heavenly Father, Kingston Council No. 275, Knights of Columbus, does nonetheless mourn the loss of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy who has been taken from us; and be it further

Resolved, That this testimonial of condolence, duly signed and sealed, be offered to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy, as an expression of heartfelt sympathy in her deep affliction; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution of condolence be spread on the minutes of this meeting; and be it further

Resolved, That this meeting of May 6, 1957, be closed in prayerful memory of our departed brother, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Annuities of Civil Service Retirees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I have submitted a statement, which I would like to have extended in the RECORD, to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in support of legislation to increase the annuities of retired civil-service workers.

My statement follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN GEORGE P. MILLER TO THE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE IN BEHALF OF H. R. 786, A BILL TO INCREASE ANNUITIES PAYABLE TO CIVIL SERVICE RETIREES

Mr. Chairman, the annuities of the civil service employees who have retired under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act should be immediately increased. Such an increase is long overdue and the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Congress should act with dispatch and celerity in bringing a bill before the House to effect such an upward adjustment.

If the President exercises his prerogative and vetoes such a measure, as has been rumored, let the responsibility of his action rest with him.

You and I are both aware of the story recently carried on the front pages of newspapers across the Nation, recounting the fact that the cost of living hit a new alltime high for the ninth month in a row. High prices for food, medical expenses, rents, clothing, et cetera, affect each American consumer alike. No one is spared. However, annuitants on a fixed income are the hardest hit when prices soar since their incomes remain static.

If we analyze the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports we find that the costs of food varies seasonally while there has been a progressive increase in such items as rent, utilities, transportation, and medical expenses. Rent has been going up and up since the removal of rent control.

A superficial argument and one, incidentally, without moral foundation, has been made against increasing annuities on the ground that it would be inflationary. Any money coming into the economy is inflationary if you want to be highly technical, I suppose. But is the money we will pay these people any more inflationary than the rise in the cost of gas granted the big utilities? Is it more inflationary than the arbitrary rise in the cost of steel—basic to our economy—or the stock dividends paid by the big corporations out of their recordbreaking high earnings? Is it more inflationary than the continued tight-money policy of the administration? I do not think it is.

Annuitants are caught in a trap. They are victims of the times and their troubles are not of their own making. We are in a position to free them from this entrapment and, as far as I am concerned, we have a moral obligation to do so.

Three-fourths of all retired Federal workers receive less than $150 a month. It is difficult for them to maintain a decent stand-

ard of living and, at best, all they can afford are the bare necessities of life.

The money paid to annuitants circulates. It is not impounded where all the people do not enjoy its benefits. They are, by necessity, forced to spend the money they receive. And they spend it at the lowest level of our economy, for food, clothing, medical care, and shelter. It goes to small business and professional men. It is the kind of spending that stimulates small business—the kind of spending we need right now.

The Congress should give serious consideration to changing the formula by which pensions are computed under the Civil Service Retirement Act. Armed services personnel receive retirement pay based on the current salary of the job. In my opinion this is a reasonable solution to the problem.

Pensions received by retired Government workers are presently based on the average annual salary of the highest continuous 5 years of the beneficiaries former employment. In most cases the employee reaches his maximum salary just before he retires so it is his average last 5 years salary that becomes the "multiplier." His years of acceptable service times the "multiplier" is his retirement pay.

The salaries of Government employees have steadily risen over the long years in rough proportion to the higher cost of living. However, this raise has not been a real one but a relative one. So we find that the percentage paid into the retirement fund, a denial of buying power, is relatively the same.

For instance, a letter carrier earning $1,800 15 years ago paid into the fund, on the basis of a 6 percent contribution, $104 a year. A letter carrier today, paid at the median level of $4,000 a year, would contribute to the retirement fund about $250 a year. The benefits paid to the annuitant and to the man in active service when he retires will be in substantially the same proportion.

The $104 that the annuitant denied himself during his working life would have purchased 1,040 loaves of bread at 10 cents a loaf. The $250 paid by today's worker into retirement would purchase about 1,130 loaves of bread at 22 cents a loaf.

So if we interpret the 2 contributions in terms of loaves of bread, we find them in the same relative position to their respective incomes. But under the fallacious theory that we pay fixed annuities, we give no consideration to the fact that the annuitant today can buy only 473 loaves of bread—a decline in purchasing power of over 50 percent.

Congress should give earnest thought to the continuing plight in which retired Government workers find themselves and enact legislation to give them a deserved increase in their annuities which will enable them to live with the dignity that is the inherent right of all Amercans. They paid for their security: It is not a gift. They are not responsible for the galloping cost of living. They served us well. Let us be as generous with them.

Postal Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK

SPEECH

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I stand firmly for the passage of H. R. 2474 because I believe it is a step in the right direction. To my mind, the amount is insufficient to meet the needs of the postal employees but it is better than no increase at all.

The postal workers are the representatives of our Government. They deserve to be treated as regular employees who have the best interests of their country at heart. They perform an arduous multitude of tasks daily and the monetary reward should be sufficient to meet the requirements of this inflated period and enable them to live without resorting to duplicate employment and borrowing.

The average postal employee, be he clerk or carrier, is proud of his job but he is disheartened because of the apathy of his employer, the United States Government, to give him his due. The lag in equitable pay for post office employees is regrettable. This bill will offset some of the deficiency. Despite my succession of votes for cuts in the budget, I fully believe that I am justified in supporting this measure.

Elmer Lewis

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD T. MILLER
OF
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, all of us who knew him are saddened by the death of the late superintendent of the House Document Room, Elmer Lewis. The thoughts of many are expressed in a tribute written by my constituent and recent page, Robert Bauman, which follows:

THE PASSING OF A FRIEND—ELMER LEWIS

(By Robert Bauman)

Whenever a well-known personage dies many people are sorrowed by his death, but each day many people pass away whose names never make the front pages. In their own way they may have been as great or greater, but their work did not perhaps lead them into the daily limelight. Such a man was Elmer Lewis.

To a new page in the 83d Congress, Mr. Lewis appeared as a man who was not to be trifled with, sitting behind his familiar roll-top desk, distinguished by his iron-gray hair and his serious mien. He seemed to be a man who knew his business and truly he was. For over a generation he ran the House Document Room, revamped its antiquated bill system, organized and streamlined it into a smooth-running part of the legislative machinery. Much can and will be said about the work he did as superintendent, but he had another and more personal side that he often displayed.

He was warm and human underneath his stern dignity. He was not too busy to engage a young page in political discussion about his own Wisconsin or the page's native State. He greeted you with a reserved but friendly "Good morning" amidst ringing phones and buzzing activity. He always knew the answers to innumerable questions, or at least where to find the answer.

In recent months he had been ill and many were the people who inquired at the Document Room as to his health. The boys in the Document Room chipped in and bought him a TV set to occupy his hours. It was taken for granted that he would soon be well enough to return to the job which he had served for 37 years. But that was not to be. On last Monday afternoon he passed away in his 61st year, a victim of cancer.

Many friends will mourn his passing and remember him kindly for years to come. Life here at the Capitol goes on as usual, but Elmer Lewis has left his mark on the job he filled so capably and on the many of his friends. We are perhaps all better for having known him, even if but for a short time. May he rest in peace.

Resolutions Adopted by Polish-American Veterans of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the resolutions adopted by the Polish-American Veterans of Massachusetts in convention assembled in Fall River, Mass., on June 7, 8, and 9, 1957.

The resolutions follow:

Whereas Poland has struck the first effective blow for freedom within the Soviet orbit in Poznan and shook the very foundations of the Communist colonial empire; and

Whereas this was accomplished without bloodshed by the organized and asserted will of the Polish people and not through voluntary liberalization of Communist tyranny; and

Whereas in the present circumstances, the Polish people cannot go farther on the road toward complete liberalization without moral and material support: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Polish American Veterans of Massachusetts, assembled in Fall River, Mass., June 7, 8, and 9, for its ninth annual convention, go on record in favor of immediate economic aid for Poland from the United States Government to help weaken communism not only on the peripheries of the Red empire, but deep within the Soviet orbit; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, and Federal Government representatives from the State of Massachusetts.

Whereas an economic aid pact with the United States and the Warsaw government was signed June 7, 1957; and

Whereas the agreement was much smaller than that asked for by the Warsaw government, but nevertheless, proves that the United States does want to aid the Polish people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Polish American Veterans assembled at their ninth annual State convention in Fall River, Mass., June 7, 8, and 9, 1957, acclaim the signing of the economic aid agreement and commend the United States Government policy in aiding the people of Poland.

Whereas members of the United States Armed Forces are required to serve involuntarily outside the limits of the continental United States; and

Whereas the United States through the status of forces treaties negotiated by the State Department with various foreign governments, has agreed to place American military personnel under the jurisdiction of the courts of such foreign nations; and

Whereas such action has deprived United States citizens serving in the military service of their constitutional rights; be it

Resolved, That the Polish American Veterans of Massachusetts in the annual convention session protest this action by the United States Government and respectfully urge the termination of such treaties; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, and Federal Government representatives from the State of Massachusetts.

Submitted in accordance with the wishes of the Polish American Veterans of Massachusetts.

EDWARD L. LEPKOWSKI,
State Department Commander.

Charges of Illegality Unfounded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the following was released by my office today and speaks for itself:

PRESS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES O. PORTER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, Democrat, Oregon, has received from the American Law Division of the Library of Congress a memorandum which rejects the stand taken by Representative B. CARROLL REECE on July 19 that Congressman PORTER violated any statutory provisions in connection with his recent trips to Latin American countries.

The memorandum had been requested by PORTER from the Library of Congress through the Legislative Reference Service. It is signed by Spencer M. Beresford, an attorney and Assistant Chief of the American Law Division.

Beresford notes that in his remarks of July 19 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 103, No. 128, p. 11067) concerning Mr. PORTER's trips to Costa Rica and Colombia, Representative REECE implied that PORTER had violated two Federal statutes. Beresford said the statutory provisions to which REECE appears to refer are 18 U. S. C. 1914 and 22 U. S. C. 611. The first section forbids the receipt by a Government official or employee of any salary in connection with his services * * * from any source other than the Government of United States * * *." The other section defines the term "agent of a foreign principal," for purposes of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as any person who does specified acts within the United States as the agent of a foreign government or political party.

In his memorandum Beresford says in part, "The facts as set forth by Representatives PORTER and REECE do not seem to substantiate the charge that either of these statutory provisions have been violated." He goes on to say that it does not appear that any salary "or indeed any money or its equivalent was received by any of the persons involved."

"As to the Foreign Agents Registration Act," said Beresford, "it does not appear that any of the prohibited acts has been committed." Beresford points out that REECE's "explicit charge is limited to 'accepting moneys' from a foreign government or other entity. To this extent, it would again be sufficient to point out that no money or its equivalent appears to have been received by any of the persons involved." •

After reading the American Law Division memorandum Congressman PORTER said, "It is really too bad that my distinguished colleague did not request a similar opinion before he decided to make his remarks on the subject."

A United Nations Force To Police the Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, more and more people are interested in the possibility that out of the present United Nations emergency force in the Middle East a permanent U. N. force may develop. I am glad to be a sponsor of a concurrent resolution now before this House which urges that such a force be made a regular agency of the United Nations. Recently I had called to my attention an excellent editorial statement on the value of creating such a body. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert the following cogent editorial from the April 10, 1957, issue of the Appleton, Wis., Post-Crescent:

A PERMANENT UNEF?

When the United Nations created its special expeditionary force to police the peace in the Middle East it was doing something no international organization had ever done before. For the first time a military force, financed and commanded by a world organization, was sent into a troubled area to prevent angry nations from flying at each other's throats.

It is true that the allied forces in Korea were called a United Nations army and flew the U. N. flag from their headquarters, but that was pretty much a euphemism since some members of the U. N.—the Communist bloc—were openly helping the so-called enemies of the U. N. And while General MacArthur and his successors were dignified with the title of "U. N. commander" they actually served under the orders of their own country's government.

UNEF, of course, does not possess any real military power; its guns are merely symbolic of the moral prestige of the world organization. It is now becoming popular to refer to its as a "para-military" force, by which is meant that it is military in its organization and method of operation, but is not really expected to fight.

Nevertheless there exists the possibility that from this modest beginning the U. N. may be able to develop a real military police force of its own. It is now universally recognized that the U. N. is completely helpless in the face of big power determination or intransigence, the big powers in reality being only two in number—the United States and the U. S. S. R. If on any occasion either of those powers decides to go to war the U. N. has no power to stop it, except insofar as the other nations of the world expressing themselves in the U. N. forum are able to shame one or both of these adversaries into keeping the peace.

But it has long been recognized that wars between great powers often develop from disputes involving lesser nations, and here is where a permanent UNEF might be extremely valuable. The extraordinary prestige the U. N. enjoys in many parts of the world—even, apparently, in Communist and neutralist countries—means that most if not all of the world's governments would think twice before opening fire on soldiers wearing the U. N. emblem. Why not, therefore, use the technique of sending in a UNEF anywhere and any time some local or regional dispute threatens to flare up into a major war?

It is, of course, both inefficient and confusing to organize a new UNEF every time one is needed, as was done in the Middle East crisis. There would be great advantages to having a permanent UNEF already organized and ready to move whenever it received orders from the Security Council or General Assembly. It has been pointed out, for instance, that if such a force had been available during the few days of the Nagy regime in Hungary, it might have been rushed into the breach and the tragedy of Budapest avoided.

Since the United Nations is merely an association of states and not a world government, any military forces it might possess can be sent into a country only upon the invitation of that country's government. Yet undoubtedly there will be other situations in the future like the Hungarian case just cited, where a government in danger of being overwhelmed by internal or external forces might cry for help.

From the viewpoint of the United States there are a number of advantages to the idea of a permanent UNEF made up of soldiers from the small nations of the world. If that force should ever actually get into a fight, this country would not be supplying the bulk of the blood and treasure as was the case in Korea. Furthermore, if the UNEF turned out to be a really effective police force, even if limited in its scope and area of influence by big power realities, this country might be relieved of the job of becoming the world's policeman, a job into which we seem to be being pushed more and more every day.

A permanent UNEF, of course, would not be the U. N. military force that was envisioned by the U. N.'s founders back in 1945, but that was an impractical if wonderful dream, for the world had not then, nor has it yet, moved far enough along the road of good sense to give the U. N. that real weapon with which to keep the peace. But the UNEF could be a small beginning toward those "legions of peace" that the world must have some day if it is not to be blown apart by the nervous trigger fingers of impetuous or fearful men.

Tribute to Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, my friend, Mrs. Joe McCarthy, the widow of the late Senator, has sent me a copy of the American Order of General Pulaski presented to her in memory of her late husband, and also a citation presented to her by the Queens County Chapter of Catholic War Veterans, after a solemn high mass in Forest Park that she attended.

Mrs. McCarthy would like these two documents incorporated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and it is my great honor to place them here at this time.

"By their deeds you shall know them" (Matthew 7: 20).

When God in His wisdom saw fit to send us Joseph R. McCarthy, He showed His love for us, because as an individual and as a United States Senator, this man emptied himself, by undergoing every kind of personal humiliation and condemnation, so that the menace of atheistic communism might be disclosed. Joseph R. McCarthy worked and fought toward peace in order that we, as children of God, might know that peace.

The people of these United States are deeply grateful that the Senator accepted the challenges of God's call.

On their behalf, the Queens County Chapter, Catholic War Veterans of the United States offers a pledge of gratitude and fealty to this man who was not content with giving anything less than life itself as the measure of his love and devotion.

"Greater love than this no man hath—that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John 15: 13).

JAMES E. MCGINNISS,
First Vice Commander, Chairman.
EDWIN G. HOOD,
Commander.

The holy sacrifice of the mass offered in memory of Joseph R. McCarthy by Rev. Joseph A. Grogan, sponsored by Queens County Chapter Catholic War Veterans, June 29, 1957, Forest Park, Queens, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN ORDER OF GENERAL PULASKI

This certificate of award is presented to Mrs. Jean McCarthy, in respectful tribute to the memory of her illustrious husband, the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy, United States Senator, of Wisconsin. A valiant American, an ardent patriot, a learned statesman, brilliant and fearless legislator. A courageous warrior who made the supreme sacrifice in zealous defense of his country, civilization, and Christianity against the ever-growing menace of the evil and diabolic forces of communism.

In witness whereof the American Order of General Pulaski has caused these present to be signed by its authorized officers and directors and its official seal hereunto affixed this 28th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1957.

[SEAL] K. STEFAN POMICIESKI,
President Emeritus.
CORNELIUS W. PUSZYNSKI,
President.
REV. ANTHONY F. ZASOUSKI,
Chaplain.
ROBT. M. HARRISS,
Chairman.
JOSEPH A. SUOZZI.

Phony Pay Raises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News:

PHONY PAY RAISES

House passage of a $320 million pay raise for postal workers leaves unanswered the question: Where do we get the money?

Without the increase, the postal deficit is estimated at about $650 million in the current year. This would make it close to a billion.

Thus, if Congress passes the postal rate increase—estimated to raise receipts by about half a billion, the Federal budget will be right back where it was before—running top speed to keep from losing ground.

And there is no assurance that the rate increase will get past the Senate, where it still is holed up in Senator OLIN JOHNSTON'S Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

This gives an idea what's happening to all the sudden heroic vows concerning economy which were prompted by an avalanche of mail from back home when the $71.8 billion budget was unveiled. The scare is wearing off.

Postal workers should, of course, get a living wage, but it should come out of the services they have to sell. The Post Office should be put on a pay-as-you-go basis, and even the pending bill won't do that.

By failing to face up to its fiscal responsibilities, Congress is handing out a pay raise which will be worthless before it is received. The inflation it helps encourage will rapidly make the buying power of the workers less than it was before.

The Voice of Poland in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I was more than happily surprised to find in the August issue of the Catholic Digest a most interesting article on Michael Kecki: Voice of Polonia, written by Ralph Land.

I have know Michael Kecki for many years and I am proud to say he is one of my constituents from that garden spot of the world known as Greenpoint, in Brooklyn. He is of Polish immigrant origin, who has never forgotten the country of his birth and who every day strives to bring that country into closer alliance with the United States.

In his heart and in his soul Michael Kecki knows that it is not difficult to achieve a closer link between Poland and America as far as the people are concerned. From personal exchanges and correspondence taking place between Polish subjects and their relatives and friends in this country he knows that deep roots bind them.

The Poles are a freedom-loving people, just as are the people of our own country. In fact, from our history we well remember the great contributions toward the freedom and independence of the American people by men like Gen. Casimir Pulaski and Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko, whose names have become watchwords for liberty.

The Polish nation, suffering under the yoke of communism, is no longer able to maintain full spiritual, religious, and cultural ties with the western nations as it did in the past. Nevertheless, the Polish people remains indomitable. Today, tiny sparks of freedom are burning in the hearts of men and women throughout Poland. These sparks should be kindled, not allowed to die.

This is what Michael Keck is doing day in and day out, encouraging his people here and their kinsmen in Poland, keping them informed on all developments, urging them on to greater deeds and patience, supporting them spiritually and morally. For these efforts, I wish to congratulate Michael Kecki for the wonderful job he is doing and to express my sincere hope that his beloved Poland will soon be completely liberated from Communist slavery.

The article on Michael Kecki reads as follows:

MICHAEL KECKI: VOICE OF POLONIA—POLISH-AMERICANS HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO HIM FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY

(By Ralph Land)

Michael Kecki (pronounced Kenski) has often been referred to as "the Polish Arthur Godfrey." He is America's foremost Polish-language radio broadcaster. As the stirring, persuasive Voice of Polonia he is heard 6 days weekly over Station WLIB, New York City, by hundreds of thousands of Polish-Americans in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

"He is not just a radio personality," commented one of his fans on the occasion of Kecki's 24th anniversary on the air. "He is a tireless champion of every good Polish and American cause."

Kecki has earned commendations from Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower; from Governors Dewey and Harriman of New York and Meyner of New Jersey; from Mayor Wagner of New York City, and from Cardinal Spellman for his activities on behalf of civic and religious organizations.

For 18 years he has beamed on-the-spot descriptions of the great parade down 5th Avenue in honor of General Pulaski, the Polish-born hero of our Revolutionary War.

He was the last radionewsman to interview Ignace Paderewski, world-famous pianist, composer, and Poland's first Premier, before his death in 1941; the first to interview Jarecki, the Polish flier who fled from the Reds in a Russian Mig and made international headlines; and the first to place before a microphone Polish Captain Cwiklinski, of the steamship *Batory*, who escaped from his Sovietized ship to the United States.

For Kecki, one of his most thrilling broadcasts occurred last January 8. It was a special recording received from Poland several hours before: the eloquent voice of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the primate of Poland, who had been just released by the Communists after years of internment. His 20-minute sermon delivered at the Christmas midnight Mass ended with a special blessing and a prayer for peace. The cardinal had never been heard before in America.

Kecki's daily broadcasting schedule runs the full range of gladness and sadness. It includes world news, Polish interorganization news, announcements of weddings, funerals, births, baptisms, appeals for various charities, appearances of guest speakers, recordings of favorite Polish artists, and songs and commercials.

He receives hundreds of letters every week. Many ask his help in solving personal problems. His aid is frequently enlisted to locate missing persons or even strayed pets.

Once a mother begged him to find her son's dog. "My boy is heartbroken," she wrote, "and he is very sick. I'm afraid he will die if his dog isn't found. Please, Mr. Kecki." He told the story on the air. Some listeners in the boy's neighborhood began a house-to-house search. They finally spotted the dog in a basement. It had been stolen.

A 14-year-old girl vanished. The police could find no trace of her. Newspaper

notices brought no result. The mother was certain that her daughter had amnesia. She turned to Kecki.

Although fruitless weeks passed, Kecki doggedly kept broadcasting her description. His perseverance paid off. He finally snagged a listener who remembered seeing the girl. She was sharing an apartment with a girl friend in another city. The informant quickly got in touch with the parents, who brought their daughter home. They gratefully made a substantial donation to charity in Kecki.

Michael Kecki was born in Warsaw, Poland, on January 20, 1908. It was a troubled time for the city, then under tyrannical Russian rule. Many families were mourning loved ones who had died in the 1905 uprisings. A Russian edict had dissolved Polish schools and had forbidden study of the beloved Polish language.

Michael grew up in this bitter, frustrating atmosphere. But he, like other Polish youngsters, was taught secretly to read and write the mother tongue.

When a free Poland emerged on November 11, 1918, educational opportunities began to develop. Kecki attended the medical officers' school, and then completed his studies of dental surgery at Warsaw University. At 22, he was a dental surgeon and a reserve lieutenant in the Polish Army.

He decided to study advanced dental techniques in the United States. He arrived in New York on September 29, 1930, full of enthusiasm for a medical career. His spirits were quickly dampened, however, when he found that his training was insufficient to practice dentistry in this country, and that his plan would require more years of dental study than he could afford. To sustain himself, he turned to part-time work on a Polish daily newspaper.

Kecki's fine command of the Polish language turned out to be his greatest asset. He was drawn to radio broadcasting. In January, 1933, he became an announcer on station WWRL. He then worked for several other stations, constantly improving his delivery, and finally secured his own Polish hour over WHOM, a program which he conducted for 14 years.

Once he had decided to make a career of radio, he set out to become acquainted with all Polish organizations, religious, civic, and social. "I put my heart into this effort," he says, "because I sincerely desired to be of service to the Polish people. I felt that their problems were mine, and that they needed a voice in this country."

In 1949, Kecki transferred to station WLIB. He has been there ever since.

He is a member of Cardinal Spellman's Committee of Catholic Laity in New York, and incessantly carries on appeals for various Catholic and other charities. He has raised funds for the eight Wozniak children of Elizabeth, N. J., orphaned by fire; for the building of a new chapel for the Carmelite Sisters (who later dedicated the Sacred Heart altar in St. Teresa's chapel to his listeners); for a water pump for a leper colony in Tarafangana, Madagascar; for a new bus for the St. John Kanty prep school of Erie, Pa. His listeners' generosity has enabled Father Mroz, a Polish Franciscan missionary in Nagasaki, Japan, to visit several small islands in his mission. Kecki's appeals brought the priest a motorboat.

During World War II, Kecki worked furiously for both the land of his birth and his adopted country.

When Polish soil was brutally overrun by Nazis and Communists alike, he conducted a 3-month campaign to equip the Polish army with flying ambulances. He collected thousands of dollars to aid impoverished Polish children. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Kecki began a series of war bond drives. He was cited six times by the United States Treasury Department for distinguished service.

In 1944 he married a girl named Natalia Lesniewski, a graduate of Brooklyn college. "Although my wife was born in Brooklyn," says Kecki, "she speaks Polish fluently and has worked with me on many broadcasts during the last 12 years. She is my severest critic and my guiding angel."

The Keckis live in a modest two-family house in the predominantly Polish section of Greenpoint, Brooklyn, close to five Catholic churches. The family attends St. Alphonsus Church directly across the street from their home. They have two children, Thomas Michael, 10, and Natalia Alice, 1. "Tommy," says Kecki proudly, "frequently gets up to serve at the 6 o'clock low mass."

Kecki has twice been honored by the Constitutional Polish Government in London. In 1951, he was decorated with the Gold Cross of Merit. On October 28, 1956, he was awarded the Polonia Restituta, its highest civilian award, for meritorious service on behalf of a free Poland.

After a new wave of Polish immigrants arrived in America in 1946, Kecki, an active member of the Polish Immigration Committee, geared himself to the huge task of helping in their rehabilitation.

As a former immigrant, now a proud American citizen, he stresses the importance of rapid Americanization of newcomers. "We try to explain to our listeners the advantages of becoming American citizens, and of learning the language and customs of this country," he says. For more than 7 years, as a public service to the Polish people, he has presented, with the help of Attorney William T. Maday, a program entitled "The Law in Your Life," dealing with everyday legal problems and the functions of various branches of Government.

Kecki thinks that the Polish immigrant need not and should not quench his love for Poland in the process of becoming an American citizen.

He points out that any patriotism worthy of the name is an unselfish thing, and that the man who has a deep reverence for the traditions and culture of his native land will probably make the best kind of American citizen. Several hundred thousand Polish-American radio fans will tell you that an excellent confirmation of this theory is to be seen in the life of Michael Kecki.

Alcoholic Beverage Advertising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith, by request, a petition signed by residents of my congressional district, in support of legislation to get alcoholic-beverage advertising off the air and out of the channels of interstate commerce.

The petition follows:

To Our Representatives in Congress:

Since alcoholism, delinquency, and mental illness have become serious health problems, we your constituents of Connecticut, earnestly implore you to use the powers of Congress to get alcoholic beverage advertising off the air and out of the channels of interstate commerce and thus protect our people and the rights of States to prevent advertising of commodities which have been declared unlawful by the rights of local option granted them under State law.

Rev. W. F. Tyler, Canterbury; Frank P. Smith, Sterling; Doris B. Smith, Sterling; Alan M. Fairbank, Central Village; Keith D. Stephenson, Moosup; Richard E. Burgess, Moosup; Esther M. Brewin, Oneco; Mrs. Hilda Gercic, Moosup; Nellie Robinson, Moosup; Bertha Matthews, Moosup; Ethel P. Gallup, Moosup; Cecil L. Bolten, Plainfield; Edith Bradford, Plainfield; Maude Krauss, Plainfield; Walter Wells, Moosup; William T. Burns, Wauregan; Ida L. Sayes, Canterbury; Alice K. Willoughby, Canterbury; Russell P. Robinson, Canterbury; Margaret W. Robinson, Canterbury.

Florence H. Lewis, Willimantic; Mattie E. Flint, Willimantic; Ama B. Spellman, Willimantic; Charlette C. Woodward, Willimantic; Edna L. Russell, Willimantic; Ethel M. Woodward, Willimantic; Mabel A. Lanphear, Willimantic; Harold Watson, South Windham; Mrs. Thurl Hilts, Willimantic; Gertrude Boronno, Willimantic; Gilbert H. Watson, Willimantic; Helen F. French, Willimantic; Olive G. Carlyon, Windham; Edward H. Carlyon, Windham; James D. Currin, Willimantic; Herman C. Slater, Willimantic; Vivian J. Ide, Willimantic; Joseph H. Eller, Willimantic; Eva D. Ide, Willimantic; Howard A. Haling, Willimantic.

Eva E. Huntington, North Grosvenordale; Rev. W. Harold Robinson, North Grosvenordale; Edythe W. Adams, North Grosvenordale; Owen B. Adams, North Grosvenordale; Elizabeth P. Bixby, North Grosvenordale; Gladys S. Green, North Grosvenordale; Carrie E. Robbins, North Grosvenordale; Marion Mills, North Grosvenordale; Mary Cassells, North Grosvenordale; Geneva C. White, Thompson; Elmer M. White, Thompson; Rose Munyan, North Grosvenordale; Geo. C. Munyan; North Grosvenordale; Mertice Svenson, North Grosvenordale; Annie E. Lathrop, North Grosvenordale; Mary Eddy, North Grosvenordale.

Mrs. Marcia S. Neubert, Manchester; Mrs. Muriel W. Smith, Hartford; Mrs. Pauline Whitehouse, New Britain; Mrs. H. D. Jameson, Meriden; Mrs. H. H. Tingley, Ansonia; Mrs. H. R. Nelson, Brooklyn; Mrs. M. Jos. Twomey, Danielson; Mrs. E. L. Keach, Danielson; Mrs. Ivanhoe McCollum, Danielson; Mrs. Earle E. Sylvester, Danielson; Mrs. Nellie L. Moran, Danielson; Mrs. R. E. Allen, Danielson; Mrs. F. H. Hopkins, Brooklyn; Mrs. Susan M. Cooper, Brooklyn; Miss Winifred Buskey, Brooklyn; Miss Grace M. Stanton, Danielson; Mrs. Clifford H. Startweather, Danielson; Miss Jeanette P. Mercer, Danielson; Mrs. Pearl P. Mercer, Danielson; Mrs. Greta B. Tewgood, Danielson; Mrs. A. D. Pierce, Brooklyn; Mrs. Ethel G. Lyon, Danielson; Mrs. W. A. Rawson, Danielson; Mrs. R. H. Greene, Danielson.

Mrs. Winworth Canter, Cromwell; Miss Helen B. Hagen, Middletown; Mrs. Ralph A. Christie, Middletown; Ralph A. Christie, D. D., Middletown; Helen N. Ryan, Middletown; Harriet B. Paterson, Middletown; Ruth B. Harvey, Middletown; Carl C. Harvey, M. D., Middletown; Mabel E. Rogers, Middletown; Grace H. A. Rogers, Middletown; Mrs. William G. Foye, Middletown; Mrs. Robert Ostergren, Middle Haddam; Mrs. Theodore House, East Hampton; Mrs. Helen S. Dow, East Hampton; Mrs. Ruth D. Berwick, East Hampton; Mrs. Ursula R. Rich, East Hampton; Mrs. Rolland D. Lynn, East Hampton; Mrs. Grace D. Bevin, East Hampton; Ruby Kavanaugh, East Hampton; Thelma Fellows, East Hampton; Ruby E. Hills, East Hampton; Hilda N. Hitchcock, East Hampton; Lura A. Bailey, East Hampton.

William Balch, Bolton; Margaret H. Balch, Bolton; Norma Jean Danielson, Bolton; Richard K. Danielson, Bolton; Mary Ellen Longstreet, Bolton; Philip E. Longstreet, Bolton; Charlotte K. Haggis, Bolton; Mildred E. Olmsted, Bolton; Eva W. Elliott, Bolton; Walter F. Elliott, Bolton; Flora B. Johnson, Bolton; Thomas C. Johnson, Bolton; Rev.

Theodore W. Chandler, Jr., Bolton Center; Audrey R. Chandler, Bolton Center; Howard P. Jensen, Bolton; Jessie B. Jensen, Bolton; William C. Higgis, Bolton; Richard B. Mather, Bolton Center; Merle L. Mather, Bolton.

Donald C. Wright, pastor, Putnam; Ernest Atwood, Mansfield Center; Archie Blair, Mansfield Center; Mr. and Mrs. Vincent C. Mitchell, Arnston; Ruth E. Bushnell, Knight House, WSTC; Eva M. Blair, Mansfield Center; Marjorie S. Eisnor, Brooklyn; Gailey Johnson, Wellemantic; Norman Nicoters, Vernon; Harold Z. Eisnor, Warrenville; Joan Clair Palmer, Eagleville; Lilly W. Wilson, Willimantic; Robert Benzinger, Hebron; Marion O. Johnson, Andover; Bertha Briggs, Willimantic; Mary Crouch, Mansfield Center; Elsie G. Marsh, Mansfield Center; T. Arthur Barrons, Mansfield Center; G. B. Bunalum, Mansfield Center.

Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Anderson, Storrs; Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Gifford, Storrs; Mr. and Mrs. Richard Sprague, Willimantic; Lawrence Larkin, Storrs; Kenneth A. Palmer, Storrs; Charles J. Corcoran, Storrs; Dianna Gardiner, Storrs; Mr. and Mrs. V. E. White, Storrs; Dorothy Gardiner, Storrs; John C. Hillard, Washington; Philip P. Linderson, Eagleville; Virginia Shepardson, Storrs; Samuel Shepardson. Storrs; Mildred S. Cummings, Storrs; Lillian J. Dorr, Storrs; Arthur J. Dorr, Storrs.

Mrs. Lena F. Davis, Willimantic; Arthur H. Arnold, Willimantic; Mrs. Ernest Slater, Willimantic; Mrs. ——— Maume, Willimantic; Marilyn Slater, Willimantic; Ernest Slater, Willimantic; Dorotha Judy, Willimantic; Mrs. Irene R. Smith, Willimantic; Mrs. Jennie Randall; Willimantic; Mrs. Eva D. Ide, Willimantic; Harold Merritt, Willimantic; Fred H. Barnes, Willimantic; Robert Kazanin, Willimantic; Eugene Conner, Coventry; Steven Kopytko, Willimantic; Alice M. Davis, Willimantic; Mrs. A. W. Gates, Willimantic; A. W. Gates, Willimantic; Edwin Cross, Sr., Willimantic; Mrs. Edwin Cross, Sr., Willimantic.

Grace A. C. Harens, Niantic; Clifford B. Clark, Niantic; Mary C. Leland, Waterford; Ethel D. Barrows, New London; Mary Brooks, Waterford; Hancy B. Burdick, Waterford; Gertrude R. Hanby, Niantic; Florence Clark, Niantic; Bessie S. Roach, Niantic; Sue M. Rogen, Niantic; Carrie M. Beckwith, Niantic; Harriet B. Chapman, Niantic; Rev. Edith M. Northrop, Niantic; Ruby M. Beckwith, Niantic; Lila Anderson, Niantic; Harriet H. Hunt, Niantic; Horace H. Hunt, Niantic; Arthur E. Havens, Niantic; Axel Anderson, Niantic.

Bertha Lyman, Lebanon; Ada I. Lanphear, Lebanon; Clara Gillett, Baltic; Mrs. Edward Jones, Lebanon; Mrs. A. E. Wheata, Lebanon; Mrs. C. S. Goodrim, Lebanon; John Alden Zullary, Lebanon; Hannah M. Taylor, Lebanon; Howard R. Bushnell, Norwich; Wm. J. McNeely, Norwich; Mr. and Mrs. James Mullein, Uncasville, Conn.; Charles E. Johnson, Gales Ferry; Mrs. Astrid McNeely, Norwich; Erwin McNeely, Norwich; Rev. Rickey, Norwich; Wendell S. Connie, Gales Ferry; Mrs. Howard Rickey, Norwich; Eleanor Hobensach, Norwich; Florence Comrie, Gales Ferry; Mrs. Marvin Johnson, Norwich.

Legislation To Provide Penalties for Membership in Communist Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill, the title of which is as follows: "To provide penalties for membership in the Communist Party and to permit the compelling of testimony relating to such membership and the granting of immunity from prosecution in connection therewith."

I have long felt that the Communist Party should be outlawed and that it should be a crime to be a member thereof. In view of the recent Supreme Court decisions, I am introducing a bill to that effect and also to try and take care of the situation whereby a congressional committee can hold appropriate hearings and obtain information from the witnesses to avoid the problem recently raised by the Supreme Court decisions.

In view of the many Federal laws now on the statute books including the Smith Act, the Communist Control Act of 1954, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the various sections having to do with compelling testimony and granting immunity, this is an extremely difficult and complicated situation.

The approach is as follows: to amend the first paragraph of section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954 in order to provide specific penalties for membership in the Communist Party, if such membership is acquired or retained with knowledge of the purpose or objective of said party. At the present time, section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954 provides generally that members of the Communist Party, or any similar organization shall be subject to the provisions and penalties of the Internal Security Act of 1950 as members of a Communist-action organization.

The amendment made by my bill substitutes specific criminal penalties in lieu of incorporating the provisions and penalties of the Internal Security Act of 1950 by reference. The reference to similar organizations is eliminated as duplicating in substance the so-called membership clause of the Smith Act—Title 18, United States Code, section 2385—which provides penalties for membership in "any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow," by force or violence, of the Government of the United States, or the government of any State, Territory, District, or possession thereof. The bill provides penalties of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment of not more than 10 years or both for anyone who knowingly and wilfully becomes or remains a member of the Communist Party with knowledge of the purpose or objective thereof.

Section 2 of the bill amends section 3486 of title 18, United States Code to permit congressional committees to compel testimony with respect to membership in the Communist Party in the course of any investigation relating to interference with, or endangering of, the national security or defense of the United States by "membership in the Communist Party or its successors." Section 3486 is also amended to permit any grand jury or court of the United States to compel testimony with respect to violations of section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954, as amended by the first section of the bill. Section 3486 contains established procedures for compelling any such testimony and for the granting of immunity in connection with such testimony.

As a former member of the FBI I have always felt that the Communist Party should be outlawed as such. However, I realize that the argument that this will cause them to go underground has considerable validity. But in view of the recent Supreme Court decisions it seems to me that we must now squarely face this matter and pass appropriate legislation relative thereto. I intend to send copies of the bill and an explanation thereof to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, to the Attorney General, and to other leading authorities requesting their opinion as to whether or not this bill will meet with their approval and be of benefit toward preserving America from continuous attack by members of the Communist Party and fellow travelers.

Rights for Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to take note of the fact that 109 years ago this month—on July 19, 1848, a group of pioneer women met in Seneca Falls, N. Y., in what was the first women's convention for the purpose of establishing civil, political, and economic rights for women.

This movement has progressed greatly over the years. A part of the success of this great movement may be attributed to a score or more of women who we are proud to claim as residents of the State of Connecticut.

At this time I wish to list some of these worthy women who contributed toward the development of women's rights in this Nation.

EMMA WILLARD, FAMOUS FOR HER WORK IN EDUCATION OF WOMEN, BORN IN BERLIN, CONN., 1787

"When she presented her plan for improving female education to the New York Legislature and to the public in 1819, she became a national figure, and her experiment, the Troy Female Seminary, founded in 1821, exerted an ever-widening influence on the development of our country. Because of the change wrought in public opinion by her daring and persistent stand for the higher education of women, seminaries and high schools for girls, and, later, women's colleges and coeducational universities, became a permanent part of our national life.

"Not only women, but men and the whole Nation have reaped the benefits of the intelligent useful womanhood developed under her plan of education."—from Emma Willard by Alma Lutz.

She was honored by Lafayette when he visited this country in 1833, and has been honored by receiving votes for the Hall of Fame.

Emma Willard's ancestor, Thomas Hooker, a minister of the Church of England, heard of the very fertile land in Connecticut and

brought 100 of the members of his church through the wilderness from Massachusetts over an Indian trial to Connecticut where they founded the town of Hartford. Being isolated from other settlements this new settlement developed an independent government and "in 1662 was granted the most liberal charter of any colony, giving the people power to elect their own governor and make their own laws." This advanced the point of view was prominent in Thomas Hooker's descendents of whom Emma Willard was the most famous.

ISABEL BEECHER HOOKER, FAMOUS FOR HER WORK IN MOVEMENT TO GAIN SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

Daughter of Dr. Lyman Beecher, the illustrous preacher. Born in 1822 at Litchfield, Connecticut.

"Individually and collectively, the Beecher family is considered the most remarkable in the United States"—From The Part Taken by Women in American History, by Mrs. John A. Logan.

Married John Hooker of Hartford, descendant of the Thomas Hooker who founded Hartford. Famous as a great leader in reforms among which was the movement for woman suffrage which she considered the "greatest movement in the world's history." Became active worker in this movement. In 1869 she called and managed a 2-day convention in Hartford at which time the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association was formed.

WOMEN WHO WERE PROMINENT IN WORK FOR EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN BEFORE VOTE WAS OBTAINED

The following women came down from Connecticut and picketed the White House in protest against "taxation without representation," were arrested and thrown in prison.

Miss Catherine Flanagan of Hartford: Father came to this country as Irish exile because of his efforts in movement for Irish freedom. Sentenced to 30 days in Occoquan workhouse because of picketing, August 1917.

Miss Minnie Hennesy of Hartford: Business woman, sentenced to 6 months for picketing, October 8, 1917.

Miss Edna Purtell, sister of the distinguished Senator Purtell of Connecticut: Sentenced to 5 days in District jail for participation in Lafayette Square meeting, August 1918—a meeting to ask for votes for women.

Mrs. Ruby E. Koenig of Hartford: Sentenced to 15 days in District jail for taking part in Lafayette Square meeting, August 1918. Suffered sprained arm from rough treatment by police.

Miss Elsie Hill of Norwalk: Daughter of Ebenezer J. Hill, 21 years a Congressman from Connecticut. Teacher of French in District of Columbia High School. Sentenced to 15 days in District jail for speaking at Lafayette Square meeting.

Miss Ruth Scott of Bridgeport, munitions worker: Sentenced to 5 days in District jail for participation in watchfire demonstration, January 1919.

Mrs. Elsie Vervane of Bridgeport, munitions worker and President of Woman's Machinist Union of Bridgeport: In January 1919 came to Washington with group of union women and took part in watchfire demonstration; arrested and served 5 days in District jail.

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed of Norwalk: Daughter of late Congressman Ebenezer Hill. One of few qualified women geologists of country. Vice president of D. A. R. Served 3 days in District jail in 1917, 15 days in 1918, and 24 hours in January 1918.

Mrs. C. Weaver of Bridgeport: Worked during war in munitions factory. She and her daughter Eva Weaver sentenced for attendance at watchfire demonstration to 5 days in District jail in January 1919.

Mrs. Helen Chisaski of Bridgeport: Munitions worker and member of Machinists Union. Sentenced to 5 days for attending watchfire demonstration, January 1919.

Mrs. W. J. Bartlett of Putnam: Leader of Connecticut State Grange. Sentenced to 60 days for picketing, August 1917.

Mrs. Josephine Bennett of Hartford: Member of D. A. R. and Colonial Dames. Sentenced to 5 days in District jail for attendance at watchfire demonstration, January 1919.

Mrs. H. C. Havemeyer, of Greenwich: One of the most eloquent speakers; active in Liberty Loan campaigns. Sentenced to 5 days in District jail, February 1919.

Mrs. Betty Gram Swing, of Westport: Abandoned stage career to take part in picket demonstration of November 1917. Sentenced to 30 days in Occoquan workhouse.

Mrs. W. D. Ascough, of Hartford: Former Connecticut State chairman of National Woman's Party. Studied for concert stage in London and Paris. Abandoned concert stage to devote time to suffrage. Sentenced to 15 days August 1918.

OTHERS WHO TOOK PROMINENT PART IN WORK FOR EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Mrs. Katharine Hepburn, of Hartford: Wife of Dr. Thomas Hepburn. Mrs. Hepburn led as president of the Suffrage Association in the fight for the vote for women until Congress and the States ratified the 19th amendment.

Miss Clara Hill, of Norwalk: Daughter of Congressman Ebenezer Hill; a leader in Connecticut in the movement for suffrage.

Mrs. Mary Beard, of New Milford; worked with her husband on many famous books on American history. Aided the suffrage campaign by her writing.

Geraldine Farrar, of Ridgefield: Famous opera singer.

Nora Stanton Barney, of Greenwich: Granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton who was one of those who called the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848.

Dr. Emily Barringer, of New Canaan: Leading woman physician. Chairman of the committee that got through the law enabling women physicians and surgeons to serve in the Armed Forces during the last war. First woman to be an interne in a hospital. Author of the book Bowery to Bellevue which was made into a movie. President of the Connecticut branch of the National Woman's Party at present.

Miss Katharine Hepburn, of Hartford: Well-known actress. Has continued the work of her mother for equality for women by working for the equal-rights amendment now pending before Congress. She stated recently, "In the theater there is complete equality between men and women. We have men and women playwrights, actors, scenic artists, and stage managers. If that has worked well for the theater, why not for all other walks of life? I have just heard that hospitals where internes have gone to war hesitate to take women doctors, although they are available, and industrial concerns that need doctors still discriminate against women doctors. This attitude toward women goes back to the fundamental law of our country. That is why I support the equal-rights amendment to the Constitution."

Clare Booth Luce, of Ridgefield: Only woman ever a member of Congress from Connecticut and first woman diplomat to a major power. Gave valiant and able aid to the equal-rights amendment when in the House. Began as a young girl in her teens when she carried the equal-rights banner in the pageant in celebration of Seneca Falls Day at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1923, which celebrated the 75th anniversary of Seneca Falls Day, as we are honoring the 109th anniversary today.

Looking Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith an editorial from the Metropolitan Herald, Atlanta, Ga., for Wednesday, July 17, 1957, entitled "Looking Ahead."

The information given in this editorial should help to correct erroneous beliefs in the minds of some who are misinformed regarding actual conditions in the South.

The editorial follows:

LOOKING AHEAD

It is hard to believe that many really intelligent people actually believe the debate now going on in the United States Senate over the civil-rights bill is designed entirely to protect the voting rights of the Negro.

It is also hard to believe that the daily press of the Nation can print some of the arguments they are printing without holding their tongue in their cheek.

Too, it is doubly hard to believe that the fundamental principle on which this country was founded, the right of every man to a jury trial by his fellow citizens, would be scuttled through an obvious political maneuver to pull the wool over the Negro voters' eyes, without a great outcry of protest rising throughout the Nation.

If, through the efforts of Negro vote solicitors who pose as "statesmen," the right to trial by jury is scuttled in this case, it is not too farfetched to believe that there will be other attempts following to completely drop this important phase of American justice.

As is pointed out in a story on the front page, the political columnists and others in the North and East would have their readers believe that the entire opposition of the South to passage of the civil-rights bill now pending in the Senate, is because of the fear that Negroes will vote in hordes in coming elections.

What the Northern columnists do not seem to realize is that there is little or no effort in the South to prevent the registration and voting by Negroes. In fact, it is generally conceded that there are literally thousands of ineligible Negro voters now going to the polls and voting blindly and in blocs who are truthfully incapable of taking part in decisions of government.

But, as we also point out, if all the Negroes of voting age in the South were registered and voted, they would comprise only 50 percent of the votes now being cast. Too, if all the Negroes registered, and in 1950 their number (of voting age) totaled only a little more than 5 million in 13 Southern States, it would stimulate registration of the millions of eligible white southern voters who would outnumber the Negroes by more than 20 million.

There are many white people who actually believe it would be a fine thing if all southern Negroes were registered to vote for they feel such a situation would stimulate the now complacent whites to register and vote.

It is a losing fight if the agitators think the Negro vote in the South can, within the life span of anyone now living, outnumber that of the southern whites. At best they can only look forward to polling 20 percent of the total southern vote if they all register.

Now that the fat is in the fire and the debate has started in the Senate, we are hopeful that the deceit and subterfuge behind

this bill will be revealed to the extent that it will show up as repulsive to all students of good government and classify the attempt to pass the civil-rights bill for what it is, a cheap, political trick of ambitious politicians who run in areas where the minority Negro vote is the deciding factor in the two-party States.

The American public likes honesty in politics as well as in business and there is a chance that the true purpose behind this bill could kill it off forever when its true colors come to light.

Son Joins Father in Solar Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the interest of scientists, amateurs and the lay public is currently focused on the activities of the International Geophysical Year, and I am proud that a father-and-son team from my district is making an important contribution to the IGY program.

The New York Times of Monday, July 22, carried a feature story by Milton Honig, describing the work being done by Mr. Philip J. Del Vecchio, Sr., and his 13-year-old son Robert, from their home at 971 East 22d Street, Paterson, N. J.

Mr. Del Vecchio is one of some 9,000 cooperative weather observers who work year in, year out without compensation for the United States Government gathering information and making reports for the United States Weather Bureau.

SON JOINS FATHER IN SOLAR PROJECT—PATERSON AMATEUR AND BOY, 13, ARE IN INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL PROGRAM

(By Milton Honig)

PATERSON, N. J., July 21.—These days there is more than the usual activity in the basement and backyard of 971 East 22d Street here, where Philip J. Del Vecchio, Sr. lives with his family.

Mr. Del Vecchio, a member of the solar division of the American Association of Variable Star Observers, and his 13-year-old son, Robert, a high school sophomore, have teamed up as amateur contributors to the International Geophysical Year.

At this point father and son have contributed 180 solar disk photographs to the Sunspot-Evolution Program of the I. G. Y. If all goes as planned, they hope to participate in two associated projects that have I. G. Y. approval—the electronic recording and photographing of flares shot out from the sun's surfaces and the visual tracking of artificial satellites sent aloft by scientists in the I. G. Y. program.

Their efforts have won praise from officials of the High Altitude Observatory at Boulder, Colo., and the Royal Observatory at Edinburg, Scotland.

The Del Vecchios worked for a year and a half designing, constructing and testing the instruments in the basement and backyard of their home. It took them 3 months to focus and line up a camera of their own making for astrophotography through a refracting telescope. When in use the telescope, with camera attached, is set up in the backyard.

ANOTHER DEVICE IN BASEMENT

The home-built electronic apparatus for the detection of solar flares is kept in the basement. It is similar to the modified transistorized receiver developed by David Warshaw of Brooklyn. Mr. Del Vecchio saw the plan in the Solar Division bulletin and constructed it at a cost of only $30.

However, there is one obstacle in using the instrument, Mr. Del Vecchio explained. The receiver must be watched constantly to be aware of intense solar activity. This disadvantage was overcome by contributions from the Federal Telephone & Telegraph Co., in Nutley, N. J., and the Bell Telephone Company Laboratories, Inc., in New York. These concerns provided the amateur astronomers with recorder-type meters and amplifiers for the duration of the International Geophysical Year.

As an additional check, they use a short-wave receiver for broadcasts from station WWV, the National Bureau of Standards station at Fort Belvoir, Va. The station sends out time signals and alerts its listeners on any intensive solar activity.

The most ambitious aspect of their activities—the tracing of manmade satellites—has not yet been realized because of money and personnel. According to Mr. Del Vecchio, the apparatus would cost about $1,500. He hopes to enlist financial support from local industrialists and then obtain volunteer observers.

He has applied to the board of education for permission to use the roof of the local high school as an observation post.

"It should be a matter of great civic pride to have such a history-making group operate in Paterson," Mr. Del Vecchio said.

Mr. Del Vecchio, a purchasing agent for the Benjamin Eastwood Co., a Paterson foundry and machine shop, comes by his interest in things astronomical, naturally. A cooperative observer for the United States Weather Bureau in northern New Jersey, he has been gathering scientific data for nearly 25 years.

In his unsalaried job, he uses instruments provided by the Bureau for calculating rainfall, humidity, and temperature. He also is a staff meteorologist for the Passaic County civil-defense unit.

In recent years, his son's study in astronomy has stimulated Mr. Del Vecchio's interest. He has combined another hobby, photography, to develop his proficiency. Last term, Robert won first place in the freshman division of the science fair at Eastside High School for his work with his father.

Facts and Figures on the Need for a Naval Hospital in the Long Beach-Los Angeles Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the United States Naval Hospital, Corona, located 46 miles from Pine and Ocean Avenues, Long Beach, is the only major military hospital between Camp Pendleton and Fort Ord near Monterey. The mission of the hospital is to treat sick and injured military personnel with the object of expeditious return to duty, and to treat the dependents of active duty and retired military personnel when space and facilities are available. It has been ordered closed by the Navy Department.

The averages for the hospital for the first 6 months of 1957 are: (a) Beds available, 725; (b) bed patient load, 605.9 per day; (c) in-patient dependents, 92.9 per day, included in (b); (d) out-patient dependents, 146.4 per day; (e) baby deliveries, 3.48 per day.

Personnel served include members of all of the Armed Forces—active and retired. In the event of a disaster or emergency, Corona could be expanded to 1,741 beds. The numbers of personnel in the greater Los Angeles-Long Beach-Orange County area eligible for care in the Naval Hospital, Corona are:

(a) Navy active duty afloat	37,756
(b) Navy active duty ashore	3,373
(c) Active duty marines (El Toro and Santa Ana)	9,558
(d) Retired/Fleet Reserve	8,741
(e) Army active duty	4,500
(f) Army retired	15,000
(g) Air Force active duty	1,488
(h) Air Force retired	3,100
(i) Coast Guard active duty	500
Total	84,016

All of the above are by law entitled to hospitalization.

(j) Dependents of active or retired members. When space and facilities permit, hospitalization for these people is authorized (based on 1.5 per active and 1.0 per retired member)	112,600
(a) to (i) above	84,016
Grand total	196,616

The Naval hospital in Haven at Long Beach Naval Shipyard has a bed capacity of 150 with an average of 97 per day utilized. This could be expanded to approximately 500 beds with modification to facilities and considerable increase in staff. The primary mission is service to forces afloat. Hospital berths are double-decked and environment cannot be of shore facility quality.

Camp Pendleton, 70 miles from Long Beach, has a bed capacity of 900, with between 600 and 900 in use each day.

The Naval station dispensary has a capacity of 15 beds with an average of 4.9 in use daily. The dispensary handles approximately 275 outpatients per day.

The Long Beach Veterans' Administration Memorial Hospital has a capacity of 1,380 beds, and is reportedly operating at capacity.

The Fort MacArthur station hospital has a bed capacity of 70 beds, which is being reduced to 60 beds, and has an average of between 27 and 30 beds utilized per day. Fort MacArthur has about 88 outpatients per day and serves all active duty Army personnel within a 70-mile radius.

City of Long Beach and incorporated Lakewood have a population of 373,807 which requires approximately 2,418 beds in normal times. At present, there is a total of 1,227 beds available with an urgent need for 1,191 additional beds. With the loss of 725 beds at Corona, the increase in patients to be handled could not be absorbed by present civilian and/or military hospitals now in existence.

This information is from studies made the Community Welfare Council of ng Beach in October 1955. A survey uesday, October 18, 1955, at 5 p. m., owed not one hospital bed was avail- le in St. Mary's, Community, or Sea- ie hospitals. This is a frequent oc- rrence and with the increase in popu- tion of approximately 2,500 per month is condition is not likely to improve un- completion of additional hospital fa- ities authorized by Long Beach voters November 1956. The estimated date readiness of these facilities is Jan- ry 1960.

The real and pressing need for a val hospital in the Long Beach-Los geles area is thus clear. Such a hos- al was authorized by Congress in 1950. is apparent that the Bureau of Medi- e and Surgery and the Navy Depart- nt should include this item in the t budget. There is both a humane d and a more practical need from the gencies of naval operations.

Firmer Control of Federal Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. RUESS. Mr. Speaker, this House ll shortly act on one of the most im- rtant pieces of legislation to come fore it during this session, H. R. 8002, establish a system of annual accrued penditure budgeting. In support of is legislation I am glad to extend my marks by inserting the following edi- rials from the Washington Evening ar and the New York Times:

[From the Washington Evening Star of June 23, 1957]

FOR ORDERLY BUDGETING

In passing the Kennedy budget reform bill, e Senate has given its support to what has en regarded as the most important Hoover mmission recommendation still requiring gislation. The bill would put the Govern- nt on an accrual system of budgeting and counting that would give Congress firmer ntrol of Federal spending and that, it is timated, could save up to $4 billion a year nonessential expenditures.

Federal budgeting and accounting proce- res not only baffle the ordinary citizens, y baffled a competent task force which uded them for the Hoover group. The dy revealed that it was virtually impos- le to list what the Government owned and w much it owed. The Kennedy bill, among her changes, would substantially reduce e carryovers of unexpended appropriations m year to year, thereby putting the Gov- ment on an annual expenditures basis. e appropriation carryovers run into bil- ns of dollars a year, with Congress con- ed as to the amounts involved and with- t control of the leftover funds, once the ney has been voted.

The commission pointed out that obliga- nal authority relating to long leadtime grams may be exercised over several years, h resulting expenditures continually re- ved from the particular fiscal year under consideration by the budget makers. The Budget Bureau, for example, reported that in 1953 $81 billion of unfinanced appropriations existed as a claim against current and future income or borrowing. The contracts and commitments made as a result of these appropriations became in effect c. o. d. obligations of the Government.

The reforms suggested by the Hoover Commission and embodied in the bill sponsored by Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts have the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury the Budget Director and the Comptroller General. We hope the House will follow the Senate's example and thus assure budgetary and accounting improvements of the sort already firmly established in private industry.

[From the New York Times of June 27, 1957]

POWER OF THE PURSE

There is a popular illusion that because Congress votes the money necessary to run the Government of the United States it must automatically have control over all expenditures. It doesn't, as the Hoover Commission and many other people long ago discovered.

Today the Rules Committee of the House is scheduled to consider a bill that would go far toward restoring to Congress, where it belongs, the power of the purse. This bill is described by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report as "one of the most fundamental" of all the Commission's recommendations. It is H. R. 8002, to establish annual accrued expenditure budgeting, which means in simple language that Congress would grant money to the departments and agencies to be spent on a yearly basis only.

The bill would do away with carryovers which represent appropriations, annually running into the billions, made in 1 year but not spent until the next year or years following. The result has been that Congress itself never knows just how much money is actually being expended within the Government each year or, because of changes of program, for precisely what purposes. The bill would not prevent authorization of long-term contracts, but it would limit the funds actually appropriated to estimated expenditures for the next 12 months. A companion bill passed the Senate earlier this month.

It is particularly odd that the most vociferous opponents of this measure in the House include some Members who beat their breasts most loudly over the size of President Eisenhower's budget. If Congress is really serious about controlling expenditures and is willing to take the responsibility that goes with this power it will pass this bill, which has the endorsement of the President, many leading Members of Congress and thoughtful private citizens.

[From the Washington Evening Star of July 13, 1957]

CONTROL OF THE PURSE

As Congress nears the end of consideration of the yearly apropriation bills it is estimated that approximately $4 billion will be trimmed from the administration's original request for $73.3 billion in new spending authority. This is not, by itself, a guaranty that actual spending in the present fiscal year—projected at $71.8 billion—will be cut accordingly, as many billions of undisbursed funds have been carried over from earlier appropriations. In this respect, however, it is gratifying that President Eisenhower now has requested department and agency heads to restrict expenditures to fiscal 1957 levels—or a total of about $70 billion. As guidance for this effort, Budget Director Brundage has issued an economy directive calling for the following: (1) Detailed justification for any spending above 1957 disbursements. (2) Postponement "of a significant part" of obligations planned for construction, procurement and research. (3) Quarterly allotment of payroll funds. (4) Quarterly review of programs by each department and agency head.

If successful, this proposed saving of approximately $2 billion will be at least a step in the right direction. There are, however, many pitfalls ahead. The economy directive itself contains its loopholes. There are fixed obligations that have risen between the 2 fiscal years and rising prices still are pushing upward the costs of existing programs. Along with these forces, there is the ready temptation of the available unexpended balances, and it was a timely warning on this score issued by former President Hoover in a San Francisco speech this week. It was Mr. Hoover's thesis that Congress has lost its constitutional control of the Federal purse through permitting accounting procedures that allow the executive branch to amass these huge unexpended balances over a period of years. One of the major Hoover Commission recommendations was for a budgeting and accounting reform that would restrict this practice as well as result in annual savings estimated at more than $3 billion.

Actually, legislation to accomplish this purpose already has been passed by the Senate and, in a somewhat modified form, has been reported favorably by the House Government Operations Committee. In the light of wide agreement that Federal economy is both desirable and essential, particularly in this period of inflationary pressures, the House leadership should give high priority to completing action on the legislation.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

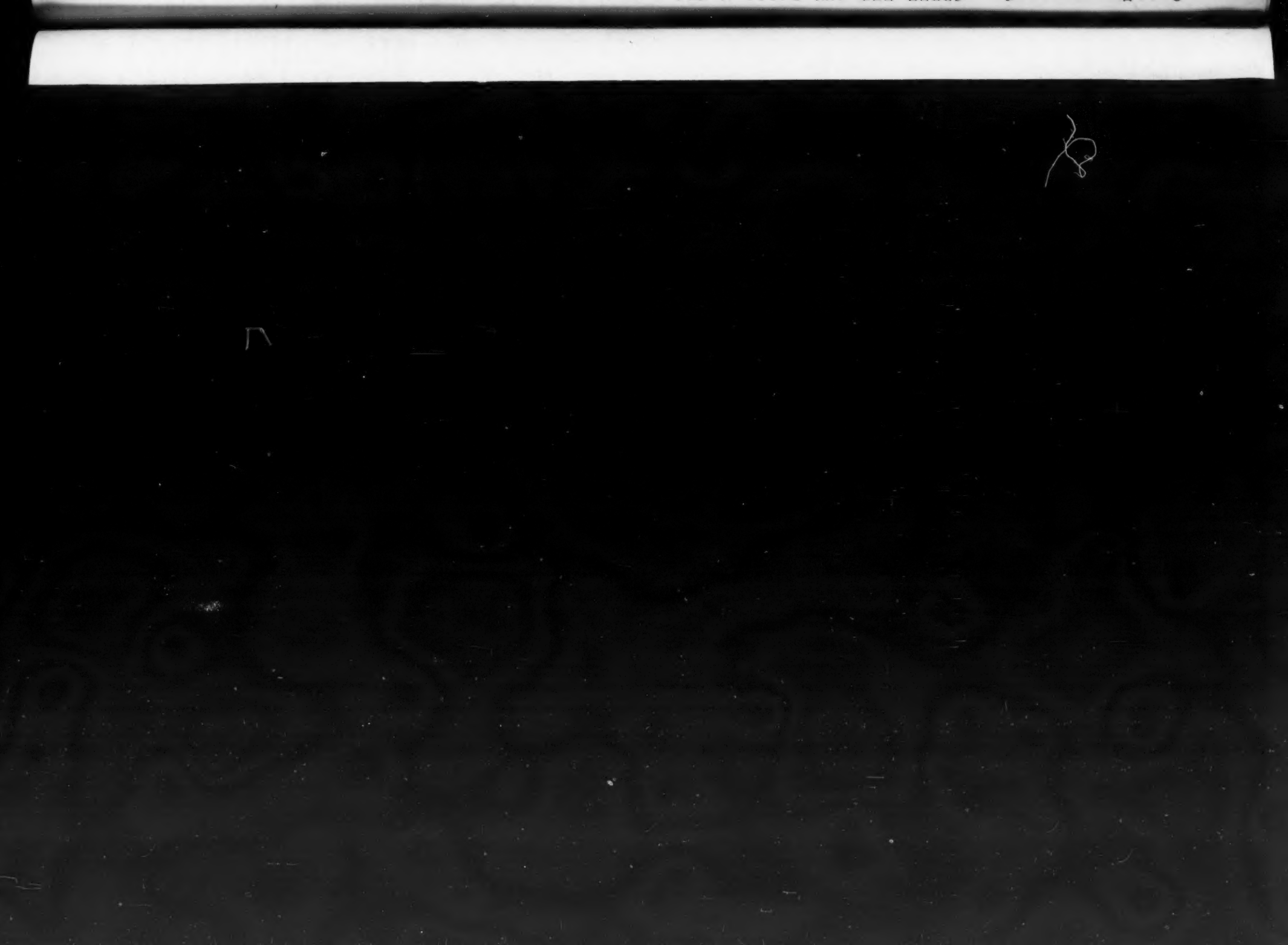

Appendix

Ringing Words From a Time Gone By

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I quote from an editorial in the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise:

Winning the peace requires hard work and great patience.

That statement, both realistic and inspiring, appeared in an editorial tribute by the Enterprise to a great American, the last James M. Cox. The sentiment, as the Enterprise points out, was basic in the philosophy of this great Democrat.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEMANDS OF DECENCY

Upon the recent death of James M. Cox, Democratic candidate for President in 1920 and distinguished American journalist, it was recalled that he had been a strong supporter of the League of Nations.

A southern newspaperman, commenting upon this fact and the idealism of the Ohio publisher, quoted these lines from the latter's book Journey Through My Years:

"Human nature may not change, but human intelligence can and does increase. It is clear now, with the new destructiveness of war, nations must conform to the demands of decency and humanity or perish at each other's throats. This is the supreme question before the human race today. Upon it all other issues hinge."

Those who support and believe in the purposes of the United Nations, successor to the League of Nations, should be encouraged by these ringing words.

They are the words of one who believed that this country cannot live alone, one who believed that winning the peace requires hard work and great patience.

And it will be recalled that Governor Cox kept right on being an internationalist until he died, although his advocacy of the League is given much of the credit for his resounding defeat at the polls when he sought the White House role.

Texan Describes Community Chest Work to Austrian Audience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the role of the community chest in American life is well known to us. The community chest, as it exists in so many of our cities, is one of our most noble institutions. All of us know of the good works of the community chest.

One of my fellow Texans, Mr. Fred M. Lange, of Dallas, has been engaged for many years in social-welfare work. Mr. Lange is now executive vice president of the Dallas community-chest fund. Wherever he goes, he is a missionary for the community chest.

Last week, on July 17, Mr. Lange explained the work of the community chest, as we know it, to an audience in Vienna, Austria, composed of persons interested in social welfare in that country. His address was delivered under the auspices of the National Ministry for Social Welfare of Austria.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a digest of Mr. Lange's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the digest of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MANY IN ONE, FOR ALL

(Lecture delivered under the auspices of the National Ministry for Social Welfare, Republic of Austria, in Vienna, Austria, July 17, 1957, by Fred M. Lange, L. H. D., LL. D., executive vice president, Dallas Community Chest Trust Fund)

I appreciate your kind invitation to come and meet with you. I wish to thank the National Department of Social Welfare. I am especially indebted to Dr. Carola Redlich, liaison officer to the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration; to Mr. William L. Grenoble, deputy public affairs officer, and to Miss Ann Eckstein, assistant exchange-of-persons officer of the American Embassy.

I believe that an exchange of ideas among people from different countries is helpful. This is particularly true in the field of the humanities. I come realizing that your country has a long history of social legislation and of social services. I come knowing that there is much that I can learn from you, and I hope to take your ideas back with me to the United States of America.

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In your kind invitation you suggested that I tell you about the work of the community chest. This is a complicated story and I will try to do it in general terms. * * *

Every large American city has a very large number of private welfare organizations, each devoted to a specific area of service. In my community there are at least 75 such private organizations. * * *

The main reason we have so many organizations in the field is because so many private groups are interested in and doing such a great variety of things. Their services touch the lives of everyone regardless of economic or social position. Welfare services in the United States of America are not confined to services for the indigent. A good example of this is the tremendous amount of money spent on research, public education, and case finding in regard to almost every known disease. We have many services classified as welfare services in which all economic groups participate. For instance, the community chest raises funds to support our Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association. Boys and girls from the very high income families participate in these activities in exactly the same way as do children from homes where for various reasons the income may be modest. In certain programs some of the participants pay and some do not. The knowledge of who pays and who does not is kept confidential and is known only to the administrative office. As far as participation in the program is concerned, everyone is on an equal footing and treated alike.

* * * * *

Because of the number of these organizations, it is essential that there be some place where they all can come together, so that they can plan their many activities cooperatively and coordinate their programs. As you can readily understand, unless this is done there would be chaos and waste. Every large American city, therefore, has an organization called a council of social agencies or a welfare council. Representatives from all these organizations, both governmental and private, together with interested citizens, come together to plan their part in the total effort. The result is that these organizations are made aware of what social services are needed most in their county, and they are encouraged to give those services with as little duplication as possible. Although this coordinating and planning council works with all organizations, it is financed by voluntary gifts through the community chest.

I am telling you about the work of the council of social agencies before I tell you about the community chest because in this way I believe that my later remarks will be clearer. In addition to working and planning with representatives of all the agencies in our county, the council is constantly making studies concerning changes which need to be made as a result of changing social and economic conditions. The council also keeps the general public informed about what is being done, and also about what needs to be done in the future. The council, on the basis of experience, knows that an effective overall social-welfare plan in any city must include a variety of basic social services. If more money than necessary is spent on one problem, this can mean that another problem, perhaps equally important, may be neglected. Too much of one service or too little of another upsets the balance and can make for inefficiency. * * *

In an effort to generalize the many complex problems and services in a large city, some communities, including Dallas, classify the numerous social services into four large categories. First, those problems and services directed toward what we call economic needs. In other words, directed toward those individuals and families who cannot provide minimum living essentials for themselves because of some misfortune. This usually means food, shelter, and clothing. Second, problems and services related to health and health education. These services are directed toward everyone. Those who cannot afford to pay for essential medical care receive it free. Others pay in accordance with their ability depending upon their income, based on a scale developed by the council of social agencies called the standard family budget, which is developed by expert homemakers. Much service and treatment is available from social agencies which is not available anywhere else.

Third is the area which we call counseling services. This area concerns casework, coun-

seling, psychological testing, guidance, and psychiatric services for individuals, including children, who have emotional or personality problems which are causing difficulties. Here again these services are for everyone.

The fourth area of service is the recreation, groupwork, informal education field. This includes community centers, clubs, scouting, and groups activities for all ages but especially for young people. We have learned that providing opportunities for creative play and enjoyment is a necessity, not a luxury. Experience of such national groups as our National Recreation Association has indicated that constructive group activity is essential not only to good physical but also to good mental health.

* * * * *

Last July I appeared before a group of social welfare leaders in Stockholm, Sweden, under the auspices of the control committee representing 16 private business associations in Sweden. The members of these associations contribute to separate appeals by voluntary philanthropies approved by the committee. Last year they gave 47 million kroner for the support of Swedish voluntary agencies. I was pleased when my remarks at that meeting were printed and made a permanent record of our National Government in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the United States of America. The Swedish leaders were most interested in one particular aspect of my remarks, the fact that so much of the private social work activity in my country is carried on by nonpaid volunteers. This fact seemed to impress them most of all. In our total private welfare effort there is a low proportion of paid professional workers to nonpaid volunteers. We have several organizations where just one or two professional workers have several hundred volunteers to call upon to help get the agencies' work done. We have a very large number of volunteers who contribute their time working in hospitals, thus freeing the professional and technical staffs from doing many of the nontechnical chores. Another typical example is our group programs where a few well-qualified professional workers recruit and train large numbers of volunteers to carry on the bulk of the program.

This same thing is true of activities directed toward financing private social services. Thousands of interested citizens volunteer their time in soliciting funds during the intensive campaigns. This participation on the part of nonpaid volunteers not only helps to lower costs but also builds up a strong interest in the social services on the part of the citizens. For these reasons you can see that social services in my country are truly for everyone and supported by everyone.

I cannot overemphasize this fact since it is so important. Because everyone benefits from these services and helps support them, it removes the old-fashioned idea that social services are an act of condescending charity on the part of those who have financial means toward those in the lower economic group. In our city social service is "Many in one, for all." This is consistent with our democratic way of life.

Because so many citizens are involved in supporting these activities, it is impossible for anyone to tell exactly how many there are. I can only give you these examples and estimates. For instance, in one campaign for funds on the part of a health agency 20,000 citizens in my city actively participated. I believe it would be conservative to estimate that at least 75,000 citizens in Dallas are engaged in some form of nonpaid volunteer activity in our social service organizations. This does not include doctors, lawyers, and other professional groups who give millions of dollars of service free, contributing thousands of hours both day and night.

One of the most notable developments in this field in the United States of America is the Community Chest. This is the part of the total picture which I know best, since I have been engaged in work related to social service for the past 25 years and have been a director of the Dallas Community Chest for the past 13 years.

* * * * *

Because we have a great many voluntary welfare organizations their financing through private contributions is a large task. Many years ago each of these organizations collected its own funds by making separate appeals to the population. It was realized many years ago that this pattern of each one asking funds separately was inefficient. Gradually more and more of these private organizations came together and had one large appeal during the year for the benefit of all. * * * This method of raising funds for private welfare organizations has been very successful and has spread rapidly. According to United Community Funds and Councils of America, last year about 2,000 American cities used this method and the movement has spread to Canada, Hawaii, Australia, Cuba, the Philippines, and south Africa. Funds raised this way in 1956 for use in 1957 totaled more than $379 million, and represented contributions from over 26 million individuals and companies. This total effort was carried on by over 3 million volunteer citizen workers and supported the programs of over 21,000 private welfare organizations.

It is easy to understand why this method of fund raising is increasing in popularity. It allows the volunteer solicitors to concentrate on a single campaign instead of separate campaigns for each agency. It relieves the director and workers of the agency of the responsibility for raising their own funds and so enables them to concentrate on performing needed service. It helps the contributor because he knows that each organization which will receive money has been thoroughly studied by the citizen leaders in the Community Chest. Because the cooperative campaign is larger and more inclusive, it has an appeal to all people at all levels.

These cooperative fund-raising efforts in the United States of America have various names. Many are called Community Chests and generally include only local agencies. An increasing number of local Community Chests are taking in more nationwide organizations and are becoming known as United Funds. The prime purpose is the combining of many appeals on the part of private organizations into a single campaign.

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I would like to tell you how this plan works in my home county of Dallas. The Dallas Community Chest, which includes 35 local welfare agencies and 2 nationwide voluntary agencies that give services locally, has made significant strides in recent years. For instance, in 1948 we raised $1,470,000. In 1956 we raised $2,553,000. This is an increase of 74 percent. In 1948, 105,000 persons contributed. In 1956, of the 337,000 employed in Dallas County, 202,000 persons contributed. This is an increase of 92 percent. Remember we are talking of voluntary giving.

The Dallas Community Chest has an overall board of directors composed of 105 men and women. These people come from all walks of life. The board of directors, elected by those who give at least $1 to the fund, sets the general policies of the community chest, while many of the important day-by-day decisions are made by a 16-member executive committee. The small year round paid staff of 15 members carries out the policies and decisions of the board and executive committee. * * *

This citizen participation is further strengthened by the fact that each of the 37 member agencies of our community chest, operating a total of 105 centers of operation, has a board of directors of its own. There is a total of 670 board members serving with the member agencies. Agency board members help operate their agencies and also are expected to work in the chest campaign. This broad citizen interest is further strengthened by an additional 6,000 citizens who volunteer to work in the central fund raising efforts. Each of these volunteer workers learns much about the work of the agencies and becomes an informed spokesman for them. It is their community chest and the agencies are their agencies. This whole project is carried on with the philosophy of "many in one for all." Put in another way, when we help people who need us, we are helping everyone, and what hurts the general welfare hurts everyone.

To some degree our success depends upon our year round public relations program. All publicity media are used. Television is being used more and more. Agencies are encouraged to use constructive human interest stories for publicity purposes. Each agency always states in its publicity that it is a member of the community chest. Periodically, we have public relations clinics, when agencies are given ideas of how better to interpret their services to the general public. In all of this the chest receives invaluable help from a publicity committee made up of outstanding public relations and advertising people in Dallas who give their time free. People who help in these ways become active partners in this enterprise.

In the actual solicitation of contributions every encouragement is given to make the giving convenient and fair. The total campaign organization is divided into divisions according to the major grouping of contributors, based on their type of business and ability to give. In this we have the cooperation of many business and labor union leaders; for instance, the worker can pledge an annual amount of money and have this amount deducted from his regular paycheck in monthly installments. At the employee's request the firm he works for will handle the deduction and send it to the community chest office. In our community, most salaried workers are encouraged to give 1 day's pay as a fair share while people with higher incomes are encouraged to give on a more generous basis. Their giving or not is a matter of conscience and election on their part.

A "speaker's bureau" composed of informed volunteers gives talks before civic, professional and employee groups explaining these matters. In all of this we have the encouragement of our National Government since under our income tax regulations a corporation may make tax-free gifts for charitable purposes up to 5 percent of profits. Individuals can make tax-free gifts of 20 to 30 percent. * * *

One more factor which requires attention relates to the activities of our "appeals review board." All fund raising efforts for charitable purposes in Dallas must be licensed by the city government. In this way time of the campaign is designated also, so that several campaigns are not carried on at the same time. In addition the leading business and industrial people in Dallas have a committee called the "campaign screening committee." This group works closely with our council of social agencies, and studies the need for the proposed campaigns before they contribute to them. As you can see, this helps the essential welfare efforts by discouraging the unessential ones.

Another of the many important aspects of our work is the way in which we determine the annual overall amount which is needed for the operation of the combined agencies of the chest for the coming year. This is the amount which we call our annual campaign goal. The Community Chest receives monthly financial reports and monthly activities reports from each member agency.

This makes possible year-round study and budget control and trends are noted quickly.

Each spring outstanding local citizens are appointed to serve on what we call the Citizens Budget Committee. It would be impossible for one committee to review the budgets of all 37 chest agencies. Therefore, the committee is divided into 4 groups and each agency is assigned to 1 of the 4 budget groups, depending on its field of service.

The board of directors of each chest agency every year studies its own program in view of future financial needs. Then each board of directors draws up a proposed budget which it believes its agency will need during the coming fiscal year beginning November 1. In June, a committee from each agency personally appears before the Community Chest Budget Committee to explain and justify the request for future funds.

During these conferences staff of the Community Chest and also of the Council of Social Agencies are present. The chest staff has at its fingertips data concerning previous expenditures of each agency, for each of the many individual items which comprise the total budget. Staff members of the Council of Social Agencies whose overall job is to know the work of all the many welfare groups in Dallas, are available during the discussions for consultation.

This procedure is used with all chest agencies, regardless of how much or how little of the agency's total income comes from the chest, and how much is derived from charging fees for its services, or from other sources. Several chest agencies in Dallas receive only a small proportion of their total income from the chest. On the other hand some agencies receive all of their funds from the Community Chest. This is so because, depending on the nature of service, some agencies can charge fees while others cannot. Some agencies have been able to supplement their chest income by receiving grants from foundations and trusts; still other agencies receive part of their funds from the Community Chest and part from the local government. The scrutiny of each budget item is the same regardless of the sources of the funds.

A good example of an agency which receives funds from a variety of sources is the Dallas Child Guidance Clinic which provides psychological testing and psychiatric services for emotionally troubled children. That agency is currently receiving support from six sources: the Community Chest, fees from clients, the Texas State Department of Health, the Dallas public schools, a local private foundation, and a private statewide foundation. The budget of this agency is handled in the same way, as the budget of the Neighborhood Recreation Association, a small community center which receives all of its operating funds from the Community Chest.

The campaign goal for the year is based upon information provided by the budget committee. An additional amount must be added and earmarked as a "reserve for necessary unforeseen expansions" during the coming year. Also, an amount must be added as a "reserve for emergencies" and an amount for "uncollectable pledges and shrinkage." * * *

Each agency is immediately notified of the action taken on its particular budget request. Should the agency feel that its request was not given proper consideration, that agency can return to the budget committee for a rehearing. Although in Dallas the chest raises about $2½ million, the total expenditures of the chest agencies are close to $6 million. This means that for an investment from voluntary contributions of $2½ million the chest agencies are providing $6 million worth of service to the community.

The budgeting process is an important part of not only financing, but planning for welfare services. The chest budget committee made up of outstanding local citizens represents the persons who use the agencies' services and who contribute to the cost of the services. It includes people of all races and religious backgrounds, housewives, salaried workers, union labor officials, professional men, career government men, and leaders of business and industry. It is important to clarify that although these people are identified with these various groups, they do not come as official delegates. They come as citizens and are free to act as individuals. * * *

The budgeting process pledges to the community that the funds which the community chest collects for the agencies is vitally needed and is being spent wisely. Also, the budget committees learn very quickly that the various agencies could provide more good services than current funds can support. This means that the budget committees must choose and approve only those expenditures which they feel are important. Because of this they can tell the general public the necessity for not only attaining the current goal, but the need to raise more money in future years, so that additional services can be given. It is democracy at work through public education and voluntary commitment.

I believe you will agree with me that the process which I tried to outline contributes much to our community life. It is far more than merely a check on the validity of the agencies' requests. It not only keeps fundraising costs low, it not only makes for greater efficiency, it not only helps to keep balance among the many various types of social services; but it has educational, social, and spiritual values.

* * * * *

Working together for a common unselfish goal is basically a spiritual experience which cuts across all religious and denominational lines. We never lose sight of this fact. Participation by clergy of all faiths is emphasized. Many of the campaign meetings are led by outstanding spiritual leaders and the efforts of the volunteers and the significance of the money raised is constantly translated into spiritual values.

We are convinced that the democratic way of life is best. We are convinced that the quality of our democracy depends upon our standard of values, which in turn depends upon the quality of our religious life. We know that our community chest efforts gives our people an opportunity to put their religion to work. Through this work they dedicate themselves to the finest in life. There is no question in our minds but that this program, hand in hand with the church, strengthens the foundations of our lives. This truly is our concept of "Many in one for all."

Address by Judge W. Walter Braham on 200th Anniversary of Birth of Alexander Hamilton

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton, which is being celebrated this year, a notable address was delivered at the Chautauqua Institution in New York by an able and distinguished Pennsylvania jurist, Judge W. Walter Braham, of New Castle.

Judge Braham served two 10-year terms on the bench of Lawrence County, Pa., until his return to the private practice of law in January 1956. He is president of the Chautauqua Institution, and has devoted many years of research and study to the growth and development of American constitutional government.

Because many of the ideals to which Hamilton was dedicated are applicable to the problems of today, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary of Judge Braham's address.

There being no objection, the summary of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

CHAUTAUQUA, N. Y.—Alexander Hamilton and his fellow Americans in colonial times had to take a stand on the bloody French Revolution just as today we have to decide what to do about Communist Russia.

Speaking in the Chautauqua (N. Y.) Amphitheater on Alexander Hamilton, Judge W. Walter Braham, president of Chautauqua Institution, said, "In Paris, the mobs took over in 'the reign of terror.' Radical leaders one after another—Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre—rose and died under the guillotine. The rumblings of the tumbrels of destiny sounded loud in many lands. Then the French people passed from the role of defenders of themselves against domestic tyrants and foreign foes to the role of aggressors and invaders, determined to bring their type of bloody liberty to the other nations of Europe, quite after the fashion of the Russian Communists of our own time."

Lecturing in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton (July 19), Judge Braham pointed out that there were stanch sympathizers and also rabid denunciators of the French revolutionists even as today there are "fellow-travelers" advocating the Communist line as against those who consider communism the mighty menace that it is.

After eulogizing Alexander Hamilton for his impressive contributions to the marvelous growth of American constitutional government, the distinguished jurist and lifetime student of Hamiltonian history and lore, remarked that, "It is impossible to portray the true Hamilton without comparing him with Jefferson, unpleasant though it is to make one great man stalking horse for another. Hamilton's weakest point was precisely the point at which Jefferson was strong; this is the understanding and the management of practical politics. Hamilton, and Washington, too, had a naive belief in a government above politics. Washington included in his Cabinet his political foes who sought constantly to frustrate his policies. Jefferson, with a truer insight, knew that everything connected with the Government is sooner or later affected by political considerations. He foresaw the rise of the two-party system, the party in power and the opposition."

Comparing the two Americans, Judge Braham stated:

"Jefferson carried the fire and the fury of the French Revolution to the New World; Hamilton rejected its excesses and stood for firm, competent, orderly and honest government. Jefferson, the idealist, thought more about the rights of man, a free press, and religious toleration than he did about government; Hamilton, the supreme realist, believed that a government must be well organized and resolute and that its ability to provide peace, security and economic opportunity for its people is its only true test. Jefferson believed in the sovereign States and was jealous of a strong Federal Government; Hamilton deliberately sought to lessen the hold of the State governments upon the peo-

ple and to increase their loyalty to the Government at Washington. Jefferson saw something noble in the violence of Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts, in the September massacre in France, and in the whisky rebellion in Pennsylvania; Hamilton distrusted the mob and advocated first a government vigorous and able to defend itself."

He declared that both Jefferson and Hamilton were needed, "Jefferson to put dignity and ambition into the hearts of Americans, many of them from the so-called lower classes of England, indentured servants, little 'bound boys' and the like; Hamilton to teach them to select competent leaders, to trust only competent leaders and not to rely on mob tactics."

The chautauqua president went on to say that he considered Hamilton's views on government modern and gave a number of illustrations to prove his contention. He reminded his audience of Hamilton's proposal that the Federal Government reserve to itself a share of the mineral wealth of the country and stated that, "Had we done so there would have been fewer Texas millionaires, and a smaller national debt today. His idea that citizens should be encouraged to invest their money in joint enterprises with the Federal Government appears today in our national bond system, our present Federal power policy, and the modern device of authorities."

Hamilton's view of the Federal Government as an active, aggressive force in protecting the people and guiding their destinies has become the modern view, he continued.

The irony of history and the measure of Hamilton's greatness is that the modern Republican conservative claims with properiety to be a Hamiltonian and the New Deal innovators dipped into Hamilton's bag of tricks to solve the economic difficulties of their day. One might wish that Herbert Hoover had had more of Hamilton in him and Franklin D. Roosevelt somewhat less. Hamilton would have acted to relieve widespread misery more promptly than Hoover. He would have avoided the indiscriminate largess of Roosevelt.

"What would Hamilton do if he were to enter the Treasury today?" Judge Braham queried, and then answered, "I believe he would recoil with horror from the idea that the Canadian dollar is worth more than the American dollar. He would regard as plain folly the situation where a wage raise followed by a price raise in an ever increasing spiral are regarded as inevitable. I believe he would say that if there is money for an increase in wages and dividends there is money to lower prices and give everyone a raise. I believe Hamilton would regard the monumental public debt as charged with disaster for all of us and would lay plans for paying it."

He concluded his memorial speech on Alexander Hamilton by a final comparison with Thomas Jefferson, declaring that, "So well balanced were his qualities of boldness and restraint that only in the most critical moments did George Washington need to curb him. So true was his love of his adopted land and its people that he needs take second place to no one, not even to Thomas Jefferson in his devotion to the common man. Jefferson helped the common man by giving him hope and pride and confidence. Hamilton helped the common man by giving him security, the stout roof of a sound Government over his head and a sane economy under which he might work and prosper."

Tight Money Holding Back United States Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, occasionally one notes in the columns of the daily newspapers which publish letters to the editors, some very outstanding letters which are worthy of attention. I have before me a letter, signed by Evan J. Henry, of Winona, Minn., which was published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune under the title "'Tight Money' Holding Back United States Economy." The writer of the letter, Mr. Henry, has given a very succinct, instructive, and thoughtful analysis of some of the economic problems which face our country, and has taken sharp issue with the monetary and fiscal credit policies of the present administration. The headline "'Tight Money' Holding Back United States Economy," reveals the theme of his letter, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"TIGHT MONEY" HOLDING BACK UNITED STATES ECONOMY

To the EDITOR:

In the July 7 Minneapolis Sunday Tribune an editorial appeared commending the Federal Reserve Board's tight-money policy. I believe, on the contrary, that the policy should be carefully reexamined.

About 2 years ago the Federal Reserve Board embarked on the policy of restrictive credit with the intent of influencing the tempo of the economy. In times of boom, when demand for goods outraced available supplies, credit brakes would be applied to reduce demand by raising reserve requirements and discount rates; in times when demand was off, supplies up and the economy in need of a stimulant, reserve requirements and discount rates would be lowered to provide impetus to keep the economy in high gear.

When prices of basic commodities did commence their rise in 1956, the Board clamped on the so-called credit brakes by raising discount rates throughout the country to limit the amount of money and credit chasing available goods. This policy continues today and is the cornerstone upon which the administration in Washington relies to sustain continued prosperity.

Unfortunately, however, certain significant facts are at wide variance with principles of the policy. For instance, George Humphrey, former Secretary of the Treasury, who supports the Board's policies, has long contended that the cause of inflation is due entirely to a short supply of goods in relation to the supply of money and credit.

Thus to prevent inflation, money and credit must be reduced and brought into line with the short supply of goods.

Yet the strange fact is that a shortage of goods simply does not exist today yet inflation persists. According to the Department of Commerce, business inventories are at an alltime high value of $53 billion. This compares with $48 billion worth a year ago and $43 billion worth on hand at the inception of the Board's restrictive credit policy.

If it is the intent of the Board's policy to restrain demand for goods without adversely affecting expansion of productive capacity, the opposite has evidently been the result. There has occurred a steady increase in that demand, as reflected in expansion of consumer debt, approximately $6 billion a year for both 1955 and 1956.

Evidently it has had an adverse effect on expansion of productive facilities. The increase in corporate debt declined from $19.4 billion to $12.9 billion, a strong indication that many businesses have tabled plans for expansion of productive facilities.

Thus it appears that the "Fed's" policy has not only failed to reduce demand for goods and services but has actually tended to discourage the development of new productive facilities. Yet is not steady expansion of productive facilities necessary to meet the demands of an increasing population?

The policy is based on the assumption that the economy is "bumping on the ceiling of capacity output" while demand in excess of that output continues uninterrupted, that while capacity output continues to lag behind demand, credit must be restricted to balance demand with available goods.

Yet the facts indicate the economy is not operating at full capacity, as is indicated by current steel production at 85 percent, autos at 85 percent, and similar reduced activity in many other consumer hard goods lines.

The question naturally arises: Is too much reliance being placed in a policy that is so apparently inconsistent? Perhaps a second look is in order.

EVAN J. HENRY.

WINONA, MINN.

Slum-Clearance Program in Huntsville, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in the Huntsville (Ala.) Times of Monday, July 22, there was published an editorial entitled "Huntsville Will Be Different." The editorial deals with a very fine program which is in progress in the city of Huntsville.

Huntsville is not a large city. I suppose its population is between 50,000 and 60,000. However, a very fine program is in progress in that city for eliminating slums and providing decent housing for those who are unable to pay full rent. I read the last paragraph of the editorial:

All these past, present, and future renewal, redevelopment, and housing projects have, or will, cost millions of dollars.

But the payoff over the years ahead will come in elimination of the cancerous conditions that were eating into the very vitals of Huntsville, destroying property values, lowering tax revenues, and breeding crime conditions that are so costly financially and so damaging to public health.

That applies to every city in the country today. I point to this particular program as a fine example of what can be done.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUNTSVILLE WILL BE DIFFERENT

The residential, as well as the business, face of Huntsville will look mighty different after the next 2 or 3 years.

The slum areas, which were eating like a cancer into several sections, will all but have been eliminated.

The day of growing up like Topsy, which prevailed almost a century and a half, is about over.

Careful, thoughtful planning, plus zoning, is putting an end to haphazard growth.

Some, of course, take exception to the Federal assistance that has been given, and that will be given, to remaking the map of Huntsville by erection of low-rent housing, or by purchasing and redeveloping those areas that are being upgraded and once again being made substantial tax-paying property. This will pass, however, as time moves on and the beneficial results become increasingly evident.

Erection of Binford Court was the first step in the long-range program.

It was followed by construction of Butler Terrace and Sparkman Homes.

Construction on the parkway led to the first of the major redevelopment and relocation projects on West Clinton Street. It is by no means complete, as a few more lawsuits must be settled to clear title to all the property needed for this project.

Forty-nine families in the area already have moved out, leaving 13 more to be relocated.

The Winston Street area, lying roughly north of the Southern Railroad and west of Meridian Street, comes next. Federal approval of its urban renewal in cooperation with the city, has been granted. It is now at the loan-and-grant stage. Plans call for leveling all the miserable hovels in this area and development for commercial and light-industry property.

Boogertown in the western section of the city along the Madison Pike and Ninth Avenue, will be wiped out also, under the redevelopment program.

Three big low-rent housing projects are on the schedule for start this year.

A total of 194 buildings for white tenants will be erected behind the old Lincoln Mill ball park; 76 more housing units for white tenants will be built on Brook Street, west of Pinhook Creek and south of Fifth Avenue; while west of Calvary Hill and north of Highway 72 West, 269 units for Negro families will be built.

FHA approval for these 539 new housing units was granted earlier this month.

All these past, present, and future renewal, redevelopment, and housing projects have, or will, cost millions of dollars.

But the payoff over the years ahead will come in elimination of the cancerous conditions that were eating into the very vitals of Huntsville, destroying property values, lowering tax revenues, and breeding crime conditions that are so costly financially and so damaging to public health.

Roland C. Koehler's Impressions of Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I recently received a letter from a constituent of mine, Mr. Roland C. Koehler, of Detroit, in which he gave me his impressions of his recent trip to Europe.

I was particularly impressed by his remarks on the benefits of the Marshall plan and other foreign-aid programs.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Koehler's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KOEHLER-PASMORE CO.,
Detroit, Mich., July 9, 1957.

Senator PATRICK V. MCNAMARA,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Koehler and I have just returned from a 2 months' trip in Europe, during which time I was in contact with many businessmen and government officials.

The trip involved only the countries of the Netherlands, West Germany, Switzerland, and a small portion of Austria. It did include a trip to Berlin.

I was very much interested in getting the viewpoint of the people over there as to how they felt toward the United States and what they expected the future to bring forth. Sometimes it is rather astonishing to get those viewpoints, particularly from people who can stand at a distance and look at a situation with which we might not even be conversant, having lived with it for so many years. Bear in mind that all of the people I contacted could probably be classified as middle class. There were no outstanding political leaders among them, and neither were there any rabid reformers.

Here are the conclusions:

1. There is a unanimity of opinion that if it had not been for the Marshall plan and similar helpful projects that Europe would have dissolved into anarchy.

2. There is a deep and abiding sense of gratitude for the help that the United States has given in the past which has enabled these countries to recover so amazingly.

3. There is beginning to dawn a slight resentment at the presence of American forces in Europe, as it is felt that foreign armies on their own soil can be a potential source of friction. While they recognize that this is a situation they will have to live with for a while longer, they sincerely hope that ways and means will be found of withdrawing our forces back to the United States.

4. There is frank wonderment as to how long the United States can continue to be Santa Claus to the rest of the world. They told me frankly that they just could not understand how we, in the United States, could give so freely of our resources without expecting a complete economic collapse in the future if we did not reduce this tremendous drain.

This last was most remarkable to me because it was spoken in good faith and, in many cases, merely as one good friend to another counseling caution—even though it might mean that they over there would not be such large beneficiaries of our generosity if we curtailed our expenses.

I thought you would like to know these conclusions because sometimes it's good to look at ourselves through other persons' eyes.

ROLAND C. KOEHLER.

A Voice of Reason Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, during the difficult days when tension was running high in Clinton, Tenn., due to the efforts of John Kasper and his followers, a calming voice was raised in the community. It was the voice of Horace V. Wells, Jr., editor of the Clinton Courier-News, who spoke out in the finest traditions of American journalism. I am happy that his courage and leadership have not gone unnoted.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD editorials from the Nashville Tennessean and the Chattanooga Times commenting on an award—the third that Mr. Wells has received—for his courage in journalism.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville Tennessean of July 18, 1957]

A VOICE OF REASON HONORED

Earlier this week, at Carbondale, Ill., Mr. Horace V. Wells, Jr., editor of the Clinton, Tenn., Courier-News, received the Elijah P. Lovejoy award for courage in journalism.

It was the third such recent honor bestowed upon the former State news editor of this newspaper. At the annual convention of the Tennessee Press Association 2 weeks ago, Mr. Wells was cited by his colleagues for "his courageous leadership in journalism." Last March, he received the green eyeshade award presented by the Atlanta chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic fraternity for "contributions to journalism in the best tradition of the profession."

Such recognition is fully deserved. For in the face of intense pressures, physical threats and mob violence, Mr. Wells stuck steadfastly to the path of reason when racial disorders erupted in Clinton last year.

This small town editor admittedly did not agree with the Supreme Court decree on public school desegregation. But neither did he agree with the extremists who proclaimed, in effect, that they would choose the laws they wanted to obey. For that, he recognized, was the way to anarchy.

As emotionalism swept the little community, it would have been easy enough for Mr. Wells to say nothing. Or, had he been so inclined, it would have been possible to use the influence of his newspaper to fan the flames to greater intensity. Instead, he said the things that he knew needed to be said in Clinton.

"You have the right to believe in segregation and so do we," he told his readers through the columns of his newspaper. "But neither you nor I has a right to violate the law, nor do we have a right to take the law into our own hands. We must stand together in Clinton, obey all laws (whether we like them or not) so long as they are laws."

There is no way, of course, to measure the exact impact of Mr. Wells' steadying influence, but there is every reason to believe that it was a major factor contributing to Clinton's return to sanity. And it is not pleasant to contemplate what turn events there might have taken if the newspaper editor there had cast his lot with the hatemongers intent on seeing blood spilled.

For his reasoned and courageous leadership, Mr. Wells richly merits the honors that have come his way. And his example is one that we would commend to all of his fellow Tennesseans and particularly to the other members of the profession to which he has brought such high credit.

[From the Chattanooga Times of July 20, 1957]

WORTHY OF TRIBUTE

Horace V. Wells, Jr., editor of Clinton Courier-News has received a second award for his devotion to the highest principles of newspapering during the stress-filled days of the school-integration crisis in his community. It is the 1957 Elijah P. Lovejoy award for courage in journalism, given him at the national conference of weekly newspaper editors.

Mr. Wells personally does not favor integration of the races in public schools. Despite these inner feelings and the most intense sort of pressure from others, he steadfastly stood for obedience to the court orders which led to integration of the Clinton High School.

To Mr. Wells, the citizen, the course was clear:

"We believe that the Government of the United States is a Government of law and not of man and that the Supreme Court is the final arbiter in deciding what is law. Therefore, once the Supreme Court has spoken and until the decision of that Court is changed by amendment to the Constitution by a vote of the people, we have no choice except to obey the law."

To Mr. Wells, the editor, the course was equally clear. He appealed for reason rather than emotion in handling the situation and he besought cooperation rather than conflict among the opposing elements.

As a citizen and as editor, Mr. Wells acted most courageously and commendably, and is due the tributes now coming his way.

Fast Work on the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Fast Work on the Seaway," which was published in the Minneapolis Tribune of July 14. The editorial refers to the progress being made on the St. Lawrence Seaway, and it also refers to matters other than those concerned with actual construction of the seaway, for it directs attention to the activity of shipping companies which will be using the seaway. As many of us predicted, the seaway will not only mean a reduction in transportation rates, and thus a saving to the users, producers, and consumers, but it also will mean a decidedly increased economic development in terms of shipping, dockage, and everything else connected with maritime transportation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAST WORK ON THE SEAWAY

This is a great year for progress on the St. Lawrence seaway. From the Welland canal, which bypasses Niagara Falls, through the channels being dredged, blasted, and harnessed with locks along the St. Lawrence to Montreal, thousands of workmen are pushing the project ahead.

Thus the dream of the early 1930's—to link the ports of the Great Lakes to the Atlantic shipping lanes—is taking on the reality of stone and concrete and water 27 feet deep. It now looks as if the open route from Duluth to the sea will be completed on schedule, by spring of 1959.

Beyond the actual construction, perhaps the most significant sign of progress is the flurry of activity of shipping companies which will use the seaway. Already, the intercontinental operators have stepped up their shipments, though such transport is still limited to ships small enough to get through the old 14-foot channels and sturdy enough for ocean travel. Fees for chartering such vessels have risen sharply, yet shipping rates are running from 15 to 50 percent cheaper by water than by land, according to the Wall Street Journal. This year 450 sailings have been scheduled by the 27 lines operating along the seaway route.

American shipping companies, which have lagged behind foreign lines in developing Great Lakes-export trade, are now trying to catch up. At least four major firms in the United States are trying to obtain more ships suitable for immediate service, and plans are being made for bigger oceangoing vessels for later use. Half a dozen or more leading companies of other countries are building new ships for delivery after the opening of the deep channel.

The easy, natural transportation link between midwest United States and Canada and the great seaports of the world should give a substantial boost to the trade, the general economy and international relations of this part of America. Minnesota, the end of the line, stands to benefit greatly by the speedy completion of the seaway.

American Industry Must Not Be Sacrificed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the letter which I have received from Hon. Donald Comer, chairman of the executive board of Avondale Mills, Inc., of Birmingham, Ala., setting forth persuasive arguments why it is imperative that action be taken to protect American industry and workers against unfair competition from products manufactured at slave-wage levels abroad.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AVONDALE MILLS, INC.,
Birmingham, Ala., July 23, 1957.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
United States Senate Office,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR TALMADGE: The Southern Garment Manufacturers Association has just had their annual convention in New Orleans. Mr. Philip Talbott, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce addressed them and advocated a more liberal policy on imports as necessary as he said to our national welfare and what he said was largely carried by our press.

His theme seemed to be that the United States was responsible for providing a market for what other countries, which he did not name, might want to sell to us and he was talking to a group of people whose interests are already being hurt and are further threatened by imports from Japan. When anyone in this country argues for reciprocal trade I think they should state what it is that we want to sell to other countries and what it is we want to take from these other countries in payment for what we sell them, and how much.

America's prosperity was built largely by our industrial wage, by our farm income, and by our research, advertising and merchandising know-how, all undergirded by our faith in God who told us that His truth shall make us free. Speaking to the point in question, our cotton farmers, our cotton spinners, and garment manufacturers provide all our country's needs, and then some. In our reciprocal trade arrangements I do not know of any country that takes from us any thing of which they already have an ample supply. We seem to be the one country that is willing to shut down our machinery and put our employees out of work in order to help some other country by accepting from them unwanted and unneeded goods.

American capital is invited to invest itself in industry. We pay a license, and tax, and we pay the American standard of wages with a minimum fixed by the Government itself and we are determined to resist all efforts not only on the part of the officers of the United States Chamber of Commerce but of the Government itself to swap this American purchasing power for this or that made by a foreign country and in the present situation, things made under the Asiatic standard of wage.

Mr. Randall, late of the Inland Steel Co., in a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post, argues along the same line as Mr. Talbott. Our industry is fiercely competitive but the steel industry at this very time is having its recent price advances investigated by the Government. The steel industry has not yet felt the unfair competition that will come when their customers begin to buy Japanese steel cheaper because of the Japanese cheaper wages. The American wages are the highest in the world. They have reached this point by mutual agreements of those concerned with the Government itself establishing certain bottoms.

In America we must buy what each of us makes. No segment of our industry can take its American wages and spend it for cheaper imports, cheaper only because of cheaper wages. This has got to be our procedure in order to maintain America and to keep America strong.

To those who continue to believe that we can fight communism by a giveaway program, I ask why not give Japan our cotton, pay her to weave it and give the cloth to the naked people of New Guinea, Borneo, and Africa? Incidentally, we might win some new customers for cotton in the years to come.

Our industry cannot be sacrificed in some will-o'-the-wisp idea of preventing com-

munism here or there or yonder. Our foreign trade should be very largely limited to buying what the other fellow has in overabundance that we need and we should sell to him what we have in overabundance that he needs, with some three-way trading. We are not liimted to bilateral trading.

For example, Japan can sell her cotton goods to southeast Asia for tin and rubber which she could swap to us for our cotton or sell her cotton goods to South and Central America and take her pay in coffee, tin, bananas, nitrates, bauxite, iron ore, etc. which she can sell to us for our cotton or any other agricultural needs. Mr. Talbott and Mr. Randall should spell out their world trade program. Whose ox will they have gored? What are we to export and what are we to import? They should also tell us how they propose to equalize our wages with these of Asia.

The S. G. M. A. said: "The willingness of the United States to encourage increases in imports of cotton textiles and apparel to this country is frustrating the plain intent of the Trade Agreement Act as set forth by Congress as well as other legislation for the same purposes," and further stated that, "the only way they will ever get fair protection from the influx of Japanese imports will be through Congress."

Under a news headline from New Bedford, "Cotton Chief Sees Tariffs or a Slump," Mr. Leon Lowenstein, a leading figure in the textile industry said, "We cannot be saved by quotas on imports. We can be rescued from this flood of destructive, cheap goods only by the proper protective tariffs. Unless the Government gives us protection by tariff, I regret to say, we will have a recession, a depression, whatever you choose to call it, and dire unemployment."

The textile industry and all of its branches are deeply appreciative of your maintained interest.

Very truly yours,

DONALD COMER,
Chairman, Executive Board.

The Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful article from the July 22, 1957, issue of the Jackson, Miss., Clarion Ledger. It was written by an outstanding Washington correspondent, Mr. Bascom N. Timmons, and is entitled "Reconstruction Era, II, Looms; However, Civil Rights Law Is Softened." This article contains much food for thought, is admirably presented and I think should be considered in the current debate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECONSTRUCTION ERA, II, LOOMS; HOWEVER, CIVIL RIGHTS LAW IS SOFTENED

However mild and sugar-coated the Eisenhower civil rights bill may be when it finishes its congressional journey and receives the President's signature making it law, this legislation, plus the fact that the fate of the South's public school system is in the hands of Federal courts will mean that reconstruction era II has been ushered in throughout the South.

This is not to say that reconstruction era I will be the tragic era that reconstruction era I was. It will be carried on in a prosperous income-tax paying South, now heavily industrialized, instead of the impoverished agrarian section that the old Confederate States were at the end of the Civil War.

But the law which now almost certainly will go on the statute books will remain there longer and a more serious effort be made to enforce it than at any time since Rutherford B. Hayes and moderate men in his administration decided that the South should no longer be treated as a conquered province.

The South will be on notice that the President of the United States, the Supreme Court and an overwhelming majority of both branches of Congress have unmistakably said that the historic southern way of life is outmoded and must be reconstructed. All three branches of the Government are on record that the process of integration of the races, however, long or short may be the period, required, must go on. There will be adequate implementation through 1957-and-later court decisions and laws.

The South's eloquent insistence by its Senate and House spokesmen, aided by such liberals as the late Senator William E. Borah (Republican from Idaho) that both races in the South were making progress and would continue without outside pressure, has been brushed aside. From now on there will be this outside pressure.

Conceding that no measure containing all the force bill features of the measure as it passed the House of Representatives can become law, or even granting that it will be stripped down until it applies only to voting, it will still be strong medicine.

The very minimum—and this will not be the minimum by any means—is that a Civil Rights Division will be set up in the Department of Justice, and as Assistant Attorney General at the head of this Division will be appointed. There is no doubt either that there will soon be 100 or 200 lawyers in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and that these lawyers and other officials will have secretaries and clerks and investigators and file cases filled with complaints. And if anyone thinks a Federal agency of this size won't find work to do, that person has no acquaintance with Federal agencies, nor with the needling this one can be expected to have from interested organizations and politicians.

The work that agency finds to do will be almost exclusively in the States that once formed the Confederacy. Some of the reconstruction era I, voting legislation was repealed during the administration of Grover Cleveland, as was pointed out by Senator ALLEN ELLENDER, of Louisiana, during the Senate debate. But no more Grover Clevelands are going to be nominated by either party or elected President.

It is privately conceded by both friends and foes of the legislation that the milder the form of the bill now passed, the more certain it is that there will be additional legislation by future Congresses. Nor will the issue be taken out of future campaigns. It can be depended upon that there will be demands for both Democratic and Republican National Conventions in 1960 to put demands for stronger civil-rights measures in their party platforms.

For that matter, it can hardly be expected that there will be congressional surcease from civil-rights legislation, even as long as the next national conventions. Here, too, the physical facts of political life makes certain that should the Senate pass and the House accept a watered-down version of the bill now under discussions, bills will immediately be dropped into the legislative hopper extending its scope.

The present measure, whatever its final form, will merely be the first fundamental legislation in the field of civil rights in three-quarters of a century. The next such legislation will come easier in future Congresses.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, letters to the editors of newspapers, as written by interested citizens, express grassroots opinion of value on public issues of the day. I am happy to note in various newspapers an increasing interest in granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii. I find in the Nashville Tennessean of July 18, 1957, a splendid letter, written by Mr. S. D. Davis, urging the granting of statehood.

The writer states that the Democratic and Republican National Conventions, in their platforms, always promise statehood. I should like to read the next, very important paragraph:

Both sides promise these people everything including statehood if their party is elected. After the election, these people are forgotten. So far they have been denied statehood. Surely these two fine territories which meant so much to us during World War II and mean so much today to the defense of our country because of their strategic location and their will to help their mother country deserve statehood and shouldn't be used as a political football.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S TIME ALASKA, HAWAII WERE STATES

When the Democrats and Republicans hold their national conventions to select a candidate for President and Vice President of the United States, the matter of giving statehood to Hawaii and Alaska always pops up.

Both sides promise these people everything including statehood if their party is elected. After the election these people are forgotten. So far they have been denied statehood. Surely these two fine territories which meant so much to us during World War II and mean so much today to the defense of our country because of their strategic location and their will to help their mother country, deserve statehood and shouldn't be used as a political football.

In 1867 the United States purchased Alaska from Russia for $7,200,000. The worth of Alaska to the United States can't be measured in money. Today Alaska is rich in forestry, minerals, fisheries, and fur, and in the last few years has done all right for itself in developing their vast field of agriculture.

In 1893 an appeal was made by Hawaii to the United States for annexation and was rejected. In 1898 a second appeal was made to President McKinley and Hawaii was accepted as a Territory of the United States. The people of Hawaii have been true to the United States ever since, and suffered with them at

Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The chief industry of Hawaii (which consists of Hawaii which consists of 20 islands) is agriculture. No. 1 product is sugar, with pineapple a close second.

Hawaii is a vacation paradise with its ideal weather and attracts hundreds of thousands of tourists from the United States. Most people in the United States would like to see these people and their countries become a part of the United States and have their voice in our country. We shall look forward to the day when Old Glory will have 50 stars.

S. D. DAVIS.

Germans Produce Well on Small Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Germans Produce Well on Small Farms," written by Axel Hansen, and published in the Minneapolis Tribune of July 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GERMANS PRODUCE WELL ON SMALL FARMS
(By Axel Hansen)

The large refugee population in West Germany and control of Germany's eastern breadbasket by Russia are forcing West Germany to import agricultural products, according to Dr. H. C. Niklas, German Secretary of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry.

Still, traveling in northern Germany, we passed many beautiful, well-kept farms with excellent grain and root crops.

Farms here are small. Sixty-five percent are from 10 to 40 acres; 30 percent from 40 to 200 acres and only 5 percent over 200 acres.

Most land is of a clay-loam texture, though in some sections it is lighter and even sandy. With good crop rotation and liberal application of barnyard and commercial fertilizer, they raise excellent crops.

There are few beef cattle here. The dairy cattle have a dual purpose and are used for both beef and milk production.

The average per-cow production each year is higher here than in Minnesota—8,000 pounds of milk and nearly 300 pounds of butterfat.

About two-thirds of West Germany is very hilly. It is common to see steep hillsides planted to crops and cultivated with equipment drawn by horses or steers.

In sections of more level terrain, where power machinery can be used, cooperative and private equipment owners rent machinery to small landowners during heavy-work periods.

The family farm is an accurate description for many of the holdings here. Large land holdings are sold in lots of 8 to 10 acres with a very small downpayment.

The Government will finance the building of a house, barn, and other buildings on these small parcels at a very low interest rate over 30 years.

Usually these small landowners have 8 to 12 cows, 5 or 6 sows, a flock of chickens, and a large garden.

The owner and his wife do all the work. They don't, of course, amass any great fortunes. But they usually pay off the loan before retirement and they seem happy and independent.

The recovery of German agriculture and industry is the main topic of conversation among tourists. It speaks well for the thriftiness and thoroughness with which the German people tackle difficult and sometimes almost hopeless problems.

Worthy Men and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an extremely fine article written by C. W. Dressler, Associate Editor, Johnstown, Pa., Tribune-Democrat, which appeared in the June 14, 1957, issue of the Harrisburg, Pa., Patriot.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR KENNEDY AND SENATOR CICERO AGREE
(By C. W. Dressler)

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, gave the graduates at Syracuse University some good, if not original, advice last week. He advised them to get into politics "Politics," said the Senator, who is a successful politician at 40, "has become one of our most neglected, our most abused, and our most ignored professions."

Politicians, he said, must decide the greatest problems of our times, both domestic and foreign. Above all, they must decide the "complex problems of war and peace," and war now means nuclear war. "It is not necessary," said the Senator, "that you be famous, that you effect radical changes in the government, or that you are acclaimed by the public for your efforts. It is not even necessary that you be successful."

Senator KENNEDY is right in emphasizing the need for young blood and able minds in politics. There is a tendency in every republic, probably, to follow the Epicurean maxim: "Let no wise man meddle in politics." But the logical result of that attitude is that only unwise men will meddle in it, with results which wise men will not like. The Roman political writer and orator, Cicero, in his "Republic," argued against the Epicurean theory.

Such apologies for political inactivity are not worth listening to, Cicero wrote. If, as was said, those who meddle with public affairs are "generally good-for-nothing men with whom it is discreditable to be compared and miserable and dangerous to contend," it was the part of wise men to take the reins away from such people. To virtuous, brave, and magnanimous men, said Cicero, there could be no better reason for seeking public office than this, "to avoid being subjected to worthless men, and to prevent the commonwealth from being torn to pieces by them."

How, Cicero asked, could he himself have become a consul, except by pursuing a political course from his youth? "You cannot produce extempore, and just when you please, the power of assisting a commonwealth, although it may be severely pressed by danger, unless you have attained the position which enables you legally to do so," Cicero said.

"And what most surprises me in the discourses of learned men," he continued, "is to hear those persons, who confess themselves inacapable of steering the vessel of the state in smooth seas, (which, indeed, they never learned, and never cared to know), profess themselves ready to assume the helm amid the fiercest tempests. For those men are accustomed to say openly, and indeed to boast greatly, that they have never learned, and have never taken the least pains to explain, the principles of either establishing or maintaining a commonwealth * * *."

"How then," he asked, "can it be reasonable for such men to promise their assistance to the state, when they shall be compelled to it by necessity, when they are ignorant how to govern the republic when no necessity presses upon it, which is a much more easy task?"

Those whom the Greeks called the seven wise men almost all lived in the middle of public affairs, Cicero said. And, in our own times, men to whom the country pays its highest respects are, in most instances, those who have played a part in public affairs.

The Senator from Massachusetts and the senator from Rome are in fairly close agreement on this subject. And they both make sense. Politics calls for skill and training, and only rarely is an individual called to high position in government who has not had a great deal of experience in public affairs at a lower level.

Politics plays a steadily increasing part in our national life, as Government expands itself into virtually all the domestic affairs of the Nation. An apathy toward politics which might have been justified many years ago, when Government was small, is totally unjustified when national budgets rise to $70 billion, and 1 out of 11 members of the Nation's labor force is on some public payroll.

The Late Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in the National Review of May 18, 1957, there appeared an article, written by William S. Schlamm, and a comment by Sam Jones, on the subject of the late Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin.

I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACROSS MCCARTHY'S GRAVE
(By William S. Schlamm)

There was no roof from which to jump and so there were no editorials bewailing an innocent man's annihilation by the hound dogs of malice. There was only a young man of 48, a young mountain of a man, but fatigued to the bone, fatigued and harassed and greatly astonished. It seems that Joe McCarthy never fully understood what had happened to him. When a stupid virus struck, a tired, young body gave up. At the wake, Mr. Acheson said "de mortuis nil nisi bonum," which is a certified gentleman's and Harvard overseer's way of saying that the deceased was a ———.

But the deceased was a good man, and I have come here to bear this witness. I

knew him, not too well, but well enough to testify. And about the hound dogs that kept snapping at him until he fell prostrate, I know everything there is to know. So here I am to deposit testimony, for a certain tomorrow of trial, on an epoch of insane guile, an epoch in which Joe McCarthy was tarred and feathered by genteel Ivy Leaguers, by gracious ladies of Women Voters Clubs and by noble princes of the press.

Joe McCarthy became the center of the century's most scandalous fracas because he had the strength and the defects of organic innocence. When his day of destiny came, he looked around, innocently, saw the gargoyles of antichrist staring and sneering at him from everywhere, and innocently he reached out to crush them. Now others had seen the gargoyles before him, and some had even visibly shuddered. But, at midcentury, everyone who spoke or wrote or emoted before the public had gone through the postgraduate school of relativism (which is the insolent denial of the free will that chooses between right and wrong). And so the speakers and the writers and the emoters, who among them are the true rulers of our society, kept constantly changing the subject. To them, the sneering gargoyles were artifacts, morally neutral, esthetically interesting, intellectually provocative and, of course, not really serious. But Joe McCarthy, once he had caught sight of them, could never again speak of anything else. The subject had taken possession of the speaker. For the subject was deadly serious. And so was the speaker.

Joe McCarthy must have had many defects, and I know some of them, but I will admit none—not because he is dead (Mr. Acheson speaks, in Latin as well as in English, sheer cant), but because he was hated and hunted for his virtues. He was hated, above all, for his impregnable innocence. What the learned frauds could not stand about McCarthy was his certainty: he knew what he knew, he believed what he believed, and there were no two ways about it. But the learned ass balks with invincible stubbornness when there are no two ways on which to move at the same time. And then, Joe McCarthy just could not be lukewarm. This, in the catechism of modernity, is the gravest of all mortal sins—not to be lukewarm. Let your word be never yea, yea and nay, nay. The hot and the cold will be spewed out of the establishment's mouth, but the lukewarm shall be forever accepted. For the establishment lives according to this blasphemous perversion of the Apocalypse.

Joe McCarthy could not have conformed with it if his life had depended on it. (It did.) And, as I was not born in this country, I might be clearly seeing something that native Americans so easily forget: that there is no greater American virtue, in fact, no other, than the American's natural revulsion against cynicism. Which is why progressive education proves so much more pernicious in America than anywhere else: it corrodes the native resistance to cynicism and so deprives the American of his one formative trait. Joe McCarthy, who would have politely put up with, but secretly yawned over, such an abstraction, was its ideal test case and evidence. He, so often and so stupidly accused of cynical crudeness by the liberal falsificators, was physically incapable of a cynical act. He said and he thought and he did what he said and thought and did for the one unheard-of reason only: to him, it seemed the thing to say and to think and to do. All his defeats and all his blunders were due to the fact that he was incapable of the clever maneuver, of the professional's prudent opportunism. He had seen the truth—and it killed him.

When McCarthy proceeded to uncover the immense Communist infiltration of free government and society, this was his activating premise: that man is responsible for the choices he has made in an exercise of his free will; and that, until a man is proven an irresponsible fool, he must be presumed to have made his choices in earnest. McCarthy's rationale was invariably the same: certain people are dedicated to certain ideas—ergo, whatever they do in positions they have obtained must have been determined by, and serve, these ideas. It is the obscene joke of the age that this ultimate compliment to the supremacy of the mind has been taken by the liberal intelligentsia as the supreme affront against the intellect, a sordid assault of know-nothingism on reason.

The huge intellectual scandal around McCarthy has always been the frightening frivolousness of his opposition which holds that man's choices signify nothing; that on his walks through the valley of decisions man picks and then discards commitments the same way Peter Pan picks and discards daisies. That Caliban, McCarthy, insisted that man must be taken seriously. The intelligentsia tarred and feathered him, because it insists that man is intellectually an eternal child and morally a vegetable. In short, at the heart of what McCarthy said and did was the very essence of western civilization; while his postgraduate opposition lost its mind on a savage binge of irrelevancy.

There he came, from the heartland of America, a tenacious and quite ordinary politician; and in a sudden and lasting moment of recognition, he saw the central truth of his age; that his country, his faith, his civilization was at war with communism, war pure and simple. "This war will not end except by either victory or death for this civilization," he said again and again. And it was this hot sense of urgency which distinguished him from all jovial practitioners of the political trade. It is this hot sense of urgency which he, for a short moment of truth, forced upon his country. But the automobiles were much too sleek, prosperity much too tepid, Eisenhower much too nice, TV much too amusing; and so the country grew tired of the truth and of the man who kept shouting it, redundantly and, at the end, hoarsely. The country went to sleep again. And the man lay down and died.

Then they gave him a funeral in the same Senate Chamber in which the world's most exclusive club had gathered, only 2 years before, to ostracize the young Member who had had the temerity to see and to say the truth. The mourning Senators looked, almost all of them, as if they all had drafted Mr. Eisenhower's message of condolence—ill at ease, confused, and rather exasperating. The black suits looked rented and the miens of mourning borrowed. Never before had an outlaw been so honored by the posse. Was he honored for having died in time?

Yet there was a weird feeling in the air on that day, a tremor of urgency throughout the Nation, a sudden fearsome shock. This, somehow, was an unnatural death. A man had died in bed, but the country felt that he had been stoned unto death. This, in spite of its slick communicators and ruling hucksters, is an inarticulate Nation. Too often it expresses its truest feelings by reflexes rather than in orderly prose. And, last Friday, I felt violent shocks contort the well-fed body of the Nation.

Last Friday morning, when the TV networth were finally ready to exploit the death notice of the night before, they found no better climax to the McCarthy story than the allegedly unforgettable TV shots of his collision with the eloquece of Mr. Joseph N. Welch, the attorney from Boston. I for one had forgotten Mr. Welch's act, but when I saw it again I felt, again, the painful shame of the badinage of what Professor Max Lerner called, the very same Friday, "a part of the history of great utterance." The last time I had witnessed Mr. Welch utter greatly on TV was when he performed, also for a fee (Ford Foundation), as actor-narrator of Lizzie Borden's ax-murder story; and though the greasy old juggler was here much more in his element than in the chambers of statecraft, there was still that phony sanctimonious creak in his voice even when he considered the forty whacks.

Indeed, I can conceive of no better casting for the role of the anti-McCarthyite than that clown from Boston. He, more than any other figure from the comic strip of our age, personifies the establishment. He reeks of gentility. He is as eloqent as a Cicero who has gone to school at Dale Carnegie's. He is as witty as Georgie Jessel himself, as urbane as any one of the Brooks Brothers, almost as sophisticated as the whiz who composes Time's promotion letters, and keen enough a legal mind to fill several pages of close-ups in Life. He is cute. But a century ago, a personality of his dimensions would hardly have qualified its possessor to seek employment as a gentleman's gentleman. Today, it assures for a supernumerary much fame and respect and a more than comfortable living in the employ of an entertainment industry which, let's face it, runs our Government as surely as it runs our television. For Jack London (another organic innocent from the heartland of America) was foolishly wrong when he suspected that the "Iron Heel" of a ruthless gang rules the modern state. It is ruled by the soft-spoken and the soft-brained, the well-mannered and the lukewarm, the genteel and half-educated asses. And Mr. Joseph N. Welch is properly their attorney and clown.

I shall be perfectly satisfied to be called for the rest of my life a McCarthyite, provided Messrs. Welch and Lerner shall be known as anti-McCarthyites. The dividing line is acutely drawn and quite precisely marked. A McCarthyite is a person who is instructed, either by organic innocence or by true sophistication, to fight for his life and his verities—those simple verities which only organic innocence or true sophistication can fathom. An anti-McCarthyite is a person who, for the sake of godlessness, puts the genteel rules of a vulgar game above life itself, above life and the verities which, to an anti-McCarthyite, are only figments of a superstitious imagination.

This, then, shall be the dividing line, and it is drawn across a fresh grave. In this grave we have put, for whatever future God has in His mind, a young man who, in 5 gruesome years, was stoned by the genteel into an ultimate fatigue. We do not crave his fate. We dread it. But we are ready to face it. We, too, have seen the gargoyles stare and sneer at us. We, too, are reaching out to crush them. We mean it. We are McCarthyites.

(By Sam Jones)

R. I. P.: "And Joseph dreamed a dream and he told it to his brethren: and they hated him yet the more."—Genesis XXXII: 5.

Almost 7 years ago—September 1950—I had my first meeting with Joe McCarthy. The occasion was a radio interview for the Arizona network. I did not know what to expect; another Huey Long, a new species of virulent demagog (McCarthy's enemies had already launched the deadly smear campaign). I found a man of intense sincerity, a patriot whose courage was to prove superb under an ordeal the like of which no one else has suffered in our country in decades. My last radio interview with the Senator was in April 1955. I have preserved the tape recordings of both discussions. Excerpts from both were included in my Arizona broadcast of last week. The years had wrought great changes, but the sincerity, the patriotism, and the courage were as evident in the second interview as in the first. And there was no bitterness. "Once in our times there was a man."

Malaria Comes Back in Canal Zone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Panama American of Thursday, July 18, 1957, which discloses that there has been a marked increase of malaria cases reported in recent weeks in the Canal Zone:

WEATHER BLAMED—DISEASE ALSO PROBLEM IN REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

A strong warning to all zone residents was issued today by the Canal Zone Health Bureau because of the marked increase of malaria cases reported in recent weeks.

More than four times as many cases have already been reported in June and July than were registered during these 2 months last year.

A total of 47 cases were reported last month, and 20 more have already been added thus far in July.

Dr. Alberto Bissot, Jr., Pamana's Public Health Director, indicated that there may have been an increase in the number of cases of malaria in Panama also, although the exact figures are not yet tabulated.

Bissot indicated that this might be due to the fact that the spraying control program has not yet been started this year because of a change in Panama's malarial control program to one of eradication.

Meanwhile, the zone's health bureau warning contained a special word of precaution to residents against staying outdoors after daylight hours.

The warning was predicated on the fact that several cases which have been reported within the last few weeks showed that malaria had been contracted within sanitated areas in the zone.

Weather conditions this year have made the task of controlling pest mosquitoes particularly difficult, the health bureau reported.

Heavy rains which normally come well before this time of the year they said help flush out mosquito breeding places.

Because of the increase in the incidence of malaria, zone health officials have increased their efforts for both pest and malaria control.

Two extensive air sprays have been made on the Atlantic side with the cooperation of the Army, and fogging has been increased in all zone communities. The Atlantic side field forces have also engaged in larvacide work.

The Health Bureau announcement said that all residents of the Canal Zone should take special precautions against the disease. Those whose duties do not require it should stay out of unsanitated areas, and residents should not stay outdoors at night unnecessarily.

Last year, Canal Zone records show a total of 15 cases for the entire months of June and July, as compared with a total of 67 already recorded for June and 2 weeks of this month. These figures include both civilian and military residents of the zone.

Of the cases reported in June, 23 were contracted within the Canal Zone, while four this month on which investigations have been completed so far indicate they were also contracted in the Canal Zone.

The task of mosquito control is carried out through cooperative efforts of the health authorities of Panama and the Canal Zone.

Col. Charles O. Bruce, the zone's health director, said today that they were receiving "fine cooperation" from health officials in Panama, particularly in mosquito control of areas near the boundary lines.

Dr. Bissot explained they were at present engaged in a program in conjunction with WHO and UNICEF which calls for the establishment of special zones.

The first phase of this program, which includes preparation of maps, has already been completed, he stated. The second and final phase begins within 30 days or 45 days.

He said that this year the malaria "control" program has been changed to a long-range one of eradication.

For that reason, spraying has not yet started this year, whereas last year it was carried out in April and May.

Dr. Bissot added that he felt the new approach toward malaria eradication would be very beneficial for wiping out malaria in Panama.

Song Censorship by Radio and Television Networks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, attention has been called by many interested parties and the press to the recent action of the major radio and television networks in prohibiting the playing of any songs which make references to darkies, massa, mammy, colored man, and old black Joe. The censorship that has been imposed on songs containing such references prohibits the playing of these songs unless they are edited or revised and such expressions are deleted. It means that the songs of the beloved Stephen Foster, the only composer in the history of our Nation to be elected to the Hall of Fame, cannot be played unless his lyrics are edited. The same is true of the songs of other composers. It means that the official State song of Florida, Foster's Way Down Upon the Suwannee River, cannot be presented over radio or television unless such phrases as "that's where this ole darky's heart am long to go" are deleted. It means that the official State song of Kentucky, My Old Kentucky Home, can no longer be sung unless substitutions are made for the words, "Oh, darkies how my heart grows weary far from the old folks at home."

This action by the major networks can only be recognized as an arbitrary censorship of American folk music. Under this ruling, folk music which for generations has preserved for posterity the love and affection that one race felt for another race during a particular time in our history will lose its meaning. Its value as folklore will be destroyed because the lyrics will no longer be authentic. It seems ridiculous to me for any group to try to erase from American folklore the genuine spirit of feeling that prevailed at any time in our history. It is ridiculous to refuse to recognize that this music is great music because of the truth embodied in its lyrics—lyrics which were not offensive when they were written—lyrics which have been sung by many generations of Americans and have a warm place in the memories of many Americans. This effort to force the revision of folk music which is a part of the very heart of Americana is to my thinking the most absurd situation that has developed in the history of our country. I thoroughly agree with one constituent who, in writing me, referred to this edict as "the height of asininity."

We spoke loud and long about freedom of speech and constantly have been alert to prevent any abridgment of this right. Now, we are faced with the abridgment of another form of the freedom of expression—namely, the American folk song. If this suppression of folk music is allowed to continue who knows how far or to what more ridiculous extremes it will be carried. There could never be another Al Jolson—what would he sing? There would never be another minstrel show, regardless of the fact that this too is an American tradition. What will happen to other folk music? Will they next edit western songs because of references to the American Indian? What about the "Great White Father" of the American Indian?

If this asinine censorship continues and references to color, creed, race, and nationality are forbidden, perhaps someone will even consider it necessary to change the name of the White House as that too may become offensive.

We have been quick to condemn Russia and other nations when they have altered their histories to reflect political thinking of current times—when they sought to rewrite world history by laying claim to inventions and deeds which were not theirs—when they allegedly reported incorrect texts of our own history.

And yet, in our own country, two of our most important mediums of public opinion are permitted to arbitrarily censor the American folksong. They have insisted on editing and revising musical verse to meet the wishes of a few. I cannot consider this in any light other than an abridgment of free expression and the destruction of famous American works.

I urge each of my colleagues to give careful thought to the seriousness of this situation and to the possibility of future infringements on individual rights which may develop from this censorship. I hope that each Member of the House of Representatives will exert every possible effort to see that this ridiculous censorship on the part of the networks is rescinded immediately.

Rice Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following statistics about rice allotments:

Rice: 1956

State and county	Number of farm allotments	Total acreage allotted	Production	Value of production	Average allotment acreage per farm	Average production per farm allotment	Average value per farm allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
MISSOURI			*Hundredweight*	*Dollars*	*Acres*	*Hundredweight*	*Dollars*
Butler	14	1,437	40,180	186,837	103	2,870	13,346
Dunklin	1	47	1,340	6,231	47	1,340	6,231
Holt	1	2			2		
Lewis	1	8	210	976	8	210	976
Lincoln	2	34	780	3,627	17	390	1,814
Marion	3	308	8,040	37,386	103	2,680	12,462
Mississippi	1	87	2,210	10,276	87	2,210	10,276
New Madrid	8	411	12,600	58,590	51	1,575	7,324
Pemiscot	7	547	15,800	73,470	78	2,257	10,496
Pike	1						
Ripley	17	469	10,990	51,104	28	646	3,006
St. Charles	2	35	340	1,581	18	170	790
Scott	4	242	6,960	32,364	60	1,740	8,091
Stoddard	20	953	32,550	151,358	48	1,628	7,568
State	82	4,580	132,000	613,800	56	1,610	7,485

State and county	Number of preliminary producer allotments	Number of farm allotments	Total acreage allotted to farms	Estimated production	Value of production	Average allotment acreage per producer	Average allotment acreage per farm	Average production per producer allotment	Average production per farm allotment	Average value per producer allotment	Average value per farm allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
TEXAS				*Hundredweight*	*Dollars*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Hundredweight*	*Hundredweight*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
Austin	9	9	1,876	48,600	247,860	208	208	5,400	5,400	27,540	27,540
Bowie	6	5	512	11,800	60,180	85	102	1,967	2,360	10,032	12,036
Brazoria	367	146	50,910	1,312,000	6,691,200	139	349	3,575	8,986	18,232	45,829
Calhoun	82	25	5,594	123,000	627,300	68	224	1,500	4,920	7,650	25,092
Chambers	314	147	41,087	775,000	3,952,500	131	280	2,468	5,272	12,587	26,887
Colorado	299	166	30,040	951,000	4,850,100	100	181	3,181	5,729	16,223	29,218
Fort Bend	106	80	17,837	481,000	2,453,100	168	223	4,538	6,013	23,144	30,666
Galveston	52	16	10,498	286,000	1,458,600	202	656	5,500	17,875	28,050	91,162
Hardin	13	7	1,390	32,000	163,200	107	199	2,462	4,571	12,556	23,312
Harris	325	164	34,705	927,000	4,727,700	107	212	2,852	5,652	14,545	28,825
Jackson	188	134	27,264	798,000	4,069,800	145	203	4,245	5,955	21,650	30,370
Jasper	2	1	81	1,700	8,670	40	81	850	1,700	4,335	8,670
Jefferson	567	208	55,424	1,262,000	6,436,200	98	266	2,226	6,067	11,353	30,942
Lavaca	24	24	5,210	148,000	754,800	217	217	6,167	6,167	31,452	31,452
Liberty	236	104	32,971	667,000	3,401,700	140	317	2,826	6,413	14,413	32,706
Mayagorda	349	174	36,887	1,171,000	5,972,100	106	212	3,355	6,730	17,110	34,323
Newton	7	5	896	21,600	110,160	128	179	3,086	4,320	15,739	22,032
Orange	106	36	5,040	118,000	601,800	48	140	1,113	3,278	5,676	16,718
Polk	2	1	200	5,300	27,030	100	200	2,650	5,300	13,515	27,030
Victoria	15	15	3,615	101,000	515,100	241	241	6,733	6,733	34,338	34,338
Waller	80	39	12,024	330,000	1,683,000	150	308	4,125	8,462	21,038	43,156
Wharton	525	309	47,119	1,429,000	7,287,900	90	152	2,722	4,625	13,882	23,588
State	3,674	1,815	421,180	11,000,000	56,100,000	115	232	2,994	6,061	15,269	30,911

State and county	Number of preliminary producer allotments	Number of farm allotments	Total acreage allotted to farms	Estimated production	Value of production	Average allotment acreage per producer	Average allotment acreage per farm	Average production per producer allotment	Average production per farm allotment	Average value per producer allotment	Average value per farm allotment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
CALIFORNIA				*Hundredweight*	*Dollars*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Hundredweight*	*Hundredweight*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
Butte	471	200	48,092	1,927,000	8,189,750	102	240	4,091	9,635	17,387	40,949
Colusa	503	200	57,436	2,203,500	9,364,875	114	287	4,381	11,018	18,618	46,824
Glenn	314	135	35,086	1,394,000	5,924,500	112	260	4,439	10,326	18,868	43,885
Sacramento	141	35	10,763	436,800	1,856,400	76	308	3,098	12,480	13,166	53,040
Sutter	627	226	49,908	2,231,000	9,481,750	80	221	3,558	9,872	15,122	41,955
Yolo	276	49	27,550	1,071,000	4,551,750	100	562	3,880	21,857	16,492	92,893
Yuba	176	48	10,886	364,000	1,547,000	62	227	2,068	7,583	8,790	32,229
Fresno	283	138	22,748	976,500	4,150,125	80	165	3,451	7,076	14,666	30,073
Kern	83	43	5,161	147,200	625,600	62	120	1,773	3,423	7,537	14,549
Kings	2	2	378	9,100	38,675	189	189	4,550	4,550	19,338	19,338
Madera	40	15	1,861	73,500	312,375	47	124	1,838	4,900	7,809	20,825
Merced	79	36	8,406	269,100	1,143,675	106	234	3,406	7,475	14,477	31,769
San Joaquin	224	85	9,780	288,000	1,224,000	44	115	1,286	3,388	5,464	14,400
Stanislaus	51	30	2,220	88,200	374,850	44	74	1,729	2,940	7,348	12,495
Tulare	28	15	1,315	31,200	132,600	47	88	1,114	2,080	4,734	8,840
Placer	96	37	5,315	214,200	910,350	55	144	2,231	5,789	9,483	24,604
Imperial	8	8	337	1,700	7,225	42	42	212	212	903	903
Riverside	9	1	138	0		15	138				
State	3,411	1,303	297,380	11,726,000	49,835,500	87	228	3,438	8,999	14,610	38,246

Rice: 1956—Continued

ARKANSAS

District	County	Number of farm allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Production (hundredweight) (3)	Value of production (dollars) (4)	Average acreage per farm allotment (acres) (5)	Average production per farm allotment (hundredweight) (6)	Average value per farm allotment (dollars) (7)
3	Clay	122	6,990	195,300	956,970	57	1,600	7,844
	Craighead	292	15,875	466,000	2,283,400	54	1,596	7,820
	Greene	144	5,185	144,500	708,050	36	1,003	4,917
	Independence	12	564	15,200	74,480	47	1,267	6,207
	Jackson	300	18,504	510,000	2,499,000	62	1,700	8,330
	Lawrence	148	7,822	234,500	1,149,050	53	1,584	7,764
	Mississippi	12	1,402	45,800	224,420	117	3,817	18,702
	Poinsett	442	35,146	1,019,000	4,993,100	80	2,305	11,297
	Randolph	31	1,957	51,100	250,390	63	1,648	8,077
	White	25	1,050	26,700	130,830	42	1,068	5,233
	District 3 total	528	94,495	2,708,100	13,269,690	62	1,772	8,684
5	Conway	1	10	385	1,886	10	385	1,886
	Faulkner	4	420	9,565	46,868	105	2,391	11,717
	Grant	1	31			31		
	Hot Spring	9	433	11,500	56,350	48	1,278	6,261
	Perry	9	909	24,100	118,090	101	2,678	13,121
	Pulaski	23	1,721	52,000	254,800	75	2,261	11,078
	District 5 total	47	3,524	97,550	477,995	75	2,076	10,170
6	Arkansas	872	69,456	2,129,000	10,432,100	80	2,442	11,963
	Crittenden	65	5,865	170,000	833,000	90	2,615	12,815
	Cross	566	33,065	933,500	4,574,150	58	1,649	8,082
	Lee	152	7,795	206,500	1,011,850	51	1,359	6,657
	Lonoke	536	35,697	1,061,000	5,198,900	67	1,979	9,699
	Monroe	227	13,364	353,500	1,732,150	59	1,557	7,631
	Phillips	40	4,785	126,500	619,850	120	3,162	15,496
	Prairie	539	36,678	1,091,000	5,345,900	68	2,024	9,918
	Saint Francis	254	16,991	481,000	2,356,900	67	1,894	9,279
	Woodruff	248	18,546	500,000	2,450,000	75	2,016	9,879
	District 6 total	3,499	242,242	7,052,000	34,554,800	69	2,015	9,876
7	Lafayette	6	802	18,500	90,650	134	3,083	15,108
	Little River	8	373	4,800	23,520	47	600	2,940
	Miller	10	686	12,400	60,760	69	1,240	6,076
	District 7 total	24	1,861	35,700	174,930	78	1,488	7,289
8	Clark	10	507	13,450	65,905	51	1,345	6,590
	Dallas	2	65	1,700	8,330	32	850	4,165
	District 8 total	12	572	15,150	74,235	48	1,262	6,186
9	Ashley	77	5,964	171,000	837,900	77	2,221	10,880
	Chicot	88	8,815	266,000	1,303,400	100	3,023	14,811
	Desha	120	12,810	396,000	1,940,400	107	3,300	16,170
	Drew	28	4,378	135,500	663,950	156	4,839	23,712
	Jefferson	141	15,815	467,000	2,288,300	112	3,312	16,229
	Lincoln	75	8,581	246,000	1,205,400	114	3,280	16,072
	District 9 total	529	56,363	1,681,500	8,239,350	107	3,179	15,573
	State total	5,639	399,057	11,590,000	56,791,000	71	2,055	10,071

LOUISIANA

District	Parish	Number of farm allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Production (hundredweight) (3)	Value of production (dollars) (4)	Average acreage per farm allotment (acres) (5)	Average production per farm allotment (hundredweight) (6)	Average value per farm allotment (dollars) (7)
1	Bossier	1	60			60		
3	East Carroll	18	3,628	128,000	608,000	202	7,111	33,777
	Franklin	1	1			1		
	Madison	1	249	8,400	39,900	249	8,400	39,900
	Morehouse	9	839	29,600	140,600	93	3,289	15,623
	Richland	6	163	5,000	23,750	27	833	3,957
	Tensas	1	114			114		
	West Carroll	5	630	21,400	101,650	126	4,280	20,330
	District 3 total	41	5,624	192,400	913,900	137	4,693	22,292
5	Avoyelles	51	2,537	57,500	273,125	50	1,127	5,353
	Concordia	1	277	4,500	21,375	277	4,500	21,375
	Evangeline	1,145	40,960	1,060,000	5,035,000	36	1,926	4,398
	Grant	1	168	4,500	21,375	168	4,500	21,375
	Rapides	7	522	11,300	53,675	75	1,614	7,666
	Saint Landry	503	15,581	402,000	1,909,500	31	799	3,795
	District 5 total	1,708	60,045	1,539,800	7,314,050	35	902	4,284
6	St. Tammany	10	1,041	18,600	88,350	104	1,860	8,835

Rice: 1956—Continued

LOUISIANA—continued

District	Parish	Number of farm allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Production (hundredweight) (3)	Value of production (dollars) (4)	Average acreage per farm allotment (acres) (5)	Average production per farm allotment (hundredweight) (6)	Average value per farm allotment (dollars) (7)
7	Acadia	1,868	85,190	2,234,000	10,611,500	46	1,196	5,681
	Allen	248	22,044	577,000	2,740,750	89	2,327	11,053
	Beauregard	37	4,562	84,000	399,000	123	2,270	10,782
	Calcasieu	316	60,415	1,142,000	5,424,500	191	3,614	17,166
	Cameron	52	12,144	297,000	1,410,750	234	5,712	27,132
	Jefferson Davis	898	88,239	2,362,000	11,219,500	98	2,630	12,492
	Vermillion	2,013	104,636	2,587,000	12,288,250	52	1,285	6,104
	District 7 total	5,432	377,230	9,283,000	44,094,250	69	1,709	8,118
8	Assumption	5	554	10,700	50,825	111	2,140	10,165
	Iberia	92	5,753	106,000	503,500	63	1,152	5,472
	Iberville	11	2,397	51,500	244,625	218	4,682	22,240
	Lafayette	307	8,649	190,000	902,500	28	619	2,940
	St. Martin	55	3,767	99,000	470,250	43	1,125	5,344
	St. Mary	10	2,913	67,000	318,250	291	6,700	31,825
	District 8 total	513	24,033	524,200	2,489,950	47	1,022	4,854
9	Ascension	12	2,012	51,000	242,250	168	4,250	20,188
	Lafourche	4	495	7,900	37,525	124	1,975	9,381
	Plaquemines	1	331	5,500	26,125	331	5,500	26,125
	St. Charles	4	516			129		
	St. James	26	2,550	55,000	261,250	98	2,115	10,046
	St. John the Baptist	6	985	18,000	88,350	164	3,100	14,725
	Terrebonne	2	172	4,000	19,000	86	2,000	9,500
	District 9 total	55	7,061	142,000	674,500	128	2,582	12,264
	State total	7,760	475,094	11,700,000	55,575,000	61	1,508	7,163

MISSISSIPPI

District	County	Number of farm allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Production (hundredweight) (3)	Value of production (dollars) (4)	Average acreage per farm allotment (acres) (5)	Average production per farm allotment (hundredweight) (6)	Average value per farm allotment (dollars) (7)
1	Bolivar	120	19,546	518,900	2,594,500	163	4,324	21,620
	Coahoma	12	1,514	42,480	212,400	126	3,540	17,700
	Quitman	11	1,281	35,990	179,950	116	3,272	16,360
	Tallahatchie	5	464	12,470	62,350	93	2,494	12,470
	Tunica	18	3,189	87,725	438,625	177	4,874	24,370
	District 1 total	166	25,994	697,565	3,487,825			
2	De Soto	4	1,084	30,500	152,500	271	7,625	38,125
	Panola	1	72	1,950	9,750	72	1,950	9,750
	Tate	1	109	3,085	15,425	109	3,085	15,425
	District 2 total	6	1,265	35,535	177,675			
4	Humphreys	10	1,943	54,520	272,600	194	5,452	27,260
	Issaquena	1	96	2,800	14,000	96	2,800	14,000
	Leflore	24	3,389	99,000	495,000	141	4,125	20,625
	Sharkey	8	939	22,620	113,100	117	2,828	14,140
	Sunflower	32	4,098	108,300	541,500	128	3,384	16,920
	Washington	61	8,792	229,100	1,145,500	144	3,756	18,780
	District 4 total	136	19,257	516,340	2,581,700			
9	Hancock	4	167	4,360	22,800	42	1,140	5,700
	State total	312	46,683	1,254,000	6,270,000	150	4,019	20,095

An Opinion of "The People on Capitol Hill"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter from Col. Ralph J. Watson of the Office of the Secretary of the Department of the Air Force.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my practice to insert letters from people in the RECORD, but Col. Ralph J. Watson who is concluding his tour in General Kelly's office, expresses an opinion of the "people on Capitol Hill."

I am sure that those who know of the activities of a Member of Congress are aware of the tremendous amount of work that is associated with the high honor of being a Member of Congress. However, to hear it from one of the members of the armed services in a high position, I think, is well worth recording in the archives. I submit it to the membership and hope it will act as soothing medicine when some of our mail gets rather critical.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, July 8, 1957.

Hon. J. HARRY MCGREGOR,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. MCGREGOR: As you may know my tour in General Kelly's office of Legislative Liaison is about to be concluded. I wish to take this opportunity to thank you

and your staff for the fine cooperation and reception you have given me. It has been a real privilege and a high honor to be associated with you during my assignment. I shall always have a warm spot in my heart and the very highest praise for the people on Capitol Hill who so unselfishly devote their life for our country.

Sincerely,

RALPH J. WATSON,
Colonel, USAF.

House Joint Resolution 127

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. MILLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, our colleague, the brilliant gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. ST. GEORGE], spoke of the long-pending equal-rights amendment and the campaign initiated at Seneca Falls, N. Y., by Susan B. Anthony, 109 years ago this month.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE listed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the names of 239 of us who are cosponsors of House Joint Resolution 127.

With such a weight of sponsorship it seems, indeed, strange that this resolution remains dormant in the hands of the committee, as it has in so many previous sessions. Why, Mr. Speaker, when so much time is devoted to debating other phases of civil rights in this and the other body cannot this resolution come to the floor for consideration? Certainly it has been under discussion for well over a century.

I am pleased to note that the 239 sponsors include all seven Representatives from the Free State of Maryland.

In that connection permit me to quote from the writing of Susan B. Anthony—The History of Woman Suffrage, volume IV, published in 1902.

Of the State of Maryland she wrote—page 695:

> If but one State in the Union allowed woman to represent herself it should be Maryland, which was named for a woman, whose capital was named for a woman, and where in 1647 Mistress Margaret Brent, the first woman suffragist in America, demanded "place and voyce" in the Assembly as the executor and representative of her kinsman, Lord Baltimore. Her petition was denied but she must have had some gallant supporters, as the archives record that the question of her admission was hotly debated for hours.

And if I may be pardoned a personal reference in the same chapter—page 697—Miss Anthony commenting on my grandparents, whose enthusiasm for equal rights for women I am proud to have inherited, said:

> One of the first and most efficient of the workers (in Maryland) is Mrs. Caroline Hallowell Miller, who has represented her State for many years at the national conventions and pleased the audiences with her humorous but strong addresses. Her husband, Francis Miller, a prominent lawyer, was one of the very few men in the State who advocated suffrage for women as early as 1874, when he made an appeal for the enfranchisement of the women of the District of Columbia before the House Judiciary Committee.

It appears from the above quotation that in 1874 the great Judiciary Committee of the House held hearings on this subject. Now, 83 years later, it should not be so difficult as it seems to have the committee hold hearings on House Joint Resolution 127.

Troubles Grow in Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, for years Communist propaganda, generally spread quite unknowingly by Americans who thought with kind hearts more than with cold heads, sang praises about the allegedly wonderful efficiency and constructive work for the common people of China done by the new Red masters. Fortunately, these siren songs were resisted long enough by the majority in our country and in our Government so that the truth is at last coming out, as it always does eventually. What is needed now is a continuation of patient firmness and strength on the part of ourselves and our allies. Red China could not be overthrown from the outside; it will be weakened and brought down from the inside, if only the free world will keep the pressures on—diplomatic, political, and economic pressures plus social isolation.

An instructive article, from the U. S. News & World Report of July 12, 1957, portraying the rising unrest in all sections of the Chinese population, follows:

> IS RED CHINA NEAR REVOLT?—MILLIONS FACE FAMINE, FARMERS STRIKE, UNREST SEETHES IN CITIES, UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS, SABOTAGE, STUDENTS COMPLAIN
>
> (Now there's serious trouble brewing in Red China. Behind it are Communist failures in trying to manage both industry and farming. People are demanding a change—or else. Mao Tse-tung is worried. He shows it by making new promises—while replacing peasant soldiers with security police.)
>
> HONG KONG.—While new rumblings take place in Russia, next door in Red China there are rumblings of another kind as that country's rulers resort to even more drastic measures to try to make communism work in the face of mounting troubles.
>
> Revolt is stirring in the Chinese countryside, where peasants now are resisting collectivized farming with deliberate slaughter of livestock and with sitdown strikes. Some 70 million people, near famine as a result of storms and floods, are demanding relief—or else.
>
> In the cities of Red China there is seething unrest due to setbacks and failures in industry. Disgruntled workers, their wages outpaced by a runaway inflation, are staging strikes and sabotage. A growing army of unemployed roams the streets.
>
> Students and intellectuals, too, are growing restive. These groups, long considered the backbone of the Communist regime, are holding protest demonstrations and openly voicing their complaints over the way the Red regime is handling things.
>
> It is against this background of rising discontent that the Communist leaders are promoting a campaign which they hope will avert a "second Hungary" in China.
>
> BOOMERANG INVITATION
>
> Mao Tse-tung, the boss of China's Communists, spearheaded the campaign by admitting that "contradictions" exist among the people and inviting critics to speak out and suggest what they think should be done.
>
> The invitation opened up a floodgate for public criticism. People called things far worse in China than the Communists had ever let on. Many critics even pinned the blame squarely on Mao and his fellow Red leaders, and blasted the Communist system. Mao struck back at these attacks with a warning that the regime may label certain critics as enemies of the people—eligible for liquidation.
>
> Main purpose of the so-called rectification campaign, apparently, is to smoke out extreme critics of the Communist regime, isolate them and use them as scapegoats. That would prevent them from becoming rallying points of revolt. As for milder critics, Mao's hope seems to be to let them blow off steam as a way to avoid a further build-up of tension.
>
> Western observers are convinced that in all this the men who run Communist China are merely attacking the symptoms of that country's troubles and not the real sources of its smoldering unrest. What's happening in China, as these observers see it, is due as much to bad Communist planning as to Communist oppression.
>
> China, after a major effort to expand heavy industry under a Soviet-style 5-year plan, now finds it has slighted light industry to a dangerous degree. No longer can it meet the everyday needs of its expanding population for household goods. Cooking oil, soap, cloth, pots and pans and even writing paper are so short that people stand in line for hours, sometimes days, before they can hope to buy any.
>
> For all the emphasis on expansion of heavy industry, China now discovers that it has pushed that phase of its industry too fast and too far to make real use of it. Big, modern factories were built at enormous cost—but without developing enough fuel or raw materials to operate them. Potentionally rich deposits of various ores are only beginning to be tapped. It will take much time and effort before they can be put fully to use.
>
> SIGHTS ARE LOWERED
>
> Meanwhile, the shortages are beginning to tell in a number of ways. The building of several factories begun in 1956 is being abandoned. Plans for big new steel and chemical plants have had to be shelved indefinitely. The rate of industrial expansion planned for 1957 is barely one-fifth that of 1956, and some experts call that prediction overoptimistic.
>
> Workers are feeling the full brunt of the cutbacks. Staffs are being reduced and wages are being frozen, or cut, in an effort to cope with the industrial crisis. Many workers, caught in a squeeze between frozen wages and soaring living costs or thrown out of work, have taken out their resentment in strikes against the Government. In one province alone, the Communists admit, 13 strikes have taken place this year.
>
> Agriculture, under Communist planning, presents a picture of even worse chaos and confusion. In fact, some observers say that most of Red China's present troubles can be traced directly to the decision taken by Mao 2 years ago, in the face of hardening resistance among peasants, to go ahead at full speed with collectivization of all 120 million peasant families.

So far, more than 96 percent of China's peasants have been forced into collective or cooperative farms, under a firm belief that this would work wonders in agricultural output. Its effect has been just the opposite. Farmers are falling far short of producing enough to feed and clothe adequately China's growing population.

Yields are actually falling in some crops. Output of cotton in 1956 declined so sharply that the scant cotton ration had to be cut in half. Vegetables and dairy products are not turning up as plentifully as before in city markets. Meat is getting scarcer, too, with production of pigs down by 20 percent in 2 years.

NEW ROUND OF FAMINE?

Even the Communists admit that China last year suffered its worst famine since they came to power and that another famine this year cannot be ruled out. They blame "natural calamities" for most of their farming troubles, but the fact is that collectivization is failing to get any real support among the millions of peasants who comprise most of the country's population.

Chinese farmers are bitter about the rough treatment they suffer at the hands of bureaucratic "cadres" assigned to rural areas to encourage them to produce more and consume less. They resent the fact that they must sell their produce to the Government at fixed prices but are unable to buy many things because of scarcities or steeply rising prices.

Many farmers are so sullen and resentful that they are making their Communist rulers pay dearly. Some have slaughtered their livestock, chopped down their trees or sold their meager farm implements rather than turn them over to collectives. Other peasants have staged sit-down strikes. Large numbers have fled to Hong Kong with their families, or streamed into nearby cities to look for jobs.

No matter where the Communist leaders look today, there seems to be trouble brewing. Lately, discontent has spread among students and intellectuals. These groups, once fanatic supporters, now are scornful of Communist failures. Technical students are particularly bitter at a decre that 4 out of 5 of them quit school and return to the land because of big cutbacks in industry.

Early this year the unrest in China reached such proportions that Mao decided something drastic had to be done. That was when he invited critics of the Government to speak up. But, instead of easing tension, the attacks upon the Government have only increased it. They have exposed the full extent of Communist failure and given people new reason for distrusting—even hating—their Red masters.

"KILL THE COMMUNISTS"

For example, many Chinese found themselves agreeing with the words of Ko Pei-chi, a university lecturer, when he made this blanket criticism of the regime:

"I want to reiterate once again that the masses want to overthrow the Communist Party and to kill the Communists. If you do not reform and put forth effort, and the degeneration is allowed to continue, there would be a day when you would lead yourselves to this end."

Such indictments prompted Mao to move in several directions at once. He and his Premier and Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai, frankly acknowledged many of the errors and failures of the Government. They admitted that 70 million Chinese are short of food and clothes in flooded areas—although not admitting that the Government takes so much of each peasant's production that he has little reserve with which to face famine.

Even oppressive measures used by the Communists were admitted. Mao confirmed reports that large numbers of enemies of the people were killed or sent to labor camps—he said 800,000 had been killed since the regime began, although reports put the number as high as 15 million. He promised that no such harsh measures would be used again, and announced that two non-Communist members of the cabinet, who had openly criticized the party, would not be punished.

RETREAT ON FARMS

To try to placate his people further, Mao announced a whole series of new measures. In the rice fields, there would be greater incentives and higher payments to peasants. What's more, they could sell their own fowl and livestock if they wanted to, plus any rice they grow above quotas. Capital investment in heavy industry would be cut back 20 percent, to allow more capital and raw materials to flow into factories making consumer goods. Exports of farm products, mostly to Russia to pay for heavy industrial equipment, would be cut sharply to allow more food and cloth for all.

Amid all these promises, the people remain wary. At the same time Mao is holding out the carrot, he is also readying the stick—in the form of new security measures to deal with any real trouble. The army's feared public security forces—which could arbitrarily arrest anyone on a charge of counter-revolutionary activity—are to be replaced by a new democratic people's police. In effect, this will take peasant soldiers out of areas where they might side with fellow peasants in case of trouble, and put city-trained police in their place.

Thus, Mao as the boss Communist in China finds himself moving to avoid a second Hungary in a situation of growing unrest among the world's largest national population.

NO REVOLT—YET

Western officials doubt that this unrest is about to explode into open revolt. Not right away, at any rate. But it is clear to them that Mao and his fellow leaders are worried—and have reason to be.

The fact that the Communists have been forced to announce such drastic changes in their policies and police controls is one tip-off on this. Mao's confession of errors and contradictions is another. Together, these actions underline just how deep the trouble in China really is.

Some Cotton Income Totals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some statistics about cotton allotments.

COTTON: TOTAL VALUE OF PRODUCTION IN 100 LEADING COTTON COUNTIES AND PERCENT OF TOTAL VALUE OF UNITED STATES COTTON PRODUCTION, 1955

United States, total number of cotton counties, 1,007.

United States, total value of cotton produced, $2,367,886,000.

One hundred leading cotton counties—total value of cotton produced, $1,338,022,000.

Total value of cotton produced in 100 leading counties as a percent of total United States cotton production, 56.5 percent.

Range in value of cotton produced in 100 leading counties, $6,119,000—$58,549,000.

Total value of cotton produced in 100 counties out of 1,007 cotton counties was 56.5 percent of the total value of cotton produced in the United States, 1955.

Source: Daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 17, 1957, pp. A4758-A4769.

United States by cotton States: Percent of State total number of counties and percent of State total cotton acreage allotments accounting for approximately 50 percent of total value of cotton produced in each State and related data, 1955

State	Total number of cotton counties	Number of counties accounting for approximately 50 percent of State total cotton production	Percent of total number of counties in State	Percent of State total cotton allotments in selected counties	Total value of cotton produced in selected counties	Percent of total value of cotton in State produced in selected counties	Range in average value per allotment [1]
					Thousands		
Alabama	67	23	34.3	30.7	$86,402	48.5	$1,495–$3,732
Arizona	10	2	14.3	20.7	49,768	43.7	38,000–62,582
Arkansas	71	7	9.3	21.6	137,456	50.4	7,313–13,929
California	12	5	8.6	30.0	100,619	50.5	13,748–31,011
Florida	25	7	10.4	25.4	1,844	44.5	886– 1,183
Georgia	150	34	21.4	29.0	60,032	50.4	1,656– 4,299
Illinois	2	1	.98	49.8	160	56.3	532– 693
Kentucky	7	1	.83	34.6	1,483	87.8	3,506–
Louisiana	56	9	14.1	21.8	47,649	50.1	2,904– 6,707
Mississippi	79	9	11.0	9.8	168,571	49.2	9,374–27,766
Missouri	8	2	1.8	29.7	35,551	52.9	6,947– 7,586
Nevada	2	1	5.9	94.0	323	98.8	19,000–
New Mexico	16	3	9.4	30.3	23,543	55.6	12,668–14,133
North Carolina	76	12	12.0	29.6	27,883	49.5	715– 1,713
Oklahoma	70	9	11.7	28.2	35,967	53.4	1,737– 4,361
South Carolina	46	14	30.4	32.5	50,296	53.0	1,493– 4,639
Tennessee	54	8	8.4	27.6	58,627	56.0	2,385–11,557
Texas	241	42	20.5	18.5	311,066	51.2	4,733–30,824
Virginia	15	5	5.1	35.0	1,050	50.2	407– 1,500

[1] Range in average value per allotment for selected counties indicated in col. 1.

Source: Compiled from daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 17, 1957, pp. A4758-A4769. Carl A. Hagen, analyst in agricultural economics, Economics Division, July 3, 1957.

Ukraine—Our Unrecognized Ally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the recent consolidation of power by Mr. Khrushchev has led to some wishful reactions on the part of many Americans. Some view it as a turn for the better. Othere unrealistcally see it as a further step in the Russian Communists relaxing their tight control over the people and nations within the U. S. S. R. Many, including our Secretary of State, claim they have predicted something like this and interpret the change in terms of a vague and misleading doctrine of evolution toward freedom in the Soviet Union.

Each of these views can be easily challenged. The prospects for enduring peace are even worse with a guileful Khrushchevism than they were with blunt Stalinism. Moreover, despite the many known pressures for freedom within the Soviet Union, even the criminal Khrushchev or any other despot in Moscow, will be compelled to observe the narrow limits of such relaxation efforts in the U. S. S. R. if the entire empire structure is not to fall on the heads of the Russian Communist imperialists. Thus, to pray to the goddess of evolution for the eventual freedom of the enslaved nations in the Soviet Union is a poor substitute for imaginative action to aid these nations in securing their freedom.

In recent weeks all the official reports flowing out of the Soviet Union stress in one way or another the nationalities policy of Lenin and that the measures of Khrushchev uphold this policy. Western commentators have curiously enough almost completely overlooked this vital aspect which basically explains much of the trouble in the U. S. S. R. Non-Russian nationalism is the dominant freedom force in the Soviet Union. Stalin failed to annihilate it; now Khrushchev in a guileful manner seeks to harness it. That he, too, will fail, I have no doubt.

My lack of doubt on this score rests on a factual knowledge of the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. To give an indication of the realities in the largest of these non-Russian nations, Ukraine, for example, I should like to bring to the attention of the Members a cogent talk delivered by Mr. Joseph Lesawyer on Ukraine, Our Unrecognized Ally. Mr. Lesawyer is vice president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. As many Members know, this ardent, anti-Communist American organization is led by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University.

Mr. Lesawyer's lecture was recently given at St. Joseph's Commercial High School in Brooklyn, N. Y. It was one of a series entitled "The Future of Satellite Countries," sponsored by the social action department of the Brooklyn diocese, of which the Right Reverend Monsignor William F. Kelly is director. This talk on Ukraine can serve to shed much light on the spurious "nationalities policy of Lenin." Because of its current importance, I insert this address in the RECORD by unanimous consent previously granted:

UKRAINE, OUR UNRECOGNIZED ALLY

At the outset please permit me to thank Right Reverend Monsignor Kelly and his staff of the social action department, and the Brooklyn diocese for including Ukraine in this lecture series entitled "The Future of Satellite Countries." Ukraine, generally is not regarded by America as a satellite country but is thought of as merely a Russian territory of the Soviet Union. Ukraine's failure to be commonly accepted as a separate and distinct nation is largely the result of diplomatic salesmanship on the part of Russian imperialists, both Red and Czarist. Of course, history, where authentically recorded, resolutely refutes all attempts to erase Ukraine from the European family of nations but history, at a given moment, is often obscured by ubiquitous propaganda and that appears to be the case here. Regardless of prevailing misconceptions, past events provide unchallengable evidence that Ukraine's destiny inexorably influences the fate of the many millions of neighboring people in Central and Eastern Europe. It is obvious now that Ukraine's 35 years of Communist agony and her inability to overthrow this tyrannical power, foreshadowed the coming disaster to her neighbors. For the past 15 years they all have been enslaved and subjected to the same ruthless tortures and exploitation suffered by Ukraine since 1922. Almost hermetically sealed in the muck and filth of immorality and physical degradation by Godless despots, these victims have only occasionally stirred restlessly in their chain. Recently we have witnessed flareups that have resulted in armed revolt. Most of us in America, unfamiliar with the true conditions in the Red slave empire, probably find it difficult to comprehend the full significance of the new trend of events. This unique current lecture series that Monsignor Kelly and his staff have programed, for which we all should be grateful, is, therefore, most timely. The discussions unquestionably will shed much needed light on the side of the Iron Curtain that has been blacked-out by the dictators in the Kremlin. This knowledge and information may prove to be helpful in enabling us to decide in our own individual minds what course of action this country should and must follow to aid in the reestablishment of human dignity, truth, and freedom wherever people yearn for it. Since America, the foremosts military power and the leader of the democratic world, will follow the course that you and I and our fellow Americans designate, then it becomes our bouden duty to give this matter deep, serious thought. Let us devoutly pray that we think and act squndly and that God's firm hand will guide us to the final goal of true peace with justice for all peoples where ever they may be.

Our topic for tonight is entitled "Ukraine, Our Unrecognized Ally." The objective is to present to you factual information about this country and her people which will reveal beyond reasonable doubt that Ukraine is our natural ally and to indicate some of the reasons why the Ukrainian nation has not and is not receiving the consideration and recognition it justly merits.

Ukraine's true history is not widely known and this applies to even her recent past. The fact that she was an independent nation at the end of World War I and that she became the first victim of Russian Communist imperialism in 1920 and 1921 has been extremely well camouflaged by the Moscow rulers. The cleverly contrived "people's democracy" propaganda which emphasizes independence, the right of self-determination, freedom of religion, and other human rights all guaranteed by a written constitution has been fantastically successful in convincing a good part of the world that the Ukrainian people are deliriously happy beause they now are Soviet people. In actuality, Ukraine's position in the 1920's was starkly similar to the status of present-day Hungary. Yet today this fact would be difficult to prove with the documentary evidence available in the Soviet Union unless one had access to underground sources. The propensity of the Kremlin Communists to rewrite history to suit their immediate and devious purposes, which incidently was a practice not overlooked by the Czars, was given unlimited leewway in Ukraine's case and the building up of a proper Communist record for Ukraine received Stalin's most careful attention. So well was the job done, that the world soon was made to forget the Ukrainian National Republic of 1918–20. Not only that, but our great daily newspapers in the United States including their renowned foreign editors even forgot how to spell "Ukrainian." They invariably left out the first "i" when using the term.

Ukraine today is called a Soviet Republic but in reality it is a completely enslaved nation physically and it is tightly annexed to the primary Communist empire known as the U. S. S. R. or the Soviet Union and erroneously referred to by the Western World as Russia. Covering an area of over 215,000 square miles, Ukraine extends from the Carpathian Mountains in the west to the foothills of the Caucasus in the east. It is bounded on the north by the plains of Byelorussia and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and on the south by Rumania and the Black Sea. Considered one of the most resourceful regions of the world, Ukraine for centuries was known as the granary of Europe. Today its black soil belt with rich topsoil running as deep as 6 feet in the breadbasket and the sugar bowl of Moscow's police-held empire. Industrially it is highly developed, ranking second in the world in the mining of iron ore, third in pig-iron smelting, and fourth in coal mining and steel production. Potentially, the industrial capacity is much greater than these figures suggest but Ukraine's development for strategic reasons has been deferred to permit concentration on the industrial buildup of the Soviet Ural and Central Asia territories.

The population of Ukraine on the basis of the best estimates available is believed to be in excess of 40 million. This includes about 32 million people who lived in the prewar Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; 6 million in western Ukraine which was under the control of prewar Poland; and approximately 2 million in the territories of Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine. Bessarabia and Bukovina were under Rumanian control and Carpatho-Ukraine was the eastern province of prewar Czechoslovakia. Outside of Europe there are 5 million Ukrainians in the Soviet Far East and Central Asia; an estimated 6 million political prisoners in Russian slave labor camps; over 1.5 million in the United States, most all of whom are American citizens; about 400,000 in Canada, most of whom are Canadian citizens; and a scattering of communities in South America, Australia, and other parts of the free world.

The recorded and documented history of the Ukrainian people extends back to the ninth century with the establishment of the Ukrainian Kievan State and the embracement of Christianity. The centuries-old language is a separate and distinctive Slavic tongue, quite different from Russian or Polish and in itself it scientifically disputes any and all contentions that there is no separate and clear-cut Ukrainian national identity and culture.

Politically, the Ukrainian nation has had its great moments of glory and long nights of tragedy. The Kievan State founded in the 9th century flourished until the 14th century when it fell before the expanding dynamic kingdoms of Lithuania and Poland. Two and one-half centuries later, it reestablished its independence as the Ukrainian Kozak state. In the middle of the 17th century it was again overrun and taken over, this time by the powerful Czar of Moscovy and the King of Poland. Before the 18th century drew to a close, a new conqueror came upon the scene. The rising Hapsburgs of Austria, in the processing of welding together their Austro-Hungarian Empire, participated with Prussia and Russia in the final partitioning of the Kingdom of Poland in 1795 and thus came into possession of the lands of western Ukraine that had been held by the Poles. With minor changes, this lineup remained set until World War I.

From the point of view of our discussion tonight, it may be noted that historians and scholars agree that Ukraine's difficulties in maintaining her independence were due n great measure to the lack of natural border barriers. Her northern and eastern flanks, open steppes of flat or gentle rolling land similar to parts of our Middle West, were beckoning welcome mats to any enemy who coveted her productive lands. A contributing factor was the welfare of the people. The predominately peasant population, content with the abundant fruits of its labors and passive by nature, was a comparatively easy victim for any well organized military force. It was only when exploited beyond human endurance by their subjugators that swords were unsheathed and the chains of bondage broken. This was true in 1648 when the Ukrainian Kozak state was established; it was true in January 22, 1918, when the free and independent Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed; and it can be true again tomorrow, or the next day or the next. The failure of our country and the entire Western world to grasp the full import of the possibilities is not surprising nor is it necessarily a condemnation of the intelligence of the democracies. It is, on the contrary, a monumental tribute to the cleverness of the enemy and the effectiveness of its propaganda.

The primary enemy of Ukrainian freedom and also of the free world is Russian Communist imperialism. Not so evident but equally dangerous from the point of view of Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union are the ambitions of the Russian royalists, or Czarist imperialists. Actually this group can be considered to be a more irreconcilable foe. The Communists at least concede that there is a Ukrainian nation, a Byelorussian nation and so forth, even though they do everything in their power to prevent these nations from exercising their rights. The so-called White or Czarist Russians, on the other hand, and particularly the aristocrats and intelligentsia, crassly deny the existence of a Ukrainian nation, contending that it is nothing more than Little Russia. Other nationality groups are similarly disavowed. This is a carryover of the ruthless Russification policies followed by the Czars and is aptly exemplified in a decree issued more than 90 years ago by Count P. A. Valuyev, the then Minister of Interior to His Imperial Highness, Alexander II, the Czar of all the Russias. The edict forbade the publication of Ukrainian literature on the grounds that "the majority of the Little Russians (Ukrainians) prove conclusively that there never was any separate Little Russian (Ukrainian) language, there is not one now and there cannot be one." This was indeed an amazing statement, obviously self-contradictory, but not an unusual one for despots of that period to make. What is astounding, however, is that people today, mostly of Russian aristocratic origin and their friends, still believe implicity in the edict handed down by Valuyev and what it stands for. Hand in hand with that belief goes a burning desire for a new imperial mother Russia with the reestablishment of monarchical control not only over the Russians but over all the nationality groups in the Soviet Union. This type of chauvinism in a country such as ours at first blush may be dismissed as harmless but when we remember that it is actively concentrated in our highest society circles in the form of persuasive Russians with noble titles reinforced matrimonially by America's greatest financial fortunes, the problem takes on a more serious aspect. People of this caliber can and do influence the thinking of governmental policymakers and our leaders in other critical and sensitive fields, such as education and journalism. There is ample evidence that such influences have been effective, with the result that Ukrainian and other non-Russian problems of either the old Russian empire or the present Soviet Union have not always been properly evaluated or acted upon in our own best interests.

A case in point was the decision of our State Department to deny even moral support in 1919 to the newly declared Republic of Ukraine, which was fighting desperately with the Communists and the White Russians for its very existence. On October 29 of that year, Secretary of State Lansing wrote a letter to the American delegation at the Paris Peace Conference spelling out the American policy toward this new state, and this is what he said: "On the basis of past investigations the Department is disposed to regard the Ukrainian separatist movement as largely the result of Austrian and German propaganda seeking the disruption of Russia. It is unable to perceive an adequate ethnical basis for erecting a separate state and is not convinced that there is a real popular demand for anything more than such greater measure of local autonomy as will naturally result from the establishment in Russia of a modern democratic government, whether federative or not. The Department feels, accordingly, that the policy of the United States, while leaving to future events the determination of the exact character of the relations to exist between Great and Little Russia, should tend in the meantime, rather to sustain the principle of essential Russian unity than to encourage separatism." Obviously this United States policy was a victory for the Russophiles in our country and was a direct result of the powerful Russian propaganda apparatus maintained here and throughout the world by the czars. But it proved to be a pyrrhic victory. It didn't help the cause of the White Russians and succeeded only in insuring the Bolshevik conquest of Ukraine. If the Ukrainian armies and the new, truly democratic government had received even minimum material support from the Allies, the Bolsheviks would have been defeated in this, their first imperialistic venture.

Recent statements made by no less an authority then George Kennan, former Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. and an adviser of long standing to the State Department, particularly on Russian matters, indicate that the old preserve mother Russia theory is still an active force on high levels in this country. Mr. Kennan, if he mentions Ukraine at all when discussing problems of the Soviet Union, simply points out that it is nothing more than an integral part of Russia, somewhat comparable to the position of the State of Pennsylvania in our Federal Union. This has encouraged similar comments from politicians and uninformed writers and educators to the effect that Ukraine is the Texas of Russia or very much like the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. When men of Kennan's background, authority and influence propagate such an obvious misconception, errors of policy on the highest level are the inevitable result.

One of the consistent trends of Moscovy's history is its imperialistic tendencies. This applies equally to the Czars and the Bolsheviks. It was summarized exceptionally well by Dean Acheson, Secretary of State in the Truman administration, in testimony to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in 1951. He stated: "It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last 500 years from the Duchy of Muscovy to a vast empire has got to be stopped." Though the aims of the Czars and the Bolsheviks may have been identical, imperialistically speaking, the methods have differed. The Czars claimed all lands conquered as Russian for all time to come and declared all the people as Russians excepting, of course, when dispensing favors or levying taxes, developing Siberia, and so on. The Communists, on the other hand, technically recognize most all nationality groups as such and set up "republics" to prove it. However, woe to any one who taints himself with any nationality activity other than Russian or that specifically ordered by the party. This combined Czarist and Bolshevik effort of closely controlling and censoring all information about the peoples and the nations they subjugated has made it possible to flood every nook and corner of the world with their side of the story. This achievement is so complete that at a time when nationalist reawakening even among comparatively primitive peoples is being applauded by the world with great fervor, the centuries-old nations in the Soviet Union with nearly 100 million people, no more Russian than Irish are English, are still lumped together as Russians. But the Soviet Union remains structurally a prison of nations enslaving peoples whose blood, unwilling sweat and tears, extracted by secret police, build and maintain the vast war machine with which the Communists hope to conquer the world. Even the fact that two of these prisoner nations, Ukraine and Byelorussia, are charter members of the United Nations has not made too deep an impression on the popular thinking. These two members are thought of and treated as Russian and their membership is considered a Stalinist trick to obtain two additional votes in this world organization.

A few astute observers of the United Nations scene have decried this failure to grasp the opportunity to exploit the national differences inherent in this situation. Edward Weintal, diplomatic correspondent for Newsweek magazine, in commenting on this subject about 1½ years ago, stated: "Serious American thought also must be given to the nationally conscious Soviet components, such as the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The fact that these two nations have their own representatives in the United Nations has never been properly utilized by the United States. To encourage their independence and to strive for the decentralization of the Soviet Union into its separate though not necessarily unfriendly components is likely to become one of the chief United States objectives." As yet there is little evidence that such an admirable objective is being pursued with any consistency.

Americans of Ukrainian descent, many of whom are intimately familiar with Russian Communist methods, firmly believe that, so long as the makeup of the Soviet Union remains as it is today and supreme military control is maintained over the non-Russian captive nations and the satellites, western democracies dare not relax their vigilance for one fleeting moment or reduce their military strength one rifle cartridge. They further believe that, should the Kremlin overlords launch a war against the West, the subjugated nationality groups such as the Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Ukrainians, and all others as well as the

satellites would immediately and willfully sabotage the Communist war efforts at home and, wherever possible would flee from their captors in greater numbers than they did in World War II. The records show that during 1941 and 1942 after Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, nearly 2 million Ukrainians deserted the Red army and fought against it. When it became evident that the German Gestapo was not going to permit the establishment of an independent Ukraine, these same soldiers and all the civilians fought the Nazis as well. Recent evidence of similar dissatisfaction is found in last winters uprisings in Hungary. Ukrainian elements in the Red army were reported as joining the Hungarian rebels when the shooting started in Budapest.

It can be urged that the opinions expressed about the probable reaction of the Ukrainian people in the Ukraine to a war involving the Soviet Union are, at best, a guess. This may be so. Nevertheless, these beliefs are substantiated not only by past events but also by firsthand information received from the thousands of Ukrainians who have come to this country during the past 11 years as DP's and who know well the conditions in the Communist paradise because they were once a part of it. From their lips come lurid details of day-in and day-out misery in the Ukraine under the Russian tyrant's iron heel. Family life disrupted, churches destroyed, the clergy murdered or imprisoned for life in slave labor camps, patriotic intelectuals periodically purged, and economic exploitation so drastic that poverty is commonplace. From them we get eyewitness confirmation of the man-made famine of 1932 and 1933 which was ordered by Stalin to curb the rising tide of Ukrainian nationalism. This famine snuffed out the lives of approximately 5 million men, women, and helpless children. It did not, however, kill the pepoles' love for their motherand, Ukraine.

The bitter struggle ketween Ukrainians and the Bolsheviks reached new heights during and after World War II. Added to this was the Nazi terror when Germany attacked the Soviet Union. Both sides resorted to the cruelest brutality in their treatment of Ukrainian civilians. This caused more and more people to join the underground fighters against these foes. In 1943 the many groups that were involved in underground activities were able to consolidate their forces and to form what became known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Organized at the beginning to fight the Nazis who then occupied almost all of Ukraine, the UPA, as it was called, fought the Red army forces with considerable success when Ukraine was retaken. The war ended in 1945 but the UPA continued its struggles until around 1951. By that time, its strength had dwindled under the repeated hammerings of the superior Red forces, and it was no longer capable of engaging in direct combat. The survivors then went underground and it is believed that limited activity is still being carried on, primarily against the secret police and particularly against onerous officials. Reports of the activities of these Ukrainian fighters, incidentally, come not only from Ukrainian nationalist sources but also from the Communist press in Ukraine. Frequent notices appear of arrests and executions of men labeled as nationalists who are charged with treasonable acts such as possession of arms or attacking Soviet personnel and at times mention is made of raids on Soviet installations by armed bandits. Notices also have been published by the Communist regime in official publications offering amnesty to all underground fighters who surrender voluntarily indicating that the Reds are unable to completely eradicate these elements.

The present status of the Ukrainian people is an unhappy one. Twice in the present generation they have failed in their quest for freedom and independence. Their struggle, though lost, nevertheless was no less heroic than if final victory had crowned their efforts. Neither has defeat altered the character of the people. To judge their deeds, their aspirations, and their prayerful hopes in the proper perspective, one need only to hark back to the days of our own Revolution. If the American colonists had lost to Great Britain in 1776, the heroes that fought, suffered, and died for our great cause would have become nameless or at best listed as traitors to the crown. Men such as Washington, Franklin, Adams, and Patrick Henry instead of being revered the world over would be recorded in English history as bandits who unlawfully resisted their ruler, King George III. If they had been caught, they would have been summarily hanged, or if lucky, executed by a firing squad. Their very names would have become synonyms for dastardly political deeds. The story of the embattled farmers at Concord and Lexington and the "shot that was heard round the world," the saga of Bunker Hill, and the epic of Valley Forge would have been wiped off the official record books as meaningless fanaticisms of reckless adventurers. Nothing would have remained of the colonists' valiant struggle except what a victorious Britain would have wished to remain to honor its own and to officially defile the defeated foe. That, in a nutshell, is what happened to Ukraine, to her heroes, and to her gallant people. Ukraine's conqueror, Russian Communist imperialism enjoys all the glory. Ukraine's heroes are unmentioned and except to be sneered at as nationalist bandits as was done in the United Nations a few weeks ago by the renegade Ukrainian Communist representative in a speech castigating the United States for aiding and abetting what he called subversive activities in the countries behind the Iron Curtain including the Soviet Ukraine.

But the final chapter in Ukraine's history has yet to be written. The desire of its people for freedom, independence and a religious life of their own choosing burns deeply in the heart of every Ukrainian patriot. This irresistable force cannot be denied forever. We pray and hope that such comes to pass without a catastrophic and devastating world conflict. If, however, war should come, the record confirms that the Ukrainian people will be our ally. The big question is will the Western World again pass up the opportunity to take advantage of this situation. As Rev. Robert I. Gannon, former president of Fordham University stated in an address at Dickinson High School, Jersey City, N. J., on January 20, of this year, commemorating the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence: "Given a chance now, the Ukrainians could take care of themselves for theirs is the spirit of the gallant Kozaks. They were the first to take arms against bolshevism to 1917 and the first to fight nazism in 1938. The West had everything to gain by supporting Ukrainian independence and yet it was twice ignored by Western civilization. That is why we can say that the Ukraine's modern tragedy is a result not only of fraud but of ignorance."

The Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, Member of Congress from Ohio, one of the country's leading authorities on the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, in his introduction to the publication called the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom, aptly summarized our course of action when he stated: "In the perilous days in which we live, days in which the very survival of our way of life hangs in a delicate balance, we have been compelled to look carefully at the world arena to better know our friends and to clearly understand and identify the enemy. If we do anything less than this, we will be playing lightly and dangerously with the ultimate survival of the United States."

I am sure no American will disagree with that statement.

Tasks Ahead for the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning, Mr. Robert R. Bowie, made an important address before the American Society of International Law, in Washington, last April. I have been deeply impressed with the sweep of Mr. Bowie's remarks.

Because they seem to me to be an accurate summary of the assignment set for himself by his topic, Tasks Ahead for the Free World, I believe his address needs wider circulation than it has had thus far. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Bowie's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TASKS AHEAD FOR THE FREE WORLD

(By Robert R. Bowie)

This occasion has inspired me to peer ahead in international affairs. It is impossible to predict in detail how the world will look in 5 years, much less in 10. It may not be quite so hopeless to identify the factors which will influence the outcome and to appraise their direction. In any case that will be my endeavor.

In doing so, I will consider two questions: One is: What basic forces, other than our own actions, are likely to shape world affairs over the next 5 or 10 years? The other is: What goals or objectives should we set for ourselves in the face of that kind of world?

BASIC FORCES AND TRENDS

First, then, what are the basic factors and trends that are at work in the world? Leaving aside our own actions, it seems to me that one can isolate at least four forces which are crucial. Let me explain briefly what these four are and why they seem central.

Soviet power

The first is the obvious one: Soviet power. Over the past four decades the Soviet system has shown itself to have great capacity for survival. It has gone through a remarkable variety of challenges: the abuse of its rulers, the chaos of invasion, the death of Stalin. It has managed to survive all these strains and stresses and to solve the problems of succession, at least so far.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has shown great capacity for growth and for increase in its power, both economic and military. Over quite a long period it has maintained a very rapid rate of growth—in the last 10 years, for example, something of the order of 7 percent a year. And in the industrial sector, where they have concentrated their effort, the Soviets have achieved a growth rate of about 10 to 12 percent.

These are high rates of growth compared with those of other industrial countries, including our own, where the rates are much nearer 4 percent. Soviet growth has been bought, of course, at terrible cost in human welfare and freedom. It has been done at the expense of the consumer and agriculture. These demands will certainly loom larger in the future.

Indeed their rate of growth may well slow down somewhat. Even so, we must still

assume that the next decade will show steady Soviet growth, especially in the industrial sector.

Now that prospect has obvious implications, both for Soviet military capability and for its ability to assist Communist countries like China and also, if it wishes, underdeveloped countries, as it has been doing.

But this is only half the picture. We should also recognize that there are major pressures for change within the Soviet Union.

These are largely inherent in the evolution of Soviet society. To achieve their growth, the Soviet leaders have had to train and educate their people. They have now developed an industrial society, over 50 percent of the population is urban and industrial. And these factors gradually increase the demands for greater legality, for better living conditions, for more freedom, for wider dispersion of authority, and so on. Similarly, in the satellites there are the pressures for national independence which erupted in Hungary and Poland.

Over time, these forces are surely going to bring changes within the Soviet Union and in its relation to the satellites. But they do not threaten to disrupt the Soviet system or materially to reduce its strength. And a long time will probably be required to erode its expansionist tendencies.

So the first basic factor, it seems to me, is the fact of growing Soviet power, which will probably remain hostile over the next decade.

The revolution in warfare

The second major fact is also one with which you are fully familiar, I am sure. This is the revolution in military technology resulting from superweapons.

Destructive capacity has been multiplied by a factor of a million as compared with the largest weapons of the last war. Today a single plane can deliver explosive force over four times as great as all the bombs dropped during World War II.

Even when these facts are familiar, it is hard for our thinking—the thinking of any of us—to take in their meaning. But it is clear that they have utterly altered the significance of war and deprived large-scale warfare of rational political purpose. Conversely, they have put a tremendous premium on maintaining peace and stable conditions which will not give rise to armed conflict.

What will be the consequences in a world where two powers have, or shortly will have, this capacity for mutual obliteration? It is hard to foresee. It could give rise to blackmail of nations which do not have these capabilities. It could give rise to temptations to local aggression under the supposed shield of atomic stalemate. Or, under some conditions, it could perhaps give rise to a considerable degree of stability based on mutual deterrence.

How the situation actually develops will turn on many other factors besides the weapons themselves. Not least of these will be the degree of instability in areas of the world outside the borders of the Soviet Union and the United States. What happens, for instance, in the satellites, what happens in areas like the Middle East, what happens in the Far East, will all have a bearing on whether these weapons make for stability or make for greater instability, blackmail, local war, and the like.

Afro-Asian revolution

The third major factor shaping our world arises from the radical changes taking place in Asia and Africa. Here within the last decade some 700 million people have achieved national independence and created some 19 new nations.

The people in these countries are driven by the aspiration to improve their economic lot. Their societies are now marked by the most extreme poverty. Their per capita national income averages about one-tenth of that in the industrialized countries of the West. These countries are determined to improve their economic conditions. They believe it is possible, and they are demanding that it be done.

The obstacles to their improvement are fantastic. There is the sheer fact of poverty itself. There is the illiteracy, which is typically 80 or 90 percent. There is the serious scarcity of skills. There is the great shortage of capital. There is the lack of those habits of mind and custom, of self-discipline and managerial experience essential for economic progress.

Thus their task in trying to achieve economic development is staggering. Yet their success or failure is going to determine very largely the political course in these countries. If moderate leaders, as in India, are not able to produce results which offer their people hope, they are almost surely going to turn to other more radical solutions, and the Communists are almost certain to be able to exploit this frustration.

A second characteristic of these peoples derives from their colonial experience. Their nationalism is intense and often takes an antiwestern bias; their thinking is colored by the memories of past domination, by a sense of inequality, which the West means for many of them. The bias against the West is a serious obstacle to the kind of work with these people that is in our mutual interest. The Communists exploit these feelings with great skill and pose as the supporters of the independence of these countries as against fancied western efforts at domination.

In addition, this nationalism produces conflicts or quarrels with neighbors, as in the Kashmir dispute, the dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Israeli issue, and so on. These local disputes are a constant threat of outbreak of violence which could embroil other parts of the world by taking sides. Thus these areas are inherently a serious source of instability, both in the political sense and also as possible sources of military conflict.

Relative decline of Europe and Japan

The fourth factor which seems to me central is the relative decline of former centers of power in Europe and Japan since World War II.

In neither case is there really an economic decline, because both areas are enjoying a scale of economic activity which they never before reached. Nor is there essentially a loss of political stability, because in general the moderate groups are in control in these areas. The shift in their relative position reflects the growth of the United States and the U. S. S. R., the development of atomic weapons, the loss of colonies, and the like. As a result, these formerly strong areas are no longer able to carry on the role in the world which they were once accustomed to. The process of adjusting to this change is not an easy one. It tends to create frictions and to strain the ties among us.

These then are four basic factors that seem likely to shape the world we will face for some years: a strong and hostile Soviet Union; a growing arsenal of weapons of unprecedented destructive power; the drive for political and economic progress in the less developed areas; and relative weakness in the former power centers of western Europe and Japan. The analysis so far leaves out of account one factor which may be decisive: our own actions. Let me now turn to them.

FREE WORLD TASKS

In the light of these forces or trends, what should be the main goals or tasks for the free world over the decade ahead? I would suggest five:

Safeguarding peace

The first task must be to stabilize peace so as to prevent both deliberate and unintended war. This has two aspects.

To deter deliberate aggression our best hope at present is to have the means to punish it effectively. The aggressor must be convinced that his crime will not pay. For this purpose it is not enough to be able to retaliate with all-out power. The free world must also be able to apply limited force in more selective and flexible ways. Otherwise we should run the risk of not being able to respond to specific limited acts of aggression.

The other danger is that the world could blunder into a major war without meaning to. In areas like the Middle East, parts of the Far East, and the satellites, which are unstable or inflamed, great power interests are involved or could easily become involved. The outbreak of conflict in these areas could lead by steps and countersteps to the kind of all-out war which would not serve the interests of anybody.

We need to use all the skills and machinery we have to keep such situations from breaking out into violence. For this purpose the UN can be very useful.

It would be a mistake to overestimate its capabilities, but it would also be a mistake not to use it fully in the ways in which it can be effective. And it seems to me essential to foster in all the ways we can the concept of the rule of law and the outlawing of resort to force in the settlement of disputes. Much can also be done by other organizations such as NATO and the Organization of American States. And not least is the need for old-fashioned diplomacy in resolving existing conflicts and disputes peacefully.

Control of armaments

Let me turn now to the second task which is closely related to the first. We must try to bring armaments, especially nuclear armaments, under some degree of control.

In saying this I am not suggesting that armaments can be eliminated entirely in this period. The practical and political obstacles make any system of total disarmament out of the question. But the issue is a false one if it is posed as a choice between doing nothing and attempting to disarm totally. We need a much more flexible approach to the problem. Small steps may have great value in reducing the likelihood of nuclear war. For example, any degree of inspection might materially increase the deterrent by making it more difficult to launch a surprise attack. In the absence of ability to achieve surprise any temptation to initiate all-out nuclear war would be substantially reduced. Similarly, it would be useful to put limits on the spread of nuclear weapons throughout the world. In many hands they could hardly fail to create new tensions and dangers. Finally, we should try to divert future output of nuclear material into peaceful uses and at least start to transfer some of the existing stockpiles to such purposes.

Such modest measures would fall far short of disarming entirely. But they would serve to limit and control armaments and perhaps gradually to reduce the burden of safeguarding the peace. And that could lay the basis for further steps.

Economic development

The third task for the free world is to assist economic growth in the less developed areas. We have a deep interest in the continued independence of these countries under moderate governments. If they cannot achieve social and economic progress under these auspices, the prospects look grim indeed. Their failure could radically change the present uneasy political balance in the world.

As I have said, there is no easy road to growth in the less developed countries. They start with severe handicaps in terms of skills, experience, illiteracy, and capital. Economic progress will require a social revolution over a very short period. The disruption of old traditions and institutions will create un-

stable conditions and offer great opportunities for Communist exploitation.

If these people are to achieve economic growth, it will have to be done mainly by their own efforts. No outsider can possibly organize and bring about the basic changes which will be required. But even if they make the best use of their own resources, the margin between success and failure will be a narrow one. Capital and training from outside can do much to widen that margin. And such help will be required for some years to come.

Our interests and our ideals dictate that we should devote substantial resources to training and technical assistance and to providing economic help for development purposes. In extending it our methods should be designed to foster self-help and efficient use of resources. The Secretary of State has recently submitted to the Congress certain proposals on our mutual security program. Those relating to economic development are designed to clarify our purposes and to create machinery better adapted to the task. If adopted, these proposals should improve the program and enhance its value.

Western Europe and Japan

Our fourth objective must be to assist Western Europe and Japan to play a role in the world in keeping with their potentialities.

Under modern conditions, Western Europe is weakened by its fragmentation. In recent years the European states have attacked this weakness in various ways. In the Council of Europe, the OEEC, the European Payments Union, they have worked together on common problems. Six of these nations have gone even further. In the Coal and Steel Community and now in Euratom and the common market, they are seeking to create an integrated European community with common institutions. We must do all we can to foster this integration and the drawing together of the European countries in their effort to create a more effective unit in the free world.

In the Far East prospects for peaceful progress depend greatly upon Japan. The prosperity of Japan rests heavily on access to raw materials and to markets and trade outlets overseas. A prosperous and free Japan can contribute much to the vitality of the free world. But if these benefits are to be achieved, ways must be found to allow Japan to sell its products within the free world.

Communist evolution

As a final objective we must do what we can to foster the evolution of the Communist states toward a more liberal pattern. Let us not overestimate what we can do for this purpose. Our first aim must be to try to create a set of conditions to which the Soviet Union will have to adjust and adapt its own conduct. That, of course, is a fundamental purpose of the actions I have already outlined. They are designed to forestall Communist resort to military force and the spread of communism by nonmilitary means. In this way time will have a chance to work its changes on Soviet society.

Meanwhile, there are some other things we can do which may have a modest effect in speeding that evolution. For instance, exchanges of information and of people open up the Communist world to ideas and influences from abroad and tend to strengthen the forces for change within.

Again, we can at all times make it clear that the free world does not threaten Soviet national interests if these are defined in ways which do not call for domination of other states. In other words, the Soviet Union should be made aware that it could have a secure national life in a world of independent states if it is prepared to forego expansionist goals.

With respect to the satellites our aim should not be violent revolution but the steady growth of greater independence of the Soviet Union. And again we can assure the Soviets that, if they accommodate to the pressures for freedom in the satellites, the free world will not seek to create hostile neighbors along its borders.

These, then, are five major tasks to which I think the free world must devote itself in the coming years. In a brief speech it is not feasible to fill in details. I can only hope that enough has been said to indicate why each of them seems necessary in coping with the conditions that lie ahead.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, I would like to stress two final points about these tasks.

The first is this. Each of them will require cooperative action among the free nations. None of them can be achieved in isolation by any single nation—even our own. Our military power, our economic power, our diplomacy, and our ideas can do much to influence the direction in which the world develops. But, to be effective, our efforts will have to be combined with those of other free nations. Each will have to contribute its due share and play its proper role.

My final point is that the tasks I have outlined pose special problems for democratic nations. These goals are not to be realized within a year or even within a decade. They call for steady, patient effort over an extended period of time. They will demand heavy burdens and sacrifice. The challenge is not a dramatic one. And the necessary actions will not produce clear results at a specific time. There will be a constant temptation to let down and to cut back. Yet these tasks are essential for the survival of freedom.

It is an article of faith with all of us that in the long run the triumph of freedom is inevitable, that the future is on our side. In a very real sense this is true. Hungary and Poland are the most recent testimony that the values and institutions of freedom respond to the deepest yearnings of mankind. But in this situation we should also recall a wise saying of Mr. Justice Holmes: "The inevitable comes to pass by human effort." We can be sure that freedom will prevail if freemen put forth that necessary degree of effort.

Rev. Michael G. Kovach, Ph. D., New Pastor of Edwardsville (Pa.) Parish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of July 17, 1957:

NEW ORTHODOX PASTOR

As the successor to the late Right Reverend Archimandrite Anthony Repella as pastor of St. John's Russian Orthodox church in Edwardsville, the Reverend Michael G. Kovach, Ph. D., comes highly recommended.

Like his predecessor who was a noted linguist, the Reverend Dr. Kovach is a scholar. Thus, he will carry on a tradition of intellectual attainment in the west side congregation, so ably advanced by Archimandrite Repella.

A chaplain in the Second World War and a pastor at Ambridge for a decade, he brings to the community a reputation as a civic leader which augurs well for Edwardsville. The fact that he qualified for the Young Man of the Year award in the Beaver County town indicates character and capacity.

With such an impressive background of education and service, his assignment is good news for the west side as well as the congregation.

Recollections of a Member of Senator McCarthy's Staff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, one of the members of the staff of the late junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy], L. Brent Bozell, has written an account of some of his experiences as a member of that staff. His article was published in the National Review for May 18, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS WAS A MAN

(By L. Brent Bozell)

I did not know him well while he was alive. And because after the deed was done he never reminisced, and politely resisted all invitations to relive the past, the man who fought those exciting battles might just as well have lived a thousand years ago. I have, however, a few very good impressions. Before censure I studied his work, and helped write a book about it; and in the course of professional interviews, caught glimpses of the buoyancy, the strength of will, the awesome singlemindedness, the gentleness.

I have, also, a few concrete recollections. During the Watkins hearings, I saw him, on several occasions, rise from the committee table and stride around the room in an effort to ease the excruciating pain that had plagued him since an abdominal operation 2 years before. Attending newsmen recorded the event as evidence of his arrogance, as an act of calculated contempt for the committee. And a few other incidents that would, I suppose, be more relevant. But I did not know him then. It was not until several weeks after the censure, when I went to work for him, that I came to know intimately, and to love, the wreckage.

What was left? An intellect, still keen and absorbent and discriminating. Still able to concentrate, ruthlessly, on the central problem of our time. And still able, on specific issues, to bore in lightning thrusts to the heart of the matter. But the intellect worked only part time; it needed rest frequently because it had become tired, terribly tired.

And a vivid moral sense was left. Vivid, I can say, not because I ever heard him verbalize it cogently or eloquently, but because it was clear from watching him make decisions that it completely, imperiously, ruled the man. He was putty in its hands. Forget the objective content of his ideas of right and wrong: I have known few men for whom the moral argument was so obviously the relevant one, for whom intellectual movement from the right thing to do to the thing to do came so naturally.

An iron will was still there, on things that mattered. He never lost his determination to set the world right, to bring down his country's tormentors. And, crazily enough, he remained optimistic about the future, including his own role in the fight. Or so it appeared, as he planned ahead: with the comment he would make tomorrow on the Suez, the speech about aid to Tito, the campaign of 1958.

An afflicted body, tormented by a hundred ailments, remained. Yet this is the kind of body, I am told, that he had had for years.

And an incapacity for gloom. When my heart is torn, I want to cry. He wanted to laugh. His heart was on the rack, and there he sat in the big leather chair in his living room, cracking jokes. Levity is unseemly at wakes. But it was his wake. He was alive to preside over it, and he was damn well going to set the tone.

What, then, was gone? It was one thing, but it was everything. Call it fuel. Whatever it is that makes mind and body do what the spirit wills. The spirit itself, that failed to break—even to dent. Understand this much: that he never gave up. And, therein, the central tragedy. The mind, the will, the spirit, all consciously alive—striving, straining forward. But nothing would move. He once had more of this thing, this fuel, than any man in public life. Now it was gone. And he knew that, too.

He was a boxer, driven to his knees, terribly hurt, wanting to rise and fight again, trying to rise, planning his strategy for the next exchange, wondering why nothing happened, determined to rise, and even smiling a little to prove it. He knew that he would get up, they, that he wouldn't. And he heard them count over him for 2½ years.

At his funeral, Monsignor Cartwright said that God would honor the brave. I suspect, moreover, that God has accounted his gameness on the floor as the bravest act of them all.

I think he did not see the punch coming, but that, afterward, he knew what hit him. He said on a number of occasions during the Watkins hearings, during the Senate debate 2 months later, that he expected to be censured, and didn't much care if he was—that the important thing was that the public still believed in what he was doing. I think he believed that, right up to the moment the blow struck. Then, suddenly, nothing was as important as that his peers had done him a monstrous, personal injustice. He was, in a sense too profound for his peers ever to understand, a clubman. Attacks by individual Senators, he could absorb; as he expected them to absorb whatever he delivered in the give-and-take of every day political combat. But in their corporate capacity, they could hurt him. They could, indeed, and did, sever the communion. From the gaping wound left by that breach whatever substance it was that had sustained him and kept him charging ahead, instantly poured forth.

The individual Senator who voted against him—though he held some of them in the highest contempt—he quickly forgave. It's a fact: he was temperamentally incapable of bearing personal malice. With the Senate, it was a different matter. He had led it in some of its most important battles; and had fought for it—against the Nation's enemies, and against its own special enemies at home. But the Senate turned on him, and that ruined him. God was merciful to stop his heart.

Recreational Facilities of Owyhee Reservoir, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, recently when the Senate was considering the bill to establish a National Outdoor Recreation Review several Senators mentioned the growing pressure on national parks, national forests, and monuments as a source of enjoyment for the American people. I am pleased that the Senate has passed the bill under which an inventory may be compiled of the scenic outdoor areas available for future recreational uses.

In the vast areas of the West, many opportunities exist for tapping new recreational assets. One of these is the Owyhee Reservoir area of eastern Oregon, an artificial lake created 25 years ago as a part of the system of Bureau of Reclamation dams. The reservoir is located in a remote and scenic section of Oregon's eastern plateau region. Impounding of water in the reservoir has created a lake which provides unparalleled bass and other fishing and a shoreline for delightful exploration by boat. But lack of road facilities has kept this interesting section of the West closed to any but the most hardy of outdoorsmen.

As a step toward fuller realization of this area's recreation possibilities, a bill was introduced by my senior colleague [Mr. MORSE] and me on July 1, 1957, to authorize minimum recreation facilities in this section, including necessary roads. The Owyhee Reservoir development is one which can justifiably be added to the list of potential, undeveloped recreation sites to be studied under the recreation review. Some of the major attributes of the Owyhee Reservoir area have been described in an article in the Oregonian of June 6, 1957, by Albert McCready, associate editor of the newspaper and an able advocate of better custodianship of recreation and scenic assets.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article by Mr. McCready.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OWYHEE: AN ASSET OREGON HAS MISSED

(By Albert McCready)

In the remote southeast corner of Oregon lies a vast body of water few Oregonians know much about and even fewer have visited. Only the hardiest motorists care to risk tires and springs on the rocky, rutted, one-way tracks which pass for roads into Malheur County's Owyhee Reserveor. Those that do, come out raving about Owyhee's superb fishing and breathtaking scenery. They all say the same thing: Somebody ought to build a good road to this 53-mile-long manmade lake, so Oregon could cash in on a tremendous recreational asset.

Those who seek the answer to the question of why this has not been done long ago run into the bigger puzzle of why Oregonians, who look to tourist spending as their third biggest source of cash income (after forest products and agriculture), accept uncomplainingly a State policy which assigns a low priority to the development of isolated recreational areas which could enhance Oregan's allure for vacationers and increase the harvest of tourist dollars.

There is no doubt that Owyhee Reservoir—created 25 years ago as a reclamation project—could become one of the vacation meccas of the West if there were some way tourists could reach it in comfort and find civilized accommodations once they got there. It has plenty in the way of natural attractions: Battling largemouth bass running up to 8 pounds and a tremendous population of fat and eager crappies that the most unskilled fisherman can catch by the gunnysackful; a skyline of rugged, colorful, volcanic peaks that are happy hunting grounds for rockhounds; remnants of old Indian encampments that are ditto for amateur anthropologists and archeologists; and clear mountain air and steady sunshine.

All this is pretty much wasted at present, however; for almost no one now goes to Owyhee except fearless anglers from the Vale-Ontario-Nyssa-Boise area who'd crawl on their hands and knees if need be to get to a place where there are plenty of cooperative fish.

Malheur countyans have received a cold shoulder from the Oregon State Highway Commission in the many years they have been urging construction of an Owyhee Reservoir access road.

The commission says it can't spare money for such inconsequential purposes while there is a great need for new four-lane expressways linking population centers elsewhere in the State. When Owyhee boosters declare they would be well satisfied with a simple, two-lane graveled road, commissioners explain they can't possibly build any cheap roads like that; the department has its construction standards and these must be adhered to or Uncle Sam won't come through with the vital matching funds.

Those who argue for the establishment of a State park on the rim of Owyhee Reservoir get the same runaround. The operation of State parks now is left to a most subservient subsidiary of the highway department, and officials of the latter cannily figure they will soon be obliged to build a road to Owyhee if they agree to put a park there. So they won't.

It has been suggested Malheur County ought to build its own road, if it wants one so much. This is easier said than done. The Malheur County court already is up to its neck in financial difficulties, with taxes coming in from a population of only 23,000 residents scattered over an area of 9,870 square miles, bigger than the State of Massachusetts.

Creation of a separate parks department has been advocated as one step toward a more adequate policy of developing Oregon's recreational attractions.

The highway department has resisted this move, not that it particularly desires to retain parks responsibility so much as it wants to avoid the diversion of funds to an independent department. It has powerful support from short-sighted Oregonians who think we have an adequate parks policy because the department has done a good job

with those recreational areas which by geographic accident happen to be traversed by major highways.

Anyone hardy enough to make the pilgrimage to Owyhee Reservoir will agree that here is an asset which, if located in Arizona or California, by now would have been so thoroughly ballyhooed and developed that it would be a bonanza of tourist gold.

But this is backward Oregon, which thinks so little of its No. 3 industry that neither house of the legislature has a committee to look after its interests and recreational policy is made by roadbuilders. As long as Oregonians remain satisfied with such a system, great recreational resources such as Owyhee Reservoir will remain undeveloped and unproductive of tourist revenue.

Alabama Forestry Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, forestry industries in my home State of Alabama are a major part of the State's overall economy and are contributing greatly to the productivity of the South and the Nation. One out of every seven employed in manufacturing in Alabama earns his living in some form of the lumber industry.

In the fourth district, which I am privileged to represent, we have about 11 percent of the total forest acreage in Alabama. Moreover, we have a number of forestry industries including a huge newsprint plant at Coosa Pines, near Childersburg.

Some of the facts and figures pointing up the importance of wood in Alabama were set forth in a recent editorial in the Birmingham News. For the RECORD, I would like to submit this editorial, which appeared under date of July 22, 1957:

THE STATE'S PAPER INDUSTRY GROWS

Production of woodpulp, paper, and paper products is increasing at a rapid pace in the South. Southern mills, it is estimated, already supply 40 percent of all the paper other than newsprint used in the country, and the number of such mills is growing.

Alabama is sharing in this growth, which is contributing materially to the diversity and strength of the State's industrial economy. According to the 1957 edition of Facts About the Nation's Pulp, Paper, and Paperboard Industry, published by the American Forest Products Industries, the State now has a total of 32 mills, including 12 pulp mills, engaged in manufacturing and processing paper. Presently operating pulp mills have a total daily capacity of 3,558 tons of pulp, and in 1955, the latest year for which accurate figures are available, turned out some 680,000 tons of paper and paperboard.

Three new pulp and paper mills are now under construction in the State, and several established plants are engaged in, or are planning, expansion programs.

The industry at present provides direct employment for 8,700 Alabamians, and the new facilities will substantially increase this figure. Value of the State's pulp and paper output last year, according to the Blue Book of Southern Progress, was $157 million.

John Raeburn, chairman of the Alabama Forest Industries Committee, notes that Alabama woodlands furnish nearly 2 million cords of wood a year for the paper industry, making the State third in the South in pulpwood production. The future growth of the paper and other wood-using industries, he points out, will be keyed to the management of our woodlands. With annual growth of timber exceeding removal by more than 28 percent, the 140,000 timber landowners in the State are doing a good job, but there is still room for improvement.

Public Interest in Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, one of this country's outstanding current writers on conservation and natural resources comes from my home city of Milwaukee, Wis. The topnotch reporting job which R. G. Lynch of the Milwaukee Journal does on conservation issues has been widely recognized by conservation leaders throughout the country. What is perhaps more significant, the quality of his writing is apparently also recognized by the readers of the Milwaukee Journal throughout the State of Wisconsin. The following news item from the July 15, 1957, issue of Conservation News, published by the National Wildlife Federation, reflects high credit both on the ability of Russ Lynch and on the level of awareness and interest of the people of Wisconsin in the major conservation issues now before the Nation:

ANOTHER PROOF OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN CONSERVATION

Russell G. Lynch, one of the old pros of the Milwaukee Journal staff, has been proving that the public is interested in, and will read about, natural resource problems and controversies. Since he graduated from the position of sports editor to full-time writer on conservation subjects, his articles have been quoted, discussed and reprinted far beyond the Journal's normal sphere of influence.

One series of Lynch articles, on the Dakota drainage problem and entitled "Ditches, Dust, and Ducks," received nationwide circulation through a reprint by the National Wildlife Federation.

The Journal's circulation department decided to check up itself on the readership of the Lynch stories. A survey conducted by standard methods in 15 Wisconsin towns showed the following:

[In percent]

The series were read by—	Men	Women	Combined
Military land grabs	48.3	20.0	36.4
Forest insects	55.0	22.3	41.4
Highways and drainage	44.0	24.6	35.9
Overall nonsporting	49.1	22.3	37.9
State license fees	56.8	20.0	41.4
U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service	46.6	29.4	39.4
North Dakota drainage	37.3	22.3	31.3
Overall wildlife	46.9	23.9	37.3
All 6 series	48.0	23.1	37.5

According to accepted journalistic standards the popularity of the Lynch articles has been spectacular. Features which show 5 percent readership are usually kept in a newspaper. Leading sport columns, covering baseball, boxing, etc., often show less acceptance than Lynch is scoring with his conservation reporting.

Criminal Optimism and the Four Summits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the forces of appeasement in this country, stimulated by recent changes in the imperialist Russian Communist regime, are once again urging us to reconsider our position toward the Soviet Union, to trade with the Communist empire on a larger scale—particularly with Red China—and to further support the myth of national communism. As though experience has not taught us, they urge also that we consider another summit conference. Lacking in a positive policy of action toward the ever-present Russian Communist threat, we are prone to drift into old situations with perhaps only new names.

On the possibility of another summit conference, I wish to bring to public attention the persuasive and aptly titled article written by Lt. Col. N. Henry Josephs on criminal optimism and the four summits. Colonel Josephs is a former special consultant to the Under Secretary of War and is also a member of the New York bar.

In this article Mr. Josephs presents a cogent pattern of tragic experience with summit conferences. He is fully aware of the multinational composition of the Russian Empire known as the Soviet Union. He is alert to the formidable pressures represented by the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. against Russian Communist domination of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, White Ruthenia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, and other countries. Thus in his article the use of the term "Russia" serves to focus attention on the minority Russian control and domination over the Soviet Union.

Colonel Josephs' emphasis on the fraud of Khrushchev's competitive coexistence is most welcome at this time. His observation that both the House and Senate should be the stages of great national debate on these issues cannot but be generally well taken today. This article should be read for its many worthwhile observations on the course of present-day diplomacy and under leave previously obtained, I insert it in the RECORD:

CRIMINAL OPTIMISM AND THE FOUR SUMMITS

During these past 17 years, the world has toppled off three summits, the Munich summit, the Moscow summit, and the Washington summit, taking a death toll in human lives running into the millions. The world has rolled off a fourth summit, the Geneva summit. The fact that the fourth summit,

the Geneva summit, ended in failure may be a good omen, for had it ended otherwise, it would have been because of appeasement or because of blind trust in the peace overtures of a truculent enemy.

Man is a chronic wisher for peace and "meetings at the summit" always keep up his optimism and increase his hopes that "talks" may avert war. Unfortunately, history has proved, time and again, the contrary to be true. "Talks at the summit" always favored and encouraged the aggressor. The younger ones among us may not know, and the older ones among us may have forgotten, some of the historical facts of the three famous summits; the Munich, the Moscow, and the Washington. A brief review of these facts shows how leaders of great nations can become the victims of what historians justifiably describe as criminal optimism."

THE FIRST SUMMIT: THE MUNICH

The present Russian pattern in handling international affairs is neither new nor unique. As a matter of fact, it has a frightening resemblance to the pattern which Hitler employed immediately preceding World War II. He would harass some nations and make friends with others. He would create "incidents" to keep an atmosphere of tensions and of war scares, while at the same time he would make speeches and talk about peace. Every act of violence would usually be followed by actions or speeches containing tricky peace propositions.

On March 7, 1936, Hitler invaded the Rhineland, in violation of both the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact. He thus provoked the greatest crisis in Europe since the end of World War I. The French wanted to march, but didn't have the nerve and the British advised a policy of caution. To fan the hopes of peace and to avert a war for which he was not yet ready, Hitler dramatically offered to return to the League of Nations and, in addition, proposed a grandiose peace plan. Under this plan, the principal powers of Europe would sign a 25-year nonaggression pact; air power was to be limited and the manufacture or use of heavy tanks or heavy artillery was to be forbidden. The world found out later, most tragically, that these were the very weapons that Hitler was secretly stockpiling.

Hitler further offered to reduce world tensions by agreeing to sign a nonaggression pact with Austria, which he did and in which he agreed to recognize the sovereignty of Austria. Of course, 2 years later, Hitler invaded Austria.

Regarding Czechoslovakia, Hitler (September 1938) said:

"The Sudetenland is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe * * * I have assured Mr. Chamberlain, and I emphasize it now, that when this problem is solved, Germany has no more territorial problems in Europe * * * I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more and that, so far as I am concerned, I can guarantee."

Early in the following year, Hitler said:

"Only the warmongers think there will be a war. I think there will be a long period of peace."

Six weeks later (March 15, 1939), Hitler seized Czechoslovakia.

In order to neutralize Poland, Hitler signed a nonaggression pact with Poland and with pride pointed to this treaty as proof that coexistence was possible, saying (February 20, 1938):

"The Polish State respects Germany and Germany respects Poland. Thus * * * in spite of the assertions of many warmongers, Germany and Poland have succeeded in removing all friction * * * and made it possible to work together in true amity."

Eighteen months later he invaded Poland.

Hitler was able to achieve his successes by the cunning tactic of encouraging "meetings at the summit." And by inviting the ministers of foreign countries to come and "talk things over" with him, he managed to break the League of Nations and lower the strength and the unity of the Allies. These calculated moves led finally to the now historically famous meeting held in Munich. After a hectic week, on the 28th of September, 1938, Sir Neville Chamberlain, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, announced in the House of Commons:

"Chancellor Hitler has invited me to meet him tomorrow at Munich. He has also invited Premier Mussolini and Premier Daladier. Premier Mussolini has accepted, and I have no doubt that Premier Daladier will do the same. I need not say what my answer will be."

The Commons burst into cheers.

Chamberlain arrived in Munich the following day for the Big Four summit meeting. Mussolini, Italy's head of government and Edouard Daladier, the French Premier, also arrived. They immediately met with Hitler in the Fuhrerhaus. The purpose of the meeting was to assure peace in Europe by solving the Czechoslovakian problem The Czech delegates were also there, but they were excluded from the conference. The Big Four were in session that whole afternoon and met again that evening. By 1 a. m. of the following morning, the famous Pact of Munich was signed on behalf of the four governments and the Czech representatives were immediately sent for and the British gave them signed copies of the agreement. The Czech Minister to Germany said he wished to make a comment, but was told that any observation of his would be superfluous.

Andre Francois Poncet, the French Ambassador to Germany, who assisted Daladier during the conference, on returning to his hoted around 2 a. m., immediately telephoned Mr. Georges Bonnet, to inform him of the completion of the pact, but Bonnet swept aside all detailed explanations and, showing his relief, said: "Peace is assured, that is the main thing. Everybody will be happy."

Upon his triumphant return to London, Chamberlain was received by cheering crowds that lined Downing Street. In triumph, he said:

"My good friends, this is the second time in our history that there has come back to Downing Street peace with honor. I believe it is peace for our time."

The last phrase of this naive statement has since taken its illustrious place among famous phrases in history and has since signified the optimum in optimism.

THE SECOND SUMMIT: THE MOSCOW

Stalin and Molotov were also to fall off a summit. When the nonaggresssion pact with Poland was concluded, this is what Hitler had to say (February 1938) about Russia:

"Shall I remind you of the Bolshevist Revolution which slaughtered millions upon millions of people, but whose blood-stained murderers still occupy high places? * * * With one single country alone we have detested to enter into relationships. That state is Soviet Russia. We see in bolshevism more now than before the incarnation of human destructive forces."

About a year later (May 1939) Moscow announced that Maxim Litvinov, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, resigned. The reason: "ill health." Vyacheslav Molotov took over Litvinov's post. In less than 2 months afer Molotov's ascension to power rumors were flying in the principal capitals of Europe that Molotov and Von Ribbentrop, Hitler's special envoy, were feeling out a possible rapprochement between Fascist Germany and Communist Russia. Russia labeled these rumors as "outrageous lies" intended to sabotage the friendly negotiations between England, France, and Russia for military and trade cooperation.

Not heeding these rumors, and accepting Russia's denials, England and France sent their military and civil staffs to Moscow for talks, during which they were to spread out, for the Russians to look at, their top-secret military blueprints. These talks continued from August 12 to August 20. While the English and French military staffs were still in Moscow with their briefcases of military secrets wide open, Russia announced that she had signed a German-Soviet trade agreement, under which she was to receive from Germany a credit of 200 million marks, to be repaid by Russia over a period of 7 years. Twenty-four hours later (midnight, August 21), Berlin announced that Von Ribbentrop would fly to Moscow for a summit conference with Stalin to discuss a nonaggression pact.

In an attempt to explain this debacle, Daladier, in a broadcast in Paris (August 25), had this to say:

"We began civil and military conversations with Russia in agreement with Great Britain. We have done everything to bring them to success and we believed that they would shortly end happily when, reversing suddenly her policy and her doctrine, Russia signed with Germany a pact that permits her to escape the obligations that her policy had imposed and that she had always publicly affirmed."

Chamberlain, in the House of Commons (August 25), said:

"The House may remember that, on July 31, I remarked that we had engaged upon a step that was almost unprecedented in character (exchanging military blueprints with the Russians). I said that we had already shown a great amount of trust and a strong desire to bring the negotiations with the Soviet Union to a successful conclusion when we agreed to send our soldiers, sailors, and airmen to Russia to discuss military plans together before we had an assurance that we should be able to reach an agreement on political matters. * * * The British mission arrived on August 12. They were warmly received in friendly fashion and discussions were actually in progress and proceeding on a basis of mutual trust when this bombshell was flung down. To say the least, it was highly disturbing to learn that while these conversations were proceeding on that basis the Soviet Government was secretly engaged with Germany for purposes which, on the face of it, were inconsistent with the objects of their foreign policy as we had understood it."

The German-Russian nonaggression pact was signed as planned and was to become effective when ratified by the Soviet Union. This was held up for 8 days, for reasons which later became very obvious; i. e., to give both countries time to prepare for the invasion of Poland. On August 31, 1939, Vyacheslav Molotov (yes, the same Mr. Molotov we are dealing with now) urged the Supreme Soviet to ratify the pact with Germany, declaring:

"Germany abandoned its anti-Soviet policy and offered the most favorable trade agreement ever made at a time when other countries plotted to involve us in a war."

Ratification followed and at dawn the following day (September 1, 1939), the German armies were on the march into Poland from the west and the Russian armies from the east, and to quote Von Ribbentrop (Danzig, October 24), the two armies met at a "line of demarcation which we had previously agreed upon with the Russians."

This started World War II.

Stalin and Molotov, however, were soon to find out that they, too, were paid in "fool's gold." At dawn on Sunday, June 22, 1941, the German tanks were rolling east into Russia. The nonaggression pact, signed less than 2 years before, met the natural fate of all nonaggression pacts: the scrap heap! From its western borders and deep into Stalingrad, millions of Russians, soldiers and

civilians, paid with their lives for the "Moscow Summit."

THE THIRD SUMMIT: THE WASHINGTON

Japan's full-scale aggression in Asia started with her invasion of the China mainland and the capture of Manchuria. At the time, both China and Japan were members of the League of Nations and when the Chinese pleaded with the League to intervene in accordance with its charter (art. 16), the League, except for summoning Japan before it, which Japan refused, took no further action. Thereafter, Japan continued to press her plans of conquest in China with increased success.

Japan also used the technique of calculated incidents. The most serious of such incidents, from the point of view of the United States, was the bombing (December 12, 1937) of the *Panay*, which, while convoying 3 oil tankers, was attacked by 6 Japanese planes. The *Panay* was sunk and the crew and passengers strafed, with two Americans killed and many wounded. Mr. Hirota, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, when questioned by our Embassy in Tokyo, said that the incident was "unintentional, due probably to bad visibility." However, when the evidence showed that the day of the attack was a clear and sunny day, the Japanese admitted responsibility, expressed regret and offered to pay reasonable damages. This was the first of a series of incidents which were to plague us from 1937 on, up to, and including, Pearl Harbor.

Around the middle of the year 1941, our Embassy in Tokyo informed our State Department by repeated coded messages that the Japanese official press was easing up on their campaign against the United States and that statements by Japanese officials were softening up and that "it looked as if there might soon be a welcome change in the Japanese policy toward our country." This was the Japanese new look. Further information transmitted to our State Department was that Prince Konoye, the Japanese Prime Minister, would seek the support of the Emperor for a personal visit to Washington, provided President Roosevelt would accept the idea of a conference at the summit. Mr. Cordell Hull, then our Secretary of State, advised Mr. Roosevelt against holding such a conference unless the Japanese were willing to sign, in advance, a statement containing simple principles of peaceful intentions.

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1941, diplomatic conversations continued in a zig-zag pattern, at times appearing that some progress was being made and at other times with the discussions becoming regressive. Prince Konoye insisted that he agreed with Mr. Hull's position, but that he could not put anything in writing, as this could easily be interpreted by the Japanese people that the United States was questioning Japan's sincerity. The fact remains that we were being strung along while the Japanese were pouring more and more troops and supplies into southern Indochina and were strengthening all their Pacific naval and military bases. Admiral Nomura, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, throughout this time, made repeated calls on both the President and Mr. Hull and kept up an atmosphere of optimism. Official opinion in Washington was that the Japanese new look was worth exploring.

On October 16, 1941, the Konoye Cabinet was succeeded by a new Cabinet, with Mr. Shigemori Toga as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Toga immediately dispatched to Washington Saburo Kurusu, formerly the Japanese Ambassador to Fascist Italy and Germany, to "assist" Admiral Nomura in his "peace talks" with the President and with Mr. Hull. This gesture lulled us into thinking that the Japanese wanted peace after all. President Roosevelt and Mr. Hull received the new special envoy on November 17 and talks continued to go on in Washington at the highest possible level, the summit.

The majority of the American press felt that these talks would avert war with Japan and lead to peace. Meanwhile, the Japanese were already massing their navy and air forces for the attack on Pearl Harbor. This took place just 20 days after Mr. Kurusu's arrival in this country. Admiral Nomura, Mr. Kurusu, and all other members of the "peace delegation" were then promptly taken to Hot Springs, Va., for internment.

Our optimism regarding Japanese intentions got us into World War II. Hundreds of thousands of Americans killed and wounded was the price paid for the Washington summit.

THE FOURTH SUMMIT: THE GENEVA

In the month of June 1955 representatives from 60 countries gathered in San Francisco for a week-long celebration commemorating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations. Dr. E. N. van Kleffens, of the Netherlands, presided. Dr. van Kleffens made it clear that this was to be a commemorative meeting and invited the representatives assembled in the San Francisco Opera House to limit their speeches to "commemorative purposes." This procedure was obviously adopted for just one purpose and that purpose was to stay clear of anything that might offend the Russian delegation.

Russia's 10-year record in the United Nations had been one of constant harassing and blatant abuse of her veto power. The Soviet Union did everything possible to make the life of the United Nations "tumultuous, frequently discouraging, sometimes terrifying," as President Eisenhower eloquently described it in his opening address at San Francisco, although he was careful not to mention Russia by name. Up to June of last year, the Soviet Union had cast 62 vetoes and their representatives have walked out from at least 300 sessions, and ever since 1950, has strived by every trick and device to get its new ally, Red China, seated in the United Nations, having made in all, 160 such attempts. In spite of all their obstructive tactics, in spite of all Soviet pressures, the United Nations, throughout its 10 years of rough life, has succeeded to hold its own and keep on striving for world peace.

It was during the San Francisco gathering that the Russians first unveiled the new look in Russian diplomacy. Molotov was smiling. Molotov was friendly. The Russians were now switching their tactics. Having lost the battle against the United Nations from the inside, they decided to embark upon a series of diplomatic moves that would destroy the United Nations from the outside. Through an intensive charm campaign, carried on at breathtaking pace, they left no stone unturned to win friends and influence people and moved in wherever there was a fertile field which could be exploited to their advantage. It was later to become apparent that this offensive was global in nature.

The charm campaign encouraged the heads of the Western powers to meet with the Russians, at the summit, in Geneva. This summit meeting was received throughout the world with great optimism and with a sense of hope that war at last could be averted. The meeting of the Big Four in Geneva was held in an atmosphere of friendship, which the Russians quickly propagandized as the new spirit, the Geneva spirit.

President Eisenhower cautiously announced, at the conclusion of the Big Four conference, that at the Geneva summit "a beginning was made and * * * it is just possible that something to the great benefit of mankind may eventuate."

Khrushchev, in his usual bombastic manner, and as it still suited the Russians' purpose, said that "the Geneva Conference was of historical significance * * * its distinctive feature was the spirit of cooperation and mutual trust."

After the Geneva summit, the Russians continued to beat the drums of the Geneva spirit and during the 4 months following it, gave garden parties, exchanged special visitors with the United States, invited the French Cabinet Ministers to Moscow, and Khrushchev and Bulganin accepted an invitation to visit Great Britain in the spring of 1956. They skillfully exploited every opportunity to display jubilance and amiability at any time and everywhere, with the clear purpose, of course, to infect the world with the vicious germ of false optimism and lull everyone into a sense of security. The French started to talk about reducing military service, and the British introduced bills in Parliament with the purpose in view of cutting down defense costs, and some countries in Asia, besides India, started to talk neutralism.

But when October came and the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four met again in Geneva "to put words into deeds," the Russians, in their not unusual fashion, made another about-face and Mr. Molotov angrily hammered out the latest Russian get tough policy.

The New York Times, melancholically commenting in its lead editorial, December 4, 1955, said:

"One of the evidences of totalitarianism in government is the haste and precision with which policies can be changed. When Stalin died, Russia seemed to smile. When Lavrenti Beria, head of the secret police, was shot in December 1953, some of the terror seemed to go out of Russia. When Premier Bulganin and Party Secretary Khrushchev or their representative, Mr. Molotov, smiled at San Francisco in June, or in Geneva in August, a sort of warmth spread around the world. But now these men smile no longer. We look around the world with a sense of dismay since the end of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva, from which so much was hoped and in which so little was realized."

But, why did we permit ourselves to have our hopes raised and our optimism heightened, and why did we permit ourselves to think that much could be accomplished in a summit conference with the Russians? The fault of this foolish calculation lies particularly with the statesmen of the Big Three Powers who, through their official pronouncements prior to the Geneva summit, had spread the gospel of hope round the world.

We fell off the Geneva summit with great disappointment but, fortunately, without the tragic consequences that followed the three summits. For this, we must be thankful.

COEXISTENCE AND THE COMMUNISTS

The Soviet's professed policy of "peaceful coexistence" took us to the Geneva summit, but with this summit ending in failure, the Russians had to prepare, as they have indeed prepared, a new "come on" slogan. We have Communist Party boss Nikita S. Khrushchev to thank for Russia's latest formula of Soviet foreign policy. According to Khrushchev, from now on it shall no longer be just peaceful coexistence, but competitive coexistence. Mr. Khrushchev is a blunt man and in announcing this professed new policy, he had this to say in his speech delivered at the banquet given in Moscow in honor of the East German Communist, Otto Grottewohl:

"They say in the West that something has changed since the Geneva conference. They say that the Soviet leaders smile but that their actions do not match their smiles. The smiles are sincere; we wish to live in peace. But if anyone thinks that our smiles mean we abandon the teachings of Marx and Lenin or abandon our Communist road, they are fooling themselves. We are for coexistence. But we are also for the growth

of communism. We are confronted with the reality of two different systems. You capitalists go your way of the blind. If you really think that your system is not too old and rotten, if you believe that it is really possible to keep up in the race, go ahead and try and compete. We will find out who is right."

The Communist change in foreign policy, as announced by Khrushchev, now is attractively presented to the world by the trickily coined phrase of "competitive coexistence."

But, is Mr. Khrushchev telling the truth? Are the Soviet leaders really embarking on a limited objective, that is, the conquest of the world, not by hot war or by force, but by attrition through competitive coexistence? Or are they again, as they have so many times before, availing themselves of a policy of convenience?

Well, let us see.

Peaceful coexistence was first used by Stalin as far back as December 18, 1925, when he told the 14th Communist Congress:

"There has been established a certain temporary balance of power; a balance which has determined the current phase of peaceful coexistence between the land of the Soviets and the countries of capitalism. That which we once believed to be a short respite after the war has turned out to be a whole period of respite. Hence a certain balance of power and a certain period of peaceful coexistence between the world of the bourgeoise and the world of the proletariat. * * * We are living through a period of accumulation of strength which has great significance for future revolutionary initiatives."

But, as soon as this policy was no longer necessary or convenient to the Soviets, this is what Stalin had to say to the 15th party congress, less than 2 years later (1927):

"If 2 years ago it was possible and necessary to speak of a period of a certain equilibrium and peaceful coexistence between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist countries, now we have every basis for declaring that the period of peaceful coexistence is receding into the past."

THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE

Russia's coexistence policies have been used at all times as diversionary movements and for just one and always the same purpose, the purpose first announced by Stalin, to secure "a period of accumulation of strength (for the Communists) * * * for future revolutionary initiatives."

In addition to being a diversionary move, to gain time so that they can accumulate added strength, the Communists, in announcing this newfangled doctrine of competitive coexistence, have a second and even more treacherous purpose. In challenging us to an economic race, and prodding us to match our sound national economy against their false promises to foreign nations, it is their intention to get us to expand to a point where our own economy will break down and with it bring chaos and national bankruptcy. Communism thrives on economic chaos. Russia feels that it may never have to fight us if it can succeed in its plans to wear us down financially and economically.

We have been mesmerized for long enough by the Communists and followed their false clues as to their intentions much too often. While Russia's professed new doctrine of competitive coexistence bears careful watching, let us not fight Russian windmills. Let us forever remember that the Communist challenge is not coexistence, peaceful, competitive, or any other kind of coexistence. The Communists challenge is world conquest.

WE, THE PEOPLE

Our leaders have often announced that we, the people, must be awake to the dangers ahead of us. Let us tell them that we are. But, let us also tell them that they too must be awake to these dangers and that the only way we, the people, can be assured that they are, is for them to take us more often into their confidence. Our leaders should keep us more fully informed by honest, informative and more timely statements, than they have in the past.

Likewise, the floors of the Senate and the House of Representatives must again become the public platforms they were intended to be and must offer more frequent opportunities for open debates on national as well as international issues. There has been too little done along these lines these past few years. The dearth of congressional debate has been explained away by the fact that vital military information might thus become known to the enemy. Too much has been made of this. There is a vast area of information that could still be explored and discussed in open congressional debates with great benefit to the Nation and without revealing to the enemy military secrets.

Let us remind everyone that we, the people, want to make sure that this Nation remains forever vigilant and adequately protected against inimical forces. Meeting the Communist challenge is everybody's business.

You may ask yourself what, specifically, can you do. I recommend that you (1) acquaint yourself with the problems and issues relating to the National Defense by reading as many of the newspaper accounts and magazine articles on the subject as possible. Some of it may be dull reading, since the subject involves the complex machinery of Government, and when it comes to such matters as the national budget, military appropriations and economic and military foreign aid, it deals in astronomical figures, billions of dollars. But remember, they are your dollars and it is your safety and freedoms that are at stake; and (2) insist on more cooperation from persons holding key positions in Government, both civil and military, and write to them and ask them to keep Congress and the people more regularly and more thoroughly informed. Insist, in particular, that they cooperate more fully with our free press, for in a democratic country like ours, a well-informed, free press is the best guaranty for the preservation of our Nation.

Fifth Anniversary of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, July 25, 1957, marks the fifth anniversary of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. It is a day of great significance because it marks a milestone in the development of a free people. The political and economic growth of Puerto Rico has been, and still is being, closely watched by the leaders of underprivileged peoples in the less-developed lands of Asia and Africa. They are learning that economic progress and political freedom are inseparable and that each stimulates and supports the other.

Puerto Rico has been associated with the United States ever since the landing of American troops on the island on this same date—July 25—in 1898. Economic development has gone forward steadily since then but it is only in the last 10 years, with the inauguration of Operation Bootstrap, that the island has made its spectacular progress. It is not coincidental, I believe, that it was also 10 years ago that Congress granted the people of Puerto Rico the right to elect their own governor. The man who was elected, Luis Muñoz-Marín, one of the outstanding statesmen of the 20th century, has continued to serve as chief executive since the Commonwealth was created in 1952.

Puerto Rico has benefited from its close relationship to the United States but the United States has also benefited from its association with Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans have served with distinction in uniform in both war and peace. Many have now come to live in the United States, including some, I am glad to say, in my own city of Milwaukee. Like many newcomers to our shores, they have often found it difficult at first to share in the advantages of our fast-moving civilization, but they are determined to achieve all that is rightfully theirs as good citizens.

To all Puerto Ricans, wherever they may live, I offer my congratulations on this happy anniversary.

Panama Canal Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I quote the following United Press newsstory by Harry W. Frantz, published in the July 18, 1957, issue of the Panama American, Panama, R. P.:

RISE IN PANAMA CANAL TRAFFIC TO INFLUENCE SOLONS

(By Harry W. Frantz)

WASHINGTON, July 18—The increase of commercial cargo tonnage, and not the H-bomb, may soon have a decisive influence on congressional opinion concerning an improved locks system or new sea-level canal at Panama.

Passages of oceangoing vessels through the present Panama Canal set an alltime record in the year ended June 30, 1957, with 8,579 transists compared with the previous record of 8,200 in fiscal 1956.

The present capacity of Panama Canal is currently at or near the saturation point, while world commerce continues to grow, and new and larger ships appear on the horizons.

Bills to establish an interoceanic canal commission to study the entire Atlantic-to-Pacific waterways situation have been before Congress for several years, but crystallization of political opinion was delayed by the transcending urgency of the Suez Canal situation.

Until recently, security problems pertaining to the Atlantic-to-Pacific canal overshadowed other considerations. Before World War II, the Panama Canal was constantly represented as the key to the national and hemispheric security situation.

In the early postwar years, the advent of the A-bomb was widely cited as reason for

construction of a sea-level canal at Panama, presumably less vulnerable to atomic attack than a locks canal. Later the H-bomb and more recently the guided missiles have raised doubts that any type of canal would be invulnerable.

Consequently, there is a renewed tendency in Congress to appraise the Atlantic-to-Pacific waterway problem from the measurable standpoints of potential world commerce requirements and costs of construction.

Temporarily at least, the public demand for budgetary economy appears likely to strengthen the case for an enlarged and modernized Panama locks canal, rather than a Panama sea-level canal or a canal on a new route, such as the Nicaraguan.

However, nothing like a showdown has yet occurred in Congress, and it is still uncertain whether Congress will take any significant action at all during its present session.

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, is one of a group of Congressmen who have been especially active in creating public opinion and speeding action toward the improvement and modernization of the Panama Canal.

FLOOD is the author of a bill which would create an interoceanic canal commission of 11 members, to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate.

This commission would be given broad authority to investigate and report on the merits of a third locks or other expansion and improvement of the present Panama Canal or a sea-level canal at Panama, or another canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific.

FLOOD has also sponsored a concurrent resolution to the effect that the United States should not surrender to any other government or authority its jurisdiction over and control of the Canal Zone. This resolution if approved would forestall the possibility of any future internationalization of the Panama Canal.

FLOOD said to the United Press: "Under no circumstances should any international situation divest the United States of its present status in the Canal Zone. The increasing development of international trade increases in direct ratio the importance of the canal to the United States.

"The canal must be modernized, widened and deepened by utilizing its existing facilities, enlarging and improving them.

"The need for a so-called sea level canal in the Panama area or elsewhere no longer can be established. In the best interest of this country, the responsible congressional committees should act without delay.

"The report of the 1947 commission is patently obsolete. To that end the suggested commission called for in my bill should be created and set to work immediately. The time is already late. The traffic situation at Panama is saturated now, and the water supply problem becomes worse."

Fifth Anniversary of Puerto Rican Commonwealth Day, July 25, 1952

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, this year has been a period of great political strains, of small but brutal skirmishes in many parts of the world, and even in the area of the American hemisphere, relatively peaceful in comparison to the rest of the world, bitter animosities and bloody internal strife.

For these reasons, it is with even greater pride than ever before that today I speak of the fifth anniversary of Commonwealth Day in Puerto Rico.

Five years ago today, the Constitution of Puerto Rico was officially launched as the supreme law of the land, giving Puerto Ricans complete autonomy in running their own affairs. Many of us are guilty of being too busy to know the background of the sunny islands that are part of the United States may not even be aware that the Puerto Rican Constitution, written and ratified in a democratic process similar to the inception of our own, embodies the best liberal thought of our time. Its "bill of rights" assures every Puerto Rican of the same civil rights that we hold precious. Its governmental structure makes impossible the kind of cancerous growth of dictatorship which the 20th century has made too familiar on both sides of both oceans. It judicial system guarantees the men and women of Puerto Rico equal justice before the law.

We congratulate the people of Puerto Rico for their many fine achievements since the first Commonwealth Day, and especially do we praise them for the greatest feat of all—their having proved themselves completely able to govern themselves in a manner that is an example to all democracies; the voting privilege is universally prized and used; the government administration is efficient, enlightened, and honest; the efforts made to raise the standard of living have been successfully directed to improving the condition of the entire population.

These things are most important, from the long-range point of view, than other achievements which appear much more prominent to many observers—that is, the amazing improvement in health and education, the swift industrialization and urbanization of the islands, the fantastic momentum in creative and cultural affairs. The important point is that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has advanced most remarkably under the impetus of good government and has so become a model and an example for others.

The present generation of Puerto Rico and the generations to come, looking back upon the history of these past 5 years since the Constitution and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico were established, will find that, beyond the great economic and political benefits which were initiated at that time, there was another and greater concept which was given beautiful expression—the integration into harmonious pattern of two cultures in the Western Hemisphere, a blending of the best of both of them into an inspiring, dynamic relationship.

We agree entirely with the great Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, who said last March—

The bonds of common citizenship which unite Puerto Rico and the United States are juridical bonds which have our unswerving loyalty. But they are more than that, they are bonds of affection, of deep understanding—bonds of freedom, of friendship.

The Injustice in Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, among the issues which have created editorial comment throughout the country, perhaps one of the most controversial is that which is being considered now by the House—Federal aid to education. The Garfieldian, a weekly newspaper published in the 10th District of Illinois, printed on July 11 an editorial which I believe has ably and succinctly summed up the position in which many of my constituents find themselves when confronted by this program. I think the editorial which follows merits the attention of every Member:

THE INJUSTICE IN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Both sides in the controversy over Federal aid to education are agreed that a Federal aid program would result in large prosperous States (Illinois, for one) sending money to the Federal Government which would eventually be used in supposedly less prosperous and backward States, mostly in the South.

Though this is obviously using the tax money of one State to benefit citizens of another State, the program is defended on the grounds that people in prosperous States should be more than willing to help the residents of other less fortunate States—particularly when it comes to educating children.

If taxes were levied equally in all States, and if the property assessments on which these levies were based were equal this argument might make some sense. This is not true, however.

In Illinois, for example, schools get the biggest share of the real estate tax, which is based on the assessed valuation of property owned by individuals, business and industry. The assessments are not as uniform throughout the State as they should be, though efforts are being made to bring them into line, but in all cases they are reasonably high.

Now take Alabama, which is one of the States that undoubtedly would benefit from Federal aid to education. A news story in a daily paper of one of the cities of that State reported recently that the city received only $78,000 in property tax revenue last year. The low figure was admittedly the result of inequitable assessments. It listed one building which sold for over $300,000, yet was valued at only $30,000 on the tax assessor's records. A house sold for $19,500 was valued at $1,500, and another building and property was sold for $800,000, but valued at only $77,500 on tax books. The average assessment, according to the news story, was 15 percent.

Not all cities in Alabama, or all States in the South are as lax as the example cited, we are sure, but indications are that the assessments do not come near the 65 percent of actual value paid by property owners in some counties in Illinois.

Under these conditions, it would be a monumental injustice to take Federal taxes collected in Illinois and divert them to Alabama or any other States that is not doing all that it can to support itself.

This could apply to all forms of Federal aid, but it seems particularly pertinent in regard to education because such a huge part of the real estate tax collected in Illinois goes for schools.

Puerto Rico: Democracy At Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the 25th of July represents a dual anniversary for our island neighbors, the Puerto Ricans: It marks, first, the date that American troops landed on the island in 1898; and it marks, second, the date that the Commonwealth Constitution was adopted in 1952. It has thus been officially established as Constitution Day, to commemorate the two most significant steps that have brought the island to its current position as a locally self-governing Commonwealth joined in integral association with the United States.

From the years of American control, the island received its first training in political responsibility. The first elected House of Delegates was guaranteed by an act of Congress in 1900, only 2 years after the island was freed from Spanish hegemony. In 1917 another important step toward self-government was made when the Puerto Ricans were empowered to elect both houses of their legislature. More important, most Puerto Ricans became at that time American citizens. No longer stepchildren of the American system, they have from that time forth increasingly shared in all the privileges as well as the duties of United States citizenship. The next step came with the appointment by President Truman of Jesus Pinero, a native Puerto Rican, as Governor, in 1946. The following year this position was made elective, and in 1949 the present executive, Luis Muñoz-Marín, was elected Governor. In 1952 the Constitution of the Commonwealth was drawn up by the Puerto Ricans themselves, in accordance with the compact passed by Congress in 1950. Joyfully accepted by the Puerto Rican people, this constitution has been the basis of the present Commonwealth government. And Governor Muñoz-Marín has continued to hold the confidence and full support of his people, as recent elections have amply demonstrated.

These last 5 years, representing indeed the culmination of Puerto Rican hopes for several decades, have shown most dramatically that democracy and progress are not just words or remote ideals to the Puerto Ricans. Political responsibility has a very real meaning to all of the Puerto Rican people, from the Governor himself, once a poet in our own Greenwich Village, down to the struggling farm laborer; democracy means not only government of the people, not only government by the people, but also government for the people. Commonwealth status has given to the Puerto Ricans an added impetus to develop their island's resources and to enhance their social aspirations.

The results, as is well known, are quite phenomenal. The gains of the forties are being surpassed by leaps and bounds. Per capita income is doubling every decade. Life expectancy has almost doubled since the thirties. Illiteracy rates are almost half of what they were before World War II. The university and vocational school are constantly adding new courses and expanding facilities. Government housing projects have vastly reduced the slum areas on the island. New industries are moving onto the island every day. Efforts to encourage the tourist trade to the island have not been overlooked.

All over the island, the far-sighted planning and initiative of the government and the eager cooperation of the Puerto Ricans themselves have made the island literally a workshop of democracy. The strength and importance of the tie with the mainland on the one hand and the vigorous political activities on the island itself have given dramatic impetus to the natural Puerto Rican desire and ability for local self-rule.

The conclusion to be drawn from a study of Puerto Rico's achievements is that an area determined to win its way to political responsibility and economic stability should look first and foremost to the resources at hand—to the intelligence, the ingenuity, and the industry of its own people. To sacrifice these precious assets to a system of force and violence, as has been done in Communist lands, is in effect to chop off the roots of progress while watering the branches. Puerto Rico has shown that the democratic process is no hindrance to economic progress—quite the opposite, in fact.

Let us congratulate the Puerto Ricans, then, on this the fifth anniversary of their position as Commonwealth citizens. They have justified the highest hopes of their friends and I am sure they will continue to do so in the years to come. For the spirit of democratic action, once kindled, is not easily killed. The Puerto Rican people, our fellow citizens, have kindled a bright beacon of hope and of achievement for enterprising peoples the world over.

For Better Budgeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of July 22, 1957, commenting on better budgeting as proposed in H. R. 8002 which I introduced to carry out the recommendations of the Second Hoover Commission. I think it is interesting to note that this legislation also has the approval of the President of the United States, the Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller General of the United States, has already passed the United States Senate without opposition and has been reported unanimously by the Government Operations Committee of the House of Representatives after a 2-year study.

FOR BETTER BUDGETING

A bill described as one of the most vital and far-reaching economy measures ever proposed by the Hoover Commission will shortly come before the House, having just been cleared by the Rules Committee. It is H. R. 8002, designed to restore to Congress some of that control over the public purse which most people think Congress still retains but which to a disturbing degree Congress has lost.

Establishing a procedure of annual accrued expenditure budgeting, the bill would in essence place the spending of Federal funds on a strictly annual basis. It would thus strike at the dangerously wasteful practice of appropriating funds in 1 year that might not be spent until 2 or 3 years later and possibly even for quite different purposes.

The present loose arrangement has immensely contributed to budetary confusion and has left most Members of Congress in a position of not really knowing what is going on in respect to current spending. For example, funds appropriated for military hardware shortly before the end of the Korean war were still being spent years later without further congressional review.

Such carryover funds are estimated by the Comptroller General at the astonishing figure of $70 billion. He says the proposed reform will provide greater congressional control * * * than the present method of appropriating funds. The Budget Director says it will result in improved program control. The Secretary of the Treasury says it should provide an excellent basis for improvement in control over actual costs * * * and reduce the vast carryover of appropriation balances.

A similar bill has already passed the Senate without difficulty; but this one has been running into trouble in the House, mainly from high-ranking members of the Appropriations Committee. Despite their objections, the bill deserves the wide and nonpartisan support it has generally received; and it should become law at this session.

Tribute by Woodroe Wylie Paid the Late Crawford Taylor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by Mr. Woodroe Wylie, route 1, Carthage, Tex. It is a great tribute to Mr. Crawford Taylor and to our area of Texas:

CRAWFORD TAYLOR AND CRIMSON CLOVER

(By Woodroe Wylie)

Last April, I journeyed through Brachfield, Garrison, Martinsville, and below, deep in the heart of Nacogdoches County, Tex.

Being a hypersensitive dreamer whose soul sought beauty in all forms I was immensely touched by the beauty of nature in Nacogdoches County. There were multifarious trees of all descriptions. Some of the pine, oak, elm, sweetgum and the like were large, tall, slender and had market-

able value. Then there were trees of rugged beauty, short gnarled, limby ones—that had reached their stature through painful efforts. The magnolia trees, which were still faithful to the old deserted homesites, were beautiful, so were the oaks, but the most beautiful of all was a large blackjack. It seemed that the Creator was at His best when He made this object of beauty. It had large dark green leaves. Its branches were shaped like a huge umbrella. The leaves touched the ground on either side. It was an ideal shade for no sunshine could penetrate its thick leaves. But even with all of this beauty, it was not supreme. For everywhere I looked was a wilderness of crimson clover blooms. Each field looked like a huge bouquet.

I thought of Crawford Taylor incessantly for he was among the first that brought crimson clover to east Texas. In a few years the crop had spread to a large area.

Crawford Taylor was born and reared in the Brachfield community in Rusk County, Tex. He left the farm and followed public work. Then in later life he quit railroad work and came back to the old home place and farm. He immediately procured a good dairy herd and started improving the pasture. He must have done a lot of reading and thinking during the previous years before he came back to the farm for everything he did he did well. He accomplished much in a span of about 5 years. Crawford put forth everything he had in the farm. He was a hard worker, had an adventurous spirit and was not afraid to tackle the untried. He had faith in his work, in seed and in the soil. He would spend the last dollar he had for a new seed, fertilizer, or some sort of pasture improvement.

He took a poor farm and developed it into one of the best pastures to be found anywhere. He did this in just a short time. He took the manure from his dairy herd and spread it over his pasture. When his finances would permit, he used commercial fertilizer. Moreover, he immediately built the fertility of the soil with crimson clover. The clover improved the moisture content of the soil. Where the bermuda grass had thrived poorly, there became an abundance of it where the clover was sewn. He also sewed ladine clover and fescue grass.

There was one great truth that Crawford Taylor knew. He knew that land was far too expensive for a poor man to buy, so he must take a small amount of land and develop the grazing possibilities.

Then, to, the upkeep of a fence on a small pasture is far less expensive and also saves much labor. Moreover, a cow is easier kept inside a good pasture and taxes on a small place are cheaper. It is far less trouble to look after cows in a small pasture especially during calving time.

On a small place where it had previously taken about 6 acres to pasture 1 cow and there was no meadow to cut for winter use Crawford took his farm and increased the grazing yield to where an acre and one-half to 2 acres would pasture a cow. Then, too, he cut an abundance of good hay to winter his cows, and with the early pasture he had from the clovers, he cut down on the expenses of his dairy herd.

I recall having visited Crawford Taylor's dairy once. I noticed that he had no employed help but did the work himself, but his heart was in his work and he was happy. He proudly showed me his big Holstein cow that gave 7 gallons a day.

Perhaps the greatest contribution that Crawford made to his fellow man was the knowledge that, contrary to public opinion, a man does not have to be rich to develop a good pasture. The influence of his good work and management was spread over large areas by way of radio and fellow travelers. I would like to mention briefly two highlights of his dairy and pasture development program.

A nationally known farm reporter visited his place and had an interview with him. The recording was broadcast over a large 50,000-watt radio station. To say how many famers profited from Crawford Taylor's farm program can best be answered by alluding to the immortal Hans Christian Andersen's story of the Ugly Duckling. When the eggs finally hatched, the little ones said,

"How big the world is, to be sure," said all the young ones.

"Do you imagine this is the whole world"? asked the mother.

Another time Crawford Taylor was made happy was when scores of people came from far and near to view his crimson clover field. It was a beautiful sight to behold. We had read and heard of the clover in Alabama, but now the crop had come to east Texas.

Crawford's public education was limited. He was not a scientist, poet, or artist, or anything of the sort, but he made his imprint on our American way of life. Time's early frost snatched him away from this life. The hands that sowed the seed lie folded in rest. He left good and beauty on a barren land (for crimson clover thrives best on poor soils). Tourists feast upon the flower fields.

Crawford Taylor was buried in Maple Grove Cemetery at Minden, Tex. I know not a single word inscribed on his monument, but I do know that a host of farmers have benefited materially from his work and courage. I know also that a wilderness of crimson clover blooms is nodding in the breeze as a tribute to his memory come April and May.

CARTHAGE, TEX.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
Congressman, Third District, Texas,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR LINDLEY: Now that I have at last gotten the time to write you, I cannot find a pen. So please excuse this pencil.

I mailed the June 17 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD you requested back. I mailed it as a book. That first-class postage would have been exorbitant. The reason I sent mine instead of yours was because that yours had a bit of handwriting on it.

Although it was a lost cause, I am exceedingly grateful that you put out your all in trying to help me get some cotton acreage. I have bitterness in my heart toward those who made the laws and the local ASC office. Our manager says that she was raised on the farm and has baled cotton. I think that she should have never gotten a promotion. She is glad to have the privilege to administer out the acreage to the rich. That job should belong to a he-man.

It really lost me a lot of money in failing to get the cotton acreage. I would say perhaps $800, more or less. I worked just as hard preparing the vacant ground. Fertilized with 10–20–10, planted it in velvet beans, and they never came up. Now it is too dry to plant it in peas and almost too late if it should rain tomorrow. I would like to write a critical essay on the cotton program if you will insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I am enclosing an article on Crimson Clover. As you perhaps know, Crawford Taylor is now dead. But he did so much toward building better pastures in such a short time. I wish that you would have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am too unfortunate and unknown to sell it to a farm magazine. I know that it is customary to have anything printed in a magazine or newspaper first. That this should sell. I guess it is not meant for me to have success. It is difficult for a poor, obscure man to get any space from a magazine. If I can get it in the RECORD, at least somebody in 48 States will see my name. In that way it might help give a toehold as a writer. But never help me if it hurts you. Do not burden yourself to help me.

You may have it reprinted in any newspaper of the district if you wish. I have never sent it to a newspaper.

I must close for now. If I can befriend you, call on me. I hope all is well with you and yours.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROE.

Loans for Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed strange that the American Bankers Association now pretends that the tight-money policy has had little effect on small business. None of its representatives dared present any such testimony to the House Small Business Committee. I am sure the Association failed similarly on the Senate side.

The best proof of the absurdity of the association's statement and survey is that the law prohibits the Small Business Administration from making any loan to small business if the money is available from private sources. That restriction in the law has been further implemented by the regulation of the SBA, pursuant to its policy board requirement, that no loan be made unless it has first been rejected by at least two banks. The Small Business Administration makes a determined effort to induce banks to make the loan either in its entirety or at least on a participating basis.

Nevertheless, the applications to SBA for small-business loans are continuing to increase and more and more good loans are being approved and made by it. The best proof of the fact that these are good loans is that many of them, after they have been seasoned, are bought without recourse by the banks from SBA.

The following letter from our good friend, George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, dated July 24, 1957, is, indeed, apropos:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
Burlingame, Calif., July 24, 1957.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: I noted with considerable interest the statement of the American Bankers Association, released on July 22, in which the association stated: "In the judgment of the vast majority of the Nation's bankers, the tightening of credit which has occurred over the past 2 years has not borne with undue severity on small business. This is the overall conclusion that emerges from an extensive survey among bankers throughout the country recently conducted by the Department of Monetary Policy of the American Bankers Association."

With no disrespect to the findings of the American Bankers Association on this subject matter, we are a little confused as to the timing of this statement when we consider that no conclusive action has been taken by the Senate similar to the action taken by the House by a majority vote approving legislation that would tend to make

the Small Business Administration more representative as it applies to the financial needs, etc., for small business of this Nation.

To the credit of your Subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee of which you are chairman, your committee made a most thorough study through public hearings on the situation facing small business as it relates to long-term capital needs.

Then again the action of the House Banking Committee, chairmaned by the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, which committee also made a thorough study through public hearings on the financial problems facing small business resulted in practically unanimous action by the House in voting improved legislation for the Small Business Administration.

I am sure that your committee and the House Banking Committee would have welcomed any and all factual information from the American Bankers Association that would confirm their statement as to "no undue severity on small business" as to their long-term financial needs.

It is interesting to note that at one of the hearings in the Senate Banking Committee on SBA and other pending legislation before that committee that there was need for a study by the Federal Reserve System as to the long-term credit needs for small business. This planned action, in itself, does not check with the findings of the American Bankers Association.

The American Bankers Association said further: "For the most part, greater selectivity in bank lending has taken the form of stricter credit review." We are just wondering through this "selectivity" whether such action is not working an undue hardship on the financial needs for small business. We are not talking about short-term credit, but we are talking on long-term needed capital for small business—and there is a wide difference between these two operations in financial institutions throughout the Nation as it applies to small business.

The association further states: "Bankers were also asked in the survey for their judgment as to how many small-business firms in their localities are suffering from inability to obtain as much credit as they really deserve." The word "deserve" might cover a multitude of sins and give an appropriate "out" for the lending institutions.

We do know, with due respect to the banking institutions, that they are governed by regulations and State and Federal laws on long-term credit, and we have so stated that time and time again before congressional committees. Hence the reason for the Congress in the creation of the Small Business Administration to fill this necessary function for financial needs for efficient small business.

Finally, the record of the Small Business Administration as to loans approved nationwide for the past 12 or 24 months should be conclusive evidence as a reason for the Senate to ratify the House action in this present session of the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

Puerto Rican Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago this day, Puerto Rico became a Commonwealth and adopted her Constitution under which its people live. For many years now, the Puerto Rican people, despite lack of opportunities and low wages, have struggled to raise their standard of living and to improve their economy. The great public housing projects and industrial buildings manifest the material developments of the Island of Puerto Rico. The religious fervor of the Puerto Ricans is a great bulwark against the forces of communism.

I have forwarded this day the following telegram to Hon. Luis Muñoz-Marín, the Governor of Puerto Rico, congratulating the Puerto Rican people upon the fifth anniversary of the adoption of their constitution:

Hon. LUIS MUÑOZ-MARÍN,
Office of the Governor,
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,
La Fortaleza, San Juan.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Let me congratulate you and the people of Puerto Rico on the fifth anniversary of the adoption of your constitution. We, on the mainland, recognize the contribution by the Puerto Ricans to our way of life and we look forward to greater progress in your economic development and a high standard of living. Kindly express to your people my congratulations in their possessing a liberal, religious, and dedicated Governor. Sincerely yours,

ALFRED E. SANTANGELO,
Member of Congress.

Chief Robert V. Murray and the Metropolitan Police Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by Mr. Renah F. Camalier.

I hope that every Member of Congress will read this address as Mr. Camalier made some very deserving remarks relative to Chief Robert V. Murray who has rendered outstanding service to the Nation's Capital as its Chief of Police during the past few years.

Not only in the Nation's Capital but the people throughout the country who have an interest in their country are proud to have Chief Murray in control of law enforcement here during these critical and changing years.

I want also to congratulate Mr. Camalier for taking time to give Chief Murray and the Metropolitan Police Department the praise they justly deserve.

REMARKS BY RENAH F. CAMALIER, ALMAS TEMPLE SPHINX CLUB, JULY 26, 1957

Illustrious potentate and nobles, I stand before my fellow nobles of Almas Temple of the Mystic Shrine, and our friends, to express again a private citizen's appreciation, buttressed by official particpation, for years upon years of faithful service rendered by our municipal officials and workers. Thank you for your courtesy.

My tenure of office as Commissioner of the District of Columbia portrayed an ever-widening living and moving picture of those men and women, with whom such office afforded the opportunity and pleasure to mingle, and to carry on the duties and face the common problems touching the lives of at least a million and a half of the finest and most delightful people on earth—my fellow Washingtonians and nearby neighbors.

The Commissioner's chair is the place of rare opportunity to exercise and test one's ability to sit in judgment on the conduct and operation of the offices of the various departments of our municipal government. Endeavoring to always maintain the character of the discerning and informed type of Commissioner and citizen, it is now, as it always has been, not difficult to state, with fear of having to retract, that the top official of every department in the District of Columbia government is a man or a woman fully qualified to handle the detailed burdens of their respective offices, aided and supported by deputies and employees of high character, ability, training, and devotion.

Here, in Washington, the skills, the knowledge and the experience of our engineers, sanitation experts, administrators, lawyers, enforcement authorities, traffic designers and students, welfare and health authorities, and leaders in all fields of community problems and needs, place this city among the better governed and operated of the Nation.

I wish the opportunity might be afforded where the outstanding contribtuions of each of our local officials and workers could be more fully publicized and known, and in line with this hope, let me initiate such a program by referring this noon to the office of chief of police, and of the man who occupies that position, and his place in our community's scheme of things.

The Good Book speaks of the worlds of business, professions, and society which pass by the windows of every man's home and office—those good worlds set apart by God for our personal and community benefit, but which some lawless segments of the human race take upon themselves to desecrate, to control, and even attempt to destroy.

It is with the need for action which arises immediately when these destroyers of orderly processes of living seek the disruption of orderly processes of government, that prompts me to trespass upon your time and brotherly civic patience.

Greed, hate, and passion form the bases for the commission of overt acts against society. Our peace and our safety are immediately jeopardized as violators skulk here and there, while the entire community becomes alerted to the dangers in its midst. Crime stalks the homes, the family life, the streets, the alleys, the highways, the ordinary pursuits of law-abiding citizens, and fear and apprehension dwell in the hearts of men, women, and children throughout the city.

But the truth of the old adage that crime does not pay immediately comes to the forefront, as we contemplate those attributes of integrity and steadfastness of purpose which characterize the head of our law-enforcement agencies in the District of Columbia—the Chief of Police—and confidence and security again become a part of the daily lives of our citizens.

This is not a personal laudation of Robert V. Murray, but an attempt to give my fellow residents a word picture, as seen through the eyes of a Commissioner, of why the men of the Metropolitan Police Department, under his leadership, are so eager to put into action, for our protection, their personal qualities and their police qualities and characteristics. The answer is founded on the principles of fair play which are an inherent component of the very life of Chief Murray, and his stern impartiality and full allegiance to duty in the administration of the police department. These are the controlling fac-

tors of his fellow workers' unswerving loyalty to him and to their city.

To draw this picture a little more clearly, however, I must resort to a few words concerning the man in action, that you might know what makes the wheels of crime prevention, detection, and deterrence revolve, and I am privileged to do this from years of personal knowledge and official cooperation.

Robert V. Murray is calm and placid on the exterior, blessed by an understanding heart and nature within, but he is a credit and an example of those basic requisites necessary to constitute an efficient and impartial officer of the law, a fact demonstrated over many years of conscientious and unblemished and unmarked service as a private, an officer, and now the honored chief of the finest police force in this country. The criminal and the would-be transgressor of the law cringe before such a man.

No words of commendation or letters of recommendation are needed for this man to stand before his fellow members of the force or his fellow citizens, private or official, fearful that he might be guilty of betrayal of trust or of honor. His record is unassailable, and the words of our former President Herbert Hoover are so pertinent I repeat them:

"No public man can be just a little crooked. There is no such thing as a no man's land between honesty and dishonesty. Our strength is not in politics, prices, or production. Our strength lies in spiritual concepts. It lies in public sensitiveness to evil."

In his appearances before the Board of Commissioners, of which I was a member, Robert V. Murray, accompanied by his deputies and other advisers, presented the problems of the Metropolitan Police Department in a manner which at once betokened the gentlemanly qualities of the man, brought to light his thorough grasp of those problems in their relationship to the people and property whose safety and preservation he is charged with protecting, yet behind it all no traces of bitterness, hatred, or passion could possibly be detected.

No evidence of acting or pretension, no tendency to present matters other than openly and objectively, no standing in the nonexistent no man's land between honesty and dishonesty of thought or of action, were apparent, and his presence before the Board was never what might be termed a battle of wits, or subject to suspicion or deception.

Promotions of subordinate officers, control, censure or other penalization of those members of the force who might have offended, changes in personnel, recommendations for the improvement of the processes of law and order, were submitted fully and definitely on merit, on record of performance, and in the public interest.

The Commissioners did not always agree with the recommendations by the Chief, or with the penalties imposed by boards created for the purpose of sifting and evaluating charges looking to the betterment of the service, and whenever either raised a doubt in favor of the one charged, Chief Murray readily suggested that the officer be accorded a second chance, unless, of course, circumstances were such that doubts by the Commissioners would prove of no avail.

Fairness controlled his every move, but there was one definite and unswerving stand which Robert V. Murray took, and for which every Board of Commissioners has publicly applauded him, and for which organizations of men and women throughout the city are now applauding, and that is, regardless of consequences to himself, the best interests of the Metropolitan Police Department, and of all of the people of Washington, were and are always his main object and concern.

The Chief needs no public salute, but the acclaim of all understanding and informed citizens goes to the man for doing his job so well and so self-effacingly, the man who constantly exceeds the call of duty to make this city of all Americans worthy of its place as the seat of the Government of the United States. I am happy to say "thank you, Chief Murray."

Civil Aeronautics Board Praised for Their Resistance to Increase in Airline Passenger Fare Demands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that a great deal of pressure has been brought to bear on our Government, and especially on the Civil Aeronautics Board, to give the airlines an increase of 5 percent in passenger fares on tickets for transportation between the United States and Europe.

We all realize that there has been a tremendous increase in American passenger travel to Europe in recent years. I think we all agree that this travel is a mark of real progress in our relations with our European allies. This is tremendously important in my opinion for two reasons. First, American travelers to Europe get to see firsthand and to understand the problems of European countries; second, and even more important, they spend dollars in Europe that are vitally needed by every foreign country and thus aid the economy of those foreign countries. This of course is a relief to the nontraveling American taxpayer, for it reduces the amount needed by the economy of these friendly nations, which in many respects is supported by our mutual aid program.

Fares to Europe are already far higher than comparable fares within the continental limits of this country, which in fact means that every American tourist going to Europe is presently paying a premium on their European vacation. Raising the fares 5 percent would make it that much more difficult for Americans to travel abroad.

Now I am sure that the operating costs to the airlines have gone up in the past year or so, particularly since the Suez crisis, which is the reason advanced for a fare increase. But I am equally confident that their earnings must have gone up at least equally in view of the tremendous number of passengers the airlines are carrying in overseas transportation.

If a need for fare increases is shown to our Government agencies, despite the outlined increase in passengers and revenues, I am sure that our Government will not stand in the way of these increases. Nevertheless, I do not think that the American people should be subjected to higher fares unless the higher fares are probably needed by the intercontinental airlines.

I am told that the reason our Civil Aeronautics Board would not approve the requests for higher fares is that the airlines did not show that an increase was needed. Under the circumstances, we should not only approve what the CAB has done, but insist that it not allow the foreign governments to push through a fare increase that will hit every American traveler to Europe, the tourist, the businessman, and the Government employees.

It is a pleasure to praise one of our administration agencies, for recently we have seen others who have not put the public interest first. I commend the CAB for their diligence in this matter.

National Charter for Veterans of World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement before Subcommittee No. 4 of the House Judiciary Committee, in favor of a national charter for Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A., Inc.:

STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS J. LANE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 4, OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, FAVORING A NATIONAL CHARTER FOR VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I

Mr. Chairman, the national organization titled, "Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A., Inc.," had its inception nearly 8 years ago.

It has grown steadily, year by year, until it now has almost 1,000 barracks covering 46 States, the District of Columbia, Honolulu, and the Philippine Islands.

This is the only organization that exclusively represents the 2,995,000 veterans of World War I.

The State of Oregon has officially requested Congress to grant a Federal charter to this organization, and other States will soon follow that example.

That this group is deserving of national recognition, is beyond question.

At the present time, the veterans of World War I have no organization with a Federal charter that is designed solely to represent them. The need for this is apparent. For in its absence, the Nation has forgotten the contributions that these men and women made to the defense of our freedoms, and has neglected their legitimate interests, rights, and benefits.

These 60-year-old veterans in spite of 40 years attrition, still constitute the third largest veterans' group, exceeded only by the much younger veterans of World War II, and of Korea.

The veterans of World War I, should have an identity of their own, through an organization that will not only perpetuate the unique memories and the loyal comradeship that cannot be shared with the veterans of other wars, but will speak up for them on legislation of concern to the veterans of 1917–18, their dependents, and their widows.

They need official recognition of an organization that will represent their generation of veterans.

Across the Nation, and in response to that need, veterans of World War I, have organized local barracks, as social centers for their special comradeship; as a means to focus and express their viewpoint in the community on issues of public interest; and as the living symbol of their service and their sacrifice in defense of the Nation during the first worldwide challenge to our freedoms.

These aging veterans, large in number, were not rewarded with the benefits that we extended to the veterans of subsequent wars.

We cannot remedy this oversight by providing retroactive entitlement to education or on-the-job training, or other benefits, but we can honor them with a Federal charter of recognition that will enable them to press for legislative attention to their problems.

As time goes on, the Nation will need the veterans of World War I as the senior veterans group, to perpetuate the meaning of our participation in that first global conflict, so that their sacrifices and their courage will inspire succeeding generations.

Almost 39 years have passed since that war ended.

And in that time, two other and larger groups of veterans have come home to enter those veteran organizations not limited to those who served in any one conflict. It is but natural for the younger veterans because of their superior numbers to take charge, but it also means that the older veterans have no place of their own. Their memories and their interests differ from those of their sons and daughters who served in World War II, or in some cases, those of their grandchildren who fought in Korea.

As one of them, I ask for official recognition of the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A., Inc.

I cannot conceive of any objections to legislative approval of a national charter for an organization that is nationwide in scope; whose broad objectives are patriotic; and whose members served the Nation with a devotion that commands our attention and respect.

Registration Now Put at 25 Percent—New Stimulus Expected in South to Lowering Vote Bars to Negro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I am very much interested in an article which appeared in this morning's Washington Post written by Robert C. Jensen, a staff reporter. The Washington Post headlines this item by stating, "New Stimulus Expected in South to Lowering Vote Bars to Negro." This article mentions 11 of the Southern States and I would like to correct this statement as it refers to South Carolina.

Mr. Jensen states, and I quote:

Despite the obstacles placed in the Negro's way, "there is evidence that he is on the move politically. This can be attributed to the new kind of leadership found among Negroes today."

I would like very much for the author of this article to give me some information as to the obstacles placed in either the white or colored people's path to prevent them from voting or offering for a political office.

I have been in politics for a long time in South Carolina and I have never heard of any obstacles being placed in the way of any person who desired to vote or run for political office. This is the type of propaganda that we people in the South are continually having to fight.

Youth Fitness Means National Fitness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, both from the standpoint of promoting youth fitness and also for the purpose of deterring juvenile delinquency, it is my strong conviction that more attention and study should be given to programs benefiting the Nation's youth.

With this goal in mind, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 7875, to establish a Civic Health Through Athletic and Mental Proficiency Society, setting up a national system of awards for athletic and cultural achievement. Those earning awards would be called Champs, after the initial letters of the society's title. My bill is currently pending before the Special Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

To focus attention on the need for expanded and more effective programs for youth, the President has created a Council on Youth Fitness made up of outstanding national leaders who are interested in this important field. The hard-working executive director of the President's Council is Dr. Shane MacCarthy, a native of Ireland and the father of five children. The importance of fitness is crucial in Dr. MacCarthy's thinking. Otherwise, he believes we will become a race subservient to our many "gadgets."

Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert a speech entitled "Punching for Fitness," which Dr. MacCarthy delivered at Pocatello, Idaho, on April 3, 1957, on the occasion of the National Intercollegiate Boxing Tournament, in which athletes from 16 colleges participated. Dr. MacCarthy highly praises athletic activities, such as boxing, in developing physical fitness.

The speech follows:

PUNCHING FOR FITNESS

This gathering is uniquely singular for many reasons, not the least of which is the healthy implication for boxing in educational institutions when the president of a young and thriving college came from his academic environment to introduce me to you tonight. As I arrived in this beautiful town, tucked away in the intermountain West, I noticed that Pocatello is called "The Gateway City," and the thought occurred that this national tournament, so thoroughly and scrupulously planned, might become the gateway or portal to wider participation in the art of boxing if some of the ideas we develop this evening will be followed by you and by others. I am thrilled to be a part of this occasion which claims the eyes of the Nation by bringing together the National Intercollegiate Boxing Coaches Association and their contenders for top honors, but I am disappointed. I must confess, that no more than 13 institutions are represented among the entrants. It would be fitting if there were 13 times 13—yes, I would like to see even 13 times that total participating because each wisely conceived and properly conducted sport has its contribution to make to fitness.

Our discussions in the President's Council frequently use the phrase "Youth fitness is national fitness," showing the wide impact of this program. One can't turn off the spigot of humanity and say, "Stop growing, stay young." Young boys and girls are becoming men and women every day. In other words, we can't have a pocket of fitness in a nation of ill fitness. Thus, as youth fitness is part of the mosaic of national strength, so does boxing, the art of boxing, mind you, as distinguished from prize fighting, occupy a prominent place among the scores of sports which beckon us into activity.

As we examine the subject of youth fitness, it is appropriate that we look briefly at the method by which civilization develops.

First, the stage of rugged, primal groundbreaking, the going west of young men and women to establish themselves as many did here in Pocatello—a frontier of the West. This time of setting up something upon the virgin terrain—be it even a hovel—a lowly home— is the period when people are active, when people unwittingly are exercising and having very little need for vicarious methods of getting their energy from pills.

Second, comes the period when the assemblage of houses develops the town, and towns give to living the urban concept where commodities are needed. Then machines grind out the products, giving rise to the industrial age. To make, manufacture, distribute, repair, and maintain such commodities, the industrial and business factors of society grow.

Third, as the nation becomes a major economic unity, it looks toward cultural, social welfare, and such other phases of life. This is the time when comforts have a very natural tendency to make us forget the need for physical activity for health. People have the necessities, and they begin to look for the niceties of life. At this time, the inevitable human tendency is to put first the aspect of ease and soft enjoyment.

In this analysis, I ask the question, "Where are we as a nation?" And I think you will agree with me that we are certainly in the third stage of tremendous cultural and economic development. We are at a peak of progress, indeed, which reminds me of not so many years ago in New York State, when I climbed Mount Marcy, the highest of the Adirondacks, and at its summit had that very feeling—there's no place to go but down.

This is the question that pertains to our country today—"Where are we going?" The inventions we have, and thank God we have tremendous ability to invent, are an indication of how we can take an idea and translate it to action outside the confines of any laboratory. But these inventions aimed at softness and cushioned comfort do have a tendency to take the toil out of work and the activity out of motion itself.

This is the moment when wonders lose their awe, as the human frame can be strapped into plane and propelled through space not once, not twice, but three times as fast as the speed of sound itself. This is the moment when the little infants, before they can talk, and long before they can walk,

sit and look at actions taking place thousands of miles away, not astounded in the least by the tremendous degree of scientific inventiveness that they are witnessing.

While we enjoy, as we should, all of the gadgets and technological products that we have brought into our society, you and I, as adult members of that society, tend to minimize or ignore the tremendous obligation to compensate in the realm of physical exercise for the inactivity that is brought about by such inventions. Today any noticeable exercise of the leg while driving is almost eliminated because the power is put into the brake. Turning a car left or right can be done even with the smallest shred of movement of a little finger, because the power is in the steering. Yes, this is the moment when softness has become a pattern of life, affecting even games, where too often, for no health reason, the participant reduces the exercise factor to an absolute minimum.

Therefore, gentlemen, in this advanced yet soft pattern of life, I think all of us owe a debt of gratitude to our President, that in the year which has just passed he took cognizance of the situation, sounded the alert, and convened a meeting on the fitness of youth. I am convinced what he did can have a more far-reaching effect on the health and fitness of our Nation than many an activity that won headline space.

When it was said to the President's Conference on Youth Fitness, convened at Annapolis, that words like "strategy" and "tactics" mean very little unless the human factor exists behind them, the challenge was given to us to attempt to do something about the prevailing national pattern of sedentary habits. Among the many recommendations coming from that conference were two of major import:

First. That there be established a top-level organization to take official cognizance of the necessity for youth fitness in today's mode of life. From this came the President's Council on Youth Fitness.

Second. That a mechanism be designed to carry the alert of the fitness story to the country. This was the basis for the President's Citizens Advisory Committee on Fitness of American Youth.

The task of the council is twofold: Coordination and stimulation of programs.

COORDINATION

This word of many syllables might mean everything or very little. In this instance, coordination is needed because we ascertained that approximately 30 diverse units of national government have some direct or indirect responsibility for youth affairs and, therefore, it is essential that each know what the other is doing or planning to do and, in that sense, attempt to have coordination-in-action. We do not interpret this function to mean the building of a large coordinating organization with a responsibility for doing what others should do.

STIMULATION OF PROGRAMS

This means that we will attempt to aid persons and organizations throughout the country to do what they can within their own resources to help in the attainment of youth fitness. Accordingly, this is a responsibility of service, of encouragement, recognizing that the actual programing belongs in every home, in every school, and in every community. Though the fitness job has a task for every kind of organization, none perhaps has a more unique opportunity for action than yours at this present moment.

I should make it clear that we are discussing youth fitness—not just physical fitness but total fitness—with all components granted appropriate weight—spiritual, emotional, mental, social, and physical, with physical activities providing the springboard for our particular function. The President's Council has not been devised simply to give lip service to physical education. We are looking for tangible, visible results—for habits, attitudes, and skills on the part of all our young boys and girls to want to be physically active. Tonight we talk only of boys.

Many fitness philosophers are abroad in the land, varying in their interpretation and in their emphasis. A goodly number say that in the attainment of physical fitness by regular and well-planned activity, no strenuous competitive sports and no bodily contact athletic endeavors are needed and, therefore, should not be encouraged. And such minds consider boxing as anathema. I am inclined to think that in most of these cases the opposition is to prizefighting and not to the art of boxing, by failing to distinguish nicely between these two very different undertakings. Your first task, therefore, is a tremendous public relations responsibility so that the minds of parents, educators of all categories, and responsible officials in our society know clearly what you mean by boxing. Their thinking is influenced by the fear of serious injury or indefinite impairment to the contestants. This negative approach is the offspring of a complex that sees the contestants' objective only as bloodletting and the head knockout blow, rather than the scoring of points by means of skillful maneuvers while the contestants are adequately and appropriately protected with the carefully devised equipment now available—and required in college boxing and more being planned. Thus, whatever I say on behalf of boxing, please realize that I am interested in it as an art (call it The Manly Art of Self-Defense, if you will, or even something more apt) and not in one fighter slugging his opponent to the horizontal.

I'm thinking of the artful sport in which numerous mental and physical movements comprise the activity—the advance, quick and slow; the pivot; the feint; the block; the duck; the shift—drop, quick, and rear; the slipping to inside and outside guard; the jab; the parry—inside and outside; and many more.

Not too long ago I had the pleasure of a thorough visit of the facilities of West Point, which is in a very real sense a laboratory of fitness. It is interesting to note that every cadet is required to box as part of his well-rounded physical education and fitness program. There, boxing is supervised closely and it was in this kind of training that the leadership characteristics of many of our most illustrious military leaders were formed. Here are some widely known and well-respected service personalities, all members of boxing teams, and some were team captains and champions. Their achievements through the years show mental alertness and personality of the best caliber: Adm. H. H. Henderson, USN; Adm. M. V. O'Regan, USN; Capt. Slade Cutter, USN; Capt. W. G. Chapple, USN; Capt. Bob Foley, USN; Col. Rivers Morrell, USMC; Maj. Gen. J. W. Harmony; Lt. Col. A. A. Jordan; Lt. Col. W. C. McGlothin; Maj. Gen. W. H. Maglin; Lt. Gen. C. B. Stone; Maj. Gen. C. F. Fritsche; Maj. Gen. E. W. Barnes; Col. T. J. M. Shanley.

To this could be added successful leaders of business, medicine, law, and politics who, rather than being impaired by their experience in school boxing, learned much in this sport to benefit them in later life.

Appropriate, also, is it at this point to quote from a statement with which Dr. Philip Barba of Philadelphia, an eminent pediatrician, arrested the attention at a special session of a recent conference of the American Association of Pediatrics, liberally attended by professionals in the fields of health and physical education and recreation, to discuss youth fitness:

"I feel that competition is essential for our youth. I feel that the body contact sports are not too harmful and are really a natural expression of an inner need. I have never seen healthy young animals coexist without body contact play. I feel that my job is not to prevent or prohibit such activity but to see that it is guided and properly supervised. I do not mean merely putting a watcher on the playground while the youngsters run around knocking each other down. I mean real instruction and real inspiration."

Dr. Barba continued:

"I am not impressed by the danger of physical injury in well directed and supervised athletic competition at any age bracket. Examination of accident ward records will show many more injuries from unavoidable accidents and unsupervised play in homes and streets. The safety is in the supervision and in discouraging the do or die tactics of coaches."

Applying this philosophy to our subject of punching for fitness or boxing in education, I suggest that three items be avoided:

1. Don't stage intercollegiate boxing, or any kind of boxing in education, as a gladiator show for the satisfaction of bloodthirsty spectators. Instead, give this sport the same kind of face and significance your athletic departments accord to the popular games on the ball field, court, and track by emphasizing adequate and appropriate training, skill, stamina, and sportsmanship. Make your appeal to the fine sense of appreciation of wholesomeness, competitive spirit, and top condition that should always characterize collegiate participants and onlookers.

2. Don't allow boxing in education to be the training ground for the professional fighting ring. To do so is to pervert the function of the gymnasium and the purposes of education. If proper attention is given to boxing and education as contrasted with fighting and prize ring, the gymnasium, or that part of it devoted to personal development by means of boxing, becomes a laboratory for cultivating basic qualities of fitness for meeting the demands of the business, professional, and civic world beyond the campus boundaries.

3. Do not consider the professional fighting champion as the paragon of youth fitness. Much more beneficial is the yardstick used recently by a well-known national magazine when it staged a silver-anniversary award to ascertain the most worthy recipients for accolade from among those who were sports champions 25 years ago. They found men of prowess in many walks of life who had taken into business and the professions the lessons learned in the areas of athletic competition.

Positively, therefore:

1. The first big task is that of winning friends and confidence for boxing in education. Parents, teachers, and community leaders must understand clearly what you mean. Then you must live up to the charge to do what you preach.

2. Why not stop aping the professional prize ring psychology and think anew with depth and courage about what is called the manly art? If it is worthy of the name "art" consider the possible similarities between boxing in our context and other sports—for example, fencing. No one tends to classify this as an undesirable sport that should be avoided even though the accidental dropping of the rubber tip could make the foil a penetrating piece of steel. In fact, for poise, posture, agility, maneuverability, and other benefits to the human physique, few, if any, sports equal fencing. Viewing boxing in this light—substitute the glove for the foil and act in similar manner, with the thrust and the parry and the objective of scoring points rather than injuring an opponent and breaking him into submission.

3. Conscientious consideration will suggest initiative and variety not now followed by any schools. For example, why not stage boxing bouts in education by having A assume the offensive in round one and B the defensive. In round two, they would reverse positions, and in the third and final round, allow A and B to mingle offense and defense. Precedent for this suggestion is

found in school wrestling where A is given top position for the first 30 seconds, B gets the top for the second 30 seconds, and then A and B wrestle for advantage in the third period.

4. If boxing were conducted in this artful manner, with proper head protection and the newly-designed gloves, then it could well prove a useful sport for fitness at the high school as well as at the college level, where contests could be conducted on an intramural, nondecision basis.

5. With this approach a vast reservoir of interest in boxing and confidence in the sport as a part of the fitness process in education could be developed. From such wide participation would come those with God-given ability to represent their schools at such tournaments as this. Never should we allow the contestants to be so-called amateur boxers who have been "fighting" outside of school environs and who may be using this as merely a steppingstone of experience to a career in professional fighting.

6. In fact, recognizing that habits and desires begin early in life, I would like to see my sons (even in their grade-school days) get many of the benefits that come from the thorough training associated with boxing. Rope skipping, bag punching, shadow boxing, would lend much to the coordination of little boys. You are familiar with what happens when a student of college level, considering himself a well-coordinated physical specimen, laces on boxing gloves for the first time in his life and begins to punch a bag. The display is normally ridiculous, while the bag hits the boy on the nose more than he hits it on the leather. Imagine the fun and benefit children in the elementary schools would get, especially when too often they are crowded into tight quarters indoors during inclement weather, if they could take turns punching a bag to the tempo of music. What a symphony of sounds for fitness would result.

7. And, lastly, broaden your concept of "victory" and "champion" so that the horizontal maiming of an opponent is not the goal of boxing efforts. Recognition of various skills will change the mental objective of the opponents if championship trophies are offered for the best tournament displays of poise, footwork, defense, temper control (sportsmanship), etc.

If, therefore, you rethink the components of boxing in education and you retool facilities and programs accordingly, still be patient as you ride the blows of continued criticism from skeptical persons, but don't backpedal on principle. Keep your minds and hearts set in the right direction as you continue to punch for the fitness of our youth through boxing.

Remember that for youth fitness we're not looking for crowd appeal but for crowd of participants. To achieve this goal in the right manner I suggest that the National Collegiate Boxing Coaches Association might well give consideration to the establishment of a youth fitness committee.

School Construction Assistance Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to authorize Federal assistance to the States and local communities in financing an unexpanded program of school construction so as to eliminate the national shortage of classrooms.

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Chairman, I have introduced a bill which I feel will meet the school construction needs immediately and is so understandable that I believe anyone can see its advantages almost at a glance. My bill reads as follows:

That 1 percent of the moneys collected annually as Federal income and corporate taxes shall be returned in quarterly installments to the State, Territory, or the District of Columbia(as the case may be), from which such Federal income and corporate taxes were derived, to be used for school construction; except that no amount in excess of $100 million shall be returned to any State or Territory or the District of Columbia for any annual period pursuant to the provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. The provisions of this act shall be effective with respect to moneys collected as Federal income and corporate taxes for the calendar years 1958, 1959, and 1960.

When H. R. 1 is up for amendment, I intend to offer this bill as an amendment. If enacted it will provide a return of moneys to the various States in the amount equal to 1 percent of the Federal income and corporate taxes paid by each State on a quarterly installment basis.

The bill which we are considering provides for setting up a Federal authority with a commission to administer this program. We all know that when Federal funds are expended, there must be some type of Federal control, and the rules and regulations set up by the commission will without a doubt have to be recognized and complied with by the State agencies. It has been pointed out that many States would not presently have sufficient laws to accept this money.

My bill would make it easy from a fiscal standpoint as the money is returned to the States and could only be used for school construction purposes. The bill would only be effective for the calendar years of 1958, 1959, and 1960, and during that time would return to the States far in excess of the moneys provided under the Kelley bill. If the Kelley bill should go into effect the taxpayers of the various States would be required to match the Federal fund through local and State taxes.

I have provided that no State should receive in excess of $100 million a year. This limitation only applies to the State of New York, but I feel there is an equity owing to the fact that so many nationwide corporate entities are domiciled in the State of New York, and there should be no objection to that limitation.

Many of the States under my plan would receive more money than is provided by H. R. 1. Some of the poorer States would have a difficult time raising the matching requirements. The philosophy of need has been greatly reduced from the original Eisenhower program and is based on the need which has been established in the past. With the great shift in population no one knows where the greatest need for school housing may be 3 to 5 years from now. I believe the provisions of my bill are fair and equitable and should not be objected to by anyone. If the States cannot use the amount of money returned to them during the yearly period, there would be nothing against stretching their building program out over the next 5 years or more.

I trust that when my amendment is offered as a substitute for H. R. 1 that the Congress in its wisdom might see fit to adopt this program which most certainly is one of equity to every State. I believe that every Member of Congress feels that our educational system should be completely within the control of the separate States. I believe our educational system should be competitive in order to provide the best educational facilities to perpetuate our American way of life. I am very fearful of the results of Federal control of any kind and will appreciate your support of my amendment.

The Federal Maritime Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD newspaper stories concerning a recent case before the Federal Maritime Board which should be of interest to the Members of Congress.

The stories follow:

[From the Washington Post of July 12, 1957]

HAWAII STOP OF COMPANY'S SHIPS ASKED

The Pacific Far East Line, Inc., of San Francisco, charged in district court here yesterday that the Federal Maritime Board is supporting a near-perfect monopoly in denying it the right to stop in Hawaii.

The company asked the court to set aside a May 14 ruling by the Board refusing its application to call three times a month at Hawaii in connection with its service between the West Coast and Guam. It charged that the Matson Navigation Co. was being favored.

"Matson carries over 95 percent of the cargo moving in the Pacific Coast-Hawaii trade," PFEL told the court.

A Maritime Board examiner recommended after hearings that PFEL be permitted to stop in Hawaii, but the Board, in a 2 to 1 decision May 14, overruled him.

PFEL has asked the Board to reconsider its decision. A Board spokesman said the request would be put on the docket.

The complaint filed in district court said the Board "erred in failing to find, as the examiner found, that Matson, rather than PFEL, would have the advantage in obtaining cargo, because of Matson's intimate ownership, control, management, and other relationships with the shippers and receivers of the principal commodities, and Matson's long experience in the Hawaii trade."

[From the New York Journal of Commerce of July 12, 1957]

MONOPOLY AID CHARGE FILED AGAINST FMB

The Federal Maritime Board was charged in Federal district court of supporting a near-perfect monopoly by the Matson Navigation Co. in its trade between Pacific coast ports and Hawaii.

The charge was made by attorneys representing the Pacific Far East Line, to whom the Board has refused permission to call at Hawaii three times a month with unsubsidized vessels that are in service between the west coast and the Island of Guam.

According to Odell Kominers, PFEL counsel, "Matson carries over 95 percent of the cargo moving in the Pacific coast-Hawaii trade."

The court was asked to set aside the Federal Maritime Board's ruling of May 14, which favored Matson.

PFEL complained to the court that the Board did not give a sound reason for its decision and failed also to consider the manner in which this monopoly has been achieved and exploited, and its repugnance to the antitrust laws.

The petition to the court cites a recommended decision by one of the Federal Maritime Board's own examiners who held that Pacific Far East Lines' application to enter the Hawaiian trade should be granted.

Named as defendants in the complaint filed today were Clarence G. Morse, Chairman of the Maritime Board and Maritime Administrator, and board member Thomas E. Stakem, Jr., both of whom voted against the report of the examiner and a supporting report of the public counsel, as well as vice chairman Ben E. Guill, who voted for granting Far East the right to make calls in Hawaii.

The board's decision that Matson was exclusively a domestic unsubsidized operator and, therefore, could properly be protected, was challenged. The motion cited the fact that Matson wholly owns, controls, and operates Oceanic Steamship Corp., a subsidized international line and is, therefore, in exactly the same position as Pacific Far East which also operates a subsidized route between the west coast and the Far East.

"The board and Administration," states the complaint, "erred in failing to find, as the examiner found, that Matson, rather than Pacific Far East Lines, would have the advantage in obtaining cargo, because of Matson's intimate ownership, control, management, and other relationships with the shippers and receivers of the principal commodities, and Matson's long experience in the Hawaii trade."

[From the New York Journal of Commerce of July 19, 1957]

NEW OPINION ON MATSON TIEUP ASKED

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER (Democrat, of Oregon), again called on Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., for an opinion as to whether relations between the Matson Navigation Co. and certain economic interests in Hawaiian Islands constitutes a monopoly.

The Oregon Democrat said that the answer to an earlier inquiry on the same subject made by Assistant Attorney General Victor R. Hansen did not seem to go beyond a possible technical violation of the Clayton Act.

The Hansen letter, according to Senator NEUBERGER, did not answer the question, "Does a monopoly in fact exist under the system of intricate ownership which characterizes the dominant economic interests of Hawaii? If this is in fact a monopoly is its operation completely free of violation of the antitrust laws?"

The Supreme Court's decision in the du Pont-General Motors case was cited by Senator NEUBERGER as indicating that some transactions which might previously have been regarded as beyond the reach of the antitrust laws "may still be within the remedial provisions of those statutes."

The Pacific Far East Line, whose application to the Federal Maritime Board for permission to serve Hawaii was recently turned down in a 2 to 1 decision, has been making the same monopoly charges against Matson and has filed suit in the Federal district court here accusing the Federal Maritime Board of aiding in the preservation of the alleged monopoly.

In his letter to the Attorney General, Senator NEUBERGER charged that Matson President Randolph Sevier had admitted that there was a strong community of interests between his company and large Hawaiian sugar interests and that executives of 4 of the so-called big 5 form Matson's advisory board.

Where Would You Build It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have observed advertisements in newspapers and magazines inviting new businesses to certain States on the basis that State taxes are advantageously low. In my State of Michigan, quite a controversy has been in progress as to whether State taxes are at best discouraging new business from coming to the Wolverine State and at worst actually causing industries to move away. In connection with this dispute, which vitally effects the future prosperity of Michigan, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial, taken from the Flint (Mich.) Journal of July 23, be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE WOULD YOU BUILD IT?

Gov. G. Mennen Williams says it is "extremely doubtful" that Michigan taxes have been the sole influence in the decision of a big steel manufacturing firm to locate a new $16 million plant in Ohio.

The Detroit firm had announced that it intended to locate the new plant in Ohio, because the tax outlook for corporations in Michigan is not at all encouraging.

This comes in the wake of a dispute over the effect of Michigan tax policies on business in this State. Critics have pointed out that existing taxes and Williams' insistence on instituting a corporation tax have resulted in some Michigan firms locating new plants in other States, and in decisions of other manufacturing plants not to locate facilities in Michigan.

Williams has denied all along that this is the case, and has produced statistics to show that the number of jobs has increased in Michigan. His critics contend that his figures are in error, and that even if they were right they do not reflect the number of new jobs which might have been created here had it not been for the tax situation.

In commenting on the decision of the Detroit firm to build in Ohio, Williams appears to have retreated a bit from his earlier position. "From what we know of the background in this matter," he said, "it is much more likely that while taxes may have had some influence, the deciding factor was the existence of a steel plant on the site at Canton (Ohio)."

His admission that "taxes may have had some influence" is significant. Heretofore he has refused to concede that taxes have influenced any such decisions at all.

And now he says he is willing to talk it over with business and industrial leaders. His office door is always open to them, and he will listen to what they have to say.

Soapy's legal adviser, Alfred B. Fitt, refuses to back down even that much.

Addressing a group of Republicans, in Ingham County last week, Fitt stated that State and local taxes are a secondary consideration in locating a new industrial plant.

"This is so," he said, "because, even in States considered to be high-tax States, the actual tax cost of doing business is tiny compared to freight costs, labor supply and costs, availability of water and transportation, and so on."

Michigan's location "off the geographical mainstream" has given the State a competitive disadvantage in consideration of freight costs, he said.

He is absolutely right of course. Other costs are higher than tax costs. Taxes are a secondary consideration in locating new industrial plants. Michigan is off the geographical mainstream and therefore is at a competitive disadvantage with other States whose locations result in lower freight costs.

Conceding the accuracy of those statements, do they not constitute good reason why Michigan, which is reputed by impartial observers to be a high-tax State, should offer a tax advantage to industry to counterbalance the competitive disadvantatge created by these other factors?

Are not those statements good arguments for reducing, or at least maintaining, the present level of Michigan industrial taxes?

Why pile disadvantage on disadvantage and hope to attract new industry or even maintain what we have?

It doesn't take very much intelligence to recognize that taxes are a factor in deciding where to locate a new plant. Taxes are a cost of doing business, just as are such things as the price of raw materials, wages, and salaries, the cost of getting a product to market, and so on.

These other costs being equal, taxes can be the deciding factor.

Suppose someone wants to build a new factory in this area. And suppose the choice narrows down to two locations—one in Ohio and the other in Michigan. Careful investigation discloses that the two locations are about comparable as far as labor supply and cost, availability and cost of raw materials, transportation costs, etc., are concerned.

But Ohio offers a better break in taxes than does Michigan. Furthermore, the Ohio Governor emphasizes that Ohio taxes are stabilized, while the Governor of Michigan keeps insisting that a corporation tax must be assessed in his State.

Where is that new plant going to be built? And who will benefit from the new jobs that will result?

It is just about that simple isn't it?

Classroom "Contributions"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, as we consider the propriety of the Federal Government entering upon a program of participating in the operation of the public schools of the Nation, I desire to bring to the attention of the membership a very excellent discussion of this subject. The discussion is contained in an editorial appearing in the Gastonia (N. C.) Gazette on July 24, 1957.

It is general knowledge in the State of North Carolina that the policy of this great newspaper has always been to lead the battle for any improvement in public school education. It is, therefore, significant that the thoughts expressed

by the staff of that great newspaper be carefully considered by those of us who have the responsibility to participate in making an important decision with reference to the future of our public schools.

I am pleased to be able to direct the attention of my colleagues to this magnificent editorial.

The editorial follows:

CLASSROOM "CONTRIBUTIONS"

One of the most controversial issues of this day and time is Federal aid for States.

Numerous, indeed, have been the debates on the subject and right now there is pending in the House and Senate of the United States a Federal aid measure that has caused heated debate.

This one deals with Federal aid for education. On the face of it the plan for the Federal Government to aid States in education with vast sums of money might seem feasible. However, the Gazette, opposed to Federal aid in any form, sharply disagrees with those who are in favor of Federal money coming into the States.

One of the largest and outstanding financial institutions in the United States, the First National City Bank of New York, recently came out with some views on the subject of Federal aid for education. Title of the expression of views on the subject was, "Classroom 'Contributions'."

In setting forth its views on the subject the bank brought home forcibly its opposition to Federal aid for education with these words:

"It is indeed hard to see how the traditional decentralization of Government in America will have any chance for survival once the school systems begin to teach children the virtues of Federal financial support and control. The President's contention that States and municipalities have been neglectful in meeting school needs really represents an indictment of the people in their votes on proposals to raise money for school purposes. It is also an indictment of the Federal Government's own fiscal policies which have preempted so much of the money people are willing to pay in taxes that they naturally feel some reserve in voting still higher taxes."

These views are in accord with those of the Gazette, even though we are aware of the fact that North Carolina stands to net more Federal aid for education than any State in the Union. Federal allotment receipts for North Carolina are $11.8 million, with estimated tax payments being $4.8 million, making net receipts $7.5 million.

The Gazette feels that North Carolina, as well as other States, would be a lot better off if something were done toward revising the Federal Government tax structure and permitting the States to keep more of their own money and conduct their schools and other projects on their own.

Federal aid, the Gazette wants to point out again, is a vicious practice. It's a threat to States rights, and we trust that the Federal aid for education bill will be beaten.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I was much interested in the ceremonies here in the House last week in commemoration of the meeting 109 years ago at Seneca Falls, N. Y., which launched the movement which resulted in the 19th amendment to the Constitution and the opportunity for women to exercise the full rights of citizenship, including the precious right to vote.

Women now constitute the majority of the voters in the United States. As a rule, women are very jealous of the privilege and cast their votes in most cases after only the most serious consideration of the issues and of the candidates.

In my still relatively short career in politics as a local leader in the Democratic Party and as a candidate for office, I have been deeply impressed by the serious manner in which women's groups demand to know the full facts on political issues. It is always a challenge to speak to a group of women in a political campaign because they are always insistent on knowing what a candidate intends to do about the issues which affect the families and the average individual.

I was pleased to note in connection with the activities commemorating the Seneca Falls meeting of 1848 that one of our great Pennsylvanian Democratic women, our national committeewoman, Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, was paid deservedly high tribute for her efforts over the years in spotlighting the role of women in politics and in national life. She has been an inspiration to every Democratic woman in Pennsylvania active in politics, and I salute her for her energy and her skill in furthering those causes in which she is vitally interested.

One of my major projects as a Member of Congress is the enactment of legislation of which I am a sponsor to establish by law the principle of equal pay for women in performing work similar to that performed by men.

My bill, H. R. 8274, which I introduced on June 20 finds, as a matter of congressional determination, that the existence in industry of wage discriminations against women constitutes an unfair wage problem, thus leads to labor disputes, depresses wages and living standards of both men and women workers, interferes with and prevents the maintenance of adequate living standards for many families, including particularly families of deceased or disabled veterans, wastes our productive strength and thus endangers the national security and the general welfare.

When two workers, side by side, performing the same sort of work are doing it equally well, there is no justification under law or moral justice that they should not be accorded an equal opportunity for equal pay.

I believe that so strongly that I am indeed proud to be a sponsor of equal-pay legislation.

My own State of Pennsylvania has been in the forefront of efforts to assure equal pay for women and is one of 11 States which have adopted legislation to achieve this result. Gov. George M. Leader has described this legislation as a demonstration of our confidence and belief in the equal competence of women. It would be unfair to our industries in Pennsylvania not to do everything possible to protect them from the unfair competition which arises from payment in some States of substandard wages, including unjust wage discrimination against women workers.

I welcome the support of many of the organizations, such as the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and many other groups, which have been working so hard for equal-pay legislation.

The Weakening NATO Shield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Charles A. Willoughby has an outstanding military record and although he is a retired Army officer, he still maintains an active interest in the welfare of our country. As part of my remarks I am including an article which he prepared for the National Review and it appears in the June 29 issue.

Mr. Speaker, as the facts are presented by General Willoughby in this article, it would appear that the time has come for a genuine reappraisal of our NATO policies. As he has suggested, it seems pertinent that we might be using in the defense of Europe, people who live there rather than American men and women who are in danger in the event of an unexpected military move by Soviet Russia.

Another outstanding American citizen who is interested in the program suggested by General Willoughby in his article, is former Ambassador H. J. Cromwell.

The article follows at this point in the RECORD:

THE WEAKENING NATO SHIELD

(By Gen. Charles A. Willoughby)

Interwoven in the fatal pattern of Communist strength throughout the world is the apathy of Europe and the statistical decline of NATO.

The United States has attempted to counter this threat by various schemes of financial and economic aid, at an estimated cost since 1945 of some $50 billion. Ambassador Spruille Braden recently equated this astronomical figure with the combined real-estate assessment of our 50 largest cities. We do things the big way—even to cutting our own economic throats.

A study of the European situation, however, indicates that net results are not commensurate with these enormous expenditures. In his final report on NATO, General Eisenhower admitted that there is no real security yet achieved in Europe; there is only a beginning. That was around 1952. The degree of progressive deterioration since then becomes shockingly evident if one compares the current military effort of Western Europe with its effort between World Wars I and II.

These nations were politically and administratively geared to universal military service. Annual conscription was accepted as a civic and patriotic duty. The European peoples were accustomed to maintain huge standing armies. Today, they seem unwilling or unable to produce the 50–60 divisions required as an absolute minimum under recent (and precarious) NATO defense

schemes. Under the initial concepts of 1951, NATO strength was set at 90 divisions. The hostile factors that then induced the Allies to fix that figure are still present—indeed they are more threatening than ever. If 90 divisions were believed necessary in 1951, there has been no relaxation of Soviet pressures to make them less necessary in 1957. Note the tabulated record of military effort between World Wars, in comparison with the present status of NATO. The column for 1928 is important as a yardstick of capacity; that was a normal year under a peacetime budget, and Western Europe was evidently able to turn out and maintain about 118 divisions.

Country	WWI	1928	WWII	1957
Benelux	18	17	20	4.5
United States	34	12	79	5
Britain-Canada	89	23	49	[1] 5
France	118	30	90	[2] 2
Germany	248	10	190	[3] 3
Italy	45	28	50	8

[1] Britain will reduce progressively to 3 divisions.
[2] France has partially withdrawn her divisions for use in Algiers.
[3] Germany will increase from 3 to 12 divisions. This may be the turning of the tide, accentuated by the recent designation of General Speidel to command LAND-Cent, the mid-European front.

Allied demobilization after 1945 was a panicky rush job. Only the U. S. S. R., the arch-enemy, maintained its armed strength of 175 to 225 divisions, in spite of its global commitments. As regards NATO (the vaunted NATO shield), the line from Denmark to Switzerland represents about 17.5 to 19.5 ready divisions. This shrunken total is facing 22 Soviet divisions in East Germany; 22 additional Polish and Soviet divisions in Poland; and between 9 and 12 Czech armored units— i. e., a ready mass of 56 divisions, while behind it 50 additional divisions are deployed in eastern Russia, in normal garrisons. The relative speed with which Red reserves can move was demonstrated in the recent invasion of Hungary.

A military ratio of 17 to 19 Western vis-a-vis 56 Soviet divisions represents a suicidal discrepancy by normal, professional standards. A debacle was temporarily held in suspense by the transient atomic superiority of the United States. This precarious situation places a premium on our fringe allies—Spain, Greece, and Turkey.

FOREIGN AID: PRODUCT, UNIT COST

Except for the statistical yardstick of a typical budgetary year— i. e., 1928—midway between fratricidal wars, no one really knows the current war capacity of the West although it ought not to be less than its average mobilization record over the last 50 years. In gaging military capacity—i. e., ready divisions in the NATO shield—the picture is distorted by an elusive relationship of cause and effect, economic capacity, the spiral of inflation and the impact of American mutual aid grants or credits in the light of their ultimate military results and the product of this aid—i. e., ready divisions in the NATO shield. Utilizing the figures of 1953 aid (in millions) as an average, the results are hardly inspiring.

Country	United States aid	Product in divisions	Unit cost
Germany	$1,472	3	$500
France	3,100	2	1,600
Britain-Canada	3,585	4.5	900
Italy	1,477	8	200
Benelux	556	4.5	100
Spain [1]	250	11	25
Greece	550	6	90
Turkey	950	8	80

[1] Spain is not a member of the UN or NATO but has furnished military bases that are indispensable to Western defense.

Even if we make full allowance for the triple inflation since 1933, the product of mutual aid and the unit cost per ready division are totally unsatisfactory. The British now propose an ultimate reduction in their forces from 4.5 to 3 divisions. The French have already pulled out their best contingents (except two divisions) for use in Algiers: The process of weakening the shield is accelerating.

COUNTING THE COST

We observe here a flagrant case of butter versus guns. The Russians are committed to guns, and there is no butter for their slave population. Our agonizing reappraisal must be a readjustment from butter to guns. Here again, the British throw light on the problem: their 1956 defense expenditures of $4 billion, compared to 10 times that amount by the United States, were balanced by welfare spending in the same amount.

There is a current attempt to minimize this factual discrepancy by semantic sleight-of-hand; to make it appear innocuous through high-sounding plans for atomic or pentomic divisions and final reliance on nuclear weapons as compensation for further reduction in personnel and conventional units.

There is, of course, bound to be a transformation in weapons, to make use of atomic charges, etc. But this transformation takes place on both sides of the Iron Curtain; the West has no monopoly on it. No amount of demagogic ranting will eliminate a single Soviet battalion. The continuous weakness of the West will not induce the Russians to forego their plans for global conquest. They are still rapaciously hanging on to the immense areas and millions of oppressed peoples which Potsdam tossed into their lap.

It is the will to resist that is important. Impoverished Spain has stood the test, fought and vanquished Russian agitators on her own soil in 1936–39. She is an index of what can be accomplished on a shoestring. She has 11 frontline divisions and can mobilize twice that number in 30 days. The low unit-costs per ready division of Greece, Spain, and Turkey are in a category that invites a reappraisal of our foreign aid.

At this moment, we must face the fact that Europe cannot or will not furnish the minimum number of divisions forced by the current Russian menace.

The situation could be partly remedied by calling on the victims of Russian despotism to rally to the cause of NATO and by utilizing the potential manpower within the ranks of millions of expellees who have been driven from their former homes at the point of Soviet bayonets and have both moral and material incentives to fight Soviet aggression.

There are between 9 and 12 million such expellees in Western Europe who are willing and able to furnish a reasonable percentage for some military service. Even a modest 5 percent would produce between 450,000 and 600,000 men. Organized into national units, brigades or regiments, they could automatically strengthen the NATO contingents in many ways: as military and semimilitary formations on lines of communications; as guards for depots and warehouses; in short, as infantry, the least expensive and the ultimately indispensable military branch.

If the infantry component of a division is set at 5,000 to 6,000 men, we have here the makings of 90 to 100 divisions, to bolster the sagging strength of NATO. They would also furnish a grim reminder to the Communist looters that there will be a day of reckoning.

In simplest terms, the global commitments of the United States, in forty-odd world localities, have become too heavy a burden, and it is already evident that the partners in these commitments may contribute only an irreducible minimum. Our enormous budget for 1957 accurately reflects this discrepancy; over $40 billion is absorbed by United States defense requirements. The silent revolt of the taxpayer, slowly gathering strength, makes it imperative to tackle the monetary aspects of the problem.

It is obvious that the enlistment of European manpower would be cheaper than the maintenance abroad of American infantry, who are grossly overpaid by European standards, and whose comparative affluence creates envy and resentment among European contingents. The largest slice of the American budget is in expensive technical branches: the air arm and missile projects. In some respects, that feature is repeated in our allies' forces though it is becoming evident that they can no longer afford both conventional and nuclear armaments. A redistribution of services and fiscal loads may become necessary; Europe to furnish the Infantry divisions while the United States concentrates on expensive air and nuclear contingents and a proportional Navy. Immediate budget savings of 50–60 percent would probably result if the American divisions were progressively replaced by expellee formations. We already have such a situation in Korea and Formosa.

MOVES FOR A FREEDOM CORPS

The idea of international brigades is not new. The Russians set the pace long ago and furnished a working model. They recruited Communist brigades in the United States, France, Italy, and Great Britain, to fight in the Spanish civil war. And in this country, during the past few years, there have been various moves to establish a freedom corps in Europe, as follows:

1. Eighty-second Congress, first session, January 6, 1951: S. 238 was introduced by Senators Lodge, Brewster, Hickenlooper, Ives, Mundt, Hendrickson, and Hunt "* * * to provide for the enlistment of aliens in the Army of the United States for service outside the continental United States in a volunteer freedom corps and for other purposes * * *."

2. The American Legion. New York national convention, August 25–28, 1952: "* * * Resolution No. 596 as provided under the MSA of 1951 * * * provides $100 million to form national military units of escapees from the several Communist-dominated countries. The existence of such national military units would reduce the number of American troops required overseas * * * would strike at the basic weakness of the Communist tyranny, by undermining its hold on the people it has enslaved and cause large numbers in the Communist-dominated armies to have a will to turn against their oppressors and fight for freedom * * *."

3. The Honorable Charles J. Kersten, Member of Congress, amendment to the Mutual Security Act providing for the formation of national military units, section 101 (a) Public Law 165. Title 1, section 401 etc., MSA 1954 and 1956: "* * * not to exceed $100 million of the funds available under this section may be expended for any selected persons * * * either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting NATO or for other purposes * * *."

4. Memo by Mr. Charles J. Kersten, February 4, 1957, to the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees: "* * * The Communist threat to world peace rests in their control over extensive armed forces, together with supporting political police. This control is as yet uncontested by any effective magnetism from the free world. The establishment of national military units will provide the tangible mechanism to activate potential defection from the captive armed forces. Recent massive escapes from Hungary raise the question of resettlement of increasing numbers of refugees from Communist terror. National military units provide a place and a positive purpose for freedom-loving and courageous military defectors. They also foreshadow the means by

which captive nations will be free of Communist rule. Such units would provide a symbol for all enslaved people of Central and Eastern Europe. They would be looked upon as manifestations of the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the captive peoples. This would be accomplished by each unit being formed on national lines with identifying flags, chevrons, arm patches, etc. * * *"

5. Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, February 5, 1957. Hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 19, Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "* * * The Senator raised the question why these national military units provided for in the Kersten amendment have not been brought into being. Why this operation, for which $100 million was allotted (for the sixth consecutive time) has not been implemented while billions of taxpayers' money were spent on less useful projects. * * *"

The discerning Senator probably had in mind a recent Franco-American operation, a highly instructive classic in abortive military aid, because the net results were practically nil: the French war in Indochina.

In money and materiel, Indochina's cost to Paris was comparatively small. A French spokesman commented on this fact with disarming frankness—perhaps cynicism would be a better term. He coolly admitted that the United States was carrying 78 percent of the costs of the war: United States aid amounted to 400 billion francs while the French provided 156 billions; their contribution was largely to cover the pay of their soldiers in the Far East. Since American dollar credits were all funneled through French fiscal channels, to be converted to francs and piasters, they represented a tremendous leverage toward general stability of currency. The legionnaires would have to be paid in any event, whether they were in Africa or the Far East.

This brings to mind the thought that these funds might perhaps have been more productive in the organization of expellee brigades, along the only front that counts in the end: the West European front.

Baring Proposes Several Bills on Minerals Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. F. SISK
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I have been interested in reading from time to time the outstanding job that my colleague, WALTER S. BARING, of Nevada, has been doing in behalf of the domestic mining industry and who in his determined fight has gone all out and produced a long-range minerals program of his own.

It is a pleasure for me to insert in today's RECORD an example of some of the reactions and/or feelings of the people behind the mining industry. Evidence of the need for protection for our own mining industry here in the United States is apparent.

[From the American Metal Market of July 16, 1957]

BARING PROPOSES SEVERAL BILLS ON MINERALS PROGRAM

WASHINGTON.—Believing that Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton came up with a dud when he recently published his long-range mineral program and sent drafts of implementing bills to the House and the Senate, Representative WALTER S. BARING, of Nevada, has introduced a series of minerals bills. "I was greatly disappointed in the Government's alleged long-range program," said Representative BARING, "as it appears to solve very few of the problems of the mining industry. Various industry representatives, although happy that the White House has acknowledged the principle of protective import duties, feel the administration bill does not go far enough for lead and zinc, the peril points being too low and the import taxes inadequate. Further, industry would have to return to Congress from time to time as the 'peril points' and duties would have to be changed to meet changing costs. I approve, however, of the administration bill to extend the life of the Defense Minerals Exploration Administration."

SUBSIDIES PROPOSED

In order to point out to the Congress that there is more than one solution to industry ills, Representative BARING has introduced several plans which would be long range. Among these are a direct-subsidy bill to take care of tungsten, manganese, chromite, mica, antimony, lead, zinc, cobalt, copper, tin, asbestos, beryl, and columbium-tantalum. He also has introduced the administration lead-zinc bill; a bill, also for import duties, which was drawn by industry; separate subsidy bills for lead and zinc; and a bill to regulate the domestic prices of lead and zinc by means of a quota system based upon the Sugar Act, which act is now in force. This just might be the solution to the lead-zinc and other mineral problems. Comments on the bill will be welcome, stated Representative BARING.

The administration stated in the Seaton-Wormser plan that although mine taxes should be studied, no recommendation was made for remedial legislation. Congressman Baring recently commented that only Federal tax remission for new ventures (like the Canadian system) would put new life into the development and operation of new mines. So, as a part of his long-range program the Congressman decided to introduce a bill which would suspend Federal taxes on venture risks for five years or until (if before) the mine is making a profit. Representative BARING remarked, "If the administration is not sufficiently interested to help mining taxwise or not ingenious enough, here is the bill which will do the trick."

Another bill as part of the BARING long-range mineral program permits drill-hole discoveries to validate the title to unpatented mining claims as though the discovery was on a surface cropping. This amendment to the mining law is long overdue.

TUNGSTEN

A separate bill to help the tungsten industry was introduced by Congressman BARING when it seemed sure there would be no money voted for Public Law 733. This bill would support the domestic primary producer at a price of $50 per short ton unit. [Imported tungsten now sells under $20 per unit.] Mr. Baring commented, "The Congress made a definite commitment to industry under Public Law 733. The Senate made every attempt to keep this moral commitment but the House, being composed of principally Eastern members, was swayed by a few powerful men who did not want to spend the money to keep the industry going.

There are several other Baring bills pending of importance to the domestic mining industry which there is not the space to discuss, copies of which may be had from his office.

MINERALS SECRETARY

Congress BARING has also introduced a bill to create a United States Department of Mineral Resources with a Secretary of cabinet rank. All the various mineral and metal functions of the Government would be transferred to this department and, for the first time, there would be someone in the Cabinet to watch out for the domestic metals and minerals industry. Mr. BARING concluded: "Such a move is long overdue—the mining industry is tired of being kicked around and having no special champion. The dollar volume of mineral products in the United States now runs to a formidable figure and deserves an agency the special function of which is to look out for it."

THE MINING RECORD,
Denver, Colo., July 16, 1957.

HON. WALTER S. BARING,
House Offices, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARING: We thank you for your letter of July 10, with enclosures, and for several previous copies of legislation which you have introduced.

We regard your bill for the stabilization of the domestic prices of lead and zinc per pound as a step in the right direction.

But the most interesting thing, we believe, is legislation to create a United States Department of Mineral Resources, with a Secretary of Cabinet rank.

We do not believe that mineral resources should be under the control and direction of the Department of the Interior than should our agricultural resources. And we do have a Department of Agriculture, and a Secretary of Agriculture.

And the Secretary of Agriculture can cause hundreds of millions of dollars to be paid out to "agriculturists" for not producing crops, and in the form of price bonuses on perishable commodities in order to maintain fictitious "parity prices."

Nothing is paid to the producer of any metals for not mining; the gold and silver miner, who cannot operate at a profit under the Government's "rigged" prices of new gold and new silver produced in the United States of America receives nothing for his enforced idleness; no money can be found to enable the development and operation of mines producing strategic metals, and to stockpile this product, which does not deteriorate.

The outside world is laughing at our tactics—paying the farmer for keeping his land idle; swapping our surplus farm stuff for metals produced by the slave labor of other nations and making it impossible for United States of America to mine metals in competition with these cheap imports.

These are some of the things which must be remedied if our United States of America is to remain free and prosperous—or, to say the least, free.

You asked for "criticism" of your political schedule. You are doing fine. More power to you. In the above I have simply offered a few comments to show how lots of western mining men are thinking.

Sincerely yours,

THE MINING RECORD,
———— ————, *News Editor.*

Community Action Needed to Attract New Industry to the Badger Ordnance Works Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the 10 counties surrounding the Badger Ordnance Works, near Baraboo, Prairie du Sac, and Sauk City, Wis., are

facing a difficult challenge. The Badger Ordnance Works, long the principal industry of this area, is steadily reducing employment and by June 1958 is expected to cease production entirely. The impact on the area's economy is already serious and will become more so.

Under these circumstances, one might expect a feeling of defeatism. Instead, however, I am glad to see real determination not to accept this situation passively but rather to join forces to meet and overcome it. Action is already underway to establish an area industrial development committee, widely representative of business, labor, and other civic leaders, to survey the area's resources and to undertake a campaign to attract new industry. To assist these efforts, I am hopeful that Congress will soon act favorably on legislation such as I have introduced to provide Federal assistance to economic "trouble areas."

An excellent statement of the need for united community action appeared recently in an editorial in the July 11, 1957, issue of the Sauk Prairie Star, published at Sauk City and Prairie du Sac, Wis. I commend the editors for their statement which reads as follows:

THE CAT IS OUT OF THE BAG—WELL, IT LOOKS AS IF WE CAN QUIT SPECULATING ABOUT WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN AT BADGER ORDNANCE WORKS

For the past several months we have heard rumors that the plant, which provides employment for a great many people in the Sauk-Prairie area, and throughout the southern section of Wisconsin, would be closed. These rumors created a furor of activity on the part of civic leaders in a number of communities that would be affected by the closing of the plant.

Wires, letters, petitions were sent off to our Congressmen and Senators in Washington. Newspaper editorials were written about the unemployment problems that would arise if Badger Ordnance Works was closed. Our Government representatives responded with assurances that they were doing everything they could to see that Badger Ordnance would continue to operate.

Last week's Star carried a news release from Col. J. G. Haynie, commanding officer, that the work force would be cut to 921 employees—a drop of 533 contract workers. By the end of November the employment figure will be down to 600.

Saturday night, July 6, Congressman HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Milwaukee, told a Baraboo audience that "by the end of June 1958 production will cease altogether."

Of course, we've seen the handwriting on the wall, as neighbors and friends have packed their belongings to move on to new jobs, new homes, during the past several months.

The important thing now is not to sit around wringing our hands and crying that "they can't do this to us." After all, we've been hollering for economy in Government ever since President Eisenhower brought out his $71.8 billion budget early this year. Economy is where you find it. * * * Badger ordnance plant is a Government-owned plant, operated by a civilian contractor, Liberty Powder Defense Corp. If we really want economy in Government, we'll have to accept the decision to close the plant.

However, it is time to get off our duff and do something besides wishing for new industry to fill the gap that will be left by the closing of the plant. We'll have to get our community nose to the grindstone, our community shoulder to the wheel * * * we've got to get busy and work if we expect to attract some new industry to Sauk-Prairie.

The future of our community depends on what action we taken in the next few weeks and months. Are we going to progress and grow, or are we going to roll over and play dead?

Seventy Billion Dollars in Free-Flowing Pipelines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the St. Louis Globe Democrat July 25, 1957, entitled "$70 Billions in Free-Flowing Pipelines." This is an excellent discussion of the need for H. R. 8002.

I, too, cannot understand the opposition of my highly respected colleague JOHN TABER, though I recognize his great knowledge in this field and his dedication to economy in Federal fiscal affairs. I am happy that the matter will be on the floor of the House for debate. Perhaps then the differences of opinion can be cleared up.

I can understand the opposition of my good friend from Missouri Congressman CANNON. He has not taken kindly to Hoover Commission recommendations, nor has he so set up the Appropriations Committee and its staff so that it can do the most effective job of bringing about economy in the Federal Government. In other ways he and I have not see eye to eye on how to go about getting real economy in the Federal Government.

The editorial follows:

INFLATION-BULGING FEDERAL BACKLOG—$70 BILLION IN FREE-FLOWING PIPELINES

In a shrewd and eloquent analysis of the abiding fiscal morass in Washington Government, Herbert Hoover told the American Society of Newspaper Editors one of the most dangerous causes is that Congress has lost control of the purse strings.

The habit of making advance appropriations covering future years has knocked Federal economy whopperjawed, sharply contributed to inflation, excessive Government spending and oppressive taxation.

Mr. Hoover estimated these advance appropriations over the years have heaped up $70 billion of unexpended balances in Federal pipelines.

This enormous sum represents appropriated money which has not been used but has not been returned to the Treasury. The balances exist mainly in defense and foreign aid agencies.

They can be expended at any time. They don't require further action by Congress. They can be spent in addition to the large budget allotments the departments get every year.

As an example, Congress appropriated approximately $12,500,000,000 in 1953 for the Defense Department in the Korean war. Now—4 years later—the Pentagon is still spending this money.

The two Hoover Commissions on Federal Government recommended legislation to correct the situation. The key solution is a bill to compel a yearly review by Congress of all fiscal needs and dealing. It would substitute an annual accrual expenditure budget for the current slack system of spending controls.

The Senate has unanimously passed such a measure, sponsored by Senators BYRD, of Virginia, and KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, both Democrats, and by Senator PAYNE, a Republican of Maine. It is eminently sound legislation, which will reestablish in Congress control of the Federal pocketbook, as the Constitution most clearly provided.

A similar proposal, House bill 8002, is before the lower Chamber. It would call for annual fiscal review and make all unexpended balances revert to the Treasury at end of the fiscal year.

If further need for such appropriations, or a part of them, was evident, Congress could reappropriate enough for the ensuing year.

President Eisenhower has warmly indorsed this reform, as has Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey. But the measure has been stalled, partly because, as Mr. Hoover says, it has no tear-jerking attachment and arouses small public interest.

The roadblock in the House has been thrown up by Representative JOHN TABER, of New York, ranking GOP member of the Appropriations Committee, and Missouri's own Representative CLARENCE CANNON, Appropriations Committee chairman.

Either they do not understand the significance of the move, or they are so dedicated to the status quo they oppose this obviously needed reform.

The size of Washington's pipeline balances is approximately as great as the present Brobdingnagian budget being fashioned on Capitol Hill. But it is tax money that can be spent in excess of budget allotments.

It is all too grimly clear how this system helps compound extravagant spending by Government, heaps higher the overall burden of taxes which at present have mounted—including Federal, State, and local taxes—to more than $110 billion a year.

No single category in Federal operation is so hazardous to the inflation potential as the stockpiling of these unused funds—which can be tossed into the spending hopper by agency heads whenever they wish.

This is fantastic fiscal stewardship. It is repugnant to the proper authority of Congress, to the Constitution's intent—and completely frustrating to sound monetary policy of Government.

House bill 8002 should be brought out of committee and passed.

The resultant savings in tax funds could well exceed the economies of $5 billion predicted for adoption of the entire Hoover report.

Whose State Department?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Chicago American entitled "Whose State Department?" which comments on the O'Brien lake-diversion bill H. R. 2.

This article bears most importantly on that bill which has cleared the House and is presently pending in the Senate.

I hope that every Member of that august body will read it carefully, and give this much-needed piece of legislation

the President's desk in this 1st session of the 85th Congress.

The editorial follows:

[From the Chicago American of July 21, 1957]

WHOSE STATE DEPARTMENT?

In the recent talks in Ottawa between the Canadian and United States Governments over increased lake diversion at Chicago, the State Department, as this newspaper had predicted, made no real effort to persuade the Canadians to end their opposition. Representative O'BRIEN, Democrat, of Illinois, declares the Department took an innocuous and impassive role in the discussions.

And since the conference, Representative O'BRIEN says, the State Department has told him that unless Canada withdraws its objections to the bill authorizing an increase in the flow for a 3-year experimental period, the Department will have no alternative except to recommend again that President Eisenhower veto the legislation, as he has done twice before.

What this statement of the State Department's amounts to is an assertion that it represents the views of Canada and not of the United States. Congress, elected to represent the American people, has twice voted to authorize the increase. The House already has passed the legislation a third time and the Senate will approve it before the session ends.

But the conviction of Congress that the increased diversion would benefit the people of the United States carries no weight with the State Department compared to the fact that some Canadians say it wouldn't help Canada.

The department's declaration that it will go on opposing the increase unless the Canadians consent to it is particularly outrageous because of the fact that legally the matter is no business of the Canadian government at all, and the Canadians admit it. Lake Michigan is not international water. It is entirely within the United States.

The treaties between Canada and the United States clearly say that the United States may do what it pleases with Lake Michigan water without consulting Canada, and last winter the United States Supreme Court did order an enormous temporary increase of diversion into the Illinois Waterway without asking the Canadian Government whether it liked it or not. This increase was designed to overcome a drought that had lowered water levels so far that barge travel was crippled.

The State Department, without any authorization in any treaty and in opposition to the will of Congress, stubbornly is supporting the prejudices of Canadians against the legal rights of the people of America—especially the people of Chicago and Illinois.

Representative O'BRIEN has written President Eisenhower a letter asking him to order the State Department to urge earnestly that the Canadian objections be withdrawn. It is time, Representative O'BRIEN wrote, that the American Government tell the Canadian Government it is deeply interested in making the experiment in increased diversion. It is time. But the Government will never do it while the State Department is making the policy.

Instead of taking the Department's advice in the diversion matter, President Eisenhower should tell it to stop representing Canada and start representing the United States, which is what Representative O'BRIEN is asking him to do.

"The people of Illinois," O'BRIEN wrote to Mr. Eisenhower, "have not received fair treatment in this most vital matter." They have not. What they are asking for is 1,000 gallons per second of additional lake water to perfect the efficient operation of Chicago's tremendous new sewage-disposal plants, to purify the Illinois River after its long misuse as a sewer, and to insure (together with a projected new dam at Alton) high enough levels to keep traffic moving in the Illinois waterway with no danger of interruption.

The waterway is not an Illinois facility alone. It is a link in the channel from the Great Lakes to the gulf, which carries a vast share of the Nation's water commerce.

Opponents of the increase persistently have charged that the water was wanted to wash Chicago sewage down the Illinois River. It simply isn't true. No untreated sewage is sent down the river. The sewage treatment plants release nothing but clean water, but it is water from which most of the oxygen has been extracted in the treatment process. The additional fresh lake water is needed to make it wholesome by restoring the oxygen.

Illinois needs this small increase in diversion. The whole Illinois congressional delegation and the people of the State should join in urging Mr. Eisenhower to consider their needs instead of the State Department's demonstrated anti-Illinois prejudices.

What of Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been written and said concerning the sound policy of the development of our natural resources which would be characterized by Federal construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon. Seldom, however, have I read as penetrating an analysis of the real issues involved in this project as that presented in an excellent editorial in the July 23 edition of the Eastern Oregon Review. Mr. C. J. Shorb, the editor of this fine publication, is indeed to be congratulated.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHAT OF HELLS CANYON

The greatest disaster in connection with the whole Hells Canyon promotion is the fact that it became enmeshed in partisan politics. Because of it, a vital resource is threatened and many people who are vitally interested in the betterment of the section will walk away from any mention of the subject of Hells Canyon, in disgust rather than in enlightenment.

Regardless of the activity of the private power company or any segment of any political party, Hells Canyon will eventually be built. The delays that have been caused merely makes the eventual cost all the greater upon the people.

The reason why Hells Canyon and other outstanding reservoir spots will be developed is because the Northwest, like the rest of the Nation is growing in population and industry. The need for water is ever becoming a greater problem. Our neighbors to the south are at a point where the need for water is terribly great and when all sources are utilized, it will become necessary to start pumping and freshening sea water and the moving of some of the industry to points where water is available. Here in the Northwest is that water but in our own stupid manipulating we are stealing from posterity the use of vast quantities of water which could now be cheaply developed and could have been even more cheaply developed a few years back.

With each passing year, more and more people are seeing the light. They are coming to the realization of the need for this vast potential of water storage. It is not at all unlikely that the politicians of today who are obstructing progress in the development of our water resources will be considered in years to come more of a traitor than a statesman.

Even if there is never a kilowatt of power developed at a high Hells Canyon Dam, it is still a very good investment in the future of our country and especially of our Northwest. It is difficult to see why people, like our President, and others in high places cannot see the need for high dams in rivers like the Snake where the impounded waters injure no one and cost less to develop because there are no important highway or railroads, farms or cities to be moved. Vast recreational advantages may be enjoyed at the sites. Water to firm up the flow of the river will aid in navigation and make possible a constant output of power at Bonneville, The Dalles, McNary, Ice Harbor, John Day and other dams as they built and equipped with generators.

Someday the need for water in the lower valley, at Portland, and nearby spots will be so great that the people of that community will not feel kindly toward their newspapers who have so stubbornly fought upriver development.

It is surely shortsightedness on the part of the people in Congress and elsewhere when they become a party to the blocking of such needed conservation programs as the Hells Canyon high dam.

The present attitude of the politicians and newspapers as well as the industrialists toward the water resource development is reminiscent of the obstructionist who fought the reclamation of the arid west, who hampered and fought the programs of sustained yield and reforestation programs in our forests. The attitude is much like the attitude of "What was good enough for grandpa is good enough for me."

One needs to but look back upon the page of our national history to see that even the men, who were supposed to be the smart ones in their day, were soon discredited because of lack of vision. One of our former statesmen remarked, in a debate about United States claim to the Northwest, that in a hundred years that section will be populated with wild animals and wilder men. That hundred years has scarcely past and we are proud of our Oregon, Washington, and Idaho that was carved from the territory that he considered not worth the effort of development or even owning.

It was not the obstructionists nor the men with little foresight that have made America great. It has been the men with vision and determination that have created the great America. It has not been an easy row for them but they persevered and won. A fine thing is that their names and memories have lived on long after the obstructionists have been buried and forgotten.

Toward an International Language

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the possibility of the creation of a permanent

United Nations police force has raised the question should there be a common language for the use of the members of the force? I am indebted to Mr. Glenn P. Turner, of Middleton, Wis., for providing me with a copy of the resolution adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on December 10, 1954, which for the first time gave recognition by an international governmental organization to Esperanto. This official recognition by an agency of the United Nations family suggests that Esperanto might well be considered as a possible international language for the U. N. police force. The text of the UNESCO resolution follows:

OFFICIAL ENGLISH TEXT OF THE UNESCO RESOLUTION 8C/DR/116

The general conference, having discussed the report of the director-general on the international petition in favor of Esperanto,

1. takes note of the results attained by Esperanto in the field of international intellectual relations and in the rapprochement of the peoples of the world;

2. recognizes that these results correspond with the aims and ideals of UNESCO;

3. authorizes the director-general to follow current development in the use of Esperanto in education, science, and culture, and, to this end, to cooperate with the Universal Esperanto Association in matters concerning both organizations;

4. takes note that several member states have announced their readiness to introduce or expand the teaching of Esperanto in their schools and higher educational establishments, and requests these member states to keep the director-general informed of the results attained in this field.

The Constitution of the United States: Solar System of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the most widely distributed but, apparently, least read writings on the Government of the United States is The Story of the Constitution, published in 1937, by the United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, of which Representative Sol Bloom, of New York, was director general.

Prepared by Ira E. Bennett, former distinguished editor of the Washington Post, and an experienced student of constitution history, it reflects the wisdom gleaned from a lifetime of study, observation, and reflection. As such, it is commended for reading in connection with current constitutional issues, particularly in our public schools, colleges, and universities that supply the leaders of the future.

One of Dr. Bennett's strongest sections is the conclusion that likens the Constitution to the solar system with the people of the United States as its center. This is a part of the book in which he justifiably took pride, for it epitomizes the significance of the Constitution in the maintenance of our liberties.

In order that the high quality of this excellent work, The Story of the Constitution, may be better known to the people of our Nation, under leave accorded to extend, I quite the indicated conclusion of Dr. Bennett's notable work:

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: SOLAR SYSTEM OF LIBERTY

(By Ira E. Bennett)

The symmetry of arrangement and beautiful coordination of motion in the several governments constituting the American system may be compared with the solar system.

As the sun is the center of attraction and controlling power that binds and moves the planets in one system, so the people are the center and controlling power that binds and moves their governments in one system.

The law which the solar system obeys is not written, but its operation is partly disclosed and partly understood. The law which the American political system obeys is partly written, for all men to read. It is the Constitution of the United States.

The limits of the powers of the sun and the people are not known. They have never been tested to the limit. The composition of the sun is hidden in nature. The composition of the people is hidden in human nature.

Reason assumes that the sun has powers beyond those known to us. Reason reinforced by knowledge, asserts that the people have reserved powers which never have been expressed in written law.

The United States and the States may be compared to planets revolving around their sun, the people.

In order to comprehend the peculiar nature of the American system it must be borne in mind that the States existed before the United States was created. It was to bind them together, to swing them into their coordinated orbits that the Union was perfected.

Some of the powers possessed by the people are exerted in the States. Others are kept in reserve.

The powers necessary to bind the States together in one solar Union are set forth in the Constitution. All other powers are kept in reserve.

The States perform certain functions which the United States cannot perform. The United States performs functions which the States separately cannot perform. The people retain a sphere of personal liberties into which neither the States nor the United States can enter.

The law which controls the solar system is divine, and therefore perfect. The law which controls the American political system is human, and therefore imperfect. But under a trial of 150 years it has been found to approach more nearly the symmetry of the law that rules the universe than any other emanation of the human mind and will.

Several unique features of the Constitution distinguish it from any previous inventions in the art of government. Among these are:

The Constitution binds individuals as well as States. Under it all individuals have equal duties and rights.

The legislative, executive, and judicial powers are lodged in separate bodies of public servants whose powers and duties compel them to check and balance one another. No uncontrolled power is lodged in any one.

The written Constitution is made paramount to any legislative, executive, or judicial authority.

A court is created with power to hold all authorities within their allotted spheres, and this court itself is bound to remain within its allotted sphere.

The Constitution contains within itself a method whereby it may be amended by the people.

These principles, never practiced before, are the bone and sinew of a fabric suitable to a nation whose government obeys those whom it rules, and whose people rule the government which they obey.

The Capitol's East Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the July 1957 Architectural Forum should stimulate thought on the architectural problem of the Capitol's east front:

CAPITOL SOLUTION

It is high time that an important misunderstanding be cleared up between the architects of America and the leaders of Congress, on the question of what to do with the Capitol in Washington. And this can be done quickly, simply.

The Congress wants a workable Capitol, with certain new facilities and conveniences, which every sensible citizen—and every sensible architect—wants the Congress to have. No quarrel there. Few, indeed, are the architects who would like to see repeal of the congressional building program.

But Public Law 242 passed by the 84th Congress says that these real needs are to be met by a specific architectural solution: a certain "scheme B" inherited from a 1905 study. This fact alone is the reason for the present architectural uproar.

Scheme B would mean tearing down the historic east front of the building and re-erecting it farther forward. (Scheme B, let it be said, was not even advocated by those who formulated it; they said explicitly that they didn't really favor it even then.) This scheme B extension of the east front is what is solidly opposed by the majority of architects and by the great weight of historical and architectural criticism: on grounds of beauty, symbolism, and utility.

Does this mean that Congress must start all over again if it is to meet the architects' objections? Must there be delay and major readjustments? Not at all. The architects' objections can be met and the uproar stilled by 1, possibly 2, quick, simple steps by Congress:

1. Strike out of the legislation the reference to scheme B.

This will free the architectural consultants who have already been at work on the problem to make their own best uninhibited solutions.

Today they are not at liberty to do this. They are like doctors compelled to make a prescribed prescription. They are allowed to advise only how to work out solutions that include moving the east front. It's the law.

The names of these three architects are: Henry R. Shepley, Arthur Brown, Jr., John F. Harbeson. (Although certain other architects have been individually vocal and officially quoted on the Capitol problem, only these three are the official consultants, and their lips are accordingly sealed.)

There are certain strong reasons to believe that solutions have been reached by this committee, which would not only leave the east front alone but would be functionally easier to plan and build, cleaner, and less costly in obtaining the purposes of Congress.

2. If any doubt remains in the minds of Congress leaders about the real trend of

opinion among architects, let them hold open hearings, well announced. The present appropriations were passed without the benefit of open hearings.

In these simple ways a needless conflict could be cleared up between the political leaders of America and the cultural leaders they should be depending on.

Nobody is more anxious than the architects of America that the Capitol be workable as well as beautiful and symbolic. Nobody is less anxious to have the grand old building gradually deserted and converted into a museum piece. Congress need only yield on this detail of its program, this east front notion which is not essential for the Congress, and which the architects in convention have voted against in 1939, 1949, 1955, 1956, and again in 1957 at their centennial convention a few weeks ago, when a standing vote revealed an overwhelming majority against it. Congress will then find in the architectural profession its most effective friends, and a fine cultural heritage will stand useful but unmolested.

Preservation of Our Natural Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor of July 22 carried a very interesting article by its special correspondent, Mr. Roscoe Fleming. This article sets forth certain considerations regarding the preservation of our natural resource heritage which I think should be kept in mind by all interested in this important matter.

Under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD along with my remarks:

FOREST SERVICE OPPOSES SEALED WILDS

(By Roscoe Fleming)

DENVER.—The United States Forest Service is in favor of setting aside large and well-selected areas of the national forest as wilderness not to be invaded by roads and to be kept in a primitive state as far as possible.

But it is not in favor of the specific terms of a bill proposed by conservationist groups which would freeze all present wilderness areas into law, and put them in effect under authority of a wilderness council composed of a minority of Federal officials and a majority of conservationists.

These views have been made known to the Congress and are being disseminated throughout the forest regions of the United States.

CURB ON USE SEEN

The service proposes a substitute bill. Whether the conservationists are strong enough with Congress to override objection to their proposal remains to be seen.

They have shown their power more and more in recent years, particularly in opposing commercial or multipurpose use of various areas such as the Echo Park area in Colorado, which was originally intended for a dam site.

Richard E. McArdle, Director of the Forest Service, said the service is just as dedicated to the proper preservation of wilderness areas—of which there are now nearly 14 million acres—as anyone. But it does object, he said, to the wilderness use of the forests being made a separate objective overriding all other uses.

He said the widespread creation of areas to be kept in primitive condition actually narrows the use of the forests, since such areas are clearly not accessible for enjoyment by picnicking families, or those on short vacation trips. They require extra preparation and equipment, etc., and therefore run up the cost of a forest trip.

INACCESSIBILITY CITED

Mr. McArdle objected also to the interposition of another layer of authority between the executive and the Congress. Under the conservationists' bill as it is framed, the Wilderness Council it would set up could lessen, add to, create, or abolish any wilderness area, and the order would become effective unless either House of Congress vetoed it within 120 days.

He added: "Because of their inaccessibility and lack of roads, wilderness areas are difficult to protect from fire, insects, and disease. If forest pests are not controlled, wilderness areas may serve as sources of infection to surrounding national-forest timber. The wilderness areas themselves include valuable timber, forage, water, wildlife, and mineral resources."

In short, he pleaded that the Forest Service is now dong a good job in this respect and that it be left relatively unhampered to carry out the forest administration as a whole, and to decide in the light of the whole management problem what is to be done about such areas.

ALTERNATE RECOMMENDED

There are now 81 national forest areas classified as to be kept in relatively primitive condition, totaling 13,845,000 acres. This is a slight decline in acreage since 1939, when present wilderness policy was first formulated, but about 9 areas have been added. Some 600,000 acres have been turned into national parks.

The Forest Service recommends a bill for a permanent wilderness policy. It would leave control in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture, but would direct him, within the limits of the multiple-use policy, to classify all such areas as to their usefulness within 10 years, and it would provide that primitive areas not concretely established as wilderness areas within 15 years, should revert to the general forest domain.

It would provide that only the President by executive order could establish wilderness areas, and his consent would be required for any withdrawal for other purposes, such as for power, reclamation, or mining.

The Secretary of Agriculture could modify boundaries of such areas but only to the extent of increasing or decreasing them by less than one-fourth of their original area.

Boys' Nation Holds 12th Annual Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion's 12th annual Boys' Nation week-long program concludes on the nearby campus of the University of Maryland. During the time they have spent here, these young high-school students have not only observed the proceedings in this House and in the Senate, but they have conducted sessions of their own Boys' Nation Congress.

I am particularly proud of the two delegates from Massachusetts to Boys' Nation because they come from two communities in my own congressional district. They are Chester J. Baj, Jr., of 142 Russell Street, Hadley, Mass., and David J. Korkosz, of 27 White Street, Chicopee, Mass. I think it is a tribute to them, their respective parents, and American Legion Post, No. 271, in Hadley, and Post No. 452, in Chicopee, that they were selected by the Massachusetts Boys' State, sponsored by the Massachusetts Department of the American Legion, to attend this Boys' Nation program. These boys were recommended for Boys' State because of their leadership, character, scholarship, and service in high school. The program of Boys' State is highly specialized and competitive, and only youths with outstanding qualities are capable of participating in the intensive citizenship course of instruction. It was a pleasure to have these two boys from my district here with me in Washington and to visit the Capitol with me as their guide.

Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the National American Legion for conducting Boys' Nation, and the respective State departments of the American Legion for sponsoring Boys' State. These programs certainly do fulfill the objectives of the American Legion to provide a laboratory for a functional study of citizenship and to arouse in young citizens a desire to maintain our form of Government.

President Eisenhower Urged To Lower Downpayments on Government-Insured Home Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include two letters which I have written on this subject:

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The president of the Detroit Builders Association informs me that after the House of Representatives passed H. R. 6659, the Housing Act of 1957, on May 9, 1957, their members started using FHA purchase agreements containing the following statement:

"FHA mortgage terms contemplated in this agreement are based on the new Housing Act of 1957 and whereas application for said mortgage cannot be processed until the law is put into force by the appropriate authorities. Therefore, sellers reserve the right to refund deposit hereunder and cancel this agreement if the above referred to law is not given full effect so that processing may pro-

ceed according to mortgage terms contemplated by purchaser in agreement within 10 days from date hereof."

On July 12, 1957, you approved the Housing Act of 1957, Public Law 104, 85th Congress, which authorizes lower downpayment schedules on Government-backed home mortgage loans.

If these lower downpayment schedules are not put into effect, it is estimated that three-fourths of the sales made under these purchase agreements will go back. This is in Detroit, the area which I represent, where housing starts are already down 55 to 60 percent.

Now, I respectfully request that you instruct Mr. Norman Mason, the Commissioner of Federal Housing, to immediately authorize the lower downpayment schedules which the Housing Act of 1957 permits.

Sincerely yours,

MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS,
Member of Congress.

JULY 18, 1957.

Mr. NORMAN P. MASON,
Commissioner, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MASON: It is my understanding that you are seriously considering raising the basic interest rate on Government-backed home mortgage loans to 5¼ percent and that you are not going to put into effect the lower downpayment schedule authorized by the Housing Act of 1957.

In Detroit, the area which I represent, housing starts are down 55 to 60 percent. The president of the Detroit Builders Association informs me that after the House of Representatives passed H. R. 6659, the Housing Act of 1957, on May 9, 1957, their members started using FHA purchase agreements containing the following statement:

"FHA mortgage terms contemplated in this agreement are based on the new Housing Act of 1957 and whereas application for said mortgage cannot be processed until the law is put into force by the appropriate authorities. Therefore, sellers reserve the right to refund deposit hereunder and cancel this agreement if the above referred to law is not given full effect so that processing may proceed according to mortgage terms contemplated by purchaser in agreement within 10 days from date hereof."

If the lower downpayment schedules are not put into effect, it is estimated that three-fourths of these sales will go back.

May I suggest that you do not ignore Congress but take full advantage of the law Congress gave you to revive the building industry.

Sincerely yours,

MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS,
Member of Congress.

A More Adequate, Efficient, and Economical National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the July 6, 1957, issue of the Independence Examiner of Independence, Mo., discusses one of the many activities in the national interest in which Missouri's junior United States Senator, the Honorable STUART SYMINGTON, is currently engaged. Senator SYMINGTON's efforts to assure a more adequate, efficient, and economical national defense for our country are well known to all.

WILL PREVENT WASTE IN NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM

Senator STUART SYMINGTON is working on legislation to bring the Cordiner report out of the Washington deep-freeze and put it into effect for the benefit of the American taxpayer and the Armed Forces. S. 2014 is planned to implement the report and strengthen the national defense, so critically hit by the cutback in appropriations. In the House, H. R. 7574 is being pushed for a similar purpose.

The current plight of national defense is pointed up by a few facts: In a single year the Air Force loses 4,000 trained pilots who go into civilian employment. It cost the Government $480 million to train them, and all that is lost. The latest weapons of technological defense stand idle and useless because the men who know how to operate them are getting out of uniform as soon as they can. Why? Low pay and poor benefits from an obsolete system of compensation in the Armed Forces.

Asked to head a committee to see what could be done about this situation, Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric, produced an effective plan, worked out in detail. Senator SYMINGTON and many other leaders, civilian and military, believe that the plan will solve the problem.

Put to work by S. 2014, the Cordiner plan will save the taxpayers up to $5 billion a year for the next 5 years in military budget; it will increase the efficiency of national defense; it will cut down training accidents in the Armed Forces; and it will reduce the great bulk of personnel needed in national defense.

In modern technological warfare the Armed Forces need quality, not quantity, in personnel. Our national defense can be best operated by fewer but better trained men. Now the best men are taken by private industry and the Armed Forces are left without the technicians who are indispensable to defense.

The Cordiner plan would make it practical and reasonable for the ablest and best trained men to make their careers in the Armed Forces. It would stop the draining away of talent into private channels.

At present, two great wastes, manpower and money, are bleeding national defense. Senator SYMINGTON plans to stop them.

The public should be informed of the problem and of the effort to solve it. This is a measure that deserves support and that will repay the effort that is put into it.

Powerful Forces Churn Up Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, the dilemma which faces us in the constant threat of inflation is clearly outlined in the following editorial which appeared in the Star-Beacon, one of the fine newspapers published in the 11th Ohio District which I have the honor to represent in Congress. The Star-Beacon is published at Ashtabula, Ohio and the editorial on inflation appeared in the issue of July 11, 1957.

POWERFUL FORCES CHURN UP INFLATION

Like the Russians, the threat of inflation is always with us. The battle between inflationary and deflationary forces is to the domestic front what the East-West struggle is abroad.

Right now the battle is raging afresh. The cost of living index has hit a new high again after a climb of many months. The steel industry has announced a price boost that will surely have spiraling effects throughout the economy.

President Eisenhower, anxious to avoid controls, has urged business not to hike prices unless necessary to get expansion money, and called on labor to relate demands for wage increases closely to advances in productivity.

Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey has, of course, warmly defended the Government's policy of keeping a lid on money and credit as an essential weapon in this fight. The report of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee lends support to his position.

On the other side, certain leading Democrats, particularly some involved in Senator BYRD's inquiry into United States financial conditions, attack the "tight money" policy as costly and damaging to important segments of the economy. They stress the perils of deflation.

With inflationary pressures evidently mounting in spite of existing efforts to combat them, it would be surprising if the present tug-of-war on the issue should be resolved in favor of easier money.

But however the current phase works out, the conflict will go on indefinitely. Our tremendous economy is constantly churned by powerful forces which continuously threaten to become unmanageable. Inevitably in this time government must walk a high wire between the two perils.

Inescapably, too, there will be loud pleaders on both sides who will argue that we are approaching one peril or the other. We shall just have to keep our shirts on and hope that out of the turbulent air will emerge policies that somehow keep us traveling that delicate wire.

South Dakota Sun Dance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the sun dance is an ancient and sacred rite of the Sioux Indian, symbolic of their beliefs and willingness to sacrifice. Each year at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., thousands of people, Indians and whites alike, gather to view the beautiful yet awesome dancing spectacle. It has attracted attention the country over. Under leave to extend my remarks, I present the following article on the South Dakota sun dance as it was printed in the July 21 issue of the New York Times:

SOUTH DAKOTA SUN DANCE

(By Steve Feraca)

Banned for almost 50 years by the Government, the Sioux Indians' colorful sun dance, now revived, has its share of apparent incongruities.

To the casual spectator who expects to find a strictly primitive atmosphere on the reservation, the modern, plastic sunglasses worn by the war dancers come as something of a shock, as do the numerous hotdog and soft-drink stands surrounding the enclosure.

But the 5-day ceremonies themselves are authentic and are attended by thousands of representatives of Sioux tribes from North and South Dakota, together with Indians whose ancestors, of alien tribes, were once the Sioux's hated foes. Last summer's event boasted the largest attendance since the tribe revived the old ceremonies, and the crowds at this year's sun dance—July 31 through August 3—promise to be even bigger.

Sun dance time takes its name from the first ceremony held during the celebration, the traditional sun dance. Although all are members of some Christian church, most of the older Indians tenaciously cling to at least a few of the ancient beliefs and practices. The sun dancers themselves fit into this category and also many of the spectators.

ARDUOUS RITES

Formerly, this dance came to a climax with some of the participants offering to have their chest muscles pierced with a thong that was attached to the sacred pole. Thus a Sioux might offer a religious sacrifice and prove his fortitude as well. Although the practice was abandoned, the pole, a straight young cottonwood tree, remains the focal point of the dancing area, which consists of a circular, pine-covered bower about 150 feet in diameter, with an open center. The shaded circumference for the spectators is a very necessary shelter in the Dakota summer heat.

The sun dance pole is erected the day before the dancing actually begins and by the following day, more than 2,000 Indians have usually set up a tented camp. The Sioux no longer travel on horseback; they come in dilapidated cars, the sides fairly bulging with children, grandparents, dogs, camp equipment, and costumes for the dancers.

These costumes, incidentally, defy adequate description, no feather and bead bedecked outfit being exactly alike another. Every color in the spectrum is represented in the dancing arena, mirrors, and bright silver and steel bells adding to the array. The bells, worn by the dozen, are important; they help the dancer to keep time.

Both singers and dancers are tireless, the dancers necessarily more so. They are consistently cheated out of a rest because the groups of singers take turns with no more than a momentary pause.

RAINMAKING

"Make way for the horse dancer," sings out the announcer in his native tongue of Lakota. The dancer, hooded and mounted, begins to circle the dancing area. Many of the spectators believe that the horse dance is inevitably followed by heavy rain after its performance, and last year it was barely over before a severe storm sent everybody rushing for their tents.

A spectator at the Sioux festival cannot become bored or forget his surroundings for long. The Indian singers make this impossible, for as many as a dozen men, in conventional western wear, complete with cowboy hats, will be singing at the top of their lungs while beating on large bass drums. The drumming, combined with the piercing voices of the men and the falsetto of the women, can create a throbbing in the head of uninitiated listeners. The singers never get hoarse, but there is something of a trick to this. They chew a twig from a particular bush which tastes something like bitter mint candy, and evidently this cud activates the flow of saliva.

With the completion of the sun dance itself, the war dancing, or Omaha dancing, begins, with as many as 150 male dancers participating at one time, and about the same number of women and children dancing on the sidelines. This dancing comprises the main activity for the next 4 days, with most of the dancers boasting of 8 hours of fast prancing and stomping each day and a few more hours at night.

The dancers make the most of the last night; in fact, last year it was necessary to call police to clear the arena. The dancers readily complied and just as readily began stepping around again outside. Silence was finally obtained when the announcer called for attention, and all stood solemnly as the newly adopted Sioux national anthem was sung in the age-old way. The sun dance was officially over, and the Sioux dispersed the next morning visibly proud of their grandest get-together since the days of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. The sun-dance pole was left erect, its cloth decorations waving in the Dakota wind, a silent reminder of this happy occasion. A new one will replace it when this year's dance starts.

This annual all-Indian celebration is held at the ceremonial grounds on U. S. 18 just a mile east of the agency headquarters of Pine Ridge Reservation.

Pine Ridge can be easily reached by anyone traveling to the Black Hills. In fact, tourists driving to the Black Hills via the southern route on U. S. 18 will necessarily pass through Pine Ridge. From Chicago it is convenient to take U. S. 20, South Dakota Route 50, and then U. S. 18.

Another route for those traveling west from the vicinity of Sioux City would be U. S. 20 to Rushville, Nebr., then north on Nebraska Route 87 to Pine Ridge Town.

TO THE HILLS

Hot Springs, 75 miles northwest of the agency on U. S. 18, is appropriately called the gateway to the Black Hills. Only an hour and a half from the celebration site it abounds in reasonable hotels, motels, and restaurants. Pine Ridge Town has two clean motels with reasonable rates. Restaurants are small but serve good food.

For those who care to rough it in a tent, the campgrounds boast of excellent well water. Nearby Nebraska towns such as Rushville and Gordon have adequate tourist accommodations. All State and United States highways in the area are newly improved, enabling one to travel with ease to and from the dancing area.

Connecting Channels Between Great Lakes Key Link in St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, of vital interest to the great Midwest section of our country is the second phase of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway project, deepening the channels which connect the Great Lakes. The probable effect of this project on the economy of a large section of the Nation can only be imagined at this point. Certainly the opening of all the ports on the Great Lakes to large oceangoing ships will mean tremendous new developments in commerce and industry which will bring untold benefits to millions of Americans. A timely reminder of the importance of deepening the Great Lakes' connecting channels is contained in the following editorial from the Painesville Telegraph, published at Painesville, Ohio, one of the rapidly growing and developing cities in the 11th Ohio District which I have the honor to represent in Congress:

DEEPENING OF LAKES' CONNECTING LINKS

More than 125 years ago, the Erie Canal was opened to traffic, connecting the Atlantic seaboard and the upper Great Lakes.

This great aid to commerce stimulated settlement and development of the Great Lakes Basin. It provided a new trade route into the North American hinterland. It was a major factor in the economic growth of the Nation.

And only recently something happened that will have a tremendous impact upon the future economic development of the American middle west. Four great explosions in the channel opposite Amherstburg signaled that work had started on deepening the connecting waterways between the upper lakes.

The work will involve deepening channels in the Detroit, St. Clair, and St. Marys Rivers and the Straits of Makinac to a minimum depth of 27 feet. The cost will be approximately $140 million. The work is scheduled for completion in 1962.

Deepening the connecting links between the lakes is a vital part of the giant St. Lawrence seaway development. By 1958, if the work is kept on schedule, the principal part of the St. Lawrence route will be able to accommodate larger oceangoing cargo ships. By extending the St. Lawrence to all the upper lakes, every city and town in that area will become a potential harbor for world commerce.

Every additional inch of draft will permit 100 tons more cargo to be carried in lakes freighters. Addition of approximately 3 feet more between keels and channel beds will permit bigger ships and more rapid and more economical transportation of goods.

The story of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway is a fairly familiar one by this time to most people in northeastern Ohio, but it is worth repeating.

The time is here for communities to speed preparations to make the most of the day when there will be uninterrupted navigation between the heartland of America and Atlantic ports.

This area of the United States will experience greater trade and commerce. The seaway will be a tremendous impetus. It will open a new horizon for mid-America.

The Message of a Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, one of our present-day great Americans, one of the greatest authorities on constitutional problems we have in the Nation today, is Dean Clarence Manion, formerly dean of the Law School at Notre Dame University. Today Dean Manion operates what is known as the Manion Forum, a forum that discusses national problems, through regular weekly broadcasts every Sunday evening over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

These weekly broadcasts discuss national problems from a strictly American viewpoint, always keeping in mind what is best for America and the American people. The broadcasts are nonpartisan in every sense of the word. For that reason, and also from the standpoint of the caliber, the mental stature and character of Dean Manion himself,

these Sunday evening broadcasts are well worth hearing.

The following broadcast on the subject States Rights: Words Versus Deeds, given on Sunday, July 21, 1957, is an excellent sample of the type of broadcast put out by the Manion Forum and I include it as a part of my remarks for the edification and enlightenment of my colleagues:

STATES RIGHTS: WORDS VERSUS DEEDS

I have just had my first opportunity to read the full text of President Eisenhower's States' Rights speech to the conference of Governors at Williamsburg. Definitely, this is where I came in 4 years ago at Denver, Colo., when the President appointed me chairman of the new Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

At that time, he described the new study commission to me and to the assembled newspapermen as his hope for restoring the constitutional integrity of the States of the Union.

As a brandnew President of the United States, he had recently visited the 1953 Governors Conference at Seattle, where he told his distinguished audience this: "I am here because of my indestructible conviction that, unless we preserve in this country the place of State government with the power of authority, the responsibilities and the revenues necessary to discharge these responsibilities, then we are not going to have America as we have known it. We will have some other form of government."

When the President repeated the substance of that statement in Denver, I replied with a fervent and sincere "Amen."

At Williamsburg, just a few weeks ago, President Eisenhower declared that he holds these convictions just as strongly now as he did then. The obvious question raises itself, what has the President done to activate these important convictions which he has held so strongly during the last 4 years?

Undoubtedly, the President of the United States is the most powerful person in the world. To a great extent, our present foreign policy is predicated upon the influence that its director, the President, can exercise upon governments all over the earth.

For better or worse, the history of the world since 1933 has turned upon the predilections of the men who, during that time, were Presidents of the United States.

If our President can influence important actions by the government of Japan, Germany, Jordan, Egypt, Israel, India, France or Pakistan, and we know from experience that he can and does, then certainly he should be able to do something about the governments in Montana, Mississippi, Maryland, and Maine.

As a matter of fact, the activity of the government of our American States is much more important to the stability and continuity of the United States than anything that is or may be done by governments in foreign lands.

President Eisenhower himself has admitted as much. When he was running for President in 1952, he said this in a speech at Des Moines, Iowa, "The Federal Government did not create the States of the republic. The States created the Federal Government. The creation should not supersede the creator. For, if the States lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning and the next step is the rise of the centralized national state in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow."

And so, in the President's own words, the campaign against autocracy begins at home, in the battle for the revival of states' rights. The President believed that in Des Moines, he believed it in Denver, and I am sure he believes it now. Then why hasn't he done something about it?

Back in the days when he was president of Columbia University (1949), Mr. Eisenhower said, "If we allow the constant drift toward central government to continue, ownership of property will gradually drift into that central government, and finally we shall have to have dictatorship as the only means of operating such a huge organization."

Nevertheless, what Mr. Eisenhower detected as a drift toward central government in 1949 has now, under President Eisenhower, become a veritable torrent.

REPRESENTATIVE MASON POINTS OF INCONSISTENCY

This strange variance between the President's words and deeds was the feature of a recent and truly remarkable speech in the House of Representatives by a distinguished member of the President's own party, the Honorable Noah Mason, of Illinois.

After reading some of the President's statements that I have just quoted, Congressman MASON said this: "In the face of his own words, President Eisenhower proceeded to ask Congress to create a new cabinet office to supervise the Nation's health, education, and welfare—and Congress was foolish enough to do so.

"Under the tenth article of the Bill of Rights, protection of the people's health, education, and welfare is reserved to the respective states of the Union. Therefore, the President's actions in that instance did not coincide with his words."

Congressman MASON cites other instances of difference between the President's words and deeds on the subject of States rights. I can and will give you some additional instances from my own personal experience.

At Williamsburg, the President recalled that, in 1953, he persuaded Congress to create the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations because he felt that the historic Federal-State relationship needed careful reexamination. He conceded that the Commission's study, "pointed the way to improvements in areas of mutual concern to the States and the Federal Government."

This is more on the subject of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations than I have seen or heard from President Eisenhower since he removed me from the chairmanship of that commission in 1954.

The President told the governors at Williamsburg that a task force is now needed to designate a proper allocation of functions and revenues between the States and the Federal Government. This is precisely the assignment which was given to the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 4 years ago.

The Commission made its report to the President in June of 1955. The report covered more than 300 printed pages. In its preparation, the Commission had the benefit of a dozen separate studies that were made for it by committees of experts on State and Federal impacts in such areas as highways, education, agriculture, welfare, and public health. Each of these studies, as well as the general report of the Commission, is available upon application to the Government Printing Office.

Of particular current interest is the report of the Commission's special committee on the subject of Federal responsibility in the field of education (a study committee report on Federal responsibility in the field of education). Here are some of the conclusions of that report:

"We have not been able to find a State which cannot afford to make more money available to its schools or which is economically unable to support an adequate school system. * * * The general conclusion is that Federal aid is not necessary either for current operating expenses for public schools or for capital expenditures for new school facilities. Local communities and States are able to supply both in accordance with the will of their citizens."

At Williamsburg, the President said he wanted a new task force. He made no reference to this existing task force report, when he told the governors that, States rights to the contrary notwithstanding, classroom shortages are so critical that Federal aid to school construction is indispensable. So much for the disparity between words, deeds, facts, and fancy.

Gathering dust in the President's office, along with the reports of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, are the 19 separate task force reports of the Hoover Commission, holding what is for the politicians the unpopular secret of how to save $5 billion a year in Federal expenditures.

What is needed in Washington now is not more commissions, findings, and recommendations, but a determined fearless will to save the taxpayers' money and reverse the deadly ever-accelerated drive toward a centralized monolithic autocracy.

FACTS ARE AVAILABLE, BUT IGNORED

All of the facts about Federal-State functions that the President pined for at Williamsburg have been carefully assembled, assorted and are being kept current by a score of competent research organizations such as the Council for State Governments, the Tax Foundation, and many others.

States rights have not been destroyed because of inconclusive studies or lack of adequate information. States rights have been and are still being destroyed by politicians, State and Federal, who have a special political interest in keeping the taxing, spending, and regulating authority as far away from the voter and taxpayer as possible.

Tax money that is spent in the same county where it is raised is seldom stolen or woefully wasted, because the taxpayers who have felt the pinch can and do make their own accurate calculations of responsibility for any malfeasance.

If the President is determined to eliminate what he called "the freight charges on money being hauled from the States to Washington and back," he can block that railroad track by an Executive order tomorrow morning.

Instead of increasing what is called Federal aid to the States and individuals from $3 billion to nearly $6 billion, as his administration did during the past 4 years, a President as seriously worried about the disappearance of the States as President Eisenhower undoubtedly is should have reversed what he has recognized as this dangerous drift to centralized dictatorship.

When I went to Washington as chairman of the new States Rights Commission in 1954, I found that some dedicated people in the new Eisenhower official family had taken the President at his word and were working intelligently and successfully on a plan to get the Federal Government out of the highway construction business, which it carries on under the euphemistic title of Federal aid to the States.

Their plan was simple, honest and entirely practical. It called for the repeal of the Federal gasoline tax and the reimposition of that tax, if desirable, by the States as State taxes. When Federal roads were needed in Federally owned areas or elsewhere, they would be built entirely with Federal funds, as is the case with battleships and post offices.

With the additional money thus available to them, the States could build more and better roads than they are getting now, and taxpayers would be saved the Washington freight charges that the President complained about.

The plan had the clearance of experienced national experts in the field of traffic and transportation. It was the pride and joy of the new Secretary of Commerce and was all ready to be born as a first installment in the Eisenhower States' rights revival.

Then, suddenly, an order came from the White House to destroy it and substitute a Federal highway spending program of unprecedented proportions. That is precisely what the administration finally produced, a multibillion dollar Federally directed highway construction plan with uncounted millions in freight charges all tucked out of sight in a trust fund, which is outside of and in addition to the largest peacetime budget in history.

What was the explanation to the dedicated States' righters who had spent 8 months formulating the most sensible States' rights highway program ever produced? Simply that the Eisenhower administration was in political trouble in 1953, and you don't get out of political trouble by making sense and saving the taxpayers' money.

This is a fair sample of what happens when proposals for economy, common sense and decentralization of Government hit the heavy layers of political and bureaucratic self-interest that have congealed in Washington during the past 25 years.

Under these circumstances, let us not be too hard on the States and local communities which keep their hands out for more and more Federal money—"freight charges" to the contrary notwithstanding.

When we can give a billion dollars to Tito and $15 billion to France, it is hard to sell self-denial in Alabama and Nevada. The governors probably thought about this while the President was spanking them at Williamsburg.

Perhaps this is the reason why their applause was polite but definitely restrained.

A Few Reserves in the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, much has been taking place in Washington, and in the South generally, in the past few days regarding the fight that so many of us are making to preserve a constitutional form of government in America. At times it seems as if the odds the people of the South are now facing are almost insurmountable. However, when we look back over the obstacles and problems overcome by our forefathers we realize that our cause is not hopeless. We must know that if we have the courage, the determination and the willingness to sacrifice, we can yet save our way of life and preserve constitutional government in America.

I realize that there are some leaders and politicians in Virginia who are willing to surrender without making an all-out effort to overcome our problems. Many of them have openly advocated the so-called North Carolina assignment plan and attempted to hoodwink the people of Virginia into believing that the North Carolina assignment plan not only would preserve segregation in our schools but had been approved by the courts. The truth of the matter is the courts have not approved the North Carolina plan and now it has been clearly demonstrated that the assignment plan not only recognizes the validity of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation but permits and expedites the integration of the races in the public schools.

It is saddening indeed to see our sister State, North Carolina, succumb to political pressure and through its assignment plan integrate its schools. I trust that the Virginia advocates of the assignment plan will no longer contend that it is the best way to preserve the schools of Virginia. I hope they will be honest enough to admit that the adoption of the assignment plan means the integration of the races and submission to the unlawful and horrible decision of May 17, 1954, of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Richmond News Leader of Wednesday, July 24, 1957, an editorial entitled "A Few Reverses in the War." This editorial points out the problems we are facing; the reverses we have suffered; and the determination, which I am convinced the vast majority of our people have, to see this thing through to the bitter end convinced of the righteousness of our cause and believing that once the American people realize the problem, they may yet redeem constitutional government in America.

Mr. Kilpatrick has written an outstanding editorial on a matter close to his heart and I desire to publicly commend him for the great service he is rendering not only to the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the South but all the people of America.

The editorial is as follows:

A FEW REVERSES IN THE WAR

The day's news, let us face it squarely, is almost unbelievedly bad for those persons interested in the survival of the South and the preservation of the Constitution.

In Clinton, Tenn., a jury convicted seven defendants of conspiring to act in contempt of a Federal injunction.

In Texas, an appellate Federal court overruled Judge Hawley's decision in an integration case, and ordered Negro plaintiffs admitted to a Dallas school.

In Florida, another appellate Federal court reversed a district court and ordered race-mixing in Miami schools.

And in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, N. C., pupil assignment boards directed the admission of 12 Negro pupils to previously all-white schools.

Each of these events is a blow, and each for a different reason.

The issue in Clinton far transcended the prosecution of individual named defendants. What was involved here was an injunction by a Federal judge, addressed to the entire countryside, fobidding "interference by word or deed" with his order directing integration of the Clinton High School. The defendants were not parties to the original integration proceeding; their acts of alleged contempt were not committed in the courtroom, but in places remote from the courtroom.

Had the defendants been acquitted, the power of Federal judges to proceed in this fashion in the field of race relations would have remained at least an open question; in a sense, such a verdict at Clinton would have been a rebuke to Federal courts. But with the conviction of seven defendants, the jury set in motion judicial machinery by which Judge Taylor's injunction may win higher court approval. And, who would be so foolish as to imagine that Earl Warren's Court would ever reverse the convictions?

Thus a precedent takes shape that will plague the South—and not only the South. Liberals who are well pleased by the Clinton verdict should contemplate parallel situations not nearly so much to their liking. Once the power of a Federal judge is upheld in the Clinton case, what will restrain judges from enjoining public interference "by word or deed" with any other decree—in strikes, for example, or in other controversies that provoke strong local feeling?

The Clinton trial ranks among the great trials of this century not for the petty punishments that may be meted out to seven obscure defendants, but for the sweeping aggrandizement of Federal judicial powers here upheld.

The appellate divisions in Texas and Florida are a part of the same pattern. In the former case, a district judge of rare independence of spirit has held, provisionally, that white citizens have rights no less than Negro citizens have rights; and weighing the right of white children to a tranquil educational experience against the right of Negro plaintiffs to be admitted where they were certain to be a source of friction, Judge Hawley refused to order integration. Because sociology has replaced law in this area of human relations, it was to be expected that Judge Hawley would be reversed, and he was. In the Florida case, a district judge who had not been completely brainwashed sought a reconsideration of the whole line of judicial opinion since May 17, 1954; he ruled that Negro plaintiffs, as a group, had no cause of action. The appellate court abruptly struck him down.

Distressing as these decisions may be, the news from North Carolina is in some ways a deeper blow. Until today it had been possible to say that eight Southern States had held the line absolutely. Now there are seven. With North Carolina's surrender to the Supreme Court's illegal act, only Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana remain in the fight.

Our friends to the south were motivated, they said defensively, by "a sincere desire to preserve the public schools of Charlotte and North Carolina." Let us credit them with this sincerity. They would preserve their schools and lose their society; they would not risk the closing of even 1 classroom, the temporary deprival of even 1 child's education, as a sacrifice toward maintaining State sovereignty. North Carolina has cracked; and, of course, there will be no stopping with the admission of 12 Negro pupils there; they are the vanguard of thousands whose petitions—now that the principle of race mixing has been accepted—North Carolina cannot deny.

Should Virginia despair? Should we quit, too?

By the eternal, No. In the end we may be defeated, but let us go down fighting, not apologizing. Let us marshal every political and legal weapon left in the arsenal; let us invoke the untouched powers of our State judges; let us keep hammering away at northern sympathies which may yet be attracted in the South's behalf. North Carolina is gone. Let us weep for North Carolina and fill the breach. The war is not yet lost.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Recent Foreign-Policy Address by Hon. Mike Mansfield, of Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the outstanding speeches of this year was the address on foreign policy delivered recently on the floor of the Senate by the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

It was a thoughtful, careful, and forceful analysis of the current situation. It is one which should be read by all Americans concerned about our position in world affairs.

The distinguished commentator Holmes Alexander devoted his column of July 24 to the speech. I ask unanimous consent that his column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR MANSFIELD SERVES NOTICE ON MAKERS OF FOREIGN POLICY

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 24.—Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, is a man of many virtues, but two of them are paramount. One is his hefty bank roll of personal integrity. It enables him to say what he likes with complete immunity from the character snipers. The second is his Mona Lisa smile. It permits him to murder the opposition with such good-natured aplomb that they hardly feel the deathblows.

All this happened in mid-July when MANSFIELD gave one of those extended foreign-policy speeches which he delivers twice or more each session and for which he is becoming justly celebrated. The strange part of the business was MIKE assaulted the Eisenhower administration with accusations that would have been highly censorable in a letter man.

And MIKE did it all with the sort of a smile that never shower his teeth and which lulled the critics with the efficacy of a siren's song. MIKE was anti-Ike, pro-Democrat, and pro-Senate, but he was so nice about it that almost nobody noticed.

To describe the President's foreign policy, the razor-minded Montanan used such phrases as "hodge-podge of sterile slogans and fumbling fears"; "words, words, words, yet little action"; "degeneration"; "ignorance"; "arbitrary arrogance"; "press agentry"; "delusion"; "propaganda."

Had this sort of refined billingsgate come from a different sort of man, the shuddering and the hand wringing in the critics' circle would have been a sight to behold. Senator MANSFIELD got by with saying things for which many stanch reactionaries and nationalists have been gibbetted. MANSFIELD proposed these policies:

Bring the boys home: "I believe a concerted effort must be made to reduce the size of official establishments overseas, both military and civilian. Not only are these establishments costly in a monetary sense, but they can and are building an undercurrent of resentment toward this country in many countries."

Abolish the knock-kneed policy: "I believe policy as designed by the executive department has reflected too heavily the fearful. * * * A policy that emphasizes fear and ignores this (American) spirit does not do justice to the people of the United States."

Cut out the crisis-crying: "(Fear) is the principal reason why the policies of the Nation are looked upon so often as essentially negative. * * * We may well ask ourselves whether or not that is the principal reason why, after the expenditure of $60 billion on foreign aid and hundreds of billions on defense, security still eludes us; why a sense of living on the edge of doom has not ceased to haunt the Nation."

Quit trying to buy friendship: "The leadership of the present generation (seems to have) sacrificed the greatness of this Nation on an altar of irresponsible fear. * * * Think back to the treaties of peace, to mutual security, to NATO, to the information programs, to the innumerable aid programs, the Middle East resolution, and even to the atomic-energy agency statute. * * * Was not the grim specter raised in justification of them all? * * * Indeed, has not that motivation, the motivation of fear, almost invariably * * * been made to swamp virtually every other consideration?"

Stop the giveaway: "The time has come, it seems to me, to establish a very close link between the destination of aid funds and the willingness of the recipients to contribute."

Get out of the arms mart: "The more arms are supplied to that Middle East region, the more instability is induced. * * * That is the formula the Soviet Union used. * * * I should very much like to see this country * * * alter it."

There is nothing whatever in the Mansfield address that a Democratic Senator should not say, and very little with which most Americans would not agree. But the idea that this was a nonpartisan speech, accentuating the positive and offering only advice and consent to the White House is poppycock.

MIKE MANSFIELD was not merely making a speech. He was, I think, serving notice that he and the Senate—and particularly the Democratic Members of the Senate—intended to make some foreign policies of their own.

Congressional Support of the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, on behalf of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPPEL], to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by him, together with certain correspondence, on the subject of congressional support of the President.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR SCHOEPPEL

Mr. Thomas N. Schroth, executive editor of the Congressional Quarterly, wrote a letter to me on June 14 and sent a copy to every Member of the Congress. It refers to my remarks delivered on the floor of the United States Senate on June 13, 1957. These appear on pages 8046 through 8048 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date.

My statement was prompted by a letter addressed to me by Mr. Schroth on May 14, 1957. I inserted it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a part of my remarks. Immediately after I left the Senate floor, I wrote to Mr. Schroth as follows:

JUNE 13, 1957.

Mr. THOMAS N. SCHROTH,
Executive Editor, Congressional Quarterly,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SCHROTH: On May 14, you sent me an advance copy of the study you prepared on the first interim measure of the Presidential support done by Congressional Quarterly for the sessions up to May 12.

I have examined this study with a great deal of care and I expressed my views regarding it on the floor of the United States Senate today.

Representative CRAMER, First District of Florida, on Tuesday, June 11, made a very penetrating analysis of your study which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page 7836. I am in complete accord with his views. Attached are copies of his statement as well as my remarks.

The Nation's press apparently relies on your statistical work for their appraisal of congressional activities involving support for President Eisenhower's program. This imposes a great responsibility.

In view of the deficiencies which Representative CRAMER and I have found in your recent study, I feel that the press is entitled to some explanation from you as to why you continue to publish material which suggests sweeping conclusions from meager and incomplete data.

I will await your comments with interest.

Sincerely,

ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL.

Mr. Schroth's letter of June 14 was written before he received my letter of June 13. On June 18 I received a further communication from him, including a copy of his June 14 letter which had been sent to every Member of the Congress. So that all the Members of the Congress may be familiar with this entire correspondence, I am placing his letter of June 18 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY
NEWS FEATURES,
Washington, D. C., June 18, 1957.

Hon. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SCHOEPPEL: This material has been sent to your colleagues in the Senate and House.

Thank you for your letter of June 13, which I believe crossed my letter to you of June 14.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS N. SCHROTH,
Executive Editor.

On June 20 I acknowledged his letter with the following communication:

JUNE 20, 1957.

Mr. THOMAS N. SCHROTH,
Executive Editor, Congressional Quarterly, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SCHROTH: Thank you for your letter of June 18 which advises me that your letter of June 13 crossed my letter of June 14.

Your letter of June 14, which you sent to every Member of the Congress, obviously is not responsive to my letter of June 13.

I will await with interest your comments on the specific issues which I raised in my statement on the Senate floor as well as the statements made by Representative CRAMER which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 11.

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely,

ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL.

Mr. Schroth replied to my letter of June 20, as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY
NEWS FEATURES,
Washington, D. C., June 27, 1957.

Hon. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SCHOEPPEL: In answer to your letter of June 20, may I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of a letter which I wrote to Mr. CURTIS of Missouri? This takes up most of the points raised by you and Mr. CRAMER.

I assume you saw the speech on the subject delivered by Mr. SIKES, of Florida (June 19 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. A4857).

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS N. SCHROTH,
Executive Editor.

This letter fails to answer the points I raised in my letter of June 20.

Congressman CRAMER and I both correctly identified the rollcalls used in the Congressional Quarterly's so-called first interim measure of Presidential support. On June 26 Congressman CURTIS, of Missouri, corrected certain inaccuracies in his remarks of May 23, and inserted the letter he had received from Mr. Schroth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Mr. Schroth refers to his correspondence with Congressman CURTIS, of Missouri, as he apparently does not challenge any statement of fact contained in either my remarks or those of Congressman CRAMER.

Mr. Schroth, by implication in his letter of June 27, endorses the statements of Congressman SIKES, of Florida. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 19, on page A4858, refers to my remarks on the Senate floor on July 27, 1956. The Congressman from New York, Mr. DEROUNIAN, said:

"In the July 27 issue of the RECORD last year, on page 13754, in the remarks of Senator SCHOEPPEL, he introduced a letter from MARGARET CHASE SMITH, United States Senator from Maine, in which she is bemoaning the fact that the Congressional Quarterly has been unfair to her in its appraisal of her votes with the President. She says this: 'I was absent on 9 of the votes this year in the Congressional Quarterly analysis—and all 9 were marked as being against the President in spite of the manner in which I was announced.'"

The Congressman from Florida, Mr. SIKES, then said:

"Had the gentlelady filled out the questionnaire submitted to her by the Congressional Quarterly, she would have been recorded for or against on each of the votes in question."

Mr. Schroth knows that the Congresisonal Quarterly support scores do not reflect pairs or announced positions. They certainly are not based on replies to questionnaires, yet by referring to Congressman SIKES' statement, Mr. Schroth again attempts to confuse the issue.

I shall now comment on his letter of June 14. Mr. Schroth accuses me of "inaccurate and unfair attacks on Congressional Quarterly;" yet his letter of June 14 does not cite a single misstatement in my remarks. I refer my colleagues to the complete analysis of the Congressional Quarterly's statistical procedure which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 27, 1956, as well as to my statement of June 13, 1957.

Mr. Schroth states: "I believe that, if you knew of the false basis of the research material you have been handed, purporting to analyze Congressional Quarterly studies, you would not use that material."

On July 16, 1956, I read Raymond Moley's analysis of the Congressional Quarterly which appeared in Newsweek magazine. I believe that comments by a distinguished and experienced political reporter with the reputation enjoyed by Raymond Moley should be brought to the attention of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I made certain comments referring to his column and included it in my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 16, 1956.

On July 17, 1956, I received a letter from Mr. Schroth in which he raised a number of points with respect to Congressional Quarterly procedures. I then undertook my own complete study of the Congressional Quarterly, in order to ascertain the true facts for myself. I have subscribed to the Congressional Quarterly for many years and still do. I had no difficulty in finding ample supporting data for Mr. Moley's criticisms of Congressional Quarterly's presentation of statistics in the material on file in my own office.

As a result of my own study, I cited numerous examples to show the consistent bias of the Congressional Quarterly in my remarks on the floor of the United States Senate on July 27, 1956.

Mr. Schroth, in his letter to me written a year ago and again in his letter of June 14, 1957, cites the number of newspapers who use the Congressional Quarterly. He has recently written three articles which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor. They describe the activities of the Congressional Quarterly.

While these articles were supposed to be a feature story in a distinguished newspaper, they were actually publicity material prepared by the Congressional Quarterly. This is shown by the fact that in the July 5 story, Mr. Schroth refers to a Congressional Quarterly feature as follows:

"Scheduled for publication early in May is the complete, official vote for President, Senator, and Representative in each of the Nation's 435 congressional districts."

Mr. Schroth could have at least changed the tense to indicate that this material had been published 2 months ago.

In the July 3 Christian Science Monitor article, Mr. Schroth said:

"The subscription list includes the White House, Congressmen from both parties and all segments of the parties, the Republican and Democratic National Committees, and the congressional campaign committees of both parties.

"Organizations subscribing to all or part of the services range from the National Association of Manufacturers to the AFL–CIO and include the National Association for Independent Business, the Cooperative League of the United States, Americans for Democratic Action, For America, free trade as well as high tariff advocates, and scores of other groups whose selective interests are dependent on the actions of Congress.

"Newspapers include the Christian Science Monitor, the Boston Herald and Traveler, the Boston Globe, all New York City newspapers, the two major Washington newspapers, and other papers in large and small cities all over the country.

"Magazine subscribers include all three major news weeklies and journals of opinion from both the left and right. Columnists who use the services include Roscoe Drummond, Walter Lippmann, David Lawrence, Arthur Krock, and Sylvia Porter.

"Such a variety of clients attests not only to the success of the concept behind CQ and Err, but also to the nonpartisanship and usefulness of the service."

As I have already indicated, my own office is a subscriber to the Congressional Quarterly. I am sure that many subscribers purchase it because, as Mr. Schroth himself said in his article of July 3:

"A graphic and significant example of CQ's service is the weekly publishing of every rollcall vote taken in the House and Senate for that week. Before 1945, when CQ was formed, it was virtually impossible for a reporter, an editor, or any interested person to put his hands readily on such a simple but important thing as a complete voting record of a Member of Congress, the vote of all Members on a particular item of legislation, or an individual's vote on a specific item."

I have never questioned its value as a ready source of information on the activities of Congress. I question how it interprets the statistical data for its features which appear in the press. Mr. Schroth's article in the Christian Science Monitor for July 5 says: "Newspaper clients also receive three news stories a week from CQ." These stories are usually printed with a CQ credit line and usually are not edited or changed by the press of the country. It is these stories which present an opportunity for bias and misinterpretation of data.

In his letter of June 14, 1957, Mr. Schroth states:

"Certainly our presidential support story of May 12, which I sent to you, did not flatter the Republicans. But it was prepared with the same objective disinterest in the results that our stories in past years have featured. It was simply based on the votes of the Members and not on any political viewpoint."

I maintain that no organization primarily concerned with objective disinterested analysis would attempt to measure the support accorded President Eisenhower's legislative program by a study of nine Senate rollcalls.

Frankly, I was shocked that Mr. Schroth, who professes such disinterest, would suggest that I should select figures on the basis of their political utility rather than on the basis of their objectivity. Mr. Schroth's letter said:

"Frankly, Senator, I am at a loss to understand why you accept figures which put the Republican record in a worse light than that revealed by Congressional Quarterly figures."

Again, he said:

"I do not understand why you accept an analysis of presidential support which worsens the record of the Republicans in preference to the Congressional Quarterly analysis which presents the objective facts."

Although, as chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, I have a strong desire to present the Republican record in the best possible light, I can assure my colleagues and Mr. Schroth that I will never present statistics which I know to be unfair because they support a political position. When I use statistics, I am interested in figures which reveal the truth. That is why I have challenged the objectivity of the Congressional Quarterly. Many editors who have used these support scores believed that they were based on sound statistical procedures. So did I, until Mr. Moley's statement forced me to make my own analysis. The Congressional Quarterly makes broad generalizations which are not supported by the data used in their so-called scores.

Mr. Schroth, after saying that the study of May 12, "was prepared with the same objective disinterest in the results that our stories in past years have featured," then admits that:

"The Congressional Quarterly interim story on Presidential support for the current session, issued as of May 12, was, as you say, timed 'to reach the press when President Eisenhower made his first television address.' We consider that good journalism and the scores of newspapers of all political points of view which used the story apparently agreed with us."

These statements are completely contradictory.

An objective analyst would have foregone the opportunity for sensationalism which, contrary to Mr. Schroth, is not good journalism, when he knew that there had been an insufficient number of rollcalls upon which to fairly appraise congressional support of President Eisenhower's program. When the Congressional Quarterly produces a support score based on a mixture of a few House and Senate rollcalls, it is engaging in sensationalism, and not in intensive coverage of Congress. There were only nine Senate rollcalls included in the first interim Congressional Quarterly rating of support for the President's legislative program.

It is obviously unfair to measure support in the other body by counting 14 rollcalls on a single appropriation bill. In fact, a member who happened to be absent on the one day when the House considered this bill, would automatically have his support score on 22 House votes reduced by 64 percent. According to the Congressional Quarterly standard, if he had voted for what they consider to be the President's program on every other rollcall, because of his absence on a single day, he could not have attained a support score higher than 36 percent. Likewise, a Member who voted for these particular amendments but who was opposed to the President's Mideast resolution, the corn bill, and all of the other major items, would end up with a support score of 64 percent. This is, of course, utter nonsense.

On July 12, 1957, the Congressional Quarterly's weekly report presented the second interim support scores. Once again House and Senate votes are lumped together, producing a headline that President Eisenhower received 65 percent interim support. There are only 34 House and 32 Senate votes included in this ranking. The 15 House votes on minor amendments to 2 appropriation bills still account for 44 percent of the total House score. The unfairness of including so many minor votes on two appropriation bills when there are so few other votes is exemplified in the second Congressional Quarterly support score.

The distinguished minority leader in the other body is shown as having supported President Eisenhower's program 62 percent of the time. This low support score was produced by 10 votes involving amendments to the 1 appropriation bill I have discussed before. They were, in fact, the only opposition votes recorded. A single day's absence when 3 rollcalls were taken on 1 issue contributed another 9 percent to the low support score. On every other rollcall the Congressional Quarterly shows the minority leader in the other body as having voted in support of President Eisenhower's program. It is a disservice to Congressional Quarterly subscribers who rely on it as an impartial statistical agency to report facts in this manner.

The Congressional Quarterly refers to itself as "the authoritative reference on Congress." Mr. Schroth's letter to me of June 14 shows that they cannot even correctly report the facts on a simply statistical table.

In my remarks on June 13, I included a study which I had made of the support accorded President Eisenhower's program during the 83d and 84th Congresses. I again insert this table at this point in my statement:

All Eisenhower rollcalls

Congress	Number of votes	Eisenhower position				Opposed to Eisenhower position			
		Republicans		Democrats		Democrats		Republicans	
		Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent
83d	220	7,525	64.7	4,114	35.3	4,701	74.3	1,630	25.7
84th	203	6,682	59.4	4,575	40.6	4,053	70.3	1,715	29.7
Total	423	14,207	62.1	8,689	37.9	8,754	72.4	3,345	27.6

An examination of this table shows that in the 83d Congress there were 7,525 votes cast by the Republicans for President Eisenhower's program. The Democrats cast 4,114 votes. In other words, there were 11,639 votes cast by members of the 2 parties in support of the President's program.

The Republicans were responsible for 64.7 percent of these pro-Eisenhower votes, the Democrats for 35.3 percent. The 2 percentage figures in my table total 100 percent of the pro-Eisenhower votes. My data was not arranged to show the percentage of support or opposition among Republicans and among Democrats. Such support figures could, however, be derived from my table, as it contained the actual votes cast for and against the program in both Congresses by the members of the two parties. In spite of the fact that my table was clearly labeled, Mr. Schroth's letter contains the following statement:

"Here are the facts: Congressional Quarterly's summary scores for the 83d Congress:

Republicans:
Senate: *Percent*
Support 72
Opposition 17
Democrats:
Senate: *Percent*
Support 41
Opposition 43

"Congressional Quarterly's summary scores for the 84th Congress:

Republicans:
Senate: *Percent*
Support 72
Opposition 16
Democrats:
Senate: *Percent*
Support 44
Opposition 38

"Not only does this show exactly the opposite of what you charge—the Congressional Quarterly figures show clearly that the Republicans gave greater support than the Democrats to the Presidents' program during the 83d and 84th Congresses—but our score of Republican support in both Congresses is greater than your scores of 64.7 percent for the 83d Congress and 59.4 percent for the 84th Congress."

No qualified analyst could possibly confuse the figures of 64.7 percent and 59.4 percent which appeared in my table as a measure of Republican support contrasted with Republican opposition.

In order to set the record straight, I am including at this point a second table, which includes the identical votes used in the table I presented on June 13, but arranged to show support and opposition scores:

All Eisenhower rollcalls

Congress	Number of rollcalls	Republican votes				Democrat votes			
		Support		Opposition		Support		Opposition	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
83d	220	7,525	82	1,630	18	4,114	47	4,701	53
84th	203	6,682	80	1,715	20	4,575	53	4,053	47
Total	423	14,207	81	3,345	19	8,689	50	8,754	50

An inspection of this table immediately shows that in the 83d Congress, the Republicans had a support score of 82 percent as contrasted with 72 percent shown by the Congressional Quarterly. In the 84th Congress, my table shows a support score of 80 percent as contrasted with 72 percent, shown by the Congressional Quarterly. What is even more significant, my table for the 83d Congress shows a Democratic opposition score of 53 percent, in contrast with 43 percent shown by the Congressional Quarterly. In the 84th Congress, my table shows an opposition score for the Democrats of 47 percent, as contrasted with 38 percent shown by the Congressional Quarterly. My Republican support and Democratic opposition scores are higher than those of the Congressional Quarterly.

So, once again, the Congressional Quarterly's statistics are biased against the Republicans. In spite of the fact that my tables were clearly labeled, Mr. Schroth attempts to mislead my colleagues into believing that he has shown the Republicans in a better light than I.

The differences between my table and the statements by the Congressional Quarterly lie in the fact that I am willing to submit the entire record, including all of the details, to public scrutiny. I do not expect anyone to accept summary figures because I say they are correct.

On August 17, 1956, I included in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, on page A6537, a tabulation of the votes cast by the Members of the two parties in the Senate for the entire 83d and 84th Congresses. Included

with the summary tables were the worksheets which accounted for every rollcall during these two Congresses. The Eisenhower position was indicated in each case. The votes cast on each rollcall were also shown. No one has challenged the accuracy of these figures.

Mr. Schroth, in his letter of June 14, said:

"In the Congressional Quarterly story, you had a record of support for the President's program of 69 percent. Taking your own statistics, which you say are much more reliable than ours, you have a support score of 67.5 percent."

I can assure Mr. Schroth that these tables were compiled without any reference to my own voting record. I was concerned with presenting the facts, not my personal feelings. I endeavored to determine to the best of my ability the Eisenhower position based on statements in hearings and on the floor of the United States Senate on each rollcall. I then tabulated the votes as they were compiled by the Secretary of the Senate. My own score was completely immaterial. Facts are facts.

In my remarks on June 13, I said that the methods of the Congressional Quarterly were flexible. I repeat this accusation. When the vote on the corn bill is included in the President's program in the other body, but not in the Senate, this is a flexible standard. I repeat that charge.

Mr. Schroth included with his letter, Ground Rules for CQ Presidential Support-Opposition. In referring to appropriations, it says:

"Appropriations: Generally, rollcalls on passage of appropriations bills are not included in this tabulation, since it is rarely possible to determine the President's position on the overall revision Congress almost invariably makes in the sums allowed. An exception to this rule is the foreign-aid appropriation, since the program, although recurring, is not permanent. Votes to cut or increase specific funds requested in the President's budget also are included. For example, in 1956 the Senate's vote to increase Air Force funds by $800 million was a clear challenge to the President's views on national defense (amendment increasing appropriation adopted, 48–40; Democrats, 43–3; Republicans, 5–37)."

Yet, in spite of these ground rules, 15 of the 34 House votes upon which the second interim Presidential support scores were based are rollcalls on amendments to appropriation bills. The bills as reported were quite different from the President's original budget request.

During the discussion of the Congressional Quarterly procedures in the other body, references were made to a statement prepared by the Senate Republican policy committee which referred to the Congressional Quarterly. In my remarks of July 27, 1956, I commented on Mr. Schroth's reference to a Congressional Quarterly statement by the Senate Republican policy committee in its memorandum No. 28 of July 21, 1955. So that the Members of the other body may be acquainted with all the facts on this subject, I ask unanimous consent to include my reference to this memorandum from my remarks of July 27, 1956, at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I said:

"Mr. Schroth next cited alleged Republican examples of use of their material to prove that the Republicans believed the Congressional Quarterly to be fair. He referred to the Senate Republican policy committee memo No. 28, of July 21, 1955.

"What Mr. Schroth is pointing to is a line on the second page of the memo which said: 'Survey shows Democrats lagging on President's program.'

"But Mr. Schroth conveniently did not cite the next two pages of the memo, which sharply criticized the statistical techniques employed by the Congressional Quarterly. I want to read pages 3 and 4 of this Senate Republican policy committee memo. It begins:

" 'WHO PROVIDES THE WINNING MARGINS?

" 'Congressional Quarterly makes some point that Democrats supplied the winning margin in 29 of the President's 33 victories in the Senate and all 18 of his 18 victories in the House. (CQ's test is whether Republican support alone was adequate to insure the President's victory in each case.)

" 'HOW VALID IS A COMPUTATION LIKE THIS?

" '1. With more Democrats than Republicans in Congress, some Democratic votes are needed to pass almost all bills (except in rare cases when unpaired absences may give Republicans a temporary majority—hardly possible on any major party issue). Why should these necessary Democratic voted be called a winning margin—implying Democratic support of the President and Republican opposition?

" '2. In the Senate many matters require two-thirds votes (treaties, vetoes). Both Democratic and Republican votes are needed to make up this two-thirds. Why should the Democratic votes be considered the winning margin? If enough Republicans had not voted with the President, the Democrats alone could not have carried the issue. Why not credit those Republicans with the winning margin?

" '3. Winning-margin statistics are loaded when there are 2, 3, or more votes on amendments to a single measure (as was the case on the Formosa resolution, the $20 tax cut, trade-agreements extension, and the mutual-security measure). Multiple votes like these give a false impression of the number of winning margins. The picture is further confused when some votes are for an amendment and against the bill or vice versa.

" '4. The absurdity of claims to winning margins is shown by the fact that 90 percent of the Democrats might vote against the President's proposal, but if 10 percent help 100 percent of the Republicans to pass the bill, this 10 percent would be considered a winning margin—that President Eisenhower owes all to the Democrats. For example, suppose 78 Members of the Senate are present and voting (40 Democrats and 38 Republicans) as often happens, Republicans alone, even if 100 percent voted in favor of the President's measure (indicating solid party support), could not enact it. The Democratic votes alone could do it if they voted solidly for the bill which would never be the case if Republicans were solidly lined up for it, too, as on a party issue. If 36 (or 90 percent) of the Democrats opposed the President and 4 joined with the 38 (100 percent) Republicans, the measure would pass 42 to 36, and it would be said that the Democrats furnished the winning margin, even though 90 percent of them opposed the President.

" 'Would it not be just as correct to say that in the same vote 4 Republicans who might have opposed the President, but did not do so, supplied the winning margin? Isn't the real interpretation of situations like this that it was not the picayune Democratic margin that supplied the victory, but the 100-percent solid Republican support?

" '5. These so-called winning margins merely reflect the fact that few measures in Congress are ever passed without the crossing of party lines. Does it give a true picture of party performance to use this routine practice to give winning-margin credits to either Republicans or Democrats? President Truman evidently did not think so when he lambasted the Republican 80th Congress which put the winning margin on many of his measures (and supplied the committee leadership and support of his measures as well).

" 'If tests of party support of the President are to be run, let's not run them ragged, but base them on fairer, more reliable yardsticks of party performance.' "

My criticism of Congressional Quarterly's procedures has produced some improvement in their methods. Weekly report No. 28, dated July 12, in presenting Eisenhower victories and defeats on pages 831 and 832 does not attribute winning margins to either Republicans or Democrats. This practice was one of the principal objections voiced by both Ray Moley and myself against the Congressional Quarterly last year.

I can readily understand why many of my colleagues as well as members of the press and political leaders have used Congressional Quarterly figures. The Congressional Quarterly, because of its convenience and the wealth of information which it contains, has built a position with the press of the Nation. Mr. Schroth in his "Christian Science Monitor" article of July 3 said:

"Congressional Quarterly and Editorial Research Reports together serve nearly 400 United States newspapers with a total circulation of more than 30 million. The two services merged last July."

This dependence on the Congressional Quarterly by the Nation's press imposes a tremendous responsibility on the editors of the Congressional Quarterly. In my opinion, they have not discharged it in a nonpartisan manner.

As my remarks amply demonstrate, there has been a consistent statistical bias against the Republican Party in Congressional Quarterly support scores, whenever such a procedure could be followed without obvious detection. This could only come to light by a thorough and detailed analysis, such as I have made.

I do not blame anyone for quoting Congressional Quarterly support figures. They have been used so often that many of my colleagues are justified in believing them to be objective, unbiased statistical data. I hope that in view of the facts that have been developed, all readers of the Congressional Quarterly will be cautious in quoting from its statistical data in the future.

Youth Festival of the International Union of Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared regarding the biennial youth festival of the International Union of Students, being held at the present time in Moscow.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

For several months now a small furor has been raging in certain circles concerning the biennial youth festival of the International Union of Students, being held at the present time in Moscow. National magazines have commented about the fact that the United States National Student Association has refused to send an official American delegation to the festival, and as recently as July 15, the Washington Post took the State Department to task editorially for discouring the few students who did make the trip on their own.

The Associated Press reported the departure of these students, and we shall undoubtedly be hearing more of the matter when they return. We have heard so much about the State Department action with regard to newsmen in China that some might consider this a refreshingly different issue to get excited about.

But before we become too excited about protests against the State Department, some of the facts of the situation should be made clear. The case that is made by those who would have American students attend is based on the assumption that a large American delegation might help to increase understanding between the two halves of the world, and that such understanding on the student level would lead to greater hopes for peace in the future, when these same students become the world's leaders.

But it is naive to suppose that the Russians, who will be putting on what the London Sunday Times calls the most spectacular of the 6 youth festivals sponsored by the 2 Communist-front organizations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, would allow such a spectacle to produce any reactions other than those which the Kremlin expects. If it were possible that a large American delegation could have an effect upon Communist youth, then Moscow would not have sent literature advertising this festival to student-body presidents all over the country.

Those who have criticized the State Department attitude should realize that it is the same attitude that the most representative of American student groups, the United States National Student Association, has independently taken. The students in this organization have long understood the communistic purposes of large numbers in the International Union of Students, have continually refused to join it or attend its meetings, and have spearheaded efforts to expose the group for what it is. American students have aided in informing students of other countries that the IUS is not a group of representative scholars, but rather a tool for Communist propaganda. For Americans to officially attend a meeting of such an organization could be to repudiate the basic assumption that any student group should reflect the ideas of the students who compose it rather than of the government of the country in which it exists. American students, by their presence, might indicate to the rest of the world an acquiescence to past and present IUS policy.

The Americans who did attend will return shortly and bring with them tales of their experience. But it is to be hoped that in the future the attitude of American student leaders will prevail—an attitude that favors true cultural exchange between students, but on students' terms, and not in an atmosphere wherein everything has been meticulously planned by a government that for a few days will be carefully on its best behavior in order to impress visitors.

Hungarian students who have escaped to this country since the recent Hungarian uprising have told officers of the United States National Student Association that at the youth festival held in Budapest in 1949 those American students who were present were housed in special housing units, transported on special trains, and restricted in almost all of their movements. The only Hungarian students who were allowed to speak to Americans were those who had been previously cleared and approved by a Hungarian youth group. Americans were not allowed to speak to any Hungarian citizens or to visit Budapest unless they were accompanied by a specially appointed guide. Obviously, there was no contact that would be of benefit either to the Americans or the Hungarians involved.

River Basin Planning in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, people who live in an area that has been subjected to heavy damage from uncontrolled floodwaters have a keen awareness of the need for basinwide planning to develop our water resources.

This awareness is demonstrated clearly in a recent editorial published in the Palestine (Tex.) Herald-Press, a newspaper based on an original publication which was established more than a century ago.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial from the Palestine Herald-Press be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIVER BASIN PLANNING

Like many other men in national politics, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, turns out a newsletter in which he explains his opinions on legislative matters.

The other day Senator JOHNSON mailed a newsletter in which he discussed the matter of water conservation in Texas.

"I know of nothing more basically important to Texas," he said, proposing surveys of all river basins in Texas, looking ahead to full basin development of the streams of the State.

"Recurrent floods are an economic drain that we cannot afford in Texas," he said, adding "the extent of our controls has been limited."

Then: "One fundamental reason is that a basinwide plan of improvement has not been completed on any Texas river."

All of this is true. This year's floods on Texas rivers caused millions of dollars worth of direct damages, and the loss figure runs into unknown amounts when certain intangibles are considered. For example, on the Trinity River here large numbers of livestock were drowned, and their value was part of the direct loss to this spring's record flood. But the same man whose livestock were drowned may have suffered still more by the fact that for months he was unable to use the land usually devoted to pasturing his stock.

And flood control is still only one phase of the problem.

Texas has an annual summertime water shortage that inhibits the economic growth of the State. This is a curable ailment—curable by dams that reduce floods while they store water.

As Senator JOHNSON of Texas says, the answer to the problem lies in basinwide planning.

Such planning now is being undertake on the Trinity River, probaly the most important undeveloped resource in Texas.

The Trinity carries enough water to take care of the needs of every town and city along its course; yet the Trinity's water now flows from the few lakes at its headwaters, unused, into the Gulf.

The Trinity offers Texas its only inland barge canal. This feasible project has been discussed for decades; yet this economic opportunity is still unrealized.

The Trinity floods lowlands with appalling regularity, preventing the economic use of millions of acres of the finest type of soil.

With proper planning the Trinity River can be converted from a damaging stream into a growth-sponsoring economic windfall. Such planning is being undertaken now, by the Trinity River Authority and by its unofficial counterpart, the Trinity Improvement Association.

These organizations are doing what they can, but they can't do it all. The Federal Government, in effect, has a prior claim on the development of the Trinity, for the Government many years ago surveyed the river regarding possible navigation.

The Trinity, its potential and its neglect, certainly must have been in Senator JOHNSON's mind when he spoke of basinwide surveys. We hope it was, and that the Trinity River, at long last, may be coming into its own.

The Professional Organization: Antidote to Bureaucracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, Mr. Knox Banner, executive director of the Housing Authority of the City of Little Rock, Ark., and president of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, delivered an address on July 9, 1957, on the subject of bureaucracy in Federal and local housing agencies.

His address is objective and discerning, and worthy of the attention of all persons interested in public housing. I would particularly like to call it to the attention of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Public Housing Administration.

I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION: ANTIDOTE TO BUREAUCRACY

(Address delivered at the annual banquet, Pacific Northwest Regional Council, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, July 9, 1957, by Knox Banner, president, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials)

Bureaucracy is a blessing and a curse.

This fact concerns you, because your life is touched every day by bureaucracy, and your work is directly and constantly affected by bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy is a blessing; because without it, no large organization, public or private, could hope to achieve a sustained effort. Bureaucracy is a curse, because the very characteristics which are necessary to make it work are also an invitation to many evils.

Bureaucracy has been variously described and defined. One definition says that bureaucracy is a general type of social organization, governmental or nongovernmental, characterized by a hierarchic organization, based on a systematic division of labor, im-

personality, devotion to routine, a strong sense of status and consequent respect for authority, and continuous service and low turnover among the members of the staff.

This definition contains the basic elements which can make bureaucracy a curse.

Before I proceed, let me emphasize again that bureaucracy does and must exist in every organization, private or public, employing more than a handful of persons. It need not be bad, but it generally is. While I could devote my entire talk to bureaucracy within local housing authorities, I shall direct my remarks primarily to familiar examples within the Federal-local relationships of the programs of low-rent housing and urban renewal. Also, let me suggest to you that my 17 years service with Federal agencies has qualified me to conclude that, as individuals, officials and employees of Federal agencies are honorable, intelligent, and sympathetic human beings. Within the framework of bureaucracy, their finest characteristics as individuals are often made subservient to certain fears, attitudes and tendencies.

And it is these which make bureaucracy a curse:

For instance, preoccupation with methods and procedures to the extent that the overall objective is lost sight of.

For instance, buckpassing and sympathetic impersonality.

"You can't do this because the auditors will take exception to it," or "I think it's a good idea, but I don't believe legal will approve," or "I thought it was all right, but the economist turned it down," or "It's a good idea, but 'they' won't approve it." Who "they" is I have never been quite sure of.

Before I proceed, let's take a look at a housing manager for a local housing authority who says to a tenant, "They said your rent would have to be $31." Who says local authorities don't have some of the bad elements of bureaucracy? Obviously, the manager should have participated or concurred in the rent computation and should have said, "We have figured your rent, and it is $31."

As I outline some more examples in the Federal-local relationship, let's not be too smug about our own operations at the local level. They can always be improved. I might say that in preparing this talk, I remembered the exhortation of St. Paul to examine Thyself.

To continue with the curse of bureaucracy:

For instance, a natural tendency to expand controls and functions, and, therefore personnel, sometimes referred to as empire building.

For instance, the tendency to meddle and interfere until a local problem becomes really acute, and then to say, "After all, this is a local program; you solve it."

As I use the term "meddle", I am well aware that definitions depend on one's point of view, and I am reminded of the story of the old lady on the front row in church. As the minister waxed eloquent in his condemnation of gambling and drinking, the little old lady endorsed his sermon in words that could be heard throughout the church. The minister then took up the sin of dancing and, again, received her strong vocal endorsement. As the sermon progressed, he eventually got down to condemning snuff-dipping. Whereupon, the little old lady promptly withdrew her support and said, "Now he's quit preaching and gone to meddling."

I think it might be well for us to remember this story whenever we are inclined to accuse the Federal agencies of meddling with our operations.

For instance, a complete lack of sympathetic understanding of political realities at the local level in a specific community.

I would like, at this point, to say that probably not one of us in this room can compare with Commissioner Slusser in political ability and understanding. His election as mayor of Akron for five terms is, I believe, an alltime record for that city and is a real achievement in any city. Also, I would like to pay tribute to Commissioner Slusser for his sincerity and interest and his vocal defense of the low-rent public housing program against those who attack us. Also, I am appreciative of the fact that in the session this afternoon, he, too, recognized some of the evils of bureaucracy which I have been discussing this evening. I would like to add that, regardless of Commissioner Slusser's political know-how, he does not understand the problems in my community as well as I do, or in your community as well as you do. However, the really significant thing is that it is not Commissioner Slusser who is failing to recognize these political realities at the local level, but is some subordinate in a regional office who has not had the local experience that Commissioner Slusser has had.

For instance, the fear of making mistakes. It has been demonstrated that it is better to accomplish nothing while issuing platitudes than to do a great deal and to make a few mistakes. Only in a time of crisis does the public become angry over inaction.

For instance, a tendency to encroach upon the responsibilities of local housing authorities. I recognize that this occurs most often when a local housing authority fails to assume its responsibilities fully. I also recognize that smaller local housing authorities need more guidance. On the other hand, there are still a number of decisions and responsibilities which should not be made for them by PHA, but should be reserved to the locality.

For instance, the lack of a sense of urgency. This urgency can be truly felt only at the local level, and it is impossible to convey it into the Federal bureaucracy. It has occurred to me that it might not be a bad idea to establish a quota for each regional office. Each pay period, so many sites would have to be approved, so many development programs processed and approved, so many annual contributions contracts executed, so many housing units put under construction. In any pay period in which the quota was not met, everyone in the regional office would suffer a corresponding reduction in pay. The same would hold true for the central office. When the quota was exceeded for the year, a bonus would be paid to all employees. This sound, business-like approach to bureaucracy might well develop a sense of urgency.

I am sure that you recognize that there is some humor in this suggestion of mine. However, I am quite willing to have applied to our local authority a quota and commission system. I think my interest and concern would help me make a reasonable quota, and I don't believe greed would cause us to overbuild or to undertake projects not worth while.

For instance, a tendency to transform suggestions and guides into regimentation. Here are some quite recent examples:

Low-rent-housing manual, section 405.1, May 1957, says in part: "Unless justification is submitted and a waiver obtained, the minimum gross rent for the average sized unit (two-bedroom) may not be established at an amount which is less than would be produced by applying whatever of the following two criteria results in the higher amount of rent." There follow two criteria which are good guides, but guides only.

The annual contributions contract says, "The PHA shall approve any schedule of rents which meet the requirements of the act and of this contract and which reasonably assure the financial solvency of the projects." The contract does not say that a local authority must set its minimum rent in an exact manner as prescribed by PHA.

Circular, May 3, 1957, admits that larger local authorities need to have special staff persons to work with problem families, but says we should ("To give some uniformity and to facilitate budget review") call them management aids or management assistants. When our problems vary so much from city to city, what is the advantage of uniform titles? Besides, the circular goes on to say that you must still operate within the previously established limitations on staffing. In other words, you need these employees, but you can't have them unless you fire the clerk-cashier who collects the rent.

Low rent housing manual, section 505.1, June 1957, specifies that the motor vehicle replacement cycle is 6 years or 60,000 miles, whichever occurs earlier. This is the minimum requirement to obtain PHA budget approval. You may be able, in your community, to achieve greater economy by trading every 3 years, but this would require administrative decision by PHA instead of a simple clerical review. And besides, if you did it, every other housing authority would want to do it whether it was more economical or not.

Incidentally, I believe that GSA, another Federal agency, has generally recommended trading cars every 3 years. GSA experience might better suggest when automotive equipment should be traded.

And now, for a few final examples of the curse of bureaucracy which concern me greatly:

For instance, fear of making decisions which might be wrong, or might become wrong through changing circumstances, and therefore, making as few decisions as possible.

For instance, fear of letting subordinates make decisions properly theirs or making them fearful to do so. "Let's call Washington."

For instance, fear of praising outstanding work of a housing authority for fear the housing authority might do something wrong someday.

For instance, fear of the auditors.

For instance, fear of the General Accounting Office.

Let me make it crystal clear that I respect the auditors, GAO representatives, and other Federal officials who visit us almost constantly. I also respect their right to examine our operations. I have no fear of them, because we adhere as closely as is humanly possible to the spirit and terms of our various contracts. Second, and especially important, we test our policies and major actions against an excellent sounding board—informed and objective local public opinion.

In spite of all these examples, I still contend that bureaucracy is, above all, a blessing.

It need not be a curse. It need not be a curse.

Remembering long-range objectives and maintaining a sense of direction are essentials to good bureaucracy.

Do you know in what direction you are heading? Do you know how important it is to know always in what direction you are heading?

A few weeks ago two young men left Fort Smith, Ark., on a motorcycle heading north into the Ozarks. The driver of the motorcycle was dressed in the usual uniform with a black leather jacket with an eagle on the back. His passenger riding behind had on a suit such as the one I am wearing. As they went higher into the hills and as it grew later in the day, the wind began to chill the passenger. They stopped the motorcycle and discussed what might be done to remedy the situation. It was finally decided that the man riding behind would take off his coat and reverse it, buttoning it in the back—like this. Whereupon, they proceeded on their way, with the passenger finding himself considerably more comfort-

able. A little later, the driver noticed that his cycle was accelerating up a grade without his giving it any more gas, and he sensed that something was wrong. He turned, and, sure enough, his passenger had disappeared. He wheeled his cycle back around, and there at the foot of the hill, he saw a crowd gathering at the crossroads. He raced back down the hill, wheeled to a stop, got off, and tried to push his way through the quickly gathering crowd. As he tried to push the natives aside, he asked one of them, "Is my friend all right? Is he going to live?" Whereupon, the native said, "Well, when we first come up to him, he seemed all right. He was sort of mumbling and seemed to make sense, but he ain't said a word since we turned his head back around."

I hope that each of you will always be headed in the right direction and that your friends will clearly recognize the way you are headed.

Now, what is the simple formula for lessening the curse of both local and Federal bureaucracy? First is membership and full participation in NAHRO.

I firmly believe that if all officials of bureaucracy, both Federal and local, belonged to NAHRO and participated fully, 90 percent of all Federal-local conflict would quickly disappear, without any sacrifice of principle and with far more productive results.

Second, and extremely important, is that our personal conduct—and here I refer primarily to the local officials—should and must be above reproach. Incidentally, a committee of NAHRO has just completed writing a code of ethics which will be presented to the membership at our national conference in October. Adoption of a code of ethics is not enough. Living up to the letter of such a code is not enough. Each of us must honestly and continuously strive to live up to the spirit of the high principles of such a code. To do so is an essential part of our professional organization. So this formula really boils down to full participation in NAHRO, balanced with proper performance of our local official duties.

I can think of no better recommendation for NAHRO than to say that NAHRO and NAHRO alone can serve to keep in proper view and in proper perspective the goals that we are seeking to achieve in the programs of low-rent public housing and slum clearance and urban renewal. I say this with a great deal of feeling, for these programs involve people. In the administration of these programs, however, there is a tendency for them to involve paper instead of people—letters, reports, development programs, brochures, memos, so that as planning and as operations progress, the people with whom we should be concerned tend to get lost under a snowstorm of paper—and it is only through NAHRO that we can endeavor to keep this paper where it belongs and in the amount it should be, so that we can see the people and recognize their needs. And in speaking of their needs, I am not simply referring to their need for better housing. I should like, if I may, to illustrate what I feel are their needs by telling you of a personal experience that occurred to me 9 years ago, involving 2 fine professional organizations.

I was living in Fort Worth, Tex. I was to attend a chapter meeting of the National Association of Housing Officials at 8 Monday evening. Dr. Porterfield, professor of sociology of Texas Christian University, was to speak on juvenile delinquency.

The week before, in the Public Housing Administration regional office where I then worked, I had been named as a member of a newly established training and personnel committee.

In Sunday's paper, I read of a dinner meeting to be held at 6 p. m., Monday, of the local National Office Management Association chapter. The program was to be a recorded talk by Dr. Earl Planty, director of personnel for Bauer and Black, now professor of management at the University of Illinois, on the subject of personnel needs and training.

I decided to attend both meetings.

I went from the office to the first meeting and enjoyed it very much. The most impressive thing to me was the fact that Dr. Planty emphasized repeatedly that salary and wages and working environment were not the main concern of workers. He said that they needed a sense of belonging, a sense of being liked and of liking, and public recognition and appreciation when deserved—a sense of belonging, a sense of being liked and of liking, and public recognition and appreciation when deserved.

I left this meeting and hurried to the NAHRO chapter meeting, some six blocks away—late as usual. I arrived to find Dr. Porterfield already talking on his subject of juvenile delinquency. As I came in at the back of the meeting room, I heard him say, "These children are not really bad; they are no different from other children except that they have no friends. What they need is a sense of belonging, a sense of being liked and liking, and public recognition, and appreciation when deserved."

I was impressed then, and I am now, with this universal need—the need that each and every one of use has to have a sense of belonging, a sense of being liked and liking, and public recognition and appreciation when deserved.

People who do not have these things are out of balance with society and are not happy. This is true whether we work for a local housing authority, a redevelopment agency, the Public Housing Administration, the Urban Renewal Administration, or live in a slum—and for all of us, wherever we may work, NAHRO can mean that we can do a more effective job more quickly in achieving the goal of a decent living environment for every American family.

The 10th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, 59 years ago, on July 31, 1898, the 10th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, received its first test under enemy fire in the Philippines.

Fighting in a raging typhoon the Pennsylvania boys met and repulsed a superior force of Spanish regulars at Malate.

Each year that organization has held a reunion and this year will have its 58th annual reunion in Pittsburgh, August 3.

The 10th Pennsylvania Volunteers was the only eastern regiment to serve in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection. It was the first organization under fire in the Philippines. The regiment originally had 921 officers and men, and there are 134 of these now living.

Mr. President, it should be remembered that every man who served in the Spanish-American War was a volunteer. It was the first war fought on foreign soil. The pay of the private was $13 a month, and it was paid in gold and silver.

The war cost less than $2 billion.

The soldier received no bonus, no adjusted compensation, no separation pay, and no vocational training at Government expense.

It was not until 20 years after the war that service pensions were provided for Spanish War veterans and no hospitalization was available until 24 years after the end of the war.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the roster of the living members of the 10th Pennsylvania Volunteers be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the roster was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROSTER OF THE 10TH PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY, AS OF JULY 15, 1957—SERVED FROM APRIL 27, 1898, TO AUGUST 22, 1899, IN THE PHILIPPINES—58TH ANNUAL REUNION, AUGUST 3, 1957, PITTSBURGH, PA.

The box score as of July 15, 1957

	Living	Dead	AWOL	Total
Field and staff	1	21	0	22
Company A	16	94	1	111
Company B	9	101	1	111
Company C	20	92	0	112
Company D	22	88	3	113
Company E	13	100	1	114
Company H	16	94	1	111
Company I	13	100	0	113
Company K	24	89	1	114
Total	134	779	8	921

THE LIVING ROSTER

Veterans and date of birth

Regimental Noncommissioned Officer

Keffer, Prin. Mus. Frank M., 14437 Greenleaf Street, Sherman Oaks, Calif., January 10, 1875.

Company A—Monongahela, Pa.

Gee, Q. M. Sgt. Jonas M., 244 Third Street, California, Pa., June 21, 1875.

Keller, Sgt. Charles P., 1200 Main Street, Monongahela, Pa., February 13, 1874.

McConnell, Sgt. Wiley, Post Office Box 41, Presto, Pa., February 3, 1874.

McGregor, Cpl. William, 626 Shelby Street, Monongahela, Pa., December 8, 1875.

Yohe, Cpl. Frank E., 235 Marne Avenue, Monongahela, Pa., November 10, 1877.

Bell, Pvt. J. Lexington, 2426 Northeast Sixth Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Fla., March 10, 1874.

Brown, Pvt. John C., 2530 Wellington Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, May 30, 1878.

Craft, Pvt. Frederick E., 1621 Sheridan Lane, Norristown, Pa., December 18, 1874.

Ford, Pvt. Wade, 433 Fourth Street, Monongahela, Pa., December 25, 1876.

Johnston, Pvt. Arthur R., Post Office Box 176, Shippenville, Pa., March 16, 1875.

Jolliffe, Pvt. R. Dale, 316 Bracken Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., January 5, 1876.

McKain, Pvt. William H., 611 Federal Street, Butler, Pa., May 31, 1868.

Phillips, Pvt. Joseph, Post Office Box 296, Penn, Pa., May 9, 1874.

Rowe, Pvt. George A., 841 30th Avenue North, St. Petersburg, Fla., June 3, 1873.

Van Voorhis, Pvt. William T., 514 West Main Street, Monongahela, Pa., June 23, 1868.

Wall, Pvt. Jesse J. B., Post Office Box 216, Buckroe Beach, Va., August 16, 1878.

Company B—New Brighton, Pa.

Beitsch, Q. M. Sgt. George E., Rural Delivery 2, Beaver Falls, Pa., August 5, 1870.

Cleckner, Cpl. William M., 432 Sheppard Road, Mansfield, Ohio, June 27, 1875.

Mennell, Cpl. John A., 1400 26th Avenue North, St. Petersburg, Fla., January 9, 1878.
Bauman, Pvt. Theodore G., 405 Wissner Avenue, Beaver Falls, Pa., May 24, 1869.
Ketterer, Pvt. William A., 325 Adams Street, Rochester, Pa., January 10, 1877.
Levis, Pvt. William T., 2430 Eighth Avenue, Beaver Falls, Pa., January 23, 1879.
Miller, Pvt. Harry W., 5513 Madison Avenue, Ashtabula, Ohio, June 13, 1880.
Smith, Pvt. William E., Rural Delivery 1, Box 83, Brockport, Pa., November 11, 1877.
Woolslayer, Pvt. George, 132 Moorhead Street, Erie, Pa., July 22, 1873.

Company C—Uniontown, Pa.

Collins, Cpl. Charles O., 55 Phillippi Avenue, Uniontown, Pa., December 8, 1876.
Turley, Cpl. John H., 609 Country Club Road, Fairmont, W. Va., April 14, 1875.
Anderson, Pvt. G. Fred, 136 West Strawberry Avenue, Washington, Pa., February 13, 1879.
Barnes, Pvt. John R., 120 Morgantown Street, Uniontown, Pa., February 28, 1866.
Black, Pvt. Charles H., 5504 Newton Street, Cheverly, Md., June 4, 1877.
Collins, Pvt. William D., 2709 East Tower Lane, Tucson, Ariz., January 7, 1880.
Curry, Pvt. Robert D., Post Office Box 476, Ogallala, Nebr., November 12, 1876.
Daugherty, Pvt. Homer J., Rural Delivery 1, Smithfield, Fayette County, Pa., March 20, 1879.
Dean, Pvt. John A., Rural Delivery 1, Box 626, Uniontown, Pa., December 3, 1878.
DeGardeyn, Jr., Pvt. Abraham, 13 Water Street, Point Marion, Pa., September 20, 1875.
Griffith, Pvt. Robert E., 305 Loucks Avenue, Scottdale, Pa., September 1, 1875.
Lewis, Pvt. Charles J., Post Office Box 511, Republic, Pa., August 22, 1878.
Little, Pvt. William E., 1521 Buena Vista Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., December 29, 1876.
McMasters, Pvt. Albert L., Post Office Box 355, Donora, Pa., March 28, 1878.
Miller, Pvt. Marling C., Post Office Box 831, Uniontown, Pa., September 21, 1878.
O'Neal, Pvt. Charles W., 46½ West Peters Street, Uniontown, Pa., April 20, 1875.
Rockwell, Pvt. Allen B., 2968 Mill Creek Road, Mentone, Calif., July 16, 1878.
Shanaberger, Pvt. Frank W., 130 Connellsville Street, Uniontown, Pa., January 29, 1876.
Underwood, Pvt. Leroy, Post Office Box 721, Uniontown, Pa., June 3, 1875.
Wood, Pvt. John W., 365 East Main Street, Uniontown, Pa., December 26, 1875.

Company D—Connellsville, Pa.

Ulsh, 2d Lt. Sammie V., Sugartown Road and Route 202, Malvern, Pa., September 14, 1873.
Mills, Sgt. George E., 217 South Chestnut Street, Clarksburg, W. Va., October 5, 1876.
Pape, Cpl. John S., 1407 Phyllis Avenue, Louisville 8, Ky., May 15, 1874.
Bretz, Pvt. Samuel E., 33 South Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa., July 8, 1881.
Calhoun, Pvt. Andrew A., 773 Ohio Street, Gary, Ind., May 4, 1876.
Cope, Pvt. James H., 207 Walnut Avenue, Greensburg, Pa., April 11, 1875.
Cunningham, Pvt. Richard T., 1114 Sycamore Street, Connellsville, Pa., December 3, 1876.
Cunningham, Pvt. Thomas R., 227 Queen Street, Connellsville, Pa., September 13, 1876.
DeBolt, Pvt. William E., 202 South 10th Street, Connellsville, Pa., December 9, 1877.
Gaffney, Pvt. James A., New Stanton, Pa., March 13, 1875.
Geddes, Pvt. George A., 208 Belmont Avenue, Los Gatos, Calif., November 30, 1875.
Hamilton, Pvt. James C., Hotel Marengo, Pasadena, Calif., July 4, 1876.
Jennewine, Pvt. Edgar C., R. D. 6, Box 271, Morgantown, W. Va., August 27, 1879.
Johnston, Pvt. Frank C., 343 North 104th Street, Seattle, Wash., November 20, 1872.
Menefee, Pvt. Frederick, Postoffice Box 871, Uniontown, Pa., March 15, 1875.
Morgan, Pvt. George Clymer, United States Veterans' Hospital, Roseburg, Oreg., November 9, 1880.
Morrison, Pvt. Oliver N., 1514 Clay Avenue, Napa, Calif., August 26, 1868.
Port, Pvt. Frank B., 210 Jefferson Street, Connellsville, Pa., June 3, 1878.
Rosenecker, Pvt. Charles J., 375 Derrick Avenue, Uniontown, Pa., August 4, 1875.
Stillwagon, Pvt. Alexander A., R. D. 1, Dover, Ark., July 25, 1878.
Wilson, Pvt. Harry C., 415 Baldwin Avenue, Connellsville, Pa., May 1, 1877.
Wood, Pvt. Edward N., 343 Walnut Street, Nogales, Ariz., April 19, 1874.

Company E—Mount Pleasant, Pa.

Hawkins, Sgt. Edward, 116 North Mill Street, Covington, Ga., October 1, 1877.
Christner, Cpl. William S., 820 South 45th Street, San Diego, Calif. November 1, 1872.
McShane, Cpl. James, 479 McKee Avenue, Monessen, Pa., March 18, 1877.
Ringler, Cpl. Charles E., Jones Mills, Westmoreland County, Pa., January 13, 1878.
Cooper, Pvt. Edward H., 533 East Washington Street, Mount Pleasant, Pa., January 30, 1875.
Devlin, Pvt. Walter J., 456 West Union Street, Somerset, Pa., March 4, 1871.
Hummer, Pvt. Harry R., 621 Spring Street, Latrobe, Pa., April 30, 1877.
Kinkead, Pvt. Harry M., Star Route, Irvine, Warren County, Pa., November 11, 1874.
Markle, Pvt. John A., 1208 Noyes Drive, Silver Spring, Md., March 26, 1873.
Mason, Pvt. Bert, 332 East Main Street, Mount Pleasant, Pa., January 29, 1879.
Reese, Pvt. Albert G., Veterans' Administration Center, Company No. 2, Thomasville, Ga., March 6, 1876.
Risheberger, Pvt. James R., 1521 Massachusetts Avenue, St. Cloud, Fla., June 7, 1868.
Roadman, Pvt. Joseph D., Postoffice Box 8, La Puente, Calif., August 13, 1877.
Riffle, James (mascot), 4525 East Eighth Lane, Hialeah, Fla., July 2, 1882.

Company H—Wahington, Pa.

Weirich, Jr., Sgt. Samuel K., 147 East Wheeling Street, Lancaster, Ohio, June 24, 1871.
Wherry, Cpl. Eli H., 422 Spruce Avenue, Kansas City, Mo., November 22, 1870.
Cope, Pvt. Harry E., Law Library, Courthouse, Greensburg, Pa., November 30, 1876.
Dunlap, Pvt. Chester O., 1330 Moncado Drive, Glendale, Calif., December 1, 1875.
Griffin, Pvt. Shan M., 52 Morgan Avenue, Washington, Pa., October 8, 1878.
Kennedy, Pvt. William U., 16 Murtland Avenue, Washington, Pa., October 11, 1878.
McKeag, Pvt. George B., 115 Fern Avenue, Collingswood, N. J., February 24, 1877.
McMurray, Pvt. John R., 890 38th Street, Santa Cruz, Calif., October 9, 1878.
Phillips, Pvt. Charles W., 416 Wilson Avenue, Washington, Pa., August 30, 1874.
Power, Jr., Pvt. Edward M., 5803 Wellesley Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 11, 1874.
Reed, Pvt. William E., 30 South Sixth Street, Duquesne, Pa., January 18, 1872.
Reese, Pvt. Thomas M., Postoffice Box 265, Canonsburg, Pa., May 24, 1872.
Shidler, Pvt. Walter J., 869 North Crockett Street, San Benito, Tex., October 15, 1877.
Stewart, Pvt. Charles L., 706 West Eighth Street, Erie, Pa., November 29, 1865.
Tush, Pvt. James W., P. O. Box 106, Belpre, Ohio, January 25, 1877.
Woodside, Pvt. Robert G., 3838 First Avenue South, St. Petersburg, Fla., July 16, 1876.

Company I—Greensburg, Pa.

Laird, 1st Lt. Richard D., Judge's Chambers, Court House, Greensburg, Pa., June 30, 1872.
Banks, Cpl. Andrew, South Main Street, Mifflintown, Pa., March 21, 1866.
Loucks, Cpl. Charles H., 14 Spring Street, Scottdale, Pa., October 18, 1868.
Dooley, Pvt. Daniel A., P. O. Box 473, Ligonier, Pa., June 8, 1877.
Fenton, Pvt. John D., 3211 East Second Street, Long Beach, Calif., June 30, 1876.
Highberger, Pvt. Charles C., 1050 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo., March 8, 1879.
Johnson, Pvt. Albert C., 541 South Street, Greensburg, Pa., March 4, 1875.
Leonard, Pvt. Burt H., P. O. Box 105, Atascadero, Calif., March 17, 1877.
Mahaney, Pvt. James C., P. O. Box 42, Santa Susana, Calif., February 4, 1878.
Mensch, Pvt. Howard A., 901 Campbell Avenue, SW., Roanoke, Va., April 4, 1876.
Rugh, Sr. Pvt. Alfred F., R. D. 3, Box 89, Smithfield, Fayette County, September 24, 1873.
Saam, Pvt. Kennett W., 9930 Frankstown Road, Pittsburgh, Pa., March 17, 1878.
Truxell, Pvt. Geary E., P. O. Box 16, Punta Gorda, Fla., November 14, 1874.

Company K—Waynesburg, Pa.

Martin, Sgt. Edward, Senate Office Building, Washington D. C., September 18, 1879.
Biggins, Cpl. James E., Merion Gardens, Merion, Pa., December 9, 1876.
John, Cpl. Samuel L., P. O. Box 973, Warren, Ohio, April 18, 1873.
Milliken, Cpl. Lorenzo F., 2034 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pa., December 25, 1877.
Ullom, Cpl. Jesse F., 136 North Richhill Street, Waynesburg, Pa., November 2, 1879.
Bush, Pvt. Joseph K., 247 Prospect Street, Box 2, Brownsville, Pa., July 27, 1874.
Cathers, Pvt. Albert, 1040 Ninth Street, Waynesburg, Pa., November 9, 1879.
Chambers, Pvt. John H., Post Office Box 384, Zephyrhills, Fla., June 22, 1880.
Cooke, Pvt. Robert A., 316 Massachusetts Avenue, St. Cloud, Fla., November 27, 1878.
Dillie, Pvt. Oren I., Wind Ridge, Pa., August 12, 1876.
Hamilton, Pvt. Benjamin F., 797 Hazelwood Avenue SE., Warren, Ohio, October 15, 1876.
Keys, Pvt. Lowye, Jefferson, Pa., December 3, 1880.
McCullough, Pvt. Joseph W., 504 Walnut Street, Waynesburg, Pa., August 3, 1871.
McVay, Pvt. Bruce W., 751 24th Avenue N., St. Petersburg, Fla., August 1, 1876.
Morris, Pvt. Oliver, R. D. 3, Waynesburg, Pa., September 14, 1877.
Pfinder, Pvt. Charles W., 2 Redland Avenue, Amherst, Nova Scotia, Canada, September 18, 1877.
Sargent, Pvt. Harry H., 6716 Thomas Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pa., July 21, 1877.
Scott, Pvt. Donald C., 111 Southwest Street, Waynesburg, Pa., December 2, 1877.
Scott, Pvt. Jesse R., 326 East High Street, Waynesburg, Pa., April 6, 1878.
Scott, Pvt. Winfield S., 125 West Hackberry Street, Enid, Okla., April 10, 1879.
Smith, Pvt. Wilbert H., Osceola, Nebr., September 27, 1877.
Weaver, Pvt. James M., 1190 Maple Terrace, Washington, Pa., December 2, 1876.
Williams, Pvt. John A., R. D. 3, Box 468, Ginger Hill, Monongahela, Pa., October 9, 1873.
Wood, Pvt. Charles B., R. D. 5, Waynesburg, Pa., March 13, 1875.

OUR UNACCOUNTED-FOR MEMBERS

Pvt. David Keck (Company A).
Pvt. Alexander C. Littler (Company B).
Pvt. Harry A. Everly (Company D).
Pvt. Harry King (Company D).
Pvt. Robert L. Shaffer (Company D).
Pvt. William Bartell (Company E).
Pvt. Ernest M. Newlon (Company H).
Pvt. Charles R. Shillitoe (Company K).

DAN A. DOOLEY,
Recorder.

LIGONIER, PA., *July 15, 1957.*

Safety on the Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, accidents on the farm are costly. Like most accidents, a large percentage of them could be prevented.

In Smith County, an important agricultural area in east Texas, 4–H Club boys and girls are taking a leading part in efforts to reduce farm accidents. Their work was described recently in an editorial in the Tyler Courier-Times-Telegraph.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial from one of our most outstanding and forward-looking Texas newspapers be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAFETY ON THE FARM

Safety makes sense.

This is good advice to anyone. And it is a fitting slogan indeed for National Farm Safety Week. This week, the 14th annual observance, is devoted to promoting practices that will reduce and eventually eliminate costly accidents on the farm.

Our Nation's farmers take quite a beating from accidents. On-the-farm accidents claim from 3,500 to 4,000 lives every year, National Safety Council figures show. That is more victims than any other one of our major industries.

In all, 12,000 to 15,000 persons who reside on farms lose their lives in accidents annually, including mishaps in the homes and on the highways.

One million or more people suffer injuries and accompanying disabilities annually on the farm.

What causes all these farm accidents?

Statistically, it breaks down this way:

Machinery 31.1 percent, drowning 12.9 percent, firearms 12.7 percent, falls 11 percent, animals 6.3 percent, burns 6.2 percent, blows 6 percent, electric current 3.2 percent, lightning 3.1 percent, and all others 7.5 percent.

Is the fact that machinery accounts for most farm deaths attributable to careless youths on tractors or other machines?

The answer is "No." Fifty-three percent of the deaths from farm machinery happen to persons more than 39 years of age; only 24 percent to persons under 20.

A safety expert at the University of Illinois says most accidents on the farm result from wrong attitudes toward safety by the farmers themselves. "Farmers must convince themselves that farming the right way is farming the safe, efficient way," says O. L. Hogsett of that university's college of agriculture.

Smith County Agent Ben Browning says many of the farm accidents in the east Texas area are attributable to fatigue. "Lots of our farmers stay on the job too long, and we get too tired to be alert," he says.

"In the old days, we had to stop to rest the horses or mules, and when we did we rested ourselves," Mr. Browning says. "Nowadays the tractor doesn't get tired and we sometimes don't realize how tired we are getting operating it."

He advises a midmorning and midafternoon break of several minutes for recuperation when operating a tractor.

Also, says the county agent, some pretty serious farm accidents occur when people take undue chances with livestock. "No large farm animal should be considered harmless," he said. "A person working around livestock should be in a position to protect himself at all times."

There are some 88,000 volunteers in local communities all over the Nation donating their time to farm safety programs regularly.

In Smith County the lead is taken by the more than 1,100 boys and girls who are members of the 4–H Clubs of the county. They engage regularly in farm safety projects. And, at the Smith County 4–H Club Camp at Camp Tyler, Monday through August 2, the 4–H members will have a session in one phase or another of farm safety every day.

The United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics figures that farm accidents cost each farmer an average of 20 days working time and $40 in hospital and medical expenses each year.

As is the case with automobile accidents, there is very little reason farm accidents cannot be eliminated almost completely. All it takes is thought, determination and good practices. The saving could be immense.

German-American Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the miracle of West German recovery is the miracle of the free enterprise system at work.

German trade with the world has been based upon German initiative, imagination, and resourcefulness.

German sales have increased because they have evaluated foreign markets, and then have gone to work to supply those markets with what was wanted.

I was interested to read in the July 24 Wisconsin State Journal an article concerning plans for further expansion of German-American trade. I sent to the desk the text of this article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GERMANS SEEK TRADE IN UNITED STATES—OFFICIAL CITES GAP IN IMPORTS-EXPORTS

The German people must seek new ways of closing the import-export gap between West Germany and the United States, Madison industrialists were told Tuesday.

Baron Friedrich von Lupin, new German consul general in Chicago, told a Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce group that the European nation is attempting to increase its export trade to the United States by studying the American selling systems and advertising programs, and by working out agreements with American manufacturers.

AN ORDER

"This was one of my orders when I came to your country in November," he said in an informal luncheon talk at the Simon House.

"In some ways such trade would be beneficial to both countries," he said, pointing out that Germany can and does produce some goods for American firms which sell them as American products at a good profit.

"The St. Lawrence seaway," he said, "may open up more trade areas beyond the New York barriers."

TRADE DEFICIT

Last year West Germany imported $1 billion worth of goods from the United States, including weapons, and exported only one-half of that amount.

"We must close the gap by other means than your tourist trades and armed forces salaries, which also bring money into our country," he said.

"Germany is well ahead of other European nations in reconstruction and industrial production," he added. "The new common-market agreement with neighboring countries will do much to avert friction among European countries as well as pressure from Russia," he said.

MEETS GOVERNOR

Baron von Lupin was to meet with Gov. Vernon Thomson at 3 p. m. today, to meet University of Wisconsin officials in the morning, and to address the Downtown Rotary Club at the Park Hotel this noon.

Attending the Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce luncheon Tuesday were:

Erwin Boll, Chicago, public-relations officer for the German consulate; Frank A. Hausheer, general manager of the State chamber; Robert Neal Smith, public-relations officer for the State chamber; I. W. Lackore, executive director of the Madison Chamber of Commerce;

Bruno A. Stein, executive vice president, Marschall Dairy Laboratory; F. S. Brandenburg, president, Democrat Printing Co.;

Carl G. Mayer, vice president for advertising, Oscar Mayer and Co.; William C. Sachtjen, president, Madison City Council; William A. Lunger, president, Ohio Chemical and Surgical Equipment Co.;

John T. Lunenschloss, sales engineer, Madison-Kipp Corp.; Vern G. Zeller, vice president for manufacturing and international operations, Ray-O-Vac Co.; and John R. Wrage, assistant vice president and purchasing manager, Gisholt Machine Co.

Veterans' Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, our country owes homage to no more deserving group of people than the American veterans. Among them, the membership of the Disabled American Veterans merit particular esteem, for they have sacrificed above and beyond the call of duty. In a recent State convention in my State of Texas, the Texas DAV, among other things, studied legislation applicable to American veterans, and they have submitted three resolutions which call attention to their desire for amending current laws pertaining to veterans.

These resolutions are thoughtful products of a great organization, whose interest in protecting the rights of their fellow men is both genuine and honorable. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION REQUESTING LEGISLATION TO AMEND PUBLIC LAW NO. 881, 84TH CONGRESS

Whereas in the passage of Public Law 881, 84th Congress, a small group of cases, including one we know of in Texas, was deprived of the automatic-insurance coverage contained in prior laws, where death occurred within the 120-day period following discharge, and which 120-day period was the period that the veteran had been given in which to apply for insurance on a permanent basis as provided for by law; and

Whereas the United States Congress did indicate in many ways that it was their intention not to cancel out or deprive any veteran of benefits under the indemnity insurance law or the national life insurance law; and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration later recognized the inadvertent defect in the law and tried to notify those veterans who had already been discharged that they must apply for the new insurance prior to January 1, 1957, we feel that this created confusion after many of these veterans had been given forms, DD Form 1, January 1953, 214–1, in which it specifically states "Free indemnity coverage provided during active service expires 120 days after separation"; and

Whereas under the law prior to January 1, 1957, where death occurred during the 120-day grace period, death benefits were paid to the beneficiaries, and which right we believe would have been preserved had the Members of Congress known that there would be a small number of cases that would be penalized: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby go on record requesting amendatory legislation to Public Law 881, 84th Congress, to include a savings clause to cover those cases discharged prior to January 1, 1957, but in which death resulted after that date, but within the 120-day period following discharge; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be presented to the national convention of the Disabled American Veterans at Buffalo, N. Y., in August 1957, requesting its adoption, and that copies be forwarded to the Honorable OLIN TEAGUE, chairman, Veterans' Affairs Committee, United States House of Representatives, and to our two Senators from the State of Texas, the Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON and the Honorable RALPH YARBOROUGH.

The foregoing resolution unanimously adopted this 30th day of June 1957.

HARRY BURGMAN,
Commander, Disabled American Veterans, Department of Texas.
H. V. ROYSTON,
Adjutant.

RESOLUTION REQUESTING LEGISLATION TO AMEND PUBLIC LAW 880, 84TH CONGRESS, TO PROVIDE FOR FULL FAITH AND CREDIT FOR PHYSICAL AND MENTAL EXAMINATION REPORTS AND RATINGS OF TOTAL DISABILITY BASED THEREON WHEN RECEIVED BY THE SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Whereas in the amendments to the Social Security Act as contained in Public Law 880, 84th Congress, there was created disability insurance benefits after the age of 50 years and before the age of 65, and many service-connected disabled veterans under the present plan whereby benefits received from any other agency of the United States and which are based in whole or in part on physical and mental impairment, are deducted from the benefits of disability insurance social security; and

Whereas many disabled veterans desire to apply under the law to freeze their wage credit so that the amount of their entitlement will not depreciate later when they are in a position to secure such benefits; and

Whereas under the present practice of the Social Security Administration, they require the disabled veteran to go out and employ 3 physicians to furnish 3 reports and to supply medical evidence as proof of his total disability notwithstanding the fact the Veterans' Administration has already examined the veteran and has rated him totally disabled; and

Whereas we believe that this presents a rather absurd situation, and puts the disabled veteran to additional expense unnecessarily; and

Whereas we believe that there is basic grounds in this situation to emulate the full faith-and-credit clause of the Federal Constitution of the United States under which one State is bound to accept the judicial and official acts of another State; and

Whereas we believe that the official reports of the Veterans' Administration as an arm of the United States Government should be sufficient, and should be recognized by the Social Security Administration for the purpose set out in the premises, and that the Social Security Administration which now receives these reports or can receive them on form OAD–826 when signed by the veteran, and we believe that such Veterans' Administration reports and determinations of total disability should be by law held to be sufficient for the purpose of Social Security Administration in order to avoid duplication and confusion: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Disabled American Veterans, Department of Texas, hereby go on record requesting amendatory legislation to Public Law 880, 84th Congress, to include and provide statutory authority for extending full faith and credit to the reports of examinations and findings of total disability as rendered by the Veterans' Administration in any case where the Social Security Administration entertains an application from a disabled veteran for disability benefits after the age of 50 years and before the age of 65, or there is an application filed to "freeze" the wage credit; and be it further

Resolved, That the Disabled American Veterans, Department of Texas, be, and is hereby, instructed to send the required copies of this resolution to our national convention in Buffalo, N. Y., in August 1957, and separate additional copies be sent by him to the Honorable OLIN TEAGUE, chairman, Veterans' Affairs Committee, United States House of Representatives, and to the Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON, and the Honorable RALPH YARBOROUGH.

The foregoing resolution unanimously adopted this 30th day of June 1957.

HARRY BURGMAN,
Commander, Disabled American Veterans, Department of Texas.
H. V. ROYSTON,
Adjutant.

RESOLUTION REQUESTING LEGISLATION TO AMEND PUBLIC LAW NO. 880, 84TH CONGRESS, TO PROVIDE THAT SERVICE CONNECTED DISABILITY COMPENSATION OR RETIRED OFFICERS PAY FOR DISABILITY SHALL NOT BE DEDUCTED FROM PAYMENTS OF BENEFITS UNDER DISABILITY INSURANCE

Whereas the Congress of the United States in Public Law 880, 84th Congress, approved August 1, 1956, by amendments to the social-security laws created a disability insurance benefit after the age of 55 years and before the age of 65 years, and it was provided that any such insurance benefits would have deducted from it any benefits based in whole or in part on physical or medical impairment, would be reduced by the amount paid by any agency of the United States; and

Whereas this places the totally disabled veteran in the position of being ineligible to receive such disability insurance benefits from social security for the reason that total disability compensation laws of the Veterans' Administration exceeds the total amount now payable through the Social Security Administration; and

Whereas it is our belief that the former members of our Armed Forces should not be penalized in this manner: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Department of Texas, Disabled American Veterans, in State convention assembled at Corpus Christi, Tex., June 28, 29, and 30, 1957, That we hereby go on record requesting amendatory legislation to Public Law 880, 84th Congress, to remove restrictions on dual benefits for the service-connected disabled veterans and/or their dependents so that their compensation payments will not be deducted from such social security payments as they may be, or hereafter become entitled, because of becoming totally disabled in social security-covered employment in a civilian capacity; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be presented by the delegates from the State of Texas to the national convention of the Disabled American Veterans at Buffalo, N. Y., in August 1957, and requesting its adoption as a mandate of that convention as part of the national legislative program; and be it further

Resolved, That the State adjutant as the secretary of this convention be and he is hereby instructed to prepare at once additional copies of this resolution on its adoption at this State convention, and that separate copies thereof be forwarded by him to the Honorable OLIN TEAGUE, chairman, Committee of Veterans' Affairs, United States House of Representatives, and that separate copies be forwarded to each of the two Senators from the State of Texas, the Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON, and the Honorable RALPH YARBOROUGH, and that a further copy be sent to each Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Texas.

The foregoing resolution unanimously adopted this 30th day of June 1957.

HARRY BURGMAN,
Commander.
H. V. ROYSTON,
Adjutant.

Israel Cargo Passes Suez

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from yesterday's New York Herald Tribune entitled "Israel Cargo Passes Suez." I emphasize that it shows the Suez problem to be unresolved, there still being a failure of international control. As the New York Herald Tribune editorial points out:

Dictators, because of their ability to rewrite the laws of their own nations, often feel that they can also rewrite international law to suit their own purposes.

The Suez problem is an open problem. The United States has turned its face against the use of force, and I agree with that policy. Nevertheless, the problem demands our utmost in diplomatic efforts, inside and outside the United Nations, for its solution.

The important thing emphasized by the incident of the arrest of an Israeli citizen who happened to be a member of a crew of a particular ship which went through the canal is that the problem is open, and remains a festering sore in terms of world affairs and freedom of world trade.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ISRAEL CARGO PASSES SUEZ

Dictators, because of their ability to rewrite the laws of their own nations, often feel that they can also rewrite international law to suit their own purposes. The latest example of this is the passage through the Suez Canal of a Danish freighter, reportedly under charter to the Government of Israel, with a cargo of Burmese rice consigned to Haifa. On the one hand the Egyptian Government claims that although an armistice has been signed with Israel it is still at war with that country and therefore will not permit Israeli ships to pass through the canal. On the other hand it permits shipments destined for Israel to pass through the canal as long as they are consigned to individual importers on non-Israeli ships. This, according to an Egyptian spokesman, is normal procedure.

Of course, procedure affecting the Suez Canal has been anything but normal for more than a year. Even the Soviet Union found that out when, after encouraging Colonel Nasser to seize the canal in the Communist campaign to harass the Western democracies, they were suddenly asked to pay transit tolls in dollars instead of European currencies. And although the Egyptians are allowing the freighter with its Israeli cargo to use the canal, they arrested for no legitimate reason, an Israeli member of the crew who had shipped on to replace an injured seaman. The only charge was that he was taking photographs, as thousands of tourists have done during the last few decades.

This latest incident only points up once more the necessity for international control of the canal and implementation of the United Nations principle that operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any one country. Just because one shipload of rice has gone through the canal to Israel does not necessarily mean that there is any guaranty that the sanctity of international agreements will in any way be observed by the present government of Egypt. The canal should be open to all nations, without discrimination, and provision should be made for some sort of sanctions to prevent discrimination. Although Colonel Nasser professes to respect international agreements, he has yet, for instance, to make a move toward indemnifying the shareholders of the Suez Canal Co. as he promised to do more than a year ago at the then current quotations. The waterway is too important to the rest of the world to permit one-man control of it.

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Trial by Jury," published in a Cleveland, Ohio, newspaper of July 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIAL BY JURY

The doctrine of trial by jury comes down to us from Runnymede. It is affirmed in article III, section 2 of our Constitution: "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury" and in the sixth amendment: "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury."

It is now proposed in the civil-rights bill which the Senate is debating that persons who interfere with the civil rights of others may be enjoined from doing so and may be punished for contempt of court, without a jury trial, if they fail to obey the order of the court.

This is one of the fundamental issues in the civil-rights debate. The Washington Evening Star, which has been a consistent supporter of civil-rights legislation, calls it the chief issue. In an editorial last week it said that the denial of trial by jury "is a radical and highly dangerous departure from one of our most prized traditions and fundamental rights."

President Eisenhower said at a recent press conference that it is "traditional" for Federal courts to enforce their orders by issuing contempt citations which are not subject to jury trial. In this the President was misinformed, as he was at the beginning of the debate, when he gave the impression that the bill dealt only with voting rights. It was later brought out that it dealt with all civil rights and would, in fact, confer authority on the President to use troops to enforce court orders dealing with school desegregation.

Supporters of the measure have cited 28 laws under which Congress has authorized contempt proceedings without jury trials. Senator O'MAHONEY, however, pointed out that these laws relate to orders issued by Federal commissions and regulatory bodies against corporations. None deals with individuals.

The subject is a complicated one, and is becoming more so by the minute, as a casual reading of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will show. A differentiation must be made between civil contempt, under which a court can jail a defendant without a jury trial until he complies with the court's order, and criminal contempt, which carries with it the right of trial by jury, under which the defendant is punished for offending the dignity of the court. Such questions are involved as to whether the defendant can be compelled to testify against himself and whether he can be convicted by a preponderance of the evidence or evidence beyond a reasonable doubt.

Ohio's Senator LAUSCHE stated the issue this way: "From my standpoint, we are dealing with constitutional rights, among them being the constitutional right to vote, the constitutional right to enjoy all the privileges enumerated by the Constitution, including the constitutional right to a trial by jury. Therefore, it is important that in the provision of one constitutional right we should not deny another citizen his constitutional right."

The practical argument in favor of the denial of trial by jury in civil-rights cases is that southern juries might not convict white persons accused of violating the civil rights of Negroes. But last week a jury acquitted James Hoffa of conspiring to spy on the Senate Racket Investigating Committee. Many people disagreed with the verdict, but there is no public clamor to abolish jury trials for labor leaders because this jury did not convict.

There is a good possibility that an effective voting rights bill can be enacted at this session of Congress if the pending measure is stripped of other powers and the right of trial by jury is preserved. The Senate has already made a sensible start toward rewriting the measure by voting to repeal a statute of Reconstruction days, authorizing the use of Federal troops to enforce court orders, which, for some strange reason, the bill was tied to.

Tightening of Credit Brings Net Gains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, thoughtful Americans are properly concerned about rising interest rates and the increased cost of servicing the national debt. Overall, are these developments good or bad? Are they perhaps offset by favorable factors to which they contribute?

One of the best statements I have seen putting interest payments into proper perspective with the rest of the total picture of our economy, is by Dr. Arthur Upgren, distinguished economist and writer. Under leave to extend my remarks I include an article by him from the Minneapolis Star:

WHY HARD MONEY MERITS APPLAUSE—TREASURY'S NET BUDGET RECEIPTS ARE EIGHT TIMES THE INTEREST COST RISE

(By Arthur Upgren)

A month ago in his press interview to launch the Senate's inquiry into Eisenhower fiscal policies, Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON charged that at present interest rates just the refinancing of the public debt will cost an added $4½ billion annually.

The higher cost for that part of the debt already refinanced at present higher interest rates he placed at $1.2 billion a year.

Anything that costs from $1.2 billion to $4.5 billion more a year certainly deserves looking into. That's just what the Senate Finance Committee under Chairman HARRY F. BYRD, has started doing.

What JOHNSON was complaining about was the hard money policy which prevails. The administration is fighting to keep inflation from souring the highest prosperity we have known.

If the Treasury pays out $1.2 billion more in interest on the national debt, that becomes income to those receiving it. That includes savings banks (which pay higher interest rates to depositors), holders of United States savings bonds who are getting more and it even includes some rich people—who thereby pay higher taxes back to the Treasury.

How is the Treasury itself doing on its own income? Is it taking in, without having hoisted tax rates, enough more money to pay the higher interest bill—$1.2 billion a year, or even the full $4.5 billion a year JOHNSON has calculated?

Here is the Treasury's recorded budget receipts and expenditures for the past few years. Because all taxes have to be paid somehow out of total national production, that is given in the first column (figures are

for fiscal years ending June 30 and in billions of dollars):

Year	Gross national product	Net budget receipts	Net budget expenditures	Deficit (−) or surplus (+)
1955	373	60.4	64.6	−4.2
1956	403	68.2	66.5	+1.6
1957	424	70.6	68.9	+1.7

This simple record for the last 3 years reveals that total gross national product (GNP) has gained $51 billion. That is due to the prosperous economy we have had.

Net budget receipts, as a result, have risen from $60.4 billion to $70.6 billion for a gain of $10.2 billion. This is more than eight times the rise in interest costs to the Treasury of which JOHNSON complains.

We can well give one vote of applause and thanks to JOHNSON and all Congress. In this 3-year period when interest charges have risen, the total expenditures paid for by the treasury and voted by Congress have risen from $64.6 billion to $68.9 billion. This makes an expense rise of $4.3 billion, inclusive of the rise in interest charges.

This was covered 2½ times over by the rise in tax receipts and in this period there was no increase in tax rates, higher prosperity brought in more money.

Now how have individuals and the working man fared in this same 3-year period?

All personal disposable (what you have left after taxes) incomes and personal interest income (the payments for interest) have been as follows (in billions of dollars):

Year	Personal disposable income	Gain	Personal interest	Gain
1955	271	+17	16.1	+1.2
1956	287	+16	17.4	+1.3
1957 (estimate)	305	+18	18.8	+1.4

Here we see that personal incomes, after taxes, are rising about 13 times as fast as interest payments.

Interest rates are rising fundamentally because business is using more capital wisely and to get more production. That is the only way the workers of the world ever got ahead. The workers then get more pay.

Tightening credit only means that we have to slow down the borrowing of money a little to avoid using so much that we get inflation, too. The worker should applaud the process.

Resolution on H. R. 8002 by Pennsylvania Institute of Certified Public Accountants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a resolution passed July 19, 1957, by the executive committee of the Pennsylvania Institute of Certified Public Accountants urging Congress to pass H. R. 8002, a bill to provide that appropriations are to be determined on an annual accrued expenditure basis.

The support given this important measure by the Pennsylvania accountants is gratifying and is but another indication of the widespread support for this legislation throughout the country.

The resolution follows:

Whereas H. R. 8002, known as the Federal budget and accounting bill, embodies the recommendations of the Hoover Commission to place appropriations for Federal Government agencies on an accrued expenditures basis; and

Whereas the proposed bill would limit appropriations to the amounts needed for goods and services to be delivered during the fiscal year for which the appropriation is made, thus providing a much more direct relation between expenditures and budget balance; and

Whereas the provisions of the proposed legislation would permit Congress to give closer scrutiny to the need for funds each year, thereby improving the control over Government spending; and

Whereas H. R. 8002 is supported by the President of the United States, the Comptroller General, the Director of the Budget, and has been endorsed by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants; and

Whereas a companion measure to H. R. 8002, S. 434, was passed by the United States Senate on June 5, 1957: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That for these and other reasons the executive committee of the Pennsylvania Institute of Certified Public Accountants go on record as urging the Congress to give favorable consideration to H. R. 8002; and that the secretary of the institute be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the Members of Congress from Pennsylvania.

THOMAS H. CARROLL,
President.
F. WILLARD HEINTZELMAN,
Secretary.

Texas Future Farmers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the most outstanding, courageous, and independent newspapers in my State of Texas, the Wichita Falls Times, paid editorial tribute last Monday to one of the most effective organizations of the youth of our country.

Texas Future Farmers of America ended their 29th annual State convention with a record of activity and accomplishments which is worthy of this commendable editorial. The discerning recognition by the Wichita Falls Times of the work of this organization is of such value that I request it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FUTURE FARMERS

Texas Future Farmers of America ended their 29th annual state convention Friday, with a total attendance of more than 3,000 youngsters, guests, and advisers present for the final session.

Election of officers for the coming year, recognition of achievements, and establishment of policy for the 1957–58 school year all were ably handled by the convention.

The boys also took time out to have fun, with a big fun night program, and to educate themsleves, with tours of Fort Worth stockyards, packing plants, and leather goods and boot factories in "cow town."

The convention was conducted in the same manner as a state convention of any adult organization. Adult FFA leaders were on hand strictly in an advisory capacity, and convention actions were initiated and completed entirely by delegates, each representing his chapter.

Competition for honors in the chapter, district, area, and state star farmer contests was fierce, and serious bids for State office by candidates did credit to any convention with their organization and conduct.

One might pause to look at a convention conducted by young people. With the vast amount of publicity being given these days to juvenile delinquency, any movement that helps to channel youthful exuberance into useful lines is, for that reason alone, worthwhile.

But these boys are doing a greater work than that—they are helping to lay the groundwork for the future of agriculture in the United States.

With the farmers declining in number each year, competition for agricultural markets will in the future become more heated. We in the United States are fortunate in that our future farmers are being taught the elements of this competition early in life.

As Josh Billings Said: "It Ain't So"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including an editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and my reply:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat]

INFLATION-BULGING FEDERAL BACKLOG—$70 BILLION IN FREE-FLOWING PIPELINES

In a shrewd and eloquent analysis of the abiding fiscal morass in Washington Government, Herbert Hoover told the American Society of Newspaper Editors one of the most dangerous causes is that Congress has lost control of the purse strings.

The habit of making advance appropriations covering future years has knocked Federal economy whopperjawed, sharply contributed to inflation, excessive Government spending and oppressive taxation.

Mr. Hoover estimated these advance appropriations over the years have heaped up $70 billion of unexpended balances in Federal pipelines.

This enormous sum represents appropriated money which has not been used but has not been returned to the Treasury. The balances exist mainly in defense and foreign aid agencies.

They can be expended at any time. They don't require further action by Congress. They can be spent in addition to the large budget allotments the departments get every year.

As an example, Congress appropriated approximately $12,500 million in 1953 for the Defense Department in the Korean war. Now—4 years later—the Pentagon is still spending this money.

The two Hoover Commissions on Federal Government recommended legislation to correct the situation. The key solution is a

bill to compel a yearly review by Congress of all fiscal needs and dealing. It would substitute an annual-accrual-expenditure budget for the current slack system of spending controls.

The Senate has unanimously passed such a measure, sponsored by Senators BYRD, of Virginia, and KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, both Democrats, and by Senator PAYNE, a Republican of Maine. It is eminently sound legislation, which will reestablish in Congress control of the Federal pocketbook, as the Constitution most clearly provided.

A similar proposal, House bill 8002, is before the lower Chamber. It would call for annual fiscal review and make all unexpended balances revert to the Treasury at end of the fiscal year.

If further need for such appropriations, or a part of them, was evident, Congress could reappropriate enough for the ensuing year.

President Eisenhower has warmly indorsed this reform, as has Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey. But the measure has been stalled, partly because, as Mr. Hoover says, it has no tear-jerking attachment and arouses small public interest.

The roadblock in the House has been thrown up by Representative JOHN TABER, of New York, ranking GOP member of the Appropriations Committee, and Missouri's own Representative CLARENCE CANNON, Appropriations Committee chairman.

Either they do not understand the significance of the move, or they are so dedicted to the status quo they oppose this obviously needed reform.

The size of Washington's pipeline balances is approximately as great as the present Brobdingnagian budget being fashioned on Capitol Hill. But it is tax money that can be spent in excess of budget allotments.

It is all too grimly clear how this system helps compound extravagant spending by Government, heaps higher the overall burden of taxes which at present have mounted—including Federal, State, and local taxes—to more than $110 billion a year.

No single category in Federal operation is so hazardous to the inflation potential as the stockpiling of these unused funds—which can be tossed into the spending hopper by agency heads whenever they wish.

This is fantastic fiscal stewardship. It is repugnant to the proper authority of Congress, to the Constitution's intent—and completely frustrating to sound monetary policy of Government.

House bill 8002 should be brought out of committee and passed.

The resultant savings in tax funds could well exceed the economies of $5 billion predicted for adoption of the entire Hoover report.

In response to this editorial, a proof of which was received from the editor, I called attention to the usual inaccuracies appearing in all this propaganda as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 26, 1957.

EDITOR, ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT:

I read your editorial page always with pleasure and profit, and I appreciate your kindly personal reference. But your editorial of July 25, $70 Billions in Free-Flowing Pipelines, is based on mistaken information.

The statement that $5 billion can be saved by the adoption of the Hoover Report is ridiculous. There are 50 men on the Committee on Appropriations, both Democrats and Republicans, representing all parts of the country. To say they would overlook an opportunity to save $5 billion is absurd. We called the Director of the Budget before us and asked him if this could be done. He wrote the budget and he should know. He would not say positively that it would save 1 single dollar much less $5 billion. And of course every man on the committee knew it would not. The Committee on Appropriations includes men who have been in Congress from 15 to 30 years and all of them, without exception, are convinced the Hoover plan would lose money instead of saving it.

When Congressman TABER went down to the White House last Monday and explained the bill, President Eisenhower told him he had not been fully informed on the bill and that the legislative side of it had never been explained to him. There is every reason to believe the President will not now urge the support of the bill.

The whole subject is misunderstood. There is hardly a statement in the editorial that is not conclusively refuted by the printed hearings and the explanations made in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 14, July 5, and July 19, none of which have been challenged or denied since they were printed. Am sending you this material by this mail.

It is to be regretted there is not space to take this subject item by item and show authoritatively the fallacy in each paragraph. Congress has not lost control of the purse strings. The $70 billion has not been taken out of the Treasury. It cannot be expended at any time. There is already an annual fiscal review. The Pentagon would still be spending the Korean war money regardless of what system was followed. The carryover balances would not be eliminated by the accrued expenditure system. The accrued expenditure budget requires the use of contract authority and once contract authority is voted, the Government is committed for all future years until completion and, of course, the Government had no choice but to pay. The plan was so wasteful that we discontinued it in 1951. And now the Hoover Commission plan is to go back to it. We have tried it under both Democratic and Republican administrations and both Republican and Democratic members have abandoned it.

The director of the budget said just the other day:

"I believe we should continue to follow the sound procedure of fully funding the procurement of all items necessary for the full operation of such major things as airplanes, tanks and ships, when the initial appropriation is made. We would lose budgetary control of these programs if we adopted a policy of partial funding for such items."

At the close of the Second World War I sponsored a bill which rescinded and saved $64 billion, the largest amount ever rescinded in the history of the United States. And I certainly would save $5 billion—or even one dollar—if it could be done by the Hoover Commission plan.

CLARENCE CANNON.

School Construction Assistance Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to authorize Federal assistance to the States and local communities in financing an expanded program of school construction so as to eliminate the national shortage of classrooms.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, I want to recall my earlier remarks to the Committee and remind you of what this amendment will do. It kills off all plans of a division of the funds that are to be distributed on the basis of need, and it precludes offering by the proponents of the so-called Powell amendment legislation that would restrict the use of these funds. It would throw into the already wealthy States who claim they do not need this money, additional money, when it ought to be going to those States in the Union that actually need it.

This is a national issue and not a State issue, as some would have us believe.

I would also again remind you of the satisfactory operation of Public Law 815. Unless this amendment is changed, it will kill the distribution of funds under that type of legislation.

Air Conditioning of Post Offices in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the good people who work in the post office of the largest city in my State of Texas are hot; they have good reason to be so, too. The post office at Houston, Tex., is not air conditioned, although funds were appropriated during the last Congress to do that job.

The Houston branch of the National Association of Postal Supervisors has submitted to me a resolution asking that their post office be air conditioned in accordance with the program established by the last Congress. Their resolution is well stated, the need for such air conditioning is adequately pointed out in their thoughtful and factual message, and I request unanimous consent that their resolution and accompanying temperature data be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Congress of the United States appropriated several million dollars to the General Services Administration in the 1957 fiscal year for air conditioning of post offices and Federal buildings in certain areas of the United States; and

Whereas according to newspaper reports from Washington the main post office in Houston, Tex., was included in this appropriation in the amount of approximately $500,000; and

Whereas Franklin Station (Federal Office Building) was also included in the program; and

Whereas the crowded condition of all postal facilities in Houston, the unbearable heat, and high humidity make working conditions for all postal employees unbearable during the summer months; and

Whereas private industry in this area has proven conclusively the improved morale, efficiency, health, and other benefits justifies the expenditures that would be necessary to provide the improved working conditions through air conditioning; and

Whereas the excuse now used that Houston will be provided with new postal facilities in the near future does not justify further delay in providing these essential facilities for this office; and

Whereas the improvements in efficiency and morale of the employees, and the improved health conditions through the installation of the temporary air conditioning of the mailing section in the basement of this office is an outstanding example of the savings in manpower that could be effected by expanding or including air-conditioning facilities in other post-office areas, and would unquestionably amortize the cost of such necessary expenditures over a reasonable period of time; and

Whereas numerous other post offices throughout the State of Texas have been, or are in the process of being, provided with air-conditioning facilities, and to this date no action has been taken to provide these facilities for the Houston, Tex., Post Office: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the president or vice president of Branch 122, National Association of Postal Supervisors, be instructed to submit this resolution to Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield, requesting that he take immediate steps to provide all units of the Main Post Office, Franklin Station, and Parcel Post Station at Houston, Tex., with air-conditioning facilities, and urge acceleration of the present program of air conditioning of leased quarters; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Congressman Albert E. Thomas, Senators Lyndon B. Johnson and Ralph Yarborough, and to Mike Nave, president, NAPS.

Houston, Tex.

Date	Highest temperature reading	Humidity reading
	Degrees	*Percent*
July 1, 1957	92	93
July 2, 1957	96	88
July 3, 1957	95	90
July 4, 1957	96	91
July 5, 1957	98	91
July 6, 1957	101	90
July 7, 1957	96	87
July 8, 1957	94	83
July 9, 1957	94	84
July 10, 1957	96	91
July 11, 1957	99	86
July 12, 1957	98	83
July 13, 1957	97	87
July 14, 1957	94	83
July 15, 1957	96	80
July 16, 1957	97	80
July 17, 1957	97	83
July 18, 1957	95	87
July 19, 1957	97	82
July 20, 1957	96	100
July 21, 1957	91	91

Poll Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, since my first term in Congress in 1939 I have regularly conducted polls of public thinking on vital national issues in my congressional district. The polls have been in the form of a printed questionnaire, requiring simple yes-and-no answers, mailed to registered voters in my district, regardless of political affiliation.

Total responses to the questionnaires have always been excellent. Because of the manner in which the polls are conducted, the tabulated results virtually constitute a referendum of the district and they have proved of enormous value to myself and, I hope, to my colleagues in the Congress.

My Congressional District is probably as representative and contains as many varied interest groups as any in the Nation. It has the wealthy, the poor, and the so-called middle class. It has a high concentration of labor, white-collar workers, small business, large industries, and some of the finest farmlands found anywhere. The district includes a thickly populated section of Pittsburgh, extends to the rural areas, and takes in many large and small residential towns in northern Allegheny County.

The percentage tabulation of the answers on the poll I have just recently conducted are included below without comment, along with the results of the poll I conducted at the beginning of the session.

I trust the results will prove as interesting and informative to all who study them as they are to me.

The polls follow:

POLL RESULTS, JANUARY 1957

1. Do you like the President's determined efforts to establish equal rights for Negroes? Yes, 72 percent; no, 28 percent.

2. Should we give permanent status to the Hungarian refugees? Yes, 38 percent; no, 62 percent.

3. Do you agree that we can admit a somewhat larger number of permanent immigrants? Yes, 32 percent; no, 68 percent.

4. Do you prefer a balanced budget to an income-tax reduction? Yes, 81 percent; no, 19 percent.

5. If a Treasury surplus develops would you prefer debt reduction to a cut in excise taxes? Yes, 81 percent, no, 19 percent.

6. Do you believe that the selection of congressional committee chairmen by seniority is very bad? Yes, 70 percent; no, 30 percent.

7. Would you oppose increasing postal rates? Yes, 33 percent; no, 67 percent.

8. Do you think we are spending too much money on national defense? Yes, 19 percent; no, 81 percent.

9. Do you think we are spending too much money on foreign aid? Yes, 78 percent; no, 22 percent.

10. Do you oppose the Federal Reserve Board's policy of restricting credit (so-called hard money program)? Yes, 28 percent; no, 72 percent.

11. Do you believe the voting age should be lowered to 18 years? Yes, 37 percent; no, 63 percent.

12. Should the Congress grant the President the powers he requests to deal with the problems of Egypt and Asia Minor (so-called Middle East)? Yes, 77 percent; no, 23 percent.

POLL RESULTS, JUNE 1957

1. Do you approve appropriating Federal funds for a public school construction program? Yes, 55 percent; no, 41 percent; no reply, 4 percent.

2. President Eisenhower has reduced his request for foreign aid to $3.9 billion. Do you think it would be wise to cut his request by as much as $1 billion more? Yes, 50 percent; no, 45 percent; no reply, 5 percent.

3. Do you feel that substantial cuts can safely be made in funds available to the armed services? Yes, 38 percent; no, 56 percent; no reply, 6 percent.

4. Do you favor the construction of the Allegheny River Reservoir, often called the Kinzua Dam? Yes, 53 percent; no, 36 percent; no reply, 11 percent.

5. Should such professional sports as baseball, football, basketball, and hockey be subject to the antitrust laws? Yes, 54 percent; no, 31 percent; no reply, 15 percent.

6. Congress will soon vote on statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. Would you vote "yes" or "no"? Yes, 86 percent; no, 9 percent; no reply, 5 percent.

7. The House committee has favorably reported a bill raising postage rates on all classes of mail about $500 million. How would you vote? Yes, 77 percent; no, 19 percent; no reply, 4 percent.

8. Do you believe that Government is more to blame for post-Korean war price increases than labor and management? Yes, 29 percent; no, 59 percent; no reply, 12 percent.

9. Are you generally satisfied with President Eisenhower's conduct of domestic affairs? Yes, 73 percent; no, 23 percent; no reply, 4 percent.

10. Are you generally satisfied with President Eisenhower's conduct of foreign affairs? Yes, 63 percent; no, 31 percent; no reply, 6 percent.

P. S.—I am endeavoring to answer all separate requests and comments accompanying the returned questionnaires. Because of the workload some may undoubtedly be overlooked. Consequently, if you do not receive a reply within the next 10 days to any such request, please inform me.

Surplus Food Distribution in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the project of distribution of surplus food in the District of Columbia is most commendable. I fully believe the abundance of food is a blessing—if it is properly used. We should consider ourselves fortunate that we are one of the few countries in history which has been so blessed with an abundance. I feel we should do everything possible to make use of our commodities domestically and for building democracies abroad.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert two articles, one from the Sunday Star and the other from the Evening Star, July 21 and 22, respectively:

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D. C., of July 21, 1957]

YOUNG AND OLD LINE UP FOR FOOD AT BUSY DISTRICT SURPLUS CENTERS

(By Harry Bacas)

(First of two articles)

Two cards came in the mail the same day for Christopher Marsh and his sister, Mrs. Annie Warriner. The cards said:

"You have been certified eligible for surplus food. Please come to Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, 1600 Morris Road SE., on July 19, 1957, between the hours of 9 a. m. and 3 p. m., to pick up your month's issue."

The cards were from the District Public Welfare Department. They were signed by John Olsavsky, manager of the Surplus Food Division. More than 300 similar cards were received by District residents that day.

Mrs. Warriner is 73 and has difficulty walking because of a bad knee. So she sent her brother to the church to pick up the food. Mr. Marsh is 62.

Since there were 2 cards, Mr. Marsh tucked 2 shopping bags under his arm at 9 Friday morning and walked slowly over to the church. It is only a block away from the little frame house which he and his sister rent at 2402 17th Street SE.

FIFTY PERSONS IN LINE

Mr. Marsh didn't know what the surplus food would be and neither did his sister. They only knew the cards were from the welfare department, which has paid Mrs. Warriner $60 a month for 8 years and Mr. Warriner $43 a month for 5 years.

At Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, Mr. Marsh stood in line with about 50 other persons. They were at the door of the church recreation hall and the food distribution was about to begin.

Of the first 50 persons, 2 were white and the others colored. Mr. Marsh looked small. He is 5 feet, 1 inch, frail and wears glasses and a hearing aid.

When he reached the head of the line, he handed the two cards to Joseph Miller and A. L. Weaver, the supervisors of the food center. His name and his sister's name were checked off on a list. Mr. Miller told Mr. Marsh that next time he should bring a slip signed by his sister, authorizing him to pick up her food. This time it would be all right without the slip, Mr. Marsh was told.

HAS HEAVY LOAD

Then Mr. Marsh handed the 2 cards to 1 of the 4 men working among stacks of food bags and boxes. The workman, Robert H. Parker, put a 10-pound bag of flour, a 5-pound bay of yellow cornmeal, a 5-pound carton of cheese and a 5-pound box of milk powder in each of Mr. Marsh's shopping bags.

"That's 25 pounds each," Mr. Parker told him. "Can you carry it?"

"Yes, I can," Mr. Marsh said. "I have only a block to go."

On the way home he stopped several times to rest.

At home he carried the bags into the kitchen. Mrs. Warriner came into see what he had brought.

"I'll make cornbread with the cornmeal," she said. "I haven't used powdered milk in years, but I remember how to mix it." Printed on the outside of the box were instructions (1 cup of powder beaten into 1 quart of lukewarm water makes a quart of skim milk).

PLANS FOR FUTURE MEALS

"I'll use the cheese in spaghetti and macaroni and the flour can make more biscuits than we've been having."

She noticed there was no meat, or butter, or eggs in the bags. The bag of flour looked pretty big.

"It's all right if they don't give you too much of one thing—it wastes," she said. "You can't sit down and eat nothing but flour. But we're very grateful.

"Be thankful for small mercies, my mother always told us. This is a great country, isn't it?"

Mrs. Warriner and Mr. Marsh were born in the north of England. They came to Virginia with their parents shortly after 1900 and the family worked as domestics in Richmond. Mr. Marsh got a job in a tobacco factory.

Mrs. Warriner came to Washington in 1927 and had jobs in several hotels as a pantry worker.

WORKED ON SWAN BOAT

Mr. Marsh came to Washington several years later and worked as a house painter "until I got too nervous." He could "get up on the ladder but could hardly get down again." Then he worked at the Tidal Basin, cleaning the swan boat, and canoes, and rowboats.

Out of her $60 a month, Mrs. Warriner pays $30 to live in the little house where they have been for the last 26 years. Out of his $43 a month, Mr. Marsh pays $8. The owner, now blind, lives there with them. He pays the heat and utilities and all three chip in to buy food. The house badly needs a coat of paint.

A Welfare Department caseworker visits the house several times a year. "They pry into everything," Mrs. Warriner says. "They raised the dickens about my birds." She keeps several cages of canaries and parakeets. "They said I was selling them."

Before she went on relief, Mrs. Warriner used to make a little, by crocheting articles and selling them. She no longer does that. "If I sold a piece of crocheting, the welfare would just take it off my payments," she says.

MANY COME IN CARS

She watched as Mr. Marsh sifted some of the new flour into a bowl so she could make biscuits for lunch.

Back at the food center in the church, the crowd had grown to about 70 persons. There were about 30 cars and taxicabs parked outside. Some people were arriving on foot after a 10-block walk uphill from the main bus line on Nichols Avenue. Most, however, came by cab, in their own cars, or in friends' cars.

Some of the cars were older models. Several were shiny new ones.

The people were among the 300 and 400 persons who have been served each day since the District's surplus food program began early this month.

The program has replaced an earlier operation which for 4 months supplied free food orders to needy persons. Those orders could be turned in at any grocery store for whatever food the recipient wanted.

DISTRIBUTION CENTERS SHIFT

The new program works differently. It issues standard packages of surplus food supplied free by the Agriculture Department. Most of the recipients are persons already on the District relief rolls and most of them did not get in on the earlier program.

They get from 25 to 75 pounds of food, depending on the size of the family. The cards for the food are sent to them through the mail.

The distribution centers move from place to place each day or two to take care of the people in different sections of the city. The centers are located in churches or neighborhood settlement houses.

A reporter who spent 2 days observing the food distribution at one of the centers found that most of the recipients were ablebodied persons, clean, and neatly dressed. None of them looked hungry. As many came in groups of two or three as came singly. Most had cars or rides in cars.

Most of the recipients were women. Some brought children with them.

RECIPIENTS AID EACH OTHER

One woman brought her nearly blind, 40-year-old son to help him get his allotment for one.

One couple found their load too heavy to carry and telephoned for a cab. One woman did not have cab fare and borrowed a bus token from another woman to get home.

Perhaps a third of the recipients got the larger packages, 50 or 75 pounds of food.

One cab driver showed up on Friday to offer a free ride to anyone who couldn't carry his packages. The day before, a funeral director had given free lifts to several persons.

Most of the persons did not bring shopping bags. Workers gave them empty boxes or bags to carry their food.

"They didn't know how much they were getting," said Mr. Miller, the center supervisor. "Next time they'll come prepared."

[From the Washington Evening Star of July 22, 1957]

DISTRICT RELIEF CASES GET MOST SURPLUS FOOD

(Second of two articles)

The card 17-year-old Betty Thomas brought to the District Surplus Food Center in a Southeast church was marked for only one person's ration.

At the registration desk, she showed the card to Miss Elizabeth Curtis, a volunteer worker. Miss Curtis explained that only one unit of food would be issued because only one person in the family, Betty's grandmother, was on the District relief rolls.

One of the Welfare Department workmen, William A. Sharp, gave Betty a box filled with a 10-pound bag of flour, a 5-pound bag of cornmeal, a 5-pound box of cheese and a 5-pound box of milk powder.

"How will you carry it?" the man asked her. She said, "A friend brought me. The car's outside."

The friend drove her home, a distance of 6 miles, to a brick 2-story house at 4938 East Capitol Street. Miss Thomas lives with her two children, Cheryl, 2, and Wanda, 1; her mother, Mrs. Lillian E. Thomas; her grandmother, Mrs. Emma Lewis, and her great grandfather, the Reverend Edward J. Barnes.

Mr. Barnes, 81, retired from Government service 6 years ago. He still preaches occasionally at St. John's Baptist Church near the family's home. He gets $120 a month social security.

His daughter, Mrs. Lewis, has been a cripple since she was struck by a car 20 years ago. She is the only one in the family drawing public-assistance payments from the Welfare Department. She gets $50.63 a month.

Her daughter, Mrs. Thomas, is the only one in the family who works. She makes about $42 a week in a drycleaning plant. Her daughter, Betty, graduated from junior high school a year ago and has held one brief part-time job. Most of the time she is at home, taking care of her two daughters. The two little girls look plump and healthy.

PAYS THE BILLS

Mr. Barnes bought the house when it was new, 12 years ago. His monthly payments are $58. The others contribute $60 a month to him and he pays all the bills. Mrs. Thomas buys food on weekends and Mr. Barnes buys food during the week.

When the card came in the mail several days ago for Mrs. Lewis, she didn't know what she would receive. Like most recipients she hadn't expected it.

Betty Thomas opened the boxes on the kitchen table. "The children will like the milk," she said. "They drink a lot of it." She had to read the box to see how to mix it.

"Mother loves to make cakes and grandmother likes to make apple dumplings and pies, so we can use the flour." The cheese puzzled her. "I guess we could grill it or use it in eggs," she said.

"I'll eat it just like it is," her grandmother laughed. The cornmeal would go into cornbread, they agreed. "What else can you make with it?"

"They could give you a little meat," Mrs. Lewis said. "I thought maybe there would be butter, eggs, things like that. But this is fine. You thank them for me."

TWO TELEVISION SETS

The three-bedroom house is well furnished. There are 2 television sets—1 upstairs for Mrs. Lewis, who seldom gets downstairs—and 2 telephones. The family does not have a car.

Mr. Barnes was a streetsweeper when he came to Washington from Mississippi 47 years ago. When he retired from the Government, he was making about $80 a week as a helper in a photostat office. His $120-a-

month pension keeps him pretty well, he says.

So far, most of the people receiving food have been those already on the relief rolls.

The Welfare Department through last week had approved 7,865 families for the food issues. Of these, 7,173 came from the relief rolls, 713 were families not on relief, and 15 were certified by private welfare agencies.

About 2,800 families have actually received their food allotments. The centers operate 5 days a week, from 9 a. m. to 3 p. m. Eleven different centers will be used this month, 5 in churches and 6 in settlement houses or neighborhood centers.

VALUE PUT AT $750,000

The food comes from the Agriculture Department's stocks of surplus commodities. It is given free to the District and will amount to about $750,000 in value the first year. Each 25-pound package is valued at about $6 or $7.

It is costing the District $150,000 a year to administer the program, mainly in storage costs and salaries of the people who process the applications, send out the cards and issue the food.

The food grants are made to applicants above what they may receive in relief payments.

Persons already on relief rolls are being processed automatically. Many of them are surprised to receive the cards in the mail.

They far outnumber the nonrelief families who have been approved so far. Nonrelief applicants are eligible only if their income is not above a set of ceilings established by the city.

The monthly limits are—1 person, $95; 2, $135; 3, $175. Larger families are allowed $25 monthly income per person to qualify.

A study of the persons receiving the earlier emergency food orders showed that about 85 percent were colored. About 90 percent of those receiving the present surplus food allotments are colored, according to workers at the food centers.

The Welfare Department has divided the city according to census tracts and tried to find a suitable distribution center in each tract. By next month they hope to double the number of centers and keep each open perhaps 1 day instead of 2, before moving on to the next location.

Article by Col. John M. Virden, United States Air Force, Retired

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Col. John M. Virden, United States Air Force, retired, which appeared in the Washington Daily News on July 26, 1957:

Twenty-five years ago this Sunday, on July 28, 1932, Washington came as near to seeing war in its streets as at any time in the city's century and a half of life.

For on that date tanks and horse cavalry from Fort Myer thundered down Pennsylvania Avenue on out to the shack town derisively called "Hooverville" on the Anacostia Flats, and there routed a bonus army of some 10,000 World War I veterans, along with some 700 women and 300 children.

This attacking force was commanded by Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, of the United States Army, accompanied by a young major named Dwight D. Eisenhower. The actual commander of the armed tankers and horse soldiers was another young major, also destined for great things some 12 years later, George Patton, Jr., from the 3d Cavalry Regiment stationed at Fort Myer.

BLOODLESS

Tactically, it must be admitted the Army's attack on "Hooverville" was the most complete victory, and the most bloodless, in the long and honorable history of the Army. Not a shot was fired, nobody got clubbed nor even hit with a rock, and General MacArthur's ultimatum to "get out of Washington in 1 hour" was complied with, with nothing more than some audible grumbling.

The soldiers wearing gasmasks put the grimy tents and shacks of the bonus army to the torch. When darkness fell that hot July evening nothing remained of the pitiable bivouac of the bonus marchers save some smoking rubble.

But the bloodless battle did not end there. The bitter feelings it engendered on that tense day were to echo throughout the presidential campaign that fall that sent Gov. Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the White House. Most of the angry words were directed at Herbert Hoover, whose presidential popularity was already lower than any Chief Executive since James Buchanan.

But not a little of the hatred was directed at Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley who had actually issued the orders to run the raggle-taggle and hungry bonus army out of Washington. Whatever hopes the colorful Oklahoman had of getting to the White House, and these were large hopes in the fertile head of Pat Hurley, they went up in the stinking smoke of burning "Hooverville."

Though a distinguished war veteran himself, Pat Hurley never could square himself with the then powerful American Legion, whose members were then as now, in bigtime politics up to their elbows.

Like most national crises the battle of the bonus just grew up from nothing.

ORGANIZER

Earlier in the spring of 1932, Walter W. Waters of Oregon, who must have been a sharp propagandist, organized a march on Washington in that State. He appealed to the disgruntled and jobless veterans to walk to Washington and demand that Congress authorize full payment of the adjusted compensation certificates which Congress had voted the veterans in 1924, over President Coolidge's veto. The certificates, which called for a dollar per day for each day of military service in World War I, and a buck and a quarter for overseas veterans, were not due until 1945.

Mr. Waters' followers, a few score at first, started walking to Washington carrying a sign reading "We are on our way from Oregon to get some cash in Washington."

Well, they did not have to walk very far; sympathetic motorists picked up most of the marchers and others simply crawled on freight trains and understanding trainmen looked the other way. Each town they rolled through others joined the Oregon group.

By the time Mr. Waters led his army into the Nation's Capital in late May disgruntled war veterans were converging here by the hundreds. In mid-June, when the Congress took up the bonus bill, the Washington Metropolitan Police, who were keeping a wary eye on this milling group, estimated the number at something over 15,000. Some newspapers set the figure as high as 20,000.

"GO EASY"

At first the police were encouraged to go easy on these unhappy and destitute veterans. Major Superintendent of Police, Pelham D. Glassford, a retired Army general, rode around town on his white motorcycle and kept in hourly contact with the bonus army spokesmen and with some very nervous people in the White House.

General Glassford was trusted by the bonus seekers and did much to ease some of their most pressing needs, for food and some kind of shelter. Most of the veterans and their camp followers were herded out to the Anacostia Flats and allowed to make-do with whatever materials they could lay hands on. And to scrounge whatever food they could find or buy. However, about a third of the total simply set up squatters sovereignty over some vacant buildings near the Capitol and others camped out near the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Not until after a tense Congress had voted down their petition for immediate payment of the 20-year adjusted compensation certificates, did the mob grow surly and threatening. Then Congress hurriedly lumped them $100,000 in travel money on which to go home, and adjourned.

A few, perhaps half, of the bonus army took their travel pay and headed home. But the die-hards and the obvious agitators stayed on and swore they were going to stay until the money was paid out to them.

TOUGH JOB

Police Superintendent Glassford kept up his missionary work with the veterans but his job got harder by the day. There were a couple of minor clashes between the cops and the vets in mid-July. But these did not amount to much, a few stones, a few lumps, and much bad language passed back and forth.

On the morning of July 28, however, General Glassford knew that the patience of his "blueclads" and the veterans was growing dangerously thin and that trouble might come at any time. This, too, was duly passed to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Sure enough, that afternoon the lid blew off. The police moved in on the squatters around the Capitol and the veterans fought back with bricks and rocks and clubs. Reinforcements were called up by the outnumbered police and the downtown bonus marchers sent word to "Hooverville" across the Anacostia River to "Come over and help us." They came and the melee spread. Before the police got the situation in hand, one veteran had been killed and another so badly wounded that he later died.

President Hoover told Secretary Hurley to restore order. Which is a set of about as broad instructions as you can get. Mr. Hurley called in Chief of Staff MacArthur and handed him the most thankless job any soldier can possibly have—quelling and expelling a mob of his own citizens. Anything the soldier does is wrong in such cases. At the best he can only break even. At the worst he can lose his commission for brutality against unarmed civilians.

CHORE

But there wasn't much time to ponder the thanklessness of the chore; the angry veterans were still there and the police were still having their hands full. So Maj. George Patton led a company of tanks and squadron of mounted cavalry out of Fort Myer, sweeping everything before it, but without cocking a pistol or drawing a saber. In the van of this small contingent of Regulars rode General MacArthur and his staff officer, Major Eisenhower.

At "Hooverville" the Chief of Staff walked out alone and talked with the bonus army leaders. He told them they had exactly 1 hour to get going. They started packing up and when the hour was up they were on the march.

The only memorable remark that seems to have passed when General MacArthur delivered his 1-hour ultimatum was spoken by a veteran leader who was widely quoted as saying, "Well, by God, we can't fight the whole United States Army."

And with almost as many reporters as soldiers present that hot day a quarter cen-

tury ago, any spoken gems of historical significance would have doubtless been jotted down.

That evening one of the largest press associations started off its story with this intriguing lead, if accurate:

"Today Washington saw revolution in its own historic avenues."

Peace and Cooperation With Arab Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the July 22, 1957, issue of Israel Digest:

PEACE AND COOPERATION WITH ARAB NEIGHBORS—PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE ENCOMPASSES FOREIGN POLICY RANGE

"Peace and cooperation with our Arab neighbors remains our policy." "The only practical and just solution for the Arab refugees is to settle them in the underpopulated, naturally rich countries of Iraq and Syria." "I hope for the establishment of normal relations between Israel and Germany in the near future."

These were among the statements made by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion at his first press conference open to all foreign correspondents in Israel. More than 60 representatives of the world press were present and the questions ranged over the whole field of Israel's foreign policy. The following is a selection from Mr. Ben-Gurion's replies.

PEACE WITH ARABS

Our long-term policy toward the Arabs is very simple: peace and cooperation with our neighbors, political, economic, and cultural. This was and this will remain our policy.

I wouldn't say it will come tomorrow, but I would never give up the hope that it may come at any time. I believe it is quite possible. It is necessary and it may come. I don't know when. If it depends on us, then it will be next year. We will say, "Lashanah Haba'ah Shalon."—"Next year peace."

I have been asked whether peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if the big powers made peace between themselves, or whether it can be achieved locally. It is a pertinent question. The cold war has certainly something to do with the troubles in the Middle East, and if the conflict between East and West didn't exist, it would be easier to have peace here.

But I don't think that it is impossible to achieve peace without a complete agreement between the great competing powers, between th East and the West, because I believe that some time—I don't know when, whether in my lifetime or not—the Arab peoples or their representatives will understand that they will not achieve real independence and will not be free from dependence on one of the two sides unless there is peace with Israel.

Just as the conflict between East and West increases the tension in the Middle East, so the tension in the Middle East feeds the conflict between East and West to a certain degree. It is quite possible to take it out of that conflict, and the peoples here should sit down and make peace without worrying about the relations between Moscow and Washington.

THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT

The armistice agreement imposes obligations on both sides. It also accords them certain rights. What we refuse to accept is that we should be obligated to understake all the duties deriving from the agreement, while Egypt should be allowed to enjoy all the rights. You know that in 1951 there was a clear-cut decision by the Security Council that according to the armistice agreement there is no state of war between ourselves and Egypt, as they claimed, and that therefore Egypt has no right to blockade or interfere with our shipping in the Suez Canal.

Egypt refused to carry out that decision of the Security Council, although it is a member of the United Nations, and every member of the United Nations is under an obligation to carry out the decisions of the Security Council. They cannot have it both ways.

But we are ready to sit down and discuss peace—sitting with them then as two equal sides, in spite of the fact that we consider the armistice agreement as dead, nonexistent.

There is no armistice agreement between ourselves and Iraq, but if Iraq chose to sit down and discuss with us, we would do it. The same applies to Saudi Arabia.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF JORDAN AND LEBANON

Of course, we are interested as a free and democratic people that all our neighbors should be free and democratic, but it is not our policy to interfere in the internal politics of any other government. Although we ourselves are adherents of democracy and freedom—and we are ready to fight for it—we will not fight any other government which chooses to have another regime.

We are certainly interested in the independence of all the peoples in the Middle East, but we don't consider ourselves such a power as would assure this independence. For the time being—and I am afraid for a long time to come—we will be very busy with insuring our own independence. So far that is enough for us.

THE ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM

I think there are now about 20 million refugees in different parts of the world, in Europe, Asia, India, Pakistan, Germany and Poland and in other countries and here.

How did this arise, this fact of refugees here? As you know, in November 29, 1947, a decision was taken by the U. N. about the partition of Palestine, as it was then called. While we didn't like that decision very much we accepted it.

The Arab governments said they would fight it, and the following day the fight began and six Jews coming from Haifa to Jerusalem were killed. The next day, on December 1, a general strike was called by the Arab higher committee, and the Arabs began fleeing from the parts which were assigned to Israel by the Assembly of the United Nations.

That began according to a preconceived plan by the Arab higher committee and the Mufti a few years ago—and that plan was published—to evacuate all the noncombatant Arabs from Palestine, old men, children, women, and others, and leave only combatant Arabs to finish the Jews here.

The Haganah told the Arab community: "You can stay where you are; you must only deliver your arms." The local Arab committee agreed, but somebody said, "no, we must refer to the higher Arab committee—which actually meant the Mufti. They sent a cable to the Mufti, and the Mufti sent a reply: "No, leave the town." The same thing happened in Tiberias and Safad, and during the last 2 days before the British evacuation in Jaffa.

And I understand the reason why. Because they knew that immediately the British left five Arab armies would march in. They were certain—and they had reason to be certain—that in 10 days or 2 weeks it would be finished, that they would take Tel Aviv and Haifa and Jerusalem in a fortnight.

They had five armies; they were well armed; some of them had British officers commanding them, in the Arab Legion, and we had only an underground defense. We had some rifles and some mortars, no tanks, no guns, no planes. So they had reason to be sure that they would finish us in a few weeks, and then they would bring them back not only to Jaffa and Safad but also to Tel Aviv and to the Jewish settlements and so on.

Well, it didn't go according to their plans and they were defeated. While the war was still going on—and the war was ended only on January 7, 1949—there were large numbers of Jewish refugees who came to this country, but the British authorities sent them to Cyprus and we had to bring them over.

There were 300,000 Jewish refugees from Europe, the remnant of 6 million Jews who were slaughtered by Hitler—we brought them here. Hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab countries came over—and we settled them.

And it is our view that the only possible practical and just solution for the Arab refugees is to settle them in the underpopulated, naturally rich countries of Iraq and Syria, among their own people, under an Arab government, if really they want to settle the refugee question.

Unfortunately, for the present Arab rulers these hundreds of thousands of refugees don't exist as human beings. For them it is a political weapon, and they want with their help to destroy Israel. This is not going to happen.

But if they really care for the refugees and want to settle them where it is possible to settle them, Israel will be ready to assist by every means in her power. And she can do something, because we have experience in settling refugees, and there is plenty of land—free land and empty and fertile land and with abundance of water—in Iraq and Syria. This is our view about the real solution of the refugee problem.

THE BORDER SITUATION

I have been asked whether the recent Syrian attacks are the responsibility of Colonel Serraj (chief of the Syrian intelligence) or the Government or somebody higher. Well, I must confess my ignorance. I would like to think, although I am not sure, that it is the responsibility of the local commanders, but I couldn't say that I am certain that it is not the policy of the Government in Damascus or somebody higher-up.

So far I have no reason to be certain that it is a definite policy, because I see other manifestations which speak against that. I see that on the other parts of the border there is quiet, and so for the time being I prefer to assume that these are local incidents, but I must add immediately that I am not sure about that.

We have approached the Secretariat of the U. N. about the very worrying situation along the Gaza strip and also along the Syrian border, and we are still awaiting their action—or their nonaction, which is also quite possible.

Foreign Aid and Insecurity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, recently the President and the

Secretary of State said that if there was a slash in appropriations for foreign aid it would endanger the security of the United States.

This, of course, is an old and familiar charge whenever the foreign-aid program is before the Congress. It is a statement that cannot be proved and is inherently misleading.

Dorothy Thompson in an article that appeared in the Evening Star on July 25 challenges the thesis laid down by the President and the Secretary of State. The article follows:

FOREIGN AID AND INSECURITY—OFFICIAL ARGUMENT THAT CUT IN FUNDS WOULD HARM UNITED STATES IS CHALLENGED

If the security of the United States is threatened by a slash in appropriations for foreign aid, as the President and Secretary Dulles say it is, then the county was insecure before the slash was made in the House of Representatives. Any great nation whose "security" (whatever that may mean) depends upon dependents has forfeited its freedom of action and therewith its basic security. Great states must depend upon themselves; upon their capacity to inspire prudence (if not fear) in nations that may wish them ill, and upon their capacity to attract friends for reasons of mutual interest. Interest is not a one-way street in which one partner or associate is always on the giving and another always on the receiving line.

The people of this country are presently greatly concerned about the American economic situation as it affects themselves—far more so than they are about the Russian purges. They are concerned about the steady, if slow, inflation with a resultant decline in purchasing power endured or feared by nearly every family. They believe (and correctly) that a chief contribution to inflation is Government spending and investment. They are therefore economy minded and the views of constituents are reflected by Congressmen.

The immense amount of American money poured out around the world—to friends to be aided and neutrals to be persuaded—has an inflationary effect on the economies that absorb it and to that extent does not win us uncritical friends. It also contributes to inflation at home. Whether given away in goods and services or in dollars, it creates an extra demand on American producers and tends to raise prices.

It also, together with universal military service, promotes and stabilizes full employment. That is its popular side. Foreign aid and other Government spending programs are popular with big industry, big labor, and big farmers, and, of course, the big bureaucracy, who receive the larger benefits. They are unpopular with small producers, the salaried middle class who have no escalator cost-of-living clauses in their contracts, and with the self-employed.

A sign of instability (and insecurity) is always lack of confidence in a government's promise to pay. A Government bond was once considered a "gilt edged" security, and the public would buy even if the interest rates were low. But today the Government is having a hard time marketing its bonds with either the banks or the public. It has had to raise the interest rate and increase the ultimate capital gains. Yet holders of bonds that have matured are not reinvesting the cash in new and more attractive Government bonds to anything like the extent anticipated.

Promises to pay in dollars some time in the future are attractive only if the dollar is stable—if next year or 5 years or 10 years from now one can expect a dollar to purchase approximately what it did at the time of investment. Today there is a flight from the dollar. People prefer to invest in equities, representing real things, or they are overbuying in anticipation of price raises, or they are contracting debts to be paid off in depreciated currency. Such public behavior is a perennial sign of inflation.

A runaway inflation such as afflicted Germany in the twenties is not at all predictable. (There were political reasons operating in Germany to encourage rather than check it.) But a creeping inflation is with us, and so, from the same causes, is creeping socialism.

Socialism is not being furthered by Socialist or Communist agitators but by anti-Socialists engaged in a crusade against the Reds at the expense of the American taxpayers, a large part of whose incomes and savings are socialized every quarter and by visible and invisible taxes on everything they buy. Whatever sector of the economy is in the hands of government or largely dependent on government is socialized. All armies, for instance, are Socialist.

The classical capitalist system of private investment and enterprise cannot continue to exist in the long run in competition with state capitalism, which however it may operate, is socialism. State capitalism is induced by war, preparation for war, immense military establishments, government-supported full employment, and universal social security. You pay your money and take your choice. In the long run, competition between states and individuals is always unequal.

Personally, we are convinced that the present trend toward more or less controlled but continual inflation and the socializing of ever-wider segments of the economy is irreversible. Inflation causes public concern, but deflation would cause revolt. If the faucet of Government spending is turned so low as to cause any serious degree of unemployment, the same Congressmen who want to check the stream will vote to turn it up.

Inadequacies of Naval Hospital Facilities in Long Beach Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I have before noted that almost one-seventh of all naval families live in the Long Beach-Los Angeles area. The proposed closing of the Corona Naval Hospital highlights the inadequacy of naval medical facilities in this important area. A hospital was authorized for construction adjacent to the port in 1950. It has not been pursued aggressively to the appropriations stage by the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. As a consequence, naval personnel in the area have had to make a 90-mile round trip to Corona for treatment. With closing, the round trip to the next nearest naval hospital facility, at Camp Pendleton, will be some 140 miles.

The following editorial from the Long Beach Press Telegram points out why the need for hospital facilities in the port area cannot adequately be met by use of the hospital ship U. S. S. *Haven:*

HOSPITAL SHIP NOT ENOUGH

A Navy spokesman says that when the Corona Navy Hospital closes, 200 bed patients will be moved to the U. S. S. *Haven*, the hospital ship moored in Long Beach Harbor.

As of now, the hospital ship is on an in-commission, inactive status, and located here permanently.

But Representative SAUND, in whose congressional district the Corona hospital is located, makes this point:

"What if the ship were moved from the port to Formosa or somewhere else in the world in event of a national emergency? The Navy would then be closing the only hospital facilities in the Long Beach-Los Angeles Harbor area."

Representative SAUND's reasoning is sound. The Navy itself cannot say how it may have to assign its ships in the future; circumstances unknown beforehand may dictate that. But this is certain—a land-based facility is something that can't be ordered to sea.

Navy officials themselves have declared that the *Haven* is not suitable for caring for dependents. They have also affirmed long-standing plans for constructing a hospital here. This is confirmation of the need for such a facility.

It would seem only wise to have such a hospital under construction or definitely projected before eliminating the Corona facility.

Representative CRAIG HOSMER points out that unused Government property is available at Point Fermin; and there is a possibility that Long Beach might provide free land for the project. These matters should be explored before a decision is made to reduce badly needed hospital facilities in an area where so many members of the Armed Forces reside and work.

Good News from the London Disarmament Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith submit a news article written by Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J., assistant professor of political science at Creighton University, on disarmament:

OMAHA, NEBR.—The report from the London disarmament meeting that the United States would propose a ban on testing of intercontinental ballistic missiles as part of its partial first step toward disarmament was good news to the Rev. Edward A. Conway, S. J.

Father Conway, assistant professor of political science at Creighton University, here, said that it could mean his one-man crusade for a ban on missile-testing was beginning to pay off.

The Creighton professor, an expert on arms-control problems, began his crusade more than 2 years ago in speeches, lectures, letters to editors, and magazine and newspaper articles.

In a South Bend, Ind., address on May 10, 1955, he warned of the advent of the ocean-spanning missiles:

"People will then (in 1956 or 1957) know the truth of Mr. (Thomas K.) Finletter's warning (in Power and Policy) that 'the time of absolute Russian air atomic power and of hydrogen bombs carried mainly by big manned bombers will not last long.'

"They will know by then that intercontinental ballistic missiles with atomic and hydrogen warheads, able to speed from Moscow to Washington in 30 minutes, will be just around the corner."

Father Conway seconded Mr. Finletter's assertion that "it does seem that we now are talking about our last chance to control these weapons, the last chance that man will be given to prevent his own science for destruction from ending his civilization and himself."

"I consider it a psychological certainty," Father Conway predicted at South Bend, "that the peoples, once they do realize their predicament, will turn with a great rush in search of what Mr. [Thomas E.] Murray—ex-Atomic Energy Commissioner—called nondestructive solutions if only to save themselves from an international nervous breakdown."

After Commissioner Murray had revealed, on November 17, 1955, that the United States had invented "nuclear weapons capable of destroying all human life" (the fission-fusion-fission or "dirty" H-bomb) and it was reported 6 days later that the U. S. S. R. had duplicated the United States success, Father Conway, in a letter published in the New York Times of December 14, warned that the next step would be the use of H-bombs as warheads for ICBM's.

"These developments," he said, "have drastically telescoped the timetable for disarmament. As soon as [the Russians] successfully test an intercontinental ballistic missile they can defy any inspection system devised. They can simply hide them and their launching gear underground—to emerge at the push of a button. So, of course, could we. * * * This would be the ultimate impasse.

"Unless, therefore, the development of these missiles is halted by agreement before any are successfully tested—and unless an effective inspection system is already checking on compliance—the last hope for disarmament will have disappeared."

The United States disarmament negotiations did not mention missiles in the United Nations until 7 months later. During the last session of the U. N. Assembly, on July 18, 1956, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge warned:

"We cannot afford to let much more time go by. The long-range guided missile is already looming on the scene. When it becomes a standard weapon, no nation would have more than 15 minutes to get ready to defend itself and to hit back. * * * We must act before these deadly missiles are poised in hidden nests ready to strike—and before the problem of nuclear control becomes too difficult and unstable to handle."

While the great debate over a ban on H-bomb testing raged during the election campaign, Father Conway kept insisting that Ike and Adlai were wrangling about the wrong ban.

While a ban on H-bomb tests was important, he said, it was far more important to stop testing ICBM's without delay, because once they were successfully tested, mass-produced, and operationally deployed, the world would have arrived at the point of no return to any effective disarmament system.

In a letter to the Washington Post during the campaign Father Conway asked:

"Could it be that we are wasting precious time discussing a ban on further H-bomb tests? Is the question of such a moratorium really fundamental in the matter of the current arms race? Is it relevant to the present realities of that race? Can we and the world afford the months that would be required to reach agreement on an answer here at home, and then agreement with the Soviet Union? At this time, therefore, we should be asking both presidential candidates such questions as these:

How and how soon do you propose to act on the missile problem? Do you agree with Dean Duncan E. McDonald, Boston University physicist and reconnaissance expert, who testified last April 9 before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament that once ICBM's are operationally deployed, their detection will be technologically impossible?

Father Conway ended his letter on this portentous note:

"After consulting atomic scientists, missile experts, military strategists, and arms-control experts during a year devoted to intensive study of the arms race in all its aspects, I must solemnly warn that only an heroic and immediate effort, concentrated on this one problem of a missile-testing moratorium and enlisting the best minds of the whole world, can now save that world from the unbalancing terrors of a nuclear-missile stalemate, and win a few more years in which to work out a dependable disarmament program."

When his letter was finally published November 23—it had been swamped by an influx of letters on the Hungarian and Suez crises—it was answered by Senator STUART SYMINGTON, knowledgeable chairman of the Air Power Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee.

Father Conway was encouraged by the Senator's acknowledgment that it is technically feasible to design a detection system (of missile testing) which would result in reasonable reliability even though the Senator doubted whether the detection could always be interpreted correctly.

The priest-professor was disappointed, however, when the new United States proposals of January 14, 1957 contained only vague references to international control of space objects—presumably missiles and earth satellite vehicles.

And when, after 4 months of the current London disarmament negotiations had passed, the United States still had not mentioned missiles, Father Conway returned to the charge.

In an article in the June 20 Catholic Messenger of Davenport, Iowa, which was promptly printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and in Commonweal magazine, he called the United States reticence most disturbing. "For," he wrote, "While the London negotiators haggle over their partial first steps, the missile-makers of Russia, Great Britain and the United States work steadily at their crash programs, achieving one breakthrough after another."

Now that it is reported that the United States will include a missile-testing ban as part of its partial first step at London, the skies are bluer for Father Conway here in Omaha.

His great hope is that the United States delegation will recapture and communicate to their opposites that sense of urgency Ambassador Lodge once evidenced when he declared:

"We cannot afford to let much more time go by * * * We must act before these deadly missiles are poised in hidden nests ready to strike."

Sudden United States Shift on Gas Case Told

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, a situation which, in my opinion, needs investigation by the Judiciary Committees, is recounted in the following article by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 26, 1957.

Many of us thought that the monopolistic empire of Sam Insull had long since been destroyed. Apparently only the symbol was destroyed. The tentacles continue to reach out in an effort to crush all honest competition.

Drew Pearson's column reads as follows:

SUDDEN UNITED STATES SHIFT ON GAS CASE TOLD

(By Drew Pearson)

One of the biggest antitrust suits planned by the Justice Department in years has been suddenly and mysteriously dropped.

It was to have been filed in United States District Court in Milwaukee July 8 against three important gas companies—American Natural Gas, Peoples Gas Light & Coke, and Northern Natural Gas.

The Justice Department had the bill of complaint drafted and a press release all ready to issue. But the press release was never issued. The bill of complaint was never filed.

Ex-Gov. Tom Dewey, counsel for Peoples Gas, is given credit by some for having the antitrust suit called off suddenly. Dewey is very close to Attorney General Brownell, who managed his campaign for President in 1944.

Dewey was out of the United States and not available for comment this week, but in the past he has told this column that he made it a practice never to intervene in matters affecting the Eisenhower administration in Washington.

Others attributed the sudden cancellation to the fact that an antitrust case of this kind would have focused attention upon the natural gas industry just at a time when the Eisenhower administration is trying to pass a new natural-gas bill exempting the industry from Federal regulation.

Regardless of who stopped the suit, here is the inside story of what happened:

Tennessee Gas Transmission had obtained from Canada the right to tap its vast gas reserves with a pipeline linking Canada to Texas. This two-way line could have used gas from the Gulf States when needed or gas from Canada when and where needed.

SECRET CONFERENCE

With natural gas in short supply in the northern United States, Canadian gas is highly coveted. Various companies have been eying the vast and largely undeveloped wealth of Canada. So when Tennessee Gas Transmission secured this concession, it ran into a secret monopoly move by the old Sam Insull holdings in Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

The Insull holdings are now represented by American Natural Gas, Peoples Gas Light & Coke, and Northern Natural. They serve Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, and Indiana.

These three companies held a confidential meeting with Gardner Simonds, head of Tennessee Gas Transmission, at the Chicago Club December 11 after he offered to sell them gas.

The three who participated in this closed-door conference were John Merriam of Northern Natural Gas, Ralph McIlvaine of American Natural Gas, and James Oates of Peoples Gas Light & Coke.

They took Simonds by surprise by demanding that he sell them three-quarters of the stock in the new pipeline from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. Simonds emphatically said no.

After this abortive conference in Chicago the three executives of the old Insull empire

asked for another conference. This took place in the Carlton Hotel in Washington on January 3, at which time the three competitors asked Simonds how far he was willing to go in selling them stock in his new pipeline. He replied that he would give them 40 percent of the stock. They replied that they would take 75 percent or nothing.

The three Midwest utility executives then told Simonds he could take it or leave it. This was their final offer.

GOVERNORS GET SORE

Following this, various State utility commissions and Governors got into the act. The Wisconsin Public Service Commission was especially incensed, since Wisconsin is desperately hard up for gas. So was Senator ALEXANDER WILEY of Wisconsin. Gov. Vernon Thomson of Wisconsin also testified before the Federal Power Commission urging that the pipeline be built from Canada to the gulf.

As a result of indignation by Midwest Governors, the Justice Department prepared its antitrust suit against the three former Insull companies. Then at the last minute the suit was dropped.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 101. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10 *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Confederate Soldier—Our Southern Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I have before me a copy of the July 18, 1957, issue of the Saluda County Sentinel, which is published in Saluda, S. C. This newspaper carries the address delivered by B. W. Crouch, at a reunion of Confederate veterans in 1937, in Saluda. The address, which is entitled "The Confederate Soldier—Our Southern Hero," pays tribute to the southern men and women who fought so gallantly for a strong local government. Those who read this speech will note that men and women fought and died in the 1860's for the very principles which today are being debated in the United States Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONFEDERATE SOLDIER—OUR SOUTHERN HERO

I am to speak this evening of a generation of men, who for the most part "have passed over the river and now rest under the shade of the trees" along with their great chiefs, Gen. Robert E. Lee and the incomparable Stonewall Jackson.

I shall not require much of your time for two reasons: First: It is unnecessary; second: No mere words, however prolix or eloquent can add to or distract from the glory of the Confederate soldier. He stands unique in all the annals of history. He is now, and ever will be, the South's hero.

He is the magnificent and unforgettable figure of the bloody confederate war. About him and around him there is pathos, romance, and tragedy.

He looms before us a gigantic and imposing figure as he passes in grand review on the romantic stage of war.

It is there that history places him just as he is, a cavalier and a fighter. More than that, history shows him a man ragged and poorly fed, but with the determination of a Cromwell and the patriotism of a Regulus. He never knew when he was whipped. It was only by attrition that he was at least worn out, "whipping" as Bill Arp said, those "whom he fought."

Through the eyes of history we look back upon him and find him winning victories with the odds against him sometimes from 5 to 1, and sometimes 10 to 1.

We hear the terrible rebel yell as our heroes dashed into the battle with awful fury on a hundred fields of blood and carnage. For them there was no fear of enemy shot and shell.

As was said by Viscount Wolsley, the once famous Adjutant General of the British Army. "No matter how doubtful at every point and for all time may have been the legality and the advisability of the war, that such men fought on any one side would, of itself, throw a halo of glory around the cause they fought for. Their character (as soldiers and patriots) can never fail to excite general admiration. Even those who were most bitterly opposed to them, even those who believed them to be utterly wrong in their conception of national duty, will readily admit their excellence as soldiers and their sincerity as patriots."

The South, as Cook tells us, did not draw the sword lightly but when it was drawn the scabbard was thrown away.

The struggle from the beginning was one of uneven nature. The North had a population of 19½ million, while the South had a white population of only about 8 million.

The southern soldier fought for the inherent and inalienable right of self-government which had been bred in the bone and dyed in the weaving. It was for this that their forefathers had fought in the revolution.

This principle for which the southern hero fought and suffered for 4 long years; for which tens of thousands of them gave their lives; and for which, when the war was over, they were stripped by the conqueror of everything but their honor and their glory, is today being lightly esteemed by their sons and their sons' sons.

I sometimes wonder what these soldiers—whom we this evening would honor by trying to recall their sacrifices, their sufferings and the hardships which were theirs in an effort to save man's most precious heritage—his liberty and his right to order his affairs in his own way so long as he did not trespass upon the rights of his fellow man—would say, could they stand among us and see the Federal Government, not only far overshadowing the States, but also managing the private business of individuals. How can we, the sons of these southern heroes, repudiate the principles for which they fought, bled, suffered and died, in exchange for a small handout from Federal authorities?

By so doing, are we not selling our birthright for a mess of pottage? If the principle for which the Confederate soldier fought—was right 75 years ago it is right now.

Who shall dare say that these principles are now or were then false? Yet today because of the crumbs that are falling into our laps from the Federal table we are willing not only that the rights of the States be absorbed by the Federal Government, but also we are courting Federal interference with the actions of individuals as touching their own private business.

Could the men, who followed Lee and Jackson and Longstreet and Early and Hampton, come back today and see what is going on, I am constrained to believe they would say with one accord, in thunderous tones, but with bleeding hearts, "O my degenerate sons, why have you turned your backs upon the principles that inspired your fathers on a hundred fields of battle and for which *so* many of us died?"

But we have digressed. We had just stated the great disparity in numbers between the North and South when the war began. Not only that, but the North had practically all the manufacturing plants, upon the output of which the Southern States were dependent. They also had in their possession the entire Federal Navy which enabled them to blockade the southern ports, while at the same time there was all of Europe from which they could draw unlimited supplies.

Notwithstanding all this, when the call came to the men of the South, it was responded to with tremendous enthusiasm.

What took place here in this section of ours was taking place all over the South, when the tocsin of war sounded. By the hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands—the very flower of the South—kissed their wives and sweethearts goodby and held mothers close in their embrace for a brief second, and then to the tune of Dixie, went to the front, full of enthusiasm, leaving their loved ones to the care of Him who never sleeps or slumbers.

In a little while the dead and wounded were being reported to the folks back home. In sorrow and silence, the mothers and sisters received the news, breathed a prayer, and went on with the struggle for life, while at the same time sending garments made with their own hands to those at the front. Was there ever such courage displayed by the women of any age? "Our women of the South during the Civil War," would be a theme that no orator or poet, no tongue or pen could properly treat.

I would to God that "the martial deeds and chivalrous feats, 'fit for song and story,' of our glorious southern heroes as well as of the unfailing fidelity of our southern heroines, that of the former illustrated on many a hard-fought field in this unequal contest for national independence and for States rights, could be deeply furrowed and embalmed in the memories of their sons and daughters of today. The treasure of their blood has enriched the verdant plains, hillsides and valleys of our country. May this blood ever be cherished and sanctified as the precious ransom of our liberties. In the future days of the Republic—if we do not forfeit our heritage—may these battlegrounds become so many Mecca-shrines to which our children's children will go to learn the lessons of patriotism, devotion, and virtue.

For us to attempt to follow "our southern hero" through all the various battles of that long four years' struggle would be impossible. Let us look at him just a moment in the famous Valley Campaign, under the greatest of all the southern generals, Stonewall Jackson.

His strides in this campaign were indeed colossal and his fighting qualities beyond compare. Here he marched with the speed of cavalry and struck the Federal forces blows quick and fast, that shattered, crushed and almost annihilated them.

Here with a force a little less than half of that of the three armies opposing him, he won three of the most brilliant victories recorded in the annals of time.

On old officer of the Grand Army of Napoleon said of it: "There was never a greater campaign than the campaign of the valley."

Following the Valley Campaign came the defenses around Richmond. We find General McClellan with 120,000 men, long files of cavalry and excellent artillery advancing up the Chickahominy to storm Richmond and to take the city by regular approaches.

We see the ragged soldiers of Jackson hurrying through the passes of the Blue Ridge to take part in the defense and to reinforce General Lee—60,000 Confederates to oppose 120,000 Yankees.

An eyewitness of the battle that ensued says of the southern soldiers: "Our shot tore their ranks wide open, and shattered

them asunder in a manner that was frightful to witness. They closed up at once and came on as steadily as English Regulars. When they got within 400 yards we ceased our case shot and opened on them with canister; such destruction I never witnessed. At each discharge of our guns great gaps were made in their ranks—indeed whole companies went down before that murderous fire. But they never flinched, they never stopped, but came right on never wavering, never halting, right through the woods, over the fence, through the field, right up to our guns, sweeping everything before them and capturing every piece."

In these glimpses we see "our southern hero" as a soldier.

And altho the flag of the Confederacy which he carried triumphantly through a hundred bloody battles, at last, went down in defeat there was never a stain upon it, and these men who bore it so bravely and so faithfully and who suffered unspeakably in defense of the principles for which they fought—will always be "our southern heroes."

May the God of battles comfort the few who still remain, and rest in peace the ashes of those who are gone.

The Situation in Algeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a number of articles and comments which recently appeared on the Algerian crisis. As a result of the recent request of 23 nations that the Algerian issue be placed on the United Nations agenda at the fall session, it is now almost certain that the United States will have to reconsider its position on this whole question.

It is also apparent that there are important new stirrings within France to readjust French attitudes on this question. M. Mendes-France, as reported in Le Monde of July 24, has made an appeal for the consideration of an Algerian solution within the framework of a North African community. Earlier M. Jules Moch, the French representative at the London disarmament talks, also sketched out his ideas for a scheme of double sovereignty in Algeria, which recognizes at least that the present political stalemate cannot be maintained.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New Republic of July 29, 1957]

ALGERIA—INDEPENDENCE IS IN SIGHT

(By Denis Healey)

LONDON.—The impossible lasts longer in France than anywhere else in the world. None the less, it does now look as if the Algerian crisis will come to a head before the end of this year, and that somehow or other France will contrive to unload the crushing burden which this has imposed on her ever since she got rid of Indochina.

For at least 18 months Algeria has cost France more in men, money, moral standards, and diplomatic influence than in theory she should be able to bear, and at no moment has there been any sign that this colossal expenditure was likely to create the conditions for a settlement. On the contrary, such small grounds as once existed for hoping that some nationalist leaders might consider a compromise have now disappeared. And there are still half a million Frenchmen tied down in brutalizing repression of the Algerian people, and still billions of francs a day cascading into the bottomless pit.

Now the money is almost all gone. Her reserves exhausted, France is reduced to inflationary borrowing from her national bank. For the first time for some years, the cost of living has again begun to shoot up. The government has had to slash imports just at the moment it is asking the Assembly to ratify the common market which would open France permanently to free trade with the rest of Europe. Since America will not make France a new loan while she is carrying on the Algerian war, France is now looking to Western Germany for aid. But the West Germans, however much they may relish the irony of having their former victor in pawn, have valuable Asian and African markets to lose if they come to France's rescue.

The Mollet government fell last month because its supporters would not pay the cost of the Algerian war. The Bourges-Manoury government which succeeded it managed to impose some new financial sacrifices on the French people. This has done more than anything else to force the average Frenchman to consider whether the game is worth the candle. In particular, the new gasoline tax has hit precisely those lower-middle-class voters who normally provide the solid base for chauvinism in any country.

Also, for months now sections of the Catholic and Mendes-France intelligentsia have been protesting against the degradation of moral standards inseparable from such a full-scale colonial war—in particular against torture and the shooting of hostages. This essentially moral opposition was enormously reinforced a few weeks ago by the independent Conservative columnist, Raymond Aron, who published a brilliant pamphlet denying the basic political and economic assumptions on which France's Algerian policy has been based. Apart from the cultural and ethnic absurdity of pretending that the Arabs and Berbers are European Frenchmen, Aron pointed out that in a generation's time the Arabs will outnumber the French in Algeria by not 9 to 1, as at present but 18 to 1. In such a situation Algeria can only be a drain on the French economy if it is constitutionally linked with France. Thus France's wisest course would be to give Algeria its independence, and to resettle at home those French colons who were unable or unwilling to adjust themselves to living as a minority in an Arab state.

In the long run, this is probably the inevitable outcome of France's failure to face facts in time. But Aron would scarcely have risked publishing so drastic a diagnosis and prescription had he not felt that French opinion was at last ready for it. The fall of Mollett may have provided the catalyst. Only a Socialist Prime Minister could have persisted so long in a policy of force which was getting nowhere. Once he was out of office, a third of Mollet's party felt free to express themselves against his Algerian policy. Conversely, only a rightwing Prime Minister can afford to start negotiating a surrender.

De Gaulle has been approached more than once in the last few weeks, but, though not averse to this role, is demanding too abject a capitulation by the parliamentarians who rejected him 10 years ago. But it is conceivable that in the inevitable financial crisis next autumn Mendes-France, the other great political Ishmael, might be able to win the general over as a latterday Hindenburg. Mendes-France is certainly no Hitler; but it is impossible to ignore the danger that Algeria might mean for French democracy what Versailles meant for the Weimar Republic, particularly if several hundred thousand dispossessed colons pour into France as refugees hungry for revenge. For this reason if no other, France's allies must show great tact and caution in the next few months. There is nothing that some French politicians would like better than to make the Americans or the British scapegoats for their national humiliation.

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Republic of July 14, 1957]

WHOSE BUSINESS?

French politicians are in an uproar over a speech which Senator JOHN KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, made recently on the Algerian problem. Though Secretary of State Dulles rebuked KENNEDY officially, the speech has made a profound impression in Africa and throughout the Arab world. KENNEDY urges the State Department to stop supporting the French colonial war in Algeria and to work, instead, for Algerian independence.

The French think that such speeches made in the United States Senate amount to a gross intervention in internal French affairs. But is Algeria an internal French problem? Hardly. But for American military and economic support, the French would not be able to continue their war against the Algerian nationalists. In other words, the United States is already very deep in the intervention business in Algeria—on the request of the French Government. United States arms and United States money have been openly put on the side of French colonial rule.

United States public opinion has not only the right, but the duty to scrutinize carefully the foreign policy of the United States Government, particularly when this policy aids the suppression of a people's will for freedom and independence. By requesting and by relying on American support for its war against the Algerian nationalists, the French Government itself has made the Algerian problem an American foreign policy problem. And all American foreign policy problems, including the Algerian one, are the concern of American public opinion.

[From the Haverhill (Mass.) Gazette of July 12, 1957]

THE BLAST FROM KENNEDY

The United States belongs on the side of peoples struggling for independence of imperial rule.

An odd fact of modern history is that the United States is not clearly and consistently on the side of these people.

This odd fact was impressed on us several years ago by a spokesman for India during an interview at the United Nations. He said he could not understand an alliance with European imperialists by a nation that had itself fought for and won freedom from imperial rule. Neither could we understand it, nor have we ever been able to understand it.

This odd fact recently has been set forth most clearly and vigorously by Senator KENNEDY, who has introduced a resolution that urges the President and the Secretary of State to place the influence of the United States behind efforts for the independence of Algeria.

American policy on Algeria, as expressed through direct diplomatic contacts with France and through the United Nations, has been to uphold the French position.

One basis for this policy is the fact that Algeria is politically a part of metropolitan France. When Algeria has urged that its case for independence be considered by the United Nations, the United States has argued that the Algerian issue was a domestic rather than an international problem. Suppose, American diplomats have said in substance,

Texas should clamor for independence of the American Union so vigorously that Washington had to send troops into the State to put down terroristic resistance to Federal rule. The Texan situation, our diplomats have said, clearly would be a domestic problem and no concern of the U. N. Algeria, they have concluded, is in the same class.

KENNEDY effectively disposes of this diplomatic argument. Algeria, he points out, was taken by the French only a little more than a century ago. The southern desert area has been governed like a crown colony. The populous and fertile northern area was made legally a part of France in 1871, but native Algerians were not made citizens of France until 1947. Algerian citizenship in France, however, is not like that of the French. Only 75,000 African Algerians have full voting rights, says KENNEDY, and the 30 Algerian seats in the French Assembly are mostly filled by French politicians.

Thus KENNEDY brushes aside the frail political cobweb that binds Algeria to France and reveals the Algerian movement for independence as precisely comparable to other movements by colonial peoples against imperial rulers.

These movements deserve American sympathy and all the support Americans wisely can give them, because Americans themselves were once a colonial people fighting imperial rule.

But KENNEDY presents persuasive practical reasons for American support of the Algerian cause. They penetrate the substance of the policy that directs the United States to the side of France.

This policy is based on fear of Russia as a dreadful and dangerous aggressor. It has determined the American course since the end of World War II. It has persuaded the United States to build an anti-Russian alliance, especially in Western Europe. The United States naturally placed reliance principally on Britain and France as going concerns that most readily could resist Russian attack. Consequently, to assure Anglo-French fidelity to the alliance, the United States has tended to take the Anglo-French side in international dispute. The Suez affair was an exception to this rule. KENNEDY would make Algeria another exception.

He makes the point that the Algerian struggle is weakening the western alliance against Russia, because it weakens France. French resources and manpower are being dissipated in Algeria. Military equipment supplied to France for use in the defense of Western Europe is being used against Algerians.

He notes that France has been continually at war since 1939 and reasonably concludes that the debilitating Algerian struggle must be ended to "save the French nation as well as free Africa."

He sees the effectiveness of the Eisenhower doctrine in the Middle East impaired by American adherence to France in Algeria. He sees, too, the cause of communism encouraged by this adherence because it gives the Reds a chance to point to Americans as the ally of oppressors. The successful American struggle for independence, he reminds Americans, has long been a glorious example to suppressed and oppressed peoples, a sign of what they can accomplish. Taking the side of peoples struggling for freedom, therefore, he concludes, is in accord with the finest fulfillment of the American destiny.

In the long run, as the Indian spokesman said at the U. N., the United States will be stronger and greater and nobler by consistent support of popular struggles for freedom.

President Eisenhower gave the Kennedy resolution a brushoff. Secretary of State Dulles expressed horror at the thought of it. Practical diplomats everywhere, especially those schooled in the doctrine that American policy must be directed toward resisting an imminent attack by Russia, were grievously shocked.

After Kennedy delivered his speech in support of the resolution, one voice, that of Senator CHAVEZ, was repeatedly raised with this question: "What's wrong with this resolution?"

The answer is: There's nothing wrong with it. It is essentially right and sound.

It calls on the United States to do tardily what it should have done promptly and instinctively.

A common fault with diplomacy is that it is persistently practical. It grubs with tools of expediency in the swamps of reality. It needs at least now and then to be blasted from its morasses onto the solid ground of noble purpose under the blazing light of the burning idealism which welded into a mighty force for freedom the Nation for which it speaks.

That's what KENNEDY is trying to do.

[From the Quincy (Ill.) Herald-Whig of July 11, 1957]

UNPOPULAR, BUT TRUE

When Senator JACK KENNEDY of Massachusetts gave a speech in the Senate a few days ago in which he criticized French colonial policy, he stirred up a storm. KENNEDY blamed the French Government for causing strife in Algeria. In the long run, KENNEDY said, France would suffer from drain on her manpower and resources.

Discussion of liquidation of her African colonies is distasteful to France. The French, like the British, are unwilling to concede eventual loss of overseas possessions. France, continental Europe's first great champion of freedom, is trying to keep alive at least the framework of empire.

KENNEDY'S speech was undiplomatic. It brought quick statements from the State Department and the President, both seeking to salve the wound.

But Senator KENNEDY is right. This country has too long accepted a contradictory position. We are the champions of freedom. We point to Woodrow Wilson's philosophy of the right of self-determination of peoples. Yet we support the French in their colonial troubles.

There is, of course, a reason for our attitude. The solidarity of the West is currently of paramount importance. The French are as adamant in their views on colonialism as are the people of our own South on civil rights. And just as the South regards civil rights as a local matter so do the French consider their own conduct of colonial affairs strictly a matter for France to decide.

KENNEDY'S views represent the long-range, colonialism, even the rather mild variety practiced by France, cannot survive for long the general enlightenment of colonial people. Before many years have passed, there will be no more colonies. France will do well to prepare herself for that day.

It is not, of course, proper for the United States to intervene in the domestic affairs of an ally of such long standing as France. But we cannot logically support the theory or practice of exploitation of the people of one country by those of another.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News of July 7, 1957]

KENNEDY SAYS GOOD THINGS ON ALGERIA

Senator JOHN KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, spoke up vigorously in the Senate last week for a reevaluation of American policy toward France and Algeria. The French, as almost everyone knows, have been continuing a bitter, costly struggle trying to put down Algerian rebels. It has been argued monotonously that Algeria is part of France, not a colony, and that law and order must be restored.

The fact is that France cannot really ever restore law and order in Algeria. Far too many Algerians have a burning desire for absolute independence for the country ever to be kept peacefully as part of France.

Senator KENNEDY says that we have had our heads in the sand, that we have thought our more or less neutral attitude pleased both sides when in fact it has pleased neither. He called for American influence to be used to lead toward Algerian independence, through NATO, Tunisia and the Sultan of Morocco, and then through the U. N. if progress isn't made.

His call strikes us as reasonable.

[From the Boston Sunday Herald of July 21, 1957]

UNITED STATES INTERVENTION REQUIRED UNDER NATO

To the EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

I have been startled at the storm of criticism leveled at Senator KENNEDY'S speech on the Algerian situation.

Moderate in tone and content, KENNEDY'S proposal that the United States use its good offices through NATO, the UN, and elsewhere to find a solution which will recognize the independent personality of Algeria and end the present bloody stalemate has been damned both in France and by American officials as unwonted meddling in the internal affairs of France. Algeria, we are told, is a private French problem.

This, I submit, is patent nonsense. Every day we meddle in the internal life of France by NATO activities, military purchases, and subsidies of various sorts and no French Foreign Secretary has risen to demand an end to this type of interference. Indirectly, our military budget supports the French police action in Algeria, but neither the State Department nor the French have demanded that this intervention cease.

In other words, American intervention in the internal affairs of France and, specifically in the Algerian debacle, is constant and could only be terminated by the French breaking loose from NATO and other Franco-American commitments. The French therefore do not want nonintervention—they want selective nonintervention—nonintervention in some areas and not in others. And our very refusal to support the Algerians is itself a form of intervention, in the same way that a refusal to help a downing man is not a nuetral act, but a positive action detrimental to him.

Obviously neither Senator KENNEDY nor myself would want the United States to try to act in an old-fashioned imperialistic fashion by simply issuing orders to the French or taking over their jurisdiction, but this is quite a different thing from urging upon a government which has welcomed our aid that it take sensible steps toward ending a problem which affects not France alone, but her allies and the noncommitted peoples of the world as well.

In short, American intervention, either positive or negative—as for instance, our refusal to support the Franco-British-Israeli attack on Egypt last fall—is an enormous force in the contemporary world whether we like it or not.

We cannot escape from its reality and its obligations, and it seems to me that our task is to see that this great power is employed on behalf of those values we cherish. The State Department can nurse the illusion that nonintervention with respect to Algeria is a nice clean, antiseptic policy, but the Algerians hunted down with American helicopters will have no doubts that in fact we are nonintervening against them.

Senator KENNEDY'S remarks therefore seem to me a fine start toward the kind of understanding of our role in the modern world that we must have if we are going to sustain our tradition of liberty in this time of peril.

JOHN P. ROCHE,
Professor of Politics, Brandeis University.
WALTHAM.

Shoe on the Other Foot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Dickensonian, a weekly paper published in Clintwood, Va., by H. M. Sutherland.

Speaking from the viewpoint of a former news editor of the New York Times who decided that the way of life in southwest Virginia was more to his taste, Mr. Sutherland comments on the reaction of his former neighbors and associates in New York when they found themselves faced at home with the kind of civil-rights legislative proposal they have advocated so strongly for application to the Southern States.

This editorial, Mr. President, points up the desirability of such an amendment to the pending bill as will be offered by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] to provide Federal aid for bringing about a more even distribution of the Negro population throughout the Nation. When our brethren in other parts of the country have sat where we have they may have a more tolerant attitude and be less inclined to deprive us of our right to trial by jury, and less eager to subject us once more to the kind of force legislation which was attempted after the War Between the States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OH, YEAH?

We note with more than a little glee that predicament in which some of our northern brethren find themselves as a result of their zeal in the cause of integrating the races in the South. Within the past few weeks this mixing of Negroes and whites has been brought home to them in a manner that they do not like even a little bit.

We are referring particularly to the big business tycoons of New York, and the crusading New York Times where we were once employed as a news editor. Judging by their reactions to certain developments in that great city, they seem to feel that integration of the races is a magnificent thing down South, but that it is a cat of another breed when it comes into their own backyard.

Now this is an election year in New York City, and there is quite a big vote in Harlem, all the way from 120th Street up to the Yankee Stadium. Mayor Bob Wagner, who is up for reelection, and the city council had an eye out for this block of votes and began t[illegible] pious phrases and speeches about the necessity of guaranteeing to all men the right to live wherever they please regardless of color, race, or religion.

They proposed a law to this effect, and when the city council took the measure up for consideration the deluge came. The bill would have made it possible for Negroes to rent apartments in the thousands of apartment buildings on Morningside Heights, Columbia Heights, Washington Heights and out toward Van Courtland Park. All told there are some 1,800,000 renting units in this area and landlords have been careful to keep the Negroes out of them.

This was too much for the landlords, the real-estate people, the mortgage market in Wall Street, and even the renters themselves. They gagged out loud, and the councilmen were deluged with letters and petitions until they were completely smothered. They immediately relegated this proposed law to a dusty pigeonhole from which it will not likely be removed for some time to come.

In the forefront of every campaign to bring equality in every way to the southern Negro, and the compulsory brotherhood of man, has stood the New York Times like a granite wall. But not this time, Horatio. Integration was fine for the schools in the South, but desegregation of dollars in the North was something else again.

The Times and the other opponents of the new rent laws, which would have fined landlords $500 for refusing to rent to a Negro, pointed out that should such a law be enacted property values would drop and mortgage money for new construction would flee to other cities. Furthermore, warned the Times, "the difficulties of enforcement are enormous, and intolerance might be aggravated instead of diminished. * * * Progress must be a matter of education and spiritual growth rather than a consequence of legislation."

Oh, yeah? Well, that's exactly what we have been saying here in the South in regard to desegregating our schools, but we want it to apply to our children and not to our dollars. All of which leads us to the inevitable conclusion that this entire movement to halt school segregation is nothing but a political move aimed at the Negroes both in the northern cities and in the South, so long as it does not disturb northern finances.

And another thing is taking place up there that is quite interesting from an educational viewpoint. A number of the professors at Columbia University have long been apostles in the cause of the Negro and of integrating the schools. And then they got them integrated with a bang. The school officials of New York brought Negro pupils from over in Harlem to Morningside Heights and put them in school with the children of the college professors.

This action was hailed with acclaim by the NAACP, Herbert Brownell, and others who had donned the shining armor of liberators of the Negroes from the sloughs of despond, but somehow it did not pan out as joyously predicted. The scholastic standards of the mixed schools were lowered to the point where these college professors began quietly to remove their children from the desegregated schools and place them in private schools. And we challenge them to deny it.

Inflation at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin has published a very good editorial entitled "Inflation at Work." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INFLATION AT WORK

It used to be a truism that there was one safe place for widows' and orphans' funds, Government bonds.

But in Britain, they're beginning to wonder. What is safe when inflation starts rolling?

London got a jolt the other day when Britain's war loan 3½ percent bonds dropped to 67⅞, and 2½ percent consols, a standard investment for trust funds, slumped to 49½.

These slumps did not reflect any lack of confidence in the soundness of the treasury. They grew out of the effort of investors to switch their funds into equities, to get a higher income that would compensate for the decline in the purchasing power of the pound as a result of creeping inflation. But this knowledge is small comfort to the original investor.

London financial writers, as a result, are questioning the validity of old rules about investing trust funds in safe government bonds. One charity board member, in a letter to the Times, reported that his board had reluctantly decided that good trusteeship required it to sell all its government holdings and reinvest in stocks.

The same problem is reflected in the lower prices offered on United States Government bonds, although the decline has not gone nearly so far. Britain's case, however, offers evidence of the urgency of solving the problem of controlling inflation.

National Cowboy Hall of Fame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, we in the Senate have given our blessing to the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum, which citizens in 17 Western States are creating in Oklahoma City to recognize the role the West has played in enriching our American heritage. It is particularly fitting that this monument, built by private subscription, without Government funds, should be a national shrine honoring the outstanding pioneers who are symbolic of an important era in our Nation's growth.

I understand that the House Interior Committee has tabled various House bills, and will act on Senate Concurrent Resolution 32 on Wednesday of this week. The Oklahoma City Times has commented editorially upon Senate passage of the resolution to recognize the Hall of Fame as a fitting and valuable institution. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial and also the site dedication prayer of Dr. G. Raymond Campbell, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Chuch, Oklahoma City, on November 11, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial and prayer were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oklahoma City Times of July 25, 1957]

WITHOUT FEDERAL FUNDS

Oklahoma and 16 other Western States appreciate the congressional recognition given the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in the making on a 37-acre tract at the edge of Oklahoma City.

No Federal funds to help build and equip the memorial and museum were asked, although Federal funds have been appropriated for less worthy enterprises. Congress simply gives its blessing to the 17 States which comprise a large part of the Nation's bread and meat baskets for providing, with private contributions, a memorial to the people of the Western States who have made an empire of production, and are building it bigger and stronger every year.

SITE DEDICATION PRAYER BY DR. G. RAYMOND CAMPBELL, PASTOR, WESTMINSTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

O Thou God of the open plains, who never made a man you didn't love, we pray that You will hallow this place in the memory of men of the saddle, that the best of the past can be carried into the future.

If sometimes, someone should imagine, up here on this hill, that he has caught just a whiff of the smell of bacon frying over an open fire, or the bubble of coffee boiling over onto coals of the fire, or the creak of a tired saddle, and the evening lowing of cattle off in the distance, we'll thank you, Lord.

And if some still night when the moon is full, someone should think that he hears again the soft breath of a harmonica, or the sound of a man quietly humming to himself, then we'll believe, like those men who were riding herd 2,000 years ago, that the angels have come mighty close to earth again.

It is in the memory of the men who built this West, we ask You to dedicate this place. And, Lord, up there on the high range where the grass is always green and a man's horse never gets tired, we pray that the boys are happy with what we are doing here. Amen.

Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I received from one of my constituents, the president of a bank in Clarksville, Tenn., and former president of the American Bankers Association, urging that the present program of the TVA be maintained. As one who is in position to observe and recognize the improvements, he points out the better way of life TVA has made possible for the people of the farms and towns in the area served by the TVA.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK
OF CLARKSVILLE,
Clarksville, Tenn., May 24, 1957.

Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KEFAUVER: We want to go on record as unqualifiedly in favor of the operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the maintenance of the present program and the avenue open for future developments.

Out here in the country we have had an opportunity to observe, through travels and otherwise, how TVA has carried conveniences, comforts, and contributions to better ways of life in remote sections and in valleys and distant places where there is a deep sense of appreciation of the opportunity to enjoy these elements of deeper thinking, fresher viewpoints, and wider horizons. All of this has come to these people.

Then we see industrial improvements in our city, as well as elsewhere, resulting in more and better employment as well as constant income throughout the year.

We know there are a lot of folks who formerly drove trucks and performed tasks that were rather hard and difficult, with very modest pay, now enjoying good income, better houses and furnishings, and, unfortunately for some, driving bigger automobiles.

It has been right heartening to go into modest homes out in the rural areas and see refrigerators, electric stoves, deep freezes, washing machines, and various and sundry other equipment operated by electricity. Usually a big television aerial on top of the house.

There are a lot of other reasons why we are very earnest in our approval of TVA which could be outlined to you in an extensive manner if an opportunity presented.

Sincerely yours,

C. W. BAILEY, *President.*

Government Competition With Private Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, for many years I have taken a deep interest in the subject of Government competition with private business. As a member of the Appropriations Committee, as former chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, and now as ranking minority member of that committee, I have always maintained that the Government should eliminate itself from any competition with private enterprise which is not an absolute necessity.

Since 1953, there has been steady progress throughout all Government agencies toward eliminating competition with private business. The Bureau of the Budget has assumed the responsibility of coordinating a vast program designed to take the Government out of commercial enterprises.

Without objection, I should like to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Mr. W. W. Marsh, executive secretary of the National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., of Washington, D. C. This letter demonstrates what can be done when Government agencies act constructively and in cooperation with private industry. It is my hope that many other instances such as this will come to our attention during the coming months.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL TIRE DEALERS
AND RETREADERS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Washington, D. C., July 24, 1957.

Hon. EDWARD J. THYE,
United States Senate, United States Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR THYE: On June 15 you wrote me attaching a copy of your letter to the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Perkins McGuire, and his reply. This was in relation to retreading now done by the United States Army.

As indicated in my correspondence, there had been considerable work done on this over the past several years and most recently a survey which we prepared and submitted to the Department of Commerce and made a part of a file which was then sent to the Department of Defense. All of this has now come to a very satisfactory conclusion with approximately 60,000 tires to be distributed among independent retreaders who are basically small-business men and this, of course, will be a very wonderful thing. The Army expects to maintain its basic facilities on a greatly restricted basis but all in all we are establishing a pattern which will do much to enhance our defense position in time of national emergency. We have pledged our support to the Department of the Army and the Secretary of Defense in working out the problems that will develop as a result of this and since we are completely cognizant of the basic problems that exist there, we feel that we can be of considerable help and hope that we will have the opportunity to render this aid.

We are very grateful to you for your interest and for your assistance in this matter. This is just another of the many very wonderful things that you have done for small-business men across the Nation and we are deeply indebted to you.

Very truly yours,

W. W. MARSH,
Executive Secretary.

The South's Date With Destiny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial entitled "We Keep a Date With Destiny," from the Savannah (Ga.) Morning News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE KEEP A DATE WITH DESTINY

The South today, more so than ever since our Founding Fathers first set foot on American soil, is keeping a date with destiny. Providence, with infinite wisdom, has decreed that we shall be the guardians of those tenets of living which we are proud to call Americanism. All the idealism, all the hopes, all the dreams which our forefathers brought to the country have been passed on to us in the Southland. It is our responsibility to see they are safeguarded.

Since the very beginning of this country there has been apparent a difference in the way in which the peoples of the various colonies viewed such subjects as civil rights, liberty, and equality.

In the beginning things were much nearer the same for all concerned. The English, the French, and the Dutch who were mainly responsible for the settling of this country viewed it simply as a smiling land, benevolent in all its aspects. They comprehended nothing of the rigors of a New England winter, or the terrific inroads which swampland fevers could make in the South. Consequently, when eager shiploads of colonists left the old country, it was no great matter of concern just where they landed.

Thus, the navigator of the *Mayflower* took a wrong look at the sun or maybe attended the broaching of one gin keg too many or ended up in Massachusetts instead of South Carolina, it didn't make too much difference.

But later, when the Indians had been pushed back, the land explored, and the colonists had learned to wrest a living of sorts from the new land, things took on a different pattern.

Yankee skippers brought in slaves. These people couldn't thrive in northern latitudes, but they found an ideal climate in the warm South. The northerners waxed fat on the slave trade—along with opium and other contraband goods—and built up a healthy economy on the basis of shipping and manufacturing. The South, on the other hand, found agriculture to its liking. The fecund land yielded abundantly of the tobacco, cotton, indigo, and foodstuffs which sold so well on foreign markets. The slaves which the Yankees had imported provided a perfect answer to the labor problem.

Both areas flourished, the North on industry and commerce, and the South on agriculture. From both came the sparks of rebellion which were fanned into the searing flames of the Revolutionary War. The embattled farmers of Concord fired the first shots, but it was in the South that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were inscribed in words that shall live forever. But, everything considered, ours was a common effort.

Then, liberty won, we drifted apart. New England and the rest of the manufacturing North were jealous of prerogatives in this field; we of the South were content with the ease, the culture, and the prosperity which our fruitful fields brought us. The downeasters and the Dixie people furnished the great bulk of the leadership which further formulated the ideas of the Constitution and forged a new concept of liberty—a concept which literally left the world gasping.

Then came discord. The North became jealous of the South because we began to find ourselves industrially and demanded our just place in the economic sun. The South in turn was fiercely protective of those advantages which Providence had granted. Most debate hinged on the immediate problem of slavery, but the difference in basic principle went much deeper. The North, for geographical and economic reasons were federalist, desirous of a strong central government. The South, for the same reasons was a stout proponent of the right of the various States to handle their own affairs.

These arguments eventually led to open conflict, a needless, cruel, and bloody war which in he end proved nothing except that the North could produce and find hands to use more of the sinews of war than could the South. At the end the South lay prostrate, a helpless victim of the revenge-bent North.

But, despite the ardors of the Reconstruction, our dreams did not die. Even in chains we fought on to preserve those constitutional principles and liberties for which our forefathers had died.

It has been a long fight. Almost a hundred years have passed since the guns of Fort Sumter boomed the death knell of national unity. But agonizing year by agonizing year, we have fought our painful way back to the point that economically we are now in about the same position as immediately before the unfortunate War Between the States.

And, if one be desirous of proof that history repeats itself, look at today's problems and those of the 1950's. Stripped of a few trappings, they are the same. The South stands today as always as the embattled champion of constitutional integrity, States rights, and the dignity of the individual. We are fighting again the moral battle of the sixties. For the War Between the States did not end at Appomattox. In effect, it started here.

And the South of today is keeping a date with destiny.

Liberty and License—A Vital Difference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an outstanding column which was written by Mr. Holmes Alexander, one of America's most distinguished newspapermen. It is entitled "Liberty and License—A Vital Difference," and appeared in the July 26, 1957, issue of the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier, one of the great newspapers in my State.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIBERTY AND LICENSE—A VITAL DIFFERENCE

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—Forgive us our virtues when they carry us to extremes. The upright man becomes the bent-backward pietist. The dignified and eloquent statesman becomes the pompous and bombastic windmill. The kindly judge with tolerance for human frailty becomes the duped confederate of the thief, the traitor, the anarchist and the vandal who prey upon a law-abiding, long-suffering community.

This overextension of goodness seems to have happened to the Supreme Court since we commenced worshipping the graven image called "the common man." It is a political form of commandment breaking which the House Subcommittee on Revision of Laws is now investigating. Chairman EDWIN E. WILLIS, Democrat, Louisiana, is a thickset southern lawyer with streaky, stand-up hair and a penetrating manner of inquiry. He is beginning the probe—as all good chairmen should—with a preconviction that something is wrong and that his investigation will prove it.

Congressman WILLIS has already said for quotation that the Justices of the Supreme Court have been usurping the lawmaking and executive powers which properly belong to Congress and the President. How have the Justices done this? On the basis of the recent record, they have done it by their overconcern for the individual and their showoff hostility toward the rest of our American society.

The Willis subcommittee has begun by a study of the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Mallory* v. *United States*. This Mallory was picked up in the District of Columbia for a crime to which he confessed and for which he was then arraigned. Upon appeal, the Supreme Court released Mallory on the grounds that he was kept in the police station overnight before the arraignment and that he confessed to a crime without being properly and publicly told what it was.

What is the effect of this decision upon our police work and jurisprudence? United States attorney for the District of Columbia, Oliver Gasch, says that police officers, veterans as well as the rookies, are so confused that they hesitate to arrest even a red-handed criminal who makes a confession. His case will almost surely be tossed out of court if the confession seems to be ill timed.

It is conceivable, according to Gasch, that an orthodox confession made after arraignment could be nullified if the defendant appeared to be repeating one he had made beforehand. Gasch's boss, Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, of the criminal division, has described the Mallory decision as a boon to organized crime. It gives the kept lawyers and mouthpieces of gangland another gimmick with which to spring their clients. Congressman KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican, of New York, ranking minority member of the House Judiciary Committee, has a bill (H. R. 8600) to straighten out this absurd tangle. KEATING says:

"The bill that I am introducing would simply provide that any delay in arraigning an accused person such as Mallory, in and of itself, could not constitute grounds for keeping a confession out of evidence."

Study of the Mallory case is merely the first step of the WILLIS subcommittee in pursuing the alleged misrule of the Supreme Court. The path of inquiry now heads toward the Court's various rulings on the anti-subversive laws, FBI records, the Girard case, congressional investigations, and the use and misuse of the Bill of Rights.

Chairman WILLIS feels that this is an unprecedented task because never in history has the Court been so conspicuously stronger than either the Congress or the White House. It is no secret in town that President Eisenhower was just as furious over the Court's opening of the FBI files to defendants as any Congressman has been over other alleged usurpations.

Congressman WILLIS insists that he is not investigating the Court, merely the Court's decisions. But in trying to narrow the scope of his probe, he has, in my opinion, done just the reverse—he has broadened the scope to encompass not merely the Supreme Court but the nature of our American Government.

It appears to be that we have passed from our proper concern for the individual to an inordinate pride in ourselves as individual protectors. We have made a fetish of individualism until the pillars of society are neglected and in jeopardy.

Fallout of Another Kind Plagues Nation's Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix RECORD an editorial from the Nashville Tennessean of July 18. This is an excellent article on the problem of inflation, and I think it deserves wide circulation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FALLOUT OF ANOTHER KIND PLAGUES NATION'S ECONOMY

There is a different kind of fallout plaguing the Nation these days and the new villain is the fallout of the value of the dollar, or if you prefer: inflation.

After a measure of stability during the last year of the Truman administration and

for 3 years of the Eisenhower administration, the slow spiral upward began. It has been an unwelcome visitor for some time, now, and some of the economic experts think it has moved in permanently. Some go so far as to say that within the next 25 years it will be 50 percent bigger than it is now.

Most recent boost in that direction was the $6-a-ton hike in the price of steel which will affect prices of everything from hairpins to battleships.

Before the last election and afterward, President Eisenhower had a lot to say on the subject. He talked fondly of the administration's anti-inflation policies, which have been of little help, and pleaded with business and labor to exercise "statesmanlike action" to help ease the trouble. His pleas fell on deaf ears.

For 9 months the cost of living has gone up each 30 days and the reports which used to be viewed with concern are now being accepted matter-of-factly. Defeatism about inflation is appearing on all sides within the administration. Since tight money and the classical methods haven't halted the spiral, the economic experts now are coming up with a much-repeated phrase: "inevitability of inflation."

Big business blames labor costs such as higher wage settlements for a major share of responsibility. Labor says "not us," and cites the Government's Bureau of Labor Statistics, which in a report said the index for unit labor costs was lower than the price index for every year before 1956, and that the index of nonlabor costs (profits, depreciation, and other nonlabor payments) was higher than the price for every year before 1956. In other words, says labor, it was profits, depreciation, and other nonlabor payments that got the benefits of the price increases since 1947.

And Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, who heads a Senate antitrust and monopoly subcommittee, leans in that direction. Senator KEFAUVER has announced a complete and thorough diagnosis to determine the cause of inflation.

One cause, the Senator believes, may lie in what he terms administered prices—that is that some concentrated and powerful industries like steel have the power to raise prices even when demand is falling, and do not hesitate to use that power.

Senator KEFAUVER feels that this produces a new kind of inflation, one in which prices are not influenced by the laws of supply and demand or by instruments of fiscal control, but by corporate intent.

Certainly the softness of the Eisenhower administration toward big business has created an atmosphere favorable to such bigness, where mergers are now matter of fact and other concessions are an accomplished fact.

While some of the blame can undoubtedly be laid at the door of big business it can also be said that big labor cannot shrug off its share of the blame for making smaller components of the economy victims of the fall-out villain.

No one likes the idea of price-wage controls to keep bigness in line. And even indirect controls sometimes are powerless as in the case of price solidarity of the steelmakers.

While the Eisenhower administration is floundering in the sea of despondency over the problem, at least Senator KEFAUVER aims at doing something. What he may accomplish is unknown at present, but the opportunity is surely there to shed light on what is happening, and if the case of administered prices is proved, to pave the way for changes in existing laws to enable the Government to move against such price solidarity as has been evident in the oil and steel industry. At the same time the Senator might look for evidence of administered wages and make it clear also to labor that antitrust legislation applies to all economic groups, not just business.

Integration in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article which appeared in the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of July 28, 1957. It is entitled " 'Liberals' in Retreat From Integration," and it was written by Mr. W. D. Workman, Jr., one of the South's most distinguished and able newsmen.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"LIBERALS" IN RETREAT FROM INTEGRATION

(By W. D. Workman, Jr.)

COLUMBIA, July 27.—Northerner and southerner; liberal and conservative—all seem to be much closer to agreement on the problem of education if care is taken to use the proper terminology.

What the southerner frankly practices as "racial segregation" cannot be countenanced in the North, at least not publicly, but it seems quite acceptable to segregate children on a basis of socioeconomics considerations. The end result, of course, is same: Providing one's children with an educational environment most conducive to learning and least likely to erupt into the social or disciplinary discord which might logically be expected from enforced comingling of diverse groups.

TEACHERS CHIDED

Take as an example of the importance of words the case of Morningside Heights Public School of New York, to which Columbia University teachers have been accustomed to send their children. Recently, Editor Russell Maguire chided the "liberals" of the university with having forsaken their preachments of integration by withdrawing their children from the school as it became populated with Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters. Said Maguire in the June issue of the American Mercury:

"The great advance of integrated school which liberal Columbia has so long advocated has routed the Columbia liberals almost to a man."

But no, such admission comes from the university itself, when it was asked to comment on the American Mercury editorial Southerners may find both enlightenment and guidance in this reply from William C. Fels, associate provost of the university:

SET HIGH STANDARDS

"University faculty members set high educational standards for their children, as you would expect. The problem for them has not been caused by the students being Negroes or Puerto Ricans but by the socio-economic composition of the group and what this means in practical terms for the educational process. Some faculty members have withdrawn their children from the nearest public school and have sent them to private schools. Others have moved into the suburbs partly for educational reasons and partly also to get their children off the streets and for the obvious advantages of suburban living. On the other hand, many faculty children still attend the school. There is a parent-teached association in which faculty members take an active part in efforts to improve the school.

SUPPORTS SETTLEMENT

"The university lends support to a settlement house which has made strides toward the improvement of the community. It has participated in the construction of interracial cooperative housing in which may faculty members have purchased apartments. It recently opened a new athletic field where it will conduct a program for students of the university and youths of the community without regard to race, color, or creed. The implication of the editorial that the university and its faculty do not practice what they preach cannot, I think, be supported."

Columbia University seems to be learning now what southerners have known through generations—that, as of here and now, white groups and Negro groups have different socio-economic composition, and the effort to jam them together cannot help but impede learning. The current effort of New York school authorities to speed up that jamming process may bring additional enlightenment to the residents of the metropolis.

NEWSPAPERMAN SPEAKS

One resident, a newspaperman who dares not publish this sentiment in his own paper, already has been enlightened. Says he:

"It is, of course, an unconscionable outrage to uproot children from their own neighborhoods and move them into schools of an entirely different environment purely in the interest of sociological experimentation. The motivation is wholly political. Who can dispute that children are entitled to be educated in their own community and with their own neighbors in an environment compatible to their home upbringing. The average family makes real sacrifices for the privilege of living in a good neighborhood so that their children will enjoy the benefits of being educated in that environment.

"The board of education should adhere to its essential reason for being—the education of New York's children—rather than delving into sociological experimentation at the taxpayer's expense."

Senator Russell Is Due the Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial, "Victory Is Partially Won," from the Atlanta, Ga., Journal. This editorial pays tribute to the great role which my distinguished senior colleague, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, has played in protecting the constitutional rights of all American citizens from legislative abuse.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VICTORY IS PARTIALLY WON

The South's limited victory on civil rights—the adoption of a Senate amendment removing the vicious part III of the bill—can be attributed to the reasoned, legal approach which Senator RUSSELL and his cohorts have used in their dramatic, uphill battle.

Because of their expert maneuvering, the bill is now reduced to a measure for protecting voting rights. The broad court in-

junctive powers for enforcing all types of civil rights have been stricken.

The southerners are not through, however. They still believe, with justification, that a jury trial guaranty should be written into the legislation. And there is a chance that they will get that, too.

Certainly the verdict of the jury at Clinton, Tenn., has given the southern forces a good talking point. That decision was a forceful demonstration that juries are not governed by sectional prejudice, and that they have a respect for man's rights and the law.

The kind of debate which has characterized the civil-rights fight in the Senate has been good for the country. It has shown the people the importance of constitutional government. Emotional and prejudicial arguments have been noticeably absent.

Anyone who heard the civil-rights question debated by four Senators the other night on the television show, The Big Issue, must have been impressed with the temperate and judicious mannr in which both sides presented their arguments. It was typical of what has been going on in the United States Senate.

Senator RUSSELL is due a great deal of the credit for putting the issue on such a high plane. He has been joined by Senator TALMADGE and others.

Early this month the New York Times, in presenting Senator RUSSELL as its man in the news, described him as a leader of lost causes—a politicain who lived a life of quiet despair.

We suspect that portrait has been altered by the victory he has achieved in the Senate.

Hells Canyon High Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Mr. Byron C. Brinton, editor of the Record-Courier of Baker, Oreg., has studied resource development and water-storage problems in the Pacific Northwest with a student's zeal and thoroughness.

In the July 25, 1957, issue of the Record-Courier, Mr. Brinton published a documented reply to the letter on the Hells Canyon issue which was sent recently by the White House to Representative JACK WESTLAND, Republican of the State of Washington.

I think any impartial and neutral person who reads Mr. Brinton's editorial will realize that President Eisenhower was the victim of a good deal of misinformation about the facts when he sent his letter about Hells Canyon Dam to Representative WESTLAND. I feel that the other side should be presented, and for that reason I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the July 25 issue of the Baker Record-Courier be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A REPLY TO MR. EISENHOWER

This newspaper has just received a copy of a letter by the President of the United States in which he attempts to explain why he personally ordered the defeat of the Hells Canyon high dam. The letter was distributed by air-mail special delivery by Congressman BUDGE, Republican, of Idaho, who is constantly in consort with the private electric company in this matter. Parts of the letter, which was released by Congressman WESTLAND, Republican, of Washington, were printed in the press Tuesday, even though BUDGE did not intend to reveal it until a release date of July 25—today.

The letter by the President of the United States, or attributed to him by the reproduction of his signature, carries so many inaccuracies that it must be answered, lest his high office tend to make the crime at Hells Canyon righteous.

The Eisenhower letter says: "Early in my first term I expressed the belief that the Nation must adhere to three fundamental policies: First, to develop, wisely use, and thus conserve our country's natural resources from generation to generation; second, to follow the historic pattern of permitting private and other non-Federal organizations to develop these resources under fair provisions of law, including restraints for proper conservation; and third, to treat resource development as a cooperative undertaking, a partnership. * * * Federal Government should build some projects, local government some, and private interests some. * * *"

The truth is, the historic pattern for 50 years from Teddy Roosevelt down to Senator McNary, and until Eisenhower, has been not to permit private organizations acquire great rivers for nondevelopment, as was done at Kettle Falls and Oxbow and other sites. Teddy Roosevelt said—and he was quoted by Gov. Tom Dewey to that effect only in recent years:

"Do not give up your waterpower for a promise of quick developments. We are poor citizens if we allow the things worth most to get into the hands of a few."

The truth is further: President Eisenhower cannot contend that the waste of 400,000 kilowatts of energy at Hells Canyon is conservation of a natural resource. Yet he has only to turn to the FPC hearing conclusion to ascertain that his commission acknowledged the superiority of the high dam in power and flood control and other values but granted the license as Eisenhower policy and not as conservation.

The truth is further: President Eisenhower has not seen and will not see the Federal Government starting any major hydroelectric project so long as he is President. Yet he has defended the use of public tax money through quick writeoff schemes to finance partial development private projects at the same sites for which he contends there is no tax money for the people to build conservation projects for themselves. And he has added his blessings to partnership schemes such as the Coon-Cordon bill for John Day site on the Columbia which offered utilities the big public dams at two bits on the dollar and even tax insured their contract right to "all the power" even against such hazards as an act of God and an atomic attack.

The truth is: President Eisenhower—if he ever starts a public project—will start a project so costly, so involved in problems that his private utility friends do not want it.

The Eisenhower letter says: "In its Hells Canyon decision, the bipartisan FPC acted unanimously in granting a license to the Idaho Power Co."

The truth is: President Eisenhower knows that it is dishonest to imply that the FPC which made the Hells Canyon decision is bipartisan and impartial. Let him deny these facts: Member Kuykendall was named by Ike as chairman of the commission in 1953, a man known to be opposed to Hells Canyon and a man whose appointment caused a utility agent 2 days later to write privately that the low dam license had been assured. Member Digby was an Eisenhower campaigner named in July of 1953. Member Stueck was a Republican named by Ike in June of 1954. Member Connole was an Independent named by Ike in April of 1955. Member Draper was named by President Hoover. These are the men who—with Ike and McKay—gave away Hells Canyon in July of 1955. Yet Mr. Eisenhower has the nerve in his letter of July 19 to tell the American people FPC, 100 percent the choice of the electric companies and the product of Republican appointments, is bipartisan and impartial.

The letter further says: "Construction work on 2 of the 3 dams comprising the licensed development is well underway."

The truth is: This newspaper hereby extends a personal invitation to Mr. Eisenhower to visit Snake River dam sites so we can personally ask him at both Oxbow and low Hells Canyon whether he is not deliberately misleading the American people when he says two projects are "Well underway."

The letter further says "Production of electrical energy urgently needed in Idaho and throughout the Northwest power pool, is scheduled to begin in September 1958."

The truth is: This newspaper has twice checked by correspondence with Bonneville Power Administration and that agency has declined to confirm any provision for any low-dam power into its system at all; and we had asked them pointblank how and when the Brownlee power was being programed and at what rates.

The truth is: Mr. Eisenhower cannot and will not reveal when, how much and at what rates low-dam power will be received into the Columbia River power system operated by Bonneville to augment its shortage of low-cost power.

We challenge Mr. Eisenhower to categorically and honestly produce the cost figure at which Ipco power will be offered on a firm basis at Baker, at Tacoma, at Spokane, at Portland, or in Idaho. Before it is too late Mr. Eisenhower should explain how Ipco power will be made available to the consumers of the Pacific Northwest and the industries crying for power at less than 3 mills which would have been produced by the high dam. If Mr. Eisenhower has any facts to base his low-dam power statement, he should produce them now.

The truth is: Mr. Eisenhower is guilty of the crudest doubletalk when he says the "production of electrical energy is urgently needed" to justify a low-dam scheme in which his Government agency has deliberately written into the license conditions which permit the delay in low-dam construction for as much as 9 years, if not forever.

The truth is: Mr. Eisenhower knows he has permitted Ipco to build its dams at its own pace and deliberately allowed it to ignore the "urgent need" for electrical energy in other parts of the region.

We further challenge Mr. Eisenhower to publicly state why he has no engineer representing the public stationed at Brownlee work to see that standards are carried out on this earth-fill dam.

The letter states: "The Idaho Power Co. * * * will also produce substantial benefits for taxpayers * * * taxes which the company will pay."

The truth is: Ipco pays no taxes it does not collect from consumers because its rates are regulated to include taxes—unlike a private enterprise business. In fact a private electric company is the poorest form of tax collector because its capital service charge in all cases is about equal to the taxes its collects. Mr. Eisenhower knows that this amounts to a taxpayer taking $1 out of one pocket and putting only 50 cents back in the other. The fact that an electric utility

is a giant monopoly collecting much money does not mean that this is a benefit to taxpayers.

The letter states: "S. 555 (the Hells Canyon bill) would apparently commit the American taxpayer to expenditures approaching or perhaps exceeding six-tenths of a billion dollars * * * the Federal budget is already under severe pressure."

The truth is: Mr. Eisenhower deliberately implies that Hells Canyon Dam would cost $600 million. This is deliberately the propaganda taken directly from Ipco. Mr. Eisenhower did not itemize the propaganda figure to show where the Bureau of Reclamation engineers at Denver who use a $350 million cost are wrong.

Furthermore, if the budget is under such pressure and cannot invest public funds at the greatest dam site in the world (85 percent payable from power revenues) how can Mr. Eisenhower justify the statement in his next paragraph in which he wrote: "The Ipco development will permit the Federal Government to devote more of its financial resources to other developments which are clearly beyond the capabilities of non-Federal interests alone." At poor dam sites? At the dregs that are left? In Canada?

President Eisenhower may not agree, but Teddy Roosevelt had the exact word for this giveaway of the valuable resource assets and the retention of the liability jobs which are beyond the capabilities of private electric company coupon clippers. Said Teddy Roosevelt, as quoted above: "We are poor citizens if we allow the things worth most to get into the hands of a few."

We respectfully address this open reply to the President of the United States in answer to a biased political private utility document ascribed to Mr. Eisenhower and dated July 19 from the White House.

Bayonets Once Ruled South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an outstanding editorial from the July 26, 1957, Charleston, (S. C.) News and Courier, an outstanding newspaper in my State. It is entitled "Reconstruction Story a Reminder That Bayonets Once Ruled South."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"RECONSTRUCTION" STORY A REMINDER THAT BAYONETS ONCE RULED SOUTH

Until recently "reconstruction" was something many white northerners had never even heard of, and few knew much about it. Hardly a white southerner, however, has grown up without a working knowledge of the Federal occupation of this region. Many heard eyewitness accounts of it from their grandfathers.

The civil-rights debate has given new meaning to reconstruction. For example, in its July 26 issue U. S. News & World Report, a magazine with great and growing national prestige, discussed it in an article captioned, "When Federal Bayonets Did Rule the South." The news may be disconcerting to the general public.

For 10 years (1866–76), the magazine reminds its readers, northern troops occupied the Southern States as conquered provinces. Pictures of Negro mobs and legislatures accompany the story.

In Washington, the Senate has struck out phrasing of a bill that would have authorized the President again to send Federal troops into the South to enforce Federal laws about race. While this action comes as welcome relief it does not remove danger that history may be repeated.

To recall that history, U. S. News & World Report says:

"The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, relating to race relations, were adopted by a vote of Southern States that were under military occupation. There was no alternative to approval. The States could not obtain readmission to the Union until they adopted the 14th amendment.

"This period of Federal rule produced strange scenes.

"Federal agents moved through the South preaching to the Negroes hatred of their former masters, organizing them into masses of voters whom they marched to the polls. A large share of southern whites were disenfranchised.

"With the support of Federal bayonets, unscrupulous whites from the North used the Negroes to take over the government of the Southern States. Negroes, carpetbaggers and a scattering of their southern sympathizers called scalawags filled the legislatures, took over the State, county and city offices.

"They decided who could and who couldn't vote, decreed what the law would be, rewrote State constitutions as they saw fit.

"Few Americans today are informed about the period."

Anyone who has studied history in high school knows why few Americans are familiar with Reconstruction. School textbooks give only a vague picture of the torture to which the South was put.

As Claude G. Bowers wrote in the preface to the Tragic Era, "even historians have shrunk from showing us the torture chambers."

The reluctance of the textbook authors to picture an ugly episode of American history is one reason the civil rights bill has progressed to the present point. Accurate, informative articles, like the one in U. S. News & World Report, ought to be must reading in classrooms throughout the country.

Whitworth Stokes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Nashville Banner, in tribute to my good friend, Whitworth Stokes, of Nashville. He was a fine lawyer. He expressed himself well and he contributed much to the understanding of political issue. Mr. Stokes was able, courageous, and always interested in civic and public affairs. I know that he will be greatly missed in his community.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITWORTH STOKES

The sudden death of James Whitworth (Whit) Stokes came as a shock to this community where he was widely known both as an attorney and a leader in cultural fields. Mr. Stokes, who comes from a long line of lawyers, had attained a high place in the legal field. And he obtained his degree in law the hard way—by working at night while he attended Cumberland University.

The age of 48 is not actually young in years, but Whit Stokes, as he was known to so many, had a quality of continuing youth about him, largely because of his bright friendliness, a quick, clever mind, and a wide concern for others. His life was one that the community will not soon forget.

Depression—The Only Cure?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, I am one of those who holds the conviction that we can, if we will, hold the inflation and check the cost of living. In my judgment, the alternative—depression—is disaster.

David Lawrence expresses it so well in his editorial in the U. S. News & World Report of July 12, 1957, that under unanimous consent I am having it reproduced in the RECORD:

The national economy is traveling along at a reckless pace.

Labor costs rise, and then industrial prices rise.

As industrial prices rise, the cost of what the farmer buys—equipment and everything else—goes up. So the price of what the farmer sells must also go up. And the Government pays a subsidy to maintain a certain level of prices to the farmer.

As the costs of food and its distribution are increased to the consumer, the escalator clauses of labor-management agreements—based on a rise in the cost of living—call for proportionate increases in wages. Other rises in wages—not tied to the cost of living—are also written into labor contracts to take effect automatically on fixed dates in the future, irrespective of the economic conditions prevailing at the time.

As the wage and price spiral continues, the purchasing power of the dollar steadily goes down. More and more dollars are then needed to buy the same quantities of goods.

It's a case of the dog chasing his tail.

It's the same old story that has plagued nations from time immemorial.

Centuries ago, to meet inflation, governments began to devalue their monetary units and to engage in juggling tricks to pay off national debts.

Today the people are cheated in a different way. Millions and millions of persons with fixed incomes—pensions and insurance funds—are the victims as their dollars steadily depreciate through the persistent rise in prices acquiesced in by government.

A savings bond bought a few years ago and put aside to pay for a child's college education buys less and less as the time approaches for college entrance.

Too many people lately have vented their indignation at Federal spending—as if this were the sole cause. It is only one of several causes.

One reason, of course, for today's inflation is past wars and defense preparations against the next war. The dangerous men in the Kremlin are the real culprits.

But there are other causes which are well within our control.

More than six decades ago Federal laws were passed to prohibit corporations from forming monopolies or fixing prices. These statutes have been rigidly enforced.

Today, however, the biggest single influence in the fixing of prices—national labor unions—goes unrestrained. Agreements are made nowadays on an industry-wide basis. No law exists against industry-wide bargaining. Yet it is an obvious device to fix prices. It's a concerted action within industry after industry that directly affects the cost of goods in interstate commerce. Employers are helpless to fight wage demands. They usually capitulate rather than face the high cost of a strike.

So with Government acquiescence—or negligence—an economic power unparalleled is wielded by a few union leaders who control our economic destiny.

The management of a big company today must calculate in advance how high its prices can be permitted to go without meeting sales resistance.

Sometimes management does guess wrong—or rather it has no choice. Businessmen know that a price rise can mean diminished demand and buyers' resistance. But they must move prices upward just the same and be content with a smaller volume of sales in order to make any profit or to hold losses at a minimum.

When buyers' resistance comes, recession comes, too, and then depression.

We sometimes call the incipient stages readjustment or correction. But the truth is that, in our uncontrolled economy, recession or depression is emerging as the only cure. Evidently there has to be a severe decline of some kind before prices and wages can be held static while waiting for economic recovery.

What is the alternative? Nobody wants wage and price control by Government. Everybody favors a free economy.

The President has been appealing repeatedly to labor and management to exercise self-restraint. But such appeals are not effective because there are so many factors operative at the same time.

Productivity of labor, for instance, has not risen commensurate with the rise in wages. Statesmanship in labor is missing. Leadership of the big unions, for the most part, thinks only in terms of vote-getting in union campaigns. The labor leaders know the facts, but the demand constantly is for higher and higher wages, irrespective of the Nation's capacity to absorb the higher prices forced by the wage increases. Taxation limits profits, but nothing limits wage demands.

It is a dangerous cycle in which we are living today. Congress lacks the courage to expose excesses. Everybody seems to be waiting for the inevitable depression, with its waves of unemployment.

What a painful way to learn the lessons of economic self-discipline.

The Value of Unlimited Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Unlimited Debate," from the July 23, 1957, issue of the Macon, Ga., News. Not only does this editorial make a forceful argument for continuation of freedom of debate in the United States Senate, but also it is a deserved tribute to Georgia's distinguished and beloved senior Senator, Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL, and it merits the reading of every Member of the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNLIMITED DEBATE

As a result of Senator RICHARD R. RUSSELL'S penetrating and detailed analysis of the proposed civil rights bill, many of those who unthinkingly advocated it without reservation all over the country are having second thoughts.

Senator RUSSELL has pointed out to them and to the rest of the Nation the dangers which are hidden in the involved wording and in the changes to be made in previous laws.

President Eisenhower himself has admitted that he hadn't read the fine print in the measure drawn up by United States Attorney General Brownell.

The detailed discussion of the proposed legislation by Senator RUSSELL has been in the finest tradition of democracy and he has performed a distinct service to the Nation by spelling out, dotting the i's and crossing the t's, what the bill does and what it does not do.

And it was all done under the unlimited debate tradition and rule of the United States Senate which some would eliminate.

Had there been a limitation on full and free discussion of all proposed national laws, it is not at all certain that the American people could have had the benefit of such a valuable study of the civil rights bill, and comprehensive discussion, as Senator RUSSELL has given.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an outstanding editorial from the July 26, 1957, issue of the State, Columbia, S. C., one of the great newspapers in my State. It is entitled "Only for Votes."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONLY FOR VOTES

Some people have consistently insisted the present administration has been one big giveaway program, and currently practically everyone on radio and TV has some sort of giveaway jackpot program. Supposedly such something-for-nothing programs are popular.

The South would be glad to sponsor a giveaway program of its own right now. It would like to give the so-called civil-rights bill back to the individual who concocted the administration measure, but no one has yet discovered who in the Justice Department pieced together the cleverly-written monstrosity. Even the bill's stanchest supporters appear to be more confused than a Communist would be with friends he could trust. The South also wishes someone would give away a little information about who wants what, and why they want it, in the rights bill.

Apparently practically no one in the House knew the troop-use provision had been cunningly sneaked into section 3, for the Senate unanimously voted to repeal the rusty old Reconstruction statute which would have authorized use of Federal troops to force integrated schools. Both party lines got all fouled up somewhere in the process.

President Eisenhower, a man of unquestioned integrity, said publicly on two occasions he wanted no authority to use troops, yet the administration bill carried a provision which reaffirmed the President's right to do precisely that. The President further said he was chiefly interested in assuring voting rights.

Senator KNOWLAND, leading the bipartisan group pushing the bill, has twice said he and the President wanted "all the bill" and then KNOWLAND himself sponsored an amendment to repeal the troop-use statute. He also voted for his amendment, and the following day again called for passage of the original measure. Someone, or everyone, is confused.

All sorts of people favoring the vicious original bill will shout from the housetops about guarding individual liberties, yet they know the bill as passed by the House would deny jury trials to people just suspected of planning to do wrong, and would have one branch of Government prosecuting another—with taxpayers having to pay the bill for both prosecution and defense. This would be fine for the bureaucrats, a group that would undoubtedly multiply should the measure become law. We taxpayers—every 7 of us—already have 1 bureaucrat on our tax-bent backs, and that seems a heavy enough burden to bear.

Even the section relating to the right to vote is a complete farce so far as South Carolina is concerned. Registration clerks all over the State now, as for years past, have been registering hundreds of Negroes just as routinely as they have other applicants. The bill would not help them one bit, for they already enjoy the right the bill will allegedly guarantee.

The southern Negroes supposedly are to be the chief beneficiaries of the rights bill, but it simply won't work that way. Already the Negroes of the South have been called upon to contribute vast sums of money to organizations fighting for rights, but little if any of the money has been spent in the South. The bill shows much more promise of helping some northern politicians than assurance that Negroes will be helped, for the measure has created great areas of bad feelings.

It is a pity—a great and tragic pity—that some few politicians have placed such a premium on their own careers.

An Ambassador Is Born

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "An Ambassador Is Born," which was published in the Washington Post of yesterday, July 28. The article reveals some of the testimony heard before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with respect to the qualifications of our Ambassador to Ceylon—a colloquy which I find very revealing, and an indication of the existence of a sad situation in our diplomatic corps,

where it appears that persons utterly without qualification are being appointed to high diplomatic posts, merely because they made large contributions to the Republican campaign fund.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN AMBASSADOR IS BORN

The short and poignant ordeal of Maxwell H. Gluck before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is chronicled below. Gluck, head of the 140-unit Darling Stores chain, was nominated by President Eisenhower on June 26 to be United States Ambassador to Ceylon. The 57-year-old Ohio businessman breeds very fine horses at his Lexington, Ky., farm, and also maintains a residence in New York City. He appeared before a closed session of the Senate committee on July 2. Excerpts from the transcript follow:

"Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas. How much did you contribute to the Republican Party in the 1956 election?

"Mr. GLUCK. Well, I wouldn't know off hand, but I made a contribution.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, how much?

"Mr. GLUCK. Let's see, I would say, all in all, $20,000 or $30,000. [The Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections' report lists $26,500.]

"Senator FULBRIGHT. How much did you contribute in 1952?

"Mr. GLUCK. Well, not as much: I would not remember, but a fair amount.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, you are a businessman, you pay attention to your money. * * * You can guess now about how much.

"Mr. GLUCK. Offhand, I would say around $10,000.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. If you contributed $30,000, don't you think Ceylon is a rather remote post for that? The one who went to Belgium [J. Clifford Folger, Washington investment banker] only contributed $11,000.

"Mr. GLUCK. I don't think that I want to admit that is the principal reason.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. What do you think is the principal reason?

"Mr. GLUCK. Well, my interest in trying to find something in government life that I would like to do.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. What are the problems in Ceylon you think you can deal with?

"Mr. GLUCK. One of the problems are the people there. I believe I can—I think I can establish, unless we—again, unless I run into something that I have not run into before—a good relationship and good feeling toward the United States.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. Did you notice that recent report of the committee, sent by the United Nations on Hungary?

"Mr. GLUCK. No, I did not.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. You have not read that in the newspapers?

"Mr. GLUCK. I don't remember the report.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. Did you notice who was on that committee that made that report? (Ceylon was 1 of the 5 countries represented).

"Mr. GLUCK. No, sir.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. Do you know our Ambassador to India? (Ellsworth Bunker, former head of the American Red Cross).

"Mr. GLUCK. I know John Sherman Cooper, the previous ambassador.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. Do you know who the Prime Minister of India is? (Jawaharlal Nehru).

"Mr. GLUCK. Yes, but I can't pronounce his name.

"Senator FULBRIGHT. Do you know who the Prime Minister of Ceylon is? (Solomon Bandaranaike).

"Mr. GLUCK. His name is a bit unfamiliar now, I cannot call it off. But I have obtained from Ambassador Crowe (Philip K. Crowe, the previous ambassador to Ceylon) a list of all the important people there, and I went over them with him. I have a synopsis of all the people, both Americans, ambassadors, and officials from other countries. And I have from him also a sort of little biography or history of them, with what his opinion is of them."

Gluck was excused, the committee conferred and voted. Republican Senators ALEXANDER WILEY, Wisconsin, and H. ALEXANDER SMITH, New Jersey, with proxies from HOMER E. CAPEHART, Indiana, and GEORGE D. AIKEN, Vermont, balloted in favor; FULBRIGHT against. Chairman THEODORE F. GREEN, Democrat, of Rhode Island, only other Senator present, did not vote. Next day Gluck was confirmed by the Senate, without debate. He is reported now conferring on his duties and will depart for his post in Colombo in September.

Highway Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article on traffic safety written by Miss Margaret Shannon, and printed in the July 21, 1957, issue of the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW SMART A DRIVER ARE YOU?—SPLIT-SECOND ACTION CAN BE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LIFE OR DEATH FOR MOTORIST

(By Margaret Shannon)

Accidents will happen, and when they do, there may be a decisive moment before the crash that can spell the difference between life and death.

You may not be able to avoid a wreck, but the move you make in that moment may lessen the extent of injuries sustained by you, passengers in your car, and maybe even the occupants of the other vehicle.

Seven accident siuations were presented to three Georgia experts on safe driving, and their advice asked on what to do. And each was asked then to pose a problem himself and suggest a solution.

The panel of experts included William N. Cox, Jr., professor of industrial and safety engineering at Georgia Tech.; Col. W. C. Dominy, director of the Georgia Department of Public Safety; and Traffic Lt. J. T. Marler of the Atlanta Police Department.

Try your hand at the answers and see how your driving knowledge stacks up with the experts.

Problem No. 1: You are driving on a winding, narrow highway at night. The lights of an approaching car blind you, and you feel your car hit the road shoulder on the right. You cut back to the left and, when you can see again, realize that you have overshot a curve to the right while blinded.

What can you do?

The experts advise: Don't brake suddenly. You are going fast and you may make the car turn over if you do. Keep your foot off the accelerator, and don't disengage the clutch. Then, if time, brake gradually, and if you don't make the curve and turn over, you still have a better chance of emerging alive.

Colonel Dominy says: "It's better to turn over at a slow speed than a fast one."

Problem No. 2: It's a highway in open country, but the traffic is heavy. A speeding tractor-trailer pulls alongside you to pass, and the car behind it pulls up close to your rear bumper. An oncoming car does not slow down, so the truckdriver whips to the right, the trailer lashing at you.

How do you come out alive?

The experts advise: Pull to the right on the shoulder as far as possible. Hold the steering wheel tight to retain control of your car. If you have to go off the road that beats letting the trailer smash you. Arguing with one of them is like arguing with a freight train.

Lieutenant Marler says: "If you have to choose between the trailer and the car behind, choose the crash from the rear."

Problem No. 3: This time it's a city version of the passing-on-a-hill problem. There are cars parked on both sides of the street. Suddenly a reckless driver whips from behind a slow-moving car coming toward you. There's not room for him to squeeze between. A smashup is inevitable.

What's to be done?

The experts advise: If there's no escape because of the parked cars, do all you can to slow down or stop. In head-on collisions the car that has ceased movement sometimes is damaged less.

Colonel Dominy says: "The faster two vehicles are going, the greater the impact in a head-on crash. Any slowing down by either car will lessen the impact."

Problem No. 4: You've read about it a thousand times and at last it happens to you. You're going up a hill. Almost to the crest, you see a car coming toward you and realize in horror that another car is passing it. Passing on a hill. Car No. 2 is headed straight toward you. The road shoulder is of moderate width and there's a deep ditch and a pasture fence beyond it.

What's your best bet?

The experts advise: You have two alternatives—a head-on crash or taking to the ditch. Take to the ditch. Anything is preferable to a head-on crash at high speed.

Lieutenant Marler adds: "The ditch may afford some cushion. Crash-injury research has shown that sometimes just a 2- or 3-inch cushion may be sufficient for survival. Just a little give would help, and maybe the dirt in the ditch would give a little."

Problem No. 5: You come up rather fast to a traffic light just as it changes, and a car on the cross street jumps the light—he peeps and starts on yellow instead of waiting for green. So you jam on your brakes. In your rearview mirror, you see that the car behind you is going to smash into yours.

Are you helpless?

The experts advise: It's better to take the crash from the car behind than to hit the light-jumper broadside. But brace yourself and yell a warning to any passengers in your car. A rear-end collision often causes jerks that injure the neck or the spine.

Professor Cox says: "You should approach any intersection cautiously enough to look out for irresponsible drivers. Then you'd never get into a spot like this."

Problem No. 6: It's raining, but not enough to impede vision. So you're clipping along at a fast, though within-the-speed-limit rate. Suddenly the pavement surface changes from secure to slippery and your car begins to slide crazily. Luckily there's no other traffic.

But how do you get your car back under control?

The experts advise: Stay away from the brakes and the clutch. If you brake, the car will go into a spin. Turn with the slide. For example, if the rear end of your car is sliding to the left, turn to the left.

Professor Cox says: "Speed limits are maximums and not the safe limits for all conditions. People should make allowances for a wet pavement."

Problem No. 7: As you are driving along a city street, a little boy darts from between parked cars, directly into your path. There's not time to swerve or to stop because you are right on him.

Is there anything at all you can do?

The experts advise: You're going to jump on the brakes. That's the way anybody would react. Anything you can do to decrease your speed may cut the blow a little and be the margin between life and death.

Lieutenant Marler says: "Good drivers look underneath parked automobiles for little feet. You can drive down a street and if you have normal powers of observation, you can see them."

Now the experts take over.

Colonel Dominy's problem: It's a dry day. Road conditions are good. You are driving down the highway at 60 miles per hour, a car suddenly comes barreling out of a side road without stopping right in front of you.

Is this the end?

His solution: "This sort of situation causes a good many deaths and accidents in Georgia. Your chance of survival depends on your vigor and alertness. I'd rather risk turning over than hitting the car.

"Remember that today there is no such thing as pleasure driving. Its strictly business and you've got to pay attention to it."

Professor Cox's problem: About to make a left turn, you have stopped on a highway to let an oncoming car by. In your rearview mirror you see a car bearing down on you with the driver apparently unaware that you are stopped.

Are you a sitting duck?

His solution: Don't rush into your left turn. Both cars may hit you. Go off the road to the right, or, if you have time, just light out down the road. Even if your car is hit from behind, the crash won't be as bad if you're moving. Any time you sit still on a busy highway it's dangerous.

For a left turn, it would be better to pull off on the shoulder and wait for traffic to clear or go down the highway, turn around and come back and make a right turn instead. It may be more trouble, but it may save your life.

Lieutenant Marler's problem: Going home from work in the afternoon rush on the expressway, you lean over to turn the radio on and your car seems to wobble out of control. There are cars to your right and a fence to your left and you're going 50 miles per hour.

Does this mean disaster?

His solution: It probably does. You should remember that the slightest tilt or turn of the wheel at 50 miles per hour is much more than at a lower speed. Things happen fast at 50 miles per hour. Your best bet is the fence.

But the thing to do is not to get yourself into a situation like this. It's so unnecessary. When you're traveling the expressways, remember it's city traffic at high speed and don't let any little distractions interfere with what you're doing. Forget the radio or the briefcase that slides off the seat, and let that cigarette go unlighted.

Though all these situations seem unavoidable as far as you are concerned, they need not be, the experts say.

What you need to practice is defensive driving. It means just what it says—you drive so that you protect yourself from the other fellow.

It means analyzing traffic conditions at any given moment and foreseeing possible emergencies—and avoiding them.

Letter From Chairman of Stephen Foster Memorial Commission

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 13, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, on July 22, 1957, in a speech before the House of Representatives, I opposed the newly imposed censorship by major radio and TV networks against certain musical compositions. These censorship measures were made at the request of certain minority pressure groups.

The music and history of Stephen Foster is being perpetuated in a shrine known as the Stephen Foster Memorial at White Springs, Fla., on the banks of the famous Suwannee River. This shrine is an indication of the great respect afforded the composer's works by music lovers all over the world.

To further establish that injustice is being imposed by the radio and TV networks, I would like to submit a letter from Mr. Earl Brown, chairman, Stephen Foster Memorial Commission, an organization established by an act of the Florida Legislature.

The letter follows:

STEPHEN FOSTER
MEMORIAL COMMISSION,
White Springs, Fla., July 24, 1957.

Hon. ROBERT L. F. SIKES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BOB: I am pleased to note in the morning press your support of our position in regard to Florida's State song and other of the Stephen Foster compositions, which are in the process of being permanently disfigured by an unofficial network committee.

As you well know, it was by legislative enactment that the State of Florida adopted Way Down Upon the Swanee River as the Florida State song; and in a similar manner My Old Kentucky Home was adopted as the State song of Kentucky. But the importance of Foster as a composer and the durability of his songs goes far beyond the confines of the United States, as it is the most universally loved and used music of the world today, and has been for the past 100 years. These lyrics, as originally composed, were the basis on which Foster was elected to the hall of fame, the only composer ever having been accorded this high honor.

The memorial we are building to Foster, on the banks of the Suwannee, has tremendous public approval, primarily by people from all sections of this Nation, as well as Canada and a number of foreign countries.

At this memorial we maintain a register for visitors, who can sign or not, as they may elect. Following the signature column is one for remarks; and of the million four hundred plus people who have signed this register, not a single objection was raised as to the words of the music, the memorial, or the composer. In fact, all remarks are most complimentary and as they must be brief, the majority of remarks follow these trends:

"The most wonderful thing we have visited in the South."

"A great contribution by Florida to American history with Foster's folklore music."

"Beautiful and reverent."

"Our fourth visit and we are coming again."

And early this year when the President's wife visited the memorial she stated: "This is wonderful; I am going to bring my grandchildren to see it when school is over."

There is absolutely nothing in the music of Foster that is in any way derogatory to the colored race; in fact, this greatest collection of American folklore music contributes to the important place occupied by Negroes in the development of this Nation.

All visitors hear the music of Foster when they visit the memorial. And as long as I am chairman of this memorial commission, all renditions of Foster's music, and he composed some 200 plus, will be in the original lyrics, as composed by Foster and not desecrated by some committee who have so easily fallen under some minority group, more concerned with showing their authority than they are with the preservation of this great music which is part of America's history. To my mind this music is the greatest living documentation of the important part played by the Negro in the development of the South.

I also call your attention to the fact that Stephen Collins Foster was born and reared in Pittsburgh and that these songs today, as they have for the past hundred years, contribute to musical programs throughout the world. Never before, by any person or group, has public expression been given to anything of an objectionable nature in connection with same. As one Florida journalist editorializes, "If carried to its ultimate conclusion, this order we suppose will sooner or later demand the rewriting of the Star Spangled Banner, on the grounds that the pacifists might object."

Your continued effort in behalf of retaining the Foster compositions as written and used for a hundred years, will be deeply appreciated by we of the Foster Memorial Commission who are seeking to preserve this greatest collection of this American folklore for posterity.

Sincerely yours,

EARL W. BROWN, *Chairman,*
Stephen Foster Memorial Commission.

Americans Work Fewer Hours for Shoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the interesting publications which we receive regularly is Facts and Figures on Footwear, published annually by the National Shoe Manufacturers Association.

Since shoes are one of the most common items of wear, they are also one index to the American standard of living. One of the tables in this publication shows that Americans work fewer hours to pay for the shoes they wear than workers in the same trades anywhere in the world.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that this table be included in the RECORD:

Hours worked for a pair of shoes

	United States	U.S.S.R.	France	England	Sweden
Phone operator	6	110	25	11	17
Carpenter	2½	110	22	11	17
Coal miner	4	65	25	9	17
Store clerk	6	110	25	11	16
Bus driver	5	110	22	11	16
Policeman	4	65	22	11	11
Teacher	4	110	25	7¼	16

Americans can be proud that they work fewer hours for the shoes they wear than workers in the same trade in any other country on the face of the earth. The above chart is by the courtesy of the New York Journal-American and the Boot and Shoe Recorder.

Political Trickery Against Independent Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the National Association of Retail Druggists' Journal of July 15, 1957, contained an interesting message to its 40,000 readers by its executive secretary, John W. Dargavel.

The National Association of Retail Druggists is composed of independent businessmen—small, medium sized, and large—but they are all independents, and most of them are small. It is an outstanding organization in its efforts to be of assistance to independent business and small business in particular. It is always on the right side on questions affecting the national interest and the interest of independent business.

Mr. Dargavel is recognized as one of the best friends of small business in the entire Nation. In addition, he is an outstanding American and is always working in the direction of making our country greater by promoting and encouraging the private-enterprise system.

His message is as follows:

A MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: POLITICAL TRICKERY AGAINST INDEPENDENT ENTERPRISE

Dispatches from Washington, D. C., advise me that every bill introduced to help the system of small business will be left to die in the 85th Congress. The story as it has been passed along to me (and it comes from a reliable source) relates that the leaders of the Senate have been pressured by the White House to stall action on proposals for the relief of independent enterprise until a survey has been made by the Federal Reserve Board.

I quote as follows a report from Washington, D. C.:

"The effect of the program manipulated by the White House is that the bankers will conduct the survey on the problems of small business in America."

It is downright arrogant stupidity to conclude that the independent retailers, the owners of small factories, etc., should be bypassed in the selection of the personnel to conduct the proposed survey to be directed by the Federal Reserve Board. You may be sure that strong protests will be leveled against the program "manipulated by the White House."

Furthermore the proposed survey is ridiculous since the needs of the system of small business are known to the members of the House Select Committee To Conduct a Study and Investigation of the Problems of Small Business and the Senate Select Committee on Small Business. Hence it is obvious that the proposed survey belongs to the category of political trickery.

Republican and Democratic candidates alike in the national election campaigns of 1956 shouted long and loud about the desperate plight of small business firms, and they made ironclad promises to leave nothing undone to help insure the survival of independent enterprise in America. Then, after the political oratory ceased and the votes were counted, the majority of the victorious candidates seemed to make haste to forget the pledges they made to strive in behalf of independent enterprise. One of the examples in sharp focus is the evasive tactics used to dodge action on relief from the overload of taxes levied on small business firms.

Now it is argued that to extend assistance to small business firms would result in more inflation. Ignored are the billions wasted in giveaways to foreign nations, such as global vaudeville shows, crusades for culture overseas, ad infinitum. The truth is that the major generator of inflation is the unrestrained profligate expenditures of the Federal Government.

The independent druggists must join in a drive to make it clear to the politicians that the owners of small business firms refuse to be shunted to a corner as though they are expendable. Moreover, the Members of Congress must be made to understand that they will be held to the promises they voiced in support of independent enterprise in the campaigns of 1956.

Cordially,

J. W. DARGAVEL,
Executive Secretary.

The Children Be Damned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post, Saturday, July 27, expresses in a few well chosen words the opinion of the general public concerning the defeat of H. R. 1:

THE CHILDREN BE DAMNED

Well, it was just like taking candy away from kids. Those who wanted to kill Federal aid to school construction adopted the strategem of burdening it with an amendment that made its death inevitable. Their amendment had a pious sound. It provided that no Federal funds should be allotted to schools in districts where segregation is maintained. They now have the dubious satisfaction of knowing that they have barred segregation from schools that are not going to be built.

There have been honest doubts among some legislators about the degree of Federal control that might stem from Federal aid. But the issue was not met on this basis. It was evaded through a cynical maneuver which is no salve for anyone's conscience.

President Eisenhower and some of his party's leaders on Capitol Hill, lamentably, party's principal leaders in the House, Representative CHARLES HALLECK and Representative LESLIE ARENDS, voted in favor of the legislation, the President encouraged defeat of a measure that differed only in degree from the measure which, over and over again in the course of the 1956 campaign, he had pledged himself to promote. Two of his party's principal leaders in the House, Representative CHARLES HALLECK and Representative LESLIE ARENDS, voted in favor of the antisegregation rider and then voted to kill the bill. So, incidentally, did the new author of the Powell amendment, Representative STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT—thus demonstrating clearly the maneuver.

The consequences of this recorded indifference to public education will be felt not only by the children deprived of decent classrooms but by the whole country. Who can call this a "victory"?

The Family-Size Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, a letter to the editor appearing in the Cokato (Minn.) Enterprise of July 11, 1957, so forcefully states the case for the family farm that I want to call it to the attention of the Congress.

Margaret Terning, author of the letter, has a firsthand knowledge of the problems facing the operators of family-sized farms and her indictment of present agricultural policies speaks for itself.

Her letter clearly points out that the family-sized farm is not merely a means of livelihood but a way of life worth preserving and fostering.

DEAR INTERESTED OBSERVER: It so happens that I was the person that asked Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Benson, the question I quote, "How is the farmer to meet his obligations in the face of lower farm prices and rising costs?"

His answer "Seek other employment" is not the solution to this agricultural mess we are in.

We as farmers have no intention of working elsewhere in connection with our farming activities. Too many farmers are doing just this sort of thing to keep their heads above water and bridge the "Benson gap."

It shouldn't be necessary for farmers to take jobs away from their city cousins.

To reduce agricultural population will not reduce the production of any certain commodities. It simply means that some big operator will buy it and push that farm family off the farm to seek other employment. He will then run the same amount of acres plus his own and with modern equipment and scientific farming the yield will be larger. This is a proven fact.

Of the $5 billion set aside for the agricultural budget the farmer received less than $1 billion. This isn't a very big subsidy compared to that of other big businesses and industry.

We should bow our heads in shame when we mention surplus. When the United States has fed all the hungry and starving people of other countries and 30 million underfed in the United States, then, and only then, if there is some left over should we utter the word "surplus."

It doesn't do any good to send bullets alone—they need food too—the difference between life and death for many.

Poorly managed farms have never and never will create a surplus. Just because a farm is small is no sign it is poorly managed and inefficient.

Most small farmers practice thrift, efficiency, and management to the highest degree—I know, I grew up on one.

Figures show that the largeest subsidy checks have been written to large-farm operators such as presidents of railroads and large industries who are supposed to know efficiency.

According to the Department of agriculture, farm population has declined in the past 45 years from 32 million to 22 million, with the greatest reduction in the last few years. Forty percent of the boys born on the farm must find city jobs.

In the past 25 years 1,600,000 family farms have disappeared. Only 13 percent of the total population of the United States are farmers.

The large specialized farmer has no use for a small town because he buys his feed, fuel, and supplies in large quantities at such a low figure that the small-business man cannot supply him. When it comes time for him to sell the finished product he sells to a contracted market eliminating the small town completely.

Summing it all up in a nutshell—when the family-size farm is eliminated the small communities such as Cokato must go too. This isn't what our forefathers fought and died for.

Let us all join hands and fight this thing together—keeping the family-size farm and rural communities.

After all this is the heart of America—the land of opportunity for the poor and humble.

To me an unsigned editorial is like a check without funds.

Yours truly,

MARGARET TERNING.

Europe's Common Market and NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, while our immediate attention in the field of international affairs has been focused on such problems as the disarmament negotiations and the crises in the Near East and north Africa, developments have been taking place elsewhere which may have far greater long-range significance for the future course of history. These are the steps which have been taken in Europe this summer toward the establishment of a common economic market and a common atomic power agency. In joining prior, existing European institutions such as the Schuman plan coal and steel authority and the Council of Europe, these new steps should go far toward recreating an integrated European society from the nationalistic fragments of the past few centuries.

These developments have been widely hailed in our own press and public comments as being in fulfillment of American policies and best interests. More thoughtful commentators, however, are pointing out that whether this is so still remains to be seen.

Adlai Stevenson recently said at Oxford University, "Some Europeans regard the brighter prospects for the greater integration of Europe not so much as a means of strengthening our transatlantic alliance, but of escaping from it." The European institutions we hail still apply only to little Europe, excluding the democracies of Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. For the future of the Atlantic community, which includes these free democracies as well as Canada and the United States, they may create either grave new problems or brilliant new opportunities. As we cheer these new steps toward union in Western Europe, let us also recognize that their future course between these two alternatives poses, in the form identified by Adlai Stevenson, an important new challenge for American policy.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, Mr. President, a good review of this question, entitled "Europe's Common Market and NATO," from the magazine Freedom and Union for July-August 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE'S COMMON MARKET AND NATO

(By Waverley Root)

PARIS.—Almost unperceived by the general public, a struggle of immense importance for the future of the free world has been engaged among the statesmen of Europe—a struggle for the possession of the soul of their common market. Not long ago the foreign ministers of the six nations[1] which negotiated this economic union met in Rome to sign, in an atmosphere of jubilation, the treaties which establish it and Euratom, the agreement for the development of nuclear energy.

In the nations of the Atlantic community, the tendency has been to regard this achievement with rather undiscriminating satisfaction as a forward step in international cooperation which, since it has occurred within the group of states of the Atlantic partnership, means automatically a strengthening of ties for their whole community. A more searching inspection of the present status and future possibilities of the common market does not bear out the assumption that this necessarily results. It could mean that, but, on the other hand, it could mean just the opposite.

"Some Europeans," Adlai E. Stevenson said at Oxford University on May 24, "regard the brighter prospects for the greater integration of Europe not so much as a means of strengthening our transatlantic alliance, but of escaping from it. I see nothing wicked about the idea of a third force, but it does seem a little foolish. There is not such a margin of strength on our side of the Iron Curtain that we can afford to split up."

About the same time a devoted "European," Belgium's Paul-Henri Spaak, was telling the press, on the occasion of his entry into office as Secretary General of NATO, "For me, a strong Europe will be a good partner for the Atlantic alliance." Thus he seemed to be saying, perhaps ambiguously and certainly cautiously, that there was no conflict between European union in the common market and European participation in the Atlantic community.

[1] Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and West Germany.

The fact is that the exact role which common market Europe is to play remains to be determined by the tug and pull of cross-purposes which is now going on. It is not yet clear whether the common market will evolve into a European grouping which will become a rival to the Atlantic community, with a tendency to secession, or a potent partner in it.

One of the several different ways in which the opposing conceptions of common market Europe can be described was presented not long ago in the influential Paris morning paper, Figaro, in an article called Making Europe, by France's elder statesman and former Ambassador, André François-Poncet.

"At the present time," he wrote, "two conceptions of Europe are confronting each other. They may be summed up in the words cooperation and integration. The cooperators remain attached to he principle of national sovereignty. * * * The formula to which they remain faithful is that of coalitions, of alliances. * * * The integralists * * * desire the formation of a supranational legislative and executive power, arising from direct election by the people, through universal suffrage, of a European parliament and government. * * * It is only under the form which they desire to give it that a federal Europe would take on an aspect entirely new and would appear as a revolutionary phenomenon, really changing the face of the world." He concluded: "It is not to be doubted that the supranationalists are the true Europeans."

It seems not to be doubted, in addition, that they are the exclusive Europeans—the Europeans, that is, who, under the guise of a somewhat spurious supranationality, are really moving, toward not a broader internationalism, but a new shared nationalism. They are willing to accept so-called supranationalism for their limited group; but it is on terms which in practice prevent other nations from joining them and tend therefore to establish a little Europe, instead of taking a step toward a broader union.

For some proponents of this Little Europe, its organization as that third force which Adlai Stevenson thought "a little foolish" is clearly a conscious aim. They see the individual countries of Europe as helpless between the two great non-European powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. They seek to restore to Europe the strength that was once hers by uniting her separate nations, into one super-nation which will be able to deal on more or less equal terms with the two giants. Their point of view obviously implies a splitting away from the Atlantic Community, or at least a split within it.

Other proponents of this six-power Europe may not concede that it is incompatible with full partnership in the Atlantic Alliance, holding that a multiple-nation unit as well as a number of single-nation units can remain within NATO, in spirit as well as in form. But it appears to many observers that such a development will automatically tend to divorce Little Europe from the Atlantic Community, by excluding from future membership in, or cooperation with, the common market other nations devoted to the broader Atlantic Alliance—and first of all, Britain.

The exclusive aspects of the coal-steel community, whose complete governmental machinery of executive, legislative, and judiciary is to be extended to the common market and Euratom, has kept Britain from belonging to that organization as a full-fledged member, though she has cooperated with it closely. In the same way, it was planned that it should cooperate with the common market through the device of a free trade zone to which both the common market countries and Britain should belong—to be followed presumably by other nations, particularly those of the sterling bloc. But to many Britons it appears already that the provisions of the treaties signed at Rome

include some which threaten to drive a wedge between the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth, making its cooperation in a free trade zone extremely difficult.

Faced with the possibility of the constitution of a little Europe from which they would be frozen out, the British have countered with their grand design. Thus while the struggle to determine the direction which a Europe partially united in the common market will take can be envisaged as a conflict between limited supranationalism and unlimited confederationism; it can also be regarded as a struggle between the concepts of a little Europe and the grand design. And from still another point of view, it emerges as a rivalry between a possible future Europe which will be independent of NATO and a possible future Europe which will be integrated with NATO.

The British grand design might seem a logical suggestion even if there were no struggle to determine the future nature of common-market Europe. There are at present half a dozen major European groupings, each with its own bureaucracy, and several of them with more or less well developed governmental organisms. Their interests and functions overlap and often the same men represent their governments in several of these organizations and find themselves discussing much the same problems one week under the aegis, say, of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the next week at the Council of Europe. It would be an obvious economy of effort if these existing bits and pieces of international government were united under one statutory roof.

The little Europeans also agree on the advantage of such a union. They would like to produce a tighter Europe, presenting not only a common customs front to the rest of the world, but also a common general economic front, and even a common political front. To this end they might bring together purely European organizations, but they would not go outside the borders of Europe. Where the British differ from them is that their grand design includes NATO and envisages a tighter union of Europe and the United States and Canada.

A Europe tailored to the grand design would remain an inseparable part of the Atlantic community. A Europe inspired by the concept of the "little Europeans" might conceivably put an end to the efficacy of the Atlantic Alliance. For if a third force Europe were to develop, it would derive its own parcel of force only by subtracting it from the two reservoirs of force now in existence, the Soviet Union and its satellites on one hand, the United States and its partners in NATO on the other.

BRITAIN ALARMED

This prospect is particularly alarming to Britain, but not to Britain alone. If Britain is barred from cooperation with the common market, by the imposition as the price of entry of conditions which it is unable to accept, it will find itself shut out from a market to which its competitor in many fields, Germany, will have free access. This is by no means an unpleasant prospect for Germany, whose "little European" derive strength from it.

France and Great Britain are in disagreement on at least two major factors in the common market free trade zone scheme—the inclusion in it of French overseas territories, to which Britain objects, and the possibility of granting to British agriculture the same privileges won by French agriculture, to which France objects. Only Italy, a faithful follower of United States and Atlantic unity policies, can be counted upon for wholehearted opposition to "little Europeanism."

The possibility of being frozen out of Europe economically is alarming primarily to Britain alone. Other possibilities which seem implicit in the development of a third force little Europe may alarm the whole Atlantic community and the entire world.

At the present moment the effort to prevent an eventual suicidal resort to the atomic bomb is taking the form of an initial attempt to restrict the spread of atomic weapons. It is difficult enough to arrive at agreement to spike the nuclear arm among the three existing atomic powers; its acquirement by new nations would increase the difficulties. French delegate Jules Moch, representing the continental nation which is closest to achieving production of atomic weapons, has already warned the London disarmament conference that if the present atomic powers fail to agree on stopping further tests, France will go ahead with the development of the bomb.

This declaration takes on added significance against the background of various reports that France and Germany, the latter bound by treaty to eschew atomic weapons for herself, have considered plans for joint development of atomic weapons, and that the Krupp interests plan a plant for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, one of whose necessary byproducts will be plutonium, an ingredient of atomic bombs. It is in fact difficult to conceive of a third force Europe failing to arm itself with atomic weapons. In an atomic world, what meaning could the word "force" have for a group without them?

TIME AN IMPORTANT FACTOR

In the contest which is now going on between those whose policies seem destined to create a little Europe, excluding probably even Britain, and those who want to create a common market capable of indefinite expansion, an important factor seems to be timing. Certain experts of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation devoted to the extension of international cooperation are at this moment working feverishly to harmonize the common-market treaties with the plan for a free-trade zone, in the hope of reaching an agreement which Britain can sign simultaneously with the ratification of the common-market treaties. This may insolve some modifications of those treaties. Ratification would then become an explicit recognition of the character of common-market Europe as open to expansion.

The little Europeans, on the contrary, are arguing that the question of modifying the terms of the common-market agreement should not be raised before its ratification. To do so, they argue, might imperil the chances of acceptance of an understanding which was originally achieved only with great difficulty.

It is true that drafting the common-market treaties was a long and arduous process. But the thesis of the little Europeans may be a trifle disingenuous. For what the OEEC negotiators who are pressing for quick agreement on the statute for a free trade zone attached to the common market fear most is precisely that, if ratification occurs before agreement is reached, the treaties will be frozen in their present form. Future changes—and consequently future expansion—will become all but impossible.

The common-market treaties will, in the almost unanimous opinion of observers, be ratified this year. But what will the six parliaments be ratifying? Will they be voting for an open-ended economic organization, internationally minded and seeking further expansion in cooperation with the Atlantic community? Or will they be voting for a restricted political group which would seem necessarily destined, whether all its supporters are aware of that fact or not, to move in the direction of a third force little Europe, possibly detached from the Atlantic community? What kind of Europe is common-market Europe to be? That is the issue which is being fought out now, and whatever the decision, it is impossible not to agree with a further observation which Mr. Spaak made at his press conference: "If the parliaments ratify the common market and Euratom, 1957 will be a decisive year for Europe."

Mit Simms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD two editorials from Arizona papers commenting upon the life and contribution of the late Honorable Mit Simms. Mit Simms was one of the pioneers of Arizona and was a member of the Arizona Constitutional Convention of 1910. Mr. Simms died at the age of 84, while a member of the Arizona Corporation Commission. During the greater part of his life Mit Simms was one of the public officials of Arizona either at the county or State level. For his service to the well-being of the State that he loved so much, the people of Arizona will always be grateful. The editorials follow:

[From the Phoenix Gazette of July 24, 1957]

LONG PUBLIC SERVICE

Mit Simms, who died on Monday just a month short of his 84th birthday, had a political career that spanned the period of Arizona statehood to date. As Graham County's representative at the Arizona Constitutional Convention in 1910, he helped draft the State's basic law. Only two of the convention group now survive.

Mr. Simms came to Arizona in 1898, when many of the conditions of pioneer days existed. He entered ranching in Graham County, served as county recorder, and then became the second man to hold the office of State treasurer. He had also been secretary of state.

But his best-known public service came late in life. In 1948, he was elected to the State corporation commission and had served on that body ever since. He was a veteran of its political storms as control changed hands on the three-member group, responsible only to the provisions of the constitution.

His death ends a long and faithful public service to a State which has changed greatly since he sat among its founding fathers.

[From the Arizona Republic of July 24, 1957]

PIONEER POLITICIAN

The death of Mit Simms severs one of Arizona's few remaining personal ties with the days when Arizona became a State. Mr. Simms was 1 of the 3 surviving members of the Arizona constitutional convention of 1910.

Mr. Simms, who came to Arizona from Alabama in 1898, not only was a pioneer rancher and farmer, but devoted a great part of his life to public office. He became the second State treasurer of Arizona and has been almost continually in one public office or another since that day.

In his last public office, he was a member of the State corporation commission, to which he originally was elected in 1948.

The men who devoted so many years of their life to public office in the days since

Arizona became a State are due considerable credit for the great and fine community that has developed in this southwest desert. Mit Simms deserves to be numbered in this group.

The International Geophysical Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, the International Geophysical Year commenced July 1. I read an article over the weekend by Dr. Laurence M. Gould. Dr. Gould is president of Carleton College, is a member of the Executive Committee of the United States National Committee for the International Geophysical Year, chairman of the subcommittee on Antarctica, and director of the United States International Geophysical Year Antarctica program.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Scholar, summer 1957]

The International Geophysical Year

(By Laurence M. Gould)

Man's most ambitious program in international scientific cooperation begins July 1, 1957, and will continue through December 31, 1958. Destined to be a great landmark in the history of science, this program is known as the International Geophysical Year (IGY).

Geophysics has had a long period of incubation. Since the time of his earliest speculations about his world, man has been measuring the earth, recording data about its climate, its oceans, and other geophysical phenomena; yet even now, in the middle of the 20th century, our records in all fields of geophysics are fragmentary and local. The various fields are so intermeshed that no single discipline can advance indefinitely. All, in turn, are dependent upon the tools developed by the physicist and the engineer. Except for the electronic instrumentation now available, the present effort could not even have been considered. But now our total knowledge in geophysics, combined with advances in related fields and the availability of new tools, insures the success of the IGY.

Geophysics is the application of the tools of physics to the study of the earth and its atmosphere. All of man's major activities are inextricably bound up with the geophysical sciences. To a large extent they are the determining factors in such fields as agriculture, transportation, and communication of all sorts. Because of his ever-increasing mobility, man must know more and more about his environment; safety on land, sea, and in the air depends upon better forecasting of the weather, better knowledge of usable radio frequencies, and better knowledge of the upper air for transportation and guided-missile flight.

Geophysics presents quite different problems from those of the laboratory sciences. The nuclear physicist can go into his laboratory and perform experiments at will, but in geophysics the laboratory is the world itself. Nature performs the experiments; man makes the observations. Because all geophysical phenomena are related in one way or another to solar activity, the interval 1957–58 was selected for the IGY, as solar activity will be near the top of its 11-year cycle at that time.

The present international effort was anticipated by the first polar year in 1882–83 and the second polar year in 1932–33. Both of these involved but a few nations and were restricted to the north-polar region; yet the results of the first gave us our first definitive data about the aurora and the basis for all subsequent research. During the second, studies of the ionosphere by newly developed techniques gave rise to communications data that have been estimated to have a value in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

During the forthcoming IGY more than 5,000 scientists from 56 countries will be observing the same phenomena from stations all over the world. An important result should be the greatest breakthrough to date in a fundamental understanding of such major phenomena as ionospheric activity and atmospheric circulation.

The IGY is under the direct sponsorship of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), the chief continuing international scientific organization. In 1952, the council established the Comité Spécial de l'Année Géophysique Internationale (CSAGI) to plan and carry out the IGY program.

Each of the 56 nations participating in the IGY has an adhering body appointed to carry out its program. In the United States the total effort is supported in three ways. The National Academy of Sciences is the agency responsible for planning and directing the total scientific program. The National Science Foundation, as the fiscal agent, has assumed the responsibility for securing Federal appropriations to finance the program. The Department of Defense is supplying logistic support for the expeditions to Antarctica and the launching mechanisms for rockets and the earth satellite vehicle.

As the United States adhering body to ICSU, the National Academy of Science established the United States National Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Joseph Kaplan. This Committee is a group of distinguished geophysicists who, in turn, are assisted by panels of experts in each of the disciplines. Some three hundred experts from private and public institutions are involved.

Answers to many questions of both theoretical and practical importance will be sought during the IGY. What is the relationship between long-range radio transmission and sun spots and solar flares? Is the earth's climate changing? Where do cosmic rays come from? These are but samples of the kinds of questions inherent in the IGY.

The particular geophysical phenomena to be studied by way of finding answers are aurora and air glow, cosmic rays, geomagnetism, glaciology, ionospheric physics, longitude and latitude, meteorology, oceanography, seismology, gravity, and solar activity.

Atmospheric studies will be greatly extended beyond all previous records by the programs in rocketry and satellites. At least 600 rockets and 6 small earth-circling satellites with highly specialized instruments will be launched.

The earth satellite program is the most dramatic and most publicized aspect of the whole IGY. The mere announcement of the program gave rise to much speculation about man being on the threshold of space flight. Such speculations have little relation to present realities. The earth satellite will really be an extension of rocketry exploration and has been aptly described as a "long playing rocket."

Each of the six satellites will have special instruments which will tele-radio back to earth new and important data about such phenomena as the density of the outer atmosphere, the fluctuations and intensities of cosmic rays, fluctuations of the earth's magnetic fields, more accurate measurements of longitude and latitude, and so on.

During the IGY a great variety of surface observations will be carried out on a continuing basis. In addition, 3 to 5 regular world days will be set aside each month for certain more difficult and specialized observations. Likewise, 10-day intervals of highly concentrated meteorological observations following the summer and winter solstices and the spring and fall equinoxes will be scheduled as World Meteorological Intervals.

A number of world archive and datum centers will be established to organize and make available to scientists all over the world as promptly as possible the data acquired as the results of the IGY measurements and observations.

The total scientific program is of such magnitude and complexity that only a few major relationships can be pointed out in this brief account. Each special field is characterized by its global nature and its relationship to solar activity, for solar radiation in electromagnetic and particle form is the major source of energy for the earth's atmosphere and is responsible for all types of life.

The fields of meteorology, oceanography, and glaciology have very special interrelationships, for they involve the earth's store of water. Water exists in the atmosphere as vapor; in frozen form as glaciers, snow, and ice sheets; and in water as rivers, lakes, seas, and the oceans. There is a continuous process of interchange among these depositories, and all of them are related to the circulation of the atmosphere and the heat budget of the earth.

The atmosphere provides the ingredients of oxygen and moisture which sustain life. It further makes that life possible by shielding us from dangerous cosmic radiations and solar radiations that might be lethal. But no other property of the atmosphere is quite as important as its motion. In a windless world the tropics would become intolerably hot and the rest of the earth unbearably cold. The life of the planet as we know it depends upon the distribution of heat and moisture by wind. The atmosphere is the working fluid of a great heat engine driven by the sun that picks up heat in the tropics and discharges it in the polar regions. Between latitudes 38° north and 38° south the earth receives more radiation than it keeps. Beyond these latitudes there is a deficit with the resulting major exchange of air masses. There is still much that is not known about the manner in which this exchange takes place.

Oceanography is second only to the atmosphere in conditioning weather and climate. For the first time in man's history we shall be able to make simultaneous measurements of the fluctuations in sea level all over the world. This is the most effective means of studying the weather of the oceans. We know that the major movement of the oceans is roughly like that of the atmosphere. The cold waters from the polar regions move slowly along the ocean bottoms toward the lower latitudes, where they rise, become warm, and then proceed from the tropics polarward. Within this general circulation there are all sorts of ramifications yet to be studied. Surprisingly little is known about the deep currents of the oceans.

One of the intriguing problems in oceanography and meterorology relates to the content of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Carbon dioxide is one of the atmosphere's principal ingredients which enables it to retain solar heat for the earth. It is the normal result of combustion. If we continue to burn up our fossil fuels of coal, oil, and gas at the present rate, within 50 to 75 years the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere may be doubled. Should this happen, mag-

nolias might bloom in Greenland again. But there are some unknown factors which would alter such a situation. We do not know how rapidly carbon dioxide is absorbed by the oceans and by the various masses of glacial ice. Measurements will be made during the IGY.

During the great ice age, glaciers covered more than 30 percent of the surface of the earth. Even today they cover more than 10 percent of it. Our studies in glaciology will give us our first world views of the variation of glaciers. This will reveal much about past climates and help us to develop a yardstick for long-range forecasts in the future, for glaciers are very sensitive indicators of climatic changes.

The ionosphere, geomagnetism, cosmic rays, and the aurora are so related that a study of one involve a study of the rest. All have direct relations to solar activity and radio blackouts.

The ionosphere is the rarified ionized part of the atmosphere from 50 to 250 miles above the surface of the earth. In somewhat the same way a mirror reflects light, the ionosphere reflects radio waves making possible radio telephony and navigation and long-range radio communication. One expert has stated that the long-time equivalent value of the ionosphere is in excess of $10 billion.

While most of the earth's magnetic field originates in the solid core of the earth, the major variations and fluctuations stem from electric currents in the ionosphere.

The earth's atmosphere is constantly bombarded by electrically charged particles from outer space, most of which are believed to be protons. The high-speed particles produce cosmic rays while the relatively slow-speed particles produce (1) onospheric storms, (2) magnetic storms, and (3) the aurora, the luinous trace of the charged particles where they are funneled into the earth's atmosphere over the magentic poles.

While observations in many geophysical fields will yield new data about the sun, special attention will be devoted to the study of solar flares, coronal activity, and sun spots.

Values for longitude and latitude are much less accurate than is generally assumed. Even today we do not know within a matter of several hundred feet how far apart the continents are or where certain islands may be. More precise determinations of longitude and latitude will be made at 20 IGY stations around the world. Such more exact data have immediate practical application in the use of guided missiles whether for purposes of destruction or for purposes of transportation.

Most IGY programs will be carried out at long established stations or at new ones in easily accessible regions. Antarctica presents special problems because of its inhospitable climate and its inaccessibility. The logistic support for our farflung Antarctic IGY activities provided by the Department of Defense is even now one of the greatest achievements in the history of polar exploration. Under the able leadership of Rear Adm. George Dufek, the commanding officer of Task Force 43, Operations Deep Freeze No. 1 (1955–56) and No. 2 (1956–57) have successfully established our six scientific bases, including one to be operated jointly with New Zealand, in addition to the naval operational base at McMurdo Sound. Byrd Station at 80° south, 120° west, and the Amundsen-Scott Station at the South Pole are the first permanent inland or winter stations ever established in Antarctica.

In addition to the United States, the following countries plan to have stations on the continent or on islands near it: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa and Soviet Russia. There will be a total of some 54 stations in the overall Antarctic program. While the problems of carrying out the observations in the International Geophysical Year in Antarctica are formidable, yet the results will be of major importance because it is the largest unoccupied area of the globe. Most fields of geophysics now demand for completeness specific data that are available only from observations on the polar continent.

Special studies in magnetism are possible because of the location of the magnetic and geomagnetic poles on the Antarctic continent. Only on Antarctica can the aurora australis be fully observed.

Solar radiation is assumed to be the principal agent in breaking up atoms to form the ionosphere. Our base at the South Pole will discover what happens to the ionosphere when there is no direct solar radiation for 6 months. Does it thin out almost to the point of disappearance? Does it descend much below 50 miles above the surface of the earth?

The magnetic field of the earth is the chief instrument for analyzing cosmic rays. The rays are bent in such a way that the low-energy rays can only enter in high latitudes near the magnetic poles. The connections between solar effects and cosmic rays are more conspicuous for low-energy rays than for others. Observations in the far south and the far north may therefore reveal new fundamental facts on the origin of cosmic rays.

The hub of the atmospheric circulation for the Southern Hemisphere is located on Antarctica, but whether or not it coincides with the South Geographic Pole is but one of many meteorological questions that await solution. The Antarctica icecap is the world's greatest cold weather factor; but whether the great masses of cold air which form there play an active part in the general atmospheric circulation of the earth or whether they are largely sealed off from the rest of the atmosphere is not known.

More than half a century ago Simpson, a meteorologist on the first Scott expedition, pointed out that from time to time great pressure waves or surges of air spread out from what is now the general neighborhood of Byrd Station. Whether Simpson's assumptions are valid we still do not know, though later meteorologists have shown that some polar outbreaks of air can completely disrupt midlatitude circulation.

So fundamental are the relationships believed to be between Antarctic atmospheric circulation and that of the rest of the world that three meridional chains of stations are being established between the South and the North Poles. One roughly parallels the meridians of 70° to 80° west, one follows 10° east, and a third parallels 140° east. Precise, carefully synchronized observations can thus be made which should give us definitive data on the interchange of air masses between the tropics and the polar regions.

A unique phase of the glaciological program in Antarctica will be measurements of the thickness of the great icecap. Inasmuch as an estimated 90 percent of the world's land ice is on Antarctica, the thickness of the ice and changes in its volume are not merely matters of interest to the glaciologist alone. The return of but a few feet of thickness of ice as melt water to the oceans would have serious effects in many places; and if all the ice were melted into the sea, its level would rise from 150 to 200 feet. All the world's seaports and much of its most densely populated areas would be submerged. Great changes in volume of Antarctic ice have occurred in the past and such changes may occur again, but they will not do so with catastrophic speed.

Arctic ice masses have been melting at such a rapid rate during the 20th century that if the rate continues to the end of the century, ships will easily navigate the now ice-clogged Arctic Ocean. Whether similar melting conditions obtain in Antarctica now, we do not know, although looking back over a long period of time we find evidence that the Antarctic icecap was at one time at least 1,000 feet thicker than now.

The IGY is a good example of a new approach to world unity. The geophysicist is inevitably a truly international scientist. All considerations other than purely scientific ones are omitted. For instance, the complicated matter of claims in Antarctica is forgotten as the United States, Soviet Russia, Britain, France and eight other nations cooperate in the first comprehensive exploration ever made of this single polar continent. In similar fashion the satellites to be launched as part of the United States' IGY program will orbit around the earth without regard to any nation's rights to air space above territories, and no questions will be raised.

California Would Pay Out, Not Receive, Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, last week, when the Federal-aid school bill was before the House of Representatives, I voted against this bill because I did not feel that it met the proper requirements and the allocations under the provisions of the law were not set forth as I believe they should be.

I do not feel that the statistics gathered regarding the need for construction were based on the need that might exist 3 years from now. I have introduced a bill, H. R. 8885, which would return to various States of the Union 1 percent of the income and corporate taxes paid by each State for a period of 3 years, at which date such requirements would cease to exist. I feel this bill would meet the requirements of most States.

To give you some idea of the thinking of the people of California, I herewith quote an editorial from the Petaluma Argus-Courier, dated Thursday, July 18, 1957:

CALIFORNIA WOULD PAY OUT, NOT RECEIVE, FEDERAL AID

Instead of getting Federal aid, California would have to pay for some 441 schoolrooms in other States if H. R. 1, currently at issue in Washington, is not killed in the House of Representatives, S. J. Arnold, general manager of the California Taxpayers' Association, pointed out the other day.

H. R. 1 proposes to start a $300-million-a-year program of Federal aid for school construction. The bill, as amended, would cost California about $29,430,000 the first year, to get back the $16,211,000 it would allot to California. The difference—$13,200,000—is equal to the cost of 441 classrooms at $30,000 per classroom, he said. Many of the States that would benefit have said they prefer to take care of their own school-construction work.

"California has the biggest school-housing problem and is doing the most to meet the problem of any State in the Nation," Arnold declared. "We are already meeting our school-housing problems without the controls, redtape, and unnecessary costs which must inevitably go with sending money to Washington and then getting part of it back as Federal aid.

"Unless the people of California and the other States get up in arms against this proposal for school construction, the public schools of this country are likely to find themselves saddled with one more unnecessary program of Federal aid—and all the rules and regulations that accompany Federal money."

Strong talk to the Members of Congress is called for now, if the threat of Federal control of school construction under H. R. 1 is to be averted.

Preserving Democracy on the Battlefields Is Not Sufficient To Insure It to All of Our Citizens at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been deeply disturbed by the actions which have been occurring to weaken and water down and destroy the effectiveness of the civil-rights bill. I sincerely believe it is time for some blunt speaking. The House has overwhelmingly passed this bill, in the expectation that it could be used to further protect the right of all citizens. The House must stand fast on this and assure final enactment of a bill which really has meaning—not a shadow bill with no substance.

Earlier this year, I was impressed by the combined action of representatives of many veterans' groups in Philadelphia in joining in a demand for meaningful civil-rights legislation. The meeting was arranged by the veterans' committee of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Participating were representatives of American Legion posts, Veterans of Foreign War posts, and of the Jewish War Veterans.

It was the consensus of this group of veterans that the freedoms inherent in the democracy for which we have fought are just as applicable to our brothers in the South as they are to us in the North.

The group deplored what it termed "the wave of terror and lawlessness which prevents large numbers of our fellow Americans from enjoying even the most basic civil rights," and urged enactment of legislation along the lines of the pending civil-rights bill.

I was advised by Mr. Ernest H. Fleming, chairman of the veterans committee of the Philadelphia branch, NAACP, who sent this information to me, that:

We take this position because of our convictions which sustained us on the battlefields where we have fought to preserve democracy for all Americans regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

Mr. Fleming added:

Recent events, as well as those in the past, have demonstrated to us that preserving democracy on the battlefields is not sufficient to insure it to all of our citizens at home. It remains, therefore, for you to help win the final victory of freedom for the individual American by seeing to it that effective civil-rights legislation is enacted at this session of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to present for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for the attention of Members of both Houses, and in the hope it may have the effect of helping to bring into focus the necessity of effective civil-rights legislation as warranted by the sacrifice of veterans of all races in defending our constitutional freedoms, the full list of those who participated in the Veterans' Harmony Conference at Philadelphia earlier this year at which this position was taken. The list is as follows:

CONFEREES ATTENDING VETERANS' HARMONY CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY VETERANS' COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, NAACP

NAACP OFFICIALS

Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington bureau; Dr. Harry J. Greene, president, Philaedlphia branch; Charles A. Shorter, executive secretary, Philadelphia branch.

VETERANS' COMMITTEE

Ed. R. Harris, I. Max Martin, Eugene W. Jones, Harold L. Pilgrim, John R. E. Searles, Harvey N. Schmidt, Ernest H. Fleming, chairman.

SECOND ARMY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Lt. Col. De Haven Hinkson, USAR (retired).

AMERICAN LEGION POSTS

Charles W. Polk, commander, Cornish, No. 292; Frank Guess, Cornish, No. 292; Clifford C. Richards, W. Hopkins, No. 881; Carl D. Waller, Crispus Attucks, No. 151; Lewis Tayale, Crispus Attucks, No. 151.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS

Benjamin Brown, commander, Cutler-Lang Post.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS POSTS

Joseph R. Acey, Shipp, No. 42; Patrick Coleman, Shipp, No. 42; Stanley Collins, Shipp, No. 42; Fred Sassett, Shipp, No. 42; Isaac Saunders, Shipp, No. 42; Franklin Tucker, Slowe, No. 3090; Francis Morris, Slowe, No. 3090; Alfred F. Howard, Slowe, No. 3090; Wadell Lawhorne, Slowe, No. 3090; James McDaniels, Slowe, No. 3090.

Equal Rights for Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES P. S. DEVEREUX
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. DEVEREUX. Mr. Speaker, in his message to Congress on January 16, 1957—House Document No. 16—President Eisenhower stated:

The platforms of both major parties have advocated an amendment to the Constitution to insure equal rights for women. I believe that the Congress should make certain that women are not denied equal rights with men.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE, the Representative from New York, has introduced House Joint Resolution 127, which is now pending before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, which would do as Mr. Eisenhower recommended.

This proposal is well known to most of the Members of this House, and is similar to legislation which has been introduced in the Congress since 1923, following the adoption of the equal-suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

A number of nationwide organizations are working for its adoption, including among others: National Women's Party, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

I recommend the enactment of this legislation to all of my colleagues in the House.

The Retirement of Fred W. Blaisdell, Executive Director of the Better Government Association of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I noted the other day with regret that Fred W. Blaisdell is retiring after 19 years as executive director of the Better Government Association of Chicago. My regret is that the people of Chicago are losing the full-time services of an able and conscientious man who has guarded the public's interest and welfare. On the other hand I am happy that Mr. Blaisdell, after a lifetime of service can at last retire and devote some of his time to his own enjoyment.

Fred Blaisdell is one of those unusual persons who has given of himself and his means without stint or murmur over a long period of years.

Without regard to party affiliation, Mr. Blaisdell and his committee helped screen candidates for public office to determine their qualifications for the offices they sought in the best interests of the citizenry.

Mr. Blaisdell, at the age of 76, is finally retiring from active public life. But even in retirement he has promised to continue as a consultant to the Better Government Association and will in this way continue to serve his fellow citizens ably and well.

To his many other well-wishers, I would like to add my voice to extend congratulations for a job well done, and a hope for a long and continuously fruitful life.

I take this opportunity to place in the RECORD of the Congress the following editorial from the Chicago Daily News on Mr. Blaisdell's retirement:

At 76, and after 19 years as executive director of the Better Government Association of Chicago, Fred W. Blaisdell is leaving that post. He will remain as a consultant while his successor, George E. Mahin, takes over the reins.

An earnest student of the theory and practice of democratic government in all its ramifications, Mr. Blaisdell's work and influence has been enormously instructive and beneficial. Such services rarely receive the public applause that they deserve, and we are glad to seize the occasion to say a hearty, "Well done!" to Mr. Blaisdell.

President's Power Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a letter from the President.

This letter is in answer to an inquiry from myself to the Chief Executive regarding his views on Hells Canyon Dam and resource development.

I am a member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House which has again rejected the bill which would put $500 million of the taxpayers money into a project which has been rejected by Congresses controlled by both parties since its inception 10 years ago.

I believe the President's letter sets forth the Eisenhower administration's power and resource development program in clear, logical terms—devoid of political byplay—a straightforward presentation of the programs and policies adopted and followed by the present administration.

Text of the letter is as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, July 19, 1957.

The Honorable JACK WESTLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JACK: Your July 9 letter gives me an opportunity to explain my position on the Hells Canyon project and on all other water resource developments.

Early in my first term I expressed the belief that the Nation must adhere to three fundamental policies: first, to develop, wisely use, and thus conserve our country's natural resources from generation to generation; second, to follow the historic pattern of permitting private and other non-Federal organizations to develop these resources under fair provisions of law, including restraints for proper conservation; and third, to treat resource development as a cooperative undertaking—a partnership in which the participation of private citizens and State and local governments is as necessary as Federal participation. In other words, I believe the job to be done is so great that the Federal Government should build some projects, local governments some, and private interests some, and that there should be joint effort on still other projects. As you know, a number of projects in the Pacific Northwest, as well as in other parts of the Nation, are being constructed in accordance with these policies.

I am more convinced than ever that these policies are sound.

In its Hells Canyon decision, the bipartisan Federal Power Commission acted unanimously in granting a license to the Idaho Power Co. on the basis of a finding that the facilities to be provided constituted the best plan for comprehensive development of that reach of the Snake River. This action of the Commission has been upheld by the Supreme Court. Construction work on 2 of the 3 dams comprising the licensed development is well underway. Production of electrical energy urgently needed in Idaho and throughout the Northwest power pool, is scheduled to begin in September 1958. It would be unfortunate indeed, particularly at this stage of the development, if the Congress should negate the license and authorize the alternate development contemplated in S. 555.

The Idaho Power Co. development will not only quickly provide much-needed power at no Federal cost but will also produce substantial benefits for taxpayers throughout the Nation in the form of Federal, State, and local taxes which the company will pay during the period of its license. By contrast, the S. 555 development could not possibly help to meet prospective increased power requirements for at least 5 or 6 years, even under the most optimistic construction schedules. Furthermore, S. 555 would apparently commit the American taxpayer to expenditures approaching or perhaps exceeding six-tenths of a billion dollars at a time when the Federal budget is already under severe pressure.

Obviously, the Nation cannot and should not finance all water resource developments with Federal funds. The Idaho Power Co. development will permit the Federal Government to devote more of its financial resources to other developments which are clearly beyond the capabilities of non-Federal interests alone. By contrast, the proposed S. 555 development, involving sizable Federal appropriations, would require the postponement of many worthwhile projects in all sections of the country, including the Pacific Northwest.

With respect to your inquiry concerning comparative data on certain features of the respective developments, I have asked the Secretary of the Interior to furnish you these technical details.

I am firmly convinced that in the long run the Idaho Power Co. development will provide benefits to the people of the Pacific Northwest and the Nation as a whole commensurate with those which might reasonably be anticipated from the development contemplated in S. 555. It is inconceivable to me that serious consideration is being given in some quarters to stopping this development, depriving the Northwest of power which is badly needed now, and throwing an additional burden on the already heavily burdened taxpayers of the Nation.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Some Forgotten Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, as I have many times heretofore pointed out, Georgia has been the beneficiary of the exodus of splendid white citizens from the North and East, these citizens coming South of their own volition, beginning life anew, and becoming part and parcel of us.

One of those that came South is Hon. E. W. Mathews, publisher of the Cordele Dispatch, a daily newspaper published in the fine little city of Cordele, Ga., in the district which I have the honor to represent. Mr. Mathews refers to himself as a reconstructed Yankee, but the community which he so proudly and efficiently serves thinks of him as a great American and a fine Georgian.

In the July 19, 1957, issue of the Cordele Dispatch, an editorial by Mr. Mathews appears, reading as follows:

As a former resident of the North who has, as the saying goes, become a reconstructed Yankee, the present civil-rights bill pending in the United States Senate is of vital interest to me as well as it is to the people who have lived in the South all of their natural lives.

First of all, why does not the Senate of the United States add an amendment to this bill which will bar all welfare benefits to any woman, black or white, who bears more than 1 illegitimate child?

We believe that the civil-rights laws should cover cases of illegitimate children, as well as the right to vote, and the right to integrate the schools.

If such an amendment were made to the civil-rights bill, there would be a considerable drop in the relief roles of our county, our State, and our Nation.

Then, too, if our United States Senate is so bent on equal rights, why is not something done to give equal rights to the American Indian, who was the original owner of this great Nation of ours?

The American Indian was listed as a savage at the time of the discovery of America some 465 years ago. Now 465 years later, after being pushed and shoved from one section of the country to another, he has no more rights than he had at the time slavery was first introduced into the United States.

The American Indian was robbed of his land, he was killed, in many cases without reason, and he still has no recognition as a citizen of the United States.

Many American Indians fought valiantly in the last two world conflicts and they must still be herded off to a reservation to live in poverty, and still not have the right to vote.

The bringing of Negro slaves to this country was started by Yankees, and we mean New England traders, some time around 150 years ago. He has had the right to vote after being freed in 1865. Some 700 or 800 Negroes in Crisp County are registered voters.

The Negro in Crisp County has equal or better schools now than do many of our white children. The Negro has the benefits of social security and of welfare.

In addition, in the South the Negro has the friendship of white men who will feed and clothe him when he is broke and hungry.

In many cases in the South Negroes too old to work still live on the farms of the white man for whom they formerly worked. They draw welfare aid and in addition the white man gives them free housing, takes care of their doctor bills, and helps feed them—and in case of death, helps bury them.

We do not believe that any northern Senator can show as many cases of help to old Negroes by the citizens of his State, as can any one of the Southern States.

We believe the American Indian is long past receiving his proper recognition, and we think that if a civil rights bill in any form is to be passed, it should include the original American, the Indian.

Mr. Speaker, it is quite evident that Mr. Mathews feels that the taxpayers of this country have some civil rights, including the right not to be taxed to pay the premiums and rewards for illegitimate child bearing. The ill-considered legislation providing welfare benefits for illegitimate children has certainly been the inspiration for certain females, and notably of the colored race, and no one can dispute that, to make illegitimate motherhood a way of life. Gathered statistics prove the truth of this assertion beyond controversy. However, if anyone doubts the truth of that asser-

tion, all he will have to do to discover the truth is simply to investigate the situation in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Mathews finds it hard to understand that great clamor concerning the rights of the colored race, and the complete indifference of the same do-gooders to the plight of the American Indian. I think, however, that Mr. Mathews simply raises that question in order to highlight it. Mr. Mathews thoroughly understands that the Communists, fellow travelers, and pinkoes have been unable to convince the Indians that they truly are of an inferior race and that they must fight for an equality that has not been earned, and that the equality must be legislated, instead of a matter of fact. One who feels in his heart that he is equal does not become insulted even though he thinks that he might have been ignored. An equal thinks that he has as much to give as he would receive from association with other races. Only the one who knows that he has nothing whatsoever to import for the uplift of another fights for the right of association with others, knowing that his association is unwelcome.

Mr. Speaker, we are immensely proud of those Yankees who came down and settled with us. They have come to our congressional district by the hundreds, and I do not know of a one who has not been satisfied with our conditions, our traditions, our philosophies, and who is not completely loyal to the United States. It would seem that the South could not possibly be bad, when we have the complete approval of all those Yankees who have cast their lot with us.

Second-Class Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the Advertiser-Tribune, of Tiffin, Ohio, is a typical representative newspaper in a typical small rural Midwestern American city. In view of the current activities in Congress concerning public power, I feel that the following editorial from that newspaper is timely and at the same time represents the thinking of that community on this vital issue:

SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS

Massachusetts has no major river basins. It gets its electric power from fuel plants, rather than hydroelectric installations. But, up to June 30, 1955, Massachusetts taxpayers had put up nearly $226 million for multipurpose river-basin projects.

How can this be? The answer is that the projects were built by Government in other States, and partly financed with Massachusetts money. And what is true of Massachusetts is true throughout the country. About 20 percent of the power users of this country get power from Government plants. The remaining 80 percent get it from independent utility companies, and they help subsidize the power bills of the 20 percent.

They do that in various ways. Socialized power is wholly free of Federal taxes. It is also either wholly free of local taxes or pays relatively small sums in lieu thereof. The socialized power projects get all manner of special privileges from the Government, at the expense of the general taxpayers. To make this sorry matter worse, socialized Federal power is sold under a preference clause, which gives first rights to public bodies, municipalities, co-ops, public power districts, et cetera, which also usually pay little or nothing in taxes. Customers of the independent utilities can have only what is left, if any. So they become second-class citizens in this, except when it comes to paying the taxes.

Socialism sure is expensive, both in money and in liberty.

Do American People Have a Culture Which Unites Them Into a Nation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call the attention of the House to an editorial that appeared in the Amarillo (Tex.) Globe-Times on Tuesday, July 2, 1957. This editorial pays deserved tribute to our colleague, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania. It expresses in concise terms the feeling of so many of our people on the controversial subject of immigration:

DO AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A CULTURE WHICH UNITES THEM INTO A NATION?

With a spearhead that is undoubtedly communistic, carried by their fellow travelers, congressional liberals and spokesmen for the so-called ethic minority groups, the assault on America's immigration system is increasing in intensity every month.

Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER of Pennsylvania, is credited with staving off a last-minute rush to the passage deadline in the Congress last year. On the last day of the session, Senators ARTHUR WATKINS and EVERETT DIRKSEN, in an unprecedented move, appended to a routine bill a series of amendments which would have demolished the national origins quota system and opened the floodgates for practical demolishment of present immigration policy.

The amendments were rushed through the Senate without customary hearings and without committee reports. They were sent to House, where the wheels had been greased to slip them by in the final rush before adjournment. However, the amendments were sent over after the House Judiciary Committee had held its last meeting of the session, and as chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee, Representative WALTER headed off adoption of the amendments even as the clock was ticking off the last moments of the House session.

These amendments, which have again been introduced in the present Congress, contain provisions which would open every valve the Walter-McCarran Act furnishes for controlling the number and caliber of aliens gaining admission to our shores. If the provisions of these amendments are adopted, the net result will be (1) destruction of our national origins immigration system which gears the flow of immigration for maximum assimilation and for the preservation of our cultural integrity; (2) increase of total annual immigration from around 230,000 to well in excess of 600,000; and (3) emasculation of the chief screening and security safeguards of the present flow.

The national origins controversy boils down to this: Is there such a thing as the United States? Do the American people have a culture which unites them as a nation? If we are to judge by results, the answer to these questions has to be "Yes."

"There is something about America which has made it great and strong, and which has made it and kept it free, although—in my opinion—it has nothing to do with race or superiority or inferiority. Rather, it is a matter of basic ideology, cultural attitudes, of a common heritage," WALTER says. "That we are a 'nation of immigrants' is indeed a part of that heritage, but the emphasis in that phrase is on the word 'nation.' We are 'immigrants' who have fused into one people, with one national loyalty—to the United States of America.

"This country can continue in its great traditions only if its citizens understand and believe in them. New citizens, therefore, must be brought in by a pattern and in degrees which will allow them to become a true part of American life. Immigration which contradicts this pattern or which exceeds those degrees is a disservice to the immigrant and our society alike."

Congress Should Act Immediately on Pending Amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act Designed To Liberalize Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, thousands of railroaders both active and retired, together with their families, have their eyes focused on Congress hoping and praying that favorable action will be taken before adjournment on railroad retirement legislation now pending before the House committee and the Committee on Ways and Means. These railroaders and their families are the victims of a 52-cent dollar as they struggle to exist on the present scale of retirement benefits.

The following editorial from the July 27, 1957, issue of Labor is a timely appeal to Congress for immediate action on railroad retirement legislation:

ACT NOW ON FULL PENSION PROGRAM

Members of Congress and this newspaper are being showered with letters and resolutions urging prompt passage of measures backed by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations for amending the Railroad Retirement Act and Unemployment Insurance Act. The letters and resolutions come not only from individuals and groups who are under railroad retirement, but also from many who are under the social security and civil-service retirement systems.

Why are millions of men and women so keenly interested in this legislation? So far as railroaders are concerned, they have a double reason: First, H. R. 4353 and H. R.

4354—identical bills introduced months ago by Congressmen HARRIS, Democrat of Arkansas, and WOLVERTON, Republican of New Jersey—would boost all rail retirement benefits by 10 percent, provide other needed improvements, and raise the railroad retirement tax to make the pension increases possible. Also, the measures would bring badly needed improvements in railroad unemployment insurance benefits and the conditions under which they are paid.

Second, to offset the pension tax increase, a companion bill, H. R. 5551, introduced by Congressman MCCARTHY, Democrat of Minnesota, would exempt from the Federal income tax money rail employes pay in retirement taxes. It also would grant the same kind of exemption to employes under the social security and civil-service retirement systems.

In other words, it would end the unjust tax on a tax which millions of people under the three big pension programs now are forced to pay. No wonder all of them are vitally interested in the McCarthy bill.

It has a special importance to railroad workers, because that bill is an essential and integral part of their whole pension program in Congress. If the McCarthy bill does not pass, the entire program will be jeopardized. Why that is true is clear from the following facts.

Last year, the rail unions offered Congress a well-balanced legislative program asking for a 15-percent increase in retirement benefits, plus the means to pay for it. Congress cut the benefit boost to 10 percent, and postponed the paying problem. As a result, since then the Railroad Retirement Board has not been adding the amounts necessary to the reserve fund.

Even if no further, and sorely needed, pension improvements had been asked this year, it would be necessary for Congress to provide more revenue for the railroad retirement fund. Congress promised to do that, as President Eisenhower pointed out when he signed last year's railroad retirement amendment bill.

To assure long-range soundness of the fund, an increase in the retirement tax on both rail employees and employers is essential. Both, in theory, pay the tax equally, but actually that is far from true.

Every dollar of retirement tax paid by a railroad cuts 52 cents off its income tax. Thus, in effect, the railroad pays a retirement tax of only 48 cents. In contrast, a rail employee pays the full dollar retirement tax and then pays an income tax on that dollar. It works the same under social security. Under the civil service retirement system, Uncle Sam is the employer, but the employees still pay the tax on tax.

The only way to give the employees under the three great pension systems ever partial equality with their employers is to end the tax on a tax. That is, cease income-taxing the money which the employees have already paid out in retirement taxes, and which the employees never saw, because it was withheld from their wages.

In the rich men's tax bill of 1954, Congress granted relief to stockholders, on the ground that they were being double-taxed by levies on both dividends and corporation profits. Now Congress has before it what, in comparison, might be called a poor men's tax bill. It would end double taxes on millions of railroaders and other workers. Do they deserve less consideration than wealthy stockholders?

The McCarthy tax offset bill is in the hands of the House Ways and Means Committee. That powerful group holds the key to the whole rail pension and benefit improvement program. The time is growing short and the Senate is tied up in the civil-rights bill battle. The House should be passing the Harris-Wolverton and the McCarthy bills so they will be ready for Senate action. The House can't do that until it gets the green light from the Ways and Means Committee.

This is not a partisan problem. It is a question of simple justice. Railroaders are not asking any Congressman or Senator whether he is a Republican or Democrat. They are asking him: Are you for ending the tax on a tax and thus clearing the way for improvements in our pensions?

Aiding Disabled Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I have recently introduced legislation that would, if enacted into law, provide substantial relief to a number of service veterans who are eligible to receive non-service-connected disability pensions. This legislation would allow these disabled veterans to receive full pension payments even though they may also be benefiting from retirement under civil service, social security, or railroad retirement acts.

At present, a qualified veteran may receive his non-service-connected pension only if he is not already receiving benefits from civil service, railroad retirement, or social security in excess of certain stipulated amounts. For a single veteran, that figure is $1,400 a year; for a married veteran, it is $2,700 a year. If these figures are exceeded, the disability pension aid is discontinued.

Mr. Speaker, it is my contention that it is unfair to penalize these veterans by not allowing them to receive the small disability pension just because they are recipients of the retirement benefits they have earned. These veterans often have greater expenses than any other class of veterans, and the funds involved are not large. At present, the average retiree under social security receives $63.09 a month. The average railroad retiree gets $130 a month and the average retiree covered under Civil Service Act receives about $111 monthly. And these, may I point out, are nationwide average figures; in some States, the figures are much lower.

In a number of cases, my legislation will not be applicable since the pension moneys received from 1 of the 3 retirements I have mentioned will not be sufficient to restrict the veteran from receiving both his retirement benefits and the non-service-connected disability pension. Relief will be felt, however, by those whose retirement payments exceed the low figures of $1,400 or $2,700 a year, as the case may be.

My bills, designated H. R. 8846, H. R. 8847, and H. R. 8848, would amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, the Social Security Act, and the Railroad Retirement Acts whereby pensions and annuities under each of these acts would not be considered as income in determining non-service-connected disability pensions for veterans.

I feel these bills would protect certain disabled veterans from being at the mercy of economic forces acting upon them through the years of retirement, protection which I believe is deserved.

Disaster Areas in Arkansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, we have a problem in Arkansas comparable to that in other States. Our problem is to keep a fine and sturdy segment of our business and agricultural population from going completely broke. For 5 successive years we have been hit by forces beyond our control. First 4 years of searing drought, followed by a year of devastating floods. Able and willing bankers in the area have made loans to the limit. Unless we can get the law changed to put some teeth into already existing laws, which a thoughtful people have asked Congress to pass to help in cases of disaster, many areas will be destitute.

One of the best expositions of the problem and the cure is the following editorial from the Southwest American, Fort Smith, Ark., by my friend, C. F. Byrns, the editor:

OFF THE RECORD
(By C. F. Byrns)

The Federal Farmers Home Administration is sending Dale Smith, assistant to the administrator, to Arkansas in the next few days to look into the need for disaster loans to farmers severely hurt by the recent floods.

FHA officials have said this week that only 10 loans have been made for a total of $15,000, only 24 applications have been made in the 21 disaster counties, and 71 inquiries have been received from farmers who did not make application.

The operation of the FHA in this situation has been brought to light through the efforts of Representative JIM TRIMBLE. State Senator J. O. Porter, of Mulberry, and Luther H. King, of Clarksville, large farm operator in Johnson County. Representative BROOKS HAYS joined in presenting the problem to the House Agriculture Committee last Monday.

The committee was considering a bill offered by Representative TRIMBLE which would require the FHA to postpone for a year repayment of crop-production loans, and to authorize loans to pay off existing indebtedness as well as to meet current needs, with a repayment period up to 7 years.

In the hearing it was stated by Representative WILLIAM S. HILL, Republican, of Colorado, that the Trimble bill contains nothing that cannot be done now by the FHA.

The whole thing seems to boil down to this: The Department of Agriculture, headed by Secretary Ezra T. Benson, could do without any new law the things the Trimble bill proposes. But it has not done anything to liberalize the loan regulations, and is opposing the Trimble bill, which would permit help that is badly needed by many small farmers who are in serious money trouble.

There's no point in blaming the State or county representatives of FHA. They are doing what the regulations require. The

road block is in the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture.

The figures given by FHA officials on loans and applications to date pretty well establish the point that the Arkansas people made in their testimony in behalf of the Trimble bill.

When 71 inquiries about loans were sent to the State office by farmers who wanted help, and no applications for loans were filed the reason obviously was that they knew it would do no good to make application under existing regulations of the department. They didn't fail to file applications because they didn't need the loans. They didn't file because they had learned it was useless.

Ten loans totaling $15,000 is sufficient evidence that the FHA is doing almost nothing to meet the situation which is truly critical for many farmers who have exhausted their credit, most of them through no fault of their own.

Present regulations require that crop loans be repaid at the end of the crop year. That kind of loan is of little value to a farmer who already has his 1957 crop mortgaged, either to the FHA or a private lender. The Trimble bill is designed to extend the time of payment of existing FHA loans for at least another year, and to permit loans of longer duration which will permit the borrower to get back on his feet. It should be passed. But time is running out in Congress, and the United States Department of Agriculture is opposing his effort.

Loyalty Into Defiance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial from the Nashville Tennessean. In my opinion, this editorial gives a true picture of how our Attorney General's Court loyalty has turned into quick defiance:

BROWNELL'S COURT LOYALTY TURNS INTO QUICK DEFIANCE

A few days ago in Federal district court in Bowling Green, Ky., an agent of the FBI refused to turn over to the defense records of information in an important case.

He did this in spite of the judge's order to the contrary, in line with a recent decision of the Supreme Court that an accused man is entitled to see the information on which he is accused. Furthermore, he did it on instructions from his superior, the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Herbert Brownell.

Now this is strange, since Mr. Brownell until recently has been among the foremost defenders of the Court of last resort.

The leading article in the July issue of the American Bar Association Journal bears the Attorney General's name, and urges full obedience to the Supreme Court as the "symbol of orderly, stable, and just government."

Going further in the same article, Mr. Brownell quotes Abraham Lincoln to the effect that "whoever resists the final decision of the highest judicial tribunal, aims a deadly blow to our whole republican system of government—a blow, which if successful, would place our rights and liberties at the mercy of passion, anarchy, and violence."

In the abstract it thus appears, that the Nation's chief legal officer is 100 percent loyal to the principles laid down by Lincoln. Whenever the High Court agrees with him, as it has done on many occasions, it is a noble institution which can only be assailed at the Nation's peril.

In his law journal contribution he was moved to these conclusions:

"As attorneys and officers of the Court, we have an important stake in the independence of the Court and a greater duty to it. The Court relies on us for assistance. We must give it our support by our own example. We must do everything possible to preserve its reputation. We can stir fuller recognition of the Court's distinguished role in our Government, in our history, and in our development as a leader among nations."

Hardly had these patriotic words gone into print, however, before he gave the Court defiance, rather than support by orders to disobey its clear ruling on the use of secret testimony in certain cases. He is revolted by the idea that secret FBI files, which he himself has used for political purposes, should be made available as a matter of justice to some defendants.

Lofty principles are easy to enunciate or transcribe as they apply to the Supreme Court, but putting them into practice is something else again when they affect a subagency of the Department of Justice.

If the Court relied greatly on Mr. Brownell for assistance by reason of his special position of trust, it would be in a bad way indeed.

Elmer Lewis: A Real Public Servant

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, on arriving in Washington for the first time as a fledgling Member of the House, one of the first recollections I had was that of a visit to the House Document Room where I met Elmer Lewis. He was cheerful then, as he has consistently been since that time, whenever any occasion arose to ask his assistance—which was frequently.

It was a genuine pleasure to have known and to associate with Elmer Lewis. He was not just another House official. He was zealously attentive to his duties. He rendered superb services to this House and its Members for more than a quarter of a century. He was not just efficient—he excelled. He mastered his job from the very beginning. He had a memory that indelibly impressed on his mind the passage of an act or the issuance of any official report. If favorable action was taken on a proposal, Elmer Lewis knew it, recalled it instantly, and could locate the document with dispatch. For the many years I dealt with him, not once did I ask for information with respect to legislation that I failed to obtain. He enjoyed his work; he made friends readily. His life and services are exemplary to all of those with whom he worked and served. He was a real—a true public servant.

I was saddened at the news of the passing of Elmer Lewis. He leaves a place in our hearts and minds that is difficult to fill. To his loved ones I would like to convey my deepest sympathy.

Senior Citizens Claim Attention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I have been increasingly troubled by the problems being encountered by the senior citizens of my district who are writing to me about their serious financial circumstances due to the inadequacy of social security and other pension systems covering present-day needs, and the difficulty in obtaining employment after they have reached a certain age.

As the Members of Congress are aware, these problems are being felt by more and more of our older people as medical science expands our life expectancy rate and in view of the trend of Government, industry, and business to encourage earlier retirement. It is a situation which we are going to have to find a solution.

I was very much interested in the editorial in the Flint Journal of July 26, outlining the basic problem, offering some encouragement as to what is being done about it, and calling attention to the program which is underway in Flint, Mich., to integrate activities designed to help our elderly citizens. It is a pleasure to include this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SENIOR CITIZENS CLAIM ATTENTION

The population of Americans over 65 is increasing at twice the rate of the overall population rise.

That fact is giving rise to serious consideration in many quarters of the peculiar problems which have arisen in connection with it.

This newspaper is receiving an increasing number of letters from oldsters who complain that increasing taxes and the increased cost of living constitute a serious problem for them.

The incomes of many of these older people are fixed. Some of them retired with what they believed was enough money to last all their lives. Others own real estate from which they receive some income, but rising taxes and the higher cost of food and clothing, medical care, and hospitalization make that income insufficient. Others rely on social security or annuities or pensions, all of which are regarded as insufficient for them to live comfortably.

The economic is only one facet of this many-sided problem.

Many oldsters resent deeply the fact that they are no longer considered productive citizens. Forced to retire because of age, they feel they can still make a valuable contribution to society, but are deprived of the opportunity to do so.

But help is on the way from several quarters.

As evidence of that is an article and accompanying editorial in the July 27 Journal of the American Medical Association. With the increase in the number of older

persons, there is developing the problem of "how to create a proper climate for senior citizens to grow with their age rather than stagnate in a tremendously expensive wait for death," the editorial states.

"Since medical science is largely responsible for this increased longevity, physicians everywhere must bear much of the burden of also prolonging man's span of vigor. It is a mammoth task, calling for action and planning in many fields besides medicine," it continues.

Some time ago, the AMA appointed a committee on aging, which soon will publish guides for State and county medical societies to help them organize with allied medical and lay groups in meeting the specific needs of older people in their own areas.

The committee has agreed that retirement should not be based arbitrarily on chronological age, but that employment in all age brackets should be a matter of proper assignment of skills.

The committee is drafting a physical examination form which will help companies and physicians evaluate a person's particular capabilities. It also is trying to devise an AQ (aging quotient) test based on physiological and psychological factors. Such a test, it is hoped, would help an employer decide whether a man should retire or be moved to a less demanding job.

"There is little doubt," the article states, "from a medical standpoint, that when men have their occupations taken away, many of them become lost—experiencing a distinct deterioration of personality, a marked depression, and a great acceleration in the aging process.

"Lack of work, even when there is a pension, almost always presents a severe problem in economics, as well, to the elderly. At a time when his medical needs normally are the greatest, the earning power of the oldster is at its lowest. Multiplied by the millions, it is this factor—more than any other—which challenges the entire community in ever corner of the Nation."

Many community projects, including housing developments, planned recreation, and medical-care facilities are being set up throughout the country. In Chicago, a commission on senior citizens is making headway toward better health, reduced transit fares, specially designed public housing, expanded recreational facilities, and a more enlightened retirement policy by business and industry.

Flint is in the vanguard of this relatively new program. We have here a community planning committee for senior citizens, a subdivision of the Council of Social Agencies. Recently a fulltime coordinator was hired with the Junior League of Flint financing the program for the first year. The activities of various groups who sponsor programs designed for older citizens—the unions, Mott Foundation, churches, community schools, etc.—thus will be better integrated.

It is a very worthy cause, and one which merits the understanding and support of the entire community.

Why So Little Action on the Hoover Commission Recommendations?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PERKINS BASS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include two recent editorials from the Claremont Daily Eagle of Claremont, N. H., with regard to the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. As cosponsor of H. R. 8002, and 4 other major recommendations, I hope the House will act favorably on this measure before adjournment.

The editorials follows:

RECORD OF INACTION

Barring a last-minute surge of unexpected activity, the first session of the 85th Congress will adjourn with a shameful record of inaction on the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Grassroots pressure for thrift in government was unprecedented during most of this session. Despite this citizen mandate, the congressional committees that must initiate the actions needed to put the Commission's legislative proposals into effect haven't evidently offered to hold hearings on 80 percent of the more than 170 pending bills.

Instead, for a variety of reasons ranging from lack of political courage to belief in paternalistic government, the economy drive has been restricted to nibbling at appropriation requests.

This approach ignored the plainest of facts—that it is impossible to cut the cost of Government significantly unless the size and scope of Federal activity is reduced.

The task forces of the second Hoover Commission not only documented the accuracy of this age-old truth but pointed out literally hundreds of ways and places to reduce the size and cost of government without impairing our national security or eliminating truly essential Federal programs or services.

Instead of leaping at this magnificant opportunity, the 85th Congress has virtually ignored it. Worse yet, it has taken at least a dozen actions that are in direct conflict with Commission proposals.

An examination of the legislative history of the law that established the second Hoover Commission reveals that it had unanimous, bipartisan, House and Senate support.

The Commission has failed miserably to recognize and discharge its moral obligation to evaluate the Commission's proposals; to translate those having merit into dollar savings, and thereby expedite the achievement of long-overdue debt and tax reduction.

The great danger of the prevailing congressional attitude does not lie in the possibility that the Commission's proposals will go down the legislative drain. The real danger is that no review of government—such as that made by the Hoover Commission—will again be made.

THE HOOVER REFORMS

Last week, in these columns, we endorsed a suggestion of Edward Sherman, regional director of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, that Congress might devote some of its time to cutting Federal spending by approving some of the recommendations which the report proposes.

A note from Congressman PERKINS BASS, agreeing that adoption of further Hoover Commission recommendations is a positive and responsible approach to budget cutting, points out that his "Your Congressman Reports" article of May 16 stressed the need also. For the benefit of Daily Eagle readers who may have missed this issue, we're glad to repeat the pertinent paragraphs:

"With this conviction in mind, I am introducing this week 5 bills which would implement what I believe to be the 5 most important legislative recommendations of the Hoover Commission not yet enacted. They speak for themselves.

"1. A bill to establish as a matter of policy that the Federal Government shall not engage in business-type operations which compete with private enterprise, unless it can be demonstrated clearly that such a Government enterprise is necessary to carry out legally established national programs.

"2. A bill to require that the Federal budget be presented to Congress in such a way that expenditures can more effectively be controlled and understood on a year-to-year basis.

"3. A bill to prevent waste of badly needed military storage space by making it easier for military services to use each other's vacant storage space rather than building unneeded duplicate facilities.

"4. A bill to permit more businesslike distribution and disposal of surplus Government property so that the Government will receive the best possible return.

"5. A bill to eliminate waste and duplication in the supply, storage, management, and distribution of nonmilitary supplies in the military services by creating a civilian-managed agency in the Defense Department to administer common supply and service activities."

Concededly, Congressman Bass is doing his best to get action on these vital measures. But the same, apparently, is not true of the majority of his colleagues.

Under date of June 7, Washington Report has this to say on the same subject:

"Despite what Representative CLARENCE CANNON describes as 'one of the most persistent campaigns ever waged,' the 85th Congress has virtually ignored nationwide citizen demands for action on the Government reorganization proposals of the second Hoover Commission.

"A total of 145 bills that would carry out 58 specific recommendations have been introduced and referred to 16 committees.

"But with 5 months of the session already gone, here is the dismal CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on these bipartisan measures:

"Not a single Hoover Commission bill has become law.

"Only three bills have passed either the House or Senate.

"Hearings have been held on only six measures.

"No additional hearings are scheduled.

"Most of these measures go to the root of the Federal spending problem Congress has been grappling with. * * * But the House and Senate Appropriations Committees * * * are powerless to take advantage of these additional savings opportunities unless and until the legislative committees face up to their responsibility. So far they have not done so.

"Congress can demonstrate the sincerity of its economy drive and give its Appropriations Committees a helping hand by acting favorably on these bipartisan proposals between now and adjourment."

How about it, Congressman?

How about it, Congress?

A Bill To Provide for the Preparation of the Budget on an Annual Accrued Expenditure Basis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 8002, providing for preparation of the budget on an annual accrued expediture basis is receiving countrywide support from many people. Despite attempts to ridicule the proposal and ex-

aggerate its alleged defects, many people, as has the Miami Daily News, have put the issue properly:

This reform is so simple, so needful, so important, why should there be any opposition to it?

The editorial of the Miami Daily News which follows gives some of the cogent reasons why H. R. 8002 should be supported by Members of the House:

TIME CITIZENS TOLD CONGRESS: CONTROL FEDERAL PURSESTRINGS

Very few Americans like to pay high taxes—particularly when they read of sensational waste by foreigners of United States foreign aid.

Too many Americans are not informed that they pay high taxes, in part at least, because of unsensational waste in American government.

That is the target of the Hoover Commission.

Last weekend, Representative ROGERS, of West Palm Beach, anounced that the House Rules Committee will permit his Senate-passed Hoover Commission bill, H. R. 8002, to come before the House during the coming week.

Everyone should be for this bill, because it will:

First, strengthen congressional control of Federal expenditures by requiring careful annual review of all spending projects.

Second, end the stockpiling of unspent carryover funds which have passed beyond congressional review.

Why is this important? Here are two examples why they are cited by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report:

For fiscal year 1952–53 Congress appropriated $12.5 billion for guns, tanks, other military hardware in Korea. The war ended within a month of the new budget year. Years later, in May 1957, the Army was still spending the remainder of the $12.5 billion without any further congressional review.

In 1951, the Navy contracted to buy 528 fighter planes. By 1955, only 52 planes had been delivered, the design was declared unsatisfactory, and the contract was canceled. By then, however, $172 million had been spent to little effect. Much of this money could have been saved by yearly review.

Would annual congressional review be dangerous to defense of this country?

The best answer to that is that the reform has been supported by the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Budget Director, the Comptroller General, all Members of the Senate, many Members of the House, and scores of thousands of private citizens.

Will H. R. 8002 really stop raids on the Treasury?

Secretary of Treasury Humphrey says:

"This change in accounting should provide an excellent basis for improvement in control over actual costs of operations and programs. * * * It should reduce the vast carryover of appropriation balances. * * * Any means by which we can bring this carryover of appropriations under better scrutiny and review is a step in the right direction."

Will suppliers lose faith in Government contracts? Comptroller General Campbell says:

"The determination of appropriations on the annual accrued expenditure basis * * * is in no way detrimental to the interests of contractors. They would be paid for performance just as they are now; the only difference being that such payments would be made out of funds appropriated by Congress for that year and not out of funds appropriated in some past year."

This reform is so simple, so needful, so important, why should there be any opposition to it?

"Empire builders" among the Federal agencies resent the change in the old way of doing things. There is strong opposition to H. R. 8002 by these Federal agencies, and this has been communicated to some Members of the House itself.

It's time that Congress acted to show the overambitious bureaucrats the side door. This would be the most effective way of doing just that.

It's time citizens told Congress to control Federal purse strings.

The Federal School-Aid Bill

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to authorize Federal assistance to the States and local communities in financing an expanded program of school construction so as to eliminate the national shortage of classrooms.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, the Federal school aid bill has met a deserved fate, and I think it would be well to emphasize the terrible dilemma which that legislation presented for all of us who are concerned with fulfilling the Nation's educational needs and at the same time with preserving the sound financial principles of government.

The bill, which would have provided more than a billion dollars supposedly for construction of new school facilities was not in the form that met the above stated test. Although the proponents of the school-aid bill sought to conceal the true situation, the fact is that only 7 of all the 48 States of the country require any additional Federal funds for construction of new schools and classrooms. The other 41 already have enough money to eliminate their classroom shortages during the next 5 years—money provided previously by Congress or made available by the States themselves.

The recent Report 489 by the Committee on Education and Labor, which contains these statistics, points out that 1 group of 22 States "has only to continue building schools at the same rate they are now doing it to eliminate all known shortages, with their own money, by the time this legislation is supposed to expire." Yet in spite of this record, the report notes, the supporters of this legislation proposed to make available to those States the grand total of $699 million.

Nineteen other States, the report said, which have "little or no need for additional classrooms, will nonethelesss find themselves entitled to share in the Federal handout of well over $1 billion in the next 5 years." To put it another way, the report continued:

These States, whose current requirements amount to slightly more than 6 percent of the shortage of 159,000 (classrooms) relied on to pass this crisis legislation, will get more than half the Federal money it provides.

Despite the fact that my own State of Pennsylvania has replaced all unsatisfactory facilities and supplied enough schools for excess enrollments it would nonetheless have had available over $135 million.

I have been a vigorous champion of Federal aid to schools when this has been genuinely required by our social responsibilities, as is proved by my votes for assistance to impacted areas. There have been occasions when Federal aid was essential to prevent severe handicaps to education from developing in one area or another. But the legislation which was defeated last Thursday would have done nothing more than create a gigantic pork-barrel fund at the unrestricted disposal of the Health, Welfare, and Education Department which would have been able to employ it for purposes having nothing to do with aid to education.

We may expect recommendations for Federal school aid to come before us again in the future. It is my sincere hope that on this next occasion the legislation will be directed toward real need.

Panama Canal: Tonnage Record in 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in connection with recent statements of mine concerning operations of the Panama Canal, the attention of the Congress is invited to the record-breaking 8,848 transits during the fiscal year 1957, as reported in a newsstory published in the July 28, 1957, issue of the Chicago Sunday Tribune.

Under leave to extend, I quote the indicated newsstory:

PANAMA CANAL SETS TONNAGE RECORD IN 1957

BALBOA, C. Z., July 27.—The tonnage of cargo moving through the Panama Canal in the fiscal year that ended June 30, was about double the yearly average in the 10 years preceding World War II.

The cargo for the year amounted to more than 50 million tons, the Panama Canal Company disclosed. The volume exceeded the previous record by more than 4 million tons. Records also were set on transits of ocean-going commercial vessels of more than 300 tons, and on tolls collected.

The fiscal year 1957 was the sixth consecutive year in which commercial traffic reached a high. Before that, during the depression and war years, and thereafter, commercial business had failed consistently to reach its previous high of 1929. The 1929 mark was first topped in the fiscal year 1952.

RECORD 36 PERCENT HIGHER

Last year's record was 8,579 ships, a figure about 36 percent higher than the 1929 high of 6,289.

Besides last year's commercial transits, there were 269 transits of oceangoing United States Government ships, making a total of 8,848 locked through the waterway. There were also a number of small coasters, yachts and similar craft.

The total in tolls for the 1957 fiscal year bettered collections during 1956 by about $2,200,000. This figure is made up of $39,653,712 collected from commercial users,

plus $1,140,116 in toll credits from transiting Government shipping.

EXPECT 200,000TH SHIP

Of the 50,624,373 cargo tonnage moving through the waterway during the fiscal year 1957, all but 922,173 tons was handled in commercial vessels.

With continued heavy traffic, the canal approaches another milestone—the passage of the 200,000th oceangoing ship. At present traffic levels, it is expected the 200,000th ship will show up before the end of this calendar year.

The New Class

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, some men emerge from communism dazed and jolted, not aware of the implications of their renunciation, whatever the incident leading thereto. Not so with Milovan Djilas, whose book will be published in the United States by Frederick A. Praeger on August 12. The name of the book is The New Class and here are excerpts which appeared in the New York Times on July 26, 1957:

Although the Communist revolution may start with the most idealistic concepts, calling for wonderful heroism and gigantic effort, it sows the greatest and the most permanent illusions.

The Communist revolution cannot attain a single one of the ideals named as its motivating force. However, Communist revolution has brought about a measure of industrial civilization to vast areas of Europe and Asia. In this way, material bases have actually been created for a future freer society. Thus, while bringing about the most complete despotism, the Communist revolution has also created the basis for the abolition of despotism.

But even if Communist aims per se were unreal, the Communists, as distinct from earlier revolutionaries, were fully realistic in creating those things that were possible. They carried it out in the only way possible—by imposing their absolute totalitarian authority. Theirs was the first revolution in history in which the revolutionaries not only remained on the political scene after victory but, in the most practical sense, built social relationships completely contrary to those in which they believed and which they promised.

Marx's concrete forecasts proved inaccurate. To an even greater degree, the same can be said for Lenin's expectations that a free or classless society would be created with the aid of the dictatorship.

OWNERSHIP IS DEFINED

Ownership is nothing other than the right of profit and control. If one defines class benefits by this right, the Communist states have seen, in the final analysis, the origin of a new form of ownership or of a new ruling and exploiting class.

In contrast to earlier revolutions, the Communist revolution, conducted in the name of doing away with classes, has resulted in the most complete authority of any single new class. Everything else is sham and an illusion.

The roots of the new class were implanted in a special party of the Bolshevik type.

Trotsky noted that in prerevolutionary professional revolutionaries was the origin of the future Stalinist bureaucrat. What he did not detect was the beginning of a new class of owners and exploiters.

The new class may be said to be made up of those who have special privileges and economic preference because of the administrative monopoly they hold.

After Lenin and Stalin came what had to come, namely mediocrity in the form of collective leadership. And also there came the apparently sincere, kindhearted, nonintellectual "man of the people"—Nikita Khrushchev.

The new class itself is tired of dogmatic purges and training sessions. It would like to live quietly. It must protect itself even from its own authorized leader now that it has been adequately strengthened.

The heroic era of communism is past. The epoch of its great leaders has ended. The epoch of practical men has set in. The new class has been created. It is at the height of its power and wealth, but it is without new ideas. It has nothing more to tell the people.

The use, enjoyment and distribution of property is the privilege of the Communist Party and the party's top men.

Party members feel that authority, that control over property, brings with it the privileges of this world. Consequently, unscrupulous ambition, duplicity, toadyism, and jealousy inevitably must increase. Careerism and an ever-expanding bureaucracy are the incurable diseases of communism.

Just as under Stalin, the new Khrushchev regime, in executing its so-called liberalization policy, is extending the Socialist ownership of the new class. Decentralization in the economy does not mean a change in ownership, but only gives greater rights to the lower strata of the bureaucracy or of the new class.

The new class instinctively feels that national goods are, in fact, its property and that even the terms Socialist, social, and state property denote a general legal fiction. The new class also thinks that any breach of its totalitarian authority might imperil its ownership.

DEMANDS FOR FREEDOM

Every real demand for freedom in communism, the kind of demand that hits at the substance of communism, boils down to a demand for bringing material and property relations into accord with what the law provides.

The type of ownership and exploitation which the new class creates by using its authority and its administrative privileges is such that even the class itself must deny it.

This makes the legal position of the new class uncertain and is also the source of the new class' biggest internal difficulties. The contradiction discloses the disharmony between words and actions:

While promising to abolish social differences the new theme by acquiring the products of the Nations' workshops and granting privileges to its adherents. It must proclaim loudly its dogma that it is fulfilling its historical mission of final liberation of mankind from every misery and calamity while it acts in exactly the opposite way.

This is a class whose power over men is the complete known to history. For this reason it is a class with very limited views which are false and unsafe. Closely ingrown and in complete authority, the new class must unrealistically evaluate its own role and that of the people around it.

While the new class accomplished one of its greatest successes in the revolution, its methods of control is one of the most shameful pages in human history. Men will marvel at the grandoise ventures it accomplished, and will be ashamed of the means it used to accomplish them.

Progress of the Federal Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my privilege to address the national convention of the National Association of County Officials in Atlanta, Ga. At that time I prepared for these officials, as part of my address, a summation and up-to-date report on the progress of the national highway program throughout the United States and after the first year of operation. As a member of the Public Works Committee of the House I was very pleased with the rapid execution of the program. The convention received the information well and were very interested in the facts and figures provided. For the information of the other Members of the House I would like to include that portion of my remarks and point out the exceptional progress of what, I believe, is one of the more important pieces of legislation enacted by Congress in recent years.

The largest public-works project in the entire history of the world was approved by Congress and signed by the President of the United States on July 29, 1956. Since that time, the impact of the program on the folks at home and in every community across the Nation has been felt. Thirteen years from now we will realize the full benefits of this program but, at the outset, let me point out that this program is one in which local control is intended, under the act, to be paramount. The States make the surveys, prepare the plans and specifications, acquire the rights-of-way, award the contracts, approve the construction, and maintain the highways when built. The Federal Government does not dictate to any State actual location of a highway between previously determined and agreed interstate intermediate points. No other plan of Federal participation has exhibited such an awareness by statute and practice of the rights of the communities and the States.

I would like to point out the prompt action taken by the administration to get this highway program underway. Only 13 days after passage of the bill standards for improvements of the Interstate System were adopted by the highway departments of the States. Authorizations totaling $3.7 billion have been apportioned to the States. As required by the act, $1.125 billion for the fiscal year 1957 were apportioned immediately upon approval of the act. Authorization of $2.550 billion for the fiscal year 1958 was apportioned to the States on August 1. These apportionments include a total of $2.7 billion for the Interstate System.

* * * * *

The first contract for construction on the Interstate System using funds authorized by the 1956 act was awarded by the Missouri State Highway Department on August 2, only slightly more than 1 month after enactment of the legislation. The project provided for 2.6 miles of divided highway on U. S. 66 between Lebanon and Hazelgreen, Mo. This shows the expedition with which this program got underway.

In the 11 months through June of 1957 * * * a total of some $3,352,192,860 of contracts have been completed in construction or modernization of interstate, primary, secondary and other assistance projects. The

Federal Government participation in this total amount is $2,209,949,317.

The interstate portion of this work includes obligation of funds in the amount of $1,729,670,946 in 689 separate projects. The final interstate program is one in which 90 percent of all cities over 50,000 population in this country will be directly connected. It is interesting to note, however, that Secretary Weeks pointed out in recent hearings that this program is not a stagnant one—it is today alive and expanding into the future. He testified before a congressional committee that some 12,500 additional miles of construction in addition to the 41,000 miles of interstate highways were requested to be added in expansion of this program and the Senate Public Works Committee has reported a bill adding 7,000 miles and 5 years of financing to the system.

Before going further into development of the program, we might glance at some of the problems of the impact of this program presented—at least these are the answers based on experience to questions we all had concerning the program at its outset, as presented to the Senate committee.

It now appears that shortages of materials will pose little problem; the capacity of the contractors of this country is fully adequate; existing highway construction ability can be expanded within 5 years to carry out 4 times the construction capacity of today; the availability of material and equipment has improved; cost of materials and equipment show a slight increase but this is largely offset by efficient operation.

This record is encouraging and forebodes no holdup in the authorized program of construction and completion in 13 years.

I personally wish to comment upon the study relating to the maximum desirable dimensions and weights for vehicles operated on the Federal-aid systems. The Bureau of Public Roads is cooperating with the American Association of State Highway Officials, the Department of Defense, the Highway Research Board of the National Academy of Sciences and industry in the construction and operation of a test road in Illinois. The surfacing will be placed, instrumentation installed, and test traffic started this year.

It is expected that this test road will provide a wealth of data from which sound recommendations can be made to Congress.

A parallel factor of the safety program concerns the marking of the interstate highways. Associations which established and administer the United States numbered system, recognize the need for establishing a convenient and satisfactory method of route marking of the interstate system for the convenience of the traveling public. Since all of these highways will be State highways and operated by the departments, the route numbering committee is presently engaged in working out a method of route number assignment for the entire network of interstate highways. It has been demonstrated that high speed, high density expressways require exceptional and special signing in order properly to direct and inform the traveling public.

I cannot stress too strongly at this point the absolute necessity today of close and continued cooperation between the planning units of city, county, State, and Federal government. This is essential for the orderly development, not only of the highways themselves, but adjacent areas and facilities that fully come within your domain. You must make your zoning and future development plans available to highway officials. An obvious example of such need would be one where you have planned future industrial area in your county and have zoned for that purpose. To provide access ways to such an area the State must know of your plans. Otherwise costly and inconvenient revision of plans or actual reconstruction would be demanded.

You must at all times, because of your close liaison with the people and knowledge of the future of your community, keep State and Federal agencies advised of the interests and needs of the local areas you represent. This will become even more important as future primary and secondary roads are planned to feed in and out of the interstate systems. I am sure that you will find an interested and willing consultant both in your State departments and in the Bureau of Public Roads of the Federal Government. Close cooperation means good planning, and good planning means a healthy, economy-minded community.

One of the early problems in building any road is the acquisition of rights-of-way. I think it was my experience in county government and the State legislature that brought that vital phase of development to my mind and prompted me to introduce a bill in the House that became section 110 of the National Highway Act. My bill provided for the first time, advance purchase of rights-of-way, using Federal funds on a matching basis. Through application of this feature of the bill the States and the counties can purchase property, ahead of urban and suburban development and before land prices increase between the planning stage and time for actual construction. In my home State of Florida the savings by this feature alone it is estimated to about $40 million.

I urge full implementation of this advance purchase feature of the bill on each county commissioner here today. Many States are using much of their money for this purpose while "tooling up" for the program.

There is still another new feature of right-of-way acquisition provided in section 110 that authorizes Federal condemnation when requested by the State. Requests by the States to the Secretary of Commerce to acquire right-of-way on the Interstate System, to a large extent, will be determined by inadequacy of State laws. Progress is being made, however, in remedial legislation being introduced at State levels. The Bureau of Public Roads has made surveys of the right-of-way organizations, policies, procedures, and laws of the various State highway departments which indicate that all but 13 States can acquire right-of-way without delay. To date, only one request has been received for Federal acquisition of right-of-way on the Interstate System.

* * * * *

I know you are concerned with labor cost in your immediate areat resulting from inclusion of the Davis-Bacon prevailing-rate-of-wage provision in the 1956 act. Latest studies show the State highway departments developed wage rates within their specific classifications in their respective States. All but a very few have seen fit to do that job. As a result of the work which they have done in their respective States the Labor Department has been helped immeasurably in developing these predetermined wages. I would say that in probably 90 percent or 96 percent of the cases that the wage rates predetermined by the Department of Labor had been almost the exact figures which were developed by the State highway departments. The State submits the wage determination to the Department of Labor and little difficuly has developed.

One of the great problems facing States and countries today is the lack of engineers for the planning design and supervision of the new projects. This fact is brought home to me because the need is reported greatest in Florida, my home, and in Texas and Mississippi. In 1956 only 4,220 civil engineers were graduated—it is estimated that this year's class will include 5,300. The need is for 10,000 to 12,000 today. The reason for this lack is obviously because young graduates do not seek the lower wage levels of public service. * * *

Some States have begun programs of training mathematically capable high-school students to do the figuring and work on the drawing boards and thus to release engineers for critical work. But the primary method of relief has been the adoption of modern miracles that, based on a study by the Bureau of Public Roads, permit more engineering per engineer.

Use of the modern electric computer has been called by Bertram D. Tallemy, Director of the Bureau of Public Roads, as important as the Air Force break of the sound barrier. Thousands, yes millions of hours have been saved. Millions of dollars in direct and indirect savings will accrue from its use. Today's engineer can compute earth removal figures for 100 miles of roadway in 1 week with use of the computer that would have taken 30 weeks by older methods—1 engineer used to take 5 to 8 hours to come to conclusions from 1 hour of traffic studies. Today, using the computer, his decision is made in 40 seconds. A firm that took 3 to 5 weeks working out stress problems on bridges now gets an answer in 1 hour.

There are many amazing instances of savings told about the electronic wizards. Once a machine stopped and reported a problem was impossible. The amazed engineers working on the Milwaukee Stadium Exchange rechecked their figures on a planned cloverleaf. Just a few missed decimal points were found but the machine was right, and while saving thousands of dollars, the machine also had pointed out that if the first figures had been used the driver instead of coming off the so-called cloverleaf would have been circling and circling without end.

On another occasion when data was put into the computor the doggone genius came up with the question, "Where is 128 feet of that road?" Mouth agape officials naturally started to look. It all turned out that a surveying crew had stopped for lunch leaving one man in the truck with the instruments. Since the other fellows wound up the lunch hour pitching horseshoes he moved the truck under a shady tree. The crew returned and continued the survey, but from the new location, just 128 feet from where they had stopped. Needless to say there were red faces but more important, again, thousands of dollars and time had been saved.

I have discussed the use of the computor to indicate that ways and means are being found to solve the problems of this tremendous multi-billion-dollar project. In similar ways we will solve the community problems that face us in the growth of the highways of our country.

Briefly, what is the progress being made on some of the other new provisions of the 1956 act? As to toll facilities many miles have become a part of the system upon request of the Toll Road Authority and the integration of many more miles is under consideration. Some problems concerning Federal participation in approaches to toll facilities have arisen and are being met by providing alternate nontoll approaches, used for these needed ingress and egress roads. A thorough study as to the extent, if any, of reimbursement for toll facilities or portions is underway pursuant to section 114 and a report is due January 1958. Safety studies are well underway, as stated before, and reports to Congress are due March 1, 1959. These are a few examples of the new provisions.

The only iminent legislation this session, in addition to increasing mileage, which in the Senate approved bill would amount to 7,000 miles, is for the regulation of billboards along the interstate system. A bill has been reported out by the Senate committee which gives States that adopt reasonable regulations through legislation of the use of bill-

boards that accomplishes the purpose of safety and beauty to the satisfaction of the Bureau of Public Roads a bonus of one-quarter of 1 percent. Additional Federal funds provided would amount to an approximate total of $62.5 million. Although this legislation has been reported by the Senate, no hearings have been held on the House side and it is obvious that further consideration is merited.

One of the most beneficial effects of the 1956 act is that it provides a basis upon which local and State governments can make long range plans, knowing with relative certainty that Congress is going to go through with the program. This is particularly true when Congress went so far as to provide for a continuing authorization and appropriation, not requiring annual approval as do most other public-works programs. In effect, Congress earmarked the revenue from road users for the road program—and for 14 years. I cannot foresee any Congress repudiating this long range implied agreement.

Let me repeat myself for the benefit of emphasis. We have set forth—and properly so—on the greatest program of cooperative, and I emphasize cooperative, public-works effort ever known. It will require the greatest engineering, planning, financing, and cooperation between county, State, and the Federal Government ever contemplated. It is our job to meet this challenge for the sake of national defense, the growth of our communities, the welfare of our children and the lives of some 4,000 people that will be saved through better highways. I know we can meet that challenge.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, we are told that the Federal aid for school construction bill is dead for this session of the Congress. It would seem from indications that this issue will again be brought up at the next session of Congress. The attached editorial points out most constructively the efforts that are being made by the professional educators. It would seem that the National Education Association is beginning to adopt the same tactics and principles of the big labor bosses. They get their dues and the right is reserved to the bosses as to how the money is to be spent. The rank and file member has little or no say in regard to these matters. I enclose herewith an editorial written by the editor of the Oberlin Herald, Mr. E. R. Woodward. I commend its constructive thoughts to my colleagues.

[From the Oberlin (Kans.) Herald]

When local teachers return to the classroom in a few weeks, they will have a new demand upon them.

The National Education Association has doubled its annual dues, from $5 to $10. We hope teachers and school boards—some boards pay part or even all of a teacher's NEA dues—give a thought before they pay.

The new NEA budget, approved at the recent meeting in Philadelphia, calls for a 100-percent increase in spending—to $7 million. Included is $677,200 for Federal relations—lobbying, no less.

The Federal relations budget is up more than 500 percent.

NEA officials say that only 10 percent of that Federal relations budget is for lobbying. The rest is for building grassroots support for Federal school building aid.

The NEA knows what it is doing. They have already sold Washington. But grassroots support is practically nil. No part of the Eisenhower program is boosted less. Congress would likely O. K. some sort of Federal program if there were any sort of public support.

There isn't, and the NEA is now out to gain that support, to show the public of the sad plight of our schools.

Education is a local problem. Granting that some communities are pressed for more space and better facilities, we think that such problems belong at home. Add them together and they don't add to a national problem.

Many rapidly growing cities have complex school building diculties. Conceding the NEA's point that a place like Los Angeles has had to add since World War II more school buildings than have ever been built in a metropolis even so large as Milwaukee, it is also true that that influx gives Los Angeles the means to build such buildings.

There is even excellent reason to believe that building in the past decade has surpassed enrollment increases.

A school's tax structure is already deceiving. It taxes in its own district. It gets tax money from the county and from the State also. In an oblique way, for lunch programs, for example, it already gets some Federal aid.

That's complicated enough. We hope teachers and school boards will agree.

Last year about 90 percent of Decatur County's 86 teachers held NEA membership. The percentage will be less this year for the simple reason that many who begrudged $5 will balk at $10. We assume it is commendable for a teacher to want to belong to a professional organization and to assume his share of the costs of gaining social stature and securing economic equilibrium. To throw in an extra amount to promote something that stifles initiative and independence—characteristics that we assume the NEA favors as being mentioned in a classroom—is repugnant to our heritage, to fairness, and to majority opinion.

GI Conditions in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a report by the distinguished editor of the Charleston News and Courier, Thomas R. Waring, on occasion of a very thorough visit to many of our American military bases in Europe. Mr. Waring traveled to Europe under the sponsorship of the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows as it will be noted from the article. His is a very excellent representation of conditions with the military abroad.

VISITOR TO EUROPEAN BASES FINDS GI RELATIONS GOOD

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—What are we doing to make United States troops and their families ambassadors of good will overseas? The author, who is editor of the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier, is just back from Spain, France, Germany, and England, where he studied relations of American troops in Europe under a grant from the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows, a regional alumni group of winners of Nieman journalistic scholarships at Harvard.)

(By Thomas R. Waring)

American troops in Europe now enjoy good relations with civilian neighbors. This was not altogether true last year.

Many times I heard these statements during a 7-week tour of Army camps and Air Force bases in France, Germany, and England. While military authorities dislike to reveal exact figures on troop strength, I estimate there must be nearly 350,000 military people and 175,000 wives and children in the European theater. The bulk of them are in the three countries listed.

In Spain, the fourth country I visited, there are scarcely 2,000 airmen and almost no other United States military forces at present. When the three big air bases and their satellites are completed within a few months, troops will pour in to man them. Authorities are preparing to see that community relations stay good. They intend to profit by mistakes elsewhere in cultivating good will in Spain.

A series of crimes, as well as a variety of other tensions, hurt reputations of Americans in the Armed Forces. A few caused trouble for the great majority of decent, orderly young men. These men have no control over some of the conditions that cause civilian complaints, such as noisy jet airplanes and scarcity of modern housing.

Much of the furor over crimes last summer had died down by the time I arrived this spring. United States military and diplomatic officials are striving harder than ever to hold down incidents in the future. They work in friendly cooperation wtih local authorities.

An elaborate public-relations program, long carried on piecemeal in the field, but now better coordinated, has begun to pay off. That is the opinion of scores of United States and foreign spokesmen whom I interviewed.

Commanders are bearing down hard to make their men behave while off duty. Before troops leave the United States they receive briefings on their new stations and hints about customs of the country. Training in how to get along with foreign populations continues overseas, indeed, it never stops.

For most servicemen this is the first trip abroad. For a great many, enlistment brought the first absence from home. Actually, these are mostly teenagers, or men barely out of their teens. They come from the same age group that sometimes turns out juvenile delinquents at home.

Even military discipline and elaborate recreation program do not prevent bad boys from misbehaving. But the percentage of crime, several military legal and police officers told me, is smaller than average in the United States or in the host country.

Statistics to prove this point are not available, nor would they have much meaning. It is all but impossible to weigh the elements of age, dislocation from home, and similar points. But men who deal daily with those problems have a good grasp of their jobs. They feel no shame for the general behavior of United States troops abroad.

Gen. H. I. Hodes, commanding the United States Army in Europe, with headquarters in Heidelberg, summed it up this way:

"The finest commodity we have over here is the average American soldier. Whenever I feel frustrated, I go out among the soldiers and come back refreshed."

Convincing citizens of host countries—few of whom have personal contact with United States troops—of American virtues is part of the public-relations job undertaken on instructions from Washington. It is to con-

vince the free nations that Americans are decent, as well as rich and strong.

The whole effort ties in with President Eisenhower's people-to-people program, inaugurated last fall. This program uses many avenues to cultivate friendship abroad. Good relations for our troops is an important phase of it. To combine a couple of cliches, each soldier and airman is supposed to be an ambassador of good will for the American way of life.

It's an assignment GI Joe didn't seek. It's also a job for which he may not be well equipped. Some think that Americans worry too much anyway about what foreigners think about us. Under their breath, some of the very men carrying out the good will program mutter that our country is having to furnish more than its share of good will.

Though most servicemen frankly say, when asked, that they'd like nothing better than to go back home, many take advantage of chances for foreign travel. The Armed Forces encourage them to make better use of their time than hanging around bistros, pubs, and their German equivalent, the gasthaus, or chasing local girls.

Sometimes it's the other way around. Especially in such resorts as Pigalle in Paris and Munich's Goethestrasse, girls chase the GI's.

Even in civilian clothes, which the majority prefer off duty, it's usually easy to spot GI's by their haircuts and their dress. Sometimes they blend in with civilian tourists. In some countries, United States military dollars total much more than sums spent by civilian United States tourists—six times as much, for example, in the United Kingdom.

GI pay and Government funds spent locally for supplies add up to big business. By European standards, United States troops are rich. Many own automobiles. They spend freely on local girls. This pleases the girls. Many of them marry GI's—at the rate of more than 250 a month in England alone. Local young men are not so pleased by GI rivals. Nor are parents when, instead of marriage, an occasional illegitimate child shows up. Everybody understands that large numbers of healthy young males, freed of home restraints, are likely to demoralize a community to some degree. But not everybody agrees on what amount is reasonable.

Not all servicemen, of course, are unattached. Thousands of them bring their wives and children. They and their dependents often live in villages built for them on or near military reservations.

Some of these villages—especially in Germany—are extremely comfortable, even luxurious. Others may consist of trailers, temporary housing or mediocre apartments. These villages are known as Little Americas. One of them in Germany contains about 20,000 residents. The post exchange and the commissary supply the comforts of home.

Other service families—notably in the United Kingdom—live "on the economy." This is the phrase that military people use to mean renting quarters and dwelling among the natives. Sometimes Americans crowd already skimpy housing and run up the rents.

And sometimes they feel they are being gouged by foreign civilians. Often they commute 15 to 25 miles running up their own living costs and cooling their ardor for the land where they are stationed.

Whether to mix among the permanent residents is a never ending question. Some observers believe that reluctant ambassadors of good will wouldn't do our country much good. Others feel they should be made to circulate and win friends, whether they understand or like the foreigners.

GI's call Germans Krauts—an old name that seems to have lost the unfriendly meaning of World Wars I and II. In Britain, the word bloke—common man's term for chap—has become an adjective. "Where'd you get that bloke car" or "The bloke police broke up the fight" are common expressions. When I asked an air policeman whether he was running down the British in this way, he replied, "Certainly not, I married a bloke."

With so many automobiles owned by Americans on the highways—both the big ones from Detroit and the little ones bought overseas—traffic hazards are bound to increase. Accidents are by far the chief reason for a serviceman's getting into trouble with the law.

Damage claims, license squabbles, high cost of operation and a feeling that the foreign cop or court usually rules against an American driver do not improve tempers on either side. American authorities, however, seem agreed that European courts on the whole are fair, and that our men's civil rights are amply protected.

About that jet noise. People living near a jet air base complain with good reason about the racket. Commanders try to aim takeoffs away from habitations. In a crowded country it is usually hard, often impossible not to zoom over somebody's house. The best a commander can do in some cases is to invite the countryside in for open house and explain why jets are needed to guard against attack.

Thousands of Europeans work for Uncle Sam. Loss of those jobs and the money spent by and for the troops would remove vast sums from nations struggling for prosperity. Foreign commercial people recognize this fact. But that doesn't stop private citizens from complaining and the press from occasional jibes.

On the surface, at least, tension seems to fluctuate with political news. When the Suez crisis was hottest, French and British citizens made no secret of their anger over United States refusal to support the fight on Nasser. Servicemen heard torrents of abuse as though they personally were responsible for United States foreign policy.

When Russian tanks were shooting Hungarians, however, many a German who complained about "too many Americans" began to revise his opinion. West Germans who had hoped to get along with the Communists in the expectation of reunion with East Germany had fresh evidence of cruelties behind the Iron Curtain. They appreciated the Americans all the more as a shield against Russia.

Besides curbing disorderly troops, United States military authorities are also taking positive steps to cultivate good relations. These include concerts, charity for orphans, and entertainments of many sorts for press, politicians, and public. They lend heavy equipment to help town improvements.

They seek out friendships with representative citizens and clubs. They set up community councils to help iron out local difficulties. They encourage their men to learn and speak the language. They foster a good-neighbor policy. They try not to look like occupying troops.

With traditional adaptability many American servicemen are falling in with this program. So are their wives. The wives improvise housekeeping in strange surroundings. Some send their children to local schools, though our Government provides free American schools in many areas. If you ask them how they like it here—wherever "here" may be—most likely they will say, "We like it fine."

Mrs. William F. Winters, formerly of New Jersey, and lately of California, lives in an Air Force trailer at Dreux Airbase, 75 miles from Paris.

"I'm prejudiced," she said. "I love the French." Her trailer is 1 of 300 that serve as housing at Dreux. Many other families live in French villages.

Mrs. R. L. Hirt, of Houston, summed it up like this: "People are either adaptable or they're not adaptable." She was one of a group making decorations for a party in the noncommissioned officers' club. All but one of the wives I questioned there seemed satisfied, though none had housing that really met American standards.

One wife said, frankly, she didn't like France. She preferred Germans. If a poll could be taken, it might well turn out that Germany is the most popular place for American troops.

Bartenders, fellow passengers on trains and planes, local newspaper editors, public officials, businessmen, lords, ladies, Judy O'Gradies, and dozens of other foreigners I met confirmed generally good relations with American troops.

Some expressed the opinion that American boys are less mature than their European counterparts. Several commented that many Americans don't know how to drink in a civilized manner.

Often these foreigners were frank in discussing their likes and dislikes. They seemed friendly and good humored in their remarks. Nobody I questioned could remember the last time he saw a sign saying "Yankee go home." They seemed startled when I asked.

Coal for Florida by River Slightly More Than ACI's Possibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Coal for Florida by River Slightly More Than ACI's Possibility," which appeared in the July 24, 1957, issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.:

"There are three alternative routes by which coal may be carried to Florida, all of which could be used.

"First there is all-rail shipment from the southern coalfields into the peninsula.

"Second, there is shipment to the tidewater facilities at Hampton Roads and then by sea to the Florida area.

"Finally, there is the possibility of river shipment down the Ohio and Mississippi.

"In addition to a splendid network of railroads, Florida is naturally endowed with deepwater ports and rivers which lend themselves well to the possibilities of water movement for coal."

We are quoting from the July 19 edition of ACI Bulletin, a weekly publication of Appalachian Coals, Inc., the big Cincinnati coal marketing agency. The bulletin was discussing the July 17 meeting in Miami, called for the purpose of "exploring further the use of coal in Florida electric utility plants." Present were "representatives from coal producing groups, Florida utilities, and the southeastern railroads serving Florida."

The thing which intrigued the Messsenger in all this learned discussion about Florida markets for Kentucky coal, with accent on Sunshine State utilities, was use of the word "possibility" in the phrase:

"Finally, there is the possibility of river shipment down the Ohio and Mississippi."

Now the widely used American College Dictionary, which is widely relied upon in

newspaper offices, tells us that possibility is the state or fact of being possible. Possible or feasible or practicable refer to that which may come about or take place without prevention by serious obstacles.

That which is possible is something in the future, something that is naturally able, or even likely, to happen, other things being equal.

So far as coal for Florida's utilities is concerned, not only is shipment down the Ohio and Mississippi and across the Gulf of Mexico possible or feasible or practicable—it is being done today, and everybody in Western Kentucky knows it. They know it in Cincinnati, too, but they aren't too enthusiastic about giving publicity to it.

The reason is plain to see. West Kentucky Coal Co. and its subsidiary, Nashville Coal, Inc., are already engaged in delivering coal from our area to Tampa Power & Light, the fuel being barged down the Ohio and Mississippi in huge river barges towed by the towboat Mark Eastin. At a transfer dock south of New Orelans, the coal is shifted to oceangoing barges for the gulf crossing, and so to Tampa, where the power people are said to be quite pleased with their decision to shift from oil to coal.

By no means do we wish to appear sarcastic about this matter of coal for Florida utilities. We have discussed it a number of times, have carried news stories, photographs and editorials about the progress being made on the project over the past 3 years or so, and we have wondered, too, why the railroads have not unbended to the point of making it possible to ship coal to Florida by rail.

Anyway, here's to the Florida coal market, and to the possibilities that exist therein. The fact that the market was discovered over our way is a source of gratification to those who know it—and a lot of people do.

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: My newsletter report to constituents for last week.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JULY 27, 1957.—The postal-pay-increase bill gave an early and argumentative start to a controversial week of legislation. A discharge petition signed by the necessary 218 Members forced immediate consideration of the bill. A discharge petition generally is the avenue for forcing committee action on pigeonholed legislation. This particular discharge petition was most unusual since in effect it by-passed the Postal Committee, which normally writes the legislation, and the Rules Committee, which assigns the rule for floor procedure. All petitions upset parliamentary procedure, and this particular one upset even more, thus displeasing many Members. Members generally approve the long-evolved House rules of procedure since there are on the whole good reasons for the procedures, and at the least a recognizance that rules are particularly necessary for orderly conduct in the explosive area of controversy in Government. So, too, courtesy is quite important as an aid in maintaining reason over emotion. Thus the postal pay bill got off to a bad start. Then we learned the petition was for a $1,500 to $1,800 flat increase for all postal workers, although cost of living was up 4.6 percent since the last pay boost. This irresponsibility further alarmed Members. However, the pay bill had been compromised in committee at a flat increase of $546 per postal worker. And that was the bill before us.

Postal workers should have a pay increase, it seems to me, with the cost of living increasing, and I voted for a 5 percent and then a 7½ percent increase. I voted, also, for an escalator provision, granting automatic pay raises as cost of living rises. These provisions were defeated. Then the vote came on the flat $546 per worker. I voted against this because it defeats the whole idea of pay commensurate with duties and skills (by flat increase janitors get 19 percent increase, some clerks 13 percent, others less). It passed by 379 to 38.

Conclusions: (1) Postal-union pressure is terrific and many Members capitulate; (2) this is irresponsible legislation and the causes should be eliminated (discharge petition and flat increase provisions); (3) the inflationary character of this legislation is considerable, as all civil-service personnel now have a pattern, resulting in staggering Government payroll increases; (4) knuckling under to pressure may end up hurting those you intend to help (the postal workers, if no pay increase, should the President veto the raise as expected); (5) a 5-percent or 7½-percent increase could have passed; and (6) there are inequities in national wage-scale imposition: That is, inequities between localities and between city-rural living. For myself, I intend to act responsibly at all times, not politically—and thereby really help my constituents, including postal workers.

The Federal aid to school construction bill is dead, by a vote of 208 to 203, and a close fight it was, although its demise appears closer than it really was. The bill provided $1½ billion for Federal aid to States over 5 years, a compromise between the administration's request for $1.3 billion and the Democrats' $3.6 billion. The debate and vote was not party line and was excellent for that reason. The Education Committee presented two opposite viewpoints and contradictory figures in the report accompanying the bill. A long debate ended in numerout amendments when the dramatic vote on "strike the enacting clause" precipitated its defeat. Normally the vote is on final passage after all amendments considered have been approved or rejected. The measure of House disapproval can be seen then in this precipitous move to defeat the bill before hearing it out. The Powell amendment to deny Federal funds to segregated schools had added to the disapproval of some. I took the floor and endeavored to present my district's and State's viewpoint with documented facts: (1) the schools are being built (pupil-teacher and pupil-classroom figures, plus expenditures year-by-year); (2) it is a local and State responsibility, not Federal (there is no national interest greater than parents' interest in their children's education; (3) Federal aid means Federal control (the bill has 37 pages describing regulations States must accept to get the money); (4) the stipulated Federal construction wage scale would violate our State law, and is another example of Federal control; (5) the Texas State government is opposed to Federal aid and such a resolution was sent to each Texas House and Senate Member of Congress.

Possibly the President has said it best of all, and I quoted him in addressing the House: "Federal aid in a form that tends to lead to Federal control of our schools could cripple education for freedom. In no form can it ever approach the mighty effectiveness of an aroused people. As aroused people, we can do this job at the local and State level; otherwise, we will lose freedom of education, jeopardizing our children's and the Nation's future, a result certainly not sought by a majority of grassroot Americans."

The Army Alert to Proper Manpower Utilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, recently I was amazed to read in the RECORD the opinion of one of the Members of the House that the Department of Defense is inept in the classification, assignment, training, and utilization of the civilian skills of its inducted military manpower. The hoary observation was made that brutal, uneducated sergeants and drillmasters, despite their lack of formal education, still delight in assigning college-trained men to the garbage dump. I daresay that same catcall was first leveled by the private soldiers in Caesar's legions against the Roman noncoms. The further serious charge was made in the RECORD of May 14, 1957 that "our whole concept of military training still reflects the methods of the last century. It has not caught up with World War I, not to mention World War II, or the nuclear age."

These charges were not made by a member of the Armed Services Committee nor by one with recent personal experience with our Armed Forces. I am a member of the House Armed Services Committee and do not recall these charges being referred to the committee before they appeared in the RECORD for all the world to see. The charges are, of course, undocumented. It is obvious, however, that the genesis of them is the worm's eye view of a formally educated gentlemen recently exposed to the rigors of military life. It is simply not fair to denounce publicly the entire Department of Defense and impugn the motives of everyone in authority down to the duty sergeants because of individual cases reported by constituents which may or may not be a legitimate basis for complaint.

I have had long and happy years of experience with our Armed Forces. I have seen our servicemen and servicewomen at work in many places and frequently under trying circumstances. I cannot agree that our Armed Forces personnel management predates World War I in its theory and application. On the contrary, I know great strides have been made over the years. Current service personnel management policy and practice compare favorably with most civilian industries. Only the rates of compensation have not kept abreast with those outside the military service. It can be safely stated that because of

progressive and enlightened personnel management policies and procedures, the Services are presently performing their missions with fewer people in relation to the job to be done than ever before.

I have always thought the Army had to work hardest at personnel management. A soldier's life, or service as a soldier, is acknowledged not to be a bed of roses and so constant attention must be given to personnel management and morale. I asked the Adjutant General of the Army to give a report on what that service has done, is doing, and plans to do in the future with regard to the classification and utilization of its enlisted personnel. I have been furnished a most excellent report and wish to insert it in the RECORD:

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S REPORT

The Army has devoted a great deal of time and effort over the years to developing and executing a sound and realistic program for selection, classification, training, assignment, and other aspects of military personnel management. No one phase of the overall management of the Army has received greater attention during the recent years of major war and uncertain peace than has personnel management. The problems of personnel management are among the most difficult the Army has to face. The importance of the human relations aspect of management has long been recognized in industry, in Government, and in the Armed Forces.

In the Army, as in the other military services, extensive research has been and is now being conducted into the selection, classification, testing, training, and utilization of Army personnel. These studies have been quite widely publicized in the press and national magazines.

Historically, it is of greatest significance that the methods for classification and placement of Army enlisted personnel developed during World War I became the basis for industrial personnel systems which came into use in American industry during the period of the 1920's. Army research in the mental testing field stimulated a tremendous development of psychological tests in both industry and education. It was the success of the Army Alpha and Army Beta tests used on millions of World War I recruits which proved the value of group mental tests for industrial and educational selection purposes.

When war again threatened in the late thirties, the War Department anticipated a second great mobilization of the Nation's manpower. Several years before our actual entry into the war, steps were taken to develop the means for effective identification and use of personnel. A staff of specialists was called together in the Office of The Adjutant General to perform the needed work. Fortunately, with the experience of the earlier mobilization in mind, it was possible to envisage in broad outline the problems that would be encountered. New developments in psychological testing, in interviewing techniques, in evaluation of physical capacity, and in design of personnel records systems which had taken place in industry could be studied and adopted for military use.

The basic patterns of the systems conceived during World War I had been further extended and refined. Recent ideas from the field of industrial personnel management were adapted for Army application. Thus, the personnel management system of World War II represented an evolution of the best military and civilian thinking in the personnel management field. As a matter of fact much of the planning of the World War II procedures was accomplished by civilian personnel experts who were commissioned for this purpose.

The Army developed a personnel management system which permits the best possible selection and assignment of its manpower resources. The most important aspect of the whole system is embodied in the accurate inventorying of each man's skills, knowledges, and capacities upon entrance into the Army. Once this is done successfully, it is then easier to place him into the job which most fully utilizes his capabilities and which at the same time most fully meets the needs of the service.

The utilization of each man begins immediately upon his entry in the Army. Each man is completely evaluated—his skills, knowledges, and abilities noted and analyzed—and his subsequent utilization planned.

Each man is tested, interviewed, and selected for training. The training a man receives is based on both his capabilities and the Army's needs. The Army has need only for the particular skills it requires to perform its mission; therefore, many skilled men who enter the Army must be retrained to fill Army job requirements. Unlike the single mental test of World War II, a group of classification tests is used to determine what assignments are most suitable for each man. These tests measure various basic aptitudes. The test scores are grouped into aptitude areas which represent the basic abilities required to succeed in a specified group of Army jobs. For example, a man who has a combined above-average score on an arithmetic, a mechanical aptitude, and a shop mechanics test can be expected to be reasonably successful as a machinist, artillery mechanic, or in several similar jobs.

After being tested, each person is interviewed to obtain and record his education, civilian occupation, languages spoken, test scores, leadership qualifications, physical capabilities, hobbies, sports, and other data to aid in placing him in the proper job. Following this interview the soldier is assigned to basic combat military training which is given to all incoming personnel to enable the man to protect himself and perform as a soldier, if at some later time, regardless of his military job, he finds himself in a combat situation.

Evaluation, however, does not stop during the basic military training period. Rather, it continues throughout the weeks a man is learning how to become a soldier. The trainee is assigned to the school or training activity. Upon completion of the training he is awarded the military occupational specialty. Upon completion of basic military and specialized training some soldiers are sent to further technical or advanced training; however, the majority are assigned to regular units where they are further trained in the mission of the unit, and are assigned to specific duties.

Ever mindful of the importance of effective manpower utilization, the Army has not been satisfied merely to develop systems and programs at the departmental level without providing specifically for carrying them out in the field. Recognizing that in the final analysis, personnel management is the job of every commander and noncommissioned officer right down the line, this subject has been made part of the curriculum of every Army service school. Also, the program at West Point includes specific instruction in the theory and practice of manpower management. This instruction has been adapted to the level of students at each school and ranges from principles of supervision, record maintenance, and other elementary aspects in the courses for enlisted personnel to the more theoretical aspects at such advanced schools as the Command and General Staff College. The field is approached from the national point of view and particularly in terms of mobilization in the course given senior officers at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces which is attended by selected officers of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

In the years during and since World War II, teams of officers have been used to inspect personnel operations in the field and to assist and advise field commanders on methods for performing the personnel management functions for which they are responsible.

These teams provide continuing surveillance of the many separate activities which make up the total personnel management system of the Army. As indicated previously, these teams of officers which conduct this surveillance report their findings to the Department of the Army for information and necessary corrective action. It is largely on this basis that the need for revisions and specific improvements in personnel management procedures is determined. In the conduct of their work the members of the personnel management teams make it routine practice to query officers and men to sound out their reactions to the Army. Thus, is is possible for the Department to have the benefit of grassroots reaction.

As a means of insuring that adequate attention is focused on critcal personnel management activities, special programs have been set up to bring these activities to the attention of field commanders. These programs are set forth in specific regulations and directives and are subjected to special monitoring by the Department of the Army. They fall generally in the area of personnel utilization.

Under the Army's scientific and professional program, highly skilled personnel are identified and their qualifications recorded and forwarded to the Adjutant General. If they meet the standards for selection under the program, they are assigned to jobs commensurate with their training and experience. Personnel selected under this program are qualified in fields of civil-mechanical engineering, chemical engineering, electronics, physical sciences, biological sciences, and social sciences.

Other persons entering the Army who possess technical or specialized civilian skills for which a military requirement exists are so classified upon entry into the service. Such persons are assigned to duty in accordance with their specialized skills on completion of basic training without further training in their specialties.

Through these and similar programs, the Army insures that the majority of individuals possessing civilian training and experience are being utilized to the fullest extent compatible with Army requirements. Such programs not only reduce the requirements of the Army, but they bring about better soldier morale and sense of purpose by placing him in a job where he feels he can be of greatest service.

Where mal-utilization is alleged, the charge must be fairly evaluated in terms of the following controlling factors:

1. Few civilians entering the Army have any training, skills, or education which will qualify them for combat type jobs. Therefore, since combat jobs represent such a large share of the Army's strength, a large number of men entering the Army must be trained and assigned to military jobs which are unrelated to their civilian backgrounds.

2. The Army must accept the people it receives when it receives them. Its needs, however, vary from day to day and week to week. The person received today will be classified and trained within the limitations of the Army's known requirements at that time.

Success in the assignment and utilization of men is dependent upon many factors. Aside from the classification personnel, the most important factor is speed. The decision of assignment must be made fast—

the organizations and units cannot wait, for their mission goes on. Each man entering the Army must be programed for a job the Army will have vacant at some future time.

The Army's ability to use specialized civilian training is limited by its mission. Many times, however, assignments of highly skilled and trained technical personnel to combat-type jobs may appear wasteful when actually there is underlying justification for such assignment. The leadership, aggressiveness, and high intelligence demonstrated in civilian life by these college and other highly trained personnel render it entirely appropriate that they be assigned to positions in the combat arms which require these same admirable qualities. This is particularly true when there is no immediate requirement for the specific qualifications of these individuals.

Lest the impression be given that the Army personnel managers think only in terms of today without an eye for the future, a brief reference is made to a few of the latest developments and plans for the further improvement of the Army personnel management system.

One of the most difficult problems faced by the Army is the distribution of personnel. The difficulty of distributing enlisted personnel so as to balance availables with requirements is the basic cause of misutilization. It is necessary to establish current requirements and to project future requirements against which personnel must be allocated. In order to solve the vast problems of record keeping, transmittal of timely information and the making of thousands of decisions armywide involved in accomplishing the function of personnel assignments, new systems are being planned which will utilize the latest scientific developments in communications equipment and automatic data processing equipment. Ultimately, the application of equipment of this kind will make possible practically instantaneous transmission of all the information on the basis of which the best assignment of the individual can be made.

In the near future, installation of the first phase of a new distribution system will make possible assignment of all Army enlisted personnel from a central location on a basis which will take into account full and complete information about the qualifications and background of every individual. Adoption of this major departure from past methods should be a great step forward in the march toward the ultimate in personnel management—the placement of the man in the job he is best qualified to do when and where he is needed.

Another major development in the personnel management system of the Army is the use to be made shortly of job proficiency tests which will be used to measure occupational capacity and provide an objective basis for assignment and promotion determination. These tests are being developed now for implementation in the near future. Ultimately, such tests will be available for all military occupational specialties. The use of these tests will be tied into the recently developed occupational classification structure. The tests will be of inestimable value in aiding the Army to put each man in the right job. The tests will naturally assist in more accurate classification of enlisted personnel.

In order to provide for more complete and accurate personnel record maintenance, the Army has recently developed a new and simplified method of keeping personnel records. By this method all records pertaining to the individual are kept in a single jacket which is transmitted automatically every time the man has a change of station. After the man leaves the service, the jacket is sent to a central records depository where all the information about the individual's service is readily available in a single place for any purpose which may arise. In order to improve morale the Army has devised a system for rotation of troops between the United States and oversea stations whereby entire organizations are retained intact.

In summary, the Army is concerned with the proper utilization of its personnel. It presently has an effective system for personnel management and is ever mindful of the need for improvements which will reflect modern trends.

The Hanks Family, of Bowling Green, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, our forefathers built and handed down to us a free, peaceful, and prosperous America. That kind of America was not built or kept by men of little faith. It was built by men of courage and daring who had confidence in themselves and were willing to risk their lives for freedom.

This spirit prevailed in the generations of Americans who fought and died to keep this country free. Beginning in the bloodstained snows of Valley Forge and continuing up San Juan Hill, the Argonne Forest, the slopes of Mount Suribachi, and ashore to Inchon we find sacrifices made to keep this Repbulic free, independent, and indivisable.

Today we live in the greatest country in the world. A country that has passed through the peaks and valleys of strength and weakness. One that is today an active participant in the development of supersonic speed, guided missiles and atomic weapons. A country that realizes the day of the huge build-up for war has passed, and that we can no longer wait until we are pushed into war to begin building our strength. A country that knows full well the threat to our cities and people is many times greater today than during World War II. One realizes that the world cannot exist on a half-free, half-slave basis.

In order to remain free we must be ever vigilant and fully prepared for sudden attack. Our schools, colleges, libraries, laboratories, and factories must continue to develop the necessary knowledge and skills which will make this country strong both in the arts of peace and the arts of war. In order to survive we must remain strong spiritually, economically, and militarily. In order to sustain the spirit which has made America great, patriotism must be practiced as a religion.

We will continue to live in the greatest country in the world if we have courage, faith, and the spirit to fight for and serve our country in time of peace and in time of peril. Understand and appreciate the hardships and sacrifices made by our forefathers in establishing a free, peaceful, and prosperous country. Be cognizant of the duties and responsibilities of an American citizen. American citizenship is one of the most sought after privileges. This fact is verified by the thousands who apply for citizenship papers each year and the millions more who are denied entry into this country. Citizenship in the country which is the recognized leader of the free world entails serious obligations which must be ever foremost in our minds.

Mr. Speaker, there lives in my home town a family by the name of Hanks. This family believes that this country was built by men of courage and they further believe that service to our country in time of war and in time of peace is an honor and a privilege. They understand the duties and responsibilities of an American citizen. To give you a better understanding of just what I mean, I include herewith an article written by my friend, Herb Wallace, of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky, on July 23, 1957, about this particular family:

Some may join the Navy to see the world, but members of the Hanks family of Bowling Green have been doing their touring with the Army and Air Force for the past forty-odd years.

Four years in the military service were enough for most of us, but the Hanks family already has given Uncle Sam about 75 years of service, with more duty ahead.

Retired Lt. Col. Alger Hanks, who completed about 38 years in the Army in 1949, has 2 sons who are making a career in the Air Force, and 3 other sons, who already have put in service with the military and returned to civilian life.

T. Sgt. Joe Hanks, visiting his parents here while on leave from his Air Force station in France, already has put up 20 years in the Army and Air Force and hopes to return to the United States in about a year to finish out his 30-year tour on home soil.

Joe, who played football at Bowling Green High, before entering service at Fort Knox in 1937, is a former Daily News carrier. He was in the office the other day renewing his subscription to the Daily News to keep up with happenings in his hometown.

Not yet 39, Joe has seen quite a bit of the world during his 20 years of service, and the travel and chow appear to be agreeing with him (we'd guess he weighs in the neighborhood of 275–300). A few of the places Joe has been include Korea, Japan, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Greece, England, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, for a total of 8½ years of foreign duty.

Joe's youngest brother, Gene Paul Hanks, is a staff sergeant in the Air Force now stationed at Seward Air Base, Tenn. He already has 6 years toward the 30-year mark.

An older brother, Jack Hanks, retired from the Army because of disability from wounds suffered in World War II after 6 years of duty. Two other brothers, now civilians, both put up time for the military. Billy Hanks served in the Air Force during World War II, and George M. Hanks served for 2 years during the Korean conflict.

To round out the military family, one Hanks girl married into the Army and the other married an ex-GI.

Although retired from active duty, Col. Hanks still is connected with the military as a civilian employee in the Western State College military department. He formerly served as an Army instructor of the western ROTC after moving here in 1932. He previously had served as an instructor in ROTC at University of Kentucky and as a Kentucky National Guard instructor.

A communications specialist, Colonel Hanks is active in the local civil defense unit.

Press on Alaska-Hawaii Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, Alaska-Hawaii statehood has greater support throughout the length and breadth of the United States than any other measure before the Congress. Continuing evidence of this support is demonstrated in many areas and by many means.

For the information of the Members, I include for printing in the RECORD an article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which shows the position of the press from widely scattered sections of the country:

PRESS ON ALASKA-HAWAII STATEHOOD

Hartford (Conn.) Times: "Both Alaska and Hawaii deserve statehood. They are important factors in our national economy and should be allowed their just place in our political life."

The Los Angeles Examiner: "Prolonged injustice has attended our national handling of this matter.

"The consequence has been that the condition of second-class American citizenship has been imposed upon the people of these flourishing and vital Territories, a rank injustice to them and a grave discredit to the American people as a whole."

St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times: "Alaska, where thousands of American citizens are carving out the future of a last frontier, has been administered almost like a colony for 89 years. The citizens of the Territory have shown their desire for true self-government by electing two 'senators' and a 'representative' to press the statehood case before Congress."

Macon (Ga.) News: "The Alaska Statehood Committee says that disenfranchised American citizens in Alaska are living in a status almost identical to that endured by American colonists prior to the Revolution. They pay taxes but are unable to vote for the President or Governor. They supply members of the Armed Forces but are without voting representation in the Congress. In other words, it is the old story of taxation without representation."

Salina (Kans.) Journal: "The overriding issue is whether peoples who are willy-nilly irrevocably tied to the destiny of the United States should not be entitled to a voice in directing that destiny."

Louisville Courier-Journal: "If Alaska does not acquire statehood at the hands of this Congress, something will have gone out of the old American fealty to the brave, the bold, and the resolute."

Boston Herald: "It's time that the fine promises of election became something more than shameful campaign oratory. The knocking has grown so loud that America cannot afford to listen with a deaf and partisan ear."

Duluth (Minn.) Herald: "Both parties have pledged their support of statehood for the two territories. It will always be possible for someone to imagine a disadvantage to one party, the other, or both, in the addition of four members to the Senate.

"We can survive control of the Senate by one party or the other, since that is the normal state of affairs. We cannot be so calm about anything which causes disillusionment as to the common honesty of two vital partners in government, our major parties."

Portland (Maine) Press-Journal: "There may be other issues in Alaska, but the one that counts is statehood. Alaskans have clearly demonstrated their capacity for statehood. Statehood appears to be a question not of whether but of when. And that goes for Hawaii, too."

Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune: "The Tribune favors admission of Alaska to statehood without further delay. This, we believe, is also the desire of a substantial majority of Montanans. Montana legislative sessions have on more than one occasion passed resolutions urging Federal enactment of Alaskan statehood. Our present Montana representation in the United States Senate and House can be counted on to give active support to the Alaskan petitioners."

Claremont (N. H.) Eagle: "There are few good reasons for continued refusal to admit these territories to the Union of States and to grant them full representation. Here's hoping that the incoming 85th Congress may have the honor of conferring the statehood so long and so unjustly denied."

New York Times: "Governor Gruening and many others have repeatedly pointed to the discrimination under which Alaska suffers in respect to two of its vital interests: transportation and the salmon fisheries. Achievement of statehood would end the special-interest exploitation that keeps shipping costs unduly high and that deprives the Territory of control over its dwindling salmon catch. Even more important, it would give to a vigorous body of Americans—over 160,000 of them—the right to that full participation in our democracy that has been denied them far too long."

Cincinnati Post: "Like President Eisenhower, we favor statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii."

Charlotte (N. C.) Observer: "Alaska has all the qualifications of statehood. The argument about remoteness has been disposed of by modern transportation and communication. The chief remaining objection is political, which ought not to be valid."

Pittsburg Telegraph: "Inaction and indecision, delay and procrastination have too long kept Alaska and Hawaii out of the American Union and their people in a second-class American citizenship, and the remedy of this injustice should be high on the schedule of the new Congress."

Portland (Oreg.) Journal: "The loyal residents of these two Territories are conscripted without representation. They pay for Federal-aid highways, but do not get them. They are bound by legal and commercial fetters. They have more than served their apprenticeship and should become full-fledged American citizens."

Grafton (W. Va.) Sentinel: "There should be no further delay in adding them to the roster of States."

Mitchell (S. Dak.) Republic: "If the American people could vote on the question of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, we believe that the proposition would receive overwhelming approval.

"The ruling consideration in this matter should be the fact that America would be better off with Alaska and Hawaii in the Union and that the citizens of those Territories have richly earned and are rightly entitled to membership in the American family of States."

San Antonio (Tex.) Light: "Alaska and Hawaii in the Union will give military and economic strength to the Nation, enhance American prestige throughout the world, and attest the solidarity of all our people."

News-Virginian, Waynesboro, Va.: "The preponderant majority of average citizens favors statehood for Alaska now. But statehood remains a political football in Congress. Effective lobbying, appalling ignorance, and selfish disinterest and a desire to maintain a status quo in the Congress—these are the real impediments.

"Every tenet of American democracy calls for granting statehood to Alaska, the last of our frontiers. Now is the time to speak courageously for freedom, liberty, and man's individual dignity.

"Such action would breathe new virility into our national scene and greatly expand the average man's confidence in the Congress he elects."

Nashville Banner: "Surely by now the majority sentiment for Alaskan statehood is self-evident: the justice of it, the desirability of it as a practical tie with the Union of which it is a part, and the importance of it in view of Alaska's essential relation to national and hemispheric security. Resting on its merits, the case has sufficient justification to press to swift consummation."

The Late Kenneth Roberts, Historical Novelist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Bangor (Maine) Daily News of July 24, 1957, eulogizing the late Kenneth Roberts:

KENNETH ROBERTS

In the death this week of Kenneth Roberts, Maine has lost perhaps its greatest historical novelist.

Certainly the State has lost one of its most distinguished and dedicated friends.

Despite his great success as a writer and the almost countless honors that came his way, including a special Pulitzer award, Roberts never forgot his native State of Maine, or spared any effort to help encourage its progress.

After launching his career as a writer, Roberts left an editorial job on a national magazine in New York and returned to the scene of his birth at Kennebunkport. It remained his home until he died at 71.

It was former President Theodore Roosevelt who encouraged Roberts to write his first historical novel about New England. As he did research on that project it was Roberts' observation that only then did he "get a sort of broad picture of what has gone on in Maine and New England in the old days."

Roberts wrote of historical Maine and New England not only with understanding but with integrity and accuracy that won him national fame. Few authors did more research to prove historical details.

Once, telling about his novel, Northwest Passage, he revealed that it required 3 years of the hardest kind of research "for the reader to understand in 2 days."

Roberts was more than a historian. There was nothing dry or stodgy about his books. They were human, realistic. They dealth with the people involved in those historic times; the relation of a single event to a war; to the Nation; and to the people themselves.

To read a Roberts' novel was an adventure that lingered long after the book was put aside. History came to life from the very force of his descriptive pen.

Perhaps Roberts summed up his work best when he commented on one of his pop-

ular books Rabble in Arms. For a month he labored day and night to finish the last portions of the book. Often he fell asleep over the manuscript. Commenting on it he said:

"You have a feeling you've done something when you've done a historical novel."

Rightfully, Maine is famous for its rocks and men.

Portsmouth Naval Shipyard Development Association Seeks Additional Information From Navy Department on Disestablishment of Electrical Fittings Inventory Control Division at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter from John I. Hale, Jr., secretary of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard Development Association, and questions directed to the Secretary of Navy on the disestablishment of the Electrical Fittings Inventory Control Division at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard:

PORTSMOUTH NAVAL SHIPYARD
DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION,
Portsmouth, N. H., July 27, 1957.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION,
Washington, D. C.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The meeting of July 26 between Members of the New England congressional delegation and the Secretary of the Navy did not provide satisfactory answers from the Navy to several questions asked with regard to the disestablishment of the Electrical Fittings Inventory Control Division at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard.

We are forwarding these questions herewith and respectfully request that you obtain more specific answers to them from either the Department of the Navy or the Department of Defense before the Navy takes final action to implement the disestablishment.

We appreciate the excellent cooperation and courtesy shown our delegation by you and your staff. We will keep our people informed of the vigorous campaign you are waging to prevent the damage which will be done to New England small business and the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard if the Navy transfers EFICD's functions from Portsmouth to Mechanicsburg.

Yours very sincerely,
JOHN I. HALE, JR., *Secretary.*

PORTSMOUTH NAVAL SHIPYARD DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION—QUESTIONS NOT SATISFACTORILY ANSWERED AT THE MEETING OF JULY 26, 1957, BETWEEN THE NEW ENGLAND CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AND THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

1. The Navy conceded that the Electrical Fittings Inventory Control Division is the most economically operated of the five "Fleet Technical" Supply Demand Control Points based upon the ratio of cost of operation to system sales. This ratio at Portsmouth for fiscal 1956 was 4.4. This same ratio at the Ships Parts Control Center, Mechanicsburg, Pa., was 9.3. The Navy announced that 5,000 of the 5,200 items now controlled by Portsmouth will be transferred to Mechanicsburg. Is it genuine economy to disestablish the most economically operated activity in this group and transfer its work to a less efficient activity? Navy answers to this question were vague.

2. The Navy stated that this transfer will result in a 10-percent increase in the dollar volume of procurement at Mechanicsburg. It was further stated that this increase in workload would be accomplished without an increase in personnel, and that in fact a decrease in Mechanisburg personnel might be necessary next year. How is it possible for Mechanicsburg to take over Portsmouth's work and not increase their personnel?

3. The Navy stated that this disestablishment will save $320,000 in fiscal 1958 and $600,000 a year thereafter. How is it possible for the Navy to save $600,000 a year by disestablishing an activity with an annual operation cost less than this amount? Navy answers to this question were also vague.

4. With regard to the effect of the disestablishment on New England manufacturers the Navy contended that the geographical location of the procurement activity with respect to the geographical location of the manufacturer is not a controlling factor in the award of contracts, and that therefore New England manufacturers would not be adversely affected by the transfer of Portsmouth's functions to Mechanicsburg. It was then pointed out by members of the congressional delegation that experience proved otherwise—e. g., the decline of the New England textile industry commenced with the removal of the Army clothing purchasing office from the New England area; the transfer of the Torpedo Station from Newport, R. I., to Forest Park, Ill., resulted in the loss of millions of dollars to New England manufacturers. Furthermore, although only 11 percent of the electrical manufacturers capable of making Portsmouth's electrical fittings are located in New England, these 11 percent receive 50 percent of the dollar value of contracts awarded by Portsmouth. If the Navy's contention were correct they would be receiving only 11 percent of the total. The Secretary of the Navy's final reply to this point was that he would delay action by not more than 2 days in order to obtain additional assurance from his staff that the economy of New England would not be adversely affected.

5. It was pointed out that 13 of the 16 supply demand control points are presently located within a 175-mile radius of Philadelphia. The Navy was asked if the transfer of Portsmouth's functions into this area was consistent with the Defense Department's policy of decentralization for national security purposes. No satisfactory reply was received.

Gerry Murphy's Mother Writes to Mr. Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, we still do not have details as to what happened to Gerry Murphy, my constituent who dissappeared in the Dominican Republic last December. The overwhelming evidence indicates that he was ordered killed by Generalissimo Trujillo but we have not found his body and his parents still hope for more explicit word about their beloved son. Gerry's mother sent me a copy of the letter she recently wrote to the Secretary of State. Gerry came from a fine American home and his mother's letter is worth the attention of every Member.

The letter is as follows:

EUGENE, OREG., *July 23, 1957.*

JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DULLES: I feel a great urge to write to you this morning about the fate of our son, Gerald Murphy, who is presumed dead in the Dominican Republic. Will you please use the powers of your office in finding out the truth in this matter.

As a parent, you can understand the strain we have been under for over 7 months, not knowing whether he is dead or a prisoner. There have been no satisfactory answers from the Dominican Republic, your Department has made that public.

To us, our only son is so precious. We know his heart and thinking, on a deep level, as he lived closely with us for 21 years on a North Dakota farm and in Eugene. Whereas the stories from those that knew him only a few months or from newsmen who had only reports and some evidence to go on is much of the case as it stands now.

We know the real pressure for truth and answers from the Dominican Government must come from your Department of our own Government. Won't you please take a personal interest in our boy?

We don't know the details of his implication either, but we know that his boyhood and young manhood was of the best American tradition. I feel such international intrigue as he is alleged to be in was beyond him.

Please let us feel one American boy's life is really of deep concern to our State Department. We realize you are very busy with worldwide problems but our world is only many of us, like Gerry.

Very sincerely and very hopefully,
MRS. LESTER G. MURPHY
(Gerry's mother).

Heroes of the Loyal Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Heroes of the Loyal Opposition," which appeared in the July 14, 1957, issue of the Messenger and Inquirer, of Owensboro, Ky.:

HEROES OF THE LOYAL OPPOSITION

By coincidence, recent events have dramatized the great division among those who have been dedicating their lives to our security in the postwar era. Two of these men stand out as heroes of the loyal opposition, though for the moment disgraced or eclipsed. They have suffered for their views, that the rest of us may be the safer.

Col. John C. Nickerson, Jr., much decorated artillery commander for combat in World War II, persuaded a general court-martial of his dedication to national security when he publicized classified information in an effort to save the control of the

intermediate 1,500 missile for the Army. He was given a light sentence after pleading guilty to technical charges, which, however, permits him to remain in the service.

Thomas G. Murray, who was refused reappointment to the Atomic Energy Commission for a second 7-year term though powerful Democrats in Congress pleaded for him, was immediately engaged as a consultant to the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee. There, he will be able to continue the controversy with Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Commission, over the best way to achieve the security of the Nation in the atomic age.

Nickerson and Murray simply dramatize today a disagreement which not only has divided some of our own highest military authorities. (Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway failed of reappointment as Army Chief of Staff in the same controversy.) Nickerson put it in words when he testified in his own behalf at his court-martial. It is based in the belief that advocates of the theory that modern war can be won by atomic bombardment alone have oversold the public, the press, Congress, and defense officials, and thereby have exposed the country to real danger.

In the case of war, even if our Air Force was completely successful, Soviet ground forces could overrun Europe, Asia, and Africa unless we had ground forces equipped with modern weapons, and this Nickerson warned might lead to total defeat. This is where he and Murray find common ground. For Murray warns that he must have "tens of thousands of small atomic weapons for ground forces and that to stop testing and producing them would be disastrous for the United States.

Here is an honest difference of opinion that concerns every one of us more deeply than any other question today. In London, the President's representative is negotiating to stop testing and producing nuclear weapons. Some men closest to the problem think that would open the way for the Soviet Union to break out in a series of small wars which we would not be able to stop for lack of these same small nuclear weapons. We have enough of the big nuclear bombs to deter the enemy from starting a major war, but city-busters would not deter small wars, such as Korea and Indochina. Small nuclear weapons would make up for the overwhelming manpower advantage of the Communists.

Murray's engagement as a consultant to the congressional committee that must pass on these matters will at least put that viewpoint in the balance at the service of Congress. Nickerson's also deserves to be heard in the same powerful quarters. The gulf between their thinking and the administration's can mean life or death. They cannot be lightly disregarded.

Address by Wilson Compton at the Commencement Exercises at Salem College

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the following address was delivered by Mr. Wilson Compton, president, Council for Financial Aid to Education, during the commencement exercises at Salem College, Salem, W. Va., on June 5, 1957. I was present and heard this excellent speech, and I believe the thoughts he expressed are an inspiration and challenge to all age groups.

NEW TRAILS AND OLD PATHS—THE CHANGING AND THE UNCHANGING

(Address by Wilson Compton)

Over one of the marble doorways of the Library of Congress in the National Capitol are carved these words: "He builds too low who builds beneath the stars." These words greet those who enter, and they follow those who leave, this great storehouse of the world's knowledge. There is no mightier challenge to young men and young women for whom graduation from college means the commencement of lives of their own choosing, their own planning, their own making. So I address this thought to you of the class of 1957 as you leave the security of this college campus and assume the custody of your own lives—many of you for the first time.

Do not content yourselves with the common if you are capable of the uncommon. Do not merely follow the crowd or fear to be different. Conserve your talents but do not let them go to rust. Reach for the stars even though you may have nothing to show for it except a bit of stardust on your fingertips. Try, and if you fail, try again. There really is no failure unless you stop trying. So you have been taught. So I trust you will live.

At no time in our national history has there been a greater need or a greater opportunity for builders—builders of structures and communities, yes—and also builders of faith and hope, of industry and loyalty, of brotherhood and peace, of integrity and morality in affairs personal, national, and international; men and women who are strong enough to carry their own burdens and good enough to help carry the burdens of others who are not so strong.

You will recall from your reading of history the story of Pythagoras, the philosopher and teacher of ancient Greece, a forerunner long ago of our modern science and technology. These were his words to his students 2,500 years ago:

"Seek therefore to find out what and how the world is made that you may learn a better way of life."

Then a few centuries later in nearby Palestine came a young man from Galilee, a carpenter's son, another teacher, who said to the multitudes who listened to him:

"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God."

Today men continue without ceasing the effort exhorted by the ancient philosophers to unravel the mysteries of the universe; and around the world men still listen to the voice of Him who centuries ago said:

"Love God; and love thy neighbor."

Two weeks ago in New York's largest auditorium—the Madison Square Garden—I listened to a young college man from North Carolina, the most powerful evangelist of his generation, preach the simple Christian gospel to a packed, attentive, and responsive audience of 20,000. Yes, the Man of Galilee, as surely as the man of science, walks amongst us today, pointing the road to what Pythagoras called a "better way of life."

THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

This is the historic reason for the Christian college, like this honored institution which for more than a half century has contributed to the stream of American life. It is a unity of science and religion, of teaching and study devoted to a search for truth in a scientific age, in a world of marching technology to give opportunity to build to young men and young women who "seek first the Kingdom of God." I too am a graduate of such a college and I am honored today to be the guest of another.

It is customary, I know, in commencement speeches for the invited elders to counsel, caution, and exhort the graduating class, to confess the inadequacies of the older generation, which already are visible enough, and to challenge the younger generation to make good these deficiencies; or to expound the flowing opportunities and achievements of our modern age. I too have made such speeches. But I wish today to make a different kind of speech, to share with you a simple perspective of some old paths amongst the new trails which science is blazing around the world.

I want you to be proud of the college from which you are graduating and of the important place which it has made for itself in American higher education; and I want you, as you leave this campus, to leave it with a determination in the coming years when you can, and as you can, to help it to help others as it has helped you. You have been, just as I have been, the beneficiary of a college education at less than cost. You, or your families, to be sure, have paid a considerable part of the cost. Benefactors of this college—some living, some dead—have paid the rest. Colleges always have needed money; and if they are any good, they always will. Colleges do not grow by themselves. They are built by people who believe in them.

THE INDIVIDUAL MIND

I am glad too to meet this graduating class and its friends on a college campus where interest in religion as a part of higher education is not a mere attitude of neutrality; where dynamic science is a living objective and where the search for truth is guided by dedicated men and women who seek to be good teachers even more than great scholars. My college days are now receding into the mists of nearly a half century. But I well recall because I can never forget the inspired teaching of great teachers which helped me too as a college student to master the problems which so often bewilder young people, to bridge the intellectual gap between science and religion, to look with faith as well as awe into the recesses of the universe, and to learn that it is ideas not things which control our lives; that things are a means not an end, and that the good life is the life of service, the life of the "good neighbor."

When, as eventually you will, you reach the point where retrospect and prospect are intermingled and perhaps indistinguishable, I suspect that you too in your minds will divide the teachers of your youth into the three classes into which my own memory devides them: First, those whom you have forgotten; second, those whom you have forgiven; and third, those whom you will never forget because what they taught, what they lived, and the ideas which they held before their students are engraved in your minds and hearts. The purpose of education is power—individual power. Education is a road to knowledge. But even more, education is a road to wisdom and to self-discipline. It is a road which, once you reach it, you will continue to travel as long as you live. In the world's greatest book it is written: "He that ruleth his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city."

In this company of Salem College I may speak gracefully of these matters because I well know the zeal of this institution and its share of great teaching and great teachers. How fortunate you are you will understand as you learn to look back at your college days in the framework of your life experience. You will find that Salem College too had its "Mr. Chips." And you will not soon forget the stimulating ideas of the college professor whom Carl Becker calls the "man who thinks otherwise."

Education—learning how to think—is an adventure not of the memory but of the mind. This is the heart of liberal education—liberal, as the dictionary defines it, "worthy of or befitting a free man." Emerson was proclaiming what he called the infinitude

of the private man when he said "Society itself never advances. Society develops only as man himself improves."

FREEDOM THE GREATEST SAFETY VALVE

One of the most significant forces at work in our national life is the accelerating trend toward conformity. Perhaps I should call it an inertia rather than a force. It is at least a great and a growing hazard. Some call it anti-intellectualism. But it is more than that. It is for example the source of the derogatory, present-day phrase egg-head applied to a person who for reasons of his own has some theory of his own which is different from the prevailing reasons and theories of his neighbors. The youth stage of this movement is a cult of conformity. Among teen-agers in New York City of late, for example, it has been notoriously popular to be all atwitter about Elvis Presley or, if not about him, about some other myth. The adult stage is marked by mediocrity—as illustrated by The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit—unable or at least unwilling to be different simply because it is not in style.

This movement comes in part from the trends of legislation and government which gradually over the years have been substituting objectives of general welfare and security for objectives of individual opportunity and initiative; and regulation by law for the discipline of responsible individual choice; in part also from fears of wars, anxiety about survival, continuing monetary inflation against which by himself no individual can protect himself.

These, to be sure, are a natural and perhaps an unavoidable byproduct of our mass production, which is the only practical way we yet know of securing the benefits of the great advances in science and technology. They are responsible, to be sure, for our higher standards of living as measured by goods and services. They are nevertheless pressures toward conformity; and conformity ultimately means mediocrity; and mediocrity ultimately means stagnation.

Our colleges and universities themselves should be kept as free as possible from these pressures. These institutions have become and they should continue to be our greatest sources of new ideas, new knowledge, and innovation. In classroom and laboratory they should encourage free inquiry, experiment, originality, inventiveness—what the scholars call widening the horizons of knowledge. Where all people think alike, no one thinks very much. Our economy—in fact, our historic American way of life—has been based more on differences than on sameness, on originality than on imitation, on something new than on something old.

It is more important to keep the spirit and the habit of free inquiry alive and alert in our colleges than in any other of our institutions. If we allow ourselves and our higher educational institutions to be pushed into an era of conformity, we will ultimately produce nothing more and nothing less than a wasteland of the mind. Whether we understand, believe in, and nurture an environment sympathetic to the creative mind is one of the crucial problems of our generation. On its outcome depends largely the future not only of our education but of our country. Always there must be room for faith of, and in, the individual, an orbit for conflict of ideas, a space for the nonconformist. What happens to American education will eventually happen to America.

No one knows better than the heads of our industrial and business enterprises the significance of keeping open the door of encouragement to new ideas, however unorthodox or nonconformist. Had it not been for someone's fantastic or preposterous ideas somewhere along the line there would, for example, never have been a modern department store as we now know it, nor a telephone, nor an automobile industry, nor commercial aviation, nor electronics, nor even the lowly zipper. Think of the so-called cranks, crackpots, and fuzzyheads back of inventions which are now commonplace. The radical of yesterday is often the conservative of tomorrow.

There is, of course, no place in education for so-called freedom which is, in fact, a masquerade for dishonest teaching or a subterfuge for subversion. But honest academic freedom in its colleges and universities is a great safety valve of a free society, its greatest long-time safeguard against mediocrity, stagnation, and the fantasies and deceits of socialism. Freedom may be dangerous, but it is the safest thing we have.

THE LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE IN AMERICA

The keystone in the structure of our higher education is, and I think always will be, the independent liberal arts college. One of the most significant educational events in recent years is the frank appeal recently by Harvard University for $82.5 million of new funds, not for the university itself but for Harvard College on the ground that this prestige-heavy university, with its half billion dollars in assets, will never be any better than the little Harvard College which 320 years ago was founded in the New England wilderness for the education of preachers and, up to the time of the American Revolution, could print its entire curriculum of studies on 2 small pages. Even in this age of rampant technology this is eloquent testimony to the importance in American life of liberal education. All colleges were small once—even Harvard.

Three-fourths of our liberal arts colleges today are church related; 400 of them Protestant and more than 200 Catholic. The Christian colleges and the universities built around them are not merely places to which thousands of young men and women may go for a few years of instruction and study. They are a part of the "promise of American life." They are the chief stewards of the Nation's religious culture and they have been the sources of much of its inventive genius. The churches need the colleges even more than the colleges need the churches. There can be no freedom without law; nor law without morality; nor morality without faith; nor faith without religion. Nor can there be any of these without understanding; nor understanding without education. A structure is no stronger, or safer, or more secure than its foundations.

THE CHANGING AND THE UNCHANGING

If we owe great economic gains to our formidable science and technology we owe even more to their spiritual and moral foundations. No one is really uneasy about our technology, about our ability to make and sell things. But who is not uneasy about our way of life and about the hideous forces of disintegration adrift in the world. It is the validity of the moral order at all which today is being challenged. It is on the moral and not the technological ramparts that we must stand the most diligent watch; and this responsibility must be shared heavily by our colleges and universities.

Were Galileo to return to a modern college campus to a classroom in physics, such as you will have in your new science building on this campus, he would be told no doubt that we have now found in the radium atom a particle—the so-called alpha particle—in which is a concentration of energy 400 million times as great as the energy in a particle of water in the form of the steam which runs our factories, our railroads, and our ships. Galileo would be merely confused.

Were Lavoisier with his simple test tubes to visit a modern chemistry laboratory he would perhaps be told about our newly discovered large molecules and their constituent alpha amino acids, capable of at least 100,000 billion billion combinations each with its own chemical traits. He no doubt would be baffled.

Gregor Mendel, the great Austrian biologist, with his meager experimental plots in the courtyard of an Augustinian monastery—if he were to come to one of our plant science laboratories and see its modern marvels of genetics—would be bewildered.

But would Socrates, Aristotle, and Spinoza lose their way in a modern classroom in philosophy, ethics, or religion? or Isaiah in the General Assembly of the United Nations? or Amos in a collective bargaining labor contract negotiation? or Moses—if he joined an American college faculty today—would he have to revise the Ten Commandments, the textbook which he brought down with him from the mountain top? I think not.

There are many things which change and for these science is the road to truth. There are also many things which do not change and for these it is the Kingdom of God which is the "Lamp to our feet and the light to our path." It was of these things that Jesus spoke when he said, "On this rock will I build."

You too can build. You have the great tools of science to help you. You have the wisdom of the ages to guide you. As you plan the life which you wish to build I trust that you will keep your feet on the ground and your eyes on the stars, and that as you build you will build not on shifting sands but on the Rock of Ages.

The Mutual Assistance Appropriations Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include a release that I gave to the press on Saturday last.

The release follows:

Congressman JOHN W. McCORMACK (Democrat, Massachusetts), House majority leader, said today that "Unless President Eisenhower shows firmness and direct activity with his own party, the mutual assistance appropriation bill will be reduced a considerable amount, probably anywhere up to several hundreds of millions of dollars below the amount finally agreed on the authorization bill.

"It is apparent to me," Congressman McCORMACK said, "that the authorization bill will be much nearer the House-bill figure than the Senate bill. The information I have received is that there is a big shift in Senate sentiment since the authorization bill passed that body.

"This feeling is due to the various shifts that the President has taken on a number of his own recommendations, such as the budget message; the ordered reduction in the Army appropriations while the defense appropriations bill was in conference; the fact that no one really knew where he stood on the school construction bill, which was defeated as a result of the overwhelming vote against it by his own party; and the secret letters to department heads constituting an order to 'freeze' expenditures for this fiscal year.

"This is the time when we must have unity and strength, for that is the only language which the Communists respect. Weak leadership on the part of the President is not helpful. He has failed or refused on a

number of occasions to come to grips with his own party."

Congressman McCORMACK further said: "If President Eisenhower expects to get a mutual assistance appropriation bill which will effectively combat communism, he should at once call a bipartisan meeting of the leaders of both parties and, in particular, he should openly and actively work among his own party, because that is where the strongest opposition exists.

"As one who favors effective foreign assistance measures and appropriations, I clearly see that such leadership is necessary. The President cannot vacillate and take chances on this bill. If necessary, he should be willing to fight with the members of his own party and cooperate more effectively with the leadership of the Democratic Party."

The Massachusetts Higher Education Loan Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting and enlightening article on the issue of a long-needed program for higher education that appeared in the magazine Industry for July 1957, the official spokesman for industry in Massachusetts, published monthly by the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, 200 Berkeley Street, Boston, Mass.

The article follows:

THE MASSACHUSETTS HIGHER EDUCATION LOAN PLAN

(Thanks to a group of far-sighted industrialists, business leaders, bankers, and educators, the Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corporation has now been formed, and will provide a new concept of financial aid to the college student. Purpose is to help fill the gap between family income and college education expenses.)

(By Elmer O. Cappers, president, Norfolk County Trust Co., and president, Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp.)

This year at graduation time the price tag which the business world puts on a college education was as startling as usual—the starting salaries offered this year's graduates ranging from a low of about $4,500 to highs sometimes exceeding $6,500.

The level of these salaries is very definitely a symptom of the Nation's tremendous need for college-trained people and the concurrent heavy demand on our colleges to turn out an ever increasing number of them. The complexities of our modern world, both in science and in our economic system, call for those extra years of education, and it is to our college graduates of today that we look for our leaders and administrators of tomorrow.

As we are all aware, the growing demands on our colleges have put them under the heavy burden of enlarging their physical plants, of financing faculty expansions, of finding ways to meet sharply increased annual budgets.

Much the same problem of costs faces the college-age youth and his parents.

How can families finance the rising costs of sending a boy or girl to college?

There are scholarship funds, of course. There are student loan funds administered by the colleges. There are student job programs.

All of these help, but they fall far short of meeting the total needs of today. And many, many incomes are stretched to the breaking point in carrying the burden of college educations for sons and daughters.

It is to help fill this gap between family income and college education expenses, that a pioneering new organization has been created in this State. The Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp., brought into being by the combined efforts of the business community, banks, and educational institutions, has come forward with a new concept of financial aid to the college student.

The concept is simply that a mature student should be able to borrow, on his own responsibility and from regular banking sources, a substantial part of his needs, and be committed to repay the loan over a period of years after he has begun to earn a living.

It is a concept which takes full cognizance of the business world's need for more trained manpower, of the fact that the lifetime earning power of a college education is worth something like $150,000 to the individual. And it fosters the invaluable quality of self-reliance in college students who take on part of the financial responsibility for their educations.

The Higher Education Loan Plan—significantly, its initials spell HELP—was launched only this past March.

Already nearly 300 students from Massachusetts have had an assist on their college financing problems through loans negotiated under the plan.

The loans are made by Massachusetts commercial banks participating in the plan, processed by them much in the way they handle any personal loan. But there is one important difference: The student's application goes to the Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp. for approval.

And this approval means that up to 80 percent of the loan is guaranteed by the corporation—a guaranty which makes possible the loan without endorsers, with interest at lower than usual rates and unparalleled repayment terms.

The guaranty is backed by the funds of the corporation, contributed by business corporations, charitable trusts, and individuals, after the organization was created by special act of the legislature last year.

With the great expansion of corporate giving, both managements and stockholders are concerned over the efficiency with which their contributed dollars are put to work.

Measured by any standard, the Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp. ranks very near the top, if not the top itself. For the corporation makes $1 of its capital put to work $12.50 bank-loan dollars.

This fact is one of the strongest selling points in the corporation's current move to increase its capital with further subscriptions from business firms—especially those firms which annually look to the colleges for trained manpower.

So challenging is the Massachusetts Higher Education Loan Plan, in fact, that it is attracting nationwide attention. Interested groups are moving to set up similar organizations in their own States. Right now, in New York, businessmen, State officials, and educators are busy completing the formation of a higher education assistance corporation authorized by a special act of the legislature approved this past April.

Here in New England it has been suggested that the Massachusetts corporation, which now serves students from Massachusetts only, should be empowered to extend its activities to the other five States in the region.

According to Paul Talbot, of the United Business Service (Paul T. Babson, president), the HELP plan indicates Massachusetts continues to live up to its tradition of pioneering in the fields of both education and finance, for the purpose of giving assistance to college students and parents. It is no giveaway affair, he emphasizes, but does provide assistance in a very real and practical way.

The comment of Willard Kiplinger in a recent issue of his Washington letter is, "Here's a plan that is working."

The HELP plan is working through the team effort of Massachusetts banks, educational institutions, mostly, but not exclusively, all over the country, and the Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp.

While not all of the 171 commercial banks in the State have yet negotiated their first HELP loan, every week brings evidence of increasingly widespread participation. Most of the Boston area banks have each made numerous loans under the plan, and numerous banks throughout the State are processing applications now.

The processing of an application by the bank goes something like this:

First approach to the bank is made by the student himself. He must be a resident of Massachusetts, who has completed at least the freshman year at an approved institution in any State in the Union. His application authorizes the bank to check, in confidence, his record in college, his education program, progress and prospects, his indebtedness to the institution, if any, and any opinion of the student as a credit risk.

When the institution has supplied this information and the bank has passed judgement on the application, MHEAC comes into the picture.

The corporation receives from the bank the request for approval of the loan which automatically guarantees 80 percent of the amount.

It is this guaranty that is the key to the HELP program's success. The guaranty enables banks to make their credit resources available to students at much lower than usual rates of interest, currently 4½ percent, and for much longer terms than have ever before been available.

All loans are made payable 6 months after graduation. For this year's seniors that means December 1957, but for the sophomores who got HELP loans this spring, the due date is December 1960.

In actual practice the loans are renewed at due date for another term of 3 years, so the student borrower will make repayment in 36 equal monthly installments following graduation.

The loan limit is $500 in any one year after the freshman term, or a total of $1,500 for 3 years.

And more and more families are discovering that this sum, even with its limits, can spell the difference in financing a college education.

Each of the plan's three-man team—banks, educational institutions, and MHEAC—has an essential role in the HELP operation. First in importance, however, are the commercial banks of the State. Through the initiative and leadership of the Massachusetts Bankers Association, the banks gave their sponsorship to the special legislative act of 1956 which established MHEAC. Since then they have shared in all the important decisions giving form and substance to the loan plan.

Participation of the banks has meant administration and processing of loans by hundreds of able and experienced professionals. In most cases, students and families deal with their local banks where they are known and where they can get almost instantaneous action.

There has been wholehearted cooperation as well from the educational institutions in promptly furnishing the required information about student applicants for loans. To

date the majority of them are Massachusetts and New England institutions, but there is an increasing number from outside the region.

The third member of the team, the corporation itself, is able to discharge its function only in accordance with the size of the guaranty fund. That fund, subscribed by the business community, charitable trusts and philanthropic individuals, stands in back of the loans made by the banks. The loans now number in the hundreds, will soon move into the thousands, and in the years ahead will without question reach a total dollar amount in seven figures.

Current goal for the guaranty fund is $500,000, toward which an excellent start has been made. Contributions in amounts ranging from $100 to $10,000 have been received from industrial corporations, hotel and insurance corporations, from power and gas utility companies, from chainstores, charitable trusts and individuals.

Since the industries of Massachusetts are the chief users of graduates in higher education, the corporation must of necessity look to them for a large part of its augmented guaranty fund. The corporation considers also that labor unions may properly be asked to contribute to the support of its loan plan, since many of its members will inevitably be among those aided by its operation.

The Associated Industries of Massachusetts, by unanimous vote of its executive committee, has endorsed the HELP program. Two members of the committee, Joseph P. Spang, Jr., and Charles F. Adams, are also directors and members of the corporation's finance committee, of which A. M. Sonnabend, Hotel Corporation of America president, is chairman. The State council of the CIO has also endorsed HELP.

With wise forethought, the legislation establishing the corporation included a provision making it legal for all corporations to contribute, and the Internal Revenue Service has ruled that contributions to the corporation are deductible for income-tax purposes.

The problem of how best to assist present-day talented youth to finance their college education is not peculiar to Massachusetts. On the contrary, it is nationwide. That is why the Massachusetts plan, as it is called, is the subject of much discussion on the part of educators and bankers throughout the East. Among the former is Dr. Charles F. Phillips, president of Bates College in Maine, and chairman of the education committee of the New England Council, regional research and development organization.

Writing in the May issue of the Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges, on Meeting the Cost of a College Education Without Federal Aid, Dr. Phillips concludes with the following paragraph:

"At this writing, the Massachusetts plan is just beginning to make loans, and its success or failure lies in the future. But if it works, it may establish a pattern which can be copied by other areas as a solution to the problem of helping able students of limited means to get a college education. If it does not succeed, it may be necessary to use State funds to create a similar bank-loan-guaranteeing organization, but the private approach should be given a thorough trial. If it fails, I predict it will be because people fail the plan, rather than because the plan itself is unsound."

Officers of the Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp. are: Elmer O. Cappers, president; Mrs. Wilma A. Kerby-Miller, vice president; George H. Seal, vice president; Roger L. Currant, treasurer; David B. H. Martin, clerk; Abraham M. Sonnabend, chairman, finance committee; and Dudley Harmon, executive director.

Directors of the corporation comprise Charles F. Adams, president, Raytheon Manufacturing Co.; Hildreth Auer, president, Malden Trust Co.; Raymond H. Blanchard, president, Hood Rubber Co.; Benjamin H. Bowden, president, County Bank & Trust Co.; Dr. Robert R. R. Brooks, dean, Williams College; Howard J. Cadwell, president, Western Massachusetts Electric Co.; Elmer O. Cappers, president, Norfolk County Trust Co.; Charles A. Coolidge, Esq., Ropes, Gray, Best, Coolidge, & Rugg; Roger L. Currant, president, the Fall River National Bank; Very Rev. William A. Donaghy, S. J., president, College of the Holy Cross; Roland A. Erickson, president, Guaranty Bank & Trust Co.; Hon. Foster Furcolo, Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Dr. Harold B. Gores, superintendent of schools, Newton.

Also AIM president, Kurtz M. Hanson, president of Champion-International Co.; Hon. Christian A. Herter, Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1953–56; Richard S. Holden, president, Northampton National Bank; Andrew B. Holmstrom, vice president, Norton Co.; Ernest A. Johnson, Massachusetts commissioner of labor and industries; Thomas M. Joyce, attorney; Mrs. Wilma A. Kirby-Miller, dean of instruction, Radcliffe College; Ralph Lowell, president, Boston Safe Deposit & Trust Co.; Dr. Martin J. Lydon, president, Lowell Technological Institute; Bruce H. MacLeod, president, Union Trust Co.; Dr. J. Paul Mather, president, University of Massachusetts; John U. Monro, director of financial aid, Harvard College; David R. Pokross, Peabody, Brown, Rowley & Storey; Arthur G. Rotch, secretary-treasurer, Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund, Inc.; Howard L. Rubendall, headmaster, Mount Hermon School; Dr. Abram L. Sachar, president, Brandeis University; George H. Seal, vice president, C. H. Sprague & Son Co.; Norman T. Shepherd, vice president, Haverhill National Bank; Bryant E. Smith, president, Liberty Mutual Insurance Co.; Abraham M. Sonnabend, president, Hotel Corporation of America; Joseph P. Sprang, Jr., chairman, the Gillette Co.; Stanley F. Teele, dean, Harvard Business School; and Edward R. Tufts, executive secretary, Massachusetts Bankers Association.

As this issue of Industry goes to press we are advised that the corporation has elected an additional three new directors. Two of them representing organized labor in Massachusetts are Francis E. Lavigne, director of education, Massachusetts Federation of Labor, and William F. Maloon, United Steelworkers of America. The third director is Anthony Julian, United States Attorney for the district of Massachusetts. They are all of Boston.

United Nations Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "United Nations Anniversary," which appeared in the Breckinridge County Herald-News, of Hardinsburg, Ky.:

UNITED NATIONS ANNIVERSARY

The United Nations recently observed its 12th anniversary—on June 26. Interestingly, there was no celebrating in New York, or in many of the civilized countries of the world.

Despite the fact that the New York Times proclaims with zest that the miracle of the United Nations is that it has lived so long, and is still so vigorous and so formidable, we believe this sentiment is a minority viewpoint, not shared by the majority of Senators and Congressmen in Washington, or of newspaper editors in the United States.

The United Nations is good at passing resolutions, and has achieved success in certain fields. However, as a world body to keep peace, which was the original purpose in forming the United Nations, the U. N. is a flop.

We do not make this statement simply because the United Nations was unable to do anything to help recently when Hungary was brutally assaulted and conquered again, again by Russian troops. Nor do we make the statement because the United Nations let the United States do practically all the fighting in Korea. And, it must be admitted that the United Nations could not have stopped the recent war in Egypt had not the United States taken a strong hand opposing it and had not Russia threatened to send volunteers to fight the British and French.

The police force—such as it is which is controlled by the United Nations, is not much of a world police force. U. N. soldiers may walk up and down the demilitarized line between Egypt and Israel, but there is no real fear of the United Nations police force in the minds of the leaders of Communist countries (the aggressor countries) today. Until such time as the United Nations has a genuine and effective police force, utilizing the latest instruments of war, it will remain fundamentally a debating society—which is what it is today.

Fundamental Investors Slashing Its Holdings of Transportation Common Stocks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, an interesting article in the New York Herald Tribune of July 24, 1957, is attached concerning the attitude of one of the largest common-stock funds on airline stocks in disposing of most of their holdings.

This article is worth reading and giving careful consideration as it indicates the necessity of readjusting passenger and freight rates in their relationship to railroads, trucking, and air freight.

The article follows:

INVESTMENT COMPANIES—FUNDAMENTAL FUND SLASHES HOLDINGS IN AIRLINE AND RAIL COMMON STOCKS

(By Charles Brophy)

Fundamental Investors, Inc., the Nation's second largest common-stock fund and fourth largest mutual fund, disclosed yesterday that it was continuing a program of slashing its holdings of transportation common stocks.

In the quarter ended June 30, the $400 million investment company eliminated its holdings of any airline stock by the sale of 30,000 United Air Lines, Inc., common shares. Earlier, the fund had sold out its position in American Airlines' stock.

The fund in the last quarter cut its holdings of railroad common stocks from 6.5 percent of assets to 5 percent. It sold out its holdings of 42,000 Northern Pacific Railway common shares and 17,000 Western Pacific shares, and cut its share holdings of Santa Fe Railroad by 37,000 shares to 75,000, and its holdings of Illinois Central by 13,000 to 35,000.

RAIL ACTION NEW

While the movement out of airline stocks has been a program of some duration, the easing out of rail stocks was new to the fund this year.

The management apparently is taking into account the pressure of increased operating costs, the time lag before rates are adjusted, and the loss of profitable traffic to the air-freight and trucking industries.

The outlook of airlines seemingly is that it is a growth industry in passenger and freight hauling, but an industry under regulation faced with the constant question of new and more expensive equipment.

Reductions in portfolio also included the holdings in Deere & Co., Louisiana Land & Exploration, and Zenith Radio.

On the other hand, the fund's purchases of securities, covering a wide spectrum of industries, is indicative of the belief most mutual-fund managements now have that extreme selectivity is necessary.

NEW COMMITMENT

Fundamental made one new commitment—in American-Marietta—and added to its holdings, other than through rights, stock dividends or splits, of American Broadcasting-Paramount, Armco Steel, Avon Products, Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, Commercial Credit, Container Corp, Dresser Industries, Du Pont, Firestone Tire, Florida Power, General Motors, Gillette, Goodyear Tire, Gulf Oil, Hilton Hotels, Rayonier, Shamrock Oil, Texas Co., Trane Co., Union Bag-Camp Paper, and West Penn Electric.

In the quarter ended June 30 the fund's total net assets went up from $369,865,774 to $406,555,415, while share value increased 7.9 percent, from $15.67 to $16.91.

For the quarter, investors bought $10,828,950 in new shares, while other investors cashed in $3,729,706. Gross income amounted to $3,697,415, and net, to $3,083,181. Realized profits totaled $1,758,484, while unrealized profits went up by $27,706,768.

The fund management told shareholders that the crosscurrents in business are "not discouraging when examined in the light of high consumer demand, continued heavy spending by Federal, State, and local governments and sustained outlays by industry for expansion and modernization."

A Combat-Ready Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, in spite of inadequate facilities and lack of public support, the National Guard of the United States constitutes the most powerful reserve land force in the free world. The security of our entire defense system is dependent to a considerable extent upon the capabilities of the guard and the Reserve. Unfortunately, we have not given as much attention and support as we should have to building a truly effective combat-ready reserve force.

One of the obstacles that hinders the establishment of such a reserve force is the confusion and rivalry that exists between the National Guard and the Army Reserve. It has been suggested by Mr. William V. Kennedy, a National Guard officer and student of military affairs, that our Reserve efficiency would be greatly strengthened if the National Guard were given the task of organizing and training large combat formations while the Army Reserve trained the technical and administrative units.

Mr. Kennedy pays a deserved tribute to our guardsmen when he observes:

The great majority of National Guard officers are dedicated men who have made a career of Reserve affairs. * * * They are capable of discerning between what is possible with a unit of the Regular Army and a unit of part-time citizen soldiers.

I believe that the Members of Congress will find it well worth their while to read Mr. Kennedy's article, entitled "A Combat-Ready Reserve," which appears in the July–August 1957 issue of the magazine Ordnance. Mr. Kennedy's excellent article is included in full as follows:

A COMBAT-READY RESERVE

(By William V. Kennedy)

(Mr. Kennedy is former executive editor of the Pennsylvania Guardsman magazine and an officer of the 104th Cavalry Regiment, Pennsylvania National Guard.)

Thirty-seven United States National Guard and Army Reserve divisions constitute the largest organized land-power Reserve in the Western Alliance. Upon the ability of those divisions to expand and fight depends the ability of the United States Army to meet "brush fire" emergencies and the survival of the free world in total war.

The 10 Infantry divisions of the Army Reserve are undermanned and underequipped. The 6 Armored and 21 Infantry divisions of the National Guard are somewhat better off, but still far short of the desired goal. Hundreds of units of both the Guard and the Army Reserve train in inadequate, poorly heated, and poorly lit armories. Both organizations are plagued by an excessive rate of personnel turnover.

The chaos into which the Middle East was plunged by the withdrawal of the British garrison from Suez demonstrates the continuing need for large bodies of troops as an indispensable adjunct to our mighty air and sea power. However, even large bodies of Regulars, at or near critical ground, have little meaning unless they are backed by powerful Reserves ready to move to their support.

Since economics prohibit maintenance of the needed Reserves as part of the Regular Army, we can conclude that there is a vital need for a large Ready Reserve Force in civilian status.

The question that confronts us, then, is to what degree such a citizen force can be made truly "ready."

The National Guard and some units of the Army Reserve already possess a limited combat capability. The performance of National Guard troops during recent months in the face of mob violence and prison riots bespoke a high degree of discipline and unit cohesion.

By July 1, 1956, National Guard batteries had taken over 79 antiaircraft artillery sites, operating them as an integral part of the Continental Air Defense system.

Lt. Gen. Stanley R. Mickleson, chief of the Army Antiaircraft Command, has announced that in the future the National Guard will man half of the Nation's Nike guided-missile sites—a vital factor in our air defense.

Army Reserve units have participated frequently with National Guard and Regular Army troops in disaster relief, performing many of the supply, command, and staff functions that would be required of them in war. Numerous technical units of the Army Reserve could assume their full wartime role within a matter of a few days or weeks.

The training status of the crucial 37 Guard and Reserve divisions is such, however, as to require upward of 6 months' active-duty training for the Guard divisions and upward of 10 months' training for the Reserve divisions before they could be committed to battle.

The time lag between mobilization of our Reserve divisions and achievement of a combat-ready status must be reduced to a maximum of 3 to 5 months if they are to meet the requirements of total atomic war.

Total strength of the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve participating in paid, regular drills is approximately 686,000 officers and men. Of these, 436,000 are in the National Guard and 250,000 in the Army Reserve. Strength of the 27 National Guard divisions averages 8,000 to 10,000 each. The remainder are spread among 28 separate armored cavalry and infantry regiments and a large number of antiaircraft, tank, artillery, medical, and logistical units.

The 10 Reserve divisions average about 4,000 each. An additional 14 Reserve organizations carry divisional designations but are, in reality, training, logistical, and administrative commands.

Both the Guard and the "ready" portion of the Army Reserve participate in 48 two-hour armory drills and one 15-day summer encampment each year. Staff and command personnel receive additional training in the form of weekend schools and command-post exercises. Officers and enlisted men of both components are eligible for training on active-duty status at Army service schools up to and including the Army War College.

The Army National Guard differs from the Army Reserve in that, although organized, trained, and inspected according to Federal regulations, it owes its primary allegiance to the governors of the respective States and Territories rather than to the President of the United States.

This is so only as long as the Guard remains in State status. In time of emergency, the President has the power to call the National Guard into Federal service. The President then becomes the Guard's commander in chief.

The purpose behind this seemingly clumsy system lies in the second amendment to the Constitution—"A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

The organization of the National Guard along State lines is aimed at keeping absolute military power out of the hands of the central Government, except when a serious threat arises to the national security, and of decentralizing that power the moment the emergency has passed.

Any plan to streamline the Reserve system must safeguard this cardinal principle. To do otherwise is to tamper with the foundations of our democratic government.

The National Guard traces its history back to the colonial militia, the first permanent unit of which was organized in 1636. That history has been a story of heroism, great achievement, and bitter failure, brought on by the failure of the Colonies, and later of the Nation, to train, equip, feed, and pay the citizen soldiers adequately, if at all.

Happily, the status of training in the National Guard has advanced far beyond the ragged militia of even 20 years ago. Training in the guard today is administered through the National Guard Bureau in Washington, working closely with the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Air Force.

Guard officers, although still appointed by the State in accordance with the Constitution, must meet the same Federal standards as any officer of the Federal services.

Equipment, training aids, pay, uniforms, and general logistic support are provided the

guard on a basis comparable to that of the Regular Army.

No small part of the toughness and resilience characteristic of the present-day National Guard is due to the fact that each and every advance in training, equipment, pay, and general administration has been gained on the initiative of the guard itself, all too often in the face of bitter opposition from those from whom the guard had a right to expect help.

The Army Reserve is a Federal, rather than a State organization. It takes its orders directly from the Chief of Staff of the Army rather than from the adjutant general of the State.

Historically, the Army Reserve was created to provide a system of retaining the skills of the officers and men who could not be absorbed into the State militia. As a result, it now carries on its rolls a vast number of men in various categories of training and availability. Over a million and a half of these men have no more contact with the military than that their records are maintained by the Military Establishment and that they are subject to recall in an emergency.

The Army Reserve has been at its best in the creation and training of highly specialized units such as hospital and military-government teams whose members' civilian occupations are identical with their military role. It has been far less successful in dealing with combat-type organizations.

There is some justice in the belief by the National Guard that the combat-type units of the Army Reserve have been established in order to create a Federal Reserve system that will eventually supplant the National Guard.

This belief has been reenforced by the establishment of Army Reserve units and armories in localities where there was barely sufficient manpower to support the local National Guard unit.

Within the past 2 years a gargantuan effort has been made to increase enlisted strength under provisions of the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1955.

One of the sharpest contrasts between the drawing power of the Army Reserve combat formations and those of the National Guard grew out of the Korean emergency.

National Guard divisions called to active duty in 1950 and 1951 with between 8,000 and 10,000 men each were returned to State control with but a fraction of that strength, due to expiration of enlistments while in Federal service.

None of the Army Reserve divisions was called to active duty during the Korean emergency. Their strength continued to average in the vicinity of 2,000 officers and men during the absence of the Guard divisions.

In the 3 years since the end of the Korean emergency and the return of the Guard divisions to State control, Army Reserve divisional strength has been raised to about 4,000 officers and men each. The Guard divisions, starting from scratch, already have regained their former strength of 8,000 to 10,000 and are pushing beyond.

The cost of recruiting enlisted personnel for the Reserve divisions, as compared with recruiting for the Guard, has been excessive. Because of this there is reason to believe that, had comparable Federal support been available to the Guard, far greater results would have been achieved for each dollar spent.

Much of the reason for the lag in Army Reserve division strength lies in the arbitrary control exercised throughout the Federal military Reserve system. In the great majority of cases, the capriciousness of this control has been quite unconscious. But its effects have been no less disastrous.

Changes in unit designations and total reorganization of other units have been made seemingly at whim. In time of emergency, key individuals have been called from a unit and the unit itself left to fare as best it could. Other units were called to active service and the commanding officers, who had organized and trained them, were left at home, branded as incompetents in the eyes of their fellow citizens.

Much of the difficulty can be traced to 2 factors: (1) Remoteness of policymaking headquarters from the units involved and (2) Assignment of individuals to those headquarters on a routine basis, with no special consideration given to the complexity of the Reserve problem.

The National Guard has been faced with the same problems as the Army Reserve. The Guard, however, has made every effort to prevent unnecessary changes in unit designation and in branch of service. It has, in addition, fought tooth and nail against the breakup of units either before or after recall to active duty.

Guardsmen have been no less resentful than Reservists at the breakup of their units after recall to active duty. But is was the knowledge that the Guard itself had done everything possible to prevent the breakup and had reconstituted the unit as soon as it was returned to State control that retained for the Guard the loyalty of its old troopers and won for it the allegiance of the recruit.

The great majority of National Guard officers at State level and at the National Guard Bureau are dedicated men who have made a career of Reserve affairs. Most of them have served in every rank from private to field-grade officer and above. They understand the problems of that kingpin of the entire structure—the company commander. They are capable of discerning the fine line between what is possible with a unit of the Regular Army and what is possible with a unit composed of part-time citizen soldiers.

The success of these men in protecting National Guard units from being turned upside down with each change in command at some distant headquarters and the resultant close identification of the individual with his unit are the bedrock of the National Guard's strength.

The first step in improving the combat capability of our Army reserve components must be the elimination of the competition that now exists between the National Guard and the Army Reserve.

Whatever value there may be in this competition, it is outweighed by the duplication of effort and expense involved in the building and maintenance of two sets of armories and the unseemly squabble over recruits and public support between two groups wearing the same uniform.

The National Guard has demonstrated its ability to organize, train, and administer major combat formations. Given a reasonable length of time between wars, it has recruited those organizations to the very limit of the funds and facilities available.

These accomplishments, contrasted with the shortcomings of the Army Reserve, as regards large, combat-type units, would seem to make it reasonable that responsibility for such units be turned over to the Guard, in toto.

The Army Reserve, on the other hand, has demonstrated a capacity for organizing and training the myriad highly specialized technical and administrative units required in modern war.

Army Reserve schools for groups of officers not assigned to a unit but anxious to maintain their military proficiency have made a valuable contribution in keeping fresh vitally needed skills. In addition, the Army Reserve performs an important function in training, by means of correspondence courses, those individuals who find it impossible, due to geographic location or business interests, to participate in regular drills or meetings.

This is the area in which the Army Reserve can make its greatest contribution and to which its activities should be confined.

Transfer of the major Army Reserve combat units to the National Guard would involve a temporary disruption of training and administration. With a major reorganization of the Army impending, however, such disruption is inevitable. The reduction in size of the infantry division and the shifts which will accompany that reduction provide an ideal opportunity for integrating the Reserve divisions into the National Guard.

No plan for solution of the military reserve problem, no matter how brilliantly conceived, can succeed until the useless rivalry between the National Guard and the Army Reserve is ended. The means are at hand for ending that rivalry without harm either to the individuals or to the basic constitutional values involved.

Whether or not the present cleavage in Reserve ranks is healed, four major requirements must be met before our land-power reserve can approach an acceptable level of combat readiness: (1) Stabilization of personnel turnover; (2) provision of active-duty basic training for all recruits without drying up sources of recruits in the process; (3) improvement of individual physical conditioning; (4) improvement and expansion of armories and related installations.

The 6-month active-duty requirement now in effect for all Army Reserve-component recruits, except those with prior service, appears unrealistic. The program has proved so expensive that it threatens to collapse completely in February 1958 unless large new appropriations are made available.

Desirable as 6 months, or even a year of training would be, a shortened period of training of 11 or 12 weeks would seem to be the only one that can be supported on a long-range basis.

For over a generation the United States has sought a way around the need for an effective and equitable system of compulsory military service. Compromise after compromise has been made. In the end, we have done the very thing we sought most to avoid by placing the principal burden for the Nation's defense upon the small group willing to assume it.

The time has come when we must face reality. If we are to depend on our Reserve components, and circumstances dictate that we must, then we must provide them with a stable source of trained recruits.

The third major obstacle to a truly combat-ready Reserve is the low level of physical fitness among our civilians.

President Eisenhower has joined leaders in the fields of medicine, education, sports, and the military in expressing alarm over signs of physical deterioration among American youth. That deterioration has been brought about by the same force that constitutes America's greatest military strength—superior mechanization and technology.

There is little or no time available during the weekly drill, or even during summer field training, for formal physical training. If National Guardsmen and Reservists are to be physically capable of bearing the burden of war without extensive active-duty training, then some basic reforms must be made in American life.

It is up to the home and the school to equip each individual with the habit of regular physical training, based on sound diet, adequate rest, and the sane use of liquor and tobacco.

Expansion of the present armory system and the replacement of old, inefficient structures remain of prime importance to the entire Reserve establishment. All the effort spent in recruiting, equipping, and paying a man is lost if, when it comes time for him to receive his training, he can neither see the instructor because of dim lighting nor concentrate on the subject matter for trying to keep warm.

Sufficient funds have been appropriated during recent years to allow a considerable progress in improving the armory system.

Year after year, however, power to obligate these funds has been withheld, apparently for reasons of economy.

Considering loss to the taxpayer in wasted training hours and damage to the national defense in the retarded training status of hundreds of reserve component units, this is indeed a penny-wise and dollar-foolish economy.

The solution to all these problems involves a consolidation and an expansion of the Reserve program. Adoption of the recommendations would reduce, it is believed, the time necessary to train and equip a National Guard division from over 6 months to between 3 and 5.

Whether readiness time could be reduced below that figure is doubtful in view of the fact that there are definite limitations on the amount of time citizen soldiers can be expected to give to military training.

The average National Guard officer already devotes a minimum of 2 nights a week to his unit. The company commander may spend an hour or more each day, in addition to his regular drill night and administrative night, at the armory. For every hour spent giving instruction, the enlisted instructor must spend 2 to 4 hours in preparation, assuming he is already familiar with his subject.

The saturation point in Reserve training appears to be the addition of three weekend outdoor training periods to the regular weekly drill, summer encampment, and weekend CPX routine. Beyond that, all efforts must be directed toward improving the quality rather than the quantity of training.

Reserve affairs are, perhaps, even more complex than those of the Regular Military Establishment, for they involve the handling and training of men whose primary concern must remain that of providing a home and a livelihood for themselves and their families. The benefits to be obtained, however, are enormous. The savings to be realized by maintaining a single Infantry division in National Guard rather than Regular status are measured in millions of dollars each year.

A truly ready land-power reserve can be built. It will be built only when we as a Nation cease deluding ourselves that we can build an effective military reserve without interrupting the soft-drink, hot-rod, and magnolia years of our youths. The greatest beneficiaries of that interruption will be the youths themselves.

Relationship Between Federal Government, States, and Municipalities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, this morning our Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee began a series of public hearings on intergovernmental relationships between the Federal Government and the States and municipalities.

Our first witness was Meyer Kestnbaum, Special Assistant to the President and former Chairman of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, popularly known as the Kestnbaum Commission.

This Commission was established by Congress in 1953 at the request of the President to study and clearly define the proper role of the National Government in relation to the States and their political subdivisions. The intensive study that ensued was, in the Commission's own words, "the first official undertaking of its kind since the Constitutional Convention in 1787."

Our subcommittee's activities in the field of intergovernmental relations have been planned with two objectives in mind: First, to carry out its general responsibility for studying Federal-State-local relationships, with particular emphasis on grant-in-aid programs; and, second, to evaluate the recommendations of the Kestnbaum Commission and to ascertain what action is being and should be taken concerning them.

Our subcommittee's study is very timely in view of the President's address on Federal-State relations last month at the Governors' Conference in Williamsburg, Va. The President asked the governors to join with the administration in creating a task force "to designate functions which the States are ready and willing to assume and finance that are now performed or financed wholly or in part by the Federal Government."

As a happy coincidence this morning, I received in the mail Senate Joint Resolution 23, offered by Senators Woodruff and O'Neill and passed by the Illinois 70th General Assembly. The resolution points up the need for reviewing and reassessing this whole structure of Federal-State-local relationships, particularly with reference to so-called grants-in-aid.

Our local and State governments are caught in the price-cost squeeze, and are looking for ways to meet their increasing obligations and responsibilities in rapidly expanding communities. For example, in our hearing this morning we were reminded that in 1932 local governments collected 53 percent of all taxes collected, and today, local governments collect only 13 percent of the total—another indication of the trend toward big centralized government. It seems to me that we ought to be thinking seriously of relinquishing to the State and local governments some of the Federal Government's tax-taking authority. I firmly believe that the closer we keep government to the people, the easier it is for the people to see and understand how and where their tax dollars are being spent.

The subcommittee is now planning a number of regional hearings throughout the country during the new few months in order to give more intensive consideration to the views of State, city, and county officials on important problems of intergovernmental relationships.

I hope to be present at all of these hearings and devote a good part of my time as a Member of Congress toward getting this whole problem back in proper balance and perspective.

STATE OF ILLINOIS—70TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—SENATE

Senate Joint Resolution 23

Whereas the ever-increasing expenditures of the Federal and State Governments with consequent increasing tax burdens is a cause for grave concern to the people of this State and Nation; and

Whereas much of the financial burden of the taxpayer is the result of Federal grant-in-aid programs through which a State, by furnishing a sum of money to the Federal Government, receives an equal or larger sum from the Federal Government to finance and conduct certain programs; and

Whereas at first glance such an undertaking seems to be a highly desirable venture since it appears that the State is actually receiving something for nothing; and

Whereas this idea of getting something for nothing is as deceiving as the pea used in the old shell game, because the money which the State receives from the Federal Government is actually the money which the taxpayers have already paid into the Federal treasury in the form of taxes; and

Whereas in transferring the taxpayers' money from one pocket to another, which occurs when a State accepts a Federal grant in aid, an appreciable amount of the money is lost due to the expense of bureaucratic administration and overhead in effecting the transfer, with the result that the taxpayer, instead of reaping a benefit from the Federal grant, is actually receiving less than he has already paid into the Federal Treasury; and

Whereas in further deflating the "something for nothing" bubble, the taxpayer finds that in addition to the initial loss sustained in accepting the grant in aid, he must further pay the excessive cost of the program due to unnecessary Federal requirements and redtape; and

Whereas the State and local governments which participate in grant-in-aid programs are becoming more and more subject to Federal encroachment on their individual sovereignty due to the Federal controls, restrictions and regulations incident to such participation, and the Federal Government is interfering to an unwarranted and undesirable extent in purely State and local matters and is also compelling the States to expend their revenue unwisely and uneconomically; and

Whereas the time has come for the States to seriously review the Federal grant-in-aid programs to determine whether such programs are more harmful than beneficial, and in line with this policy, it is the sentiment of this general assembly that the State and local governments can more efficiently and economically expend the taxpayers' funds than can the Federal Government through the grant-in-aid programs: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois (the House of Representatives concurring herein), That this general assembly respectfully request the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to: (a) seriously review and reassess all present grant-in-aid programs for the purpose of reducing the costs of such programs and the Federal controls incident to such programs, (b) refrain from enacting new grant-in-aid programs in the future unless such programs are an actual necessity and the desired results cannot be obtained through State and locally financed and controlled programs, and (c) to reduce Federal control over all present and future programs for the purpose of permitting State and local governments to exercise their sovereignty and minimizing Federal encroachment on States rights; and be it further

Resolved, That a suitable copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to each Member from Illinois in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

Adopted by the senate May 1, 1957.

JOHN WM. CHAPMAN,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD E. FERNANDES,
Secretary of the Senate.

Concurred in by the house of representatives June 28, 1957.

WARREN L. WOOD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
FRED W. RUEGG,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

School Aid Killed—Now Bury It Permanently

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to include an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner on Friday, July 26, 1957. This fine editorial expresses the feeling of a great many people in the State of Tennessee, and I think it will be of interest to the Members of Congress.

The editorial follows:

SCHOOL AID KILLED—NOW BURY IT PERMANENTLY

Having been killed twice in 2 consecutive years—and every time previously lofted—the proposal for Federal aid to education now is deader than the dodo, and should be buried beyond all possibility of disinterment.

The House action yesterday of final rejection was a double-barreled rebuff, impossible of misinterpretation. The integration rider, contrived to penalize the segregating districts, was briefly countenanced for the express purpose of killing the measure as a whole; and in the showdown Congress again has demonstrated majority American sentiment against school subsidy, per se.

Representative J. CARLTON LOSER expressed the middle Tennessee view voting "no" on both points. The whole Tennessee Democratic delegation shared that view—representative of their State, and voted it.

That it was an administration bill, sincerely regarded by President Eisenhower as an emergency device temporary in nature to help meet construction needs, did not alter the fact that it embodied a dangerous precedent. The alacrity with which devious pressure groups leaped to its support, from the integration addicts to the federalizing lobbyists, attested to its hazards as an entering wedge.

Had the question of financing alone figured in the case, these elements would not have opposed the substitute proposal by Representative ERRETT P. SCRIVNER of Kansas, to simply let the Federal Government rebate to each State 1 percent of all income taxes paid into the Federal coffers, with the money earmarked for school uses.

What Uncle Sam subsidizes, Uncle Sam eventually controls, and the public schools belong in all particulars under local and State regulation. There is no temporary emergency that can justify even a temporary departure from that rule.

Right now the Federal-State task-force study is getting underway—at the President's instance—to reassess the responsibility lines and tax lines between these two units of Government. The purpose of that is to redefine and differentiate between the functions properly of each.

The States are represented in that study by a committee of nine governors, and the Federal Government by a commission assigned by the President. It is a joint task, seriously and purposefully undertaken, as Mr. Eisenhower put it, to end the encroachments that have seen more and more power swinging away from the States and to centralized authority.

The best way to begin that stipulation of State authority—and responsibility, and tax resources to finance as needed—is by starting with the public-school system. The governors, surely, are aware of that.

The States can finance their own schools. They can and must retain control over them, where that control belongs, and where it historically has been.

It is not a job for Uncle Sam or any of his Federal appurtenances. It is a responsibility for State and local handling, and with State and local money, a sufficiency of which will be available if by adjustment of tax-resource lines requisite funds also are left where they belong—for State and local use.

The House this time has distinguished itself, and the constituency rightly concerned is entitled to the hope that this F. A. T. E. dodo now remains extinct.

The Congressional Quest for Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Marion Edwyn Harrison, a member of the Virginia bar and a former congressional staff assistant and committee investigator, has written an interesting article on congressional work which appeared in the July 1957 issue of the Federal Bar News.

Mr. Harrison, now on active military duty in the office of the Judge Advocate General at the Pentagon, has shown a real understanding of the problems facing the members of Congress in our constant efforts to obtain information on governmental affairs for our constituents. I congratulate this able young man on his constructive article. The Judge Advocate General's office is indeed fortunate to have the services of his able, legal mind and such understanding knowledge of congressional affairs.

The article follows:

THE CONGRESSIONAL QUEST FOR INFORMATION

(Marion Edwyn Harrison)

Every Federal employee in a position of responsibility (lawyers included) must regularly answer queries from Members of Congress about a myriad of subjects. Often these queries take the form of letters from constituents routinely forwarded by Senators and Representatives who want facts upon which to base replies. In the ceaseless flow of cases involving comparatively personal matters (as distinguished from legislative policy), what kind of replies from the Federal agencies do Congressmen want?

THE WHOLE STORY SHOULD BE RELATED

Mere white truth is simple nakedness. And black truth, too. The need for a candid and complete reply cannot be overemphasized. Rarely does the Congressman or any member of his staff know any more of the story than what his constituent recounts. In referring a constituent's request or complaint to a governmental agency, the Congressman seeks not only some facts upon which to predicate a reply—he also very often seeks the other side of the story. Usually, the Congressman desires the facts fairly presented. Then, if the facts indicate action is warranted, he wants the action taken. Frequently a constituent puts his Representative out on a limb. The Representative then passes the buck to an executive agency, not with any malicious intent, but because the agency alone is capable of contriving an answer. Sometimes one gets a letter from a veritable crackpot. In those instances remember one thing, if the Congressman could have avoided making a substantive reply, he would not have referred the letter to an agency. The crackpot may influence 100 votes back home.

THE FORM OF A LETTER IS IMPORTANT

A Congressman would generally prefer to have an agency reply signed by someone occupying a responsible position with an impressive title. The signature assures him, or his staff, that although the facts may have been run down by a GS–5, somebody in authority has reviewed and vouched for them. The impressive title means a great deal to the inquiring constituent, to whom the agency's letter is often sent as an enclosure to the Congressman's response. Because agency letters frequently are mailed to constituents, they ought to be simply written. The style of bureaucratic language so often used when one Federal official writes another is taboo. It is not readily understood outside the Government. Perhaps more important, stylized language frequently appears to Congressmen to be evasive, expressionless, and even arbitrary. Members of Congress don't get reelected because they appeal only to the small, literate percentage of their constituents.

SPEED IS ESSENTIAL

Finally, speed. Congressmen are normal people. So are their constituents. Yet each constituent tends to think his problem is the only one with which his Representative need be concerned. Hence, virtually every congressional office acknowledges its mail within 48 hours of receipt. And most offices prefer to have a substantive reply dispatched within a few weeks; any longer means the constituent has again taken pen in hand (or worse, has telephoned). If a speedy reply is impossible, the Federal agency should inform the Congressman in some detail as to why a month or two will be required to answer. Then the Congressman can calm his anxious constituent.

PERSONAL SERVICES ELECT CONGRESSMAN

Perhaps it is unfortunate, but it is true; a great number of Senators and Representatives are reelected or defeated because of the services they have performed for their constituents. Legislative policy often takes a back seat. Hence, if a Federal agency is to get along with Congress, it must cooperate in the seemingly trivial ingredients that comprise a Congressman's bread and butter. Anyhow, it's easier to write a simple, factual letter than a verbose, stylized one.

Tribute to Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD as part of my remarks an editorial which appeared in the Oakland, Calif., Tribune for July 6, 1957, relative to the establishment of the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Mo.:

TRIBUTE TO TRUMAN

There is no reason to doubt that the most beaming countenance in the country today is that displayed by former President Truman before a big audience in his own home of Independence, Mo.

Today, with the help of former President Herbert Hoover and Chief Justice Earl Warren, Mr. Truman is dedicating the $1,750,000 museum where his state papers and mementoes will be preserved for history.

Mr. Truman has full right to be proud of himself today. The museum stands as a testimonial to the esteem in which he is held, for himself, by both political friend and foe, and in the minds of the thousands across the country whose contributions, big and small, made the museum possible.

It will be long before all the contents of the museum can be examined and assayed. It cannot be said now whether they will have any new influence in any discussions of the controversial issues that stemmed from Mr. Truman's occupancy of the White House.

Some of history's greatest pages were written by the events of that tenure, most of them devoted to the horror—and sometimes the glory—of a terrible conflict. Regardless of the views one has of Mr. Truman as a President, it should go without saying that his bequest to the generation of today and to those of the future is a major contribution to the knowledge of our Nation.

Communist Words Change—But the Deeds Remain the Same

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of July 29, 1957—1 of 4 which demonstrate unanswerably that we have no one to blame but ourselves and our wishful thinking, for our ups and downs of hope and despair. The Kremlin's record—as contrasted with its words—is completely consistent and unchanging in its pursuit of world domination:

TIME FOR AN OLD LOOK AT BOLSHEVISM—III

In the spring of 1953, just after Stalin's death, President Eisenhower held out an olive branch to the new Soviet leaders—inviting them to help turn the tide of history away from world war III and toward a rebirth of trust among nations—and real peace.

He challenged the new men in the Kremlin to prove the sincerity of their gestures with three questions. It seems to us it is time to recall those questions—and take stock of the Kremlin's answers.

Welcoming every honest act of peace, but rejecting mere rhetoric, the President suggested these tests of Stalin's heirs:

"Is the new leadership of the Soviet Union prepared to use its decisive influence in the Communist world—including control of the flow of arms—to bring not merely an expedient truce in Korea but genuine peace in Asia?"

(The answer 4 years later: That new leadership has not done so. Witness the broken Korean Armistice, the Soviet-supported war in Indochina, continuing threats to Formosa by a Soviet-armed Red China, subversion in Egypt and Syria, and unlimited mischief making in south Asia and the Middle East.)

"Is the new leadership prepared to allow other nations, including those of Eastern Europe, the free choice of their own forms of government and the right to associate freely with other nations in a world-wide community of law?"

(The answer: It has not. Need more than the Soviet rape of Hungary be mentioned?)

"Is the new leadership prepared to act in concert with others upon serious disarmament proposals to be made firmly effective by stringent U. N. control and inspection?"

(The answer: It has not. It toys with the West at London as a cat with a mouse. Premier Bulganin, after 4 months of talks, accuses the Western powers of bad faith—even after concessions which could jeopardize the West's security. There is lots of rhetoric but no sign of honesty from the Soviets which would prevent an arms agreement from being the same kind of fraud and farce as the Korean armistice.)

The President said more than 4 years ago that the "test of truth is simple"—the Soviet answer, by deeds not words, to those three questions. If the new Soviet leaders are not prepared to do those things, he said, there is no evidence they honestly seek peace.

We believe the test has been clear—the time allowed more than adequate.

The new Soviet leaders have flunked the test. Not only have they rejected the deeds President Eisenhower suggested; they have shown, as the answers above prove, that their pious words about peace are "mere rhetoric."

"Whatever the answer be, let it be plainly spoken," the President said. "The hunger for peace is too great, the hour in history too late, for any government to mock men's hopes with mere words and promises and gestures."

For 4 years, the Soviet have continued to mock men's hopes. The answer has been "plainly spoken." Are we going to wait another 4 years to recognize this mockery?

Crucial Defeat for School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a clear, concise, and thoughtful editorial that appeared in the July 27 edition of the Christian Science Monitor, entitled "Crucial Defeat for School Aid":

Last year partisan conflict killed school aid. This year responsibility rests chiefly on Republicans who refused to support the President and to fulfill their platform pledge.

Many political and economic cross-currents entered into the result. But at the time the House of Representatives killed the bill it had before it an amendment which would have accepted the excellent Eisenhower formula. And the motion to kill—offered as an alternative—was opposed by 57 percent of the Democrats, supported by 59 percent of the Republicans.

The issue was more clearly drawn than at any previous time. For by various steps many of the objections to earlier school-aid proposals had been removed. The House had emphatically declared its intention to leave local control of education unimpaired. The measure was limited in time and amount. It was confined to the sole purpose of building new classrooms. And finally the Democratic managers had accepted the President's plan for distributing funds according to actual need and the size of State efforts to meet the need.

The bill was still burdened with an anti-segragation amendment attached by a Republican who opposed the bill itself. This amendment naturally intensified the opposition of southern Democrats and made it simpler to justify at home their opposition to a measure which would have helped build schools. The provision to deny aid to segregated schools would not have beaten the bill had all who favored it voted also for the basic measure to which they attached it.

This newspaper believes that schools are traditionally and rightly at local responsibility. It holds that Federal aid should be a last and strictly limited resort. It has frequently pointed out that many of the States do not need Federal help. Giving them school aid simply means Washington takes more tax money and sends a portion back as a deceptive and expensive political sop. This was the type of aid offered both last year and this year by the majority leaders in Congress.

But for 5 years there has been accumulating evidence that a few States are not meeting their school needs. And several are devoting to schools a far larger share of their resources than do the richer States. These circumstances have convinced us that a carefully limited Federal aid measure was justified. The President proposed precisely this type of bill. The Democrats in Congress pushed their own measure, simply allotting funds to all States according to their pupil population. A short time ago a compromise was arranged by which both formulas would have been used—on a 50–50 basis.

Then on the final day the Democratic House leaders accepted the Eisenhower plan completely. Even then a combination of Republicans and Southern Democrats killed it. We believe that some were influenced by economy pressures. There is reason to believe that the President's plan could be carried out for half the $1.5 billion proposed. It seems to us that the best chance now would be for advocates to limit the amount as well as the purpose to deal only with the clearest needs.

A Vital Economy Measure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the leading newspapers of the Fourth District of New Jersey, which I have the honor of representing, have called for the passage of H. R. 8002, a bill which has the support of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association and the Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report.

I include here for the information of my colleagues an editorial from the Trentonian of July 24, 1957, and an editorial from the Trenton Evening Times of July 23, 1957:

[From the Trenton (N. J. Trentonian of July 24, 1957]

A VITAL MESSAGE

Repeated cries that Congress implement more of the sound recommendations laid down by the Hoover Commission have fallen on unheeding ears, but now the House of Representatives has before it the opportunity to pass a bill described as "one of the most vital and far-reaching economy measures"

resulting from the Hoover Commission's work.

The bill is H. R. 8002, and it would restore to Congress some control over the public purse by placing Federal spending on a strictly annual basis.

Francis J. Pinque, president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, has joined with Clarence Francis, national chairman of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, in asking all-out support of H. R. 8002. Mr. Pinque explains the measure thusly:

"Among other fiscal reforms H. R. 8002 would renew annual control by Congress over the so-called carryover appropriations. These are now estimated to total nearly $70 billion—nearly equal the entire budget Congress is enacting for the current fiscal year. They form a roadblock in the current congressional effort to economize.

"Illustrative of the situation which H. R. 8002 would prevent is the example furnished by approximately $12½ billion which Congress in the fiscal year 1953 appropriated for guns, tanks and other military equipment in Korea. Although the fighting ended only about a month after the close of that fiscal year, the appropriations carried over and in May 1957 the Army was still spending from the $12½ billion fund without any further congressional review.

"Such a bill in force now also would give the congressional economy drive more meaning. The stake of New Jersey taxpayers in the Congressional effort to achieve economy and efficiency in Government is tremendous. While every dollar of appropriation reduction does not, of course, translate fully into reduced spending or tax relief, due to the complexities of the tremendous Federal fiscal program, the substantial interest of the New Jersey taxpayer in more efficient, more economical Government is obvious.

"Since New Jersey taxpayers contribute approximately 4 percent of all Federal revenue, it can be seen that every billion dollar reduction in Federal spending and consequent demand for revenue could shave as much as $40 million from future Federal revenue requirements in New Jersey."

A similar bill has passed the Senate without difficulty, but H. R. 8002 has not found clear sailing in the House. It should, however, be given the same strong nonpartisan support in the House that it has received elsewhere.

[From the Trenton (N. J.) Evening Times of July 23, 1957]

AN ECONOMY MEASURE

The president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Francis J. Pinque, has joined with Clarence Francis, national chairman of the Committee for the Hoover Report, in appealing for favorable action in the House on H. R. 8002, a bill designed to modernize Federal Government budgeting.

It is unfortunate that this measure will not arouse the degree of public interest and support justified by its merits. Its importance is recognized by leading fiscal authorities, including Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and United States Senator HARRY F. BYRD.

One of the effects of this measure would be the tightening of congressional control over Federal finances by placing the budget on an annual accrued expenditure basis. So-called carry-over appropriations, according to Mr. Pinque, are now estimated at nearly $70 billion—nearly as much as the entire budget for the current fiscal year.

"Since New Jersey taxpayers contribute approximately 4 percent of all Federal revenue," Mr. Pinque continued, "it can be seen that every billion dollar reduction in Federal spending and consequent demand for revenue could shave as much as $40 million from future Federal revenue requirements in New Jersey."

New Jersey residents have a stake in the adoption of H. R. 8002. It can mean less taxes at a time when every dollar of taxes involves a little pain.

Look for Motive Behind Protests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on July 26, 1957.

The location of the new Veterans Hospital to be built in Nashville, Tenn., has been of considerable controversy for some months, and it is hoped that the Veterans' Administration hospital survey team which will come to Nashville soon to study the feasibility of locating this new facility near the Vanderbilt University Medical School will arrive at a decision that will be to the best interest in every way to the veterans of middle Tennessee.

The editorial follows:

LOOK FOR MOTIVE BEHIND PROTESTS

Now that a Veterans' Administration hospital survey team is coming to Nashville to study the feasibility of locating the new $12 million hospital nearer the Vanderbilt University medical school, Davidson countians can expect to hear howls of protest from some quarters and should be on their guard.

Leading the protests the last time the hospital was proposed in Nashville's Medical Center, where it belongs, were certain veterans' organizations. Some of the members of these organizations were sincere in their objections. Some others were just sucked into parroting a line from the professional veteran-politicians at national headquarters, who are not so much interested in dictating where a hospital in Nashville should be located as they are in dictating how every VA hospital in the Nation shall be run.

An organized, centrally steered campaign against the Vanderbilt site was obvious in the almost identical language contained in resolutions adopted by veterans' organizations all over this county before.

At least some new arguments will be advanced this time. The rug has been jerked from that phony economy argument since the Government will actually save money by purchasing the Howell Campbell estate and selling—at almost double the price—the present Thayer hospital site.

The inadequate parking argument was a phony from the beginning. Plans for adequate parking were provided at the original Vanderbilt site, which would admittedly have cost about $1 million.

And certainly it cannot be argued that the Woodlawn Drive-Hillsboro Road area is congested, nor that the air is less fresh there than it is on White Bridge Road, nor that it is more vulnerable to enemy attack. The Ford plant, nearer White Bridge Road, makes a more inviting military target than that string of churches on Hillsboro Road.

Those who professed such mortal fear of atomic attack and/or catastrophe that they would torpedo these plans, too, would do well to go to Louisville and warn the poor, unsuspecting people there.

In three square blocks of Louisville, known as the medical center, are located: The University of Louisville Medical School, the University Dental School, Jewish Hospital, General Hospital, Children's Hospital, and the Kentucky Crippled Children Society.

Now, it is announced, the Methodist-Evangelical Board has been foolhardy enough to begin work on a new $4 million hospital in this same 3-square-block area. What Louisville plainly needs is some good old professional veteran politicians who know more about where to locate a hospital—and how to run it—than almost nobody.

Postal Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit an excellent article showing the present position of the postal pay raise:

SOUTHERN FEUD HELPS STALL POSTAL PAY RAISE

(By Jack Steele)

WASHINGTON, July 25.—Two Southern Democrats, who seldom see eye to eye on anything, together have dashed Congressional hopes of increasing both postal rates and the pay of potsal workers this year.

These legislators, who are doing a thorough job of cancelling each other out, are:

Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Representative TOM MURRAY, of Tennessee, chairman of the same committee in the House.

Their monumental differences over the postal rate and pay bills have created a legislative snarl as complicated as the gordian knot.

And even congressional leaders can't figure out any way to untie or cut it.

THEIR BACKGROUNDS

Mr. MURRAY, a roly-poly man with a white thatch of hair and a booming voice, worked for years as a lawyer for the Post Office before his election to Congress.

He strongly favors a boost in postal rates to help pull the Post Office out of the red, but is bitterly opposed to any across-the-board pay increase for Government workers this year.

Senator JOHNSTON, a great hulk of a man who seldom raises his voice but always carries a big stick, has made his reputation in Congress as the Government worker's best friend."

He favors a big increase in pay for postal and all other Government workers, but is violently against any increase in postal rates.

Mr. MURRAY'S position coincides with that of the Eisenhower administration.

The President has urged Congress in vain for 5 years to increase postal rates. But he is prepared to veto any general pay boost for Government employees this year.

Mr. MURRAY'S committee approved the administration's postal rate bill more than 2 months ago.

But he has refused to ask the Rules Committee to send it to the House floor, where its passage is considered certain.

His stand is based on the fear Mr. JOHNSTON either will block Senate action on the

rate bill or tie it to a pay bill in an effort to force the President to sign both measures.

"The rate bill won't go to the House floor until JOHNSTON's committee reports a rate bill to the Senate," Mr. MURRAY said flatly today.

Senator JOHNSTON, meanwhile, declared just as firmly that his committee won't act on the rate bill until it clears the House.

For 7 months Mr. JOHNSTON has refused to even hold hearings on the rate bill, although he said last year that such hearings would be called as soon as Congress convened.

The House passed on Monday—over Mr. MURRAY's objections—a bill to boost the pay of all postal workers $546 a year—an increase of about 12 percent.

It did so under the unusual expedient of having a majority of House Members sign a discharge petition to bypass MURRAY and the Rules Committee.

CHANGE OF FACE

Mr. JOHNSTON arranged yesterday to have this House-approved pay bill placed directly on the Senate calendar, even though his committee has reported a pay bill of its own.

(Along with other southerners he protested bitterly when this same procedure was followed with the civil-rights bill.)

Senator JOHNSTON hopes the Senate, as soon as it finishes up with the civil-rights battle, will pass this House pay bill and send it directly to the White House. This would prevent Mr. MURRAY from bottling it up in conference.

But Ike is sure to veto this pay bill—and to blast Congress for "fiscal irresponsibility" for voting to boost postal pay without increasing postal rates.

What happens after that is anybody's guess.

Invasion From the North

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, the Winchester Evening Star of Friday, July 26, carried a lead editorial commenting upon the Invasion From the North, conducted by such integrationist publications as the Washington Post, Time magazine, and others.

Courageous Virginians will not be intimidated by these people and we will stand up firmly for our rights as we have known them through the centuries. As the able editor of the Winchester Evening Star, State Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., said, Virginians are intelligent and independent and cherish their rights. They will not succumb to these specious doctrines.

Under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial, which is as follows:

INVASION FROM THE NORTH

Between now and election day on November 5, Virginia can expect a journalistic invasion from the North. In fact, it already has begun.

Within the past several days, the determinedly integrationist Washington Post, the antisouthern Time magazine, and Washington columnist, Doris Fleeson, all three have had a fling at Virginia. The line of each has been the same. Each has bitterly condemned Virginia's fight to maintain segregated public schools; each has praised the Republican nominee for Governor, Ted Dalton; each feels Mr. Dalton's election as Governor would be the first step toward the mixing of the races in the schools, a step which each of the three desires.

A continued effort by publications north of the Potomac to build up Mr. Dalton can be expected. The Washington Post particularly has adopted him as its darling and can be depended upon to use its powerful resources in Mr. Dalton's behalf. The coowner of the Washington Post, Mrs. Agnes Meyer, in a speech the other day, declared much of Virginia to be primitive. She, whose home is Mount Kisco, N. Y., has set out to modernize our State. She has chosen Mr. Dalton as her instrument.

The Post, which has a circulation of 430,000, nearly 4 times that of Virginia's largest paper, will be a powerful weapon in Mr. Dalton's arsenal. The Post is out to smash what it calls the Byrd machine and is using both its news columns and its editorial columns in the endeavor.

We do not underestimate the power of the Post. But neither do we underestimate the intelligence and the independence of the Virginia people. They are not as sophisticated perhaps as Mrs. Meyer, a fact which may have led her to refer so sneeringly to Virginia's primitive counties. But the Virginia people are solid, conscientious, and clear thinking. They are not likely to be misled by either the sophistication of Mrs. Meyer or the power of her newspaper.

Corona Naval Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of a resolution by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, Calif., re the proposed closing of the great Corona Naval Hospital, Riverside County, Calif. The facts recited in this timely resolution being of themselves commanding figures and reasons, I wish to say that the honorable Secretary of the Navy, together with representatives of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the Department of Defense, recently met with the California delegation which asked that the Navy not proceed with its projected closing on August 1, but that it review its policy and reconsider same. I am pleased also to inform you that the President of the United States, subsequent to said California delegation meeting and request therein made, has directed that the hospital not be yet closed but that there be a review and reconsideration of the order heretofore made to close the same on August 1.

While the great 23d Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent in this my 11th year in this great legislative body, does not supply the majority of the patients in this necessary Corona Hospital, nevertheless, some of its daily patients do come therefrom. In all events, it seems to me, Mr. Speaker, as unwise that these thousands of potential patients of Corona Hospital should be placed on such status that they would have to go to either an inadequate hospital ship in Los Angeles Harbor or to Camp Pendleton, 70 miles from Long Beach, or to San Diego, 100 miles from the area, or to Fort Ord, more than 300 miles away, instead of Corona Hospital, only 47 miles.

I have known of cases of deaths of babies and patients en route to Corona on account of the distance of Corona even. I shudder to think of the health tragedies which will normally result if these thousands of deserving and legally entitled patients have to travel two or more times the distance. I am advised that also some of the daily patients would be transferred to private hospitals and that is O. K., Mr. Speaker, up to a point, but the fact is that in the very area concerned the private hospitals are already overcrowded. The doctors are overworked and many times unavailable in cases of emergency.

What about transportation costs, Mr. Speaker? A very considerable number of these legally and morally entitled patients do not have transportation facilities and cannot afford the expense of hiring a commercial transportation service. So it normally results in eliminating many estimated hundreds legally and morally entitled military personnel from the services to which they were assured of when they enlisted or were inducted into service—they and their dependents. Granting that we must be economical and conserve our resources, this in my judgment does not mean that we must eliminate medical services to those legally and morally entitled thereto.

The resolution of the board of supervisors follows:

RESOLUTION REQUESTING BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO SERIOUSLY RECONSIDER ITS DECISION TO CLOSE SAID HOSPITAL

Whereas the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the Department of Defense has revealed plans to close the Corona Naval Hospital; and

Whereas this hospital of 725 available beds used an average of 605 beds daily, besides providing treatment of 146 persons daily on an outpatient basis; and

Whereas 84,016 military personnel on active or retired status and 112,603 military dependents entitled by law to military hospitalization rely directly on the Corona Naval Hospital for medical services; and

Whereas the nearest military medical facilities capable of ministering to the needs of this total of 196,619 persons in the Long Beach area, if Corona Naval Hospital is to close, are in Camp Pendleton, a distance of 70 miles from Long Beach, San Diego, 100 miles distant, or Fort Ord, more than 300 miles away, with these hospitals presently operating at or near capacity; and

Whereas Long Beach and Lakewood, with their population of 373,807 growing rapidly as 623 persons migrate daily to Los Angeles County, have only 1,227 hospital beds available to their residents, or less than half the minimum requirements; and

Whereas removal of Corona Naval Hospital would leave the military essentially without medical facilities there, and would increase the seriousness of the Long Beach-Lakewood hospital shortage to the point of creating an acute health emergency in that area; and

Whereas many personnel of the military have willingly chosen the defense of our Nation as their career, they and their dependents are not only deserving of the finest medical care available, but they are also promised this care when embarking upon their military occupation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, That the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the Department of Defense seriously reconsider its decision to close the Corona Naval Hospital, weighing the far-reaching effects of this act on both military personnel and civilians of the Long Beach area; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Senators THOMAS H. KUCHEL and WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Congressman CRAIG HOSMER, and all other congressional Members of the Los Angeles County delegation.

Hoover Commission Recommendations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Rules Committee has already cleared for House action in the very near future H. R. 8002, a bill which embodies Hoover Commission recommendations. This legislation authorizes the submission to Congress of requests of proposed appropriations on the basis of the amounts of annual accrued expenditures to the maximum extent deemed desirable and practical by the President. Such expenditures shall relate to goods and services to be received in a fiscal year, advance payments, progress payments, and such other payments as are authorized by law to be made in such fiscal year.

I was one of the several sponsors of this legislation in the House. Similar legislation sponsored by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, and Senator FREDERICK G. PAYNE, of Maine, has already passed the Senate. The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report has done yeoman service in explaining this legislation to our citizens at the grassroots level in America. Businessmen, fraternal organizations, and newspapers have endorsed this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed in the RECORD a sampling of these editorials for my colleagues to read. They are taken from the New Bedford, Mass., Standard Times of July 1, 1957, the Providence, R. I., Journal of June 21, 1957, and the Springfield, Mass., Union of June 15, 1957.

The editorials follow:

[From the Standard-Times of July 1, 1957]

FEDERAL BUDGET REFORM

The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, a nonpartisan group working for adoption of Hoover Commission recommendations, has cited 12 bills before Congress that deserve immediate attention and should be enacted before the 1957 session is adjourned.

The measures were selected from approximately 170 bills in the hoppers of the Senate and House that deal with Hoover Commission proposals. Since it is apparent that most of these bills will not get to the floor of either Chamber in the comparatively few weeks remaining in this session of Congress, a concerted effort is being made to get action on proposals that will have the most beneficial results.

Top priority is urged for a measure cosponsored by Senators KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, and PAYNE, Republican, of Maine, which would require the Federal budget to be submitted on an annual accrued expenditures basis. Enactment of this bill, already passed by the Senate and awaiting House action, would save the American taxpayers $4 billion a year, according to Hoover Commission estimates.

The measure provides that Congress would appropriate each year only funds required to operate the Government for a period of 1 year. This would eliminate the hoarding of unused appropriations by Federal agencies and give Congress tighter control over expenditures.

Need for the change in budgeting procedure is brought home forcefully in the estimate by Senator BYRD, Democrat of Virginia, that the various Departments of the Federal Government now have on hand approximately $70 billion in unexpended funds appropriated by Congress in previous years.

This means that if Congress appropriated an additional $71,800,000,000 for fiscal 1958, as requested by President Eisenhower, the Government actually would have in excess of $140 billion at its disposal during the next 12 months.

It is unsound business practice to run the Government on this basis. The system encourages extravagance by Federal agencies, some of which literally have more money than they know what to do with. It is not uncommon for Federal Departments to deliberately pad their budget requests in the hope of building a perpetual surplus.

This is an unhealthy and wasteful situation that can and should be corrected by enactment of the Kennedy-Payne bill.

Other measures on the priority list of the citizens committee would centralize procurement and supply activities of the armed services under a single agency, curtail unnecessary participation by the Federal Government in activities best handled by private enterprise, and centralize surplus property disposal in the General Services Administration.

These and various other bills designed to reduce waste and inefficiency in Government should be approved by Congress with all possible speed. The sooner the measures are enacted, the sooner the American taxpayers will reap the rewards of more efficient Government at reduced cost.

[From the Providence (R. I.) Journal of June 21, 1957]

THE HOOVER PROPOSALS DESERVE SPEEDY ATTENTION

A majority of the five recommendations of the Hoover Commission on which Mr. Eisenhower has urged Congress to act during the present session already have received Senate approval. The letters respecting these recommendations which the President has sent to Vice President NIXON and Speaker RAYBURN consequently are of special concern to the House.

The Senate has voted to extend the Reorganization Act for 2 more years. Inasmuch as the President suggests that the extension should be 4 years, the pending House bill that provides for this longer period will, if passed, presumably be accepted by the conference committee. Certainly the extension is necessary.

The most important of the five recommendations is that which would authorize appropriations on the basis of annual accrued expenditures. The tighter budgetary control which such authorization would provide is a fiscal reform long overdue. The Senate has sanctioned this change.

Likewise, the Senate has acted favorably on the Presidential recommendation which would authorize the training of Federal employees at either public or private institutions. This proposal is intended primarily to increase efficiency rather than to promote economy in Government. But in the long run, some economy should result.

The common judgment, not only in Congress but in responsible private quarters, that the postal savings system has outlived its usefulness should prompt both branches to adopt this Presidential recommendation without much debate. Apparently, the Commission was emphatic in its belief that the great expansion of private savings facilities during the past two decades, with security for depositors guaranteed by the Government, obviates any need for a Government-managed savings service.

Legislative action in regard to these five matters is now largely the responsibility of the House. It, rather than the Senate, has been dragging its feet on this important and desirable legislation. The enabling bills should be passed without delay.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of June 15, 1957]

BUDGETING PROCEDURES

The Senate this week reaffirmed the stand it took last year when it passed the Kennedy budgeting and accounting bill, which is designed to place the Government's budgeting and accounting procedures on an accrued expenditures basis. In plainer English, that means appropriating only enough money to cover what you expect to spend in the succeeding fiscal year.

The Bay State's Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, its sponsor, has called the legislation "one of the most fundamental reforms in governmental budget practices since enactment of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921," asserting that it would result in much more careful and effective control of expenditures by Congress. The proposal is based on one of the principal recommendations of the Hoover Commission and has the backing of, among others, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Budget, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and 48 other Senators, including its cosponsors, Senators BYRD of Virginia and PAYNE of Maine.

Under the bill, appropriations would be converted on the basis of annual expenditures and Congress would make them for each fiscal year on the estimates by the various agencies and departments of the expenditures they actually would make. Under the present system—that is, outside the forecasts for a single year only—there are carryovers of the unexpended balances of appropriations that run into billions of dollars annually. The chief flaw in the current system is that Congress has little or no control over the expenditure of these balances, for its responsibility ends, to all intents and purposes, with the job of appropriating. Hence, we have, the picture of a Government department presenting new heavy demands for its budgetary requirements in spite of a huge carryover of funds which it enjoys from previous appropriations.

Senator KENNEDY expressed the hope, following passage, that the House also would act favorably on the bill during this session. A similar bill lost out in the House last year, following the Senate's approval of the measure, and the same fate may await the proposal if the House does get around to action on it before adjournment. The bill deserves enactment as a logical change in present practice that almost undoubtedly would result in important savings and a solution of budget and appropriations problems in line with the actual and immediate need for money to operate the vast enterprise of the Federal Government.

Address by the Honorable Ralph Harvey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an address given by one of the hard-working and capable Members of this Congress; namely, United States Representative RALPH HARVEY, of the 10th District of Indiana.

Congressman HARVEY deals with the subject of Agriculture and I am sure that all of us who know him recognize he is an expert in this field. Ralph is honest and sincere in his convictions and he will express them whether they meet with your approval or whether they do not.

I recommend his remarks for reading to each and every Member of the Congress. These remarks along with his excellent record will verify the statement, we need more Ralph Harveys in Congress.

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE RALPH HARVEY, 10TH DISTRICT, INDIANA, MEMBER, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

Meeting with you today is an appreciated privilege. I know that virtually every member of this fine audience is personally and officially interested in the well-being of agriculture in the Midwest.

I have come from Washington for more than the pleasure of fellowship. I am calling your attention and sober thinking to a movement that may very well play a decisive role in the agricultural enterprise that our section of the country represents.

It is not easy to relate to you the story that I must, nor do I relish the duty of relaying news of a disturbing nature. My effort will be to outline a factual situation and then rely on you, after due discussion, to make such recommendations as you find warranted.

To all of us, the farm problem is an old and familiar subject. Many here have lived and farmed through 40 years, and looking back now, are aware of all that has happened to farming during that period of time.

Today's farm problem for us—and this I cannot too strongly stress—is not the same problem of 40, 30, or even 10 years ago. It is akin to earlier problems in one essential—overproduction, the constant recurrence of more food and fiber than the market can absorb.

By way of review, I will attempt to set forth some of the factors in this problem. First of all, the period of the past 15 years has marked a rapid evolution in agriculture, particularly in the Midwest. During that time highly efficient farm machinery and equipment have become available for our use. It has not only drastically reduced the manpower requirements of farming, but has multiplied per unit production. At the same time we have made strides in crop variety improvement and in the use of commercial fertilizing. Undeniably, too, the general stimulus of an excellent and growing domestic market has likewise contributed to the impact on our agriculture.

Farmers, in endeavoring to cope with this evolutionary period, have made many changes. Some, in our area especially, have prospered beyond their dreams—if you recall the goals of the average farmer before 1942. Others, because they could not enlarge their operations, have been compelled either to live on a subsistence income or supplement their income with off-farm employment. In any event, we must acknowledge the fact that the American standard of living has gone up for all our people, and farmers are no exception.

Due to the effects of inflation as well as the cost of higher living standards, the farm family of today, to live as well as their city neighbors, need 3 times or possibly even 4 times as much dollar income as was needed 40 years ago. During this time, too, the Federal Government has made numerous attempts to assist agriculture.

We can agree, I am sure, that the farflung activities of the Department of Agriculture, including research, experimental work, extension service, and organizational competition for youth, have contributed immeasurably to the productivity and better living of our farm families. But in the repeated efforts to reduce farm surpluses, there has been less success, and the problem of surplus commodities remains the most serious for all agriculture.

In Washington now we are in the throes of reevaluating our farm programs to determine what our policy should be in the future. Several of the efforts that seemed in years past to be the best and most logical have been either discredited or discarded, so we are still searching for the proper approach to the problem.

There are many among you today, I feel certain, who may be saying the best thing that could happen would be for the Government to get out of the farm picture entirely and let farmers have a survival program. If that were the best answer, it obviously would be the easiest one from the standpoint of Congress.

While I have frequently heard it said that Congress has dwelt on the problem for political reasons, and because politicians want to interfere in the lives of farmers, I say to you that in my judgment nothing could be further from the truth. Frankly, and as a farmer, I can say that no problem confronting the Nation can be escaped by the Congress—by the very nature of our being, that is the way it must be. And so, however simple it might seem just to forget the whole thing, there is too much at stake to consider the easy way out.

It isn't too easy either for us in the Midwest to face up to the farm problem. You see, through the years we have had an extremely fortunate set of circumstances so that the farm problem has been much less oppressive to the Midwest than to many other areas of the country.

There are three great crop-producing areas in the United States, namely, the Cotton, the Wheat, and the Corn Belts, with, of course, some overlapping in all. The wheat and cotton producers have had a continuing problem because they depend on foreign export for a substantial part of their market. We in the Midwest grain and livestock farming area have not been dependent on overseas markets for too much of our production, and from that standpoint have been most fortunate. More than that, and more perhaps a matter of luck than anything else, our area has been just about the right size to produce the right amount of food for the people of our country. A flexible type of farm program has been fortunate for us and workable, too. We have had a sufficient variety of outlets for our products, not only as crops but as processed livestock, to enable us to say out of serious difficulties. This has not been true of the other major crop areas. As long as nothing happened to distort or upset this natural balance of supply and demand, we of the Midwest could look upon the farm problem with a good deal of objectivity and even feel a little superior.

Due now to a whole series of events (and agriculture is subject to progress and development even as the rest of our economy) we are confronted with a new problem.

As indicated earlier, the other major crop areas are faced with the problem of how best to utilize their idle acres. The export trade that they enjoyed during such war years as 1941–53 has been partially lost, and the resultant idle acres meant also a setback in their improved standard of living. It has been only natural for these farmers, assisted by the Extension Service of their area, to try to find something to replace this income. The plant breeders came to the forefront with an answer.

As long as feed grain production was confined largely to our Midwest area, and the feed converted to livestock, we could look forward to continuing prosperity. Now, however, there are thousands of acres—idle acres, so to speak—in the Great Plains area, stretching from the Texas Panhandle to the Canadian border. And there they have found a new crop that can be grown successfully and profitably.

At this point, I should like to dispel a statement that is rather widely quoted to the effect that "corn, as a commodity, has been increasing in production." As a matter of fact, we are at an alltime low as far as corn acreage is concerned. National production has remained remarkably steady because farmers have better varieties, better fertilizers, and better equipment to produce corn. The result has been a consistent harvest of corn, varied only by weather conditions. Incidentally, the decrease in corn acreage during the past 25 years is offset by the increase in soybean acreage.

The production of corn and such other minor supplemental grains as we grow, with their volume, too, remaining steady, has naturally governed and influenced the production of livestock. While we have achieved some increase in the efficiency of livestock production, the overall pattern has not notably changed. Approximately 80 percent of corn is fed to livestock, and 20 percent goes into commercial uses. At the present time, were it not for outside influences—I mean outside our Midwest—we might again be confident of continued prosperity.

There has come into the picture, however, the new crop of which I spoke, and it is grain sorghum. The plant breeders have devised a new hybrid sorghum that is effectively adapted to the Great Plains area. Production this year will be up 79 percent over the 10-year average, and with the drought broken in the Great Plains, we may except a sensational upsurge in the production of this new crop. The total planting for this year has been reported as 25,664,000 acres. Thus, for the immediate future and for some years to come, I believe we are going to witness a substantial increase in feed grain production. Since grain and livestock prices follow a parallel pattern, a grain glut would bring a drastic reduction in livestock prices and could very well have a severe impact upon our whole economy. Cheap grain means cheap livestock.

It is important to remember that approximately 60 percent of all farm income is derived from livestock, and livestock, after all, represents nothing more than a market outlet for grain produced in the Midwest.

Those of us who could foresee the problem were hopeful that the soil bank might absorb many of these acres, particularly in the Great Plains, and that the financial attractiveness of the program would help solve the problem. It is common knowledge, however, that although the program is barely under way, the soil bank is having difficulties in Congress. Since, too, it is fairly conceded that such a program would require 10 to 15 years to become fully effective, it does not appear that we can look forward to soil bank operations.

To be sure, we are doing other things as well. We have the foreign surplus disposal program, but grain has not been historically an exportable commodity in sizable quantities. Whereas the cotton and wheat people can always dispose of their surplus, if willing to sell cheap in the world market, even a low price holds forth no substantial inducement for the solution of our surplus feed grain problem. Some of us, too, are aggressively supporting legislation to speed the expanded industrial uses of all farm production.

This is the situation we face today, and it accounts for my being here. It seems to me that unless we are willing to face up to the problem and accept the realities of the production pattern, we will not be doing justice to our economy.

There is to be held in Washington early next month a meeting of the various commodity groups, and I feel that corn and feed grain producers should be represented at that meeting. The new theory for meeting the farm problem seems to be for each commodity group to attempt to draft a program that will help them solve their individual problems. All major commodities, ironically enough, have organizations representing them from a marketing standpoint—all, that is, except corn, the most valuable of all commodities. Yet because it is mostly marketed through livestock, there has been no reason for corngrowers to have a marketing division in their organization. I would be less than fair, however, if I did not say that in the months to come it may very well be that the whole pattern of our farm program will be changed and the new pattern emerging may be the result of the joint efforts of the various commodity groups. In the final analysis your Government can only furnish the machinery to carry out any program; you yourselves must determine what you want, and do most of the work. It is for this reason that I feel corngrowers, as such, should be represented, and I am suggesting that, even should you not care to participate in the Washington meeting of August 5, you may wish at least to have observers there to keep corngrowers of your various organizations advised of what is transpiring. Then if events seem to indicate, corngrowers may wish to participate with other groups in formulating a new approach to the farm problem.

There are undoubtedly questions you would like to ask, and I shall be happy to entertain them. It is my hope that out of a roundtable discussion, those of you representing various States can come forth with a solution or at least a better understanding of the problem.

SUMMARY

1. In recent years there has been no marked change in total corn production, either within or outside the Corn Belt.

2. There will continue to be a steady increase of feed grains, chiefly sorghum in the Great Plains area.

3. Expanding feed production is upsetting the grain-livestock balance which has been the buttress of our Midwest farm prosperity. Cheap grain means cheap livestock.

4. The Surplus Disposal Act, while working well for many commodities, has had little effect on livestock products, and even less on surplus grain.

5. Surplus grain disposal through greater industrial uses is a long-range prospect, but not an immediate remedy.

6. The future of the soil bank is not bright.

7. As of now, the new approach to a farm program appears to be single commodity treatment in contrast to across-the-board programs of the past.

8. The scheduled August meeting of farm groups to draft the single-commodity program omits corn and feed grain interests.

SUGGESTED ALTERNATE APPROACHES TO A CORN AND FEED GRAIN PROGRAM

A. Include corn and all feed grains in the same category and—

1. Place all acres of both under control and guarantee 70 to 90 percent parity;

2. Remove all production controls and permit the Secretary of Agriculture to fix the support level.

B. Support the soil bank as best hope and leave other control programs as they are.

C. Take off all controls and follow a survival policy.

The Case of the Farmer Who Banked a $209,701 Soil-Bank Payment

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I called to the attention of the House Arizona cotton farmer, Jack A. Harris, who put a 1,600-acre farm in the soil bank in return for a $209,701 payment. At that time I related that I had information which led me to believe that this same farmer had simultaneously launched a new farming venture in another location in Arizona and was planting nearly 4,500 acres of "penalty" cotton outside the price-support program. In the interim Harris readily admitted the nature of his operation when confronted by the press.

Subsequently I protested his contradictory activities and requested that the Secretary of Agriculture investigate Harris' case to determine if his soil bank contract could be forfeited.

Many of my colleagues have expressed interest in this extraordinary case, and in order to provide a rounded picture of Harris' farming operations—and philosophy—I am including as part of these remarks my letter to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Department's reply, and an article which appeared in the July 22 issue of Time magazine:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 27, 1957.

Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SECRETARY BENSON: I am writing to call your attention to the facts which I presented to the House in a speech last Monday concerning the operation of the soil-bank program in Arizona. (I am enclosing a copy of my remarks as they appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

I think you will be particularly interested in the case of the Pima County, Ariz., farmer who is to receive a $209,701 soil bank payment. This producer, who has been identified as one Jack Harris, has admitted to the Arizona press that he is growing nearly 4,500 acres of penalty cotton at another location in my State during the same crop year in which he signed an agreement to take his cotton land out of production.

In my opinion, this is a flagrant and outrageous violation of the whole spirit and purpose of the acreage reserve program of the soil bank. I have just reread the Soil Bank Act, and I note that it confers upon you the power (sec. 1031) to terminate contracts and "forfeit all rights to payments or grants under the contract where any producer is guilty of any substantial violation of the contract."

I would like to urge that you undertake an immediate investigation of the Harris case to determine if his contract cannot be forfeited. I submit that our efforts to achieve economy are a farce if this man can pursue the course of action he is following and still receive a gratuity from his Government totaling nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

As perhaps you know, the cotton growers of my State have an outstanding record for honesty and self-reliance, and it is highly regrettable that one or two producers should bring discredit on a whole industry. The fear of my farmers today is that our system of price supports is pricing cotton out of the competitive market, and they favor the elimination of subsidies and return to the free market at the earliest feasible time. For these reasons the soil bank has been unpopular with the Arizona cotton men—indeed, last year the Arizona Cotton Growers Association wrote Senator GOLDWATER and urged him to have the soil bank killed.

I firmly believe the integrity of our Government is at stake in this issue, and I urge you to inquire into it at once.

Sincerely,

STEWART L. UDALL.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., July 16, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: This is in reply to your recent letter concerning the operation of the soil-bank program in Arizona. We realize that there has been some delay in replying and would like to explain that this has been caused by an effort on our part to get additional information in regard to the case involved, namely, the cotton acreage reserve agreement signed by the Harris Ranches, Inc., in Pima County, Ariz.

Harris Ranches, Inc., entered into a 1957 acreage reserve agreement covering 1,666 acres located in Pima County, Ariz. The total compensation payable under the agreement amounts to $209,701.80. While you take exception to the sum involved, it should be poinetd out that the purpose of the acreage reserve program is to obtain a reduction in production below that which the producer is permitted under the allotment and quota programs, and to relieve the economy of the strain of excessive production of surplus agricultural commodities. In order to give all farmers with allotments an opportunity to participate in the 1957 program, the Department set initial maximum limits on the number of acres which could be placed in the program. In the case of cotton, such limits were removed early in the sign-up period and all of the acres offered by a producer were accepted in the acreage reserve agreements. It should be noted that compensation was based on the normal yield for the number of acres involved. If the acreage had not been placed in the soil bank the producer could have planted the 1,666 acres to cotton and obtained price support thereon, with a resulting probable expense to the Government in excess of that payable under the soil-b[illegible]nk program.

The reports which we have do indicate that Mr. Jack Harris, a stockholder in Harris Ranches, Inc., is also a stockholder in the Jaresa Cotton Co., which at the present time is producing what is known as penalty cotton on an estimated 4,500 acres in Maricopa County. This cotton is being produced without an allotment. Production of penalty cotton is not a new practice. While it is not generally done, there have been other cases in the past where cotton growers have carried out this practice. In order to discourage

this type of cotton production, the Congress has seen fit to set a penalty of 50 percent of the parity price for cotton produced in excess of the allotment. In this case the penalty for upland cotton will amount to 18.5 cents for every pound of the farm marketing excess based on parity price for cotton as of June 15, 1957. The initial farm marketing excess is determined by multiplying the normal yield per acre established for the farm by the excess acres of cotton. If our figures of 4,500 acres are accurate, and on the basis of a normal yield of 2 bales per acre, the penalty involved would amount to approximately $800,000. If the producer establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that the actual yield per acre of lint cotton is less than the normal yield per acre established for the farm, a corresponding reduction will be made in the farm marketing excess and the penalty for the farm. There may be some question as to whether the above-mentioned penalty is effective in controlling this problem; however, when this penalty is fixed by law the Department of Agriculture has no choice in the matter.

The 1957 acreage-reserve program did not require that a producer having an interest in more than one farm stay within his allotment for other farms in order to participate in the program for a particular farm. The soil-bank program is supplemental to the acreage allotment and marketing quota programs, and it has been the practice under such programs and the price-support program to check farms on an individual basis and not require cross-compliance as between farms. For this reason, cross-compliance between farms was not required under the 1957 acreage-reserve program. The feasibility of requiring cross-compliance among farms for price-support purposes has been explored in the past, but any such procedure would be extremely difficult to carry out from an administrative standpoint. In addition, the penalty which producers incur in harvesting commodities in excess of the farm allotments are, in most cases, sufficient to deter them from such a practice.

On the basis of the information which we now have available, it would appear that Harris Ranches, Inc., was eligible to participate in the program with respect to the 1,666 acres in Pima County. We are, however, continuing to explore the matter and will take whatever action is necessary and proper if it should develop that the corporation was not eligible to participate in the program. We are also giving careful consideration to ways and means of revising the regulations so as to eliminate the problem raised by multiple-farm interests.

Sincerely yours,

TRUE D. MORSE,
Acting Secretary.

P. S.—The pending agriculture appropriation bill limits to $3,000 the amount which may be paid any producer under the 1958 acreage reserve program. This restriction may well limit the effectiveness of the program by reducing participation, particularly among farmers who desire to take their entire farm out of production.

[From Time magazine of July 22, 1957]

SOIL BANK FIASCO

When House-Senate conferees voted to extend the life of the Agriculture Department's soil bank for another year (see National Affairs), many Congressmen did so reluctantly. Last week Arizona's Democratic Congressman STEWART L. UDALL turned up a case that went a long way toward explaining their reluctance. The case: Arizona Cotton Farmer Jack A. Harris, who put his entire 1,600-acre Pima County cotton farm in the soil bank in return for a $209,701 Government payment, then turned around and plowed up a new farm to grow three times as much cotton. Cried Congressman UDALL: "Here is boondoggling on a grand scale. Indeed, the word boondoggling is utterly inadequate to describe this program. We should coin a new term, boonswoggling."

HOW SILLY

In singling out Harris, UDALL picked on a farmer-businessman who is actually on his side. Last year Harris was credited with being a force behind an Arizona Cotton Growers Association resolution calling for an end to the soil bank and to Government farm price supports and controls. This spring Harris watched in strong disapproval as county soil bank authorities offered farmers $145 an acre not to plant cotton. Then Harris put his whole Pima County farm in the bank. Explaining his apparent flipflop, Farmer Harris says: "I wanted to show how silly, and how unnecessary, this whole thing is." He also saw a chance to turn a huge profit.

Leasing 4,500 acres of farmland in Arizona's Maricopa County, Harris trekked his work crews, tractors, and cotton gin 125 dusty miles to the farm and planted it to cotton. This fall, when he harvests his crop, he will have to pay a penalty of 18½ cents per pound for growing cotton without an allotment. But even if the penalty amounts to $800,000 as it may, Farmer Harris will feel no pain. A fair-to-middling crop will likely yield him $1,200,000, plus his soil bank payments, or a profit of $600,000. Harris also has a 2,000-acre cotton patch near Fresno and a 1,000-acre field near Phoenix, both eligible for full price supports.

TAXPAYERS' LOSS

Washington officials admitted last week that cotton-picking Jack Harris was not alone in picking the soil bank clean. So many other big-acreage cotton farmers are growing penalty cotton that the Agriculture Department long ago gave up any attempt to count them. Rather than cutting cotton surpluses through the soil bank, Harris had made the cotton surplus considerably worse. The 9,000 to 13,500 bales of cotton that he will grow on his new farm will take away the market for an equivalent amount of other cotton grown in compliance with the rules. This other cotton will end up in Government warehouses, causing the taxpayers a further loss of up to $960,000. Last week, enjoying his demonstration, Harris said he looks forward to early attainment of his real goal: "Freedom to grow cotton for the world market with no supports or controls."

F. Albert Reiman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I am saddened to report to the House the death of a former staff employee, Mr. F. Albert Reiman, of Vincennes, Ind. Mr. Reiman was a member of the professional staff and served as assistant clerk to the Committee on Labor and Education throughout the 80th Congress. There are many still in the House who were acquainted with him during his period of service to the House of Representatives.

Mr. Reiman returned to his real-estate business in Vincennes at the conclusion of the 80th Congress. A onetime Republican candidate for mayor of Vincennes, he was active in many civic and political affairs. He was a past master of the masonic lodge, a past president of the Kiwanis Club, a member of the Shrine, Scottish Rite, Harmony, and Elks Club. He served as an elder in the First Presbyterian Church.

I am sure there are many in Washington who were deeply impressed by Mr. Reiman's sincerity and warm personality. His friends in the Capitol are many and we all share the grief of his widow, Mrs. Margaret Reiman, and his son, James.

The Menominees Deserve a Fair Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Green Bay Press-Gazette, Green Bay, Wis., of July 19, 1957:

THE MENOMINEES DESERVE A FAIR DEAL

Congressman MELVIN LAIRD, followed by other Wisconsin leaders, has good reason to be incensed at the United States Department of the Interior in its run-around for the Menominee Indians. And the attitude of the administration toward insisting upon quick release of the tribe from Federal supervision contrasts sharply with its almost fawning efforts to win friends in other lands. Is the administration's aim merely to aid where the biggest dividends are paid or does it really want to help people to help themselves?

Several years ago the Menominees witnessed a flagrant example of this cavalier treatment. Senator ARTHUR WATKINS journeyed in for a 1-day stand at Keshena and then announced, from this extensive survey, that the tribe should be cut loose as soon as possible, despite all the evidence from people who had been studying the problems for months.

The Wisconsin State Indian Commission, headed now by Attorney General Steward Honeck and made up of intelligent white and Indian membership, has backed Congressman LAIRD's bill to give the Menominees 2 more years to get their affairs in shape. We do not argue that they should be kept indefinitely in Federal protection and neither do the Menominees. But after such a long tenure under Federal patronage and with the financial and personal problems to be eased, the severing will not be simple. The Interior Department not only apparently did not show all its cards to Congressman LAIRD, it was snippish and arrogant in its attitude that mineral wealth may lie in the area or that the commercial value of tourist travel is negligible.

The administration has no trouble in bending over backward to soothe the ruffled Japanese, to comfort the troubled Saudi Arabians or to rush millions of dollars worth of jet planes to Yugoslavia. What about some intelligent and compassionate consideration for Americans who haven't always received the best of the bargain in their dealings with the Government? Maybe the Menominees ought to threaten to trade with the Red Chinese or smile benignly at Khrushchev to get a fair deal.

We're on the Road

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD an article on the highway program in the State of Washington. This article appeared in the Laborer, the official publication of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

This article, written by R. A. Moisio, a resident of my native State of Washington and a member of the State highway commission, describes briefly the activities of my State in developing adequate highways to handle today's increased traffic loads.

The State highway commission, a bipartisan board, has, over the past decade, advanced a forward-looking, sound program of construction, improvement, and constant maintenance of the State's highway system. I am pleased that the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, which I supported in the Congress, will play a significant part in the future expansion and modernization of our road network. It is also gratifying to me to note that much of the current construction is being done in the Second Congressional District, where soon a four-lane road will reach from the outskirts of Seattle to the Canadian border.

Text of the article is as follows:

HIGHWAY PROGRAM IN HIGH GEAR

(By R. A. Moisio)

Highway construction in the State of Washington is at an alltime high, partly because of impetus from the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, but mostly because of the interest and determination the people of the State of Washington have shown, as evidenced by actions of the State legislature, road groups, and individuals.

The calendar year 1956 set a record for the amount of money in contracts awarded. More than $45 million in highway construction work was contracted in that time.

This year it is expected that even that high record will be topped, and following years will probably show like increases. More than $27 million in highway construction contracts have been awarded since January 1, 1957. For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1957, and ending June 30, 1958, about $84 million in construction contracts is programed.

Right now the Commission has more than $50 million in highway construction contracts underway around the State.

All grading and bridge construction work on the 8-mile Olympia Freeway is now under contract. Later this year the paving work will be under contract. Also, illumination, signing, and other finishing-touches work is yet to be contracted. This $10 million facility will eliminate a serious bottleneck for U. S. 99 traffic, providing safer, more comfortable, more economical travel to the motorist.

Another bottleneck of U. S. 99, that at Fort Lewis, is also being eliminated. The 3-mile stretch of highway from the east Nisqually Hill to North Fort Lewis, where a previously built section of freeway facility ended, is being brought up to interstate standards. This means that all traffic lights and intersections at grade will be eliminated. No traffic jams will develop, as they have in the past, because access will be limited and there will be no reason for traffic to slow or to stop.

The first contract for construction on the Tacoma-Seattle-Everett Freeway was awarded by the commission may 22. Under this contract three bridges south of Tacoma near Ponders Corner, to carry New York Avenue and Carlyle Road traffic over the route of the freeway, and to carry freeway traffic over Clover Creek, will be constructed. Much other work is programed for the immediate future on this facility. Elsewhere on the 65-mile freeway further preparation of plans, location work, and right-of-way acquisition is being carried forward by the commission.

A new highway district has also been created for work on the freeway within the limits of the city of Seattle.

North on U. S. 99, work is continuing on four-laning the highway toward British Columbia. Three contracts for structures to separate traffic on the route of the Bellingham Freeway are under contract.

OTHER CONSTRUCTION

Four-laning of that vital east-west artery, the Snoqualmie Pass Highway, is continuing. Four separate contracts providing for grading for the wider highway on the east side of the pass from Keechelus Inn to the Kachess River, about 11½ miles, were awarded April 29. They call for considerable blasting and solid rock excavation close to the present highway. Since there is no adequate detour around that area, it is necessary to close the highway during working hours, 5 a. m. to 1 p. m. This will also allow the grading work to be accomplished in this one construction season.

Construction is continuing on the Spokane Valley Freeway between the city of Spokane and the Idaho border on U. S. 10. About half the facility is completed and open to traffic. On June 19, the Commission awarded a contract for paving more than 5½ miles of the facility from Pines Road outside Spokane east to Greenacres.

These are some of the big projects underway and planned. Other work is underway on State primary and secondary highways including: State Highway 9, the Olympic Loop route; on State Highway 8, the Columbia River Highway; on State Highway 10 up the Okanogan River Valley to British Columbia; and on other sections of State highways.

There is a great range of work going on in Washington, from complete relocation of long sections of highway through repaving to oiling roadways and blading of shoulders.

Every road cannot be a four-lane, divided highway, but the Washington State Highway Commission is working toward the construction and maintenance of comfortable roads, adequate for the traffic they will carry in the future.

Why Can't ACP Funds Be Used To Rebuild Flooded Lands?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a letter from one of the farmers union locals affected by recent floods in my district. He suggests emergency ACP payments at $5 to $6 an acre be made to help recondition the flooded farm land.

Because of the merit of this approach, I request permission to insert this letter in the RECORD for all to consider:

GOODRIDGE, MINN., *July 22, 1957.*

COYA KNUTSON: The Erie Farmer's Union local at its last meeting passed a resolution. That emergency ACP payments at $5 to $6 an acre be made to help recondition the flooded farmland. This would be of most aid to the farmers which have had flood damage to cropland in a serious degree. and also that emergency credit of 3 percent for a period of 5 to 10 years be available to farmers' where the disaster had struck, and that you give this resolution your support.

ALF LOBKEN,
Secretary.

Mr. Jones' Record Holds Cause for Deeper Digging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tenneesean on Friday, July 26, 1957.

This editorial concerning the appointment of Mr. Arnold Jones to the vacancy on the TVA Board will be of interest to all friends of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The editorial points out that during the time Mr. Jones was a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission he was largely instrumental in applying restrictive shackles to rural electric cooperatives while giving increased freedom to private power. I believe after reading the editorial you will agree that this noncontroversial person has become rather controversial. The editorial follows:

MR. JONES' RECORD HOLDS CAUSE FOR DEEPER DIGGING

When the Deputy Director of the Budget Bureau, Mr. Arnold Jones, was appointed to a vacancy on the TVA Board by Mr. Eisenhower, it was noteworthy that little was known of him generally and practically nothing was known of him by the people of the Tennessee Valley who might have expected to know something of the person chosen to serve in such a high position among them.

It was obvious that Mr. Sherman Adams knew all about him, and that he fitted somewhere in Mr. Adams' planning for TVA. It was also obvious that as a member of the Budget Bureau he had worked among those whose outright enmity for TVA has never been hidden—the place that played incubator to the infamous Dixon-Yates deal, although that preceded Mr. Jones' arrival.

The President called him the most capable and disinterested man I could find for the job. Kansas Senator FRANK CARLSON called him a very good man, and several other old guard Republicans gave him their endorsement. The Budget Bureau prepared a biography with a minimum of information. Mr. Jones commented, "I guess I was chosen because I seemed to be a noncontroversial figure." He added that he guessed he could be called friendly to TVA, and then

clammed up, perhaps for reasons that have become apparent as his past record is unfolded.

Senator THRUSTON B. MORTON, of Kentucky, more favored by Assistant President Adams than his colleague, Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, asserted, "You can call him a friend of TVA." He went on to say that Mr. Jones' record as a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission, which regulates utilities, was "highly satisfactory from the point of view of the REA."

Unsatisfied with sketchy knowledge about a man who could play so vital a role in the TVA, this newspaper assigned Mr. Nat Caldwell to go to Kansas and take a close look into the background of Mr. Jones.

Those findings have been published in this and other newspapers, and their import is foreboding. Rather than a friend of TVA, Mr. Jones is found to have had strong leanings in the past toward private power. And his public career seems to have been one of conflict of interest, favoritism, petty bureaucracy and political opportunism.

Mr. Caldwell found that this Eisenhower appointee, while a member of the corporation commission, was largely instrumental in applying restrictive shackles to rural electric cooperatives while giving increased freedom to private power.

As a commission member, Mr. Jones so refined the dual certificate policy of overlapping service areas that rural co-ops were forbidden to serve industry, or the oil fields. Their areas were raided and these co-ops were gradually reduced to serving only farmers inside specified territory. The six big Kansas power companies have territories allotted to them that coincide with the co-op areas and under the present policy can raid co-op customers at will, hinder their growth, and by cutting their volume of customers, force higher rates. These co-ops now must win freedom or fail completely.

Mr. Caldwell was also informed that while a member of the commission, Mr. Jones' votes, with rare exceptions, were favorable to big companies. A veteran co-op attorney remembers bitterly that the commission was so partisan the private power firms didn't even have to carry the ball when co-op cases were heard.

Too, a former business partner in an accounting firm confirmed that Mr. Jones was a member of the firm which served clients regulated by the commission at the same time he was a commissioner. But the former partner couldn't produce his records, because he had burned them less than a month ago. He did remember that Mr. Walter Fees, multimillionaire oil and gas executive, was a client while Mr. Jones was a commissioner. But Mr. Fees, also State GOP chairman during the Jones tenure, couldn't be certain about his dealings with the firm. Fire had also destroyed his office records.

In later years, with the help of Dr. Milton Eisenhower, Mr. Jones was lifted out of the Army and into a position at Kansas State College. A majority of the faculty members still there recalled memories of a man who created vast amounts of redtape, who damaged morale, and who was ruthless in official dealings as dean of financial administration. So much was he a disturbing influence that he was finally demoted, a move which was kept quiet by college administrators because of Mr. Jones' influence with a GOP State legislature.

Before his appointment to TVA's Board, this "capable and disinterested" man, this "noncontroversial" figure wrote a letter from the budget bureau to a Senate committee in which he urged more stringent legislation for TVA and in which he proposed a bond limitation even below that recommended by his agency.

He is the man of whom a former Kansas associate said, "If they want a man on the TVA board who will magnify redtape until the people under him hate the agency and quit in disgust, he is the man."

In naming Gen. Herbert D. Vogel to board chairmanship, Mr. Eisenhower termed him capable also and said General Vogel shared his own philosophical approach to TVA. In fact, General Vogel shamelessly played errand boy for the private power monopoly on Dixon-Yates; he has continuously tried to frustrate the objectives of TVA; he has publicly depreciated its yardstick idea, and he has applied budget bureau thinking on its financing.

Are we now to have as a cohort of General Vogel this Mr. Jones whose "capability disinterest and noncontroversial" attributes are measured in terms of a double standard of public service and a penchant for privilege that allows him to stab the Kansas rural co-ops? Is TVA to become so enmeshed in his redtape that it is helplessly delivered into the hands of its enemies?

The Senate can answer this decisively. The record of the reticent Mr. Jones is clearer but it should be revealed even further. There is a pressing need for full inquiry into this latest contribution of Mr. Eisenhower—and Mr. Sherman Adams—toward maintaining TVA at maximum efficiency.

Public Power Takes Beating

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a column written by Warren Unna, in the Washington Post last week pointed out that public power is taking the worst beating it has had in years. This administration is apparently dedicated to ending all public-power development, and there is a concerted drive by the private utilities, supported by high-priced advertising in such magazines as Time. If there is to be any public power left in the Nation for rural electric cooperatives, and other public agencies, the advocates of public power will have to put on a better and more coordinated fight than they have up to the present. Mr. Unna's column is attached for the information of the Members:

PUBLIC POWER TAKES BEATING

Public power has been taking a drumming this week like it has seldom had.

Wednesday, the House Interior Committee voted 16 to 14 to kill a bill calling for a high Federal dam at Hells Canyon, on Oregon and Idaho's Snake River border.

Also Wednesday, a Federal Power Commission examiner recommended granting the Pacific Northwest Power Co. a 50-year license to build two other dams on the Snake River—Mountain Sheep and Pleasant Valley—in lieu of a high Federal dam at Nez Perce.

Yesterday, a House Interior Subcommittee closed hearings on the Fryingpan-Arkansas project which would divert the waters of the Fryingpan River in Colorado over the Continental Divide and into the Arkansas Basin.

The only trouble with this last is that it is not slated to get through Congress. Democratic endorsement of the administration-backed Fryingpan-Arkansas was tied to Republican endorsement of the Democratic-backed Hells Canyon.

Result—the Nation's natural dam sites will have less than maximum development at Hells Canyon, Mountain Sheep, and Pleasant Valley and no development at all at Fryingpan-Arkansas.

The Hells Canyon defeat has been the most heartbreaking to the public power advocates. Hells Canyon is the deepest undeveloped natural gorge on the North American Continent and its Snake River waters affect power, irrigation, and water storage of the entire Pacific Northwest.

The Idaho Power Co. has been licensed by the Federal Power Commission to build three small privately owned and operated dams—Brownlee, Oxbow, and little Hells Canyon—in place of the one Federal high dam at Hells Canyon. Construction has begun on Brownlee and is slated to begin on Oxbow. Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, author of the Federal dam bill, has charged that the third dam was merely authorized on paper by the FPC so that the private development would make a better showing when compared with the public development. He doubts that the small Hells Canyon will ever push its head above water.

Although defeated by the Senate last year, the high Federal Hells Canyon Dam was given a 45-to-38 vote of approval by the Senators this year, on June 21. It required some horsetrading: Pacific Northwest Democrats voted to refer the civil-rights bill to committee instead of putting it on the Senate Calendar, southern Democrats reciprocated by coming out for Hells Canyon.

But the luck of the Hells Canyon people ran out in the House when southern Democrats combined with the Republicans to kill the project in committee. The actual Senate bill has yet to be voted down, but the coup de grace has been given an almost identical bill.

Both the high dam at Hells and a high dam further downstream at Nez Perce form the guts of the Army engineers report of 1948. This report said the dams were essential to giving the Columbia River and its Snake and Clearwater tributaries their full potential of 27 million acre-feet of water storage. Both projects are multipurpose and too expensive for anybody but the Federal Government to undertake.

Interestingly enough, a staff study by the FPC itself last March also said a high Nez Perce was vital for proper flood control. And Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton, although not advocating a Federal Nez Perce, at least asked the FPC to hold up its decision on a private Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep until he had a chance to see if a high Federal Pleasant Valley Dam wouldn't be preferable.

Seaton's request had its answer Wednesday when the FPC examiner went ahead and made his recommendation anyway. Actually, the Secretary's request for consideration of a high Pleasant Valley Dam might have proved embarrassing to the FPC. Such a dam would have backed up the Snake waters so high they would have flooded over the site of the little Hells Canyon Dam the FPC already had licensed to Idaho Power.

The Fryingpan-Arkansas situation is something else again. This is a project the administration wants. The project would cost $160 million. Its 112,000-kilowatt power production would be very much secondary to the irrigation benefits provided by diverting water from the eastern slope of Colorado's Continental Divide to the western slope.

The project was approved by the Senate without controversy June 27. Then came the Hells Canyon vote in the House Interior Committee and the decision of Representative J. EDGAR CHENOWETH, Republican, of Colorado, to change his "yes" vote for Hells Canyon last year to a "no" vote this year.

CHENOWETH, whose home State very much wants the Fryingpan-Arkansas project, was in a box.

From the Democratic side, Montana's JAMES E. MURRAY, powerful chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, warned a Fryingpan-Arkansas conference on a House-approved bill "will never even meet unless Mr. CHENOWETH changes his position on Hells Canyon."

From the Republican side, both the administration and his colleagues told CHENOWETH he would have no Fryingpan-Arkansas if he didn't change his last year's position on Hells Canyon.

CHENOWETH changed.

It has been a bad week for public power.

Poles Protest Eisenhower Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the Polish-language daily newspaper Nowy Swiat, published in New York, in the issue of July 24, 1957, carried on its front page the text of a letter in English addressed to President Eisenhower protesting his recent message of congratulations to the Polish Communist regime on the anniversary of the formation of the so-called Lubin Committee.

I believe this letter is most interesting since it speaks the mind of most Americans of Polish descent, in fact of all freedom-loving people who hope and pray for Poland's early liberation from the yoke of communism. I feel that the Members of Congress should know of this letter and of the views of Poles in this country, and for this reason I am inserting it into the RECORD.

The letter follows:

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We learn that you have sent an almost cordial congratulatory message to the Polish regime on the anniversary of the formation of the so-called Lublin Committee, which has for many years been the regime of Poland.

We highly appreciate your good intentions, your friendly attitude toward Poland, toward a "friendly Poland." We are grateful to you for your sympathy and benevolence as well as your personal generous support of American assistance to the Polish people but we deeply regret that you have sent such greetings to the Polish regime on this somber occasion.

We say with certainty that your well-meant message will, to say the least, confuse and disappoint the Polish people, basing our opinion on the same reaction of millions of Americans of Polish descent.

You have congratulated the oppressors of Poland.

Not a government but a regime, a Communist regime that is hated by the Poles abroad and by us here. You have conveyed a message of friendship of our Government to a ruthless, Soviet-dominated clique. Your intention to address the Polish people, to share in their happiness, their pride and achievement will not reach them. The Polish people are neither happy nor proud of the regime and its bloody, disastrous achievements. They tolerate the Communist rulers as a necessary evil—but as an evil.

Your message, Mr. President, will undoubtedly be interpreted to mean that you favor the regime which the people hate.

We know how the Lublin committee came to be.

It was Stalin's strategic trick to blackmail the United States at Yalta.

It was Stalin who supported and forced that committee upon the Polish people.

It was Stalin who with ruthless brutality forced the United States to recognize the regime because he, and only he, recognized it.

The Polish people never recognized it, even under unspeakable duress.

The record of the Lublin committee is a record of many years of crime and persecution, of lawlessness and oppression.

We realize that the empty formality of a congratulatory message has no political meaning. But we are against burying the truth under artificial flowers and formalities.

We maintain that your message will highly disappoint and confuse the Polish people as it confuses and disappoints us.

Simple people, suffering people, have little understanding for diplomatic amenities. To them there is meaning in everything the United States does and says. They will not be able to grasp the meaning of your message.

Proposal for a New Deal in the Poultry and Egg Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, everyone in our country has come to accept the fact that the family farmer is in trouble. This is particular true in the poultry and egg industry. The family farmer's wife has traditionally used the egg money for family needs. The drooping prices of the last few years have knocked out this element of a way of life. While the hardships are admitted, I have seen no evidence that the Department of Agriculture has taken any steps whatsoever, of a serious nature, to do anything about it.

Mrs. Ira Stetzel, of Paris, Ark., who operates Stetzel's Hatchery, is promoting control of production of hatchery chicks to bring the market supply of eggs, broilers, and other chickens into balance with consumer demand at reasonable prices. As with other production-control programs, governmental action would be necessary, but no large expenditure of public funds would be involved. I believe we should consider all the elements and angles that have any potential whatsoever. Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert in the RECORD the materials sent to me by Mrs. Stetzel:

The materials follow:

DEAR FRIENDS IN WASHINGTON: We are sure these periodic low poultry markets could be avoided by controlling the number of eggs set, both for broilers and for commercial laying stock. Our trouble is caused entirely by overproduction. We could avoid all these damaging low markets by limiting the number of eggs every hatchery can set. It could be so easily controlled, need cost very little, and it would be fair to everyone.

Read Who Is Putting the Pressure on the United States Department of Agriculture? This lack of planning resulting in one surplus after another, and calling on the Government to come forward and bail us out, in the end ruins our industry for everyone except the feed companies, while we pile up more and more Government debt and our small operators over the country are being destroyed. In the accounts we have read of the Brown probe of the poultry industry, the preponderance of those who testified were feed manufacturers. It is true Don Turnbull, from our Hatchery Federation, testified. But his testimony did not truly represent the thinking of the rank and file members of the industry. Please read From a College Poultry Department Head. This gives you a better picture of what is happening to our hatchery industry members, than Turnbull's testimony.

We beg you to take time to read and study carefully the papers we are enclosing. Our only hope, and the only hope of many thousands of independents in the poultry industry, lies with Congress. And Congress must act quickly, or it will be too late.

Maybe it is already too late, for some. Do you realize that here in Arkansas hatcheries hardly dare to express an interest in controls because feed manufacturers oppose controls, and every hatchery either is heavily in debt to the feed manufacturers, or they sell their chicks to feed dealers who are financed by the feed manufacturers and are heavily obligated to them. This is even more true in Georgia. And even in New Hampshire, Andrew Christie has indicated in his letter to me that that is his position. Charles Hawks, secretary and manager of our Arkansas Poultry Federation, tells me that 30 months ago all the hatchery members but 4 here in Arkansas were in favor of controls. The thing has changed that much in those 2½ years, no one dares speak out now.

A prominent member of our industry here in Arkansas told me why industry members were slow to sign any statements about their position on controls, because of the power feed companies hold over them since withdrawal of finances now would cause foreclosures and loss of market for their chicks. He mentioned sitting in on one of the feed market groups, and he said it was very interesting to get their thinking on the situation. They admitted that until now they had made all the decisions, and had held complete control. They showed concern that with all the talk of Government regulations and controls they might lose some of their power over the industry. They indicated they were going to do everything within their power to hold as complete control as possible.

Far from being a blessing to the small farmer of the South, this contract broiler growing is but a continuation of the old sharecropper system of the South. How can a child mature, when the parent makes all the decisions, collects the money, and pays the bills? How can the small farmer of the South ever become a businessman in his own right with a paternalistic feed company always at the helm, keeping him alive, and that is all. He needs to plan for himself, to face the consequences if he does a poor job, and to be able to make more than a bare living when prices are good.

Jesse Jewell, of Georgia, testified before the Brown committee that he had 1,600,000 broilers on feed at one time in his integrated operation, that he had lost 2 cents a pound over the last 18 months, a total loss of $1,200,000. Yet we understand at the same time he had just finished negotiations for a new loan from the Federal land bank for $167,500 to be used in further expansion in the broiler business. We do not know how Mr. Jewell reconciles his loss of $1,200,000 in the last 18 months and his further expansion. We believe he is one of

those who is paying losses in his business from outside income. It appears such competition will soon smother out small independents, and perhaps Mr. Jewell looks forward to a more profitable period when just a few such operators will control our poultry industry. Then prices can be manipulated so the consuming public will pay them a good price.

We hear repeated many times our industry is going through a revolution. Many folks seem to think this means a temporary rough period, and then if we get through it, everything will be fine. We believe the changes taking place within our industry favor bigness, and a monopolistic form of operation. What is a monopoly? If the processing plant tell the feed dealers they will not buy their broilers as they are ready for the dressing plant unless the dealers buy the chicks from them, thus cutting out all independent market from the independent hatchery, and permitting the processor to buy from the hatchery at 6 cents per chick and resell to the dealer at 12 cents, who in turn often marks up the chick to the grower to 16 cents, could that be a monopoly? That is happening righ here, friends. We know, because since late February it has been happening to us, with just one customer for our chicks, the processing plant. We say the changes in our industry are far from good. And we are sure if the independents are to stay on top they will have to have help very soon.

One more suggestion, and I am through. Instead of big loans at low rates to folks like Jesse Jewell to increase his gigantic integrated operation, why not make it possible for the small poultry farmer to borrow at low rates of interest, to give him operating capital, so he can go on the open market and bargain for his baby chicks and his feed? In the article by Leland Duvall which is enclosed, we find Benny Rogers marks up his chicks as much as 300 percent and his feed right along at least 25 percent. That would be approximately $2,300 markup on feed and chicks on a 10,000 lot of broilers, plus markup on medication and other items. The little poultryman, depending upon feed companies for finance, just hasn't a chance. He is nothing but a serf, in his present situation.

Would such loans be safe loans? If we limit production, then there can always be a fair price for poultry products that will make it a safe venture for the careful operator. If we can find a way of holding back these mammoth-size integrated operations, and make it possible for the small operator to buy on the open market, we can end this domination by the feed companies, and this economic serfdom growing within our industry.

Please let us hear from you. This is serious business to us. We can see where our life's savings can go down the drain, with thousands of others, if we cannot get some help to stabilize our poultry industry very soon.

At the last of the Leland Duvall article, bottom of second column on the back of the large sheet enclosed, tell us if you think there is any parallel between the Supreme Court ruling on the DuPont family, and what is happening in these integrated operations in the broiler and egg producing business in our poultry industry.

We look forward to hearing from you. Our future is in your hands.

Yours very truly,

MRS. IRA STETZEL,
Stetzel's Hatchery.

P. S.—After studying the material we have given you, would you consider a sound, workable bill that would stabilize the production of broilers, turkeys, and eggs by controlling volume of eggs set?

Let us handle it without subsidies, without price supports, without any Government buying of surplus whatsoever. Let us cut back on production by giving each hatchery a quota, and hold volume back to where consumer demand is willing to pay what our product is worth.

To the Honorable Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, 85th Congress.

DEAR FOLKS: We are sending material like these two sheets we are enclosing to the hatcheries over the country, telling something of the condition of our poultry industry, and giving a plan for control at the hatchery level.

We must stop this senseless overproduction, where thousands of baby chicks have been destroyed, and many others sold for as low as 3 cents.

We desperately need your help to save our individual businessmen and family-size poultry growers.

Yours very truly,

MRS. IRA STETZEL,
Stetzel's Hatchery.

P. S.—Please refer to our statement on the proration law, as used in the oil industry. We believe something like that—cutting production at the hatchery level—can stabilize our entire industry.

PLANS FOR STABILIZING THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

The following provisions should be made into a bill to be introduced in Congress:

1. Peg hatchery capacity at some retroactive date; probably January 1, 1956. It is unfair to the many hatcheries who have made cutbacks of as much as 50 to 80 percent during the months while the industry has been in such serious condition because of overproduction to recognize capacities added during this period.

2. Make it mandatory that no hatchery shall increase capacity until granted by the industry.

3. The Government shall limit and control incubator manufacturers to sell replacement incubators only, to replace present hatching capacity. In this case it might be necessary that some subsidizing be done by the Government, but only to incubator manufacturers.

4. Place a limit on the hatching capacity of any one person or corporation.

5. Request Congress to pass a law that any hatchery producing baby chicks must be licensed, through their State hatchery associations. Only hatcheries operating at date of census shall be granted licenses.

6. Whenever it becomes apparent that existing incubator capacity is not sufficient to supply the needs of the Nation, permits should be granted to all hatcheries, proportionate to capacity existing on date of census, to permit an increase in hatching capacity. These permits to increase capacity shall be negotiable withn the State.

7. A national hatchery board shall be set up by States or by districts to determine the percentage of hatching capacity to be used, and to set quotas. Members of the hatchery industry shall be elected to this board or council in such a way that all groups will be fairly represented. They shall serve for short terms, not more than for 1 or 2 years, and shall meet at stated intervals as necessary to determine any adjustments in volume needed.

8. Provide for Government inspection of every hatchery ever 3 weeks to count trays of eggs under incubation, and to determine compliance with allotments.

9. Require that each hatchery post substantial guaranties to be forfeited for violation of allotment of ceiling on eggs set in his machines.

10. Provide for a license fee from each hatchery, based on estimated allotment a year in advance, same to be applied to cost of administration.

11. Set up a milling charge to be collected from all feed mills, based on tonnage of poultry feeds, to share cost of administration.

OUR POULTRY INDUSTRY IS IN A MESS—THIS INCLUDES BROILERS, COMMERCIAL EGGS, TURKEYS

How about broilers? In 1955, 2,912,000,000 pounds sold at average of 25.1 cents per pound, $731 million gross.

In 1956, 3,780,000,000 pounds sold at average of 19.4 cents per pound, $735 million gross.

Increase of 30 percent more meat, but only increase of 1 percent in value, and in the face of rising costs.

What if the automobile industry would deliberately produce 20 percent more cars than the automobile market would absorb even if price were cut to cost of production? How long would even their almost unlimited resources stand such economic abuse? They would be forced to adjust production to the market, force the cars on the market for whatever they could get for them without regard to cost of production. That is exactly what the broiler industry has done now for more than a year, and it has brought calamity to all segments of the industry.

The oil industry was in the same chaos 25 years ago, when the oil proration law was enacted, as the broiler industry is today, and for exactly the same reason—senseless overproduction. Oil, then, was 10 cents a barrel, and though swimming in a sea of oil, oil men were going broke by the score. Now, after 25 years of genuine stability the oil industry is sound and prosperous, and considers the proration law indispensable.

What of commercial eggs? The statement below by Philip Alampi, secretary of agriculture of New Jersey, is quoted from The Poultryman, February 1, 1957:

"I have never seen the poultry industry in so desperate condition as today. The plight of the family-sized poultry farmer is approaching the point where he will be driven out of business unless relief is afforded. He has invested his life savings in a farm which through no fault of his own is becoming outdated. Outside capital is being invested in mammoth size poultry farms with every conceivable labor-saving device. These farms are able to produce eggs in volume and show a profit even on a very small margin over feed cost.

"In some sections of the country, big business has already displaced the family farmer, and farm owners have been reduced to a sharecropper status only slightly better than Russian collective farming.

"Elimination of the family poultry farmer will put the small feed dealer, processors, equipment manufacturers, and small hatcheries out of business also."

Of 7,500 commercial egg producers in New Jersey January 1, 1956, 750 have been forced to dispose of their flocks and seek employment in the cities.

FIVE HUNDRED HATCHERIES IN OHIO CLOSE SHOP

The above from a letter by C. W. Liechty, hatcheryman at Wauseon, Ohio, mailed out to the remaining 300 hatcheries in the State of Ohio recently. In his letter he quotes from a letter he received from a hatcheryman in New England: "I used to be 100 percent against controls on production of any kind. I am fast changing, along with many of the other very conservative people here in the Northeast. It seems that there are feed companies that have immense amounts of money earned from other sources that are willing to keep on operating feed manufacturing at a loss to keep their volume going. Perhaps they feel that in the end 2 or 3 concerns will dominate the entire in-

dustry, and they can then control the price of chickens. It would seem to me if we could have some type of production controls that would prevent this continued overexpansion and overproduction, everybody in the industry would be better off."

Why not do something about it now, while you still can? It is up to you.

WHAT CAN I DO?

We quote the following from the Arkansas Federation News Letter, published the last part of March: "It is my belief that the hatcheryman, whether he is integrated or not, is in a very vulnerable position. A number of solutions have been advanced as to how we can obtain a production program in line with consumption. Not a person in the broiler industry can truthfully say that a voluntary program to create this condition is possible, simply because they are always enough factors who will take advantage of someone else's willingness to take a reduction. Don't for a minute say that the hatchery segment doesn't want anything to do with it. It is up to you to do something about it."

Here is a letter from Richard C. Larkin, Agricultural Marketing Service, Washington, D. C.:

"Your letter of February 11, 1957, addressed to Secretary Benson, has been referred to this office for reply.

"The Department appreciates the very serious situation which has confronted the poultry industry for some time. The subject of controls is being widely discussed within your own hatchery industry and within other segments of the poultry industry. It is our hope that such discussions will be both thorough and nationwide, such that the industry itself will be more unified in its interest in this regard. We would suggest that you indicate your interest in controls to your own hatchery federation. I am referring to the American Poultry & Hatchery Federation, 531 East 63d Street, Kansas City, Mo.

"Thank you for stating your opinion in this regard."

A letter from Don Turnbull written us March 1 states in part: "It isn't a question of our refusing to act but it is a matter of policy in which we are following what appears to be the feeling of the majority of our members as indicated by correspondence and personal contact."

That is the thing in a nutshell; 1,859 hatcheries have been pushed out of business the last 4 years. Big hatcheries get bigger; small ones are losing out fast.

So make it a point to write Don Turnbull, American Poultry & Hatchery Federation, 531 East 63d Street, Kansas City, Mo., and tell him you want something done.

Contact your State association, and ask them to help you get something started in your State.

Contact Hon. W. Kerr Scott, United States Senate Building, Washington, D. C. He is very interested, and wants to help us.

Contact your own Senators at Washington, and your Representatives.

Get your county hatcheries together, and then your State groups. Write to those you know. Get working, and keep working until something is done.

You will find as we have there are those with money and prestige that will oppose. If your situation hurts bad enough, and you get interested enough, these things can be overcome. The main thing is to start working, and stay with it.

Please contact us, and let us know you are interested, and working with us. Make suggestions on the plan.

Yours very truly,

MRS. IRA STETZEL,
Stetzel's Hatchery.

PARIS, ARK.

The Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interesting and informative address delivered by Mr. George E. Sokolsky on July 14, 1957, on the William S. Girard case:

THE GIRARD CASE

It matters very litle now either to William S. Girard or to most Americans what the Supreme Court has decided in this case. Whether Girard goes to a Japanese prison or a United States military prison is not as important as that the principle shall be reestablished that an American citizen does not lose his constitutional rights when he joins the military forces of his country. The Supreme Court has declared otherwise to the disgrace of the United States.

The Supreme Court has again ruled against the American people. It has taken the position that decisions of the administration are superior to the rights of Americans as specified by the Constitution of the United States. How the Supreme Court can consistently take that position and at the same time use the constitutional rights of citizens to protect Communists, rapists, and other criminals, is difficult to say. It is neither logic nor in the national interest.

The Status of Forces Treaty came into effect in 1951 as a result of the organization of NATO. The United States entered into the Status of Forces Treaty with 13 nations. But Japan was not one of these countries. Japan came into this through the back door by a series of agreements, not one of which is a treaty, not one of which has been ratified by the Senate as the Constitution provides. However, executive agreements are binding upon the United States and apparently there are nearly 50 of them with various countries, including the agreement concerning the Dhahran Airfield in Saudi Arabia, according to which King Saud, the medieval despot of that country, can instruct the United States as to the race, religion, prior nationality of any American who is sent to guard his country against his enemies. It is even questionable whether the United States is being permitted to use this field, which cost about $50 million, for military purposes.

Senator ROMAN HRUSKA, of Nebraska, has summarized succinctly what constitutional rights the American soldier loses under the Status of Forces Treaty. I will now quote Senator HRUSKA's summary:

"First. A right to bail.

"Second. The right to be tried by a fair and impartial court.

"Third. Reasonable time to prepare defense after being informed of charges made against him.

"Fourth. The right to be present at his trial.

"Fifth. The right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

"Sixth. The burden of proof on the Government in all criminal cases to prove guilt beyond reasonable doubt.

"Seventh. The right not to have involuntary confessions used against him.

"Eighth. The right not to be compelled to testify against himself.

"Ninth. The right to cross-examine the witnesses against him.

"Tenth. Protection against double jeopardy.

"Eleventh. Protection against ex post facto laws.

"Twelfth. Protection against bills of attainder."

These fundamental rights are granted American citizens by their Constitution. Justice Frankfurter seemed offended by Girard's counsel who did not show enough respect or deference for some of the noble countries that have status-of-force treaties with us. He particularly cited Great Britain, France, and Japan.

Mr. Justice Frankfurter is an educated man who was a professor of law in the Harvard Law School. Surely he has not forgotten what he must once have known, namely that neither France nor Japan has codes that provide the constitutional rights to which an American is accustomed and entitled. Under American law and British law, a man is believed to be innocent until proved guilty; this is not true of French or of Japanese law. As a matter of fact, Japanese jurisprudence has been influenced more by the Code Napoleon of France than by the common law of England which is the basis of American law. I wonder what would happen if a Japanese soldier were tried in an American court. The Japanese would scream blue murder.

All this Mr. Justice Frankfurter must know even if some of the more recent appointees to the Court are aware of nothing but the politics of the moment. Therefore, Justice Frankfurter should not have taken umbrage when Girard's lawyer doubted the juridical methods of these countries. What did Frankfurter expect—that American lawyers face westward and kowtow to the Emperor of Japan? Maybe one day we shall have to face eastward and bow in prayer to Mecca to please King Saud and his harem. And don't forget when we do that, we shall have to take off our shoes.

After all, if our opinions and beliefs are to be governed by what may, for the moment, be administration policy, there is no telling where we shall land. We may have to erect a statue of Ivan the Terrible near the Washington Monument in Washington and put a figure of Khrushchev in the arms of the Statue of Liberty. When temporary policy becomes our master there is no telling in what direction we shall go, except the way things look now, it will not be in the right direction.

I know the Japanese well, having lived among them for many years. Also, I like them very much and have dear friends among them. They will recognize that just as their masses can get angry over the establishment of any form of extraterritoriality in their country, so can the masses of our country grow incensed over an act of downright injustice on their part. They will, of course, take into consideration the reactions of Communists and Socialists and other wild Japanese elements, but they will also recognize that a judicial murder of Girard will be received in this country in real anger and that the anger is more likely to be vented against Japan than against the American State Department, which is really responsible for the current impropriety. The Japanese will bend over backward to prove their humaneness. They are really a good people, but their laws are not our laws.

The real trouble with this situation is that the American people are losing their respect for the Supreme Court. That is very bad. The Supreme Court is the last refuge of American liberties, and our people are accustomed to believe that the Court is ruled by law, before which all men are equal. Every appointment that President Eisenhower has thus far made to the Supreme Court has been political and inadequate. The Court now presents a sorry picture of Justices who, with few exceptions, are distinguished neither as lawyers nor as judges.

These are small men who in pursuit of doctrinaire legalisms are creating disorder throughout the country. The Jencks decision, the Watkins decision, the Mallory decision, and now the Girard decision are milestones in the breakdown of the morale of our people, of the law-enforcement agencies, of faith in our institutions.

These are harsh words and I am distressed to say them. But to repress them would be to sacrifice truth to expediency. The day will come, may we pray not too late, when other Justices sitting where these lesser beings now sit garbed in the black of Pharisaism, will reverse these errors of judgment.

Meanwhile, the American people must pass the Bricker amendment or even a more strongly worded one—an amendment to the Constitution which will protect every citizen in his constitutional rights no matter where he may be sent by the Government of the United States.

I do not know Girard, his brother, his parents, or his lawyer. But I cannot refrain from realizing that what is happening to Girard can happen to your son. It has happened to many American boys. This is a subject for Senator EASTLAND or Representative CELLER to study in their respective congressional committees. How many American soldiers are languishing in foreign prisons? For what reason? And for how many years? Congressman CELLER, in particular, regards himself as a tribune of the people. Why does not his House Judiciary Committee investigate whether American soldiers are justly treated under this iniquitous treaty? Let us read a factual report and then we shall judge for ourselves whether our sons are being treated rightly.

Whenever the Supreme Court becomes political it grows unpopular among the American people. The reason is that this Court is generally so beloved by our people. When the Supreme Court attempts to act as a third chamber of Congress, really legislating for the country, it becomes a hated institution.

It is that now. Go where you may and you will hear words of distrust hurled at this Court.

It is time for Americans to act. Congress can pass binding legislation controlling the Court. Why not pass legislation safeguarding the FBI files from kidnapers, murderers, forgers, racketeers, and shyster lawyers? Why not write your Senator and Congressman today? Who knows—your children may pay for your carelessness with their lives.

Request of Gov. Foster Furcolo To Declare Massachusetts a Major Disaster Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a telegram from Gov. Foster Furcolo, of Massachusetts, which quotes a telegram he directed to President Eisenhower:

JULY 26, 1957.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Attached please find copy of request to President Eisenhower asking that Massachusetts be declared a major disaster area. I earnestly solicit your support in this critical situation. I am sure that you will wish to join with me in making every possible effort to assist the people of the Commonwealth. The telegram follows:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am advised by the Massachusetts Department of Agriculture that you should be requested to declare the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a disaster area because of damage to the crops, pastures and forest and water supplies, resulting from the lack of rainfall and unusual drought conditions.

"Long term weather forecasts indicate little prospects of relief. Every possible effort is being made by the several departments of the Commonwealth to cope with the present situation. In order that those who earn their livelihood by farming in this Commonwealth may have every possible assistance that the Federal Government may provide, I respectfully request that you declare Massachusetts a disaster area. I am sure that you know that the necessary steps by the United States Department of Agriculture Disaster Committee at the State and county levels have been carried by me during the last week. I understand that they are preparing a report and recommendations for the United States Department of Agriculture.

"If I may be of any assistance to you in this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me. Every possible cooperation will be extended to you and the departments of the Federal Government.

"Sincerely,

"FOSTER FURCOLO,
"Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Minnesota Loses a Great Medical School Dean and the American Cancer Society Gets a Great Scientist and Administrator as Its Chief Medical Officer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following splendid editorial from the Minneapolis Star of July 27, regarding my close personal friend and medical colleague of many years, Dr. Harold S. Diehl:

A GREAT DEAN

We can't help but have mixed feelings over the loss to Minnesota of Dr. Harold S. Diehl, dean of the university's college of medical sciences.

The whole State is honored that the American Cancer Society has seen fit to pick Dr. Diehl as its chief medical and research officer and deputy executive vice president. It is a wise choice indeed. But what undoubtedly is the Nation's gain is the State's loss. It will not be easy to fill his place at the university.

Outsiders who visit Minneapolis are frequently surprised at the vast physical plant and equipment on the medical campus. It is obvious even to the uninitiated that Minnesota "has the dough." The story is told that a prominent eastern doctor once asked Dean Diehl at a medical convention how the money was obtained. The reply was, "Oh, it just comes."

Those who know how Dr. Diehl has worked night and day, in season and out, to obtain grants, research funds, scholarships and other financial resources for the medical school realize how casual this remark was.

The dean has been one of the real builders of the University of Minnesota—and this has not been an offhand performance.

In addition to his contributions to administration and finance, Dr. Diehl has brought warmly human qualities to his job. It is well known that the University medical school has less friction, less rivalry and less jealously than any other similar organization in the country. This is largely because the dean has insisted on the right atmosphere within the institution.

A veteran staff member once remarked that Dr. Diehl had three cardinal principles of operation: Never neglect the patient; never neglect the student; never neglect anything having to do with growth and development of the organization.

These three ideas go far to explain why Minnesota's Medical School is now one of the greatest—if not the greatest—in the world. And they shed considerable light on the man who has had so much to do with building that worldwide reputation. We congratulate the American Cancer Society—and Dean Diehl.

What Price Haste if Food Additives Are Dangerous to Health?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, Jack T. Jennings, assistant director of the Cooperative League of the United States of America, prepared an excellent statement on the use and dangers of additives in foods. Since too little attention has been paid to these dangers and the additives continue in use during consideration of their dangers, I request permission to insert in full his statement before a health and science subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on Amendment to the Food and Drug Act, July 24, 1957:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Jack T. Jennings. I am assistant director of the Washington office of the Cooperative League of the United States of America.

The Cooperative League is a national federation of consumer, supply, and service cooperatives. Through one or another of our member organizations, 13 million of the United States families who own co-ops are represented in the Cooperative League. These 13 million families represent the largest group of organized consumers in the United States.

We appreciate the opportunity to appear here in support of certain controls over food additives. We believe that it is most important to consumers today, when so much of our foods are processed for quick readiness for the table, that they be free of dangerous chemicals or other additives. America seems to be on the run. The housewife spends fewer hours in the kitchen. The demand for ready meals, all packaged in attractive wrappings, is increasing greatly. If she purchases carefully, the housewife needs not even dirty her dishes and silverware—much less her pots and pans—for the food comes in generous helpings on disposable plates requiring only heating.

This modern era which portends even greater timesaving for cooks of the future has brought about a whole new concept in food preparation and merchandising. Al-

ready we have seen a number of things happen which have not necessarily been in the interest of the consumer.

Grandmother used to bake bread once or twice a week. The bread was made of locally milled flour and other health-building ingredients. It was soft only while it was oven warm. Nobody objected to hard bread until the commercial bakers took over. Then they educated grandmother and others that hard bread was stale. Fresh bread was soft. But they didn't tell grandmother they could fool her a bit by adding something to the bread to keep it soft for many days. What they added was not necessarily good for grandmother, but she didn't know the difference.

They pulled the wool over her eyes, too, when they convinced her that real white bread was better. They didn't tell her that in order to get it white, they used a poisonous substance which gave dogs fits. They didn't tell her they removed some of the finest nutritional qualities to make the bread white. What they were doing was lowering the quality of a basic food while claiming they were making a better looking, better tasting product.

The same situation may apply to many other foods. Those who manufacture foods are always looking around for cheaper ingredients than the food itself. We recall the strawberry preserves manufacturer who was hauled before officials who asked him why there was only one strawberry to the jar. It was cheaper not to use strawberries for the jam. We don't think grandmother would have appreciated this man's recipe.

As consumers, we have been fooled quite a bit. We are still being fooled, for there are some 150 food additives that have not been tested by Food and Drug Administration but are present in food we eat today. We are not sure, when we buy our daily requirements, whether we are paying for wholesome, nutritious food or whether we are paying high prices for sugar extenders, butter, and shortening substitutes and imitation coloring and flavor.

For some reason, we have been educated to the idea that there should be a certain amount of pride in making something that really isn't what it is. Like strawberry preserves without any strawberries. Or chicken salad without any chicken. There's something wrong with this philosophy. It helps those who really want to use cheap substitutes to give us the business.

We don't propose to return to the good old days, but we do think there is some merit in taking stock of our present progress. Since mother and grandmother are not spending much time in the kitchen, we've got to depend upon someone else's integrity. You could rest assured that grandmother would not put anything in food that might make us ill—or was not good for us—if she could help it. She cooked beans all day so they would be tender and delicious. Now they come in a can probably with a generous amount of softeners and imitation meat and flavoring.

As consumers, we should know what we are eating. And those of us who cannot distinguish between good and bad chemical names should be given some help. We went through this a few years ago before another committee where we pointed out that animal feed formulas are disclosed on a bag of feed, but the secret ingredients of food we eat have been carefully guarded. In co-ops we try to give the consumer all the information possible so that she will know what's inside the can, bottle, or package.

There was a time when farmers bought feed sight unseen. Co-ops, owned and controlled by farmers, decided farmers had a right to know what was in the bag. Co-ops began to list the ingredients and the formulas for hog, chicken, and other feeds. The industry then said such a program would put old line feed manufacturers out of business. Now much of the industry is following the co-op open formula plan, and to our knowledge, not a single open and aboveboard maker has suffered. Feed standards are much higher as a result.

The point we are trying to make is this: If the housewife were informed as to certain additives in certain foods, she might not choose to buy them. At least a part of this food additive program might then be solved. Additive manufacturers might not be anxious to peddle their wares if they know that an informed housewife could find the additives listed predominantly on a food product label.

Probably some of the things we have mentioned cannot be incorporated in the legislation being considered here. Nonetheless, the fact remains that we are faced with a broader problem than just policing the use of certain food additives.

We cannot pose as experts before your committee on the food additive issue. We suggest that the uppermost thought in considering these bills is consumer protection. We leave it to the experts to incorporate this protection in effective language. We believe final legislation should include the following provisions:

1. Chemicals and other substances used in or proposed to be used in food which have a questionable or hazardous effect on the human body should be outlawed. In our opinion, that is the objective of the bills being considered here.

2. There should be no grandfather clause to exempt any food additive now in use. Provision should be made for review of any substance, even though it has been previously approved. Only H. R. 7798 makes this provision clear.

3. Food and Drug Administration and the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should weigh each additive in relation to all others in its total effect on the human body. Additives A, B, and C each may be harmless, while normal consumption of all three in combination may be harmful. The cumulative effect of various substances should also be considered. H. R. 6747 covers and H. R. 7798 partially covers this provision.

4. Besides the use of chemicals for preservation, other processes should be considered which might cause harmful effects. Among these is radioactive radiation. Other types of radiation and other means of preservation may be perfected. Control of these should be inherent in the bill. H. R. 8112 and H. R. 7798 make adequate provision in this respect. H. R. 6747 makes reference to radiation.

5. An additive should be beneficial to the consumer. Unless food is enhanced in flavor or nutrition, or otherwise better preserved by an additive, it should not be used. Only H. R. 7798 provides that an additive must serve a purpose which will be useful to the consuming public.

6. Food and Drug Administration and the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should have the right to regulate food additives after proper examination of findings. All the bills under present consideration make this provision.

7. The Secretary should compile a list of chemicals and processes which should be revised and amended as necessary for the benefit of industry and the public. The list should include approved chemicals and processes, those which are known unsafe, and those which are questionable. H. R. 366 partially covers this provision.

8. The right of an applicant to appeal should not be taken to the courts. We approve the procedure proposed in H. R. 7798 which puts the problem in the hands of experts. Very few cases are likely to get to the appeal stage.

9. The burden of proof as well as the burden of appeal should be placed on the manufacturer or user of an additive. No legislation should be equipped with built-in loopholes which will give an additive maker or user the right to continue to use the public as guinea pigs.

Producers and users of food additives can present an impressive show. They can hire experts who serve to protect the industry. We repeat, that out of all the testimony from the parade of witnesses, the consumer interest is paramount. The consumer interest is the public interest. The Cooperative League respectfully urges your insistence that any food additive legislation will assure consumer protection.

Thank you.

The 22d Amendment: A Second Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I present herewith a penetrating analysis of the effect on the Presidency of the 22d amendment which appeared yesterday in the Sunday magazine of the New York Times.

The author of this article, Richard L. Strout, has covered Washington for the Christian Science Monitor for nearly 35 years. In my opinion, Mr. Strout is eminently qualified to make the assessment which is contained in this place. I commend it to those who are interested in studying this problem.

The article follows:

THE 22D AMENDMENT: A SECOND LOOK

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—America is making its 1st great laboratory test of the 22d amendment limiting a President to 2 terms. Congress passed it in 1947, the States ratified it in 1951, and Mr. Eisenhower is the first to feel its impact. Already it is affecting political Washington. Already Mr. Eisenhower has termed it "not wholly wise." Already there is evidence that it will have consequences far beyond its sponsors' expectations.

The Founding Fathers rejected fixed presidential tenure, and Washington wrote Lafayette that he could see "no propriety in precluding ourselves from the service of any man who, in some emergency, shall be deemed most capable of serving the public."

The 80th Congress—the first Republican Congress since Hoover—felt differently. If Mr. Eisenhower had been a Member of the Congress he might have voted against the amendment, but he would have been alone among Republicans. Every GOP Member in both Houses voted for it.

Emotion ran deep. Roosevelt had infuriated them and incumbent Truman irked them (although he was specifically exempted by the amendment). And beyond the experience of the fathers there had been, also, a slow, seemingly inexorable rise in centralized executive authority. Congress was in rebellion against that, too, and so presumably were the majorities of the 36 State legislatures, Democratic and Republican, who ratified the amendment. (Curbing executives is an old thing for State legislatures: Today 6 governors limited to 2 terms, 14 to only 1.)

The 22d amendment seems direct and innocent enough. It simply means that Mr.

Eisenhower can't run three times. Since everyone knows he does not want to run again, what difference does it make? There are several answers. One is that the Constitution's "No" destroys a political device that time and again has been an effective arm of Presidential authority. That was the President's availability. He could always keep them guessing.

As early as Inaugural Day, 1949, for example, Mr. Truman knew he wouldn't run again in 1952 but he told nobody. "That is one secret," he wrote afterward, "that the President must keep to himself to the very last minute." Truman did not reveal his secret until his March 29, 1952, banquet announcement, and it was only then that the Democratic succession fight started, whereas the Republican fight this year, under the new rule, began even before Inaugural Day.

For Mr. Eisenhower the "one secret" is gone, wiped out by the Constitution. It is gone for every second-term President from now on. It is reasonable speculation that today, but for the amendment, Mr. Eisenhower would be playing a smiling game of reticence with the press over the third term. The public would be enjoying the joke, obviously expecting the President to step down, but nevertheless recalling what happened after his heart attack, and led into tweaky cuirosity by the chance of some final political or international emergency. One way or another, the President's team could have planted enough doubt to keep uncertain riders on his coattails. And in politics it is doubt that can move mountains.

As for Mr. Eisenhower's declaration that he wouldn't run anyway, nobody can doubt him and yet two quotations are of interest:

"I think history shows that most Presidents in their second terms have seriously considered running again," says Harvard's Prof. Samuel P. Huntington.

"It is hardly an exaggeration to say that since Old Hickory, every Executive who lived out a second term has been an active or receptive aspirant for a third term," agrees historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

In any event, America today has a President who, for the first time in history, is constitutionally debarred from running again.

Does the new situation reduce, or threaten to reduce, the President's influence? Washington observers weigh the following points:

1. Mr. Eisenhower's "not wholly wise" comment and other observations indicate the question in his own mind.

2. Even before the second inaugural, Senate minority leader KNOWLAND of California declared his intention of quitting the Senate at midterm, probably to run for Governor and thence reach for the Presidency. Is it just a coincidence that the Presidential race is starting this early?

3. When the administration's battle of the budget began this spring the hitherto solid Eisenhower press and business support wavered. The reasons were understandable and the rift may close, yet the event, it is noted, did not occur until Mr. Eisenhower lost his availability.

4. The President's Gallup poll rating dropped from 79 percent in January to 62 percent in June (still a phenomenal popularity). Did this in any way reflect a post-election relaxation—a diminution of urgency now that Ike could no longer be reelected?

5. William S. White, of the New York Times, like other Capitol Hill reporters, noted that the President's grip on the GOP minority had weakened visibly in early spring and remains less strong than a year ago, though it has regained some power. Yet the President now has a fresh mandate and has just been reelected overwhelmingly. Another coincidence?

I believe most Washington political observers suspect that there is a new force at work in the Capital which must be watched carefully. Two things deserve note: one, that while Mr. Eisenhower may escape the the new difficulty, other less popular second-term Presidents may be hit hard; and second, that the real test, even for Mr. Eisenhower, will probably come in the final 2 years.

Consider, for example, one problem in 1958, when the battle for the GOP nomination will really grow stiff. Republican politicians will be tempted to turn to Mr. NIXON if he then still seems to have the inside track as he has now. This could be deeply embarassing. Two party leaders in Washington is one too many. Mr. NIXON's past behavior has been discreet but the danger is there all the same—the possibility of discord and even of party disaster. This possibility is now a built-in part of the second-term drama, with the bias of the 22d amendment toward making a President an elder statesman ahead of time or, in some conceivable circumstances, a lame-duck or a has-been, drained of his power.

How much power will a lame-duck President have in choosing his successor? Almost certainly less than his predecessors did. Even without the 22d amendment, three two-term Presidents in this century, Wilson, Coolidge, and Truman, did not play decisive roles in selecting the party nominee. Theodore Roosevelt was the exception, though the GOP 1908 convention very likely would have named Taft in any case.

With the new amendment, presidential influence at a convention is further weakened because second-term influence is generally weakened. Mr. Eisenhower may well have substantial bargaining power in 1960, but in all probability less than if he had been able to postpone the battle to the last minute. It is like a poker player forced to show his hand: He may still draw aces but his capacity for bargaining from hypothetical strength is sadly cramped.

Mr. Eisenhower observed on October 5, 1956, that while he did not think the amendment had lowered a President's influence "too much" (because he could still give to or withhold blessings from a successor) he added: "By and large, the United States ought to be able to choose for its President anybody that its wants, regardless of the number of terms he has served."

(It is remarkable how closely this follows the original thought expressed by Washington to Lafayette.)

The President's comment came in response to a flurry of proposals to repeal the 22d amendment. One congressional advocate of repeal, Representative STEWART L. UDALL, of Arizona, thought he would try out scholarly sentiment. He invited responses from 36 political scientists, historians and students of government, picked with the aid of two learned bodies. He stated his own views frankly and promised to put the answers, uncensored, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. UDALL got 29 replies. Of these, 3 took stand, 5 favored the amendment, and 21 vigorously opposed it, urging prompt repeal. A significant feature of the replies was the virtual unanimity, whether for or against the amendment, that it would reduce second-term executive power. For example, Dr. Thomas S. Barclay, of Stanford University, a stanch believer in the amendment, frankly stated that under it a President "must face during the last 2 years of his administration a waning of his influence over Congress and elsewhere."

Advocates of repeal were equally sure of this. Dr. Cortez Ewing, of Oklahoma University, likened the President's situation to that of a Governor in a two-term State and quoted one such Governor as saying that in his final 6 months he had "so few visitors" that "it is almost necessary to send out engraved invitations to keep from feeling lonely."

Dr. James MacGregor Burns, of Williams College, wrote that "virtually all political scientists and students of American history agree" that curtailment of tenure will reduce Presidential influence.

Few laymen casually discussing the amendment probably think of the matter in this light. They think of the issue as between 2 terms and 3 (or more) terms. The majority of the scholars, on the other hand, see this phase of the issue as between an unfettered President and a curbed President, unable to use his full political power.

Another surprise is that the professors who attack the amendment generally profess their support for the two-term tradition. For the normal President two terms, they affirm, is quite enough. What they deplore is writing an inflexible ban into the Constitution. In an emergency—say, to permit a Lincoln to serve a third term to prevent a vengeful reconstruction—a tradition can be broken; that is merely an exception. If a Constitution is broken, it is a revolution.

The following notes indicate the unusual—one might better say extraordinary—nature of the 22d amendment:

Most recent amendments have sought to enlarge the rights of the people; the 22d limits their rights.

The amendment limits presidential tenure, but, in a capital where experience is vital, it lets Congressmen serve indefinitely. (Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, is in his 45th congressional year, 30 in the Senate, 15 in the House; Speaker SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, is in his 44th year.)

America's two-term executive curb is unique. Canada's Mackenzie King served over 20 years and Gladstone in Britain served as Prime Minister some 14 years; it seems inconceivable that either nation would consider a limitation on popular franchise that restricted such resplendent leaders to much shorter terms of service.

The curb on the President comes just as his role increases in international affairs; any diminution of the American Presidency may have serious effects on United States foreign policy.

Points like these lead up to the condemnation of the amendment on moral grounds by Dr. Henry Steele Commager in his reply to Representative UDALL. The "fundamental and to my mind irrefutable criticism," he wrote, is that "it represents a vote of no confidence in democracy. It says, in effect, that our generation cannot trust any other generation to make the right choice. * * * It it based on the arrogant assumption that we somehow have more wisdom than our children and their children will have."

What all this comes down to, I believe, is that there is a philosophical bias behind the 22d amendment which is not generally understood but which may become plainer in the months ahead. The 80th Congress 10 years ago was not merely hitting at the detested image of Roosevelt; it was also, whether consciously or subconsciously, striking at all so-called strong Presidents in an upsurge of legislative rivalry. It was a shrewd blow, for it automatically exempts most of the unsuccessful, the weak, and the one-term executives and will operate only against those successful enough to get elected twice.

Who are the strong Presidents? It now seems agreed that they include Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt. It is this type of man who, in the future, in varying degrees as circumstances arise, will face the effect of the 22d amendment in his second term.

If this interpretation is correct, then an inner conflict of great potential importance has been written into our Government. When all is said and done, it is steady pub-

lic pressure that has broadened national power and created the modern President. It is the people who have made the Presidency the instrument of popular sovereignty. The new amendment, in its implications anyway, runs counter to this trend.

How the contradiction can be resolved it is hard to say—it seems as difficult to reverse the trend as to repeal the amendment.

Until recently it was the liberal reformer who tried to achieve his goal by the amendment route, with success in the Federal income tax (the 16th); the popular election of Senators (the 17th), women suffrage (the 19th), and the elimination of the lame duck Congress (the 20th). The drive spent itself with the passage and repeal of prohibition (the 18th and 21st).

Now, as Clement E. Vose writes in the Yale Review, the reformer on the right seems the one who is pushing amendments. A package of these, including Senator BRICKER's effort to limit the President's treatmaking power, and another to reduce Federal income taxes, is being sponsored by conservative organizations. The drive from the right has scored only one big victory so far—the 22d amendment.

One final effect of the 22d amendment is probably least understood of all and yet it will soon be visible as the Eisenhower term approaches the midpoint. It imposes a cutoff date and limitation on the Vice President. If a Vice President inherits the White House and serves more than 2 years of an unexpired term he may be elected only once thereafter in his own right.

History shows how important this new restriction is. It would, for example, have made Theodore Roosevelt ineligible to run in 1912. He had been Vice President, had served more than 2 years after McKinley's assassination, and was then elected for a term of his own in 1904. That would have written "finis" for him under the new rule. He would have been disqualified thereafter. Instead of forming a third party and splitting the G. O. P. in 1912, the magnetic "Teddy" would have been out and Taft might well have beaten Wilson.

The cutoff date for Vice President Nixon is noon on January 20, 1959. If he succeeded to the Presidency 1 minute after the clock struck 12 on that date, he would be eligible to be elected twice thereafter in his own right, but if he succeeded I minute before 12, he could be elected only once.

The 22d amendment is now part of the Constitution and the circumstances that could achieve its repeal, however much political scientists may fume, are hard to imagine. In quiet spells few will care; in an emergency at the end of two terms there won't be enough time to repeal it. Yet signs are gathering that the real meaning of the enactment was not fully understood either by the public, or by the Congress which launched it 10 years ago.

The First of a Series of Editorial Letters, by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the first of a series of editorial letters written by my good friend, Mr. F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the Pekin Daily Times. These editor's letters will deal principally with Russia, and I should like to insert the articles daily until the series is complete. I am sure that my colleagues will find these letters very readable and most informative.

By way of introduction, I might say that Mr. McNaughton is a firm believer in education by travel, and he and Mrs. McNaughton have just returned from another trip to Russia. Previously they had taken their sons on an 8-months tour of 4 continents that they called a year of college for all 6 of us. That time, as on all their trips except two, the McNaughtons traveled in their own automobile and thus were able to see the insides of the countries they visited. Last year Mr. and Mrs. McNaughton took a slow trip around the world, with particular study of India.

Born on an Indiana farm, Mr. McNaughton took his master's degree at Columbia University, then entered the Pulitzer School of Journalism. He served his cub days on the New York Tribune, then went back to the Midwest to buy his own newspaper. He and his sons, all newspaper trained, have interests in newspapers and radio stations in Illinois, Iowa, and Arizona. The family home is at Pekin, Ill.

On the trip with the sons along, Mr. and Mrs. McNaughton had visited Russia in 1938, so on this summer's trip they were able to appraise the progress which Russia has made.

Mrs. McNaughton, who takes over the McNaughtons' daily column on Friday, is the daughter of Mrs. J. E. McMillan, of Dallas, Tex., and writes on topics of interest to women such as Built-in Baby Sitters in Sweden, and No Foundation Garments in Russia.

The first in this series of editor's letters follows:

This is from Moscow.

We are about to write columns to you from Russia. Chances are that when you read some of them, you will say, "That McNaughton is a Red."

But I tell you now that I am going to write it as I see it. Too often, America sticks its head in the sand and won't see the truth. America is big enough that it does not have to kid itself.

I'm not going to kid you.

The minute I stepped out of our hotel into the Square of the Revolution on our first morning in Moscow, I saw that the great Union of 15 Soviet Socialist Republics is going places. The contrast with 19 years ago is vast.

If one didn't take a second, close glance at people's dress, one could easily believe he was in St. Louis or St. Paul. There are no animals in sight in the streets, as in Calcutta or Cairo. In fact, I'm almost convinced that there are fewer animals than in Copenhagen or London. Moscow is now a modern city. In fact, they tell that far inland where the caravans of the silk routes of antiquity used to cross, they now have the same stop and go lights as Fifth Avenue (except that they have the red on the bottom.)

Autos, taxis, big buses.

There is this difference. There is little noise.

Women keep the streets free of dirt, and rules keep them free of noise. No auto horns sound. Somehow police get attention without blowing a whistle. And that awful honk (like a noise from a struggling cow) that is heard all over Scandinavian cities; or the screaming of sirens like we hear in American cities is rarely heard in Moscow. Somehow the police, ambulances, and firefighters get to their tasks quietly.

Our driver was arrested once. It was a most quiet and orderly affair.

New buildings are going up.

Crowds from new suburbs cascade out of the world's handsomest subway.

Everybody seems busy.

And people from the whole world, especially from the uncommitted billion (and that is important), seem to be in Moscow on a visit.

Khruschev's drive to make friends for Russia, and particularly to make the Russian people themselves happier, is easy to see. Russia is making friends.

Tomorrow we'll tell you some of the ways they do it.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The Road to Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Road to Civil Rights," by Walter Leckrone, editor of the Indianapolis Times, which was published in that newspaper on Sunday, July 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROAD TO CIVIL RIGHTS

(By Walter Leckrone)

Enough nonsense has been spouted lately about civil rights to befog the subject rather thoroughly, although essentially it is a simple and uncomplicated one, easily understandable to anyone who doesn't want more privileges for himself than he is willing for others to have.

Civil rights is a system primarily to protect the individual from oppression by his government. The constitutions of the United States, and of the 48 individual States, exist almost entirely for that purpose alone.

In its broadest sense the perfect system of civil rights simply guarantees exactly the same privileges, penalties, and responsibilities to everyone under the same conditions and circumstances. As we know it in America it enumerates certain rights that are fundamental and forbids government, or anyone else, to abridge or infringe them.

Basically, those derive from the goal of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the right to personal security against physical assault; the right to earn a living; the right to own property; the right to think, or speak, or believe as we wish and to have the information provided by a press that is free from government interference or control; the right to share equally in the use of everything publicly owned or maintained; the right to equal status under the laws; the right to participate in government; and, especially the right to security from persecution or unjust punishment on any pretext whatever by any agency of government.

That last one must have seemed about the most important of all to the men who wrote the United States Constitution, from the emphasis they gave it.

Five of the ten amendments that constitute the Bill of Rights, without which the Constitution itself would have been rejected, deal with that one point of protecting the rights of the individual before the courts and placing rigid limits on the power of government to accuse, or try, or punish.

They restrict the authority to search or seize private property, or to make an arrest. They forbid trying anyone more than once for the same offense, or requiring him to testify against himself, or the holding of trials in secret, or excessive bail or fines, or cruel and unusual punishment.

They do not, in fact, even permit Government itself to make a formal charge of crime on which a defendant may be tried in court or to determine whether any defendant charged is guilty or not guilty.

The charge must be made by a grand jury, which is a panel of private citizens not a part of Government. Guilt or innocence must then be decided, after trial, by an impartial jury, which also is a panel of private citizens not a part of Government.

The people of the United States in 1783 had had bitter experience of courts with great power appointed by a distant authority over which they had no control. They wanted no more of that.

This whole system of safeguards of a fundamental right Congress last week was asked to abolish over a broad, vaguely defined area of violations of law, much of which is still unwritten, and the lower House already had voted to do so, in order to assure the exercise of another civil right, the right to vote in elections.

The right to vote is, itself, a form of limitation on the powers of Government, placing in the hands of the people ultimate control over the composition of their Government and, at least in theory, over its policies. So, it, too, is a basic and important civil right.

But, while the legislation now pending is Federal, voting rights from the very beginning have been wholly State. Nowhere in the United States Constitution is there any recognition or guaranty of any uniform or universal right to vote. The Constitution, as originally adopted, simply assumes some such right exists outside its own terms. It provides (art. I) that anyone who has a right to vote in electing the State legislature in any State also shall be eligible to vote in electing Members of the National House of Representatives from that State. The 17th amendment (adopted in 1913) extends the same qualification to voting for United States Senators, who up to that time had been elected by State legislatures and were presumed to represent the States rather than the people. Two other amendments forbid any State to deny any citizens the right to vote because of their race or color (1870) or because they are women (1920). Otherwise, constitutionally, a State still sets any voting standards it wishes, and Federal Government none.

At the time the Constitution was adopted no State allowed everyone to vote. Only taxpayers or property owners could take part in elections. In Virginia no one could vote unless he owned at least 25 acres of "settled" or 500 acres of unsettled land. At the other extreme, New Hampshire required only payment of a small poll tax, and in Pennsylvania the sons of landowners could vote even though they paid no taxes themselves.

Indiana was the first to adopt a State constitution granting universal voting rights, in 1816. They were universal only to the extent that anyone could vote who was white, male, and 21 years old, and have since been extended to all citizens over 21.

New Jersey had removed the property qualification in 1806 by amending its State constitution and Maryland did the same in 1810, although in Maryland religious qualifications for voting were not lifted until 1826. By 1828 all but 2 of the then 24 States also allowed the people to vote in presidential elections, originally entirely a function of State legislatures. But as late as 1842 President Tyler ordered Federal troops to support a State government in Rhode Island in putting down a rebellion against its restrictions of voting to landowners and their eldest sons, which was removed a year later. Most States now legally extend the right to vote to all citizens past 21 years of age, 2 States to all past 18 years of age. Some, mostly in the South, require that a voter be able to read and write, a qualification that sounds fair but is much abused.

It is at these Deep South States, however, that pending civil rights legislation is frankly aimed with the intent to compel them to extend in fact and without evasion not only the right to vote but all other civil rights as well to their Negro citizens. Strange as it may seem in a State like Indiana where Negro citizens not only are encouraged and urged to vote but where all political parties eagerly seek their support, there can be no question that in many areas of the South that right is denied them * * * sometimes by slick evasion of law, more often, perhaps, by intimidation that may be either economic or physical. Congress, given power by the 15th amendment 87 years ago to enforce that right by appropriate legislation never has done so.

The proposal to do so now was loosely drawn and ill-considered. As passed by the House it struck deeply at a whole host of other civil rights including those of the very group it was intended to benefit * * * among them the basic right to a public trial by an impartial jury when charged with any crime.

For this whole constitutional system it would have substituted injunctions * * * which means orders * * * from a Federal judge for specific statutes. Anyone suspected of violating such an order, or just of intentions to violate it for that matter, could then be haled before the judge who issued it, tried in secret without a grand jury to indict or a trial jury to determine his guilt, and fined or sent to prison. It even included heavy fines for anyone who reported what went on at a trial declared secret and perhaps accidentally, authorized the President to send in the Army to back it up. The injunction idea was simply an evasion of the Constitution.

Supporters of it, who included large numbers of bewildered liberals and a goodly sprinkling of cynical politicians looking for minority group votes for themselves, argued that southern juries might not convict everyone accused and that anyway 28 Federal laws already legalize injunction procedures. Opponents at once pointed out that is why we have juries, and that all these 28 laws apply only to corporations or similar entities, not 1 to any individual who might otherwise have a right to a constitutional trial on criminal charges. It was, purely, a radical shortcut, and like most shortcuts in law a very dangerous one.

As passed by the House this bill would have set genuine civil rights back more than 200 years in America.

More thoughtfully the Senate, had, by the end of the week, removed most though not yet all, its more dangerous features. There began to be some hope, for the first time since 1870, that a genuine civil rights law might actually emerge from Congress, a law that would truly guarantee the rights of Hoosier citizens, for instance, to hold a meeting in the war memorial or the public library building which they jointly own, or of any citizen to vote, to hold office, to pay taxes, to serve in the Armed Forces, or even to hold a job without joining a labor union.

Indiana, still well ahead on civil rights, already has reached that point.

Supreme Court Decisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "High Court Decisions: Ends and Means," which appeared in the Greensboro Daily News, of Greensboro, N. C., July 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGH COURT DECISIONS: ENDS AND MEANS

While the United States Supreme Court is being roundly applauded in some circles and harshly assailed in others for its recent flood of significant liberty versus authority opinions, it may be well to back off and seek perspective.

In its opinions concerning congressional investigations, FBI files and Smith Act convictions the Court simply, in the words of Dorothy Thompson, returned to the sound, old, conservative American doctrine that greater rights of individuals are no longer incompatible with the security of the state.

This is another way of saying that the Nation's near-hysterical fear that Stalinism would triumph has subsided, and once more we are able to tolerate dissent, even dangerous dissent, better than we were during the Korean or Indochinese war years.

To the extent that these opinions redefine individual rights and knock out sharply abusive and dangerous disclosure for disclosure's sake tactics of the House Un-American Activities Committee, they are salutary.

But their real danger lies not so much in the objectives they seek (for certainly restraining government power and upholding individual liberty are worthy goals), but rather in the methods they use and the kind or precedents they set.

In the new alinement of liberals on the Court, the Black-Douglas, Warren-Brennan combination of F. D. R.-Ike apopintees, the Court's enthusiasm for individual liberty could spill over into blind prejudice.

Max Freedman, writing in the Manchester Guardian, warns against the broad scope of Chief Justice Warren's opinion in the Watkins case: "There are numerous generalizations in this judgment on the powers of Congress which will hardly survive careful scrutiny in coming months. Yet all these passages in the opinion could be reduced or completely removed without affecting the final decision that Watkins be cleared of contempt."

Bernard Schwartz, professor of law at New York University, writing in the New York Times, while laudatory of Warren as an administrator, says this of his judicial ability:

"The responsibility for the immoderate recent dicta must be laid, in large measure, at the door of the Chief Justice. It is the Chief's job to restrain his colleagues against extreme language, unwarranted by the actual case. Instead, Warren himself has been as guilty as any of uttering unduly broad dicta. * * *

"The deficiencies in the Watkins opinion may be traced, at least in part, to Warren's lack of prior judicial experience. A master of the judicial craft does not adjudge in advance, by an omnibus answer to an omnibus question. He deals only with the particular instance; and he waits till it clearly arises. He is, in Cardozo's phrase, cautious, even timid, fearful of the vivid word, the heightened phrase."

By defending broad principles in sweeping laguage, Chief Justice Warren exposed the Court to dangerous precedents. His arguments for his convictions were as important as his convictions; and the fact that he wandered down unrelated paths of constitutional law could damage the Court's reputation. A basic lack of tightness in some of the Warren decisions (that is, unfamiliarity with judicial tradition) may also account for the large number of concurring opinions now being written in important decisions. In many of these opinions careful students of the law, Justice Harlan being a good example, are reaching the same conclusions as Warren but via language of greater restraint and with more respect for the continuing body of the law.

Plainly the judicial mind must cleanse itself of personal prejudices both in regard to those precepts which the Constitution sets forth as well as against expedient counter theories of the moment. Justice Tom Clark, probably the least able jurist of the nine, nevertheless makes a splendid point in his dissent in the Watkins case.

He refers to articles written and statements made by Justices Frankfurter and Black in the 1920's when they were fervent advocates of unlimited congressional investigations, since at that time such investigations (Teapot Dome scandal, et al.) were directed toward corporations and wealthy conservatives with whom they differed. At that time Justice Frankfurter wrote in the New Republic:

"Undoubtedly, the names of people who have done nothing criminal or wrong, or nothing even offending taste perhaps, have been mentioned in connection with these investigations. * * * But where so much that the Department of Justice was doing under Daugherty was not innocent, it is highly important that even innocent transactions in the general field of fraud and suspicion be explained in order to separate the sheep from the goats. The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt, or names 'dragged through the mud,' as it is called. The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations."

Would Justice Frankfurter, who concurred in the Watkins decision, be willing to make the same statement about some of the congressional abuses aimed at ferreting out subversives and traitors in recent years?

This is a serious question since it implies that a Justice might favor one set of facts to fit his conclusions when they apply to issues which he approves and another set when handling issues he opposes. This injects personal prejudices in the adjudication of the law. It proves, again in Max Freedman's words, that "oscillations of prejudice, instead of the history and guidance of the Court's opinions" can "become the arbiters of law, for it is possible to have a prejudice in favor of freedom as well as a prejudice in favor of authority."

So while the Supreme Court's latest blows struck in defense of individual freedom may be salutary, they also could be dangerous; for if the traditions and precepts of the law are not honored, what will stand in the way when the defenders of reaction establish themselves in the seats of power and use these same precedents to support their own illiberal crusade?

Merchant Marine Kit Distributed by American Merchant Marine Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I have prepared a statement in relation to the merchant marine kit distributed by the American Merchant Marine Institute to schoolteachers and others requesting it. I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MERCHANT MARINE KIT DISTRIBUTED BY AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE INSTITUTE

In recent years it has come to be an accepted obligation of American industry to support the educational system in teaching and strengthening the American way of life, by making informational resources available to teachers and students. The public interest underlying such a service is heightened where, as in the case of shipping, the industry in question is of vital importance to the Nation's commerce and security, yet is relatively little known to a majority of our citizens.

Acting on these considerations, the American Merchant Marine Institute started several years ago to distribute a merchant marine kit to schoolteachers and any others requesting it. So popular has this service become that demand has risen from 2 to 3 requests per week at the start to as many as 1,000 a week. Analysis of approximately 3,300 requests, about a month's volume, showed that they came from every State. The analysis likewise revealed a disturbing lack of public information on shipping. There was evidenced, however, an encouraging and widespread desire to learn.

So far as is known, this kit is the only school assistance program of its size and scope in the entire maritime industry. Funds for conducting it have been small compared to the much more lavish outlays of other industries, many of which have long recognized the public interest to be served, and the mutual benefits to be reaped, from educational assistance programs.

The maritime industry is second to none of these in its need for wide public understanding. This the institute recognizes, as do many individual steamship companies, which have demonstrated their conviction by contributing their own publications to the merchant marine kit.

The various pamphlets, sketches, etc., included in the kit offer factual, historical, and technical information that are of interest to anyone, pupil or adult, seeking knowledge about the Nation's commercial shipping fleet and allied activities. Not only is the kit useful in introducing young America to the engaging story of the development and activities of American shipping, but there are articles and brochures of famous ships of bygone days and of today; a handbook of American-flag passenger ships; a merchant marine primer whose story begins with the launching of America's first ship in 1607 and brings the history of America's shipping down to today, and other data on the vast American maritime industry which has contributed and is today contributing so much

to the growth and security of our country.

The American Merchant Marine Institute and its cooperating member lines are to be congratulated upon their initiation of this valuable educational service. It is a service of importance to every person living in every one of the 48 States. Many of American shipping's difficulties in the past, and even today, have stemmed from the lack of understanding among our people, and sometimes even in high places, of the need for and the accomplishments of the American commercial fleet and its thousands of loyal officers and men. I commend the merchant marine kit to pupils and adults alike.

Federal School Funds Are Not the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, in order to give to the Congress the viewpoint of the thinking in California, I am herewith extending an editorial which appeared in the Santa Rosa Press-Democrat on May 29, 1957.

I voted against the so-called school construction program because I did not feel there was equity in the Kelley bill as presented. I believe that such school construction is a State obligation and that such a program should be developed on the local level.

In the future when a bill is developed I trust that it will be based on a formula where the State must come to the aid of its local political subdivisions for assistance before any bill will provide for Federal assistance to that State. I am firmly against Federal regulation of our school system, and the bill that we were called upon to vote on most certainly would have required a certain amount of Federal regulation.

The editorial follows, and it is certainly most thought provoking:

FEDERAL SCHOOL FUNDS ARE NOT THE ANSWER

When historians of a future generation write the history of this decade, they probably will mark it down as the era when the entire population of a great nation suffered the delusion that you get something for nothing.

There have been spectacular delusions of this sort in the past, always followed by the inevitable busts and paying of the bills, but never on such a universal scale.

You find it on a level as close to home as the grocery store, where housewives obtain trading stamps with their purchases. Since the grocer's only source of income is his customers, they naturally pay the cost of the stamps and the merchandise which the stamps redeem. But they think they're getting something for nothing.

Where this national craze is encountered on the grand scale, of course, is in the National Government. Everybody moans, with good reason, that Federal taxes are a crushing burden. Yet everybody still thinks that anything you get from Uncle Sam is free.

It is a tossup whether the Congress will put Uncle Sam in the business of helping finance new school buildings. The proponents are now urging that everyone write their Senators and Representatives demanding such action—and for every thousand people who obediently do so, there will be only one who will write asking the lawmakers to use commonsense and defeat the proposal.

Federal aid in financing public-school buildings would accomplish nothing that the States, counties, and local districts could not do better at less expense. It would simply create one more bureau to take out its own cost of operation before returning part of the money to the taxpayers who were relieved of the money in the first place.

But this hocus-pocus is not as simple as taking a dollar from you as a California taxpayer, keeping a dime for expenses and returning 90 cents to you as a subsidy for new school buildings.

States which could pay for school buildings but have been too niggardly to do so would, instead, receive Federal funds collected in other States which already have decent school buildings—and will be paying local taxes for the next 20 years or so to retire the bonds that built them.

Californians, who have spent hundreds of millions for new schools, and whose children will still be paying the bill, would continue to pay for their own schools—and also pay the cost of bringing Mississippi schools up to something approaching a decent standard.

Yet we still think there's such a thing as getting something for nothing.

Federal Employee Retirement Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an effective guest editorial from the Oregon Journal of Portland, of July 24, 1957, written by Mr. H. A. O'Neal of Milwaukie, Oreg. Mr. O'Neal, a retired employee of the United States Government, makes vividly clear in this article why an increase in retirement annuities for former employees is fully justified and merited.

The facts presented by Mr. O'Neal also serve to demonstrate why I took an active part—both in our retirement subcommittee and in the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee—in helping to bring about favorable action on the Carlson bill to increase Federal employee retirement benefits, as recommended by the National Association of Retired Civil Employees.

For the benefit of my colleagues in the Senate, I ask that the entire article by Mr. O'Neal appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES IN NEED OF LIVING FUNDS

(By H. A. O'Neal)

This article has to do with some 250,000 retired United States civil-service employees. This is an extremely heterogeneous group of men and women, some single, but the majority is composed of men with wives and in frequent cases with other dependents.

With a few exceptions, when these people reach retirement age, in general 65 to 70 years, they no longer receive the compensation which they have been accustomed to, but are given a retirement pension which at best is grossly inadequate and, in many cases, is so small that only bare existence is possible.

In the above group of about 250,000 retirees, the record shows that some 40,000 of them receive only approximately $50 a month, another 53,000 receive between $50 and $100 a month, and a third group of 44,000 receive from $100 to $150 a month.

It would appear that $4,500 could be assumed to be a minimum salary, therefore the compensation of those in the $100 to $150 group is reduced to one third of the accustomed amount and those in the still lower brackets are even more severely affected, yet in the face of this, the cost of living steadily increases, taxes increase, insurance increases, and after age 65 or 70, medical expenses are bound to rise.

What standard of living can the above retirees enjoy?

The record shows that these 250,000 former civil-service employees, now in the age group of 65 to the high 90's, all retired prior to October 1, 1956. They are the retirees whose financial circumstances have here been described. They are the group that the second session of the 84th Congress (refused, failed, neglected, use any word you want to) did not give aid to, and here is the reason why:

Bills were introduced in that session of the 84th Congress to increase the retirement benefits of the above retirees. Such a bill passed the Senate unanimously, was sent to the House, where it died when Congress adjourned, because the chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service would not hold a hearing on it. The outcome resulting from the nonpassage of this bill is made the more discriminatory and inequitable because of the enactment by the same Congress of a law increasing by about 25 percent the retirement benefits of civil service employees who would retire after October 1, 1956.

Thus, the final result means that for each $1,000 received by an employee retiring before October 1, 1956, this same employee, if retiring after that date, would receive about $1,330. Another example of this gross injustice would work out something like this:

If one on a $4,000 salary, with 25 years service, retired before October 1, 1956, he would receive about $1,500 a year; however, if he retired after October 1, 1956, he would receive about $1,950 a year.

Now, on July 1, 1957, 7 months later, the employee who retired before October 1, 1956, is still receiving only the same $1,500 a year, yet those employees who have retired since October 1, 1956, have all retired on the increased rates. This prompts the question, what is to be the future of these 250,000 retirees?

More than 100 bills have been introduced in the Congress to rectify this shameful neglect, yet to date absolutely no action has been taken.

How would you, and you, and you, like to be one of these 250,000? Could you maintain a decent standard of living on their income?

One fact stands out above all others:

These retirees pass to the great beyond at the rate of about 1,000 a month, which means that some 9,000 or 10,000 have already passed on since October 1, 1956, without having been given the consideration which was justly theirs.

Nickerson's Fate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently court-martial proceedings were held for Col. John C. Nickerson with

reference to some of the missile projects. As an outcome of that court-martial Colonel Nickerson has been assigned to a very low rating position in the Canal Zone—virtually banished. The Birmingham News had a very brief editorial on July 27, entitled "Nickerson's Fate," which states the situation quite well. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NICKERSON'S FATE

The Army has ordered Col. John C. Nickerson to the Panama Canal Zone. He will have a routine, menial engineering job. He can't command anybody for a year. When he gets to the zone, he has the very lowest priority for housing—any shavetail can get quarters before Nickerson can.

This is an ugly piece of business, even if Nickerson did commit a grave error. The Army now is deliberately trying to humiliate the man. He would be far better off if he resigned his commission. With his missile knowledge the man can serve his country in private industry.

The Army's decision is puerile.

The Path to Mental Slavery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial entitled "The Path to Mental Slavery," from the July 25, 1957, issue of the De Kalb New Era, of Decatur, Ga.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PATH TO MENTAL SLAVERY

A diligent search of the English language fails to reveal words strong enough to express the childish silliness of the three big networks in their refusal to permit, as written, the rendition over radio and television of such songs as those written by Stephen Foster. Such songs are edited to eliminate such words as "darkies, massa, mammy, and Old Black Joe." The reason given for this farcical action is that such words "are offensive to a large segment of the people."

Really now, how far are we going to carry this thing? What sort of a life are we going to be called upon to live if things continue in such a trend?

Such songs depict the life of a people. These words are words of love and honor. They reflect on no one, but honor their subjects and perpetuate them in the hearts of the American people. Any people, any race, would ordinarily be proud of such a place in history and more especially in the hearts of another people. And yet they are being censored and inane words substituted that entirely take away from the context the true meaning and the soulful expressions of a day that is gone.

These songs are the truest examples of American folklore. Yet all that is destroyed. The songs must be modernized. They must be streamlined. They must be destroyed to meet the whims of moderninity. What manner of thinking is this? Are the American people becoming so modern that they must destroy all that has gone before them? Are groups becoming so demanding as to be offended at tradition? Are they becoming so narrow that they are losing contact with the sweetness of the soul? Are they putting all emphasis, all thought and all direction on the cynic's view, that all things are hemming them in and restricting their rights?

To preserve our heritage, the heritage of all races and creeds is not to be laughed off as sentimentalism. Such things go deep into the roots of any people. Destroy these things, and we destroy the basic things of life. The censorship of such songs as Stephen Foster wrote perhaps is an unimportant and trivial thing in itself. But it is the thinking and the feeling back of such actions that is of the gravest importance.

This is dictatorship, and no less. More and more the encroachments are edging their way into our private lives, our thinking and our very souls. How far will it go before we are sold into slavery?

Patching Holes in United States Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, as Senators know, there has been considerable debate of late concerning the policy of our Government in handling news—a debate which thoughtful citizens have followed with great interest. An interesting article on this topic, which was written by Jim Bishop, appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Monday, July 22. I believe that his analysis warrants the thoughtful attention of all who are concerned with this important subject, and I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bishop's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PATCHING HOLES IN UNITED STATES SECURITY

(By Jim Bishop)

The easiest country for a spy is the United States. This is so for several reasons. One is that this is a polyglot nation with millions of people who have secondary loyalties. Another is that hundreds of thousands of officers of our Government have the power to stamp anything secret—including a box of paper clips—and the word secret is a joke. Third, the punishment for being caught spying in peacetime is seldom harsh. Fourth, we have no central security agency.

In any other country except Great Britain, security is a unified job handled by one department under the head of the Nation. It is the job of this department to screen employees in sensitive work for loyalty; to track and trap foreign agents; to deal with the press. In America, the Federal Bureau of Investigation checks the loyalty of suspects and ferrets spies; the Central Intelligence Agency spies on other nations and forwards its findings to the interested department here; each Government department has its own press section to tell, or withhold, secrets from the newspaper reporters.

A few days ago I finished a series of articles on missiles. Every word of it was cleared by three governmental sections. This was done at my insistence for two reasons: (1) I don't want to reveal secrets, even unconsciously; (2) the press information sections of the Air Force, the Navy, and the Army have kept me from writing colossal blunders for the past 14 years by suggesting that certain brilliant deductions of mine be erased.

WRIGHT STATEMENT CITED

Last week, according to Newsweek, Lawyer Loyd Wright of Los Angeles, in a report from his Commission on Government Security, charged that, on occasion, the United States has been betrayed by the press. The newspapers, which are always sensitive to blanket criticism, jumped behind the typewriter barricades and clackety-clacked Mr. Wright to death.

My feelings, having worked with the men in the Pentagon for a long time, is that the charge is probably true. In a few instances, reporters have decided not to hold onto a so-called hot story for fear that it would be leaked to a competitor. In other cases, a rival Government agency deliberately leaked the information to a writer and urged him to use it. In the majority of cases, the reporter, having been armed with, let us say, two given facts, deduced a third which, on publication, got everybody into trouble.

I don't think that any full-time reporter ever tried to hurt this country.

The serious betrayals of secrets, in every instance, had nothing to do with the press. When Sgt. David Greenglass walked out of Los Alamos, he carried with him a mental blueprint of the trigger for the atomic bomb. If the scientists standing near his workbench had kept their lips buttoned, Greenglass would not have been able to give the secret to a Soviet courier.

In the case of Dr. Klaus Fuchs, who gave Russia a blueprint for the making of the bomb. British security was lax. The officers at Harwell had a report that Fuchs had been a German Communist. They took no action on the matter and, when Fuchs came here, indorsed him to our security officers.

SUGGESTED REFORMS

Good stories are every reporter's business. The hotter the better. There will be no real security on the editorial side of the question until President Eisenhower appoints an agency with power to clear all sensitive material, no matter what department it concerns. Let the one agency be a clearing house for all Government information.

It cannot be worse than the current system—or lack of it.

A security check could be run on each reporter who deals with this agency. When he is cleared, he could be given access to lower echelon material marked "secret" to condition his thinking in writing stories on allied subjects. I would have no objection to being photographed and fingerprinted, and given an identification card if, in return, I was assured of better guidance in the gathering of material for stories.

If the agency could read and clear material quickly, all such writers, I am sure, would be willing to have the stories screened before publication. It might be good to pay such reporters $1 a year and make them part-time Government workers so that they would be subject to the laws covering betrayal of secret information.

It's harsh for us, but it would force both sides to be more responsible.

Shipbuilding Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the Journal of Commerce, which has always

devoted much attention to, and has strongly espoused the interests of, this Nation's commercial shipping, is vastly concerned about the outlook for vessel construction and Government's participation in the vessel-replacement program.

An editorial in the issue of July 26, 1957, entitled "Shipbuilding Funds," written by its very competent shipping expert, Mr. Edward P. Tastrom, presents the facts with clarity and force. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Journal of Commerce be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHIPBUILDING FUNDS

(By Edward P. Tastrom)

The question of shipbuilding appropriations to aid American-flag operators in their long-range fleet-replacement program is again in the news this week.

Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, testifying before a House committee, admitted he was trying to make up his mind whether to ask for a limited additional appropriation to provide for construction of a sister ship to the United States as a replacement for the *America*, or go along with pressure both inside and outside the administration for economy in Government spending. Right now, the prospects that the Secretary will seek new funds seem dim.

The following day; the subsidized lines, which are vitally interested in this question of fleet modernization, expressed concern in a letter to Secretary Weeks that the cuts made in shipbuilding funds this year may not be restored in the 1959 budget, now in preparation.

This concern is well founded and the campaign to secure restoration of shipbuilding appropriations to carry out the long-range plans cannot get underway too soon.

This long-range shipbuilding program, ultimately to involve some $3 billion of new vessels, is based upon the recommendations made by the Maritime Administration (a Division of Secretary Weeks' Department), following lengthy congressional hearings on the subject and special governmental studies.

Its purpose is to keep our merchant fleet in first-class condition, both for trade and defense, in recognition of our dominant position as a world power accounting for nearly one-third of all foreign trade and committed to come to the defense of most of the free world.

The cost of this program was to be $120 million a year, involving the construction of 50 ships annually.

Well, it got off the ground for one round and then, early this year, the lightning struck. The White House started things by nipping off $25 million which it transferred to the Civil Aeronautics Administration for special uses. Then the House Appropriations Committee sheared off $92 million, leaving $3 million in new appropriations of the $120 million sought in the 1958 budget.

The shipping industry did not oppose this action with any great vigor, though we felt it should have restated its position on a program that had been so carefully screened and had the merit of Government indorsement as vital to our commerce and defense.

The fact that $108 million remained unexpended in the previous year's budget should not have weighed as heavily with shipping men in deciding what should be done, as apparently was the case.

This sharp cut in long-range building funds struck us as a serious thing. It broke the continuity in this program just as it was getting started. As we observed at the time (though it never got into print), "When Congress next year considers funds for fiscal 1959 it will be dealing, in so far as shipbuilding is concerned, with a shelved program. If economy is still the rule of the day, the chances of getting the long-range funds restored will be considerably dimmed."

This could very well be the case, on the basis of this week's developments, unless active steps are taken to recover the lost ground.

The carryover should no longer prove a bugaboo since all the funds by now have been earmarked and are in the process of getting committed.

Reporting and Disclosure of Welfare and Pension Fund Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a telegram I have received from the American Institute of Public Accountants. This important organization, to my gratification, has sent this telegram in support of S. 2175, a bill introduced by myself to require the registration, reporting, and disclosure of welfare and pension fund plans. The same wire has gone to Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., sponsor of H. R. 7802, a companion bill introduced in the House.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *July 25, 1957.*

Senator IRVING M. IVES,
United States Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.;

Hon. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.,
The House of Representatives,
House Office Building:

After careful study of S. 2175 and H. R. 7802, identical bills which you are sponsoring in the Senate and House respectively, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants wishes to go on record as supporting the principle of this proposed legislation. In the judgment of the institute the objectives of these bills are clearly in the broad public interest.

The half-million employee welfare and pension benefit plans in existence today constitute for more than 75 million Americans—nearly half of our entire population—a protection against the misfortunes of life and the uncertainties of advanced age. They offer security and peace of mind and thus help to minimize the risks that were once thought to be the price of opportunity in a free economy. They encourage economic expansion and human progress by making it possible for people to use their present incomes to improve living standards without undue concern for their future welfare. They help demonstrate that by the wise management of their own social institutions people can provide adequately for their needs without excessive dependence upon governmental organization.

It is entirely likely that the vast majority of existing employee welfare and pension funds are being administered responsibly and honestly and that the trustees of these funds are conscientious men who have a keen awareness of their responsibilities toward the beneficiaries, whether the funds are administered by unions, by mangement, or jointly. But no one really knows how well they are being administered.

The financial resources of these funds have become so large, and the number of direct and collateral beneficiaries so vast that uniformly high standards of responsibility and accountability seem absolutely essential. In both size and scope employee pension and welfare funds have become a vital part of the national economy. Their assets constitute one of the largest existing pools of private capital. As time passes and many more million workers and their families become participants, the place of such funds in the economic framework of our society will take on increasing significance. The necessity for statutory standards of responsibility and accountability seems clear.

Any institution which directly affects the welfare and security of half our population, to say nothing of its impact upon the economic life of the Nation as a whole, is clearly affected with the public interest. Present safeguards—voluntary, Federal, and State—are insufficient protection of the public interest.

The proposed legislation seems a wise middle road between voluntary self-discipline and regulatory controls. It devises a remedy which is not only adequate to the need, but one which respects the ability of people to safeguard their own interests through the exercise of individual responsibility and their individual rights.

Furthermore, in the institute's views, there is nothing in this legislation to suggest a punitive motive. It could not be argued with validity, for example, that Congress would be seeking to punish the trustees of funds if an audit of their financial statements were required by law. Business firms, in order to sell securities in interstate commerce or through the mails, or to list their securities on a national securities exchange, have long been required to have their financial statements audited—to provide investors with an independent expert review of representations in financial statements. Even in the absence of legal compulsion thousands of business and nonprofit institutions regularly open their books to independent audits as an accepted practice of sound management.

For these reasons the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants endorses the purposes and principles of the proposed legislation.

MARQUIS G. EATON,
President, American Institute of Certified Public Accountants.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "We Must Avoid the Extremes," published in the Asheville Citizen-Times of Asheville, N. C., July 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE MUST AVOID THE EXTREMES

Tradition and long custom hold the South to the old ways of life; but, if the South is not pressed too hard by agitators and by

drastic Federal legislation, the South will make, and is making, adjustment to new ways of life.

Historic events of 1 day, July 23, confirm this generalization. For on that day a jury of Tennessee citizens and three North Carolina school boards made history which fits into the developing record of the new South.

The Tennessee jury verdict utterly refutes the main theory and the assertion upon which the administration's civil-rights bill was drafted.

That theory is that southern juries will not convict when the trial in any way concerns the problem of segregation.

The voluntary action of the 3 school boards of Charlotte, Winston-Salem, and Greensboro, assigning a total of 12 Negro students to former all-white school, demonstrates the reasonable possibilities of a sound, just, and flexible school law placing responsibility for the future of the public schools upon local school officials and local communities.

The 3 boards rejected the petitions of 41 Negro students.

The jury in the Federal court of Judge Robert Taylor, a Tennesseean, convicted segregation agitator John Kasper and six citizens of Clinton, Tenn., for criminal contempt of court. The defendants were charged with willful violation of a court order forbidding any interference with the lawful integration of Clinton High School.

Thus, as Judge Taylor said in his charge to the jury, the issue of integration was not on trial. Yet the defense counsel virtually rested their case on appeals to the jury to uphold the southern way of life.

How did the action of the three school boards come about? For the feelings of Tar Heels on such matters are close to similar feelings among the peoples of the States in the lower South where there is as yet no sign of integration in the schools.

The answer: confronted by the school crisis created by the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, North Carolina chose to meet the issue in good faith. Through the joint deliberations of the State school advisory committee and the general assembly, the Pupil Assignment Act was adopted.

In the words of State superintendent of public instruction Charles F. Carroll, this statute "imposes upon each local school board the moral and legal obligation to act in good faith, and with appropriate regard for the best interests of all concerned."

The law can operate with flexibility. It has alternatives for parents and students objecting to a given school assignment. But the act does not countenance assignment on the basis of race alone.

There was opposition to the enactment of the law. Loud voices called for resistance to the Court's ruling. It was proposed that the public schools be replaced by a so-called and legally dubious State system of private schools.

Statesmanship and good faith, however, prevailed in the general assembly. And among the people in general there was a willingness to go along, to experiment with ways to preserve, above all else, the school system that had been established by toil and sacrifice.

It was in this spirit, with this background of State history since May 1954, that the three school boards acted, in good conscience and after earnest deliberation.

Experiment, effort, and error—doubtless the future course of the public schools in this new era of world and American history will not be always smooth or happy.

But the old north State, in the main, throughout its history has sought to follow a good course avoiding extremes of action in the quest for orderly advancement.

And this indeed seems to be the explanation why our American representative democracy has outlived Europe's predictions of disaster at the birth of this Nation.

Despite recurring crises, this democratic Republic has never long wandered away from the middle way between the rocks. Thus the ship of state has not foundered in furious seas of political and social storm.

It would be well now for the more militant advocates of the civil rights bill to remember this red thread running through the cloth of our national history. Avoid the extremes, holding a middle way in good faith and firm will.

Racial Relationships in Housing in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I send to the desk an advertisement from the New York Times of Monday, July 29, 1957, regarding racial relationships in housing in the city of New York, which I believe points up that, whether a racial problem be in the South, West, or in New York City in the North, people of different racial or color lines cannot be compelled to integrate if they do not so desire.

I ask that this advertisement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TENANTS: IT IS UP TO YOU TO PROTECT YOUR INTEREST IN NEW YORK CITY AS A PLACE IN WHICH YOU WISH TO LIVE

Some weeks ago the city council considered a proposed law that would have compelled owners and managers of private apartment houses to rent apartments to tenants without regard to color or race or national origin, and regardless of the wishes of the tenants already occupying the buildings.

When tenants realized the meaning of this proposed law, they sent letters of protest by the thousands to Mayor Robert F. Wagner and to Joseph T. Sharkey, majority leader of the city council. As a result of this flood of letters the project was put aside by its political backers.

In the meantime, those who favor such totalitarian legislation have forced out an amended bill which they now intend to ram through the city's legislative process unless tenants again take the trouble to write in protest to the mayor, and to Mr. Sharkey. Accordingly, you are urged to again write letters of protest and address them to the mayor and Mr. Sharkey at city hall, New York 7, N. Y.

Owners of private apartment buildings now have the right to rent to tenants whom they regard as acceptable neighbors for their existing tenants. This bill would deprive them of that right and compel them to take new tenants whose presence may not be agreeable to present tenants. Under this compulsory renting law, as vacancies occur in private apartment buildings, present tenants thus would be required to share their apartment buildings with new tenants whom they may not prefer. This is an unwarranted invasion of private rights.

The people of New York City have a long record of mutual toleration and respect. The many races that make up our population have every right to associate freely under existing law, and they do associate freely. But to bring about compulsory association by applying the force of law to owners and managers of private apartment houses is an entirely different thing. Compulsion would change the fundamental basis of racial relationships within the city. The results could be unfortunate. For, what New Yorkers—all Americans, for that matter—are glad and willing to do in their private racial relationships as an act of free association, they will resist doing under the compulsion of legal force. This proposed law, we genuinely believe, will do more harm to racial relationships than anything else conceivably could.

The proposed law would cause many more families to leave the city. It would depress real-estate values. It would affect the basis of the city's taxation and its credit. It would undo much of the success we have had in amicable living.

If you oppose this bill—the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill—write at once and tell Mayor Wagner that you do.

BROOKLYN REAL ESTATE BOARD, INC.
LONG ISLAND REAL ESTATE BOARD, INC.
REAL ESTATE BOARD OF THE BRONX, INC.
REAL ESTATE BOARD OF NEW YORK, INC.
STATEN ISLAND REAL ESTATE BOARD, INC.

Pakistani Urges U. N. Police Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in the New York Times of July 26, 1957, there was published a news article under the heading "Pakistani Urges U. N. Police Force." The article refers to a statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. There is pending on the Calendar in the Senate, a Senate resolution expressing the sense of the Senate in favor of a permanent U. N. police force. I believe the Prime Minister of Pakistan has rendered a fine statement in support of such a move, and I ask unanimous consent that the article to which I have referred be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAKISTANI URGES U. N. POLICE FORCE—PERMANENT TROOP UNIT WOULD HELP SPEED DISARMAMENT, SUHRAWARDY SAYS HERE

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., July 25.—Establishment of a permanent United Nations force for "preventive policing" would help expedite disarmament, Prime Minister Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, of Pakistan, asserted today. He declared that the best guaranty of international peace lay in enhancing the prestige of the world organization.

Mr. Suhrawardy, in a radio broadcast from the United Nations headquarters, also expressed hope for the abandonment of nuclear weapons. He said he was confident that those who control the sources of nuclear energy would "make the right choice" in directing its potential toward constructive rather than destructive ends.

The United Nations entered its most effective phase in 1956, Mr. Suhrawardy stated, when it "decided to act swiftly and powerfully, and succeeded in preventing a conflagration in the Middle East." That one action alone has justified the organization's existence, he said.

Both in his formal address and in a press conference later, the Prime Minister voiced a conviction that the only element lacking for pacific settlement of many major world problems was good will.

SOLUTION FOR ISRAELI PROBLEMS

Even the problems between Israel and her Arab neighbors can be adjusted peacefully, he said, provided that one of the larger and more influential nations undertake to open negotiations between the two sides. In the process, Mr. Suhrawardy conceded, the intermediary "would certainly get his fingers burned."

His own Government, he told a questioner, has no intention of attempting such a role.

Pakistan has been charged with aggressive designs because of her membership in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Baghdad Pact, Mr. Suhrawardy said. He reiterated that Pakistan had entered into these alliances "with one intention alone, namely, to defend peace."

The Fight for Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial entitled "The Fight for Survival," from the July 25, 1957, issue of the De Kalb New Era, of Decatur, Ga.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

The efficient machinery of the United States Senate—the greatest deliberative body on earth—has come to a tortuous and creaking halt. The highest legislative chamber of our Government is paralyzed. Proposed legislation, much of it good, has been pigeonholed. All business has ceased, and two opposing forces are desperately marshaling ranks. The reason for this paralysis is the civil-rights bill.

Such a bill is no new proposal in this country. The introduction of a similar measure is annual affair. We have even experienced a civil-rights measure in action. This was immediately following the War Between the States.

Martial law was the order of the day. The writ of habeas corpus, an institution as old as Magna Carta, was suspended. Summary judgments and the suspension of all rules of evidence were commonplace experiences. The right of trial by jury was abolished. The Government became a Government by injunction and arbitrary power. These were the days of the carpetbaggers, the days of infamy, the days of incredible corruption and agonizing suffering. These were days which this country, the North and the South, look upon now with a feeling of shame. These were the days of civil-rights rule.

In considering this matter of civil-rights legislation, we are altogether too prone to restrict our view to one narrow interpretation, and usually that is of very inflammatory and controversial nature. But the issue goes far deeper than any one phase unless we consider the one great phase—the destruction of our Government as we know it and the abolition of our rights and freedoms. The really great question involved is States rights.

Our Constitution is very clear and simple on this matter. It clearly says that the Federal Government has no powers not delegated to it by the States. State sovereignty is the pillar of our Government.

In 1952, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, when he was running for the Presidency, made the following fundamental statement:

"The Federal Government did not create the States of this Republic. The States created the Federal Government. The creation should not supersede the creator. For if the States lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning, and the next step is the rise of the centralized national state in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow."

Again in 1953 he spoke these words:

"I am here because of my indestructible conviction that unless we preserve in this country the place of State government with the power of authority, the responsibilities and the revenues necessary to discharge those responsibilities, then we are not going to have America as we have known it. We will have some other form of government."

These are truths which America has been taught since the travail of the Revolutionary War. They are facts that have been instilled into us by our statesmen since our beginnings to the present time. They are the cornerstones upon which has rested our way of life and our happiness for nearly two centuries. Our history has taught us the wisdom of their practice, and the one departure from these practices brought untold suffering to our people and shame upon our name as a Nation.

To forsake these truths now would be calamitous. To substitute for these facts social, political, and economical theories, prompted by the exigencical thinking of the time would be appalling. Life in these United States has been too sweet and precious for us now to throw it all away and follow after the will-o'-the-wisp of fancy, conjecture and meaningless bait thrown out by groups who, caring nothing for any save themselves, fill our ears with prattlings and appealing needs. Here, right here in this country, there is an abundant chance for all groups to make good if they are sincere. There is a Constitution that protects. There are principles that are right. That protection and those principles will not countenance any group's being downtrodden.

And so, what if the Senate has stalled? What if the work of that great legislative body is paralyzed?

It is with deep gratitude that we see the friends of constitutional government, led by Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, fight for what we all know is right and fair and just against those forces that in the name of civil rights seek to destroy us from within with no less diabolicalism than our enemies from without seek to destroy our Nation and our people's happiness. The issues are not attached to the North or the South or the East or the West. They are Americanwide and freedomwide. The cause for which these men fight is the survival of our way of life. May they know that our prayers and our hopes are with them constantly, and our faith in their ultimate victory is unwavering and steadfast.

A Subtle Lesson at Grand Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, a fine tribute to the devoted men and women of the National Park Service as well as to the concept of preserving in national parks the scenic, natural, and historical sites of our Nation is found in the New Leader article entitled "A Subtle Lesson at Grand Canyon." It seems to me that Mr. William E. Bohn has done a splendid job of stating briefly the basic value of the park system:

A SUBTLE LESSON AT GRAND CANYON
(By William E. Bohn)

A million and thirty-six thousand visitors came to see the Grand Canyon last year. I asked Superintendent John S. McLaughlin and Assistant Superintendent Charles E. Shavlin why these people come and what they do when they get here. They agreed that a lot of visitors come to gawp and gape and then go home to boast to their friends that they have seen the Grand Canyon. But many, they said, gaze down the astonishing mile to the tossing waters of the Colorado River, stare across the 10 miles from rim to rim and find themselves shocked into awed attention. For the first time, it seemed, they realize what geology is. Before they turn back toward home, they may sit in on lectures very much like those usually given to college science classes. Oliver Goldsmith wrote about the visitors to the village church who came to scoff and remained to pray. Many of these lusty, car-driving Americans come to gaze and gawp and boast but remain to admire and understand.

A lot of thought has been given to this business of luring the public toward understanding. The park's museum is a low stone building set upon the very verge of the canyon. The wall toward the mighty gully is an unbroken sheet of glass. Along it there is a series of 15 binoculars, each one permanently set in such a way as to give a view of some important feature of the eighth wonder of the world.

We happened to stroll up to this place about half an hour before the lecture was to begin. The cars in the parking space were from most of the States of the Union and two or three Canadian provinces. There were a lot of trailers and a couple of buses. Inside there was the usual crowd—fathers and mothers with children of all ages, even babies, young married couples holding hands, and every other sort of vacationing group. But no matter how playful and jolly the vacationers might be, there was a constant line of quiet and intent people gazing through the glasses down into the depths of the great incision.

Presently Betty Bartlett, a perky young woman in a park ranger's uniform, stepped out against the shining wall of glass and began the lecture of the day. It was, of course, about the geological revelations visible in the canyon's great walls. She explained the five periods of geological time as brightly and pertinently as if she had been telling a fairy tale to a primary class. Then she went into the rather complicated process whereby the rocks of the area have been raised and the great cut for the passage of the water has been dredged out by the wild and irresistible Colorado River. And she did not neglect to tell her listeners that there are little grand canyons everywhere, that they can find the evidence of the geologic processes right around their own homes.

When the talk was ended, the listeners did not disperse as I expected. The exhibits in the cases and on the walls of the museum attracted troops of eager viewers. Men and women, young and old, gaze at the fossil remains and samples of all the different sorts of rock exhibits in the exposed strata of the great canyon. A lusty junior shouted across the halls: "Hey, Maw, look. Here's the track of a dinosaur—and its only got three toes." And a stiff-looking farmer pointed out to his plump and hearty-looking dame the different sorts of rock which were on display.

This was, of course, effective and widely aimed education. The curiosity and enthu-

siasm of boys and girls were being turned in the direction of science and productive thought. Old folks were being given an opportunity to fill in rifts in their education which had been left by the primitive facilities available during their youth.

The next day we had the pleasure of meeting Louis Schelback, the widely known and just naturally inspiring head of the Grand Canyon Scientific Staff. He was in a happy mood, for, as one of his assistants explained, his great dream had finally come true. There has just been completed a visitors' center which is really a dream, a place where pleasure and learning have been perfectly combined. I wish that all of the museum designers and directors in the country could see it. It is at once so beautiful, so informative and so alive. The man who planned all of this smiled a warm smile and said: "You see, we must not make it too obvious that we are teaching."

To all three of the men whom I met at Grand Canyon Park I put a question which has been taking form in my mind: "How does the Government manage to get for its Park Service so many able and devoted men, men who obviously could draw much bigger salaries in other occupations? My informants agreed upon three good answers. In the first place, the National Park Service was established by Steve Mather and a group of devoted men who surrounded him. Their spirit is still strong in the organization. In the second place, from the beginning, and to a certain extent now, the service has been manned by foresters—and foresters don't work for money, they know better.

Alabama's Oil Production Sets New Monthly Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, Alabama's oil production is steadily increasing month by month. In May, the last month for which figures are available, oil production totaled almost 600,000 barrels—the most every produced in a single month. Additional wells are being drilled, with three new ones just completed in the State's largest field, Citronelle.

With the demand for oil increasing almost daily, Alabama's role should become progressively more and more important in the months and years ahead. Under leave heretofore granted, I am happy to insert an editorial from the Birmingham News of July 22, 1957, which is entitled "Alabama's Oil Production Up":

ALABAMA'S OIL PRODUCTION UP

Alabama is a long way yet from being a major oil-producing State, but output is climbing as new wells are drilled and brought into production. Three new wells were being completed last week in the Citronelle field in north Mobile County. If all are brought in as commercial producers, they will raise the total number of wells in that 2-year-old field to 95.

The State's oil production in May, according to Dr. Walter B. Jones, State oil and gas supervisor, was 500,981 barrels, a new monthly record. The figure compared with 462,129 barrels in April and 230,880 barrels in May a year ago. Leading in May output was the Citronelle field with 387,223 barrels, followed by the Pollard field in Escambia County with 68,391 barrels, the Gilbertown field in Choctaw County with 36,540, and the Carlton field in Clarke County with 8,826.

Both United States and world demand for oil, of course, continues to grow each year. Domestic demand for crude petroleum, from which is derived some 2,000 other end products besides gasoline, is currently running between 8 and 9 million barrels a day. Chase Manhattan Bank economists, who keep a sharp eye on the industry, now estimate that by 1967 domestic consumption will have risen to more than 14¼ million barrels a day, while demand in the rest of the free world will be almost as high.

The bank's economists expect that domestic sources in 1967 will be supplying 11 million barrels daily and foreign sources 17 million a day. American oil companies, it is anticipated, will have to spend some $73.5 billion and foreign companies about $41.5 billion in finding and developing new sources over the next 10 years.

It will be hoped in Alabama that this State will be able to play an increasingly significant role in the expansion that lies ahead for the industry.

A Valorous Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a good and gentle woman from my home community has recently been called away. While for the most part her charitable endeavors benefited local people and institutions, her influence was also felt in the larger area of international philanthropies. She gave generously of her self, her strength, time and devotion. In the words of the following editorial, that appeared in the American Jewish Post, of Paterson, N. J., Mrs. Anna J. Maskowitz was "a valorous woman":

Jewish tradition has popularized the tribute "eshes chayil" to symbolize the loftiest embodiment of Jew womanhood. The translation "woman of valor" does not approximate all the overtones which are implicit in the expression of esteem and reverence to a woman who best exemplifies the qualities of heart and soul glorified in Holy Script by King Solomon, as recorded in the Book of Proverbs.

Anna Maskowitz, of sainted memory, was an "eshes chayil" in the fullest meaning of the term. She was a living definition of the exalted character of Jewish motherhood, which is equated with the highest ideals of love, self sacrifice, an all absorbing dedication to the promotion of health and the happiness of all of God's children, who were her children. In her heart there was room for all the distressed and the forlorn, of all peoples, and she was happiest only when she could bring them a full measure of happiness by laboring day and night for the upbuilding of the temples of mercy, the welfare institutions in our community.

Anna Maskowitz has left an indelible impress upon the annals of the city of Paterson. It is safe to say that all the worthy institutions with which she was identified would not have enjoyed such outstanding achievements without the dynamic, irresistibly impelling stimulation of a woman with a resolute will who would never take "No" for an answer whenever charity was involved.

Paterson has been blessed by her life in our midst and will forever be indebted to her for her signal benefactions.

Parochial Schools Save Boston $15 Million in Taxes Annually

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very factual and illuminating statement made by Mr. Emmett Kelly, an assistant assessor for the city of Boston, on the contribution made by the Catholic schools in the city of Boston, and the substantial savings of millions of dollars to the taxpayers yearly in the capital city of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

This article appeared in the Boston Pilot on July 27, 1957, and is as follows:

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS SAVE BOSTON $15 MILLION IN TAXES ANNUALLY

(By Emmett Kelly)

(Editor's Note.—A resident of East Boston, Mr. Kelly is an assistant assessor for the city of Boston. The present article is presented as an interesting sidelight on the forthcoming announcement of Boston's new tax rate.)

Taxpayers sometimes forget to count their blessings. The miscalculation often occurs because the blessings are in disguise. Among these blessings are tax savings which are even less obvious than hidden taxes.

In the realm of real-estate taxation, Catholic schools operated at a great personal sacrifice by churchgoers must be calculated as a benefaction to the community.

In Boston, the hub of taxation, Catholic schools are a deterent to a higher tax rate by saving the taxpayers $15 million annually. In effect, it is a financial contribution to a better public-school system. The existence of Catholic schools alleviate an already tax-burdened community of a greater and perhaps financially crushing school problem.

The 1956 public-school budget was approximately $30 million, providing for 83,000 pupils, at per capita cost of $360. The parochial school pupils numbered 43,000, figured at the same per capita rate, would indicate a cost of $15 million if educated by the city. Since $1 million in the Boston budget equates to 66 cents in the tax rate, $15 million budget dollars is the proximate equivalent of $10 in the tax rate. This indicates that a home assessed for $7,000 has a tax saving of $70. A business property assessed for $1 million, has a tax saving of $10,000. This represents a substantial saving of 12 percent in taxes on every unit of taxable property, real and personal, in the city.

This taxsaving is the equivalent of an amount the city expected in revenue from Gov. Foster Furcolo's proposed sales tax.

The $15 million tax saving figure is three times greater than real estate taxation expected by the city from the Prudential development rightly acclaimed as an economic boom for Boston. The $100 million development with an assessed valuation of $65 mil-

lion at present rates would produce an approximated tax of $5,115,500.

What does $15 million represent in the tax structure of Boston? It is the proximate equivalent of the total real estate tax levy in the following areas:

Valuation—Ward 7, $26,500,000; ward 8, $28,100,000; ward 9, $24,500,000; ward 10, $18,600,000; ward 11, $24,100,000; ward 12, $30,000,000; and ward 13, $23,500,000.

In these areas there is a real estate taxable valuation of $174 million with a total tax bill of approximately $14 million.

The $15 million Catholic school cost is the proximate equivalent of the costs of running the following municipal departments and obligations:

Debt service, $6,900,000; pension system, $2,700,000; MTA deficit, $4,900,000.

This is the Boston picture. But what of the entire archdiocese? The archdiocesan system of schools is, the largest in New England, one and a half times as large in number of pupils as the largest municipal public school system in Massachusetts, and one of the largest school systems, public or parochial in the entire country.

Its expansion since 1944 is phenomenal due to the foresight and zeal of Archbishop Cushing and his plan that wherever possible Catholics would have the opportunity to attend their church schools. It is a significant plan in light of his archiepiscopal motto: "That they may know Thee."

SCHOOLS INCREASE

The total enrollment of archdiocesan schools in 1944 was 102,000. The enrollment in 1956 showed a 46 percent increase bringing the total to 149,000. In the same period the number of schools was increased by 21 percent from 280 to 338.

An excerpt from an article in the Pilot by Mary L. Sparks of the archdiocesan department of education, stated, "Based on the 1951–52 per capita costs of public elementary and high schools in each of the 67 cities and towns in the archdiocese which also contains one or more parochial schools, taxpayers in those cities and towns would have had to pay $30,637,000 to educate the children who are cared for in the parochial schools. * * * The per capita costs are only the operating costs and do not represent capital outlay and equipment."

This is a far cry from an article in the Pilot of November 1839, deploring the fact though the Catholic population had grown considerably, there was not a single male school attached to any church in Boston. This writer is happy to note, as an alumnus, that the first real expansion of a diocesan parochial school system began in the north end of Boston in January of 1849 when the Notre Dame Sisters staffed the St. Mary's school under the guidance of the Jesuits with Father John McElroy as pastor.

The Catholic almanac in 1866 reported that the Boston diocese had 3 academies, 9 schools for girls and 4 schools for boys with a pupil population of 4,491.

The glorious decade was 1944–54, when the seedlings, fallen upon barren ground in the 19th century came to full flower and fruition under the guidance of Archbishop Cushing.

The great strides taken in developing the archdiocesan department of education in the last decade is a credit to the archbishop and his highly qualified aids, Msgr. Cornelius T. H. Sherlock, former superintendent, and Msgr. Timothy F. O'Leary, present superintendent.

Is this continued development expensive over the years? Indeed. Worthwhile? Of course, and a clear indication that Catholic parents are determined that their children will be educated in the manner prescribed by the church.

Boston, tax burdened and tax conscious, like other cities and towns is looking to the statehouse for relief from the spiraling real-estate tax. The tax is burdensome to landlord and tenant alike and cripping to Boston's industrial potential.

The unanimity of opinion recognizing the peril is divided with respect to the method of correction. The public is confused by the variety of nostrums proposed and is apprehensive that the mountain's labor will prove abortive. But, however high the present tax rate, consider what it would be if the municipal budget had to provide for the education of the pupils presently in the parochial system.

Address by Hon. Earl Wilson Before the Convention of Indiana Veterans of World War I, Indianapolis, Ind., July 20, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following text of a speech made by our colleague, Representative EARL WILSON, of the Ninth Indiana Congressional District, before the convention of Indiana Veterans of World War I in Indianapolis on July 20. Mr. WILSON quotes some statistical material relative to these veterans which I deem most worthy of note:

ADDRESS OF HON. EARL WILSON BEFORE VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND., ON JULY 20, 1957

My friends, it is indeed a great honor to be invited to appear today before this gathering of Indiana veterans of our first great world war.

They called you doughboys back there in 1917 and 1918, when you were at the peak of your glory—in the very prime of vigorous young manhood. There were nearly 5 million of you in uniform.

When old Kaiser Wilhelm officially threw in the sponge on that memorable day of November 11, 1918, you fellows were heroes throughout the world. You came marching home—victorious, happy, and singing lusty French songs. You were paraded, wined, and dined in every city and town across the land. You marched behind thousand of bands playing grand old tunes like Beautiful Katie, Four Leaf Clover, Over There, How You Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm—and the many other catchy and never-to-be-forgotten melodies of that wonderful period.

It brings a lump to the throat to think back over those good old days—the days when the world and our own beloved country seemed on the threshold of a bright new life. Those were the days before the H-bomb—and before planes and guided missiles which travel faster than sight or sound.

It was common, in those days, to speak of the world sitting on a powder keg when we referred to ticklish international situations which might lead to war. Today the world literally sits on the very brink of eternity, faced with forces of destruction which can—if loosened by irresponsible men or governments—wipe out all civilization, the world over, in a matter of hours or days. This is indeed a period of great anxiety.

However, I believe we can be certain of these comforting facts:

That all of our wars, all our scientific and other discoveries, all our participation in world affairs—are distinct parts of the great pattern of human progress.

Certainly you doughboys of World War I played important parts. You made everlasting contributions to the advancement of America and of the world. You saved the world for democracy. You gave this country the strength and the necessary breathing time to get set for later onslaughts by enemies of the free world.

I am absolutely certain—and I know this belief is shared by millions of other Americans—that ours might well be an enslaved or a second-rate nation today were it not for the victories you achieved nearly 40 years ago.

Forty years is not a long time, as history records the progress of nations and of civilizations.

Yet, it is a very long time when measured against the life expectancy of mortal man. The 3 score and 10 years as mentioned in the Bible still is accepted as the normal limit of human life. Beyond that, a man is considered to be living on borrowed time. Thanks to advances in science and medicine, however, more and more of our people are living—hale, hearty, and happy—long past their 70th birthdays.

There are very few doughboys who are not crowding 60 years. Some are a bit younger—but many more are older. In fact, the average age of World War I veterans on last December 31 was 62.8 years. That was 7 months ago, so we can assume that the average age right now is more than 63 years.

Before leaving Washington yesterday I did some researching at the Veterans' Administration. I found some very interesting material.

I found there were 4,744,000 men in uniform in World War I—Army, Navy, and Marines. On May 31, 1956, there were 3,090,000 of these men still living. On May 31, 1957, there were 2,980,000 still living. This means, then, that up to now nearly 2 million of your buddies of that war have gone on to the Great Beyond.

The rate of death of World War I veterans now is figured by the Veterans' Administration to be about 7,500 per month. For the next several years the deaths will average about 8,500 a month. After that, the average will be much higher.

In Indiana, we had 80,000 World War I veterans on September 30, 1956. Six months later, on March 31, 1957, the number had fallen to 79,000. This means that Hoosier veterans are dying at the rate of 2,000 a year.

In VA hospitals throughout America there are about 44,000 World War I veterans. They represent about 40 percent of all the VA hospital load. The other 60 percent represents veterans of later conflicts and of the Spanish-American War.

On May 31, 1957, there were 216,395 of your comrades drawing disability compensation, which means compensation for disabilities suffered while they were in uniform. Their average payments amount to $955.99 per year, or $79.67 a month.

On the same date there were 593,348 World War I veterans drawing disability pensions averaging $898 per year, or $74.84 a month. To draw this pension, a veterans must, among other things, suffer total disability from nonservice causes, and his income must be below $1,400 a year if he is unmarried, and $2,700 a year if he has dependents.

In Indiana we have about 6,000 buddies drawing disability compensations, and about 14,000 drawing disability pensions.

All these figures mean that we now have something more than 2 million World War I veterans—averaging over 63 years in age—who draw no compensation from their Government.

I have been an Indiana Congressman for 17 consecutive years. When Congress reassembles next January, I will be entering my 18th year.

I am the direct representative of many of you who are here tonight—you who are from any of the 14 counties comprising my congressional district. But I want to emphasize that I regard myself as the representative—as a champion in Congress—of all veterans of World War I, regardless of where they happen to live, what color they happen to be, or what religion they happen to profess.

I feel a similar obligation to veterans of all American wars.

My friends, I have been in Flanders field. I have looked upon the row on row of crosses marking the graves of doughboys, as far as the eye can see. I have been in Arlington National Cemetery. I have stood before vast fields of American soldier graves in other parts of the world.

Many of you here right now were actual witnesses to the deaths of your comrades. Perhaps you helped to carry their lifeless and torn bodies back from the front lines.

I say to you now that—but for the grace of God—any of you here tonight could be lying in those graves, under the little white crosses in Flanders field or in some other corner of the world.

You took the risk. You put up your lives, so that America might continue to be the land of the free, and the home of the brave. You demanded nothing from your Government when you were taking that supreme risk.

The fact that you survived—that you were not killed or maimed—does not lessen the gratitude and the obligation due to you from your country.

At the close of World War I you veterans formed some wonderful, effective and helpful organizations which represented you and fought for your rights in many places. These were organizations such as the American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars—and others.

As America went into World War II, the Korean war and lesser conflicts, the scope and membership of these organizations, which you had formed, expanded to take in the younger veterans. This is well and good, for these younger veterans certainly deserved recognition and help.

However, it is unfortunate that you heroes and veterans of World War I were edged into the background as these younger veterans of later wars came to the forefront.

Seeing these conditions developing, you older veterans felt the necessity of forming a new organization devoted entirely to your own particular problems. You organized as the Veterans of World War I, and that is why you are here tonight.

I am most happy to note that the Indiana department of your organization is one of the most active and effective in the setup. You are fortunate in having officials like Denton Opp, Cap Armstrong, Wilbur Cochran, and others. They are hard-hitters, always on the ball.

I regard your World War I organization is very definitely necessary. Your problems are unlike those of the younger veterans, and you must work to present your case before the Nation.

Your present objective of getting a charter, through an act of Congress, which would give your organization the same standing as that enjoyed by the three other major organizations, is a most worthy one. It is essential that you be duly recognized as a properly instituted body by the Veterans Administration.

Your other major objectives—a monthly pension of $100 for every honorably discharged World War I veteran with the required length of service—is one with which I am honored to be identified in the House.

As most of you know, my bill—known as H. R. 2201—would grant $100 per month as a pension to all qualified World War I veterans of 60 years or older, if they apply for it. This bill now is before the House Committee on Veterans Affairs.

An accomplishment such as is sought in my pension bill is indeed a difficult one—particularly during this period of pressure against Federal spending. I am sure, however, that I am making progress in getting new support from my colleagues in Congress. This will take time. Proposals involving new expenditures of Federal money always do.

I urge that you veterans do not become discouraged, and that you do your best to enlist new support for the pension measure.

Before closing, I would like to leave one more thought with you—and I regard it as being of life-and-death importance.

Your country today is face to face with the most deadly enemy in its history. The combined effort of all Americans—of all ages, races, and creeds—is necessary if America is to emerge victorious.

I refer, my friends, to the threat of Red Russian communism.

This is the kind of enemy we have never before faced. This enemy confidently expects to conquer America without firing a shot. We would gain victory by pitting class against class, race against race, by plunging un into bitter internal strife which he hopes would mean actual armed civil war and bloodshed of Americans on American soil. He would have us financially and morally bankrupt through oppressive taxation, an overload of spending, a steadily rising inflation, constantly plunging the value of American dollars to lower and lower levels. He would have as assume terrific obligations in all corners of the world, spreading our dollars, our resources, our manpower so thin as to leave no reserve for our national protection. He would encourage us into complacency, into a false feeling of security that would cause us to fall quickly before a sudden knockout punch which he could administer at his own will.

Millions of American patriots today are worried—greatly worried.

They fear that we, as a nation, are falling into the Kremlin trap—wasting our resources and loading intolerable burdens on our industries, our people and our future generations. Millions are horrified by our failure to reduce the great national debt in this era of unmatched production, income and employment. They are worried about our $37 billion defense budget, about the extent and the cost of our so-called foreign aid.

They are heartsick about many other things which, to them, do not indicate a healthy state of affairs for the Nation they are trying to build for their children.

I will not attempt here to discuss the state of our Federal finances, or our world policies. I will say, however, that I am worried.

This is a time for every American—regardless of age, color, sex, or religion—to take a long and thoughtful look at conditions. Then he should let his convictions be known—particularly to the people he has in public office.

I said it a minute ago—and I'd like to emphasize it now: We are in a new kind of war—in it up to our necks. The call to arms must be heard and answered by all our people, from one end of this great land to the other.

Research for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of the Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal an editorial of great significance to farmers, and the farm economy generally, appeared. The Commercial Appeal is an outstanding newspaper of the South and one that devotes considerable attention to problems affecting agriculture.

This article called for greater utilization of farm commodities and the urgent need for agricultural research in this field. There is no question about the validity of this conclusion. More conusmpton of farm commodities would solve many of the pressing problems now confronting American agriculture.

On this same subject I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under date of January 23, 1957, an address of Dr. Byron T. Shaw, Administrator of the Agricultural Research Service pointing up the work of the Department in seeking new uses for agricultural commodities.

There is still much more work that needs to be done.

This splendid article follows:

RESEARCH FOR FARMERS

Modern commercial farming is one of the great triumphs of science. Two blades of grass where one grew before is an old dream replaced by the present-day fact of 6 bales of cotton on ground that used to produce 1.

The private laboratory, the experiment station, and the State university staffs are wonder workers. And county agents have retailed these wonders to the food and fiber growers, in one of the most productive of all uses of tax money. Rural high schools train boys in the new methods, including thousands who will go to city jobs as soon as they have their diplomas.

It is reasonable to expect science to bring us still better seeds, machinery, and fertilizer, and it is in the public interest to use taxes for these purposes.

But we have attained farm production. It has reached such high levels where we hold it back artificially for protection of farmers using precommercial methods.

What is needed now is science on the consuming end of agriculture. We need more of remodeling of the turkey for apartment-size families and the redesigned hog with leaner bacon. We ought to be able to do something more about growing the cotton the mills buy instead of the kind that goes into the Government loan.

Deep freezing has lengthened the season for sale of many types of food. Whatever the laboratory men can do faster with more research money should be done.

There is another kind of study—less exact, less rapid and less understood because it involves human decisions—that is entitled to have its chance to modernize the consumption of farm products. There is the matter of finding what can be done to put steaks within the reach of the hamburger buyer and making milk available to every baby. We have in mind processes of preparing, storing,

and selling that will lower prices, rather than social reforms in wages and taxation.

Scientific, in contrast to political, attention ocean shipping and to the restriction of tariffs, quotas, and exchange also might better the consumption needed to balance our production.

This kind of research would take place far from the traditional sites of agricultural sciences, but it would be of benefit to farmers just the same.

United States Joins World Atomic Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, a historic event occurred yesterday at 2:30 p. m., when in the secluded loveliness of the rose garden at the White House, the President signed and thereby finalized the treaty which committed this Government to membership in the International Atomic Energy Agency.

There was no pomp or fanfare, but a few invited persons high in the atomic ranks of our Government were present, and the ceremony was brief. After affixing his signature to the document, the President addressed the group of guests, which is as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE CEREMONY IN CONNECTION WITH THE SIGNING OF THE INSTRUMENT OF RATIFICATION OF THE STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC AGENCY, IN THE ROSE GARDEN, MONDAY, JULY 29, 1957

Secretary Herter, Admiral Strauss, distinguished guests, this document which I have just signed ratifies the participation of the United States in the International Atomic Energy Agency. In so doing it seems appropriate to remind ourselves that the word "atom" in ancient Greek meant "undivided."

This ceremony underlies the fact that in a literal sense the original meaning no longer applies. Out of the dividing of the indivisible has come the power and knowledge this newly created Agency now seeks to put to work.

But in a symbolic sense the original meaning can now have a far broader application. The known facts of atomic science remind us that the interests of the nations of this age are indivisible. Nations must unify their actions if this new-found power and knowledge are to create, not to destroy.

The high purpose of the International Atomic Energy Agency is to make atomic power for peaceful purposes available to all nations. The statute creating it has been negotiated and accepted by the governments of 80 nations. It is now in process of ratification by them. The instruments of ratification will be placed by these 80 nations with the United States Government as official depository.

This document, which the United States has approved, ratifies our own participation.

As we look backward at the efforts and the patience required to bring this Agency into being, we might be tempted to congratulate ourselves, but if we will look ahead, we see how much new ground we still must break. Many new fields must be pioneered before this Agency becomes a functioning reality. New international functions must be organized and made to work. Much development in atomic science itself will be required before the full possibilities of these discoveries are realized. Much remains to be accomplished in the fields of arms limitation and international cooperation. When we have advanced further in these directions, then we can have real hope for progress and peace.

I recall the day in 1953 when the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency was first proposed. The plan was formally presented by the United States, but in fact we did no more than crystallize a hope that was developing in many minds in many places. At the United Nations, where the proposal was first made, spontaneous expression of support was received. This has been reflected since in the fact that all important United Nations actions on this subject have been taken by unanimous vote.

Now an idea, however, great its potential, is of no use unless somehow there is brought to it a spark of faith, a sense of urgency, and a spirit of cooperation.

This Agency is the creation of this spark, this sense, this spirit on the part of the nations of the world.

If we are to continue to live with the power we have released, new rules and patterns of international life are required.

Secretary Herter, the document which I now hand you makes the United States officially a member of this International Atomic Energy Agency. As the Secretary of State once expressed it, the splitting of the atom may lead to the unifying of the entire divided world.

We pray that it will. Let us hope that the atom will stand again for the true and all-pervasive meaning given it by the ancient Greeks—indivisible.

When the world is such, then peace will be ours forever.

Alabama's Industrial Expansion Aids Economic Stability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, we in Alabama are very proud of our State's fast but healthy industrial growth. In the first 6 months of 1957 industrial expansion in our State amounted to more than $255 million, including the construction of 34 new plants and the expansion of 28 existing facilities.

Such industrial development materially boosts Alabama's entire economy. Industrial expansion, such as our State is now experiencing, means more employees and larger payrolls, thereby providing greater economic stability. Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert a Birmingham News editorial entitled "Industries Up $255,384,000," which appeared on July 23, 1957.

The editorial follows:

INDUSTRIES UP $255,384,000

Alabama's industrial development has continued at a good pace during the first 6 months of this year, though at a rate below that of last year's first half. The value of new plant construction and expansion of existing facilities announced for the State between January 1 and June 30 totaled $255,384,000, according to Roland L. Adams, president of the Alabama Chamber of Commerce.

Announced projects included 34 new plants valued at $154,375,000 and 28 expansion programs amounting to $101,009,000 at existing industries. Located in 38 different cities and towns in 30 counties, the new or expanding industries will provide 4,099 additional jobs for Alabamians.

Development projects announced during the first half of last year were valued at $362,991,000. Totals for this entire year, Mr. Adams believes, however, will compare favorably with those for 1956, which was the third best industrial growth year in the State's history.

Success of Sheldon Z. Kaplan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a recent article from Roll Call regarding our valued friend, Sheldon Z. Kaplan, of our House Foreign Affairs Committee staff.

This article mentions Mr. Kaplan's proposed resignation from his committee post to take up the practice of law here in Washington. It also recites his success as a composer, which points up the talents and versatility of this able, popular young man who comes from my State and has relatives in my district.

Mr. Kaplan has rendered distinguished, outstanding service with our House Foreign Affairs Committee, for which we are all grateful. I know every Member of the House is sorry to see him leave our midst, and we wish for him continued, marked success with all his undertakings.

The article follows:

CAPITOL HILL TO TIN PAN ALLEY—FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERT WRITER OF NOVELTY TUNE

Sheldon Z. Kaplan, who has resigned his position as consultant to the House Foreign Affairs Committee to enter into private law practice in the District, is blossoming out as a first-rate composer.

Kaplan, to whom Tin Pan Alley is as familiar as Capitol Hill, has just penned a new ditty called Red Shutters, a catchy novelty number with words by his nephew Earl Schuman. The tune has been recorded by vocalist Tony Travis, backed up by Buddy Bregman's orchestra on a Verve label.

Already radio station WMCA, New York, has picked Shutters as the disk of the week July 2, and Kaplan reports sales are climbing steadily.

Sheldon, when asked the obvious question said that Red Shutters has nothing to do with the phenomenally popular Green Door which was all the rage last winter.

"Matter of fact, we wrote this one 2 years ago," he replied.

Sheldon was showing his nephew the sights of Washington one day. After seeing all the tourist attractions they took a ride out to Spring Valley. On a country road, Schuman, a New Yorker, expressed delight at a charming white house with red shutters.

"We started working on the words right then," Sheldon said. "When we got back home I started on the music."

Capitol Hillites can catch the song on Bob Pickett's Purple Tree broadcast over WMAL radio tonight.

Kaplan's last recording, Dominique, written to express his impressions of Paris last year, was performed by pianist Jan August and enjoyed considerable success.

Among Schuman's biggest hits were Seven Lonely Days, and the current Get Acquainted Waltz.

The Second of a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had the privilege of inserting the first of a series of editorial letters by F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the Pekin Daily Times, written during his recent trip to Russia. Today I should like to insert the second editorial letter of the series.

The letter follows:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of July 23, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

"Are they kind to tourists?"

Yesterday we promised to answer that question.

They are.

True, they collect for it in advance; but having done so, they give full measure of kindness, heaped up and flowing over.

"Intourist" is the agency that handles all touring in Russia. The cost for de luxe touring is $30 per day; thus $60 per couple. But if a group goes, it can travel lower class and more cheaply.

What do we get for $60?

1. Room in best hotel. Our suite might have been a grand duke's once. True, the hotels are pretty run down, but they give you the best they have.

2. Four meals a day, each. They are not stingy with food.

3. A limousine and chauffeur.

4. Free interpreter-guide.

5. Free admission to museums.

6. And a surprise. On the first morning when I went into the Intourist office to get acquainted, they handed me a number of freshly printed rubles (money) that on our former trip would have cost me $175. When I started to get out United States money to pay for the rubles, they said:

"No, this is your pin money."

It was free.

I may have had something to do with their decision to do that. On our former trip I got pretty mad because the Russians charged us an outrageous price for their rubles. Let me illustrate it. You know the United States and Canadian dollars swap about even. But suppose next time you went to Canada fishing, they charged you $5 for each Canadian dollar. That would mean that a $2 meal would cost you $10; and $8 motel room would cost you $40; a $1.50 haircut would cost you $7.50; a $3.50 roll of color film would cost you $17.50.

That made me mad on our former trip to Russia. I squawked hard. So they decided to give tourists some spending money.

But they did something else—just this spring.

They decided to quit charging an outrageous price for their rubles, and to sell them to tourists at about their world price of 10 to $1. So we on this trip were able to buy 500 rubles for a $50 travel check.

I should add that the $30 a day does not include long transportation, such as into Russia, or from city to city; but they took us on many short trips by limousine; never charged us a ruble; and were always quick to telephone for a limousine to satisfy any whim we had. And at our service every day all day was an interpreter-guide—a college girl who was "ours" during our entire stay.

Attacks on President Eisenhower—What Do They Want?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it has become quite a pastime in some quarters to attack every move that President Eisenhower makes. He is condemned for not pushing the school bill. He is condemned for a wishy-washy attitude on the civil-rights bill and many other current problems. Apropos this situation, I am including as part of my remarks a recent editorial which appeared in the Monroe, Wis., Evening Times which correctly analyzes the situation. The editorial writer raises a pertinent question, "What do these critics want?"

WHAT DO THEY WANT?

The most popular sport in Washington these days is the stepped up sharpshooting by critics in both parties who contend President Eisenhower is allowing vital legislative proposals to be killed in Congress through his lack of dynamic leadership.

Time and again this past week, Republicans and Democrats in Congress have charged Mr. Eisenhower with failure to exert necessary pressures to win approval for such bills as the civil-rights measure and the Federal school-aid proposal. The trimming of foreign aid and defense outlays by both Houses also has been blamed on the White House.

We'll agree that the President has shown little inclination to rawhide Congress on any particular matters, even the ones for which he has indicated major priority status. There have been no Jovian blasts of thunder sent rolling down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol.

Instead, there have been statements in times of dispute as appeals to reason and in reaffirmations of personal conviction that certain proposals are vital to the welfare of the people.

Nevertheless, we are at loss to understand just what the rampaging Congress critics expect of the President.

How do they believe a Chief Executive should function in a Republic? Do they feel every President should be the Nation's chief lobbyist, pulling political strings and manipulating personalities to gain personal objectives?

We suspect those same critics would howl doubly loud should the President undertake the role they claim he shuns. We can hear the cries of dictatorship and one-man rule that would echo across the country is Mr. Eisenhower began to wield the big stick to put over his legislation.

The master whipcracker, of course, was Franklin Roosevelt, who had a weird idea that his wishes and his aims were infallible. Possessed of overwhelming majorities in Congress, he had no compunction when it came to ramming through those bills which changed the course of this Nation for more than a decade.

We still can remember quite vividly how Mr. Roosevelt tried to intimidate the Supreme Court with the same tactics and how he was finally obliged to pack that Court with appointees to gain his objectives.

Harry Truman tried the same high, wide, and handsome tactics, but he never got away with it.

It would seem to us that Mr. Eisenhower was elected President in 1952 principally because a majority of Americans wanted an end to such White House autocracy.

It also would seem that Mr. Eisenhower had remembered most of the implied mandates of that election and the one in 1956 as he presented his legislative proposals.

There are many of us, of course, who do not agree at all times with the way in which the President has interpreted the people's mandates. We respect his judgment and sincerity, however, and we believe he has been more inclined to heed public reaction on various Congress proposals than did his predecessors.

We hope his critics remember that when they assail Mr. Eisenhower for not imitating Franklin Roosevelt or hapless Harry Truman, they are implying that Congress, as the elected representatives of the people, cannot function without being clubbed into submission by the Chief Executive.

Servants of the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Jonesville Booster of July 26, 1957:

SERVANTS OF THE PUBLIC

The reluctance of these birds in Washington to give us back part of what they take away is amazing. The strange thing about it is that they are supposed to be servants of the people. Try ordering one of them to do something like you would any servant you hire and pay with your own money.

Can you visualize asking a maid to bring you a cup of coffee and have her make the following reply? "I'll be glad to, if you will fill out form 3567–A in quadruplicate and mail the pink part to Washington. Then, if it is approved, they'll send a representative down to see if you need the coffee. If you do, we'll allow you three cents on the cup of coffee you've already bought. You can add the rest." Impossible situation? Couldn't happen?

It has already happened in Catahoula Parish. You and I have bought millions of pounds of surplus livestock feed and stored it in our Government warehouses, much as you would store coffee in your pantry. Now we need the feed like you might need a cup of coffee. What sort of answer do we get when we ask our "public servants" for it? "The United States Department of Agriculture is not in the welfare business."

Who mentioned welfare? We're not asking for welfare. We're only asking the use of something we stored up. Yet, our "public servants" have forgotten their role of servant and assumed the role of master, denying us desperately needed access to our reserve stores.

There was a historic turning point in the history of our country, when pirates from abroad were attempting to extort huge sums of money from the United States. Robert Goodlowe Harper made his famous toast, "Millions for defense; but not 1 cent for tribute." Now, more insidious pirates from abroad are not only attempting, but succeeding in exacting billions of dollars of tribute from us. And the weak-kneed internationalists running our country today can't ship it to them fast enough—in the "name of peace."

The quotation of our great statesman might be changed to "Billions for tribute, but very few pennies for the assistance of American citizens."

If this is the "price of peace," then we say give us war with the full realization that we are draft age and expendable.

Paper Industry Booming in Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the fastest growing and most promising businesses in the entire South is that of Alabama's paper industry. Rapid expansion has come in recent years, particularly since World War II. Alabama now counts 32 pulp and paper mills, with 3 more under construction.

Under leave therefore granted, I am pleased to insert an editorial entitled "The State's Paper Industry Grows," which appeared in the Birmingham News of July 22, 1957. This editorial graphically points up the prominence and importance of the paper industry in Alabama.

The editorial follows:

THE STATE'S PAPER INDUSTRY GROWS

Production of wood pulp, paper and paper products is increasing at a rapid pace in the South. Southern mills, it is estimated, already supply 40 percent of all the paper other than newsprint used in the country, and the number of such mills is growing.

Alabama is sharing in this growth, which is contributing materially to the diversity and strength of the State's industrial economy. According to the 1957 edition of Facts About the Nation's Pulp, Paper, and Paperboard Industry, published by the American Forest Products Industries, the State now has a total of 32 mills—including 12 pulp mills—engaged in manufacturing and processing paper. Presently operating pulp mills have a total daily capacity of 3,558 tons of pulp, and in 1955, the latest year for which accurate figures are available, turned out some 680,000 tons of paper and paperboard.

Three new pulp and paper mills are now under construction in the State, and several established plants are engaged in, or are planning, expansion programs.

The industry at present provides direct employment for 8,700 Alabamians, and the new facilities will substantially increase this figure. Value of the State's pulp and paper output last year, according to the Blue Book of Southern Progress, was $157 million.

John Raeburn, chairman of the Alabama Forest Industries Committee, notes that Alabama woodlands furnish nearly 2 million cords of wood a year for the paper industry, making the State third in the South in pulpwood production. The future growth of the paper and other wood-using industries, he points out, will be keyed to the management of our woodlands. With annual growth of timber exceeding removal by more than 28 percent, the 140,000 timber landowners in the State are doing a good job, but there is still room for improvement.

Increased Benefits for Retired Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, at the commencement of this 85th Congress I introduced H. R. 3058 providing for increased annuities for those receiving civil-service retirement benefits, and believe that time is of the essence in granting them an increase, so long overdue.

I feel so strongly in the matter that it is one of the first proposals I introduce upon the convening of recent Congresses, and I am greatly concerned that action has not as yet been taken during this session to alleviate the unfortunate situation in which our civil-service retirees and their survivors find themselves today.

Here we are again toward the closing weeks of the first session of this 85th Congress with the specter of the loyal retired employees of our Government still striving to manage a bare existence on an income that has, through no fault of their own, become woefully inadequate as a result of the inflated cost of living.

It is time the Congress realistically concerned itself with this worthy group of our Government's retired employees who rendered faithful service to our Government and, by their contributions over a period of years, helped to build the retirement fund.

With passage of the act in 1956 granting increased benefits for civil employees of the Federal Government who retired on and after October 1, 1956, the Congress recognized the need for retirees to have an increase, and the cost of living has continued steadily upward since the date of the passage of that act. By not including the overwhelming majority who had retired in the years before that date, discrimination has been added to neglect, and the present situation accents the fact that we must finish the job by passing legislation to compensate for the loss in purchasing power suffered by those who retired from the civil service on rates that were frozen many years ago. We can attract and hold the best qualified personnel as Federal employees only if we offer adequate pay and the security of eventual retirement at rates that will not fall behind the increasing cost of living.

Passage of legislation affording increased benefits without further delay will compensate in part for the loss they have suffered in recent years.

I am confident that Members are aware of the seriousness of the situation in which our civil service retirees and their survivors find themselves today. Because of the heavy toll inflation has taken on the dollar, particularly the dollar of the individual who has retired, and who is primarily dependent upon the fixed income of his annuity for a livelihood, it is obvious that the retired Federal employee is in very precarious financial circumstances. I know something of the personal problems of those who worked long and faithfully in the service of their Government, as 32,000 reside in California, and I know how hard pressed they are—particularly those of advanced years—to manage on the decreased purchasing power of the present dollar. The Federal Government has a direct responsibility to those former employees. It is obligated to see that their annuity bears a sound relationship to the cost of living. They contributed 100-cent dollars to the retirement fund and are now receiving in return dollars worth approximately one-half of that amount.

These deserving retired employees must depend upon Congress to sympathetically recognize their serious plight, and I believe we should do all in our power to expedite action to grant them the annuity increases to which they are so justly entitled, as provided by the proposals under consideration, and during this 1st session of the 85th Congress.

Not Half a Loaf

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial from the Hutchinson News of July 20, 1957, entitled "Not Half a Loaf." I believe that it expresses forcibly and succinctly the arguments for a free and uncensored press.

The editorial follows:

NOT HALF A LOAF

Secretary Dulles, who has forbidden American reporters to cover China, has been under enough pressure from the press to be having second thoughts. But the Secretary is still blind as a bat when it comes to seeing the principle involved in his censorship of the news.

This week he met with a group of editors in a rather limp attempt to soften the press criticism. He proposed that a "limited number" of reporters be allowed to go to China.

The editors refused such a compromise, and rightly so. Freedom of the press can't be measured in numbers. The press is either free or it isn't. Right now it isn't free to go in and try to ferret out for the American public the truth about the largest, most dynamically changing, most potentially dangerous group of people on earth. The American public learns about the Chinese only what Mr. Dulles wants it to learn, or what it can read in the foreign press.

In his China policy, Dulles has hold of a dead horse and one way to live with it is to prohibit discussion of it. If he gets away with this, every politician in a like situation will be wanting to muzzle the press.

Dulles' paternalistic murmurings about wanting to keep reporters out of trouble is a lot of hogwash. Reporters have always gone everywhere. They get punched in the nose, slapped in the face, and shot dead as many of them did in World War II and Korea. It's part of the job. It's something you're entitled to when you pay your nickel.

The editors are right to refuse Dulles' compromise. They are wrong if they don't open up even bigger guns on Dulles and his boss in this censorship fight.

An Appeal for Protection From Roadside Billboard Advertising on New Federal Interstate Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following newspaper column titled "Keenotes," which I released on yesterday, which contains an appeal for legislative action to protect us from unsighly roadside billboard advertising on the new Federal interstate highway system:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

These are days when the family car ideally serves its most useful purpose as holiday-minded America takes to the road. Summertime and vacation time are nearly synonymous terms in this gorgeous land of ours and from now until late October a constant stream of traffic will pour over the Nation's highways and byways as the entire family—from junior, cutting his first tooth, to grandmother and grandfather, a little grayer than they were the year before—eagerly climb into the family car and set off for mountain or seashore, for lake and forest, and the carefree days of relaxation that spell good health and well-being for the whole Nation.

Among favored vacation spots, West Virginia's popularity has been growing by leaps and bounds in recent years and for good reason. It is no press agent's wishful dream that West Virginia has been titled the "Little Switzerland of America" and that tourism has become one of our State's most important industries. In scenic beauties, in historic significance, in recreational facilities—hunting and fishing, hiking, swimming, boating and all other outdoor sports and games—no State in the Union has more to offer the vacationing tourist than has West Virginia with her rolling hills, her fertile valleys, her winding rivers and friendly towns—and with 213 million green acres of her lush land set aside in national parks and forests and game areas for the public's pleasure.

White Surphur Springs, site of the famous Greenbrier Hotel, is, of course, world renowned, but for breathtaking loveliness and for ideal vacation spots, Bluestone Lake near Hinton in Summers County, Pinnacle Rock, near Bluefield, and the 98,843 acres of magnificent Monongahela National Forest which partly lies in Greenbrier County yield first place to none and are easy on the pocketbooks of budget-minded families.

Then, too, for the motoring public there is that beautiful drive down the National Pike, U. S. 40, West Virginia Route 2, U. S. 21, and U. S. 119, from Wheeling through Parkersburg, Charleston, and Williamson—that region between the Allegheny Mountains and the Ohio, the beautiful river, which is so rich in the historic lore of our land, and which, from the rich Ohio Valley to the southwestern coal fields of the State, has contributed so much to the industrial development of the Nation.

Wherever one travels by car, however, whether it be through scenic West Virginia or to any one of hundreds of delightful vacation areas throughout America, the clean sweep of the road ahead, the uncluttered highway through charming countryside and along handsomely landscaped boulevards, and immeasurably to the safety and enjoyment of one's journeyings.

It is for these all-important reasons that I deeply regret the lack of legislative action by either the 84th or the 85th Congresses which would protect the forthcoming 41,000 miles of the new Federal Interstate Highway System from the unsightly billboards and other garish symbols of the advertising profession's art that do such violence to the natural beauties of the landscape.

Federal funds—and this means taxpayers' money—will finance 90 percent of the cost of constructing the new highways. Yet, although under last year's bill the Federal Government was authorized to set all kinds of regulations and standards for this construction—such as for the width of highways, the curvatures of roads, the types of tunnels and bridges to be erected—nevertheless, a powerful billboard lobby successfully put forth the invasion of States' rights argument that blocked passage of any legislation which would restrict or bar billboards along the new interstate roads.

This year, Senator NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon, introduced a bill to provide an additional three-fourths of 1 percent in Federal funds to those States agreeing to meet all Federal standards. But though this bill has been reported out by a Senate subcommittee, in somewhat watered-down form, I am sorry to say, the Senate Committee on Public Works has to date failed to act. Nor has any action in this direction been taken by the House in this session.

Now, I want to make it very clear that I have only the greatest of admiration and respect for the very genuine achievements of the advertising profession. Its techniques and skills have contributed immeasurably to our standard of living and our way of life by bringing us the news and teaching us the use of all the wonderful inventions and labor-saving devices designed and developed by our scientists and engineers and produced in quantity by business and industry.

And, like any other consumer, I read with avid interest almost every piece of advertising literature that comes by way and eagerly leaf through the advertising pages of newspapers and magazines for items to fit my purse and fill the needs of my family and myself. Indeed, I do a major portion of my shopping in this way, lacking leisure time for happy hunting expeditions through the stores so many of my friends enjoy.

I am, however, frank to say that when I take an automobile trip it is the view I wish to enjoy and I want to enjoy it unmarred and unobstructed by signs admonishing, cajoling, and coaxing me to buy this or avoid that.

Many ways, besides billboard advertising, are open to our merchants and manufacturers, to our purveyors of goods and services, to aquaint the public with the charms and virtues of their wares. They could, I feel, win much public goodwill by availing themselves of these other advertising mediums and hence, permit the landscape to go unblemished by those eyesores on the American scene, the unsightly roadside signs.

So far, the billboard lobby has been successful in averting every effort to pass legislation barring these displays on interstate highways. But as we have learned from the failure of the President's appeals to management and labor to hold down prices and prevent inflation—as we have learned from the failure of his appeals to the oil industry to restrict imports of crude and residual fuel oils—so we must finally come to realize that we cannot depend upon voluntary controls alone to safeguard the Nation's roads and highways from ugly miles of gaudy billboards and blinding neon signs.

To keep America beautiful Federal legislation should be enacted now.

In a democracy we must all be willing to sacrifice a little in order that, together, we may all benefit a great deal. It is my earnest hope that the American people will get solidly behind those of us in Congress who are trying to keep America beautiful.

Illinois Electric Cooperatives Commend REA Administrator Hamil for Good Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a resolution commending David A. Hamil, Administrator, Rural Electrification Administration, unanimously adopted by the Board of Directors of the Association of Illinois Electric Cooperatives, July 18, 1957.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES, JULY 18, 1957

Whereas experience, sympathy, and familiarity with the objectives of the Rural Electrification program, as well as high level efficiency and fairness in administration, are unquestionably demanded for the solution of the many problems confronting the Rural Electrification Administration; and

Whereas it is also essential for the successful carrying on of the program that the Administrator of the REA be a man who enjoys the good will of those who have an interest in that program; and

Whereas in the State of Illinois there are today more than 135,000 REA members residing on electrified farms in the rural areas of the State who are vitally interested in the REA and who, through their respective cooperatives have indicated to this association their respect and esteem for David A. Hamil, the present administrator, and their confidence in his judgment, ability and fair play. Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of directors of the Association of Illinois Electric Cooperatives at its regular meeting held in Springfield, Ill., on July 18, 1957, hereby endorses the administration of David A. Hamil, and directs that by publication in the Illinois Rural Electric News, this endorsement be

made a matter of record, and further directs that a copy of this resolution be delivered to the Senators and Representatives of the State of Illinois in the Congress of the United States, to the Secretary of Agriculture, and to the President of the United States.

Stopping Communism in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, our fight against international communism is going on everywhere in the world and is accomplished in many ways. In Latin America we must stop communism, and we can if we will act in relation to the facts. The book by Mr. Alexander sets forth these facts, and following is a review by Milton Bracker, of the New York Times, in the July 21, 1957, issue:

The devious contortions of the rumba in Havana and the samba in Rio de Janeiro are far better known in this country than the no less devious contortions of the Communist Parties in Cuba and Brazil. The 20 American Republics south of the border are still widely thought of in this country as offering glamorous tourist attractions plus (or minus) a penchant for revolutions—by which are meant anything from a few shots in the street to the bloody overthrow of a government.

The fact that these revolutions often combine the most cynical political maneuvering with the most sacrificial youthful idealism—the fact, indeed, that the blood that is shed is real blood and that its shedding leaves the same anguish that is felt in a bereaved home in, say, Lima, Ohio, or San Diego, Calif., is often ignored. And so—save when Washington chooses to focus attention on a specific Communist threat, as in Guatemala in 1954—is the fact that communism has a history of nearly four decades in every Latin American country.

This is the first book to present this history, both collectively and in terms of the individual nations. As such, it cannot fail to become a basic source book in the field of Western Hemisphere relations. Robert J. Alexander of the Rutgers University economics faculty has woven into his work enough names of men and groups to fill a 20 page, double-column index; and some of his text is virtually alphabetized with the popular abbreviations of parties and unions. Unfortunately, this is hard on a reader, even one aware of both the Latin tendency to use initials and the full organizational names for which many of them stand. Moreover, as in his earlier work, The Perón Era, there is little attempt to treat the material with style or a dramatic point of view. The new book provides far less enjoyment than information.

If the book is massive, it is no less sound. Mr. Alexander emphasizes that Latin-American Reds, as part of the international Communist movement, are blindly loyal to the Soviet Union. Repression is at best a stopgap measure, he adds, noting how in several countries (for example, Argentina) the strategy has been to use two Communist parties, of which one nominally supports the regime while the other opposes it. At least 10 times he makes a point that merits constant reiteration: the best deterrent to communism within a Latin land has been an indigenous social revolutionary movement or, as he puts it elsewhere, a "vigorous party of the democratic left."

Obvious examples are APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) in Peru and Acción Democrática in Venezuela. Parties like these have often (in fact, almost always) clashed with military dictators. Acción Democrática, its own regime overthrown in Caracas in 1948, has been outlawed by the government of Col. Marcós Pérez Jiménez. But even in joint exile, Mr. Alexander notes, the Acción Democrática leadership has rejected Communist feelers as to combined action.

In his summary of the significance of the indigenous democratic movements, the author writes: "These are the groups * * * who are able to meet the Communists on their own ground, to promise and in a democratic way to deliver to the humble and ambitious people of the continent the fruits of the Latin-American social revolution. The United States must not allow them to turn away from this country in bitterness and frustration, or to be undermined by the Communists as a result of apparent United States support of dictatorship."

Apart from a wealth of first-hand documentation and interview, Mr. Alexander properly cites two recent works in English—ex-Communist Eudosio Ravines' fascinating, if in some respects suspiciously fictional, "The Yenan Way," about a master-plot to capture Latin America as a direct projection of highest Kremlin policy in 1934; and Daniel James' "Red Design for the Americas," the story of the rise and fall of the Communist-dominated regime in Guatemala. A small irony arises from the use on the dust-jacket of an unforgetable photo of the mob in Bogotá, Colombia, surrounding overturned streetcars on Friday, April 9, 1948. This was just after Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, leader of the Liberal Party, was assassinated, the event touching off a fearful upheaval that took more than 1,000 lives.

Mr. Alexander says that he believes the so-called Bogotazo was "in no way the work of the Communists." A reviewer who was in Bogotá at the time—and who has inclined to the view that although the Reds did not kill Gaitán, they certainly exploited the violent reaction to his death—is thus bound to call attention to the contradictory use of the Bogotá picture, captioned only by the title of the book: "Communism in Latin America."

The Honorable Nat Patton

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, it was with sorrow and regret that I learned of the passing of Hon. Nat Patton of Crockett, Tex. He was a close friend and a genial person whom I was privileged to know for many years.

When I came to the House of Representatives for the first time, Mr. Patton, whom we affectionately called "Cousin" Nat, had been here for some time. Like other fledgling Members he welcomed me here and acquainted me with the problems that face a new Member. It was my pleasure to have offices next to him and almost daily I shared in his good humor and friendliness. He and his charming wife, his 2 attractive daughters, and 2 sons made up a truly representative American family.

Nat Patton was devoted to his family, his constituents, his State, and to his country. No problem was too large or too small for him to devote his personal attention. The humble, the poor, those with few worldly goods, as well as the well-to-do, all were greeted warmly on visiting his office. He appreciated the views and the attitudes of people who had to work for a livelihood. He spoke for all his people regardless of rank or station. He was an effective legislator.

Nat Patton is no longer with us but his work, his memory, and the good he worked to accomplish are heritages to cherish and to keep.

We need more outstanding public servants like Nat Patton. I would like to convey condolences to the members of his family.

Back This Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden, S. C., Chronicle of July 24, 1957:

BACK THIS BILL

Legislation control of the public purse is one of democracy's bulwarks. Restoring the control of Congress over the present high level of Federal spending is the goal of a bill, H. R. 8002, now before the House of Representatives. Similar legislation passed the Senate unanimously.

In nontechnical terms, this bill would limit budget appropriations to a single year, halting the present practice in Congress of handing out funds in a lump-sum for full payment of projects that may take years to complete. Under the present system, $70 billion—almost as much as the proposed record-high budget for fiscal 1958—has slipped beyond the effective reach of Congress. This vast sum represents "carry-over" funds unspent from past budgets when long-range projects were changed or canceled. Instead of returning this money to the Treasury, Federal agencies can spend it on new projects which Congress may know nothing about.

Advantages of the proposed system are clearcut. Former President Hoover estimates it will save $3 billion a year. Outstanding leaders in both parties endorse the plan, including President Eisenhower, Treasury Secretary Humphrey, Budget Director Brundage, Comptroller General Campbell, and all 96 Members of the Senate where it was championed by Senators KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts; BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia; PAYNE, Republican, of Maine; and 46 other senatorial cosponsors. The vast majority of the Nation's press has lined up behind the new plan, and thousands of alert Americans have written to Congress urging its enactment.

Yet, H. R. 8002 faces a bitter fight in the House, where advocates of the status quo are fiercely resisting this widely endorsed improvement. Their stand sharply contradicts the American taxpayer's economy man-

date so forcefully expressed in every part of the country this year.

What's needed now is a strong, immediate show of citizens support from coast to coast. If you haven't told your Congressman that you favor this bill, tell him now. With full weight of public opinion behind it, H. R. 8002 stands a good chance of adoption. Without your support, it's sure to fail. This is your chance to put a major economy measure over the top.

Supreme Court: Views on Selection of Justices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in connection with numerous recent public statements relative to the Supreme Court, attention is invited to an article by Francis J. Donovan, deputy county attorney of Nassau County in New York, published in the July 27, 1957, issue of the Tablet.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting the article at this point:

ATTORNEY PROBES HIGH COURT ISSUE—SUGGESTS APPOINTMENTS BE MADE BY JUDGES OF APPELLATE COURTS

(By Francis J. Donovan)

Our zigzagging, split-decision Supreme Court surpassed itself on June 17, 1957, when it handed down the decisions opening FBI files for the scrutiny of Communist operatives and granting immunity for Communist conspirators until the moment the revolution is upon us.

The practice of the court in determining cases on the basis of the individual social philosophy of the judges rather than an intelligent application of the doctrine of precedent had long before upset the traditional stability of the institution that the Founding Fathers had envisioned as the ultimate check in their system of checks and balances.

PHILOSOPHY USUALLY KNOWN

Constitutional lawyers had long since abandoned the centuries old practice of advising a client after research and analysis of prior decisions. For a generation the client has been advised after his lawyer has determined the social philosophy of each judge and on that basis computed the anticipated vote.

Occasionally, a change in personnel might put an element of risk in such an approach. But it never takes long for the new arrival to assert his philosophy. Quite often his philosophy is apparent before he mounts the bench.

This is hardly the court envisioned by the Founding Fathers and is most certainly not the court to be trusted with the interpretation of our Constitution in the most critical period in our history.

The days of the American Revolution and the fratricidal Civil War were fraught with peril, but defeat at either time would have left our people under civilized rule. The total war in which we are now engaged threatens a defeat which will bring our people under the barbarous rule of the Kremlin.

This does not cease to be the fact because a majority of the Supreme Court see no "clear and present danger." The President sees it; the Congress sees it; and the American people see it.

The Court has confounded the President; it has angered the Congress; and it has actually betrayed the American people by strengthening the hand of the enemy.

In so acting, the Court was not under any compulsion, either moral or juridical. This is evident from the dissenting opinions. Ample precedent, reason and justice was at hand to support opposite conclusions.

Righteous indignation has been vented across the Nation and a patriotic Congress is striving to shore up the breach in our defenses. Citizens are castigating the members of the Court and well they may. But the President and the Congress must speak more softly, for the present Court is the creature of Presidents of both major political parties, confirmed by the Senate.

PEOPLE HAVE NO CHOICE

These men were not chosen by the people.

This is the only branch of the Federal Government where the Founding Fathers gave the people no check. Inevitably, it proved to be the weak branch. The President and the Congress can blunder or misbehave for a time, but they always face a day of reckoning.

When their limited terms expire the people can cull out the bad ones. But not so with the nine sages. The people have no choice in their selection and, however incompetent or irresponsible, they preside till death do they depart.

To denounce the judges and beat our breasts with fury will accomplish naught unless our indignation is harnessed by reason and directed to constructive effort.

The basic premise of the Founding Fathers is still valid, namely, this is to be a Nation ruled, not by men, by by laws. We must rebuild on that premise and use the device fashioned by the Founding Fathers for such emergencies: Constitutional amendment. If our Congress moves quickly and intelligently, the people can yet save themselves. Piecemeal legislation, limiting or overruling individual decisions of the Court, will not supply the defect. These and other laws can always be invalidated; it takes only five votes. The defect is organic and the remedy must be organic.

Lawyers have spent much time seeking an amendment to accomplish the desired result without radical change in the Court and without departing from our basic constitutional structure. We must supply a reasonabel check for the Court.

The inadequacy of the present Court is a direct result of the method of selection and the lifetime tenure of the incumbents. They are politically selected but thereafter freed from political responsibility. The President can rarely, if ever, have sufficient knowledge of the man he appoints and his choice is invariably dictated by political necessities.

This method of selection should be changed. If we give the selection to the people or the Congress, we would do no better. In both cases we would have ignorance of the candidates and political necessities to hamper a proper selection.

SUGGEST NEW SYSTEM

Considerable criticism has been directed to the fact that some of the incumbents have not had adequate judicial experience. The suggestion has been made that substantial appellate court experience be a qualification. We should start here by providing that no person shall be eligible for elevation to the Supreme Court of the United States unless he shall have first served not less than 5 years as a judge in the highest appellate court of a State or a similar period in a Federal appellate court.

We might continue by dividing the United States into six regions and establish a judicial council in each region. This council would comprise the judges in the highest appellate State courts in the region.

The Federal appellate judges would constitute a seventh judicial council. The six regional councils would each select one of their members to be elevated to the Supreme Court. The seventh or Federal judicial council would select three judges from their number to give the Court adequate personnel, experienced in the determination of Federal matters.

The term of office should be 9 years and the original terms so adjusted that 1 term should expire each year.

If the experience of lawyers in the other States has been similar to my own, we can better entrust the selection to such appellate judges than to any other group.

As so many of my colleagues, I have enjoyed unanimous victories, been perplexed by split decisions, and chagrined by unanimous defeats, but I have, in my own cases, and in the thousands that I have studied, been convinced that our court of appeals in the State of New York has always been graced by men of integrity and exceptional competence.

Let such men select the best from their number for the highest court of the land and we will have a court worthy of our confidence.

Hoover Recommendations and Legislative Control of Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the Bridgeport Post, dated July 29, 1957, which eloquently supports the purposes of H. R. 8002, providing for legislative control of public funds.

I commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues, especially from Connecticut, for I believe that within the short space is contained a strong, forceful case for the adoption of this Hoover Commission recommendation.

Since my election to Congress I have been a stanch supporter and advocate of Hoover Commission recommendations. I am sorry that so much delay has enshrouded the enactment of the many worthwhile proposals to effect economy in Government.

In the matter of H. R. 8002, I petitioned the House Rules Committee to report a rule for its consideration, and I am very happy that they have done so. I have urged the House leadership to program this measure for House action, and I hope that this is done before the Congress adjourns.

The editorial follows:

MONEY-SAVING BILL FACES FIGHT

Representative ALBERT P. MORANO has been receiving, he has announced, "a steady flow" of mail from his Fairfield County constituents, urging him to support measures advocated by the Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

We hope the Connecticut Congressman will give support to these money-saving measures, particularly legislation to establish an-

nual accrued-expenditure budgeting, a major proposal of the Commission.

The legislation was reported out of the House Rules Committee on July 17, and it faces a bitter floor fight. The battle is expected this week. The bill, known as H. R. 8002, needs immediate support of all economy-minded and sound-money Members.

Opposition comes from a few members of the House Appropriations Committee who do not want any change, despite the fact that similar legislation has been approved by the Senate and has the endorsement of President Eisenhower, retiring Secretary Humphrey, the Director of the Budget, and the Comptroller General. The Senate version was passed by voice vote on June 5 and was sponsored by Senator KENNEDY, Massachusetts Democrat; Senator PAYNE, Maine Republican; and Senator BYRD, Virginia Democrat. There is nothing partisan about it.

Senator KENNEDY referred to the measure as "the most important fiscal proposal in the last 15 years." It has been endorsed by the American Institute of Accountants, the Controllers Institute, the majority of the Nation's newspapers, and many thousands of citizens.

At stake is legislative control of public funds, a fundamental concept of our form of government. Under the present system Congress yields control of spending by granting appropriations in a lump sum for projects that may take years to complete. If such projects should be canceled, or changed, Congress has great difficulty tracing the unspent funds and restoring them to effective legislative control.

It has been estimated by the Comptroller General and by Senator BYRD that the present total of unspent carryover funds is $70 billion, which is almost as much as the proposed record high budget for 1958.

Under the legislation proposed, Congress would grant contract authority for long-range projects, but would limit appropriations to cover only those expenses to be incurred in a single year.

Before new funds are released to continue a project, the spending agency must report to Congress on the project's progress and justify its request for additional funds.

The advantages of this system are so obvious, we cannot understand why any Congressman would oppose the measure. It is sound, systematic, intelligent, economical, and democratic. It is the right way of doing business and we hope Congressman MORANO and the State's entire delegation will fight hard for its adoption when the battle begins.

Sad News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I expressed my longtime concern and that of my constituents for the need of legislation which would permit the entry of orphans and others into the United States. At this time I should like to call to the attention of this House two letters which need no interpretation:

EUGENE, OREG., *July 19, 1957.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PORTER: The enclosed clipping comes from the Hood River News, which I get regularly because I used to live there. I don't know how you feel about it, but for my part if you could have got legislation to get these kids into the country before one of them died I wouldn't have cared if the budget was 10 billion larger or 10 billion smaller. That one child was more important to me. I never heard of the Polsons before.

Sincerely,

WM. M. ALEXANDER.

The clipping reads as follows:

SAD NEWS

Word was received here of the death of little Sterling Keith Polson, 4 months old July 12. The baby passed away in Holt's orphanage in Korea.

Survivors are Mr. and Mrs. Vernon G. Polson, adopted parents, and Charles Vernon, adopted brother. A little sister, Dawn LaVern, also survives in Korea.

The children both took sick while waiting for Congress to pass a bill to admit them to this country after they had been adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Polson, of Odell.

MRS. VERN POLSON.

HOOD RIVER.

Irish Make Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Peak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the Irish have such veneration for thier patron saint that they honor him more than once a year—on St. Patrick's Day, which is celebrated in so many countries on March 17 of each year, and again on the last Sunday of each July.

This latter pilgrimage is not as well known, even though it has been observed for centuries.

In 441 A. D. St. Patrick spent the Lenten season on "the Reek," a 2,600-foot peak near Murrisk Abbey, on the shore of Clew Bay. Legend has it that St. Patrick drove the snakes out of Ireland, never to return, during his vigil on the Reek. To the faithful, however, the arduous climb to the peak is an act of penance, accompanied by fasting and prayer.

The tradition of "following in St. Patrick's footsteps" has a deep meaning for the Irish. There they pray for the good of Ireland and in thanksgiving to the faith that St. Patrick brought to them, the faith that they serve with such admirable devotion.

The modern pilgrim is well rewarded for making the difficult climb. After prayer and mediation and mass, he pauses to take in the breathtaking view. The rolling hills and ever-green meadows never fail to captivate those tourists who are not Irish themselves. But to the Irish this is a land that is loved, and this view of it is one that moves them to music and poetry.

I want you to come with me—in your imagination—on the annual pilgrimage to St. Patrick's peak.

In order to do so, I ask for consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, and to enjoy the following account of this revered tradition that appeared on July 28, 1957, in the Boston Sunday Herald:

IRISH SCALE ST. PATRICK'S PEAK TODAY—PILGRIMS HONOR VIGIL IN 441 A. D. ATOP "THE REEK"

(By Peter Barnicle)

In a pilgrimage almost as old as Chistendom itself the Irish today pay homage to St. Patrick without any of the fanfare that marks the worldwide observance of the saint's feast on the 17th of March.

From all parts of Ireland, England and even as far away as the United States and Australia pilgrims gather on the last Sunday in July to climb "The Reek"—the 2,600-foot peak on the summit of which St. Patrick spent the Lenten season of 441 A. D.

"The Reek," more formally known to geographers as Cruach Phadruig, rises from the shores of Clew Bay on the Atlantic coast of County Mayo. Its inaccessibility attracted St. Patrick when he was seeking a place for the 40-day period of meditation during his conversion of the Irish people.

Since the saint's vigil on the mountain peak it has been a tradition among the people he converted to make a pilgrimage to the mountain once a year.

HOLY WELL

Buses and trains and scores of motor cars pour into Westport during the week before "Reek Sunday," bringing the pilgrims from all sections of the country. Many of these who arrive early take time to visit the ancient ruins of the Oughaval Church. Near the church, according to legend, is a holy well containing three trout. The trout are seen only by those who will be cured by the waters of the well.

Most people are content to wander along the tree-lined walks that follow the river winding through the town.

Some of the pilgrims begin the ascent on Saturday evening, starting from the base when the hundreds of islands dotting Clew Bay are aflame in the purple and gold of late twilight.

The climb usually begins near the ruins of the ancient abbey of Murrisk, a religious colony founded by the O'Mailles for the Hermits of St. Augustine in the seventh or eighth century.

Many of the hardier pilgrims make the climb in their bare feet, clambering among the loose rocks along the path that leads over the east col toward the summit. Others with heavy-soled boots experience nearly as much difficulty in battling up the paths that lead through squashy bog fields and then almose perpendicularly up the gray rock loosed by the steps of other pilgrims throughout the centuries.

At the first "station" near the 1,000-foot level the pilgrims stop to offer certain prescribed prayers before moving off on the longer more arduous part of the ascent.

BREATHTAKING CLIMB

From the first station the path leads through fields of heather and small yellow roses to the breathtaking rock climb that leads to the peak.

More often than not clouds heavy with rain sweep in from the Atlantic to impress on the pilgrim that the climb is an act of penance. Despite this traditional struggle against elements the long black line of moving forms can be seen on the slope of the mountain throughout the day until they disappear into gray fastness of fog and cloud on the upper slopes.

On the summit the pilgrims, many of whom fast from the time they leave their homes, make a series of circuits of the peak reciting prayers before attending mass in the tiny chapel. In sheltered spots one can notice some of the penitents whispering their confessions to priests who lean against the wind, their purple stoles whipping in the air.

The fortunate pilgrim is the one who reaches the summit after dawn on a day when the weather breaks and the green, gold, and rock gray of the 366 islands on the blue waters of Clew Bay lay glistening in the sunlit waters.

BEETLING CLIFFS

Off to the north beyond the tiny isles lies Achill Island, its beetling cliffs defying the constant charge of the waves that smash against the rocks and sweep high in fanlike jets of silver.

Also far off in the ocean is Clare Island, the stronghold of Graunille, the 16th century Sea Queen of Ireland who was once received by Queen Elizabeth as a sister queen.

As the eye moves inland to the east the massive form of Nephin More rises from the landscape and just below it can be seen the crystal waters of Fionnloch Ceara.

To the south lie the Twelve Bens of Connemara, the purple-heathered range of tumbled mountains down whose slopes flash swift silver streams, darting between fields of green and gold.

While the climb to the peak is an act of penance the view from the summit more than repays the pilgrim for the aching muscles. Unlike St. Patrick, the pilgrim stays only long enough to recite his prayers, hear mass and have a cup of tea, provided by neighboring residents with an eye to the practical, before starting the descent.

FORTY-DAY VIGIL

Patrick's vigil on the mountain lasted for 40 days during which he beseiged heaven with petitions for the future well being of the Irish people.

His vigil on the mountain is recorded in Tirechan's notes, a document which, according to historians, was transcribed before 650 A. D.

In the brief memoir Tirechan notes "And Patrick went to Mount Egli (Cruach Phadruig) to fast on it 40 days and nights, keeping the discipline of Moses and Elias and Christ."

The notes of Tirechan are contained in the Book of Armagh and are considered the most authentic documents relating to the life of St. Patrick now extant. The notes were taken down by Tirechan from the dictation of Bishop Ultan of Ardbraccan, his tutor, sometime prior to the middle of the 17th century.

There are various references to the mountain in the legendary history of Ireland prior to the coming of St. Patrick. The 19th century historian John O'Donovan, during his archeological research tours of the area discovered a pagan cemetery near the base of the mountain.

THIRTY KILLED BY BOLT

When the tradition of the pilgrimage to the summit began is unknown, but the medieval Annals of Loch he mentions the custom of spending a vigil on the summit. One of the entries in the Annals for 1121 A. D., makes mention of 30 persons being killed on the summit when stuck by a bolt of lightning during one of the pilgrimages.

It was during the saint's vigil on the mountain that, according to legend, he drove the snakes from the land. The seasoned climber can still point out the Log Nan Deamhan, or demon's hollow, into which the reptiles were driven.

The hollow, now a like that can be seen on the north base of the Cruach. It was into this hollow, and not the ocean, that the saint drove the snakes.

In the National Museum at Dublin St. Patrick's Bell is still preserved. Legend says St. Patrick hurled it at the snakes as they slithered down the mountainside to their doom.

In the early 19th century the bell was in the possession of a Hugh Geraghty of Ballinrobe, in Mayo, who claimed that the bell was originally white, but had turned black after being constantly thrown at the demons by St. Patrick.

The venerable relic was in the possession of the Mag Oireachtaigh family for many hundreds of years. It later came into the possession of Sir William Wilde who presented it to the National Museum.

Whether or not St. Patrick and his bell drove the snakes out of Ireland the fact remains—there are none there today.

Congress Should Proceed With a Government-Industry Partnership Program for the Development of Atomic Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the article entitled "GOP on Defensive Over Atomic Power," by John W. Finney, as it appeared on pages 1 and 30 of yesterday's edition of the New York Times.

This is an excellent article and I believe that it should be drawn to the attention of all Members of Congress, as it well states the momentous issues which now confront the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and, in a few days or weeks, will confront all Members of Congress when the AEC authorization bill is reported out by the Joint Committee.

I would have only one criticism of Mr. Finney's article and that is this:

It describes the differences as differences between Democrats and Republicans. I do not believe that political-party membership is, or should be, involved on this question.

I believe that the real issue is as follows:

Should we proceed with a Government-industry partnership program for the development of atomic power—or should we revert to a completely federally financed construction program, at greatly increased cost to the taxpayers?

I believe that industry is ready and willing to participate in this field if we will just give it a limited amount of assistance and encouragement.

There is little or no need to deny assistance to industry, and to provide for a 100 percent Federal program on reactor types which are perhaps less promising for future commercial application.

When this real issue is made clear to the people and to the Members of Congress, I believe there will be overwhelming support for the partnership program, from both Republicans and Democratic Members of Congress.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I represent a coal-producing district. In my opinion, we have adequate fuel resources, and we do not need a government crash program to promote atomic power. We should let civilian atomic power be developed primarily by private industry—not by the Government.

The article is as follows:

GOP ON DEFENSIVE OVER ATOMIC POWER

(By John Finney)

WASHINGTON, July 27.—A soundproof, burglarproof committee room in the Capitol will be the battleground next week for another partisan fight over whether the Government or private industry should build atomic power plants.

Republican Senators and Representatives will enter the closely guarded meeting room of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy on the defensive. They are fearful that the Democratic majority is aiming a knockout punch at the administration's partnership program with private industry for development of atomic power.

Democrats on the committee disclaim any such intention. They insist they are only proposing a limited Government construction program to assure American technological supremacy in atomic power development.

The partisan arguments have been repeated with increasing vehemence in recent weeks. The committee has scheduled a meeting for Monday. It should prove to be this year's final round in the running fight.

Before the committee is legislation that would authorize $398 million for construction of atomic-weapons facilities and Government assistance for the peaceful development of atomic energy.

The battle is over the peaceful development, not the weapons. Democrats retriggered the battle by proposing to include in the legislation authorization for the Government to embark on a $58 million program of construction of reactors.

The Democratic proposal is a vastly modified compromise program in comparison to the party's past proposals for a huge Government crash program of construction of reactors.

For a while it appeared that the Democratic modifications could lead to an unusual peaceful accord within the committee. But the Republicans balked when they found that the Democratic program was more inflexible and uncompromising than they had first believed.

In brief, the Democratic program calls for the following: $40 million for construction of a gas-cooled natural uranium-fueled reactor with 40,000 kilowatts capacity, such as developed by the British; $15 million for a research facility to demonstrate the use of plutonium as a fuel in atomic reactors and $3 million for an engineering study on a dual-purpose reactor that would produce plutonium and usable heat. The program also calls for Government construction of five small atomic powerplants proposed by rural cooperatives and municipal public-power groups.

PARTNERSHIP FUND CUT

In addition, Democrats have proposed cutting off funds for the administration's most controversial partnership project, the construction at Lagoona Beach, Mich., of a fast breeder reactor by a group of private concerns headed by Detroit Edison Co.

The administration had requested $4,206,000 for the Lagoona Beach project under its policy of extending research and development assistance to private companies constructing atomic reactors. Democrats are proposing instead that only $1,500,000 be authorized for general research in the fast breeder reactor concept.

Republicans see in the Democratic program an indirect move to scuttle the administration's partnership program and promote public power development of atomic energy. They also object that the Democrats, by directing the construction of certain types of reactors, are assuming the administrative

and technological responsibilities of the Atomic Energy Commission.

To Republicans, the Democratic proposal to construct reactors for the five rural and municipal power groups represents an entering wedge to set public power groups up in a preferred position in the atomic energy program. The precedent would be set, they fear, whereby public power projects would be built by the Government, while private concerns could only expect much more limited research and development assistance.

Democrats insist that their proposal is designed to get the long-stalled rural and municipal reactor projects underway and contend that it would not cost the Government any more money than under the administration's proposed partnership method of construction. The Commission has taken the position that if there is no other alternative, it would agree to Government financing of the five particular reactors, but not to Government construction or operation of the plants.

GOP FEARS CITED

Republicans are fearful that the Democrats already have dealt a body blow to the future of the administration's partnership program by moving to cut off funds specifically for the Detroit Edison project. If Congress at any time can revoke funds that the Atomic Energy Commission has agreed to provide, the Republicans argue, then private companies will be unwilling to invest millions of dollars in an atomic powerplant in a partnership agreement with the Government.

Republicans also object that the Democrats are intruding upon the functions of the Commission in directing construction of the gas-cooled reactor and the plutonium research facility.

The Tax That Chokes the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, of all the many Federal excise taxes, the tax on transportation which still survives from World War II is unique in the manner in which it discriminates among different sections of the United States. By adding 3 percent to the cost of freight, and 10 percent to the cost of passenger travel, the transportation excise bears most heavily on the men and women who live in areas which require the most transportation for their participation in the Nation's economy.

By thus accentuating the costs of transportation which go into everything we produce and consume, this Federal excise discriminates against such areas as the Pacific Northwest and the Deep South and Southwest, which are farthest from the northeastern economic and population centers of our country.

The junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] has taken the lead in recent months in efforts to win repeal of this inequitable tax. He has set forth the case against the Federal transportation excise tax in a recent article in Railway Progress magazine for August 1957 called The Tax That Chokes the West, in which he itemizes the geographic discrimination against the Far West inherent in this tax, and also discusses certain other damaging consequences from it, which I have had occasion to point out in my own efforts to end this tax. On numerous occasions I have introduced proposed legislation to repeal or modify war excise taxes and have presented to the Senate Finance Committee what I consider to be overwhelming justification for such action.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by the junior Senator from Oregon, entitled "The Tax That Chokes the West," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TAX THAT CHOKES THE WEST

(By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

Nearly all excise taxes are paid equally by people in every section of the Nation. Such levy-laden items as tobacco, lipstick, leather goods, and diamond brooches are generally purchased in about the same ratio in San Francisco as in New York. Luggage, after all, is indispensable whether one travels in the wide open spaces of the West or through the crowded metropolises of the East. And the females of my acquaintance seem to regard facial makeup as of equal necessity, though some of them may live on teeming Park Avenue and others along the lonely reaches of the Columbia River.

But there is one Federal excise tax in which every region does not share and share alike. That is the 3-percent levy on all freight shipments. This tax weighs down the economy of the area which I help to represent in the United States Senate, as the Old Man of the Sea crouched oppressively on the shoulders of Sindbad the Sailor. The Federal transportation tax is detrimental to all the States in general, but to the States in the West and Pacific Northwest in particular.

Why is this levy, in contrast to other excise taxes, worse for one part of the Nation than another?

The reason is not hard to find; it lies in the peculiar geographical distribution of the population of the United States. The 11 States of the Far West—those which sprawl from the Continental Divide to the shores of the Pacific Ocean—contain 36 percent of the land area of our country but only about 16 percent of the people. This means, of course, that products grown or manufactured in the Western States must be hauled 2,000 or 3,000 miles eastward in order to find major markets. All this pilgrimaging is subject to the 3-percent transportation tax. Ergo, the levy falls most heavily on the West and especially on the Pacific Northwest, because this region is farther than any other from the population centers of the East.

That is why the excise taxes on freight must be repealed if the West is to enjoy a fair and uninhibited opportunity for economic development. Many eminent Americans, such as Prof. Walter Prescott Webb and Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, have complained recently that the West has no destiny other than to be a dragging satellite of the populous States of the East. But can easterners complain of this in good faith, when they tolerate Federal taxing policies which doom the West to such a fate?

Look at the map of the United States on your library wall or in your schoolchild's atlas. Note how close Pittsburgh is located to the Atlantic seaboard. Within 500 miles of Pittsburgh are found more than 55 percent of the Nation's population and the overwhelmingly greater portion of its industrial and consumer markets. Portland, Oreg., where I was born and raised, is situated from 2,000 to 3,000 miles distant from points within this circle around Pittsburgh.

A carload of Oregon lumber, processed at sawmills relatively near Portland, will be assessed freight charges of $675 for shipment from Portland to Pittsburgh. Transportation charges for the same carload of pine lumber from the woods of Georgia are $410. The Federal excise tax on transportation collected from the Oregon lumberman is 40 percent larger than that paid by the Georgia lumber dealer. I do not object to the fact that Georgia's forests grow closer to the centers of American population than are the great timbered uplands of my own State. As a Senator, I can help enact laws but I cannot change geography. I realize it may be many decades before the population of the United States is distributed more equitably between East and West. But I do object, and strenuously, to a Federal tax which falls disproportionately heavier on my region than any other—simply because the Pacific Northwest is separated by nearly the breadth of a continent from its principal markets.

Agriculture in my State is burdened and hampered with similar unfairness by this tax. Oregon canners who process fruits, vegetables, and fish will pay freight tolls of $1,032 per carload to the Pittsburgh area, as compared with approximately $264 per carload by a midwestern processor of canned foods. The midwestern shipper will pay to the Treasury a transportation tax of $7.92 on his shipment, but the Federal Government will assess the Oregon canner a transportation tax of $30.96—almost four times greater.

I could cite this inequity wtih respect to innumerable commodities. The Federal excise tax on transportation of a carload of grain from Oregon's ranches will be over 3½ times the tax on grain from the central portions of the United States, that on Oregon livestock 3.8 times the tax by prairie-belt shippers—if these products are to be sold in the great consumer markets of the eastern population centers. The imbalance means that Federal taxing policy contributes to the competitive difficulties of Oregon timber and agricultural products in the principal markets of the Nation.

Nor is this inequality confined only to the producers and processors in my part of the country. Consumers in the West also are saddled unfairly by the transportation tax. Just as the East contains the Nation's dominant markets, so does it include most of the great factories which produce manufactured goods—automobiles and electrical appliances, to cite only a few. It costs $10 to ship an automatic washing machine from a typical eastern manufacturing center to Portland. This is about four times as much as it costs to ship the same appliance to Terre Haute, Ind. The Portland housewife is taxed four times as much by her Government as her sister housewife in Terre Haute, because the cost of transporting a washing machine to Terre Haute from Pittsburgh is only about $2.61.

Agriculture today is in crisis. Few economists dispute the fact that the prices received by farmers for their produce have been steadily declining, although the costs which they pay for equipment, labor, medical care, and clothing have been rising with equal inexorability. Such a squeeze cannot continue indefinitely without causing the disappearance of the family-sized farm operation. Yet the policy of levying a 3 percent excise tax on every freight shipment is bad for agriculture in general and for western farmers in particular. It is estimated that shippers of farm produce pay almost one-fourth of the annual $480 million yield from the transportation tax. I remember the turkey warehouse which closed down in an Oregon town because Oregon turkeys had to

compete at a 5-cent-per-pound disadvantage with those from West Virginia and Texas for sales in the strategic Chicago poultry market—and this situation was of course compounded by the Federal freight tax.

I can understand an excise levy which singles out such commodities as tobacco and liquor as special targets. After all, these are far from necessities, indeed, many regard them as deleterious to health. But freight is a basic essential. If goods cannot move, we do not have an integrated nation. We become, instead, a mosaic of Balkan principalities, each surrounded by insurmountable customs walls.

Our 3-percent tax not only discriminates against the West, but it also actually discriminates against the United States as a nation. Let me explain what I mean. We share the world's longest unfortified border with Canada. A comparative mashie shot north of this boundary stretch two vast and efficient railroad systems—Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National. Furthermore, the Canadian Government has had the wisdom to repeal its transportation excise taxes. This places a premium upon the use of Canadian railroads, rather than American railroads, for the long haul across the continent. Such a practice, of course, deprives American railroads of income and American railroad workers of jobs.

Canadian shippers can avoid the entire 3-percent tax by prepaying charges in Canada on international movements, while their American competitors—who ship to the same markets in the eastern part of the United States—must pay the full 3-percent tax. Many Canadian cargoes, such as British Columbia lumber or apples or fish, once were consigned to American markets through rail gateways on the border such as Blaine, Wash., or at Sumas in the same State. This meant that the freight was carried eastward across the United States by such American transcontinentals as the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, or Union Pacific. But the 3-percent American transportation tax has ruled out this policy for innumerable Canadian shippers.

These men have discovered that they can escape approximately 80 percent of the transportation tax by keeping inside the frontiers of Canada some 80 percent of the mileage on their shipment. Thus, their goods journey across the continent on the Canadian Pacific or the Canadian National, and do not enter the United States until they reach a portal in the region of the Great Lakes or New England. Three results are thus achieved: (1) The Canadian shipper avoids payment of most of the American freight tax, (2) the Canadian shipper secures a slight competitive advantage over his American rival who must pay the levy, and (3) the United States Treasury loses all the corporation taxes and personal income taxes which would be collected from the American railroads and the men on their payrolls, who might otherwise have been engaged in conducting this profitable transcontinental haul.

Still another inequitable aspect of the tax remains to be analyzed. Many legislators and economists are alarmed over a growing concentration of economic power in America. Yet the freight tax indubitably favors big shippers over small shippers. Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, has said, "This tax makes the big shipper bigger and the small shipper smaller."

A well-financed shipper of commodities generally has sufficient funds to go into private trucking and buy his own fleet of highway leviathans. Of course, he escapes the 3-percent tax, and this differential is often enough to finance his venture into trucking. But the smaller shipper, who must rely on common carriers, continues to pay the tax. And the levy applies not only to transportation as a whole, but to narrow refinements as well. A shipper who must ice his products to get them safely to market pays no tax if he supplies his own ice. But few small shippers own iceplants. They must purchase their ice for reefer shipments from the railroads or truck lines, and on this ice they have to pay the 3-percent tax.

The existing transportation tax has created what Senator MAGNUSON recently described as highly questionable practices. When a contract trucker leases his equipment to a shipper, it becomes private trucking and, as such, avoids the tax. During recent years there has been an epidemic of buy-and-sell arrangements, trip leases, and special boat charters. These have been designed to transform what would normally be common carriage into private carriage, for the express purpose of wriggling out of the 3-percent Federal freight tax. It is, as best, tax avoidance; it could be tax evasion. Even worse, it is weakening our system of common carrier transportation. Surely it does not stimulate respect for our tax structure as a whole. In addition, these tortured constructions and special situations are mainly available to well-financed shippers with a battery of legal talent and the resources to charter vessels and flotillas of trucks.

I still remember my conversation with the mayor of a small town in Oregon's lovely Wallowa Valley, a realm of granite peaks and pine timber. "Senator," said he, "why does Uncle Sam follow a policy that makes it tough for the little sawmill operators and easy on the big ones?" He then went on to explain to me that the large lumber mills own their own logging trucks. So, the large mills do not pay the 3-percent United States freight tax on the ponderosa-pine logs they are hauling out of the uplands or on the finished lumber they are transporting to the Union Pacific railhead at Enterprise or La Grande. But the little family-owned mills have no such equipment. They must hire contract haulers to transport their logs and lumber. In this way, they become subject to the 3-percent transportation tax, thus further increasing their disadvantage vis-a-vis their big competitors.

In March of this year I sponsored an amendment to a general tax revision bill which would have eliminated the Federal freight levy. My proposal was defeated when Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, chairman of the Finance Committee, insisted that the particular bill at issue was not the proper vehicle for the amendment I was offering. Yet the effort was not wholly wasted. Some salutary results were forthcoming. Senator BYRD strolled back to my desk at the rear of the Senate Chamber and said, in substance:

"DICK, you have some real points on your side. I have a lot of sympathy with your case. I know something about the operation of this tax because I buy each year, for my Winchester apples, thousands of fruit crates from lumber mills in your State of Oregon. I am aware of how much 3 percent on such a freight bill can amount to. I can't accept your amendment here, but I promise you that it is going to receive serious consideration from me and my committee as a separate measure—entirely on its own merits."

There the matter stands, legislatively. Repeal proposals take several different forms. One is outright elimination of the whole transportation excise tax, as I have urged. Another is a slower method—to knock off 1 percent annually for 3 successive years, in order to ease the potential impact on the Treasury. The third is a more complicated suggestion made by Senator MAGNUSON. This would be to limit the tax to not more than 3 cents per 100 pounds of freight. The purpose of such a compromise would be to continue to collect the levy on hauls along short distances, but to lift the unfair burden off of long-haul shippers. Western shippers, for example, would receive no relief on a short freight haul between Portland and Seattle, but they would be greatly relieved with respect to the levy on the infinitely longer 2,200-mile hegira from Seattle to Chicago or St. Louis.

Senator MAGNUSON'S modified recommendation has much to commend it. Yet, I would prefer to see the tax totally repealed. It is not an excise which makes sense—nor does the 10-percent levy on passenger tickets sold for trains, airlines or over-the-highway buses. Since when has transportation of freight or people been regarded as a luxury, to be taxed punitively by the United States Government? During the debate over my amendment, Senator FRANK CHURCH of Idaho pointed out quite accurately that the 3-percent freight tax was enacted originally "to discourage the use of the rails at a time when war was being waged. * * * This justification for the tax has long since disappeared."

In my opinion, there is more wisdom in applying a 3-percent tax to a man's second suit of clothes or alternate automobile than to his transportation. Under duress, he can do with a single suit; there is only rare hardship in one car per family. But what family can survive without the freight haul which brings across mountains and prairie and valley its food supply, the materials built into its home or apartment, the seed and fertilizer for its garden, the fuel for its furnace, the appliances for its kitchen? And how many Americans can relinquish their own necessary journeys by rail, air or bus?

I feel strongly about this issue because I help to represent a region which is caught in a cruel economic vise through this levy applied from the Federal treasury. Some of us in the Senate have worked hard to expand the Bonneville Power system, which has been selling hydroelectricity to large industrial customers for only 2.2 mills a kilowatt-hour. This low rate helped to attract to the Northwest many of the world's leading manufacturers of light metals and chemicals. Today, however, the Olin-Mathieson Co. has discovered that it can produce electric power for 3.5 mills per kilowatt-hour, burning coal at the mine mouth in Ohio.

In an effort to learn how my State might attract new industrial payrolls, I talked with officials of the Olin corporation. They advised me that, in a choice between 2.2-mill energy in the Northwest and 3.5-mill energy in Ohio, there was a delicate point where the power rate and the freight rate intersected. By this, they meant that the aluminum products in Ohio would be produced within a fungo swat of millions of customers. By contrast, the ingots smeltered in the Northwest would require the long transcontinental trip to market. In such a finely balanced situation, the 3 percent Federal freight tax could well be the determining difference to prevent the legitimate industrial expansion of the Nation's vast Northwestern frontier.

Surely a tax which discriminates against a great region, against major segments of the transportation industry and—in certain instances—against the United States itself, can have little to commend it. "Nothing succeeds like success," wrote Dumas—yes, and nothing fails like failure. By all possible tests, including its effect on our total economy and on major areas of the United States, the 3 percent Federal excise tax on freight has been an abysmal failure. The time has come to repeal this unfair levy—now.

Important Disclosures To Be Considered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article entitled, "From Dachau to Cairo," taken from the No. 50, summer issue, 1957, of Prevent World War III, published by Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., New York.

This article contains many bits of information which I believe will be of interest to the Members of the House, as it is a situation that would appear to require consideration.

FROM DACHAU TO CAIRO

(The Middle East crisis is an extremely complicated problem made all the more difficult by outside influences including the nefarious activities of Soviet agents. However, it is a fact that German influences have also been operating in this area with considerable effectiveness. Pan-Germans and former Nazis have gained important positions in a number of middle eastern states, particularly Egypt. Prevent World War III has published detailed accounts of this development in the Nos. 41 and 47 issues. Additional information on the role of former Nazis in the Nasser government is contained in an exclusive report published by the National Jewish Monthly (February 1957). These disclosures deserve to be pondered by all liberty-loving Americans and it is with this in mind that we have reprinted the report.)

The violent actions taken by Nasser's government against British, French and stateless Jews resident in Egypt, the confiscation of their property, and their deportation on from 9 to 72 hours' notice, have provided the press with a flood of news which overshadowed the ominous fate that looms over the native Egyptian Jewish community of more than 10,000 individuals.

This ancient Jewish community is being systematically pauperized, maltreated, and interned together with common criminals in unspeakable places of detention. Together with the remainder of Egyptian Jews, they are left at the mercy of the State Security Cadre (SSC), which seems to be as precise a copy of the German Nazi Sicherheitsdienst as Egyption inexactitude permits. This unit is the military junta's forecful arm which is responsible for Egypt's actions and policies to a far greater extent than is generally known.

The commander in chief of the SSC is Lt. Col. Al Nacher, formerly SS-Grossaktionsleiter Leopold Gleim, who was the commander in chief of the Nazi government's SD-Geheimgrade.

Addressing a luncheon in Cairo given in his honor by the representatives of the League for (East) German-Arab Brotherhood (Al-akhwah al-Almaniyah l'Arabiyah, i. e., Deutsch-Arabischer Bruderschaftsverband) on December 17, 1956—Gleim frankly pointed out the significance of the SSC as the backbone of Egypt's protective apparatus against the aggressive elements of Zionism and imperialism. He thanked the League for its vast help extended to this young state—a most significant contribution to the mutual efforts in the strengthening and stabilizing of Germano-Arabic friendship and relations.

Later on, during more intimate talks with members of the Bruderschaft—conducted in Hochdeutsch and made gemutlich by cigars, bourbon, and coffee—Gleim gave an outline of his unit's short history and structure. This outline, when pieced together with additional facts on hand and the already known procedures of the cadre's activities, sketches a tolerably clear picture of the Egyptian version of nazism, which found in Egypt ideal conditions for its recrudescence.

The plan for the SSC was drawn up by several technical advisers of German origin, approved by the Ministry of Interior. The cadre headquarters was set up in Cairo, and its administration handed over to the 6,249 arabized Nazis presently in Egypt (aided by perhaps 70,000 Egyptians). According to Gleim, the unit consists of the following departments:

A. THE PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT (PR-DPT.)

The executive positions in this section are entirely manned by Germans who are holding Arab passports. The PR-Dpt. is headed by SS-Gruppenleiter Moser, a Sudeten German who has now assumed the name of Hussa Nalisman. His right-hand man is SA-Gruppenleiter Buble, now Arabized into 'Ammân.

The propaganda machine operates with German precision, according to the Goebbels-Stuermer pattern. Its main target for attacks is, of course, the Jews. Egyptian youth has been responding enthusiastically to this propaganda.

The PR-Dpt. has branches in Berlin (East and West), Vienna, Stockholm, Helsinki, Rome, Milan, and Bordeaux; it commands special squads of vans with loudspeakers, which cruise throughout Egypt constantly inciting against American, British, French, imperialistic or Zionist Jews—the adjective changing with the broadcaster's mood; and it also owns an independent broadcasting station which assiduously cultivates the entire Arab world.

A flood of anti-Semitic literature is being published and distributed in the Middle East and Europe. Egypt's recent best seller, however, was the new, popular edition of Kefahi, the Arabic translation of Hitler's Mein Kampf. This is an abridged, illustrated version which contains photo-reproductions beginning with Hitler's picture as a corporal in Hindenburg's army and up to his cock-posing as the fuehrer.

The complete and unabridged version of Mein Kampf was first translated into Arabic in 1951 by the Syrian journalist, author, and owner of the Beirut Printing & Publishing House, Louis al-Haj, formerly Luis Heiden, director of Die Reichsdeutsche Presseagentur, Berlin.

Vulgar, colorful posters featuring the Israeli soldier as a bearded villain who bayonets an Egyptian baby, are blooming in many Egyptian towns. These posters urge the people of Egypt to rise in Jihad—the Holy War—against the Zionist threat to Islam.

Egyptian youth is being assiduously educated for militarism. One of the outstanding examples of this campaign is the targettent pitched opposite the SSC-HQ in Cairo's Liberty Square, where schoolboys are given an interest in usage of arms.

The PR-Dpt. also has a very special branch: the Youth Club of the Deutsch-Arabischer Bruderschaftsverband. Twice weekly this club has a closed session, when many Egyptian youngsters are sworn in by the club's chairman, Hussa Nalisman. This requires only one more comment: Colonel Abdul Nasser is the honorary president of the club, and had been sworn in as member No. 3.

B. THE ECONOMIC DEPARTMENT (EC-DPT.)

The EC-Dpt., now so strongly associated with Jewish affairs, is a close enough translation of the SS-Wirtschaftsamt, and it operates on a similar basis. This department was founded on February 2, 1954; it controls the SSC treasury, which is independent of the government's exchequer. Apart from the annual allowance granted to the SSC from the general defense budget, this treasury absorbs a considerable income from products of prison workshops throughout Egypt.

The archives of the EC-Dpt. have a Jewish section with a register of all Jewish property in Egypt. It contains up-to-date information on this vital subject, which has now become a major source of revenue to the SSC treasury. Upon the expulsion of thousands of foreign and stateless Jews from Egypt, the EC-Dpt. cashed in 14 million Egyptian pounds in currency, policies, and securities, and 27 million pounds of real property and assets abandoned by the Jewish deportees. It is worth while noting that the majority of deported Jews had been very rich; this explains why there was no mass deportation of all foreign and stateless Jews, and why individual expulsion warrants were issued. The poorer stateless Jews have been left over "to be dealt with later on as Col. Abd-al-Qadir Hatem explained.

Colonel Hatem, of the EC-Dpt., declared that "not a single piaster or brick has been confiscated, as the Zionist lies alleged. We have documentary proof that property and currency abandoned by people who had to leave Egypt were voluntarily assigned to the administration of the EC-Dpt."

Another interesting branch of the EC-Dpt. is the public sales center in Cairo. Whatever remained in the residences which the Jewish deportees volutarily assigned to the administration of the EC-Dpt.—furniture, clothes, paintings, refrigerators, radios, entire libraries, etc.—is being auctioned off. It brings to the SS treasury weekly profits ranging from 500 to 3,000 Egyptian pounds.

C. SECRET STATE POLICE

That name rings a bell somewhere. If translated into German it would be Geheime Staats Polizei; and if abbreviated: Ge-Sta-Po. Its duties are now carried out by Army intelligence.

The major section of this department is the center of the Egyptian Intelligence Service. Next to it is a section headed by Lt. Col. Ben Salem, former SS-Bannfueher Bernard Bender, who owing to his knowledge of the Yiddish language, was during the war chief of the Gestapo special branch for detection of Jewish underground movements in Poland and Russia, and who is now playing an important role in Egypt's economic and political administration. He is also the liaison between the secret state police and the EC-Dpt.

Nevertheless, Lt. Col. Ben Salem is a very modest man, and while entertaining some of the young East German visitors he declared "I never wear a uniform because it makes one look more important than he really is." This is a moot matter, because in addition to all his known and unknown tasks, humble Ben Salem is also chief of the interrogation center of the SSC, better known to the Egyptians and to the Egyptian Jews in particular as "the floating hell."

The floating hell is an old, 12,000-ton cargo vessel, the former Italian *Marinajo Rosso*, which has been converted into a floating prison of 80 cells where, according to Ben Salem, "only cases of special interest" are being held. The sole "practical device for bringing out the truth" which he was prepared to exhibit, was the recording center in the vessel's former radio cabin, from which a network of hidden microphones reaches all the cells. Thus, every word uttered during the interrogations or at intervals, while prisoners are together, is recorded.

The recording center is operated by two men only: tight-lipped Sergei Klinikin from Odessa; and his subordinate, Alexei Morganoff, a true Muscovite with an enchanting smile, huge feet, and a Swiss watch. Both have served under Ben Salem ever since General Vlassoff changed flags. Only that was about all one could get out of them.

The Floating Hell performed a great service for Egypt by helping the famous Jewish

banker, Mr. Elie Politi, succumb there to the interrogation methods, and sign a document that he had voluntarily assigned 112,000 pounds—all he possessed. The Floating Hell was also where Lt. Col. Ben Salem had been "most delighted to be able personally to handle the affairs of an Egyptian publisher, a Jew named Mr. Salama."

(Late news dispatches indicated that their confiscated businesses had been restored to a small number of Jews in Egypt.—EDITOR.)

Early in November the first phase of Salem's "Solution of the Jewish-Zionist Problem" began to take shape.

Conducting 3,000 men of the SSC executive force (municipal police units, plainclothes men, and army squads), SS-Grossaktionsleiter Gleim personally supervised the combing of the Cairo and Alexandria rural districts, throughout the duration of the curfew. This action resulted in the seizure of 1,711 native Jews—men, women, and children—inclusive of the 6 Jewish fellahin families of Mit Ghammar, who are the last survivors of a Jewish community believed to have lived there since 90 B.C.E.

During this action, looting, rapine, and 8 killings were reported and confirmed. The officers in charge "regretted the incident which resulted due to the refusal of the subjects to follow instructions."

These captives have been classified as "Prisoners Category Alif (A)" and concentrated in the southern wing of the famous French-built prison, Des Barrages, in Cairo. No charges were made against them, but on the way to prison, all captives (exclusive of pregnant women and mothers of children below the age of 10) were handcuffed. The northern wing of Des Barrages is packed with "potential deportees," i. e., Jews who have no Egyptian nationality.

The sanitary conditions in which those prisoners are being held should be of special interest to those members of the U. N. and of the International Red Cross who, during interviews with foreign correspondents in Cairo, denied any knowledge of such conditions or of the above-mentioned arrests.

Cells intended for 10 persons presently shelter 30; and cell No. 73 is packed with 38 male Jewish prisoners "because they have their own watercloset," as explained by the chief warden, Hadji Mustaffa Ibn-Aziz, who is very friendly but responsive to bakshish only so far as matters of nonpolitical nature are concerned, because nowadays politics are dangerous.

The male prisoners are not allowed out of their cells. Their sole opportunity to breathe some fresh air is while they carry out the waterbuckets—a task eagerly done every morning in rotation by a couple of prisoners—and while fetching food and water.

The daily rations consist of 500 grams of Pittah-bread and 2 litres of soup per head. Water (2 litres per head) is being distributed only once daily, in the morning, and the male prisoners must drink it all at once, because they are not permitted to keep any containers in their cells.

WOMEN ARE TREATED BETTER

The female prisoners are granted 20 minutes a day to walk in the prison courtyard, and mothers may, in addition to that, spend half an hour daily with their children, who have been accommodated very comfortably in the former recreation hall for prison personnel. Mothers with babies up to the age of 3 are kept in the prison dispensary and have beds to sleep on. The babies are being provided with adequate and appropriate food and with daily rations of fresh milk.

The 18,000 Alexandria Jews (among them some 6,000 natives) classified as "Category Ba (B)" suffered an attack which completely crushed their economic life. Alexandria's military governor, Col. Husseini, imposed under Security Act penalties, a permanent curfew which lasts from 5 p. m. to 9 a. m., and from 11 a. m. to 3 p. m. The rest of the time is left for purchase of food which is usually bought with funds obtained through the sale of jewelry or other personal assets, because by order of the SSC. EC-Dpt., 93 percent of every Jewish bank account has been blocked until the position of category Ba is clarified.

Colonel Hatem elucidated this hazy statement as follows: "The Alexandria Jews are known to have strong connections with Israel; but since we cannot bring them to justice without concrete proof and simultaneously cannot let them endanger the state security by letting them carry on with their underground activities, we are forced to take some slight precautions.

These are the "slight" precautions:

All Arab enterprises have dismissed their Jewish employees without any compensation whatsoever—as per government orders.

Most Jewish enterprises, including the Cicurel Stores and down to small shops, were taken over and only those few Jews who have intermarried were permitted to continue, but they closed their shops "voluntarily" because they were picketed by the Moslem Brotherhood and their show windows were stoned. Any customers who attempted to enter Jewish shops were assaulted.

All Jewish professionals in Alexandria (with the exception of a few dentists) have been forbidden to practice. Seven hundred and ten prominent Jewish personalities, including a relative of Mrs. Mendes-France, Mr. Guy Circurel, former president of the Maccabi, and Mr. E. Levy, president of Egypt's stock exchange board, as well as most of the Jewish doctors, have been arrested. According to rumors, they will be tried on charges of treason in a closed session of the Supreme Military Court.

The Cairo Jewish community, however, is undergoing an even greater crisis:

All the Jewish schools have been closed, all communal activities paralyzed. The Jewish hospital has been taken over by Arab authorities and all Jewish personnel, and patients, regardless of their condition, were ejected on 1 hour's notice. Relatives of some of the more serious cases applied for their admission to Arab hospitals, but met with refusal.

Five hundred Cairo Jewish men have been indefinitely interned in the English grammar school, which was closed down and converted into a detention center with the outbreak of the Suez Canal crisis. Their wives and children, totaling 622, are held captive and 456 Jewish men, women, and children are confined in the Hadrah Prison; 830 Cairo Jews are being held in the ruins of Qalat al-Qahira, outside the city. Three of these prisoners were "shot while attempting to escape"—the old Nazi gimmick. It was, however, not explained how they happened to be shot inside the dead-end underground passage of the ruins where six mutilated bodies of Jewish girls were also found.

"THIS IS ONLY THE FIRST PHASE"

Being literally under house arrest, imposed on them by the curfew, the remaining Cairo Jews are subjected to frequent raids of the Moslem Brotherhood. And over all this looms Nasser's state security cadre with its iron grip. Its commander, SS-Grossaktionsleiter Gleim, smilingly declared in front of his young German visitors that "this is only the first phase."

It can therefore be easily guessed that the second phase will be the completion of Ben Salem's solution of the Jewish-Zionist problem within territories of sovereign Egypt—a work which is now being implemented through five newly-established concentration camps: the Heliopolis Fortress, destined to absorb 2,000 internees; the Gizeb Barracks, which served during World War II as a POW camp, able to shelter 10,000 prisoners; two former army training centers, the Mustaffa Hanun-Pasha Barrachs near Almaza City, originally built for 16,000 men, and the Borg al-Arab Barracks near Alexandria, which once sheltered two divisions of recruits.

A GRIM CONCENTRATION CAMP

The most threatening of all, however, is the fifth concentration camp: the Samarra Barracks in the Suheilla region of the desert, 200 miles west of Cairo. This camp, only recently vacated by the 3d Regiment of the Egyptian Liberation Army (the unit which, commanded by Col. Nasser in 1948, withstood the Israeli attacks on Faluja) is now being converted at a cost of 17,000 Egyptian pounds, and patterned on photo copies of the original plan of the infamous Nazi Medizinisches Versuchlager Mannerheime bei Dachau, otherwise known as block 10, where hundreds of Jewish girls were sterilized. The photo copies of the original plan of this camp were supplied to the SSC by Karl Clauberg's direct superior, SS-Hauptstabsarzt Heinrich Willermann, presently "arabized" into Lt. Col. Naam Fahum, who is now in charge of converting the Samarra Barracks.

The stateless and foreign Jews still in Egypt are hoping, probably against hope, that the U. N. will take them under its protective wings. Should, however, the U. N. decide otherwise, they will respond to Nasser's "encouragement" and leave Egypt impoverished, destitute, but alive.

But not the native Jews. They have tried to leave Egypt, but Nasser's government refused most of them exit visas, and most of the foreign consulates refused entrance visas as well as racial asylum—thus leaving this ancient and once flourishing community in the sinister grip of Nasser's legislative paradox.

Egyptian law imposes on them all its restrictions but deprives them of any rights or protection within sovereign Egypt—thus preventing any foreign intervention on their behalf, except for the U. N., maybe?

Maybe.

Because—in spite of the cadre's strict censorship on publication of all events in Egypt and on news leaving the country—the U. N. has ample evidence and information on what is going on there. Why, then, its reticence? Why the passive attitude toward Nasser's ruthless violation of human rights? The U. N. must release the facts and warn the world of what Nasser is up to, so that appropriate measures can be taken. Because—although economically ruined, interned, maltreated, and humiliated—it is not too late yet. Egyptian Jewry is still alive.

Mark Foote

SPEECH

OF

HON. VICTOR A. KNOX

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to know Mark Foote, chief of the Washington bureau of Booth newspapers since I came to Congress in 1953. I always found him to be most helpful and a most considerate correspondent, and one who was admired by all who knew him. In reading Mr. Foote's last column, which he wrote several hours before his death, one cannot help but

agree that he reported the news in a punctilious manner and in fairness to all.

The fact that he was selected 4 times in the last 10 years by Newsweek magazine as "master of prophecy," an award for the most accurate predictions of presidential and congressional elections proved his outstanding ability.

Mark Foote's death is not only a great loss to the newspaper world, his home State of Michigan, but to all. His death ends a long and faithful public service to our Nation.

I extend my sympathy to his wife, daughters and grandchildren. May they be comforted by the knowledge that he lived a happy and very useful life.

Sheldon Freedman, of Chelsea, Mass., Star Sprinter in Spite of Handicap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring you the story of a young man who is twice blessed with courage.

He not only has the will to excel, but that extra reserve that enables him to overcome a handicap.

Sheldon Freedman, of Chelsea, Mass., a city located in my district, cannot hear a word or a sound. The lack of this faculty was never regarded by him as a disability. It was a challenge, to which he has responded magnificently.

Since he was a youngster he has looked up to outstanding performers in the world of sports, and has been inspired by their accomplishments. He has trained hard to develop his own skills. What might have seemed a serious obstacle to others was, to him, a test of his determination.

Up through the years, with a sense of humor that was superior to discouragement and defeat, he schooled himself to become a star sprinter, and he succeeded.

The Chelsea Lodge of Elks, impressed by his ability, his great competitive spirit, and his likable personality, conducted a drive that raised the sum of nearly $1,800 that is necessary to send him to Italy, in order to compete in the 29-nation meet of deaf athletes. As a member of the United States team, he will seek international honors in the 100-yard dash, the 220, and the broad jump.

Sheldon is very grateful to the Chelsea Lodge of Elks for giving him this opportunity, but up Chelsea way everybody is happy about it. In their hearts they feel that they will be with him as he streaks down the cinder path and flies through the air in the broad jump at Milan, Italy, toward the end of August.

They are confident that he will win, but, win or lose, they know that they already have a champion.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask consent to print in the Appendix of the RECORD the following story of Sheldon Freedman that appeared in the July 28 edition of the Boston Sunday Herald:

ELKS HELP TO SEND SPRINTER TO ITALY—CHELSEA'S FREEDMAN SET FOR WORLD DEAF MEET

(By Jim Carfield)

Greater Boston sports fans may be hailing another native-born world champion sooner than they might expect.

Chelsea's Sheldon Freedman, the deaf track sprinter who must be labeled a truly courageous athlete, is the heretofore unheralded gold-medal hopeful.

AS MOMENTOUS AS OLYMPICS

The next Olympic games aren't due until 1960, of course, but Sheldon's moment of glory should come no later than next month—August 25 to 30, to be exact. He's 1 of 2 New Englanders selected on the United States team of deaf athletes invited to a 29-nation competition at Milan, Italy, next month.

Swimming, wrestling, and basketball are some of the other sports listed for competition.

To handicapped athletes like Sheldon, these international games for the deaf are as momentous an occasion as the Melbourne games last year were for homebreds like Hal Connolly, Charlie Jenkins, Phil Reavis, and Tenley Albright. Matter of fact, for the deaf folk, they're the equivalent to the Olympics.

Sheldon, 21-year-old former State schoolboy champion at Chelsea High, has been training rigorously for the games since early June at Chelsea Memorial Stadium under the supervision of his teacher father, Barney. The workouts have been held mostly at twilight since the younger Freedman keeps busy during the day as a foreman in a paint plant.

GOES TO WASHINGTON FOR TRAINING

This year, Sheldon's only competitive appearances have been in AAU meets and Ralph Colson's olympic development meets in South Boston.

As a star sprinter at Chelsea 4 years ago, however he won State titles in the 220 and broad jump outdoors and the indoor 300. He then attended Gallaudet College for the deaf in Washington, D. C., and was on the track team there.

He will leave Thursday for Washington with Worcester Swimmer George Trudeau on the first leg of his quest for international honors. He'll report to Tom Berg, Gallaudet's track coach, for 10 days of training with other members of the United States squad. Departure for Europe is due about August 11 with London the first stop. Warm-up meets there and in Holland will complete the squad's preparations for the big moment at Milan.

"My best times right now," says Sheldon, who also was a basketball regular at Chelsea High, "are 10.1 for the dash and 22.3 in the 220. As for broad jumping, I've been getting out over 22 feet. I certainly hope I'll be able to win one of these events in Italy."

An extremely popular lad in his home city, Sheldon lauded the Chelsea Lodge of Elks for its efforts in making his trip abroad possible.

"They originated and supervised a fund drive that raised nearly $1,800 to pay his expenses," explained Barney. "Everyone in the town is sure he'll come back to us a winner and will be rooting for him."

Barney then added he's still puzzled concerning one phase of his son's international venture.

SHOWS HE HAS SENSE OF HUMOR

"The other day I asked Sheldon how the track events will be started," he said. "After all, none of the contestants will be able to hear a starter's gun. So I wanted to know what they'd use—a flashing light, a dropped flag, or what?

"Well, I guess my son has a sense of humor because his answer was, 'Why, Dad, it's simple. They'll just talk to us in Italian.' "

Maybe the fun-loving Chelsea youth will have a more serious answer when he comes home as our newest world champion.

Compulsory Automobile Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address which was delivered by the Honorable Joseph P. Kelly, New York State commissioner of motor vehicles, before the Eastern Conference of American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, at Atlantic City, N. J., on July 2, 1957:

New York State's new compulsory automobile liability insurance law is not an overnight phenomenon. Probably no law ever enacted in our State was preceded by so much study and investigation and restudy and hearings and legislative proposals over the years.

Curiously, there was never any serious question concerning the existence of a very real problem under our old safety-responsibility-type law. Differences arose only as to the proper solution. It remained for a New York State joint legislative committee to bring the problem into sharp focus during the course of hearings and studies in 1954 and 1955.

In its 1954 report, this committee said there was ample and pathetic evidence of the innocent victims of financially irresponsible motorists. No one argued that point—or that action was needed without further delay. Yet, there was widespread difference of opinion as to method.

Finally, however, the seemingly endless rounds of study and debate reached a point of climax when the legislature in its 1956 session enacted our motor vehicle financial security act—compulsory insurance. It became law April 16, 1956, when the bill was signed by Governor Harriman. Generally speaking, its provisions were scheduled to become effective February 1, 1957—the beginning of our current motor vehicle registration year.

I shall not take the time to recite all of the detailed provisions of the new law because I think most of you are somewhat acquainted with them and, in any event, we have made available to you two publications—the basic informational leaflet issued by the bureau to explain the law and a question-and-answer booklet covering procedures.

The basic requirement is that every motor vehicle registered in New York State—and we have about 5 million of them—must be covered continuously with liability insurance of at least "10-20-and-5." The insurance must be carried with a company authorized to do business in New York State.

Three alternate methods of furnishing acceptable financial security are provided for by the law: A $25,000 financial security or real estate bond; a deposit of $25,000 in cash or securities, or self-insurance in the case of qualified owners of more than 25 motor vehicles registered in New York.

As a practical matter, most motor vehicle owners have complied with the new law by

taking out an owner's policy of liability insurance in at least the minimum amounts. To date, 39 fleet owners have qualified as self-insurers; we have had only 2 deposits of $25,000 in negotiable securities in lieu of liability insurance; we have had 60 financial security bonds and only 1 real estate bond. All the rest qualified by liability insurance policies.

Evidence of liability insurance coverage or an equivalent of financial security had to be presented at the time of applying for 1957 registrations. Without this proof—the certificate of insurance or other evidence of financial security meeting requirements of the law—no one is now able to procure registration plates in New York—except in the case of an exempt vehicle for which an exemption certificate is filed.

Under our law, there can be no interruption, whatsoever, in this coverage. If there is a lapse of coverage for even a single day as a result of termination of financial security for any reason, the motor vehicle commissioner is required to revoke the registration certificate and number plates—unless the certificate and plates are surrendered to the commissioner prior to the time that insurance terminates.

Please take note of the fact that revocation of the registration is required. The drafters of this law had no part of the word "suspension." This means, of course, that once a registration has been revoked—for even the slightest interruption in insurance coverage—the owner of the vehicle must again make application for registration, again furnish evidence of insurance or other security, and again pay the registration fee.

Application for new registration cannot be made until at least 30 days have elapsed. And if there is evidence that the vehicle was operated without insurance or other security on the public highways of New York or any other State, application for new plates cannot be made until at least 1 year has elapsed, and the license of the driver must also be revoked for 1 year.

And if that doesn't sound tough enough, we have some criminal penalties too—some of them even classified as misdemeanors.

One of the misdemeanors is failure of an owner or driver to deliver to the motor vehicle commissioner registration plates or driver license immediately following revocation. The penalty for this one is a fine of up to $100 or up to 30 days in jail or both for a first offense.

Driving an uninsured motor vehicle registered in New York State without insurance is another misdemeanor—and this one calls for a fine of not less than $100 or more than $1,000, or up to 1 year in jail, or both. You can see that our New York legislators really meant business.

The law imposes a great deal of responsibility on the insurance industry as well as the Motor Vehicle Bureau. The insurance company must give its policyholders 10 days' advance notice of termination of a policy if the company cancels or refuses to renew. And the insurance company must notify the motor vehicle commissioner in every case where a liability insurance policy is terminated for any reason whatsoever. These two requirements are fundamental to the operation of the entire law. In fact, the notices of termination which we receive from the insurance companies constitute the foundation for all of our enforcement action.

So much for the basic provisions of the law. You may be interested in some of our advance preparations for administering it.

When we were handed this law only a little more than a year ago, we knew that we had our work cut out for us. We got the law in mid-April of 1956; general issuance of 1957 registration plates was to begin December 1—and our special low number registrations are issued even a month or so in advance of general issuance. Thus, we actually had only about 6 months in which to get ready—preparations including many legal opinions and interpretations; the establishment and training of administrative organization—including 58 county clerks who serve as issuing agents of the commissioner; development of operating procedures and forms and regulations; educating the insurance men as to their functions, and, finally, the staggering job of public education and information to pave the way for what was expected to be a hectic registration period.

To begin the monumental task of preparation, an internal steering committee was established. It comprised officials of the motor vehicle bureau, as well as the law bureau and planning section of the department of taxation and finance of which our bureau is a part.

At the same time, we initiated a close working relationship with practically every branch of the insurance industry, and coordinated our activities with those of the New York State Department of Insurance whose responsibility it was to establish the type of insurance policy meeting terms of the law.

The insurance industry was asked to assign a number of methods and procedures men from representative insurance companies to work with our steering committee and planning section. Thus, the industry was consulted at every stage of the development of forms and procedures and we were able to work together without risk of undue confusion or conflict.

Representatives of the Department next held a series of 19 regional meetings throughout the State with agents and brokers to acquaint them with their role under the financial security act, as well as our forms and procedures. Following these conferences, and based on the materials covered in them, we prepared a question and answer booklet for the special guidance of all insurance companies, bureaus, agents and brokers—as well as for the instruction of our own personnel and that of our more than 60 issuing offices throughout the State.

A series of conferences was also held with the State and county employees in these various issuing offices to rehearse them for their own important participation in the program.

I am not going to burden you with a long recital covering all of these preparatory activities. I am sure that all of you have been associated with the establishment of a major new administrative program and are aware of the labor pains that are synonomous with such a development. We had a definite timetable to meet and while, at times, it appeared that schedules could not possibly be met, we somehow managed to meet them.

While the legal and planning and operating organization was moving along in high gear with preparations for the internal administration, our departmental public relations office was developing and executing a broad, intensive program of public education and information. An 8-page leaflet was prepared and more than 10,000,000 copies of it distributed during the weeks prior to the beginning of 1957 registration. In much of this mass distribution of the basic informational piece, we had excellent cooperation of the entire insurance industry—nearly every company doing business in New York arranging for large-volume mailings to clients or potential clients. There was also distribution through a great many other agencies, including our own offices, automobile clubs, the 21,000 retail gas stations throughout the State, numerous large industrial companies, chambers of commerce, and so on.

A continuing stream of press releases was issued, including a seven-part series of authoritative articles which were printed by practically every newspaper in the State.

At the same time, bureau and department personnel in all offices undertook literally hundreds of speaking engagements before service clubs and similar organizations throughout the State to spread the word. Our public-relations office made the fullest use of television and radio facilities with both live and recorded programs and spot announcements. A series of film strips for use in television-station breaks and a series of recorded spot announcements for radio use had the widest possible usage in the more than 100 radio and 22 television stations in the State.

We even engaged in a rather intensive foreign-language informational effort, especially in New York City, when it became evident that the new insurance and inspection programs were not understood by the large number of Spanish-speaking peoples. To acquaint them with the story of the new laws, which were to start simultaneously we developed literature in Spanish and made use of the foreign-language press as well as radio and television programs. We had the cooperation of numerous leading Puerto Rican groups in the metropolitan New York area.

All of this vast amount of planning and preparation and publicity finally paid off handsomely during our 1957 registration period. Although we had tried to anticipate every possible problem, we felt that there would be bound to be considerable confusion and that the registration operation would undoubtedly be attended by difficulties, not only for us but for the motorist public.

We were most agreeably surprised. Actually, we found that vehicle owners were informed concerning the new law and the insurance requirements far beyond our best hopes. In fact, for the most part, the registration was one of the most orderly in our experience because the vast majority of car owners came in early with the proof of insurance, apparently so as to be sure of not encountering any last-minute obstacles to registration. This earlier-than-usual surge of registration almost entirely eliminated the usual deadline rush and, for the most part, registration was accomplished easily and smoothly.

There was only one complication and it proved not to be too formidable. As proof of insurance we had adopted a form entitled "Certificate of Insurance" and identified by us as form FS–1. Before an issuing officer could register a vehicle, it was required that information on the FS–1 form, which the vehicle owner got from his insurance company, be checked against the corresponding data on the registration application, and that the two had to tally before the registration could be issued. That applied especially to such items as name, address, description of vehicle, engine number, etc.

We found that our offices had to turn away a fairly substantial number of applicants because of discrepancies between the two items. Invariably, the applicant was able to straighten out the matter readily by going back to his insurance agent and having the record corrected to obtain a new insurance certificate matching the registration application. This actually may have been a blessing in disguise because it prompted the correction of countless longstanding errors both in insurance-company and bureau records.

All in all, so smoothly did the entire operation develop that the New York Times took special note of it editorially.

Speaking of the beginning of both compulsory insurance and inspection programs, the Times commented: "It was a tremendous job to educate the public as well as the State personnel, insurance and garage employees. Errors made by some insurance companies or agencies in filling out certificates to qualify for plates caused some in-

convenience; this, it may be noted, was not the fault of the State. We congratulate the department of taxation and finance and its bureau of motor vehicles for a job well done. There is much hard work ahead, but the success thus far is encouraging."

That was the appraisal of the New York Times and, of course, it was a very welcome recognition of the effort that had gone into our planning and preparation.

Now, I know you are all interested in what has happened since—what has developed since we passed the first major hurdle of the 1957 registration renewal period.

Our first task was the establishment of our central master file of the certificates of insurance. I do not need to tell you what a tremendous task it was to recheck, sort out, screen, and alphabetize more than 5 million separate pieces which go to make up our newly established security file. Not only does it contain all of the individual FS–1 certificates, but it also contains various other forms covering a variety of other vehicles and situations—fleet insurance certificates; forms for vehicles exempt from filing evidence of insurance because of coverage under other provisions of the law (vehicles under Public Service Commission or Interstate Commerce Commission), Government vehicles and certain farm vehicles, as well as forms showing required coverage for automobile dealers plates and transporter plates.

It took weeks of overtime work, but we now have a file of over 5 million certificates of one kind or another, representing evidence of insurance or other proof of financial security, or exemption, for every vehicle registered in New York State. This is a permanent file. The law does not require a new certificate on registration renewal.

In the first 4 months of our operations under the new law, through May 31, we processed 4,694,996 registrations with attached insurance certificates. In addition, we have during the same 4 months received 465,733 superseding insurance certificates—new insurance certificates resulting mainly from the switching by a motorist from one carrier to another. As of May 13, the file—including cross-references—numbered 5,278,-972 insurance certificates.

Even before the law went into effect last February 1, we started getting from insurance companies notices of termination of insurance—the form we call FS–4. Through May 31, we received 313,534 notices of termination—an average just over 3,000 per working day. New certificates of insurance, showing superseding coverage, cancel out most of these termination notices, the operation indicating only that coverage has been switched by the motorist from one company to another.

However, when there is no new evidence of insurance at hand to show continuing coverage, we move immediately to issue a revocation order affecting that registration. Through May 31, we issued 56,849 such revocation orders. But not all of these revocations were necessary, as it turned out. We have already rescinded 13,472 of them—nearly one-fourth of the original revocations—because it later developed that the individuals actually had insurance or that the canceled insurance certificate was not even used for registration purposes. Many of these unnecessary revocations, later rescinded, occurred because the new certificates of insurance on a switch from one company to another were not received by the bureau in time to cancel out action resulting from a termination notice.

Except for eight cases, all of the revocations thus far issued were for only the 30-day period. In eight cases, one-year revocations of both registrations and driver licenses occurred as a result of accidents involving New York State registered vehicles on which there was no insurance coverage. Actually, this number has now been reduced to 7 because in 1 case the insurance carrier decided to maintain responsibility for coverage because its advance warning notice of termination to the vehicle owner was defective.

Quite a number of the revocations represent only temporary lapses in insurance coverage—cases where only a few days or even a single day of lapse was involved. But the affected motorists had overlooked—or forgotten—the fact that coverage must be without any interruption whatsoever.

Motorists may avoid revocation, where insurance is permitted to lapse or is about to be terminated, by surrendering registration certificates and plates to the motor vehicle bureau in any of its central or district offices prior to the date of termination. A motorist who surrenders registration and plates in advance of termination may redeem the plates and certificate without additional fee when he submits new evidence of insurance—thus avoiding the necessity of a revocation and the requirement of paying the registration fee a second time. During the first 4 months of operation under the new law, the number of voluntary surrenders of plates prior to termination of coverage was 26,090.

Perhaps it is a bit too early in our experience under this law to evaluate fully the current experience, but we feel that, generally speaking, the administration of the law is progressing very satisfactorily. There are, of course, problems as in any far-reaching program which has such broad implications, involves such an enormous volume of transactions, and so closely affects so many people. But we are overcoming these problems and difficulties, as they develop, and the insurance industry, likewise, is becoming more proficient in the discharge of its duties under this law, as it gains in experience and knowledge.

The large number of switches by motorists from one insurance carrier to another is one of the most troublesome problems in administration. Another concerns the necessity of having a continuing education program so that the motorist will know he cannot let his insurance lapse for even 1 day. Many motorists are now learning this the hard way by revocation and loss of the use of their vehicles for 30 days—plus the necessity to pay the registration fee again upon getting new plates.

We realize, of course, that we are currently making many revocations which should not have to be made because superseding certificates of insurance are not sent to us in time—arriving after a termination notice has already been processed against the master file. This delay in sending the bureau notices of the new coverage creates difficulties for the bureau, for insurance companies, and of course, for the motorist. We have only recently conferred again with representatives of insurance companies doing business in New York State in an effort to resolve some of these questions. We are confident that the operation—and the cooperation of both insurance companies and motorists—will continue to improve and that many of the current problems are of a transient nature which might be expected to attend the development of any radically new program.

On another point, I think it might be well to nail down loose talk from some quarters that many fraudulent certificates of insurance were filed with registration applications during the past registration period. The rumors that counterfeit certificates were available at a modest fee were widespread in New York during the registration period. We have recently run a check to determine whether there was, in fact, extensive counterfeiting of insurance certificates.

We took a random sample of 24,000 insurance certificates, made facsimile copies of them and sent them to the named insurance companies for verification. We have already received verification of 20,000 of these certificates and not one single certificate was found to be fraudulent. Some 4,000 certificates of 10 insurance companies have not yet been reported on.

While we are planning to take another similar sampling in the near future, there is presently every indication that there was little or no fraud in the filing of insurance certificates, all gossip to the contrary.

Now, as to the question of whether the financial security law—compulsory insurance—is serving its purpose in New York, I think it is perfectly obvious that the answer is an emphatic yes.

When Governor Harriman signed the new law, he said, "It marks a great step forward toward securing just treatment and assuring a greater measure of safety for the citizens of our State."

The legislature made its own declaration of purpose, stating that "It is a matter of grave concern that motorists shall be financially able to respond in damages for their negligent acts so that innocent victims of motor vehicle accidents may be recompensed for the injury and financial loss inflicted upon them."

We think these purposes are being served and well served.

When the motor vehicle bureau made a study of insurance coverage, in a 1955 survey, under our old law, it was determined that some 700,000 uninsured vehicles were using our public highways with New York registration plates that year.

It is true that, where plates are not surrendered in advance there is a lapse of time now between the date when insurance on a New York registered vehicle is terminated and when that vehicle is actually removed from the highways, its registration plates revoked. But, while more than 14 percent of our vehicles were known to be uninsured in 1955, it is safe to assume that, under this law, only a fraction of 1 percent of the vehicles are operating at any given time without insurance.

As further proof of this—and perhaps the most impressive commentary on the operation of the new law to date—we have had only seven uninsured accidents involving New York registered vehicles in the first 4 months under compulsory insurance.

In the very same 4 months of 1956—February 1 through May 31—under our old safety-responsibility law, we had around 25,000 such uninsured accidents.

That alone—a drop from 25,000 to 7 uninsured accidents—must be regarded as a major achievement for compulsory insurance and seems proof enough that the new law is, in fact, providing all of the major benefits which it was counted upon to provide.

We are striving constantly to improve our administration of the law and I think we are making orderly progress. But the law itself, still has loopholes which Governor Harriman has cited repeatedly and which he has strongly urged the legislature to correct. The remaining loopholes are those involving out-of-State, unauthorized, and hit-run drivers.

The legislature this year postponed action to bridge these remaining gaps on the ground that at least 1 year of experience under the new compulsory-insurance law was necessary before final conclusions could be reached on protection in these uncovered situations. Governor Harriman has already indicated that he would once again call for the supplementary action at next year's legislative session.

Unnecessary Traffic Fatalities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, I think we all agree that unnecessary traffic fatalities is one of our Nation's greatest problems, and I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a letter written to the editor of the New York Times expressing the grave concern of my very good friend, Samuel Nashel, counselor at law of West New York, N. J., on this subject.

The letter follows:

WEST NEW YORK, N. J., *July 26, 1957.*
EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES,
Times Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: I submit for your urgent consideration, the advocacy of legislation for the formation by Congress of a national organization, to take all necessary measures to effectively wipe out the tragic slaughter and mayhem by automobile, occurring daily on our highways.

This frightful, shameful, and catastrophic condition should forthwith be proclaimed a national disaster. The measures taken to deal with the catastrophe, should, in their comprehensiveness and forcefulness, be equivalent to those taken in time of war to defeat an enemy of the people.

Until and unless the problem is actually dealt with as something akin to a war against the safety and peace of our country, and steps are taken with the force and vigor employed in time of war, no genuine progress will be made. Deaths by automobile each and every year continue to exceed the total loss of life by our Armed Forces in the Korean war.

The organization should, if deemed advisable, be affiliated with a governmental agency formed to protect the lives and property of our people.

It is abundantly clear that the States separately are not equipped to cope adequately with the problem, and that their activities should be supplemented by those of the Federal Government.

Notwithstanding the education of motorists and pedestrians, the safety programs by States, municipalities, automobile clubs, associations, and many other organizations, the traffic accident toll continues unabated.

In an analysis of the most recent traffic accident data, as compiled by the New York Times, it was reported on Sunday, July 14, 1957, that speed and related evils practiced by drivers in a hurry, or "careless behavior" as the experts call it, are the principal causes of highway accidents. Human beings experience difficulty in being alert and in exercising care at all times. Some motivation and inspiration is necessary as a constant and continual reminder. I submit that membership in such a national organization under the direct leadership of the President of the United States may be the solution.

This new national organization should call for the voluntary enlistment of the 80 million licensed drivers throughout the country, in a "crusade" to defeat the "enemies" of safety on our highways, to instill a genuine desire, consciousness, and compulsion to drive safely at all times by active and personal participation in such an organization. If voluntary enlistment does not succeed, then compulsory enlistment should be required.

If it be said that such action is radical, drastic, and revolutionary, is it not clear at this late date, when not a single day passes without loss of life and serious injuries in the slaughter by automobile, that nothing less will suffice? It is manifest that bold ideas are necessary to meet the challenge posed by this problem.

It is inconceivable that Congress and the President do not possess the constitutional powers to act in this emergency. The Federal Government, through its legislative and executive branches, must do everything possible within its legal powers. The people should be fully apprised by daily reports of the conditions as they improve or worsen daily.

Can we continue to afford to view complacently and callously this national catastrophe, where, with the regularity that day follows night, 40,000 people are killed each year and over 1 million injured or maimed, and not be alarmed? Should more lives be sacrificed first?

The Labor Day automobile slaughter will soon be upon us. Can we delay any longer? Is the situation absolutely hopeless and a necessary evil of our times?

When will we be moved to action? Eventually? Why not now?

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL NASHEL.

Charles R. Reese, of Wilkes-Barre, Veteran Post Office Department Official

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Times Leader-Evening News of Wilkes-Barre commenting on the passing of Mr. Charles R. Reese, who served in the Post Office Department for 54 years:

CHARLES R. REESE

The death of Charles R. Reese, of Kingston, recalls a colorful career in the Post Office Department, spanning more than 5 decades—54 years, to be exact.

Mr. Reese entered Government service in his native Berwick as a special-delivery messenger. Within 6 years he was assistant postmaster. In 1917, he had advanced to post office inspector, in which capacity he saw a great deal of the world, although he made his headquarters in Wilkes-Barre most of the time.

An attaché with a reputation for ability and resourcefulness, Mr. Reese allowed no obstacle to stand in the way of duty. While in the Pacific and Far East, he had occasion to check the post office at the leper colony in Kaluapapa. One of five outsiders to go there, he took the assignment in stride. When the job was done, his clothes were burned and for 7 years he underwent an examination to make certain he had not been infected with the dreaded disease.

Wilkes-Barre remembers him for his contribution to the solution of the Good Friday bombing case in 1936.

Not all of his work was as exciting as these episodes, but whether it was a major challenge or the drudgery of routine he gave his best which invariably was adequate, earning for him the confidence of associates and the respect of the public.

Men of the caliber of Charles Reese constitute the backbone of Government service. He left an impressive record and a stimulating example.

Senator Gore Comments on Current Inflation and Government Action Combating It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable ALBERT GORE issued a very interesting and thought-provoking statement the other day in connection with the public hearings of the Senate Committee on Finance, which has been interrogating the Secretary of the Treasury about fiscal policies of the Government.

I believe the Senator's statements are so important that they deserve special attention by Members of the House, and I am inserting them herewith in the RECORD.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ALBERT GORE AT PUBLIC HEARINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF FINANCE UNITED STATES SENATE, JULY 11, 1957

Mr. Chairman, in an effort to avoid repetition of the many questions which have been submitted to the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, I have chosen to make a brief summary statement, covering certain aspects of the problem, upon which, after I have made it, I will invite Secretary Humphrey to comment as he may wish.

My first fundamental point of difference with the position of Secretary Humphrey, as taken before this committee, concerns the nature of the inflationary threat with which our country is confronted. There is no disagreement between us as to the consequences of inflation. Perhaps some of my colleagues may recall the role I played in combating inflation both before Pearl Harbor and after. The term "inflationist", by which in his opening statement Secretary Humphrey described all those who disagree with his policy, may fit some, but does not fit me. Even so, there are some who unfortunately and unwisely consider it an utter impossibility to be inopposition both to inflation and to current governmental policies which allegedly are for the purpose of combating inflation but which have notably failed in this regard.

We have true inflation, according to the weight of accepted authority, when an increase in the quantity of demand produces no further increase in output and therefore spends itself entirely in price increases.

I do not believe we are in such a period or such an economic state. On the other hand, it seems fair to conclude that Secretary Humphrey does think we have just such a classical inflationary condition. Indeed, he said to this committee that further "expansion of bank credit would merely have enabled more would-be buyers to bid up the price of the limited supply of goods and services." As a further explanation of his understanding of the current situation, Secretary Humphrey stated that, "The reason that these inflationary pressures are on us now is because of the great prosperity which the country is enjoying at the present time. It is the demand for building, it is the demand

for goods, it is the demand for all sorts of things that are exceeding the supply." The Secretary also agreed with the thumbnail summary of his views that this inflation was cuased by a bigger demand than productive capacity could supply.

Now, as the facts have been developed, no significant scarcity in goods and commodities has been revealed except in a very limited number of specialty items such as large structural steel shapes. To the contrary, surpluses of goods or of productive capacity to turn out more goods are in evidence almost everywhere we look.

The limited supplies, as we have seen, are not goods but rather in money and credit. The excessive supplies, on the other hand, as we have seen, are not in money and credit but rather in goods and commodities. Thus, Mr. Chairman, we have found our economic situation to be in sharp variance with the classical type of inflation which Secretary Humphrey has assessed and assumed the situation to be.

Then, I completely reject the position which Secretary Humphrey has repeatedly stated to this committee that the United States Government is, and should be, as helpless in marketing its securities and in managing the public debt as a local merchant trying to sell a fur-lined overcoat in August. Many of the hurtful consequences of such a concept and of such abandonment of responsibility have been developed during this hearing and are plain for all to see.

Now, starting with these basic disagreements as to the nature of our problem and as to the capacity of the Government to serve its fiscal necessities or to protect its fiscal integrity, disagreement on policy to cope adequately with the situation as it is, in contrast with what it has been assumed to be, is an entirely logical, if not unavoidable, consequence.

Even if we were, contrary to fact, in a period characterized by short supplies of goods, commodities and services and by excess supplies of money and credit, the economic policies now being pursued by this administration, admittedly of some value in such a situation, should only be used with restraint and discretion. This would be true because of disturbing trends, both long term and short term, in our economy and our society which pose a basic threat to true free enterprise and reasonable equality of economic opportunity, to which I will later refer; and, also, because such policies, if badly organized or indiscriminately applied, tend to disarrange and often worsen desirable distribution of goods and fair distribution of income.

But when such policies are applied to the conditions as they are today, in sharp contrast to what they have been assumed to be, these policies are disclosed to be fallacious and hurtful because they create imbalance, not balance; instability, not stability; poorer, not better distribution; inadequate, not adequate economic growth and progress. All this is true because these policies encourage rather than discourage the peculiar kind of selective price and income inflation combined with selective price and income deflation which continue to threaten our economy.

What we have, as I see it, is a highly selective, nonuniform price and income inflation. I know of no better example—though there are others—than the current inflation in the price of steel. This, as the Secretary has acknowledged, will stimulate inflation of prices over a wide area of our economy. A hardware merchant has told me that, immediately after the recent price increase of steel was announced, his wholesale supplier notified him that fencing wire would be increased $1 per bale. This means higher prices for nails, hammers, saws, refrigerators, air conditioners, television sets, automobiles, plumbing fixtures, and down to such little things as metal compacts, lipstick containers, locks and keys, and to such big things as structural steel for buildings and highway and bridge construction. Indeed, Mr. Chairman, our whole industrial economy has a strong metallic base. Our not exist without a constant supply of basic highly industrialized economy of today can-metals like iron, steel, copper, and aluminum. The whole Nation is dependent for steel upon a very few tightly controlled large corporations.

This steel price increase has not been dictated by a depleted profit position in the steel industry. On the contrary, profits have been, and are, enormous. This inflationary increase in the price of steel has not been dictated by the classical inflationary condition of demand exceeding current productive capacity. The steel mills are currently operating at only about 80 to 90 percent of capacity, as we have seen. This price increase can hardly be blamed on competition.

What, then, is the reason for inflating the price of steel? Well, there is no mystery surrounding the reason for the increase in the price of steel. The chairman of the board of United States Steel advised the stockholders at the annual meeting on May 7, 1956, that a projection of the financial needs of the company showed that they would need an additional $140 million. He then proposed to the stockholders that the method to use to get expansion capital is by raising prices from time to time—as circumstances require and permit.

Similarly, the minutes of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey for the meeting of the board of directors on December 13, 1956, showed that for the first time in many years the company was faced with the probability that they would have to use something more than internal financing to cover replacements, modernization, and expansion. However, this company was able to increase its prices to the extent that it was unnecessary for the company to resort to external financing.

This type of price inflation primarily to finance expansion, is actually encouraged, not discouraged, by current Government policies. High interest rates and diminished possibility of competition, both created by current policies, encourage and invite big-business concerns to finance their capital expansion and improvement in large part from inflated prices and consequent swollen profits. In this way, Mr. Chairman, the public is unfairly forced to pay for the further concentration of the Nation's economic strength and wealth in big corporations, thus intensifying the growing threat to competition and equality of enterprise. Thus you see, like most other elements of inflation, it feeds upon itself.

The social injustice of this practice can be seen in the fact that the mass of our people are forced unfairly to pay higher prices for the products of big business, thus forced themselves to contribute to the further disparity of wealth and income between themselves and a comparative few who have large holdings in such corporate enterprise. Because consumers are being made to pay unfairly for added plants and profits, through unfairly inflated prices and because of various tax concessions, these stockholders collect larger and larger dividends, and in addition can daily watch the rapid appreciation of their fortunes.

Steel is by no means the only example of such unfair gouging of the public by the big, the powerful, and the rich. Indeed, this is characteristic of our current economy and is encouraged and abetted by governmental policy. According to the statistics from the Securities and Exchange Commission, corporations spent $35.1 billion in 1956 for expansion. Of this amount, only approximately $10 billion came from long-term borrowings or new stock issues. The overwhelming proportion came from internal financing—inflated prices and swollen profits. Though expansion financed in part by profits may be sound practice, this extreme profiteering appears unconscionable.

This disturbing development is not only abetted by monetary policy, but possibly even more by tax policy, by appointments to and policies of regulatory agencies favorable not to the public interest but to the very interests which such agencies are supposed to regulate, and by other actions and policies of the administration which create what Secretary Humphrey described to us as "an improved climate for enterprise."

I find myself in agreement with both Secretary Humphrey and the new Secretary-designate, Mr. Anderson, that higher interest rates are both inflationary and deflationary. It so happens, though, that the deflationary effect of higher interest rates is most effective in that portion of our economy in which we have the least amount of price and income inflation (or even deflation), and is most ineffective in that portion of our economy in which we have administered price inflation.

Though higher interest rates, as Secretary Humphrey has said, help one group of our people a great deal, they hurt most people severely.

Secretary Humphrey has repeatedly referred to action by the Government to hold interest rates down as "artificial," but has referred to action to increase interest rates as "natural." The fact is that one is as "artificial" as the other, both being the result of positive action by the Government.

Though we have heard much about the sale of Government securities "on the nose" at what the market will take, actually Government bonds have been deliberately sold at interest rates higher than necessary, thus placing an unnecessarily heavy burden on taxpayers for many years to come.

On yesterday, in fact, Secretary Humphrey, with characteristic candor, expressed the opinion that we might be better off if he had led the market "a little more than we did."

On yesterday, too, Secretary Humphrey jocularly remarked that we often try to go in two directions at once. In all seriousness, that is exactly how governmental policies have been applied in some instances. For instance, in 1953 the Government raised rediscount rates in the Federal Reserve System, thus increasing interest rates throughout the Nation's banking system and, in the same year, not only lowered reserve requirements, thus expanding credit, but also lowered by 33⅓ percent margin requirements, thus stimulating speculation in corporate securities. In fact, both reserve requirements and margin requirements are lower even today than in January 1953, even though from March 1955 to now, the rediscount rate has been increased successively 11 times, thus giving a boost in interest rates to the Nation's banking system, on installment credit and in the market place.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, it will be seen that interest rates have been increased primarily for the purpose of increasing income from interest.

The greatest artificiality of our age is the corporation. It is a fictitious person, but nevertheless a legal entity. I accept the necessity of a corporate entity. It has been very valuable in our economic development. I do question, however, the unreasonable and unjustifiable favoritism toward income from corporate investment and other policies which, in general, encourage the creation of corporations and unduly encourage investment and speculation in corporate stock.

The monetary and economic policies of the Eisenhower administration, labeled anti-inflationary, seem to me to miss the mark. They severely hurt, as already demonstrated,

large segments of our population and economy, particularly those segments of our economy that are characterized by competition and multiplicity of small business concerns and those people who must borrow money or buy goods, homes and automobiles on time. Major sources of inflationary pressures in our economy, on the other hand, are augmented by, instead of repressed by, these policies.

The result is to make the big bigger, the rich richer, and to threaten the existence of a climate truly favorable to individual enterprise and equality of opportunity. These trends have produced conditions in our country and attitudes on the part of Government officials, as well as on the part of many private citizens, which are unhealthy. We have found it possible, for instance, to repeal the excess profits tax, but we have not found it possible to increase tax exemptions for a child or an aged dependent. We have not found it possible to return to the prewar policy of giving some preference in income taxation to income actually earned by human efforts, but instead we have gone so far in the opposite direction as to give a tax preference to unearned income from dividends. We have given vast benefits through rapid tax writeoffs to bring about construction of more factories, even though existing productive capacity was by no means fully utilized, but we have not found it possible to pass a school construction bill. We have given vast interest-free loans to big business to build plants, but programs to help people become homeowners falter and fail because of deliberate Government policy of forcing higher and higher interest rates on home mortgages.

In these ways, and in many others, Mr. Chairman, our Government is favoring material values over human values. This I challenge. I challenge it in whole and in part.

The resolution adopted by this committee is a broad one. It encompasses the whole economy, and is not limited, as some may have concluded, to monetary and fiscal policy.

I hope this investigation will be a searching inquiry into not only current monetary and fiscal policies, which are an important part, but only a part, of policies or lack of policies, action or lack of action, creating the conditions which I have briefly described and which I view with alarm, but also tax structure, economic concentration, maladjustments of distribution, threats and impediments to free enterprise, and the whole economic fabric of our society.

Opposition to H. R. 7244

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include copies of two telegrams I received in opposition to H. R. 7244, from the commissioner of agriculture for Massachusetts, Mr. Charles H. McNamara, and from Mr. John McMaster, commodity director, Massachusets Farm Bureau Federation.

The telegrams follow:

BOSTON, MASS., *July 29, 1957.*
Congressman THOMAS L. LANE,
Washington, D. C.:

Personally oppose H. R. 7244. Believe most Massachusetts dairy farmers agree with me. Appreciate your efforts toward this end.

CHARLES H. MCNAMARA,
Massachusetts Commissioner of Agriculture.

WALTHAM, MASS., *July 26, 1957.*
Representative THOMAS J. LANE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

Urgently and respectfully request your opposition to H. R. 7244 next week. Bill sets up mandatory checkoff on all livestock marketed at proposed rate of 10 cents per head. Brighton stockyards alone handle 215,000 cull dairy cows, calves, and hogs annually. Cost to farmers of this area marketing at Brighton under program set up by H. R. 7244 would be $21,500. Bill does not leave producer free to avoid payment by asking in advance but forces him to request refund program. Would seriously hamper current excellent activities of national livestock and meat board which is financed on a voluntary basis.

Sincerely,

JOHN MCMASTER,
Commodity Director, Massachusetts Farm Bureau Federation.

Inflationary Pay Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on Monday, July 29, 1957, which concerns legislation with respect to pay increases for postal employees.

It is generally known the editorial policies of the Washington Post and Times Herald are favorable to Federal employees. I call attention to the fact that this editorial supports the statement made in the House of Representatives by the gentleman from Kansas, Representative EDWARD H. REES, minority ranking member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The editorial also approves his amendment providing for a 5-percent across-the-board pay increase for all postal employees, together with authority for the Postmaster General to raise entrance salaries amounting to an average of 2½ percent additional for 320,000 clerks and carriers, all of which would offset the increased cost of living since the last pay increase in 1955.

The Washington Post and Times Herald editorial is realistic and approaches this problem objectively and it is in my opinion a thoughtful discussion of this matter.

The editorial follows:

INFLATIONARY PAY BILL

The House lost its sense of proportion last week when it plumped by a vote of 379 to 38 for a $546 pay increase for each of the more than half a million postal employees. This proposed boost amounting to 12½ percent for the average postal worker runs directly counter to the efforts of the House to trim the President's budget and to fight the fires of inflation. It would cost taxpayers an estimated $317 million annually, and probably would encourage higher wage demands in private industry, which, in turn, would stimulate the upward trend of prices and thus lessen the value of the dollar.

This newspaper has favored moderate pay adjustments for Federal workers to bring their remuneration into line with higher living costs. Unfortunately, the House rejected Representative REES' proposal for a 5 percent cost-of-living postal pay raise, which the President was apparently ready to accept. Unless the House bill can be drastically trimmed before reaching the White House, it will doubtless be vetoed with the result that postal workers may get no increase.

In one other respect we think the bill is unsound. The flat $546 increase would go to all postal workers regardless of present salaries. This would mean a further upsetting of wage scales that are designed to reflect differences in skill, experience, and responsibility. Inequities between the various grades are accentuated rather than minimized by pay increases of this kind.

By comparison with the House bill, the measure awaiting action in the Senate (it would increase postal salaries by 7½ percent plus cost-of-living adjustments) is certainly preferable. If it could be more closely tied to changes in the cost of living since the last increase and accompanied by the bill to increase postal rates, it would be in line with sound economic policy.

Jeeps That Will Fly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in today's issue of the New York Times an article on Army jeeps appears that should be of interest to the House. It follows:

AERIAL JEEPS SOUGHT—ARMY WILL SPEND $1,702,000 TO FIND IF THEY ARE FEASIBLE

WASHINGTON, July 29.—The Army announced today that it would spend $1,702,000 to learn how to make jeeps fly.

The service announced that it had placed the following contracts for design, construction and testing of aerial jeeps:

Aerophysics Development Corp., Santa Barbara, Calif., $388,000; Chrysler Corp., Detroit, $661,000, and Piasecki Aircraft Corp., Philadelphia, $653,000.

The Army said it wanted a vehicle that would hover or move through the air at 50 miles an hour with a 1,000-pound load of weapons or equipment.

The contracts call for research vehicles that use the "ducted propeller" means of locomotion. The ducted propeller looks like a fan in a washtub. It has been used on test vehicles to push them into the air.

Mr. Speaker, one wonders if the 4 wheels on the jeep could not be converted to propellers which, with properly angled spokes and a proper tilt to the wheels, would make the jeep take off sidewards and up, a hydraulic lift working downward from the body, would raise the jeep off the ground high enough for the wheels to be angled and spun for the takeoff.

I wish the Army success in its venture.

It is interesting to note that wheels on airplanes have been angled and made retractable. And tires have been inflated and deflated on evhicles as they moved in and out of water by push button devices.

Success in the Army's venture for a jeep that will fly might conceivably revolutionize our automotive industry and it might possibly alter some features of our highway construction programs with considerable saving to taxpayers.

It was the Defense Department that launched atomic energy with Manhattan project. Perhaps the Army will yet pioneer the air-auto.

Egg Prices Hit a Low of 19 Cents for Grade A in New York Mills, Minn., This Spring

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of New York Mills, Minn., Mr. Leo A. Klinnert, has written to me regarding the price of eggs in his locality and the dairy situation. I request permission to insert his very forthright letter under leave to extend my remarks.

The letter follows:

NEW YORK MILLS, MINN.,
July 19, 1957.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: The price of grade A eggs here at New York Mills slipped to a low of 19 cents a dozen this spring. And as any one knows no poultryman can stay in business at that rate.

Another thing I would like to talk to you about and that is the dairy situation. There have been some evasions of quotas of butter that is being imported into this country. A mixture of 76 percent milk fat, sugar, vanillin, and water, have been imported and sold to ice-cream manufacturers. There was a hearing on this but I never heard the outcome.

I believe a law providing that any imported commodity must sell for at least the support price should be passed.

Three shiploads containing 9 million pounds of butter recently came into New York and sold for 42 to 43 cents a pound.

I understand this also went to ice-cream manufacturers.

It is no wonder we have a surplus of commodities in this country

Hoping to hear from you favorably on this, I remain,

Yours truly,

LEO A. KLINNERT.

The Assassination of President Castillo Armas, of Guatemala

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago all decent, Christian and freedom loving Americans were congratulating their fellow Americans of the Republic of Guatemala for being the first in all the world to throw out an established Communist-atheistic regime. Those of us in the Congress who were familiar with the deadliness of the Communist conspiracy and the deadly danger in which communism in any of the Americas placed our own country, were, at that time, prayerfully thankful to Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, the anti-Communist patriot who, in the best and most heroic American tradition had just delivered his nation from the enslavement of the hated Communist regime of puppet President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

Today, Mr. Speaker, that same great Guatemalan hero, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, the American who became the first Christian in all the world to bring about the overthrow of an atheistic and communistic government, lies dead at Guatemala City, the victim of a viscious retaliatory assassination by international communism. The very impudence of these insolent and immoral Communists, these lackeys of Moscow, in daring to come into our great Christian America, there to wreak vengeance upon a hero of the Western Hemisphere, is, of itself, indicative of the monstrous nature of this international conspiracy and its complete indifference as to the tenets of Christian morality or the opinions of decent men and women.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that every one of my colleagues join in my righteous indignation about this despicable and defiant act of our Communist enemies in instituting a reign of terror in our hemisphere. Moscow is, in effect, telling everyone in our Hemisphere that interference with communism is fatal. Everyone of us who had any part in lending aid and assistance to the martyred President of Guatemala when he ousted the Communists in his native land 3 years ago, may look forward to the same treatment. Ambassador John Puerifoy, who played such a decisive part in the ousting of the Communist regime in Guatemala, met a violent death shortly thereafter in a traffic "accident," in the far reaches of Asia. Neither his transfer out of this Hemisphere nor the "accident" in which he died, have ever been satisfactorily explained.

In connection with the death by communistic assassination of the President of Guatemala, Mr. Speaker, I hope that the lesson which it demonstrates so well will not be lost upon those to whom it should be most important. That lesson is simply this: The encouragement of political murder is not only immoral and offensive to decency, but it may also be contagious.

The record of this House, as well as the history of our time, will demonstrate only too well the activities of a small group of irresponsible, if not sinister, individuals, who, acting in the name of "liberalism," have traveled about our hemisphere, lending aid and comfort to the Communists, exiles and dissidents of the various nations of the Americas.

These misguided malcontents profess themselves to be against all dictators and particularly the dictators of the Americas with whom we maintain friendly relations. The definition which this group gives to the word "dictator" is such that it never applies to any government which is tolerant of atheistic communism. It seems, however, that all governments of our hemisphere, which are determinedly anti-Communist, are headed by dictators. Thus it has been that this small group of dupes have, in alliance with their Caribbean counterparts of like mind, brought about or, at least, loaned aid and comfort to those who have been responsible for the death, by assassination, of the late anti-Communist President of Nicaragua, Anastacio Somoza; plotted the assassination of anti-Communist President, Perez Jiménez, of Venezuela; brought about the overthrow of the anti-Communist Rojas regime in Colombia; brought about a state of near-political anarchy in Honduras—where General Rodrigues, one of the members of the ruling junta, was sent into exile only last week in the classical manner of junta rule—encouraged the complete collapse of the Government of Haiti, and assiduously backed the current Communist attempt to overthrow the Batista government in Cuba.

This group of irresponsible agitators, Mr. Speaker, have never found anything wrong with the government of the free and associated Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, from whence came the political assassins who attempted to execute the Members of this House on March 1, 1954; nor, have they ever found cause for criticism in the Government of Costa Rica, where the regime of the liberal José Figueres is no more than a puppet regime of the Communists of the Caribbean. Fortunately this determined band of irresponsibles have failed completely in their most determined assault on American freedom. That is their continuing attack upon the Government and the political leader, who has always been the most anti-Communist in our hemisphere, the Government of the Dominican Republic. That great nation, the most important bulwark guarding our southeastern sea frontier, has stood firm against their every attack, and in doing so has justly earned the gratitude of every decent Christian of all the Americas. This has been said before, by such outstanding Americans as our own majority floor leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts, JOHN MCCORMACK; but I reiterate it again. I am proud to

acknowledge the debt we all owe to Generalissimo Trujillo.

Mr. Speaker, as monstrous as is the crime of the Communist assassination of Carlos Castillo Armas, and as great as has been the sacrifices of this great American anti-Communist of the Republic of Guatemala, perhaps his death and martyrdom will serve a useful purpose. Perhaps, even in death, Carlos Castillo Armas, who certainly will rank in history alongside the great American patriots such as George Washington, Bolivar, San Martin, Benito Juarez, and our other American patriots and martyrs of sacred memory, perhaps, even in death, this great but humble and unassuming American will render but one more service to his fellow Americans in all the nations of our hemisphere. Perhaps his death by assassination will serve to shake our people out of their deadly complacency. Perhaps his death will serve to bring home to our people the horrible and continuing danger which atheistic communism presents to our traditional American freedoms, our American way of life, and our Christian religion. Perhaps his death will serve to bring together the peoples of all of the Americas, and to inculcate in them and strengthen their Christian determination that atheistic communism shall be eradicated from our hemisphere. Perhaps his death may even serve to bring about a realization of the evilness of their activities by that little group of irresponsible men who, wittingly or unwittingly, serve the cause of atheistic communism in our hemisphere, that little group who, however innocent may be their motives, do, by their actions, encourage political murder at the behest of Moscow. If so, Carlos Castillo Armas will not have died in vain. If so, the man who has already given so much for the peoples of the Americas, will have rendered one more service, perhaps his most vital service, to the people of the Americas, Carlos Castillo Armas, the big man from a small American nation, the man who defied all the might of international communism, the man who demonstrated to the world that communism is not invincible, would want it that way.

Mr. Speaker, the American Communist Party, the hemispherewide Americans for Democratic Action, the Luce publications—Time and Life—that radio and television network which has become so expert in bringing Communists and fellow travelers, such an Nikita Khrushchev, of Soviet Russia, and Fidel Castro, of Moscow and Cuba, into the homes of America, have concentrated their vicious attacks upon such American patriots as Gen. Rafael Trujillo, of the Dominican Republic. Fortunately, the murdered President of Guatemala escaped their slander and villification. Certainly Carlos Castillo Armas and his government have been great friends of our own Government. And yet the great anti-Communist President of Guatemala has died a martyr's death, the victim of that same atheistic communism which, in the eyes and minds of those who profess to so hate the American patriots whom they have termed, with reckless abandon, "dictators," can do no wrong. This small group of American malcontents have sown the wind, and all Christian America is now reaping the whirlwind. Truly, Mr. Speaker, political murder is contagious. Beyond doubt, it has been demonstrated to our small group of American liberals that it is quite beyond their power to control or restrict the murderous activities of those Communists and radicals to whom they have so irresponsibly rendered aid and comfort. These American and Caribbean liberals who, by visiting and consorting with Caribbeans of their own ilk in such Latin American nations as Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, and Colombia, while avoiding assiduously visiting and making inquiry in the American nations which they have termed, with such reckless abandon, as being ruled by "dictators"—the term "dictator" in their jargon, being, in most cases, just another way of saying anti-Communist Christian—have rendered to themselves, their fellow Americans, their country, their posterity, and their God a distinct disservice. We can only pray to God that the brutal Communist assassination at Guatemala City will cause them to rid themselves of their reckless irresponsibility, and to turn again to decency and honor, to the end that they may once again hold high their heads as proud and patriotic Americans, and that they may once again enjoy the trust and confidence of their fellow Americans, their fellow Americans who are overwhelmingly united in their determination that their Christian civilization and individual freedom and liberty under God shall not perish from the earth.

Prices Continue Upward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial from the New York Times, New York, N. Y., on Sunday, July 30, 1957:

PRICES CONTINUE UPWARD

Consumer prices rose between mid-May and mid-June for the 10th month in a row, the latest advance carrying the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics 6 points (or 0.5 percent) higher, to 120.2 percent of the 1947-49 base period. The 120.2 figure represents an increase of 3.4 percent over June a year ago and 4 percent over April 1956, when the present upsurge got underway.

The newest advance represents the combined effects of (a) a resumption of rising prices for consumer nondurable goods, (b) a big jump in food prices and (c) a continuation of the upward trend in consumer services that has been in effect, except for occasional minor interruptions, now for roughly 10 years.

A month ago, in discussing the more or less nominal April-May rise in the index of 0.3 percent, Commissioner Ewan Clague was emboldened to predict that with the end of summer we might see a downturn of prices, momentarily at least. Though the June spurt of 0.5 percent has turned out to be one of the more substantial ones of recent months, it has not, apparently, altered the Bureau's position on that point. It is still the latter's guess that (barring the possibility of serious drought conditions) the index could still flatten out or temporarily reverse its course by August or September.

There is no necessary inconsistency between this view and the May-June rise in the index. The reason for this is that the predominating factor, by far, in the June advance was a seasonal rise in food prices. The market basket of items on which the index is based is so weighted that food represents about one-third of the budget. This means that a rise of 1 percent in food prices alone would raise the whole index by one-third of 1 percent. Actually, the food group rose by 1.4 percent between mid-May and mid-June. While other commodities (specifically nondurable consumer goods) and services advanced, the increase in both cases was almost negligible compared with that in the food group. In both cases the change amounted to but 0.2 percent.

Discrimination in Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUDWIG TELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. TELLER. Mr. Speaker, one of our important national purposes is to guarantee free access to economic and social opportunities, free of discrimination based upon race or creed or color or national origin. In line with this important national purpose, legislation is now being considered in New York City to prohibit discrimination in private housing. A statement in support of such legislation was offered by way of testimony by James H. Scheuer at a public hearing before the general welfare committee of the New York City Council, at City Hall, on June 7, 1957, in support of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill to prohibit discrimination in private housing.

Mr. Scheuer, a prominent citizen of New York City, is actively connected with the ownership and management of residential properties in New York City. At the same time he is prominently identified with associations and movements designed to eradicate discrimination in housing. In my view, Mr. Scheuer's statement has great current significance in its careful analysis of the economics underlying the difficult problem of reconciling antidiscrimination laws with the fears of real estate groups. Mr. Scheuer's testimony follows:

My name is James H. Scheuer. I am associated with several real estate organizations which own and manage substantial residential properties in New York City. Among these apartment projects are over 2,000 units of middle-income housing which have received Government assistance and are therefore covered by the present law prohibiting discrimination and which are successfully integrated. I am active in residential real estate development and am a member of the Real Estate Board of New York.

As a businessman and as a member of the real estate profession, I support the proposed Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill which would outlaw discrimination in private housing. I suggest that, over a period of years, the measure will stimulate constructive changes in our pattern of living, and that this will take place smoothly for the greater good of our community and with no adverse effects on the real estate industry. I believe that in the long run it will in fact prove to be a constructive and stabilizing influence on the real estate industry, by encouraging a peaceful adjustment to present long-term population trends in New York City. You are hearing today of the benefits which this bill can produce for our city, and also from the opponents of the bill, whose views are on record. I believe that those opposing the measure are mistaken and that time will prove that their fears are unjustified.

It is fitting that this law—the first of its kind in the Nation—should be debated and passed in the City of New York. In the field of intergroup living and working our city has provided an ethical and moral standard which has set an example for the Nation.

New York's position of national and international leadership has been achieved through the contributions of a great amalgam of people of different races and creeds living together. From our differences we have drawn creativity and strength. There is no reason why, in this same spirit, our citizens cannot meet the moral challenge of living side by side in amity in private housing.

Private-enterprise sponsors of the much-discussed title I redevelopment housing are investing millions of dollars with the confidence that this housing, which by law must be integrated, will be successful. In various parts of the city middle-income housing projects enjoying Government assistance have adopted the nondiscriminatory rental policies required by present law, with evident success. Where an open occupancy rental policy has been tried, it has been successful, even in those projects whose sponsors openly rejected the possibility of successful integration only a few years ago. I might add that in many private apartment houses and in many neighborhoods, Negro and white families have been living side by side for decades.

Curiously enough, as we have faced each new challenge, we have shown a remarkable capacity for underestimating our ability to get along with one another. Too often civic and business spokesmen seem to grow faint and fearful at the prospect of change, no matter how well we have comported ourselves in the face of past challenges. I am convinced, for example, that the fears you have heard concerning this housing legislation are just as unreal and ephemeral as the fears which were expressed 12 years ago in regard to the proposed New York State fair employment practices legislation. When that law was being debated in Albany in 1945, many of New York's recognized business and professional leaders predicted that this legislation, if passed, would incite bitter group hatred and antagonism. Some businessmen went so far as to declare that the legislation would drive business out of the State.

One representative of 12 leading business organizations in New York State, including the Real Estate Board of New York, criticized the entire concept of fair employment legislation, saying:

"This emphasis will pit race against race, color against color and creed against creed. It will become the incubator of hatreds and conflicts never before witnessed in this State. If Satan himself tried to think of a way that promised the great disservice to the public, to the cause of tolerance and to business of this State in the future, I am sure he would have hit upon this very proposal. It is bound to introduce agitation and misunderstanding and will tend to cause some business to leave this State rather than face these additional hazards."

At the same public hearing a distinguished American lawyer, representing the New York State Bar Association, said:

"The elaborate administrative procedures, with penal sanctions, contained in this bill are bound to create prejudice where it does not exist, increase it where it does exist, and, generally, aggravate and exaggerate religious and racial differences."

An executive of the Associated Industries of New York said:

"This proposed law is a punch below the belt for which New York State business has no guard and no redress, which is certainly undeserved, and which puts just one more nail in the coffin of New York business as it continues the losing competitive struggle with other States. Such restrictions will eventually lose for New York State a very substantial portion of the five to six million jobs now available and a very substantial portion of the eight to ten billion dollars annual payroll that goes with these jobs. Certainly, it will prevent any expansion in New York State of existing business that can be moved elsewhere."

And a distinguished public official—a man who has dedicated his entire professional life to serving our city and State in many capacities, and whose many contributions to the welfare of our city have won him wide respect—was so impressed by the fears of those who opposed the bill that he submitted the following written testimony:

"The passage of this bill will set the clock back. It will do irreparable harm to the very people it is meant to benefit. It will make the life of every employer miserable. It will encourage every kind of blackmail and skulduggery—business will be driven out of the State because employers will be at the mercy of every agitator, every tricky lawyer, every person who thinks he is aggrieved.

"The law establishes a monstrous Gestapo to harass and threaten every employer, to invite informers, stimulate grievances, hire investigators, detectives, and agents provocateurs, clog up the courts, and intensify every racial, religious, and minority issue."

Clearly, none of these dire predictions has come to pass. The New York State fair employment practices law has been met in the past 12 years by a significant degree of voluntary compliance. There has been no criticism, since passage of the law, that it has been arbitrary, unfair, or that it has interfered in any way with the businesslike and profitable operation of commerce and industry in New York State. Today, members of industry throughout the State are the first to express their admiration for the manner in which the law has become increasingly effective but, even more importantly, for the healthy effects that it has had upon the total economy of the State. The law has not pitted race against race or creed against creed. On the contrary, it has helped to create a healthy atmosphere in which people of all races and creeds work together. It has been a constructive catalytic agent in encouraging companies to broaden their employment policies to include all New Yorkers. A vast reservoir of labor has been made available to New York commerce and industry, which has proved indispensable to our postwar economy. Rather than move out of New York as was predicted, our industry and commerce have burgeoned and prospered beyond all expectation, one of the primary reasons being the excellent supply of skilled labor. Industry in the State of New York has not been frightened at the prospect of admission of minority groups, but is now concerned that it will not get the requisite labor supply. This is a sharp and healthy contrast to the situation prevailing 10 or even 5 years ago.

Indeed, the conclusion is inescapable that the many distinguished civic spokesmen who opposed the law in 1945 vastly underestimated the capacity of New York's business and community leaders to rise to the moral challenge presented by this issue, as well as the capacity of the ordinary citizen of our community to work amicably side by side with his neighbor, regardless of that neighbor's race, creed, or color. By the same token, the examples during the past decade of successfully integrated housing demonstrate that here, also, we tend to underestimate our ability to live with one another.

About 15 years ago, when the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. was building Stuyvesant Town, the chairman of the board said, "* * * Negroes and whites don't mix—100 years from now maybe they will." Twelve years ago, when Stuyvesant Town first opened its doors, there were no Negro families admitted. Today, however, 20 to 30 Negro families are living in that project side by side with white families, and Negro and white children play together in the Stuyvesant Town playgrounds.

Levittown, in Long Island, one of the largest single-family home tract projects in the world, was for many years engaged in bitter controversy over the refusal of its builders to make initial sales to Negro families. In the last few years some of these homes have been resold by their original purchasers to members of minority groups. This fact is widely known on Long Island, yet sales of Levittown homes continue unabated, at steadily rising prices. This simply proves that Levittown was, and continues to be, an attractive community in which to live, and that the small number of Negro families known to be residing there have had no adverse affect whatsoever upon the basic desirability of Levittown living.

It is a measure of the progress which we have made that these two communities, once notorious symbols of racial exclusion, have undergone such significant change. Other large projects in this city, in which Negro and white families are living side by side, such as Corlears Hook, Queens View, and Kings View, are further examples which prove that integrated housing can be successful.

My own real-estate experience substantiates these facts. A company with which I am associated owns and operates two moderate income New York State limited-dividend projects—Hillside Homes, in the Bronx, and Boulevard Gardens, in Queens. At the time we took over the management of these properties some years ago, it was quite clear that they had not previously been operated on a nondiscriminatory basis. We put into effect nondiscriminatory rental policies.

Today, there are dozens of minority families living in the projects. They have become active in, and elected leaders of, the project tenant organizations. They have been fully accepted into the social and community life of the projects. The integration program has been carried out in these projects, totaling about 2,400 units, entirely without incident. In short, the program has worked.

In 1951, when this legislative body—the New York City Council— was considering the Brown-Isaacs bill to prevent racial or religious discrimination in private housing projects enjoying financial aid from the city, a New York City newspaper said in its editorial column:

"Net results of such shennanigans, it is generally agreed, would be to end forever the city's chances of interesting private investors in slum-clearance projects."

The paper was wrong. The Brown-Isaacs bill was passed. Investment of private capital in slum clearance has been steadily increasing. The New York Times of Sunday,

May 26, 1957, printed a lead article in its real-estate section with the following headline:

"City leads Nation in slum clearance—new developments are planned and others are being built—$881 million investment involved in all."

Some very hardheaded and practical New York City businessmen are investing millions of dollars of cash equities in these projects which they know must be integrated, upon what I believe is their correct assumption that such projects, built to high design standards, will rent well and will be profitable.

Four main arguments have been presented against this bill:

First, that Negroes moving into a new area will depress property values.

Second, that passage of the bill will produce mass inundation of Negroes into previously all-white areas.

Third, that this bill unfairly limits the right of an individual to use his private property as he chooses.

Fourth, that it is impossible to require a citizen by legislation to love his neighbor or to change ancient patterns of prejudice.

Let us examine each in turn.

First, race is not a factor in lowering or raising property values. The many studies on this subject indicate that it is a combination of factors wholly apart from race or color which determine what will happen to a neighborhood.

If an area contains large numbers of citizens, members of minority groups or otherwise, who are forced by their own economic limitations or by prevailing restrictive rental practices, or both, to overcrowd into dismally undermaintained quarters, the area is destined to be a slum. If, in addition, the locality is neglected by the city, and is served with inadequate police, fire, health, sanitation, and recreational facilities, the trend will be vastly accelerated. This is true, of course, no matter what the racial components of the inhabitants.

If, however, the area is not overcrowded, and if residents, both new and old, have the means to maintain their dwellings, and if the city services are adequate, then the area will remain stable and attractive. Newcomers, of whatever race or creed, will pay prevailing rents and meet prevailing occupancy and maintenance standards. The neighborhood will continue to prosper.

Both general experience and technical studies of area case histories indicate that the triple blights of overcrowding, poor maintenance and inadequate city services breed slums. When the question of race or color is isolated from all other factors, analysis has shown that it has no effect whatsoever, for better or for worse, on property values. Indeed, studies show that the introduction of new white families can cause the panic-selling and general neighborhood deterioration which is often attributed to Negroes. In a southern Ohio city, when Kentucky mountaineers, of pure Anglo-Saxon origin, began moving into a new neighborhood, panic moving out resulted and the stereotyped reaction usually associated with racial prejudice developed. On the other hand, Teaneck, N. J., areas of suburban Philadelphia, and other cities including metropolitan New York, contain neighborhoods where the introduction of Negro families has resulted in stable neighborhoods and gradually rising values.

Second, the fears of inundation likewise do not withstand realistic analysis. In the first place, income is still the prime determinant of where a family lives. The income structure of our city is still such that the great majority of Negro families cannot afford the rents being asked by Manhattan's East Side or in many other residential areas of the city.

Inundation by any group results as a by-product only when most of the available housing is closed to the members of the group. If this bill proposed to open to Negro families only a very limited area of the city, those few blocks would undoubtedly become inundated. But, if all the housing facilities of the city are open equally to all its inhabitants, there need be no fear of any one group overwhelming any particular section. The modest volume of movement which this bill might be expected to facilitate over a period of several years will be characterized by dispersion of those seeking better quarters over the entire metropolitan area of New York City.

The third argument against the bill is that it invades private property rights. Of course it does. Private property rights have been limited by the broad public interest since the age when nomads organized into the first tribe. It is a basic tenet of our legal system that for every right there is a duty, and for centuries it has been recognized that the operation of specific types of private property must meet certain publicly-determined standards.

In New York City, for example, the so-called invasion of private property rights dates back to the New Amsterdam city ordinance which prohibited the keeping of pigs in the front gardens of private homes. Precedents for equal access to shelter date back to the Middle Ages when, under Anglo-Saxon law, innkeepers were prohibited from turning away anyone seeking a night's lodging regardless of race, color, creed, national origin, destination, time of night, size of parry, or any other consideration. This principal was adopted into New York State law in 1895 when discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed or national origin was barred in all places of public accommodation, such as hotels, restaurants, bowling alleys, theaters, resorts, swimming areas, and so forth.

The city council law passed last year requiring all landlords to install central heating is one of the most recent examples of our acceptance of the public interest prevailing over private property rights.

Indeed, our history proves that whenever an issue of public interest appears to conflict with private property rights, the decision almost invariably has been made in favor of the public interest. And in virtually every case, owners of private property have discovered that their private interest is best served by adhering to the higher ethic of the public interest.

The bill we are considering today is in effect a simple declaration that housing—one of mankind's most basic requirements—is a matter of prime public interest and therefore should conform to our recognized public policy. The public policy pervading our entire fabric of laws requires that each of us be treated on his merits and not denied access to needed facilities because of ancient group labels or prejudice.

It should be clearly understood that this law will not intrude upon an owner's legitimate right to require satisfactory credit ratings of any prospective tenant or buyer, or to make certain that the applicant meets every reasonable objective test of general desirability as a tenant or buyer. These assurances, which real estate operators properly feel are necessary to insure a sound business operation, will in no way be affected by this bill. The bill only stipulates that the operator engaging in selling or renting residential property for a profit shall not refuse access to the property to whole groups or individuals on the essentially irrelevant grounds of race, color, or creed.

Fourth, it is of course obvious that no law can regulate neighborly love, nor can we legislate enlightened attitudes. A law can, however, establish a clear standard of public policy—an ethical climate—which will have a leavening and educational effect. But this argument in the city of New York is a rather academic one. Our city is noted for the fact that people can live in adjaeent apartments for years without even knowing each other's names. This law is not concerned with one's choice of friends; it states merely that housing should be available to all on the basis of ability to pay and their general acceptability as qualified tenants or purchasers.

I am therefore persuaded that when vague fears and premonitions are laid aside, the objections to the law simply do not withstand analysis. I further believe that there are many members of the real-estate industry who sympahize with the principles of this legislation, and who will readily comply with the law once it is passed. For then it will affect all members of the real-estate fraternity equally.

Most businessmen do not feel that it is their responsibility to do the social pioneering for the community. But when an issue such as this has been debated and resolved by legislative action, the average businessman, as a responsible member of our society, adheres to the public policy of our community as expressed in its laws. I am confident that when the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill becomes law, the very men and organizations whose reservations and critical views you have heard today will rise to their responsibility and will be in the forefront of a broad effort to implement it responsibly and effectively.

Saved by the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, it is distressing to see some of the reactions in the press to those who voted against the so-called school construction bill. In a Sunday edition one writer referred to them as culprits. It is always interesting to note that if a Congressman's vote is agreeable to some group, he is a statesman; if not, he is a culprit, a politician, or a turncoat. The fact of the matter is that the votes against the school bill were just as high minded and conscientious as those of the proponents. I resent being referred to as a culprit for opposing bureaucracy and the evils of Federal control over the minds of youngsters through the device of a school construction bill.

One of the Nation's great newspapers, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, has plainly and simply stated the situation in a recent editorial entitled "Saved by the House," as follows:

The Nation has been saved by the House of Representatives from the folly of having the Federal Government embark on a program of Federal aid for school construction. As it did 2 years ago, the House first amended the bill by providing that no Federal money could go to school districts which practiced racial segregation, then killed it.

The vote was closer than it was 2 years ago, and the bill was nearer enactment, since this year it had been approved by the Senate, while last year it was not considered

by that body. The savings to the Federal Treasury will be $1½ billion over the next 5 years and nobody knows how much might have been sought for school aid in the future.

The States, we are convinced, are capable of handling their own school building programs. We hope they will be far enough along in their construction projects next year so that there will be no excuse for again attempting to transfer the responsibility to Washington.

A Challenge to the Building Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, it is regrettably becoming more and more apparent that recent home building is pricing the middle income earner out of the market.

While there have been and are some practical factors increasing the tendency toward this unfortunate development, they are not by any means unsurmountable and they present a challenge, as well as an opportunity, to the home-building industry to sensibly overcome them.

The middle income group by far presents the greatest purchasing potential and, therefore, the greater potential for reasonable profit to the industry.

Let us hope that in their own interest, as well as the national interest, they will concentrate their attention upon restoring this great market so that more and more American families may be given the opportunity to own their own home.

A most enlightening article on this important subject, written by Sylvia Porter, appeared in the May 24, last, issue of the Worcester, Mass., Telegram, and I am pleased to include it at this time.

The article follows:

GONE: THE MEDIUM-PRICED NEW HOME

(By Sylvia Porter)

It's official: The American builder has practically slammed the door on the lower-middle income housing market.

This is the market from which builders made their spectacular mass profits in the first postwar decade and from which they could be making spectacular mass profits today.

The elimination of this huge income group, therefore, explains why the number of houses being built so far in 1957 is at an 8-year low and many volume leaders in this crucially important industry in our land are screaming for more Government help.

GOVERNMENT REPORT

The Commerce and Labor Departments have just released a survey on the price of the average 1-family house built in 1956. What was true last year is even more true today. Specifically:

There has been a collapse in the building of houses to sell under $12,000.

Last year, only 7 percent of the 1,093,900 privately financed new houses were built to sell under $7,000, against 11 percent in this range in 1954; only 10 percent were built to sell between $7,000 and $10,000, down from 15 percent in 1954; only 12 percent were built to sell from $10,000 to $12,000, against 19 percent 3 years ago.

Simultaneously, there has been a tremendous rise in the percentage of houses built to sell from $15,000 to $20,000 and up.

The number of new homes costing more than $20,000 jumped from 10 percent of all residential construction in 1954–56 to 18 percent last year. In the $15,000–$20,000 range, the percentage was 26 percent last year, up a full 10 percent in the short period.

MORE EXPENSIVE HOUSES

Average price of a new 1-family house in 1956 was $14,500 and the average is close to or perhaps above $15,000 by now.

In many areas, even this price means only a stripped-down house.

Why is the industry shutting the door on its own prosperity? Why is it building only a picayune few hundred thousand homes in the $7,000–$12,000 class at a time when it is authoritatively estimated over 5 million families are eager to buy a house in this range? Why is it concentrating on the more-house-for-more-money theme when this obviously limits the market to those who have more-money-for-more-house?

TREND NOT NEW

Of course, one reason is "tight money"—the difficulty of getting a mortgage for a lower-priced house and the climbing costs of mortgages. In a credit pinch, the house-buyer with cash to put down and a good credit reputation is clearly favored. But that's not the sole reason.

Actually, the trend dramatized in the Government's new report started long before this tight-money period and was gaining power throughout the easy-money days of 1955.

The other reasons are:

The soaring cost of land since 1950. Builders can't or won't put up lower-priced houses on higher-priced land.

The zooming costs of materials and manpower. Builders have done little to offset these costs which are rising every year.

BUILDING CODES

The outmoded building codes fostered by communities which resist an invasion of lower-cost houses. Maybe the builders can't do much about the codes, but they certainly haven't tried hard to do much.

The archaic practices of so many in the industry itself. What advances have been made in building techniques in recent years are minor.

An enormous demand for housing is being forced to go unsatisfied. In fact, today's underbuilding in the lower-middle income field could lead to another housing explosion in the sixties.

Upgrading of housing is fine. Elimination of the mass market for housing is deplorable.

Hon. Nat Patton

SPEECH
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, Nat Patton, who has recently passed away, has left many friends in the House of Representatives who served with him in this body. Congressman Patton was a genuine person; he was affable and congenial; he had the best interest of the people at heart and as a Member of Congress he was always working to make our country greater and our people happy and prosperous. He was patriotic and a great American.

Congressman Patton left surviving him a widow who is also very popular in Washington and many people of his congressional district—a fine and great woman—and 4 wonderful children—2 boys and 2 girls who spent the years in Washington with the Congressman.

The passing of Congressman Patton is a great loss. I extend sympathy to his surviving widow, his children, grandchildren, and other loved ones.

The Members who served with him have pleasant memories and recollection of Congressman Patton.

The Limitations of Monetary Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of Business Week, dated July 27, 1957, contains the following interesting editorial on the limitations of monetary policy in meeting today's inflationary pressures:

[From Business Week of July 27, 1957]

WHEN THE OLD ANSWERS DON'T WORK

What to do about rising wages and prices? How to maintain stability without endangering explanation?

These questions are being asked in almost every country of the free world. They all suffer from a common complaint—the breaking out of inflationary pressure. There are, to be sure, differences in the degree of inflation. To paraphrase George Orwell, it is a case of all countries being equal, but some countries being more equal than others.

This worldwide problem has been subject to a variety of prescriptions. In general, however, there has been a common trend toward reliance on orthodox monetary policies as the chief means of combating the inflationary spiral. Little use was made of monetary management before and during World War II, but now it is once more in favor, so much so that the United Nations' World Economic Survey bluntly observes that "it may not be inappropriate to ask whether the pendulum may not by now have swung too far in the opposite direction."

Certainly, the evidence to date suggests that though monetary policy has slowed down economic expansion, it has not impeded the climb of wages and prices. It is also clear that excessive demand, which is regarded as the traditional stimulus of inflation, is not the main cause of the pressure now being felt. It is difficult to find the common germ for the current outbreak, but in a large number of cases it appears to stem from the fact that wages are rising faster than output.

There is growing doubt that this unorthodox type of inflation can be successfully defeated by the orthodox weapons of fiscal and monetary policy. The U. N. report, for example, questions whether "credit restraints, however essential they may be in the short run, can in themselves provide an adequate long-term answer to the need for maintenance of higher inventories, or the

expansion of key bottleneck industries, or for increasing the mobility of resources."

A sizable body of opinion, both here and abroad, fears that dependence on orthodox policies, if pressed too far, might halt inflation only by inducing deflation. This has resulted in a search for ways and means of supplementing our present arsenal of anti-inflationary weapons so as to achieve stability without the risk of engendering a decline.

So far we have not had many positive—or acceptable—supplements or alternatives to present policies. Almost all countries reject the use of wage and price controls, which have proved so ineffective in the past. But the recognition that governments have a political responsibility for maintaining economic prosperity should lead to a reexamination of their economic powers to do so.

The very act of questioning present policies represents a forward step. Now that we have reached the point of discovering that we don't know all the answers, we are on the road to asking the right questions.

Postal Employees Pay Raise

SPEECH
OF
HON. A. D. BAUMHART, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. BAUMHART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I welcome this opportunity to comment on H. R. 2474, the long-overdue postal pay raise bill which we have just overwhelmingly passed by a bipartisan vote of 379 to 38.

I am certain that, in retrospect, we will find no reason to doubt the wisdom of our balloting today, for we have approved legislation designed to cushion 500,000 civil servants against continued advances in the cost of living, with an across-the-board annual raise of $546 per employee.

Many of us had hoped that this remedial legislation would advance to the floor through conventional channels. Our committee system can be relied upon, in most instances, to bring to our chamber bills like this which have strong public sentiment behind them and deserve to be debated fully. We were urged two months ago to sign a discharge petition to force a pay raise bill out of our House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. But, like many of my colleagues, I refrained from such a step because I felt that we owed it to our colleagues on that important committee to give them adequate time to consider and report out a sound bill. Only when it appeared that continued forbearance would play into the hands of opponents of this much-needed legislation, did I add my name to the discharge petition.

We heard many well-motivated objections to H. R. 2474 in our debate, but they were found to hold little weight when compared with the overriding merits of the postal worker's case. We realized that we could not expect to provide full wage parity for the postal worker; he had been overlooked too often in the past for us to give him his full due. Instead we have come up with a blanket increase which will serve to ease the pinch of inflation on the postal employee and his family, without adding an irresponsible amount to the 1958 budget.

To those who criticize our actions as being inflationary, we can justifiably point out that civil employees should not be singled out to hold the line against inflation while other segments of the population demand and receive protection against the cost-of-living spiral. We can also refer our critics to many areas of the 1958 budget request which we have been able to trim of fat and waste, in amounts far greater than the cost of this pay raise. Then, too, we can reasonably expect a pay raise will effect tangible reductions in costly personnel turnover, and will substantially improve employee morale and efficiency.

Our postal establishment has made great strides in meeting the service needs of 48 million homeowners. Increased productivity has enabled the Post Office Department to provide the finest service in the world with fewer employees than it had 5 years ago, despite unprecedented increases in mail volume to be handled and households to be served. This record has been compiled by our postal employees even in the face of inflationary pressures which have forced many of them, their wives and their children, to take part-time jobs in a vain effort to make ends meet.

The $546 pay increase voted today will not solve the problems of these families, but will bring some measure of relief. At the same time it will free many postal workers of financial anxieties which unconsciously keep them from achieving optimum efficiency.

Much remains to be done, however, if we are to pay more than lipservice to the need for a constantly improving postal establishment. Action should have been taken long ago to revise our postal rates upward from their unrealistic levels. Postal careers should be made more attractive to qualified people through revision of our pay levels in a way that more closely relates salary to efficiency and responsibility. As confident as we are that we have done the right thing in voting for this pay raise, we should now finish the rest of the job.

Status of Forces Treaties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith for the attention of the membership the comments of two representative newspapers regarding the status-of-forces treaties and like agreements. They are an editorial from the Tulare, Calif., Advance Register of July 13, 1957, and an editorial from the Bakersfield, Calif., Californian, of July 22, 1957:

The editorials follow:

[From the Tulare (Calif.) Advance-Register of July 13, 1957]

STATUS-OF-SERVICES TREATIES

There is considerable feeling here, there and everywhere over the case of Army Specialist William S. Girard, whom the Supreme Court has ruled may be tried for murder in Japan.

Girard, you recall, shot and killed a Japanese woman who was picking up metal in a location over which Girard had been placed on guard.

There are a number of basic things to be remembered in this case. It isn't unusual; it's just received more publicity, and as soon as it became prominent other similar cases sprang up in Algiers and elsewhere.

Furthermore, the Status of Services Act, which covers the situation, not only in Japan, but in some 49 other countries, is not new. It's been on the books and in effect for years. It's a very complicated document, actually a series of treaties, and difficult to change. In fact, there are indications that foreign reaction would have been dangerously angry had the Supreme Court ruled the other way.

We think things need overhauling.

It is probably true that the United States needs formal understandings with other nations covering troubles into which our soldiers, just like average men everywhere, get themselves. In this day, when we must have friends and bases everywhere, that need is even more important.

And we can see, too, that, if a soldier, or any other American, gets into trouble while off duty, or while off limits or of purely a civil nature, there may be a point for jurisdiction of foreign courts.

But when a soldier, on an assigned duty to stand guard over something or somebody, has the misfortune to kill a national of that country, we are ready to raise a point. We feel somehow that we are letting that man down when we fail to back him up in performance of his duty.

There's a hue and cry in Congress about revision of the Status of Services Act. There's danger that hot and heavy political partisan wrangling might do more harm than good. Girard is in Japanese hands now and that can't be undone.

But what we need is a calm and collected study of the documents that caused the situation and then possible changes, achieved along formal, diplomatic channels.

[From the Bakersfield (Calif.) Californian of July 22, 1957]

PRESIDENT BACKS AGREEMENTS

President Eisenhower has swung the full weight of his prestige, experience, and authority in support of the status-of-forces agreements that govern the control of American servicemen overseas. These agreements specify the jurisdiction of local law-enforcement officials and courts in cases involving United States servicemen abroad, and since the beginning of the case of William Girard in Japan, they have been under heavy fire.

Mr. Eisenhower has declared that the proposals now before Congress to abrogate the status-of-forces agreements will serve to jeopardize our foreign alliances and endanger the Nation's security. He pointed out that our troops are stationed on foreign soil for two vital purposes, to assist our allies to withstand attack by an aggressor and to maintain our own defensive perimeter. "No longer does anyone suggest," he said in a statement on the matter to House Republican Leader JOSEPH MARTIN, "that we can withdraw behind the boundaries of 'Fortress America.' I can think of no legislative proposal that would so threaten the essential security of the United States."

The President observed that the status-of-forces agreements were concluded under a previous administration and had been

sustained by custom and usage in the succeeding years. Other observers have noted that until the Girard case arose, there was no dissatisfaction with them and thousands of cases had been settled fairly and with no protest.

The Supreme Court, in its recent ruling, has sustained the constitutionality of the status-of-forces agreements, a point that critics have attempted to obscure unduly. Beyond a few perennial isolationists and others of similar ilk, there has been a general appreciation of the meaning and necessity of the arrangement.

The President is aware of the motives behind the attack on the agreement. He is also aware of the necessity to keep the agreements in order to maintain the safety and morale of our Armed Forces in their overseas stations. The record of the cases handled under the agreements in one that supports soundly the belief that justice is done under them. He has pointed out the undesirable results that will accrue from the misguided efforts to eliminate these important agreements. Congress will undoubtedly heed the warning of the President and avoid being led into error.

Partial Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, the Portland Oregonian of July 16 carried a most significant editorial on the decision of President Eisenhower and the CAB to include Portland as a coterminal with Seattle on Pan American World Airway operations over the polar route from the west coast to Europe. It is gratifying to know that all of Oregon will now have a direct connection with Pan American flights on the short route to Europe.

However, Mr. Speaker, the Oregonian is justifiably concerned over the delay on the part of the CAB to certificate Pan American to operate through Portland on the route from California to the Orient. The newspaper editorial points out that if Portland is important enough to have Pan American service to Europe it likewise should be vital enough traffic center to have Pan American service to the Orient.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD the Oregonian editorial Partial Victory.

The editorial follows:

[From the Portland Oregonian of July 16, 1957]

PARTIAL VICTORY

The decision of President Eisenhower and his Civil Aeronautics Board to overrule a CAB examiner and designate Portland as a coterminal with Seattle on over-the-pole flights from the west coast of Europe is of the utmost significance to the future of this community. Much more was involved here than the slight inconvenience Portland's Europe-bound travelers would have suffered had the President and the CAB accepted the examiner's recommendation that Seattle be the sole terminal in the Northwest.

We are on the threshold of a new era in air travel. The transition is now being made from piston-engined, propeller-driven airliners to jet-powered planes. Jet airliners will fly at very high speeds and altitudes, making them best suited for long, nonstop flights. The result of this will be a remaking of the air map of the world, with major cities becoming jet airliner terminals, while lesser cities will be served by networks of feeder airlines using slower turboprop or piston-engined planes better suited to short-haul service.

The real question at issue here was in which category Portland belongs. Representatives of the Portland Chamber of Commerce and Oregon's congressional delegation fought vigorously to win recognition of Portland's right to main-line status. Officials of Pan American World Airways and Trans World Airlines reaffirmed their belief before the CAB that this city has a promising traffic potential for intercontinental flights.

The final ruling is a victory for Portland and for Pan Am, and a disappointment for TWA, which won't be allowed to stop at either Portland or Seattle on its transpolar flights originating at Los Angeles and San Francisco.

There is more work to be done, however. Pan American also has pending before the CAB a request for permission to fly the great circle route from the west coast to the Orient, again using Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle as coterminals. The CAB examiner in this case has given a favorable recommendation, with the proviso that Portland and Seattle be eliminated as stopping places. But if we are important enough to deserve direct jet air service to London, we surely are important enough to be on the main line to Tokyo. If our community spokesmen can join with Pan American representatives to win this battle, too, then Portland will be established definitely as a first-magnitude dot on the New World air map.

We Must Persevere Toward Disarmament With Guaranties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, there is no objective more important to the peace and security of the world than a disarmament agreement, with realistic guaranties, between the United States and Russia.

I am pleased to enclose a very timely editorial on this vital subject which appeared in the May 27, last, issue of the Worcester, Mass., Telegram.

The article follows:

NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR DISARMAMENT

President Eisenhower has properly strengthened Harold Stassen's arm in seeking to win from the Russians at least a first step toward eventual disarmament. He told Stassen to go ahead with negotiations before the London session of the United Nations disarmament subcommittee on the premise that disarmament is feasible and possible.

The President made it clear that he believes it folly to give up all hope of eventual disarmament, regardless of discouragements, in view of the dangers of an atomic war.

The fact that the London talks are renewing today is evidence that hope still exists for disarmament, at least on a limited basis. The Soviet has never shut the door completely on discussion of President Eisenhower's dramatic proposal for aerial inspection—a plan offered at the July 1955 Big Four Conference at Geneva.

Indeed, Russia and the United States in recent weeks have even discussed possible areas which might be opened first for aerial photography. True enough, the Soviet offers so far have been heavily balanced to give the Russians a strong advantage—but at least Moscow is still willing to talk about the open skies idea.

It should be remembered, also, that Russia once outlined an inspection system with control posts at large airports, harbors, and highways. Secretary of State Dulles is convinced that the open skies or some form of mutual inspection program, is possible.

It is easy to dismiss disarmament talks as wholly unrealistic, and to consider the goal an ideal impossible to attain. But, fortunately, Russia apparently realizes that an atomic war would destroy the world, including the Soviet Union. With that thought, Russia may be as anxious to achieve genuine disarmament as is the United States. Anyway, it would be absurd not to try to do so. The President's firm backing of Stassen should now be helpful.

Ambassador Presents Israel's Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter to the editor of the New York Herald Tribune, written by Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban, as it appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of July 26, 1957:

AMBASSADOR PRESENTS ISRAEL'S RECORD

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE:

It is not easy to write calmly of Dr. Hocking's assertion in your July 20 issue that Israel was the aggressor in the armed conflict of 1947–48 and that the documented facts leave no doubt on that point. The truth is that the Arab Governments were the self-confessed and internationally recognized authors of that warfare; and this—the opposite of Dr. Hocking's astonishing thesis—is proved by all the documented facts. In these circumstances, Dr. Hocking's assault upon my country's honor is a painful offense to international courtesy and to objective truth.

Arab aggression against the people—and later the State—of Israel in 1947–48 has been established by confession of Arab leaders; by determination of United Nations organs; and by the confirming judgments of leading governments, including the United States, whose historic view on this matter contradicts that of Dr. Hocking at every point.

There were two phases in this aggression. The first began on November 30, 1947, on the morrow of the United Nations recommendation for partition. The Arab governments had said that they would go to war to prevent the fulfillment of that international policy. They kept their word. Terrorism, bloodshed and siege swooped violently down upon our community and threatened to engulf it. Our people fought desperately to save their lives, their homes and families, and their newly

recognized right of nationhood from brutal extinction. The Secretary-General of the Arab League had warned: "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre that will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacre and the Crusades." The partition line, declared the Palestine Arab representative in the General Assembly, "shall be nothing but a line of fire and blood." In pursuit of these threats, which were reiterated in the General Assembly on November 29, 1947 (A/PV.128), the Arab States sponsored the mobilization and training of a "liberation army" to wage war against our towns, villages and communications. The Arab governments published communiques about the progress of their invasion, and promised that it would take on a more violent fury when the British Mandate expired May 14, 1948.

They were faithful to this threat. When British rule ended, the armies of five Arab States crossed their frontiers with the avowed aim of destroying the state of Israel. They made no attempt, as Dr. Hocking does, to conceal their responsibility. Their frank confessions are to be found in the verbatim records of the Security Council of May 15–25, 1948. These have somehow lost their places amongst Dr. Hocking's documented facts. So also has the statement of the Secretary of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, Mr. Emil Ghoury, who looked back upon the havoc and failure of the war, and summoned the Arab governments to aid his kinsmen. He declared on September 15, 1948:

"I do not want to impugn any one but only to help the refugees. The fact that there are these refugees is the direct consequence of the action of the Arab States in opposing partition and the Jewish state. The Arab States agreed upon this policy unanimously and they must share in the solution of the problem."

Nor shall I readily forget sitting opposite Mr. Jamal Husseini in the Security Council in the spring of 1948 and hearing him declare in full candor that the Arabs "have never concealed the fact that we [the Arabs] began the fighting." (S/PV.287.)

If, in the face of these documented facts, all available to public scrutiny, Dr. Hocking can speak of Israel's aggression he clearly reveals himself as an advocate of no ordinary daring. His letter draws special attention to the period between November 1947 and May 1948. He writes that this "is a little-known period of our current history. Its importance, however, is out of proportion to its extent—it contains the key to all that has followed."

Your readers who have read Dr. Hocking's categorical statement that Israel's guilt is established by the documented facts, will rub their eyes in amazement when they now read the unanimous words of the United Nations Palestine Commission on the armed conflict which had raged during the key period beginning November 1947:

"Arab opposition to the plan of the assembly has taken the form of organized efforts by strong Arab elements, both inside and outside Palestine, to prevent its implementation and to thwart its objectives by threats and acts of violence, including repeated armed incursions into Palestine territory. The Commission had had to report to the Security Council that powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the general assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein" (A/532).

So much for the period between November 1947 and May 1948. There are also documented facts about the second phase of the aggression which took the form of an official invasion by the five Arab armies. The international verdict on this phase is to be found in the report of the United Nations acting mediator to the General Assembly of November 25, 1948. I quote from the official summary record (A/C.1/SR.213):

"The Arab States had forcibly opposed the existence of a Jewish State in Palestine in direct opposition to the wishes of two-thirds of the members of the assembly; nevertheless, their armed intervention had proved useless. * * * The [Mediator's] report was based solely on the fact that the Arab States had no right to resort to force and that the United Nations should exert its authority to prevent such abuse of force."

On July 15, 1948, the Security Council ruled that the action of the Arab States in refusing a prolongation of the truce had brought about a threat to international peace and security. This was the first determination of such a threat in the history of the United Nations.

In delivering these verdicts the organs of the United Nations were fully supported by the information available to member states. As the Arab armies converged upon Israel in the third week of May 1948, the voice of the United States rang out in clear and resonant rebuke. At the table of the Security Council, the American delegate, referring to Arab statements about intervention in Palestine, went on to say:

"Their statements are the best evidence we have of the international character of this aggression. * * * They tell us quite frankly that their business in Palestine is political and that they are there to establish a unitary state. * * * Therefore, here we have the highest type of evidence of the international violation of the law: the admission by those who are committing this violation." (S/PV 302.)

Interpreting the declarations of Arab governments, the United States representative ironically paraphrased them as follows:

"We are there only for the purpose of overwhelming the provisional government of Israel; we are going to overwhelm the status quo by power and we are going to determine an international question ourselves." (S/PV. 307.)

Continuing, the United States delegate said:

"An existing, independent government cannot be blotted out in that way. * * * The Arab States are taking the only course that can be taken to blot it out—and that is marching in with their armies and blotting it out. That is a matter of international concern."

Referring to the Arab claim that their operations were aimed at the maintenance of peace, the United States delegate said:

"This is equivalent in its absurdity to alleging that these five armies are there to maintain peace while they are conducting a bloody war." (S/PV. 302.)

These are the documented facts about the bloodshed which convulsed our country in the period between November, 1947, and May 1948. There are no others—and Dr. Hocking speaks of none. All these documents prove Arab responsibility for this savage warfare with its ghastly legacy of rancor and suffering. I must assume that Dr. Hocking was not aware of the confessions, determinations, and verdicts which I have quoted here; for any other assumption raises implications which I prefer not to face. In the light of this evidence, what a fearful mockery of justice it is to charge a friendly state with undoubted guilt for the aggression of which it is the certified and internationally acknowledged victim. It matters little that men's opinions differ. But it matters greatly if they do not tread gently and humbly in the ways of truth.

These memories of the Arab aggression a decade ago are grievously relevant today, when these governments refuse to liquidate their state of war. The censure and dismay of world opinion attaches, not as Dr. Hocking writes, to Israel, but rather to the refusal of Arab nationalism to suffer a small neighboring people to pursue its life and destiny in peace.

ABBA EBAN,
Ambassador of Israel to the United States and to the United Nations.
WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 23, 1957.*

Letter From Hon. Carroll D. Kearns, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to submit the letter of my good friend, Congressman CARROLL KEARNS, which was sent in accordance with my request, so that the Congress might know of the excellent results of his tour of the Far East to conduct the United States Air Force Symphonic Band at various places in this theater of the world.

Congressman CARROLL KEARNS is to be greatly complimented for the time and effort he has given in going to the Far East as a representative of the American people. This mission has further cemented friendships with the peoples of the Far East by speaking our common language of music.

Congressman CARROLL KEARNS, of Pennsylvania, deserves the thanks of every Member for raising the respect and confidence of the peoples of the Far East in the Congress of the United States, which reflects to the credit of every Member as well as to the people of America.

The letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 23, 1957.

The Honorable JAMES G. FULTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JIM: Thanks for your willingness to put in the RECORD the itinerary of my recent tour of the Far East. You will find it attached to this letter. I am sure you will agree that this tour of 21,840 miles in 18 days was one which would tax any one of us physically.

I only wish that every Member of Congress could have been privileged to share my great experience in representing in a small way the great cultural ties that exist between the United States and the Far East.

The United States Symphonic Band, under the direction of its capable conductor, Col. George S. Howard, played to over 400,000 people in the Far East and cemented a bond between those countries and ours that can never be evaluated in dollars and cents.

As you know, we lived through the trying days of the Girard case and many other adverse situations in the Far East, but in every instance we were able to form a tie through our cultural relationships that could not be realized by means of any other avenue of approach.

This proves to me that music rather than guns will ultimately be the common lan-

guage of all nations, not only in the Far East, but also on the continent of Europe and in the Near East.

Sincerely yours,

CARROLL D. KEARNS,
Member of Congress.

Résumé of miles and flying hours

Date		Miles	Hours
June 28	Washington to San Francisco.	2,300	10:00
29	San Francisco to Honolulu	2,400	9:30
30	Honolulu to Wake Island (international date line)	2,300	9:00
July 2	Wake Island to Tokyo	1,985	8:30
3	Tokyo to Okinawa	1,050	5:30
	Okinawa to T'ai-pei	435	2:30
4	T'ai-pei to Hong Kong	450	3:15
6	Hong Kong to T'ai-pei	450	2:50
	T'ai-pei to Okinawa	435	2:50
7	Okinawa to Tokyo	1,050	3:40
12	Tokyo to Wake Island	1,985	8:45
	Wake Island to Honolulu	2,300	8:15
15	Honolulu to San Francisco	2,400	10:00
	San Francisco to Washington	2,300	8:30
	Total	21,840	93:05

New Secretary From Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to pay tribute to the newest member of President Eisenhower's Cabinet, Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson, of my hometown of Greenwich, Conn.

Mr. Anderson yesterday became the first Connecticut man to be appointed to a Cabinet post since President Franklin D. Roosevelt named a resident of Stamford, Conn., Homer E. Cummings, as his Attorney General in 1939.

I join with my fellow residents of Connecticut in congratulating Mr. Anderson on the high honor bestowed upon him, and wish him well in the complex job before him.

The following feature story in the Stamford Advocate of July 29, 1957, presents a candid picture of the new Secretary of the Treasury at home. I commend it to your reading:

GREENWICH FAMILY IS PROUD OF DAD, NEW TREASURY CHIEF

(By Marion Campbell)

Robert B. Anderson, of 1 Deer Park Court, Greenwich, had an appointment at the White House today.

He was home in Greenwich over the weekend, preparing to fly to Washington late Sunday with his wife, Mrs. Ollie Rawlings Anderson, and their 2 sons, James Richard, 20, and Gerald, 16.

"Bob" Anderson wanted his family there today, when he was sworn in as Secretary of the Treasury.

Sitting in his Deer Park library, under a picture painted by President Eisenhower, Secretary of the Treasury Anderson made it clear what he likes best about his new post.

"It's an honor to serve," he said, "particularly with President Eisenhower." Reluctant to discuss policy, Secretary Anderson did describe some of the scope of his new post, held first by Alexander Hamilton.

Already a highly successful businessman, and veteran of State posts in Texas, Mr. Anderson has previously served in Washington as Secretary of the Navy and later as Deputy Secretary of Defense, in 1953–55. He and his family came to live in Greenwich nearly 2 years ago, when Mr. Anderson had left the Government to serve as president of Ventures, Ltd., of Toronto.

As Secretary of the Treasury, the Greenwich resident becomes the first Connecticut man to hold a first-rank Cabinet job since the late Homer Cummings of Stamford left President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet as Attorney General, in 1939.

GOOD GOLFER

A serious-faced, big man with a good golf score and a sharp hunting eye to his credit, Secretary Anderson smiled a bit over some of his new duties. He's in charge of the Customs Bureau, for example, a department he knows as a foreign traveler.

The new Treasury Chief mentioned the narcotics squad, Alcohol Tax Unit, and the Secret Service, which, under the Secretary of the Treasury, guards the life and safety of the President. The Coast Guard too now is operating under the control of the Greenwich resident; also the Internal Revenue Department, and the Bureau of Printing and Engraving.

Even as Secretary Anderson was sworn in today, the Bureau of Printing and Engraving was turning out new dollar bills bearing his signature. Before he has been in office long, the bills will be circulating through Connecticut and the rest of the Nation.

"I'm coming up to Greenwich to spend weekends, as often as I can," the Secretary explained. He and his wife plan to have her remain at 1 Deer Park Court while their son, Jerry, finishes his year at Brunswick School. The older son, "Dick" is studying at Columbia University this summer and will enter his senior year at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., in the fall.

A member of the Greenwich Country Club, Secretary Anderson had played a quick game of golf there Saturday "before I wind up some things." In their sports clothes, the Secretary and Jerry, who had been playing tennis, were settling down for a chat in the library. Pretty Mrs. Anderson, without interrupting a pleasant tribute to the really beautiful Connecticut countryside, threw her two men a glance.

"Yes, I guess I better change my shirt," murmured her husband. Mrs. Anderson stayed to describe how she and the Secretary of the Treasury operate as a united family.

Mr. Anderson runs his business and she runs his house, Mrs. Anderson said.

"I won't tell him how to run the Treasury," she said. "But I guess I do manage things around the house. My boys always say:

" 'Mother says and dad agrees.' "

Mrs. Anderson decorated the Deer Park house, and both designed and decorated a home at Vernon, Tex., which the Andersons plan to sell now.

LIKE GREENWICH

"We like Greenwich very much," the Andersons said.

The Secretary's library is lined with guns, books, and pictures of people who like him. Signed inscriptions from such political figures as Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and Speaker of the House SAM RAYBURN, from Secretary of Defense Wilson and Admirals Nimitz and Halsey, attest the reputation that goes with Secretary Anderson as he begins his new job, nominated by a Republican President and approved unanimously by a Democratic-controlled Congress.

Upstairs Mrs. Anderson keeps a corridor wall filled with private pictures of family events and old friends and a trophy case of multicolored ribbons awarded the former Texas lawyer by foreign governments.

She, Jerry and Dick are proud of the new Treasury Secretary, Mrs. Anderson said.

"But then, we've been proud of him for a long time—in many ways." Pointing to a picture taken shortly after they were married, the former Ollie Rawlings said, "You know, he graduated from the Texas University Law School with the highest average ever made there. Maybe somebody's beaten it since. But I don't think so."

Air Fares a Bargain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 8, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to Mrs. Margaret Gregory for calling my attention to an editorial in the Chicago Sun-Times of July 2, 1957, which by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include. Mrs. Gregory is one of the most efficient persons in public contacts that I have ever known. She is private secretary to the vice president of the American Airlines.

On one New Year's Eve a constituent of mine was stricken and required immediate hospitalization. Mrs. Gregory was contacted at her home at a time when most people were making merry with the New Year's Eve festivities. She willingly dropped everything and did not cease in her task of helpfulness until arrangements had been made for a passage on a plane from a city off the main line to the hospital, and this at a time of great traffic pressures. There are many similar incidents that have been brought to my attention. This is the sort of public service, in both civil and official spheres of activities, that makes our democracy work, and I am sure my colleagues will agree deserves recognition.

The editorial follows:

AIR FARES A BARGAIN

As costs of everything from autos to zippers continue to rise, it is out of the ordinary to run across something that costs virtually as much as it did 15 years ago. C. R. Smith, president of American Airlines, calls our attention to the fact that since 1942 airline fares have increased only 0.2 percent.

Since 1942, the Consumer Price Index has gone up 66.7 percent. Smith says rail fares have increased 39 percent, which does not include increases up to 20 percent on first-class fares on six eastern railroads and 5 percent on coach fares granted in 1957. Bus fares have increased 25.4 percent.

Although rail fares have increased, the air fares are still competitive. We recently had occasion to check fares from Chicago to San Francisco, where the American Society of American Newspaper Editors meets next week. Round trip pullman fare (with a roomette) costs $227.76. By air coach on a scheduled airline, the fare is $196.96 and by first-class nonstop the fare is $239.91.

Airline costs have soared in the past 16 years as better planes became available. In 1941 a DC–3 cost $125,000. One of American's jets to be delivered in 1959 will cost $5 million.

The airlines are seeking an increase in rates. Smith believes a proposed 6 percent is insufficient. American Airlines proposes

that some special discounts, such as the family fare, be reduced or eliminated.

The airlines may be able to make out a good case for fare increases; but in the long run, like most competitive businesses, they can't charge more than the traffic will bear. People would use other forms of transportation or the cheaper unscheduled airlines. On the other hand, as long as the public has the money and the will to afford swift air transportation, the companies should not be unduly penalized for having created the demand.

Grip on the Purse Strings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Plain Dealer has long been known for its outstanding and excellent editorial comment. The one that appeared on Monday, July 29, 1957, again demonstrates the careful, analytical approach to a matter presently being considered by this Congress. I supported and voted for this bill in the Government Operations Committee, of which I am a member, and certainly hope that the House will give its approval to this important piece of legislation. The editorial follows:

GRIP ON THE PURSE STRINGS

While the Korean war was being fought, Congress included in its budget for fiscal 1953 an appropriation of $12,500,000,000 for guns, tanks and other equipment. The war ended in 1954, but even this year the Army was spending money from that $12,500,000,000 appropriation.

Maybe it sounds wonderful that the Army should make the money last that long. But the point is that Congress, which controls Federal purse strings, had nothing to say about the way the money was spent after it was appropriated, although conditions had changed with the end of the war.

The example is but one of many that could be cited—for the present total of unspent carryover appropriations is now estimated by the Comptroller General at more than $70 billion.

A board of directors of a private company running affairs under such an arrangement would throw up their hands and resign, or force a change, because they could not be responsible for insuring economical operation.

The Federal Government of course is much more complex than the greatest private business, and its board of directors—Congress—doesn't have to think about making a profit. But Congress should worry continually about economy, and it should have the power to review carryover funds as a regular thing, to keep a tighter grip on the purse strings.

That power would be contained in legislation recommended by the Hoover Commission 2 years ago, passed by the Senate June 5, cleared by the House Rules Committee July 17 and due to be debated soon on the House floor. The House bill (H. R. 8002), in bookkeeping lingo would establish annual accrued expenditures budgeting in the Federal Government.

The only opposition that has come forward has been among certain Members of the House who may feel that their own committee powers may be hurt or who think the present system is better because it is traditional. But some of this opposition is extremely powerful because of seniority, and the citizens committe for the Hoover report warns that the bills will face a bitter fight. It urges citizens favoring the bill to write their Congressmen.

The only reasons in opposition that carry much weight are that long-term programs, especially in defense, might be stalled by congressional review, and that the change would not provide as great economies as the supporters aver. On the first point, Congress has lived up to its responsibilities in providing defense money and we can't imagine that it won't in the future. On the second point, any savings will be worthwhile.

The President, Treasury Secretary Humphrey, the comptroller general, the American Institute of Accountants and other groups urge passage. We believe Ohio congressmen should support the bill and that the House should pass it.

Northern Skies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, recently the Civil Aeronautics Board made some good news available to the people of the Pacific Northwest when it granted Pan American World Airways a certificate to fly to Europe from Seattle via the polar route. Also involved in the CAB's decision was a certificate for both Pan American and TWA to flow the polar route to Europe out of Los Angeles and San Francisco. This means, Mr. Speaker, that these two United States flag international carriers will be able to compete with the Scandinavian Airlines System from the west coast to Europe.

It would be most desirable, Mr. Speaker, if the CAB would act with equal promptness on certificating Pan American to fly the great circle route from California and Seattle to Tokyo and beyond.

I am pleased to refer to this body an excellent editorial which appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer on July 17. This editorial congratulates the CAB on its polar route decision and, likewise, suggests that the sooner Seattle gets on the Pan American System to the Orient the better off all parties concerned will be.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the editorial from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of July 17:

NORTHERN SKIES

There was good news last week from the Civil Aeronautics Board which granted to Pan American World Airways a temporary certificate to fly the polar route, Seattle to London and Europe.

And we think that Joseph E. Gandy, president of the chamber of commerce, demonstrated sound, aggressive generalship when he promptly wired the President to express appreciation for the Board's decision—and to suggest that the same considerations should prompt CAB to give competitive service to the Orient via the North Pacific route.

That decision has been too long delayed as it is. A few short years ago the chamber was showing hesitancy in urging that Seattle be treated by CAB as an air metropolis instead of a stop-over spot on the pilot charts.

The Post-Intelligencer was the first to demand publicly that Seattle and Tacoma ask for, and get, the maximum air service consistent with the imminent jetliner age.

Mr. Gandy's wire to the President reflects the strong, farseeing attitude which Northwest cities exhibited in an earlier and spirited era. It is the only kind of attitude which will keep the region abreast of the times and out of the backwash of Pacific-coast progress.

Efforts To Arouse Public Resentment Against Government Supports Are Endangering the Whole Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I quote from the letter of David W. Klinger, editor of Capper's Farmer, with which he enclosed two articles from the current issue of that publication:

We know you understand and appreciate the value of a sound and healthy agriculture to our economy and our national defense. For that reason, we're calling your attention to this issue of Capper's Farmer and specifically to the editorial material on pages 12 and 16.

Capper's Farmer is genuinely concerned over repeated irresponsible charges against agriculture—and the lack of a workable farm program. Now, more than any time in our history, we think there's an urgent need for clear thinking and sound judgment in our approach to the farm problem. Agriculture needs your help and support.

Under unanimous consent I insert the two articles mentioned in the RECORD:

THEY ARE TRYING TO KILL PRICE SUPPORTS—EFFORTS TO AROUSE PUBLIC RESENTMENT AGAINST GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS ARE ENDANGERING THE WHOLE FARM PROGRAM

Farm price supports you've known since the war are in danger of being eliminated completely. Supports gradually have been discredited to the overwhelming majority of nonfarming Americans. It could be only a matter of time until the program's back is finally broken.

The administration is out to remove Government pricing as an income-supporting device. It wants supports only at disaster-protection levels. Beyond this, the administration has outlined no constructive program for the future.

We think there is much evidence that the drive to kill price supports could succeed.

The rising demand by city lawmakers to do away with all their so-called farm handouts comes at a crucial time—when the farm bloc is completely disorganized. In the words of one antisupport official, "the timing couldn't be better."

These are conclusions drawn from our study of official actions and public statements over the last 5 years. Secretary Benson's request for full 0-to-90 percent-of-parity flexibility is the latest evidence.

There is no question that the battle between high fixed supports and flexibles is dead. That, however, does not mean no price program at all. Congress is more likely

to approve some kind of substitute program than to permit full flexibility alone. This may be a two-price system, or production payments, or a combination. In the meantime, Secretary Benson says he wouldn't lower supports below 50 percent.

The hunt is on for a substitute program. Congressmen from farming areas are devoting their time to finding new programs, not defending the present one. The fight is boiling down to a choice between no Government income protection, except possibly under disaster conditions, and an entirely new approach.

Is Secretary Benson out to remove all supports if he can? After most surpluses are gone, yes. But while surpluses last, he wants to dwindle supports.

Here's his record on supports:

He asked for and got power to reduce basic support to 75 percent of parity. He has reduced props under surplus crops to about that level—77 percent of parity for corn and cotton this year, 75 percent for wheat in 1958. He now labels that step number 1—in line with his policy of gradualism.

The next step, Benson says, is to get almost blank-check authority to lower supports to zero.

What the third step will be he hasn't said. But while he says supports wouldn't drop below 50 percent right away, he leaves no doubt that they would be cut that far.

For wheat, 50 percent of parity means about $1.25 a bushel, compared with 1957's $2. For corn, 90 cents a bushel, compared with this year's $1.36. For cotton, 19 cents a pound. It was 28 cents in 1957.

When would supports be dropped? Not on 1957 crops. Nor on 1958 crops—although basics which haven't been cut to the present 75-percent support floor are likely to go to that level. Tip off is the announced 75-percent level for 1958 wheat.

How is the rug being pulled from under public acceptance of supports? By relentless public education and calculated official action, as the record reveals it.

USDA officials make speeches discrediting present programs without setting up any eventual goal except freedom. Thus, the talks undercut supports, and make the farmer look like the country's conniving poor relation.

This device has been so effective that the giant national magazine, Life, was prompted to say: "If enough Americans squawk, something will be done to stop this silly business."

A talk by Assistant Secretary Earl Butz, popular speaker in business circles, hammering at the dairy program, is an example. It doesn't give farmers enough free enterprise, says he.

Butz told the recent Milk Marketing Conference at East Lansing, Mich., that he opposes the use of Federal milk marketing orders as price supporting devices. He favors gradual but realistic price adjustment, as production and marketing efficiencies permit.

The shooting opened up as soon as Benson took office in 1953—when he publicly damned USDA as a swollen "bureaucracy." (USDA now has 25 percent more employees, 100 percent more Assistant Secretaries, plus more programs, than when Benson took office.)

Surpluses are put forward as the proof that supports won't work. But many prominent economists, including some at USDA, say this is mostly tilting at windmills. The problem just isn't as bad as it's painted, they say, and could be controlled by effective action under present laws.

A relatively new USDA official, Assistant Secretary Marvin McLain, recently said that, while we do have a substantial surplus problem, we need certain quantities of "reserve" in case of war or crop failure.

McLain says the wheat surplus is closer to 500 million bushels. This is in contrast to the total carryover of 1 billion bushels much publicized in official speeches. About 500 million is a legally required reserve.

Put on the same basis, the cotton surplus is only 7 million bales, not the 12 million generally advertised. As to corn, there actually is no real surplus. The billion-bushel carryover (4 months' supply) needed as a reserve is usually cited as surplus.

Benson's critics point out that for several years until Congress forced him, he refused to sell surplus cotton competitively on the world market. The cotton sales program now is hailed officially as a sensational success.

Further, his career economists told the Secretary several years ago that acre allotments—which he only recently condemns—could not alone control production. In 1954, he announced cross-compliance, which his economists said would work, but later canceled this plan.

The Presidentially appointed 18-man Agricultural Advisory Commission, composed largely of nonfarmers, looks more like a willing rubberstamp than an advisory body. And when the group doesn't see eye to eye with USDA brass, its recommendations for the most part are ignored.

You get an idea of the Commission's role from this interview with one of its members:

"No the members never take out any homework to do. We just come here (Washington) for the meeting and find out what it is we are to advise on at that time."

"How do you know, then, what you are advising on?"

"We don't. We just shoot from the hip. Then they do what they want to do anyway."

Accusations that Secretary Benson is trying to kill price supports resulted from his no-support-floor plan. However, he denies that it is our purpose to scrap farm programs or subject farm people to the unrestricted forces of the free market.

A clue to the Secretary's thinking is his early declaration: "No real American wants a subsidy." Later, in 1954, when he got his 75–90 percent flexible law—which he now says is inadequate—he said:

"It is my hope that ultimately flexible supports will be able to effect all the production adjustment necessary * * *." This, he said, would restore "greater freedom of operation to farmers as well as providing greater opportunities for higher income."

Comments at a recent press conference are revealing. After stating he didn't think he'd put supports below 50 percent, the Secretary was asked why he had requested full 0-to-90 percent flexible discretion.

The reporter asked: "If you don't need it (support below 50 percent), why do you want it—I mean full discretion?"

Benson: "Because we have it on other commodities and it's working."

The Secretary has full discretion on 188 other commodities. Of these only 9 are supported this year, including the feed grains, oilseeds, dry edible beans and pine gum. He is required to set supports for only 12 commodities, the 6 basics plus butterfat, milk, wool, mohair, honey, and tung nuts.

Referring to Government programs in general at a recent press conference, President Eisenhower remarked there are "probably only a very few of them that should be dropped." He cited "the farm program" and water pollution as "things of that character" that the Government can do without.

A week later, Eisenhower made a remark which had the effect of whipping the farmer in public.

He told reporters: "At present you must remember that about half the income of the farmer is from Federal subsidy. * * *" He said he believes this averages over a thousand dollars a farm family that the United States is paying in some form of subsidy. He added that not all of that "I think * * * gets right into the hands of the farmer."

Before Benson cleared up the statement for the White House later, it touched off a countrywide explosion of indignation against the farmer. By then every newspaper reader and radio-TV listener in the country had been led to believe that each farmer gets a subsidy of $1,000 a year from the Treasury.

Outside the Government, the national leadership of the American Farm Bureau Federation is the top farm outfit gunning for support floors—the only one. Since Secretary Benson took office in 1953, AFBF has spent almost a half-million dollars in lobbying, mostly in agriculture.

At the Bureau's annual convention in December 1956, President Charles F. Shuman announced: "For all practical purposes, the argument over the level of price supports is a dead issue."

Events in the following months proved Shuman an accurate prophet. The fight deteriorated so far that one of Farm Bureau's top officials later commented, "We've got it licked."

At the convention, Shuman attributed 81 percent of the decline in farm net income in recent years to increased costs of operation.

The way to solve that, he says, is to work for "crop-by-crop elimination of the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase and store farm products." He advocated getting rid of present stocks as fast as possible.

Farm Bureau's plans make good consumer news. Following the Shuman statement, the New York Herald Tribune's business editor declared:

"A move to get Uncle Sam out of his extensive and expensive agricultural business started in Miami last week. It is headed by the world's largest farm organization. At a little noted convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, President Charles Shuman declared what most politicians are afraid to say: 'The farmer is hurt rather than helped' by Government programs."

Why Not Help Agriculture, Too?—Tell Your City Friends the Truth

Slapping subsidies is fast becoming a popular parlor game. But curiously and unfortunately, it's a game played with unusual ground rules. The idea, apparently, is to slap only farm giveaways. Other subsidies, direct and indirect, are by inference just, proper, and in the public interest.

It would be deplorable enough if the folks who instituted the game and set up the restrictive rules were merely misinformed. But it's reprehensible when they represent responsible segments of the American economy, including agriculture itself.

Who is slapping farm subsidies? Almost everyone, including some spokesmen for agriculture and some farm organization leaders. And their views make quick headlines in big city newspapers and mass circulation magazines.

No wonder the American consumer, whose knowledge of farming begins and ends at well-stocked supermarket counters, is confused. No wonder he looks upon farmers as public charges with a master key to the United States Treasury.

The farm bloc is split asunder, farm organizations apparently are incapable of presenting a united front for agriculture. So we think it's high time to sort the facts out of clouded half-truths and innuendoes.

Capper's Farmer does not defend the present farm program. We've criticized it loud and clear. But we do defend some safeguards for the industry that produces our food and fiber. For agriculture is an unorganized industry, particularly vulnerable to forces beyond its control.

We do think that farmers—and the Nation—have something to gain in using the

ideas inherent in the parity principle until we find a newer and better substitute. And we believe subsidies intelligently used make sense as a means of bolstering segments of the economy for the general welfare of all people.

America's Founding Fathers apparently believed so, too. Historically, the subsidy principle is one of the building blocks of our country. The first Congress of the United States, as its second official act, created a subsidy in the form of a tariff bill.

Subsidies have built our great industries, our transportation systems, our institutions of learning, our science and art. Today nearly all industry is being helped, directly or indirectly, by taxpayers' dollars. For example:

Labor: Government gifts include unemployment insurance, public employment offices, social security.

Maritime industry and airline companies: Subsidies go a long way to help keep our merchant and passenger ships afloat and our airplanes aloft.

(For example: The superliner *United States* cost $76,800,000 to build; $40 million of that was a Federal subsidy.)

Industry: Fast tax writeoff programs give industry, in effect, an interest-free loan in the amount of the deferred taxes. According to the Office of Defense Mobilization, 22,000 companies of various types have received benefits of fast tax writeoffs since the program started during the Korean war in 1950.

Mineral interests: Mineral depletion allowances are another indirect, but nonetheless very real, subsidy. Since mineral production depletes the wealth of the property, the owner is allowed to deduct, for his net profit, a percentage as depreciation costs.

In the case of sulfur mines, it is 23 percent; for oil and gas wells, 27.5 percent; for certain nonmetals, 15 percent, etc.

In a 1955 report of the congressional Joint Economic Committee, a study of 24 large petroleum companies showed that they paid an average of 22.6 percent of their net income for Federal income tax. The average paid by all corporations was 48.1 percent.

This is an incomplete list. But it's nough, we think, to illustrate that if farmers are riding a "gravy train," they share a pretty crowded seat.

However, it is not our intention to "point the finger." Rather this is a plea for reason, good commonsense, for a fair evaluation of agriculture's position.

We must not blindly condemn the parity principle, the basic concept of a healthy agriculture, merely because the current attempt at an action program is admitted to be unworkable. Our plea is for a workable program to carry out the parity concept.

A sound, healthy agriculture is indispensable to our economy—present and future. It is vital to our national defense. Petty squabbling, name calling, and finger pointing only confuse and divide. And we never needed clear thinking and unity more.

You and your neighbors are salesmen for agriculture. It's up to you to defend your business. Tell your city friends the truth. Write your Congressmen and the leaders of your farm organizations.

If you don't do your part, if you don't rise to the defense of your business, then you must share the blame when all farm programs are killed.

THE EDITORS.

IT'S TIME TO SPEAK UP

Capper's Farmer doesn't want to see the loan program killed before we have some better plan for improving farm income. Such action would be disastrous to agriculture and dangerous to our whole economy.

Now is the time for you, as a farmer, to speak out in your own behalf. If you want a sound workable farm program, it's high time to say so. Silence may be interpreted by Congress as disinterest.

THE EDITORS.

Metro Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include part of an article from the Seattle Argus. This refers to a metro plan which is a proposed district program authorized by the Washington State Legislature for the people of an area in the drainage basin of Lake Washington to combine and finance an overall pollution control project. In previous statements I have suggested pollution control as one Federal aid program which can be more effectively, fairly, and adequately worked out on the State level. This is an example of such an effort on the local level.

I think Members will be interested in the following excerpt:

The future of Lake Washington—either as a huge septic tank or one of the Northwest's most magnificent esthetic recreation areas—will hinge upon an election to be held in March 1958. Should the voters of Seattle and the surrounding communities turn down the proposal for a metropolitan form of government, Lake Washington may be lost forever as a recreational facility.

Nine million gallons of sewage—raw and treated pours into the lake every day. To save the lake this sewage must be pumped away from the lake and into Puget Sound.

To become effective the metro plan as evolved by the advisory committee is bounded on the north by the Snohomish County line; on the east by a line running generally south along the ridge line east of Lake Sammamish; on the south in the vicinity of Auburn; and on the west by Puget Sound.

The plan must be approved by a majority of those voting inside Seattle and by a majority of the total who live in the dozen or so surrounding cities and towns and unincorporated areas.

The three functions of government which will be answered by a single yes or no of the voters are: sewage disposal, comprehensive planning, and rapid transit. The other item which will be on the same ballot will be a 1-mill levy to defray the costs of the functions.

Metro will function only in the wholesale sense with regard to sewage disposal. Each city will maintain its own collection and billing system; metro will provide the large trunk lines to the sound.

There will be no loss of local autonomy as each community will retain complete control over its fire, police, water, and other departments.

The need to halt the pollution of Lake Washington is so urgent that some consideration was given to an October election. However, the necessity of the 1 mill, which levy requires a turnout of 40 percent of the voters of the last general election and the approval of 60 percent of those voting, made a successful October election doubtful. Most of the cities and towns, including Seattle, will hold municipal elections in March, which assures a fair number of voters.

The Flying Dutchman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I would invite your attention to the fact that included among my constituents are the very illustrious Warmerdam family, which produced Cornelius Warmerdam, the greatest pole vaulter of all time and perhaps the greatest track athlete of all time.

The following is what Mr. Daley, of the New York Times, had to say about Dutch Warmerdam in its issue of April 26, 1957:

THE FLYING DUTCHMAN

(By Arthur Daley)

Don Bragg, of Villanova, will take a fling at the world pole-vault record during the Penn relays this weekend and off somewhere in the Far West the chances are that Bob Gutowski will do the same thing.

The day is bound to come, however, when some daring young man without a flying trapeze will soar through the air with the greatest of ease for a new record. The remarkable part about it is that Cornelius Warmerdam's old mark of 15 feet 7¾ inches has lasted so long. It's 15 years since the fabled Flying Dutchman from Fresno established the outdoor ceiling and no athlete was even able to challenge that figure until recently.

A little more than a week ago, Dutch Warmerdam, a doddering old gaffer of 40, tried out one of the new fiber glass vaulting poles. He sailed over 13 feet without difficulty. Considering his age and long absence from competition, that was as extraordinary as any of his 15-footers.

"I just wish I had had this type pole in the old days, instead of the bamboo pole," he said. "I know I could have gone over 16 feet."

This was a dispassionate statement of fact because Warmerdam hasn't a boastful bone in his body.

OPENING THE GATES

Once a superstar crashes through some sports barrier, he usually opens the gates for others. When Roger Bannister, for instance, broke through the wall of the 4-minute mile, he had others tumbling after him. But it was back in 1940 when Warmerdam made the first 15-foot vault in history. Yet he opened no gates. None even came close to clearing that magic mark for 11 years. Then the Reverend Bob Richards began to edge ever nearer. This promptly evoked a tongue-in-cheek comment from Bob Morcum, once a championship vaulter himself.

"I predict," he said, "that Richards will become the first human being ever to vault 15 feet. I say that because I just don't believe that Dutch Warmerdam was human."

Eleven years after the flyer from Fresno showed how 15 feet should be cleared, Richards attained his first 15-footer. The parson since has gone over that height more than a hundred times and it was at the Millrose meet a couple of months ago that Richards achieved his best effort, 15 feet 6 inches. Gutowski tied him at that height. It's the closest anybody has come to either of Warmerdam's world records, his 15 feet, 7¾ outdoors and 15 feet 8½ inches indoors.

LACK OF HUMANITY

Maybe that's why Bob Richards awe and respect for Warmerdam keeps growing and

growing. Not long ago the parson gave a graphic description of the Flying Dutchman to Al Stump and the cocky Richards can handle words as cleverly as he can a vaulting pole.

"I can beat any human alive," said Reverend Bob. "But Warmerdam was part sprinter, part shock-absorber, part acrobat, and part strong man. He wasn't human."

There is no event in all sports that's quite as intricate as the pole vault. The sprint down the runway is complicated by having to carry the long, out-of-balance pole. At full speed, that awkward pole has to be jammed into the pocket in front of the pit. As the body leaves the ground, the arms must jerk it up higher. There's an acrobatic wriggle over the bar, the push-off from the pole and the tumble to the pit below. Any mistake in any phase of this complicated routine, which has been grossly oversimplified here, is fatal to success.

No man ever mastered it as the Dutchman did. His clearance of 13 feet a week ago should be proof of that. Yet he always was an incredible performer. When the big blond from California was in England during the war, he wandered past an athletic field with another Navy officer.

"Let's see you vault, Corny," said his companion, giving him a gentle needle.

"Like this?" said Warmerdam.

UP AND OVER

It had been close to a year since he vaulted. He had no equipment. The runway was pitted. But the Fresno Flier was game. He borrowed a pole and peeled down to his skivvies. He cleared the bar at—maybe you even guessed it—15 feet.

There never had been a 15-footer indoors until Warmerdam crossed the continent for the Millrose meet of 1942. He said the trip wouldn't be worth the effort unless the runway was lengthened for him. Only then could he guarantee—and this, mind you, was not a boastful man—a 15-footer. So they lengthened the runway and Dutch made good his promise.

It was an ungraceful exhibition he gave, though, and the youngster from Fresno State apologized profusely to Fred Schmertz, the meet director.

"I would have done better," he said, "if I had my own pole."

His vaulting stick had been lost in transit and the one he borrowed was 2 feet too short. And still he hit 15 feet.

Warmerdam's record is beginning to look fragile for the first time and it soon will be broken, perhaps by the 22-year-old Gutowski. But none of the new recordholders could possibly be as remarkable as the first man to vault 15 feet.

Assassination in Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial reflects a sad commentary on what can come from loose talk of Americans, official and unofficial, whether well intended or otherwise.

Let us encourage freedom but not license. The democratic way of life is attainable without annihilation of its exponents.

The editorial, as it appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of July 28, 1957, is as follows:

ASSASSINATION IN GUATEMALA

The shocking assassination of President Castillo Armas of Guatemala is a blow not only to his country but to the whole community of the Western Hemisphere. Just 3 years ago he led a successful revolution against the pro-Communist government of Jacobo Arbenz and put an end to a Soviet-supported attempt to create a Communist state in Central America. For this achievement, President Castillo Armas deserved, and received the gratitude of the Americas.

First Vice President Luis Gonzalez Lopez has been sworn in as the new President, and the Cabinet has proclaimed a state of siege throughout the country. The assassin, who afterward committed suicide, was identified as a palace guard. Preliminary evidence indicates that he was closely connected with the Communist movement which survives underground in Guatemala.

Mr. Castillo Armas' death is doubly tragic because it comes at a time when his country's economy was beginning to enjoy an unprecedented prosperity after the depredations of the previous regime. The President had thrown Guatemala open to foreign investment and foreign development. He had attacked with vigor its age-old problems of illiteracy, poverty, primitive agricultural methods, and lack of communications. If his manner of government did not coincide with democracy as it is thought of here, nevertheless it held out the promise of a truly democratic evolution.

The American people will feel great sympathy for the people of Guatemala in their loss. They will also feel confident that the new chief of state will fulfill his promise to carry on the policies of his predecessor. Mr. Gonzalez has a heavy task ahead of him. The assassination showed that communism has not yet given up the struggle in Guatemala, and that its methods are those of terror and murder. But President Gonzalez can be assured of the warm support of the peoples of the hemisphere in protecting his country's freedom and security.

Anti-Inflation Action or Ruination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the constantly increasing costs of living have concentrated attention upon the grave danger of inflation and the vital necessity of take reasonable action against threatening economic catastrophe.

It is obvious that some of the methods proposed to control inflation are either unpalatable to the majority of Americans, outside of wartime, or antiquated. Therefore, a resurvey and restudy of all the economic factors involved is imperative and it is vitally important that it be done now before it is too late.

Many of us have the conviction that such a study could best be conducted by committees of the Congress rather than any select commission appointed by the President; perhaps it would be of value to have both.

In any case, let us cease any petty and partisan quarrels about authority and responsibility and initiate an investigative project speedily before our economic structure deteriorates beyond repair.

I am pleased to include at this time a very pertinent editorial advocating the objective which appeared in the May 26, last, issue of the Worcester, Mass., Telegram.

The article follows:

ANTI-INFLATION ACTION NEEDED

President Eisenhower and other members of the administration expressed deep concern last January because of the steady rise in living costs. Since that time we have watched the price index rise each month for five consecutive periods. Over the past year, in fact, there have been cost-of-living increases for 10 out of 12 months, and the total rise has been almost 4 percent.

But there have been few evidences from Washington, in recent weeks, of any plan or serious worry over the creeping inflation implicit in the price-index figures. What has happened to the administration's deep concern over price rises?

The anti-inflation campaign may have been set aside temporarily while administration and Congress joined their battle on the budget. But this was hardly necessary. Higher prices are obviously one of the reasons for higher budgets. The Federal Government, as the Nation's largest purchaser, is one of the first to feel the squeeze. The expanded budget requests for next year, not to mention the big deficiency appropriations which have been necessary to fill out the current money needs, are solid evidence of the inflation danger.

Continued price rises have demonstrated that the present Government mechanisms for halting inflation may be inadequate and obsolete. Most of the present devices, like the Federal Reserve System's authority to limit credit and money supply, were established some 30 years ago. Little has been done in the meantime to determine whether better formulas might be possible. But Washington should not delay too long, for there is scant basis now to hope that the epidemic of price increases will run its course and die of natural causes.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

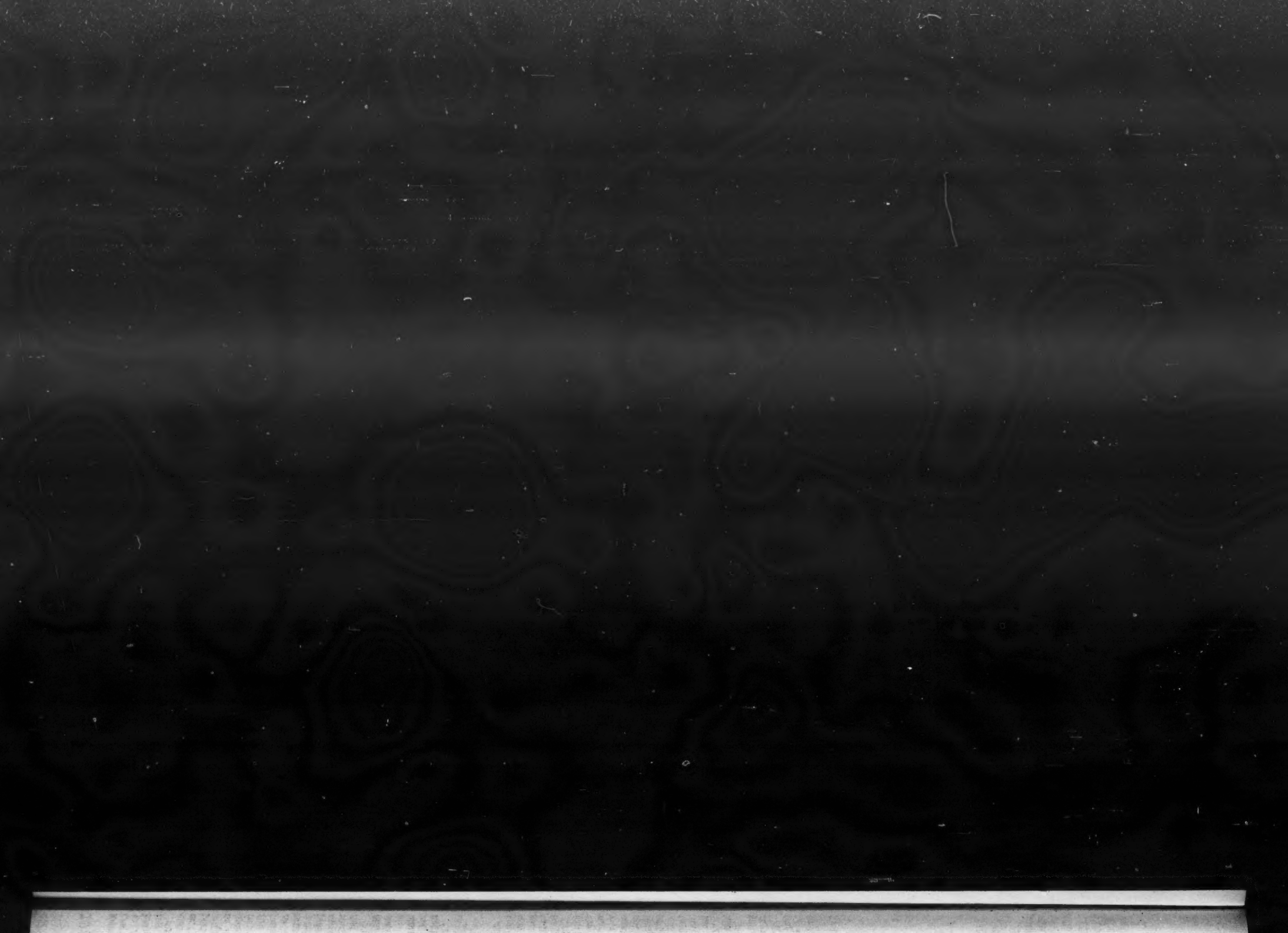

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Appendix

Water Famine Follows on Heels of Floods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the people of Texas are painfully aware of the manner in which flood and drought alternate in our State. That has happened again this year, pointing up dramatically the need for Texas to catch up with other States in development and conservation of its water resources.

An editorial in the San Marcos Record, one of the leading weekly newspapers of Texas, tells the story briefly and simply. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLOODS AND FAMINES, ALL IN 1 YEAR

The irony of it.

Less than 3 months ago the city of Waco was seriously damaged by floods in the Brazos River.

Last week water was rationed in Waco. The supply, drawn mostly from Lake Waco on the Brazos above the city, had so diminished that Wacoans were having to water lawns only every other day and water for other uses was being curtailed.

At Lampasas in May when the flood hit that town, the country was still listed as an area of drought relief.

Hays County farms are crying for water now; 2 months ago it was too wet to plow.

We Texans have been improvident. We should have provided dams to hold back and store floodwaters. It should have been done 25 years ago.

Let us not lose interest in flood-prevention and conservation projects now authorized or in the planning stages—projects like York Creek, Plum Creek, and the San Marcos-Blanco project.

Gen. Ernest O. Thompson Retires as Commanding General of Texas National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the retirement of Ernest O. Thompson as commanding general of the Texas National Guard spotlights one important phase of the career of this notable Texan. He has served the guard for 34 years.

Fortunately, General Thompson's retirement applies only to his military post. He continues as a member of the Texas Railroad Commission in a role that, to quote from an editorial in the Dallas News, "is perhaps as vital to national security as it is to the well-being of Texas in times of peace."

I ask unanimous consent that the Dallas News editorial discussing General Thompson's career with the National Guard be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THOMPSON IS HONORED ON LEAVING GUARD

Texans in general will join with Gov. Price Daniel in extending a hearty and deep-felt "well done" to Ernest O. Thompson as he steps down as commanding general of the Texas National Guard.

Retirement at 65 from this military responsibility is deserved, all the more so in view of Thompson's 34 years of devoted service to this arm of national defense. The Texas National Guard is a vastly stronger and more efficient unit today, thanks to the loyalty and spirited intelligence which he and his fellow officers have brought to it, notably in the postwar years.

This is in keeping with the proud tradition and heritage of the Texas National Guard. With an outstanding record, as among the States, it can trace its history back to fighting organizations in the Texas revolution against Mexico.

Happily for the people of Texas, Thompson's even greater service to the State as an outstanding conservator of our natural resources of oil and gas goes right on. As a member of the Texas Railroad Commission, he continues in a role that is perhaps as vital to national security as it is to the well-being of Texas in times of peace.

Address Intended To Be Delivered by Senator Martin Before Army and Navy Legion of Valor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Army and Navy Legion of Valor is holding its annual convention in Philadelphia this week. I had hoped to attend their dinner tonight but work here in the Senate has made it impossible for me to do so.

Three United States Senators, the distinguished senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], the distinguished senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], and the senior Senator from Pennsylvania all hold the Distinguished Service Cross and are members of this organization.

I ask unanimous consent that the address I intended to deliver tonight be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS INTENDED TO BE DELIVERED BY UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE 67TH NATIONAL REUNION BANQUET OF THE ARMY AND NAVY LEGION OF VALOR, IN PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 31, 1957

It is a great honor for an old soldier to be invited to address the Army and Navy Legion of Valor, the most outstanding veterans' organization of the world.

Membership in the Legion of Valor is the proudest possession that can be held by any citizen of our country. As soldiers, veterans, and civilians you have fought to protect the ideals of the American Republic.

Here in the great city of Philadelphia we have a rich and inspiring historic background in which to consider what America really is and what it means to be an American. Here is the proper place to ask all Americans to renew their mutual pledge of loyalty and patriotism, so that this Nation, under God, may move onward in glory and greatness, in peace, and good will.

Here, in Philadelphia, 181 years ago, the signers of the Declaration of Independence, with firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in the cause of freedom. Here General Washington was made Commander in Chief of the Continental Army to wage a war that the American Colonies might be free and independent States.

Here in Philadelphia was proclaimed the ideal that all men are created equal, that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is God given and inalienable, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Here, Betsy Ross made the first American flag, whose stars and stripes are the beacon light of freedom-loving people on all the continents and every sea.

Here in Philadelphia, after 8 years of the hell of war, the wisest men of their time met to form a Constitution that would unite the Thirteen Colonies into one Nation, and after weeks of debate our Constitution was adopted. It is the oldest written governmental document in the world. Under it we have successfully fought great wars. We have resisted financial depressions, maintaining the strength of our social and economic plan.

Under that Constitution, we have carved out of a vast, unexplored wilderness the greatest industrial and agricultural system in the entire world. With less than one-sixth of the population and area of the world, we produce one-half of the world's goods. We have reached the highest living standard ever attained by any people, with cultural and spiritual attainments unequalled any other place in the world.

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We take pride in those great achievements but we must bear in mind that we are still confronted by dangers.

What are the dangers that threaten the security and stability of our Nation?

We take too much for granted.

We permit Communist propaganda, which would destroy our Nation, to be freely circulated in this country.

We have too much Government; too much public and private debt; too much dependence upon government; too much evasion of law; too little interest in government; and the failure to appreciate that we are truly a Nation under God.

We seem to think that being the richest Nation on earth there is no limit to our resources, but we must member that we are not rich enough for everyone to have everything he wants. Therefore, when government attempts to carry out competitive political promises, many of them made by demagogues, and undertakes to supply all the wants of groups and individuals, the cost is certain to exceed available revenues. The inevitable result is excessive taxation, a crushing burden of debt and the extreme dangers brought on by inflation.

To avoid the dangers confronting us, veterans must man the ramparts of freedom and defeat all elements who would destroy our country and our way of life.

The foundation of American strength must be built on recognition by every citizen that he has a share of the responsibility for good government.

It is an obligation of citizenship to take part in government. It is up to every organization of veterans to work for honesty, economy and efficiency in government, so that we can have government at a cost we can afford.

The early settlers in the new world, facing the hardship of a vast and unknown wilderness, had one thing in common—an ardent faith in God.

Let us emulate their example.

As militant, God-fearing believers in American ideals, let us fill our more than 300,000 churches, cathedrals, synagogues, and temples in the United States, 165 of them built before 1776. Let us wage a war for complete loyalty, by all living in the United States, to the principles for which a million Americans died on battlefields, within our borders and in foreign lands.

Let us live by the motto "In God We Trust" and if that trust is deep enough America will survive every attack.

H. M. Baggarly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texas is proud of her many distinguished citizens, and in the realm of the fourth estate, Texas is especially proud of H. M. Baggarly, editor of the Tulia Herald at Tulia, Tex.

Mr. Baggarly, in his 42 years, has won more journalistic honors than most writers of our age, and he richly deserves them. He has gained national recognition for his printed thoughts, and he will go down in history as one of Texas' finest writers. Folks who do not know Mr. Baggarly would, I fear, from my remarks, think him to be a novelist or perhaps the editor of a large publication. Actually though, the Tulia Herald is published in a small west Texas town with a population of less than 3,500. It is a weekly publication. But its voice is heard, not only throughout the State of Texas, but from coast to coast.

I should like to mention only a few of the journalistic honors bestowed upon Mr. Baggarly in recent years.

This past spring he was awarded first place for column writing in the Nation. This award was for all classes of newspapers, weeklies, and dailies, distinguishing Mr. Baggarly as the Nation's No. 1 newspaper columnist.

In 1954 his editorial writing won first place for a national contest sponsored by Pan American Airlines and brought him a trip around the world. Unmarried, he took his hometown pastor on the flight and visited the Holy Land.

In Texas, during the past 5 years, he has captured 50 percent of the awards given by the Panhandle Press Association, winning each year first place for column writing and editorial writing. His newspaper has been named the best in the State in its class, and his other awards go on and on.

Mr. President, I should like to have the distinguished Members of the Senate have the privilege of reading a most penetrating column written by Mr. Baggarly, on the firing of three professors from Texas Technological College at Lubbock, Tex. Their dismissal has created a great protest in my State over the rights of teachers.

Mr. Baggarly's thoughtful analysis of this case is most interesting and enlightening, and how close our Nation's teachers are to being deprived of the basic freedom of free public thought on political matters is vividly illustrated. Texas has had a hard experience in the past 16 years with the discharge of college teachers for stating their views on public questions.

I ask unanimous consent that the lucid column, Town Topics, by Mr. Baggarly, as printed in the Tulia Herald July 18, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that a column by another able writer, Ross Short, which appeared in the Lubbock Avalanche-Journal as reprinted in the Tulia Herald for July 18, 1957, be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWN TOPICS

(By H. M. Baggarly)

How much longer will Americans enjoy the benefits of the Bill of Rights? How much longer will we have freedom of speech, freedom to think, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom to belong to the church of our choice or the political party of our preference without fear of a goose-stepping gestapo or a subtle governing board which operates in secrecy behind the scenes?

How soon will American bigots under the banner of Americanism slip in and wrench these basic rights from us by means of laws, decisions, and practices camouflaged to look like something American?

When the framers of the Bill of Rights insisted on the provision that we enjoy freedom of religion, they did not have in mind a guaranty that we might belong to the church of our choice—but at our own risk, if we happen to select one in disfavor with the Government or an administration.

When they gave us freedom of speech, they did not have in mind a guaranty that we may speak freely—so long as we say nothing that will offend the party in power.

Certainly no one would deny that freedom to belong to a political party and to participate in the affairs of a party belongs to everyone, except in a few cases where the law specifically prohibits.

If we start eliminating groups from politics, where are we going to draw the line? If we ban schoolteachers, ministers, and other groups outright, then add to those nonparticipators those who know what is expedient if they desire to hold their jobs or customers, who will be left to maintain this fundamental American tradition?

Within the shadow of Tulia, a fundamental freedom has been snatched from two college professors. These two professors who lost their jobs for being Democrats aren't the issue. The issue is that freedom to be an active Democrat for practical purposes has been snatched from every teacher in Texas who values his job.

And where can we place the blame for this travesty of freedom? It must be placed right at the foot of Allan Shivers. Even though he is no longer in the driver's seat, even though he no longer is in a position to crack the whip over the heads of thousands of his own appointees and their families, still his sinister shadow can still be seen.

According the to Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, although no information was revealed of the board's action (in firing two Texas Tech professors), it is presumed that the guiding hand in the meeting was J. Evetts Haley, board member from Canyon, who formerly was director of the Institute of Americanism at the college, and is State organizer for For America, a political movement with headquarters in Chicago.

This man Haley, one of Texas' most noted political crackpots, has no business on the board of regents of any college. He is an honorable man, is highly regarded as a historian, has good intentions—but like any radical, he is too far from the middle of any man's road to be placed in such a responsible position.

There have been rumors that Haley has used his position as Texas Tech regent to knife in the back other Democrats who have been college teachers. His behavior warrants a full-scale investigation by the Governor of Texas.

And where did we get this regent? He is another Shivers appointee, a part of our inheritance from the most corrupt State administration Texas has ever seen.

For those readers who have not read the full account of what happened in Lubbock Saturday, we quote a few pertinent paragraphs from the Avalanche-Journal:

"Texas Tech's board of directors, meeting for more than 4½ hours in a closed session Saturday, voted against renewal of contracts for 2 faculty members. The two faculty members summarily removed are: Dr. Byron Robert Abernethy, professor of government; and Dr. Herbert Marvin Greenberg, assistant professor of psychology and associate director of the vocational rehabilitation counseling program. Dr. Greenberg is blind.

"Although no reasons were recorded in the minutes of the board's action, it is generally known that both Dr. Abernethy and Dr. Greenberg have been in disfavor of board members because of their political views.

"Dr. Abernethy, for the past 2 years, has been active in liberal Democratic circles and only in May was keynote speaker at the statewide convention of the Democrats of Texas at Austin. He was also particularly active in the fight staged by the liberals in

last September's State Democratic convention in Fort Worth.

"Action against Dr. Greenberg was taken because of his publicly stated views on integration. Dr. Greenberg also recently conducted a survey among faculty members on their views of integration as a psychological study.

"Although no information was revealed of the board's action, it is presumed that the guiding hand in the meeting was J. Evetts Haley, board member from Canyon.

"A long time controversial political figure in Texas, Haley has been a constant objector to liberal viewpoints. His membership on the Tech board since its inception has been marked by conflict with both the administration and other members of the board.

"When the board's action was announced by Jim Lindsey, of Midland, vice chairman, who presided at Saturday's session, Dr. E. N. Jones, Tech president, requested time in which to notify the affected faculty members."

Texas Tech professors who were ousted by the board of directors during a secret session could not believe the news when informed by the Avalanche-Journal of the action.

"I am completely surprised and flabbergasted," declared Dr. Abernethy, professor of government, who has been at Tech since 1941.

"Dr. Herbert Greenberg, blind assistant professor of psychology, was so stunned he had to call college officials for verification before commenting.

"Abernethy also was so taken aback by the news of his firing that he asked, 'Are you sure this isn't a mistake?'

"Abernethy added: 'I haven't any idea why the action was taken. There has never been any criticism of the way I conduct my classes.'

"Asked if he thought the action might be an attempt at 'thought control' growing out of his outside political activities, the government professor said he would reserve comment 'until I find out what the reason was' for his ouster.

"Dr. E. N. Jones, Tech president, was asked if Abernethy's political activities were responsible for the action.

"'I will have to decline comment,' Jones declared.

"He added that 'My reason is that the action was taken in executive session'—at which even Jones himself was not allowed to be present—and explained that since he was not present he could not say upon what the board based its action.

"Asked whether there had been any complaints from the public about Abernethy's political activities, the president said that 'since his last political speech I have had two reports from town.'" ("Lubbock has a population of more than 139,000," commented the Avalanche-Journal.)

Only last month Abernethy turned down a job from a large northern university.

The Government professor has been at Tech since 1941 except for leaves of absences when he served as regional wage stabilization director with the National War Labor Board in 1943–45, as vice chairman and public member of the Board in 1945–46 and as director and chairman of the regional Wage Stabilization Board in 1951–53.

Like Abernethy, Greenberg said he had never been criticized for the way he conducted his classroom work and added, "I have every reason to believe the head of my department was well satisfied with my work."

He confirmed that he had supervised a survey by one of his classes in the spring of 1956 on the question of what Tech students thought about the subject of integration of white students and Negroes in public schools and colleges.

However, Dr. Greenberg said college officials never criticized him for this. He said he had participated in some public discussions on integration but had received nothing more than the usual amount of criticism for that.

What happened to Abernethy and Greenberg is now water under the bridge. They have been sacrificed on the altar of intolerance and bigotry. They both will go on to bigger positions in other States where governments have not been so contaminated with corruption and fascism.

They can wash their hands of Texas politics—but what about those of us who must remain? Texas Tech is our college. Our students will continue to be enrolled there. Must they be educated in an environment of thought control dictated by enemies of democracy?

What crime did Drs. Abernethy and Greenberg commit?

Dr. Greenberg merely found himself in line with the United States Constitution and the United States Supreme Court, not to mention the Bible and all major religious denominations who believe that in America all men are guaranteed equality of opportunity and that no man in America shall be discriminated against because of his race, color, or creed.

So he was fired.

Dr. Abernethy went on record as opposing the vile dishonesty which characterized the State convention of Texas Democrats last September in Fort Worth. He stood for honesty, fairness, and integrity. He opposed thievery, lying, and dishonesty.

Dr. Abernethy, being a good Democrat, believes in the principles of the Democratic Party, so he accepted the invitation of those Democrats of Texas who met in Austin this spring to form an auxiliary through which they could work for the Democrats of the United States. Since the State organization, conceived in corruption and born of dishonor last September in Fort Worth, can't make up its mind whether it is a Democrat or a Republican, since its leaders supported the Republicans in 1952 and did little more than remain neutral in 1956, conscientious Democrats of Texas wanted an organization which they could depend upon to get out and work for the election of Democratic candidates in 1958 and 1960.

And so for these "crimes" Dr. Abernethy was fired.

On the other hand, a Texas Tech professor could have worked militantly for the Shivers organization which was tainted with the veterans land scandals, the printing contracts scandal, the insurance scandal, the Rio Grande Valley land scandals, and all the other scandals of the past 8 years and have found himself in perfectly good standing with the Tech governing board.

For supporting corruption and dishonesty, he perhaps would have been promoted.

What is the situation which confronts those of us who are interested in the future of Texas Tech and other institutions of higher learning?

We have witnessed a situation in which one or possibly two appointees of an extreme rightist governor have been able to creep into an educational board and outlaw a fundamental right of college teachers, their freedom of thought and speech. We've seen illustrated the fact that if a regent has the authority to fire a Democrat from the faculty of a State college, and get by with it, then he can also fire a man for being a Baptist, a Catholic, or perhaps for being an Eastern Star. The principle is all the same.

The Tech incident brings to mind what happened at a meeting of the University of Texas regents after a governor of Haley's philosophy had had an opportunity to appoint some of his men to the board.

At the meeting, President Homer P. Rainey was handed a list of faculty members and told, "We want these men fired."

When President Rainey asked for a reason, he was given none.

What can be done to save our educational system from such a damnable philosophy?

The only person with the power to act is the Governor of Texas. He could and should call for an investigation of those who would prostitute our institutions of higher learning. But we can expect nothing from the present State administration.

Texas Democrats are now paying the piper for their irresponsibility in permitting these persons lacking in integrity to get a strangle hold on our State government.

Because there was a Shivers in the Governor's chair, there is now a Haley on the board of regents at Texas Tech. He who voted for Shivers indirectly voted for Haley.

Until the Democrats of Texas awaken and kick out these fanatics, crackpots and enemies of the democratic way of life, we can expect more and more incidents such as happened Saturday at Lubbock.

SECRETIVE TECH REGENTS STRIKE BLOW AT FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN WAY

(By Ross Short)

A cloud of resentment boiled Sunday among members of the Texas Tech faculty following Saturday's decision by the college's board of directors to oust two professors and abolish the department headed by another.

"I still haven't been advised of any reason why I have been eliminated," commented Dr. Byron Abernethy, one of the ousted professors. "I'm still a little too shocked to make plans one way or another in action to protest the move." Abernethy, professor in Tech's government department, has been with the college since 1941.

"Phone calls and visitors have barraged my home today," stated Dr. Herbert Marvin Greenberg, assistant professor of psychology, also ousted by the directors. "Most of the calls expressed surprise, shock, and indignation."

Members of Tech's psychology department met on the campus Sunday afternoon, reportedly for the purpose of a general discussion of the firing of the professors and the effects the action could have on Tech as well as on the department.

Professors attending the meeting refused to say whether any definite plan of action regarding the professors had been mapped.

Dr. J. William Davis, head of the government department, emphatically denied that either he or the department had anything to do with the firing of the two teachers.

"I think that Abernethy is one of the finest instructors I know of. He is a very capable man and has gained national recognition as such in wide circles of his association," Davis stated.

Other Tech professors, noted among students for being vocal on a wide variety of subjects, were tight-lipped in commenting on the surprise action by the board.

A cross section of teachers contacted by the Avalanche not only refused comment on the board action, but preferred that their names not be used in connection with the story.

The general feeling among faculty members was that the action would hurt Tech, both from the standpoint of faculty morale and future hiring of teachers.

"Everybody on the faculty will feel insecure," said Dr. Davis. "This is the darkest day that I know of in Tech's history.

"It (the board's action) is boiling down to a pretty bad morale situation among faculty members," said Dr. Sterling Fuller, professor of government and head of the faculty advisory group. "Those who have contacted me have felt that the firing of the professors is infringing on their freedom of speech."

Several students began talking of a petition in protest of the ousters.

Dr. Davis said he believes the action of the board originated entirely among the members of the group, stating that he knew of "no other place it could have come from."

Asked about his views in connection with his ouster, Dr. Abernethy declined to comment.

"I have no way of knowing the reasons until I am told, so I will withhold any statement until such a time," he stated.

Dr. Greenberg, allegedly ousted for his prointegration views, said:

"I haven't made an integration speech in more than 8 months. The only work I have done at Tech that pertains to racial issues is a study by two classes on the question of student views on integration. These studies are only 2 of 15 research projects which are published under my name."

Greenberg declared that his studies were completely objective, and a person with opposite views would have netted the same result after a similar piece of research.

Said Dr. E. N. Jones, "This is a very serious matter and the possibility of adverse effects may face Texas Tech."

College officials and another board member disputed board member J. Evetts Haley's version that the action was taken on the basis of the professors' "academic standards."

A general meeting of the Tech faculty to initiate such action as may seem appropriate was called for Tuesday afternoon.

Dr. Jones, Tech president, said he had registered a vigorous protest at the taking of the action in secret session and announced that a majority of the board has agreed not to hold such sessions in the future at the request of a single member.

The faculty advisory committee blasted the ousting of Dr. Abernethy and Dr. Greenberg without allowing them a hearing as a denial of basic American principles of justice.

Haley had no comment in Fort Worth when asked if the two were fired because of their political views. He said the dismissals came because the two didn't come up to required high intellectual and academic standards.

Board member Douglas Orme countered in Big Spring that, "I wouldn't say that was my position."

Superiors of the two professors at the college added that they were tops academically and had, indeed, been recommended by the administration not only for rehiring but for substantial pay increases.

Dr. Jones said that he "definitely" disagreed with Haley's statement.

Abernethy himself said the dismissal, "threatens the security and intellectual independence of every educator in the State of Texas."

American Foreign Policy and Our Relations With Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Selling America Short," published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of July 12, 1957, dealing with the subject of our policy, as concerns our relations with Russia.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELLING AMERICA SHORT

Our pet peeves these days are Americans who say they hope Russia under Khrushchev resumes a bristling, uncompromising foreign policy line because otherwise we might let down our guard.

They are philosophical cousins to those who say they hope Russia rejects all our disarmament proposals because we are certain to be outsmarted by Moscow in any arms limitation agreement.

They are also kinfolk of sorts to those who say we really cannot afford disarmament or an end to the cold war because our economy could not sustain the shock of a major cutback in defense spending.

We cannot help wondering if these Americans have ever thought through the implications of their opinions.

Do they really mean that Americans in general are so naive as to be influenced greatly by any superficial Soviet peace offensive?

Do they mean that our country can develop a realistic foreign policy only in the face of the threat provided by a belligerent, intransigent Soviet Union?

Do they believe our leaders are so stupid, so bankrupt in commonsense, that they would fail to read the fine print in any disarmament proposals advanced by the Kremlin?

Finally, do they have so little confidence in the flexibility and adaptability of America's economic system that they believe it must forever be propped up by huge military expenditures or go to smash?

We intend no disrespect here, but we cannot escape noticing that in some ways these gloomy opinions resemble the propaganda line of international communism.

It is the Reds who have insisted for years that the United States has a deeply vested political and economic stake in perpetuation of the cold war on its old, uncompromising terms.

It is they who contend that our economy requires war or cold war to feed upon; that it would collapse with the advent of genuine peace.

Well, we emphatically reject both the Moscow line and that of the American gloom and doom prophets.

We concede that if Moscow should resume a determined peace offensive it would pose new problems in tactics and strategy for our side. Our policies would need more imagination, more flexibility.

We would welcome this different kind of Moscow challenge and we insist that anyone who would run away from it is selling America far too short.

The Bridge of Trade Between the East and West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was exceedingly interested to read the text of a fine address which had been delivered by Mr. Eugene Holman, chairman of the board of directors of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, on the occasion of the banquet given at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel for Japanese Prime Minister Kishi at the time of the latter's visit to our country.

Mr. Holman pointed out significant examples of economic development in frec Asia. He emphasized the importance of still further expanding the availability of energy, which is crucial, of course, for commerce, industry, and agriculture.

He rightly praised Japanese-American relations. Then, he mentioned the prerequisites to further improvement in such economic relations with ourselves and any other people.

He pointed out that, if a foreign country is to attract private corporate investments—which belong, in effect, to vast numbers of American stockholders—then the foreign country must establish favorable conditions which will attract and retain foreign capital. There must be complete respect for the integrity, the inviolability, of the foreign investment. There must always be an overall proper climate for it, and for reinvestment, the plowing back of earnings.

And, as Mr. Holman says, too, "An investment is good only if it is mutually beneficial to the investor and the people of the host country."

I commend this address for reading by our foreign friends.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRIDGE OF TRADE BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST, A SPEECH BY EUGENE HOLMAN, BEFORE THE JAPAN SOCIETY, WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

Our meeting here tonight is a very pleasant occasion, but not just that alone. It is, I believe, also a very significant occasion. You, Mr. Prime Minister, have come seeking ways to better the relationships between your part of the world and ours. That is an aim which we, in our part of the world, also greatly desire. This is so because we, like you, know that a growing relationship between the East and the West will work to our mutual benefit.

Can it also be, Mr. Prime Minister, that you are here to help bring to the west coast, and thus closer to your shores, that great ball club, the Dodgers, so your Yomiuri Giants will have easier access to a repeat victory? If this is one of the national aspirations you hope to achieve while visiting us, it is one in which I will take no part. Our common interest in baseball may form a tie of lasting friendship which I shall not risk by partisan feeling or wager. I only hope we may see a few games together, whether they be in Brooklyn, Los Angeles, or Tokyo.

I understand that at the beginning of your visit to the United States, you discussed political means of reaching your main goal of closer relationship. The political area is a vital one, of course. Tonight, however, you are in a city which is a symbol of commerce and industry. So what I should like to talk about here are the relationships helpful to trade and and its benefits to both of us.

Commerce formed the first bond between the East and the West. Western explorers, with trade in mind, first disclosed to our eyes the magnificent civilizations of the East. A hundred years ago, Commodore Perry brought us in touch with the ancient culture and crafts of Japan. We have learned in that 100 years to appreciate your ancient heritage of culture. Differing from ours in many respects, it has contributed to the betterment of civilization. We appreciate your art in its many brilliant forms. We realize that the Japanese people have one of the highest literacy rates in the world and great capacity for education in the sciences and technology. We have witnessed your self-sacrifice. We are aware of your democratic and stable government. We recognize in

you a great potential for bringing the East to a modern, workable arrangement with the West.

Japan, like all great nations, has needs and hopes, as well as cultural and material assets. Probably your greatest present need is to improve your world trade position and further develop your already industrialized economy. In the century just past, the United States and Japan have experienced successes as well as some disappointments in our commercial dealings. I believe we are now in a period of progress. Certainly, the record of the last 10 years of Japanese-United States relations has been marked by increasing understanding, firmly based on treaties, friendliness, and the achievement of mutual gain.

Now our common desire is to achieve even better relationships, not alone between ourselves but between all Asia and the many countries of the Western World. We seek this in the knowledge that the technology and investment capital of the West can enhance our trade relationships to our mutual economic gain. This, in my opinion, is the key to world peace.

All over free Asia today we see examples of economic development necessary for the fulfillment of human desires. For instance:

In Burma there is underway an ambitious electric power program;

In Cambodia increasing rubber and rice production, and the building of a modern port to give the nation free access to the sea;

In India fertilizer, aircraft and machine tool plants are rising, along with the great Bhakra Dam which will irrigate Punjab and provide needed electric power;

In Thailand the Chainat Dam will eventually irrigate two and a quarter million acres;

In Indonesia there are plans for a large-scale irrigation program, increased oil production and manufacture of chemical fertilizers; and

In the Philippines modern plants are being constructed and the search for oil stepped up.

The advances made by Japan are, of course, familiar to you. But we in the West are particularly impressed by the booming output of your industrial plant, by your world leadership in shipbuilding, by the growth in your motor vehicle production and your plans for modernization of the Japanese highway system. Significant, too, are the steps you are taking to generate electricity with atomic fuel.

The availability of energy, of course, is the key to expanding commerce, industry, and agriculture. Free Asia today accounts for but 8 percent of the free world's total energy consumption. Yet the area's use of energy is moving steadily ahead. An upward trend can be expected to continue. In this picture of increasing energy consumption, all energy sources have their place. Oil, for example, now makes up 32 percent of the total. Its consumption is expected to grow until it will account for 40 percent of all the energy used in free Asia 10 years from now.

The stress I place upon energy is not due alone to the fact that the company for which I work is a supplier of this vital element. It is, rather, that there is a close relationship between a nation's energy consumption and its standard of living. Increasing supplies of energy will make possible more commercial, industrial, and agricultural activity in free Asia. Such expansion, in turn, will bring the peoples of the Asian countries a larger measure of the comforts and the opportunities they desire.

Americans can appreciate the situation in free Asia today. When the United States was a new country, it also lacked the capital needed for economic development. Capital, a term I use to include technical skills and managerial talent as well as financial resources, is what moves and organizes human and natural resources for the benefit of people. In the case of the United States, the capital we needed came from the more mature economies of Europe. American railroads were built and manufacturing industries established by investments from England, the Netherlands, France, and other capital-exporting countries.

Today many of the nations of free Asia stand on the threshold of modern economic development. They, too, as did the United States, require the investment of skills and money which will enlarge their production of food; develop local sources of energy; build roads, factories, and homes; and bring the output of Asian lands into the busy markets of the world.

Whether Western capital will flow in adequate amounts to free Asia, in preference to the many other areas which are bidding for its benefits, remains to be seen. The flow of capital depends, above all, upon an understanding of the realities of what attracts investment.

It is encouraging to know that these realities of investment are well recognized in Japan. I would, however, like to give you two particular assurances in this connection.

My first assurance is that the people of the area where capital is to be put to work should understand that no political control is intended or implied by the investment. Businessmen do not believe in interference in the political affairs of the nations in which they are guests. The sort of control that the investor does desire is to retain management of his investment. Such control is to the benefit of the host country. For the techniques of management brought into a country by an investment, which go to work there and can be studied and adapted by local citizens, are often the most beneficial part of the investment. Certainly such management control is guaranteed in the United States to foreign investors, any of whom can freely do business here. All we ask is the same treatment.

My second assurance is that an investor is not an exploiter. The modern enlightened political concepts of the free world make economic imperialism impossible. An investment is good only if it is mutually beneficial to the investor and the people of the host country. When the proper climate exists for capital investment, many benefits come to countries where investments are made. While the investor expects a return on the investment, the additional capital generated is plowed back into the host country to underwrite the continuation of industrial development. As a concrete example of this point, I might mention that Jersey Standard's affiliate which operates in free Asia expects, in the 10-year period 1950–60, to invest about $200 million more than it anticipates earning in that same period of time. Similar circumstances are accepted by the many United States investors who at the present time have $33 billion at work in countries outside the United States.

Moreover, the results of such investments cannot fully be measured in straight financial terms. Particularly with investments made to develop energy sources, the many extra benefits include savings in foreign exchange, sources of inexpensive energy for domestic use and profitable export, tax revenue from many sources, and the kind of economic stimulation which encourages local industries to grow.

It is of great significance, further, to realize exactly what is represented by a western investment in free Asia. The capital put to work by the West is usually owned by great numbers of its citizens. Each investment represents a broad base of ownership. Each is established as an act of commercial faith by many western owners. The 9 tank ships now building in Japanese yards for Jersey affiliates, for example, have each been made possible by the savings and the hopes of more than 400,000 individual owners of our company. This number represents about half the population of the city of Kobe, where one of the ships is taking shape. If you were to add up the numbers of owners represented by the many other western investments in free Asia, you would find that literally millions of people are involved in the important job of helping to provide economic stimulation there.

Japan, one of the world's great traders, has learned at first hand the economic facts which I have mentioned. It is because of this that I believe Japan now has a unique opportunity to advance the closer meeting of the East and the West.

Affiliates of our company have been in business in Japan since the 1890's. We have confidence in your future. We have that knowing your future will be based upon widely diversified markets and increasing production of high-quality goods made possible by your ample supply of skilled labor. But most important to my mind, we see Japan today as an example of the blending of many good qualities of the East and West. As such, your nation stands as a bridge over which can pass, in both directions, the trade and ideas needed to bring the two parts of the world closer together. Between the raw materials and resources of free Asia and the techniques and capital of the West lie the trading knowledge and the manufacturing facilities of Japan. All of these elements working together are needed for expanding commerce and industry. Japan is a vital part of the working-together process, representing what we in the oil business call a catalyst—that is something which promotes beneficial reactions.

Let me say that American investors hope you will continue your useful, catalytic function. The wider trade you seek will be of ultimate benefit to the world. Trade is one of the main channels of human understanding and there is much need of that in the world today. We are hopeful, too, that your neighbors in free Asia may continue to see in Japan an example of what wise capital investment can accomplish. Let us hope, moreover, that they will realize that capital can accomplish this only in lands where agreements are respected and good will is the rule of conduct between the host and the guest.

Finally, I should like to mention an Eastern characteristic which impressed me deeply in my Asian travels. I believe it can be one of the most effective contributions to our joint endeavors. I speak of the quality of patience. Economic achievement is not reached overnight. With your wisdom in this respect, you can see through the false promises of those who offer economic progress as an immediate gift. You will understand the need to follow the path of economic evolution. You can see, with us, how the road of economic evolution is strewn with the wrecks of many national hopes.

Mr. Prime Minister, we welcome you to our country. We see a common ground and a mutual benefit in the improvement of trade relationships. I have spoken frankly about the need for understanding of our western way of doing business in order that the East may have the benefit of our capital for industrial development. I know you realize I have done so in the desire to help reach a common goal.

We look to you now in the hope you will form that bridge between a free East and a free West by which your freedom and ours, and the peace and prosperity of the world, can be insured.

The Case of William S. Girard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Girard Case Footnotes," published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of July 13, 1957, dealing with the case of William S. Girard.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GIRARD CASE FOOTNOTES

It is unfortunate that this country's status-of-forces agreement with Japan had to be tested with fanfare in our highest Court by the cloudy case of William S. Girard.

And we cannot escape the conclusion that our Government stumbled at several steps in its handling of the case. At times the Government's chief argument seemed to be that Girard must be turned over for Japanese trial because any other course would endanger our relations with Japan.

This is undoubtedly true but it should always have been beside the point. The Girard decision had to be a matter of law, not one of national prestige. Girard could not be delivered to Japan simply to advance the cause of United States foreign policy.

On the basis of law, the Supreme Court by an impressive 8 to 0 decision has now upheld the Government. It ruled that the Defense Department did not violate the Constitution when it decided to let Japan try Girard for manslaughter in the death of a Japanese woman.

But the cloudy aspect of the case and the Government's awkward behavior have helped arouse a strong reaction against the whole status-of-forces system, and not only from isolationists and Bricker amendment backers. Hotheads in Congress are threatening hasty legislation that at best would jeopardize relations with allies we need and at worst would bring our troops home from overseas bases essential to our security.

We trust calmer counsel will eventually prevail on Capitol Hill.

Actually, on the basis of the wording of the Status of Forces Treaty, we do not see how the Supreme Court could have decided otherwise.

And a second fact which should eventually calm the troubled waters is that our agreements with other countries for administration of justice for our forces stationed overseas are working well and with general leniency by host governments for Americans in trouble.

From the date our agreement with Japan became effective, October 29, 1953, through the year 1956, there were 9,712 alleged offenses by United States servicemen against Japanese nationals. Japan waived jurisdiction in all but 329 of these.

Of the first 265 cases tried by the Japanese, only 57 resulted in prison sentences, the longest of which was 15 years for murder.

The United States Army's judge advocate general's office in Tokyo has said that in many cases the penalties assessed against GI's by Japanese courts have been substantially less than the prisoners would have received from American courts.

"One of the murders committed here by an American serviceman was so brutal and so obviously premeditated that I would think a court-martial would have given him a life sentence, if it hadn't condemned him to death," an official of this office told the New York Times. "He was sentenced to only 15 years and is eligible for parole in 5."

The Japanese pattern prevails elsewhere. Last year, host governments turned back 9,614 cases out of a total of 14,394 GI offenses subject to their jurisdiction. Time magazine says that of 4,437 Americans tried in foreign courts over a year's period, only 108 were imprisoned, 275 were acquitted, 3,876 got minor fines and reprimands, and 178 drew sentences which were promptly suspended.

Statistics such as these tell the real story of the status-of-forces agreeements. They should give assurances of a fair trial for William S. Girard. But far more important, they should warn against any reckless attempts to overhaul drastically a system that has functioned so well; a system intimately tied up to American security.

Senator Russell's Name Leads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, all of the citizens of Georgia are outspokenly proud of their distinguished senior Senator [Mr. RUSSELL], and the noble fight he is making for the preservation of constitutional government and individual liberty in this Nation. Typical of the statements of admiration and gratitude which are being heard throughout Georgia is the editorial entitled "RUSSELL'S Name Leads," which appeared in the July 27, 1957, issue of the Savannah, Ga., Morning News. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSELL'S NAME LEADS

Through all the debate in the United States Senate on the so-called civil rights bill there has been one name which has led all the rest. That name is RICHARD B. RUSSELL, that of the senior Senator from the sovereign State of Georgia. As leader of the opposition to this noxious bill which the South's enemies all but succeeded in ramming down our throats, Senator RUSSELL has proven himself one of the best parliamentary generals ever to wage a campaign on the Senate floor.

It has also largely been RUSSELL'S work and research which have been chiefly responsible for unmasking this insidious measure. He has, in effect, been the alert detective who found the time bomb in the innocent-looking suitcase. In exposing it he has gone a long way toward rendering it harmless. Soon, it is to be fervently hoped, the fuse will have been drawn and the high explosives of racial hate, dissension, and disregard of constitutional guaranties rendered completely harmless.

With consummate skill the Georgia Senator has master-minded a campaign against this hate-inspired bill which has repeatedly brought praise even from the bitterest of his political foes. His logic has been good, his timing has been almost perfect and his individual debate has been masterly. Such things do not come by accident.

The South owes a great debt to Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia. Not only in this particular piece of legislation but in practically everything with southern interests he has proven himself an unflinching champion of the region that gave him birth. Convincing in debate, highly skilled in parliamentary procedures and unrelenting in his efforts to dig out the real facts underlying congressional action and maneuvering he has proven a tower of strength to southern causes. At the same time that he has given so fully of his time and talents to defending the South he has also emerged as a national figure of no mean prominence. His wise counsel is listened to on national and international affairs as well as regional ones.

His long service to his State and Nation have brought a great deal of prominence and acclaim to DICK RUSSELL. But through it all he remains the same unassuming and pleasant personality going out of his way to please, and listening as patiently to the plaintive woes of his humblest constituent as to the thunder from the temples of the mighty.

The University of the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, this year the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., celebrates the centennial of its founding. It is a unique institution in many ways. It has a fascinating history and an outstanding concept of education behind its 100 years of service to the State of Tennessee and to the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article condensed from a series on this historical university, originally written by Louise Davis, and published in the Nashville Tennessean Magazine.

There being no object, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH

The builders of the University of the South were men of vision. They saw in the school that they had constructed atop a 2,000-foot mountain a center of learning to rival Harvard and Yale. They sought more than a college, they saw in Sewanee an American Oxford which would be a focus of cultural activity for the Southern States. But they never wanted to lose their concept of the importance of the individual. Thus, from the first, they never wavered in their purpose to furnish the truest men.

On July 4, 1857, the first meeting of the university's trustees was held atop that mountain. Bishop James H. Otey spoke of the plans for the Oxfordian school. He called it "the greatest center of learning in the South."

Of the threatening War Between the States, he said, "We contemplate no strife, save a generous rivalry with our brethren, as to who shall furnish to this great Republic the truest men, the truest Christians, and the truest patriots."

Great hope was mixed in the mortar that fastened the Tennessee marble cornerstone that fall of 1860. But 4 years later the fury and bitterness of the Civil War had blown to bits the beautiful 6-ton stone. Every trace of the university was destroyed; every building was leveled, even Sewanee's first

permanent hall, modeled on massive lines not unlike that of the Capitol at Washington.

There was nothing but ashes left on the 10,000-acre tract when the war ended. The southern dioceses of the Episcopal Church that had pledged the rich endowment of the university were bankrupt. The money promised 10 years before belonged to men who lay dead on the battlefields. If classwork were not in progress by 1869, the university's land would revert to its original owners. Conceived in southern prosperity, the university now existed on worthless paper.

Despite these nearly insurmountable obstacles, Bishop Charles Todd Quintard undertook the task of renewing the university's dream. With his unceasing enthusiasm he won the churches of the North and the Church of England as well to his cause. Through his efforts, generous gifts of money, supplies, and books enabled the school to make its deadline. When 9 students enrolled for the first session in the fall of 1868, the University of the South became a reality.

It became the only university entirely owned and operated by the Episcopal Church in America, and it is one of the few church-owned colleges in the country that has escaped the rebellion against church control during the last 50 years. But it was never required that faculty members or students belong to the Episcopal Church.

The little island of learning high on the mountaintop grew and prospered, free from the distractions of town and city life. From the first it was peopled by a close-knit group of idealists who never lost sight of the need for molding the truest men. Even today, the faculty of 60 averages less than 10 students to the class, so that each man may get the benefit of individual contact and assistance. No question is discouraged, no point of view declared undebatable, no idea made incapable of being challenged. It is part of Sewanee's program of encouraging new and complete understanding of each problem.

The vice chancellor of the university, Dr. Edward McCrady, expressed this view: "It would be a great tragedy if it were no longer possible for anybody to get a homemade, personalized education anywhere. The most effective teaching is in a two-way, personal encounter." It is this personal experience that remains the hallmark of Sewanee teaching and campus life.

Thus the ideal of individuality is given prime emphasis. The feeling of being one of a compact and single-minded community is emphasized both in the classroom and in outside activities. The unique honor system, in force since 1870, has gained the respect and pride of every generation of students. They feel, to a man, that they become more responsible students and thus citizens when their own integrity is exposed to the faith of their instructors and their fellows.

The students of the University of the South have become accustomed to the honors gleaned by the 340 graduates of their seminary who have become bishops. They are accustomed to the influence that editors, writers, college presidents, and business tycoons graduate from the university have on world affairs.

In the brief period when Sewanee had a medical school it turned out graduates like Dr. Cary Grayson, personal physician to Woodrow Wilson, and Maj. Gen. William C. Gorgas, conquerer of yellow fever at Panama.

In the brief years that Sewanee had a law school, it turned out distinguished lawyers, judges, professors of law. But the students who receive their bachelor's degree in arts and sciences are so intent on graduate work in other institutions that only 10 of this year's seniors are interested in getting jobs.

Out of the constant exchange of ideas comes something so sound, so creative, that Sewanee graduates with more scholastic honors than any other university its size. In a survey by the Chicago Tribune a few weeks ago, Sewanee was ranked eighth in the Nation in scholastic attainment, outranking Dartmouth, Washington and Lee, and scores of universities many times its size.

Sewanee's graduates have won more Rhodes scholarships than any other college its size, and have captured so many honors in the scholastic world that in every reputable rating it is ranked in the top 1 percent in the Nation. "Some schools have got to remain small to provide the best opportunity," says Vice Chancellor McGrady. "Every survey has put us No. 1 in the South, in the top 1 percent of the Nation. We are a quality institution. I don't believe we can do that kind of work if we get much bigger."

But not yet has the university attained the splendor envisioned by its founders more than a century ago. As one professor put it, "Sewanee is not yet at the top of the top 1 percent," and no less a grasp on the wisdom of the ages will furnish the truest men.

In this centennial year of the birth of a great institution, we may express the hope that the magnificient institution that is the University of the South will soon attain its dream of being at the top of the top, and that it will continue to provide the truest men through its matchless system of effective and intelligent personal teaching.

Crude Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Boston Herald on July 29, 1957.

I was deeply disturbed at the announcement on Monday that the President had directed a 10 percent reduction in crude oil imports. I, like many of my colleagues, am fearful that this restriction will impose shortages and higher prices on consumers of petroleum products, both industrial and domestic. Such an effect would be disastrous to users in New England, and could not be tolerated in connection with this vital commodity.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOO MUCH OIL?

Congressional spokesmen for the domestic oil industry are again yammering for restrictions on crude oil imports.

Six months ago the United States oil industry was riding high. The closing of the Suez Canal had created a world shortage of oil, and production here had been stepped up to meet the demand. But today the situation is reversed. Mid East oil is flowing again, and American producers are not only being pushed out of the European market but also out of their markets at home. Crude oil imports (mostly from South America) reached a new high in June, and domestic production has had to be cut back again.

This has naturally caused great concern among so-called independent producers who have no stake in foreign oil. Tremendous pressure is being brought to bear on the national Government to bail them out.

The local producers deserve sympathy in their predicament, but the Government should consider long and carefully before acceding to their pleas for a quota or tariff on crude imports. Such a move would, of course, solve their problem, but it would do so at the expense of consumers throughout the United States, who would be compelled to pay a higher price for oil. It would also alienate the friendly nations that now export to us. And it would grossly discriminate against American companies that have invested in the discovery and development of overseas oil reserves.

The President now has a special Cabinet Committee studying the matter as a result of a finding of the office of Defense Mobilization that excessive oil imports were jeopardizing national security. Its delay in reporting is doubtless an indication of the many complications involved.

The defense argument is particularly puzzling. The local oil people argue that protection should be granted in order to encourage the search for new oil reserves and keep the industry strong in case of war. But what of the search for reserves outside the United States (which under present conditions is much more promising)? Is that to be discouraged? And just how does it help America's defensive position to use up dwindling oil reserves in times of peace?

If the independent producers can't compete in the open market and if it is determined that they must be bailed out, then help should be given in the form of a direct subsidy, not through some indirect aid which does more harm to others than good to the oil men.

Under the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of 1955 the President undoubtedly has the power to apply either quota or tariff relief. But he is not obliged to do so. And he should not, if he can find any other solution to the problem of too much—and too cheap—oil.

Americans Enjoy Increasing Health, but Still More Can Be Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the American people are enjoying ever-improved health.

THINKING—KEY TO GOOD HEALTH

It is my own deep spiritual belief that we were all meant to have abundant health.

It is my own belief that the words of the Good Book hold the key to a man's well-being:

As a man thinketh in heart, so is he.

More and more, we are coming to understand the operation of the spiritual laws which govern so much of what we had formerly believed were merely so-called physical problems of health.

In my judgment, however, in the years up ahead, we will learn still more of how to master our own thinking, so that we enjoy the radiant health which we were meant to have.

I was interested to note in an issue not so long ago of the Wisconsin Agri-

culturist and Farmer a fine article concerning the numerous reasons for ever improved health enjoyed by the people of my State.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WISCONSIN FOLKS HEALTHIER

The health picture in Wisconsin last year had many bright spots, but there are still some improvements to be made in the overall health field.

Looking at the bright side first, we can list several things which have accounted for better health of Wisconsin residents. Included are:

1. More mothers are living through childbirth than ever before.

2. The lives of our babies are safer. Immunization against diseases, including polio, gives them a better chance to survive.

FLUORIDATION CUTS TOOTH DECAY

3. Fluoridation of public water supplies is definitely helping to protect teeth against decay.

4. Better understanding of food needs helps us to get our children off to the right start toward a healthy life.

5. More of us are living longer. Ten percent of Wisconsin residents were over 65 years old in 1956.

6. Early diagnosis and treatment provides hopeful answers for the problems of cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis and diabetes. Tuberculosis, especially, if discovered early can be kept in check. Only a few years ago it was a leading cause of death.

7. Stepped-up research is finding many ways to prevent and cure diseases.

8. Most of us, young and old, have a safer living than ever before because of such things as improved housing and safe drinking water.

But some dark spots still remain in the health picture.

HEALTH OF OLDER PEOPLE A PROBLEM

Because we are living longer doesn't mean we are fully enjoying those years in good health. In too many instances older people suffer from long-term illnesses.

The problem of our older citizens is becoming more important as the age span increases. Much work needs to be done in this field. We must see that the aged not only remain in good health but also have the necessary activities to occupy their time.

And a great many ailments are not found early enough for successful treatment. Regular physical examinations will help detect any such ailments early.

Accidents both on the highway and in the home claim many lives and are responsible for a large number of injuries every day.

Unfortunately 35 percent of the people in our State don't have the services of a full-time local health department available to them.

We must work to overcome these dark spots.

Dixie Views on Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on Monday, July 15, there appeared on the editorial page of the Valley Times, of Hollywood, Calif., an article entitled "Dixie Views on Civil Rights." The article was written by Mr. George Todt. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hollywood Valley Times (Calif.) of July 15, 1957]

DIXIE VIEWS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(By George Todt)

"To pity distress is but human; to relieve it is Godlike"—Horace Mann, Lectures on Education.

Is it true what they say about Dixie? That southerners fail to appreciate the benefit of enlightened compulsory brotherhood? That they refuse to endorse wholeheartedly the surprising social legislation of a Supreme Court which relied upon Socialist and Communist Front authorities in its controversial Brown versus Education integration decision in 1954? Or that the South objects to the new social order backed up by Federal bayonets?

It is quite true. And the Senators from below the Mason-Dixon line are in it for a real fight on this proposed civil-rights legislation. Could be that this is the congressional battle of the century.

Some of the best men in the Senate are to be found on each side. The bill has been championed in the opening stages by California's great Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, and also Vice President RICHARD NIXON, an able ex-Senator, who presides over the upper Chamber. Both men are topnotch Republicans, each a possible presidential candidate in 1960. Arrayed against them is another very fine man, a Democratic champion of his section, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia. He is chairman of the Armed Services Committee and one of the most respected and sincere legislators in the Nation's history. How do you pick between men like these?

The answer, you can't. The issue will have to be settled, if it is to be settled fairly, upon its merits alone—and without recourse to political favoritism, emotionalism, or hysteria. And we must forever bear in mind that two wrongs never add up to a single right.

What is right in this instance? Who is at fault here? In which direction lies the correct solution? These are questions we must ask ourselves with soul-searching analysis. The first thing we ought to do is cast aside preconceived notions.

To read many newspapers, especially those which emanate out of New York City, one might be pardoned for thinking that the southern people were totally at fault—all of them intolerant, bigoted, and reactionary in the darkest meaning of the term. Actually, nothing could be farther from the truth. I lived in Texas, Mississippi, and Virginia as a student and soldier for several years. My opinion of these fine people was formed from first-hand acquaintance. In my book it would be hard to surpass them anywhere when it comes to patriotic devotion to American ideals and principles. And during my 3 years in the South I never saw a single incident of rudeness or violence between whites and blacks.

On the contrary, I witnessed everywhere I went nothing except respect and affection displayed between the races. And it came from the heart, too. Every southern family I knew had its history and traditions filled with loving care and associations with members of the Negro people. Certainly the latter prized the affectionate regard in which they were held by white southerners. I felt that tremendous strides had been made on a voluntary basis between the two races—so much so that it surprised me. For I had heard the most vicious propaganda against the South before I went there and saw for myself.

I quickly learned there was a huge gulf between fact and fiction. Who doesn't?

The Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Knoxville Journal, a newspaper edited by the chairman of the Republican Party in Tennessee, and one of the strongest voices for Republicism in the South. I seldom find myself in agreement with the editorial policy of the Knoxville Journal, but this is indeed a thoughtful editorial on the pending civil rights bill, and I trust in the final analysis, when the Senate has completed its debate, it will prove to have been prophetic.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Knoxville Journal of July 27, 1957]

SENATE IS WELL ON WAY TO PASSAGE OF RIGHTS BILL ACCEPTABLE TO COUNTRY

The Senate in on the way to enacting a sensible civil-rights bill, as the reader knows who has been following the day-to-day debate on the question.

This week a majority of the Senate disposed of the portion of section 3 which was based on reconstruction days' powers which many thought would have enabled a national administration to enforce civil rights at bayonet point. Of course such powers would never have been used by any President, but there was no reason to have them in the bill in the first place. In addition, there was removed from the House version of the bill provisions which applied to rights other than voting, so that now the legislation can be properly referred to as a voting rights bill rather than by the broader term of civil rights.

In some parts of the country, and especially in parts of the South, there is of course objection to any legislation along the lines of that under discussion. It is difficult, though, to see how any legislation directed toward the safeguarding of the right to vote can be justifiably opposed. Under our Constitution the right of franchise certainly is the one which is on the top rung of the ladder; without it, none of the other rights of any citizen are safe because it is only through the franchise that such rights can be protected.

It appears there is only one remaining big obstacle in the way of the bill, the House-approved provision to the effect that a judge can try violators of the new law for contempt and then proceed to assign penalties without giving the defendant a jury trial. We predict that an amendment providing for jury trials will be included in the bill when finally passed, because it seems certain that otherwise this session of Congress will filibuster to a close.

Those who are supporting the House bill in its present form charge that southern juries will never convict, no matter how gross a violation of voting rights may be

committed. We disagree vigorously with that position which is in fact a reflection upon the character of all white southerners. Refutation of this kind of charge is provided from the record, as recently as this week, in the verdict brought in by an east Tennessee jury in the Clinton case. While that verdict concerned itself directly with a question of law and order, the overtones of race prejudice were strong enough to have made themselves felt if the jury had not been determined to do its sworn duty. We have confidence that other southern juries will likewise live up to their obligations under the law.

With the provision for jury trials included, it seems to us the Congress will have enacted a law which will command support and respect from a major part of the national citizenship. That is about all that any law can ever do.

It is to be devoutly hoped that the Senate will agree on a version of the civil rights law without undue delay so that Congress can get some other important and necessary legislation through the hopper before this session closes.

The Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, following is a statement of Arthur K. Lee, chairman of the board, United Cities Utilities Co., entitled "Unfair Treatment of 22 Million Natural Gas Consumers." I wish to call the attention of the Members of the Congress to this statement, because I feel it sets forth data and facts relative to the natural gas situation which is of such great importance to the citizens of our Nation at the present time:

UNFAIR TREATMENT OF 22 MILLION NATURAL GAS CONSUMERS

In 1955, I addressed several letters to all Members of Congress opposing the Harris-Fulbright bill. I believe the statements and predictions contained therein can now be considered conservative.

I now propose to prove that domestic consumers are paying much of the cost of purchasing, transporting, and distributing natural gas to industrial users. This is being accomplished by the use of a two part charge by pipelines and is forced upon many distributors in an effort to minimize their overall gas purchase cost. A detailed table of the division of the consumers' dollar between producer, pipeline, and distributor for each class of service is attached hereto.

The two part rate was invented by pipelines in the late twenties when there was little market for gas, and in fact, much was being wasted into the air for that reason. General economic conditions and especially natural gas economics have changed radically since that time. Burning of gas for boiler fuel is wasteful and should be stopped. The two part rate has outlived its usefulness and must go unless 22 million domestic—residential and commercial—consumers are willing to continue an already large and rapidly increasing subsidy to industrial users in order to compete with the use of powdered coal on a dollar-and-cents basis, which is the only basis upon which fuel is purchased for boiler and similar inferior uses.

A short explanation of the two part rate is first in order. One part supposedly covers the sale of the gas itself and is designated the "commodity" rate. The other presumably represents only the cost of the use of the line and is designated the "demand" charge. It is a monthly minimum charge determined by multiplying the maximum thousand cubic feet of gas delivered during any day of the entire year by a definite charge per thousand cubic feet set forth in the rate schedule. As the maximum use takes place during the winter months for residential and other space heating, it is the domestic—residential and commercial—customer who pays this charge. The claim is made by the pipelines that cheap summer sales are necessary in order to keep their lines operating at full capacity the year around, even though the summer gas does not pay its part of the total cost expense. My study during recent weeks convinces me this is not true, and when you analyze the figures which I submit later in this article, I believe you also will be convinced. The two part rate may have had its advantages in load building while there was an abundance of gas of little or no field value, but it must be prohibited and a straight commodity rate only substituted for three reasons:

1. To stop ever-increasing subsidization of the industrial use of gas by domestic consumers.

2. To restore industrial competition with coal and other fuels; and

3. To conserve for domestic use a large proportion of the gas now used for boiler fuel and other inferior uses.

FPC release No. 9197 G-4649 for the year ending March 1957 shows cost of gas purchased by interstate pipelines to be $0.149 (March alone $0.152) per thousand cubic feet as against an average, per Gas Facts, annual statistical publication of the American Gas Association, in 1954 of $0.101, an increase in 3 years of nearly $0.05. As 50 percent of the gas is largely purchased under old contracts for less than $0.149, it is quite evident that new contract prices, escalations and renegotiations are spiraling the average upward with increasing rapidity.

Last week FPC bowed to the demand of 4 large oil company producers for a $0.22 to $0.35 price on the ground that the gas was needed for interstate customers. The threat used by the companies was that they would start negotiation for local sale. Sale to interstate lines is the only practical market available and a price much lower than $0.22 for delivery in the Gulf of Mexico would certainly be needed to move large industry away from powdered coal territory.

It is claimed that this $0.22 to $0.35 price will not trigger costs of gas on the mainland under escalator clauses. This may be true, I don't know. But there is little doubt that if the Harris bill is passed reasonable market price on the mainland will not be less than reasonable market price several miles in the Gulf.

In recent rate increases applications by large pipelines all or nearly all the increase is to be applied to the demand charge. Despite the fact that proper division of costs by pipeline companies should include cost of gas purchased in the commodity part of any two part rate, these companies have chosen to add those and other increases in costs to the demand (residential consumer) part of the rate schedule. One application for instance, says:

"It is the considered judgment of management that the commodity charges should not be increased at this time in order that a favorable position be maintained for off-peak loads."

This practice transforms a $0.05 increase in field price to $0.15 for the one-third sold to the domestic consumer. The $0.22 purchase just approved is a $0.12 increase from the 1954 average price and the increase cost of gas for sale to domestic consumers will be roughly $0.36 per thousand cubic feet. And the figures on page 6 of my statement of October 14, 1955, showing an annual increased cost to consumers of over $800 million if field prices were raised to $0.25, are perilously near becoming a reality in much less time than I anticipated. If you will multiply present known recoverable reserves of 237,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet by $0.12, you will find inventory value of these reserves, at the prices in this contract, have increased over $28 billion.

This one contract covers a reserve estimated at as high as 6 billion thousand cubic feet of gas. Convert that to dollars at a little less than average price and you have $1,500 million. It is well known that wells drilled in the gulf cost immense sums. I understand they may average $5 million per well. Presume that 10 wells are drilled before a sufficient safe flow is reached to begin initial deliveries. Increasing deliveries should pay all additional drilling and operation costs. If an investment of $50 million or even $100 million will return $1,500 million over a term of 20 years, would you call that a fair profit or a reasonable market profit? Quite a consolation prize to draw in a search for oil, especially when the price is doubled by a poker bluff and an added 27½ percent income tax discount.

The purchaser of this gas is Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. It supplies perhaps 2 million consumers, probably over half of them in New York or New England. Over a period of years that means $750 for each and every consumer for gas under this 1 contract, and the New York and New England consumer will pay 2 or 3 times the added cost allocated to "demand" in the short distance zone, because that charge is based upon pipeline usage in proportion to distance, by zones, from the field.

The entire contract may, however, be invalidated if the Harris bill is not passed. If a two part rate is prohibited by Congress, this and other reserves will be looking for a market for many years at about half this contract price.

The FPC release referred to shows that the pipelines during the year ending March 31, 1957, sold all gas carried (including direct sales) for $0.273 per thousand cubic feet. As the purchase price averaged $0.149, the average carrying charge must have been $0.124. Before me I have the rate card of one of the largest pipelines, showing a commodity charge in a zone near the field of $0.13 per thousand cubic feet, increasing by zones to $0.243 at terminus. The "demand" charge, also increasing by zones, runs from $1.30 to $3.09. Applications for increase are now pending by this company and several others, but I think it is fair to say that during the past year, the average charge by all pipelines for commodity has been not less than $0.20 and the average demand charge not less than $2. As the pipeline is paying $0.15 for the gas and selling it to the distributor for industrial use for only the $0.20 commodity charge, it follows that it only grosses $0.05 to $0.06 per thousand cubic feet on interruptible industrial sales ($0.075 on average direct sales, which, by the way, should be brought under FPC control and caused to pay the same commodity price) as against an average gross of $0.124. The utility distributor is compelled through the increased demand charge to make up this average. He tries to sell the $0.20 gas to interruptible consumers for all they will pay, but must pass most of it along to his domestic customers.

Presuming that the proportion of gas used as between domestic consumers on the one hand and industrial on the other is roughly the same today as it was in 1955 (less than one-third to domestic customers and more than two-thirds to industrial, including di-

rect sales) my calculation indicates that during the year ending March 1957 pipelines charged only $0.05 to $0.06 per thousand cubic feet for carrying industrial gas and $0.21 to $0.22 for domestic gas. This differential will rapidly increase if pipelines are allowed to allocate future increases to residential users only, and that is the reason I state above that the new $0.12 increase will cost the domestic consumer at least $0.36.

Thus far I have discussed the country-wide average operation of the two-part rate as between domestic and industrial uses. It has an even greater impact as between large cities and integrated gas systems on the one hand and smaller nonindustrial cities on the other. The city containing large industries, plus perhaps local supply and/or storage may be able (by selling during the summer, fall, and spring cheap interruptible) to purchase the same amount each day throughout the year. It is then rated as having a 100 percent load factor. But in a large proportion of cities neither industrial sales, local supply or storage facilities are available. This results in a load factor as low as 30 percent or 40 percent in such cities. On the rate card mentioned above, I find that gas at a 40 percent load factor would cost per average thousand cubic feet, 144 percent of the cost in a 100 percent load factor town. But if the distributor can buy his gas on a 100 percent load factor basis, his overall cost would be the same as a flat commodity charge.

There are 2 ways for a large city to achieve a 100 percent load factor. The 2 companies serving Chicago and vicinity sell over 75 percent of all gas sold by utilities in Illinois. They sold in 1956 roughly 50 percent of their gas for domestic and similar uses at around $1.08 per thousand cubic feet, 16 percent to firm industrial users at around $0.60 per thousand cubic feet and the balance of 34 percent to interruptible industrials at $0.275. Their overall gas cost was thus reduced to the equivalent of a straight commodity rate. The pipeline subsidiaries of Peoples Gas, Light & Coke Co. of Chicago have applications pending to increase their rates but in order to avoid any considerable increase of cost to the industrials which would cause them to begin using coal, practically the entire increase is charged to demand. Peoples alone used last year over 120,000,000,000 cubic feet and as the field price has increased $0.05 since 1954, Chicago gas must have cost the pipelines an increase of $6 million. Peoples on July 1, 1957, was compelled, because of increased gas and labor costs, to request a rate increase of $11,480,000. If this increase is granted, $200,000 plus small automatic adjustments, will be paid by large industrial customers and over $11 million by other customers. That means interruptible industrial rates will be increased $0.0125 per thousand cubic feet and other rates an average of $0.084. The increase for small residential use, according to company announcement, will be $0.20.

New York City and vicinity achieves a 100 percent load factor purchasing power in another way. The distributors there had established distribution of artificial gas mixed with local natural gas at high prices before long line gas arrived. The 20 percent of their gas sold to industry in 1955 for superior (not interruptible) uses paid $0.78 per thousand cubic feet, and local production and storage facilities are used to achieve a 100 percent load factor. General use of gas for residential space heating is discouraged by the high prices necessary for small deliveries. The higher price of interstate gas, because of increased distance from the field, also enters into this. The domestic rate averaged $1.47 in the State of New York and as a result the average domestic customer used only about 50,000 cubic feet per annum as against 98,000 cubic feet in Illinois and 182,000 cubic feet in Ohio, where domestic gas sold for an average of $0.65. Because these conditions make it possible to purchase that portion of their gas needed from interstate lines on a 100 percent load factor basis, giving them a favored position as between distributors, officers of Brooklyn Union, Consolidated and Consolidated Edison have been active in promoting and testifying in favor of the present Harris bill.

Now let's explore the claimed gas shortage. I admit that there is a refusal of large and small producers to commit their gas to contract, because they expect pipelines by use of the two-part rate to continue to transfer all additional costs to the domestic consumer.

The annual report of the committee of American Gas Association shows reserves at December 31, 1956, as 237,000,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet, and production for the year of 10,900. This would seem to indicate that without finding additional gas we have a reserve which will last 22 years at present usage.

But this "production" item is a misnomer. It consists partly of production but chiefly withdraw from reserves. It is true that new reserves are being created in increasing quantities and that the known recoverable reserve has increased every year since figures have been compiled, but the production as used in these reports is a figure governed by the amount of gas which can be sold through pipelines and utility facilities during the year under consideration.

Here is the way it is built up:

1. Much gas is produced in oilfields. This is truly, both from discovery and oil use, a byproduct. It was formerly largely flared—that is, burned—in order to prevent its interference with the production of oil. Then it was found that it had a valuable use in the field in repressuring the oil wells, and repeated use of the same gas, cycling, became common. Not all oilfield gas is needed for this use. In 1954 oil wells produced 3,500,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet and used one thousand five hundred for repressuring. There were 700,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet wasted and lost and one thousand five hundred used in the field for drilling, pumping, etc. Part of the waste and field use took place in gas well operations, but I think it is fair to say that of the two thousand two hundred so used at least one thousand five hundred was consumed in the oilfields themselves. Thus we see that while some oilfields contributed considerably to gas production, as a whole their contribution was probably less than 7 percent of the entire marketed production of 7,090,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet that year. And I am sure that oilfield production percentages remain relatively the same today.

But this 7 percent must be disposed of. There is no storage for it and most States as a matter of conservation, will not now allow it to be wasted.

This approximately 500,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet is the first item entering into production.

2. According to the statement attached hereto, 26 percent of all interstate shipments or a little less than 2,000,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet must be purchased by pipelines for the use of 22 million domestic consumers and 500 for commercial users. That means that after using the saved gas from oil wells, 2,000 billions had to be taken from new wells or present reserves to take care of residential and commercial customers.

3. The 1955 loss and waste exceeded 2,500,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet and assuming a proportional increase in 1956, must have reached 2,800,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet. Deducting this figure from the 10,900 production of 1956, we find that marketed "production" may have reached 8,100,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet; 7,367 billion were shipped through interstate lines in the calendar year and the lines were kept full by selling around 5,000,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet to direct customers and utilities at low prices. Evidently around 600,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet were sold intrastate through other than interstate lines.

We, therefore, see that "production" as used simply means the amount of gas which can be marketed at a low figure, subsidized by higher priced sales to domestic consumers.

Sale of industrial gas is comparable to the farm subsidy; 22 million residential gas consumers are paying through distributors and pipelines a subsidy similar to that paid on farm products by the consuming public through our Government. In the case of farms it may be justified, but there is no justice for the small consumer to be forced to subsidize gas purchases for large and profitable companies. Furthermore, farm products are replaceable, while gas, abundant for many years, is irreplaceable.

A portion of the 7,500,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet of gas shipped through interstate lines is sold through utilities in the States where produced. The nearly 1,500,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet so sold for industrial purposes in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma in 1955 by utilities gross less than $0.15 per thousand cubic feet. It is probably fair to presume that the producers received less than $0.10. Around 600 billion (above) were probably sold direct at that figure or less. Where are the industrials which can afford to move to these States to consume any sizable proportion of this quantity, let alone at a price to compete with a $0.22 to $0.35 contract price.

Just what would be the effect of a one part charge? The field cost of gas last year was $0.15. The pipeline charge was $0.124 or an average of $0.274 cost to the direct and utility customer. If the distributor charge to industrial users remained at $0.05 to $0.06, a considerable part of the interruptible load would be lost and still more would be lost when the pipeline price was increased to take the place of loss from reduced load. It should however, stabilize with a loss of perhaps half the industrial and direct sales. That would mean that the entire gas sales of pipelines would be reduced to 66 percent of present sales. If one-third of quantity were lost, the pipelines could realize the same gross income by increasing their rate from $0.124 to $0.186, and would certainly make some additional saving in operating expense because of lessened volume. Add to this $0.186 the $0.149 field cost of gas and we arrive at a cost for domestic gas of $0.335 under a straight commodity rate instead of the $0.363 actually paid per that table by utilities. The gas saving would be 2,500,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet, competition would again be introduced to gas production, and in my opinion, if it were known that this would be a continuing policy, prices would recede to their 1954 level. A few days ago a Congressman stated on the floor of the House that steel is big business and should not increase its prices $6 per ton in face of present conditions. I call his attention to the fact that among the 20 largest American corporations, 10 are oil and gas companies, while only 2 are steel. But they expect a far larger proportional increase if the Harris bill becomes law.

This gas would be conserved for domestic and superior industrial use. This will be strongly objected to by the producer, because he would lose one-third of his sales. But he has contended that he wishes competition to fix his price and the elimination of the two-part rate, supplanted by a straight commodity charge, is the only way to provide real competition between fuels.

After all, why should the one-third of gas carried for superior uses subsidize in an ever-increasing spiral the two-thirds used for inferior purposes? While some railroads carry a few passengers at reduced prices, we

wouldn't allow them to carry two-thirds of their passengers at one-quarter price just because they are running their trains in that direction.

I think a reasonable, effective, and fair way to prevent the sale of gas for less than cost would be to amend the Natural Gas Act (or an amendment to the Harris bill if it is to be passed) by prohibiting the use of the two-part rate and the purchase and sale of gas by pipelines on year-around contracts and upon a commodity basis only, to both utility and direct customers, with a differential in price only as between customers on a zone basis. Continued increases in producer prices can, with only a flat commodity price existing, be made only with corresponding volume losses and for the same reason pipelines will be compelled to purchase cheaply enough and only in sufficient quantities to allow themselves to meet coal's competition.

The length of this article has seemed necessary in order to give you a reasonable understanding of the natural gas situation and the effect of the two-part rate.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR K. LEES,
Chairman, United Cities Gas Co.

Average revenue per thousand cubic feet of producers, pipelines, and distributors, year ending Mar. 31, 1957

	Billions of cubic feet	Percentage of whole	Producers' revenue	Pipeline revenue	Distributors' revenue	Consumer pays
All interstate gas	[1] 7,500	100	[1] $0.149	[1] $0.124		
Direct sales by pipelines	[1] 1,500	20	[1] .149	[1] .076		$0.225
Sales to utilities for resale	[1] 6,000	80	[1] .149	[1] .136	$0.215	.49
To residential users		26	[1] .149	.214	.487	.85
To commercial users		6	[1] .149	.214	.277	.64
To superior industrial users		10−	[1] .149	.214	.187	.55
To interruptible industrial users		38+	[1] .149	.05	.06	.259

[1] These figures are from FPC release No. 9197 G–4649.

NOTE.—Percentages of use and other figures are computed figures based upon 1955 (latest available) utility sales as shown by Gas Facts, except that allocation between superior and interruptible industrial sales are purely an estimate as no countrywide figures seem available.

The Burden of the New Secretary of the Treasury, Robert B. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on yesterday a new Secretary of the Treasury took office, in the person of Mr. Robert B. Anderson. Recently, two rather objective articles regarding Mr. Anderson's burden were published. One of them appeared in the Wall Street Journal of June 3, 1957. That article is entitled "Fiscal Mess." The other is entitled "Robert B. Anderson's Burden." It was written by J. A. Livingston, the well-known economist, and was published in the Washington Post. I ask unanimous consent that both of these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of June 3, 1957]

FISCAL MESS

Early this spring the Treasury raised its interest rate on Government savings bonds from 3 percent to 3¼ percent. Despite this, the parade of people walking up to cash in their savings bonds has hardly diminished.

Early this month the Treasury, faced with the job of refunding nearly $4.2 billion of the public debt, offered a 57-month note at 3⅝ percent. It was a flop. People who held the expiring securities preferred cash over the new Treasury notes to the tune of $1.2 billion.

And just a week ago Treasury officials gave up hope of selling the public a long-term bond to raise cash. They found the market wasn't receptive at the interest rate the Treasury was willing to pay.

In the meantime the Government's expenses have been rising and tax collections have been coming in only moderately well. The national debt is already some $5 billion more than it was 4 years ago and officials expect it to go higher before it goes lower.

Although there are plenty more such unhappy statistics, this is enough to show that when Robert Anderson takes over as Secretary of the Treasury this summer he will have his job cut out for him.

The plain, simple, and incontrovertible fact is that the Government of the United States is in a fiscal mess.

To put it bluntly, the Treasury of the richest Nation on earth is short of money. At one point this spring it had hardly enough cash to pay a week's worth of bills. And with current spending rising faster than current income, despite the balanced budget, the squeeze threatens to get worse.

The basic cause of all this is a decade of uncontrolled spending which has now brought us to the point where even the present high tax rates cannot keep the Government's pocketbook filled. But in addition, the mess has been compounded by bad fiscal policy.

To imply, as recent Treasury decisions do, that the Government of the United States cannot borrow money in the marketplace is nonsense. And dangerous nonsense at that, for it also implies that the Government's credit is deteriorating.

The reason the Treasury cannot persuade individuals to invest in savings bonds is that it offers them no real inducement to do so; its recent increase in interest rates was not tailored to the requirements of savers but to a political notion of what the Government ought to pay.

So, too, with the recent financing fiascos, the United States Government can borrow money for 57 months or for 10 years. But short of putting a gun at the public's head it cannot borrow it at a lesser interest rate than the public is willing to accept for tying up money into the long, uncertain future.

Hence the present fiscal mess is purely manmade. The Government has let its own spending get out of hand; the armament program, the foreign-aid program, and all the rest have put huge demands on the money market. Yet it is trying to escape the pains of what it has created.

If the Government clings to that fiscal policy only a miracle will keep the mess from getting worse. For if the money squeeze continues and the Government refuses to do what is necessary to borrow from the public, the only alternative will be to borrow it from the Federal Reserve System. In short, to print the money.

There is already tremendous pressure on the Reserve to pump money into the market so that the Treasury can borrow money at a politically satisfactory price. So far it has been resisted but the Reserve can be overpowered because when the day arrives that there are no dollars in the Treasury even Reserve Chairman Martin will have to yield.

We do not envy Mr. Anderson his new job. It will take a man bold and determined enough to sell a sensible fiscal policy in Washington. Or one lucky enough to head the Treasury when Uncle Sam is living so that he doesn't have to borrow beyond his means.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 6, 1957]

ROBERT B. ANDERSON'S BURDEN

(By J. A. Livingston)

George M. Humphrey may go down in the history of Republican administrations as a great Secretary of the Treasury. Certainly, President Eisenhower regards him as such. Yet, in cold statistics of Treasury finance, Humphrey will leave behind what some irreverent Wall Streeters call a financial mess.

To say that Humphrey failed as Secretary of the Treasury is too hard. A failure is a person who has the tide with him and doesn't use it. The tide was against Humphrey.

When he first took office, he made it clear that too much of the Federal debt was short-term—under 5 years. He was going to lengthen it out. He selected W. Randolph Burgess from the powerful post of chairman of the executive committee of the First National City Bank of New York for that intractable task. If any man could, Burgess—with a background as a money-market specialist, author of the noteworthy book, The Reserve Banks and the Money Market—would succeed in spacing, simplifying, and systematizing the Federal debt structure.

Here are the results:

Five years ago, in December 1952, just before President Eisenhower took office, 34.9 percent of the marketable debt owned by banks, insurance companies, and other non-Government investors was due in less than a year. Today (in February 1957), the percentage of debt due inside a year is exactly the same—34.9 percent. No improvement there.

Five years ago, 25.3 percent of the debt matured in 1 to 5 years. Today, 31.2 percent. Deterioration. More debt is coming up for early refinancing.

Five years ago, 17.2 percent of the debt matured in 5 to 10 years. Today, 12.5 percent. Again, deterioration. The proportion of longer term debt is lower—exactly contrary to original intent.

Finally, 5 years ago, 22.5 percent of the debt matured in more than 10 years. Today, 21.4 percent. A slight deterioration in the percent of long maturities.

That's Robert B. Anderson's heritage as the incoming Secretary of the Treasury. Government maturities are closing in at a time when industrial corporations, public utilities, and State and local governments are calling for money. And the money market isn't exactly overflowing with cash-laden investors.

And Treasury financing costs are up. In December 1952 Government bonds were selling to yield 2.74 percent. Today, if the Treasury had to borrow, it would have to pay about 3.5 percent for long-term money. Interest costs, over $6 billion a year 5 years ago, now run to about $7.5 billion, a 25 percent rise.

rect sales) my calculation indicates that during the year ending March 1957 pipelines charged only $0.05 to $0.06 per thousand cubic feet for carrying industrial gas and $0.21 to $0.22 for domestic gas. This differential will rapidly increase if pipelines are allowed to allocate future increases to residential users only, and that is the reason I state above that the new $0.12 increase will cost the domestic consumer at least $0.36.

Thus far I have discussed the country-wide average operation of the two-part rate as between domestic and industrial uses. It has an even greater impact as between large cities and integrated gas systems on the one hand and smaller nonindustrial cities on the other. The city containing large industries, plus perhaps local supply and/or storage may be able (by selling during the summer, fall, and spring cheap interruptible) to purchase the same amount each day throughout the year. It is then rated as having a 100 percent load factor. But in a large proportion of cities neither industrial sales, local supply or storage facilities are available. This results in a load factor as low as 30 percent or 40 percent in such cities. On the rate card mentioned above, I find that gas at a 40 percent load factor would cost per average thousand cubic feet, 144 percent of the cost in a 100 percent load factor town. But if the distributor can buy his gas on a 100 percent load factor basis, his overall cost would be the same as a flat commodity charge.

There are 2 ways for a large city to achieve a 100 percent load factor. The 2 companies serving Chicago and vicinity sell over 75 percent of all gas sold by utilities in Illinois. They sold in 1956 roughly 50 percent of their gas for domestic and similar uses at around $1.08 per thousand cubic feet, 16 percent to firm industrial users at around $0.60 per thousand cubic feet and the balance of 34 percent to interruptible industrials at $0.275. Their overall gas cost was thus reduced to the equivalent of a straight commodity rate. The pipeline subsidiaries of Peoples Gas, Light & Coke Co. of Chicago have applications pending to increase their rates but in order to avoid any considerable increase of cost to the industrials which would cause them to begin using coal, practically the entire increase is charged to demand. Peoples alone used last year over 120,000,000,000 cubic feet and as the field price has increased $0.05 since 1954, Chicago gas must have cost the pipelines an increase of $6 million. Peoples on July 1, 1957, was compelled, because of increased gas and labor costs, to request a rate increase of $11,480,000. If this increase is granted, $200,000 plus small automatic adjustments, will be paid by large industrial customers and over $11 million by other customers. That means interruptible industrial rates will be increased $0.0125 per thousand cubic feet and other rates an average of $0.084. The increase for small residential use, according to company announcement, will be $0.20.

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Now let's explore the claimed gas shortage. I admit that there is a refusal of large and small producers to commit their gas to contract, because they expect pipelines by use of the two-part rate to continue to transfer all additional costs to the domestic consumer.

The annual report of the committee of American Gas Association shows reserves at December 31, 1956, as 237,000,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet, and production for the year of 10,900. This would seem to indicate that without finding additional gas we have a reserve which will last 22 years at present usage.

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Here is the way it is built up:

1. Much gas is produced in oilfields. This is truly, both from discovery and oil use, a byproduct. It was formerly largely flared—that is, burned—in order to prevent its interference with the production of oil. Then it was found that it had a valuable use in the field in repressuring the oil wells, and repeated use of the same gas, cycling, became common. Not all oilfield gas is needed for this use. In 1954 oil wells produced 3,500,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet and used one thousand five hundred for repressuring. There were 700,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet wasted and lost and one thousand five hundred used in the field for drilling, pumping, etc. Part of the waste and field use took place in gas well operations, but I think it is fair to say that of the two thousand two hundred so used at least one thousand five hundred was consumed in the oilfields themselves. Thus we see that while some oilfields contributed considerably to gas production, as a whole their contribution was probably less than 7 percent of the entire marketed production of 7,000,000,000,000 thousand cubic feet that year. And I am sure that oilfield production percentages remain relatively the same today.

But this 7 percent must be disposed of. There is no storage for it and most States as a matter of conservation, will not now allow it to be wasted.

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This gas would be conserved for domestic and superior industrial use. This will be strongly objected to by the producer, because he would lose one-third of his sales. But he has contended that he wishes competition to fix his price and the elimination of the two-part rate, supplanted by a straight commodity charge, is the only way to provide real competition between fuels.

After all, why should the one-third of gas carried for superior uses subsidize in an ever-increasing spiral the two-thirds used for inferior purposes? While some railroads carry a few passengers at reduced prices, we

wouldn't allow them to carry two-thirds of their passengers at one-quarter price just because they are running their trains in that direction.

I think a reasonable, effective, and fair way to prevent the sale of gas for less than cost would be to amend the Natural Gas Act (or an amendment to the Harris bill if it is to be passed) by prohibiting the use of the two-part rate and the purchase and sale of gas by pipelines on year-around contracts and upon a commodity basis only, to both utility and direct customers, with a differential in price only as between customers on a zone basis. Continued increases in producer prices can, with only a flat commodity price existing, be made only with corresponding volume losses and for the same reason pipelines will be compelled to purchase cheaply enough and only in sufficient quantities to allow themselves to meet coal's competition.

The length of this article has seemed necessary in order to give you a reasonable understanding of the natural gas situation and the effect of the two-part rate.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR K. LEES,
Chairman, United Cities Gas Co.

Average revenue per thousand cubic feet of producers, pipelines, and distributors, year ending Mar. 31, 1957

	Billions of cubic feet	Percentage of whole	Producers' revenue	Pipeline revenue	Distributors' revenue	Consumer pays
All interstate gas	[1] 7,500	100	[1] $0.149	[1] $0.124		
Direct sales by pipelines	[1] 1,500	20	[1] .149	[1] .076		$0.225
Sales to utilities for resale	[1] 6,000	80	[1] .149	[1] .136	$0.215	.49
To residential users		26	[1] .149	.214	.437	.85
To commercial users		6	[1] .149	.214	.277	.64
To superior industrial users		10—	[1] .149	.214	.187	.55
To interruptible industrial users		38+	[1] .149	.05	.06	.259

[1] These figures are from FPC release No. 9197 G–4649.

NOTE.—Percentages of use and other figures are computed figures based upon 1955 (latest available) utility sales as shown by Gas Facts, except that allocation between superior and interruptible industrial sales are purely an estimate as no countrywide figures seem available.

The Burden of the New Secretary of the Treasury, Robert B. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on yesterday a new Secretary of the Treasury took office, in the person of Mr. Robert B. Anderson. Recently, two rather objective articles regarding Mr. Anderson's burden were published. One of them appeared in the Wall Street Journal of June 3, 1957. That article is entitled "Fiscal Mess." The other is entitled "Robert B. Anderson's Burden." It was written by J. A. Livingston, the well-known economist, and was published in the Washington Post. I ask unanimous consent that both of these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of June 3, 1957]

FISCAL MESS

Early this spring the Treasury raised its interest rate on Government savings bonds from 3 percent to 3¼ percent. Despite this, the parade of people walking up to cash in their savings bonds has hardly diminished.

Early this month the Treasury, faced with the job of refunding nearly $4.2 billion of the public debt, offered a 57-month note at 3⅝ percent. It was a flop. People who held the expiring securities preferred cash over the new Treasury notes to the tune of $1.2 billion.

And just a week ago Treasury officials gave up hope of selling the public a long-term bond to raise cash. They found the market wasn't receptive at the interest rate the Treasury was willing to pay.

In the meantime the Government's expenses have been rising and tax collections have been coming in only moderately well. The national debt is already some $5 billion more than it was 4 years ago and officials expect it to go higher before it goes lower.

Although there are plenty more such unhappy statistics, this is enough to show that when Robert Anderson takes over as Secretary of the Treasury this summer he will have his job cut out for him.

The plain, simple, and incontrovertible fact is that the Government of the United States is in a fiscal mess.

To put it bluntly, the Treasury of the richest Nation on earth is short of money. At one point this spring it had hardly enough cash to pay a week's worth of bills. And with current spending rising faster than current income, despite the balanced budget, the squeeze threatens to get worse.

The basic cause of all this is a decade of uncontrolled spending which has now brought us to the point where even the present high tax rates cannot keep the Government's pocketbook filled. But in addition, the mess has been compounded by bad fiscal policy.

To imply, as recent Treasury decisions do, that the Government of the United States cannot borrow money in the marketplace is nonsense. And dangerous nonsense at that, for it also implies that the Government's credit is deteriorating.

The reason the Treasury cannot persuade individuals to invest in savings bonds is that it offers them no real inducement to do so; its recent increase in interest rates was not tailored to the requirements of savers but to a political notion of what the Government ought to pay.

So, too, with the recent financing fiascos, the United States Government can borrow money for 57 months or for 10 years. But short of putting a gun at the public's head it cannot borrow it at a lesser interest rate than the public is willing to accept for tying up money into the long, uncertain future.

Hence the present fiscal mess is purely manmade. The Government has let its own spending get out of hand; the armament program, the foreign-aid program, and all the rest have put huge demands on the money market. Yet it is trying to escape the pains of what it has created.

If the Government clings to that fiscal policy only a miracle will keep the mess from getting worse. For if the money squeeze continues and the Government refuses to do what is necessary to borrow from the public, the only alternative will be to borrow it from the Federal Reserve System. In short, to print the money.

There is already tremendous pressure on the Reserve to pump money into the market so that the Treasury can borrow money at a politically satisfactory price. So far it has been resisted but the Reserve can be overpowered because when the day arrives that there are no dollars in the Treasury even Reserve Chairman Martin will have to yield.

We do not envy Mr. Anderson his new job. It will take a man bold and determined enough to sell a sensible fiscal policy in Washington. Or one lucky enough to head the Treasury when Uncle Sam is living so that he doesn't have to borrow beyond his means.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 6, 1957]

ROBERT B. ANDERSON'S BURDEN

(By J. A. Livingston)

George M. Humphrey may go down in the history of Republican administrations as a great Secretary of the Treasury. Certainly, President Eisenhower regards him as such. Yet, in cold statistics of Treasury finance, Humphrey will leave behind what some irreverent Wall Streeters call a financial mess.

To say that Humphrey failed as Secretary of the Treasury is too hard. A failure is a person who has the tide with him and doesn't use it. The tide was against Humphrey.

When he first took office, he made it clear that too much of the Federal debt was short-term—under 5 years. He was going to lengthen it out. He selected W. Randolph Burgess from the powerful post of chairman of the executive committee of the First National City Bank of New York for that intractable task. If any man could, Burgess—with a background as a money-market specialist, author of the noteworthy book, The Reserve Banks and the Money Market—would succeed in spacing, simplifying, and systematizing the Federal debt structure.

Here are the results:

Five years ago, in December 1952, just before President Eisenhower took office, 34.9 percent of the marketable debt owned by banks, insurance companies, and other non-Government investors was due in less than a year. Today (in February 1957), the percentage of debt due inside a year is exactly the same—34.9 percent. No improvement there.

Five years ago, 25.3 percent of the debt matured in 1 to 5 years. Today, 31.2 percent. Deterioration. More debt is coming up for early refinancing.

Five years ago, 17.2 percent of the debt matured in 5 to 10 years. Today, 12.5 percent. Again, deterioration. The proportion of longer term debt is lower—exactly contrary to original intent.

Finally, 5 years ago, 22.5 percent of the debt matured in more than 10 years. Today, 21.4 percent. A slight deterioration in the percent of long maturities.

That's Robert B. Anderson's heritage as the incoming Secretary of the Treasury. Government maturities are closing in at a time when industrial corporations, public utilities, and State and local governments are calling for money. And the money market isn't exactly overflowing with cash-laden investors.

And Treasury financing costs are up. In December 1952 Government bonds were selling to yield 2.74 percent. Today, if the Treasury had to borrow, it would have to pay about 3.5 percent for long-term money. Interest costs, over $6 billion a year 5 years ago, now run to about $7.5 billion, a 25 percent rise.

How is it, then, that in a letter expressing profound regret, President Eisenhower thanks Humphrey for his extraordinary talents? The answer is that Humphrey is honored for his influence outside the Treasury more than for his work inside it. He was the man, as President Eisenhower himself said, all "listened to" at Cabinet meetings.

Humphrey was a dedicated servant to orthodoxy at a time when orthodoxy was costly. He was unwilling to pervert the Federal Reserve System into a Treasury handmaiden. He did not press the Reserve to buy Treasury bonds and so support the Government market. That would have enabled the Treasury to sell long-term issues and thus elongate its maturity schedule.

But that would have amounted to monetizing the debt, creating money by Government fiat. It would have increased demand for goods and services, added to inflationary pressures. It would have undone the victory of former Reserve Board Chairman Thomas B. McCabe over former Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder in the Truman administration.

Humphrey sacrificed ease of financing, cheap financing, to what he regards as the greater good—sound money. All the while, his ambition was to pile up Government surpluses in the manner of Andrew W. Mellon and pay off the short-term debt.

But peacelessness—the war of nerves with the Kremlin—permitted no big surpluses. The debt he leaves behind is bigger than the debt he started with. And Treasury maturities come tumbling over one another in critical bunches.

That's Humphrey's failure—a failure that's a monument to his courage, character, and unflagging loyalty to his own and President Eisenhower's belief in a sound dollar.

Foreign Policy and Some Implications for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguised Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, Mr. Francis O. Wilcox, recently addressed the National Education Association on Foreign Policy and Some Implications for Education.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Wilcox's stimulating address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN POLICY AND SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

(By Francis O. Wilcox)

I am honored to speak before this distinguished gathering of the National Education Association. We share a great responsibility, for one of the primary tasks of American education is to prepare the youth of our country for responsible citizenship. No one wishes more earnestly for your success in this task than do those of us working in the field of international affairs. An educated citizenry, aware of America's responsibilities in the world today, is essential to an effective foreign policy.

Most of us here this morning received our formal education at about the end of the American isolationist era. Now it is true that all of us took courses in history; some of us studied political science and international relations. But our approach to these matters and the approach of our teachers necessarily omitted many of the events which today shape our foreign policy.

For this was before Pearl Harbor, before the San Francisco Charter, before Hiroshima. In short, it was before America had assumed the important role its plays in world affairs.

The members of your profession are responsible for preparing present and future generations of boys and girls for life as citizens in a country which is an acknowledged leader of the free world. We can be proud of our new role. But a position of leadership is not all honors. It is lonely and perilous, and its mistakes are not overlooked. Indeed, our new responsibilities have, in a sense, set us apart. Our conduct both at home and abroad is being scrutinized as never before. An isolated civil or criminal offense committed abroad, an act of racial discrimination here at home, and America is in the papers in 50 languages—languages, incidentally, which few of our citizens are able to read.

THE RISING INFLUENCE OF ASIA AND AFRICA

We live in a very different world from that of our childhood. We have only to look at the map of Asia to realize that very fundamental changes have taken place. Empires once ruled by the Western World, which included the vast populations and the rich resources of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, have fallen or are relaxing their hold. World War II shattered the old pattern. In its place new states have sprung into being with bewildering rapidity. Their citizens make up a population approximately four times that of the United States, and much of the world's material wealth lies within their boundaries.

A revolution, in many ways comparable to our own, has taken place in this area. Yet how many of our students, in school or college, can name these new countries or are conversant with their history, religion, or cultures?

When President Sukarno of Indonesia was visiting this country, he amused himself by asking children where his country was, how many people it had, and questions of a similar nature. Precious few knew the answers. He would laugh and turn away. But this is no laughing matter. Indonesia is the fifth most populous country in the world, immediately after the United States. It has vast tin and rubber resources. More important, it is a new state, strategically located, which the Communists would like to press into their orbit.

I have used Indonesia merely by way of example. For there is a dynamic new force throughout Asia and Africa which we must recognize and with which we must work. It is particularly important for Americans to do so, understandingly and constructively. The words of our Declaration of Independence, of Jefferson, of Patrick Henry, and of Lincoln have been the rallying cry of these people as they strove toward independence. There "the shot heard 'round the world" is still reverberating.

We, as a people and as a government, have much in common with the aspirations of Asia. We are doing much to foster the rapid economic and social progress of these countries toward responsible participation in the free world. But we must also develop closer economic, political, and cultural ties with the people of Asia and Africa.

UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNIST THREAT

A second fundamental requirement for better understanding the world about us is to know the nature of international communism—its threat, its weaknesses, and its superficial appeal.

Again, the form if not the nature of communism has changed much since our own school and college days. Then it was a new, threatening, but unproved experiment largely confined to the Soviet Union. The war gave international communism the opportunity to exploit chaos, misery, and anarchy to its advantage. Through force, threat, and subversion it expanded its empire by seizing control of the luckless countries on its borders. It gained dominance over the weak and war-torn China mainland and extended its tentacles down the Korean and Indochina peninsulas.

There its expansion has been stopped. But international communism has thrown down the gantlet to the free world, and to the United States in particular. They have made clear that they intend to carry on an all-out war of ideas, ideologies, propaganda, and subversion.

This means that among the weapons and the defenses available to us to meet their challenge those of the mind, the spirit, of skills and knowledge, are of major importance. And these are the very disciplines for which you educators bear so much responsibility.

Voltaire once said, "There is one thing stronger than all the armies of the world, and that is an idea whose time has come." The Communists seem to be convinced that they have an idea whose time has come. Their faith in communism is based upon a conviction that Russian socialism will emerge triumphant, that inexorably the social and political forces of world communism will rise while Western capitalism will go down to oblivion and decay. Did not Khrushchev, just the other day, predict that our grandchildren will live under communism?

Now it is not sufficient to hate communism or to know that it carries within itself the seeds of its own decay and destruction. This will not make it go away. We must calmly evaluate its assets—both real and imagined—and study its weaknesses and vulnerabilities.

The Communists have sought consciously to develop as an asset their monolithic control over education. If the state decides that so many physicists, or so many engineers, or so many Burmese-language experts are to be turned out in a certain period of time, then they merely have to set the wheels in motion. For they regard the individual essentially as a commodity to be used to advance the cause of communism.

Now a free society cannot mass-produce specialists in this ruthless manner. But if this Communist technique becomes a threat to the free world, and there are signs that it is, then we must devise effective ways to meet it. Certainly education in a free society can draw upon our vast human resources when the national security is involved to meet any challenge posed by a slave state.

What confronts us here is a problem in basic education, beginning long before the college age is reached. It concerns the development of attitudes based on a careful reading of the world and our position in it. Our educational system would be incomplete and inadequate if it kept the facts about communism locked up in a closet. And these facts are not hard to find. Indeed, the Communists have proclaimed them clearly and repeatedly. The closing words of the Communist manifesto state, "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

This is unequivocal language. Does it still reflect the intent of the Soviet leadership since the death of Stalin? Or has the advent of the nuclear age made the use of force too risky, the outcome of a violent struggle with the free world too uncertain?

These are questions to which we must find answers. Our conclusions will shape the course of our foreign policy and determine

for a long time to come the environment in which we live. We must be ever wary of superficially attractive slogans of peaceful coexistence. We must be equally vigilant to discern under the cloak of peaceful words the continued threat of Communist aggression.

Our position of leadership in the free world places upon us all a heavy obligation for clear thinking on these issues. Therefore it is imperative, in my view, that our schools and colleges push ahead quickly with programs designed to teach the cold, hard facts about communism both in theory and in practice. This is no time to equivocate. This is no time to shrink away from the facts. Our students ought to be thoroughly familiar with the origins of communism, its development in the Soviet Union, its methods, its weaknesses, its strengths, and the nature of its spurious appeal. In this period of competing political and economic systems our schools are becoming ever more important.

We ought never to lose sight of the fact that the Communists have no timeable for the execution of their program for world domination. It is probable, therefore, that our people will be subject to Communist propaganda and cold-war pressures for many years to come. This is a challenge they must be equipped to meet.

It is for this reason that I am very much heartened by the recent evidence that educational associations, school systems, and superintendents are beginning to make provision for teaching the facts about communism when students are of an age to understand them. I believe the truth in this respect will set us free from fears that are unfounded and reveal those that must be faced as long as communism is a world force to contend with.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM AND AMERICAN AID PROGRAMS

The interdependence of the free world is more than military and political. It is also economic and social. Both aspects are reflected in our American foreign economic and military aid programs. An appreciation of their purpose is among the fundamentals of understanding our role in world affairs. Nothing like them has ever before been attempted by any other country. Why do we do it? What does it have to do with education? I am sometimes led to think that the reasons are better understood overseas than by our own people.

The reasons are directly related to the two subjects I have touched upon: the nature of the Communist threat and the revolution of rising expectations in Asia and Africa.

It became apparent after World War II that the Communists were moving on two fronts to extend their influence: the military, as exemplified by the takeover of the new satellite countries and the aggression or threat of aggression against Greece, Turkey, Iran, and Korea; and the politicoeconomic, as demonstrated by their propaganda and subversion among the peoples of Asia and Africa, many of whom were in various stages of revolutionary ferment.

The United States countered these two moves by military assistance and economic aid—the one to provide a shield against aggression, the other to help remove the poverty and despair on which Communist subversion thrives.

I think no one will question that both these moves are in the interests of our national security. They are not giveaway programs but cooperative endeavors designed to help people who are free to remain free.

Clearly American aid is no one-way street. We need our allies just as much as our allies need us. They provide us with bases that are absolutely essential to the effective employment of our strategic air power. And their own military forces stand with ours in defense of the free world.

Moreover, our economy would hobble along in low gear if we were deprived of the strategic materials—like rubber, tin, diamonds, and manganese—which foreign aid helps to keep flowing to our shores.

Our aid programs are particularly important in Asia and Africa. In these lands there is a persistent desire by millions of people to secure more of the better things of life. The Communists are constantly trying to sell them on the idea that there is a short road—the Communist road—to better living conditions and greater political and economic influence. Our aid programs are an effective antidote against the Communist virus. They are also a healthy tonic promoting greater welfare and higher living standards. By helping these new nations to maintain their independence, these programs have become an essential of the free-world arsenal in its struggle against communism. And to be most effective they cannot be sporadic attempts but programs consistently supported over a reasonable period of time.

The basic problem is not only to share what we produce but, more important, to provide a long-term program designed to make available our economic and scientific know-how to those countries that want to help themselves. As Secretary Dulles has pointed out, "We have unprecedented resources with which to create and with which to share."

TRAINING FOR OVERSEASMANSHIP

Now it is important to realize that we are confronted with real problems in human relations in putting these programs into effect. For, in carrying them out, it has been found necessary for the first time in our history to station a large number of Americans abroad in time of peace. This inevitably creates certain tensions, particularly in our relations abroad.

These aid programs, to be fully successful, require understanding, patience, and skill on our part and on the part of the governments and peoples with whom we are cooperating. It means training for a generation or more for this aspect alone of our new leadership in international affairs. This training should begin at the school level.

A surprisingly high proportion of those now in school will spend some portion of their lives abroad as soldiers, technicians, educators, government officials, business men and women, and tourists. How they act, how well they represent America, and how good a job they do will depend on what they are now learning, what they know, and what they think about the international community in which we live. We should be opening new windows on the world for them now. It is what one student of world affairs has called "education for overseasmanship."

One important purpose of such training should be to cultivate the quality of empathy—the ability to put yourself in the other fellow's position and see things from his point of view. This does not mean agreeing with him, necessarily, on all things. But we must understand the hopes and problems and attitudes of other peoples if we are going to be fully effective in our efforts to help them and, by so doing, to help ourselves.

We should realize, for instance, that ostentatious living abroad among peoples still climbing the ladder to economic well-being may well cause envy or irritation rather than admiration. We would do well to recognize the customs and cultures of other lands that are older than ours and that reflect spiritual values that have enriched civilization for many centuries. We have much to learn as well as much to impart, for cultural cooperation is assuredly a two-way street.

As a people we have a genius for selling things. Exhaustive studies are made by advertising firms to find out what people want, their buying habits, their tastes, their prejudices. I have often thought that, if we spent one-tenth the time and interest in studying our market where foreign relations are concerned as we do in studying domestic-consumer markets, we could do a much better job abroad and get a lot more satisfaction out of it.

This is of the utmost importance, particularly with the resurgent societies of Africa and Asia. Our competition is stiff. International communism is out to prove that the Communist way is the cheapest and quickest way to realize their aspirations. We cannot let this happen through a failure to communicate or a failure to understand.

FOREIGNERS IN THE UNITED STATES

Our citizens do not have to go overseas in order to have a direct impact on our foreign relations. The people-to-people diplomacy which President Eisenhower has urged upon us can well begin at home.

As a corollary, you might say, of our foreign aid and cooperation programs, some 40,000 citizens of other countries come to the United States every year. Many are government-sponsored; many come under private auspices. They are carefully selected and represent the leadership, present or potential, of their homelands. When they return, they will have a great cumulative influence on the attitudes toward the United States of their countrymen. What they see and experience here is therefore of great importance.

It will not suffice for us to say, "Do as I say, not as I do." A trip to the United States is a dream come true to most who come to our shores. This is the show window of democracy. And many of our visitors are window shopping. Those from neutral-minded countries, in particular, are comparing what we say about ourselves and about democracy with what they see in our national life. They are not inclined to differentiate between social injustice under democracy and under communism.

I was recently told about a young leader from a country in southeast Asia who received a travel grant to the United States from our Government. On his return he was asked his impression of America. "My principal impressions," he said, "were two: The parking problem, and the fact that I couldn't buy a bowl of rice in the restaurants."

We apparently did not get through to this young man the things that make this country great. I cannot help feeling that a weekend in one of your homes, that a few days in an American school, would have greatly changed this man's impressions of America. Such a classroom visit could also be of first-rate importance as a stimulus to our own understanding.

I know of the magnificent work now being done by educational associations and by schools and colleges to provide hospitality and an intimate look at American life for our foreign guests. I think this is a key aspect of our total foreign relations and one to which teachers and students in particular can make an effective and satisfying contribution.

THE UNITED NATIONS AS A FORCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

No review of the new forces in world affairs could omit consideration of the United Nations. Twelve years after the adoption of the charter of the United Nations the fundamentals of international relations remain unchanged. We live in an interdependent world, a world united by geography and communications, by the common yearnings for peace, security, and well-being. Given this fact of interdependence, an international organization today is not a luxury but, in the words of President Eisenhower, "a sheer necessity."

Throughout history men have recognized the necessity of organizing for peace. The

past is studded with examples of treaties of friendship, defense pacts, and regional arrangements. However, it remained for our generation to witness an organization, universal in scope and intent, to which nations have pledged their intention to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

Now some people are critical of the United Nations. This criticism often comes from those who know the least about it. As a matter of fact, the organization is beset by people who are for the United Nations or against the United Nations—for, standing for uncritical acceptance, and against, representing unthinking denunciation. People who would never think of using these terms in discussing, say, the Philadelphia City Council, fall into them naturally when discussing the United Nations.

This attitude stems, I believe, from the all too common misconception that the United Nations is, or should be, some sort of magical body that can wield global power on the side of justice and peace. Instead, the United Nations is an assembly of 81 nations pledged to maintain international peace and security but protected by the charter from any interference in their own affairs.

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION

In the United Nations, as elsewhere, politics is the art of the possible. Given this fact, what role can the United Nations play on the international scene? For one thing the mere fact of having to face an assembly of 81 nations can serve as a healthy reminder to all countries that they cannot afford to ignore the opinions and interests of others.

While the General Assembly cannot enforce its will, it can effectively puncture the propaganda of those who violate their charter obligations. Thus, at the time of the invasion of Hungary, the Soviet Union sought to show that it was invited by the legitimate government of Hungary, under the terms of the Warsaw treaty, to put down a few counterrevolutionaries. What more effective answer could be made to these assertions than the picture of delegate after delegate voting to condemn the Soviet Union? The statement of the Burmese delegate was typical. He said, in voting condemnation, "We do this to keep our self-respect—we can do no less." "There," he said, "speaking of Hungary, but for the grace of God go we."

No clearer testimony of the diabolical Soviet purpose in Hungary is needed than the recent impartial report of the General Assembly's five-nation committee, which includes representatives from Asia and Africa. The persistent, desperate, and terrifying rebellion against Soviet rule, led significantly enough by Hungarian students, reflected the deep desire of the Hungarian people to be freed from their Soviet masters.

The Committee's report undeniably confirms that the rulers of the Kremlin sent their tanks and guns into the streets to suppress the legitimate efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve their liberty and national independence. The Committee unfolds the cruel actions of the Hungarian authorities in flagrantly violating the fundamental human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the treaty of peace with Hungary. And to these findings of the Committee there must now be added the current repressive measures and sentences, including the death penalty, against many Hungarians who had bravely participated in the events of last fall. These underscore the importance of further United Nations consideration of the situation in Hungary, as soon as practicable.

The United Nations can and does do more than lay bare propaganda charges. It has been a powerful and positive influence on States through the force of world opinion. In the past decade a number of disputes, each containing the seeds of war, have been resolved or eased. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Iran, the removal of the Communist threat in Greece, the formation of the United States of Indonesia, the Palestine and Kashmir truces—each was considerably influenced by opinion developed within the United Nations. Such actions served the interests of the United States and the rest of the free world.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The recent developments in the Middle East are the latest reminder of the impact of the United Nations forum. For those who maintain that the United Nations is primarily a talking machine, the events of the last few months should have a special meaning.

Nowhere in the world in recent days has the danger and challenge been greater than in the Middle East. The United States has vital security interests there. When the attack was made on Egypt in October of last year by invading forces, there was need for quick and decisive action by the United Nations. Even though the General Assembly is a large and cumbersome body, public opinion was effectively mobilized.

And it achieved almost miraculous results. A cease-fire laid the groundwork for a subsequent withdrawal of forces. The United Nations emergency force took its position in the Suez Canal area and later moved to positions along the armistice demarcation lines. This force remains the guardian of peace in the touchy areas of Gaza and Sharm el-Sheikh today. The Suez Canal is once again open to normal traffic, having been cleared of its debris and wreckage by a United Nations salvage fleet of over 40 ships. These steps have created at least the minimum conditions for efforts which must be made if long-range solutions are to be found to the Middle East issues which gave rise to the fighting.

There are a great many legitimate criticisms of the United Nations. But fundamentally what is wrong with the United Nations is what is wrong with the world itself. The international atmosphere reflects the hatreds and injustices which are the legacies of thousands of years of wars and rumors of wars. No intelligent person could expect that the existence of an organization could quickly abolish the mutual suspicion and distrust built up over the years. What is significant is that so much has been accomplished in so short a time.

It is my personal conviction that the United Nations represents the greatest and most successful effort to achieve peace in the history of the world.

The states that make up the United Nations are a mixed lot. Some are democracies; some are dictatorships. Some are in bondage; some are free. A few are wealthy; more are poor. But in this amalgam of nations lies our only hope of a peace with any approximation of justice. We must never forget that our country belongs to the family of nations and that every one of us belongs to the family of man. Those who deny the need for a United Nations, either by their words or by their policies, should tell us frankly how we can survive alone in this increasingly interdependent world.

I know that study of the United Nations holds an important place in our school rooms. It deserves our continued sympathetic and critical analysis and support. Should the United Nations fail or our leadership in it falter in these critical days, one of the great bulwarks of peace would be overrun.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In conclusion, I should like to reassert my conviction that the problems and the opportunities I have touched upon have an important place in our schools. I believe it is time to put our school curriculums under the microscope to determine if at present they provide the instruments we need to train young Americans for leadership, not only in our own country but for the new and wider international life on which we are embarked.

In particular, I feel that formal education in our schools and colleges should not stop at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and pay relatively little attention to the great continents of Africa and Asia. For many years our school system has been geared to Western civilization. We can no longer afford to gloss over the rest of the world. If our foreign policy of fostering security and the growth of democracy throughout the free world makes sense, then we should know far more than we do about these farflung countries.

Here is a great and challenging task for Western education—to correct our unfortunate lack of knowledge concerning the life and thought of many millions of our fellowmen in foreign lands—of those who are for us, those who are against us, and those who are uncommitted.

Moreover, I feel that in our teaching we can only at our peril omit a hardheaded study of international communism.

Arnold Toynbee has made the point that all development, all progress, comes from a challenge and a consequent response. In world affairs the challenge is before us. The direction the free world will take depends, to a large degree, on the quality of our response and the understanding of our leadership. That response and the nature of our leadership in the future will depend on the education of our youth of this generation and the next.

On this centenary of the National Education Association I wish to express my deep appreciation for what your organization has already accomplished in bringing to the youth of America a better understanding of the world problems that face our Nation. If we hold to the principles that have made our past great and prepare ourselves for the challenge of the present, we should not fail to realize the promise of a future made safe for free men everywhere.

Forgetting Anti-South Prejudices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on July 17, 1957, there was published in the Valley Times, of Hollywood, Calif., an article entitled, "Forgetting Anti-South Prejudices." The article was written by Mr. George Todt. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORGETTING ANTI-SOUTH PREJUDICES

(By George Todt)

"In the Negro countenance you will often meet with strong traits of benignity. I have felt yearnings of tenderness toward some of these faces."—Lamb.

What are some factors which might conceivably contribute to a happier solution of the Negro problem in the South, with reference to proposed civil-rights legislation present battle center in the Senate, than now seems possible?

I have hinted in previous articles at what might be considered serious suggestions to improve the climate for discussion among all elements which are party to the disputed action. Those who are genuinely interested in helping, not hurting, the cause

of American unity will be most likely to pause for reflection. After all, it's our country.

In the first place, men and women of good will naturally recognize that our real problem is always to heal differences which exist among us—but without engendering hatred in the process. Our mission is not to be one of destruction, but construction, instead. Any fool can tear an existing structure apart in a fraction of the time it took a wiser man to build it. But what is the purpose of destroying anything until we are ready to replace it with something better? Here the matter of timing must enter into our considerations.

Often it is possible for planners to foresee that great changes must become accomplished in the future—but that does not mean necessarily today or tomorrow. For the truth is that even the planners must await the proper timing of their endeavors. They must get approval of their plans, the money must be voted for their use, and they must secure the requisite preliminary steps before they can start the construction. Rome was not built in a day—and neither are social changes of far-reaching consequences which affect a whole people.

I think it is time we took a few basic facts into consideration insofar as the matter of integration of schools and accompanying social changes in the South may be concerned: maybe the social planners in this instance moved so fast they inadvertently placed the horse ahead of the wagon. Possibly their timing was off. Perhaps they forgot to lay the necessary groundwork before they gave the go-ahead signal for work to commence.

The salient feature of this case is simply this: the South has lived with it's own social system and way of life for many generations extending back into our past. It has made its share of contributions to the Nation—and they have been magnificent ones. Whether or not those who are anti-South will like to agree with this statement, it is a matter of record that the Southern way of life has worked for those who have lived there. It is not fair to ask them to change their ways almost overnight, as it were, and without their consent in the matter. What would we say if the shoe were on the other foot?

I think that what first needs to be done is to enter this realm of discussion without preconceived notions as to who is right or wrong—at least not to assume that the South is totally in the wrong, as many of today's super-liberals would have us believe. Nothing in life is all black or all white; there is right and wrong to be found on both sides of most questions which cause us to furrow our brows in deliberation.

The South is no better or worse than other sections of the United States—but she deserves a fair share of sympathetic treatment in this matter which looms so large in her future. She is not getting it in the press and other communications media in the United States today. There is what almost amounts to a blackout on anything which pleads the case of Dixie in the court of public opinion—but the opposition gets the red carpet treatment!

I am not arguing for or against integration here—what I am simply pointing out is that a great section of our country should not be browbeaten or forced to accept social legislation at bayonet point or under duress of any kind. If it has to be accomplished in such a manner, then we are not ready for it. It has to come from the heart or it will spawn hatred and ill-feeling all out of proportion to the negligible results obtained.

I think that we might all be in accord with the recent expression of the New York Times which concerned a proposed law aimed at discrimination. The newspaper admonished:

"Progress must be a matter of education and spiritual growth rather than a consequence of legislation."

If this is true in New York City—shouldn't it also apply in Dixie, as well?

H. R. 8002 Would Weaken Congress' Control Over Federal Expenditures and Increase Spending—Bill Moves in Wrong Direction and Should Be Defeated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report is doing an excellent job of propagandizing—and while I personally, and I am sure other Members of the Congress have supported many of the Hoover Commission reports—their recommendation with respect to H. R. 8002, the so-called accrued Federal expenditures budget bill, will not accomplish the claims made for it.

A special committee of the House Committee on Appropriations has made an extensive study of this proposal and on March 21, this year, issued a strong report in opposition to it. The Members of the House who are receiving duplicate-type telegrams and carbon copy propaganda appeals for this measure should consider the report of this committee, headed by our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Texas, Congressman MAHON. The report was fully adopted by the Committee on Appropriations and bears the endorsement of both Chairman CANNON and the gentleman from New York, Congressman TABER, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Chairman CANNON and the gentleman from New York, Congressman TABER are known economizers and both have performed an outstanding public service during this session of the Congress, as in the past, in making substantial cuts in appropriations and reducing the biggest peacetime budget in the history of this country. These gentlemen know whereof they speak. The House should follow their leadership and not be pressured by misleading propaganda.

In response to numerous messages which I have received on this subject, I have written my own constituents and friends a letter of explanation on the effects of this bill. Under unanimous consent I include a copy of my letter in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of those interested.

The letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 31, 1957.

Mr. GORDON WALHOOD,
Tullahoma, Tenn.

DEAR MR. WALHOOD: This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of recent date with reference to the establishment of an accrual Federal Budget Accounting System.

I should be most pleased to support this legislation in the event the legislation would bring about modernized and improved budgeting and better accounting and control of expenditure of Federal funds, as the advocates of this legislation proclaim. However, I must advise that the legislation would provide for payment of Government accounts on an installment basis. As we all know, installment purchasing costs more in the long run than the original direct payment. The bill would, in effect, give the numerous executive departments unlimited authorization for purchasing and for contracting for purchases of commodities, materials or services desired on an installment basis in an unlimited amount, and then referring to the Congress in their annual budgets a report of the amount expended for the one year for which they are asking for appropriations.

In other words, the Departments would purchase by contract anything and everything desired and then send the Congress a bill each year for only the annual installment payment on their purchases. The House Committee on Appropriations has made a study of this so-called accrued expenditure budget proposal and issued a strong report in opposition to it on March 21. The bill would put the Government into installment buying, a practice which in personal operations has led millions of families into overspending.

Those who have studied the measure thoroughly are of the opinion that under this bill Congress would lose substantial control of appropriations and expenditures. Both Chairman CANNON of the House Appropriations Committee and Congressman TABER, the ranking minority member of the Appropriations Committee, oppose this legislation as unsound and unwise and not in the best interest of checking appropriations and limiting expenditures. They feel that the measure would actually cost the Treasury vast sums and not save a dollar. The bill would require the return to contract authority which hard experience over the years proved to be so expensive that the proposal was once tried but later abandoned.

I have supported a large number of the so-called Hoover Commission recommendations to effect economy but, in my judgment, this is one that will not provide for economy or reduction in Federal expenditures. To the contrary, it would in the long run mean increased appropriations and greatly increased Federal expenditures.

Perhaps you may be interested in a report rendered by the Secretary of Defense under date of June 27, 1957, in which he pointed out at great length that the so-called savings alleged to have been effected in the Department of Defense by the adoption of the Hoover Commission recommendations are vastly overstated and that no real basis exists to demonstate the claims for the specific savings cited by advocates of the Commission. As a matter of fact, following the adoption of a large number of the Hoover Commission recommendations this year the Congress has been confronted with the largest peacetime budget in the history of the Nation and the proposed heaviest expenditures in many years.

Therefore, instead of reducing expenditures, as the propaganda proponents insist, many of these recommendations have resulted in increasing the staffs of the Departments and resulting increased expenditures. Secretary Wilson, of the Defense Department, acknowledges this fact in his recent report and, as indicated, both Chairman CANNON and Congressman TABER admit that the proposal, concerning which you have written, will not accomplish the desired end sought. As indicated, to the contrary, the measure would result in increased appropriations and Federal expenditures, and I, therefore, shall oppose the measure.

I thought you would want me to write you frankly and furnish you with information in this connection.

With assurance of my desire to be of service and assistance whenever possible, and with kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

JOE L. EVINS,
Member of Congress.

Race Prejudices Common to North

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on Tuesday, July 16, 1957, there was published in the Valley Times, of Hollywood, Calif., an article entitled "Race Prejudices Common to North." The article was written by George Todt. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hollywood Valley Times (Calif.) of July 16, 1957]

RACE PREJUDICES COMMON TO NORTH

(By George Todt)

"Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days."—Ecclesiastes, XI: 1.

How well I remember during my undergraduate days when I left my native Arizona habitat for a year of schooling in the Old South. From the lurid propaganda tales which I had sometimes read and heard about—it would not have surprised me too much to find evidence of violence and strife between the races on every hand. But nothing could have been further from the truth. It was just the opposite, in fact.

Courtesy and good feeling predominated everywhere—this was Oxford, Miss., incidentally—and I never once saw, heard, or read of a single instance of violence between white and black men. Sure, there may have been some that didn't come to my attention in the academic year of 1937–38. But the point I wish to leave with my readers is that I learned from on-the-spot experience that conditions were much different than had been pictured to me before I entered the South. Preconceived notions were invalid.

Now don't get me wrong. I would be the last to deny that there have been instances of injustices meted out to American Negroes. In fact, I have run into some. However, it was not in the Southern States of Mississippi, Virginia and Texas, where I lived for 3 years. It was, instead, in that great citadel of modern liberalism—and home grounds of ADA Vice President Walter Reuther—none other than the northern city of Detroit, Mich.

It was in Detroit that the bloodiest race riot in our history occurred back in the summer of 1943. Hundreds of Negroes were massacred at Belle Isle in a senseless orgy of murder and insane blood-letting. Martial law had to be declared there and the 9th Infantry Regiment, part of the 2d Division at Camp McCoy, Wis., had to be rushed into the city. I was just passing through at the time, but managed to have time to talk with some of the officers of the 9th—many of them southern boys, from Texas A. and M. and elsewhere in Dixie.

Their horrified disgust at what took place then is a vivid remembrance, something I shall never forget. The wanton slaughter of the Negroes in Detroit at Belle Isle was something they just couldn't begin to understand. How could it happen in America they kept asking?

"This is the sort of thing they like to accuse us of in the South," one young captain from Texas drawled softly to me with a hard glint in his eye. "But anyone who has ever lived among southerners, as you have done, must know that violence of this kind would be unthinkable. It just couldn't happen in Dixie."

To bring our sampling up to date, here is a more recent incident which bears some repeating. Just who is the real friend of the American Negro, anyway? If we consider the propaganda mill alone, we might be pardoned for thinking that his staunchest and most sincere support came from New York City. Ah, but have you heard the latest from there?

Well, this being an election year, Mayor Wagner and the city council had an eye out for minority political votes—so they proposed an antidiscriminatory law for the houseseekers. Included was a fine of $500 and possible contempt-of-court jail term for any landlord who turned down a tenant for reasons of race, religion, or national origin No mention of the right of a private property owner to rent to whom he pleases. But this seemed to be too much even for New York City to digest comfortably. Landlords, real-estate men, tenants and others just rose up en masse—and mail to the tune of 3 to 1 against the proposed law warmed the councilmen's hearts. Result: They quickly pigeonholed the measure.

Strangest note of all was sounded by the New York Times, ardent champion of any and all desegregation measures in the South. It seems that desegregation was a horse of another color when applied to New York City, however. Quoth the Times:

"The difficulties of enforcement are enormous, nuisance cases would be innumerable, and intolerance might be aggravated rather than diminished. * * * Progress must be a matter of education and spiritual growth rather than a consequence of legislation."

This is just what the southerners have been saying, themselves.

Hon. Nat Patton

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE H. MAHON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in mourning the passing of a great Texan, Hon. Nat Patton, former Representative in Congress, of Crockett, Tex. In 1934 four new Members of Congress were elected in Texas. Nat and I were among the four. In January 1935 Nat Patton appeared on the Washington scene, where he quickly made a place for himself in the hearts of his colleagues in Washington.

Nat Patton became a national figure. Everybody about the Capitol knew him. He loved life; he loved people; his good deeds were too numerous to be counted. He was devoted to his duty, devoted to the people he represented. He was an indefatigable worker in behalf of his east Texas constituents. He often worked in his office at night and he took a great personal interest in the individual lives of the people of his district. He kept in close contact with them. He served them well. No task was too burdensome for him if he felt there was a chance, even a remote chance, to be helpful to his fellow man. No work, however, seemed to be burdensome to him. He worked with a willing spirit and a light heart.

Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to the memory of my departed friend and extend my deepest sympathy to his wife and other members of the family.

Coverup in Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD two outstanding columns which have been written by Mr. George Todt on the subject of the so-called civil-rights bill now pending before the Senate. Mr. Todt writes for the Valley Times of Hollywood, Calif. These articles appeared in the July 26, and July 27 issues of the Valley Times.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hollywood Valley Times (Calif.) of July 26, 1957]

THAT COVERUP IN CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

(By George Todt)

"There lives more faith in honest doubt, believe me, than in half the creeds."—Tennyson.

Grave doubts are now arising on many sides as to just what was the true intent of the so-called civil-rights bill presently before the Senate. We were told in the beginning that it was designed to insure the voting rights of Negroes in the South. Today it appears, however, that the primary purpose of this doubletalk legislation was to integrate southern schools—by force, if necessary. This is brotherhood?

Yes, true brotherhood—according to the Attorney General's department, which drafted the controversial bill. And, in order to obtain its blessings, we are supposed to chuck trial-by-jury out the window, be placed at the mercy of volunteer snoopers with axes to grind, and subject to bombs and bayonets if a proposed civil-rights czar so ordains it.

Have Americans lost their reason to even countenance such preposterous and vicious nonsense? Have we become so fat and rich with the passage of time that our senses have also become dulled in the process? Do we still believe in our constitutional Republic? If we do, then we will never attempt to build justice upon injustice. Two wrongs cannot make a right. For, as George Washington said, "Heaven itself has ordained the right."

It is time that every American awoke to the insidious possibilities presented in the almost-buried-out-of-sight provision of the bill which would empower the President to use troops in the Southern States to force

integration of schools and other civil rights. Why was this done in such a devious manner—perhaps tricky would be a better word for it—which amounted to turning part III of the bill into an amendment of Reconstruction Act 1885 and then carefully bypassing the Senate Judiciary Committee, which would have been empowered to have questioned witnesses about the bill's intent and purpose? Constitutional questions could have been settled in committee before attempting to ram it through the Senate. Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon recently complained about this very item to the Senate on July 17, and his position was very well taken. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 10823).

Senator MORSE said he was concerned with the fact that this controversial section III "strengthens the trend in this country toward a government by the Executive."

Senator RICHARD RUSSELL put his finger on the mainspring of trouble regarding the civil-rights bill on a CBS Face the Nation television broadcast on Sunday, July 21. "Under this proposed legislation," he said, "the Attorney General would have too much power."

The following day the courageous southern champion received help from an unexpected quarter, one of the administration's stanchest supporters: Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts. Said ex-Governor SALTONSTALL: "I speak feelingly on this because, as Governor, I felt the impact of Federal dictation." Then he went on to say that, "We violate one of the cardinal principles on which our Government is founded—home rule," if we were to permit the Attorney General to go into local areas to enforce civil rights as indicated in the bill. Chances seemed excellent that this dangerous item might be scrapped.

But the most inflammatory issue before the Senate regarding civil-rights legislation concerned possible loss of trial by jury. Despite attempts to downplay the importance of this constitutional liberty, many Senators were taking a long, hard, second look. Listen to the eloquent words of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, a great liberal thinker and nominee for Vice President on the Democratic ticket last November:

"When people are brought into court for the purpose of prosecuting them criminally, we are doing violence to the great heritage left to us by those who worked so hard for our freedom when we argue against giving people, under those circumstances, the right to trial by jury.

"We may be assured that if this right is taken away in criminal-contempt cases, in civil-rights cases, efforts will be made to take it away in labor and other cases. If we deny a person a great right merely because there may be a miscarriage of justice, we shall soon be denying the people every right, because, as I have tried to point out, the decisions of judges are not perfect. The decisions of juries are not perfect, but certainly the decision of 12 people in a criminal case will, in most cases, be more nearly perfect than the decision of 1 man. That is in accordance with our American common-law system of justice."

It seems to me that either the Constitution guarantees certain inalienable rights to us, or it doesn't. If, through arbitrary expedience, a power clique in Congress takes away our right to trial by jury today, where will this end tomorrow? Can we permit the camel of centralized Federal authority to poke its nose under the tent of localized home rule? In short, could a mighty oak of tyranny grow out of the little acorn labeled "loss of trial by jury"? Isn't it something for us to think about?

[From the Hollywood Valley Times (Calif.) of July 27, 1957]

SOUTHERN NEGROES' PROGRESS RECORD

(By George Todt)

"Judge not, that ye be not judged."—Matthew, 7: 1.

How do you draw up an indictment against a whole people? A great British statesman once said it couldn't be done. Apparently such thinking and that produced by the Attorney General's Department in these modern United States doesn't coincide. For the latter has, in writing the controversial civil-rights bill, decreed that southern people are not fit to have jury trials under certain conditions. Is this fair?

The recent trial at Clinton, Tenn., ought to knock this discriminatory argument into a cocked hat. The southern all-white jury which returned a verdict of guilty against 7 of the 11 defendants even won applause from northern extremist pressure groups for its fairness and reason. Southern prosegregation extremists, on the other hand, were miffed.

Here was a test case which the entire Nation had been instructed to watch—particularly those who have drummed up a "Hate the South" campaign ostensibly in the interests of brotherhood, compulsory style. Well, we have observed this showcase, at long last, and the southerners acquitted themselves with flying colors. It now remains to be seen whether some of their overzealous opponents will have the sportsmanship and good taste to call off their dogs. Forty million southern people deserve a fair shake all the way around.

Many of us have been sickened at the vicious attempts to portray the South as something akin to an oversized concentration camp, where persons of African descent are forced into an involuntary second-class citizenship which is both backward and uncouth. This is what certain superliberal propagandists would have us believe to serve their own selfish political ends. But there is certainly another way to look at it.

Recently I watched Senators RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, Georgia, and JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, Democrat, Arkansas, take on Senators PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, Illinois, and JACOB JAVITS, Republican, New York, in a civil-rights debate on television. The latter presented telling and powerful arguments—Senators JAVITS is a most gifted speaker on TV and possessed of a brilliant legalistic mind—but it was something Senator RUSSELL said which caused me to prick up my ears the most. It was such a homely little truth, so completely down to earth, that no wonder it has been largely overlooked. Genius is simplicity. And the Senator from Georgia had it. This is what he said:

"Where in any 92-year period of the earth's history has the Negro race made so much social and economic progress as he has in the Southern States since the end of the Civil War?"

Where, indeed, in the entire 5,000 years of man's recorded history? Where upon this planet can we find Negroes by the millions better off than they are today in the South? In Africa? Asia? or Europe? The answer is—hardly.

The truth of the matter is that the people of the South, far from being the Negro's enemy, have been his greatest friend. Now let's forget about the rabble-rousers, trouble-makers, and agitators of all descriptions who have made this issue a political football among ambitious minority leaders and pressure groups. Let's look at the matter as seen from the viewpoint of someone without an ax to grind. And in the South, itself.

In the first place, the problems of the South regarding racial integration are much more monumental than in other sections of the country. This is simply a matter of elemental arithmetic. Where other areas speak of their Negro populations in the thousands or even hundreds of thousands in a few instances—Southern States count theirs in the millions. Integration may be made to appear quite easy where there is only a relatively small minority to be assimilated—as in many of the Northern and Western States. A lot of this argument is bound up in whose ox happens to be getting gored at the time.

Faced with a much larger problem than elsewhere in the Nation, the southern people have demanded that they be allowed to keep their traditional way of life—local home rule—but at the same time they have taxed themselves with a vengeance to provide the material needs of southern Negroes without stint or lack of affection for their dark-skinned friends.

In many areas, facilities for the latter are better than those provided for whites. Again, the truth of the matter is that the southern Negro has come a long way in the history of his race—and the major portion of such progress in these modern times has been made right in the South, aided and abetted by his sympathetic and friendly white fellow citizens. This may cause some raised eyebrows among those who have never been in the South, but the American Negro has been far happier and contented in Dixie than anywhere else in our country.

How otherwise explain the fact that by far the preponderant portion of our Negro population has elected to remain in the South today, as well as yesterday? Why haven't these people come away to the States which preach integration but practice segregation on the side? Where is the general exodus? Can it be that the majority of the American Negroes realize that they are being made into a political football and want none of it? Or is it that they have been far better treated in the South than has been generally recognized—and that the real reason they stay there is because they realize Dixie has been good to them?

Having talked with these people in the past when I was in the South, it is my own definite impression that Negroes there loved their white folks and friends, and were loved and respected by them in return. It is strange that all this "Hate the South" emanates not from the southern Negro, himself—but from pressure groups outside the South. How do we explain this factor? Who has political axes to grind? What is behind it?

Shortage of Hotel Facilities in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, very often, these days, we read articles in the newspapers and magazines rightly praising the vital role which is played by increased American tourist travel abroad.

The vast flood of foreign travel not only improves understanding of America and by America, but it helps very directly

in providing needed dollars to dollar-short foreign countries.

This is a key point which is made in an article which I have in my hand which was written by Mr. Ralph T. Reed, president of the American Express Co.

It is a point which I have personally made in talks at home and abroad, since the war.

PAINLESS FORM OF FOREIGN AID

Literally millions of Americans, especially young people and students, are eager to see European, Asian, and South American countries. The dollars which they spend abroad provide a tremendous tonic to foreign economies. This constitutes a relatively painless form of foreign aid.

For example, the vast tourist industry is Britain's No. 1 dollar earner.

DISMAL ACCOMMODATIONS FOR TOURISTS

Yet, the plain, blunt fact of the situation is that most foregin countries are woefully inadequate in planning accommodations for American tourists. As a result, travelers are jammed into obsolete, inadequate facilities.

But if these foreign countries acted to provide better facilities for the tourists, they would find that they are earning far more tourist revenue, in addition to creating a much better impression of their own countries.

The shortage of hotels in Western Europe is particularly acute.

For example, in all of England, but one new hotel has been built in the postwar period, according to a recent U. S. News article.

The shortage in Italy and France is likewise serious.

POSTWAR REBUILDING PROBLEM

Naturally, we can well understand the rebuilding problem of many of these countries. They suffered tremendous damage to their buildings during World War II. Each of these hard-pressed countries has had to concentrate on their highest priority construction needs, replacement of bombed-out homes, for example.

Nevertheless, it would be to these countries' own self-interest if they would now use American-style mass construction to improve the availability of hotel rooms.

I mention this fact not for the principal purpose of seeking greater comfort for the American traveler although that is certainly desirable. Rather, I mention it, basically, in the interest of increasing the tourist income of foreign lands, and making sure that the American who goes abroad has the feeling that he is truly welcome.

SEEING AMERICA FIRST

Of course, as I have always pointed out, I hope that the average American will see his own country first. I hope that he will get acquainted with the magnificent sights of his own great Nation, including for example the many tourist attractions of my own home State.

But I know that millions of Americans want to go abroad, as well, and it is for that reason that I make this suggestion today.

EUROPE SHOULD HELP ITSELF AND USE AMERICAN KNOW-HOW

Western Europe can hardly expect Americans to be sympathetic with Europe's economic problems if it does not do more in its own self-interest.

Fortunately, American hotel companies and our construction industry as a whole are ready, willing and eager to help finance, build, manage and/or lease foreign hotel facilities. Already, under American auspices and joint United States-foreign auspices, several beautiful new hotels have been built in Istanbul, Caracas, Bogota, Mexico City, Madrid, Panama City, and elsewhere.

Often however, existing foreign hotel owners seem to want to enjoy their present monopoly of hotel space, and many foreign unions seem to prefer their ancient building methods to efficient, modern American processes.

The result is that Europe is losing out. It would be far better for Europe's own self-interest to cooperate with American business wholeheartedly.

But whether Europe, Asia, and Latin America do the job themselves or with American know-how or money, the important thing is that the construction job be done.

I send to the desk the text of the U. S. News article from the July 26th issue as well as Mr. Reed's article from the May-June 1957 issue of Systems magazine. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OTHER SIDE OF A VACATION IN EUROPE

Tip to tourists: If you're going abroad, better make sure you can get a place to stay.

Hotel shortage in Europe, long a problem, is becoming acute. There's a need for thousands of new rooms at peak seasons.

With travel increasing year by year, the situation is almost sure to get worse. And little is being done about it, so far.

It is going to be harder and harder for Americans to vacation in Europe from now on, despite the fact that it is becoming much easier to get there.

Record-breaking numbers of tourists, flocking across Europe this summer, are finding hotel rooms harder to get and highways more jammed than ever before. The squeeze is to get much worse before it gets better.

Country after country in Europe is discovering that it simply does not have the hotel space to accommodate today's crowds of travelers. With construction of new hotels virtually at a standstill, it is going to be nearly impossible for tourists to find living space in the period just ahead.

By 1960, Europe will be deluged with 50 million tourists, a jump of more than 50 percent over this year. The American Automobile Association predicts 1 million of them will be Americans taking their vacations on the other side of the Atlantic, double the number going to Europe this year.

The age of the jet air transport, scheduled to begin in 1960, will make it still easier for Americans to get to Europe. Instead of taking 14 hours to fly to London or Paris, the new planes will make the trip in half the time. New ocean liners—some designed to carry only tourist-class passengers at low rates—will be coming into operation, too.

By the early 1960's in other words, Americans will be able to get to Europe in half the time and often for much less money than they can today.

Whether they'll be able to find a place to stay once they get there is something else again.

Already, there are too many tourists in Europe during the summer months for the number of hotel rooms available, according to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. "Difficulties are bound to become worse," says the OEEC, "if tourist travel increases over the next few years to the extent indicated."

To avoid a real crush, European travel experts estimate that a minimum of 72,000 additional hotel beds will be needed by 1960 in capital cities such as London, Paris, and Rome. In the main tourist areas outside of the capitals, a bare minimum of 10 percent more hotel space is urgently required, even assuming that, as more Americans of lower incomes travel in Europe, they will occupy hotel rooms for shorter periods than today's tourists do.

Trouble is, nothing like this amount of construction is now in sight.

SCRAMBLE IN FRANCE

Only a handful of new hotels has been built in France since 1949. Outside of Paris, the French have increased available hotel space just 10 percent in 7 years—a period when American vacationers were flocking to their country. In Paris itself—a city visited by practically every tourist who goes to France—there has been a microscopic 1 percent increase in the number of hotel rooms since 1949.

Yet France was host last year to 4.3 million tourists, a 400 percent increase over prewar days.

Even now, Americans are beginning to skip France on their European tours because of the hotel shortage. To avoid losing the dollars American tourists bring with them, the French Government is trying to stimulate hotel building with a low-cost loan program. It hopes to add 60,000 rooms by 1961. But the travel people are skeptical that this goal can be reached at all, much less in time to accommodate the new hordes. Right now, for example, only one major new hotel—to be built by the Government—is planned for Paris.

CONFUSION IN BRITAIN

Desperately short of dollars, the British are letting their biggest dollar earner, the tourist industry, sink into serious trouble for lack of hotel space.

This year there will be a scramble to find rooms for the 300,000 Americans and the three quarters of a million other tourists Britain expects. Unless more hotels are built, and built quickly, officials expect Britain to lose its share of the crowds that will want to come when the jet age begins. "The American visitor," says one British banker, "may look forward to seeing the Tower of London, but he doesn't expect to sleep in the moat."

In London, which lost 20 hotels to German bombers during World War II, only one new hotel has been built in postwar years—and that by an American company. The only new hotel presently contemplated for London is a 32-story building planned by another American chain.

Yet Britain needs, as an absolute minimum, 5,000 additional hotel rooms to handle its present number of tourists.

The drawback in Britain is that nobody except people in the travel business seems to be much interested in increasing tourist accommodations. Many businessmen dislike hotels as investments because it is hard to keep them full the year round. The Gov-

ernment, trying to hold down inflation, discourages the heavy outlays of capital needed to build hotels. And some officials say privately that they would rather limit tourist facilities to those who can afford to spend a lot, instead of opening up the country to crowds of people who spend relatively little per person.

NIGHTMARE IN ITALY

If the British are reluctant to build new hotels, the Italians are running them a close second. Italy's shortage of hotel rooms now is estimated by the government at 127,000. Rome alone needs a minimum of 3,000 more rooms to handle the demand expected in the next 3 years. Yet, when one American company wanted to build a modern hotel in Rome, it was balked by opposition from Italian hotel owners.

Hotel building in Italy is being done mainly because of prodding by the Government. Loans to aid in building 192 hotels with 7,500 rooms are being made from the public purse. Whether they will be built in time to take care of the expected crush of tourists remains to be seen. There were 13,000 hotel rooms in Rome in 1949. There are only 14,000 today.

HOPE IN GERMANY

It is a different story in Germany. Only in that country do you find hotel building anywhere near adequate for the numbers of tourists. There were 485,000 hotel beds in 1938 in the area that now constitutes West Germany. In 1947, with most of the country in wreckage as a result of the war, hotel beds were down to 134,000. Today, there are 550,000.

It's still difficult to find hotel space during the height of the tourist season in Germany. But German officials expect new construction to match the 10 percent increase in the number of tourists expected over the next 5 years, after which the tourist boom is expected to level off.

A SOLUTION?

One possible answer to the hotel shortage in Europe—roadside motels—is only beginning to be explored. Italy as 82 built or planned, but there are only 8 in Britain, 3 in France and none in Germany. They are just as hard to find in the other countries.

Luxury hotels, built by American companies, are sprouting here and there in the European capitals. London has one and Madrid has another. Still others are planned for Berlin, Athens, Rome, Vienna, London, and an as-yet-undesignated city in Scotland. But the space they will provide will not go very far in relieving the acute shortage of hotel rooms American tourists are to encounter in Europe from now on.

THE BUSINESSMAN ABROAD

(By Ralph T. Reed)

Foreign trade and investment promote security and prosperity at home.

These words have the agreement today of almost all broad-thinking men of affairs. The extent of our overseas business and investment bears testimony to its importance where all Americans are concerned.

One form of international trade that has undergone a great growth in recent years, and has become vitally important for several reasons, is international tourism. Perhaps it may surprise some to think of tourism as a form of trade, but in reality it is a vast, diversified industry, involving many necessary functions and many separate areas of business activity.

Most important, though, international tourism plays a significant role in promoting America's security and prosperity.

This year alone it is expected that the United States tourist will spend upwards of last year's $1.2 billion in foreign carriers. These expenditures are enough to pay for almost a tenth of all the merchandise we sell to these countries. They are equivalent to about 12 percent of the revenue secured by overseas nations from imports coming into the United States.

Meanwhile, we hear almost daily of new developments which should have startling effects on the coming development of international travel—assuming a degree of world stability.

With transportation improving so rapidly, a weekend in Jamaica or weekend in Europe can become an active reality for many tourists. Many other resort and travel areas, before restricted to the traveler with a month or two to spend, will soon be open to the 2- and 3-week vacationist. And much of the time which he now spends getting to these areas he will then enjoy in them.

It should not be forgotten that the billions thus spent abroad are not aid dollars. Rather they are voluntary consumer expenditures in the open market—value given for value.

BETTER FORM OF AID

While direct United States aid continues to be a necessity in certain areas, we can all agree that this kind of free functioning of economic demand and supply through tourism is a far superior form of dollar stimulation for any nation today. It's a healthy sign when the one can replace the other. The benefiting nations develop a greater self-sufficiency and initiative from such revenue, secured through their individual efforts. The revenue itself moves quicker and more spontaneously into commercial channels.

For every American businessman, this means a lot. It means more dollars for the purchase of American exports. It means increased capital investment in local industry abroad. It means greater demand for American goods overseas, and for foreign goods by our returning travelers.

Put in another way, travel dollars have a way of returning home as trade dollars.

There is a second major factor involved. Everyone has heard the old saying that "ideas seldom respect the boundary lines of nations." This has never been more true than today.

Ideas in this age move with the speed of sound—literally. In the course of a very few years, the mass communications mediums have become an intimate part of our daily lives and the lives of millions around the globe.

Among other effects, this condition has stimulated a tremendous curiosity throughout the world about America and American values. Our uniquely high standard of living, as well as our traditions of liberty, cause intense interest in many quarters which used to have only a vague curiosity. Among some we find misconceptions about our country; among others even some antagonism. But we never find lack of interest.

One might say that we suddenly find ourselves on stage, under a world spotlight, being asked to explain the values we live and work by.

Under such circumstances, our words and actions as American businessmen have a close connection with our country's future well-being. For better or worse, we bear a very considerable responsibility.

There are significant signs that this problem of communicating America's aims to our friends and business colleagues abroad is today receiving the attention it deserves. Recently, President Eisenhower called a meeting in the White House of 60 Americans, representing all phases of business, professional, artistic, and religious life, to develop a program of intensified people to people contacts with our friends abroad, with a view to telling our story more effectively wherever misunderstandings exist.

With all the tremendous powers of the mass communications mediums today, it's a reassuring fact that the most effective means of communicating our values and principles to others continues to be through casual conversations between one individual and another. The American tourist abroad is given constant opportunities to talk with citizens of countries he's visiting.

In general, American tourists seem to have been doing a far more effective job of making friends abroad than they're given credit for. This particularly applies to representatives of United States companies traveling abroad professionally.

The American businessman is usually successful in establishing very friendly and personal relationships with his opposite number abroad. Meeting on the familiar grounds of commercial operations, he can show most clearly his ability to give and take, to respect the other man's point of view, to work out a relationship that benefits both parties. Such contacts do more than anything to eliminate the false notions of American business which still linger.

But, of course, the volume of business travel abroad has its limits. There are many other groups whose numerical strength is far greater and whose help is vital in building proper respect for the values of a free society.

Student travel is one of the best forms of insurance we have against future stagnation of the mind. These young people are the best of our country. We want them to travel more, and we want students of other government groups to encourage exchange.

PROPER WELCOME HERE

Travel by foreigners to our own country is a subject which only recently has begun to receive the attention it deserves. While exchange barriers in many countries limit at present the volume of such travel, there is much effective work which can be done to publicize the attractions of the United States abroad to those who can travel. We can also make sure that these friends from abroad are given a proper welcome when they get here.

Finally, and most important, we should at all times keep in mind that we are out not only to build long-range overseas markets and sources of supplies for ourselves alone, but we are out for the strictly humanitarian motive of developing and increasing the general welfare of everyone everywhere. With these motives in mind, we will find that intercontinental travel and trade appear to be just about the best insurance we have against another form of intercontinental exchange—the intercontinental missile.

The Lease-Purchase Building Program Will Cost $750 Million More Than Direct Appropriation Method, and Will Destroy Historic Lafayette Park

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I testified before the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the House Committee on Public Works on February 28 this year in support of an amendment to H. R. 4660 which provided ways and means for building better and more efficient public buildings. H. R. 4660 is now before the House as S. 2261 as amended.

It is my belief that the Federal Government should take as much care in building its public buildings as private industry does. I do not think that the same care and planning is going into Federal buildings as goes into, say, any of the great buildings being built in New York City and other cities throughout the country.

I have been concerned, as have others, about the lack of any building under the lease-purchase program. One hundred and forty-six buildings have been approved by the Public Works Committees of the Senate and House for construction under the lease-purchase program, yet today only 1 building is under construction after 3 years. Surely 3 years is long enough to demonstrate the worth of a program.

There has been a great deal of talk about economy, yet here is the administration recommending a construction program—the lease-purchase program—which costs the taxpayers at least 75 percent more per building than the same building would cost under the method of direct appropriation. This is due to the higher interest rate and the payment of taxes on Federal buildings constructed through lease purchase. This policy is unwise, unsound, and is a departure from all previous policy of the Federal Government.

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JONES], pointed out in a speech he made on this floor on Friday, July 19, that—

An analysis made by the General Accounting Office at my request shows that the lease-purchase program for the 146 projects approved by the congressional committees would cost more than $750 million—that is right; three-fourths of a billion dollars—in excess of what the cost would be under the direct appropriation method. Those are the GAO figures.

There has been a great deal of talk about economy by various Members of this body, but it seems to me that right here is one place to begin economizing and it is for this very reason of economy that I strongly support S. 2261 as reported by the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives.

I frankly do not see how we can go back to our districts and justify our support of a lease-purchase program that will cost such enormous and unjustified sums in interest.

The bill reported by the House Public Works Committee with amendments, S. 2261, provides that all of the projects approved under lease-purchase shall go forward under direct appropriation with the exception of six buildings in the District of Columbia and a post office building in Illinois. One of these six buildings, Federal Office Building No. 7, General Services Prospectus No. 3–DC–05, planned for the west side of Lafayette Park in the area bounded by 17th Street, Pennsylvania Avenue, Jackson Place, and H Street should, I think, be given much more thought than has been given it so far by the Executive agencies involved, particularly the General Services Administration and the President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space. Many distinguished civic and cultural leaders, architects and others have suggested that this Federal office building be confined to the 17th Street, Pennsylvania Avenue, and H Street sides of Square 167 and I happen to think and believe that this is a really excellent solution of the matter, since it would leave historic Jackson Place undisturbed.

I am, therefore, considering offering the following amendments to S. 2261 when it is under active consideration on the floor of this House in the hope that it will lead to a second look and a more constructive—and less destructive—building plan being put forward by the General Services Administration. Especially, I feel, will this be so if the Public Works Committees of the Senate and House are given an opportunity to go over the plans for this building again.

AMENDMENTS TO S. 2261, AS REPORTED

Page 9, strike out the following: "Federal Office Building—FOB No. 7—(Veterans' Administration), 3–DC–05."

Page 12, line 3, after "1954," insert the following: "other than the project known as Federal Office Building—FOB No. 7—(Veterans' Administration) which has the General Services Administration Prospectus No. 3–DC–05."

Page 13, imediately after line 7, insert the following:

"SEC. 5. The Administrator of General Services shall make such improvements, alterations, additions, and repairs to the old State Department Building situated on the southeast corner of the intersection of Seventeenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D. C., as may be necessary to make such building suitable for use as an office building by the President of the United States, except that no such improvements, alterations, or repairs shall materially alter the appearance of the exterior of such building. No appropriation shall be made for any improvement, alteration, addition, or repair authorized by this section if it has not been first approved by resolutions adopted by the Committee on Public Works of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, respectively, submitted in accordance with subsection (b) of the first section of the act entitled 'An act to provide for the construction of certain public buildings, and for other purposes,' approved May 5, 1926, as amended."

These amendments would remove this Federal office building—FOB No. 7—from the list of buildings which the reported bill S. 2261 would permit to be constructed under the lease-purchase program and exempts it from the provision approving for construction by direct appropriation all buildings heretofore approved for construction under the lease-purchase program. Further, they add a new section authorizing the Administrator of General Services Administration to alter, repair, and otherwise modernize the old State Department Building without altering its exterior appearance in order to make it suitable for an office building, and with the added requirement that the plans for such renovation and reconstruction be submitted to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House. This building can, of course, be built by the direct appropriation method under my amendments if it is resubmitted to the Public Works Committees of the Congress and approved by them.

Language was written into the independent offices appropriation bill preventing the General Services Administration from using any of its funds during the current fiscal year for the preparation of drawings and specifications, the acquisition of sites, or the design, planning, construction, or development of plans for a Federal office building at the west side of Lafayette Park which has been recommended to the Congress for housing an expanded White House office staff. The plans for this building have not been definitely formulated and it was felt that there was no need for the Government to take over at this time the national headquarters of the National Grange and otherwise proceed to take irretrievable steps to alter beyond recognition one of the historic sites of the Nation without giving thought to the many important values involved.

The expansion of the White House offices also calls for razing the historic State, War, Navy Building, and there is a blazing controversy going on over this proposal also. I would like to include at this point some newspaper articles which will delineate this controversy for us:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 2, 1957]

PLAN OFFERED TO SAVE HOMES OF LAFAYETTE SQUARE—NATIONAL TRUST SUGGESTS RESTORING HISTORIC SITES AS BLAIR HOUSE ANNEX

(By Jean White)

The Government was called upon yesterday to restore the old spirit of Lafayette Square when once-elegant homes along historic Jackson Place are razed.

To clear way for a $27.4 million office building, the Government has taken title to 9 parcels of property along the street flanking the west side of Lafayette Square. Decatur, Blair, and Blair-Lee Houses would be spared in the block, the Government said.

Yesterday Richard H. Howland, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, urged that several of the mid-19th-century mansions also be saved. These, he said, could be worked into the design of the new building.

If restored, several houses at the south end of Jackson Place, he wrote members of the group, could serve as a much-needed bedroom annex to Blair House, just around the corner on Pennsylvania Avenue.

And architecturaly, he emphasized, the restored mansions would be an effective counterpart to Decatur House, at the other end of the block, a generation earlier in style.

The trust decided earlier not to protest the Government plan since Jackson Place already had lost several of the mansions from its day of elegance as one of the Capital's great residential streets. Three houses were scheduled for demolition for a private office building.

Howland said the trust will urge that the new building's facade on Jackson Place reflect the original concept of Lafayette Square. This side, he said, should be comparable in height and texture to Decatur House.

The trust also has its own personal problems with the Government move, Howland pointed out. It will have to move from its headquarters at 712 Jackson Place by May 1 to escape paying Government rent retroactive to January 25.

"We would like to receive a well-located historic or architecturally significant property in the Capital as a gift," Howland wrote.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 15, 1957]

LAFAYETTE SQUARE PLAN OFFERED

A Washington architect recommended yesterday that the residential aspect of Jackson Place NW. be preserved in planning Government office structures in the block.

Frederick Gutheim, of Dickerson, Md., writing in the current issue of Progressive Architecture, said this would be the best solution in trying to preserve the once fashionable street and yet answer pressing demands from the White House and its agencies for more working space.

Gutheim said "tall office buildings that have been allowed to intrude on Jackson Place could be replaced with structures in residential scale." However, he said, "suitable private organizations such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation, should be permitted to occupy these structures.

One such structure might serve as an official residence for the Vice President, he suggested.

The Government is planning to build a $27-million office building in a block bounded by Jackson, Pennsylvania Avenue, and 17th and H Streets NW. All existing buildings, except Blair and Blair-Lee House and Decatur House, would be torn down.

Gutheim said a "frankly utilitarian structure—about all we can expect of Federal building in these preoccupied and uninspired days—could be allowed" on the 17th Street side.

As Gutheim saw it the pressures for the Government office building stem from the White House organization and its vast expansion by the Eisenhower administration.

A staff expansion of unprecedented magnitude was required by the Eisenhower way of doing business at SHAEF headquarters during World War II and at NATO, according to Gutheim.

[From the Washington Evening Star of May 27, 1957]

TWO SPEAK UP TO SAVE STATE-WAR BUILDING

The two House Members of a Presidential Commission named to find more White House office space are set against razing the old State-War-Navy Building.

Representatives SMITH, Democrat of Virginia, and MCGREGOR, Republican of Ohio, both oppose a majority report of the commission to replace the landmark.

They are bound to win powerful support in the economy-minded House, whose Speaker RAYBURN also has spoken out against any effort to obtain funds to tear down the building.

The Commission report is at the printers, Robert V. Fleming, who heads the 7-man group, said. It is expected to be made public by the White House next Monday.

OTHERS FAVOR DEMOLITION

All the other Commission members were understood to favor demolishing the 19th century structure at 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW.

But the House Representatives signed the majority report only after razing was approved "when economically and financially feasible," it was learned.

"I feel that at this time it is not economically feasible to tear the building down," Representative MCGREGOR said. He estimated razing costs at $6 million.

Though he said he recognized the cramped quarters at the White House were deplorable, he also stressed that Congress must call a halt to expanding executive staffs.

"If we keep giving space to White House employees, I have the feeling that the executive branch will keep hunting people to fill it," he added.

HISTORICAL VALUE DEFENDED

Representative SMITH, interested in the historical value of the old building, said, "It would be a shame to tear it down."

Many architects defend the granite structure with its elaborate cornices and chimneys, while others scorn it, he noted. But he said it represented a period of American architecture that might well be maintained.

Mr. Fleming declined comment on the Commission report, or on his own personal view of the old State controversy.

But he was understood to favor replacement along with other Commission members, Senators CHAVEZ, Democrat of New Mexico; and HRUSKA, Republican of Nebraska; General Services Administrator Franklin G. Floete and Douglas William Orr, New Haven, Conn., architect.

What are the historic values involved, it may be asked? They are set forth in Public Law 292, 74th Congress, approved August 21, 1935, known as the Historic Sites Act, "That it is hereby declared that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."

These then are the values that are involved, and our national policy regarding them is clear.

I sponsored legislation in the 84th Congress appropriating funds to complete the historic buildings and sites survey authorized in the Historic Sites Act of 1935. Shortly thereafter Department of the Interior officials advised me they would request funds for this purpose in their budget if I would not insist on my own measures. They were true to their word and I am glad that the Congress appropriated $139,265 for the survey of historic American buildings, and $92,930 for a survey of historic sites as requested in the Interior Department appropriation bill for 1958.

The Director of the National Park Service, Conrad L. Wirth, advised me under date of July 19 as follows:

Now that the Department's request for funds for the current fiscal year has been approved, we are turning our attention to the immediate task of organizing personnel and procedures for the nationwide study (of historic buildings and sites). In view of the task ahead, and the great interest throughout the country in historical conservation, we are anxious to start the survey as soon as possible. We appreciate your interest in the preservation of our Nation's important historic sites.

I include at this point for the information of my colleagues some of the correspondence I have received as to the importance of the White House-Lafayette Park area:

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., April 1, 1957.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: We have read with interest the mimeographed statement issued from your office for release on April 21, bearing on the question of a new Federal office building in the vicinity of the White House for use of the executive department, which was enclosed with your letters of April 22 and 24.

Your efforts in behalf of historic preservation throughout the country and here in the Nation's Capital have been helpful and we appreciate your strong interest in this subject. We are taking cognizance of the fact that you are concerned over the prospect that the historic setting of the White House and its immediate environs may be drastically changed by the construction of new Federal office buildings.

As you know, the National Park Service plans to make a study under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 regarding the several sites you mention provided funds therefor are made available. It would therefore appear proper, as you have done, to call the attention of Mr. Fleming, Chairman of the Presidential Commission, to the act and to the policy it establishes.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

CONRAD L. WIRTH,
Director.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., May 13, 1957.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: Two press releases issued from your office on April 21 and 26 have been reviewed as you requested.

Your continuing interest in the preservation of historic structures is appreciated. We note from the two releases that you have quite properly communicated your views regarding the problem of providing additional office space in the vicinity of the White House for use of the executive department to the President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space.

As we advised you in our letter of April 8, 1957, the National Park Service shortly after July 1, 1957, proposes to undertake a study of the historical and architectural significance of buildings in the vicinity of the White House provided funds requested in the President's budget for the resumption of the Historic Sites Survey are appropriated by the Congress.

The proposed resumption of the Historic Sites Survey is an important facet of the comprehensive mission 66 program of the National Park Service which, as you know, was submitted to Congress last year with the strong support of the President and the Department of the Interior. This is but one indication of this administration's continuing interest in the conservation and protection of historic structures and areas throughout the Nation. Among the historic areas of the National Park system established since January 1953 are the Edison Laboratory National Monument and the Edison Home Historic Site in New Jersey; Chimney Rock National Historic Site, Nebraska; Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico; Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, Kentucky-Tennessee-Virginia; Fort Vancouver National Monument, Washington; Golden Spike National Historic Site, Utah; and Independence National Historical Park, Pennsylvania.

Sincerely yours,

HATFIELD CHILSON,
Acting Secretary of the Interior.

I think the Congress was thoroughly justified in denying funds to the General Services Administration to proceed with its plans for a great office building at the west side of Lafayette Park.

Clearly, the language of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 is explicit and requires the preservation of both historic build-

ings, and sites, and both buildings and sites are involved in the White House-Lafayette Park area.

The report of the President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space makes no mention of the historic values involved in the area. The Chairman of the Commission, Robert V. Fleming, wrote me under date of May 14, 1957, in part as follows:

The Commission was informed that no historical survey of the area under discussion could be developed before June 2, 1957. Consequently, the only alternative to submitting a report when due would be to extend the date for the Commission's report.

As you have noted, the time for the Commission's report has once been extended. The purpose of the extension however was to permit all members of the Commission to participate in the deliberations.

Yet the report of the President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space, which the President sent to the Congress on July 17, calls for the building of a huge office building at the west end of Lafayette Park and thus supports the position of the General Services Administration.

At the same time, the Commission recommends the razing of the historic State, War, Navy building located on the northeast corner of 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW., and its replacement by a modern office building.

The Washington Post of June 4 reported that the distinguished Speaker of this House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] was one of the traditionalists who were rallying to defend the historic State, War, and Navy Building and that newspaper reported an interview which one of its reporters had with the Speaker on April 10. The Speaker was quoted as saying he was "very much opposed" to tearing this landmark down, and that if the State, War, Navy Building "doesn't suit them on the inside, then they can do as they did at the White House" and that he would oppose any efforts to obtain congressional funds for the purpose of building a replacement.

September 6 this year is being proclaimed as Lafayette Day, for it marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of the Marquis de Lafayette, the great French general who fought with the American colonists against the British in the War of Independence.

Americans will always remember Lafayette for the freedom he helped to bring to this country, and for the freedom he fought so ably to establish. He will be revered and remembered by all who cherish our country and have experienced its blessings of liberty and prosperity.

Now might be a singularly appropriate time to think of ways to preserve and maintain the historic park which is named in his honor.

Every city, but particularly the Nation's Capital, should set apart certain old houses, certain breathing spaces in the form of parks, and so on, to show the more impressionable teen-agers that American life does not consist merely of gasoline stations, the drive-in diner, and the second-hand car park.

Fifty million visits were made to historic sites and buildings open to the public in 1956. I am informed that officials of the National Park Service believe there will be at least 80 million such visits a year by 1966. This is the depth of the feeling Americans have for their historic past, and I am convinced that all reasonable steps must be taken to preserve our great heritage.

At the centennial convention of the American Institute of Architects the editor of the Atlantic Monthly magazine, Edward A. Weeks, Jr., spoke movingly of the need for the preservation of our historic past. He declared that—

In a State like Virginia, preservation has become a fine art. In Williamsburg where every fence rail and Kleenex carries the arms of William and Mary; and in the gracious houses along the James; Westover, Stratford, Shirley, and Berkeley Hundred—it is so easy for the 20th century to imagine the grace and the quality of colonial America. One is grateful for the care which has kept these shrines alive.

Let us in this House be mindful of our heritage and be always careful to preserve it in order that our children and our children's children may be grateful for the care which we have taken to keep our shrines alive.

Our Legislative Body in the Far Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the most farflung legislative body convening under the Stars and Stripes is that of Guam, and it has been a happy circumstance that visits to Washington of the distinguished and able Speaker of the Guam Legislature, the Honorable A. B. Won Pat, and other members of the body over which he presides have brought us in the Congress in close personal association with our fellow lawmakers who maintain representative government on an island thousands of miles away on the highest of American legislative standards. It was a privilege and a pleasure, as well as working to mutual advantage, to have with us during the early months of the session Speaker Won Pat and the Honorable J. A. Perez and the Honorable J. C. Arriola, members of the Guam Legislature. I am sure I am expressing the sentiment of the House in saying that we were most happy to have them with us and that indeed they won a place in our hearts.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I took an especial interest in the visit of our fellow lawmakers from Guam because the success of the American legislative system on that farflung island is bound to have healthy repercussions in the thinking of the peoples in the Pacific area. My heartiest congratulations to Speaker Won Pat, Representatives Perez and Arriola, and their colleagues on the splendid job they are doing.

I am extending my remarks to include Resolution 168 of the Fourth Guam Legislature, a copy of which has been sent me with the certification of Speaker Won Pat and the legislative secretary, V. B. Bamba. I appreciate the graciousness of our good friends who make the laws of Guam. The resolution follows:

Resolution 168

Resolution relative to expressing the gratitude and sincere appreciation of the people of Guam to the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, Representative from Illinois, for his sympathetic interest in their problems and his gracious and cooperative reception of their representatives

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the Territory of Guam:

Whereas at the direction of this legislature, the Honorables A. B. Won Pat, speaker; J. A. Perez, and J. C. Arriola proceed to the Nation's Capitol at Washington, D. C., for the purpose of conferring with Government and congressional leaders about the problems of Guam; and

Whereas the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA graciously gave his time and sympathetic interest in the understanding of the problems confronting this Territory: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this legislature does hereby express to the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA the gratitude and sincere appreciation of the people of Guam for his sympathetic interest in their problems and his gracious and cooperative reception of their representatives; and be it further

Resolved, That the speaker certify to and the legislative secretary attest the adoption hereof and that copies of the same be thereafter transmitted to the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, Representative from Illinois, and to the Governor of Guam.

Belgium Honors American for Trade Fair Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, over many years, Col. John D. Hartigan has served the United States and its agencies with distinction in many capacities, but more recently Mr. Hartigan has been adviser to the State Department on United States participation in the Brussels Universal and International Exposition.

As a result of his work in this capacity, he has been signally honored by Belgium by being decorated Officier de l'Ordre de la Couronne, and in this connection I wish to place in the RECORD an article from the Christian Science Monitor of July 23, 1957.

The article follows:

BELGIUM HONORS AMERICAN FOR TRADE FAIR ASSISTANCE

WASHINGTON.—John D. Hartigan, former adviser to the League of Nations and the United States Department of State, has been decorated Officier de l'Ordre de la Couronne by Belgium. The award was made July 11 at the Belgian Embassy by Ambassador Baron Silvercruys, in recognition of Mr. Hartigan's contributions to the field of international expositions and trade fairs.

Most recently, Mr. Hartigan has been adviser to the State Department on United States participation in the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition scheduled for 1958.

In 1934, Mr. Hartigan assisted the League of Nations commission which made preparations for the Saar plebiscite held in January 1935.

As early as 1936, he began negotiations with the Belgium Government for its participation in international expositions, at that time the Golden Gate International Exposition.

With international expositions suspended by World War II, Mr. Hartigan in 1940–41 devoted his efforts to European relief, concentrating on aid for Poland and Belgium.

In 1950, he resumed work in behalf of expositions and as chief of Trade Fairs and Exhibitions of the Economic Cooperation Administration, he worked with the Beligum Government regarding its participation at the Chicago International Trade Fair of 1950.

Last year, Mr. Hartigan served as adviser to the American Furniture Trade Mart's International Trade Mart.

Mr. Hartigan also has reported from Europe for the Christian Science Monitor on refugee and relief matters.

Effect of Voting in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Good Government Requires Quality Not Quantity of People Voting," which appeared on July 29, 1957, in the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier, one of the Nation's most distinguished and outspoken newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD GOVERNMENT REQUIRES QUALITY NOT QUANTITY OF PEOPLE VOTING

On no subject in American life is there more sanctimonious nonsense uttered and printed than now is heard about voting. At the present time, the national press is moaning and groaning that large numbers of Negroes are not registered and voting in the Southern States. The Baltimore Evening Sun, for instance, recently spoke in somber tones of the distressingly small number of Negroes registered.

The fact is that government does not get better as more and more voters cast their ballots at each election.

Practically every able-bodied citizen in Hitler's Germany voted. And yet Germany was one of the worst states in modern times. Communist nations have no problem in getting citizens to the polls. Indeed some Socialist countries have compulsory voting. Even those nations with compulsory voting do not enjoy more liberty than citizens of the United States.

In this Republic, the turnout of voters in giant metropolitan centers such as Chicago, New York, and Boston is massive. And yet in each of these cities government is at a low ebb and corruption is notorious and traditional.

On the other hand, in Virginia, where only a handful of voters of either race turn out for State elections, government is honest and dignified. Even the worst enemies of the Byrd organization in Virginia, which is simply an alliance of the better elements in the Commonwealth, acknowledges that the State is free of corruption.

The truth is that King Numbers is not a very wise monarch. Those cities and States that are ruled by him suffer. Those cities where government is in the hands of educated and propertied men and women are good places in which to live.

It's all so simple, actually. If one finds a small community here in South Carolina where perhaps 100 men and women vote—people who own their farms and businesses, teachers and professional people from good stock who have roots in their community—one finds good, stable government. If one adds to the voting population the town bums, the chronic unemployed who prefers making a little whisky to making a living, the Negro cooks of the community who make good okra soup but wouldn't know the qualifications for county auditor, one adds elements that will make for bad government.

That's the situation around the Nation. The politicians, the ringsters, the corruptionists, the spoils system manipulators—they want lots of voters of a kind they can boss. They like the kind they can get vote their way for half a pint of cheap whisky on election day. Certainly, however, that isn't the kind of voter intelligent, responsible Americans, North or South, want on the voting lists.

Despite the widespread understanding among responsible Americans that mass voting isn't a substitute for intelligent voting, the hokum about voting carries on and a myth persists.

Strong Forces Continue Efforts To Eliminate Independents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the best known and most articulate figures in independent banking is Harry J. Harding, president of the First National Bank of Pleasanton, Calif. Mr. Harding is honorary president of the Independent Bankers Association of the 12th Federal Reserve District. He played an important role in securing passage of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956.

Mr. Harding gave the following analysis of the problems facing independent banking to the 23d annual convention of the Independent Bankers Association at Miami Beach, Fla. I recommend to our colleagues the reading of Mr. Harding's address. Of special interest is his suggested formula for limiting bank mergers.

The address, as it appeared in the July 1957 issue of Independent Banker, follows:

CONVENTION ADDRESS—STRONG FORCES CONTINUE EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE INDEPENDENTS

Although the title of my talk appears on your program as "The Single, Dual, and Triple Banking Systems Reexamined," I will approach this by discussing the three "F. T. F.'s" of independent banking.

These F. T. F.'s are: Face the facts of independent banking, first things first in independent banking, and finish the fight for independent banking.

What are some of the facts of independent banking today?

Fact No. 1 is that independent banking is under attack.

We do not hear anyone advocate the destruction of our system of independent banking and the substitution therefor of the Canadian or the European systems of nationwide branch banking—with only half a dozen or so banks—at least not openly and directly. Such an effort quickly would be buried in an avalanche of opposition.

WHITTLING PROCESS

The effort to accomplish the elimination of independent banks is more subtle. It takes form largely in a whittling process, a constant nicking away at diffused control of banking, on the one hand, and a building up of public acceptance of absentee ownership and management.

Among other things, these undermining efforts to take the form of the recurrent urging that control over the reserves of all banks be placed in the hands of the Federal Reserve Board—or increasing the powers of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation—or to expand the powers in the hands of the other Federal supervisory agencies.

The State comptroller of the State in which we are now meeting, addressing the Florida Bankers Association a few weeks ago, warned that the continued invasion of the rights of the States by the Federal Government and its agencies, in the field of banking, could result in the disappearance of State chartered and State supervised banks.

So, fact No. 1 that we should face is that our system of independent banking is under strong undermining attack.

Fact No. 2 is the threat of holding company expansion within a State.

The Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 falls short of the objectives of your organization. While it prohibits further interstate expansion, it leaves the door wide open in most States for the expansion of bank holding companies within a State, regardless of what the branch banking laws of such State might be. It placed a responsibility upon each of the States to enact its own legislation, if it wishes to regulate the expansion of such companies within its borders.

A rather startling idea, which certainly seemed aimed at furthering the purposes of a proposed New York State bank holding company, was the publication by a well-known and highly respected bank stock analyst, claiming that Congress, by enacting the Bank Holding Company Act, had "given its blessing" to a new "triple banking system."

NEW TERM FOR EVADING

Completely misunderstanding the legislative history and the restraining purposes of the act, he enthusiastically hailed what he believed to be congressional approval of the "pole vaulting" of the State's branch banking laws. (Let me add that "pole vaulting" is a polite way of saying "evading.")

This authority on bank stock says: "The announcement of plans for a new bank holding company, First National Corp., marks the opening of a new era of banking in New York State, and, inevitably, the Nation."

He also stated, "The proposed bank holding company * * * now shows the way to leap across every wall from New York City to Plattsburg and from Albany to Buffalo. Indeed, the proposed first little jump has suddenly revealed greener pastures that have already forced other bankers and their stockholders to look to their own jumping shoes."

PREMATURE EXULTATION

That expert on bank stocks spoke a little too soon. He hadn't dreamed that in addition to Mississippi, Illinois, and Georgia,

which States already had laws on their books, other States would be enacting legislation to clip the wings of any holding company movement.

Indiana and Kansas recently enacted laws that ban holding companies. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Minnesota, and Massachusetts have had bills in the hopper.

Most surprising of all, probably, to the stock expert, was the action of New York State, as follows:

First in the antiholding company position taken by Governor Harriman and George A. Mooney, superintendent of banks.

Second, the enactment of a stopgap law aimed at preventing the proposed First National City Bank holding company from acquiring a bank in a district in which it could not legally operate branches.

Third, extension to this stopgap measure to keep it in effect until May 1, 1958.

No, we are far from developing this so-called triple system of banking, thanks to the work that the independent bankers have done over the years and are still doing to fight this threat. But this inadequacy of present bank holding company laws is fact No. 2 that we must keep in sight.

CONCENTRATION BY MERGER

Fact No. 3 is the concentration of banking control through the mergers of banks. This merger trend has been accelerated in recent years.

Last year alone 103 banks absorbed 143 other banks—almost 1½ banks gobbled up by each of the surviving banks.

In the 20-year period from December 31, 1936, to December 31, 1956, according to the FDIC, the number of banks in this country decreased from 15,679 to 14,166—a shrinkage of 1,513 banks, though approximately 1,000 new banks were organized in this period.

This year-by-year shrinkage in the number of banks, in the opinion of the ABA, is nothing to be alarmed at. The ABA, to which we all belong, bitterly opposed the Celler bank-merger bill in 1955 as not needed. It declared "* * * that the number of individual banks in operation since 1939 has remained relatively stable; that this stable level in the number of operating institutions has adequately supplied the banking needs of the country essential to the enormous economic growth of the country during this period."

A decline of about 10 percent in the number of banks in 20 years, the ABA regards as "relatively stable," notwithstanding an "enormous economic growth."

WHAT LAW SAYS

The Financial Institutions Act of 1957, as approved by the Senate, declares that in addition to other factors, the respective Federal supervisory agencies in considering proposed mergers shall, and I quote:

"In the case of a merger, consolidation, etc., take into consideration whether the effect thereof may be to lessen competition unduly or to tend unduly to create a monopoly, and, in the interests of uniform standards, it shall not take action as to any such transaction without first seeking the views of each of the other two banking agencies referred to herein with respect to such question; and in such case, the appropriate agency may also request the opinion of the Attorney General with respect to such question."

Let me discuss this a little. You will note that there is no outright prohibition of any merger, merely the requirement the appropriate agency shall "take into consideration" competitive and monopolistic aspects and "in the interest of uniform standards" shall first seek the views of the other two banking agencies.

The appropriate Federal agency at its discretion may also request the opinion of the Attorney General with respect to such question. What is the question? Whether the effect of a specific merger may be to lessen competition unduly or to tend unduly to create a monopoly? Does that mean monopoly is O. K. as long as it does not tend unduly to create a monopoly?

How would you define "unduly"? In the existing antitrust legislation, such as the Sherman Act and the Clayton Act, the word "unduly" does not appear.

The word "substantially" has been passed upon as to meaning by the courts in a number of cases. It is safe to say that it will be years before the meaning of the word "unduly" can be determined. There will have to be a number of court decisions on this point.

You will also note that the provision which we have quoted does not say a word about any approval of any merger by the State supervisor of banks where a State bank is concerned. Here again the termite of Federal control continues to eat away at the vitals of our dual banking system.

FDIC MERGER STAND

The FDIC, in a letter signed by its general counsel, addressed to the Honorable STROM THURMOND, United States Senator from the State of South Carolina, has given assurance that it will not consent to any transaction under the merger section involving a State bank without the prior approval of the State banking authority, if such approval is required by State law.

While this is a recognition the State supervisor should have the authority to disapprove a merger, this is not enough to preserve the prerogatives of the State supervisory authorities and to maintain the autonomy of the States over banking. This policy of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation can be changed by the Board of Directors at any time. The personnel of the Board does change. We learned with sorrow of the passing of Maple Harl, former Chairman and a Director of the FDIC. This brings home more than ever that boards do change.

I strongly believe that neither the Federal Reserve Board, nor the Comptroller of the Currency, nor the FDIC, should have any additional powers over the mergers of State banks, and I hope that the House of Representatives will amend the Senate bill in this regard.

Certainly the record of the States as to the maintenance of competition among banks is as good as that of any Federal agency. However, inasmuch as banks have been held to be engaged in interstate commerce and since existing Federal antitrust laws apply to concerns engaged in interstate commerce, it does not seem realistic to permit each State to establish its own standards to apply to monopolistic tendencies, either for banking or for any other line of business. Therefore, I believe the enforcement of all antitrust and monopoly laws, including those affecting banking monopoly, should rest with the Federal Government, that is, the Attorney General.

Those who argue that the Federal supervisory agencies alone should have anything to say over banks and banking are forgetting that by reason of being engaged in interstate commerce, banks come under a whole flock of laws that are administered by agencies other than the Federal supervisory agencies. Among these laws are the Fair Labor Standards Act (wages and hours law as we usually refer to it), the Labor Management Act of 1947 (Wagner Act), Social Security Act, the Clayton and the Sherman Acts.

PERMISSIVE WORDING

The merger provisions in the proposed Financial Institutions Act which I have quoted state that the respective Federal agencies may request the opinion of the Attorney General. Why? Presumably because the Attorney General's opinion should be helpful. Then why under the sun shouldn't the respective Federal agencies take advantage of that help? They will, if the wording of the act is changed from "may" to "shall."

The independent bankers consistently have held there is danger in the economic power inherent in the concentration of control over banking. Monopoly, in the ordinary sense, the destruction of competition always has been second to this danger.

It was not so much the fear there would be no competition to the second bank of the United States, that led Andrew Jackson to fight for a system of diffused control over banking, as it was the fear of the economic power that centralized control would beget.

Congressman CELLER has presented some arresting figures on the concentration of banking, figures that are startling in showing how far down the road to the European system of banking we have traveled. I also will shock you with some figures from an era with which I happen to be pretty well acquainted and where I saw it happen.

At the end of 1935, there were in California 275 banks, of which 236 were unit banks; 39 branch systems. At the end of last year, there were only 139 banks, of which 87 were unit banks and 52 branch systems.

At the end of 1935, the bank assets held by branch banking systems amounted to 83.6 percent of the total. Twenty-one years later, at the end of last year, the branch systems held 97.8 percent of the total bank assets, largely concentrated in 7 branch banks.

In Washington, at the end of 1935, there were 188 banks, of which 180 were unit banks. By the end of 1956, the number of banks had decreased to 97 with unit banks numbering 74 and branch bank systems 23. The percentage of bank assets held by the branch banking systems in the 20-year period increased from 52.9 percent to 89.3 percent, largely concentrated in the 5 large branch bank systems.

In Oregon, at the end of 1935, there were 97 banks, of which 94 were unit banks. At the end of 1956, the number of banks had dwindled to 52, of which 41 were unit banks and 11 branch bank systems. In the 20-year period, the percentage of bank assets held by the branch bank systems increased from 69.1 percent to 91.5 percent, practically held about equally by two chains.

ARIZONA: 2 INDEPENDENTS

At the end of 1935, there were 9 banks in Arizona, of which 6 were unit banks; 3 branch systems. By the end of 1956, the number of banks remained the same, but the unit banks had decreased to three. Now there are only two. Think of it—only two small independent banks in the entire State of Arizona.

Whereas in 1935 the percentage of bank assets in Arizona held by the branch systems was 77.2 percent, by the end of 1956 this had increased to 96.5 percent. But, as a matter of fact, two holding companies hold practically all of the assets as shown by the branch banking systems just mentioned.

Certainly, in Oregon and in Arizona, where two organizations alone in each State hold practically all the bank deposits, there is competition between these two organizations. But we would like to ask the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Department of Justice, as well as the ABA, has a tendency toward monopoly developed in the States that I have just quoted? Or, at what point does this tendency toward monopoly begin?

MUST CHECK MERGERS

As so ably pointed out by Congressman CELLER, unless the merger movement is speedily checked we will wake up 1 day to find that these mergers, repeated and multiplied over and over again throughout the country, will have brought about a new situation like the European system where a few banks completely dominate our banking

structure. That is fact No. 3 on our list of facts we must face.

Fact No. 4 is the extension of branch banking. The destruction of legal restrictions on branching is perhaps the most serious of all threats to independent banking.

Branch banking proponents argue that independent banks and branch banks can exist together. The history of no country supports their claims. No, the history of Europe and Canada, as well as some American States, overwhelmingly demonstrates the fact that branch banking drives out unit banking.

PATTERN IN CALIFORNIA

Let's take another look at California. The Bank of America started in 1904. By the end of 1922, when I located in California, it had 61 banking offices in 42 communities and deposits amounted to 229 millions. By the end of 1956, the Bank of America branches had reached the 600 mark and deposits amounted to 8,993 millions, about 44.5 percent of the State's banking resources. There is no ceiling.

There are half a dozen other large branch systems in California trying to overtake each other in opening branches. There are now 1,304 branch bank offices in California and only 87 unit banks.

There are some branch bank operators in California who very frankly admit they are afraid of the situation. They are opposed to any "octopus" system and they want competition, instead of monopoly by themselves or any other bank.

Because they cannot restrain the ambitions of their competitor branch bank operators—and as these competitors reach out and surround them with branches, they feel forced, in defense of existing business, to expand themselves. Thus the pressure continues, ever spiraling toward greater and greater concentration.

RECORD SHOWS ATTRITION

In our own country, the history of those States where branch banking is permitted, even though limited to cities or counties, shows in almost every case a steady attrition in the ranks of independent banks and a constant increase in the number of branches.

Of 7,957 branch offices as of December 31, last, 3,336 were in the 18 States that permit statewide branches, and 4,403 are located in the 18 States that limit branches to cities, counties or other areas.

In 20 years, there has been a gain of about two and one-half times in the areas in which branching is limited, as against a gain of two and one-fifth times for the statewide States. In States where branching is limited in area, the concentration of bank assets in a few institutions is just as marked as it is in States permitting statewide branching, sometimes more so.

No; the argument that branch banks and unit banks can live side by side on a basis of equality is a fallacy.

Fact No. 5 is the lack of public interest. In my opinion a great many people care very little whether a bank is a unit bank, a branch bank, or a subsidiary of a holding company. Most people care very little whether a bank's policies are laid down locally or by an absentee management located a long distance away. The public's primary concern is as to the safety of its funds, and it looks to the Government to provide this protection.

That is why Carter Glass, after nearly 32 years as a member of the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees, was able to say he had never heard a merchant or businessman protest against branch banking.

Happily, there are people who understand the difference between independent and other banking. It is this percentage who prefer independent banking that accounts for the slightly better growth in unit banks as compared with other systems. Nevertheless, the public apathy is fact No. 5 we must consider.

Fact No. 6 is internal weaknesses. Certainly, faulty building helps create the termite problem. We might say that we ourselves are guilty of faulty building when we do not properly provide for management succession, when we fail to build up our invested capital as our business grows, and when we get careless about providing adequate services for the public as conditions and ways of doing business change.

There are other problems that confront us, such as competition of pseudobanks and various lending organizations. But these problems your association has been studying and we are hopeful there will be devised a treatment necessary to meet these situations.

The facts that face us, then, are:

Independent banking is under attack.

Holding company expansion within a State regardless of branch-bank laws, in undermining independent banking.

The concentration of control of banking by the merger method is another threat to independent banking.

The spread of branch banking.

The public is disinterested.

Internal weaknesses in our banks must be corrected.

WHAT TO DO

With these facts before us, let us take a second look and determine which of these undermining influences presents the most urgent problems to be tackled.

I think we will pretty much agree the most serious threats are from the three channels through which concentration of banking control is taking place: merging, branching, and holding company intrastate expansion, and these need to be tackled simultaneously.

Let's begin with the merger threat.

For quite a number of years the House Judiciary Committee and the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, particularly, have called attention to the dangerous trend of banking concentration and have sought to cure this tendency.

In my opinion, none of the proposed bank merger bills go far enough. Preston Delano, then Comptroller of the Currency, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency in 1950 on S. 2318, a bank holding company bill which had been drafted by the Federal Reserve Board, declared, "It has also been suggested that it would be wise to have a definite ceiling beyond which bank holding companies could not expand. A suitable test might be a specified percentage of the banking offices or bank resources within defined areas."

I seem to be in good company, then, when I suggest a somewhat similar provision be added to the bank merger bill. You may wonder why we had not endorsed this principle at the time Preston Delano made the suggestion. We, however, took the position and have steadfastly maintained it, that the bank holding company device had been used to evade the Nation's banking laws, and we oppose legalizing such evasion in any degree. The matter of law evasion does not apply to branch bank legislation.

SUGGESTED STANDARDS

So that we may have something to shoot at, let me suggest an addition to any bank merger bill, along the following lines:

"No merger shall be approved under this act, in cities of 10,000 or less population, when the result will be 2 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located; nor in cities of more than 10,000 population up to 25,000 population when the result will be 3 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located; nor in cities of over 25,000 population to 100,000 population when the result will be 4 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located; nor in cities of over 100,000 in population when the result will be 5 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located. In each case, the population figures will be those of the last Federal census.

"Nor shall any merger be approved under this act when the result will be that the merging bank will hold more than 30 percent of the total banking deposits of the area in which the merging bank has offices."

Let's kick this around for awhile. I don't want you to say you are for this or that you are opposed. I would like to have you think of the arguments both for and against such a proposal, so that we may carefully study and weigh them.

You may feel that the criteria specified in this suggestion are not realistic, but can you think of better yardsticks than the ones suggested? Do you think that we ought to have any yardsticks other than the discretion of some Federal agency? Have you any reason to believe the Federal agencies would?

The yardsticks I have suggested are no more arbitrary than the existing requirements as to the capital necessary for the establishment of a new bank, or of a merging bank. The prevention of undue concentration of banking control is just as much in the public interest as the limitations on the loans that a bank can make. As to the argument that mergers should be left to the discretion of a supervisory agency, this, in my opinion, could apply equally as well as to the capital requirements for a new bank.

SEES OBJECTION

I know the supervisory agencies will immediately howl that the merger door must be kept open so that without hindrance they can merge a failing bank, a bank that is not properly managed, or a bank that is undercapitalized, with another good bank, regardless of its monopolistic tendencies.

If such an emergency escape hatch needs to be kept open, that can be provided, of course, but I wonder if merging a weak bank is the one and only solution that the FDIC or any other supervisory agency can think of. If so, why do not the laws say something affirmatively giving the power to compel the merger of a bank under such circumstances, to the supervisory agencies? Or is this a method they themselves have seized upon without congressional sanction?

You will note what we have proposed places no limitations on size, nor does it in any way hinder normal growth. It merely restricts cannabalism.

Let's not say it can't be done, but rather ask ourselves, should this be done? I am convinced we must have a ceiling on concentration of control over banking or face destruction to our independent banking system.

Second: What can be done to overcome the threat of envelopment by branch banking?

Every effort must be made to hold existing restrictions on branching in the various States. This should be done by study and discussion of branch banking and its tendency to drive out independent banking—a tendency that is just as inexorable as the workings of Gresham's law.

While each State will have to solve its own problems, your organization must be prepared to give help and guidance to State groups, profiting by the experience and success achieved in other States. This means a certain amount of public education also.

PUBLIC HEARINGS NEEDED

There is no provision in the National Bank Act, nor in the Financial Institutions Act of 1957, for public hearings on national bank branch applications. I fail to see any valid reason why such applications should be made and passed on in secrecy.

What we want to know, is, wherein is it detrimental to the public interest to have

it known when an application for a branch has been made? I hope that the House of Representatives will amend the Financial Institutions Act to provide for such public hearings. Your association is on record in favor of such a provision.

The Comptroller of the Currency should be restricted by statute in his authority to approve branches of national banks, in addition to the geographical limits in which State banks can have branches, as at present, so that limitations a State may place on drive-in or tellers windows would have to apply to similar stations or offices of national banks in those States.

Likewise, I am of the opinion that the ceiling in percentage of deposits of a city or area, such as I have suggested for mergers, that is, 30 percent, should apply in the case of de novo branches, in other words, no bank holding 30 percent of the deposits of the area in which it is authorized to operate, should be permitted to establish a new branch.

Now let us look at the third important threat, holding company expansion within its home State. One difficulty in securing enactment of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 in the form it was originally overwhelmingly approved by the House of Representatives, was the intensive effort on the part of the ABA and the Federal Reserve Board to convince the Senate Banking and Currency Committee that holding company banking was not essentially branch banking.

THE SAME, COURTS SAY

The ABA particularly testified at length as to the differences between a branch bank and a separately incorporated bank controlled by a holding company. The representatives of the Independent Bankers Association held that these differences were mainly in form and not in substance.

In the March issue of Banking, there appeared an item stating that a court in the State of Georgia held that holding company banking and branch banking were the same. Courts in several other States have held the same thing. Had the American Bankers Association recognized the obvious, that the holding company was a mechanism for evading the law of the States relative to branches of banks, I am quite sure we would have gotten the House-approved Spence bill, substantially in its original form.

We realized after successfully having the Douglas amendment prohibiting interstate expansion by bank holding companies adopted by the Senate, the bill was all we could hope for at the time. Striving for the ideal might have meant that legislation would have been delayed as our opponents counted on doing and thereby we would have been defeated.

REVIEW PROVISION

We knew if we kept well organized, and, as experience proved the need, the act could be amended. In fact, the act provides that within 2 years after the enactment, the board of governors shall report to the Congress the results of the administration of the act, stating what, if any, substantial difficulties that have been encountered in carrying out the purposes of the act, and any recommendations as to the changes in the law which in the opinion of the Board would be desirable.

I think we can expect the holding companies will make every effort to bring about a softening of the law. We must be ready ourselves, at the proper time, to support amendments that will strengthen the act.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS

The first of these amendments would be a definite restriction on the evasion of the State branch banking laws through the holding-company device, such as was recently attempted in New York State. This would mean adding a provision essentially similar to the one deleted from the House-approved Spence bill, as follows:

"Nor will it be lawful for any bank holding company or subsidiary thereof to acquire, directly or indirectly, any shares in a bank in any area within its home State except in the same geographical area in which a bank located in the same city in which the bank holding company has its principal place of business could lawfully establish a branch of such bank."

A second amendment, in my opinion, would be a provision to restore the requirement which also was in the House-approved Spence bill, that the Federal Reserve Board would have to accept as final any disapproval by the State supervisory authority as to the acquisition of stock in a State bank, and by the Comptroller of the Currency as to the acquisition of stock in a national bank.

I am not saying these are the only changes in the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 that should be advocated, but these are the ones that primarily are necessary to prevent the further evasion of branch banking restrictions and for the preservation of independent banking.

Now we come to the third F. T. F.: Finish the fight for independent banking.

To my way of thinking, we are fighting on 3 fronts, and on all 3 fronts, we need to act and act quickly:

At the national level, we need congressional action on merger legislation and Bank Holding Company Act amendments.

At the State level, we must hold the line against extension of branch banking areas and secure enactment of State merger and holding company laws.

At the banking level, we need more intensive organization.

NEED MORE BANKING

Not that I minimize our strength. This organization has proved its strength and has established its standing. But, our first problem is to arouse all independent bankers. There are 5,000 more banks that should be in this fight. With strong representation in a State, it will be a lot easier to secure enactment of State laws to regulate mergers and bank holding companies. With effective State laws on the books, it will be easier to get congressional action.

No job is hard when we can break it down into small parts. To double the membership merely means that each member should undertake to secure one new member, that's all, just one new member. If those present today will do this it will add substantial strength to your organization. If there's the will, it can be done.

Don't fool ourselves. We've got to face these undermining attacks on independent banking with our eyes wide open. We've got to make decisions like grownup men, men who are confident that what we represent is in the public interest, that the business in which we are engaged has been a mighty factor in the growth and prosperity of our country, and can continue to be so. We are not playing for marbles. The future of free enterprise and our independent banking system is at stake.

You bankers are the leaders in independent banking. If you were not interested, you would not be here. But, the passive, gentle sort of an interest will not win this battle. Every bit of support, every bit of strength you gave to the independents' fight to secure bank-holding company legislation needs to be doubled and tripled. Remember, the best defense is a strong offense.

Let's face the facts, tackle first things first and finish the fight for independent banking.

Air-Fare Increase Has Strong Public Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Members of the Congress to the following story in a recent issue of the Aviation Daily. This article, I believe, is very interesting and thought-provoking. It is my feeling that some action should be taken by the Congress to remedy this situation and grant needed relief to the airlines:

AIR-FARE INCREASE HAS STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT

Of extreme significance throughout CAB's bitterly contested 32-day hearing in the suspended passenger-fare case is the fact that not one consumer's group or a single member of the public uttered a word of protest against the domestic airlines' proposed 6-percent fare hike. In fact, there is increasing evidence of strong public support for the carriers, who have met opposition only from the CAB staff and in lukewarm fashion from the General Services Administration.

Last week the Daily reported that the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce board of directors voted unanimously to endorse the airlines' modest fare boost. The group's transportation director, Ray Allen, transmitted the endorsement to CAB. It has since been learned that the Chambers of Commerce of Kansas City and Dayton have taken similar stands. Jay B. Dillingham, president of the Kansas City group, wrote CAB that "We business people who are large users of air transportation strongly feel that it is reasonable for us to pay a nominal increase in our air fares, since other modes of transportation have received substantial rate increases."

Harry R. Hall, executive vice president of the Dayton chamber, phrased it thus in a letter to CAB members: "Present airline profits (and losses) appear to be inadequate to meet airline commitments for new equipment. The main source of revenue, the passenger fare, should be sufficient to allow the airlines to meet their new equipment commitments. We recommend strongly that you take immediate action to alleviate this unhealthy economic condition."

Editorially throughout the country there is virtually amazing support for the price increase, largely in recognition of the industry's stable fare levels over the inflationary years, the industry's heavy commitment for new and improved aircraft, and the threat to continued service gains inherent in today's declining profit margins.

NEED FOR STANDARDS ESTABLISHED

Meanwhile, the airlines, by the seriousness of their present case before CAB, appear to have minimized the early fears in some congressional circles that they were simply trying to beat the threat of a fare cut thought to be inherent in the general passenger fare investigation. By the same token, the interim fare case would appear to have proved the need for establishment of standards which was the prominent feature in the House Antitrust Subcommittee's demand last year which led to the general fare investigation. If such standards were now in effect, the most controversial issues of the current case, such as depreciation, investment

base, and tax differences would not have arisen.

Thus, if the present complex situation can be summed up at all at this point, it would appear the airlines, with sincere public backing, have proved their need for an emergency fare boost, and the CAB's investigation of that need has confirmed the wisdom of Congress and the Board in instituting the industry's first general fare investigation, out of which will come necessary standards to permit intelligent evaluation of the complicated financial period ahead.

The Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, as a means of acquainting Members of the House who have not had the benefit of hearings with conditions in the gas industry leading to congressional effort to bring about legislation favorable to the producers and the consumers, I take this opportunity to offer the following comments.

Natural gas occupies a unique place among household fuels. Its adaptation to domestic and commercial heating has made remarkably rapid strides in the past quarter century. Many of the major cities and an innumerable number of small communities still clamor for gas supplies to serve their household uses. These demands can be met only by continued increased production and transportation facilities to bring this commodity to their city gates.

Until 1938 gas exploration, gathering, and transport was a free-for-all industry. In that year Congress passed the Natural Gas Act which provided that pipelines delivering gas to industries and to municipalities for resale should be placed under the control of the Federal Power Commission empowered to establish prices that pipelines might charge to utility companies making distribution to domestic users and to industrial users within the limits of their distribution system.

In order that cities and localities at great distances from the source of supply might contract with pipelines for domestic gas supplies, the FPC established a two-point price system—one for delivery of gas to the city gate, the other for interruptible and direct sales to industry. It is evident that this method was utilized for the purpose of giving the pipelines a source of outlet for their line capacity during seasons when domestic consumption was insufficient to use the pipelines' full quota. During this period FPC controlled the prices of all gas delivered to city gates for distribution by utilities, but with that portion of the line capacity which could not be delivered to the utilities during certain seasons the pipelines were left free to negotiate with industrial users for quantities of gas without any price supervision by the FPC. So that since 1938 the FPC control over the prices of gas was limited in that it controlled only the prices of that portion of the gas sold to utilities for resale.

Under the Supreme Court action in 1954 known as the Phillips' decision the powers of the FPC were extended to control the price of gas delivered to the pipelines direct from the source of supply. This decision, however, made no change in the authority of the pipelines to continue their two-price system. Hence, that part of the pipelines' freedom to distribute portions of their capacity to industrial users was left unchanged.

Production of gas in the field has always been looked upon as an industry carrying with it great risk. Due to the uncertainties connected with gas drilling, independent operators have objected to any control or price-fixing regulation, and were opposed to the regulations imposed by the Phillips' decision. In order to meet these objections and to encourage producers to take the risk essential to the development of new gas fields, a number of bills have been introduced in the Congress to restore more freedom for producers and to relieve them from FPC's power to control their prices of gas delivered to the pipelines.

During the committee hearings on the Harris bill, which may come before the House this session, it was revealed that known gas reserves are estimated on the basis of present consumption to last about 22 years. If the rate of consumption is to accelerate in the future as rapidly as it has in the past, it is essential that new fields and new reserves must be found in order that domestic consumers of natural gas may be saved the necessity of losing their investments in household facilities and fixtures in the event scarcity of gas makes it necessary for them to seek new sources of fuel.

It is admitted that two-thirds of the total gas delivered by pipelines in 1955 went to industrial consumers either through resale by the utilities or through direct and interruptible sales by the pipelines before reaching the utilities. It would seem that should the supply of gas materially decrease, supplies to the domestic consumers would either have to be limited or the direct and interruptible sales by the pipelines would have to be materially curtailed.

This brings up to the important factor of the gas industry which is of great concern to the householders throughout the Nation now using or anticipating the use of natural gas for household use. It is quite evident that the present custom of selling such a large portion of natural gas to industrialists is a potential means of materially cutting short the unknown future supply of gas and thereby deprive domestic consumers, for whom natural gas is so well suited for domestic uses, of adequate supplies at reasonable cost.

The Harris bill empowers the FPC to fix rates for gas delivered by the producers to the pipelines as well as rates the pipelines may charge to the utility distributors, but costs as a factor in making these rates cannot be considered by the FPC. While costs at the producers' level are difficult to assess, there is no apparent difficulty in establishing costs as a factor in rating prices charged to the utility distributors, except as they apply to the pipeline sales from their reserve holdings.

Eighty percent of known reserves are owned by pipeline companies, most of which are also producers. These reserves are estimated to have cost the pipeline companies 1½ cents per thousand cubic feet. Whenever FPC approves an advance in a producer contract, the same advance automatically increases the sales value of their reserves. Should the FPC refuse to consider original costs in estimating a fair and reasonable price to the utility distributor and instead base its rates on the accelerated price of these reserves, the pipelines could reap considerable profit at the expense of the consuming public.

Since this bill gives FPC wide discretion to consider all relevant facts, except cost, as a basis for establishing gas rates, consumers may expect this agency to faithfully perform its legal function in the light of the consumers' best interests.

Since other fuels, coal for instance, exist in such unlimited quantities as compared to the future prospect of natural gas, it would certainly seem in the public interest to take such steps as may seem advisable to conserve the present and future supplies of natural gas for that segment of our economy for which it is best suited.

The authority given the pipelines to negotiate with users of coal at whatever price may be sufficiently low to induce the user of coal to turn to the use of natural gas is both unfair to the coal industry and exceedingly dangerous in its extravagant manner of rapidly depleting gas reserves.

The Harris bill, which we are considering, does provide some relief to the producers of natural gas. It relieves them of the necessity of appealing to FPC for a permit to sell their produced gas, yet places sufficient restraint on the industry to prevent any tendency to monopoly among the gas producers. Aside from laying down certain rules as a basis upon which the FPC can arrive at fair market prices for gas paid to producers, and sales charges allowable to the utility gates, it offers nothing to counteract the unpopular features of the operation of the industry as now prevails under the recent decision of the Supreme Court. It makes no attempt to correct the uneconomic exhaustion of gas supplies practiced under the present unregulated privilege of the pipelines to make interruptible and direct sales of gas to industrial users. As pipelines are extended and if the privilege of the pipelines is not curtailed, it is easy to see that natural gas will continue to be a direct and unfair competitor with coal and oil, and at the same time shorten the period during which natural gas will remain available for domestic use.

Unlike gas reserves which are supposed to last only 22 years, during which time continuous exploration must proceed in order to discover any new sources, coal reserves in this country are estimated to last at least a period of 2,000 years. Coal in the past has played a decisive part in the economy of the country during war periods, and to be able to continue its

ability to meet future emergency needs, the industry must be permitted to keep their mining operations open, in order to be prepared to meet any future emergency. Coal mining not only employs many thousands of miners but a much larger number of men engaged in rail and water transportation, large investments in rail and water facilities, plus the required number of sales and delivery people to carry on. The investment in pipelines is in no way comparable to the coal-carrying portion of the railroads, nor is the cost of maintaining the pipelines to be in any way compared with the immense cost of rails and other means of transport engaged in carrying coal from the mines to market. The tax returns on coal property and coal production, and that portion of the transportation systems engaged in its transport, far exceed anything that is returned by the pipelines.

I bring these things to your attention for the purpose of showing that the unfair competition of gas with coal is of such magnitude as to gradually place the whole coal industry at a very great disadvantage. So practices uneconomical to the interests of coal producers and shippers can prove to be dangerous to the national economy.

For that reason I think it quite essential that the privilege of the pipelines to make sales to industrial consumers at prices below the price charged to the city gates, plus a reasonable allowance for transportation, should be denied and for that purpose I am endorsing the amendment to the Harris bill proposed by my colleague, Mr. STAGGERS, which would place control of the interruptible and direct sales by pipelines to industrial consumers under the power of the FPC. If pipelines are no longer able to negotiate the sale of gas to industrial users situated within easy distance of the reach of the interstate pipeline at prices much below or sufficiently low to induce the users of coal to substitute the cheaper fuel, then the damage to the coal industry which is essential and which our Nation must protect, would be greatly reduced.

As I see it, it is just as important for the Nation to preserve for domestic users a natural fuel that is so well suited to their purpose as it is to protect the coal industry's economic welfare for ready compliance to the Nation's demands in event of a national emergency.

The public interest, after all, should be the prime objective of any legislation designed to regulate the gas industry. These remarks are expressions of my own conclusions after several weeks of committee hearings and extended discussions.

The Civil-Rights Battle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What's Behind the Civil-Rights Battle?—Politics," which appeared in the July 25, 1957, issue of the Williston Way, one of South Carolina's outstanding weeklies.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S BEHIND THE CIVIL-RIGHTS BATTLE?—POLITICS

In the past couple of weeks we've heard several people ask the question, "What is really behind the battle of civil rights?" Without claiming to be a clairvoyant, we believe we have the answer, and it all comes out in one word: "politics."

Both the Democratic and Republican Parties are making every effort to get the Negro vote. This vote, in 8 Northern States, can have a mighty big influence on Presidential elections, and for that reason the way of life in the South is being jeopardized by the 2 parties in their fight for control of the Government.

In the 8 Northern States that can be swung by bloc-voting the Negro, there is a total of 207 electoral votes. When you realize that only 266 electoral votes are needed to carry a presidential election, the magnitude of importance of these 8 States is brought into its true light.

In recent years the Democratic Party has had the majority of this Negro vote, but with the recent Supreme Court decisions and the continued pressuring and plugging of the NAACP (we still say the initials stand for National Association for the Advancement of Communist Propaganda) this vote has had indications of swinging to the Republican Party.

The Democrats, naturally, don't want to lose this vote in national elections, so they—or rather the northern segment of the Democratic Party—are going all-out on the civil-rights bill in an effort to hold the vote.

The Republicans have made inroads in the vote in the past couple of elections, and they are just as anxious to consolidate, and increase, these gains; therefore, the support of the bill by that party.

So northern members of both the national parties are eager to turn the civil-rights bill into a civil-wrongs bill if it will aid them in getting, or holding, this minority but powerful northern Negro vote. That leaves the South just where they want us—the whipping boys.

So, don't worry your mind any longer about the question "What is really behind the civil-rights bill?" cause you know the answer—politics, on a big scale.

An Appeal for a Better Understanding of Coal Industry Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, last week's newspapers carried an announcement of an agreement between Campagnie Francaise Thomson-Houston, famous French electronics firm, and Decca Radar, Ltd., of England, for the purposes of cooperating in the design and production of radar equipment for European air defense. The two firms will make available to each other design details of certain equipment required for defense purposes.

Any such action to strengthen the security of allied nations is a cheering development. On reading of this amicable and logical arrangement, however, I could not help but contrast it with the lack of understanding exhibited by international oil shippers with respect to the problems of competing industries. Year after year foreign residual oil has been poured into America's fuel markets without regard to the damaging effect upon the United States coal industry, an industry that is just as vital to the security of this country and our friends elsewhere in the world as are oil and radar and steel and airplanes.

Mr. Speaker, this week's report by the President's Special Committee To Investigate Crude Oil Imports is most disappointing in that it has not recognized foreign residual oil as a specific peril to the national security. Crude oil imports must be reduced, the report states, but there is not a single word about foreign residual oil and its damage to the coal industry.

Even now there is another serious threat to the coal industry looming on the horizon. The Niagara River bill, which directs the exportation of hydropower into areas of Ohio and Pennsylvania, would remove coal's opportunities in the power-generating field and create unemployment in coal States—in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Indiana as well as in those using the hydroelectricity, for Ohio and Pennsylvania coal not needed thereabouts will seek other outlets and serve to bring about general distress market conditions.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, may I ask that some attempt be made to emulate the cooperative attitude exemplified by those manufacturing plants on the continent which are so eager to join in the common defense of the free world. I hope also that Congress, in the absence of a firm stand by the White House and its Cabinet Committee, will see fit to act against the deplorable policy that permits open raids upon the domestic coal and oil industries of the United States by selfish interests among the international oil people.

The British Have Budget Worries, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a very interesting article by George W. Oakes, of Philadelphia and Washington, which appeared in the Sunday Star of June 10, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article analyzes the similarity of problems being experienced in England with those we are discussing in the Congress of the United States. The solutions discussed and applied by the House of Commons may be helpful to us in dealing with the same problems.

Mr. Oakes, who wrote the article, is an outstanding journalist who is now stationed in London.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRITISH HAVE BUDGET WORRIES, TOO

(By George W. Oakes)

"Parliament, like all elected assemblies, has lost the will to control government expenses—it's constantly pressing to increase spending." Such is the considered view of one of the House of Commons' most respected Conservatives, a former Cabinet Minister with 30 years of parliamentary life behind him.

Herbert Morrison, the Labor Party's most experienced parliamentarian in the Commons, wrote in 1954, "Whether the House of Commons is an adequate and efficient watchdog over public expenditure is open to question." That view is shared by most M. P.'s today.

Under the British system, the House of Commons allows the majority party or the government in office to spend what it considers necessary to implement its policy. The Commons' most powerful control is its constant right and privilege to throw any government out of office by defeating it.

Unlike the American system under which Congress can alter and amend the details of the President's budget, the House of Commons in practice accepts the government's recommended estimates or appropriations as presented. If it rejects these proposals, then the government must resign.

HOW IT WORKS

The British procedure works this way:

Each February the Government proposes its estimates to the House of Commons for the next fiscal year (which begins in April). These estimates are debated on certain days when the whole House sits as a Committee of Supply (Finance). Formerly the supply debates concerned financial matters, but during the past quarter century or so they have become occasions for the opposition to criticize and discuss the general policy behind the estimates.

For example, a supply debate on colonial estimates recently gave the opposition a chance to attack the Government's Cyprus policy rather than the cost of implementing it. So the Commons gives less attention to Government spending than it used to.

The House of Commons, in contrast with Congress, has no committees that hold hearings or question Ministers on financial expenditures before all current estimates are voted. However, there are two select committees of Commons that, without discussing policy, try to see that public funds are spent as economically as possible and only for the items authorized.

These are the Select Committee on Public Accounts, established by Gladstone in 1861, and the Select Committee on Estimates, set up in 1912. This machinery, organized when the annual budget was a mere fraction of that presented last April, and the entire governmental organization, about the size of a modern city administration, has remained virtually unchanged.

STUDIES PAST SPENDING

The Public Accounts Committee—by far the more important—consists of 15 members from both parties under the chairmanship of a prominent member of the opposition—often an ex-financial secretary to the treasury. It methodically examines the money already spent to determine whether it was used for the purpose intended by law. Its method is to concentrate on one Government department at a time, covering thoroughly the major establishments once every few years.

The committee has a single clerk, but it also utilizes the staff services of the controller and auditor-general, an officer of the House of Commons whose duty is to audit the accounts of the Government departments and report to the Commons.

Sitting every week, usually from February to August, the committee questions in detail the highest permanent officials and they hold these sessions in great respect. If civil servants exceed their authority or use money for purposes other than intended their careers can quickly be ruined.

The Public Accounts Committee's chief defect is that it is examining expenses incurred nearly 2 years earlier. Former aCbinet Ministers believe that the committee's accounting operation should be expanded so that it could examine more departments regularly instead of covering a limited number once every few years.

The committee labors under a further disadvantage as it is not authorized to investigate the accounts of the great nationalized industries—coal, electricity, railways, etc. Then, too, some question whether an annual accounting checkup is adequate for long-range projects with expenditures spread over several years.

But despite its limitations, M. P.'s regard the Public Accounts Committee as efficient and of vital importance. Its investigation of uneconomic expenditures and extravagance was particularly useful during the last war.

POLICY IS BYPASSED

The Estimates Committee, with 36 members split among the parties, is appointed annually to examine proposed expenditures and recommend economies consistent with policy. It's five subcommittees meet weekly from January and the full committee, under the chairmanship of a member of the party in power, issues its reports during the summer.

The committee cannot consider policy matters, hence in practice it can only advise on broad principles of management and economic administration. To take a minor illustration, it would inquire whether in constructing army barracks, estimates were received from a sufficient number of contractors but it wouldn't concern itself whether the barracks should have had more recreation rooms.

Since the committee operates with half a dozen clerks and no other permanent staff, its scope of activity is limited. High civil servants appear before it to answer questions and explain appropriations. As a result of its reports to the Commons, the Government usually issues a reply concerning the committee's proposals and sometimes these provoke debates. Two recent reports that attracted attention concerned the procurement of military aircraft and the construction of civil airports.

The Estimates Committee is generally regarded as considerably less effective than the Public Accounts Committee.

Many authorities doubt its usefulness for several reasons. It cannot deal with financial policy and so is unable to influence current estimates. It is handicapped by lack of an investigative staff and by the M. P.'s ignorance of technical financial problems. That the little time available for the vast task of checking the estimates prepared in February and voted on shortly thereafter means that in the few subjects it can cover each year it is often inquiring into funds already spent.

FEAR LOSS OF POWER

There is a conviction among experienced parliamentarians, former cabinet ministers and many M. P.'s that creation of additional special advisory committees would mean a degelation of powers from the Commons and thus weaken the authority of the House itself as the center for debate and decision.

Also, it is felt that bipartisan committees would tend to tie up ministers too much and inhibit the opposition during debates. Nevertheless a special committe was set up during the current session to examine the reports and accounts of certain nationalized industries.

Sir Robert Boothby, an independent Conservative M. P. believing that Parliament needs additional means of exercising its control, has for some time favored the establishment of select all-party advisory committees in the field of defense, foreign policy, and finance which would have the power to question ministers and high civil servants. Some M. P.'s argue that if such a committee, composed of qualified M. P.'s, could have questioned ministers before the Suez adventure, it might never have occurred. Nye Bevan is known to favor a special Commons committee to supervise colonial policy. But this demand for additional committees has not attracted much general support. On the whole, ministers and potential ministers are against any mechanism that might restrain their powers when in office.

Right to Jury Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the July 28, 1957, issue of the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, which is one of the South's oldest and most distinguished newspapers. It is entitled "Right to Jury Trial."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHT TO JURY TRIAL

The civil rights bill might produce a filibuster after all.

The Eisenhower administration, having suffered a major defeat in the Senate's elimination of section 3, has retreated to prepared positions. From there it will wage a last-ditch fight to salvage what it can from a civil-rights measure which already has been emasculated.

Still, at least one more crucial battle looms. President Eisenhower has ordered his congressional lieutenants to stand firm against any effort to amend the legislation with a guaranty of jury trial in right-to-vote cases.

Such an effort most assuredly will be made. Senator O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, already has proposed such an amendment.

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, leader of the anticivil rights forces, served notice that if the right-to-trial-by-jury amendment is beaten a full-blown filibuster will result. Southerners, and other Senators who have befriended them on this issue, will go down fighting; they will not give an inch.

Last week we wondered in print whether President Eisenhower had refreshed his memory lately on the matter of jury trials guaranteed in article VI of the United States Constitution.

Evidently, he hasn't.

At the cost of being repetitious, we should like to put down in print again the provisions of this article because what Mr. Eisenhower and his supporters are proposing is diametrically opposed to the language of the Constitution. It says:

"In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State

and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.".

Those are the words of the United States Constitution.

Yet, President Eisenhower is fighting for a law which would permit a Federal judge to try, convict, and punish a person—without trial by jury—in criminal contempt cases arising from cases charging violation of another person's right to vote.

These are not civil contempt cases referred to in the present civil-rights bill; they are criminal cases, and article VI of the Constitution provides that a person is entitled to trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions.

The American people won a significant victory in defense of their rights by the Senate's action last week; but this victory will not be complete until the menace to their right to trial by jury is removed.

And so, come next month, or the next, we might find a weary, hoarse group of Southern Senators still talking against this menace.

Oil Companies Are Not Hurting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, those who seek to destroy effective Federal regulation of natural-gas prices have long contended that under regulation producers lack incentive to provide adequate supplies of natural gas. This argument is phony.

Since the Supreme Court ruled in 1954 that the Federal Power Commission should fix producers' prices of natural gas sold to interstate pipelines, gas production has actually increased. This is not news to readers of the financial pages of our daily newspapers. Oil-and-gas-industry profits are at an alltime high.

Major oil companies control at least 85 percent of the natural gas moving in interstate commerce. They are not hurting a bit from Federal regulation. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include reports published in the New York Times of July 30, 1957, on the earnings of some of these companies. The Supreme Court decision directly concerned the Phillips Petroleum Co. Yet, Phillips enjoyed the most profiitable 6 months in its history during the first half of 1957. Standard Oil of New Jersey also reported record earnings for this same period.

Perhaps these reports are the answer to a question that has perplexed many members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. For a solid month in 1955 and again for several weeks this year our committee heard extensive testimony on the need for legislation to nullify the effect of the Supreme Court decision in the Phillips case. Time and time again we heard consumer gas shortages threatened because continued regulation would make gas exploration unprofitable. Strangely, however, not a single official of a gas-producing company testified before our committee. No official of Phillips, or Gulf, or Standard Oil, or any of the other big producers, appeared for questioning on the adverse effect regulation was having on his company's earnings.

Why? I think the answer lies in these financial reports.

The reports referred to follow:

JERSEY STANDARD NETS $463 MILLION

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey reported yesterday record net earnings for any half-year period at $463 million. This was equal to $2.35 each on the 196,939,278 capital shares outstanding.

For the first half of 1956, the company had reported a net income of $392 million or $2 a share.

Total income from sales and investments amounted to $4,030,000,000, or 15 percent above the $3,494,000,000 in the first 6 months of 1956.

The company estimated capital and exploratory expenditures made by affiliated companies reporting consolidated earnings at $629 million. This represented an increase of about 50 percent more than such expenditures of $413 million in the first half of 1956.

Of the total expenditures this year, additions to property, plants, and equipment were $508 million and those for the search for oil and gas and charged against current income were $121 million. The company said that more than 85 percent of the total was made in the Western Hemisphere, with approximately one-half of that in the United States.

The company's worldwide gross production of crude oil was placed at 2,484,000 barrels a day in the first half of this year, compared with 2,286,000 a day in the similar period of 1956. Crude-oil runs to refineries averaged 2,485,000 barrels a day, against 2,439,000 in the first half of 1956.

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM

The Phillips Petroleum Co. in the first 6 months of this year had a net income of $53,398,637, the highest for any 6 months' period, the company reported yesterday. This was equivalent to $1.55 each on the 34,350,353 shares outstanding at the end of the period.

The first half of 1956, the company reported a net income of $51,565,719, or $1.50 each on the 34,338,371 shares then outstanding.

Consolidated gross income this year also was at a record for any first-half year at $572,810,766, compared with $507,954,264 in the first 6 months of 1956.

The company's net production of crude oil and natural gas liquids averaged 225,720 barrels a day, against 207,496 a day in the first half of 1956. Crude oil processed at refineries averaged 244,065 barrels a day, compared with 248,657 in the 1956 period.

SUN OIL CO.

The Sun Oil Co. and subsidiaries today reported consolidated net income of $25,187,436 for the first 6 months of this year, compared with earnings of $25,138,552 in the corresponding period of last year.

The 6-month earnings were equivalent to $2.34 per share on the 10,752,254 common shares outstanding on June 30, compared with $2.48 a share earned by 10,143,601 common shares outstanding on June 30, 1956.

Joseph N. Pew, Jr., board, chairman, said the 1957 profit resulted from a gross income of $400,920,717, an increase of 14.4 percent over the $350,476,234 of gross income during the first half of last year.

TEXAS GAS TRANSMISSION

Texas Gas Transmission Corp. and subsidiary reported yesterday operating revenues of $87,296,144 for 12 months ended June 30. This compared with $76,145,989 a year ago. Net income of $7,020,677, equal to $2.17 a share, compared with $6,702,532, or $2.09 a share, year earlier. June quarter operating revenues of $22,656,683 compared with $18,501,540 a year earlier, while net income of $1,750,451, equal to 54 cents a share, compared with $1,563,681, or 48 cents a share, in the like 1956 quarter.

W. M. Elmer, president, advised stockholders that the activities of Texas Gas Exploration Corp. have been expanded substantially this year, having drilled or participated in drilling of 24 wells during the first half against 22 in all of 1956. Seven have been completed successfully, he said, adding that 7 are still drilling and 10 were dry holes.

TRANSCONTINENTAL GAS

Transcontinental Gas Pipe Line Corp. reported yesterday new highs in virtually all categories for the second quarter and for 12 months ended June 30. Tom P. Walker, chairman, and E. Clyde McGraw, president, commented that the 1957 construction program is proceeding on schedule. Completion of the present expansion program will boost total allocated capacity to 970,000,000 cubic feet a day, plus 136,000,000 cubic feet daily available from storage for next winter's heating season.

Operating revenues totaled $91,046,704 against $84,166,081 for 12 months ended June 30, 1956. Net income of $13,859,173, equal to $1.55 a share, compared with $10,888,202, or $1.17 a share, a year ago. Operating revenues for the June quarter totaled $22,281,513 against $20,924,376, while net income of $3,756,835, equal to 41 cents a share, compared with $2,726,411, or 29 cents a share, in the like 1956 period.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from an outstanding radio broadcast which was delivered by Mr. George E. Sokolsky over a number of American Broadcasting Co. stations on July 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Congress is now in a state of funk and the politicians of both parties are more concerned with the 1958 and 1960 elections than with the maintenance of the law in the United States. The Supreme Court has become a legislative body, usurping some of the functions of Congress, and it is quite possible that the Warren Supreme Court has knocked out the 10th amendment altogether. The 10th amendment reads:

"The powers not granted to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

The present civil-rights bill before Congress is a political measure designed to turn over to the Federal Government, through the Department of Justice, the enforcement by Congress of civil rights, particularly in States which do not grant equal civil rights to Negroes, although it has been my observation that there is as much discrimination against Negroes in the North as in the South.

As anyone who lives in a city like New York knows, there is no such thing as equal rights between Negroes and whites and that all the political gimmicks devised to prevent covert segregation in the schools fail because when Negroes or Puerto Ricans move into a New York city area, the white people move to a suburb. Thus, a school sooner or later finds itself in a Negro or Puerto Rican area and first most of the children and then all of them are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. This is a devious way of getting around equality but it happens all the time and many of the so-called liberals who shriek their heads off about the iniquities of the South, talk about how various parts of the city have become run down and how they must take their children out of them.

What they mean by run down is that Negroes and Puerto Ricans have moved in. Those great liberals who are rich send their children to private schools where they will not be contaminated by the lower races, although many of these schools have one Negro child in each class to establish their liberalism and sense of equality.

So it may happen one day that the Negroes will have as much to complain about in the big northern cities as in the South, but that is not yet.

The civil-rights bill, now before Congress, is basically a political measure, designed to influence the Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority votes in the North. It will have little effect upon voting in the South. It turns over to the Department of Justice extensive powers over the States, so extensive as to be a direct violation of the 10th amendment, but nobody worries much about the 10th amendment; all that attracts attention now is the first and fifth amendments which give the Communists advantages over all other American citizens now that the Warren Supreme Court has so ruled.

I dislike being cynical about great men who hold high office and I should like to believe them when they assert moral pretenses for their acts. After all, at heart, they may be very good and just men who would not consciously do an evil deed.

But the fact is that any civil-rights bill, whether well written or poorly written, whether honestly devised or dishonestly devised, would be popular in the Northern States among the politicians of both parties because it would arouse in the growing and already large Negro population a sense of gratitude. However, any measure which eliminates trial by jury is evil and wicked because it is destructive of our system of government and ultimately would do harm to Negro and white alike because when one stone in the arch of our liberties is removed, it will not be long before the entire arch collapses.

Liberty is not divisible. It stands whole or falls entirely. Trial by jury is an essential part of the Anglo-Saxon way of life which is our way of life no matter where our forebears came from. Whenever and wherever the jury system breaks down, the liberties of the people disappear. If politicians believe that it is more necessary for them to be reelected than it is to preserve the United States and the American way of life, then obviously it is time for the American people to rid themselves of such politicians. As soon as any man thinks that he is greater than the whole American people, it is time to drop him altogether.

Senator KARL MUNDT, discussing this question on the floor of the Senate, said:

"Blackstone believed trial by jury was provided for in the Magna Carta and described it as 'a trial that hath been used time out of mind in this nation, and seems to have been coeval with the first civil government thereof.'

"The drafters of our own declaration of rights in 1774 insisted that the colonists were entitled to 'the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage.'

"Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and all the drafters and signers of the Declaration of Independence, asserted deprivation of trial by jury to be one of our grave grievances against George III.

"Our great Anglo-American forefathers were not prone to play recklessly with human rights. They were not prone to barter and manipulate and discard human rights like so many well watered pieces of stock. When they found themselves confronted with a situation where it appeared that to protect more carefully one series of rights they must relinquish others, they knew that their search was not finished."

Michigan Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to insert the following article from the July 19, 1957, issue of the Detroit Times in which Governor Williams answers many of the questions that have been raised about the tax situation in Michigan:

GOVERNOR WILLING TO CHANGE TAX SETUP—ASKS INDUSTRIALISTS TO SAVE STATE'S NAME

(By Al Kaufman)

LANSING, July 19.—Governor Williams today made a dramatic appeal to Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors Corp., and other industrial leaders, to work with the administration "to save the good name of the State of Michigan."

In an exclusive Times interview, highlighted by frank replies to a list of 10 questions, the Governor conceded a "lack of liaison between some sections of business and State administration," and added:

"This is a bad thing for everybody, and I think it should be corrected.

"Maybe I haven't been as much a backslapper as I might have been, but everybody in Lansing knows my door is always open, and any businessman—from Harlow Curtice to the littlest corner merchant—can come into the capitol and see me at any time.

"I have never refused to listen, and I am ready to be convinced if I am wrong.

"I would very much welcome some frank personal talks with some of these business leaders to get their ideas on how we can meet Michigan needs without doing injury to any group of our citizens."

DISAVOWS HOSTILITY TO INDUSTRY

For the first time in the 9 years of his regime, Williams made public statements conciliatory toward business interests.

He disavowed hostility to industry, said he was willing to accept the advice of business on tax problems, and disclaimed any favoritism toward labor.

Williams said there was absolutely no truth to charges that he was a captive of Walter Reuther and Gus Scholle of the UAW-CIO, and added:

"All that Mr. Reuther and Mr. Scholle have ever asked of me is good government—and that's the only favor I have ever done them."

On taxes:

"I have never insisted on a corporation profits tax. I have always said if anybody could come up with a better idea, I would accept it."

CALLS IT VICIOUS PROPAGANDA

Caught in the series of Republican charges that his administration is driving business out of the State, Williams renewed his reply that the statements were vicious propaganda blackening the name of the State.

Exploding stories he has worked out his political future for 1958 and 1960 that call for a try at the Democratic nomination for President, Williams told the Times:

"As these questions indicate, I have plenty of problems as Governor of Michigan."

"THEY ARE NOT MY TAXES"

Following are the Times questions and the Governor's written replies:

"Question 1. The decision this week of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. to locate a new $16 million plant in Ohio rather than in Michigan because of tax differentials revives the argument that your administration is responsible for the so-called unfavorable political and industrial climate. What have you to say?

"Answer. We can expect these charges to be revived continuously between now and the 1958 election.

"The simple truth is that the State taxes they are complaining about are not my taxes. Our tax on business, the business activities tax, was written by lobbyists for big industry, and I refused to sign my name to it.

"The tax is inequitable to small business, and there is no question that it works against business coming into Michigan because it must be paid by a new business whether the enterprise makes money or not.

"QUOTES FINANCIAL PAGE

"A businessman considering coming to Michigan knows that he must pay this tax the moment he opens his doors, even if it takes him a year or two to get into profitable operation. This year I tried to get the business activities tax removed from some 25,000 small firms, by forgiving the first $50 of the tax—but the proposal was killed by the Republican majority in the legislature.

"Your question presumes that Jones and Laughlin actually made their decision because of taxes, but there is clear evidence that taxes were not their first consideration. In a statement made to the Chicago Journal of Commerce on July 16, the company said it chose the site near Canton, Ohio, because there is an existing steel plant on this site, and the company can get into operation faster and cheaper than if they were to build a new plant. The company did not mention taxes in the statement it gave to the Chicago Journal of Commerce.

"ACCUSES LEGISLATURE

"Question 2. Republican Speaker of the House George Van Peursem, in a speech Tuesday night at Farwell, said that 'Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin are far ahead of Michigan while the working men and women of our State are watching their jobs disappear.'

"Van Peursem, as spokesman for the Republican Party, also charged your attitude toward business 'will turn Michigan into a Democrat desert,' and quoting figures from your emergency industrial production commission, said the number of factory jobs has declined to the lowest point since you took office in 1949 and will go lower.

"What have you to say?

"Answer. The fact that Van Peursem is making this the theme of his series of political speeches is proof that this is political propoganda. There is no danger that Michigan will become a Democratic desert, but such things as the heartless treatment the legislature gave the mental hospital system, raise the possibility it could become a Republican wreck.

"It is true that industrial employment on May 15 is at the lowest point since September 1956—not 1949 as Van Peursem says. But the curious thing is that Michigan employment in nonmanufacturing industries on the same date was at the highest May level in history. The Republicans never mention that because it indicates there is nothing basically wrong with our climate or our economy.

"We lack data on the reasons for the current unemployment in the auto industry. Some of it is probably due to automation and other labor saving techniques. I have been trying without success for several years to get the Legislature to set up a commission to look into this.

"We are going to do our best to find out what is responsible for this unemployment, and what can be done about it. The Republican party with its political exploitation of the State's problems, is no help.

"DENIES UNFRIENDLINESS

"Question 3. What is your reply to charges that you have not been friendly to men like Harlow Curtice and other industrial leaders in Michigan?

"Answer. Harlow Curtice and I received honorary degrees from the University of Michigan together, and have met socially from time to time. On all such occasions, there was nothing but pleasantness between us. I count many industrial leaders as my friends. Not all of them agree with me politically, and I don't think any of them likes to pay taxes, any more than you or I do.

"It has been my duty, as governor, to recommend tax measures that some businessmen did not like. I think they would have been a lot better off today if my proposals for taxes based on profits had been accepted years ago, instead of the Republican business activities tax and other existing business taxes.

"It is probably true there has been a lack of liaison between some sections of business and the State administration. This is a bad thing for everybody, and I think it should be corrected.

"Part of the trouble is the fact that business leaders too often rely upon their Lansing lobbyists to maintain contact with State government—some of the lobbyists are more interested in politics than in good relations between their companies and the administration.

"ASSAILS ROAD FUNDS RAID

"That doesn't go for all of them, of course. But we had an example in the last session of a lobbyist for a company actively working to reduce highway construction funds by making the gas tax bear the cost of the State police.

"I suppose he thought he was minimizing the possibility of taxes on his company, but I wonder if his bosses knew he was conniving to raid highway funds and build fewer roads on which to operate their cars.

"Maybe I haven't been as much of a backslapper as I might have been, but everybody in Lansing knows that my door is always open, and any businessman can come into the Capitol and see me any time. I have never refused to listen and I am ready to be convinced if I am wrong.

"I would very much welcome some frank personal talks with some of these business leaders to get their ideas on how we can meet Michigan's needs without doing injury to any group of our citizens, individual or corporate.

"EXPLAINS TAX POLICIES

"Question 4. If Michigan must have new taxes to support State government, why do you insist on a corporation profits tax at a time industry contends Michigan taxes are throttling expansion? What is your attitude toward a combination corporate profits and personal income tax for Michigan?

"Answer. I have never insisted on a corporation profits tax. I have always said that if anybody could come up with a better idea I would accept it.

"I recommended a corporation profits tax last winter because it seemed to be the only way we could get the money we need for education, mental health and other vital services, without consumer taxes which raise the cost of living for Michigan families. The legislature decided otherwise, and imposed taxes on cigarettes and liquor, as well as unbalancing the budget.

"We'll have to wait and see how badly the budget is out of balance and how badly State services—such as mental health—have been damaged before we can make any predictions about taxes next year.

"ASKED TAX STUDY GROUP

"The question of a personal income tax was dealt with very fully in my tax message of 1957, and I think it would be unwise to expand on that statement which you gentlemen have.

"The main point I made in that message is this: That it would be unfair to impose a personal income tax on those citizens who already bear the main burden of the sales tax. To tax a citizen's paycheck when he gets it, and again when he spends it, doesn't seem right to me. Such double taxation would, of course, be another increase in the rising cost of living.

"Realizing that an honest difference of opinion existed as to methods of taxation, I recommended the setting up of an independent, blue ribbon citizens tax study commission, the recommendations of which might very well be so persuasive as to win the acceptance of taxpayers generally, the legislature, and myself. I still feel this is the best way out of our present tax impasse.

"CLAIMS TAX PERCENTAGE CUT

"Question 5—Your critics have called you a 'spending governor' who keeps presenting Michigan with increasingly higher budgets. Is economy in government impossible? Is there no way to cut taxes. Exactly what is Michigan's future—economic, social, and taxwise?

"Answer. My critics have called me a lot worse names than that. It is not true the cost of government in Michigan has gone up, in relation to the income of the people. The expenditures of our State government, in proportion to income, actually decreased in the last 8 years.

"In 1949–50 the people of Michigan spent 5.8 percent of their total personal income for State government. In 1955–56 they were spending 5.5 percent for this purpose.

"It is true that the dollar costs of government have gone steadily upward. This is not surprising because everything else has increased in cost. With individual citizens receiving higher wages, the cost of living hitting record-high levels, how could the dollar costs of the State government go down?

"The State has to pay for every hour of work by its employees, every shovel full of gravel it puts into highways, every kilowatt of power it uses—just as everyone else does. If the cost of these things goes up, the cost to the State goes up.

"GROWTH IN POPULATION

"There are particular factors which have operated to increase the dollar cost of government in Michigan. One of these factors is the immense growth of our population—more than a million people since 1950. Our growth in the last 7 years is 80 percent greater than the growth of the Nation as a whole. Obviously, if you have more people, you have to have more of everything to give them adequate governmental services.

"The important thing is that we have met this challenge without increasing the percentage of income required for taxes, but actually have lowered that percentage.

"Now I know a lot of people say, 'Well, if we have more people in Michigan to pay taxes, won't the increased population pay its own way?'

"To some extent this has happened. Our sales tax revenues have increased beyond all expectations. This has saved us repeatedly from what appeared to be financial disaster. The trouble is that most of these new citizens are children—60,000 additional ones reaching school age every year.

"DEFENDS SCHOOL EXPENDITURES

"These children must have schools—and schools cost a lot of money. There is no alternative except for the adult population to make the necessary investment in the services needed by these children. After all, they are our children, and how could we spend our money in a better cause?

"The rise in government costs has not been confined to Michigan. Every State has experienced it. Michigan obviously has met some of its great additional needs better than some other States, but if we are out in front on some State services, that condition won't last long. Other States will have to meet their own needs—and none of them is going to be able to print its own money.

"It is significant, for example, that the Ohio legislature this year increased appropriations, according to U. S. News & World Report, by 48 percent, and Indiana 31 percent, as compared with Michigan's 6 percent.

"But we are not going to be able to save in any of these ways enough money to provide the answer to rising government costs. The costs are rising not because we are wasting tax money, but because we are compelled to buy more services, for more people, at higher prices.

"TELLS OF BUDGET REQUESTS

"Another sense of the word 'economy' is to forgo some good and needed things because we cannot afford them. There is room for that, too, and we have done a lot of it. I reduced the budget requests of State agencies this year by $93 million before sending them on to the legislature.

"The only really effective economy is to spend money only for things that are absolutely needful—and to get a dollar's worth of value for every tax dollar paid out. We think we have a good record in our efforts to do that.

"As to Michigan's future, I can only say I believe in Michigan. We have several things here that are priceless and that cannot be taken away from us.

"We have unlimited supplies of water, and water is going to be the big need of industry in the future. We have a wonderful vacationland which will boom when we get better highways and the Mackinac Bridge. We have one of the world's finest educational systems, with immense facilities for technical assistance to industry and agriculture.

"We have a highly skilled labor force with responsible leadership. The industrial conflicts we passed through 15 years ago may hit some of our competing States in the future.

"We have a gigantic industrial complex which is going to remain centered in Michigan for the foreseeable future. We have tremendous natural resources—lumber, salt, chemicals, and so forth. All we need is to stop calling each other names, and hanging our dirty linen on the national fence, and roll up our sleeves and get to work together.

"DISLIKES BUSINESS RECEIPTS TAX

"Question 6. Do you think of the business-receipts tax as a deterrent to small

business locating and expanding in Michigan?

"Answer. I think the business-receipts tax is a deterrent to new business locating in Michigan principally because it demands a considerable rate of taxation immediately, without respect to business making a profit. However, I have dealt with this problem more fully in my answer to question No. 1.

"Question 7. What part do you think the State legislature has played in creating the so-called 'hostile atmosphere' toward industry?

"Answer. I don't think there is any 'hostile atmosphere' toward business in Michigan. If the present tax structure has created a feeling of resentment on the part of some industrialists, the fault lies not only with the legislators who enacted these taxes but also with the business interests who wrote and dictated these Republican tax policies.

"WILL COMBAT ILL REPORTS

"Question 8. Now that Michigan has been advertised around the Nation as having an unhealthy tax climate, what do you propose to do about it?

"Answer. If we continue and redouble our efforts to attract industry through existing State agencies such as the economic development commission and through such new agencies as we can devise, we can continue to build our economy.

"However, we will do well to just hold our own without making too much progress as long as they continue to advertise Michigan all over the country as a place to stay away from.

"In the long view, there must be a revision of our tax structure to eliminate the genuine and real causes of business complaint—the inequity, for example, of the business activities tax. But we cannot hope to do that overnight, after 10 years of refusal by the legislature to face the fact that a new tax structure is needed.

"NO CAPTIVE OF LABOR

"Question 9. There have been charges that you are a captive of labor and Walter Reuther, of the UAW-CIO. What roles do Reuther and Gus Scholle play in your administration?

"Answer. Mr. Reuther and Mr. Scholle are the elected heads of labor organizations which include about 600,000 Michigan citizens. As spokesmen for the economic interests of these citizens, they have every right to be heard by State government.

"I am willing to listen with just as much attention to the representatives of the Michigan Manufacturers' Association.

"I am proud of the fact that no special interest—labor or otherwise—controls this administration.

"It is significant that while we have fought for labor's rights when they were imperiled, the great achievements of the last 8 years occurred in areas which affect the whole people.

"SEEKS ADVICE OF LEADERS

"It is a matter of record that in making the policies of my administration I have sought the advice of leaders of business, agriculture, and the professions as well as labor.

"Men like Walter Cisler, Justin Whiting, Dan Gerber, Prentiss Brown, Stanley Powell, of the Farm Bureau, have actively helped to plan programs which I have endeavored to make effective. I believe in getting the service and counsel of all segments of our community.

"All that Mr. Reuther and Mr. Scholle have ever asked of me is good government and that's the only favor I have ever done them.

"Question 10. What about your political plans for 1958 and 1960?

"Answer. As these questions indicate, I have plenty of problems as Governor of Michigan. I have worked out no political plans for 1958 or 1960."

Water Problems in New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, today the House is scheduled to take up H. R. 2147, dealing with a reclamation project at San Angelo, Tex., which is primarily for use as a reservoir to supply municipal, domestic, and industrial water for that hard-pressed city. The Federal Government is, in effect, being asked to finance the city's water-supply-reservoir.

In this connection I would like to note an article which appears in this morning's issue of the New York Times. This article deals with the water problems which face the fast-growing population of the State of New Jersey. It is worth noting that these people are not appealing to the Federal Government to solve their water problem for them; instead, they are discussing what they themselves can do about it. The plan, it seems, is for the State to issue bonds in the sum of $14 million to finance construction of a reservoir system.

I think the article is worth reading to show some areas of the country which look constantly to Washington for help what can be done by people to help themselves.

The article follows:

The New Jersey Water Resources Advisory Committee today renewed its appeal for a referendum in November on a plan to solve the State's water-shortage problem.

At the same time, the committee made public a report summarizing its program. The report will be received officially on Thursday by the State senate's committee on revision and amendment of laws, headed by Senator Wayne Dumont. The senate committee also will receive reports from groups opposing the plan.

The advisory committee's program calls for a referendum on a $14 million bond issue to finance construction of Raritan Basin reservoirs at Stony Brook, near Princeton, and at Spruce Run, near Clinton. The chairman of the committee is George F. Smith, president of Johnson & Johnson, of New Brunswick.

At senate hearings last month, residents of Stony Brook, as well as Princeton University, opposed the program. Princeton owns about 65 acres of land that would be affected by a reservoir.

As a substitute, the opponents proposed a reservoir in Round Valley, near Lebanon, about halfway between Stony Brook and Spruce Run.

The Stony Brook people, today's report said, "seem oblivious to the fact that a Round Valley reservoir would do nothing toward solving the water needs in the Princeton-Pennington area."

The committee's program, the report continued, puts Round Valley in its proper perspective as an adjunct to, and not as a substitute for, reservoirs on the Raritan River.

The Spruce Run reservoir, the committee asserted, would assure plenty of water in the area. It also foresaw an increase from 45 million to 90 million gallons a day at the confluence of the Raritan and Millstone Rivers, and an additional 40 million gallons of water supply available for sale daily between Spruce Run and the confluence.

The Stony Brook reservoir, the report said, would provide an assured water supply for the Princeton-Pennington area and for communities downstream on the Millstone.

The committee said that additional on-river reservoirs, that it planned to propose soon, would bring to 320 million gallons a day the total new water supply from Raritan Basin sources.

The committee dismissed as false charges that its plan was based on incomplete engineering studies. It said the studies were the most painstaking water surveys ever made in New Jersey.

Fight for Trial by Jury Is Not the South's Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on Sunday Morning, July 28, 1957.

This excellent editorial concerning the fight in the Senate for a jury trial amendment to the civil-rights bill will be of great interest to each Member of the House, and the editorial follows:

FIGHT FOR TRIAL BY JURY IS NOT THE SOUTH'S ALONE

Having stripped the administration and Attorney General Herbert Brownell of some extraordinary enforcement powers they coveted, the Senate now enters into the climatic fight over the right of jury trial in voting cases.

Up to this point, therefore, it can be said that the South has won important victories. But as a matter of fact, the triumphs are not credited alone to this section. Thoughtful Democrats and Republicans in other parts of the land rejected the idea that Federal troops could be used for enforcement, just as they opposed the injunctive process in dealing with all civil-rights matters, including segregation.

Voting with the majority in detonating part III of the rights bill was that staunch Republican, Senator SALTONSTALL of Massachusetts. He believed that its passage would weaken rather than strengthen the civil rights of an individual, and this view was based on a fear that suits by the Attorney General to enforce a large variety of constitutional rights might have the effect of weakening home rule or government close to the people.

Now that the issue has been narrowed down to the vote, it can be assured that the administration will wage an all-out campaign for the rule by injunction in this category.

But there are better reasons to hope that the same majority which has cleansed the bill of other evil features will stick together in this final test.

Southern spokesmen and their friends have made out a strong case for refusing to leave alleged voting-rights violations into the hands of the Attorney General and a single Federal judge. Such a violation of tradition in criminal cases would set a dangerous precedent and serve as a reflection on the good faith of an entire region. Once the step was taken, it could be extended to other areas in other sections of the country.

One thing has already become abundantly clear: The measure alleged to have been drawn up by Mr. Brownell, though there are doubts on that score, was not based on good intentions. Its meaning was never clear to the average man, or even some experts. It reached for powers no Government legal officer should want, and was shot through with a deviousness which ultimately caused President Eisenhower to express doubts.

In the last analysis, the South has never been overwhelmingly opposed to reasonable legislation supporting the present laws covering voting privileges. It does not take that stand today, even though the Brownell bill has obvious political purposes.

In behalf of its own dignity, and in keeping with tradition, however, it does insist upon the inalienable right of trial by jury; and it is on this front that it will make an all-out fight.

Only by courage and vigilance has the administration's grasp for unwarranted power been broken in part. There will be no relaxation of courage and vigilance as the jury-trial issue is faced on the Senate floor with Senators KEFAUVER and GORE in the van of the resistance movement.

Washington Newsletter by Congressman Earl Wilson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, since living costs in this country are at an all-time high and the value of the American dollar continues to shrink, the need for Congress to become actively concerned is most apparent. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the timely current newsletter to constituents by Congressman EARL WILSON, of Indiana:

PUBLIC ENEMY No. 1

As this session of the 85th Congress nears the close there is emerging a national issue which may overshadow all others when Congress reassembles in January. I hope that issue receives penetrating attention.

Our Nation's greatest enemy today is within our own borders, a sinister and fearful monster leering through the windows of every home in the land. Standing at his shoulder is enemy No. 2. They are poised, ready for the kill.

No. 1 is inflation; No. 2 is communism. Together they can kill the American way of life.

For many years our major fears have been of communism. Certainly we should not minimize that threat or relax our vigilance. Nevertheless, communism can hardly take over a strong, healthy Nation. First, there must be a sickness, or a weakness in the intended victim.

Inflation is our sickness. Dry it up, and communism cannot succeed.

A Congressman's mail is heavy with pressure missives of all types. I endeavor to read all of mine. I am glad to see an upsurge of statistics, editorials, speeches, individual appeals and angry demands that Congress do something to stem the sweep toward further cheapening of the American dollar.

When the price of steel rises $6 a ton at a time like the present, we are in danger—because steel is basic in the American economy. When certain powerful union leaders force hourly wages in key industries closer to the $4 level while workers in other industries are less fortunate, the inflation threat becomes great. Add these situations to the fatc that demand for goods in many fields is heavier than production, and we've got inflation.

Along with these factors, taxes keep edging upward. Costs of Government rise. Living costs climb and the value of the dollar drops proportionately.

In flation means disaster to pensioners, to farmers, small independent businesses, and thousands of other segments of the Nation's economy. It kills incentive and hope. Thrift, a natural trait of most people, flies out the window because there is no point in saving a dollar today which won't be worth a quarter in a few years.

The inflation sickness now has such a grip on America that a man must make $6,779 a year to be as well off as he was on $3,000 a year in 1939.

More Americans now are at work, making more money than at any time in history. This should mean prosperity, happiness and a buoyancy of spirit and hope. But it doesn't.

There's a great uneasiness in this land, and it is not entirely because of communism and the H-bomb. People are wondering and worrying about the cost of living, taxes, the plight of old folks and the future of their children.

It is a high time to tackle public enemy No. 1. I hope Congress will subordinate all other issues next January.

Pay Increases for Federal Government Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, in behalf of the Federal Government employees in my district in California, I wish to thank you for the privilege of presenting to you their case for a prompt and substantial pay raise. There is certainly no problem involved in justification of such a pay increase. From a dollars-and-cents point of view and from the humane standpoint the need for more money for classified employees cannot be denied. The only questions are when and how much.

This salary problem is a very real and a pressing problem which calls for a forthright approach. It has broad implications for employees and the Government itself. For employees it is a matter of justice. For the Government it is a matter of attracting and retaining qualified personnel. If there is thought of economy, it should be recognized that employing qualified persons is economical, rather than employing less desirable persons who cannot do their jobs efficiently and with credit to their employer. These, I submit, are aspects of this problem which should be considered in formulating the decision on this legislation.

I oppose most strongly any attempt to let false notions of the need for economy in Government expenditures stand in the way of paying adequate salaries to those people who serve the Government and the public—notions which are entertained only because Federal employees must accept what is given them without being able to fight for their rights with the conventional methods available to employees who negotiate wage matters with their employers through the collective bargaining system. To say the least, it is highly improper for the Federal Government, as an employer, to take advantage of its unique authority and expect Government employees to bear the cost of the Government's budgetary difficulties.

Certainly threats of a Presidential veto should not deter the Congress from taking the only just and equitable course, and both justice and equity require that salaries of Federal employees be raised to a point where they are comparable with those paid in other fields for similar work, and where they will provide an adequate living standard for the employee and his family.

It has long been my belief that one of the greatest wastes in Government is the loss of trained personnel through heavy turnover caused by a breakdown in employee morale as a result of inadequate compensation, instead of recognizing and making good use of the experience and training of career personnel.

While it is true that a good many public-spirited civil servants are willing to sacrifice part of what their earning power would bring in the civilian labor market, it is equally true that the large mass of Government workers with families to support cannot continue to make that kind of a sacrifice indefinitely. The high turnover of employees in Federal agencies is sufficient proof of that.

I have always believed that good government begins with a competent career service, properly compensated both financially and with public respect.

All the talk about good government and economy is useless if we neglect the basic force needed to achieve these goals, the people who dedicate their lives to working in Government.

At the present time, we are in danger of losing our most competent employees because of the fact that their pay scales are not comparable with the pay scales of comparable positions in private industry. This would be a tremendous loss to the Federal service. It also would have an adverse effect on the appeal of the Federal service to new young people who are considering it as a career.

For these reasons, it is most essential, in my opinion, that this session of Congress grant a substantial increase in pay to our Federal classified employees.

And Somewhere in the Rubble Is Modern Republicanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Trentonian, one of the

really outstanding newspapers of New Jersey, concludes editorially from its study of the defeat of the school bill that "somewhere in the rubble is modern Republicanism."

I include this challenging editorial for the information of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

SOMEBODY'S WEAK

With the help of 59 percent of the Republican vote, the school construction aid bill died its predicted death in the House of Representatives last week. Whether that should be the cause for sorrow in New Jersey and Pennsylvania is a moot question—it has often been shown that Federal aid is pretty durned expensive stuff.

However, the political implications of the bill's defeat are interesting. Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Democratic Representative from this district, left no doubt about his feelings on the matter. He had been one of the leaders in the fight for passage, and his resentment was indicated when he said, "The failure of this bill evidenced lack of leadership on the part of President Eisenhower, who could not get his own party to back him up."

Congressman WILLARD S. CURTIN, Republican Representative of Pennsylvania's Bucks-Lehigh district, was among those voting to save the bill.

Their efforts were beaten down by that oft-deplored coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans.

Once again an antisegregation rider on the bill insured its defeat, although this year, in contrast to last, the antisegregation amendment did not play a major role in killing the measure.

THOMPSON's assertion that President Eisenhower could not get the backing of Republican Members of the House came hard on the heels of GOP lamentations that the White House would not indicate any support for school construction. At that time a Democratic compromise measure was under consideration, but in Thursday's voting, the Democrats attempted to save the sinking ship by throwing their support behind an allocation formula contained in the bill proposed by Mr. Eisenhower. Even that failed to work, as a majority of the Republicans voted to kill the bill's enacting clause.

So, in the final analysis, we have an instance in which Mr. Eisenhower and the northern Democrats found themselves in the same boat—they had been soundly defeated when they had attempted to stand together. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the northern Democratic-White House coalition is not mathematically as strong as the southern Democrat-northern Republican team.

And somewhere in the rubble is modern Republicanism.

No Federal Schoolhouse Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose herewith an editorial which appeared in the Des Moines Register of July 29, 1957:

NO FEDERAL SCHOOLHOUSE AID

The Federal school-aid bill is dead. The House defeated it on a 208 to 203 vote, and congressional leaders agree that this ends all prospect of passage at this session.

Federal aid for schoolhouses had the enthusiastic support of the National Education Association and virtually all educational organizations. It was supported by both the Republican and Democratic Parties in their platforms. It had the endorsement of President Eisenhower.

Why, then, was the proposal rejected?

Basically, it was defeated because most Congressmen are not convinced that Federal aid is necessary to solve the schoolhouse shortage. They believe that States and local communities can handle the problem satisfactorily.

Economy sentiment was a factor. So was the fear that, once started, this program would continue indefinitely and be expanded, and that it might lead to some Federal control over education.

Injection of the segregation issue—which the administration opposed—was a factor, too. An amendment was voted to deny Federal funds to school districts maintaining segregated schools. Some Democrats voted for this and some refrained from voting. The amendment made it easier to kill the bill.

The defeat of the bill serves notice on States and local communities that they must arrange to finance their own school improvements.

This is no tragedy so far as Iowa is concerned. Iowa is one of the States which would have received slightly more in Federal funds than it would have paid in added taxes. The biggest beneficiaries in this respect would have been Southern States. Alabama would have received 3 or 4 times as much aid as it contributed in taxes. A rich State like New Jersey would have contributed about twice as much as it got back.

Surveys made in connection with this proposed Federal aid program showed that Iowa has the overall financial resources to handle its own problem of providing the needed classrooms. If school districts are organized efficiently—which means reorganization in many areas—and if help is given a few districts with special problems, Iowa can get along quite well without Federal aid.

We hope that the enthusiasm for providing the best possible educational opportunities for all youngsters, which has motivated those seeking Federal aid, will not be lessened by defeat of the Federal schoolhouse bill. It should be directed to local and State school problems.

Excess Lands on Kings River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL CHUDOFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. CHUDOFF. Ever since the Reclamation Project Act of 1902, a basic feature of the Federal reclamation law has been its excess land provisions, which limit the holding of lands entitled to project water to a maximum of 160 acres for any 1 landowner. These provisions might be called the very heart of the reclamation law. In the words of former Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, they are a "reaffirmation of the historic American policy of widespread ownership of land and the family-size farm."

That policy has just survived a close brush with administrative emasculation in the Department of the Interior. This would have occurred had the Secretary of the Interior decided to approve the proposed irrigation repayment contract with the Kings River Conservation District of California. Previously, with the full assent and approval of Assistant Secretary Fred G. Aandahl and Secretary Douglas McKay, provisions had been built into this proposed contract which would have made it extremely easy for each and every holder of excess land in the district quickly and permanently to escape the restrictions of the 160 acre limitation of the reclamation law. When this proposed contract, in the form finally approved by the district, was forwarded to Secretary McKay in November of 1955, there was every indication that he was prepared to give his approval.

As a result of numerous complaints addressed both to the Department of the Interior and the Committee on Government Operations, the Secretary was informed on December 7, 1955, by the full Government Operations Committee and later by the Public Works and Resources Subcommittee concerning the committee's interest in the proposed contract and especially its effect on the acreage limitation provisions. In his reply to the chairman of the full committee, Acting Secretary Clarence A. Davis, on December 22, 1955, stated that the Department was making an additional analysis of the applicable law and departmental precedents in the matter and that these studies would include consideration of recent expressions of interest that had come to the Department. "Action on the negotiated contract," the Acting Secretary added, "will be deferred until this analysis is finished." The further review mentioned by Mr. Davis was transmitted to the chairman of the Public Works and Resources Subcommittee on May 25, 1956.

After taking office as Secretary in June of 1956, Mr. Fred A. Seaton apparently decided he ought to take a long look at the proposed Kings River contract left him by his predecessor, Mr. McKay. It was a look which took some 13 months.

Now, after more than 19 months of vacillation in the Interior Department, Mr. Seaton has made the decision to reject the proposed Kings River repayment contract, with its convenient escape hatch for all excess-land owners, and to uphold the letter and the spirit of the long-established acreage limitation provisions of the reclamation law.

More specifically, this proposed contract would have permitted any landowner irrigating with project water, whether individual or corporate, to relieve his irrigable lands from the 160-acre limitation simply by paying in advance the full amount of his pro rata share of the district's total construction charge obligation to the United States.

It is interesting to contemplate what the effect of the approval of the proposed contract would have been in terms of excess lands in the Kings River project. With a total irrigable acreage within the district of about one million and a total irrigation construction charge for the district of $14,250,000, the per-acre share of this construction cost obligation would

be about $14, assuming for all landowners uniform water rates and uniform water requirements per unit of land. Thus, an individual landowner with 1,160 irrigable acres could escape the restrictions of the excess land provisions for his 1,000 acres of excess land by paying either $1,400 in lump sum or $140 a year for 10 years, if he had executed a so-called recordable contract.[1] Likewise, a corporation owning, say, 10,160 irrigable acres could lift the acreage limitation from its lands by payment of a lump sum of $14,000, or instead, 10 annual installments of $1,400 with a recordable contract. Actually, excess lands within the district total over 266,000 acres. There are 132 landowners who hold more than 640 acres apiece. Fifty-two of these own more than 1,280 acres apiece. There are several corporations owning between 10,000 and 20,000 acres each.

Yet, out of a total of 6,260 landowners in that project, 5,472 of them have no excess lands. The combined acreage of these nonexcess owners is more than 50 percent of the total irrigable acreage on the project.

The net effect of the Secretary's recent decision is that release from the 160-acre limitation would be allowed to project lands only after the entire district obligation of $14,250,000 has been repaid. Under reclamation law this $14,250,000 obligation would be in the nature of an interest-free loan to the district for the entire maximum repayment period of 40 years. Whether a majority of the district's landowners would favor the borrowing of up to $14,250,000 at current interest rates in order to pay off all or any substantial part of the district's obligation to the United States seems problematical.

As late as 2 days before he left office, former Secretary of the Interior Chapman, in a letter to the senior Senator from Illinois, dated January 17, 1953, asserted plainly that he was opposed to a lump sum or accelerated payment of construction charges as a means of avoiding the acreage limitation provisions of the reclamation law.

However, the administration which succeeded Mr. Chapman in the Department quickly turned to a different policy. On November 9, 1953, the Department specifically authorized the Bureau of Reclamation to negotiate with the Kings River interests for a repayment contract which would provide, among other things, for repayment of the irrigation allocation in 40 years without interest, with the option on the part of the water users' organizations to make a lump sum payment in full of $14,250,000.

This authorization was reaffirmed early in 1954 by Secretary McKay.

[1] Under Reclamation law, water may be delivered to excess land if the owner enters into a so-called recordable contract with the United States to dispose of the excess lands on terms established by the Secretary of the Interior (43 U. S. C. 423e). The recordable contract procedure set forth in the proposed Kings River contract would allow the landowner 10 years in which to dispose of his excess lands, during which time these excess lands would be entitled to project water.

Later, in a letter dated May 19, 1954, to Mr. William F. Docker, attorney for the Kings River District, Assistant Secretary Aandahl explicitly sanctioned contract negotiations by the Bureau of Reclamation along the lines of the crucial—and now finally rejected—provisions for prepayment by individual landowners as well as organizations of landowners in order to free their excess lands from the acreage limitation provisions of the reclamation law.

Secretary McKay himself recorded on October 20, 1955, his acquiescence in a policy of permissible payout by individual landowners to avoid the excess land provisions. This occurred in a letter to Mr. Eugene E. Marsh, attorney, McMinnville, Oreg. It is worthwhile to quote a portion of this letter:

> I am informed by the Bureau of Reclamation that the contract currently being considered by the Kings River Conservation District will permit water users' organizations, as well as individual landowners served by the Kings River project, to make lump-sum payment of the construction charge obligation. These lump-sum payments, which actually can be made in installments during the 10-year period provided in the recordable contracts, will permit existing large landowners to comply with the provisions of the reclamation law without disposing of their excess landholdings. The same provisions of the recordable contract allow a 10-year period for the large landowner to bring his holding into compliance with law if he should so decide. These principles, so I am informed, have been in effect by the Bureau for many years preceding this administration. Should the large landowner elect the lump-sum or advance payment route, we do not anticipate hardship in most cases, since the average repayment contract obligation for this million-acre project is very modest.

Within a month of this letter, Secretary McKay had such a proposed contract before him for his final approval. However, as has been mentioned, he was immediately confronted by numerous expressions of concern, including those of the chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations and the Public Works and Resources Subcommittee of that Committee; and the more than 19 months of indecision followed.

Secretary Seaton's eventual determination was announced in a letter dated July 12, 1957, to Mr. Philip A. Gordon, board president of the Kings River Conservation District. As chairman of the Public Works and Resources Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, I wish to state that I find myself in wholehearted agreement with this pronouncement from the July 12 letter to Mr. Gordon:

> Where discretion may be vested in the Department or the Secretary, that discretion should be exercised to obtain compliance with the principles on which the legislation is enacted. What I am concerned about is a process by which inferences are based on inferences and there is a whittling away at a principle until all that is left is a pile of shavings.

It is my sincere hope that the Secretary will let this statement serve as his guide when consideration is given to other matters relating to the conservation, development, and utilization of the Nation's natural resources.

Seventieth Anniversary Celebration, Bavarian Aid Society, Altoona, Pa., Saturday, July 27, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, in February 1887, a group of German immigrants met at the Joseph Frischkorn Hotel in Altoona, Pa., where it was agreed to organize what is now known as the Bavarian Aid Society. The group consisted of Messrs. George Lunglhofer, John Widbman, Pantaleon Frischkorn, George Vogel, Joseph Zollner, Theodore Ziegler, Joseph Frischkorn, John Loeb, John Knott, and Phillipp Kummel.

After the election of officers, regular meetings were held monthly and in the year of 1913 it was decided to rent a new headquarters to meet the needs of the expanding organization in both membership as well as activities. In 1922 the present home of the Bavarian Aid Society was constructed at a cost of nearly $20,000 to house its 380 active and 220 social members.

Since moving into its new home in 1923 the Bavarian Aid Society has equipped the home with bowling alleys and other recreational facilities for the benefit of the members and their families. In addition to the recreation provided its members, the society has paid out over $12,000 in death benefits and some $70,000 in sick benefits.

On Saturday, July 27, 1957, the Bavarian Aid Society observed its 70th birthday with a program that launched a 3-day celebration of the natal event. During the course of the program, many tributes were paid to the sturdy founders of the society and to the many accomplishments of the organization over the 70 years of its existence in achievements of its objectives to aid in building a strong and virile America.

It was my privilege to participate in the program along with Mayor Robert Anthony and Chief of Police Val Rouzer, of Altoona, and Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. Donald Wagner, pastor of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Altoona, who paid a great tribute to the 605 members of the society and its ladies auxiliary for the part they are playing in promoting good citizenship and deeper faith in God.

The 70th anniversary program was under the leadership of the following officers of the Bavarian Aid Society: Michael Lang, Sr., president; Rudy Vorndran, vice president; Peter Gerhard, Sr., treasurer; and Joseph Lengfellner, recording secretary. The members of the board of trustees are as follows: Joseph Bernhart, Sr., Anton Muhlbauer, Joseph Niemeier, William Bernhart; John Maier, Joseph Stangl, and Frank Schadenfroh. Mr. Clair Hoff, Jr., is marshal, while the steward of the society is Mr. Walter Frank. There is a separate ladies auxiliary known as the Ladies Aid Society of which Mrs. Mary Nachtman is president.

One of the solemn aspects of the 3-day celebration occurred Friday evening, July 26, when a memorial mass was offered for deceased members in St. Mary's Catholic Church, Fifth Avenue and 14th Street, Altoona, Pa.

Following is the brief address I delivered on the occasion of the 70th birthday anniversary of the Bavarian Aid Society.

BAVARIAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1887

(By Hon. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania)

As the Bavarian immigration of 1887 and after to America is an aspect of German immigration, I should like to first to say a few words about the general character of the German settlements in the United States.

There have been three great waves of German immigration to the United States:

(A) The first came in colonial times.

(B) The second wave arrived following the Napoleonic Wars.

(C) The third period of German immigration followed the Civil War.

(D) The largest number of arrivals in this third period came between 1882 and 1892.

What sort of people were the Bavarians of the 19th century?

Bavaria had been an independent monarchy for many centuries, and continued its semi-independent status under German empire until after World War II.

Germany was, politically speaking, of course, a united nation from 1871 to the end of the Second World War, but the Germans had previously developed distinctive regional ways of thinking and doing things, just as we have in the United States.

The Bavarians have traditionally regarded themselves as being more lighthearted and funloving than the methodical Prussians.

I do not know whether the American institution of the rathskeller was introduced by our Bavarian Americans, but it would not be unnatural to believe it was.

While the Bavarian enjoyed work, he also knew how to enjoy himself when he was not working.

The Bavarian was a homeloving man.

He enjoyed festivals of all kinds—particularly the celebration of Christmas, in which the bearded Saint Nicholas and the Christmas tree play an important role.

He enjoyed singing and physical sports.

Bavarian immigrants in the 19th century particularly favored rural and forested areas, since they had already lived in an area in which rural interests were strongly represented and felt most at home in such surroundings.

As with earlier German migrants, land hunger was an important element in bringing them to this country.

The native American of an earlier date was content to work his land and move on when he thought he could do better elsewhere.

The German settler, on the other hand, who frequently took up where the native American left off, was more attached to his property.

He was more interested in crop rotation and conservation methods and in keeping up his property.

He was a steady, hard-working citizen who would do credit to any country.

A good many of these Bavarian settlers were particularly attracted to forest areas, such as the hardwood sections along the western shore of Lake Michigan in Wisconsin, and no doubt have played an important role in the conservation movement in the United States.

The Bavarian influence has been strong in the German Catholic churches of the United States.

Coming from that part of Germany in which Catholicism has retained its greatest strength, it was but natural that Bavaria should have contributed a number of the important leaders in the American Catholic hierarchy.

The founder of the Benedictine Order in the United States, Archabbot Boniface Wimmer, for instance, who established the mother community at St. Vincent in Westmoreland County, Pa., in 1846, was a native of Bavaria.

Michael Heiss, born in Pfahldorf, Bavaria, served as bishop of La Crosse, and after 1880, as archbishop of Milwaukee.

No doubt some of the criticisms that used to be leveled against their earlier German confreres were made against the Bavarian immigrants of the past century.

It used to be held against them that they liked to drink beer and listen to music on Sunday.

They were criticized for not wishing to give up the use of the German language in their churches and schools.

These do not seem, today, to be important arguments.

Along with other residents of German background, Americans of Bavarian stock have proved to be loyal and patriotic citizens.

Mutual Security Act of 1957

SPEECH

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2130) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, it seems that every year during the debate on the mutual security bill, we get into the same arguments about 3 or 4 main items of contention. One is the $6-billion carryover; another is unobligated balances; a third is illustrative presentations instead of firm, definite projects; plus all the other difficulties we have in this complicated worldwide program, many of which were ably and objectively discussed by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN], who just preceded me. We will get into discussion of this type of problem even more when we come to offer and debate amendments under the 5-minute rule tomorrow. But in the time I have tonight I want to bring before us again just what it is we are trying to accomplish with this program. We are trying to save the life of a desperately sick world.

I spent 19 years in surgery, and once or twice I have seen a surgeon so anxious to save the patient's blood that he lost the patient's life; and, in other cases, I have seen surgeons careless of blood to the point that even though the operation was successful, the patient had lost so much blood that he died anyway. Our task in this program is to save the sick patient; but we must do it without any unnecessary loss of blood that might seriously weaken ourselves.

At the outset may I make 4 or 5 broad statements to make sure we are all talking about the same thing. Maybe they are just assertions, but to me they are hard facts.

The first is that we are living today on the same planet with an organized, worldwide, ruthless conspiracy, with the avowed objective and the unwavering will and a steadily increasing capacity to destroy us. For if they can isolate, weaken, and destroy the United States, then the whole world is helpless before them. In the last week their boss, Khrushchev, has again openly declared they will never change and will never give up the Communist objective of world control.

The second statement is that since there is no way for us to get off this planet, and since we do not care to be destroyed, therefore we are and must be in inescapable head-on collision and conflict with the Communist conspiracy. That conflict is the cold war.

The third is that we cannot continue the cold war indefinitely. It costs too much; the drain and the strain are too great; it would mean too great loss of blood. That is the reason for the anxiety of our people, the demand for economy.

The fourth is that we cannot call the cold war off—except on their terms. Their terms amount to surrender—but on the installment plan instead of outright and all at once. One day last week they declared that they will never yield or change on their basic objectives. The next day Khrushchev said, "Why not, nevertheless, have a marriage of convenience?" That is, weaken our position and strengthen theirs—a little at a time.

At the disarmament conference in London they make plain what they mean—both sides should promise to abolish atomic weapons, or renounce the use of them. We know we would keep our promise; they would not keep theirs—witness Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjon, Geneva. That is, if they can cajole or pressure us into yielding where the United States is superior—atomic weapons; but they would not give up anything where they are superior—land forces; then we are supposed to believe that would be disarmament. No; that would be surrender to them. With their greater superiority in land power, the rest of Eurasia and Africa would be at their mercy. You cannot call the cold war off except on their terms, which amount to surrender.

There is only one conclusion left: we have to win this cold war. We have to confront them with such unity and sustained firmness and strength in the free world—military and economic and moral strength—that on one hand they dare not start a hot war, while on the other hand they will be forced by mounting pressures within to make changes that will inevitably lead to their downfall.

This is what the mutual security program is about.

Well, if this struggle must continue to either the death or the transformation of one or the other system, how do the two sides stack up in the conflict?

First, look at the Soviet bloc. Undeniably they lead us in certain fields.

They lead in manpower.

They lead in territory—and theirs is the strategically located heartland of the great continent—Eurasia.

They roughly equal us in natural resources, strategic minerals. To be sure, we, today, have access to greater resources than they—but only because of the allies with which this bill deals. The Russians have approximately as much under their actual control as we, if not more.

They have the largest and strongest land force in the world, the largest and most modern submarine force in the world, the largest and most modern tank force in the world.

They approach equality in air power, some say superior in everything except long-range bombers.

They approach equality, or at least adequacy, in atomic weapons—and the planes and missiles to deliver them. They do not have to be superior here. If we are standing alone, and they have enough to knock us out in a suprise attack, they do not need any more than that.

Where do we lead? We lead in about four fields.

We have the largest and strongest surface Navy.

We still lead in industrial capacity, but the gap between their industrial capacity and ours gets narrower every year. They are catching up. There is no sure guaranty that they cannot match us here, given time.

There are only two where we have overwhelming superiority which they cannot match, unless we throw them away. One is allies. I remind you they are voluntary allies. We do not have or want satellites. They and their territory and resources are not under our control.

The other is the advance bases that are available to us all around the rim of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc of nations. Why? Only because we have those allies. And without this bill we could not long have those allies.

Reference is often made to some 250 bases abroad. Just where are they? Their importance becomes apparent if we study the location of some of them. I have no map here but let us say my first is the Soviet bloc. Begin up there at the northwest corner of the Soviet bloc, with Greenland. Come down then to Iceland, the United Kingdom, the Low Countries, Western Germany, France, Spain, and Morocco; then across Libya, Greece, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, and the Philippines; then up through Formosa, Okinawa, Korea, Japan, Alaska, and Canada. Only two of those are wholly under our control, Okinawa and Alaska. The rest of them are fully independent and sovereign countries. We are there only because and as long as those countries are our allies.

These advance bases are the one ace card we have that the Communists cannot match. They confront the Soviet planners with an insoluble strategic problem. The Russians have or can build up enough strength to get through with atomic weapons in a sneak attack and cripple us terribly.

But the minute they were to start coming toward us through our warning lines, on the soil of other countries, we would be attacking them from all these bases outside the United States.

Or, suppose they take first the ones closer home, such as England. Actually England does not need to worry any more about an atomic attack against her. They would be foolish to attack England first because it would tip their hand and we would move instantaneously against the Soviet Union from our bases in Alaska or Okinawa or in the Middle East somewhere, as well as from continental United States. And the bases are at such varying distances from the Soviet bloc that there is no way they can hit them simultaneously and thus eliminate all of them at one time. If they started their planes or missiles for the most distant bases first, like those in the United States, it would alert our whole system so that our counterattack against them from nearer bases would be in the air before their planes to knock out the nearer bases had arrived, or even taken off.

What good would it do them to attack us here when they know we would still destroy them from these other bases? This is what makes them sweat in the Kremlin. There is no way for them to overcome our superiority here—and there will be no attack on us, as long as we have these advance bases, that is, have these allies. Are we to take any chances on losing our one ace card?

That, Mr. Chairman, is what this mutual security program is about. Its purpose is to strengthen the capacity of our allies to defend their own independence and the bases on their soil. That helps mightily to defend the whole free world, including ourselves.

It is not that we are to fight their battles for them; and it is not to hire or try to bribe them to fight our battles for us. Rather, it is to help them do the thing they want most to do, namely, to preserve their own national independence, to lift their economic standards, to work toward better and, in most cases, more democratic government. So many of these countries have only recently won their independence. Their deepest desire is to preserve and strengthen it. It so happens that for us to help them do these things helps us as well as them. We and they have formed these alliances because it is to their interest to do so and it is to our interest to do so. It is as simple as that.

Perhaps at this point we ought to try to clear away some of the specific misconceptions about the program that are still so prevalent, the clichés that sound so convincing when used by its opponents. It is said, for example, that it is not possible to buy friends. Why, of course, it is not possible to buy friends—in international life any more than in private life. But we are not trying in this program to buy friends; it cannot be done. We want these countries as allies. Whether they like us or not is quite secondary.

A better word is partners. Those who form a partnership keep it going if it is profitable to both sides. Often it happens that the closer you are to your partner, the more irritating he becomes to you, the less you like each other. But still you both maintain the partnership if it is advantageous to both. What is the common interest that holds these partnerships together? Again, the answer is simple: They cannot defend themselves without us as partners; and we can defend ourselves much more surely and easily and cheaply if we have them as partners. We would like also to be good friends, but that is not primary.

A second misconception is that this is foreign aid—as if it did not aid us. They say charity should begin at home. Certainly. But this program is not charity. It is not philanthropy. It is not "do-goodism." I do not think we would be within our powers under the Constitution if we were to appropriate public money just for charitable or philanthropic purposes. The program does do good to other countries; but that is not its justification. We vote for it because it does good to our own country. Is it sensible or patriotic to refuse to do what is good for our country, just because it also is good for other countries?

A third misconception is that we are giving away or spending billions and billions of dollars abroad. That is not so either. Most of the billions of dollars are spent right here at home. We do not send dollars abroad in substantial quantities. What we send is commodities, mostly grown or manufactured in the United States; the billions of dollars are spent here buying those American commodities and making American jobs in the process. The dollars are no good to them except as they buy the things they need—from wheat to planes—and cannot get without dollars. So, we are not sending or spending billions of dollars all over the world. We spend most of the money here in the United States. The next misconception is that if we would just stop this program, we would save the $3.9 billion which the President requested for it, and we could use that $3.9 billion to reduce our national debt or our budget or our taxes; or we could use it to increase old-age and social-security benefits or build more schools or highways or hospitals or housing; or apply the money to various other domestic programs that we need right here at home. I get letters to that effect almost every day, as I am sure you do. They ask, "Why don't you cut out this aid to foreigners so that I can have a decent retirement allowance?"

The answer is that if we were to cut out this program, we would not have more money to use here for such purposes; we would have less. For without the allies and overseas bases which the mutual security program makes possible, we would immediately have to increase our own military spending by a far larger amount than this program costs. We would have a larger budget, not a smaller. We would have less to reduce taxes on our national debt.

Let me point out in more detail why this is so by breaking down the $3.9 billion that the President requested—already reduced in the bill by over $600

million. Of the $3.9 billion total, $2.8 billion is for military assistance. Of that $1.9 billion is for military hardware to equip their armed forces, that is, planes, guns, tanks, trucks, and so on, manufactured in this country; and $900 million is for defense support, that is, to help them feed, clothe, and otherwise maintain those armed forces which are larger in some 15 countries than their own economically poor economies can support. Now our own defense appropriation bill, still in conference with the Senate apparently is going to come out at around $35 billion.

What do we get with that $35 billion for our own Armed Forces? We get 125 air squadrons; we get 1,000 naval vessels; and we get 21 ground divisions. Now, if we appropriate 8 percent more, or $2.8 billion for the military assistance part of mutual security, what more do we get? We get 125 more air squadrons; we get 2,500 additional naval vessels; and we get 200 more Army divisions. That is, it requires $35 billion to maintain our own Defense Establishment, and by providing 8 percent more, we double our Air Force, we more than treble our Navy and we increase our land forces more than 10 times. Do you know any other way we can get as much defense for the same expenditure, or for a comparable expenditure?

What would it cost in dollars, not to mention men, if we had to replace those squadrons and vessels and divisions with American units? Of course, we simply could not do it. We do not have enough money, or materials, or men.

Let me break it down another way. There are five main bastions, around the Asian rim of the Soviet bloc, that we are helping supply and support with this program. Begin with Korea; then Formosa, Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey. It costs us less than $1.5 billion to maintain those bastions; and we get in return more than 2 million first-rate soldiers. Without this aid, those countries would be greatly weakened or even some go down. What would it cost us then—whether we tried to hold on in Asia with our own forces or withdrew from all of Asia to the Hawaiian Islands and vastly expanded our Military Establishment?

Again, let us take just one country, Korea. We have had a war there and it is fresh in our minds. We had eight American divisions in Korea. Now we have two. Why do we have only two Americans divisions there now? Because there now are 20 well trained and equipped Korean divisions. If we cut this program drastically, we will not have those Korean divisions holding the line. Then we will either have to abandon the Western Pacific, or we will have to send American divisions back to Korea.

How much does it cost a year for one American division? The figure is classified, but I can tell you that it costs just about 10 times as much to have 1 American division on the ground, ready to go, as it does a Korean division. So, big as the amount is that we are authorizing for Korea, it is a bargain compared to what it would cost us to get the same amount of defense there with American forces.

I just wonder whether we want to mislead any of our people into thinking that it would save them money if we were to cut out this program, which gives them and us so much security. I do not suggest that all these other divisions are as good as ours, by any manner of means. But one reason for the program is to improve them, to make them more effective.

Let me just mention one more misconception that confuses thinking. It is said that these expenditures are too big for a peacetime program. Correct. But unfortuntely this is not peacetime. There's the rub. Just because there is no actual fighting and dying at the moment does not mean there is any true peace. On the contrary, we are locked in a mortal struggle. It is to prevent its becoming one of fighting and dying that we have this big a budget. In every real sense it is a wartime budget.

What are the conclusions to which this kind of overall survey of mutual security leads us? It seems to me there are three main facts. One is that the program has had many failures. There has been a lot of waste. Nobody has been more critical of it than I, over and over and over again. A good many projects were ill-conceived, mistakes in planning. There have been blunders in carrying out plans. A good deal of the personnel was ill-chosen or unsuitable. They produced more irritation than goodwill.

You have heard repeated reference to these failures. Let us not deny them or try to justify them. Let us frankly admit them.

But the failures are only one of the facts. Another is that, overall, the program has been a remarkable success. The free world is still free, and it would not have been without this program. The failures have involved not more than 2 percent of the projects. Ninety-eight percent of them have been amazingly successful. Not a single country in the world to which we have given this kind of aid has been lost to the enemy, although every one of them has been and is under determined attack. That is the record of achievement.

There is much talk about Iran. There was indeed a lot of waste in Iran, if waste is measured by lack of sound permanent projects carried through to completion. But if success is measured in saving a patient, in denying a vital strategic area to the Reds, then I would say that Iran is perhaps the most strikingly spectacular success we have had anywhere. We had a plunger in charge there who took bold steps and he made some mistakes; but he kept the country in the free world. If we had had a cautious man, eager most of all to avoid waste, he would not have been willing to take those steps; and we would have lost Iran during one 2-week period. The Middle East oil would have been lost and the free world would have been cut in two.

Has anyone ever served in our Armed Forces in war and not known of perhaps a sergeant who made a mistake in the handling of some materiel and lost it? Or even of a general who miscalculated and lost some American lives? But no one urged that we abolish the Defense Department just because some officials had made mistakes in judgment with resulting waste or loss. No. We admitted the mistakes and moved to correct them.

The third main fact is that the program has saved us money—net. Without it we would have had to spend more, not less; because we would have had to expand greatly our own Armed Forces.

Yet some projects unquestionably have failed. But in toto, the program has been extraordinarily successful in its main objective of keeping the free nations free and helping them become stronger and more united in their own and our defense. And it has saved us enormous sums when we consider what our defense costs would have been if we had not had the program.

Mr. Chairman, there are about three courses we can decide to follow at this juncture. First, we can, because of the failures and the waste, abolish the program, give it up as a bad job.

Second, we can decide that—because we have not yet achieved the security and unity we hoped for—we should greatly expand our aid, more of the same. Neither of those courses offers hope. The first would abandon our allies and partners to our enemies; the second would increase the confusions, waste and frustrations of which we complain.

What is the third course? To improve our aid. We need to study it critically and continuously, not just to condemn but to correct. We must work unceasingly, not to cut out the program, but to cut out of it the things that have led to the failures. Strengthen the patterns of effort that have proved most successful. Cut down or eliminate those that do not quite hit the target.

In short, do not scrap mutual security. Do not double it. But fix it.

More steps have been taken along these lines in the last year than in any previous year. Some of them probably will not work out as well as we hope. But with the aid of our Foreign Affairs Committee and the House Government Operations Committee and the Appropriations Committees of both Houses, and the various public bodies and commissions that have been studying it all year, I believe we have made some basic headway in analyzing the faults of the past and determining the changes that will help it. We can make it sounder and more efficient.

What do we have to do to improve the program? May I make four suggestions. The first is to ask ourselves afresh, What it is that we are trying to do? Is it just to make people fatter and stronger? No, it is to win their hearts and minds, their confidence, both in the free world and behind the curtain. In essence, we have to do what a candidate seeks to do in a political campaign, win voters. The peoples of the world are choosing sides. Are they going to vote for us? Or for the other side? We are trying to win their vote, their confidence. There is no use of making them stronger, richer, more productive and better armed, if they are not going to be on our side.

We have planned our programs too much in material terms. We have done a better job with the tangible things. The Communists in many places have done a better job with the intangibles. We have dealt more with commodities; the Communists have paid more attention to populations. We analyze figures; they analyze people.

When and where they have succeeded, how have they done it? Not by performance—they cannot deliver. They win by promises, flattery, giving people a sense of importance. Fortunately, we do not have to make lying promises the way they do, and we should not. But we do have to pay more attention to meeting the emotional needs of people. In our preoccupation with bringing material benefits, we pay too little attention to the things of the spirit, personal dignity, national pride, desire for equality of status, appreciation, comradeship.

We are like the loyal, honorable and practical-minded man who works hard to provide a fine home for his wife—but forgets to make love to her. And then he is mystified and brokenhearted and resentful when she runs off with some ne'er-do-well. How could she be so foolish? Because people crave flowers and affection—as well as food. It is still true that men do not live by bread alone—or by guns and dollars. The Reds have seen this more clearly than we. Witness the success of the Bulganin-Khrushchev team on their lovemaking pilgrimages.

We can build bridges, dams, and dynamos better than any one else in the world; but those are not enough. We have to study more carefully how other people react to what we are doing. If we irritate or alienate them by any program or process, it is not a wise expenditure of money or effort.

The key thing is not the amount of our aid but the manner of it.

What we need is not a bigger program, but a better one.

It is not the size of our aid, but the intelligence, the quality of it that will determine its success.

So, the first thing is to examine, identify, and get our sights on the main target, the confidence of people and then determine the things that hit that target.

The second is to streamline the program to the essentials—concentrate our efforts on those policies and projects that experience has shown do win the hearts and minds of people. Those that do not, let them go.

In too many places we are still spreading ourselves too thin. We should do fewer things better. We tend to give every country the full treatment—a little of everything. Some countries, for example, need mainly agricultural help, but we put in also an industrial expert, a commercial attaché, an educational attaché, a labor attaché, a public health agency—sometimes as many as a hundred or more projects. We overwhelm them. Let us pick out the 5 or 10 or 20 programs that are essential to the survival of that particular country and do them well, not have a uniform pattern that some one thinks we should follow everywhere. These are the kind of things we have been trying in our committee to get the mutual security people to do. We are making headway, but still greater changes in emphasis are needed.

The first question to ask in a country is, How much does it need? The answer to that is often astronomical. The second question is, How much can the country effectively use? The answer to that is much smaller. The third and most crucial question is, How much can they self-respectingly receive? The answer to that generally is still smaller. But it is the real test of what our effort should be, and we must streamline our programs to that level.

My next suggestion for improvement is to get a longer-range program. To do it on a year-to-year, piecemeal basis is just not good enough. The problem is a long-range problem. It cannot be solved without a long-range program. I believe 3 years' planning ahead is a minimum.

When Japan attacked us, did we declare war for 1 year? And then take 2 or 3 months to debate whether we would fight a second year, leaving our allies uncertain as to whether they could count on us beyond 1 year at a time? No, we declared war. We put on no time limitation. Both our enemies and our allies knew we were in it until we won victory. That did not mean we lost control of the war, or had no further opportunity to review our operations or change them as circumstances indicated. Rather, we reviewed them constantly, we changed strategy and tactics whenever and wherever we thought best. But we had committed ourselves to fight the war to the finish. Our allies did not lie down; they fought harder because they had fresh hope. They knew we intended to win, no matter how long it took. And it took a lot shorter time and less money than if we had tried to conduct it on a year-to-year basis.

This is the reason, the necessity as I see it, for the long-range development program proposed in this bill. It is not true that Congress will have no control over the development loan fund. The budget for it will come here every year like that of every other Government-owned corporation, like the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Small Business Administration—every one of our lending agencies. The development fund managers will come before us with specific plans for loans for specific projects instead of lump allocations to individual countries, as is the case now. The only way we can correct the difficulties we all complain about in the present setup is to authorize a long-range loan program under prescribed standards and guidelines and with the ability to cut it down each year if those in charge do not follow the guidelines in good faith. It is to cure the difficulties inherent in the year-to-year authorization pattern, that we want to set up the 3-year development loan fund along the very same lines we follow in our domestic loan programs.

The new thing about the development loan fund is not that it authorizes border-line loans—they are being made all over the world under existing legislation, wherever it is considered that political objectives require such loans. The new thing is that more definite restrictions and criteria for making such loans are laid down by the Congress in the legislation. After the first year the fund can go to the Treasury, just as Commodity Credit Corporation does, to borrow the money needed for loans for projects which it should be able to plan ahead in greater detail than is possible now. It will not be under the pressure of beating the June 30 deadline, with the waste of money that process often represents. When it has its proposals for loans refined and sends them to Congress in its budget each January, the Appropriations Committee, should it not approve them, can vote to limit the total loaning authority or even disapprove individual projects. If such a longer-range method of handling long-range development loans is not more intelligent control, and a far better system than we have now, I do not know what would be.

The fourth improvement needed is to get better personnel in mutual security. To begin with, we have to take more pains in selecting them. It is not enough for a man to be a good electronics expert. He and his wife have to live in such a way in the country that they do not antagonize the people with whom they are working. We can put good weapons into the hands of a man in another country and teach him how to use them well, but that does not necessarily make him a better ally. How we give the aid is as important as what and how much. Attitudes toward people are as important as technical skills.

We also have to take time to train our personnel better. One of our men just back from Afghanistan told me that technicians coming there from Russia speak both of its languages, Pushtu and Persian. They told him they had studied those languages for 3 to 5 years in preparation for coming. In contrast, we are in such a hurry that some have been sent out without knowing much of anything about the country to which they are going—its people, their history, customs, language. Well, they know what continent it is on. That is not enough. We will get more done in the end if we take time to train our people longer and better.

And then, they must be willing to stay longer than the usual 2 years. They hardly get adjusted to the climate and the people and get the feel of the job before their term is up and they come home. It is like the big executives who come down here to Washington, work hard for a year or so, organizing or reorganizing an agency—and as soon as they get it going well, they resign and go home. What happens? The agency soon settles back into the same old ruts—under less able men. The top executives say they must go home to look after their private interests. But how long will they have any private interests to look after—if we don't succeed in keeping the world free and strong and united? MSA is the major instrument we have for accomplishing that. Where is there a bigger challenge or duty for our top men and women? The task must be lifted up until it captures the imagination and enlists the loyalty of our very ablest per-

ons and keeps them at the job until it is done.

Such men would not think of bringing out a new model automobile without years of study and preparation. Yet they imagine the United States of America can save a world without their giving to the task literally years of single-minded and dedicated study and effort.

In summary, our personnel must be better selected, better prepared, willing to stay on the job longer periods of time, and willing to live and work more closely with the people of the countries where they serve. To win their confidence, we must identify ourselves with them—so they know we are all working together as genuine partners in a common task of vital importance to all.

Just to cut the program will not save money. To improve it, make it successful, will save money.

If we will do these things, Mr. Chairman, this mutual security program will save the world. And there is no question but that we can do them. We have always accomplished successfully any task that we took the pains to understand and set our hands to with a will. This is no different. The difficulties are indeed great: they constitute, not an excuse for failure, but the problem to be solved. Let us get on with the job.

Federal Aid to Grant-in-Aid Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Illinois on June 28, 1957, relating to Federal contributions to grant-in-aid programs.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Joint Resolution 23

Whereas the ever increasing expenditures of the Federal and State Governments with consequent increasing tax burdens is a cause for grave concern to the people of this State and Nation; and

Whereas much of the financial burden of the taxpayer is the result of Federal grant-in-aid programs through which a State, by furnishing a sum of money to the Federal Government receives an equal or larger sum from the Federal Government to finance and conduct certain programs; and

Whereas at first glance such an undertaking seems to be a highly desirable venture since it appears that the State is actually receiving something for nothing; and

Whereas this idea of getting something for nothing is as deceiving as the pea used in the old shell game, because the money which the State receives from the Federal Government is actually the money which the taxpayers have already paid into the Federal Treasury in the form of taxes; and

Whereas in transferring the taxpayers' money from one pocket to another, which occurs when a State accepts a Federal grant-in-aid, an appreciable amount of the money is lost due to the expense of bureaucratic administration and overhead in effecting the transfer, with the result that the taxpayer, instead of reaping a benefit from the Federal grant, is actually receiving less than he has already paid into the Federal Treasury; and

Whereas in further deflating the "something for nothing" bubble, the taxpayer finds that in addition to the initial loss sustained in accepting the grant-in-aid, he must further pay the excessive cost of the program due to unnecessary Federal requirements and redtape; and

Whereas the State and local governments which participate in grant-in-aid programs are becoming more and more subject to Federal encroachment on their individual sovereignty due to the Federal controls, restrictions, and regulations incident to such participation, and the Federal Government is interfering to an unwarranted and undesirable extent in purely State and local matters, and is also compelling the States to expand their revenue unwisely and uneconomically; and

Whereas the time has come for the States to seriously review the Federal grant-in-aid programs to determine whether such programs are more harmful than beneficial, and in line with this policy, it is the sentiment of this general assembly that the State and local governments can more efficiently and economically expend the taxpayers' funds than can the Federal Government through the grant-in-aid programs: Therefore be it

Resolved, by the Senate of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois (the House of Representatives concurring herein). That this general assembly respectfully request the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to: (a) seriously review and reassess all present grant-in-aid programs for the purpose of reducing the costs of such programs and the Federal controls incident to such programs, (b) refrain from enacting new grant-in-aid programs in the future unless such programs are an actual necessity and the desired results cannot be obtained through State and locally financed and controlled programs, and (c) to reduce Federal control over all present and future programs for the purpose of permitting State and local governments to exercise their sovereignty and minimizing Federal encroachment on States rights; and be it further

Resolved, That a suitable copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to each Member from Illinois in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

Adopted by the senate, May 1, 1957.

JOHN WM. CHAPMAN,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD E. FERNANDES,
Secretary of the Senate.

Concurred in by the house of representatives, June 28, 1957.

WARREN L. WOOD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
FRED W. RUEGG,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Will Democracy Win in Guatemala?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STERLING COLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, the tragic assassination of President Carlos Castillo Armas of Guatemala last week was an event which shocked all freedom-loving people. Since that event, remarks on this floor have indicated the measure of loss to the advancement of democracy throughout the world which has been suffered by the killing of President Castillo Armas by a Communist assassin.

All of us are, of course, seriously concerned about the effects of the President's death—whether it signals a return to Communist-dominated government in Guatemala.

In May of this year, Dr. Julio Asensio, Minister-Counselor from Guatemala to the United States, spoke to the Republican Women's Club of Broome County, N. Y., gathered at Binghamton, N. Y. Dr. Asensio's remarks were pointed primarily to the contribution that women have made in Guatemala's political evolution and were thoughtfully received by his audience. After the tragic events of last week, Mrs. Nicholas Ward, vice president of the club, and Mrs. Helen Scholderer, Republican county vice chairman, telephoned Dr. Asensio at the Embassy here in Washington to personally express their sympathy on the death of the Guatemalan President. Dr. Asensio assured the ladies that Guatemala would not return to communism.

Believing that excerpts from Dr. Asensio's speech in May and a newspaper account of the conversation between Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Scholderer, and Dr. Asensio will be of interest to the Congress at this particular time, I include the text of these items below:

EXCERPTS FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY DR. JULIO ASENSIO, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FROM GUATEMALA TO THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S CLUBS OF BROOME COUNTY, AT THE ARLINGTON HOTEL, BINGHAMTON, N. Y., MAY 7, 1957

I am happy to have the opportunity to enjoy the wonderful hospitality of my hosts and to discuss with the women of Broome County who, as in Guatemala, must be aware of matters of great importance to all people of the free world who desire to be free.

When your organization honored me with its invitation, it was suggested that I tell you about the part women in Guatemala played to liberate our nation from communism.

The story is tragic as well as historic. It seemed like an almost hopeless fight. Men were tortured and mutilated and murdered. They were heroes; but, behind each man there was a woman—wife, mother, or sister. While the men suffered physical torture from the Communists, women were also experiencing spiritual and mental torture.

We men of Guatemala have reason to be proud of the women when we think of the role our womenfolk played in our liberation. However, we cannot rest on the achievements of the past. As great and glorious as this past was, we must always face new problems as they arise.

I shall discuss what the women of Guatemala are doing today and must do in the years ahead—what all women in the free world must do if our society is to survive.

Women are charged with the responsibility of training our young in the fundamentals of democracy. In your country, as in mine, women do this. Men can help, but the fundamental responsibility is that of the wife, mother, nun, on whose performance we must rely.

We learned at firsthand in Guatemala the Communists work on the very young. When the party was underground and the Communists masqueraded as liberals, they concentrated on the school systems, even to the kindergartens, and circulated children's fairy tales, printed in Moscow, in Spanish, and distributed in Guatemala.

We must be equally vigilant by teaching our young of the free world the fundamentals of democracy. They will then be less susceptible to the Communist line.

Democracies must have citizens who know what their rights are and assume and enforce these obligations. I am constantly amazed and alarmed at the attitude of those in the free world.

Recently my government prepared for our schools and young people a publication entitled "Citizens for Liberty." It attempts to explain the basic but forceful form of democracy. It sets forth the freedoms and privileges citizens are entitled to and also the duties they must perform.

I specifically refer to one chapter because of the way it was written. It explained that in a free society the sovereignty rests with the people. Authority of the government and public officials of the government must be restricted to powers given to them by the people. When called upon to do so, officials must give an accounting of the manner in which they exercise their authority.

The principle of democracy is so basic it almost sounds trite to mention it here. Yet in too many areas of our free world this has been ignored or forgotten, not only by officials but by citizens.

My personal opinion is that if we in Guatemala had thoroughly understood democracy and what it implied, the Communists would not have lasted but for so many days. You have to lose a thing before you understand and appreciate it.

This is our greatest challenge, the desire that our children shall live in a free nation. We must have in all of our nations, men and women who understand the privilege of citizenship and their duties as citizens.

Second, we must with humility, men and women, every citizen of a democracy, fulfill our duties to protect these rights. That is what you ladies are doing. The sovereignty of a nation rests with its own people. Citizens must know and understand the complex problems facing their nation. They must make decisions as to how their government will act.

From what I have been told about your organization's aims, I must say you women of the United States are making great contributions to our great common cause. You are studying and analyzing problems and making your views known not only to government officials, but to the electorate. At election time you work like beavers to get the vote out.

I am told that this is a phase in the American way of life that people outside the country cannot understand. When you contact a neighbor with opposite political views, you urge him to use his privilege to vote. Other nations do not understand this. Yet a mere 50 to 60 percent exercise their right to the ballot. Unless these rights are used, they wither away.

One problem in Guatemala is that half of the voters are women and we have not developed the organizations which will assist our women in arriving at decisions. I feel every citizen owes to himself and his nation the obligation to study, within the limits of his intelligence, the qualifications of the candidates, and to exercise the right of his ballot. We cannot afford, deliberately or inadvertently, to send 80 to 90 percent to vote under regimentation.

You women of America are doing a job in the field of practical political education that demands the respect of all countries.

I suggest that would it not be an advantage for some of you ladies to come to my country. I would like to have you enjoy some of the most beautiful scenery in the world. You might be of much help to our women in political organization education and the women of my country could give you much help in Communist tactics.

You, the women of the triple cities, as the women of Guatemala, and all over America, have a challenge. You must bring up young men and women in an intellectual world in which they must comprehend the ideals of democracy and be able to cope with the ideological battle being waged for the minds of men.

We cannot continue to take for granted what has been taken for granted as a birthright. We must in all of our countries teach youth that ours is the best way of life. They must know and appreciate what democracy is. They must accept sometimes tedious and arduous and sometimes risky tasks of fulfilling civic duties. They must be willing to work and live for it and to recognize evil forces that work toward the destruction of their goal.

The women of the United States have that great historical responsibility.

[From the Binghamton (N. Y.) Sunday Press of July 28, 1957]

GOP OFFICIALS TALK TO MINISTER—GUATEMALA WON'T GO RED, CITY WOMEN TOLD

Two prominent Broome County Republican women said they had been assured last night that at any cost, Guatemala will never return to communism.

Mrs. Nicholas Ward, vice president of the Broome County Women's Republican Club, and Mrs. Helen Scholderer, Republican county vice chairman, talked to Dr. Julio Asensio, Guatemalan minister-counselor, by telephoning the Embassy in Washington.

They called to express their sympathy to Dr. Asensio on the death of President Carlos Castillo Armas of Guatemala, cut down by an assassin's bullets Friday night.

SPOKE HERE IN MAY

The two women had met Dr. Asensio when he came here in May to address the GOP group.

Mrs. Ward said that the Minister-Counselor had expressed his "warm appreciation for the many expressions of sympathy which have been pouring into the Embassy from the people of your country."

She quoted Dr. Asensio as saying, "We particularly want the people of your country to know that, no matter what the cost, our country will never return to communism."

Mrs. Scholderer also sent the following telegram last night to Jose Luis Cruz-Salazar, Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States:

"Our hearts go out to you and your countrymen in this hour of tribulation. May God bless and protect each and every one of you and lead your people in their courageous fight for spiritual life and freedom."

IKE SENDING SON

Meanwhile, in Washington, President Eisenhower announced that he is sending his son, Maj. John Eisenhower, as his personal representative to the funeral of the late President.

Mr. Eisenhower issued a statement that the Guatemalan leader's death was a great loss to Guatemala and the entire free world.

"Under his leadership the threat of Communist domination of his country was repulsed and Guatemala became a valuable member of the Organization of American States," Mr. Eisenhower said.

Members of Congress also mourned Castillo Armas as a great fighter against communism, and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said:

"His brave leadership of his freedom-loving people against a hated alien tyranny has given inspiration to all who prize freedom and popular progress."

The Algerian Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Algeria, a Western Problem," by Mr. Henry Giniger, one of the Paris correspondents for the New York Times who specializes on north African affairs. This article appears in Western World, a recently founded monthly published in both French and English in the interest of a close Atlantic community. The article is a penetrating analysis of the Algerian crisis, and clearly points to the need for fresh political breakthroughs both within France and within the Atlantic alliance. The article gives as good a brief conspectus of the Algerian situation as I have seen.

I might add parenthetically that though Mr. Giniger's parent paper concluded in its most recent editorial on the problem that, "There seems to be no solution in present circumstances," and that, "The best one can hope, in Micawberlike fashion, is that with both sides hanging on a solution will sooner or later present itself," I am happy to say that the vigorous reportorial tradition of this great newspaper by continuing to provide us with the real facts about this complex issue, has not resigned itself to such hopeless a conclusion. Certainly Mr. Giniger's article reflects no such abject hopelessness.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALGERIA, A WESTERN PROBLEM

(By Henry Giniger)

The fighting in Algeria is essentially a French problem, but so deeply does it affect the Western alliance that it must rightly claim its attention.

Whether this attention should be transformed into active intervention or participation by third powers in the search for a solution is something France must decide. But the decision should be one of deliberate national volition. The same is true of the solution itself. For the sake of its own self-respect and for the sake of the consideration it seeks in the world, France cannot allow situations to develop over which it has lost control and to which it is consequently obliged to submit. This has often been the case in the past, particularly in matters of colonial policy. It is not the characteristic of a great nation.

It is not within the scope of this article to suggest ways in which a national volition can arise and be expressed. They are essentially questions of internal organization and politics, and in this field, at any rate, France can only help itself.

Suffice it to say that the seeming impossibility of forming a strong and coherent ma-

jority in the National Assembly and the absence of men with imagination, intelligence, and leadership who are available to take power are reasons for discouragement not only in France but among its allies.

For the situation in Algeria has become such that this area is now a source of weakness instead of being a source of strength for the Western community.

It has weakened France. It has contributed heavily to the double crises of France's internal and external payments. Premier Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury has several times described the financial cost of the war in terms of the direct outlays for military operations. In this way he arrives at a figure of some 200 billion francs a year which he does not feel to be an excessive strain on French monetary resources. He points out, in addition, that France will have to spend much greater sums for Algeria's economic development.

But Bourgès-Maunoury's analysis neglects the considerable withdrawal of French manpower from industrial and agricultural production, the diversion of industry from the production of exportable goods to military equipment, and the imports of such equipment—all factors in the almost disastrously unfavorable balance of payments.

If the direct financial burden of Algeria would not be lifted by putting an end to hostilities, and, on the contrary, could easily be augmented, such expenditure holds much greater promise for the future than the type that consists in either destroying men or driving them into hatred.

In the political field, the Algerian situation has created certain dangers not yet wholly clear, but perceptible enough to be disquieting. A form of narrow nationalism has developed, and even such an internationalminded group as the Socialist Party has not been exempt from it. There are many Socialists who even accuse the party leadership of having help to foster it. The possible seizure of political power in France by some sort of extremism, as the direct result of the violent loss of Algeria, has become a topic of worried discussion in France.

NATO NEEDS FRENCH FORCES

In view of France's position in the western chain of defense, the disadvantages for the entire Atlantic community of its subjection to economic and political stresses are too obvious to merit further discussion.

The chain of defense is even more obviously weakened by the withdrawal by France of most of its troops from the European Continent, where they formed a part of the western shield against aggression.

It could be argued that the loss is not so great in this day of atomic power, but we are being constantly assured by the Atlantic community's military leaders that conventional land forces are by no means outmoded and that a return of the French forces to their defensive positions in Europe would be highly welcome.

It is argued, also, in defense of the French military withdrawal from Europe, that Algeria is part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization area and that in seeking to maintain French control there, French troops are, in fact, defending the important Mediterranean flank of Europe. But France's allies have the impression that this area is being defended against itself. The area can be extended to the bordering states of Tunisia and Morocco, where French forces are stationed partly because of the Algerian situation, to all appearances without the approval of the governments and peoples concerned.

The strategic value of existing or projected bases in areas where the surrounding population is basically hostile to them is a doubtful proposition. It is doubtful both from the point of view of practical military considerations (danger of sabotage, etc.) and from the point of view of the moral position of the West which is supposed to be a free association of peoples.

In the integrated Europe now being constructed among six nations—France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg—France's economic and military involvement in Algeria worries some of the smaller partners who fear German predominance. Most Frenchmen feel the same way. It might be argued that reason requires an end to germanophobia, but reason is often ineffective against deepseated sentiment. Germany might still be predominant even if France did not have Algeria to contend with, but the odds in favor of Germany would at least not be so great.

Going further afield, the Algerian war has helped to put the West in a difficult position in the Middle East and Far East—that is to say the Bandung area. It is one of the major areas of struggle between the Communist and Western World, each side seeking to turn to its own advantage the nationalism that has been the major characteristic of these largely underdeveloped nations.

The West, and principally the United States, is engaged in this struggle badly handicapped by the inability of France to come to terms with Moslem nationalism in Algeria. These are some in France who would reverse the problem and say that France is having difficulty because of the cold war competition between Washington and Moscow. This explanation constitutes an attempt, conscious or not, to dodge responsibility. It cannot be seriously maintained that if the two great rival powers in the world were to end their cold war, the Algerian problem would cease to exist.

For the moment, all the propaganda advantage inherent in the Algerian situation is on the side of the Soviet Union, which has seized upon it with relish.

The Western position was aggravated when France, pushed by a desire to strike back at Egypt, a Moslem country that gives aid and comfort to the Algerian rebels, embarked upon a military adventure which, world power relationships being what they are, it was unable to bring to an advantageous conclusion.

It will be protested that the Suez expedition last November was a joint British-French affair and that both countries were animated by a desire to head off a threat to their oil supplies, a large part of which comes through the canal. This motive was undeniable but does not offer a sufficient explanation of the bitter hostility with which the French view the Egyptian President, Gamal Abdel Nasser. It is an attitude that antedates Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal Co. in July 1956, and its direct relation to Algeria is very plain.

The split between France and the United States on the Suez issue is one aspect of the deep divergence, between the two countries concerning north Africa. Many Frenchmen believe the United States has made a choice, and it is against them. They do not appear to consider the possibility that Washington may not wish to make a choice at all and that if what the French call their presence in north Africa were given a character acceptable to the local populations, the choice could be avoided and Washington would be taken off a rather embarrassing hook.

Such has been the case, the divergences over Algeria aside, with Tunisia and Morocco, two French protectorates that were given their political independence last year. The Tunisians and the Moroccans do not have anything more to eat as a result of their independence, but they are at least no longer killing Frenchmen and Frenchmen are no longer killing them. This is something. Isolated incidents there have been, but they are almost invariably related to the situation across the frontiers in Algeria.

We come now to the crux of the problem. For a growing number of people in France and among France's allies, only the recognition of Algeria's independence is capable of restoring peace. This argument is based not only on the fact that up to the present the rebels have refused to stop fighting until Algeria's independence was recognized. It pictures the Algerian movement as part of an inevitable historical current that cannot be stopped. It also looks to the future when the rapidly rising Moslem population will outnumber the European, not by 7 to 1 as now, but by 10 to 1 and more, a weight of numbers that cannot be denied.

EUROPEANS AND OIL

But an apparent majority of France's politicians, including those who have been and are still responsible for French policy, maintain that the very presence of 1,200,000 Europeans who consider Algeria their home makes independence impossible. No nation could accept abandoning its nationals to what is considered a menacing majority. Furthermore, it is argued, oil and mineral deposits discovered and exploited by France in the desert regions of southern Algeria mean so much to the French economy that France cannot lose control over Algeria as a whole.

The second factor can be considered under much the same angle as the strategic factor discussed earlier. Exploitation of military or economic resources is made difficult, not to say hazardous, by the presence of hostile populations. In addition, it has been suggested that in the interest of economy and convenience, oil pipelines should pass through Tunisia. In this case the disadvantages of continued conflict over Algeria and the advantages of an overall settlement are both obvious.

Equally obvious is the encouragement peaceful conditions in Algeria would give foreign investors who are being asked to associate with France in economic development. Reluctance on the part of European partners to get very deeply involved financially in the Sahara region was noticeable during the recent discussions that led to a common economic development program within the framework of the projected common market.

The question of the European population (not all French by any means) is a thorny one and not perhaps completely understood abroad. Because its past is so intimately linked with Algeria this population is much worried about its future and is easily aroused by anything that appears to constitute a danger to it.

POSSIBILITY OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

Those who advocate outright and immediate independence for Algeria ought to consider the possibility that the reaction of the well-armed European population to an immediate end of French authority could thus produce a result contrary to that desired.

On the other hand, France must not allow this question to paralyze all action toward a political settlement. Since February 6, 1956, when the newly approved Premier, Guy Mollet, received a violently hostile reception from part of the European population during his visit to Algiers, the unfortunate impression has been created that just such a paralysis has taken place. Hence the impatience abroad and the moves to take matters out of French hands.

These moves will build up so long as the present situation is allowed to continue and no amount of protests about foreign interference will halt them.

A rather one-sided view of what constitutes foreign interference is taken here. If statements are made or acts taken that are contrary to what now constitutes official policy, then they are foreign interference. At the same time appeals are made to condemn rebel acts and foreign diplomats are invited

to Algeria to inspect French accomplishments. Foreign statements favoring the French side are welcomed.

More important than this, when France calls upon certain countries of Western Europe to associate with it in the economic development of French Africa, the question of war or peace in Algeria becomes not so purely internal as some persons in France insist on proclaiming.

Because the Algerian question does affect all the countries of the Western Alliance and Morocco and Tunisia, it would probably be to France's benefit if they were brought deliberately into the picture. But France should remain the final arbiter of the situation.

For example, it might be useful to discuss the question behind the closed doors of a North Atlantic Treaty session. This would be in accordance with France's long expressed desire to see the alliance effective in all regions. Ideas could be exchanged and a French solution could be presented for the moral backing it could get. But officially affording an opportunity to its NATO partners to express their ideas and criticisms, France would discourage independent moves whose principal effect is to arouse French indignation and to cause further strain in the alliance.

TUNISIA AND MOROCCO SHOULD HELP

Tunisia and Morocco, because of their special situation in north Africa, their special relation with France and their special affinity with the Algerians, should be closely associated in working out a solution. Their backing would be an important factor in its success.

All nationalist movements are political by nature and social and economic reforms, however necessary, cannot meet the problem. Nor at this late stage are political and administrative reforms sufficient to bring an end to revoluntionary agitation.

It does not appear that any solution less than an offer of independence in a specifically stated number of years will restore peace to Algeria. The shock to the long-dominant European population would be cushioned by the time given them to adjust to a changed regime. The crushing of this population is not an inevitable process any more than it was in Tunisia and Morocco. Coexistence is a rule of Algerian life that will be found to be not only mutually advantageous but indeed necessary to the viability of the country.

Meanwhile, an apprenticeship in democratic administration would be given the Algerians through gradual stages of increasing political responsibility. If it is true, as many French say, that the Algerians lack a sense of democracy, it is perhaps because the system practiced in Algeria since 1830 did not give them the opportunity to acquire one.

Both France and the rebels must make concessions.

The time lapse before independence becomes fully effective will also give France the opportunity to work out new institutions by which north Africa will be able to associate harmoniously with it on an equal footing. If indissoluble links are established they can only be by free consent rather than by French decree.

CONCESSIONS ON BOTH SIDES

The details of such a solution can be worked out effectively only through negotiations between the French Government and the representatives of the Algerian rebellion. France must make considerable concessions and so must the rebels. They must show that, if they are riding a historical current, they have sufficient authority, statesmanship and responsibility to be able to control it and prevent it from sweeping their country into chaos.

Negotiation has never really been seriously tried up to now. The unofficial and almost furtive contacts taken with the nationalists cannot be called negotiation for this implies a certain amount of give and take on both sides as well as the prior preparation of concrete proposals. The nationalists have hurt their cause by fighting among each other for power and here again a bit of statesmanship is in order if the negotiations are not to be needlessly complicated. It should be added that greater unity on the French side would also be helpful.

Of all of France's western partners, the United States could play an important role in an eventual agreement by acting as a moderating influence on the nationalists. They appear to set great store by American opinion judging by the amount of lobbying and propaganda work they do in American official and unofficial circles. It might be asked why the United States does not assume such a role. The answer is that France is not doing much to help it and only a radical change in the French attitude could put Washington in a position where it could apply its influence with some assurance of success.

We come full circle. The change of attitude by France along the lines suggested, far from constituting an abandonment, requires all the authority and purposefulness France can muster. A policy of surrender and resignation consists of permitting things to go along until all control is lost, lassitude and exhaustion set in, and the power of decision is taken out of French hands.

The Plight of Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting article on the present situation in Poland was written by Mr. Stefan Kleczkowski, and was published in the Contemporary Review, June 1957.

Mr. Kleczkowski's background as a former editor and newspaper correspondent enables him to approach the problem of the Polish people from a realistic and objective point of view. Mr. Kleczkowski's article is as follows:

THE PLIGHT OF POLAND

The "bread and freedom" riots in Poznan on June 28, 1956, ushered Poland, after 12 years of Communist domination, upon a road of a freer and happier development, and has precipitated a chain-reaction of political forces of which the Hungarian revolt last year was only a prelude. Although the Poznan uprising was ruthlessly suppressed by the Soviet forces, the lesson was learned not only by the Poles but also by the free world outside that it is possible, and even necessary, to show fortitude and courage when faced by the Russian bullies, and that a defenseless nation could, if it wanted to, oppose Russia's military might and win the day. The subsequent Warsaw anticlimax of October 19, 1956, merely reinforced the belief that the Soviet "Goliath" could be stood up to and challenged by a Polish "David," who could triumph in an unequal battle for human rights, if only for a short time. Moreover, the Soviet prefabricated myth that the satellite countries were completely integrated in the Soviet Empire was exploded. This assertion was, of course, a fallacy. The truth is that, far from having imposed its nefarious doctrine on a helpless and ill-treated people, the Soviet rulers have come to realize at last that their system, with the exception of a few henchmen and opportunists, has no hold on the country, while from the strategic and military point of view Soviet Russia cannot rely on any of the oppressed nations. It is clear that Polish, Hungarian or any other army of the Communist-dominated Eastern Europe of some 100 million inhabitants is completely unreliable, and as such is bound to be, in case of crisis, a burden rather than an asset. This makes the Soviet occupation of Eastern Germany very precarious, because all communication lines from Russia to that part of Europe run through Poland. The Poznan and Warsaw rebellions have also wrecked another Soviet assumption, namely, that it had succeeded at least in winning the Polish youths. Having found this to be also untrue, the Soviet press now brands the young Poles as "hooligans, bandits, and brigands."

In religious matters the change is even more astounding. Far from being weakened by the incessant Godless propaganda, the Roman Catholic faith and its adherents are more closely united than ever. All the churches are full, almost daily, to overflowing, and the ardour of the faithful is as powerful as during the days of the early Christians. Years of persecution and martyrdom of the Roman Catholic clergy, with the Primate Cardinal Wyszynski at the head, have deepened the devotion of all Poles beyond description. The revival of the religious mass-worship has found recently an unforgettable expression in a great demonstration in the city of Czestochowa, the famous place of pilgrimages to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin. The shrine, to which the Polish Roman Catholics ascribe miraculous properties, was visited on August 26, 1956, by more than a million people from all parts of Poland, to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the proclamation by King Jan Casimir of the Mother of God as "Queen of the Polish Crown." It was thus that the highly religious Poles supplicated the protection of the Holy Virgin, as of yore, in their fight against the eastern barbarians and their atheist thought. This act of patriotic and religious submission proved once more that the Roman Catholic region is the most powerful bulwark against the godless and brutal Communist doctrine with its materialistic tenets and absence of all moral and spiritual values, while the illegal incarceration of Cardinal Wyszynski only strengthened the conviction in all Poles that their religion is the best and most potent weapon against Russian tanks and police terror.

In this political situation the Poznan and Warsaw events brought a material, though not very solid, change for the better. Gomulka, an old Communist who had been purged for his pro-Titoist views and imprisoned, became First Secretary of the Polish Communist party, a virtual dictator of Poland on the Soviet model. He replaced a hated Moscow henchman, Bierut, who lost his life in mysterious circumstances in Moscow on December 3, 1956. His dramatic encounter with Mr. Khrushchev last October in the "Belvedere," former residence of Marshal Pilsudski in Warsaw, paved the way for a relaxation of the Soviet iron rule in Poland. His plan is to give Poles as much liberty as is indispensable for avoiding a new popular uprising, while keeping the Communist system intact. Thus, almost overnight, the Soviet Marshal Konstantin Rokossowsky, who stood inactive with the Soviet army while Warsaw burned during the 63 days abortive uprising in 1944, was sent home. He was the Soviet military governor of Poland, and as such was treated as a symbol of the Soviet domination. Soviet officers and advisers in the Polish forces were replaced by Polish officers. The dreaded

UB (secret police) was disbanded or camouflaged into a less obnoxious body. Press censorship was considerably relaxed, and more freedom of speech assured. Nowadays the press can write fairly freely provided it does not attack Soviet Russia or the Government. The jamming of foreign radio transmissions has also been stopped, at least temporarily, and the entrance allowed of a few foreign newspapers and publications. Collectivization of farms was largely abandoned, and a small dose of private initiative permitted, especially for small traders and handicraftsmen.

This is not all. Some 70 percent of all Polish farmers have been allowed to purchase small holdings and were given building materials to rebuild their homesteads. Small privately owned shops have been allowed, and they are sprouting all over the country like mushrooms. Trade barriers have been relaxed to some extent, and customs duties may be lowered on foreign imports. This is of immense importance to the whole population which is getting food and clothing parcels from their relatives living in Britain, France, Canada, United States, and other countries which prohibitive duties have hitherto prevented. Now it will be easier for Poles to import consumer goods which are in extremely short supply there, and that means practically everything that people in the West are enjoying in plenty.

This confirms the well-known fact that the economic situation in Poland, and for that matter in all satellite countries, is appalling. After taking over in Poland in 1945, in accordance with the Yalta agreements, the Soviets made it clear that their aim was to "bolshevise and russify" the country. Its 27 million population (nearly 35 million in 1939) was to be turned into docile Soviet slaves whose lives would be controlled by Soviet agents from birth to death. The Polish economy was to become the "milch cow" of the Russian "Moloch." The outcome was that the country soon became a secret police state, with the rule of terror and oppression rampant in every walk of life. In the economic field the nation which in pre-war days was a large exporter of foodstuffs was brought practically to the verge of starvation, and is now forced to import enormous quantities of grain from Russia and other countries.

Excessive industrialisation and collectivisation has produced chaos and impoverishment. With Polish industries geared to swell the Soviet war potential, and agriculture ruined by a highly unpopular and unworkable collectivisation system, with high prices for foodstuffs and commodities, and very low wages, the nation's economy, from a normally prosperous level, has been reduced to the state of famine and penury. In a territory which before the war exported large quantities of eggs, butter, bacon, sugar, starch, etc., food is scarce, consumer goods are unobtainable except at very high prices for the privileged few. While unemployment is growing and housing in short supply, the industrial population is forced to produce fatuous quotas and norms of inferior goods which are not satisfying even the barest needs. Such commodities as pins, razor blades, buttons, hooks, and even common glue, are almost unobtainable. What there is is of such poor quality and in such short supply as to be completely inadequate for a population used to Western standards. The discrepancies and injustices of the economic system come to light at once when one remembers that the average wage of a skilled worker in office or factory amounts to about 600 to 1,000 zlotys (roughly £10 to £15 a month), as compared with the salaries of party officials who get as much as 40,000 zlotys a month. With the price of a good pair of shoes about 500 zlotys the incongruities of the present economic situation in Poland are even more apparent.

These examples prove that the Communist system in Poland has failed lamentably. Ever since 1945 Russia's policy has been to tie Poland hand and foot to the Soviet political and economic system, and use it as a jumping-board for an eventual attack against the West. As in the Soviet Union, the whole Polish economic life has been made subservient to the needs of the Soviet war plans, while spiritually the country was to serve as an outpost of the Communist assault against the West. No efforts were spared to achieve both ends, and to crown the pattern of Soviet imperialism and colonization, great efforts were made to substitute the worship of the prophets of militant communism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin for that of the Almighty.

The Poznan uprising and subsequent bloodless Warsaw revolution came as no surprise. Shortage of bread, destruction of all civic liberties in the name of the triumph of the working masses, have led to a bloody showdown between an ill-fated and exhausted nation and its Moscow-imposed stooges. Betrayed by their allies in Yalta, crucified and oppressed, first by the Germans, and then by the Russians, the Poles could no longer stand the grind of perpetual famine, poverty, and enslavement. The seeds of revolution were sown and the volcano continues to smolder. Gomulka and his friends know this, and are performing a tightrope trick to keep themselves and their party in power, to hold the emotional and sorely tried Poles under control, to appease Russia without losing freshly gained concessions, and to put off the day when the Poles start asking for real freedom and independence. It is an unenviable position fraught with enormous dangers and risks as the Hungarian revolt has shown. The Poles feel like a man who has just come out of a prison and whose hands have been freed, but his feet are still tied to the prison walls.

There is, however, an answer to Poland's tragic plight. It was given by August Zaleski, President of the Polish Republic in exile residing in London, in an interview published by El Dia of Montevideo on November 11, 1956, Polish independence day. "Let us hope that the Soviet Union will come to realize that it is impossible to hold down by force 100 million people living in the center of Europe and accustomed to the enjoyment of freedom. In the long run such a state of affairs will become very dangerous for Soviet Russia, because, whenever she will fall into difficulties, the oppressed nations will renew their protests against Soviet domination. If Soviet Russia truly desires peace, she should understand that by granting freedom to the states of eastern and central Europe, from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean, she will secure a much better protective wall."

Investigating Highway Accidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, we in Alabama hold great concern for the human slaughter on the highways of this Nation. Our attention to highway accidents is accentuated by the fact that one of our colleagues, Hon. KENNETH A. ROBERTS, is chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety.

In the fall, Representative ROBERTS will take his subcommittee into Alabama, Tennessee, and Arkansas for hearings on traffic conditions in those southern States. On the subject of these hearings, there appeared an editorial in the Mobile (Ala.) Press-Register on July 28. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the editorial, as follows:

SHOCKING TRAFFIC SLAUGHTER

Representative KENNETH A. ROBERTS, of the Fourth Alabama Congressional District has pointed to a situation that should be so shocking to the people of the State that not a moment would be lost in moving to do something about it.

He called attention in Washington last week to evidence indicating that the mileage-death rate in traffic in Alabama—meaning the number of deaths in proportion to vehicle miles traveled—is the fifth highest among the States of the Nation.

Mr. ROBERTS quoted the statistics in scheduling public hearings in Alabama, Tennessee, and Arkansas in September before a House Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, of which he is chairman.

His subcommittee will hold a hearing in Nashville on September 16, in Little Rock on September 18 and in Montgomery on September 20. Mr. ROBERTS said insurance records indicate that the 1955 traffic accident death rates in Alabama, Tennessee, and Arkansas were above the rate for the Nation and that only four States had higher rates than Alabama that year. The calculations were based on the ratio of traffic deaths to vehicle mileage.

A traffic-death rate that makes Alabama the fifth worst State in the Union in that respect is enough to shock the State into prompt new determination and action to reduce the accident toll through stepped-up law enforcement activity and other safety promotion.

Meanwhile, an Interstate Commerce Commission report on a two-truck collision in North Carolina early in June that killed 21 persons and injured 16 others serves as the strongest sort of argument for the practice of safety in traffic.

This disastrous accident occurred at a highway intersection and involved a truck loaded with migrant farmworkers and a tractor-trailer truck loaded with potatoes.

The ICC investigation resulted in the blame being placed on the truck carrying the farm workers.

"It has not been possible to determine whether the failure of this vehicle to stop was due to reckless operation and disregard for traffic laws, or failure of the brakes to control the heavily loaded vehicle, or by a combination of reckless driving and poorly maintained vehicle," said the ICC report.

"It is known that the 1½-ton truck was loaded with people whose weight probably totaled approximately 5,500 pounds. This vehicle was in obviously deteriorated condition, the body of makeshift construction, and maintenance had been neglected.

"Survivors have stated to the effect that it was operated at a high rate of speed and that this speed was not reduced much, if at all, at the intersection * * *

"The accident was the direct result of the manner of operation of the vehicle transporting these workers."

All over the United States too many unsafe motor vehicles—trucks and automobiles alike—are operated on the highways, endangering not only the lives of their occupants but the lives of other users of the roads.

And all over the United States too many unsafe drivers are behind the steering wheels of automobiles and trucks, endangering their own lives and the lives of others using the highways.

As long as this deplorable condition exists to the extent that it does today, the Nation will continue to count a frightful annual

traffic death toll, not to mention the nonfatally injured and the economic loss.

Much is said and a great deal is actually done to bring about safer traffic conditions, but in spite of it all the accident toll still testifies from year to year that the problem is yet to be solved. So the question remains as urgent as ever—in fact, it becomes even more urgent each day: How much longer before the Nation will stem the grim tide of slaughter on the roads?

The Third of a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to insert the third editorial letter of the series written by F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.

The letter follows:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of July 24, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

In 1938 on our first day in Russia, the guide had said: "Today we do so and so."

This time our guide said: "What do you want to do?"

Well, there are things I want to do that will not make her happy; but I knew it would start us off on the right foot if we showed interest first in the things the Russians are proud of; so I said:

"We want to see Galina Ulanova, your greatest ballet dancer; and we want to see your greatest opera; and we want to find out for sure if it is true that you are doing wonderful things in education."

That set us in right.

Ulanova is to be in a special appearance in about a week, with the great old conductor who had helped make her No. 1 in all the world. He is almost totally blind now; but he would conduct for Ulanova again before an audience of 14,000.

But alas, the only rendition of their most beloved opera, Prince Igor, was that very night, and tickets never could be gotten the same day. But I looked so woebegone at that news that they said: "Perhaps."

At 6:30 p. m. they handed us two tickets.

They were second row, main floor, on center aisle—best seats in the house.

It was the best-staged opera I have ever seen. (Not best singing, but the best scenery and staging.) They had horses on stage; they took half hour for a dawning; they had stars that twinkled and a river that rippled; they had a battle that set a city afire and there were actual flames. (At least, I thought so.)

Then they called on the world-famous Bolshoi Dancers for the Dance of the Slaves, a wild and very much naked revel for the gratification of a tyrant.

Between acts are 20-minute intermissions when they go to restaurants and cafes in the opera house for snacks.

A German bomb hit the opera house during World War II. That is one of many reasons (shortage of men being another) why the Russians stubbornly (and perhaps wisely) oppose a reunification of Germany—in fact, oppose anything that will give Germany a chance to start a third world war within 40-odd years—within the lifetime of tens of millions of Russians who suffered horribly from the former two wars. 'Twas out of the first war that communism gained control of Russia; and has since taken control of vast areas and populations of this earth.

Swiss Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, August 1 again this year will be the time when the great democracy of the United States extends its cordial greetings to the great democracy of little Switzerland. On that day, 666 years ago, the Swiss laid the groundwork for the development of a democratic way of life which is among the finest in the world today. Then it was that the people of three tiny cantons in the north of what constitutes modern Switzerland today gathered together to tell the Habsburg monarchy to keep hands off.

Now, centuries older and 19 cantons larger, the Swiss people of Germanic, French, and Italian origin are the possessors of a sound, democratic tradition and a healthy economy.

It is sometimes little realized how much the Swiss and American peoples share in common. They have the same love for freedom and democracy, are gifted with the same industriousness and precision skills, and both enjoy similar standards of living which are among the highest in the world. Both the Swiss and Americans have made substantial contributions to the other nation's welfare. In the United States, for example, there are many Swiss-Americans who, like their fathers and grandfathers before them, are valuable assets to the well-being and vigor of our country.

In this time of tension and strain between nations, it is a good thing to be able to point to the long and profitable relationship enjoyed by Switzerland and the United States. This friendly state of affairs between one of the finest democracies and the world's greatest democracy was formally recognized with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce 106 years ago. In our own era we can point to the Reciprocal Trade Treaty of 1936, which has had a profound and positive impetus on commerce between both states.

Yet even this fine tradition has not prevented friction and misunderstanding to arise between both countries. It is now 3 years since President Eisenhower raised the tariff on watch imports, to the dismay of both the Swiss and our other friends overseas. The facts in the watch question and the significance of mutual trade in combating the Soviet economic offensive impel us to rectify this grevious wrong. It would be appropriate indeed, if, upon extending congratulations to Switzerland on the anniversary of its independence, steps are taken to erase the only blot marring our longstanding friendship with one of Europe's oldest democracies.

They Should Read On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, within recent months many of us have called attention to the fact that the so-called civil rights bill was being foistered on the American people in one of the most deceptive ways I have ever known. A large segment of the nation's news media have been representing the bill to the public as a simply right-to-vote bill. Supporters of the measure have insisted that it is only a moderate attempt to assert Federal power in the field of civil rights. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Those of us who know the bill to be liberty-destroying, iniquitous, and dangerous to the American way of life have tried earnestly to awaken the people to its dangers. We pleaded that proponents of the bill read it carefully and to view its contents in light of what the bill might do to their people in the event a ruthless Attorney General ever decided to use it in such a way.

The debate has accomplished one real good and that is that it has forced the other side—the proponents—to admit the bill is more than a moderate attempt to legislate in the field of civil rights; it is indeed more than a mere right-to-vote bill. This has resulted in the approval of amendments in the Senate which would eliminate the drastic provisions of section III.

These actions could not have been achieved without some honest soul-searching on the part of those who have been seriously considering the bill and its provisions. The campaign of education which we have been trying to wage is beginning to pay off. The press is finally coming around to the realization that more is involved than the right to vote. Commentators are looking at the bill with a renewed objectivity.

One of the best editorials I have seen on this trend appeared recently in the Progress-Index of Petersburg, Va., edited by Edward A. Wyatt IV who from the beginning has demonstrated a keen knowledge of what is in the bill and what dangers are hidden in its carefully-worded clauses. This editorial, entitled "They Should Read On," is included herein with my remarks and I recommend it to the reading of all people who are interested in the welfare of our Nation.

The editorial follows:

THEY SHOULD READ ON

Senators BYRD and RUSSELL and other opponents of the civil rights bill must be credited with having made a real impression,

now that some of the advocates of the bill have gone so far as to take a look at what it contains. Having done so, President Eisenhower has backed off a step from his complete support of Senators KNOWLAND and HUMPHREY are offering an amendment to save, but soften, section 3 which permits injunctions for school integration.

They are willing, it seems, not to go back to the Reconstruction period to find provisions to use in the bill. Senator HUMPHREY says that Attorney General Brownell "made a blunder by placing that provision in the bill," and Mr. Eisenhower, who repeatedly has coupled unyielding support of the civil rights measure with statements of his own good intentions, says he would favor using troops in school integration cases only upon request of local authorities.

Now that Messrs. Eisenhower, Knowland, and Humphrey have begun to read, let them read on. They've seen the light, albeit only a little light, but they may see more if they are willing to give their personal attention to the monstrous thing they are supporting.

Southern opponents of the bill again have called attention to the evils which it contains. Evidently their criticisms have been dismissed as sound and fury. Finally, as a result of the recent statements from Senators BYRD and RUSSELL, somebody decided to do a little concentrating upon the subject at hand.

All of this is a sad commentary upon the processes of government, of the ignorance of persons of measures which they support, and the wonder may be that we are not stuck with more objectionable legislation than we are. According to Senator HUMPHREY, the responsibility for the reconstruction tie-in rests upon Attorney General Brownell, at which nobody need be surprised. But Senators HUMPHREY and KNOWLAND and the rest, including even President Eisenhower himself, have an obligation to be acquainted with the provisions of proposed legislation which they support. By their own admission, this obligation has not been honored.

The willingness to soften one obnoxious provision is no cause for high satisfaction. The thing is evil from start to finish, an unwarranted usurpation of the rights of States, and the Nation will have gone a long way down the road to totalitarianism if it is placed upon the statute books.

But the modified attitude is cause for hope that men who have opened their eyes and their minds a little way will open them further. Let us hope they will be appalled by what they have been doing and allow the whole affair to die the death it deserves. That depends upon whether they are willing to change over from vote-hungry politics to statesmanship.

By a Margin of Only 5 Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Trenton Evening Times is one of the leading independent newspapers of New Jersey, though it has an almost perfect record of support for Republican candidates including General Eisenhower. It is interesting, therefore, to read an editorial in the Trenton Evening Times of July 30 on the defeat of the school bill entitled, "Eisenhower's Fault?" I was so struck by this extremely significant editorial that I include it here for the information of my colleagues:

EISENHOWER'S FAULT?

By a margin of only 5 votes, the House of Representatives has killed the $1,500,000,000-school-construction bill. Under the bill, Uncle Sam would have distributed $300 million a year to the States for school aid. Thirty-one States would have received $80 million more than they contributed in the form of Federal taxes.

Defeat of the bill is a major reversal for the Eisenhower administration. It is a reversal which could have been averted if the President had exerted his best efforts in the bill's behalf. This characteristic reluctance to enter the arena of rough political conflict on behalf of even the most important of his measures will spell the certainty of many similar defeats in the days of waning power that lie ahead. If the President could not have summoned a half dozen Republican votes to his cause on an issue which he considers vital he has indeed reached a low level of influence on Congress.

Soil and Water Conservation in the State of Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, on July 15, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my observations with respect to soil and water conservation in the State of Kansas. I pointed out that the farmers of Kansas are demonstrating tremendous interest in conservation work. They know the value of conserving our natural resources. Through the outstanding leadership and efforts of Assistant Secretary Ervin L. Peterson, the Department of Agriculture is giving highly valuable technical assistance in this field. The farmers in my district in northeast Kansas are enjoying great benefits from Mr. Peterson's constructive policy of emphasizing permanent conservation practices.

I am pleased to note that Nolen J. Fuqua, president, the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, saw fit to reproduce my remarks in the July 23 issue of the NASCD official newsletter, Tuesday Letter, with the title, "Good Speech."

Because of the outstanding work of the National Grange, I feel it is especially appropriate to call attention to the letter from Herschel D. Newsom, master of the grange. His background and experience qualify him to speak with authority on matters pertaining to agriculture. Mr. Newsom's remarks will be of importance to all Members of Congress who are interested in the farmer. His letter follows:

NATIONAL GRANGE,
Washington, D. C., July 29, 1957.

The Honorable WILLIAM H. AVERY, M. C.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN AVERY: We sometimes get our information in what would seem to be a roundabout manner. I have just been looking at the Tuesday Letter of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts and find they have reproduced your speech of July 9 on the attitude of Kansas farmers toward soil and water conservation work. I am writing this simply to say that I share your views, not only on the value of the work being done, but on the outstanding qualities of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Ervin L. Peterson. Consistently, since he assumed his position in the Department of Agriculture, he has demonstrated unusual capabilities for cooperation, judgment, and understanding as well as a notable capacity to get things done. He is performing a great service for agriculture and the Nation, especially in the field of natural resources, and we in the National Grange are certainly pleased that you have contributed to the public recognition of this fact.

My sincere compliments on an excellent statement.

Respectfully yours,
HERSCHEL D. NEWSOM, *Master.*

For a Permanent Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks an article from a recent issue of a trade paper, Burger Tire Consultant Service, endorsing the extension of the Small Business Administration, not only for a 2- or 3-year period but as a permanent agency.

With these remarks I wholeheartedly agree and express my very deep disappointment that the other body has failed to act on legislation doing this very thing that was passed by this House, by only 2 votes in opposition, over 4 weeks ago.

As the present SBA Act will soon expire immediate action by the other body seems absolutely necessary. This excellent legislation should not expire and the fine program now being carried on by SBA to assist small business firms should be made a permanent agency.

The article follows:

VOTE THE STRONGER SBA APPROVED BY THE HOUSE IS WHAT WE URGE SENATORS

"Right up front, that's where you've got to put small business." This is what we're telling the Senate on the subject of Small Business Administration legislation.

Our constant work to make SBA stronger paid off last month when the House voted 392 to 2 to make the agency a permanent fixture on the executive side of Government. It's been on a 2-year temporary basis to date, which has prevented it from developing fully its muscle to serve you.

Additionally, the House voted to give you, the independents the agency was created to serve, a bigger say in directing SBA's operations.

These are things we've been after from the beginning, to make sure you stand shoulder to shoulder with big business, labor, and farmers in executive branch highest councils where make-or-break decisions are reached on business, and to make sure SBA has all the advice needed to do the bang-up job it must for you.

CIVIL RIGHTS THE ROADBLOCK

Now a Senate committee's recommendation threatens to wipe these gains out. It is urging the Senate to vote a simple 1-year extension for the agency.

Its argument: it must do this to assure quick action, to prevent SBA from getting hopelessly tangled in the upcoming debate over civil rights.

But we're pounding away on these thoughts: that small business welfare is just as important to our country as the voting and school rights of any minority, and that small business deserves to be right up front instead of in any back seat.

We're determined to hang on to the gains we helped win for you in the House. Some are saying: "Let it go over to 1958, when there'll be more time," but our reply is: "A bird in the hand is worth any two in the bush." The House has given us your opportunity, and we're going right down the line to make the most of it.

Federal Sewage Disposal Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, on July 19, under a special order, I discussed the suggestion by Mr. Milton P. Adams, executive secretary of the Water Resources Commission of Michigan, that allocation of Federal funds for sewage disposal plants might be made on a basis which would pass over the requests of municipalities located in the congressional districts of those Members of Congress who had voted against the $50 million appropriation for fiscal 1958.

I am happy to report that Mr. Adams and the Commission apparently have thought better of any such fantastic scheme.

Since directing Mr. Adams' attention to my remarks in the House I have received the following telegram from him:

LANSING, MICH., *July 26, 1957.*

Hon. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Thanks for yours of recent date based on 13 replys received and other counsel the Commission could not afford to modify its method for establishing priorities based on congressional voting. Commission also without authority to recommend scaling down of grants to accelerate safe program. Personal acknowledgment will follow as opportunity permits.

MILTON P. ADAMS,
Executive Secretary,
Michigan Water Resources Commission.

I also directed a copy of Mr. Adams' original letter to me and a copy of my remarks to the attention of the Honorable Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Following is a copy of a letter I have received from Secretary Folsom:

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
Washington, July 30, 1957.

Hon. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. JOHANSEN: This is in reply to your letter of July 23, 1957, in which you enclosed a copy of letter dated July 10, 1957, from Mr. Milton P. Adams, executive secretary of the Water Resources Commission of the State of Michigan, and also copy of a speech which you delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Adams informed you that the Water Resources Commission of Michigan had scheduled a public hearing at Lansing on July 30, 1957, for the purpose of seeking counsel on how to accelerate Michigan's program on the allocation of Federal funds in the construction of sewage treatment plants, as provided in Section 6 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. His letter to you stated the commission might very well hear suggestions that the funds granted by Congress for fiscal year 1958 should go only to those municipalities whose representatives in Congress had voted to retain the $50,000,000 item for this purpose when the appropriation bill for this Department was being considered in the House of Representatives.

You were also asked by Mr. Adams what the Congressional reaction might be to his recommending that all grant certifications made to the Public Health Service be scaled down one-third or one-half from the "congressionally authorized limits" or "up to 30 percent or $250,000 ceiling, whichever is smaller."

You are correct in assuming that neither the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, nor the Public Health Service, had associated itself in any way with the suggestions contained in Mr. Adams' letter.

You ask that this Department submit a statement relative to the legality of these proposals.

Section 6 (b) (4) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act provides:

"no grant shall be made for any project under this section unless such project is in conformity with the State water pollution control plan submitted pursuant to the provisions of section 5 and has been certified by the State water pollution control agency as entitled to priority over other eligible projects on the basis of financial as well as water pollution control needs."

It seems very clear that any formula or method of determining priority of one project over other eligible projects on the basis of financial, as well as water pollution control needs, would meet the conditions of section 6 (b) (4) of the Federal act. However, any decision on the part of the State agency, notwithstanding the provisions of the statute, eliminating municipalities in certain congressional districts from consideration in receiving Federal funds, because those Congressmen representing such districts had cast negative votes on appropriating funds for the program, would in effect impose an absolute limitation in an area where Congress had provided none, and would, therefore, in our opinion, not be within the intent of Congress.

On the question of reducing the maximum or ceiling of 30 percent of the estimated reasonable cost of the project or $250,000 whichever is smaller, we have taken the position that recommendations by State agencies based on consideration of need in an individual case would be entirely appropriate. The function of determining the percentage and amount (within the statutory ceiling) of Federal participation in approving projects is vested by the statute in the Surgeon General, and not in any State agency. A uniform or blanket reduction of grant certifications by a State agency on all applications of one-third or one-half from the statutory 30 percent or $250,000 ceiling, would not, in our opinion, be within the intent of Congress.

Accordingly, should the proposals suggested by Mr. Adams in his letter to you be adopted by the Water Resources Commission of Michigan, the Surgeon General would be under a duty to consider such action as he deemed necessary to carry out the intent of Congress in the administration of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

We appreciate your interest in this matter, and if we may be of further service to you, please advise us. A copy of this letter has been sent to the Michigan Water Resources Commission as requested.

Sincerely yours,

M. B. FOLSOM,
Secretary.

So-Called Liberals Fail in Their Tactic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, I think the sentiment expressed in the following syndicated column by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Jersey City Journal on Monday, July 29, is especially timely. I heartily agree with Mr. Lawrence's views and commend them to my colleagues. The article follows:

SO-CALLED LIBERALS FAIL IN THEIR TACTIC
(By David Lawrence)

Coercionism, the misguided tactic of too many of the so-called liberals of today, just will not work.

This has just been impressively demonstrated in the handling by Congress of two major pieces of legislation—the modification of the civil rights bill and the sidetracking of Federal aid for schools.

It is unrealistic to say, as some of the partisans now are saying, that if President Eisenhower had only fought harder for the school bill he could have gotten it through the House. What killed the bill for this session was the mistaken zeal of a large group of both northern Democrats and Republicans who tried to jam down the throats of the Southern people a measure that would have deprived them of Federal money for their schools unless they accepted integration. It is true that there was a parliamentary maneuver under way to eliminate this coercive feature from the pending bill, but in the background was the announced intention of certain of the so-called liberal bloc in the House to attach the same provision later on to an appropriation bill as a rider.

What is generally overlooked by the critics is that, even had there been approval by the House, no such bills would have gotten by in the Senate anyway.

It is passing strange how often so many of the so-called liberals openly advocate that the President apply threats and the tactics of pressure to coerce the members of his own party in Congress. This is euphemistically described as a means of exercising leadership. It runs counter, however, to true liberalism which holds that the elected representatives of the people should represent the will of their constituents and should not surrender convictions by succumbing to the blandishments of Presidential patronage or special favor.

The idea is frequently advanced that all a President has to do is to crack the whip and, to change metaphors, he will then have a rubberstamp Congress to do his bidding. This isn't true representative government today and it never has been. Presidents have won major causes only when they could convincingly persuade and not when they tried to coerce.

The real reason why the $1,500,000,000 school bill failed is that the sponsors of it

ave not yet sold it to the country. There , of course, need for more classrooms and some areas certainly Federal aid is essenal if there is to be any immediate program construction. But the very partisans who e complaining about the President's failre to fight aggressively for the school bill rget that they themselves helped to build p throughout the Nation the so-called econmy mood of today which began when the itics last January assailed the $71,800,000,- 00 budget of the administration.

There wasn't a Chinaman's chance of assing any kind of a school aid bill at this ession. The southern bloc had its back up, id so did the economy-minded bloc of the ouse. This was a big enough coalition to rm a majority—and the decision was to ostpone school legislation until next sesion, when the real battle for it will take lace.

As for coercionism, it is not working in the vil rights fight and it never will bring intetation in the South. Such ill-advised proosals as the one introduced by a so-called emocratic liberal in the Senate the other ay—to reduce the South's proportion of epresentation in Congress if more Negroes idn't vote—is reminiscent of the way the epublican Congressmen from the North nctioned in reconstruction days. Also, to eny jury trial on the theory that southern eople on juries cannot be trusted to render st verdicts, is the way to increase discord nd dissension.

Whatever may be the solution ultimately the handling of the race problem in Amera, it can come only through voluntarism— nd not coercionism. There is nothing libral about coercive tactics however tempting ay be the Machiavellian maxim of totalirian minds that the end justifies the eans. It will not work in free America. any of the intellectuals of our day who, elding to emotion, have swallowed the ercionist doctrine do not yet realize that e greatest victories in behalf of humaniarian causes are won through patience and oral suasion. For this is true liberalism hich, it is gratifying to note, is motivating ore and more Members of both parties in e civil-rights fight in the Senate.

Race Mayhem In Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave o extend my remarks in the RECORD, I nclude an editorial which appeared in he Bee, an afternoon daily published in Danville, Va. The editor pointed out hat the recent race riot in the city of Chicago presents another graphic picure of people behaving in a very differnt manner to the lofty assertion of armonious race relations. The text of he editorial is as follows:

RACE MAYHEM IN CHICAGO

Yesterday's dispatch from Chicago detailng the race riot, described by the police as ne of the worst in recent years, was so aconic and undertoned that it is hard to nd out whether it was started by white or olored people and whether or not it was he result of smouldering feeling as more nd more colored families move into white esidential areas. Today's accounts of the econd successive day of rioting is also poor reporting since it refuses to say whether the thousand persons were white or colored.

At any rate we have here another of those graphic pictures of people behaving in a very different manner to the lofty assertion of harmonious race relations in America's second largest city.

If what happened at Chicago on Sunday and Monday had occurred in the South, a national howl would have resulted with strong demands from the North that Federal troops be assigned to the rioting area to quell the commotion.

Chicago is the hotbed of the neoliberal activity. More Negro missionaries preaching the doctrine of race equality and evolution have come into the South out of the University of Chicago than any other educational institution. Most of them have taken the Chicago situation as their basic theme showing how integration of the races works out well in practice. Unhappily these preachments lose their face when these apostles of the new day find themselves called on for an explanation for such things as those which took place in Chicago and which evidently are building up for a new battle royal in Calumet Park next Sunday.

This was no isolated brawl. About 200 were engaged in the Sunday fight with 3,000 looking on while several thousands more persons were seeking relief from heat in other parts of the park. Three hundred police had to be called out and after the afternoon riot had been quelled it broke out again during the night. Stone throwing and the burning of automobiles marked the course of these affrays.

Chicago has a bad record for racial clashes and while its leading newspapers rant and rave against the South's resistance to desegregation, it has precisely the same problems that we have, and while they do lipservice to harmony between the races, both sides are ready to fight at the drop of the hat.

The Chicago race riots should impress the colored people of the South that they cannot safely depend on these modern Moses to lead them into the dreamed-of Utopia, and that the colored people are better understood by those who have lived among them for so long. How many times have the outside evangelists proved to be both a snare and a delusion to the people they try to lead by the nose.

Panama Demonstration Emphasizes Wisdom of 1903 Canal Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that I voice the sentiment of our entire congressional membership, both House and Senate, and their expression of regret concerning news of the demonstration on July 24, 1957, in Panama City against President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., of the Republic of Panama.

A featured news story in the Panama Star and Herald of July 25 tells about a meeting of several thousand persons in the city of Panama, called for the purpose of demonstrating against the President and for demanding his resignation. The paradoxical nature of that political situation is indicated by the fact that the meeting was called by Temistocles Diaz, First Vice President of the Republic, who had been feuding openly with the administration of President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., for the last 2 months. One of the speakers at the meeting was Ismael Vallarino, a member of the National Assembly of the Republic and a brother of National Guard Chief Vallarino.

Fortunately, there was no bloodshed involved in the demonstration, although a number of participants were arrested, tried, and sentenced to short-term imprisonment.

In this connection, it is pertinent to mention the cruel assassination on January 2, 1955, of Panama's able and efficient President José R. Remon. Though his successor, First Vice President Jose Ramon Guizado, was deposed by the National Assembly and imprisoned for plotting the murder of Remon, the actual assassin has never been punished.

Our general impression has been that President de la Guardia, a successful businessman and conservative in character, has been discharging his duties as President of the Republic with firmness and dignity. We are surprised at this organized protest led by the First Vice President.

All of this illustrates the vision and wisdom of the architects and authors of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of November 18, 1903, which conferred on the United States complete authority and sovereignty over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal in perpetuity. On that basis, the construction of the waterway and its subsequent operation were undertaken by the United States.

Certainly, the Canal Zone should never be permitted to become the theater of revolutionary movements, which unfortunately occur at times in Panama, or the Panama Canal the subject of Panamanian political fluctuations.

We sincerely trust that the situation in Panama has been effectively composed. Moreover, it is to the undoubted interest of the United States and Panama that the stability and progress of the Isthmian Republic be maintained.

Under leave granted, I include as part of these remarks the indicated news story:

OPPOSITION MARCH BROKEN UP AMID GUNFIRE—NO CASUALTIES—NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS MOVE OUT—10 DEMONSTRATORS JAILED—DIAZ WARNS OF CIVIL WAR AFTER PRESIDENT IGNORES DEMAND FOR RESIGNATION

An opposition demonstration broke up last night amid the crack of gunfire and the wail of sirens as troops dispersed a march on the national guard headquarters.

National guard headquarters said there were neither dead nor wounded. Ten demonstrators were arrested and sentenced to jail terms ranging from 30 to 60 days.

Col. Bolivar Vallarino said national guard troops did not fire. But about a dozen shots rang out in front of the central fire station as national guard radio patrol cars roved around in pursuit of demonstrators. Whoever was firing, apparently was doing it into the air.

About 25 national guard motorcycles and a dozen radio patrol cars and jeeps, carrying troops armed with rifles, moved out against the demonstrators.

The march on the national guard headquarters was a sudden development at the

end of a 3-hour rally called by Vice President Temistocles Diaz, who has been feuding openly with the administration of President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., for the last 2 months.

The concentration was widely billed as a show of force. But not more than 3,000 persons—by general estimate—turned out. Up to the time of the sudden move at 11 p. m. out of Santa Ana Plaza, where the meeting was held, the rally had not gone beyond fiery talk and a token demand on President De la Guardia to quit office immediately.

A dozen speakers had voiced strong attacks on President De la Guardia personally and on his administration. The speakers included National Assembly Deputy Ismael Vallarino, brother of National Guard Chief Vallarino.

Finally, after 2 hours of haranguing, the organizers submitted a resolution to the rally—which by that time was labeled "a town hall meeting"—demanding that President De la Guardia resign warning him to bear the consequences if he did not do so, and calling for "civic measures" by the people in support of the movement.

Two commissions were appointed to inform President De la Guardia and the national guard headquarters of the contents of the resolution. The commission sent to the presidential palace returned at 10:30 p. m. with word that it had been intercepted by an officer of the presidential guard and was told that the President was receiving no one.

Norberto Navarro, a leader of the opposition movement and chairman of the commisison that was sent to the Presidencia, said the group was treated courteously.

There was no direct word from the other commission, which was headed by Dr. Sergio Gonzales Ruiz. But one of the announcers at the rally quoted national guard headquarters as sending word that it was receiving orders from the President.

One of the announcers, Homero Velasquez, then told the crowd—which by this time had dwindled to about half its original number—over the loudspeakers that there should be no move against the presidential palace, because there was a plot to massacre the people.

He said these were instructions from Diaz. But then Diaz himself took the microphone and in an abrupt turnabout announced that the people would arm themselves, that civil war would come if necessary. Then he added:

"Either that tramp gets out of the (presidential) palace or I will be killed."

Then cries of "To the presidencia" broke out from the bandstand where the speakers' platform was located and the crowd surged out of the plaza.

Instead of heading toward the presidential palace, however, it turned toward A Avenue in the direction of the national guard headquarters.

The demonstration was intercepted two blocks from the headquarters building and as motorcycles, jeeps, and radio patrol cars moved out with sirens at full blast, everybody scampered.

The disturbance lasted about a quarter of an hour.

Tension had been evident throughout the city before the meeting, which had been expected to result in trouble. By 7 p. m., 1 hour before the rally began, Central Avenue was practically deserted and most of the stores had their plate-glass windows boarded up or protected by heavy wire screens. National guard troops had been deployed along both sidewalks of the main business section, several of them equipped with walkie-talkies.

After the meeting began, there was a relaxed atmosphere and at times the crowd displayed even a festive mood. It was not until the very end of the rally that talk of violence became really serious.

Vice President Diaz walked out of the park with the crowd and presumably he was with it at the time that it was dispersed.

Those who were arrested and later sentenced by Night Police Judge Antonio Santamaria were:

Norberto Navarro, charged with hampering the arrest of demonstrators, 40 days in jail.

Javier Hernandez, Florencio Linares, Juan Barrios, Jr., Jose Felix Jimenez, Juan B. Dominguez, and Jose Diaz, charged with throwing stones at national guardsmen, 60 days each.

Florencio Morales, Valerio Mendez, and Leonardo Tejada, three San Blas Indians who said they had come to the rally under the impression that it was a big celebration, 30 days each.

As the rally came to an end and at the height of the disturbance, four fire-alarm boxes were broken. In one instance, firemen found gasoline-soaked rags in an abandoned building. The other alarms were false.

The rally was preceded by an afternoon-long convention of opposition delegates at which a platform was adopted. The opposition movement has been named by the organizers "National Liberation Movement."

The Serious Drought Condition in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have urged for sometime the administration to declare Massachusetts a disaster area because the distress caused by the intense drought there. I have been in constant communication with the Civil Defense, the Department of Agriculture, the Small Business Administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission for boxcars and lowered freight rates to carry hay and other food for livestock, help for our milksheds, and assistance in the price of hay and feed. A letter regarding the subject is as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Boston, July 29, 1957.

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: With reference to our telephone conversation I would like to report that dairy farmers are probably the hardest hit. It will be necessary for them to purchase this fall, 75,000 to 100,000 ton of hay, but we hope, there will be some relief, from Washington on the high cost of transportation of hay. There is also the problem of new seedings which are a total loss involving time and labor plus seed and fertilizer. We believe the agricultural conservation program will help with this reseeding program.

The poultrymen have had losses to their poultry ranges. They have increased costs because of the additional grain necessary to feed their poultry because of the lack of grain feed on their ranges. These poultry ranges will have to be all reseeded before they can be used another seasoh.

The fruit trees are now beginning to show drastic effects because of the continuous drought. The leaves are falling from the trees, the fruit is small and the damage to this year's growth which is the production growth for next year is seriously damaged. We do not know what project of the USDA can help out on this fruit program.

We will send you in the next few days a compilation of the various losses and monies to our agricultural economy in Massachusetts. We have done everything we can in this State to the best of our knowledge to help agriculture. We have seeded the clouds in the hope of making rain and we understand there is available through civil defense a possibility of receiving irrigating equipment.

Sincerely,

CHARLES F. SHELNUT,
Assistant Commissioner.

John Paul Jones: Fighter for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News, a publication with wide circulation in my congressional district:

JOHN PAUL JONES: FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM—1747–92

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

We salute John Paul Jones, our greatest naval hero. We honor our defender of democracy. We hail the 210th anniversary of his birth. His name is revered by all Americans. His fame walks the pathways of the stars.

Biography is the key to history. The greatest souls of history are those who conquered in the face of adversity; who hitched their chariot to the star of hope; who snatched immortality from the ruins of time. Such a man was John Paul Jones.

Let us raise the curtain that conceals the past. Let us illustrate the lofty patriotism that characterizes the Revolutionary era. Let us contemplate the life and service of John Paul Jones, one of the most glorious in the galaxy of American immortals.

He was an immigrant. He was born John Paul at Kirkbean, Scotland, July 6, 1747, and died at the age of 45 in 1792. He settled in Fredericksburg, Va., in 1773 and added Jones to his name. He entered the American Navy at the outbreak of the American Revolution and was commissioned lieutenant on December 7, 1775. He was promoted captain in 1776 and made a successful cruise as commander of the *Ranger* in waters around British Isles in 1778.

His story reads like a fairy tale. His life rises to the simplicity of an epic. His deeds will never cease to excite men with the splendor of events and inspire them with the majesty of his achievements.

His supreme courage, with heroic endurance, with unfaltering faith in God, he became one of the elect of Americans. He was the trusted friend of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin. He was the personification of valor. He was the foremost naval commander of the Revolution.

His genius blew the breath of life into the drama of the infant Republic. His deeds were the inspiration of the dawning sea-power of the new world. His services were of the highest moment to the glory of the Nation. He won his battles not by ships but by his genius. He was the conqueror of

e conquerors of the sea. He was the
ayard of the blue waters.
On water he was the wizard of the sea.
n land he was the master of diplomacy.
e believed in the royalty of man. He be-
eved in the sovereignty of the citizen. He
elieved in the matchless greatness of the
epublic. Love of liberty was the master
assion of his soul, and he longed to have his
ame and fame associated with his adopted
ountry—America.
Whose blood does not run faster, whose
lood does not run warmer, when he reads
he thrilling exploits of John Paul Jones.
hat American has not treasured up in his
ind Captain Jones' bloody sea skirmish
ith the British *Serapis*, "Are you prepared
surrender?" shouted the British captain.
And Captain Jones, commanding the *Bon-
omme Richard* in the thickest of combat,
atless and begrimed with powder, the very
carnation of battle, shouted the historic
ords: "I have not yet begun to fight."
By the inspiration of his example, he
rged weaklings into giants. He captured
is opponents. He snatched victory from
efeat. He transferred his crew to his prize.
ust in time to see his own ship *Bonhomme
ichard* sink beneath the waves with the
ars and Stripes floating from the mast.
He was the first to hoist our flag upon a
an-of-war. He was the first to raise our
g upon a hostile ship captured in battle.
e was the first to receive a salute from a
reign power. He was the first commander
history who ever landed an American
rce upon the European shore.
Every officer of the Navy should know by
eart the deeds of this undaunted com-
ander. Every officer of the Navy should
el in every fiber of his being the desire to
mulate the indomitable determination of
ohn Paul Jones who strengthened the soul
our people in their great struggle for na-
onality.
John Paul Jones resided in Paris at the
me of his death. His remains was brought
this country in 1905, and later buried
a crypt of the United States Naval Acad-
my chapel, Annapolis, Md., in 1913.
But his true sepulcher will ever rest in the
earts of the American people. The people
e his memorial. He is our hero. He will
ve on in immortal youth. He will live for
l time in our history.

Let's Keep Farmers Going in Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. ohn Carlson, of Pinewood, Minn., has mply expressed her deep feelings about he troubles of the family farmer. Under ave to extend my remarks I request ermission to insert these:

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR COYA KNUTSON: We the farmers have any problems to face today.
One is the egg price Mr. White wrote bout. I do hope something can be done encourage farm folks to keep going.
My husband and I have a farm home. ith prices the way they are, we don't get in paying off debts.
The products we sell like eggs, livestock, gs, milk, and cream, we get no price for—things we have to buy are sky high. It's very discouraging to one starting out like us—and even those who have been farming a long time are locking up and moving away. It's heartbreaking to see so many neighbors and friends leaving because the farm prices are so low.
Can anything be done about this? I hope you will help us so we can keep farmers going in farming. Thank you.
Sincerely,

Mrs. JOHN CARLSON,
PINEWOOD, MINN.

Northeastern Pennsylvania's Oldest Banking Institution Announces Promotions in Its Executive Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a news story and an editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of July 25, 1957, calling attention to and commenting on the promotions made at the Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barre, Northeastern Pennsylvania's oldest banking institution:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Record of July 25, 1957]

Albert M. Bossard, president of Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barre, yesterday announced the election of Leonard J. Walsh, 708 Susquehanna Avenue, West Pittston, as a vice president of the Wyoming National Bank and Frank L. Howorth, 69 South Thomas Street, Kingston, as comptroller. Mr. Walsh, the new vice president, comes to Wyoming National from First National Bank of Pittston; Mr. Howorth has been a member of the Wyoming National staff for the last 31 years. His was one of five promotions.

Other staff members newly elected to official positions are Barry C. Boyer, 146 West Dorrance Street, Kingston, elected cashier; Earl Macarty, 68 East Poplar Street, West Nanticoke, elected an assistant cashier; John Killeen, 466 Walnut Street, Luzerne, elected an assistant cashier; Robert T. Patton, 445 Scott Street, elected assistant manager of the installment loan department.

Leonard J. Walsh, West Pittston, comes to Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barre as a vice president after serving many years with First National Bank of Pittston. He was a cashier at the Pittston bank 12 years and a vice president, carrying out overall management duties, for the last 6 years. Mr. Walsh has been a director of the First National Bank of Pittston since 1945, is a former president of the Pittston Clearing House Association and a former member of the executive committee of the Northern Anthracite Bankers Association. On June 30, 1957, he completed 3 years' service on the State legislative committee of the Pennsylvania Bankers Association.

Mr. Walsh is a Wilkes-Barre native, moving to West Pittston and graduating from the West Pittston High School. He is a graduate of University of Pennsylvania Wharton Extension School. He is a member of the Pittston Rotary Club, director of the Greater Pittston Chamber of Commerce and treasurer of the Pittston Area Industrial Development Fund. Mr. Walsh is married to the former Mary Ellen Williams, of Wilkes-Barre. Their son James is a graduate of Wyoming Seminary and is attending Wilkes College.

Frank L. Howorth, newly elected comptroller of Wyoming National Bank, has been employed with the institution since September 1926. He has served as bank auditor for the last several years. Mr. Howorth is a graduate of Coughlin High School, Wyoming Seminary, Dean School of Business, and the University of Pennsylvania Wharton Extension School. He holds the prestandard and standard certificates from the American Institute of Banking. Mr. Howorth is a member and trustee of Memorial Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barre; he is a member of Kingston Lodge 395 F. & A. M., Shekinah R. A. Chapter 182, Dieu Le Veut Commandary 45 Mount Horeb Council, R. & S. M. M., Irem Temple, the directors' staff of the Irem Temple. He is a veteran of World War II, having served in France in the Finance Department, December 1943 to September 1945. He is married to the former Margaret R. Jones of Nanticoke.

Barry C. Boyer, elected cashier, became associated with Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barre in June 1950 and served in various departments of the bank until his entry into the United States Army in February 1953. While in the service, Mr. Boyer served in the United States, in Italy and Austria, assigned to the Ordnance Department. Upon his discharge he resumed his banking career in the consumer and commercial loan departments of Wyoming National Bank. In January 1957 he was elected an assistant cashier, in charge of management and operations. Mr. Boyer is a graduate of Kingston High School and attended the American Institute of Banking. He is a member of Dorranceton Methodist Church. He is married to the former Florence Manko, of Kingston. They have one son.

Earl Macarty, who has been made an assistant cashier of the bank, started his banking career with First National Bank of Plymouth in March 1948. He became a member of the Wyoming National Bank staff upon the merger of the Plymouth bank and Wyoming National Bank in June 1953. Mr. Macarty has served in various bank positions and has been principally engaged in heading up the commercial loan department. He is a graduate of Harter High School and Wyoming Seminary Dean School of Business. He also attended Wilkes College and American Institute of Banking. During World War II he served in the United States Coast Guard. Mr. Macarty is a member of the Nanticoke Lodge 541, F. A. & M., Caldwell Consistory, Bloomsburg, and Irem Temple AA. He is married to the former Nancy Schwall of Luzerne. They have two children.

John Killeen, elected an assistant cashier, assigned to the credit department, joined the staff of Wyoming National Bank in February 1955 as a commercial note teller. He began his banking career with Luzerne National Bank in July 1946 where he had 9 years experience in various departments of the bank. Mr. Killeen attended Wilkes College and holds the prestandard, standard, and graduate certificates of the American Institute of Banking. He is a member of the Sacred Heart Church, Luzerne. He is married to the former Constance Sweetra of Luzerne. They have four children.

Robert T. Patton, elected assistant manager of the installment loan department, came to Wyoming National Bank from the Commercial Credit Corporation in Wilkes-Barre where he was associated 2 years. He is a graduate of St. Mary's High School and King's College; he served 27 months in the United States Marine Corps and is a member of the Marine Corps Reserve at Wyoming, holding the rank of first lieutenant. Mr. Patton is active in the Knights of Columbus, the American Legion, King's College Alumni

and the Holy Saviour Church of Wilkes-Barre. He is married to the former Patrice C. Dougherty of Wilkes-Barre. They have three sons.

The Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barre is northeastern Pennsylvania's oldest banking institution, having been founded in 1829. In June 1953, the First National Bank of Plymouth, founded in 1864, was acquired by the Wyoming National Bank. In March 1953, the Back Mountain Office, a new and modern bank office, was opened on Memorial Highway at Shavertown.

[From the Wilkes-Barre Record of July 25, 1957]

Northeastern Pennsylvania's oldest bank, the Wyoming National of Wilkes-Barre, is making public today six changes affecting places on its staff. Included as a result of election by the board are a newly elected vice president, comptroller, cashier, two assistant cashiers, and an assistant manager of the installment loan department.

Although as a group they are comparatively young, the newly designated officers are already well-established members of the banking community, five of them as able members of the Wyoming National staff and the sixth, the new vice president, as a cashier, vice president, and director of the First National Bank of Pittston. Recognition of his high standing came from fellow bankers when he was elected president of the Pittston Clearing House Association and as a member of the executive committee of the Northern Anthracite Bankers Association. Although he has spent much of his time in the Pittston area, Mr. Walsh in joining the Wyoming National staff comes back to his native city.

We have witnessed many changes in the Wyoming Valley banking realm in recent years. President Bossard said that the Wyoming National staff has been in the process of reorganization since 1953. In mind is a continuance of commercial banking policies which have contributed to the growth of Wyoming National over a long span and which are designed to promote community progress. Management needs also naturally were expanded by Wyoming National's merger with First National Bank of Plymouth in 1953 and the opening of the Back Mountain office at Shavertown in that same year.

Decentralization of Inventory Control Points

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the New Hampshire Legislature:

Whereas we believe that not only industry of all New England will be greatly affected but also that financially the local area will suffer greatly; and

Whereas the continued decentralization of inventory control points is proven to be of essence in national security; and

Whereas the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard electrical-fittings inventory control division has proven its effectiveness and worth: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the New Hampshire Legislature urgently request the Secretary of the Navy to rescind his decision to remove the electrical-fittings inventory control division of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of State, be hereby directed to send a copy of this resolution to our Representatives in Congress, Senators Bridges and Cotton and Congressmen Merrow and Bass, and to the Honorable Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President.

[SEAL] W. DOUGLAS SCAMMAN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
ERALSEY C. FERGUSON,
President of the Senate.

Attest:

HARRY E. JACKSON,
Secretary of State.

America's Freedom of the Press—John Peter Zenger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the East Side News on the anniversary of the death of John Peter Zenger:

AMERICA'S FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—JOHN PETER ZENGER, 1697–1746

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

July 28 marks the 211th anniversary of the death of John Peter Zenger, famous East Sider and New Yorker, printer and publisher, and America's first defender of the freedom of the press.

"Freedom is not a heritage, but a fresh conquest for each generation, and freedom of expression must be vigilantly protected whenever and wherever it is in danger—today as in 1735 when Zenger was the pioneer in this battle."—Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times.

John Peter Zenger, a German immigrant, came to this city at the age of 13. His father died on shipboard and his mother, Johanna Zenger, with her three children, moved into a house on Cherry Street.

When he was 14, John was apprenticed to William Bradford, pioneer printer for the Colonies, for 8 years. After his apprenticeship, he was married to Mary White for a short time; and 3 years later he married Anna Catherine Maulin, of Cherry Street. When he was 23 years old, he was made a freeman of the city.

In 1725, John Peter Zenger formed a partnership with William Bradford, but in the following year he set up shop for himself on Smith Street. Eight years later, he moved to Broad Street. The first arithmetic text printed in the colony, Peter Venema's Arithmetica, was brought out by printer Zenger in 1730.

In 1733, he became editor and publisher of the New York Weekly Journal, set up by him and some prominent New Yorkers. The Weekly Journal, unlike Bradford's Gazette, was highly critical of the then Gov. William Cosby's administration.

One of the articles asserted in general terms that the liberties and properties of the people of New York were in danger. Governor Cosby, in 1734, had Zenger arrested and imprisoned for 9 months for criminal libel.

The court proceedings were conducted with the greatest unfairness and Zenger's attorneys were expelled from the bar. His ever-faithful wife, Anna, ran the journal during his stay in jail.

Brought to trial in 1735, John Peter Zenger was ably defended by a famous lawyer, Andrew Hamilton. He demanded: "Shall not the oppressed have the right to complain? Shall the press be silenced that evil government may have their way?" "Not guilty," said the jury.

This was the first successful assertion of the liberty of the press at a time when thought and speech were severely restricted. It led the future Founding Fathers to the free press guaranty in our first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which became effective on December 15, 1791.

In 1737, John Peter Zenger became public printer for the colony of New York and a year later of the colony of New Jersey. He remained the editor of the Weekly Journal until his death in 1746.

This legal case is a landmark in the history of the freedom of the press in this country. Today this great historic event is depicted with murals, dioramas, historical documents and exhibits in the John Peter Zenger Memorial (started in 1953), on the second floor of the Federal Hall Memorial, in the old Subtreasury Building at the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, on the site of Zenger's jail.

"Zenger the Printer—his work is done;
Soft be his slumber. Through storm and stress
Guard we the prize of the fight he won—
Bulwark of freedom a fearless press."
—*Arthur Guiterman.*

East Siders and Americans everywhere salute the memory of that courageous pioneer publisher, John Peter Zenger, and his wife, Anna, who led a crusade for freedom of the press.

Jamestown's 350th Anniversary Recalls Aid to Colony by Polish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert the following article from the Polish American of July 25, 1957, which recalls the aid given to the young colony of Jamestown by Polish artisans:

JAMESTOWN'S 350TH ANNIVERSARY RECALLS AID TO COLONY BY POLISH

(By Thomas E. Kisaling)

First factory in United States, 1608: Festivities at Jamestown, Va., commemorating the 350th anniversary of the founding of the 1st permanent English settlement there in 1607 recall the fact that artisans from Catholic Poland operated a glassworks there in 1608, the first factory in America. During the year's festival celebration, members of the American Flint Glassworkers Union, dressed in costumes of 17th century craftsmen, will demonstrate how the glass was made.

Jamestown, Va.: The arrival in Virginia of artisans in 1608 from Catholic Poland saved from failure the first permanent English settlement in America.

This is the testimony of the leader of the colonists, Capt. John Smith, recorded in a book published in London in 1630, The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Capt. John Smith.

The colony was founded at Jamestown in 1607, by the Virginia Company of London, chartered by James I, and financed in part by lotteries. It was hoped that the colonists would soon be sending back to England imports badly needed for her industries.

However, the "gentlemen adventurers" who accompanied Captain Smith on the first voyage were more interested in searching for gold. They proved unequal to the tough job of chopping out wilderness, and fighting off the Indians. With food and other supplies dwindling, Smith besought his backers in London to send him some carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and other artisans.

Arriving with the second supply, aboard the 40-ton ship *God Speed*, in October 1668, were "eight Dutchmen and Poles," some of whom were glassmakers and carpenters, recruited by the London Co. in Germany and Poland.

The Poles, the first to come to America, were engaged as artisans and instructors in the manufacture of glass, pitch, tar, soap ashes, and other products.

They immediately set to work and within 3 weeks had a roaring fire going under a glass furnace. This was the first factory in America. Within a short time samples of their work, presumably the green glass bottles and vases of that period, were sent back to England. These were the first "Made in America" items shipped abroad.

Due to famine, pestilence, and attacks by the Indians, the first glass house was soon abandoned. A second attempt to make glass in the colony began in late 1621 and 1622, this time with Italian artisans. However, it met with a similar fate and for like reasons.

The exact location of the original factory was discovered in 1931 by the late Jesse Dimmick, owner of the land known for centuries as "Glass-House Point."

However, it was not until 1948 and 1949 that archaeologists from the National Park Service researched, explored, and excavated the site of the factory. They found the remains of the furnaces, crucible, and pot fragments and melted and marked pieces of glass.

These discoveries, plus study and research in England, enabled the experts to reconstruct the 17th-century glasshouse at a cost of $100,000, the joint project of the Jamestown Glasshouse Foundation, Inc., and the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.

During the Jamestown 350th Anniversary Festival, April 1-December 1, this year, glass is again manufactured here. The demonstrators, dressed in costumes of the 17th century, are members of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, who also contributed generously to financing the project.

Some of the Poles were also engaged in the early years in the manufacture of clapboards and other wood products, which were shipped back to England. Others served as soldiers.

In 1609 it was recorded that when the Indians set an ambush to kill Captain Smith, the Poles saved his life and captured an Indian chief. Mention is also made of "Robert, a Polonian" who in 1616 during Governor Yeardley's administration distinguished himself against the Indians.

There is no mention in the records of the Virginia Company that these first Poles to come to America took the oath of supremacy and allegiance to the King and Church of England, which called for repudiation of the Pope and See, of Rome.

Skilled craftsmen and artisans were so badly needed and so difficult to recruit it is doubtful that they were required to take the oath usually administered to the colonists. It is not disclosed in the official records of the colony that those among them who were Catholic remained Catholic or had their spiritual needs provided for.

Imbued with a capacity for hard work, the Poles also had a flaming love for freedom. It was they who struck the first blow for civil liberty in America. In 1619 when a limited autonomy was introduced into the colony, the first legislative assembly on the American continent met at Jamestown. The Poles, along with some others, were denied the right to vote because they were indentured for the cost of their voyage.

They were so indignant that they refused to work in the glasshouse until they were enfranchised. And thus began the first strike in the history of the United States.

The matter was of such importance that Governor Yeardley reported it to the Council in London. A manuscript in the Library of Congress shows that the Poles won the strike for their political rights. Under date of July 3, 1619, the Court Book of the Virginia Company of London (vol. I, p. 32) records that the "Polonias resident in Virginia" are now "enfranchised and made as free as any inhabitant there whatsoever." And this was their victory for equal suffrage in America.

Statesmanship in the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial from the Idaho Daily Statesman dated July 26, 1957. With reference to recent activities in Congress this editorial speaks for itself:

THAT POWERFUL MINORITY

One thing about the Republican minority in Congress. It is able to do the impossible—outvote the majority held by the Democrats. This was true again Wednesday when the House Reclamation Committee voted down the Hells Canyon bill once more.

This committee, as every person in the Nation understands perfectly well, has a Democratic majority. So does every other committee in Congress. The Democrats are in control of the Senate and the House. Therefore they control every committee. Every committee chairman is a Democrat.

Yet the Republican minority in the House Reclamation Committee can outvote the majority Democrats.

How come?

Well, it just happens that the House Reclamation Committee has a couple of Democrats on its rolls who are in favor of free enterprise and opposed to Federal adventures into the field of private business. They have not been taken over by the NEUBERGER, MORSE, PROST crusade to socialize the West. Nor do they want their constituents paying part of low-rated power bills in Oregon and Washington. Apparently they favor Oregon and Washington paying their own way.

A hollow mockery, in view of the committee's vote, is the comment of Senator NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon, whose quoted statement is that, "In the years to come it should never be forgotten that the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party must shoulder the major blame for this betrayal of the public interest."

The Statesman salutes a couple of strangers to Idaho: Representative SHUFORD, of North Carolina, and Representative HALEY, of Florida. We congratulate them for putting principle ahead of politics, and for their good courage in face of party pressure. We believe Idaho owes them a great debt of gratitude, and we hope Representative BUDGE supports them at every opportunity when they have legislative matters of interest to their home States.

All that is saving this Nation from complete ruin at the hands of the do-gooders and the planners are men of the qualifications and competence evidenced by Representatives SHUFORD and HALEY. They aid in saving the Democratic Party from its own internal decay.

When Senators NEUBERGER and MORSE now blame the Republicans for blocking the Hells Canyon legislation in the House, they will also be blaming two Representatives of their own Democratic identification. Only these men are Democrats in the established traditions. By their presence in the House they honor not only their home States but the Nation as well.

The McGougan Family of Hoke County, N. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the News-Journal of Raeford, N. C., July 25, 1957, on the McGougan family of Hoke County, N. C., which was recently named 1 of North Carolina's 6 "Master Farm Families."

I am proud to call attention to the outstanding accomplishments of the McGougan family, residents of my congressional district.

The article follows:

J. M. MCGOUGANS NAMED ONE OF NORTH CAROLINA "MASTER FARM FAMILIES"

The J. M. McGougan family of Lumber Bridge, Route 1, in the extreme southeastern section of Hoke County, have been chosen 1 of North Carolina's 6 "Master Farm Families" by the Progressive Farmer magazine and the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service, it was announced this week.

The families are selected from North Carolina once in every 4 years, with families being named from Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland the other years.

The McGougan family consists of Mr. McGougan, widely known as Sam, Mrs. McGougan, the former Ada Chason of the same section, son, James D., known as Jimmy, who farms in partnership with his father, and Sam's sister, Miss Vera McGougan. Their daughter, Bennie, is Mrs. John S. Gardner of Lumberton.

The McGougans qualify in almost every possible way for the selection on the basis of notable efforts in developing a successful home and farm and for taking an active part in community improvements.

Sam, a graduate of State College in 1924, and Jimmy, a graduate in 1953, work together in many activities to make theirs the balanced and successful operation it must be to be so recognized. They take advantage of all possible help offered by the extension service and other Government agencies, and all their modern farming operations show the progressive and thorough nature of their training.

The McGougan farm is about 500 acres, although they operate considerably more in Robeson County of family land. Most unusual thing about their farm operation is that they do not grow tobacco. Sam says they have a small allotment he got with some land, but that this is in the soil bank, although he does generally believe in the principle of the soil bank. He says he hasn't farmed any tobacco since he was in his teens.

The farm is mostly open and their operation is completely mechanized, with the exception of cottonpicking. They have no sharecroppers, hiring most of their farm work from two families who live on the place.

A model of diversification, outstanding activities on the farm are hard to choose, there are so many that would be outstanding most places. The biggest operation is the production of certified small grain seed oats, wheat, barley, and soybeans, with production running to 5,000 bushels. In addition, the McGougans sell another 10,000 bushels of uncertified seed, which also has a fine reputation among growers.

The flock of 500 pullets which will be layers before long are one of Jimmy's projects, according to Mr. McGougan. There's also a herd of 60 Black Angus cattle, known as a cow and calf herd, where the calves are sold to feeders. These are wintered on roughage and don't have the high protein diet that would be necessary for dairy or beef herds. Sam says he seldom feeds them out for beef except an occasional one for home consumption.

In addition there is a herd of purebred Hampshire hogs which produce from 150 to 200 pigs for slaughter and breeding stock each year.

"Everything we grow is purebred," Mr. McGougan says. "We use registered boars and bulls, and certified foundation seed for our crops."

One of the most attractive features of the farm to a nonfarmer is the lovely, comfortable and tastefully furnished home in which all modern conveniences, including some air conditioning, are perfectly blended with traditional and spacious comfort.

Another high-ranking attraction is the lovely pond which Sam and Jimmy have built with their fellow clansman, Johnny McGougan, on some lowland along the boundary between their farms. The pond is a large one as farm ponds go, and is beautifully laid out. They have a nice pier, and have graded the banks and covered a beach with sand for bathing. They are planning construction of a complete recreation site at the pond with a tennis court and other game facilities, bathhouse and cabin.

Family ownership of the property goes back beyond memory and there's an old family cemetery (no longer used) where tombstones indicate that the last funeral was 140 years ago. Dates on the older stones are indistinguishable.

J. M. McGougan is the son of John D. and the grandson of Duncan B. McGougan. He is a deacon of the Lumber Bridge Baptist Church, is church treasurer and is teacher of the men's Sunday school class. He was Hoke County chairman of the old agricultural adjustment administration for 10 years, and was first secretary of the Hoke County Farm Bureau. Mrs. McGougan is an active member and former officer of the WMU at the church.

Jim got his ROTC commission at State College and served most of his 2 years in the Army in Germany as a battery executive officer in the field artillery. He organized and is the first commander of the medical detachment of the 130th Tank Battalion of the North Carolina National Guard in Red Springs.

Turkey and the Soviets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there is no more important area in the free world today than Turkey. It is the anchor in our line of defense in the Middle East.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on Near East and Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I should like to bring to your attention an important new book entitled "Turkism and the Soviets," by Col. Charles W. Hostler, United States Air Force—New York, Frederick Praeger, 1957. This brilliant study makes available for the first time in any western language an analysis of the approximately 54 million Turkish-speaking peoples of the world. It is an outstanding and original contribution to the contemporary history of the strategically important and little-known peoples who occupy the "soft underbelly" of the Soviet Union.

This is one of the great "submerged" nations of the world—with about 20 million Turkish-speaking peoples living in the Turkish Republic, about 22 million in the U. S. S. R., and the rest in Iran, Chinese Turkestan, and Afghanistan.

This enormous area is divided by the Soviet southern Iron Curtain. On the one side is the Turkish Republic, military strong, and a firm ally of the West. On the other side the Turkish-speaking peoples occupy Soviet areas rich in oil including the Baku region and the Emba oilfields of the Kazakh S. S. R. If these vast Soviet-Turkish areas were "splintered away" it would be a major disaster for the Soviets, and an important victory for the West.

The role of the Turkish people is examined in this book as an issue intimately connected with the problem of the U. S. S. R. and communism. Two significant factors give this huge ethnic group great importance—its strategic position and the homogeneity and common objectives of its peoples.

The text includes an invaluable and heretofore unavailable Handbook of the Turks of the World. The result is a book of long-range reference and immediate political interest. As indicated by the table of contents—below—the coverage of the book is comprehensive:

I. Introduction.
II. Handbook of the Turkish Peoples of the World:
Origins and Physical Characteristics.
Historical Sketch of the Turkish Peoples.
The Turkish Peoples Now.
The Ottoman or Anatolian Turks.
The Caucasian Turks: Azerbaijanis in the Caucasus; Azerbaijanis in Persia; Other (Non-Azerbaijan) Turkish Tribes in Caucasus.
Turks of the Volga-Ural Area: Kazan Tatars (Turks); the Chuvashes; the Bashkirs.
The Crimean Turks.
The Turks of Western or Russian Turkestan; the Kazakhs; the Uzbeks; the Kara-Kalpaks; the Turkmens; the Kirghizes.
The Siberian Turks: the Yakuts; the Turks of the Upper Altaian, Khakass, and Tuvinian Areas; Other Minor Turkish Tribes (Within the U. S. S. R.).
The Turks of Central Asia Outside the U. S. S. R.: Sinkiang Turks (Eastern or Chinese Turkestan); the Turks of Afghanistan; Turkish Tribes in Iran; Other Minor Turkish Groups.
III. The Emergence and Development of Turkism.
Beginnings of Turkism.
Turkish Nationalism and the Ottoman Empire.
Pan Islamism.
The Young Turks.
Ziya Gokalp.
Kemalist Turkey.
IV. Pan-Turkism:
Turkism and Pan-Turkism in Russia: Beginnings of the Movement: Mergani, Nasiri, and Feizkhani.
Ismail Gaspirali.
The Djadid Movement.
Russian Revolution of 1905.
Pan-Turkism in the Ottoman Empire: Antecedents of the Movement; Role of Western Turkologists and Turkophiles; Pan-Turkists in Turkey: Yusuf Akcoraoglu.
The First World War and Pan-Turkism, Enver Pasha.
Pan-Turkism Between the World Wars: Promethean League; "Prometheus" and the Turks from the U. S. S. R.; Pan-Turkism in the U. S. S. R.; Basmachi Movement; "Nationalist Deviations"; Pan-Turkism in Turkey.
World War II and After.
Diplomatic Negotiations.
Pan-Turkist Leaders and the German-Soviet War.
Turks from U. S. S. R. in the German Armed Forces During World War II.
Youth and the Mass Propaganda of Pan-Turkism.
The Ebb of Pan-Turkism.
Recurrence of Pan-Turkist Feeling.
Pan-Turkism in Post-War Soviet Russia.
V. Summary and Perspectives:
An Estimate of the Current Status of Unity Among the Turks of the U. S. S. R.
Pan-Turanism Versus Pan-Turkism.
The Pan-Turkist Ideal.

APPENDICES

I. Observations on the Future of the Turkish World by Cafer Seydahmet Kirimer.
II. Biographical Sketch of Cafer Seydahmet (Kirimer).
III. Biographical Sketch of Ayas Ishaky (Idilli).
IV. Biographical Sketch of Mehmet Emin Resulzade.
V. Biographical Sketch of Zeki Velidi Togan.
VI. Pact of Caucasian Federation.
Bibliography.
Index.

The authoritative Muslim World attests that—

Turkism and the Soviets is a major contribution shedding new light on an obscure, yet important, subject. Based on Western, Turkish, and Slavic sources, the book gains from personal contacts of the author with pan-Turkish leaders and will become a basic reference work on that part of the world.

I am pleased to see that the United States Information Agency intends to translate this important book into several languages for distribution abroad and will use it for presentation in the

English language to key foreign personalities.

The author, Colonel Hostler, is an outstanding military planner and observer who has had responsible assignments with the United States Government in Turkey, the Arab States, the Balkans, and Europe. He is also a distinguished writer, linguist, and scholar who has studied at the following universities: bachelor of arts, University of California at Los Angeles; law school, University of Bucharest, Rumania; master of arts in international relations, Georgetown University; master of arts in Near Eastern studies, American University of Beirut, Lebanon; doctor of philosophy in political science, Georgetown University.

In addition to his current military assignment as a strategic planner in the Pentagon, Colonel Hostler is a professional lecturer in international relations of the Middle East for the American University, Washington, D. C.

I am pleased to recommend this book to the attention of all persons who recognize the emerging importance of this part of the world and the significance of the enslavement of the Turkish-speaking peoples within the Communist empire.

Legislation Proposing Revision of Federal Sentencing Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on July 29, 1957, I introduced 3 bills designed to improve Federal Sentencing Procedures. They were sent to me by the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice. These bills, described more fully below, would, first, permit judges to waive present statutory requirements on parole eligibility; second, extend the Youth Corrections Act to persons of 25 years of age and under; and third, provide for a series of joint meetings or institutes attended by judges and other Government officials for the development of uniform standards in sentencing procedures. This legislation has been carefully considered and approved by the Advisory Corrections Council set up under section 5002 of title 18 of the United States Code. This Council is composed of a United States circuit judge, two district court judges, a member designated by the Attorney General, the Chairman of the Board of Parole and its Youth Division, the Director of the Bureau of Prisons and the Chief of Probation of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. It is the duty of the Council to make recommendations to appropriate officials for the improvement of the administration of criminal justice, the integration of policies as to the disposition, treatment and correction of persons convicted of Federal offenses as to measures to promote the prevention of crime and delinquency, and to suggest appropriate studies in this field.

There are 94 United States district courts and some 330 district judges, each of whom at one time or another has the duty of imposing sentences upon persons convicted of Federal offenses. It is but natural with this number of judges that there should be some variance in the performance of the sentencing duty. The sentencing judge must necessarily have considerable discretion relative to the use of probation and sentencing the defendant under the several methods which Congress has made available, but the wide disparities presently found in sentences raises many problems connected with the treatment of offenders, the even-handed administration of justice and the control of crime.

One of the bills which I have introduced would provide for a series of institutes and joint councils under the auspices of the Judicial Conference—composed of the Chief Justice of the United States and the Chief Judge of each Federal court of appeals—for the study and formulation of standards for sentencing. The bill provides for the participation in these institutes and joint councils of district judges, United States attorneys, officials of the Department of Justices, criminologists, psychiatrists, penologists and other experts. These conferences could result in the development of standards and of uniformity in sentencing procedures.

Another bill would authorize the sentencing judge to fix the maximum release date and also the time when a prisoner would become eligible for parole provided the minimum date does not exceed one-third the maximum. The present statute, which is section 4202 of title 18 of the United States Code, provides that a prisoner may not be eligible for parole until he has served one-third of the sentence imposed. This is a purely arbitrary limitation and does not take into consideration the varying responses which individual prisoners make to the rehabilitation program carried on in our Federal penal and correctional institutions. It frequently happens that a prisoner is ready for release before the statutory minimum of eligibility is reached. The sentencing judge has the benefit of the presentence report, is familiar with local conditions, and any aggravating or mitigating circumstances involved. In cases where he believes the defendant might respond quickly to the rehabilitation program the proposed bill would give the judge the authority to fix an earlier eligibility date for release. The prisoner would not be released of course unless the Board of Parole felt that he met the other requirements of the statute. It would, however, obviate the need of keeping a prisoner after he has received the full benefit of the program. A prisoner kept beyond that time very often becomes discouraged and bitter, and when he is finally released the benefit of the program often has been lost.

The other bill increases the maximum age of those who might be sentenced under the Youth Corrections Act from those under 22 to those under 26 years. The Federal Youth Corrections Act was passed in 1950. This act set up a special procedure for the treatment and rehabilitation of defendants under the age of 22 years at the time of conviction. It is not mandatory that the court use the special procedure under this act, but the courts are taking increasing advantage of it and its operation has been so successful that it is thought the courts should be given the discretion of using it in the case of young offenders who fall in a somewhat older group and who at the same time are promising prospects for rehabilitation.

The present age group who might be sentenced under the Youth Corrections Act represents about 21 percent of the total commitments. Increasing the age limit to those who have not reached the age of 26 years would give the district courts the discretion to use it in approximately 39 percent of the total commitments. In this wider age group fall a great many young first offenders who are responsive to the special treatment provided in the Youth Corrections Act. In view of the success under the act with its present age limitation, it is felt that increasing the age limit will be fully justified and result in the salvage of a greater number of young offenders.

These three bills are designed to bring about a greater degree of uniformity in sentencing standards, to permit the release under supervision at an earlier date should a prisoner's response to the rehabilitation program justify it, and to broaden the field of the use of the special procedures provided in the Youth Corrections Act.

The bills would not impose any restriction upon the present jurisdiction of the sentencing courts, but would give the sentencing courts additional alternatives, make the sentencing procedure more flexible and provide machinery whereby time actually served for particular offenses can be made to conform more consistently with the needs of the particular offender. They would also assure greater uniformity of sentencing and improve the administration of criminal justice without infringing in any way upon present prerogatives of the courts.

Set out below is statistical data showing the wide disparity of sentencing among the courts throughout the United States with regard to offenses generally and for particular offenses. This data points up the need for uniformity in our sentencing and parole laws.

As to all offenders:

Average Federal sentences for all offenses in 1956 showed wide variations—from 8.6 months, Vermont, to 43.7 months, eastern Oklahoma, and 46.9 months, northern Indiana. Nationwide average 28.9 months.

Percent of convicted offenders admitted to probation likewise vary widely—from 84.2 percent, New Hampshire, to 5.5 percent, Arizona. If local influences eliminated: from 61.6 percent, Massachusetts, to 8.5 percent, western Tennessee.

As to particular offenders:

Average sentence for motor vehicle theft—from 52.3 months, northern Okla-

homa, to 13.8 months, North Dakota. Nationwide average sentence 28.8 months.

Average sentence for liquor law violations range from 3.5 months, Connecticut, to 54 months, Michigan, but taking districts with comparable number of convictions, sentences vary from 7.7 months, eastern Kentucky, or 9.3, Alabama, to 19.7 months, eastern Virginia. Nationwide average 12.0 months.

Average sentences for same offense often varied greatly in immediately adjoining districts:

Automobile theft—middle Pennsylvania 44.8 months, 24 cases; western Pennsylvania 20.5 months, 39 cases; northern Indiana 41 months, 44 cases; northern Illinois 23 months, 34 cases; northern Oklahoma 52.3 months, 35 cases; Kansas 25 months, 29 cases.

Liquor law violations— eastern South Carolina 17.2 months, 82 cases; western South Carolina 9.9 months, 64 cases; western Oklahoma 20 months, 22 cases; northern Oklahoma 8 months, 21 cases.

Forgery—New Jersey 24.3 months, 27 cases; eastern Pennsylvania 11.1 months, 18 cases; eastern Missouri 23.3 months, 36 cases; western Missouri 15.2 months, 46 cases.

Average sentences (fiscal year 1955 figures) varied even more widely between different judges:

For auto transportation—Judge Campbell, northern Illinois, 8.9 months, 8 cases; Judge Forman, New Jersey, 9.2 months, 5 cases; Judge Vogel, North Dakota 9.6 months, 8 cases; Judge Tolin, southern California 46.6 months, 15 cases; Judge Halbert, northern California 48.5 months, 11 cases; Judge Savage, northern Oklahoma 51.1 months, 31 cases.

Sentences vary for same offense between different judges in same district:

For auto transportation—northern California, Judge Murphy, 17.2 months; Judge Halbert, 48.5 months. Northern Illinois, Judge Campbell, 8.9 months; Judge Knoch, 27 months.

Time actually served by Federal offenders for certain offenses longer than for persons convicted of same offense in State courts:

Thus for auto theft—Federal offenders serve 19.3 months, State offenders serve 17 months.

For robbery—Federal offenders 108 months, State offenders 33 months.

Homicide, including murder—Federal offenders 200 months, State offenders 97 months.

Time actually served by Federal offenders for different offenses likewise varies widely thus: Burglary 32.8 months, embezzlement 9.1 months, counterfeiting 23.9 months, income tax 7.1 months, fraud (postal) 13.5 months, forgery (Government checks) 14.4 months.

Case histories also show wide variations in sentences for same offense where facts, motivation, previous record, and so forth, are substantially same. These disparities show most strikingly in cases involving acquisitive crimes such as embezzlement, income tax, fraud, and so forth.

The object of introducing these bills at this time is to provide for wider distribution of the proposals which will give all interested parties an opportunity to study them before the convening of the next session of Congress. I am setting out the alternative approaches to the disparity of sentences problem. These are offered for study only. I do not pass upon their merits or demerits.

Alternative approaches to the disparity of sentences problem:

First. Make sentences reviewable on appeal by the defendant.

Second. Establish a sentencing tribunal as in California and originally proposed for the Federal system supplemented by a diagnostic or classification center.

The sentence prescribed by the tribunal to be within the statutory maximum. This plan can be varied by requiring tribunal to inform court of its decisions within a prescribed time and give the court power to change the sentence to any amount but require court to state reasons for change in writing. Thus final decision as to sentence would remain in court.

Third. Enact an indeterminate sentence law for all Federal offenders providing that the minimum should in no case be more than one-third the maximum. This would involve a reconsideration of all present statutory penalties which would probably be helpful and constructive.

Fourth. Grant the executive branch as well as defendant right to ask for reconsideration of sentence at any time within 60 days after commitment.

Fifth. Grant parole board authority to petition court to remit or reduce sentence at any time.

Sixth. Make all prisoners eligible for parole at the expiration of 1 year.

Seventh. Extend the Youth Corrections Act to include all offenders up to age 25 which would make the flexible sentencing provisions of that act available to about 60 percent of all felony cases coming into Federal courts.

Eighth. Require the Government to make a definite recommendation as to sentence in each case and make these recommendations conform to certain previously established criteria. Make probation officer's presentence report available to United States attorney as well as court. When the court pronounces a sentence varying more than a certain fixed amount from sentence recommended require the court to state its reasons in writing. Final sentence determination to remain nevertheless in the courts in all cases.

A central clearing house for the Government's recommendation could be established.

The court would be required to commit the offender to an institution for observation and diagnosis whenever this requested by the Government. In such cases reports in writing would be furnished by diagnostic clinic to court and United States attorney.

Ninth. Establish an educational program on sentencing for all Federal court officials—judges, probation officers, United States attorneys, parole board members and correctional officers. The program to consist of a series of institutes conducted by a team or task force of carefully selected and respected judges, lawyers, psychiatrists, correctional officials, probation officers, et cetera.

The institute to include talks, illustrative materials, case histories and forums directed to:

Agreeing upon objectives, standards, and criteria for sentencing.

Establishing the content of presentence reports and standards for evaluating these.

Determining the factors to be used in selecting cases for special study and observation in prescribed diagnostic clinics.

Orientation in methods used to determine the importance of psychiatric, emotional and sociological factors involved in the crime and their importance in determining the potentialities of the offender.

Evaluating the importance of various psychological testing methods.

Discussing special sentencing problems involved in cases of treason, violation of public trust, subversion, abnormal sex behavior, indigency, the mentally and physically handicapped, habitual offenders, drug and alcohol addicts, et cetera.

Tenth. Circulating regularly information to all court officials on sentences pronounced generally and in specific cases with occasional comment.

Eleventh. Establish a permanent committee of lawyers, judges, Members of Congress, et cetera, to report from time to time on Federal sentencing policies.

The bills follow:

House Joint Resolution 424

Joint resolution to improve the administration of justice by authorizing the establishment of institutes and joint councils on sentencing for the development of objectives, standards, procedures and policies to be followed in the sentencing of persons convicted of offenses against the United States

Whereas there is now no agreement among Federal courts as to the objectives, standards, and policies to be followed in sentencing of Federal offenders which results in wide disparity in prison terms, fines, and the use of probation; and

Whereas the rehabilitation of Federal prisoners can be facilitated by the development of uniform standards and methods for determining the length of time required for their institutional treatment; and

Whereas a sharing of points of view with respect to factors to be taken into account in pronouncing sentences would improve the equal administration of Federal laws; and

Whereas present policies with respect to inviting and considering the recommendations of United States attorneys and other Federal officials as to sentences vary widely; and

Whereas law enforcement generally, the prevention of crime, and respect for the judicial process can be promoted through wider agreement on sentencing policies; Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 15 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by adding the following section:

"SEC. 334. Institutes and joint councils on sentencing:

"(a) In the interest of uniformity in sentencing procedures, the Attorney General

shall from time to time submit recommendations to the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts for the consideration of the Judicial Conference of the United States for the establishment of institutes and joint councils on sentencing for the study, discussion and formulation of the objectives, policies, standards, and criteria for sentencing those convicted of criminal offenses in the courts of the United States including but not limited to: (1) the development of standards for the content and utilization of presentence reports; (2) the establishment of factors to be used in selecting cases for special study and observation in prescribed diagnostic clinics; (3) the determination of the importance of psychiatric, emotional, and sociological factors involved in the crime and their value in diagnosing the potentialities of the offender; (4) the evaluation of various psychological testing methods; (5) the discussion of special sentencing problems involved in unusual cases such as treason, violation of public trust, subversion, abnormal sex behavior, indigency, the mentally and physically handicapped, habitual offenders, and drug and alcohol addicts; and (6) the formulation of such principles and criteria for sentencing as will assist in promoting the equal administration of the criminal laws of the United States.

"(b) Upon approval by the Judicial Conference of the time, place, participants, agenda and other arrangements for such institutes and joint councils, the chief judge of each United States courts of appeals is authorized in invite the attendance of district judges at said meetings for such time and under such conditions as he thinks proper and as will not unduly delay the work of the courts.

"(c) The Attorney General is also authorized to select and direct the attendance at such institutes and meetings appropriate United States attorneys and other officials of the Department of Justice and may also invite other interested Federal officers to participate. He may also invite specialists in sentencing methods, criminologists, psychiatrists, penologists, and other experts to attend the meetings and participate in its proceedings.

"(d) The expenses of United States judges shall be paid from applicable appropriations for the administration of United States courts. The expenses connected with the preparation of the plans and agenda for the conference and for the travel and other expenses incident to the attendance of officials and other participants invited by the Attorney General shall be paid from applicable appropriations of the Department of Justice."

SEC. 2. The chapter analysis of chapter 15 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by inserting before section 331 the following item:

"334. Institutes and joint councils on sentencing."

House Joint Resolution 425

Joint resolution to authorize the court in sentencing a prisoner to fix an earlier date when the prisoner shall become eligible for parole or to except such prisoner from the statutory limitation as to eligibility for parole when in the judgment of the court it might reasonably be expected to facilitate the rehabilitation of the prisoner

Whereas experience in the operation of the program of the Bureau of Prisons for the rehabilitation of prisoners committed to the custody of the Attorney General has shown that many of such prisoners have received maximum benefits from such program prior to the time provided by statute when they may be paroled, and that there is reasonable probability that such prisoners would live and remain at liberty without further violating the laws, and that their release on parole would not be incompatible with the welfare of society; and

Whereas respect for the administration of the criminal laws of the United States and the protection of the public can be promoted by the fair and consistent sentencing of persons convicted of offenses against the United States punishable by imprisonment for more than 1 year; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the general welfare to provide procedures and methods for fixing terms of imprisonment for convicted felons that will deter others from similar acts, promote, wherever possible, the correction and rehabilitation of the offender, and safeguard the convicted person against excessive disproportionate or arbitrary punishment; and

Whereas the wide geographical distribution of the United States courts, the breadth of their jurisdiction, the complexity of the legal, scientific, and behavior problems with which they are confronted, and the speedy and equitable disposition of the business of the courts require that there be established special facilities and procedures for determining terms to be served by persons convicted of offenses punishable by imprisonment for more than 1 year: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 311 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding the following section:

"§ 4208. Fixing eligibility for parole at time of sentencing.

"(a) Upon entering a judgment of conviction, except where the death penalty is mandatory, if the court having jurisdiction to impose sentence is of the opinion that the ends of justice and best interest of the public require that the defendant be sentenced to imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year, the court may designate in the sentence imposed a time when the prisoner may become eligible for parole, which time may not exceed the limitations now provided in section 4202 of this title, or the court may designate in such sentence that those provisions in the said section prescribing a minimum term of service before a prisoner becomes eligible for parole shall be inapplicable. In either event the prisoner may become eligible for release at the time fixed in the sentence or, if no such time is fixed, the prisoner may be released at such time as the Board may determine. The Board may reconsider its action at any time in fixing either the parole eligibility date or the date of discharge on parole.

"(b) Upon commitment of a prisoner sentenced under provisions of subsection (a), the Director of the Bureau of Prisons shall, under such regulations as the Attorney General may prescribe, cause a complete study to be made of the prisoner including a mental and physical examination to ascertain his personal traits, his capabilities, pertinent circumstances of his school and family life, any previous delinquency or criminal experience, and any mental or physical defect or other factor contributing to his delinquency. In the absence of exceptional circumstances, such studies shall be completed within a period of 60 days and shall be furnished by the Director of the Bureau of Prisons to the Board of Parole together with any recommendation he believes would be helpful in determining the disposition of the prisoner. The Board of Parole may make such other investigation as it may deem necessary.

"It shall be the duty of the various probation officers and other Government bureaus and agencies to furnish the Board of Parole information concerning the prisoner and, whenever not incompatible with the public interest, their views and recommendations with respect to the disposition of his case.

"(c) Under such regulations as the President may prescribe, the Board of Parole may discharge a paroled prisoner from further supervision and at any time before the expiration of the maximum sentence imposed may unconditionally discharge such parolee, which unconditional discharge shall automatically set aside the conviction and the Board shall issue to such parolee a certificate to that effect.

"(d) Nothing in this section shall limit or affect the power of any district court to suspend the imposition or execution of any sentence and place the offender on probation or be construed in any wise to amend, repeal, or affect the provisions of chapter 231 of this title relative to probation; the provisions of chapter 403 of this title (the Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act) or the provisions of chapter 402 of this title (the Youth Corrections Act).

"(e) Except as to the provisions of subsection (c) hereof, this section shall not apply to any offense committed before its enactment.

"(f) This section shall apply in the continental United States other than the District of Columbia and Alaska."

SEC. 2. The chapter analysis of chapter 311 of title 18 is amended by inserting before section 4201 the following item:

"4208. Fixing eligibility for parole at time of sentencing."

H. R. 8923

A bill to amend the definition of a youth offender under the Federal Youth Corrections Act to include persons under the age of 26 years at the time of conviction

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 5006 (e) of the Federal Youth Corrections Act (18 U. S. C. 5006 (e)), is amended by striking out "22 years" and inserting in lieu thereof "26 years."

At the Grave of Henry Bacon, the Architect of the Lincoln Memorial at Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, in the series of articles on Visits to American Cities, by Kathleen Hargrave Frantz and Harry W. Frantz, I liked particularly the article reprinted from the Mulberry (Ind.) Reporter of September 17, 1956, entitled "At the Grave of Henry Bacon."

Henry Bacon was the archiect of Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., who has created not only a monument, but a significant keystone in our American patriotic tradition.

I am submitting this article for inclusion in the RECORD as accurate coverage of an historic development in our capital city of Washintgon, D. C., which I am sure that many teachers and students will be glad to have in the future for reference:

AT THE GRAVE OF HENRY BACON, THE ARCHITECT OF THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON

SEPTEMBER 17, 1956.

Millions of tourists in every year gaze at the splendid Lincoln Memorial, but few

would know even the name of the architect who gave it birth and form.

The monument by the Potomac River has been called a perfect Greek tribute to a perfect Gothic soul. Its harmonious form has become deeply embedded in the imagination of the American people. But Henry Bacon, who made the blueprints of its original design may be remembered only among architects and historians.

Last summer during a vacation we visited at Oakdale Cemetery in Wilmington, N. C., to pay our respects to relatives buried there. What was our surprise to find nearby the lot of the Bacon family.

In this lot is a stone less than 5 feet high, engraved with a pattern of honeysuckles at the top. The inscription reads: "Henry Bacon, 1866–1924, the architect of the Lincoln Memorial at Washington."

A small footstone is marked "H. B." At right (facing the tomb) grew a Virginia creeper vine, recognized by its five-petaled leaves. Back of the gravestone is boxwood, and not far away are gardenia bushes and a water oak tree.

From later research we learned that the gravestone was designed by a brother of Henry Bacon, and that the decorative pattern was suggested by honeysuckle beds that the architect had admired in Egypt.

On the same lot is a family monument about 9 feet high with the following inscriptions:

"Henry Bacon, August 17, 1822; April 12, 1891. (He was the father of the architect and a United States engineer, renowned for construction work in the Cape Fear River near Wilmington.)

"Elizabeth Kelton, wife of Henry Bacon, October 26, 1831; May 21, 1912. (She was the architect's mother.)

"George Fisher Bacon, August 23, 1862; October 22, 1884.

"Henry Bacon, November 28, 1866; February 16, 1924.

"James Hayward Bacon, December 30, 1859; June 4, 1924."

Our visit to Henry Bacon's grave kindled an interest in his career, and upon return to Washington we collected some biographical information.

Bacon was born at Watseka, Ill., on November 28, 1866; and died in New York City on February 11, 1924.

His father, a civil engineer, was employed in the early development of the Illinois Central Railroad. In later years he settled in Wilmington, N. C., where he was a Government engineer in charge of improvements in the Cape Fear River.

The young Henry Bacon attended school in Wilmington, and at the age of 15 went to Boston to enter the Chauncy Hall School. He also attended the University of Illinois for 1 year.

His architectural studies began in a Boston office, and later he joined the firm of McKim, Mead & White in New York.

In 1899 he won a traveling scholarship for architectural students, which enabled him to travel and study 2 years in Europe. After his return to the United States he worked on designs for some of the buildings at the Chicago World's Fair.

He married Laura Calvert on April 27, 1893.

In 1897 he formed a partnership with James Brite, of New York. The firm soon won the competition for design of the Jersey City Public Library. The partnership was dissolved in 1902, after which Bacon practiced architecture in his own name until his death. He was an intense student of Greek architecture, which profoundly influenced his classical design for the Lincoln Memorial. The latter is substantially in form of a Greek temple, modified to open at the side rather than the end.

Bacon was engaged in 1911 to prepare designs for the site of Lincoln Memorial in Potomac Park at Washington. The Lincoln Memorial Commission on February 3, 1912, adopted the site which he chose in preference to alternative proposals for construction on grounds of the Soldiers' Home or at 16th Street and Florida Avenue.

On April 16, 1912, the Commission chose Bacon as architect for the Lincoln Memorial, and instructed him to prepare the final design. The Secretary of War entered a contract with him on June 27, 1913.

The foundation was begun in 1912, and the monument itself was 10 years under construction. On May 30, 1922, at the dedication, Chief Justice William Howard Taft said that it was "a shrine where all can worship."

The cost of the memorial was reported as $2,949,000.

Bacon wrote an article for the press at time of the dedication in which he explained the concept of his design.

"From the beginning of my study," he wrote, "I believed this memorial should be composed of four features—a statute of the man, a memorial of his Gettysburg speech, a memorial of his second inaugural address, and a symbol of the Union of the United States, which he (Lincoln) stated, it was his paramount object to save.

"Each feature is related to the others by means of its design and position and each is so arranged that it becomes an integral part of the whole in order to attain a unity and simplicity in the appearance of the monument."

In a national and public sense, the Lincoln Memorial has been even more successful than its sponsors and the architect himself might have anticipated. To the millions who behold it, the monument inspires a deeper patriotic sentiment, a new feeling for classical forms, and a keener awareness of great human achievement. In Washington, only the United States Capitol attracts more pilgrims.

Dr. Meyer Jacobstein, Ex-Congressman, Does Yeoman Service for the Middle Aged and Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert in the RECORD an article entitled "All Washed Up At 45?" which appeared in Democrat-Chronicle of Rochester, N. Y., Sunday, July 21, 1957:

ALL WASHED UP AT 45?—PROJECT SEEKS TO RECLAIM SKILLED "TOO OLD" WORKERS

(By Robin Turkel)

"Sorry, too old."

It's getting to be the same old story for the worker over 45 who is out of employment. Jobs go begging while able and skilled people who need them wander the streets or clutter personnel offices.

They wander in a circle. A circle has no beginning, no end. Finally they become burdens to relatives, friends, or the State.

This is an industrialized society, an impersonal society that gets rid of last year's car because it is too old. To some in that society the impersonal attitude toward the older worker is "manpower waste."

Those who have been applying their thoughts to the subject came up last week with the conclusion that reemployment of the older worker is a matter of education. It came from a small but influential group of Rochesterians.

In an all-out effort to save tens of thousands of Monroe County workers from the scrap heap, the newly formed committee for the widening of the employment opportunities of older workers last week sent an urgent plea to 1,000 employers:

"It's good business to hire the older worker."

The committee, headed by 77-year-old ex-Congressman Meyer Jacobstein, is an outgrowth of Governor Harriman's conference on problems of the aging, held at Albany in the fall of 1955. It is nonpartisan, nonpolitical, nonpaid.

Rochester was chosen as the pilot city for the program. If it works here, it will spread to other cities, other States.

Rochester was picked, Governor Harriman said, because of its reputation for employer cooperation. This cooperation is being put to one of its toughest tests.

Consider these facts supplied by the New York State Labor Department.

One out of three persons in Monroe County is 45 or over.

Thirty-eight out of 100 job seekers here are 45 or over.

Rochester's proportion of 45 and older population is fractionally higher than the State average, more than 5 percent over the national.

And these facts reported by the United States Department of Labor:

Between 1900 and 1955, the total population doubled, the 45–64 age group tripled, and the over-65s quadrupled.

As a Nation, our average age is about 35. Getting older all the time.

Forty-five is not the only job cutoff age. In the finance, insurance, real estate, transportation, communications, and public utilities fields, one-third of the job openings in each call for workers under 35.

It was apparent to Jacobstein in the light of those and volumes of other equally grim figures that something had to be done—fast.

He found eager committee recruits among some of the most prominent men in town. Men such as John Bigelow, personnel director of the Delco Appliance Division of General Motors Corp.; Fred Brown, secretary of Central Trades and Labor Council; Swayne P. Goodenough, vice president of Lincoln Rochester Trust Co.; Lee McCanne, executive vice president of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce; Donald McConville, assistant director of industrial relations for Eastman Kodak Co.; Austin Tait, director of industrial relations for Stromberg Carlson Division of General Dynamics Corp.; Assistant Industrial Commissioner George B. Kelly of the State Labor Department. And many others.

"Our program is one of education," Jacobstein said. "We have to educate against the unthinking prejudice of employers who discriminate against the over-45 worker."

Jacobstein served as Democratic Congressman from the 38th District from 1923–29 and was at various times a bank president, economics professor, owner of Rochester Business Institute, and a newspaper publisher.

Here are Jacobstein's figures in favor of older workers:

1. Work performance is better, says the National Association of Manufacturers.

2. Fewer accidents, a United States Labor Department survey shows.

3. Absent less often, Government figures attest.

4. Stay with employers longer, Bureau of Census figures prove.

5. More reliable, the National Association of Manufacturers says.

6. Tone up the work force, State Labor Department advises.

* * * * *

But—says a pamphlet sent by the committee to the 1,000 area employers—there's an iron curtain of indifference standing between industry and the older worker:

1. An unthinking prejudice against the man or woman over 40.

2. Foremen and supervisors who object to adding older workers to their groups.

3. A mistaken belief older workers increase benefit costs.

4. A fear small pensions to short service workers will cause unfavorable public reaction.

5. A failure to recognize experience gained in other companies may be just as valuable as that gained in one's own company.

Who is Meyer Jacobstein?

Every time somebody puts the lid on Jacobstein, he pops up like a jack in the box.

This slight, sprightly man of 77 has had more retirements than most people have had jobs.

Now he's come out of retirement to head a pilot project to employ more older workers.

What makes him go?

Essentially, he loves people.

"It's more than that," says a compatriot at the State labor department. "When Meyer walks into a room, his warm brown eyes light up the place and everybody gets a lift."

Bow-tied Meyer Jacobstein, alert, aggressive, and looking like a man 15 years younger, lives with his wife, the former Lena Lipsky, of Rochester, in a comfortable four-room apartment at 2052 Monroe Avenue, Brighton. They have 2 daughters and 8 grandchildren.

Jacobstein hasn't lived there long.

The last time he retired, in 1955, he moved back home after nearly 2 decades in Washington. He was a researcher in economics and political science for the authoritative Brookings Institution and a research specialist in the legislative reference service of the Library of Congress.

As Who's Who will tell you, Jacobstein was the last publisher of the defunct Journal-American in Rochester. Before that he was president of the First National Bank here, directed Rochester Business Institute for many years and served as Democratic Congressman from the 38th District from 1923 to 1929.

There's more to this engaging man whose trademark is a book clutched under the right arm of his neat blue suit.

Jacobstein was born in New York City, the son of a tailor who moved to Rochester soon after. Here, Jacobstein attended the old Rochester Free Academy and the University of Rochester. He went on to Columbia University to earn his Ph. D. in economics. He was married in 1907.

He taught economics at the University of North Dakota in 1909. He returned to Rochester in 1914 to become the first professor of economics at the University of Rochester.

Later, he was a Federal arbitrator in the clothing industry here.

His intense interest in people, jobs and more people gives Jacobstein a strong drive. At a recent meeting, a friend remarked that one of Jacobstein's trouser legs was rolled up.

"Oh," said Jacobstein, "I only had time to polish one shoe, because suddenly this plan occurred to me."

Michigan Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert the following story from the Free Press of July 29, 1957, in which Attorney General Kavanagh, of Michigan, brings up some pertinent points about the critics of Governor Williams' tax policies:

KAVANAGH RIPS TAX CRITICS—GOP DOUBLE-TALKS SMALL-BUSINESS MAN

DECATUR.—Attorney General Thomas M. Kavanagh lashed back Sunday at Republican criticism of Governor Williams' tax policies.

Kavanagh, who will don the nonpartisan robes of a State supreme justice January 1, centered his fire on House Speaker George M. Van Peursem, Zeeland, Republican.

"Republican leadership in the legislature is keeping 25,000 Michigan small-business men on the business activities tax roll," Kavanagh told a picnic gathering of Van Buren County Democrats.

"The Republicans proceeded on the principle that what is good for General Motors is good for little business," he added.

Kavanagh lashed out at Van Peursem, who has been traveling around the State as a Republican spokesman against the Williams administration.

"The speaker of the house, I understand, is getting $10,000 to go around making political speeches against the governor," Kavanagh said.

"For that kind of money, he ought to be able to do better than make flimsy excuses to small-business men who have been sold out by the Republican Party.

"One of the first things he ought to explain is his own vote in 1955 to increase the rate of the business activities tax—the same tax he now says is driving business out of Michigan."

"Governor Williams," he added, "refused to sign this tax when it was adopted in 1953, because he knew it was grossly unfair to new business and small business."

Kavanagh disputed Van Peursem's claim that Williams' suggestion to exempt 25,000 small businesses from the activities tax was "part of a package that included the Williams corporation profits tax plan."

"Tax relief for small business could have been enacted without adopting the corporation profit tax," he said.

"This business activities tax tends to discourage business from coming into Michigan because it requires a new enterprise to pay a heavy tax before it gets into profitable operation."

Milwaukee Junior Bar Association Named Outstanding Junior Bar in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the Milwaukee Junior Bar Association. On July 15, at the annual meeting of the Junior Bar Conference of the American Bar Association in New York, it was named the outstanding junior bar in the country for 1956–57.

The following statement, issued at the time the award was made, summarizes its accomplishments:

The Milwaukee Junior Bar Association was named the outstanding local junior bar in the country for 1956–57 by the Junior Bar Conference of the American Bar Association at its annual meeting in New York City July 12–15. Thomas N. Tuttle was president during the year and represented the association in New York. He also served as president of the Milwaukee Junior Bar Association Foundation, Inc., during the same period of time.

The association, comprised of lawyers under 36 years of age who practice in the greater Milwaukee area, received the award of merit for "its exceptional activities not only in areas directly related to the practice of law but also in civic matters and public issues."

Among the activities which highlighted the association's year were a $10,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic for local activities designed to increase community understanding of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and the organization of a tax-exempt foundation to administer the grant.

The association also produced a weekly television show devoted to controversial national, State, and local issues, which received awards from the American Heritage Foundation and the Milwaukee County Radio and Television Council. Persons such as former President Harry S. Truman, Vice President Nixon, Senator Estes Kefauver, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Senator Wayne Morse, and Governor Averell Harriman, of New York, Governor Vernon W. Thomson, and Mayor Frank P. Zeidler appeared on the program.

The association also celebrated its 20th anniversary with an address by former United States Senator Harry P. Cain, from the State of Washington, on the Federal loyalty-security program. In March, Boston attorney, Joseph N. Welch, spoke before 900 people representing civic groups in Milwaukee.

The association conducted a thorough study of the censorship of motion pictures and literature in Milwaukee which resulted in the enactment of legislation.

During the fall elections the association sponsored a series of television programs and luncheon meetings for the purposes of interrogating all candidates for congressional and major State offices. In addition, the group conducted normal bar activities.

In his presentation to the annual meeting, and an accompanying several hundred page report, Tuttle concluded that these activities, we feel, reflect the philosophy of the Milwaukee Junior Bar Association. We do not confine ourselves to matters of professional interest only. Our aim is to discharge what we conceive to be the larger responsibility of lawyers in their community (whether local, State, or national): To be actively involved in the important issues of the times.

Baltimore, Md., was runner-up for the award of merit and Philadelphia, Pa., received honorable mention. All the major, and many medium and small, cities in the country have junior bar associations.

Higher Air Fares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Tulsa Tribune on Monday, July 1, 1957, concerning airline fares:

HIGHER AIR FARES

The airline business, one of the most profitable in America, has asked for a general fare increase. It claims that since 1942 air fares have remained steady while railroad fares have been increased 39 percent, bus

fares 25 percent, and the general consumer price index has risen 66 percent.

Opponents of the increase point out that airlines have come from nowhere in the industrial picture to a place of high eminence in only 15 years. Last year, for example, American Airlines was the 10th largest transportation system in America, with operating revenues of $291 million and net income of $20 million.

Why, then, has C. R. Smith, president of American Airlines, requested not only a general fare increase, but a reduction of round-trip discounts and elimination of free stopovers? Mr. Smith says he has to have more money in order to amortize new equipment.

It is a good argument. The old DC–3 cost about $125,000. The Convair was purchased by most lines at $500,000 or above. The new four-engine planes carry price tags of above a million, and the coming jets will cost $5 million apiece. In short, the industry is engaged in an equipment race. The traveling public expects all lines to have the latest and best. To fall behind is fatal, but to stay abreast is expensive.

A good example is the prolbem of TWA, which allowed itself to fall behind its competitors. It retained a number of DC–3's long after most of its transcontinental competitors had sold theirs. When it was finally forced into a heavy four-engine program TWA found itself paying higher prices than its competitors had paid for similar equipment a few years earlier. Last year, although TWA took in a whopping $240 million in revenue, it showed a net deficit of $2 million.

Airline income is wonderful but new equipment might as well be gold plated. The lines have a case for a better-than-1942 fare structure.

Atomic Power Milestone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Atomic Power Milestone" which appeared in the July 28, 1957, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

ATOMIC POWER MILESTONE

A milestone of atomic electric power development in the United States is coming closer. The roadblock to use of public as well as private effort in building and operating commercial-scale plants is on the way to being removed. Specifically, a start on a program of public atomic powerplant construction has been approved by the Senate-House Joint Subcommittee on Atomic Energy, and Democrats on the committee predict Admiral Strauss, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, will accept it. Admiral Strauss has been the chief deterrent to a public power program so far.

The $58 million which the bill provides compares with $400 million in bills introduced by Senator GORE, of Tennessee, and Representative HOLIFIELD, of California. That larger amount was calculated to build on the order of half a dozen plants. The smaller sum will hardly build more than one life-size plant.

But it is a beginning, and the approach it opens up is potentially the most fruitful one at hand. The opening up has been long delayed in a sterile and needless controversy over ideologies of public versus private power.

This controversy has been produced by private-power extremists who would rather not have atomic energy developed any faster than it can be done by private companies alone. The end of that road could easily have been default of world atomic leadership, and private monopoly of atomic power. Start of a public power program will therefore be of moment in more than one field of public policy.

The joint subcommittee has succeeded in this same bill in prodding the AEC forward in two promising types of atomic powerplant design which the Commission has been neglecting. One is the gas-cooled reactor, the type the British chose for the world's first commercial-sized atomic powerplant at Calder Hall. The gas-cooled reactor possesses the special advantage of using a coolant which permits natural uranium to be employed as fuel. It is, therefore, of special significance to the undeveloped countries. They lack the electrical power and industrial plant to produce enriched uranium for fuel. They do not like the idea of being dependent upon other countries for their fuel supply. Most of them have some natural uranium within their borders. That is why the gas-cooled natural-uranium reactor is the type in which the undeveloped countries, and even industrial France, are primarily interested.

A second type of reactor which the Joint Committee proposes to press upon AEC is one using plutonium as fuel. This type is promising because plutonium is produced in all reactors using natural uranium.

So much of a victory as has already been won is owing largely to the work of such knowledgeable and dedicated members of the Joint Committee as Senator ANDERSON, of New Mexico; Senator GORE; Representative MELVIN PRICE, of East St. Louis; and Representative HOLIFIELD. But most of all this breakthrough now in progress is due to a tough old Missourian, CLARENCE CANNON, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, who used the congressional power of the purse to compel the high-handed Strauss to listen to Congress.

The start the joint subcommittee has made, we hope, not only will be completed, but also will be followed by legislation to build still more public plants—at least enough to take care of most of the AEC's own requirements—and to achieve full-scale development of other promising reactor types.

Private enterprise is one of America's strong arms. Public enterprise is the other. It is good that, even though belatedly, our country seems finally on the way to putting both hands to the atomic wheel.

Flight to Cities Troubles World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, every country in the world is now witnessing a flight from the farm to the city. We recognize that the days of the purely rural economy are over, but we must not neglect the possibility of making rural life more satisfying. I have been sponsoring legislation to provide for rural industries which would offer part-time employment for farm families and a ready market for agricultural products. Such food and timber processing plants would increase the levels of income of the agricultural regions and generally improve living conditions. At the very least, this would keep the flight to the city within manageable proportions until adequate facilities are available to handle the influx. There is also a good chance that improved rural opportunities will enable many people who love farm life to remain out of the congested urban areas. Malvina Lindsay has written a thought-provoking article on this problem which should be studied by everyone concerned about social progress in the 20th century.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include her article, as follows:

FLIGHT TO CITIES TROUBLES WORLD
(By Malvina Lindsay)

Even aside from the atom bomb the world is having its troubles. It is getting too many people. Too many of them are descending on the cities. About half the world's children have no schools. Juvenile delinquency increases. Disease refuses to be conquered.

All this has come out at the global stock-taking now going on in Geneva by the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

An incidental contribution to this dark picture was a portrayal by the Soviet Union delegate of the downtrodden masses of the United States. He was worried about the growing gap between millionaires and masses, and the increasing class inequality in this country.

In the next breath he urged development of personal contacts and large-scale exchange of experts between countries. This of course would permit Soviet visitors to the United States to see at first hand the vanishing middle class here turning the highways into rainbows of shiny, colored motorcars.

They might also see other evidences of how since 1929 the United States has moved 60 percent of the way toward an equality of income.

However, the Economic and Social Council did not take up the plight of the American middle class. It had more serious problems, chief of which were how to keep production in step with population and how to keep more people down on the farm, at least until the cities were ready to receive them.

While cities in the United States are losing population to their suburbs, rural populations in less prosperous areas of the world are converging on cities in search of work and other opportunities to improve their substandard living.

Yet generally neither they nor the cities are prepared for such meetings. The cities have not developed the industries, public utilities, housing, schools, social techniques to handle this influx of untrained people. Hence unemployment increases, ghettos develop, social problems, including disrupted families, and juvenile delinquency, result.

Yet this trek to the cities is here to stay, Council delegates agreed. The purely rural economy is outdated. Sir Samuel Hoare, the United Kingdom delegate, told the Council. The problem now is to keep the movement to urban centers from getting out of hand. If it can be slowed while urbanization is being developed, the social toll will be lessened. Chief means of doing this is to increase rural opportunities, as in the village development project of India.

The toughest question the Economic and Social Council is facing is how living standards in the world can be raised or even maintained in an exploding global population. This will require miraculous strides in production.

The Netherlands delegate, J. M. A. H. Luns, pointed out that the world's population might be doubled by the year 2000, which meant that present levels of nutrition would be barely maintained. Thought might be given, he said, to a transfer of persons to underpopulated areas to insure improved food supplies.

Back of the need for more food and better standards of living is the basic need of energy. Traditional sources of this are being depleted. The split atom holds much promise but the Economic Committee of the Economic and Social Council feels that the search for energy should be further extended. Wind and solar energy especially should be actively explored. Hence it has proposed that an international conference on this subject be called early in 1959.

The social picture of the world that has emerged at the Geneva meeting is not bright. Civilized man, so-called, has held forth on the globe for possibly 5,000 years and has little to show for it in social progress. G. F. Davidson of Canada described the present social picture of the world as a dark and desolate road with only a tiny ray of light to give the traveler hope and spur him on to greater efforts.

Yet the fact that men of many nations are willing to confront this picture and to recognize that it concerns them no matter where they live, holds promise that it will improve eventually.

The Current Situation of Debt in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit an article from the Washington Evening Star giving the current situation of debt in the United States in relation to the gross national income.

The question of debt management is one about which the American people should be individually concerned as it is the debt of each citizen and taxpayer of the United States.

The article follows:

DEBT LESS BURDENSOME, BURGESS TELLS CONGRESS

W. Randolph Burgess Under Secretary of the Treasury, told Congress today the national debt is becoming somewhat less burdensome.

Mr. Burgess took the offensive against Democratic critics on the Senate Finance Committee with a 33-page prepared statement and a series of charts giving the administration's position on its debt management policies.

He told the committee the national debt now is $251 less per capita than it was 10 years ago.

Further, he said that in 1946 the debt was one-third larger than national income, but that now it is only about three-fourths of national income.

"In this way we are gradually growing up to the debt, so that even though the dollar amount of debt is not declining as much as we might wish, the debt still becomes somewhat less burdensome," he said.

DEFENDS REFINANCING

He termed the Government's recent refinancing of $24 billion of the debt successful. The refinancing was at interest rates of 4 percent, the highest paid by the Government since 1933.

Mr. Burgess conceded, however, that last week's big refinancing operation would add $250 million annually to interest charges on the national debt.

The Under Secretary, soon to leave his Treasury post, has had special responsibility for debt policies in his 4½ years in the Treasury. He is the second witness in the Senate committee's broad inquiry into the Nation's financial condition.

Several Democrats on the committee have sharply criticized the refinancing operation. They have said the 4-percent-interest rate offered would mean increased interest charges throughout the economy.

However, Mr. Burgess told the committee the new securities were priced closer to the bond market than any Treasury issue since 1951.

CALLS PLAN SUCCESSFUL

He said he believed his presentation showed the Treasury does not force rates up, as sometimes stated.

"It has always been our policy," he declared, "to sell our securities at the lowest interest rates at which the maturities offered can be sold."

In calling the big refinancing successful, Mr. Burgess explained that the cash turn-in on this refunding (preliminary figures) was the smallest percentage of publicly held maturities turned in for cash of any refinancing since March a year ago.

He added that the Treasury also sold $2.5 billion of the new 4-year notes, which he said helped keep the debt on a longer term basis.

Mass Transit Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, a resolution has been introduced in the House this year, House Resolution 231, to create a select committee for the purpose of investigating existing and probable future mass transportation problems in the great urban centers of our country. This resolution seeks to achieve the goal of locking the barn door before the horse is stolen rather than after, it seeks to find the solution to the mass transportation problems in our large metropolitan areas before these problems strangle our cities to death.

Recently the three cochairmen of the Greater Philadelphia Movement, an organization of outstanding Philadelphia businessmen seeking to aid our own city to solve the problems of today's complex urban structure, wrote me in support of House Resolution 231. These gentlemen, Mr. Gaylord P. Harnwell, Mr. P. Blair Lee, and Mr. Henderson Supplee, Jr., wrote me that they support this resolution for the following three reasons:

1. The survival of the great commercial sections of America's metropolitan areas, particularly in the northeastern part of the United States, is dependent on efficient and reasonably economical mass transportation.

2. The construction program soon to be underway as a result of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 will affect the future pattern of mass transit use in a variety of ways.

3. A number of States, including Pennsylvania, have urban mass transit studies underway and a congressional study at this time could use much of the information and data developed by the respective States.

Hoover Commission Recommendations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, as one of the sponsors of H. R. 8002, a bill which embodies Hoover Commission recommendations, and would place the Federal Government's budgeting and accounting procedures on an annual accrued expenditure basis, I would like to further call to the attention of my colleagues editorials favoring the measure: Waterbury, Conn., Republican of June 10, 1957; the New Bedford, Mass., Standard Times of June 11, 1957; the Boston, Mass., Herald of April 18, 1957; and the Springfield, Mass., Union of April 17, 1957. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have these editorials printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorials follow:

[From the Boston Herald of April 18, 1957]

ACCRUED EXPENDITURE

Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, and Senator PAYNE, of Maine, have again introduced a bill to permit the executive branch to present budget estimates on an annual accrued expenditure basis. This year they have gotten 48 other Senators to join with them in sponsoring the reform.

So technical a measure is not going to attract much public interest or backing, but the stubbornness with which the New England Senators are pushing it is good evidence of its importance.

The purpose of the bill, which is an outgrowth of the second Hoover Commission studies, is to focus the budget on work programs for a particular year rather than on long-term obligations and programs. It is to restore annuality to our fiscal planning.

This kind of procedural reform doesn't necessarily save any dollars. Or rather, it doesn't save any directly. But by enabling Congress, and others dealing with the budget, to see their way a little more clearly it may lead the way to tremendous economies. Some optimists have put the possible dividends at upward of $5 billion.

The immediate goal, in any case, is improved budgetary control. And this would be desirable even if it were known that no money would be saved. We are, or should be, at least as concerned with the efficiency of our spending as with its size.

Control of the budgetary process has declined as our spending has increased. Neither Congress nor the Executive can really keep tabs on a $72-billion budget, no matter how hard they try. The task has just gotten too big. But we can do a lot better by adopting better procedures. And one of these would be an annual accrued expenditure approach.

It will, at least, reduce the overall confusion if Congress knows that what it appropriates is for the coming year and not for 2, 3, or more years ahead. It will help if the Budget Bureau plans in terms of what can

actually be spent in 12 months, not what can be obligated.

We hope that this year the House, which should be particularly interested in such problems, will support the upper Chamber, instead of finding niggling objections. This is a reform which deserves to be tried.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard Times of July 11, 1957]

KENNEDY BILL IS "MUST"

If one word could be used as the keynote of the 1957 Congress, that word is "economy."

And if one bill could be selected as more important than any other in the field of economy, that bill is the one sponsored by United States Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY which would make major revisions in the budgeting procedures of the Federal Government.

Senator KENNEDY and the bill's cosponsor, Senator PAYNE, of Maine, did yeoman work in getting the measure through Senate committees and to the Senate floor, where it was approved on a voice vote June 5 and sent to the House.

The bill would place the Government on an annual accrued expenditures basis; that is, Congress would appropriate funds for 1 year only, thus eliminating the pyramiding surpluses in Government agencies that now total about $70 billion.

Senator KENNEDY, who spearheaded the drive for Senate passage of the bill, summed up the situation on April 12 when he told the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee: "We can no longer afford the luxury of budgetary procedures which do not assure us the maximum control and review of Government expenditures."

And on May 29, in urging early action on the bill by the Senate, KENNEDY called the proposal the single, most important (Hoover) Commission recommendation. Its enactment would save the taxpayers $4 billion a year, the Commission estimated.

The American people, alarmed by mounting costs of Government, owe Senator KENNEDY a vote of thanks for his sponsorship and untiring support of the accrued expenditures bill. Now it's up to the House to approve the measure and make the savings not just a dream, but a reality.

[From the Waterbury (Conn.) Independent of June 10, 1957]

THE KENNEDY BILL

One of the key recommendations of the second Hoover Commission report is at least halfway to being achieved. The Senate on June 5 passed the Kennedy bill (S. 434) and we hope the House will act similarly.

One of the most fundamental reforms in governmental budget practices in more than 30 years is embodied in the Kennedy budgeting and accounting bill. Its intent, based on the second Hoover report, is to place the Federal Government's budgeting and accounting procedures on an accrued expenditure basis.

The measure requires that all agency budgets be determined on a cost basis, that agency accounts be kept on an accrual basis, and that appropriations be made on an annual accrued expenditures basis.

Under the plan, converting appropriations on an annual expenditures basis, Congress would actually appropriate for each fiscal year on estimates of expenditures actually to be made during that year.

In simpler language, Congress presently appropriates funds for various agencies, many of which wind up the fiscal year with unexpended balances. In sum total, these unexpended moneys amount to billions of dollars each year and are simply carried over by the agencies. Congress has virtually no control over such practices, once the appropriations are made.

The Kennedy bill had strong support in the Senate. It was cosponsored by Senator BYRD, of Virginia, and Senator PAYNE, of Maine, and had the unqualified backing of 48 other Senators. Lauding the Hoover Commission for its work in highlighting this particular problem in governmental economy, Senator KENNEDY said recently:

"The benefits which will result from the enactment of this bill, in terms of financial savings and more complete understanding of the operations of the various governmental departments, will be most significant."

Affirmative House action on so important a bill, in this session of Congress, is imperative. The only possible result of such legislative action will be more economical and more efficient Government, sorely needed.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of April 17, 1957]

BUDGET REFORM

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY has introduced a bill providing authority to the executive branch to present budget estimates on an annual accrued expenditure basis. This bill is also sponsored by Senator BYRD and 49 other Senators. It has the strong support of former President Hoover, President Eisenhower, Treasury Secretary Humphrey, Budget Director Brundage, and other top officials.

Senator KENNEDY rightly claims that his bill would not only put governmental budgeting on a more businesslike basis and provide much better controls over expenditures, but would reduce large carryovers of unobligated balances of prior year appropriations which are estimated at the beginning of fiscal year 1958 to be almost $80 billion. There should be no further delay in acting on this measure, which, according to some experts, would save $4 billion on the annual cost of Government.

Magical though the sum may seem, a comparable magic has been worked in private industries which have applied close accrual accounting to the so-called controllable items of expense. Accrual accounting has saved as much as 8 percent or 10 percent on costs in private industry.

There is nothing mysterious about an accrued expenditure system of budgeting—it simply consists of keeping an accurate record of the charges for goods and services received in a given year and using that record as the basis for budgeting for the year ahead. Industry is used to doing this; Government is not.

With the introduction of longtime appropriations by Government for big bombers, big atomic installations, and big foreign aid programs, vast sums accumulated from year to year. Thus when President Eisenhower asks for appropriations for a given year, he is asking for money that might not be spent in its entirety for some time to come. When obligated sums outpace actual annual disbursements for goods and services, the pipelines of future spending become clogged. The figure for unexpended appropriations at the beginning of fiscal 1958 is estimated by Senator KENNEDY at $80 billion, as stated above.

With such a carryover, Congress has little control over the amount of money spent in any given year. Nor does it get any informed review of how Government agencies run their businesses. The agencies merely tell Congress how much of their past funds has been obligated, and how much is needed for obligations in the future. Obligational budgeting tells Congress nothing of the "squirreling"—i. e., hiding way—of funds already received. Unspent money left over is kept by the department affected and is listed as costs.

A system of accrued expenditure budgeting would change the obligated system of counting unspent money as costs. Under accrued expenditure budgeting the Army, say, would go to Congress with a detailed statement of what it had spent for tanks, guided missiles, etc., during the past year. Congress would see that expenses had dropped or risen, and it would see what sums remained in Army coffers to be spent on tanks, guided missiles, etc. At this point it could say to the Army: "Stop. You've got more than you can spend on missiles and tanks this year. If you think you need more a year from now, come back to us then."

The proposed accrued expenditure system of budgeting, concentrating on accrued costs for the year just past and accrued expectations for the year ahead, would result in a close-meshed relationship between appropriations and spending. Since only enough would be appropriated at a time to cover a single fiscal year, and since all unexpended funds would revert automatically to Congress for reallocation every June 30, carryovers would disappear.

Government, of course, is not entirely analogous to private industry, which has the whip of competition to force it to save, once accrual methods have indicated a way. But even if only a part of the estimated billions in savings were to become a reality the taxpayer would obviously be well ahead of the game. And regardless of savings it also seems obvious that Congress should be supplied with better tools for keeping close tabs on the biggest annual business in the world.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

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Appendix

Resolutions of the State Bar of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have received from Mr. William E. Pool, of Austin, Tex., executive director of the State bar of Texas, copies of four separate resolutions adopted by the membership of the State bar of Texas at its annual convention at Fort Worth, on July 6.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the four resolutions be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the judicial business of the United States district courts in the State of Texas has materially increased in recent years, due to the increase in population, and the increase in business and industrial activity, and as a result thereof the dockets of these courts have become overcrowded, the time in reaching trial in detrimentally prolonged and burdensome and injurious to litigants, and the judges are unduly harassed by the demands upon their attention, all of which results in serious deterioration in the administration of justice, to the disadvantage of the general public; and

Whereas the number of courts to handle this litigation has not been increased sufficiently to keep pace with the volume of business; and

Whereas the Judicial Conference of the United States made a study of this situation and has confirmed the need for additional judges in this State, and has recommended the creation of three additional judgeships for this State, which if created will possibly be sufficient to reduce the time interval between filing and trial of cases to 6 months, which will be a great improvement over the present condition of our Federal dockets; and

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States legislation that would create three additional United States district judgeships for the State of Texas, among others, being H. Res. 3813 in the House of Representatives and Senate bill 420 in the Senate, and the bills are now before the respective Judiciary Committee of each House, and hearings thereon are to be held to determine the need for this legislation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the State bar of Texas in annual general convention assembled, held at Fort Worth, Tex., on July 4 to 6, 1957, That the members of this bar find that the creation of additional United States district judgeships for this State is sorely needed, that the delays resulting from the present condition of the United States district court dockets is injurious to the rights of litigants, that the burden cast upon our existing judgeships by the extraordinary volume of business they are now handling is far beyond that which is proper to impose upon them, and does not allow them adequate time to consider the many questions for determination before them, and that the present conditions are contrary to the public interests; and accordingly, be it further

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States is urged to alleviate these conditions by enacting into law immediately the legislation now pending which will create, among others, three additional United States district court judgeships for Texas, being S. 420 and H. R. 3813, and that certified copies of this resolution be furnished to the Judiciary Committees of both Houses and the Senators and Congressmen representing this State.

Whereas actual courtroom experience is deemed necessary and desirable in producing that continuity of decision ordinarily expected at the hands of our court of last resort, we hold the experience of the judge and trial lawyer needful in attaining such end and in the formation of such decisions: Therefore be it

Resolved by the State bar of Texas, That we urge that the President not appoint and the Members of the United States Senate not confirm men for positions on the Supreme Court of the United States who are without at least 10 years' experience on the bench as a judge or before the bench as a practicing attorney in the trial or appellate courts, State or Federal.

Whereas important decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have occasionally been made by an incomplete Court, with less than a majority of the membership of the Court concurring.

Whereas cases argued on their merits in the Supreme Court should be heard by as many Justices or Judges as there are members of the Court, so that the possibility of important minority decisions will be minimized: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the State bar of Texas, That an appropriate statute be enacted by the Congress providing that for hearing cases in the Supreme Court in which nine Justices are not available because of disqualification, illness or any other cause, judges of the United States Courts of Appeals shall be designated to serve, in rotation as to circuits and excepting the judges of the courts hearing the matter below, and that such designation be made as provided by law.

Know all men by these presents:

Heretofore the Congress of the United States properly has recognized the professional educational attainments of physicians, dentists, and veterinarians serving in the Armed Forces of the United States, by according them special allowances of pay and provision for promotion. The prerequisite educational requirements of attorneys approximate or exceed those of physicians, dentists, and veterinarians; and the field of attorneys serving in legal positions in the Armed Forces of the United States is broader in scope than that of the average Government attorney who receives a greater salary.

It is a matter of common knowledge that it is difficult to obtain and retain competent attorneys to serve in legal positions in the Armed Forces, and that most service attorneys are dissatisfied with their positions because of the existing discrimination against them in the matter of pay and resulting prestige, in contrast to the special pay and promotion allowances afforded physicians, dentists, and veterinarians in military service. This situation will not and cannot be corrected until comparable pay and promotion inducements are provided which will equalize the existing disparity between service attorneys and service doctors: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the State bar of Texas in its annual general convention assembled and held in Fort Worth, Tex., on July 4 to 6, 1957, That the Congress of the United States is hereby petitioned to amend title II of the Career Compensation Act of 1949, as amended (37 U. S. C. 232 et seq.) to accord to attorneys serving in legal positions in the Armed Forces of the United States the same provisions for special pay and promotion as are now accorded to physicians, dentists, and veterinarians in military service by the provisions of section 234 of title 37, United States Code.

I certify that the above and foregoing are true and exact copies of the resolutions adopted by members of the State Bar of Texas in convention assembled in Fort Worth, Tex., on July 6, 1957.

[SEAL] WM. E. POOL,
Executive Director, State Bar of Texas.

Merchant Vessel Construction Subsidy Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, last week I wrote to President Eisenhower and urged him to initiate a supplemental budget request in the amount of $91,500,000 for merchant vessel construction subsidy funds. This supplemental appropriation is urgently needed now if our merchant vessel replacement program is not to founder on the rocks of false economy. Early this session, the administration requested these funds, but the House deleted them and no serious effort was made to restore them although everyone recognized we were saving nothing, merely deferring a vitally needed expenditure.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of my letter to President Eisenhower and a copy of a previous exchange of correspondence between the Secretary of Commerce and me concerning this same matter.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 26, 1957.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It would appear that a serious crisis is developing within your administration which would work irreparable damage to the American merchant vessel replacement program authorized by the Congress. Because this is a matter vitally affecting the health and future of our merchant marine, I am taking the liberty of bringing it to your personal attention.

The deletion of adequate funds from the fiscal 1958 Commerce Department budget has seriously injured the long-range vessel replacement program. Moreover, if reports reaching me are reliable, the Secretary of Commerce is contemplating omitting from his departmental budget for fiscal 1959 appropriation requests for new merchant vessel construction. Such a course of action would cripple our maritime industry and make the United States a second-rate maritime nation. It would also break faith with American shipowners who have already committed themselves to replace their fleets with vessels built in American yards.

From studies made by the Department of Commerce, the Department of Defense and the Congress, we know that in order for our shipyards to maintain their minimum defense potential, they must build at least 50 oceangoing ships each year. Since it costs between 30 percent and 50 percent more to construct such vessels in American yards than in foreign yards, the United States, under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, has found it in the national interest to participate with private parties willing to build vessels here. The Government's part of the bargain necessitates direct appropriations to cover the cost differential and thus make it economically feasible for private construction in our shipyards.

Appearing before a House subcommittee on July 10, the Secretary of the Navy said that "a large, modern, and well-balanced American merchant marine is positively vital to our defense planning, as without it, in time of war neither the military effort nor the war economy of our Nation could be supported." I am certain you concur in this conclusion.

Any administration decision having the effect of breaking faith with the owners and operators of American-flag vessels—some of whom have committed themselves to build in American yards over 100 ships at a cost to them which will exceed $500 million—would advance the proposal for a Maritime Administration separated completely from the Department of Commerce.

It is my hope that you will personally survery this vital problem and I most respectfully urge that you give serious consideration at this time to initiating a supplemental appropriation request for at least the $91.5 million for the merchant ship construction funds Congress deleted from your fiscal 1958 budget. It is my considered opinion that the Congress will now look favorably on such a proposal and that it will be approved before the end of the current session.

As to the future, an examination of the entire situation, which I regard as crucial, should convince you that if we are to replace our aging merchant fleet with vessels built in American yards, annual ship construction funds must be budgeted by the Department of Commerce and appropriated by the Congress.

Respectfully,

JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER,
United States Senator.

JUNE 21, 1957.

The Honorable SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am extremely disturbed by reports which have reached me to the effect that you are contemplating not including in your departmental budget for fiscal 1959 provisions for funds for new vessel construction. In view of the pressing replacement problems facing American shipowners, I was surprised that the Commerce Department and the Maritime Administration did not register sharp protests against the recent drastic cuts which Congress made in the vessel construction funds for fiscal 1958.

If the reports as to your intentions for fiscal 1959 are correct—and I sincerely hope they are not—it would be impossible for me to avoid concluding that your Department, and this administration, are closing their eyes to the very apparent danger of such a policy. With the increasing possibility that our national defense will become more and more dependent upon conventional armaments, the role of an up-to-date American merchant marine assumes greater importance with each passing day.

In my opinion, the Maritime Administration, through its phased program of vessel replacement, has met in most commendable fashion the serious threat of block obsolescence now facing American shipping. But, as you know, timing is an absolute essential in this program. To refuse the projected funds for fiscal 1959, after permitting a major cut from fiscal 1958 funds without protest, would pose a threat of serious proportions to the entire program.

I urge you to give the fullest consideration to the dangers inherent in any further slash of ship-construction funds. If we do not begin now to replace our dry cargo fleet, all too soon we will find ourselves in a position where our shipyards and our financial resources will be unequal to the mammoth job before us.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER,
United States Senator.

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, June 27, 1957.

Hon. JOHN M. BUTLER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOHN: Just to set the record straight, the appropriation request of the Department of Commerce for fiscal year 1958 made provision for shipbuilding funds in the amount of $94,500,000. The House of Representatives allowed $3,000,000, all of which was earmarked either for research or for the acquisition of one traded-in vessel.

In spite of the House's action and in spite of the fact that no formal restoration request was made to the Senate, and at my direction, Under Secretary Rothschild and Maritime Administrator Morse presented the full maritime picture to the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations. No change in the House allowance was made as a result of this presentation.

I am of the belief that this important segment of the American economy deserves to have a consistent policy on the part of the Government so that the industry may know how to plan its own affairs. We are now exploring at several levels of the executive branch every possibility which would lead toward such a program of consistency. No conclusions have as yet been reached.

Thank you for the complimentary words you had to say about the work of the Maritime Administration. I, too, believe that their program for overcoming the problem of block obsolescence is a good one.

Sincerely yours,

SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce.

The Civil-Rights Debate and Consideration of Other Measures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I hope before the day is out the Senate will act on the extension of the Small Business Administration. All disaster laws are administered by that Administration.

Mr. President, appearing in the Washington Post of today there is an excellent and timely editorial, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

SENATE IN A KNOT

It really is absurd that the Senate has been prevented from laying aside the civil-rights debate long enough to continue the pay of Government employees. More than 4 million persons, on the basis of the figures quoted yesterday by President Eisenhower, may be inconvenienced by the failure of the Senate to authorize continuation of their salaries past last night. Another 1,200 employees in the Small Business Administration have no assurance that their agency itself will continue, let alone their pay. One may hope with the President that they will remain at their desks. But the effect on morale can well be devastating, as legislators themselves would soon conclude if their incomes were suddenly to cease while bills mounted.

This is a high price to pay for the obstinacy of Senator MORSE in blocking a unanimous-consent resolution to lay the civil-rights bill aside temporarily, however sincere is Mr. MORSE's conviction that nothing should interfere with the civil rights debate. Various strategems failed yesterday to produce the necessary respite. Is the Senate powerless to prevent one of its Members from tying it in a knot?

There is another point that relates to the civil-rights argument itself. Ultimately the issue may come to a naked test of votes on one side and the other. But it would be much better for the country, and for the atmosphere governing the protection of civil rights generally, if sincere men could compose their differences amicably. Up until Tuesday the debate had been notably free of personal rancor and animosity, and there seemed to be at least a chance of compromise which, if it would not satisfy either side completely, would at least be acceptable. Honest men have been struggling earnestly to find means to allay their own misgivings. For all those who are coping with the problem in good faith a short break might help greatly to clear the air.

High Freight Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, high freight rates over long geographic distances have acted to retard industrial and economic development in the Pacific Northwest. An effective editorial in the East Oregonian, of Pendleton, Oreg., of June 14, 1957, describes the efforts of Howard Morgan, Oregon State Public Utilities Commissioner, to try to bring about a more equitable and reasonable structure of freight rates.

An article in the news columns of the same newspaper for the next day, June 15, 1957, contains a speech by Paul E. Hochelle, freight traffic consultant and manager of the Columbia Basin Traffic Bureau, in which Mr. Hochelle has described to the Pendleton Chamber

of Commerce how certain existing freight rates favor eastern manufacturing plants at the expense of those which might be located along our Pacific seaboard.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Howard Morgan's Battle," and the news item entitled "Freight Rates Favor East, Says Transportation Expert," both published in the East Oregonian, of Pendleton, Oreg., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the East Oregonian, Pendleton, Oreg., of June 14, 1957]

HOWARD MORGAN'S BATTLE

Although some substantial industries in the Northwest have built and constantly expanded markets for their products in the Eastern United States, it is nevertheless one of the hard facts of life that one of the most formidable deterrents to industrial expansion in the Northwest is the freight-rate structure.

The battle to get a more favorable structure for the Northwest has been going on a long time and through the years the Northwest has constantly lost ground. The cumulative total of freight rate increases since 1947 amounts to between 109 and 114 percent higher freight rates than those existing in 1947. The average Oregon shipper today is faced with differentials between his own costs and those of his eastern producers averaging about $1.12 per hundred pounds freight shipped.

The Interstate Commerce Commission now has before it a petition from the railroads which asks for a 22 percent increase in freight rates nationwide. This is the largest request the railroads have made in a series of freight rate increase applications covering the past 10 years.

Oregon's public utilities commissioner, Howard Morgan, has filed a motion with the ICC asking that agency to dismiss the railroads' petition. Mr. Morgan makes a strong case against granting of a freight rate increase because he goes beyond the immediate effect upon Northwest shippers. He points out that increases in freight rates have been damaging to western railroads as well as western shippers.

Recent studies show, Mr. Morgan says, that an average of 26 percent of all transcontinental eastbound traffic by rail from Oregon and the Mountain-Pacific region is composed of agricultural products. These transcontinental shipments of bulk commodities constitute the financial backbone of every western railroad. Mr. Morgan cites figures which show that shipments of apples to the east coast have declined more than 43 percent, rye and barley have declined by 73 percent, fresh vegetables by more than 48 percent, and wheat flour has declined more than 54 percent, with similarly heavy decreases in the tonnage of canned goods and other western produced commodities.

Mr. Morgan also points out that discriminatory long-haul freight rates have benefited gulf ports to the disadvantage of Pacific coast ports. Eastern industries that have goods to ship to the Orient have found it less expensive to route shipments through gulf ports than Pacific coast ports.

Freight rate increases have widened the gap between eastern and western producers to a drastic degree. Mr. Morgan does not overstate his case when he says, "The cumulative effect of this widening of the gap has been to create massive discrimination against western shippers and receivers of freight."

We would not want to predict whether Oregon's public utilities commissioner can win this fight. But it is evident he has a good case and those who know him are certain that he will fight until the last bell rings.

Oregonians who have been concerned about the economy in their State will watch Mr. Morgan's progress in this battle closely. Granting of a 22-percent increase in freight rates on top of Oregon's current troubles would be a lethal dose of bad medicine.

[From the East Oregonian, Pendleton, Oreg., of June 15, 1957]

FREIGHT RATES FAVOR EAST, SAYS TRANSPORTATION EXPERT

(By Jim Eardley)

"The interest of the public lies in getting transportation at the lowest possible cost," Paul E. Hochelle, freight traffic consultant and manager of the Columbia Basin Traffic Bureau, told those attending a Pendleton Chamber of Commerce luncheon meeting Friday.

"If the cost of transportation could be reduced to zero, that is, if transportation could be put in the class of free goods, society would be the gainer," said Hochelle.

This must forever be impossible, however, since the movement of goods from place to place requires the expenditure of energy, human effort, which when interpreted is money, the consultant said.

BETTER ORGANIZATION NOTED

Lower freight rates from the East to the West are the result of better organization, more volume, and better paid traffic management in the East, said Hochelle.

Russia, said Hochelle, lacks the transportation facilities to achieve the industrial power the United States has.

Discrimination in freight rates favoring the East has been constantly increasing, pointed out Hochelle.

He cited as an example, a movement of canned goods from Pendleton to New York compared with one from Green Bay, Wis., to New York.

RATE DIFFERENTIAL NOTED

On a movement of canned goods from Pendleton to New York, the rate in 1946 was $1.02 per 100 pounds, and canned goods moving to New York from Green Bay, Wis., had a rate of 51 cents per 100 pounds, or a difference of 51 cents per 100 pounds. Today that differential is $1.03 per 100 pounds, or an increase of 102 percent.

If carriers get the increase they are requesting, pointed out Hochelle, the increase will be 118 percent.

This is true, also, of wheat flour, lumber, and other products, Hochelle said.

"Forces are constantly at work to alter the relative advantages of particular locations," he pointed out. "The advantages may be absolute or relative and the carriers are quite aware of this."

RATE HIKES HURT SPECIALIZATION

Transportation problems are not peculiar to any one type of industry, it was stated.

Increases in freight rates which are taking place now and have since 1946 have made it impossible for many communities to specialize as had been their custom, Hochelle said.

"Since cheap transportation contributes to the prosperity of society by making possible the production of more goods at less cost," emphasized Hochelle, "it follows that the public interest requires the lowest possible freight rates. The lower the freight rates, the greater will be the benefit to society."

There is almost always a possibility of specialized production in a given region if transportation charges could be reduced, he said.

RAIL SERVICE EMPHASIZED

"It is natural," he said, "for the railroads and other modes of transportation * * * to divert attention from the rate level and emphasize the importance of good service."

This, he said, is because the cost of providing the service imposes limits to the reduction of charges.

The increasing cost of transportation since 1946 has reached a point where today that cost has become the important factor in marketing, he said.

The chamber luncheon meeting was the last until late September or early October.

Brussels World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the United States will play a leading role at the World's Fair to open in Brussels, Belgium, next spring. The theme of that exposition, says a thoughtful editorial in the Bryan, Tex., Daily Eagle, is hope.

The hope, says the editorial writer for the Eagle, is that "while time exists, man can find a broad common path of peace and fruitful labor."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Bryan Eagle be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Next April in Brussels, Belgium, the first world's fair since the New York event of 1939–40 will be opened. All the early signs indicate that it will be a highly imaginative-stimulating fair which may well leave a strong positive mark on the world's peaceful endeavors.

Inevitably, fairs of worldwide scope stress industrial and commercial progress as well as cultural development. But the Brussels exhibition seems dedicated to a deeper, fuller expression of man's urgings toward a better world.

With the globe turning in the shadow of the threat of nuclear warfare, there could be no more suitable moment to declare faith—as the Brussels fair does—in man's ability to mold the atomic age to the ultimate advantage of all nations and peoples.

While the world's newspapers tell of guided missiles and atomic warheads and radioactive fallout, at Brussels the big word will be hope. Pervading all the major industrial, scientific, and cultural exhibits will be the hope that while time exists man can find a broad common path of peace and fruitful labor.

That the nations of the world are eager to join in a display of this spirit, in an expression of this overriding faith in man's future, is clear from the warm response organizers of the Brussels exhibition have received.

Some 50 countries and at least 7 international organizations plan to take part in the fair. The great nations particularly appear bent on giving the world a convincing demonstration that they prefer to orient their talents and energies toward rewarding peaceful pursuits rather than sterile, destructive war.

Especially heartening from this vantage point is the fact that the United States, heretofore never notable for ambitious participation in the fairs of other lands, will be a leading contributor to the Brussels event. Its pavilion will be the biggest free-span circular building ever erected.

The people of Belgium are to be commended for their enterprise and vision in

planning and preparing a world's fair dedicated so earnestly to human betterment in a time of trial. It deserves the support and attention of millions from many lands.

The Rural Development Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, appearing in the Minneapolis Star of Monday, July 29, 1957, there is an excellent article entitled "A Plan To Help Farmers Help Selves," written by George L. Peterson. The article refers to the rural development program, which is beginning to go into effect not only in Minnesota, but also in Michigan and other States of the Union. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PLAN TO HELP FARMERS HELP SELVES—RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IS BEGINNING TO GET UNDERWAY IN NORTHEASTERN MINNESOTA

(By George L. Peterson)

GRAND RAPIDS, MINN.—George A. Rossman, once rotund publisher (he's lost 35 pounds in recent months) of the Grand Rapids Herald-Review, is one of Itasca County's most consistent boosters. But he shakes his head a bit dolefully when the subject of northeastern Minnesota agriculture comes up.

"Grand Rapids is growing. The tourist industry is expanding. Iron mining and forestry are doing fine in this area. But look at the figures on farming," he challenges.

The figures show that in 13 northeastern counties[1] the number of farms decreased by almost half between 1940 and 1955—from 30,095 to 15,400. The average farm size increased from 103 acres to 163 in that period and the acres of cropland per farm from 28 to 56. Yet between 1950 and 1955 the total farm acreage dropped 274,000 acres.

There are some prosperous farms in this region. The 1954 Federal farm census showed that 254 of them had sales of more than $10,000 each. Another 3,700 had sales of $2,500 to $9,999 each. However, 77 percent of the farms had less than $2,500 of sales. In the 13 counties sales per farm averaged only $1,845 against $6,436 for the other 74 Minnesota counties.

Northeastern Minnesota farming isn't as badly off, incomewise, as some Southern States. But it is badly off enough to be classified as a low-income area by the Department of Agriculture and to be included in the rural development program authorized by Congress in 1955.

Aim of that program is to improve the income of farm families by teaching better farming methods, by adding land to make more economic farm units, or by helping farmers to better themselves on jobs off the farm.

The program in Minnesota is being run by the extension division, University of Minnesota, with Ed Becker, former Carlton County agricultural agent, as area rural development agent. A dozen other agencies are cooperating in the project. Each participating county has a committee of 60 to 90 officials and citizens to present problems and review progress.

Headquarters have been provided at the Grand Rapids branch of the university's school of agriculture. Three pilot counties, Carlton, Hubbard, and Itasca, have been designated and each has a special extension agent assigned to rural development.

The special agent for Itasca, George Saksa, has been working lately on a creamery project in the Bigfork-Effie part of the county. The Bigfork creamery used to have 185 patrons, now is down to 70. Butterfat brings 65 cents a pound and goes exclusively into butter. The skimmed milk is fed to livestock. At Grand Rapids the price of butterfat is $1.25 a pound when produced as grade A milk.

Neither the Bigfork creamery nor the farmer patrons are making money. Saksa is finding out whether enough farmers are interested in producing grade A milk to make the change to the modern equipment required. If the farmers aren't interested in the shift, the creamery is likely to go out of business, and many of the farmers as well.

Farmers might be able to keep going without dairy cows, but the chances aren't good. In the 13 counties as a whole about 60 percent of the farm income comes from dairy income and the sale of dairy cattle. In many communities the percentage is much higher.

Better cows are a part of the development program. Butterfat production of 300 pounds per year as a herd average is considered necessary for a profitable operation. Yet in some northeastern counties the average butterfat production per cow is only 180 pounds.

Farm income has improved in northeastern Minnesota. It hasn't kept up with income in other lines, however. The result has been, naturally, that many farmers have left the land and that others supplement their farm income with mining, pulp cutting and other jobs.

Many farmers cut pulp timber during the winter and earn a few hundred dollars each year. The pulp mills in the area are eager to keep a goodly number of farmers on the land for this very reason.

The farmers send a steady stream of logs to the mills. Otherwise lumberjacks would have to be brought in, a more expensive and less certain way to get the needed raw material for paper and building board.

The development program is just getting organized. Ed Becker, who farmed in Rice County until a back injury put him into extension work, warns against high hopes.

"Don't expect anything spectacular," he says. "Many other projects to help farmers have been tried up here. We will use every method known. If they don't work for an individual farmer, we will present to him the alternative of a job off the farm. We'll train him for such a job if necessary."

Looking out across the lush experimental fields of the Grand Rapids school—which prove that this area has considerable agricultural potential—he emphasizes: "But we won't make a decision for anybody. We'll give him all the facts we can muster. He'll have to decide if he wants to farm or do something else."

[1] Cook, Lake, St. Louis, Carlton, Aitkin, Itasca, Koochiching, Lake of the Woods, Beltrami, Clearwater, Hubbard, Cass, Crow Wing.

Oil Imports Adversely Affect All Business Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH. W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a series of three outstanding and thoughtful essays on the disastrous effects of the flood of foreign oil imports on the entire busfness economy. The articles are written by my good friend, Frank O. Hall, the oil editor of the Wichita Falls (Tex.) Daily Times and Record News. The Wichita Falls newspapers have consistently shown a great interest not only in the welfare of Texans, but in the good of all America. The newspaper is this year marking a half century of progress, during which time it has demonstrated broad vision, bold and fearless leadership, and a complete coverage of local and world affairs.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OIL IMPORTS EFFECT FELT IN NORTH TEXAS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of three stories on the effect of excessive foreign oil imports on the domestic petroleum industry and general business conditions in north Texas. This article deals specifically with some of the problems faced by the independent oil operator.)

(By Frank O. Hall)

Excessive foreign oil imports are having a real impact on the domestic petroleum industry in north Texas.

The independent operators are being "squeezed" hard by such things as the 13-day production pattern, selective buying and pipeline proration.

They frankly blame the situation upon too great a volume in foreign oil imports and contend that if this "squeeze" continues some will be forced to quit the business of producing oil and many will be forced to curtail their activity drastically.

In one way, north Texas is fortunate, in that it has many marginal wells, a number of water floods and county regular fields which are exempt from shutdown days.

But there are also a lot of prorated fields in north Texas and operators who have production in these areas are finding it increasingly difficult to make "both ends meet" with the Texas 13-day pattern—the lowest in the State's history.

There is little incentive in trying to find more oil if you can't find a market for that crude after it is located and produced. That is exactly what is happening today.

Numerous operators have completed wells in recent months only to discover there is no one to purchase the oil. And oil which cannot be sold can be one of the most worthless commodities in the world.

Some major purchasers of crude have made drastic reductions in their purchases. Even some truckers have suspended purchases temporarily, because they have no place to

market the crude after it is gathered from the wells in the field.

Many leases in north Texas have no pipeline connections and cannot get them. No oil can be sold from these leases, even by truck, for there is no market for the oil.

Some secondary recovery projects in this district face a real threat in the loss of market for oil recovered through operation of a water flood. Operators fear that irreparable damage may result to some water floods if they are forced to be shut down even temporarily.

In recent years, it has become more and more difficult for the domestic producers—such as those in north Texas—to compete against cheaply produced foreign oil.

The independent operators realize there is a need for imports—up to a certain point. But they believe that point was reached a long time ago and that imports now are supplanting domestic production rather than supplementing it.

REAL THREAT POSED

This situation, they say, poses a real threat to national security, pointing to the need for discovery of new reserves which this Nation would sorely need in event of any national emergency.

They stress the oft-repeated warning that "there is no security for our Nation in foreign produced oil."

But it is hard for the independent to continue his wildcatting activity in search of new reserves if he cannot market the crude after it is discovered.

Foreign oil costs much less to produce than domestic crude. The average productivity of oil wells in the Middle East and in Venezuela are many times that of wells in north Texas.

The same factor applies to the costly process of locating new reserves. Each foot of exploratory drilling has located more than 13,000 barrels of oil in the Middle East and about 700 barrels in Venezuela, but only about 20 barrels in the entire United States.

Independents feel that if a definite policy on imports would be formed by the national administration—defining in what proportion they should be in relation to domestic production—that both the domestic industry and the importer would be in a lot better position. Each would then know exactly what could be expected in the future.

There are reports that some independent operators are now finding it difficult to meet their bank commitments because of the production cutbacks, loss of market, and rising operating costs.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

But as one Wichita Falls independent operator explained:

"Even if an operator is not hard pressed financially now, he can see the possibility of such a situation developing in the future under present conditions. That means that he is going to 'draw in his horns' and reduce his development work in the future.

"That will result in more idle rigs and more idle drilling crews. That will mean difficult times for the drilling contractor and will force many drillers and roughnecks to seek a livelihood in some other field of endeavor.

"And that will mean a generally unfavorable impact on all lines of business in Wichita Falls and north Texas."

The domestic producer, not only in north Texas but in the entire Nation, is now at the crossroads. His future is uncertain and it certainly is not bright.

The blame can be placed at the doorstep of excessive oil imports.

IMPORTS HURT DRILLING DIVISION OF OIL INDUSTRY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of a series of three stories on the effect of excessive oil imports on the domestic petroleum industry and general business conditions in north Texas. This article deals specifically with some of the problems faced by the drilling contractor.)

(By Frank O. Hall)

The drilling contractor—the working arm of the petroleum industry—is really hurting because of the mounting flow of foreign-produced oil into the United States.

He has been experiencing the effects of excessive imports for many months and the situation is becoming more critical by the day.

Domestic producers in Texas have curbed their drilling activity because of the 13-day production pattern for July and August and because there is an inadequate market for their crude.

This simply means there is less work for the drilling contractor since he must depend upon the wildcatting and development programs of the producers for his livelihood and the livelihood of his drilling crews.

There can be but one answer, and that is stacked rigs (drilling rigs in storage). A survey shows that today rigs are being stacked in every north Texas county.

Figures can tell the story more graphically.

During the past week, according to figures furnished by the Hughes Tool Co. to the American Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors, there were 929 active rigs in Texas, a decrease of 63 active rigs from the 992 that were operating in this State 2 weeks ago.

Here is the picture in north Texas:

Last week there were 313 rigs operating in north Texas. Two weeks ago there were 362 operating in north Texas—or a decrease of 49 in the 2-week period.

These figures are indisputable evidence of the effects of excessive oil imports upon the drilling contractors in the entire State of Texas and in our own north Texas district.

These stacked rigs not only mean the cessation of profitable operation by the drilling contractor. They mean idleness for many scores of drillers and roughnecks and these men must keep working if they are to support themselves and their families.

Lack of contract drilling work is not the only headache being experienced by drilling contractors.

COSTS MOUNT

Equipment costs continue to mount. For instance, the price of drill pipe was increased $15.50 per ton on July 1. There is a possibility that the prices of bits and tool joints may be hiked.

Labor costs have also mounted. It is estimated that these costs have increased from 6 to 8 percent in the past 2 to 3 months.

However, these increased wages mean nothing to the driller and roughneck if his boss or company has no wells to drill. In fact, according to the contractors, many roughnecks and drillers have left North Texas in an effort to find employment elsewhere. Many are reported to have forsaken the oil industry to take up other vocations.

Drillers and roughnecks cannot afford to loaf for months, waiting and hoping for some action by the national administration to curb imports to the point where they will supplement and not supplant domestic production.

They have become the victims of the failure of a so-called voluntary plan on the part of importers to stem the flow of imports to a reasonable amount in proportion to domestic production.

NEED ACTION

Contractors, drillers, and roughnecks certainly realize that industry statesman has failed in this respect. They realize that the only solution to the imports problem is some kind of positive action by the national administration or by Congress to curb excessive imports if the domestic oil industry is to be saved from further deterioration.

But the story of stacked rigs goes even further.

Supply companies and manufacturers cannot sell equipment and supplies to a drilling contractor whose rigs are idle. This will eventually result in a payroll reduction for those companies, also.

When operators curb their oil search activities and the drilling contractors start stacking their rigs as a result, it will also mean a decrease in work for independent geologists and seismograph companies.

Thus, it becomes a vicious economic circle with no one benefiting except the oil importer.

REASONABLE MARGIN

During the past few years, the drilling contractors have found it increasingly difficult to earn a reasonable margin of profit—and that is essential if any industry or business is to survive in this day of keen competition.

Many have attempted to obtain interests in oil production or have drilled for oil on their own in an effort to provide an economic bulwark against the present unfavorable economic picture for their industry.

Drilling contractors who have production properties are certainly in much better position than those who do not have any oil production. In many instances, this may prove to be their only chance at survival, but with markets for the crude being gradually reduced there are crevices appearing even in this bulwark.

It is the consensus of north Texas drilling contractors that the time for positive action to bring about a cutback in imports has long since passed. The need for such action is imperative as far as they are concerned.

If something isn't done to dam the excessive flow of foreign oil into the United States the small independent drilling contractor may soon become just another figure in yesterday's history.

OIL INDUSTRY PINCH AFFECTS ALL SORTS OF BUSINESSMEN

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the final of a series of three stories on the effect of excessive oil imports on the domestic petroleum industry and general business conditions in north Texas. This article deals specifically with the businessman who may think he has nothing at stake in the present crisis facing independent oil operators and drilling contractors.)

(By Frank O. Hall)

Wichita Falls and north Texas businessmen are only kidding themselves if they think they have nothing at stake in the present crisis facing the domestic petroleum industry because of excessive oil imports.

They have as much at stake as the independent oil operator and drilling contractor.

It's true that they may not be feeling the effects greatly now, but they will if the present situation continues a few more months.

It's a situation that is of vital concern to every drygoods merchant, groceryman, druggist and jeweler. In fact, it makes little difference in what business you may be engaged. If you are located in this heartland section of the independent oil industry you should be giving serious thought to the foreign crude that is now flooding this Nation.

You say that you have no oil holdings, no royalties, no land to lease.

That may be true, but there are plenty of reasons why you should be concerned.

Regardless of the type of your business, a large portion of your revenue comes from those persons engaged in some segment of the domestic petroleum industry, if you are operating in Wichita Falls or north Texas.

WORKMEN IDLE

Already, many drillers and roughnecks are idle because it has become necessary for

their employers to stack their rigs, since fewer and fewer wells are being drilled in north Texas and elsewhere as independent operators curb their wildcatting and field development programs.

Independent operators have been forced to do this because the market for their crude is dwindling almost daily as foreign-produced crude supplants rather than supplements domestic oil production.

These idle drillers and roughnecks can only mean one thing to the businessman who casts an appraising eye on the situation. These men are being seriously crippled, financially speaking.

That means their purchasing power is dwindling and that means that the cash registers in every place of business will not jingle as often nor as loud as they would if the domestic oil industry continued to be a prosperous industry.

It's a situation, and it already exists, which deserves the discerning attention of every businessman in Wichita Falls and north Texas who wishes to maintain his present sales volume in the future.

Drillers and roughnecks are not the only ones who will be financially crippled by the present imports plague which is sucking the lifeblood from the domestic oil industry, much like a plague of locusts would lay bare an agricultural crop.

CONTRACTORS

As operators decrease their activity, they likewise will have less money to spend. Drilling contractors who stack their rigs are finding themselves in a similar situation.

Royalty owners are already receiving a diminishing return upon their oil holdings. Landowners who find it increasingly difficult to lease their land because of slackening drilling programs will have less money to spend with "the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker."

There is another angle to consider, both for the businessman and the so-called man in the street.

Texas has only 13 producing days for prorated oilfields in July. A similar pattern has been adopted by the railroad commission for August. This is the low point since the start of World War II.

For the month of July, the tax loss to the State was estimated at $1,500,000, as compared with June, because of this drastic oil-production restriction.

A similar reduction in tax revenue to the State is certain for the month of August.

RAILROAD COMMISSION

The Texas Railroad Commission cannot be blamed for the situation. It is the duty of that body to set a production pattern consistent with the market demand for Texas-produced crude.

The only answer is too many imports—foreign oil is "hogging" the market, leaving independent operators without buyers for the crude they produce here in north Texas and the remainder of the State.

This loss in taxes to the State can only mean one thing. If domestic oil operators cannot pay the tax bill because they cannot produce and sell their petroleum, somebody else will be called upon to pay the difference.

That means that the businessman—and you, the worker not engaged in any segment of the oil industry—will eventually be called upon to "fork up" the difference in some other form of tax that will dig deeply into your pocketbook.

So, if you don't think excessive oil imports mean anything to your particular line of business, you had better take another look, because they do.

It might well be said that it's later than you think.

A vital industry to north Texas—the domestic pertroleum industry—is being engulfed by an increasing flow of foreign oil into the United States.

As this domestic petroleum industry deteriorates as a result of these imports, your business will also deteriorate.

Overseas Dependents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial calling attention to the American Taxpayer's contribution to the peoples of other lands refers to the obligation of just one agency of our Government.

Investigation of the little known commitments by other agencies involved in our foreign policy activities might reveal equally interesting facts involving Government's liberality in the distribution of American tax dollars.

OLD-AGE CHECKS MAILED OVERSEAS

(By Fulton Lewis, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, July 24.—This column will make you mad, but read it anyway.

You are footing the bill for nearly $30 million a year in Federal old age insurance checks, being mailed out every month to recipients in 35 foreign countries. A major portion of the payees are not even American citizens. Many of them have never set foot on United States soil.

Several thousand are in Communist Yugoslavia. Additional thousands are in other Iron Curtain countries, although these checks are not actually mailed. The money is held in escrow, because Mr. Marion Folsom's Department of Health, Education, and Welfare cannot be sure of delivery in such countries. If the payee is able to get to the free world, however, the money is waiting for him.

There are elderly mothers in Italy who visited children in New York City for as little as 18 months, the while being listed on the family payroll over here as housemaids. Back in the old country again, they draw as much as $200 a month in crisp American lettuce which, in terms of exchange and cost of living, is reasonably comparable to the salary of the late King Victor Emmanuel. At 200 United States "buckos," the Italian Government would take a second look at an offer to buy the Coliseum.

Also, there is the Hindu in New Delhi, who was No. 3 houseboy at the United States Embassy. He's in, too. And the ditchdigger in Athens who worked for the American contractor building the resplendent new farmers' market there, which is part of our foreign-aid program, at a cost of millions. He likewise gets his, even though he's never been out of sight of the Parthenon.

As of January 1 of this year, the rules were tightened somewhat, thanks to Delaware's accountant—Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, who happened across the racket and blew his Republican top. But all who were on the rolls prior to that time—whether they had begun receiving the pensions or will become eligible in the future, as they reach 65 years of age—are on for the ful treatment. And over the past 20 years American payrolls have pretty well plastered the civilized world.

Note, for example, the postwar reconstruction, the Marshall plan, the foreign-aid program, the NATO airbases, the United States diplomatic operations, standard and special, the hundreds of millions spent by the Ford Foundation and similar funds.

Senator WILLIAMS got the pooh-pooh treatment from the State Department. He was told that $27 million a year is a mere drop in the bucket and not worth worrying about.

Need for Inventory of Water Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it is encouraging to see more and more States taking a realistic look at their water problems and setting out with determination to solve those problems.

Recently it was announced that the State of Massachusetts will undertake a comprehensive inventory of all its water resources. I am pressing for similar action in my own State of Texas.

A Texas newspaper, the Dallas Times-Herald, urges editorially that other States follow the example of Massachusetts. I ask unanimous consent that this wise and sensible editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OTHER STATES SHOULD TAKE CUE FROM MASSACHUSETTS WATER STUDY

One glaring truth has been brought home to millions of southwesterners and other Americans as a result of the long drought and this year's recordbreaking floods. It is that water-harnessing projects over most of the Nation have been far too little and too late. There is renewed determination on the part of many local, State, and national leaders to correct this dangerous lag in conserving and controlling the Nation's most valuable natural resource.

Water project dollars have been precious in the past and will continue to be so in the future, as the struggle goes on to keep these projects abreast of growth in population, agriculture, and industry. Ironically, the future likely will disclose that many of the dollars that have been spent for water storage, flood control, soil conservation, sewage disposal, and major distribution and treatment facilities have been spent unwisely.

The reason is that our water efforts have, in most instances, been half blind and not according to overall, coordinated planning. Even today, there is lacking the basic knowledge that is absolutely essential to charting a sound future course for water utilization. Of major significance, therefore, is the recently announced plan of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to undertake a complete inventory of its water resources, above and below the ground.

This will be no hasty or superficial study. It will spread over 25 years. It will cost millions of dollars. It will give Massachusetts the final answers it needs to how much water it will have in the future for industry, irrigation, and all other uses; and it will be a solid basis upon which that State can plan

to put every drop of its water to maximum beneficial use of its people.

That, of course, is the kind of study which has long been needed in Texas and every other State. Not until such inventories have been made can intelligent master plans be devised by legislatures and local governing bodies. Every water project that is built in the meantime may, eventually, prove to be a costly error. Massachusetts is wise. Its leaders know that efficient use of water will, more than any other factor, insure the State's future progress. They are going all out to pave the way. Texas and other States will only be fooling themselves if they do not buckle down and do likewise.

San Angelo Project, Texas

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. Res. 359) providing for the consideration of H. R. 2147, a bill to provide for the construction by the Secretary of the Interior of the San Angelo Federal reclamation project, Texas, and for other purposes.

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that I support this project. Our Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation has given the project very careful consideration. We sent a subcommittee to Texas to look at the project, a subcommittee headed, as chairman, by the distinguished gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] and the ranking minority member and former chairman of our committee, Dr. MILLER. So they not only heard the testimony on this project but they went to Texas and looked it over. The committee, on the basis of their study and on the basis of the recommendation of the Department of the Interior, has approved it.

I think all of us know something of the disaster which has been inflicted upon some areas of Texas due to floods on the one hand and drought on the other. The purpose of this bill is to equate the drought and the heavy runoffs of water so that the floods are used to take care of the dry spells which have brought so much distress to large areas of Texas.

The project falls squarely within the precedents of our committee and legislation which has been heretofore adopted under reclamation law.

Some $11 million of the total cost is allocated to irrigation. All other uses of the project, flood control, municipal water and other purposes, are less than that amount. Although it is true that the municipal users will to some extent help the irrigators repay, that is not unprecedented under reclamation law. This Congress has many times authorized projects of that character.

So I do believe that this is a good reclamation project. It does fall within the precedents for the authorization of projects under reclamation law and I hope the committee today will act favorably on it.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ENGLE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. I note on page 12 of the report a letter from the Secretary of the Army, in which they say that—

The Department of the Interior has not submitted its final report on the San Angelo project under established procedures.

It goes on to say that—

The Bureau is not in a position to appraise the merits of the proposal.

That letter was dated March 11. The report is dated June 28. Is that report of the Department of the Interior now before the committee and before the House?

Mr. ENGLE. Yes. If the gentleman will look at page 2 of the report he will see that the statement was made that the report referred to was submitted to the Congress on April 12, 1957.

Mr. VORYS. May I ask one other question? On page 11, the Associate Director of the Bureau of the Budget says that—

The Corps of Engineers in estimating the flood-control benefits attributable to the plan have found that local interests should contribute $350,000 in recognition of enhancement of land values.

Is that incorporated in the legislation?

Mr. ENGLE. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] to answer the gentleman.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield to me, it is not contributed directly. On the other hand, there is provision made for the establishment of the conservation district in the area, and also the town is going to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Interior and will take care of the contributions which, in my opinion, will amount to far more than $350,000.

Mr. VORYS. There are a number of contributions, but the suggestion is that there should be a contribution of $350,000 for enhancement of land values in estimating the flood-control benefits. Is that provided for in the legislation?

Mr. ASPINALL. I understand that indirectly it is, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

How Much Longer Will the United States Try To Buy Friendship?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement from Exclusive, published by Special Reports, Inc., dated July 17, 1957. When representatives of the State Department and other interested Federal agencies appeared before our Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in consideration of these proposals, the logical question in the minds of many of us was, "How much longer will the United States continue its futile efforts to buy friendship?" In these instances, the United States privately owned airlines are the ones that are penalized for the benefit of foreign government-owned airlines.

The statement follows:

Expect mounting protests by business groups over the State Department giveaway program of valuable United States air transport routes. The chamber of commerce takes the lead in protesting the recent agreement between the United States and Australia. This follows earlier disadvantageous agreements with the Dutch and West Germans, now seems a regular pattern.

Under the latest arrangement, Australians are permitted to fly the heavily traveled San Francisco-New York route to Europe.

The exchange: The United States was granted impossible routes such as the run between Autsralia and South America via Antarctica.

The apparent reason: Preservation of friendly foreign relations?

Labor Missionary Expounds Yankee Ways in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, while the debate on the proposed $3½ billion mutual security program was raging in the Congress, the Wall Street Journal, an eminently respectable newspaper, on May 27, took occasion in one of a series of articles to extoll some of the constructive aspects of Uncle Sam's activities in winning foreign nations over to the American way. The article paid singular tribute to the noteworthy and impressive contribution which the American labor movement is making in the field of international relations through its emissary in Japan, Einar Edwards, State Department foreign-aid adviser on labor productivity.

At a time when the Senate Investigating Committee is focusing so much public attention on the abuse of high office within the American labor movement, this laudatory article comes as a refreshing and wholesome antidote. The article is interestingly written and well worth reading and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues, particularly those who are of the opinion that American labor is corrupt and racket-ridden.

HUSKY FEDERAL AID EXTOLLS LABORSAVING MACHINERY, VIRTUES OF BARGAINING

(By Henry Gemmill)

TOKYO.—The State Department's foreign aid adviser on labor productivity stood there, 185 pounds of muscular nudity. The Japanese maiden stood there, too—shrieking.

Let it be hastily said that no more than a misunderstanding—a clash of cultures—was involved. The big blond American was Einar Edwards, making his first visit to a Japanese inn, near the temples of Kyoto. After shucking his Western clothes and donning a light kimono, he had been led by the jet-haired maiden to the bathing chamber, where he urgently motioned her to depart.

But just as he had one ankle in the steaming tub, he heard a horrified feminine voice; she had reappeared through the sliding wall. She hauled him back, doused him with buckets of icy water, handed him the soap, saw to it that he began working up a lather, and vanished. Well soaped, he was about to try for the tub again, but she returned screeching as loudly as before. Again she drenched him with cold water, until the suds were gone.

Then, with a gracious smile, the maiden gestured Mr. Edwards his welcome to the tub.

OTHER STARTLING DIFFERENCES

Thus did Einar Edwards receive his knowledge that in Japan one must never get in the bathtub until one has already had one's bath. And that modesty is measured a mite differently here. Since then he has discovered many other startling differences between the United States and this island empire. In matters of labor relations it is his job to acquaint the Japanese with Yankee ways, but he has learned a lot himself and enjoyed nearly every minute of it.

Even this early misadventure, last year, paid dividends. When he returned to his paper-walled room at the inn, where he was to confer with a group of local labor leaders, he found them sitting on the woven straw floor roaring with laughter—for the unabashed young lady had been running back to report round-by-round on her encounter with the barbarian. Mr. Edwards has as hearty a laugh as anyone, as he proved, and the Japanese working men immediately decided he was a wonderful fellow. His reputation has spread; nowadays he is almost constantly traveling, and whenever he steps off a train he finds a throng of union folk waiting to greet him.

Japan will receive only a small part of the $3.8 billion total United States foreign aid expenditures in this current fiscal year. And Mr. Edwards' labor office is only a fragment of the Operations Mission to Japan. But he is so earnestly convinced the $195,000 budgeted for his task this year is being usefully spent that he has induced his superiors to request nearly a quarter-million dollars—$240,000, to be precise—for his use in the coming year. What he gets, of course, may depend on the outcome of the current congressional fight over foreign aid.

TEAMS OF LABOR LEADERS

Lion's share of the money—$139,750 this year, more next—is for sending teams of Nippon's labor chieftains on trips to the United States, where they visit everything from Harvard University to Los Angeles aircraft plants, spending much time, of course, talking with American unionmen. Mr. Edwards lines up the expeditionary forces, and before they depart briefs them on such weird United States habits as the tipping of waiters. When the union executives return they often go on the lecture circuit. Recently a number spoke in Tokyo, with 1,300 jammed in the hall and an overflow audience listening to loudspeakers outside.

Judging by this session, the reports are favorable. "I was surprised at seeing the high productivity in America in reality," declared Kumazo Nakachi, vice president of All-Seamen's Union. "Before I went to the States, I always wondered what kind of people Americans would be," said Kazuo Maekawa, vice president of Tokyo Electric Power Workers Union. "I found them to be opportunistic and friendly. Wherever we went, restaurants, sightseeing places, and so forth, people replied to our requests kindly. I was convinced that they work in earnest and have happy family lives."

Indeed, some of these leaders return with perhaps overrosy impressions. Kinshiro Tanaka, chief of the executive committee of Odakyu Railway Workers Union, described United States wage bargaining sessions: "In the negotiations the unions submit the fair demands on the precise (statistical) materials, and the management—admitting the fairness—usually accepts the union demands."

AN INVITATION TO REUTHER

Another bit of cash—$25,250 this year, more next—is set aside for intercontinental travel in the opposite direction. Among those slated to arrive here soon to conduct conferences, discussion groups, and seminars are Bill Gomberg, who made his reputation as a time-motion study expert with the International Ladies Garment Workers, and Andrew Pettis, vice president of the Shipbuilding Workers, an expert on negotiating techniques. "I want to get a good labor woman over here, too," says Mr. Edwards.

Rather surprisingly, the United States will also finance trips here for a couple of German labor leaders, still to be chosen. Informally, and not at Government expense, Mr. Edwards has been trying to get his good friend, Walter Reuther, to visit Japan.

The rest of the money—$80,000 this year, $50,000 next—is tagged for salaries of Mr. Edwards and his full-time staff, their travel within Japan, and such services as translation and printing.

Personal contact—as informal as possible—is the way to get ideas across, Adviser Edwards believes. Most any night he's in town, if you go to the American compound a few blocks behind the Embassy, you're likely to find his prefab house jumping, a Japanese-American party in full swing.

"It's no use just seeing these labor fellows in your office," says Mr. Edwards. "I get them to come home. Of course I have hot sake (Japanese wine) for them, but before long they're trying highballs and cokes as well. My wife, Anne, gets up the kind of little fishy dishes they're used to, but we introduce them to hot dogs and hamburgers. Spaghetti they're crazy about."

"We even get some wives to come—almost unheard of in Japan."

HIS DUES BOOK

Though he works for the State Department, Einar Edwards is roaringly popular with Japanese workingmen because he is so obviously not a diplomat. His square face and big hands would convince them of that—but, to nail it down, when he meets a labor man he whips his own shipyard workers dues book out of his pocket and shows red stamps pasted in through July 1957.

He is, essentially, a union man, and it would appear difficult to find anywhere overseas a more impressive representative of what the American labor movement stands for, at its best. Time and again he startles leftist labor meetings in Japan by detailed descriptions of living standards which United States workers have won through hard work and hard bargaining under the free enterprise system—and by telling them how many workers move up into top management jobs, a phenomenon almost unknown in this land.

This rugged labor missionary was born 48 years ago on Oslo fjord in Norway, was brought to Philadelphia when he was 7. After finishing eighth grade he went to work in a hosiery mill, where he met and married coworker Anne. He plunged into activity with the AFL hosiery workers, soon decided that effective negotiations demanded more education. In 6 years he whipped through both high school and college (Temple University), attending classes and doing homework at night, holding down full daytime jobs in textile factories, working for the union on Saturdays, playing professional soccer on Sundays. He averaged about 5 hours sleep nightly, and by the time he finished with school in 1941 was worn down to a skin-and-bones, 137 pounds.

BACK TO PHILADELPHIA

He switched to working in the booming shipyards, but was soon in the Navy, and served on an attack transport in the Okinawa invasion. He first briefly glimpsed Japan after the surrender. "All Tokyo seemed to be in ruins," he recalls. "It's unbelievable how everything has been rebuilt so quickly." The war over, he became Philadelphia regional director for the CIO shipyard workers.

He moved into foreign aid almost by accident—the Government started out by asking him to escort teams of Danish and Dutch union men on brief trips around the States. But in 1950 it became a career; he went to Germany with HICOG, Austria with ECA, Washington with FOA, and finally come to Japan with CIO. The different initials mean little; his task was essentially the same in each place; working on the labor side of foreign assistance. Wherever he goes, whomever he meets, he engages in some pretty plain talking.

Sample: In Nagasaki, arriving to address a conference of transport workers belonging to the right-wing Zenro movement, he found a sound truck parked outside the hall blaring Russian workers' songs. A score of left-wing Sohyo unionists were heckling folks entering the meeting. "I told the conference chairman we had run into this situation in the United States many times and I had a suggestion," Mr. Edwards recalls. "I told him in the States we would anounce to these people that they would have 5 minutes to get their truck away from there or we would come out and haul it away for them." The hint was adopted, and—as it turned out—succeeded without the cracking of heads.

"I LET THEM HAVE IT"

Sample: Expounding that unions are better off without too much government help, Mr. Edwards cited to an Osaka gathering the example of what happened to workers in Hungary. One union officer asked whether the revolt there hadn't been provoked by Fascists and American spies. "Boy, I let him have it. I told him how I had gone to Austria's border with Hungary, and seen with my own eyes the barbed wire, the watchtowers, the searchlights, the machineguns, and the mine fields. I told about Hungarian refugees I had seen in Austrian hospitals, their feet blown off while escaping. This guy sat down with his head bowed, and the crowd cheered."

Sample: In a huge steel mill on the southerly isle of Kyushu, he met with a dozen local leaders of the leftist Sohyo national union. "I asked them why they pursue the policy of calling strikes twice a year simply because the calendar shows it is April or October; they laughed and said this was the only way they could get any wage increase. I asked if they had ever tried honest and sincere collective bargaining." This scene is repeated again and again throughout Japan. "These people strike at the drop of a pin," says Mr. Edwards. "I say it's all right to strike if you have to, but let's have a little negotiating first. Management needs to be told to bargain, too, and I tell 'em."

Sample: In a shop south of Tokyo, he found machinists working while their safety goggles dangled on the wall. "I told their union officers that in America we'd slap a stiff fine on a union man doing that." He rebukes management just as heartily, as in a Nagasaki shipyard where he found workers in the heavy steel plate shop wearing felt slippers instead of metal-tipped safety shoes.

"I don't think I've created enemies," he remarks. "I think I've made friends."

Just how much of his nudging of labor and management has produced results is unknown. "I get so many invitations to go new places that I've never felt free to go back to any of the old ones," he observes. "That's one reason we're asking Washington

for another good labor man to come out here and work with me."

At the moment his full-time staff numbers only three. A Japanese gentleman, Mr. Yasuda ("I can never remember his first name; I call him Henry.") goes with him as interpreter, though Mr. Edwards himself is making a vigorous attempt at learning Japanese. Miss Helen Flynn, a handsome Kansas girl with a penchant for tweeds and large earrings, is his secretary right now, hoping for a transfer to India, Miss Atsuko Ogura, a slender, smiling Japanese who has studied 2 years at Smith, does translating and can handle many secretarial duties except those involving "classified" material. ("None of my stuff is classified," says Mr. Edwards, "but all sorts of intelligence reports go over my desk.")

"Japan is booming right now—more prosperous than ever in its history," says Mr. Edwards' boss, Sylvester Olson, a lanky Yakima, Wash., lawyer who is assistant director of foreign aid here. "You may wonder why it's necessary to have an assistance program."

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

"Well, it's preventive medicine, rather than drastic surgery. Crash programs are always expensive, and you can imagine what it would cost us to put one into this country of 90 million people if we let things get in a bad way. Japan has to import 20 percent of its food and almost all its raw materials. It's had money to do this the last few years largely because of United States military spending here and a tremendous demand for such exports as ships. But with a 10 percent drop in world trade, the country could be in real trouble, because a lot of its products like machinery are priced too high. Our only chance is to help the Japanese slash unit costs of production by boosting productivity."

Labor missionary Edwards figures there is so much room for productivity improvement that, as it is accomplished, Japanese industry can cut its prices and yet pay higher wages and earn more profits. One of his assignments is to battle ingrained union resistance to introduction of labor-saving machinery and of schemes aimed at job-overmanning.

"We don't kid 'em. There'll be some layoffs, we tell labor frankly, it will have to become mobile," he says. "That involves a major change in thinking here. It's really a feudal system. A man takes a job for life, and he would be considered a traitor if he quit to work for a competitor."

"And this sentiment works both ways; there are examples here of firms putting in new machinery, but feeling obliged to keep workers on doing nothing until they die or retire at 55."

LEADERS ARE INEXPERIENCED

Trade unionism was nonexistent in Japan at the end of the war, and inevitably its leaders today are inexperienced. Einar Edwards, who has made a point of meeting most of them, notes the key men tend to be in their thirties, and that includes both Adira Iwai, the quiet man who is secretary general of the wild Sohyo, and Haruo Wada, who holds the similar key role in the conservative Zenro.

Back in 1953, leftist Sohyo had captured around 56 percent of all organized workers, but that has dropped to something like 45 percent and the trend continues, while the conservative Zenro, though still smaller, has been picking up some groups formerly independent. What impresses expert Edwards, is that while Sohyo's national leadership takes many an anti-American position, a scattering of its chieftains in particular plants are beginning to visit America and come back enthusiastic, addressing him as "Brother Edwards." He has the feeling some of these are building up to toss out present Sohyo executives.

There's little danger the Japanese workers will go Communist, in Mr. Edwards' opinion, even though the Red, World Federation of Trade Unions has been pouring money in here. The problem is not to keep the Japanese away from communism, but to show them how to reap the benefits of an efficient capitalism, he says.

INTRAGOVERNMENTAL COORDINATION

Mr. Edwards' crew is far from being the only United States Government group in Japan dealing with labor affairs. "There's Ed Skagen, the labor attaché, he's another union man, belongs to the machinists. Our work is different; he's getting information and I'm giving it."

"Then there's Frank Welsh, the Labor Information Officer with the United States Information Service—I believe he has some claim to union membership, was a member of the Newspaper Guild or something. USIS has a larger staff than we do—covering the whole gamut of cultural affairs—they've got about 16 centers around this country. Welsh provides them with movies on how American unions operate, and books, and he feeds material to the labor press. Skagen and Welsh and I get together for biweekly sessions with George Morgan, head of the political division here, to make sure we aren't conflicting, and to exchange tips on where we can do things.

Despite all the complexities, both Einar and the sparkling Anne, love life in Japan, as does 15-year-old Einar, Jr., who is getting judo instruction from their chauffeur-cook, Iwama-san. The family is served also by a maid, Rumiko-san ("San" is the universal Japanese suffix, meaning "honorable"). Mrs. Edwards can do with the help, because she's busy half days in the American school teaching English and geography to both Western and Oriental youngsters. Some of the latter, she notes incidentally, are growing Elvis Presley sideburns.

Their four-bedroom house, supplies with government-issue furniture plus some of their own bric-a-brac picked up in Europe, is American in style but Japanese built; the construction is fine except that folks here haven't a foggy idea how to make safe fireplaces. As a result, the Edwards' got burned out of another house in the compound about a month ago, and might have burned up with it in their sleep except for the yowling of their short-tailed Japanese cat.

Any United States Government family here on a modest salary can, of course in certain ways, live better than pretty prosperous people of private income in either the States or Japan. As consumers, they have the best bargains of two worlds.

At the Army post exchange they can pick up cheaply things that are cheap in America—or even in Europe; for instance, Mr. Edwards is able to give guests the best Dutch beer. And things that are cheap in Japan can be bought on the open market. Item: Mr. Edwards pays the yen equivalent of 9 cents to have a shirt laundered. Item: Mrs. Edwards has just set out blooming pansies along her front walk, at the yen equivalent of 3½ cents per plant.

Pleased with both his life and his labor, Mr. Edwards is inclined to believe he'll be willing to stay on longer than his pledged 2-year tour of duty.

Qualities a Merchant Marine Officer Should Possess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following commencement address by Rear Adm. Gordon McLintock, USMS, Superintendent, United States Merchant Marine Academy, at the Marine Maritime Academy, Castine, Maine, on July 15, 1957:

QUALITIES A MERCHANT MARINE OFFICER SHOULD POSSESS

(Commencement address by Rear Adm. Gordon McLintock)

Senator Leavitt, Admiral Glick, distinguished guests, parents and friends, and members of the graduating class, I am very happy to be with you on this auspicious occasions. When Senator Leavitt asked me to come, I accepted with alacrity because I believe that the nautical schools should work together and pull together, for we are all in the same boat. We must convince the Nation that a strong and efficient merchant marine is vital to our future.

I bring you greetings and congratulations from the corps of cadets at my own school, the United States Merchant Marine Academy. (My cadets are a bit envious of you, for they still have 2 months to go, mostly of final exams.) We enjoyed having your color guard participate in Merchant Officers' Day at Kings Point 2 years ago. I had your superintendent as my guest at a joint conference last year, and we would join together in many more affairs if we were geographically nearer.

The rock-bound coast of Maine has sent forth its finest sons to the calling of the sea, and Maine Maritime Academy takes justifiable pride in the fact that its graduates are renowned throughout the world for their seamanship. It is proper that these graduates should achieve distinction in this fine art, for they are the heirs of a glorious tradition going back to the very earliest days of our country's history. In the comparatively brief history of this fine institution, Maine Maritime has contributed its share of officers to the merchant marine and the Navy, and many of its alumni have been cited for meritorious service during World War II and the Korean war. The builders of tradition have not been idle, and much of the stature which this academy enjoys today is owed to the splendid men who have gone forth to their ships from the shores of Castine Bay.

Seafaring still calls the adventures and the daring, and the lure of the far horizon still finds men ready, willing, and anxious to face all the perils and hardships which may arise as they push their ships into the unknown. Despite the marvels of this modern age, with radar eyes to penetrate the blankets of fog or the darkness of night, and loran to make its seemingly magic calculations to determine unerringly where a ship lies on the pathless sea, there remains the need of the vigilant, alert, dependable seaman.

More than technical competence is needed in our modern merchant marine. There

must be, first and foremost, a genuine love of the sea in the heart of a man, a desire to do considerably more for the ship than he is paid to do, and the ability to be a leader. The sailors' adage, "One hand for the ship and one hand for yourself—the best one for yourself," is only intended to apply when you are up aloft.

What are the qualities of a leader at sea today? He must be forehanded and efficient, and he must know how to obey and to command. He must be interested in his subordinates and always must put them ahead of himself.

I should like to give you a little advice, nothing too complicated. Always remember that you will not get ahead by doing just the work that is expected of you—you must do considerably more. Work hard, and play hard, and as you go through life, when you see a rope that is splayed, put a whipping on it; when you see a coil lying wet in the scuppers, lift it out and hang it on the pin rail; and when you see a stanchion bending under a strain, shore it up.

You are going to sea as officers in an honorable profession and in a position of trust. You will have the responsibility for millions of dollars of property as well as for the lives of men. Earn your title of officer by shouldering that responsibility and by showing a personal sense of interest in the owner's investment. Show the man you work for that you are glad to do a little more than you are paid for. Put into your work your best, put it in cheerfully, and you will be surprised to find that this is a boomerang and your best surety for advancement.

Leadership consists of three qualities: Sensitivity, integrity, and perseverance. Let me elaborate on these just a little. No man has ever risen to lead others unless he has developed a great sensitivity for their feelings. This is the first element of leadership. If you do not have sensitivity, your leadership is doomed.

The second element of leadership is even more personal. It is integrity. A leader's sense of integrity is the thing that conditions the integrity of the whole organization. Once his people get the idea that his integrity is not "all wool and a yard wide," that his word is only as good as his written bond, he is doomed. His word has got to be 10 times as good as his bond. In no other way can he build the affection and respect which he must have if he is to obtain the greatest result from his men.

The third quality is perseverance. The weak man falls by the wayside, and no one bothers with him. Only the man who is moving toward a goal attracts others to go along with him. Unless he has the force of persistency, he cannot succeed in leading others. Once he gives up, once he loses enthusiasm, the whole organization starts to go down.

Above all he should be a gentleman. What is a gentleman? Let's take it apart. He should be gentle—that is, he should not be loud and boorish—he should be kind and considerate and show good manners. And he should be a man—a man of honor, a man of courage, a man of iron. It sounds easy perhaps to be an officer and a gentleman, but it is neither easy nor commonplace. Yet it must be your hallmark, the stamp your school has put upon you, the stamp your State has put upon you.

I am not preaching at you, I know you possess these qualities, I am reemphasizing them.

I come myself from a long line of seafarers, and I have from the time I was a boy delighted in the stories of the officers and gentlemen of Penobscot and Portland and Rockland and Castine who sailed against fearful odds in sailing ships often less than a thousand tons burden. Generation of seamen have put "salt" into your veins and "sand" into your souls. The qualities of a good officer are inherent in you, and in fact you have up here a natural biological advantage. I tell my own young midshipmen these same things. We are blood brothers and wear the same cloth, and serve the same eternal sea. I have always advocated a closer unity between our schools, and that is why I accepted Senator Leavitt's invitation to come here today.

I congratulate the graduating class. God bless you and send you following winds—good sailing, heirs to a great tradition, graduates of a fine school—officers and gentlemen.

Reducing the Federal Waistline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following interview between the distinguished minority leader, Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., and Edward A. Sherman, of Boston, regional director of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, in a broadcast over radio station WEEI of Boston on Sunday, July 21, 1957:

Mr. SHERMAN. Attempts to reorganize and improve the management of our Federal Government are as old as the Republic itself. Over the years many investigative groups have recommended courses of action to bring about economies of operation. But practically no reorganization attempts ever accomplished anything until 1949 when a program of organized citizen action resulted in the adoption of about three-fourths of the nearly 300 recommendations of the first Hoover Commission.

Because leaders in both political parties had become equally concerned about the increase in the cost and size of our Federal Government, in July 1947 Congress passed without a dissenting vote the Lodge-Brown Act which created the first Hoover Commission.

This 12-man team of 6 Democrats and 6 Republicans was composed of 4 members chosen by the President of the Senate, 4 by the Speaker of the House, and 4 by President Truman. Now the Speaker of the House in 1947 was JOSEPH MARTIN, JR., of North Attleboro, Member of Congress from our Massachusetts 14th District, and it was he who selected 4 of the members of the first Hoover Commission—among them our former President Herbert Hoover who, of course, was the logical chairman of the group.

After public service as a member of both the Massachusetts House of Representatives and the Massachusetts Senate, in 1924, JOE MARTIN was elected to the 69th Congress. Over the years Congressman MARTIN has accumulated an outstanding and distinguished record of service to his country.

In both the 80th and 83rd Congress, Congressman MARTIN was our Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Thanks to the invention and development of television, the picture of JOE MARTIN with gavel in hand is indelibly engraved in the minds of countless millions of Americans. I am sure it is easy to understand how privileged I am to have this opportunity to discuss with our great Republican leader from Massachusetts some of the more important measures that are now before Congress designed to carry out recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Congressman MARTIN, a lot of water has gone over the dam since the last time you and I discussed Federal reorganization over the air.

Mr. MARTIN. Almost 6 years—and during those 6 years were carried out, as you just said, more than 70 percent of the recommendations of the first Hoover Commission. Not only that, but because of the success of the first Hoover Commission and because the first Hoover Commission did not interest itself in certain phases of government, for example, matters of policy, in 1953 Congress again voted unanimously to create a study commission constructed along the lines of the first Hoover Commission. The Congress charged this team of 12 outstanding men (including former President Hoover) with the job of surveying our Government in order to find new ways to prevent waste and duplication and to bring about a more efficient and economical administration of the public's business.

Mr. SHERMAN. Congressman MARTIN, as you know, there is before Congress right now waiting for action one-hundred-seventy-odd bills designed to effectuate Hoover recommendations. Now I have selected a few which I will greatly appreciate discussing with you, at least as many as we have time for. And the first, and by far the more important, certainly the most important from the standpoint of possible dollar savings, is the budgeting-and-accounting bill. Described as the Kennedy-Payne bill, this measure passed the Senate unanimously. What can you tell us about that bill?

Mr. MARTIN. The bill, H. R. 8002, is designed to cause our Federal budget to be submitted on an annual-accrued-expenditure basis. It is, as you say, an important piece of legislation and also is 1 of the 6 measures whose adoption was recently urged by the President.

Mr. SHERMAN. As I understand the proposal carried out by this bill, it is to the effect that we would appropriate for an item like an aircraft carrier year by year and not in one lump sum. This would enable Congress and the American people to assess results each year. But isn't it also pretty important that the passage of this bill would restore to Congress the control of nearly $50 billion of unexpended balances that under our present system of appropriating has been carried over from previous years?

Mr. MARTIN. Congressional control of the national purse has been described by President Hoover as being one of the very foundations of freedom itself. Not only President Eisenhower approves this bill, but also in favor of this legislation we find the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Budget, the Comptroller General of the United States, the American Institute of Accountants, the Comptroller's Institute, and practically all similar groups of professional accountants.

Mr. SHERMAN. Lots of folks believe that the second most important measure before Congress which would carry out Hoover recommendations is the measure which would eliminate unnecessary government competition with private business. Now the Hoover Commission task force that investigated the Government's administrative agencies looking for activities which unnecessarily compete with private industry, found some 3,000 business-type enterprises in which the Federal Government is engaged. But most important, they found that many of these compete directly against the livelihood of private citizens. It seems to me that here we have one of the most easily understood findings of the Hoover Commission—this matter of unfair and unwarranted and, in many cases, ridiculous invasion of the Government into activities which rightfully belong to private business. Furthermore, since the biggest part of our tax dollar

is spent by the Department of Defense, the Commission naturally found the Pentagon to be the worst offender in this respect. This particular Hoover task force found that our Defense Department runs cobbler shops, ice plants, saw mills, bakeries, aluminum sweating plants, motion picture studios, dental manufacturing establishments—all these various types of enterprises which manufacture just about everything from clothing to ice cream, eye glasses, paper, rope, and rum, and bakery goods.

Mr. MARTIN. As you know, there are bills before both the House and the Senate designed to affirm the policy of Congress to restrict and curtail enterprises which unnecessarily compete with private industry. Also in this same field is legislation which would gradually terminate the postal savings system.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Hoover Commission said in so many words that it makes little sense for the Department of Defense to run laundries in communities where there are plenty of privately operated laundries or coffee-roasting plants in such large ports as New York City or Oakland, Calif., where coffee is roasted commercially every day. Also, don't you think, Congressman MARTIN, that we have outlived our need for the postal savings system?

Mr. MARTIN. The postal savings system, of course, was created back in 1910 to furnish banking facilities in small towns where there were no banks. But, as I understand it, the Hoover Commission found that 90 percent of all deposits as well as depositors live in large cities and towns where there are ample private banking facilities.

Mr. SHERMAN. The task force that studied all Government personnel brought in a report that Mr. Hoover personally considers the most important of any of the Hoover Commission studies. Now, although the Hoover report on personnel did not point out much in the way of direct dollar savings by improving the management of the public business, it is generally believed that ultimately we will realize benefits that are more important than important dollar savings if we improve personnel management in the Federal Government.

Mr. MARTIN. I have always been interested in people in government. I understand that the Hoover Commission keynoted its report on personnel by saying that the task force had found that the Government's personnel on the whole were competent, faithful and, in numerous fields, distinguished. But they found that there was great need of improvement in the management of personnel. Ever since our 2 major party political system was developed in this country over 150 years ago, the American people have tried to achieve a workable balance between 2 vital requirements in the management of personnel in government. Now, one requirement is that the officials responsible for establishing and defending Government policies and programs—I refer to the noncareer executive—should be selected by the successful party. The other requirement is that there must be an adequate supply of trained, skilled, and nonpartisan employees in the Federal service to provide continuity in the administration of the Government's activities, no matter which party comes into power. Now the correction of this situation is found in the recommendation that there be established a senior civil service composed of politically neutral, well-paid career executives of exceptional skill and experience for continuing service in all departments and agencies. Now this senior civil service personnel would have personal rank and be subordinate only to appointive heads of departments and agencies. Of course, one of the results of the carrying out of this recommendation is that it would attract and hold a better type of young person and would furnish incentives for competent young people to build a successful career in our Federal service.

Mr. SHERMAN. And, incidentally, would reduce the terrifically expensive turnover rate which now ranges between 25 and 35 percent.

Didn't the Commission also find that there existed serious confusion between the activities of officials with political responsibilities and the activities of career officials who remain in the Federal service no matter which political party is in power?

Mr. MARTIN. That is so. Too often, career administrators have been thrust into the position of having to defend agency policies, programs and activities. Now obviously a career official should not be asked to take political responsibility for a program. And of course, on the other hand, purely political officials should not be mixed in with the permanent administrative structure of our career service. And I suppose it was very logical that the Commission recommended that there should be a clear delineation between career and noncareer posts with enough noncareer executives at the department level to take over all political and partisan responsibilities.

The Commission recommended new methods and policies designed to attract and hold skilled employees for careers in public service and to improve morale and reduce the heavy turnover in personnel. These new procedures would include salary increases for top managers, adequate training programs for employees to improve job skills and develop promising workers for advancement; also greater use of merit increases; wider advance public notice and better arrangements for promoting and handling examinations and applications for job openings, and so forth.

There are bills in both houses designed to provide a system for establishing a flexible core of highly competent, nonpolitical career administrators. There is also a bill in the Senate which would modernize the civil service methods and procedures to make careers in Government more attractive at all levels in Federal employment.

Woolen and Worsted Manufacturers Seek Relief From Constantly Rising Foreign Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter directed to President Eisenhower by Mr. John Chupka, general secretary-Treasurer, Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO.

The letter follows:

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION
OF AMERICA, AFL–CIO,
New York, N. Y., July 26, 1957.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Our organization, both independently and in conjunction with American woolen and worsted manufacturers, has repeatedly petitioned your administration for relief from constantly rising foreign competition.

We have pointed out in great detail the effects of unrestricted imports upon this already beleaguered industry. They are reflected by an unending stream of mill liquidations which are shrinking the industry's production capacity to a point where it may no longer be able to fulfill the Nation's need for military fabrics in the event of a national defense emergency. This development, in turn, has produced increasing unemployment and short time for American woolen and worsted workers; I believe I don't have to detail the misery that brings and the damage that does to the national economy.

In view of the industry's extreme distress, I am shocked and dismayed to learn that the United States Army's Uniform Quality Control Bulletin No. 6 lists Japanese concerns as certified suppliers of wool fabrics for American manufacturers of United States Army uniforms.

In behalf of this organization, I strongly protest such a practice and urge you to take steps to rescind it immediately. There certainly is no justification for referring American manufacturers of military uniforms to foreign sources of supply when domestic goods are available in great abundance in our own country.

Very truly yours,

JOHN CHUPKA,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Changing the Stephen Foster Songs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the ridiculous decision of the television and radio networks to ban the age-old folk songs of Stephen Foster unless such lovable words as "darkie," "massa," and "mammy" are eliminated has caused considerable comment in the South and elsewhere. Many letters have been written to editors of newspapers protesting the action as absurd. Mr. Speaker, one of these letters recently appeared in the Orlando, Fla., Sentinal, and I think it such an excellent commentary on the situation that I want to include it in my remarks for other Members and possibly the networks to read. The letter follows:

PALEFACE, INDEED

EDITOR: I see by the papers that the NAACP in conjunction with the major radio and TV networks has decided low and degrading terms such as "darkie," "massa," "mammy" and such slurring phrases as "Old Black Joe" shall hereinafter be verboten on the airways.

I myself have suffered no end from the unwarranted epithets loosely bandied around on radio and TV. Just recently in watching the Last of the Mohicans a character named Uncas (who is a copper-toned aborigine) referred scornfully to my race as "palefaces." Boy, was I ever frustrated and degraded? Paleface, indeed. And only a few nights later reference was made to an Irishman as being a "Mick." To cap the climax it was only one program later that a party from north of the Mason-Dixon line was jeeringly called a "Yankee." They came right out and said it real plainlike. Now that sort of thing has got to stop. Whither are we drifting?

It's difficult to realize what all of this degradation and slurification will do to a guy. Publicly reviled as a "paleface" and with ancestors who are "Micks" and my own daddy having been a Yankee, surely you can see

I'm in one awful fix indeed. Do you suppose NBC or Columbia can help me, or is it too late?

CHARLES E. CROZIER.

CLERMONT.

Kansas Seeks Best Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an article by Bill Colvin of Manhattan, Kans., which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on Thursday, July 11, 1957. This particular article is one of the most comprehensive I have been privileged to read concerning the 1956 and 1957 conditions in southwestern Kansas and I believe it clarifies many details for those who are unfamiliar with the problems of the wheatgrowers, and pays tribute to the great pride we feel in growing the best wheat in the world.

The article follows:

KANSAS SEEKS BEST WHEAT

"Kansas grows the best wheat in the world." Will this boast again be true, as it was during the twenties? Almost always a leader as far as quantity of the bread grain produced was concerned, Kansas based its slogan on fact, as farmers, grain men, and millers acknowledged in those days.

Came the dry early thirties and Kansas, like all the midland grain States, was fortunate if it produced any appreciable quality or quantity in wheat. Then came the big push for production in the years before and during World War II. Kansas lost its claim to fame for growing the best wheat in the world.

NORTH DAKOTA MOVES UP

Generally speaking, the more prolific the variety the lower the quality. And the United States wanted wheat—in quantity. The Sunflower State's millions of acres ideally adapted to wheat production were seeded down to the borrow pits along the roads. The weather pattern changed and assisted in the bountiful harvests.

For 20 years, then, Kansas didn't grow the best wheat but it grew the most. More than any one other State in the Nation. In some years the expanse of flatlands produced one-third of all the wheat grown in the Nation. Now Kansas appears about ready to drop from that rank for the first time in two decades.

North Dakota is the candidate most likely to succeed to the top rung occupied so long by Kansas. And Montana has a good chance of beating out the long-time champion for second. On the basis of the June 10 crop estimates by the Department of Agriculture, North Dakota's wheat yield this year will be 105,629,000 bushels; Kansas' 101,680,000. Montana is in third for the Nation on the basis of the estimate with 98 million bushels in prospect.

With 1957 the best growing year since 1952, why should Kansas fall off its perch? The experts say it's the Sunflower State's heavy participation in the soil bank. Weather always is a major factor in wheat production but these observers point out that with exception of the far western section of the State, fall planting conditions (the Kansas crop is practically all winter wheat planted in the autumn) excelled—or at least were as good—as any of the 3 or 4 previous years.

And there is no doubt that the spring growing months this year were the best since Kansas produced its all-time high of wheat, 307 million bushels, in 1952. So the answer apparently is the soil bank.

PERCENTAGES VARY

Kansas was allotted 10,593,958 acres by the USDA for planting the 1957 wheat crop. At the same time 37,711 acreage reserve agreements were being signed by farmers on 4,260,007 acres of land to be put in the soil bank. That is 40.2 percent of the total amount of all the land allotted to Kansas for wheat production.

The Government's crop experts point out that not all the 4-million-plus acres were taken from wheat production but they agree that practically all of it was. That soil banking land makes for a fairly ripe harvest itself is shown in the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation office figures. The total maximum aggregate payments for the 4,260,007 soil bank acres is $79,406,680, according to the State ASC office in Manhattan, Kans.

Although the statewide average of banked land to that allotted for wheat is roughly 40 percent, there are numerous heavy wheat growing counties where the percentages run considerably higher. Gray County in the high plains of western Kansas was allotted 208,495 acres for wheat. It had 164,794 in the bank—79 percent. Several others are in the 70 percent bracket.

The percentages vary widely from county to county, with Sumner, in the south central section, always either the leader or one of the top ones in production. That county has only 11 percent of its wheatland in the soil bank.

CROP RISK AVERTED

But for the 10 top wheat producing counties, with a total of 1,980,772 acres allotted for wheat, there are 979,307 in the acreage reserve for a percentage of 49. The reason for the wide variance of participation in the soil-bank program is directly traceable to last fall's weather—and weather at seeding time has a heavy bearing on the next harvest season's prospects.

The young wheat plants attain a few inches of growth in the fall and their root formation is pretty well determined then. During the severe winter months, the plants are dormant, as is grass, and with the spring they resume growth toward the eventual harvest in early summer.

In the far western part of the State, fall of 1956 was dry—desperately so; another in a series of drought years. To the farmers in the region prospects didn't appear that they would make back their seed if they sowed wheat. Whereas they might have gambled in the previous years, in 1956 they had the soil bank.

Since the days when Mennonite immigrants from southern Russia introduced Turkey wheat to the State 100 years ago, Kansas has been able to produce the grain in huge quantities and of good quality. Demand for production made it more profitable to plant varieties for bushels. The high protein, hard wheats went by the board. Since World War II no small amount of Kansas wheat has been undesirable for milling.

States such as Nebraska have stressed durum varieties that were snapped up at a premium by the mills for their best flour and other products. In some areas of Kansas the farmers are returning to similar varieties. The research facilities at Kansas State College of Agriculture in Manhattan and its experimental stations throughout the State are doing more and more to develop and improve the hard varieties which are more resistant to the many diseases that attack the better bread grain.

Kansas State, with the only milling industry degree available in the United States, feels it has a heavy stake in promoting the swing back to quality on the grain producing acres of Kansas. Research too is proving that good wheat can be almost as prolific as the less desirable.

If so, Kansas may well find itself being able to boast once again that it grows both the best and the most wheat in the world.

Teaching Self-Reliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the Gas Sector, the official publication of Capitol Post No. 1, the American Legion, Topeka, Kans. This very outstanding post is the home of two former national commanders of the American Legion—Ralph T. O'Neil and Harry W. Colmery. I cannot improve upon the excellent and constructive thoughts presented in this article. I join with the author of this article in commending the American Legion in their child-welfare program for teaching self-reliance to our children. This article merits the attention of all Members of Congress.

The article follows:

TEACHING SELF-RELIANCE

The American Legion, which has been a consistent leader in child welfare for more than 30 years, is kicking around a new idea in youth training, which this newspaper believes has lots of merit. We hope the American Legion can crystallize its thinking into a practical project—but it will call for a lot of cooperation on the part of parents and teachers.

The idea is that American children at all age levels should be taught the pioneer virtue of self-reliance. In other words, the American Legion believes much good would come if children were taught to do things for themselves—to solve their own problems through their own efforts and thinking. It would certainly be a good antidote for the growing trend to pass the buck to our Government on every problem that besets an individual's life.

Self-reliance based on hard work, thrift, and initiative is on the decline in these modern days. Life has become too easy for most of us. We are living in prosperous times. Credit is lavish. Most of us have got into the habit of not denying ourselves any luxury that is within reach at nothing down and so much per month. Frugality has given way to abandoned mortgaging of the future. If things go wrong, there is always the clamor for the Government to step in and solve all problems.

Our children are growing up in this happy-go-lucky environment. They are denied few things that they want. Too many decisions are made for them. They find it unnecessary to plan for themselves. If junior wants the family car for an evening date, he expects dad also to cough up the money for gasoline and expenses—and usually gets it. Raising our youth into a notion that somebody owes them a living isn't conditioning the yougsters to stand on their own feet

and to cope with the inevitable frustrations of adult life.

Our forefathers developed the character to take all difficulties and obstacles in their stride. If they hadn't been self-reliant they would never have been able to wrest a living—and build an empire—from a wilderness.

Let's face the fact. We are raising a generation that is more and more vulnerable to the blandishment of a welfare state, more and more susceptible to swapping their rights and freedoms for messes of benevolent handouts from a paternalistic Government willing to relieve the individual of his personal responsibilities and decisions.

We commend American Legion thinking on teaching self-reliance to our children, to all parents and teachers. A good place to start is to require junior to earn his own gasoline and expense money when he wants to borrow the family car.

Let's get back to standing on our own feet. Let's throw away some of these Government crutches, or we will eventually lose the ability to walk like free men.

The place to start is with junior at home and in school, and by good example.

Mr. Wilde's Philosophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the people of Connecticut can well be proud of the recent discussion of the possibility that Mr. Frazar B. Wilde was being considered for the post of Under Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Wilde possesses one of the outstanding financial minds in the United States today and it is most regrettable that he has said that he is not available for this position.

I feel it most appropriate, Mr. Speaker, to place in the RECORD at this time an exposition of the philosophy of Frazar B. Wilde, which I believe deserves the consideration of the Members of the Congress as well as the people of this great Nation.

MR. WILDE'S PHILOSOPHY

Frazar B. Wilde, president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., says he was one of the several men who were asked whether they would be available for nomination as Undersecretary of the Treasury. It is understandable that his name would come up in Washington when the filing of this important post was being discussed.

Mr. Wilde is a veteran fighter against inflation. With rising Federal and State budgets, a reocrd cost-of-living index and a gradual but steady increase in per capita income, the United States is in need of some kind of protection against sudden deflation.

Five years ago Mr. Wilde contributed a guest editorial for this page, Money and Inflation. Here are some quotations from it, which economic developments since it was published make particularly apposite:

"If, somehow, the dollars all of us have are doubled overnight, we shall be no better off. The supply of things we buy with these dollars will not have increased. Prices will rise and we shall be able to buy no more food, clothing, cars, or houses than before.

"The production of our country in 1941 was estimated * * * to total $126 billion, while in 1951 the comparable figure will be about $325 billion. [The figures for 1951 had not been announced in January 1952 when this editorial was published.] These figures seem to indicate that we now have 2 to 3 times the quantity of food, clothing, automobiles, etc., that we had in 1941. Common experience indicates that this is not true. * * * These national product figures are deceiving. Our total production * * * has not increased to the same extent as our dollar measurement of it. * * *

"Inflation not only distorts out statistics, but it is cruel and unjust to those who live on fixed incomes or whose incomes do not increase as rapidly as prices. Part of the inflation difficulty was hard to avoid, but much of it need not have happened. Why did it happen? Because too many of us have not tried hard enough to understand what inflation really is, what its causes are, and how to prevent it, and consequently we have not given our representatives in Washington the guidance they need. * * *

"The best way to prevent (inflation) or to cure it is to increase production, and this we must do to our utmost. In a rearmament economy, however, this alone cannot lick the problem because a great many of the goods we produce are for war purposes. Therefore, if we are to maintain the buying power of the dollar, we must attack the other side of the problem. We must, as a group, cut our spending. As individuals we can and must spend less and save more.

"On the national front we can urge our representatives to insist upon better fiscal, credit, and debt management policies. What do these terms mean? Essentially, that Government expenditures be maintained at a level which will be equaled by income and that the amount of credit used by us as consumers be strictly rationed.

"Direct controls may be temporarily helpful * * * but they cannot be successful for long in restraining basic inflationary forces. Furthermore, direct controls long continued produce distortions and are not consistent with the maintenance of a free, democratic society. If we are to achieve the dual goal of adequate rearmament and sound money, we must do it the hard way."

"Rearmament" has now been replaced by "defense" as a term for the reason for military spending. Except for that slight change, Mr. Wilde's editorial of 1952 might have been written yesterday.

The American economy is still basically sound, but it needs firm direction. Mr. Wilde is an able, experienced financier and economist with a conservative attitude toward spending of all kinds, public and private. It is easy to understand why his name came up.

The Late S. Homer Covey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to pay homage to the memory of one of Texas' truly outstanding citizens. I refer to the tragic passing last week of my good friend, S. Homer Covey, of Fort Worth.

We are all here on this earth for an extremely short time, the mere flicker of an eyelid in the broad sweep of history. Most of us, I fear, leave few lasting contributions as memorials to our efforts. Occasionally, however, a person emerges whose life was a selfless effort expended in behalf of his church, his neighbors, his community, and his country. Such a person was Homer Covey.

His great contributions to Fort Worth and to Texas insure that his memory will shine on untarnished for many years, and it will take redoubled efforts of a great many lesser men to compensate for the loss his death will bring to southwestern civil and religious endeavors.

Our feelings at this time are well summarized in a recent Fort Worth Star-Telegram editorial, and it is with deep regret and profound respect that I call this editorial today to the attention of my colleagues and the American people.

The editorial follows:

S. HOMER COVEY

Few men have left a more impressive calendar of civil and religious achievement than S. Homer Covey, who died Saturday after a long illness.

Mr. Covey, who rose to success from lowly origin as a farm boy in central Texas, summed up his career in his statement to a Baptist preacher in Dallas that "you've only got two more moves to make—to Fort Worth and to heaven." When Mr. Covey sold out his business in July 1955, he planned to devote all his activities to civic and religious work, but illness frustrated that plan.

High spots in a fruitful career were three terms as president of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, the only instance of that recognition in this city; the Exchange Club Golden Deeds award for 1952; and the presidency of the Baptist brotherhoods of Tarrant County and Broadway Baptist Church. No civic cause in his community lacked his liberality and active participation.

His answer to commendation for that service was that he had been honored "for simply doing what I think people ought to do." Duty thus was to Homer Covey a privilege. His cheerfulness was a tonic to his associates, and his example an inspiration to many. His teeth-rattling handshake was the trademark of a citizen who found so much in life by giving so much to others and to worthy causes.

Tyranny: Where To Look for It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL W. KEENEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. KEENEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an address given by the Honorable Lowell B. Mason, former member of the Federal Trade Commission, to the 85th Republican Club. His wealth of experience in Government service eminently qualifies him for keen observation and I recommend his address for reading to the membership of the House.

The address follows:

ADDRESS OF LOWELL B. MASON TO THE 85TH REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL GROUP, SPEAKERS' DINING ROOM IN THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 24, 1957

I have not been able to find a good account of just what a Congressman must do. A search at the Library of Congress on this subject uncovered six speeches on What Makes a Good Congressman, but all of them

were copies of a single eulogy delivered in 1916 on the retirement of Champ Clark. As the speeches were delivered 4 or 5 years apart, no one caught on to the repetition.

Of course, there is plenty of material on how to get elected and no one—but no one—gets more advice on pending measures than you distinguished Members of the Federal Legislature. Yet, in spite of all this, your oath of office is completely devoid of directives, instructions, or outlines as to how you should support the Constitution. Once you are sworn in you may go to bed and pull the covers over your head for 2 years, with no one to command you otherwise.

However, Professor Dexter, of MIT, points out in his recently published thesis, Congressmen and the People They Listen To, this fascinating thing about your job: "No matter if you work 24 hours a day, there is too much legislation for any Congressman to pay attention to most of it." Then there is the personal service for constituents, which must make great demands on your time.

This is necessary and important for, "popular impressions to the contrary, a fair proportion of those services involve rectification of injustice which no one but a Congressman can or will do, to eliminate." This means that what you do must be a matter of choice, for none can do all that his constituents want done.

Undoubtedly, many of you allocate a great portion of your time to fighting governmental tyranny.

Of all the duties pressing upon the shoulders of a Congressman, I believe there are none so important today as that of protecting the people of his country against tyranny.

In the hopes of reducing your time spent in that field and perhaps to increase your efficiency I respectfully offer a few rules of thumb on where to look for tyranny and how to quickly recognize it in its subtlest form.

In the first place, we must stop gloating over how much better off we are than other people.

You may remember Dickens' description of Mr. Pecksniff as he sat with his two daughters, Merry and Cheery, inside the stagecoach en route to London one cold, wintry day. Mr. Pecksniff observed that the Lord in His infinite wisdom, provided seats outside as well as inside the stagecoach so that those who were fortunate enough to be inside could better appreciate the warmth and comfort of their own lot.

Seth Pecksniff was a sanctimonious old rascal and I don't mean to suggest we consider our own good fortune only when comparing it to Hungary's slavery.

But while it is nice to be satisfied with our Government I doubt if we should be content about it because the horrid question keeps recurring—"Are we in America actually riding on the inside of the coach of liberty, and if so, for how long?"

John Lord O'Brian, in his National Security and Individual Freedom, sounds the warning of "a constant trend in governmental policy which is in conflict with our traditional standards of justice and with the fundamental principles of American fair play."

Listen to Herbert Hoover last August 21:

"In our generation we have seen mankind's hope of freedom threatened * * * by * * * the spread of a host of new ideas dangerous to free men.

"* * * Among these are the ideas of * * * centralization of government away from men's control * * *.

"Today the greatest issue in America and all mankind is the encroachments of Government to master our lives."

The answer to these disturbing thoughts lies not in gloating over the protections to liberty our ancestors left us, but in a serious and perhaps tiresome audit to see how many are being carried on our books as assets which we really don't own any more or which are heavily mortgaged without our knowledge.

We should be fed up with all this bragging about freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, to petition Congress, and the other freedoms that are on everybody's tongue today. We might as well brag about freedom from the guillotine, from the farming out of taxes, freedom from the ducking stool and the stocks.

Let's get up to date. The old tyrannies, at least in the United States, are long gone. Nobody quarters troops in our homes in times of peace. In fact, today's tyrannies cannot be identified by any of the outward earmarks that made yesterday's tyranny so easy to recognize.

I wish we could mount all tyranny on a black horse and all liberty on a white one. Unfortunately, the battle is not always between bad and good. It is often between good and good, with the choice resting not on goals which may in both cases be the same, but on the route taken to achieve them.

It is the route you have to watch, so you can save a lot of time knowing where to look. This involves the applictaion of a very simple rule that I have been expounding for the last dozen years.

Everybody knows Adam Smith's law "Competition is the Life of Trade" and Gresham's law "Bad Money Drives Good Money Out" then there is the law of "Supply and Demand" and the law of "Diminishing Returns" these need no explanation. Only recently the London Economist presented a new law called Parkinson's law. Briefly, Parkinson's law is that bureaucratic work expands so as to fill whatever time is available. This law was evolved by a British civil servant, but recently the National City Bank of New York applied it to the increase of Government workers in our own country. It submitted figures from the National Bureau of Economic Research which found that between 1900 to 1950 the total labor force arose about 125 percent, while the number of Government employees increased almost 500 percent. Today 1 out of every 8 works for the State compared with 1 out of 25 back in 1900.

This means in Federal bureaucracy alone, we have 2½ million employees.

How can a Congressman survey the acts of 2½ million Government employees in his search for tyranny? The answer is very simple—by a series of eliminations.

But first: We cannot read national significance into every petty injustice imposed on a man.

The world is full of injustices. People are always getting thrown in jail who don't deserve to be there, and the streets are full of rascals who should be imprisoned but aren't.

As a matter of fact, a study of the administration of criminal law would be about the most unreliable and misleading method that could be used to get a true barometric reading of a country's trend either toward or away from totalitarianism.

Russia during her worst period of militant communism treated those charged with crimes of violence and offenses involving moral turpitude with tolerance and circumspection. On the other hand, those accused of violating the State's political economic commands were sentenced to death or exiled to Siberia without any semblance of trial as we know the word here in America.[1]

It is my opinion that the most effective way totalitarianism can ever be achieved is through complete governmental control of the common everyday acts of all people—not the extraordinary uncommon indiscretions of the few. What field of activity concerns nearly everybody? Business trade and commerce, of course.

It is my thesis that court decisions are being quietly built up today in the world of commerce which can be used as precedents in the future to justify and excuse totalitarian tactics in all phases of a man's private life.

An amusing and certainly an up-to-date example comes to mind in your present legislative problem on civil rights. Whether you were for or against the so-called civil rights bill, certainly most of you must have been greatly impressed by the fact that supporters of the bill urged that there are many precedents setting aside the right of trial by jury.

But suppose you wished to set aside any other judicial concept firmly rooted in our Anglo-American system of justice. For instance, (1) that every man is presumed innocent until proven guilty, (2) or the statutes of limitations which prevent a man from being charged with offenses dating so far back that he would be unable to marshall testimony in his favor, (3) or prohibitions against ex-post-facto trials, that is, Congress may not legislate a man into jail, (4) or against conviction by hearsay, (5) or the requirement that findings of facts against a man must be made on legally acceptable evidence, (6) or the right of everyone to have his day in court, (7) or the prohibition against prosecutors as judges in their own cases.

These and many other fundamental concepts of Anglo-American jurisprudence are the breath of life in America.

I shall not burden you in this short discussion with a citation of the administrative law cases approved by the courts which give precedents for the violation of everyone of these rights. They are in every law library in the country, if you care to check. You will find these precedents established in a very narrow orbit of Government agencies dealing with the relationship between business and the state, rather than in the relationship between persons and the state, as Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY so cogently pointed out in the Senate last Tuesday and your own Congressman RUSSELL W. KEENEY in the House the month before.

I'll give you precedents by page and docket in administrative law decisions in business cases wiping out and setting aside every one of the fundamental rights I have enumerated above. Using them you may do anything you want to do to people's private lives.

Where do you find them?

Don't bother to look for precedents justifying tyranny in those agencies of Government which are authorized to use definite means to accomplish definite ends such as pumping water, delivering mail, hauling garbage, collecting taxes, building streets, and caring for the sick. You may find favoritism there. Veniality? Maybe. Waste? Probably. But tyranny? Forget it.

Tyranny comes only when the agency of Government is brought into life under such a broad statutory command that it not only invents the means by which it accomplishes the legislative goal, but because the legislative aim is so broad, the agency often shapes

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[1] Acts against economic orders of the Soviet Government are known as counterrevolutionary crimes. Under section 46 of the Criminal Code a distinction is made between these offenses and "all other crimes." For economic offenses the court may not reduce but can increase penalties up to death. For "all other crimes" the courts may reduce the penalty but may not go above a certain specified maximum.

Under section 58 of the Soviet Code, "any act intended to weaken * * * the basic economic * * * conquest" of the state falls within the first category (the Soviet Union—Vladimir Gsovski).

its own goal to fit its own end. Here's where Mason's law comes in. Parkinson's law says bureaucracy will arrogate to itself all employees available, under the budget allowance regardless of the limitation of the task. Mason's law holds that bureaucracy will arrogate to itself all power available under a statute regardless of the limitations against tyranny in the Constitution. This it will do so quietly and unobtrusively through decisions at the lowest rung of the judicial ladder where the issues seldom meet the eye of the public. How many people ever see a cease and desist order of a quasi-judicial commission except the few affected by it? As Biencourt points out in The Coming Caesars:

"Americans will accept immense, almost autocratic power over them so long as they do not have to see it in a transcendent authority. * * * What they will always seek to cut down is not effective power but its awe-inspiring character."

There is nothing very aweinspiring in a minor agency's quasi-judicial decision, nor does it publicly appear to have transcendant authority, but:

"Through the gap thus opened between appearance and reality, the coming Caesars will march in if left free to do so."

That old and trite saying, "Constant vigilance is the price of liberty" needs amendment. It takes more than vigilance—it takes the vigilance of those who know where to look and can do something about it—you—the elected representatives of the people. Otherwise it will be as the Times put it:

"From remonstrances despised, from grievances treated with ridicule, from powerless men oppressed with impunity and overbearing, and tolerated with complacence, springs the tyrannical usage which generations of wise and good men may hereafter perceive and lament and resist in vain; hence the necessity of denouncing with unwearied and even troublesome perseverance a single act of oppression. The country has allowed it, and when it is at last provoked to late indignation, it finds itself gagged with the record of its own ill compunction."

This quote is not from the New York Times. It's from the London Times of 1846. It is an old forecast but more valid today than a century ago.

Oil Industry Should Hike Crude, Refined Oil Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following newspaper article which appeared in the Tulsa Tribune, Tuesday, July 30, 1957, entitled "Oil Industry Should Hike Crude, Refined Oil Prices," by Andrew M. Rowley:

OIL INDUSTRY SHOULD HIKE CRUDE, REFINED OIL PRICES

(By Andrew M. Rowley)

The petroleum industry should have increased prices of crude oil and refined-oil products effective July 1. The amount? Small, probably between 5 and 10 cents a barrel on crude oil. But the price should have been advanced. This dispite the fact Senator O'MAHONEY still contends he will start an investigation of the increases in crude-oil and refined-oil prices last January.

In this column of last January 28, headed "The Reason for Investigations: If Oil Handled Increases as Others Do, Congress Wouldn't Bat an Eye," we urged a new policy in the matter of making price adjustments for crude oil and refined oil products; that is a new policy as far as the oil business is concerned, but not new for other industries. We urged that oil companies do as the steel industry and other do—when wages are increased, announce prices of products must be increased at the same time and put increased prices into effect.

We pionted out that steel prices were increased 4 times during the period crude oil prices were raised just once, but Congress started investigating the petroleum industry on that one advance while nothing was even said about the 4 substantial raises in steel prices.

The reason, we said, was that in advance of decisions of wage increases, the steel industry announced any increase in pay for workers must be followed by higher prices for steel. So, people expected the raises in steel prices when they were announced—and they were made effective the very day the wage increases went into effect—so no one was surprised and no one complained. Not a peep was heard from Congress.

But, when the petroleum industry raised prices of crude oil last January followed by a 1 cent a gallon increase in gasoline prices—the first crude price raise in 3½ years and only the second in 9 years—numerous bills were introduced into Congress immediately to investigate the whole oil business. During that period between crude price raises, steel prices, a most important factor in oil industry operations, had gone up substantially 4 times and pay for oil industry workers had been advanced 3 times.

Wages in the steel industry go up and prices are advanced immediately and this happens every time there is a hike in pay for steel workers. But the petroleum industry is investigated when it raises prices once after 3 pay hikes and 4 raises in prices of one of the principal items in its operations.

We pointed these things out in the column of January 28. The American Petroleum Institute had that column reprinted and sent reprints to all members of the Oil Information Committee throughout the country.

We feel the column influenced, to some extent, action of refiners in June when they raised wholesale prices of gasoline about two-tenths of a cent a gallon, giving as the reason the 6 percent increase in pay granted workers as of May 1.

Anyway, this was the first time we can remember when a pay raise was given as reason for an advance in oil prices.

Weeks ago, the steel industry announced that if wages to workers were advanced, prices of steel would have to be advanced. That was the usual policy of the steel industry, to make such an announcement. True to form, and as had been the case every other time wages were hiked, the steel industry raised prices of steel, effective July 1, immediately following the raise in pay to workers.

Everyone, including Members of Congress, expected the increase in steel prices, so nothing much has been said about it and Congress has not started any investigation of the steel industry.

Oil company executives should have announced at the time steel made its announcement, that any increase in prices of steel must result in an advance in crude oil and refined oil prices because steel is one of the biggest costs in petroleum industry operations.

The advance in steel prices, on oil industry tubular goods and the types of steel used in the oil and gas business, averages $9.26 a ton. The industry uses approximately 4 million tons of steel products a year. That means an increase in costs of just this one item of $37 million a year.

The 6 percent increase in pay to oil workers averaged about 4 cents a barrel in crude oil production. The industry should have raised crude oil prices by that amount when the wage hike went into effect May 1.

As we said in the column of January 28 "The petroleum industry should raise its prices more often, not just as a policy, but as often as increased costs of operations warrant higher prices. It is silly for an industry to go 3½ years absorbing greatly increased costs of operations without raising prices of products."

We have been encouraged in our stand by the attitude of Robert L. Wood, president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America. In the July issue of the IPAA monthly, he says: "The raise in steel prices follows immediately the recent increase in oil industry wages. These two developments alone should be reflected in an upward adjustment of about 5 cents per barrel in crude oil prices which have consistently lagged behind increasing costs since World War II."

The Aluminum Company of America announced today an increase in prices of aluminum of 1 cent a pound effective August 1 when wage increases to workers goes into effect. The wire story says "The hike in aluminum prices was expected."

Oil men, take note.

Wisconsin—A Great State in Which To Live a Happy Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Nation's old-age and survivors insurance system is a great instrument of justice for tens of millions of Americans.

There are, however, inadequacies in it; and it is my hope that next year we shall still further improve the social security program.

Naturally, it is a source of pride to me that my own State of Wisconsin was a pioneer in providing for those who might not be in a position to look after themselves.

Wisconsin was the first in the Nation to provide for aid to the disabled—in 1945.

Going back further, Wisconsin was the second State in the Nation to provide for old-age assistance—in 1925.

Together with a number of other States, Wisconsin was the second in the Nation to provide aid to dependent children—all the way back in 1913.

And, together with other States, Wisconsin pioneered in the program of aid to the blind—back in 1907.

Wisconsin has always regarded its greatest resource as its people.

In this connection, I was pleased to note a very splendid report on the part of Mr. Thomas J. Lucas, director of the division of public assistance, of Wisconsin's State Department of Public Welfare. The report is entitled "Wisconsin

Travelers on Life's Highway—Encouraged by Your Help From Day to Day."

The report shows how Wisconsin helps the inexperienced travelers, such as dependent children; the aging travelers; sightless travelers; infirm travelers; and others, so as to enable them to realize for themselves their true birthright as Americans.

I send to the desk excerpts from the report. It represents a summary of services for the biennium period from July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1956.

I ask unanimous consent that these excerpts, preceded by a list of the able persons who serve in the Division of Public Assistance, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I hope that other States will continue to be inspired by the pacemaking of Wisconsin in the advancement of their human resources, as well.

There being no objection, the list and excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, WILBUR J. SCHMIDT, DIRECTOR—DIVISION OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, THOMAS J. LUCAS, DIRECTOR, CYNTHIA L. STOKES, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

SOCIAL SERVICES

Field administration: Joseph A. Kexel, supervisor.

Administrative reviews: John Norby, supervisor.

Staff development: Joseph O. Wilson, supervisor.

Medical services: Edward Lawver, supervisor.

Standards and procedures: Aimee Weinstock, supervisor.

Institution program services: C. Raymond Bowers, consultant.

Audits and accounts: Joseph E. Bires, chief accountant.

Administrative services: Robert C. Graewin, administrative assistant.

Statistics: Chester J. Best, chief statistician.

Legal: William A. McNown, chief examiner.

District supervisors—public assistance: Lester Fry, Ashland; Lyman C. Haunschild, Eau Claire; Russell A. Duket, Fond du Lac; Frank L. Fieschko, Green Bay; Michael A. Casey, La Crosse; Robert S. Baldwin, Madison (1); Kenneth W. Kringle, Madison (2); George McDowell, Milwaukee; Robert J. Walsh, Rhinelander; Robert Andrews, Stevens Point.

Services to the blind: E. Leonard Hoskins, supervisor.

Social services: Philip Dumbleton, supervisor.

Business enterprises: Douglas I. Segaard, supervisor.

Vocational rehabilitation: A. H. Kummerow, supervisor.

Employment counselor: Carl Williams, Milwaukee.

Home teachers: Mrs. Doris Baer, Ashland; William P. Carney, Green Bay; Richard J. Hunt, Madison; Gloria M. Ristow, Milwaukee; Gordon Haldiman, Milwaukee.

Vocational rehabilitation counselors: Lester Loken, Eau Claire; Omar L. Miron, Green Bay; G. R. Maki, Madison; Francis F. Awe, Milwaukee.

THE INEXPERIENCED TRAVELER

These are our children, upon them rests the future of Wisconsin and the Nation, for them, even under normal conditions, the road ahead is not always a smooth one, loss of the father's support because of death, divorce, incapacitation or imprisonment makes traveling the more hazardous.

A TYPICAL STORY

When you are 7 years old it is hard to understand why your father must die. Death is difficult even though sickness has been in the home for a long time.

Jimmy tried to comfort his mother but there wasn't much he could do besides helping with the housework, which he had been doing ever since his father had been brought home from the hospital 2 years before with both legs paralyzed following a severe automobile accident. There had been no insurance and the hospital bills had drained the family savings. Jimmy knew his mother was upset because she cried often, especially when there was little food in the house or the rent was due. She tried working for several weeks, leaving Jimmy and his sister with a neighbor in the afternoon. But her shoulder hurt so badly that she had to give up the work. The doctor called it bursitis and warned her to rest as much as possible.

There followed days when Jimmy and his sister scarcely ate unless neighbors brought in food. Their shoes wore out. Their coats became threadbare. Then one afternoon after school Jimmy came home to find a strange woman talking to his mother. He heard only the last few works as the woman was leaving—"They'll pay it back some day by being good citizens." Soon after, monthly checks arrived. Jimmy and his sister got the clothes they needed. They began to eat more vegetables and fruit and milk.

Jimmy grew into sturdy adolescence, made the school honor roll. After graduation he worked in the town's factory and his sister worked in the local department store, both helping to support their mother. Thus came an end to the monthly check that had made it possible for this once-forlorn family to remain together, giving each other strength and security.

THE CLIMAX

During June 1956 there were 21,185 children like Jimmy, living in their own homes or in the homes of relatives, receiving financial assistance in the form of aid to dependent children at an average of $145.09 per family per month—including payments to vendors for medical, hospital, dental and other services. The average monthly money payment amounted to $129.59 per family and $35.49 per person. In many instances the payments included the adult caretaker and often the incapacitated father.

However, 1,645 children were even more unfortunate than Jimmy in that they had no parents or relatives to provide a home for them, making it necessary for them to be placed in foster homes at an average cost of $55.14 per child per month. The help given to these children came at a crucial time, at a moment when the molding of these children's lives might have taken distorted shapes. The money was important in itself, the total cost for the biennium amounting to $27,195,899. But, beyond that, it showed that someone cared for these children. Eventually, they too, will grow into adults, taxpayers, citizens, paying back to their State and Nation many times over the aid they are now receiving, not alone in money but much more in good citizenship and enlightened participation in community life.

EDUCATIONAL AID

Jimmy was on the high-school honor roll, the type of student who would have benefitted from a college education. It is possible that his earnings were insufficient to permit even small monthly savings with which to continue his education. It is possible, and very probable, that he was not aware that the State legislature has provided funds from which loans may be made to needy and qualified Wisconsin boys and girls who would do otherwise be unable to continue their education.

During the biennium, loans were made to 264 students in various colleges in the State to the total amount of $70,899 and an average of $268 per student. Without such loans, these young boys and girls would not have had the opportunity to prepare themselves for such professions as medicine, engineering, and public welfare, in all of which the need for workers is so great at this time. That this temporary financial assistance is not only appreciated but paying off in dollars and cents is evidenced by the fact that during the biennium, former students who are now practicing their professions, paid back into the State treasury a total of $50,786 as principal and $5,029 as interest.

THE AGING "TRAVELERS"

These are our aged citizens who yesterday helped to build a better State and Nation. Now some of them are ill or in need, without friends or relatives able to help them as they approach the end of the road. It is well that we provide for them a safer and happier highway.

A TYPICAL STORY

Mrs. Scott, in her early seventies, is a widow. Shortly after her marriage her husband bought land which they cleared for farming in a central Wisconsin county. They were respected and active citizens in their community. Mr. Scott served in various township offices and at one time was a member of the county board. Two children were born to them but died in childhood.

Over the years the Scotts improved their farm buildings and bought more land. Following several years of poor health and low income, a mortgage on the farm was foreclosed. They moved to a nearby village and Mr. Scott worked at odd jobs while his wife did catering and housework for families in the village.

At 66 years of age Mr. Scott applied for old-age assistance since he could no longer work because of health reasons and his wife's earnings were insufficient to meet the medical expenses. When Mr. Scott died, his wife was 60 years old. She moved to a single housekeeping room to cut down expenses and continued catering and part-time domestic work for various families. She added to her income by cooking at church suppers. When she was 68 years old, she applied for old-age assistance because she was no longer able to do hard and regular work. She is in fairly good health now and still interested in her church activities and keeps her social contacts with many long-time friends in the community.

THE CLIMAX

During the month of June 1956, 41,400 persons were receiving old-age assistance. The average grant per person was $67.43, and the average monthly money payment was $53.18 per person. The total cost of the program was $65,329,744 for the biennium.

COUNTY HOME CONSULTANT SERVICE

The population of Wisconsin has doubled since 1900, while the number of individuals 65 years of age and older has quadrupled. About one-sixth of this aged population is found in the county homes or private nursing homes of the State. Many aged persons who have enjoyed an active and vigorous life in their younger years find it difficult to adjust to isolation, economic insecurity, spiritual insecurity and the infirmities of advanced age, thus developing new problems for society. This resultant loss in human and economic resources as well as the emptiness in the lives of many of these senior citizens was recognized by the 1953 legislature which provided for an activity consultant in the division of public assistance to assist county home administrators in planning an activity program.

Recreation has been defined as finding joy in living. In developing planned ac-

ivity based on the emotional and environmental needs of the residents of the county homes of the State, an effort has been made to provide a program offering: a sense of belonging; companionship; pleasure; adjustment to change of environment; security within their environment; a feeling of usefulness and that of being needed; retaining and renewing old skills; stimulating curiosity and a desire to learn new skills; an opportunity to continue and practice the religious faith of their own choosing; to develop opportunities for the residents' expression in social communication.

SERVICES PROVIDED

During the biennium 17 workshops were held to train volunteer workers to enlarge the services and 23 sessions dealing with activity training were offered to employees of county institutions to enable them to do more effective work with volunteers in the activity program in general. The division issues the Oldsters newsletter bimonthly, which contains information on hobbies, social recreation, news about activities within the county homes, and information regarding books and sources of material. It is mailed to all county home administrators, county welfare directors, supervisors, and others interested in the activity program within the county home.

PROGRESS

As of June 30, 1956, 30 of the 36 county homes had availed themselves of the activity program; 15 had definitely planned programs and 24 had programs in the process of development, offering organized activities to enrich the lives of some 2,500 residents; 9 had developed active volunteer groups to aid in offering their residents a more complete activity program. In 3 homes volunteers rendered 9,500 hours of work, bringing happiness to residents residing within the institutions reporting.

THE SIGHTLESS TRAVELERS

Combined with other handicaps or disability, partial or complete loss of vision may be the culminating cause of dependency and the need for society's help and support. With courage and undimmed spiritual vision many individuals have scaled and gone past this surmountable obstacle called blindness. For those in need of aid in satisfying their basic wants and for those of an age and will to venture into the fields of attainment, hence independence, Wisconsin maintains a diversified program of aids and services.

A TYPICAL STORY

Mr. Jones was carefully weeding a small flowerbed as a caller came up to the house and spoke to him. He offered a cheery greeting, calling the visitor by name. This activity of itself does not seem to be unusual except that Mr. Jones is blind. He distinguishes the flowers from the weeds by feeling the leaves and blossoms and recognizes visitors by the sound of their voices.

About 6 years ago, at the age of 56, he lost his eyesight while dynamiting stumps on his small farm. Medical science could do nothing to restore his sight. When medical expenses exhausted his meager savings, he applied for blind assistance. When he first came to the welfare department for help, he was encouraged to carry out his idea of trading his farm for a cottage in the village. He walks to the store and church unaided except for a white cane. A small radio and talking books obtained from services for the blind give him many hours of pleasure.

When a serious illness confined him to a hospital, he worried about the expense until he learned that his medical needs would be paid through the blind assistance program. He is back in his own home, caring for himself, participating in community and church activities, and finding many ways to make his life pleasant and interesting in spite of his lack of sight.

THE CLIMAX

During June 1956 1,112 persons were receiving a grant of blind aid. The average monthly grant per person was $74.05, while the average monthly money payment was $59.43 per person. The total cost of the program amounted to $1,857,211 for the period July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1956.

SERVICES TO THE BLIND—A TYPICAL STORY

Eddie had made his living driving a cab. He had no more than normal worries about supporting his young family of five. But one morning he awoke to a world of persistent haze and stabbing pain in his eyes. His eye doctor told him he had contracted "glaucoma." Like a bad dream, there followed months of intensive treatment and emergency surgery. Medical science did its best but finally he had to face the shattering facts. Eddie had no job, his savings were exhausted and he was totally and permanently blind. It was no consolation to be told that just such a thing could happen to anyone.

Then a lot of things began to happen—good things that Eddie, through his taxes, had helped pay for but which he never knew existed. Through public assistance his family was provided with funds to meet the basic costs of living. He was referred to the Department. Its representative who began to visit him quite frequently was himself blind. It wasn't easy at first, but they talked hard facts about the problems which are faced by others like Eddie. Soon he was being taught many things which made him increasingly less dependent on others. He learned to type and could write letters faster than before. He learned Braille so that he could read. He learned to travel alone about his neighborhood with a white cane. He began to read more books than he ever had before. He found it more pleasurable to listen to a talking book than it had been to read a printed book.

All this was a good start, but Eddie wanted somehow to earn a living again, so he talked it over with people at an agency serving the blind. He found to his surprise that except for the secretaries most of these people were blind themselves. One of them took him into the workshop and showed him a machine which he thought he could learn to run. He could, and he worked there for a month. He realized vaguely, too, that the agency was doing many things during this period to learn his abilities, disabilities, aptitudes, and interests. Then he entered a trades school where he took a special intensive course in the operation of machine tools. All of his training expenses were paid for him and his family's needs were met through public assistance during the training period. A week after completing the course he was offered and accepted a good job as a punch-press operator with a manufacturing concern.

Today, a year after he lost his sight, Eddie supports his family independently on good wages. He is equally independent in his traveling, reading, and writing. For hobbies and interests he bowls in the Blind Bowling League, swims with a group at the YMCA, and has developed new friends all over the country through corresponding with them by tape recordings. His interests and activities, while radically changed, rival those of any normally sighted person. All the services Eddie and his family received were provided through tax funds.

FACTS CONCERNING SERVICES TO THE BLIND FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1, 1954, TO JUNE 30, 1956

Seven thousand nine hundred and twelve contacts were made with 3,606 blind persons for instruction in typing braille, homemaking, crafts, and travel.

One hundred and eighty white canes were distributed free of charge.

Eight hundred and ninety-five talking book machines were distributed as new or replacements, bringing the total to 1,247, or 1 in every 4 blind persons in the State.

One hundred and thirteen persons were trained in trade schools, colleges or on the job.

One hundred and forty-one blind persons were placed in occupations ranging from unskilled to skilled and professional positions.

Two hundred and seventy-three persons examined low-vision aids to determine whether magnification helped them.

Sixty thousand three hundred dollars was spent on these and other services to the blind persons.

Twenty-two State-owned vending machines were operated by blind persons; $490,000 in merchandise sold; $96,600 netted by operators; $4,600 in average earnings per worker.

One hundred and ten blind persons were employed at the workshop; $229,000 in manufactured products sold; $121,636 paid to the blind workers; $13,408 in wages paid to 12 homeworkers, at a cost to the State of $103,600 in maintaining the workshop.

THE INFIRM TRAVELERS

The totally and permanently disabled are a small segment of the total population. However, they require special care and consideration in order that each individual may utilize his limited abilities to the fullest extent possible.

A TYPICAL STORY

Robert M. has required constant and continuous care all of his life. At the time of his birth, 62 years ago, medical science had made little progress in the treatment of cerebral palsy and modern methods of physical and vocational rehabilitation were not available in his case. His mother cared for him until she was 81 years of age and then a housekeeper was employed to assist her. When the mother's financial resources were exhausted, she was given old age assistance and Robert has received disabled aid since the beginning of the program in Wisconsin.

After his mother's death, Robert wished to remain in his own home instead of moving to a nursing home. Robert is mentally alert, has friends in the village and is able to get around town in a wheelchair. A male relative, who is partially handicapped, agreed to keep house and care for him. The caretaker is a congenial companion and a good cook and housekeeper. A home care allowance is provided to supplement the disabled aid payment and this plan enabled Robert to remain in his home community and to continue his usual mode of living.

THE CLIMAX

During June 1956, 1,210 persons were receiving a grant to the totally and permanently disabled. The average monthly grant per person was $102.25 while the average monthly money payment was $65.89 per person. The total cost of the program amounted to $2,572,613 for the period July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1956.

OTHER UNFORTUNATE "TRAVELERS"

These are the people who have suffered some social or economic setback, often temporary in nature, which makes it difficult to go on without financial help. They do not qualify for assistance under any of the social security aid programs. Lawmakers have recognized since territorial days that illness in a family, industrial layoffs, strikes, and other maladjustments of our social and economic system may cause financial reverses. Local public relief for dependent persons has been on our statute books as long as our State has existed.

A TYPICAL STORY

The Jones family is about as normal as most families, but it is larger than many, and

the monthly income just manages to cover family needs for food, housing, clothing, and other items of daily need. Consequently, when the doctor discovered that Joan, the youngest daughter, had leukemia, the whole family was thrown into a state of shocked consternation.

Little could be done for Joan except for a prolonged period of hospitalization and the use of new and expensive drugs in an attempt to halt the ravages of the disease. At first the family tried to carry the mounting expense for medical care by reducing expenditures for other things to a bare minimum, but as the medical bills rose higher and higher and food and clothing supplies grew shorter and shorter, Bill Jones had no recourse but to go to the city to ask for help.

For the 3 months left of Joan's short life, the family's misery was reduced somewhat by the absence of worry about medical bills, and when her suffering was ended by death, the financial burden of the grieving family was lessened by the fact that it did not have a crushing load of debt to make life harder.

THE CLIMAX

During the month of June 1956, 19,928 persons received public financial aid in the form of general relief from Wisconsin units of government. This aid, which averaged $31.06 per month per person and totaled $18,123,641, for the biennium, helped many of the families aided to become self-supporting units in the community.

STATE DEPENDENTS

This term "State dependents" refers to those dependent persons who do not have a legal settlement within any county in this State and who have resided in the State less than 1 year. The granting of relief to such dependent persons is a responsibility of municipalities or counties. Claims for reimbursement for the cost of relief granted to State dependents are filed by the county treasurer.

Prior to 1953, the appropriation for State dependents as provided by the legislature was specified as a "sum sufficient." This assured 100 percent reimbursement to counties for all claims approved.

The 1953 legislature limited the appropriation for the biennium of 1953–55 to $75,000 for each fiscal year, making it necessary to prorate the amount appropriated among the counties according to the amounts due them. For the fiscal year 1954–55, the counties received only 41.74 percent of the amount due them. The 1955 legislature increased the appropriation to $125,000 for each fiscal year of the 1955–57 biennium. This resulted in the counties receiving reimbursement of 76.497 percent of the amount due them for the second fiscal year of this biennium.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, claims were filed in the amount of $231,862 of which $34,340 was disapproved because the relief granted did not meet statutory requirements of eligibility for reimbursement. The net total due all counties, after deductions for recoveries reported and field audit exceptions, was $192,317.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, claims were filed in the total amount of $205,678 of which $39,225 was disapproved. The net total due all counties after deductions for recoveries reported and field audit exceptions, was $163,405.

RELIEF TO NEEDY INDIANS

The 1951 legislature provided for the payment out of State appropriation for the cost of relief granted needy Indians residing on tax-free lands. Relief is granted by the county agency designated by the State department of public welfare and pursuant to rules and regulations promulgated by the department.

During the month of June, 1956, 432 persons were receiving relief under this program. The average monthly grant per family was $53.05. The total cost of the program for the biennium was $196,085.

Life's highway—Maintenance costs in Wisconsin, July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1956

Type	Total	Federal	State	Local
Total public assistance	$125,202,825	$45,832,021	$36,269,689	$43,101,1
Old-age assistance	65,339,744	30,156,770	22,808,778	12,364,1
Aid to the blind	1,857,211	586,729	688,325	362,1
Aid to the disabled	2,572,613	817,937	993,703	760,9
Aid to dependent children	27,195,899	10,553,382	9,187,493	7,455,0
General relief	18,123,641	[1] 22,000	524,013	17,577,6
Cost of administration [2]	10,123,717	3,425,203	2,117,377	4,581,1

[1] From U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs.
[2] State and local.

Economic Conditions in Newton County, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, 7 years of drought followed by 70 days of rain in Texas and the Southwest have driven home to the people the fact that fresh water is our greatest natural resource.

In many areas the people are taking steps to help themselves. The courageous and resourceful people of Newton County, Tex., a county settled early by such distinguished families as the Ragans, the Lees, and others, are taking the lead in east Texas, in order to help themselves. In this forward-looking action, they are opposed by powerful interests.

This fight by the people of Newton County is narrated in the July 25, 1957, issue of the Newton Herald, at Newton, Tex., an independent weekly newspaper.

Mr. President, I have visited Newton County many times. The people there are hospitable, generous, patriotic, and support good government at local, State, and national levels.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Newton County's Big Question," in the July 25, 1957, issue of the Newton Herald, be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWTON COUNTY'S BIG QUESTION

Will the people of Newton County stand together and fight for their right to operate their government, build their economy to the desired level, share in the vast industrial expansion that is taking place throughout east Texas, and the right to live and work in Newton County if they so desire; or will they bow to the desires of the big out-of-county landowners, their hired hands, and political stooges.

This is the big question. This question will directly affect every man, woman, and child now living in Newton County as well as all future generations.

This is a question that should be given a vast amount of consideration from every conceivable angle; it should be discussed thoroughly with family, friends and neighbores and the truth about all angles should be known before a final decision is made by anyone.

In order to bring everyone up to date on what is taking place in Newton County, let's go back some 5 years to the beginning of this crusade that the common people of Newton County are carrying on which has been, we think quite appropriately labeled "Operation Bootstrap."

Some 5 years ago some of the more forward sighted people of Newton County began to talk among themselves concerning the present and future economic outlook for Newton County. All persons were especially concerned over the fact that neighboring counties and cities to the south were experiencing a tremendous industrial growth as well as comparable growth in population and related business, but Newton County continued to show a decline in all of the same.

In order to find out why these things were happening, an organization was formed and a check was made with the Orange Industrial Development Committee, the East Texas Chamber of Commerce, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other related organizations.

Through these sources it was learned that counties, cities, and communities acquire the things they desire through a cooperative effort in hard work, good planning, and by furnishing the necessary environment conducive to attracting the things wanted and needed, which include such things as electrical power, natural gas, good water, good schools, good churches, adequate transportation facilities, and some other miscellaneous related facilities.

After a thorough study of this situation, it was the conclusion of this organization that Newton County had all of the desired facilities including good water, and that there was an adequate amount of this water if it could be controlled, to take care of any immediate foreseeable industrial growth.

Immediately after arriving at these conclusions an engineering firm was contacted which agreed to work up all necessary plans and specifications and make a feasibility study for projects on Big and Little Cow Creeks. The State Board of Water Engineers were contacted and a feasibility study permit was granted for this purpose, also a bill creating the Newton County Water Supply District was drawn, introduced by former State Representative Robert Patten and passed during the 1955 session of the legislature.

Following this, an election was called to determine whether or not the people of Newton County would approve a bond issue in the amount of $2.5 million dollars to construct dams on Big and Little Cow Creek. The election was held and carried by a vote of 1,492 for and 420 against the bond issue which shows that 77.8 percent of the voters in the county favored the action.

Based on these actions the district board of directors proceeded with the further organization of the district by completing plans for the first dam to be constructed on Big Cow Creek, and secured a permanent permit from the State Board of Water Engineers. They also proceeded on the work of working up final plans on Little Cow Creek dam and to set up their tax structure and issued $750,000 in tax bonds to start the land purchase and work on the dams.

At this stage the fireworks began.

Everyone that is familiar with the sale of bonds, knows that most bond brokers hes

ate to handle the sale of bonds for any organization, if the total issue exceeds 10 percent of the established property valuation. In this case the county valuation, which is based on approximately 10 percent of the real value and which amounted to less than 10 million, was the only guide at the time.

It was decided by the water board, after consultation with a great many people, groups, and organizations in the county that the feasible thing to do was to establish a more equal and higher valuation on all property and lower the intended original tax rate of $1.50 per $100 valuation which would have the effect of making the bonds easier to sell and would also save the taxpayers money by being able to sell them at a lower rate of interest.

For these reasons the higher valuation method was chosen and a fair and impartial valuation was placed on all property and the tax rate for the present outstanding bonds was established at 40 cents per $100 valuation. The board estimated from a study made of the entire structure that a rate of 45 cents per $100 valuation would be adequate to take care of the indebtedness when the full $2.5 million in bonds are sold.

At this stage the big out-of-county landowners stepped in and protested the valuation placed on their land, which will possibly average some $25 per acre. They also refused to pay their taxes and through their local hired hands and stooges began a clamor for a recall election on the bond issue. An ad was run in the Newton Herald advising local people to refuse to pay their taxes. A propaganda campaign was begun throughout the county using statements not based on truth trying to cause dissention and dissatisfaction. After they saw this was not going to work they really began to get worried and decided that maybe they had better use their big guns.

At this stage they had their legal departments draw up a bill and slip up to Austin where the State legislature was in session and through the cooperation of the local representative and senator they tacked this bill on as an amendment to the big water bill without having a public hearing or giving anyone a chance to protest.

The provisions of this bill permit a recall election in a county with a population of over 10,000 but under 11,000 according to the 1920 census if as many as 50 voters sign a petition requesting it. (The large out-of-county landowners have more than 50 employees in Newton County and the population basis is discrimination in its worst form, since there is not another county in the State that the bill fits except Newton County.)

This bill also provides that if the recall election carries, the board of directors of the district will be dismissed or dissolved and the county commissioners court will take over and buy and collect a sufficient tax to pay off the indebtedness incurred by the district. This means that the people will have to pay their money for nothing, and that the big landowners would get their evaluations lowered to the extent that the local people will pay most of the money and the big wigs would continue to dictate the policies under which the county has operated for years, as well as continue to drain all natural resources off without doing anything to help the economy of the county.

These same smart boys also dug up some antique law that was slipped through the legislature years ago and has never been tested, that provides that in a recall election, the people who live in an incorporated city or town can't vote in the election. This law, which must be abided by, would prohibit people of Newton voting in any recall election. The people who live in Newton say that they are a part of the district. They have been assessed for their share of the taxes and have paid these taxes, and any attempt to prevent them from voting is a violation of constitutional rights inasmuch as it constitutes taxation without representation.

The common people of Newton County do not think that the main issue in this battle is taxation. They believe the real issue is their control of local government. It is a known fact by all the people in the east Texas area that for years the big outside landowners, through their local hired hands, have run the whole area just as they saw fit. Now that the people are waking up to this fact and are beginning to demand their just rights, these people are trying desperately to hold on to their dictatorial position and they have shown already that they will use any and every method within their power to do so.

The people of Newton County are banding themselves together and pledging to fight this dictatorial monopoly until they win their freedom to run the county as they see fit for their own as well as for future generations.

The Little Taxpayers League of Newton County is calling for "every man, woman, and child in Newton County to get behind this crusade for freedom movement and let's all pledge ourselves, that so long as God lets us live we will fight for our rights and that we will build our county into a place that we will all be proud to live and a county in which we can all make a living that is on a scale with the rest of our Nation."

The Jury Trial Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the Newark Star-Ledger on August 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EISENHOWER STANDS FIRM

President Eisenhower emphasized at his press conference yesterday his strong objection to any jury trial amendment to the civil-rights provision permitting judges to employ contempt punishment to safeguard the right to vote. The President insisted he is opposed to a jury trial amendment.

There may have been a reasonable argument against contempt powers to enforce school integration and other social phases of the civil-rights bill, but the argument would not apply to the purely political phase of the bill—the safeguarding of the right to vote.

It is the hope of many people that the effective enforcement of the right to vote will ease the way for the realization of other civil rights and make drastic Federal action unnecessary. If, however, the right to vote is frittered away by stalling tactics, the whole civil-rights program will be frustrated.

The right to vote is the basic right, guaranteed by our Constitution but made a dead letter by usage and practice. The courts should be able to act with dispatch if this now theoretical right is to come to full life in the South.

The Play's the Thing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish it were possible for each Member of this House to visit Ashland, Oreg., during the month of August. That city of nearly 9,000 is right now one of the busiest spots in the world as residents and summer-long visitors participate in the 17th Annual Oregon Shakespearean Festival.

The 1957 season, which extends from August 1 to August 31, will find Shakespearean enthusiasts coming from all parts of this Nation to southern Oregon. They will have opportunity to view five outstanding productions: As You Like It; Two Gentlemen of Verona; Henry the VIII; Othello; and Pericles, Prince of Tyre. The wise men and women who plan this festival make it possible for those attending to view a different play each evening during the week. Personally, I can think of no finer way to spend the better part of a week, and I hope that it will be possible for me to see at least one of the plays.

The festival predates both the Connecticut and Canadian Shakespearean festivals. Its founder is Angus L. Bowmer. The plays are given in the Ashland Civic Elizabethan Theatre, an exact replica of the theater Shakespeare knew. Staging, costuming, and preplay entertainment are like that of Shakespeare's time. The National Broadcasting Co. carries portions of the festival across the Nation.

This year, 393 years after the birth of Shakespeare, the Ashland players opened their 17th season today with As You Like It. Among the honored guests tonight will be the special representative of Great Britain's Queen Elizabeth, Mr. J. McDonald, C. B. E., British consul for Portland, Oreg. Mr. McDonald was especially designated to represent his Queen by the British Government, through the efforts of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER.

Mr. Speaker, prime among the outstanding qualities of the Ashland festival is the ingenuity of its supporters. Recently I received an invitation to attend the opening performance, and, regretfully, I had to decline, but I would like to share the wording of the unique greeting with my colleagues at this time:

OREGON SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL ASSOCIATION—TUDOR GUILD OF THE SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL

This message greets you well, and bids you to good cheer with William Shakespeare his fellows before the acting of his pastoral-comical play called As You Like It, on the 1st day of August, anno domini MDCDVII. The company is piped to supper in the great Park of Master Corry beside the water in Ashland town at 6 of the clock after midday. A fine dish of roasted meats, hot and hot, is served forth on the green, and new bread buttered, fresh from the oven; sallets of garden greens, jellies, and cheeses and all manner of creams and spiced stuffs for to warm the inward of mankind.

For drink the company shall have the good ale and beer of the countryside, and sweet liquor from the coco plants in the South of the New World.

Steward William Patton must reckon up the partakers of the feast: pray you then, let him know within the week the numbers of your company, and let him have the trifle of 3 crowns or so ($2.50) to reward the service withal. And I heartily commend you to all things merry.

ELIZABETH R.

By our hand on the 8th day of July 1957.

Spain and NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, an exceptional service in the interest of a sensible approach to a strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the buttressing of the position of the United States in the current disarmament talks, now going on in London, was provided by Representative HUGH SCOTT last March. At that time Mr. SCOTT introduced and the House approved overwhelmingly a resolution calling for the admission of Spain to NATO. In light of the fact that the talks are now dragging deplorably—and plus the fact that the President has seen fit to send the Secretary of State to London to bring some order out of chaos—I think it is appropriate to submit here an editorial from the Bethlehem Bulletin, of Bethlehem, Pa.

The editorial follows:

CANDLELIGHTER

With the announcement of a 50,000-man cutback in the United States Armed Forces, the need for beefing up NATO grows more apparent. And that reminds us: Whatever happened to that resolution calling for the admission of Spain to NATO, which was passed by the House last March under the leadership of Representative HUGH D. SCOTT, Republican of Pennsylvania?

In pressing for its passage, Mr. SCOTT pointed out that such a measure would seal the Western defense line from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, that security against the Communists is the overriding mutual problem of the nations of the free world, and that a mutual-defense link with Franco involved no endorsement of his internal political philosophies. He rejected the idea that such an alliance was a bid for help at any price. Rather, he said, it simply recognized the demand of the American people that their Government face the facts of life in a divided world.

The Communists, argued SCOTT, would block any realistic efforts at disarmament and sneer at NATO as a deterrent to war as long as Spain is kept at arm's length by the organization presumably dedicated to the preservation of peace. All in all, Representative SCOTT insisted, the honest acceptance of Spain as a sympathetic ally would cut the cost of Western defense to United States taxpayers, revitalize the sagging spine of the United States as NATO's guiding force, and give Russia a more genuine interest in the disarmament proceedings.

But the Scott resolution languishes in the Senate while the London talks become more desultory, and the glaring weakness in European unity and geographic solidity remains on view for all—and especially the Reds—to see. Why the Senators have failed the administration and the American people in this obvious need is anybody's guess. We hear the inane excuse that since NATO has rocked along without Spain thus far, why stir things up. Others have slyly intimated that Mr. SCOTT introduced the resolution only to ingratiate himself with the White House.

This last explanation won't wash. Representative SCOTT is no coattail rider or sycophant—as Americans, both in and out of politics, should remember. It should be remembered that, in 1948, as chairman of the Republican National Committee, he had the courage to face up to both the political skulduggery and the entrenched position of the New Deal, and to say to his party: "It is better to light a candle than to curse in the darkness."

And as Shakespeare said: "How far yon little candle throws his beams. So shines a good deed in a naughty world." How about it, Senators? Couldn't you find time, somehow, to pass Mr. SCOTT's resolution before you cut for home?

The Proposal To Establish a New Self-Supporting Government Agency To Be Known as the Railway Equipment Agency To Lease Equipment on an Amortized Cost Basis to the Nation's Railroads Is Heralded as a Potential Boon to the Railroad Industry and of Sufficient Importance To Warrant Study by Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, during his appearance, July 24, 1957, before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, President James M. Symes, of the Pennsylvaina Railroad Co., proposed the creation of a new Government agency to be known as the Railway Equipment Agency, the purpose of which would be to lease railway equipment to the Nation's railroads at a basic rental sufficient to amortize the cost of the equipment over periods of 10, 15, and 20 years.

Under the Symes proposal, participation in the leasing plan could be made optional with initial capital of $500 million being augmented by additional capitalization as warranted in operating the newly created Railway Equipment Agency.

At this point in my remarks, I wish to call attention to the following press service dispatch together with an analysis of the so-called Symes plan designed to enable the railroad equipment industry to engage in mass production in keeping with the demands of this industrial age and at the same time assuring American railroads of the opportunity to modernize equipment and maintain their position in the field of transportation as a strong arm of our national defense program:

SELF-SUPPORTING FEDERAL AGENCY TO LEASE ROLLING STOCK TO CARRIERS IS PROPOSED

WASHINGTON.—A self-supporting Federal agency to lease rolling stock to the railroad industry "immediately providing new locomotives, freight and passenger cars which the Nation requires for peacetime progress and national defense" was proposed to Congress Wednesday by James M. Symes, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He called the plan, which he presented on behalf of 10 eastern railroads, "vital to an adequate expansion of the Nation's indispensable rail services."

Testifying before the House Committee on Interstate and foreign Commerce, Mr. Symes said "a new reservoir of capital is necessary to make it possible for the railroads to meet the continually increasing needs of the Nation for economical rail transportation. Less than half of the true need for new railroad equipment can be met by existing sources," he said. "Because low earnings by the railroads have practically eliminated any chance for equity financing, a constantly increasing proportion of railroad debt is in the form of equipment trust obligations which fall due every year—and must be met with cash." "This," he said, "is what is holding back railroad purchases of new equipment."

PRACTICAL SOLUTION

"A rail cars for progress and defense plan is the practical solution," he said. The plan he described calls for the creation of a new Federal agency with initial capital of $500 million, which would purchase and then lease railroad cars and locomotives to the individual railroads at rental rates sufficient to make the agency self-supporting.

Pointing out that "railroads are in a position to furnish mass transportation at the lowest true cost of any form of transport," he said that "costs of transportation to the public will inevitably be much higher than necessary if railroads are not in a position to grow with the growing needs of the present conditions. The Government gives subsidy to American economy under other forms of transportation and maintains punitive restrictions on our business freedom," he said. "So the railroads, which are the recognized low-cost transportation, are the only form that is not growing. All of the high-cost forms of transportation are growing rapidly. This can mean billions of dollars a year in increased costs to industry and household consumers unless this trend is arrested," Symes told the committee.

He emphasized the fact that the rail cars for progress and defense program would cost the Government nothing. Rentals paid by the railroads would be such as to "pay the costs of administration and give the Government a return on its funds, and, ultimately, the return of its initial capital."

AID TO EFFICIENCY

As a further advantage, Mr. Symes said that "much of the railroad capital now consumed in equipment financing would thus be freed for investment in other improvements, such as push-button yards and centralized traffic control. These would increase the efficiency of railroading, improving its service to shippers and help to offset the spiraling costs brought on by the built-in inflation of long-term wage agreements."

The proposed Railway Equipment Agency would be provided with initial capital of $500 million, and would be authorized to borrow up to four times that amount. Railroads could apply to the agency for long-term net leases for equipment needed, with a fixed term of lease for each type of equipment, based on its economic life.

Rentals would be such as to amortize during the term of the lease the complete cost of the equipment, less estimated scrap value at prices prevailing at the time of the lease, plus an interest factor one-quarter of 1 percent above the estimated cost of the money to the Government agency. While the agency would retain title to the equipment, all repairs would be the responsibility of the leasing railroad.

When a lease expired, the Government body responsible for stockpiling strategic materials for national defense would have the option of buying any equipment thus freed from the equipment agency. What is not purchased for stockpiling would be sold by the equipment agency for scrap.

"Under present conditions the railroads simply do not have the resources to buy the large amounts of equipment needed," Mr. Symes said, "and even if they did they could not find takers for that amount of equipment trust obligations in the present market. During the next 10 years railroads need to buy on the average 2 to 3 times as much equipment as they have bought in the last 10 years. If the railroads are to meet the challenge of the future," he said, "some means must be found for them to triple their equipment purchases. The rail cars for progress and defense plan is a simple, practical answer and would work out to the advantage of all concerned—the Government, American industry, and the general public, as well as the railroads themselves."

PROPOSAL COVERING CREATION OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY FOR FINANCING RAILROAD EQUIPMENT

PLAN

1. A new Government agency shall be created, to be known as the Railway Equipment Agency, or with some similar nomenclature, with initial capital of $500 million, with the understanding that more will be advanced by the Government from time to time as may be needed.

2. The railroads shall have the right to apply to this equipment agency for long-term net leases for such new equipment as they may desire. The exact length of such leases shall be on the same basis for all companies, but shall be varied in term, taking into consideration the true economic life of the type of equipment in question. For example, diesels probably should be leased for 15 years and frieght cars for 20 years, and passenger equipment perhaps on a 10-year basis.

3. The basic rental shall be determined in accordance with the following principles:

(a) During the term of the lease, the rental shall be sufficient to completely amortize the cost of the equipment, less the estimated scrap value of the equipment at present-day prices.

(b) The interest factor shall be one-quarter of 1 percent above the estimated cost of money to the agency for the length of period involved.

(c) Interest shall be calculated on the declining balance with respect to that portion of the cost which is amortized, and on a straight line basis with respect to the portion that is not amortized, i. e., estimated scrap value.

(d) The rental shall be absolutely net and all repairs of whatsoever nature shall be made by the leasing railroad.

4. The agency shall have the right to borrow up to four times its capital; in the other words, up to 80 percent of the cost of the equipment. At the end of the lease for any equipment, the governmental body having control over the stockpiling of strategic materials for national defense purposes shall have the option of purchasing any equipment it desires from the transportation agency at the fair value of the equipment, to be determined at that time. Any equipment not thus purchased for stockpiling for defense purposes shall be sold for scrap by the transportation agency, with the proceeds recaptured by the transportation agency.

5. Any lessee, subject to the approal of the equipment agency, may assign its lease to any other railroad in the event it no longer has a demand for the equipment, but in no event shall the new lessee receive a lease other than for the balance of the period remaining to the original lessee. Also, in the event that any lessee defaults under the terms of its lease, the equipment agency may recapture the equipment and re-lease it to another railroad for the remaining balance of the term, but in no event for a longer period.

6. In the event there are more applications for equipment than can be handled expeditiously (this is particularly likely to be true not only at the outset but in the event of emergencies or in periods of an upsurge in traffic), the principle of allocation shall apply.

ADVANTAGES OF PLAN

A. From the standpoint of the Government

1. The plan as outlined will not cost the Government anything, as contrasted to the subsidies handed out to other segments of the transportation industry. In addition, it is probable that the one-quarter of 1 percent interest differential, plus the differential between the current estimated scrap value and the ultimate scrap value or proceeds realized from sale to the Government stockpiling agency, should be sufficient to pay the costs of administration, give the Government a return on its funds, and ultimately the return of its initial capital.

2. The Government will be assured that the railroad industry will be maintained in first-class condition, prepared for any emergency, and with adequate capacity.

3. The Government will have an opportunity to stockpile a substantial amount of equipment against a war emergency at a relatively low cost.

4. The Government will be assured of protection of the capacity of the railway equipment industry, so vital in the event of an emergency.

5. Maintenance of the physical condition of the railroads at a high level will serve as a stimulant to the peactime economy and should bring in additional revenues in the form of income.

B. From the standpoint of the railroad industry

1. It should be possible for the railroad industry to put its entire plant in first-class condition without damaging its credit. This is true not only with respect to rolling stock but road as well, since funds thus released from the equipment budget will be available for modernization of yards, signal control, and the roadway generally.

2. Such a program should make it possible for the industry to expand its capacity, thus insuring its participation in the expanding economy and stimulating the latter by providing a modern, efficient, low-cost transportation system to serve its needs properly, and also further aiding the economy through its increased purchases, and on a more regularized basis, from the whole railroad equipment industry.

3. With a modernized, efficient plant, the industry should operate more efficiently, thereby keeping costs of transportation at the lowest practicable level and at the same time earning greater profits.

4. As a result of the Government agency placing the orders for much of the equipment, a far greater degree of standardization of equipment should be possible, thus reducing the overall cost of equipment and thus holding down the cost of transportation.

5. Through the program outlined, the railway equipment industry should be able to put its production on much more of a mass-production basis, expand its capacity, and strengthen its position.

6. If the Government finds itself in the position of leasing equipment to the railroads, then obviously, because of its financial stake in the railroad industry, it will naturally have an interest in the railroads' welfare.

7. This plan embodies the principle of the user paying full cost for Government services rendered. Therefore, if it goes through, it should strikingly point up by comparison the fact that certain other segments of the transportation industry are not paying their way.

8. By virue of the fact that the proposed lease arrangement would be with a Government agency rather than a private corporation, all tax questions are automatically resolved. The lease arrangement would provide what is tantamount to realistic depreciation geared to the actual economic life of the equipment. Of course in this connection we would get the depreciation in the form of tax deductible rental.

9. An additional objection to the present pattern of leasing equipment from a private corporation is that it is costly by reason of the loss of the residual value. Under this plan the railroad at least gets credit for the estimated scrap value of the equipment.

C. From the standpoint of the public

1. The public in general, both individually and through industries, will thus be assured of the finest in low-cost mass transportation at the lowest possible cost.

2. This is adopting 100 percent the Eisenhower administration policy that industry should pay as it goes for services rendered by the Government.

Overall, the simplicity of the plan itself has much to recommend it, together with one other important fact, namely, that it is possible to work it out on a completely voluntary basis. It is not necessary for all railroads in the industry to approve of the plan or to participate in it, but it would be available to all, and over a period of time it would appear almost a certainty that the industry as a whole would utilize it.

Railway Equipment Agency schedule of rentals—Interest factor, 3¾ percent plus ¼ percent (4 percent)

Type of equipment	Cost of equipment	Present day scrap value [1]	Cost to be amortized	Term of lease (years)	Annual return on scrap value	Annual amortization	Annual rental due under lease	Total rental due under lease
Freight cars	$70,000,000	$10,300,000	$59,700,000	20	$412,000	$4,341,243	$4,753,243	$95,064,860
Diesels	20,000,000	700,000	19,300,000	15	28,000	1,713,117	1,741,117	26,116,755
Passenger cars	10,000,000	325,000	9,675,000	10	13,000	1,175,456	1,188,456	11,884,560
Total	100,000,000							133,066,175

[1] Government would be the beneficiary of difference between present day scrap value and value at the end of the lease.

ANNUAL RENTAL

1st to 10th year	$7,682,816
11th to 15th year	6,494,360
16th to 20th year	4,753,234

Railway Equipment Agency schedule of rentals—Interest factor, 5¾ percent plus ¼ percent (4 percent)—Continued

UNIT RENTAL

Type of equipment	Unit cost	Present day scrap value	Cost to be amortized	Term of lease (years)	Annual return on scrap value	Annual amortization	Annual rental due under lease	Rental	
								Monthly	Daily
Freight cars	$8,500	$1,250	$7,250	20	$50.00	$527.20	$577.20	$48.10	$1.60
Diesels	200,000	7,000	193,000	15	280.00	17,131.16	17,411.16	1,450.93	48.37
Passenger cars	140,000	4,500	135,500	10	180.00	16,462.46	16,642.46	1,386.87	46.23

NAACP Says Virginia Vote Not Denied

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, each day we hear charges and countercharges about Negroes being denied the right to register or vote. This allegation is untrue with respect to Virginia.

Mr. William B. Foster, Jr., of the Richmond News Leader, has made a thorough investigation of this matter and published an article which presents clear and specific evidence to prove that no efforts are being made in Virginia to prevent Negroes from registering and voting. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of Mr. Foster's article, which is as follows:

NAACP SAYS VIRGINIA VOTE NOT DENIED—PROTESTS CLEARED PROMPTLY

(By William B. Foster, Jr.)

No serious or effective efforts are made in Virginia to prevent Negroes from registering or voting, according to W. Lester Banks, secretary of the State conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Banks was asked for comment today in light of charges and countercharges being aired in the Senate in debate over the pending civil-rights bill.

"Since 1951 and 1952," he said, "most complaints we have heard have been minor in nature." He added that all such complaints had been cleared up promptly by telephone calls either to individual registrars or to Levin Nock Davis, secretary of the State board of elections.

Banks cited as examples two complaints his organization had received in which disputes arose over the payment of poll taxes by Negroes applying for registration for the first time. In each case, he said, the applicant complained that a registrar was misinterpreting the law that permits registration without paying the tax in the case of a person becoming 21 years of age between January 1 and the November general-election date.

LEGAL EXEMPTION

Banks said that Davis' office instructed the registrars as to the legal exemption and registration was effected. Banks said these cases may well have reflected a lack of knowledge of the law, rather than racial discrimination on the part of the registrars.

Banks said his organization "hasn't had any complaints of intimidation or acts of violence to prevent Negroes from voting," but said there had been a few instances called to his attention in which election officials "apparently tried to make it a little more difficult for Negroes than for whites."

These cases, he said, involved demands for production of poll tax receipts by Negroes who had been regular voters for years. Banks acknowledged, however, that similar demands also are made of white persons and said he did not regard such challenges as serious efforts to interfere with voting rights of Negroes.

Banks said he believed that the NAACP probably would be the agency to which most Negroes would turn for help if they felt that discriminatory practices were being attempted.

The NAACP secretary said some instances had been called to his attention in which Negroes in rural communities are reluctant to go alone to the residence of a white woman registrar to qualify themselves to vote.

"This isn't a discriminatory act on anybody's part," he said, "but it's a kind of psychological reluctance on the part of some Negroes to go to a big imposing house where a white woman is the registrar unless somebody else goes along with them."

Banks said this situation is being eliminated as more and more counties turn to centralized registration, where books are kept at a registrar's office, open for business at specified times and operating under a uniform system of procedure.

In counties where this is not done, Banks said, some Negroes have complained about irregular hours for receiving registrants and some varieties in procedure from one registrar to another.

In such circumstances, Banks said, he is unwilling to say whether registration difficulties stem from racial discrimination, lack of knowledge of the law by the registrar, uncertainty on the part of prospective voters, or general laxness of the system.

Regardless of causes, he said: "We haven't had to do anything about irregularities except to call them to the attention of Mr. Davis. Usually, things are straightened out pretty quickly."

Swiss Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Swiss are today celebrating their independence day.

It is pleasant to think that, in the perpetual shifts and uncertainties of the international political scene, here is a country whose history of independence can be traced back for over 6½ centuries.

This history could offer many lessons to the contemporary world. It began with the famous "oath brotherhood" of 1291 which bound together the original 3 republics of the Swiss confederation. The members of these three communities held in common, beliefs in freedom and self-government based on individual initiative and self-reliance.

The principal purpose of the oath brotherhood was defense against aggression. For this a system of collective security was provided. But even in those relatively primitive times the Swiss were wise enough to go further: They pledged themselves at the same time to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Through the intervening centuries the Swiss people have strengthened and enlarged their liberties. These liberties now have as their principal element a cherished individual freedom, protected by an intricate network of political and economic safeguards.

Another element in the Swiss brand of freedom is the ingrained tolerance which has been developed, sometimes through agonizing experience. Thus the French and German and Italian cultures have been blended into a unity, unique in its diversity. So, too, the Protestant, Catholic, and other religions, all thrive side by side.

May Swiss independence flourish in the long centuries of the future as it has in the past, and may its spirit live forever in the hearts of the Swiss people and give courageous inspiration to all mankind.

Coming Education Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the Sacramento Bee on July 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMING EDUCATION CRISIS

The vast wave of youth which has been bursting the country's elementary schools and is beginning to overcrowd the high schools is destined by mathematical certainty to produce an extremely serious and perhaps tragic crisis in education within the foreseeable future unless aggressive steps are taken at once to meet it.

That is the fact hundreds of thousands of American youths desiring and having the capabilities for an education beyond the high school level will have no place to go because of the lack of college facilities.

In some States within 15 years, it is estimated, 1 out of every 2 high-school graduates wanting to acquire a higher education will be denied the opportunity.

Senator CLIFFORD CASE, of New Jersey, who is sponsoring a bill to provide Federal aid for junior college expansion, stated:

"It means that despite their hopes and dreams, many of our finest youth will be denied equality of opportunity. They will have to miss out on adequate education for life, for a profession and for citizenship. The Nation will lose the benefits of their talents and brain power and this can be counted in discoveries unmade and in service unrendered."

The Case measure deserves the most serious consideration. In this highly competitive world of man against man and nation against nation, America cannot afford to fall short in this vital field.

Speech of John D. Rockefeller III at the Washington State International Fair

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, a well-balanced foreign trade is essential to world peace. Nations profitably exchanging their goods and products are always anxious to work in comity with other nations.

While our foreign trade represents less than 10 percent of our overall production today, we are prone to underestimate its actual importance to the economy. In years when most of our energies are directed to producing the munitions and tools of war we are not in a position to vigorously press for our rightful share of foreign trade. As we phase out of war production we must find markets to absorb the great capacity of American industry. We must, of necessity, then turn to world markets and through the talents of American salesmanship garner business that will absorb our surpluses. The percentagewise relationship of foreign trade to domestic consumption will then rise and assume its rightful place in our economy.

Offshore trade can be the difference between our potential production and short shift operation of our factories. This can be interpreted in terms of jobs—the true yardstick of the good life.

Nations, new and old, who surround the Pacific Basin want our hard goods. We can trade with them for they have a great reservoir of natural resources. Their hard woods, fibers, oils, tin, and other things they have in abundance complement our production. They have what we need; we have what they want.

To maintain and protect our own interest in foreign trade we must control the principal tool of that trade—ocean shipping. Our merchant marine is as important to us in offshore trade as our internal rail system is to our domestic trade.

The important place that foreign trade plays in our economy is best testified to by one so highly qualified and so knowledgeable in this field that none can challenge his right to speak on it. I am happy, therefore, to make available to you a speech made by Mr. John D. Rockefeller III at the opening night banquet of the Washington State International Trade Fair in Seattle, Wash., on May 17, 1957.

Mr. Rockefeller said:

International trade fairs are always exciting and this one is particularly so to me because so much of it revolves around an area of the world in which I have a deep and special interest—namely, Asia.

The primary objective of a fair such as this one is, of course, increased foreign trade. I am sure that the many hundreds of commercial buyers who will come here will make an important contribution toward the achievement of this goal. Maybe almost as important are the untold thousands of the general public who will visit the fair and gain some knowledge and understanding of other lands and other peoples. Robert Ingersoll once said: "Commerce is the great civilizer. We exchange ideas when we exchange fabrics." There is no question that trade serves more than a purely economic end. The contact with other peoples and their cultures is a rewarding and enriching experience.

I understand that your fair renders services to participants which go much further than is normally the case. Particularly I have in mind the assistance by officials of the fair to foreign exhibitors in the handling of problems which they face in this country. Also, I am informed that a course is given at the university in such subjects as the handling of merchandise, salesmanship and the like. Such services are most farsighted and desirable, and I am sure are much appreciated by those who benefit by them.

To put on a fair such as this one which we are opening tonight is a major undertaking. It represents the untiring effort of many people over a long period of time. The results speak for themselves. I should like to express my sincere congratulations to those who have been responsible for this important undertaking, the effects of which will be felt in many lands and in many ways.

In presenting my subject this evening I plan to concentrate on Asia. I do this because Asia is an area of the world with which I am particularly familiar, and also because I believe what I say will be more effective if I do not try to cover too much ground geographically.

In March, my wife and I returned from a trip to southeast Asia. It was a heartening and stimulating experience. We came back with a warm and friendly feeling toward the countries we visited. We were impressed by the friendliness and courtesy of the people whom we met.

We came back with the feeling that the people in these countries valued their recently acquired independence and were prepared to defend it. Nationalism was running strong but is that not essential in countries just starting out on their own? There would be reason for concern if this were not the case. And, along with the national spirit, paradoxically there is a growing international spirit, a growing desire to be an active member of the family of nations. This promises well, for these nations need an expanding trade and increased foreign investment to support their own growth.

As we traveled through the countries of southeast Asia, we were impressed with the courage and accomplishments of the leaders. Men like the late President Magsaysay, of the Philippines; President Diem, of Vietnam; and U Nu, Prime Minister, of Burma, have rendered incalculable service to their countries. They are an inspiration to all men everywhere. History, I believe, will place them among the truly great leaders of our times. When my wife and I heard of President Magsaysay's tragic death after our return home our hearts were very heavy.

Also, my wife and I were impressed by the urge for education on the part of the young people of southeast Asia. Education is vital in enabling an area to make effective use of its vast but little-developed natural resources. With effective leadership, a growing supply of trained manpower and abundant natural resources, the area's possibilities for economic growth are very real.

As one visits these nations and learns of the problems and the needs one has the greatest respect for what has been accomplished to date. Think of the difference between their early years of independence and our own. They were born into the atomic age and the cold war with all that that means in the way of external forces and pressures. They were born at a time when people everywhere are realizing that they can improve their living standards and hence their governments are under pressure to produce results quickly if they are to survive.

The problems these nations face are very real. They are seeking their economic goals with most inadequate tools compared to those of the highly industrialized nations. Particularly, there is an acute shortage of managerial and technical manpower. Progress is being made in overcoming the need, but training takes time, and time is at a premium in Asia today.

Another major shortage is that of investment capital. Most of the financing of development projects must, of course, come from local private and Government investment. Even in Burma where about 20 percent of the gross national product is being saved and invested, domestic investment falls short of the level of capital formation that is needed for rapid economic advance.

So far I have focussed my remarks on southeast Asia because of our recent trip there and the fact that our impressions are so vivid. It is dangerous, obviously, to generalize about Asia as each country is separate and distinct. However, the attitudes and problems which I have mentioned are common to many countries of the area, particularly the economic problems.

During the last few years I have been to Asia a number of times visiting most of the countries more than once. Increasingly I have become convinced that the future of the United States and of Asia are inseparable. So many of our respective problems are in reality mutual problems. So many of our respective needs are in fact complementary. Our joint futures depend on solving these problems and meeting these needs. If we proceed in an atmosphere of mutuality and teamwork, our chances of success are great. Much is at stake for all concerned.

When I speak of the problems and needs of the United States, I refer to the fact that our increasing need for raw materials can only be met by very substantial increases in the production of raw materials around the world, and to the fact that our need for constantly expanding foreign markets can only be met by corresponding growth in the economies of all other countries. As the head of a large corporation with foreign interests expressed it recently: "If more of the better things of life are to come to America, they must also come to other people as well." To me, this is fundamental to progress. It is unreasonable to assume that we can remain an island of plenty unless others also face the probability of substantially improving their economic position. In this process Asia will inevitably be a major factor.

What, then, can be done to expand trade between the nations of Asia and the rest of the world? The problem is that to benefit substantially by foreign trade, a nation must have a sufficient volume of exportable items to offset its imports needs. With countries whose economies have been only partially developed a major effort must be made to build and strengthen basic services and production units. Experience has shown that in this connection foreign aid and foreign investments can make an important contribution as a supplement to local effort.

Thus, as we think of expanding foreign trade as the basic approach to the solution of the economic problem of Asia and the United States, we must also think of foreign aid and foreign investment if progress is to be made with the speed and the assurance which is required by the current world situation.

Net United States economic aid in Asia since June 1950 has totaled almost $4½ bil-

lion in the form of grants and loans in dollars and local currency, technical assistance, teacher and student exchange programs, etc. The area as a whole is now by far the most important recipient of United States nonmilitary aid. In 1956, net United States economic grants and loans totaled $1,078,000,000, three times the aid to the Near East which ranked second.

There is no question that our postwar aid program has been an important factor in helping recipient countries meet basic needs for which their own resources were not adequate. The Marshall plan in Europe was the outstanding example. There is no question also in my mind that our aid program should be continued and expanded. Its value would be very appreciably increased if greater continuity could be provided and if redtape could be drastically cut, particularly through giving more discretion to field directors.

To me personally, however, the principal concern is on the psychological side. A number of years ago when I was in South Africa I had the privilege of meeting General Smuts. In the course of our conversation he remarked to me that he thought our lend-lease program was one of the greatest acts of altruism in history, one of the most unusual contributions toward the well-being of mankind. I was deeply impressed by what he said. General Smuts recognized by his own words that our basic objective was a peaceful and better world for all.

This statement is a far cry from the atmosphere in our country today toward mutual assistance. It almost seems as if the human factor had been removed. In its place is political expediency. The emphasis is on the value to us, to safeguard and protect us. Little is heard about those to be directly benefited or about the mutual nature of foreign aid.

I believe very sincerely that a basic motivation of the American people is not only to help a neighbor in trouble but also to share with others and work toward a peaceful and better world for all. This is a part of our tradition. It is one of the finest qualities of our culture. We must not lose it because of short-sighted political considerations. Interestingly enough, a recent survey made by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago showed that 85 percent of the voters favored aid to the underdeveloped countries. Government aid to the nations of Asia is only part of the story. United States private investment in Asia is also important even though such investments to date total only $600 million and almost all of this is in four countries: India, Indonesia, Japan, and the Philippines. For the non-Communist area as a whole, United States investment works out to 75 cents per person as against $40 per person in Latin America, or $425 in Canada.

Although the absolute level of United States investment in Asia is still very low, recent trends are encouraging. Investments in the area doubled between 1950 and 1955, while total United States private investment abroad rose only 65 percent.

As I have already said, Asia's capital needs will have to be met largely from within the individual countries. But, a limited amount of private foreign capital supplementing it can be crucially important, particularly if it is invested on a partnership basis; for the foreign partner would supplement his investment by bringing in new production and marketing methods. Technical knowledge spread by private overseas investment may be as important to the recipient country as the inflow of capital itself.

That foreign capital investments in Asia are so limited, even though they could mean so much to the area's economic development, is understandable. Both sides must be sympathetic and aware of the concerns and fears of the other.

To the Asian "colonialism" and "exploitation" are words which still have unhappy implications. Will foreign investment, they wonder, lead to foreign economic domination?

In this connection, it is helpful to remember that the United States has invested billions in Canada, but the amount is only 10 percent of Canada's total invested capital. In Latin America, United States investments exceed $6 billion—yet this amounts to only 8 percent of the total. These United States investments have helped greatly to strengthen the economies of Canada and the Latin American Republics and to promote their growth. Far from dominating their economies, they have increased the national sense of economic self-reliance.

The early days of our own country provide another example of foreign investment. By the middle of the 19th century 20 percent of the securities issued by American firms was owned by foreigners. And, interestingly enough, half of this capital was supplied by Britain.

If the fear of economic domination is to be allayed, it is essential that the foreign partner identify himself with the life and growth of the host country. The interests of that country must always be a primary consideration.

Another source of Asian concern is that the economy of the country will be weakened if the foreign investor takes home earnings each year in dollars or other foreign currency. The Canadian and Latin American examples indicate that the very opposite is true. American capital, particularly when invested on a partnership basis, can increase a nation's foreign exchange reserves by increasing production and exports. The record shows that American investment increases exchange earnings by more than the amount needed to compensate American investors, and at the same time leaves the local economy as the principal beneficiary of the bargain. In 1955 the net gains to Latin America from the operation of United States-financed companies was $3½ billion, or about 10 percent of the area's total income.

From the point of view of the foreign investor there are factors which make him reluctant to assume risks of investment outside his own nation. These include limitations by recipient countries on the nature of foreign investment, high taxation, fear of political instability and nationalization, and limitations on the remittance of earnings to the United States. Other factors are the scarcity of available capital for investment, attractive opportunities for investment in the United States, and lack of knowledge of investment opportunities.

In my opinion, these difficulties can be largely resolved. They are primarily a matter of misunderstanding based on lack of information and knowledge. Too much is at stake to let the present situation continue without forthright effort to rectify it.

It is encouraging to remember that a number of very successful partnerships between Asian and foreign firms already exist. These partnerships often started with reservations, fears, and suspicions. But they disappeared with actual experience. Today in many instances the Asians and their foreign partners enjoy mutual confidence and respect and are working together on a mutually profitable basis.

There have been intelligent accommodations on both sides. Patience and understanding are needed if economic maturity of this sort is to spread through the business communities of Asia and the United States. The psychological barriers are more formidable than the economic ones, but they are in no sense insurmountable once the overall problem is seen clearly. As we work together in the economics field, or any other field for that matter, we must realize that joint interests and activities can be carried out without infringement on each other's way of life.

Personally, I feel much would be gained if a small group of Asian and American businessmen, with the blessings of their respective governments, were to make a study of the joint ventures which already exist. Such a study would deal with what has actually taken place and not with the theoretical fears of either side. Special attention might be given to how other Asian firms can meet competition from these joint enterprises. The findings of this group should be helpful in allaying fears and in developing positive recommendations as to means to encourage the flow of capital into joint ventures.

And now I want to speak of foreign trade itself—a primary factor in economic growth. The nations of Asia are dependent on export earnings for foreign exchange with which to purchase imports essential to the development of their economies. For this reason it is disturbing to note that the trade of these nations has not kept pace with the growth of world trade. Not including Japan, they accounted for over 10 percent of world exports in 1938, as against less than 6 percent in 1956. Meanwhile imports, which reached a peak in 1949–51, were paid for at the expense of the nations' foreign exchange holdings. In 1953–56, imports were reduced as reserves dwindled.

This decline in exports in recent years has been largely due to the fact that world demand for raw materials presently exported by these nations has not grown. In some cases the reason is that industrialized nations have substituted synthetics for natural raw materials. In others the exporting nations have followed policies that kept prices of their export products above the world market—so users in other nations turned to alternative sources. Over the long run, these nations must expand their export earnings to meet the rising needs of their expanding economies.

Expansion of Japanese trade is a problem separate from that of other Asian countries, though it is closely linked with them. Before the war, Japanese exports accounted for 5.4 percent of total world trade. This dropped to 1 percent in 1949 during the post-war period when severe restrictions were placed on Japanese trade. Last year, Japan's exports had risen to 2.7 percent of the world total. However, to continue the remarkable economic growth of the past decade, Japan must appreciably increase her exports.

Expansion of trade within Asia would mutually benefit Japan and southern Asia. Japan can supply many of the industrial goods needed for economic development programs while Asian nations can provide some of the food and raw materials which Japan must import.

In addition, trade between the United States and Asia is important to both areas. It is therefore of concern to note that in recent years trade between the two areas, including Japan, has not kept pace with Asia's total trade. United States purchase of Asian exports declined from 21 percent in 1948 to 18 percent today. At the same time, their imports from us dropped from 27 percent of their total imports to only 20 percent.

It is also a matter of concern that last year the United States exported to Asia $600 million more than was imported from the area. The figures were $2.3 billion exported against $1.7 billion imported. Foreign aid and foreign investments helped offset this imbalance. However, for the long run, it becomes fairly obvious that these countries which buy from us so substantially will have to increase their sales to us.

The growing import requirements of the Asian nations offer a real oportunity for the United States to promote expanding trade with the area. If the United States

economy is to continue its phenomenal growth, an expanding trade is essential to provide the raw materials we need, and in the process to furnish expanding markets for our industries and farms. While trade is a small part of our total national production (in 1956 we exported 8 percent of all the goods we produced), it is nonetheless important to the maintenance of a healthy economy. It would be difficult for us to continue to maintain a high level of employment if our trade did not expand as rapidly as our domestic activity. While 8 percent seems like a relatively small figure, it is big enough to make the difference between a prosperous high employment economy and an economy facing serious problems of readjustment. Moreover, there are a great many individual businesses where exports provide the margin needed for successful and profitable operations.

There is no question in my mind that any nation must approach its foreign trade from the point of view of its own best interests. How can it sell the maximum amount of its own products at the best possible price? How can it buy needed raw materials and other products at a minimum price?

At the same time, however, the farsighted nation will work to remove the barriers to trade in order that buyers and sellers at both ends of the transaction can profit. The great virtue of trade conducted on as free as possible a basis is that it benefits all parties concerned.

There is always great political pressure in any nation to eliminate, or at least control, imports which compete with locally made products. At the same time, little thought is given to the relationship between imports and exports. Take, for example, the sale of cotton textile goods in the United States. There has been much concern expressed in this country as to the effect of such sales on our domestic production. Total cotton textile imports from Japan amount to less than 2 percent of our own output, although in certain lines the percentage has been higher. Also, last year, Japan sold us $29 million of cotton textiles, and during the same period purchased $170 million of raw cotton from us.

Another illustration relates to sewing machines and Japan. Since 1953, the Japanese have prohibited the import of all household sewing machines of any sort. Meanwhile, the sale of Japanese-made machines abroad has increased rapidly. Last year 675,000 machines were imported into the United States alone, or roughly between 35 and 40 percent of total sales.

Such transactions do not lead to happy, long-range trade relationships. Accommodations must be made on both sides to meet reasonably the problems and the needs of the other party. I realize that such an approach requires adjustments within the economies of the countries concerned. There is no question that from time to time, individual businesses will be temporarily hurt. The situation is exactly the same as with scientific progress. Here also the maker of the product overtaken by scientific development must adjust. With an expanding economy and ingenuity such adjustments, such hardships can be reasonably met.

Our Government has taken the lead in attempting to reduce barriers to international trade and to create machinery to foster it. As Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said a few days ago:

"Trade, from the earliest days, has been one of the great upbuilders of economic well-being. Therefore, this Government advocates trade policies which promote the interchange of goods to mutual advantage."

We need to keep pressing ahead in carrying out this policy. The figures show that last year, United States exports were 50 percent greater than imports—obviously, a very favorable balance of trade. But, in the long run is this really in our best interests? The only sound basis on which we can continue to expand our exports is through a corresponding expansion of imports. This means, as I have indicated, making adjustments in our economy in order to accommodate the foreign products.

We have no alternative to this course. We are 1 country in a world made up of about 100 nations. Our prosperity and our future is closely linked with theirs. In the last analysis, the strength and viability of their economies will depend on their ability to sell on the world market. The United States has a great responsibility or, as I would rather put it, a great opportunity. If we are to successfully meet the challenge, I believe each one of us must feel a personal concern and obligation to do our part.

Why Stop There?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, the First Congressional District of West Virginia, which I have the honor to represent, is one of the richest industrial areas in the United States. In addition to producing coal, steel, chemicals, and many other raw materials and manufactured goods, this area produces some of the finest glassware and pottery to be found anywhere in the world.

In recent years, due to the harmful effect of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements, our Nation has been flooded with cheaply made foreign goods which has had a very depressing effect on industries in West Virginia and throughout the Nation. In this regard, I would like to call attention of the House to a very cogent editorial which appeared on July 31, 1957, in the Wheeling Intelligencer, Wheeling, W. Va., which very ably states the case for sensible revision of tariff and import quotas to protect American workers and industry from destruction. I hope members of the House Ways and Means Committee will especially take notice of this editorial and will react accordingly to report legislation which will stop this onslaught on our vital industries:

WHY STOP THERE?

President Eisenhower's threat of a Government limitation on petroleum imports unless the industry agrees to voluntary curtailment brings into focus anew the whole question of foreign trade policy.

The White House directive calls for an oil import cutback to 10 percent below the 1954–56 average for the last half of this year and the first half of 1958. But as imports have increased sharply since that period the new average would represent a 20-percent cut from the present import level of 1,275,000 barrels a day.

The reasoning back of the order is that excessive imports have impaired the domestic industry to the point where national security might be endangered in case of war which would find foreign sources cut off and the home industry insufficiently developed to meet the demand.

If this argument is sound with respect to an activity like the petroleum industry and an exhaustible resource like oil, how much more forcibly is it true of manufacturing. Relatively speaking, industries like oil production and coal mining can adjust themselves readily to new and sudden demand. The basic product is there. And while it takes time to increase mining capacity and oil output and refining facilities, the time element is not so important as in general manufacturing. If a low tariff policy pursued over a period of years has stimulated imports to the point where a domestic industry has been seriously curtailed, the resilience is not there to meet the sudden demand of a war shutoff. There is not only the problem of building new plants and fabricating new machinery, but the more difficult and time-consuming problem of training manpower.

For more than a quarter of a century the official policy of the American Government has been to encourage the importation of manufactured goods through the progressive removal of tariff protection. The result has been very serious impairment of a long line of industrial operations involving chiefly the handcrafts, the skills which once distinguished American industry, that great segment of our economic system known as small industry. Our pottery and glass workers, machine toolmakers, textile workers, shoemakers, skilled artisans of a score of callings, have been thrown out of work or reduced in numbers because imports have taken over the market for the wares they fashion to the point where we would be hard put to make up the void they have left were the flow of imports suddenly shut off.

This newspaper is all for protection of the oil and coal and other basic industries from the destructive competition of undercutting imports, not alone from the standpoint of defense, but also and more particularly from that of the maintenance of a sound domestic economy. But it is even more concerned, and for the same reason, for the welfare of that part of our manufacturing industry that has been gravely weakened by a nonprotective tariff policy. It rejoices that the President has seen fit to take steps to protect the oil industry. It would be happier still were he to advocate a return to the simple doctrine of protection and advocate a tariff schedule designed to equalize selling costs on the American market between all domestic products and their imported counterparts.

Equal Rights for Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge that you use your good offices to prevail upon the chairman of the committee to hold hearings and report House Joint Resolution 127 which provides a constitutional amendment granting equal rights to women.

We are constantly amending Federal and State laws to remove inequities therein with respect to women. So far as I have been able to discover, there has never been any serious objection to such proposals. There seems to be no good reason why we should not take care of all such inequities with one stroke. The matter of discrimination against human beings in various areas of Government has been a subject of heated discussion in Congress this session. In

all of these discussions, little or nothing has been said about discriminatory laws against the women.

Again, Mr. Speaker, may I respectfully urge your assistance in having House Joint Resolution 127 brought to the floor of the House before the adjournment of this session of the 85th Congress.

The Fourth of a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to insert the fourth editorial letter of the series written by F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.

The editorial letter follows:

[From the Pekin Daily Times of July 25, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

"Is education free all the way?"

I had heard this at home.

Couldn't believe it.

Nor could I believe it when our guide said, "Yes" and when she "proved it" by several other people.

I said: "I want this information from your top educators."

So (as everything else I asked) they arranged it.

They (with great help in design and construction from students) have built a new 32-story university in Moscow. It is a beautiful thing, and a vast structure. Among other facilities (sports, library, art, laboratories) they have living-in quarters for 6,000 students.

And now, in Russia, a bright boy or girl gets free education all the way through college, university, and professional school. That means through medical or engineering schools, or any schools. (I twitted back a bit by saying, "except theological.")

Here is the deal:

A really smart youth or girl not only gets all this education free, but gets paid while going to school. Cost to the state of supporting these brilliant young people in school is partly reduced by having those 6,000 beds at the new university, and a school kitchen.

If a student is smart but not brilliant, he may have to pay some of his way (or work it out). That depends on whether his share of his family's income is under 700 rubles a month.

Let me explain:

If a family's income is 3,000 ($300 a month) and there is only 1 child, then that child's share of the family income is 1,000. That is more than 700, so that child might have to pay part of his costs in medical or other school. But if there are 3 children in that family, that would make 5 (counting parents), so 1 child's share would be only 600 ($60 a month), and because that is under 700, that student would not pay anything.

America needs doctors.

Tens of thousands of American boys would become doctors if they could afford the schooling.

Russia is only a little larger than the United States of America in population, but every year it turns out seven times as many physicians as the United States of America.

Everybody knows they are turning out scientists and technicians faster than the United States of America.

Good teachers?

Indeed. A professor in Russia is paid several times as much as a laborer.

Over and over I have told you how the masses rebelled against the way the rulers, the landlords, and too often the church kept them in ignorance. Now they have determined to be the best educated people on this earth; and that may make them the greatest nation on this earth.

Meanwhile millions of bright boys in America have no change for higher education.

America may pay for that.

A Bill To Limit Inspection of FBI Files

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of being a member of the special Judiciary Subcommittee selected to undertake a study of the recent Supreme Court decisions which have caused so much concern here in Congress and to the American people throughout the Nation.

Since this subcommittee was appointed, we have been diligently holding hearings and drafting legislation to plug the legal loopholes which were created by these far-reaching edicts of the High Court. One of the first cases our subcommittee reviewed was the Jencks decision, in which the Supreme Court ruled the FBI files must be opened to inspection by a defendant if these records deal with the testimony of a witness called to testify by the Government during the trial. Because the subcommittee deemed this matter of such importance, legislation was immediately drafted which would limit the inspection of FBI files and prevent known criminals from conducting a fishing expedition through the secret records of the top investigative agency of our Government. The full Judiciary Committee reported this bill, H. R. 7915, to the House on July 5, and a rule was requested on this legislation on July 15. In spite of repeated proddings by myself and other members of the Judiciary Committee, the Rules Committee has not yet seen fit to report this most important legislation so that it might be considered by the House before adjournment.

I sincerely hope the chairman of the Rules Committee, my good friend, Congressman HOWARD W. SMITH, of Virginia, will take action to grant a rule on this legislation without further delay, because every day we wait the cause of justice is hamstrung by the decision rendered in the Jencks case. In this regard, I want to call attention of the House to an extremely timely editorial which appeared in the Wheeling News-Register on July 30, 1957:

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

During the year ending June 30 last, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reached a high tide of effectiveness. That is, a greater number of cases investigated by the Agency resulted in convictions, percentagewise, than during any other year of the past decade. In a report to the Attorney General FBI Director Hoover reported 11,218 convictions in which his men had a hand. More than 94 percent of these represented guilty pleas. Of those who elected to go to trial, 96.7 percent were convicted.

We wonder what the record will be a year from now if nothing is done to counteract the effect of the Supreme Court's decision which in effect opens up the secret records of the FBI to inspection by a defendant if these records deal with the testimony of a witness called to testify by the Government during the trial. Already the Attorney General's office has called off a number of prosecutions rather than subject secret files to fishing expeditions which the underworld might use to great advantage.

It is quite unlikely that the Supreme Court intended its decision to have the effect which law enforcement officers say it is having all along the line in the endless war between crime and law and order. It, therefore, Congress can devise a law which will make possible the continued effective use of confidential informers in the preparation of cases subsequently supported by testimony and other evidence in open court, it is to be supposed the Supreme Court will seek a constitutional means of justification.

Crucial Defeat for School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, since the defeat of the school bill last week the editorial writers have been busy passing judgment on what transpired. One of the most pointed—and one of the fairest—analyses of the vote on this legislation appeared in the July 27 issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

I present this editorial for evaluation by our colleagues, as follows:

CRUCIAL DEFEAT FOR SCHOOL AID

Last year partisan conflict killed school aid. This year responsibility rests chiefly on Republicans who refused to support the President and to fulfill their platform pledge.

Many political and economic cross-currents entered into the result. But at the time the House of Representatives killed the bill it had before it an amendment which would have accepted the excellent Eisenhower formula. And the motion to kill—offered as an alternative—was opposed by 57 percent of the Democrats, supported by 59 percent of the Republicans.

The issue was more clearly drawn than at any previous time. For by various steps many of the objections to earlier school-aid proposals had been removed. The House had emphatically declared its intention to leave local control of education unimpaired. The measure was limited in time and amount. It was confined to the sole purpose of building new classrooms. And finally the Democratic managers had accepted the President's plan for distributing funds according to actual need and the size of State efforts to meet the need.

The bill was still burdened with an anti-segregation amendment attached by a Republican who opposed the bill itself. This amendment naturally intensified the opposition of Southern Democrats and made it simpler to justify at home their opposi-

tion to a measure which would have helped build schools. The provision to deny aid to segregated schools would not have beaten the bill had all who favored it voted also for the basic measure to which they attached it.

This newspaper believes that schools are traditionally and rightly a local responsibility. It holds that Federal aid should be a last and strictly limited resort. It has frequently pointed out that many of the States do not need Federal help. Giving them school aid simply means Washington takes more tax money and sends a portion back as a deceptive and expensive political sop. This was the type of aid offered both last year and this year by the majority leaders in Congress.

But for 5 years there has been accumulating evidence that a few States are not meeting their school needs. And several are devoting to schools a far larger share of their resources than do the richer States. These circumstances have convinced us that a carefully limited Federal-aid measure was justified. The President proposed precisely this type of bill. The Democrats in Congress pushed their own measure, simply alloting funds to all States according to their pupil population. A short time ago a compromise was arranged by which both formulas would have been used—on a 50–50 basis.

Then on the final day the Democratic House leaders accepted the Eisenhower plan completely. Even then a combination of Republicans and Southern Democrats killed it. We believe that some were influenced by economy pressures. There is reason to believe that the President's plan could be carried out for half the $1.5 billion proposed. It seems to us that the best chance now would be for advocates to limit the amount as well as the purpose to deal only with the clearest needs.

Prosperity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, without comment, I request unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD comments on Mr. Weeks' prediction that 1957 is going to be "the best yet." I should say, "with only this comment, 'the best yet—for whom?'" The article is taken from Washington Window of July 26:

The article follows:

IS 1957 A GOOD YEAR?

Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks is predicting that 1957 is going to be "the best yet."

That may be true for certain sectors of the economy, but there are strong reports that for a good many millions of workers throughout the country the economic shoe is beginning to pinch.

The cost of living is still on the upward march. Far from being the cause of inflation, workers are complaining that they are the victims of it.

Personal income of Americans is still climbing but payrolls for production workers are slowing down as gains in average weekly earnings are more than offset by a "continuing decline in employment."

Some of the Nation's most highly paid groups—aircraft in the West and automobiles in Detroit—are being hard hit by layoffs and a drop in overtime income.

Nor do any of the normal economic indicators show the economy expanding at anywhere near the rate that is needed to absorb newcomers in the labor market or maintain the extremely high individual income level that was characteristic of 1955 and 1956.

Take these factors in order:

For the 10th straight month the cost-of-living index has gone up. For millions of workers this represents an actual cut in wages. Even for those who have escalator clauses in their contracts it means that they are barely holding their own.

Business economists insist on placing major blame on high wages despite much evidence being developed by the Kefauver committee clearly showing that the administered-price industries have been setting prices to suit their own purposes, irrespective of labor costs.

There is evidence also that individual workers feel that profiteering companies are basically responsible for the current boost in prices, beginning with steel and oil.

The Department of Commerce reports that personal income in June was almost $1 billion higher than in May, and that it is running at a rate $17 billion higher than during 1956. Yet the fact remains that this increase has been severely eroded by increases in the cost of living. Real purchasing power of factory workers—that is, the amount of goods that actually can be bought—has fluctuated up and down since the first of the year, with much of the gain made in 1955 and 1956 being wiped out.

One of the major drags on the economy has been the severe layoffs and drop in working hours that have marked certain industries. The layoffs in the Detroit region have created a serious problem for the State of Michigan, where unemployment is expected to rise to 235,000 shortly. So serious is the unemployment picture that Gov. G. Mennen Williams has declared it a public emergency and is providing road jobs for the unemployed.

A new area of distress has developed on the west coast in the aircraft industry, involving both layoffs and a sharp drop in overtime. Most dramatic event has been cancellation by the Air Force of North American Aviation's Navaho guided-missile project. This is expected to throw more than 10,000 workers out of jobs.

Again strict economy instructions by the Defense Department have cut sharply into overtime such as has built up pay checks for the past few years and made possible an unusually high standard of living. The Wall Street Journal recently reported that the ban on overtime which cut hours in many cases from 45 down to 40 has had a real impact on workers' income—as much as $25 a week in many cases.

As Department of Commerce reports continue to point out, the 1957 economy is at record levels, but much of this can be attributed to increased dollar value due to inflation rather than actual physical output.

Study of the Department's own economic indicators shows a flattening out of business even though activity remains high.

Total industrial production, for example, which shot up so fast after the recession of 1954, has flattened out during the past year, and, in fact, has dropped during the first 6 months of 1957.

Manufacturing payrolls for production workers have correspondingly dropped, while employment in manufacturing is virtually at the same level at is was back in 1954. Due to an advance in the hourly wage rate and escalator clauses, average hourly gross earnings in manufacturing have increased since 1954 but have been flattening out since the first part of 1957.

Average hours per week now barely average 40 after having been well above that for the past 2 years.

John L. McClellan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, at the State convention of the American Legion, Department of Arkansas, on July 26, Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN was given a most distinguished service citation. This is an honor well deserved by our senior Senator, who has brought honor not only to himself and his family but to all the rest of us by his work in the Congress and for our State.

I was not privileged to be at the convention. However, my good friend Ulys A. Lovell, of Springdale, Ark., retiring State commander, has sent me a copy of the citation, his remarks introducing Senator MCCLELLAN to the convention, and the Senator's address accepting the citation, all of which I insert in the RECORD:

Nationally the American Legion has for a number of years conferred on distinguished citizens of the United States a most distinguished service citation. These citations are based upon the contribution of the recipient to the principles of Americanism. Among the very first principles of the American Legion, as shown in its preamble following the words: "For God and country we associate ourselves together for the following purposes" are:

1. To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America.
2. To maintain law and order.
3. To foster and perpetuate 100 percent Americanism.

This distinguished service citation is given by the American Legion to that citizen, veteran or nonveteran, who the American Legion feels has contributed most to Americanism. Here in Arkansas we haven't as yet until tonight made an award of this nature. When I canvassed my policy committee and other distinguished Legionnaires in Arkansas as to the man on whom we should confer this citation, they were unanimous in recommending Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN.

Senator MCCLELLAN has a distinguished Legion background. He entered the service August 26, 1917, and was discharged February 4, 1919. He was commissioned after serving due time as a buck private and attended the Second Officers Training Camp, a first lieutenant in the Signal Corps of the United States Army.

Immediately after his discharge he organized the American Legion Post at Sheridan in 1919. When he moved to Malvern he transferred his membership in the American Legion to the post in that city. Since living in Camden he has been a member of Robert Jackson Post, No. 45, of Camden, continuously. He is a member of the 40 et 8 Voiture, at El Dorado. He has been continuously a member of the American Legion since organizing the post at Sheridan so that when his 1958 dues are paid he will be a 40-year member of the American Legion.

JOHN MCCLELLAN was born with a deep burning ambition. An ambition to make something of himself; an ambition to rise above the humble surroundings of his birth; not that there was anything wrong with those surroundings for there wasn't, but an ambition to achieve a status in the world whereby he could improve the lot of those in whose surroundings he was born. He was always interested in the law and poli-

tics; studious, with a sense of understanding far beyond his years of what was going on around him he passed the bar examination at the age of 17 and a special act of the legislature had to be passed so that he could be admitted to practice. He early became interested in politics as a natural implement of his legal education. He served his city, county, and district in various offices of those governing units and in 1934 was elected to the House of Representatives. In the House of Representatives that ambition to be of service to the people he served began to achieve fruition. He was the author of a great deal of constructive legislation of national interest dealing with schools, labor relations, Internal Revenue Code and budgeting procedure to effect substantial economies in governmental operation. In November 1942, he was elected to the high office of United States Senator and is now serving his third term as senior Senator from Arkansas. The willingness to work and a burning desire to do something for people still hasn't deserted Senator MCCLELLAN. He is a member of 3 standing committees; 2 special committees, and 13 subcommittees. His determined opposition for more than 20 years to totalitarian aggression has made him a leader of the free world's fight against communism both in the United States and abroad. When it looked as though the liberals, wooly heads, and fuzzy thinkers in our Government might work out a plan whereby Communist China could be admitted to the U. N. JOHN MCCLELLAN grabbed the ball and put through the Senate a resolution stating that it was the sense of the United States Senate that those representing the United States at the United Nations, should do all they could to keep Communist China from being admitted to the United Nations. In a great many hearings his painstaking, thorough research has flushed from cover a number of Communists and the work that he has carried on has given to other committees and to their members, leads whereby they have been able to flush out Communists in our country.

Yet, with all his desire to flush out communism in Government or out, he has been meticulous in protecting the rights of individuals under our Constitution. He has no patience with those, however, who would attempt to use the Constitution to cover up their Communist ties. Senator MCCLELLAN'S thinking on Americanism is balanced. He is now engaged in the Senate in digging out corruption and graft as related to the labor movement and I am sure he will mention in his remarks the fine response he has gotten from the laboring people themselves. Senator MCCLELLAN has been one of the most ardent advocates of our public-school system and has used every effort to improve the free public-school system in this country and yet at the same time, keep the hand of bureaucracy off them.

Recently I came across a statement which I think sums up Senator MCCLELLAN'S public life better than any other:

"It is almost impossible to make a single-valued judgment of Senator MCCLELLAN'S kaleidoscopic activities. He is one of those rare gadflies who can keep the public intelligence from lethargy and its conscience from indifference."

Based then on Senator MCCLELLAN'S contribution to Americanism in the State of Arkansas, the United States, and the world as exemplified by his words and deeds in the Congress of the United States, it gives me a great deal of of pleasure to award to Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, on behalf of the Arkansas Department of the American Legion, our first annual Most Distinguished Service Citation and plaque which accompanies it. The citation is as follows:

"MOST DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CITATION—HON. JOHN L. M'CLELLAN

"Whereas Senator MCCLELLAN has waged an unceasing and an unrelenting fight in the United States House and Senate against atheistic communism in all its forms; and

"Whereas Senator MCCLELLAN is an ardent advocate of the separation of powers as ordained by our Founding Fathers; and

"Whereas no public figure excels him in respect and admiration for the Constitution of these United States, and no public figure excels him in contempt, disdain, and ridicule of those who attempt to negate the Constitution; and

"Whereas Senator MCCLELLAN has by his untiring and herculean efforts on behalf of the common man, earned the approbation of all those who believe in the dignity of man; and

"Whereas Senator MCCLELLAN has, by his unselfish devotion and service to the peoples of Arkansas and these United States, fostered and helped to perpetuate a 100 percent Americanism; Now, therefore

"The American Legion, Department of Arkansas, is proud to award to JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, Arkansas' senior United States Senator, its first annual Distinguished Service Citation in recognition of his contribution to the American way of life and in recognition of his devotion to the principles of Americanism.

"This the 26th day of July 1957.

"THE AMERICAN LEGION,
DEPARTMENT OF ARKANSAS,
"By ULYS. A. LOVELL,
"*Department Commander.*

"Attest:

"JOEL A. BUNCH,
"*Acting Department Adjutant.*

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, "ALL-STATE" BANQUET, AMERICAN LEGION AND AUXILIARY, LITTLE ROCK, ARK., JULY 26, 1957

Distinguished Legionnaires, members of the Legion Auxiliary, my friends and fellow citizens of Arkansas, the honor you have so graciously conferred upon me in the presentation of this citation award and plaque has aroused within me emotions of gratitude and sentiments of appreciation that mere words and beautiful phrases are inadequate to express. When I say that I am thankful, overjoyed, and happy, it comes from the depths of my heart.

This recognition I had not expected. It is one, I know, many others are more deserving to receive. The nature of the award, and your authorship of it, strike many tender feelings in my being. There is no other patriotic organization that could confer such an honor upon me from whom I would rather receive it. I shall always cherish it.

I accept this award and the honors associated with it with grateful appreciation and in profound humility. But I accept it not alone for myself, my wife, and family but also for and in the name of the fine citizens of our great State, whose quality of patriotism and Americanism I am proud to acclaim as being of the highest and best and unexcelled anywhere in the world.

I accept in that spirit because I want to give credit where credit is due—credit to you, the members of the American Legion and the Legion Auxiliary, and to all the people of Arkansas who have in the exercise of their franchise elected me to the high office of United States Senator and afforded me the opportunity to labor conscientiously—and I hope sometimes effectively—in the vineyard of service to our country.

So, I say to you tonight with all the emphasis I can command that my gratitude for the high privilege and honor of serving our wonderful State in the greatest and most majestic law-making body in the world deepens and increases with the passing years.

Each succeeding session of the Congress has thrust upon me new duties and added responsibilities. The workload of your Senators and Congressmen mounts higher and higher as the Federal Government grows bigger and its problems become more complex and complicated. This accelerated growth is only in part due to international commitments we have made and obligations we have assumed in the fight against the Communist, worldwide conspiracy and in our struggle to maintain and preserve peace.

This so-called cold war conflict has necessitated enormous expenditures for military preparedness here at home. We have generously assisted other countries for the purpose of aiding them to withstand and resist any totalitarian threat of aggression and conquest. Currently, the cost of our national defense program and foreign commitments is approximately $45 billion annually.

But there are many other contributing factors to the swollen cost and bigness of our Government. In response to popular demand, many new domestic programs have been, and are being, initiated and existing programs expanded and increased governmental services are being provided. All of these make for astronomical Federal expenditures and burdensome taxation of our people.

This huge spending by Government is generally acknowledged to be one of the causes of inflation, but there are other pressures in our economy that contribute mightily to the continuing rising prices and high cost of living.

The leapfrog process of large increase in wages, and then a corresponding increase in the cost of products to consumers keeps the spiral of inflation ascending upward and onward to new plateaus of greater danger. This, in my judgment, is one of the gravest domestic problems we face.

Your Government has tried, and is trying, some measures to combat these forces, but none so far have proved to be adequate or very effective. Many ideas have been advanced and proposals made by leading economists, and by our best statesmen. Some of them may be worthy of application and if tried might prove helpful, but I regret to say as of now we have not found the answer to this most vexing and continuing problem.

Unless we do find a way to check these inflationary forces and stabilize our economy, we may have to pay a terrific price in unhappy consequences. Out of these consequences, many people will suffer the loss of their financial security.

If we are to avert those consequences, it may become necessary to apply some very harsh remedies, the nature and extent of which cannot now be foretold; but I do regard this problem of inflation and ever-rising cost of living as the gravest domestic problem and challenge that is facing our Government today.

So, it is no wonder that the Federal Government is today so big, so complicated, and so cumbersome that it is beyond the capacity of the finite mind of any one man to know and understand all of its ramifications, or to keep current with all aspects of its activities and administration.

On occasions like this when speaking at home, I find it impossible in a brief address to discuss all matters and subjects relating to Government, in which my audience may be interested. So, tonight I shall largely confine my remarks only to two other matters of current, major concern and of great national interest.

The first I shall speak of is presently referred to in Washington and by a large segment of the press as the big issue. It relates to the abominable so-called civil-rights bill, which passed the House of Representatives and is now being heatedly and extensively debated in the United States Senate.

Last year on 2 or 3 occasions in speeches to groups in Arkansas, I commented about a similar bill then under consideration before House and Senate committees, and I stated at that time that it was the most vicious piece of legislation that I had ever seen presented to the Congress. That was

not an exaggerated statement, and it applies with equal emphasis to the bill now under consideration.

The language of the present bill was so cunningly contrived and arranged as to reflect that the intention of the author of it was to conceal rather than to reveal its true objectives and the results that it would achieve if enacted into law. The craftsmanship in drafting it definitely indicates the handiwork of an artful deceiver.

This measure was presented to the Congress as a moderate bill. The administration, through the Attorney General, and through congressional advocates of the bill, claimed that its principal objectives was to make secure the right to vote. Many among the very elect were at first deceived into believing that to be true. But they now know it was in fact grossly misrepresented to them.

If that were all the bill provided, there would not be strong opposition to it. It would be of little concern to us here in Arkansas, for I know of no qualified voter in Arkansas who is denied, or who is likely to be denied, the right to vote in elections in our State.

But the public did not know, and a majority of the Members of the Senate did not know, of the many evils the bill contains until southern Democrats began to expose them in Senate debate.

The public did not know, and were not told by the sponsors of the bill, that its primary purpose was to implement the Supreme Court's decision on segregation and thus force integration of the races in the public schools of the South.

The public did not know, and the proponents of the bill did not tell us, that the bill contained the hidden authority for the President of the United States, or for someone designated by him, to call out the Armed Forces of this country to force integration in our schools at the point of a bayonet.

The public did not know that this bill contained an infamous device that would destroy the right to trial by jury as guaranteed by the Constitution to everyone accused of crime.

The public did not know, and a few Members of the Senate seemed to know, that this bill was so cunningly contrived that it would substitute the injunctive processes in a court of equity and contempt proceedings thereon for our traditional system of indictment by a grand jury and by trial of the accused before a jury of his peers.

The public was not told, and did not realize, that this bill gives to the Attorney General the power, and makes it his duty, to file suits in the name of the United States, and at the expense of the taxpayers, against any citizen who someone may charge has deprived him of, or hindered him in securing, any of his so-called civil rights.

I could continue on and on to point out how this measure is a radical departure from our traditional constitutional system of jurisprudence and justice. I could point out that this bill would virtually set up a gestapo department in the Department of Justice, that it would establish a commission, at unlimited expense to the taxpayers, with authority for 2 years to hound, harass, and intimidate good law-abiding citizens of this country.

I could say much more about it, but the foregoing are just some of the evils we have already exposed. I can assure you that others will follow, but these exposures so far have been sufficient to shock the conscience of this Nation and to demonstrate that the bill was designed and intended as a punitive measure against the people of the South.

These exposures have been sufficient to cause many Senators to change their views, and with the happy result that part III, which contained some of the most vicious provisions of the bill, was stricken from it by a vote of 52 to 38 last Wednesday. Of course, what the Senate strikes from it could well be restored by the conferees, and I understand some of the leading proponents in the House are saying that in conference they will accept no Senate amendments. In other words, what has been stricken from the bill could again be restored, but I am encouraged to believe that unless the jury-trial amendment is adopted and the bill is reduced to a purely right-to-vote measure, it will never become a law.

I have taken the position that if the abolition of the process of grand-jury indictment for crime and trial of the accused by a jury, as guaranteed by the Constitution, is a necessary procedure to apply against a citizen of the South for alleged violation of someone's civil rights, then the same law should be made to apply to the Communist conspiracy in this country that would destroy the liberty and civil rights of us all.

Certainly, to organize, teach, and conspire to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence is a much graver crime than that of denying some individual the right to vote. Accordingly, I have offered an amendment to the bill that would apply the same procedure to the Smith Act and against the Communist conspirators. It is my opinion a vote on this amendment will be a test of the sincerity, good faith, and consistency of those who want to adopt this unorthodox—and in my opinion unconstitutional—procedure in so-called civil-rights cases.

If it is proper to apply such remedies against a good American citizen of a Southern State, then it is a thousand times good as a remedy against the Communists who are enemies of us all.

One of the added duties with increased responsibilities assigned to me at this session of Congress is that of chairman of the Senate Select Committee To Investigate Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. I am sure you already know something of this committee and its activities. I doubt, however, that the general public yet fully understands and appreciates the full scope of the committee's jurisdiction and the magnitude of the task assigned to it.

When the committee was created, it was given 1 year in which to carry out its mission, but it soon became apparent that it would be impossible to get the job done within that period of time.

During the past 6 months that this committee has been in existence we have received more than 50,000 letters and communications. Some 40,000 of them are from members, and from the wives of members, of labor unions. Of these, not just hundreds, but literally thousands of them, make complaints regarding the corruption in their union or improper practices that they know exist. To examine all of these, and to analyse and screen out those complaints that have little or no merit, requires meticulous work; and after doing that we find there are hundreds of them that do have sufficient merit as to warrant the committee's attention.

Since the committee began holding public hearings on the 26th of February, this year, it has had some 75 open sessions at which it has heard more than 125 different witnesses, with the result that much corruption, criminal and improper practices have already been exposed in a number of large unions, and some in local areas.

Presently major preliminary investigations are underway in 8 or 10 other States involving different unions and covering some new and different aspects of the problem to those heretofore disclosed by our inquiry. These include collusion and improper practices of management, racketeer control, and secondary boycotts.

Three of these separate areas and inquiries are now ready for public hearings. Others will soon be ready and this committee will continue to hold hearings from time to time during the rest of the year and throughout the recess period of the Congress. It will take the committee until December or January to process in public hearings the preliminary investigations that are now underway. Beyond that, there are complaints and charges in other areas and other unions that we have already determined will require committee action.

As I give you this report on the committee's activities, I want to emphasize again and again that there are many, many honest unions and honest union officials. It is not the purpose of this committee to destroy unionism. If the committee can carry out its true mission, and have its work and recommendations implemented by proper legislation, the result should be the elimination of the rats, the thieves, and racketeers that are now preying upon the honest working people by misappropriating and stealing their funds and by arbitrarily and dictatorily imposing practices that deny to the union members their constitutional right of democratic processes in the election of their officials and in determining union policy.

It is interesting to note that less than 2 percent of all the communications the committee has received are critical. The other 98 percent applaud and commend us in the work we are doing.

It is also extremely gratifying that Mr. George Meaney, president of the AFL–CIO, and many presidents and high officials of other international unions are cooperating with the committee and have manifested a desire and purpose to help eradicate from unionism those undesirable elements and forces that the committee has been exposing and will continue to expose.

By its working cooperatively with the committee, we can aid the AFL–CIO in the implementation and making effective the excellent code of ethics it has adopted with the purpose of preventing improper practices and improving the standard of unionism.

I think most of you know that I have had a little previous experience in conducting investigations. This one, however, is the most difficult of any that I have heretofore experienced. We have found that we cannot get much cooperation from those who have misappropriated union funds and engaged in other improper practices. In fact, we encounter considerable obstruction and finally, in many instances, we are confronted with the Fifth Amendment device that is becoming so prevalent today among people who engage in wrongdoing or who use that as a pretext to keep from telling what they know on others.

Then, too, in exposing the racketeers, extortionists, and those who are preying on the innocent and hard-working, honest labor union members, those who are misappropriating union funds for their private gain, we are dealing with, in some instances, goon squad characters, hoodlums, and gangsters. They will do anything that they think they can get by with to obstruct or wreck the committee's efforts.

I knew this was a tough assignment when I took it. I knew the individual members of the committee would be sniped at, and possibly smeared, and that there would be those who would attempt to sow seeds of discord among us and stir up strife between us in the hope that they could disrupt the committee and impair its usefulness and the thoroughness of its work. I have seen some evidence of sniping at the committee from some minor segments of the press. I am happy to say, however, that both the press and the public generally have given us enthusiastic support and cooperation in this job that must be done.

I am also glad to report to you tonight that the committee is working harmoniously and that up to now we have been able to keep it truly bipartisan. There is no place in this job for partisan politics.

Those forces and elements of evil that are now operating in the labor-management field

must be checked, and adequate and effective laws must be enacted to deal with them. We cannot be indifferent or complacent and do nothing and permit these forces to gain their objectives of a gangsterism economy in America. The committee will do its best and, with the overwhelming support and approval of all decent people in both management and unions, we will make America a better place in which to live.

Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the controversial natural-gas bill is again consumming the time and energies of Congress, repeating the experience of other years when it has been considered in the closing hours of the legislative session.

Month after month passed by in the early part of the session with little legislative activity. In midsession proponents of natural-gas legislation, principally industry forces, announced agreement had been reached on legislation acceptable to industry.

As the Representative of a gas-consuming area, I deplore the necessity of considering legislation which serves no public interest and which will result in higher gas prices in my community.

I want to commend my distinguished colleagues, Hon. RAY MADDEN of Indiana, and Hon. JAMES DELANEY of New York for their vigorous efforts to probe the necessity of this legislation in the Rules Committee.

The following article by Drew Pearson in his Washington Merry-Go-Round article which appeared in the Washington Post of yesterday completely discusses the action which took place this week in the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives.

The article follows:

GAS BILL HITS COMMITTEE SNAG

(By Drew Pearson)

The natural gas legislation, which in these days of inflation will add about $800 million annually to the consumers' gas bill, hit a couple of snags in the House Rules Committee last week.

The gas and oil lobbyists were all set to see the gas bill slide through Chairman HOWARD SMITH'S Rules Committee like greased lightning when it ran full force into the adamant figures of Congressmen RAY MADDEN, of Gary, Ind., and JIM DELANEY, of Long Island City, N. Y.

Chairman SMITH started the Rules Committee hearings in a big hurry. SMITH is the Congressman who used to represent George Washington's old home, Alexandria, just across the Potomac, but had to move to more rural Virginia when this area got too progressive. He is head of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition which just killed the school bill and his Rules Committee is the all-powerful group which decides whether a bill shall be sent to the full House of Representatives for a vote or not.

Congressman OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas, author of the gas bill and longtime friend of the public utilities, appeared as a witness.

"What is the reason that this bill comes to us during the closing days of Congress?" asked MADDEN, whose Indiana district, just outside Chicago, consumes millions of dollars worth of gas.

SMITH WIELDS GAVEL

"You had all of January, February, March, April, May, and June to bring this bill in, but now you bring it in a few days before adjournment," MADDEN continued. "Is this because you want to rush it through during the closing excitement of adjournment when nobody is paying too much attention? This is what happened last year. After all this delay why the big rush?"

Chairman SMITH fussed and fumed. He held his gavel in hand as if ready to bring it down on the slightest provocation.

"How much time do you plan to take?" he fumed at MADDEN after the Indiana Congressman had asked many more questions.

"Now, Mr. Chairman," replied MADDEN, "we sat here for 2 weeks while you went into the housing bill and for 4 weeks while you considered the civil-rights bill. Now comes along a bill which will take close to $1 billion out of the pockets of the American consumer and yet you want to rush it through in 1 hour."

The hearings by now had passed well beyond the noon hour, when the House goes into session. It was 1:30 p. m., and Congressman CLARENCE BROWN, Republican, of Ohio, had slipped out for lunch. Noting this, MADDEN told SMITH:

"Now, Mr. Chairman, you're not going to starve us just because you want to rush approval of this gas bill. The rest of us want some lunch, too. And after that we'll want to go over to the floor and take part in defeating the school bill."

Committees are not supposed to sit while the House is in session, so reluctantly SMITH bowed. He adjourned the gas hearings until next day.

PUT DOWN THAT GAVEL

Next day the same thing happened. Nervously, hurriedly, Chairman SMITH held his gavel aloft, trying to rush the witness.

"Mr. Chairman," said JIM DELANEY, "I wish you'd put that gavel down. * * * I'm afraid it might fly off and hit somebody."

Congressman TORBERT MACDONALD, of Malden, Mass., another Democrat, was the witness. He has waged a vigorous, uphill battle to show that his fellow progas Congressmen were simply doing what United States Steel did for inflation by increasing the price of gas. He now told an amazing story of how the gas lobby had drafted the bill, how Chairman Kuykendall, of the Federal Power Commission, supposedly the protector of the public, had worked with them.

Congressman JOSEPH O'HARA, a Republican from Minnesota, which needs natural gas, referred to a letter from Mr. Eisenhower supporting the bill. O'HARA is also for the bill.

"Wouldn't you say the President was a little bit for the bill and a little bit against it?" remarked MADDEN after the letter was read.

Everybody laughed.

"We passed this bill last year," continued MADDEN, "and then the President vetoed it. A lot of Congressmen were put in a box. Isn't it going to be awfully embarrassing for us if we get in this box again? Don't you think we ought to look at this carefully?"

Finally Chairman SMITH gave up. What discouraged him was the statement from alert young CHARLES VANIK of Cleveland, that several other Congressman wanted to testify. Later VANIK came up with a list of 24 Congressmen.

SMITH is now continuing the hearings. But he is still determined to push the gas bill through during the closing days of this session. In fact, strategy is all set to vote on a Friday when the big city Congressmen from New York, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn are home weekending.

The Handicapped Make Good Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been a matter of real satisfaction to me to be actively interested in the field of rehabilitation of our physically handicapped citizens and friends. The Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the State bureau of vocational rehabilitation are to be highly complimented for the wonderful record they have accomplished in the year ending June 30, 1957. It is really inspiring to know that by teamwork Pennsylvania leads the Nation in preparing and placing physically handicapped people in gainful employment.

We in Pittsburgh, Allegheny County, as well as western Pennsylvania, are doubly proud of the accomplishments of this area. The Pittsburgh office of the State bureau of vocational rehabilitation made the best record last year of any of the 10 district offices in Pennsylvania.

Congratulations to the teamwork provided by the office personnel both State and Federal, and a whole basketfull of orchids for the Pittsburgh employers and physically handicapped workers for giving such a good name to our community and adding to the highest standard of living for all of us.

I hope that America never forgets that the handicapped make good workers and in many instances the handicapped make the best workers.

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of July 31, 1957]

THE HANDICAPPED MAKE GOOD WORKERS

Pensylvanians should find much satisfaction in the good record their State is making in the important field of vocational rehabilitation. The Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has announced that during the year ended June 30 Pensylvania led the Nation in preparing and placing physically handicapped citizens in gainful employment.

The value of this program may be weighed in practical as well as in humanitarian considerations. The latter tell us that in a civilized society we do not follow the jungle code of the survival of the fittest. And from the practical point of view, when a disabled person is rehabilitated and becomes a taxpayer, he repays the cost of his rehabilitation through Federal income taxes alone in a matter of only 7 or 8 years.

Continuing surveys show that the quality and quantity of work done by properly placed handicapped workers is as good, or better, than that of the nonhandicapped. The handicapped worker is so eager to make good that he frequently compiles a better record, in such matters as attendance, than others.

Of the 10 district offices run by the State Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, the

Pittsburgh office made the best record last year. It rehabilitated and placed 1,287 handicapped persons, more even than Philadelphia.

All who have had a part in this humane and constructive program—including in particular those enlightened employers who accepted the handicapped in their offices and plants—deserve the admiration of their fellow citizens.

Austin, Tex., Likes Emma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor recently gave signal recognition to the city of Austin, Tex., which is my home, by publishing a story by Glenn Klein which tells of the splendid service rendered by Mrs. Emma Long, as a member of the City Council of the City of Austin. Mrs. Long has completed her fourth full term on the Austin City Council and was recently unopposed in an election which will extend her service to 10½ years. She was the first woman elected to a city council of a major Texas city. The story is as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of July 18, 1957]

AUSTIN, TEX., LIKES "EMMA"

(By Glenn Klein)

AUSTIN, TEX.—A long, continuous ringing pulled Emma Long out of bed one midnight. Upon opening the door, she saw a complete stranger standing in the rain. He excitedly explained that his wife had been arrested, adding "you must do something about it."

Mrs. Long invited him in and, after listening to his story, decided that his wife was innocent. Mrs. Long, who is always ready to help, dressed and went with the man to town where he made bond and got the woman out of jail. In the morning, Mrs. Long sent her lawyer to the woman. It was found that her arrest resulted from a case of mistaken identity.

Mrs. Long, the first woman elected to a city council post in a major Texas city, seems to have become a habit with Austin. She spends much of her time helping citizens solve their problems, both personal and public. She is called on both day and night to help in matters ranging from difficulties in drainage and street repair to personal problems.

Around Austin, the catchword is, "If you want something at city hall, call Emma." Her friends say that she is always glad to help.

HELPS NEIGHBORS

She once worked several weeks on the problem of a neighborhood feud. One person in the area was receiving as many as 100 anonymous telephone calls a day.

By checking with the telephone company and tracing calls, she discovered who was doing the calling. She then talked to the caller and found that a children's squabble had started the trouble. She organized a conference between the families and the feud soon ended.

Getting people out of jail, recovering dogs, having dogs penned up, explaining the workings of city hall, and just listening to troubles are not unusual items on Mrs. Long's daily agenda.

One man called and told her that he had never voted for her as he did not believe in women being involved in politics. But he added, "I like what you did about getting my street repaired, so you have my vote from now on."

Known as Emma to most of her 180,000 constituents, Mrs. Long has been elected five times to the council, the first when councilman HOMER THORNBERRY resigned to run for Congress. Since she was active in several organizations and the Democratic Party at that time, several people asked her to run for the council position. She finally agreed because of her interest in civil government and in the people of Austin.

DEFEATED FOR SENATE

Last summer Emma tried for election to the State senate, but ran a close second for her first political defeat. She took it good-humoredly, saying, "The voters gave me a mandate to stay on the city council."

The unpaid job as city councilman (the charter says she's a councilman) fills the spare time Emma has from her job of taking care of 2 sons and a home at 813 Park Boulevard, and her part-time work as a reporter for her husband's State Capitol News Service for Texas newspapers. She says her husband "has a very good attitude about my being on the council. He is interested in the council and is very helpful."

RAN UNOPPOSED

Mrs. Long has completed her fourth full term on the Austin City Council, and was recently unopposed in an election which will extend her service to 10½ years.

During her long tenure as councilman, Mrs. Long often has been a storm center as minority member of the 3 councils in the 1949–55 period. Her major projects have been the reorganization and enlargement of Brackenridge Hospital, adoption of ordinances to require pacing of all new streets opened by subdividers, improvement of wages and working conditions of city employees, and, most of all, "to see that every citizen gets equal treatment."

Mrs. Long was Emma Jackson, of Hereford, Tex., when a student at Texas University. The red-haired Texan's major was history and her minor was government. This is where she got her background for her full-time hobby, as she calls her council job. She was married in 1936 to Stuart Long soon after her graduation.

Emma worked on Texas newspapers as a capitol correspondent with her husband as associate editor of six newspapers they formerly owned in west Texas. During the war she worked with the Army Security and Intelligence and, after the war, she operated a printing business in Austin.

United States Savings Stamps Used as Trading Stamps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES P. S. DEVEREUX
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. DEVEREUX. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House a unique use of United States savings stamps which have been used by a constituent of mine in place of the popular trading stamps, which are so well-known throughout the country.

A dry cleaner in my district by the name of Irvin Hackerman, of Pikesville, Md., has instituted a plan whereby he gives 60 cents in United States savings stamps to each customer who purchases $20 worth of dry-cleaning services from his establishment. Although the plan does not have the official backing of the United States Treasury Department, it has been done with their knowledge and approval.

I think Mr. Hackerman is to be commended for his originality and initiative. There are all kinds of stamp plans, but this is one that will help our Nation and will encourage thrift on the part of us all.

Blough Sights Fourth Quarter Steel Pickup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, when a business executive reports to his stockholders and the American people with the public confidence, outstanding competence, and background of Roger Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel, such considered statements should be given attention by the American people.

It is a pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a front-page article from the Journal of Commerce entitled "Blough Sights Fourth Quarter Steel Pickup." This article sets out the comments of Roger Blough at the time of the issuance of the report of the United States Steel Corp. for the second quarter of 1957.

As a personal friend and admirer of Roger Blough, I would like the Congress to have the benefit of his keen analysis and predictions on the future of the steel industry in the United States.

The article follows:

BLOUGH SIGHTS FOURTH QUARTER STEEL PICKUP

(By Sidney Fish)

Steel operations will improve in the fourth quarter, but the gain will be small compared with present levels, owing to the anticipated trend among steel consumers to reduce their inventories, Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel Corp. said in issuing its report for the second quarter.

The report showed that United States Steel earnings for this period were slightly better than in the first half and set a record for any quarter, although dollar sales failed to set a new record during this period. For the first half, sales and earnings also set alltime records.

COMPARED TO OTHER FIRMS

But Mr. Blough said that these earnings, while representing good performance by United States Steel, should be gaged against the earnings of other major companies.

A recent tabulation by a national magazine showed, he said, that United States Steel, among the 500 largest companies in this country, was ranked 123d in the size of its earnings as expressed in percentage of dollar sales, and stood 243d when its earnings were expressed as a percentage of capital invested in the business.

The steel industry, Mr. Blough said, would operate between 80 and 85 percent of capacity during the second half of this year, with some pickup shown in the final quarter partly as a result of improved demand from the auto industry.

Some evidence of improved auto demand has already made its appearance, he said. For United States Steel, operations for the third quarter will average a little less than the current rate of 84 percent, owing to vacations.

In the fourth quarter, United States Steel's operations should be a little better than 85 percent of capacity, Mr. Bough said.

SEEK TO CUT INVENTORIES

Reviewing the outlook for the second half, Mr. Blough said that the major factor during this period, as he interpreted the situation, was not the expected gain in automotive orders for steel, but the continued tendency of consumers to cut their inventories.

"Our concept is that inventories grew in the first quarter and continued to grow in the second quarter," he said. "By the end of the year, they should be back where they were at the beginning of the year.

"This means that there should be reasonably good business in steel consuming industries during the rest of this year."

NET INCOME UP

United States Steel reported net income for the second quarter of $2.04 a share on its common stock, compared with $1.83 a share in the June quarter of last year, and with $2.03 a share in the quarter ended March 31, 1957.

For the 6 months ended June 30, net was $4.07 a share, against $3.66 a share in the first 6 months of 1956.

United States Steel was the only one of the five largest steel producers to show a gain in net profit in the second quarter, compared with the same period of last year.

"Income for the second quarter of 1957 is reported as $115.9 million, or a return of 9.9 percent on sales of $1,170.3 million," Mr. Blough said. "Income for the first 6 months of 1957 is reported as $231.4 millions, or a return of 9.9 percent on sales, which compares with income of $208.6 million, or a return of 9.2 percent on sales, reported for the first 6 months of 1956.

SHIPMENTS SHOW RISE

"Shipments of steel products in the second quarter of 1957 amounted to 6,402,898 net tons. Shipments for the first 6 months totaled 13,022,691 net tons, which compares with 13,585,054 net tons shipped during the first 6 months of 1956.

"Production of steel ingots and castings in the second quarter of 1957 averaged 89.5 percent of capacity, which compares with production during the first quarter averaging 95.7 percent of capacity. The tonnage produced in the second quarter is equivalent to an index of 127.2 in terms of the 1947–49 average production as 100.

"Increases in wages and benefits which became effective July 1, 1957, under the terms of the 3-year labor agreements reached with the United Steelworkers of America in August 1956, together with appropriate increases for salaried employees not under union contract, will increase United States Steel's employment costs by an estimated 6 percent.

"Announcement has been made of an accompanying increase in carbon and alloy steel prices, effective July 1, averaging about 4 percent, or approximately three-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

"MORE FOR EXPANSION

"Expenditures for additions to and replacements of facilities totaled $141 million for the second quarter of 1957. At June 30, 1957, authorized projects to be completed required a further expenditure of $775 million.

"Working capital of the corporation and its subsidiaries at June 30, 1957, after deducting the current dividend declarations and the amount of $525 million set aside for payment of property expenditures, was $623.4 million, compared with $740.1 million at June 30, 1956.

"Long-term debt at June 30, 1957, exclusive of amounts due within 1 year, was $243.3 million, compared with $277.9 million at June 30, 1956."

CALLS RISE CONSERVATIVE

Mr. Blough, who will testify next week before a Senate judiciary subcommittee on the recent price rise in steel, said he felt that the July 1 price boost of around 4 percent was conservative and was less than many steel oonsumers had expected.

He added that there was no resistance to the rise, and he knew of no price shading or waiving of extras by other steel producers.

Asked whether United States Steel's administered price rise was not the result of other price boosts and cost advances, Mr. Blough said:

"Practically all prices in industry are adminstered prices, and our prices are dependent on what the other fellow does about his prices. This is true not only of the steel industry but of every industry that I know of."

IMPACT OF SCRAP PRICES

The price situation, Mr. Blough said, was influenced by such factors as a rise of 20 percent in scrap prices, in the 60 days prior to the steel price rise. Scrap is purchased in large qauntities by steel companies.

United States Steel, Mr. Blough said, had invested $3 billion on new plants since World War II. Approximately two-thirds of this amount came from depreciation charges, and the rest from retained earnings. During this period, the corporations investments were greater than its earnings.

Directors declared the usual quarterly dividend of 75 cents a share on the common stock, payable September 10.

The Sesquicentennial Year at Somerset, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues who travel United States Route 22 through southeastern Ohio have been impressed with the attractive community of Somerset in Perry County. As with all visitors, however brief their stay may be, they recall the statue of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, the Civil War hero, which dominates the village square. This statue of Somerset's most famous son reminds us of the legacy which this village holds from its illustrious past.

This is the sesquicentennial year at Somerset. During the week of September 22 through 28, the residents plan a celebration which will suitably mark this 150th year. These are the families of American pioneers whose forefathers found in the natural riches and scenic rolling hills of Perry County the site which succeeding generations have fashioned into a thriving and gracious village. Like the parents of Phil Sheridan who, as immigrants to America in the 1830's, found in Somerset the better place to live which they had sought, so it is today that the people of this community in the heart of our Nation, express their thankfulness for the blessings which are theirs.

I am sure that my colleagues here in Congress, from every State in the Union, join me in extending congratulations to this Ohio community, not only for having survived 150 years, but for having grown, prospered, and served as the birthplace for so many outstanding Americans, and a welcome home for all who have come there.

Lust for Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the American people today, as in the past, always welcome the sound and patriotic counsel and wisdom of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. His reflections and admonitions to his fellow citizens are now, as always, offered with the interest and welfare of his country as the sole and sincere motive.

Accordingly, I count it a privilege, under permission to extend and revise my remarks, to include the following extracts from remarks made by General MacArthur, as chairman of the board of directors, at the annual stockholders meeting of the Sperry Rand Corp., in New York City, July 30:

The world is entering an age of evolution greater than it has ever before known. Never in the 2 billion year history of human life, in the 5 billion years in which the earth has spun through the black vacuum of space from the sun, has man's faculty for learning assumed such immense new scope and power. We are acquiring an ever-greater degree of control and mastery over the processes of nature. We are now exploiting, not only scientifically but practically, the cosmic energy. We are graduating from earthly to universal dimensions. This evolution has happened so quietly and naturally—without ceremony or undue emphasis, without great debate or acid controversy—that we hardly know the exact instant that the change occurred. The tick of the clock sometimes sounds so softly we do not hear it; yet we now know the hour has struck. Vast panoramas will unfold before us, wave following wave, of a magnitude and diversity not as yet fully comprehended. Machines and mechanical devices will more and more operate other machines in an endless growing cycle, defined as automation, of labor-saving and multiple production systems.

To believe that this will be an evil, threatening mass unemployment and a consequent social upheaval somewhat similar to the disorders individual labor temporarily sustained in the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, would be illogical. Such an attitude would manifestly discount completely the relative slowness of the development and the corollary and beneficent im-

provements which always accompany progress. There will be changes in jobs requiring adaptation of the labor force but nothing to cause a large volume of unemployment. Actually, the productivity of the economy can be expected to grow at the rate of 3 to 4 percent a year while the number of new workers, due to growth of population, will be only about 1.5 percent.

Nuclear energy and electronic advances cannot fail to bring an age of relative plenty. For the first time there will be provided the tools which promise to mankind the satisfaction of his basic economic and material needs. Some of you may well live to see the day when we will be drawing energy not only from the sun but from the tides and the winds; will be creating unheard of synthetic materials; will be purifying sea water; will be mining ocean floors for basic minerals; will be celebrating a life span of a hundred and more years; will be launching space ships to reach the moon; will see poverty for the first time faced with possible extinction. Living standards will be the highest, scientific advances will be the most revolutionary, world affairs will be the most exciting in all history.

* * * * *

If businessmen were to be allowed a wish, I am sure it would be unanimously for lower taxes. The tax burden now is so oppressive as to be almost confiscatory of venture capital. As Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey recently testified before a congressional committee, "* * * the present heavy tax burden will seriously hamper necessary economic growth," adding that "* * * spending under existing Government programs will rise as fast as the increase in revenues resulting from economic growth unless Congress and the administration alter and reduce those programs."

Taxes for 1956 came to a staggering total of more than $100 billion. The Treasury received $70 billion and State and local governments the other $30 billion. This means that the cost of government consumes almost one-third of the national product which is the sum of all goods and services by the entire population of the United States. The Government's appetite for taxes has grown steadily and inordinately. In 1885 the per capita tax take was $1.98. In 1917 it was $7.92. During World War I it rose to $35.70. In 1932 there was a drop-off to $12.48. The high point of World War II was hit in 1945, at $312.86. Last year, the fiscal year of 1956, was the costliest of all, $446.86 per head for every one of us. Such jet-propelled figures are difficult to comprehend. Much is hidden from direct view in the form of unseen nibbles at the pay check after payment of the direct income tax. You never know you are paying because they appear as part of the purchase price of the items you buy. For example you pay in this indirect way: 20 percent of the cost of your food; $800 on a $3,000 automobile; half the cost of a package of cigarettes; nearly nine-tenths of the price of a bottle of whisky.

Taxes have grown so rapidly in recent years that now they are the largest single item in the cost of living. Americans will pay for government this year more than they will spend on food, clothing, medical care, and religious activities combined.

Before you sit down to a meal, morning, noon, or night, this is what happens:

The tax agent collects from the farmer who grew your food. He collects from the fertilizer companies and farm-equipment manufacturers who supplied the farmer. He collects rail and truck transportation taxes, manufacturers' excise taxes, telephone taxes, property taxes, sales taxes, income taxes, social-security taxes, gasoline taxes, license fees, inspection fees, permit fees; all these—and so many others that nobody even knows what they are.

When you buy a dozen eggs you pay at least 100 tiny taxes which do not appear on the bill. There are 151 taxes on a loaf of bread, at least as many and maybe more on a pound of beefsteak, a box of soap, a can of beans. Billions a year are drained off which should be invested in new or enlarged enterprises or spent on the products of these enterprises. I do not hesitate to predict that if Government continues to wrest from the people the basis for future industries and businesses our rapidly increasing population may eventually outgrow the number of jobs available and industrial labor will then face its greatest threat.

There seems to be no restraint in this lust for taxes. It began with the Federal income tax law of 1914 which gave unlimited access to the people's wealth, and the power for the first time to levy taxes not for revenue only but for social purposes. Since then the sphere of government has increased with a kind of explosive force. Thomas Jefferson's wise apherism, "That government is best which governs least," has been tossed into the wastebasket with ridicule and sarcasm. Whether we want it or not, we pay now for almost unlimited government; a government which limits our lives by dictating how we are fed and clothed and housed; how to provide for old age; how the national income, which is the product of our labor, shall be divided among us; how we shall buy and sell; how long and how hard and under what circumstances we shall work. There is only scorn for the one who dares to say, "The government should not be infinite."

Actually, the national budget now governs the economy. Unfortunately, it is becoming more and more abnormal. For years we have been spending far beyond our means. Our indebtedness is now estimated to be nearly $700 billion, a sum greater than the combined debt of all the other nations of the world. And, it has been charged without challenge that our Government this year proposes to spend as much as all other governments put together.

The Russian dictator, Lenin, that implacable foe of the free enterprise system, predicted as early as 1920 that the United States would eventually spend itself into bankruptcy. How many of our leaders still hear the echo of Thomas Jefferson's voice when he warned with reference to the future of this country:

"I place economy among the most important virtues and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our leaders load us with perpetual debt. We must make our choice between economy with liberty, or profusion with servitude. The same prudence which in private life would forbid our paying our money, forbids it in the disposition of public money. We must endeavor to reduce the Government to the practice of rigid economy to avoid burdening the people and arming the magistrate with a patronage of money which might be used to corrupt the principle of government. * * * The multiplication of public offices, increase of expense beyond income, growth of the public debt, are indications soliciting the employment of the pruning knife. * * * It is incumbent on every generation to pay its own debt as it goes."

How incomparably different in philosophy from Karl Marx, that patron saint of communism, who 50 years later, while planning the destruction of all constitutional government, said:

"The surest way to overturn the social order is to debauch the currency."

He referred, of course, to the process of inflation, induced by extreme taxation; the process of controlling economic conditions and thereby controlling the lives of individuals—a control of fiscal, monetary and general economic forces which produces higher prices and a gradual devitalizing of the purchasing power of money. The continuing rise in the cost of living is due to our drift deeper and deeper into inflation until today our whole economic, social and political system is infected by an inflationary mentality which approaches a point where the very foundations of our structure are threatened. "Taxation," with its offspring, inflation, said Lenin in support of the basic thesis of Karl Marx, "is the vital weapon to displace the system of free enterprise"—the system on which our Nation was founded—the system which has made us the most prosperous people of all history—the system which enabled us to produce over half of the world's goods and with less than one-seventh of the world's area and population—the system which gave our people more liberty, privileges and opportunities than any other nation ever gave its people in the long history of the world. No wonder Herbert Hoover recently exclaimed in reviewing our situation, "the spirit of Karl Marx no doubt rejoices. * * * He recommended some such actions as the road to socialism." And by socialism he meant the forcing of a centrally controlled economic life upon all persons in the nation, under an authoritarian monopoly that is politically managed.

Chief Justice John Marshall warned as early as 1819 that "* * * the power to tax involves the power to destroy." And he might have added that the road to destruction is the road of socialism. Its evidences which we see and talk about so much—the collectors and dispensers of socialistically used funds, the planning committees and enforcement bodies, the services they presume to render and the pyramids they build, the votes they coerce to maintain control—all these expressions of socialism are but the offspring of excessive taxation. If we want economic liberty—want to be free to work most productively and to have what we produce—our concern must focus on the tax roots to shut off the revenue which nourishes the disease. To work at the other end and merely bemoan the detailed projects of socialism or damn the persons who happen to be manning those projects at the moment, or even to change political personnel, would be about as effective in stopping socialism as changing undertakers would be to stop death.

Excessive taxation produces results somewhat resembling the evils of slavery and serfdom in days of old. To illustrate: The Government takes in taxes over a third of the income of the average citizen each year. This means that he or she is required to work entirely for the Government from January 1 until May 10. This begins to resemble the Soviet forced-labor system. It practically reduces the citizen for protracted periods to what amounts almost to involuntary servitude. It is indeed the modern although humanized counterpart in the 20th century of the abandoned slavery and serfdom of the preceding centuries. We will be fortunate if it does not finally reduce individuals to the universal status of robots.

The present tax structure is even now probably adequate eventually to socialize the United States. Our tax take is already greater than that of the admitted national socialistic countries, whether on this or the other side of the Iron Curtain. The effects may not yet be fully evident to the superficial eye, but the erosion of incentive, ingenuity, and integrity that results will be as deadly as the hidden cancer is to life. It can in time change the basic character of this great Nation as it has every other nation where it has become indelibly affixed.

In the last two decades our tax system has resulted in a creeping inflation which has devitalized the American dollar to 40 percent of its previous purchasing power. If

the present trend continues, the dollar may well sink to half its present value within another decade. Those who suffer most from such fiscal debasement are the men of small means—those living on fixed incomes, wages, annuities, or pensions—especially the workingman. But inflation does even more than debauch a nation's currency; it also debauches a nation's morals. It creates a false illusion of prosperity; it discourages thrift and honest effort; it encourages the kind of speculation that expects something for nothing. History shows how difficult it is for a nation to recover once it is in the sway of an irredeemably depreciating currency. The tendency is for prices to go higher and higher, the value of money to go lower and lower.

The inflationary forces which undermine the Western World of today are the same forces which were at work 1,700 years ago during the decline of the Roman Empire. Just as in Rome, our civilization is living beyond its means. It is living more and more for the moment, trying to anticipate today the pleasures of tomorrow. Why save, asks the citizen, if savings are likely to be expropriated through taxes and inflation? Why wait for the day when we can afford a house, or a car, or a TV set, if we can buy these things today on credit? It is no longer enough that our economy grows annually faster than the increase in population; the call is for twice this growth. Wages must rise faster than productivity; the standard of living faster than income. This is the folly known as inflation; yet many prominent economists and innumerable others still preach the desirability of what they call, limited inflation. Few know that Lord Keynes, generally regarded as the modern apostle of inflation, because of his famous treatise on finance, is said to have remarked just before he died that he must write another book to warn the British people that "* * * there is danger in inflation." Even ex-President Truman, a main protagonist of high taxation and free spending, recently wrote:

"I do not wish to minimize the serious consequences of the type of inflation we are now experiencing. It has already brought hardships to a large segment of our population, in the cities as well as on the farm, and especially to those who have to live on pensions and fixed incomes." What a change is there, oh, my countrymen. What a difference it would have made had it come at the zenith of his Presidential power rather than in the dismal aftermath of a paid newspaper column. But inflation is not a question of partisan politics. It can be controlled only if both political parties really wish to stop it; only if both parties are determined to limit spending so as to be within our means.

If financial output has to be increased in one segment it must be correspondingly decreased in another. If defense spending has to go up, other spending, whether for housing, roads, schools, farm aid, or social benefits, must be curtailed accordingly. This is only commonsense. But, even though tax receipts have doubled during the postwar era, total public spending continues to exceed revenues. Promises continue to be made to expand all sectors of the economy at the same time. Some are 42 percent larger than they were in 1953–54. Literally dozens of welfare projects little understood by the general public are hidden in the more than 1,000 pages of the budget which has grown so big that nobody has any clear idea how much waste it actually contains. Some almost incredible and fantastic falsities have been progressively foisted upon public opinion with reference to it. One is that it is a perfect example of scientific fact, that it is as true as 2 and 2 make 4, that it is arithmetically a perfect equation which cannot be disputed, that its preparation is rooted in such learned hands as to be quite beyond the comprehension of the ordinary citizen. This is all complete bosh and nonsense. The national budget is but the guesswork of a small group of individuals, temporarily gathered in Washington by administrative assignment, whose previous training and experience has little to do with acquiring any specific knowledge of the Nation's need. Each one, engrossed with the superimportance of his own function and power, estimates a maximum that he deems he can utilize, irrespective of extravagance. The sum of these, with some modification, becomes the budget unless someone at the top lowers the estimates to correspond with the actual resources expected to be available. The problem a balanced budget, instead of being a mystic and untouchable phenomenon, is actually the commonest and most universal one in the world. It faces the head of every household every year of life. It is simply, how much can be spent safely on living expenses. The question is not what can be luxuriously used, not even what may be actually necessary, but what can be obtained with the money available without injudicious borrowing. If one's natural desires were followed, they would always amount to much more than could be actually afforded. But the householder is forced to exercise prudent restraint and practice thrift or eventually he will face disaster. He must be able to say "No" to excess items when everything in him wants to say "Yes."

It is exactly the same basic problem in government, with the vital difference that the money involved is not that of his own but that of others collected by taxation. But what a monumental difference this makes. Instead of being frugal, one becomes lavish. Instead of being careful, one becomes reckless. Instead of being conservative, one becomes radical. Temptation assails one from every angle. Ambition becomes every human, indeed, the pressure of political currents, the blandishments of powerful lobbies, the allurements of expanding horizons, the disease of power, all play their potent part. At the best the result is but a guess, a speculative estimate with little or no controlling influences. How wrong it can be is testified to by the surpluses that have accumulated over the years. These surpluses, the overestimates in the national budgets of actual needs, glut our warehouses from coast to coast. They are not limited to agricultural products but exist in practically every field and every commodity. A member of the Hoover Commission which studied the matter estimated to me that in the last decade perhaps $100 billion worth of surplus had accumulated. A large portion of this, he said, could probably never be gainfully used. This is but one facet depicting the frailty, the inaccuracy, and the extravagance of the casual budget. I know from actual experience these frailties. For 5 years I made up the budget for the Army and Air Corps when I was the chief of staff, and for 6 years supervised the Japanese budget when Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in the Far East. The estimates submitted to me were astronomical compared to the moneys available without borrowing; but, it may interest you to know that the largest yearly budget I put in for the Army and Air Force, which were then combined, was approximately $400 million, and the highest for the entire Japanese nation of more than 80 million people was less than $2 billion. Yet, I can say confidently that the security of the United States was as relatively safe then as now, and that Japan's present prosperity, built on its postwar occupation budgets, has never been surpassed in modern times.

Only a month ago, Senator BYRD, the most potent financial voice in Congress, warned that he feared the country would "go over the precipice of financial disaster if the rise in Government spending were not curtailed." He said the country faces a "great potential danger because the Government has exhausted its power to tax and exhausted its power to borrow," that it has "no reserves."

Our swollen budgets constantly have been misrepresented to the public. Our Government has kept us in a perpetual state of fear—kept us in a continuous stampede of patriotic fervor—with the cry of grave national emergency. Always there has been some terrible evil at home or some monstrous foreign power that was going to gobble us up if we did not blindly rally behind it by furnishing the exorbitant funds demanded. Yet, in retrospect, these disasters seem never to have happened, seem never to have been quite real.

Another of the great illusions is that the Government gives the people free much of what they get from its services. I am convinced that the average citizen has no idea who pays for big government and how much. The painful truth is this: The Government produces nothing of itself. Whatever it spends for people it must previously take from the people in the form of taxes. Moreover, whenever the Government gives a service to people, it must at the same time take away from the people the right to provide and decide for themselves. And the amount which Government doles back to the people or spends to promote welfare is always only a fraction of what it takes away, because of the excessive cost of governmental administration. It is the little people that pay the largest part of the bill. Eighty-five percent of all the billions of dollars paid in income taxes comes from the lowest rate—the 20 percent paid by all persons with taxable income. Only 15 percent is added by all the higher rates up to 91 percent. Indeed, it has been suggested that one reason for the steep graduation of the income tax is to make the public think that people with high incomes pay most of the taxes. It is another illusion to think that excessive rates of a graduated income tax tend to redistribute the wealth. It merely prevents its accumulation and thereby blocks expansion of the Nation's economic strength. The very source of new and better jobs thus disappears. This is economic folly based on the false proposition that growth can be maintained through continuous inflation.

But, even greater issues are involved than any I have yet mentioned. Some years ago, the late President Woodrow Wilson made the following statement:

"The history of liberty is the history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it."

The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the constantly expanding grasp of governmental power. The great patriots of the American Revolution revolted not so much against the actual taxes imposed upon them by a British King but against the concept of government behind the taxes; the concept that government had unlimited power to do what government thought proper. They had a deep suspicion that government, if permitted, would waste the labors of the people and ultimately curtail the power of the people, always under the pretense of taking care of the people. That is why they tried to bind the Government down with the modest restrictions of a Constitution, limiting the Government's powers to the performance of carefully specified responsibilities.

Daniel Webster said on the floor of the United States Senate:

"All republics, all governments of law, must impose numerous limitations and qualifications of authority; they must be subject to rule and regulation. This is the very essence of free political institutions. The spirit of liberty is a sharp-sighted spirit; it is a cautious, sagacious, discriminating, far-seeing intelligence; it is jealous of encroachment, jealous of power, jealous of man. It demands checks, it seeks for guards, it

insists on securities; it fortifies with all possible care against the assaults of ambition and passion. It does not trust the amiable weaknesses of human nature, and therefore it will not permit power to overstep its prescribed limits, though benevolence, good intent, and patriotic purpose come along with it. Neither does it satisfy itself with flashy and temporary resistance to authority. Far otherwise, it seeks for duration and permanence. It looks before and after; and, building on the experience of ages which are past, it labors diligently for the benefit of ages to come. This is the nature of constitutional liberty; and this is our liberty if we will rightly understand and preserve it. Our security is in our watchfulness of executive power. It was the constitution of this department, which was infinitely that most difficult part in the great work of creating our present Government. To give to the executive department such power as should make it useful, and yet not such as should render it dangerous; to make it efficient, independent, and strong, and yet to prevent it from sweeping away everything by its union of military and civil authority, by the influence of patronage, and office and favor; this indeed was difficult.

"I do not wish to impair the power of the President as it stands written down in the Constitution. But * * * I will not blindly confide, where all experience admonishes me to be jealous; I will not trust executive power vested in the hands of a single magistrate, to keep the vigils of liberty."

He spoke those words 123 years ago; but they could as well have been spoken yesterday.

There are many who have lost faith in this early American ideal and believe in a form of socialistic, totalitarian rule, a sort of big-brother deity to run our lives for us. They no longer believe that free men can manage their own affairs. Their central thesis is to take your money away from you on the presumption that a handful of men, centered in government, largely bureaucratic not elected, can spend the proceeds of your toil and labor to greater advantage than you who create the money. Nowhere in the history of the human race is there justification for this reckless faith in political power. It is the oldest, most reactionary of all forms of social organization. It was tried out in ancient Babylon, ancient Greece and ancient Rome; in Mussolini's Italy, in Hitler's Germany, and in all Communist countries. Wherever and whenever it has been attempted, it has failed utterly to provide economic security, and has generally ended in national disaster. It embraces an essential idiocy, that individuals who, as private citizens, are not to manage the disposition of their own earnings, become in public office supermen who can manage the affairs of the world.

The Soviets have tried to legislate the perfect society; and today the average Soviet citizen has little more freedom and less comfort than the inmates of American jails. The old American philosophy of government more effectively promoted the ideal of human freedom, with greater material abundance for more people, than any social system ever propounded; freedom to live under the minimum of restraint—freedom to make your own mistakes if you will. The fundamental and ultimate issue at stake therefore is not merely our money, it is liberty, itself; the excessive taxation of an overgrown government versus personal freedom; a least common denominator of mediocrity against the proven progress of pioneering individualism; the free enterprise system or the cult of blind conformity; the robot or the free man.

On September 12, 1952, Senator Robert Taft conferred at Morningside Heights with his successful convention rival for the nomination for the Presidency of the United States, General Eisenhower. They later issued a manifest containing the following statement:

"There is and has been one great fundamental issue * * * it is the issue of liberty against the creeping socialization in every domestic field. Liberty was the foundation of our Government, the reason for our growth, the basis of our happiness, and the hope of our future. The greatest threat to liberty today is internal, from the constant growth of big government through the constantly increasing power and spending of the Federal Government. * * * The essential thing is to keep our expenditures * * * at a percentage of our total income which will not destroy our free economy at home and further inflate our debt and our currency."

How I wish that instead of my feeble voice I could sound those words as though they were written in blazing rainbow colors on the arch of the sky.

Republican Record of Accomplishments by Executive Departments, 1953–57

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in the Republican Record of Accomplishments by Executive Departments, 1953–57, we find these words:

Coupled with the achievements of the Eisenhower administration, history demonstrates that the Republican Party laid the groundwork for much of the natural resources legislation now on the books. For example, the Republicans:

Put through the first Reclamation Act in 1902 providing that all moneys received from the sale and disposal of public lands in 16 Western States should be set aside in a special Treasury fund for irrigation projects and reclamation uses.

Provided for the first installation in 1906 of hydroelectric power in reclamation projects with preference in the sale of such power to public and municipal users.

It is true that the Republicans helped put through the first Reclamation Act, but the party has been of scant assistance in making it effective in the more than 50 years that it has been on the books.

It is true that the Republicans included a preference clause in the 1906 act. But for the past 20 years, and particularly in the Eisenhower administration, Republican policy has been to destroy preference.

The history of Federal preference acts is not one continuous stream, but similar threads run through. The early-preference clause—1906—was apparently based on the simple, but now challenged, belief that if and when electric power was generated from reclamation dams, nonprofit, public groups had first call on this nonprofit public power produced at publicly financed projects.

Later preferences such as those in the TVA Act, the Reclamation Act of 1939, the Flood Control Act of 1944, and the Bonneville Act of 1938, as well as the preference in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, all stemmed from a later and more conscious use of preference as, first, in the 1906 act and, second, as an anti-monopoly, competitive yardstick device to force the monopolistic private-power industry to look to its P's and Q's on costs, not unit profits, in other words, an abundance of power at low cost, and marketing policies designed to achieve this end. Moreover, in the later acts nonprofit cooperatives were given preference along with local and State governmental units and the Federal Government itself.

The passing years have made it more and more clear that a preference to purchase power is of limited value to small, nonprofit systems unless transmission lines are provided either to actually transmit the power out to the load centers of these small systems, or to serve as a bargaining lever to compel private-power companies to wheel—transmit—power over their lines at reasonable prices.

Another aspect, which was to result in controversy, was over whether preference was to be a continuing preference, that is, whether the increasing requirements of preference customers could be met by withdrawing power from non-preference customers—after reasonable notice—or whether preference was a one-shot deal and once the power was marketed a right to its continued use became vested in the purchaser, preference or nonpreference.

Another complication has been related to the fact that in a great many hydropower installations the most economic use of the water is to install large capacity in terms of kilowatts with the result, especially where streamflow is erratic, that such capacity can be used for peaking purposes. Although this is the most economic use of hydro installations, it poses real problems for small nonprofit systems who do not have thermal capacity which will enable them to use the peaking capacity or to firm up the secondary energy which flows from the generators in periods of more than normal waterflow.

The attempts to negotiate reasonable contracts with private power companies, trading them valuable peaking power for firming or other capacity have been beset with sabotage, and efforts to get thermal power built by Federal agencies to firm up such power have been unsuccessful in every instance except in the case of TVA, due to the bitter opposition of the power companies.

A further aspect, which deserves consideration in any discussion of preference, is the manner in which Federal wholesale power rates are determined. Where power companies could get the power, they wanted it cheap. Where only the power companies had transmission lines into the dams, they wanted it cheap. But where preference customers had access to the power, the power companies and their numerous fronts have cried about subsidized power and have attempted to get the price of the power raised so high that it would in fact be unattractive to preference customers.

One means has been to jack up the allocations of joint costs of projects to power. Another has been to impose a purely artificial accounting system. Another has been to attempt to force power rates to be fixed on the basis of the cheapest alternative source, that is, private power company rates in the adjoining area.

Preference has no meaning if there is no new power coming on the line from Federal projects. Therefore, one way to harpoon this antimonopoly instrumentality is to dry up the source of new funds either by withholding appropriations, or by destroying feasibility on which authorizations must be based, or by instituting some kind of partnership scheme whereby control of the power produced is shifted to private interests.

Under the Eisenhower administration few stones have been left unturned to bulwark the private-power interests at the expense of their nonprofit, competitive yardsticks.

Basic to this achievement has been the attempt, so far unsuccessful, to establish a partnership between power companies and the Government.

The revised A–47 and the Executive orders under which Federal agencies such as the Corps of Engineers now carry out feasibility studies illustrate the extent to which the administration has gone in an effort to destroy feasibility, prevent authorization of new projects, and dry up Federal sources of power.

The Eisenhower partnership policy is designed to destroy preference and any real element of yardstick competition in the power industry by turning over the hydro resources of the country to the private-power companies.

By August 1953, the Department of Interior had abrogated the policy views of earlier administrations in a formal document full of doubletalk.

In September, Assistant Secretary Fred G. Aandahl in a speech at Fargo, N. Dak., announced the "reverse" yardstick. He said that within a few years the cost of Federal power would be so close to that of private-power companies that preference customers would have no advantage in getting Federal power.

In September 1953 the Department of Interior in its "marketing criteria for the Missouri Basin" sought to destroy the "continuing" nature of preference and contract away all Federal power not tied up in preference contracts to the private power companies. This criteria still exists—but the Langer-Kefauver hearings forced an abandonment of the contracting in fact.

In the Southwest the first Ike Republican Congress abrogated the contracts SPA had with the cooperatives. The cooperatives were saved from destruction only by the courageous investigations of Representative EARL CHUDOFF and the subsequent action of a Democratic Congress in repudiating this breach of faith.

In the Bonneville area (with Bonneville having the strongest, clearest, and most unequivocal preference provision of any Federal act) "Giveaway" McKay evaded preference by placing a 10,000-kilowatt limitation on new loads of preference customers, sold an important Oregon transmission line to private utilities, and in general did his best to destroy the rights of preference customers.

In Georgia, the Department of Interior attempted to force contracts on the rural electric systems which would have effectively eliminated their preference rights. This was so outrageous a violation of law that even Attorney General Brownell felt called upon to issue an opinion stating that the contracts were illegal and "flouted the will of the Congress."

Federal Water Storage Makes Local Public Dams Possible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter addressed to the editor of the Reader's Digest by Senators WARREN G. MAGNUSON and HENRY M. JACKSON and me concerning an article in the August 1957 edition of that publication entitled "Pacific Northwest Stands on Its Own Feet."

This is an extremely deceptive article that the Reader's Digest has published at a time when legislation to authorize Federal construction of a high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River is before the Congress. This article is deceptive, Mr. Speaker, as it reaches the totally illogical conclusion that since two State of Washington public-utility districts are building power dams on the Columbia River, Federal construction of such projects should be disregarded in the future. In my opinion, this article keynotes a new attack on vitally needed power projects in the Northwest such as the high Hells Canyon Dam. It seeks to mislead the public into believing that there no longer is a place in the hydroelectric power development of the Columbia River and its tributaries for Federal multipurpose projects, which, in fact, make the dams being constructed by various non-Federal entities possible.

The letter to the editor of the Reader's Digest follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 31, 1957.

EDITOR, THE READER'S DIGEST,
Pleasantville, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: This is in reference to the article in the August edition of your publication by Mr. William Hard, entitled "The Pacific Northwest Stands on Its Own Feet."

Mr. Hard does an excellent job in commending the two local public utility districts in the State of Washington, Chelan P. U. D. and Grant P. U. D., which are now undertaking the construction of two power projects on the Columbia River.

We support the efforts of these local utility districts to bring the benefits of the development of the resources of the Columbia to their local service areas. Under the Public Utility District Act of the State of Washington, these governmental groups are charged with the responsibility of developing these resources which lie within their county borders.

In the 83d Congress, the undersigned were sponsors of legislation in the House and the Senate which "deauthorized" the Priest Rapids-Wanapum project as a Federal development and permitted the Grant County Public Utility District to go ahead with construction of these dams. The Rocky Reach project did not require legislation by the Congress, never having been authorized as a Federal dam. These developments, however, were among projects in the Army 308 Report on comprehensive utilization of the resources of the Columbia and its tributaries.

We wish to emphasize a point entirely disregarded by Mr. Hard's article, in which he reaches a conclusion that these two public utility district projects prove that Federal development of the Columbia should be discarded in the future.

This point is that neither Rocky Reach nor Priest Rapids-Wanapum could have been built without the upstream water storage and river flow control provided by the Federal Grand Coulee, Albeni Falls, and Hungry Horse Dams.

Neither could such private utility dams as Cabinet Gorge, Thompson Falls and Kerr in the upper reaches of the Columbia River system be feasible without the water storage and river flow control provided by Hungry Horse Federal Dam in Montana.

This combination of Federal multi-purpose projects plus largely power-only dams built by non-Federal entities is a working reality only because the water storage benefits exist through initial Federal development.

We feel that Mr. Hard's article, making the entirely illogical conclusion that the local utility districts should take over total development of the Columbia and its tributaries, is misleading and deceptive.

Just as Grand Coulee, Albeni Falls and Hungry Horse make downstream projects possible, so would the high Hells Canyon Dam utilize the river system's resources to the fullest. A high Hells Canyon Dam would provide 400,000 more kilowatts at site than the low dams proposed by the Idaho Power Co. In addition, and this is a point ignored by the opponents of high Hells Canyon Dam, such a project would provide an additional 436,000 kilowatts of generation at the dams downstream on the Snake and Columbia Rivers.

This is the crux of the fight for the high Hells Canyon project. Contrary to Mr. Hard's conclusion, the issue is not public versus private power development. The issue, instead, is the full development of these public resources as opposed to the partial utilization envisioned by the Idaho Power Co. projects.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
United States Senator.
HENRY M. JACKSON,
United States Senator.
DON MAGNUSON,
Member of Congress.

Tribute to Elton J. Layton

SPEECH
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to join with my colleagues on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in extending every good wish to Elton J. Layton.

Elton will retire on October 1, 1957, as clerk of our committee. He has served our committee for more than 36 years. They have been years of faithful and outstanding service on his part. His extensive knowledge of the work of our committee, history of legislation, long term of office, all made him invaluable to us. During the time that I have been a member of the committee, I have found him to be more than willing to be of assistance when I have called upon him for help. He has been a loyal and fine public servant in the highest sense of the word. He will be sorely missed.

I wish for Elton J. Layton and his wife many years of happiness and good health. Elton has more than earned the leisure hours which it will now be possible for him to enjoy.

Important Information Concerning Lung Cancer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there has been much controversy in the press, over the television, and otherwise regarding the recent so-called lung cancer scare. I have received a letter from Dr. Joseph Berkson, who is with the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minn.

Dr. Berkson also enclosed to me a copy of a letter that he had written Hon. JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman of the Legal and Monetary Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations of the House of Representatives. This subcommittee has been holding hearings recently regarding false statements in cigarette advertisement.

Dr. Berkson points out in his letter to the chairman of the subcommittee important information that I think the people should have.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include both of Dr. Berkson's letters:

MAYO CLINIC,
Rochester, Minn., July 30, 1957.

Hon. WATKINS M. ABBITT,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have been informed that as chairman of the Tobacco Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture, you will be interested in a statement which I sent to Congressman Blatnik, on the question of smoking in relation to lung cancer. A copy of this letter is enclosed.

I should like to say, that I have no interest in this question other than the scientific truth, but I have been dismayed at the one-sided representation that the question has received in public and even in Congress. The statement enclosed has, I understand, been inserted in the records of Mr. BLATNIK's committee, but not in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as I expected it would be. If therefore, after reading it you believe that it should be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am glad to give you my permission to do so.

Your sincerely,
JOSEPH BERKSON, M. D.

JULY 21, 1957.

Hon. JOHN A. BLATNIK,
Chairman, Legal and Monetary Subcommittee, House Committee on Government Operations, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I refer to your request, transmitted through Mr. Curtis Johnson, to appear before your committee on July 23, 1957. I regret that professional obligations do not permit me to attend this hearing. In lieu of my personal appearance, I am hereby transmitting this statement.

I have studied carefully the evidence that has been advanced for the theory that smoking causes lung cancer. Attached is a paper which I wrote 2 years ago, pointing out that the evidence put forward up to then was inconclusive. Furthermore, there were some aspects of the findings which indicated that the statistical association of smoking and lung cancer might be spurious, due to selection and invalidity of the data. Since then, more data have appeared, which I have studied carefully. I am myself engaged in some related studies, which are not yet ready for publication. I find no reason to modify my previous opinion that the evidence, taken as a whole, does not establish, on any reasonable scientific basis, that cigarette smoking causes lung cancer. On the contrary, I have found more and stronger reasons to doubt this conclusion.

With regard to the contrary opinion expressed by some statisticians, I have full respect for their sincerity and general competence. My criticism is that they have not allowed time for careful critical analysis of existing data, let alone time in which to consider results of investigations now in progress. Consider only the following facts: The second report of the American Cancer Society study on which the opinion that smoking causes lung cancer largely rests, has as yet been published only in newspaper form, and will not appear in a technical journal, for scrutiny of scientists until fall. Then again the United States Public Health Service now has underway an extensive statistical study on the subject, for which it has not yet issued even a preliminary report.

The problem of cancer is one of the most baffling ever attacked by science. Time and time again, conclusions as to its cause or cure have been prematurely published, only to be disproved later. This not only discredits science and confuses the public, but does immeasurable harm in creating an atmosphere in which true scientists cannot work effectively. I have no interest except the advancement of scientific knowledge by research. I should not wish to obstruct its progress, or to jeopardize my own reputation to boot, by questioning the conclusion that smoking causes lung cancer, if I did not sincerely believe that there is serious doubt as to the scientific validity of that conclusion.

While I have this opportunity to address your committee, I take the liberty of presenting another thought. I have every respect for the wisdom of this committee, and I consider it commendable in every way that it should be trying to get the facts about smoking and lung cancer, especially since these are germane to the question of cigarette advertising. However, since this is a scientific question, I respectfully call to your attention the fact that we have in this country a body to which one naturally turns for an authoritative opinion on a scientific problem; namely, the National Academy of Sciences. I therefore suggest that the committee could obtain a more competent estimate of the scientific evidence linking smoking to lung cancer than is now available by requesting such an evaluation from the National Academy of Sciences.

A copy of this statement is being sent to Dr. Detlev Bronk, president of the National Academy of Sciences.

Yours respectfully,
JOSEPH BERKSON, M. D.,
Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minn., Section on Biometry and Medical Statistics.

Make Way for the Navaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in many ways the Navaho Indian Tribe is making the most remarkable record of any Indian group in the United States today. This tribe of 80,000 people occupy a huge reservation in parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah which is as large as Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut combined. No tribe still under trust supervision by the Federal Government has such a large population or land area. Ten years ago their desperate plight attracted the sympathy of the entire country during one bitter winter.

It is generally agreed that the Navahos have made more progress during the past decade than during any comparable time in their history. As the author of the article below, J. R. Challacombe, has said so well:

> The most exciting, poignant story in the West today is the stirring of a major Navaho renaissance.

What accounts for this renaissance? It gives me pride to state that Congress itself deserves considerable credit for in 1950 we enacted the Navaho-Hopi long-range rehabilitation—Public Law 474, 81st Congress. Likewise many devoted men who have served in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in recent years—particularly the present Commissioner, Glenn L. Emmons, who comes from the Navaho country—have given invaluable guidance and assistance.

However, the main factor, in my opinion, has been the spirit and determination of the Navaho people themselves. Under their council system of representative government abled and far-sighted leaders have emerged from the ranks to provide both wisdom and sound business judgment. This has been a most heartening development.

The magnificent story of the Navaho renaissance was told with insight by Mr. Challacombe in the August 1957 issue of the magazine Arizona Highways. As an interim report to the Congress on these people—who rely so much on congressional good will and appropriations—I am pleased to present this article:

Make Way for the Navaho

(By J. R. Challacombe)

The most exciting, poignant story in the West today is the stirring of a major Navaho renaissance. At one time in history it was the Indian who taught the white man to grow corn and live in a wild land. Now the tables are turned. And we had better watch out. The clever Navahos have a long history of outstripping their teachers.

To most of us surrounded by television, tricky cars, and vitamin pills, the Navaho—the blanketmaker—is something very distant, left over from the Dark Ages of Custer's Last Stand, our own 19th century colonialism and that sort of thing. But take another look.

Instead of conveniently wasting away to a shadow like some tribes, the Navaho has increased phenomenally from 8,000 in the late 1860's, when subdued by Kit Carson, to 80,000 today. Their wild arid domain sprawls over adjoining parts of Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico and is as large as Vermont, New Hampshire and Connecticut lumped together.

Like their vast painted desert mesaland, the Navahos have remained a colorful, rugged, bypassed desert in the midst of our educational map. During World War II 88 percent of the 4,000 Navaho men drafted were classified as illiterate. At the same time we were providing schoolrooms and teachers for about one-fourth of a possible 20,000 school-age young Navahos. And out of 20,000 children only 100 were in high school. The rest of the Navaho scholars after an average of 2 or 3 years of schooling had returned to a Stone Age subsistence culture while the American white man exploded atom bombs in the deserts nearby.

Today, however, 24,000 Navaho children out of 26,000 are crowding into newly built schools. Only 3 years ago most of them would have been tending sheep or gathering pifion nuts. The suddent mass broad jump from the Stone Age to the modern world is a stirring, important event. How did it come about?

Let us meet the People as the Navahos call themselves.

The Navahos have a ruddy brown skin—the kind of color you'd like to have after a summer at the beach—glossy black hair, and sometimes an oriental cast to their features. Some are stocky from intermarriage with the Hopi, and others are tall and wiry like the original hunters they once were. The women dress strikingly in full, glossy sateen skirts and velveteen blouses—the colors of which are bright and often contrasting: purples and golds, reds and greens, blues and maroons. The men dress in levis, cowboy shirts, and high stetsons. Both sexes wear as much silver and turquoise jewelry as they can afford: bracelets, belts, rings, necklaces, and earrings. Their jewelry is their savings account: in the lean seasons they pawn it at the trading posts for food. One trader asked me, "What other people so desperately poor would take such care to dress brilliantly and happily?"

With occasional jet planes whistling overhead the Navahos live on their windswept, canyon-cut plateau country in a near Stone Age fashion. Their homes, sturdy six- and eight-sided dome-topped huts, chinked and plastered with red adobe, are called hogans. Herdsmen with flocks of sheep and goats for the last 200 to 300 years, the Navahos barter the skins, wool, lambs, and wool blankets to the trading posts for the white flour, kerosene, wagons, harness, lanterns, soda pop, jewelry, and what else they may want. Currency is still little used.

The dry humor of The People shows them warmly human. A Navaho horseman drove in a great herd of lambs belonging to the trader. Seeing me around again he asked the trader in Navaho if I was hired to help him herd lambs the next day. The trader answered something and the Navaho made a saucy reply, his eyes twinkling. When I heard the translation, we both laughed: he had welcomed the outsider. He had said, "I don't know about this man. He looks like he might go to sleep on me."

Since they have never lived in villages, like the Pueblos or even the white man, but in isolated family groupings scattered across the brilliantly colorful high desert country, they do not understand what we find valuable in competition. They are taught to cooperate intensely, the whole group sharing with and helping the individual. To spurn a relative's call for aid or to gather great wealth while others lapse unfortunately into poverty indicts one as a witch.

The Navaho has an enormous capacity for learning. Consider the many Navaho singers. These so-called medicine men have for years been curing psychosomatic diseases (and othere too) while we were still hopefully gulping pills. These singers have phenomenal memories. Just one sing (a complex of ceremonies, herb treatments, sand paintings, chants, and so forth) lasting 9 nights is compared in length to a full Wagnerian opera, all parts, stage directions, orchestral scores, and changes of costume. A singer may well know three or more full-length sings and other shorter ones. The sings are used to treat not only the body but also the mind of the ailing Navaho. A sing surrounds him with love and beauty. It assures him of his place in the bosom of his family and his holy people.

Navaholand today, however, rumbes with turmoil. The land is so arid and windwhipped to a powder that grazing sheep on the sturdy sagebrush will no longer support the redman's growing numbers. Many Navahos, men and women, are now forced to seek jobs, often the most menial, in the strange hurly-burly competitive white man's world.

In addition to this natural uprooting, young Navaho servicemen and war-workers of World War II, some 20,000 of them, had a thoroughly eye-opening experience in the outer world and found themselves joined side by side with the whites in a common struggle. During the war Navaho radiomen also earned special laurels; they talked to each other in Navaho and confounded German and Japanese listening posts. Little known and better than any code, the precise Navaho language is the most difficult in the world.

The thousands returning from their years on the outside awakened their people to the imperative need to learn English in order to get good jobs and the need to absorb usable crafts and ideas from the cultures about them. In absorbing ideas the Navahos were once unequalled; they may be again. Only 400 years ago they were loose bands of hunters who had wandered south from Canada. They learned horse and sheep husbandry from the Spanish; corn growing and blanket weaving from the Pueblo Indians; raiding and looting (which led to their collision with Kit Carson) from the Apaches; silversmithing from the Mexicans; and their women's costumes from our American post-Civil War dress styles. In all cases the Navahos outdid the teachers. Smarting from their concentration camp years of the late sixties, however, and the subsequent bungling, politics, and vacillation of the "Great White Father" (who changed his mind every 4 years if not oftener), the Navahos retired into themselves and learned something there too, patience, and forbearance.

The story of Navaho education has been hectic and downright scandalous. Under the treaty of 1868; solemnly promising a room and teacher for every 30 children, the Government built a small school and a few children were bribed to attend classes taught by young women fresh from the East. No one bothered, or thought, to impart to the people a real incentive to learn English or the use of money. Since the Navahos continued to barter without money and dealt only with Navaho-speaking traders, the school was a failure. Furthermore a school full in the fall might be empty in the spring as the families followed the sheep to better grazing grounds. What was needed, it was later pointed out, were frontier-type men who could live with the Indians, follow them, and teach them, young and old, as trusted companions. But this was not to be. Desperate Government agents even kidnaped Navaho children at one period and shipped them off reservation to boarding school; some of them died of the white man's contagions and others froze to death in the mountains trying to escape back home. Those who did return home alive and educated after many years found themselves incapable of making a living on the reservation in the hardy Navaho way.

The people became proud to be illiterate of the white man's paper and his money and were happy to be unlittered with his confusions and changes of mind.

But now they desire mightily to achieve the literacy. During September of 1950 and the beginning of the school years following Navaho children, their clothes and belongings packed for boarding school, crowded eagerly around the buses sent out to pick them up. But many turned back in tears when the loaded buses drove off without them. The schools were not big enough for all the little Navahos. It appeared that many had to content themselves with being shepherds.

In their struggle to create a new culture for themselves the Navahos have, at long last, been aided by the Government. In 1953 Eisenhower appointed Glen Emmons, a banker from Gallup, N. Mex., Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Here was the trusted companion the Navaho had long needed. Emmons knew the Navaho as a real human being and understood his complex problems. Matching the Navaho's enthusiasm for new ways and new learning, he pushed his Navaho emergency-education program through Congress. As a result a whole rash of new schools and practical ideas of schooling these seminomadic people has gripped the reservation in the last few years.

Great effort is now made to keep the children as close to their parents as possible. Teachers travel from hogan to hogan holding nursery-type classes for preschool youngsters. Trailer schools for beginners follow families from one range to another. Determined Navaho children walk 7 and 8 miles each day to attend elementary day schools. Others whose families live in the remote roadless canyons come to stay in local boarding schools and live in clean but crowded dormitories. A young child of 6 or 7 who is away at boarding school must be visited several times a month though such a round trip may mean a 4-day journey by wagon. To let a month go by without a visit can be disastrous: I heard stories of children who ran to hide when the teachers introduced strange men and women as their fathers and mothers. No parent wants his children to forget him.

Wanting to visit a typical local boarding school, I walked through the play yard of the Shonto Springs Community School, deep in the primitive western half of the reservation. Although I was a total stranger looking for the principal, the children, 6 and 7 years old, stopped their play and began calling, "Hello. Hello. Hello." I called back "Hello's" and rubbed the short hair of the boys' heads. They all grinned wildly and laughed. The strange English word had worked like a magic spell, bridging a gap none of us cared for.

Later, when I asked different ones their names—some of whom still bore on the back of their heads the flat mark of the cradle-

board—they would tell me in a soft voice, "Irene Manygoats" or "Albert Laughter" or "Joe Salt." Then they would scamper off like squirrels only to dash back in a few seconds.

I found a big red handkerchief in my car and gave it to the children to play drop-the-handkerchief. They had their own rules, however, which were Navaho. Instead of the boy with the handkerchief trying desperately to tag the one who dropped it so the latter would be "it" again, they both raced happily around the circle together, effervescing with laughter. After they had circled, the boy with the handkerchief went on to drop it himself. "The idea of competitiveness," Carol Breedlove, the beginner's teacher, explained to me, "has to be taught to them. The Navaho does not think it nice to make a show beating his fellow Navaho."

While at Shonto I heard of a little 6-year-old girl who had inadvertently missed out on the first weeks of school. She was living in the faroff, roadless wilderness of big Tsegi Canyon. Being a hiker, I thought perhaps I could bring her out. But Sherman Breedlove, the principal, decided to send a Navaho, Trixie Calamity, with me. As we bounced over stretches of bedrock trail and at times plowed like a boat through soft sandy wastes, Trixie told me of his exciting Army life driving prime mover trucks and giant tanks in the ordnance yards. Beyond the end of the trail we hiked to the edge of the canyon and searched sheer red sandstone cliffs for a sign of the trail. Across the spacious canyon great arches had been carved into the cliffs by water and wind. Down in the canyon we saw the hogans and corral of the Austin family, our goal. But how to get down some 500 or 600 feet of airy dropoff?

We never found the trail. Before long, however, Trixie had us out on the face of the cliff, hanging on by our toes and fingers. He went down like a squirrel. I made work of it, my big camera bag scraping on the cliff, pushing me outward. Calamity yelled up good-naturedly, "No be scared." I called down that I wasn't exactly scared but that I now know how timid a mountain goat must feel."

Safely down, we walked to the hogans and found the mother baking round layers of "fry bread" on a grill over hot ashes. In the Navaho way we stood at a little distance and did not interrupt her immediately. When Trixie had told her our mission, she called the little girl who had been shooing roosters from a blanket full of drying corn and began to shampoo her hair with a bar of white soap. I wanted a picture of this for my story and Trixie told me to ask the mother myself, that she understood English.

I did and stocky brown Bertha Austin, kneeling on the bare earth, her bright blue skirt flowing about her said slowly in perfect English and with real dignity, "Oh, we're too ugly to have our picture taken."

"Oh, no," I said firmly, "I think you're both handsome people." I was taken aback nevertheless and glad that the camera was still in the bag.

I slowly told her how much I liked to live in the out of doors and how interested I was in all the Navaho children going to school. After the little girl's dress was changed to a clean one and Bertha had put on some turquoise jewelry, she told Trixie in Navaho, I could take a picture of her combing Virginia's hair.

All four of us climbed out of Tsegi on an exciting trail of footholds cut into the sheer cliff. At one point, we crawled straight up a ladder wedged into a vertical crack, a long pole with foot notches. Little Virginia climbed easily and made me ashamed to catch my breath looking at the depths.

At the truck Bertha told her child that she would visit her soon; there is no Navaho word for "goodby." Wide-eyed and silent, Virginia rode back with Trixie and me over the rough truck trail to Shonto. Only after supper did the little girl break down and sob to Carol that she wanted to go home. The next morning when she dressed in 1 of her 3 pretty new dresses and eagerly helped to pull on her brandnew pair of shoes, she appeared reconciled. In the beginner's kindergarten-type class, she played with the strange piano, modeled little clay figures, drew charming Matisse-like men, and made a start at learning to count in English. Several days afterwards, still sober and shy, she was playing in the schoolyard by herself. I took her to the swings and asked Irene Manygoats to swing Virginia. As other children came to watch, the little girl from the far-off Tsegi broke into a delighted smile.

Privations none of us would care for our children still face the little Navahos who want schooling. Sturdy clothes are furnished them by Government, missions, and the tribe; the food is varied and nourishing; older Navaho men and women supervise the dormitories, teach games, and group singing. Small undernourished bodies fill out, decayed teeth are repaired, and TB quickly spotted. But the experience of growing up in a family is weakened. To whom he or she owes loyalty, devotion, and obedience can become confusing to the young Navaho for a while. The task of bridging the chasms between the red man's and the white man's cultures is a formidable one for little legs.

As the children grow older they are transferred from local day and boarding schools to distant central boarding schools and finally to high schools, usually off the reservation. Once off reservation the young Navahos are forced to speak English all the time. They write long letters in English home and then wait months for answers from parents and friends who live in remote canyons like Tsegi. The local trader or one of his literate Navaho helpers often has to translate the letters and write answers. I read several touching, friendly letters from a 13-year-old girl to a trader's wife: glad to be in school, she was yet homesick and wanted letters from home and about old friends oftener than she could expect from her family. The Navaho parents in turn can only hope that their young ones will come back not as strangers to them.

In spite of the dangers to the family and the old Navaho ways, children are filling the new schools. Here is how the enrollment has risen dramatically. In 1882, 75 children out of a tribe of 16,000 attended school. In 1903 there were 300 schoolchildren from a population of 23,000. As late as 1943, however, only 5,762 out of 20,000 children were enrolled and several years later Congress withheld sufficient funds, closing various day schools. Young Navahos left their schoolrooms to drive herds of sheep. An astonishing picture for an America proud of her educational systems.

In 1954, however, there were 26,000 schoolchildren and facilities for 12,000: 46 percent were in school. With Emmons' Navaho Emergency Education Program under full swing by 1955 room was available for 24,000 children. And this school year, 1956–1957, 300 young Navaho men and women will graduate from high schools; in 1961 it will be about 1,200.

In the eastern half of the reservation, the percentage of children in school is very high. But in the western half which remains more primitive and with few roads the percentage is only about 56 percent. There, in nearly every family, one or more children still stay home to herd sheep, to gather pifion nuts, and to learn to live off the rugged land in the old Navaho ways. But even for these retarded children there is a special program which starts them as late as 14 years old and in 5 intensive years teaches them English, the rudiments of handling money, and a simple trade. Some talented ex-shepherds have gone from the special program into the ninth grade, finished high school, and are now in college. The last-minute sprint by a spirited dark horse to win a Derby could not be more thrilling. The Navaho Tribe itself appropriated $100,000 last year for 100 college scholarships for worthy, needy Navaho youngsters. Most of them expect to come back home to give their people help and a return on their investment.

The biggest need that the tribe is clamoring to fill now, and rightfully so, is a fully equipped trade or technical high school that would turn out competent carpenters, plumbers, plasterers, mechanics, electricians, and machinists who could go directly into the different trades in the white man's world. These trained Navahos would also form a pool of skilled labor which would attract industries to locate on or near the reservation.

One enterprising Indian leader said to me, "We're in earnest about this Abraham Lincoln business."

Like two swift rivers surging together, the juncture of two different cultures is fraught with danger: some Navahos are naturally hard put to find solid ground and need our best understanding. In the past, however, the Navahos have always spurted ahead when they mingled with another culture and they will again. America's strength has been her alloy of minorities. We had better look to our laurels. Make way for the Navaho.

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Swiss Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the bonfires will be burning tomorrow night on the mountain tops of Switzerland in celebration of Swiss Independence Day. To the Swiss, and to all those of Swiss origin and descent, August 1 is as significant a day as is the 4th of July to all Americans.

I believe that Americans, too—of whatever national origin—should pause briefly on this date because it marks an anniversary of profound importance to all who believe in political freedom and national independence. The determination of the people of Schyz, Uri, and Unterwalden to free themselves from Hapsburg rule in 1291 might well be called the cornerstone of the growth of democracy and the nation state. Since that early date, the Swiss have

maintained a citadel of freedom which has kept alive the spirit of liberty in some of Europe's darkest hours.

The sturdy independence of Switzerland has been reflected in its men and women who have come to America. In my own State of Wisconsin, we can point with pride to such flourishing communities as Monroe, New Glarus, Brodhead, Monticello, and others in Green County and further north in Buffalo County. Responsible citizenship has been always as much the trademark of Swiss-Americans as is the wonderful cheese they produce.

Switzerland is a country poor in many natural resources but rich in industry and skill. We do the Swiss an ill service when our laws hamper the exchange of goods between our country and theirs. Both nations benefit from a flourishing trade, just as both have benefited for many years from the spirit of independence which inspired William Tell and which still inspires the Swiss and American people today.

Utilization of Timber Waste Materials for Composition Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, during the past year the vital Oregon lumber industry has been in the doldrums because of the adverse impact of high interest rates upon new housing starts.

However, I have felt that one of the genuine hopes for revival of the lumber industry lies in the utilization of timber waste materials for composition products—as well as in the use of so-called scrub timber for the manufacture of pulp.

An illuminating article on the production of particle board and similar by-products appeared in the Wall Street Journal of August 1, 1957, by Ray J. Schrick, staff reporter in the State of Oregon for that daily publication.

I believe Mr. Schrick's thorough and comprehensive article will be of interest to my colleagues, and for that reason I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOODPILE WONDER—CHEAP PARTICLE BOARD PUSHES PLYWOOD BUT MILLS FIND PROFIT SLIM—SEARS SAVES ON RADIO, TV CABINETS; GRANTS PASS PLANT CAN'T OPERATE STEADILY—WARNING TO BARBERS, BANKERS

(By Ray J. Schrick)

OAKRIDGE, OREG.—America's lumber, plywood, and furniture industries are going wild over a recipe for hash. Here it is:

Take 2,400 pounds of wood leftovers. Pour into one $75,000-plus plant. Grate leftovers into tiny slivers or fragments the size of potato chips, as desired. Mix well with 150 pounds of glue—ordinary soya cattle feed with water, will do. Press firmly between two steel plates, trim into 4-foot by 8-foot panels, and dry.

This will produce 1,000 square feet of particle board, a product so simple and cheap to make that it's surging into popularity. It's trimming the costs of houses, hope-chests, sewing machines, radio cabinets, and heading for still wider markets. Observes one sales official: "I don't know why it couldn't be used in coffins."

Sad to say, enthusiasm has soared so high that too many cooks have crowded into the kitchen—capacity to produce is, for the moment at least, outpacing the expansion of markets. Many a new particle board mill is writing its books in red ink, or just barely in the black. Nevertheless, optimism abounds and more mills are rising.

COAST TO COAST

In North Carolina, for example, workmen are now setting up machinery in a $4 million particle board plant for Formica Corp., a subsidiary of American Cyanamid Corp.; it's to go into production in January. In New Hampshire, a 50-percent expansion to produce particle board has just been completed at National Starch Products, Inc.'s granite board plant. And here, in Oregon's timber-clad Cascade Mountains, officials of the 104-year-old lumber producer, Pope & Talbot, Inc., are getting ready to throw the starting switch on a $1.5 million particle board plant.

By the end of the year big presses in some 53 plants, new and not quite so new, will be clanking out the stuff at an annual rate of more than 250 million square feet, forecasts Timber Engineering Co., research arm of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association. This will be twice as many plants as in 1955—and an output hike of 180 percent.

AN APPEALING MISHMASH

What's the appeal of this mishmash product? A big attraction is that its principal raw material can be found around almost any lumber or plywood mill or furniture factory whether it be here in the fir-producing Northwest, the pine-growing South, or around the chair-and-chest factories of North Carolina or Grand Rapids. This is the pile of wood shavings, hitherto often burned as waste. In the case of lumber and plywood producers about half the log that comes from the forest ends up on this pile.

A particle board maker can pick up this waste for next to nothing. One producer figures the 2,400 pounds of shavings it takes to make 1,000 square feet of particle board at only $2. The 150 pounds of binder or glue (he uses a resin more expensive than soya meal) costs $30.

There are many variations to the basic recipe, of course. In fact, one of the most distinctive facets of this product is that no two chefs make it the same way.

But with all the processes costs are so low that particle board can undersell plywood in many cases and is consequently sawing away at lucrative plywood markets. Its main drawback is that it has only 50 percent to 90 percent of plywood's strength, depending largely on the size of the wood particles used.

For example, Weyerhaeuser Sales Co., subsidiary of lumber giant Weyerhaeuser Timber Co., tags 1,000 square feet of five-eighths-inch thick particle board used as underlay for linoleum and floor tile at $114. Fir plywood for the same use sells at $121 to $123 per thousand square feet.

A HIDDEN MARKET

The composition upstart is making its biggest inroads in spots hidden from the consumer's eye. It's employed as "core-stock," the layers that lie underneath the expensive hardwood veneer in furniture or beneath the coverings of kitchen cupboards, wall panels, and plastic table tops.

At Pickens, S. C., for instance, Singer sewing machine cabinets with particle board cores are being built by Poinsett Lumber and Manufacturing Co., a Singer subsidiary. Such a cabinet sells for $50 in a Portland, Oreg., store compared with $69.50 for one with an ordinary wood core from the same plant.

Lane Co., Inc., of Altavista, Va., figures the particle board cores it makes and uses in cedar chests cost less than half the ordinary lumber cores it once used. And a Sears-Roebuck subsidiary, Mississippi Products, Inc., at Jackson, is using particle board cores in television, radio, and sewing machine cabinets. The company figures it saves 12 cents a square foot with the particle board core.

LEAVES OTHER WOODS ALONE

Particle board is not yet horning in much on the markets of the two other competition woods, insulation board and hardboard. But particle-board enthusiasts say even these markets are not sacred.

These older compositions are different from particle board. They are made of wood broken up into its tiny, basic fibers, rather than particles, then pressed and held together without the aid of glue. Insulation board is fluffy, with less than half the density of ordinary wood. Hardboard, pressed more compactly, has about twice the density of lumber. Particle board falls in between, weighing about one-third more than natural wood.

Particle board, as yet, hasn't officially proven itself for structural use, and consequently isn't able to invade insulation board's prime market, sheathing in the walls and roofs. In such cases insulation board is cheaper. Hardboard, being much thinner and smoother, is able to squeeze into spots such as drawer bottoms in furniture and as underlay where a thin board is desired. Some particle-board makers, however, see their product as a contender against hardboard in the wall-paneling field. Decorative flakeboards, made with large shavings, for example, are more attractive for paneling and should sell, even though slightly more costly than hardboard, they claim. And the Long-Bell division of International Paper Co. makes a board with such small particles that it greatly resembles hardboard.

There's plenty of testimony, though, that particle-board industry does not lie entirely in a bed of soft boughs with so many new mills rushing in.

"We're not running steadily and when we do it's only for two shifts a day," says an executive of Chipboard Products, Inc., of Grants Pass, Oreg. "We might run 3 weeks and then shut down for a week."

WE'RE NOT RUNNING STEADILY

Adds another millman: "With 1 shift you lose money; on 2 shifts you break even, and with 3 you make money." One company figures that on its present single-shift operation it costs $118 to make 1,000 square feet of board that sells for $32. The cost drops to $92 per thousand on a three-shift operation.

In addition particle board lacks standardization in an industry where standards mean markets. "There are almost as many different kinds of particle boards as there are plants," says one engineer. Some particle boards look like cork, although they are much heavier. Others have a definite woody appearance. Some producers turn out particle boards of small particles while others produce flakeboards with large particles and still others make layered boards, resembling plywood, with all sizes of particles.

With so much variety, there are large variations in strength and warp-resistance. Some of the weaker boards are not even made by the pressing process, but are extruded—made by squeezing the binder-wood shaving mixture through a mold, like toothpaste out of a tube.

As a result of such differences in methods and materials, a thousand square feet of ½-inch particle board has no standard price. One type may sell for $90 while another will bring $180. Consequently, the Federal Housing Administration, which has okayed particle board for use beneath flood tile and linoleum, will not approve it for such functions as roof and wall sheathing. About one-third of all fir plywood output goes into such sheathing.

ASKING FOR STANDARDS

A newly formed Particle Board Association now is setting up standards for approval by the United States Department of Commerce, which producers say would help open the market governed by FHA rules. But there are other arguments for caution.

"Butchers, barbers, and bankers are suckers to invest their money in particle board mills," claims one pessimistic western Oregon lumberman. "It looks like a bonanza because of all the low cost waste wood for raw material. But a lot of mills are underfinanced, make no market survey, or sew up no guaranteed raw material supply. Another poor lumber month like last one (lumber orders were off 4.3 percent from a year ago and some mills were threatening to close down temporarily this winter) and a lot of lumber mills won't be producing the raw material particle board mills need."

In fact, here in Oregon, there have been at least three stymied attempts to start new mills. Two fell through when they attempted to raise money by stock sales.

"We sold about $200,000 worth of stock to about 75 persons—half of it paid," laments Floyd Bunn, real estate and insurance man in Willamina, and director of Columbia Wood Products, Inc. "We reached the escrow date without hitting our money-raising goal and 75 percent of our stockholders have now withdrawn their support." Lane Pacific Wood Products, of Junction City, also has been unable to complete fund raising.

The third company, Red Blanket Lumber Co., of White City, is being held up by lumber company owners who have apparently changed their minds about a particle-board plant at the present.

STILL NOT DISCOURAGED

Despite such warning signs, newcomers are fighting to get into the business, foreseeing a great future for particle board.

Travel down western Oregon's Willamette Valley and you'll find a determined group of men firing up particle-board plants. Oregon should have 9 in operation by year's end, 5 more than at the beginning of the year, putting it neck and neck with North Carolina as the country's top producer.

Meet Ralph Chapman, of Philomath, a gray-haired man with black Groucho Marx-sized eyebrows, dressed casually in a blue-and-white short-sleeved sport shirt. He first began trying to get into the particle-board business 17 years ago when the process was entirely new. Last year his first particle-board plant burned to the ground on the eve of production. Starting again from scratch he finally watched the first mottled brown panel slip off the line of Chapwood Oregon, Ltd., this July.

A RUBE GOLDBERG MACHINE

He explains rather proudly the operation of a Rube Goldberg sort of machine with ladders strung as on a battleship. A revolving broom whirls, a giant blue hose sucks, a conveyor conveys, and every 2 minutes a chip-filled tray enters the bottom of a clanking press. Some 60 minutes later it emerges at the top, bearing a completed particle-board panel.

Mr. Chapman has brought some innovations, new even to this infant business. For instance, to get a smooth surface on his particle board he slaps on an outer layer of wood powder produced in chopping up shavings into particles. This prevents the usual roughness of particle board from showing up through thin veneers on furniture. Other makers put a paper-smooth surface on particle board by pressing an outer layer of fines, a flourlike sawdust.

Many of the plants are community affairs and often start more or less on a shoestring. Take, for example, Brownsville Particle Board & Associated Products, Inc., of Brownsville, Oreg. This mill began as a $350,000 dream in 1955, but by the time the 60-ton daily capacity mill began its trial runs last month it had cost $750,000. Its capital stock, originally authorized at $600,000, had been hiked to $1 million, about half of which is now subscribed at $100 per share.

PAYING WITH STOCK CERTIFICATES

Workers subscribed to 50 shares, or $5,000 worth; 30 shares were paid out for the plant site, an old lumber mill; 200 shares to the engineering firm that designed the plant; 50 shares to a lawyer and 30 shares to the president. About 20 percent of the machinery bill was also paid in stock. In all there are 152 owners. A Union Oil Co. distributor, an electric repair shop owner, and three mill executives make up the board of directors.

"You might say we've reached the first plateau to get into production," says husky brown-shirted Joseph E. Clark, the president. "We're quite optimistic." Right now the plant is struggling to get from a single-shift operation up to a more profitable three-shift operation.

Actually a particle board mill is relatively cheap, as investment in the wood industry goes. One with a capacity to produce 60 tons daily of flakeboard costs between $900,000 and $1 million (figured on the basis of $21,100 investment per worker and 46 workers), estimates Columbia Engineering Co., or Corvall, Oreg. A 50-ton daily hardboard plant, another composition wood, with 33 workers costs on the order of $1.3 million to $1.4 million, while a comparable plywood mill, employing 300 persons, will run as high as $2.5 million. Particle board plants have actually been built for as little as $75,000.

Makers of particle board's biggest rival, plywood, are well into the production of the new board. In fact, plywood makers own about half of the particle board plants in the Northwest. Nationally about a quarter of the plants are owned by furniture makers, while most of the remainder are independent.

INTO MORE CUPBOARDS

"True, we're competing with ourselves somewhat but we're also getting into more cupboard doors and underlayments with our flakeboard than with plywood alone," says Fred L. Johnson, president of Columbia Hardboard Co., Inc., of Everett, Wash.

Adds L. C. Fuchek, manager of Pope & Talbot's Oakridge lumber division: "We can increase our sales dollar income one-sixth at Oakridge by adding particle board. Utilization of wood left-overs that we used to burn is our salvation."

Particle board's topsy-like growth is being felt outside the plywood industry, also.

Such makers of binders or glues as American-Marietta Co., Borden Co., Monsanto Chemical Co., Reichhold Chemicals, Inc., and the newly-formed Spurlock & Tyner Resin Co., are finding a $7.2 million a year market for various resins.

Particle board is by no means exclusively an American product. In fact, it was first developed in Germany in 1941 and many United States plants are using European processes under license agreements. The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization counts some 200 particle board mills in some 36 different countries.

There are, of course, American processes such as those patented by Miller Hofft & Co., Inc., of Richmond, Va., and Industrial Development Corp., at Tacoma, Wash." The number and variety of processes has grown to troublesome size in the business. An estimated 2,000 patents are held throughout Europe and the United States on processes or parts of processes, and some particle board makers fear a rash of patent suits are in the making.

Hawaii Shipping Rights Row

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the administration has made a great show of opposing monopolies. I have for the RECORD an article by Columnist Peter Edson which shows that the Federal Maritime Board, all of whose members were appointed by President Eisenhower, is upholding a monopoly on over 95 percent of the shipping to Hawaii.

The truth is that this administration is fond of monopoly and only attacks it on highly technical points. When it has a clear chance to do something to end a monopoly, it turns around and supports it. The article follows:

HAWAII SHIPPING RIGHTS ROW

(By Peter Edson)

A fight for Hawaiian shipping rights between two United States companies illustrates many of the problems in the current round of congressional investigations into overconcentration in American industry, freedom of competition and regulation of monopolies.

This case hangs on a recent Federal Maritime Board 2-to-1 decision denying Pacific Far East Line the right to have ships on its unsubsidized United States-Guam-Japan route call at Hawaii three times a month to pick up or discharge cargo.

Matson Navigation Co. has provided service between the United States Pacific coast and Hawaii for over 70 years. With an investment of $35 million, it has built up its business to the point that it now handles 95 percent of the traffic.

Since Hawaii is American territory, this route is considered coastwise shipping. As such it is entitled to certain protection under the American Merchant Marine Act.

Matson does not receive a subsidy for its Hawaii service, though it is subsidized on its wholly owned Oceanic Steamship Co. route to Australia. Pacific Far East Line also receives a subsidy on another route to Japan and Hong Kong.

The question raised by PFEL on the Matson Hawaii service is whether it constitutes a monopoly which should be opened to further competition?

One additional factor here is that three of Matson's directors are high officials on three of Hawaii's big five companies that have dominated the islands' agricultural industries for many years. Practically all of Hawaii's sugar and pineapples move to the United States in Matson ships.

Three years ago American President Lines and Pacific Far East applied to Federal Maritime Board for the right to carry cargo to and from Hawaii. Later APL withdrew.

After a year and a half of hearings, 7,500 pages of testimony and 1,750 exhibits, FMB examiner F. J. Horan found that PFEL's application would not result in unfair competition. But the full Board reversed the examiner's recommendation and denied PFEL's application for Hawaiian rights.

Division of the Board was Chairman Clarence G. Morse and member Thomas E. Stakem, Jr., against PFEL, Vice Chairman Ben H. Guill for it. All three are Eisenhower appointees. Mr. Stakem is a Democrat. Mr. Guill, an exCongressman, was leader of the Texas GOP faction that swung the State to Eisenhower at Chicago in 1952.

Refusing to be stopped by the Maritime Board's divided opinion against it, Pacific Far East promptly filed application for review and took the case to court in two suits.

In District of Columbia Federal court PFEL has filed suit against the three Maritime Board members individually, with Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks thrown in as a fourth defendant, for supporting a near perfect monopoly. In district court of appeals, PFEL is suing to have the Board's decision reversed.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Civil-Rights Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a number of editorials relating to the civil-rights bill which the Senate has been considering for some time. The editorials may be described as follows:

The first is entitled "Race Disorders in Chicago Reflect Resistance to Forced Mingling," from the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier of July 31, 1957.

The second is entitled "'Civil Rights' Fight," from the State, of Columbia, S. C., of July 30, 1957.

The third is entitled "Hypocrisy Marches On," also from the State of July 31, 1957.

The fourth is entitled "CR Commission Could Work in Secret," from the Greenville, S. C., News of July 31, 1957.

The fifth is entitled "ASHMORE Cites Federal Aid Weakness," from the Greenville News of July 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of July 31, 1957]

RACE DISORDERS IN CHICAGO REFLECT RESISTANCE TO FORCED MINGLING

One of the most horrible experiences a city can undergo is a race riot. In the insanity of its duration, innocent men, women, and children are brutally handled. The psychological scars of race riots last long after wounds of the flesh are healed and skulls mended.

Chicago has undergone the experience of race warfare on a number of occasions. Fierce race rioting broke out in 1919. In both the 1940s and 1950s, open conflict between the races was renewed. This week whites and Negroes clashed in the streets.

Why do race riots occur? More specifically, why do they occur in Chicago where integration has the sanction and approval of governmental authorities, the press, church leaders, and scores of powerful liberal groups.

We suspect that there will be much public soul-searching in Chicago. But will influential Chicagoans stop and consider whether the race conflict was brought on by their own insistence on integration in housing and other areas of life? We doubt it.

We hazard the guess that the Chicago authorities, newspapers, clergy and liberals will propose an ever stiffer dose of the drug that caused the disorder in the first place: forced race mixing, especially in housing.

We submit that disorders will continue until the pressure is taken off the white people of Chicago to live in close association with Negroes. The city of Chicago may pass new race mixing laws; the Chicago press may hammer again and again at the theme that integration in housing is democratic and the right thing; the clergy may insist that mixed neighborhoods are morally justified; but it is virtually impossible to brainwash several million people who don't want to live in close association with another race.

When the day comes that Chicagoans are not told day in and day out that it is the law and their democratic duty to live side by side with people of a different race, strife should disappear from the streets of "the windy city." Until that time, resentment will be created in the hearts of white Chicagoans. Told by their leaders that close association with whites is their right, Chicago's Negroes will likewise become resentful. The result? Eruptions of race rioting such as marked this week.

[From the Columbia (S. C.) State of July 30, 1957]

CIVIL-RIGHTS FIGHT

Whatever the result of the present civil-rights fight in Washington, it can be taken for granted that the self-appointed persecutors, who would defy constitutional law or anything else to carry their political point, will be in action again at the next sitting of Congress. What they get this year may be a greatly watered-down version of what they sought, but the foot will be inside the door, and efforts will be made to widen the opening. In fact Senator DOUGLAS has said as much in an interview.

However, we must not let this thought discourage us for the picture in Washington is much brighter than it was, and there have been definite evidences of toleration from unexpected sources. Perhaps it is dawning upon some of the onetime proponents of the legislation that it could prove to be a boomerang; that it could be also a sword that could cut in more than one way.

It would be much better for everyone concerned, including those whom the legislation purportedly is intended to help, for the Senate to shelve the pending legislation in its entirety, but if this is not to be, then certainly the bill is not as drastic as when passed by the House. Yeoman work has been done in whittling it down.

We think there is every reason to believe other sections of the country are more understanding than they were; that they are realizing the great disaster that could follow the destruction of constitutional government to satisfy the political ambitions of self-serving politicians. Members of Congress in both Houses are beginning to get reactions from the people that are surprising to them.

In the meantime let no one forget that the South has risen in stature by the dignified and impressive manner in which the ball has been carried in contrast to the tricky procedure employed by proponents of the bill as typified by the maneuver to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee and bring the House-passed measure direct to the floor.

[From the Columbia (S. C.) State of July 31, 1957]

HYPOCRISY MARCHES ON

When a Negro boy from Chicago was killed in Mississippi, an incident which is in no way condoned, and those who admitted kidnaping him were acquitted by the trial jury the affair was made a cause célèbre. It was held up as a true and infallible sample of the entire attitude of the whole South to law and order where the Negro is involved with whites.

When 2 white boys admittedly killed a Negro boy in Chicago, home of Emmet Till, the victim in the Mississippi mishap, the jury set them free.

The Chicago acquittal took place in the same week in which 7 of 11 persons being tried for contempt of a court order on integration in Clinton, Tenn., were found guilty.

Within the last very few weeks there have been 4 race riots in Detroit, New Jersey, and Chicago, where there were 2 on successive Sundays. The latest Chicago incident occurred when a group of white men mounted a railroad embankment and gratuitously began stoning a group of Negroes having a picnic, causing most of them to flee the scene leaving their food and equipment behind. Many of the Negro picnickers were women and children, some of whom were injured.

If there has even been this kind of unprovoked attack upon Negroes by white adults in the South any time in the present century or any riots such as occur regularly in the North, we have not heard about it.

Yet, northern agitators presume to tell southerners how to get along with their Negro neighbors.

Hypocrisy above Mason and Dixon's line marches on.

[From the Greenville (S. C.) News of July 31, 1957]

CR COMMISSION COULD WORK IN SECRET

The more the southern Senators kick the proposed civil-rights bills around in debate on the floor of the United States Senate the more boobytraps they find cunningly planted throughout the various provisions.

One of these having to do with the proposed Civil Rights Commission hasn't been publicly discussed, perhaps because that particular section of the bill hasn't been fully debated. But it certainly should be most carefully scrutinized.

This particular boobytrap would authorize the Commission to conduct secret hearings and to keep the testimony and other material from the public knowledge simply by classifying it.

No testimony taken in an executive session could be released to the public, except by the Commission, and anyone releasing or using the information in public without consent would be subject to fine of up to $1,000 or imprisonment up to a year.

This penalty, of course, most likely would apply to reporters and editors first. Naturally, we are opposed to that, as well as to other forms of official secrecy (except where the national security is involved) as a matter of principle. But that is somewhat beside the point.

The frightening thing is that the secrecy provision would enable the Commission to conduct Star Chamber proceedings. The Commission would have the power to investigate any and all allegations or violations of civil rights. It would have the power to subpena witnesses and accused persons to appear anywhere in the country. To refuse to appear or to testify could lead to punishment.

Armed with this power, the 5-member Commission, and its 15 volunteer workers, could order any one to appear for what would amount to a closed-door trial, a drumhead court. His accusers would be protected from the public knowledge that they had brought

charges which might be prompted by a grudge.

The Commission would not have the power to convict or to punish, but its power to harass and intimidate would be enormous.

While it is true that congressional committees often conduct secret hearings, this is not comparable to the civil-rights scheme. The Members of Congress are elected and are answerable to their constituents in the event they mistreat any witness. The civil-rights commissioners could not be so easily checked.

There is nothing liberal about such a proposal.

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News of July 30, 1957]

ASHMORE CITES FEDERAL AID WEAKNESS

The national House of Representatives has killed, for this session at least, the bill proposing to set up a program of Federal aid to the States for school building purposes. And good riddance.

As happened once before, the bill failed after there had been tacked onto it a rider stipulating that no State should receive Federal funds for schools if it persisted in segregating the races. Some Members of Congress feel this was one of the main reasons the legislation was rejected. It was a contributing factor, but it probably wasn't the main one.

Still other Members of Congress feel that the bill failed because the White House didn't support it strongly enough. It was said that the measure was not in the form the President wanted, but that he would accept it. Here again, perhaps, was a contributing factor, but those who hold it to be a principal one most probably are looking for a campaign issue for 1958.

The real reason the school aid bill was rejected is that it isn't needed. It is based on the false premise that the States either cannot or will not build enough classrooms to educate their children. A national survey has shown that no State is incapable of meeting its own needs; rousing the responsible State official to action is a matter for local citizens.

Proponents made much of the idea of "taxing the wealth where it is to educate the children where they are," which is another way of saying that the wealthier States would get back less than they paid in and the poorer States would get more. This caused some Congressmen from larger States to oppose the bill.

But during the debate last week, Representative ASHMORE of South Carolina graphically pointed up a major weakness in the aid bill.

Mr. ASHMORE told of an "exhibit" prepared by Representative BAILEY of West Virginia and designed to illustrate the desperate need for new school buildings. The Greenvillian found in Mr. BAILEY'S collection two pictures from South Carolina.

One of them ostensibly was of the Reidville colored elementary school in Spartanburg County. On the back of it, Mr. ASHMORE said, was the penciled note "revisited in 1949," indicating the picture had been made before that. Mr. ASHMORE telephoned a school official in Spartanburg County and was told that there hadn't been a wooden school building of the type in use in years and that every white and colored school "now operates in a modern, up-to-date building."

Another picture, Mr. ASHMORE said purported to show a dilapidated, one-room Negro school building at Summerville. Upon investigating, he found that the building in question had been abandoned in 1955 and replaced with a 19-room consolidated school which has two unused classrooms to take care of future growth.

Mr. ASHMORE'S findings tend to bear out the contention, raised by Governor Timmerman some months ago, that the Federal figures on the classroom shortage are inaccurate and exaggerated. It is evident that there are those who want to put the Federal Government into the public school business regardless of whether the States want it or it can be justified on the basis of need.

Certain politicians consider the Federal-aid program a potent political issue. Mr. ASHMORE and his colleagues have stopped the bill for this year, but it probably will be back in the same or another form.

Lower Downpayments for Home Purchasers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently Congress adopted amendments to the Housing Act, and in them it provided for lower downpayments in the purchase of homes built under the FHA home-building program. All through the debate in the Senate and in the House on the submission of the conference report, it was made quite apparent that it was the intent of Congress that lower downpayments should apply now because of the terribly depressed condition of home building in this country, when the need is as great as ever.

The administration has declined to put into effect lower downpayments. On yesterday a letter was sent to the President, signed by the following Senators: Mr. CLARK, of Pennsylvania; Mr. COOPER, of Kentucky; Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota; Mr. IVES, of New York; Mr. JAVITS, of New York; Mr. MORTON, of Kentucky; Mr. NEUBERGER, of Oregon; Mr. SMATHERS, of Florida; Mr. YARBOROUGH, of Texas; and myself. In that letter we urged the President to put the lower downpayment schedule into effect immediately. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We respectfully call to your attention the importance of putting into effect without delay the lower downpayment provisions of the new housing law as a vital stimulus to a key American industry and an indispensable aid to millions of our citizens wishing to purchase homes.

The home building industry is one of the Nation's largest, both in terms of annual dollar volume and in the number of persons it employs. Its effects on other industries such as lumbering and manufacturing and on the whole economy of the country are vast. Yet this industry may now be permitted to sink deeper and deeper into a recession and perhaps a depression.

The alarm and consternation among builders seems to be fully warranted by the facts.

Last year home construction fell off more than 20 percent. This year so far it is off an additional 16 percent. The present figures indicate that home building is now preceding at an annual rate of only 970,000 units. This is the first time in over 8 years that the production level fell below the million mark, and at the very time when home building should be expanded, not cut back, to meet the need.

When the Housing Act of 1957 was pending in the Congress, all the testimony and debate led to the conclusion that the level of home building activity would continue to decline even beyond the current low level unless some measure of relief was promptly granted; and that almost any action the Government took would require a year to have any practical effect, because the supply of housing can't be turned on and off like a faucet.

An adequate supply of new housing is a vital necessity to meet the needs of our growing population. But the restrictive pressures on the home building industry, which the new housing law was intended to relieve, raises again the spectre of a housing shortage which so unsettled the Nation a decade ago. A Washington newspaper reported last week, as a straw in the wind, official Government findings that fewer apartments are vacant now than at any time since the vacancy-rate studies were started in 1950.

We want to impress upon you our sincere belief of the need to put in the lower downpayments, not just as a measure to stimulate a vital but depressed segment of our economy, but as a means of affording home ownership to many thousands of American families.

The plight of the veteran is a vital element in this matter. The VA housing program is for practical purposes nonexistent, certainly impotent, from the point of view of a veteran who wants to buy a house. The law says he can get a loan at 4½ percent interest, but it is very difficult to obtain one. His only recourse is to buy under FHA and one major intent of the new housing law was to bring the FHA schedule of down payments more in line with VA schedules to fill this need, an intent which now must be implemented by executive action to be made effective.

The lower downpayment schedule contemplated by Congress and written into the Housing Act of 1957 was also intended to make home buying easier for families in moderate circumstances who have not accumulated large amounts of cash. Under the new law, the cash downpayment on a $10,000 home would be $300 as against the $700 required now; on a $12,000 home, it would be $600 as against the $1,200 required now. Certainly, it is logical to pay proper attention to a family's earnings as a yardstick for home ownership, rather than savings alone.

To sum up, it is our belief that lowered downpayments on FHA-insured home building were contemplated by the Congress to revive the home-building industry, to help to prevent a more stringent new housing shortage, to prove of special benefit to veterans, and to make it more possible for families in moderate circumstances to enjoy the status of homeowners.

We sincerely believe that it was the expectation of Congress that the downpayment schedules of the Housing Act of 1957 would be put into effect as soon as possible, and we wish again, with all due respect, to urge that you undertake to put these provisions of the law into effect promptly.

Sincerely.

Death of Mrs. Grace Coolidge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

he Appendix of the RECORD a statement n the death of Mrs. Grace Coolidge. The statement was made by Mrs. Fred- ric Groves, president general of the DAR, and was published in the DAR Press Digest for September 1957.

There being no objection, the state- ment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM THE PRESIDENT GENERAL

Members of the National Society, Daugh- ers of the American Revolution, feel a deep ense of loss in the passing of Mrs. Grace nne Goodhue Coolidge, widow of our 30th resident, Calvin Coolidge.

She was a great and gracious lady whose uiet charm and simplicity won the heart f the Nation. Her concentration upon her usband and her sons was refreshing and holesome.

Her warm human kindness, love of people, nd love of living were benignly contagious ualities which affected everyone who knew er.

We are grateful that our own DAR mem- er, Mrs. Eisenhower, is recognized as the irst Lady most like Mrs. Coolidge.

The National Society extends its sym- athy to Mr. John Coolidge and his family. We know that he will realize that the sweet- ess of his mother's personality will linger orever in American history.

Importations of Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE

N THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I ask nanimous consent that an editorial en- itled "Wrong Reason, Worse Remedy," rom the Wall Street Journal of August , be printed in the Appendix of the REC- RD. It relates to the recent decision by he Government on the importation of il into the United States.

There being no objection, the editorial as ordered to be printed in the RECORD, s follows:

WRONG REASON, WORSE REMEDY

The logic of those who would put strict ontrols on the imports of oil, it seems to us, ests upon a strange syllogism.

It runs something like this: Oil is a basic aw material, necessary in peace and abso- utely essential in war. Known United tates oil reserves are insufficient for the ng future; we now see only about an 11 ear supply. Therefore we must cut down n the influx of foreign oil as a defense easure.

The conclusion is startling, even if all the sumptions are correct. If a raw material s in short supply at home, one might sup- ose that is all the more reason why we hould conserve it for future use by increas- g our imports now.

Actually, the advocates of import restric- ons concede as much. But they say the roblem is to get more exploration for new il at home; there won't be any exploration nless oil prices are encouragingly high; and il prices won't be high unless we restrict heaper foreign oil.

This might be a persuasive argument if he plan was to find new wells and then cap hem to save their oil for future emergencies. ut that, of course, is not the idea. In prac- ice, any hidden oil reserves will be better conserved by being left alone; the untapped oil is not going to go away.

So it seems to us that this kind of argu- ment for import controls founders on the fact that the way to conserve your own sup- ply is to use somebody else's. This argument for controls seems more a rationalization for another, and more familiar, argument.

It is unquestionably true that the impor- tation of foreign oil is painful to domestic producers. In most oil States production is restricted (in the name of conservation) already. Today oil can be pumped out of Kuwait, shipped across the ocean and sold in the United States cheaper than the do- mestic price. This is not encouraging to those who have oil wells or who want to search for new ones. And we are not un- sympathetic to this aspect of the case of the domestic oil producing States. Cheaper foreign imports are always painful to those who produce the commodity in question here at home.

But this does not strike us as a suf- ficient reason for the Government to re- strict oil imports.

For one thing, the intended effect of the restriction is to support the price of oil. The price rise that helps the producer hurts the consumer. In effect, the consumer is told that he cannot buy his oil cheaper from Kuwait; he has to pay whatever is deter- mined to be the proper domestic price. As in the case of tariffs or other restrictive devices on any industry, the whole economy is denied the benefits of a free market.

Equally important, it seems to us that the Government has undertaken a hopeless task. Even the domestic oil producers, as Mr. Logan reports this morning, concede we need some foreign imports. The Government has now taken upon itself the responsibility of deciding precisely how many barrels of for- eign oil is exactly the right amount.

This brings a tremendous area of the oil industry under the thumb of Govern- ment. With the authority to turn on and off the faucet of foreign imports, the Gov- ernment will have a powerful lever which can be used to the disadvantage as well as the advantage of the domestic oil industry, a thing that the industry itself might think more about. It will also have a lever that will play havoc if the officials in charge happen to push it the wrong way.

The argument that all of this is necessary in the name of conservation is hardly con- vincing. And the remedy of coercive state planning is always dangerous.

Living Costs and Postal Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Living Costs and Postal Pay," which appeared in the Philadelphia In- quirer of July 29, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIVING COSTS AND POSTAL PAY

The recent announcement that living costs were up for the 10th straight month lent added weight to the plea of the Nation's postal workers for an increase in pay.

Since their wages have been almost frozen for nearly 6 years, it was not surprising that only the day before the House of Representa- tives had voted overwhelmingly—379 to 38— for a 12½ percent pay increase. In the light of living cost picture, the Senate is now ex- pected to go along.

The proposed pay increase was voted by the House over determined opposition by President Eisenhower. The argument against it is that it is inflationary, and will boost Federal expenditures still further.

At the same time, increases in postal pay cannot be said to have contributed to infla- tion. There have been too few. And when automatic wage boosts are being given work- ers in other fields as the cost of living rises, the postal worker understandably asks why he should be the last in line—and then turned down.

It is this picture, indeed, which many be- lieve responsible for the miserable mail serv- ice we have been getting. Experienced work- ers in greater numbers have been quitting Post Office jobs for better pay elsewhere, and postmasters complain of their inability to obtain able workers for the money they can offer.

All these factors, we believe, lie behind the House vote. In a free country even Uncle Sam himself must compete—in wages—if he expects to get his share of the skilled and competent help.

Meeting the Problem of Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it is now 45 years since the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau. In that time, there has been wonderful progress in looking after the needs of the Nation's youngsters—our greatest re- source.

I was pleased to read not so long ago in the Milwaukee Journal an article in which the able new Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, Katherine Brownell Oettinger, outlined the principal chal- lenges facing the Bureau today, notably, the challenge of meeting the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Naturally, I was especially gratified that my own State of Wisconsin was singled out for its constructive work in this field. But there are other needs of the Nation's youngsters, as well, and we look to the Children's Bureau for its con- tinuous excellent leadership.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article printed in the July 17 issue of the Milwaukee Journal be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DELINQUENCY CALLED TOP PRIORITY PROBLEM— INFANT MORTALITY RATE NO LONGER CHIEF CONCERN OF CHILDREN'S BUREAU

WASHINGTON, D. C.—After only 2 months as Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, Katherine Brownell Oettinger has arrived at firm conclusions on teen-age delinquency, Federal grants-in-aid and the need for more advice to parents.

She made these four major points here last week:

Teen-age delinquency is as much a top priority problem now as infant mortality was in 1912, when the Children's Bureau was organized to cope with it.

All she has seen thus far supports a finding that the grants-in-aid administered by the Bureau are important to its research program. Some have argued that the Bureau should get out of the grants-in-aid business.

It does no good to take up any plan of action until there is personnel to carry it out.

More advice should be available for bringing up normal children.

DELINQUENCY RATE RISES

Mrs. Oettinger said the juvenile delinquency rate has risen for the eighth consecutive year.

"It is a trend we can't ignore," she said. "It seems to me to rank in importance with infant mortality when the Bureau started. After many years that problem was greatly reduced, and juvenile delinquency can be.

"But we need more research to know where to put the emphasis."

Mrs. Oettinger quoted Children's Bureau figures which, on the basis of reports from 1,148 courts, showed a 20 percent increase in juvenile delinquency cases between 1955 and 1956 in the 10 to 17 age group. The population increase in that age group that year was only 3 percent, she said.

The Children's Bureau Chief listed some of the problems in the delinquency field, and some of the remedies in process or contemplated.

"Some juvenile courts are ignoring parents' rights rather shockingly," she said. "The parents don't know that they and the children have right of counsel. Sometimes the parents don't know what is happening to their children.

STANDARDIZATION PLANNED

"The National Council of Juvenile Court Judges and the children's bureau are now working on a standard juvenile court act which would correct these abuses. It will be issued next spring.

"Some police still handle juvenile offenders and adult criminals the same way. However, it is most encouraging to see how many more cities are giving special training to police officers to deal with juveniles only.

"In some part of most States, children are still being put in jail with adults. But in the last 10 years more than 100 new detention homes for children have been built.

"Seriously disturbed boys and girls still are in training schools for delinquent children. But 10 States have set up diagnostic centers which weed out emotionally disturbed delinquents and assign them to proper institutions. These States are Florida, New York, California, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Washington, Wisconsin, Colorado, and Iowa.

"Many States feel they have nowhere to turn for advice on specific delinquency problems. However, 14 States have consultants in juvenile delinquency. They are Washington, California, New York, North Carolina, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Mississippi, Maryland, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Idaho, and Minnesota."

Other negative trends Mrs. Oettinger listed were custody instead of clinical treatment, attempts to punish parents for the delinquency of their children instead of helping them with their problems, and harsh disciplinary measures instead of constructive training for delinquents.

HOPES TO SEE GRANTS

Mrs. Oettinger expressed hope that Congress will adopt the pending new program of grants-in-aid to the States to help finance projects to curb juvenile delinquency.

Children's Bureau grants-in-aid to the States under the Social Security Act this fiscal year total $15 million for crippled children's services, $16½ million for maternal and child-health services—$500,000 of it earmarked for services for the mentally retarded, and $10 million for child-welfare services.

"Grants-in-aid support research and research supports grants-in-aid," she said. "It is better when they are not separated but instead are parts of the same picture."

PERSONNEL NEEDED

As an example, she said the Michigan research study on children's artificial limbs had proven an impetus to the entire crippled-children's program. Twenty-one States have sent children to be fitted there. Among these children were four born without either legs or arms. Whole new areas of activity have been opened to child amputees, she said.

She cited, too, the 25 research projects set up this year to aid mentally retarded children and their parents.

"The tragedy can be so much softened if parents don't try to do the impossible," she said. "It is not merely a matter of information; they can read that themselves. It is helping them absorb the shock, aiding them from day to day."

Mrs. Oettinger said the Children's Bureau booklet in this field, The Child Who Is Mentally Retarded, is fast becoming a best seller. The first edition of 50,000 copies has been exhausted and another 75,000 copies has been ordered.

The need in this field as in many others, she emphasized, is more trained personnel. As a former dean of a school of social work, she said, she is acutely aware of the comparative shortage of scholarships in social work as compared with the physical sciences.

Love That Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, it is amusing to hear some of the officials of this administration try to explain away the ever-increasing national debt. Several days ago Mr. Randolph Burgess gave an explanation which has been used before, namely, that we should not worry about the national debt, because even though it has become greater, the population of the country has increased, and the per capita debt has not increased, and therefore it is all right.

The Evening Star, a newspaper published here in Washington, on Wednesday, July 31, 1957, contained an editorial entitled "Love That Debt." I ask unanimous consent that it be published in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I commend to all Senators a careful and interested reading of the editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOVE THAT DEBT

It seems a shame that Randolph Burgess is planning to leave the Treasury. For he has a way of making a man feel ashamed of himself for stewing about the national debt.

There was a time when the New Dealers, or the Fair Dealers, or some kind of dealers went about the countryside chanting a siren song. Why worry about the debt, ran their refrain. We owe it to ourselves, and the bigger it is the richer we are. Obvious (although it is not entirely obvious to us this was a fiscal snare and delusion. It was a silly notion; one to be forthright condemned by every good American who believes that a penny saved is a penny earned (or is it the other way around?), and what good American doesn't.

Under Secretary Burgess has not picked up this New Deal line. He takes a different tack. As he has just told the Senate Finance Committee, why worry? It is true that the national debt may not be going down very much, but the national income keeps going up, and the result, as we understand it, is that the debt, which is hanging somewhere around the $270 billion level, becomes less and less important in the larger scheme of things.

Mr. Burgess illustrated his point with a statistic which is more or less within the range of our comprehension. Ten years ago, he said, the national debt averaged out to $1,832 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Today, as a result of the superior way in which a Republican administration comes to grips with such problems, this average has dropped to $1,[illegible] for every man, woman, and child.

Is this not a reassuring item of information? Is it not enough to make one thoroughly ashamed of himself for all the peevish things he has said about our crushing burden of debt? Of course it is—unless, by some unhappy chance, those siren singers were right when they were trying to make us believe that the debt was something that was owed to ourselves. If they were right and if Mr. Burgess is right, then every man, woman, and child in the United States is $251 poorer today than he was 10 years ago.

Nobody Has Better Air Than Vermont

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, on July 30, there appeared in the Providence Journal an article entitled "In Perspective—Nobody Has Better Air Than Vermont." The article is a very fine one and was furnished to me by one of the ablest, most discerning administrative assistants on Capitol Hill, Mr. Edward Higgins, assistant to the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN]. Mr. Higgins was evidently so impressed by the article, that he promptly forwarded it to my office. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

IN PERSPECTIVE—NOBODY HAS BETTER AIR THAN VERMONT

Now don't anybody get sore, but I just corrected one of the things that was wrong with Rhode Island. Notice the difference in the air? It isn't every day of the year that you can breathe pure Vermont air right here in Rhode Island.

It all started innocently enough, with never an intention of casting aspersions on the air here in Rhode Island. Its pretty good air, as a matter of fact. There is the salt-dipped variety along the coast for those who like

ll-seasoned air. Further inland, you can
t the apple blossom-scented variety of
eenville, if that is what you prefer. In a
w spots you can even get hill air, so called.
course, down along the Providence River
downtown Providence at low tide this time
year—but maybe we had better get on
th the story.

It begins in Vermont, my native State.
was up there on a visit with the family.
it must to all vacationers, the visit came
an end. The time arrived to bundle the
mily back into the car and head south for
ode Island, the adopted State of this Ver-
nt-reared family.

It was a sad leavetaking. For 3 days, I
d been living it up, so to speak. For 3
ys, I had been breathing in that pure, ex-
arating, intoxicating Vermont air. My
ildren were breathing it, too, and my wife.
seemed an awful shame to have to leave it.
So we decided to bring some back with us.
e took an extra strong paper bag, opened
e end and rushed across the lawn at my
other's house until the bag was filled to
erflowing with Vermont air. Then we were

I swear the latest air-conditioning equip-
nt couldn't have kept that car any cooler
the way home. A little bit of that Ver-
nt air kept seeping out of the bag now and
en. It swirled around and around the in-
e of the car and even the children no-
ed it.

"Hey, Pop. Close the window, willya?"

"They are closed."

"How come its so cold then?"

"It's the Vermont air in the bag," I said.

"Ah," they said, remembering.

Vermont air has a peculiar quality about
Car exhaust fumes disappear in it. In-
strial smokestacks choke up every time
ey even think about it. It swallows an
or from a river mud flat in one gulp. Dust
uds cough themselves apart trying to
nd up against Vermont air.

It makes me lightheaded just to think
out it.

Vermont air is cooler, clearer, drier, wet-
, purer, and just plain better than any
her air, and I'm sorry but I have to say
at. You can see further in Vermont air
an in any other air. Everything grows
tter in Vermont air, including people.
rmont air is made in Heaven itself by the
ints, washed by the angels and carried
wn over the Green Mountain State in
fy cloud bags knotted together at dawn
the littlest angels who just love to touch

Anyway, we arrived home safely on the
rface above the bay. I figured first off I'd
ke that bag of Vermont air and rush into
e house with it. I figured I'd rush from
om to room, letting out a little bit at a
me, until I had the house well saturated
th Vermont air. I figured I could forget
about that air conditioning unit we had
ked about. I figured we could just plain
rget about bothering with opening the win-
ws at night any more. After all, with a
use full of Vermont air.

And then I thought that's a pretty damn
lfish attitude for a grown man. Here I
s making a living and feeding my family
the bounty of Rhode Island and I wasn't
en big enough to share my Vermont air
th it.

That did it. I stopped right there. I
cided right on the spot that I'd leave that
g of Vermont air in the car. I didn't
ve the heart to open the bag up and let
about that air-conditioning unit we had
t, I figured, to do the job. And I'd still
ve an ample supply in the bag to take
re of the house, which isn't a very big
use anyway.

So I left the bag of Vermont air in the car.
course, I noticed the difference in the
ighborhood the first thing next morning.

The kids were peppier.

My wife was singing.

A neighbor who hadn't spoken to us in months dropped in to have a friendly cup of coffee.

The following day several of the neighbors hired painters to spruce up their homes.

Reports of extra high sailboat speeds came in from a nearby yacht club.

A haze that had always hung over the bay in front of us disappeared.

An antipollution group that had been fighting the good fight for 10 years resigned. Said their job was finished. Said the State hadn't had it so good in 10 years.

That's the way it went, so help me. I never expected to get anything out of this, of course, and still don't, but just for the record I'll have to admit that I was disappointed by one little oversight on the part of the State. Nobody from the Rhode Island Development Council even bothered to say "Thank you." Now that wouldn't have hurt them a bit. After all, how many coastal States can brag about having mountain air—Vermont air—right down alongside the shoreline?

There's one more thing, too. I don't know how long the Vermont air will last. Oh, it's long lasting and tough all right, but there is another peculiar thing about it that I failed to mention earlier. It likes to have Vermont dirt under it.

But don't worry. I'm going back up there again sometime. I'll bring some more back if you want. I might even bring back some Vermont dirt to go with it.

Social Security for Firemen in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Honorable Olin Culberson is railroad commissioner of the State of Texas, and is secretary-treasurer of the State Firemen's and Fire Marshals' Association of Texas. Olin Culberson is a relative of the late Charles A. Culberson, who served his State of Texas, and the Nation, for 23 years—1899 to 1922—as a Member of this body, with fidelity and distinction. It is my privilege to serve here in Mr. Culberson's succession.

Judge Olin Culberson has served in Texas as a county judge, and in other important positions of public trust. He has filled them all with that fidelity and integrity characterized by the Culberson family, from the service of David Culberson as a Congressman from Texas—1875–1897—through the service of his son, Charles A. Culberson, as attorney general, governor, and United States Senator from Texas.

Commissioner Olin Culberson has transmitted to me the resolution of the 81st annual convention of the State Firemen's and Fire Marshals' Association of Texas favoring the inclusion of the firemen of Texas among the groups to be covered by social security. I indorse that resolution.

Mr. President I request unanimous consent that Mr. Culberson's communication and the accompanying resolution be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE FIREMEN'S AND FIRE MARSHALS' ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS,
Houston, Tex., July 29, 1957.

Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR RALPH: Attached you will find copy of Resolution 8 adopted at the 81st annual convention of the State Firemen's and Fire Marshals' Association of Texas, with reference to making the benefits of social security available to the firemen of Texas. Also, you will find a copy of a proposed resolution which was modified and came out as Resolution 8.

I would call your attention to the fact that the Congress has heretofore seen fit to amend title 42, section 418, United States Code, which deals with the Federal social-security system and has authorized certain States to allow firemen to participate in the social-security system in the States of Florida, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina, and South Dakota.

There are 605 fire departments in Texas, only 38 of which are fully paid, and 567 are volunteers, and many of which have paid chiefs and paid drivers, who under the present Social Security Act, unless it be amended as requested, cannot participate in social security.

Your earnest consideration of the present resolution giving Texas firemen the option of embracing the social-security benefits is urgently and sincerely requested.

Very respectfully,

OLIN CULBERSON,
Secretary-Treasurer,

RESOLUTION NO. 8

Whereas by reason of the present pending bills in the Congress of the United States with respect to authorization of firemen and policemen of Texas to be included in social-security coverage, if they should choose; and

Whereas it appears many of the firemen of Texas and members of this association, desire to take advantage of such social-security benefits: Therefore be it

Resolved by the 81st State Firemen's and Fire Marshals' Association of Texas in convention assembled at Waco, Tex., That we go on record as favoring the enactment of such laws as will make available such benefits to those firemen or departments that may so desire coverage, and that to correct any erroneous impression that may have been created as to such desire, that a copy of this resolution be forthwith given and forwarded to each member of the Texas delegation in the Congress.

Whereas certain organizations and individuals claiming to represent the views of all firemen and policemen in the United States, have in the past exerted great influence on legislation, resulting in the exclusion of firemen and policemen from the benefits of social-security coverage; and

Whereas such organizations and individuals do not represent the views of all firemen and policemen in the United States and particularly in the State of Texas; and

Whereas firemen and policemen in the State of Texas are greatly in need of social-security coverage, both as to survivors' benefits and old-age retirement: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the State Firemen and Fire Marshals Association of Texas, meeting in annual convention at Waco, Tex., this — day of June 1957, That said convention and members thereof exert every effort to counteract the erroneous impression created in Congress that all firemen and policemen are opposed to H. R. 5012 which, if adopted, would extend the benefits of social security to firemen and policemen; and be it further

Resolved, That this convention and the members it represents actively support H. R.

5012 extending the benefits of social security to firemen and policemen; be it further

Resolved, That the legislative committee of this association forward certified copies of this resolution to all members of the Texas delegation to Congress.

Passed and approved this — day of June A. D. 1957.

Mrs. Grace Shattuck and Mrs. Marj Cochran, Oregon Rural Mail Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the strong arguments for an upward adjustment in the pay schedules of postal employees is the dedication, loyalty, and faithfulness of these employees themselves.

We tend to think of most postal workers as men. This is not necessarily the case. The Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg., of July 24, 1957, published an informative and interesting article by Roberta Ulrich about two women mail carriers in Oregon, under the title "Women Deliver the Goods on Rural Route."

Miss Ulrich's article tells of the routine and duties of Mrs. Grace Shattuck of Tigard, Oreg., and of Mrs. Marj Cochran of Lakeside, Oreg., who delivers mail by boat along Ten Mile Lake in Coos County.

These capable women have been featured by the Oregonian reporter because of the special qualities of their routes—especially that of Mrs. Cochran, who operates the only water mail route within the State of Oregon.

However, both Mrs. Shattuck and Mrs. Cochran are symbolic of other able rural mail route carriers of both sexes, not only in Oregon but in the Nation. I think that these people merit an increase in their salaries, and I make this statement as chairman of a subcommittee which considered this question recently for many weeks.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Roberta Ulrich, published in the Oregonian of July 24, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOMEN DELIVER THE GOODS ON RURAL ROUTE
(By Roberta Ulrich)

That traditional friend of the rural housewife—the mail order catalog—is considered a major headache by a pair of Oregon wives.

They are Mrs. Grace Shattuck, Tigard, and Mrs. Marj Cochran, Lakeside. The 2 are mail carriers and have to deliver the 5-pound books.

Mrs. Shattuck, 35, is 1 of 2 women who drive regular rural mail routes in Oregon. Mrs. Cochran, 39, operates the only boat route in the State. (A star route on the Rogue River includes partial boat service.)

Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night has stopped either woman from her appointed rounds as yet, but Mrs. Cochran was stopped once by a log jam. Mrs. Shattuck has been slowed down a bit by flat tires, but she has never failed to finish her route.

TIME OUT FOR BIRTH

She did take a month off once when her youngest child, now 4, was born. She delivered the mail the day before her son was born and started for work the following day, "but went to the hospital instead."

About those catalogs, Mrs. Shattuck says, "I hate to see them start to come in." Echoes Mrs. Cochran, "I know what she means."

Mrs. Shattuck, who must deliver about 250 catalogs on her route of 465 boxes, can't take them all on 1 day in her 1954 sedan. Mrs. Cochran, who delivers her route in a 14-foot outboard skiff, can take her 30 all at once, but still finds them a heavy problem.

Mrs. Shattuck became a rural mail carrier 5 years ago when the rural carrier on the route where she lived south of Tigard quit. She had decided to go back to work, had once done office work and didn't like it; so decided to give mail carrying a whirl.

"I just love it," she said. She has a regular civil service appointment but must use her own car. The Government pays her 9 cents a mile for the car.

Her workday begins about 7 a. m. when she arrives at the post office to begin sorting the mail for her route. She is generally ready to leave by 9:30 or 10 a. m. and is back from the 35-mile route by 1:30 p. m. She then sorts out the afternoon mail for the next day's delivery before she quits for the day.

DRIVER SITS IN MIDDLE

Her schedule gets her home about the time her 2 older children, 11 and 9, arrive home from school.

Half her route lies over paved roads, half over gravel. Mrs. Shattuck drives her sedan in true mail-carrier fashion, sitting in the middle of the seat so she can reach out to put mail in the boxes without leaving the car.

"It's a lot easier now that I have a car with automatic gearshift," she said. "I've also learned a lot about a car. Before I started this, I thought a car was in good shape if it started. Now I can tell just about what's wrong with it when I have any trouble."

She also has learned how to change a tire.

"Of course, the one time no man would stop to help me," she said, "was when I had a flat tire in a terrible rainstorm."

VARIED DUTIES PERFORMED

Mrs. Shattuck doesn't just deliver the mail. She also sells stamps and money orders, picks up packages, and once in a while runs an errand for a boxholder. She also offers a sympathetic ear to mail patrons anxiously awaiting letters.

The lady mail carrier takes a personal interest in the people along her route and often goes beyond the official duty of her job. She often makes an extra trip to take a special-delivery letter—especially on Christmas Eve. "It wouldn't be sent special delivery unless it was important," she reasons.

Besides the mail-order catalogs, a lot of bulky and sometimes odd things come mail order. There are tires and scoop shovels and, worst of all, encyclopedias in packages weighing up to 100 pounds.

Since Portland absorbed the Tigard post office last spring, Mrs. Shattuck has had the only rural route at Tigart. Her territory includes Progress, Boones Ferry Road, and Scholls Ferry Road. The job has the wholehearted approval of her husband, an employee of the State liquor commission.

WATER ROUTE SERVED

The best thing about carrying the mail, according to Mrs. Shattuck, is "the people." Not only do they keep her well supplied with coffee breaks during the year, but at Christmas "they give me so many cakes and cookies we couldn't possibly eat them all. They're wonderful."

Mrs. Cochran also frequently finds herself patrons waiting for her with a cup of coffee. Hers is a contract route which she first began delivering 4 years ago with her father, J. G. Gibson.

For the past 3 years she has had the route alone, driving a 14-foot skiff along the 17½ mile shoreline of the two sections of Ten Mile Lake in northern Coos County. She leaves the lakeside post office about 8:30 a. m. every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning and finishes about 3:30 p. m. On her route the mailboxes are placed on docks where Mrs. Cochran can reach them without leaving her boat.

She delivers mail to about 30 families along the lake. Unlike Mrs. Shattuck's rural route, Mrs. Cochran's boat route does not involve the sale of stamps and mailing of packages, but she, too, sometimes runs small errands for the families along her route.

FOOD FERRIED ALSO

On a few occasions she has brought groceries in to families who were unable to get out. There is no road into parts of the area.

Her worst experience, however, came when she was caught in a 90-mile-an-hour wind which whipped up waves 3 and 4 feet high. "I got pretty wet," she recalls, "but I didn't turn over."

Mrs. Cochran gets enough boat riding on her route and rarely takes one out "unless we have visitors who want a spin." Her husband operates a boat service on the lake. She prefers horseback riding for recreation.

She likes her job, although she admits "In the wintertime it's not too nice. But I get plenty of fresh air."

School Bill Mystery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a few days ago the House of Representatives unfortunately killed any further consideration this year of the school-construction bill. There has been considerable discussion regarding who was responsible for that. President Eisenhower rather indignantly denied that he was responsible.

However, in the Christian Science Monitor of July 31, there appeared a very readable article, written by Mr. William H. Stringer, chief of the Washington bureau of the Christian Science Monitor. The article is entitled "School Bill Mystery." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHOOL BILL MYSTERY
(By William H. Stringer)

WASHINGTON.—In the 1956 election campaign at Lexington, Ky., President Eisenhower said of Federal aid to school construction:

"We have now lost 1 out of 5 precious years * * * I shall accordingly call upon the next session of Congress to enact legislation that will do this job—not in 5 years but in 1 year."

But on July 25, 1957, the House of Representatives killed a school bill which, at the last voting minute, had become the administration's own bill—by the narrow margin of 208 to 203. And the kind of vigorous White House pressure which had been successful against Hells Canyon and in favor of the defense budget was not in evidence. This pressure, some Congressmen believe, would have switched enough votes to pass the bill.

What had happened since the Kentucky campaign speech?

If one seeks the view of Republican Congressmen who worked to pass the school bill and some who opposed the measure, the explanation runs like this:

1. President Eisenhower never was wholly sold on the proposal to aid the schools by Federal funds. He opposed the concept in a speech when he was president of Columbia University. The urgencies of the Nation's classroom deficiency, plus the promptings of politics, put the Republicans on record as favoring Federal aid. But influential men around the White House, including Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams, were against the concept. They, plus representatives of business groups, advanced arguments which were persuasive with the President.

2. Mr. Eisenhower was particularly unimpressed by the school bill pending in Congress, which was a compromise between the Democratic proposal to distribute funds on the basis of school-age population and the President's own proposal to distribute funds on the basis of need (more money to needy States and districts). Of the $1½ billion dollars to be expended over 5 years, half would have been expended on each basis.

3. A sizable majority of House Republicans, as the ultimate vote revealed, were against Federal school aid. Representative LESLIE C. ARENDS of Illinois, the GOP whip, had conducted one of his usual polls and discovered the hostile majority. He and Representative CHARLES A. HALLECK of Indiana carried this report to the White House. They counseled against making a fight of it and risking humiliating defeat. Personally, both Messrs. HALLECK and ARENDS were against the Federal-aid concept.

The White House was in a mood to accept their advice, although Mr. Eisenhower did write a mildly affirmative letter to Representative PETER FREYLINGHUYSEN, JR., Republican, of New Jersey, which that Congressman termed "somewhat disappointing."

4. Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, a successful businessman and former director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, tried to rally support around the bill. At a press conference he expressed the hope that the President would "get on the phone" to drum up votes. Later Mr. Folsom conferred with Mr. Eisenhower and was reportedly advised he had gone too far in his enthusiasm.

5. When, in the final House maneuvering, Republican supporters of the bill proposed that the administration's own version be substituted for the compromise measure, Democratic liberals suddenly threw their support to this version which they previously had fought. The Democratic House leadership was behind this strategy, aware that this accrual of support would either pass the bill in the face of Republican opposition—thereby giving the Democrats credit for "rescuing the President from his own party"—or, as actually did happen, the bill would be visibly defeated by the vote of the Republicans.

6. At the last minute, when liberal Democrats announced their readiness to back the Eisenhower-approved version, a vigorous message from the White House might still have saved the day—swung the three votes needed for victory. But the White House was not waiting off-stage, no message was ready. And a quickly formed coalition of southern Democrats and hostile Republicans (including Messrs. HALLECK and ARENDS) defeated the school bill.

This is the history.

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, who avoids remarks that can be construed as critical of the President, takes the position that school-construction needs will get worse before they get better. Mr. Eisenhower evidently believes the States could, and should, do more than they are doing to provide public schools. Republicans favoring the school bill argue that some infusions of non-habit-forming Federal assistance are vital right now to stimulate local efforts.

Whatever the merits of these arguments, the school bill, due to the President's lukewarm attitude and a hostile House leadership, is a dead issue for another year.

Competition Between Colorado Mountain Trout and Tennessee Catfish Luncheons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several items concerning an event that has aroused a great deal of anticipation, both here at the Capitol and in my home State of Tennessee. It is the much-heralded fried catfish luncheon which will feature Tennessee blue cats specially flown up from Savannah, Tenn., the catfish capital of the world. This will be the first round of a competition between this tasty delicacy and a later meal of Colorado mountain trout, to be hosted by my esteemed colleague from that State [Mr CARROLL].

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed a memorandum to the press, a general invitation to all Members of the Senate, a personal invitation to the Vice President, and an editorial concerning the competition from the Chattanooga Times.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the office of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, for release Friday, August 2]

Y'ALL COME TO A FISH FRY—WITH HUSHPUPPIES, YET

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, announced today a bilateral agreement with Senator JOHN A. CARROLL, Democrat, of Colorado, to bring their long feud to an end. The Tennessee Senator revealed that he had made arrangements to end their battle in the Senate dining room, with Members of the Senate and the press corps acting as referees to pass on the relative merits of the Tennessee blue catfish and the Colorado mountain trout.

The month-long senatorial dispute stemmed from a challenge hurled by Senator KEFAUVER at his colleague from Colorado on the occasion last month of the National Catfish Derby at Savannah, Tenn. At that time Senator KEFAUVER expressed his disdain for the bragging claims of the trout proponents. "They make their unwarranted assertions sound," he said, "like a cigarette commercial."

On his return from the Savannah festival Senator KEFAUVER reiterated his claim that Tennessee blue cats outflavor mountain trout fins down.

"The only reason President Eisenhower occasionally fishes the Colorado streams," explained the Senator, "is that he hasn't yet been introduced to the catfish. One taste—and Denver will never see him again."

Due to the doctrine of the separation of powers, the President will not partake of the feast prepared for luncheon on August 6. But all Senators and Vice President NIXON have received copies of the attached letter inviting them to the senatorial dining room on that day. Senator KEFAUVER also extended his invitation to members of the nonpartisan Senate press corps.

"The decision of the Senate and the press will establish for all time the obvious superiority of the catfish over the trout. On Tuesday we will serve the blue cats, along with homemade southern hushpuppies. On the following Friday, Senator CARROLL will offer his trout. I am so confident of the outcome of the competition that I am willing to spot Senator CARROLL the vote of Senator ALLOTT."

The piscatorial tidbits will be shipped by air to Washington from the catfish capital of th world at Savannah, Tenn., courtesy of the Hardin County Boosters Club and the directors of the annual National Catfish Derby. Miss Linda Gail Stamps, newly crowned queen of the catfish derby, will bring along her own delicious recipe for homemade hushpuppies. She will supervise the preparation and serving of the delicacies in the Senate dining room.

The decision of the judges will be final unless it is obviously so prejudiced as to favor Colorado trout.

[From the office of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee]

AUGUST 1, 1957.

DEAR SENATOR: It is my distinct pleasure to invite you to take part in a competition which will determine the relative merits of the Colorado mountain trout and the Tennessee catfish.

Though I sincerely do not expect the culinary qualities of the trout to approach that of the catfish, Senator CARROLL of Colorado and I have reached unanimous agreement between us to hold a taste contest in which the Members of the Senate will be the final judges.

The first phase of this one-sided competition will begin at lunchtime on Tuesday, August 6, in the main dining room of the Capitol. There you will be served a succulent, meaty, and toothsome treat of deep-fried Tennessee catfish, provided by the Hardin County Boosters Club and the National Catfish Derby people. Miss Linda Gail Stamps, of Cookeville, Tenn., who was recently chosen Queen of the Catfish Derby at Savannah, Tenn., will be on hand to supervise personally the service of the tastiest entree you will ever have the pleasure of eating. Miss Stamps will also provide individual servings of those celebrated delicious homemade hushpuppies, a most necessary accessory to the complete enjoyment of this fabulous meal.

It is my understanding that on August 9 Senator CARROLL will apologetically undertake the obviously impossible task of equalling the feast offered by our delightful catfish with a few game trout, imported, no doubt, from Idaho.

You will be expected to form an impartial opinion from the evidence presented of the relative tastiness of the two dishes—though Heaven only know how you can remain impartial after assaying a sweet, delectable blue cat, accompanied by the delicacy of a hushpuppy or two.

Not the least of the merits of this contest lies in the fact that in this time of inflation it provides 2 free meals for you, although I must point out that only 1 of them will be truly worthy of its distinguished judges.

We shall await your attendance at this feast with great anticipation, although, of course, your decision will be a foregone conclusion.

Sincerely yours,

ESTES KEFAUVER.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., August 1, 1957.

The Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON,
Vice President of the United States,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DICK: We would very much like to have you present at this occasion. Aside from the free meal we are offering, there is a very remote possibility that a tie vote may result from the competition. In that event, your ballot as Presiding Officer of the Senate would be the deciding one.

I'm sure that you would not want to miss this rare opportunity—one that occurs most infrequently in the life of a Vice President.

We are looking forward to seeing you there and hearing your personal comment on the superiority of catfish over trout.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

ESTES.

[From the Chattanooga Times of July 31, 1957]

UNEVEN "TASTE TEST"

The Colorado Senators have climbed out on a limb. They have consented to match Colorado trout against Tennessee blue catfish in a fishfry in the Senate dining room on August 6. The challenge was issued by Senator KEFAUVER.

Miss Linda Stamps, national catfish queen, of Cookeville, Tenn., will serve the fish in this "taste test."

The Colorado Senators do not know that the people who live on the shores of Reelfoot Lake, in Tennessee, will throw back trout and bass in order to save room for catfish. The Reelfoot people certainly ought to know and they say that hot cat is the best eating fish in the world.

A hundred and fifty blue catfish will be snared in Savannah's famous "catfish hole" at Pickwick Dam and Senator CARROLL, of Colorado, will provide 150 trout from Colorado's streams.

The catfish will be served with hushpuppies. The Chattanooga Times' seal has never been awarded hushpuppies, but we go, go, go for hot cat.

Latin American Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following material which was inadvertently omitted from the transcript of my speech on the floor of the House last evening. The material includes portions of a document entitled "The Shaped Charge," apparently prepared for the use of the Embassy of the Dominican Republic. The report became available to me in a manner which I explained in detail during my speech on the subject yesterday. The following material should have appeared in the RECORD at the point where it was omitted, namely, on page 12049, column 3, after paragraph 2. The material follows:

The report goes on to say:

Some public statement or open letter might be issued forth at this time, from here or the States, emphasizing the following:

1. That the new version discredits the fundamental basis of the Murphy-helped-kidnap-Galindez story. It makes a liar out of Murphy and is an insult to the intelligence of the public and the press. The only consistency remaining in the multiple accusations is that Trujillo is the target.

2. The "Great Guru" label can be fixed squarely on Romulo Betancourt. His relationship to the New York and Washington groups should be made clear. A few well-aimed shots at Mr. B. will probably sink him and his admirers will be discredited along with him.

Congratulations in your excellent efforts. From reports we are now getting I think we can smash this thing once and for all in the next few months.

I venture to say the congratulations are premature.

The Ambassador from the so-called Dominican Republic, Manuel de Moya, made a speech earlier this year before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco. Besides insisting that Operation Murphy-Galindez was promoted and motivated by the Communists and really aimed at the United States, he answered a question from the floor as to whether his country was governed by a dictator as follows:

The Latin American countries are vastly different from the United States and different governmental techniques are needed. In our country we do not consider our leader as a dictator but as a great man who has sacrificed his life for the betterment of his people.

The Late Mark Foote

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to comment on the passing of Mark Foote, Chief of the Washington Bureau of Booth Newspapers. I will always count having known Mr. Foote as one of the true privileges of my life. Much has been said about his long years of faithful service to his readers and his many well-earned awards. Mr. Foote will long be remembered here in Washington as one of the leaders among our Nation's journalists. However, he will also be remembered by another group and that is his many readers back in Michigan. These are the people to whose service Mr. Foote was dedicated. During his many years as a reporter he served his readers with exceptional ability. His columns were read with confidence and trust and the knowledge that the true significance of the news was being explained. Mr. Foote's readers who met him only through his columns have suffered a great loss. Those of us who were privileged to know him personally are saddened by his passing but can take comfort in the knowledge that Mr. Foote was proud and happy in his work and was able to carry on to his final day. We all share the sorrow of his family and extend our deepest sympathy to them.

Authorizing Construction of Bridges Over the Potomac River

SPEECH
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6763) to amend the act of August 30, 1954, entitled "An act to authorize and direct the construction of bridges over the Potomac River, and for other purposes."

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I would like, in the few minutes I have, to try to clear up some of the misunderstandings relative to the position of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and Arlington County as to the differences between a 6-lane bridge and a 4-lane tunnel.

The record will show that both the Commissioners of the District and the Arlington officials oppose a four-lane tunnel under the river. They do favor a six-lane bridge. The authority exists now for the six-lane bridge—money has been appropriated; it ought to go forward.

Mr. Chairman, I want to quote from testimony taken on February 21, 1957, relative to the thinking of some officials on the merits of this proposal.

General Lane, who was the engineer for the District, said on February 21, 1957:

I think it is important at this point to know that the 6-lane bridge has been approved by the Planning Commission after thorough study by that body as required by law, and that the 4-lane tunnel has not been so approved.

He further said in his testimony:

After extensive consideration, a committee of the Planning Commission recommended, and the Commission approved on April 8, 1955, the acceptance of a 6-lane tunnel or a 6-lane bridge at this location but made no favorable recommendation on the 4-lane tunnel.

We are talking about a four-lane tunnel in this bill. It has not been approved by the Planning Commission or the District. He further said:

I am surprised indeed to learn that he staff and some members of the Commission consider that approval of a 6-lane tunnel constitutes approval of a 4-lane tunnel.

He further said:

In summary, the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia is opposed to the construction of a four-lane tunnel as proposed in H. R. 4366 because it would be a seriously inadequate traffic facility for this

location and because it has not received the required clearance of the National Capital Planning Commission.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to go over to some of the testimony of Mr. Stoneburner. Who is Mr. Stoneburner? He is an engineer for Arlington County, Va., the chief engineer. He says:

The Arlington County Board has been on record for some time supporting a six-lane bridge structure in this location. They very strongly feel that any 4-lane facility, and particularly a 4-lane tunnel, would not be adequate. I think a 6-lane tunnel will be considered that they would not have as strong objection to that as the 4-lane tunnel.

That is my position. If you are going to build anything across this river, be it a tunnel or a bridge, it ought to be at least of six lanes. The tunnel, I think, has some disadvantages in that a 6-lane tunnel would cost some $46 million and a 6-lane bridge, comparable to other bridges now over the river, would cost probably $18 million. That is the difference in cost between those structures. There is far more upkeep to the tunnel than to the six-lane bridge.

Mr. Robertson, the Director of Highways for the District of Columbia, had this to say:

Exhaustive studies made by the District of Columbia and others have conclusively shown that the construction of a bridge at this location is more economical, will serve all traffic needs, and can be maintained at far less cost than any other type of crossing.

He further said:

Mr. Chairman, the District of Columbia favors the construction of a bridge at this location and urges you to report favorably upon the passage of this bill.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. Suppose this language were inserted on page 5, line 7, "to be derived from the District of Columbia highway fund"?

I understand that with the disapproval of the Commissioners of the tunnel it would not be possible to change the language to read that way. Is that correct?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I am not sure.

Mr. RABAUT. So the only thing that could be built under that situation would be a bridge.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I think something ought to be built to handle the traffic, but I do not think a four-lane tunnel is the answer to that problem. The tunnel would be too small before its completion.

What did Mr. Brinkley, Chief Planning Engineer of the Department of Highways of the District of Columbia, have to say?

The Highway Department prefers to build the bridge, primarily because we do not believe we should pay $2 for a $1 article. It is just as important that we construct a full-capacity facility at this location and not with a half one as has been proposed; and we will show you later in our presentation that a 4-lane tunnel has only one-half of the capacity of a 6-lane bridge.

Ohio DAV Resolution of Protest Concerning Veterans' Administration Action in Reducing Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, on July 26, 1957, the Ohio Department of the Disabled American Veterans, meeting in convention, unanimously adopted the following resolution.

I believe it to be of sufficient importance to be called to the attention of the House of Representatives. The problems referred to in this resolution are very serious and should be remedied by legislative action, if that is necessary.

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS STOPS PAYMENT OF BENEFITS TO THOUSANDS OF VETERANS WHO WERE DISABLED AS A DIRECT RESULT OF WAR SERVICE

Whereas the Ohio Department of the Disabled American Veterans, charges the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs at Washington with failure to follow legislation approved by the Congress of the United States in connection with the payment of compensation to veterans disabled as a direct result of war service, the Administrator admitting he has already terminated or decreased the benefits of more than 40,000 of these veterans, claiming that the original grant was in error; and

Whereas this is the result of a continuing review of compensation claims of the wars' disabled originally granted under the provisions of Public Law 144, approved by the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas if a field office of the Veterans' Administration fails to remove or reduce the compensation of a sufficient number of wartime disabled veterans through "error," the efficiency rating of that office is considered unsatisfactory and that office is ordered to conduct a second review; and

Whereas less than 40 percent of these cases of wartime disabled veterans have been checked to date and at the current rate those removed from the rolls will exceed 100,000; and

Whereas printed instructions, explaining this policy change of the Veterans' Administration have not been issued, this new policy being disguised by the use of the term "medical principles"; and

Whereas survey teams are sent from the Washington office of the Veterans' Administration to the many field offices to impart verbal instructions; individual claims files are called to Washington and the adverse decision rendered there affects the benefits of many other wartime disabled veterans; and

Whereas the Washington office of the Veterans' Administration has called all regional office adjudication officers to Washington for a period of instruction, and have admitted that the review of claims of wartime disabled veterans is in compliance with recommendation No. 69 of the report of the Bradley Commission; and

Whereas the rating boards at the regional offices of the Veterans' Administration are now hesitant to approve the claim of any veteran on war-incurred disabilities, the new theory of "medical principles" providing a tool for arbitrary denial; and

Whereas if the Veterans' Administration was sincere in its program of correcting alleged errors, it would also review the claims of wartime disabled veterans previously denied; and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration at Washington proposes a complete revision of the rating table to evaluate disability—132 pages of material having already been issued with recommended changes; and

Whereas the drastic reductions being proposed are shocking and would materially reduce or discontinue payment of benefits to the wars' combat veterans; and

Whereas the ratings for muscle damage from gunshot wounds and other causes are to be slashed, along with most other disabilities—and to qualify for total disability the service-connected condition must be so serious that the veteran be "housebound," with similar reductions and eliminations of compensation across the board; and

Whereas the considered changes are said to be based on "medical advances"—but actually are the result of pressure from medical associations, the Bureau of the Budget, and the report of the Bradley Commission—with military pressure; and

Whereas if the present recommendations are carried to a conclusion, the number of wartime disabled veterans receiving benefits will be reduced to a mere token—and the beginning of the end of this Nation of ours meeting its obligation to the wars' wounded and disabled among the enlisted personnel; and

Whereas no effort has been launched to interference with the high rate of retirement to the disabled career officers, it appearing that the laws enacted by the Congress of the United States no longer apply to the Veterans' Administration: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Disabled American Veterans, Department of Ohio, assembled in the city of Toledo, July 26, 27, 28, 1957, at its 36th annual convenion, charge the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs with violating his oath of office in scrapping Public Law No. 144 of the Congress of the United States and replacing the law with recommendations of the Bureau of the Budget, medical groups, and military pressure in the conduct of reviewing claims of wartime disabled veterans; and be it further

Resolved, That we charge the Administrator with a violation of the moral code of decency in his proposal to destroy the present rating schedule and to replace it with evaluations that are grossly inhumane; and be it further

Resolved, That the DAV appeal to the Members of the Congress to cause an investigation to determine the Administrator's fitness for office; and be it further

Resolved, That we request the Members of Congress to enact legislation that will freeze the present or 1945 rating schedule and prohibit any change in the evaluation of disabilities of wartime disabled veterans, without the approval of the Congress.

Submitted by Kenneth M. Robey, commander, DAV, Department of Ohio.

Adopted by the convention, July 26, 1957, by a unanimous vote.

Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I have received a unanimous resolution

from the Young Democratic Club of Dallas County. I shall not take the time to read it in full, but it states that the Young Democratic Club of Dallas County is dedicated to the principles of the Democratic Party and its platform, a principal element of which is protection and fostering of the public good as opposed to private gain.

The resolution condemns the effort to take the Hells Canyon Dam site out of the realm of public domain and sacrifice the resource for the gain of a few.

The resolution refers to the vote in this body by which the Senate passed the Hells Canyon bill. The resolution unanimously goes on record to commend the majority leader, the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON] and me for our votes in favor of the Hells Canyon high dam bill, a public project.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Young Democratic Club of Dallas County is dedicated to the principles of the Democratic Party and its platform; and

Whereas a principal element of this platform is protection and fostering of the public good as opposed to private gain; and

Whereas we do not condone the recent attempt to remove the Hells Canyon Dam potential from the public domain and sacrifice this resource to the gain of a few; and

Whereas the United States Senate has recently acted to this national resource for the benefit of the people, and RALPH YARBOROUGH and LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Senators from Texas, joined in this noble resolve: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Young Democratic Club of Dallas County unanimously goes on record to commend the Texas Senators for their efforts on the behalf of the Hells Canyon high dam bill.

PAULIA P. WEAVER,
President.
GLENDA KERSHNER,
Secretary.

New Legislation To Aid Industry in Obtaining a Larger Share of Foreign Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, I have yesterday introduced H. R. 9029, as an amendment to section 313 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930. The purpose of this bill is to make it possible for American industry and labor to obtain a larger share of foreign business.

For many years the Tariff Act has provided that duty paid upon imported merchandise used in the manufacture of articles in the United States may be refunded when such articles are exported. This makes it possible for American manufacturers and their employees to compete in foreign markets for business which they could not obtain if they were to be penalized by domestic duty on the imported material as well as by foreign duty on the exported product.

In many cases in which the same product is sold both domestically and abroad, of which the automobile industry furnishes numerous examples, it is impractical or even impossible under today's complicated industrial procedures to segregate imported materials in such a way as to be able to identify them positively in the finished product. The Congress recognized this in 1930 and provided in section 313 (b) of the Tariff Act that year that drawback would be available with respect to products of nonferrous metals or sugar, to the extent of duty paid upon importation of such materials for the account of the manufacturer, even though the materials used in the exported product were not the identical lots imported.

The restriction to nonferrous metals and sugar was stated at the time to be for test purposes, it being contemplated that the privilege would later be extended to other merchandise if the procedure proved feasible and advantageous. In 1949 ferrous metals, flaxseed, and linseed oil were added to the list, and in 1956 certain printing papers. These additions have caused no difficulties and have greatly benefited both employers and employees in the automobile and other steel-consuming industries, and in the paint manufacturing and magazine industries.

Accordingly it appears that the background of experience in the Bureau of Customs and among exporters has now developed to the point at which the privilege of substitution may be safely extended to all merchandise, thus broadening the benefits to manufacturers and workers in the industries already affected and opening the door to numerous other industrial groups heretofore excluded.

This is accomplished by substituting the single word "merchandise" for the enumeration of materials in the present statute.

The bill provides also three other minor amendments. One of these makes it clear that the duty to be drawn back is limited to a maximum of 99 percent of the duty actually paid. Another replaces the text of "same kind and quality" which has proven burdensome to exporters and the Bureau of Customs alike, with the simple and objective text that the materials must be "interchangeable" in the exporting manufacturer's operations, thus placing upon him the entire burden of establishing eligibility. Finally, to make it clear that the drawback merchandise must be "used" as a constituent of the product, and not merely consumed in its manufacture—as a tool or fuel—it is specified that it must "become a part thereof." This, of course, does not, and is not intended to, exclude from eligibility volatile and similar materials, such as paints and paint thinners, which are applied to the product but may largely disappear in the process.

I seek the support of the Members of this House in this constructive effort to facilitate the exportation to foreign markets of the product of American labor.

Need for United States Seapower Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the al service chairman of the Long Beac Fleet Reserve Association, John L. Woo has written me his pertinent comment on a recent editorial appearing in th Navy Times. The subject of this No tion's increasing seapower requirement is so important that I would like to shar with my colleagues both the editoria and Mr. Wood's comments upon i They follow:

AFTER WITHDRAWAL WHAT?

Impending withdrawal of troops fro abroad leaves the Navy's strategic concep looking better all the time. If you can't kee a garrison in a place, the next best way t apply power there is to send a fleet. Th fleet carries its own air so that seapower an airpower are joined and the three-dimen sional Marines add a land component to th potential.

The essence of this concept is the big ca rier, upon which the Navy has been wisel focusing its efforts for some years.

As this newspaper pointed out long ago the era of foreign occupation for troops o this country is drawing to a close. Th Girard case in Japan was symptomatic. De spite the fact that Girard's alleged offens was committed in course of duty, and tha the status-of-forces clearly contemplate American trial for such cases, the Japanes Government demanded jurisdiction. In th nature of politics, it had to. The Commu nists, the Socialists, the Jingoists, the new papers and the common garden variety o politician looking for an issue—all of them leaped upon this case.

By failing to handle the case with firm ness and speed, our officials did their par to inflame the public mind. But it wa only a question of degree. Foreign troops a a point of irritation, especially when they ar of a different race and color. Natural human sentiment, roused by those to whose interes it is to stir up the people, tend to make th position untenable.

That time has come closer in Japan. To keep the friendship of the country we must diminish if not abandon our fixed military position there.

The same routine will be gone through with in the Philippines, although we hav no better friends in the world. We must b prepared for eventual withdrawal there if w want to keep them that way.

In Europe the case looks different. Fo various reasons we remain welcome longe but even there the trend is to less troops.

Foreign garrison duty presents some con stitutional and temperamental problems t us, too. It runs counter to a lot of traditio and history. And our best lawyers have bee so far unable to keep our women from kil ing their husbands over there. Next thin you know we will not only be refusing to k foreign countries try military malefactor that they want to try but also insisting tha they must police a lot of civilian dependent that they don't want any responsibility fo

Money reasons also are speeding the tren to withdrawal. The fact is that a world wide military establishment is costing mo than we are willing to pay. Like it or no that's a fact.

But if we maintain a powerful sea arm ment, modeled after the Navy's far-sighte planning, we withdraw from nowhere an

urther than the nearest blue water shore ne. We can concentrate almost overnight n immense punitive power against almost ny enemy or a potent support for almost ny friend.

Altogether, the trend of the times favors ore flat tops and amphibians and fewer g, fixed installations abroad.

FLEET RESERVE ASSOCIATION,
Long Beach, Calif., July 29, 1957.

Mr. CRAIG HOSMER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CRAIG: As I read and then read sev-al times over again the enclosed editorial he impact of its profoundness continued o rise up within my thoughts.

It occurred to me that the points brought ut here were in direct accord with our urrent struggle to retain our Corona Na-al Hospital, until at least more adequate acilities were provided.

Quite obviously, as our troops are with-rawn from the nations of the Pacific the eed for strong naval task forces will not iminish but rather will grow.

The importance of Long Beach Harbor, s naval base and shipyard, and its vast cilities of supply will become more im-ortant as time passes. The number of aval vessels based here will increase and us the number of dependents residing in r community will increase.

These possibilities, in view of the in-reasing demand that we bring our troops ome, become of much greater importance n the pattern of our national security.

Our national leaders can talk peace and isarmament, and we are all hopeful that ey will meet with complete success, but en so we dare not decrease our potential r a single moment, thus the importance f the United States Navy as a triple threat rganization with worldwide maneuver-bility will in time again become a most nportant necessity, especially as our Army nd Air Forces are brought home from these ations.

Sincerely,

JOHN L. WOOD,
Chairman for Service.

A Labor Leader Remembers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, st night the Washington Evening Star ublished an editorial on the question f adding a jury trial amendment to the o-called civil rights bill, which is pres-ntly under consideration in the other ody. The editorial is quite interesting nd informative and presents arguments n support of the amendment which have ot heretofore been offered by its pro-onents. To my mind, the arguments re sound, and I agree with the Star hat, unless an adequate jury trial mendment is added to the bill, the ight to vote" sought to be assured by he legislation, may suffer more than it ains.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am rivileged to insert herewith a copy of he editorial from the Star.

A LABOR LEADER REMEMBERS

John L. Lewis has a longer memory than some of his younger brethren in labor leadership today. He strongly supports a jury-trial amendment in civil-rights legislation, so glibly condemned by others in his field.

Mr. Lewis recalls that the strong and harsh power of injunction has been in the past so often abused and indiscriminately used that enlargement thereof, even for worthy purposes, must carry with it reasonable protection to all citizens who may be charged with violation and, therefore, cited and tried for contempt. He looks on the O'Mahoney-Kefauver amendment, not as a weakening of the civil-rights bill, but as a wise, prudent, and proper amendment, protective to the basic rights of all citizens wheresoever located and which will strengthen the bill.

The jury-trial issue would naturally remind Mr. Lewis of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, a turning point in the history of organized labor, and the abuses it was designed to correct. The Senate debate on that issue of 25 years ago should be reread. For the Senate overwhelmingly approved, in that law, jury-trial provisions which went beyond the scope of the O'Mahoney amendment, with the Kefauver and Church additions. Senior Norris had argued that "any man charged with contempt of court, the punishment for which may be a term in jail, ought to be entitled to a jury trial." That was the way he wrote his bill and that was the bill the Senate approved.

What happened then becomes more interesting in the light of current Senate debate. In conference with the House, the Senate bill was modified. That modification was strongly urged by the then politically powerful Antisaloon League, which argued that if jury trials were permitted in contempt resulting from violation of padlock injunctions, juries would not convict. Resulting modification of the Senate bill limited its jury-trial provisions to contempt arising under the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

In return, the House made concessions, one being retention of a Senate provision nicknamed the "editors' section." Some of the editors who today so scornfully deride the jury-trial amendment in the civil-rights bill should remember it. For editors, as well as labor leaders, had been victims of punishment for contempt without jury trial. The "editors' section" never mentioned editors. But it gave them, with other citizens, the right of trial by jury if their out-of-court editorial criticism was found by a judge to be contemptuous, and provided that another judge, if requested, would sit in the case.

Senator Norris was a prohibitionist. In arguing for jury trial in all cases of contempt, he told the Senate he had felt the pressure of the Anti-Saloon League—just as Senators O'MAHONEY, KEFAUVER, and other liberals who want jury trial feel the pressure from liberals who oppose jury trials. While agreeing to the conference report restricting jury-trial provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act to cases arising under the act, Senator Norris warned the Anti-Saloon League in words that are apt today:

"Prohibition has lost many of its best friends. We all have to concede that. In my judgment * * * if we follow you and say we want a different law, a different rule, applied to prohibition cases from what is applied to any other case we are going to lose the support of more good people in this country, who will take the other side of the question and demand the repeal of prohibition."

They did. And if the civil-rights bill is weakened by killing the reasonable and relatively narrow application of the jury-trial principle as provided in pending amendments, needed enforcement of the right to vote may suffer more than it gains.

The AEC Authorization Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the AEC authorization bill will probably come up for consideration in the House next week. Although the amount of money authorized for facilities will be substantially less than last year, there is likely to be some debate on items for which the joint committee took responsibility. In order to provide some background for this coming discussion, I would like to insert in the RECORD the following statements by Hon. CARL DURHAM, chairman of the joint committee, Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman of the Subcommittee on Legislation, and myself:

PRESS RELEASE NO. 94 FROM THE OFFICE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY, JULY 30, 1957

Congressman CARL T. DURHAM, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, announced today that the Joint Committee had voted to report out the AEC authorization bill to the Congress. The bill authorizes funds in the amount of $259,230,000 for construction of AEC military program, and for the program to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Joint Committee added three projects totaling $58 million in addition to those requested by the Commission in order to accelerate the reactor development program. The projects were as follows:

Project 58–b–8, $3 million for a design study of production reactors for special nuclear materials;

Project 58–e–14, $40 million for a natural uranium graphite moderated gas-cooled power reactor prototype designed for the production of approximately 40,000 electrical kilowatts; and

Project 58–e–15, $15 million for a plutonium recycle experimental reactor designed for the production of 15,000 electrical kilowatts equivalent.

The Joint Committee deleted $9 million in funds requested by the AEC for construction of a Puerto Rico power reactor, but the Committee authorized $2,500,000 for assistance to the training project in the Regional Nuclear Training Center in Puerto Rico.

The bill, as voted out by the Joint Committee, also included a new section 111 pertaining to the AEC cooperative power demonstration reactor program. The bill authorizes the sum of $129,915,000 for use in a program not to exceed $149,915,000. The differential of $20 million is to cover types of assistance other than funds for the program, such as waiver of use charges for the use of materials.

Mr. Durham's statement summarized the main provisions of the bill. Mr. Durham indicated that the Committee report to the Congress on the bill, including the minority report, would be prepared as soon as possible, and would be made public as soon as it is ready.

PRESS RELEASE NO. 95, FROM THE OFFICE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY, JULY 30, 1957

Congressman CARL T. DURHAM, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, called for an expanded program for increased production of plutonium. He stated he was

joined by Vice Chairman Anderson and certain other members of the committee.

In connection with reporting out the AEC authorization bill, Congressman DURHAM stated that it provided only a modest beginning for an expanded program in terms of authorization of design of a plutonium production reactor.

Chairman DURHAM repeated his dissatisfaction with the methods of establishing weapon materials requirements used by the executive branch, and the lack of any forward planning for plutonium requirements. Mr. DURHAM stated: "I am disturbed over the lack of a realistic small weapons program, or any consideration of the necessity for ultimately establishing a stockpile of plutonium for weapons or peacetime purposes. Any such program would require substantial increases in productive capacity."

Chairman DURHAM further stated: "Testimony received by the full Committee as well as by Senator JACKSON's Subcommittee on Military Applications from responsible military officials and leading scientists in the nuclear weapons development field during the past 2 years indicates a need for a substantial increase in present and currently planned plutonium production. In light of the evidence presented by experts, I am concerned over the fact that more effort is not being directed toward greater development of our small weapons program and the fact that the AEC 1958 fiscal year budget does not call for construction of additional plutonium-producing facilities."

The chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was critical of the methods used by the AEC and Department of Defense in determining the amount of fissionable material needed for national defense.

He stated: "The AEC takes the position that it will not request or support construction of additional plutonium-producing facilities unless the Department of Defense formally requests more material. Our military planning at the same time apparently is geared to current AEC production capacity instead of our needs. From the point of national defense, this is a dangerous arrangement which I and other members of the Joint Committee repeatedly have criticized. It is contrary to the basic atomic-energy policy of the United States as set out in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 which provides 'the development, use and control of atomic energy shall be directed so as to make the maximum contribution to the general welfare subject at all times to the paramount object of making the maximum contribution to the common defense and security.'"

Congressman DURHAM pointed out that there are indications the Department of Defense is reviewing its method of determining requirements but that unfortunately its study and recommendations will not be ready prior to enactment of the current AEC authorization bill.

In addition to Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, vice chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Chairman DURHAM was joined by the following members in the statement:

Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, chairman of the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation.

Senator ALBERT GORE, chairman of the Subcommittee on Raw Materials.

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Applications.

Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman of the Subcommittee on Legislation.

Representative MELVIN PRICE, chairman of the Subcommittee on Research and Development.

Representative PAUL J. KILDAY, chairman of the Subcommittee on Security.

Representative JOHN J. DEMPSEY, chairman of the Subcommittee on Communities.

Chairman DURHAM stated he was hopeful all members of the Joint Committee would join in support of the substance of his views.

STATEMENT ON H. R. 5889, FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN CHET HOLIFIELD, JULY 30, 1957

In an attempt to rescue the Atomic Energy Commission's bankrupt program of atomic electric power development, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has reported out an authorization bill (H. R. 5889) which if funded by the Appropriations Committee and pressed with a will by the Atomic Energy Commission, should result in a rapid acceleration of atomic electric power development in the United States in the next 3 years.

This bill provides for $40 million to construct a natural uranium gas-cooled reactor, which most of the experienced reactor experts such as Admiral Ricko.er, Dr. Walter Zinn, Dr. John Simpson of Westinghouse, and Dr. Henry D. Smythe agree should be built.

It includes $15 million to build a pilot reactor to learn how to use the bomb material plutonium as a reactor fuel.

It includes $3 million for immediate design and engineering data to construct a large plutonium-producing reactor to insure an adequate supply of plutonium for expanding our present inadequate small weapon program.

The bill when passed by Congress will also provide congressional direction to the AEC which will breathe life into the dying AEC—cooperative partnership and insure the building of five small- to medium-size power reactors of different types. This cooperative program has been stalled on dead center for some time due to failure on the part of AEC and the cooperatives to reach agreement.

The Atomic Energy Commission has tried to create a complicated arrangement of three-way contracting between the AEC, the cooperative and the machinery manufacturers, the main purpose of which has been to conceal Government subsidy and create the illusion of private entity participation in the atomic power reactor building program.

The bill clears away the complicated contractual subterfuge which has blocked for 2 years the signing of even 1 contract, recognizes the fact that progress in building these reactors depends on Federal funds, and recommends the successful formula heretofore used in the Shippingport-Duquesne and the Atomic International-Southern California Edison Co. projects.

If the prestige of the United States in atomic power development is to be regained, the AEC will accept this program and get on with the job. If they oppose it, we will continue to drop behind the British and possibly the Soviets in the field of large atomic power-reactor development.

FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN MELVIN PRICE, DEMOCRAT, ILLINOIS, JULY 30, 1957

Representative MELVIN PRICE, Democrat, Illinois, chairman of the Research and Development Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, stated today that he believes the construction of a prototype gas-cooled natural uranium power reactor, as provided for in the committee's authorization bill, will mark a significant advance in this country's reactor technology and will enable the United States to compete more effectively with the British for overseas markets.

Representative PRICE referred to testimony at the recent public hearings on the authorization bill indicating the need for filling the gap in the AEC's current power reactor program through development of a gas-cooled natural uranium type of reactor.

He emphasized the necessity of building prototype reactors of the gas-cooled type in order to find out how they actually operate, rather than relying exclusively on the British for information. Otherwise, he went one, we will never know whether this type will be economic or not.

He added, in this connection, that construction by the United States of a gas-cooled natural uranium reactor will place us in a better negotiating position with regard to obtaining additional information from the British regarding their own developmental work on this kind of reactor.

Representative PRICE pointed out that the gas-cooled type reactor, as contemplated in the bill, would initially operate on natural uranium but would be designed in such a way as to test out whether enriched uranium can be used to increase the reactor's efficiency.

Representative PRICE reiterated the recommendation which he and Senator JACKSON, Chariman of the Military Applications Subcommittee, made earlier this year following meetings by the Research and Development Subcommittee to review the Naval Reactor program and the Shippingport project, that Admiral Rickover and the AEC Naval Reactors Branch be given the responsibility for development and construction of the gas-cooled natural uranium reactor project.

Postal Subs Shun Full-Time Posts—They Can't Afford It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following article which appeared in the Daily Tribune, Royal Oak, Mich., of Wednesday, July 31, 1957:

POSTAL SUBS SHUN FULL-TIME POSTS—THEY CAN'T AFFORD IT

About 60 substitute and temporary employees of the Royal Oak branch post office will take civil-service examinations this week. A passing grade will qualify them as ful-time letter carriers.

Yet many of them will flunk the test—on purpose. As permanent employees, they'll be in worse shape, financially, than they are now. And that, as they'll tell you, is bad enough.

Temporary carriers and sorters are allowed to work overtime for the post office. Regulars cannot work more than 40 hours a week except in post-office emergencies, and even those in the top-pay grades have outside jobs in their spare time.

DUCK REGULAR POSTS

"You can't blame the boys for flunking," said Ned Anderson, Royal Oak's foreman of carriers. "The only way they can make ends meet is to take on extra work." Anderson has been trying to assemble a roster of civil-service employees for several months, but can't do it because the boys play dumb.

Anderson estimates that 90 percent of the wives of regular employes work to help support families, and nearly all of the mail carriers have extra jobs.

Yet postal employees aren't doing a great deal of bellyaching about their financial problems. They are hopeful that at least 1 of 2 bills now in Congress will be passed. But the prospects are not good.

IKE OPPOSED

A Senate bill to give mail carriers a 7½ percent increase probably will be vetoed by the President, if it gets that far. The civil rights controversy may stall off all other business until Congress adjourns its current session.

A House bill to provide a $546 per year increase for all mail carriers passed July 23, 379–38. But it must go to the Senate for approval—and then to the President. Mr. Eisenhower feels that a postal raise would require a general Federal increase.

Regular mail carriers start at $3,660 a year, an hourly rate of $1.76. They receive a $125 increase each year for the first 7 years, and $100 increases at the end of 13, 15, and 25 years. The top pay grade is $4,710 a year, or $2.26 an hour.

Of their total salary, 6½ percent goes for the mail carriers' retirement fund. That is supposed to pay one-third of the pension cost, with the Government paying the other two-thirds. Yet since 1920, the Government has not paid its share. The carriers' one-third has been sufficient to carry the plan.

Other fringe benefits include vacation time, insurance (50 cents a week) and sick leave.

Although government employees get plenty of vacation time, few of them can afford to go anywhere.

Sample their opinion and learn why:

Donald Hocking, age 25, 312 Starr, has worked at the post office nearly 3 years, sorting mail. On his 2-week take home pay of $125, he supports his wife and a 6-month-old son, Jeffrey. Mornings he attends electronic school, afternoons he works at the post office.

"Our recreation amounts to going to a movie once in a while," he said. "It's all we can afford."

At the other extreme is Roy Kortright, 310 South Blair, Royal Oak. He has delivered mail for 31 years, and takes home a $72.44 paycheck for 1 week. "I've got a wife and a grown son," he said. "If it weren't for all the parttime jobs I've had in the past, we might never have made it."

Robert Widmer, 4054 Bagley, Detroit, is one of the temporary employees who will take the civil-service examination this week. "I don't want to take it," he confessed. "It will amount to a demotion." Widmer works 13 to 14 hours a day, delivering a route and driving a truck, and is paid $1.44 per hour for his labors.

His take-home pay is $234 for 2 weeks, on which he supports his expectant wife and 5-year-old daughter, Bonnie. "We've always had trouble making ends meet," said Widmer, "and if I didn't work 7 days a week we couldn't do it.

"You can see why I don't want to become a full-time employee. I'll have to find myself an extra job."

Stanley Runevitch, 2601 Bembridge, works as an apartment caretaker in his off-duty time. He makes $145 every 2 weeks, but of this total, $21 goes for taxes, nearly $10 for retirement, and $1 for insurance. His take-home pay is $113—$56.50 a week.

STEADY WORK—FOR LESS

H. F. Massey, a brawny Georgian who lives at 301 North Washington, supports a wife and 5 children on $1.71 an hour. He was making more working as a carrier, but took a pay cut when the post office moved him inside.

He was the only man around with enough muscles to handle the heavy magazine loads before they are sorted. Most of his fellow employees agree that he works hardest of all.

"I've held all kinds of jobs," said Massey. "I've been a truckdriver, a cook, worked in auto plants—everything. This is the lowest paying job I've ever had." He is one of several refugees from auto-plant layoffs.

CAN'T QUALIFY FOR FHA

William McGoon, 3805 Indian Trail, Orchard Lake, got married in February, just a few weeks before he was hurt on the job. The post office paid his medical bills, but he was in bed for 6 weeks. He used up all his sick leave and vacation time, and his wife went to work at the post office to help out.

Ned Anderson explained, "These guys can't even buy a home under the Federal Housing Administration program. Those people tell them they don't make enough. If a guy wants to buy a new car, he'll spend years paying it off."

Morale in the post office, said Anderson, is low. "The boys get very discouraged when they look around and see how their lives stack up against others.

"What kind of a life is it when you work 40 hours a week to support a wife and kids, and get your recreation by working in a gas station?"

The Fifth of a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, with this, the fifth in the series of letters written by the publisher of the Pekin Daily Times, Mrs. McNaughton takes over the column for the day to give us an inside view of Russia from the distaff point of view.

The letter follows:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of July 26, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S WIFE SPEAKS TODAY

Today we went to GUM.

GUM is a store.

It is on the opposite side of Red Square from the Kremlin and once (in capitalistic days) opened onto Red Square which was called Red Square then. We at first thought it was called "Red Square" because of the Red revolution, and red blood spilt. But no. In Russian, red means elegant or most beautiful; so the famous square was called Red when a capitalist opened a store with doors onto the square.

But no doors from the store open onto Red Square today. I presume it is felt that this would be disrespectful to the tomb of Lenin and Stalin which is in the square on the Kremlin side.

So you go in from another side now; and as soon as you start in you feel like you are in a canoe going down the Grand Canyon.

You are in a torrent—a cascade of humans.

In 1938 we went to visit the best store in Moscow and found papers yellow with age in display windows.

Dead flies were thick.

Inside was dingy, dirty.

They had gotten in a small shipment of calico and women were lined up three abreast in a line that wound around the first floor, up a stairway, around the second floor, and finally to a counter where a saleswoman was snipping off a short bit for each customer. The customer had no choice of which piece she got; nor how much. She took it and was happy she had gotten anything.

Today, in GUM, there were tens of thousands of items for sale. Through our interpreter we got in touch with the director of the store and asked him how many people passed through the store in a day. He replied: "250,000 a day."

Then he added in a way that showed it was important to him: "160,000 make purchases."

To be truthful, it didn't look to me as though so large a proportion were buying. It looked as though many of the thousands were enjoying the feel of handling luxury items. When there was a purchase (in the luxury area) there was apt to be an audience of watchers.

But they carry an enormous stock, from food to furs; and plainly many Russians have money in their pockets for making purchases.

Retirement of Elton Layton

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I very much want to join with those Members who have noted the retirement today of one of the outstanding career employees of the House of Representatives, Mr. Elton J. Layton, for 36 years the clerk of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

I have known Mr. Layton for perhaps 15 years, and during all of that time, I have been deeply impressed not only by his encyclopedialike knowledge of congressional procedures and the issues which come before his committee, but also by his ready willingness to help the Members both on and off the committee to serve their constituents more effectively.

During the years my husband served on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, he came to know Mr. Layton very well, and had the highest esteem for him as a committee clerk and, of equal importance, as a friend. Congressman Sullivan's last conversation on the Hill, a few hours before his sudden death in January 1951, shortly after the start of the 82d Congress, was with Mr. Layton out on the House parking lot as they both prepared to go home for the day after discussing some business then pending before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

In the year since I have been serving in the House, though not a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I have always found Mr. Layton most helpful to me in connection with legislation pending before that important committee. I know that experience is shared by every Member who has ever asked Mr. Layton for information on the legislation with which he dealt.

It is my wish, as I know it is of every Member of the House who knows him, that Mr. Layton will enjoy the well-deserved years of his retirement. He has demonstrated in his service to the Congress the kind of selfless devotion to duty which is characteristic of so many of our career House employees who, regardless of their own political outlooks, seek to serve those of both parties equally

well in the conduct of the work of the House.

I am particularly glad that the praise which has been accorded here today to Mr. Elton Layton comes at a time when he is entering what I am sure is a very pleasant retirement. Too often, I am afraid we hold back on expressing our deep-seated affection and appreciation for friends and fellow workers until they are no longer here to know just how deeply we do feel about them.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, from my observation, has an able staff which, I am sure, will carry on efficiently and effectively, but at the same time I am sure that there will be many, many instances when staff members and committee members alike will be heard to say "Now this is something Elton would have right at his fingertips."

Congress has been able to accomplish so much hard work—and there is a tremendous amount of had work which is accomplished during our sessions here—largely because there are people like Elton Layton keeping track of every detail and having so much background information at their fingertips, saving the Members untold hours of research and digging, and helping to bring solid achievement out of situations which so often seem to resemble nothing but legislative chaos.

Grange Versus Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point a letter which I believe points up an excellent case for the preservation of National Grange headquarters here in Washington, D. C.

I regret that a plot map which accompanied this letter cannot be inserted in the RECORD, for it shows conclusively that seizure of the Grange headquarters is more an architectural whim than a necessity.

It is my hope that my colleagues in the Congress will rally around this fine organization and save its headquarters building, which represents the honest toil, the hopes, and enterprise of our farm families all over America.

This is no ordinary office building. This building is concrete evidence of the determination of a farm group to have a home in the Nation's Capital. It was attained by contributions from thousands of people who baked pies, held dinners, made and sold aprons, and so forth; in short, a spontaneous campaign that was truly grassroots.

Since much of the space now occupied by this building would be taken up by landscaping, it is obvious that the property is not needed for a functional office building. Beauty is a desirable thing, but pragmatism is a necessity when dealing with many uses for limited land. It may be a Philistine suggestion, but I believe that a functional office building, adequate, comfortable, and architecturally pleasant can be constructed in the three plots which the Government owns on this block. To dispossess the Grange, a host of agricultural publications and other nationally important farm organizations from their home near the White House merely to satisfy an idealistic architectural concept is not wise, and most certainly unjustified.

I believe retention of this building for the Grange is representative of the philosophy of President Eisenhower, who has long been a foe of centralized government and operation of bureaucracy contrary to the wishes of the people. I believe the issue is clear cut in this case. This is a bureaucratic decision made under provisions of a law that permits actions far beyond the intent of the Congress when it was enacted. The Government has shown no real need for the building it plans to build. It has shown no need to incorporate the Grange property into the proposed building. Therefore, I believe the farmers of the Nation have just and due right to fight for, and keep, the building they obtained through their own efforts, joined in a great nationwide fund-raising drive 16 years ago.

I would like to commend Mr. Herschel Newsom, National Grange Master, for the courageous and tenacious fight he has been waging against the Government's grab of the Grange Building. Also, as they did in the past when they set out to get a headquarters building, the Pomona and subordinate Granges of the Nation are again working to save the building they earned. Their letters and wires have brought to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress this problem and their desire for a just settlement. I am pleased to have the opportunity to join in this effort, a fight by the people to protect their interest against encroachment by a hard-hearted Government plan, which after all represents the thinking of only an architect's office in a Government bureau.

I have offered the proposed amendment in this letter as a bill for consideration by the House, and it is my hope that my colleagues will join me in support of this bill and pass it overwhelmingly. More than 50 of them have joined me in submitting this legislation to Congress.

Text of Mr. Newsom's letter is as follows:

NATIONAL GRANGE,
PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY,
Washington, D. C., August 1, 1957.

Hon. JACK WESTLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WESTLAND: The Grange needs your help to preserve its national headquarters building.

Early this year the Government instituted eminent domain proceedings and by a declaration of taking filed therein took title to our building. In addition it took all remaining privately owned propery in this block—except the Decatur House on one corner. It is proposed to tear down the buildings on the land which has been taken to erect thereon a structure known as Federal Office Building No. 7.

Actually, the Grange property is only a relatively small rectangle (50 feet by 70 feet) and is surrounded on both the west and the north by the Decatur House. Thus, the two buildings together form but a single rectangle, the larger part of which (Decatur House) will remain intact. Because of its unique juxtaposition with Decatur House, the destruction of our headquarters building is entirely unnecessary to permit the erection of a Federal office building. The attached plat shows the properties involved.

In addition to the offices of the National Grange itself, our building houses the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, the American Institute of Cooperation, National Agricultural Research, Inc., Farm Roads Foundation, and Washington offices for more than 30 farm publications. Thus there can be no question that the building is presently serving a very important and worthwhile public purpose in the interest of agriculture and the American farmer.

The National Grange purchased this property in 1941 with funds which had been raised for the purpose through activities carried on by the more than 7,000 local subordinate granges throughout the Nation. These activities included the serving of lunches and dinners, apron sales, penny suppers, amateur plays, and many more. Thus granges and grange members across America have their nickels and dollars invested in their national headquarters building.

The location of this building is important to Grange members, and they are proud of the fact that their work and contributions have provided a symbolical national home for farm families within a block of the White House, even as are located the headquarters buildings of the AFL–CIO and the United States Chamber of Commerce. All of us will appreciate your help in preserving our building for us.

If S. 2261 just reported by the Public Works Committee were to be amended as follows, this objective would be accomplished:

Page 9, line 17: Insert a colon in lieu of the period and add the following: "*Provided, however,* That no portion of lot 816, square 167, in the District of Columbia (the headquarters of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry) shall be acquired for or used for any such project, and the Administrator is directed to withdraw the declaration of taking of said lot heretofore filed by him in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia and to take such other action as may be necessary to restore title to said lot to the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry."

This proposed amendment is consistent with the action taken by the Congress earlier this session when in an effort to preserve the Grange Building, it approved a provision in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act prohibiting the use of funds during the fiscal year 1958 for Federal Office Building No. 7.

We shall be very grateful for your support.

Respectfully yours,

HERSCHEL D. NEWSOM.

Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to submit a very concise but

interesting editorial from the Poughkeepsie New Yorker of July 25, 1957:

ARE THEY HAPPY NOW?

New York City had a power shortage during a recent hot spell. The peak load was largely attributed to increased use of air-conditioning, fans, and refrigerator equipment.

Well, that should make the advocates of socialized power development happy. For 6 or 7 years they have succeeded in blocking the building of a $400 million powerplant on the Niagara, by five taxpaying power companies that would have had the job done long before this if politics had not prevented them.

New York is not alone in this. The "blockaders"—who want the country to have socialized Federal power or no power at all—are at work all over the country. If they are allowed to succeed we can confidently expect a growing number of power shortages, some of a very critical nature.

On Alien Fingerprints

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial, entitled "On Alien Fingerprints," by Dillard Stokes, which appeared in the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil, dated July 28, 1957:

ON ALIEN FINGERPRINTS

(By Dillard Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—This Nation has called twenty-odd million citizens into the military service, and it took the fingerprints of every one of them.

These soldiers, sailors, and airmen may or may not have liked being printed. Nobody asked them.

If they had asked why, they would have learned that fingerprints are far and away the simplest, quickest, and best way of telling one human being from another. The odds are many billions to one against two people having the same loops and whorls. The printing was quite as much for the benefit of the inductees as the Government. They might want themselves identified some time.

Besides all who wore the uniform, all Federal workers are fingerprinted. During the war hundreds of thousands of civil defense workers were printed.

Every news correspondent who gets White House credentials leaves his prints with the Secret Service.

Some millions of private citizens have gone to the FBI and other agencies and asked to have their prints put on record, for their own protection.

So it can be fairly said fingerprints are an American folkway. Many record their prints because the law says they must. Others because it goes with something they want to do. And still others out of free choice.

Among those required to give their prints are aliens who cross the American border. For this law, two good reasons can be seen at once:

1. If the visitor should be hurt or killed in an accident, there might be no other way to identify him.

2. An alien who lost himself and tried to stay on in this country, without coming as a lawful immigrant, could be trapped by his fingerprints.

The first reason is plainly a safeguard for the visitor, and nobody who behaves himself can be harmed by it.

The second is necessary in this country.

This is not a police state where people must have travel cards and ration cards and report to the police and so forth. In America, people go where they wish and there are no strings on them.

So a foreigner could get lost very easily, take a new name, and build up a false identity. Without fingerprints on file, he might get away with it.

But the Russians do not like this American folkway. Nor do some visitors from other lands.

So the Congress now is being asked to amend the law, to excuse some or all foreigners from what is required of every American called to serve his country. It is said this would win good feeling in Russia and other countries. It is said that many would come here who now stay home, if this requirement were lifted.

One wonders, why? What business could these visitors have, of such a nature that they would buy tickets as soon as they learned their prints would not be taken?

A fetching inquiry—but the Congressmen need not dig into it. For them another question may suffice:

Are they making laws to safeguard the United States? Or to please people in other countries?

From My Hospital Bed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an article by Mr. William H. Smith, a fine objective reporter for the Evening Capital, in Annapolis, Md.

Mr. Smith at present is confined to the Veterans' Hospital in Baltimore but, nevertheless, his great spirit enables him to keep up with events of interest to his readers and to write such timely articles as the one which follows:

FROM MY HOSPITAL BED

(By William H. Smith)

(The following is one of a series of articles by William H. Smith, Evening Capital reporter, who is on leave while undergoing treatment for tuberculosis at the Veterans' Hospital, Loch Raven Boulevard, Baltimore.)

Once again, in discussing matters of concern to Maryland and Virginia, we feel we are in an advantageous position to comment because we claimed residency in Virginia before we accepted the hospitality so graciously extended by the Free State.

In this case, on observing the most recent developments in the Burke-Friendship airport controversy, we are impelled to note that supporters of the Burke cause have pointedly ignored a highly important factor in their comparison of travel time between the 2 airport sites.

Only someone who has lived and worked in the Virginia area outside Washington can be fully conversant with the traffic jams that clog the routes between Washington and the Burke site several times each day, and any attempt to arrive at an "average" travel time between the two points certainly must take them into consideration. Yet they seem to have been disregarded in studies which purport to show that Burke is more convenient to Washington than Friendship from a motorist's standpoint.

Washington is linked to nearby Virginia and the Burke site by bridges crossing the Potomac River, and the bridges become fearsome bottlenecks whenever traffic is heavy. Every week day, from about 7 a. m. to 9 a. m., and again from 4 p. m. to 6 p. m., the Potomac River crossings are snarled by a rush-hour jam so bad that it often takes as much as 30 minutes to crawl a few miles, and at less frequent intervals, the problem arises when it becomes necessary to open the draw spans on the bridges to permit passage of large boats, causing traffic to back up for miles in each direction.

As a reporter covering the Virginia area for a Washington newspaper for many years, we had occasion to tackle the rush-hour jam several times a week. And there have been many times when we found it took as much as 40 minutes to travel the 6 miles from Arlington, Va., to our office in downtown Washington. The Burke site is some 18 miles from Washington.

In view of our own experience, we cannot believe that any impartial surveyor could give the rush-hour delay full consideration and still come up with a conclusion that Burke is more accessible to Washington than Friendship on a round-the-clock basis. In fact, we strongly doubt that a test run to Burke was made during the rush hour.

It is quite true that the rush hour isn't a constant obstacle and that it's a fairly easy run from Washington to Burke when the roads aren't congested. Nevertheless, an airport serving a metropolitan city is a 24-hour operation, and in the selection of a site from the standpoint of convenience all factors should be taken into consideration.

To get a true comparison of the travel time from Burke and Friendship to Washington, we believe a test run should be made during the rush hour, not once but several times. In a one-shot performance the test driver conceivably could get one of those rare lucky breaks when everything runs smoothly, when every driver does just the right thing, and loss of time is at a minimum. It might take several trips to learn what sheer frustration can be brought by a simple thing like a flat tire on any of the thousands of vehicles heading toward the bridges on inadequate approaches or a minor accident that can delay traffic, not minutes but for hours.

Even without encountering mishaps, though, we are convinced that the time lost in bucking rush-hour traffic between Washington and Virginia can make a vast difference when it comes to calculating the average time of travel to the Virginia site.

We feel this point is emphasized in the fact that there is now considerable agitation before Congress as to authorize construction of not 1 but 3 new bridges from Washing to Virginia. Certainly there would be no demand for these added bridges unless there were a rather sorry lack of facilities to accommodate traffic between the two areas.

Everyone will agree that travel time is a factor that must be given serious consideration when deliberating the merits of an auxiliary Washington airport at Friendship or at Burke. But when we're considering it let's do it on a 24-hour-a-day basis, and not close our eyes to the several times a day when the Burke site can be put in an exceedingly disadvantageous position from the standpoint of time delay.

Benson Exploits Disunity Among Farmers: Clifford R. Hope Pleads for Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal in a front-page article this morning says flatly that strategists of the Eisenhower administration aim to exploit disunity among farmers in Secretary Benson's maneuvers to lower price supports for farm commodities.

To this, among all of us who are interested in the well-being of the 5 million farm families of America, there can be only a feeling of revulsion. That such could happen is beyond creditability, but apparently the Wall Street Journal is reporting the truth.

Mr. Speaker, there came to my attention this morning another publication—the High Plains Journal, published in Dodge City, Kans. The principal article in this newspaper was written by Hon. Clifford R. Hope, a Member of this body for 30 years and the former Republican chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture.

Cliff Hope encourages cooperation and unity among farmers, to work out the problems of the various crops and to make the improvements that are needed in the farm programs to give our farm families a fair share of the Nation's prosperity, which now is denied them.

Mr. Speaker, with the consent of the House, I shall insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, the articles from the Wall Street Journal and from the High Plains Journal.

[From the Wall Street Journal of August 2, 1957]

Benson maneuvers to blunt opposition to his drive for lower price supports.

He'll seek power to ease planting curbs right away if props drop. Aids figure fatter harvests would offset the initial pinch of lower prices on farm income. Benson will hold out hope that controls would die eventually. He'll promise to use prop cutting power moderately, trim supports to world market levels in easy stages.

Administration strategists aim to exploit splits within commodity groups. They play California cotton growers against Dixie producers in the push for lower fiber props. Officials make the most of intercrop jealousy. Benson plans to ask authority to lower dairy support floors; spokesmen for major crops complain mandatory dairy props incur heavy losses.

Benson's foes fail to agree on an alternative. Some Democrats plug hard for direct payments to farmers. Others refuse to swallow the idea. Benson's backers take cheer from the opposition's distress.

[From the High Plains Journal of August 1, 1957]

(By Clifford R. Hope)

Not long ago the Washington representative of an important farm group stated while here in western Kansas that the most discouraging thing about the farm situation was that so little was being done about the matter. He said the Secretary of Agriculture had no affirmative program and no program at all that Congress would likely accept, and that as far as the general farm organizations were concerned they were so much at loggerheads with each other that we were not likely to see any program from these groups. There is a general consensus of opinion that little farm legislation will be passed by Congress this year. What is enacted will in the main be extensions of laws which expire this year, like Public Law 480 for the disposal of surplus commodities and appropriations to continue existing programs, including the soil bank, for another year.

While the comparison doesn't hold all the way through, in many ways the farm situation from the national viewpoint is very much like it was in the 1920's. Then, as now, the farmer was in a squeeze. It was a slow squeeze, but nevertheless the farmer was gradually slipping a little further into the ditch while the remainder of the Nation was enjoying what was considered as fabulous prosperity. Then, as now, there was apparent indifference to the situation in the Department of Agriculture. By that, I mean that assurances kept coming that the worst was over and that we could expect conditions to get better, coupled with a complete lack of interest in proposals coming from farmers and farm organizations.

Then, as now, there was interest among farmers in self-help proposals and in programs like the McNary-Haugen plan to segregate the exportable surplus of export crops so as to prevent it from fixing the price of the entire commodity.

Then, as now, there were differences of opinion among leading farm organizations which made full cooperation difficult.

Then, as now, there was much interest in Congress in the farm situation, but the wide differences of opinion not only on the part of the farmers and farm organizations but in Congress itself prevented action.

MEETING OF COMMODITY GROUPS

Partly because there has been a sort of hiatus in farm-legislation activity in Washington, the meeting of 11 commodity groups which was held during the last week in May seems to me to be a matter of considerable importance—perhaps the most important of its kind which has occurred in a long time.

This meeting was composed of 11 important commodity organizations including, among others, the National Milk Producers Federation, the National Association of Wheat Growers, the National Federation of Grain Cooperatives, the American Soy Bean Association, and the American Rice Growers Cooperative. At this meeting an overall organization was set up known as the National Association of Commodity Organizations. It adjourned to meet again in Washington on August 6 and 7, at which time it is expected that 21 commodity groups will be represented.

Here in southwest Kansas we are particularly interested in this new group organization because it includes the National Association of Wheat Growers.

In the long run, the National Association of Commodity Organizations may or may not become an important organization. It is important at this time because it marks a genuine effort on the part of a number of active commodity organizations to start the ball rolling in the way of new and effective farm programs. Most of them have aggressive leadership and may be expected to push hard for the enactment of their programs in the next session.

I do not understand that this new organization or the various commodity groups which compose it expect or want to take the place of existing general farm organizations or to attempt to push them out of the picture, nor do I know that the general farm organizations are particularly opposed to the new organization; in fact, one of them, the National Grange, has long believed that the best approach to farm legislation was commodity by commodity.

It does not mean that the general farm organizations are about to fold up. The fact is they were never as prosperous and well heeled or had as many members and as large staffs as they have right now. They are well set to carry on greater activity than ever before in their history if they can just get together in their views on farm legislation.

SEPARATE COMMODITY PROGRAMS

The success and importance of the new organization will, of course, depend upon how well it can get its constituent members together on legislative matters. After the August meeting we will have a better idea of how much progress they are capable of making in that regard.

Some of these commodity organizations have existed for a long time. Others, like the wheatgrowers, are comparatively new. However, they have all usually operated independently. There are undoubtedly some conflicts of interest between them as far as the commodities which they produced are concerned. It is quite probable they will not all be able to agree on each other's programs. However, I can see nothing but good coming from the meeting, for those who know the problems of these commodities best will have an opportunity to present those problems to other groups.

I do not understand that it is now contemplated that the national organization will attempt to sponsor specific legislation for any group. Each group will have to do that for itself, but where there is no conflict between group interests, it is expected that the various groups will help each other.

The urge for separate programs is for individual commodity programs tailored to the needs of a particular commodity. The sugar program has been in effect since 1935. It is supported by all segments of the industry, from producers to processors, importers, and distributors. It rescued the industry when it was deep in the doldrums in the 1930's, and aside from the natural disputes over allotments to geographical areas which are inevitable, and which have always been compromised, there has been little opposition to a renewal of the program from time to time.

Wool offers another illustration of a program which has been drawn to meet the needs of a single commodity, and while it has actually been in effect only 2 years, it apparently is getting off to a good start, and is in the main satisfactory to the producers affected.

Other instances of programs designed to meet commodity needs are those set up under marketing agreement legislation. A very large part of the fluid milk of this country is distributed under marketing agreements at the present time, and there are many instances where fruits and vegetables are marketed under marketing agreements in regional areas as well as on a national scale.

As already indicated, most of the commodity organizations which comprise the national group are interested in what might be called self-help programs. These vary from commodity to commodity, but in the main call for legislation which will enable producers to do their own job of segregating and marketing their surpluses. The proposal of the National Federation of Milk Producers is very much like the old McNary-Haugen plan in principle, and would permit the producers themselves to remove the very small surplus of dairy products from the normal channels of trade so as to prevent its price depressing effects.

Wheat, cotton, and rice producers are proposing plans which in effect provide methods by which all the product goes into the normal channels of trade at the going market price but setting up machinery whereby

roducers receive a larger return on that part their product which is consumed domesti-lly for food or fiber. The domestic parity an for wheat is a good example of this kind program.

SELF-HELP AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

As one who has always advocated self-help rograms as far as possible and who has elieved for a long time that the commodity pproach is the most effective way to deal ith farm problems, I am delighted to see ommodity groups getting together in an ffort to obtain a better understanding of ch other's problems and to assist each ther in dealing with those problems in a egislative way.

I do not know whether those who are onsoring this organization have it in mind not, but there is another important thing hich an organization of this kind can do d which very much needs to be done—at is to carry out a program of public rela-ns on behalf of the farmer. Where the epartment of Agriculture has fallen down d where some of the general farm organ-ations have fallen down, it has been in resenting the farmer's problems to the pub-.

There has never been a time in the history this country when the public generally d as little interest in the great industry agriculture as it has today, or where the blic relations of farmers were as poor as ey are now. Sometime I expect to have ore to say about this subject.

As of now, there is certainly a field of ac-vity in which this new group can operate, d I wish them well in their efforts.

orseshoe Bend Park Needs Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

ON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, as u are no doubt aware, the people of abama are vitally interested in the ll development of the Horseshoe Bend tional Military Park on the Tallapoosa ver in Alabama at the site of the 1814 ttle in which Gen. Andrew Jackson ushed the power of Indian resistance st of the Mississippi. It is fitting that adequate memorial be established to mmemorate this great historical event.

In the Friday, July 26, 1957, issue of e Birmingham (Ala.) News there ap-ared an editorial dealing with this sub-ct. As will be noted from the editorial, abama's citizens are taking substan-l steps to make this national memorial reality. Under leave heretofore anted, I am happy to insert in the CON-RESSIONAL RECORD the editorial from the rmingham News:

HORSESHOE BEND PARK NEEDS DEVELOPMENT

An act of Congress last year created Horse-oe Bend National Military Park on the llapoosa River at the site of the 1814 bat-e in which Gen. Andrew Jackson crushed e power of Indian resistance east of the ssissippi. But the park has yet to be fully veloped as a fitting memorial and tourist traction. Especially needed now is the rchase of 1,474 acres of land to add to the 566 acres the Alabama Power Co. has already donated.

After hearing a group of interested citizens describe plans for the park's improvement, the State senate finance and taxation committee and the House ways and means committee this week recommended an appropriation of $150,000 for the land purchase. Once the land is made available by the State, the National Park Service will provide for development and maintenance.

The park is Alabama's first national memorial of this character. The State should now do its part in helping to make the area into the attraction it deserves to be.

High Tariffs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial, entitled "High Tariffs?" written by Charles Nutter, which appeared in the New Orleans Item dated July 27, 1957:

HIGH TARIFFS?

(By Charles Nutter, managing director of International House)

Business interests of Louisiana, extending all the way from stevedoring to banking, are awakening to the coming fight in Congress over foreign trade legislation which could endanger several hundred million dollars worth of shipping along the New Orleans waterfront.

The signs are as clear, as unmistakable, and as dangerous as a distant hurricane warning. Before we know it, Congress will be asked to wind up the 25-year-old reciprocal trade-agreements program, and return the country to a high-tariff policy abetted with restrictive quotas which could destroy much of our world markets.

The battle will center over extension, for the 11th time, of the trade-agreement program, begun in 1934, which has increased our world trade many times through lowered tariffs and aggressive sales promotion. So-called protectionist forces, powerful lobbyists, and spokesmen for a minority of industrial interest, encouraged by recent successes in Congress, want to kill this program and turn back the clock on tariff policies.

The effect of this would be immediate and disastrous in Louisiana where literally tens of thousands of jobs would be lost by any such setback. Today more than 4,000 ships visit the port of New Orleans annually, and scores more call at Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, and these represent a vital part of the State's economy.

Furthermore, Louisiana's far-sighted business leaders since 1940 have invested millions in an international program. So have a dozen foreign governments which are solidly convinced that New Orleans is a great gateway to a rich, profitable market. The aims, visions, efforts, and investments of many men of purpose and of good will would be hurt by an impaired foreign-trade program.

Last year United States exports and imports amounted to more than $30 billion, and the port of New Orleans was a strong second to New York in volume of this business, which is expanding rapidly under an enlightened trade policy which encourages foreign nations to sell in the United States and earn dollars to buy American industrial and agricultural products.

American labor, agricultural, and industrial circles have estimated that 4.5 million American families directly owe their living to foreign trade and that less than a quarter million would be affected by a free trade policy which eliminated all tariff regulations. Yet the tail continues to wag the dog in Congress because those benefiting from foreign trade accept prosperity as a matter of fact while those hurt by foreign imports, often small and marginal industries, are bitter, well-organized, and noisy in the congressional lobbies.

New Orleans has a tremendous stake in the coming trade battle, and needs to study, understand, and prepare for it. It should take a leading part in the fight. Undoubtedly it will do so because it represents, by and large, a graver threat than anything that ever happened to the waterfront. In the end, however, it will be the Republican Party in Congress, the present habitat of the protectionists, which will determine the future of our trade, and this will call for the strongest leadership from the White House.

President Eisenhower is committed to extension of the trades' program, and all his executive departments are strong advocates; but for at least 2 years they have failed to rally an all-out drive in Congress necessary to carry out their desires and commitments, strongly backed by Democratic circles.

Trade is a vital factor in the game of power politics being played today. For trade is as much the handmaiden of peace as it is of war. Throughout history trade has been a prime cause of conflict as well as progress. Man's struggle for the maldistributed resources of the earth, for trade routes, for markets in the shifting populations of the world, for geographical advantages and greater opportunities for himself and neighbors are for the most part our history and our heritage.

Today Louisiana is on the threshold of its greatest economic opportunity, far greater than ever in the past, even though its past is glorious. Within a decade or two there will no longer be a port of New Orleans and a port of Baton Rouge, as we know them today. There will instead be a continuous port extending from above Baton Rouge to blue water at the end of the Alexander seaway, and along this 200-mile stretch will be centered the greatest industrial progress in the United States.

This industry will be geared to a resurgent South. Even more so it will be catering to the greatest developing market in the world, the 500 million potential inhibitants of Latin America, just beyond our door. The communications systems tying in at New Orleans, the water resources of the Mississippi River, the climate, labor and natural resources of this area insure it as the great industrial region of tomorrow.

The Lousiana story—trade, industry and the development of peerless natural resources—has just begun. But it is well understood in the powerful financial markets of the world, and it has a future beyond compare.

The lives of every Louisianian will be enriched by the great undiscovered sulfur and oil deposits lying far out at sea beyond Louisiana shores, by the unsurpassed communications we have, to reach Latin America and the world, by the explosive expansion of industry along the Mississippi River, the Intercoastal Canal and the Alexander seaway when it comes, and by the great development of world trade which will surmount next year's threat, but only after a costly, bitter battle.

Need for Expanding Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CECIL R. KING

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, the need for expanding world trade is clearly evident, as is the necessity of maintaining the strength of our labor, industry, and agriculture at home. Statesmanlike policies and decisions are required. The unfavorable situation of our domestic tuna fishery is a continuing problem requiring such study and an early decision. As background for needed consideration, the following letter to me regarding this problem sets the state for our mature consideration and demonstrates the necessity for action:

AMERICAN TUNABOAT ASSOCIATION,
San Diego, Calif., July 27, 1957.

Congressman CECIL R. KING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KING: I am to appear before the Committee on Ways and Means on July 31, regarding Antidumping Act amendments. A copy of the statement of the association which I will make is enclosed for your information.

In the statement you will note my reference to and comment on the October 1951, Ways and Means hearings on a proposed tariff on frozen tuna and will recall your active interest and participation in those hearings. Knowing of your long continuing interest in the welfare of tuna fishermen and boatowners, I felt it would be most informative to compare the situation then and now.

A comparison could well be built around not only the statistics presented but our statement of what we entitled the Future Problem. This, in part, is what we said:

"It is quite clear that should the present rate of importation continue, the amount of tonnage which the American vessels would be called upon to deliver would continue to decline to the point of uneconomic operation.

"This * * * would bring about at least 2 situations. First, the elimination of the operations of many units of the American fishing fleet and, second, the movement of many units of the American fleet to foreign areas.

"There is more than a reasonable case for estimating that the imports of frozen tuna by reason of the fact that the productive potential of foreign areas is not static but * * * on the increase.

"The shift of American capital and management, which is as yet not of record, further supports the estimate of continued import uptrend.

"The increased dependence of American processors on other than American producers will surely in time effect a complete transfer of operations to foreign areas."

Questions and answers may be used for purposes of comparison and evaluation, using, where possible, the information on the years 1949, 1950, and 1951 compared with 1955 and 1956 and the 1957 year to date.

1. Has the rate (volume) of imports continued upward?

At the time of the hearing annual totals were available for immediately preceding years: 1949, 20,606,000 pounds; 1950, 56,712,000 pounds.

The year 1951 imports totaled 62,085,000 pounds.

The last 2 years totals were as follows: 1955, 145,245,000 pounds; 1956, 139,840,000 pounds.

The 1956 total is adjusted for estimated round weight equivalent of imports of cooked loins and discs (relatively new and rapidly rising forms of imports) and for an assumed error in published statistics. However, no upward adjustment has been made for weight of gilled and gutted frozen tuna which would raise the 1956 total.

In 1957 the January, April Bureau of the Census figures show 48,794,000 pounds compared to 45,142,000 pounds in 1956 for frozen tuna. Cooked and frozen loins and discs total 3,778,000 pounds in this same period in 1957 compared with 2,020,854 in 1956. Converting these to a common round-weight basis shows imports running at a record high.

Since the 1951 hearings frozen tuna imports have increased over 125 percent and are headed higher.

2. Has the productive capacity of the United States tuna fleet declined?

At the end of 1951 there were 210 long-range tuna clippers (bait boats) in operation. Their capacity tonnage was 44,300 tons.

At present there are 153 such boats with a capacity of 35,000 tons.

This is a decline of 27 percent in number and 21 percent in tonnage since the hearings in 1951.

The purse seine fleet fishing tuna full or part time has shown considerable decline as has the number of small boats fishing albacore.

3. What has been and is the climate for investment in new boats?

Since 1951 construction has been started and completed on only 9 new tuna clippers. No new tuna purse seiners have been started or completed.

4. In comparison has the productive capacity of the Japanese tuna fleet declined or increased?

At the end of 1951 gross tonnage of the large boat tuna fishing fleet in Japan was 40,714 tons or about 24,400 capacity tons (60 percent of gross tonnage) represented by 272 boats.

At the end of 1956 the approximate total of such boats was 596 with a gross tonnage of 118,121 tons and an estimated capacity tonnage of 70,800 tons.

This is an increase of 116 percent in number of boats, and an increase of 190 percent in tonnage compared since 1951 with absolute declines in the United States fleet.

5. With a decline in the number of United States tuna boats has there been an increase in deliveries of fish per boat?

The average percentage of boat capacity delivered by the bait boat fleet was 315 percent in the 3-year period 1948 to 1950 which preceded the 1951 hearings.

In 1951 percentage of capacity delivered per boat was 264 percent.

In the 5 full years since 1951 this low average has prevailed even though there has been wide variation year to year. This year it has not improved and may not actually reach the 5-year average.

Thus, even with the fleet reduced in number there has been no increase but actually a decrease in the per-boat annual landings.

6. Have decreased landings per boat resulted in an increased or decreased price per ton to the boats?

The price index for yellowfin-skipjack tuna which uses the year 1948 as 100 showed that the price index in 1951 was 83.3 percent.

The present price index is 69.4 percent or a decline of about 17 percent since 1951.

Bluefin tuna declined within the past few days by about 8 percent under prices which have held for about a year. Albacore tuna declined to the lowest level for volume landings since pre-World War II levels with the past week.

7. Has there been, as predicted in 19 the elimination of the operation of ma units of the American fishing fleet?

The facts show that there are fewer boa no construction of new boats even remote approaching replacement or maintenance the fleet size level, a decline in opportun to fish, a decline in prices received all ad ing up to steady elimination of the Americ producer.

8. Has there been, as predicted in 19 movement of many units of the Americ fleet to foreign areas?

In seeking release from the problem found in the United States a number boats have operated from South Americ ports but as they are far removed from t United States market their collective po financial experience has not been sufficie to cause movements to follow.

Other boats have recently transfer operations to Puerto Rico and, except f key men, utilize alien crews in their oper tions in nearly all cases thus eliminati American fishermen from their jobs. T selling point to get boats to go to Puer Rico is that if the boats will sell their fi at $20 below the California price they w not be subjected to layups or curtailment operation and thus will be given a prefer status.

9. Has there been shift of American capit and management?

One canning company has establish operations in American Samoa by contrac ing for Japanese boats to supply fish. T low labor rates and low fish costs plus t high earnings of this activity as given the Department of Labor report in the mat of Special Industry Committee No. 1 f American Samoa make expansion certain.

Other operations have been referred to this letter. Those in South and Centr America have not grown apectacularly these areas are under the same competiti pressure from Japan as are we. The r turns are not all in for Puerto Rico but t possibility of the Japanese landing tu from the Atlantic by establishing bases Cuba or the Bahamas is strong and for the basis for a new competitive factor.

10. How can we now regard this stat ment made in 1951?

"The increased dependence of Americ processors on other than American produc will surely in time effect a complete transf of operations to foreign areas."

Operations consist of the production raw fish and the cannery processing of it.

Since 1951 there has been a greater re tive and absolute quantity of the raw pro uct produced for the United States mark outside of the United States (principally Japan). This enters the market as fro in the round, as frozen gilled and gutted, frozen cooked loins, as frozen cooked di and as the canned finished product.

All these forms affect the domestic p ducers (boatowner and fishermen) oppo tunity to operate and earn.

Gilled and gutted tuna has some eff on cannery labor.

Cooked loins have a further and stron effect on cannery labor making unnecess certain labor operations. Cooked di eliminate still further the requirement United States cannery labor.

Canned tuna requires no United Sta cannery or fishermen's labor.

Summing this up, it is clear that th has been a steady transfer (or more ac rately, loss) of the basic operations nec sary to supply the tuna market to fore areas (principally Japan).

11. Has the United States market for tu and tunalike canned fish grown sufficien

enable the domestic fleet to keep its absolute if not its relative share of the market?

The domestic fishermen's and boatowner's relative share of the market in 1949 was 5.5 percent, falling to 69.6 percent and 70.4 percent under the impact of imports in 1950 and 1951.

The downtrend continued, and by 1954 his relative share was 57.6 percent, falling to 55.5 percent in 1955 and rising to 55.5 percent in 1956. In 1957 it is heading toward the 1955 figure at present indications.

His absolute share in pounds delivered has declined. The United States Department of the Interior gives the figures for 1949 (before imports were heavy) as 335,680,000 pounds. New boats entered the fleet, and in 1950 the total was 392,373,000 pounds. In 1951 more new boats entered the fleet (some not actually fishing until late in the year or early in 1952), but the absolute total fell to 319,-348,000 pounds. The average for the next 3 years (1952–54) was just below this at 316,772,000 pounds, while the average of 1955 (270,652,000 pounds) and 1956 (328,679,000 pounds) was 299,666,000 pounds. Thus far in 1957 landings are 28,956,000 pounds below the 1956 total, indicating that the 2-year average may not even be reached.

It is absolutely clear that the domestic fleet has not even been able to keep its absolute share, much less its relative share of the market.

The other effects on the domestic fishermen and boatowners of failure to reach some solution of the import problem as set forth in 1951 follow most logically. There has been a loss of employment opportunities, decline in share earnings, profits turned to losses, and there are other measurable signs of injury—serious and continuing.

We were not wrong in our analysis of the situation which developed up to the time of the hearings in 1951 and in our estimate of the future course of events.

We have tried many things to change this course so that the tuna producer's business could grow. We have had varying degrees of success and failure, mostly the latter, but have not concluded that we should stop trying. This trying will take many forms.

We would like to be able to do this on a basis of straight-out competition with the Japanese fishermen with no appeal for action by Government on either side. In Japan the low basic operational costs, the system of alternative markets for tuna, and the great interest and activity of the Government in the development of the industry and its export trade make this just about an impossibility on a duty- or quota-free basis. An examination of the items appearing on the duty-free list where we find frozen tuna, indicates that our Government and most producers and industries share this view. The Subcommittee on Customs, Tariffs, and Reciprocal Trade Agreements (March 1957) stated that:

"The bulk of the imports which are free of duty are accounted for by goods which fall under one or another of the following groups:

"(1) Consumer goods which are not closely, if at all, competitive with products of domestic industry, such as coffee, tea, cocoa, and bananas.

"(2) Materials used by domestic industries in which there is no, or very inadequate, domestic production. Included in this category are woodpulp and newsprint; natural rubber; raw silk; tin (concentrates and refined metal); nickel ores and matte and several other varieties of metal ores; uncut gems and industrial diamonds; asbestos; coarse wools for the manufacture of carpets; manila hemp or abaca, henequen, jute, and similar fibers; nonbovine hides and skins; and most varieties of undressed furs.

"(3) Goods which are important in farm operations, including fertilizers and fertilizer materials, barbed wire, binder and baler twine, and agricultural machinery.

"(4) Goods of which domestic production has long been greatly in excess of domestic requirements and have, therefore, been exported from this country in large amounts. Among such duty—free imports are short and medium staple cotton refined and crude sulfur, typewriters, and linotype machines."

Frozen tuna falls into none of the foregoing categories.

This leaves us two alternatives which do require Government action:

One, to obtain a government-to-government quota on tuna imports in all forms such as has been done in the case of the textile import problem, or

Two, to obtain our own Government's aid in formulating and implementing a support program such as the National Wool Act which also developed as a result of an equally serious import problem.

The tuna case is deserving of similar recognition and action—a matter in which we have had and look forward to your continued interest and action.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD F. CARY,
General Manager.

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN TUNABOAT ASSOCIATION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN A HEARING ON AMENDMENTS TO THE ANTIDUMPING ACT, WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 29–31, 1957, PRESENTED BY HAROLD F. CARY, GENERAL MANAGER

The American Tunaboat Association represents the major part of the domestic bait boat fleet. This is the fleet which produces the largest amount of the domestically produced tuna for canning and sale in the United States market.

We have appeared previously before the Committee on Ways and Means in regard to trade policy and trade agreement legislation which vitally affects our operations. Examples of this are our appearance at the January 1955, hearings on extension of the Trade Agreements Act, and at the September 1956, hearings on United States customs tariff and trade agreement laws and their administration.

In October 1951, we appeared on a matter of direct, particular interest which resulted in the recommendation by the Committee on Ways and Means (H. R. 5693) that a temporary tariff be imposed on frozen tuna—an action in which the House of Representatives overwhelmingly concurred and in which the United States Senate, by a narrow margin, did not. The trends in the producers' business have since followed, with few occasional departures, an inexorable downward line.

The information and evaluation given this committee at those and at other times have been carefully and accurately drawn, as we based our testimony on our actual experience.

We now appear on the subject of the Antidumping Act. We have not previously appeared at any hearings on this subject as we have had no extensive experience in this field which we could bring to this committee as useful to it or to us in designing or amending law on the subject.

We appear now because we have had experience with the law and its administration which permits us to see it from other than a theoretical view.

Our letters of May 27, 1957, and of July 15, 1957, to the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means outline this experience in the fullest detail. We will not restate this detail in the interest of conserving time but do ask that these letters with their appendices be included as a part of this statement.

In summary form this is the substance of the matter:

1. In early October 1956, Japanese exporters held approximately 14,000 tons of frozen albacore in storage. This was purchased by them from fishing boats in June and July of the same year.

2. This particular summer albacore had been purchased at a bare ex-vessel cost approximating $300 a ton. Because of handling, freezing, storage, commission, interest and other costs it represented a then present cost before shipment of close to $400 a ton in Japan.

3. Starting in October this particular summer albacore was sold at a price of $270 a ton f. o. b. Japan a price below the average ex-vessel price paid at time of purchase and still further below the accumulated cost to the exporters who held it in storage.

4. We regarded transactions such as this as dumping and so advised the Secretary of Treasury on October 17, 1956.

5. The Department of the Treasury regarded this as a matter of substance and accordingly instructed its field officers to withhold appraisement of the merchandise in question.

6. In a letter dated March 14, 1957 (5 months after the matter was referred to the Secretary) the Department of the Treasury decided "that the purchase price of the imported frozen albacore was not less than the cost of the production thereof."

In making this decision the Department of the Treasury determined, as an example, that the cost of production of the particular merchandise was the ex-vessel price of a small amount of albacore sold by fishing boats in Japan 4 or 5 days prior to 1 week before shipment of this summer albacore and not its original cost to the exporter. The ex-vessel price in November was determined to be $207.65 per ton—sale of it at $270 f. o. b. Japan after freezing and storage was not considered dumping or sale at less than fair value (in this case, cost of production was considered to be fair value.)

Our position was and is, that this summer albacore was particular, separable, identifiable merchandise, that it cost the exporters at least $300 a ton when originally bought from the boats, that this cost was appreciably increased by handling, freezing, storage, commission, interest and other costs to a total much higher than $300 per ton, and that to determine that its cost of production should be based on the ex-vessel price of a few tons of albacore landed in the offseason was without logic and did not carry out the intent of the Antidumping Act.

The test of whether this November ex-vessel price was the cost of production of the particular summer albacore in question is found in the quantity of albacore landed in the November offseason. We were concerned specifically with about 14,000 tons of summer albacore. The cost of production example used by the Department of the Treasury ($207.65) was based on a sampling of ex-vessel albacore prices in November when only 877 tons totally were landed in Japan. Samples taken from such negligible total landings could not be determinative of the cost of production of the 14,000 tons of summer albacore landed 4 to 5 months earlier.

In any event, the decision of the Department of the Treasury could not be appealed so all this could be considered academic. That it was not and is not academic is borne out by the fact that our experience with dumping did not end there. The action of what we considered dumping and the after shocks of even so small an amount of trade in all tuna have not quieted to this day. Our letter to the chairman of this committee dated July 15, 1957, and made a part of this statement recites most of these events and effects as we have determined them to this date.

While not experts in antidumping law, we know that it is intended to prevent sales of commodities in this country at less than fair value or cost of production. Our experience has shown in our case that this can and did happen inasmuch as a particular, identifiable tonnage of albacore was sold in the United States at far below its original cost of production in Japan and that it did cause and is causing injury.

As a result of this experience we can bring to the attention of the committee the need for a study of the language of the Antidumping Act dealing with foreign market value (section 205) and with cost of production (section 206) to the end it be made clear that when the original cost of an item in commerce such as frozen tuna can be obtained, this should be used as its cost of production (adding thereto the costs incidental to preparing it for shipment) and making it equally clear that subsequent costs based on a few sales in negligible quantities cannot be determinative of cost of production. In the summer albacore dumping case, the original cost was available but in the apparent absence of a clear-cut requirement that this be used, reliance was placed on a position that albacore was fungible and that no distinction as to original cost could or should be made. Our position is that a distinction could have been made, and that it should have been made and that the law should so require.

As we have had continuing experience with the Antidumping Act for nearly 10 months we have had opportunity to think of aspects of it other than the foregoing and to develop views on remedial changes considered as improving the Antidumping Act. These are:

First, that public hearings open to all interested parties be held to develop information on whether foreign merchandise is being, or is likely to be, sold in the United States at less than its fair value.

Second, that a published report be made of the findings within a reasonable time not to exceed 90 days, and

Third, that a right of appeal be granted to an interested party in disagreement with the findings of the Secretary of the Treasury whether there was a finding of dumping or a finding of no dumping.

These are reasonable requirements and entirely consistent with our system of government.

Secretary Benson's Policies Are Hurting the American Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, late this spring the Secretary of Agriculture Mr. Ezra Taft Benson, said in his annual report that the big news in farming during 1956 was that "Agriculture seems to have turned the corner." Presumably, this meant that the economic picture, which has grown darker with each passing year under Mr. Benson, would become brighter.

In light of this statement, I think it is well that we pause at this juncture in the year 1957, to note that the parity ratio on farm prices received in the month ending July 15, was still 1 percent under that of a year ago on the same date.

Mr. Speaker, the farmers of America have lost more than $4 billion in net farm income since 1952 as the result of Secretary Benson's policies. The rural areas have been deprived of less and less purchasing power and the Federal Treasury has received less and less tax revenue from our agriculturists.

In 1952 prices received by farmers averaged 100 percent of parity. And farm people on that year's income paid $1,365 million in personal income taxes to the Federal Government.

Farm prices in the year 1956 averaged 82 percent of parity and farm people will pay only $1,100 million in income tax. In other words, the economic hardship that has been forced on the people who till our land for their living, has brought about a reduction of $265 million in tax revenues that the Government receives from farmers, figuring it on an annual basis over that 4-year period. This is more than twice the Federal cost of the price support program in 1952.

Mr. Meader Sustained

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Daily Telegram of July 24, 1957:

MR. MEADER SUSTAINED

Representative GEORGE MEADER wrote an article about the International Cooperation Administration which Reader's Digest published in April. In the article Mr. MEADER was critical in some respects of the foreign-aid agency, charging that it did not always tell Congress the whole truth about its money needs and the effectiveness of the spending it directs.

Among other things, Mr. MEADER wrote: "This bureaucracy has become so powerful, so cocksure, that it has defied Congress and done whatever it wanted." Things the agency has since done have supported Mr. Meader's charges.

Not long after the article appeared, the director of ICA appeared before a Senate committee and called the article unfair. Included in the committee record was a memorandum from the ICA declaring that Mr. MEADER has presented a "distorted picture of the whole program."

Thereupon the editors of Reader's Digest set out to check on Mr. MEADER's facts. They report they found them accurate in every detail and that they were in large measure taken from ICA's own records.

Mr. MEADER even before he entered Congress was a skilled and competent investigator. Since going to Congress he has made foreign aid an especial field of study. The fact that the foreign-aid agency has tried to discredit him seems to prove exactly what he said about it, that bureaucracy is out of hand and will go to any lengths to stop inquiring Congressmen.

The ICA should have corrected the errors Mr. MEADER pointed to. When it attacked him for bringing them to light it only showed that he was right.

"Good Deal," Says Farmer as He Pocket[s] $204,000 Soil-Bank Payment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I called attention to the Arizona cotton farmer who received a soil-bank payment of $209,701. This farmer took one farm out of production, and then planted three times as much land in penalty cotton at another location.

Facts concerning another Arizona farmer who has received a $204,000 soil-bank payment were related this week by Reporter Fletcher Knebel in an article written for the Cowles newspapers. Mr. Knebel's article follows:

SOIL BANK PAYS HIM $204,000

(By Fletcher Knebel)

WASHINGTON.—The great Southwest's growing industry of not growing cotton is a mighty fine business—take it from 56-year-old John Nutt, Eloy, Ariz.

Nutt confirmed Saturday he has received a Government check for $204,000 for placing his entire cotton farm in Agriculture Secretary Ezra T. Benson's 1957 soil bank.

This is the second huge soil-bank payment in Arizona to come to light.

Early this month Representative STEWART L. UDALL, Democrat, of Arizona, revealed that Jack A. Harris, operator of 25,000 Arizona acres, had received a $209,701 Government check for not growing cotton on 1,666 acres of it.

Unlike Harris, who said he thought the soil bank was "silly" and that he applied for the big check just to show how ridiculous it was, Nutt told the Minneapolis Tribune by telephone he thought the soil bank was a "good deal."

"I put all my 1,433 acres in the soil bank," he said, "and I've got my check. I think it's a pretty good deal when the Government takes 3,500 bales of cotton out of production.

"I signed up in February to put in 30 per cent of my farm, but then they said we could put the whole thing in the soil bank if they had the money. I guess they got the money, because that's what I did and they paid.

"All this publicity Arizona is getting over these big soil-bank payments is a good thing for the State. It shows how much cotton we can grow. I get about 2¼ bales to the acre."

Harris had said he disliked the whole Government subsidy idea, and would prefer to sell cotton on a completely free market. Nutt wasn't so sure. He said he was just a cotton farmer and had no idea what prices would be like on a free market.

Nutt has gone out of the cotton-growing business temporarily in Arizona, but keeps his hand in via 75 acres of cotton he is growing in California. On another 1,000 acres he is growing maize.

Nutt differs from Harris in that, while his soil-bank payment is large, his sudden retirement from growing cotton does tend to hold down the national output.

In Harris' case, he moved his equipment 125 miles to another county, leased 4,500 acres and planted it to cotton, thereby tripling his last year's production on this phase of his farm operation.

The theory of the soil bank originally, in addition to supplying money to hard-pressed small farmers, was that less production

would tend to ease the Government's huge surplus holdings.

This year's big payments probably will not be repeated, as Congress has proposed a maximum of $3,000 in individual payments.

However the theory works out, the business of not growing cotton has become quite the thing for big Arizona operators. Thus far, UDALL has spotted individual payments to cotton farmers of his State of $209,000, $204,000, $96,000, $82,000, $78,000, $71,000, $69,000, $64,000, $60,000, $59,000, and $56,000.

Declaration in Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, because of important events that are happening in Europe concerning our good friends and partners in NATO, I am submitting for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the editorial from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of July 31, 1957, entitled "Declaration in Berlin."

This editorial highlights the Berlin declaration as a well-timed Western endorsement of Dr. Adenauer and his policies of alliance with the West and his work for a reunited and free German Republic:

DECLARATION IN BERLIN

High representatives of this country, Britain, France, and West Germany convened in West Berlin this week to sign a declaration on German unity. In the main, they reaffirmed that Germany should be reunited by free and fair elections, that a reunited Germany should be unfettered in choosing its alliances (as with NATO), that the West will not enter into any disarmament deal with the Soviet Union that might prejudice German unity, that the West is prepared to give the Soviets and others full assurances of safety should a reunited Germany choose NATO.

These and other points were made in a document known as the Berlin declaration. Its signing this week was attended by the ringing of the Freedom Bell, gift from the West to honor the courage of West Berliners during the Soviet blockade of 1948–49.

The declaration, which emphasizes what has by and large been the western position all along, and the attendant ceremony come when disarmament talks in London between the West and the Soviet Union enter a showdown phase. More significantly, they come when the West German election campaign enters the final stretch and shortly before the Moscow "happiness boys" Khrushchev and Bulganin, are due to visit Soviet-ruled East Germany.

That visit and the campaign in West Germany are of course related. Khrushchev & Co. would give plenty to defeat Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his policies of alinement with the West, including rearmament, and of pressing for political and economic federation of free Europe. These policies are the surest check to Soviet ambition in Europe and elsewhere, as the Kremlin knows acutely.

Khrushchev can be expected alternately to promise the moon and threaten doom to Germans when he visits East Germany next month, all with an eye to embarrassing Dr. Adenauer's election campaign and advancing the cause of his opposition, much of which is somewhat neutralist-minded.

The Berlin declaration, then, is a well-timed western endorsement of Dr. Adenauer and his policies—the policies in which lie Germany's and Europe's best hope for freedom and union.

Ike Appoints a Fox To Guard the Chickens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the present administration will hardly be remembered for the appropriateness of some of its appointments to various posts both on the agency and ambassadorial level. But even with some knowledge of the caliber of past appointments to various jobs, the Pacific Northwest was not adequately prepared for the President's appointment of Douglas McKay as Chairman of the United States section of the International Joint Commission.

Mr. Speaker, I think the Oregon Labor Press summed up the Pacific Northwest's reaction pretty well when it headed a recent editorial "Ike Appoints a Fox To Guard the Chickens."

Under unanimous consent, I insert this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD.

IKE APPOINTS A FOX TO GUARD THE CHICKENS

President Eisenhower has appointed Douglas McKay to a $20,000-a-year job as Chairman of the United States section of the International Joint Commission (IJC).

The IJC has 3 members from the United States and 3 from Canada. Its job is to settle disputes over the development of power and flood control resources on rivers which cross the United States-Canadian border.

This is a job of crucial importance to the Pacific Northwest, for the Columbia and many of its major tributaries rise in the Canadian Rockies, and many of the best dam sites lie near the international border.

McKay's appointment to this important post has been hailed with delight by the Oregon Journal ("We believe McKay will represent United States interests well") and with less enthusiasm by the Oregonian ("One assumes that President Eisenhower * * * considered Doug McKay's qualifications for the job more important than the political repercussions").

This tone of restrained politeness is used by the Oregonian when it is convinced that a Republican has committed an awful blunder—like an Englishman describing a funeral as "jolly good fun." Freely translated into plain English, the Oregonian's cool editorial probably means: "Now that Ike has made this terrible appointment, let's hope McKay doesn't mess up the job too badly."

The Oregon Labor Press can be more candid in expressing its opinion of the McKay appointment.

We believe the appointment is a tragic blunder and a deliberate slap at the Pacific Northwest.

We believe the appointment of Douglas McKay to any post involving hydroelectric power development is like appointing a fox to guard a chicken yard.

As Governor of Oregon and as Secretary of the Interior, McKay always followed the private utility companies' policy of opposing any expansion of the Federal power program. McKay believes in developing public resources for private profit whenever it is possible to do so.

So does President Eisenhower. Why else would Eisenhower oppose Hells Canyon Dam? Why else would he endorse the "partnership" scheme? Why else would he appoint Douglas McKay as Chairman of the IJC?

With their votes last November, the people of the Pacific Northwest shouted their opinion of McKay's views on power development. McKay himself was repudiated by 60,000 votes. Private-power Republicans were also defeated for Senate seats in Washington and Idaho, for the governorships of Oregon and Washington, and for a number of "safely Republican" congressional seats in the Northwest States.

But apparently Mr. Eisenhower doesn't care about public opinion or political success in this region. He prefers to please the power trust.

It is significant that McKay's appointment to the IJC does not require Senate confirmation. For it is certain that it would be opposed by 7 of the 8 Senators from the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana.

In the face of such opposition from the region directly affected by the work of the IJC, the McKay appointment would never receive Senate approval.

McKay's predecessor as United States Chairman of the IJC was another Republican ex-governor, Len Jordan, of Idaho, longtime friend of the Idaho Power Co. Jordan made such a mess of his relationships with Canadian members of the IJC that Canada has actually suggested diverting water from the upper Columbia into the Fraser River. And plans for Libby Dam in Montana are stalled in a dispute over water storage across the border in Canada.

Will McKay do a better job than Jordan? All we can do is to cross our fingers and hope so. Eighteen million acre-feet of flood-control storage are available in Canada on the upper reaches of the Columbia. With this storage it would be possible to increase Columbia River power production in Washington and Oregon by 1.3 million kilowatts—the equivalent of 3 or 4 more Bonneville Dams.

Beryllium Co. Opens New Plant at Hazleton, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hazleton (Pa.) Plain Speaker of July 30, 1957, commenting on the establishment of a new Beryllium Co. plant at Hazleton:

WELCOME TO BERYLLIUM

This is an important day for Hazleton.

Dedication of the new Beryllium plant at Ashmore marks a great milestone in Hazleton's industrial advancement.

In welcoming to our community an industry which is a part of the atomic age we embrace an organization with a great potential.

Advancements in the field of nuclear science during the past few years emphasize the fact that the world is on the threshold of an era of progress beyond the dreams of those who lived in the past century.

The coming of Beryllium to Hazleton puts our community "on the ground floor" of the atomic field and the possibilities are limitless.

"Industry begets industry" is a well known maxim. The establishment of a plant here by the rapidly progressing Beryllium Co. could well be the means of attracting other firms.

It is significant that Hazleton, which had a vital role in the development of the anthracite coal industry, now takes its place in sphere of nuclear power.

The establishment of the Beryllium plant here sounds another encouraging note. This company came here of its own accord—not because any inducements were offered.

With its own funds it has transformed the abandoned Ashmore roundhouse into a mighty industrial plant. The amount Beryllium has spent indicates that the firm really means business.

That an up-and-coming industry would find this area attractive is not only complimentary. It offers new encouragement to the men of our community who have been working so hard to establish industry to replace the jobs lost by the changes in anthracite mining.

We, naturally, feel that Hazleton is an ideal site for industry. That a firm such as Beryllium shares our enthusiasm is a tremendous boost.

Hazleton welcomes Beryllium as the newest member of our growing industrial family. We are confident that the association will be of mutual benefit.

Economic Problems of Northern Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, northern Wisconsin is one of those areas of our country where the economy has skidded a bit. Recently I had the pleasure of speaking in northern Wisconsin, and put forward a number of suggestions for stimulating the economy of the entire region.

The people of Wisconsin's north country are anxious to revitalize their area—to attract new business and industry, build up farming, broaden markets for forest products, and make fuller use of the region's great natural beauties and resources.

In these endeavors, county, State, and Federal Governments must work together to help the people help themselves. Local initiative is the first essential for economic revival. The problems must be recognized by the people, and if they want governmental advice and assistance, it should be available.

In this connection, I submit a helpful, forward-looking editorial from the Vilas County News-Review, of Eagle River, Wis., which evidences a real interest in finding solutions to the problems of northern Wisconsin:

MAYBE FARMING CAN BE BUILT UP

Northern Wisconsin counties have an economic problem that should be solved—and possibly can be solved under certain conditions.

There are many subpar areas in the headwaters country—the nonresort areas which are more common in Oconto, Iron, Forest, and Oneida Counties than they are in Vilas County—but which do exist to a lesser extent in this region also.

These are the areas of second-growth timber which still does not have a lot of market development, and small, rundown farms.

Congressman HENRY REUSS, of Milwaukee, visiting at Wabeno, recently, said: "The problems of northern Wisconsin are illustrated by a declining population, a large decrease in the number of operating farms and an average annual family income $800 below the nationwide average."

Farms can be built up again—more land can be cleared—but there are not as many people with the gumption or the money to tackle the jobs.

Whether we can pool our regional resources or whether the Federal Government can help—or the State set up a program, we don't know.

But during those transitional years, some sort of assistance and guidance must be present.

Farming declined primarily during the depression years in this region. And, of course, the cold winters discouraged a lot of farmers.

But now with new developments in cold weather clothing, better snow removal, farm equipment and even improved cold-resistant crops, farming could be a profitable enterprise in this region.

Farmland prices have climbed so high in the well-established farming regions that it now would be less costly for a person to buy timberland and clear it, and then fertilize it, going into farming here, than to shoulder an enormous debt for farmland downstate.

The other main obstacle to a rebirth in farming in the north country is the lack of local markets for the products raised—places to market the milk, the fruit crops, and other farm products.

But farm co-ops that are considering expanding, and new ones, could help overcome that problem. But in this field, we also need more help and guidance from experts.

Recently several editors and REUSS have suggested that some of these northern counties ought to set up a joint organization to explore the problems of building up the economy of the region.

It seems like a good idea.

Springfield, Ill., Postal Employees Pray That Ike Will Sign Pay Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I want to include the following article which appeared in the recent issue of the Illinois State Journal:

Local postal employees, about 200 of them, will participate in a moment of prayer at 3 p. m. today in the post office court for the purpose of asking divine guidance directed toward the signature of President Eisenhower on a bill proposing a salary hike for postal workers.

Rev. John S. Brockmeier, pastor of Sacred Heart Church, and chaplain for the Illinois Federation of Labor, of which postal workers are members, will lead the prayer.

Post office officials said there will be no disruption of mail service during the pause.

The postal bill has passed the House and is now before the Senate, where officials of the Letter Carriers Association said "it is assured of passage."

The bill calls for an $8 a week take-home pay hike for the average postal worker.

Status of Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in a hearing before the House Armed Services Committee recently, the legal adviser of the State Department appeared in opposition to a bill under consideration that sought to pin point the responsibility of the administration for any future decision made to surrender one of our servicemen to a foreign nation for prosecution for an alleged offense while on duty. Legal Adviser Becker said "even if you tell us that we will get a bill, we propose to go down fighting."

Such determination would be very laudable if it was directed toward seeking a modification of existing agreements with foreign nations that would restore to the United States criminal jurisdiction over our servicemen on duty abroad. It would have been even more laudable if the State Department had shown similar determination when the first status of forces agreements were being negotiated and had determined to adhere to the principle of international law which our Government had followed for 150 years and had expressed in other negotiations with foreign governments. When our Armed Forces entered another country and were stationed there with the consent of such country, we claimed complete jurisdiction over them for all purposes.

Characteristically, however, the State Department will not admit error, and the determination only goes to defending its actions rather than correcting them.

Mr. Becker's testimony, generally, follows the line of other witnesses appearing for the executive departments, which is the scare argument being employed by defenders of the status agreements. One would think that the only reason we are allowed to have troops in other countries is that those nations want to try our erring servicemen in their courts.

Do anything to deprive our friends of the right to prosecute our boys they say, and all our foreign alliances will disintegrate. This is absurd, of course, but the defenders of the agreements do not care how contradictory their arguments may be. They will continue to repeat misrepresentations and half truths. They mean to go down fighting. Fighting against a restoration of the rights of the United States. Fighting against restoring the rights of our servicemen and the protection of our Constitution.

S. S. Kresge, Businessman and Philanthropist, Honored on 90th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story from the Wilkes-Barre Record of August 1, 1957, as well as an editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of July 31, 1957, calling attention to and commenting on the outstanding career of S. S. Kresge, founder of the large chain of stores bearing his name and who established the Kresge Foundation, on the occasion of his 90th birthday:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Record of August 1, 1957]

S. S. KRESGE IS HONORED—MERCHANT OBSERVES 90TH ANNIVERSARY

S. S. Kresge, founder of the stores bearing his name, celebrated his 90th birthday yesterday at Mountainhome. A large delegation of officers and directors of the S. S. Kresge Co. traveled from Detroit to his home to attend a birthday luncheon in observance of the occasion.

One of his sons, Stanley S. Kresge, was a leader of the group.

The founder of the huge variety chain was born on a farm in 1867 at Bald Mount, Pa. His father had bought the farm at inflated Civil War prices, but when prices fell in the years that followed, the crops did not bring in enough to meet mortgage payments and the sheriff sold them out.

About a year later, when Sebastian was 10, his father bought a rundown, farmed-out farm of 113 acres for $1,500. Sebastian had to help pay for that with money earned teaching school beginning when he was 19.

"I taught country school, walked 2 miles every morning and evening, and got the magnificent sum of $22 a month," he recalled, "and the money went to my parents until I was 21 years of age."

However, young Sebastian decided against teaching as a career. So he went to Scranton in the fall of 1887 and got a job at Pat Ward's grocery store waiting on customers and delivering groceries with Ward's team. That was his last season of working on the farm.

Fortunately, between the ages of 14 and 20 Sebastian had a money-making bee culture enterprize of his own and after his first year as a bee keeper, he always had a cash reserve. In the fall of 1888 he took some of his bee money and entered Eastman's Business College at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., for a 4-month commercial course.

Then he held a succession of jobs that ranged from house-to-house canvassing and selling industrial life insurance to retail bookkeeping.

For 2 years he kept books in Howley Brothers hardware store in Scranton. Then a salesman suggested that the ambitious young Sebastian could very likely get a selling job with W. B. Bertels Son and Co. of Wilkes-Barre and make much better money.

Sebastian went to Wilkes-Barre to investigate. He took a job offered on straight commission with no guaranty of advance, paying his own expenses.

For 5 years he traveled the northeastern quarter of the United States selling tinware, living frugally and saving his money. In 1897 he was 30 years old, still unmarried and had been on his own for 9 years. He had saved $8,000 for his future business.

Mr. Kresge knew personally many other 5-and-10-cent-store pioneers, including F. W. Woolworth, G. C. Murphy, S. H. Kress, J. J. Newberry, and W. T. Grant. He sold merchandise to them. He approached John G. McCrory who had several stores in Pennsylvania and New York about a possible partnership and got an encouraging response.

In March, 1897 he opened a 5-and-10 cent store in Memphis, Tenn., with John McCrory as an equal partner. About two months later they opened a second store on Woodward Avenue in Detroit, which Mr. Kresge managed in 1899.

Later in 1899 Mr. Kresge traded his half interest in the Memphis store for full ownership of the Detroit store.

Sebastian Kresge's brother-in-law, Charles J. Wilson, stopped off at Detroit for a visit in 1900 and Mr. Kresge urged him to find a good location for a store not too far from Detroit that they could open together.

Charles Wilson found a good site at Port Huron, Mich. The two men each took a half interest in the location and it became store No. 2 in the chain.

The partnership lasted until the end of 1907. Then Wilson sold out his interest to Mr. Kresge, who branched out even farther by opening new stores and by buying out two companies that owned as many units as he already had.

Today there are 603 Kresge stores in the United States and 83 in Canada. The company's total volume of sales for 1956 amounted to $366,355,381.

With all this prosperity he remained then as thrifty as his Pennsylvania Dutch forefathers—and still is. A man of simple tastes and scale of living, at the age of 55 Mr. Kresge felt that he had acquired far more money than he had expected or even aimed for.

He recommended that he had become wealthy through a combination of favorable circumstances. With these things constantly in his mind and as a religious man, he felt a compelling obligation to utilize his wealth for the benefit of others.

After consulting friends whose judgment he trusted and respected, his ideas on the subject culminated in the establishment of the Kresge Foundation.

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of July 31, 1957]

S. S. KRESGE AT 90

As Sebastian Kresge, merchant and philanthropist, today looks back over an eventful life, spanning 90 exciting years, he has ample cause for gratitude. Providence has been kind to him in many ways. But the rewards have only been commensurate with his own investment of time, talent, and good will.

Actually, Mr. Kresge has had two careers—one in business and the other in the realm of philanthropy. He has been eminently successful in both fields.

Wilkes-Barre, of course, has a warm spot in its affections for him because it was here that he launched his career. For 5 years, 1892 to 1897, he was a tinware salesman for Bertels Co. of the city. He managed to accumulate a nestegg of $8,000, a sizable sum in those days, and with this capital he went into the chainstore business with results that constitute one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of American business.

But Mr. Kresge was not content to stop there. He has been just as much interested in putting his resources to good use. Camp Kresge of the Wilkes-Barre YMCA is one of many examples of his philanthropy.

On this milestone, Wilkes-Barre extends congratulations and best wishes.

The Gerry Murphy Case

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

(Mr. LONG asked and was given permission to address the House for 5 minutes and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I had intended to ask the gentleman from Oregon some questions. I have been interested in his speech and in this case, and have given it a great deal of study. I do not wish to say anything against the gentleman's defense of his constituents. I think he has that perfect right. But there are some questions in my mind regarding the Gerry Murphy case that I believe in the next argument the gentleman presents to the House he can perhaps clear up.

I would like to know if Gerry Murphy was a licensed pilot in the United States and flying on a legal mission at the time Professor Galindez disappeared and believed to be a passenger in Murphy's plane. The facts are clear that 3 persons were engaged in the flight, 1 of them the drugged Professor Galindez and, of course, Murphy, the pilot. Now is it logical or even within the remotest bounds of reason to believe that Murphy would go to the trouble of renting a plane which I am sure the gentleman from Oregon knows he was not legally licensed to operate because of faulty eye sight, and take that plane to a point in New York, pick up 2 passengers, 1 of them obviously drugged, and make a flight apparently out of the United States with a last fueling stop in Miami without the details of who his passengers were and their purpose in making this type flight. In addition to the flight itself being unlawful, logic makes clear that the pilot was engaged in a kidnaping and further that Professor Galindez was known to have had a million dollars, one-half of which has been accounted for, the remaining $500,000 has never been accounted for and lends considerable credence to the kidnapping theory.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG. I yield.

Mr. PORTER. I would like to tell my distinguished colleague from Louisiana that I do not know whether he had a license or not to fly the plane. I do not think his failure to have a license warrants his being disposed of by the Dominican Government. As for the question whether he was a kidnaper or not, it is my opinion from the evidence I have heard from a great many sources, he did not know the identity of his passenger or exactly what he was doing. As I understand, the passenger was drugged and he had no way of knowing whether he was sick or whether he was there of his own free will or was actually being taken home. He did find out later, the

evidence shows, and he did boast in the bar in ——— Hotel to his girl—boast if you like or mentioned that he flew Galindez. That was after he read the papers. So if you want to take the worst possible theory and say, "Well, he was a kidnapper," I still say he should not have been killed at the order of Trujillo.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG. I yield.

Mr. SPRINGER. May I say I think the gentleman from Louisiana and I are in accord. We both stand against despotism as I am sure do the other 433 Members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. LONG. Of course, that is right.

Through the years, 27 of them, the people of the Dominican Republic have chosen their President in free elections. It is regrettable but nevertheless true that the Latin American Republics have been torn by strife and revolution throughout their histories. The Dominican Republic is no different and at this time there is an active government in exile seizing every chance and promoting every opportunity to attempt to strengthen their stand and at the same time weaken the position of the lawful government.

We have spent billions upon billions of the taxpayers dollars and worked long and arduously in the task of cementing friendly relations with other nations and especially our sister republics in the Western Hemisphere. To me it is preposterous to consider that any sort of a bona fide case can be presented against a legitimate and properly constituted government by a set of vague, farfetched, and unsubstantiated circumstances surrounding a notorious character who admittedly engaged in unlawful practices and could have well been a kidnaper and murderer. The entire thing is completely out of proportion.

Mr. SPRINGER. Also, may I say I have admiration for the gentleman from Oregon for the stand that he is taking for his constituent, if he believes he is right. As his Congressman, he ought to give him that kind of representation. I think the division of sentiment in the House of Representatives which I think is overwhelmingly against the gentleman from Oregon is that he is trying to alter foreign policy which over a long period of time has proven successful for this country and has proved to be in the best interest of the countries of the Western Hemisphere—in other words, for us to be in a state of nonintervention in the domestic and foreign affairs of other countries—sister republics with which we are united in this hemisphere. I think that is a fair statement more or less of where we stand; is that not right, may I ask my colleague, the gentleman from Louisiana?

Mr. LONG. If all that has been said regarding the Gerry Murphy case is true, then it is a clouded confession and really in my humble opinion has no place on the floor of the Congress. We are no doubt here dealing with a kidnaper and a murderer who himself met with the same fate that he probably caused others to meet. People who play with fire will undoubtedly someday themselves get burnt. According to his own confessions, the man Gerry Murphy had been engaged in many unlawful and cloudy cases. The fact that he had money does not mean that he had any connection with the Dominican Republic—it merely shows that he probably obtained money in other ways and not in an honorable manner.

Could the missing half million dollars of Professor Galindez be the cause of his death, and I might ask the question could it be possible that Gerry Murphy and his friend quarreled over this money? The man in his confession states that he did kill Gerry Murphy and then committed suicide. Is this not logical to any reasonable man? From where would the $50,000 sent to the Gerry Murphy family come, if not from this money? Under the law or any of the laws that I know anything about, you have to come into court with clean hands. You cannot come in with hands showing that a man took a drugged man and was interested in having him kidnapped and flown out of this country—a man who had been turned down for a license to fly an airplane because of his eyesight, you cannot then say that you come here with clean hands. That is the point I am making. I do not know anything about the guilt or innocence of Gerry Murphy. I am not interested in that at all. I think that our courts and the State Department are competent to handle these cases and I am willing to await their decision. The thing I am interested in is that I do not want to see a friendly government charged with having committed a crime, based on a set of circumstances involving a man who is in violation of the law himself, if he did fly the man down there. And if he did not fly the man down there, then you have no connection.

My colleague from Ohio says that what happened to Gerry Murphy is not pertinent to this case. I say that what happened to Gerry Murphy and his friend is the heart of this case and I say further that in all that I have read regarding this case I have never seen where the Dominican Republic is attempting in any way to cover up. There exists a note that this was murder and suicide yet some are not willing to believe it in the Gerry Murphy case. The note does explain how Murphy was killed but the Dominican Government in exile is endeavoring to overthrow the legally constituted government of the Dominican Republic and of course they want to twist the facts around in such a way to be most favorable to their case. I for one refuse to be hoodwinked by such a fantastic approach to this matter and shall continue in the future as I have in the past in doing all that I can to promote friendly relations with the Dominican Republic and all of the republics of Central and South America. These friendships, which are mutually shared are vitally important to the freedom of all of us. I repeat it is farfetched for us here in the Congress of the United States to condemn a friendly country and its officials on such vague and unsubstantiated evidence involving a kidnaper, a law violator and very possibly a murderer. Actually the Dominican Government in exile is fighting a desperate battle to gain recognition and discredit the lawful Dominican Government and in so doing have engaged in rank propaganda and the utilization of lobbyists here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion it behooves us here in the House of Representatives to be counted and let the world know as we did a few days ago that we do not believe one word of the charges made against the President of the Dominican Republic. I repeat, the thing that I am primarily interested in, and I am sure each Member of Congress is likewise interested, is the defeat of this attempt to discredit a friendly government who is our neighbor.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG. I yield.

Mr. PORTER. Of course, it is not what happened to Gerry Murphy or what the circumstances of his going there that I think are pertinent or the heart of this case. The heart of the case is that the Dominican Government gave to our Government an intentionally false explanation trying to cover up, many of us believe, their duplicity in the Galindez case. We are satisfied—we have a note down there that says it was a suicide and we are satisfied that the note is a forgery. The note was supposed to explain how Gerry Murphy was killed. It is a forgery. An official explanation of the Dominican Government has been rejected—rejected on the whole and part by part. They said Gerry Murphy had no money. Our people say he had plenty. They say he had no powerful friends. We say, and our evidence says, that the FBI and the State Department say that he had a good deal of money.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

The Mail From Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the New York World-Telegram's editorial on March 7, 1957, truly depicts "The Mail From Home." Many Members of Congress could add samples of taxpayers' indignant comments on the high budget. Here's a few from my own mail. Americans are "appalled," "had their hair curled," "more worried than about communism," "think it's a disgrace in the face of election promises," "fed up with outrageous budget," demand we "eliminate the pork in the budget," "protest rise in Government employees," "fire Mr. Folsom and his advocates of Federal aid to school construction," "protest advancing the welfare state," and demand that "the Hoover recommendations be adopted."

The New York World-Telegram said as follows:

THE MAIL FROM HOME

If there is to be any material reduction in Government spending, it will come because the people back home have got up their dander and told Congress what to do.

One of our Washington reporters went through a big stack of letters received by a Republican Member of Congress. All were indignant about high Government spending. We give you some quotes, culled out of the batch:

"I am a Republican, but I cannot take this budget. What has gone wrong?"

"Federal spending is fantastic. If we promote another depression the Republican Party is done forever instead of 20 years. Since I have to pay my obligations and live within my income I can't see why the Government shouldn't be expected to do likewise."

"I have talked to a great many people in the last couple of months, and in all my 68 years I have never heard as many people complain about anything as are now objecting to the way things are going in Washington."

"I have never voted for a Democratic President, but right now I would be between the devil and the dark blue sea if I had to vote."

"The Government budget is outrageous."

"I have been a dyed-in-the-wool Republican all my life and for the first time in my life I am ashamed of it."

"This tax thing is beginning to scare the hell out of me."

"You can be of great service to me and my family. I do not seek a loan, a job, or any special favor, or a gift. But I do ask that you use your influence to help reduce the President's suggested unreasonable budget."

"My God, I thought that we had opposed the Democrats in 1952 because their theory of Government was to tax and spend and now it seems the new republicanism is to show the Democrats how to do it."

Just some samples of what the people are saying. Are you listening, Congress?

But which special-interest group will be first to be put out or volunteer to get out of the public feed trough? None has volunteered lately.

The answer is to constitutionally limit the power of Congress to tax and spend as is proposed by the Dirksen-Gwinn—formerly Reed-Dirksen—amendment.

An American Legion Post Speaks on Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, at a meeting of the Williston Post, No. 144, American Legion, in Williston Park, N. Y., on July 18, 1957, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That the members of the American Legion Post, Williston No. 144, Nassau County, Department of New York, do hereby request that the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act be preserved intact and does hereby oppose any and all further attempts now being made, or which may be made, to weaken, destroy or repeal said act either by direct weakening amendments to the act or by any other legislative procedures.

No Compromise on Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of July 31, 1957, commenting on the restrictions imposed by Secretary of State Dulles on American newspapermen who are desirous of covering Red China:

NO COMPROMISE ON FREEDOM OF PRESS

Addressing Wilkes-Barre Rotary Club yesterday afternoon, Joseph Collis, president of the American Newspaper Guild and assistant managing editor of the Wilkes-Barre Record, took exception to the restrictions placed by Secretary of State Dulles on American newspapermen, desirous of covering Red China. As a result of vigorous protests from the press, Mr. Dulles has modified his original ban to permit a limited number to visit China, but this did not meet with Mr. Collis' approval because it constituted discrimination.

Mr. Collis' view is shared by colleagues in the Fourth Estate who believe that the public has a right to know what is going on in the world, especially as it affects the American people. Under the first amendment to the Constitution, freedom of the press and of free speech is guaranteed. Mr. Dulles is violating the law of the land when he attempts to place obstacles in the way of newspapermen to keep the public informed.

Newspapermen have no exclusive claim to this right. It belongs to all the people and newspapermen share it as citizens, not just as members of the Fourth Estate.

Freedom of the press is fundamental to the preservation of the American way of life. Without this guaranty, all other freedoms soon would disappear. It is impossible to nullify one without jeopardizing the others.

There is more involved in this issue than freedom of the press, as such, and the people's right to know, important as that is. What must concern every American is the threat to all protection he enjoys under the Constitution if freedom of the press is suppressed, at first partially and eventually in its entirety.

We have seen how this has worked in dictatorships. Once the free press, as the guardian of the people's right to know, has been throttled, the way has been paved for other excesses until a nation is enslaved. That must not happen in America. It will not happen while there is left one newspaperman with the courage of his convictions and an awareness of the trust that is reposed in him.

Mr. Dulles' position is untenable, as Mr. Collis indicated. Face-saving devices will not satisfy the Fourth Estate. Freedom of the press involves too much to permit the existence of any curbs, obstacles or misunderstanding. It is written not only in black and white in the Constitution, but in the blood of generation after generation of Americans who have defended it and other principles on land, at sea, and in the air.

If Mr. Dulles does not know the meaning of these sacrifices, he will learn the hard way, for on the issue of freedom of the press there can be and will be no backward step, no compromise, no equivocation.

Answers to the Critics of H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, claims have been made by the opponents of H. R. 8002 that its enactment would not result in sounder budgeting and more effective fiscal control. The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report has prepared a memorandum which replies to these allegations and shows again how this legislation could result in more judicious spending and firmer control by Congress of the purse strings. Under permission to extend my remarks, I submit this memorandum, as follows:

ALLEGATIONS OF THE OPPOSITION

Critics of annual accrued expenditure budgeting have attempted to discredit the plan on two fronts:

First, by attacking the mechanics of the plan itself. A report compiled by a temporary subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee is highly critical.

Second, by questioning the validity of unofficial savings estimates traced to supporters of Hoover Commission recommendations.

The first point concerns itself with anticipated difficulties in contract authorization. The Senate and House Committee reports accompanying S. 434 and H. R. 8002 rebut this argument. The House Government Operations Committee Report which accompanied H. R. 8002 stated:

"The bill permits appropriation bills to grant contract authority for an amount in addition to the amount of the appropriation in terms of annual accrued expenditures, but where the law authorizing such appropriations specifies a maximum amount this bill prohibits the total of any appropriation combined with such contract authority and accrued expenditures under any other appropriation from exceeding the total amount previously authorized for such purpose."

Similarly, the same careful and studied report of the House Committee on Government Operations on H. R. 8002 states, in part:

"When we are fully aware that contract authority will create commitments to receive goods in the future and that this has a similarity to outstanding orders under appropriations made on an obligation basis. The committee feels that the distinction is sufficient, particularly with the annual review, to warrant the adoption of the system."

Senator KENNEDY has stated in this regard:

"So far as concerns long-range appropriations needed for defense, they will be handled through contract authorization, but they will be subject to review each year. So I think this bill will give Congress far greater control."

In a statement to the chairman of the Senate subcommittee on April 10, 1957, Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey had this to say:

"I believe contract authorizations for long-range projects are preferable over the present basis of appropriating, because they would

provide a means for a thorough review and examination of progress made and commitments outstanding at the end of each year when the current budget is being considered."

As to the second question relating to savings estimates, it seems reasonably safe to assume that if Congress can attain more effective control and review of these appropriations, a reduction in unexpended funds will accrue. Studies of the annual accrued expenditure proposal by Congress and the top administration financial officers elicited these opinions:

Senate Committee on Government Operations: "Full implementation of this legislation would tend to halt the continuing buildup of carryover balances of appropriations now available for expenditure at the discretion of the executive agencies, with little or no continuing control by the Congress."

House Committee on Government Operations: "It is quite possible, and the committee is hopeful, that the billions of dollars in carryover funds will be reduced to manageable proportions."

Treasury Secretary Humphrey: "It should reduce the vast carryover of appropriation balances * * *. Any means by which we can bring this carryover of appropriations under better scrutiny and review is a step in the right direction."

Comptroller General Campbell: "* * * The present appropriation basis tempts an agency to order things it may not really need because if it does not obligate all of its appropriation during the period the appropriation is available the unused portion is lost. The proposed method minimizes this temptation because the appropriated funds could be used only to pay for goods and services received during the year."

Assistant to the Comptroller General of the United States, Karney A. Brasfield: "It would establish a direct correlation between annual appropriations and expenditures. It would also vest in the Congress a much greater opportunity to control the level of operations during a particular budget year. This would mean the elimination of the vast carryover balances now available for expenditure at the direction of the executive agencies. And that perhaps is the most significant change on the one basis of appropriation as opposed to the other."

Former President Herbert Hoover, on February 5, 1957, said that there were savings estimated at over $3 billion to be had through enactment of annual accrued expenditure legislation. It should be noted that even a 1 percent reduction in the present carryover balance of $70 billion would result in a saving of $700 million.

A report of the Temporary Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations describes the plan as "fraught with defects and disadvantages such as to render it impracticable." Further, the subcommittee reached this conclusion:

"Stating appropriations on the accrued expenditure basis would require supplementation in the form of contract authority for many programs. Changing over to the new basis would in no wise alter the operating realities or needs of the vast and complex programs of the Government. If operating necessities require advance commitment or obligating authority to premit of orderly program management and execution under present budgetary procedures, they will require similar authority under the accrued-expenditure method."

Contending that so-called carryover balances could be reduced under the present system if Congress so desired, the subcommittee declared:

"This situation arises from the generally prevailing practice of providing funds at the outset for the total estimated cost of a given item so that the Congress can clearly see, and have complete knowledge of, the full dimensions and cost when it is first presented for appropriation. An alternative (i. e., accrued expenditure plan) would be to appropriate in the first year only the amount estimated to be obligated in that year, leaving to later years installment appropriations to complete the necessary funding.

"But this sort of partial funding tends to be less than fully informative and in effect somewhat misleading. An instance arose on one of the appropriations bills last year wherein an amendment in the order of $1 million was adopted with ease to begin a project the ultimate cost of which will be in excess of $1 billion. Had the initial appropriation been a billion dollars instead of a million dollars, the outcome may well have been different."

The negative implications underscoring this statement apparently escaped its authors. For the statement clearly expresses a procedural shortcoming affecting a primary responsibility of the Appropriations Committee, notwithstanding the method used to state appropriations. If minor fund requests can be employed to conceal large spending projects, then the fault clearly lies in our own congressional mechanism. The committee's function as watchdog of the public purse demands complete study and full comprehension of all expenditures, large or small, partial or total. Once again the question arises as to whether Congress is really serious about controlling expenditures, and willing to take the attendant responsibilities.

WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE

In order to evaluate both sides of the issue, and to reply authoritatively to frequent contentions by opponents of the proposed budgetary reform, the following passages take up these contentions one by one and present the answers expressed in recent congressional hearings or by the investigating committees themselves.

Claim: "This would absolutely tie the hands of Congress so far as their having any control over the many wasteful projects that they are asked to consider."

Reply: Report of House Committee on Government Operations: "The Committee was impressed primarily by the improved management tool that the bill (H. R. 8002) provides and with the fact that the Congress can retain a more practical and effective control over appropriated funds by the year-to-year review which will be required."

Report of Senate Committee on Government Operations: "By establishing a direct correlation between appropriations and expenditures through the enactment of S. 434 (Senate bill corresponding to H. R. 8002), the Congress provides not only itself, but the President as well, with greater opportunity to control the level of governmental operations during a fiscal year."

Claim: "It would not result in reduction of carryover balances."

Reply: Budget Director Percival F. Brundage: "As of the end of each fiscal year, the balance of the accounts payable in each appropriation made on an annual accrued expenditure basis would be transferred to, and merged with, the next year's appropriation. The remaining balance would lapse unless otherwise provided in an appropriation act or other law."

Comptroller General Joseph Campbell: "It (accrued expenditure budgeting) vests in each Congress a much greater opportunity to control the level of operations during a particular budget year and would mean the elimination of the vast carryover balances now available for expenditures at the discretion of the executive agencies."

Claim: "The Departments tend to get better prices on things they buy when they have the appropriations in hand."

Reply: Max Medley, Comptroller, General Services Administration, in response to a question as to whether contractors would be more likely to drive a hard bargain under the annual accrued expenditure system: "Contract authority would be just as good to me as if the full appropriation had been enacted on an obligation basis. I can't visualize any contractors with whom we deal, which is a good many, who would take any objection to that."

Claim: "A dangerous bill, perhaps the most dangerous bill that has been brought before the House at this session."

Reply: Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey: "Agencies will be required to determine their needs on the basis of costs and maintain their accounts on an accrual basis. When this is done, only then is it possible to begin to correlate what is produced and performed with actual cost for the same period of time. This change in accounting should provide an excellent basis for improvement in control over actual costs of operations and programs."

Franklin G. Floete, General Services Administrator: "We believe this is essential, and that congressional confidence and understanding can be fostered by limiting appropriations on the annual accrued expenditure basis initially to items covering long lead-time operations such as stockpile procurement, construction, and other capital items."

Senator FRANK A. BARRETT, Republican, of Wyoming: "This important step will, I believe, insure that this Government will operate on a wise and sound financial basis and will be getting maximum use of the taxpayer dollar."

Senator WALLACE *M.* BENNETT, Republican, of Utah: "By requiring appropriations to be stated in terms of annual expenditures rather than in terms of obligated authority, I feel the Congress would be able to exert much greater control over the purse strings of Government spending."

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts: "* * * This bill would permit a close examination of the program for the budget year on the basis of the actual cost of carrying on the program that year. Therefore, the budget would reflect even more accurately what the Government is doing each year."

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota: "I feel certain that the proposal before us will aid the Congress in really coming to grips with the tremendous budgetary problem we have. * * * I think it is essential * * * that the Congress better equip itself so that it may evaluate every dollar that is being appropriated and every dollar that is being expended."

Claim: "It would not save the taxpayer a single dollar."

Reply: House Committee on Government Operations: "The committee * * * does believe that there will be savings in an amount now undetermined."

As has already been stated, former President Hoover believes that a saving of $3 billion can be effected if this legislation is enacted into law. And it should be pointed out again that a mere 1 percent reduction in the existing unexpended balances of $70 billion would produce a substantial saving of $700 million.

Here are examples of situations which H. R. 8002 would have prevented:

1. For fiscal 1953 Congress appropriated $12.5 billion for guns, tanks, and other military hardware in Korea. The war ended within a month of the new budget year. Years later, in May 1957, the Army was still spending the remainder of the $12.5 billion without any further congressional review. Information of this kind may be available under present practices and the Appropriations Committee may discuss it. But the significant point is that no positive congressional action is required by law.

2. In 1951, the Navy contracted to buy 528 fighter planes. By 1955, only 52 planes had been delivered, the design was declared unsatisfactory, and the contract was canceled. By then, however, $173 million had been spent—to little effect. Much of this money could have been saved by yearly review.

Two final points propounded by critics of this legislation should be noted.

The first is that H. R. 8002 reintroduces a system that has been used before and found to be unsatisfactory.

This is an allusion to a World War II practice of contract authorization and is not the same as the method proposed by H. R. 8002. In the past, authority had been exercised by Congress in the form of contract authorizations, but it is significant that these and later appropriations were stated in terms of obligational authority. The annual accrued expenditure basis of appropriations would state initial authorization in terms of broad authority to make commitments, while annual appropriations would be stated much more definitely in terms of accrued expenditures as each plan is developed.

When asked whether he thought that annual accrued expenditure legislation would be an improvement over the previous use of contract authority in other years, Comptroller General Campbell replied that it would:

"Because we will have an annual funding of the programs and a review at the end of each year of the contract authority to be sure that the programs and the objectives have not changed; and * * * perhaps another course should be taken in the contract work, probably under the same contract."

It must also be remembered that during World War II there was no system of cost-accounting such as that provided last year by Public Law 863. A great deal of progress has been made in the field of accounting in the last decade and present methods are wholly compatible with the annual accrued expenditure system.

The final point to be raised is that while the President may already have the authority to utilize the accrued expenditure basis for presenting budget estimates, it is a practical matter that Congressional appropriations be expressed in such terms. Even though executive agencies may present their budget estimates for a fiscal year on the basis of expenditures to be made that year only, Congress still could grant appropriations authority for expenditures to be made in future fiscal years.

In this instance, as in all others regarding control of the purse strings, the final determination is up to the Congress.

The Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution by the Texas Republican State executive committee, in which I wholeheartedly join:

Resolved, That the Republican State Executive Committee of Texas extends to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy its sincere sympathy upon the death of her husband, the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

Unanimously adopted by the Republican State Executive Committee of Texas, meeting in Dallas, Tex., the 9th day of May 1957.

THAD HUTCHESON,
Chairman.

Effect of Girard Case on Morale of Troops in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the inevitable effect of the Girard case on the morale of our troops in Japan is well demonstrated in the following excerpt of a letter from a soldier there to his father:

I am going on guard duty, starting the 21st, but ye gods, Dad, it seems to us over here that we are up against the old Indian game of heads, they win; tails, we lose, because if we act while on guard duty, we are apt to offend the Japs and be grabbed off and tried by them. If we don't act, we are certain to face a court-martial by our own outfit. We can't win.

The father's comment, in an open letter received by many Members, was this:

Those of you who are proud of putting our boys into that frame of mind, those of you who would enjoy going on guard duty on foreign soil with that conviction upon your mind, go ahead and kill such legislation as FRANK BOW's H. R. 8658. Let the rest of you who have a drop of red blood in your veins speak up, and not only speak, but act, for us parents and friends of those boys are waiting, watching, and listening. We may "simmer down," as Representative JOHN VORYS tells you but he forgot to tell you that we will not forget when the payoff comes.

I am confident he expresses the feelings of thousands of Americans, and if anyone objects to the emotional stress that has caused him to use rather heated language, let me remind you that the principal excuse for the sacrifice of Girard has been the emotional reactions of the Japanese. Under leave to extend, I include the text of a letter by the same individual:

JULY 23, 1957.

DEAR ———: Every letter I have received from you pertaining to my son, now serving with the Air Force in Japan, and to the William Girard mess has stressed the opinion that Girard would receive very fair treatment in a Jap court. Letters I have received from * * *, and many others all stress the same opinion.

I wonder * * * if there is one of you over there in either House, or any administrative office, who actually believes that us parents of those boys can be swayed in the least by any such incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial, soothing sirup-hogwash propaganda, or if you as individuals do not yourselves realize that such talk is exactly that, is nothing more than soothing sirup put out by the administration in a crude and, I would say, treacherous effort to take some of the sting out of and to divert attention from the real issue; namely, the fact that one of our boys who is offering the ultimate that anyone can offer to preserve our American way of life, was sold out, sacrificed, made an appeasement pawn of to a greater and more shameful degree than anything Neville Chamberlain would ever have dreamed of.

I can assure each and every one of you that my son would never be willing to trade, barter, and sell his pride and self-respect, his faith in the United States of America for a little lighter punishment. He would far rather receive a dishonorable discharge and any other penalty that could be given him via his own country standing firmly behind him than he would a complete aquittal from a Jap court after being made a shameful sacrifice and appeasement pawn by his own country, for when he sells or trades his pride and self respect, there is little left.

Is there one of you who actually believes that other bottle of soothing sirup, put out by the same people, to the effect that if Girard had not been doublecrossed and sold out to the Japs, so as to enable them to maintain their national pride, it would be necessary to recall our Armed Forces from all foreign countries? I have no alternative to assuming that John Foster Dulles, the world's all time champion, spineless appeaser, must fully believe that any and all American national pride can be washed down the drain, and should be, at any time it might interfere with that of any other nation. It is going to be both interesting and educational to a lot of us to ascertain just how many of you share that belief before we ever let loose of this Girard thing.

Any one of you who falls for the opinions of Representative JOHN VORYS, of Ohio, to the effect that you should sit on this thing long enough to let public sentiment simmer down will be making the most serious blunder of your political lives, for regardless of how much public sentiment simmers down, we of that public will not forget or forgive this thing and no one will be lulled to sleep but yourselves, and you will be awakened by us at the election polls.

Each of you has everything to win and nothing to lose by carrying this thing to the end of the road in efforts to enact some sort of legislation to make such a disgraceful sacrifice of an American serviceman impossible in the future, for the simple reason that your efforts can win you much support and lose you none. It is rather stupid, it seems to me, to fail to bet on a sure thing.

What are you going to do about it?

Many copies of this letter will be mailed out and I would appreciate hearing from any of you who receive one. I would ask only that you not insult my intelligence and that of my son by passing along any more of that soothing sirup while you fall into line and blissfully refrain from mentioning the real issue.

Cordially yours,

———.

The Late Senator Joseph McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the principal city in my district is Yonkers, N. Y., with a population of about 165,000 people.

I am honored to be asked to insert a copy of the resolution by the common council of the city of Yonkers into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, memorializing that courageous patriot, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, of Wisconsin.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 539, 1957

Whereas Almighty God, in his infinite wisdom, has called to his eternal reward the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy, United States Senator from Wisconsin; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy was a stalwart and a bulwark of opposition to the international forces of communism which was rampant in these United States at a very critical time, namely, during and immediately following World War II; and

Whereas he was an outspoken and forthright citizen, who undertook on a most unpleasant task at great risk to his personal prestige; and

Whereas he will long be remembered as a fighting and courageous patriot, with a firm conviction, the temerity, sagacity, and fortitude to defend that conviction against what appeared to be overwhelmingly insurmountable pressures and odds; and

Whereas he was a champion of democracy, and even in death is admired by both friend and foe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Common Council of the City of Yonkers in meeting assembled, That this common council does and it hereby expresses its heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolences to the bereaved members of his family in this their great hour of sorrow; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be inscribed on the record of this common council and the city clerk be directed to forward a copy thereof to his bereaved wife, Jean McCarthy, and when this council adjourns, it do so in respect to the memory of the late Joseph R. McCarthy, United States Senator from Wisconsin.

Plea for National Grange Headquarters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill, H. R. 9092, which will prevent the General Services Administration from acquiring by condemnation the property which presently houses the National Grange headquarters here in Jackson Square.

The National Grange purchased this property in 1941 with funds which had been raised for this purpose through activities carried on by the more than 7,000 local subordinate granges throughout the Nation. Back in 1941 the cost of acquiring this building was high, but it could in no way compare to what it would cost today.

The Grange site that GSA is contemplating taking over will be used only for a lawn and flower garden alongside the proposed new Federal building. The Government expects to pay $500,000 for this property.

At this time when we hear so much about economy, it seems to me that the taxpayers would certainly resent having the Federal Government spend approximately $150 to $200 a square foot for the purpose of grass and flowers.

Drinking and Christian Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, like every Member of this body, I receive frequent communications from the valued constituency in my congressional district. These communications purport to a variety of subjects and issues and form an excellent guide on legislative matters as well as presenting a vivid picture of the strohg moral character of the people whom I have the honor to represent.

I am in receipt of a request from Mr. Howard M. Payne of Dumas, Tex., in which he enclosed a copy of the first-place prize winner in an essay writing contest sponsored by the Methodist Youth Fellowship Conference Board of Temperance. Mr. Payne asked me to arrange the insertion of this winning essay in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for which I request unanimous consent. The treatise was written by Miss Mary Helen Troutman of Dumas, Tex. Miss Troutman is a member of the First Methodist Church in Dumas, a graduate of Dumas High School, and is most active in her local MYF. She plans to enroll in college in the fall and will major in education.

DRINKING AND CHRISTIAN LIVING

Will you come with me and visit my city—Any Town, U. S. A. It's a beautiful city; the buildings are modern; and rambling ranch-style homes, the well-kept yards, the running roses in full bloom—truly a beautiful sight. I'm proud of my town. I'm proud of the friendly atmosphere and of the neighbors I associate with.

Coming into my town by the modern highways, I am amazed by the signboards on either side of the road. There's a large sign on the left. Look at the colors; see how they catch your eye? That beautiful lady in the picture is speaking to me. "Stepping out tonight? Let White Horse carry you smoothly." Look at that one on the right—"May you always have an eagle in your pocket, a turkey on your table, and Old Crow in your glass." Or that one over there advertising the Christmas season. "The toast of the holidays * * * wonderfully smooth, rich, warm-hearted Ancient Age, a superb gift in its brilliant holiday decanted."

Here and there are signs advertising business firms of my town. I strain my eyes; and finally, there's the sign I've been looking for. It's a small sign and it isn't decorated as lavishly as the others; but it's my advertisement to the passing motorist because it says, "Welcome to the Methodist Church."

As I step into the den of my home, those cute little bears on TV are singing, "From the land of sky blue waters comes the beer refreshing." Disgustedly I turn to the other channel. "You have exactly 15 seconds to reach for a bottle of Lone Star, we'll wait." I turn it off.

Sitting down, I begin to think about the liquor question. Is it wrong to drink? The TV and radio say it isn't. In fact, they make it look very attractive. The newspapers and magazines say it's all right. Some of my friends drink and seem to have such a good time. Am I missing out on the fun? Am I an old fogy? What about the crowd? Should I go along with them? A lot of the kids I know are going along and they seem to be as well off as I am.

What was it the preacher said the other day about what the Bible says about drinking? I pick up my Bible and begin to turn through the pages. In Romans I find: "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." In Ephesians it says, "And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymn, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

I begin to search through the Old Testament. In Proverbs I find an interesting verse: "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise."

Is this the answer? Have my friends read these passages? Have they really searched the scriptures for God's answer or have they fallen into the hands of the clever advertisers of the liquor industry? Sure the songs and ditties are cute, why shouldn't they be, with all the millions that are spent each year in telling us that drinking is the right way?

I'll not be misled by their catchy tunes, by their signboards, and by the full page newspaper and magazine advertisements.

I close my eyes and I see Jesus hanging on the cross. He died that day that we might live. Is this the life that he intended us to have? And I cry out, "O Lord, forgive them for they know not what they do." O, Lord, what can I do? How can I show my friends that they are traveling the broad road that leads to an everlasting hell? How can I show them the true fun and happiness they're missing?

The answer comes back: "You must continue to pray for your friends; you must set the example by living a true Christian life every day, so that they can see Christ in your every word and deed and won't have to question what's right or wrong.

Yes; I love my town. I love my country, and the freedom that I enjoy; but so many freedoms have ended with the first drink. How many freedoms will we have if we continue to let strong drink guide our lives?

I will not be destroyed by this demon. I will not degrade my character, destroy my mind, make a fool of myself before my friends by not knowing what I'm doing or saying. I will not bring unhappiness upon myself with false fun, but I will be guided by the Holy Spirit. I will set the example and with God's power and help, I will bring my friends into the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ and His way of life.

I will work diligently and I will urge my friends to not give up the fight until the highways leading into my town shall be free from the filthy liquor and beer advertisements that mar its beauty.

I will keep my faith and trust in God, knowing that He will hear and answer my prayer, until we have won the fight against this great evil. The greatest reward I could ever wish for is to hear Him say as I stand before the judgment bar of God, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

A Farmer Tells the Facts on Waterpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, waterpower is a mighty important matter in the Nation and particularly in the Mountain West where I represent the eastern district of Montana. It means great things for my people, and particularly the rural folks. It means employment, a prosperous economy, a true exemplification of how the American way of life can be assured. We are trying here in Congress to obtain a multimillion dollar value dam site for a mere $5 million. This site, owned by the Crow Indians, whose land was granted them by a solemn United States treaty, is on the Big Horn River of southeastern Montana, near Billings. Construction of a long-projected and promised multipurpose dam there will bring power for REASs, irrigation water, recreation, and above all prosperity while such a dam is in the building and for the generations to come who can utilize the electrical energy and water. The picture in the Billings area now is dismal with unemployment. In this city of around 50,000 there were as of the first day of July, 1,579 persons seeking work, an increase of 275 percent over the same date in 1956. That is a major reason for early action on Yellowtail dam site, an action whose other ramifications are best illustrated by a letter I received today from a farmer constituent, also in eastern Montana. It gives an earnest, illuminating view by one of thousands of rural residents on just what this entire issue of water and its uses really means.

The letter is as follows:

BARKER FARM,
Savage, Mont.

Hon. LEROY ANDERSON,
Representative from Montana,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ANDERSON: Isn't there anything you can do legally to keep that Hells Canyon Dam project open for further discussion in Congress?

It seems the administration is for the power companies. They should not be if they knew the facts.

You can tell the world I am a Republican, as my father and grandfathers were before me. They voted for Lincoln, the first Republican President and before that they were Whigs, clear back to the one who was killed at Bunker Hill.

I own and live on a farm my father left for me in the lower Yellowstone Valley, and I am all out in favor of Uncle Sam running the big water power projects. Why? Water belongs—a priority to the land where the rain falls—to us, collectively who own the ground. My farm is irrigated from the intake dam, about 35 miles up the Yellowstone. Any water which escapes down the creek goes back to the Yellowstone, thence to the Missouri and piles up at Garrison Dam to irrigate some North Dakota farmer's land and furnish power to cook his dinner and run the pump at his cattle corral.

No government has the moral right to dispose of that water to a private company to make money out of it. We, the people, own that water collectively. Mr. Eisenhower cannot be advised as to how little the northwestern power companies have done for this community.

Ever since this valley was settled the main powerline of Montana-Dakota Power ran within 200 feet of the northwest corner of our farm and my father wanted electricity. The Montana-Dakota Co. wanted $1,900 and the cost of a transformer to run wire the few rods to our gate. This was not an isolated district. On that first half mile of road there were 2 farm homes, a 2-room country schoolhouse with full concrete basement, and the school teacherage. If the power company ever did anything to build up eastern Montana, except in direct reference to their own bank balance it does not appear on the record. None of them do in the Northwest.

REA came along from Fort Peck Dam. My stock cost $100 and they bring power to my yard pole. We pay for our debt, pay interest, pay taxes, and are about $180 ahead of schedule on paying our debt to the United States.

Respectfully,

PEARL BARKER.

Two Great Senators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, occasionally there appears a newspaper article which evokes a warm glow of appreciation for our fellow men. Such an article appeared in the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune, July 29. I was pleased and happy that two great Senators for whom I hold great admiration, should be accorded such recognition for their outstanding personal qualities.

The newspaper article follows:

STATE'S SENATORS STAND OUT IN BUSY CONGRESSIONAL WHIRL

WASHINGTON.—Anyone from Montana who happened to visit the United States Senate in Washington recently, would have been pleased. Both Senators from Montana were there in fine form. To them, it was just another routine day and they could have been away playing golf, or sitting in their offices, or in their homes, like so many other Members of the Senate. They would not have had to be on the job as they were. Nothing involving Montana was at stake.

But they were there and they stood out. They stood out for different reasons: Senator MURRAY, mainly, for his quiet, dignified presence in his seat; Senator MANSFIELD for being everywhere at once, quietly, efficiently, Johnny-on-the-spot as the Democratic Party whip. MURRAY, elegant and senatorial; MANSFIELD, scrawny and tireless.

Many Montanans who have written to Senator MANSFIELD about something or the other have received in reply a letter from him ending, "Must go now." The homely closing takes on new meaning after anyone has seen him in action. He is always on the go. Everyone knows a Senator's job is a big one: Tall piles of material to read on every bill introduced; grueling committee work hammering bills into the shape of good law; heaps of mail from the home State to read and answer; people from the home State to see and their problems to consider; ever-present publicity men and women to keep in mind; ever-present social climbers, and always, the matter of playing party politics to remember. But not everyone realizes how much every Senator must know about matters that have nothing to do directly with his own State.

For instance, one of the matters before the Senate on the afternoon of June 27 was an irrigation and flood control project for Colorado called the Fryingpan-Arkansas project. Senator MURRAY as chairman of the Senate committee responsible for such matters, read the opening statement in its support.

To observers in the Senate it is shocking at first to see how no one listens to the Senator who is talking or reading to them. Talking aloud, whispering, visiting, traveling in and out of the chamber to the cloakrooms and back goes on continuously. What is said or read is printed in the RECORD for reading next day. But there was less disturbance than usual while Senator MURRAY was reading. He has been in the Senate many years. By his very age and seniority he gets attention and has prestige that very few others have.

After MURRAY's opening statement, MANSFIELD went into action: A conference here, a conference there, a signal to this one, a signal to that one; a member to be brought in from the hall, or cloakroom; an order of business to bring up here, a point to make there. He was all eyes and ears.

He had eyes and ears for everything, and eyes and ears were turned toward him. At any moment he could bring a Member from across the Chamber by beckoning one finger; a wave of an arm could start the debate going one way or the other.

It is, of course, MANSFIELD's job to keep things moving. Fellow Members of the Democratic Party have chosen him to do that. He is the whip. But he would not have been chosen if he had not had the conscientious industry in the first place.

"Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Calendar No. 543, House bill 4748."

"Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the unfinished business."

"Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 a. m."

And so on. Always MANSFIELD from Montana riding herd—eyes on the clock, eyes on the calendar, eyes and ears on everyone else, ready on his feet.

There is more of a businesslike hustle in Senator MANSFIELD's office than the comfortable cordiality there is in Senator MURRAY's office where deep-voiced Lois Elliott of Cut Bank and Polson greets the visitor from Montana. Lois has been with Senator MURRAY for 21 years and she has a way of making the visitor feel that she—and the Senator—are there for the sake of the visitor. And next door there is Vic Reinemer from the University of Montana who also lets the visitor from Montana know ways in which the Congressional offices can help. But visitors from Montana in the Capital also know that MIKE MANSFIELD is there—on the job for them. Montanans can be proud.

The Bar Tells Congress What To Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present an editorial entitled

"The Bar Tells Congress What To Do" which appeared in the Wednesday, July 31, 1957, issue of the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La. I feel all the Members will be interested in reading this thought-provoking editorial. It is as follows:

THE BAR TELLS CONGRESS WHAT TO DO

It took the American Bar Association quite a while to get around to the question of what to do about the rash of radical and revolutionary United States Supreme Court decisions in recent years, but once having made the journey the organization of bar and bench moved with considerable emphasis.

First, the bar association's house of delegates, meeting in London, England, overwhelmingly rejected a resolution calling on all members to support decisions of the Supreme Court, right or wrong, and, in effect, either to commend such decisions or say nothing.

If such a policy were followed by everyone in relation to activities of all branches of the Government, the Nation soon would be in dictatorship or disintegration. Yet this resolution had the earnest support of some outstanding attorneys and of a number of Federal judges at the district and circuit court levels.

But the most important action at the London convention was the acceptance by the House of Delegates of a report from its Special committee on Communist activities, which dealt deeply with Supreme Court decisions which help Communists in defying investigation, trial, or conviction, and in carrying on their conspiracy to destroy the United States Government by force.

This committee was headed by Herbert R. O'Conor, former Governor of Maryland and past United States Senator from that State. The report was an emphatic one in pointing to dangers to the Nation from recent Supreme Court decisions, but it was equally emphatic in voicing no attack on the Supreme Court itself or on the Supreme Court system as part of the American form of government.

The report took the position that the Supreme Court has handed down certain decisions which are final as to Court procedure, but that the Nation must recognize the dangers embodied in present laws and Constitution provisions which brought these decisions. In other words, the decisions were not held to be wrong judicially but were held to point to wrongs that must be remedied either statutory or constitutionally.

The basic theme of the report lies in its warning that the maintenance of theoretical individual rights as paramount to the rights of all people of a nation may bring destruction of the nation unless statutory or other changes are made to prevent such a result.

The report brought this out very clearly in the following paragraph:

"If the courts lean too far backward in the maintenance of theoretical individual rights, it may be that we have tied the hands of our country and have rendered it incapable of carrying out the first law of mankind—the right of self-preservation."

That is an effective answer to the trite and illogical contention of leftists and so-called liberals—raised especially in the McCarthy days—that it is better to let a thousand guilty persons go free than one innocent person should suffer.

That philosophy had its good points as an idealistic proposal dealing with the ordinary run of not too important wrong doing. But when the issue is self-preservation—of 160 million people of the United States as well as tens of millions elsewhere in the world—certainly it is better that one innocent person or a considerable number of innocent persons should suffer than that all others should be endangered.

That, in effect, is what the American Bar Association report says—that protection of the individual cannot be carried to the point where it makes a people incapable of carrying out "the first law of mankind—the right of self-preservation."

And some of the recent Supreme Court decisions on communism definitely are in the direction of tying the hands of the Nation in seeking its own self-preservation.

The bar association report dealt especially with the Supreme Court decision that anti-Communist legislation is a field preempted by the Federal Government and that States cannot make laws in that field. The report calls on Congress to give the States, by statute, the right to protect themselves with anti-Communist legislation.

It also calls for congressional statutory action to correct the evil effects of the Supreme Court decision on opening secret files of the FBI to defendants. Unless this is done, the effect of the Supreme Court decision would be that any crook or traitor or enemy who has been investigated by Federal agents can rummage through any and all Federal files at will if any of them are to be used against him in court.

Again the bar association report emphasizes over and over the importance of congressional committee investigations and that these committees should have—using the committee's words—"the same freedom to investigate, communism or anything else, that these committees have always had to investigate businessmen and labor leaders." Again, the report calls on Congress for legislative action to protect its own investigations and its right to make them.

The report also points to the dangers in the Supreme Court decision that a person cannot be deprived, by a State, of a license to practice law because of past Communist affiliations. The report upholds the right of bar associations and similar bodies to exclude persons who refuse to testify fully and frankly about past activities in furtherance of Communist plans.

Further, the committee report calls on Congress to remedy another Supreme Court decision by correcting the notion that the Smith Act was not intended to prohibit advocacy and teaching of forceable overthrow as an abstract principle.

Everybody in Congress who voted on the Smith Act knows that it was intended to bar any teaching of overthrow of the Federal Government by violence, whether that teaching urged action or simply was abstract argument. But the Supreme Court held that Congress meant otherwise, thereby opening a loophole for Communist enemies of the Government.

The American Bar Association house of delegates not only has told Congress that remedy for what the Supreme Court has been doing rests with Congress itself, but it has pinpointed exactly what should be done. It has emphasized to Congress that on its shoulders rests self-preservation of the Nation.

George Humphrey Retires as Secretary of the Treasury With Flying Colors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, when a person has performed a real service for our good country in one of the highest and most responsible positions a citizen can hold, we in Congress should certainly pause to express our appreciation and gratitude in behalf of the American people. In that capacity I wish to pat on the back and thank our good friend, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, who has turned in a topnotch performance in the Eisenhower Cabinet.

As a friend of George Humphrey and his good wife, Mrs. Humphrey, it is a pleasure to tell them how much their genial and friendly personalities have added to the Washington scene during the years that they have spent with us as members of the Eisenhower official family. We in Pittsburgh welcome George Humphrey back to the steel business in our area and know that he will carry on his fine tradition of service to our economy and to the American people as one of the leaders and statesmen of the basic steel industry which so vitally affects our United States economy and our very United States security and defense upon which we all depend.

As I believe that Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey is leaving with all flags flying, we salute this influential official and President Eisenhower's Cabinet and official family, and wish George Humphrey and Mrs. Humphrey every success and happiness in the future.

I close my remarks with the following article:

GEORGE HUMPHREY RETIRES AS SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY WITH FLYING COLORS

(By Marquis Childs)

WASHINGTON, July 30.—With high prosperity and virtually full employment throughout the Nation, George M. Humphrey is retiring as Secretary of the Treasury to return to the steel business.

There are critics who question the validity of this prosperity and others who take a jaundiced view of tight money and the rising spiral of prices. They believe that Humphrey's successor, Robert B. Anderson, is inheriting a task calculated to frighten the most stouthearted champion of the Humphrey policies.

But the Secretary is leaving with all flags flying. For 4½ years he has been the most influential figure in President Eisenhower's inner circle. While he picked his own successor, he intends to stay away from even the remotest suggestion of the influence on Anderson.

Humphrey felt he owed it to the National Steel Corp. to take over its direction, having overstayed his time in government, as he had originally fixed it, by 2½ years. What is more, he has long been telling the President that the old men in his Cabinet should make way for younger men. Otherwise, as Humphrey has said again and again, the administration will end up looking worn out and tired, facing the past rather than the future.

As the retiring Secretary sees it, he has a big job to do and he will concentrate on it. His only public appearances in the coming year will be 2 or 3 speeches at Republican fund-raising dinners and they will be straight party line stuff.

Many attempts have been made to pin him down in the political target area. For a variety of reasons these have largely failed. One reason is his warm, expansive personality. Another is the kindliness of the press toward this business administration. Humphrey has been more or less immune even as the fiscal policies of the administration have come under increasing fire. Economic

analysts out of the Roosevelt-Truman era, such as Leon Keyserling and Robert Nathan, are saying that the overall figures on prosperity conceal what is really a selective prosperity and a selective deflation with the rate of growth of production falling far short of the growth in the working force. They point to price rises in capital goods—20 percent for iron and steel before the latest $6-a-ton increase—far in excess of wage increases. And their charts show that capacity to produce is more and more outrunning the ability of the consumer to buy.

The most direct attack came in an investigation by the Senate Finance Committee with Senator ROBERT S. KERR in his most flamboyant Oklahoman style firing away at the Secretary. Humphrey was not happy under that fire. In the middle of it came a report by a subcommittee, headed by Representative WILBUR MILLS, of Arkansas, of the Senate-House Economic Committee recognizing the tight-money policy as a weapon against inflation. Much of the steam went out of the investigation, which had in any event lacked resources to pry behind the obvious.

The balance in the general fund of the Treasury on January 20, 1953, when Humphrey came in was $4.6 billions. His predecessor, John Snyder, with whom he worked closely in the transition period, had left the administration plenty of turnaround room. Five months later, however, a deficit of $9 billions for the fiscal year ending June 30 pushed the national debt close to the ceiling fixed by Congress.

Humphrey steps out with $5.4 billion in the general fund and 2 balanced budgets behind him. He takes satisfaction that Anderson will have no major financing to do until December. These are impressive facts as the command changes. If Humphrey has been hurt by the charges that his own wealth increased in the general prosperity and that members of his family profited from his position he gives no sign of it. For a long time to come his strong influence in cutting back military, foreign aid, and domestic spending will be weighed in the balance of America's position in the world.

Why Annual Accrued Expenditure Budgeting Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a memorandum prepared by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report setting forth the arguments in favor of H. R. 8002 to establish a system of annual accrued expenditure budgeting. I commend it to my colleagues' careful attention:

MEMORANDUM REGARDING H. R. 8002, THE ANNUAL ACCRUED EXPENDITURES BILL INTRODUCED BY REPRESENTATIVE PAUL G. ROGERS, OF FLORIDA

Recommendation No. 7 of the Hoover Commission's Report on Budget and Accounting is as follows: "That the executive budget and congressional appropriations be in terms of estimated annual accrued expenditures, namely, charges for the cost of goods and services estimated to be received."

Under this proposal, appropriations would be granted only for the oncoming fiscal year instead of in a lump sum for an entire program as is the present practice.

Under the present system, appropriations are granted to cover the entire cost of, let us say, procurement of certain military equipment. The money is available over a period of years. If the program is modified or canceled, money may be disobligated and spent for other purposes. Under the Hoover Commission's proposal, the executive agencies would be authorized to enter into long-range contracts, but money would be made available only for 1 year. All long-range programs would be reviewed annually by Congress. If the program should be canceled or modified, the funds could not be made available for other purposes without the approval of Congress.

The present amount of such carryover appropriations is estimated at $70 billion, or roughly equivalent to the budget for the fiscal year 1958.

STRONG BIPARTISAN SUPPORT

Annual accrued expenditure budgeting has drawn the vigorous support of outstanding leaders, both in Government and in private life. In a public statement on August 1, 1956, when he signed Public Law 863, President Eisenhower urged the supplementing of this legislation with enactment of similar legislation on annual accrued expenditures. President Eisenhower in his budget message to the Congress on January 16, 1957, declared:

"It is also recommended that the Congress give further consideration to legislation which would place Government appropriations on an accrued expenditure basis."

On April 18, 1957, in a message to the Speaker of the House, President Eisenhower again urged passage of legislation on annual accrued expenditures as part of a 7-point program. Later, in letters to Vice President NIXON and House Speaker RAYBURN on June 17, the President gave high priority to this measure in urging "earnest consideration" of five pending bills based on Hoover Commission proposals.

The Government's top financial officers—Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, Budget Director Brundage, and Comptroller General Campbell—have similarly endorsed the plan. Statements such as the following have been forthcoming from these officials:

Treasury Secretary Humphrey: "This change in accounting should provide an excellent basis for improvement in control over actual costs of operations and programs."

Budget Director Brundage: "I would like to emphasize that a major advantage of this proposal is the improved program control that is made available to the Congress and the executive branch."

Comptroller General Campbell: "This method, I believe, will provide greater congressional control of the purse strings than the present method of appropriating funds in amounts to cover an entire program, which may not be expended for several years."

In the Senate, 47 Members joined Senators KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, PAYNE, Republican, of Maine, and BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, in sponsoring the necessary legislation.[1] On June 5, 1957, the Senate approved this bill, S. 434, in an unanimous voice vote. In connection with this action Senator KENNEDY said:

"The bill does bring governmental accounting more nearly into line with standard business practices, by providing that expenditures shall be placed on an annual accrued basis. As I have previously stated, it will prevent a great carryover of funds, both with respect to foreign aid and defense, which makes it almost impossible for us to know exactly what we are doing, and the effect our actions will have on the amount of money available to the executive branch * * * this bill, in combination with the cost-basis bill which was passed last year, will give us far greater control over the amount of money the Government will spend in each year. * * * I think this is the most important budgetary reform in the past 15 years."

In the House of Representative, 12 Members have sponsored similar legislation. They include Representatives LIPSCOMB, Republican, of California, ROGERS, Democrat, of Florida, BENNETT, Democrat, of Florida, FASCELL, Democrat, of Florida, CHURCH, Republican, of Illinois, REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, WRIGHT, Democrat, of Texas, BOLAND, Democrat, of Massachusetts, BOYLE, Democrat, of Illinois, BYRNE, Republican, of Illinois, BASS, Republican, of New Hampshire, and WESTLAND, Republican, of Washington.

The Rogers proposal, H. R. 6002, would install accrued expenditures bringing budgeting for a 4-year trial period. The Senate bill establishes no time limit.

The ranks of private citizens supporting this recommendation include former President Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the Hoover Commission; Solomon C. Hollister, Joseph P. Kennedy, Sidney A. Mitchell, and Robert G. Storey, distinguished Americans who served on the second Hoover Commission; Mr. J. Harold Stewart and the members of his task force; the American Institute of Accountants, the leading national organization of certified public accountants; and the Controllers Institute, a respected professional organization.

This is not to mention the countless thousands of thoughtful citizens in all parts of the Nation who have written to their Senators and Representatives urging enactment of this legislation; or the alert editors and editorial writers who have contributed tremendous support to the individual efforts of their citizen readers.

Here are just a few samples from a tidal wave of current editorial comment:

Washington (D. C.) Evening Star: "We hope the House will follow the Senate's example and thus assure budgetary and accounting improvements of the sort already firmly established in private industry."

Hartford (Conn.) Courant: "It has been estimated that $70 billion, almost equal to the entire new budget, is available in carryover funds. If Congress had authority to take a new look at the need for these expenditures, it might well make substantial savings * * * the case for closer congressional control of spending appears overwhelming. If the Government waste is to be controlled, this measure is imperative."

Chicago Sun-Times: "In a Congress that has been so concerned about saving taxpayers' dollars, it is unthinkable that any sensible effort to economize merely by the introduction of better controls and cost-accounting procedures could fail."

Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch: "Real progress in Congress toward final passage of at least one key measure recommended by the Hoover Commission is being made, with President Eisenhower's support. * * * The key measure referred to is the plan to limit appropriations to 1 year. * * * The people should demand that these and other plans for simplification and economy be put into effect in our vast and costly Federal structure."

[1] The Senate cosponsors were: Bridges, McClellan, Jackson, Symington, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy (deceased), Mundt, Smith (Maine), Cotton, Martin (Iowa), Allott, Anderson, Barrett, Beall, Bennett, Bible, Bush, Butler, Carroll, Capehart, Carlson, Case (New Jersey), Case (South Dakota), Chavez, Curtis, Dirksen, Flanders, Green, Holland, Hruska, Ives, Lausche, Magnuson, Martin (Pennsylvania), Monroney, Morton, Potter, Purtell, Robertson, Saltonstall, Smith (New Jersey), Sparkman, Talmadge, Thye, Watkins, Williams.

New York Times: "If Congress is really serious about controlling expenditures and is willing to take the responsibility that goes with this power it will pass this bill, which has the endorsement of the President, many leading Members of Congress, and thoughtful private citizens."

THE ISSUE

Adoption of annual accrued expenditure budgeting was one of the most significant and far-reaching recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission. The proposal is based on the painstaking investigations and findings of the Commission's Task Force on Budget and Accounting.

The principal issue at stake is legislative control of the public purse, a fundamental requirement in a constitutional democracy.

The Hoover Commission found that the present method of stating budget appropriations in terms of obligations, rather than actual costs, results in a serious weakening of congressional control over Federal spending within a given year, since the obligations incurred in that year may have little relation to actual costs incurred in the same period.

It is presently estimated carryover funds amount to $70 billion. Comptroller General Joseph Campbell and United States Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, Virginia, agree on a figure of $70 billion in carryover funds.

In regard to the present measure of control over appropriations, Mr. Campbell has said:

"The budget surplus or deficit is determined annually based on the difference between annual receipts and expenditures. But the appropriations, on the present basis, are in terms of obligations against current and future years. Establishing a direct correlation between annual appropriations and expenditures vests in the Congress and the President a greater opportunity to control the level of operations during a particular budget year on the basis of conditions existing in that year. As matters now stand, Congress has little control over spending once the funds are voted, and the President has limited control over spending after apportionment of authority to incur obligations is made by the Budget Director to the agencies."

The folly of permitting Federal agencies and departments to accumulate such vast sums was graphically stated by United States Representative GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, Republican, California, in testimony before the Reorganization Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, March 26, 1957. Mr. LIPSCOMB declared:

"With such large unexpended balances in the hands of the departments and agencies, Congress is not in a position to control the actual expenditures of the Government or the annual budget surplus or deficit in any given year, because the appropriations that it makes specifically for that fiscal year alone do not determine what the executive department can spend in that year. Actually in any year a very large proportion of the expenditures will be out of funds previously appropriated."

The testimony of Budget Director Percival Brundage before the Senate Commitee on Government Operations is also enlightening on this particular matter. Mr. Brundage stated:

"This systematic annual presentation of the agency financial plan of operation, showing past performances and forward planning is one of the benefits to be gained by use of the proposed appropriation procedures. Information of this kind may be available under present practices, but the significant point is that such data are not required by law to be brought automatically to the attention of the Congress each year nor is further action required with respect to carryover balances of continuing appropriations."

Annual accrued expenditure budgeting would strengthen the control of the Congress over governmental expenditures by: (1) Gradually eliminating carryover funds; (2) ending a system which encourages the spending agencies to obligate funds in order to prevent term appropriations from lapsing; (3) requiring the spending agencies to supply annual data for congressional review of progress, costs, and estimates in relation to specific programs, thereby relating past performances to current projects and future planning.

Since appropriations would be limited to a single year, Congress must grant authority to the spending agencies to make contracts for programs that extend over a period of years. However, by restricting actual spending authority to cover these costs to be incurred in a given year, Congress in effect establishes two control points—first, in the contract authorization, and second, in the annual appropriation.

Under the present method of authorizing long lead-time programs, whereby Congress appropriates sufficient funds to cover the entire cost at the outset, there is quite obviously only one control point.

On the other hand, by requiring annual documented justification for additional appropriations, Congress can maintain close, effective control of extended projects and thus be in a position to curtail or terminate any program which fails to measure up to initial expectations.

The Federal Government's Accounting System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, may I have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several more newspaper editorials favoring legislation that would place the Federal Government's accounting system on an annual accrued basis, as recommended by the Hoover Commission. The editorials follow: Christian Science Monitor, of August 1, 1957; Wall Street Journal, of July 22, 1957; Cincinnati Enquirer, of July 22, 1957; Cincinnati Post, of July 22, 1957; and the Washington Daily News, of July 27, 1957.

The editorials follow:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of August 1, 1957]

TIGHTER PURSE STRINGS

One would expect that the House of Representatives would be more jealous than the Senate of the power of the purse. For under the Constitution the lower House has the right to initiate all money bills. Yet Washington reports indicate that the plan for giving Congress closer control of Federal expenditures—already adopted by the Senate—faces a stiff battle in the House.

This is the bill providing for annual accrued expenditures budgeting recommended by the second Hoover Commission. Indeed, it is the recommendation of that body from which early and large benefits appear most nearly in reach. It would give Congress a closer check on unexpended balances, requiring annual approval for all expenditures. Federal agencies would have to render an accounting of carryover funds, now estimated by Comptroller Campbell to total $70 billion—approximately as much as this year's budget.

There are sincere opponents of this measure, and it is possible that some difficulties would be encountered under it. Adjustments would have to be made to permit the assurance of funds for long-range projects. But we see no reason why this cannot be done. The Hoover Commission believed the plan would save hundreds of millions each year. Certainly if the power of the purse is to retain its key meaning in representative government, such a provision for tightening the strings is well worth a try.

The measure has now been cleared by the House Rules Committee and should come to the floor within a few days. Advocates of economy have a major opportunity to put a brake on Federal spending by expressing support for it.

[From the Wall Street Journal of July 30, 1957]

TOOL FOR THRIFT

Both Chairman CANNON of the House Appropriations Committee and Representative TABER have often spoken in favor of Government economy. Oddly enough, however, they are adamantly opposing a bill which could result in considerable savings.

This bill to change the Government's bookkeeping practices was originally recommended by the Hoover Commission; it has passed the Senate and been cleared by the House Rules Committee. The chances are it would be approved by the House if it were brought up for a vote. The strategy of Mr. CANNON and Mr. TABER is to persuade the House leadership not to bring it up.

The reason for these two lawmakers' opposition is simple: They believe the bill would not make things better and might make them worse. But first, what is it supposed to do?

Under the bill, Congress would vote on actual spending instead of, as now, voting appropriations a large part of which are not spent in the fiscal year in question. An administration could no longer go into a new fiscal year with a huge carryover—some $70 billion this year—of appropriated but unspent funds. When Congress, under the bill, would cut the budget, it would be cutting actual spending, and thus would be restored to Congress its constitutional power of the purse.

The opponents argue that the reform would be illusory. No matter what accounting system is used, they say, the fact would still remain that advance spending commitments would have to be made for big items like aircraft carriers that are paid for over a period of years. In fact, the bill provides for contract authority for future spending, and its foes contend this would be a looser control than Congress now has.

Now we would certainly agree that no purely mechanical device like this proposed change is going to guarantee savings. If Congress is determined to be extravagant it will find ways of evading any such restraint.

CANNON-TABER argument.

If the bill were adopted, for example, Congress would have to review each year the forward contracting commitments made in a previous year. This is a check which does not exist now, and it seems to us undeniable that it would be helpful to have such a review instead of just letting appropriations, as often happens now, get buried in the labyrinths of bureaucracy. If the proposed contracting control is indeed too loose, then the thing to do is tighten the bill, not throw out the baby with the bath water.

The most important point in favor of the bill is that the present budgetary procedures are a wasteful mess. The measure may

ot be ideal—what is in this world?—but is a useful step. It would at least give ongress an implement it should have and hich it might at times use in the interests thrift.

Whatever Mr. CANNON and Mr. TABER hink, the House should debate this bill. It potentially far too important a proposal kill unborn.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer of Monday, July 22, 1957]

GOVERNMENT SAVINGS

Money appropriated by the Ohio General ssembly, unless spent or encumbered, lapses the end of a biennium. This gives the gislature the opportunity to review the oject and determine whether the money ould be reappropriated. This has worked ell in Ohio. We believe it has saved oney.

The Hoover Commission, recommending mewhat the same practice for the Federal overnment, views such a check as the sin- recommendation of the Commission hich would save the most money. Sav- gs estimates, challenged as false claims by epresentative GEORGE H. MAHON, Democrat, Texas, range from $4 billion to $5 billion year.

The proposal has the support of a formid- ble list of Government officials, starting ith President Eisenhower. Herbert Hoover, ill giving of his time and energy to his untry despite the weight of his years, ade a strong plea in its behalf at the re- nt convention of the American Society of ewspaper Editors in San Francisco.

The practice in Washington now is for ongress to vote an appropriation of say 00 million for airplanes. It may take ars to produce these planes, a good reason ay arise for canceling the order, the proj- t may fall behind schedule, or materials ay be defective. But Congress has let go the money and the taxpayer never gets back.

Under the proposed change appropriations ould be voted year by year. Congress would view progress each year. If the program re canceled the money would bo back to e Treasury instead of being expended for mething else.

The Senate approved this recommenda- n last year, but the measure failed to clear e House. In June the Senate passed it in, without dissent. The proposal is ex- cted to be up for House action within a w days. It is difficult to see how any ember can justify a refusal to support this nscientious effort to reduce the huge cost government.

From the Cincinnati Post of Monday, July 22, 1957]

SPENDING BLIND

That feverish feeling for economy which rvaded Congress earlier this year has been bing, rather rapidly. One reason for this that congressional appropriations and overnment spending do not run parallel.

Congress not only has lost control of the rse; it has no way to keep count of how ch the purse contains.

So Congress appropriates money blindly. passes on appropriations piecemeal, with- t ever knowing the totals, or how much ally will be spent and how much hoarded for later extravagance.

Two years ago the Hoover Commission rec- mmended a cure. The cure was incorpo- ted in a bill which would require the overnment to use an "annual accrued ex- nditure" system of bookkeeping—an awe- me term, but a key idea if there is to be y hope of cutting Government spending.

By this system, Congress would know from year to year how much money was being spent. No one really knows now. But a good estimate is that Government agencies have hoarded up more than $70 billion which they can spend pretty much at will. This backlog is money over which Congress has lost control.

That's the purpose of the "annual accrued expenditure" bill—to restore to Congress control over this huge gob of tax money.

The bill didn't get by the last Congress but the Senate this year passed it unanimously. It now is ready for action in the House. But two important House Members are against it—JOHN TABER of New York and CLARENCE CANNON of Missouri.

They run the Appropriations Committee and they are powerful enough to jeopardize the bill. They killed it in 1956. Neither ever has explained a good reason for opposing the bill, although both profess to be great money savers.

Well, you taxpayers who would like to have the Government take a little less of your money can do something about it—just tell your Congressman you want him to vote for the Payne-Kennedy bill. He'll know what you mean.

[From the Washington Daily News of July 27, 1957]

THE CANNON-TABER CAMPAIGN

In the United States House of Representatives, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee is a powerful man. He is in a strategic position to wield power, because he can do a lot of favors for other Members of the House.

The present and often chairman of the committee is CLARENCE CANNON of Missouri, now in his 18th session of Congress. The sometimes chairman (when the Republicans are in control) is JOHN TABER of New York, also in his 18th session.

These two generally work together. Both are strong advocates of economy in Government. But each now is busting a gusset to defeat a bill unanimously passed by the Senate, urgently endorsed by President Eisenhower, the Hoover Commission, the Budget Bureau and others who believe the Government could manage its spending far more efficiently and economically.

This bill would return to Congress its control over budgets, which Congress lost back in the 1930's. It would require Government agencies to account for their spending on a yearly basis. It would fix it so Congress could know what's being spent, year by year, and for what. Congress now doesn't accurately know this.

Mr. TABER, backed by Mr. CANNON, has circulated a plea among House Members to defeat the bill on the ground that it would destroy the power of the Appropriations Committee to keep things in line. He claims it practically would end congressional control over Government spending.

But Mr. TABER recently had reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD another letter, from the National Association of Manufacturers, which says in the first sentence that Congress "does not really have control of the purse-string any more."

(Congressmen normally do not insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD letters with which they disagree.)

In any case, the testimony and evidence is overwhelmingly against the TABER-CANNON argument. This bill wouldn't take from Congress a control it no longer enjoys—it would restore it.

The only answer we can see is that Messrs. CANNON and TABER are fearful of losing some of their own power. Although we can't see how.

Intergovernmental Relations Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, this week the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee opened an important new phase of its extensive studies in the field of relations between the Federal Government and State and local governments.

This study—aimed at exploring the broad and complex area of intergovernmental relations, including the Federal grants-in-aid programs under which States and localities match or participate in Federal funds for a wide variety of projects—will take the subcommittee into 10 different regions of the United States this fall.

This week, the subcommittee under the chairmanship of the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN], prepared the groundwork for these nationwide hearings through the hearing of testimony by a series of nationally recognized authorities in this field.

These witnesses included Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum, who gave outstanding and valuable service as chairman of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations; Mr. Philip M. Talbott, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Dr. Harley Lutz, Government finance consultant to the National Association of Manufacturers; Mr. Andrew Biemiller, director of the department of legislation, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Mr. Patrick Healy, Jr., executive director of the American Municipal Association; Mr. Orin F. Nolting of the International City Managers' Association; Mr. Bernard Hillenbrand of the National Association of County Officials; the Honorable Frank P. Zeidler, mayor of the city of Milwaukee, and two distinguished Members of the House of Representatives who served on the Kestnbaum Commission, the Honorable Brooks Hays, of Arkansas, and Harold C. Ostertag, of New York.

I am sure all of us in this body realize the important significance of such a study. In recent years, there has been increasing emphasis on the constant growth of Federal grants-in-aid programs, and a rising sentiment for curbing this trend toward greater and greater centralization of Government in Washington.

Just recently, as you know, President Eisenhower focused national attention on this problem in an address before the governor's conference at Wiliamsburg when he urged the States to take the initiative toward assuming a greater responsibility for these programs.

To have a broader understanding of the scope of this problem, it is necessary to view the growth of Federal grants-in-aid programs.

The system of Federal grants-in-aid to State and local governments began in the early days of the Republic with the institution of land grants to States to promote education. But, with the ratification of the 16th—income tax—amendment in 1913 providing a new Federal revenue potential, the cash-grants system really began to expand.

By 1920, total Federal grants-in-aid had risen to $77 million annually from $5½ million in 1915. By 1925, the total was $114 million, and by 1937 some 20 grants-in-aid programs were costing the taxpayers over $290 million each year.

Each year since 1937, with the exception of 1946, the annual outlay for grants-in-aid have increased. By 1952, the cost of 48 different Federal programs had mushroomed to nearly $2½ billion, or 8 times the 1937 total. In 1956, grants-in-aid had risen to nearly $3.7 billion; in 1957, to $4.3 billion. And the estimate for fiscal 1958 is $5.3 billion. The 1957 and 1958 figures, of course, include Federal Aid Highway Trust Fund expenditures.

Thus we see that Federal involvement in grants-in-aid programs has been increasing steadily.

The big questions, of course, are just how this trend toward centralization of authority and responsibility can be reversed effectively, and how the States and municipalities can take up the slack if the Federal Government steps out of many of these programs which various segments of our population now consider essential.

It is my hope that the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, as a result of the study it now is engaged in, will be able to help chart an effective approach to this problem at all levels of government.

In closing, I would like to note that I feel the Members of Congress would find it most enlightening—if they already have not done so—to study an itemized breakdown of Federal funds going into their respective States for various programs.

In preparation for the subcommittee hearings, I made such an analysis for my home State of New Jersey. The results showed a far greater participation in Federal programs than I had anticipated. For the information of Members of Congress, I am entering that analysis into the RECORD, to show what just one of the 48 States is receiving from Washington.

The New Jersey aid figures are as follows:

Direct Federal grants-in-aid to New Jersey, fiscal year 1956

Agricultural experimental stations	$338,916
Cooperative agricultural extension work	317,510
School lunch program	1,467,597
Cooperative projects—marketing	24,338
State and private forestry cooperative	118,391
Commodity Credit Corporation	1,615,207
Special school milk program	1,009,440

Direct Federal grants-in-aid to New Jersey, fiscal year 1956—Continued

Removal of surplus agricultural commodities	$2,550,650
Civil aero-Federal airport program	355,050
Bureau public roads—highway construction	10,183,697
Agricultural, mechanical, college grants	118,233
Cooperative vocational education	643,742
School construction and survey, emergency	508,546
Maintenance, operating schools, emergency	1,419,670
Veneral disease control	43,892
Tuberculosis control	125,037
General health assistance	231,712
Polio emergency grants	106,600
Mental health activities	85,551
Cancer control	65,090
Heart disease control	24,889
Polio vaccine program	852,144
Hospital construction, survey, planning	93,632
Construction community facilities	8,170
Maternal and child health services	157,365
Crippled children services	213,833
Child welfare services	81,091
Old age assistance	8,581,678
Aid to dependent children	5,057,865
Aid to permanent, totally disabled	1,741,503
Aid to the blind	450,615
Printing for the blind	7,873
Vocational rehabilitation	724,549
Wildlife restoration	103,777
Migratory bird conservation	48
Unemployment compensation, employment service	9,886,842
Civil defense—emergency grants	180,091
Civil defense—disaster relief	100,000
Urban renewal	2,277,676
Urban planning assistance	24,710
FHA regular grants	5,353,954
Homes for disabled soldiers, sailors	113,179
VA on-job training, supervision	15,301
Total grant payments (43 programs) direct	57,379,654

Federal-aid payments other than direct grants and loans, fiscal 1956

Agricultural conservation program	$597,694
National Guard, Air Force	1,804,070
National Guard, Army	10,835,749
National Cancer Institute, research	102,038
National Institute Allergy, Infectious Diseases, research	53,654
National Heart Institute, research	31,137
National Institute Mental Health, research	27,832
Division Research Grants	40,702
National Mental Health Institute, traineeship	12,000
National Mental Health Institute, training	13,083
National Institute Neurological Diseases, Blindness, fellowship	1,542
National Cancer Institute, fellowship	8,074
National Heart Institute	1,730
National Mental Health Institute, fellowship	2,400
Unemployment compensation, veterans	1,349,433
Unemployment compensation, Federal employees	1,070,516
National Science Foundation, research	276,430
National Science Foundation, fellowships	95,855
Automobiles for disabled veterans	48,000

Federal-aid payments other than direct grants and loans, fiscal 1956—Continued

VA readjustment benefits and vocational rehabilitation	$12,658,4
Total payments (20 programs)	29,031,1
Total grants-in-aid to New Jersey (63 programs) in both categories	86,410,8

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Either House may order the printing of document not already provided for by la but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Recent Decisions of the Supreme Court—Address by George Bell Timmerman, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an enlightening address with reference to recent Supreme Court decisions. It was delivered by Federal District Judge George Bell Timmerman, Sr., of Batesburg, S. C., before the Rotary Club of Thompson, Ga., on July 25, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, SR., BATESBURG, S. C., BEFORE ROTARY CLUB, THOMSON, GA., JULY 25, 1957

I shall talk briefly about our form of government, its background, its origin, and the efforts that have been made and are being made to change it. What I shall say will be the expression of my own personal views and is not to be considered an official statement.

Our America was settled by hardy, courageous, and venturesome Europeans, whose aspirations were to escape European despotisms and to gain a refuge for religious liberty.

The tyrannies from which they fled pursued them, and against them they rebelled. The result was the Revolutionary War. On one side was the loosely organized Colonies and on the other mighty England.

The war ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, a direct result of British defeats at Cowpens and Kings Mountain. When the war was over, the people of the former Colonies, then citizens of sovereign States, sought means of uniting the States for common defense and other mutual advantages. They did not intend to create another tyrannical government that would rob them and their posterity of the right of local self-government.

Following much thought and extended debate, a compact among the sovereign States emerged. Upon its ratification, it became the Constitution of the United States.

However, before final ratification, there was more debate respecting its merits and the implications of its various provisions. Many foresaw abuse of the powers granted the Supreme Court. Others took a more optimistic view. They thought that no Supreme Court would exceed its intended functions. Recently we have learned that such optimism was unjustified, regrettably so.

The established Government is a Republic, sometimes called a constitutional democracy. It is unique because of the dual sovereignty involved, but without which the Union would not have been formed at the time it was formed.

Almost from the beginning efforts were made to destroy the people's right of local self-government, otherwise sometimes spoken of as States' rights, and to centralize total power in the Federal Government. That effort continues even to this day, and it is now better organized and better financed than ever before; and, whether or not they are willing to face up to it, the liberties of the people are now at stake.

The Supreme Court has been construing the Constitution so as to make of it a protective shield for the criminally disposed and disloyal elements in our population, and it has been reading meanings into the Constitution and out of it that discriminate against white citizens, especially those of the so-called Deep South. If continued, this discrimination will eventually adversely affect the white populations of all the States of the Union, North, East, South, and West.

As illustrative of what is going on, I direct attention to some fairly recent Court opinions.

On December 30, 1947, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals held, and the Supreme Court sanctioned the holding, that acts of the Democratic Party in South Carolina constituted State action. Here is the Court's own language. "The question presented for our decision is whether, by permitting a party to take over a part of its election machinry, a State can avoid the provisions of the Constitution forbidding racial discrimination in elections and can deny to a part of the electorate, because of race and color, any effective voice in the government of the State. It seems perfectly clear that this question must be answered in the negative."

To one familiar with the facts of that case, it is clearly apparent that the Court sat up a straw man and then knocked it down. The assertion that the State permitted "a party to take over a part of its election machinery" was completely disproved by the evidence in the case. It is common knowledge that a State's election machinery is established by law and in no other way. It can be stated without fear of successful contradiction that there was nothing in the constitution of South Carolina, or in any of its statutory laws, that in any way controlled primary elections or any other party action, or that delegated authority over any part of its election machinery to any political party. It is true the State did not by law prohibit the organization of political parties or the functioning of them, just as it did not affirmatively prohibit the exercise of the senses of sight and feeling, or the use of the tongue or the feet.

It would be ridiculous to say, because of such failure, that the seeing or walking, or feeling or talking of an individual is State action. So, too, it was ridiculous for the Court to say that the voluntary action of private citizens in organizing a party to give legitimate expression and effect to their private political views was State action. The Court attained its objective of discriminating against white citizens of South Carolina by the simple expedient of substituting fiction for fact.

The Supreme Court on April 19, 1948, signified its approval of what the court of appeals had done by refusing to consider the case on appeal. The effect of that action was to deny to white citizens the right to organize and control their own political party, free of the domination of a politically minded Court—a discrimination which, if practiced by a State would be plainly unconstitutional.

In an opinion filed May 3, 1948, in *Shelly* v. *Kraemer*, the Supreme Court, among other things, said: That "* * * the principle has become finally imbedded in our constitutional law that the action inhibited by the first section of the 14th amendment is only such action as may fairly be said to be that of States. That amendment erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful." The Court then went on to hold: First, that private agreements to exclude persons of a designated race or color from the use or occupancy of real estate for residential purposes do not violate the 14th amendment, and that such agreements are within the legal competency of individuals to make; and, second, that a State court would violate the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment by undertaking to consider ligigation arising out of such a valid agreement.

The parties who asked and got the Supreme Court aid in outlawing the long-established jurisdiction of State courts were Negroes. However, they were not parties to the agreement being attacked in the litigation, nor were they the owners of the real estate about which the agreement was made, when it was made. On the other hand, the parties who entered into the agreement were white, and they owned the land with which the agreement was concerned. By the Court's edict there was engrafted on the jurisprudence of this country a new and strangely un-American doctrine. For the first time in the history of the United States, the Supreme Court usurped the authority to deny to State courts one of their time-honored jurisdictions.

The Supreme Court having held that the agreement in question did not violate any contitutional provision, and that it was a legal agreement, one the parties had a legal right to make, there was no constitutional basis for its attempt to outlaw a State court's legitimate jurisdiction. That case illustrates the extent to which the Supreme Court has gone and is going to discriminate against white citizens, for no apparent reason other than that they are white.

Attention is next directed to the Supreme Court's opinion in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (in the so-called school cases), filed May 17, 1954. The Court correctly found as a fact that the Negro and white schools involved in the cases had been equalized, or were being equalized, "with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications, and salaries of teachers, and other 'tangible factors.'" The dictionary defines "factors" as "elements that contribute to produce a result"; and "tangible" as "capable of being realized by the mind; substantial; objective." So, according to the Court's holding Negroes were being afforded equal educational advantages, such as could be realized by the mind, and which were substantial and objective. Had the Court's opinion stopped there, it would have been supported both by fact and reason; but, it did not.

The Court went on to say that separately afforded equality constituted discrimination, in and of itself, as against a "minority group." As profoundly inaccurate as is that statement, it is not so startling as another that is implicit in the Court's opinion, viz: That in the Clarendon County School case, up from South Carolina, and then before the Court, Negroes constituted a "minority group." The truth is that when that statement was made Negroes in that school district outnumbered the whites in a ratio of more than 8 to 1. This illustrates the dis-

torted vision with which the Court has viewed and is continuing to view racial controversies.

Another thing which the Court said is this: "In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was written." The Plessy case is the one in which the Supreme Court of 1896 sensibly, logically, and factually interpreted the 14th amendment, holding that usable, tangible, and objective equality of treatment, although separate, was the reasonable and practical course required by the 14th amendment.

If the statement, "we cannot turn the clock back" means anything, it means that the Court was unwilling to consider the truths of American history, American tradition, and American judicial precedents; that the Supreme Court—our United States of America Supreme Court—preferred recourse to the sociological and socialistic writings of one Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist, and to like writings by Myrdal's fellow travelers in America, none of which was a part of the record in the case before the Court. It mattered little to the Court that it had ruled in divers other cases, that it was highly improper to go outside the record in a case to find support for a desired result.

The crowning folly and the great danger in the opinion arises out of its inconsistent and illogical conclusions. While the Court held that the 14th amendment requires equality of treatment as between the races, as manifestly it does, it also held that equality of treatment as between the races, even if desirably separate, constitutes inequality in and of itself, and is therefore discriminatory. Thus, the Supreme Court changed the dictionary by holding in effect that equality equals inequality. According to it, a State may violate the 14th amendment both by failing to accord equality of treatment and by according it.

Here again is an illustration of the Supreme Court's bias against southern white people and of its disposition to discriminate against white citizens for no apparent reason other than that they are white.

On April 2, 1956, the Supreme Court filed an opinion by Chief Justice Warren in *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson*, holding that the Federal statute (54 Stat. 670) prohibiting "the knowing advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, supersedes the enforceability of the Pennsylvania Sedition Act which proscribes the same conduct." The Court held that a State's sedition law is superseded by the Federal statute and is rendered ineffective by it, even if the State statute is intended to and does no more than supplement the Federal law against sedition. I find nothing in the Constitution that in terms denies to a sovereign State the right to use all reasonable means to protect its own sovereignty, and that of the United States; nor do I find in the Constitution any provision which, when legitimately interpreted, means that the Congress of the United States is granted the sole power to define, prohibit and punish sedition.

In an opinion filed April 29, 1957, the Supreme Court denied to a testator the right to dispose of this property in accordance with his own wishes. A Mr. Girard, by will probated in 1831, left a trust fund for the erection, maintenance and operation of a college, and naming the city of Philadelphia male orphans, between the ages of 6 and 10 years, as the said income shall be adequate to maintain" should be admitted to the college, and naming the city of Philadelphia trustee to administer the trust. The Supreme Court held that because the city of Philadelphia was the name trustee of the trust fund the testator's wishes could not be carried out. That the trustee fund would have to be used for the benefit of Negroes as well as for the benefit of whites. This is another example of the Supreme Court's attitude of discrimination against white citizens for no apparent reason other than that they are white.

As late as June 24, 1957, the Supreme Court set aside the verdict of a jury finding a Negro guilty of the crime of rape. His victim was a decent white woman. The assigned reason for the Court's action was that the arresting officers took too much time investigating the crime before carrying the defendant before a United States Commissioner. The crime was committed late one afternoon while the victim was alone and unprotected. The defendant was not arrested until the next afternoon. When first questioned he denied his guilt. Later he agreed to submit to a "lie detector." The operator of the machine was not readily located. Hence a delay of 2 hours, during which time the defendant was given food and water. Later the defendant confessed his guilt. The officers then attempted to reach a United States Commissioner for the arraignment of the defendant the day of his arrest. Failing to locate one, the defendant consented to an examination by the deputy coroner. That official on examining the defendant saw no evidence that the defendant had been subjected to physical or physchological coercion. The defendant then repeated a prior confession; and the next morning he was carried before a Commissioner. The Supreme Court adjudged the investigating officers guilty of procrastination, citing rule 5 (a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, which requires only that the arrested person be carried before the nearest available Commissioner without unnecessary delay. The Supreme Court thought the officers didn't get the defendant before the Commissioner fast enough. Therefore, the confessions were ruled incompetent and the defendant's conviction was annulled. Thus the victim was remitted to another public airing of her sorrow, if indeed the Court left enough uninhibited evidence in the case to warrant a retrial of it. Here again is discrimination, and it is against the white victim of a ravisher.

Other cases could be cited to show an apparently fixed determination on the part of the members of the Supreme Court to recast our Government in a mold of their own design, but into which our constitutionally established form of Government will not fit.

To my way of thinking, the great issue now before the American people is this: Shall we surrender our fortunes, our liberties and our futures, and those of our children, into the hands of a hierarchy of despotic judges that is bent on destroying the finest system of Government ever designed by man and under which we as citizens have enjoyed the highest degree of political freedom and the finest standard of living ever enjoyed by any people, at any time, in any place, upon the face of the earth?

I do not know what decisions others may make, but, as for me, I hold that our form of Government and our way of life are worth fighting for.

Water Flow Measuring Device

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Texans are working these days on every aspect of their most important problem: the conservation and proper use of water. Now comes the information that a Texan has perfected a device to measure the amount of water flowing into an irrigation ditch. This will greatly increase the efficiency of field watering on the Texas plains.

The new invention is described in an editorial appearing in the Austin American. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXAN SOLVES WATER WASTE IN IRRIGATION

An invention to measure the amount of water flowing in a ditch has been perfected at Plainview. At first glance the device might be typed as a Rube Goldberg contraption. There is need for some method to measure water flow in irrigation ditches on the Texas plains where farmers water their crops from wells as much as 10,000 feet deep.

If water flows too fast, it will erode the land and wash away crops it's supposed to freshen. If it flows too slowly, too much is wasted in evaporation from the sun that sends temperatures over 100°.

The ditch-flow measuring device has been perfected by Texas Tech and the Government's Soil Conservation Service. It is a 20- by 2½-inch section of sheet metal designed with orifices and windows and costs less than $10.

Jerry King, an engineering with the Hale County Soil Conservation District, made the final laboratory tests on the device. He said the operator can determine erosive velocities, control methods, cutback rate, and even the time required to wet an area.

The device measures volume of water in gallons per minute. Engineers say that the efficiency of field watering on the Texas plains runs below 50 percent usually. With the new device efficiency may be stepped up to nearly 80 percent.

GTA Daily Radio Roundups

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD two GTA daily roundups, for July 22, and July 29, 1957, respectively, dealing with agricultural questions.

There being no objection, the roundups were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, JULY 22, 1957

Falling farm prices have hurt our economy, and the figures prove it in black and white. The figures coming from a study put out by the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. It serves the ninth Federal district which includes North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, and parts of Wisconsin and Michigan. The bank, naturally, keeps a finger on the economic pulse of its district. And, as part of that job economists recently waded through stacks and stacks of reports on bank deposits for each of the many counties in the district.

The status of bank deposits in a county, of course, goes a long way toward telling

about the economic health of that county. What the researchers for the bank did was to compare county bank deposits for the year 1949 with the year 1956. They checked what—in bankers' talk—are called I. P. C. deposits. These are deposits owned by individuals, partnerships, and corporations—and are the bulk of deposits at a typical bank.

Then economists put together a map. If a county's bank deposits were lower in 1956 than in 1949, it was colored black. If its deposits increased less than the average for the whole ninth district, it was put in gray. And, if the county's bank deposits increased more than the district average for that period of time, it was colored white. Black—bad; gray—not so good; white—conditions on the up and up. When the map was finished, two States, in particular, showed up gray and black—North and South Dakota. They had lagged behind or were even worse off than in 1949.

Consider North Dakota. In 1956, 70 percent of its counties had smaller bank deposits than in 1949. And, in South Dakota, 35 percent of the counties had smaller bank deposits than in 1949. Hardest hit county was Hettinger, in North Dakota, with a 35-percent drop in deposits. Only two counties in the whole State of North Dakota had greater than average deposit growth. They were Burke and Williams—in the northwestern part of the State. And, the reason for the brighter record there is oil. The bank's economists summed up the situation by saying, "The fact that the Dakotas derive a larger part of their income from agriculture than other district States, plus the fact that agricultural products fell in price after 1949, doubtless help explain the failure of bank deposits there to keep pace with other areas."

Minnesota fared better. Only 3½ percent of its counties lost deposits. But, on the other hand, a look at the map shows that the western half of the State and a sprinkling of counties elsewhere gained less than the district average. Montana had 11⅑ percent of its counties losing ground and a good number gaining less than the average for the district. A number of things affect bank deposits—including population changes, spending, and incomes. But, one thing is clear from a look at the map produced by the economists. That is that a big and important section of the Ninth Federal Reserve District—heavily dependent on agriculture—has suffered a situation in which bank deposits have slipped behind or failed to keep pace these last 7 years. And, this is a drag on the whole economy of the district.

The figures point to one conclusion, namely, that it is in the interest of business people to see that farmers in this region get back on their feet financially and get a fair share of prosperity. This report comes to you from GTA—the co-op way.

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, JULY 29, 1957

This is the time of the year when farmers' hopes rise high. Nothing gives a person a greater sense of inner satisfaction than to look over a countryside where the fields are ripening and the swathing and harvest has started, as it has in the Dakotas and western Minnesota. Yesterday, we were at a picnic in a boxelder grove near Bismarck, N. Dak., for the Burleigh County Farmers Union. Around 500 people were there. There were games and races and free ice cream for the children. The tables were loaded with the country home cooking and cakes and desserts furnished by a hundred good cooks and busy housewives. Men and women sat in the cool of the shade, visiting and talking and just resting.

The crop outlook is good—need for a little more rain. Barley looks light—40 pounds and under. Flax is hit by yellow-flower, a virus spread by leaf hoppers that is ruining many fields. But, wheat looks good, and so do other small grains. Nature is generous. It is what man does that bothers farmers. The farmers produce abundantly, efficiently, but what will happen to them for growing so much? There is no one answer. On the one hand, more and more research money is mobilized to get farmers to produce more. But, at the same time, political and economic steps are taken to cut production.

It is ironic—as the farmers see it—for everyone to be in favor of bigger appropriations for farm research—most of which is used to find new ways to increase output—while at the same time the USDA backs a soil-bank program to cut production, and the Secretary of Agriculture blames firm price supports, passed by Congress, for farm surpluses.

This bothers many people besides farmers—folks on Main Street, and students of our agricultural economy, like Lauren Soth, of Des Moines, who wrote a Pulitzer prize-winning book, "Farm Trouble." Soth had this to say: "What agriculture needs is more research in economics, and the other social sciences to provide answers to the complex human adjustments required. But, we continue to steer the bulk of our research and educational personnel and facilities in stepping up the output of commercial agriculture. Of course it is true that advances in science are beneficial to society as a whole, and one should not take a short-run view of these matters. But since research funds are limited, why not allocate more of them to projects which will help reduce surpluses rather than increase them?"

A sound question, intelligently put. And how can farmers grow 4 blades of grass or stalks of wheat or corn where only 1 used to grow before, without cutting farm income to a danger level, simply because they are too efficient? These were the questions farmers asked at the picnic out in that boxelder grove near Bismarck yesterday—the same kind of questions they are asking at many other picnics and gatherings. They expect, and are entitled to, some sensible answers from Washington, from their agricultural schools and experiment stations, from their co-ops and their farm organizations. But they are not getting them. We'll have more to say about these things from time to time.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Bill Worth Saving," published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of August 3, 1957. The editorial relates to the amendments which were added to the civil-rights bill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BILL WORTH SAVING

By a series of amendments the Senate has greatly dulled the keen cutting edge of the civil-rights bill as it emerged from the House. But even as amended, the bill can still cut. It is not a savage instrument or even a broadly effective one. But it is better than no bill at all, beyond any doubt.

The amendment approved by the Senate Thursday provides for jury trials in criminal contempt cases. This means, in essence, that a judge cannot punish a defendant for defying a court order without according him a jury trial. But in civil contempt cases, where the judge is merely seeking to compel compliance with a court order, he may send the defendant to jail without a jury trial. And he may keep the defendant there until he agrees to comply with the injunction.

The civil-rights bill has now been narrowed down to a single area—the right to vote. But in this area, surely, the amended bill arms the Federal Government with welcome authority to proceed against the violators of that right.

The South maintains that in criminal-contempt cases its juries can be depended on to render unprejudiced decisions. That remains to be seen. But one feature of the jury-trial amendment is reassuring. This is the provision that permits Negroes to serve on Federal juries regardless of their qualifications under State laws. This should mean fewer all-white juries, with their traditional reluctance to convict in civil-rights cases.

Whatever bill the Senate passes, its deviations from the House bill must be ironed out in conference. Chairman CELLER, of the House Judiciary Committee, has suggested that the House may prefer no bill at all to the amended Senate measure. Yet surely some progress in the safeguarding of voting rights is better than no progress. Let this Congress make at least a start on civil-rights legislation and if sterner measures to protect voting rights are dictated later on the law can then be strengthened.

The vote on the civil-rights amendment found the Republicans opposing it, 33 to 12, and the Democrats favoring it, 39 to 9. The South was for it to the last man, but there was a curious division of northern liberal Democrats, with HUMPHREY, DOUGLAS, MORSE, and NEUBERGER voting against it and CHURCH, O'MAHONEY, MANSFIELD, and MAGNUSON supporting it. The result may be a weakening of the bill but it is not a fatal weakening. The amended measure is still very much worth saving.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Solid Gains for Civil Rights," from the Christian Science Monitor of August 3, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOLID GAINS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil-rights legislation has reached its high-water mark so far in this century. In our opinion, Senate adoption of the jury-trial amendment has enhanced rather than curtailed hopes for genuine advances in Federal protection of Negro suffrage. Advocates who are describing the action as a death blow to the Eisenhower program are as mistaken as opponents who have been picturing that program as resurrecting Reconstruction.

Here are a few reasons for our judgment: Under the bill as amended the Federal Government will possess new power to intervene through the injunctive process, without jury trials, where contempt proceedings are intended only to prevent rather than to punish infringement of voting rights.

Any such action will be spotlighted with publicity. Where civil contempt does not succeed in halting abuses and judges resort to criminal contempt (with jury trial), juries themselves will be on trial before the Nation to prove that Negroes will be treated fairly.

By an amendment added to the jury-trial provision Negroes will be eligible to serve on Federal juries even where barred in State courts.

Two other sections of the bill (providing for a commission to investigate civil-rights problems and for a special civil-rights division in the Department of Justice) supplement the section amended by the Senate.

States' righters will doubtless fight these provisions—and the section to which they attached the jury-trial amendment—but so many concessions have now been made to them that they are unlikely to find much support outside the Deep South. Even a filibuster wouldn't serve now.

The House of Representatives may reasonably be expected to accept the Senate's half loaf rather than insist on no civil-rights bread. That is its choice for this year—and probably for several years. The fact that the House defeated a stiffer jury-trial amendment by only eight votes reinforces expectations that it will not balk at the Senate compromise.

For these reasons we believe effective civil-rights legislation is close to realization. The bill as it stands is unsatisfactory to many on both sides of the argument. But in our opinion it is more reasonable, more practicable, and more likely to obtain solid results than any of the plans discarded by the Senate.

Those who oppose any Federal intervention will not accept the bill. Neither will southerners who see it as a step toward social changes. But there is no such emotional resistance to voting rights as to integration. Moderate legislation will not only stand a better chance of adoption; it will stand a better chance of winning a vital measure of cooperation from southerners whose conscience and commonsense alike tell them that denying legally qualified Negroes the right to vote is poor ground for fighting.

Conservation: Our Shore Fronts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article from the New York Times of August 4, 1957, by Mr. John B. Oakes, brilliant conservation editor of that great newspaper.

In addition to citing some of the remaining scenic coastline along the Atlantic seaboard for national-park purposes, Mr. Oakes has voiced a strong endorsement of my bill (S. 2489) to eliminate barbarism and cruelty on American traplines.

Let me call particular attention to one paragraph in the column by Mr. Oakes:

Senator NEUBERGER, a well-known outdoorsman and conservationist, observed that he had seen trapped animals "exhausted from trying to tear themselves to pieces, in pain and terror. * * * It is not an unusual story for such an animal to try to chew off its fettered limb, so as to escape. * * * The brutality inherent in such traps is beyond debate; the only question is what value we are to place on a matter as intangible in material terms as the suffering of an animal. Is such a matter worth the attention of the Congress of the United States?" There are many Americans who would say with Senator NEUBERGER that it is.

Mr. President, the great and illustrious Dr. Albert Schweitzer has told us that one of the true marks of a civilized person is how he or she treats animals and other wild creatures. If we are to be worthy of his high standards of humanitarianism, I believe my bill should be passed by the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire column by Mr. John B. Oakes, from the New York Times, appear in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATION: OUR SHORE FRONTS—TWO UNSPOILED BEACHES WOULD MAKE GOOD NATIONAL PARKS

(By John B. Oakes)

Almost exactly a year ago there was published in this space an account of a booklet just issued by the National Park Service entitled "Our Vanishing Shoreline." It dealt with the rapid disappearance of unspoiled coastal strips from Maine to Texas suitable for conservation and public recreational purposes. The report noted that 21 years previously a survey had pinpointed 12 separate tracts along the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico containing 437 miles of beach of superlative quality. Of these areas, only one (Cape Hatteras) has been publicly acquired during the intervening period; and only one remained available. All the rest had gone into private commercial development.

The one still available is the Great Beach area of Cape Cod. Other shorefronts, though perhaps not quite of the quality of the original 12, have been designated by the National Park Service as entirely appropriate for public acquisition. They include some 640 miles of beach, of which one-third is on the Texas gulf coast, and constitute the major remaining opportunities for conservation of seashore resources. Two of the shore fronts are of potential national park caliber: the Great Beach in Massachusetts and Cumberland Island off the Georgia coast. These two and the others should surely be acquired by public agencies before they are buldozed, built up, and developed beyond recognition.

PROBLEM STILL EXISTS

The year-old report of the Park Service is worth recalling at this time because the problem it presents is still very much alive—and will be until the last mile of vanishing shoreline disappears before the eyes of the American people. During the past year, virtually nothing has been done to save any of the beach areas in question. There had been hope of securing a sizable congressional appropriation to get started on a solution, but, most unfortunately, the results have been zero. Even on the very doorstep of New York City—at Fire Island—there is a magnificent beach that a little public foresight and a certain amount of public cash would preserve forever. Will we have to wait until it goes, for us to realize what we have lost?

CRUELTY

The appalling cruelty habitually practiced in American slaughterhouses would be curtailed by legislation introduced in the present Congress. If the public realized the brutality normally employed in hoisting hogs, lambs, and calves up by their legs prior to slaughter, and in knocking steers and bulls on the head before they are killed, there might be a nationwide demand for an immediate end to such barbarism. The Humane Society of the United States in Washington, D. C., has been attempting—so far without success—to awaken public consciousness to the practices in all but the handful of American packinghouses that consider reduction of cruelty more important than reductions of costs. Humane methods of killing domestic animals are widely used in Europe.

Legislation has also been introduced recently in Congress by Senator NEUBERGER and others to try to put an end to the equally barbaric use of steel traps in this country. In presenting his bill to require traps that instantly kill and daily inspection of traplines, Senator NEUBERGER said: "The primitive, cruel trapping practices of the last century are an anachronism today. With modern technology, such civilized requirements as humane slaughter or humane trapping do not stand between us and the food we need, or the furs; they become, at most, matters of cost."

Senator NEUBERGER, a well-known outdoorsman and conservationist, observed that he had seen trapped animals "exhausted from trying to tear themselves to pieces, in pain and terror. * * * It is not an unusual story for such an animal to try to chew off its fettered limb, so as to escape. * * * The brutality inherent in such traps is beyond debate; the only question is what value we are to place on a matter as intangible in material terms as the suffering of an animal. Is such a matter worth the attention of the Congress of the United States?" There are many Americans who would say with Senator NEUBERGER that it is.

PARK ALONG THE POTOMAC

A bill now in Congress to establish the Chesapeake & Ohio National Historical Park along the Potomac River has been formally endorsed by the Interior Department. The park would embrace the century-old, 185-mile canal right-of-way between Cumberland and Great Falls, Maryland, which is already owned by the Federal Government.

At the same time, a proposal to erect a dam across the Potomac that would back up a 36-mile lake and undoubtedly flood out much of the C. & O. park property has been meeting strong opposition from conservationists in the Washington area. The Park Service itself points out that the Potomac Valley "is so rich in scenic, historic, educational and other recreation values that only the most critical needs could justify its obliteration by a reservoir."

FUND-RAISING PLANS

In fighting the projected dam, a Washington organization called the Coordinating Committee on the Potomac makes some interesting suggestions to meet the increasing pressure of city dwellers seeking rural recreation. The committee recommends increasing the gasoline tax by a cent, the result to be earmarked by law for expenditure on recreation and conservation. Observing that the new Federal highway program will surely bring additional throngs of people to the country for recreational purposes, the committee urges a requirement that for each mile of road built under the President's program, 1,000 acres shall be set aside for conservation and recreation lands. * * * In the Potomac, this would add 500,000 acres to the park and forest system.

Regulations for the Sale of Firearms and Ammunition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have received from Mr. Howard Weddington of Dallas, Tex., secretary-treasurer of the Texas Wholesale Hardware Association, a copy of a resolution passed recently by that organization. This resolution expresses the association's view regarding proposed revised regulations for the sale of firearms and of pistol and revolver ammunition.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Treasury Department of the United States has published proposed revised regulations for the sale of firearms and of pistol and revolver ammunition and has invited comments or objections to such proposed regulations; and

Whereas among such proposed regulations are the following:

"That a separate set of records listing complete details on each firearm handled must be maintained permanently by every dealer and manufacturer. This record must include the name of the manufacturer, serial number, caliber or gage, model type, the date acquired and source, and the date disposed of and recipient.

"That a detailed record be kept by each dealer and manufacturer describing all pistol or revolver ammunition handled, the source and the disposition"; and

Whereas said proposed regulations have been considered and discussed by the members of the Texas Wholesale Hardware Association in meeting assembled at San Antonio, Tex., on June 15, 1957, and it being the unanimous opinion of said members that the keeping of the proposed detailed records of receipt and disposal of firearms and of the production, receipt, and disposition at wholesale or retail of all pistol or revolver ammunition by all of the manufacturers and dealers in such merchandise in the United States, permanently, would constitute an excessive and very oppressive burden upon such manufacturers and dealers; that in a short period of time such records would accumulate and accumulate until they would become wholly unmanageable and yet the legal requirement that they continue to accumulate and be preserved would remain in force throughout the Nation until hundreds and even thousands of acres in floor space in the aggregate would be overflowing with millions of records of no practical value to anyone, and still the proposed regulation, if actually promulgated by the Treasury Department of the United States, would continue to require that all such records be retained permanently on the premises until the discontinuance of the business: Now, therefore, it is hereby

Resolved by the Texas Wholesale Hardware Association, That we do hereby record most emphatically our opposition to such proposed regulations; and it is further

Resolved, That the secretary of this association be, and he is hereby, instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington 25, D. C., to Senators LYNDON B. JOHNSON and RALPH W. YARBOROUGH and to each Member of the House of Representatives representing the State of Texas in the Congress of the United States, with the urgent request that said Senators and Representatives actively oppose and endeavor to prevent the adoption of either of said proposals as an official regulation of the Treasury Department of the United States.

The Battle Against Obscenity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the great problems which is now facing our Nation is that of juvenile delinquency. There can be little doubt that pornography, particularly in the form of off-color magazines for sale at corner newsstands, contributes to delinquency. Last year it was my privilege to introduce a bill to prohibit the transportation of obscene and lewd literature in interstate commerce. This measure was enacted into law and has served to materially reduce newsstand obscenity.

Since there is some conflict over what is obscene, there remain many publications for sale on our neighborhood newsstands which are borderline cases, but violations just the same. This problem is brought out poignantly in an editorial entitled "The Battle Against Obscenity," which appeared in the July 23, 1957, issue of the Methodist Christian Advocate, official organ of the Alabama-West Florida and North Alabama Conferences of the Methodist Church. Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert this definitive editorial:

THE BATTLE AGAINST OBSCENITY

Every adult of normal intelligence knows that the typical newsstand is literally loaded with magazines unfit for the eyes of youth. The problem of getting at this pornographic filth has been complicated by the fact that (1) any form of censorship brings up screams by those more interested in money than morals that constitutional rights are being violated; or (2) they sanctimoniously ask, But who knows what is obscene?

The struggle against obscenity found a strong new ally in the United States Supreme Court this month when a decision was handed down supporting legislative acts in California and New York against obscene literature, and also backing certain laws of the Federal Government in the same general area.

Justice Brennan did not hesitate to give what he regards as a working definition of obscenity in the Court decision referred to. He described as obscene any "material which deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient (that is, lewd or lustful) interest." To further clarify his meaning he said the test of obscene matter is "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest."

Thus the judgment of what is obscene is really placed in the hands of the local citizenship—and the criterion is the conscience of the community. It is assumed that this means the majority sentiment of the community as to what is decent and what is not. Surely here is a new guiding light in an area which the purveyors of filth have long attempted to keep completely foggy.

Those who may shriek to heaven about their constitutional right of free speech (citing the first amendment) will get little comfort from these words in the Court's recent decision: "All ideas having even the slightest social importance * * * have the full protection of the guaranties (of the Constitution) * * * but implicit in the history of the first amendment is the rejection of obscenity as utterly without social importance."

Triumph of the Jury Trial Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is truly encouraging to know that so many newspapers and other publications are expressing their pleasure at the inclusion in the so-called civil-rights bill of the right to trial by jury for one charged with a violation of a judge-made law by injunction.

The Washington Evening Star for Friday, August 2, included an editorial on the subject entitled "Triumph of Principle," which I am including with my remarks today.

Then again on Sunday, August 4, the Sunday Star published an editorial entitled "Compromise and Principle," which I am also including.

The Wall Street Journal for Tuesday, July 30, also contained a most interesting article on the right of trial by a jury. I agree with all of these editorials and especially with the concluding statement in the editorial in the Wall Street Journal and I think it well to quote it again even though the editorial is included with my remarks. Here is the quotation:

On this question history has already passed a verdict. It is not that every jury can be depended upon to do justice. We have jury trials because the experience of men is that, for all their imperfections, they remain still the best means of insuring justice.

The debate in Washington is on civil rights. But as we press on to insure more of them, we ought at least to be wary lest we trample underfoot those we have already.

The editorials follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star of August 2, 1957]

TRIUMPH OF PRINCIPLE

The Senate strengthened the civil-rights bill early today by its approval of the O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment, providing jury trials in criminal contempt and establishing new safeguards against exclusion of Negroes from jury service in Federal courts.

A few other changes may be made in the bill, with particular reference to the makeup and procedures of the Federal Civil Rights Commission established under the legislation. But to all intents and purposes, adoption of the amendment has cleared the way for Senate passage of a genuine civil-rights bill—the first one that has got so far since Reconstruction days.

We hope the disposition of the House, and of the administration which sent the bill to

Congress, will be to speed its final enactment as perfected in the Senate. That will be done if its supporters want to see the great power and influence of the Federal Government directed to the effective removal of discrimination in the exercise of voting rights. It will not be done if they wish to retain civil rights as a political football to kick around in election campaigns. If the same order of statesmanship displayed by the Senate prevails in the House, a good civil-rights bill will become law.

Many things have been said on and off the Senate floor in recent weeks to ridicule and otherwise to discredit the principle of jury trial and its advocates. The most misleading has been the repeated contention that preservation of that principle in civil-rights legislation would weaken the legislation and the inherent power of the courts to enforce their orders. The bill as it passed the House derived no strength from bypassing jury trials. That was a fundamental source of weakness. This bill derives its real strength from new powers conferred on the Attorney General to initiate, independently or with others, civil actions for the relief of those injured by deprivation of their voting rights. That is a tremendously potent extension of Federal power, both executive and judicial, in a complex field. And as a practical matter it remains undiminished by the relatively minor safeguard interposed by the right of jury trial in the narrow field of punishment for criminal contempt.

A minor safeguard it is. But it represents a cardinal principle, the importance of which has fortunately not been undermined by the astonishing resistance to it displayed by men in high places. It is they, not those who voted for the amendment, who sought to weaken not only this bill but one of the great traditions of a free society.

[From the Washington Sunday Star of August 4, 1957]

COMPROMISE AND PRINCIPLE

At one point in the civil-rights debate Senator DOUGLAS, not without sarcasm, chided Senator O'MAHONEY for having produced the third edition of the jury-trial amnedment. He wondered how many more there might be. For the jury trial amendment grew by stages. Its final form on August 2, when approved, bore only slight resemblance to the original version suggested by its author on July 8.

Ridicule of the evolutionary processes of legislation, whether or not he sponsors it, would not disturb Senator O'MAHONEY. He reminded the Senate, on the day the debate began, that "legislation proceeds by compromise. * * * Those who propose legislation must be willing to compromise if they want to get results." The Senator got results, and a willingness to compromise helped to produce them. The amendments in his name, and those af Senators KEFAUVER and CHURCH, for jury trial and nondiscriminatory jury service, were gleaned from long hours of debate. On the principle itself, however, there was no compromise.

The circumstance recalled, to Senator CASE of South Dakota, a certain repetition of history. Twenty years ago O'MAHONEY was one of the leaders in the successful fight against an attempt to pack the Supreme Court. Senator CASE was a freshman Member of the House. He opposed the Court bill, and Senator O'MAHONEY's conduct in that battle won his admiration. It was O'MAHONEY who made the motion in the Judiciary Committee that, instead of pigeonholing the bill and thus killing it, the committee should bring in an adverse report. That adverse report was made, concluding with a passage credited to Senator O'MAHONEY: "It is a measure which should be so emphatically rejected that its parallel will never again be presented to the free representatives of the free people of America."

Senator O'MAHONEY told the Senate on Thursday night that preservation of jury trial in the civil-rights bill was as important as preservation of the independence of the Supreme Court from executive domination 20 years ago. In both cases he was on the right side.

[From the Wall Street Journal of July 30, 1957]

TRIAL BY JURY

Some days ago a jury of 12 citizens acquitted Jimmy Hoffa, the teamster union official, of a bribery charge. We think it a fair judgment that the public reaction to the verdict was not one of approval.

A few days ago a jury of 12 citizens convicted John Kasper and 6 codefendants of criminal contempt of court in the Clinton, Tenn., segregation case. In this instance we think it fair to assess the public reaction as one of approval.

We think the outcome of these two cases is worth reflecting upon as the Senate debates whether to include a trial-by-jury section in the civil-rights bill. For a great deal of that debate has hinged on whether juries can be trusted to do right.

Yet it seems to us that this sort of argument misses the heart of the matter. For the basic question would remain if both the Hoffa and Kasper juries had each rendered opposite verdicts.

Certainly the Kasper verdict shows quite clearly that jurors can, and often will, distinguish between a case at hand and their general view of political issues; it does challenge the northern notion about southern juries in racial cases. The Hoffa verdict does show that juries will not always act in accord with the way the public thinks they ought to act. Neither proves that future juries will convict every man accused of racial violence and acquit every union official accused of bribery.

The truth is, we suppose, that jury trials are imperfect instruments of justice. They will often seem very imperfect to the people who were not in the court room. But when we talk about abridging further the rights to a jury trial, the question is what to substitute.

Perhaps you think Mr. Hoffa should not have been acquitted. But at least his case was heard by 12 citizens chosen jointly by prosecution and defense. Would you find justice more dependable if the decision had been left to one man, even a learned judge, given absolute authority to throw the defendant in jail?

Or perhaps you think the Kasper verdict right. What promise have you that one official sitting alone in judgment would have equally served your own judgment? And even if one judge alone had made the same verdict, would you be as satisfied that John Kasper, standing convicted, had himself been as protected by justice?

On this question history has already passed a verdict. It is not that every jury can be depended upon to do justice. We have jury trials because the experience of men is that, for all their imperfections, they remain still the best means of insuring justice.

The debate in Washington is on civil rights. But as we press on to insure more of them, we ought at least to be wary lest we trample under foot those we have already.

Southern Railway's Advertisements Serve the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, during the last 15 years and particularly since the end of World War II, the South has experienced enormous industrial growth. With few exceptions the new plants and factories, which the South has attracted, have been located adjacent to railroad lines. This industrial expansion, which has been heavily dependent upon the railroads, has of course benefited the railroads as it has the State's economy as a whole.

To call attention to the tremendous opportunities which the South offers, the Southern Railway System has keyed its advertisements for years on the theme "Lood Ahead—Look South." Although other rail lines, as well as all modes of transportation, contributed to the expansion of industries in Alabama and the South, it is indeed fortunate that the Southern has devoted so much of its advertising budget to telling the South's story.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am happy to insert an editorial entitled "Southern Railway's Ads Serve South," which appeared July 28, 1957, in the Birmingham (Ala.) News, one of my district's fine daily newspapers.

SOUTHERN RAILWAY'S ADS SERVE SOUTH

"Look Ahead—Look South" is a slogan now familiar to millions of readers of the Nation's leading financial, business, and news publications. For since 1942, these compelling words have been used by the Southern Railway System in an intensive program of national advertising calling attention to the growth potential of the South and the great opportunities that exist in this region for industries and businesses of every kind.

In an informative and attractive fashion, the advertisements have effectively told the story of the South's economic progress and prospects. They have emphasized the region's resources, climate, manpower, markets, transportation facilities, and other advantages making it an area of economic opportunity.

In the foreword to a recently published booklet containing examples of the ads, Southern President Harry A. DeButts writes that this "Look Ahead—Look South" advertising "is as justified today as ever despite the phenomenal increase in industry and business that already has occurred. In 1957—15 years and many thousands of new industries later—we are still able to accent opportunity, to point to the youthfulness of our economic territory and the vigorous, still-growing-up years there are ahead in the South."

The Southern also recognizes the importance of letting people who live in the South know about what the railroad is doing. So in newspaper advertisements published in cities and towns along its lines it records its own activities and progress, tells of the railroad's role as part of the southern scene, and directs attention to ways in which

railroad and community face and share common problems.

The Southern is to be commended on this promotional advertising, both national and local, which serves to help further the industrial growth and prosperity of the South. Other railroads and utilities also do a solid job in this respect and are due thanks.

Fares Charged by Commercial Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, the Civil Aeronautics Board is currently studying the fares charged by the commercial airlines. Without objection, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial on this subject from the Minneapolis Star dated July 23, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARES UP IN THE AIR

Arguing that airline fares have stayed at their 1938 level while everything else—especially including operating costs—has gone up and up, the Nation's air carriers recently asked for a rate increase averaging around 10 percent. In addition to their increased operating expenses, they point to the cost of making the pending switch from conventional planes to jet and turbojet aircraft.

So the Federal Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) has undertaken a general fare investigation. But that is a long, involved process; CAB's report isn't due until next spring. And in the meantime, the airlines suggest, they'd like to have some fare relief for the rest of this year.

Seven airlines, therefore, have petitioned CAB for an interim increase of 6 percent. Regulations require that CAB rule on that request by mid-September.

The most striking thing to the outsider looking into the matter is the almost fantastic difference between the airlines' profit expectations as estimated by the carriers and by the CAB's staff.

The 7 petitioning carriers estimate net operating incomes—after taxes—ranging from a loss of $1.2 million to a top take of $12.9 million. The CAB staff, on the other hand, forecasts that the carrier which expects to lose more than a million will make $18 million instead, and sees the other lines making up to $27 million (after taxes).

As we understand it, this mile-wide gap between the CAB staff's figures and those of the airlines is mainly due to two differences in calculation.

The airlines base their calculations on present CAB rules covering depreciation rates, whereas CAB's staff ignores the present rule and bases its forecast on quite a different rate, which it assumes the CAB can be persuaded to adopt.

Secondly, the CAB staff estimates the airlines are going to fly more passengers than the carriers are counting on, and, moreover, that the carriers will do this with unprecedented efficiency.

Meanwhile, one must admit that Americans are getting more than ever before for their air-travel dollar—in terms of 1938 dollars almost twice as much (counting inflation and all). Service is faster and more luxurious; in some cases one can get almost the equivalent of 1938's first-class service on today's tourist flights. Other things, like reduced family rates, have made this Nation the most flying-conscious in the world.

No one likes to see prices on any commodity or service go up. But on the basis of the facts thus far disclosed in the CAB-airlines debate, it's hard to see how the Areonautics Board can fairly deny some increase in fares.

Tobacco Price Support Program Shows Really Large Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following article from the Nashville Tennessean of August 4. Mr. Herd, in my opinion, has presented some interesting and pertinent figures relating to the tobacco price-support program.

Mr. Herd's article follows:

TOBACCO PRICE SUPPORT PROGRAM SHOWS REALLY LARGE INCOME—IN FIELD AND HOME: LOSSES CITED FAIL TO SHOW EARNINGS—PROFIT ACCRUES THROUGH INTEREST ON CCC FUND LOANED COOPERATIVES

(By Hal Herd)

For the past 5 years there has been a heavy barrage of publicity from Washington on the huge losses from Government price-support program on farm commodities.

And only recently there was a move to have tobacco removed from the list of six basic commodities to which these supports apply.

But it's often difficult to find out exactly how much the price-support program is costing the public.

I dug through a pile of documents, checked all the USDA releases, and finally wrote to Washington before I came up with the true figures on the tobacco price-support costs.

According to the latest release from the Commodity Credit Corporation (Government agency that makes loans for price-support programs), there have been gains and losses from year to year.

However, from the beginning of the program in 1933 through May 31, 1957, CCC records show a total loss under the price support program of $10,924. This includes all types of tobacco, some of which have been more difficult to market than others.

FIGURE INCOMPLETE

This figure, however, is incomplete. It does not include the net earnings in interest above the cost of banking service charges and other similar charges. These earnings, which represent income to CCC, have exceeded $10 million during this same period.

In addition, CCC supplied tobacco to foreign countries during World War II which resulted in a realized gain of $4.8 million.

This gives a total net income of $14.8 million for the tobacco program since its beginning more than 20 years ago. When the $10,924 in losses are subtracted from the net gains, there still is a profit of more than $14.7 million. That was a surprise to me, too.

Of course, the tobacco program hasn't always been in such a favorable position. From October 1933 through June 30, 1941, CCC records showed a loss of more than $2 million. However, this figure did not include interest on loans.

During the period 1941 to 1946 there was a gain of more than $7 million. For the past fiscal year the realized gain was $191,000.

SOME LOSSES, SOME GAINS

At the same time last year, corn showed a loss of $201 million; cotton, $427 million; and wheat, $89 million under the Government price support program.

However, a few commodities made gains. They include: Irish potatoes, $16,000; whey, $3,000; and honey, $867.

Many may wonder how a Government price support program can show a profit on a certain commodity. Let's take tobacco for example.

In each State where this crop is grown extensively there are one or more cooperative associations to which CCC is authorized to lend money.

During the marketing season that tobacco which fails to bring the floor prices (they vary according to grade) is purchased by the cooperative and stored in a warehouse. Here it is held until manufacturers will buy it at a price which will take care of interest and other charges.

So the main income from the price support system is through interest on CCC money loaned to cooperatives to carry out the program. And this figure sometimes gets left out of releases concerning the cost of certain price support program of farm products.

NO. 2 CASH CROP

Tobacco is the second ranking cash crop in Tennessee and is the main source of income for more than 800,000 farm families in the United States. For the past 10 years, the farm value of tobacco has averaged more than $1 billion annually.

Aside from the farmer, thousands of people make their living from the sale of leaf tobacco or its products. These include buyers, dealers, warehousemen, factory employees truckers, wholesalers, and retailers.

Tobacco is very important as a revenue producer. In the fiscal year 1955–56, latest date for which complete figures are available, direct Federal and State taxes combined were more than $2 billion, providing more direct revenue to the Government than all other crops combined.

Elton Layton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to pause and pay tribute to Mr. Elton Layton upon his resignation as clerk of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Congressman CARRIGG, of Pennsylvania, claims Mr. Layton as his No. 1 constituent. He comes from Matamoras, Pa., in Pike County; however, Mr. and Mrs. Layton now reside at 4730 Arlington Boulevard, Arlington, Va., and have lived in Arlington County for over 17 years. They have been my constituents since I was first elected to Congress from the newly created 10th Virginia District in the 83d Congress.

Mr. Layton has continuously been clerk of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for over 36 years and is a member of the bar en-

titled to practice in the highest courts in Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia and the United States Supreme Court.

I have had many occasions to consult with Mr. Layton and to observe his fine work. I am sure that he will be very much missed here on Capitol Hill.

The Veterans' Administration Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three excellent articles dealing with the Veterans' Administration program.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press of August 1, 1957]

DISCHARGES RISE AT VA HOSPITAL

ST. CLOUD.—Discharges from the Veterans' Administration mental hospital here have more than doubled in the past 2 years.

The number has increased from less than 300 to about 600 a year since the start of a program aimed at preparing recovering patients for the life they will lead outside the hospital.

This was revealed today by Dr. Jesse F. Casey, VA Director of Psychiatry and Neurology, who explained the new program enables psychiatric patients to learn to get along with others again and to acquire the habit of making their own decisions before they are discharged from the hospital.

Nub of the program is a "motivation unit" directed by Dr. W. R. Coutant, staff psychiatrist at the hospital. It consists of a ward with 80 patients selected from the entire hospital and a foster home program under which 55 patients live outside the hospital on a trial basis.

Patients living in the ward are encouraged to become friends, work at jobs in the hospital, attend movies and other recreational activities together, and in general to live much as they would outside the hospital.

Once a week they gather in groups of 10 to talk frankly about their feelings and fears of returning to the community. Efforts are made by the staff of the unit to allay the fears and build up the patients' trust and confidence, Dr. Casey explained.

When ward patients are ready, they go into the foster home program and are placed with families in the St. Cloud area.

Since the motivation unit was established 2 years ago only about 10 percent of those in foster homes have returned for further hospitalization.

The staff of the unit includes a social worker, a psychiatric nurse, a clinical psychologist and the hospital's vocational counselor in addition to Dr. Coutant.

The VA hospital here is the only one in this area in which this program is in operation.

Dr. Casey said VA's aim is to make life in its mental hospitals as much like normal life as possible for patients past the acute stage of their illness. Psychiatrists call this approach "development of the hospital as a therapeutic community," he said.

He stressed, however, that the therapeutic community does not replace other treatment.

[From the Minneapolis Star of August 1, 1957]

PRACTICE LIVING CURES "HOSPITALITIS"—VA PATIENTS REJOIN OUR WORLD

(By Gwenyth Jones)

ST. CLOUD, MINN.—Men who haven't had a real job in 20 or 30 years are working in factories, on farms, and in filling stations.

Men who haven't been inside a real church go to services and shake the pastor's hand just as any other parishioner would.

They go to movies, and play bingo and take part in all sorts of other community activities.

In fact, "if you meet them on the street you don't realize they're any different."

But these men are patients at the Veterans' Administration mental hospital here. They're preparing for discharge from the hospital in a pilot program described by hospital officials as a definite success.

Some 60 patients already have been discharged through this program after spending 2 to 35 years in the hospital. The average is 10.

The program, headed by Dr. W. R. Coutant, staff psychiatrist, has been in operation 2 years. It is aimed at helping patients who have developed "hospitalitis" to get ready for discharge.

Coutant describes 'hospitalitis" to get state where the patient has found a home in the hospital and is unwilling to leave, perhaps afraid of the idea.

The new approach prepares them for life "outside" by letting them practice.

First step in the program is a ward of 80 patients selected for the program. All are World War I veterans in their middle or late sixties.

They are encouraged to develop friendships, work at jobs in the hospital, attend movies and other recreational activities together—in short, to live much as they would outside.

Once a week they gather in small groups to talk about their problems.

"The possibility of leaving is constantly on their minds." Coutant says, "And some of them fear they will be thrown out. They need reassurance."

After spending a few weeks to 8 or 9 months in the ward, patients go to live in foster homes in the nearby area. The farthest of these is 35 miles from the hospital.

Before going, the patient visits several such homes and is encouraged to indicate which one he wants to go to. Patients also are encouraged to express any desire to go with other patients.

Their room and board is paid, and they receive spending money.

Residents of the area have an excellent attitude toward the program, Coutant said, understanding what VA officials are trying to do and making every effort to cooperate. In general, he said, residents treat patients living in foster homes "just as they would any other newcomers."

Patients can be discharged at any time hospital authorities think they're ready, and some stay only a short time in foster homes. Others stay much longer. The average stay is a year. Some homes have only 1 patient living there; 1 has 16.

Coutant emphasized the program's flexibility.

Many of these patients have been in the hospital so long that "the home they came from has disappeared," Coutant said.

"This program helps them get ready to live their own lives. Most of them are receiving pensions, so they're taken care of financially."

Hospital fieldworkers visit patients in foster homes regularly, although these visits, like the entire program, are flexible, but there are no restraints. Only about 10 percent of those sent to foster homes have had to return to the hospital for further treatment.

The project, originated by Dr. Thomas R. Dredge, chief of the St. Cloud Hospital's professional service, was called a pilot program by Dr. Jesse F. Casey, VA's Director of Psychiatry and Neurology, in an announcement today in Washington.

[From the Duluth Herald of August 1, 1957]

VA ANNOUNCES PLAN TO CURE MENTALLY ILL

WASHINGTON.—The Veterans' Administration said today that a new approach developed at its hospital in St. Cloud, Minn., has doubled the number of mental patients that can be discharged.

Dr. Jesse F. Casey, VA's Director of Psychiatry and Neurology, said that under a 2-year-old pilot program at St. Cloud, which includes use of foster homes in the community, the number of discharges has risen from fewer than 300 a year to about 600.

The new approach involves permitting greater freedom and a more normal life for selected psychiatric patients past the acute stage so as to speed recovery and discharge.

It enables the patients to learn to get along with others again and to acquire the habit of making their own decisions.

"In other words," Casey said, "we are trying to develop the mental hospital into a therapeutic community that will prepare recovering patients for the life they will lead outside the hospital."

The hub of the St. Cloud program is a motivation unit, directed by Dr. W. R. Coutant.

This unit consists of a ward with 80 patients selected from the entire hospital, and the foster home program under which 55 patients live outside the hospital on a trial basis.

United States Participation in International Trade Fairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Good Foot Forward," relating to our participation in international trade fairs, published in the Minneapolis Star of July 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD FOOT FORWARD

After getting off to a slow start, United States participation in international trade fairs has picked up steam in recent years. It has become one of this country's most effective means of introducing itself, and the American way of life, to hundreds of thousands of people around the world.

Latest demonstration of the impact this activity can have was in Poland. At the Poznan trade far last month, the American exhibit, centered around a fully equipped one-family bungalow, stole the show.

Many Poles found it difficult to believe the display really represented something just a little better than the average American worker has. And one must admit that the organizers' inclusion of a deepfreeze, boat, automobile with automatic windows, etc., did make the exhibit a bit on the posh side.

Yet, even discounting the typicalness of the exhibition home, Poles were tremendously impressed, and convinced that the lot of the American worker cannot be as bad as Communist propagandists insist.

The Poznan show was our first on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Now we have a chance to stage one in the political center of Communistland—in Moscow. As of the moment, the Russians are prepared to admit the show—scheduled for Gorki Park next summer—and the remaining step is a congressional appropriation of the necessary funds.

It would not be unprecedented if the Russians changed their mind and banned the trade show, especially after having seen its popularity in Poland. But if something does upset present plans for the exhibition in Moscow, let it come from the other side. Let us be prepared to stage our best show to date in Gorki Park. Let's get the appropriation through Congress as soon as possible.

Scarcity of Doctors Is Matter of Deep Concern to Small Localities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, not so long ago, life in the rural areas of the United States was commonly a rugged existence. Within our lifetimes, this scene has completely changed. Nowadays, nearly every convenience of modern-day life is available to country folks. In fact, life in the country was never more pleasant, more appealing than now.

In only one respect is rural life suffering because of the big city. This, Mr. Speaker, is a serious lack of doctors, with little relief in sight. At present, 42 towns in Alabama are seeking physicians and proposing all types of inducement. Several localities are offering free clinic facilities, free homes, or rent-free apartments. The scarcity of doctors in rural areas arises from their growing tendency to specialize, rather than take up a general practice. To live in an area where a doctor is not available, even in the case of an emergency, is a serious risk.

Fortunately, the problem is not yet acute, but it is cause for deep concern. This situation is pointed up in an editorial entitled "Small Towns in the State Need Doctors," which appeared in the July 25, 1957, issue of the Birmingham (Ala.) News.

SMALL TOWNS IN THE STATE NEEDS DOCTORS

There was a time not so many years ago when Alabama was reported to have had only 1 doctor for every 3,000 inhabitants. With some 2,200 physicians now practicing in the State, conditions today are better. Jefferson, Mobile, and Montgomery Counties are estimated to have 1 physician for every 990 persons, while the rest of the State has an average of 1 for about 1,900 persons.

In many small towns and rural areas, however, the shortage of doctors remains an acute community problem. Cherokee County, for instance, still has only 3 physicians to serve its 17,634 people and Greene County has but 3 for its population of 16,482. The Medical Association of the State of Alabama, which operates a physician placement service through its Montgomery office, reports that 12 Alabama towns currently are trying to find doctors.

Some of these towns are offering special inducements to physicians to settle and establish practices in the communities. One would build a clinic on city-owned property, offer it to a doctor rent-free for 3 years, and provide him with a furnished apartment rent-free for 12 months. Another offers to incorporate and build a clinic, equip it if necessary, and build the doctor a home.

A major factor contributing to the shortage of doctors in many smaller communities, of course, is the financial problem of setting up practice and securing adequate income. Another element is said to be the tendency of more doctors to become specialists rather than general practitioners of the type needed in rural areas.

More young physicians should give consideration to the rewards and satisfactions of general practice in small towns. And such communities certainly must exert every effort to make conditions of service as attractive as possible.

Passenger Fares on Transatlantic Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, several months ago the CAB, exercising its regulatory authority in the public interest, vetoed a proposal by the international airlines to raise transatlantic fares 5 percent in time for the current tourist season.

I think we all share the opinion that this action is commendable insofar as it permits more of our citizens to spend a vacation abroad at the least possible cost. On the other hand, I am equally sure that we would all recognize that the financial position of the airlines which carry these travelers should remain fundamentally sound.

Upon inquiring about the effect of the CAB's action in disapproving such a substantial fare increase, I find that several European airlines, as well as the governments which own them, have stirred up considerable protest. Their argument is that their costs have risen sharply. However, traffic figures show such a substantial increase this year over 1956 that it is impossible to believe that unit costs, that is, the cost of carrying each passenger, could have moved in any but a downward direction.

According to North Atlantic traffic reports filed with the CAB by the International Air Transport Association, which originally asked for the fare boost, transatlantic passenger traffic was up nearly 28 percent by the first of July this year. Of 12 transatlantic airlines all but 3 showed increases in the average number of passengers on each flight. For example, Lufthansa, the German airline, showed an increased load factor of 46 percent; for the Belgian airline, Sabena, it was 39 percent; for BOAC, over 21 percent; for Pan American, over 5 percent; for TWA, 12 percent, and so on.

I am certain that the interests of our constituents, who in increasing numbers hope to find an overseas vacation within reach, heartily applaud the efforts of our Government to withstand the pressure of foreign government-owned airlines for higher fares. That this view is shared by at least a courageous minority abroad is shown in an article which appeared in Aviation Studies—International—Ltd., last July 9. I am informed that our Embassy in London regards this British private-enterprise publication as both sophisticated and reliable in aviation economic matters.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excerpt from this article at this point in the RECORD:

CONTROL FOR CONTROL'S SAKE

What is wholly lost sight of by all interested parties (including the American trade press which is always ready to have a dig at CAB on behalf of its patrons the United States carriers) is that CAB is the sole body in the whole international set up of governmental rate monitoring, which can convincingly claim to be able to judge those issues objectively, especially with respect to the traveling public's interests. All other governments are themselves airlines, and are therefore judges in their own cause. When the British Government seeks to control the fare of the London-Calcutta section of a New York-Calcutta journey passing through London, it is simply BOAC, in a different hat, endeavoring to arrange the fare structure to suit its own convenience, irrespective of the passenger's best interests. But when CAB tries to prevent an Atlantic fare increase of 5 percent, it is functioning primarily on behalf of public interest, and secondarily in what it believes to be the long-term interest of the industry (not any individual airline in which it has a proprietary interest) upon whose economic health it is intended to deliberate and predicate without any proprietorial bias.

The CAB principle that proposals for changes to fares and rates up or down should always originate with airlines, and that the validity of these proposals should be judged by strictly impartial economic assessment of the evidence of those making the claims, cannot be faulted. To interpret this as control for control's sake, when the judgment happens to be contrary to the airlines' proposals is to completely misread the basic object of the machinery of governmental fare structure approval. Until other governments divest themselves of their personal interest in individual airlines, they cannot hope to have their allegedly altruistic motives believed. Government air agencies should stand strictly in the position of the judicature, wholly independent of the administration. This is even more important in countries where the administration also has acquired industrial management functions outside its normal role of government, than in those countries where industry is still under private ownership.

Industry should be subject to the minimum of external control in economic matters. Its own commercial judgment of what is best for its customers on whom its existence depends, and therefore what is best for its own practitioners, should serve adequately as check and balance on development and sales policy. Most industries continue to work out their own salavation successfully by this natural process. The need for airline rate control arose during the subsidy era. But as industry develops and is able to stand on its own feet, it should be the aim to reduce rather than to increase the need for governmental controls. The demonstrated immaturity of airline economic policy suggests the continued need for financial monitorship; but never for its own sake, and to satisfy the vested interests of bureaucracy.

Europe Refuses To Defend Itself—Easy Money From the United States Responsible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an article by Dr. John B. Crane which recently appeared in the Kenosha Evening News. Dr. Crane raises the question as to whether or not American aid to Europe has been too large over too many years with the result that the will of European countries to defend themselves has been paralyzed. The point, Mr. Speaker, is well made by Dr. Crane.

HAVE WE OVERPROTECTED EUROPE?

(By Dr. John B. Crane)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—France has long been noted as a land of paradoxes. Almost every writer on France takes delight in pointing these out.

Among the most striking is the political paradox that the French Government falls, on the average, every 6 months yet the French claim, with some justification, that their political system results in more stable and durable policies than those of the other western democracies. They consider their system definitely superior to that of America.

Equally perplexing to Americans is the longstanding French paradox in the economic-financial field. France has been enjoying an economic boom for years and is producing more today than ever before in its history. Yet it appears to be constantly on the verge of financial bankruptcy with the franc selling at a discount in the free market, and constant talk of a dangerous dollar deficit.

How is it possible for France to be always on the verge of financial collapse when it possesses the largest natural resources in continental Europe, outside of Russia, and is steadily growing economically richer and richer each year? This is the unsolved paradox.

Just how prosperous France really is shows up clearly in official statistics of production. During the last quarter of 1956, France's industrial production was 38 percent ahead of the year 1948 and 94 percent higher than the last prewar year of 1938.

No other country in Western Europe shows such striking economic progress compared with the immediate prewar period.

Not only is French industrial production at an alltime high but much of the production has gone into consumers' goods resulting in a substantial rise in the standard of living. The French people are living better today than at any time in their entire history.

Yet America feels it necessary to continue to extend substantial amounts of foreign aid to France, particularly in the military field.

THE BRITISH PARADOX

The paradox of postwar Britain in some respects parallels that of France. Economic progress has been rapid in the United Kingdom since the war but not so great as in France. Industrial production during the last 4 months of 1956 was 16 percent above the level of 1953 and 63 percent above prewar 1938.

The objective of the Marshall plan was to pour billions of dollars into Western Europe until its level of industrial production exceeded prewar by 38 percent. After pouring $15 billion into Europe the objective was more than attained.

Today most of the countries of Western Europe are producing at levels far higher than 38 percent above 1938. The New York Herald-Tribune's index of industrial production shows that during the last quarter of 1956 the average level of industrial production for 14 Western European nations was more than 60 percent above 1938.

How can one explain why thousands of Britishers are flocking in a stream to emigration offices in London to settle in other countries overseas at a time when Britain has never been so prosperous and when the average Britisher enjoys a higher standard of living and works shorter hours than ever before in history? This, too is something of a paradox.

Not only is the British average man better off than ever before, but he is better off than most of his European neighbors, for in spite of high taxes the British standard of living and output is one of the very highest in Europe. I know of no country which has higher average weekly or hourly wages.

Yet Britishers vie with one another in emigrating from the country, while the government of one of the wealthiest nations in Europe is cutting its modest military forces by drastic amounts and acting as if it were a have-not nation on the verge of collapse.

Could the paradoxical behavior of the French and British be related in any way to the practice of America since the war of spending whatever billions are necessary in Europe to protect this area from the Communists?

Has American aid to Europe been too large over too many years so that the will of European countries to defend themselves and to appropriate sufficient funds for their own defense has been paralyzed? Have we overprotected Western Europe to the point of weakening instead of strengthening it?

Unionist Pleads for Tax on Zinc Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD H. BAKER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from the Knoxville News Sentinel, Knoxville, Tenn., Friday, August 2, 1957, headed "Mascot Called Ghost Town."

UNIONIST PLEADS FOR TAX ON ZINC IMPORTS

WASHINGTON, August 2.—Mascot, Tenn., was practically a ghost town for 18 months before the Korean war when the price of zinc plummeted, says William F. Hawkins, a hard-rock zinc miner at American Zinc Co. there.

Hawkins, president of the Tennessee Valley Zinc Workers Union, is here to tell the House Ways and Means Committee it may be so again if adequate relief for domestic industry through taxing of imports is not provided.

He's testifying on an administration bill that would impose a sliding scale tax of from 1 to 3 cents a pound on lead imports when the American price drops below the peril point of 17 cents, and a levy of ½ to 2 cents a pound for zinc imports when the United States market dips below 14½ cents a pound.

Industry spokesmen say this tax scale falls short of providing the protection for the domestic industry actually intended by the administration bill. They want the sliding scale levy to be from 3 to 5 cents a pound for both metals.

American Zinc Co., Tennessee Coal & Iron Co., and New Jersey Zinc Co. are the operating companies in east Tennessee, employing some 1,500 persons.

These firms, says Hawkins, are having to cut back work weeks and reduce employment in face of large zinc imports that have sent the price of zinc down to 10 cents a pound.

"If the price of metal is allowed to deteriorate so that our mines are shut down as they were before the Korean war," said Hawkins, "we have our doubts whether the industry could ever recover in our area. . . .

"Our union contract provides that if the price of zinc goes below 13 cents and stays there for 90 days a wage reopener can be asked for to reduce wages. You know what this could do to us with the cost of living where it is."

Death of O. J. Larson, of Duluth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "O. J. Larson, Noted City Lawyer, Dies," published in the Duluth Herald of August 2, 1957. I knew Mr. Larson in years past, and am sorry to hear of his death.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

O. J. LARSON, NOTED CITY LAWYER, DIES

O. J. Larson, 86, former Eighth District Congressman, an intimate friend of two United States Presidents and the recipient of high honors from Finland and Italy, died yesterday in a Duluth nursing home.

The retired attorney who came to Duluth to practice law in 1908, formerly lived at 2[illegible] North 28th Avenue East.

Widely known throughout the United States and Canada, he was one of the pioneer supporters of the St. Lawrence Waterway, held the appointment of honorary consul for Finland in Duluth until 1942 and was the principal speaker for historical celebrations many times in various parts of the country.

Born in Oulu, Finland, he was brought to the United States when he was 5 by his parents, who settled at Calumet, Mich. He was graduated in 1891 from northern Indiana Normal School, now Valparaiso University, and in 1894 from the University of Michigan Law School.

Mr. Larson entered the practice of law at Calumet, where he served as prosecuting attorney for Houghton County from 1898 to 1904.

He later was retained by the State of Michigan for a case that involved extensive travel in Italy, where he developed an avid interest in Italian history. Because of that interest he was called upon frequently to speak on the Italian contributions to civilization.

In 1931 he gave the principal address at ceremonies dedicating a life-size bronze statute of Christopher Columbus on the State capitol grounds in St. Paul. On the same day King Victor Emanuel of Italy conferred upon him the Royal Crown of Italy with the

rank of commodore, highest decoration awarded by that nation to a non-Italian, in appreciation for his interest in promoting American-Italian relations.

Twice decorated by Finland, he was made a knight of the first rank in the Order of the White Rose, in 1920, and was promoted to commandership in the same order in 1933, highest award granted by his native country to a civilian outside of Finland.

Mr. Larson served in the House of Representatives for the Eighth District from 1921 to 1925 and was appointed to the House Judiciary Committee during his second term. Herbert Hoover came to Duluth to support his candidacy in 1921.

A friend of four President's he was intimately acquainted with Hoover and Theodore Roosevelt.

In 1938, Mr. Larson was appointer national chairman of a committee in charge of the tercentenary of the landing of the Finns and Swedes on the Delaware and he gave the main address dedicating a monument presented to the United States by Finland memorializing the historic event.

Mr. Larson married Emma Dorothy Roberts, of Grand Rapids, Mich., on November 25, 1901.

A member of the bar of the United States Supreme Courts of Minnesota and Michigan, he also held membership in the American and Minnesota Bar Associations, the Masonic Order, Aad Temple, Shriners, Elks, Odd Fellows, Knights of Kavela, and Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity.

Surviving are a son, Roberts B. Larson, Washington, D. C.; 2 daughters, Mrs. W. W. Kuyper, Schenectady, N. Y., and Mrs. V. M. Tengquist, Duluth; a grandson, Robert F. Eaton, Duluth; 2 granddaughters, Miss Laura Lee, Larson, Washington, D. C., and Barbara D. Tengquist, Duluth, and a great-grandson.

Keep Your Guard Up!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, 40 years ago, on August 5, 1917, a day I shall never forget, 400,000 young American volunteers were mustered into the Federal service in the National Guard of the United States.

Our National Guard units, such as my division, the 35th, a Kansas-Missouri organization, helped win World War I. Again, when the call came in World War II, National Guard units performed gallantly and successfully just as they did more recently in Korea.

Although those 40 years have taken a heavy toll, dimmed the eyes, greyed the hair, and slowed the steps, those 40 years have not decreased, in any way, our justifiable pride in our National Guard service.

Mr. Speaker, the value of the National Guard as part and parcel of our national defense has been proven by its valiant service.

One motto which will continue to contribute to the safety and security of this great Republic is:

"Keep Your Guard Up."

Wheat for On-Farm Consumption

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8456) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to exempt certain wheat producers from liability under the act where all the wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm, and for other purposes.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, first of all, I think we should say, No. 1, that any farm in these United States—and we have had a hard time getting it understood—can grow 15 acres of wheat on his farm and feed it all regardless of whether he got 20 bushels to the acre or 40. So, that is where we start. But it is only 15 acres. Now, if he is mixing feed and needs more wheat than that, this bill is a real relief. It doubles the amount of acres of wheat that he can grow and consume on the farm. In other words, this bill provides—and it is very simple and not difficult to understand—that he can now grow 30 acres under practically the same conditions that he could grow 15. That is all this legislation assumes to do.

There are some other things it does, but at this particular time we are not so much concerned about that.

The next thing I would like to explain is the difference between our bill and the Senate bill. The Senate bill provides that any farmer on any farm anywhere in any State can grow as many acres of wheat as he wishes as long as he feeds it on the farm. Now, the interesting thing about that is that the Farm Bureau supports that position, and I will ask when we get back in the House that I may put their statement in the RECORD. It states that they have had a resolution time and time again supporting that position presented at the Farm Bureau annual meeting. They have supported the idea that, if a farmer fed all his wheat, he should not come under this complicated agricultural legislation concerning the wheat acreage or marketing controls.

The American Farm Bureau resolution reads:

We recommend legislation to exempt farms from wheat-growing quotas if all wheat produced thereon is used only as food, feed, or seed on the farm where grown or on farms under the same operation.

I shall put their statement in the RECORD, Mr. Chairman; I include a statement by Walter C. Berger, Administrator, Commodity Stabilization Service; before the Wheat Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee, June 19, 1957, 10 a. m. on H. R. 6784, a bill to exempt certain wheat producers from liability under the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 where all the wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm, and for other purposes.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, we have reviewed this proposed bill, H. R. 6784, and find that it has three major purposes.

1. To permit the growing of up to 30 acres of wheat on any farm under an exemption from the wheat marketing quota provisions provided all of the wheat produced is used on the farm for feed, seed, or human food. An exemption is provided from the 30 acre limitation on the farms operated by and as part of State institutions or religious or charitable institutions.

2. The acreage seeded to wheat for harvest in 1958 or thereafter in excess of acreage allotments shall not be considered in the establishment of future State, county, and farm acreage allotments. Also, the planting on the farm of wheat for 1958 and thereafter for which no farm allotment is established shall not make the farm eligible as an old wheat farm. If allotments are desired for such farms they must be considered as new wheat farms.

3. Any State in which for 3 successive years the wheat planted exceeds 35,000 acres shall generally become a commercial wheat producing State.

I should like to discuss each of these provisions in order.

First, with respect to the exemption from the marketing quota penalty or storage requirements for the farm marketing excess, on farms growing up to 30 acres of wheat, all of which is fed, or used for seed or food on the farm where produced, this provision is to a certain extent in line with the Department's recommendations. Bills on this general subject have been recommended by the Department of Agriculture but have in the past failed of enactment.

In the President's message to the Congress of January 9, 1956, he stated as follows:

"Legislation already has passed the Senate and is pending in the House of Representatives which would exempt from marketing quotas those producers who use for feed, food, or seed on their own farms all the wheat they raise. Because of the failure to pass this legislation last year, the Department of Agriculture has been compelled by law to hail before the courts farmers whose only offense was to raise and feed wheat outside their quotas. Again the administration urges prompt enactment of this legislation. Correction of this problam should be delayed no longer."

We believe that the proposed bill, although a step in the right direction, does not go far enough. We recommend that the exemption of wheat producers from liability under the act where all of the wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm be applicable without limitation in the same manner as is provided in the proposed legislation for State, religious or charitable institutions. However, in the absence of obtaining the greater exemption which we request, we would favor the enactment of H. R. 6784.

The purpose of this bill is to correct a situation which has arisen in connection with marketing quota operations for certain wheat producers who desire to use their entire output for feed and seed on the farm where produced, and who do not want to participate in the wheat price support program.

Under the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, wheat producers subject to marketing quotas who harvest wheat in excess of their acreage allotment are subject to a marketing penalty on their farm marketing excess (unless they avoid or postpone the penalty by storage or delivery to the Secretary), whether they sell their wheat on the market or whether they feed it on their farms. The law is clear on this point and its

constitutionality was upheld in *Wickard* v. *Filburn* (317 U. S. 111). Thus, farmers subject to quotas who produce wheat only for feed and seed and do not want price support on their crop are forced to curtail their operations or pay the penalty if they fail to do so.

Production of wheat for feed is, in general, confined to small farms in the feed deficit areas.

Existing legislation exempts certain of these farms from marketing quota restrictions. For example, quotas are not applicable to any farm on which the wheat acreage does not exceed 15 acres or on which the normal production of the wheat acreage is less than 200 bushels. Also, marketing quotas are not applicable to any farm in any State which has been designated by the Secretary as outside the commercial wheat-producing area. Any State for which the wheat acreage allotment is 25,000 acres or less, may be so designated by the Secretary.

H. R. 6784 broadens these existing exemptions to include those farmers in the commercial wheat-producing area who harvest not more than 30 acres, who use all their wheat on the farm where grown for feed and seed, and who do not desire wheat price support. We believe that no maximum acreage limitation should be established for this type of wheat utilization. Insofar as this latter group of farmers is concerned, wheat marketing quota restrictions impose special hardships.

Although the consumption of wheat on farms where grown does affect interstate commerce, the exemption relating only to farms on which no wheat is removed would appear to be desirable. Such farms constitute only a small portion of all farms which produce wheat and the proposed exemption, although creating some new problems, would not unduly hamper the administration of the wheat marketing quota and price-support programs with respect to farms from which wheat is removed.

Enactment of this bill would be another step toward achievement of our objective—that farmers be permitted to operate their farms with a maximum of freedom. At the same time, it would remove the dissatisfaction of some small wheat producers with the program as it must be operated under present legislation.

The bill, if enacted, would become effective with the 1958 and subsequent crops of wheat. It would in no way relieve or otherwise affect the liability for marketing penalties incurred by farmers under past wheat marketing quota programs who fed or used for seed on the farms where produced their entire wheat crops.

Section 114 of the Soil Bank Act provides that as a condition of eligibility for participation in the acreage-reserve program under that act the wheat acreage on any farm must not exceed the larger of the farm wheat acreage allotment or 15 acres. In order to clarify the matter of eligibility for participation in the acreage-reserve program of any farm for which an exemption from marketing quota penalties might be obtained under the bill, we believe it highly desirable that such bill be supplemented by a new section containing an amendment to the Soil Bank Act which would make it clear that any farm for which an exemption from marketing quota penalties was obtained under the proposed bill would not be required to comply with the larger of the farm wheat acreage allotment or 15 acres to be eligible for participation in the acreage-reserve program.

We believe that farmers who might obtain an exemption from wheat marketing quota penalties because their entire wheat production is used on the farm where produced should be entitled to participate in the acreage reserve program on exactly the same basis as those farmers who avail themselves of the 15-acre exemption. We shall be glad to submit to you the legal language to make this effective.

As indicated above it is recognized that there will be certain administrative difficulties in putting the provisions of the bill into operation, but we believe it will be possible to develop adequate safeguards.

Additional administrative expenses would be incurred in carrying out the provisions of the bill, if enacted. It is believed that such increases might be absorbed from funds appropriated for administering the wheat quota program.

Section 2 of the bill would prohibit the use of excess wheat acreage in 1958 and subsequent years for history purposes in determining future State, county, and farm acreage allotments and prohibit farms planting wheat without an allotment in 1958 and subsequent years from becoming eligible for an allotment in succeeding years as old wheat farms. Each of these proposed provisions now applies to tobacco and the first provision now applies to all basic crops except corn and wheat. Enactment of this section of the bill would do much toward minimizing undesirable shifts in State and county wheat acreage allotments which are prevalent under existing programs. By limiting allotment credits to 1958 and subsequent years to the acreage seeded to wheat within the farm allotment, State and county allotments for succeeding years will become more stable.

Although the acreage-allotment and marketing-quota programs for wheat have generally been effective in holding down the production of wheat, there are problems under the present provisions of law which are inherently contributing to the instability of State and county allotments. Foremost among them is the provision of law which exempts from marketing-quota penalties farms seeding not more than 15 acres of wheat for harvest as grain. In 1956 there were 562,643 farms in the commercial wheat-producing area, or 34 percent of all wheat farms in such area, on which the acreage seeded to wheat for harvest as grain was in excess of the farm allotment. The total allotment on these excess farms was 4,559,317 acres, but the acreage seeded to wheat on such farms for harvest as grain was 8,991,601 acres. Thus, the total wheat acreage on such farms was 97 percent above the total allotted acreage.

An analysis of the 1956 wheat performance reports submitted by all applicable State ASC offices indicate that overplanting of allotments was prevalent on larger farms in some of the important wheat-producing States such as Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. If these States, together with North Dakota and South Dakota in which the number of noncomplying wheat farms were relatively small, are disregarded, a true picture of overplanting wheat allotments on small farms becomes more apparent. Outside these States within the 1956 commercial wheat-producing area, there were 498,088 farms, or 39 percent of all wheat farms, on which the acreage seeded to wheat for harvest as grain in 1956 was in excess of the farm allotment. In the States of truly small wheat farms, the total acreage seeded to wheat for harvest as grain in 1956 on excess farms was about 2½ times larger than the total allotment assigned to such farms.

The permitting of excess wheat acreage to be used for history purposes in determining allotments is causing some radical shifts in State, county, and farm allotments even though the national wheat-acreage allotment remains constant at 55 million acres. The result is that a State such as North Dakota, with only 1.2 percent of the wheat farms overplanting the farm allotment, loses allotment to Missouri and other States where overplanting is exceptionally heavy on small farms. The impact on county allotments is even greater. For example, the 1958 State allotment for Kansas is about the same as for 1957, but because of excessive planting on small farms in counties of eastern Kansas, a considerable shift of allotments from the Wheat Belt of western Kansas will be necessary to provide allotments for the increased acreage in the eastern part of the State. Nebraska, another important wheat-producing State, has still another problem resulting from the overplanting of allotments. The overplanting of wheat allotments in this State has, for the most part, been on large farms in certain counties of the high plains area. This overplanting on large wheat farms, although deliberate in the face of marketing quota penalties or under the provisions of law which permit storing the farm marketing excess, is building up excessive wheat acreage history which can only be covered in subsequent years by shifting allotment acreage from other States or from other counties in Nebraska. To illustrate, in Cheyenne County, Nebr., [illegible] farms, 68.6 percent of all wheat farms in the county, had an acreage of wheat for harvest as grain in 1956 in excess of the farm allotment. The total acreage of wheat on these noncomplying farms was 43.4 percent larger than the total allotment acreage on such farms. Other important wheat-producing counties of Nebraska in which there was considerable overplanting of allotments include Banner, with 64.3 percent of farms overplanting, Deuel with 40.6 percent, and Kimball with 68.9 percent.

The shifting of allotment acreage from one State to another and from county to county within a State as the result of overplanting of farm wheat-acreage allotments is a matter of grave concern to complying producers. Even within counties complying farms must, under existing legislation, give up allotment acreage to cover the excess acreage on noncomplying farms. Unless legislative action is taken to alter this situation, the problem will become greater as we move into the future. We strongly urge the enactment of this section of the bill.

Section 3 of the bill was, no doubt, designed to stabilize the commercial wheat-producing area by preventing certain States from moving in and out of such area from one year to the next. Only four States, Alabama, Arizona, Louisiana, and Mississippi would likely be affected in subsequent years by the provisions of this section. Based on the latest available statistics of the Department of Agriculture, the acreage seeded to wheat for harvest as grain in each of these States during the last 3 years was as follows:

Acreage for harvest as grain

State	1955	1956	1957
Alabama	59,000	80,000	120,0
Arizona	43,000	58,000	55,0
Louisiana	17,000	35,000	90,0
Mississippi	18,300	18,000	150,0

The computed 1958 State wheat-acreage allotments for these States were: Alabama, 23,240 acres; Arizona, 21,401 acres; Louisiana, 6,302 acres; and Mississippi, 16,256 acres. Since existing legislation gives the Secretary discretionary authority to designate a State as outside the commercial wheat-producing area if the allotment for such States is 25,000 acres or less, each of the 4 States were so designated for the 1958 crop. An analysis of the wheat seedings in these States indicates that the 1959 State wheat-acreage allotment for both Alabama and Arizona will likely be in excess of 25,000 acres and thereby could not, under the present provisions of law, be excluded from the commercial wheat-producing area for 1959. Under the provisions of section 3 of H. R. 6784 both of these States would definitely be in the commercial area in 1959 and would have to remain there in for a period of at least 3 years before the

could again become eligible to be excluded from such area.

We believe that the provisions of section 3 of the bill are necessary in order to stabilize the commercial wheat-producing area in future years and to implement the effective administration of the wheat-production adjustment program. It is recommended, however, that section 3 be modified before its enactment as follows: (1) Insert on line 24 of page 3 the words "for harvest as grain" immediately following the words "planted to wheat"; (2) insert on line 3 of page 4, the words "for harvest as grain" immediately following the words "acreage planted to wheat"; and (3) insert on line 8 of page 4, the words "for harvest as grain" immediately following the words "annual acreage planted to wheat."

In summary may I say that subject to the suggested changes we feel that this proposed bill is a step in the right direction.

Then John A. Baker, of the National Farmers Union, supported this legislation in a statement to our committee. I include a part of it:

In our opinion, H. R. 6784 is a bill which delicately balances these various interests in wheat marketing quota legislation. The special provisions that Mr. ANFUSO has worked out through consultation with representatives of both commercial and noncommercial wheat producers appear to us to provide:

1. Appropriate and needed adjustments required to meet the special problems of noncommercial wheat farmers;

2. But still protects the essential integrity and effectiveness of the wheat marketing quota program in its general application.

Section 1 of H. R. 6784 prevents the use of this special authority for a large-scale feeding operation by restricting the exempted acres to 30 per farm. Nor does the bill eliminate the 15-acre minimum in existing law as has been suggested by some.

This section, and section 2, also, provides that acreage exempted from operation of the quota program shall not be used to build up the historical base for future quotas. This closes an unfair loophole that would otherwise be opened up.

Fundamentally we are opposed to requirements that so-called commercial corn and wheat acres be called upon to carry the entire burden of needed market supply adjustments. While H. R. 6784 does not go as far as we would like in reducing the size of the noncommercial wheat area, section 3 of the bill is, in our opinion, a step in the right direction. It is, also, a needed precaution for commercial areas against the expansion of the loophole created by exemption of certain wheat production from operation of quotas.

Mr. Chairman, in net we believe that adoption of H. R. 6784 will strengthen rather than weaken the wheat marketing quota law. Therefore, we urge your favorable consideration.

Then, Mr. Chairman, I include a statement of the American Farm Bureau, presented to our committee by Frank K. Woolley, legislative counsel of the federation:

The American Farm Bureau Federation appreciates this opportunity to present its views with respect to nearly a score of bills introduced in the House this year to exempt wheat fed or used on the farm marketing quota penalties and restrictions.

We understand the situation to be as follows: (1) Many farmers who have customarily grown wheat for feed, seed, or home consumption on the farm where produced have been prohibited by Federal law since the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 from doing so unless they pay a severe penalty; (2) the foregoing is true even though the farmer does not desire price support on any other feed grain or, for that matter, any other commodity or product produced on the farm; (3) the law denying farmers permission to grow wheat for feed on their farm has been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and in the case of *Wickard* v. *Filburn* (317 U. S. 111 (1942)), it was held constitutional; (4) thousands of farmers have been penalized and many suits have been filed by United States attorneys to collect these penalties. Legal action is pending against many farmers and administrative action is being pressed to make other collections before suit is filed.

The American Farm Bureau Federation feels this is an intolerable situation that Congress should not permit to exist. The American Farm Bureau Federation has passed resolutions on the subject of feed wheat a number of times and at our last annual meeting in December 1956 the following resolution was adopted by the elected voting delegates of the member State farm bureaus:

"We recommend legislation to exempt farms from wheat marketing quotas if all wheat produced thereon is used only as food, feed, or seed on the farm where grown or on farms under the same operation. Producers taking advantage of this exemption should not be eligible to participate in any price-support program for wheat or other feed grains, and all wheat producers affected by marketing quotas should be eligible to vote thereon. Such legislation should be substituted for the present 15-acre and 200-bushel wheat marketing quota exemptions."

In order to carry out this resolution we would suggest that the bill finally reported by this committee read as follows:

"That section 335 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) The Secretary, upon application made pursuant to regulations prescribed by him, shall exempt producers from any obligation under this act to pay the penalty on, deliver to the Secretary, or store the farm marketing excess with respect to any farm for any crop of wheat harvested in 1957 or subsequent years on the following conditions:

"(1) That none of such crop of wheat is removed from such farm except to be processed for use as human food or livestock feed on such farm;

"(2) That such entire crop of wheat is used on such farm for seed, human food, or feed for livestock, including poultry, owned by any such producer, or a subsequent owner or operator of the farm; and

"(3) That the producer receiving an exemption from marketing quota penalties on the farm marketing excess of wheat under the provisions of this subsection shall agree to forgo price support on corn, oats, barley, and grain sorghums produced on the same farm, or farms under the same control, for the marketing year for which the exemption from marketing quota penalties on excess wheat is obtained.

"(4) That such producers and their successors comply with all regulations prescribed by the Secretary for the purpose of determining compliance with the foregoing conditions.

"Failure to comply with any of the foregoing conditions shall cause the exemption to become immediately null and void unless such failure is due to circumstances beyond the control of such producers as determined by the Secretary. In the event an exemption becomes null and void the provisions of this act shall become applicable to the same extent as if such exemption had not been granted. No acreage planted to wheat in excess of the farm acreage allotment for a crop covered by an exemption hereunder shall be considered in determining any subsequent wheat acreage allotment or marketing quota for such farm.

"SEC. 2. Subsection 335 (d) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, and paragraph (7) of Public Law 74 of the 77th Congress are hereby repealed."

The Senate of the United States has passed legislation a number of times involving the fundamental principle of exempting farmers from wheat penalties who use wheat on the farms where produced for feed, seed, or food. There is undoubtedly widespread support for this legislation in the House and the administration has indicated its desire to be relieved of the responsibility of carrying out a law which obviously unfairly invades the right of a farmer to farm his land as he sees fit.

The free market has been roundly condemned by some people as being cruel. What could be more cruel than the Government forcing farmers to pay a penalty for producing a crop when those farmers are not producing or marketing a commodity in a manner which injures other farmers? This is not only cruel but is the kind of governmental tyranny that is deeply resented and may ultimately result in the farm program being discredited.

We strongly urge that the House Agriculture Committee favorably report the bill at this time.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. If a man grows more than 30 acres of wheat or his farm, he is a commercial wheat grower and a big feeder as such. Would not the gentleman agree with that? That was the thought of the committee in this legislation.

Mr. HILL. Yes. I think the committee had in mind this. If you let your mind think over the numer of acres of land in the United States on which wheat is produced, then if you permit everyone to grow 50 acres or 100 acres, you would be in difficulty. That is what we had in mind.

Mr. Chairman, also I should like to include in my remarks, and shall ask permission to do so when we go back into the House, a report from John A. Baker of the legislative service of the National Farmers Union. He and his organization, so he says, support this bill we have before us today.

I shall also ask to have included in my remarks testimony from Walter C. Berger, Administrator of the Commodity Stabilization Services before our committee in June, 1957.

Mr. Chairman, I should be glad to answer any questions I am able to answer.

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. It it the gentleman's understanding that if a man plants 30 acres of wheat and he has an allotment of 10 acres, that he loses his allotment of 10 acres by sowing the 30 acres?

Mr. HILL. That is exactly what this bill does. In other words, he is either in one program or the other. If he wants to grow 15 acres and his county committee permits him to grow 15 acres he could not continue to grow the 15 acres and then grow 30 acres under this bill.

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. He could retain a history of a 10-acre allotment?

Mr. HILL. But he could not grow 30 acres. He would have to stay out of one program.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I should like to associate myself with the gentleman from Colorado in the position he has taken on this bill. This legislation has been needed for a long time. I hope its enactment will bring about the needed relief for the small farmer who grows these acres of wheat.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GAVIN. Could the gentleman tell us what happens to these farmers who have been penalized or fined but who have not paid their fine if this bill becomes law? Are their cases automatically dismissed?

Mr. HILL. I think the gentleman from Oklahoma discussed that. We discussed that in the committee but we did not see how we could make this retroactive. If I am wrong, I should be glad to have the gentleman from Oklahoma correct me.

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is correct. That was the opinion of the subcommittee and of the committee.

Mr. GAVIN. The gentleman will recall that there was a case in his district where a farmer was fined and the court threw out the case.

Mr. HILL. I do not know whether it was in my district, but it was in the wheat-growing section.

Mr. GAVIN. The court did dismiss the case?

Mr. HILL. Other judges may not throw out such cases and we would not have any uniformity in the decisions of the judges. But we do not in the Supreme Court itself, so why bring that up?

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FULTON. I favor the position of the American Farm Bureau Federation. I do not believe any farmer should be restricted when he feeds the wheat on his own farm.

I strongly defend the right of the small farmer to raise on his own farm whatever feed he needs for his own livestock and poultry. It is an outrage against the free-enterprise system to have prosecution by Federal agents against farmers, who are only engaged in raising feed on their own farms for their own needs.

(Mr. FULTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. McCULLOCH. It is my understanding that the other body passed a bill which in effect would make retroactive the proposal for the calendar years 1955 and 1956; is that right?

Hr. HILL. That is correct.

Mr. McCULLOCH. And the House Committee came to the conclusion that that was not proper?

Mr. HILL. I do not think we came to the conclusion that it was not proper. But we felt that we were in no position to take a position antagonistic to the law as it had been interpreted in various States of the United States. That is what we thought.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I hope an appropriate amendment will be offered at the proper time and that it will be adopted.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Utah.

Mr. DIXON. This legislation is long overdue. All of our small farmers and producers are asking for it, are they not?

Mr. HILL. They are.

Mr. DIXON. It will be a big relief. I hope the bill passes.

Mr. HILL. In the committee conference we will try to iron out the differences, so that when we come back to the House we can have unanimous support.

Coal Production in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to include the following:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

It is with considerable gratification—and some reservations—that I have just completed reading the 1956 annual report of the coal-mining section recently issued by our West Virginia department of mines. It is good news, indeed, that coal production in West Virginia totaled 150,401,233 tons last year, making 1956 the best year the industry has enjoyed since 1951 when more than 163 million tons of bituminous coal were produced in the State.

West Virginia's fortunes, and more particularly the fifth district's, have always been closely allied to the ups and downs of the soft coal industry, and to a large extent, probably always will be. As America leads the world in bituminous reserves and in coal production, so West Virginia, for the past quarter century, has led the Nation, having estimated recoverable reserves of 52.5 billion tons out of the Nation's estimated 1.9 trillion tons, and producing annually approximately one-third of the country's total soft-coal output.

Similarly, nearly a third of all the bituminous coal mined in West Virginia each year is produced in 6 of the 7 counties comprising our Fifth Congressional District. This is why whatever affects the coal industry is of such profound importance to the district and, in fact, to all of West Virginia, since so much of our basic economy—investment-wise and employment-wise—depends upon the industry's healthy situation. Few of us, indeed, are ever likely to forget the year 1954 when the coal industry was so seriously ailing and West Virginia, instead of experiencing a mild business recession, as did the rest of the country, suffered a real depression.

The steady improvement in the industry, as shown in the 1956 annual report, along with expectations that production in 1957 will at least equal, if not surpass, that of 1956, is therefore most encouraging for West Virginia's immediate economic outlook. Most of the credit for this recovery belongs to the coal operators and to the United Mine Workers of America for the untiring efforts both have put forth to find and develop new markets for coal and for the splendid cooperation which has existed between the two in the solving of their mutual problems.

But credit lines are also due the railroads, the electric power and the chemical industries. In 1955, the railroads transported 71 percent of the coal produced in American mines—the world's biggest commodity handling job. Since then the railroads have appreciably increased the number of coal cars needed to move the major mineral to its markets.

The electric power industry, and especially the Appalachian Electric Power Co., in its expanding effort to meet the Nation's constantly increasing demand for electric energy has become coal's largest consumer. And in this group, too, I would include West Virginia's growing chemical industry—the chemical capital of the world—which is rapidly becoming a substantially larger user of coal.

One bit of data gleaned from the 1956 annual report should, however, be a source of concern to all of us who recognize full employment as essential to a stable and prosperous economy. In 1952, it required 100,000 people employed in and about the mines to produce the State's one-hundred-and-forty-two-odd million tons of coal in that year. In 1956, the number so employed had shrunk to slightly in excess of 68,000. In other words, with an increase of almost 6 percent in the tonnage produced in 1956 over 1952, there has been, statewide, a drop in employment in the coalfields of more than 30 percent over the same period.

Much of this decline can, I believe, be attributed to the closing down of some of our big commercial mines—the so-called marginal mines, those unprofitable to operate—during the 1954 recession. This again stems in large part from the fact that mechanization of many commercial mines has made it impossible for those depending chiefly upon manpower in their operations to compete successfully.

This points up the inescapable fact—which many of us have long recognized—that a greater diversification of industries is absolutely essential to the maintenance of full employment and a thriving business community in West Virginia. Even with a greatly increased market for coal, such as is confidently predicted in the near future, further mechanization of the mines will mean that employment in the coal fields will never again reach its previous high levels.

Moreover, it takes a vast investment of capital to mechanize a coal mine, but while other industries have had the benefit of Government subsidies and Federal assistance to develop and expand, even in wartime, the coal industry and its workers have had to go it alone. The oil and gas industries, for example, have the benefit of a 27½ percent depletion allowance for development purposes, while other industries have been permitted rapid tax writeoffs for expansion purposes. The coal industry, on the other hand, has actually had to compete against Government policies to hold its domestic markets and to retain and expand its vital export markets.

Two events of recent days demonstrate this with unmistakable clarity. Within the past several months, the Polish Government was granted a loan of $10 million by the Export

import Bank. Much of this money, it is believed, is going to modernize Poland's coal mines, for already the Polish Government is invading the Argentine coal markets—a hitherto almost exclusive and profitable export market for American-produced coal.

Again, Government policies have been responsible for the loss of vital domestic markets by failing to restrict the dumping of vast quantities of foreign residual fuel oil along our eastern seaboard. For more than 8 years now, Members of Congress from West Virginia and other coal-producing States, representatives of the coal operators and the UMW, have pleaded, coaxed, and cajoled the administration to place quotas upon these fuel-oil imports in order not to wreak further havoc to our coal industry and to employment in the coal fields. These pleadings have apparently fallen upon deaf ears for it is to be noted that, although the arguments of the Texas and other Western State oil producers have had some effect—in that the President, only this past week, called for voluntary controls over crude-oil imports—he had remained significantly silent upon the subject of foreign residual oil.

Moreover, it would appear that the administration is quite unconcerned by movements afoot in the Congress to permit the importation of Canadian natural gas and to authorize Government spending to begin the development of atomic-fueled electric powerplants.

If the measure of free enterprise is the ability of industry and individuals to stand firmly upon their own feet, the coal industry, the United Mine Workers and West Virginia have demonstrated this ability again and again and to a highly commendable degree. In this day and age, however, it might be well for the administration—and Congress—to recognize that no matter how independent we may wish to be, we are all, in one way or another, interdependent upon each other.

The time has come, I feel, for both the executive and the legislative branches of Government to take heed of the coal industry's needs and to initiative such research programs and protective measures as will promote and safegaurd the existence of an essential industry which has contributed and continues to contribute magnificently to the progress and protection of the Nation.

Moscow Versus MRA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, at Mackinac Island, Mich., young people from all parts of the world are gathering for the 1957 Moral Re-Armament Conference. MRA has appealed to the youth of the world as an effective rallying point for the mobilization of the anticommunist forces which seek to defeat communism, its lies and tyranny, with truth based on the absolutes of God.

The following editorial from the Los Angeles Examiner brings into focus the marked contrast between the foolish followers of communism and the enlightened youth of the world now gathering for the MRA conference at Mackinac:

MOSCOW VERSUS MRA

The departure of a group of young Americans for the world youth festival in Moscow, against the warning of the State Department that it is a Communist propaganda show, takes them on a futile and emotionally dangerous journey. It is a festival celebrating the enslavement and oppression of youth under a godless regime.

In contrast to this journey of the foolish young Americans—and we hope they are not any more than that—there comes to mind the arrival in this country of young people from various parts of the world to attend the Moral Re-Armament Conference on Mackinac Island, Mich.

Many of those who have come here made the choice between MRA and Moscow. A young Scot explained he considered MRA a cure for communism. Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the great Indian leader, remarked, "MRA has gripped the hearts and minds of Asian and African peoples." It is, in fact, one of the most effective of anticommunist forces in the world today, because it is based on the absolutes of God.

Whatever Moscow offers youth is based on lies and tyranny. What Mackinac offers is based on God's truth and love. We think the young visitor here made infinitely the better choice.

M. Sgt. John N. Edenfield Is Most Outstanding Airman in Air Proving Ground Command

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege and honor last week to officially greet M. Sgt. John N. Edenfield, who was in Washington as one of the Air Force's most outstanding enlisted men. A former resident of Birmingham, Ala., Sergeant Edenfield was selected outstanding airman in the 16,000-member Air Proving Ground Command.

He was 1 of 19 airmen, representing the Air Force's 950,000 enlisted men, who were special guests of the Air Force Association last week for the golden anniversary of this Nation's air arm. While in Washington for the week-long ceremonies, these airmen were rightly given "red carpet" treatment.

Sergeant Edenfield, a veteran of 18 years' service, began his military career in the Infantry and switched to Aviation Cadet training 2 years later. During World War II he completed 17 combat missions with the 41st Bombardment Group. Prior to his present assignment, Sergeant Edenfield performed duties as chief of entertainment with Headquarters Allied Air Forces Central Europe at Fontainebleau, France, and as recruiting noncommissioned officer in the Alabama Military District, Birmingham.

He served in Birmingham from 1947 until 1951, taking part in many civic activities in addition to his recruiting duties.

Now stationed at Eglin Air Force Base, Fla., Sergeant Edenfield has made an outstanding contribution to the internal information program in the Air Proving Ground Command, in addition to working on many special projects. He has been awarded the Air Medal and the Commendation Ribbon for his work.

It is entirely proper that Sergeant Edenfield, as well as the outstanding airmen from other commands, should be highly honored. By rewarding their many contributions to the service, the Air Force Association is fostering the personal incentive which has made our country great, and which undoubtedly will benefit our Air Force many times again.

Save Atoms for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times dated August 4, 1957:

SAVE ATOMS FOR PEACE

The historic occasion in the White House rose garden last week, when President Eisenhower signed the documents ratifying United States membership in the International Atomic Energy Agency, marked a significant milestone in the development of the peaceful atom. It was, indeed, the most important step taken so far toward the fulfillment of President Eisenhower's promise to the world, in his memorable address before the United Nations Assembly on December 8, 1953, that the United States would "devote its entire heart and mind that the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death but consecrated to his life."

The official birth of the agency, which actually came into being with the President's signature, could thus well mark the opening of a new era in history in which atomic swords would be beaten into atomic plowshares. Furthermore, the proper functioning of such an agency, which calls for a system of inspection and control, also promises to demonstrate the feasibility of effective inspection and control of atomic weapons.

Unfortunately, the great promise held out by the creation of the Agency is threatened at its very birth by an amendment, suggested by Senator BRICKER, forbidding the President to sell or lease enriched atomic fuels to the Agency without specific approval in each instance by Congress. This amendment, if passed by Congress, threatens to cripple the agency before it even has the opportunity to get properly started. At present, and for the foreseeable future, the United States is the only Nation that could provide a sufficient supply of enriched atomic fuels to satisfy the expected demand by the nations of the world for industrial atomic power. It costs millions to build nuclear powerplants and it is very unlikely that any nation would risk making the enormous investments required without being assured that its supply of vital fuel might not be cut off any time with a change of the political climate in Washington.

There is no possible excuse for such an amendment. The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 places its confidence in the judgment of the President in the allocation of atomic materials for peaceful uses, and there can be no earthly reason to believe that such confidence will ever be abused. The present version of the Bricker amendment should be overwhelmingly defeated.

Washington Report, August 3, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following Washington Report of August 3, 1957, my weekly newsletter to constituents:

The temper of Congress as the normal adjournment time approaches is edgy, good-natured, or argumentative by turn, certainly unpredictable—not conducive to producing good legislation. The Senate (the "other body") is so far behind the House that a House recess is possible. House Members rightfully conclude that some or much of the House legislation may stay shelved until next year should the Senate elect not to match thet House effort. And so it now stands. Some Members will even go home at a fixed date as they traditionally do. Meanwhile, there's much to be said for the country being better off if we passed less, not more, legislation.

The old dilemma facing a Congressman hit me squarely this week and through me each constituent of Dallas' Fifth District, whose tax money is involved. Should $32.2 million (or more) be spent for a questionable Texas project—"to construct the San Angelo Federal reclamation project for irrigation, for municipal and industrial water supply, for flood control, for the protection and enhancement of fish and wildlife and for recreation"? Arguments for: It is needed for flood control, drinking water, and the other stated purposes. Arguments against: It has not the degree of reclamation it claims to have, and $11 million is going into 10,000 acres (costs too much), also $14 million is not reimbursable to Uncle Sam. Besides, various other specific criticisms, I concluded it was asking too much Federal aid and not enough State and local "do it yourself"—the old raid on the Federal grab bag. Having so ruled against the bill on its merits, which is solely a Congressman's responsibility, I was confronted by the dilemma. The project sponsor, who sincerely believes it necessary and worth while for his district, is an esteemed and admired fellow Texas colleague and after all, this is a Texas project, an opportunity to get back some of the money we send to Washington. Should I please my colleague and help get this project for Texas, regardless of my better judgment? Many voted for the bill because they liked the Congressman, even though they disapproved the project. For my part, having disapproved the project on its demerits over its merits, I opposed the bill. Speaker SAM RAYBURN succeeded in carrying the day by getting 12 Members to change their votes, and the bill passed 189 to 202. As one Member put it, "It being a rather tight vote, with the opposition having an apparent majority, I noted the Speaker going down on the floor talking earnestly to some of the members of his party, and then I observed 12 Members getting up and going down into the well and changing their votes on the motion to recommit from aye to nay—a change of 24 on the roll call, with the result that again Texas is in line for a Federal handout for $30 million, only one-half of which will ever be returned." Now the Speaker and all the bill's supporters must open the grab bag for everyone else if they would be consistent. Where now is Government economy and "cut the budget"? Well, that's how it's done in Washington. What would you have done in my place?

The Niagara power developing bill was the week's crowning blow to me. For the first time in history the Niagara Falls will be developed by public power instead of the private enterprise of the past. The debate brought out many arguments why it was necessary now to authorize the New York State Power Authority to do the job—all except the real one—namely, that the New York State authorities had determined that the State would take over this power development and that was that. In the testimony before the Public Works Committee this position was made very clear.

To my questions of why private enterprise couldn't do the job, the 1971 license-expiration was cited. Conveniently overlooked was the fact that the license could be renewed, and that New York State would oppose this renewal, and then when the private power companies admitted they couldn't go ahead without the license, the New York sponsors point out that they are unable to do the job and that New York State would and could develop this power.

Failing to get the answers and observing only 99 Members of the 435 present, I objected, and so temporarily stopped proceedings. However, the bill passed. I predict we will live to regret this further socialization of our Nation's power production facilities, and I condemn the manner in which the bill was railroaded through the committee hastily and solely by political pressure.

Mathematics: Did you know we will spend more dollars in foreign aid this year than there are seconds of time in a century? Or that to measure our $275 billion national debt at $1 per second, we must go back through all time from the year 6758 B. C. to today?

Administration and Federal Reserve Authorities Think a Moderate Recession Best Thing That Could Happen Now, Journal of Commerce Says

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I include here an extremely interesting article by Sylvia Porter in which she says that in off-the-record conversations with policymakers and influential economists in Washington she has heard them say, in effect—"What we need to end the wage-price spiral in this country is a little recession, and the quicker it comes the better."

If this defeatist attitude is the best this administration has to offer the people of our great country it had better pack up quickly and depart.

I can think of nothing that is more likely to lead to a depression than depression psychology.

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH
(By Sylvia Porter)
KISS AND TELL

Unless you are the 1 in 4,400 who reads the Journal of Commerce you never saw this in print before:

"The evidence now points strongly to the conclusion that both the administration and the Federal Reserve authorities believe that a 'moderate recession now' would be a small price to pay for the avoidance of another boom-and-bust later on. * * *

"Such a policy leads compellingly to the all-important psychological (or public relations) problem of whether the administration should take the public into its confidence by trying to explain its goals and methods—or whether it is better just to follow the course it deems necessary without attempting to make it palatable to the public by official explanations. * * *

"Involved is not merely the problem of whether or not the public should be told, but * * * whether such a crusade * * * actually would increase the danger of inflation by directing attention to it. * * *

"This shows how tough a decision whether 'to tell or not to tell' really is * * *."

EDITORIAL QUOTED

As that 1 in 4,400 who subscribes to this highly respected, authoritative financial newspaper, I saw this in a recent editorial.

And I quote it here because I know the editor of the Journal of Commerce has analyzed it accurately. I know this because again and again, in off-the-record conversations with policymakers and influential economists in Washintgon, this is what, in effect, I have heard:

What we need to end the wage-price spiral in this country is a little recession, and the quicker it comes the better.

Nothing big or severe, of course—oh, no. But enough unemployment spread through the country to push the unions back in line. Enough worry about the state of the economy and public resistance to force businessmen to back down on price increases and to find other ways to cover costs.

This recession is the medicine needed to cure the inflation disease and to put us into sound condition so we can move forward into a period of steady but not feverish, inflationary growth.

Well, if top men in Washington really think this way and can argue persuasively that a little temporary suffering among a few millions of us now is far preferable to the risk of a lot of prolonged suffering among all of us later, why don't they say it out loud? Because:

First, there is the danger that if leading officials of the administration and the men who rule our Central Bank go all out on their inflation warnings, they can by no means be sure they'll gain the public's support for the restraints they insist are essential.

BOOMERANG POSSIBLE

Rather, the warnings could boomerang badly. Instead of getting individual Americans to say, "We'll sacrifice what we want today for the sake of security later," the public might be frightened into fleeing from savings and scrambling for stocks, land, and other so-called inflation hedges. Organized labor might intensify its demands for protections against cost-of-living increases. Forces could be set loose that would bring about the very price explosion so greatly feared.

Second, there is the danger that this GOP administration would be immediately accused of wanting a depression in order to break unions. Former Treasury Secretary Humphrey can tell the Senate, as he did a few weeks ago, that a decline in production is "the happiest thing that can happen to this country" because the letdown will take the sting out of inflation. But Mr. Humphrey's job isn't at stake. The man who is laid off during that decline doesn't feel he is a happy statistic.

And third, there is the danger that a little recession—like a little inflation—wont' necessarily remain little. No one yet has discovered the way to predict accurately how people will react.

So, the odds are that the powers won't dare tell what they honestly think would be the best thing that could happen to us now.

But the courageous editor of the Journal of Commerce has dared tell the score to his exclusive group of readers. And in this column, I'm daring to kiss and tell too.

Southeast Citizens Urged To Help Stop Apartment Sale to NCHA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Speaker, having lived in Southeast Washington since 1949, I find myself in wholehearted opposition to the request of the National Capital Housing Authority to purchase the Terrace Apartments located at 23d and Congress Streets SE., or any other similar block of apartments south of the Anacostia River.

Personally, I own no real estate in Washington, D. C., but many of my friends do own property in the territory referred to above and in their behalf I want to make my opposition known.

Mr. Thomas D. Laney has stated the case very clearly and extended herewith are his remarks. I would recommend that those who own property in this area should immediately make their views on this subject known to the housing authority.

SOUTHEAST CITIZENS URGED TO HELP STOP APARTMENT SALE TO NCHA

Southeast residents are urged to write the Board of Commissioners at once denouncing the dangerous precedent-making action by National Capital Housing Authority's request to purchase the Terrace Apartments located at 23d and Congress Streets SE.

That this is contrary to the best interests of our area is clear from the statements of Southeast residents who appeared at the hearing on Monday, July 29. It is significant that Mr. Ring, director of the National Capital Housing Authority, testified that since it became known that they were considering this purchase, almost a hundred pieces of property had been offered for sale to the agency. What better proof is needed that this plan would blight neighborhoods from coast to coast?

Following is the statement of Thomas D. Laney, manager and executive director of the Veterans' Cooperative Housing Association, which owns and operates Naylor Gardens:

"My name is Thomas D. Laney. I am here representing the Veterans' Cooperative Housing Association, which owns and operates Naylor Gardens. I am manager and executive director of that association.

"We would like to go on record as strongly opposing the purchase by the National Capital Housing Authority of the Terrace Apartments or any other established apartment development for conversion to low-cost public housing.

"It is our understanding that public housing has two major goals: First, the elimination of slums; and, second, the providing of additional housing units.

"This proposal does not meet either test. It provides no new housing units; it merely shuffles tenants from one location to another, which is a poor substitute.

"In the second place, instead of eliminating slums, it can only create them. The impact on the neighborhood of the transfer of an established apartment development to low-cost public housing cannot but be disastrous to that neighborhood. Other real-estate values will be drastically reduced, and the rentability of other rental units in the neighborhood will receive a blow from which they will never recover.

"The precedent that would be established by this sale is one of the most serious threats that has ever confronted Washington property owners, because this would only be the first of who knows how many such purchases that would blight neighborhood after neighborhood. This may not seem too serious to those who live in areas where zoning permits only single-family dwellings, but to those of us who are in the areas zoned for apartments, it is very real. It means to us that the National Capital Housing Authority could and probably would become a dumping ground for apartment projects with serious vacancy problems. Instead of it being necessary for the owners of property to keep that property in good rentable condition, they could solve their problem merely by offering it to appease the apparently insatiable appetite of the National Capital Housing Authority.

"And what has happened to the reported promise to build no more public housing units east of the Anacostia River? I know the answering argument to this is that this is not building, but purchasing. I would like to assure you all that our objection to additional public housing in our area is not due to our being allergic to construction equipment, mortar, or carpenters, but rather to our sincere belief that our section of the city has reached the limit of public housing that it can accommodate and still remain a growing and vital part of the District.

"Furthermore, it is our belief that it was never the intention of the Housing Act that apartments that could hold their own on the rental market at the rents of these apartments should be converted to public housing. It is our contention that many, many Washington families are occupying housing less attractive and with fewer extras than these apartments have.

"Lastly, we challenge the good sense of removing this property (and the other properties that would be involved later) from the tax rolls.

"In closing I would like to ask you again to consider the fact that your action here will serve as a precedent in Washington and all over the Nation, and that approval of this sale would probably start a chain-reaction that would blight neighborhoods from coast to coast."

Congressional Help for Orphans Needed This Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story from the Portland (Oreg.) Journal of August 2, 1957.

Each day brings needless heartbreak to American parents who have already adopted Korean orphans. I believe the Members of this House are aware of the need for amending legislation which will permit entry into this country of these youngsters. Therefore I urge that the Immigration Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary favorably report H. R. 8123 which will correct this situation.

Congressman Walter's bill contains language which will resolve a sad situation which has existed far too long.

MRS. HOLT SAYS KOREA TOTS DYING—CONGRESS HELD SLOW IN ACTION ON ADMISSIONS

"Every Congressman supports legislation to allow Korean orphans to come to America but they are all too busy quibbling about other things to pass the bill for admitting the children," Mrs. Harry Holt, of Creswell, complained here.

She came to Portland from her eight own adopted Korean orphans to speak before the Mocks Crest Evangelical United Brethren Church in St. Johns.

"While Congress is quibbling, 16 of the 220 children crowded in 2 orphanages which were designed for 50 each have died. I have to write to the adopted parents that their children have died in Korea because Congress does not pass legislation that every Congressman favors,' 'she said in an interview.

She said the desired legislation will not cost the Government a cent since the persons who adopt the children pay for adoption costs and transportation.

Because the legislation is not controversial, it is tagged to follow controversial legislation, Mrs. Holt explained. Congress didn't get to act on the bill at all in the last session.

Meanwhile, her husband and two daughters, Molly and Barbara, are helping to take care of the orphans in Seoul in a serious heat wave.

Since the hostilities in Korea ended, the number of these children to be born has increased, Mrs. Holt said.

"Mothers bring them on their backs and sign releases," she said. "The ones who love them know they have no future in Korea and that if they come to America they would be loved and cared for."

Mrs. Holt who with her husband is associated in the Holt adoption program, said they have received requests for adoption of 7,500 orphans.

Their own eight Korean-born children are doing very well—"they're very lively," she said.

AEC Rejects Part of Authorization Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from AEC, dated August 3, 1957:

Hon. W. STERLING COLE,
Joint Committee on Atomic Energy,
Congress of the United States.

DEAR MR. COLE: This is in response to your request for comments on the proposed authorization bill (H. R. 8996 and S. 2674). The Commission has testified at hearings before the subcommittee on legislation on a prior version of the bill. I am happy for the opportunity to state in this letter the Commission's position on the major issues presented by the bill.

1. Section 101 of the bill would authorize appropriations for three reactor projects which are entirely outside the Commission's authorization request, as follows:

Project 58–b–8. Production reactor for special nuclear materials: Development, design, and engineering only, $3 million.

Project 58–e–14. Natural uranium, graphite moderated gas-cooled, power-reactor prototype designed for the production of approximately 40,000 electrical kilowatts, $40 million.

Project 58–e–15. Plutonium recycle experimental reactor designed for the production of 15,000 electrical kilowatt equivalent, $15 million.

Section 101 would direct the Commission to proceed with the preconstruction design and development work on item 58–b–8 and to submit a design, cost estimates, and construction schedule to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy not later than April 1, 1958. Section 110 would direct the Commission to proceed as soon as practicable with the design and construction of projects 58–e–14 and 58–e–15 at Commission installations.

These provisions would constitute a substantial start toward a program for Government-owned atomic power facilities. Further, a direction to construct reactors now may well be the first step to similar directions in later years on an expanding scale. As you know, the Commission has felt that its efforts should be concentrated primarily on research and development—including reactor experiments—looking toward the improvement of basic reactor technology. When the technology has been developed to the point where the construction of a large-scale reactor is justified, it is the Commission's view that that construction should, wherever possible, be undertaken by private industry rather than by the Government. This accords with the precept in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, section 1 b, where the Commission is enjoined to "strengthen free competition in private enterprise." In addition, this view is based upon our sense of responsibility to avoid the unnecessary large expenditure of the taxpayers' money.

Nevertheless, the Commission has often stated that in those instances in which it ever appears that a particular reactor type is ready for large-scale construction and no private proposal for such construction is forthcoming, we will seek authorization and appropriation to proceed with the construction of the reactor. Our views on this proposition were stated fully in connection with the hearings last year on the Gore-Holifield bill and are well known.

In addition to our general objections to the concept of requiring the Government to embark upon a large-scale program of construction of Government-owned power reactors, the Commission is also seriously concerned with the wisdom of a congressional designation of particular types of reactors for construction. The Commission believes that determination of the technical feasibility and promise of specific reactor concepts calls for technical judgment of a kind which is within the special competence and responsibility of the Commission. Such determinations, of course, must rest upon careful technical evaluation, as well as engineering and cost analyses. Further, a congressional direction to proceed with a specifically defined reactor type impairs needed flexibility for modifications as a project proceeds. Accordingly, we believe that a congressional direction to the Commission to proceed with particular reactor concepts would set an unwise precedent.

Project 58–b–8 would authorize development, design, and engineering on a production reactor. Authorization for such a project is, in our view, neither necessary nor appropriate since under section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act, appropriation of funds for these purposes is already authorized. Thus, the only significance of inclusion of this project in the bill is to direct the Commisson to proceed with design, engineering, and development work and to submit a report on its design, including cost estimates and schedule of construction, no later than April 1, 1958. As you know, the Commission's present development program at Hanford, Wash., includes work directed toward improved designs of plutonium production reactors, including designs which would produce incidental power. In the absence of any requirement at this time for additional production capacity, however, the Commission does not regard the development and design of a specific production reactor as a matter of urgency. The requirement to proceed with design, construction estimates and construction schedule and to report on these matters by April 1, 1958, would have the unfortunate effect of freezing upon a specific reactor design almost immediately and denying the advantages of further developmental effort. The Commission further points out that the cost of complete development and design of a large plutonium production reactor capable of producing incidental electric power is preliminarily estimated at a minimum of $16 million; such development and design, even with an accelerated program, could not be completed by April 1, 1958. For all of these reasons the Commission believes the inclusion of project 58–b–8 is unnecessary and undesirable.

Project 58–e–14, in our judgment, illustrates the disadvantages inherent in directives of the type embodied in this bill. By specifying a natural uranium, graphite-moderated gas-cooled reactor, the bill might well preclude any significant advance over the British technology embodied in their existing reactors. Indeed, the newer versions now under consideration by the British involve slight enrichment with U–235, an approach with many well-recognized advantages, which this bill would prohibit. The Commission is presently exploring the gas-cooled reactor concept on several fronts. It believes that a project for construction of a large stationary powerplant of this type would be valuable only if it made very significant advances over present British technology. The Commission believes that the specified project could only result in a reactor little if any better than the dual-purpose Calder-Hall reactors which we feel are obsolescent. No attempt has been made to estimate the operating costs of the project. In view of the bill's direction that the reactor be constructed by AEC at an AEC installation, that the power from it be used by the AEC, and that it be dismantled when it has served AEC's purposes, non-Federal contributions to the construction or operation of the project cannot be expected. For these reasons the Commission opposes inclusion of this project in the bill.

With respect to project 58–e–15, the Commission has previously testified that it believes that the construction of a plutonium recycle reactor may be an appropriate part of the Nation's nuclear power program and that it has considered requesting funds for such a reactor at an appropriate later date, when necessary research and development has reached the required point.

2. Section 111 (a) (1) of the bill would prescribe the method of contracting between the Commission and publicly and cooperatively owned utility organizations under the Commission's power demonstration program. The Commission's negotiations with several of the publicly and cooperatively owned utilities are in an advanced stage and in at least one case, the Elk River cooperative, are close to contract execution. To require the Commission to reopen negotiations on a new basis would delay contract execution and hence delay completion of the project. In addition, the Commission believes that there are cases in which it will be advantageous to the Government to give to the utility contractual responsibility for the overall project, subject to controls necessary to protect the Government's interest, and that there are also cases in which it may be practicable to provide for limited assumption of operating costs and risks by the utility. Both of these possibilities would be foreclosed by the mandatory requirements of section 111 (a) (1). The basic contractual framework proposed by section 111 (a) (1) may in some cases provide the only feasible way of successfully concluding negotiation, and in such cases the Commission would follow that framework. But the Commission believes that it, as an executive agency, should be free to develop and adopt such contractual patterns, consistent with general legal requirements, as appear appropriate and in the best interest of the Government. Accordingly, the Commission cannot endorse enactment of section 111 (a) (1) in its present mandatory form.

The Commission further points out that its estimates of the cost of these projects were premised on the assumption that contracts would be entered into on the bases presently under negotiation. It is possible that a reopening of negotiations on a new basis would result in changes in costs, whereas we are no longer at this time in a position to request a change in the amount authorized for these projects. In addition we must point out that representatives of both Elk River and Consumers have had occasion recently to advise the Commission of their need to have definitive commitments for purposes of their own system planning. They have indicated that inability to obtain such commitments in the near future might require them to proceed at this time with conventional plants instead of the proposed nuclear facilities. While we are hopeful that they would be willing to renegotiate the arrangements on the basis which section 111 would require, we cannot give assurance as to the effect which the delays necessarily involved in such a renegotiation would have on their plans.

Section 111, in general terms, authorizes appropriations of $129,915,000 for use in cooperative programs. Section 111 (a) (2) authorizes expenditure of $1,500,000 for "additional general research and development" to advance fast reactor technology. The majority report states, however, that "The committee does not approve the requested authorization for preconstruction research and development work and waiver of fuel use charges in connection with the reactor project of the Power Reactor Development Company * * *" and the list of authorized projects appended to the report shows no funds authorized to carry out the PRDC contract. The minority report, on the other hand, states that it was the intent of the committee to authorize use of the $1,500,000 for purposes of the PRDC contract. If, as the majority report would indicate, the $1.5 million authorized by section 111 (a) (2) is not intended to be available for purposes of the URDC contract, the authorization of that sum for other purposes is not necessary in that we are requesting in fiscal year 1958 appropriations in the amount of $13.6 million for fast breeder research and development and have no present need for the additional $1.5 million apart from the PRDC contract.

If the Congress decides to refuse to authorize appropriations sufficient to cover the Commission's undertakings under a contract lawfully entered into, we believe its legislation should so state explicitly and unequivocally. In the PRDC contract the Commission, in consideration of expenditures by PRDC and its affiliates estimated at about $58 million, undertook to contribute up to $4.2 million to the cost of certain specific research and development needed for the reactor project. PRDC and its affiliates have already

spent very substantial sums in reliance on the Commission's undertaking to provide this assistance. This assistance was to go for consulting and information services, training of personnel, performance of a critical experiment to determine nuclear characteristics of the proposed reactor, performane of irradiation tests to discover and extent of possible radiation damage to reactor components, and performance of containment studies to discover how to prevent parts of the reactor system from penetrating the containment shell in the event of acciden.

The PRDC arrangement was entered into in good faith pursuant to the first round of the Commission's power demonstration reactor program, the aims, content, and procedures of which were, we had every reason to believe, fully acceptable to all concerned, including the Congress. We believe that under the circumstances PRDC in justice is entitled to assurance that the appropriations necessary for the Commission's undertakings are authorized. Apparently the reason urged for not authorizing the necessary funds is the possibility that the PRDC reactor may be determined later to be unsafe. That question is presently before the Commission in a formal regulatory hearing, and the Commission's decision concerning it, based upon the very voluminous record made and to be made at that hearing, is subject to judicial review as provided by section 189 of the Atomic Energy Act. The execution of the contract does not constitute a determination of any of the issues presented in that proceeding and is without prejudice to their determination in that proceeding. The contract will, among other things, provide a portion of the research and development needed to establish definitively, at such time as an operating permit is applied for, whether or not, and under what conditions, the reactor can be operated without undue hazard to the health and safety of the public. Thus, refusal to authorize appropriations for purposes of the contract would serve to delay or to hinder the obtaining of information relevant to the safety of the reactor. Acordingly, the Commission believes that authorization of $4,206,000 to carry out the PRDC contract is in the national interest from every point of view.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that it has no objection to the submission of this report and that it strongly opposes the authorization of the three reactor projects which were not included in the Commission's authorization request.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS L. STRAUSS,
Chairman.

Post Office Department's Troubles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of July 27, 1957:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT'S TROUBLES

A Citizens' Advisory Council, working for the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has concluded that the postal service is being operated in a wasteful and inefficient manner. Moreover, the Council believes that instead of a postal increase, the department should be put on a business-like basis.

The Post Office Department is the biggest business in the country and spends about $3,000,000,000 a year. It is, of course, a socialistic enterprise and there is no competition, so there is no real pressure for efficiency or the elimination of waste.

This is one reason why the Post Office Department has operated constantly in the red, and why the deficit is increasing year by year. At present, Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield is threatening to curtail even more services, and wants to increase rates sharply.

The Citizens' Advisory Council, however, agrees with the Hoover Commission that certain postal rates are fixed not to provide income but as a factor in the dissemination of news and information, a service to the people of the country, just as is military service, and various commercial and agriculture services performed by the Government.

While the Council and the Hoover Commission do not believe that people should get mail service free, they think that the post office is more than a business, and that it is not being operated to make a profit, or even to break even, but to render a service. They point out that the department handles a large amount of free Government mail, from the various branches of Government, which constitute a service for which no revenue can be expected.

In short, the services of the post office are worthy of subsidation, in the public interest, which will always mean that certain phases of the department's operations will wind up in the red.

We agree wholeheartedly with the Citizens' Council and with the Hoover Commission. For the reasons stated above, we are against drastic hikes in postal rates and are in favor of economies and improved efficiency in the department.

West Neglects Arab Refugee Problem Which It Created

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there will be no peace in the Middle East until the West finds a solution to the Arab refugee problem. The West has this responsibility because it created the situation which led to the displacement of thousands of Palestinians. Frequently members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs have expressed themselves as to the emergency of the problem but apparently it is receiving no official attention.

A recent article by Mr. Philip Geyelin is to the point and I am including it as part of my remarks.

PALESTINE REFUGEE MESS, FOR YEARS A BAR TO PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST, IS WORSENING

(By Philip Geyelin)

PARIS.—To the traveler just back from the Middle East the scene is vivid: In the dusty street of a mud-hut village a mile or so from the fabled Biblical town of Jericho, children fly gaily colored kites; a stately Arab woman glides by in flowing dress, a shawl across her face, a jerrycan perched on her head. In a crude leanto cafe, men sit quietly in the shade, glaring balefully at the visitor in western clothes.

There is nothing at first glance to distinguish the setting from many another Arab town. But the difference is vast—for this is Aqabat Jaber, largest of the half-dozen camps in Jordan set up by the United Nations to house Arab Palestine refugees. Here nearly 40,000 former inhabitants of what is now the State of Israel are sitting out their lives. In similar establishments elsewhere in Jordan, and in Lebanon, Syria, and the Gaza strip, nearly a million refugees share the same futureless fate.

Now, to complicate a bad situation, financial trouble is brewing. The U. N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees is spending $35 million a year; over the past 8 years the United States Treasury has been footing 70 percent of the bill for feeding and housing the refugees. But funds are running out, and UNRWA Chief Henry Labouisse is presently turing U. N. member countries whose contributions are lagging. Already educational, vocational training, and other rehabilitation work has been stopped or trimmed.

A financial breakdown of UNRWA could touch off a nasty row. For the Arab refugees are the grim personification of the basic Middle East issue—the dispute between Israel, established with United States blessing in 1948, and the Arab countries that ring it. Even if the current money trouble is settled, most authorities see no hope for Middle East peace until the refugee problem is permanently solved.

BYPRODUCT OF WAR

The problem begins with the partition of Palestine 9 years ago and the establishment of a sizable chunk of it bordering on the Mediterranean as a national home for the Jews. The immediate upshot was the brief Arab-Israeli war, started by the Arabs and ending in their defeat. A byproduct was that hundreds of thousands of Arabs fled, or were forced, from their homes in the Israeli section. A few melted into the population of neighboring Arab States, but most gathered in the refugee camps to be cared for by the U. N.

Today they are still encamped, pawns in Middle East politicking and an ever-present source of violent trouble.

"We must ask you not to talk to the refugees," an UNRWA escort cautions the American visitor. "Crowds gather and you never really know what might happen; though it may not look it, this place is very tense."

Last year, demonstrations were frequent—one destroyed most of the U. N. camp installations. Their inspiration is easy to trace: Cafe radios, banned when Jordan's King Hussein declared martial law after the upheaval last April, had up to then been tuned much of the time to Egyptian President Nasser's inflammatory Voice of the Arabs radio program, rich in promises of a speedy return of the refugees to their homeland and bitter in placing the blame for their plight on the imperialist west.

CRACKING DOWN

Recently the Hussein government has cracked down on the camps, warning the tribal elders to keep their followers in hand. Pictures of Nasser have vanished and in their place are displayed the youthful features of Hussein. But nobody thinks this has changed many refugee minds.

If the camp looks listless despite its latent tension, there's a good reason—its inhabitants have little energy to waste. The monthly ration includes, in addition to one cake of soap, just enough flour, sugar, rice, lentils, and cooking oil to supply 1,500 calories a day in summer, 1,600 in winter. The camp's dietary authority figures this is just enough to keep a man going if he doesn't do anything more than sit around."

Special rations are provided for sickly children and expectant mothers and disease has been kept remarkably well in check. But if medical care became a casualty of the financial pinch, epidemics would sweep the

camp population. As it is "we have many problems," says the young doctor in the crowded infirmary as he outlines the incessant battle against typhoid, dysentery, and other ills.

Combating the flies is a big camp project, and perhaps the only diversion the inmates have. Each year a contest is held for the best effort to stamp out mosquito breeding places and eliminate attractions to flies. Prizes—a bolt of cloth for a child's dress, an extra ration of soap, and sometimes gold medals—are awarded the tidiest housekeepers.

JAMMED QUARTERS

The housing allowance is as meager as the food ration. A wry laugh greets the American's question of how many rooms a family of five is entitled to. "We figure it the other way around—how many people per room," is the reply of Yusef Tabori, the pleasant, tireless director of all the camps in the Jericho area. Families of eight or more, he reports, are usually entitled to an extra room, especially after a member of the family gets married.

Some refugees, to be sure, have found outside work in nearby towns to provide small sums of money; a number of them also work on the camp staff, or on such jobs as cleaning latrines. But unemployment is Jordan's biggest economic problem and camp jobs are few. Seated with Mr. Tabori is an aged camp "notable," dressed in white robes hooding his sun-blackened face, pleading for work on the camp staff for one of his tribe members. "I had to say no," Mrs. Tabori sighs. "I spend most of my time saying no to such requests."

Mr. Tabori is a refugee himself, a wealthy owner of apartments and business properties in Israel, he declares. His solution to the refugee plight is brief. "The only solution is for us to go back," he says in a flat voice, as if he'd said it many times.

Nobody studying the refugee problem believes the chances of going back are promising. Plans for repatriation, or resettlement in other lands, abound. The Israelis have offered to take 100,000; Iran, Canada, the United States and other countries have also offered to accept some. But the stumbling blocks are enormous—on both the Israeli and Arab sides.

HANDY POLITICAL LEVER

Refugees demand that everybody who wants to return to Israel should be allowed to, a move the Israelis won't accept because of the political impact plus the difficulty of restoring their land, homes, and property, much of which is in use. Plenty of Arab politicians, especially those of the Nasser variety, are reluctant to see the problem disappear; it would not only remove a handy political lever for them at home or in other Arab countries but go a long way toward conceding Israel's right to exist.

Even negotiating with Israel is opposed by most die-hard adherents of Arab nationalism. Moreover, some rightwing Arab business elements, opposed as they may be to Nasser and his clique, are leery of an Israeli settlement. They fear the eventual result would be a weakening of the Arab boycott on Israeli goods and they don't welcome competition with the busy Israelis. And in Jordan, landlocked except for the out-of-the-way Gulf of Aqaba, there's reluctance to recognize Israel's right to exist and thus give up forever the prospect of a Mediterranean port.

Sums up an American diplomat in Damascus, Jordan's capital: "We might as well face it, this problem is going to be with us a long time." Many officials believe it is not only lasting, but already worsening. Apart from the possibility of UNRWA's financial collapse, the refugees are prime targets for Communist exploitation, and the longer their hopes are frustrated the more embittered they will become.

What will be done about the U. N. relief work is uncertain. But even if it's temporarily bailed out, a far tougher problem will remain. Peace, and a really favorable footing for the West, will never be secure in the Middle East, in the view of authorities on the scene, until the Aqabat Jabers and the problem they embody have finally disappeared.

How Some Foreign-Aid Money Is Spent—A Mere Matter of $25 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am including at this point an editorial which recently appeared in the Wall Street Journal. The situation referred to seems almost impossible.

A MERE MATTER OF $25 MILLION

Saudi Arabia is a pretty warm place, but nobody there is quite as hot as some Congressmen in Washington are right now about the little matter of $25 million in foreign aid to King Saud.

It seems that when the King was here early this year negotiations were begun to grant Saudi Arabia that much money from the 1957 foreign-aid funds, and talks were started about where the money could best be spent for the country's economy. Naturally, there were some strings to the spending. The United States thought most of the funds ought to go to development of Damman, a port near the United States air base at Dhahran. The Saudis were willing to spend some there, but wanted the balance spent for other purposes.

Ambassador Wadsworth made a number of trips to the King's desert palace to try to induce the King to take the money. But the King was reported preoccupied with other matters, and the June 30 deadline passed.

None of that makes the Congressmen mad. What has them hot as a Bedouin is the fact that the State Department is back asking Congress to grant the amount of money again in the hopes that King Saud can be induced to accept it.

The International Cooperation Administration was wise to put some strings on the grant, considering the account of one item of foreign aid to Saudi Arabia dug up by the Hoover Commission. In 1953 ICA's predecessor, the Foreign Operations Administration, asked Saudi Arabia what the United States could do to help, and the King suggested a vast bathhouse for pilgrims on their way to Mecca.

The bathhouse was to cost around $300,000 and to include steam sterilizers for the pilgrims' robes and prayer rugs. A site was chosen, work was begun, and then FOA technicians discovered that there wasn't enough water there to run the steam sterilizers. The project was abandoned.

It may be that some similar strange idea of Saudi Arabia's economic needs led to the lack of agreement which ended in the failure of King Saud to pick up that $25 million check.

But we can understand the King's disinterest in the aid, considering the fact that he takes in some $250 million a year in oil revenues. What we find difficult is the insistence of the State Department that Congress also should insist on giving away that $25 million by making it again available to Saudi Arabia.

And considering all the circumstances, the best thing Congress can do with that unwanted $25 million is to make it, and more, available to the taxpayers by refusing to appropriate money for foreign aid that foreigners don't want.

Intervening in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the Members of the House an editorial which appeared in the New York Times, Saturday, August 3, 1957. This editorial concerns the visit of Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith to Santiago de Cuba. I would like to say that I feel the action of our Ambassador is in keeping with the highest traditions of American sense of justice and fair play. While Mr. Smith may be new in Cuba, the sense of fair play which he expressed so forcefully when observing the brutal repression of a peaceful demonstration by 200 Cuban women by the Cuban police, is not new to the United States and I hope is not new to Cuba.

I commend Ambassador Smith for his action and echo the New York Times' sentiment that Americans may hope that we produce more ambassadors like Earl E. T. Smith.

INTERVENING IN CUBA

The visit of Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith to Santiago de Cuba has stirred up a great controversy in Cuba. The State Department has ordered a full report which, of course, is not an implied rebuke, since the Department has no basis for judgment until the report comes.

Perhaps the Ambassador, who is a new political appointee, did not act or speak like a trained diplomat in Santiago de Cuba Wednesday when he denounced the brutal repression by the police of a peaceful demonstration by 200 women of the city. However, he spoke up like a man and like a good American, and it would be a sad day if American foreign policy could not stand envoys who are outspoken in behalf of decency and freedom. After all, Ambassador Smith saw what happened, and the demonstration concerned him.

Yet this is where the problem gets controversial. Given the great ferment in Cuba today, and especially the fact that Santiago de Cuba is almost 100 percent militantly anti-Batista, it stood to reason that a visit by the new American envoy was bound to cause excitement. However, Santiago de Cuba is the second largest city in Cuba. It is normal for an ambassador to want to see the important cities and provinces of the country to which he is accredited. Moreover, if he did not go to Santiago de Cuba this, too, could be taken as a gesture—in that case favoring the Batista regime.

Ambassador Smith's problem proves that everything the United States and its representatives do or do not do in Latin America has an effect on internal political situations. The United States is so important to a coun-

try like Cuba that it cannot remain aloof. The previous Ambassador, Arthur Gardner, made a deep impression on Cuban affairs by showing himself to be pro-Batista.

Ambassador Smith arrived in Cuba a few weeks ago with a good idea—in theory. The policy of the United States, he said at his first press conference on July 25, is "noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations." So it is, but the best of intentions mean nothing in a case like Cuba's. Mr. Smith certainly had a lesson on that score in Santiago de Cuba.

Since he had to take a stand, at least he took the right one and this is something for which most Cubans will be grateful. The Batista government, on the other hand, is unhappy. All things considered, Americans may hope that we produce more ambassadors like Earl E. T. Smith.

The Liberal Press Loaded Against Conservatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 28, Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, a conservative Republican from the State of Indiana, was a guest on one of the nationally televised press shows. In reporting on the results of this television press conference Mr. George Todt stated that it was his opinion that no network program had ever treated a guest so shabbily and rudely as was done on this occasion.

Mr. Todt brings out the opinion that Senator JENNER was discriminated against because there was not a single friendly reporter on the panel and that this seems to be the standard treatment accorded to conservatives, especially if they are Republicans.

Mr. Todt asks the pointed and soul-searching question which every press television panel show should ask of itself when he stated: "Why not have both liberal and conservative members of the press at hand on controversial shows to ask all types of questions?"

Mr. Todt's article appeared in the San Fernando Valley Times on Wednesday, July 31, and was as follows:

"The hare-brained chatter of irresponsible frivolity."—Disraeli Speech, 1878.

When Republican Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, of Indiana, "met the press" last Sunday on a nationally televised show, I think a new low may have been reached. It would be hard to select any network program any time, any place, any station—that ever treated a guest so shabbily and rudely as this one did on that occasion. The superliberals had their day in court.

Cute little old Mrs. Mae Craig screamed shrilly that Time magazine had labeled the Senator "a reactionary and an old fossil." Brainy Ernest Lindley scowled contemptuously with overly arched eyebrows that darted looks of hatred at Mr. JENNER. Powerful Richard Wilson cut off the Senator's remarks at every available opportunity. Lawrence Spivak distinguished himself again by asking impertinent questions which seemed designed to portray the Hoosier as the dark scoundrel the superliberals undoubtedly think him to be. How did they make out?

Sorry to disappoint anyone, but this loaded kangaroo court didn't get far with Senator JENNER. He made them all look a bit on the silly side. For the more they poured out their venom and spleen on him, the more he smiled at them and spoke with charity and kindness in return. It really burned up this little section of the so-called press. Better luck next time.

The trouble with Senator JENNER is that he knows which way is up where the Communist conspiracy is concerned. While the superliberal panel expressed their horror at the Senator's newly proposed bill which would limit the self-enlarged powers of the Supreme Court in matters affecting the internal security of the United States, he made it quite clear why we must protect ourselves in this particular area. He said that the aim of the Reds is still to dominate the world—and we are their number one target to destroy and thereby accomplish their goal.

Under such circumstances, said Hoosier BILL JENNER, it is ridiculous for the Supreme Court to bend over backwards so far in the preservation of some fancied rights for individuals that it loses sight of the man objective—the preservation of the United States. Few loyal Americans will take exception to the Senator's premise here.

Some really meant-to-be-lethal blows were pitched at the Indiana solon when the press tried to egg him into a fight with President Eisenhower—which got nowhere. Senator JENNER pointed out that he was a Republican of the nonhyphenated variety, and as such he would support Mr. Eisenhower, the leader of the Republican party. And he made an excellent point in stating his position. He said that the party was big enough to hold many persons and groups of diverging points of view—that in actual practice there were 48 GOP state organizations inside the national party and within the continental limits of the United States. As to whether he was a "good Republican"? Well, now, said Hoosier BILL, having been in the Senate some 18 years—it seemed apparent that he must be a pretty good Indiana kind of Republican or he wouldn't have gotten elected all those times. Touche.

Actually, Senator JENNER was more than a match for the outgunned opponents who tried to smear him for the edification of the superliberals in the television audience who imagined that he would receive short shrift at the hands of their brave champions of the press—but that is not the point. What is important is that he was discriminated against not a single friendly reporter among the whole lot—and if this is the loaded kind of rude reception a conservative Republican must be subjected to in order to be heard on television nowadays, it might be better to have stood in bed, period.

Judging from the inane intellectual quality of most superliberal commentators and members of the press today, it is no danger to anybody that their views be heard. It is just that they manage to make it appear that they are in overwhelmingly preponderant numbers and if you don't think as they do, you are in that fearful group called the minority. Heaven forbid.

Let the superliberals load their stacked panels in the future to the tune of 3 out of 4 or even 9 out of 10, if they want to do so. But is it too much to ask them to allow just one real member of the press like George Sokolsky, or David Lawrence, or Holmes Alexander—or any one of dozens like them in the honest-to-Pete press who are scornful of liberalissimo and know how to say so—to sit in just to keep the game honest?

Unless the pseudoliberals stop monopolizing all the spots for themselves on panel shows of this type, they will ultimately prove at least this much beyond all doubt; they must be scared of their own shadows. Why not have an honest debate once in a while? Why not have both liberal and conservative members of the press at hand on controversial shows to ask all types of questions? Or do the former require an exclusive monopoly kind of handicap to appear to come out even in the argument? Some press, isn't it?

Trading With Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) News of July 25, 1957:

TRADING WITH RED CHINA

Representative BYRD of West Virginia, speaking in Congress the other day against trading with Red China, recounted a story by Tolstoi entitled "What Shall It Profit?".

In the story Tolstoi told of a young man who had land hunger and who added land to land and farm to farm, but could never get enough. The young man's father died and left his huge estate, but the young man was still not satisfied, and he would lie awake at night planning and scheming as to how he might increase his possessions. One day there appeared in his presence a stranger upon whose countenance were authority and power. The stranger promised the young man all of the land that he could cover in a day for a thousand rubles. He said that the young man could start in any direction and go as far and as fast as he would, and that if he were back by sunset he could have all of the land that he had encompassed.

So the young man took off his hat and coat and placed the money upon the ground and, without saying a word to his wife and children, he started out at sunrise to get, at last, enough land. He started leisurely enough, but after a while he hurried a little and then he went faster still. His original plan was to cover a plot of ground 6 miles square, but after he had walked the first 6 miles he paused and look to the right and to the left. He thought that it was the finest land that he had ever seen, and he decided to walk 3 more miles, and then he walked 3 more miles. Then he walked 3 more miles, until he had covered a distance of 15 miles before he turned upon the second side. He completed the second side, a total distance of 30 miles, just as the sun crossed the meridian. He came upon an old man drinking water from a spring, but in his hunger for land he brushed the old man's cup aside and pressed on.

All through the long afternoon he constantly accelerated his pace, fearful that he had undertaken too much and might lose it all in the end. When he was within a few miles of the goal, it seemed that he would be completely overcome with exhaustion, but, being a young and ambitious man, he summoned the last ounce of his strength and he put forth one final and tremendous effort to reach the starting point before the sun should set. As the afternoon shadows lengthened and the hours wore on, the path became less level and his feet were bruised upon the stones. When he was within a few yards of the goal, he no longer could stand upon his feet, but he made his way painfully, crawling inch by inch upon the ground. He no longer could see to the left or to the right. Every muscle was aching and every nerve seemed to be breaking.

Looking ahead, he saw standing at the grave of his father the stranger with a cruel, cynical smile upon his face.

The man reached the starting point just as the sun went down, but he had overtaxed his strength, and he fell dead upon the spot. The servants dug a grave for him, and the stranger said to the servants, "I promised him all of the land that he could cover. You see how it is: 6 feet long and 3 feet wide." And with that, the stranger, who was called Death, vanished, and as he did so he said, "I have kept my pledge."

Those who today are urging that we trade with Red China are thinking perhaps of material gains and political gains. The question is whether we are going to forsake moral principles for political and economic gains.

We trust this country will not, for the sake of a few dollars in trade, surrender our principles as a great nation and a great people.

Plans for the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave obtained to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a prize-winning essay entitled "My Plans for the Future," written by Robert Dayton Denham, a senior at the James A. Gray High School, Winston-Salem, N. C.:

Realizing that the continuance of educational preparation after high school is becoming more and more essential for today's youth, I desire to enter college after graduation and obtain the best possible training for future life. To receive the maximum benefits offered by this training, I believe it should include the four aspects of my life: spiritual, mental, physical, and social. Knowing also the standards to which American vocational requirements have soared and the extremely high demand for college trained graduates in both the professional and business worlds, I can readily see the necessity for a college education if I am to become a successful citizen and public servant.

I want to enter college to develop my mind further and to prepare myself adequately for future endeavors. Meeting others and learning how to live sociably with them will also be an important phase of my college training. I am confident that my college life will assist me in discovering my position as a Christian citizen in our complex world.

Although I have not yet reached a definite decision concerning my life's work, I have given deepest consideration to the following: scientific research, teaching, and the ministry. I believe that either of these vocations will offer to me the opportunity of accomplishing something purposeful and objective with my life. Whatever profession I choose will be self-satisfying in itself and also beneficial to mankind.

To become a Christian citizen who can in some way, whether great or small, contribute to the betterment of humanity is my educational goal.

Defense Department Helps Boy Scouts "Be Prepared" at Valley Forge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, last month it was my pleasure to visit the campsite of the Fourth National Jamboree of the Boy Scouts of America at Valley Forge.

There were many things that impressed me during my visit to the jamboree including the trading posts where I almost was swapped out of my pocket knife for a bottle labeled, "Hot Air From the Nation's Capitol." The sight of nearly 60,000 young Americans encamped on that hallowed bit of ground in numbers exceeding several times the number of General Washington's tattered army, was an inspiration.

I was also impressed with the organization of this vast project and the smoothness with which it operated.

It is my purpose this afternoon to pay special tribute to the manner in which the Department of Defense executed Public Law 638, passed during the 84th session authorizing the Department to lend the Boy Scouts certain equipment and services. It is doubtful that this great jamboree could have succeeded without the cooperation of the Army and Navy in providing camping and medical facilities. Certainly our armed services did much to help the Boy Scouts "be prepared" in their traditionally thorough fashion.

I would like to have inserted in the RECORD at this point a fact sheet printed July 13, 1957, detailing some of the services and equipment lent by the armed services and outlining the manner in which it was lent. Also, the men mentioned in the report, speaking from my personal observation of the job they did, deserve special commendation.

UNITED STATES ARMY SUPPORT OF THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA NATIONAL JAMBOREE, 1957, VALLEY FORGE PARK, PA.

The Congress of the United States, by Public Law 638, 84th Congress, June 19, 1956, authorized the Secretary of Defense to lend to the Boy Scouts of America certain items of equipment and to furnish certain services in support of the Fourth National Jamboree, July 12 through 18, 1957, at Valley Forge Park, Pa.

The United States Army was directed to coordinate and execute this support mission. The Second United States Army, under command of Lt. Gen. Charles E. Hart, Fort George G. Meade, Md., is carrying out the Army's support effort.

Col. Curtis L. Williams, Assistant Judge Advocate, Second United States Army, was appointed as the Department of Defense liason officer to the Boy Scout National Jamboree. During the jamboree at Valley Forge Park, Colonel Williams is serving as the deputy director of mobilization on the jamboree staff. He has been assisted by 1st Lt. Robert B. Nolan, also from Headquarters, Second United States Army.

Col. Frank W. Bryant, who has been closely associated with the Boy Scouts of America since 1935, voluntarily is serving the jamboree staff as director of mobilization.

Representatives of the Boy Scouts, Department of Defense, Department of the Army and Second United States Army on July 5, 1956, formulated plans to construct a permanent 60,000-seat amphitheater in the Valley Forge Park. The 160th Engineer Group, Fort Knox, Ky., began work on the bowl August 28, 1956. By October 14, 1956, the work was completed. Approximately 90,000 cubic yards of earth was moved in the process of providing a sloped seating arrangement and a stage almost as large as a football field. The stage was designed to accommodate 3,000 Boy Scouts in their jamboree pageant.

On March 15, 1957, 2 officers and 6 enlisted men from Headquarters, Second United States Army, moved into Valley Forge Park to coordinate the reception of the military equipment and supplies. Lt. Col. Paul M. Neumann, G-4 Section, Headquarters, Second United States Army, was designated United States Army officer in charge of support and 1st Lt. Robert B. Boyce, his assistant.

An estimated $2,500,000 worth of Army equipment and supplies, on a loan basis and without cost to the United States Government, began moving into the Valley Forge Park on April 1, 1957. The equipment and supplies were drawn from Army and Navy sources throughout the United States. All transportation charges for moving the equipment from military depots, and return, are borne by the Boy Scouts of America. Agreements between the Boy Scouts of America and the United States Army provide that the Boy Scouts of America will be responsible for reimbursement for all losses or damages to military property.

Major items of Army equipment provided are: 150 passenger and cargo vehicles; 4,000 tents; 3,000 canvas water bags; 3,500 cots; 30 walkie-talkies radios; 5,800 fire extinguishers; and 5,800 5-gallon water cans. The Department of the Navy provided 125 field refrigerators of 150 cubic feet capacity.

The last items of equipment were received at the jamboree site July 8, 4 days before the formal opening.

United States Army personnel and unit support are provided for the National Boy Scout officials in charge of the jamboree in all major fields necessary to operate a camp for 52,000 Scouters. One of the largest units is the 354th General Hospital, an Army Reserve organization from Washington, D. C., which is on its annual 2 weeks active duty training.

The Army Reserve hospital is supported by the 27th Surgical Hospital (mobile) composed of 1 officer and 52 medical enlisted men from Fort George G. Meade, Md.; the 888th Ambulance Platoon with 1 officer and 28 enlisted personnel, also from Fort Meade. A mobile dental van with four officers from Second United States Army is integrated with the hospital in the camps medical area for a facility which is capable of handling any hospital requirement of short duration. The facility will act also as a medical clearing station for any patient who may require hospitalization over 72 hours. For such patients 600 beds at the Valley Forge United States Army Hospital and 125 beds at the Naval Hospital, Philadelphia, are held on a standby basis.

For instruction on the .22-caliber rifle range are 3 officers and 42 enlisted paratroopers from the 101st Airborne Division, Fort Campbell, Ky.

To assist the photographic requirements of the jamboree the United States Army Pic-

orial Center, Long Island, N. Y., has supplied officers and 5 enlisted technicians from the Second Signal Platoon (photographic). This unit is capable of processing 300 prints per day.

From the United States Military Academy, West Point, will be 24 cadets, in 2 increments of 12 each, to assist in the field sports program. All of the cadets are former Boy Scouts and most became Eagle Scouts during their scouting career. First Classman H. P. Gardner, Washington, D. C., heads the first increment at Valley Forge Park from July 8 to July 15. The senior cadet for the second increment, July 13 to July 20, has yet to be announced.

American Miners Facing Real Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, on August 1 the Committee on Ways and Means began hearings on legislation of vital importance to American miners, particularly in the lead and zinc mining industry.

There is no doubt about the fact that this basic industry, so vital to our national security, is today facing a crisis in terms of a surging flood of uncontrolled foreign imports, with steadily declining price levels which make domestic mining operations impossible at our higher cost and wage levels.

One of the most persuasive arguments in favor of action by our Government to relieve this grave situation was given before the Ways and Means Committee by our colleague from the Seventh District in Missouri, the Honorable CHARLES J. BROWN.

Congressman BROWN'S clear and penetrating statement in support of a better break for our American metals producer and miner is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the gentleman from Missouri is serving his first term in this body, and first came to grips with this problem only a few months ago.

America's miners have an eloquent new champion in the House, and Charles Brown's argument in their behalf is sure to command attention in the committee and in this body:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES H. BROWN, SEVENTH DISTRICT, MISSOURI, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, AUGUST 1, 1957.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and the members of this distinguished committee for letting me join this discussion. We of southwest Missouri are a part of the Missouri-Oklahoma-Kansas tri-State mining area and are vitally interested in this problem. We've been living with it, day after day; and we submit that there's a matter of moral obligation here, in addition to the economic considerations.

Suppose during the wartime automobile shortage, you just had to have a new car. You went to a good friend who worked around and got you one. Then, when automobiles got plentiful again, you got ready for another new car. And because somebody else offered you one for $50 less, you turned your back on your old friend.

Just 15 years ago during World War II, you didn't see many lead and zinc miners in Washington. Washington was out looking for miners, begging them to pump stagnant water out of any hole in the ground that even resembled a mine, pleading with them to get ore to the kilns. The Nation was fighting for its life; and with many foreign sources untouchable for the duration, it was up to American miners to produce.

It's a matter of history that they did produce. At controlled prices without profiteering. And the Nation was lavish in its gratitude.

Now there are certain raw materials that are more or less wartime products. You gear up to produce them while the fight's going on; and the minute it's over, you lock the door and shut them till the next emergency.

But now, lead and zinc aren't in that category. These metals have an important place in peacetime industry. And even during those brief years between the end of World War II and the Korean conflict, our United States mines did not produce as much lead and zinc as the United States used. We imported substantial quantities each year.

Each year imports increased. In 1952, when we started "laying in" strategic metals for defense against communism, imports reached a 161 percent ratio to domestic mine production and have continued to be the lion's share ever since.

Now, there have been some valid reasons for importing. It's just "playing it safe" to conserve your own raw materials in the ground and stockpile some foreign supplies when you're expecting war.

And there was the other selling point that importing a percentage of cheaper foreign ores meant cheaper prices for consumer goods. It looked like a happy combination.

But the longer this thing goes on, the unhappier this combination gets, because it's out of balance. Some lead and zinc imports may be good business, but too much is not good business, because the Nation then gets in the position of turning its back on its best friends—its own lead and zinc producers.

Torrential imports have driven the price of lead down to 14 cents and zinc to 10 cents. And while you might look on those prices as a bargain in the short run, I wonder how cheap it really is for the long run. Our United States miners can't produce it for that. And remember, when the chips are down, our own miners may be the only ones we'll have.

Aren't we, as consumers, or—more to the point—are not American manufacturers driving too hard a bargain here? Can't there be a better balance between domestic output and imports? Surely it is worth something to have a dependable source of supply.

That's all the lead and zinc industry wants. They're not asking us to build a high wall and lock out all lead and zinc imports. They're not asking us to protect them with a price that would guarantee a lead-pipe cinch profit to any and all comers who want to call themselves mining companies.

All they're asking is that the government help get a better balance in this import ratio picture—protection at a peril point level—so we don't kill off too many of these mining companies that we were praising so loudly just a few years back.

Now I think that's a fair request. The Nation—we consumers—have a moral obligation to stick by our own miners who stuck by us. And actually, we'll be surprised as just how little the consumer price increases will be, if they're legitimate. The big cost in merchandise today is at the manufacturing or processing level.

And don't forget, when you talk about consumers, people who produce raw materials are consumers, too. They haven't been the purchasers they should have been in recent years, because we're living in an era that I call the "manufacturers age." Processors and fabricators sit at the head of the table and keep rooting out defenseless raw material producers and distributors. But miners buy consumer goods, too. If they can stay in business, they'll buy something from somebody else.

And one more thing, a better balance on imports of lead and zinc poses no real problem for those who look forward to the day when the nations of the world can trade together without trade barriers, or who have always supported reciprocal agreements, trade not aid, and other similar ideals.

The direct route to an objective—the shortest distance between two points—is not always the straight line. Sometimes, it is wise to veer aside a step or two to avoid an open manhole.

These are abnormal times. Maybe some people are tired of hearing about it; but there's still a worldwide Communist conspiracy afoot that hates the United States and everything it stands for.

Under those circumstances, it's just plain shortsighted to import too much lead and zinc into this country and place in jeopardy a part of our own mining industry.

One of these days, we may again need every American miner we can get and you can expand a going concern into high gear production much faster and more economically than you can start a new concern from scratch.

Mr. Chairman, I sincerely hope the Ways and Means Committee will report this legislation to the House. I know the President could do it now. I know there is ample authority on the books. But let's make sure it's done. Let's fix it so we'll be sure.

Surely, it is a reasonable request and one the Nation can honor in good conscience.

Voluntary Programs for Research and Promotion in the Sale of Meat and Meat Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday we are scheduled to vote on H. R. 7244, to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act to permit livestock producers to support voluntary programs for research and promotion in the sale of meat and meat products.

I am sure you are aware of the economic plight of our cattlemen, and of their efforts to help themselves. One such effort is an attempt to set up a nationwide program to stimulate and maintain the consumption of beef. The major obstacle to this producer effort has been money.

Regulatory statutes applying to many livestock markets have been construed as prohibiting the collecting by marketing agencies of voluntary contributions to finance this program. H. R. 7244 would clear up these statutes, and give to beef producers the authority which every other segment of agriculture has at this time.

The deduction would not exceed 10 cents per head for cattle and 5 cents per head for other animals for research and market development. It would be collected only when the marketing agency was requested to do so by an organization sponsored by the producers of the species of livestock sold.

If any producer thinks this is a bad investment, he can get his money back by asking for it.

Mr. Speaker, such a voluntary program has been in successful operation in Montana for more than 2 years. The Montana Beef Council has collected 5 cents a head. Of that, 1 cent was kept in the State, 2 cents was sent to the National Beef Council, and 2 cents to the National Livestock and Meat Board. In the quarter beginning with last November and running through January, this voluntary program collected $13,374.53 in Montana.

The people concerned almost unanimously approve of this program. I know of only one Montana rancher who asked a refund of his contribution. He received it.

My file on this legislation includes the following letters and telegram from Mr. Ralph Miracle of Helena, secretary of the Montana Stockgrowers Association; Mr. Thayer Stevens, of Harlowton, a director of the Montana Beef Council, and Mr. Everett E. Shuey, secretary-treasurer of the Montana Wool Growers Association:

MONTANA STOCKGROWERS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Helena, Mont., March 18, 1957.

The Honorable LEE METCALF,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Lee, you are well aware of the economic problems of the beef-cattle industry both here in Montana and nationally. One producer sponsored effort to overcome present difficulties has been directed toward a nationwide program to maintain and stimulate the consumption of beef.

An adequate method of financing has been the difficult part of this effort. Regulatory statutes applying to many livestock markets have been construed as an obstacle to the collection of contributions by marketing agencies. The expressed demand for such collections in Montana has made a successful program possible, but any effective national program needs the financial support of all beef-producing States.

Clarifying legislation in the form of S. 646 in the Senate and H. R. 5244 in the House is designed to secure permissive Federal legislation to permit collection of voluntary contributions. Such permissive legislation has become a key to a successful national beef-promotion program. Without national participation Montana's efforts cannot be properly effective.

Since practically every cattle producer in Montana is voluntarily contributing financially to support a State and national beef promotion program, there can be no question of their interest in having any obstacle removed.

Your consideration and support of S. 646 and H. R. 5244 will be appreciated. Hearings before the Senate committee are scheduled for April 1 and 2. Early enactment in time for preparation and planning of an adequate program prior to the seasonal marketing season is extremely important to Montana cattle producers as well as those in other States.

Sincerely,

RALPH MIRACLE, *Secretary.*

HARLOWTON, MONT.,
August 1, 1957.

Hon. LEE METCALF,
House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.

As a director of the Montana beef council I wish to express my appreciation of your support of H. R. 7244. The Montana Stockgrowers Association, which is the oldest and largest organization of cattlemen as well as the Montana Farm Bureau in their last two conventions have supported this legislation. You can be assured that your continued support for the early passage of this legislation will be appreciated by the cattlemen of our State.

THAYER STEVENS.

HELENA, MONT., *August 1, 1957.*

The Honorable LEE METCALF,
United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR LEE: Just a note to let you know that I read your remark relative to the checkoff for beef promotion in the recent issue of the Farm Journal, and I want you to know that we certainly appreciate your efforts in behalf of the promotion programs of the various meat-producing industries.

I just can't understand why the farm bureau continues to oppose the work of the commodity organizations in trying to market their own products.

Sincerely yours,

EVERETT E. SHUEY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

As you know, the American Farm Bureau Federation is opposed to this bill. But the Montana Farm Bureau Federation has supported the measure at its last two conventions.

This successful, voluntary program should be extended. I hope we pass this bill.

Taxation—Federal Spending—Budget Making

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following report which was the subject of discussion at a recent meeting of the congressional action committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Vero Beach, Fla.

TAXATION—FEDERAL SPENDING—BUDGET MAKING

A report made to the congressional action committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Vero Beach and Indian River County, Fla., July 24, 1957.

Taxation, Federal spending, budget making, and foreign aid are several of the most controversial issues before Congress and the public today. Seldom do we find a meeting of minds on these issues; neither is there agreement with respect to facts and figures by supposedly experts, analysts, economists, and members of our legislative bodies. Too frequently different yardsticks are used in arriving at conclusions, particularly with respect to methods of accounting, and so forth, often inadvertently employed for the purpose of political gain or favor.

Taxation is practically the only source of revenue whereby our Governments—National, State, and local—are able to operate. It is for this reason that every citizen should be keenly interested in Government, for he foots the bill. Budget making involving all its complex problems of appropriations for whatever use or purpose should be predicated on income—taxes—and kept, insofar as possible, within the limits of income. Exceptions will arise during dire circumstances and when necessary for the protection of our national safety. Government is big business and should be operated on a business basis.

Unfortunately, during the past 20 to 25 years—exceptions during war years are acknowledged—to many of us it would appear little effort or attempt has been exercised to keeping expenditures somewhere nearly within in income. This has not been entirely due for the purpose of gaining political favor or advantage, but perhaps is more so due to the ever-increasing demand for public projects, special benefits, doles, subsidies, relief, and so forth, made by the public. Our elective Representatives are ever willing to please their constituents and are obviously politically sensitive to their wishes and requests. So, to a large degree, we, the taxpayers, are a contributing factor to the present staggering national debt and high taxes required to carry the load and satisfy our ever-increasing demands.

Would it not be desirable through some educational program to fully inform and acquaint the general public of our tax structure, thereby making all of us more tax conscious of the many and varied taxes, both obvious and hidden? Surely, this would create more interest in Government and tend to make for more alert and better citizens.

Uncover hidden taxes so they may be seen and analyzed by those who pay them. To most of us, other than Federal income tax, the sales tax is recognized, yet this represents a very small percent of the taxes we are paying. You who rent property are indirectly paying a real-estate tax, as well as a hidden tax on every item purchased—result—you are paying tax on tax. It has been estimated that out of an $1,800 annual rental for living quarters, $360 is represented in real-estate taxes alone. The Federal Government and the State and local governments are taking $110 billion out of our total national income, which is about 33 percent. On this basis how long can our private enterprise system endure when 33 percent of all earnings of the people are taken for taxes, year in and year out? Taxes at present rates from current sources are taking more than 90 percent of some individual incomes and more than 60 percent of the net income of most corporations. The present tax rates are approaching confiscation. How much longer can our economy survive these rates? An old theory is that what people don't know won't hurt them—they can feel the pain but cannot tell where it originates. The people want to hear and learn—give them the facts in plain and understandable language.

Federal budget—fiscal year June 30, 1958—requested $73,300,000. The Treasury now reports for fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, a national debt of $270,634,309,270. Receipts for the year were $70,989,000,000. Spent $69,344,000,000—a debt reduction of $1,645,000,000. A move in the right direction, yet at that rate of reduction it would require some 170 years to make us debt free. The present debt creates a mortgage or debt of approximately $1,500 on each man, woman, and child. Is there any wonder a child cries when first seeing the light of day? It comes into this world in debt $1,500.

Unspent accumulated appropriations from previous years amount to some $60 billion. This, along with present budget means as of July 1, 1957, we will have $133 billion that, technically, are available for expenditure

The only thing that could prevent their expenditure would be the limitation of the debt. The money is theirs to be spent, provided the funds can be obtained with which to pay for the expenditures. Last year, for example, Congress, after long debate, cut the foreign-aid bill a billion dollars, but the Government took $1 billion out of the unexpended balances and used it for foreign aid. There must be some way to cancel or get rid of these unexpended balances. We can reduce appropriations but for what good, when they can be put back out of these unexpended balances.

There are some $7 billion of your dollars tied up in farm crop surplus and the 1957 crops have not yet come to harvest. The yields per acre of practically all crops are increasing annually. This, with improved labor-saving methods of growing and harvesting, should tend for lower production costs, yet parity and soil-bank payments remain high. Should farmers be guaranteed against loss and be paid for over-production any more than any other business that may over-produce and not find a profitable market for such over-production?

We have 2,387,015 Federal employees now, yet the present budget proposes to increase the number of these Federal employees by 40,000, and perhaps more. We have 37,817,000 citizens receiving direct checks from the Federal Government each month. Including their dependents it is possible that this is a majority of the people in the Nation. When we abandon the principle that the people must support the Government, and adopt the principle that the Government must support the people, we have destroyed this democracy that our forefathers have given us as the greatest heritage that has ever come to any people in history.

In 1933 the Federal debt was $16 billion.

In 1957 the Federal debt was $270 billion.

In 1933 Federal appropriations were $4 billion.

In 1957 Federal appropriations were $70 billion.

Prior to the Roosevelt administration we operated practically on a pay-as-you-go basis. For 150 years we had frugality and thrift. Had it not been for that, we would not be the Nation we are today. Where are we going from here?

May we offer the following suggestions for thought and consideration?

1. Adopt and put into effect all Hoover Commission recommendations.

2. Curtail and eliminate all Federal Government activities in commercial business.

3. Take Government out of present power projects and keep it out in the future. Permit private enterprise and initiative to conduct the commercial business of this country and not compel them to compete with Government tax-free competition. Should taxpayers throughout the Nation provide electric power at less than cost to consumers in certain small areas?

4. Return to a government of the people, by the people, and for all the people.

5. Hold all budget appropriations and spending within or below income and systematically reduce the current debt. When that becomes a reality we may expect tax relief.

6. Curtail Government subsidies wherever possible.

7. Let us, the people, do for ourselves that which we are asking the Government to do for us in the way of special benefits, doles, relief, etc.

8. Eliminate duplication of services and see that Government is operated on an economical and businesslike basis.

9. Take a greater interest in our Government, exercise our right to vote and elect those who will be the servants of all the people, regardless of party or political affiliations.

10. Cancel or get rid of $60 billion accumulated appropriations not used, not spent, and apparently not needed. Unless canceled, this money can be spent when means are found whereby the funds can be raised or obtained.

11. Give further relief to taxation of dividends. These have been taxed once before, paid, and are again taxed at practically the full earned income rate.

12. Subject accumulated interest on Government bonds at maturity to capital gains tax instead of at the earned income rate. This would encourage bond buying and thrift by the public. At present, bond sales are lacking and cashing of bonds exceeds sales.

13. Issue low interest rate Government bonds, exempt from estate taxes, designating maximum amount for purpose of paying Federal estate tax. Require time period of ownership in order to become exempt and graduate amount of exemption based on period of ownership. In this way Government would have additional low-cost finance and at the same time estates and closely held businesses would not be too severely jeopardized when called on to pay inheritance or estate taxes.

Respectfully submitted.

A. K. FORNEY, *Chairman.*
TRACY L. TURNER, Jr.
HERSCHEL AUXIER.

Military Manpower—Down the Drain—Why United States Is Losing Many of Its Best-Trained Men in Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the noted Scripps-Howard staff writer Jim G. Lucas has written a most significant article which today appears in the Washington Daily News. Its subject matter makes it an article of vital and urgent interest to every person concerned either with our national security or with the need for Government economy.

Mr. Lucas points out not only that the defenses of the United States are being manned largely by green or inadequately trained men due to the rapid turnover of military personnel in our defense forces, but also that this same personnel turnover is one of the most expensive items in the huge cost of defense. He cites figures to show that if the Air Force could solve its enlisted personnel problem alone, it could run another full year without cost to the American taxpayer. He reports that in the Air Force's Strategic Air Command, our first line of defense, only 8 percent of the enlisted men have been in uniform 4 years or longer.

The Armed Forces are spending billions of dollars to train recruits who are lost back to civilian life as soon as their period of duty is finished. Here we have a situation fraught with peril to our national security and replete with the waste we decry so frequently in Government. Mr. Lucas has a telling message in these days when so much attention is being paid to the cost of national defense. Pointing to our antiquated military pay system, his article outlines the way to a basically sound approach to both national security and national economy.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD at this point the article Military Manpower—Down the Drain by Mr. Lucas, and to commend it to the attention of everyone concerned with these problems.

MILITARY MANPOWER—DOWN THE DRAIN—WHY IS UNITED STATES LOSING MANY OF ITS BEST TRAINED MEN IN SERVICES?

(By Jim Lucas)

The T-33 (a two-seated jet observation plane) taxied out to take off.

Suddenly, the ejection seat fired, throwing the observer 300 feet into the air and dropping him on his head on the concrete.

He died the next day.

The story was told a congressional committee recently by Gen. Curtis LeMay, colorful Vice Chief of the Air Staff. Until last month, General LeMay was head of the Strategic Air Command, where the accident happened.

"Now technically," he said, "that couldn't have happened. The equipment simply can't be fired on the ground. So we investigated. We could not find the safety pin. Yet the crew chief's form sheet had been initialed to show that it had been inspected."

TURNOVER

General LeMay was illustrating the high cost—in men and materials—of the rapid turnover in military manpower which increasingly afflicts the military services.

The crew chief, he said, finally confessed that he had initialed the inspection form without actually checking the pin.

"You might say," General LeMay continued, "we could court-martial him for criminal negligence and it wouldn't happen again.

"But the crew chief in this case was a 19-year-old kid. He was a very high type youngster, but he hadn't been with us long enough to know that a mistake is liable to kill somebody. He was the best man we had, but he was still only 19 years old.

"What was the answer? If I had court-martialed him, I would have ruined his life. I did not think that was the answer. He is back working on airplanes, and I think some day he will make a good mechanic for the Air Force."

A solution to the manpower turnover dilemma which throws green kids into positions of awesome responsibility was sought by a commission headed by Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric. Mr. Cordiner's Commission spent 6 months investigating. Its recommendations were incorporated into the Cordiner report, now gathering dust in a Pentagon file, which will be discussed in a later article.

EXPENSE

Beyond loss of life and equipment, the rapid military personnel turnover is one of the most expensive items in the huge cost of defense, which this year will take $38 billion.

The Air Force spends the equivalent of 1 year's budget out of every 7 replacing enlisted men who return to civilian life after a brief term of service—usually one 4-year hitch.

Between 1949 and 1956—the last year for which accurate figures are available—this cost $17.5 billion. The Air Force's share of the Defense budget now before Congress will be somewhere between $15 billion and $16 billion. And that includes new planes, research and development and new bases as well as the annual upkeep of such vital forces as the Strategic, Tactical, and Air Defense Commands.

Thus, if the Air Force could solve its enlisted personnel problem alone, it could run

another full year without cost to the taxpayer.

These figures were given a congressional committee by Lt. Gen. Emmett O'Donnell, Jr., Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. They do not include pilots who cost the Air Force approximately $100,000 per man. General O'Donnell estimates that 70 percent of the USAF's 6,000 commissioned pilots—4,200 altogether—quit after one 3-year hitch.

ALARMING

The story is the same in the other services. But it is particularly alarming in the Air Force, which is our first line of defense.

It is not to much to say that nothing—literally nothing—causes as much concern among the men responsible for our security. General LeMay recently pointed out that only 8 percent of the enlisted men in the Strategic Air Command have been in uniform 4 years (1 enlistment) or longer. He says 45 percent of its ground crew are in their first year.

"When the United States Air Force," he said, "ceases to be a training school and becomes a life's work for dedicated young men, tremendous savings will be possible."

But it is more than dollars. General O'Donnell says the Air Force's accident rate is "heavily weighted against the young man who has had only 2 years in the cockpit."

"Most of our accidents," he says, "you can put right up there in that first tour. If you lose a B–52 you lose plenty. We hate to put them in the hands of people who are not fully qualified.

"We have enough bodies. If we could get quality, we would be all right."

NOT ISOLATED

The story General LeMay told is not an isolated case. Gen. James Gavin, Deputy Army Chief of Staff, said the Army has had the same experience with young artillerymen and tankmen.

General O'Donnell says that 70 percent of the Air Force's enlisted men are on their first tours. Of 785,000 airmen in service this year, he estimates it will lose 143,000 through nonenlistment. In addition, he says, it will lose 30,000 through deaths, retirements, etc.

"This," he says, "represents a formidable loss in experience and results in an extremely expensive replacement training program."

The preponderance of untrained men, he adds, causes many veterans to quit. They are responsible for youngsters who need so much supervision that they, the oldtimers, have to work all weekend, every weekend, and their families get sick of it, he says.

Among pilots, he says, there is another 70 percent turnover. Most of these now come to the Air Force through ROTC channels. He describes them as a wonderful group of boys, qualified and motivated for flying. They give up a good tour of duty. They are the kind of fellows we would love to keep.

"But," he says sadly, "when their 3 years are up they want to go back to civilian life. Young officers are leaving the Air Force just as they become fully qualified. The training invested in them does not give a sufficient return in terms of increased combat efficiency."

COMPETITION

The principal reason, General O'Donnell says, is that "for the first time in our history we are in direct competition with business.

"Industry," he says, "has openings for practically all college graduates, particularly those with technical degrees, and is actively recruiting our technically skilled airmen. These men are offered high wages, job security, and increasingly attractive fringe benefits. The Air Force is not able to meet the competition of prosperity and the attractiveness of civilian jobs.

"But unless we get trained, skilled men, it won't make much difference what we do about planes. We are not going to have the people to fly them."

Is there an answer?

General O'Donnell believes there is. That will be discussed tomorrow.

Terror Under the Neon Lights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave the extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following first portion of an article on Cuba by Carleton Beals, which appeared in the Nation on June 29, 1957:

THE NEW CRIME OF CUBA

(By Carleton Beals)

1. TERROR UNDER THE NEON LIGHTS

Habana terror in the night, bombed, homes and cafes, murders by army and police, flames in the canefields and wrecked trains, jails full of tortured prisoners, concentration camps, secret invasions on lonely beaches, and insurgents in the hills—such is Cuba's rhumba of violence. Such is the Hungary on our doorsteps.

But the blood-drenched Cuba of Dictator Fulgencio Batista, onetime army sergeant, is not merely a Pandora's box of evil and tears, it is also a paradox of prosperity and gaiety. Never was business better, never were the night clubs and B-girl bars so crowded. Nor the flat-tire politicians so inflated with hope—barking for their bone as they express it in Cuba—with talk of possible elections next June.

Against the lurid background of death and fear, a joint congressional electoral commission has been discussing an election law acceptable to the opposition parties. Old names. Old faces. Here are representatives of Carlos Prio, whom President Batista overthrew by armed force in March 1952; of former President Grau San Martin, a wily man, once a popular leader, and still with aspirations to return to power; that old orthodox warhorse of earlier paper battles, Márquez Sterling; men of a half-dozen factions—all seated with the leaders of Batista's coalition parties, his senators and Cabinet Ministers. Under the tarnished cupola of Dictator Machado's Capitolio, built with Chase Bank fund in another era of misery and military abuse, the solons have been haggling like market women, not over the welfare of Cuba, but for puerile legalisms and petty factional advantages in elections that in this swirl of violence may never be held, or if held, likely will be decided by the bayonets now pinning Cuban freedom to earth.

All morning I listened to that turgid oratory, phrased in the language of forgotten conflicts, wornout tinsel that decorated the Christmas trees of better years long ago. These puffing, pulling men had put on blinders against the airlift to the Sierra Maestra; they had plugged their ears against the bombs down the street. Shadow boxing. The Cuban people were not here. Young Cuba was not here. Everybody in Cuba except the politicians knew it.

In the last 10 years, a new voting population, nearly half that of Cuba, has come into being without ever having had a chance to vote in an honest election. Few have turned to the old parties and leaders. What they want, what they will do, no one knows or tries to find out. That some, shut off as these years from political and intellectual expression, have turned terrorists—that is sore-thumb plain. That some have gone to the Sierra Maestra to fight—that, too, is known.

In the end, Grau pulled the rug from under the Joint Electoral Commission, refusing longer to play Batista's cat-mouse game, by withdrawing his Autenticos, the major opposition party, and the "retired politician," the "fox of Marinao," became the central figure of the nonviolent opposition. A most disturbing one.

Restore the rights and freedom of the people and there will be no problem. Simple enough. Too simple. How simple is shown by Cuba's latest police assassination last night (June 14). The head of Grau's Autentico Party in Santiago was shot in the back by two secret service agents (so described by his wife). An two respectable leaders of opposition parties were framed by the secret police as leaders of terrorist bands.

Before the commission adjourned, a few voices rang out clearly, so clearly that the Minister of Gobernacion, Santiago Rey, slapped the speaker in the face, and pistols were drawn. But then, it was bad taste for the Senator to call the Minister a plunderer of public funds.

"There must be amnesty for political prisoners * * * How can we have an election when people are in concentration camps? * * * Why have not obnoxious cabinet ministers been removed as promised? * * * How can we have a free election when soldiers are breaking into private homes? * * * When our universities are closed? * * * When there is no free assemblage? * * * What about the police attack on Radio Mambi? * * * The newspapers that are still suppressed?"

In the grimy ancient Audiencia on Theodore Roosevelt Street in a special urgency court, in tar smell of these sweltering June days, special judges in black silk capes are trying presumed terrorists, mostly boys, and meting out 10-year sentences. Or they judge labor leaders and workers who have been trying to prevent their unions from being taken over by Batista stooges, or who have gathered in private homes to discuss union affairs, or who have handed out circulars. These are crimes in Batista's Cuba.

The kangaroo-court judges are safe within blocked off streets where, behind the barricades, swarm national police, secret police, soldiers, marines, armored cars, jeeps, machine guns. From the hot courtroom, I look out the barred windows at the noble royal palms and the high gray walls across, the harbor of Cabana fortress, built long ago by the Spaniards who did no worse things to Cuba than are being done today.

"Twenty years," demands the prosecutor for seven railroad workers, accused of no other evidence than that of an army officer, of making explosives in railroad shops. They are men who opposed the destitution of their elected officers.

"Twenty years for an innocent man. That is a crime," shouts one prisoner.

"Remove him from the courtroom," orders the judge.

In the palace, where last March Batista had to hide under a bed during an armed attack by the youth brigade, the President now breathes fire and brimstone at the "criminals" on the streets and in the Sierras—and why does Cuba have so many "criminals" these days? He shouts that there will be no armistice for political prisoners. No olive branch to the enemy. He denies that there is censorship of the radio. (It is merely for

bidden to mention current Cuban events and, a few days later, the police shut down Radio Reloj for 24 hours for having mentioned a battle in the Sierra.) False, said the Government. Yet this week's Bohemia gives versions by eyewitnesses.

Only recently Batista told the world that the insurrectionists had been wiped out and Fidel Castro killed. But, if Batista's soldiers could not find him, the newspapers did. Presently other invaders came ashore near the American nickel mines on the north coast, and Castro's guerrilleros swept down and captured Uvero and its barracks, only 30 miles from Santiago, and its thatched shacks make more news than Rome or Moscow.

Generals and colonels, called back from the front, rushed in and out of the Palace and Camp Colombia. The scorched-earth policy was announced. Crack Cuban outfits, American trained and equipped with American arms given for hemisphere defense, were airlifted in American-gift planes to Santiaco.

"If the French can use arms given them by the Americans to kill Algerians, if the British can use them to kill Cretans, then Cuba certainly has a right to use them to maintain order," said one official cynically.

But before the soldiers set out bravely to catch the devils in the hills, they gunbutted and murdered Santiago citizens. One of the Army's most brutal officers, Colonel José Maria Salas Canizares, took over the local police situation. Thirty-seven women marching out of the cathedral in prayer, carrying placards calling for peace, were dragged off to jail. Even bank inspectors sent by the National Bank on their regular inspection business were arrested and sent out of the city as suspicious character. Houses were broken into and searched. Seven persons disappeared, one a lawyer who had dared defend a captured insurrecto. In the morning, the bodies of four young men, arrested by the secret police, were found, horribly mutilated, on the beach and among the weeds.

Next the soldiers herded the people down from their homes in the hills—men and women, the aged and children, pregnant women—to Santiago, Bayamo, Las Minas de Bueyecito and other peripheral centers. Six thousand, the forerunners of 24,000 to come. In some places, they outnumbered the existing inhabitants and there was no place to quarter them except in the open fields in the rain. They left their animals behind to starve, their corn and coffee crops to be lost, their mortgages unpaid. Some had already gone through the reckless indiscriminate bombing of the Sierra that had hit peaceful settlements but not the rebels. These innocent victims arrived soaked to the skin, their bloody feet smeared with mud, without food or possessions. Townspeople trying to help them with food and clothing were maltreated by the soldiery or arrested.

In Santiago I picked up a few of their stories: the woman who had borne a child en route alone in the rain. The widow with 7 children—2 months to 15 years—obliged to sleep in the rain without food. One woman with a large brood said, "All we were able to bring with us was one chicken. I've sold that for a peso: Now we have nothing." A rancher said, "I had to let my horses and cattle and pigs run wild in the forest. Maybe I'll find some of them when I get back." An ancient grandmother, barefoot, a white towel about her head, carrying her little dog in her arms, said, "I came from Los Lirios—there—far off, very far. Days I walked, my clothes are torn, my shoes gave out. For the first time in my life I have to sleep on the ground, even here. And my father fought for Cuba's independence."

"Bloody Weyler all over again!" The concentration camps and scorched-earth policy of 1898, more than anything else, aroused the American conscious in days before this Nation had become so rich and powerful.

Now the consciences of nearly all Cuba have been aroused. From Santiago came protest after protest against the maltreatment of citizens, violations of homes, the torture and murder of the 4 boys, the brutality of the march of death. "Batista, stop this inhuman spectacle of families dislodged from their homes, stop the indiscriminate bombings, in the name of God, in the name of your own family, in the name of civilization." The protests were signed by every officer of every civic organization—bravery unparalleled for years under the dictatorship—Rotarians, Lions, Catholic Action, teachers' federations, lyceums, the yacht club, sport clubs, the tennis club, fishing clubs, business clubs, ministers' associations, Knights of Columbus, the bar association, engineers, architects, the League of Newspaper Men, the League Against Cancer, the Geographical and Historical Society.

The same protests came out of Bayamo, though civic groups there were not allowed to meet. A Rotarian in Bayamo does not have to face the facetious gibes of a Mencken, he has to face a machinegun. "We want no more terrorism. We want no more mysterious assassinations. We want no more files of hungry homeless people through our streets."

In Habana similar civic groups—though some were not permitted to meet, or their gatherings were broken up by the police and arrests made— backed up the protests. Of 67 organizations, only 2 backed out, but even of these individual members stepped forward and put their names down. Nearly every name on these lists has been interviewed by the secret police.

Protests rolled in from almost every community on the island. A third force had been born, a force of civic order and decency and peace in a country thought to be too corrupt and beaten down and frightened by the dictatorship, at a time when the official terror was never worse. It was a force that even a dictator with guns could not ignore—an avalanche.

One of the sad aspects of this nationwide protest was the absence, except in a few places, of protests by labor unions, which in other days would certainly have raised their voices. But they are complete captives of the dictatorship, the last vestiges of union independence having been wiped out except for a few federations centering in Habana.

Above all, what most dazed Batista was the scandal over his concentration camps. Since when had the well-to-do and prosperous of Cuba concerned themselves with the fate of mere peasants from the hills? Though he set the police and soldiery on the protesting signers, he rushed two cabinet ministers to the scene with orders to provide the refugees with proper housing, food, clothing and medicine. Army cots were flown in.

But already the epidemics had begun, especially enteritis among smaller children. Sickness threatened every community. Not until then did the worried army officers lower the barriers to permit the good women of the towns to come into the stinking camps and help nurse and ladle out stew from the big charity kettles. There were no utensils for eating it. As sickness and death spread, the tragedy threatened to build into a scandal that would ring down through the years and brand the dictator with an infamy he could never escape.

And so, the army was ordered to send them back to their homes at once. Within 24 hours they were on the march again, young and old, the pregnant and the sick. The dictator promised he would build them all homes with concrete floors, at least sanitary privies, and the schools they have never had. Maybe, just maybe, some day they will get some compensation for their ordeals.

Brushing reporters aside—they were asking many embarrassing questions—Batista turned to greet a large delegation of smiling businessmen from Jacksonville, Fla., looking for business opportunities. Fine, well-meaning, beaming emissaries, combining business with the pleasures of the Sans Souci and Tropicana navel dancers. But for Cubans who had known the terror of a city without light, the terror of police in their homes, the terror of the death march, these good folk seemed a bit like crows over a field of carrion.

But business really is good here. Nearly a billion dollars have come in from the United States during the 5 years of Batista's rule, and he has run the public debt up to the tune of $700 million. There is much new industry to take up the slack of seasonal sugarcane unemployment: textiles, shoes, glass, drugs, chemicals, wire, rubber, electrical goods, auto assembly plants, cement, added copper and nickel mining, oil refineries, fiber, and sugarcane-waste processing. Cuba, which a few years ago had to import nearly all its textiles, now exports rayon to 12 countries.

It is a real prosperity. True, wages in the cane fields are still a disgrace to a civilized people, but they are better than they ever have been and Habana workers make around $60 a month; in public-utility enterprises, $300. Cost of living is about the same as in the United States.

Of course, the generals get the cream of everything. Favored Congressmen (they are mostly a nuisance in a dictatorship) no longer receive their $5,000 graft from the national lottery. The cut is taken entirely by the army officers, and some even have concessions to run their own private lotteries. The First Lady, it is said, receives a monthly check of $70,000, no strings attached, for charity, Eva Peron style.

The tourist hotels rise higher and more air-cooled, and the night clubs, with hostesses yesterday were street-walkers, provide a neon blaze 3 or 4 to the block in every street around the central plaza, off the Malecon sea-boulevard, in the fashionable Vedado; and the touts offering young girls, "exhibitions" and pornographic movies have multiplied like cockroaches.

There are fine gambling casinos, too, and the Las Vegas gamblers, already on the scene, have made a deal, it is said, with the dictator to bring all their paraphernalia from Las Vegas to Havana, where the tax-take will be far less. At the moment Herminio Portell-Vila, former cabinet minister and head of the Cuban-North-American Cultural Institute, faces a court for having attacked the Alcalde del Pozo y del Puerto (Mayor of the Well and the Port) in an article describing "Illegal but Tolerated" gambling. It should be noted, however, that the mayor, at the cost of 3 millions, has also built a magnificant new hospital, dedicated this June 15.

With so much business prosperity, so much money to spend on public works, with so much expansive lid-off gaiety, it would seem that even a dictatorship, had it so much as three fingers of skill between eyes and hair-line, need not have brought things to such a dreadful impasse as prevails in Cuba at this hour.

Could it be that Cubans cherish political liberties as well as full stomachs? Machado went down in a year of economic misery and despair when wages in the cane fields had dropped to 10 cents a day. This is something new, a revolution at the very peak of prosperity. But all the universities are closed, human liberty and dignity mean nothing, all intellectual life is stultified by censorship and military coercion.

The Cubans have never reconciled themselves to this government implanted by mili-

tary force. It is in this atmosphere of darkened universities, intellectual sluggishness, cultural decline, superbusiness, supervice and military graft, shameless blaring night clubs, gambling and police brutality that the youth of Cuba from 12 to 30 years of age have embarked upon a life of terrorism, of bombings, and arson. It is a sad thing for a country when its young feel they have to become terrorists instead of scientists and engineers, poets and lawyers. But will youths who have become so callous that they bomb schools and homes and businesses demonstrate any great consideration for those who differ with them should they ever gain power? Terrorism is merely the other ugly face of dictatorship, not a creative force, and it is shaking Cuban society to pieces.

"Not even during the colonial period," declares the editor of Bohemia, Cuba's leading weekly, "has Cuba passed through darker days."

Who and why are the terrorists? What are their aims? Who and why Fidel Castro? What chance of success has the insurrection? What part is the church playing? What is the role of labor? What chance is there for a peaceful solution that will bring some justice to the Cuban people? Are there healthy, intelligent forces which can take hold of the situation in the face of a brutalized army honeycombed with graft and privilege? Or, will Cuba sink into blind disorder? There are no sure answers, but to some extent the forces and possibilities now existing can be measured.

The Lewiston, Idaho, Roundup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, this morning I received a letter which extended such a warm western invitation to the Lewiston (Idaho) Roundup, that I want to share it with all of my colleagues. It was like a breath of fresh air from the bitterroots.

If you are free on September 6, 7, or 8, come to Lewiston, and I will guarantee you one of the most memorable times of your life.

Here is the invitation that was sent to me—and which I want to extend to every Member of this body. You'll be mighty welcome, pardner:

Hon. GRACIE PFOST,
United States Congresswoman,
House Building, Washington, D. C.

Howdy Pardner: This is our way of letting you know that the latchstring is out again, and that Lewiston bids you a hearty "Welcome Pardner." to be our guest at the 23d Annual Lewiston Roundup, the first of next month. There will be 3 days of rip-roarin', hell-for-leather ridin', ropin', rasslin', and fun, September 6, 7 and 8.

The Lewiston Roundup prides itself on being not only Idaho's largest rodeo, but having the reputation of being "the greatest areana show in the West." The top cowboys of the world and the saltiest broncs, steers and Brahmas of the West, test their supremacy here each fall. The Lewiston Roundup is famous as being strictly an action arena show, with the schedule so carefully timed and expertly managed that not a moment's lag occurs anywhere on the program.

We'd be mighty proud, pardner, if you can come over and visit your Lewiston neighbors and share in our oldtime hospitality. Just send the word and we'll arrange all the details.

Sincerely yours,
LEWISTON ROUNDUP ASSOCIATION,
EARL R. BULLOCK, *President.*

Constitutional Government and States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, Hon. E. L. FORRESTER, was invited to address the Georgia Prison Wardens Association at its annual convention held on July 29 in Savannah, Ga.

Congressman FORRESTER spoke to the association on the subject of the civil-rights legislation which is now pending before Congress.

Congressman FORRESTER, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, was one of the leaders in the fight against this legislation. He explained and brought to the attention of the committee and the Congress the dangerous and pernicious provisions which had been cleverly and adroitly concealed in the drafting of the bill.

In his speech on July 29 Congressman FORRESTER ably and logically presented this vicious legislation in its true light, stripped of its camouflage.

This address deserves the thoughtful consideration of all who are interested in preserving constitutional government and States' rights, and I insert it herewith:

SPEECH OF E. L. (TIC) FORRESTER BEFORE THE GEORGIA PRISON WARDENS ASSOCIATION, JULY 29, 1957, SAVANNAH, GA.

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, my good friends, it is a high privilege to be permitted to speak to the county wardens of the various counties of Georgia.

For 13 years I was the solicitor of the city court of Leesburg, and for 14 years served as solicitor general of the southwestern judicial circuit. Over those pleasant years I had the fine privilege of knowing many of you intimately, and our associations have been pleasant indeed. I know how carefully you are selected and of your high standing in your communities. I know your patriotism, your love for law, order, and decency, and I know the fine influences you exert in every county in our great State. You, of course, know that with leadership there is an accompanying responsibility at all times, and coupled with that responsibility are the indispensable ingredients: honesty, courage, and truth. Never in my lifetime has real leadership been such a necessity. Never in that time has truth been more indispensable, and honesty and courage required. If I can possibly be of the slightest assistance to you in bringing you the truth concerning these evil days which threaten to completely engulf us, then I will deem it a rare pleasure indeed.

Your program chairman, Hon. Robert J. Carter, suggested that I discuss with you the civil-rights legislation now pending before Congress. I think his suggestion was exceedingly timely, and that I shall try to do. I know that proposed legislation. I know its background; I know its sponsors; I know its motives; I know what it will do.

I am a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, the only member of that committee from our Georgia delegation. I have been since I entered Congress in January 1951. That is the committee that has handled this legislation. Seven years of service on that committee have afforded me opportunities for knowing this legislation, and I tell you that I do know it. Humbly, I know this legislation as well as Herbert Brownell knows it, and I know it far better than President Eisenhower knows or ever will know it. I tell you I know it, and I tell you that I realize that the responsibility is upon me to acquaint you and to acquaint every good American to the very best of my ability with the facts concerning this legislation which, if enacted by Congress, will for all intents and purposes be a complete invasion of the South, whether President Eisenhower or any future president ever avails himself of that law written during the reconstruction days providing that the President can send the Army, Navy, and militia into the States to enforce civil-rights legislation. I owe you the duty. I owe our State the duty. I owe our country and the human race the duty to talk plainly to you without any evasion or equivocation whatsoever, and to tell you the undiluted truth, letting the chips fall where they will, and that I propose to do. To the best of my ability, I propose to discharge my obligation to the good people that I represent, and to the country that I love, and to the future generations.

When I think of this proposed legislation I cannot help but think of that unfortunate era immediately preceding the War Between the States and the era referred to by Bowers as "the tragic era," which was the Reconstruction era. The War Between the States did not hastily come. Every historian knows that there were gallant men on both sides of that horrible conflict that tried their dead level best to solve the problems that threatened to engulf them into a gigantic war, and array brother against brother, and they pleaded for reason, justice and a meeting of minds; but they pleaded in vain. That prevailing situation is so analogous to the situation today that it is utterly alarming to any well-thinking individual.

To the well-disposed, to those who desire no conflict, to those who realize that never has it been so necessary that we be united this day is indeed a tragic era for America and the entire world. Additionally, it is utterly bewildering to those who love their country, and to those who realize that living in atomic age and when freedom, justice, constitutional government, Christianity, morality, and common decency have all become the common enemy of the atheistic and brutal communistic theory, good men simply cannot understand how reason, justice, and mercy can be ruthelessly cast aside with a shrug, and our good people be hopelessly divided, when just an ounce of common sense and common concern for the people of the four sections of this great country could bring peace, love, understanding and unity. Yes, any historian must let his mind go back and review that fratricidal war, that reconstruction period, the civil-rights legislation, the force bills, the 40 acres and the mule provision enforced upon the prostrate South, when our lands were taken through confiscation and given away, and when our States' governments were made shambles, and when Federal troops with Federal bayonets took charge of our schools, our election processes, and even the rights of the sovereign States.

When that historian's mind dwells upon ose tragic circumstances I have just re-ted, like the bursting of the morning sun, the brilliant rainbow in the sky, that his-rian must find comfort in the fact that just a few short years, when the graves d claimed the agitators and when hot ood had cooled and reason had had oppor-nity to assert itself, the Congress of the nited States and the United States Su-reme Court annulled the force acts, wiped t the 40 acres and the mule legislation, and luntarily either annulled or held uncon-itutional legislation which is now being ught to bring back to life, and that there re better and happier days for the people this country. To the historian, to the an and woman of good will, there must be e high and firm resolve that they must everything within their power and must oke the blessing of Almighty God, in eir determination to see that justice, con-itutional government, Christianity, moral-y, and decency must be preserved.

Surely, surely one must ponder seriously d with great interest how after peace had evailed for so many years, and how after 75 not another piece of civil-rights legis-ation was enacted by Congress or spread on the law books of this land, how this y and flame has grown to such propor-ns, when we all thought that the good ople of this country, the people who made is country, the people who have kept is country, and the people who will fight this country with love, loyalty, and de-otion, when the chips are down, were walk-g together with unity and love. That is e question that I am going to attempt to swer.

In the closing years of World War I, Rus-a fell because of internal dissension, and as taken over by a Communist regime. hat regime came into power dripping with ood, with bloodshed a way of life, arro-antly denouncing God as a myth, having patience whatever with Christianity, mor-ity, common decency, and was vertiably anti-Christ regime, possessed of a most alous desire for world domination, com-ete subjection of the human race, to de-oy everything that was good, noble, and re, to eradicate even the word "sin" and bring every human being in this world to ter subjection. From their birth, world omination was and has remained their ob-ctive. From its commencement, it has en their plan to operate upon the word olerance" and through the preaching of erance, ensnare the agitator, good people, overnment leaders, church leaders, school aders, labor leaders, and every worthwhile ganization into their spurious preach-nts, alothough they were the most intoler-nt people that God Almightly ever per-itted to live, and when they had gained eir end, with only a few exceptions, those nsuspecting dupes would face firing squads, d their children would be confined to avery, degradation, and shame that could t be visualized.

Nevertheless, representatives of that un-dly scheme came into America and im-ediately and through every possible means arted their organization. It wormed its y into our body politic, into our finest d noblest institutions, and I say that thout any fear whatsoever, although I y it with respect. I hope I shall offend one, because I speak only the truth, but I do, I do not retract one single word I ve said, because the destiny of this Nation d the destiny of this world hangs in the lance, and good men and women who have en duped must realize that while there is t time, or there is no hope for the human ce.

I pause to observe here that good men and omen do not insult easily and actually wel-come truth and when they learn the truth, they accept the truth. To those who do not want to know the truth, and who bruise easily when the searchlight of truth is thrust upon them, they may be sure that I will not hesitate to condemn them and they may be sure that I will fight them every step of the way. After all, it is high time that some of our people are waking up. The hour is late, the destiny of this country hangs in the balance.

Through the twenties, the Communists were steadily building strength in this country, and in 1928, they had a candidate for the office of President of the United States. At that time they laid down their party platform. Following their pattern designed to divide our people, it devoted much space to the alleged "oppression of the Negroes". It declared war on the Ku Klux Klan while it was steadily creating, fostering, and edging into Communist and pinko organizations, all of which were advocating theories far more vicious than the Ku Klux Klan had ever dreamed of. Here is the platform of the Communist Party in 1928, relating to racial discrimination, quoted verbatim from the Daily Worker, May 26, 1928, to-wit:

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial equality.

2. Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.

3. Abolition of all laws which disenfranchise the Negroes on the ground of color.

4. Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.

6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels, and theatres.

7. The War and Navy Departments of the United States Government should abolish all Jim Crow distinctions in the Army and Navy.

8. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negro workers.

9. Equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers.

Now, I ask the do-gooders and the uninformed, and those that were duped, what do you think of those demands, made in 1928, when you realize that each and every one of those demands has been fulfilled by decisions of the United States Supreme Court, by executive decree, administrative orders, by the trade unions, and by some churches, with the sole exception of the abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races. I pause to tell you that laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races have declared illegal by the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that a case involving that principle is now before the United States Supreme Court, and I predict as a certainty that the Supreme Court will declare those laws illegal and void.

Some people in Georgia at least, well remember the case of Angelo Herndon, reported in 178 Georgia Supreme Court, pages 832–869. This case arose during the early days when communism was not to any extent known as communism now is known or should be known. Anyway, Herndon, a negro and a Communist, came into Fulton County advocating the violent overthrow of our country by force and the division of the southern Statess into a territory to be be known as the "Black Belt." In his pamphlets, the area of the black belt was fully described, and acording to those pamphlets, it was to be the property of the Negro race exclusively, and would not even be a part of the United States, unless the Negroes elected for it to be. The House Committee on Un-American Activities thoroughly documented this astounding fact and its records show that the Communists had planned and continue to plan to take over the South and to make of it a black belt. Herndon was convicted by a Fulton County jury, of the offense of an attempt to commit insurrection, and the Supreme Court of Georgia affirmed that conviction. The United States Supreme Court reversed that conviction, although admitting that the evidence showed a conspiracy to overthrow the Government, but held that the evidencec failed to show that there was a "present" danger of violent overthrow of the Government. As a matter of grave concern, I point out that not even the United States Supreme Cour was willing during that era to hold as it did a short time ago, in the case of *Nelson* v. *State of Pennsylvania*, that a State could not prosecute and convict for sedition or insurrection, and that it was the sole prerogative of the Federal Government under the preemption doctrine established by that court. Had the United States Supreme Court affirmed the conviction of Herndon, doubtless communism would have been stopped in its tracks.

Instead of communism being stopped, instead of any effort being made to stop it, it was permitted to flourish, to bloom, to blossom, and to produce its deadly fruit.

Later, and unfortunately, the great Democratic Party, in which the South had a voice which must be heard, the two-thirds rule was abrogated, and since that time the doctrine of States' rights was denounced in its platforms and the South and the southern viewpoint has been a matter of almost scorn in that party. That great party which had been the champion of States' rights and which had battled the Republican Party for years over that issue, became thoroughly centralized, as the Republican Party had been centralized throughout the history of that party. And, from that time to this date, both of those major parties have been running a footrace to see which one can outpromise the other in service to minority groups and pressure groups, and at the expense of the South and at the expense of constitutional government and the sovereignty of the various States, the very life's blood of this nation. To the discredit of both of those parties, we have now arrived at the state where if you even protest, no matter how feebly, you are labeled "un-American" and the archenemy of minority groups.

Now, in what was free America, you are not permitted to refer to a colored person as a "Negro." Last year in a speech which I was making on the floor of the House of Representatives, I was chastised by another Congressman about the way I pronounced that word, and was told that it was N-e-e-g-r-o. It happens to be a fact that I have never had any trouble with a plain Negro in my life, and neither have you, but this world has had a lot of trouble which was aroused by the N-e-e-g-r-o, inspired by groups who have cases to make, and who are not now and never will be friends of the colored race. A few years ago, it was my great pleasure to assist that great American, Hon. Chester McMillan, Clearwater, Fla., in memorializing the Swanee River and to set up Florida's Stephen Foster Memorial. McMillan was the author of that legislation, and it came before my committee, and I led the fight in that committee for a favorable report, and helped steer it to passage. Now, in a matter of 3 or 4 years, it is my understand-

ing that the radio and television networks say that they have been forced by minority pressure groups to refuse to permit any songs or any language such as "darkies" and "Old Black Joe" and that the word "Negro" is taboo.

It is my understanding that now it is considered an unpardonable sin for anyone to tell a joke in which any of the minority races are principals in that joke. According to the Amsterdam News, a Negro newspaper, 20th Century-Fox contends that they have made a picture that was really it, that Bill Marshall was starred with a pretty white girl and that it was it when it came to depicting Negro and white relations on the screen. Also, that MGM had a picture which was an adaptation from the TV play entitled "A Man Is Ten Feet Tall." You of course know the picture Island in the Sun depicting the mixing of the races, and that according to a newspaper article, this picture has been banned in the Bahamas, on the ground that "it would not be in the public's interest for the film to be shown in the Bahamas." No wonder we read in the Columbus Enquirer, July 10, 1957, issue, page 3, an article from Tuskogee, Ala., quoting a Negro educator there as saying the boycott of white merchants "means something to us—it makes us 10 feet tall." Certainly we catch the significance of the phrase "10 feet tall" when we consider the picture that I have just described. No wonder we are advised that in the desegregated public schools in the city of Washington, D. C., there is a group referred to as junior mothers consisting of junior high-school girls under 16 years of age that are unwed mothers and during the last year 129 of these girls became pregnant; 119 of those being Negro girls, and that since desegregation, unwed high-school mothers had increased 1,000 percent.

No wonder, though it is utterly disgusting and revolting to us, that we find these do-gooders not only advocating but demanding that all of our public schools be desegregated, despite the fact that they know that the schools in the District of Columbia have been literally ruined. No wonder, though it is absolutely ghastly to contemplate, that these same groups are demanding desegregation in all phases of our public life.

No wonder that New York City, which is actually the capitol city for these civil-rights boys is having its troubles. The mayor and the city counsel of New York have been following the suggestion that many more schools be built to spur integration efforts, and to outlaw segregation in most of their apartment houses in New York. Of course, many people are leaving New York City, but actually they should have read the Communist booklet The Negroes in a Soviet America, pages 38–39, and they would have known what had been promised to the Negroes there.

Naturally, from what I have previously said, you can understand the clamor and the demands for wicked, iniquitous, and highly punitive legislation regarding so-called civil rights.

One of the most unfortunate decisions ever rendered by the United States Supreme Court was the case of *Missouri* v. *Holland*. There the Court ruled that treaties overruled and overrode the Constitution of the United States. For the past 25 or 30 years, the Democratic and the Republican Parties have been battling each other for the votes of the minority groups to such an extent that both parties have virtually forgotten the old-fashioned southerner and the old-fashioned Yankee, and those who made America great, and those who are expected to maintain America. We of course remember that President Truman kowtowed to these minority groups, appointing his Committee on Civil Rights. We further know that not one southerner was a member of that Commission. In 1947, that Committee said:

"It is true that the Federal Government does not possess broad, clearly defined delegated powers to protect civil rights which it may exercise at its discretion. A detailed examination of the constitutional aspects of the civil rights problem makes clear that very real difficulties lie in the way of Federal action in certain areas."

But, let's continue reading; they gleefully say:

"In its recent decision in *Missouri* v. *Holland* in 1920, the Supreme Court ruled that Congress may enact statutes that carry out treaty obligations, even where in the absence of a treaty, it has no other power to pass such a statute. This doctrine has an obvious importance as a possible basis for civil-rights legislation."

But, read on:

"The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations is at present working on a detailed international bill of rights designed to give more specific meaning to the general principle announced in Article 55 of the Charter. If this document is accepted by the United States as a member State, an even stronger basis for congressional action under the treaty power may be established."

In 1949, Attorney General Tom Clark, now a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, made a statement before the House Committee on the Judiciary, advocating an omnibus bill encompassing civil rights legislation or proposals in every field the human mind could conceive of, and in that statement Mr. Clark made some amazing comments. Mr. Clark virtually admitted that were serious questions of constitutionality of his proposed legislation. But, he pointed out that upon proper congressional findings, that his proposals could be made constitutional, under the treaty powers under the United Nations Charter. In fact, he said that his proposed legislation would "bring about a greater awareness of the obligations of this Nation as a member of the United Nations." At that time, Mr. Clark said that his department had aided the office of the Assistant Solicitor General in cooperating with State Department in connection with United States participation in the preparation by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of a proposed covenant to enforce some of these rights. How Mr. Clark ever got consent to propose legislation which was unconstitutional and which would need the United Nations Charter to override our Constitution and to assist in the preparation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I can never understand, and I doubt that you can. It is high time, however, that the American public reads the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If you will read those two instruments, then you can understand the deplorable and completely erroneous decisions that have been rendered by the United States Supreme Court. Then and only then can you understand the famous school cases decisions of 1954. Only then can you understand decisions that passports must be issued to suspected communists. Only then can you understand how the Supreme Court held that California must admit a suspected Communist to the practice of law in that State. Only then can you understand how the United Nations is now spending taxpayers' money to develop the theory that all races are equal, that there are no biological differences, and that there is no justification for prohibiting marriage between persons of different races. Then you can understand how communism is treated only as a political idea.

As a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, fighting civil-rights legislation every step of the way, I am thoroughly familiar with the proposals of the then Attorney General Tom Clark, and I tell you unreservedly and unequivocally that he recommended civil-rights legislation covering every field that Attorney General Brownell recommended in the 84th and 85th Congresses, and which is now pending in Congress. In other words, there is nothing new whatsoever in the Brownell version, and on the other hand, it is the same old garbage dressed up in different clothing and designed for the same purposes and for the benefit of the same people.

In the 84th Congress, so-called hearings were conducted. Those hearings were absolutely one sided, and only the proponents were heard. This was done over my vigorous protest, and over my demand that the opposition be permitted to be heard. Though it is shocking to you, I am going to tell you just who those groups were, and who those persons were that were permitted to testify and upon whose testimony H. R. 627 was reported out of the 84th Congress. I submit the list in detail, to wit:

Chairman of the National Civil Rights Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, accompanied by the director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Washington, D. C.; executive secretary of the NAACP, New York, accompanied by the director of the Washington bureau and counsel for the bureau; general counsel, American Jewish Congress; executive director, American Veterans Committee; secretary-treasurer, International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, CIO; codirector of the fair practices and antidiscrimination department, UAW–CIO, accompanied by national representative, UAW–CIO; legislative representative, Americans for Democratic Action; director, American Council on Human Rights; W. Astor Kirk, who said he was appearing as a private witness, although a professor of government at Huston-Tillatson College, Austin, Tex.; Washington representative, Japanese-American Citizens League; statement of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, the statement reciting that it represented the combined and joint views of the constituent organizations as shown on pages 360–361 of hearings; also, statement by the National Lawyers Guild, National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

With the exception of certain Congressmen who introduced civil-rights legislation and the testimony of Attorney General Brownell, those are the groups that caused Congress to rush pellmell into passage of that legislation in the House of Representatives last year.

The FBI did not testify, no State official in any of our 48 States testified, or were invited to testify. Apparently all the testimony that was wanted was the testimony from those minority groups.

The truth is, the Brownell civil-rights proposal, which is reflected in H. R. 1151, introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING] was simply an effort on the part of the administration and on the part of the Republican Party to take this legislation from the Democrats and to be able to say to the minority groups, "Look what we have done for you."

The Brownell version consists of four parts. Mr. Brownell contends that this proposed legislation was his own inspiration. It so happens, however, that the National Lawyers Guild, which guild, by the way, Attorney General Brownell is trying to have listed as subversive, by letters written to the chairman of Subcommittee No. 2, House Committee on the Judiciary, and to members of the House Committee on the Judiciary, on July 27, 1955, and April 23, 1956, proudly states that they wrote or drafted the model civil rights statute. As a member of Subcommittee No. 2 and a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, I received those letters, and I have those letters in my possession, and they are available to anyone who desires to see them. The National Lawyers

Guild, in a resolution passed at their 1956 convention, said that their proposed legislation on this subject was introduced in Congress, and identified it as H. R. 389. An examination of H. R. 389 shows that its provisions were strikingly similar to the legislation that Mr. Brownell says he wrote, and which he so proudly claims. How he receives any pride out of that proposal, I never will know, and will never understand. How any man, trained in the law to any appreciable extent, could ever suggest such legislation is beyond understanding.

Part I provided for a Commission, to be appointed by the President, to investigate allegations that certain persons are being deprived of their right to vote, or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; to study and collect information concerning economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

We went to work on that provision in part I in the House Committee on the Judiciary. Bear in mind that not a single southerner was a member of the subcommittee considering this legislation this year. These do-gooders and pressure groups screamed to high heaven against Senator Eastland of Mississippi even being a member of the Judiciary Committee in the Senate. Those same do-gooders and minority groups saw nothing wrong, in fact thought it was exceedingly proper that not one southerner served on the subcommittee in the 85th Congress considering civil-rights legislation. That of course is their idea of tolerance.

There is utterly no excuse for this commission. If Mr. Brownell had had his way, that commission would investigate allegations made by irresponsible people, not under oath, not subject to any penalty whatever for lying and that commission would have caused confusion throughout this land. What unwarranted economic pressure means, no one knows, but I did know what the proponents had in mind that that phrase meant. It simply meant that anything that was done by an old-fashioned southerner or an old-fashioned Yankee, where a member of a minority group was involved, those actions would be subjected to the scrutiny of the commission, absolutely handpicked, having the services of the FBI to such an extent that searches for Communists seeking to overthrow our Government by force and violence would be left free to do their dirty work without interruption, and would have brought so much dissenion that actually good and loyal Americans would have been afraid to do business with people of different races. It would have meant that any transaction that you had would be investigated to see if you had committed a wrong against a person of color, or a person of another religion, or a person of another national origin. I wonder if you see where this Government is drifting? Here, you see an Attorney General of the United States advocating things that are thoroughly unconstitutional, absolutely despicable to the American way of life, and you hear the President of the United States saying that this was model legislation, temperate legislation, "must" legislation, and that this particular legislation was the number one legislation in his program. I have repeatedly said, and proudly said on the floor of Congress, that the people that I have the honor and privilege of representing are freer of prejudice than any people in the 48 States. I endeavored to point out that there is absolutely no religious prejudice abounding in our great State. I have, and have had over the years, innumerable friends amongst all of the different races in our State, and amongst all of the religious groups. I have welcomed that friendship, I cherish that friendship, and I will never do anything whatever to merit the loss of that friendship, and I resent anyone else trying to do so.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees the free exercise of religion, and that guaranty carries with it the right to discriminate. Were that not so, there would be no basis for religious groups such as Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, Seventh-day Adventists, and so forth. That constitutional amendment was for the purpose of conferring upon each and every one of us the right to be different in our religious faith, so as to protect against the very tyrannies that churches in Europe had practiced upon our ancestors by requiring them to conform. The American Civil Liberties Union approves this proposed civil-rights legislation. But, they tipped their hand. They said: "Free censorship of books, magazines, and motion pictures is rapidly disappearing," but criticized boycotts where religious and other groups not only exercise their right to guard their membership from material believed objectionable, but also may keep other people from exercising their judgment. Also, "That the Roman Catholic Church was one of the religious groups that had moved in that direction." Your church, my church, or any other church, thank God, under the Constitution of the United States, has a right to criticize motion pictures, books, magazines, and material that they think are or should be, objectionable to their membership. Then too, thank God, under our Constitution, any member of any church has the right to disregard the admonitions of that church. Strange, isn't it, that an Attorney General and the President of the United States would be willing to make religion a matter of controversy. You wonder how that crept in? I think I can tell you how it happened. You had better read the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, and see what they have cooked up for you in that package.

I demanded, and the Georgia delegation demanded that we be permitted to bring up witnesses this year against this proposed legislation. I asked for and obtained the services of our Attorney General and Hon. Charles Bloch. They appeared before the subcommittee this year, and they did a magnificent job. We were able to strike out the phrase "or being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures" by reason of their color, religion, etc., and restricted to such investigations to deprivation of the right to vote by reason of color, race, etc. That was a great victory, it was obtained by fighting, but all of those provisions should have been stricken out. These pressure groups immediately started their agitation, and the word "religion" was placed again in the legislation, but only so far as deprivation of the right to vote on account of religion was concerned. Those groups simply demanded the right, some way, somehow, to interfere in the field of religion. Today, this legislation stands so that this commission is going to be appointed, and they are going to go up and down this land investigating as to whether or not anyone has been discriminated against in his right to vote because of color, race, religion, or national origin. Additionally, however, they are going to study the economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws. Those words "economic, social, and legal developments" come from the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The idea of making a study of "social" developments should be utterly abhorrent to any decent individual, and that is as plain as I can make it. The Brownell version also provided that the commission would have the right to have voluntary and uncompensated personnel, which of course, and there can be no doubt of it, would be composed of persons from the leftwing organizations and the pressure groups advocating that legislation, and only for such purposes. Stacking the jury is wrong. Thank God, the Senate struck that particular provision.

Part II provides for an additional Assistant Attorney General. The trouble is, though, it did not tell how many assistants to the Assistant Attorney General would be required. We tried to get the Department of Justice to tell us, but they never would. Will Maslow, general counsel, American Jewish Congress, testified that it ought to have at least 50 lawyers in it. I think his estimate was conservative. That alone would cost a half million dollars a year from the taxpayers' pocket, for the purpose of destroying our Constitution and our freedom. The cost of this Commission we could not ascertain, although we tried, and although we asked the Department, and although we asked the authors. I can safely tell you, however, that this civil-rights legislation will cost the taxpayers at least two to three million dollars for the 2 years it is supposed to operate, and a million dollars a year for the assistants to the Assistant Attorney General. Then, of course, with all of these additional assistants, they will be screaming for additional Federal court judges, to a degree that you cannot imagine. You might be interested in knowing that the Department of Justice has over 1,700 lawyers now under its command and direction. Indeed, it is the largest law firm in all this world, and no defendant, no matter how rich, can possibly hope to obtain such representation, even if he has the money to pay for it.

Part III would amend section 1985 (42 U. S. C.) by adding two additional paragraphs. The effect of part III would be that in every imaginable conspiracy, the United States, at the taxpayers' expense, would throw the entire Justice Department against our school officials, our registrars, the judges, and prosecutors, sheriffs, peace officers, grand and petit jurors, and all public officials, free of cost to the alleged aggrieved, while the defendants would have such representation and assistance as their own pocketbooks would permit. How an Attorney General could ask for such power, I will never know. How the President of the United States could countenance such a suggestion, I am at a loss to understand. This is the iniquitous provision that Senator RUSSELL went down to the White House and discussed with President Eisenhower. This is the provision under which Senator RUSSELL told the President he would be endowed with the power to call out the Army, Navy, and militia, and invade our States. It was after that discussion, that the President winked and blinked and said that he had understood that this legislation was a voters' bill. That he so understood, I do not deny. I do say, however, that he owed to the people of the United States the duty to know what that bill contained, since he had said that it was a moderate bill, a "must" bill, and the No. 1 legislation in his administration's program.

I say he ought to have known. He ought to have known what he was doing, because when this bill was upon the floor of the House, I tell you honestly, that we had enough votes to adopt the jury trial amendment and to water down some of these pernicious proposals and we lost those votes because the White House had Congressmen called out and told the supposed political facts of life.

There is no doubt about it, an attempt was made to sell this legislation on the theory that it only pertained to voting. That was said on the floor of the House, and in my speech against this legislation on June 10, I said: "Do you think that just applies to

voting? If you do, you believe in fairies. Parts III and IV are so broad that they cover every civil right, every last one of them. It gives them the right to go into all these school cases. Mr. Brownell admitted it. You will find it in the record. Yes, you are touching every facet of your national life. Now, listen: elections; do you think it refers only to congressional elections? It refers to all primaries; it refers to every election; State, county, municipal, township, school district; it applies to the election of a justice of the peace. Does anyone want to challenge that? I say it does. I am telling you, if you pass this bill, you will have rung the death knell of your State and your county election laws. Do not kid yourselves."

Never has anything more vicious been proposed than part III of the Brownell legislation. I am a temperate man, I am a patient man, but I cannot begin to express my deep sorrow over the fact that a national administration and the two major political parties endorsed and were willing to place that crown of thorns upon my people. I told them on the floor that I knew who that gun was aimed at, and that I resented it with every ounce of my soul. Part III was designed to make the life of my people miserable. Actually, the southern people are the only people in all this world that such legislation would have been suggested against. Thank God, the United States Senate struck section 121 from part III, which would have given the Attorney General the dictatorial power to hunt our people like partridges, and the power to utterly destroy State government in our land.

Part IV substantially provides, "Whenever any person has engaged in or is about to engage in any act depriving any person of the right of any privilege secured by subsection (a) or (b), the Attorney General, in the name of the United States, for the benefit of the real party, may institute a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order;" and that the district court shall exercise jurisdiction without regard to whether the party aggrieved has exhausted any administrative or other remedies provided by law.

Make no mistake, the Federal courts would be required to entertain suits arising by virtue of any kind of election—general, special, or primary—for the purpose of selecting candidates down to the lowest local level, including trustees of schools, county surveyor, and so forth. Further, under the ruling in the Cloverleaf Butter case and the Steve Nelson case, dealing with preemption of the field by the Federal Government, and in view of the ruling in *U. S.* v. *Classic*, part IV will destroy our electoral processes. It is actually unconstitutional, but of course I would not be fool enough to say that the United States Supreme Court would so hold. Actually, a person has the right to go to court, or to stay out of court, and under no constitutional provision can the great Brownell or any other Attorney General take that person into court because of a violation of some private right of that individual, not criminal in nature, without the consent of that individual. I am certain, however, that the United States Supreme Court can sidestep that salutary principle. One of the purposes for this proposed part IV, although they would not admit it, is to apply the ruling in *U. S.* v. *Classic* to the effect that the right to vote for Representatives in Congress is a right derived from the States only in the sense that the States are authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject, as provided by section 2 of article I, to the extent that Congress has not restricted State action by the exercise of its power to regulate elections under section 4, and its more general power under article I, section 8, clause 18, to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers.

Yes, it is for the purpose of applying section 4 and article I, section 8, clause 18, as construed by the United States Supreme Court in that case.

Under the powers provided in part IV, the Federal courts would have the right to grant ex parte injunctions upon the petition of an all-powerful government, with such an extensive staff that they could grind out overnight thousands of affidavits, perjurous or not, and the judge then having established manmade law, whether right or wrong, could punish the defendant for contempt and sentence him to prison, the judge being the legislator, prosecuting attorney, judge, and executioner. In other words, deliberately the Attorney General wants to deny the defendants the right of trial by jury in criminal contempt cases. When he inserted the language "in the name of the United States" into that power to institute proceedings, he deliberately, designedly, and dictatorially asked for the right to destroy the right of trial by jury. He says that southern juries might not convict. To that, thank God, I agree. After all, there are some innocent defendants. I like the jury system, and I am afraid of an experienced lawyer that doesn't like the jury system. The present law kills the right of trial by jury in criminal contempt proceedings.

It happens to be the law, and has been the law since 1932, that in labor disputes, the right of trial by jury is provided for in all classes of contempt, even where the United States is a party. For some reason Mr. Brownell has not tried to change those laws. Consequently, it is crystal clear that he wants the denial of the right of trial by jury to apply only to the South.

The Senate is presently considering an amendment providing for the right of trial by jury in criminal contempt cases. Thus, so far as they are concerned, demonstrating that perhaps they are not willing to go along with the Attorney General in his theory that southern juries cannot be trusted. Irrespective, however, of the right of trial by jury, this provision permitted the Attorney General, in the name of the United States, to interfere with the electoral processes in the various States, proving that the Republicans never learned anything from history. Let me hasten to say that a lot of the northern and eastern Democrats also refuse to let history make any impression upon them.

This same method was tried in the reconstruction era, and it did not work. Federal troops armed with guns and bayonets stood at the polls in all of the election precincts in the South, preventing loyal citizens from voting, and subjecting loyal citizens to cruel indignities and suffering. This method played into the hands of the crooked and corrupt, because the crooked and corrupt were the only ones who would do business with such people. Should the Attorney General ever possess the power to exercise the provisions in part IV hereof, then State government is no more.

So, my friends, I stand before you today, telling you that we are facing our most serious hour. I denounce any violence, for I am a law-abiding man. On the other hand, I tell you it is our duty to God and man to do everything in our power to prevent the destruction of our way of life and our Government. If we ever lose this Government, we will never have another. The chips are down and we must have what it takes, unless we are willing for future generations to brand us as the weakest generation heretofore endowed with responsibilities of a public nature. We must assert ourselves in a lawful manner, and that I intend to do. Whatever is necessary in a legal way, that we shall do. We have permitted some in the Democratic Party to believe that they can with impunity deal with us as they have never dealt with the Japanese or with the Communist. The Republicans have made it a life-long habit to grind us into the dust.

No matter what the Senate does, and I take my hat off to the great leaders of the South in that body, there must be a conference held beween conferees from the House and the Senate. I am informed that the chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, a Democrat, and the leading minority member of that committee, a Republican, say they do not intend to budge one inch from the bill passed by the House. Whether that is true, I do not know. If it is true, it must be premised on the belief that next year being an election year, it will be easier to make the South a whipping boy again. The truth is none of this legislation should be passed. It is your duty and mine to fight it every step of the way. So far as I am concerned, I am against anybody who is for it, no matter to what political party he belongs, what church he belongs, or to anything else to which he belongs. I have fought this iniquitous legislation for 3 long years, and I will fight it as long as life remains in my body. This is the time when we must separate the men from the boys, and the hour is late, but I promise you that the Georgia delegation will stand firm for God, for country, and our way of life, and count it a privilege to do so.

Moonlighting in the 4-Day Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for the 6-day week, the promise was 2 chickens in every pot and 2 cars in every garage.

In the 4-day week, management and labor wonder whether it will take 2 jobs to support the 2 chickens, the children and the 2 cars.

Two jobs is called moonlighting. Today's New York Herald Tribune tells of this growing trend in the American economy.

The question management and labor face is whether moonlighting can be eliminated by giving money a value fixed in units of energy.

In the overall economy, neither management nor labor set the value of money or its rate of flow.

Money is energy. Related to an electric light bulb, the dollar has half the brilliance it had in 1939. Since then, as the juice in each dollar has run down, more and more bulbs have been placed in the chandelier.

The globe thrives in the fixed energy of the sun. Can our people thrive in the fixed energy of the dollar? Or must the value of the dollar vary as the seasons?

That seems to be the question of our time, Mr. Speaker. Perhaps the article on moonlighters will be of interest to the House. It follows:

"MOONLIGHTING" MAKES MANAGEMENT FROWN—DOUBLE-JOB GAMBIT SEEN CAUSING ABSENTISM, LOWER WORK STANDARDS

(By Vartanig G. Vartan)

As living costs for the average worker head upward, American industry finds on its hands a personnel puzzler called "moonlighting."

This colorful term means "double employment." The National Industrial Conference

Board has just issued the first study tackling this subject.

"Moonlighting," the NICB hastens to add, has nothing to do with making love or liquor."

But it is making more and more headaches for management. "Undoubtedly, there is more moonlighting today than ever before," the Conference Board reports.

WORKERS TIRE

Business firms frown at moonlighting, because it can bring two undesirable results—growing absenteeism (often to fill in at the second job) and falling work standards on the regular job.

Reliable estimates place the Nation's moonlighters at between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000. Exact figures aren't available, for the simple reason many employees keep their moonlighting a secret.

Workers are turning to the double-job gambit in order to escape the squeeze of inflation and the high cost of living. A facilitating factor is the abundance of jobs in many areas.

The conference board surveyed production line workers in 25 companies ranging from tire makers and breweries to candy firms and railroads. One out of five firms called moonlighting a fairly serious problem.

The average company figured 5 percent of its workers were moonlighters. But one manufacturer estimated that 50 percent of its highly skilled hands took to moonlighting.

To meet the nebulous standards of a moonlighter, a worker in the survey must get paid on a second job taking at least 10 hours a week.

A classical case turned up in the study. One production worker holds two jobs at 47½ hours apiece, tries to manage a few hours overtime on Saturday, and studies auto mechanics on the side.

"I don't feel spry like I used to," the worker told his interviewer. "I guess I'm getting run down a bit."

Unions line up beside management in efforts to control the practice. Basically, unions like to spread employment; they want to see 2 men—not 1—on 2 jobs. Furthermore, it creates a headache for unions when their moonlighting men get in trouble with the boss.

Some companies have fired moonlighters when they found their secrets leaking to competitors. One firm gave the gate to a moonlighter after it found him snoozing soundly on company time.

The problem of moonlighting only now is crystallizing. There are few hard and fast rules on how to deal with it. Some companies warn their men against holding two jobs; others tolerate the trend.

Meanwhile, many a worker turns into a moonlighter in order to keep up with the Joneses (who also may be moonlighting).

One thing seems sure—the puzzle will grow as the workweek shortens. A century ago, when the 6-day week called for 66 working hours, there was little time left for moonlighting.

But the current pattern of a 5-day, 40-hour week encourages the double-job practice. Machines also take more of the workload off employees for each given hour on the job.

FOUR-DAY WEEK LOOMS

Already, union leaders are thumping the drums for a 4-day week. Economists say this eventually will come. In turn, this greases the moonlighting skids.

Firemen traditionally rank among our society's moonlighters. They can rest on duty, the conference board notes, and thus save up energy for afterhours work.

In New York City 50 patrolmen—most of them rookies—resigned last February to join the fire department. Pay scales are the same, but the city's fire fighters are allowed to hold outside jobs.

A final poser in moonlighting: No one knows exactly how the term got started. It popped up in the literature a few months ago.

Recent Decisions of the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on July 19 I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page A5812 an article from the American Legion Firing Line regarding recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

There was not space enough in that issue of Firing Line to discuss all of these Supreme Court decisions. Part II of this discussion appears in the August 1 issue of Firing Line, and I insert herewith part II of the discussion of these decisions.

The article follows:

RECENT DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT, PART II

14. *Paul M. Sweezy* v. *State of New Hampshire* (June 17, 1957). A self-confessed Marxist and coeditor of Monthly Review, Paul M. Sweezy appeared before a hearing conducted by the New Hampshire attorney general on January 8 and June 3, 1954, and "refused to answer questions dealing with the Progressive Party and his (Sweezy) lecture at the University of New Hampshire on March 22, 1954." His refusal was on the grounds "that questions concerning these matters violated his political freedom and his freedom of speech, as guaranteed" by the Constitutions of the United States and New Hampshire. According to the Report of the Attorney General to the New Hampshire General Court, dated January 5, 1955, page 91, the questioning of Sweezy "in these two areas was pertinent to an investigation into subversive activities and violated no constitutional rights."

When directed by the Merrimack County (New Hampshire) Superior Court in June 1954 to answer New Hampshire attorney general's original questions, Sweezy refused and was "found in contempt of court and ordered remanded to jail." Sweezy appealed this decision to the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, which subsequently affirmed the lower court ruling. In April 1956, he appealed directly to the Supreme Court of the United States claiming "State sedition laws have been superseded by Federal legislation" in accordance with the high court's decision in the case of the *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Steve Nelson*. (See Firing Line, July 1, 1957, p. 1; New York Herald Tribune, April 21, 1956, p. 3; and Report of the Attorney General to the New Hampshire General Court, 1955, p. 92.)

The Supreme Court, in reversing the lower court ruling, held that Sweezy had been "denied due process of law." In criticizing the State of New Hampshire, the Court asserted "merely to summon a witness and compel him, against his will, to disclose the nature of his past expressions and associations is a meaure of governmental interference in these matters." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 175, October term, 1956, pp. 11, 16, and 21.)

In a dissenting opinion, two Supreme Court Justices sharply claimed "The (Supreme) Court today has denied the State of New Hampshire the right to investigate the extent of 'subversive activities' within its boundaries in the manner chosen by its legislature * * * We are bound by the State court findings. We have no right to strike down the State action unless we find not only that there has been a deprivation of Sweezy's constitutional rights, but that the interest in protecting those rights is greater than the State's interest in uncovering subversive activities within its confines. The majority has made no such findings. The short of it is that the Court blocks New Hampshire's effort to enforce its laws * * * They (Supreme Court) destroy the fact-finding power of the State in this field and I dissent from this wide sweep of their coverage." (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 175, October term, minority decision, 1956, pp. 1, 2, and 3.)

15. *John T. Watkins* v. *United States of America* (June 17, 1957). John T. Watkins, labor organizer for the United Automobile Workers, appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on April 29, 1954. While denying actual membership in the Communist Party, Watkins testified "that for a period of time from approximately 1942 to 1947 I cooperated with the Communist Party and participated in Communist activities to such a degree that some persons may honestly believe that I was a member of the party." Watkins refused to testify "on the grounds of conscience," about former associates whom he believes have long since removed themselves from the Communist movement. While pointedly not invoking the fifth amendment, Watkins defied that committee by refusing to answer other similar questions he believed to be outside the proper scope of committee's activities. (See HUAC, Investigation of Communist Activities in the Chicago Area, pt. 3, 1954, pp. 4268 and 4275.)

The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited Watkins for contempt of Congress in May 1954. In June 1955, the Federal district court found him guilty and gave Watkins a suspended 1-year prison term and a $500 fine. After the lower court's verdict was upheld by the United States cout of appeals, Watkins appealed directly to the Supreme Court. In its majority decision, the high court reversed the ruling of the court of appeals and dismissed the indictment against Watkins. Slapping down congressional investigating committees, the Supreme Court declared "we have no doubt that there is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure." (See the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 19, 1957, p. B-4; and Supreme Court of the United States, No. 261, October term, 1956, pp. 19 and 35.)

Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark filed the only dissenting opinion. He strongly declared: "As I see it the chief fault in the majority opinion is its mischievous curbing of the informing function of the Congress. * * * I think the committee (House Committee on Un-American Activities) here was acting entirely within its scope and that the purpose of its inquiry was set out with undisputable clarity. * * * The record in this case shows no conduct on the part of the Un-American Activities Committee that justified condemnation." On June 18, 1957, FRANCIS E. WALTER, chairman of this congressional committee, flared out at the Supreme Court and called upon Congress to assert its authority to block judicial invasions into the legislature's field. (See Supreme Court of the United States, No. 261, October term, minority decision, 1956, pp. 1, 11, and 16; and the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 19, 1957, p. B-4.)

16. *Oleta O'Connor Yates, et al.*, v. *United States of America* (June 17, 1957); 17. *William Schneiderman* v. *United States of America* (June 17, 1957); and 18. *Al Richmond and Philip Marshall Connelly* v. *United States of*

America (June 17, 1957). Representing the aforementioned cases (16, 17, and 18), the following 14 Communist leaders were convicted in California on August 5, 1952, for plotting to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States: Frank Carlson, Dorothy H. Connelly, Philip M. Connelly, Ben Dobbs, Ernest O. Fox, Rose C. Kusnitz, Carl R. Lambert, Albert J. Lima, Al Richmond, William Schneiderman, Frank E. Spector, Henry Steinberg, Loretta S. Stack, and Oleta O. Yates. Each defendant was sentenced to prison for 5 years and fined $10,000. When the Ninth United States Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of these 14 west coast Communists in March 1955, they appealed to the Supreme Court. (See the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 18, 1957, p. A–21.)

In its ruling, the Supreme Court reversed the lower court by acquitting 5 of the 14 and ordered new trials for the other 9. The Court majority claimed evidence produced against the five Communists was entirely too meager to justify putting them to a new trial, and that their acquittal should be ordered. The acquitted were: (Mr.) Connelly, Kusnitz, Richmond, Spector, and Steinberg. This Court also declared the trial jury was not instructed with the fact that merely preaching abstractly the forcible overthrow of the Government is not a crime under the Smith Act of 1940. In adopting the defense argument, new trials were also granted to the other 9 Communist leaders because the indictment charging them with organizing the Communist Party was barred by the 3-year statute of limitations. (See Supreme Court of the United States, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, October term, 1956, pp. 5, 25, and 32; and the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 18, 1957, p. A–21.)

According to a separate concurring and dissenting minority opinion, two Supreme Court Justices felt the convictions against all 14 Communist leaders should be reversed and "all the defendants be acquitted." Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark filed another minority opinion and dissented without reservation. He declared: "I would affirm the convictions. * * * I agree with the court of appeals, the district court, and the jury that the evidence showed guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. It paralleled that in Dennis and Flynn (cases of convicted first- and second-string Communist national leaders) and was equally as strong." (See Supreme Court of the United States, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, October term, First Minority Decision, 1956, p. 1; and Second Minority Decision 1956, pps. 2 and 3.)

Continuing, Justice Clark said: "In any event, this Court should not acquit anyone here. In its long history, I find no case in which an acquittal has been ordered by this Court solely on the 'facts.' It is somewhat late to start in now usurping the function of the jury, especially where new trials are to be held covering the same charges." (See Supreme Court of the United States, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, October term, Second Minority Decision, 1956, p. 3.)

Has the H-Bomb "Sunk" Our Navy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the July 28, 1957, issue of This Week magazine:

HAS THE H-BOMB "SUNK" OUR NAVY?

IS IT NOW A SITTING DUCK FOR ENEMY NUCLEAR ATTACKS?—HERE THE NAVY'S BOSS TELLS WHY THE SURVIVAL OF OUR CITIES MAY DEPEND ON OUR SHIPS AFLOAT—"THE NAVY CAN DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST ANY ATTACK"

(By Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, as told to Leonard Gross)

(As he prepares to begin his second term as top man in the United States Navy, Admiral Burke has written for This Week one of the most important statements of our times on the Navy's new strategy to fight modern war. His article follows:)

Sure you can sink an aircraft carrier with an H-bomb—let's admit it right away.

Let's also admit that if we ever have a massive war, many targets are going to be obliterated. Some will be cities. Some will be military bases. And some will be aircraft carriers.

But I would like to initiate my second term as Chief of Naval Operations by suggesting that you don't abandon cities or military bases simply because they may be vulnerable. Nor do you abandon aircraft carriers.

I would like to suggest further that talk about superweapons making the Navy as obsolete as tanks made the cavalry is far from the truth. I suggest, instead, that the Navy is the single most effective service ready to fight against aggression today—any kind of war, at any moment, in any place. And I'd like to prove it.

If there is public uncertainty about the role of the Navy it probably stems from the notion that the next war if it comes would be fought by 2 men, 1 button-pusher in Russia and another in the United States, and that all humanity would wait helplessly to be annihilated by the explosions they unleash.

I don't believe that anything remotely like this is going to happen.

All-out war is possible, and we've got to be prepared for it. But while it's possible, I don't think it's very probable. My reasoning is simple:

Russia cannot destroy the United States.

The United States can destroy Russia—no matter what Russia does in any initial attack.

OUR SIMPLE STRATEGY

The United States will not start a general war the only result of which could be to wipe out another nation. Such a war is horrible and abhorrent to a democracy. But neither, I believe, will the Soviets start such a war, not because they have any qualms about destroying others, but because they do not want to be destroyed themselves. The Soviets know what we've got, because we've made sure to advertise it. They know we have enough to destroy them. There are many unkind things that can be said about the Soviet leaders; they are, in my opinion, ruthless and heartless. But it can never be said that they don't look out for themselves. It would not serve their interests for Russia to be destroyed.

If this reasoning is simple, so is our strategy. The Navy believes in a defense of balance, based on the idea that the Strategic Air Command, the Tactical Air Command, Army missiles, Navy missiles and air power, and the power of our allies abroad can each perform some missions better than any one of the others.

All of these separate, balanced forces would make the Soviets dilute their defenses. They couldn't handle all these threats at once.

Certainly the U. S. S. R. can sink a carrier, but it would take a tremendous effort. With everything thus committed, it would, I believe, have little left with which to attack elsewhere.

And so the bomb that destroys the carrier spares Chicago. And the "misses" aimed at the carrier don't destroy the suburbs of Chicago. And the Soviet planes that fail don't fall on Milwaukee—they fall into the sea.

The effort the U. S. S. R. throws against a carrier task force, in other words, will not be thrown against the United States.

And what is the result? Our Strategic Air Command, Tactical Air Command and other free world forces are able to retaliate against the source of aggression, the U. S. S. R. itself.

Let's turn the plans around. Supposing the Soviets elect to make their initial attack where the radioactive fallout will not be wasted, as it would be at sea. So they attack United States land targets, and the United States counters against Soviet bases, and both are destroyed. At the end of this massive attack, who's left? We're left—the Navy.

In large-scale future wars, the balance of power may well rest on a few ships at sea.

But, again, I am convinced that the Russians know this power balance would still be tipped at our end, and that's why I believe that a general war is the least likely war of all.

What if our estimate is wrong, and the U. S. S. R. does begin a general war? What good is a Navy against airborne H-bombs, guided missiles with atomic warheads, and submarines equipped to launch other potent guided missiles, perhaps even from under water? Is the Navy helpless, and are its expensive carriers "sitting ducks"? Against all of these super weapons, how could the Navy get into position to strike back at the Soviet Union? These are good questions, and they have got to be answered.

WHY WE NEED CARRIERS

In the first place the Navy is already in position.

We are in place, right now, close to our allies, watching the avenues the U. S. S. R. must use to launch an all-out war. And we are in the right places—Europe, the Middle East and Asia, where the Soviets threaten to move in.

If there is war, we can try to make sure it will be fought far from the United States.

This fact should answer those who wonder why we center our Navy on the aircraft carrier, while the Soviets concentrate on the submarine. Our force must be prepared to fight anywhere in the world. The Soviets, if they fight, will be fighting in Europe and Asia. Furthermore, while they use the seas, they do not depend on them as their bloodstream. The free world does; it must trade to stay strong. If the Soviets could command the seas, they could isolate us from our allies. The U. S. S. R. recognizes this in their concentration on submarines, about 500 against our 110.

The American people worry a lot about those 500 subs, and I don't blame them. I worry a lot about them myself. In any future war, the danger to ships at sea is going to be great. We will lose ships, a good many ships.

But does this mean we are helpless before submarines? Do we abandon ship? We do not. And I say it in reference to guided missiles and H-bombs as well. The Navy can defend itself against all three. That fact is, in my estimation, one of the great deterrents to the all-out, atomic war we all dread.

NAVY OF THE FUTURE

What's the explanation? In brief, it's the old story of weapons versus armor. Throughout history, each new weapon has provoked an improvement in defense. The same thing is happening today and will continue to happen. In 10 years, you will hardly know your Navy. Its ships will almost all be atomic powered. It will have struck a balance be-

tween size and quality; it will be smaller nd tougher. The battleship will be gone, e have only two left now, but the smaller hips, the destroyers and frigates, will be rmed with guided missiles, the frigates en- irely so, without a gun aboard.

The fleets will be able to stay out longer ecause they'll require less support from sup- ly vessels. And they'll be able to destroy ubmarines, planes, and missiles at greater nd greater distances, because they'll be eavily equipped with automatic data com- uters—electronic brains—to help them in his job. Some of our equipment, such as hose computers and the 1,000-mile-per-hour lanes, is so marvelous that we haven't yet earned to use it to full capacity.

The H-bomb makes the massive invasions e knew in World War II impossible, but, ith our new Navy, they will no longer be ecessary. A task force will be able to send arines by helicopter over the obstacles, be- ind the lines. It could also drop weapons o our allies.

And as everything else in the Navy is hanging, so is the task force. We once hought of it as a tight defensive circle, uch like a walled city. When you think f a task force today, you must think of an cean area the size of New York State. The ost powerful H-bomb known would get nly one of our ships. We've got our dis- nces figured.

And we've got our defenses, and we think hey're good ones, even against these super- eapons you hear so much about. There re a few things to remember about these abled weapons:

They must be aimed, and proper aiming equires an exact knowledge not only of the ring location, but of the location of the arget as well. A ballistics missile has range nd speed, but it cannot anticipate a mov- ng target. A homing missile must be fired rom in close—close enough for us to pester he devil out of whoever's firing it, sub or irplane. We can bother him enough to up- et his accuracy. And even after he's fired is homing missile, we've got devices to fool : false heat, if it homes on heat; false noises f it homes on sound. And we have some ther tricks that I can't talk about.

To get a carrier, the so-called sitting uck, you must first find it. A sitting uck that can't swim. So you can see what mismomer that turns out to be. Our car- ers are not like fixed land targets whose act locations are known and unchange- ble. Ships can move swiftly and evasively.

But let's concede that a task force is found d its location accurately transmitted and hat an attack is launched against it. Keep your mind that ocean area the size of ew York State, with the carriers in the enter.

OBSTACLE COURSE

Whoever comes at it must go through our ng-range fighters. Then through our picket hips. Then through our air early warning ystem. Then through our overhead patrol f fighters from the carriers. Then through ur missile ships. Then the missiles of sup- orting ships. And finally, the close air de- nse of the carriers themselves.

If they've gotten through all of that, and heir aim is good, sure, they'll get a carrier.

But does this make the Navy obsolete? hardly think so. Admitting that a carrier an be sunk does not imply that it already . Nor does the admission detract from he three indispensable contributions a avy—and nothing else but a Navy—can ake in a big war:

1. As a decoy for the mainland.

2. As a patrolman of the avenues of ggression.

3. As a potent, self-contained offensive nit.

We have been talking of big wars, which don't believe will happen. Now, what bout the little wars? These are the wars we've known in the last decade. These are the wars we may well know in the next. These are the wars that require immediate deployment by mobile force. Americans have been asking questions of their Navy. Now the Navy would like to ask some questions of America.

When United States forces were all but pushed off the tip of South Korea in the early months of that little war, who sailed up the coast to Inchon, landed Marines and broke the back of the extended North Korean Army?

Who ended the imminent threat of a Chinese invasion of Formosa?

Who removed 300,000 refugees from North Vietnam when the Communists moved in there?

More recently, who evacuated 3,000 United States citizens from the Suez fighting zone? And, only a few months ago, who sailed for the eastern Mediterranean to help stabilize a situation which threatened the independence of Jordan?

Who else but the Navy, in every case? Who else could have done the job? A navy can move its power around. It is the only force that doesn't have to invade a country to make its point. Thus it does not get us involved. It does not depend on a foreign power allowing it to set up shop on its territory; it can do its job cruising offshore.

If we narrow our military strength to one channel, say the intercontinental ballistic missile, we simplify Russia's operation. To take an extreme case, if we were to prepare only for an all-out war, we could conceivably be forced into a position of choosing between capitulating over another Korea or Formosa or accepting a nuclear holocaust. Moreover, capitulation would increase the danger of war at a later date, when the enemy would be stronger.

A BALANCED MILITARY FORCE

There will probably be many localized flareups in our lifetime. The U. S. S. R. and Red China want to separate Japan from the free world. India's Communist Party feeds on the country's poverty. Indonesia's restless Communists look for control. We want to help Indonesia keep her independence. She is an island country; the only way the Soviets can reach her is by sea. We control the sea.

No one can be sure what is going to happen in our divided world. We must be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems, the instant they arise. And we think the Navy, as part of a balanced military force, is needed for that job, today more than ever.

Bill To Modernize Federal Budget Needs Your Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, there is at least 1 additional reform of the nearly 500 recommendations of the Hoover Commission, which should be authorized before we adjourn the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

I am referring specifically to H. R. 8002 and other identical bills, one of which I introduced, which are designed to put Federal budgeting on an accrued expenditures basis. This legislation has the unqualified endorsement of President Eisenhower, the Hoover Commission, Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Comptroller General of the United States. As my colleagues know this legislation has already passed the United States Senate without opposition and has been reported unanimously by the Government Operations Committee of the House after a 2-year study.

On Sunday, August 4, 1957, it was my privilege to broadcast over WEEI in Boston with the regional director of the New England Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. We discussed the Hoover Commission recommendations in general and both agreed that the present Congress should enact legislation that will provide a means for control over expenditures and place Government fiscal practices on a more businesslike basis.

Mr. Speaker, I estimate that savings to the Federal Government amounting to $3 billion a year would materialize from the enactment of this type of legislation. In fact, I know of no legislation of more importance at this time, in view of the tremendous expenditures that our national defense requires than putting our Federal financial house in order. It is my hope that the Congress will enact this meritorious legislation into law at the earliest possible time. By doing so it will provide for the most important improvements in the Government's financial structure in a decade or more and it will result in more economic and more efficient Government.

The distinguished editor of the Reading Chronicle, of Reading, Mass., a town which I have the honor to represent, wrote a very timely and enlightening editorial on July 25, 1957, entitled "Bill to Modernize Federal Budget Needs Your Support." This editorial deals with the problem of restoring the control of Congress over the present high level of Federal spending which is the goal of H. R. 8002 and the bill I introduced. I commend this thoughtful editorial to the consideration of the entire membership of the House.

The editorial follows:

BILL TO MODERNIZE FEDERAL BUDGET NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

Legislative control of the public purse is one of democracy's bulwarks. Restoring the control of Congress over the present high level of Federal spending is the goal of a bill, H. R. 8002, now before the House of Representatives. Similar legislation passed the Senate unanimously.

In nontechnical terms, this bill would limit budget appropriations to a single year, halting the present practice in Congress of handing out funds in a lump-sum for full payment of projects that may take years to complete. Under the present system, $70 billion—almost as much as the proposed record-high budget for fiscal 1958—has slipped beyond the effective reach of Congress. This vast sum represents "carryover" funds unspent from past budgets when long-range projects were changed or canceled. Instead of returning this money to the Treasury, Federal agencies can spend it on new projects which Congress may know nothing about.

Advantages of the proposed system are clear-cut. Former President Hoover estimates it will save $3 billion a year. Outstanding leaders in both parties endorse the plan, including President Eisenhower, Treas-

ury Secretary Humphrey, Budget Director Brundage, Comptroller General Campbell, and all 96 members of the Senate where it was championed by Senators KENNEDY, Democrat, Massachusetts; BYRD, Democrat, Virginia; PAYNE, Republican, Maine; SMITH, Republican, Maine; and 46 other senatorial cosponsors. The vast majority of the Nation's press has lined up behind the new plan, and thousands of alert Americans have written to Congress urging its enactment.

Yet H. R. 8002 faces a bitter fight in the House, where advocates of the status quo are fiercely resisting this widely endorsed improvement. Their stand sharply contradicts the American taxpayer's economy mandate so forcefully expressed in every part of the country this year.

What's needed now is a strong immediate show of citizen support from coast to coast. If you haven't told your Congressman that you favor this bill, tell him now. With the full weight of public opinion behind it, H. R. 8002 stands a good chance of adoption. Without your support, it's sure to fail. This is your chance to put a major economy measure over the top.

Berks County, Pa., Farmers Endorse H. R. 8456, Wheat for On-Farm Consumption

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8456) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to exempt certain wheat producers from liability under the act where all the wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm, and for other purposes.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasure to support H. R. 8456, permitting farmers to grow up to 30 acres of wheat for use on the farm for feed, seed, or human food without being subject to penalty payments under the wheat acreage allotment program.

Like many of my colleagues, I have had a number of cases involving penalty payments called to my attention by farmers in my district. It is grossly unfair to deny farmers the right to grow enough wheat on their own farms to feed their livestock. As one Berks County farmer states in a letter:

It is against democratic principles to hamper such farm operations when the products does not directly affect public markets. It may even be compared to a monopoly since a farmer can raise grains cheaper than he can purchase them on a controlled market.

A Berks County official of the State grange writes:

If you can help us get a minimum 30-acre allotment for farmers in this State, you will have done us a good service. I have an allotment of 26½ acres on 290 acres in 2 farms which does not reach to feed my chickens.

Another farmer remarks:

I have heard discussion of this problem for a number of years. The answer has always been to permit a farmer to raise what he needs for seed, feed, or human use on his own farm without penalties. I think raising the acreage to 30 acres for above uses will remove any farmer in Berks County from penalties.

A farm organization official writes:

This bill is in line with the policies of the Pennsylvania Farmers' Association and also with the Berks County Farmers' Association; anything you could do to pass this bill would be greatly appreciated by the association.

A Berks County chicken farmer states:

I feed 2,000 layers and 2,400 replacement pullets every year. Since the wheat quota went into effect, I am only allowed to grow 15 acres of wheat on this 175-acre farm, so in order to get enough wheat to feed my poultry, I must go out and rent land from neighbors to raise wheat even though I would have enough land at home to raise my wheat if the quota system was raised, or still better abolished completey. Please support this bill H. R. 8456.

Mr. Chairman, while this legislation does not go as far as far as many of us feel is justified, I am convinced that it is an important step in the right direction. The objectives of this bill are sound and in the best interests of the farmers of my district and State. H. R. 8456 corrects an injustice in existing law which has cost many farmers hard-earned dollars in discriminatory penalty payments.

It is my hope that the section of S. 959, a similar bill on this subject passed by the Senate, providing retroactive cancellation of penalties imposed since 1954 may be included in the final version of the measure enacted into law.

I congratulate the sponsor of the bill, my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ANFUSO] and the members of the House Committee on Agriculture for approving the measure and sending it to the House floor.

Kenneth Roberts Had Roots Deep in This Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Somersworth Free Press, Somersworth, N. H., on Thursday, August 1, 1957:

KENNETH ROBERTS HAD ROOTS DEEP IN THIS AREA

The death last week of novelist Kenneth Roberts struck the hearts of many people in this city and Berwick, especially of the residents who remember the days when Roberts was a young boy visiting here.

Kenneth Roberts' roots were quite deeply set in the life of this area. Indeed, his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Ebenezer Tibbets, were Somersworth natives. Mr. Tibbets owned and operated a hardware store near the bridge where Lemay's Garage now stands.

Back in the late part of the last century, Roberts came here to visit his aunt, Mrs. William Russell, who lived on Noble Street.

Of all the Somersworth people who knew the noted author best in his growing-up years, the Bates sisters, Leonora and Theo[illegible] date, have the most complete account of his visits.

In Berwick, the Spence family recalls some interesting family connections with Roberts and through their ardent perusal of his books tell us that many are the scenes and many are the characters in his works which draw for their source on places and families in Somersworth and Berwick.

As a writer, Kenneth Roberts will go down in the history of American literature as one of this country's greatest. His novels of early American history have enthralled millions of readers young and old. The joy behind his writing is heightened by the accuracy of detail and validity of the incidents he recounts. It was a matter of personal pride with him to put hours of careful research into everything he wrote. Some of his works were years in the planning and preparation stage, and one novel he told friends, represented 2 years' research and 5 years of writing.

Kenneth Roberts will be sorely missed in the world of literature. A consolation in his passing, however, is that behind him he has left a wealth of writing and not a few of his books will continue to provide enjoyment to readers for generations to come.

Like Ol' Man River, Inflation Jes' Keeps Rollin', Rollin' Along

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Inez Robb, which appeared in the New York World Telegram and Sun of August 2, 1957:

LIKE OL' MAN RIVER, INFLATION JES' KEEPS ROLLIN', ROLLIN' ALONG

(By Inez Robb)

Uncle Sam is printing the first batch of his paper money ever to bear the inscription "In God We Trust," although American coins have carried this legend for years.

Appropriately enough, the first bills to bear this phrase are of the dollar variety whose purchasing power has shrunk so rapidly that the Treasury apparently felt salvation depended upon a miracle or an act of faith. Frankly, the ultimate consumer of John Q. Public had already beaten the Treasury to this decision.

In the battle of inflation it is hard to know what the Government has in mind, if any. After recourse to any number of experiments, it is possible that Washington has decided there is no hope for the dollar save in an appeal to a higher power.

Has anyone else noticed that it's been a long, long time since he has heard what was at one time a favorite American cliche: "Money isn't everything?" It has been driven out of circulation by the fact that money isn't anything any more. It's hardly worth the blood, sweat, toil and tears required to latch onto it. Yet money is like dentistry. You can't get along with it or without it. (But wouldn't it be fun to try?)

It is nice of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics to tell us taxpayers every month that the cost of living has hit another new high, but it's redundant. This is a fact of life to which the citizen is hep without any outside help from the Federa

birds and bees—or the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In this field, the cash register at the supermarket has the birds and bees licked to a standstilll as an informant.

I have long made a conscientious effort to read financial publications, always printed in an obscure argot of the unknown tongue. But recently I ran across a simple statement, probably printed by mistake, that I could understand on the first reading. It said, with stark clarity: "Money costs more today." Well, ain't it the truth! Not even the HCL has soared more rapidly than the cost of money.

There are still persons alive who can remember the famous day and year when the Five and Dime was just that. But money costs so much today that the old Five and Dime is but a memory replaced by the $.98-and-$9.98—prices revised upward while you wait, to the tune of "I Found a Trillion-Dollar Baby in the Cut-Rate Cartier's."

Like Ol' Man River, inflation jes' keeps rollin' along. Money, soft or hard, is all the same, once it sifts down to me. Whether it's 3-minute or 5-minute money, it melts like butter in a heat wave.

Money at the moment is a sometime thing—here today and gone before you can count the change. All money is in transit. It may not travel far, but no one can deny that it's jet-propelled.

The fact that Uncle Sam is inscribing "In God We Trust" on paper money may comfort a lot of people who had begun to look askance at the Treasury. But in view of the transitory nature of money, there is another step Uncle could take. He could invoke for this off-again, on-again, gone-again commodity the protection of that patron saint of travelers, St. Christopher.

Budge Gets the Answer From the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, there follows an editorial from the Fremont County Chronicle News, published at St. Anthony, Idaho, under date of July 25, 1957:

BUDGE GETS THE ANSWER FROM THE PEOPLE

In a recent editorial we contended that in very many ways Congress definitely is not following the will of the people in its actions—or in its refusals to act.

About the same time, Representative HAMER BUDGE, of Idaho, was sending to a group of southern Idaho constituents selected at random from telephone books, questionnaires on some of the items of national interest. The results he got well bear out the contentions we made.

For instance, folks replied 869 to 315 in favor of increased postal rates to bring postal revenues up to meet expenses. But Congress refuses to act, preferring to let taxes pay the deficits.

Folks voted 789 to 354, well over 2 to 1, against banning nuclear tests. Yet Congress has given serious consideration to that proposal recently.

Idaho folks, far less affected than most, probably, voted 940 to 213 against any increase in annual immigration quotas, and again Congress has toyed with the idea and has suspended quotas in many instances recently.

Again, Idaho, where there is no reason to do anything but approve of civil rights legislation, voted in favor of such legislation only 542 to 540, with a lot of folks not answering. Maybe there isn't the majority interest in that matter about the country there would seem to be, judging by the emphasis it is getting and the time it is taking in congressional activity.

The cynic would be confounded too, by the vote, 933 to 210, which favored reduction in Federal expenditures even if the reductions affect projects or programs in which the voter has a direct interest. That's one to be pondered by the Congressman who is for reductions in everything but those matters affecting his district—and so for none. And Congress should note the same voters urged 880 to 287 reduction of the national debt before tax reduction. The people want to pay their debts—Congress doesn't seem to care.

Congressmen might worry less about labor lobbies and more about the rest of the folks if they could see more surveys like this one which read 1,046 to 101 in favor of more, rather than less, regulation of labor unions. Mighty surprising in an agricultural area was the vote on Federal agriculture support programs—only 220 wanted the program increased while 402 suggested it be decreased and 513 urged elimination entirely.

On the matter of foreign aid, belief was about what we figured. In the vote 701 persons wanted it decreased and 314 wanted it eliminated altogether. Only 134 thought it should be increased.

There are some surprising results in surveys like that. Yet those are the beliefs of the people and should be the basis of congressional action.

Representative BUDGE is to be congratulated for attempting to keep in touch wth the beliefs and desires of the people who elected him. His questionnaire, circulated to a small southern Idaho area at random, of course, may or may not reflect the feelings and desires of all the people of the Nation.

But we believe very sincerely that it is only when all the Members of Congress, in one way or another, seek to keep close contact with the wishes of their own people, and then seek to act on those wishes, that we will have true government of the people. Today Congress is too remote from the ballot boxes and from the electorate—remote in both distance and thinking.

New Schoolrooms for Los Angeles—Without Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, Los Angeles County, Calif., is an example of a local area meeting the challenge of increased population, especially including an increase in school-age children, and providing for adequate school facilities for these children without the aid of the Federal Government.

The following news report on the emergency plan to provide needed classrooms in the Los Angeles area clearly illustrates that increased educational facilities can be provided in communities where the citizens and the school authorities go to work to solve their own problem without waiting for the Federal Government to act for them.

Los Angeles is setting an example which all communities with a school problem growing out of increased population of school-age children could do well to study and emulate.

EMERGENCY CLASSROOMS DUE FOR LOS ANGELES

Emergency classrooms for more than 6,500 Los Angeles students will be ready by late fall, Superintendent Ellis A. Jarvis yesterday told the board of education.

The extra 192 bungalow classrooms to be added to schools throughout the city are in addition to the regular bonded building program and will be financed from a $2 million appropriation in the new school budget.

The regular and "crash" programs combined are expected to reduce the number of half-day and short session pupils from 35,000 to about 10,000 by next June.

Unless they are delayed by the building strikes, 11 complete new elementary schools and 3 new junior high schools are scheduled to open in September.

The emergency program, being rushed through planning stages with top priority, includes 84 bungalow classrooms at existing elementary schools and 108 at junior and senior high schools.

Meanwhile, the school board awarded a $454,650 contract for construction within 240 days of the new Lanai Road School at Ventura Boulevard and Hayvenhurst Avenue to Packard Construction Co. The plant will relieve the overcrowded Hesby and Encino Schools.

Action on Lead-Zinc Crisis Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, last week the House Ways and Means Committee conducted hearings on the Secretary of Interior's proposal to impose an import excise tax on lead and zinc. In conjunction with those hearings I appeared before the committee and offered testimony on the subject as did other members of this House, the Senate, and leaders of the industry.

The situation is critical and unless the Congress acts during this session I fear that what is left of our domestic lead-zinc industry will not be left when we reconvene. Of 21 lead-zinc mines in the State of Utah operating in 1947 there are only three major producers still operative. This is being repeated in all of the 27 States affected directly by the lead-zinc industry. I hope that we can act on this important legislation soon.

The following is the text of my statement last Thursday before the committee:

TESTIMONY OF REPRESENTATIVE H. A. DIXON, REPUBLICAN OF UTAH, BEFORE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE ON PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS TO IMPOSE AN IMPORT EXCISE TAX ON LEAD AND ZINC AUGUST 1, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am happy to appear in support of the proposal submitted to the Congress by Secretary of Interior Fred A. Seaton, to im-

pose an import excise tax on lead and zinc, but to ask for such modification in the mechanics of the bill that will accomplish the original intent of the program; namely, to prevent the price of lead and zinc from dropping below the peril points (17 cents per pound for lead and 14½ cents per pound for zinc).

The hearings before your committee are crucial because I believe that the future of this industry, so essential to our defense, will be in a great measure determined by the action of this committee.

There are five major points I should like to make. They are as follows:

1. Action should not be delayed until the next session of Congress because lead-zinc mines are closing so rapidly that there will be few left by the time Congress reconvenes.

2. The shutdown of our domestic lead-zinc mines will threaten national security, result in a shock to America's economy, a loss of taxes, and a loss of employment to hundreds of fine mining families.

3. Domestic mines cannot compete with foreign producers unless cost differentials are recognized in some protective measures.

4. The Government has the responsibility to protect our strategic mining industry.

5. The administration program is a big step in the right direction. First, our domestic mining companies are ceasing operations due to the disastrous effect of the drop in metals prices for lead and zinc. In my own State, Utah, the records of the State tax commission indicate that in 1947 there were a total of 21 mines producing lead-zinc ore. The latest figures available indicate that there are now only 3 major producers and possibly 3 or 4 minor operations still in production. In less than 10 years there have been approximately 14 lead-zinc producing mines cease operation in Utah alone. Two-thirds of Utah's producers have felt the squeeze to such an extent that they have ceased all operations.

Unfortunately this same story is being told in every other State which has mines. The latest issue of Management Digest (July 9, 1957, published by the Utah Mining Association) listed for shutdown before August 1, 2 mines in Washington, 1 in Colorado, 2 operations in New Mexico, 1 in Nevada, and 1 in Idaho. Curtailments were also ordered at one other Nevada mine and a 2,700 ton per month (30 percent) reductiton was ordered in a Texas zinc smelter. These are all in addition to the literally dozens of domestic operations that have already closed and more are closing each month. It is encumbent upon us in Congress to take speedy action or be responsible for widespread economic disaster to the American mining industry.

These closed mines are not something that can be opened and shut down like the corral gate. In some instances it takes a considerable expenditure to close a mine. In most instances it takes many times that to reopen it. After prolonged disuse many mine workings fill with water or become unsafe in numerous obvious ways. Then too, those of you from mining States know that when you shut a mine down for a year or two the reorganization of a labor force is a major problem aggravated even more so by a mine that has been shut down previously.

My second point is that these mine closures have serious ramifications for our country in at least three major areas: defense, tax loss, and the plight of the miners and their families.

Charles E. Schwab, Chairman of the Emergency Lead-Zinc Committee estimates that the value of lead-zinc mines in the United States, including smelters and refineries, is about $1 billion and they contribute importantly to the economy of this entire Nation and more specifically, to the economy of the 27 States in which they are located. In Utah for example, our lead-zinc mines had an assessed valuation of nearly $11 million in 1949, but due to closures only $6½ in 1955. This decreased valuation meant a tax loss of $175,000 in local and State property taxes and in addition more than $350,000 in other taxes to the State and local governments. The tax loss if computed for the Federal Government, and the host of other indirect taxes would be staggering. These mines, while operating are helping pay their share in the American economy. This is not the case with foreign producers.

The defense values in having a healthy domestic industry which frees this nation of reliance upon the whimsey of foreign producers seems obvious and I shall not dwell at great lengths upon it.

It appears also that a detailed world-portrait of the heartache and misery involved in each and every mine closure for the numerous families involved is unnecessary. In my Congressional District a historic mine that had been operating continuously in a rather remote area since 1909 announced that it was suspending operations last month. Announced on the financial page in a Salt Lake City newspaper, the story did little to mention the problems faced by the 70 Utah families quite tragically affected. Many of the miners were working in the same mines their fathers before them had labored in. That area is their home and mining is their business and now for the workers of Chief-Consolidated, there is no mine and no business.

My third point is that we cannot expect to retain our domestic mining industry and have it compete against foreign producers without reasonable protection. In a speech I delivered on the House floor on June 14, I referred to the abundance of technical reports and statements from American mining engineers which show that a high grade miner in India is paid from 12 cents to 15 cents per hour for a 12-hour day. In other instances the pay ranges as little as 10 cents or 12 cents per day for inexperienced miners and women. In Korea a good day's pay is a cup of rice. In Bolivia miners are paid on a wage scale ranging from $1.00 to $1.50 per day and the average daily wage for mining in Mexico in 1956 was $1.68. Contrast this the recent report of the Tri-State Lead Producers Association which shows that the average hourly wage for an American miner, including fringe benefits is something like $2.09 per hour. One company which operates mines in both the United States and Mexico pays only 10 percent of the amount for labor costs in its Mexican operation which it must pay in the United States.

We cannot expect American mines and miners to uphold our own wage scales and standards of living and freely compete with foreign producers.

My fourth point is that the Government has a responsibility to protect our strategic domestic mining industry. I firmly contend that we cannot allow ourselves to become more dependent upon foreign sources of supply than we are now. Further, a paradoxical situation exists in the fact that during World War II and during the Korean war, when our Government desperately needed domestic lead-zinc production and when these domestic producers could have made substantial profits had the market sought its natural level, the Government imposed price ceilings on both metals. To be specific, during the Korean war, foreign producers in Mexico, Australia, Africa, and elsewhere were able to sell their products at around 23 cents per pound for lead and more than 30 cents per pound for zinc. In contrast, our Government stepped in and controlled domestic prices at 17½ cents to 19½ cents for zinc and 17 cents and 19 cents for lead. Aside from placing the American miner under strict price controls, he was not allowed even to export his tonnage to take advantage of the high world market price. By keeping America off the world market production in other countries was over stimulated and our industry now is the victim. Now the situation is reversed. These producers helped the Government and now they look to us for protection from foreign mines and miners that are putting them out of business. A continuation of the present trend will leave us at the mercy of the shifting winds of international politics. The lead-zinc industry is not asking us for a dole or a handout or a subsidy. They are asking for pure and simple protection from low-priced foreign metals.

Finally, today I would like to say that adoption of the administration program is a step in the right direction. The sliding scale it establishes will help stabilize domestic prices but this program should go further. The import taxes to be applied when prices for lead and zinc fall below the peril points of 17 cents for lead and 14½ cents for zinc should effectively serve to maintain domestic prices at about the peril point levels. I recommend the consideration by this committee of the import tax applications presented in the testimony of industry witnesses. It is my hope that this committee in view of the problem will develop a program which will take cognizance of the losses sustained by the industry in recent years and enact legislation enabling it to operate as a healthy member of our great American industrial team.

I am not a mining expert myself nor am I aware of the intricacies of tariffs or world economics, but I am aware of the damages being wrought in this industry throughout the mining States. By adding my voice to those who plead with you to evolve a fair solution, perhaps a contribution has been made.

We have confidence in your ability and your judgment. Thank you.

An Open Letter to Marshal Tito: Will You Release Djilas?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following open letter, written by Roscoe Drummond and which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of August 5, 1957, is worthy of the close attention of our colleagues:

AN OPEN LETTER TO MARSHAL TITO: WILL YOU RELEASE DJILAS?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.

Marshal JOSIP BROZ TITO,
President of Yugoslavia,
Belgrade.

DEAR SIR: You have many friends in the United States, in the whole free world. They are your friends not because they esteem communism. They don't. They abhor communism, even a diluted nationalist communism as in Yugoslavia.

They are your friends because they respect the bravery and patriotism which you showed in wresting Yugoslavia from Soviet rule. They respect the way you risked all to stand up to Stalin rather than yield to the Kremlin. They respect the way you boldly avoided being trapped by Khrushchev.

Today your friends in the West are anguished by the fact that a brilliant, courageous, patriotic Yugoslav—a once cherished

perhaps still cherished, friend of yours—Milovan Djilas, lies languishing in a Yugoslav prison cell.

For many years he labored diligently by your side to help create a Communist state in Yugoslavia. As he saw and pondered the fruits of what he helped to create, he began to have misgivings. You shared many of those misgivings. Later Djilas' misgivings turned into formidable conclusions, finally into unshatterable conviction—the conviction that the greatest, most horrible mistake of his life, the greatest and most horrible mistake a part of mankind ever made, was to give birth to communism anywhere in the world.

Today Djilas is intent upon doing his part to help the world repair its horrendous mistake at whatever risk to himself.

You know, as the whole free world knows now, that for more than 2 years he has been writing a devastating, closely reasoned, total denunciation of the fallacies, not merely the excresences, of communism.

You know, as the whole free world knows now, that friends of Djilas have succeeded in smuggling the manuscript of this torrential book from his lonely cell and already delivered it in two parts to his New York publisher.

His word to his publisher, who will bring out the book on August 12, was: "Hurry, hurry; publish it, publish it as soon as possible, regardless of the consequences to me, regardless of what may happen to me before or after publication."

Marshal Tito, your friends in the West ask: What are going to be the "consequences" for your old associate, Milovan Djilas, because he has spoken his mind without fear of the consequences, knowing that he had nothing to lose but his life?

What, indeed, may happen to Djilas—before or after publication?

You once encouraged Djilas to write his criticisms of communism, even of Yugoslav communism. Many believe that it was with the greatest reluctance that you yielded to pressure to deprive him of party office and then send him to jail.

His heart can be stilled but his voice can never be silenced because ideas can't be snuffed out by either a prison or a firing squad.

Even now his words are on his publisher's presses. They will be heard today and tomorrow and forever—as long as they are needed. They are earnest, honest, searing, uncompromising words of a once dedicated Communist who is exposing communism as having spawned a new class of exploiters and nothing else—"a class whose power over men (for its own privilege and benefit) is the most complete known to history."

Marshal Tito, your friends in the West ask: Will you not free Djilas that he may win or lose in the arena of free speech?

If you have no doubts about communism, you have nothing to fear.

If you have doubts about communism, you may be safer if you make Djilas a free man, safer with Djilas outside of jail than in.

Respectfully,

ROSCOE DRUMMOND.

The Sixth of a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD today the sixth of a series of editorial letters by F. F. McNaughton of the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill., written during his recent visit to Russia:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of July 27, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

Have you ever visited Lexington, or Concord, or Bunker Hill, or Mount Vernon?

Today those spots are shrines to Americans. They recall the glorious days when we won our freedom.

Today was rainy in Moscow; so we went to some of the scenes and museums that tell the story of the successful effort of the Russian people to win their freedom.

First we went inside the Kremlin and spent a couple hours there. This, formerly, was forbidden.

Among many other things there, we saw the luxury in which rulers of state and church lived before the revolution.

I won't try to (and I couldn't if I did try to) describe the riches of the garments worn by royalty and by high churchmen. There were cloaks and capes and robes and trains that took countless hours to make, and were enriched by innumerable jewels—some almost solid with jewels.

All this came from the toil of a people, most of whom lived in poverty and misery—and purposely were kept in ignorance.

Then we went to museums outside the Kremlin. One painting shows a peaceful march made by the people (carrying religious symbols) to ask the Tzar for bread.

According to the painting, the reply was bullets instead of bread.

Old men in Pekin who were born in Russia have told me of the cruel behavior of the nobles in Russia; have told me how a noble in a carriage might come galloping thru a village, and woe to the small children that did not flee in time. If they were run down, and their skulls or backs broken, the noble never stopped to offer sympathy or even ask a question.

Well, these museums tell the whole story of the revolution. I can't begin to tell it all here. Let me mention two things:

1. The revolutionaries took a trick from the Bible's Gideon. Short of ammunition, they made a noise maker that sounded like a machine gun. With it, they terrified the enemy.

2. They have a statue of a boy reading a forbidden book. I could not help commenting that now even university boys of Russia are not permitted to read the free world's newspapers, magazines, and literature.

Tomorrow we are going to try to find a church.

Do they have churches?

Tobacco May Be Harmless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave obtained to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Dr. Ian G. Macdonald, of the University of Southern California, contained in the August 2, 1957, issue of the U. S. News & World Report entitled "Smoking and Cancer—What Is Known and Unknown—Here's Another View: Tobacco May Be Harmless":

SMOKING AND CANCER—WHAT IS KNOWN AND UNKNOWN—HERE'S ANOTHER VIEW: TOBACCO MAY BE HARMLESS

(An independent authority on cancer now disputes findings made by other scientists that link cigarette smoking with lung cancer. Such findings, according to Dr. Ian G. Macdonald of the University of Southern California fail to establish any sound basis for the alleged tie between smoking and cancer. Dr. Macdonald, as clinical professor of surgery at the University of Southern California, has directed cancer work at that school for 10 years and has been engaged in treating cancer since 1935. He is an official of the American Cancer Society and chairman of a committee on cancer research of the American Medical Association. It is with that background that Dr. Macdonald analyzes recent studies on cancer. Following are excerpts from a statement by Ian G. Macdonald, M. D., before the Subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs of the House Government Operations Committee, July 25, 1957.)

The constant reiteration of the claim that cigarette smoking is one of the most important causes, if not the most important cause, of lung cancer has persuaded many that a cause-and-effect relationship has actually been established.

A poll of public opinion by the American Institute of Public Opinion, reported in the newspapers for July 21, states that 50 percent of the general public believes that cigarette smoking is one of the causes of lung cancer. Those who advocate fervently the supposed causative importance of cigarettes in this disease seem to have an almost evangelical attitude, and are remarkably oblivious of the fact that virtually the entire basis on which this belief rests is statistical.

Although there is an apparent association between cigarette smoking and lung cancer, a review of the total evidence fails to establish a cause-and-effect relationship.

Cancer is a complex group of diseases of extremely disparate manifestations of abnormal growth of the tissues of the individual in whom the disease arises. A fundamental definition of cancer is an abnormality of growth of cells resulting from a disturbance in the extremely delicate system of check and balance which, under normal conditions, allows the body to replace wornout cells or to repair effectively the result of injury of various sorts. In general, the possibility of a given individual developing cancer depends upon two basic factors:

1. The capacity of the individual to respond to unfavorable influences by developing cancer, and this capacity, or the lack of the capacity, is now accepted by many as being genetically determined, or due to hereditary tendencies.

2. The exposure of the individual to environmental factors which, in the susceptible individual, may eventually result in the degree of abnormal growth which manifests itself as cancer.

Although we have limited information as to some of the genetic factors involved, and although we have considerable information concerning the predisposing environmental influences which may lead to cancer, we are ignorant still of the actual trigger mechanism which sets off the cancerous process in any given individual.

One of the principal arguments that smoking is responsible for an assorted increasing mortality from cancer of the lung is based on the gradually rising mortality statistics for lung cancer. It is more than proper to offer some inquiry as to the validity, or at least the degree, of the increase in cancer of the lung. It is a striking fact that from 1900 to 1956 there has been a reduction in crude death rates from principal respiratory diseases from 430 to 57 per 100,000.

When one considers that reasonably exact measures for diagnosis of lung cancer have

become available only recently, it is obvious that many of the death in the earlier decades of this century which actually were due to lung cancer were recorded in vital statistics as due to pneumonia, influenza, tuberculosis, etc. If one will accept that this error of past decades was as little as 5 percent, this adjustment would show that there has been no real increase in lung cancer during this century.

A number of investigators have drawn attention to the questionable validity of the figures usually quoted in support of the increase in cancer of the lung.

In summary, one may state that, while most of the reports of studies based on the diagnoses of lung cancer made during life show an increase, studies based on autopsies vary, some showing an apparent increase and others showing no increase. Accuracy of diagnoses at post mortem examination has changed very little since 1900, but the accuracy of clinical diagnosis has greatly improved.

Considering these facts, an increase in lung cancer disproportionate to that for all or selected types of cancer has not been demonstrated in most geographical regions, and perhaps even in none.

CIGARETTES PRODUCE CANCER? AN OVERSIMPLIFIED THESIS

The main evidence claiming that smoking causes lung cancer is based on statistical surveys here and abroad.

There are a number of geographic disparities related to tobacco consumption which seem to invalidate the suggestion that cigarette smoking is a causative factor. In Australia, for example, from 1949 to 1951, the tobacco consumption averaged 4.7 to 4.9 pounds per capita, compared with 5 pounds per head in the United Kingdom; in Australia, the incidence of lung cancer was 13.3 per 100,000 as against 55.5 in the United Kingdom; in the 55 to 64 age group the Australians had 30.5 cases per 100,000 as against the United Kingdom's figure of 111.6 per 100,000.

To take an example closer to home, in a recent year 2,003 tax-paid cigarettes were sold per person in Idaho compared to 2,319 tax-paid cigarettes per capita in New York, but the lung-cancer death rate in New York was four times greater than that in Idaho. The degree of difference in industrialization in New York and Idaho is well known. Further comment on the factors of urbanization and industrialization will be made later.

The causation of lung cancer is much more complicated than the oversimplified thesis that it is due to cigarette smoking. The data advanced by those who are mesmerized by statistics includes the English findings offered by Doll and Hill. Their controls—without lung cancer—actually contained more subjects in the moderate-smoking group than there were lung-cancer patients in that moderate-smoking group. Their figures thus show that moderate smoking is actually commoner in persons without lung cancer. Even these data may indicate smoking to be a harmless pastime up to 24 cigarettes per day. One could modify an old slogan: A pack a day keeps lung cancer away.

Still another interesting fact in the data collected by English investigators concerns the individual habits of inhalation of cigarette smoke. Many proponents of the cigarette-lung-cancer theory have speculated that cigarette smokers inhale more than other types of smokers, thus accounting for the excess of lung cancer in users of cigarettes. Yet Doll and Hill's figures showed that cancer of the lung was more common in cigarette smokers who did not inhale than in those who did inhale.

Another curious finding advanced by the advocates of cigarette smoking producing lung cancer, is the fact that the dilution of cigarette smoking by some use of cigars and pipes, materially decreases the probability of lung cancer. This seems to be without reference to the degree of moderation or the excessiveness with which the individual uses cigarettes along with the cigar and/or pipe.

If cigarettes are carcinogenic, they surely should be so, whether accompanied by tobacco in other forms or not. It is an insult to reason to believe that 2 men who indulge equally in cigarettes will have a different chance of lung cancer, simply because 1 periodically adds to his cigarette smoking the use of tobacco in another form.

Another fallacy in the theory that cigarettes have a casual relationship to cancer of the lung is shown by the difference in the relative incidence of lung cancer in males and females. Long before cigarettes were thought to produce the dramatic increase in lung cancer emphasized by the evangelistic statisticians, the ratio of lung cancer in males to females was in the range of 1.5 to 1 and in some areas almost 1 to 1.

In the intervening period, disparity in incidence of lung cancer has constantly increased until, for the United States at large, it is approximately 1 female to 5 males and, in some areas, such as upper New York State, it is in a ratio of 1 female to 7 males. During this period, cigarette smoking by females has constantly increased, and a recent study of patterns of smoking by the United States Public Health Service indicated that slightly over 40 percent of women smoke or have smoked cigarettes since 1930. There has been at least a 25-year period during which women have been exposed to the possible causative effect of cigarette smoking, if there be any such effects, and nevertheless the disparity of incidence of lung cancer as compared with the male continues to widen.

If cigarette smoking were a real and causative factor in lung cancer, the relative incidence in men and women should be approaching parity instead of becoming more disparate, as is the actual situation. * * *

It is timely now to inject some data concerning cigarette consumption and lung cancer in the United States as compared with England and Wales. From 1920 to 1950, the consumption of cigarettes, expressed in pounds per capita, increased in England and Wales from 1.6 pounds to 3.6 pounds, while the lung-cancer rate was increasing from 17.2 to 72.7 per 100,000. In the United States, a vastly greater increase in cigarette consumption took place in this 30-year period, or from 1.6 pounds to 6.3 pounds per capita, but the lung-cancer rate increased only from 6.2 to 31.5 per 100,000.

Differences in lung-cancer rates in urban and rural areas are consistently found. Several investigators have concluded that residence and employment in urban areas with constantly increasing industrialization constitute more significant and reasonable associations with lung cancer than smoking.

"BASIC CAUSE" OF CANCER REMAINS "AN IMPENETRABLE MYSTERY"

The adjusted mortality rate for cancer of the lung for white males in the United States for 1948–49 was 22.3 per 100,000 in urban areas and only 12.3 in rural areas. A review of comparative death rates from lung cancer in various communities in the United States also offers a striking demonstration of the apparent importance of industrialization.

For example, it needs no statistician or expert in sociology to realize that the smoking habits of residents of Charlotte, N. C., are little different from those of other comparable communities in the eastern part of the country. Yet Charlotte has a lung-cancer standardized mortality ratio of only 32 per 100,000, compared to a national average of 100, and compared to various heavily industrialized areas that run as high as 137.

It has been estimated that 6 tons of tarry material fall on each square mile of Manhattan every year, and in English towns the number of lung-cancer deaths has been observed to increase in proportion to the number of chimneys per acre in the towns studied.

EXPERIMENTS WITH MICE

From an experimental standpoint, highly concentrated extracts of tobacco tars have been applied on the skin of mice after shaving, by [Dr. Ernest L.] Wynder. Before offering some detailed comments on this doubtful activity, it is proper to emphasize that mouse skin cancer bears no relationship to human cancer, and this is admitted by those who have done the experiments. The lungs and the skin have different origins in development of the animal, and it cannot be assumed that they will react the same way to the same irritant.

Still further, mice and men are completely unalike in their response or lack of response to certain agents. For example, cancer of the breast can be produced in a high percentage of mice of certain strains by the use of estrogens—female sex hormone—but intensive use of the same hormone over a long period of years in female monkeys failed to produce a single cancer of the breast or any other organ. It is thus proper to make the following generalizations concerning this particular problem:

a. The demonstration of the production of cancer by an agent in a mouse cannot be accepted as valid evidence of a similar property in men, particularly if the experiment cannot be repeated successfully in higher mammals, which has not been done in the instance of tobacco tars.

b. No satisfactory approach to an equivalent of human lung cancer has been produced in animals after exposure to concentrated doses of tobacco smoke produced by smoking machines.

In spite of the fallacies of this particular experimental work, there are other reasons for denying any real analogy with the situation of smoking in the human. This denial is based on the following:

1. An English investigator—Wright—exposed 160 mice for 18 months to cigarette smoke, that is, for half of their live span. The smoking mice actually lived longer than the nonsmoking mice.

2. Another British investigator—Campbell—observed an increase in lung-tumor rate in mice from 8 percent to 80 percent when they were subjected to prolonged in-

1. An English investigator—Wright—excontent of tar.

3. An attempt to compare the amount of cigarette smoking by a human to equal the exposure of the skin of mice in the experiments where concentrated tobacco tar was used points up the absurdity of the comparison. Extrapolating the concentration of tar on the small area of the mouse's skin to an equivalent concentration on the large area of the lung of men, I estimate that a man would have to smoke over 100,000 cigarettes a day to equal the dose Wynder gave his mice. Indeed, Wynder has told this committee that, when his dose is cut in half, no tumors on mice result. Thus, on my extropolation, a man can smoke over 50,000 cigarettes a day and not be in danger of developing cancer from smoking.

Extrapolations such as this show the dangers of predicting results in man from results in mice, and of predicting cancer-producing doses in man from mouse experience.

In his statement before this committee, Wynder said he produced about 50 grams of tar per 1,000 cigarettes, or 50 milligrams per cigarette. This raises the question whether this tar was produced under conditions simulating human smoking, since none of the figures presented to you Wednesday indicated that much tar content to be in the smoke of a cigarette.

4. Experimental projects acrried out by Kotin and his associates at the Univerait

of Southern California in Los Angeles in exposing mice to Los Angeles atmosphere in natural and artificial forms show how potent the pollutants in air can be in the production of tumors.

Kotin and his group applied various substances that contribute to air pollution on a quantitative basis. Incidentally, he used a lesser dosage in 1 year, weight for weight, than Wynder used in 1 week. When material obtained from diesel exhaust fumes was so applied, 17 out of 20 animals bore tumors, or 85 percent, and 11 of these 17 tumors were cancerous. When a similar experiment was conducted again with a pure strain of mice, using a concentrate from gasoline internal-combustion engines, 38 out of 86 mice developed tumors; there were multiple tumors in over 60 percent of the animals and 44 percent, or 22 out of the 38 animals with tumors, had cancerous tumors.

Finally, when products simply filtered out of Los Angeles air were similarly applied, 13 out of 35 mice, or 42 percent, developed tumors, and 9 of these 13 animals showed malignant tumors on microscopic examination.

RESULTS OF EXHAUST-FUME TESTS

This makes obvious the fact that duplicating the Wynder type of experiment, not only with diesel and gasoline-engine exhaust concentrates, but also with samples of Los Angeles atmosphere, produced considerably more convincing evidence of cancer-producing ability in mice, for what it may be worth, than did the Wynder experiment.

As a further note, it should be remarked that Kotin's observations have been duplicated readily by several other competent investigators, while Wynder's results have been difficult of reproduction by other scientists.

In summary, the total evidence here reviewed fails to establish any sound basis on which a causative influence may be assigned to cigarette smoking in the production of cancer of the lung. As in a majority of human cancers, we have at hand an imposing list of predisposing factors, no one of which is of more than ephemeral status. The total problem of cancer in Homo sapiens from the standpoint of its basic cause remains as much an impenetrable mystery as in the days of Aesculapius.

H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to point out that the Government Operations Committee of the House of Representatives has favorably reported H. R. 8002 without objection after a study of 2 years. The Rules Committee has given a rule on this legislation which has been endorsed by President Eisenhower on six different occasions. Enactment of the measure has been recommended by the Comptroller General of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Bureau of the Budget, and the bipartisan Hoover Commission, which made this recommendation. Similar legislation, S. 434, cosponsored by 50 Members of the United States Senate, passed that body unanimously on June 5.

For the information of the House a fact sheet follows which sets forth the pertinent points of this legislation:

FACTS ABOUT H. R. 8002

Will provide a means for congressional control over the annual rate of Government expenditures. Agencies will request appropriations each year in the amount required to pay for the goods and services estimated to be received during such year and for other authorized payments.

Will minimize carryover balances of appropriations given in one year and expended in later years. When an appropriation is made on the annual accrued expenditure basis, any unaccrued balance at the end of the budget year is automatically terminated.

Will require an annual review with positive action to be taken each year by the Congress on both existing and proposed programs. Under the present budgetary method, no further positive congressional action is required on entire programs or portions of programs for which appropriations were granted in prior years but on which work is presently being performed.

Will provide authority to enter into contracts and orders, for work to be performed in future years, as necessary for orderly procurement. Such grants of contracting authority, however, are not appropriations of funds and must be financed during the future years in which the work will be performed.

Will minimize confusion over the size of each year's budget. Now we have two budgets—the obligation budget and the expenditures estimates. Congressional appropriations are presently geared to the obligation budget. Congressional appropriation action on the 1958 budget relates to agency obligation budgets totaling $73.3 billion and not to the $71.8 billion estimated expenditures. The 1958 estimated budget surplus is based on the $71.8 billion expenditures.

Provides that the annual accrued expenditure basis for stating appropriations be on a trial basis until July 1, 1961. Any problems encountered during this period which cannot be solved through administrative procedures can be considered for legislation when extension of the authority beyond July 1, 1961, is being considered.

What the "Doria" Taught

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. D. BAUMHART, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BAUMHART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the July 31, 1957, issue of the Toledo Blade. The editorial compliments Congressman HERBERT C. BONNER for his alert and conscientious efforts, as chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to prevent another *Andrea Doria* disaster.

Immediately following the Italian liner's ill-fated collision and sinking in July 1956, Chairman BONNER assigned a group of maritime experts to find out where the blame lay and how future disasters could be averted. Soon thereafter the investigators issued a report exposing inconsistencies in international ship construction standards and backwardness in the use of modern safety devices.

Appalled at the apathy displayed by American and foreign diplomatic and maritime agencies in the interim, Chairman BONNER has now served notice that he and his committee will push forward with plans to dispel bureaucratic sluggishness and thereby achieve safety on the sea lanes.

As a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I wish to commend our distinguished chairman for his leadership in this regard, and at the same time to assure him of my fullest support. I am sure, too, that the entire House of Representatives echoes these sentiments.

The text of the Toledo Blade editorial follows:

WHAT THE DORIA TAUGHT

Representative HERBERT L. BONNER, chairman of the House Marine Committee, has announced his determination to follow through on the recommendations of the experts his group put to work after the Italian liner *Andrea Doria* went to the bottom off Nantucket Island last July with a loss of 50 lives and millions of dollars. His interest is timely because nothing has been done to translate the defects that collision revealed in maritime construction, procedure, training, and equipment into regulations which might prevent the recurrence of such a tragedy.

To landsmen, at least, the findings of the committee's experts revealed an astounding lag in bringing seafaring practices abreast of modern technology. A 1948 international convention on construction standards was criticized as inadequate. Both the *Doria* and the ship with which it collided had radar, yet the officers of neither ship appeared proficient in its use. The collision raised basic questions about traffic control in crowded sea lanes, the desirability of radio-telephone communication between the bridges of ships in close proximity, the possible need for an international organization to enforce sea safety.

It may be argued that ships do not require the exacting controls that are imposed on airplanes—that their numbers, speed, and nature of operations make such controls inappropriate. Yet dozens of ships were lost last year besides the *Doria*. And even if it had been the only one, for such a ship to go down when better construction and operation might have provided a saving factor should be sufficient incentive to maritime nations for remedial action.

Blue Sky Practices Rampant in Installment Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] made one of the great speeches of this session on Monday, July 29, when he spoke on the subject of how the financial institutions bill of 1957 will legalize usury.

Since World War II, there has been a revolution in consumer credit. Not only

has the volume of credit increased greatly, but the practices whereby this volume of credit is extended and collected have assumed new proportions. Installment credit has become a method of sales promotion in fields where such credit was unheard of only 10 years ago. Furthermore, blue sky practices have become involved in a great part of this credit.

The August issue of Consumer Reports makes the point that what is needed is a kind of control which would help protect consumers from the fleecings and shakedowns to which they are now in many instances the victims. Whatever one's views of this particular publication may be the article does make some basic arguments which must be considered.

What is needed is legislation to check usury. We cannot count on competition among credit agencies to protect consumers from exorbitant charges; we cannot expect consumers will be drawn to those credit agencies which offer the lowest financing charges. The simple reason is that the credit agencies present their financing charges in such devious and complex ways that, as a rule, consumers never know what financing charges they are paying. When consumers do not know what financing charges are being asked, they cannot compare the charges of one agency with those of another.

I include part of the article I refer to for the information of the Members. The omitted portion deals with wartime regulation W, and with the Federal Reserve Board's recent study of consumer credit with which the Members are already familiar.

The article follows:

At the end of 1955, President Eisenhower asked the Federal Reserve Board to make a study of the status of consumer debt. During that year, installment credit had increased by $5½ billion, to a total of $28 billion. It had been the year of blitz car sales—both new and used cars advertised with "100 percent financing plus easy terms," which usually meant a small loan on top of the installment loan, and 36 to 48 months to pay off the total. During that year, also, the rug industry put steam behind its nothing-down-and-3-years-to-pay for wall-to-wall carpeting. Department stores all over the country began booming their revolving credit schemes—setups which allow for a kind of installment payment of charge accounts. Airplane companies advertised travel on the cuff. Hardware stores joined in the credit selling parade, and even Woolworth's launched a promotion of time-payment buying. In short, the promotion of credit hit a peak in 1955 and consumers went into debt at a record-breaking pace.

* * * * * * *

When regulation W was first drawn up, back in the early 1940's, installment buying was a costly financial device used by a limited number of consumers to facilitate the purchase of high-price consumer durables. Back in 1939, for example, less than 20 percent of the new cars sold were bought on the cuff, as opposed to 80 percent today. Since the postwar boom, moreover, installment credit has become something more than a financial device. It has developed into a sales tool. It has become an instrument of competitive promotion and has fallen heir to those fraudulent practices that always have been associated with blue-sky activities. That consumer credit has been a blue-sky operator's dream these past 10 years is evidenced by some of the data buried in the thousands of pages of the Federal Reserve Board's report. Consider, for example, the following:

"One of the most important factors that restricts price competition among consumer installment credit agencies is the difficulty consumers have in comparing rates of charge made by various agencies * * * In view of the variations possible as a result of a level or graduated charge per month, a discount or add-on rate, credit life insurance, delinquency penalties, investigation fees, etc., it is small wonder that most consumers, while they may be aware of the dollar finance charge, have little idea of the actual financing rate they are paying. Available evidence suggests that consumers are sometimes unaware of even the dollar amounts of their finance charges."

As a matter of fact, consumers are not only frequently unaware of the financing rate they are paying, they are generally misled when and if they try to find out. No installment seller will quote a financing charge on a true, annual-interest basis. Salesmen and credit departments are strictly forbidden to do so. And until financing charges are quoted on such a basis by all sellers, it will not be possible, of course, for consumers to make price comparisons between various installment lenders. Instead of quoting the actual cost of the loan (and an installment debt is simply a loan disguised as a sale) in meaninful and comparative terms, sellers will describe their charges simply as 1 percent a month, or 8 percent, or 10 percent on the total balance—all meaningless terms. One percent a month, for example, can mean a financing cost as high as 24 percent interest. Ten percent on the total balance can mean a very high rate if the debt is paid back within 3 or 6 months. And so on.

In short, sellers of debt today can charge a concealed price for their services. Even worse, without consulting the buyer, they can—and do—change at will the cost of the service they have contracted to perform. Here is where the practice of levying penalties for late payments can yield a rich harvest. Some installment lenders hold a payment to be late if it is as much as 30 minutes behind a stated hour. Furthermore, the amount of penalty for late payments frequently is not stipulated in the contract.

THERE IS, AS A MATTER OF FACT, A VAST AND LUCRATIVE KIND OF LEGAL NO-MAN'S-LAND GROWING UP AROUND CONSUMER DEBT

One interesting recent development illustrates the point. Since department stores launched their revolving credit schemes—on which they levy a carrying charge amounting to 20 to 25 percent at a true annual-interest rate—they have been adopting gradually the practice of charging their old-style charge account customers fees for late payment. If a charge account is not paid up in 30 days, stores have taken to adding a 1 percent to 2 percent per month penalty and, according to trade reports, most consumers simply pay it, even though there is no contractual agreement on their part to do so.

In trade discussions of this practice, retailers are quite frank to admit that they levy late-payment charges on credit customers arbitrarily. If the customer is a good one, who spends a sizable amount each month and is known to be late but faithful in payments, he may not be charged for his delay. His neighbor who buys less, however, may suffer such a charge. If consumers would simply refuse to pay this arbitrary levy, chances are it would not be pressed. Charge-account customers, say the retailers, tend to buy more, buy higher-price goods, and do less shopping around. They're the kind of profitable customers retailers like to keep.

The legal status of late-payment levies on charge accounts is open to question. It may be that, when the retailer announces the levy in billing the customer, the charge assumes some validity even though the customer has not contracted to accept it. There are other practices in connection with consumer credit contracts, however, where the law is obviously violated but where the consumer has, practically speaking, no opportunity for redress. The nature of our sales laws and the legal setup for debt collection, together with the three-way relationship between consumer, retailer, and financing agency, all too often mean that, no matter how fraudulent the sale, the consumer must pay up.

In Oakland, Calif., for example, a rug company recently folded up when its salesmen were indicted by a grand jury. The salesmen, it was charged, had defrauded the public by selling low-grade rayon rugs to consumers for the price of high-grade wool, and by claiming the rugs to be of that quality. Even after the salesmen had been tried and convicted, the victims of the fraud, the consumers, still were required to pay $600 to $800 on their contracts for carpeting that would be overpriced at $200, simply because neither the rug company nor the salesmen owned the contracts. As soon as the consumer had signed them, they were turned over to sales finance companies, who claimed that they bought the paper in good faith and hence had the right to collect.

RESISTING THE CLAIMS OF A SALES FINANCE COMPANY IS A COSTLY BUSINESS FOR AN INDIVIDUAL CONSUMER

If debt claims arising out of proven fraud could, for instance, be argued before a small claims court, where the consumer could appear on his own behalf; and if consumer debt contracts could be so drawn that both the seller and the financing agency accept responsibility for stipulating the facts surrounding the sale—then, perhaps, this kind of fraud could be minimized. But in most States the top limit of a small claims court still is $100—a sum that is quite unrealistic in light of the fact that most consumers who are in debt owe $300 or more, and the fact that the prices of goods sold on installment have risen so much in recent years. Here is where a major study is required and where practical recommendations could be made and embodied—for example, in a model law for a debt claims court, to be offered to the States.

To be sure, it is hardly astute of a consumer to be taken in by the sales spiel of a fast-buck operator. A number of sellers and financing agencies oppose any legal measures to curb such activities on the grounds that consumers ought to be able to take care of themselves. But such an argument is beside the point. The philosophy of "never give a sucker an even break" is not only destructive of good human relationships but is also inconsistent with the vast and rapidly growing body of State and Federal law designed to promote fair dealing between competitive business groups.

Other sellers who do agree that fair dealing is important to sound business as well as to good morals, however, take the position that fraudulent consumer credit practices are limited to the dishonest few always to be found in any field of endeavor; hence, that the problem is too minor a matter for legislative action. And anyway, they ask, how would you go about it?

An answer to both objections lies in the current practice of a number of banks, which in the past few years have set up their own home-improvement loans in competition with the Government-insured FHA title I loans. Under FHA title I loans, a consumer may borrow for a 3- to 5-year period, at an approximate 10 percent rate of interest, sums of money up to $3,500 to finance home remodeling; the FHA, in turn, insures the bank against a loss on the loan. Home-repair loans have boomed since the middle 1940's. And banks which have adopted the practice of making the loans without Gov-

ernment insurance have found business plentiful, even though the interest rates on such loans are generally higher, up to 16 percent in some cases.

The number of people who now borrow at 16 percent, when the same loan is available at 10 percent, may be a compliment to the sales ability of the banker. But, even more interesting than the higher interest charged in these private—as opposed to Government-sponsored—home-repair loan programs is the kind of contract usually asked by the bank from the contractor who does the job. In home-repair consumer installment loans, the contractor plays a role similar to that of the appliance dealer in the installment sale of washers, ironers, refrigerators, etc. The consumer buys the job and signs the contract calling for monthly payments. The dealer sells the paper to the bank with which he does business. Unlike typical installment contracts, however, the individual bank's private home-repair loan contracts usually require the dealer to stipulate that:

Each note he offers the bank is genuine, valid, legally enforceable and actually made by the customer who signs it—not forged, or changed after it was signed.

Each signer of the note was competent and of legal age.

Every condition surrounding the agreement of sale has been fully executed and satisfactorily performed.

Each note is free from all offsets (a term meaning promise of commissions or rebates), claims, counterclaims disputes or differences between buyer and seller.

The fact that such requirements are made of home-repair dealers when the bank takes the loan without government insurance is, of itself, evidence that most banks have been aware right along of the fast ones that were, and still are, pulled by too many installment sellers.

What the banks require of remodeling contractors should now be required of all other dealers, too. And consumers need to ask for the same sort of protection from both the lenders and the sellers with whom they do business. In short, such stipulations should be a part of all conditional sales contracts.

It is in this area that consumer credit controls are now needed. It is from this point of view, rather than the Regulation W approach, that the problem should be studied and corrective legislation designed.

The Peace of Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the article on Haiti in the Nation for July 6 by the distinguished Latin American authority, Carleton Beals, the first portion of which is as follows:

THE PEACE OF DEATH

PORT-AU-PRINCE.—Under martial law and an 8 o'clock curfew imposed by the new Haitian military junta, the capital of Haiti, Port-au-Prince, has for the past week been peaceful, without violence. But it is expected to get back to normal very soon.

It is the peace of death. The brief effort of the Haitian people to obtain a freely elected government has been crushed in blood. Gen. Antonio Kebreau, head of the junta, rules from the main barracks with an all-military Cabinet of unknown colonels and captains; the dazzling white national palace that lords it over this city of squalor stands vacant and sealed, the streets blocked off to traffic, soldiers in the three nearby barracks on the alert day and night.

I arrived several days after Kebreau and his soldiers had burst into a Cabinet meeting, put a gun at President Daniel Fignole's head, and shipped him out in the dead of night. Kebreau's only excuse was that Fignole, trying to restore civilian control, was undermining army discipline. He also mentioned the need to protect life and property. But for months life and property have been endangered chiefly by the army and its armed claques let loose in the streets to kill and shout viva l'armée. Life and property have never been more menaced than by the actions of the military junta itself.

The new Caesar turned his soldiers loose on the slum districts—which comprise most of this city except for the tourist hotels and palaces of generals and ex-cabinet ministers on the cool hills of Petionville. Particularly they struck at the shacks along the harbor front and the boulevard to the airport, one of the filthiest, most sickening conglomerations of misery, disease and horror I have ever seen, and at the tangle of workers' homes known as Bel Aire. Unarmed people, demonstrating in favor of their fallen idol, Fignole, were mowed down by machineguns.

The hospitals are jammed with wounded, and the latest estimate of dead reaches 476. The actual number cannot be known because all but the few bodies taken to the morgue were loaded into lorries and buried in the plain. There have been no funeral processions. Relatives have been afraid to claim bodies in the morgue. The others cannot be recovered.

Many demonstrators and people dragged at random from their homes were dumped without food or shelter on La Gonave, an uninhabited island 40 miles off shore. Every day trains of people are led down the streets by the soldiery, and every day soldiers have been terrorizing, by illegal search or arrest, the followers of Fignole, of candidate ex-Senator Louis Dejoie, and officers of the Popular Social Christian Party (Catholic). The vice president of that party, Alain Laraque, who is also head of the Chamber of Commerce, was badly beaten at the police station and his nose was broken; he is now held incommunicado, as are others.

François Duvalier and Clemente Jumelle, the two other main candidates, have not been molested. Almost part of the army machine, they showed by their proclamations of June 13 a prior knowledge of Kebreau's assault on the Palace and acquiesced in it.

Jumelle, already badly discredited as Minister of Finance and Public Health in the dictatorial regime of General Paul Magloire (dumped last December 13), was in large part responsible for the worst orgy of systematic thievery in the history of Haiti. Jumelle left the country bankrupt, its industries in ruins, and with a piled-up debt. He did no blessed thing for public health. Kebreau's coup, some believe, was to shut off disclosures by a special investigating commission, due to report June 19, concerning the corruption of the Magloire-Jumelle regime and the army.

I had vivid proof of Kebreau's terrorism within less than 24 hours after my arrival. An officer and two soldiers forced the Plaza hotel manager to unlock my door. They lunged in with leveled rifles (I was in undress). Having stormed the barricades so valiantly, they proceeded to look over my room.

I went to the barracks and demanded to see Kebreau (who might at least put some of his idle soldiers to work cleaning up the sidewalk filth around the outer walls). My conversation with the officer, I presume a major, called by the officer-of-the-guard, began politely but ended rather acrimoniously, with a note of menace. I said I had not come to get an interview but to make a protest and to demand proper professional guaranties; I added that I expected the general to send me an apology.

Instead, when a small news item about the incident in my room appeared in the local Independance, the police dragged the owner of the Plaza Hotel, Rossini Pierre-Louis, to the police station, and there accused him of international conspiracy with the foreign press against the Government. I'm still waiting for the apology.

Though the irritating incident was trivial, it indicated the lawlessness of the regime and its contempt for life and property. The vice consul at the United States Embassy told me, "in behalf of Ambassador Gerald A. Drew," who did not find it convenient to see me, that no protests in behalf of maltreated Americans or violations of press rights could be made because Washington has not yet recognized the junta; furthermore, martial law gave the soldiery of this illegal gang the right to break into anybody's home or hotel room. He did not quite subscribe to Dulles' thesis that Haiti, like China, is a place where no American newsman should be allowed to go, that the State Department is the sole arbiter of what news the American press may gather and what news the American public will be allowed to read.

But even the limited doctrine set forth at the Embassy in Port-au-Prince, that the American newsman has no rights the military gang is required to respect, represented an abdication of basic rights long established under international law and in particular by the American Declaration of the Rights of Man, to which Haiti is also a signatory.

I applaud the effort of the Embassy not to meddle in Haitian affairs, especially as the United States has entered into agreements outlawing intervention with all the American States. But proper concern for human rights under recognized international precedents and law would win us friends in Haiti, in all America and around the world, and would not be intervention.

Actually, the United States constantly intervenes in Haiti. We poured more money behind the corrupt Magloire dictatorship than behind any previous government. That dictatorship had no respect for democracy or human rights, and the American taxpayers' money was stolen by politicians and the army, with few benefits for the Haitian people and little benefit for the reputation of the United States. In a sense, the present murderous conduct of the Kebrau government is a result of American policy in Haiti. Last February, to stave off acute suffering due to the previous Magloire abuses, the United States shipped in rice, beans, and other provisions—for Haitian Army speculators to handle at prices so high some of the shipment spoiled and had to be dumped into the harbor. We have trained and equipped this oversized, overgeneraled army now abusing the citizenry in a frantic effort to hang on to its unholy privileges. United States Air Force cars buzz around the streets. A recent consignment of trucks, destined for public works, I was told, has been appropriated by Kebreau's soldiers. For what? To dump the bodies of murdered Haitians into unmarked graves? And it is startling to see prisoners herded along the broken, rubbish-filled streets by soldiers wearing knapsacks labeled "U. S. Army." The Haitian people are not blind, and the grapevine now has it that Kebreau, if he will falsefront his bayonets with a civilian junta ("two honest men and one ——— to please Washington"), will be granted a premilinary American credit of $6 million. He needs this to pay his army. At the moment there's not a dime in the treasury, and starvation is again around the corner.

Prominent people, and less prominent people, continue to be dragged to the police

station or the barracks—not once but repeatedly to be questioned and threatened and in some cases physically maltreated. One of the first decrees of the junta, based on a forgotten law of 1826, makes it a crime for any business to close its doors without official consent. The junta fears another general strike such as that which tumbled Magloire's dictatorship. Before the week was out, the police took the heads of the chamber of commerce and scores of businessmen to the barracks or the police station, and charged them, without evidence, of planning such a strike. Few people doubt that resistance will soon boil up.

Among those arrested was the owner of a grocery store which I patronize near the American Embassy. The police chief (who only this May, when he was a commander in the interior, plotted to assassinate the members of one of the civilian governments) accused him of preparing to shut up his shop on Monday (this was Saturday). He demanded to face the Army colonel who, the chief said, had reported that the shop owner had told his employees not to show up on Monday. The owner was held all day. Finally the police brought in his employees. Fortunately they had the courage to say that he had never told them not to come to work on Monday, and all were released.

Another employer was not so lucky. One of his employees nursed a grudge. So he is in jail, and the police accomplished what they sought to prevent, the shutting down of his business.

The chief reasons for Haitian disorder are clear. The Haitians are probably the worst exploited people on earth and never worse than now when most of the world is moving ahead to better standards. The average income of the Haitian worker is $65 a year. Anyone who has tried to provide for a family of 5 on 18 cents a day—even if there are a few bananas and mangoes hanging from the trees—will know that a piece of calico to cover nakedness can be obtained only by doing without the daily handful of rice, that children cannot be sent to school even when there is a public school, that there is no money for doctors or medicine, let alone for any of the amenities of life.

Yet these good-humored, kindly people, with their great dignity and grace even in poverty, have great potentialities. If they were given the slightest opportunity, they would accomplish much for themselves and their country. Few people can match them in artistic taste, and out of the worst poverty have come remarkable painters, sculptors, poets, writers, and musicians. But Haiti's best talent is ruthlessly destroyed.

The more exaggerated military evils that have ruined Haiti developed under the Magloire dictatorship. He took over the country in 1946, imposed puppet President Dumarsais Estimé, then kicked him out by another coup in 1950. Magloire's 1953 budget totaled 175 million gourdes, but his hand-picked congress voted him 200 million extra to use without strings. By 1956 the total of both budget and slush fund reached 456 million gourdes, and Jumelle had piled up a 325 million-gourde debt and had borrowed 90 million gourdes from the government's national bank. (The gourde is worth 20 cents.)

These enormous sums disappeared, leaving no public works of importance or any other benefits. Almost the only tangible accomplishment was building the Artibonet Valley Dam (estimated cost $9 million, actual cost $30 million), and it is so badly constructed that presently it will fill up with silt.

Magloire ruined even the telephone system. For a time only those friendly to the regime could get their phones repaired. Now the whole system has gone to pot; only a few phones in government offices and the barracks give service. Probably no other city of its size in the world is without phone service. The pavements have not been repaired for years. Even the main business streets and sidewalks are full of deep holes and rubbish. The only fairly goods roads are those climbing the hills to the rich villas. Stinking drains from houses cross the sidewalks every few feet, and the sewers, which have to be cleaned periodically because of the run-off of gravel and silt, now bubble up at every manhole, creating a stench in this hot town that is beyond description. This shabby but gracious and beautiful city, with its wide gardens and brilliant flowers, is the worst pest hole in the Americas, perhaps in the entire world.

Besides looting of the public treasury, Magloire and the army set up an ironclad monopoly that still exists for soapmaking, tobacco, flour mills and cement. One-third of the profits went to Magloire, now in exile in Paris, one-third to his chief of police, Marc Prosper, who built a half-million dollar mansion in Petionville.

The army, not content with its one-third, was given in addition the income from banana exports, at the time about 10 million stems a year. "They took the profits, then ate the bananas," remarked Georges E. Riguad, an agronomist. The banana industry is now all but ruined. Forty-eight percent of the coffee export price is taken by the Government, mostly for the army. Half of this is supposed to be used to promote better production and to help the growers, who are mostly small peasants. Not one cent has ever been so used. The coffee harvest this year will be the smallest in Haiti's history.

Magloire, Jumelle, and the army left the country ruined, bankrupt, its trade all but paralyzed, close to the very nadir of its history. The mulattoes, who took over Haiti after the ousting of the French more than a century ago, represented the better educated, well-to-do class; they ruled with the aid of the army, and not always with much regard for the mass of the people. Now the army has devoured the mulattoes along with everybody else. Haiti is the prize example of the end that awaits a people which permits the bulk of its revenues to be used by the army, which allows its generals to become its spokesmen in public policies and international affairs.

Thus, in spite of the confusing swirl of names and the involved political intrigues, the Haitian problem is simplicity itself, though the solution promises to be incredibly difficult. It is the army versus the people of Haiti, an army above law and government, dealing out death at will, robbing freedom and property at will, shameless in its plundering. On the other hand, a people, made up of suffering peasants who get no profits from what they sell, workers who never get enough to eat and no medical care, a middle-class whose members are quickly crushed unless they kow-tow to the army system, professionals who can scarcely work, businessmen hemmed in by army monopolies, subject to unreasonable taxes, hampered by endless redtape from an earlier feudal era and restrictions both lawful and unlawful.

The issue was clear enough last December 13 when Magloire was booted out by a general strike involving everybody in society from top to bottom, joining hands across all economic, class, or color lines. The poorer peasants brought no food to market; the stevedores moved no cargo, the chauffeurs drove no cars, the commercial classes closed up their businesses drum-tight and not all the arrests or the breaking-in of soldiers could open them up again. There was little use in soldiers sitting behind the counters when not a soul would buy a penny's worth. There were similar demonstrations during the 6 months whenever the army tried to move back into control or the Magloire elements tried to regain the upper hand. For 6 months the people have striven, against constant army conspiracy and repeated betrayals by their leaders, to establish an honest government, freely elected. Now, under Kebreau, the vicious Magloire gang and the army are back in the saddle, ruling by terror.

Winston Churchill's New View of the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, Sir Winston Churchill spoke to the members of the American Bar Association in London last week and presented some very pertinent remarks on the present makeup of the United Nations.

Mr. Churchill's views, 12 years after he personally helped to found the United Nations, point out some unforeseen problems which will have to be faced and resolved by many countries, including our own United States. The Chicago Tribune, in their lead editorial of Saturday, August 3, offers some most timely comments on Winston Churchill's talk, and this editorial is as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of August 3, 1957]

WISDOM AFTER THE FACT

Sir Winston Churchill, the showpiece of the vanishing British Empire, was dragged out before the American Bar Association in London to sermonize on a fact long since known to everyone. His theme was that the United Nations is a flop. The Tribune has been saying this for a long time and for doing so has been denounced as anti-British.

Now Churchill joins us in the opinion that justice is not being achieved under U. N. and that its decisions are taken on grounds of enmity, opportunism, jealousy, and petulance. And he condemned those who, "at one swoop in the hour of victory, tried to draw up an all-comprehending scheme" and tailor the world to their internationalist pattern.

Among them, of course, was Churchill himself, for he and Mr. Roosevelt joined at Teheran and Yalta in winning Stalin to this all comprehending scheme. If Churchill had misgivings then, they are not to be discerned from his utterances at the time.

And, again, it is a little late in the day for the man who was twice Prime Minister of Britain to be bemoaning that justice is impossible of accomplishment under the United Nations. The hour for justice struck, and passed ignored, a long time ago when Poland and Eastern Europe were sacrificed to communism, when dismemberment and vengeance were decreed as the proper lot for Germany, and when the Atlantic Charter was consigned to the dustbin.

Churchill, the author of that misnamed instrument, came to Argentia Bay, in Newfoundland, in August 1941, to sell President Roosevelt a bill of goods and to dope the American public with a masterfully contrived piece of propaganda. The Atlantic Charter, with its lofty aims to govern a peace that could only be made possible through American military intervention to accomplish the defeat of Germany, was unveiled at that meeting.

It cannot be said that Roosevelt was bamboozled. He was a willing and delighted ac-

complice in cynically foisting upon his countrymen and the world a spurious statement of the shape and character of the promised millennium. It fitted in beautifully with his plans to drag the United States into war.

So we were presented with the prospectus that, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny—an end that Britain was wholly incapable of accomplishing by her own power—mankind would be blessed with the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security. That was the United Nations, now branded by Churchill to be a fraud.

In this dispensation, no one would seek territorial aggrandizement; no territorial changes would be made that would not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned; and all peoples would be free to choose the form of government under which they would live.

The deal at Yalta only a few years later made a mockery of the lot. An authoritative and contemporary account of Roosevelt's diplomacy, read and approved by the wartime President, recorded his motives when the outline of the peace was drawn at Tehran. It is obvious that he staked everything on U. N. and that every concession to Stalin was advanced to win the Soviet tyrant's assent to international organization.

Mr. Roosevelt's confidant, Forrest Davis, wrote that "Roosevelt, gambling for stakes as enormous as any statesman ever played for, has been betting that the Soviet Union needs peace and is willing to pay for it by collaboration with the West." Roosevelt's "great design," Davis recounted, was to bring Stalin into the coming United Nations, and to do so he was willing to scrap the Atlantic charter by giving Stalin ascendancy over all the countries bordering on Russia.

That this was done with the agreement of Churchill is demonstrated by the wartime prime minister's announcement and defense of these dispositions before Parliament, which, as early as 1944, prompted questions in Commons as to what had become of the Atlantic charter.

Now, 16 years after the Argentia conference, 14 years after Tehran, and 12 years after Yalta, Churchill tells us that international organization, which was to justify the immense sacrifices of war, has proved a hollow promise. An admission of the inherent futility of that scheme would have been vastly more helpful to the American people 16 years ago this month, when Churchill and Roosevelt were meeting off Newfoundland. It would have kept us out of war.

Washington's Best Baseball Pitcher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like permission to extend some remarks about my favorite baseball club, the Chicago White Sox. Sunday's Washington Star magazine section carried a fine story on Doc White, who was a big winner for the White Sox. I would like the RECORD to reflect this tribute to Doc White.

As a loyal White Sox fan and former president of the Woodland Bards and one who has followed the White Sox even into training camps, I think it is about time we stopped the nonsense and took off after those Yankees in earnest.

Perhaps the memory of Doc White and the "Hitless Wonders" of another era will provide the spark to start a drive that could emulate the Boston Braves of George Stallings' day.

I am sending a copy of this article from the Sunday Star to Charles Comiskey, president of the White Sox, and to Sharkey Colledge, clubhouse boy, asking that it be placed on the bulletin board in the clubhouse where all can read.

The article follows:

WASHINGTON'S BEST BASEBALL PITCHER

(By Francis Stann)

No $64,000 question is this one: Who was the finest baseball pitcher ever born in Washington? It's much too easy and accurate to reply that he was Guy Harris (Doc) White, a reed-slim southpaw who became one of the first collegians to go directly from the campus to the big leagues.

Doc White, born in 1879, was a 15-game winner for the Philadelphia Nationals in 1901—and he didn't graduate from Georgetown until 1902.

After winning 15 more games for the hapless Phillies in 1902 (the team only won 56), Doc jumped to the Chicago White Sox of the new American League and spent the next 11 seasons as a big winner. Beginning in 1903 he won, successively, 17, 16, 18, 18, 27, and 19 games for the "Hitless Wonders," who deserved the name.

Now 78, Doc White is retired at his Silver Spring home, tending his flower and vegetable gardens and graciously consenting to hark back to the old days when old friends visit. The one-time dentist, mound star, vaudeville entertainer, athletic coach and teacher lately has been recovering from a hip fracture.

"I don't tend my gardens as much as I used to do," says Doc, who retired several years ago after serving 28 years in the District school system, 18 at Wilson Teachers College and 10 at old Central High. "My daughter, Marian, has been doing most of the gardening." His wife died 2 years ago and Doc now lives with his daughter. A son, Martin, lives in Sharon, Mass.

A gifted and versatile man was G. Harris White, a success at everything he tried except, perhaps, dentistry. This was not due to lack of skill, acquired at Georgetown.

"I set up an office during the off-season when I was a young ball player," Doc recalls, "but business wasn't very good. Finally, I discovered why. In the same building there was a guy who was pulling teeth for 50 cents!"

On the diamond and even on the stage he did better, although like most ballplayers of his era he was woefully underpaid. "From 1904–1910 I was paid only $3,000 a season for playing ball," he says. "Ed Walsh and Nick Altrock were paid about the same. In fact, you might say that only one man connected with the ball club made any money—he was Charles Cominskey, who owned the team.

"With a family to support, I had to look for off-season employment. So, like other ball players and fighters, I turned to vaudeville.

"When I read now where pitchers are getting $35,000 * * * maybe $50,000 * * * and picking up more outside money for a 2-minute spot on televsion than I could have made on the stage in years it—well, it kind of makes my blood boil. I know the dollar today doesn't stretch as far as it did in the early 1900's, but still I think Walsh, Altrock, Cobb, and the rest of us were underpaid."

Some of Doc's feats still stand in the records, college and pro. On May 28, 1900, pitching for Georgetown against Holy Cross, he struck out the first nine hitters to face him. In short, Doc fanned the entire Crusader team as fast as the players came to the plate.

It was customary in those days for big league clubs to play college teams in preseason exhibitions. That is how the Phillies spotted him and signed the young collegian for the 1901 season.

Doc was a pitcher of many skills. His control was fabulous. Over one stretch in 1907 he pitched 65 consecutive innings before giving up a base on balls. In 46 games that year he averaged one walk per contest. In 1906, when the "Hitless Wonders" won 19 in a row during their successful pennant drive he pitched 6 of these games and allowed a total of only 8 runs.

In the World Series of 1906 the Chicago Cubs were favored to whip their city cousins. But with Big Ed Walsh, Nick Altrock, Roy Patterson, Frank Smith, and White there was rare quality to the Sox pitching.

Pitching in relief in the fifth game, Doc faced 7 batters and gave up only 1 hit. Yet he was charged with a loss. The next day White came back to pitch the entire game, which was won by the Sox, deciding the series.

According to the majority of newspaper notices, White was far better than average on the stage during his two years—1910–11. Through the courtesy of Ira Smith, noted historian of Alexandria, here is what a 1910 clipping reported:

"WAUKEGAN, ILL., November 15.—G. Harris (Doc) White, the star White Sox pitcher, made his first appearance in vaudeville here last night before a crowded house. He was a big hit on the stage as he ever was on the rubber slab, where he had made all his previous public appearances.

"His act was wholly musical, his portion of it being confined to vocal selections, with interludes by a pianist. The excellence of his voice was a complete surprise to the listeners, who came to see a great ballplayer and went away lauding a new baritone star."

One of Doc's vocal efforts which fans liked especially was titled "Little Puffs of Smoke, Goodnight!" White wrote the music and a young Chicago sportswriter of the time, Ring Lardner, supplied the lyrics.

A pitching record of White's, which still stands, is 5 shutouts in a row within 18 days in 1904. During his career he hurled 52 shutouts and his No. 1 victims, oddly, were the pennant-winning Detroit Tigers of 1907–8–9. While the Tigers terrorized other rivals with their big bats, Doc made 'em roll over and play dead. His particular patsy was the great Ty Cobb.

The Sox trainer had a grudge against Cobb. So much so that he offered to work on White's arm for an hour for every time Doc fanned Ty.

The same afternoon that he propositioned White, the slender southpaw fanned Cobb three times, whereupon the trainer pleaded to be excused from the bargain.

Doc pitched for the White Sox through 1913 and then quit baseball at the age of 34 to return to Washington, where he coached and taught at Central and Wilson until his retirement.

Those boys he coached, or taught and counseled, always counted themselves as extremely lucky.

The Ike Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I want to include the following editorial

which appeared in the Joplin Globe Wednesday, July 31, 1957, entitled "The Ike Critics":

[From the Joplin Globe of July 31, 1957]

THE IKE CRITICS

Eisenhower administration opponents, notably the ultraliberals, are severely criticizing the President for defeat of the school-aid bill in the House and for the watering down of the civil-rights bill in the Senate. They think he should have waved the big stick to put pressure on Congress.

Several facts are pertinent. One is that at no time has President Ike been a "pressure" or "big stick" President in his relations with Congress. On such a first term record the people reelected him overwhelmingly. Another fact is that both the Democratic and Republican Parties had school aid and civil rights planks in their 1956 platforms, and the President has repeatedly let it be known that he stands on the GPO platform.

A third very important fact is that both House and Senate are controlled by the Democrats. While it is true that more Republicans than Democrats voted against the school aid bill in the House showdown, 97 Democrats did vote against it. A lot of people believe that the principles involved in both the school aid and civil rights battles transcend political partisanship.

So that who should get credit or be blamed for this or that piece of legislation is a matter of differences of opinion on principles. Singling out the President for criticism on the school aid and civil rights issues could backfire, for a great many Americans believe the school bill should have been defeated, and that civil rights should be compromised.

Something To Be Scared About

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, more and more hydrogen bombs and other nuclear weapons are coming into existence every day. Very soon other nations will have these weapons. When one considers that man is a very fallible creature. He gets drunk, he sells out, his mind snaps, and all sorts of things happen to interfere with his reasoning powers, it does indeed make one shudder to think what may happen when these bombs are handled carelessly. It makes one wonder whether some accident will not set off a conflict which may well mean the end of the human race. The following is a review by Robert C. Ruark of Nevil Shute's latest book, "Ordeal," which appeared in the Washington Daily News on Friday, August 2, 1957. It points up the situation very effectively:

I have just finished a disturbing book by a man named Nevil Shute, a great aeronautical engineer turned mystic, and later novelist. Mr. Shute has a way of projecting you into the future while making you believe he is writing the present.

Twenty years ago, Mr. Shute wrote a book called Ordeal, which was a scientifically accurate forecast of the blitz on Britain. The scientist in him always dominates the fictioneer, but his people are so real and ordinary that the technical knowledge seems secondary.

DIRE PREDICTION

He has just scared the pants off me with a new book called On the Beach, which is a digestible prediction of the end of the world. It starts with a foulup due to too many nasty and stupid people having too many atom-hydrogen-cobalt playthings, and the irresponsibles take over. Egypt bombs us using Russian planes, and we bomb Russia mistakenly. China and Russia bomb each other, Albania does something to somebody—the bomb has become cheap enough for fifth-class powers to produce—and the upshot is that everybody's dead everywhere as the winds carry the fallout.

The big shocker in Mr. Shute's book is the quietness with which the doomed people accept what's coming. The government has already issued suicide pills, free, a do-it-yourself kit to alleviate the nastiness of the last moments. An American submarine commander who was at sea, submerged, when Europe and America copped it, buys an anniversary bracelet for his dead wife, and a Pogo stick for his dead little daughter.

FACE OF DOOM

A scientist in the atomic trade buys a Ferrari racing car, and enjoys a long-dormant yen to be a racing driver. A farmer fixes his fences, a housewife plans a garden, a girl falls in love, a mother worries over her baby's cold. All in the face of a known doom, when mankind will be completely obliterated, while leaving behind everything that mankind has manufactured and created.

Mr. Shute is so completely home-folksy that this thing gave me the creeps.

I know that people have always fought—Anglos, Saxons, Goths, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, Indians—and will always fight. But then they fought with limited weapons, and some segments of the population survived.

OLD DAYS BEST

I know that man, being the lowest member of the animal world, will always itch to do in his neighbor, but I wish they'd take back to the good old days and do it with clubs, spears, rocks, catapults, and bows and arrows. Even the blockbusters and the tank is allowed, but this other thing is getting too big.

Someday some jerk like Hitler in a tiny country is going to give free leash to his paranoia, and think in his insane conceit that it would be nice to knock off the world. He'll have the tools, and by the time mistakes by jerks are made all around—bye-bye world. I have never been wronged by a book, but I have been scared by one, and On the Beach is it.

Favor Budget Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. JAY NIMTZ
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. NIMTZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial urging favorable action on H. R. 8002, the Federal budget and accounting bill, from the South Bend, Ind., Tribune of July 31, 1957:

LET LEGISLATORS KNOW

The bill for accrued expenditures budgeting apparently faces rough going in the House of Representatives although a similar measure was passed unanimously by the Senate.

It is almost 2 weeks since the House Rules Committee released it for consideration by the full House of Representatives. In this period there has been no evidence of House majority enthusiasm for it.

This bill and the one that has gone over the Senate hurdle project a reform in Federal Government accounting that promises savings in the billions. These bills project a reform recommended by the Hoover Commission on Government Reorganization.

If one of them becomes law, the bad system of hangover appropriations will be abandoned. As was remarked in this space, some Federal agencies seeking gigantic current appropriations and intimating that the Nation will collapse if they don't get them have vast unspent balances from previous appropriations.

The Hoover Commission recommended that the total final condition of each agency, with emphasis on unspent previous appropriations, be considered by Congress in its consideration of the agencies' current annual budgets.

Congress should—and did in much of the Nation's history—control the Federal purse. As Congress is made up of the people's elected legislative representatives, this is necessary for reasonably representative Government.

We have drifted far away from it, especially in the last 20 years, because Congress hasn't been properly alert. This is a factor in Federal extravagance, in painfully high taxation and in the inflation which is sapping the buying power of the dollar.

The superpowered Federal machine needs positive brakes. The annual accrued expenditures budgeting bills would have braking power.

All taxpayers should let their legislators in the House of Representatives know that they favor this reform. If the taxpayers don't do this quickly, the much-needed budgetary reform may be postponed indefinitely because of House inaction in this session.

Another Socialist Blight on Society—Niagara Falls Power Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the debate on the Niagara Falls power bill was so sketchy, both parties having agreed and industry having laid down and died, that there was no use spending the time and angering the Members by debating the subject and delaying the vote. Seventy-four other Members and I simply dropped in a token vote against the project. Another Member and I were the only two from the New York delegation casting such a vote.

The people are literally unable to comprehend the issues involved in such matters. Indeed, the Congressmen themselves, if they could all understand the problem, cannot take the time to make themselves understand. Only a small minority understand the figures.

They are so deceived by Government propaganda that they have no idea that

they pay for these projects in the first place. Nor do they realize that afterward they carry the burden of these power projects' deficit operations for themselves and their children indefinitely.

In the case of TVA, for 23 years the people thought that their $2 billion investment (now $2 billion) was actually being paid back to the Treasury for their account. Instead, TVA has ceased all pretense of paying back the $2 billion. It now proposes to mortgage the people's investment in TVA to borrow more money to build more steam plants.

Even so, the immoral taking of the people's money by force for such projects puts a blight on the State receiving it. Tennessee as a State for example falls behind the other Southeastern States because she is continually short of power by comparison with other Southeastern States being served by private power.

The following letter received from Mr. Robert A. Gilbert of the Intercontinental Research & Analysis Co., 19 Rector Street, New York 6, N. Y., sets forth the latest repetition of the colossal, the fantastic TVA. He points out that:

The additional cost of this power at Niagara Falls to taxpayers as a result of operation of the Niagara public dam compared to private enterprise is going to be simply enormous. Exactly the same logic of excessive costs applies here as applied in Idaho in connection with Hells Canyon Dam which, as you know, was defeated recently. It is inconceivable that Congress would vote the Niagara Falls "TVA" without realizing the losses involved here.

The Niagara Falls hydroelectric plant would cost an estimated $600 million [according to] the figures that the Socialists give. The interest rate on the debt might be fairly low, but the taxes avoided over the 40-year life of the project would be much more than the interest cost. The compound loss of Federal and State taxes for this so-called expenditure of $600 million would be a loss to society in the 40-year period of $4,764,000,000 The privately operated electric utilities in 1955—the latest available annual figure and a representative one—paid Federal taxes equal to 3.2 percent of the value of plant, and local taxes equal to 2.1 percent of the value of plant for a total 5.3 percent per annum. The total taxes paid were about four times the interest paid in this year on long term debt and easily twice the interest cost of any project financed 100 percent by debt of low bond interest.

Thus, what seems a saving at Niagara Falls is obviously an enormous expenditure, an enormous loss to taxpayers. The taxpayer, still unsocialized, have to pay the taxes from which the socialized projects are exempted.

In addition to these operating taxes, which will not be paid by this public power project, the recipients of interest paid by Mr. Moses will be exempt from any taxes on the interest received by them. This adds easily 1 percent more to the cost of the project, or another $6 million a year.

The Socialists never seem to be able to estimate costs accurately. Their construction cost estimates are invariably low. For example, the St. Lawrence seaway will cost $35 million more on a project on which it was going to borrow $105 million. Over the years the history of public power has been one of underestimation of capital costs. Some examples are given below:

Hoover Dam, estimated $126,500,000 in 1928. Actual cost, $172,070,000 in 1952.

Columbia Basin, estimated $487,030,000 in 1935. Actual cost, $754,476,000 in 1952.

Parker Dam, estimated $21,767,000 in 1935. Actual cost, $24,202,000 in 1952.

Davis Dam, estimated $41,200,000 in 1941. Actual cost, $118,902,000 in 1952.

Palisades Dam, estimated $24,092,000 in 1941. Actual cost, $76,601,000 in 1952.

Just as with the St. Lawrence seaway not all of these differences are due to increased capacity of the projects by any means, but to inefficiency in making estimates in the first place.

All good citizens hope and pray you will have the courage to speak out on this latest attempt to raise our taxes and squander our money, because these factors are of primary importance in the continuously increasing cost of living.

Yours very truly,

ROBERT A. GILBERT.

How can efforts such as Mr. Gilbert hopes for be joined together. For example, could not the campaign for the 48 States be joined with all of those on the right, might work together to bring about a constitutional limitation on the taxing power to finance such projects?

Many of us have come definitely to the conclusion that the socializing process cannot be stopped as long as Congress has unlimited power to tax and spend. We must all join hands to restore constitutional limitation on the functions and the taxing and spending powers of Congress.

Stop-Go Policy on Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Roscoe Drummond, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of August 4, 1957.

This fostering of monopoly with Government aid, if not connivance, must stop. I certainly hope that before the 85th Congress comes to an end, we will enact legislation to put an end to this phase of monopoly.

STOP-GO POLICY ON MONOPOLY

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The Eisenhower administration is proud, bordering on the boastful, of its record of energetically enforcing the antitrust laws.

The President aims to keep it that way.

This is why the White House, if my information is correct, is pained and dismayed by the recent decision of the Federal Maritime Board protecting what the Matson Navigation Co.'s would-be competitors call its near-perfect monopoly of the shipping business between the west coast and Hawaii.

It is embarrassing to any administration when two arms of the executive branch are found fighting opposite battles—the battle of the Justice Department to combat monopoly and, in the Matson-Pacific Far East Line's case at least, the battle of the Maritime Board to protect monopoly.

Certainly the objective and the effect of Attorney General Herbert Brownell's vigorous application of the antitrust laws are to increase competition.

Certainly the effect, whatever the objective, of the Maritime Board decision in the Matson-PFEL case is to prevent competition.

It is the kind of schism in policy which frustrates any President, and which cannot fail to be especially galling to Mr. Eisenhower, who has given the green light to his Justice Department to use the law to nourish competitive enterprise at every opportunity, not to dry it up.

This schism stems from the Matson-PFEL decision, and here are the pertinent facts:

The Pacific Far East Lines, Inc., which operates a subsidized line to Japan, Korea, the Philippines and Hong Kong, and a nonsubsidized service to Guam and Japan, asked the Federal Maritime Board for permission to stop at Hawaii three times a month on its nonsubsidized run. The hearings took a year and a half, and at their end the board's examiner recommended:

"The board should find that the granting of PFEL's application will not result in unfair competition to any person, firm or corporation operating exclusively in the coastwise or intercoastal service, or be prejudicial to the objects and policy of the act. Accordingly, the application should be granted."

The public counsel of the Maritime Board concurred and ruled: "The proposed service of PFEL will be consistent with the objects and policy of the act, and will not result in unfair competition to Matson."

Whereupon the board itself voted 2-to-1 to guard the Matson Line's run to Hawaii from competition. The majority opinion held that Matson's favored position should be protected on the ground that it was a domestic, unsubsidized operator engaged in coastwise trade. But the judgment of the board's examiner on this point was that both companies were on the same footing.

I am not assuming to judge the legal merits of the Maritime Board's action. Its legality and validity now are before the Federal District Court at the instance of PFEL's attorneys.

But the consequence of the board's action, which aids monopoly, is clearly at variance with the Administration's avowed purpose of curtailing monopoly as in the DuPont-General Motors case, the Eastman Kodak case, and many others.

It is true that the Maritime Board is a quasi-independent agency whose actions the President cannot directly influence. But the White House is involved and to a degree responsible for the board's policies in light of the fact that it now is wholly made up of Mr. Eisenhower's appointees.

On the basic issue I am reminded of a paragraph which comes from the pen of Bernard Baruch in his forthcoming autobiography. It reads: "In time the government forced the break-up of the Tobacco Trust despite Duke's bitter opposition. I happened to meet Duke some years later. 'As hard as I fought dissolution of the Tobacco Trust,' he told me, 'I'd fight even harder any effort to put it back together gain. We made more money after we were broken up and had competition."

Federal School Construction Bill Loses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. JAY NIMTZ

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. NIMTZ. Mr. Speaker, on leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial from the La Porte, Ind., Herald-Argus, under date of July 30, 1957, commenting on the recent defeat

in the House of the Federal school construction bill:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION LOSES

The Republican campaign platform of 1956 called for Federal aid to schools but when the vote was taken late last week in Congress on the $1.5 billion measure 111 Republicans in the House voted against the bill and 77 voted for it. There was a total of 97 Democrats (87 of whom were from the South) who voted to kill the measure and 126 Democrats voted in favor of it.

Of interest to Third District voters, those of La Porte, St. Joseph, Elkhart and Marshall Counties, was that Congressman F. JAY NIMTZ, Republican, supported the measure. He was the only Indiana GOP Congressman to vote for it, as even the assistant GOP leader in the House, CHARLES HALLECK, joined the ranks of those opposed. Democratic Congressmen DENTON and MADDEN were the other Hoosier solons to support the bill.

By a close vote of 208 to 203 Federal assistance for schools is lost for this session of Congress. Since 1953 the President has repeatedly called for some kind of Federal assistance to get needed schools built. And yet when a vote on the bill was near, his only apparent action was to let it be known that although it was not entirely satisfactory to him he would sign the measure if passed by Congress. This lukewarm sort of support was all the bill's foes needed to head it for the ash heap.

The bill would have distributed $300 million a year for 5 years to the States, alloting half on the basis of school-age population and half on the basis of financial need. While not a perfect measure, or a sure-fire panacea for the burgeoning school population problem, it would have bolstered efforts of States and local communities to keep up the increasingly difficult pace of matching schoolrooms and facilities with the soaring school population.

Despite the brave talk about "we can take care of our own school situation" from some politicos, there are many school areas which cannot keep up the pace and continue to fall further behind the needs.

In any event, Congressman NIMTZ appears to believe that education of all the teeming millions of youngsters coming on is as important as the development of some more intercontinental ballistic missiles. And he is so right.

From the Executive's Easel—Now on in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members a most remarkable art exhibit which will open for 2 weeks in Washington at the Statler Hotel on Tuesday, August 6.

The showing, From the Executive's Easel, is a collection of 38 paintings by American business and professional men. The paintings, from the country over, were chosen by a committee of museum directors appointed by the American Federation of Arts. Included among these museum directors are Thomas C. Howe, director, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, Calif.; Denys P. Myers, art director, Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Okla.; Alonzo Lansford, director, Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Adelyn D. Breeskin, director, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.; Jerry Bywaters, director, Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, Dallas, Tex.; Edgar C. Schenck, director, the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Wallace Mitchell, head of galleries, Cranbrook Academy of Art, Bloomfield Hills, Mich. On the advisory committee were Edward Dwight, director, Milwaukee Art Institute; Edmund Lewandowski, director, Layton School of Art, and Frank Getlein, art critic, the Milwaukee Journal.

From the Executive's Easel is sponsored by Manpower, Inc., of Milwaukee, the world's largest temporary help service, which maintains 107 offices in the United States, as well as offices in London, Paris, Montreal, Toronto, Habana, and Johannesburg. In serving industries, retail establishments, and professional persons needing temporary office help, Manpower employs many thousands of men and women who are able to work only on a part-time or temporary basis. Manpower also provides assistance for conventions, surveys, and direct mail programs and such additional services as demonstrating and car unloading. In sponsoring this exhibition, Manpower hopes that the paintings included in From the Executive's Easel will demonstrate the increasingly important part that art is playing in the lives of business leaders.

Elmer L. Winter, the able president of Manpower, Inc., tells the role of the businessmen in art in his introduction to the catalog for From the Executive's Easel:

Today, as a business executive steps into his office, his activities are becoming more and more regimented. Appointments are made for him on a split second basis. Seminars, brainstorming sessions, automation discussions, middle management training programs—all consume a major part of the executive's day. Charts, graphs, projections and budgets restrict the executive's creative ability. He is deeply frustrated by work measurement programs, standardization procedures, and time phasing. He is tiring rapidly as he becomes a human Univac.

It is small wonder then that ever increasing numbers of business as well as professional men are eagerly turning to painting in an effort to escape from the rigid programs which are part of their daily business lives.

For within art there is an opportunity to express one's self without conforming to blueprints and formal patterns previously set. In painting lies the opportunity for the executive and the professional man to explore and create, whether it be through the use of oils, pastels or watercolors. Pattern, color and shadow take on new significance. The executive now at last is free, unhampered in his work as a painter. If he chooses to paint realistically, or if he prefers to delve into the abstract, there is one to check or restrain him by reference to group decision, manuals or operating memoranda.

Five years ago I found myself faced with the same daily problems of restrictive and closely routinized office programs. I desperately searched for an outlet to relieve the tensions so well known to business and professional men.

At my wife's urging I turned to painting, an art form in which I had no previous interest or experience. I quickly found in painting on outlet which gave me an opportunity to express my feelings through canvas and paint. Class work became most absorbing. Late hours were spent at home on perfecting painting techniques. Traveling throughout America and abroad, I found that the monotony of business trips could easily be broken by spending an early hour or two painting on old fishing wharf, a complex of city buildings or scenes from a quaint village. Cities no longer were measured in terms of business or market potential. A new horizon unfolded for me with the opportunity to paint the interesting and the unusual in city patterns. What a thrill to paint a late afternoon sunset or rooftop from my hotel window. As I became more deeply immersed in painting, I found that other business executives, as well as professional men, were reaching out for the many satisfactions resulting from self expression through painting. I discovered that many executives were seeking professional classroom training, or were obtaining painting instruction through correspondence courses. I found that many excellent and outstanding paintings were flowing from the executive easel.

Our organiaztion felt that American business communities, as well as the general public, would be deeply interested in viewing some of the competent paintings of these executives and professional men.

Recognizing that this desire to view these paintings should properly be fulfilled, we, at Manpower, have brought together an exhibit of some of the many fine paintings of business and professional men. We have been ably assisted by the American Federation of Arts and the museum directors listed in this catalog.

It is our fondest hope that this exhibit, from the Executive's Easel will offer an opportunity to your community to enjoy the paintings by American business and professional men. We further hope that this exhibit will encourage many others to turn to painting and discover the warm and rewarding pleasures that will follow.

The Washington showing is the second in a series which will take From the Executive's Easel through the United States in the next 2 years, and ultimately abroad. The following editorial from the Milwaukee Journal for March 31, 1957, describes the public's debt for this outstanding showing:

FROM THE EXECUTIVE'S EASEL

Milwaukeeans will have the first look at an unusual art exhibit that was conceived here and will go on to tour the country in the next 2 years, then possibly abroad. It is From the Executive Easel at the Layton School of Art from this Friday through May 3.

The debt is owned to Elmer Winter, president of Manpower, Inc., that remarkable local firm that has so rapidly grown to be an international enterprise. Himself an executive who took to painting as a hobby of escape and self-expression, he found many other businessmen doing likewise and some of them doing extremely well. Aim of the show is to spread that idea as well as the name of the sponsor.

That this is no ordinary amateur showing, art connoisseurs may be reassured by the fact that the American Federation of Arts put it together, working through art museum directors, who voted to hang only 38 paintings from all over the country.

Local experts who advised with the sponsors tell us—and we pass on their tip—that the collection on the whole is well worth seeing as art, even if the artists are all surgeons and engineers and clothing manufacturers and oil and ad men.

Mr. Speaker, those who are able to visit from the Executive's Easel at the Statler in the next 2 weeks will find it a rewarding experience.

Supreme Court Rulings Relating to Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, in the U. S. News & World Report for August 9, 1957, appear excerpts from an address delivered by Hon. Louis C. Wyman, attorney general of the State of New Hampshire, who is president of the National Association of Attorneys General of the United States, on the subject of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court relating to Communists. Mr. Wyman represented the National Association of Attorneys General before the Supreme Court in connection with several cases which he discusses. This address was delivered at the national convention of the association, on June 24, 1957, at Sun Valley, Idaho. I believe his comments are worthy of most careful consideration.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Louis C. Wyman, president of the National Association of Attorneys General)

No matter the precise phrase, there is little doubt but what the Constitution—that great instrument through which Americans have devised perhaps the most satisfactory method of community living under a Government of law and not of men—is being tortured out of all rational historical proportion by decision after decision of the United States Supreme Court.

These decisions, in their cumulative aspect, seek by fiat of five appointed Justices to substitute a philosophy of government patently contrary to that contemplated by George Washington and the great figures of our early constitutional period. Such fiat involves certain basic assumptions concerning what is best for the American way of life and, through these decisions, in effect amends the Constitution to the point of usurping what has always heretofore been considered as the proper function of the constitutional convention in our pattern of government.

Such decisions must further confound and confuse our youth who seek and deserve real understanding of the true relationship between State and individual, between Communism and capitalism.

In recent years, even months, this country has witnessed the curious phenomenon of a Supreme Court decision on one day and a bill in Congress to set it aside on the next. Were such measures and developments peculiarly local in isolated cases they would be readily understandable, but protests and outcry against these decisions have mounted from North to South and from East to West, across the length and breadth of the United States. Most recent is that group of cases decided June 17, 1957.

What was originally drawn as a compact between the States to create a Federal Government with certain express powers which were delegated in the compact—called a Constitution—threatens by decision of the High Court to become a one-way ticket to a Federal bureaucracy in which the position and authority of the individual States becomes less and less and authority of the individual States becomes less and less with every passing year.

No one questions that the powers expressly granted to the Federal Government in article 1, section 8, are powers best exercised by Federal authority for the common good. But when those powers are extended by the exercise of some sort of civil-liberities preoccupation or underdog complex into the kind of decision that resulted in *Griffin* v. *Illinois* or *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson; Schware* v. *New Mexico; Konigsberg* v. *California; Jencks* v. *United States; Watkins* v. *United States; Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire,* and *Yates* v. *United States,* we face a common problem of the highest magnitude. This problem is the State's interest in its own survival.

The public record of Communist subversion, both in this country and in many other countries around the world, is notorious. It is equally notorious that responsible agencies within and without Federal and State governments have repeatedly confirmed that the Communist Party in this country is an arm of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, with the objective of alteration of the form of government of the United States to a Communist state—whether or not through an intermediate step of socialism—to be attained by force and violence is necessary.

If our United States is to have any semblance of realistic national security—not essentially by guns or even bombs but through awareness of possible subversion and nonforgetfulness of the absolute enmity to the principles of freedom which has always characterized world communism—the highest court of the United States should not even hint that membership in the Communist Party is a mere matter of political association, much less hold, as it has in *Yates* v. *United States,* that a subjective test is to be applied to advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government of this country, and that the Smith Act permits advocacy of forcible overthrow, short of incitement of direct action to that end.

A majority of the Supreme Court of the United States has held that, at least as far as good moral character is concerned, membership in the Communist Party is apparently considered a mere matter of political association, privileged under the first amendment. No matter protestations of words in the opinion to the contrary—as the dissent points out—one cannot read the Konigsberg decision without observing that this is exactly what the High Court has done by telling a State court that, on such a record, there can be no reasonable doubt of the good moral character of an applicant for admission to the bar who refuses to answer the question of whether or not he is, at the time of his application, a member of the Communist Party in this country.

COURT HAS CAUSED "DANGEROUS INSTABILITY IN OUR LAW"

If this were not enough, the High Court denied the right of the Legislature of New Hampshire to inquire into the actual contest of a required-attendance lecture at a State university with Communists and Communist-front organizations, who had written that violence to preserve the Soviet system was justified but that violence to preserve the capitalist system was doubly damned—once for itself and once for its purposes, as well as more.

This latter decision was rested on the astonishing ground, in part, that there was no assurance that a legislature which had delegated the investigation to an attorney general wanted answers to the questions put; that this lack of assurance evidenced an abuse of authority in the face of a legislative resolution stating, "The Attorney General is authorized to act upon his own motion and upon such information as in his judgment may be reasonable or reliable."

No matter the phrasing of words nor the rationale of individual members of the majority, it is plain that the elements of partnership between State and Federal governments in the investigation of subversive activities have been sharply limited, if not destroyed. Mere questioning in legislative fact finding does not stigmatize. It is the answers to questions that count. If the questions are pertinent and relate to a vital concern of the State, they should be sanctioned, not struck down. The mere asking of relevant questions in factfinding into possible subversion cannot destroy legitimate free speech.

Without being disrespectful, I believe it is a fair comment to characterize the language of the majority in the Sweezy decision as pure sophistry. The individual citizens in America must feel frustrated and helpless in the face of such reasoning reaching a conclusion contrary to the literal right of the governed to self-preservation.

Democracy has the right of self-preservation. Freedom does not, and cannot, mean freedom to destroy freedom in this country. Preservation of academic freedom and the American way of life does not require the judiciary to constitute the campus an insulated cloister wherein the relevant question may not tread in seeking to detect the presence or absence of a virus that would potentially destroy both academic freedom and the American way of life.

We are lawyers. That we happen to be attorneys general for the moment is either our good or poor misfortune, as the case may seem to each of us. As lawyers, we must have respect for the law and confidence in the integrity, ability and enlightenment of our judiciary. The situation of the law in the field of Federal-State relations, and particularly in the field of subversive activities, has never in the history of the United States descended to as low a point in terms of lack of public confidence as it has reached today.

While, of course, I cannot speak for the Department of Justice, it must be apparent to anyone with a balance wheel in his head that the recent decisions relating to communism and the Communist Party; the tragic delay in disposal of the Subversive Activities Control Board orders relating to the Communist Party registration under the Internal Security Act of 1950; the requirement that confidential files and reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation—which may include classified material—shall be open carte blanche to cross-examination in all criminal cases, including prosecution for subversion; the decision that the board of bar examiners in New Mexico were required against their judgment to have in their bar association a man who had a record of previous membership in the Communist Party and previous criminal activities; the decision that the California bar may not deny membership to an applicant who refuses to answer whether he is presently a member of the Communist Party; decisions relating to extensions of Federal control in the water cases; the decision requiring compulsory transcripts to the indigent in a State court in Illinois, and decisions in derogation of State labor laws not touching interstate commerce—all these have brought about a dangerous instability in our law, a lack of confidence in government and in the judicial structure of this Nation.

That this has been accompanied by such spectacles as those recently presented by the abuse of the fifth amendment by Dave Beck and his son for purposes for which most assuredly it was never intended does not help this unhappy situation.

What are people to think of the law when they read about such conduct on advice of counsel? What kind of a law do we have that can permit defiance of commonsense to the extreme that it cannot sufficiently define a point in testimony at which the fifth amendment begins to apply?

Must a lawyer always tell a client, "You can't even admit to knowing your own father

lest under the doctrine of the Rogers case you may be construed to have waived your right to claim the privilege"? This is nonsense. It is bad public relations for the law.

It is in the interest of improvement of the administration of justice as well as restoration of public confidence in Government that, at the earliest possible time, there should be a decision clearly, rationally, and firmly spelling out that the fifth amendment means what it always should have been plainly held to have meant, namely, that a truthful answer, if given, is honestly believed by the witness to possibly furnish a link in a chain of evidence which might lead to his conviction for a crime not outlawed by the statute of limitations, and nothing less. The fifth amendment is not a shield against informing nor a barbiturate for twinges of personal conscience.

Cooperation between the States and the Federal Government is a two-way street. If the Federal Government wants cooperation from the States, then the judiciary should permit extension of real cooperation to the States, for the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

If the bar association of the State of New Mexico does not want a former Communist and a former criminal as one of its members, the Supreme Court of the United States should not force it to do so.

POLITICS SHOULD BE LEFT OUT OF JUDICIAL DECISIONS

If the bar association of the State of California does not believe that an applicant for admission to the status of officer of the court—sworn to uphold the State and Federal Constitutions—who refuses to say that he is not a member of the Communist Party at the time of his application is not of good moral character, the Supreme Court of the United States should not tell the State of California that, on such a record, there is no reasonable doubt of his good moral character, simply because the witness contended that he did not advocate or believe in force and violence generally. Perhaps the bar examiners did not believe him.

If a legislative committee investigating subversion in New Hampshire questions a person who gave a required-attendance lecture at a State-supported university, seeking to find out whether directly or indirectly he advocated force and violence to adolescents of impressionable age, the Supreme Court should not tell the State legislature that it may not so inquire.

And finally, under no circumstances—in the delegated field of interpretation of the Smith Act—the Supreme Court should not permit exclusion from that act advocacy and teaching of forcible overthrow of the Government as an abstract principle short of incitement.

EFFECTS OF COURT'S RULINGS

Words may be combined like keys on a piano to play a tune according to the conception of the pianist. Although there is an old saying that "sticks and stones may break my bones but words can never hurt me," words from the highest court in the world are translated into action all over the United States and in those places under United States influence—which includes a goodly portion of the world.

Such a play on words makes infinitely more difficult judicial establishment of an intelligible dividing line between free speech and advocacy of subversion, and offers encouragement to those enemies of the American way of life who, like termites in the foundation, are never seen and seldom heard until the day the house falls in.

This Nation is composed of many languages, many races, many creeds, living together under a document which permits a good deal of give and take. The very flexibility of the Federal Constitution has insured its continued strength against stresses and strains which, in other lands, have seen as many as 17 governments fall in 2 years. This document must not continue to be interpreted in such a manner as to throw out of kilter the great divider between the powers of the States and the Federal Government—the 10th amendment.

We State attorneys general are responsible, through our national association, for asserting our best efforts that the course of history in the United States shall be turned from a direction of paternal federalism to one of enlightened cooperation between sovereign States and the Federal Government, each working in its own sphere with recognized division of authority.

I believe that, if the United States Supreme Court continues with the type of decision that has been handed down of late, that the National Association of Attorneys General should support at least four specific courses of action:

First. The preparation of language clarifying the 10th amendment, to protect States' reserved powers in more certain terms—with its immediate recommendation to all 48 State legislatures.

Second. That a method be devised whereby the States shall have a great voice in confirmation of appointments to the Supreme Court than now exists through the United States Senate.

The more one observes the path of the growth of America, the more compelling becomes the conclusion that politics should be left out of judicial decisions, and persons without prior judicial experience should not be appointed to the Supreme Court.

While 300 years ago it might have been appropriate for a scholar writing with quill pen to observe that "the law is a ass, a fool," we can no longer afford to have this considered to be the fact by the people in a kinetic, dynamic society troubled with the awful awareness of the fact that society controls technologically the means to destroy itself, without at the same time having devised the means to live together in peace and trust.

Third. Specific continued support of legislation of the general nature of S. 654 and H. R. 3, as amended, designed to insulate against judicial legislation in derogation of State sovereignty.

Fourth. The appointment at this conference of a special committee on internal security, instructed to immediately confer with the interested Federal agencies and with other national groups, including the American Bar Association, with a view to preparation of legislation for introduction at the current session of Congress, designed to undo as great a portion of these recent decisions as is possible short of constitutional amendments.

The chairman of this special committee should be further instructed to present the committee's recommendation to the permanent executive committee of this association and, with its approval and authority, to appear before the Congress of the United States in support thereof.

On any theory, a determined few on the Supreme Court of the United States have by these decisions mortgaged, if not destroyed, the reasonable attempts of hard-working, loyal Americans, including such as J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, FRANCIS E. WALTER and the congressional committees, and State legislative fact-finding committees—whose methods in the great majority of cases have in no sense or manner been either unfair or overreaching—to keep check on the extent of Communist penetration and subversion in America.

These decisions have set the United States back 25 years in its attempt to make certain that those loyal to a foreign power cannot create another Trojan horse here.

PROTECTING DISLOYAL PERSONS

Beyond even this incredible, compelled conclusion is the dismaying fact that the Supreme Court has sanctioned protection of the dark corners of individual association with persons disloyal to America, and made infinitely more difficult, if not impossible, the taking of sworn testimony relating to subversive activity in the United States.

By equating lawful politics with communism, it has been suggested to America and to the world that Communists and communism may not, in fact, be subversive of our way of life at all—which is certainly contrary to the public record of communism, which has proven to an overwhelming majority of Americans that communism is the mortal enemy of freedom everywhere.

WYMAN: THERE IS UNDERMINING OF NATIONAL SECURITY

There is no need to torture the memories of surviving loved ones to establish these facts.

On issues of loyalty to State and Nation, the life of every citizen by American law should, and must, be an open book.

Gentlemen, the situation is serious, even appalling. These decisions strike a mortal blow at the very foundations of the American way, at the very principles in which we believe, those same principles that, when the chips are down, find all loyal Americans ready to risk their very lives to defend and preserve. It is tragic to see such judicial undermining of national security and Federal-State relations, as well as of the very foundation of free America's right to protect itself.

Foregoing are excerpts from an address by Mr. Wyman, president of the National Association of Attorneys General, at the 51st national conference of that organization, Sun Valley, Idaho, June 24, 1957.

SENATOR JENNER'S VIEW: COURT HAS CHALLENGED AUTHORITY OF CONGRESS

Following is an excerpt from an address by Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, Republican of Indiana, on the floor of the Senate, July 26, 1957:

There was a time when the Supreme Court conceived its function to be the interpretation of the law. For some time now the Supreme Court has been making law—substituting its judgment for the judgment of the legislative branch.

There was a time when a Justice of the Supreme Court might dissent in a case of first impression, but could be relied upon to decide the next case involving similar points in accordance with the prior decision of the Court, notwithstanding his own prior dissent. This was because Justices of the Supreme Court respected the Court and respected the principle of stare decisis. Nowadays individual members of the Supreme Court are constantly busy defending their own positions, and a Justice who files a minority opinion on a particular point can usually be expected to stick to that opinion whenever the point is raised, thus keeping the Court constantly split.

By a process of attrition and accession, the extreme liberal wing of the Court has become a majority. And we witness today the spectacle of a Court constantly changing the law, and even changing the meaning of the Constitution in an apparent determination to make the law of the land what the Court thinks it should be.

Laymen and lawyers, the legislative branch and the executive branch of Government, have come to recognize the predilection of the Supreme Court for making new law. Even the lower courts have come to expect it, with the result that it has become commonplace for decisions to be held up in lower courts waiting for the Supreme Court to make some new law that will apply to the case.

A particularly flagrant example is the case of Albert Blumberg, convicted in March 1956, of violation of the Smith Act, but not yet sentenced, and now likely to be turned loose through application of the new doctrine enunciated by the Supreme Court in the Jencks case.

A jury convicted Blumberg in March of 1956; and in May of 1956 Judge Kraft in Philadelphia heard argument on a defense motion to set aside the verdict and for an acquittal. Judge Kraft never acted on that motion, and is free now to apply the Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case to the facts and issues of the Blumberg trial held a year ago last March.

The Jencks case, as you know, is one of a group of very recent decisions which have gone even farther and faster than the Court ever has gone before in the direction of the left.

There can be no doubt that the total effect of these decisions of the Supreme Court has been to weaken the Government's efforts against communism and subversives.

By some of these decisions, antisubversive laws and regulations have been rendered ineffective. States have been denied the right to fight subversion, and have been denied the right to bar Communists from practicing law. Violators of Federal antisubversive laws have been turned loose on flimsy technicalities. Confidential files of the FBI and of other investigative and law-enforcement agencies have been opened up to "fishing expeditions" by defendants and their counsel. The Court has challenged the authority of Congress to decide upon the scope of its own investigations and the right of a congressional committee to make up its own mind about what questions to ask its witnesses.

Many pending cases may be affected, and an undetermined number of cases already settled may be reopened, as a result of recent decisions of the Supreme Court, regardless of what Congress may find it possible to do toward curing the situation, because while Congress cannot make a new law that will affect a case already tried, the Supreme Court can and does. The Supreme Court can change overnight a rule of law a hundred years old, and can make the new rule apply to all cases underway, and provide a basis for reopening cases already tried which involved the point covered by the new rule.

There is no way for Congress to invalidate or repeal a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, even when that decision is legislative and policy-making in nature. Congress can in some cases strike down judge-made law by enacting new law, or by correcting the Court's error respecting the intent of Congress, by a new declaration of intent. This power of the Congress should be exercised to the maximum, of course, but it will not fully meet the situation. The Court has become, for all practical purposes, a legislative arm of the Government, and many of its feats are subject to no review.

Osmena's Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, recently, former President of the Philippines, Sergio Osmena, delivered a speech in which he reviews Philippine-American relationship in such a way as to show how the United States has fulfilled its pledge to the Filipino people. It is a heartwarming experience to read the words of a revered statesman such as President Osmena and to be reassured that the Filipinos recall with gratitude the acts of this Congress in their behalf.

President Osmena was addressing the convention of the Nacionalista Party, which is the majority party in the Philippines. We in America have no desire to participate in any way in Philippine partisan politics. Our only interest is that the Philippine Republic may continue to be the bastion of democracy in Asia.

Speeches such as those of President Osmena reaffirm us in our faith in the determination of the Filipino people to continue in their democratic way of life and it is for this reason that I ask for unanimous consent of the House to insert the following address of President Osmena in the RECORD:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY FORMER PRESIDENT SERGIO OSMEÑA AS SPECIAL GUEST AT THE NACIONALISTA CONVENTION YESTERDAY AT THE SANTA ANA RACE TRACK

Mr. Chairman, delegates to the convention, fellow Nacionalistas, ladies, and gentlemen, your kind invitation has deeply touched me. It is a distinct pleasure and honor to be with you once more. And I deeply appreciate the opportunity you have given me to say a few words on this historic occasion when the party is to nominate the next president of our Republic during the year in which the 50th anniversary of the founding of our party is commemorated. For the Nacionalista Party was born in a humble house located at Lacosta Street of this city 50 years ago.

Most of the men of great vision who organized the party have gone to their Maker. Our youthful and energetic leader "who brought victory to our party" in the last presidential election has likewise passed into eternity. A most untimely and tragic accident that stunned and grieved not only our own people, but also of the free world, snatched him from our midst in the prime of his life and in the fullness of his powers. We have lost him, as we have lost others before him, in deep sorrow and bowed heads, resigned to the omnipotent will and the infinite wisdom of our common Creator. "We who survive them must carry on, keeping faith with them and with our people."

I recognize among the sea of faces in this hall many that I have known and worked with. I also see many that I have not had the privilege of knowing and working with, yet equally friendly and cordial. To the Nacionalista standard have indeed rallied, generation after generation, both the young and the old. For it is the party that has grown with and served the country; it is truly the party of the Filipino people. Within its frontiers, we never divided ourselves on account of age, but in the spirit of real comradeship, old and young worked together harmoniously and helped each other in the discharge of the common task.

The Nacionalista Party was born on March 12, 1907, at a time when our campaign for independence had become completely disoriented and practically abandoned. We had given up the Katipunan revolution against Spain and had suffered defeat in the Philippine-American War. With the encouragement of Governor Taft, certain Filipino leaders who had not joined or had abandoned the Malolos Republic organized the only party then permitted to exist, and its paramount objective was the annexation of the Philippines to the United States. In this confused atmosphere we organized the Nacionalista Party to advocate the immediate independence of our people and our country.

Although, by 1907, before the first national election held that year to choose the members of the Philippine Assembly, the Federal Party had transformed itself into the Progresista Party and changed its unpopular platform from annexation to ultimate independence, our party won an overwhelming victory in the election. From that time on, our people entrusted to our party the tremendous responsibility of securing the national independence from the United States. We not only gladly accepted the responsibility but carried it out with determination and, I believe, with wisdom and statesmanship.

We conceived it the mission of our party to secure in peace the very national freedom and independence which we had failed to win in war. We returned to the calmer teaching of our patriot, Dr. Jose Rizal, who had envisioned the Philippine progress to nationhood as a process of evolution through the careful and systematic preparation of our people educationally, economically, socially, and culturally. Having resolved to win our objective in the realm of peace, we decided to cooperate with America on the basis of mutual respect and mutual friendship, without sacrifice of dignity and basic liberty.

The establishment of the Philippine Assembly, as provided in the Organic Act of 1902, became our great political opportunity. It was a concession yielded to us by the American Government with much misgiving as to our fitness for self-government by many of its leading officials, citizens, and organs of public opinion. If, by our acts in the assembly, we gave even the slightest confirmation of that misgiving, the American verdict would be against us. On the other hand, if, by our wise and statesmanlike conduct of the affairs of the assembly, we could dissipate American doubts, we would convince Washington of our capacity for self-government and thus justify further concessions of autonomy, leading to our complete freedom.

Upon the termination of the first regular session of the assembly on June 19, 1908, I delivered, as its humble speaker, a brief closing address which the assembly adopted as its official Declaration of Principles and Pronouncement on Independence. Its concluding paragraph reads as follows:

"Gentlemen of the House: Following the dictates of my conscience, as a representative of the country and under my responsibility as speaker of the assembly, allow me to declare solemnly, as I now do before God and before the world, that we believe that our people aspire for independence, that they consider themselves capable of leading an orderly life, efficient for themselves and for others in the concert of free and civilized nations, and that we believe that if the people of the United States were to decide at this very moment to set the Philippines free, the Filipinos, in assuming the consequent responsibilities, could comply with their duties to themselves and to others, without detriment to liberty, to justice, and to right."

It will be quite superfluous for me to relate in detail the chronological steps which our party and our administration took towards our goal of independence. It will suffice to mention the fact that the assembly originated the practice of adopting at the close of every regular session a resolution addressed to the American Government demanding Philippine independence, a practice which the subsequent legislature under the Jones law followed as an irrevocable tradition. At first, these resolutions were transmitted through our resident commissioners in the United States Congress. But after the effectivity of the Jones law, they

were hand-carried to Washington by the parliamentary missions which we periodically sent there to work for our independence. The first parliamentary mission carried with it, basic instructions issued by the Philippine Legislature, through the commission of independence in an official document entitled, "The Declaration of Purposes of the Philippine Legislature."

The momentum of autonomy having been started, it moved forward, sometimes with increasing acceleration, but sometimes slowed down and even entirely arrested by roadblocks. In 1906, following the establishment of the assembly, more Filipinos, some of them becoming heads of executive departments as well, were appointed to the Philippine commission, which served both as the upper house of our legislature and the cabinet of the governor general. In 1912, soon after assuming the presidency of the United States, President Woodrow Wilson announced that America held the Philippines as a trusteeship, not for the benefit of the United States but of the Filipino people themselves, their happness and their freedom. He followed this statement the following year by appointing a majority of Filipinos to the Philippine commission, thus giving us more or less complete control of our legislative department. Then in 1916, the Wilson administration enacted the Jones Law, which not only greatly expanded our autonomy but also declared in its preamble that the Philippines would be given its independence as soon as a stable government would be established therein. In 1920, President Wilson finally recommended to the Congress the grant of Philippine independence. It was not, however, until another Democratic administration returned to Washington, after 12 years of Republican rule, that this recommendation was finally brought to fruition.

It was in 1932, when the Democratic Party had once more gained control of the United States Congress, that the OSROX mission succeeded in securing the bipartisan congressional approval of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting bill. President Hoover, who was still in the White House, vetoed the bill, but the Congress, already controlled by the Democrats, quickly overrode his veto, and the bill became a law. It suffered another veto in the Philippines when the Philippine Legislature rejected it. But through further representations, the American Congress reenacted the law with slight amendments as the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act.

Under the authority of this law, we wrote our own constitution and established the Commonwealth Government, which was to last for 10 years as our final period of preparation for independence. Unfortunately, World War II interrupted our work and forced our legitimate Government to flee to the United States while our country suffered 3 years of cruel enemy occupation. In spite of the tremendous war destruction, nevertheless, the independence law and the promise made by President Roosevelt when American and Philippine forces were still defending Bataan and Corregidor, that the enemy would be driven away, our freedom redeemed, and our independence established and protected, were carried out as scheduled. On July 4, 1946, we became a free and independent republic.

The Nacionalista Party fully kept faith with the people. Our pledge in 1907 that we would secure the independence of our country was finally and completely redeemed in 1946. But having obtained our independence, our responsibility as a party has extended and increased. It is the sacred duty of the Nacionalista Party to see to it that our freedom and sovereignty are preserved and our republic is advanced toward the goal of progress, prosperity and success. Speaking from the background of a lifelong public service and the vantage point of independent and matured reflection and contemplation of our future, I venture to state that the very factors which contributed to our success in obtaining our independence are the same factors that we indispensably need today in order to attain our new goals. These factors are solid unity within our party and sincere friendship with the United States.

The Nacionalista Party has maintained a basic unity from 1907 to the present time. It is true we have had dissensions and disagreements and even divisions within the party. But except in one single instance, we have in the end always recognized the esential harmony of our political views and objectives and patched up our differences, weathering intrigues within and without. For we have a long and durable tradition of basic harmony among ourselves. This is the reason why until now our party is the longest-lived, the strongest and the most effective party in the country. We must preserve our party's unity as an instrument of further national progress. In the great task of nation building, we cannot afford to be divided. Personal ambitions must be subordinated to that solid and massive unity which we now need and without which we cannot fulfill our new responsibility completely and successfully, as the people have learned to expect of us.

Having failed to secure our freedom in war and having resolved in 1907 to obtain it in peace, we cultivated friendly relations with the United States "on the basis of mutual respect, mutual good faith, mutual good will, and mutual justice." In this relationship, we did not play a subservient role. We exerted a firm and effective influence in the shaping of America's Philippine policies and managed steadily to increase our measure of self-government. On her part, America gained respect for our political capacity and friendship for our people, respect and friendship which eventually and inevitably led to the peaceful grant of our independence, the first so granted to another by a powerful nation.

The building of a free and sovereign nation is, however, as difficult as the overthrow of a foreign rule, whether by violent or by peaceful means. Of what use is freedom and sovereignty and independence if we cannot preserve and maintain them, and if we cannot bring security, happiness, and prosperity to our people? For this reason, I urge that our party base its administration of our Republic on a continuing friendship with the United States. American friendship is a distinct advantage, not a disadvantage, to the Philippines.

Fortunately, the instruments of lasting friendship with the United States have been forged. The two countries, the Philippines and America, are today bound together by treaties of amity and assistance freely negotiated and signed by both Nations providing for mutual defense and for generous American aid to our young republic. It is part of the continuing responsibility of our party to seek the success of our republic. We can do this by maintaining—if possible by strengthening—the factors of unity in our party and of friendship with America.

This convention has been convoked to approve a platform for our party and nominate our candidates for president, vice president and senators. I hope that the platform to be finally approved will reflect the basic convictions and traditions of our party as developed and maintained by us in the past and as faithfully interpreted and implemented by our popular leader, the late President Magsaysay, and his worthy successor and our now leader, President Carlos P. Garcia. Our membership, being representative of all our people, includes names worthy of being honored as our party's candidates. I have complete confidence that the delegates will choose the best available man for each position, not only on the basis of high qualifications but also on the consideration of party unity, friendship with the United States and the ultimate success of our republic.

Unity will once more bring victory to our party, victory will enable us to discharge our responsibility to our republic, and sincere friendship with America will assure security to our nation.

I thank you.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Coordinated Water Development Plan for Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it is of the utmost importance that Federal agencies concerned with the development of our water resources work with each other and with State and local agencies to solve the problems involved.

That is why I recently have asked the Corps of Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to collaborate on an overall water program for Texas. The San Antonio News, a great Texas newspaper, comments intelligently on the need for such a program. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial comment of the News be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Waterwise, Texas has sometimes seemed to be a sort of no man's land in a behind-the-scenes bureaucratic battle between the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation and the United States Corps of Engineers.

Both agencies are charged with flood-control and water-resources planning and development, and what should be coordination has often deteriorated into competition. Texas water interests have chosen up sides where the two agencies' policies and plans come into conflict, and vital projects have thus been delayed.

Senate Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON, noting that Texas is behind other States in sharing in Federal water project spending, has demanded that the two agencies get together on a preliminary plan for statewide water development. His deadline: April 30, 1958. Biggest problem: a uniform policy on distribution of waters impounded by Federal dams.

JOHNSON estimates that Federal-aid water projects costing around $1½ billion in Federal funds will be needed over the next quarter century in Texas. The Senator's move is timely, because the State government is now entering on a statewide program of its own with which Federal aid must be integrated.

Vessel Replacement Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared regarding vessel replacement funds.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON VESSEL REPLACEMENT FUNDS

The forthright statement by Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates, Jr., before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee recently as to the vital role of the merchant marine in defense planning was heartening to everyone truly interested in the welfare, and concerned for the future, of American shipping.

His official declaration of the Defense Department's attitude toward the country's privately owned merchant fleet was unmistakably clear.

It affirmed allout support by the military authorities for the national maritime policy as set forth in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, a policy which calls for, as essential for the national defense and for development of the Nation's commerce, a merchant marine adequate to the needs of commerce and capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency.

This merchant fleet, the 1936 act declared, must be owned and operated under the United States flag, by United States citizens, and composed of the best equipped, safest and most suitable type of vessels, constructed in the United States and manned with a trained and efficient citizen personnel.

The 1936 act further stated it to be the policy of the United States to foster the development and encourage the maintenance of such a merchant marine.

The national maritime policy as laid down in the act of 1936 bears repetition. Sometimes there is a tendency to forget, or to ignore it. Some groups and even officials in high places have been willing, under the plea of economy, to allow our commerce to be carried in foreign ships. They forget the tragic lessons of World Wars I and II, the lives and resources sacrificed because we didn't have ships of our own, in sufficient quantities, when we were in dire need of them.

It is salutary, indeed, that the defense authorities are fully alert to the need for an adequate merchant fleet. And timely, likewise, was the official endorsement given by Secretary Gates, on behalf of the Defense Department, to the long-range vessel construction and replacement program which he described as "so painstakingly developed by the Maritime Administration."

The more ardent supporter of our merchant marine could hardly have asked for a more assuring attitude in this respect on the part of the military. Secretary Gates' testimony should lay to rest completely any fears that the Defense Department had suffered a change of heart concerning the need for a strong merchant marine.

But this stanch Defense Department support of the merchant fleet's role in future war or emergency raises some very definite and disturbing questions.

If the merchant marine is so vitally important to the commerce and security of the Nation as the Defense Department believes—and I certainly concur in their thinking—why is the merchant marine's special pleader in the administration, the Secretary of Commerce, so lacking in enthusiasm for the vessel replacement program developed, under his jurisdiction, by the Maritime Administration?

And, if the Defense Department feels—as Secretary Gates declared on July 11 before the House committee—that "a large, modern, and well-balanced merchant marine is positively vital * * * without it, in time of war, neither the military effort nor the war economy of our Nation could be supported"—why isn't the administration ready to bring pressure to bear to assure the funds necessary for Government's participation in the vessel replacement program?

The fiscal 1958 budget called for $115 million for vessel construction. However, the entire $115 million was eliminated. Of the total, $25 million was diverted to other purposes at the specific direction of the President. The remaining $90 million was slashed in the interest of economy. Needless to say, loss of these funds played havoc with the well-laid plans of the Maritime Administration to initiate the first yearly phase of the vessel replacement program so thoroughly endorsed by the Defense Department.

No effort was made by the Secretary of Commerce to impress upon the Congress the urgent need for these funds. Instead, in reply to a letter of inquiry from the president of the Shipbuilding Council of America, the Secretary merely stated that his decision not to appeal for restoration of the funds was based on the desire for economy. Rather alarmingly, his letter went to state that, for fiscal 1959, "natural economic policy may, of necessity (again) influence the size of the (vessel replacement) program."

Thus, while defense insists, on the one hand, that a modern, well-balanced merchant marine is positively vital to defense planning, the Secretary of Commerce calmly suggests that we may not be able to afford it.

Now he has told the House Merchant Marine Committee that his Department is considering requesting the Congress for funds to cover the Government's part of the construction cost of a replacement for the steamship *America*. Let us hope the matter advances beyond the consideration stage.

Billions of dollars were wasted, during World War II, on a shipbuilding emergency program that was made necessary by just such haphazard thinking as this. By not being able to afford building up the merchant marine at the proper time, we had to pay truly abnormal prices for building the needed vessels in wartime, we didn't have them when we needed them most, and the ones we built, most of them, at least, were obsolete when they came off the ways.

It was to avoid another repetition of such a blundering policy that the Maritime Administration, over the past few years, has labored to develop a long-range vessel replacement program so phased, on an annual basis, as not to overtax the Nation's shipbuilding facilities, or the financing potentialities of the vessel owners. Government, of course, was to participate in this replacement program.

Government has now withdrawn its support from the first year's program, which thus goes down largely by default. If, as the Secretary of Commerce blandly suggests, the Government's second year support funds are to be eliminated for reasons of economy, we will be definitely headed once more on a do-nothing policy of vessel replacement that will render it absolutely impossible to replace our present fleet before it becomes largely obsolescent. As a result, the Nation's ship-

ping will be increasingly unprepared to compete in international trade. And there will not be available the modern, well-balanced fleet upon which the Defense Department would have to rely in emergency.

America missed the boat—actually as well as figuratively—in World War I, because we did not have the foresight to provide adequate shipping for our needs. We couldn't afford it, and we paid through the nose for our lack of foresight.

Undaunted by this blunder, the Nation failed again, despite some small effort made to implement the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, to be prepared for World War II. This time we suffered cruelly for lack of shipping to supply our forces throughout the world in the early stages of the war. When we did finally begin to produce the ships needed, they were faulty, slow, and were fantastically costly.

Admittedly, these war-built vessels finally, by sheer weight of numbers, turned the tide of war in favor of the Allies. However, in all probability, the issue could have been decided much earlier, and losses in manpower and resources would have been much less, if we had had the foresight to strengthen the merchant marine, prewar, on the reasonable basis of the national maritime policy as set forth in the 1936 act.

We just do not seem to want to learn from experience. The questionable economy that requires curtailments of vessel replacement funds now, and that prevents the orderly, well-planned replacement of our aging, war-built fleet, could cost as dear in a future emergency.

When are we going to stop this haggling over vessel construction and operating funds, when sad experience has proven in two world wars how costly and dangerous such haggling can be?

Our shipping is in a sad state now, compared to that of the rest of the world. Most of it is old, and slow, uneconomic for today's commercial needs. It is a poor stick upon which to rely should a future emergency strike.

But that aging, slow, unsuitable fleet is all that we will have to look to for logistics support should another war come unless—unless we come to our senses, and profit by the lessons of World Wars I and II.

The only way America can procure the modern, well-balanced fleet the Department of Defense advocates, and the peacetime economy requires, is to start constructing vessels now, on a planned yearly basis. And we cannot begin or carry on that replacement program unless we discard the false economy pressures that have emasculated the first year's program, and make up our minds that vessel replacement funds belong on a defense-priority basis.

America's shipyards can't build several hundred ships all at once. They must have work now to hold their skilled forces together, and the vast replacement construction planned must be spaced over the years in orderly fashion.

The shipowners too face a vast, tremendously costly burden, running into hundreds of millions of dollars. Yet they have undertaken, most courageously, to do their part of the program on a carefully planned year-to-year basis.

The Congress, the Administration, the country must now face up to their responsibility. The funds required, several hundred million dollars annually, are so little in comparison to the Defense importance of the merchant marine, and so little compared to the costs that will have to be faced if we ever get into another emergency ship construction program, that there is only one reasonable conclusion.

Funds should and must be forthcoming on an annual basis. Only thus will it be possible to implement properly the national maritime policy, and to provide for a phased replacement program that will assure adequate shipping for the needs of war and of the Nation's ever increasing commerce.

I have had occasion previously to cite the valuable support rendered to the cause of American shipping by the National Security Commission of the American Legion. In the July 1957 issue of the Merchant Marine Bulletin, published by the Commission's National Merchant Marine Committee, there is an editorial entitled "What Price Economy?" which is right on point as to the question of congressional and administrative support to the national maritime policy. I attach hereto the editorial to which I have just referred:

"WHAT PRICE ECONOMY?

"(By Henry C. Parke)

"We would be the last to deplore the congressional economy drive, aimed at holding the Federal budget to the lowest feasible figure. But no believer in American-flag shipping can help being a little dismayed at the turn economy has taken in the matter of shipbuilding funds.

"The strange thing about this action, which wiped out virtually the entire sum requested by the President for construction-differential subsidy, is that it is hard to reconcile with national maritime policy as Congress has already established it. For one thing, the canceled funds would have permitted construction to start on a sister ship to the *United States*, to replace the *America*. Under existing legislation, the latter will be obsolete in 1960. Yet her replacement cannot now be started before late 1958, at the earliest.

"The slash also seems to overlook the fact that apart from three passenger liners, there has been no new subsidized construction since the war. In other words, the funds sought were, in a very real sense, not a year's budget but a decade's. Congress has written into law the principle that we need an adequate merchant marine. At a time when, to quote Maritime Administrator Clarence Morse, 'within a few short years, 85 percent of our dry-cargo fleet will become obsolete,' it is hard to square this principle with a denial of the funds to start a replacement program.

"This brings us to the most fundamental questions raised by the cut. Are we as a Nation sincere when we say we want and need a merchant marine? If so, have we any clear idea what it entails to maintain one? Mr. Morse put the issues squarely and clearly on National Maritime Day, when he said, 'If in the public interest we need what is termed an adequate American merchant marine, carrying at least half of our own foreign trade, one that contributes substantially to our economic well-being and to our national defense—we must pay for it. And if we agree that this expenditure is necessary to the well-being of the country, let us appropriate for it annually and on a sound, consistent basis. Deferring an appropriation this year is false economy—it means merely a doubling up next year and it means an uneven flow of new-ship construction.'"

One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Lillian Nordica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE], I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by him commenting on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lillian Nordica be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR PAYNE ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF LILLIAN NORDICA

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of one of America's greatest sopranos and one of Maine's most famous daughters. Lillian Nordica, born December 12, 1957, at Farmington, Maine, worked diligently during the greater part of her life to achieve success in the musical world. Her perseverance and sacrifice for her career were known only to those close to her. But her operatic talents and accomplishments became known to all the world.

Lillian Nordica studied at first in the New England Conservatory and later under teachers in Italy. She made her operatic debut in Italy and subsequently sang in London, Paris, St. Petersburg, and Moscow. Acclaimed throughout Europe, she performed on several occasions for the royalty of that Continent, and one of the highlights of her life was her appearance in 1893 before Queen Victoria.

The apex of her career was her interpretation of Wagnerian roles; critics found her the greatest Isolde of them all and she met with remarkable success as Elsa in Lohengrin. Some considered her greatest role that of Marguerite in Faust. She studied for this role under Gounod, himself. In this country Madame Nordica became the first American to sing Wagnerian roles with the Metropolitan Opera Co.

For all the natural beauty of her voice, she attributed much of her success to continued practice and study. Even at the height of her career she spent many hours each day preparing herself for her concerts. She learned the necessary foreign languages so that even the shades of verbal meaning could be interpreted in the roles she sang. When once asked, "What do you consider necesary for a woman's career? she replied, "Work, work, work, and yet more work. Energy, health, indefatigable industry, loss of friends, time, pleasure, and money, and to think of nothing but work."

And yet, Lillian Nordica always remembered her birthplace; often referring to her hometown of Farmington, Maine, as the "loveliest spot on earth." She returned on several occasions to fill concert engagements in Maine and to visit her home. On one such occasion, she gave a program at Farmington State Normal School to raise funds for the purchase of kerosene lamps for street illumination.

During this Lillian Nordica centennial year many groups and organizations throughout Maine are participating in concerts and exhibits in honor of Maine's most famous contribution to the music world. Through the efforts of the Nordica Memorial Association, her home in Farmington has been turned into a memorial and the collections of memorabilia there have been of interest to the many visitors. The unstinting efforts of Ben Stinchfield and the other leaders of the Nordica Memorial Association are making this anniversary celebration a complete success. On July 23, a Lillian Nordica Memorial Concert was held in the little Damariscotta Baptist Church, where Lillian Nordica first sang in 1870. Other concerts and events are planning for the remainder of the year in Farmington and elsewhere. These, I am sure, will prove a fascinating attraction for music lovers and others to whom Lillian Nordica is still a great historical figure in the world of music.

In the centennial year of her birth I salute Lillian Nordica, famed daughter of the State of Maine.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I send to the desk an editorial from the Independent, of Anderson, S. C., of Monday, August 3, 1957, entitled "White House, NAACP Schemers Beaten Back in Attack on Liberty in United States."

I think the information contained in this editorial should be of extreme interest to many people throughout the country, and for that reason I ask that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE, NAACP SCHEMERS BEATEN BACK IN ATTACK ON LIBERTY IN UNITED STATES

The 51-to-42 vote by which the United States Senate amended the alleged civil-rights bill to provide trial by jury of criminal charges arising under the act represents a victory, even if only temporary, for the forces of decent constitutional government.

The Senate's refusal to bow to the whiplash of President Eisenhower's demands is a heartening sign that the educational campaign waged by southern Democrats is making an impression on those Senators not wholly blinded by White House and NAACP propaganda.

It is noteworthy that 39 Democrats and 12 Republicans voted on the side of protecting citizens against being jailed at the whim of Federal judges without right of trial by jury; and that 33 Republicans and only 9 Democrats voted to deny citizens these fundamental rights.

Let that fact be remembered when southern Eisenhowerats claim "there is no difference between the parties."

At the beginning of debate in this civil-rights scheme few outside the South would have believed that a determined but greatly outnumbered band of southern Democrats could have succeeded in so thoroughly gutting the bill as they have.

First, the iniquitous section 3—which would have enabled the President to place the South under bayonet rule—was knocked out. This section was endorsed by President Eisenhower and all the other GOP leaders until its true nature was disclosed to the Senate and to the people.

President Eisenhower likewise only Wednesday demanded that the jury-trial amendment be killed. He wanted no jury trials for victims of charges trumped by the army of Federal snoopers the GOP proposes to send into the South.

He got his answer Thursday night from a majority in the Senate.

Two skirmishes have been won, but the battle is far from over.

Still in the bill are provisions for a special Civil Rights Commission and a special assistant attorney general for civil rights. It is quite possible that these sections will remain in the bill if and when it is finally passed.

Once the gutted bill is approved in the Senate, however, it faces a rocky road. Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican leader who is racing Vice President NIXON for NAACP favor, sought to sway votes in the final moment.

He claimed that a vote for the jury trial amendment "is a vote to kill for this session of Congress an effective voting rights bill."

Why?

Because, if approved by the Senate, the bill must go back to the House where it was passed in its original form.

Since it is a political bill, it is highly doubtful if House Republicans and many northern Democrats will accept the gutted version.

The bill will go to the Senate-House conference committee for redrafting into form acceptable to both Senate and House.

That means, KNOWLAND said, that such a bill would "not likely emerge in this session and perhaps at the next."

That is precisely the fate sought for the bill by the southerners and other Senators who are more interested in the basic, fundamental rights than they are in a vote-getting phony "right to vote" law.

The real truth about the amendment, of course, was expressed by Senator O'MAHONEY when he said the issue is "whether in fancied service to the right to vote you desire to turn back the clock of time and defeat trial by jury."

Even though the right to trial by jury is preserved for the time being, let not southerners and other Americans be deceived into thinking the attack upon their liberties is ended.

Our poor-sick President, a captive of the Republican Negro-wooing party, will continue to plug for the bill under orders from the palace guard, although he knows little or nothing about it. What a pitiful spectacle.

Warning is to be taken from the attitude of Vice President NIXON, who, after the defeat, declared, "This is one of the saddest days in the history of the Senate."

Liberty is indeed in danger when a Vice President of the United States views protection of the right of an individual to jury trial as a sad event.

What else could be expected from "Post Card" NIXON?

Right of Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding editorial from the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle of August 3, 1957, entitled "Basic Right Preserved." The Chronicle is one of the South's oldest and most distinguished newspapers, and it has always stood for the preservation of the principles of constitutional government, which include the right of trial by jury.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIC RIGHT PRESERVED

The United States Senate, in a momentous decision, has refused to yield one of the basic rights of the American people, the right to trial by jury.

When the majority of Senators refused to heed the entreaties of President Eisenhower, and instead passed the jury-trial amendment, by a fairly substantial margin, they put a stop to a dangerous trend in this country, for the present, at least. It was a trend which was leading straight toward judicial tyranny. It was an effort to deprive American citizens of their constitutionally guaranteed right to trial by jury in every criminal case. It would have put an individual at the mercy of a judge, who could prosecute, judge, and punish him, without benefit of jury.

They keep calling the jury amendment decision a southern victory. It was a southern victory only insofar as it was the Senators from the South who were unyielding, and it was they who disected the vicious civil-rights bill, with the skill of a surgeon, and alerted the other Members of the Senate and the country at large to the inherent dangers of the bill in its original form.

It was a victory for the rights of all the American people. The southerners, under the able generalship of Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, simply furnished the shock troops.

The issue at stake was far more vital than that of protecting the right to vote, or of guaranteeing civil rights in any form; it did not primarily involve the racial issue, either.

It involved the constitutional—indeed the fundamental—rights of every citizen, white or Negro. We like to think that the Senate's jury-trial decision resulted from the fundamental intelligence of the majority of the Members of that great deliberative body.

The tyrannical threat inherent in section 3 of the civil-rights bill has been removed. The right to trial by jury has been preserved. Now most of the venom has been removed from this once poisonous piece of legislation. What is left is a civil-rights bill that has been emasculated almost to the point that it is innocuous.

Every thoughtful person agrees that no citizen of the United States, regardless of their color or national origin, should be deprived of the right to vote. There are laws on our statute books that protect this right; there are courts which stand ready to see to it that this right is denied no one.

But the civil-rights bill, in its original form, was conceived simply as a sop to the so-called minorities, to win their favor and their votes, and to punish the southern States which are holding out against the commingly of the races.

In the bargain, all Americans, both white and Negro, would have lost some of their most fundamental rights if the Senate had not had the wisdom and the good sense to recognize tyranny even in its most cunning disguise.

A Victory for Tolerance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "A Victory for Tolerance," written by Hon. James H. Gray, editor and publisher of the Albany (Ga.) Herald, as it appeared on the front page of the August 2, 1957, issue of that paper.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A VICTORY FOR TOLERANCE

The vote in the Senate sustaining the right of trial by jury in civil-rights cases has more significance than just that of a political victory for the South, although this victory is to be cherished. Partisan fires were

burning fiercely, fed by old animosities and shrewd political calculation. Even President Eisenhower was prevailed upon to place the prestige and power of his administration behind a force measure the far-reaching consequences of which he had precious little understanding. Clearly, civil rights as such was hardly the issue at this time, even though the self-righteous liberals were proclaiming to the heavens their piety and their social conscientiousness. What was at stake was the Negro bloc vote, which was being wooed so desperately by the likes of WILLIAM KNOWLAND and RICHARD NIXON, who have bright visions of presidential grandeur—so bright, in fact, that they and their associates were perfectly willing to flog the racial issue daily with political whips to the point that the rights of individuals were in danger of serious abuse.

Fortunately, good sense and judgment have prevailed in a most critical situation. And the South can accord high praise to its congressional representatives who have fought for constitutional principles with consistency, astuteness and unwearying determination. In particular can Georgia say a fervent "thank you" to such as RICHARD RUSSELL, HERMAN TALMADGE, and E. L. (TIC) FORRESTER whose cogent arguments on behalf of individual rights won the respect and favor of those whose experience with the racial problem has been largely academic.

But, as we have said, this Senate victory extends beyond the sphere of sectional politics. For the racial issue, as it is being treated currently, is but one aspect of a much larger problem. That problem is always what it has been since the formation of the United States of America—the relation of the individual to governing authority, a relationship that must be constantly examined less individualism wither and die within the rigid confines of government.

History proves that governmental authority, unless it is firmly leashed, is aggressive and cumulative by nature. We must never forget that our Founding Fathers, wise and practical men all, were very much afraid of government, and the careful way in which our Constitution was framed is vivid testimony to that realization. They recognized that the best guaranty of freedom is the power and the judgment of the people, for they knew that the people themselves, acting through the ballot box on the community level, would be the best guardians of what constituted just and suitable laws.

What our southern Congressmen are fighting for today is principle, a basic principle that simply cannot be dismissed as sectional prejudice. It is primarily an opposition to the so-called liberalism of today whereby the power of the Federal Government has been enlarged on the theory that anything that benefits the general welfare is constitutional, irrespective of what was decided before as to the rights of States as well as individuals.

We can all take great pride in this fight, which is very much on the side of law and precedent and very much against expediency, intolerance and cheap politics.

Prof. Paul G. Schmidt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, on August 1, there was published in the Northfield News—Northfield is my hometown, so to speak—an editorial on the late Prof. Paul G. Schmidt. The editorial was written by Ella Hjertaas Roe. Dr. Schmidt was a professor at St. Olaf College. The editorial is a beautiful tribute to a man who was a personal friend of mine. All of us regret his death.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Northfield (Minn.) News of August 1, 1957]

A COLLEAGUE'S TRIBUTE TO "P. G."

(By Ella Hjertaas Roe)

The death of Prof. Paul G. Schmidt brings to a close a rich and distinguished chapter in the history of St. Olaf College. For those who were privileged to be numbered among his colleagues—and that meant his friends—the feeling of gratitude for all that he was and all that he did somehow supplants the sense of loss we have at his going. He builded well, and the work that he did will live after him.

For all the members of the St. Olaf Choir, down through the years from its very beginning, "P. G." as he was affectionately called, set the highest standards of professional ethics and conduct. He loved the choir and the choir members loved him. They loved him for his ability, for his fine dignity, for his endearing sense of humor, for the wonders he seemed ever able to perform, for the understanding and the support he gave F. Melius, and for making together with him that remarkable team. We were proud of him.

In recounting some of these qualities once at a dinner given in his honor after one of the choir concerts in Germany in 1930, the answer was given in a poem to the query: "Who is it that does all this for us?" • • • "It's 'P. G.' Pretty Grand Schmidt."

Professor Schmidt was a pioneer. He had courage and vision, and he had imagination. Because he believed in Professor Christiansen he dared to take an unheralded a capella choir from a small college in the Middle West to sing before the critics in the music centers of the East. In 1920 this was unheard of. One of the reviewers in New York City wrote in the Times: "Last night in the Metropolitan Opera House a group of 60 young men and women from the small towns and villages of the Midwest put on immortality for 2 hours."

Besides taking the choir to every major city in the United States, he managed concert tours to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany.

In the twenties he arranged for an annual exchange concert between the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra and the choir, an arrangement which has continued without interruption ever since.

It was my privilege to serve with Professor Schmidt for many years on the St. Olaf College concert and lecture course committee. In his memoirs there must be interesting records of his many experiences also in that field. When he retired a few years ago we were most reluctant to try to carry on without him. At one of our artist series concerts in recent years after he had retired, it so happened that other members of the committee had to be out of town. I found myself worrying about possible emergencies that might arise. So I telephoned Mr. Schmidt and asked him if he would come up to the gymnasium and just stand there in the lobby before the concert, he wouldn't have to do a thing, just be there. "Of course, I will, I'll be glad to," was his quick response.

And so, it was reassuring to have him in his usual place, standing by, as he had done for every concert, the Christmas concerts, at every public function through the years, the master craftsman of orderly arrangement, one whose high joy it was to have a part in bringing great music to his fellow men, sharing with them the spiritual message in song, things of the spirit for men to live by.

Retirement of Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE], I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by him on the retirement of Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR PAYNE ON THE RETIREMENT OF SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY GEORGE M. HUMPHREY

The recent departure of George M. Humphrey from the office of Secretary of Treasury after more than 4 years is an occasion, I feel, to reflect for a moment on the man and the office. George Humphrey was molded by private industry and his long, successful career in industry is known to all. However, at an age when most men are looking forward to retirement, he stepped forward to tackle the biggest job of his life—the task of guiding the Treasury Department and the fiscal affairs of the United States Government.

Among the goals in the area of fiscal policy set by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey when he took office were: independence of the Federal Reserve System from Treasury regulation so that it could proceed with its assigned task of stabilizing the economy; and control of the Federal budget, thus bringing it into balance.

Signal success has been achieved in accomplishing these aims. The Federal Reserve now operates in its fields of banking and economic policy without directives from Treasury or other executive departments. Its policies, set for the general well-being of the entire economy, have occasionally even been at odds with the more limited activities of the Treasury.

The budget has been curbed and brought into balance for 2 consecutive years and a third balanced budget is in sight for this year. It has been 27 years since this Nation has seen 3 consecutive balanced budgets and for this George Humphrey deserves much of the credit. Two other historic achievements have been made under his tenure in the Treasury. One was the first major recodification and modernization of the Federal tax laws since 1876; the second, of far greater importance as far as the general public is concerned was the tax reduction of $7.5 billion.

George M. Humphrey brought to the office of the Secretary of the Treasury a new stature and soundness of policy. He was known as the strong man of the Cabinet, and the President took counsel with him on many

of the vital policy decisions of this administration. His opinions are respected by all, even those who do not agree with him. His departure from Government removes one of the great men of the Eisenhower administration. George Humphrey served his country well in an arduous position and certainly deserves the heartfelt thanks and appreciation of the American people.

Civil Rights—Tribute to Senator Douglas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial praising the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] as a defender of rights.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Daily Defender of August 1, 1957]

DOUGLAS, A DEFENDER OF RIGHTS

Out of a welter of confusion and recrimination incidental to the legislative battle over civil rights, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, has emerged as the outstanding and irrepressible champion of the cause of the Negro people.

He has fought and is fighting for retention of those features originally drafted into the administration's bill which gives it substance and meaning.

He has stood four-square on the controversial section III which was intended as a fulcrum for the Supreme Court's integration mandate. This is the very provision that President Eisenhower disavowed and from which a number of the so-called liberal Senators of both parties backed away.

Senator DOUGLAS has carried the battle from the floor of the Senate to public forum via television where all who could hear and see had an opportunity to be enlightened on the basic principles involved in the civil-rights proposals.

In fact, no one, among the honest supporters of the bill, has made as clear, as intelligent, and forceful a presentation of the case against the jury trial amendment on which the unwashed Dixiecrats are insisting with vehemence, as the learned Senator has done. He has asked for no quarter and has given none. His logic is impeccable, his evidence unassailable.

The liberals had all the brains in their camp, but most of them recoiled into their shells under the fire of a stubborn opposition. But not DOUGLAS. He has stood his ground with the characteristic toughness of the marines in whose ranks he once covered himself with glory by acts of conspicuous bravery on the battlefield. He has brought to the Senate the stamina of the legendary "leathernecks," and is distinguishing himself equally in the Capitol as he did in the South Pacific.

The registration data on the Negro voter in the South, which was the subject of a memorandum prepared by the research office of the Southern Regional Council and which Senator DOUGLAS introduced in the Senate as pertinent to his remarks, constitutes the most damaging evidence that has been assembled against the southern oligarchy.

The memorandum shows by State and county the number of qualified Negro voters who have been denied the right to vote and how southern courts have sustained their disqualification.

This by far the most powerful argument that has yet been advanced against the segregationist's contention for trial by jury.

Whatever may be the fate of the civil-rights legislation, whether it is enacted into law or defeated, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS will be long remembered for the titanic energy and intellectual might he consecrated to the noble cause of human rights.

The Great Work of the United Nations Children's Fund in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, children are the hope of man's tomorrow.

I was pleased to read, therefore, in the current issue of the news review published by the World Health Organization, a fine article by one of the outstanding servants of the children of the world. The article is entitled "The Day Will Dawn." It was written by Mr. Spurgeon Milton Keeny, who, since 1950, has served as director of the Asia regional office of the United National Children's Fund.

Mr. Keeny is the author of a new book entitled "Half the World's Children." It describes how 22 million children and their mothers in Asia have been helped by UNICEF. All of the royalties on this book go to the children's fund itself. But reading the book in its own right is a treat, for it tells the inspiring story of how UNICEF milk, material, and supplies have, day in and day out, made a permanent contribution to the well-being of the children of Asia.

I send to the desk the text of Mr. Keeny's article.

As further indication, however, of the high-caliber man Mr. Keeny is himself, I precede it with the foreword and preface of the book, Half the World's Children. The foreword was written by the man most qualified to speak on this subject, Mr. Maurice Pate, the able executive director for UNICEF. The preface of the book was written by the famed comedian, Danny Kaye, who, as we know, has well been described as ambassador to the world's children, in view of his own extensive travels on behalf of UNICEF throughout the globe.

I ask unanimous consent that these three items be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the foreword, preface, and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREWORD TO HALF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN

Spurgeon M. Keeny, affectionately known as Sam to his friends the world around, grew up on a York County farm in Pennsylvania, worked his way through college, and wound up his formal education as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University. He represents an unusual versatility: philosopher, economist, a driving hard-headed accomplisher in every enterprise he has ever undertaken. All this is combined with a great humor and kindliness which has endeared him to peoples of all creeds, colors, and nations where he has worked.

One of the great strengths of Mr. Keeny is that his roots have always been firmly planted in the American country soil on which he was born and worked and grew. This has made him understand and respect the loyalties and attachments of other peoples all around the globe to country and environment. It has created in him a warm sympathy for those who toil the earth or work in villages and cities in the half of the globe in Asia where he has carried out such an outstanding task in bettering the lives of children and mothers in UNICEF-assisted programs.

Traveling around the world twice each year, because he is in New York twice a year for the semiannual UNICEF executive board meetings, penetrating to the most remote villages of the countries in Asia which he visits, Mr. Keeny sets a pace and example that all of us in UNICEF would like to emulate.

In Mr. Keeny's story, made up of his notes and experiences over a period of 7 years of service in Asia, you will find not only a great deal of firsthand, accurate, and authentic information on UNICEF, but also the revelation of the character of a man who firmly believes that underprivileged children should have a better break in this now closer-knit world in which we live.

MAURICE PATE,
Executive Director, United Nations Children's Fund.

PREFACE

Sam Keeny belongs to an army without uniform that is engaged in the great fight against sickness and malnutrition in our children. Sam is one of the members of the United Nations Children's Fund—UNICEF—whom I met on my tours around the world for this wonderful organization. He is devoting his life to see that the children of the world have a chance to grow to some kind of useful and healthy maturity.

I've met a lot of Sam Keenys—in Morocco, Nigeria, India, Burma, Korea—and they make up a group of the most wonderful, most dedicated people one could meet.

I first met Sam in Bangkok, one of the areas where he works on his job for UNICEF. Sam's responsibility might stagger many a man. All he is assigned to do is to eliminate sickness and malnutrition from the hundreds of millions of children in Asia—the region he supervises. Sam is determined to do it, too, but he has never lost his sense of humor about the vastness of his task. Nor has he lost sight of the fact that you can't bring health and happiness to a million children by signing a paper or waving a wand. It has to be done child by child—and that's the way Sam works.

Sam has the delightful habit of writing what he sees in letters to his friends. I've been on the mailing list for some time and have had many a laugh—and it's not easy to entertain an entertainer. When you read this book I think you'll often be amused. And if you occasionally find yourself wiping away a tear, don't be embarrassed. It happened to me, too.

DANNY KAYE.

THE DAY WILL DAWN

(By S. M. Keeny)

I was spending a busman's weekend on the Cambodian border, watching a yaws team at work. There in Ban Kang village in the province of Prachinburi, I met about 400 people. Among them were Mr. and Mrs. Darnchoomporn and their 2 children, Tonabal, aged 5 and Boonchan, aged 9.

They are rice farmers, who have a little less than 10 acres of land; but the land is

not very good in Prachinburi. They harvest every year only six bullock carts of rice, just enought for the family to eat. The value of their crop is about 3,000 baht—$150.

In the offseason the husband cuts wood for another 500 baht. His wife raises a few chickens, but the family do not eat the eggs. They raise more chickens, which they also sell: that brings in another 500 baht. They grow very few vegetables and have a couple of fruit trees, which just about offsets their taxes and their gifts to the Wat (Buddhist temple).

Altogether, they have the equivalent of about $200 for 4 people. They are a bit on the poor side for Thailand; the average here would be about $300.

The Darnchoomporn family are important people: they are the average family of Asia. By and large the income per person throughout Asia is $50 a year or $1 a week. To accept and understand that starkly simple fact is one of the hardest things people in the more developed parts of the world have to learn. Until we have learned it, we aren't in a position to give much useful advice.

THE HEART OF THE MATTER

The Darnchoomporn family are not beggars, and they do not ask for our pity. As the mother put it, "We'll make out somehow—if we keep well." There is the heart of the matter; they don't keep well. How to help them conserve the tiny gains made in standards of living by keeping well is the everyday concern of WHO and UNICEF.

Ten years ago there was for the most part no practical answer to this problem. Some of the traditional killers, such as smallpox, plague, and cholera were indeed being conquered. But there remained many more, the cure for which was not known or was so expensive that, for Asia, it might as well have been undiscovered.

Now, however, we can add five more diseases to the list that we can conquer if, internationally, we put our minds to it. These five are yaws, malaria, tuberculosis, trachoma and leprosy. Of these, the greatest killer by far, especially of children, is malaria. How to arrest it, however, is definitely known, as is true of yaws and trachoma. Tuberculosis and leprosy are a bit more treacherous, but enough is known already to allow the experts to say with reasonable assurance that the spread of these diseases can be stopped and that nearly all except the advanced cases can be cured.

THIS CAN BE DONE

In short, it can now be said of all five diseases, as has so often been said of malaria, that no country can any longer afford them—the poorest least of all.

I venture, not in terms of wishful thinking, but in terms of what has already been started, the following timetable for breaking the backs of these ancient enemies:

Yaws within 5 years.
Malaria within 10 years.
Trachoma within 15 years.
Tuberculosis within 25 years.
Leprosy within 25 years.

I don't mean that the diseases mentioned will have disappeared in that time, but that they will have ceased to swallow most of the money in departments of health and no longer stop those departments from getting on with their main job of getting simple public health services to the people, especially in the villages.

Now let's look at these enemies one by one, beginning with yaws.

Here is a paragraph from my diary of a trip to central Java:

"When, after threading a maze of lanes, we had finally found the yaws team, they had already examined more than 200 patients and had found 28 cases. There were, of course, many small children, and there was a great unbuttoning and untying of garments before the youngsters stood bigeyed and bare before the examiner.

"We saw every type of case, from the small single sore between the toes of a little girl, to a crater in a young man's thigh in which one could have hidden a walnut. He was 23 years old and had had the disease for 20 years. His body was almost covered with scars—and there was the great open running sore on his leg. The penicillin to treat him cost 10 cents.

"The road back to Jogjakarta was long—and so were our thoughts. Ten years ago penicillin was just being brought into use; now it was bringing health and hope into this remote village, poor even by Javanese standards, where the average annual income per person is $30."

HALFWAY HOUSE

The best news of progress is that about yaws. Here the job in Asia was to cure about 15 million cases, three-fourths of them in Indonesia. Seven years ago the first start was made; today half the job has been done.

It is proving easier to cure the disease than had been feared. A single shot of penicillin, costing about 10 cents United States currency, will cure in 9 cases out of 10; a second shot will usually cure the 10th. The total cost in Indonesia to Government, WHO, and UNICEF is now about 80 cents to examine 10 persons and to cure the 1 who, on the average, has yaws.

But penicillin creates no immunity. All the infectious cases must be sought out and treated to prevent further spread. The danger now is that, with relatively few cases left, governments may think the job done and stop too soon. Thailand, with perhaps 75 percent of the job done, has reached this point.

The second enemy is malaria, the worst of all five. The conquest of this single disease can reduce the death rate of children by as much as one-half in as little as 5 years. Malaria seriously threatens in Asia some 300 million people—almost double the population of the United States. About half that number have been suffering from the disease every year. India alone has perhaps two-thirds of the cases; the bulk of the rest are in East Pakistan and Indonesia.

The International Cooperation Administration of the United States, WHO and UNICEF are working as one team. UNICEF is spending nearly half its income in fighting this one disease. The advances are even more spectacular than in yaws. From perhaps 20 million people protected 7 years ago, the number has now risen to nearly half the 300 million.

I've set down 10 years for malaria because the attack involves not a single treatment as in yaws but repeated sprayings of every house in the areas affected.

So successful have been the control efforts that most countries, including India, are now planning for eradication of the disease. This means going after the cases, however scattered, and will bring the numbers to be protected to nearer 500 than 300 million. But this more aggressive attack will pay off because, in eradication programs, spraying can stop after 4 years; in control schemes, it must keep on indefinitely.

TRACHOMA: 100 MILLION CASES

The third enemy is trachoma—the chief cause of blindness in Asia. The cases are far more than any medical statistics show, as revealed by WHO samplings in Taiwan, Indonesia, and India.

If the experts' samples are true ones, there may be something like 100 million cases.

The best drug is one of the antibiotics—aureomycin or terramycin. Taiwan has already cured more than a million cases among some 2 million schoolchildren. The cost has been high when we think of 100 million cases—about 40 cents United States per child for the ointment. But new methods of intermittent treatment are proving successful, and we have hopes of bringing the cost for the drug down to 15 cents or even less.

The cure of trachoma, especially, is a problem of organization. In the schools, the teachers give the applications or teach the children to treat one another. In the long run, the whole family must be treated but they can treat one another. The campaigns are hard to start but thereafter go rapidly I've allowed 15 years for this job.

THE PROBLEM OF TB

The fourth enemy is tuberculosis, of which at a wild guess I should say there are at least 5 million active cases in Asia. Here we are on less sure ground because the disease is treacherous and hard to cure; it is highly communicable and we are not absolutely sure about the new drugs.

Hospitalization offers little hope for enough hospitals do not exist. There is no money to build them and, above all, to pay the patient's bills if they were built. The last figure I saw about the cost of curing TB in the United States was $20,000 a case. Even if the cost in the Asian countries is only 10 percent of that, you will see that this is no solution.

On the other hand, chemotherapy does offer a possibility, especially with the new drug isoniazid, which usually makes the patient noninfectious and which is, above all, cheap. The cost for the pills to treat a patient for a year is only about $2.25. The World Health Organization, with the aid of the British Medical Research Council, has a very large experiment underway in Madras, India, to find out how patients can be treated at home at a price their countries can afford.

The aim of this new system is, if possible, to cure the existing cases but certainly to stop the transmission of the disease. One danger, of course, is that we may have more cases continuing alive and spreading the disease than before. On the other hand, if the patient's sputum can be kept negative at a cost for drugs of $2.25 per year or less, the disease can be stamped out within the lifetime of the present patients—if the necessary organization can be achieved.

This is not really complicated; it involves only a few good supervisors and a lot of home visitors, who will see each patient at least once a month to make sure that he is taking the pills and obeying the simple instructions. There are many obstacles because the treatment will be long and it involves people changing their habits, especially that of spitting indiscriminately.

Mercifully, in Asia we have plenty of sunshine, the great killer of this bacillus. Also, the disease is mostly concentrated in cities, where the people are relatively accessible, as contrasted with yaws, which is most plentiful in the most remote places. If the present promising outlook does not worsen, this disease can be brought far down the list of important enemies in the next 25 years.

CONTROLLING LEPROSY

The fifth enemy is leprosy. Ten years ago the outlook for doing anything was bleak indeed. As was reflected in most legislation about the disease, every leprosarium might as well have had painted over its entrance gate the words that Dante placed over the gates of Hell: "Abandon hope all ye that enter here." But in the last decade all this has been changed by the discovery of sulphones.

According to The International Journal of Leprosy it can now be safely predicted that, if sulphones are given regularly, under medical supervision, the disease can definitely be arrested, although the period may be as long as 7 years, with an average of perhaps 3.

This does not mean that the crippling we associate with leprosy can be cured, but only that the cases can be made noninfectious, which is what matters in public health control.

The extent of this disease in Asia is not known. My guess for Asia, including China, would be 5 million cases. If the disease were being attacked as in the past, when

leprosy cases were rounded up more often by the police than by the Health Department, I should say the disease would never be conquered.

But the new method is entirely free from compulsion. Patients are invited to come forward for free treatment and are placed in hospitals only if they wish and for only so long as they remain infectious, which is not likely to be more than a couple of years.

NOW THEY COME FOR AID

That the method works is shown by a report on a postcard I recently received from Bali, where a friend is working. He says that, in an area with 14 registered cases, 17 more came forward voluntarily on the first day he set up for business.

In Khon Kaen, Thailand, Dr. R. Miquel of WHO reports that he has no trouble getting patients to the appointed meeting places for their injectons. From that single province he already has more than 4,000 cases. On one occasion, when he could not reach the meeting place because the river was flooded, 75 of these patients swam the river to get their treatment.

In one report Dr. Miquel also tells how early action gets early results. One infectious case was the father of two little girls. He was very fond of them and often held them in his arms. The older one developed the telltale marks where her little chest met her father's when she put her arms around his neck. The younger one developed the marks on the inside of her legs, where she straddled her father's hip as he carried her. Within 6 months, both were cured.

The little family that we met on the Cambodian border will be free from yaws within a month. Their chances of keeping free from the other four enemies I have talked about are excellent if the Government continues to back the programs and if ICA, WHO, and UNICEF continue to help.

Amending Section 1552, Title 10, United States Code, and Section 301 of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the Armed Services Committee upon having favorably reported H. R. 8772, the provisions of which are similar to a bill introduced by me, H. R. 5455. The purpose is to correct a situation that has caused and will continue to cause, grievous injustice.

The bill authorizes existing boards whose duty it is to review discharges and dismissals to take into consideration in considering these reviews the postservice rehabilitation and exemplary conduct of applicants for review, and then if warranted, to issue a general discharge, limited. It authorizes, but does not require, the boards to issue such discharge in those cases where the board feels that the facts leading to the discharge have been offset by later good conduct and rehabilitation on the part of the ex-serviceman for the period of not less than 3 years following his separation.

The bill will benefit many thousands already discharged who have already lead exemplary lives over a period of more than 3 years from their discharge.

We all appreciate the fact that there must be in the armed services an effective discharge law in order to maintain discipline in the armed services, but we also know that there are many thousands of young men and women who got into difficulty, frequently in a thoughtless manner, and who are now condemned for a lifetime because of their act. What they did may have been undesirable and their conduct may have been bad, but many of them do not deserve a life sentence because of such conduct.

If a man is convicted of a felony in Federal court and serves his time and then comes out and is rehabilitated, he can file an application for pardon and restoration of his citizenship. In the armed services this is not possible. The only authority the services now have is a review of the discharge where errors or injustice are alleged. There is no provision for postservice rehabilitation. The bill simply gives the boards the right to review and pardon, if you please, a veteran who has been rehabilitated, a veteran who has exemplary postservice. It does not give any veterans' rights that the veteran does not now have.

It should be remembered that hundreds of thousands of less than honorable discharges have been issued not by court-martial, but by some military officer or group of military officers without any judicial proceedings of any kind to sustain them.

One instance that has come to my attention is a young man who left high school and entered the Navy when he was 16 by falsifying his age. His true age was known to the officer in command, because as they crossed the international date line on his 17th birthday the crew gave him a real birthday celebration. He served well and was cited a couple of times, but because he was only a boy and inclined to be a boy when off duty, neglected on 4 to 5 occasions to return after leave and was several days late. As punishment he was given an undesirable discharge about 3 months before he was eligible for release.

After getting out of the service, he has assumed the position of a man and has done a very commendable job of providing for his family and in taking part in community activities and so forth. I assisted in an effort to have his discharge changed. Under existing law it cannot be done. His advancement in life is blighted because as a boy he acted as a boy when his officers felt he should act as a grown man.

I am convinced that the normal punishment that might have been adjudged had the act or incident been committed in civil life, should guide the review boards, as well as the age of the individual, and the conditions that prevailed at the time, and that the board should be able to take into account, postservice life as an indication of service maladjustment, or service irresponsibility. Under this bill postservice conduct indicating that the individual has rehabilitated himself, that his character is good, and that his conduct, activities, and his habits since discharge have been exemplary for a period of not less than 3 years following such discharge, may be taken into consideration.

The bill provides relief in many occasions where the veteran has clearly rehabilitated himself and has earned a "pardon," so to speak, from the stigma of "dishonorable," "bad conduct," or "undesirable," removed from his status.

He is not placed in the same status as a man with an honorable discharge, but the stigma may be removed by proof of his future good conduct. He is in this legislation given an opportunity where the facts warrant, to show to society a new type of discharge which reflects not only service, but postservice conduct.

Atomic Power Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, on August 1, there was published in the Minneapolis Star, an editorial entitled "Atomic Power Here." The editorial is a very timely one, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star of August 1, 1957]

ATOMIC POWER HERE

The congressional atomic energy committee has approved a bill which would require the Atomic Energy Commission to build 5 powerplants for municipalities and rural electric co-ops, including the 1 at Elk River, Minn. President Eisenhower and Lewis Strauss, AEC Chairman, have argued that constructing powerplants should be left to private industry, with the AEC assisting.

Construction of the five plants may be justified for their experimental value, but it is hardly accurate for backers of the bill to say, as they did say, that the Government must act because private industry has had a chance to do so and failed.

A small—5,000-kilowatt—plant sponsored by private industry already has gone into operation in California. A 60,000-kilowatt plant, being built by Duquesne Light Co. and Westinghouse Electric in cooperation with AEC, is scheduled to start operating this fall.

Applications to the AEC for similar large plants have been made by a group of Florida utilities and by a group of upper Midwest utilities. The latter group is called Central Utilities Atomic Power Associates and includes 11 companies with headquarters in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Northern States Power Co. would own and operate the plant, the cost of which is estimated at $25 million. AEC would contribute $7 million in research.

Such a plant would cost twice as much, based on kilowatt capacity, as a plant using conventional fuel. But the utilities are prepared to pay quite a substantial premium for two main reasons: (1) They want to familiarize themselves with this new method

of generating electricity, and (2) they are anxious about future supplies of coal and oil.

There is little question about the advisability of some Government regulations of atomic energy and technical assistance, but a lot of Americans will question the wisdom of a general policy of plant construction by the AEC.

Suppression of Free Speech at Texas Technological College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, a few weeks ago, 3 professors at Texas Tech were suddenly and without warning fired because they had incurred the displeasure of a political board. I have previously placed my opinion on this action in the RECORD of this body.

Now we have additional light on the action of the board in an able column in the Kountze News for Thursday, August 1, 1957, under the title The Printer Fires Both Barrels. The editor of this outspoken and influential Hardin County, Tex., newspaper is Mr. Archer Fullingim, an able journalist, a graduate with a master's degree from one of the great universities of America, and a dedicated American.

Mr. Fullingim has been a courageous voice for integrity and honor in politics and in government in Texas. He writes the well-known column The Printer Fires Both Barrels, and Texans know that when Archer Fullingim fires both barrels he hits a bull's-eye.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that the column The Printer Fires Both Barrels, as printed in the Kountze News for Thursday, August 1, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRINTER FIRES BOTH BARRELS

The stultifying heritage left by the corrupt Shivers administration is still gumming up the works in Texas. The last place it popped out and boiled over was at Lubbock, Tex., where two Texas Tech professors were fired by Shivers and Daniel appointees for expressing opinions that did not agree with views held by the appointees. The Texas Tech board of regents, at the demand of an oddball, J. Evatts Haley, fired the two profs for expressing political opinions that differed from the crackpot theories of Haley. Worse than the firing, however, was that the dirty work was done in a secret session.

You remember Haley. He ran for governor on a crackpot platform in 1956. The two professors did not support him in that race. Being the type of radical conservative that he is, Haley is the kind who wants to purge people who do not agree with him, and especially those who did not vote for him. Haley himself was once fired from the faculty of the University of Texas where he was known as a ridiculous screwball who was giving the university a "black eye." Yet A. Shivers, knowing that Haley was a Texas-style Joe McCarthy, the sort of character you hear foaming at the mouth late at night on the Mexican border radio stations, appointed Haley to the Texas Tech board of regents. So we can thank A. Shivers for the mess Texas Tech is getting in. We can thank A. Shivers for leading the synthetic patriot Haley, to believe he's somebody come. When all the time he was only a would-be troublemaker and agitator of the conservative stripe.

We haven't heard much out of A. Shivers in recent months, not even from those people who used to fancy that he might be a candidate for President on a sort of retired conservative ticket. But as long as his appointees, like Haley, can shoot off their mouth in a secret session, we have A. Shivers with us. Not in the flesh, perhaps, but in the spirit. The Daniel appointees on the board aided and abetted Haley in the firing. But is there any difference between a Shivers appointee and a Daniel appointee? If so, please delineate on the elaborate distinction.

Mr. Hale must have been a man after A. Shivers' own heart, because Shivers did not cotton to anybody unless he believed, oh so utterly, in his so-called conservatism. Meaning that he had to be a cross between one of his insurance commissioners and Bascom Giles. So let's take a catfish's-eye view of E. Shivers' Haley, the self-made eccentric that Shivers put in a position to wreck a great school with an enrollment of 8,000. Haley now poses as a cowboy, drugstore, that is, although he wears specs and is aging and graying. He wears the boots and the big hats of the odious professional Texan. While a young man, when youth generally takes up cowpunching, our boy Haley was riding the range in college classrooms and pounding a bucking typewriter instead of riding a bucking horse—he authored several books, the titles of which I almost but not quite remember. But one was about the XIT ranch which was sold to a syndicate to pay for the capitol building at Austin. Maybe there was where Haley got the rage to go cowboy after he reached middle age.

People who know Haley best say that he's the type of drugstore cowboy who likes to turn up in big cities wearing boots and big hat and be pointed out as an old bronc buster from Texas. He gets a kick out of it, they say—and Haley must go in for the kicks.

Haley, being a screwball conservative, Shivers went for him in a big way and soon Haley was Shivers' gift to Texas Tech. But Tech deserved him. That city's two newspapers never failed to go to bat for Shivers and his fellow Ike-likers. They took Shivers' side even up to the day when the prison doors clanged shut with Bascom Giles on the inside. Now those 2 papers are screaming bloody murder because Haley has made Tech look like 2 cents, but all we say is that the Shivers chickens, afflicted with fleas, lice, and the limber neck, are coming home to roost on the Texas Tech campus. The Lubbock papers have only themselves to blame. And that also goes for the Louisiana Enterprise and Journal which got in such a flap over the firing of the profs that they have been carrying editorials on the horrible thing that has happened at Tech and they have been giving Haley hell in rather pointed language. But they don't pin the blame where it belongs: on Shivers' back. It is not Haley who's lower than a snake in a wagon rut.

Now since we've already ruined our day by remembering that there ever was a governor by the name of A. Shivers who, in 8 years, achieved the ultimate in corrupt administration, we might as well recall another repulsive highlight of the Shivers administration. That was the pilgrimage of Attorney General Brownell to the Shivers estate, Magnolia Hills, near Woodville, where Herbie and Allan, congratulated each other on their love for Ike and incidentally probably hatched up the present civil-rights bill that Brownell, Ike, Nixon, and Knowland are trying so hard to sew on the South's Yankee-bruised hide. Brownell and Shivers spent hours in seclusion enjoying each other's company at Magnolia Hills.

Transfer of Nuclear Weapons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, Mr. Thomas E. Murray, a former member of the Atomic Energy Commission, now consultant to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, has written a very thought-provoking article on the transfer of nuclear weapons. In this age of nuclear weapons, when the world may be falling apart if we do not keep our heads instead of going off on tangent ideas, one may read the article with profit, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The proposal that the United States should transfer nuclear weapons to certain friendly nations raises a policy question of grave importance.

Absolutely basic to the soundness of any decisions in this area of military and political policy is the distinction between two substantially different categories of weapons, what I shall call large and small weapons.

The line of distinction cannot be drawn with all exactness. Nor can it be adequate to all circumstances. However, consideration of the implications of transferring nuclear weapons furnishes the basis for a meaningful distinction. Insofar as such transfers are concerned, a 15-kiloton weapon should rank as large. In the lamentable incident of Hiroshima a bomb of this yield completely destroyed about 5 square miles of territory and caused upward of 150,000 casualties. As it was used in that instance it was a weapon of mass destruction. Weapons in the megaton range would more properly be called weapons of mass annihilation. Their possession and use relates to the broad strategy of deterrence and retaliation and to the concept of allout nuclear war. In contrast, weapons of 1 or 2 kiloton capacity certainly fall into the category of small weapons. Their military usefulness is related to the concept of limited war.

No rational approach to the problem of the transfer of nuclear weapons to foreign governments is possible unless consideration is given to the uses to which such transferred weapons could be employed.

In my opinion, it would not be unreasonable to consider the transfer of small weapons to the countries of the NATO alliance or to other friendly governments. The transfer of such weapons would be consistent with a military and political policy of equipping our allies effectively to resist small-scale aggression and to wage limited war.

However, the transfer of large weapons is altogether a different question. At least two fundamental objections must be raised against such a policy.

First, it is not at all clear that any valid military purpose would be served by it. At

the present moment our allies are fully aware of the kind of nuclear protection we are prepared to give them in the event of large-scale aggression. The NATO planners are aware of the nature of the nuclear arsenal that is at their disposal at a moment's notice. These weapons are not a guaranty against attack; but they are an assurance that retaliation of the kind necessary—whether massive or limited—will be launced by the United States forces in the event of an attack. As matters stand, therefore, the NATO countries are sure of nuclear protection. And at the same time the United States is sure of its own control especially over the use of weapons of mass destruction or annihilation.

This is the way matters should stand. It is not, I say, clear that any valid military purpose would be served by altering the situation through the transfer of large weapons to our allies. Their own nuclear protection would not be further enhanced. But our own control over the appalling possibility of all-out nuclear war would be dangerously diminished. This latter fact leads me to my second objection.

I do not hold with those who believe that any use of nuclear weapons, even small ones, will set our feet on the famous escalator that inevitably leads down into the abyss of total nuclear war. However, it is generally supposed—not without reason—that the use of megaton weapons, or those of hundreds of kiloton yield, even in limited quantities, would be the first step onto this fatal escalator. It does not matter who initiates the use of these large weapons, whether friend or foe. In either case the United States would inevitably become involved. It follows therefore, that the transfer of large nuclear weapons to a foreign government would put that government in the position of being able to force the United States into a war of survival, in which, as I have often insisted, there would be no survival. We should by no means consent to this development; much less should be actively assist in bringing it about.

It is true that no transfer of weapons would be made except under prior agreements with our allies as to the circumstances in which these weapons would be used. However, the stability of such agreements, under the stress of actual hostilities, is open to serious question. If a nation were to be faced with the imminent possibility of major aggression, it would hardly hesitate to use whatever weapons it had at its disposal. Under the threat of disaster any nation could readily rationalize the use of its nuclear stockpile, in part or in whole, no matter what its agreements with the United States may have been. It seems to me, therefore, that the transfer of large weapons even to our trusted allies could easily lead to a loss of American control over their use, and in possible consequence, to a loss of control over our own destinies.

There is a further point. It is obvious that none of the countries of the NATO alliance is able to sustain the heavy costs of extensive nuclear-test programs; much less could any of these countries bear the financial burden of a large production program. The United Kingdom recently carried on tests in the Pacific. But many Christmas Island tests would be required before the United Kingdom could come into possession of weapons designs comparable to our own. Even then, once designs were frozen, the cost of a large-scale production program would be prohibitive for the United Kingdom.

In these circumstances, it seems evident to me that the present disarmament negotiations perhaps are being used as a sort of instrument by which our allies win from the United States an agreement to transfer nuclear weapons to them. As a condition of getting England, France, and (possibly) other countries to forego the testing and production of nuclear weapons, the United States is being called upon to make these weapons available. Our allies say, in effect, that either they themselves must go ahead in the field of nuclear weapons or else the United States must make it worth their while to stay out of the field. They want the prestige that attaches to the capacity to wage nuclear war; this is presently the mark of a great nation. Therefore, they present the alternatives: either they will themselves pursue this capacity, or else the United States must endow them with it.

But this is much too inadequate a description of the alternatives. The security of our allies is a matter of deepest concern to us, but so too is our own security. Both aspects of the matter are involved in the transfer of nuclear weapons. We shall not strike the true balance between our own interests and the interests of our allies unless our policy decisions with regard to the transfer of nuclear weapons have, as their premise, the basic distinction to which I have pointed—the distinction between the category of small weapons and the separate category of large weapons. Our own interests make it mandatory that the United States retain control of weapons of mass destruction and annihilation the interest of our allies should be met by the small weapons needed effectively to resist small-scale aggression and to wage limited war. The policy of the United States concerning transfer of nuclear weapons must take account of both.

Congress and the Purse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the San Mateo Times, San Mateo, Calif., on Tuesday, July 23, 1957:

CONGRESS AND THE PURSE

Backlog of unexpended funds appropriated by past Congresses and beyond the scope of the present budget has been estimated at $70 billion, close to the Eisenhower budget proposal for fiscal 1958.

It is this situation that former President Hoover had in mind at San Francisco when he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors recently that Congress "has lost control of the purse."

If there is concern over the effect of Government spending under a $72-billion budget, then the theoretical possibility of Federal departments in any one fiscal year pouring out an additional $70 billion in Federal funds should compound the apprehension.

Mr. Hoover declares that Government spending is a major factor in "the inflation movement now going on," and that it probably has reduced the purchasing power of the dollar by 4 or 5 cents in recent months.

That includes not only the dollars the Government spends but every dollar a taxpayer earns and the dollars of which he must give more and more in Federal taxes if the monetary unit continues to lose ground.

A move has been made at Washington, through the urging of the Hoover Commission, to help restore to Congress control of the Federal purse. It is a measure, approved by the Senate unanimously and now before the House, that would provide annual accrued expenditure budgeting. This would limit appropriations to a single year, even for long-range projects, and require annual review of all spending.

It is reasonable to expect the review from year to year would result in Federal savings. A saving of only 1 percent on $70 billion would be $700 million annually. That's almost $5 per capita.

Death of Kenneth Roberts, Noted American Author

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I rise on behalf of my distinguished colleague the Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE]. I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by the Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE] on the death of Kenneth Roberts, noted American author, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR PAYNE, ON THE DEATH OF KENNETH ROBERTS, NOTED AMERICAN AUTHOR

Last week saw the passing of one of America's best-known historical novelists. Kenneth Roberts, a native son of Maine, labored diligently and tirelessly to acquaint his fellow Americans with the background and motives behind the historical patterns of the Revolutionary War period. His complete and methodical research resulted in some of our finest novels of that era. Through his studies he became convinced that Benedict Arnold was actually moved by high principle and—at the time—developed some degree of popularity. The excellent quality of his historical novels won for Kenneth Roberts a special Pulitzer citation this year. This richly deserved award acclaimed Roberts "for his historical novels which have long contributed to the creation of greater interest in our early American history."

Kenneth Roberts was a product of Maine and this fact was revealed not only in his writing but in other facets of his life. Rather than a journalist's career in Washington he preferred life at Rocky Pastures, the stone house which he built at Kennebunkport. His neighbors may remember him best for his infinite faith in the dowsing rod as a means of finding water and for his efforts to promote the use of such rods. He was known for his bluntness, too, and for his impatience with modern automobiles, liberal legislators, and other highly placed jackasses.

But the memory of Kenneth Roberts will live forever in such outstanding historical novels as Rabble at Arms, Northwest Passage, and Lydia Bailey. The historical accuracy of these stories has already set a level which few other authors have attained. And through Kenneth Roberts many Americans now have a better understanding of their Nation's history.

I attach to my statement editorials from five Maine newspapers concerning the life and works of Kenneth Roberts:

"[From the Bangor (Maine) Daily News of July 24, 1957]

"KENNETH ROBERTS

"In the death this week of Kenneth Roberts, Maine has lost perhaps its greatest historical novelist.

"Certainly the State has lost one of its most distinguished and dedicated friends.

"Despite his great success as a writer and the almost countless honors that came his way, including a special Pulitzer award, Roberts never forgot his native State of Maine, or spared any effort to help encourage its progress.

"After launching his career as a writer, Roberts left an editorial job on a national magazine in New York and returned to the scene of his birth at Kennebunkport. It remained his home until he died at 71.

"It was former President Theodore Roosevelt who encouraged Roberts to write his first historical novel about New England. As he did research on that project it was Roberts' observation that only then did he get a sort of broad picture of what has gone on in Maine and New England in the old days.

"Roberts wrote of historical Maine and New England not only with understanding but with integrity and accuracy that won him national fame. Few authors did more research to prove historical details.

"Once telling about his novel, Northwest Passage, he revealed that it required 3 years of the hardest kind of research for the reader to understand in 2 days.

"Roberts was more than a historian. There was nothing dry or stodgy about his books. They were human, realistic. They dealt with the people involved in those historic times; the relation of a single event to a war; to the Nation; and to the people themselves.

"To read a Roberts' novel was an adventure that lingered long after the book was put aside. History came to life from the very force of his descriptive pen.

"Perhaps Roberts summed up his work best when he commented on one of his popular books, Rabble in Arms. For a month he labored day and night to finish the last portions of the book. Often he fell asleep over the manuscript. Commenting on it, he said:

"'You have a feeling you've done something when you've done a historical novel.'

"Rightfully, Maine is famous for its rocks and men."

"[From the Portland (Maine) Press Herald of July 23, 1957]

"ROBERTS ROSE TO FAME ON INTEGRITY AND HARD WORK

"Historical novelist Kenneth Roberts owed his brilliantly successful career to a talent best described as literary integrity, a term reaching far beyond simple honesty to connote intelligence, hard work, self-confidence, and a deep sense of mission.

"While other authors settled for a guess or a comfortably ambiguous sentence covering up faulty research, Kennebunkport's Roberts dug and scratched until his tireless fingers grasped all, and nothing but, the truth. Thus tuned to ring with authority his fiction became more factual than many straight histories, prodding less patient scholars to rethink their conclusions and stimulating Americans to a more thoughtful interest in the military and political achievements of their forebears.

"He could write with the best. He competed successfully for top positions on the best seller lists. His unique quality, bred of a unique wholeness in his approach to writing a book, was his capacity to attract those who wanted to learn as well as be entertained, and who appreciated a believable teacher as much as a skilled writer.

"Although Kenneth Roberts is no longer with us, he has bequeathed us a priceless heritage. Even as he learned at the feet of the late Booth Tarkington, his life will be a lesson to future generations in how literary integrity, encompassing breadth of dedication no less than depth of research, makes the difference between mediocrity and greatness."

"[From the Lewiston (Maine) Sun of July 23, 1957]

"KENNETH L. ROBERTS

"Kenneth Roberts, who died at his Kennebunkport home on Sunday at the age of 71, did more than attract national attention to his native State, its history, its people, and its good food.

"He was, for many years, a foremost American historian and by presenting the early history of this country in the guise of interesting fiction, did much to increase popular knowledge of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

"Mr. Roberts' contributions were finally recognized this spring by the Pulitzer prize committee, which presented the author a special award for his historical novels. That assuaged the disappointment Roberts felt 20 years ago, when his best-selling Northwest Passage inexplicably failed to win the Pulitzer prize for fiction.

"Kenneth Roberts was born in Kennebunk, worked as a reporter on the now defunct Boston Post, fought in World War I, corresponded over much of the world for the Saturday Evening Post, and began his series of historical novels with Arundel 27 years ago. Famous for his hot temper and outspokenness, he had no use for billboards, sloppy historical writing, bankers, and engineers and other learned persons who doubted that water could be found underground with a forked stick.

"In fact, water-dowsing became more than a hobby in Mr. Roberts' later years. A new book on the subject will be published this fall, and all over New England there are people enjoying water supplies discovered by the author's townsman, the famous Henry Gross. As a Maine product Kenneth Roberts was one of the finest and it will be a long time before we see his like again."

"[From the Lewiston (Maine) Evening Journal of July 22, 1957]

"KENNETH ROBERTS

"Maine provided the locale and many of the characters for a number of the historical novels written by the late Kenneth Roberts, who died yesterday at his Kennebunkport home. His death removes one of the outstanding historical novelists of the last quarter century.

"Roberts specialized in the period of American history stretching from the French and Indian Wars through the early years of the United States, as it struggled for its independence in the Revolution and fought to retain it in the early 1800's. He was noted for the painstaking accuracy of his accounts of life as it was lived in the formative days of this Nation. He prided himself on complete, careful research.

"Although his novels did not attain best sellerdom until the appearance of Northwest Passage in 1937, several of his earlier novels possessed as much merit, with Rabble in Arms a particularly vital story abounding in characters from the then District of Maine.

"Roberts in recent years had become exceptionally interested in water dowsing, and was writing on a book relating to this subject at the time of his death. He was a vehement supporter of those things in which he believed, and could become extremely sharp when his sense of right was disturbed.

"This was illustrated in his 'no holds barred' assault upon English historian Toynbee in an article entitled 'You Can't Say That About Maine.' He literally ripped Toynbee to shreds, and with good reason, too, in view of the Englishman's casual sarcasm relative to Maine residents and his failure to name Vermont among the New England States.

"Kenneth Roberts has left a treasure trove of entertaining books for future generations. His work was of a quality to assure that it will be read in years to come. He literally brought the past to life in glowing colors."

"[From the Waterville (Maine) Morning Sentinel of July 23, 1957]

"REWARDING CAREER

"If you sought to raise the ire of author Kenneth Roberts, you needed only to question the seriousness of his interest in the much joked about Yankee art of water dowsing.

"Roberts actually was deeply concerned with the problem of water shortages and when he and Henry Gross, a one-time York County game warden and a water dowser, got together to promote the finding of water with a forked stick it was no tongue-in-cheek venture.

"But despite his midcareer interest in water and in off-beat agriculture, Kenneth Roberts will be best remembered for his historical novels.

"His writing filled a great void in the early history of this country—especially New England—and by popularizing this history through his novels he brought to countless numbers of people a greater knowledge and understanding of human building blocks of the United States of America.

"Because of his attention to infinite detail, his works are not only good reading but are excellent source material.

"His research for his novels about Benedict Arnold, for example, led him to the conviction that Arnold's treason actually had high motives.

"Roberts' death Sunday in Kennebunkport brought to an end a rich life and a rewarding career to one of Maine's first citizens.

"Fortunately, he was spared time enough to complete another book on which he had just completed the proofreading. It is concerned with the subject that was close to his heart in later years. Its title is 'Water Unlimited'."

Europe Skeptical About the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am including an article which appeared in the Sunday New York Times, in which its Paris correspondent, Thomas J. Hamilton, points out that Europe has many misgivings about the United Nations as it is presently constituted. Hamilton states that there is acute concern over the prospects of the United Nations as a result of the growing influence of the Asian-African bloc. The article follows:

EUROPE VIEWS THE UNITED NATIONS WITH MANY MISGIVINGS

(By Thomas J. Hamilton)

Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg are developing a split personality about the United Nations. They recognize the importance of the 1957 session of the General Assembly, which will open 6 weeks from now, and the 5 foreign ministers will all be on hand to speak in the opening debate.

But this does not mean that their governments are looking forward to the session.

In all five countries a correspondent finds acute concern over the prospect that the organization, as a result of the growing influence of the Asian-African bloc, will become an out-and-out anticolonial forum. There is a corresponding lack of enthusiasm about the capacity of the United Nations to solve other international issues.

The organization's failure to do anything about Soviet intervention in Hungary is cited over and over as proof that the Assembly cannot live up to the great responsibilities that it assumed in the Suez crisis.

This does not mean that anybody wants to ignore the United Nations. The organization is very much on the minds of these west Europeans, if only as a result of the protracted sessions of the United Nations Disarmament subcommittee in London.

However, it is now realized that even if a complete meeting of the minds between the Soviet Union and the western nuclear powers could be brought about, months and years would be needed to work out the details of the inspection programs.

UNSHARED OPTIMISM

The West European Governments, moreover, do not share Harold E. Stassen's continuing and unassailable optimism about such an understanding. They are very much afraid that the Soviet Union—or perhaps India—will introduce a resolution at the coming Assembly session urging the immediate suspension of nuclear bomb tests.

On this side of the Atlantic, at least, there are acute fears that the Assembly debates, which would certainly give expression to the worldwide concern about the continuance of the tests, would result in a major propaganda defeat for the West.

Other propaganda defeats may be in store for the colonial powers. The British have been successful until now in avoiding a full-dress Assembly debate on the Cyprus question, one reason being that, thus far, the entire Asian-African bloc has not committed itself to the Greek Cypriotes.

PERSIAN GULF PROTESTS

However, the situation may change if no progress toward a settlement is made by the time the Assembly takes up the issue again. The recent British intervention in the squabble between the sheikdoms along the Persian Gulf also may bring protests.

The Dutch, for their part, do not like the prospects of Assembly speeches or resolutions endorsing Indonesia's claim to Western New Guinea. They still blame the United Nations—and the United States—for the pressure exerted on them to grant Indonesia independence.

However, it is generally believed that Algeria will rank alongside disarmament as a major issue in the Assembly, and the French are much more disturbed than the Dutch or the British about the approaching debates.

They intend to issue their new proposals on Algeria by October, and the timing has, in fact, been determined by the necessity of doing something before the Assembly begins the debate.

As now drafted, however, the proposal for three separate administrative districts, with France retaining control over military and foreign affairs, will certainly not satisfy the Asian-African and Soviet blocs.

Moreover, while the British have more or less written off the Suez affair, French resentment over the role of the United Nations is still very much alive.

In Belgium and Luxembourg a more friendly attitude toward the United Nations is apparent, although those countries were sympathetic with the British and French on Suez. However, the organization has more or less ignored the Belgian colonies, and neither Government has any special grounds for complaint.

NO MEMBERSHIP

West Germany, which is not a member of the United Nations and in fact has not applied for membership, is a special case. In Bonn it is explained that an application not only would produce a Soviet veto, but also would formalize the partition of Germany.

On the Suez issue West Germany was basically sympathetic with the British and French, and particularly with the Israelis, and correspondingly critical of the United Nations.

Last December, when the United States asked for its views on economic sanctions against Israel, West Germany replied that it would be very reluctant to comply with a sanctions resolution. It added that in any event it would continue to pay reparations to Israel for the crimes committed by the Nazis against Jews.

West Germany, of course, is vitally interested in the outcome of the United Nations disarmament negotiations.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's basic concern is to prevent developments under which the Social Democrats could charge that the Western powers had agreed to a disarmament program without doing anything about the unification of Germany.

Partly as a result of the Suez issue, and partly because a more positive program is provided by the numerous organizations that are working for closer economic and political association, all these Western European nations are placing less reliance on the United Nations.

COMMON POLICY

The Permanent Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to which the various Western disarmament proposals are being submitted, is now meeting its first test as a means of developing a common Western policy. If this works, the practice may be extended.

Moreover, France, West Germany and the Benelux countries are looking to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community and the nascent authorities for the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community in the belief that these offer the best possibility for a more efficient and more prosperous West Europe.

Britain, while still hesitating about the amount of British participation, is certainly not doing so because of devotion to the United Nations. All these countries want closer cooperation in the United Nations with the United States. But they are beginning to think of the United Nations mainly in terms of unpleasant though unavoidable developments.

International Farm Youth Exchange Serves Cause of World Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was interested to read two extremely stimulating articles in the July 30 and July 31 issues of the Milwaukee Journal concerning the gathering on the campus of the University of Wisconsin of delegates from seven nations participating in the international farm youth exchange program.

It must be remembered that most of the population of the world, including the overwhelming proportion of the population of the underdeveloped areas of the world, lives on the soil, not in the cities.

For these countries to improve their standard of living, they must be increasingly successful in extracting from the soil more food and fiber for the ever-increasing population of the globe.

The State of Wisconsin is proud of the contributions which it has made to the international farm youth exchange program.

I send to the desk the text of the two articles I have mentioned.

I hope that the youth-exchange program will continue to be carried on and will expand in its services to world youngsters and world agriculture.

I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VISITING RURAL ASIANS DISCOVER AMAZING UNITED STATES

The University of Wisconsin campus Monday took on the atmosphere of a United Nations for youth.

In many ways, the desire of the new generation for peace, security and liberty was represented by the first arrivals of 67 delegates from 7 nations to an international farm youth exchange (IFYE) program. Those assembling here Monday were from Burma, India, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Nepal, and Pakistan.

There were young farmers with turbans and beards. And there were graceful, brown-eyed beauties from India with flowing robes and distinctive beauty spots on their foreheads. Seated with them in the Memorial Union cafeteria feasting on American ice cream were velvety-skinned girls with long braided hair from mountainous Nepal. There were men with beautiful native Burmese clothing, rather than pants, and handcraft fans so needed on a blast furnace of a July day.

HAVE RURAL BACKGROUND

These youthful diplomats all had rural backgrounds. They are farmers, some of them big operators in their native lands, or trained for some phase of agriculture. The young men—most of them over 20—will farm or teach agriculture or be government representatives trying to incorporate into their own systems the things that make American agriculture so great. The girls have been trained in home economics or social work. Most of them are college graduates and have mastered several languages.

When these youthful grassroots ambassadors return home, one group will work at the village level. The other will make a circuit to share their new knowledge of American agriculture with their own people.

It is an exchange proposition. American youths—several from Wisconsin—are now in this group's native lands, living and working on farms and attending schools. They, too, learn the new in the old world.

LEARN TO BE LEADERS

These 67 young people, mainly from the Asiatic nations, are here to absorb ideas of leadership and how best to spread knowledge of the accomplishments and the glories of these United States.

Farmers have showed these youths how to run a combine or a forage cutter. Farm

wives have shown the girls the American diet, the use of appliances and the social living of a healthy rural community.

This exchange program is run with private contributions, not a cent from the Government. Leader of this national organization sponsoring the exchange is Warren Schmidt, Washington, D. C., formerly of Dane County.

"All of these youngsters go home with the idea of living with their neighbors and friends and in peace," says Schmidt. "You never hear talk of war or strife among them. They are seeking the very same things our rural people are, a decent life, higher standards, and lasting peace with freedom.

These three things have impressed nearly all these exchange youths.

The way the average American farmer—only 13 percent of the population—has used machinery and electrical power to produce enough to feed the Nation so well and still help others in time of need.

The American diet—ham and eggs, meat every day, eggs, milk and ice cream.

The way Hollywood movies misrepresent American life. Actually some of the Asiatics really believed when they came that they would see gun-toting cowboys and would be in real danger of being scalped if they ventured out of cities.

"How silly, compared to realities," said charming Miss Amarjyot Ghatge, of the village of Bombay, state of India. "The only cowboys I saw were in rodeos at Butte, Mont., and the only American Indians on a trip to the reservation where we saw the native sun dance." She has been on a Montana ranch and before returning home will live for a time with a Pennsylvania farm family.

REPORT ON WHEAT FARMS

Also from India comes Narenda Bokey, 23, of Armravtj, who spent weeks on a Kansas wheat farm. Graduated from a mission college, this keen young man operated a 250-acre farm of his own at home, but with oxen. He saw the Kansas wheat farmers use enormous one-way plows, big seeders, and fleets of combines and balers. He is determined to buy a tractor when he returns home.

"Our soil is even better than I saw in Kansas. We get 15 to 20 bushels an acre," he says. "I want a tractor. Gasoline costs us 65 cents a gallon, but diesel fuel 30 cents, and we can afford that."

Miss Tripta Sood, from Hyderabad, India, has brown eyes that sparkle like jewels. Her sari—yards of silky material—is a garment of sheer beauty. She was graduated from Osmania University, trained in arts and will pursue social work in India on her return. She lived for several weeks with Iowa farm families, seeing the rich land of tall corn and fat steers.

ASTOUNDED BY HARD WORK

"I was astounded how hard your farmers work even with all that machinery," she says. "Even our very rich do not have appliances in their palaces as your farmers do in their homes—dishwashing machines, refrigerators and freezers. Such things are a necessity here. In India, they are luxuries now. We cannot use so much machinery because of the need of furnishing employment to so many millions. Over here, the American farm family washes dishes and mows the lawn, thinking nothing of doing both. In my country they are separate occupations."

This young lady will return to her home a stanch champion of American democracy she saw in the Iowa 4-H Clubs and Future Farmers of America chapters.

Abder Rahman Abu-Ghaben, 21, comes from historic Jericho in Jordan. He is a high-school agriculture and chemistry teacher who lived on a Kansas farm and will go to a Wisconsin dairy farm from here. He runs a 2,000-acre farm, growing fruit, bananas, and grapefruit.

LEARNED FROM CLUBS

"I learned so much," he says. "Over here, if you need help you get it from your neighbors, the FFA, or 4-H Club youths or the extension service. When I go home, I am going to show slides in the high schools on how free America achieves so much.

"I do think our schools are too hard. We try to cram the equivalent of your 4 years of high school in 1 year, leaving no time for fun. I like your system much better, time to study and time for fun."

Miss Tula Shah, 21, from Sanga Nuwakat, Nepal, lived at a Hood River orchard in Oregon. Trained in political science, her outstanding impressions were dietary.

"Oh, such pies, cookies, ice cream, and cake in your daily standard of living," she exclaimed, almost drooling. "Think of it. Everybody driving a car and eating apple pie and ice cream if they want. I learned to cook so many things to show my people."

EXPLAINS NAME

Also from Nepal is Dibaker Kaphale, 22. He carefully explained that the Kaphale represents his caste—the highest—and Dibaker his full name. He has been on a Massachusetts farm to learn about using a milking machine, growing apples, and feeding chickens.

"I learned so much," he said, "I'm going to start a night school to help my people live better when I get home."

Anis Ur Rahman Khulna, 33, is a farmer from Pakistan interested in growing wheat.

"In New York, I looked around for city gangsters and out in Kansas for the cowboys and Indians," he grinned. "How different I found things—generous and friendly people so willing to help and wanting the very things we want in my country where 42 million people are packed into 54,500 square miles. When I return I hope to convince our farmers to pool to buy some of your machinery for more production with less work."

NOTES GOOD EDUCATION

From West Pakistan's Mahmmad Nawaz, 25, who has been in North Dakota:

"Your farmers work so hard even with their machines," he said. "I would like to be as well educated and live as good as your farmers do."

On August 6 there will be 90 other exchange students here from 34 countries for another session.

YOUNG ASIANS LEARN GREEN THUMB SECRETS

(By Lewis C. French)

"The green thumb of American agriculture has a lot of sweat along with it," George M. (Soybean) Briggs declared Tuesday before an assembly of international farm youth "unofficial diplomats" at the University of Wisconsin. These dedicated foreign youths have been living on American farms and now are here to evaluate American agricultural methods and rural living. They want to see if there is anything they can use in their homeland to improve diets and living standards.

Here in America, farm abundance is a costly problem; unused food is stacked and stored. These youths are from nations such as India, Pakistan, Iran, and where teeming millions want more to eat and wear.

"How does America produce so much to live so well?" was the question the most of these young men and women asked.

BRIGGS SPREADS CHEER

These youths, who will return to their homelands in a few months, listened to and then cheered the "old maestro" of the Wisconsin college of agriculture and extension service, Professor Briggs. They had never heard anyone quite like him. For that matter, neither had Wisconsin farmers before Briggs went into semiretirement to ease off on his travels and lectures that always left farmers with a chuckle. These young people were trying to find out how best they could do some of the things this Nation has done to get such tremendous farm production.

Always a practical man, Briggs did not talk in the terms of science or jump right into the use of the costly machines almost impossible to finance in so many lands.

USED OLD TECHNIQUE

Instead he went back to the days of the farm institutes, illustrated lectures to farmers, and simple demonstrations of basic improvements.

"Show your farmers something, don't just lecture to them," he said. "And another thing, don't put your demonstrations on the farm with the biggest barns or best house. Because, if you do, the farmers of that community will back off, saying, 'Sure, that farmer can afford those things, his wife had money.'"

Briggs harked back to the days when the railroads sent farm-exhibition trains through the State. Their experts told of the value of cattle and sheep and better swine and crops. Soon there were herds and flocks and in time industrial activity along the rail line, dairy plants for milk and packing plants for meats. The exchange group nodded approval. They could do this in most of their countries.

TELLS OF MEETINGS

Then, Briggs told of the old farm institutes at town halls and district schools, where farm-research experts explained the new things—better seeds and new forage crops like alfalfa. The farmers prospered, then bought machinery and put in running water.

Briggs told of how, when the hay failed one drought year, a crop from the Orient that many of the exchange group knew about—the soya bean—resulted.

As an emergency forage crop, Briggs showed the farmers of Wisconsin and the Corn Belt how to grow soybeans. American farmers improved this crop known for centuries in Asia and now grow 22.6 million acres of it. Supplying edible oils, material for industry and meal to feed livestock, this crop is now almost as important as corn.

Not once did Briggs talk about the high-priced machinery, but he showed them simple rollers, a development from the lumber camps and pioneer farms with which to get seed underground, and the V-shaped drag for improving cloddy fields and weedy pastures. These tools they could make and afford.

IDEAS WERE USEFUL

When Briggs finished, the exchange students looked at one another and then cheered their speaker. They could understand him and his examples and make practical use of them when they return to homelands.

"Be sure to have your farmers take part in the improvement," urged Briggs. "Carry the research and new things to them in a form they will accept • • • and don't drive big autos or wear tailored clothes."

After the general assembly, the exchange divided up into discussion sessions.

One group was shown handicraft work by James A. Schwalbach. As a matter of fact, many of these young people were masters at handicraft. Look at the gorgeous bead work of the purse of those brown-eyed girls from Nepal.

Others heard of soil conservation from I. O. Hembre of the State soil conservation committee. The graceful, brown-eyed women heard of nutrition from Miss Josephine Pollock of the university staff and of gardening for varied diets from John Schoenemann and George Klingbell of the corps staff.

YELLOW CORN HELPED

They were told how the epidemic of pellagra was stopped just by replacing white corn with yellow corn because of its vitamins and carotene, and how even livestock thrived better on the golden corn.

The men of agricultural science shared their skills with these eager, friendly envoys from around the free world. There were no parades, nor propaganda—just practical help and inspiration.

There will be an even bigger exchange session here August 7 when 158 more "young diplomats," those from South America and Europe, arrive to blend in with the 67 already here from the Orient.

"I am astounded at the spirit of this nation to help yourself," said S. Ghulam Abbas Shah from west Pakistan. "I return home impressed with the dignity of labor." Eager Pakistani reported tremendous irrigation projects in their land and bubbled with confidence over a new era in farming in which they hope to share.

Democrats Are Responsible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, when the jury-trial amendment was up for a vote on the floor of the House I endeavored to get the floor to speak against this amendment. I could not get time to speak. The RECORD shows that I voted against the amendment and I was glad that the House defeated it by 199 nays to 167 yeas. Unfortunately our sister across the hall, the Senate, did not see fit to follow suit.

My attention has just been called to a splendid editorial appearing in the Illinois State Journal on Saturday, August 3. I would like permission to insert the editorial in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

FOR CIVIL RIGHTS DEMISE—DEMOCRATS ARE RESPONSIBLE

For the first time since the civil-rights debate began the people have been given a clear view of who is really for civil rights and who is against it. The vote on the jury trial amendment revealed this vital information.

Thirty-nine Democrats as opposed to only 12 Republicans voted for the amendment, which if kept intact will destroy the effectiveness of the bill. Thirty-three Republicans allied with nine northern Democrats voted against the amendment.

Heretofore, the public has gotten the idea that just about all the Democrats north of the Mason-Dixon line favored civil rights. This latest showdown may thus seem strange and puzzling.

But it is not puzzling at all when one remembers that the Democrat-dominated Congress is run by two gentlemen south of the Mason-Dixon line—Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and Representative SAM RAYBURN, both of Texas.

There is still a split in the Democrat ranks, but in this instance the split shifted so that only a small percentage of northerners were left in one bloc. JOHNSON'S whip brought all but the most ardent of the civil-rights backers into line.

Apparently, the northern Democrats who have been giving lip service to civil rights now hope that a watered down bill can be put through. And maybe it can.

It will be a civil-rights bill in name only, however. The public won't be fooled.

What approval of the jury trial amendment means is that voting rights of southern Negroe citizens will be inhibited as they have in the past. Southern white officials can be charged with contempt in Federal courts for blocking a Negro citizen's attempt to vote, but the judge's action could be overruled by a jury of southern white citizens. A provision has been approved in the civil-rights bill that calls for more Negro citizens on juries, but this, while commendable in itself, would only cause more confusion. Hung juries would become common.

As some of the proponents of an effective civil-rights bill have pointed out, the jury trial amendment deprives the courts of their authority to preserve their own integrity. Justice could be reduced to shambles under the bill. As President Eisenhower noted in his news conference, United States courts can use the injunction in 36 different actions to see that justice is done. To deprive the courts of this authority in civil rights will be an invitation to legal anarchy.

Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Shipbuilding in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE], I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by him on the 350th anniversary of shipbuilding in America be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR PAYNE ON THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF SHIPBUILDING IN AMERICA

This year marks the 350th anniversary of the building of the first ship in America, the *Virginia of Sagadahock*, built by the Popham Colony in Maine. During the month of August the Bath Area Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring a series of special events to commemorate the founding of one of our Nation's historic and greatest industries: shipbuilding. It is indeed fitting that the Bath area should be taking the lead in this matter since not only was the *Virginia of Sagadahock* built there in 1607, but the area is today still renowned as one of the great shipbuilding centers in America.

The *Virginia of Sagadahock* was built at Stage Island near the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine by the surviving members of the Popham Colony, the first English settlement in New England. She was a pinnace of 30 tons, approximately 30 feet in length, 13 feet beam, and 8 feet deep. Built to carry the survivors of the Popham Colony back to Plymouth, England, after the death of Capt. George Popham and the hardships of the severe winter, it subsequently made a number of voyages between America and England.

The celebrations this year commemorate far more than the construction of this small ship. They are a tribute to an industry that has done much to further the progress and peace of this country. From this small beginning, American shipbuilding has grown to be a bulwark of defense. With the speedy construction of ships we have been able to carry men, arms, and supplies to all parts of the world in times of emergency. In addition to its notable accomplishments in times of emergency, American shipbuilding played a vital part in the American economy in time of peace. Our merchant marine can be credited with helping to make this country a great industrial nation. It has been American ships that have made it possible for American products to reach overseas markets. The American merchant marine has truly been a major force behind America's ascendancy to world prominence. American ships have sailed the seven seas to bring prosperity and security to the people of America.

The anniversary of the building of the *Virginia of Sagadahock* is more than a tribute to the building of the first ship built in in America; it is more than homage to a brave group of early settlers. This anniversary in a greater sense is a tribute to an industry, an industry which has played a momentous role in American history; this is a tribute to shipbuilding and seafaring as a whole.

The State of Maine is particularly proud of her shipbuilders and seamen. Ships built at Bath, Portland, and many other places along our coast have served the Nation well.

The Bath-Popham area now celebrating the building of the *Virginia of Sagadahock* has long been a center of shipbuilding. The destroyers built at the Bath Iron Works are world renowned. On August 10 the U. S. S. *Hull* will be launched at Bath; and on August 15 the Post Office Department will issue a special commemorative stamp at Bath. Since August 1607 when the *Virginia of Sagadahock* was launched the Bath area has given our Nation stalwart ships to carry commerce in peacetime and armed might in war. America can indeed be proud of its great shipbuilding industry.

The Textile Industry's Troubles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article which appeared in the July-August 1957 issue of the American Investor which is published by the American Stock Exchange.

The article follows:

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY'S TROUBLES

Since World War II the Nation has enjoyed almost continuous prosperity. True, there have been business vicissitudes and few industries have completely escaped shakeouts. But no industry has been so consistently labeled a "soft spot" in the economy as the textile industry. Literally hundreds of textile mills have been liquidated in the past few years. There have been many bright spots which seemed to promise much. Financial writers have titled articles "Textiles Coming Out of the Slump?" so often the phrase has become part of the trade's jargon. But the industry still does little more than stagger along.

The Nation's second largest industry is certainly going to survive—last year's volume was $18 billion against $5 billion in the mid-

thirties. And from diapers to shrouds textiles play a never-ending part in the lives of all of us. But mere survival is hardly enough. Why the industry is in such a predicament puzzles any man who pays the bills for his fashion-conscious wife's clothes and his ever-growing children. It makes little more sense to an economist. People have money and are spending it. Average per capita consumption 1950–56 was 36.1 pounds, about as high as it has ever been. There are more people today; so more people, more money, more clothes should equal a booming industry instead of a chronically sick one. The reasons for this apparent contradiction are numerous as cotton blossoms and sometimes as hard to differentiate. To mention but a few, there are trends toward suburban living, competition, technical progress, Government tariff and subsidy policies, high costs, the price-cost squeeze, central heating, air conditioning, weather, research, fabric and fashion depreciation.

Competition is the outstanding factor. Synthetics have long been blamed for the industry's troubles and there is no question they play a sizable part. In the 1920's cotton and wool were the chief fiber raw materials and had very distinct and separate end uses. Rayon and acetate were the first man-made fibers, nylon the first completely test-tube chemical fiber. The latter put an end to women's silk hosiery and after the war began to compete with rayon, cotton and, to a minor extent, wool. In 1951 came a whole raft of new test-tube fibers, dacron, orlon, acrilan, dynel, glass fibers, plastic textiles; and still more are coming. The lighter weight synthetics are inherently lower priced which means that the average price of clothing has tended to decrease rather than increase. Thus more clothes—and today's average citizen has more specialized clothes than ever before (tuxedos, sun clothes, ski togs, and golf outfits) do not proportionately boost the industry's dollar volume. But the synthetics do not have things entirely their way and suffer with the rest of the industry. Newcomers and the natural fibers fight at every turn—dacron and cotton blends took over the men's nylon shirt business. And new textile synthetics will continue to be introduced.

Clothing is not considered the important expenditure it used to be—last year only 6.1 percent of the consumer's disposable income was spent on clothing (9.2 percent in 1947) and this had to be split among more fabrics. Part of this 34 percent dip reflects lower prices, part the trend toward what the industry calls sloppy dressing and the rest of the world casual living. Perhaps more important in recent years has been the buying trend to more durable goods—payments on mortgages, cars, and TV sets have left less for clothing.

Within itself the industry has always been characterized by cut-throat competition; profits are historically small. This has been considerably aggravated by advances in textile machinery. Formerly machinery was made to weave wool or cotton—today's machinery weaves most all fabrics. As a result whatever is currently popular is woven and too often dumped on the market. Quipped one textile man, "The industry seems to have a tendency to commit suicide. A textile designer will create a new fabric, beautiful and well engineered to suit its purpose. It gets a big promotion, a trade name, a description, and a promise of performance. The public buys it and likes it. That's the signal for other manufacturers to get aboard the gravy train. They start cheapening the fabric. It may look like the original, but it has fewer picks, poor dyes, poor finish, and in no time at all the bottom drops out of the market."

The chemical companies were the first to encroach on the natural fibers' market but far from the last. Plastics have made great inroads in the shower curtain business; paper is regarded as a competitor in about half the cotton market. (Paper cleansing tissues have virtually captured the woman's handkerchief business. Quonset huts have taken the place of tents and tarpaulins, tile floor coverings are used instead of rugs and carpets, air-conditioning does away with the need for awnings, the electric blanket means fewer wool blankets are needed. Technical progress has had its say too. Mechanization has reduced the need for heavy workshirts, trousers, shoes, and gloves. Government intervention is particularly outstanding in the cotton industry. The industry competes against United States surplus cotton exported at lower than domestic prices which then comes back into this country in finished textiles and sells in volume at prices far below what United States manufacturers can quote. So many a cotton manufacturer wants the United States Government out of the raw-cotton market.

The industry has not slept through its problems, and today many textilemen feel the answer may soon be found. A big effort has been made to convince people they will be happier if dressed up. A research study by Du Pont predicts that in the next year or two clothing manufacturers and textile companies will have a chance to compete for a bigger share of the consumer dollar. The reason: less of the consumer dollar will be committed in advance for payments on mortgages and autos, and consumers will have more money left over to buy clothing and other items. To get the leftover sums, the natural fibers will have to do more than they have to date. For every dollar spent on promoting wool, it is estimated that $4 to $5 is spent on promoting manmade staple fibers.

Some textilemen have thought the answer might be found in psychology. But, sadly mourned one industryman, "Where's the psychology? People want luxury in everything—why not textiles, too? Men buy the most expensive TV set made and then sit and watch it in a frayed shirt. Teen-age girls wear blue jeans morning, noon, and night and then for a very special occasion turn around and demand five petticoats. Where's the psychology?"

Senator Walter George

SPEECH
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, it was with a very heavy heart that I learned Sunday morning of the death of Senator Walter George. It is with overwhelming sadness, that I today join my colleagues to participate in these tributes to his memory.

Senator George has been on the political scene of Georgia ever since I can remember. As a young girl in school, with an intense interest in political science, I looked on him as an ideal.

Senator George was a man of many virtues. Rarely in public life, do we see a figure of such great eminence and accomplishment retain so much humility and modesty. He was devoted to his wife, "Miss Lucy." He loved his fellowmen, and he gave the fullness of his life in service to his country.

He will be missed in the world of government and remembered as a wise and able man; a man of integrity; a man of principle; a man who put duty above all else. I am sure that future generations will look back through time and recognize him as one of America's noblest statesmen.

Throughout his long and fruitful years as a public servant, he gave of his best to the people of Georgia and the Nation. His greatest monument will be the record that he leaves behind of service, loyalty, and devotion to duty as he felt it within his heart.

He was a southern gentleman in the finest tradition. I am proud that he was a Georgian. I am proud that he was my friend.

The Seventh of a Series of Editorials by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, what is it like to go to church on Sunday in Moscow? That is the subject of F. F. McNaughton's seventh of a series of editorial letters appearing in the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.

The letter reads as follows:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of July 29, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

"I don't believe in God."

So announced our girl guide when I asked her to take us to church in Moscow yesterday.

Besides, she didn't know where there was one.

But, she is making an effort to do everything we ask of her; so she set out to try to find one.

She did well.

She found three churches.

We attended all three.

First was Roman Catholic.

It had good attendance, including many in the diplomatic service.

From the chauffeurs there, we learned where there was a Baptist Church; and there I saw the biggest jam I ever saw in any church or any building in my life. Looked to me like aisles and stairways were full; choir loft and belfry stair. Vestibules were packed, and people had ears at any crack at which they might hear the service. They pushed me inside somehow and I stayed until the sermon (in Russian) started. Music was good. There were quite a few men in the audience.

I noticed one function performed by women stationed at various points. A woman has a bottle of smelling salts and a wad of cotton. When somebody in the jam faints, the alert woman quickly pours some camphor on a piece of cotton and swiftly it is passed to the people who have waived a signal beside the fainting person.

Next we had a thrill.

I told the guide that if she could find me the Orthodox (which is Russia's) Church that had the best music in Moscow, she might hear something to rival the Bolshoy singers at their grand opera.

She found it.

They let us in an iron gate then a little door near the altar. One choir was above us; the other across from us. They had a magnificent priest with a powerful voice to chant the service. The service lasts 3 hours. We stayed 1½ hours. Up to that time, every word had been sung. The beauty and the power of those voices, and the way they can be modulated is something one never forgets. No matter how much they turn the volume on, you hear every one of the parts at full fortissimo—and the volume came and lulled like the waves of the sea—and was echoed from the opposite balcony. All without organ.

They had a far bigger crowd than the Baptists because they have no seats. All stand, except those who have their foreheads against the floor in prayer. I counted an area and estimated that 1 in 6 were men; 83 percent were women. Average age about 60. Nobody seemed to be in any fear about attending church.

A Mere Matter of $25 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in view of the President's message yesterday telling how successful the Eisenhower doctrine had been in the Near East in spending $174 million, I thought the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal entitled "A Mere Matter of $25 Million" would be interesting. If the entire amount has been spent like this, and for the most part it has, you can see that it has done a great deal of good for the United States.

The editorial follows:

A MERE MATTER OF $25 MILLION

Saudi Arabia is a pretty warm place, but nobody there is quite as hot as some Congressmen in Washington are right now about the little matter of $25 million in foreign aid to King Saud.

It seems that when the King was here early this year negotiations were begun to grant Saudi Arabia that much money from the 1957 foreign-aid funds, and talks were started about where the money could best be spent for the country's economy. Naturally, there were some strings to the spending. The United States thought most of the funds ought to go to development of Damman, a port near the United States airbase at Dhahran. The Saudis were willing to spend some there, but wanted the balance spent for other purposes.

Ambassador Wadsworth made a number of trips to the King's desert palace to try to induce the King to take the money. But the King was reported preoccupied with other matters and the June 30 deadline passed.

None of that makes the Congressmen mad. What has them hot as a Bedouin is the fact that the State Department is back asking Congress to grant the amount of money again in the hopes that King Saud can be induced to accept it.

The International Cooperation Administration was wise to put some strings on the grant, considering the account of one item of foreign aid to Saudi Arabia dug up by the Hoover Commission. In 1953, ICA's predecessor, the Foreign Operations Administration, asked Saudi Arabia what the United States could do to help and the King suggested a vast bathhouse for pilgrims on their way to Mecca.

The bathhouse was to cost around $300,000 and to include steam sterilizers for the pilgrims' robes and prayer rugs. A site was chosen, work was begun and then FOA technicians discovered that there wasn't enough water there to run the steam sterilizers. The project was abandoned.

It may be that some similar strange idea of Saudi Arabia's economic needs led to the lack of agreement which ended in the failure of King Saud to pick up that $25 million check.

But we can understand the King's disinterest in the aid, considering the fact that he takes in some $250 million a year in oil revenues. What we find difficult is the insistence of the State Department that Congress also should insist on giving away that $25 million by making it again available to Saudi Arabia.

And considering all the circumstances, the best thing Congress can do with that unwanted $25 million is to make it, and more, available to the taxpayers by refusing to appropriate money for foreign aid that foreigners don't want.

Scientific Careers Offer Unlimited Opportunities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, it is alarming that students in high school and college today are not more interested in the sciences, especially in this atomic age.

Most certainly in the years to come there will be more and more need for scientists and engineers—physicists, in particular. Even today, the South cannot supply the college-trained scientific personnel its factories demand. Never has there been greater opportunity or challenge for the student of the sciences.

The Birmingham (Ala.) Post-Herald, one of the Souths' outstanding daily newspapers, justly views this situation with deep concern. Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert the following editorial from the Post-Herald's issue of August 1, 1957, entitled "Tomorrow Unlimited":

TOMORROW UNLIMITED

Lack of interest among high school and college students in science and mathematics courses continues to be one of the country's most disturbing educational problems.

Dr. Frank J. Soday, vice president and director of research of the Chemstrand Corp., of Decatur, speaking before the conference of Alabama Secondary School Principals pointed out that only 1 out of 11 high-school students studies chemistry and only 1 in 20 studies physics despite the fact that we are living in an atomic age.

He urged not only the school principals to become active in helping to overcome the manpower shortage in scientific fields but underscored the need for communitywide cooperation in the effort.

"The South especially has a vital stake in the manpower shortage," Dr. Soday said. "With 25 percent of the industry of the country in the South, its schools supply only 17 percent of the country's scientific and engineering graduates."

What a challenge that is to the young men and young women in our high schools today. What opportunity there is in this field whose boundaries are yet not even vaguely discernible.

Math and science are certainly not crip courses but for the serious student who will master them they open the way to a rewarding future indeed.

Name Calling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on Friday, August 2:

PRESIDENT CALLED TARGET OF SMEARING BY INNUENDO

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, August 2.—It must be the heat or else the political humidity. For one day someone in Congress says President Eisenhower doesn't have brains, and another day some other Member says the President is a lousy liar. Not long ago another Member said he didn't see much difference between Ike and Dave Beck.

All this comes under the head of free speech, but whether it's good manners and courtesy and upholds the dignity of Congress is something else again.

It is true, of course, that the sniping is being done by the Democrats and that modern politics evidently knows no limits to the smear—it's all supposed to be within the rules of party warfare.

But fortunately the public doesn't regard party zeal as permitting anyone to transcend the rules of gentlemanly conduct, especially in governmental affairs—and it may be doubted whether the people back home are proud of those representatives who engage in name calling. It was the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt who once said that, as soon as name calling starts, it is evident that the name caller is devoid of persuasive arguments and has begun to lose the debate.

KIND OF INNUENDO

There is a curious kind of innuendo in all the smears. The attempt lately has been to build in the public mind the impression that the President lacks integrity as well as fidelity to his office. At the press conference this week some one brought up a published story about Mr. Eisenhower having made a million dollars. He laughed this off and said that he would be glad to sell all his estate for that figure any time and would reap a big profit. Actually, except for his salary, what money he has today is the result of the proceeds from the book he wrote about his war experiences which was published before he became President.

Then there was the innuendo at the press conference—repeating a Senator's question in a Foreign Relations Committee hearing—that Mr. Eisenhower appoints Ambassadors primarily because they have contributed to political campaign funds. This, of course, the President indignantly denied.

The fact is that all Presidents get recommendations for appointments, and, as a rule, the one thing nobody ventures to mention to a President is that a political campaign contribution should be rewarded. Undoubtedly among those active in politics

there is considerable knowledge about who makes the campaign contributions, and it may influence some of those who send in letters of enthusiastic recommendation to a President. But it would be unrealistic to assume that the Democrats have suddenly become virtuous in this respect and do not intend to let anyone hereafter get an ambassadorial or Cabinet appointment who has made a sizable contribution to their party fund.

OTHER NOMINEES

The list of nominees who have gone to Foreign Service posts under Democratic administrations after making notable contributions, to presidential campaign funds is very long indeed—to mention only Joe Davies, Joe Kennedy, and Perle Mesta. It would be a grave mistake to imply, however, that none of them proved able, for most of them have, and so also have the Republican appointees. Business experience is an asset in diplomacy today.

As for Maxwell H. Gluck, the new Ambassador to Ceylon—who, when questioned by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, couldn't remember offhand how to pronounce the name of the Prime Minister of Ceylon (S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike) or the full name of the Prime Minister of India (Jawaharlal Nehru)—it is doubtful whether any test in pronunciation has ever before been required before approving the nomination of our Ambassadors of Ministers to posts abroad.

NEW REFORM

It could be, of course, that the Democrats are instituting a new reform and that after this they intend to be very meticulous about such things. One would naturally expect the test now to be applied to the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, if not indeed to membership itself on that august group. It might be the new rule that no Senator may qualify who cannot offhand recite and correctly pronounce the names of all the members of the Politburo in Moscow. Also, it might be urged that nobody can be chairman who can't reel off quickly the names of the Secretaries of the Treasury of each government to which America has made financial grants in the foreign-aid program in the last 10 years.

There are lots of things that could be added to such a quiz. It might be broadened to include some of the reporters who ask the President questions at the press conference. One wonders how many could spell Nehru's first name or give quickly the name of the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Surprising as it may seem, there are things that even the members of the press don't know—but then they are used to invectives to describe their shortcomings.

Modern Conveniences Add Variety to Our Daily Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, this is an era of modern conveniences which make possible the most luxurious living ever known. New conveniences of life appear on the American scene almost daily. There is no doubt but that these modern gadgets and contrivances make our daily life increasingly varied and far more interesting.

Contrary to popular thinking, the advent of one innovation does not necessarily replace the out-moded model. All seem to have a place in our crowded life, as an editorial in the July 28, 1957, issue of the Birmingham (Ala.) News, entitled "United States Living Is More and More Varied for All," aptly illustrates. Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert this sprightly editorial:

UNITED STATES LIVING IS MORE AND MORE VARIED FOR ALL

We were struck by figures given out recently on the number of radio sets in this country. Many, many families have several—practically one to the room.

Not only that, sales in phonographs have continued upward and upward and the phonograph record business, as everybody knows, is booming. Indeed, radio and records virtually go hand in hand now. This is the age of the disk jockey, and as he spins his platters, he builds up an appetite, especially among young teen-agers, for the records. The thing is kind of reciprocal, and what helps one helps the other.

All this in the face of TV. Television continues to hold large audiences, obviously, but poeple are more likely to turn their sets off now if programs are mediocre. Further, TV has come—for much of the country during the warmer months—to have competition with the American desire to do things outdoors, and though TV has come through with handy portables, many persons go outdoors leaving the TV set inside. Still, the business of video continues also to boom.

What strikes us in all this is the immense, growing, variety open to the American family looking for entertainment. It was only a few years ago that people were saying TV would kill movies. While it has certainly changed the pattern of movie making, has added many outdoor theaters to some definite indoor theater losses, television hasn't killed movies at all.

And can you remember the dire things said about radio when TV was finally perfected? Radio was dead, they said. But it wasn't.

And earlier, radio was said to have meant the end of the phonograph. Today the speciousness of this is obvious.

Everything keeps growing, and we seem to hold on to most of the things that are created for our pleasure or use.

Indeed, about the only thing we can think of offhand that really lost out was the Murphy bed.

(That was a bed that folded straight up into a wall closet, Junior, and be glad you don't have to sleep on one.)

Atomic Energy and Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. COFFIN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD today a thought-provoking article by the noted essayist, E. B. White, from the July 27 issue of the New Yorker magazine. In this article, Mr. White touches on one of the most critical and sobering questions confronting us in our search for national security and peace. The article follows:

I see by the paper this morning that a steel drum containing radioactive sodium waste is floating at sea, about 185 miles from here. It is described as "a menace to navigation," and I guess it is a menace, all right—at least, I would not want to hit it while out sailing. The news story says the Atomic Energy Commission has authorized the dumping of radioactive sodium waste in the ocean. I sometimes wonder about these cool assumptions of authority in areas of sea and sky. The sea does not belong to the Atomic Energy Commission, it belongs to me. I am not ready to authorize dumping radioactive waste into it, and I suspect that a lot of other people to whom the sea belongs are not ready to authorize it, either. The only reason the Commission authorizes it is that the Commission is desperate; it doesn't really know how to get rid of atomic waste, and neither does anybody else.

A neighbor of mine in Maine, Dr. Clarence Little, who experiments with mice, told members of the Bangor Rotary Club the other day that because of fallout their children's children will be abnormal; they will have water on the brain, club feet, defective kidneys, defective eyes. I recall that when the AEC was waiting, last May, for suitable weather for touching off the experimental blasts in Nevada, it left the decision about the date to an electric brain. Whether this brain had water on it I don't know. Another mechanical brain that I read about recently suddenly refused to think at all. Men stood by and fed it questions, but it seemed staggered by them and failed to come up with an answer, which did not surprise me. I am unable to understand how any man in a responsible position in any country of the world, when told that there is a wide difference of opinion as to the effects of radiation on people yet unborn, can choose the optimistic view and discard the pessimistic view, on the mere chance that the optimists are correct in their prophecies. Suppose they are wrong. Suppose the pessimists, or alarmists, are correct. What then will we have done in our arrogance?

These test explosions are for security, but it would appear from some of the evidence at hand that we are now in the business of buying security for ourselves with the lives and bodies of unborn children, and if that should prove to be the case, then I think this is the ugliest bargain I ever heard of—uglier and more bestial than any other bargain ever made on earth, and I am ashamed to be a part of this race of shrewd traders and selfish security hunters. That our intentions are good is a poor excuse. We seem able to whip ourselves into a frenzy of solicitude for the life of a boy trapped in a well, at the same time gambling away the lives of thousands and perhaps millions of boys yet to be born, most of whom will never fall into a well, except the well we are digging for them in our ignorance, a well so deep and terrible that it staggers even a mechanical imagination.

Having split the atom, we assume that we must keep splitting it, contamination or no contamination, as though, having broken a horse, we assume we must ride. Atoms for war have the pretext of security, atoms for peace the pretext of heat and power for future ages. The security is fast fading in a general uneasiness about the consequences. As for the heat and the power, what are we proposing to heat, and whom are we planning to endow with power? If some of the predictions come true, then we are in fact engaged in providing foot warmers for the clubfooted and power for those with water on the brain and defective vision. I do not know, and neither does anyone else, what sort of murder I am being made party to by these authorizations. I just hope that my generation is not destined to become

known as the clever generation, full of ingenuity displayed in small matters. I hope that in the giddiness of our triumph we have not already placed the atomic submarine ahead of the sea itself, the plane ahead of the sky.

Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, the Atomic Energy Commission is responsible for disposing or supervising the disposal of all dangerous atomic waste materials. If Mr. White's article is true, i. e., that a steel drum of radioactive waste has been allowed to escape proper sea burial, then an investigation should be made of the AEC's failure to discharge its custodial and disposal responsibilities.

Embassy Overseas Construction Program for 550 Buildings Will Cost More Than $200 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, while the administration is generous with approval of requests for Federal building construction overseas, Members of Congress, as we all recognize, are experiencing difficulty in securing progress on post office and other Federal buildings in the districts of the Members throughout our own country. I believe the membership will find of interest a report from the Department of State concerning the number and extent of Federal buildings under construction or planned for embassy housing and allied housing requirements overseas.

This report indicates that 18 projects are now under construction, costing $21,605,086. Three additional projects for which bids have been called for total $2,375,000, and the Department is considering 18 additional projects which are now in the planning stage at an estimated cost of $15,985,000. The total cost of these 39 projects is $39,965,086—approximately $40 million at this time.

In addition, the Department has announced plans for a 10-year construction program for our consular and diplomatic service and related civilian operations totaling $200 million, which would be required over a 10-year period.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mr. William P. Hughes, Director, Office of Foreign Buildings, Department of State, together with detailed report of the embassy construction program may be reproduced in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter and report follow:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 25, 1957.

The Honorable JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. EVINS: I have received your letter of July 15, 1957, requesting certain information relating to the embassy construction program. Your letter was also acknowledged by telephone on July 16, 1957.

At the present time the Department of State, through its Office of Foreign Buildings, has the following projects under construction:

Post	Project	Amount
Accra	Office building, staff housing (8 units).	$454,170
Oslo	Office building	1,177,388
London	do	[1] 1,700,000
The Hague	do	1,063,089
Munich	do	1,332,237
Tangier	Office building and consulate general residence.	556,023
Baghdad	Office building, embassy residence staff housing (15 units).	19,34,436
Basra	Office building, staff housing (3 units).	219,016
Lagos	Office building, staff housing (4 units).	406,000
Leopoldville	Office building, staff housing (2 units).	330,192
Tegucigalpa	Office building, embassy residence.	521,138
Asunción	do	670,000
Hong Kong	Office building	856,400
New Delhi	Office building, staff housing (48 units).	2,059,122
Karachi	Office building	1,267,000
Djakarta	do	981,305
Vienna	Staff housing (46 units)	1,175,066
Manila	Staff housing (30 units)	401,529

[1] Total estimated cost of London project is $4,500,000.

The Department has called for bids on the following projects:

Post	Project	Estimated amount
Belgrade	Staff housing (45 units), warehouse, garage.	$900,000
Nagoya	Office building, staff housing (8 units).	375,000
Seoul	Embassy residence, staff housing (36 units).	1,100,000

In addition, the Department is actively planning the following projects:

Post	Project	Estimated amount
Manila	Office building annex, staff housing (60 units).	$2,700,000
Mexico City	Office building	3,000,000
Athens	do	1,000,000
Bangkok	do	750,000
Beirut	do	500,000
Teheran	Office building annex, embassy residence, deputy chief of mission residence.	$900,000
Algiers	Office building	300,000
Santiago	Embassy residence	250,000
Port-au-Prince	Office building	335,000
Quito	do	500,000
Lima	do	1,000,000
Ciudad Trujillo	Office building annex	250,000
Taipei	Office building	650,000
Saigon	do	1,200,000
Singapore	do	500,000
Rabat	Office building and embassy residence.	750,000
Dublin	Office building	400,000
Helsinki	Office building annex	1,000,000

Two years ago the Department presented to the Congress a 10-year program for physical facilities abroad to house the consular and diplomatic service and related civilian operations. A careful estimate made at the time indicated that about $200 million would be required over the 10-year period to satisfy these requirements. For fiscal year 1957 the Congress appropriated $19 million, of which $14 million was to represent the utilization of foreign currencies and $5 million was actual dollar appropriation. For 1958 the Congress has appropriated $18,500,000 for this program, of which $15 million is to be in foreign currency utilization and $3,500,000 in dollar appropriation. In addition to construction activities this appropriation also finances the cost of operating expenses, maintenance, and repair costs, furniture and equipment costs in all buildings utilized abroad by the Department of State that are Government owned or under leasehold for periods in excess of 10 years. Enclosed is a mimeographed statement of the entire 10-year program as it was submitted to the Congress 2 years ago, which may be of help to you.

I appreciate this opportunity to provide you with information. If we can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM P. HUGHES,
Director, Office of Foreign Buildings
(For the Secretary of State).

DEPARTMENT OF STATE OFFICE OF FOREIGN BUILDINGS

Foreign building requirements, 1957–65 inclusive, prepared Nov. 1, 1955

	Grand total	Estimated cost	
		1957–60	1961–65
Construction and acquisition:			
American Republics area	$22,475,000	$10,785,000	$11,690,000
European area	33,516,400	18,906,800	14,709,600
Far Eastern area	16,683,300	12,068,300	4,615,000
Near Eastern area	27,465,500	17,254,500	10,211,000
Total	100,240,200	59,014,600	41,225,600
Nonconstruction:			
Operation of buildings	23,711,574	8,652,147	15,059,427
Realty repairs and maintenance	22,805,574	8,236,147	14,569,427
Replacement of equipment	4,228,000	1,386,000	2,842,000
Buildings and grounds improvement	4,228,000	1,135,000	3,093,000
Initial furniture and fixtures	14,908,010	8,309,700	6,598,310
Repair and replacement of furniture and fixtures	8,325,253	3,062,614	5,262,639
Unscheduled projects	4,500,000	2,000,000	2,500,000
Lease payments	3,045,641	1,535,141	1,510,500
Conduct of program	10,800,000	4,750,000	6,050,000
Total	96,552,052	39,066,749	57,485,303
Grand total	196,792,252	98,081,349	98,710,903

Staff housing is programed to provide Government-owned residences for all Ambassadors and staffs and a residence for senior agriculture attachés is programed at all embassies.

No allowance has been made for dollar proceeds of property sales. The annual budget will take into consideration the proceeds of sales actually consummated.

The program reflects an increasing requirement for property repairs and maintenance. Past estimates for repair and maintenance have been inadequate to properly maintain the capital investment already made in the properties and to assure full and effective utilization of the facilities. In addition, the basic repair and maintenance requirement increases as additional properties are acquired.

The estimates for the cost of individual projects reflected in this program are based on the best knowledge available at this time on local cost and other factors which will affect construction at the post shown. Accordingly, the cost of individual projects cannot be considered in any respect firm budget estimates for the projects listed. Further, the program is based on the needs of the Government overseas without regard to current or anticipated availability of local currency credits.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Embassy residence	ER	Principal officer's residence at consular posts	POR
Legation residence	LR	Agriculture residence	AAR
Office building	OB	Warehouse	WH
Office building annex or extension	OB EXT	Staff housing	SH
Deputy chief residence	DCR	Senior officer's residence	SOR
Defense attaché residence	DAR		

Foreign building requirements, 1957–65 inclusive, prepared Nov. 1, 1955

AMERICAN REPUBLICS AREA

Country and post	Type of building	Estimated cost 1957–60	Estimated cost 1961–65
Argentina:			
Buenos Aires	OB	$1,500,000	
Do	SH		$200,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SOR		80,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		80,000
Bolivia:			
La Paz	OB	600,000	
Do	SH		60,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Brazil:			
Rio de Janeiro	DCR		50,000
Do	SH		50,000
Do	SOR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		80,000
São Paulo	OB	600,000	
Do	POR		100,000
Do	SOR		50,000
Do	SH		160,000
Santos	OB		50,000
Do	POR		50,000
Fortaleza	OB		50,000
Do	POR		50,000
Recife	OB		50,000
Do	POR		50,000
Salvador	OB		50,000
Do	POR		50,000
Porto Alegre	OB		50,000
Do	POR		50,000
Belo Horizonte	OB		50,000
Do	POR		50,000
Chile:			
Santiago	ER	250,000	
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	OB		650,000
Do	SH		80,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Valparaiso	POR		50,000
Do	OB		150,000
Colombia:			
Bogotá	OB	100,000	500,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SOR		50,000
Do	SH		100,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Barranquilla	OB		150,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		60,000
Cali	OB		150,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		60,000
Medellin	OB		150,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		60,000
Costa Rica:			
San José	ER	200,000	
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SH		100,000
Cuba:			
Habana	DCR		50,000
Do	SOR		50,000
Do	SH		200,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Santiago	OB		150,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		40,000
Dominican Republic:			
Cindad Trujillo	OB EXT	$200,000	
Do	DCR		$50,000
Do	SH		80,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Equador:			
Quito	OB	575,000	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	SH	100,000	
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Guayaquil	OB		200,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		60,000
El Salvador:			
San Salvador	OB EXT	150,000	
Do	ER		200,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SH		60,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Guatemala:			
Guatemala City	DCR		50,000
Do	SOR		50,000
Do	SH		100,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Haiti:			
Port-au-Prince	DCR		50,000
Do	SH		200,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Honduras:			
Tegucigalpa	DCR		50,000
Do	SH		80,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
San Pedro Sula	Compound	80,000	
Mexico:			
Mexico, D. F	OB	2,000,000	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	SOR	50,000	
Do	ER	100,000	400,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SH		200,000
Ciudad Juarez	OB		150,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		60,000
Guadalajara	OB		100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Matamoros	OB	100,000	
Do	POR	50,000	
Merida	OB		100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Mexicali	OB		100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Monterey	OB	200,000	
Do	POR	50,000	
Nogales	OB	100,000	
Do	POR	50,000	
Nuevo Laredo	OB		100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Piedras Negras	OB	100,000	
Do	POR	50,000	
Tampico	OB		100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		100,000
Tijuana	OB		100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		60,000
Vera Cruz	OB		100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH		40,000

[1] If an

Foreign building requirements, 1957–65 inclusive, prepared Nov. 1, 1955—Continued

AMERICAN REPUBLICS AREA—Continued

Country and post	Type of building	Estimated cost 1957–60	Estimated cost 1961–65
Nicaragua:			
Managua	DAR		$50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Panama:			
Balboa	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Paraguay:			
Asuncion	DCR		50,000
Do	SH	$100,000	
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Peru:			
Lima	OB	900,000	
Do	DCR		100,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Uruguay:			
Montevideo	OB		800,000
Do	DCR		100,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SH		80,000
Venezuela:			
Caracas	OB	$2,000,080	
Do	DCR		$200,000
Do	SOR		50,000
Do	SH		200,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Maracaibo	OB	150,000	
Do	POR	50,000	
Do	SH	40,000	
Porto la Cruz	OB	150,000	
Do	POR	50,000	
Do	SH	40,000	
Total American Republics area		10,785,000	11,690,000

EUROPEAN AREA

Australia:			
Melbourne	POR	$50,000	
Canberra	DAR, 3	50,000	$100,000
Do	SOR, 2		100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Algeria:			
Algiers	OB	264,000	
Do	SH, 4		84,800
Do	SOR		50,000
Austria:			
Vienna	SOR, 2		100,000
Do	DAR, 3	50,000	100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Salzburg	POR		50,000
Belgium:			
Brussels	DAR, 3	50,000	100,000
Do	SOR, 3		150,000
Do	AAR	50,000	
Bermuda: Hamilton	SOR		50,000
Bahamas:			
Nassau	POR	50,000	
Do	OB		209,000
Canada:			
Ottawa	OB Ext	265,000	
Do	DAR, 3		150,000
Niagara Falls	OB/CGR	212,000	
Winnipeg	POR	50,000	
Do	OB		209,000
Calgary	POR		50,000
St. Johns, New Brunswick	POR	50,000	
Montreal	POR		50,000
Halifax	POR		50,000
Edmonton	POR		50,000
Ottawa	AAR		50,000
Denmark:			
Copenhagen	DAR, 2		100,000
Do	SOR, 2		100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
France:			
Paris	OB	4,240,000	
Do	DAR, 3	50,000	100,000
Bordeaux	OB	59,000	150,000
Do	POR		50,000
Lyon	OB		209,000
Marseille	SOR	50,000	
Nice	POR	50,000	
Paris	AAR	50,000	
Finland:			
Helsinki	OB/SH, 12	954,000	
Do	DAR, 3	50,000	100,000
Do	SOR, 2	50,000	50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Germany:			
Berlin [1]	OB	2,620,000	
Do.[1]	ER	636,000	
Do.[1]	SOR, 4		200,000
Do.[1]	SH, 10		212,000
Bremen	POR		50,000
Dusseldorf	POR	50,000	
Frankfurt	POR		50,000
Hamburg	POR	50,000	
Munich	POR	50,000	
Stuttgart	POR		50,000
Great Britain:			
Belfast	POR	50,000	
Southampton	OB		312,000
Manchester	OB		312,000
Liverpool	OB		312,000
Birmingham	OB		259,000
Edinburgh	POR	50,000	
Cardiff	POR		50,000
London	AAR		50,000
Ireland:			
Dublin	OB	$470,000	
Do	DAR, 2		$100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Cork	POR		50,000
Italy:			
Genoa	OB		524,000
Do	POR		50,000
Milan	OB/POR	312,000	
Naples	POR	50,000	
Palermo	OB	312,000	
Do	POR	50,000	
Venice	POR		50,000
Rome	DAR, 3	50,000	100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Turin	POR		50,000
Netherlands:			
The Hague	DAR, 3		150,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Rotterdam	OB	159,000	
Do	POR		50,000
Luxembourg: Luxembourg	DAR, 2		100,000
Norway:			
Oslo	OB	782,000	
Do	DAR, 3		150,000
Do	AAR		50,000
New Zealand:			
Wellington	OB	530,000	
Do	DAR, 3		150,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Poland:			
Warsaw	SOR, 4		200,000
Do	SH, 12	254,400	
Do	OB	742,000	
Do	ER	318,000	
Portugal:			
Lisbon	DAR, 3		150,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	ER		371,000
Rumania:			
Bucharest	OB		736,000
Do	ER		368,000
Do	SOR		150,000
Do	DAR, 2		100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SH, 12		254,400
Spain:			
Madrid	ER	636,000	
Do	DAR, 3	50,000	100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SOR, 2		100,000
Do	SH, 12		254,400
Bilbao	POR	50,000	
Barcelona	POR		50,000
Valencia	POR		50,000
Vigo	POR		50,000
Switzerland:			
Bern	OB		786,000
Do	SOR [2]		100,000
Do	DAR [2]		150,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Geneva	OB		524,000
Do	POR		50,000
Basel	POR		50,000
Zurich	POR		50,000
Union of South Africa:			
Pretoria	AAR		50,000
Do	OB		524,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Capetown	OB		209,000

[1] If and when Berlin becomes the capital of Germany.

Foreign building requirements, 1957–65 inclusive, prepared Nov. 1, 1955—Continued

EUROPEAN AREA—Continued

Country and post	Type of building	Estimated cost 1957–60	Estimated cost 1961–65
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:			
Moscow [2]	OB	$2,950,000	
Do.[3]	ER		$418,000
Do.[3]	DAR		150,000
Do.[3]	SH 40		848,000
Do.[3]	AAR		50,000
Do.[3]	SOR		200,000
West Indies:			
Barbados	POR		
Kingston	OB	50,000	
Martinique	OB	265,000	
			106,000
Yugoslavia:			
Belgrade	ER		$368,000
Do	SH, 30	$526,400	
Do	DAR, 3	100,000	50,000
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	SOR, 2		100,000
Zagreb	POR		50,000
Sweden:			
Stockhom	DAR, 3		150,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SOR		50,000
Total, European area		18,906,800	14,709,600

[2] If and when it is possible to acquire property in Russia.

FAR EASTERN AREA

Country and post	Type of building	Estimated cost 1957–60	Estimated cost 1961–65
Burma:			
Rangoon	SH, 10	$200,000	
Do	OB	60,000	
Do	Garage	15,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	$300,000
Do	SH, 15		
Cambodia:			
Pnom Penh	SH, 18	360,000	
Do	OB	375,000	
Do	ER	19,000	150,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SH, 18		3360,000
China: T'ai-pei	OB	530,000	
Do	ER		175,000
Do	SH, 10		200,000
Do	SOR, 1		50,000
Indonesia:			
Djakarta	SH, 16	320,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Surabaya	SOR	50,000	
Do	OB	200,000	
Japan:			
Kobe	SOR	50,000	50,000
Fukuoka	OB, SH, 5	313,500	
Tokyo	AAR	50,000	
Do	SOR, 1	50,000	
Do	DAR, 2	100,000	
Do	SH, 15		900,000
Nagoya	OB, SH	235,000	
Do	SH, 15		900,000
Do	SOR	50,000	
Sapporo	OB, SH, 4	63,800	230,000
Korea:			
Seoul	ER, SH, 50	1,000,000	360,000
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	SOR, 2	100,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	DAR, 3	150,000	
European colonies:			
Gold Coast, Accra	OB	$250,000	
Do	SH	120,000	
Do	AAR	100,000	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	DAR	50,000	
Kenya, Nairobi	OB	474,000	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	SH		$80,000
French West Africa, Dakar	OB	200,000	
Do	SH	120,000	
Do	CGR	150,000	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Tunisia, Tunis	SH	120,000	
Do	POR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	OB	50,000	100,000
Belgian Congo, Leopoldville	SH	140,000	
French Morocco:			
Casablanca	OB	212,000	
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SH	80,000	
Rabat	OB	225,000	
Do	SH	80,000	
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Greece:			
Athens	OB	1,200,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	SH		000,000
Salonika	CGR		50,000
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	SH		360,000

NEAR EASTERN, SOUTH ASIAN, AND AFRICAN AREA

Country and post	Type of building	Estimated cost 1957–60	Estimated cost 1961–65
Afghanistan:			
Kabul	OB	$418,000	
Do	ER	150,000	
Do	SH	250,000	
Do	SOR		$100,000
Do	AAR		100,000
Angola:			
Luanda	POR	132,500	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Ceylon:			
Colombo	SOR	200,000	
Do	SH	120,000	
Do	OB	35,000	106,000
Do	ER		140,000
Do	AAR	50,000	
Cyprus:			
Nicosia	OB	106,000	
Do	SOR	100,000	
Egypt:			
Cairo	OB	120,000	2,000,000
Do	ER	200,000	424,000
Do	SOR		100,000
Khartoum	OB	300,000	
Do	SH	80,000	
Alexandria	OB	424,000	
Do	SH	80,000	
Port Said	OB		131,000
Do	SH		80,000
Ethiopia:			
Addis Ababa	OB EXT	106,000	
Do	SH	80,000	
Do	SOR	100,000	100,000
Laos:			
Vientiane	OB	$275,000	
Do	ER	10,000	$150,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SH, 24		480,000
Do	SH, 12	240,000	
Do	DAR, 2, AAR		150,000
Malaya:			
Singapore	OB	864,000	
Kuala Lumpur	OB	71,000	350,000
Do	SH, 6		120,000
Penang	SH, 2		40,000
Philippines:			
Manila	SH, 60	1,200,000	
Do	OB, Annex	848,000	
Do	SOR, 2	100,000	
Do	ER	530,000	
Do	SH, 30	600,000	
Do	Seawall repair	110,000	
Do	DAR, 3	150,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Thailand:			
Bangkok	ER	424,000	
Do	SH, 10	200,000	
Do	OB, Annex	636,000	
Chiengmai	OB	80,000	
Do	SOR	50,000	
Vietnam:			
Saigon	OB, SH	1,000,000	
Do	AAR, 1	50,000	
Do	DAR, 2	100,000	
Hong Kong	SH, 15		300,000

Foreign building requirements, 1957–65 inclusive, prepared Nov. 1, 1955—Continued

NEAR EASTERN, SOUTH ASIAN, AND AFRICAN AREA—Continued

Country and post	Type of building	Estimated cost 1957–60	Estimated cost 1961–65
India:			
Bombay	OB	$400,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	SH		$80,000
Calcutta	OB	600,000	
Do	POR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SH	80,000	
Madras	OB	412,000	
Do	SH	80,000	
Do	POR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Kathmandu	OB	25,000	106,000
Do	POR		100,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	SH		80,000
Iran:			
Teheran	ER	500,000	
Do	DCR	40,000	
Do	OB EXT	400,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	50,000
Do	DAR		150,000
Tabriz	OB EXT		106,000
Do	SH	120,000	
Isfahan	POR	50,000	
Khorramshahr	OB	16,000	100,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH	80,000	
Do	AAR		50,000
Iraq:			
Baghdad	OB	500,000	
Do	ER	198,000	
Do	SH	120,000	
Do	DCR	50,000	
Do	DAR	50,000	100,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Basra	OB	60,000	
Do	SH	40,000	
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Israel:			
Tel Aviv	OB	736,000	
Do	POR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Haifa	OB	62,000	200,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	SH	80,000	
Jerusalem	OB		262,000
Do	POR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Jordan:			
Amman	ER	84,000	150,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	SH	160,000	
Kuwait:			
Kuwait	OB	287,000	
Do	POR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SH		80,000
Lebanon:			
Beirut	OB	530,000	
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Liberia:			
Monrovia	SH	93,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	DCR		50,000
Libya:			
Tripoli	ER	$200,000	
Do	OB	315,000	
Do	DCR		$50,000
Do	SH		160,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Benghazi	CGR	50,000	
Do	OB	116,000	
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	SH	80,000	
Morocco:			
Tangier	POR	209,000	
Do	SH		80,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Pakistan:			
Karachi	SH	300,000	
Do	AAR	50,000	
Do	SOR		50,000
Lahore	SH	80,000	
Do	OB	184,000	
Do	AAR		50,000
Dacca	OB	184,000	
Do	SH	160,000	
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Saudi Arabia:			
Jidda	SH	80,000	
Do	AAR	100,000	
Do	DAR		100,000
Dhahran	SH	80,000	
Do	AAR		100,000
Do	DAR		100,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Southern Rhodesia:			
Salisbury	POR	106,000	
Do	OB EXT	106,000	
Do	SH		80,000
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Syria:			
Damascus	OB	212,000	
Do	SH	160,000	
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		100,000
Do	ER		106,000
Turkey:			
Ankara	OB Ext	106,000	
Do	AAR	100,000	
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		100,000
Istanbul	OB	780,000	
Do	CGR	53,000	
Do	SH	84,000	
Do	AAR		50,000
Do	DAR		100,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Izmir	OB	212,000	
Do	POR	16,000	100,000
Do	AAR		100,000
Do	DCR		50,000
Do	DAR		50,000
Total, Near East area		17,254,500	10,211,000

The Late Senator Walter F. George

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, young men, and women have always looked to their elders for inspirations of character, belief and success. A shining example of one of the finest inspirations was the late Senator Walter F. George of Georgia.

My admiration for the late Senator began in my college days when every impression that is a good impression makes a lasting imprint. I formed a great admiration for the distinguished gentleman from Georgia. Years later after coming to Washington as a Representative of the people of northwest Florida, that admiration for Senator George continued to grow, not only for his great ability as a legislator, but for his personal friendliness, helpfulness, and constant cooperation as well. Walter F. George knew and recognized the need for good sound government and by his actions he was a living symbol for good government. Until the last, he was willing to forget his personal well-being and to place his service to his country above all else.

He was not a man eager for wide acclaim and for recognition for the great work he did, but his record of statesmanship and personal dignity will be remembered and admired by many generations to come.

I hold the deepest sympathy for Mrs. George and the other loved ones of the late Senator; however, I am confident this great sorrow is softened through the knowledge that the people of the United States share in this grief. While his death is a great loss to us all, his lifetime work is a gain that will last throughout the days of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, many wonderful things can be said of the late Senator, but as I look back through the years and recall

my own experiences I feel that one of his greatest contributions has been the inspiration of his life and work to the youth of America for good government, fair play, and humble service for all men and women.

W. Gordon Robertson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the August 2, 1957, issue of the Produce News, an extremely popular publication of the fruit and vegetable industry.

This article relates to Mr. W. Gordon Robertson, who was recently elected president of the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Co.

I have known Mr. Robertson personally. He has made a superb contribution to the advancement and development of the potato industry in the State of Maine, and I feel confident that in his new position Mr. Robertson will perform in a manner that will redound to the benefit of the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Co.

The article follows:

WHO'S WHO IN THE PRODUCE INDUSTRY: W. GORDON ROBERTSON

Though he is now president of one of the Nation's important railroads, W. Gordon Robertson richly deserves to be included in this series of Who's Who in the Produce Industry.

It was only last month that Mr. Robertson was elected president of the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Co., having relinquished his post as head of Beaver Brook Farms, Inc., the large potato company in Caribou, Maine. His jump from potato growing to the presidency of a railroad looks like a big jump indeed, but the truth is that Gordon has for many years been intensely interested in transportation matters and, on the other hand, the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad has been intensely interested in potato matters.

Mr. Robertson had been on the board of directors of the BAR since April 1953, and he has been a member of the executive committee since April of this year.

FINE BAR POLICY

There are few railroads that take more interest in the welfare of the shippers they serve than the Bangor & Aroostook. The BAR has been the last to make rate increases, and it is one of the very few railroads that gears its schedule to the needs of its customers with such utter disregard to its own convenience.

Mr. Robertson's predecessor, Curtis M. Hutchins, who is now chairman of the board, was a consistent champion of the theory "the public be pleased," and there is every reason to believe that Mr. Robertson will continue these policies.

No rigor mortis policy is likely under the Robertson regime. At this moment the BAR is considering meeting truck competition with a reduction of rates to meet this rivalry.

BIG TRUCK THREAT

It so happens that on September 1 trucks using Maine highways will be allowed to increase their axle load by some 8,000–10,000 pounds, which will bring their total load up to 36,000–38,000 pounds. No one needs be told how this increase in weight will capture potato tonnage for the truckers. Gordon, however, is not one to take this lying down, and he and Tom Clark, vice president in charge of traffic, are devoting every effort to studying the situation and meeting the competition.

This is the first time on record that a potato shipper has become president of a railroad—certainly no one has ever taken the post in one jump as has Gordon Robertson. It is a tribute both to himself and to the perspicacity of the railroad's board of directors that they have seen fit to take a man from the ranks of potato shippers and place him at the head of their railroad. Of course, potatoes are a large part of BAR traffic—but by no means all of it.

BORN IN SCOTLAND

Gordon Robertson has a splendid business background. He was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on May 13, 1911, and was educated in the public schools there. He came to Canada in 1929 and worked on farms in Ontario and New Brunswick. He was employed by Guy G. Porter Co., Perth, N. B., and 3 years later joined International Fertilizers, Ltd., at St. Johns.

Nine years later he moved to Caribou, Maine, but instead of becoming a potatoman he became a soldier. He was in the Canadian Army from 1941 to 1945 and, after being wounded in Normandy, he was discharged with the rank of infantry captain.

In 1946 he returned to industry, forming Albatross Fertilizers, Inc., being its general manager for 11 years. From fertilizers he went into the potato business itself, forming Beaver Brook Farms, Inc., and heading that company for the last 10 years.

One of his most recent accomplishments has been the promotion of the export potato business with Spain and South America, which work was conducted under the auspices of the Maine Potato Council.

Tall and handsome, Gordon is a good family man. In 1930 he married Christine Baird Young, a Scottish lass, and they have three children, Winifred, William G., and Robert G.

The Maine potato industry can look for the continuance of understanding and cooperation from the Bangor & Aroostock Railroad under the new president and former potatoman, W. Gordon Robertson.

Federal Communications Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following is a letter which I received from Mr. Thad M. Sandstrom, General Manager of WIBW-TV and WIBW radio, Topeko, Kans. Mr. Sandstrom makes reference to suggested improvements in the Federal Communications Commission. Also Mr. Sandstrom points out that in his opinion the Commission has made great progress under the direction of Commission Chairman George C. McConnaughey. Mr. Sandstrom's outstanding work and experience in the field of radio and television certainly qualifies him to make constructive observations concerning areas of improvement in Federal Communications Commission activities. I think Mr. Sandstrom's letter deserves serious attention.

Topeka, August 1, 1957.

The Honorable WILLIAM H. AVERY,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. AVERY: Thank you for your letter of July 25 concerning the hearings pertaining to the Federal Communications Commission.

While many of us in the radio and television industry have been critical of the Commission in the past, and probably will continue to be in the future, it is my feeling that the Commission, basically, has done a good job.

The major area of improvement from the standpoint of the radio-TV industry, would in my opinion be threefold:

1. Lessening of the paperwork load. This has improved a considerable amount in the last 10 years, but I still believe that the Commission is calling for information from time to time that is really none of its business.

2. Extension of the licensing period of 5 years. The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters has been urging and making a concerted effort to secure 5-year licenses. It seems to me that the radio and television industry has matured and many times over has proven its ability to serve in the public interest. The 5-year license would indeed be a great benefit.

3. Remote control for directional stations. Tests have been conducted during the past few years which prove that AM stations can operate their transmitters by remote control, even in the case of stations using directional antenna systems. Some of the smaller stations which have directional systems, such as KARE in Atchison, certainly have been burdened by the Commission's slowness in acting on this regulation. In this day and age, radio stations must take advantage of every technical advancement, and remote control operation of broadcast transmitters with directional antennas is a must.

Perhaps you have some questions about my comments, I'd be happy to hear from you. I would like to make it clear that I feel that the Commission attitude toward the radio-TV industry is much better than it was a few years ago, and great progress has been made in the administration of Commissioner McConnaughey.

Cordially yours,

THAD M. SANDSTROM,
General Manager.

Defect in Illinois Election Ballot Needs Amending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for a long time I have given serious thought to the position of candidates for Congress on the ballot in Illinois. After I was elected in 1956 many of my friends expressed the hope that I would enjoy Springfield. I hastened to explain that I was going to Washington and not Springfield, the seat of our legislature. I am convinced that many voters in Illinois are often confused as for whom they

are voting and for what position. I certainly believe that remedial changes should be made to remove any confusion about voting for a candidate for Congress in Washington or voting for a candidate for Illinois' State Legislature.

To that end I have met with the Republican Members of Congress from Illinois and we adopted a resolution which we have sent to the members of the State Electoral Board of Illinois which is composed of the Governor, William G. Stratton; the secretary of state, Charles Carpentier; the State treasurer, Elmer Hoffman; the attorney general, Latham Castle; and the auditor of public accounts, Elbert Smith.

I would like permission to have these remarks along with the resolution sent to the electoral board inserted in the RECORD.

I am gratified to read the splendid editorial appearing in the Illinois State Journal of August 3 in which the paper urges that consideration is given our request. The position of congressional candidates on the ballot is not logical. I contend, and am supported by other members of the Illinois Republican delegation in this, that congressional candidates names should be placed after the candidate for United States Senator.

The resolution and editorial follow:

We, the Illinois Republican Members of the 85th Congress, first session, assembled at a meeting in the office of the Honorable NOAH M. MASON, 15th District, Illinois, room 1108, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C., on Tuesday, July 24, 1957, agreed:

Whereas in the presidential election of November 1956, President Eisenhower, Vice President NIXON, the congressional campaign committee and the senatorial campaign committee proclaimed and emphasized the necessity and advisability of electing a Republican Congress, we did not succeed; and

Whereas the voters of the State of Illinois were told that "Ike needed a Republican Congress and a Republican Congress was a must in 1956," we elected a President and Vice President, but failed to elect a Republican Congress by a substantial majority; and

Whereas the very nature of the office of Congressman, described as Representative in Congress on every ballot and voting machine in Illinois is that of a Federal office and synonymous with duties in the Nation's Capitol; and

Whereas all political advertising is directed toward the election of candidates and the appeal is to the voters of the cities, towns, and rural communities; and

Whereas voters would naturally expect and look for a candidate for Congress on a ballot or voting machine after the candidate for United States Senator; and

Whereas in the State of Illinois in a presidential election this is not the fact, but on the contrary the office of Representative in Congress appeared in the position of 14A or 14B on every voting machine and in the same order on every paper ballot; and

Whereas such a position on the ballot is confusing, misleading, and is a definite handicap to a congressional candidate; and

Whereas in other States no such order of candidates as exists in Illinois is authorized or permitted and in some States they have a Federal ballot, carrying the names of the presidential ticket and the candidates for Senator and Congressman; and

Whereas in Illinois the State electoral board, the Governor, the secretary of state, the attorney general, the State treasurer, and the auditor of public accounts have the power, without legislative change, to certify the order in which the names should appear on the ballot; and

Whereas if the office of Representative in Congress were placed on each ballot after United States Senator, it would not handicap the State ticket nor injure the county ticket and would help to relieve the confusion and similarity of Federal and State offices, such as Representative in Congress and members of the general assembly: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That copies of this resolution should be sent to each member of the State electoral board of Illinois.

EMMET F. BYRNE, CHARLES W. VURSELL, RUSSELL W. KEENEY, TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, LEO E. ALLEN, NOAH H. MASON, WILLIAM L. SPRINGER, HAROLD R. COLLIER, ROBERT H. MICHEL, WILLIAM E. MCVEY, LESLIE C. ARENDS, SID SIMPSON, ROBERT CHIPERFIELD, MARGUERITE S. CHURCH

DEFECT IN ILLINOIS ELECTION BALLOT NEEDS AMENDING

Illinois' 14 Republican Congressmen have pinpointed a glaring defect in the makeup of this State's election ballot. In a letter of protestation to Governor Stratton and other members of the State electoral board, the Congressmen point out that names of congressional candidates were 14th in a long list of names last fall. Names of United States senatorial candidates, by comparison, were third from the top.

Congressman EMMETT F. BYRNE, of Illinois, who is leading the effort to get the ballot changed, says he is convinced that one of the reasons the Republican congressional candidates lost so many votes in the 1956 election is due to the misleading placement of candidates' names on the State and Federal ballots in Illinois.

That may or may not have contributed to the defeat of Republican candidates. But there is no question about the congressional names being misplaced. Last fall's ballot put the congressional candidates' name between the clerk of the appellate court and State representatives. All of the State candidates, including three trustees of the University of Illinois, were above the Congressmen's names.

The logical order on the ballot for a congressional candidate's name is with the other Federal candidates when other Federal candidates' terms come up. When other Federal candidates are not on the ballot, congressional candidates ought to have a separate listing on the ballot, or at least at the top of the ballot. The State board should give due consideration to the request of the 14 Republican Congressmen.

Judge Robert Van Pelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure and with pride that I call your attention to Judge Robert Van Pelt, who was sworn in as judge of the Lincoln Federal district court last Thursday morning. Judge Van Pelt succeeds Judge Delehant, who administered the oath of office, and the late Judge Thomas C. Munger. These two outstanding men have made a distinguished record in this office, and Judge Van Pelt is eminently qualified to carry on their high tradition of public service.

Judge Van Pelt brings to his new office a fine record of integrity, fairness, and rare perspicacity; he is a man who uses as his personal philosophy for conduct a rule from the Old Testament "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with my God."

Quoted below is an editorial and a news item from the Lincoln Journal of August 1 and the Lincoln Star of August 2, 1957, respectively:

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star of August 2, 1957]

VAN PELT SWORN IN

Some 200 witnessed the swearing-in of Robert Van Pelt as judge of the Lincoln Federal district court Thursday morning. But Nebraskans everywhere marked the occasion with satisfaction and approval. Judge Van Pelt has the full confidence of his State. It feels that the high level with which justice has been dispensed in the Federal district courts of Nebraska will know no diminution. There is nothing more reassuring to a free people than to know that their courts are in learned, competent and just hands for they are, indeed, a great refuge.

The Lincoln bench has been a fine example of the best in justice over a long and continuing span of years. Judge Van Pelt, himself an outstanding figure at the bar and in the community, succeeds distinguished predecessors and has the examples of the late Judge Thomas C. Munger and the currently retiring Judge John W. Delehant as a lamp to his feet.

Judge Delehant, himself the occupant of the bench the past 15 years, was present at the Thursday ceremonies. Nebraska bids a regretful farewell to him as the presiding figure of the Lincoln court but rejoices that he contemplates further service on occasion. It is not averse under these circumstances to sharing him with other Federal districts.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star of August 2, 1957]

TWO HUNDRED SEE ROBERT VAN PELT TAKE FEDERAL JUDGE OATH

United States District Judge Robert Van Pelt took the oath of office Wednesday morning as nearly 200 persons witnessed the ceremonies in the Federal courtroom in Lincoln.

Federal Judge John W. Delehant administered the oath and affidavits to his successor, after which Sam Van Pelt helped his father into the judicial robes. Sam, a University of Nebraska graduate, plans to enter the NU College of Law after his service in the Armed Forces is completed.

Judge Van Pelt next was seated on the bench with Judges Richard E. Robinson of Omaha, Chief Judge for the United States District of Nebraska, and J. W. Woodrough and Harvey Johnsen, judges of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Judge Delehant said, "I appreciate being able to administer the oath of office to my successor" and added that his welcoming of Judge Van Pelt had a "warm and personal" greeting.

Representatives of State, Federal, and local legal and judiciary groups made congratulatory remarks to Judge Van Pelt.

CONFIDENCE, PRIDE

Barton Kuhns, president of the Nebraska State Bar Association, expressed the State organization's "confidence and pride" in the appointment of Judge Van Pelt.

District Judge John L. Polk said the new appointee's "ability and purposes as a trial lawyer has been of the highest character" and have been "so recognized by his appointment to the Federal bench."

Circuit Judge Harvey Johnsen of Omaha said the Lincoln post has a "unique position in the Federal system."

HIGHEST STANDARDS

He paid tribute to the highest standards of the past 50 years set by the late Judge Thomas C. Munger and Van Pelt's immediate predecessor, Judge Delehant.

"Judge Delehant has gained the reputation of being one of the outstanding judges in the United States," Judge Johnsen said.

Circuit Judge J. W. Woodrough said he had "the hope of great things for Judge Van Pelt."

Judge Richard Robinson, who shares the United States District Court bench for Nebraska with Judge Van Pelt, said his fellow jurist is "eminently qualified" and extended "heartfelt congratulations."

BAR REPRESENTATIVES

Congratulatory remarks also were made by Frederick Patz for the Lincoln Bar Association, Ed Garvey for the Omaha Bar Association, and George Turner for the American Bar Association, and by United States Attorney William C. Spire of Omaha.

Guy Chambers, representing Senator ROMAN HRUSKA, and Maurice S. Hevelone, representing Senator CARL CURTIS, read congratulatory messages from the two Nebraska Senators in Washington, D. C.

Dean E. O. Belsheim of the University of Nebraska College of Law, extended the congratulations of the faculty.

Acknowledging the congratulatory remarks, Judge Van Pelt said he would serve to the best of his ability, being not unmindful of the distinction brought to the Lincoln post by Judges Munger and Delehant.

PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY

Judge Van Pelt noted his personal philosophy for conduct, taken from a rule in the Old Testament, is "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with my God."

Judge Van Pelt thanked Judge and Mrs. Delehant for their personal kindnesses.

Judge Delehant, who retired from the Lincoln post, will continue to serve in the Federal judiciary system on special assignment. He will reside in Omaha.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal of August 1, 1957]

SUCCESS TO LINCOLN'S FEDERAL JUDGES

Federal District Judge Robert Van Pelt ascended to the Federal bench in the Nebraska judicial district succeeding Judge John W. Delehant who retired after 15 years of constructive, dedicated service.

Both men are men of unquestioned ability, integrity, and capability of service. To both the publish wishes full measure of success.

On this important, happy, and ceremonial occasion of swearing in a new Federal judge, it seems naturally regrettable from the standpoint of the public's understanding of the judiciary that pictures of the occasion could not be permitted as might be prescribed by the presiding judge.

Photographs of such occasion, it would seem, could add rather than detract from the impressiveness, dignity, importance, and understanding of the occasion. Except for the lawyers, probably hardly 2 persons in 1,000 have even visited in person or seen the United States Federal court in Lincoln—1 of the 2 permanent Federal courts in the State.

Whatever the honest difference of opinion from time to time between the bar and the press on question of photographing criminal trials (a difference which the bar and press are continually discussing with mutual respect even when in disagreement), it would seem unfortunate that ceremonial functions such as the swearing in of Federal judges, district attorneys or marshals or naturalization of aliens have not been reproduced for the public at large by photography.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal of August 1, 1957]

VAN PELT DONS ROBES AS NEW FEDERAL JUDGE

(By Leo Scherer)

Robet Van Pelt, a Lincolnite lawyer and native-born Nebraskan, was sworn in as United States district judge Thursday morning during ceremonies in the Federal courtroom.

Federal Judge John W. Delehant of Lincoln administered the oath of office to his successor before a crowded courtroom of more than 200 persons.

Judge Delehant said, "I appreciate being able to administer the oath of office to my successor. It's a rare and honored occasion."

"However, this does not mean I shall discontinue the performances of judicial work."

The judge added that welcoming his successor, Judge Van Pelt, was a warm and personal greeting.

Van Pelt, 59, succeeds Judge Delehant who retired at the end of April, but who is continuing his work on a voluntary call basis.

The new Federal judge seemed choked with emotion when he finished his speech to the crowd.

LETTER IS READ

A letter signed by President Dwight Eisenhower and Attorney General Herbert Brownell which relayed personal congratulations and approval of the appointment was read during the ceremonies.

After the oath of office, Sam Van Pelt, the judge's son, assisted his father with the black robe.

Judge Van Pelt then took his place on the Federal courtroom bench with Federal Judge Richard E. Robinson, of Omaha, United States Circuit Judges J. W. Woodrough and Harvy Johnson, both of Omaha and Judge Delehant, of Lincoln.

Judge Van Pelt told the audience, "I feel very humble to follow to the bench such great Federal judges as Judge Delehant and the late Judge Thomas C. Munger.

HIGHEST TRADITIONS

"Their busy lifetime of service developed the highest traditions in the Nebraska judiciary."

"I just hope that some of the radiant glow that graced these great judges will shine through me."

Expressing congratulations to the new Federal judge were Fred Patz, president of the Lincoln Bar Association; Judge John L. Polk, for the Nebraska District Judges Association; William Spire, United States attorney for Nebraska; Barton Kuhns, of Omaha, president of the Nebraska State Bar Association; Dean E. O. Belsheim, of the University of Nebraska College of Law; George Turner, clerk of the Nebraska Supreme Court, representing the American Bar Association; Ed Garvey, president of the Omaha Bar Association; Guy Chambers, of Lincoln, representing Senator Roman Hruska, and Maurice Hevelone, of Beatrice, representing Senator CARL CURTIS.

TRIBUTE TO PREDECESSOR

Speakers paid tribute to Van Pelt's predecessor, Judge Delehant, calling him "one of the ablest judges in the United States and a man of extraordinary ability and fairness."

Patz told Judge Van Pelt that his appointment was "an honor to himself and the Lincoln Bar Association."

Judge Polk said Van Pelt's new assignment was "a contribution to the administration of justice in Nebraska and also a personal award for him."

Judge Robinson presided over the hour and a half ceremonies while both Judges Woodrough and Johnson participated.

Foreign Aid as It Affects Employment in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, during the past several years that the Congress has considered the program of foreign aid, arguments have been made in support of it that most of the money is spent in this country and hence it is justifiable on that ground, if on no other. What are the facts?

Study No. 9 prepared for the Senate Special Committee To Study the Foreign Aid Program and this particular phase of it includes a table estimating employment as it affects the various States. I insert it at this point:

Estimated employment related to foreign aid, by States, 1955

Alabama	2,872
Arizona	517
Arkansas	324
California	34,882
Colorado	235
Connecticut	9,971
Delaware	--
Florida	813
Georgia	1,919
Idaho	188
Illinois	30,694
Indiana	15,265
Iowa	2,051
Kansas	4,599
Kentucky	1,664
Louisiana	1,045
Maine	388
Maryland	4,244
Massachusetts	10,726
Michigan	30,302
Minnesota	2,320
Mississippi	3,045
Missouri	1,764
Montana	376
Nebraska	35
Nevada	-------
New Hampshire	248
New Jersey	17,307
New Mexico	-------
New York	38,249
North Carolina	3,959
North Dakota	-------
Ohio	39,767
Oklahoma	1,674
Oregon	972
Pennsylvania	34,010
Rhode Island	2,235
South Carolina	324
South Dakota	-------
Tennessee	1,919
Texas	12,062
Utah	329
Vermont	-------
Virginia	3,065
Washington	4,123
West Virginia	3,737
Wisconsin	9,111
Wyoming	-------
Total	333,350

In my own State of Wisconsin the estimated number of people employed as a result of foreign aid is about 9,000. The grand total, however, is 333,350. In other words, Mr. Speaker, out of a total labor force of more than 65 million people, the percent employed as a result of the for-

eign aid program is 0.513 percent, just about one-half of 1 percent. Can it be said, therefore, that this program has any great effect upon employment? Certainly it should not be concluded that in the absence of foreign aid the number of persons above would become unemployed. Tax reductions which permit greater spending by American consumers and an easing of credit restrictions would tend to sustain employment.

That State Department Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, the Montrose, Calif., Ledger, one of the most sound and reliable newspapers in the district I represent, printed an editorial on August 1, which I consider worthy of reproduction in the RECORD.

Since it has to do with some of the outstanding work of our good and able colleague, the Honorable GLEN LIPSCOMB, it is herewith reproduced:

When Abraham Lincoln spoke of "fooling all of the people some of the time," he gave the Nation a solemn warning as well as a clever quote. If the present Republican President would like to take a tip from Honest Abe, he could give a little attention to what appears to be a fairly successful attempt to fool all the people all of the time, an attempt that has been inherited by the GOP from its New Deal, Fair Deal, Big Deal predecessors.

According to reports from Washington, it appears that the State Department has handed $552,927 to the National Opinion Research Center at University of Chicago over the past 14 years. In short, the trick is to have the research unit come up with the desired findings, which are then leaked to the public. This is a neat method of controlling public opinion, and through it, it was found last fall that 90 percent of the American people favor foreign aid.

The natural reaction of a reader, upon seeing that 90 percent of his fellows are in favor of something, is to get into line. At least that is what the State Department hopes.

It is interesting to note that the congressional investigating committee probing such goings-on, had to put State Department and International Cooperation Administration officials under oath in order to get a straight answer.

The revelations came when Congressman GLEN LIPSCOMB, of Los Angeles, tried to find what happens to the secret $1 million-a-year emergency fund voted the Secretary of State. It is interesting also to note that as a result of LIPSCOMB's persistence, the State Department cancelled the poll contract, and the Budget Bureau ruled that the expenditure, undetected for 14 years, an illegal use of the Secretary's unaudited funds. LIPSCOMB says the polls were used to hoodwink the Congress and the public, and one suddenly recalls that those who have been interviewed by a public-opinion poll are few and far between. Do you know any?

Perhaps this is a clue to the bewildering burden of public opinion carried by such men as the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and the senior Senator from California, WILLIAM KNOWLAND. In the past, when they have spoken out against communism or Red China, or the flagrant and ruinous squandering of American tax money overseas, they have been blasted by just such closed-circuit waves of public opinion as the one LIPSCOMB has discovered wherein 90 percent of the people are supposed to take the position the State Department would like them to take.

Ever since the day of the Literary Digest poll, which published a great prediction some years ago, polls have been hard put to convince the public.

But recently there was an indisputable poll, in which thousands voluntarily gave money to the Joe McCarthy fund. It was a complete switch, in which the people, instead of being billed for a phoney public relations effort actually paid—in a way—to express their ideas in support of the late Senator. They pledged $94,703 at the last count) to the McCarthy fund, with 19,233 individuals making the contributions. Where is the public opinion poll that can truthfully say it questioned nearly 20,000 citizens on the McCarthy issue or any other?

This is a real grassroots poll, and it proves that the Nation appreciated the efforts of the persecuted Senator from Wisconsin to stamp out the sinister, godless menace of communism, and it proves that the State Department's calculated brainwash job to destroy Joe McCarthy has little effect upon Americans.

The Future for the Family Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, a frightening glance into the barren future being planned for the family farmer in America is provided by an Associated Press report of a speech by Dr. Don Paarlberg, nominated for Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, printed in the Detroit Free Press of July 28.

Already fighting for existence in fierce competition with the vast machinery and capital of the corporation farm, the little family farmer is now being told by Agriculture Department officials that the answer to his problems is higher production and a lower per unit cost. It is difficult to follow that argument in the face of the Nation's bulging warehouses and figures which show that farm costs have been in a steady upward climb. The next step is obvious in the free market the Department recommends. It will be the elimination of the family farmer by a process of attrition.

The article follows:

WILL NEW IDEA RULE FARM?

WASHINGTON.—For nearly a quarter of a century Government farm policies have been set up to emphasize prizes.

The Eisenhower administration is trying to put the emphasis on a new goal: Volume. The general idea is to market the largest possible volume of farm products—produced so economically that a low price pays off.

Dr. Don Paarlberg, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, in charge of marketing, an economist, is pushing the mass-production, low-price, efficiency program.

Paarlberg argues that the advent of mechanized agriculture foists volume supplies on the Nation whether it wants them or not.

Consequently, policies must be fashioned to take that situation into account.

Experience has shown—say administration farm leaders—that if production is cut one place in agriculture, shifts are made to bring about overproduction elsewhere.

Paarlberg says: "We are discovering that despite efforts to check output, farm products are likely to continue abundant."

With abundant production bound to come off the farms regardless of what is done, the Nation faces the problem of what to do about the surplus supplies.

The Government has been following the policy of buying up the extra production under price-support programs and storing it at great cost to taxpayers. Much of it is given away eventually.

The administration contends that agriculture should adopt progressive steps to market the abundant production at home and abroad. One of the best ways of doing this, it says, is to reduce prices to a point where the production will move into use rather than into Government storage.

What's to be gained, critics of the new philosophy ask, by selling large quantities if the price is below production costs?

"In time," he says, "farm legislation may recognize a fact which students of agriculture have long known—that the economic model for agriculture really is a 3-dimensional figure, the 3 being price, volume, and cost per unit.

"Price times volume minus cost per unit equals net income. It is net income, not price, which is available for spending."

Paarlberg is certain that farmers can make much greater cuts in costs of production.

Mounting Contributions to Pension Programs Demand That Stable Economy Be Maintained

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, Americans are laying aside more money for the future than ever before. Contributions to pension and retirement plans, both public and private ones, have jumped 60 percent within the last 5 years. In 1956 a total of about $13⅓ billion was placed in various retirement programs, both by employers and employees. This amounted to the equivalent of about 4 cents out of every dollar of personal income during the year.

With so much money in these pension plans, it is obvious that the future welfare and security of millions of our citizens is dependent upon the continued stability of our economy. This fact is pointed out in an editorial entitled "Pension Plans' Contributions at New High," which appeared in the Birmingham, Ala., News of July 29, 1957. Under leave heretofore granted, I am happy to include this very pertinent editorial.

The editorial follows:

PENSION PLANS' CONTRIBUTIONS AT NEW HIGH

In keeping with the growth of private and public pension and retirement programs in recent years, contributions into the funds to provide benefits have been rising steadily. Combined payments by employers and employees, the Institute of Life Insurance re-

ported recently, added up to an estimated $13,300,000,000 in 1956. The comparable figure at the end of 1951 was just about $8 billion, indicating a growth of over 60 percent in the 5-year period.

The sum of contributions to various plans was the equivalent of about 4 cents of every dollar of total personal income before taxes last year. Payments figured out to approximately $200 for every person employed in the civilian working population.

Employers, including Government as an employer, paid some $8 billion of these contributions or 60 percent of the total, the institute estimated. Under private plans alone, as constrasted with publicly sponsored plans such as the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance program, employers made combined contributions of $3,200,000,000 in 1956 and employees $500 million.

Total assets of public and private pension plans approached the $75 billion mark at the end of last year. Assets of private plans alone, covering some 14 million workers, added up to an estimated $28,500,000,000.

The size and scope of these plans, the institute observed, point up one of the big stakes in the current fight against inflation. A retirement benefit, whether under a public or private plan, is essentially a promise of future buying power to the recipient when he leaves the working population. Continued stability of the dollar, therefore, obviously is vital if pension and retirement benefits are to live up to future expectations.

Rural Electrification in North Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, one of the activities of Government which most closely affects the farm people of North Dakota, and thus all of the people of my State, is the work of the Rural Electrification Administration.

Since this year represents an anniversary for REA in North Dakota, I have prepared a summary of what REA and the newer rural telephone program have meant to us.

The summary follows:

Twenty years ago light came to the farms of North Dakota by way of REA.

It was on the 24th of November 1937, that electricity flowed over the wires of the new lines built by the Baker Electric Cooperative at Cando, N. Dak., in the first operation financed by the Rural Electrification Administration in the State.

Today, the scene has changed greatly.

Twenty years ago, only a little more than two percent of the farms in North Dakota had electric lights. Today, not many more farm families than that are without electricity not only for lights but for a multitude of other uses as well.

The past 2 decades have brought a change in our State because of REA, and they have also brought some changes in the attitude Americans have about REA. When the program began, it met with considerable opposition. Over the years, the success of what REA was doing brought widespread acceptance. But today, the opposition is growing again.

To understand why, we should look first at what has happened to REA since it was given approval by Congress in 1935.

THE GROWTH OF THE REA PROGRAM

As of July 1, 1957, about $2½ billion was owed the Government in outstanding loans to cooperatives. This does not include the millions already repaid.

Included in the loans were almost $111 million ($110,793,649), which have gone to North Dakota cooperatives, much of which is now being repaid.

REA loans also cover the telephone program. Total loans outstanding on July 1, 1957, for rural telephone associations were in the amount of over $200 million. Of this a large percentage was in North Dakota loans.

To date, loans for telephone groups have totaled more than $394 million since the start of the program, and of this, $24 million, or about 6 percent has gone into providing expanded telephone service in North Dakota.

More than $3½ billion ($3,536,712,273) has been loaned under the rural electrification program. Another quarter of a billion dollars was requested in the proposed budget for 1958, with another three-quarters of a billion spent in the fiscal years 1956 and 1957. I mention these figures to emphasize the stepped-up program which has been put into effect since the beginning of the Eisenhower administration. Not only has the volume of the program been stepped up, but so has the processing of applications, which takes only half as long as previously.

SOME REPAYMENTS ARE OVERDUE

REA was established in the depression to make credit available to bring electricity to the farms. The objective was to do this with long-term loans which eventually would pretty much pay for the entire program.

For the most part, these loans are being repaid on schedule. Only 8 out of almost 1,000 REA cooperatives are more than 30 days overdue in payment. The telephone loan associations are having a little more difficulty, with a few of the 450 borrowers more than 30 days overdue.

These overdue payments represent an unhealthy situation, but they are not the real source of trouble, as far as opposition to REA activities is concerned.

THIRTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLAR LOSS IN INTEREST

The opposition comes from the fact that the REA is costing the Government a hidden $35 million a year.

When REA was established, the interest rate was set at a figure reflecting the interest the Government itself was paying on money it borrowed to lend to cooperatives. When that rate went up or down over a period of time, so did the REA rate, until 1944. That year, the REA loan rate was set permanently at 2 percent.

What has happened now is that with the rise in the interest rate the Government must pay for its money, the taxpayer is subsidizing REA to the amount of $35 million, and perhaps as much as $85 million if loans continue to be made at their present record high level.

With a tremendous demand for economy facing the 85th Congress, it was natural that a bill would be introduced to change the REA loan rate.

There was immediate opposition to the measure from the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, which opened up two lines of thought.

On one side were those who favored increasing the interest rate to keep REA on a basis of paying for itself. On the other side, were those who believe REA has now achieved its objective and should be abolished.

Ninety-six percent of the farms in America have central station power now. In North Dakota, where we have some sparsely settled areas, and in Wyoming and a few other States, the percentage is not as high. About 86 or 87 percent of North Dakota's farms are electrified.

This fact is being stressed by REA opponents who say that we can afford to get along without the REA now. They argue that most of the money now goes for services other than power distribution, and that cooperatives can start financing their own construction and expansion of plant facilities.

Moreover, much is being made of the cases of some REA co-ops who have gone into the appliance business. While this is legal as long as loan funds are not used, it has aroused antagonism in many quarters because the co-ops are selling on terms a dealer cannot match, and are doing so with funds which could be used to repay obligations to the Government.

Fighting this viewpoint is the National Co-op Association in Washington headed by Clyde Ellis. From his modern eight-story office building in downtown Washington, he directs one of the major propaganda barrages aimed at Congress.

Mr. Ellis, a former Congressman, a few months ago was given a verbal spanking before a House committee when he was described as arrogant, biased, and improperly representing his case. His operations are financed by a levy which is paid by every user of REA electricity, whether he represents every user's viewpoint or not. It's just part of the bill.

A lot of Congressmen are agreed that they prefer to listen to the viewpoints of co-op officials and subscribers in their own States.

FIGHT FOR REA PROGRAM

Years ago I remember when the gasoline lamp replaced the kerosene one. We had a friend come to visit, and since I was busy for a minute I suggested he go in and light the lamp and make himself at home. He came running out of the house a minutes later, his clothes all ripped up, and said he had lit the lamp but it had gone out. "Well, light it again," I told him. "I can't," he replied. "It went out through the roof."

Today when working for the REA program, we have to be careful, too. I have always supported REA, and I do so now, but I know you will agree when I say that I want to be sure our program, like the lamp, doesn't go out the roof.

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Is Scene of Famous War of 1812 Battle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the two most important battles in the War of 1812 was fought at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River near present-day Dadeville, Ala., on March 27, 1814. This was the battle in which Gen. Andrew Jackson and his men, including Sam Houston, completely subdued the arrogant Red Stick Indians of the Creek Tribe. At Horseshoe Bend, the Indians were entrenched in an area surrounded on three sides by the river and on the fourth by strong earthen breastworks.

General Jackson, who later was to become the Nation's seventh President,

fought against the Red Sticks' land fortifications while a portion of his men circled the Indians, swam the river and attacked from the rear. The engagement, second in the war's importance only to the Battle of New Orleans, left 900 of the 1,000 Red Sticks dead and projected General Jackson into national prominence.

The site of this famous battle is about to become a national military park, the only one in Alabama.

By all means, Horseshoe Bend should be preserved for its historical significance. Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert an editorial entitled "Worthy Enterprise," which appeared in the Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald, one of my district's fine daily newspapers, on July 26, 1957.

The editorial follows:

WORTHY ENTERPRISE

Historic spots are not too common in Alabama. During Revolutionary War days, Alabama was still Indian territory. During the Civil War, most of the fighting was to the north and east of us.

We do have a true historic shrine, however, in the site of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and now something is being done to preserve and perpetuate it.

Legislative committees have approved a bill which would appropriate $150,000 to buy land near the site of the battle in which Gen. Andrew Jackson fought Creek Indians and roundly defeated them.

If this land is provided, along with more acreage which is being given by Alabama Power Co., the Federal Government's Park Service will develop the spot.

This should be a real tourist magnet. And it will provide something to which the State can point with pride.

Let's spare no effort to make this shrine a reality.

Anniversary of Swiss Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, Switzerland, a nation infinitely smaller than the United States but which through its own little Marshall plan has given hundreds of millions of dollars to aid wartorn European nations, celebrated independence day on August 1. It was on that day in 1291 that the men of the valleys of Uri, Schwyz, and Nidwalden formed an everlasting league for defense against all who should attack them. This league was the foundation of the Swiss conference of 22 cantons which finally was completed in 1815. Out of this union of German-, French-, and Italian-speaking mountain and valley people sprang a model democracy whose national and international conduct offers a shining example to the world.

The relationship between our countries has been a most harmonious and cordial one, particularly in the field of trade relations. The Swiss have one of the highest standards of living in the world and, in order to maintain it, they import many of their raw materials, food products, and finished goods from the United States. In turn, the United States recognizes the proficiency and fine quality of Swiss workmanship. Swiss watches and clocks, precision instruments, quality textiles, and of course the famous Swiss cheese have been landmarks of quality in the United States for years.

It is to be eminently desired that the United States and Switzerland continue to maintain friendly relations. We must not jeopardize such relations by harsh and unreasonable trade restrictions. We must remember that understanding and cooperation in dealings between nations, as between people, are the best assurance that our two great democracies will remain firm and fast friends.

I want to congratulate the proud people of friendly and democratic Switzerland upon this anniversary and to wish them many, many happy returns of the day.

Compulsory Inspection of Motortrucks on a Nationwide Basis Is Imperative in the Interest of Safety on Our Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the need for nationwide compulsory inspection of motortrucks has mounted during the past several months because of the lack of such a requirement in some of the States. The problem has attracted widespread attention because of several recent accidents that revealed that inadequate maintenance of trucking equipment was the chief cause of disastrous wrecks on the highways of the Nation.

Although the State of Pennsylvania has an excellent truck safety record when compared with the national average of truck accidents, nevertheless, some bad crashes have occurred because the Keystone State's compulsory inspection law does not extend to out-of-State trucks, many of which have figured in truck accidents on Pennsylvania highways.

During the present session of Congress, I introduced H. R. 7048, a bill designed to authorize employment by the Interstate Commerce Commission of 100 inspectors of safety appliances. Despite an increase in the number of ICC inspectors, it is impossible for that agency to cope with the out-of-State trucks that roll over the Nation's highways with defects that invite disaster on every mile of the road.

There have been similar accidents in the State of Pennsylvania involving out-of-State trucks with as harrowing details as revealed by the following account in the Washington (D. C.) Post of August 1, 1957, of an accident at Uniontown, Pa., this week. It is coincidental that on July 31 the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror carried the following editorial emphasizing the need for adoption nationwide of the Pennsylvania plan of requiring frequent compulsory inspection of motortrucks.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Post of August 1, 1957]

SCAMPERING TROOPER CLEARS WAY DOWN MOUNTAIN FOR "WILD" TRUCK

UNIONTOWN, Pa., July 31.—With a State policeman's siren clearing his path, a 28-year-old truckdriver stuck to the wheel of his big vehicle tonight in a wild ride down a mountain highway and averted a possible tragedy.

Grim and white-faced after his 2-mile scrape with death on Summit Mountain, Glenn Switzer, of Fairmont, Nebr., had to be treated for shock.

"I wasn't scared until it was all over," he said weakly.

Switzer said the brakes of his tractor-trailer, which was heavily loaded with sugar, failed as he started down the hill. The vehicle's clutch burned out and smoke trailed from the wheels as Trooper Reu Silbaugh—who just happened to be cruising by—saw the truck gaining speed.

Silbaugh swung his patrol car in front of the truck and pushed it to maximum speed as he kept his siren wailing. Motorists pulled their cars to the side of the road to give the truck a chance to roar around the sharp curves.

Switzer twice drove perilously off the highway, just grazing the hillside, to slow down his vehicle. But, he said the speedometer hit the 70-mile-an-hour mark at least.

By the time Switzer roared toward the bottom of the hill and into the small community of Hopwood his policeman friend had shunted motorists and pedestrians to the side of the road. Then, going up a small grade, Switzer deliberately drove his truck into a steep bank. Only minor damage was done the truck.

As pedestrians gathered around to congratulate him, Switzer—the father of five children—climbed slowly from the cab. Deliberately, he placed a wooden block under a rear wheel so the truck wouldn't roll backwards. Then, with a faint smile, he collapsed. But he rallied quickly after treatment at a nearby hospital.

[From the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror of July 31, 1957]

NEED INSPECTIONS

What could be called the "Pennsylvania plan" is being urged in other States of the Union as regards the safety of trucks on the highway. The Keystone State, while not accident free, can boast of an excellent record all because of compulsory inspections of trucks owned and operated by State residents.

An intensive, never-ending fight is waged by the truckers' organization for added safety and Pennsylvania accidents are lower than other States due to this examination of trucks, conducted monthly.

It is agreed that truckdrivers, as professionals, are the best drivers on the highway and trucks average more miles than do pleasure cars, although the latter type outnumber trucks 5 to 1. Trucks operate 5,000 to 20,000 miles each month, and that's heavy hauling.

"The truck can be in perfect shape when it starts out for the month and be a hazard by the end of the month. We can check the maintenance record of trucks registered in Pennsylvania, but there's no way we can do it with out-of-the-State trucks," states the highways department.

In recent investigations of truck accidents in the State improper maintenance of vehicles was involved in 90 percent of them.

Pennsylvania requires a semiannual inspection of all State registered trucks and

then has the maintenance records available monthly so the State keeps a tight rein on all trucks, excepting, of course, the trucks that come into the State, many of which are defective and uninspected.

Recent accidents at Altoona, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, on the turnpike, and others on route 22 are cited in the campaign to make trucks safer.

According to C. D. Shipley, director of the State bureau of highway safety and former safety director for the Pennsylvania Motor Truck Association: "Compulsory inspection on a nationwide scale is going to make the individual who never does anything with his truck, and we have that type of individual, conscious of the fact that it would be cheaper to maintain his truck as he went along than to just let it run until it falls to pieces. Some of them have finally fallen to pieces on mountains with disastrous results."

Bill Will Aid Alaska's Economic Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, on August 5, the House passed H. R. 8054, which is a bill to provide for the issuance of oil and gas leases in lands beneath inland navigable waters in the Territory of Alaska.

In my opinion, enactment into law of this bill will do much to stimulate interest in and promote the production of oil and gas in the Territory.

Mr. Speaker, the situation in Alaska is novel and, in fact, altogether unique. More than 99 percent of the total land area of 586,000 square miles is in Federal ownership. Federal reserves amount to about 95 million acres out of a total of 365 million; the remainder is in public domain. Oil and gas leases have been and are issued under the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920. Alaska is a land of lakes and rivers in such numbers that they have not all been discovered, much less named. Alaska's coastline in the aggregate exceeds in length the coastlines of the States on the Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean.

Under existing law, the Secretary of the Interior is not permitted to issue any leases for lands under inland navigable waters. H. R. 8054 will permit such leases to be made under the same general rules and regulations for the protection of the public interest which operate generally in Alaska with reference to the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920. Appropriate disposition of proceeds is to be made to the territorial government after provision is made for payment to the Federal Government to cover administrative costs.

A person or a company operating in a western public domain State does not have the handicaps which confront those who seek to operate in Alaska. There leases may be acquired on the public domain from the Federal Government; and negotiations may be carried on with the State government for lands lying under navigable waters. But the territorial government of Alaska has no authority whatsoever over these lands and until H. R. 8054 becomes law no authority resides in the Federal Government either.

There is rather an urgent need to correct the situation now existing and the Alaska Territorial Legislature in its 1957 session adopted house joint memorial No. 18 which said in part:

The development of the oil and gas resources of the Territory of Alaska is of vital importance to the development and economy of the Territory and to the national defense of the United States and its Territories and possessions.

And the memorial petitioned Congress to make these lands "available to the Department of the Interior for administration in behalf of the Territory of Alaska."

The bill approved by the House August 5 was introduced responsive to an executive communication. That communication was accompanied by a draft of proposed legislation. One section of that draft gave a preference right to lease lands beneath the navigable waters described in those leases up to a limit of 640 acres of land beneath any single body of navigable waters. That provision is incorporated in H. R. 8054. I think it is quite important to note here that this was an administration proposal and did not originate with the territorial legislature or with any person or persons interested actually or prospectively in oil leases. The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs approved the preference section after thorough discussion and consideration. Personally, I believe it is altogether appropriate to have it in the bill. It might be mentioned here that the first actual discovery of oil in what appears to be commercial quantities outside of Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 was made in Alaska within the last month. Up to that time money has been poured into the country for leases and for prospecting for oil without surety that there would be any return, great or small. Indeed, that is true even to this day in respect to practically all the land under lease. It takes daring and imagination and willingness to gamble to search for oil anywhere, especially in a pioneer country such as Alaska. I believe there is every good reason why the person holding a lease should have a preferential right to 640 acres of land under inland navigable water. Otherwise, what will happen will be that speculators and others like-minded will seek to obtain tracts of such land surrounded by existing leases on the public domain. I am authorized by Director Woozley of the Bureau of Land Management to state that in the discussions held in connection with this all the officials of the Bureau believed that preferential rights should be established. Some of these officials thought there should be no limitation whatsoever as to acreage; still others thought it should be greatly in excess of 640 acres. However, that figure was settled upon to make sure that no assertion could be successfully made that undue rights were being accorded to those holding existing leases.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that H. R. 8054 becomes law at an early date. It will be, I am convinced, meaningful in aiding the economy of Alaska under proper conservation practices.

Come Home, John

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "Come Home, John" which appeared in the Daily Press of St. Marys, Pa., dated August 3, 1957:

COME HOME, JOHN

In a superhuman effort to keep the London disarmament conference from dropping into the Thames River to be forgotten forever, Secretary of State John Foster-Dulles made a hurried aerial trip to the British capital this week to hold Harold Stassen up before he went down for the third time.

Mr. Dulles has suggested an aerial inspection plan that would open all of United States, Canada, Alaska, the Soviet Union, and Western Europe to overhead and ground inspection, and he might as well saved his breath.

Last week we received a copy of the United Nations report on the crushed rebellion in Hungary. And contained therein was a copy of an agreement made by the Russian Government and the People's Republic in Hungary providing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the payment by Russia of all damage done in Hungary.

This was drawn up and signed by representatives of the Soviet Union at the very hour Russian forces under Marshal Zhukov, the "Butcher of Budapest," were massing men and tanks on Hungarian borders for one of the greatest butchering expeditions of modern times.

Why this country tries to have any dealing with the Soviet Union passes human understanding. Since the days of the United Nations Charter was drawn up giving Russia 3 members in the U. N. rather than the 1 allocated other nations, and deadly veto power, not one solid agreement has been reached with Moscow that has been kept or honored.

She fostered war against American troops in Korea, supplying the Chinese Reds with weapons, supplies, and officer material. She backed the Egyptian fuss in the Middle East area, supplying Nasser with weapons of war at the same time the Soviets were preaching "softness and light" at the Geneva conference.

The London conference is now moving into its 5th month with Stassen continually issuing bulletins of "significant progress," with representatives of Great Britain and France, attending the same meeting referring always to the blockading maneuvers of Soviet's Zorin.

Mr. Stassen, a mere babe-in-the-woods in the field of diplomacy, grasps at any straw that holds even the tiniest morsel of hope and blows it out of all proportion, while European realists refuse to fall for any Moscow "soft soap" treatment.

Mr. Dulles, hard-headed as a cement block in many respects, should have known by this time that doing business with Moscow is like

reaching for the moon, every bit as unattainable.

But John Foster, who continues to look at the world with rose-colored glasses, figures a few words here and there will rid the world of the fear of nuclear warfare.

The folks back home, far more realistic, want Uncle Sam to keep his forces beefed up to the last man, so no surprise attack will find the old man in the whiskers snoozing in his apartment.

Victory for the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News on August 3, 1957:

VICTORY FOR THE SOUTH

Whatever happens from here on, the South has won the civil-rights battle—and has done it with the votes of the northern and western Democrats.

It was a formidable new coalition that Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, put together early Friday for the crucial rollcall on the jury trial amendment.

It included not only the 24 southern Democrats, as you would expect, but 15 of the 24 Democratic votes from the rest of the country. Together with 12 Republicans—mainly from the western and border States—these 39 Democrats administered a stinging defeat to President Eisenhower, who had declared only last Wednesday that he had gone as far as he could go in the direction of a compromise and moderation on civil rights.

In a parliamentary sense, the "emasculating compromise" comes as a smashing triumph for both the southern bloc, led by Senator RUSSELL of Georgia, and that dedicated party compromiser, Majority Leader JOHNSON.

But at what a cost to the Democratic position in the North was the grand display of party unity accomplished? How long will the Democrats be haunted by this rollcall—everywhere outside the South; every time a southern jury nullifies a Federal court's effort to protect the right of southern Negroes to vote?

In future campaigns, this vote undoubtedly will be recalled as the most significant civil-rights showdown in many a year. For campaign purposes, it will be drastically simplified as a vote for or against effective Federal protection of the right to vote.

It will be remembered that the votes for it came from 33 Republicans and only 9 Democrats; that the votes against it came from 39 Democrats and only 12 Republicans.

In the House, just 6 weeks ago, virtually every Democrat outside the solid South—and more than three-fourths of the Republicans—voted against the jury-trial amendment. But in the Senate, where every vote counted, 15 Democrats from States whose Congressmen were almost unanimously opposed to the jury trial voted for it.

One, for example, was Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, a presidential hopeful. But Massachusetts cast a solid block of 7 Democratic votes the other way in the House. Likewise, Rhode Island's two Democratic Congressmen voted one way, its two Democratic Senators the other.

In the House, the jury-trial amendment didn't get a single Democratic vote from the 11 Western States. But in the Senate, it got a decisive 10 out of 13 Democratic votes—with only MORSE and NEUBERGER, of Oregon, and CARROLL, of Colorado, showing a touch of that old-time liberal zeal for effective civil rights. All the other western liberals—MAGNUSON and JACKSON, of Washington; MANSFIELD and MURRAY, of Montana; CHURCH, of Idaho; ANDERSON and CHAVEZ, of New Mexico, etc.—went along with LYNDON JOHNSON and the southerners in voting to weaken the right-to-vote bill.

The Democrats, to be sure, were confronted with a cruel dilemma. For years they have faced in two opposite and irreconcilable directions—procivil rights in the North, anticivil rights in the South. The northerners had to choose between breaking with the southerners and compromising with them for the sake of party unity. The choice they made—here in the Senate—was exactly the same one they made a year ago at their national convention.

Then, as now, the unifiers and compromisers carried the day; the Democratic convention produced a civil-rights plank that was so nearly self-cancelling it reduced itself to absolute zero.

Now the Democrats in the Senate have implemented that plank, by voting 39 to 9 for a compromise that reduces the civil-rights bill so close to zero that even some of the southerners may be willing to vote for it.

This is not to say that the bill is worthless. Even as it stands, it is certainly enough better than nothing so it should pass. If it can be strengthened at all, when the time comes to reconcile the crucial Senate and House differences, we would suggest once again that a recent proposal by Representative RADWAN, Republican, of Buffalo, offers the brightest hope. He would give the South its jury-trial guaranty, but only for 3 years, after which this clause would expire automatically unless the experience with it was such as to convince both Houses of Congress that it should be continued.

Perpetual Campaigning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on August 2, 1957, an editorial entitled "Perpetual Campaigning" appeared in the Gastonia Gazette, Gastonia, N. C.

The thinking of the writer of this editorial was very interesting to me. I believe that our colleagues will be likewise interested in seeing this splendid editorial.

The editorial follows:

PERPETUAL CAMPAIGNING

Just how valuable is a public servant to the constituents he represents?

The holder of any political office can obviously be more valuable if given a reasonable length of time to serve.

This is particularly true of any position as important as that of a Member of the United States House of Representatives.

A Congressman serves his district only 2 years. Senators serve for 6 years, which is a term long enough to make them increasingly valuable to their States.

When it comes to base pay, there is no difference. Each makes $22,500 a year. But the Senator has the satisfaction of feeling that it is worthwhile to embark on long-range planning. This cannot be the case with the Representative, with only a 2-year tenure of office.

Representatives are elected in November. They take office in January and serve 2 calendar years. But there's a "joker" in their status. Just about 1 year after they have been in Congress, they must begin preparing to run for another term.

We don't feel that the Representative gets a fair deal, because no man can be at his best when he realizes that after about a year's service he must run again—that is, of course, if he chooses to seek the office for a second term.

At least 4 years in office should be allotted to Representatives. We believe if they served 4 years instead of 2, there would be an incentive to put much more into their work than is the case under a 2-year term.

One thing is certain—the 2-year term for Representatives doesn't give them a fair break.

We have always felt they should have 4-year terms.

But political tradition is hard to break, and there is small hope that the perpetually running Representatives will ever get a breathing spell.

M. Sgt. Vernon G. Waguespack Named Outstanding Airman of Continental Command

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and pleasure that I call attention to the selection of a member of the United States Air Force from the Third Congressional District of Louisiana as the year's "outstanding airman" of the Continental Air Command. He is M. Sgt. Vernon G. Waguespack, of Napoleonville, member of a well-known Assumption Parish—county—family, who has spent almost 17 years in the service.

Sergeant Waguespack was chosen for this award from among hundreds of airmen of the Continental Command who were nominated by their respective unit commanders and considered by a board. Lt. Gen. William E. Hall is commander of the Continental Air Command.

Together with those named for a similar award from each of the other 18 Air Force commands, Sergeant Waguespack was honored by Secretary of the Air Force James H. Douglas and Gen. Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff, during official recognition in Washington at which the 19 leading airmen were cited for outstanding achievements. The citations are sponsored annually by the Air Force Association, this year's ceremonies being a feature of the Air Force 50-year anniversary celebration.

Sergeant Waguespack has an illustrious career dating back to January 1941.

During World War II he served in both the European and Pacific theaters of operation. From 1942 to 1944 he was with the 44th Bombardment Group of Ploesti Oil Field attack fame, and in 1945 he served with the 9th Bombardment Group, flying B–29's out of Tinian Island.

Since 1950 Sergeant Waguespack has been active in the Air Reserve program, first as an ROTC instructor and is currently on training duty with the 2621st Air Reserve Center at Richmond, Va. From 1950 to 1954 he was instructor for the Air Force ROTC at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette. He has been highly commended by civic leaders in the Richmond area for his work in the Air Force community relations field as well as the Reserve program and is in demand as a speaker. He has contributed greatly to a better understanding of the Air Force and the peaceful use of its air power. Much of the credit for the excellent status of the Reserve training program in the Richmond area is given to the successful program conducted by Sergeant Waguespack. On his own initiative he worked with local organizations in the Petersburg-Hopewell section and stimulated sufficient interest in Reserve activities to form a full new squadron.

While Sergeant Waguespack has not disclosed any information he may have as to his future in the Air Force, it is reported that he will likely receive a very important overseas assignment soon.

Sergeant Waguespack is the son of Gaston J. Waguespack, Sr., prominent sugar-cane planter and vice president of the police jury, governing body of Assumption Parish, and the late Mrs. Waguespack, and is 1 of a family of 7 sons and a daughter. He is married to the former Elaine Naquin, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Naquin, who also comes from a prominent Assumption Parish family. They have a son, Garald, aged 7.

Dr. Capps and Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

DR. CAPPS AND MISSOURI

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

The Ninth Annual Workshop of the Missouri Association of School Administrators met in Columbia, Mo., June 16, 17, and 18, 1957. The theme was Expanding Horizons for Education, but the real theme was Dr. Capps and Missouri. Dr. Capps is now 70 years of age, and he was thus honored for his long and outstanding service to education in Missouri and throughout the world. The writer was one of many who attended in the status of his former major professor.

The program featured such speakers as Dean L. G. Townsend of the School of Education of the University of Missouri; Missouri State Commissioner of Education Hubert Wheeler (Educational Progress in Missouri); Ward Barnes, superintendent of schools, Normandy, Mo. (Educational Legislation in Missouri); President Elmer Ellis, of the University of Missouri (Higher Education in Its Relation to Secondary Schools); President Clifton R. Bell, of MASA; Dr. Howard Terry, superintendent of schools, Bonne Terre, Mo.; Drs. W. W. Carpenter, Ralph K. Watkins, and C. A. Phillips, of the University of Missouri; President Philip J. Hickey, of AASA; Joplin's superintendent of schools, Roi S. Woods; Lt. Gov. Edward V. Long, of Missouri; President M. Earle Collins, of Missouri Valley College (Making Education Live); S. M. Rissler; Armin H. Bueker; Robert H. Clark; Ben A. Rogers; Eddie B. Pope; Raymond E. Houston; H. D. Williams; Elmer F. Klein; Maynard Pettigrew; Noah Gray; Robert Gilchrest; Wendell Evans; Hugo Beck; Louis J. Donati; S. H. Marcellus; B. W. Robinson; H. A. Sadler; Clyde McConnell; George Heltzel; Clarence Farnham; Rudolph Eskridge; Joy Whitener; O. Wayne Phillips; C. E. Oliver; Laurence Phelps; Marvin Shamberger; Lynn Twitty; Byron Masterson; Bernard G. Campbell; George Englehart; Morgan Selvidge; Glenn M. Drew; and Everett Keith.

Big events are often hid, however, Dr. Robert Fee Hyatt, Jr., a prominent physician and civic leader, drowned on April 11, 1957, when a car in which he was riding plunged off a highway embankment into the backwaters of the swollen Ouachita River. The accident was caused by a hog in the road. The big event came when Mrs. Juanita Biscoe, of Orlando, Fla., wrote the poem, A Dedication:

"A great physician went away
To make another call
'Twas just a week before this Easter Day
As hundreds will recall.

An angel cometh from above
Walking o'er the earth with silent tread
While calling to our great physician
And saith, 'Now, we must go ahead.'

The earthly things dropped from view
As they swiftly crossed the restless sea
To behold an immortal power,
Prepared for you and me.

Work of our great physician
Ended with the last call
As he stepped o'er the threshhold
Entering into a great glass hall.

Thou art indeed, a great physician
Saieth He upon the throne
But grander, nobler things are due
A mansion all your own.

There is no death; just sunset and evening star
His earthly duties ended, never to be resumed
Now, he's living in his Father's mansion
Just busy in a celestial room.

Our hearts are all so desolate
With each blush of the early dawn
Revealing tear-stained cheeks
A sorrow destined to be borne.

But blessings flowing from above
Will heal our saddened hearts
As the light glows from the evening star
Reflecting beauty and strength to a new start."

Dr. A. G. Capps, professor of education, University of Missouri since 1921, with his wife and nine children, was the big event at the Ninth Annual Workshop rather than the other great speakers. Capps was to this event what Hyatt was to the poem, or, in another vein, what the Cockrell family is to Missouri.

It has been a poem and now it is Dr. Capps and Missouri, or as Phil Hickey indicated, Dr. Capps and America. As a former student of Dr. Capps, the writer would say "Dr. Capps and the World."

A United States View of the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an address by the Honorable James J. Wadsworth, Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations before the American Bar Association at the United Nations in New York, which address appeared in the Department of State Bulletin on August 5, 1957.

The address follows:

A UNITED STATES VIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS

(By James J. Wadsworth, deputy United States Representative to the United Nations)

My contribution to this distinguished meeting today is to bring to you, briefly, the United States view of the United Nations—which is my view personally and officially. How important is the United Nations to the United States?

If this impressive structure with its great expanse of glass, remarkable system of simultaneous translations, its superb communications all over the world did not further the best interests of its member nations, it would not long survive. This may seem like an unidealistic approach to many who see the vision of man's brotherhood, his responsibility for suffering humanity today, and his hopes for a better tomorrow. But fortunately there is no fundamental, irreconcilable conflict between the ideal and the practical. As a country, the most important thing we want but cannot achieve entirely by ourselves is peace. The peace we want is not that of a graveyard—or of a jail—but peace with freedom and with justice. Fortunately, this is the kind of peace which all of the world's people desire—and most of the world's governments.

The United Nations helps to achieve this kind of peace because it is a vital, growing concern which reflects the realities of international life.

It is not a perfect organization, because it is made up of nations and nations are made up of people and people are made up of many imperfections. As you members of the bar know all too well, people are by nature quarrelsome. Science hasn't yet revealed why this should be so, but it is an indisputable fact that homo sapiens for all his reasoning powers often makes a botch of his own personal relations—and not infrequently has made a botch of international relations.

Today we can no longer afford the luxury of allowing nations to "fight it out." We are impelled to find machinery for resolving our continuing conflicts if this planet is to remain habitable. The United Nations offers no cure for man's quarrelsome nature, but it does afford a place where men—and nations—can quarrel with words rather than with unleased cosmic forces.

Twelve years ago, when the United Nations Charter was written, many people thought of international law as the major element in international relationships. International law is an extremely important bulwark against international anarchy, and I would not want to belittlee its importance in any way. The United Nations International Law Commission has done and is doing good work. A very important conference on the law of the seas is being organized right now.

which is one tangible result of the deliberations of the Law Commission. The International Court of Justice is a vitally important institution. Even so, I think all would agree that the United Nations has not developed along the path of peace by the application of general principles of law but rather along the quite different path of peace by practical political solutions to specific problems.

The reason why this turn was taken is clear. The world today is divided into two totally different ideologies. Between the free world and the Communist world there is no common agreement as to even what is right and what is wrong. There is no common moral code, which must be the foundation of all law.

Even words have totally different meanings when used by a Communist and when used by a believer in individual liberty. Take for example the word "democracy"; the Communists, by prefixing the word "peoples," use "democracy" to describe a dictatorship as ruthless and total as any ever known in the history of man. Or take the word "liberation"; the Communists use that word to describe the extension of Moscow's control over neighboring countries. Or the word "aggression"—when Soviet troops go into a country to repress a revolt, this is a brotherly, helpful act, never an act of aggression. By Communist definition only capitalists can be aggressors. The irony becomes excruciatingly apparent when the Soviet Union becomes the champion of covenants guaranteeing human rights.

In addition to this semantic confusion, the legal approach to peace is handicapped by the lack of machinery for enforcing agreed-upon codes of behavior. The United Nations is not a superstate. It has none of the attributes of sovereignty. It cannot pass a law, levy a tax, or conscript a soldier. And, frankly, I am sure the United States would not be a member if the United Nations could do these things.

How then, you may ask, does the United Nations go about its herculean task of promoting peace, situation by situation, case by case? How can it possibly succeed?

The answer lies in its tremendous influence—its influence on governments and ultimately on world opinion. The framers of our own Declaration of Independence recognized the importance of world opinion when they spoke of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Today, although the United Nations has no power to compel, it has an enormous power to persuade.

ASSETS OF THE U. N.

There are four assets which are unique to the United Nations and which make it the influential organization that it is.

First there is the charter, which embodies a code of behavior all member nations have agreed to observe. The charter is not always lived up to by member nations, but it has an incalculable value as a standard by which nations are morally judged. They feel obliged to shape their actions to conform to its principles even when they are under great temptation to do otherwise. Any nation pays a high price in terms of international standing and influence if it cannot justify its actions in the light of the charter. The Soviet Union is indeed paying such a price right now for its utter disregard of charter principles in Hungary.

A second asset is the uniquely valuable servant of international peace, the Secretary General of the United Nations. Mr. Hammarskjold has earned great prestige for himself and for the office he occupies. He has performed services for the community of nations which no single national representative could have done. One illustration is his successful negotiation for the return of the 15 American fliers from Communist China.

Another unique asset of the United Nations is this huge assembly hall and the other meeting rooms, where representatives of 81 nations meet, annually, and in smaller groups throughout the year, on neutral ground. The United Nations is in truth a world meeting place or in the words of the charter "a center for harmonizing the actions of nations." It is a year-round meeting place of the nations, whose representatives get to know each other's policies and points of view and who report constantly to their governments.

Fourth and finally the United Nations makes a uniquely valuable contribution in the realm of public debate and public opinion. Heads of states and foreign ministers come here every year because they know that there is no other place in the world where their views can be made known as completely and dramatically. Throughout the year high government representatives are presenting their cases, marshaling their arguments, and finally reconciling their differences before the court of world opinion.

With these resources the United Nations has accomplished things which no one nation could possibly have done for itself—including the big and powerful United States.

At the same time we must recognize that the United Nations is not all powerful; there are some things it cannot do. I am often reminded of the old adage that people have the strengths of their weaknesses and the weaknesses of their strengths; so it is with the United Nations. This past year has given us examples of both these weaknesses and these strengths.

The Soviet slaughter in Hungary, in complete defiance of the United Nations, was agonizing proof of how little the United Nations can do, peacefully, to restrain a country which has very great power and no morals. This is because the United Nations conforms to the realities of power in the world today—realities which the United Nations does not create but only reflects. These realities of power are built into the United Nations organization itself.

The Soviet Union as well as the United States has a privileged position at the United Nations as one of the world's big powers, and with this privileged position goes the right to the veto. The Soviets have abused the veto. But to deprive them of the veto or of their United Nations membership, even if these steps were possible, would raise the question of the United States' right to use the veto. On this right Americans have always stood firm—and I am sure will always stand firm.

Most certainly there are limits to what the United Nations can do. Yet we should not underrate the positive results that can be achieved within these limits.

HUNGARY

In the case of Hungary, although the United Nations has not yet succeeded in freeing the Hungarian people from their bondage, the United Nations did mobilize the conscience of the world on their behalf. It did send emergency supplies to help the people in their struggle. The United Nations has organized emergency assistance for the 190,000 refugees who fled from Communist terror. United Nations resolutions, by huge majorities, demanded free elections for Hungary, the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and condemned the Soviet Union in the most forceful possible language. And the United Nations set up a fact-finding committee of five small nations to present the full facts of the situation in Hungary for all the world to know.[1]

By these actions the United Nations has held high the torch of liberty, ignited by Hungarian bravery. Never has a revolution been so widely known; never has an oppressor been so completely condemned. The fires of moral condemnation that were lighted here at the United Nations are plaguing the Soviet rulers today and will continue to plague them for years to come.

It is certainly possible that the worldwide indignation toward Soviet behavior in Hungary is a factor in the current upheavals in the Kremlin's high command. When a system stands condemned before the world, its rulers, in panic, start condemning each other.

We cannot, of course, know with certainty what goes on behind the Kremlin walls, but we do know that Soviet ruthlessness in Hungary and the United Nations reaction to it has had a profound impact on the Communist movement in all countries outside the Soviet orbit. There have been widespread resignations from Communist Party membership. The circulation of Communist newspapers and periodicals has fallen sharply. In local elections Communist Party candidates have lost strength.

In the so-called neutral countries—countries where most of the people are uncommitted ideologicaly because they are so preoccupied with the daily problem of getting enought to eat—the appeal of communism has greatly faded. The alluring phrases and promises no longer ring true. As the representatives of Burma told the General Assembly last fall: "There, speaking of Hungary, but for the grace of God go we."

I am willing to venture the prediction that what the United Nations has done and will yet do in the case of Hungary will be the beginning of the end as far as communism's appeal to the minds of men is concerned. If this proves to be the case, the United Nations contribution to the cause of freedom in Hungary will have been significant and substantial, despite the limits on the direct action it could take.

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

What now of the other crisis which the United Nations handled this past year, the threat of a world conflagration in the Middle East? Here we have a record of strong, swift action which, without doubt in my mind, headed off a third world war. If the United Nations had done only this one thing in its short life, it would have more than justified its existence.

By General Assembly resolutions—passed within a few days after the first shot was fired—massive military attacks on Egypt by three nations were brought to an end. The United Nations then created an emergency police force made up of troops from 10 small nations. This force moved in quickly, enabling the attackers to withdraw and peaceful conditions to be restored.

This is something the United States could not have done with its own troops without grave danger that the Soviet forces would also step in—which was one of the things we were working to prevent. And, in fact, since the United Nations Emergency Force has been in the area, there has been less tension and less friction than at any time in the last 10 years. Much yet remains to be done, but the United Nations has preserved peace in the Middle East and has given us a new chance to try again for real and lasting solutions to the problems of this troubled area.

In tackling the Middle East crisis of last October, which painfully divided us temporarily from three of our close and valued friends, the United Nations successfully made use of all of its unique assets: the charter, the Secretary General, the world meetingplace, and its capacity for mobilizing world opinion. Fortunately in this crisis the nations primarily involved were responsible nations, mindful of their charter pledges and of the importance of maintaining moral standards in the world. Among such countries the United Nations system works well, and with the cooperation of such countries it will continue to grow as a bulwark of a just peace.

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[1] For an excerpt from the report of this committee, see Bulletin of July 8, 1957, p. 63.

I have spoken today only about the United Nations as a political instrument for settling international disputes. If time permitted I would like to discuss with you the other vitally important work of the United Nations—work which improves living conditions the world over. This would take us into the exciting and strikingly successful battles against age-old diseases, which are being waged by the World Health Organization. It would take us into the Food and Agriculture Organization, which works to banish hunger from the earth. It would take us into the activities of the Children's Fund, the technical assistance program, the refugee organizations, and the other agencies which are working to buttress peace by helping people.

A complete picture of the United Nations in this phase of its work would also include the new Atomic Energy Agency, which has been a major concern of mine for the past year and a half. This is the Agency which will carry out President Eisenhower's idea of sharing the atom for constructive peaceful purposes, so that atomic energy becomes a blessing to mankind rather than a malediction. Our Senate has recently approved United States participation in this new Agency, and we are hopeful that enough other nations will ratify the statute for the Agency in the near future so that it can come into being before the year is out.[2]

Time permits only a mention of this practical work that the United Nations is doing, which ranges from such complex matters as the atom to such down-to-earth matters as postal services and the weather. But I do want to say that the United States regards these United Nations activities as important contributions to peace. For it is not enough to contain conflicts; it is necessary also to build constructive forces within the containers which will reduce the pressures and diminish the likelihood of future conflicts.

In all of these activities, both the political and the economic and social, it is no secret that the United States wields a tremendous influence. It is—and should be—our constant concern that we use this influence constructively.

We cannot—and do not—maintain our leadership merely because we are a great power, or merely because we are richly endowed with natural and technical resources. The United States cannot—and does not—buy friends in this international forum. We command respect when our policies are right, when they are morally just as well as politically and economically sound. It is for this reason that the United States Government examines with such care each issue that comes before the United Nations, not only in the light of traditional friendships and alliances, not only in the light of ideological competition, but above all in the light of what is right and just and proper.

And finally, let me say this: our leadership at the United Nations is only as good as our national policies. These policies cannot be clearly defined—and made effective—without an informed, alert citizenry who take the trouble, as you have today, to inform themselves about the problems of the world in which we live and the workings of this unique institution, the United Nations.

The problems we face in our quest for peace with freedom and justice are as complex and variable as human nature itself. We have learned that the willingness of the world to take common action varies from year to year and from issue to issue. Yet this is our challenge—to strike toward peace, creating community out of discord and order out of community.

[2] For transmittal of the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency to the Senate, see ibid., Apr. 15, 1957, p. 615; for text of statute, see ibid., Nov. 19, 1956, p. 820. The Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification on June 18.

"Pop" Kirsch of Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, a modern Horatio Alger story is without a doubt the success story of one of my constituents, Hyman Kirsch, known throughout Brooklyn as "Pop" Kirsch. He is now past 80 years of age and the founder of one of the largest soda-bottling companies in the country. He not only still maintains a very active interest in his business, but is also active in philanthropic work and civic institutions.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an article on "Pop" Kirsch published in the issue of June 23, 1957, of the New York Journal-American, one of our great New York metropolitan newspapers.

The article reads as follows:

"POP" KIRSCH, 80, STILL ACTIVE IN SODA FIRM—NO-CAL HIS BEST SELLER

(By Emanuel Doernberg)

Hyman Kirsch, now past 80, is the kind of man who doesn't wait until opportunity knocks. He goes out to find it.

When he arrived in America from his native land, Russia, in 1904, Kirsch was unable to land a job in the bottled-soda industry, which was his trade. So he set up a shop himself in a small Brooklyn store, made sirups by hand, turned out as much as 25 cases of soda a day and made deliveries himself.

That tiny store has grown into what is today Kirsch Beverages, Inc., and No-Cal Corp., which together make up about the largest independent organization in the land.

"Pop" Kirsch, as he's called around the bustling, noisy Brooklyn factory and office that is the heart of the Kirsch enterprise, is still active in management. He is treasurer of Kirsch Beverages and chairman of No-Cal.

FIRST OF ITS KIND

The latter company has, in a way, dwarfed the Kirsch name. The first of the nonfattening beverages, it came into being through Pop Kirsch's never ending desire to help others.

It came about this way. At the Jewish Chronic Diseases Hospital in Brooklyn, which to Kirsch is as important as the company he founded, doctors asked the sodamaker for a beverage that could be consumed by diabetic patients. The Kirsch firm went into action and its success is clear today in the mounting demand for the product, familiar now as No-Cal.

While Kirsch's son, Morris, is now president of both the Kirsch and No-Cal firms, the enterprising, hard-working founder is still very much on the job. He took time off from office duties the other day to show a visitor the long lines of clinking bottles, clanging machines, and automatic devices which have long since done away with his arduous handmade labors.

GRANDSONS HELP

Where once 25 cases a day resulted from his tireless efforts, many men and machines now speed out some 400 bottles of soda a minute and as many as 15,000 cases a day. Among those helping to produce the stacks of ginger ale, cherry, and other varieties of soft drinks, are Pop Kirsch's grandsons, Lee and David, who are also officers.

The elder Kirsch hints a new product in the soda field will be forthcoming, but is not yet ready to divulge what it is. He has no desire to get into any field but the one in which he has been so successful.

"I have always liked to stick to one business, and I still feel that way," he says.

CHARITABLE MAN

Kirsch, recently named Business Father of the Year by the Kiwanis Club of Williamsburg, is extremely active in philanthropic affairs. In addition to being vice president of the Jewish Chronic Diseases Hospital, he is also a director or trustee of many community institutions, including the Pride of Judea Orphans Home.

He wears his 80-plus years well. Kirsch reads 5 or 6 newspapers a day, enjoys flying trips and, we're told, helps pick the pretty models seen in Kirsch and No-Cal beverage ads.

Sales gains for all his products this year, particularly No-Cal, now 5 years old, is his optimistic prediction. He admits the competition is getting tougher all the time.

The company is exansion minded, Kirsch says, and the outlook is good. He points out that more people are drinking soda these days than ever, and that children are introduced to soda at an earlier age.

"Pop" Kirsch, with a son, daughter, 5 grandchildren, and 6 great-grandchildren, is very fond of children. But, he says sadly, "Kids today aren't as strong as when I was a boy."

Charles E. Eble—Local Boy Makes Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Ridgewood, N. Y., Times of August 1. The Ridgewood Times, published by my good friend, Joseph Schmidt, is one of the finest weekly papers in our community. The subject of the editorial is further proof that our country is still the land of opportunity. Knowing Mr. Eble, I know that he is fully deserving of all the honor and recognition that have come to him during his long career, and I join with his many friends in wishing him continued good health and good fortune.

The editorial is as follows:

CONGRATULATIONS

From office boy to president of the Nation's largest operating utility—this is the Horatio Alger-type experience of Charles Emil Eble, whose boyhood was spent here in Ridgewood.

Last week announcement was made of Mr. Eble's election to the presidency of the Consolidated Edison Co., of New York.

Boyhood friends of Mr. Eble, many of whom are still residing here or active in local business, industry, or the professions, recall that he attended public school 88, Catalpa Avenue

and Fresh Pond Road, and Bushwick High School.

Beginning in 1916 as an office boy, he transferred to the accounting department a year later. By 1935 he had risen to assistant controller of Consolidated Gas, now Consolidated Edison, and by 1937 to senior assistant controller of Consolidated Edison. His next promotions were to controller in 1946 and vice-president in charge of accounting, auditing, and tax operations in 1953.

Mr. Eble's success is further proof of the opportunities afforded all in this great land of ours. His career belies the notion held by some that to get ahead in life one must be born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Hard work, application to the tasks in hand, and a willingness to give service for wages received still brings their rewards. Indeed, one of the reasons for Mr. Eble's steady progress has been his policy of learning as much as he could about each department to which he was assigned and preparing himself for the job ahead. A genius at figures from his youth, with a keen, analytical mind, he devours legal briefs with the same relish that others read novels. Yet, remembering that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, he takes time out for recreation and relaxation. Whereas he played baseball and football as a lad, he now joins friends on the golf course.

Although Mr. Eble is no longer a Ridgewoodite (he now resides in Jamaica Estates), we like to feel that those traits of honesty, ambition, integrity, and service that have been characteristic of him were nurtured during his boyhood days in Ridgewood.

The entire community joins in extending heartiest congratulations.

A New Democracy in West Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of Monday, August 5, 1957:

A NEW DEMOCRACY IN WEST GERMANY
(By Victor Riesel)

Berlin is no fool's paradise. Operatives of 31 espionage and counterespionage units slither in and out of this city's shattered streets.

Both sides know what's happening almost every minute in the other's sector.

From the corroborated files of units in the western sector stalks a grim specter—detailed reports of intensified anti-Semitism in the Soviet areas since the recent purge.

Over there, Soviet occupation officials always have been anti-Semitic as has Nikita Khrushchev. There is an incident—never before reported—which reveals the kind of state the Russians are building in their zones.

RIOTS IN POLAND

Some time ago there were anti-Semitic riots in Poland. Some 3,000 Polish Jews fled to Berlin. Over 2,000 were made welcome in the democratic western sector and flown out to the German Federal Republic. More than 1,000 tried to stay with friends and relatives in the Russian sector of the city.

The Soviet command summoned the leader of the Jewish community in the Red sector. There is a record of this conversation. The Red official told the Jewish leader to tell the 1,000 refugees from Poland to get out of East Berlin. They had to flee again.

Contrasted with the renewed anti-Semitism in all Soviet territories is Germany's new democracy. I heard it from Chancellor Adenauer. I heard it from Germany's new generals.

ANOTHER MARX

But I also heard of it from Karl Marx—not the bearded fellow who started all the trouble, but my good friend, Karl Marx of Dusseldorf, leader of the Jewish community in that industrial capital of the Ruhr, and editor of the "Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland."

This is the general weekly of the Jews in Germany.

Mr. Marx and I talked privately in his home. The Jews are beginning to return to Germany, he told me, substantiating what I had been told in Bonn by Werner, Middelmann, head of the Ministry for Expellees, Refugees, and War Victims.

"INNER GUIDANCE"

There is more than the freedom of the Jews and the aid given them by the Republic which attests to deep striving to create a democratic state. From Gen. Ulrich de Maiziere, head of the new army's G–3, the Joint Command, I learned that no man need yield his conscientious objections and be forcibly drafted into the army, now 100,000 strong.

There is Count Wolf Baudissin, who has charge of "inner guidance"—indoctrination—of the Bundeswehr, the army. A cultured man, given to molding modern pottery as a hobby, the Count explained efforts to make certain that the future German soldier would be a good fighting man, but a man fighting for positive democracy.

I asked how they could assure the world of this. The count told me of the Army School for Democracy in Koblenz. There, every few months, 100 officers are trained in democracy. Every battalion commander must go through it.

The caste system is banished. Workingmen's sons can be officers, and officers can bark commands only on the military and not the social level.

Retirement of Elton J. Layton

SPEECH
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to extend my very best wishes to the clerk of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Mr. Elton J. Layton, as he begins the retirement which he has earned through so many hard years of work on behalf of the Congress and the people of the United States.

Congressman Granahan, during the years he served on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, considered Mr. Layton his close personal friend. Long before I met Mr. Layton, I learned to think of him as the efficient and conscientious person who always made sure Congressman Granahan was kept fully informed of all developments affecting his committee assignment.

Since coming to the House of Representatives, I have found Mr. Layton always helpful on any matter before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I am grateful to him for the assistance he has provided me in learning of issues before that committee which directly affect the people of Philadelphia. Mr. Layton is noted on Capitol Hill for the efficient manner in which he conducted the staff work of the committee and kept things on an even keel no matter how difficult the situation seemed to be.

I am sure he will enjoy his retirement, for he is a man of broad interests and a capacity for friendship. My best wishes go with him and his charming wife as they enter this new life of retirement and enjoyment of their own interests and hobbies.

Hail to the United States Coast Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News on the 167th anniversary of the founding of the United States Coast Guard:

HAIL TO THE UNITED STATES COAST GUARD
(By Harry H. Schlacht)

"So here's the Coast Guard battle song.
We fight on land and sea
Through howling gale and shot and shell
To win our victory.

"Semper Paratus is our guide,
Our pledge, our motto, too.
We're always ready, to do or die.
Aye! Coast Guard, we fight for you.

"Aye, we've been always ready
To do, fight, or die,
Write glory to the shield we wear
In letters to the sky.

"To sink the foe or save the maimed
Our mission and our pride,
We'll carry on 'til kingdom come
Ideals for which we've died.

"From north and south and east and west
The Coast Guard is in the fight
Busting subs and landing troops
The Axis feels our might.

"For we're the first invaders
On every fighting field.
From Arctic zone to tropic shore
You'll find our silver shield.

"So here's the Coast Guard marching song,
Through surf and storm and howling gale,
High shall our purpose be.

"Semper Paratus is our guide,
Our fame, our glory, too.
To fight, to save or fight and die.
Aye! Coast Guard, we are for you."

On Sunday, August 4, America will salute the United States Coast Guard. We shall commemorate the 167th anniversary of its founding by Alexander Hamilton, our first Secretary of Treasury. The United States Coast Guard serves in times of peace under the Treasury Department, and in time of war as part of the United States Navy.

We congratulate the wearers of the silver shield. We celebrate their gallant record in the service of our country. We are eternally

grateful, for America is a monument to their eternal spirit.

The Coast Guard was born at the birth of our Nation. It was nursed in the arms of lovers of liberty. It was destined to play a brilliant role in our history.

The Coast Guard's endurance has been tested by suffering and hardship. Its patriotic self-sacrifice has reached its noblest manifestation.

Its historic road has been marked with great and gallant milestones in the cause of our Nation. Its patriotism is the most beautiful picture that hangs in the gallery of our memories.

The Coast Guard has been endowed with a glorious tradition. It is an epic of adventure and drama of the sea. It has a unique record of selflessness. It has served with distinction, in peace and war, all humanity.

The Coast Guard has played a valiant role in the wars of our country. It has been the emergency arm of the Navy. It has participated in all the landings—in the Pacific from Guadalcanal to Okinawa, in Africa, Sicily, Italy, and Normandy.

Heroes and heroines of humanity, guardians of the sea, you have never failed to inspire us. You have served America nobly.

What are the stirring words of the Coast Guard marching song? It is "Semper Paratus"—"Always Ready." It is their official anthem. It is known around the world.

It was composed by Capt. Francis S. Van Boskerck, USCG. It captures all the glory, honor and tradition of the service. It speaks of the ideals and heritage for which every guardian lives and fights, to make men free.

United States Coast Guard—America marches forward with thee under the inspiration of your marching melody, on this your glorious anniversary, guided by freedom's holy light for a nobler humanity.

Monuments of stone and bronze will be erected to perpetuate your valorous deeds to humanity. But after the last of these shall have crumbled into dust and eroded to nothingness, your contributions to mankind will remain imperishable as long as men love liberty.

Hollander To Get Award of Civil Liberties Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, since the issue of civil rights is in the forefront of the news at the present time and is a topic of nationwide interest and Senate debate, I have been requested to call attention to an award recently presented to a very distinguished Baltimorean, Mr. Sidney Hollander, for his contributions to the defense of civil liberties.

The presentation of this award was made by a very well known Maryland business executive, Mr. Jack L. Levin, who is active in civic and philanthropic organizations.

In presenting the award to Mr. Hollander, the chairman of the awards committee, Mr. Jack Levin, called attention to the fact that Mr. Hollander is the busiest man in Baltimore, but he is never too busy to be a friend in need. Nothing is too big or to small for him to tackle. He can glide easily from the important role as president of a national organization like the National Social Welfare Assembly to a local meeting of the housing committee of the urban league—without any change of pace or drive.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the following article which appeared in the Baltimore Sun on May 13, 1957:

HOLLANDER TO GET AWARD OF CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

The Maryland executive board of the American Civil Liberties Union has selected Sidney Hollander, of Baltimore, to receive its 1957 Civil Liberties Award.

The award will be presented at the organization's annual report meeting at 8:30 p. m. tomorrow at Friends Meeting House, 3107 North Charles Street.

Mr. Hollander, 75, is being honored for his contributions to the defense of civil liberties, recent leadership in the successful effort to pass a Baltimore fair-employment ordinance, and for his current efforts to eliminate racial discrimination advancing equal rights and opportunity for all.

Mr. Hollander has been president of the National Social Welfare Assembly, vice president of the Council on Social Work Education since 1954, and is a member of the executive committee of the United Service Organizations.

He served as the first president of the Baltimore chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action, as president of the Jewish Children's Society, the Baltimore Jewish Congress, Baltimore Jewish Council, and the Baltimore Urban League.

He is founder of the Sidney Hollander Award for advancing equal rights and opportunities for Negroes in Maryland. The first award went to the Sun papers for fostering better racial understanding. Similar awards have been resulted to the Baltimore Department of Education, Baltimore Medical Society, Loyola College, and to Governor McKeldin.

Jack Levin, awards chairman, will make the presentation to Mr. Hollander. D. H. Bentley Glass, president of the Maryland ACLU branch, will preside.

Senator Kennedy and France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of August 3, 1957:

SENATOR KENNEDY AND FRANCE

When Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Massachusetts Democrat, unexpectedly called upon the United States to stop supporting the French War in Algeria the announcement stunned State Department officials and—it was assumed—caused a wave of hostile reaction in France.

However, it is now revealed that Senator KENNEDY's proposal received surprising support in France itself. Secretary of State Dulles took a dig at young Senator KENNEDY's proposals by saying that he would do better to busy himself with Communist colonialism, rather than criticize our ally.

The United States, in supporting French colonialism in Algeria, is doing more to inflame the Arab world and turn them toward communism than by any other one act.

Senator KENNEDY, who is not afraid to speak out on the subject, can see that also. Furthermore, he can see—contrary to Dulles' assertion that we do not want to concern ourselves with a very complicated French problem—that we are already very much involved.

France is a member of NATO and we are supplying the French with aid, in the form of money, loans, and arms. Moreover, we are trying to win the friendship of the Arab world and establish a new Middle East doctrine in that area.

Yet, the Cairo radio, and all Arabs, continually harp on the theme that we are supplying the French with arms and backing their colonialistic war in Algeria. The French contend that Algeria is a part of France, but this is a pretty weak contention, and the war in Algeria, the French colonialist war, is probably going to turn out the same way the French colonial war in Indochina and in Morocco turned out—in French defeat.

Why the French are not wise enough to see the light in time, and pull out with dignity and generosity, maintaining the friendship and respect of the Arabs, we are at a loss to understand. The British have acted much more wisely in this regard.

School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, thoughtful citizens throughout the Nation, regardless of their political party leanings, were intensely disappointed with the defeat of the Federal-aid-to school-construction bill in the House and deeply distressed with the lack of White House support and leadership on this issue. Typical of widespread reaction I have noted is the following excellent editorial from the Pioneer-Review, published at Philip, S. Dak., which I offer for the consideration of the Members of Congress:

[From the Philip (S. Dak.) Pioneer-Review of August 1, 1957]

SCHOOL AID

Some time ago we commented in this column about President Eisenhower's proposed budget cuts and spoke favorably regarding a decrease in Government spending and Government control.

In spite of that fact we are disappointed this week to learn of the defeat in Congress of the Federal-school-aid bill. It seemed to us to be a very necessary thing.

Federal agencies are now, and have been for years, spending our tax dollars for far less important things than the education of the Nation's children.

The President, for many months has spoken strongly, and often, about his desire to see a Federal-school-aid bill enacted. Yet, when his proposal came up for a congressional vote a number of Eisenhower Republicans not only voted, but worked against passage of the measure.

Why the Republican leaders in Congress, or the President, for that matter, failed to get behind the bill and get it passed, is a mystery to us. The point is, they did not, and the measure failed passage in the House by five votes. It appears now there will be no consideration of the measure or similar legislation for at least another year.

In the meantime, classrooms will continue to overflow and students will continue to attend half-day sessions in many places where State and local funds cannot keep up with the increasing population.

Coal Competitors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, coal is still the king of fuels but its throne is being severely challenged by its competitors. Its dethronement as a national fuel will have an adverse effect on America's effort to maintain adequate defense production when and if this country becomes involved in an all-out world conflict.

Without sufficient markets enabling the coal industry to preserve potential production during peacetimes, readiness to meet such an emergency will be lost. Time and investment required to reopen and reactivate needed mine operation may mean the difference between victory and defeat.

Three years ago this industry was in a deplorable condition. Decreased domestic demands for coal were so low that many mines were closed leaving 100,000 miners and as many transportation employees out of work. Only through timely Federal aid in making foreign markets available was the industry able to survive. This demand for American coal may or may not last, depending upon the future economies of Europe, Japan, our wavering allies, and the Federal Government's contribution to their purchasing power.

America's coal has become the unfortunate victim of three powerful competitors—fuel oil, natural gas, and electricity. Competition from the latter, however, is compensated to a degree since electric power depends upon coal for much of its production.

Residual fuel oil, a refinery byproduct of no further value to the oil industry, has become a popular substitute for coal for the operation of diesel engines, boiler use, and heating. Since markets for this byproduct of the refineries merely adds so much velvet to their profits, they are in favorable position to undersell to coal users and thereby reap additional profits. Most of this fuel is imported from Venezuela, some of it from the Middle East. The importers of this commodity have had a free rein for many years. They have increased their import volume from year to year, with no effort on the part of the oil companies to voluntarily limit importation, nor have our Government leaders yet recognized that excessive imports of this fuel are not in the national interest. Coal shipments to the eastern seaboard have dwindled alarmingly, while imported residual oil continues to undersell and displace coal as a fuel in many parts of the Nation.

The record shows imports of residual fuel oil to August 1, 1957, amounted to 93,461,000 barrels, which is equivalent to 22,428,800 net tons of bituminous coal. Projected to the end of the year, an estimated increase of residual fuel oil for the year 1957 will be 2 million barrels over 1956. Legislative efforts to limit residual imports have failed repeatedly. In April of this year, the President appealed to the major oil companies to voluntarily reduce their imports of this fuel with no apparent response. The President then appointed a special Cabinet Committee to study and advise remedial action. This Committee recently reported to the President that the continued increase in the importation of oil was not in the national interest and recommended "mandatory programs if the importers failed to cut crude imports to 10 percent below the 1954–56 average." Please note that this report applies only to crude imports but makes no mention of oil products or residual fuel oil.

No matter how successful the Department of the Interior may be in securing voluntary compliance of the importers to limit crude oil imports, it is apparent that no effort to restrict the importation of residual oil is contemplated at this time.

The coal people are alarmed at the gradual increased rate of residual oil imports and the rate at which it is displacing their markets, thereby weakening their investment in present facilities.

Since natural gas offers the householder immeasurable advantages over coal, no attempt by coal producers to discourage its use for this purpose is being made. But the coal people look upon industrial use of natural gas, now estimated to consume two-thirds of present field production, as an unjustified and uneconomical means of depleting existing known reserves. No one can question that the rapid depletion of these reserves will reflect itself in an increased price domestic users will be compelled to pay for this commodity. They do, however, object, and rightfully so, to unfair cutrate sales of this fuel to industrial users, especially when cutrate sales by the pipelines are permitted by the FPC with no regulation of rates. To witness their industrial coal customers convert one by one from coal to gas is further warning that their industry will face the time when their investments in equipment and sales organization will suffer severe losses. It should also serve as a warning to the Nation's policymakers that a defunct coal industry cannot be expected to respond to the Nation's call in time of emergency.

While the freedom of industry to choose the fuel it elects to use is not questioned by the coal industry, unregulated direct and interruptible sales by pipeline companies at costs sufficiently low to induce industry to burn gas instead of coal is considered unfair competition.

In the pending legislation, referred to as the Harris bill, the coal industry is endeavoring to include a provision compelling the FPC to close the loophole in existing law, making it unlawful for pipeline companies to negotiate sales of gas to industrialists at rates lower than that which they charge municipal distributors for resale to domestic customers. An amendment to this effect will be offered when this bill comes to the floor of the House. It is hoped that the Members of the House will recognize the value of this amendment to the overall economy of the Nation.

The United States Air Force Rehabilitation and Restoration Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, recently a young Air Force recruit of good family, 19 years of age, got involved in some trouble on a liberty while on duty with the Air Force. He and another airman took about $20 from two civilians when the airman needed money to visit further drinking emporiums. He was court-martialed and sentenced to a dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of pay and allowances, and confinement for 1 year.

I became interested in the case, having known several generations of the family of one of the airmen, who reside in my district, and was able to supply people who knew the excellent background and good development of the young man. Air Force official reports indicated that the airmen appeared to be sincerely remorseful for misconduct, and that the young airman whose case I was interested in had maintained an excellent conduct and work record since confinement, and that he was strong in his desire to rehabilitate himself and make amends for his wrongdoing.

During the appellate review of the airman's case, he was selected to participate in the Air Force's retraining program at Amarillo Air Force Base, Tex. In the course of my inquiry into the case with the Judge Advocate General of the Air Force, I had several opportunities to see the progress made by the Air Force in its program of delinquency correction and rehabilitation of offenders. I was very impressed with the thoroughness of post-trial reviews afforded convicted airmen, and particularly the advanced methods employed by the Air Force in the treatment and rehabilitation opportunities afforded delinquent airmen. I should like to submit the following report on the Air Force rehabilitation and restoration program for inclusion in the RECORD:

THE AMARILLO AIR FORCE REHABILITATION PROGRAM—REPORT OF GEN. REGINALD C. HARMON, MAJOR GENERAL, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

In 1948, shortly after the Air Force became a separate and distinct armed force, its

Judge Advocate General became acutely aware of the need for complete post-trial investigations and an effective rehabilitation program. As a result, the Judge Advocate General put into operation a mandatory requirement for complete post-trial reports in all court-martial cases involving the imposition of a bad-conduct or dishonorable discharge as part of the court's sentence.

Prior to initial approval of a sentence by the officer who convened the court, the staff judge advocate of the airbase concerned is required to submit to the convening authority a written review as to the legal sufficiency of the record of trial and a complete report on the military record of the accused, his civilian background, reports and recommendations from supervisory personnel, the confinement officer, chaplain, and all other data pertaining to the accused, together with his recommendations as to the appropriateness of the sentence and the feasibility of clemency action. This report is submitted in written form and it becomes a part of the allied papers to the record of trial. Based on the information incorporated in this report, the convening authority is in a position where he can review the case with the benefit of a complete analysis of the character of the accused, his background, and potentiality for rehabilitation and further military service; and he can take action to approve, mitigate, remit, or suspend such portions of the sentence as he may deem the circumstances warrant.

The post-trial report is also of valuable assistance in the appellate review of court-martial proceedings in the Office of the Judge Advocate General. Being a part of the allied papers to the record of trial, the data contained in these reports is readily available to the board of review for a determination as to the appropriateness of the approved sentence. In addition, the report is carefully considered by the Judge Advocate General in his deliberation on the case for a determination as to whether the exercise of his clemency authority is warranted. These reports have also proved invaluable to the confinement authorities who are charged with the custodial responsibility of airmen prisoners, and the data contained in the reports serves as background information in the treatment, correction, and rehabilitation of the prisoner during his incarceration.

As a result of the requirement for full and complete post-trial evaluation reports, the Air Force found a minimization of disparities in sentences, and it became aware of an increase in the number of convicted airmen who were potentially rehabilitable for further useful military service and who could eventually earn a separation from the Air Force under honorable conditions rather than by punitive discharge.

Recognizing the need for an expansion and implementation of its rehabilitation and restoration program, the Air Force began an exhaustive study in 1951 on the feasibility of establishing a pilot rehabilitation center for the treatment and retraining of delinquent airmen. It became apparent during the planning stages that in a military establishment, as in the civil community, purely punitive methods of dealing with offenders should give way to the development of methods designed to rehabilitate and prepare the offender to meet the responsibilities of military life and thereafter civilian life.

After a study of the open-type institutions at Seagoville, Tex., and Chino, Calif., the Air Force felt that in dealing with offenders, a deemphasis of custody and emphasis on rehabilitation or retraining was a basic requirement in implementing its rehabilitation and restoration to duty program, and this concept permeates the entire handling of its convicted offenders by the Air Force. The Air Force established the 3320th Retraining Group at Amarillo Air Force Base, Tex., which began its operations in February 1952, as a part of this program to deal with airmen sentenced to punitive discharges and those airmen who, even though not sentenced to a punitive discharge would benefit from rehabilitation training.

This retraining facility was specifically designed to prepare selected Air Force offenders for a return to an honorable duty status equipped to meet the demands of the military service as well as civilian life. To accomplish its mission, traditional confinement concepts, such as limited social contact, physical restraint, use of armed guards, strict disciplinary environment were abandoned. Newer concepts of correctional treatment involving personality, character and vocational development were included in the program. The offender is provided with a normal military environment in a permissive, relaxed atmosphere. Through expert, nondirective type of guidance, coupled with self-responsibility and self-understanding, the individual is presented with a potential for becoming a productive, well adjusted airman and a law abiding citizen upon return to his community.

The staff at the retraining group consists of carefully selected and specially qualified personnel, trained and experienced in dealing with behavior problems. Every effort is made to secure specialists in such fields as psychiatry, psychology, social therapy, and in military and vocational training and administration, to work together as a team rather than individually.

This Air Force correctional facility is equipped to handle from 250 to 275 prisoners. Selections are made from all airbases by local commanders on recommendations of their judge advocate and provost staffs; and every effort is made to transfer qualified prisoners to the retraining group as soon after trial as is practicable. Selections are also made by the Judge Advocate General during the appellate review of cases by his Office. Selections are not made solely on the basis of the offenses involved, but are based on the prisoner's potentiality for further useful and honorable service.

Each case is decided on its own individual merits after careful consideration of favorable and unfavorable factors. Favorable factors normally considered are the youth of the offender, absence of a prior disciplinary record or delinquency pattern, prior satisfactory military record, outstanding combat record, as well as extenuating and mitigating circumstances attending commission of the offense. Unfavorable factors such as conviction of serious crimes against the person (murder, rape, armed robbery), conviction of desertion from a unit engaged in combat, a record of homosexuality, chronic alcoholism or drug addiction, ordinarily will preclude selection for retraining. Prisoners with a minimum of 90 days or more remaining on their sentences to confinement and who otherwise meet the criteria can be selected, but there is no fixed maximum sentence. Those with other military or civil charges pending are normally precluded from participation in the program. Many airmen convicted of serious offenses, such as desertion, grand larceny, embezzlement, forgery, etc., and sentenced to substantial periods of confinement, have been successfully rehabilitated and restored to an honorable duty status through what has become konwn as the Amarillo program.

The average length of stay of a retrainee at the retraining group is from 4 to 6 months. Those who successfully complete the required phases of retraining personally apear before a board of officers, which board directs its findings and recommendations to the base commander. The base commander is authorized to take necessary action to remit or suspend unexecuted portions of sentences, including punitive discharges, and to effect the prisoners' restoration to a duty status. Those who are deemed not qualified for restoration and who are not favorably considered are either separated from the Air Force by execution of the punitive discharge and, depending on the circumstances and length of their sentences, may be transferred to a disciplinary barracks for further confinement. However, the Air Force feels that even those who are not restored to duty materially benefit from the program and upon their return to civilian life it can be expected that they will conduct themselves in a productive law-abiding manner.

The retraining program at Amarillo consists of four phases. Phase I is devoted to reception, orientation, and evaluation. This includes interviews with various staff members (personnel, chaplain, medical, and psychiatric) as well as psychometric testing and general evaluation. In this phase, the retrainee (the term "prisoner," for obvious psychological reasons, is never used in referring to personnel at Amarillo) becomes acquainted with the program—what it proposes to do for him and what is expected of him.

There is a maximum of staff contact and a minimum of administrative detail during this phase.

Phase II is devoted to the fundamentals of military and civil life. This includes guided group interaction with stress given to citizenship, history, and the organization and missions of the Armed Forces. Approximately two-thirds of the day is devoted to classroom instruction; the remainder of the day is devoted to supervised activities in athletics, hobbies and vocational interests. A highly qualified social therapist indirectly guides group discussions resembling actual life situations and social living. These sessions provide a wealth of material which becomes of great value in the later individualized therapy techniques. At the end of phase II, the retrainee has some insight into his own problems and has developed an ability to live with himself and others.

Phases III and IV are concerned with specialized counseling and career training which includes formal technical instruction on the air base. The length of this training is flexible and depends on the individual's progress as well as the length of his sentence. Maximum use is made of base facilities in working out special career training for each individual. In addition, academic courses are available for upgrading educational levels. The prerelease period is characterized by an increase in the number of privileges, depending on the individual's progress, attitude, and adjustment. By this time, the retrainee's existence becomes almost identical to the Air Force situation to which he may eventually return.

The most important factor in achieving its objectives is the highly personalized treatment utilized by the retraining group. Retraining is in effect a continuation of human relations in which the subject finds understanding and sympathetic individuals to assist him in achieving an insight into his problems. The open atmosphere with complete absence of cells, fences, guards, and guns provides an excellent environment for the healing of diseased emotions. Each retrainee lives in regular military-type barracks, under conditions similar to any air base. From a physical viewpoint, the retraining group is indistinguishable from other activities on the base; and the retrainees wear no distinguishing clothing nor any other feature which can identify them as prisoners. The only restraint is that of a moral obligation to remain within the group area—there is no physical restraint.

Since its activation in February 1952, the retraining group has handled a total of about 3,300 retrainees. Of these, 1,645, or about 50 percent, have been restored and returned to a duty status. Of the 1,645, or 50 percent,

restored, continuous followup studies reveal that 70 percent of the restorations have been successful; that is, those restored have committed no further offenses and are either on productive duty status or have earned a subsequent separation from the Air Force under honorable conditions. The rate of recidivism among restored retrainees runs about 18 percent.

The United States Air Force has, therefore, within the past 5 years seen its retraining experiment become an accepted correctional facility. It has seen the value of the program at Amarillo not only as an effective treatment and preventive method of dealing with offenders, but as a means of salvaging manpower in a military organization. Similar to other experiments in the field of corrections, the Retraining Group was not readily understood or accepted at the outset. However, despite many handicaps, the Air Force has aggressively pursued this retraining experiment at Amarillo, and its worthiness is becoming more and more apparent.

Many leading penologists and correctional authorities have visited the Amarillo operation and have commended the Air Force on its accomplishment. They have strongly advocated its further implementation and expansion. At the 38th Annual National Convention of the American Legion, held at Los Angeles, Calif., in September 1956, the Special Committee on the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the United States Court of Military Appeals commended the Air Force on its Amarillo program, and in its report it recommended that the Congress enact legislation which will give statutory authority to insure the continuance of the Air Force's retraining program at Amarillo. The committee further recommended that such congressional action extend the program to the Army, the Navy, and the Coast Guard.

The Air Force has established an effective program for the rehabilitation of its offenders and so long as an airman is under Air Force control, he is offered every opportunity, consistent with the maintenance of discipline and good order in a military organization, to rehabilitate himself and to regain an honorable status. The Air Force recognizes, too, that because of youth, immaturity, or family problems, certain offenders fail to avail themselves of rehabilitation opportunities and are subsequently punitively discharged in accordance with the sentences of their courts-martial. After return to civilian life, these individuals become acutely aware of the effect and consequences of a punitive discharge and seek some way of securing another type of discharge. Section 8253 (b), title 10, United States Code, which is the basic statute covering enlistment in the Air Force, provides that no person whose service during his last term of enlistment was not honest and faithful may be enlisted in the Air Force. However, the statute provides that the Secretary of the Air Force may authorize the enlistment or reenlistment in the Air Force of such a person if his conduct after that service has been good. In the implementation of the Air Force rehabilitation program even beyond the period of actual military service, the Secretary of the Air Force has, consistent with the aforementioned statute, recently established policies and procedures whereby a person last separated from the Air Force by dishonorable or bad conduct discharge may make application for enlistment after a period of 2 years has elapsed since his discharge and/or release from confinement. The applicants are screened for proof of exemplary conduct and character since return to civilian life and under established procedures are considered for enlistment with a waiver of the punitive discharge which historically had been a bar to reenlistment. The applicant must, however, be otherwise physically, mentally and morally qualified for enlistment. The Secretary of the Air Force has also established procedures whereby a person last separated administratively by undesirable discharge may make application to the Air Force Discharge Review Board and upon favorable action by that Board, he may be enlisted if he is deemed otherwise qualified.

The Air Force concept of correctional rather than punitive treatment of offenders is far reaching. It affords to any airman who sincerely desires to clear his record, an opportunity to regain an honorable position not only in the service but also upon his return to civilian life. Moreover, it provides a source of manpower which under a more arbitrary system would be lost, as would be the investments in recruiting, training, and utilization of specialized skills. The Air Force's program is firm in that it requires the individual offender to earn a better discharge. The type of discharge received by a member of the Armed Forces must reflect the character of service he rendered for his country. Certain emoluments result from the faithful and honest serving of one's country, which should of course be reserved for the deserving.

Under its progressive programs, the Air Force affords even those who erred during their service as airmen an opportunity to redeem themselves. There is no outright forgiveness of wrongdoing; rather the burden is put squarely on the offender. Depending therefore on the sincerity of his desire to make amends, the delinquent airman must work and conduct himself in a manner wholly satisfactory to his commanders; and upon termination of his term of service, he can look forward to the reward of an honorable position both in the military and civilian communities.

Dulles Fiddling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of August 3, 1957:

DULLES FIDDLING

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is still fiddling around with an erroneous decision the State Department has supported for many years, to bar American newsmen from Communist China.

In the first place, the State Department has no right to bar American newsmen from Communist China and Dulles' quibbling over this edict only reveals a growing suspicion—in the State Department and possibly on Dulles' part—that the State Department is wrong.

In a meeting with six news executives recently, Dulles again offered to permit a limited number of newsmen to go to China, but he and the news executives could not agree on any such limitation. Most of them believe that the State Department has no right to prevent American news coverage of Communist China.

Eventually, Dulles will have to retract the now-famous and arbitrary order. Further quibbling about it, in trying to limit the number of newsmen, is a ridiculous approach to the situation. The question is whether the basic principle of free newspaper reporting in all parts of the world can be ignored by a United States Secretary of State, who was not originally intended to be a supercenor of United States news publications.

And, what difference does it make whether 6, or 10, reporters are in China? Actually, 3 reporters could do just as much harm—if there is any harm to be done—as 12. As we see it, then, Dulles has no argument whatsoever.

Mrs. Sadie Wolf

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD House Resolution 253 of the California State Assembly commending Mrs. Sadie Wolf, of Los Angeles. I consider myself most fortunate in having Mrs. Wolf as a resident and constituent of the 24th Congressional District, and have been privileged to call her a friend for several years.

This recognition of Mrs. Wolf by the California State Legislature is richly deserved, and I could not let this opportunity pass without adding my own words of praise for her many accomplishments and contributions to her community, State, and Nation. Mrs. Wolf not only is a devoted wife and mother, but has found the time to take charge of and assist in numerous worthy civic projects in her community and church. She has played an extremely active and effective part in Republican politics in the State of California, serving as vice president of the Los Angeles County Republican assembly, and later as vice president of the California State Republican assembly, the oldest volunteer Republican organization in California. Although Mrs. Wolf is active in Republican circles, she is greatly respected and admired by, and has a host of friends in the Democratic Party as well.

Mrs. Sadie Wolf is surely an outstanding example of American womanhood. The resolution, which was introduced in the California State Legislature by Assemblyman Seth Johnson of the 56th Assembly District, follows:

CALIFORNIA STATE ASSEMBLY HOUSE RESOLUTION 253 COMMENDING MRS. SADIE WOLF

Whereas the attention of the legislature has ben directed to the noteworthy accomplisments of Mrs. Sadie Wolf, of Los Angeles; and

Whereas Sadie Wolf was born and reared in Hope, Kans., moving to Denver, Colo., in 1910, where she lived for 14 years; and

Whereas she was married to William E. Wolf, a captain in the Denver police department in 1916, and subsequently moved to Los Angeles in 1924; and

Whereas following her arrival in her adoptive state, Mrs. Wolf became intensely interested in politics, serving for many years on election boards in her district and organizing 68 precincts in the 56th Assembly District; and

Whereas in recognition of her exceptional abilities as an organizer she was selected as vice president of the Los Angeles County

Republican Assembly, and later as vice president of the California State Republican Assembly, the oldest volunteer Republican organization in the State; and

Whereas over the years Mrs. Wolf has given liberally of her time and energies to social welfare problems and has been an enthusiastic supporter of numerous civic projects in her community; and

Whereas she has also served as president of the Women's Missionary Society of the South Hollywood Presbyterian Church, and has been an active worker in that church for many years: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California, That the members highly commend Mrs. Sadie Wolf for her devoted civic spirit and extend their sincere gratitude on behalf of the citizens of the entire State as well as of her community for her many outstanding activities in the public interest; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit a suitably prepared copy of this resolution to Mrs. Sadie Wolf.

Republicans Seen at Fault in Defeats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gould Lincoln, an editorial writer whose column appears in the Washington, D. C., Star, on July 27, 1957, had some interesting remarks on how the Republicans have been responsible for defeats in several vital programs. He referred specifically to the defeat and abandonment of section 3 of the civil-rights bill, as well as the killing of the school bill, and the foreign-aid cuts.

It appears to me that this is a matter of considerable importance. The President's own party has killed three items which he considered to be essential portions of his legislative program. It is interesting to note that Republican responsibility for these defeats is clearly delineated in this article:

REPUBLICANS SEEN AT FAULT IN DEFEATS

(By Gould Lincoln)

This has not been a good week for the Eisenhower program in Congress. And in more than one case it has been the Republicans in Senate or House who have been largely responsible for ditching the President's proposals. Take a look at the record.

First off, Republican Senators abandoned section III of the civil-rights bill, striking out all provisions of this measure relating to enforcement of desegregation in the public schools—in the South, particularly—and other rights than that of voting.

Further, the Republicans in the Senate are now hesitating over a Democratic-sponsored amendment which would force jury trials in cases involving contempt of court orders relating to registering and voting. If enough of them support the jury-trial amendment or amendments, the victory for the Southern Democrats will be almost complete in this latest tussle over civil rights legislation.

Then, in the name of economy, the House, with plenty of Republican aid, cut some $700 million out of the program for foreign aid—aid which President Eisenhower has contended again and again is vital for overall national defense.

SCHOOL AID BILL KILLED

Third, the President's school bill, designed to aid the States in building vitally needed schoolhouses, was defeated in the House, and here again the GOP members were clearly responsible in great measure. The vote was extremely close—208 to 203. And what did the Republicans do? One hundred and eleven of them supported the motion of Democratic Representative HOWARD W. SMITH of Virginia to strike out the enacting clause, which meant sudden death for the measure. Voting against the Smith amendment were only 77 Republicans. It is sufficient to note that 126 Democrats voted to keep the bill alive, while only 97 of them supported the Smith motion. This measure would have authorized the expenditure of $1.5 billion for school construction, to have been used where that aid is particularly needed. It is true the bill was not helped by adoption of an amendment offered by Representative WAINWRIGHT, Republican of New York, designed to deny school aid in any local district where schools operated in violation of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregated schools. But most of these same Republicans then turned and voted for the Smith motion which killed the bill. Among them were two of the principal Republican leaders in the House—HALLECK of Indiana and ARENDS of Illinois. If the Republicans in the House felt they were making any hay with the Negro voters of the North or South by these tactics, they must believe them mighty stupid.

And fourth, in the face of the strong opposition of the President and his administration, the House went ahead and supported strongly a bill to give the postal employees—some 500,000 in number—a 12½ percent increase in pay. If such measure becomes law, it will increase Government costs by $279 million annually. Further, such action is encouraging to those who are supporting a general increase for 1 million civil service employees, which would cost a great deal more.

VOTED TO CUT FOREIGN AID

Economy doesn't run, apparently, a straight course in some congressional minds. These same Members of Congress had voted, in the main, for a $2.3 billion cut in the national defense appropriations asked by the President, not to mention the costs in the foreign aid bill. It is true that President Eisenhower can, and is expected to, veto the bill or bills increasing Federal pay at this time. But he has to take the cuts in national defense and foreign aid, or run the risk of getting even less.

With an election coming up, however, Congressmen will have made their record in support of the increase in postal and other Federal salaries. Good politics, perhaps—they let the President save the money of the voters in this instance, while at the same time they ingratiated themselves with the Federal employees who vote.

The fight in the Senate over the proposed jury trial amendment to section IV of the civil-rights bill may result in a very close vote. Its adoption, supporters of the bill insist, would result in nullification in some of the States of the deep South; they contend a jury trial in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, for example, where feeling runs strong would result invariably in acquittal, thereby injuring chances for assuring more Negroes the full franchise in those areas.

The supporters of the jury trial amendment, on the other hand, not only insist that denial of jury trials is un-American, but now point to the conviction in Knoxville of seven defendants in a case involving criminal contempt of a Federal court which had ordered desegregation in a Clinton, Tenn. school. They say this conviction shows that an all-white jury in the South will convict when justified.

That part of Tennessee, however, is strongly Republican and always has been since the days of the Civil War. It is no criterion, so far as juries in other southern areas are concerned.

Michael Late Benedum—The Great Wildcatter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under previous leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article from the Petroleum Engineer, July 1957. The article, Petroleum Profile, is a fitting tribute to one of West Virginia's greatest and most magnanimous citizens, Mr. Michael Late Benedum, the Great Wildcatter.

The article follows:

PETROLEUM PROFILE

There is but one living man still actively engaged in the search for oil throughout the world who pioneered in the Appalachian area almost 70 years ago when wells of post-hole depth (800 to 1,500 feet) supplied all of America's demand for petroleum products.

That man is the Great Wildcatter,[1] Michael Late Benedum, of Pittsburgh, who is reputed to have discovered more oil than any other individual in history. Now nearing his 88th birthday (July 16), this last remaining link with the romantic and boisterous days of the industry's infancy is still carrying on new breathtaking exploratory projects. Individually and through companies which he controls, Uncle Mike, as he is known, is drilling in every oil-producing area of the United States and has only recently initiated large-scale undertakings in South and Central America and Africa on a total of more than 3 million acres.

In his office daily from 9 to 5, including Saturdays ("I didn't find oil and make money working only 40 hours a week."), Mike Benedum is familiar with the last detail of every project in which he has an interest. He also finds time, personally to direct the distribution of a large portion of his fortune. ("I do not regard this money as belonging to me. Providence has seen fit to make me the trustee of it, and it is my obligation to use it for the benefit of others.")

How well "Uncle Mike" has discharged this obligation can be measured to some extent in terms of the 700-odd students in 26 colleges in the Pittsburgh area who are beneficiaries of Benedum scholarships and student loan funds. Dozens of churches, hospitals, and other like institutions in the same section of the country receive financial support from him.

The small West Virginia community of Bridgeport, where the great wildcatter was born and reared, has been the object of much of the Benedum philanthropy. The population and wealth of that town has quadrupled in the last 10 years, during which period its most beloved and distinguished native son

[1] The book, The Great Wildcatter, by Sam Mallison, is not only the story of Mike Benedum, but an excellent history of the petroleum industry.

built a $2 million church; a community center, with library, auditorium, dining room, clubrooms, swimming pool, ice-skating rink, and playgrounds at about the same cost; and restored and beautified the town's old cemeteries at a total cost of about half a million dollars.

Instead of the flamboyant character most people associate with oil wildcatting, especially those who were active in the early days of wild and woolly boomtowns, Mr. Benedum is a quiet, shy, and soft-spoken individual. Despite his advanced years, he still walks as erectly as a West Point cadet. Widowed since 1951, and childless since 1918, when his only son died while serving his country in the First World War, the great wildcatter lives alone on an 8-acre estate in the heart of Pittsburgh's residential East End.

There business associates and friends are frequent dinner guests, later joining "Uncle Mike" before 1 of the 3 television screens in his 23-room mansion. It is entirely in keeping with his vision and pioneering spirit that his favorite programs are of the Superman and Science Fiction type.

"I know that you boys think I am in my dotage," he says to associates, "but do you realize that the things they show you in these plays are not half as fantastic as what we actually have today would have been to my father and mother."

"Uncle Mike" may have something there. It is a fact that he has had something through the years as he risked his money and endeavors on the future he envisioned, but which most of his contemporaries regarded as pure fantasy. Some thought he was suffering from the mid-summer heat of Louisiana when, at the time of his discovery of the Caddo field in 1907, he predicted the day would come when America would consume 3 million barrers of oil every day. When that day arrived, he went out on another limb with the prophecy that this demand would treble in three decades.

Now, as the great wildcatter looks at the space men on his television, he says that many now in the oil business will live to see the day when domestic demand reaches 15 million barrels a day.

Funny thing is that no one laughs at his predictions any more.

Ambassador Gluck and the Tongue Cluckers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the New Haven Register of August 2 has a message for our colleagues who hunt headlines first and think about United States foreign relations second.

There is every reason to believe Mr. Gluck will assume his duties as our Ambassador to Ceylon as, if it must be painfully pointed out to his senatorial adversaries, he is already confirmed by that body.

That a qualified and successful man goes to Ceylon as our Ambassador in a something less than favorable light should rest on the conscience of those who would use United States foreign relations as a subject of banter and catcalls.

The editorial follows:

AMBASSADOR GLUCK AND THE TONGUE CLUCKERS

We hold no brief for the failure of our Ambassador-elect to Ceylon, Maxwell Gluck, to do a little rudimentary boning up on Ceylon before he faced the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Reference to any good encyclopedia, year-book, or almanac might have informed him superficially on such things as the name of Ceylon's prime minister or the best pronunciation of Jawaharlal Nehru.

And we agree that diplomacy is a serious business today—requiring a serious and competent approach.

But we also believe that urbanity and sincerity are not necessarily the same thing, and that expert knowledge of any of the world's countries—as our diplomatic performance in Asia and much of the Middle East has shown since World War II—does not necessarily lead to the best exposition of United States purposes or the surest protection of American interests.

Think of all the smooth careermen with their precise mastery of mandarin Chinese and their sensitive appreciation of Peiping jade, who were involved—wittingly or unwittingly—in the American policy debacle in China.

Maxwell Gluck has certainly gotten off on the wrong foot in his first diplomatic venture. And he's not being helped at all by those who might want to make antiadministration capital out of his blunder in Washington—or anti-American capital out of his blunder in sensitive Ceylon.

But as an ordinary American of good heart and good sense and decent competence in anything he has undertaken privately, he may still be able to bring to Ceylon and the Ceylonese people something that the striped-pants traditionalists might never bring.

Let's quit all this tongue clucking.

Senate Earns Respect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Lancaster, S. C., News of August 1, 1957:

SENATE EARNS RESPECT

Regardless of the outcome of the civil-rights debate now going on in the Senate of the United States, partisans on both sides have been impressed with the temperate, searching manner in which every word and phrase of the proposed act is being examined. Instead of an agonizing filibuster, opponents of the bill have talked to the point with skill and ability, reminding citizens of this country that the Senate is still the greatest deliberative body in the world.

The debate has produced some surprising changes of attitude. Senator JACKSON, of Washington, who has given full support to the bill from its inception, including the defeated section III, announced this week that he was joining the southerners in insisting on jury trials in civil-rights cases. His reasons were clearly stated.

He noted that section IV of the bill gave the Attorney General of the United States and his assistant the choice of granting or withholding the right to jury trial in all cases where the offense was also a violation of other and existing laws. This would mean, he said, that jury trials would be allowed in areas where convictions could be expected and denied in areas where conviction was in doubt.

"If a violation of voting rights occurred in Chicago, where the Government thought a jury would convict," said Senator JACKSON, "it could move for an indictment and jury trial. But if an identical case occurred in Mobile, the jury trial could be neatly bypassed through the injunctive process.

"Thus the prosecuting attorney would have the option of barring or bestowing the right to trial by jury. He could decide, in effect, that what is good for New York is bad for New Orleans.

"Let us not forget that trial by jury, just as the right to vote, is one of our traditional civil rights. And, like all civil rights, it is designed to shield the individual from the potential tyranny of the State. We need not be so fearful for the future of the voting rights that we now endanger one civil right to guard another. The adoption of an appropriate jury trial amendment is essential if we are to prevent a piecemeal assault on the foundations of our legal system."

Communism in Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to include a news story from the Washington Post of today's date which points up the fact that Communist terrorism is still a foot in our neighbor nation of Guatemala.

The recent tragic death of President Carlos Castillo Armas at the hands of an assassin was, according to Guatemalan Ambassador Jose Luis Cruz Salazar, traceable to the Communist conspiracy.

On my visit to Guatemala recently, I was most favorably impressed with the economic and political advances made under the leadership of Castillo Armas. In 1955 I saw the beginnings of the moderate government which had overcome Communist agitation for control. This was a great victory for the side of freedom, and I expressed at that time the hope that this freedom would be zealously guarded.

It is now apparent that efforts must be redoubled, not only in Guatemala, but everywhere, to the end that those nations desiring to advance under a free government may retain that privilege. The State Department must not lessen its concentration on the problems of our neighbors to the south, for the old adage still applies: an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

The article follows:

CASTILLO'S DEATH IS LAID TO REDS

(By Warren Unna)

Guatemalan Ambassador Jose Luis Cruz Salazar declared yesterday that the July 26 assassination of President Carlos Castillo Armas was an attempt by Latin American

Communists to intimidate his country in its recent economic and political advances.

But Cruz's remarks, at a chancery press conference, left to future investigation the specific links between the assassination and a Communist conspiracy.

Cruz indicated that so far the principal evidence of communistic backing has come from a statement by Juan Jose Arevalo, Communist president of Guatemala from 1945 to 1951, who declared from his place of exile in Santiago:

"Romeo Vasquez Sanchez (Castillo's assassin) enters history as a symbol of Latin American struggle against those who would attempt to transform them into colonies. Those who tried to sell or lease Guatemala to foreign commercial concerns will fall one by one under the terrible judgment of popular vendetta."

Cruz said that in the past 18 months, not only Castillo, but Panamanian President Jose Antonio Remon and Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza had also fallen under assassins' bullets. Cruz said he could think that the deaths of Remon and Somoza had also been caused by Communists.

The Ambassador declared that Communists were now operating throughout Latin America. He particularly singled out ex-Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbens Guzman, ousted by Castillo in 1954, as directing operations from Montevideo.

Ambassador Cruz said he (a potential candidate in next December's presidential election) along with other Latin American anti-Communists, were now marked for future assassinations. He added: "We will not be intimidated."

Cruz credited United States mutual assistance with greatly assisting Guatemala's fight against communism.

Some of the incidents surrounding President Castillo's assassination which were touched upon at yesterday's press conference were:

How Vasquez, Castillo's assassin, came to be hired as a presidential palace guard 2 months ago when he had been discharged by the Guatemalan Army for political instability in 1955. (Cruz explained that the Ministry of Defense, which has charge of the army, has no control over the palace guard.)

How Vasquez happened to leave behind such a detailed account of his scheme. (Cruz explained a diary, found in a trunk in Vasquez's room, "showed his intentions to kill the President and how much he liked the Communist movement." Cruz also said envelopes were found, mailed to Vasquez from Moscow. He declined to discuss what happened to the letters inside.)

How Vasques happened to be placed in the palace guard by the Communists. (Cruz said Bernardo Vides, a Guatemalan attorney and former member of the Liberation Congress, had recommended Vasquez for the post and then fled to El Salvador immediately after Castillo's assassination. Cruz added there was as yet no evidence that Vides is a Communist.)

Golden Spike Centennial of the B. & O. Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an address given by Walter L. Hays, president of American Fire & Casualty Co., Orlando, Fla., at the B. & O. Golden Spike Centennial, on July 4, 1957, at Shoals, Ind.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to be here—it is a privilege for two particular reasons:

First, this country is "home."

Second, my family's history is deep in the roots of this community.

According to an inscription on a flyleaf in a Bible I have, my great-great-grandfather, William Hays, driving by ox team from North Carolina, arrived in the Indiana Territory in 1805. I can only presume he came to this area because he bought land here. He purchased an extensive tract of land from the Federal Government in 1817—a year after Indiana became a State. The land is not far from here on White River. After a few years, he sold this land to Whitfield Force, and the farm is still in the Force family.

My great-great-grandfather had the pioneer spirit. Again, in 1830 he forged on west to Illinois. He went to the vicinity of what is now Virden, near Springfield. I have visited his grave.

When he left here, 1 son and 2 daughters remained. The son was Joseph Hays, who married Elizabeth Dobson. Joseph Hays was my great-grandfather. One daughter married Elijah Halbert, who was the son of one of the original settlers in this community.

My mother's father, William Mitchell, operated a hotel here in Shoals about the year 1890. It stood on land now occupied by your library. He reared his family on the Ed Hewitt farm, not far from here in the direction of West Union.

My great-grandfather James Stephen Wood (my Grandmother Hays' father) was county commissioner of Martin County at the time this railroad was built. He is buried near here on the bluff overlooking the White River in the Wood family burial plot on the O'Brien farm.

I have often said "Men, not geographical locations, build cities."

Men built the town of Shoals. Most towns in this area came to the railroad, they were built because of the railroad. In the case of Shoals, the railroad came to Shoals. Shoals was a thriving community long before the railroad was here. In fact, it was one of the earliest settlements in the State.

Transportation has always been looked upon as the lifeblood of a community, of a community's growth. However, years before the railroad was built here—in spite of handicaps—men walked, came on horseback, and by oxcart, and started the community we now call Shoals. They were the kind of men who build communities.

In the beginning, this community was called Halbert's Bluff on one side and Dougherty's Shoals on the other. With its splendid leadership the community grew, and in 1844 the name was changed to Memphis.

In 1857, a great thing happened—a great blessing to this community—the railroad came. People here could travel to the outside world, swiftly and comfortably. They could ship their produce and livestock to the big city markets. They could quickly receive shipments of manufactured goods from the factories. Now, the whole community increased its tempo, took on new life, and enthusiasm for the future ran high.

The name was changed to Shoals—this was a growing, thriving community—a community of men and women who were on the forward march. At that time there were such leaders as Halbert, Benefield, Coffin, Henley, Chenoweth, and many others.

Fifty years later, the community was still growing. Those in the forefront in leadership were Uncle Ben Johnson, Charles Slates, Perry Albaugh, Sam Ross, Mike Shirley, O. L. Stiles, T. V. Allbright, Drs. H. W. Shirley, G. M. Freeman and I. N. Plummer, Judge Hillary Houghton, and Publisher Al Hackler.

Today, on this Fourth of July, we celebrate the 100th anniversary of the building of this railroad and we find the leaders here now are descendants of those who pioneered this community more than 100 years ago.

When originally built, the railroad was called the Ohio and Mississippi, or the O. & M. Abner T. Ellis, of neighboring Vincennes, was president of the railroad at the time it was built. Construction on the O. & M. started at St. Louis and Cincinnati, and the crews worked toward each other, meeting here in Shoals, just a few days before the Fourth of July 100 years ago. This is where the Golden Spike was driven when they met.

On the 4th of July, a day like this—except that we have more people here—exactly 100 years ago, about this time of day, the first passenger train steamed into the Shoals' station. It was an extremely modern train for its time. Aboard were many notables and officials, and others anxious to make this historic trip. President Buchanan was represent by Secretary of State, the Honorable Lewis Cash. It was an exciting occasion. Not only were a large number aboard the train, but the people came here to Shoals from everywhere. A large crowd gathered to witness and take part in this memorable event. They wanted to take part in it and, too, they wanted to see a modern passenger train. The train stopped here for some time and it was a very festive and exciting occasion.

It was only fitting that an old pioneer like the Baltimore & Ohio would soon take over and join with the men who were pioneers here to develop this country.

The B. & O. was truly a pioneer. Not only is it one of the greatest railroad systems in the Nation, but it was the very first railroad in the United States.

Its expansion into this Central West has been the very backbone of the vast development of this country. We owe much to this great railroad system and its foresight—its energies, which were expended here.

Towns the size of Shoals are coming into the own. People ar discovering the virtues of the small town. With good roads and all modern inventions—TV, deep freezes, etc.—people find it a privilege to live in the small town, and it offers many advantages over the city.

Industry feels the same. For several years, industry has been decentralizing and moving to the smaller communities. You here in Shoals have a new industry in the mining of gypsum. This is growing to be a gigantic industry. Other industries are coming your way. You have an abundance of undeveloped and undiscovered natural resources. Your future never looked brighter. It is bright with the promise of great things to come.

Shoals is nestled in the heart of Indiana's beauty spot. Tourists testify that this countryside is the beauty spot of the Nation.

You people here are real folks—the kind of people who make this Nation great. You are independent thinkers. You are people who are self-supporting, who come nearer to producing what you use than folks anywhere else. You ask only for opportunity. You will make your own security.

You are the kind of people who balance your budgets and want to see the Federal Government balance its budget.

Our Government keeps spending and spending. Our national debt gets bigger and bigger. As the debt grows bigger, our dollar grows smaller.

If we keep this up until our dollar has no value, that's the day the Communists are looking forward to—that's when they stepped in on other countries.

To save this Nation we must stabilize our dollar. We must do it now. We should start by cutting our Government expenses, then trimming the national debt.

Let's go back to the principles our forefathers fought for.

Let's give States' rights back to the States. Let's give the Government back to the people. Let's give business back to business.

We should take business out of the Federal, State, and local governments. Our great industries were built on free enterprise and free competition. That is what made this country the greatest country in the world in which to live.

Abraham Lincoln said: "You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves." When a nation does for its people what they should do for themselves that nation is weakened.

Mentioning Lincoln, reminds me that he did pass through Shoals in 1860 traveling from Illinois to make a speech in Cincinnati.

The only thing we will ever have that is worthwhile is what we get for ourselves. With this goes self-respect.

I know the people here believe in the philosophy that the people support the government not the government the people.

The pendulum of our Nation has swung too far to the left, towards socialism, and away from free enterprise and free competition. The pendulum will eventually swing back, but a lot of damage will have been done.

I know that you people here in Martin County are the kind of people who will be in the forefront in swinging that pendulum back to the center.

The people of this community have carried on the tradition of the Pilgrims who landed 337 years ago. They were seeking freedom—opportunities. From the birth of the United States of America in 1776 to 1933, this country sky-rocketed in industry, in education, in every kind of development. No other country has ever equaled this record. Our foundation was based on free competition and free enterprise—on "opportunities"—not on security. The people had the opportunity to provide their own security.

Beginning in 1933, people in this country, like those of other countries in the past, were promised security, and this trend is still being carried on. For this alleged security, we have given up a certain amount of freedom, and there has been a lessening of opportunities.

We find ourselves regulated and taxed—taxed and regulated. Furthermore, we are entangled in the tentacles of an octopus of a bureaucratic government from which we haven't been able to shake free. Anything that harms your business, harms you. Anything that injures the people, injures our future. Our progress or our failures are reduced down to the responsibility of every citizen. If we do not assume the responsibilities of citizenship, we may be relieved of them in due time. If we are relieved of responsibilities, we may also be relieved of our freedom.

We should pass on to our children the freedom we inherited from our ancestors. Instead, are we going to pass on to them a bureaucratic, regulatory nation without freedom and weighted down with debt—a debt which they may never be able to pay?

Speaking of education, most of our colleges are Government-subsidized in some form. There are not many independent colleges left. However, you have a number of good, independent colleges in Indiana, and you have the Nation's outstanding system of supporting these independent colleges by business. We should emphasize the advantage of the development of free enterprise and the American way of life as we once knew it, not the one toward which we are drifting.

My charge against many colleges is not that they teach Marxism, socialism, communism, and fascism; my charge is that they do not teach enough Americanism. It's only right that they should teach all forms of government. A student must know what he is up against. On the other hand, little is taught about Americanism or the capitalistic form of government, under which the student is to live. Our educators must believe that we are supposed to know our form of government. The truth is, we are not well enough informed. Our boys and girls should be taught the advantages of a capitalistic form of government, and to understand it. We must spell it out so that it is thoroughly understood.

It is our hope that through the educational halls of this country, we will be able to emphasize to the students of today and tomorrow the importance of carrying on our form of government, preserving our freedoms, and continuing our system of free economy. Our hopes for the future lie with those who will carry on our responsibilities.

When Paul was saved from a Jewish mob and stood before a Roman captain to be examined by scourging, not for any offense but on the theory that anyone attacked by a mob must be guilty of something, he saved himself by declaring his Roman citizenship. The astonished and unconvinced captain asked, "Art thou a Roman? With a great sum obtained I this freedom." The captain said he paid a great sum of money for his freedom. Paul answered drily, "But I was born free."

We, too, were born free. Thanks to God, and thanks to all the brave men who have paid a great price, who have given us that inheritance, and all who have fought and died to preserve it.

We are free, and heir and joint-owner of the greatest Nation ever built on this earth. We are the most favored and most fortunate people the world has ever seen. But American citizenship is not all privileges. We have a responsibility, too.

Our responsibility is as coruler of this Nation—to make ourselves worthy of being Americans.

Capitalism Will Not Work Without Capital; and Capital Comes From Savings

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, for many years in the thirties Americans were fed the Keynesian dogma that to save was not a virtue but a vice. In fact, it was taught that almost the only economic crime was not to spend. So more and more people abandoned age-old habits of thrift and spent not only all they had, but all they could borrow or get on credit. Now our economy is unable to expand as rapidly as we wish for lack of capital. We are paying for the failure to build up savings. We are being painfully reminded of the simple fact that a capitalistic system will not work without capital. Credit is sound only if based on capital; it is not a substitute for capital. Capital comes from savings. There is no Aladdin's lamp.

Mr. Speaker, this thesis is developed—with all its dire portents—in the following article by J. H. Kelleghan of the staff of Economic Trend Line Studies:

WHO WILL TOLL THE MIDNIGHT BELL?

With supreme self-assurance, not to say blissful ignorance, we Americans are accustomed to assume that our national economy is expandable at will and at an accelerating rate. We calmly ignore the inescapable fact that an industrial economy at any given moment has relatively rigid limitations. Being all of one piece, it must be expanded in toto rather than section by section. Raw materials, transportation, manufacturing processes, distribution; the economy is a complex of integrated facilities and processes, not a conglomeration of separate and independent units.

We look at a factory and we know that the factory's output can be increased only by adding the necessary facilities in terms of plants, equipment, personnel, and distributing organization. We look at the individual components of the economy almost at random and we readily accept the same conclusion.

We know that a railroad, or a trucking company cannot increase its capacity without increasing its facilities. We know that a mine must expand its access to available mineral deposits before it can increase its total output. Yet when it comes to accepting a check on our efforts to expand our individual operations and activities, we refuse to acknowledge these elementary facts and are ready to blame our frustration on "tight money" and the cost of credit.

Perhaps this is a heritage from our pioneer ancestors who were willing to accept only the sea-washed sands of the Pacific as a barrier to their migratory ambitions.

At any rate, an industrial economy, like a continent, does have definite and recognizable limits. These limits, moreover, can be expanded only by adding to the whole complex of facilities and services that go into the structure of an industrial economy and determine the limits of its effective capacity.

Blissfully ignoring these hard truths, our National Government administrations for two decades persistently promulgated the myth that the expansion of the economy required only an increase in the purchasing power of the American people. Converted into terms of immediate application for political purposes, this meant simply handing out more money, first to the people who needed it most, then to ever strengthening pressure groups whose demands have now become insatiable. This was expected to stimulate business, set the wheels of industry whirring faster and generally push out the limits of economic activity.

This simple solution of the extremely complex problems associated with the expansion of individual incomes, and inferentially our industrial economy, has a universal and irresistible appeal. It is the modern version of the myth of the magical increase in worldly treasures from Aladdin's lamp. It is an eternally flowing cornucopia with a bank paying teller's window at the business end.

Sign a paper, walk to a window of a bank or loan office, pick up a check and you are dispatched on the realization of your fondest dreams. If you are the president of a corporation, you call your banker for an interview, sign a paper and start the construction of that new plant, purchase the latest equipment or buy a company that an aging management must sell.

If you are an executive head in the Federal Government, you budget your hopes and dreams and fondly anticipate the collection of the necessary taxes from an unwilling but virtually helpless body politic.

It is all so easy. All it requires is for banks and the monetary system to make the necessary money available. People have been taught that money is the instrument that controls everything. The relatively slow and arduous processes by which the things are produced that money buys are secondary. In fact, it would be much more in keeping with present-day attitudes if banks and loan companies decorated the fronts of their quarters with replicas of ancient and magical oriental lamps and huge black genii rather than with Grecian columns and neon signs.

Our preoccupation with credit as the open sesame to material well-being is little short of hypnotic. We no longer measure our purchasing power in terms of dollars of actual income but in terms of how many time payments our income will cover. The credit upon which these purchases are based is considered inexhaustible. Indeed, many businessmen consider it a downright outrage that they have to even think of the unpleasant reality of exhausted bank credit.

One wonders if the people who lived in that shadowy past when the tale of Aladdin's magic first enthralled men's minds, actually believed that Aladdin's lamp was real. One searches his imagination for the reality which may have clung to Cinderella, her prince, and her pumpkin carriage. One feels a sympathetic understanding for the victims of all the get-rich-quick schemes that have deluded people down through the ages. One begins to perceive that the monetary inflation of modern times is but the fulfillment of the fairytales of all ages that magically opened the coffers of wealth and affluence. Is it any wonder that people believe that modern science with its technology, its electronics, its nuclear physics, has achieved a triumphant breakthrough, has smashed the walls of cold, unyielding reality, and loosed the flood of all the wonderful things that modern science and industry together have created.

How are we to tell our people that the present monetary abundance is just a fairytale, the modern version of all the eager, hopeful longing that has filled the human heart from the beginning of time? How are we to make them understand that our modern industrial economy harnesses human effort more completely and more relentlessly than any other economic arrangements that have ever existed? How are we to shatter their illusions and their dreams about money, and force them to see that the money for which they reach is and must remain an incorruptible system that must function with the precision and perfection of all the other scientific and mechanical processes if it is to serve adequately the economy of which it is an integral part.

Sooner or later the lamp will vanish into thin air, the carriage will become a pumpkin again and the reality of an inelastic paycheck will subdue the ready credibility of unchanging human hearts. Who among our industrial leaders, our politicians, our Presidents, will have the temerity, the courage, to toll the midnight bell?

Plight of Modern Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the wavering and vacillation of the President of the United States has reached such a disgraceful state that the newspapers are commenting quite openly on it. In that connection I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD a comment by Mr. Thomas L. Stokes appearing in the Washington, D. C., Evening Star of July 31, 1957, wherein the whole sad tale of Mr. Eisenhower's leaping from one side of an issue to another is well cataloged.

The article follows:

PLIGHT OF MODERN REPUBLICANS—EISENHOWER STAND ON RIGHTS AND SCHOOLS AND REGULAR G. O. P. BLAMED

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

It is 9 months since President Eisenhower, in the triumphant hour of his reelection, proclaimed a victory for modern Republicanism. Today the modern Republican wing of the party, which did not flourish as the President hoped, is at a low ebb.

For there are two reasons. One is the President, himself. The other is the regular G. O. P. in Congress which has been using its strength there and its skill to gather power to itself to an extent generally overlooked until circumstances invite an exploration, as they do now.

As for the President, he has let down the modern or Eisenhower Republicans who are, to be sure, a minority of the party in both House and Senate. The recent surrender on the school-construction bill, without a fight, was a sign of the virtual abdication of the President as leader of modern Republicanism.

With increasing misgivings, the beleagured Eisenhower Republicans have watched the President waver indecisively on one after another issue in which they are concerned and for which they were prepared to fight. Indeed, he appeared at times within the space of a few days to be on both sides.

The first, you will recall, was the Eisenhower budget which was welcomed by Eisenhower Republicans as an adequate budget that they were prepared to champion. They saw the President begin to wobble when Secretary of Treasury Humphrey, who retired this week, expressed fears that the budget was too big. The President was on all sides of that issue.

He was bluffed on the civil-rights bill by Senator DICK RUSSELL, of Georgia, who did a variation on oratory of the Reconstruction era. That seemed to frighten the President, as it was intended to do, though it was old stuff to southerners of DICK RUSSELL'S generation who went through that routine in Friday afternoon debates and declamations in grammar school, high school, and even in college. You have seen the results in the retreat the President began to beat on the civil-rights bill, with which he was not too familiar. His party leader in the Senate—Senator KNOWLAND, of California—who wants a good bill as an issue in his own campaign for the 1960 Republican presidential nomination, has been desperately trying to stem the tide of retreat to salvage something.

On the school-construction bill, the President was talked out of making a fight for it by his party leaders in the House—floor leader, JOE MARTIN, of Massachusetts; assistant leader, CHARLIE HALLECK, of Indiana, and party whip, LES ARENDS, of Illinois. We saw the old familiar coalition at work again. Southern Democrats under Representative HOWARD SMITH, of Virginia, joined with Republican old-guardsters under Messrs. HALLECK and ARENDS and beat the measure just as they did in the last Congress.

The discouragement and disillusionment of the modern Republicans is deepened by something else they saw during the retreat on civil rights, the surrender on schools, and indecision on the budget. This was how energetic the White House staff can be under the whip of Sherman Adams, and how compliant the President can be with his signature to letters they prepare for him, on other issues that are not advertised in the modern Republican handbills.

To kill the bill in the House Interior Committee for a high Federal dam at Hells Canyon, as championed by conservation forces, President Eisenhower signed a letter to a member of the committee after Sherman Adams had used all the necessary pressures to line up Republicans. Before that, the President signed another letter to the House Interstate Commerce Committee which had received a few days before, on his behalf, a recommendation for two amendments to the natural-gas bill to protect the consumer. The oil and gas industry has protested the amendments. The President's letter, which followed the oil and gas outcry, said in effect it would be all right if those amendments were dropped. They were, naturally.

Any analysis of the renaissance of the GOP Old Guard must take account of the weakening effect on the influence of the President and of the Eisenhower Republicans caused by the constitutional ban on a third term. He is the first President in history to have the burden of this now-generally-recognized handicap which loosens his grip on the party. The regulars under Senator KNOWLAND are capitalizing on that handicap.

Attempts To Trade With Communists Are Not Realism—They Are Illusion and Frustration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following illuminating article from the Christian Science Monitor as condensed in the Reader's Digest:

THEY TRIED TO DO BUSINESS WITH THE SOVIETS

(By A. Wilfred May)

Nowhere has the Soviet scheme to divide the Western allies been more successful than on the question of East-West trade. A British businessman, who is a Conservative and a genuine friend of the United States, argued with me that the West not only can but must do business with the Soviet-bloc countries.

"It is the only realistic policy," he said, "especially since your tariff restrictions permit the rest of the free world little choice."

This is a point I have heard made many times by businessmen in Great Britain and on the Continent. They are encouraged by the insistence of the Soviet Union that it desires nothing more than normal international trade relations.

Lately, some outstanding industrialists in the United States have been inclined to agree. Our businessmen, they say, ought not to spurn a satisfactory, profitable contract just because they don't like the politics of the men with whom they make it.

"Satisfactory." "Profitable." The words are persuasive, but the facts are not.

The answer to the question of whether we can do business with the Soviets lies in the experience of those who have tried to. In a recent journey through Europe and the Middle East I asked many businessmen their judgment on the actualities of the East-West trade situation.

"Berlin businessmen certainly would like to do business with the East," said Bernhard Grodzki, managing director of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce, "but that seems almost impossible because the U. S. S. R. has never offered us anything in exchange that we could use."

In Bohn, Dr. Günther Altenburg of the Industrie und Handelstag declared that "repeatedly, the goods the Eastern Zone promises have not come through. Moreover, quality is not up to Western standards."

Swiss industrial and banking circles told me their postwar trade agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania were disappointments. The Poles defaulted on their coal-delivery contract. Wheat imported from Rumania last year proved inferior in quality and was priced well above the world market. A Geneva importer complained that the quality of Czechoslovakian automobiles is below that of German, British and American cars, and the prices are relatively high.

In Greece, the situation was theoretically more conducive to trade with Soviet-bloc countries because Greece has an abundance of tobacco and dried fruits, products certainly usable by the Soviets, and these products could be traded for needed oil, coal and other minerals high on the Soviet list of exportable goods.

However, Greeks have found it next to impossible to sell their commodities to the Soviet Union because of the Russians' persistent unreliability—manifested in price juggling when they buy, and uncertainty in the time and quality of their deliveries when they sell.

Alexander Tsatsos, head of the Federation of Greek Industries and president of the General Cement Co., which produces 45 percent of Greece's cement, stated that his firm has become disillusioned about sales to the Soviet Union. "They are completely uninterested in a free and natural market," he said. "They continually price their exports out of the market. It is unwise to depend on them."

Greek trade with Soviet-bloc countries is further complicated by the Communists' unwillingness to extend credit. Other countries give time drafts up to 18 months; the Soviets and their satellites customarily demand at least half cash when the order is placed, and the balance covered by a draft.

In Ankara, Turkey's Premier Adnan Menderes said: "The Russians have often dangled petroleum supplies before us, but always with strings attached such as demanding to send along troublesome commercial missions or trying to tie us up on long-term contracts."

"We have had to face the hard reality," says Kazim Taskent, one of Turkey's leading businessmen, "that free-enterprise people that can't do business with a state-controlled economy."

Mulkieve Rifat Edin, textile wholesaler in Istanbul, whose business is largely dependent on imported woolens, snipped a piece from a bolt of cloth from Czechoslovakia and handed it to me. It fell to pieces at a mere touch. "As you can see," he said demonstrating with samples from other bolts, "the quality from Britain and France is much better, and I can get it at the same price."

In Lebanon, Phillipe Tamer, president of the Association of Lebanese Industries, admitted that from the economic view trade with the Soviet Union would be advantageous. "But from the political point of view it is highly dangerous," he said. "Our businessmen are concerned lest, through economic channels and their clever propaganda, the Soviets gain political control over us."

A private British trade mission to Moscow in February 1954 returned home with word that the Soviet was interested in buying 400 million pounds' worth of equipment over the next 3 years. Since then the British have actually booked orders amounting to only 40 million pounds, and of these but half were approved as nonstrategic by the British authorities.

Everywhere the record is one of constant irritation, frustration, and distrust. The interviews I have cited show that the source of the trouble does not lie in the political or economic policy of the United States or other free countries, but simply in the difficulties of doing business with the Soviets.

Moreover, it is questionable whether the U. S. S. R. could pay for a greatly stepped-up import program. Its presumed vast gold supply is open to doubt. The Soviet Union's ability to pay for imports depends largely on its grain and timber—and its grain production is in a notoriously poor state.

In spite of all this, the drive for more East-West trade continues. In an aura of idealism it is pushed here and abroad by businessmen and appeasers who maintain that revising the strategic-minerals list would bring in the business. The facts and figures prove that this is a dangerous illusion.

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The French Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Thomas Jefferson once said: "Every man is a citizen of two countries: his own and France."

It is because the civilized world has for so long had a vested interest in French culture and French democracy that the turmoil and tragedy besetting France today has been a cause of deep concern and sorrow for friends of France around the world.

In the midst of recurring crises, we should not lose sight of the valiant and constructive steps which have been taken in some areas of French policy. The affirmative French ratification of the European common market and the European Atomic Energy Community—EURATOM—are worthy of highest commendation. In these fields of growing European unity, France has set her face toward constructive and realistic policies. As Americans we should rejoice that this has happened and lend all possible encouragement.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, these constructive steps have been taken in the midst of the continuing French national crisis—a crisis of domestic political and foreign involvement. At the heart of this crisis remains a cancer of the Algerian war.

Two astute Minnesota citizens have recently commented on that situation and its deteriorating influence on French national life. One of these commentators is the distinguished president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, Mr. John Cowles, who has just returned from Europe. The August 4, 1957, issue of the Minneapolis Tribune contains an article by Mr. Cowles entitled "Dictator May Rise as French Crisis Deepens."

Mr. Robert W. Smith of the editorial page staff of the same paper contributed an article to the July 28 issue entitled "Algeria—Will France Pay a Tragic Price?"

I ask unanimous consent that the text of these two articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of August 4, 1957]

COWLES ON EUROPE: DICTATOR MAY RISE AS FRENCH CRISIS DEEPENS

(By John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, who has just returned from Europe)

France is headed for a major political and economic crisis, one so serious that its repercussions likely will dominate the front pages of the newspapers this fall just as the news from Suez and the Near East did last autumn and winter.

There is 1 chance in 3 or 4 that General DeGaulle, wartime leader of the Free French forces, will become dictator of France before this year ends.

Unless the Algerian war is speedily concluded and drastic additional tax and fiscal reforms put into effect—neither of which now appears likely—France shortly will exhaust its last monetary reserves and foreign credits.

When and if that happens almost all the French political parties, except the Communist, may vote to suspend the constitution and open the way for DeGaulle or some other "strong man" to try to save France with unlimited dictatorial powers.

"MESS" DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND

It is difficult for Americans who have seen France's productive farmlands to understand how such a basically rich nation could have got itself into such a mess.

There are three principal explanations:

First, the French, remembering the two Napoleons, deeply mistrust giving their executive real authority. The constitution of the fourth and present French republic, drafted after World War II, does not give the executive branch of the government the power it needs to function effectively. The situation is made worse by the existence of many, instead of only 2 or 3, political parties, so that coalition cabinets are always necessary.

Second, French tax enforcement is and always has been notoriously lax. Most Frenchmen feel there is no more moral turpitude involved in evading income taxes than many Americans felt when back in our prohibition era they patronized bootleggers and speakeasies. Many if not most French business concerns keep two sets of books, one for the tax collector and the other for the owners.

Third, the expense of carrying on the Algerian war is a heavy drain. France has well over 400,000 troops in Algeria now, or about as many as the United States and Britain combined had in all of North Africa when we were fighting the Germans and Italians there in 1943.

FEAR A "COMMUNIST SATELLITE"

The French have not yet reached the point where they can seriously contemplate the possibility of their now granting the Algerians real independence. They emphasize instead their obligations to the 1,200,000 Europeans who live in Algeria.

They also genuinely believe that an independent Algeria would probably speedily become a Communist satellite, with dire consequences to the other nations bordering on the Mediterranean.

Unless France within a few months offers a proposal satisfactory to the Algerians, probably one with a timetable specifying the dates of a step-by-step program leading to complete local autonomy and self-government, Algeria eventually will prove another Indochina.

France's deficit in foreign exchange is running more than $120 million a month and growing. In addition, the domestic government's internal budget is deeply in red ink.

When one realizes that France's national income is less than a tenth that of America's, the magnitude of the French deficit becomes apparent.

Currently France is having an inflationary boom. Like rouge masking pallid lips, it gives a false impression of healthy prosperity.

Every sophisticated person expects another French currency devaluation. Consequently, people with money deposited in French banks which they can't transfer elsewhere are rushing to buy property. Prices of Paris real estate are soaring.

Paintings and other works of art are eagerly purchased for twice what they would have brought a couple of years ago.

GOLD RESERVES NEAR EXHAUSTION

The French Government's gold reserves are declining steadily. They probably will be exhausted in a few months. Except for the possibility that West Germany may lend France $100 million or so through the European Payment Union, no additional foreign loans now appear available.

The heart of the entire NATO military supply setup is France. The United States has invested billions in the huge complex of airfields and pipelines and supply depots in France, against the possibility of a Russian attempt to overrun western Europe.

If the American public sometime this fall suddenly comes to realize that the Government of the French Republic is bankrupt and our whole NATO defense logistics setup is seriously endangered, the shock may be considerable.

Perhaps a dictatorship by General De Gaulle, followed, one may hope, by a satisfactory settlement of the Algerian war and the creation of a new French constitution that will give the executive branch of the Government the powers that modern conditions require, will be the solution.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of July 28, 1957]

ALGERIA—WILL FRANCE PAY A TRAGIC PRICE?

(By Robert W. Smith)

Whatever your feelings about the rights or wrongs of the French position in Algeria, if you are a friend of France, you can't help regretting and resenting what its north African colonial policy is doing to the land of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The direct economic cost of the Algerian war to France can be expressed in many ways. A year ago, for example, the direct annual cost to the Government was estimated at a billion dollars. The present French budget allocates nearly $3 billion to the campaign—more than a quarter of the entire budget.

Another estimate, apparently more conservative than that of the Government budget makers, is that the Algerian war costs $2,875,000 a day.

The indirect costs are as heavy, though not as obvious. The drain on the Government budget, for example, is crippling French economic growth. For, because of the semi-Socialist nature of the economy, in postwar years up to 60 percent of the capital investment in French industry has come directly from the Government. Thus important industrial projects have had to be canceled because of the Algerian affair.

And this in a nation on the brink of taking the economically desperate step of devaluing its currency in order to step up exports and limit imports and domestic consumption.

There are other indirect drains, too: wine-gorged France—whose surplus-grape growers extort irrational annual subsidies from the Government—imports great quantities of wine from Algeria, which, because Algeria

is officially part of France, are also Government-subsidized; also, the French economy can ill spare the productive potential of the 200,000-plus reservists mobilized to fill out the 400,000-man army in Algeria. And so on.

The moral costs of the conflict are equally hurtful. Granting the excesses of violence which can be pinned on the Algerian rebels, the conscience of a nation boasting the civilization and culture attributed to France cannot go unscathed by such brutality and counter-terror as have been charged to French forces by reliable, responsible Frenchmen. An example is the scathing indictment contained in Lieutenant in Algeria, a book by Servan-Schreiber, the editor of L'Express who was recalled to active duty in a vain attempt to silence his newspaper's criticism of government policy.

A growing number of reports of this sort appear to be having some effect on sections of French public opinion hitherto unstirred by other developments in Algeria. France's influential intellectuals especially are beginning to revolt against the "pacification" policy.

A measure of the ideological cost of the Algerian contest can be seen in the increasing measures taken against French newspapers which publish anything which shows the Government in a bad light. Not a month has passed this year in which responsible newspapers have not seen whole editions confiscated, in France as well as in Algeria, because they contained critical articles.

This repression of the press has gone so far that the International Press Institute report for June contained this paragraph: "Pierre Lafitte, editor of Herria, a small weekly published in French and Basque, is indicated in Bayonne for an article on Algeria." This is the country of Voltaire.

Last week France began to tot up the political cost of its Algerian adventure. Premier Bourges-Maunoury won a vote of confidence on his demand for special police powers, within France, to cope with Algerian rebels—officially "French citizens"—who have spread their terrorist activities to metropolitan France. The official tally was 280 to 183 for the Premier. But that is misleading.

Actually, 29 Socialists—whose party is the mainstay of the government—officially abstained while another 100 deputies did not vote at all. And most, if not all, of those not voting oppose the government's policies.

The new police powers are alarming; they include the right of night search of Frenchmen's homes, the right to intern all individuals convicted of carrying arms or "endangering public security," and the right to imprison suspects for 21 days (at a time).

The powers are, of course, aimed at Algerians. But many Frenchmen remember that similar powers were given to Premier Daladier in 1939 to be used against Communists and Nazi agents—and then were used by the Vichy government against Daladier himself and French leaders like Leon Blum, General Gamelin and other anti-Nazis. There's this saving feature: the present special powers are for the life of this government only.

But a precedent has been set, and many Frenchmen are uneasy. One disquieted man is the venerable Socialist leader Andre Philip, who recently warned his fellow citizens that "France is in a condition of prefascism."

That wolf-warning has been made often before in politically unstable France. It may be unwarranted now—it probably is. But more and more citizens and friends of France are wondering how long the Algerian "pacification" can go on without intolerably increasing the chances for a new Bonaparte or Petain.

Protests Against Oil Imports Reduction Show Inconsistency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it is my earnest hope that the President's recent action in signing an order designed to curtail excessive imports of petroleum into this country will remove a distinct threat to our national security and also bring some relief to our hard-pressed independent oil producers.

Some protests against the President's action have been voiced. The Wichita Daily Times, of Wichita Falls, Tex., editorially points out that there is a certain lack of logic in some of these protests. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CRY IN THE DARK

Protests against the move to reduce the flow of foreign oil into the United States, lodged by a number of eastern Senators of both major political parties, are hardly logical in the face of the protectionist idea traditional to that part of the country.

New Englanders have always fought for an umbrella of tariffs in the legislative Chambers of the Federal Government to shield the industries nestled there.

Now that the shoe is on another foot, however, the New Englanders jump to the other side of the fence and cry, "Foul ball." They are in the role, for once, of consumers.

Fie on their inconsistency.

And their fears are groundless that reduced quotas of foreign-oil imports, which is just a variation of the protective tariffs they have long enjoyed, cloak a move for exorbitant increases in the price of petroleum products.

In European countries, where all petroleum is imported and most of it is cheap Middle East oil, consumers pay 3 to 5 times more than the going prices in the United States. Any American tourist, even those from Maine, Vermont, or Massachusetts, has only to check the cost of petrol at the filling station pump abroad to know this is so.

It is just as important to protect the well-being of the domestic oil-producing industry, as all of the New England industries lumped together. In fact, it is even more important, for oil is only where it can be found, and industry has no particular home, as its migration from the East in recent years has proved.

Farm Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, an editorial in the July 25, 1957, issue of the Central Oregon Midstatesman, is worthy of note. The editor, commenting on the tobogganning farm income, centers his attention on the experience of farmers of one of the Northwest's great reclamation projects, the North Unit project of central Oregon.

Basic commodities are not grown on these irrigated acres. But the economic history of these acres, to which the editorial refers, is the repetition of the story of agriculture in all areas in the past 5 years.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this informative editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Amos Bierly, county agent for farm crops at Madras, threw some light on the farm squeeze when members of the Bend Chamber of Commerce visited that city on their recent jaunt to Pelton Dam. Although Bierly talked about "extremes," he clearly pointed out that the farmers are having a rough go of it.

Taking figures from the North Unit irrigation project, Bierly showed the group that the income for average farms of the area dropped from a high of 1950 of $19,500 gross cash income to $9,000 in 1956.

Farm incomes are noted for their elevator-type patterns. The year 1950 showed a return of about 15 percent of the investment, which is terrific. The farmer netted over $10,000, including his costs for living.

In 1956 it was a different story. The farmer showed a net loss of $1,040. With so many different things affecting the farmer income, weather, surplus, yields, etc., the farmer has learned to expect a variation in income.

What makes it rough, not only on the farmer but everyone else, is farm income is the base of our entire economy. When the farmer lives high on the hog, it is reflected in the economy with greater sales, more employment, and more spendable money for all of us.

Only through adequate farm income can we hope to continue our big production, full-scale employment, and high standard of living.

Outstanding Work of Advertising Council of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on other occasions I have pointed out to my colleagues the invaluable work performed by the Advertising Council of the United States.

In its 15th annual report, it describes once again its achievements in the public service in alerting the people of America through all media of information to important public causes.

I was pleased to read in the August 1, 1957, issue of the Janesville Daily Gazette a writeup of the advertising council's splendid record.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELLING PUBLIC ON ITS NEEDS

Advertising via newspapers, radio, and other media is not aimed exclusively at the sale of merchandise and services. The extent to which it serves an unselfish purpose of encouraging the public to do things which it ought to do for society's own good is disclosed in the 15th annual report of the Advertising Council.

The council backed 16 major campaigns and gave help to 54 lesser projects during the past year. Donations amounted to $149 million in commercial advertising time and space for the national project, compared to $125 million the year before.

Through the campaigns of publicity, motorists were urged to drive carefully and prevent accidents; citizens were alerted to fight for better schools and against creeping slum blight; the public was coaxed to attend religious services; United States savings bonds were pushed as an investment; and forest fires were prevented by the example of Smokey the Bear who always puts out his campfires.

The results of the campaigns are somewhat difficult to measure accurately, but sometimes can be put into dollars. For example, the Hungarian relief campaign resulted in contributions of $7 million and the Red Cross enrolled 24 million and raised $85 million in its last campaign backed by the council. This year three new national projects have been accepted—aid to higher education in behalf of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, mental health for the National Association for Mental Health, and NATO.

Figures indicate success along other lines as well as in money contributions. The council is credited with a "major breakthrough" in its forest fire prevention crusade. In 1942 there were 210,000 forest fires which burned 32 million acres, and last year, 145,000 fires which burned 8 million acres. Meanwhile traffic through national parks and forests has greatly increased.

Partly in response to the "register and vote" campaign, 80 million registered last year and 62,118,936 voted. Summer and fall safety campaigns last year probably helped to reduce traffic deaths by 2,000 below the National Safety Council estimate for the year.

The response to the campaigns is proof that the public is glad to respond to movements which save lives, give relief and comfort, support spiritual and social values, and build better communities and families. First, however, they must know where the needs are, and it is here that public service advertising campaigns meet a national need.

Soil Day in West Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Abilene Reporter-News, a progressive newspaper in west Texas, annually sponsors a Soil Day program, during which the attention of landowners is called to sound soil conservation and use practices for their area.

This year's Soil Day was held last week, and the Reporter-News devoted an editorial to explaining the nature and purpose of the annual observance. I ask unanimous consent that this wise editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ABOUT SOIL DAY

Elsewhere in this issue will be found full details of the fourth annual Soil Day program sponsored by this newspaper, scheduled for Tuesday on the Comer Haynes Farm near Merkel.

At the end of June, with more than 25 inches of rainfall up to then, it didn't look as though west-central Texas and almost all the balance of the State had any serious agricultural worries at all. But before the end of June the moisture situation was beginning to get a little tight, and the blazing sun took over. July came in hot and dry, with only sixty-two hundredths of an inch of rainfall, and the agricultural situation with the possible exception of cotton worsened rapidly.

For some 75 years now, since discovery that west Texas had vast agricultural potentials, it has been an alternation of good crops and destructive droughts. But only slowly has it soaked in on our people that climatic conditions in the area called for a special kind of agricultural practice to minimize the effect of dry spells. Crops especially adapted to the climate were discovered and developed, including drought-resistant feed grains.

But that proved only a partial answer. How fully to utilize the moisture that fell, to conserve the soil from wind and water erosion, became an absolute must if west-central Texas was to sustain the limited agriculture she had so painfully developed, and to go on to develop its magnificent potential still further.

The problem has many angles, and most of these angles will form the subject of Tuesday's Soil Day activities. The principles of a balanced and stable agriculture in an area of uncertain rainfall are well known. It remains to put them fully into practice.

That, as the Reporter-News sees it, is what Soil Day is all about. We are firmly convinced that only in a prosperous and stable agriculture can this city and its immediate area hope to prosper and grow. To foster, encourage, and bring about the development of our full agricultural potential seems to us a matter of the utmost importance to us all.

Our Privilege To Pay Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Our Privilege To Pay Taxes," which appeared in the July 25, 1957, issue of the Townsend (Mont.) Star, which is edited by Mrs. Grace A. Hollaway.

"It's a privilege to pay taxes," writes Mrs. Holloway. "We have to pay," she writes, "for the pleasures and privileges of living a life of freedom not equaled by a single other State."

She points out that the home folks have to pay heavy taxes because—

Big business would rather come in here and acquire our oil, our metals, yes, and even our livestock and forage crops, and ship them out, to be manufactured into products east, west, or south—but not in Montana.

I disagree with the editorial in one respect, although I may add here that that fact does not diminish in any way my respect for the views of this able newspaperwoman. She does not believe it is "in the cards" for big industry to come to Montana. Some have come already, and I firmly believe that more industry will come to Montana as we develop our rich resources, and that Montana will one day attract businessmen, just as now it attracts hundreds of thousands of tourists, who come to enjoy the State's unequaled scenery and recreation.

In Montana we have enough space and resources to permit industrial development without impairment to the Montana way of life. We welcome the industrialist and the tourist.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR PRIVILEGE TO PAY TAXES

The way I see the tax picture in Townsend and Broadwater County is one of satisfaction. This statement will bring some shrug of shoulders from some and others will agree.

We all know the people are taxed very hard these days—in this atomic age, shall I say. Up in Washington the billions that are spent are past the comprehension of most taxpayers. There are world-involved programs that startle the thinking of the most astute economist. Financiers of high knowledge can't quite grasp the extent of it. Reading the lines and between the lines, it seems that even this world situation is gradually righting itself. Many experiments that have cost the United States taxpaying public have failed and will be dispensed abroad. In countries where Uncle Sam had extended a helping hand to teach and dole, there is now becoming less need as the people have learned to help themselves. Threat of war seems less prevalent. The United States of America is learning gradually that this great land of promise will do well to stay home and not try and instill democracy in the old countries who have had governments and religions centuries before this country was ever seen by white man. Governments that have made happy and prosperous people in many countries and religions, Christian and the other great world religions, that have satisfied and still satisfy millions of soul-seeking people.

It is well for each person to try and understand the Federal spending, talk with and write to our Congressmen. They are ready to hear and accept suggestions.

This will apply to State government also. Just as State matters are easier to reach than Federal, our own county problems are much more clear to understand.

And thus we come down to county and city levels.

The way I see the tax problems in Montana and that means Broadwater County and Townsend, is one of a privilege to pay taxes.

We have to pay for the pleasures and privileges of living a life of freedom not equaled by a single other State. We have a unique life here in this northwestern State in that we who live here know others who do not know publicize us as a cold, frigid State, many still believing we are illiterate, infested with wild animals and Indians and if a suggestion was made for them to come in here with industry or even to live, the idea would be ridiculed.

Montana is gaining a reputation through consistent advertising of being a summer recreation and scenic place for trips through it. But as for big industries coming here to operate, it isn't in the cards. Freight rates, long distances, shorter year for operation and many features enter in to discourage industry. Big business would rather come in here, acquire our oil, our metals, yes, and even our livestock and forage crops and ship them out to be manufactured into products east, west, or south—but not in Montana.

As a result the people that love this old State—the ones that want to live here and enjoy the glorious summers and also the winters—for the winters are better than most States—have the whole taxload to carry.

Just because we live here, by choice, is no reason we aren't just as intelligent (if not more). We insist on the good things of life for ourselves and our families. We want good roads to travel upon. We want good churches, libraries, schools. We want the recreation apropos of the locale. In short we want to live just as good, as the other fellow, and we do. But because there are fewer to pay, the ones that are here must pay heavier.

Of course we do not have the extravagant public works that the big cities and countrysides have, but we fare very well.

When we talk taxes at home then, it means that we are paying for the simple things of life that we see provided right in front of our very eyes. Everything is free and aboveboard and every taxpayer can have a personal chance to solve all problems—make suggestions for progress—help keep and maintain our good life.

Then am I wrong in stating it is privilege to pay taxes? For every advantage we enjoy from our tax dollar, it is through the services of a public servant, hired by those who pay taxes. He or she is merely carrying forward a mandate engaged by the people.

If those servants aren't progressive they will become about as popular as a mosquito digging his bill in on this hot summer August day.

If you are one of those who wants to cut taxes, don't start cutting out progress, for if you win, more will begin to seek homes away from this place and the ones left will have more and more taxloads to carry.

Let's pull together to have and to hold for ourselves and our posterity all the good things of life in a State not equaled in the entire United States. This, of course, is the big secret. We know it—we live here. It isn't such a bad idea to keep this glorious part of the United States a little select as it is—not too many people—not too many smoke-noisy factories. We have the real life here and we're willing to pay for it. The budgets are being examined now. If there are things we want and do not have, now is the time to go forward.

Racial Disturbances in the North

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Not 'News' in North," from the News and Courier, of Charleston, S. C., of August 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOT "NEWS" IN NORTH

It is too bad no seismograph records the range of press hypocrisy in the North. The handling of the Chicago race riots would have registered severe shocks in some big cities.

Editions of the New York Herald Tribune for Monday and Tuesday received in Charleston contained not a line about a serious racial clash in the country's second largest city.

The New York Times on Monday printed an Associated Press dispatch 7 inches long on page 10. The Times, with unrivaled facilities of its own for gathering news all over the world, did not even see fit to print the full AP account. Tuesday's issue of the Times sent to Charleston contained no story at all on further disorders occurring in Chicago on Monday.

The handling of the local story by the Chicago Daily News also is interesting. It was printed on page 3 under a headline saying "Man Fined $50 in Race Flareup." The Daily News devoted its entire back page to pictures of earthquake damage in Mexico City. No pictures showed the race riots in the city where the Daily News is published. The riots were called racial disturbances throughout.

Does any reader wonder how these newspapers would have displayed racial disturbances had they occurred in South Carolina, Mississippi, or elsewhere this side of the Paper Curtain? Race riots aren't news in the North.

Return of German Assets Seized During World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Bilge," published in the Washington Post of August 3, criticizing the administration's proposal to return German assets seized during World War II.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BILGE

The persistent and predatory effort, now openly backed by the administration, to return German assets seized during World War II amounts to an outright pilfering of American pockets. These assets, estimated to amount with appreciation to more than $200 million—and perhaps much more—belong legitimately to the American people. The giveaway effort is made all the more outrageous by the sanctimonious bilge with which its proponents—and now the White House itself—have sought to disguise and justify it. The administration's plain, though unacknowledged, purpose is to help purchase the reelection of Chancellor Adenauer. The effect of this subterfuge, which has been masterminded by an adroit lobby, would be to bestow a tremendous windfall on the stockholders of German cartels who have no equitable or moral claim whatever on the United States.

Return of the German assets, said James C. Hagerty, the President's news secretary, in a statement issued on Wednesday, is designed "to reflect the historic American policy of maintaining the sanctity of private property even in wartime." Bilge is the only word for it. Under the terms of the Paris Reparation Agreement of 1946, the Allied nations, including the United States, agreed to forego reparations from Germany on the express condition that Germany assume responsibility for the confiscated assets of her nationals abroad. This was done in order to facilitate German economic recovery; and, indeed, it helped so materially to that end that Germany is today the most prosperous nation in Europe.

No question as to the sanctity of private property enters into this. The sanctity of private property was recognized in the Paris Agreement. Certainly the owners of the confiscated assets are entitled to compensation. But the compensation should come from the German Government, not from the United States. Moreover, as Senator SMATHERS pointed out recently in a letter to President Eisenhower, return of the confiscated assets by the United States "would constitute a breach of obligation under the Paris Reparation Agreement and would create difficulties for other signatory governments."

There are many good uses to which the proceeds of the confiscated assets can be put—the payment of legitimate war claims of Americans against Germany to which they were originally committed, a scholarship fund for the education of young scientists and technicians as Senator SMATHERS and others have suggested, or even (please note, Mr. President) Federal aid to school construction. To use them for the reelection of Chancellor Adenauer and the enrichment of Herr Schmidt, of Germany, at the expense of Mr. Smith, of the United States of America, would be wholly without warrant either in justice or in commonsense.

The Increasing Cost of Voluntary Health Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Cross We Bear," written by Murray Kempton, which appeared in the July 12, 1957, issue of the New York Post.

Mr. Kempton raises some pertinent questions about the increasing cost of voluntary health insurance.

Early this year, upon introducing a bill to establish a program of national health insurance, I stated that:

Voluntary health insurance has done much and it can do more, but there is nothing in its history or promise to support an expectation that this device will ever remove the financial barriers to medical services for substantially all who need ready access to such services.

The facts in Mr. Kempton's article show that increasing costs of voluntary health insurance may force many needy citizens to withdraw from even this inadequate type of insurance. So far this year, reports Mr. Kempton, Blue Cross has raised its rates 17 percent in New Jersey; 11 percent in Durham, N. C.; 19.8 percent in Wilmington, Del.; and 12 percent in Michigan.

I firmly believe, Mr. President, that ere long the American people and their

elected representatives will realize that they have been misled by the hucksters who organized the opposition to decent medical care for American citizens, and will demand a comprehensive program of national health insurance.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CROSS WE BEAR

(By Murray Kempton)

The best business in America is sickness. Every statistic on the rise in prices since 1952 is puny beside the great leaps taken by hospital costs, which are up 41 percent per patient in the last 5 years.

No one talks about national health insurance any longer; we accept the principle of voluntary health insurance, whose largest embodiment is the Blue Cross plan. So far this year, Blue Cross has raised its rates 17 percent in New Jersey; 11 percent in Durhame, N. C.; 19.8 percent in Wilmington, Del., and 12 percent in Michigan.

The unions, previously occupied with the depredations of ordinary racketeers on their welfare funds, are beginning to awaken to the discovery that they are suffering much more from these perfectly legal exactions. Most of the time the only protestants against Blue Cross' demand for more and more are union leaders whose health benefit plans are thereby curtailed.

For what must be the first time in what has otherwise been an unbroken series of victories, Blue Cross lost a bid for a rate hike here this month. It filed with the State insurance department a request for higher rates on the claim that it had lost $4,600,000 last year.

More than 200 different unions wired the State insurance department demanding a public hearing on this request. Very quietly, Blue Cross withdrew its bid and resigned itself to going along another year with things as they were.

The complainants based most of their protest on a report on the state of Blue Cross' existing financial stature drawn up for them by Harold Faggen, the insurance consultant. Faggen's case is an enlightening portrait of the development of the managerial revolution in a nonprofit corporation devoted to the public service.

"The 1956 annual report issued by Blue Cross for public consumption states that hospital benefits provided for subscribers during 1956 amounted to $123,940,232. * * * It comes as a shock to learn from the reports filed with the State insurance department that the actual cost of claims paid during 1956 was only $103,397,922 instead of $123,940,232 as reported to the public.

"The fact is that Blue Cross ended 1956, its 22d year of operation, with more assets than at any time in its history. On December 31, 1956, ledger assets amounted to over $99 million, an increase of approximately $2 million during 1956."

"Blue Cross," Faggen concluded, "is supposedly a nonprofit organization operated for the public good. We believe that it should be forced to operate in a goldfish bowl. The public knows less about the operations of this tax-free hundred-million dollar giant, than it knows about the operations of most corporations which are owned by investors and which pay their share of costs to the Government."

Blue Cross is not a profitmaking enterprise; it is run for the public good. It is a painful but inescapable reflection of our social customs, that an organization devoted to the public welfare with $99 million in reserves, will assert the right to raise the cost of a gallbladder operation to a charwoman. Our social workers act like our businessmen, and file one set of figures with the public and another, supposedly private, with the Government.

The effects of this kind of operation are precisely what they would be if Blue Cross's managers were ill-motivated private profiteers. The costs they charge off to the public are the costs which taxable private business charge off to the public.

Last year, Blue Cross spent $2,400,000 for the expense of soliciting subscribers and $465,549.96 for advertising. Those are budgetary items more suitable to a biscuit company. They listed the salary of their president at $58,769.15 along with 4 vice presidents who make more than members of President Eisenhower's Cabinet. Salaries of officers, directors, etc., amounted to $5,961,566.27. In sum, $9 million of the $112 million collected in premiums went for operating expenses.

The 20 singlepaced pages of Blue Cross's list of salaried employees who make more than $5,000 a year, include 1 man who also represents a number of unions to which Blue Cross sells. He is listed as getting $21,500 as an insurance consultant to Blue Cross. The possibility of conflict of interest warrants looking into.

Blue Cross thus becomes an organization whose operations are not noticeably distinguishable from those of any monopoly which issues stock and seeks a profit. The motives of its managers are not really relevant; the motives of any group of men given unchallenged control over any great hunk of property for any length of time are generally the same with habit.

Industrial Opportunities in Minnesota—Construction by International Business Machines Corp. of Plant at Rochester, Minn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press, St. Paul, Minn., August 4, 1957, written by Fred Leighton and entitled "Rochester Has Million-Dollar Friend."

The article tells its own story of a community effort, with all citizens putting their shoulders to the wheel. It is a compliment to International Business Machines Corp. that it recognized the potential in the Rochester, Minn., area, in its manpower and its facilities. Long noted as one of the outstanding medical centers of the world, Rochester is to be complimented that it was not content to rest on laurels won over the past century.

Minnesota has some of the most skilled workers to be found anywhere in the Nation. I invite other business firms to establish their businesses in Minnesota.

There being no objection, the artice was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IBM RIGHT AT HOME AFTER 17 MONTHS—ROCHESTER HAS MILLION-DOLLAR FRIEND

(By Fred Leighton)

ROCHESTER, MINN.—International Business Machines Corp. made a terse announcement from New York 17 months ago of plans for an $8 million manufacturing plant at Rochester.

It was a stunning surprise to this city of 35,000. The plant would employ 2,000 persons. About 80 percent of them would be hired in Rochester and its area and trained by IBM. The plant would be complete and operating at full potential early in 1958.

To community leaders, the IBM announcement had dizzying implications for new business, new home building, bulging retail sales and services. Rochester citizens asked one another, "What manner of outfit is this IBM?" And IBM management personnel, most of them easterners, sought answers to the question, "What sort of city is Rochester?"

In 17 months both questions have been answered to the abundant satisfaction of the askers. And there has blossomed in this neat, well-to-do, world-famed medical center a mutual affection so profound that other Minnesota cities of comparable size can be excused for an envy tinged with bright green.

FULL COOPERATION

Charles J. Lawson, Jr., dynamic 36-year-old general manager of IBM Rochester, says, "We could not possibly be more pleased with our reception by the people of Rochester."

Joseph Cotter, president of the city's chamber of commerce, says, "We can't say enough good for IBM in the way the company has taken its place in the community."

Mayor Claude McQuillan enthuses: "There's so much nice to be said for IBM that I don't know where to start."

In fact, however, Mayor McQuillan and other city officials and businessmen had made quite a start long before IBM acquired any very firm notions about Rochester. Many months before the IBM announcement, businessmen of Rochester formed Industrial Opportunities, Inc., to bring new industry to the city. In 10 days they raised $200,000 to be used for acquisition of acreage to develop a planned industrial site with utilities.

The fund campaign was launched one morning with the boom of a toy cannon at a downtown intersection. There was much sidewalk hustle and bustle, and, by coincidence, two out-of-towners happened to be standing across the street watching the excitement. One of those was Mr. Lawson.

The general manager recalls that IBM, with the help of a firm of New York consulting engineers, investigated quietly the resources of more than 80 midwestern cities in 5 States before settling on Rochester. Presumably, the curbside incident played a part.

In any event, Rochester was ready for IBM and had the resources for which IBM was searching—"availability of manpower of the right type, transportation facilities, schools and hospitals, utilities, recreational facilities, and other features," in the words of Albert L. Williams, IBM executive vice president, in a speech shortly after the corporation's decision was announced.

"We were impressed by Rochester's signs of strength," he said. "The Mayo clinic, the Mayo civic auditorium, the plans for the new high school, the art center, the civic theater organization, the fine musical groups. All in all we found no warmer, more intelligent community than Rochester."

What has happened in the months following the IBM decision has an almost storybook aspect.

Industrial Opportunities was asked by IBM to put up a 50,000-square-foot building which IBM pledged to lease for 10 years. Ground was broken May 1, 1956, and IBM was astonished that it could occupy the building 120 days later.

BUILDING STARTS

In the meantime, IBM launched construction July 30, 1956, of its 552,000 square-foot,

$8-million plant on a 397-acre site 2 miles northwest of Rochester on Highway 52. Today the corporation has already occupied 1 building on its permanent site, a 60,000-square-foot warehouse now in temporary use as an assembly and machining plant. Most of the site has now been annexed to the city of Rochester.

IBM has sought every means—with Rochester's enthusiastic help—to get into business as quickly as possible. A former supermarket downtown is the IBM local purchasing division headquarters. St. Pius grade school five blocks from the IOI building has leased classrooms to the company for use in its educational programs for its employees. The motherhouse of the Sisters of St. Francis, only a few blocks from the IOI structure, has leased 12,000 square feet of space, including a cafeteria, to IBM's engineering department.

What has been the impact of all this feverish activity on the economy of Rochester?

Oddly enough, a construction project as vast as IBM's plant has made not the slightest bulge in the chart of Rochester's construction boom. Since 1950, this city has had more than $75 million of new industrial and commercial construction.

ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED ON PAYROLL

But in other respects, Rochester has felt IBM's coming markedly. IBM already has 1,200 persons on its Rochester payroll. This will move gradually to a 2,000 peak as the plant nears completion early next year.

Total Rochester employment in all categories topped 18,000 for the first time in history in June, according to George L. Sergeant, office manager of the Minnesota State Employment Service here. Manufacturing alone has picked up 1,186 in a year, most of them IBM.

Retail sales in Rochester in May increased by a greater percentage than any other city in the six-State Ninth Federal Reserve District. Rochester sales were up 17 percent over May a year ago, and the first 5-month average was 13 percent over 1956. By contrast, the average Minnesota gain was 3 percent in May. Rochester has 383 retail stores doing business at the rate of $66,046,000 annually, and the figure is climbing steadily.

Mr. Cotter said, "IBM's coming has been felt most directly in retail sales and in the services. For a while we felt that we might be slightly overcrowded in the retail sales field, but that has now been rectified."

HOME BUILDING

Home building is in an unprecedented boom. Garnet Spring, city building inspector, reports that 1,547 homes were built in Rochester in the 7 years 1950 through 1956. But, says he, at the current rate of home construction this year, "We will put up over 500 houses, the biggest year in our history."

The homes cost about $15,000, not including the lot, and real estate has become a shoe with a slight pinch. Improved lots are going for $3,000 to $4,000. Behind the scenes, though, IBM executives and Rochester business leaders have worked closely in a joint effort to make available the home which the average IBM employee wants and can afford. In the words of one IBM executive, "This house should have three bedrooms and cost between thirteen and seventeen thousand."

From the city's standpoint, the IBM shoe has pinched even more painfully. The sudden need for new street and gutter improvements and water and sewer connections in the city's mushrooming residential additions and IBM's call for adequate electric power are Rochester's big problem areas.

Mayor McQuillan says, "The company kindly invited 12 of us to go east to their Poughkeepsie, N. Y., plant to see how they operate. We knew what was coming."

He adds, "I want to emphasize that these problems are ones we are happy to have."

BONDS APPROVED

Rochester civic fathers have contracted to buy additional power from Dairyland Power cooperative through the municipally-owned plant July 16, Rochester citizens approved a bond issue for $3,442,999 in civic improvements including extension of the sanitary and storm sewer system, expansion of the sewage disposal plant, improvement of streets and construction of a second municipal swimming pool. A park proposal for $170,000 in improvements was defeated.

Rising on Rochester's west side—only a stone's throw from the IOI building—is the city's new $4,850,000 senior high school for which Rochester citizens happily bonded themselves. The school will be ready for use in September 1958.

Now, after nearly a year and a half of living together, Rochester and IBM enjoy a complete and mutual respect. IBM officials say their employment experience is "beyond our best expectations."

C. Walton Koock, head of the plant's personnel division, says, "We're delighted with the quality of applicants, their personalities and their abilities." Approximately 1,600 of the 2,000 IBM force will be hired locally. The balance will be key manufacturing personnel with extensive IBM training imported from other IBM facilities. The corporation has 11 plants in the United States including Rochester's.

TOWN'S BENEFIT

More than 90,000 persons live in or within a 25-mile radius of Rochester. Fifty-one communities in the Rochester area are home for Rochester-employed persons. More than half the working populations of Chatfield, Stewartville, Kasson and Pine Island are employed in Rochester. IBM heads calculate that the corporation's hiring experience will probably follow this pattern.

Fourteen percent of IBM's work force comprises highly-trained professional engineers. Another 17 percent are technical, and the remaining 69 percent are employed hourly. Here is a situation to the company's advantage in its Minnesota location.

"In Minnesota," says Mr. Koock, "our position is favorable so far as technical people are concerned." He points out that graduates of engineering schools in Minnesota and neighboring States are surplus in the sense that many must leave the State to find an outlet for their skills.

"We are seeing a lot of mothers and fathers and brothers and sisters who come in to ask whether we have an opening for their son or brother, trained in Minnesota but now working perhaps a thousand miles away," says Mr. Koock. "And frequently we do have."

MIDWEST PERSONNEL

Mr. Lawson comments: "I wouldn't say we are importing technical knowledge. Only about 15 percent of our personnel needs have we brought in. The rest of our people we are getting from the Midwest. Almost all schools in the Midwest have furnished us with technical personnel. All we brought from the East was the core."

Decentralization of its manufacturing facilities, Mr. Lawson adds, has become a settled policy of IBM, and the corporation aims to bring its top management to full flower from within the organization.

Charles H. Withers, city editor of the Rochester Post-Bulletin, summarizes Rochester's attitude toward IBM: "If we had gone out and deliberately chosen an industry to come to Rochester, we could not possibly have done better."

A. Eugene Haylett, manager of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, says: "I think we should emphasize that IOI or the chamber did not persuade IBM to come to Rochester. IBM made that decision independently of us, but their decision was influenced by what they found here."

Mr. Haylett points to a framed legend on the wall of his office. It says: "Luck is what happens when preparation and opportunity meet."

International Business Machines Corp. is the world's largest manufacturer of office equipment, electronic computers, accounting equipment, and associated machines. It employs 73,000 persons in the United States and 79 foreign countries. Besides its manufacturing facilities in this country, it has 14 factories abroad. Its gross sales last year totaled $734 million, an increase of more than $170 million over 1956.

IBM Rochester is now in production on the collator, a machine which merges, matches, and sequence checks punched cards and performs related functions. Also in production are two models of a gang summary punch.

Increase in Oil Firms' Earnings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Oil Firms' Earnings Up 17 Percent in 6 Months." This factor alone has raised the average of earnings of American business, which otherwise would have fallen. This increase in prosperity of the oil and gas firms is particularly interesting in view of the gas bill which is pending in the House, and may come to the Senate for action.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 2, 1957]

OVERALL GAIN IS 4.5 PERCENT—OIL FIRMS' EARNINGS UP 17 PERCENT IN 6 MONTHS

NEW YORK, August 1.—American business profits are running ahead of last year by 4.5 percent—thanks in large part to a profitable 6 months in the oil industry.

So far 588 corporations—covering all fields except financial and accounting for roughly one-half of total corporate profits in the Nation—have reported net income after taxes for the first 6 months of 1957.

Of these 308 show an increase over the first half of 1956, while 280 fall behind the year-ago figures. This year 21 operated at a net loss, compared with 19 the previous year.

The major role of the oils in pulling total 1957 profits ahead of last year is shown in the industrials. This group of 503 corporations shows 266 gaining and 237 declining from year-ago figures. Combined the 503 have net income of $4,741,464,757, which is 5 percent above a year ago.

But the 28 oil companies in the list have the largest combined earnings of any group—$1,400,615,206, up 17.2 percent over the previous year. Subtract the oil group from the industrial list and the combined profits of the remaining 475 are only 0.7 percent ahead of 1956's first half.

As returns trickle in from the host of corporations yet to report, oil's weight in the total of profits may be reduced.

The 24 utilities reporting show the usual steady gain in profits, up 5.9 percent this time. The 50 rails, with 36 reporting declines, reveal a combined profit decline of 10.3 percent.

Among the industrial groups the best gains over a year ago are reported by aircraft equipment, coal, auto equipment, oil, food, aircraft, autos and trucks, business machines, drugs, tobacco, and machinery.

Nonferrous mining companies report sharply lower profits this year, due largely to the weakness in metal prices. Also declining are textiles, entertainment, meatpacking, paper and its products, building materials and appliances. The airlines are down and surface shipping up.

Altogether the 588 corporations show profits of $5,702,835,632, compared with 5,453,040,348 the same companies made in the first half of 1956.

This gain of 4.5 percent compares with a 5.5 percent advance last year over the first half of 1955, an increase of 34.7 percent that year over the first half of 1954, and the 2 percent gain of 1954 over the 1953 first half.

The Department of Commerce puts total corporate profits in 1956 at $21 billion. In the first 3 months of this year the annual rate advanced to $21.5 billion. But early reports indicate that the rate of increase slowed perceptibly in the second quarter.

The Next School Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Next School Bill," published in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of August 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEXT SCHOOL BILL

Congressmen who are filling the air with laments for the failure again this year of the school-aid bill might prove their sincerity next session by coming up with a version that meets with the approval of President Eisenhower.

This year for a second time the bill was encumbered with a school segregation provision against the wishes of the President. His position is that civil rights should not be mixed up with an emergency measure to help States catch up on the shortage of school classrooms. What is more, such a provision dooms the legislation in the Senate. Whether the bill could have been passed in the House this year with more pressure from the White House is therefore an academic question. It was going nowhere in the Senate anyway.

The reason for the President's lack of enthusiasm for the bill is well known. He brought it up again at his press conference Wednesday. His conception of the program is that the Federal Government on a temporary and emergency basis will help out States and localities that are financially unable to overcome the schoolroom shortage. But last year and again this year this concept lost out in committee. There it became a pork barrel proposition. The Federal money would be distributed not in accordance with need but would be handed out as a grant to all States on basis of school population.

This principle of the Federal handout may get votes but it perverts the principle. President Eisenhower is against it also because it is hard for the Federal Government to get out of the handout business once it starts. If the Federal Government gives money for school buildings for 4 years, it will be expected to assume this part of educational costs indefinitely. The President thinks it will be much easier to prevent the program from becoming a permanent burden on the Federal taxpayer if the grants are based on need. There would be much less pressure for continuing the program unnecessarily.

The President is asking for a bill which he can support with a clear conscience. It accomplishes nothing to give him a bill that he can accept only with serious reservations and then blame him for not putting his heart into fighting for it.

Partial Financing—A Costly and Wasteful Feature of H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks key officials of the executive branch have unequivocally characterized as expensive and unsound the practice of partially financing Government programs and projects, which is the heart of H. R. 8002, the so-called accrued expenditure bill. It is installment buying—and installment buying results in more spending, not less spending.

On July 1, Secretary Wilson advised the Committee on Appropriations:

I do not believe in partial financing. In other words, under partial financing you start more things than you can finish with the funds made available and you have a lot of future trouble if you engage in such a procedure. We have taken action to stop partial financing.

* * * * *

I think the statement that I do not believe in partial financing is a good one to put out.

* * * * *

You see, there is some discussion, quite frankly, about the Hoover Commission recommendations on an entirely different way of appropriating expenditure money and making you live within the expenditures. If that were the way we were trying to do it we would be arguing now about the $38 billion expenditure estimate, not the $38½ billion NOA we started out with. We would be arguing about the $38 billion and you might be trying to trim that down to $36 billion or something of the order. Then we really would be in trouble because we are already in trouble by $2,250 million. I would be in trouble for $2 billion more. That would just cause one of those big shifts in the military program which have been so expensive in the past and waste so much money and possibly risk the security of the Nation.

The Director of the Budget, in a letter reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 23, had this to say:

I believe we should continue to follow the sound procedure of fully funding the procurement of all items necessary for the full operation of such major things as airplanes, tanks, and ships when the initial appropriation is made. We would lose budgetary control of these programs if we adopted a policy of partial funding for such items.

Those who advocate H. R. 8002 ought to read and re-read these and definite accurate remarks of the Secretary of Defense and the Director of the Budget on the question of partial financing. They oppose precisely what H. R. 8002 would require. Their opinions in this connection are especially important. The Budget Director is chief architect of the entire spending budget. The Secretary of Defense administers expenditure of over half the budget.

Like former Secretary Humphrey, they have at times made divergent and conflicting statements but no one can mistake the meaning and significance of these quotations.

Increasing Federal Grants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the steady increase in Federal grant-in-aid programs is a matter of great concern to advocates of economy in Government. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "Federal Grants Increasing," which appeared in the State Journal, Lansing, Mich., on August 4, 1957:

FEDERAL GRANTS INCREASING

Tax Foundation, Inc., an organization dedicated to reduction in Federal, State, and local taxes, has compiled statistics to show that Federal grants to States have grown from $222 million in 1932 to $3 billion in 1956. The number of programs embracing Federal grants increased from 18 in 1932 to 97 in the fiscal year which began July 1 of this year.

During this period, the greatest expenditure increases were in public-welfare programs, from $1 million to $1,452 million; highways, from $191 million to $739 million; education, from $12 million to $344 million; employment security, from nothing to $219 million.

The growth of these programs and particularly the participation of the Federal Government in the programs can be traced back to the depression when the various States requested Federal assistance. Long after the depression was ended, the Federal Government not only continued to remain in the programs but actually vastly increased its appropriations for financing these activities, most of which were previously regarded as strictly State responsibilities.

It is interesting to note that there were only two labor and welfare programs in 1934 in which the Federal Government provided financial grants to States. Now there are 36 such programs in the labor and welfare category alone. In the field of commerce and housing, Federal grants to States increased from 2 programs in 1934 to 20 in 1957.

In addressing the Conference of Governors recently, President Eisenhower pointed out this mushrooming of Federal grants and called upon the States to reclaim some of these programs as their own sole responsibility. The President pointed out that withdrawal of the Federal Government from some of these programs is essential if the Federal budget is to be whittled down.

Such a program to be effective, of course, must be two sided. The Federal Govern-

ment must withdraw from some tax fields so that the States can secure the funds that they will need to supplant the Federal grants. The conference of governors, while admittedly lukewarm to the President's proposals, nevertheless approved a resolution setting up a task force to examine the situation.

Even if all of these programs are considered essential services, it is certain that considerable tax money can be saved by a return of these programs completely to the States. Moreover, this can be accomplished without any reduction in the services rendered. The savings would come from the so-called Federal brokerage, the process of sending tax money to Washington and then having it returned to the States in the form of Federal aid.

Actually, the economies effected would undoubtedly be considerably more than the Federal brokerage because of vastly increased efficiency in conducting these programs. The operation of State government may seem unwieldy and inefficient in comparison with the operation of private business, but State governments are models of efficiency in comparison with the operations of the Federal bureacracy.

There is still another and perhaps even more important argument in support of a return of these programs completely to the States. It would serve to halt the growing acceptance of a fallacious theory that every problem that arises is a Federal problem that can be easily solved by drawing upon the inexhaustible wealth of the United States Treasury.

Most Americans are so far removed from Washington that they fail to realize that there really is no inexhaustible Federal Treasury. The only wealth that the Federal Government has is contained in its ability to tax the same people that the States must also tax for their financial requirements.

Realization of this is a prerequisite for a return to the States of programs that are rightfully State responsibilities.

Tuskegee Negroes "Squeezed"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, last week I had the honor along with other Senators to meet with Negro citizens from Tuskegee, Ala. A transcript of our discussion will perhaps be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at a later time. The highlights were summarized by Edward P. Morgan in one of his broadcasts last week.

I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from his broadcast which appeared in the AFL–CIO News for Saturday, August 3, and which is entitled "Tuskegee Negroes 'Squeezed'" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORGAN SAYS: TUSKEGEE NEGROES SQUEEZED

(This column is excerpted from the nightly broadcasts of Edward P. Morgan, ABC commentator, sponsored by the AFL–CIO. Listen to Morgan over the ABC network Monday through Friday at 7 p. m., e. d. s. t.)

Two Negro citizens of the town of Tuskegee, Ala., dressed in grey suits and wearing soft yellow neckties, came to Washington and tossed a small but painful saga of frustration into the middle of the Senate debate on civil rights.

Their testimony before an informal bipartisan group of liberal Senators headed by PAUL DOUGLAS revealed the ironic fact that during the very course of the debate in Congress on the bill to protect the rights of individual citizens their own civil rights, already curtailed, are being compressed even more.

Not only are Negroes being denied the right to vote in Tuskegee and Macon County but they are systematically being denied the right of orderly protest against that denial.

W. P. Mitchell, a physiotherapist, and Linwood T. Dorsey, a hospital business office worker, were the witnesses. They are members of the Tuskegee Civic Association. For more than 40 years the association had enjoyed a peaceful existence, concentrating on making Negroes better citizens, with a program it described as "courageous, civic, and political action."

But twice within the last week the State attorney general has raided the association's office, seized documents and membership lists. There has been no further legal action but officials dropped broad hints, unsubstantiated by any revealed evidence, that there was something subversive about the group.

The trouble stems from a new State law, pushed by Macon County's own State senator, Sam Englehart, who is also a White Citizens Council official, changing the town boundaries of Tuskegee so that only 10 of Tuskegee's 420 registered Negro voters could vote in municipal elections.

Pending before the State legislature is another bill to abolish Macon County and divide it among five other counties in such a way as to disfranchise nearly all the registered Negro voters. The county's population consists of 28,000 Negroes, 4,761 whites.

Negro voting difficulties in Tuskegee, home of the famous Tuskegee Institute, did not begin with Englehart. For 18 months the Macon County board of registrars did not function publicly so no Negro could even apply to register. Between last June 3 and July 5, 73 Negroes appeared for registration, none were certified. The board chairman also heads the county White Citizens Council.

Senator JAVITS, Republican, of New York, asked, "What keeps you going, what sustains you in these circumstances?" "I believe," Linwood T. Dorsey replied, "that this is a country of decent people and we are living for our children."

Two Editorials in Los Angeles Evening Herald Express

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ALLEN SMITH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following two editorials in the Los Angeles Evening Herald Express, one under date August 1, 1957, entitled "Help From the People," and one under date August 2, 1957, entitled "The Duty of Congress," by the publisher, David W. Hearst:

[From the Los Angeles Evening Herald Express of August 1, 1957]

HELP FROM THE PEOPLE

Without help from the people, the FBI and police agencies of cities, counties, and States throughout the Nation would be practically powerless in the war against crime.

The man living next door to the criminal, or even perhaps a person he regards as his best friend, may be the informer who uncovers the Communist traitor or the dope wholesaler.

And so it is easy to understand why the words of J. Edgar Hoover, the brilliant director of the FBI, whose whole career has been patriotically devoted to the war against treason, enemy agents, and supercriminals of America, are so important.

In a sharp warning on the sad effects which a United States Supreme Court will have in the Nation's struggle against crime, Mr. Hoover has spoken out strongly on the necessity for protecting FBI files, and the identities of confidential informants contained in the files, and preventing them from being delivered over to the enemy—the accused criminal.

In the Jencks case, the Supreme Court ruled such files must be delivered in their entirety to the defense, if the defense so requests, without any screening by a presiding judge to determine what is confidential, and dangerous in the hands of anyone except the official law enforcement agency which captured the accused criminal.

Said the FBI chief: "The very basis of our success in safeguarding America's domestic security is the FBI's assurance to this country's citizens that the information they give will be maintained in the strictest confidence."

For instance, take the case of the honest, average citizen who has become suspicious or aware of the activities of a Communist agent or important narcotics purveyor and has telephoned the police or the FBI. Mr. Citizen has a wife and three children. Under the Supreme Court's ruling, he knows that now his identity may be revealed and that he or his entire family may be assassinated as an underworld warning to others.

Civil-rights legislation now before Congress is highly important to the Nation, but may run into a filibuster which could last all summer and fall. In the meantime, crime detection and prosecution is almost at a standstill on many fronts.

Law enforcement needs the help of the O'Mahoney bill, Senate bill 2377, designed to correct the disastrous consequences of the Supreme Court ruling, and now awaiting action by the Senate.

Mr. Hoover's words correctly emphasize the necessity of such legislative action. It should be acted upon immediately to halt the enemy at our doors.

Every citizen should take time to write to our California Senators in Washington, Senators THOMAS H. KUCHEL and WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, asking that they push this bill through at the earliest opportunity.

[From the Los Angeles Evening Herald-Express of August 1, 1957]

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS

It is the duty of the President and Congress, who represent the people of the United States, to take effective action to gird our country against Communist infiltration and aggression.

This was clearly set forth the other day before the American Bar Association, meeting in London, in a dynamic report from the association's committee on communism, which pointed out the necessity of new laws to undo damage caused to national security by the United States Supreme Court.

The report, which concerned the recent decisions of the Supreme Court which have

no weakened the country's defenses against subversive plots and conspiracies, corresponded to the comment and conclusions which the Hearst newspapers have been expressing.

To the point, the report warned that the Supreme Court has failed to consider that we as a free nation have a basic right to protect ourselves against our enemies, whether they be American Communists bent on overthrow of the Government by force and violence or spies and agents of a foreign power.

The American Bar Association committee forcibly said that vitally important is the right of self preservation, which it said is mankind's first law.

In what might be regarded as somewhat of a conciliatory understatement, the committee report said the High Court had become overzealous in the protection of theoretical individual rights.

However, it wasted no time in vigorously outlining the program of legislative correction which has been made urgently necessary by the succession of judicial errors which has stunned most patriotic Americans and brought chuckles to Communist rank and filers.

Unless there is quick legislative remedial action, for instance, the condition of nakedness of the unevaluated files of the FBI which the Court has brought about by its decisions will remain a source of danger to this Nation in its war both against subversives and against major crimes of many sorts.

The Court's amazing rulings also has practically stripped the powers of congressional committees investigating communism to the point where they might as well pack up and go home.

Denial of the Federal Government's right to free itself of security risks in the nonsensitive employment classifications also lays our internal defenses wide open.

And the overprotection of deportable aliens against questioning about their guilty associations certainly has completely knocked down another defense against those who would destroy our country.

Also, what kind of thinking did the Supreme Court use to decide that Congress did not intend, when it made the Smith Act a law, to prohibit the advocacy and teaching of the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence?

The American Bar Association committee has said it plainly. It is the right and duty of Congress and the administration to correct the Supreme Court errors and pass laws which will turn back the enemies of this great free Republic.

The Problem of Off-Reservation Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Hill 57: The Problem of Off-Reservation Indians." The article was written by Milton Colvin, a native of my State, and assistant professor of sociology and anthropology at Montana State University. The article appears in the summer issue of Montana Opinion.

I commend to all my colleagues and to all students of Indian affairs this first-hand study of a group of Americans who are not being treated justly by the Federal Government.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HILL 57: THE PROBLEM OF OFF-RESERVATION INDIANS

(By Milton Colvin)

"Tell your people that since the Great Father promised we should never be removed we have been moved five times. * * * I think you had better put the Indians on wheels and you can run them about wherever you wish." (Statement of a Sioux chief, Sioux Commission, August 1876.)

"Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States make a thorough study of the effects of promoting off-reservation migration upon the American Indian." (House Joint Memorial 6, 35th Legislative Assembly of Montana, February 1957.)

Five miles almost due west of the center of the city of Great Falls, Mont., there is a hill full of Indians. It is called Hill 57, supposedly after a Heinz 57 variety sign which once stood on its eastern slope, and there is scarcely a literate Montanan who has not heard of it and about it. Indeed, it is known in faraway Washington, D. C., where Senators MURRAY and MANSFIELD and Representative METCALF have repeatedly brought it to the attention of their congressional colleagues and to officials of the Indian Bureau there. In itself, as an Indian settlement on the outskirts of Great Falls, it is of no particular importance except for the fact that it is a collection place of considerable human misery; but Hill 57 as a foreshadowing of unpleasant things to come, and as a symbol of what happens to the off-reservation Indian, is a matter of vital concern to all Montanans.

What does it look like? The bottom part of the hill is called the camp. It is a scattered clustering of tumbled-down tarpaper shacks, overturned automobiles, wrecked and rusted, and meandering automobile tracks. There is no water and no electricity. A lack of both sanitation and the most primitive conveniences is readily apparent. In one house 15 children under the age of 18 are living in 2 rooms. The top of the hill is somewhat better. It even has a name: Mount Royal. There is some electricity here and the houses have cold water faucets. There is no indoor plumbing, however. Tarpaper has given way to wood boards salvaged from railway box cars, so the houses have a more sturdy appearance. The best houses are rented to the Indians by a non-Indian. The difference between the camp and Mount Royal is the difference between a low bottom and a high bottom slum.

The permanent residents of the hill number more than 300. Transients from reservations or from similar hills in Helena, Havre, Harlem, and other places within the State bring the population total up beyond the 400 mark. More than half of the families living on the hill identify themselves as American Chippewa Indians with traditions leading back 5 generations to the shores of the Great Lakes, or, more recently, to the Turtle Mountain exodus out of North Dakota 60 years ago. Others on the hill are Cree Indians of Canadian background. Many are an admixture of Cree-Chippewa, and this they call themselves. It is a point of genealogical fact, however, that a good share of those on the hill are Metis, half-breeds of French-Indian background. They are the so-called Red River people or ex-Pembina group, and among them are names like LaPier, LaMere, and LaFramboise. Records of the now disestablished St. Peter's Mission, once 35 miles southwest of Great Falls, put some of these names in Montana as far back as the 1860's. However, in spite of their French voyageur heritage, they regard themselves, and are regarded by others, as Indians. A few Blackfeet also live at the camp, and a scattering of others from tribes never found in Montana, such as the Yakima, are occasionally there. All on the hill can be termed off-reservation Indians. They are not, however, all non-reservation Indians. The distinction is important. Many families have claims on reservations outside of Montana; some have corporate interests in tribal property within the State.

There are sad historical and economic reasons for most of them being where they are. The ancestors of the Chippewa were driven off their reservation in the Dakotas by military force in the 19th century. The ancestors of the Cree sought political asylum in the United States after the collapse of the Riel rebellion in Canada in 1886, in which they had been, at least in part, participants. These two groups tended to band together and became known to Montanans around the turn of the century as the landless Indians, though this term is not quite correct; even today they have claims against the Government for lands taken from them in Minnesota and Dakota.

In 1917, as a result of the extreme economic plight of these two semiamalgamated bands and the courageous championing of the Great Falls newspapers to get them land like the other Indians in Montana, Rocky Boy's Reservation was created. It is near Box Elder, Mont., about 100 miles north of Great Falls, and the Indians enrolled there officially list themselves as the Chippewa-Cree Tribe of the Rocky Boy's Reservation. Unfortunately, the reservation has never been able to support more than a fraction of those whose tribal descent might give them rights there. The result is that many leave the reservation and seek to make a living in and about the towns and cities of Montana or in rural communities. An indication of why this must be can be gleaned from the knowledge that Rocky Boy's Reservation can support at a minimum standard of living no more than 300 persons, yet more than 1,000 are enrolled there. When times get bad—that is to say, worse than normal, keeping in mind that normal means just barely getting by—the reservation conditions approach the "famine stage." (This phrase comes from a letter of the superintendent of the agency there during the depression of the mid-thirties.) There are Indians living there now who think the winter months of 1955–56 were about as terrible. Little wonder that the August 1956 Spokane meeting of the Affiliated Indian Tribes of the Northwest went on record as stating:

"The need of Montana Indians in the winter months is greater than that of any other Indians west of the Dakotas."

This applies to on- and off-reservation Indians.

And now we come to the incredible part of this whole problem. The Federal Government, whose responsibility it is to improve the lot of the reservation Indians, seems hellbent to get the Indian off the reservation and make him seek his livelihood in the white man's world. In 1954 Public Law 280 was passed by Congress. Whatever its wording may be, it is in fact, a coercive policy of assimilation for the American Indian, encouraging the sale of tribal-held lands and the withdrawing of Government support to Indians who want to remain Indians. Here is an example of how this can be done: Adjoining Rocky Boy's Reservation are 57,000 acres of tribal-held land. Many of the Indians on the reservation could make a better living if this land were made available to them. Instead, the Indian Bureau insisted it be put up for lease on the basis of the highest bidder. In this particular case, the highest bidder was a Great Falls doctor. The Indian who lost the lease sadly

remarked, "Well, I'll be on Hill 57 next year. * * *" The excuse for this sort of economics is that the Indians get the lease money paid to the tribal council and the more money obtained, the more to pass out among the tribe. Here is the point which is not seen by the tribal council, but is, I suspect, quite clearly seen by the Indian Bureau: The tribal land will all be held by non-Indians, and the Indians will come to Great Falls to make the living they might have made at home up on the reservation. In this way, of course, the Indian will at last be made to stand on his own two feet. He will become an individualized, nontribal Indian. In fact, he will become an American. This, at least, is the argument of the Indian Bureau. And so also argues many a taxpayer who is tired of paying taxes to keep up the reservation as "damn curiosity shops."

Let's go back to Hill 57 and see how this fine theory works in practice. There we have the individualized, nontribal, free enterprise-minded Indian competing in the urban labor market. What are the results? They are certainly not what the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would have the general public believe. The first thing we see is a set of rather horrendous statistics. Cascade County has about 700 Indians (there are other hills besides Hill 57.) This makes up slightly more than 1 percent of the county population. Nevertheless, Indians take more than 25 percent of the county general relief, more than 23 percent of the county medical load, more than 7 percent of the categorical assistance. Where does the money come from? Who pays what? The county alone foots the bill for general relief and medical aid. County, State, and Federal funds are used for categorical assistance, which gives help to the blind, disabled, etc.

Indians enrolled on a reservation, but not living there, are ineligible for much of this aid. In spite of the fact that section 71–211 of the Montana Codes makes it quite plain that in matters of general assistance, Indians are to be dealt with in the same manner as other citizens, local and State agencies are reluctant to help them. Reservation enrolled Indians are wards of the Government, and as such it is felt they are the responsibility of the Federal Government. The Indian Bureau washes its hands of them unless they return to their reservations. So somewhere to the number of Great Falls Indians who are needy and receiving aid should be added the number of those who are needy but get no aid. It does seem that too many Indians leave the reservation only to wind up in the welfare office.

But statistics don't tell all of the Hill 57 story. Not long ago Columbus Hospital in Great Falls had to dismiss a young Indian employee when it was discovered she could not read the numbers on the trays. A little bit of checking showed that she had grown up in Great Falls but had never really gone to school. An unusual case? Not at all. Welfare workers estimate that not more than 20 percent of the hill children of school age get anything like a regular and continuous education. No resident of Hill 57 has ever graduated from high school. Few attend. There are good reasons for this. Most of the family heads are at best temporarily employed. They lack money for the basic school needs of their children. In the winter months when employment is hard to get, the children have to walk long distances to school. There is no school bus. In spring and summer work becomes available in the country, such as rock picking for farmers, and all able-bodied members of the family go along to pitch in on the job and earn money.

Hill 57 offers pretty good evidence that, by and large, the off-reservation Indian does not fare well in a competitive urban employment market. His lack of education and lack of technical training greatly handicap him. His cultural heritage does not fit the tempo of our industrial society. He becomes a casualty. But what about the validity of some of the slogans, such as "individualized" and "nontribal," which are used to justify his existence in this strongly competitive world?

"The best interests of the Indian as for any ethnic group are served when they are accepted and made a part of the community in which they live." (Letter of Commissioner Emmons, of the Indian Bureau, to Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana.—From CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Senate proceedings, 84th Cong.)

This is a long way from being accomplished as far as the Indians on Hill 57 are concerned. Nor do they particularly wish it to be accomplished. The Hill 57 population tends to point up the homogeneity of city Indian colonies. If we ever have sudden mass removal from Indian lands, the Indians will probably regroup in city areas along tribal lines. This is what has happened on the hills we already have on the fringes of Montana cities—the tribes we shall have with us a long, long time.

It is not just accidental that Indian settlements are at some distance from regular city neighborhoods. Nor is it always a matter of real estate values. The plain fact is that the Indian does not yet wish to lose his identity as an Indian. He will take his time, and it may be that he will decide that his Indian values are the values he will wish to keep. For the time being his choice is to live on the reservation if he can but make a living there.

On March 11 of this year, Iliff McKay, secretary of the Blackfeet Tribal Council, sent to all members of Montana's congressional delegation and to State welfare agencies and to interested persons a statement about the Indian situation. One short paragraph is worth quoting:

"Plans for Indians should be based upon the realization that there is a certain strength and self-sufficiency to be gained from living and growing up in a community where social acceptance, language barriers, and cultural underdevelopment (according to the standards of the majority of the population) are no problems. But these communities must be stable and not constantly harassed and in state of frustration for fear of annihilation."

There is possibly no better plea than this for keeping the Indians on their reservations and insisting that the Federal Government meet its responsibilities and obligations to provide economic opportunities there.

It will be said, of course, that in the long run the reservations must disappear, that the Indian will have to make the adjustment which will make him not separate from our society but a part of it. It is not the purpose of this article to argue the pros and cons of this point. But it should be clear that the Indians coming into the cities and towns of Montana are adding burdens to themselves and to us—that unless we can make it possible for them to make a living on their reservations, that we Montanans will have many more Hill 57's.

A Lesson From Senator George

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, in memory of Walter F. George, one of the most distinguished Senators in the history of the Senate, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the enclosed article as written by David Lawrence and appearing in the August 6 Washington Evening Star:

A LESSON FROM SENATOR GEORGE—EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP GROUP REMINDED OF F. D. ROOSEVELT'S DEFEAT IN GEORGIA

(By David Lawrence)

The past speaks to the present. That is one way of expressing the significance of the life of Senator Walter George of Georgia, whose death is being mourned by the whole country.

For in George's career is a poignant lesson to all those modernists who have been confusedly demanding the vigorous exercise of executive leadership and punitive discipline by the President over members of his own political party. Here is the story that made political history:

The time is 1938. Franklin D. Roosevelt, author of New Deal reforms, finds Senator George, Democrat, out of tune with his legislative proposals, particularly Roosevelt's scheme to "pack" the Supreme Court. Heeding the cry that Presidential "leadership" must compel obdience to its commands, Roosevelt undertakes a "purge." He makes a speech advising the people of Georgia to defeat their Senator for renomination in the forthcoming primaries.

There is nothing personal in the dispute—just a piece of political pressure to require a Senator to forget his own convictions and obey the dictates of the White House. Roosevelt speaks in Georgia—in the presence of Senator George, on the same platform—as follows:

"The senior Senator from this State cannot possibly, in my judgment, be classified as belonging to the liberal school of thought * * * Let me make it clear that he [Senator George] is, and I hope always will be, my personal friend. He is beyond question a gentleman and a scholar * * * I am impelled to make it clear that on most public questions he and I do not speak the same language. * * *

"I have no hesitation in saying that if I were able to vote in the September primaries in this State, I most assuredly would cast my vote for Lawrence Camp."

The people of Georgia resented the attempt to "purge" as an unwarranted interference in their affairs. They renominated and reelected Senator George by an overwhelming vote. He continued for years to serve his country irrespective of party politics. What would have happened to the career of Walter George if the "purge" had been successful? The Senate and the Nation would have lost the services of a statesman just because he chanced to disagree with a President. It's a lesson worth pondering.

The episode underlines, of course, a tendency that still prevails today in so-called liberal circles—the very places where it might be thought there would be unwavering confidence in the right of the people in each State to select their own representatives without coercion from the President or anybody else in the Federal Government.

But the demand which arises even now and is pressed upon President Eisenhower—that he must crack the whip over dissident members of his party—is due to a curious faith in Presidential power. When the late Senator McCarthy was the center of controversy, Eisenhower told his press conference one day that he had received letters from the public urging that he remove the Wisconsin Senator from office. A year ago when Senator WILEY was up for renomination in Wisconsin, there was a consistent effort to persuade Eisenhower to throw his weight behind WILEY and thus take part in the primaries. Some leading newspapers in the East editorially criticized Eisenhower for failing to use the primaries as a means of Presidential or party discipline.

All this proceeds no doubt from impatience with dissenting viewpoints and involves a certain intolerance of any opposition. The image which too many people, even in intellectual circles, have of a President is that of a benevolent dictator. They want power centralized in one-man government, and they do not object to the doctrine that the beneficient end sought justifies any means to achieve it.

Strangely enough, the instinct toward totalitarianism is sometimes strong in segments of the electorate in democracies. Many people in the United States probably would be glad to make it possible for a President to select or dismiss Members of Congress.

Political parties in America have survived the binding party caucus and the attempted purges by the Presidents. There are splinters and factions in today's major parties, but they manage to check one another. It isn't a smooth-working machinery, but the tasks in governing 170 million or more people in a democratic system are never as simple as they are under a dictatorship. Cumbersomeness in government is not too high a price to pay for the enjoyment of the blessings of democracy.

Comment on Jury-Trial Amendment to Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the debate over adding a jury-trial provision in contempt cases under the civil-rights bill has been carried on not only in the Congress but throughout the land. I believe it is interesting to note the reaction of the largest morning and afternoon newspapers in the State of Indiana after the action by the Senate of adopting the jury-trial amendment. From the Indianapolis News of August 3, 1957, I insert the following editorial:

THE GREATER RIGHT

"This was one of the saddest days in the history of the Senate, because this was a vote against the right to vote."

That was Vice President NIXON's incredible comment on the United States Senate's smashing victory over those who would have abridged the right of trial by jury in the name of "civil rights."

Charitably, we shall assume that Mr. NIXON merely spoke thoughtlessly in the heat of administration efforts to push through a civil-rights measure cynically based on the power relations of domestic politics.

But we also must assume that Mr. NIXON will live to rue his comment. You do not say such things as that about 51 United States Senators, whose numbers include some of the finest men on the current American scene, and get off scot free.

Moreover, the Vice President was in grievous error. The Senate adoption of a jury-trial amendment to the civil-rights bill was not a vote against the right to vote. It was a vote to protect a right of the heirs of Anglo-Saxon civilization that dates back to Runnymede and 1215.

Did the sponsors of unchecked Federal power of injunction actually think they could sneak a thing without precedent in the Anglo-Saxon world since the destruction of the divine right of kings through the United States Senate?

They did get a sort of confused administration blessing. And they did soft-shoe it through the House.

But the Senate is—and, thank God, always has been—made of sterner stuff.

And so it was that the superb marshalship of LYNDON JOHNSON, Democratic leader, made child's play of those forces which for a variety of reasons—some no less cheap than a desire to win some election votes—would have turned back the clock of criminal procedure to the Dark Ages.

Let Mr. NIXON, Senate Minority Leader KNOWLAND and many others—good Americans all in essence—ponder on their staggering defeat. Let them review their heritage as Western men—a product of tens of centuries of struggle and sacrifice. Perhaps their sense of relative values then will be restored to them.

The triumph of the jury-trial amendment need not be the death knell of an effective civil-rights measures. Its sponsors were Democratic Senators O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming; CHURCH, of Idaho, and KEFAUVER, of TENNESSEE—none of whom by any stretch of legitimate criticism can be called a white supremacist. Indeed, only that rotten Communist rag, the Daily Worker, has dared even hint they are such.

The Senate majority has only decreed that a great and ennobling right, hard won in the strife of ages, is not going to be abridged in favor of other rights that assuredly should come into being.

From the August 3, 1957, edition of the Indianapolis Star, I insert the following editorial:

CIVIL RIGHTS TRIUMPH

In the emotional heat of battle, a great deal of foolishness is being uttered about Senate approval of a jury-trial amendment to the civil-rights bill. Even such a normally temperate person as Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON has described the Senate's action as "a vote against the right to vote." Others woefully say the whole civil-rights bill is now doomed. The amendment is generally pictured as an accomplishment of Southern opponents of civil-rights legislation. With all these reactions we respectfully disagree.

The amendment was adopted 51 to 42 after some of the most seriously thoughtful debate witnessed on the floor of the Senate for many years. Veteran observers of congressional action, including both radical and conservative partisans, have been astounded by the statesmanship exhibited by both sides. Even such a pseudoliberal magazine as "The Reporter," in an article by Douglass Cater, commented prior to the vote on the amendment that, "Suddenly the Senate seemed to come alive and the dialogue took on an unexpected vigor and clarity. * * * Reporters witnessed the rare spectacle of Senators seriously attempting to make up their minds."

It was serious business they were considering. No matter how many denials were made, here was a proposal which would have canceled, in a vast new area of human relations, the right of every person to a jury trial when charged with a criminal offense. In the name of civil rights, the proposed legislation would have partially destroyed a civil right which has been described as the most basic one of all. This was the conclusion reached by the Senate in solemn hours of debate. It was the reason for the amendment.

The jury-trial debate tentatively won for Southern Negroes the right to serve on Federal juries no matter what restrictions a State may place on jury service. It favored retaining for every person, no matter what his color, the right to a jury trial when the charge against him is essentially a criminal one. These are provisions which favor civil rights; they belong in a civil-rights bill. They were decided upon by a majority of the Senate in honest discussion, not forced by any parliamentary squeeze play from the South.

As the bill now stands, what harm has been done to efforts in behalf of Negro voters in the South? Under no circumstances could the civil-rights measure have applied to any elections except those in which Federal candidates were involved. If the bill is passed as amended, southern Negroes can sit on southern juries hearing criminal contempt cases against alleged civil-rights violators. And if a southern Federal judge willfully refuses to empanel Negroes for jury service, who is naive enough to believe that the same judge would be any fairer in hearing a case on his own?

The twin amendments, one preventing States from keeping Negroes off of Federal juries and the other restating the traditional American guarantee of trial by jury, are in fact, a victory for civil rights. We commented earlier, in another editorial, that a mere "right to vote" provision would be political window dressing and ineffective in any practical way in the South, but we did not then foresee the jury service amendment. We wish we had thought of it. We are glad someone did. The wider opportunity for Negroes to serve on southern Federal juries can give them an opoprtunity to dispel prejudice in the most effective way of all—by good performance.

The civil-rights bill, even if it eventually came out a gem of polished perfection, would not solve all the problems of racial prejudice. No legislation could do that. No legislation should be expected to do it. The full job will be done only by a growth of human intelligence and sensible tolerance. But the civil-rights measure is a better bill now than is has been. It comes closer to deserving its title.

We hope the Senate continues its unexpected but welcome high level of civil-rights debate.

Congress Should Approve Legislation Granting a Congressional Charter to Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Warld War I of the U. S. A. have been in existence for 8 years and have demonstrated through their nationwide activity and membership that they are entitled to a congressional charter so that they may be accorded the recognition enjoyed by major veterans organizations.

Aside from many other important reasons why this organization of World War I veterans should receive national recognition is the fact that it is a great asset to its service officers in representing World War I veterans with their claims with the Veterans' Administration.

In view of the fact that a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee after hearings on legislation to grant a congressional charter have submitted a favorable report, I am hopeful that the full committee will approve the recommendations of the subcommittee so that the House will have the opportunity of approving the legislation before adjournment.

The following editorial from the August 8, 1957, issue of the National Tribune—The Stars and Stripes, Washington, D. C., is a timely discussion of

the need for favorable action by the Congress in granting a congressional charter to the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A.:

A CHARTER FOR WORLD WAR I VETS

On July 24 the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. appeared before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee to present arguments to show why this new organization should be granted a congressional charter giving them equal privileges with other recognized veterans organizations.

The organization was well represented by the present national commander, Harlan W. Barnes, of Oregon; Past National Commander Emanuel Levy, and by Merle E. Hopper, chairman of the legislative committee of the Veterans of World War I.

Hopper made the presentation and set forth in completeness the reasons why the organization should be granted a congressional charter. (The full text of his presentation appears in this issue of the National Tribune-The Stars and Stripes.)

We are happy to report that a favorable decision on the granting of the charter was forwarded to the full House Judiciary Committee and in the light of this action we are inclined to believe that the charter will be granted.

There is no reason why a congressional charter should not be given to the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. We have referred to them as a new organization but as a matter of fact they have been in existence 8 years. Their beginnings were slow as is always the case with any new group trying to identify itself as something different.

Their struggles were many but, eventually, they found themselves on a solid footing and from then on the organization grew by leaps and bounds.

With little or no backing in the beginning their ranks have grown until they can now count their members in the tens of thousands, with splendid reports of new barracks forming throughout the country.

As we have pointed out previously, there is no reason why the charter should not be granted. As far as the cost to the Government is concerned, that can be discounted. It requires only a little paperwork by both Houses of Congress and the signature of the President of the United States. Any cost will have to be borne by the veterans themselves in the way of setting up necessary offices to aid their comrades and their dependents in claims before the Veterans' Administration. This may sound repetitious but nevertheless it is true.

Here is a group of veterans representing a distinct class—a group of veterans which has proven that despite vicissitudes it has become a growing power, with the possibility of ever greater development as the years pass.

Its recognition by the Congress of the United States seem inevitable. An old and striking advertisement carried the slogan "Eventually, why not now?"

There is no reason why Congress should wait longer to grant the request of the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. for a charter. The proof of their stability is before the Congress and their recognition, alongside of other veteran organizations is just. They plead a cause which we of the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes consider worthy. Congress itself in studying their request for recognition must realize this and in all good conscience grant it.

The Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. are soon to meet at their national encampment. What a splendid tribute to the men who have battled for this recognition that they might be able to report to their national convention that the Congress of the United States has recognized their claim and has granted their simple request.

We realize that the veterans of the First World War have fallen into a class of forgotten men. It is only human nature to forget the past in considering the problems of the present.

That is understandable, but the people of our country should never foreget the sacrifices these men of 1917–18 have made, and the men and women who make up the Congress of the United States are human, and with a little thought will realize that granting a charter to this representative group of war veterans is but a mild token of appreciation toward them and one well worthy of the men who seek it and the Congress which has it in its power to grant it.

We realize the difficulties that lie ahead of Congress in the next few weeks in connection with important legislation, particularly before the Senate, but we do think it would be a nice gesture on the part of both Houses of Congress if they could find time to pass this piece of legislation which cannot harm the country but which can do much for the future growth of a worthy veteran organization.

Import Competition Faced by Our Pottery Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I have on numerous occasions called attention to the disastrous import competition faced by our pottery industry. The situation has not improved and it is high time that some effective action be taken.

When I say this I am aware how deeply we have become bogged down in our trade relations with other countries. Each year that the executive branch continues to maintain its control over the regulation of our foreign commerce the complications become more involved. The burden of seeking a remedy gets more cumbersome, to the point where a domestic industry hardly knows where to turn.

Even such remedies as have been provided by legislation, such as the escape clause of the Trade Agreements Act, are backstopped by the President and he relies on the State Department and like-minded executive agencies for his advice.

The point has been reached where the fancied effects on international relations of any action proposed to save a domestic industry override all other considerations. Let employment drop; let workers walk the streets; let local communities dry up—all this is nothing. It makes the State Department's work easier if we do nothing about it. Yes; it is so much easier in playing international politics if you can use pawns supplied by someone else rather than those supplied by your own intelligence and competence. It is so much easier to buy your way through.

But I for one am getting tired of this kind of diplomacy. The people back home whose pawns are so recklessly played on the international table are getting tired of it.

Recently the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters addressed themselves to this subject in their annual convention. President E. L. Wheatley has supplied a copy of two resolutions adopted on import quotas and the OTC. They speak for themselves and I insert them in the RECORD at this point on leave previously granted:

RESOLUTION ON IMPORT QUOTAS

Whereas the importation of household pottery products, both chinaware and earthenware, has long been detrimental to the pottery industry and therefore to the members of the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters;

Whereas these imports have captured a heavy share of the domestic market almost entirely because of the lower wages prevailing in the countries of origin and promise further encroachment on our jobs and pressure on our wages;

Whereas the tariff rates have been reduced under the trade agreements program despite our protests and despite the obvious results that would occur and that have in fact occurred;

Whereas the possibility of obtaining a remedy under the escape clause borders on zero because of State Department interference;

Whereas a limitation on imports that would recognize the right of domestic producers to retain a fair share of the home market is necessary in order to assure a halt to the progressive increase in imports which bids fair to annihilate our industry in a mater of time: Therefore be it

Resolved:

1. That the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters reaffirms its previous resolution in favor of establishing quotas on pottery imports.

2. That it lend full and vigorous support to the Lanham general-import quota bill (H. R. 2815) and urge the Congress to pass it.

3. That copies of this resolution be sent to the membership of the House Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committee of the United States Congress; to President George Meany, of the AFL-CIO, and to the heads of the legislative and the industrial union departments of the same body.

RESOLUTION ON OTC

Whereas the membership of the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters has had long and discouraging experience with the problem of import competition from countries in which extremely low wages prevail;

Whereas this experience covers the period under which the Department of State of the Federal Government has virtually replaced Congress as the branch of Government that regulates foreign commerce;

Whereas the administration of our tariff and trade laws during the past 20 years has been without sympathy or regard for the welfare of our domestic industry, but, on the contrary, very solicitous of the improvement of the economies of many other countries all over the world, to the extent of pouring scores of billions of dollars into such countries, while at the same time reducing import duties and thus increasingly exposing the jobs and wages of our members to the competition of underpaid foreign labor;

Whereas the Congress of the United States and not the State Department is specified in the Constitution as the branch of the Government that is to regulate our foreign commerce and to control the tariff;

Whereas Congress is responsible to the people who elect its Members, while the State Department is not;

Whereas the proposal to make the United States a member of the OTC (Organiza-

tion for Trade Cooperation) which would be headquartered in Geneva and in which the United States would have but 1 vote in 35, is now before Congress in the form of H. R. 6630;

Whereas congressional approval of OTC membership would underwrite or confirm the loss by Congress of its power over tariffs and trade and lodge such authority in an international body, thus destroying all hope of recapture of its power by Congress: Therefore be it

Resolved:

1. That the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters in convention assembled condemn severely the administration of our trade and tariff laws under State Department domination;

2. That we call for the restoration of the regulation of our foreign commerce to the hands of Congress, where it belongs, and from which it should not have been removed;

3. That we call for the defeat of H. R. 6630 or OTC membership bill; and

4. That the officers of the brotherhood disseminate copies of this resolution to the membership of the House Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committee of the United States Congress; to President George Meany, of the AFL–CIO, and to the heads of the legislative and the industrial union departments of the same body.

Lead-Zinc Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I inserted in the RECORD my testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee which held hearings last Thursday and Friday on the crisis in America's domestic lead-zinc industry induced by excessive foreign imports of these metals.

A concise statement of the problems affecting the industry was presented for the committee record by Clark L. Wilson, vice president of the New Park Mining Co., of Keetley, Utah.

Because this is an important and urgent issue now before the House Ways and Means Committee I ask that Mr. Wilson's statement be printed in the RECORD for study by the Members of both Houses.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF CLARK L. WILSON, VICE PRESIDENT, NEW PARK MINING CO., AUGUST 1, 1957, TO THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE SUBJECT OF IMPORT TAXES ON LEAD AND ZINC

The New Park Mining Co. operates the Mayflower Mine at Keetley, Utah, in the famous old Park City Mining District, 30 miles east of Salt Lake City, Utah. New Park is an independent mining organization owned by over 4,900 stockholders located throughout the United States and foreign countries. Our ore is shipped direct to a custom mill so that our income is dependent solely on mining operations. This means we do not have income from milling or smelting operations. We feel that our problems due to the depressed lead-zinc market are particularly typical of the few independent mining organizations left in the lead-zinc industry, and illustrate the need for domestic tariff protection.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PRODUCTION RECORD

Our company was incorporated 25 years ago in May of 1932 as a consolidation of several mining companies that controlled the Park-Galena Mayflower Mine. Work on this prospect dated back to the 1880's. Following incorporation as New Park in 1932 it took 8 years to finance and develop the Mayflower Mine as an active producing property and 1940 was the first year of operation at a profit. Since that time the company has operated continuously at a profit through 1955 paying over $2 million in dividends to our stockholders. This past year of 1956 we lost $113,840.

During the past 20 years our company has produced 127,500,000 pounds of lead and 165,900,000 pounds of zinc. Our annual production rate now averages approximately 6 million pounds of lead and 9 million pounds of zinc. The importance of this production is quite apparent as it affects the economy of our mining district, local communities, State of Utah, and the preservation and protection of the safety of our Nation, particularly in times of worldwide shortages. Our continued production of these metals is very questionable due to the low lead-zinc metal price situation resulting from excessive imports of foreign lead-zinc.

The Park City Mining District of Utah has produced over $450 million of metals in an 80-year period of time. An asset such as this must be protected and can be done only by continued operations of its mines.

NEW PARK'S POSITION AS A COMPETITIVE PRODUCER

I would like to establish at this point that New Park is an old reliable mining company with a sound production and profit record. Based on this record we do not consider our present financial difficulty to be a result of corporate management or operating problems and ours is not a so-called marginal producer as our ore grade and mining costs are commensurate with other good operations in the United States.

WHAT THEN IS OUR PROBLEM?

Other interested mining people will present to your Committee the facts and figures on excessive foreign imports of lead and zinc. The resultant surpluses not only kept metal prices from rising in proportion to increased operating costs, but have reduced combined lead-zinc prices by 18½ percent in 2 months' time, May and June 1957. An operation that lost money when combined lead-zinc prices were 29½ cents per pound cannot exist at 25 cents per pound even with a drastic revamping of its operations. We have been operating at a loss in hopes that the long-range mineral program would be presented to Congress early this year. To stay in business even on break-even basis we cut out all lower grade working areas and dropped approximately one-third of our employees. A substantial percentage of our surface workers were either transferred to production jobs underground or were retired as overage employees (over age 65). All possible mechanical and operating efficiencies have been improved, and tons of ore produced per man-shift have increased to an all-time high, but decreasing metal prices far exceed these improvements. Let's consider the prices that would have been needed last year (1956) for New Park to operate on a break-even basis. As previously mentioned, we lost $113,840. If this loss is equally apportioned to lead and zinc it would require an additional 1 cent per pound on each metal to equal the loss. This would be a combined price of 31½ cents per pound, or 17½ cents for lead, and 14½ cents for zinc. The present prices are about 24 percent below this level.

EFFECTS OF LOW METAL PRICES

1. The immediate effect of low metal prices is readily apparent in operating losses that will eventually lead to closing the Mayflower Mine. We have 185 employees who will lose their jobs. This will have an immediate effect on their families and the communities they help support, involving several thousand people in our area. The reduction in county, State, and Federal taxes through closure of a natural-resource industry will be a real loss to our communities. The only true wealth generated in our country comes from its natural resources and our national policy should be to develop these assets.

2. The value of the ore reserves in any mine fluctuates with metal prices and as prices are lowered there are some mineral areas that can't be mined at a profit and must be reserved for the future if they are then available. A wet mine such as ours must be constantly maintained during a shut-down period, otherwise timber rots and rockfalls block the mine openings. This maintenance is an expensive operation. The expense of reopening a mine may be greater than the value of the ore blocks left, due to economic conditions such as we are now experiencing. In other words, a shut-down may mean the permanent loss of a valuable resource.

Our geologists estimate that our normal 2-year ore reserve has been reduced to approximately 6 months by the recent price reductions. What was profitable ore at 31½ cents combined lead-zinc price, cannot now be mined at present metal prices and costs.

The reduced value of our ore reserves due to the low lead-zinc prices is shown by comparing the value of our ore at 16 cents for lead and 13½ cents for zinc in April 1957, with the same ore at the present prices of 14 cents for lead and 10 cents for zinc. For this example I have used in the calculations a typical lot of ore shipped from the mine during the month of April. The value of this ore after treatment charges were paid was $23.96 per ton in April 1957. The same ore at present prices will net us only $17.67, a loss in value of over 26 percent.

3. We have a saying in the business that "You have to mine ore to find ore." By this, we mean that generally as long as a mine is operating profitably, management will reinvest a portion of its earnings in new exploration that will eventually develop new ore bodies. Low metal prices over the past few years have eliminated, at New Park and other properties, any long-range exploration that must be done to insure the existence of our industry. Over the long term this is the most serious effect of our present economy as the future security of our country will be affected.

OUR METAL PRICE NEEDS AT NEW PARK

Our economic situation has been explained to the Congress and the administration during the past few years and was fully recognized by the action of the Tariff Commission in May 1954, with a unanimous recommendation for increased tariff protection. As you know, this recommendation was rejected by the administration and various other plans were tried. In our estimation the failure of these attempts to stabilize metal prices has proven that a tariff or import tax, preferably both, is the only equitable solution to control of excessive metal imports. We appreciate the recognition of these principles by the administration as shown in the long-range mineral policy statement and proposed legislation of Secretary Seaton and as presented in various bills now before Congress. Secretary Seaton suggests a peril point on lead of 17 cents and zinc 14½ cents. No tax would be imposed at these price levels or above. As shown earlier in this testimony we must have these prices at New Park to permit a break-even operation with a minimum of exploration and development.

We respectfully suggest to your committee that in your consideration of recommended legislation these price levels be con-

sidered actual minimums for operation of domestic lead-zinc mines under the present-day cost of wages and materials. The tariff or tax applied must be sufficient to control excessive foreign imports of lead and zinc.

The United States is not a have-not nation. With the proper incentive our industry will develop new mineral reserves producing new wealth for our country and its people. This has been proven many times in the past. We feel it is imperative that the standard of living of the American miner be maintained and this will be done only by proper tariff protection.

We earnestly request that your committee approve proposals for the necessary protection of the domestic mining industry.

Amending Tariff Act of 1930

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday August 6, I introduced H. R. 9132, as an amendment to section 313 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930. The purpose of this amendment is to extend to all imported merchandise the privilege of substitution of similar domestic merchandise for the purpose of drawing back duty paid on imported merchandise upon the export of equivalent American-made goods.

In 1930 this privilege was extended to sugar and nonferrous metals. In 1949, at my recommendation, Congress extended it to all metals, as well as linseed and linseed oil. In 1956, Congress again extended the privilege to printing papers. The Customs Bureau has now had enough experience with this practice of substitution that they are now prepared to support the ending of the discrimination that the present law still continues against all other commodities and merchandise, as proposed by this bill which I am introducing.

The advantages of this privilege to importers engaged in the reexport of such goods and the employees engaged in their production are adequately set forth in the records of the Ways and Means Committee in connection with the action taken in broadening this privilege on previous occasions. It enables the American manufacturer faced with the competition of cheaper foreign materials available to his foreign competitors to improve his competitive position in foreign markets and thus assist in maintaining a higher level of domestic employment in the United States at higher wages, than would otherwise prevail. It is a privilege which Canadian producers have enjoyed for over 30 years. It is a step forward in the direction of freeing foreign trade, not from necessary tariffs, but from unnecessary handicaps to American exporters in meeting foreign competition in foreign markets on more even terms. As in all past cases, the proposal has bipartisan support. I trust the House will approve this progressive measure for freeing exporters of American goods from unnecessary and uneconomic handicaps in their struggle to increase their sales in foreign markets.

American Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all Members of this body receive complaints from constituents regarding the extent of American foreign aid, which many of them think is strengthening the hold of Communist Russia over satellite countries. Our colleague, Representative EARL WILSON, of the Indiana Ninth District, has discussed that matter in his current news letter to constituents. Believing his report is most worthy of thought, I am herewith submitting it for reproduction in the RECORD:

WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER
(By Congressman EARL WILSON)
PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 2

My last newsletter discussed the growing threat of inflation as American public enemy No. 1. I attempted to show that communism—Enemy No. 2—cannot take over the United States unless inflation first gets the best of us. A strong economy with full employment, stabilized money and sound government will keep us invincible.

I have much mail—and I am sure this is true with other Congressmen—urging drastic cutbacks in American foreign aid; particularly to those nations dominated by Soviet Russia. "Why," I was asked by one writer, "should we use American dollars to stabilize Soviet satellites and thus deaden the determination of these enslaved peoples to rise against their oppressor?"

It is indeed hard to justify such American aid, and I am not trying to do it. That whole field of American policy may well be in need of a searching congressional inquiry.

If we are to turn the tide of international communism, shouldn't we enlist the active aid of the subject people in satellite countries? They are the ones to overthrow their Communist overlords. Yet, when we pour American aid to them we take from them the sense of urgency and we fortify the power of their rulers.

There are many Members of Congress and other thoughtful people throughout the land who insist that our policy should be toward undermining—socially, politically and economically—the outlaw regimes in the satellite nations. This can be done, they reason, through non-recognition, trade embargoes and through a ceaseless propaganda barrage against Soviet imperialism.

Whatever American aid that goes to Communist-dominated countries should proceed from the highest humanitarian principles—aid for food and medical supplies to stem or reduce human suffering. It should not be aid that would serve to bolster or stabilize, even slightly, the political overlords—for that would be aiding communism and not the subject people.

Such a stiffening of American policy would almost immediately force greater hardships on Soviet Russia itself and severely weaken the economic base of the entire Kremlin imperialist system. We now know that many crises exist behind the borders of Russia—a struggle for the reins among top Reds, a breakdown in the industrial and agricultural strength of the country and a general dissatisfaction among the masses of the Russian people.

The latent power of enslaved satellites is feared more today by Russian rulers than is the military might of America and all the NATO countries combined.

This is a most critical period—it might well be the opportune period—in our dealings with communism. Let us avoid contributing toward the building of a communistic commonwealth of nations.

The Federal City Council, Washington Star, and Washington Post Strongly Support Bill To Establish a Standing Joint Committee on the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Federal City Council, the Washington Evening Star, and the Washington Post and Times Herald strongly support my bill to establish a standing Joint Committee on the District of Columbia.

I have been concerned with this matter for a long time.

It is a workable bipartisan plan, and, I am proud to say, a number of my colleagues in the House and Senate have joined me in sponsoring it.

In the House the bill has been cosponsored by the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN].

In the Senate a companion measure was introduced by Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, JR., Democrat, of Pennsylvania, for himself and Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon.

My bill is designed to reorganize congressional relations with our Capital City in order to expedite solutions to urgent problems now facing that city, and to lessen the burden falling on Congress as it acts as City Council for Washington.

It is being introduced simultaneously in the Senate by my good friend, the distinguished junior Senator from Pennsylvania, who has played a major part in helping to develop the measure as it now stands. I am delighted to have the following Members of Congress join me as cosponsors in the House: Representatives HUGH SCOTT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, Democrat, of South Dakota, and KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

Few subjects confronting us today are as important as this one. Better legislative methods for dealing with District

problems are absolutely vital to preservation of the economic well-being of our great Capital City. They are equally indispensable to saving the time and energy of many of my colleagues in both Houses of Congress.

Today our Nation's Capital—the foremost city of this Nation and of the free world—is in dire trouble. It faces problems, governmental, social, and financial, which threaten its very future unless they are dealt with promptly and effectively.

In our role as City Councilors for the Capital City, we have a prime responsibility for helping find answers to the city's dwindling tax base, its costly slums, its traffic congestion, its rapidly mounting financial burdens, and so on.

You would expect under these circumstances that the legislative machinery for dealing with the District would be the best that congressional ingenuity could devise. I regret to say that it now falls short of this mark.

Responsibility for control over District affairs is now divided among four congressional groups—Senate and House District Committees, and the Appropriations Committees in both Houses. As a recent editorial in the Washington Post-Times Herald put it:

> This diffusion of authority contributes greatly to pulling and hauling over relatively minor issues and compels an excessive number of national legislators to familiarize themselves with local problems.

We all know how frequently District bills bounce back and forth between Senate and House because of conflicting actions of each. We have seen this process result in delays and financial losses to our great Capital City. And many of us are all too well aware of the excessive and unnecessary load of work placed on us by this system.

Indeed, the inefficiency and waste motion of this procedure help explain why so many legislators regard an appointment to a District Committee with so little enthusiasm. It is a large part of the reason why our Nation's Capital has so long remained the forgotten stepchild of Congress.

Needless to say, the most satisfactory way out of this dilemma is home rule, perhaps coupled with a fixed-formula Federal payment in lieu of local taxes.

But short of home rule, there is a positive first step we can take toward better and more responsible local government for the District, and toward a more efficient method of discharging our own responsibilities.

This is to be found in the standing joint committee of the Senate and House, recommended in my bill which would consolidate the major legislative functions affecting the District, thereby providing some continuity to Washington city government and reducing the drain on congressional energy.

I would like to emphasize, Mr. Speaker, that this proposal coincides with a general trend toward greater legislative efficiency. Today, for example, there are a dozen joint congressional committees—about double the number which existed 10 years ago. Among them is the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, on which the proposed Joint District Committee is closely modeled.

The idea of a Joint Committee on the District is one which has elicited strong bipartisan support in the past. In 1948, during the 80th Congress, the House District Subcommittee on Home Rule and Reorganization recommended such a joint committee, and this proposal received strong support from members of both parties.

My conversations with civic leaders here in Washington have indicated widespread enthusiasm for creation of this proposed committee. Such an important organization as the Federal City Council, for example, backs my proposal in principle. The policy of this citywide group is shaped by such leading citizens as Ambassador George Garrett and bankers Frank Addison, Jr., and Robert Fleming.

Newspaper support for the Joint District Committee has also been demonstrated in frequent articles and editorials on the subject. Last November 18, in his excellent column on District affairs, Mr. Robert C. Albrook, of the Washington Post and Times Herald, proposed a committee similar to the one set forth in this bill.

I would also like to call your attention to a recent statement of Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, retiring engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia. Speaking before the annual convention of the Washington Real Estate Board last June 20, this distinguished official said:

> In my personal opinion it is time for a deliberate restudy of our District of Columbia government. If as a practicable matter the Congress is not going to restore home rule, it should reexamine the present government to correct its present inadequacies and modernize it so that it will be a fitting instrument to handle the problems of today.

In short, the time has come to make the Joint District Committee a reality. By such action we can speed badly-needed solutions to District problems, conserve the time and energy of Congress, and provide a permanent supervisory committee for the District at that time when home rule is put into effect.

For these reasons, I urge my colleagues to support this measure with all the means at their command, and to help ensure its enactment during the current session of Congress.

I include here the text of a letter I have received from the president of the Federal City Council, the Honorable George A. Garrett, former Ambassador to Ireland.

Included, too, for the information of my colleagues, are two supporting editorials from the Washington Evening Star and the Washington Post and Times Herald.

FEDERAL CITY COUNCIL,
August 5, 1957.

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: I am writing you on behalf of the Federal City Council to commend you for all the work you have done in developing and supporting your bill to create a Joint Committee on the District—an effort which culminated Wednesday in your introduction of the measure in the House.

We believe that this measure, if passed, would represent a long step forward toward better government in the District. This is true because, as you have pointed out, a Joint District Committee would greatly reduce the burden of Congress as it acts as a city council. It would also result in immeasurable saving of time and energy on the part of local officials and individual citizens who testify and assist Congress in its job.

As the Washington Star pointed out on July 31 in an excellent editorial supporting your proposal, a lot of time has been saved in the past when the House and Senate District Committees have resolved themselves into a joint committee to consider such matters as public works and taxes. We agree with the Star that: "The same principle would be represented in abolition of the House and Senate District Committees in favor of one standing, joint committee—as the bills provide."

I note that this measure has been sponsored in the Senate by Senator JOSEPH CLARK, of Pennsylvania. Now that it has been introduced in both Chambers, we feel that early hearings on the bill are imperative. It is our hope that your proposal will be enacted into law by Congress as speedily and expeditiously as possible.

Noting the reference to the Federal City Council in your introductory remarks, I would like to reiterate my conviction that only through continued cooperation between civic organizations, District officials, and Congress can the problems of our city find any lasting solution.

This cooperation, of course, is predicated on the presence of legislators who are statesmanlike enough to recognize that our Capital City belongs to all citizens, including their own constituents.

You have consistently had the vision to perceive this, and your latest bill is only one of many contributions to a better Washington. We would like to thank you for your unremitting efforts in this direction, and to express our hope that Congress will implement your suggestion for streamlining the present system of District government.

Sincerely,

GEORGE A. GARRETT,
President.

[From the Washington Evening Star of July 31, 1957]

GOOD IDEA, ANYWAY

Creation of a Joint Committee on the District of Columbia, as proposed in legislation sponsored by Senator CLARK of Pennsylvania, Representative THOMPSON of New Jersey and others is a good idea. It always has been a good idea and we think it always will be.

In some special circumstances—the drafting, for example, of legislation for control of alcoholic beverages following prohibition repeal; the public works program; several local tax laws—the House and Senate District Committees resolved themselves into a joint committee. The joint committee conducted the hearings, agreed in principle on the legislation, and then the legislation was separately considered by the two committees. A lot of time was saved, and the resulting legislation was improved by the process. The same principle would be represented in abolition of the House and Senate District Committees in favor of one standing, joint committee—as the bills provide.

If such a joint committee could pass on the District budget each year, and support it by the necessary appropriations, it would be a more beneficial reform. For one of the chief problems in local government is the continuing conflict between the legislative and appropriations committees. The legislative committees are responsible for making the laws. The appropriations committees must furnish the money to make them effective. And there are times when the two sets of committees are as far apart as the poles in

what they choose to do—leaving the unrepresented local taxpayer in the middle. The bills do not go that far, because the trespass on the precincts of the appropriations committees would be considered beyond the pole.

We hope the House and Senate bills to create a joint committee will receive, at least, a hearing. In the past there has been reluctance by all of the committees to give up anything they have now and it will be interesting to discover whether human nature is suddenly changing.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 4, 1957]

LITTLE CONGRESS FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The proposed Senate-House Joint Committee on District Affairs is not, of course, a substitute for home rule. Rather, it is a companion measure to the home-rule bill. Both are designed to minimize the burden Congress now carries as city council for the District. Senator CLARK, one of the leading sponsors of the measure, has been shocked by the waste of congressional man-hours in handling entirely local problems. For its own sake Congress ought to pass both the home rule and the joint committee bills.

Some objections have been raised to giving a single joint committee authority to pass upon both legislation and appropriations for the District. The principle of making a separate committee in each House responsible for all Federal appropriations is undoubtedly sound. But the District is not merely a Federal department or agency. It collects its own taxes, and the spending of its funds ought to be kept separate from Federal appropriations. Indeed, the spending of District revenue ought to be wholly in the hands of an elected local government. In the absence of such a government the least Congress can do is to create a joint committee which could bring some degree of expertise to bear upon local legislating and spending.

No doubt the regular Appropriations Committees would have to retain control over the Federal payment to the District, but this should be governed by a fixed formula in any event. With such a formula in operation, an alert joint committe with an expert staff could take over 99 percent of the burden of legislating for the District.

Sampling Public Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. D. BAUMHART, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BAUMHART. Mr. Speaker, over the years I have found that face-to-face contact is the most effective and personally satisfying method of sampling public opinion and rendering service to constituents. The personal visit knows no equal when it comes to learning the views and needs of our people.

With this in mind, I have again this year arranged to meet 13th District residents in the county seats of Lorain, Erie, Huron, and Sandusky Counties. Local officials have graciously set aside office space for me during these visits. Individuals and groups may confer with me at their convenience, without prearranged appointments.

The schedule is as follows:

September 16–20: Erie County Courthouse, Sandusky, Ohio.

September 23–27: Lorain County Courthouse, Elyria, Ohio.

September 30–October 4: Sandusky County Courthouse, Fremont, Ohio.

October 7–11: Huron County Courthouse, Norwalk, Ohio.

After the tour has been completed, I will again have an office in the Feick Building, Sandusky, for the convenience of residents in the western end of the 13th District. That office will be open from October 28 until the end of the year.

These arrangements supplement the year-round services which are available at 209 Sixth Street, Lorain. Inquiries may be directed to the Lorain office throughout the year, and any which cannot be taken care of immediately there will be forwarded to Washington promptly for appropriate action and reply.

The Civil-Rights Fiasco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the opportunity to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent editorial appearing in the Asbury Park Press on August 5, entitled "The Civil-Rights Fiasco." I hope my colleagues will read it because it expresses the view of millions of Americans in a straightforward, clear thinking manner, and I am sure that all who do read it will be benefited by its logic.

The editorial columns of the Asbury Park Press are not only devoted to the interests of the people in its community but I venture to say that with editorials like this one, its influence is felt by American citizens elsewhere. This newspaper enjoys the confidence of the people who read it with its factual coverage of the news, and its stimulating editorials, and I am proud that such a paper enjoys its circulation in the district that I have the honor to represent. I am sure its growth will continue and its influence for good be increasingly great as the days go by.

The editorial follows:

THE CIVIL-RIGHTS FIASCO

A hard core of southern Senators, seeking to keep alive a voting system doomed to eventual failure, and a group of northern associates, actuated by motives known only to themselves, have thwarted President Eisenhower's plan to assure every American citizen his constitutional right to go to the polls. It is a dismal spectacle. We can understand that the President finds the Senate action bitterly disappointing. And along with Mr. Eisenhower's feeling of disappointment the public will experience a sense of surprise to see such names as KENNEDY, of Massachusetts; LAUSCHE, of Ohio; and MARGARET SMITH, of Maine; listed with EASTLAND, of Mississippi; ELLENDER and LONG, of Louisiana; FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas; and TALMADGE, of Georgia.

The civil-rights bill has four major provisions: (1) It authorizes a commission to study the problem and report to Congress; (2) it provides for a new Assistant Attorney General to head up the work in the civil-rights field; (3) it gives the Attorney General new power to enforce the civil rights embraced in the 14th amendment; and (4) it permits a Federal judge to dispose of contempt proceedings against those who violate an injunction against interfering with voting rights. There is nothing startling about the bill unless it be the fact that it is the first serious attempt to implement the 14th amendment since it was written in the post-Civil War period.

The southern Senators moved with the precision of a well-organized army. First they attacked part III of the bill as granting the Attorney General even more power than the administration had intended. Northern Senators, including some so-called liberals joined in the assault and on July 24 a majority of the Senate voted to remove the heart from this section of the bill. With this victory behind them the southerners moved on part IV. They argued that the injunctive power of the Federal judiciary in civil-rights matters should be subject to a trial by jury. This is not a good legal argument because in American Federal jurisprudence the power of a competent court to issue an injunction demanding compliance with its rulings is not questioned nor made dependent upon a jury trial. The strategy of the southern bloc was apparent. It relied upon the fact that whereas a Federal judge might punish a man for interfering with another's voting rights a southern jury would not do so provided the defendant was white and the man who was denied the right to vote was colored. Once again the southerners were able to sell a bill of goods to some of their northern brothers, including again some so-called liberals, and part IV was amended to provide for a jury trial in civil-rights' cases involving criminal contempt. Thus emasculated, the bill will now come up for a final vote. If passed there is good reason to hope the President will veto it.

There are two bits of consolation to be gleaned from the whole fiasco: One is that Congress has at long last seriously considered the matter and will, before too long, pass a satisfactory civil-rights bill; and secondly, New Jersey has reason to be proud that its Senators CASE and SMITH voted on the side of justice and in favor of making the 14th amendment something more than a pious platitude.

"Mr. Gluck of Ol' Kaintuck"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday I referred to the new Ambassador to Ceylon's publicly recorded ignorance of the affairs of the south Asia area where he is to represent us. I admitted that, although Mr. Gluck claimed to be from Ohio, I had heard no more of him than he had heard of the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India.

I am glad to learn, from the enclosed article appearing in Monday's New York Times, that he is now officially "Mr. Gluck of Ol' Kaintuck."

The article follows:

RANDOM NOTES FROM WASHINGTON: LONG, WINDING ROAD TO CEYLON

WASHINGTON, August 4.—Hot weather stories are hard to come by, and the Washington press corps was mighty grateful last week to Maxwell H. Gluck, the new Ambas-

dor to Ceylon, a man who could ante up $0,000 to Republican campaign funds uicker than he could say Bandaranaike.

Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of ew York, suggested Mr. Gluck for an amssadorial post in January. Mr. Gluck is a usiness partner in New York of the Senar's brother, Benjamin.

However, the State Department told the enator that, with easterners getting the on's share of good jobs, Mr. Gluck's chances ight be better if he could be sponsored om another State.

Mr. Gluck claims Ohio as his home State, ut apparently Senators JOHN W. BRICKER, epublican, and FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Demoat, were not keen on backing him. But rtunately Mr. Gluck has a horse farm in entucky, and Senator JAVITS got Republian Senators JOHN S. COOPER and THRUSTON MORTON to sponsor him.

And so he became "Mr. Gluck of Ol' Kainuck."

SAUCE PIQUANTE

Incidentally, the Gluck affair has given a ertain piquancy to a pamphlet issued in anuary by the State Department entitled The American Ambassador."

The pamphlet says that most of the 19th entury was a "lean time" for American iplomacy. "Diplomatic appointments freently rewarded the generous contributor a campaign regardless of his qualificaons for the post."

All this has happily changed, the pamhlet goes on. "In today's vastly enlarged iplomatic field," the ambassador must be horoughly familiar with "all aspects of life n the country of his assignment."

ase of State Representative Tom Monaghan, of Oregon—Can a Teacher Also Be a Legislator?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

N THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, at time when we are considering civilights legislation, it is well that we remember all Americans should enjoy civil ights—regardless of race, creed, color, eligion, economic status, place of resience, or type of profession.

Occasionally the civil rights even of schoolteacher may be in jeopardy, as my home State of Oregon. There court has ruled that State Representaive Tom Monaghan, elected to that post y the voters of Clackamas County, cant continue as a legislator if he is to aintain his chosen profession of schoolaching. This is a blow both to eduation and to good government, in my pinion.

Although I have no legal dispute with he ruling of the court, it seems to me nfortunate that either a State or Fedral Constitution could be so drawn that teacher cannot also serve in governent at the legislative level.

I believe a cogent and effective edirial from the July 25, 1957, issue of the illwaukie, Oreg., Review, entitled "Tom Monaghan's Case Is No Personal Battle," might interest many of my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOM MONAGHAN'S CASE IS NO PERSONAL BATTLE

We shared the disappointment of most people hereabouts and of many throughout the State that Judge Ralph Holman of our circuit court felt he had to decide against State Representative Tom Monaghan in the current appeal over his eligibility to be a teacher and sit in the legislature. Yet the question is admittedly a close one, and the Judge took a position which a strict interpretation of Oregon's State constitution without doubt will permit.

In article II, section 10, our constitution says: "No person holding a lucrative office or appointment under the United States or this State shall be eligible to a seat in the legislative assembly."

Courts seem to lean to the position that teaching is not an office within the meaning of the constitution, but perhaps it is an appointment. We think a broader view must be taken of the whole question.

The Founding Fathers were trying to prevent the executive department, whose possible dictatorship they feared out of experiences with King George, from usurping the authority of the legislative and judicial branches. They never foresaw the era of millions of citizens, now totaling 10 percent of the wage-earners of the Nation, being employed by local, State, and National governments.

The question before us is, then, whether we want to put these many millions into second-class citizenship. The Hatch Act-type laws of only a few years ago further handicapped many of these people from participating in Government.

We think it outrageous to bar schoolteachers, for instance from serving in the legislature if nominated and elected. If teachers are banned, how about firemen? Two of them sit today without challenge in Oregon's Legislature, as they should. And if not teachers, how about lawyers, of which plenty sit at Salem, who are officers of the court, usually are notaries public, and hold many appointive offices under the State and local governments as counsel for school boards and cities and water districts, councilmen, interim committee members, and so forth?

Not only is there no end to this nonsense, but it subverts the purpose of government of, by and for the people. The basic, all-important thing is to keep the power in the hands of the voters. Let the public decide whether a business or professional connection at the civil service level is a disqualifying aspect of a candidate. The public is not stupid. If any elected official—publisher, lawyer, truckdriver, teacher, insurance man, fireman, farmer or contractor—abuses his office by serving too much his own selfish interest, the public has a long history of finding them out. A healthy two-party system will insure criticism and opposition. The danger in stifling citizenship is far greater than in trusting the electorate.

If Tom Monaghan, who symbolizes the issue, loses his appeal to the Supreme Court (which we trust he will not), then Oregonians must be about the business of major amendments of our law to protect all classes of citizens against loss of their rights.

Interposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit for reprodidction in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very interesting letter from my friend, the Honorable Herbert S. Phillips, of Tampa, and a strong and clear statement by him on interposition. I feel that both are worthy of the consideration of the Members of the Congress.

TAMPA, FLA., *July 29, 1957.*

Hon. BOB SIKES,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SIKES: Thank you for your letter of the 16th instant in reply to my letter to you. I have always contended that our jury system is the greatest bulwark we have against tyranny. When I was United States attorney and Mr. Akerman was judge, I prepared a bill providing that all persons charged with contempt be given a jury trial unless the contempt charged was committed in a courtroom in the actual presence of the judge then and there trying or hearing a matter of which the court had jurisdiction, but I failed to develop any active support for such a bill from the then Florida delegation.

The occasion of my action at that time was the fact that Mr. Cheney, the then probation officer sought to arrest a probationer for not complying with the conditions of his probation. The attempted arrest, which was resisted with force, was made at the home of the probationer in the country. The attorney for the probationer insisted that he be given a jury trial. After looking up the decisions, I decided that the probationer was entitled to a jury trial, and the same was ordered by the court. I think it is very important that your proposed bills be enacted by the Congress.

Since contempt is a medemeanor the Constitution would not have to be amended, if I interpret the decisions of the court correctly. The act, I think, should expressly provide that the punishment should not exceed 12 months or a fine of $100.

I sincerely trust that the gallant fight being made by Senator RUSSELL and his active coworkers to defeat the force-bill provisions of the civil-rights bill, now being considered, will be successful.

In the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 11, 1953, page A3555, Abner Powell sent the President a lettergram chiding him with failing to decisively exercise his integrity. He had special delivery made of the same, and requested that he have a personal reply.

The President's reply, which was immediately made, follows Powell's letter in the RECORD.

In his letter reply, the President, in a most apologetic manner, expresses regret that he had failed to do the things enumerated by POWELL by stating:

"I have your telegram and I want you to know that I appreciate your kind expressions of confidence that I will carry out every pledge that I have made with regard to segregation. I shall continue to devote my earnest efforts to advance both the spirit as well as the fact of equality.

"We have not taken and we will not take a single backward step. There must be no second-class citizens in this country."

The reply of POWELL to the President is also set forth and is most indicative in the light of what has followed.

Just who the President classifies as first- and second-class citizens I do not know, and just how he proposes that the change be made I do not know.

It would, no doubt, be quite interesting if he would state who he considers as first-class and who as second-class citizens. I assume he places himself in the first class. Therefore he should be able to describe the characteristics of the first class and the characteristics of the second, also, thereby enabling the people as a whole to understand just what he means, and the method to be followed to make the change.

It may be that he is counting on Chief Justice Warren as head chemist of his laboratory to work such a miracle.

The only method advanced so far is to abolish segregation in public schools, hotels, restaurants, bathing pools, buses and all means of transportation, and so on ad infinitum.

The whole scheme is political and destructive of the friendly relations that have existed between the whites and the Negroes, it matters not in what manner it is camouflaged.

There is so much doubletalking on the part of those who are in positions of leadership, that all of us who really and truly believe in our dual form of government should be shocked and alarmed.

The Chief Justice and officers and members of the American Bar Association are now in London to say "Hurrah for Magna Carta," but when in the United States they, by their actions and speech, ignore the principles set forth in the Magna Carta. Their alibi is that a decision of the Supreme Court, be it an unconstitutional edict, or what not, must be recognized and followed as the Supreme law of the land.

If that be true, then 9 lawyers who happen to have sufficient political pull to be appointed to the Supreme Court, can destroy this Government and subject the people to judicial tyranny.

Faithfully yours,

HERBERT S. PHILLIPS.

[From the Tampa Morning Tribune of May 26, 1957]

THE HISTORY OF INTERPOSITION

(By Herbert S. Phillips, attorney at law, Tampa, Fla.)

In view of the fact that the adoption of an interposition resolution by a majority vote of the members of the 1957 Florida Legislature has been characterized and denounced by the Governor of Florida to be a hoax, I feel that the people should be given the following historical facts showing the origin, purpose, and successful use of interposition which refute the denunciations of an angry Governor.

On December 21, 1798, the General Assembly of Virginia passed a resolution that was prepared by Madison and Jefferson to have declared as null and void the alien and sedition laws passed by the Fifth Congress, which they regarded and declared to be a "deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of power not granted to Congress by the sovereign States."

Said resolution was as follows: "The General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution in the two late cases of the Alien and Sedition Acts, passed by the last session of the Congress, which exercised a power nowhere delegated to the Federal Government."

In November 1799, the General Assembly of Kentucky passed a resolution declaring that the "several States, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction, and that a nullification of those sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument (the Constitution) is the rightful remedy."

The Sedition Act, which provided for the punishment of any person who published any matter intended to excite the people to resist, oppose, or defeat any law, provoked great resentment among the people throughout the country at that time, which resulted in the passage of said interposition resolutions by the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia.

As said Sedition Act, by its own provisions, was terminated on March 3, 1801, no final action was taken to make effective said resolutions, as all persons charged with violating said act were released upon its termination.

The Supreme Courts of Iowa, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and other States, have recognized and followed the principle of interposition, when they refused to follow orders and rulings of the United States Supreme Court that nullified the 10th amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which declares in plain, simple language that: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," and that also nullified section 1 of article 1 of the Constitution, which reads as follows: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives." Nowhere can there be found in the Constitution any words vesting legislative powers in the Supreme Court.

A most outstanding use of interposition, then called protestation, for the protection of the people from tyranny in and by any form of government was the fight led by Lord Coke of England against King James I and his son and successor, Charles I, for the preservation of the common law, the writ of prohibition, the Petition of Right, the writ of habeas corpus, and the Magna Carta. Coke and other able, fearless, determined, and courageous leaders carried their fight for the preservation of the rights and liberties guaranteed to the people by the above-named law and writs to Parliament.

King James declared that he, as King, had the supreme right and power to try and decide any case brought before any court of his realm that he might see fit to try. The King's favorites and the clergy aided and supported him, but the leaders of the people won their fight, and the House of Commons and House of Lords interposed their power and right to stand between the people and the tyranny of the King. By so doing they preserved the great principles of the common law and of democracy which were handed down to our Founding Fathers; restated in our Declaration of Independence; made secure by the Revolutionary War; and became the foundation stones of our democratic-republican form of government.

The adoption by Parliament of the interposition-protestation resolution infuriated King James to such a degree that he prorogued Parliament instanter, ordered Coke to be placed in the common jail in solitary confinement, took the resolution from the records of Parliament, and destroyed it in a rage, lest it might serve as a precedent for similar action in the future. The feeling of resentment against King James became so strong that he feared for his life and released Coke from prison. But Coke kept up the fight and led a group of determined attorneys in demanding and securing from King Charles I the ratification of the Petition of Right which King James had withheld. As King Charles ratified the petition, he said: "Soit droit facit"—"Let right be done."

It is said by eminent writers that sa ratification confirmed for all time the ci liberties granted to the English people Magna Carta 300 years before then.

(See The Lion and the Throne, by Cat erine Drinker Bowen, referred to by the pre dent of the American Bar Association in t April 1957 issue of the Bar Journal, at p 291 and 331. See also the Life of Lord Co by Lord Campbell, the author of The Chi Justices of England, for a detailed and thri ing account of the fight led by Coke f liberty and independence, by the interpos tion-protestation procedure.)

The foregoing historical facts show th the people, by their leaders in the past, w successful in securing the great charters liberty above named, by arousing publ opinion to such an extent as to bring abo positive, aggressive action against tyran It is just such public opinion that tho who, today, oppose interposition and segr gation fear, because they know that a stron healthy, wideawake, fearless, and determin public opinion will eventually elect Senato and Congressmen who will take such acti as they may determine is best to take make it clear and definite that the operati of public schools is a right reserved to ea separate State without any supervision interference by any department or agency the Federal Government, and that article of the Constitution and amendment thereof should still be regarded as the vo of the people of the sovereign States.

In order that the people may be protect from judicial tyranny it may be wise a necessary that Congress pass an act provi ing that the Congress in joint session, sh have the power to hear and determine, an appeal that may be allowed by the pr visions of such act, from any decision of t United States Supreme Court, based on ps chology, speculative theories, or expedien instead of on law and the plain langua of the Constitution.

Our greatest concern in these perilo days should be the preservation of our du form of government and States rights as o strongest bulwarks against a communis dictatorship and an infiltrated communis Feedral-controlled educational system.

Hon. Walter F. George

SPEECH

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the pas ing of the Honorable Walter F. Geor removes from public life one of the mo widely respected national and intern tional figures of our time. After a thi of a century of service to State and N tion in the other body, Senator Geor at 79, was continuing in the role of d voted servant of the people as spec ambassador to the North Atlantic Trea Organization. A public office was tru a public trust to Walter George. In h painstaking search for the right, he co ported himself always with digni courtesy, and respect for honest diffe ences of opinion. Unreasoning partisa ship was abhorrent to him. As one the architects of the bipartisan forei policy of the United States, he spent h energies freely, despite advancing yea in behalf of the security of his co and peace in the world.

so long as citizens of the intellect and perception of this distinguished Georgian are willing to devote their lives to the public business, the Republic will be in competent and dedicated hands. May his sterling standards serve to inspire others to a continuing solicitude for the common weal.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial of tribute which appeared in the New York Times of Monday, August 5, 1957:

WALTER FRANKLIN GEORGE

A majestic decency, a civilized faith in a tenteel, but steel-hard, political conservatism of a kind that is now all but gone into memory; a devotion to a true internationalism that has done no little in these past 30 years to shape the world's affairs, all these qualities are lessened now with the death of Walter Franklin George.

His last mission was as a foreign policy adviser to President Eisenhower; and in this he served with a faithfulness and a small private sense of irony, both of which his friends knew always lived in him.

But his real mark upon our public affairs, and upon the pilgrim's progress toward unity and safety of the western world, was made as George of Georgia. George of Georgia was, of course, Senator George, the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the former chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the dean and patriarch of all the Senate.

His melancholy thunders from the floor left no man unmoved; he was the greatest Senate debater of many years. He was the greatest Senator, southern style, of this century, to say the very least.

Certain aspects of what is called economic democracy were not for him; he was safe and he was proud of it, and he closed his eyes in pain at the economic heresies of the last two Democratic Presidents. These he supported magnificently beyond the water's edge; from them he turned in aristocratic horror when they dealt with matters like labor and civil rights.

But, in the last and highest sense, he served nothing less noble than honorable strength and honorable peace, warring first upon Hitler and his confederates and last upon Stalin and those who have followed him in the darkness of the Kremlin.

Well done, George of Georgia—and farewell.

TVA Repayments Into United States Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the following table shows TVA's repayments into the Treasury through fiscal year 1957 and the estimated total repayments through 1958. In addition, payments of bond redemptions and other payments include an additional $23,631,519. Total repayments through 1957—$240,131,519.

Repayments are far ahead of scheduled repayments.

The repayment table follows:

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

SCHEDULE C–1.—*Payments to United States Treasury from power income under provisions of the Government Corporations Appropriation Act, 1948*

Fiscal year	Minimum payments required under 1948 law		Actual and budgeted payments [1]	
	Year	Total period	Year	Total period
1948	$10,500,000	$10,500,000	$10,500,000	$10,500,000
1949	2,500,000	13,000,000	5,500,000	16,000,000
1950	2,500,000	15,500,000	5,500,000	21,500,000
1951	2,500,000	18,000,000	9,000,000	30,500,000
1952	2,500,000	20,500,000	12,000,000	42,500,000
1953	2,500,000	23,000,000	15,000,000	57,500,000
1954	2,500,000	25,500,000	20,000,000	77,500,000
1955	2,500,000	28,000,000	50,000,000	127,500,000
1956	2,500,000	30,500,000	59,000,000	186,500,000
1957	2,500,000	33,000,000	[2] 30,000,000	[2] 216,500,000
1958	54,059,810	87,059,810	[2] 10,000,000	[2] 226,500,000

[1] In addition to payments under the provisions of the Government Corporations Appropriation Act, 1948, bond redemptions of $8,572,500 and other payments of $15,059,019 were made prior to fiscal year 1948.
[2] Estimated.

Wheat for Feed or Seed

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8456) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to exempt certain wheat producers from liability under the act where all the wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm, and for other purposes.

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Chairman, this legislation which affects my area of the country very much, is not what I had hoped for.

While I have never been against a farmer growing wheat for feed or seed, I do object to the growing of wheat in new areas, without restrictions, where it seriously jeopardizes the economic stability of the wheat-producing areas which are under acreage controls and marketing penalties.

This is the effect it has had in recent years on the section of the country which I represent. Not only have we had to cope with the rising costs of production, reduced acreage, allotments, lower supports, and extremes of weather, but we have had to suffer from the ever-increasing production of wheat from the noncommercial areas as well as increased numbers of 15-acre farms in the commercial area.

Wheat growers have increased in numbers because of the acreage restrictions on some of our basic crops such as corn, cotton, tobacco, and so forth. Without exception this new producing area of wheat can and does grow other crops better suited to their climatic conditions.

Wheat is the only agricultural crop that is grown universally in all our 48 States.

When corn acres are controlled what does the corn farmer do—he plants 15 acres of wheat. When cotton acres are cut back they plant wheat.

Some Southern States that have no wheat allotment at all will rank at near the top of the list in numbers of wheat farms in the United States today. Even farmers in the corn country who grow not over 15 acres of wheat can do so without any penalties. All the wheat grown in the noncommercial area can be grown without any acreage controls or penalties, yet both of these classes of farmers can sell their production in direct competition with the wheat producers in the commercial area.

However, my people in the commercial area, and many others who must depend on wheat as our major farm income, are restricted in acreage plantings and must pay a heavy penalty if we overseed.

It is well known that the Great Plains area is best suited for wheat production. It is the one crop that they grow best. It is the crop that has built our communities, sent our children to school, and paid our taxes.

It is the one crop that supported our Nation so abundantly in two world wars and has helped so materially since the war in feeding many of our allies all over the world.

June 6, 1957, I introduced H. R. 7952 to put every acre of wheat grown in the United States under the same controls and restrictions. I thought that this would only be fair. I was encouraged by many from the real wheat-producing area of our country. However, I ran into objections from the more diversified areas.

Today we are debating the bill, H. R. 8456, which, as I understand it, will permit anyone to grow up to 30 acres of wheat providing it is used for feed and seed on the farm.

I hope that this legislation will benefit everyone who wants to produce some feed and seed, but also give some relief to the farmer producing wheat under controls and for sale.

I cannot emphasize too strongly my beliefs with respect to this matter.

Something must be done and soon to protect this great wheat-producing area by eliminating the inequalities that now exist.

Post Office Improvements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in my estimation, the postal employees work very hard for very low pay. Whenever the opportunity has afforded itself, I have interceded in behalf of these loyal people who very rarely complain in spite of the poor treatment that they receive.

From time to time, postal employees have had to come to us for an increase in salary, and I was happy, a few days ago, to be able to vote for the bill to provide at least a part of the answer to the salary needs of these people.

Another problem they face is that of facilities. The Alabama branch of the National Postal Transport Association is located in Birmingham. Recently, the branch has been trying to secure improvement in the conditions of the Birmingham terminal. In the Alabama branch notes, printed in the Postal Transport Journal for July 1957, the notation appears that "President Newton reported on recent meeting with Mr. John Miller of the Department. Mr. Miller arriving in Birmingham armed with blueprints of the terminal with a view toward some necessary and long over-due alterations. Among other things promised was a new paint job; fluorescent lights over the pouch rack; more locker and swing rooms and, of all things, a flagpole. Exhaust fans we ask for and a flag we get. Now, to beat the heat, we'll hold retreat."

I hope that the rather modest improvements sought by these people will shortly be forthcoming. Certainly all of them are reasonable and there appears to be no sound reason for withholding reasonable things from reasonable men.

Foreign Aid—Billions for Secrecy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal. This question of Government secrecy has reached a ridiculous point and it is being used as an excuse and coverup so the American people will not know what their Government is doing with their tax dollars.

The editorial follows:

BILLIONS FOR SECRECY

If you take the trouble to leaf through the Government's bulky budget book, you can find out how much money each of the armed services gets, how much goes for aircraft procurement and a good many other things.

Not so with either the military or economic parts of the Government's foreign aid program. General figures are available to the public, but precious little else. For example, the taxpayer who foots the bill can't find out how much military aid France receives, nor can he discover how much economic assistance is earmarked for various countries.

The argument for secrecy on military aid is that publication of figures, say for each country, might jeopardize security. This assumes that military aid is indispensable to security—a debatable assumption since in fact one effect of the program is to discourage allies from making sufficient efforts to defend themselves unaided; as long as we continue doing it for them, there is scant hope they will ever do it for themselves.

But even if it were granted that military aid is useful in some cases, it does not follow that revealing information about it would harm national security. It's a safe bet the Russians are a good deal more interested in funds for the United States Air Force than they are in this year's military aid figure for France. What is beyond question is that the American people have no basis for evaluating military aid in the absence of the facts.

As for economic aid, the arguments for secrecy can be charitably described as childish. One is that a recipient country might be miffed if it learned a neighboring country is getting more from Uncle Sam. Another is that a recipient country might be resentful if Congress finally voted less than the administration originally proposed for it.

The obvious answer to that kind of alibi is that if these countries feel that way about economic aid they jolly well don't have to take any. It is an insult to the American people to offer such reasons for denying them information about military and economic assistance programs into which they have been forced to pour some $60 billion since World War II.

Indeed, it is fair to suppose that the real reason for secrecy is that publication of details would raise even more questions than are already being asked about foreign aid. Some hard-working lawmakers from time to time dredge up startling instances of waste and worse; how much more of that would there be if the full story were known?

An even more important question is buried under the secrecy policy. That is the question of the actual impact of all this aid, military and economic, on the economies of the nations getting it. It is easy to talk about production gains in Europe in the wake of the Marshall plan, but how much of France's inflation, for example, is traceable to American aid?

Regarding the so-called underdeveloped countries, the question is sharper still. Here the attempt seems to some people to be a defiance of known economic laws and history; it looks like forced-draft pressure to condense the industrialization process into a few years instead of generations. For all we are permitted to know, the consequences could be the reverse of helpful.

Except in certain limited areas, secrecy in Government is always dangerous, particularly since it feeds on itself. In the case of foreign aid, it is secrecy—and not knowledge—that may jeopardize the national interest.

The Late Honorable Walter F. George

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. L. PILCHER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. PILCHER. Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself with, and approve of the tributes paid the late Senator Walter F. George by my colleagues. I have never known a man in my life, in any walk of life, that I thought had more integrity, courage, and ability than Walter F. George. With all of his greatness, he was one of the most humble, gracious, and kind men I have ever known. He loved people; he loved his State; he loved his Nation.

On any question, politics never entered his mind. His country came ahead of Democrats or Republicans. He shunned both society and publicity, and demagoguery just was not in his book.

Walter George was never too busy to answer his phone when one of his colleagues called, or to see them in his office and lend a helping hand with their problems.

The Nation has lost a great man, the family has lost a wonderful husband and father, and I have lost one of the truest friends I have ever had. To Miss Lucy, Heard, and members of the family, I offer my condolences and sympathy in their great loss.

Right-To-Work Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am enclosing herewith an editorial from a smalltown country editor in Kansas, Mr. Ned Huycke. Mr. Huycke presents some facts that I believe are meritorious. They are particularly meritorious to those citizens who believe that a right-to-work law is one of the best means of approaching the evil that now exists in many of the large, boss-ridden unions—namely, to stop compulsory unionism.

Mr. Huycke most forcefully sets out the advantages in such a law. I commend his editorial.

[From the Ellsworth (Kans.) Reporter of August 1, 1957]

WHOSE BUSINESS?

Then Honorable Dave ("David") Beck, president of the Teamsters' Union, and his tender little son, have just been indicted charged with pocketing the proceeds of the sale of a few Cadillacs which were allegedly the property of his union.

Why all the fuss? What business is this of any outsider? Wasn't it union money? Maybe Mr. Beck's membership is so fond of this lovable old gentleman and that frolicking youth, his son, that they are welcome to whatever number of Cadillacs they think they need—paid for by union dues. Why should Government butt in?

The trouble here is that Mr. Beck's membership is not free. Under the kind of deal Mr. Beck prefers to sign with an employer if a driver becomes disgusted with Mr. Beck and stops paying union dues, instantly he loses his job.

Mr. Beck has further used the power of his union to force into union membership workers in other industries who do not want to pay union dues by shutting off all truck-delivered supplies to the business firm until its owner agrees to collect and deliver union dues from all the employees involved, whether or not they see any value in union membership.

Something like this seems to have happened in a recent Kansas City strike.

In the last election a right-to-work bill which would have prohibited involuntary union membership was defeated by the voters in Washington, Mr. Beck's home State, after a heated campaign. More recent testimony in the Washington hearing on labor racketeering hinted that half a million dollars from the dues of Mr. Beck's teamsters went into the election to defeat that law which would have allowed Mr. Beck's teamsters to resign from his union, if any so chose, and still hold their jobs.

So why all this commotion about a fistful of Cadillacs? Both the sum of money and

e principle involved are peanuts compared
the question of whether or not Mr. Beck
ent half a million of his members' dues
defeat a law which would have let them
ve his union.

Why should not Congress go into this
ashington election—and others like it—so
at people may know just what union money
doing in politics these days?

Labor can clean labor's house. But only
ee labor can do it. And no union boss
ould be allowed to spend his members' dues
forge these shackles tighter.

Secretary of State Dulles on Proposed Lead-Zinc Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, last week the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on the administration's proposal to impose a sliding scale of excise taxes on imported lead and zinc as a means of bolstering market prices of those metals to a break-even point where our domestic mining industry can survive the competition of cheap-labor foreign production.

An objection frequently voiced is that this proposal, if enacted, would be a retreat from the foreign trade policies which this Nation has pursued for many years, and perhaps would set a precedent for further retreats.

Reserving comment on whether such a retreat would be a good or bad step, I include under leave to extend my remarks a statement by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that the lead-zinc recommendations do not represent any basic change in trade policy.

The following excerpt is from the State Department's record of Secretary Dulles' Tuesday press conference, as republished by today's New York Times:

Question. Sir, do you think that our position on liberal trade at the forthcoming Buenos Aires conference will at all be weakened by the Department's support of new lead and zinc restrictions? I understand that several Latin-American countries who are economically dependent on lead and zinc exports have already protested to the Department on the matter.

Answer. I think it's unfortunate that the situation in the lead and zinc industry here at home is such that it does seem necessary to take certain measures to protect it and keep it in existence as a healthy industry. I do not think that that means, in fact I'm sure that it does not mean, any basic change in the attitude of this administration toward trade, and our desire to have a liberal flow of trade to mutual advantage. There are always going to be special situations that come along and which as a practical matter have to be dealt with. And the fact that there are exceptions does not in any way vitiate the rule of seeking to have free and liberal trade.

Now, this situation about lead and zinc has been one that has been plaguing us for several years. It came up rather acutely about 4 years ago, I think in 1953, and at that time it was possible to handle the situation through a combination of voluntary restraints by some foreign countries on their exports of lead and zinc to the United States and stockpiling program. Well, the stockpiling program has come to an end. The price of most metals is rather weak at the present time and the situation is back, to be dealt with in some way. The program for dealing with it, as I understand is on a sliding scale basis, so that when prices recover, then the duties will go down. We can all hope that there will be a revival of strength in these metals so that in fact any new duties based only upon low prices will not have to be maintained.

Eighth in a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to insert the eighth editorial letter of the series wrtten by F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.

The letter follows:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of July 30, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

I meant to tell you in yesterday's column about going to church in Russia, that the Russians are again treating Sunday as the day of rest and recreation. You know that for a while (perhaps to break up religion by making people forget when Sunday was), they changed the number of days in a week.

But now Sunday is Sunday.

It is a holiday.

But not for store clerks.

Because Russians work 6 days a week (I think it is 6 hours on Saturday; 8 the other days), Sunday becomes their 1 day off. So the stores all stay open on Sunday.

Then most close Monday.

The Russians are like Americans in many ways. For one thing, they want things big. Although nearly all Europe makes and drives tiny cars (like the old Austin), Russia makes no tiny car.

They do, however, make a car considerably smaller than American cars. It is about the size of—no, it is some bigger than Sweden's Volvo which is now being introduced into America. This popular Russian car is called the Moskvich and sells for about $1,500. Their "Cadillac" sells for around $4,000 and is a fine automobile.

Their cars run well.

I didn't see one in trouble.

And their clocks work.

When we were here before, they told us the car in which we were riding was a Stalin. My nephew (named Ford, and since then a car dealer) was along, and when they said the car we were in was a Stalin, he asked the interpreter to ask the chauffeur to stop the car.

He stopped the car.

Ford got out, lifted the hood, and said: "Stalin, your foot; it's a Buick." It was. They had bought tools from the United States of America and were making only Buicks and Fords then. But that is all past now, and they have their own cars now—and good ones.

Trouble is that they don't come near making enough to go around. Evidently "the Eleven Men" think there are many more important wants to be satisfied in Russia before the average man can be allowed to own an auto. New apartments plainly do not foresee ownership of autos as did that new apartment house I told you about in Sweden which has a huge garage under the playground.

Too Much Escape

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article, by Mr. George Sokolsky, appearing in this morning's Washington Post, is perhaps a very good one for us, as Members of the House of Representatives, to read, ponder, and inwardly digest.

Toward the end of this most frustrating session, it is daily becoming more and more obvious that we are not facing the facts and that we are constantly looking for "escape."

We may look, but we will look in vain; we cannot escape from the truth, and we cannot, especially, escape from ourselves and our own consciences, so do not let us try.

TOO MUCH "ESCAPE"

(By George E. Sokolsky)

The vogue of the whodunits is caused by the same psychological rejections as the vogue for pornographic and gossip magazines. It is the same rejection that makes television so important and frightens people away from controversial personalities. It is a rejection of reality; an insistence upon escaping from the facts that face our lives. The same trend can be found in our current folk music. The reversion to barbarism is not accidental; it is part of the fear of quiet and solitude.

Today we require noise, unbelievable noise to satisfy our needs. For were there no need for such noise, there would be no such thing on the television which is very sensitive to public desires, more so than radio or the movies ever were. Television has become a noisy instrument because that is what the public wants and it wants noise to avoid introspection. It is another form of escape. It is another way of running away from the uncertainties of personal problems.

But the problems grow in number and in seriousness. The Government has to pay 4 percent for prime short-term bonds. There was a time when every four-corner storekeeper and every cracker-barrel philosopher would have understood what that meant and the storekeeper would have looked to his inventory and his accounts receivable. There was a time when such characters as William Jennings Bryan or, in our day, Father Coughlin, would have had much to say on such a subject. And when to it is added the recent discovery that our gold reserve at Fort Knox is down to $9 billion from the $28 billion with which we started in 1933, then somebody's goose would be fried by American public opinion.

But not today. We prefer to let our minds dwell upon a comparison between Marilyn Monroe and Jayne Mansfield, not too unusual dames. But if one's mind dwells on female measurements, it cannot dwell at the same time on the dissipation of our gold reserve and the fact that published official statistics are often strictly phony.

The way it is done is to mark the stuff, "earmarked," then it can be included in our reserves and make them look like a lot. But who owns the gold? Do we own it or is it earmarked for some other country because some other country owns it? And is it not true that the earmarked gold is owned by countries to which we still pay subsidies because they are broke? And is it not true that Soviet Russia owns as much gold as the United States does, and is it not a perilous situation to be in?

But why bring all that up? Do you have to bring up unpleasant stuff all the time? Be smart. Only talk about what people like to hear. Say that Nasser is a bum. Nasser has no friends in the United States. Why not pick on him? Do you always have to talk about Khrushchev? I counted, writes a reader, and you mentioned Russia 12 times in 10 articles. What did he want me to mention, Ghana, Tripolitania, my grandmother, or why Kim Novak eats with a fork?

Well, I have had my say and the question still remains whether it is better to read the wisdom of the ages or Ellery Queen—to listen to Bach or to Welk's orchestra or even to Spike Jones; to read history or read of a Representative calling the President of the United States a liar. I don't know, you can be an escapist and still have some manners.

The Old Order Changeth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is most appropriate that tribute be paid to some of the farm leaders in the agricultural State of Indiana. This leadership has displayed not a selfish interest in the business of farming but it has worked for cooperation and understanding between all economic groups. Most important, it has stressed sound Americanism.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the August 2, 1957, issue of the Farm News, the Wabash County, Ind., Farm Bureau newspaper.

The editorial follows:

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

A new pattern of farm leadership is slowly emerging in Indiana. It is definitely a form of leadership though it differs from the robust mastery to which we have grown accustomed, as exemplified best, perhaps, in the persons of M. J. Briggs and Hasil Schenck.

Briggs, still active as a consultant, retired in March as general manager of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association. Schenck, in a surprise move, recently announced his retirement this coming December as president of the Indiana Farm Bureau, Inc.

Over at Purdue, Earl Butz takes over as director of agricultural activities, as Harry Reed retires. On the women's front, Mrs. Guy Gross succeeds the late Mrs. Paul Flinn as director of the women's department of the Indiana Farm Bureau. More changes are sure to come.

Why must the form of the new leadership differ? The pattern can be found in the agriculture it serves: fewer farms, larger farms; less hard labor, more paper work; shorter hours, more technology; less production research, more market research; not the building of organizations, but the strengthening of organizations.

Much remains to be done, but the foundation for a prosperous agriculture has been laid. The pioneers are moving on; the administrators carry on. Henceforth, new ventures will require more planning, more research—farmers have more to lose and less to gain from every new risk. No less bold than formerly, leadership must, by necessity, become more conservative in its approach.

Agriculture is becoming agri-business—a scientific pursuit of productivity and profits for the good of all concerned. Inevitably, a way of life is changing and the form of leadership changes also.

You of the new leadership will, we hope, pardon a touch of sadness at the thought that this must be so. If, in the future, you sometimes catch us wondering—"Now, what would Schenck, or Reed, or Briggs, have said"—remember that it is not you, but we, who are out of step with the times. Another generation, accustomed to your leadership, will not want to see you leave.

H. R. 8996, the Authorization Bill for the Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, in the past several days there has been considerable discussion over the proposed authorization bill for the Atomic Energy Commission. Some of the comment on the bill, as contained in the minority report and some editorials, has tended to indicate that the bill will be the subject of bitter partisan controversy. In view of the great importance of this legislation to our atomic energy effort, I would like to express the hope that debate on the measure tomorrow will be free from such bitterness and will be confined to an objective discussion of the bill on its own merits.

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the Members to a speech delivered last June in Chicago at the dedication of the Dresden plant by my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina, who is chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, on which I have the honor to serve. I believe that this speech outlines in clear language the approach of the committee majority to the development of a vigorous and well-balanced nuclear power program. Under unanimous consent I therefore insert the text of the speech in the RECORD at this point.

The text of the speech follows:

REMARKS OF HON. CARL T. DURHAM, CHAIRMAN, JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY, AT CEREMONIES TO COMMEMORATE THE START OF MAJOR CONSTRUCTION WORK ON THE DRESDEN NUCLEAR POWER STATION, JUNE 12, 1957

I appreciate the opportunity which you have given me personally as well as on behalf of the Joint Committee to say a few words at your ceremonies here today in commemorating the start of major construction on the Dresden Nuclear Power Station.

As I understand it, this plant will be the largest nuclear power station which has been scheduled in this country, or so far as I know, in the world.

The Joint Committee has been actively interested in your project from its inception and has been kept abreast of progress on your program through reports from Mr. Gale and Mr. LeClair at the committee's annual statutory hearings on the atomic energy industry. Our members, such as Mr. PRICE here, and Senator PASTORE, have also visited with you from time to time to be brought up to date on the status of your planning and design work. We are all very pleased that you are now entering the large-scale construction phase of the work through the General Electric Co., which is fabricating the reactor itself, and the Bechtel Corp., on the facility side.

Only a couple of weeks ago I had the pleasure of attending ceremonies marking the completion of the General Electric Vallecitos project near Pleasanton, Calif., where much of the experimental work for your Dresden reactor is being carried on. Earlier this year, several of my committee colleagues and I had the privilege of attending the ceremony in which the Argonne experimental boiling water reactor was placed into full power operation. This reactor, together with its borax predecessors designed and constructed by Dr. Zinn and his staff at Argonne National Laboratory, established the boiling water principle at the pilot plant stage which is being used for your Dresden reactor with some variations.

These ceremonies which are occurring during this year, 1957, fall into two general categories: Those, such as the Argonne EBWR or the North American sodium reactor experiment, which represent the completion and operation of Government-owned pilot plant reactors, and the Government-sponsored Shippingport project constructed by Westinghouse and Duquesne, under the AEC 5-year experimental reactor program, sponsored by the Joint Committee; and those, we hope, which will involve the beginning of construction of large-scale prototype reactors scheduled for completion from 1960 to 1962.

It is no secret that the joint committee would like to see more of these prototype power reactors undertaken in the next few years. As a matter of fact, we would have like to have seen several started last year. Unfortunately some differences of philosophy and conception got into the way of the practical realities of forging ahead in the development stage of our nuclear-power program.

I am happy to say that the Commonwealth Edison Co., through its chairman, Willis Gale, has consistently advocated that we get along with our atomic-power program rather than fight the windmills of particular philosophies. I am glad to see, also, that the General Electric Co., through Mr. Francis McCune, has also been cooperative in wanting to move ahead into this program, recognizing the role that Government must play in one form or another during this crucial stage of development.

I do not intend today to go into the various problems we have in reconciling our philosophies in order to get to the realities of the current situation. I will limit myself to expressing the hope that industry generally and the Government will take a more objective approach to the need for accelerating our atomic-energy program, conceding as do Commonwealth and General Electric, the good faith of those of us who are fully in favor of private development but who recognize that the Government must play a large role for the next 10 years.

In the next few weeks ahead in Congress, the ability to reconcile these differences of philosophy in the context of the need to move ahead in our program where economy

is the watchword, will be sorely needed. The example set by Commonwealth in moving ahead with the construction of this large scale project, even in the face of legislative uncertainties, is a fine example of industry's intention to achieve success in our atomic-power program.

Civil-Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, many courageous and loyal citizens have unmasked the so-called civil-rights legislation, exposing its iniquities and violations of our beliefs and concepts. For the first time, their efforts are bearing good fruit, and good people all over our country are beginning to realize the terrific dangers so adroitly and deliberately hidden therein.

It is a wonderful privilege one has to represent constitutional government and our American traditions, and I extend my sincerest thanks to everyone who has made the slightest contribution to the exposure of this civil-rights legislation.

I desire to particularly express my appreciation to Hon. David Lawrence, for the magnificent fight he has waged. With no ax to grind, but simply in accord with truth, justice, and the American way, he has done more than any other individual in this country to warn the people of the utterly absurd and un-American provisions of that legislation.

It was Mr. Lawrence who exposed the attempt of Mr. Brownell to designedly destroy the existing right of trial by jury in contempt cases, by substituting the name of the United States as the party plaintiff.

It was Mr. Lawrence who exposed the attempt of the Justice Department to designedly take from the 16 defendants in Clinton, Tenn., their existing right of trial by jury, by the expedient of having the United States named as a party plaintiff in the case instituted by individuals, in which those defendants were charged with contempt because of alleged violations of the injunction granted upon the petition of private individuals. Certainly, the good people of this country could not be expected to suspicion the Department of Justice, and to even imagine that the Department of Justice would deliberately attempt to destroy existing rights of American citizens, but Mr. Lawrence knew that the Justice Department had done so, and it was Mr. Lawrence who proved it to the American people. It was Mr. Lawrence who demonstrated that Mr. Brownell wanted government by injunction.

Mr. Lawrence says in an article appearing in the Evening Star, August 5, 1957, that the advocates for this iniquitous legislation have reached their high-water mark, and the present opportunity is the last chance for the advocates to obtain civil-rights legislation. I believe Mr. Lawrence is right.

I congratulate Mr. Lawrence for his magnificent service to his people and his country. I am certain that if he continues to inform the people, the people will, as they always have, rise up and demand that constitutional government and our American way of life be preserved.

Attack on a Big Item

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Orleans Item, of Wednesday, July 17, 1957:

ATTACK ON A BIG PROBLEM

Seldom are the practical politicians and the political scientists agreed on the problems of American politics.

But there is one point on which they do agree. That is that campaign contributions have become the all-important key to getting candidates elected.

Campaign costs have gone so high now that it is virtually impossible to run for office without first finding sponsors with large hunks of cash to contribute.

Many politicians deplore this because it makes campaign fundraising a backbreaking job and it puts the big contributors in a position to dictate strategy to the professionals.

Serious students of government deplore it even more because it distorts the very principle of democracy.

This country's founders planned its Government carefully. Every elected official was to serve each of his constituents equally. Special privilege and power was offered to none.

But they did not foresee a time when campaigns would cost so much that candidates could not hope to get elected without becoming obligated to big financial backers.

This problem has been brought up time and again in Congress. Bill after bill has been introduced and piously debated. One of these authored by Representative BOGGS, of New Orleans, has been kicked around for 4 years without action.

The Boggs bill is really a mild measure. And so are the other such proposals at which Congress has boggleed. Nobody, including Representative BOGGS, has even suggested anything more drastic than putting generous ceilings on campaign funds and then requiring that the names of contributors and the amounts of their contributions be honestly recorded and reported to the public.

Puerto Rico, meanwhile, has taken a direct approach that really is drastic.

A new law, just signed by Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, sets up public funds for the use of all major political parties in Puerto Rico. Each party may draw up to $75,000 a year, and in an election year the amount is raised to $150,000 plus anything left over from the annual allowances for the previous 3 years.

These funds are to be used for such expenses as electioneering, office rent, salaries, transportation, etc.

In addition contributions from individuals and private groups are limited to a maximum of $400 in ordinary years and $600 in election years.

To qualify for public funds a party must be able to show that its candidate for governor in the previous election received at least 10 percent of the total votes cast.

This may not be the best way to meet the issue. There are many arguments against public financing of election campaigns. But at least it is an attempt—which is more than our Congress seems capable of making.

The Federal Inspection System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the August 2, 1957, issue of the Produce News, a publication dedicated to the best interests of the fruit and vegetable industry.

Mr. Speaker, this article presents a comprehensive explanaton of the mechanics of the Federal inspection system. Everyone is familiar with the important part that Federal inspection plays in the marketing of fresh fruits and vegetables, proving a benefit to both the producer and consumer. And each of us is aware that inspection of commodities is more and more being recognized as an implement for helping to cure some of the marketing problems that confront the fruit and vegetable industry. In view of this, I am inserting this article in the RECORD, hoping that it will prove of interest and help to the Members of Congress:

HOW INSPECTION SYSTEM WORKS—EXTENT OF ITS INFLUENCE SPELLED OUT

(By E. E. Conklin)

WASHINGTON, August 1.—It may take more than one bad apple to spoil a carload, but it doesn't take many more to alert a fresh fruit and vegetable inspector to a low-grade packout.

Always interested in maintaining uniform quality, the Federal-State fruit and vegetable inspectors keep a watchful eye on the produce that passes through their hands. At shipping point and terminal market, they watch for the bad apples that may spoil the grade.

Their job is to offer an inspection service that will help the producer and shipper get the best possible returns for their products and guarantee to the distributor that the produce he receives meets its grade designation.

INTERPRET GRADES

In short, the fruit and vegetable inspection program makes for a more efficient buying and selling of fresh produce. The grades provide the yardstick for measuring quality; the inspectors, the interpretation of these grades.

Directed by the Fruit and Vegetable Division of Agricultural Marketing Service, the inspection service is available in all 48 States, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. In 1956, inspection covered 1,386,663 carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables.

The inspection program itself is divided into two main categories—shipping point inspection and terminal market inspection.

Bulk of inspection is conducted at shipping point as the produce is being packed for shipment to market. At its destination, inspection may be performed to determine the present grade of the shipment either for the receiver's use in handling the lot or to settle questions on a quality which may arise between shipper and receiver.

HAS MANY MEN

Shipping point inspection is conducted jointly with the various States through cooperative agreements between the Federal Government and the State agency, usually the State department of agriculture. A carefully structured operation, it encompasses some 3,800 Federal-State inspectors.

Basically, the Federal Government is responsible for the technical phases of the service, such as training, licensing, supervision, and grade interpretation. State agencies handle the administrative phases—recruitment, salaries, and inspection fees.

Inspection of fresh fruits and vegetables is voluntary except in those areas where producers have adopted Federal or State marketing orders which establish minimum quality standards. In all such instances, Federal-State inspection is mandatory in order to assure that each shipment complies with the effective quality standard.

GO TO HIGH TOTAL

Fees are charged to the applicants. These cover the costs of inspection with State appropriations being made in some instances to cover a portion of these costs. Inspection fees paid by producers and shippers in 1956 amounted to more than $10 million.

The basic core of the Federal responsibility is handled by Federal field supervisors who are assigned to each State. These men conduct the day-to-day supervision of the shipping-point service in cooperation with the appropriate State officials who work closely with them. Currently, there are 388 inspectors under their jurisdiction who are designated as key men to supervise the activities of the 3,800 licensed journeymen inspectors.

These 3,800 men do the actual inspecting of the produce, many of them moving with the harvests as they are needed throughout the State or area. All State employees, they are trained, licensed, and supervised by Federal personnel.

KNOW EACH ONE

Inspectors are specially trained for each vegetable or fruit they inspect. Often an inspector deals with only one product. Sometimes, though, where large shipments of many kinds of produce are handled, an inspector moves from product to product. For each he is carefully trained, then licensed to inspect only those for which he has demonstrated special fitness.

At the packinghouse, the fresh-fruit and vegetable inspector works closely with the shipper. If a packout looks as though it will fall below the desired grade, the inspector warns the foreman. The line is stopped immediately; sorters in the plant are cautioned to be more discriminating; and more samples are quickly taken. If necessary, some of the produce already packed is removed, resorted, and repacked.

UP TO SHIPPER

It's not an order that the inspector issues—simply notice that the lot is not meeting the requirements of the desired grade. It's up to the shipper whether he takes action or not. But slipshod grading practices can mean a U. S. No. 2 grade rather than a U. S. No. 1 designation. It's usually just good business to see that the packout meets the best possible grade.

Along with inspection of produce for shipment to the fresh market, Federal-State inspectors inspect raw products for processing at many canneries and frozen food plants. This phase of the inspection service has grown rapidly the last few years. In 1956, it amounted to 462,687 carloads.

Here the fresh fruit and vegetable inspector operates outside—rather than inside—the plant. USDA processed food inspectors check the pack as it is canned or frozen; fresh fruit and vegetable inspectors located outside the plant frequently determine the grade of the produce as it is delivered to the plant.

GETS THE PRICE

In this way, there is no need to dicker about the merits of a particular load. If it meets certain standards specified in the contract between producer and processor, it deserves a certain price. The processor knows it and so does the producer.

Besides the regular commercial and processing plant inspection services, shipping point inspectors also check farmers' stock peanuts and conduct continuous inspection under consumer grades. In all, shipping point inspection during fiscal 1956 covered 1,293,391 carloads of fresh produce.

The remaining 93,000 carloads which were inspected last year came under the second type of inspection service—at terminal markets. This program is handled by Federal inspectors in 38 of the larger cities throughout the country and by Federal collaborators in about 40 smaller cities where the State wishes to provide such service to producers and market dealers.

OVER MANY ITEMS

Like their counterparts at the shipping point, these inspectors are also carefully trained. But instead of confining their inspection to one or a few fruits and vegetables, market inspectors must be qualified to check many different commodities.

Market inspectors may be called in to see if the produce has changed in condition during transit. Their reports may be used in making final settlement with shippers and for the purpose of aiding in fixing responsibility for any deterioration during transit.

In addition, receiving-market inspectors check supplies for many Government and private agencies, such as the Navy, Quartermaster Market Center, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, steamship lines, and various city and county institutions. During 1956, inspection for these agencies totaled 46,636 carlot equivalents—about half the total amount of the inspections made at terminal markets.

NEARLY A MILLION

Charges for all inspection services at terminal markets are borne by the applicant for whom the inspection is made. Receivers have contracted to underwrite the cost of the service in several markets where the volume is insufficient to meet the costs at the established fees per carload. Total collections in Federal markets during 1956 amounted to $854,000.

Works by Finnish Composer, Jean Sibelius

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "A Treasure Discovered," published in the New York Times of May 24, 1957. The editorial comments on the recent announcement of the discovery of previously unlisted works by the great Finnish composer, Jean Sibelius. While the editorial is several weeks old, I feel that it is sufficiently important to warrant printing in the RECORD at this time.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TREASURE DISCOVERED

One of the happiest episodes in the whole history of the Fulbright scholarships has just been reported from Finland. Dr. Harold E. Johnson, of Butler University in Indianapolis, in Finland on a Fulbright grant, has been able to announce the discovery of 20 previously unlisted works by the greatest of Finnish composers, Jean Sibelius. Some of them are of considerable scope and stature. Others will help to fill gaps in the hitherto known Sibelius literature.

This is one of the world's best types of treasure hunt. What has been found enriches the cultural life of the whole world, not only because it adds still other compositions to the long list of the Sibelius masterpieces but also because it will shed more light on some phases of his work that have been obscure. Naturally, we want to know as much as we can about Sibelius and all his work. He has long since been recognized as one of the real giants of our time. But he has been so modest that often we have seemed to have had to learn about him almost against his will.

The exchange of students and scholars is being more and more widely recognized both as a contribution to better international understanding and to scholarship itself. The Fulbright idea was a good one from the start. If ever it needed vindication it has had, now, an excellent example of what can be accomplished through such projects.

Reduction in Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a very timely editorial appearing in the July 31 issue of the New York Times entitled "Protecting Our Oil."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROTECTING OUR OIL

Petroleum is one of the very basic raw materials of our modern industrial society, and few considerations can be more important than the need to assure an adequate supply for the indefinite future. It is in this framework of the national interest that the President's decision, obviously made under pressure from domestic oil producers, to call for a voluntary reduction in oil imports must be judged. In this framework serious doubt must be expressed about the wisdom of this decision.

If the oil companies accede to the President's request, the tendency will be to reduce the supply of oil coming onto the domestic market, which in turn, will tend to inflate prices for gasoline and other oil products. A Government move tending to raise prices for such widely used products is hard to understand in the light of current concern over inflationary trends and in the light of

other severe Government moves aimed at hindering price rises on other products.

The President's action is an obvious attempt at Government interference with the free play of the market forces of supply and demand. It contradicts the often-expressed policy of seeking the freest possible international exchange of goods and services. We know from past experience how much resentment has been aroused abroad by other similar protectionist measures aimed at artificially aiding one or another group of American producers.

But perhaps most fundamental is the contradiction between this move and the ever-darkening picture of our oil-reserve situation. At the end of last year our proved crude-oil reserves were equivalent to only 11.8 years' supply at the 1956 rate of production. It is becoming increasingly difficult and expensive to find new oil supplies within our territory, and it has been estimated that it now requires 6 to 10 times the effort and cost to find a new barrel of oil here as compared with less than two decades ago.

From the conservation point of view, therefore, the case would seem irrefutable that we should encourage the use of imported oil while conserving our known domestic oil supplies against the possibility of future emergencies. Yet the President proposes, in effect, that we speed up the use of our own oil. The argument is given that this is needed for national defense, since otherwise further oil exploration by private interests here will be discouraged.

But in any case it is clear that our oil resources are finite and that we are using them up at a rate which must give rise to concern for all interested in the future welfare of this Nation. There are many ways to encourage exploration for oil, whether by private or other interests. But every barrel of our oil used up is an irreplaceable resource gone forever, never again to be available for our future needs.

Natural Gas Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. W. J. Bassett, executive secretary of the Los Angeles County Central Labor Council, which is typical of the many letters that come to my office opposing the natural gas bill. I believe that Mr. Bassett's letter accurately reflects the views of organized labor, and is therefore of particular interest:

LOS ANGELES COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL,
Los Angeles, Calif., July 31, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROOSEVELT: I have been instructed to urge you to vote against the Harris bill H. R. 8525. In the opinion of this council, the adoption of this bill would bring about exorbitant increases in the cost of natural gas and would lay the groundwork for price increases for oil and electric customers.

It is our opinion that this bill would benefit a small number of large companies who at present are making exorbitant profits and at the same time would add to the inflationary spiral the general public is now facing.

We shall sincerely appreciate it if you will vote against this legislation and use your influence in enlisting opposition to the bill by other Congressmen.

Respectfully,
W. J. BASSETT,
Secretary.

Ambassador Maxwell Gluck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by Hans Morgenthau, of the department of political science, University of Chicago, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 6, 1957, relating to the issues in the Gluck case.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ISSUES IN THE GLUCK CASE

You have performed a public service in giving in your issue of July 28 prominent place to the interchange between Senator FULBRIGHT and Mr. Gluck on the occasion of the latter's confirmation as United States Ambassador to Ceylon. This episode makes sad and disquieting reading. It puts into sharp focus three issues vital to the United States.

The first issue is the sale of public office; for this is what the appointment of campaign contributors, regardless of qualifications, to positions of responsibility actually amounts to. Within limits and insofar as it affects positions of secondary importance, such a system may be tolerated as part of the price which we must pay for democracy.

When as a general system of government it is applied to the most vital concerns of the country it becomes indeed intolerable. For the system is bound to operate in an utterly haphazard fashion, since the considerations which determine the appointment have no bearing upon the qualifications necessary for the successful discharge of the official duties.

The episode also raises in concrete form the issue of the consequences of the system for the quality of our representation abroad. The interrogation by Senator FULBRIGHT makes it perfectly clear that Mr. Gluck not only is completely ignorant of contemporary foreign affairs but also knows as much about what foreign policy is all about as I know about the operation of a chain of stores, which is nothing.

While I am confident that he will learn how to pronounce the name of the Prime Minister of India, I doubt that he will ever know what an ambassador is supposed to do.

The most serious issue of all, however, is the complete indifference of the Senate, with the exception of Senator FULBRIGHT, not only to the nefarious results of the system in general, but also to the demerits of this particular appointment. Of the 15 members of the Foreign Relations Committee, only 4 were present when Mr. Gluck was interrogated, and only one, Senator FULBRIGHT, voted against confirmation.

The plenum of the Senate did not find it worthwhile even to debate the appointment and confirmed it as a matter of course. If the appointment of a postmaster is disposed of in such cavalier fashion, one can shrug it off in view of the limited demands of the office and the limited consequences of failure. Yet an Ambassador of the United States is a general who commands a sector of the ramparts of the free world, and his ability to discharge his duties is one of the factors upon which the survival of the United States and of western civilization depends.

Mr. Gluck, knowing nothing about Asia, about Ceylon, about what an Ambassador has to do, about the very nature of foreign policy, is incapable of performing these functions. While he might well have done a great deal of good in a position for which his experience qualifies him, as Ambassador to Ceylon, with the best of intentions and in complete innocence, he is bound to do a great deal of harm.

This is an injustice to the man, to the country, and to Ceylon; for Ceylon, which has sent one of its most brilliant sons to Washington, deserves better than that and must resent the implicit slight.

When we must try to repair the consequences of such folly by appropriating millions for propaganda and foreign aid, the Senate is very much interested. Would it not be wiser and cheaper for the Senate to interest itself in the quality of our Ambassadors, infinitely more important than either propaganda or foreign aid?

In this matter the majority party has a special responsibility to bear, not only because it is the majority party but also because it is represented in the Foreign Relations Committee by a galaxy of extraordinarily able, knowledgeable, and conscientious men.

These men cannot plead ignorance or lack of judgment. What can they plead?

HANS MORGENTHAU,
Department of Political Science,
University of Chicago.

Knoxville Chamber of Commerce Resolution Opposes National Chamber of Commerce Policy Regarding TVA—Urges Passage of Sound Financing Plan for Continued Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, numerous local chambers of commerce continue to pass resolutions opposing the position of certain policies of members of the National Chamber of Commerce with respect to the Tennessee Valley Authority.

In this connection, I have asked unanimous consent that a resolution adopted by the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce on July 22, last, and signed by Mr. Leonard Rogers, president of this organization, be reproduced in the RECORD.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce is aware of statements made by Mr. Louis V. Sutton, of the Carolina Power & Light Co., in the name of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, favoring the selling of all Tennessee Valley Authority

properties utilized in the production of electrical power to private industries; and

Whereas the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce does not subscribe to such a policy; and

Whereas the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce feels that the development of the entire Tennessee Valley area—through a course of events which the people of the valley area had little influence in shaping but which now is recorded in the political and economic history of this area—has been closely related to the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority; and

Whereas the future development of this area is closely related to the continued development of the Tennessee Valley Authority on a sound basis: Now, therefore, be it

Unanimously resolved by the board of directors of the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, That the request to sell TVA made by Mr. Sutton in the name of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is officially denied by this organization, and we do further unanimously urge the members of the Tennessee delegation of the United States Congress to exert every effort to secure a sound financing plan for TVA, for the continued development of the valley area.

Adopted and approved this the 22d day of July 1957.

LEONARD ROGERS,
President.

Foreign Aid Facts Are Carefully Kept From Taxpayers' Eyes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I include an article by Mr. John R. Gibson which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on August 6 on the subject of foreign aid spending. He points out that the real facts are kept from the American people and in effect, we are giving secret aid to other countries, a policy which should be condemned.

The article follows:

STACKS OF FACTS ABOUT FOREIGN SPENDING ARE CAREFULLY KEPT FROM TAXPAYER'S EYE

(By John R. Gibson)

WASHINGTON.—Whatever your opinion of United States foreign aid, there is one undeniable fact about the program: The taxpayer who puts up the cash can't find out just exactly how his money is to be spent.

Some foreign aid information, mostly of a general sort, is available to the public, it's true. But vast fields of facts and figures are shrouded by military and diplomatic secrecy. Only domestic military and atomic energy measures are so tightly screened from public view, and neither of those ordinarily stirs up as much controversy as foreign aid appropriations.

This aspect of foreign aid has prompted cries of "Government by secrecy" in the Senate—a charge that naturally burns sensitive administration ears. The International Cooperation Administration, which runs most of the aid program, replies that it bares all available plans and estimates to the appropriate congressional committees. So it does, but a liberal use of the censor's shears keeps many of the facts from being available to the public.

Aware of secrecy complaints from their colleagues, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee decided this year to make available "complete, detailed figures * * * for confidential examination by any Senator." That still isn't much help to the average taxpayer, unless he gets himself elected to the Senate.

To the bureaucratic eye the amount of information revealed to the public doubtless looks large. Certainly there is no mystery about the broad outlines of the current foreign aid bill.

MONEY AGAINST MALARIA

President Eisenhower asked for a total of $3.9 billion this fiscal year. Of that, $1.9 billion would go for straight military aid, $500 million for a start on an economic aid loan fund and $900 million for defense support, which covers roads and other economic projects that are regarded as directly helping a country's defenses.

The rest of the cash would go as handouts for such things as unforeseen international emergencies, malaria eradication, atomic research reactors and technical cooperation. That last item is a $169 million one which would continue the old Truman point 4 program designed to educate and improve the health of our less advanced foreign friends.

Congress, to be sure, won't give the President all this. After Congress acts on the present authorization measure it will still have to appropiate the actual money in a separate bill. The upshot is expected to be closer to $3 billion than to the $3.9 billion requested.

The inquiring taxpayer can get somewhat more specific about the distribution of the largess—but always and only up to a point. He can find out that Yugoslavia is ticketed for $2.5 million of technical aid, $15 million of economic grants and some military assistance. Aside from learning that most of the $15 million will go for coking coal, however, the inquirer finds the details of the economic and military grants cloaked in secrecy.

The Pentagon confides that France will get more military aid in the current fiscal year than in the last one. But it's not telling what the figures are in either year.

Defense Secretary Wilson's aides will also disclose that from January through December 1956, they delivered our allies nearly $1.1 billion worth of planes, $118 million of tanks and combat vehicles, $110 million of ships and $189 million of electronic and communications equipment, among other aid. But they won't say how much of what went to which allied.

For this year, they will reveal how much military aid they want to give various regions—$340 million to Europe, $390 million to the Near East, South Asia, and Africa, $690 million to the Far East, $25 million to Latin America, and lots more millions on a nonregional basis. But the Pentagon won't say how much goes to individual countries.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

You can find out that Israel, Afghanistan, Nepal, Tunisia, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Haiti are among those scheduled to get economic grants. But details are secret. You can discover that the aid dispensers are already scanning a batch of construction projects for which they may lend dollars under their planned soft-loan program—but it may be entirely different projects that would actually get the green light.

In short, the taxpayer can pry out totals, round figures, generalizations, and some samples of what's being planned. But there is little in the way of precise information on what's going to be built in what country and how we are going to spend the secret amount of dollars slated for the Republic of X.

All this not only denies facts to the American people. Ironically for the Government, the secrecy about details denies officials an opportunity to make a chapter-and-verse defense of the things they want to spend the dollars on. Why, then, do they persist in hiding information?

The outgoing head of ICA, John Hollister, recently gave one explanation to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Concerning military information he said: "For the same reasons that we are not willing to reveal the planned disposition around the world of our own forces and of arms and equipment to be provided them, we believe it is in the national interest not to show in detail the disposition of our contributions to the military forces of our friends and allies." In addition, the ICA argues that official release of military aid figures would be grist for the Russian propaganda mills.

The Administration explains secrecy about economic aid partly as an attempt to keep peace in the international family. When one country hears that a neighboring country gets more from Uncle Sam, they say, there's a great squabble. It becomes a "keeping up with the Joneses" situation. The aid men maintain, in effect, that it's best to keep the Smiths from knowing what's going on at the Joneses, at least as far as Uncle Sam's plans are concerned.

AVOIDING RESENTMENT

They also contend that revelation of aid plans would tie the hands of United States negotiators. "In virtually every country program and project, it is our policy to obtain contributions in cash, goods, or services from the host government," the ICA asserts. "Knowledge of the level of aid contemplated by the United States Government would give the host country negotiators a considerable advantage."

Besides, the Administration argues, "this Government wishes to avoid the possibility of resentment occurring in the event the final programs approved (by Congress) are less than those initially proposed."

How much appeal these explanations have is likely to depend on the individual's attitude toward foreign aid. But whatever their merits, the explanations do not alter the fact that the taxpayer is putting up a tidy packet—some $60 billion since World War II—while being kept in the dark about its use.

H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks, H. R. 8002, designed to implement recommendations of the Hoover Commission, has been the subject of considerable discussion among Members of Congress as well as in editorial commentaries in newspapers all over the country.

In taking a stand in opposition to that of the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, I submit that there is also strong support of this legislation among authorities on our national economy and fiscal system.

I am gravely disturbed to find this measure now the target of indifference and controversy just as it has reached the threshold of becoming law. There

can be no question that this bill will taper Government spending through the elimination of waste and inefficient operation. Aside from my own deep conviction in the necessity of this legislation, particularly in the face of the tremendous national debt, I have taken particular note of the fact that leading newspapers in every section of the country support this proposal. In all my reading I have found but one which agrees with the chairman of the Appropriations Committee in his opposition to H. R. 8002.

It is my hope that the Congress will have an opportunity to vote on this bill before we adjourn the first session of the 85th Congress. Sound efforts to achieve Government economy do not necessarily lie in percentage figures on minor bills which involve comparatively small expenditures but principally in the efforts made by Congress to economize through adoption of laws which will clamp down upon waste and excessive spending wherein the dollar value offers nothing to the general well-being of the Nation. Support of any measures which limit Government spending through efficiency in operation are needed more today than ever before in our history.

I take this opportunity to cite for the record typical appraisals of H. R. 8002 by newspapers from the North, South, East, and West. I believe these comments truly reflect the sentiment of the American people today in their hope for both tax relief and a reduction of our national debt.

New York World-Telegram and Sun:

We especially commend H. R. 8002 to Members of the House who may be deluded into believing this bill isn't a good way of doing business.

Washington (D. C.) Daily News:

This bill wouldn't take from Congress a control it no longer enjoys—it would restore it.

Washington (D. C.) Evening Star:

In the light of wide agreement that Federal economy is both desirable and essential, particularly in this period of inflationary pressures, the House leadership should give high priority to completing action on this legislation.

The Wall Street Journal:

The most important point in favor of the bill is that the present budgetary procedures are a wasteful mess. The measure may not be ideal—what is in this world?—but it is a useful step.

New York Daily News:

It will be a shame if one of the really precious fruits of the Hoover Commission is permitted to rot unharvested in this session.

The New York Times:

If Congress is really serious about controlling expenditures and is willing to take the responsibility that goes with this power it will pass this bill which has the endorsement of the President, leading Members of Congress, and thoughtful private citizens.

Manchester (N. H.) Union-Leader:

It's about time the Federal Government's financial structure was placed on a sound accounting basis.

Miami (Fla.) Sunday News:

This reform is so simple, so needful, so important; why should there be any opposition to it?

San Francisco Examiner:

We would recommend to taxpayers that it is very much in their interest and in the interest of sound government economy to let their representatives know they want this bill passed.

Los Angeles Examiner:

In effect, the idea is to have the annual budget actually represent expenditures. This would end the wasteful system whereby Congress never really knows who's spending what money in what year.

Cincinnati Enquirer:

It is difficult to see how any Member can justify a refusal to support this conscientious effort to reduce the huge cost of government.

Mr. Speaker, as you can see, these editorial comments represent all sections of the country, the New England States, the South, the Midwest, and the Far West. From all parts of the country have come demands for action on this important piece of legislation. The people are being called to rally behind their representatives fighting to regain control over the Federal purse strings. It is estimated H. R. 8002 would save us up to $3 billion annually. And should one question this estimate, let me say that if this bill does no more than place the responsibility once again on the shoulders of Congress to account for every penny spent, it would certainly be worth supporting.

Appointment of Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in today's issue of the New York Times, Mr. James Reston has written a very objective article dealing with the practice of appointing Ambassadors, and in that same connection, Mr. President, in today's issue of the New York Times there is a news article entitled "Nineteen Envoys Gave $218,740 to GOP."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that both these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ENVOY AND HIS GIFTS—A VIEW THAT ADMINISTRATION'S PRACTICE DOESN'T FOLLOW ITS PRINCIPLES OF SELECTION

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, August 5.—Secretary of State Dulles rushed to the defense of Maxwell H. Gluck, the new United States Ambassador to Ceylon, today, but the controversy over the administration's ambassadorial appointments continues.

The reason for this is that the question has been allowed to get away from the principle of executive appointment laid down by General Eisenhower himself in the 1952 campaign.

In that campaign, one of General Eisenhower's most effective arguments was that he stood for merit in Government jobs, regardless of partisan considerations.

It is a new world, he asserted, in which old habits of political reward are no longer justified. He seemed then, indeed, to stand above party, and this appealed wherever he went to the independent "plague on both your houses" attitude of the electorate.

"We will call to the high offices of the Government," he said all over the country, "the best men and women, the ablest and most reliable in the land."

This was his principle, and the general feeling here in a period of lively diplomatic activity is that it is the correct principle to apply in the Gluck case.

HAVE THEY OBSERVED PRINCIPLE?

The issue is not whether the Eisenhower administration is being more political in its ambassadorial appointments than the Democrats, or whether these jobs should be given to the top-career men in the Foreign Service, but whether the appointments have met the President's principle of appointing the best man available, regardless of party, wealth, or foreign service record.

Mr. Dulles made the points today that Mr. Gluck was a man of integrity, that a man's campaign contributions were "by no means a determining or important factor in our appointments," and that some Democrats had been appointed to important posts.

Nobody has questioned Mr. Gluck's integrity. As a matter of fact, in this whole controversy he has come nearer to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, even when the truth hurts, than anybody else. He admitted he didn't know the name of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, or the name of the United States Ambassador to India, or how to pronounce "Nehru." Nobody has been that frank in Washington since Harry S. Truman wrote to Paul Hume, the music critic of the Washington Post.

DON'T SPEAK THE LANGUAGE

The question remains, however, whether the appointments, including the Gluck appointment, have met the President's own test. Among the factors in this are the following:

In the non-English-speaking North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries, the Eisenhower appointees do not speak the language of the country in France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, and Turkey.

In the whole of the Arab-speaking world, where the prestige and interests of the United States are now deeply involved, only three United States Ambassadors speak Arabic. They are Raymond Hare in Egypt, George Wadsworth in Saudi Arabia, and James S. Moose in Syria—all Foreign Service officers.

Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., the new Ambassador in the Soviet Union, is the only United States head of mission appointed by the President to a Communist country who speaks the language of the country to which he was assigned.

In Asia, the United States Ambassadors do not speak the language of Japan, Nationalist China, Korea, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, or the Philippines.

This does not mean that these were all bad appointments. Many of them were excellent, regardless of the language difficulty, but it is an indication that the principle of the best man available has not always been followed.

PROBLEM OF ALLOWANCE

The President, for example, has said publicly in response to questions that the Congress should make available representation allowances so that he does not have to choose Ambassadors for expensive posts from the limited ranks of those who have sufficient money to meet the social obligations of posts in London, Paris, and elsewhere.

This was not followed, however, by any White House action to carry this principle into effect. In short, as most observers here see it, the administration has pronounced correct principles on the problems of Ambassadorial appointments but has not followed them.

What has happened here, most well-informed men believe is merely that the administration has carried on the pork-barrel system as before, with three exceptions:

1. It has given more posts to Foreign Service officers than to political appointees—53 to 23.

2. It has introduced a new system of changing almost all political appointees at the end of its first term and appointing new ones.

3. And finally, it has differed from the tradition of the past by denying that campaign contributions are an important factor in choosing Ambassadors.

If it had not denied this last practice, the Gluck appointment would have been merely an amusing 1-day story about an honest man getting caught in an ancient political game. But because the administration has pronounced such noble principles, and then departed from them while proclaiming its innocence, the argument is prolonged to nobody's advantage.

NINETEEN ENVOYS GAVE $218,740 TO GOP—CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS NOT AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN APPOINTMENTS, DULLES HOLDS

(By E. W. Kenworthy)

WASHINGTON, August 6.—Campaign contributions may not be an important factor in ambassadorial appointments, as Secretary Dulles insisted today, but contributions of ambassadors and ambassadors to be are an important factor in party finances.

According to data compiled by the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, 19 men who had been or were to be appointed as ambassadors by President Eisenhower donated a total of $218,740 to the 1956 Republican campaign.

Of the 13 noncareer men named as envoys since last January 1, 6 contributed $91,800. They are:

John Hay Whitney, Ambassador to Britain, $37,500.

Maxwell H. Gluck, Ambassador to Ceylon, $21,500.

John C. Folger, Ambassador to Belgium, $11,500.

Joseph S. Farland, Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, $9,000.

Amory Houghton, Ambassador to France, $8,500.

Earl E. T. Smith, Ambassador to Cuba, $3,800.

Seven men who were appointed in the President's first term and still hold ambassadorships contributed a total of $64,400. They are:

Jefferson Patterson, Uruguay, $21,000.

L. Corrin Strong, Norway, $20,500.

James D. Zellerbach, Italy, $8,500.

Robert H. Thayer, Rumania, $6,000.

Robert D. Coe, Denmark, $4,940.

Whitney Willauer, Honduras, $2,500.

Wiley D. Buchanan, Luxembourg, $1,000.

Six former ambassadors gave a total of $62,500. They are:

C. Douglas Dillon, formerly in France and now Deputy Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, $27,500.

Clare Booth Luce, formerly in Italy, who with her husband, Henry Luce, magazine publisher, gave $25,000.

Arthur Gardner, Cuba, $5,500.

Winthrop Aldrich, Britain, $2,000.

Fred M. Alger, Belgium, $1,500.

Horace D. Hildreth, Pakistan, $1,000.

Mr. Dulles said, "We have appointed more than one ambassador who has made a substantial contribution to the Democratic campaign fund during the last year."

When asked to name them, the Secretary said, "I think I know who they are but I prefer not to name them here."

The records of the Senate subcommittee show only one present envoy who contributed more than $500 to the Democratic campaign. He is David K. Bruce, Ambassador to Germany. He gave $1,000.

Ambassadors Without Portfolio From Austin College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texas is sending 40 good-will ambassadors across the seas to represent America on a tour of Europe.

From Austin College, the third oldest college in Texas, a 40-voice choir will go abroad. Dr. Robert Wayne Bedford, the choir director, is to be commended on building a choir worth an international hearing.

Austin College, although it has only about 500 students, is noted for the high quality of scholastic schooling and training. Many of the leaders in business, government, and the professions of Texas have come from that great school.

Austin College was founded in 1849 in Huntsville. But it was later moved to Sherman, where it stands today.

The Sherman Democrat, published by a great American, Frank Mayborn, and a fine editor, Albert Nibling, pays a fine tribute to this choir, which is representing America as ambassadors without portfolio.

The Sherman Democrat, its own history going back over three-quarters of a century to 1879, is one of the State's leading journals of news and opinion.

I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD this fine tribute from the Sherman Democrat to the Austin College Choir.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sherman (Tex.) Democrat of August 4, 1957]

GOOD VOICE AND HAPPY LANDINGS

They are American ambassadors without portfolio.

They speak the universal language of music, and have the universal appeal of youth.

The Austin College choir of 40 students leave today for a European tour and an appearance in an international contest in Italy.

It would be hard to select a group better fitted to carry the message of young America abroad.

Most of these young men and women were brought up in small southwestern towns, attended public schools, took part in church activities and received little musical training beyond that given by their choir director, Dr. Robert Wayne Bedford.

They are being schooled in a small denominational liberal arts college, an institution typical of the American educational system.

And they represent a college that is notable for the alumni it has sent into government, medicine, business, science, education, and religion.

It is not often that a small college with limited endowment can send such ambassadors abroad. It is through the generosity of a patron who has faith in American youth and its possibilities that the trip is made possible.

And with this generous financial backing are the interest and contributions of the students themselves, the vision and untiring effort of their director and the practical suggestions and patient work of their travel agent, Jasmine McGee.

These are not professional musicians. They are young Americans—singing.

It is with complete confidence in their ability to represent the best in Sherman, Austin College, Texas, and America that we say to Austin College Choir:

Good voice and happy landing.

Record of the Wyoming Farm Bureau Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK A. BARRETT

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Every County Farm Bureau in Wyoming Tops Its 1957 Membership Quota," published in the American Farm Bureau Federation's official Newsletter for August 5, 1957. I join in commending the Wyoming Farm Bureau for its fine record in this connection.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EVERY COUNTY FARM BUREAU IN WYOMING TOPS ITS 1957 MEMBERSHIP QUOTA

The Wyoming Farm Bureau Federation—one of the first in the Nation to meet its 1957 "forward together" membership quota, has set two new records.

Last week, Farm Bureau membership in Wyoming reached a new high of 8,659 farm families.

At the same time every one of Wyoming's 23 county farm bureaus reported reaching its county membership quota.

The Wyoming Farm Bureau Federation's outstanding accomplishments in the membership field have prompted favorable comment by the State's newspapers, such as this editorial from the Wyoming State Tribune:

FOR THE 11TH TIME

If you belong to an organization frustrated by difficulty in increasing or holding its membership, maybe effective help is available through the Wyoming Farm Bureau Federation. It knows how to get the job done.

That organization, which operates under the presidency of one of southeastern Wyoming's best known men Reuben V. Anderson of Pine Bluffs, has just reached its State membership quota for the 11th consecutive year.

Ponder that, 11 steady years of growth. Not one setback in membership since 1946.

The bureau's 1957 State quota was 8,457 family, not individual, memberships. As of July 1, the total achieved hit 8,525.

That's not the size of it. According to Bill Hicks, of Laramie, the bureau's organization director, the family membership will reach 8,600 before the end of the fiscal year.

If ordinary averages apply to the Farm Bureau, a family includes at least 4 persons. That means that 8,600 family memberships will come out to nearly 37,000 persons, in a State with a total population of just over 300,000.

The Farm Bureau has long been the State's largest independent agricultural organization, a position it also holds in various other States. When you study that membership, which extends over all of the State's counties and into every Wyoming town and city, it is not at all difficult to define the impressive influence exerted by the organization in State affairs.

Representative Resolutions Supporting Sound TVA Self-Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many Members of this body from outside the TVA area, as well as those from it, share my gratification at the news that the Public Works Committee has reported favorably to this body a carefully considered and workable bill to permit the TVA to finance future additions to its power program through the sale of bonds. During the hearings on the bill before the above-mentioned committee some attempt was made to give the impression that the business community and particularly the chambers of commerce of the Tennessee Valley were not supporting this bill. My esteemed colleague BOB JONES, of Alabama, and others have received many communications which clearly indicate that those chambers of commerce who know the TVA best and who have experienced the stimulation which the TVA gave to free enterprise in the valley, strongly support TVA and favor a sound and workable self-financing bill.

Under unanimous consent I include several resolutions and letters in this connection in the Appendix of the RECORD. A representative number of these include: resolution from the Giles County, Tenn., Chamber of Commerce, signed by Lambeth Lester, president; Tullahoma, Tenn., Chamber of Commerce, signed by James H. Henry, president; resolution of the Murfreesboro and Rutherford County, Tenn., Chamber of Commerce, signed by Sam Lasseter, president; letter from M. L. Medley, president, Putnam County Tenn., Chamber of Commerce; letter from J. M. McCullers, manager, Decatur, Ala., Chamber of Commerce; and letter from Orbel Erwin, president, Athens, Tenn., Chamber of Commerce. These follow:

RESOLUTION OF PULASKI-GILES COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Whereas the county of Giles and the city of Pulaski are in the heart of the Tennessee Valley Authority zone of operations, the city of Pulaski being the first municipality in Tennessee to purchase TVA power and benefit from the unlimited advantages offered by said TVA; and

Whereas the Pulaski-Giles County Chamber of Commerce understands that certain views have been expressed by Mr. Louis V. Sutton purporting to be the views of the National Chamber of Commerce favoring the conveyance of all TVA properties utilized in the production of electrical power to private industries; and

Whereas the TVA has for years efficiently produced and marketed electricity on a sound basis and the entire Nation has benefited from its operation; that in addition to the production of electrical power, it has saved the country many millions of dollars through its flood-control-water supply and conservation program; that during World War II, private industry was unable to provide the power necessary to develop the atom bomb and other essential defense plants which TVA did efficiently produce and thus, saved untold millions of dollars and the lives of many of our fighting men; and

Whereas the national chamber has never advocated the sale of TVA properties to private industry so far as we have been able to ascertain and in its annual policy declaration, issued on May 1, of this year, no such proposal was approved; and whereas a sound and economical plan of self-financing for TVA, which, we believe, is to the best interest of the entire Nation and TVA, has been introduced in the Congress of the United States: Now, therefore, be it unanimously

Resolved by the board of directors of the Pulaski-Giles County Chamber of Commerce, That the self-financing proposal as introduced by Congressman CLIFFORD DAVIS of Tennessee, and Congressman ROBERT JONES of Alabama, be and the same is hereby approved and we do further unanimously urge the Members of the Tennessee delegation of the United States Congress to exert every effort to seek the passage of this vital legislation; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolution be sent to (1) the Members of the Tennesse congressional delegation, (2) the Pulaski Citizen, and (3) that a copy of the same be spread upon the minutes of the Pulaski-Giles County Chamber of Commerce.

Adopted and approved this 21st day of May 1957.

LAMBETH LESTER,
President.

RESOLUTION OF TULLAHOMA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Whereas Louis V. Sutton, president of the Carolina Power & Light Co., recently appeared before a House Public Works Subcommittee and stated that the United States Chamber of Commerce felt that Congress should permit no further funds to be used to build or operate TVA power facilities and that the Chamber advocated the outright sale of the TVA; and

Whereas it is the opinion of the Tullahoma Chamber that the actions of Louis V. Sutton constitute a flagrant misuse of the purpose and program of the United States Chamber of Commerce; and

Whereas the views of the Tullahoma Chamber of Commerce are diametrically opposed to those views apparently held by Mr. Sutton and purportedly the United States Chamber of Commerce and feel that this fact should be made known: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Tullahoma Chamber of Commerce, That the unwarranted, unreasonable and unfair attack of Louis V. Sutton on the TVA and his recommendations for its disposition be and the same are hereby condemned and declared to be wholly inconsistent with the views of this chamber; be it further

Resolved by the Tullahoma Chamber of Commerce, That copies of this resolution be furnished to the Representatives of Tennessee in Congress, in order that they might be apprised of this action and the views of the Tullahoma Chamber of Commerce.

This the 13th day of May 1957.

Attest:

JAMES H. HENRY,
President.
FRANCIS BILK,
Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF MURFREESBORO AND RUTHERFORD COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Whereas it has been brought to the attention of the Murfreesboro and Rutherford County Chamber of Commerce that Mr. Louis V. Sutton, of the Carolina Light & Power Co. has issued a statement purporting to represent the views of the National Chamber of Commerce and stated that the national chamber favored the selling of all TVA properties utilized in the production of electrical power to private industries; and

Whereas Congressman JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee, has called attention to the fact that Mr. Sutton has misrepresented the views of the National Chamber of Commerce and certainly did not represent the views of this organiaztion; and

Whereas the TVA has for years efficiently produced and marketed electricity on a sound basis and the entire Nation has benefited from its operation; that in addition to the production of electrical power, it has saved the country many millions of dollars through its flood control water supply and conservation program; that during World War II, private industry was unable to provide the power necessary to develop the atom bomb and other essential defense plants which TVA did efficiently produce and thus, saved untold millions of dollars and the lives of many of our fighting men; and

Whereas the national chamber has never advocated the sale of TVA properties to private industry so far as we have been able to ascertain and at its annual policy declaration, issued on May 1, of this year, no such proposal was approved; and

Whereas Congressman ROBERT JONES, of Alabama and Congressman CLIFFORD DAVIS, of Tennessee, have presented a sound and economical plan of self financing for TVA, which, we believe, i sto the best interest of the entire Nation and TVA: Now, therefore, be it unanimously

Resolved by the board of directors of the Murfreesboro and Rutherford County Chamber of Commerce, That the self-financing proposal of Congressman ROBERT JONES and Congressman CLIFFORD DAVIS be, and the same is hereby, approved and we do further unanimously urge the members of the Tennessee delegation of the United States Congress to exert every effort to seek the passage of this vital legislation; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolution be sent to (1) the members of the Tennessee congressional delegation, (2) the local newspapers, and (3) that a copy of the same be spread upon the minutes of the Murfreesboro and Rutherford County Chamber of Commerce.

Adopted and approved this the 31st day of May 1957.

SAM LASSETER,
President.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
OF PUTNAM COUNTY,
Cookeville, Tenn., May 29, 1957.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: It has come to my attention that the National Chamber of Commerce has suggested a 10-point program for the Tennessee Valley Authority which, if carried out, would in my opinion result in irreparable and tragic consequences to the millions of American citizens and thou-

sands of private enterprises in the area served by TVA and indirectly to the entire Nation.

These proposals definitely and positively did not and do not have the endorsement of the Putnam County Chamber of Commerce and in my opinion none of the chambers in this entire area would endorse such drastic and unjustified statements by our national officials.

The members of the Putnam County Chamber of Commerce are in favor of and urge your support of an adequate and reasonable self-financing bill for the Tennessee Valley Authority which will permit it to operate efficiently and will insure that the needs of this great region for electric power will be met as and when necessary.

Sincerely yours,

M. L. MEDLEY,
President.

DECATUR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Decatur, Ala., May 16, 1957.

Hon. BOB JONES,
Congressman, House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BOB: I read with interest your bulletin of May 11, and judged by its content the question in your mind regarding local chamber of commerce support of the bill introduced by you and Congressman DAVIS regarding TVA.

We unhesitatingly and emphatically disagree with the policy as outlined by Mr. Louis V. Sutton, president of the Carolina Power & Light Co. and representing the United States Chamber of Commerce, and we unfalteringly support your bill in the interest of the preservation of TVA.

We in the Tennessee Valley area realize the value of such an authority, the results of which, in our opinion, could not be obtained by private capital. We bear in mind too, the socialistic trend of such governmental agencies but for the full realization of its value to the people of this area one has to but visit the area and learn the whole story to become a true believer. The agricultural, reforestation, game reserves, flood control, power and other programs that are enveloped in the Tennessee Valley Authority have meant more to the people of this area than the average mind can imagine.

There are more than 3,200 chambers of commerce and trade associations affiliated with the United States Chamber through membership, but that affiliation does not necessitate the adoption of its policies by local chambers. We believe that the United States Chamber, an organization consisting of some 20- million business men and women, has done much for the betterment of man's economy but we unhesitatingly disagree with the policy as outlined by Mr. Sutton on the TVA issue.

We are grateful to you for the fine work that you are doing and when I, or the facilities of this office, can lend you a hand we will be honored to have you call on us.

Sincerely,

J. M. MCCULLERS,
Manager.

ATHENS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Athens, Tenn., May 23, 1957.

Hon. JOSEPH L. EVINS,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: The board of directors of the Athens Chamber of Commerce has instructed me to protest the statements made by Mr. Louis V. Sutton before the House Public Works Subcommittee in Washington.

It occurs to us that Mr. Sutton's appearance before the subcommittee as a representative of the United States Chamber of Commerce was in extremely poor taste in view of his connections with the privately owned electric utilities. It seems that his statements were obviously made for the purpose of advancing the interests of the privately owned utilities at the expense of the people of this section. His 10-point program, if adopted, would not only impair the progress of Tennessee Valley Authority but ultimately result in its complete dismemberment.

It is the feeling of the people of this section that Tennessee Valley Authority has served a most useful purpose for the people of America generally in that it has thrown the spotlight upon the efforts of the private-power monopoly to place the use of our natural resources beyond the reach of our average citizens. It is true, further, that Mr. Sutton, and others in similar positions, do not take cognizance of Tennessee Valley Authority's record in national defense, flood control, navigation, forestry, and the other phases of the Authority's overall program.

We feel that the action of the United States Chamber of Commerce in sponsoring Mr. Sutton was a distinct disservice to this area and to the Nation as a whole. It is our feeling, further, that we in the Tennessee Valley are in better position to observe and evaluate the accomplishments of Tennessee Valley Authority than is Mr. Sutton.

Sincerely,

ORBEL ERWIN,
President.

Opposed to Harris-O'Hara Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of the membership of this House a telegram which I just received from Mr. Louis J. Mosakowski, city clerk of the city of South Milwaukee.

The telegram reads as follows:

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Common council of city of South Milwaukee opposed to Harris-O'Hara bill as reported out by House Interstate Commerce Committee.

LOUIS J. MOSAKOWSKI,
City Clerk.

Mr. Speaker, I have carefully studied this legislation to see whether it would protect the interest of the consumers in my district and in other areas of the United States. I believe that this proposed legislation weakens the safeguards which we have on the statute books today in the interest of our natural-gas consumers.

I have testified against this legislation at length before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and I shall actively oppose it when it reaches the floor of the House. I shall do it because the interest of natural-gas consumers in South Milwaukee, in the fourth district as a whole, and throughout our country would be jeopardized by the passage of this legislation.

Jewish War Veterans' National Memorial, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include my statement before the House Committee on the Judiciary in support of H. R. 3338 to incorporate the Jewish War Veterans, U. S. A., National Memorial, Inc.

The statement follows:

JEWISH WAR VETERANS' NATIONAL MEMORIAL, INC.

(Statement of Congressman THOMAS J. LANE supporting a bill to incorporate the Jewish War Veterans, U. S. A., National Memorial, Inc., House Committee on Judiciary, August 7, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, the city of Washington, D. C., is the seat of our National Government.

It is not necessary to belabor the significance of this material fact. Every American citizen is conscious of its presence, its power, and its meaning to him.

To the millions of Americans, young and old, who visit Washington on a patriotic pilgrimage, this city is something more; it is the shrine of our national spirit.

The White House, the Capitol, and the Supreme Court are impressive; but they do not inspire the reverence that people feel when they enter the Lincoln Memorial, or bow their heads before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, or look up at the monument that depicts the flag raising at Iwo Jima.

Memorials in honor of the individuals and the groups who have contributed so much in courage and in devotion to the principles of freedom, constantly remind us of our responsibilities and our duties to perpetuate that heritage.

From the time of the Revolutionary War, Americans of the Jewish faith have given their lives and their fortunes to win and protect our independence. No group has been more dedicated in its devotion, or has made greater sacrifices in proportion to its numbers.

In recognition of their services to the Nation, I respectfully and sincerely request the endorsement of H. R. 3338, the bill I have introduced to incorporate the Jewish War Veterans, U. S. A., National Memorial, Inc., or H. R. 109, or any other bill with the same purpose.

The object, purposes, and activities of the corporation shall be:

"(a) To maintain and conduct a national memorial and museum dedicated to and commemorating the service and sacrifice of Americans of the Jewish faith and especially those who died in the armed services of the United States during a period of war.

"(b) To acquire and maintain the necessary building or buildings in the District of Columbia for the purpose of housing the said national memorial museum, as well as the national headquarters of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America and the national headquarters of the National Ladies' Auxiliary, Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, and the utilization of the facilities of such building or buildings and the said national headquarters to gather, collate, edit, publish, and exhibit the memorabilia, data, records, military awards, decorations, citation, etc., for the

purposes of preserving the memories and records of patriotic service performed by men and women of the Jewish faith while in the armed services of the United States of America in time of war."

Incorporators from 33 States and the District of Columbia indicate the nationwide scope of this nonprofit corporation.

On or before the first day of April of each year the corporation hereby created shall make and transmit to the Congress a report of its proceedings for the year ending December 31 preceding, including a full, complete, and itemized report of receipts and expenditures of any kind. Said report shall be printed as a public document.

As diversity is the rich and fertile background from which we draw our vital faith in freedom, we should encourage all voluntary efforts to honor and perpetuate the contributions of each large group to our national unity and brotherhood.

The long and distinguished history of the Jewish War Veterans, U. S. A., has earned for them this right to a place of honor in our National Capital, where they can establish a shrine to preserve the proud evidence of their service to our common cause, for the appreciation and respect of all.

Through H. R. 109 and H. R. 3338, or any similar bill, I ask congressional authorization from the Jewish War Veterans, U. S. A., National Memorial, Inc., to achieve the noble purposes set forth in this bill.

To Strengthen Reliable Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include two articles by Mr. Constantine Brown which appeared in the August 5 and 6 editions of the Washington Evening Star, containing an account of his interview with Generalissimo Franco of Spain, and study of Spain's ailments.

The articles raise the question whether it is in the interests of the free world to promptly strengthen those nations which, like Spain, lie on the periphery of Europe, and which have been staunch in their anti-Communist position.

Only recently, a congressional resolution was adopted expressing the sense of the Congress that Spain join the NATO. In view of the passage of that resolution, I believe that we may well consider the issues raised in the articles, which follow:

STRENGTHEN RELIABLE ALLIES, FRANCO URGES

(By Constantine Brown)

(This interview with Generalissimo Franco is the third dispatch from Mr. Brown on his around-the-world tour.)

MADRID, SPAIN.—Generalissimo Francisco Franco feels that German unity is the main problem of Western Europe and he fears that Western interest in coexistence with Russia may lead soon to withdrawal of American and allied forces from Germany in order to obtain reunification of that divided country. To meet that situation he favors strengthening of reliable European countries.

Franco's small study with its Empire desk piled high with files, newspapers, and letters to be answered, was the same as when I last saw it some 5 years ago. The same magnificent Goya tapestries decorated the paneled walls. Nothing had changed except El Caudillo. He is a few pounds heavier.

The ruler of Spain does not speak English, although he seems to understand it well. He likes to talk to unofficial foreigners and enjoys hearing other than the dreary official reports. He is also candid in expressing his own thoughts.

Franco's main worries of repairing the damage which was inflicted by the civil war are over. Eighteen years later he rules over a united country. Internationally Spain has once more taken its place among the western nations—or nearly so.

A couple of months ago the American Congress passed a resolution expressing its sense that Spain join the NATO. The White House and State Department fully concurred. But to be admitted to that exclusive club it is necessary to have a unanimous vote of the members.

For the time being Norway has indicated that it will not vote for Spain. This hurts the pride of the Spaniards. Franco, however, takes it philosophically.

He believes that international socialism—much as it says it is opposed to Communist imperialism—is still against the man who so succcessfully defeated the objective of Moscow to establish a satellite in the most important strategic corner of Europe.

El Caudillo believes that Soviet aggression against Europe is not imminent. The Russians, he contends, have the capability of launching an attack and could be successful in the first phase of aggression. What makes them hesitate, however, is the unreliability of their satellites.

Franco believes that western propaganda—with all its defects—has had a real impact on the peoples of the suppressed countries. It may be that the satellite armies—some 70 divisions—may remain obedient to their Soviet-imposed masters for a while. But the people themselves would rise in the eventuality of Soviet aggression. Russia's armies might be faced with the same problems as Hitler's forces at Stalingrad—their lines of communication would be heavily harassed by guerrillas.

The main problem of Western Europe, Franco contends, is German unity. This Nation is potentially the most powerful single element in the West. For her, the chief problem is the unification of her territory. Germany's internal policy will turn around this problem as long as unification is not attained.

"I fear," El Caudillo said, "that the spirit of coexistence, which appears to be a feature of western policy, may lead in the near future to the withdrawal of the American and allied forces stationed in Germany in order to obtain German unity. This would satisfy not only the Germans but also the Russians. The possibility has to be foreseen. To meet it, I think the reliable European countries should be strengthened."

When this reporter pointed out that while we would have to pull our four divisions 3,700 miles across the Atlantic, the Russians need only withdraw less than 500 miles across land, El Caudillo intimated that the limited American forces in Europe count for little against potential Russian concentrations.

If Europe wants, he said, she has more than enough people to create greater effectives. The cost of a Spanish division is approximately one-third that of an American division, and the forces of the European nations on which America can rely could form the spearhead of Western resistance in an emergency.

The NATO countries are well prepared to counter a Soviet air aggression. The American bases strategically situated in Morocco, Britain, and Spain are in a position at this very moment to give more than a good accounting in the event of a surprise attack.

The NATO ground forces, however, are weak and in a difficult position in Germany. Moreover, the British are now economy-minded and are drastically reducing their military establishment. It is expected that by the end of next year they will reduce their forces in Germany by two divisions.

The French have a heavy war on their hands in Algeria. It is expected to continue for some time since the Kremlin is determined to keep it going. Most of the forces earmarked for the NATO have been withdrawn from the Rhine and sent across the Mediterranean. The Benelux forces are negligible.

The chains of mountains which divide the Iberian peninsula from the rest of Europe are an obstacle not easy to overcome even in these days of jet bombers flying faster than sound at very high attitudes.

These forbidding natural obstacles prevented Hitler from invading Spain in World War II and forced him to accept the so-called "Spanish benevolent neutrality."

It must be remembered that in those days Franco's so-called air force consisted of less than 100 old-fashioned "crates." Today there are four American bases in Spain—the most efficient in the world—from which the American Strategic Air Force can operate. In addition, the Spanish air force itself has more than 150 jet fighters, manned by highly skilled American-trained pilots. This number will be increased substantially this year and next.

MADRID, SPAIN.—A number of liberal American newspapermen and columnists are now visiting Spain for the first time since the civil war. They are trying, especially, to discover the country's ailments. In talks with Spanish and American officials they complain that the Spaniards are far from becoming progressive.

The Spaniards, and especially the peasants, the newsmen say, are still painfully backward. They conclude that the situation in Spain is hopeless because the liberal movements of the industrial populations in the north are being suppressed by the Franco dictatorship.

Much of this is true. The Spanish people are nothing like Americans, nor for that matter like any of the Western Europeans.

The French Revolution which shook the Western World in 1789 had no impact on this country. The industrial revolution which so radically changed Western Europe more than a hundred years ago never crossed the Pyrenees, either. Thus it is not surprising that the Spaniards still remain somewhat backward, conservative individualists, the likes of whom cannot easily be found elsewhere.

Only in recent years have things begun to change—mainly in cities with important industrial populations. And here we see the American influence: Neon signs, air-conditioning in a number of hotels, many more automobiles than in the past, and a marked modernization in industrial plants. Spain is now changing from a purely agricultural economy into an industrial state with all its advantages and evils.

Spain's changes are coming about under unbelievable difficulties. At the end of the civil war the country was broke. The ravages of that bitter struggle were as devastating as those in Europe and Japan in World War II. Spain's gold reserves of close to $1 billion had been plundered by the Russians and by members of the "loyalist" government when they fled the country.

After World War II when the wounds of Europe were being healed by UNRRA, the Marshal plan, etc., Spain was suffering from an unofficial blockade applied by the western nations in the hope of overthrowing dictator Franco.

We have not spent on Spain anywhere near as much as we have on Britain, France, Japan or any other countries in either loans or gifts. The amount lent and given to Spain does not exceed $350 million. Indirectly we have given the country approximately $65 million more. The construction of the 4 air and 2 naval bases has cost the American taxpayers $300 million so far. About 30 percent of this went to Spanish workers and for Spanish raw material going into the building of the great landing strips. There is no doubt that both the Madrid government and the Spanish people appreciate America's timely help.

Our aid to Spain is a two-way street—we help Spain and ourselves as well. The airbases capable of taking the heaviest jet bombers are the most secure we have in Europe and the Mediterranean. There may be a time when Moscow will give an ultimatum to Britain that unless the American air squadrons based in that country are evacuated Britain will be attacked from the air. If at such a time Laborites such as Aneurin Bevan hold the reins of government it is possible that we may be "invited out."

Our bases in Morocco are equally uncertain. For the time being our relations with the new sovereign Moroccan government are cordial. But nobody can be sure what will happen in the event the Russians unleash a war in Europe. The best available intelligence shows that there are numerous Communist agents in the country. Even if they did not succeed in overthrowing the Sultan, they could make our bases ineffective.

No such thing can happen in Spain. No threat whatsoever could induce Franco and his government to yield to Russian blackmail. And the number of secret Communists in this country is so infinitesimal that in the opinion of our security officers here damage to the American bases can be completely discounted. They are as safe, if not more so, than our bases at home. Spain may still be a backward country, as our ideological investigators maintain, but it is at present our most dependable ally in Western Europe.

Possessing only a small industry, Spain is not tempted by the Muscovite carrot of "trade with the Soviets." Its anticommunism is not centered in the government alone. It spread to the people themselves, who remember too well the horrors perpetrated by the Reds in the civil war.

Golden Eggs at $9.58 per Egg Are the Exception Rather Than the Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, as a refreshing—if somewhat unrealistic—change in my recording of egg prices, under unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an item taken from today's Washington Daily News.

The article follows:

EGGS $9.58 EACH

EAST AURORA, N. Y.—It's a pretty valuable chicken that can lay a dozen eggs worth $115.

But Ralph Mosely of East Aurora voiced the top bid for the prize dozen—produced by Nelson Graves, Holland poultryman. That's $9.58 per egg and may set a record for the price of hen fruit.

Our Military Manpower Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks last Monday, I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared on that day in the Washington Daily News by Mr. Jim G. Lucas, famed staff writer for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. The article I inserted at that time was the first in a series of three articles on Military Manpower—Down the Drain, and that article pointed out why the United States is losing many of its best-trained men in the services.

The second and third articles in this outstanding series of three articles by Mr. Lucas appeared in the Washington Daily News of yesterday and today, respectively. The second article refers to the Cordiner plan as a key to the Nation's military survival. The third article points out that the armed services have been watching helplessly while an extremely high percentage of its best men, who have been trained at high cost to the Government, are being lost to private industry due to an unrealistic military pay scale.

In order to provide a complete picture as given in this excellent series of articles by Mr. Lucas, and so as to commend these articles to the attention of all persons interested in national security and Government economy, I am inserting these articles in the RECORD at this point.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Daily News of August 6, 1957]

MILITARY MANPOWER: DOWN THE DRAIN—CORDINER PLAN IS REGARDED KEY TO ARMED SERVICE SURVIVAL

(Second of a series)

(By Jim G. Lucas)

It costs the Air Force $100,000 to train a jet pilot, and 70 percent of them quit after one 3-year hitch.

For each pilot that quits, a second $100,000 has to be spent to train a replacement.

After 3 years, he's gone. And so it goes. On and on.

This illustrates, in financial terms, the problem created by the staggering turnover in military manpower with which the Armed Forces must cope.

PAY PLAN

In an effort to do something about it, the Defense Department early this year drew up a revolutionary pay plan. It suggested paying a man what he is worth; relating his paycheck to what he knows and what he can do.

This was the Cordiner plan, so named for the man who headed an advisory committee's 6-month study. Ralph J. Cordiner is president and chairman of the board of the General Electric Corp.

Turnover inevitably results in vast expense. But that isn't the only—or even the most important—consideration.

The heavy preponderance of relatively greenhands in military service multiplies accidents. These take lives—which cannot be replaced—and destroy expensive equipment—which needs time in the building. It reduces efficiency. It limits the Armed Forces power to retaliate effectively in case of aggression.

Finally, by creating a demand for more and more manpower, it necessitates continuation of a peacetime draft or at least magnifies its size.

The Cordiner Committee found that building a professional corps of skilled servicemen would increase combat efficiency. Or putting it another way, it would permit reduction of at least 350,000 men in the total size of the armed services.

QUESTION

At the outset, the big question the Cordiner Committee had to answer was:

Why do servicemen quit?

To find the answer, it visited bases from Korea to Alaska, Africa to Europe and Asia. On board ships, at remote airfields, and in dozens of Army camps, its members asked what was wrong.

They also asked: "What would induce you to stay?"

They got many answers. Men all over the world told them the most important aspects of any job are a feeling of belonging, a pride in their job and assurance of continuity, individual rights and dignity, good bosses—in other words, firm discipline and fair treatment. They talked about higher living standards, better housing, and the like.

But running through every interview was the insistence that the military pay a man what he is worth, that it base pay on intelligence, energy, and ability.

OUT OF DATE

Our military pay system is tragically out of date. It was copied from the British after the Revolution and has been little changed since. Under it, a man is paid largely for how long he has been in uniform; not for what he can do.

A second lieutenant who stays out of trouble can reasonably expect to wind up a colonel. He needs merely to wait for his number to come up on the promotion lists. If he shows initiative, sticks his neck out and makes controversial decisions, he may also wind up a colonel in the same length of time—provided he doesn't step on somebody's toes and get shunted out of service altogether.

To remedy this, the Cordiner plan would give the services authority to pay persons in the so-called scarce skills—electronics and radar men, communication specialists and aircraft mechanics—more money than truck drivers and cooks of the same rank.

Under this plan, all services would start their enlisted men at the same salary and advance them in grade up to a point where training for more technical jobs begins. This would be corporal in the Army, third class petty officer in the Navy, airman first class in the Air Force, and sergeant in the Marines.

Lower grade enlisted men now drawing higher pay—and some have been in long enough that they're paid more than men who outrank them—would not take a pay cut.

HOW IT WORKS

But pay rises would be weighted in favor of the more skilled and ambitious. A man would be required to make the most of his capabilities. If a truckdriver were found capable of performing a more skilled job, he would have to train for it or run the risk of being discharged when his enlistment was up.

The Cordiner plan would provide substantially higher pay for those in positions of responsibility—in top commissioned and enlisted ranks. In the past, Congress has yielded to political pressure and voted pay boosts principally for privates. Most of these have no intention of staying.

Moreover, it would give an immediate increase to some critically needed persons now

in uniform. Many are ready to quit in disgust.

FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS

Mr. Cordiner admits his plan would cost more money initially—perhaps as much as $500 million a year. That is the emergency feature, the desperate effort to keep men ready to quit. But he insists it will save up to $5 billion a year by 1960 once it gets going.

That initial cost apparently is the stumbling block. Secretary Wilson said he "bought the philosophy" of the Cordiner plan, but could only agree to pay rises totaling slightly more than $100 million. The Budget Bureau objected that a program of such size—at a time it is trying to hold down expenses—would be an inflationary pressure. President Eisenhower, while conceding the need for reform, went along. As a result, little has been done.

But Mr. Cordiner has not been satisfied to let his plan die. Once mentioned as Mr. Wilson's possible successor, he has taken on the role of gadfly, turning down no invitations to speak and be heard. He has appeared on TV. His prestige has given the drive tremendous impetus. Cordiner has referred caustically to those—apparently including Wilson—who would adopt the philosophy but reject the substance of his plan.

As a result, he has become a hero among military people. The Cordiner plan—while scarcely known outside the services—is regarded by most careerists as a key to the Nation's military survival.

[From the Washington Daily News of August 7, 1957]

MILITARY MANPOWER: DOWN THE DRAIN—REALISTIC PAY SCALE WILL KEEP MEN IN UNIFORM, BURGESS SAYS

(Last of a series)

(By Jim G. Lucas)

The Armed Forces are keeping their cooks. But they are losing their electronics technicians.

Carter Burgess, now president of TWA and a former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, recently cited these figures:

Electronics technicians reenlist for second hitch at the rate of only 14 percent, compared with 40 percent for cooks and food handlers. The rate for communications specialists is 20 percent. For security guards—who need little training—the rate is 38 percent.

PAY IS SAME

The reason found by the Cordiner Committee is simply that in these diverse fields the pay is the same.

"This," Mr. Burgess told a meeting of generals and admirals at Quantico just before he left the Pentagon, "leads men to seek out the less arduous and demanding assignments. That is why we are 25 percent short in the top 3 combat grades of the continental Army and 25 percent over in clerks and typists."

The Cordiner plan, in substance, would offer financial rewards for the more difficult and rarer skills. It would provide opportunities for advancement somewhat comparable to those in private life. Its backers believe it would reduce the rate of turnover, and increase the quality of defense. And, in the long run, that it would cost less than defense flow does now because it would reduce the cost of constantly training new men.

The Defense Department spends 45 percent of its annual budget—more than $17 billion this year—on people. And that doesn't include housing.

No corporation spends anywhere near that. Yet it is not enough to keep badly needed, skilled men in uniform. Only 23 percent of those now in service will sign up for a second hitch, and these will be largely in what the military calls soft skills.

THE ANSWER

The answer, obviously, is not more dollars, but a better distribution of those now being spent. And that, in a nutshell, is what the Cordiner Committee proposes.

Since 1955, the Pentagon and Congress have done a lot in what is known as the career incentive field. President Eisenhower effectively described the problem in a special message to Congress in January of that year.

"To sustain our active forces at required levels of strength and efficiency," he said, "it is necessary to increase the present rate of voluntary enlistments * * * and to induce volunteers, both officers and enlisted men, to continue in the services on a career basis.

"These objectives require compensation which is more in line with that paid by private industry. They also require the strengthening of the traditional service benefits in recognition of the unusual difficulties facing the serviceman and his family."

MANY STEPS

Since 1955, a number of steps have been taken, all to the good.

The first was the reenlistment bonus act of 1935, heavily weighted to increase the reenlistment of first-termers. It gave 1 month's pay for each year of reenlistment. It also created increased incentives for second and subsequent reenlistments.

Other measures include survivors' benefits, dependent medical case, regular officer augmentation, doctors' career incentives, and ROTC-military academy longevity credits.

These have helped. The overall reenlistment rate is slightly higher today than in 1955. Yet, obviously, they are not enough.

"The fact is," Mr. Burgess says, "that lesser skilled individuals are reenlisting at a far greater rate than are those who require lengthy and expensive training. This is the real crux of the problem."

ANNUAL DRAIN

There has been an annual drain on the military of a million men since the end of the Korean war, according to Mr. Burgess. These losses, he says, "make it necessary for us to rebuild one-third of our forces each year, and even then we fall far short of the proper mix of skills and abilities.

"This strikes me as an upside down military structure. Forty-five percent of our men have less than 2 years' service, and almost two-thirds have less than 4 years'. Only one-tenth have served 10 years of more."

Without a realistic pay scale, the services have watched helplessly while industry syphons off the cream of the crop—often after it has spent millions training these men.

The Army's Effort To Recruit Brains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to present herewith an editorial which appeared in the Shreveport Times, on Thursday, August 1, 1957. The Army is of vital importance to all of us and this editorial gives much food for thought on the problems of Army personnel and the welfare of our country.

The editorial is as follows:

THE ARMY'S EFFORT TO RECRUIT BRAINS

The Army is on sound ground in asking Congress for legislation which would authorize the President to defer from the draft young men with low intelligence ratings. The purpose of such deferment would be to guarantee that the Army—and other branches of the Armed Forces—would get men in the draft who are of higher intelligence than the average now inducted.

The reason the Army wants men of higher intelligence is that men of low intelligence simply cannot operate the modern weapons which fill the military arsenal. There was a time when a man who could march 30 miles in a day carrying a heavy pack, plus a rifle and a bayonet was looked upon as just about the ideal soldier. The weakness of his mind meant nothing if there was sufficient strength in his back.

Those days have gone—they went long ago, in fact. Today's weapons are highly complex. Instead of pulling a trigger on a fieldpiece, the soldier today may have to do quite a bit of figuring in mathematics to aim the weapon and make it effective. That applies to infantry forces—in other branches of the Army or other armed services, the complexity may be much greater. The Army bluntly puts it this way:

"Experience has shown that an appreciable number of personnel who meet current minimum statutory mental standards do not possess sufficient aptitude to assimilate training in even the most basic military skills."

Putting it a little more bluntly, this means that there are too many young men being drafted into the service who are too dumb to be of any value—not through any action of their own but simply because they were not born with enough brains.

It costs the Armed Forces—actually the taxpayers—several billion dollars a year to train young men to be soldiers. This cost is increased by the number of duds in each complement of youth brought into service—the number who, it is found, cannot be trained to be good soldiers because they are not mentally capable. Higher intelligence ratings in the Armed Forces not only will increase the fighting efficiency of those forces, but will in the end save money for the taxpayers.

There is one obvious objection to the Army's proposal, and that is that it would force men with brains to carry the military load while men with not so much brains would get out of military service. That might be necessary from the standpoint of efficiency but it is not very equitable and it could be very dangerous.

It would mean that, in war, an enemy would—in successful combat—be wiping out the brains as well as the brawn of the Nation.

That could be carried to a point where the United States could win a war and still lose from the standpoint that it would not have enough of its brainy youth left to carry on the progress of civilization and its own welfare.

The answer, if there is one, probably would lie in not exempting persons of low intelligence from all types of military service but of putting them only into service they were capable of performing. None of the military services ever really have been willing to do this. For example, men who can play professional baseball or football for a living are exempted from military service because of some physical injury to the knee or back or arm. They would be entirely capable of filling desk jobs and almost any kind of work behind the lines even if not able to go into combat. Assigning them to such tasks would be a long step toward a more equitable draft system and toward greater efficiency in the armed services.

One of the troubles with all of the Armed Forces today is that they yell constantly for

men of special intelligence and then assign these men to duty that any person not too close to the dumbbell classification could fill.

But one thing is certain: The Army and the other armed forces do need men these days of intelligence that was not necessary back in the days when a strong back offset a weak mind. As a step in that direction, the Army's proposal for deferment of the low intelligence draftees has some very good points.

AEC Bill Favors Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, certain of my colleagues on the joint committee who do not agree with the minority views contained in House Report 978 relating to the authorization bill for the AEC have taken the floor in both Houses of the Congress to express their views on this bill.

I would like to cover just one highly objectionable feature of this bill.

I refer to the statement in the minority report, H. R. 8996 is heavily slanted in favor of public power and Federal ownership of atomic facilities, and against private industry and private ownership. Other Members of the committee deny this statement. Without acrimony or bitterness, and with only the best of feeling toward my colleagues on the joint committee who do not agree with my views, I would like to attempt to state for the RECORD the evidences of favoritism for public power in the bill, as I see them.

I take this position, and make this statement with some regret because I do not wish to engage in a heated discussion with some of my good friends and colleagues on the Joint Committee. However, when a bill is slanted in favor of public power, in my opinion, and especially in this new and terribly important field of atomic energy, I feel it my duty to state my views, for the record and to voice a word of alarm to those who rely upon us for guidance.

In my opinion, H. R. 8996 is heavily slanted in favor of public power and Federal Government ownership, and against private industry and private development and ownership in the following ways:

1. IT FAVORS FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION OF ATOMIC POWER FACILITIES

Section 101 of the bill authorizes $58 million for construction of reactor facilities not requested by the Commission. One of these is only $3 million for a design study, but if it should be followed up by construction of the reactor next year, the cost for that project alone would ultimately run well over $100 million. The majority report indicates that it favors for this particular project a dual-purpose reactor which would generate substantial quantities of power, as well as plutonium, from a federally owned reactor.

2. BREAKDOWN OF FUNDS AUTHORIZED

Section 111 authorizes the sum of $129,915,000 for use in the AEC power demonstration reactor program. If we break down this figure, we find that $98,415,000 is allocated to reactors to be owned by the Federal Government for the benefit of public power distributing agencies, and only $31,500,000 is designed for assistance to power reactors which will be largely constructed by private industry and privately owned. This is a ratio of more than 3 to 1 in dollars in favor of the public-power groups. Now, when we consider that there are only about one-fifth as many conventional kilowatts generated by public-power groups in the country as by private-power groups, we see that this is a 15 to 1 favoritism for public power.

3. "SAVING" THE PUBLIC POWER GROUPS

Section 111 (a) (1) of H. R. 8996 provides for direct contracting between the Federal Government and the reactor manufacturer, and would remove all risks for the public power groups, large and small, which have submitted proposals. This "saving" provision would include the large scale reactor plant to be constructed in Nebraska by the Federal Government for the benefit of the Consumers Public Power District of Nebraska, which I might point out is a utility company much larger and with more financial resources than many small privately owned utilities.

It has been repeatedly said that the public power reactors are the program of the Commission, and that the majority report is only attempting to strengthen this program. In my opinion, this is not correct. Section 111 (a) (1) was not proposed by the Atomic Energy Commission. In fact, the Commission is strongly opposed to this section.

The Commission has not yet accepted any of these proposals for reactors construction made by the public power groups. They have submitted five proposals, but as time has passed, it has become increasingly clear that they have little or nothing to offer for the development of atomic power.

At page 16 of the majority report itself, the majority observed that the cooperative and publicly owned agencies did not demonstrate to the committee any particular competence or experience in the design, construction, or management of research and development projects, including atomic reactors.

In my opinion, unless the public-power groups indicate a willingness to provide more capital, assume more risk, and not ask for special favors, some or all of them should and would be dropped from the program. They should be treated on the same basis as the private-power projects.

Therefore, in my opinion, it is not correct to state that this is the Commission's program, because there is no assurance that some or all of these public-power reactors would ever have been able to reach fruition under the Commission program.

Therefore, I do not believe that we should save these groups. They should be left to continue their negotiations with the Commission, without directions or dictates from the Congress to save them. If they cannot make satisfactory proposals, similar to the proposals of private groups, they should be dropped.

4. ATTEMPTED CUTBACKS OF FUNDS FOR THE ONLY PRIVATE PROPOSAL

Only one proposal made by a privately owned and financed group was submitted by AEC for authorization in this bill. This was the proposal by the Power Reactor Development Co., requesting work in AEC laboratories, to be valued at $4,206,000. All of the information would be public knowledge.

All of the information would be useful in helping to prove or disprove the safety of the design of this particular reactor. Nevertheless, the committee voted to cut the funds authorized for this project from $4,206,000 to $1,500,000, and the committee report—which does not properly state the committee intent—even implies that this amount should be cut to zero.

Since this was the only private proposal submitted to the committee, requesting a modest assistance, to be matched by over $50 million in private money, it is obvious, in my opinion, that there was discrimination against private industry.

Objections have been raised as to the safety of the PRDC reactor, but this is the subject of a current administrative hearing, and the Congress should not abrogate the contract until the allegations are proven. Moreover, most of these funds will be used to explore questions of safety and, therefore, it appears to me ridiculous to deny funds because of supposed objections on safety grounds.

5. RESTRICTIONS UPON THIRD ROUND

Subsection 111 (a) (3) would place restrictions upon the third round of the AEC power demonstration reactor program. This round is intended to encourage ownership of reactors by private industry, on the approach that the Government will contribute only a limited amount, to be matched by a majority of the funds coming from private industry. This round encourages private ownership of reactors in new reactor concepts.

Restrictions on this round would have the effect of discouraging private industry and private ownership. The follow-up next year would be to call for more Government construction and more Government ownership.

6. SECTION 111 (B)

Section 111 (b) provides that before the Commission enters into contracts providing assistance for construction of reactors, it must submit the basis of the contract to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for review.

Although I did not originally object to proposed section 111 (b), I am now concerned because of some of these other provisions which I have discussed, and which were added to the bill after the language of section 111 (b) was originally discussed. If there exists a bias in the Joint Committee in favor of public power and against private ownership as indicated by the other provisions in this bill which I have discussed, I now fear

that section 111 (b) could have the unfortunate effect of discouraging private industry to submit proposals in the future.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, this bill, H. R. 8996, offers a dangerous precedent if it should emerge from the Congress in its present form.

The atomic power industry is just beginning, and by the act of 1954, Congress attempted to encourage private ownership and private participation.

I fear that a pattern is now beginning to take shape where this great new source of power will be devoted to public rather than private ownership.

Now that our last great sites for hydro power are becoming exhausted, public power advocates are turning to atomic power.

Just as the arguments of navigation and reclamation were applied to encourage Federal ownership of important hydro facilities, it now appears that the argument of research and development is being applied as a cover to encourage Federal ownership of atomic facilities. I believe that research and development should be limited to research and development, and not to construction of power reactors.

In the case of the five proposed public power reactors, there is a category of research and development, and there is a category of construction of reactors both calling for funds. In the case of privately owned reactors, there is only a category of research and development assistance, and I believe that this is the proper use of Government funds.

If Government funds are limited to strictly research and development, the taxpayer will receive more reactors, and more atomic power for his dollar, because private funds will be used in the program.

If all ownership continues to be Federal, and if private ownership is discouraged by the Congress, the great potentiality of the atomic energy power program will wither on the vine.

In order to be strong both at home and abroad, we must have a strong private industry participating energetically in the atomic power program.

I hope that my good friends and colleagues on the Joint Committee as well as elsewhere in the Congress will take a good look at the provisions which I have discussed today. I believe that a good look clearly shows that the bill is slanted in favor of public power and Federal ownership and against private ownership and industrial participation.

I hope that these features can be corrected when H. R. 8996 is scheduled to come before the House for consideration tomorrow.

Reemployment Rights of Reservists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill, H. R. 8522, is to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952 and the Universal Military Training and Services Act. The bill will also put National Guardsmen on the same basis as other members of the Reserve components insofar as reemployment is concerned, after participating in Reserve training.

The law now provides that persons performing training duty, such as 2-week encampments and weekly drills, have 30 days to apply for reemployment in their jobs, and it is believed that this period is unreasonably long in relation to the amount of time away from the job. The bill would remedy this situation by requiring that application for reemployment be made at the beginning of the next regular scheduled work period after expiration of the necessary travel time, or within a reasonable time thereafter.

With respect to the period in which an application for reemployment must be filed by any member of a Reserve component, the bill will permit the application to be filed after a 1-year period of hospitalization incident to training. This would eliminate the present inconsistent treatment which grants those on active duty in the Armed Forces a 1-year period of grace for hospitalization, some reservists a 6-month period, and other reservists none at all.

One of the main reasons, however, for this legislation is to cover National Guard men who take the 6-month training course. Because of a quirk in the law a member of the Army Reserve who enters the 6-month training program has his reemployment rights insured, but a National Guard man does not. This bill will place all on the same basis.

The Department of Labor recommended this legislation and the Bureau of the Budget interposes no objection. There will be no cost to the Government because of this bill's enactment.

Exempt Certain Wheat Producers From Liability

SPEECH
OF
HON. A. D. BAUMHART, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. BAUMHART. Mr. Chairman, we have taken a short but at least progressive step in approving H. R. 8456—S. 959—which will exempt certain wheat producers from liability under the Agricultural Adjustment Act where all their wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm.

This bill has special significance for many farmers within my own district. Like so many others, they have been severely hampered over the years by their inability to grow in excess of 15 acres of wheat without penalty, even though every bushel of wheat produced has been consumed on the premises and has never been diverted to the open market.

If nothing else, our remedial bill is likely, in the words of Secretary Benson, to "remove the dissatisfaction of many small wheat producers with the program as it must be operated under present legislation."

However, the bill we have just passed is far from ideal. It gives the farmer only a fraction more of the operating freedom he should have. Regrettably, he has been given an exemption only up to 30 acres of wheat production and even so he must apply to his county ASC committee for the exemption or become subject to penalty.

Further, he cannot turn any portion of his grain over to a miller in exchange for milling services. Every grain of wheat sent off the farm for milling or other processing must be returned for consumption on the farm.

On top of this, no surplus wheat may be stored on the farm at the end of the crop year; every bit of it must be consumed on the farm if a penalty is to be avoided.

I feel, too, that there has been a grievous omission in our failure to adopt a retroactive forgiveness clause already approved by the Senate. In the words of Senate Report 458 on S. 959:

> If exemptions were obtained on the 1954, 1955, or 1956 crops, penalties paid on such crops would be refunded; wheat stored to avoid such penalties would be released from storage; and the Secretary would pay producers the value of any wheat delivered to him to avoid such penalties.

The Department of Agriculture has been subjected to much criticism for the way it has handled wheat penalty cases, but in fairness to that agency we should not lose sight of the fact that it endorsed the principle of retroactive forgiveness at least as early as January 1956 and did so again in January of this year.

It is my personal hope—and I am sure it is shared by many of my colleagues—that retroactive wiping out of penalties will prevail in the final version of S. 959 which is to become public law.

Recognition and correction of the patent injustice which has been forced upon small wheat producers through the exactment of penalties, will go a long way toward making S. 959 a vastly more constructive piece of farm legislation.

A Ray of Hope for the Family Farmer

SPEECH
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it is heartening to be given the opportunity to vote on a measure intended to give the family farmer a little relief from the stifling regulation and regimentation which presses in on him. Over a period of years, I have contended that it is unjust, unreasonable, and arrogant for a government to tell a man how much grain he may produce on his own soil, in cooperation with nature, for consumption by his family, his livestock and

his poultry on the farm, or for use as seed. Probably nothing in the rickety structure of agricultural controls has produced so much resentment among the operators of small farms as the limitation on production for use on one's own place.

This is justified resentment. The family farmer has been forced to take up the study of accountancy and law in the struggle to avoid heavy fines and the threat of jail for violations, often inadvertent, of regulations which he finds not only complex but ridiculous. The hard-working farmer who has retained his spirit of independence in continuing adversity has found that he may not even tell his Government he does not want any "help" in running his farm. His Government will help him with allotments, quotas, and restrictions anyway.

The present bill is hardly an excuse for dancing in the barnyard. It does not knock the shackles from the farmer. It merely loosens one slightly. At present, a farmer may grow up to 15 acres of wheat for home consumption without penalty. The bill will permit him to grow 30 acres of wheat for family use. Even so, some redtape remains, as the farmer will have to apply for an exemption certificate from his county ASC committee if he wants to take advantage of the change. He will have to use the wheat on his place during the crop year in which it is grown—he may not carry over any. He will not be able to trade any of this wheat for milling or other processing services.

We should pass this bill, Mr. Speaker, though it be but a tiny step in the right direction, as an expression of the determination of this House to reverse the trend of agricultural regimentation.

A Charter for World War I Vets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an interesting editorial that appeared in the National Tribune-The Stars and Stripes, in the issue of Thursday, August 8, 1957:

A CHARTER FOR WORLD WAR I VETS

On July 24 the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. appeared before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee to present arguments to show why this new organization should be granted a congressional charter giving them equal privileges with other recognized veteran organizations.

The organization was well represented by the present national commander, Harlan W. Barnes, of Oregon; Past National Commander Emanuel Levy, and by Merle E. Hopper, chairman of the legislative committee of the Veterans of World War I.

Hopper made the presentation and set forth in completeness the reasons why the organization should be granted a congressional charter. (The full text of his presentation appears in this issue of the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes.)

We are happy to report that a favorable decision on the granting of the charter was forwarded to the full House Judiciary Committee and in the light of this action we are inclined to believe that the charter will be granted.

There is no reason why a congressional charter should not be given to the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. We have referred to them as a new organization but as a matter of fact they have been in existence 8 years. Their beginnings were slow as is always the case with any new group trying to identify itself as something different.

Their struggles were many but, eventually, they found themselves on a solid footing and from then on the organization grew by leaps and bounds.

With little or no backing in the beginning their ranks have grown until they can now count their members in the tens of thousands, with splendid reports of new barracks forming throughout the country.

As we have pointed out previously, there is no reason why the charter should not be granted. As far as the cost to the Government is concerned, that can be discounted. It requires only a little paper work by both Houses of Congress and the signature of the President of the United States. Any cost will have to be borne by the veterans themselves in the way of setting up necessary offices to aid their comrades and their dependents in claims before the Veterans' Administration. This may sound repetitious but nevertheless it is true.

Here is a group of veterans representing a distinct class—a group of veterans which has proven that despite vicissitudes it has become a growing power, with the possibility of ever-greater development as the years pass.

Its recognition by the Congress of the United States seems inevitable. An old and striking advertisement carried the slogan "Eventually, why not now?"

There is no reason why Congress should wait longer to grant the request of the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. for a charter. The proof of their stability is before the Congress and their recognition, alongside of other veteran organizations, is just. They plead a cause which we of the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes consider worthy. Congress itself in studying their request for recognition must realize this and in all good conscience grant it.

The Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. are soon to meet at their national encampment. What a splendid tribute to the men who have battled for this recognition that they might be able to report to their national convention that the Congress of the United States has recognized their claim and has granted their simple request.

We realize that the veterans of the First World War have fallen into a class of forgotten men. It is only human nature to forget the past in considering the problems of the present.

That is understandable, but the people of our country should never forget the sacrifices these men of 1917–18 have made; and the men and women who make up the Congress of the United States are human and with a little thought will realize that granting a charter to this representative group of war veterans is but a mild token of appreciation toward them and one well worthy of the men who seek it and the Congress which has it in its power to grant it.

We realize the difficulties that lie ahead of Congress in the next few weeks in connection with important legislation, particularly before the Senate, but we do think it would be a nice gesture on the part of both Houses of Congress if they could find time to pass this piece of legislation which cannot harm the country but which can do much for the future growth of a worthy veteran organization.

A Democratic Exchange of Views About Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the exchange of views over taxes, which appeared in the Argyle Messenger of August 1. It seems to me that Mr. Bouvette's analysis of the need for taxes at the present rate and under the present world conditions, is clear, succinct, and logical. I also was very much interested in his comments about those who are the greatest complainers about high taxes, "who have never had it so good":

TAX VIEWPOINTS AIRED

Editor Cliff Bouvette, of the Kittson County Enterprise, this week, furnishes the majority of the editorial comment contained in the following paragraphs.

Mr. Bouvette directed his comments to us because of an editorial we ran last week, wherein we presented favorable comment in connection with a tax reform bill introduced in the House by Representative A. N. SADLAK (Republican, of Connecticut). The bill introduced by Representative SADLAK would provide for uniform annual reductions for each bracket of income tax, over a 5-year period and would reduce both individual and corporate income taxes to a top rate of 42 percent.

Now we don't pretend to be any fiscal expert, either taxwise or otherwise, but we do believe, that any time there is presented any measure or opportunity for an orderly and/or sensible reduction of taxes, on the Federal, State, or local level, we're going to be all for it. Economy in government has got to be started someplace and what better place could it start than with a reduction of the taxes that is providing the ever higher rate of spending in every governmental unit from the local on up to the Federal level. Without so much tax moneys to spend, governing costs would have to come down. That's why when that good Democrat, HARRY F BYRD, of Virginia, preaches economy in government we listen to him with respect and would like also to see many of his proposals enacted. The same goes for Representative SADLAK's tax proposal.

We will agree with Editor Bouvette that we do not favor tax economy to the extent that it will endanger our national security program or our foreign aid commitments with our NATO or other allies. But there is much Federal spending nowadays that does not come under that heading and that could be somewhat curtailed to the benefit of John Q. Public.

Now, we invite you to read Editor Bouvette's comments in his recent letter to us:

HALLOCK, MINN., *July 25, 1957.*

ERNIE HOLMLUND,
Editor, Argyle Banner,
Argyle, Minn.

DEAR ERNIE: Enclosed is clipping taken from your last issue. It is hard for me to understand why a good Republican newspaper sees fit to find fault with the Eisenhower tax proposals.

Inasmuch as I do not like Ike's policies, I will agree with him completely that taxes are one thing no American should kick about in these days. Under the Democrats we had high income taxes, just as we have under the GOP but the facts and circumstances sur-

rounding these taxes make them mandatory and the worst part of it is, that as time goes on and science finds new ways of making more destructive missiles, our taxes are going to mount and they should.

There is no nation on earth today that gives its subjects more freedom than we know here. We have more of the world's luxuries by far than has any other country. We have more telephones, more bathrooms, more cars, more radios and televisions, we have more social security, we have more of everything under the sun. I know in my case when income tax rolls around it hurts like everything to pay the taxes I have to pay. I no longer have dependents except my wife, so my taxes are higher and I don't like paying them.

Today we spend millions to get one type of plane or a new missile off the drafting board, perhaps make the first one, when along comes Russia with something superior to the one we made, so we have to junk the works and start all over again. If we would remain in the forefront of scientific manufacture in order to swing a club big enough to command Russian respect, how are we going to cut our taxes?

The Sadlak bill to which you refer is nothing but another piece of legislation designed to get votes. It certainly is not prompted by a real, sincere and honest desire to protect our country. The President wanted far more money for his budget than Congress gave him. In spite of the fact that Congress denied Eisenhower the money he asked for, leading and dependable economists of all political ranks agreed that in spite of anything Congress may do, the money they did appropriate would not be enough and that more would have to be spent.

Another thing, our Communist adversaries are controlled by ruthless people who think nothing of murdering Hungarians and who also compel the forces of labor within their own countries to work for whatever figure is necessary to defeat the United States of America in the world's markets of trade and in the manufacture of various engines of war. We in our land must pay labor a profitable wage, while at the same time pay the captains of industry who own the big works that make these things for us, a fee in keeping with the payment of reasonable dividends. With a situation like that confronting us, we are up against hard going and it takes taxes to keep it up. If we were not capable of producing a war machine better than the Russians can produce, then I would say within a span of 5 to 10 years, we could all bank on the contention of being ruled over by Moscow. The only reason under the sun Russia has not tackled us is because they are afraid of the United States might. Any time you find a country doing what Russia did to Hungary, one of their own satellites, then what pity, what consideration can we expect from them?

This year the United States Steel Corp. declared its highest dividends in history. General Motors reports the same way and yet we are paying labor the highest pay scales they have ever known and on top of this, we are paying income taxes far beyond those of any other years in our history. Yet, with all this, we still are the richest, most progressive people on earth and the proof of it lies in the fact that we enjoy more of the world's luxury living than any other people. We can pay taxes, we should pay them and we should be glad to do so, realizing that our money goes to safeguard our lives and those of our children and from atomic destruction. A devastating war may come regardless, but, if it does, we will know that we have at least tried to live side by side with our neighbors in peace. If we can get along with England, France, Germany, Japan, and the rest of the allied world, then why is it that we cannot get along with the people of Communist countries? Russia, to my knowledge has made many commitments, some of which looked encouraging but you name me a single instance in which the Russians have every carried out one commitment they have made. They are a deceitful people, a nation no one can trust and our only protection is to have an Army, Navy, and Air Force second to none anywhere on earth. To do that costs money and constitutes our main bill of expense, income-tax wise.

I know there are many who advocate small reductions in income-tax payments, but bunch the many of these together and chances are good you and I would enjoy the privilege of probably buying an extra carton of cigarettes with the saving. It is the enormous cost of making bombs, missiles, aircraft of all kinds, training Army and Air Force as well as naval forces to handle electronic devices used in warfare today, that is costing so much. Sometimes I wonder where it will all wind up, but regardless. right now, we have to pay the fiddler to keep Russia in line—don't you think so?

Fraternally yours,

CLIFF BOUVETTE.

Let these corporations to which the enclosed clippings refer take their industries to some other land and work there. Where would they go? Where on earth could they reap the (restricted?) profits they speak of, due to income taxes? Where could they pay those who toil for a living so much—where could they enjoy the luxury living they have here. Some of these big outfits have a quality of patriotism that certainly is lacking. We are living in an age wherein we sit squarely upon a hydrogen bomb that threatens to annihilate all living things. If we can weather this era a few more years, perhaps we will emerge into an era of peace and security. Right now we need to be prepared. Our country is the leader in the world, the lone, single light shining in a world damn near dark with despair.

C. W. B.

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Honored by United States Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with real pleasure that I call to the attention of Congress the fine patriotic service rendered to our Government and the American people by Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno. It is a double pleasure to honor Justice Musmanno as he is a patriotic citizen of our local community and a good personal friend, whose untiring service in many fields has won him the respect, loyalty, and affection which he certainly deserves.

Justice Musmanno comes from a family of patriots which has made the supreme sacrifice to our good country of one of its four sons, Neal Musmanno, brother of the justice, who lost his life on the battlefields of France in World War I.

Judge William F. Cercone, of Stowe Township, one of our distinguished and successful judges of common pleas court of Allegheny County, is one of the 11 nephews of Justice Musmanno who served on active duty in World War II.

It has been a pleasure to be a personal friend of Justice Musmanno, Judge William F. Cercone, and the entire family.

[From the Pittsburgh Legal Journal of August 5, 1957]

JUSTICE MUSMANNO IS NOW A REAR ADMIRAL

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, who has been laden with honors in his active and history-making life, has now achieved one of the most renowned in the official life of America. Last week the Navy Department notified him that "having been specially commended by the Head of the Executive Department for your performance of duty in actual combat you have been transferred to the Naval Reserve retired list with the rank of rear admiral. Your records indicate that you served a total of 6 years, 3 months and 9 days of active duty, not including active duty for training."

Vice Adm. J. L. Holloway, Jr., Chief of Naval Personnel in Washington, D. C., in congratulating Admiral Musmanno on his promotion said: "Our country owes a debt of gratitude to you and to other officers of your calibre who, during your most productive years, sacrificed so much by making your services available to your country. Your devotion to duty has contributed in a large measure to the security of this Nation. I know that the Navy can depend upon your support during the years to come." Admiral Musmanno, although now on the retired list, is subject to recall for active duty at any time.

Admiral Musmanno first enlisted in the Naval Militia when he was only 17 years of age. He participated in both World Wars, although in neither war was he subject to conscription. He was too young to be drafted in World War I, and he was above the draft age in World War II.

Musmanno comes from a family of patriots. There were four sons in the family: Pasquale, Neal, Samuel, and Michael. Neal made the supreme sacrifice as a soldier on the battlefields of France in World War I; Samuel won a lieutenant's commission in battle in the same war; Pasquale, now a retired lieutenant colonel, served in Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's famed Rough Riders in Cuba and the Philippines. Admiral Musmanno has 11 nephews. In World War II, all of them were in active military service.

In World War II, Admiral Musmanno, then lieutenant commander, was twice wounded in action. In addition to the Purple Heart Medal, twice conferred, he was decorated with the Bronze Star for Valor, Legion of Merit, Navy Expert Pistol Shot Medal, and Army Commendation Ribbon. In addition, he received citations from the Sultan of Morocco, the King of Italy, and the Republic of Italy. In his Supreme Court chambers one can see a case luminous with 19 medals.

In December 1943, Musmanno commanded a ship which was sunk by enemy gunfire in the Adriatic. After clinging to a plank in the water for several hours he was rescued by Italian fishermen. In February 1944, he was wounded at the Battle of Minturno, and later that year, at Mt. Formichi, he was hit in the knee by an aerial bomb fragment. From the Italian Air Corps he received the Gold Flying Badge, the citation for which reads: "This decoration is in recognition of your devotion to duty demonstrated in the flights accomplished during the battles which achieved the liberation, by the valorous troops of the Fifth Army, of Cassino and Bologna."

Musmanno served, during the last months of the war, as naval aide to Gen. Mark W. Clark, who commanded the American Fifth Army and then the 15th Army Group. Musmanno was at Clark's side when the great

general made the historic crossing of the Po River. He was also with General Clark when the German forces in Italy surrendered.

While Musmanno was on duty in Italy he was visited by Adlai Stevenson, at that time Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who said to him: "I have heard some very fine reports about your work and I congratulate you." Stevenson, who was making an investigation for a report to President Roosevelt on conditions in Italy, was accompanied by Musmanno through the war zone.

While still in Navy uniform, President Truman appointed Musmanno president of International Military Tribunal II in Nuremberg, where he presided over the biggest murder trial in history. Twenty-four defendants were charged with 1 million murders. In handing down the judgment in that case, which resulted in the death sentence for 14, Musmanno laid down the now-accepted doctrine in international law that anyone found guilty of mass murder may not escape punishment on the plea that he was obeying superior orders if in fact it is established he helped to formulate such orders.

Reunification of Germany Necessary if Peace Is To Prevail in Europe

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am inserting what is called a general plan for the reunification of Germany in peace and freedom. This material has been prepared by the American Council for the Reunification of Germany with headquarters in the city of Chicago. It is a significant contribution to discussions now in progress relating to the necessity for reunification. Germany is the key to the problem that now exists and in the plan submitted an analysis is made and suggestions are contained in the plan as to how reunification can best be accomplished.

Mr. Speaker, more than 12 years have elapsed since the war in Europe ended. At that time the Russians had moved into eastern Germany and the nation was left divided. It is still divided. Every effort must be made to solve this critical situation and when it is an accomplished fact Europe and the world will be a step closer to peace. The plan follows:

GENERAL PLAN FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY IN PEACE AND FREEDOM

(A) PREAMBLE

Reminiscent of the historical significance of national unity as the basis for the unparalleled development of the United States, and the sacrifices for its restoration,

Conscious of America's international responsibility as the leading power of the free world, and its legal and moral obligation to work for the reunification of Germany in freedom,

Aware of the supreme importance of Germany's reunification for peace and prosperity in Europe as well as for the security of the United States,

The American Council for the Reunification of Germany, a private and independent organization of citizens of German descent, resolves to offer constructive proposals to the United States Government and the American public and to this end submits the following general plan for the reunification of Germany:

(B) ANALYSIS OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM

"The strategic location of Germany, its large and skilled population, and its economic potential make Germany a key factor in the future of European security. Divided as it is now it looms like an unhealed sore in the heart of the Continent. Its continued partition between the Communist and free world would be a festering menace to international peace, and any attempt to establish a lasting European system of security without ending that partition would be an illusion."

With this concluding comment on the focal position of Germany as the key to disarmament and peace in Europe, the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate summed up its staff study No. 5, published on December 11, 1956.

I—Great power responsibility

On June 5, 1945, the four allied occupation powers, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, and the U. S. S. R., through the Allied Control Council, assumed supreme authority and thereby full responsibility in Germany. From this responsibility the four great powers have never been released.

The United States, as well as England, as signatories of the Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1946, are under a legal obligation to treat Germany as a national entity. As is well known and proven by the development since 1945, the United States Government has continuously worked for German reunification, when the German central administration, as visualized in the Potsdam Declaration, could not be put into practice due to Soviet obstructionism in the Allied Control Council.

It is also known and universally recognized that the Soviet Union, represented by Prime Minister Nickolai Bulganin, at the Geneva Summit Conference on July 23, 1955, agreed to the reunification of Germany through free elections. It was the Soviet Union, at the subsequent Foreign Ministers meeting of the four powers at Geneva in November 1955, who made the realization of the four-power directives by the heads of givernment impossible through the introduction of new elements in the discussion, such as the perpetuation of political and economic conditions now existing in the so-called German Democratic Republic (the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany.)

II—No two German states

Since October 22, 1956, the Soviet Union in its notes to the Western Powers—Britain, France, and the United States—has consistently held the view that there are two German states in existence on the territory of the former German Reich and that German reunification can only be brought about through direct negotiations between the governments of these two German states.

This point of view has repeatedly been rejected by the Western Powers as well as the Federal Government of Germany. Indeed the Soviet theory of two sovereign German states is in flagrant conflict with international law, which rules that governments may change, but the state remains. The German Reich however, has never legally been dissolved. Moreover, the Government of the so-called German Democratic Republic has been imposed, through the force of arms by the Soviet Union upon the population of the Russian occupation zone against their will.

Being the executive branch of a foreign power, it therefore can never claim to be the legitimate government of the GDR, let alone of Germany at large.

On the other hand, the Federal Government in Bonn has diplomatically been recognized by a majority of sovereign nations throughout the world, even including the Soviet Union itself. By most of the free nations, the Bonn government is considered as the only authority entitled to speak for the German people as a whole.

Under these circumstances, the Russian theory of two German states can never hope to be accepted by the American nor by the German people.

C. PROPOSALS

The practical proposals subsequently submitted are partly based on the Eden plan for German reunification, modified and supplemented by suggestions emanating from the discussions at the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference and the development thereafter, in order to make the plan more acceptable to the Soviet Union, upon whose agreement the success of Germany's reunification will depend.

1. All-German council

Before free all-German elections can be held, a representative body has to make the necessary preparations. It must be vested with authority to inspect and supervise the elections in both parts of Germany and to give the necessary instructions to the administrations in both parts of the country, to insure that the elections are free and orderly conducted.

For this purpose an all-German council should be established, organized on the same principle as the United States Senate, with two members from each German state, be it large or small. The 20 representatives from the 10 German states making up the Federal Republic of Western Germany shall be elected by their state legislatures. Two members from each of the five old German provinces now located in the GDR: Saxony, Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg—in the absence of congruent administrative or legislative units—shall be elected to the Laenderkammer (States Assembly). The city of Berlin should also elect 2 delegates to the all-German council, 1 from east and 1 from west Berlin. This would bring the total of the all-German council to 32 members, 21 from the west, and 11 from the east. While rejecting the Soviet zonal demand for representation on par with the Federal Republic, this numerical relation still provides for a proportional preponderance in favor of the GDR in regard to the relation of population (50 : 20—west : east).

The all-German council should render its decisions by a simple majority, as is the case in all democratically operating parliaments.

Its primary task would be the preparation of free elections in all Germany within a reasonable stretch of time (perhaps 3 months) after its constituting session. The council should elect its president and other officers among its midst. One of the most important tasks for the council would be to determine, according to which election law free all-German elections should be held. The council should, therefore, consider and decide, whether the draft laws of the German Bundestag or the Volkskammer (Peoples Chamber) should be applied. If there is no agreement on this question, an integrated version should be worked out. If this proves impossible, too, the election law of the Weimar Republic should be used.

Through the formation of an all-German council no de facto recognition of the GDR would be effected. No direct contract between the Bonn and the Eastern Berlin Government would be necessary either.

2. Free elections

Free elections in both parts of Germany should be held under the authority and supervision of the all-German Council, combined with international observation.

Guaranties should be sought that these elections are truly free, secret, equitable, and direct. The council should see to it that free exchange between both parts of Germany of newspapers, magazines, books, films, pictures and all other mediums of information are guaranteed. To this end it may seek contact with the administrations at Bonn and East Berlin to enlist their cooperation.

The Communist Party in Western Germany and all democratic parties in the Soviet zone (which are presently outlawed) should be readmitted for the specific purpose of free elections to the German National Assembly. Candidates of all parties and from all parts of Germany should be admitted without waiting periods, regardless of their present domicile.

International observation of the elections should be effected by establishing a commission of representatives from the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France, as well as from one neutral European power (Austria, Switzerland, or Sweden). The neutral representative should be selected upon mutual agreement between the four powers. The International Commission should not have the authority to interfere directly in the election process. If irregularities or violations of the election law are reported, they should be brought to the attention of the all-German council. The council, in turn, should form a sufficient number of field teams, one in each election district, including representatives from both East and West Germany, who should be endowed with authority to make local decisions, if necessary, to insure an orderly election process. All violations and the action taken by the field teams should be reported to the council. Throughout the elections the council should remain in continuous session.

As the council's seat, Western Berlin would offer itself as the natural choice. The international observation teams should be attached to and travel with the German inspection teams.

Foreign press radio, TV, and film correspondents from all countries should be admitted in the entire election territory.

3. National assembly

The National Assembly emerging from all-German elections should constitute itself shortly after election, preferably in Western Berlin.

Its primary task shall consist of drafting a German constitution. Besides, it should have preliminary legislative powers as well as the authority to form a provisional all-German Government. As soon as the National Assembly would start functioning, the all-German Council would cease to exist.

The future domestic political, economic, and social system of Germany shall be subject only to the decisions of the German National Assembly, including the Russian postulates to maintain so-called social achievements such as land reform and free education.

After a constitution has been adopted by the German National Assembly, the basic law of the Bonn Republic and the constitution of the GDR automatically expire. The National Assembly should then assume full legislative authority as the Parliament of Germany and elect a permanent German Central Government. The governments in Bonn and East Berlin should then cease to function.

4. European security system

The United States and its allies should—at a new Four Power Summit Conference with the Soviet Union—seek an agreement about a European security system, which would enter into force as soon as Germany is reunified.

It goes without saying that the question of Germany's reunification is closely and inextricably linked with the problem of a European security system.

Such an arrangement should replace the present military pacts of the Western European Union (WEU) and the Warsaw Treaty through a treaty of collective security in Europe. In particular, the new system should contain the following:

(a) A nonaggression commitment of the contracting partners;

(b) Arbitration for the peaceful settlement of differences;

(c) An area of limited armaments and troops between the Western German border and Russia and effective plans for the control of armaments;

(d) Renunciation of the production and stationing of atomic weapons within this territory;

(e) A mutual commitment of support by all partners against any aggression without the possibility of blocking action through a veto;

(f) A mutual guarantee by the United States of America and the U. S. S. R.;

(g) Economic aid to promote regional federation and European integration;

(h) Registration of this treaty with the United Nations as a regional agreement.

(United Nations Charter—Chapter VIII—Regional Arrangements.)

"Article 52: 1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

"2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such agreements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

"3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

"Article 53: 1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority.

"Article 54: The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security."

As a first step, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and reunited Germany should be released from their treaty obligations in the Warsaw Pact and NATO, respectively, to form the nucleus of this European Security System. Ironclad guaranties should be sought—possibly through the U. N. Security Council—for the territorial integrity and political independence of these nations during a transitional period, until the European Security Treaty (EST) is fully in force.

The second step should include Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania in the EST. Other nations—such as Yugoslavia and Sweden—could join through their own free decision, if they so desire.

Practical machinery should be created to enforce the provisions of this European Security Treaty, such as a Permanent Ambassadorial Conference and/or an International Court of Arbitration, if the member nations do not prefer to accept existing media of international arbitration and reconciliation by the United Nations or the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Above all, a guaranty by the United Nations and the Soviet Union would give EST the necessary political stability, without committing these two great powers directly as members.

As EST would grow into a truly comprehensive European organization, it could—and should—absorb such institutions as the Council of Europe in Strassburg and other European agencies. As new and undoubtedly highly suitable site for an all-European Parliament, the city of Vienna has repeatedly been suggested.

As far as the willingness of the German people itself is concerned, to join a system of collective security in Europe, the Bonn Basic Law, in its article No. 24 has already declared to sacrifice some of its own sovereignty for the sake of peace:

"(1) The Federation may, by legislation, transfer sovereign powers to international institutions.

"(2) In order to preserve peace, the Federation may join a system of mutual collective security; in doing so it will consent to those limitations of its sovereign powers which will bring about and secure a peaceful and lasting order in Europe and among the nations of the world.

"(3) For the settlement of international disputes, the Federation will join in a general, comprehensive, obligatory system of international arbitration."

5. Military alliances

At the Geneva Conference, the problem of Germany's membership in NATO caused the Russians to refuse free elections in their zone, if reunited Germany was also to become a member of the North Atlantic Alliance. Russian fears of NATO, however unjustified, would be greatly enhanced if it were spearheaded by a reunified, armed, and again powerful Germany.

All western assurances that the NATO is meant purely for defensive purposes and that a reunited Germany would not be obligated to join NATO, but rather be free to join any military alliance she wanted to, failed to allay these Russian fears. This fact has been brought to light repeatedly through statements by V. M. Molotov, Nikita Khrushchev, and Marshal Nikolai Bulganin. The Soviet leaders have made it quite clear that nothing would satisfy their security requirements, but the restriction for Germany to join any military alliance with one of her former enemies in World War II.

This Russian demand has been branded in western circles as a bid for Germany's neutralization. However, this need not be so. Congressman HENRY REUSS, in a speech before the Steuben Society of America on May 21, 1955 (published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 23, p. A3560) had this to say about the subject:

"At the same time, by dropping our insistence that Germany adhere to the western bloc for military purposes, we might force Russia to consent to the unification of Germany under what, in the last analysis, would be western auspices for every purpose other than military. * * * While no longer a member of the western military alliance, Germany would not be required to forego membership in the European Coal and Steel Community, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the Council of Europe, even of a transatlantic economic and political NATO, nor of the United Nations."

6. Troop withdrawals

Naturally, the complete reunification of Germany and creation of a European security system would depend on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Central and Eastern Europe. It is here, where the crux of the whole problem rests.

The great powers, quite understandably, want to make sure that the territory they now hold in Central Europe must not fall into the military orbit of their opponent, if and when their own troops withdraw. In the absence of mutual trust and an effective con-

trol system, the troops of West and East simply stayed where the end of World War II left them. Thus the unfortunate and unjust frontier runs right across Germany, dividing the German people into two different military camps.

American opinion on the question of troop withdrawal has recently been focussed by spokesmen of both political parties in almost identical terms. Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate in a speech before the Overseas Press Club in New York on December 20, 1956, had this to say:

"Germany is the crux of this matter. A revolt in East Germany in any way comparable to that which occurred in Hungary would have even more serious repercussions. It behooves us, therefore, constantly to seek new ways and means of achieving our objective of a reunified Germany. It might be worthwhile, for example, to consider a European security arrangement of which an important part might be an agreement whereby we would pull our troops out of West Germany if the Russians would pull their troops out of East Germany."

Congressman LAWRENCE H. SMITH, Republican, of Wisconsin, concurred later on with this statement: "In Europe the potential for peace is Germany. Every effort should be exerted to unify that unhappy land. Our military policies need to be reexamined. The German people should work out their problem under a withdrawal plan of United States and Russian military forces. This is not an impossible solution. Western Europe looks to Germany as a stopper against further Communist aggression."

The Western Allies, France and Britain, have already started to substantially reduce their military forces in Western Germany, without a political settlement of the German question and no equivalent on the part of the Soviet Union. The United States, therefore, if and when it becomes necessary to reduce its troops in Germany, should not forfeit its right for a political compensation from the Russians, that is, to secure Russian withdrawal from Germany at the same time and under the same conditions as the American withdrawal is effected.

Meanwhile, as the Western Powers prepare for their withdrawal from German territory, no power vacuum will be created. The Western German forces of the "Bundeswehr" have reached—at the time of this writing—approximately 100,000 men. These forces could further be built up to approximately 250,000 men, a strength which is being considered by German military experts both feasible and sufficient. No potential aggressor could dare to attack Germany in the face of such forces and go unpunished, while the troops of the great powers are leaving German soil.

"In further negotiations relating either to demilitarization or to troop withdrawals," Senator HUMPHREY summed it up, "the United States would need to be alert to several factors: (1) any redeployment of troops in the zone must not weaken the overall relative military strength of NATO powers in Europe and in no case should American troops be withdrawn from the European area; (2) the security of all European states from armed aggression from any source must be assured; (3) the agreement on setting up the zone of limited armaments and forces must include provision for the reunification of Germany in freedom; and (4) a balance of armed forces and armaments between the sides within the zone must be maintained."

7. Regrouping of NATO

Although the Federal Republic of Germany—upon ratification of the European Security Treaty by the all-German parliament—will have to be released from its NATO obligations (just as the GDR from the Warsaw Pact) the overall strength of NATO forces in Europe need not be weakened. This could be accomplished by the admission of Spain into NATO, which commands more than 20 divisions as well as an impressive strategic position on the southwestern peninsula of Europe. The United States—already possessing air and naval bases in Spain under a mutual military treaty—would then be in a position to redeploy their troops from Western Germany to Spain.

The Iberian Peninsula would then become the most important American glacis on the European Continent. Under these auspices, the regrouping of NATO and the redeployment of military forces from Germany to Spain would not only replace the expected 12 German divisions for the Western Alliance, but in every way more than compensate its defense contribution to NATO.

In brief, the center of gravity of American military power would then shift from the endangered center of Europe to its safe periphery. Through the advancement of intermediate ballistic missiles the heartlands of the Soviet Union would still be within the striking range of American forces.

8. Peace treaty

All questions pertaining to the German problem, which cannot be solved through an agreement on German reunification and European security, should be left open and postponed for a peace conference between the former Allies and the German Reich. In particular, unsettled border disputes such as the Oder-Neisse line between Germany and Poland should be settled—in accordance with the Potsdam agreement—through a peace treaty. Also the right of the German refugees to return to their native lands—if located outside the German borders of 1937—should be subject to such a peace treaty. To this end, peace negotiations should be initiated as soon as the new German Central Government is ready to operate.

Germany should become a member of the United Nations, as already suggested at the Berlin Conference in 1954, where the Soviet Union as well as the West pledged to support a German application for membership, after the country is reunited under one government.

D. CONCLUSIONS

More than 12 years have elapsed since the cessation of hostilities in Europe, but Germany is still divided. The nations of the world are engaged in a hectic atomic arms race, which threatens to culminate in a nuclear holocaust of apocalyptic proportions. It is now universally acknowledged that the key to the solution of the international stalemate in East-West relations lies in a solution of the German problem.

European security and world disarmament hinge on the question of Germany's reunification. It is therefore imperative that an early solution be sought to this problem and the most energetic efforts—coupled with skill and perseverance—be undertaken to bring it to a successful conclusion.

May this plan help that the reunification of Germany in freedom may set off a chain reaction for peace throughout the world, as atomic energy can set off a chain reaction for war.

The division of Germany has brought untold human suffering over a large number of innocent individuals. Its continued partition cannot—and will not—in the long run benefit the aspirations of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, this attempt would eventually boomerang and bring ultimate disaster upon those who seek to perpetuate an untenable situation in Europe. For nations—under God—are natural human entities like families, on whom the word of the Holy Scripture applies:

"What God has put together, man shall not take asunder."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Coordinated Water Program for Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, there is a widespread and growing recognition among the people of Texas that the tremendous problem of adequate development of our water resources can be solved only through coordinated effort by Federal, State, and local agencies.

Such teamwork is called for strongly by the Wichita Falls (Tex.) Record News in a recent editorial. I ask unanimous consent that this wise and thoughtful discussion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wichita Falls Record News of August 1, 1957]

WATER PROGRAM

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON announced this week he had requested urgently the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to give him an overall water program for Texas not later than April 30, 1958. He added he expected the two agencies to respond and to work together down to the field level in devising and carrying out the program thus created.

It has been reliably estimated Texas citizens lost in excess of $100 million this year during the heavy rains because of the lack of a proper water-conservation and flood-protection program.

Further, it is estimated enough water to last the cities of the State for 6 years needlessly flowed downstream and into the ocean because we had not previously devised and created a proper program.

Senator JOHNSON said the cost to the Federal Government of the program would be about $1.3 billions, spent over a period of 25 to 30 years. But he added the investment was justified by the size of the national stake in the water-development program.

The double purpose of preventing flood losses and preventing the State from running out of water are purposes deserving the best efforts of both the State and Federal Governments.

The Senator said the teamwork at State and local levels is essential to the success of the whole proposal. The suggestion is proposed with the premise that Texas is sovereign over its water resources and can best determine how to tie its efforts into those of the Federal agencies.

This deadline set by Texas' senior Senator creates an urgent responsibility for local and State authorities. It proposes we Texans tackle the problem before us and be ready to coordinate our efforts with those proposed for the Federal program.

Neither the local communities nor the State as a whole can afford to not be ready to take complete advantage of a workable program devised for the whole State.

We have water problems in Wichita Falls and will continue to have them as long as this city grows. We all should be ready to meet those problems with diligence and intelligence or we will be left high and dry when a general program for the State is devised and put into action.

Inflation—America's No. 1 Domestic Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address I made over the network in Wisconsin. The subject was "Inflation—America's No. 1 Domestic Problem."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INFLATION—AMERICA'S NO. 1 DOMESTIC PROBLEM

"Inflation—rising prices"—those three words spell out the most difficult single domestic problem facing our country.

Inflation is a pain in the neck, and it is a pain in the pocketbook and wallet.

It is a particular headache, confronting tens of millions of Americans who are living on virtually fixed incomes. These Americans are badly squeezed by static salaries and rising prices.

Here in the Congress, we have been studying this inflationary problem.

The Senate Finance Committee has been holding hearings on the subject of the United States Treasury's financial policies. This committee has been looking at the so-called tight money situation in our country—high-interest rates for example.

And another committee is likewise holding hearings. Our Senate Antimonopoly Subcommittee has been looking at the subject of what are called administered prices. That means prices in key industries, like steel, which don't tend to drop, even when you would normally expect the prices to go down. These administered prices tend to remain stationary or to go up.

Well, what is the net effect of rising prices, the net effect of inflation?

The effect is that every single dollar in your savings bank, in your United States savings bonds, in your old-age pension, in your insurance policy, your annuity, tends to lose its purchasing power.

You and I know that every 100-cent dollar that you possess is really just a 50-cent dollar, compared to what that same dollar would bring back in prewar period.

So, now, the big question is: How can we prevent further loss in the dollar's purchasing power?

The answer is: "Through many steps." For one thing, the Federal Government must avoid a policy of printing press money—wild expansion of the supply of greenbacks.

For another thing, labor and management must cooperate voluntarily, so as not to force huge wage increases and then price increases.

This inflation problem must be licked. We dare not permit Americans to lose confidence in the value of their own money.

Fortunately, I don't think that there is reason for fear.

Your American dollar is still one of the strongest currencies in the world.

When the United States Treasury backs up your dollar and backs up your savings bonds, you have every reason to be confident in the Treasury's pledge.

But it is up to each of us to avoid inflationary pressures. It is up to us to save more of our money. Keep putting your money into United States savings bonds, into deposits in the bank, into the savings and loan association and into insurance.

When you or I save money, we tend to reduce the pressure of inflation. On the other hand, if we tend to take out more credit than we actually need and than we can actually pay for, the net result is more inflation.

Credit is a wonderful instrument. But if you or I go overboard and take out too much credit, if we buy too many things without any downpayments or without substantial downpayments, then, you or I are liable to find ourselves so deep in debt that we can never get out of it.

And the deeper you or I or anyone gets into debt, the more inflation tends to increase.

So, if you and I want to defeat the number one domestic enemy in the United States—inflation—we each have an important role to fulfill. Let's keep prices down.

The American Jeweled Watch Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the importance of the American jeweled watch industry to national security has been attested by three past administrative findings by the Munitions Board, the National Security Resources Board, and the Office of Defense Mobilization.

It is certainly to be expected that the ODM will soon issue another such finding on the basis of the study it has been making for the past 19 months.

But the essential role of the industry in the field of military security should not be allowed to obscure completely the very important contributions by this industry to our industrial and scientific progress and well-being. The skills, the facilities and the products of the American companies are used daily by all segments of our commerce and industry.

A recent story of a contribution to coronary sugery by the Elgin National Watch Co. illustrates the variety of ways in which we benefit from horological re-

search and development. I would like to have printed in the RECORD the story as it appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune for May 9, together with a letter to the editor of the Chicago Tribune from a reader in Waterloo, Iowa, with some highly significant comments on the story.

There being no objection, the article and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of May 9, 1957]

WATCH SPRING KEEPS HER HEART TICKING

DETROIT, May 8.—A year ago a 34-year-old Detroit mother of 5 children was told she had a life expectancy of 6 months. Today she is leading a near normal life—the main spring of a watch serving as a heart valve.

She is Mrs. Mabel Streeter. Wayne State University says that on April 5, 1956, she became the first person in whom a leaky heart valve was replaced by a metal spring.

The artificial valve was developed by doctors from the Wayne University College of Medicine and the Elgin National Watch Co. from an alloy used in watch main springs. The company predicted it would last 300 years.

Mrs. Streeter was considered critically ill 18 months ago, unable to do any housework or walk up steps without aid. Now, her doctors say, she does her housework and some shopping and can climb eight steps without undue fatigue.

When the operation was performed, the doctors described her condition as rapid downhill. The mitral valve in the left side of her heart had calcified and its flaps turned inward, leaving a hole that never fully closed between heartbeats. Rheumatic fever was blamed for searring the valve.

The valve normally opens to let blood from the lungs into the left ventricle—the main pumping chamber—and closes as the heart gushes blood into the aorta or main artery. But Mrs. Streeter's valve permitted the blood to pass both ways between the chambers and the body got only a trickle, so to speak.

Doctors who figured her life expectancy at 6 months decided to try the metal valve technique—used in 110 experiments on dogs, but never on humans. They had a record of installing 45 valves in aortic openings of dogs.

A surgical team at Wayne State had been working for 2 years on perfection of the metal valve for just such an emergency as beset Mrs. Streeter. One of their first steps was to find an ideal metal.

A watch-repair man suggested the new alloy main spring. The doctors went to Elgin, which volunteered to work with them. The valve fashioned by the surgeons, is diamond shaped, as large as a penny, with a nylon web across it. When the heart is pumping it snaps up over the mitral valve opening; snaps down then to let in a new supply into the pumping chamber.

The heart muscle works the valve; it did from the start.

The team which did the job includes Drs. James H. Wible, Lyle F. Jacobson, Prescott Jordon, Jr., and Charles G. Johnston.

They reported at a news conference yesterday that Mrs. Streeter's blood pressure now is normal.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of May 28, 1957]

WATCH BYPRODUCTS

WATERLOO, IOWA., May 10.—The story in your paper of May 9 describing the installation of a spring powered valve in a human heart by a group of surgeons supplies another very strong reason for the preservation of the American watch manufacturing industry. The metal used in this spring was developed by an American watch manufacturer. There is no comparable metal used in any other line. This is only another one of the many things first developed and used in this industry that has proven valuable in wholly unrelated lines and in unforeseen ways.

The early steam locomotives used valve mechanisms developed by clock and watch makers. Practically all manufacturing techniques are based on ideas first used in this trade. All production presses are oversized descendants of the common stake tool used by watchmakers for centuries. The now very common three-jaw draw-in chuck was first developed for use by the Boston Watch Co. The automatic progressive milling machine was developed for making watch plates.

The idea of mass produced interchangeable parts is claimed by several industries—clocks, watches, firearms, and typewriters. As these industries were all largely concentrated in New England and Illinois, there was considerable movement of personnel among them and probably considerable exchange of ideas.

American manufacturers were the first to make accurate timepieces available to the masses at prices they could afford. This American industry should be preserved. It has produced revolutionary and successful ideas and is still doing so. It may come up with more in the future.

O. B. MCCHESNEY.

North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Mr. Andrew Haley in support of the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement and a separate agreement between the United States and Mexico designed to promote the effective use by both countries of the standard broadcasting band. I am sure that this concise analysis of the provisions and merits of these agreements will be of interest to all those associated with the radio industry, not only in my State but in other States as well.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY ANDREW G. HALEY IN SUPPORT OF RATIFICATION BY THE SENATE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REGIONAL BROADCASTING AGREEMENT AND FINAL PROTOCOL THERETO AND OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES CONCERNING RADIO BROADCASTING IN THE STANDARD BROADCAST BAND

My name is Andrew G. Haley, 1735 De Sales Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

As an industry adviser, I attended all the sessions of the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference held in Montreal, Cuba, and Washington, D. C. I also attended meetings of the United States-Mexico Broadcasting Conference held November-December 1954 in Mexico City, and of the second session held in Washington, D. C., July 1955.

I strongly urge ratification of the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement and of the agreement between the United States and Mexico concerning radio broadcasting in the standard broadcast band. The official United States delegations at both conferences admirably handled their task of fighting for the welfare of all the United States stations and for the welfare of the public.

As is well known, the control of radio power is accomplished by limiting the power fed to the transmitter or by the employment of a directional antenna. Prior to the signing of the First North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement, which became effective in March 1941, no rules or procedures to control radio power in the North American countries existed. Frequencies were assigned to the North American countries with no thought to the overall effect on radio broadcasting reception. Reception was so bad in the United States, as a result of interference from stations of other countries in North America, that the value of radio broadcasting as a medium of mass communication was severely diminished and the economic ruin of the radio industry was imminent. Without any agreement, the North American nations could use any frequency and any power that suited their purpose and not particularly concern themselves with giving protection to other countries.

The First North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement ran for a period of 5 years from March 1941. This agreement provided for uniform technical standards, licensing procedures, and legalized use of the channels among the nations. The immediate result was a definite improvement over the chaotic conditions and distorted reception prevalent for so many years.

On February 25, 1946, the Second North American Regional Broadcasting Conference was held at Washington, D. C., at which time the governments of the countries in the North American region concluded an interim agreement [modus vivendi] which, in effect, continued the provisions of NARBA in force until March 28, 1949.

Article XV of the modus vivendi provided for the convening of the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference on September 15, 1947. By general agreement, it was decided to postpone the conference until September 15, 1949, some 6 months after the modus vivendi had expired.

With the expiration of the interim agreement, the situation was fast returning to the pre-1937 status. All channel priorities had expired and many new stations came into existence. A delegation from the United States was sent to a meeting of technicians held in Habana from November 1, 1947, to December 6, 1947, in an effort to form a basis for agreement. Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and Newfoundland were represented at the meeting. Haiti and the Dominican Republic were represented by observers from their own governments. There were no delegates from the Bahamas. Agreement was reached upon a number of largely technical provisions, particularly technical definitions to serve as a suggested working basis for each country in the preparation of further proposals for the Third NARBA Conference.

The Governments of Canada, Bahamas, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Jamaica, and the United States were represented in a conference in Montreal from September 13, 1949, until December 10, 1949, in an attempt to negotiate a new North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement relative to the use of standard broadcast channels in the North American region. Mexico and Haiti, which were parties to the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement of 1937, as modified by the interim agreement of 1946, did not participate in the Montreal Conference.

Whether the new treaty should be based upon the principles of the agreement of 1937, as modified by the interim agreement of 1946, or upon entirely new principles to be negotiated, was the main issue at Montreal. All of the governments participating in the Conference, with the exception of

Cuba, were agreeable to negotiating a new treaty utilizing the previous agreement as a basis of discussion. Even Mexico, not represented at the Conference, telegraphed its assent to merely extending the previous agreement until 1953.

Cuba demanded the assignment of clear channel stations to it as well as the abolition of the 650-mile rule of the previous agreement which prevented Cuba from effectively establishing class II stations on any of the United States clear channel stations of the class I–A category.

Both Canada and Cuba took the position that the United States should not have any further right of exploitation of its class I–A clear channels. In this connection, the United States had clearly indicated that since it had not made its final decision with respect to the use of clear channels, it should be accorded continued freedom of action on the class I–A stations which had been assigned to it under previous agreement. Cuba rejected the principle of international radio law to the effect that "prior use of a channel secures prior rights thereto."

Representatives of Cuba and the United States met in February and March 1950, at Habana, in an effort to work out bilateral matters to be presented at the second session of the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference. Notwithstanding any agreements which they might reach, Cuba desired to be free to reopen discussion at the forthcoming second session of the regional conference concerning the 650-mile rule; the desire of Cuba for engineering standards which would promote their use of clear channels which had been assigned under earlier agreements for I–A use in the United States; and the protection desired by Cuba for a number of Cuban stations. Since all of this virtually nullified any purpose for seeking an agreement with Cuba, the conference was concluded.

The second session of the Third NARBA Conference met in Washington, D. C., from September 6 to November 15, 1950. The basic issues confronting the conference, at which Mexico was represented for the first time, stemmed from the desire of Cuba and Mexico to use more high-power stations within their countries than could be accommodated without creating serious interference to existing stations in the United States. The main impact of such demands was on the United States class I–A clear-channel stations and upon certain regional stations in the eastern southeastern, and central portions of the United States, using frequencies below 1,200 kilocycles.

In attempting to enhance her right to establish stations in Cuba on United States class I–A clear chanels, Cuba proposed to eliminate the so-called 650-mile rule of the past NARBA which prevented other countries from establishing stations on our clear channels nearer than 650 miles from our border.

The Mexican delegation formally withdrew from the Conference on October 18, 1950. Mexico and the United States failed to reach an agreement largely because Mexico would not accept the doctrine that continued rights to the use of a radio channel are acquired by prior usage. Moreover, they claimed that any rights to the use of class I-A channels acquired under the NARBA agreement of 1937 had expired at the termination of NARBA and that any extension of such rights was subject to renegotiation among the nations of the region. Mexico also felt that the rapid expansion of stations within the United States had precluded Mexico from securing a needed expansion of radio facilities within the terms of NARBA 1937.

Representatives of the Governments of the Bahama Islands, Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and the United States signed an agreement in November 1950. The Canadian Government recently ratified this agreement. The purpose of the agreement was to establish fair and equitable principles governing and regulating the common use of the broadcasting band in the North American region so that each country within the region might make the most effective technical use thereof with the minimum of interference between broadcasting stations.

The agreement negotiated as a result of the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference is a better legal document than the first NARBA and more clearly establishes prior rights to the use of channels. In particular, even though the term of the agreement is only 5 years, it carries with it the provision that it will continue in existence until the signing of a new agreement.

The third NARBA defines a clear channel as a broadcasting channel to which there are assigned primarily one or more class I stations protected by agreement from interference. The conference established 59 clear broadcasting channels. The stations which are permitted to use these clear-channel broadcasting frequencies are set forth in an assignment annexed to the agreement. The conference also determined an order of priority for the assignment of clear channels to class I stations. The power limitation on such stations is 50 kilowatts or more. Class I–B stations were established as a subcategory for clear-channel assignments. These stations operate on the clear-channel designations with the power limitation of 10, 25, or 50 kilowatts, and also receive their assignments on the priority basis established as part of the agreement. All of the class I stations operate on clear-channel assignments to provide broadcasting service over extensive areas by both groundwave and skywave signals.

The agreement also establishes class II stations, which are stations other than class I stations operating on clear channels but designed to broadcast by means of groundwave signals only. Their power range is from 0.25 to 50 kilowatts.

Another category of station was established called a class III station, which is limited in power from 0.5 to 5 kilowatts (except that in Cuba certain stations in this category operate with a power of 10 kilowatts). These stations are designed to provide service by means of groundwave signals only and operate on regional channels. In this connection, the conference determined the frequencies to be designated as regional channels. These are assigned to several broadcasting stations so protected from interference as to provide broadcasting service over wide areas by means of groundwave signals.

The protection to be accorded to channels listed in the third NARBA is specified in the agreement, but the provision leaves the United States completely free to decide the clear-channel case.

The third NARBA contains a few limitations on the privilege of some clear-channel stations to go to unlimited power. These channels are limited in respect to their freedom to change the location of their station, the future use of higher power, and changes in antenna radiation characteristics. The reason for these limitations is to protect Cuba's right to use certain clear channels. However, it is pointed out that these stations do not have to afford Cuba protection as long as they do not change their present operations. Meanwhile, the United States stations on these channels are to be protected by Cuba's use of directional antennas limiting interference. This is a definite advantage to United States rural listeners.

The Bilateral Broadcasting Conference between the United States and Mexico resulted in the signing of an agreement in January 1957, the purpose of which is to promote and maintain the effective use by both countries of the standard broadcasting band and to eliminate objectionable interference between stations of each country. The agreement also declares that the pertinent provisions of the agreement will be incorporated, in substance, into the next North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement that is concluded. The term of the agreement is 5 years and may be terminated by a notice of denunciation by either country to take effect 1 year after the date of receipt of the notice.

The agreement defines a clear channel as one on which the dominant station or stations render service over wide areas and which are cleared of objectionable interference within their primary service areas and over all or a substantial portion of their secondary service areas. The conference established 60 clear broadcasting channels and frequencies assigned as clear channels are set forth in an annex to the agreement. Both parties recognize the priorities of the other in the use of class I clear channels.

Class I clear channels are subdivided into class I–A and class I–B. A class I–A station may operate with power of 50 kilowatts or more, while a class I–B station may operate with a power not less than 10 kilowatts or more than 50 kilowatts.

Under the agreement, Mexico has priority on the use of 540 kilocycles, 730 kilocycles, 800 kilocycles, 900 kilocycles, 1050 kilocycles, 1220 kilocycles, and 1570 kilocycles as class I–A clear channels. In the case of 730 kilocycles, because of the limitation on Mexican use of this frequency caused by the operation of stations in the United States on the frequency 740 kilocycles, the parties are continuing their study to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment in the use of 740 kilocycles by the United States. The United States is recognized as having priority on the use of 25 class I–A clear channels. Both parties have agreed that neither will make nighttime assignments on the channels upon which the country has class I–A priority except as set forth in annex I of the agreement.

Mexico has priority on the use as class I–B clear channels of 690 kilocycles, 850 kilocycles, 940 kilocycles, 1000 kilocycles, 1060 kilocycles, 1090 kilocycles, and 1550 kilocycles. The United States has priority on the use of 34 class I–B clear channels.

The agreement also provides for a class II clear channel which is designed to render service over a primary service area but is limited by and subject to interference as may be received from class I stations. A class II station may operate with power of not less than 100 watts or more than 50 kilowatts. Daytime class II assignments upon which the other country has the class I–A priority are subject to certain power and minimum distance restrictions as set forth in the agreement.

A class III regional channel is one on which several stations may be assigned to operate with power not in excess of 25 kilowatts, or if located within an area of 62 miles of the border, with power not in excess of 5 kilowatts. A class IV local channel is one on which several stations may operate with 1 kilowatt daytime, and 500 watts nighttime, at a distance of 93 miles from the border. Class IV stations located more than 62 miles from the border, but less than 93 miles may operate with a power of 1 kilowatt daytime and 250 watts nighttime.

The agreement also sets forth a notification procedure of new broadcasting station assignments or changes in existing broadcasting station assignments similar to the procedure now followed under NARBA.

The United States-Mexico agreement embodies the most fair and equitable terms available under all the circumstances, especially the recognition by Mexico of the doctrine that continued rights to the use of a radio channel are acquired by prior usage. Because of the rapid growth of the broadcasting industry and the increase of the number of stations now in operation in the United States, it would be folly not to ratify

this agreement when all major differences have been settled and an agreement formalized between the United States and Mexico.

If both the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement and the agreement between the United States of America and the United Mexican States concerning radio broadcasting in the standard broadcast band are not ratified, foreign stations will cease to recognize any priority rights of the United States on our channels since these rights would have been lost with the expiration of the interim agreement. Thus, legally, other countries could establish high-power stations on our low-power channels completely ruining the vast majority of our small-business men in the radio industry. Also, low-power stations could be put on our 50-kilowatt stations' channels, thus ruining rural coverage.

I strongly urge ratification by the United States of both the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement and the agreement between the United States of America and the united Mexican states.

Progress in Small Towns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, those of us who are so fortunate as to have been born and brought up in small towns and rural communities are fully aware of the many advantages afforded residents of the Main Streets of America.

A smalltown newspaper in Texas, the Royse City American, recently listed some of those advantages in an editorial that is worthy of widespread circulation. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The small town of America is where the progress of our country is made. It is in the small town where its residents are united, often homogeneous and fully patriotic.

It is in the small towns that community projects and self-improvement reach their fullest expression. Community pride and good citizenship are often more apparent in the small towns of the United States than in larger cities.

In addition, life is more wholesome and probably healthier. The product of the small town—the average United States citizen—is usually a more likeable citizen, and a better balanced one, according to the psychologists. This does not mean that those from the metropolitan areas are abnormal or unattractive citizens, but it merely means that the edge goes to those from the small towns—the typical United States community.

Business is realizing the advantages available in small towns and many of the large corporations are moving their huge plants to the smaller towns of the Nation. More and more, the country's top executives and the wealthiest citizens are moving to small towns, where they can enjoy a slower pace of life, a more normal and a more wholesome life.

While the great metropolitan areas are wonderful to visit, containing amazing examples of engineering genius and business and industrial activity, it is the small town and the rural community which is the backbone of America and where the real progress—the real Americanism from the grassroots—is to be found.

Farm Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Farm Research," which appeared in the August 1, 1957, edition of the Journal and Courier, Lafayette, Ind., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARM RESEARCH

While the population is increasing and living standards are being improved steadily, it is quite likely that overproduction in the Nation's agriculture will remain a problem for some years to come.

It is possible that the day will come when scarcity will raise new and real concerns. But surpluses are the present concern.

Because of this, increasing attention is being given to greater use of agricultural products in industry. A bipartisan Federal commission, established by the 84th Congress, has been studying this question. In its report, now made public, the commission gives main emphasis to greatly expanded research on new uses for agricultural products.

In this respect, the commission comes to the support of Indiana's Senator CAPEHART and other legislators in their efforts to enact legislation of this nature.

The commission makes the point that comparatively little research is being conducted for agriculture, as compared to industry.

It is stated that industry currently is investing at least $3 billion a year, or 3 percent of gross sales, in research. Estimates on research to find new uses for farm products vary widely, from four-tenths of 1 percent to 1 percent. It seems certain, however, that agriculture lags badly in this respect.

One authority states that the Government plans to spend $1 billion next year to increase farm output and no more than $18 million for research. In the long view there can be no question as to the importance of research relating to production and quality. It must be continued.

On the other hand, the whole economy might well benefit if more were provided now for research on new uses for farm products. The immediate problem is oversupply.

Crop overproduction has become an uncontrollable monster, according to one observer, who holds that a different approach might permit Uncle Sam to wash his hands of the perplexing problem of farm surpluses.

It seems that more and more students are coming to the conclusion that research and development provide the answer to the farm problem. Senator CAPEHART, in a recent address on the Senate floor, stated that the latest bill for agricultural appropriations provided $4 billion for the farm program, but only something like $14 million for research on uses of farm products.

He holds we should be spending as much for new industrial uses for farm crops—new markets—as we have been to find ways to increase agricultural production. Instead of price supports and Government funds to take acres out of production, the Senator looks forward to the day when the farmer may till all his acres to the limit and be assured of a ready market at profitable prices.

The commission supports this line of reasoning. It would seem to merit serious consideration.

Encouraging Private Investment Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, if our friends, the nations of Latin America, desire to speed the improvement of their rising standards of living, as I know they earnestly do, then I say frankly: It is incumbent upon them to do for themselves what is necessary to encourage their own private enterprise system, as well as foreign private investments.

I was pleased to read, therefore, in the August 3 and 6 issues of the Christian Science Monitor, articles by Mr. Norman Ingrey. The articles concern the eighth meeting of the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production, which recently concluded its sessions in Buenos Aires.

The Inter-American Council has its headquarters in Montevideo. The meeting was fully attended by leading businessmen from below the Rio Grande, with a strong United States delegation, as well.

Many specific business problems were taken up. Steps leading to studies of proposals for a common market were initiated. A constructive spirit highlighted the whole Conference.

I believe these articles will be of interest to my colleagues. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the articles, which indicate a program of private self-help for Latin American nations, along commonsense business lines, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of August 3, 1957]

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE WINS LATIN AMERICA

(By Norman Ingrey)

BUENOS AIRES.—A resounding victory for the advocates of free enterprise, with new and promising Latin-American attitudes toward foreign-capital cooperation, was manifested in the results of the 8th plenary meeting of the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production just concluded here.

These registered the greatest progress so far toward a united business front on continental investment and trading while the conference atmosphere itself reflected hopes of increasing—if only gradually—political implementation of the principles and policies adopted.

The Inter-American Council has its headquarters in Montevideo, Uruguay, and this meeting was fully attended by the Latin-American states, with a delegation from the

United States section, approximately 50 strong, led by Hugh A. Davies.

This victory for free enterprise, it should be explained, was not merely a reaffirmation of recognized tenets of fair trading and dealing. The resolutions proclaimed the way to greater understanding and prosperity, with higher levels of living for the common citizens. As such they incite and undoubtedly will survive tests when submitted to all national governments and the continental political authorities.

EQUAL TREATMENT

There were calls for equal treatment of national and foreign interests. But steps were also taken to advance the common-market idea for these southern countries. The conference also raised its sights above the ordinary business level to hasten and welcome the alluring vistas associated with the atoms for peace program.

Being a gathering of businessmen, naturally there was an essentially business approach to problems, but delegates never ignored the fact that free enterprise was inseparably associated with free government and political application of the fundamental democratic principles.

The background of resurgent Argentine democracy was a great stimulus to the conference. Moreover, Argentina's provisional President Aramburu and members of his government, who have directed the country back on the course of economic liberalism, gave official encouragement to the gathering.

As for the results expressed in resolutions, which were also recommendations, perhaps those listed first were also of first importance.

One of these, grouped under economic development, "considering that competition under private enterprise will provide a greater stimulus to technological improvement, increased productivity, and an improved distribution of goods than obtainable under any system of state planning or state ownership of the means of production," made a series of recommendations that the state keep out of business except where it is absolutely essential to the collective welfare.

NATIONALIZATION CURB

It was also said that governments should operate under the same conditions of accounting and taxation as private business, and on a free-market basis, where they are industrially or commercially active.

Other proposals were: Laws should guarantee private firms against nationalization, providing prompt and just indemnification where such action is necessary in special cases of dire national need; equal facilities for foreign and national investments; no public funds to be employed where private capital is available for projects; elimination of double taxation and inflationary imposts which prejudice the formation of corporate reserves for capital reinvestment; promotion of savings, with investment trusts, to add to domestic capital; and encouragement of private enterprise, so that the national per capita income may be increased.

Under the same economic development grouping, the council called for periodical revaluation of capital equipment, so that new values may correspond to real replacement prices. This request was linked with the inflationary situation in various countries. It was charged that lack of readjustment of these assets means that the national treasury, under the guise of profit taxes, is enacting what is tantamount to a capital levy.

It was suggested that foreign loans, as proceeding through the Export-Import Bank and international banks should be complemented by contributions in local currencies, to strengthen the internal economic and financial conditions of the recipient country.

The need for further foreign credit was seen and recommended from advanced industrialized countries, preferably under the direction of private enterprise. It was recommended, to attract and facilitate such credits, that members, within 1 year, draw up a plan of guaranties for these credits, promoting national legislative amendments where necessary, so that free convertibility can be established in this respect for continental countries. Some institutional promotion may be necessary in this connection, it was considered.

The common market idea was embraced under economic development. "Regional integration," as the formula goes for the moment, is admitted to tend to the establishment of a continental common market, "as a previous step to the goal of a world market." The idea, however, "deserves careful analysis," so a common market committee is being appointed to report within the first half of 1958. It was also stipulated that "regional integration" was only acceptable as a step toward greater world interchange, avoiding bloc formation.

INFLATION RAPPED

Under the grouping of foreign trade, resolutions criticized inflation and state planning as contributing to restrictions between many American states, with self-sufficiency aims distorting trade and discouraging regional specialization. Abolition of existing bilateral pacts was recommended and regional integration also brought up again, with the suggestion that a continental congress should be convened, coordinating with the common-market committee.

The council said that countries with farming surpluses should consult traditional exporters before marketing and, where these operations cannot be avoided, the national currency proceeds should be utilized for capital investment within the buying country, giving preference to essential industries, including agricultural production.

Other resolutions advocated national-transport development, extension of insurance, "but in no case in compulsory form," and improvement of ports and waterways.

The group of recommendations under monetary policy was aimed primarily to halt inflation and encourage sound financing. The resolution on atomic energy came under the grouping of technical cooperation.

The council recommended that those states concerned should gradually do away with restrictions on the peaceful use of atomic energy, without projudice to national security. In this connection it saw a great opportunity for collaboration between the American universities and all economic forces.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of August 6, 1957]

INTER-AMERICAN COUNCIL MEETS—PARLEY SPURS FREE TRADE

(By Norman Ingrey)

BUENOS AIRES.—Free enterprise throughout Latin America is likely to be stimulated, vigorously and promisingly, by the recommendations and messages which went forth from the final sessions of the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production here.

Resolutions were passed upholding the rights of private, and foreign, capital in trade and investment, demanding the abolition of bilateralism where it still exists with replacement by liberal and comprehensive trade and seeking the elimination of restrictive regulations and practices.

But these calls for rights and concessions constituted no negative challenge. The real challenge, positive and rousing, came in the coupling of this championship of rights with the invitation to embrace the promising vistas of prosperity, on national and citizen levels which are the assured reward of courageous acceptance of democracy in business.

This, of course, was essentially a gathering of leaders in the fields of commerce and production. Members believe in business solutions of national problems. But never before perhaps—in Latin America at least—have political conditions encouraged a bold and challenging note and, what is more important, promised more than sympathetic response from the governments concerned.

For this undoubtedly is also the hour of the rising tide of belief in Latin official quarters that free enterprise is the one sure channel to the ocean of abundance for the masses—the ocean which no political authority has yet found in South America excepting, as in oil-rich Venezuela, by fortuitous fate.

Postwar dictatorships, rash ventures in socialism at home, bilateralism in business abroad, State regulation of business and inflation pervading everywhere—all have failed to raise the standards of living beyond the normal results of changing mode and the imposition of science.

CHALLENGING OPPORTUNITY

Not one word was spoken on the subject, but the delegates knew that theirs was the opportunity to speak challengingly and encouragingly to disillusioned governments and political leaders who are bound to be discredited unless then can produce that to which the common citizen considers he is entitled.

The series of resolutions emanating from this council session tells all the people of this Latin subcontinent that the business leaders have no doubt that their way of running things—the free enterprise way—can produce the goods desired, with no prejudice to any guaranties or benefits they have obtained under their social legislation, often claimed as the most advanced in the world but which, apart from semicancellation through inflation, has failed to contribute to any increased living standards.

Thus practically the whole Latin-American world is more receptive now than at any previous time to the message of business leadership which, in its turn, has been the more conscious of its responsibilities. Governments have been listening in and they will also consider the recommendations, just as these will also go to the Council of Finance Ministers of the Organization of American States which meets through the Inter-American Economic Conference in Buenos Aires this mid-August.

MORE RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE

Thanks to this encouragement, the North American delegation, coming from what the Latins still consider the citadel of private enterprise and certainly the showcase for results obtained, found an easier task than before. Nonetheless, from the fund of its experience, came numerous and substantial contributions to the fundamental conclusions, with the assurance of that further cooperation essential to the fulfillment of expressed ideals as these proceed through the trials of political processing.

If the free enterprise representatives of the United States were reaping at this conference part of the reward for past efforts, credit must also be given to those Latin authorities and businessmen who have had the courage to confess their mistakes and to profit from lessons learned.

The Mexican delegation, for instance, contributed substantially to the formation of healthy opinion at this conference. Their hand, too, was detected in many recommendations which North Americans would gladly have authored.

Mexico, of course, offers the best recent example of transformation from a socialistic system to a greater measure of freedom for private initiative, and the success which has attended their efforts is inspiring others.

For it must not be forgotten that Latin-American business communities have contained many nationalistic leaders who readily embraced socialized industry and trade as providing more secure profits. The polit-

ical and social consequences of this blindness to economic truths have helped their conversion.

Today, the prospects of regional integration, with common markets, and the beckoning "atoms for peace" era are firing the new and adventurous minds in Latin business.

But patience is required as well as investment money. National transport systems came into being largely to serve different export trades. These will have to be extended in different directions before community trade can be substantially expanded. This applies specially to those landlocked or inland states and territories, which were the subject of special conference consideration.

Oregon Shakespearean Festival at Ashland, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, some Americans mistakenly believe that the only sources of culture and dramatic and literary achievements lie in the great metropolitan communities of the Nation. The fallacy of this belief has been demonstrated over the years by the comparatively small city of Ashland, Oreg., located amidst the scenic grandeur of the Rogue River Valley. For over 20 years the Oregon Shakespearean Festival, in Ashland, has been attracting devotees of the theater and drama from all over the world. The founder of this unique undertaking is Prof. Angus L. Bowmer, who teaches drama at Southern Oregon College, one of the Pacific Northwest's outstanding schools of education and now of liberal arts.

Because of the pride which we of the State of Oregon have in the annual Oregon Shakespearean Festival, I ask unanimous consent that there appear in the Appendix of the RECORD an article summarizing this notable event. The article was published in the Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg., on August 4, 1957, and was written by Mr. Herbert L. Larson, drama editor of that newspaper and a longtime authority on the theater.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHAKESPEAREAN FESTIVAL AT ASHLAND IS EPIC DRAMA EVENT

(By Herbert L. Larson)

Pear harvest isn't the only product to come out of Ashland and the Rogue River Valley area.

Right now William Shakespeare is stimulating activity in the town nestling against the ridges of the Siskiyou Mountains just north of California. The Oregon Shakespearean festival is only a few days old. The event has gained national importance, so much so that last week a photographer for Life magazine spent several days shooting hundreds of pictures, a few of which, it is hoped, will be used in a layout of national Shakespearean summer play activity.

In 1935 Angus L. Bowmer, who has and is serving as professor of drama at Southern Oregon College, Ashland, started the festival on a shoestring. After attending Bellingham Normal School, Bowmer transferred to the University of Washington, where he obtained both his bachelor's and master's degrees.

Through the years, with exception of the war period when the festival was suspended, Bowmer has directed and played in many of the productions. Today he is producing director; he plays a part or two and also directs a play to keep his hand in the Shakespearean theater which he loves.

TALENT NATIONWIDE

The festival is presented each year from August 1 throughout the month, in an open-air Elizabethan theater in Lithia Park, almost in the heart of Ashland. Before the present festival stage, four theater buildings have stood during the past half century. Because of tottering structures each has been razed for another building. Plans are now afoot for a rebuilding program.

It is regarded by Bowmer and his staff of directors that this year's company is an outstanding one. Performances watched so far bear out this contention. Ashland is swarming with talented young players who come from all parts of the Nation—Louisiana, Texas, and other scattered States from ocean to ocean.

Some are given scholarships to provide food and shelter; others finance themselves. None are paid on a salary basis.

This season, the 17th, offers four productions. They are As You Like It, Othello, Two Gentlemen of Verona, and Henry VIII. They will be presented in rotation throughout August with the exception of 2 special presentations of Pericles August 23 and 29.

AUDIENCE DRAW FARFLUNG

Through the years and efforts of a considerable staff of hardworking people, the Oregon Shakespearean festival has won national recognition. During the season's month audiences are comprised of folks from almost every State in the Union. This year Mrs. John C. Cotton, of Ashland, is president of the board of directors; Russ Jamison, Medford, vice president; Philip E. Gates, Ashland, secretary; and Rudolph E. Vest, Ashland, treasurer.

On the executive staff are Margaret Bailey, professor emeritus of English at Stanford University. She is director of the Institute of Renaissance Studies, the educational wing of the festival. William W. Patton is general manager of the festival.

In addition to Bowmer, directors are James Sandoe, back after a year's absence, for his sixth season; Robert E. Loper, in his second season, and Richard Graham, who has served as director and actor for 10 consecutive festivals.

The Civil Rights Bill and the Danger of Taking Things for Granted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Taking Things for Granted," which was published today in the Washington Star, and which comments on the action taken on yesterday by the Senate on the civil-rights bill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of August 8, 1957]

TAKING THINGS FOR GRANTED

One of the greatest lessons taught by the Senate's passage of the civil-rights bill is the danger of taking things for granted.

The superb leadership of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON during the long debate on the jury-trial amendment was responsible for bringing that lesson home. The jury-trial issue was raised, debated, and defeated in the House, where the rules necessarily limit debate. When Senator EASTLAND indicated that it would be raised in the Senate, long before the bill ever reached the floor, it was taken for granted that he was doing it as a move to kill the bill. That was a logical conclusion.

Taking that belief for granted, however, led naturally to the next assumption, that as a southerner was raising the jury issue, the jury issue itself was without substance. And that was taken for granted to such an extent that people all over the country, and some of our greatest newspapers, derided the issue, belittled its importance, took for granted that anybody who spoke in favor of it was seeking to weaken or to destroy the civil-rights bill itself, and to make impossible its fundamental objective of protecting the right to vote. Had Senator EASTLAND or some of his southern colleagues been in charge of the amendment, public distrust of their motives would have overshadowed any serious examination of the issue they raised.

When such known liberals as Senator O'MAHONEY, free of the taint of sectional prejudice, took over the argument, the Senate got down to brass tacks. Its approval of the amendment made approval of the bill certain. And, while a great many people still took it for granted that the jury amendment had weakened the bill, an examination of the facts of the matter has convinced a great many doubters that the opposite is true. That conviction, we are sure, will become stronger with greater understanding of the significant step that the Senate has taken in strengthening voting rights—a step that the House, we are sure, will in the end sustain.

We are more ready to take for granted, in this country, the unworthy motives of men in public life than to credit them with convictions on matters of principle. The Senate has demonstrated the error of that sort of cynicism.

Election of Warren G. Moore as Commander, American Legion, Department of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the largest veterans organization in the State of Texas is the American Legion, to which I have the honor of belonging. These dedicated patriots, who have made innumerable sacrifices for their country, have joined hands to perpetuate the spirit of those who lived and died to protect the liberties and freedom of this Nation.

Texas legionnaires have especial occasion to celebrate the election of a new departmental commander, recently

chosen to head the organization during the ensuing year. He is Warren G. Moore, of Tyler. An able United States district attorney in northeast Texas for many years, Mr. Moore has served his community and the American Legion well. He has been past commander of Tyler's Favre Baldwin Post of the American Legion, and he has worked in many departmental capacities for the legion.

The Tyler post has produced two outstanding departmental commanders of the American Legion, the other gentleman being Mr. Ernest Goens, who now lives in Dallas.

One of the most influential east Texas newspapers, the Tyler Courier-Times, has eulogized Warren Moore in an editorial of Sunday, August 4, 1957. I request unanimous consent that this fine editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXAS LEGIONNAIRES CHOOSE WELL

Election of Tyler Attorney Warren G. Moore as commander of the Texas American Legion is a distinct honor to Mr. Moore and to the Tyler American Legion Post.

Mr. Moore, former United States district attorney here and now in the private practice of law, has been active in American Legion work for a number of years. He has served as commander of the Tyler post, and in various capacities of responsibility with the State Legion department.

He is the second Tylerite to hold the title of State Legion commander. First was Ernest Goens, also an attorney. Mr. Goens is now a resident of Dallas.

The Legion is, of course, America's and Texas' biggest veterans' organization, and it numbers within its ranks a large percentage of the men who served this country so well on the fields of battle in World Wars I and II and the Korean war.

Mr. Moore's keen interest in the affairs of the American Legion and his organizational ability, which is well recognized in Tyler, assure the State Legion department of excellent leadership throughout the coming year.

Right of Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the August 7, 1957, issue of the State, of Columbia, S. C. This outstanding newspaper has been most diligent in its efforts to guard against attempts to destroy constitutional government, which includes among its high principles the right of trial by jury. The State is ably edited by Mr. Samuel L. Latimer, Jr.

There beng no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RISKING A FUNDAMENTAL

It is a great pity that a fundamental such as trial by jury should be put in jeopardy, but it is fine to know that a sufficient number of Senators could rise above petty politics, prejudice, and misguidance to guard this great American heritage against destruction.

The argument, of course, was that only under certain circumstances would trial by a jury of one's peers be forfeited. But it is an old trick to break down basic rights by piecemeal, so even if the invasion would have been minor (which it was not) it would have been most alarming for the Senate to have agreed to this provision so illadvisedly made a part of the House bill.

Where the astute analysts were when the measure was before the lower body that such flagrant defects should get by without great protest is a mystery. It was not until the bill became an issue in the Senate that the hidden wickednesses were really brought into proper focus in the legislative hall. When they were, men of right thinking from all sections joined in seeing that they were not imposed upon a helpless public.

It is an old and true saying that two wrongs do not make a right. If there is need for civil-rights reform, the approach is not to do away with the most cherished safeguard a minority has—the due process of the law, which includes trial by jury.

Mark our word, those who voted to make certain that there be trial by jury were the real defenders of civil rights, not those who would have placed this great American fundamental on the altar of politics. And we hope those who have advocated sincerely such a radical change will realize that it would not have been well under the guise of political expediency to have tampered with our basic rights. As to the others, it would seem that as a matter of self-defense, if for no other reason, they would come to this point of view. But votes being what they are, we can hardly hope for them to see the light.

The Algerian Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a number of items relating to the Algerian question. Last week, I placed in the RECORD some articles which indicated some possible new French approaches to this problem. Today's insertions should indicate again the still deteriorating nature of this problem, and underscore again the need for a change of attitude both within the United States and France.

The Economist is a thoroughly independent, sober, and reliable journal of comment and opinion. Mr. Alsop's credentials as a realist and deep thinker on international questions are hardly open to question among Members of this body.

Finally there is included a letter to the New York Times signed by five distinguished leaders and thinkers on international and social problems.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of August 3, 1957]

RESOLUTION ON ALGERIA ENDORSED

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

On July 2 Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY offered a resolution to both Houses of Congress calling upon the Secretary of State to use American influence and prestige in behalf of a peaceful and rapid solution to the Algerian conflict.

Specifically the Kennedy resolution proposes that the President and Secretary of State exert the influence of the United States behind efforts, either through NATO or through the good offices of the Premier of Tunisia or the Sultan of Morocco to achieve a solution which will recognize the independent personality of Algeria and establish the basis for a settlement interdependent with France and neighboring nations.

In addition the resolution implies, and we specifically endorse, the establishment of sound guaranties for the rights of the French minorities.

Failing satisfactory developments by the next U. N. General Assembly session, the Kennedy resolution further proposes that the United States assume the leadership through the United Nations in bringing about an orderly achievement of independence in Algeria.

We believe that this resolution embodies the most fruitful elements of statesmanship and restraint. At the same time it represents an imaginative and bold departure from the empty policy our Government has pursued in Algeria since the war began.

In the interests of those democratic ideals for which we are prepared to sacrifice so much during these critical times, in the name of our security, and in the hope that we may deter our historic friend, France, from this suicidal policy, we urge the United States Congress to act favorably on the Kennedy proposal.

We are confident that our fellow Americans, directly and through their elected representatives, will support this view.

ROGER BALDWIN.
DONALD HARRINGTON.
GEORGE M. HOUSER.
REINHOLD NIEBUHR.
NORMAN THOMAS.

NEW YORK, *August 1, 1957.*

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 1, 1957]

NO PANACEA FOR ALGERIA

Adlai Stevenson's doubts about the benefits of immediate independence for Algeria are interesting by contrast with the recent forceful advocacy of Senator KENNEDY. The devotion of both men to libertarian principles is unquestioned. But Mr. Stevenson, who has been on a 10-week trip to Africa (excluding Algeria) thinks that independence at this time would be an "invitation to chaos." He adds his belief that the French government, although it probably has not fully faced the realities in the past, will come forward shortly with a practical program for self-government. So intricate a situation, says Mr. Stevenson, "cannot be solved either by terror within or pressure without."

This is perhaps a more hopeful view than is warranted by French actions, as compared with French intentions. Edmond Taylor reported in his article from Algiers published in this newspaper on Sunday that although the cities are prosperous and terrorism has been checked there, the nationalist military campaign has spread to all parts of Algeria and the independence movement has exerted great political appeal among Moslem intellectuals. There is no firm evidence yet that the French Government has altered its policy of putting down the resistance by force of arms before taking other steps.

Moreover, the course of the Bourges-Maunoury government invites some grave misgivings on other grounds. The other day the French National Assembly approved sweeping authority for the government to exercise in France proper some of the security powers it exercises in Algeria. Among other things, it may intern indefinitely persons

convicted of certain offenses even after they have served sentences. The brunt of the attack is being felt, however, by newspapers and newspapermen critical of the government's policies in Algeria. A number of Algerian papers have been suppressed. Now the government is concentrating its fire on Le Monde, the most respected independent daily in Paris.

These misgivings offset at least some of Mr. Stevenson's optimism. Yet his central point is certainly true: independence is not automatically a boon in and of itself; and at a time when the compartmentalization of the world is responsible for at least some of its troubles, interdependence with equality ought to be the goal. But this can hardly come about in the case of Algeria without positive measures by the French Government beyond mere armed repression. A cantonal system of self-government, equal representation in the French Assembly and the good offices of Algeria's neighbors, particularly Tunisia, for actual negotiations—these are still within the realm of possibility. The great fear which all friends of France must share is that the moderate solutions that might be possible today will be impossible tomorrow.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of July 31, 1957]

HOPE ON ALGERIA?

(By Joseph Alsop)

PARIS.—The French Government is now rather unhappily re-examining its own policy in Algeria. The final result will only be known in September, but the two possible outcomes are already quite easily foreseeable.

Either the present re-examination will be transformed into the beginning of a serious attempt to find an agreed solution of the agonizing Algerian problem, or the meeting of the United Nations Assembly in September will produce a blow-up inside the Western Alliance almost on the scale of the Suez crisis. The reasons for these alternatives are simple indeed.

In brief, in anticipation of the U. N. Assembly session, where Algeria will be the major item on the agenda, the French have been sounding out the American and British Governments on the possibilities of securing their support. The chief sounding-out expedition was the trip to Washington of the able Permanent Under Secretary of the French Foreign Office, Louis Joxe.

In a series of long, frank and friendly conversations, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in effect told Joxe that the United States very much wanted to support France once again in the U. N. but Dulles added firmly that France would have to propose some kind of Algerian solution that the United States could in all honesty support.

The best solution, Dulles insisted, would be one that Tunis and Morocco would also agree to indorse. This would mean recognizing the aspirations of the native Algerians, tying an at least semi-independent reorganized Algeria to Tunis and Morocco, and finally tying all three countries to France.

Secretary Dulles did not insist, however, that the new French proposals for Algeria should have Tunisian and Moroccan backing. He only insisted that the proposals must be serious, in the sense of offering some hope of producing eventual peace.

Last year, he pointed out, the United States had backed the plan of former Premier Guy Mollet for a cease-fire followed by free elections; but this had proved delusive. Now another plan must be put forward, with better chances of success than the Mollet plan. And this was all the more urgent, he added, because the Algerian fighting was one of the major obstacles to the rather desperate, post-Suez American effort to bring reasonable stability to the troubled Middle East.

Thus far the British Government has taken a line parallel to the Dulles line. On this matter, London and Washington seem to be acting in concert, for once in a way. Thus it seems likely that if France does not put forward new Algerian proposals of a sufficiently hopeful and constructive character, France will not have the support of either of the other major western allies at the U. N. meeting.

If France goes into the U. N. Assembly with the whole Afro-Asian and Communist blocs against her, and with no support from the other great western allies, the result must be a truly appalling defeat.

The consequences are really incalculable. For how will France, for instance, respond to a ringing U. N. condemnation? Only one consequence, indeed, can be calculated with real assurance. The ensuing recriminations inside the western alliance will be heard around the world.

Such being the future prospect if France does not put forward constructive Algerian proposals, the reexamination of the Algerian problem that is being conducted here assumes the widest possible significance. But as yet, it must be said, the reexamination has not produced the kind of new proposals Washington and London are devoutly praying for.

Premier Bourges-Maunoury is seeking to draft a law giving the broad framework of a new organization of Algeria. Thus far, however, the framework law does not comprise the minimum recognition of Algeria as a national entity that could conceivably satisfy the Tunisians, the Moroccans, or the Algerian dissidents. Instead, the most favored proposal at present is to divide Algeria into three provinces; to give each province a measure of autonomy and an elected provincial assembly; but to keep in French hands effective control of Algeria as a whole.

The American and British Governments have already let it be known that this plan will not command their active support. Strong forces are certainly at work within the French Government to secure much bolder proposals. Foreign Minister Christian Pineau has even sponsored discreet negotiations with the Algerian rebel leaders.

If former Premier Guy Mollet (the real maker of the Bourges-Maunoury government) swings over to the side of bold action, this really may prove the beginning of a serious search for an agreed solution, but at present the betting is still against.

[From the London Economist of July 27, 1957]

THE ART OF THE IMPOSSIBLE

(From our Paris correspondent)

"We have come to such a pass that we can bear neither our vices, nor the remedies for them." Livy's desperate verdict would fit the French Nation as the summer holidays begin. The deputies leave the assembly this weekend depressed by the record of this session, distrustful of a weak government they do not respect, and profoundly disturbed by a future which seems to offer no end to crisis.

They have good reason. True, Parliament has one major achievement behind it: With the Senators' vote this week, both houses have ratified the European treaties by majorities that would not have been thought possible 6 weeks ago. This reflects the learning of the lesson that France can no longer go it alone—which, in the end, may be the most potent antidote to the nationalist and authoritarian toxins secreted by Algeria. But just now, this inevitably weighs little against the failure to advance the Algerian conflict 1 inch toward a solution. During the spring the deputies began to realize that pacification was leading nowhere. This summer they have learned what an upheaval, more than the toppling of a ministry, will be needed to change it.

M. Lacoste's rabble-rousing, far from heralding a change, only identifies him more closely than ever with the settlers. M. Bourgès-Maunoury, himself, has displayed little authority, particularly in handling Parliament. The disorderly debate on special powers to repress terrorist activity in France last week was symptomatic. The critics dominated it; yet in the vote nearly half of them abstained. They knew that there is no present prospect of obtaining a fresh shade of government.

Distrust of the government reached a head in this debate. The government protested, almost certainly with truth, that it wants special powers for its stated, limited purpose: Two Algerians a day are being murdered by rebels in France. But the government is so much readier with police than with policy that its critics have every excuse for fearing that it will drift into compensating for its lack of power over situations by abuse of power over citizens.

The fact is, Algeria has brought out all the latent authoritarianism of French administration. Supercentralized, it is in spirit absolute government—restrained, resisted, and even defied, but not transformed by the revolutionary tradition. This authoritarianism was encouraged by M. Mollet. (In Arras, the home of Robespierre, of which he is mayor, he is known as Robespierrot.) It was he who began the harrying of the French press, which is financially shaky and therefore vulnerable. Lack of official interest in maintaining strict safeguards against abuses is equally reflected in the abeyance of the Commission for the Safeguard of Human Liberties, set up at the time of the controversy over the torturing of Algerian prisoners. All through, the government has made use of chauvinistic appeals and the shield of the army's honor against political opponents. France has had no Hitler, but it has had its Napoleon III and Boulanger and Pétain; and the government's constant affronts to recognized freedoms have cast serious doubts on its capacity to use special powers properly—particularly as it shows little sign of digging at the roots of the Algerian problem.

M. Bourgès-Maunoury has made play with the outline law which he proposes to present in the autumn, but this seems merely M. Mollet's decentralization policy writ large. Its principle is to reduce central Algerian government to the minimum, to vest local powers in local authorities and federal ones in Paris. It is unacceptable to the rebels, whose minimum seems to be independence by stages on the British dominion model. If this is the government's final choice it is unlikely to convince the United Nations Assembly in October, when France must again go through the hoops it cleared by a miracle last spring. The French fear an unfavorable verdict could be the first step to internationalizing the North African problem. Neither they nor the North Africans, who feel that it may prove easier to handle the French than to cope with Americans, Russians, or Arab extremists, seem to want this. The government has been discreetly, but perceptibly, improving its relations with Tunisia and Morocco. But on Algeria it seems unable to step out of the ring of official refusal to acknowledge the need for negotiation. When it does make an effort at diplomacy, it is shot down by masterly police work at airports, with which M. Lacoste usually seems mysteriously connected.

In private, most Frenchmen are more realistic than official attitudes suggest. The average man senses when a policy leads nowhere, even if he cannot appraise it in detail. Politicians and officials are increasingly prepared to admit that negotiation may be necessary. Unfortunately there still seems to be no way of translating this mood into effective terms. Many who would like a

change nevertheless fear that civil war would follow in Algeria, with the army backing the settlers. In France itself, the humiliations of 20 years are festering. This is why General de Gaulle's name reappears so often, as the one man whose reputation is proof against the humiliation of compromise. The potential opposition looks over its shoulder, fearful of identification with the Communists. Thus, M. Deffere, the author of Reform in Tropical Africa, committed the mistake at the Socialist congress of proposing all-out war if his proposed negotiations fail. M. Mollet used this against him with effective self-righteousness.

Above all, there is M. Mollet himself. If he swung the Socialists' hundred votes toward negotiation, he would take enough of the Assembly with him to force the issue. But he is the author of the pacification policy. Having fixed his line, liberal in intent and repressive in deed, at a time of shock after the settler assault upon him of February 6, 1956, he has stuck to it with all the rigor of a puritan character. Until he changes his mind, individual deputies and leaders of smaller groups will not stick out their necks prematurely.

Writing on the third anniversary of the winding up of the Indochina War by M. Mendès-France, Le Monde recently drew the parallel with the atmosphere that preceded the Indochina and Morocco settlements. In France politics is the art of the impossible. Situations always seem inextricable until suddenly they shake loose. The Fourth Republic has astonishing power to survive. The Communists, General de Gaulle, and M. Mendès-France have all had their try and failed. Where change has come, it has come anonymously, almost in the background, as in the case of increasing prosperity or of the European idea. The threat of nationalist autocracy, even now, is not immediate. The real danger is of slow rot. In the last year government has shown itself incapable of changing policy; Parliament, incapable of changing the shade of government. Even M. Bourgès-Maunoury, leading the weakest cabinet France has had since the war, may be shielded in the autumn by the fear that no really different team can be formed. With Parliament immobilised by the balance of electoral power, with leaders afraid to affront public opinion with unpleasant facts, and with prosperity held up to pay for war, the Fourth Republic is courting ruin. France in a united Europe may well have a bright future ahead of it, but until the Algerian crisis has been overcome one can only see it as through the wrong end of a telescope.

Municipal Utility Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to submit a table and an editorial from the August 5, 1957, copy of the Madison, (Wis.) Capital Times. The table shows the vital statistics on 89 municipally owned electric and water utilities in Wisconsin which had net profits of $3,187,410 in 1956. The good folks in these communities would take immediate offense if they were singled out and labeled as Socialists. They read the balance sheet at the end of the year, note the profits, the increased value of the plant, the amount of money their plant has paid in taxes, and in many cases the amount of profits which have gone into municipal funds, and compare their rates with those paid by residents of neighboring communities to private power companies. Unlike the private power companies, they do not use funds derived from their ratepayers to purchase full-page advertisements in slick magazines in an effort to pin alien labels on their competition.

In the face of the mounting barrage of propaganda against this type of utility ownership, the residents of these communities who think they have a right to keep the profits of their business in their hometowns should pay serious attention to keeping their fellow townsmen properly informed on the true worth and value of their utilities to the home community.

The table and editorial follow:

89 publicly owned electric and water utilities in State show $3,187,410 net profits in 1956

Electricity and water utilities	Total assets	Operating revenues	Operating expenses	Depreciation	Taxes paid	Profits	Contributed to municipal funds
Algoma	$701,840	$275,810	$225,212	$14,173	$7,833	$28,742	None
Arcadia	783,153	151,699	94,910	18,211	7,553	28,439	None
Argyle	231,629	48,759	31,557	6,495	4,927	5,080	$2,000
Bangor	465,825	126,960	82,787	11,839	7,878	24,223	None
Barron	1,180,692	220,465	154,514	34,997	24,565	1,457	None
Belmont	117,628	36,269	25,408	2,286	1,573	6,505	None
Benton	160,999	39,353	28,107	2,967	2,647	3,900	None
Black Earth	341,992	78,726	50,404	6,088	4,008	13,901	None
Black River Falls	1,616,890	244,532	133,614	36,933	28,498	31,334	4,238
Bloomer	449,475	166,092	139,409	8,409	8,646	9,903	None
Boscobel	487,847	166,002	102,308	9,252	8,643	45,624	None
Brodhead	519,990	127,096	101,849	7,992	8,895	10,204	None
Cadott	149,021	45,815	36,999	3,656	2,458	3,120	None
Cashton	350,799	67,986	40,903	6,974	4,408	16,798	None
Cassville	78,734	7,288	4,248	865	690	1,485	None
Cedarburg	1,727,486	398,448	229,812	42,404	40,492	75,692	None
Centuria	47,636	31,018	24,903	1,436	923	3,284	None
Clintonville	949,558	309,020	264,417	17,852	16,903	6,070	None
Columbus	1,688,122	428,755	333,037	5,685	12,083	23,103	[1] 435
Commonwealth	47,408	11,280	8,881	950	1,605	[1] 158	None
Cornell	350,523	79,591	57,901	8,634	6,125	2,671	None
Cuba City	424,622	91,615	62,284	7,559	5,017	12,068	None
Cumberland	762,466	198,949	132,643	24,250	13,503	25,451	14,000
Deerfield	153,054	60,854	48,282	3,589	2,567	6,416	901
Eagle River	350,435	111,059	84,040	7,366	3,508	16,238	14,880
Elkhorn	1,066,919	269,311	193,135	22,915	21,999	31,540	None
Elroy	386,962	86,202	46,067	9,669	11,613	18,833	313
Evansville	793,149	252,794	182,351	15,080	11,723	44,722	None
Fennimore	664,842	134,725	72,677	10,745	13,385	20,427	None
Florence	231,580	58,853	42,959	4,156	5,886	2,900	None
Footville	137,852	38,062	28,019	2,932	1,399	5,765	None
Gresham	358,690	82,264	36,133	9,740	5,124	3,522	None
Hartford	1,459,677	376,994	293,368	34,781	16,730	29,864	21,787
Hazel Green	78,488	30,428	24,740	1,282	1,511	2,895	3,148
Hustisford	211,874	63,936	51,005	5,367	3,011	4,658	None
Jefferson	990,368	308,538	228,130	16,881	14,921	82,236	6,688
Juneau	663,060	146,141	107,963	9,750	5,583	16,361	None
Kaukauna	5,242,019	1,108,357	649,710	114,502	100,387	246,557	53,208
Kewaunee	595,743	150,133	120,538	11,218	6,217	13,111	None
Kiel	711,244	178,506	141,452	17,783	7,553	11,801	None
LaFarge	185,355	42,462	40,738	4,747	1,113	6,649	None
Lake Mills	914,416	249,002	176,985	23,152	15,213	33,471	None
Lodi	233,505	85,309	69,915	4,964	4,244	5,687	None
Manitowoc	12,025,787	1,902,296	1,134,736	221,532	132,530	431,058	None
Marshfield	5,431,569	1,057,673	596,049	110,842	89,841	256,046	None
Mazomanie	167,273	49,978	36,863	3,233	2,898	6,984	None
Medford	622,114	253,401	190,828	14,875	7,258	37,677	20,000
Menasha	5,946,688	887,619	482,700	86,999	73,231	208,530	None
Merrillan	136,144	21,552	15,524	1,725	1,528	2,450	None
Mount Horeb	308,725	140,853	105,576	9,263	5,307	19,687	None
Muscoda	393,124	73,563	40,657	7,506	5,968	18,252	None
New Glarus	293,745	86,019	62,028	7,513	2,901	12,914	None
New Holstein	808,791	224,378	159,346	13,541	11,291	35,301	None
New Lisbon	398,502	88,679	54,119	10,588	7,271	15,111	None
New London	1,062,443	330,107	238,302	19,404	17,551	55,187	22,500
New Richmond	972,369	230,903	165,673	19,974	7,211	31,094	4,576
Oconomowoc	1,279,533	467,402	357,010	24,519	20,272	65,487	None
Oconto Falls	421,975	108,119	70,729	8,407	6,197	22,785	1,540
Oliver	15,256	8,998	5,876	483	None	1,928	None
Pardeeville	160,876	63,228	44,647	4,010	1,372	11,883	None
Plymouth	1,854,413	540,025	407,600	47,282	27,528	62,360	15,000
Prairie du Sac	267,051	82,018	68,789	5,124	3,035	15,490	1,343
Princeton	266,790	77,277	57,681	4,430	4,692	11,189	None
Readstown	93,879	21,605	15,187	1,820	1,637	2,867	None
Reedsburg	902,194	298,788	237,374	15,230	8,532	41,806	3,488
Rice Lake	1,119,027	395,028	319,227	25,799	20,257	29,898	15,000
Richland Center	1,743,430	359,634	228,258	46,472	40,438	39,934	None
River Falls	1,426,602	302,202	169,259	32,772	17,152	79,242	None
Sauk City	418,980	136,520	105,615	6,335	5,542	18,531	None
Shawano	1,616,688	406,241	287,827	33,570	18,904	63,534	None
Sheboygan Falls	1,117,711	289,220	206,365	20,299	21,446	37,188	None
Shullsburg	147,379	67,127	53,901	4,236	2,153	6,678	None
Slinger	429,455	65,806	46,761	2,461	1,188	13,708	None
Spooner	346,989	155,381	131,030	5,977	5,012	11,790	None
Stoughton	909,446	339,671	271,489	19,044	15,834	35,209	17,650
Stratford	215,012	63,344	48,942	3,414	3,698	7,290	None
Sturgeon Bay	1,841,206	515,614	386,116	35,463	23,339	67,252	153
Sun Prairie	556,371	183,313	142,676	10,947	6,389	21,473	None
Trempealeau	162,536	33,009	20,412	2,641	2,576	6,473	None
Two Rivers	2,556,430	612,892	421,341	44,245	50,909	82,881	None

[1] Loss.

89 publicly owned electric and water utilities in State show $3,187,410 net profits in 1956—Continued

Electricity and water utilities	Total assets	Operating revenues	Operating expenses	Depreciation	Taxes paid	Profits	Contributed to municipal funds
Viola	$113,339	$39,235	$34,081	$2,975	$2,404	[1] $226	None
Waterloo	544,418	151,240	111,827	9,591	8,378	21,890	None
Waunakee	200,475	89,286	75,100	2,330	2,266	9,590	None
Waupun	1,297,829	383,262	300,207	20,404	17,267	43,275	None
Westby	253,566	94,036	73,595	5,635	5,033	9,281	$12,154
Whitehall	182,014	103,603	77,154	7,077	2,830	16,582	None
Wisconsin Dells	583,635	182,980	136,003	14,521	9,102	1,227	None
Wisconsin Rapids	4,377,153	1,151,087	759,576	85,617	52,819	237,418	None
Wonewoc	110,792	50,836	38,698	2,408	1,606	8,065	2,500
Total	85,184,041	20,415,286	14,087,080	1,707,558	1,248,296	3,187,410	237,580

[1] Loss

FIGURES SHOW BENEFITS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Each year the Capital Times publishes the annual reports made by municipally owned utilities of Wisconsin to the State public service commission.

We do this because we believe that the hard, cold facts of the results of public ownership are the best answer to the propaganda of the private utilities. In these reports we find the simple, irrefutable story of the benefits almost 100 communities in Wisconsin receive because they own and operate their own utility systems.

The reports show that in 1956 these systems made profits of $3,187,410. That is money that will stay in the communities to be used to lower rates or to ease the tax burden for community services. It does not go out of the community to the absentee owners of the private utilities that operate in so many communities in this State.

The utilities call this socialism. But we can well imagine that the good Republican people of New Richmond and Richland Center don't mind being called socialistic when it pays off as well as it is paying for them.

In addition to the profits of over $3 million, these utilities contributed $237,580 to municipal funds during the year, saving the taxpayers from having to dig down in their pockets to pay for whatever these funds are used for.

It is often said by the utilities that public ownership can provide benefits because no taxes are paid by public-owned utilities. Here again the facts tell the story.

In 1956 these utilities paid $1,248,296 in taxes.

Meanwhile, the communities that are practicing this form of socialism are building up tremendously valuable community assets. The figures show that in 1956 they built up these assets to $85,184,041, at the same time that they were taking profits, taxes, and contributions from the system.

If this is socialism, there must be an awful lot of satisfied Socialists in this State.

Views of a Returning Traveler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, Holmes Alexander's column in the Los Angeles Times of August 6, 1957, should, in my judgment, be very thought-provoking to all Members. I recommend it:

"Whatever happened to the United States of America?" asked the returning traveler as he leafed through the pages of history. "Did some foreign nation cross the ocean and stamp out the American sovereignty with troops?"

That wasn't necessary, he was told. By 1957 the United States of America had 40 percent of its Army, much of its Air Force, and most of its Navy stationed abroad. The United States of America was also training 200 divisions of foreigners in 72 alien nations. You might suppose from this form of armed occupation that other nations were surrendering their sovereignty to the United States of America, but this is not so. During the decades at the midcentury, our Presidents were busy turning over American sovereignty to the Old World of Europe and Asia.

It must have required a lot of ingenuity," and the returning traveler. "How did it all happen?"

Oh, in various ways, he was told. The status-of-forces treaties, along with executive agreements, surrendered the sovereign right to try our own nationals accused of crime while on duty with the Armed Forces. But these erosions were only part of the draft determination of certain midcentury Presidents to undo the work of the Founding Fathers.

"Our Presidents?" echoed the returning traveler. "Our Commanders in Chief? Our heads of state? They were part of the share America movement?"

They were its prime movers, he was told. They abandoned our moral position on world affairs in favor of entangling alliances. They promoted giveaway programs. They deserted our prisoners of war in enemy camps as well as abandoning our peacetime soldiers to alien courts. Congress fought every one of the programs and for a while succeeded in some degree. But the power of the executive department increased with the complexity of government and the extension of propaganda media. Congress fought a losing battle. Moreover, a deadly disease had laid hold of our American Republic. The stronger the presidency became, the weaker became the Presidents.

"Like the Roman emperors who followed the early Caesars?" asked the returning traveler.

The history books will probably show you, he was told, that the destructive process set in with President Andrew Jackson. Old Hickory brought in real democracy, the spoils system, the glorification of the common man and the vilification of capitalism. It's noticeable that Jackson was followed by eight of the weakest Presidents we ever had. During that time the country refused to elect its leaders from Congress—Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton, and the rest. This had the effect of weakening the prestige of Congress.

The Returning Traveler nodded.

"The history books also say that the two great 20th-century Senators, Bob Taft and Bob La Follette, were rejected for the presidency. So were Oscar W. Underwood and John N. Garner. And later, the main handicap of WILLIAM KNOWLAND and LYNDON JOHNSON was that they came from the Senate where circumstances had forced them to make their position known on important issues of the time."

The Returning Traveler was closing in on the truth by this time. The genius of the American system is that it is responsive to public opinion. A Congressman can hardly win if he is hostile to the popular sentiments and business interests of his district.

This is why the House of Representatives is very unwilling to give away the American sovereignty.

"These pages," said the Returning Traveler as he turned the leaves in the book of history, "might have carried a different story if the country had put more faith in Congress than in the Supreme Court and the White House. If 1 of the 3 branches must dominate, let is always be Congress. Indeed, as I read close to the pages, I seem to see that."

The eye of the Returning Traveler brightened with hope. Down in the emerging text of unfolding events he seemed to see that Congress was getting tired of playing second fiddle to the White House and the Supreme Court.

Pay Raises for Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I first wish to thank you for the privilege of expressing myself in favor of immediate and meaningful pay raises for Federal employees.

The 11th Congressional District, which I represent in California, has a great many Federal employees including postal workers and persons employed at Sharpe General Depot, the Stockton Naval Supply Annex and other Federal offices and installations.

The salary question is a very real and pressing problem which calls for a forthright approach. For the employees concerned, it is a matter of simple justice; for the Government, it is a matter of attracting and retaining qualified personnel in the interest of efficiency and economy. In my opinion, an adequate pay schedule for Federal employees is long overdue, at least to the extent of keeping up with the fast-rising cost of living.

Federal employees are in the unique position of having to accept what is given to them without being able to fight for their rights by the conventional methods available to other employees who negotiate wage matters with their employers. It would be highly improper, in my opinion, for the Federal Government, as an employer, to take advantage of this unique authority and to expect Government employees to pay the cost of any governmental budget difficulties. Certainly, any threats of a presidential veto should not deter the Congress from taking the only just and equitable course.

As you know, the House by an overwhelming majority has voted for a $546

annual pay increase for postal workers. The House Civil Service Committee has recommended a flat 11 percent increase for classified employees, which percentage-wise would approximately equal the postal pay raise.

In my files are scores of letters bearing convincing evidence of the injustice of the present scales and the pressing need for remedial action now, not some time in the distant future. It has long been my belief that one of the greatest wastes in Government is the loss of trained personnel through heavy turnover and the loss of potential public workers who are forced to enter more remunerative fields.

Following are the names of some of the persons who have written to me concerning the inadequacies of the present Federal pay:

Mrs. Elvira Lopez; Dick Remington; J. E. Willey; C. B. Rose; Reid Hollingsworth; Joseph Groves; H. Clemens; Gene Hopper; Mrs. Martha Davela; Mrs. Pearl Jones; Mrs. Estelle Simpson; Mrs. Marjorie Sheridan; Nell Heil; Mrs. A. F. Harrison; Mrs. M. F. Blackshear; Bill Halstead; Mrs. J. H. Smalley; Mr. and Mrs. Forrest Cooper; Mr. J. Chincarini; Carl Van Allen; Dean De Carli; Karl Monten; Chet Farnsworth; Duryea Warn; James Lystra; James Tutor; Miss Bonnibell Laurence; Helen Lewis; Mrs. Annie Eigenberger; Arnold Lawson; A. J. Beerbower; Mr. and Mrs. Walton Harris; Mrs. Gladis Cole; Hollie Langley; Edythe Rigor; Jean Harris; Nora Lara; Milton Loy; Velma Robinson; Mrs. Adrea Haggren; Luella Neckels; Dorothy Firth; Lois Robinson; Rebecca MacFarlane; Frank Weaver; Mrs. Audelle Berry; P. L. Menou; Mrs. Oleta Hesterly; Joan Loftus; Lorraine McElwee; Rose Del Barba; Gerald Marques; Bertram Jacobs; M. W. Auge; Eldon Peterson; C. A. Rivers; Mrs. Reba Gibson; F. J. Crona; Mrs. Jean Peterson; Mrs. Violet Carney; Leonard Silva; Harold Weed; George Brehm; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Dias; Mrs. Vea Camp; Wilfred Thallander; Lee Chadwick; Mrs. Eva Brooks; Emmet Ames; Walter Sun; Earl Robbins; George Keane; Emmett Littleton; Fred Axner; Roy Anderson; John Walker; Francis Middleton; S. R. Edelman; George Anderson; Edward Todresic; E. R. Paddeford; Dick Willis; George Scott; Manuel Retamoza; Brian O'Loughlin; Joseph Kaufman; Alfred Vesik; E. A. Schanzenbach; F. Elwood Reitz; Fred Moore; George Ely; Mr. and Lester Cherry; Mr. and Mrs. William Weston; L. J. Hefner; Marshall Haines; John McDonald; Earl Call; Forrest Bishop; S. Bozzini; Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Kleine; W. G. Oyler; Mr. and Mrs. Ming Wong; Mrs. P. S. Willis; Frank Chituras; Mrs. F. A. Middleton; Reuben Howeth; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bryant; Everett Spitler; Bob Raines; Cleo Wetter; Gerald Enos; Mr. and Mrs. Moody Blanchard; Mrs. Edward Cole; W. J. Thomas; Clyde Dyer; Roy Brannon; Flora Johnson; Henry Ruthmann; Gilbert Rosa; Jesse Black; C. J. Bennett; Carl Walker; Mrs. Florence Long; Jack Woodhams; Joe Fong; John Seyben; LeRoy Wright; D. H. Brandon; Mrs. Bessie Murano; Vernon Baltz; Doris McFarland; John Watts; Frank Osterman; William Morris; Mrs. Frank Beiler; Stuart Scofield; Howard Grove; Mrs. David Gemigniani; Edward Dupont; David Walker; Melvin Backlund; Bert Hubers; B. T. Sloan; Burton Davis; Wendell Hall; Ray Berry; Melvin Leno; E. R. Thomspson; F. E. Rinehart; Bonnie Gelderman; Mrs. Everett Spitler; Mrs. Everett Ross; Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Elzner; Mr. Frank D. Uomini, Jr.; Mrs. O. L. Rich, Sr.; Mrs. Geo. Graziano; Sybil Sticht; and Richard Suess.

Esler Field, La.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to authorize the Secretary of the Army to convey to the Parish of Rapides, La., title to Esler Field, La., on condition that it be used as a public airport.

Esler Field is a part of a military complex comprised of Camp Livingston and Camp Beauregard, La. The field was constructed during World War II and for the past 13 years has remained idle as an airbase.

The Department of the Army has agreed that the field can be released to Rapides Parish, La., for use as an airport so long as it can again be used in time of war or national emergency, and particularly that is can be used during maneuvers in Louisiana.

The committee, therefore, amended the bill so as to provide that the Federal Government in the future could use the airport without charge for transient military aircraft during periods of maneuvers in Louisiana and for the use of the Louisiana National Guard. Further, a reverter to the United States is provided in case the parish of Rapides fails to use Esler Field as a public airport.

The conveyance authorized by the bill would also be made subject to the reservation by the United States of all mineral rights, including oil and gas, and such other reservations, restrictions, terms, and conditions that the Secretary of the Army determines to be necessary to properly protect the interests of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very worthwhile bill. At the beginning of World War II the city of Alexandria, Rapides Parish, La., owned a public airport. However, this airport was donated to the United States Government so that the Alexandria Army Air Corps base could be established on that site. Today this is known as England Air Force Base, and it is now necessary for all civilian air service in this locality to use the military base. Gradually, the use of this facility by private planes is becoming more detrimental because of the need for its use by the military. Safety hazards have therefore been increased. England Air Force Base is crowded with jet aircraft and with commercial planes landing on the base the time has come when some other facility must be provided for this locality's private aviation. Furthermore, additional commercial lines serving central Louisiana are reluctant to come into this area because of unsatisfactory operating conditions.

Mr. Speaker, as I have said, the Department of the Army has approved this bill, and there is no objection from the Bureau of the Budget. The enactment of the bill will have no effect on the budgetary requirements of the Department of Defense, and I feel that the Federal Government will, by enacting this bill, be repaying the city of Alexandria, La., for its patriotic donation of its public airport at the beginning of World War II.

Air Force Secretary Asked To Investigate CAP Military Setup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, on July 16 I remarked for the RECORD on the outstanding job turned in by the Big Bend Squadron of the Civil Air Patrol in connection with rescue operations in the Big Bend National Park of Texas. Now I find it my sad duty to report to the Members of this House that the fine work accomplished by this group of Texas flyers has not been met with the appreciation one would expect, but with the blundering persecution of the leader of those fliers by high Civil Air Patrol and Air Force officials.

For some 3 or 4 days now I have been in conversation, via the telephone, with Maj. Gen. Walter Agee., General Agee is a member of the United States Air Force, and his full-time duty assignment is to act as National Commanding Officer of the Civil Air Patrol. I regret to say his actions in this case have not given me any confidence in his ability to carry out a major assignment on the part of our Armed Forces.

It will be recalled that the Big Bend fliers rescued a Houston woman from the park after a search of 6 days and nights. Failing to get response from the CAP office in Fort Worth when asking for permission to conduct an official CAP mission, the flyers elected to carry out a mission of mercy as individuals and their efforts ended successfully.

Persons in Alpine, Tex., having no connection with the Big Bend CAP unit, informed me of the work of the flyers and suggested I attempt to collect for them the actual funds they had spent from their own pockets in conducting the search. The National Parks Service agreed to pay it, and I so notified the flyers. Later, however, the Parks Service informed me the fliers had voted not to accept the money as they had carried out the search as individuals, not with the thought of collecting reimbursement but with the thought of

saving a life. This, I thought, was a most admirable attitude.

Apparently, however, General Agee and others within the ivory towers of high CAP circles did not agree. The next thing I knew, the CAP ordered an investigation into the conduct of Maj. "Bob" Crawford, the Big Bend CAP commanding officer. It is interesting to note that the CAP officials did not ask Major Crawford one single thing about the successful search he conducted, nor did they comment on his saving the life of the lost woman. The only questions posed to Major Crawford were these:

How did the newspapers get the publicity relating to the search, and how did Congressman J. T. RUTHERFORD become involved in the matter of attempting to collect the money spent by the flyers?

The answer to the first question is obvious: the search was of nationwide importance, and was covered by reporters and correspondents from the El Paso Herald-Post, another El Paso daily in addition to the Herald-Post, the San Angelo Standard-Times, the Forth Worth Press, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, the Alpine Avalanche and the major wire services in the news-gathering field. I can assure you that Major Crawford and his flyers were too busy saving a life to be issuing press releases. The answer to the second question has already been given, by saying that interested persons in Alpine, having no connection with the flyers, called the matter to my attention and felt the boys should be reimbursed for their expenses.

At no time—and I repeat—at no time, did Maj. "Bob" Crawford or any other member of the Big Bend CAP unit contact me about the money, or for any other reason.

Yet last Sunday, August 4, CAP bigwigs met in star-chamber proceedings in Fort Worth, Tex., and decided to relieve Major Crawford of his command for what they termed "his handling of the case." I talked yesterday for almost 40 minutes with General Agee, asking him time and time again to explain what was meant by Major Crawford's "handling of the case." He did not once give me a satisfactory answer, referring only to the "adverse publicity" the CAP did not like. So the sum total of the situation is this: Major Crawford is being relieved of his command because he did not censor the many representatives of the press, who reported only the facts and what was common knowledge to the citizens of the Big Bend area, and because I entered into the case at the request of Alpine citizens. I say again that I have not heard from Major Crawford, I do not personally know him and I doubt if I would recognize him if he walked into this House, but this apparently makes no difference to General Agee and his censorship-conscious commandos.

I point out that Major Crawford was not notified of the Fort Worth meeting deciding his CAP fate, he had no chance to explain his side of the story, to be informed of the charges against him or to face his accusers. I submit to the House that things are in a sorry state when an organization chartered by Congress, and commanded by a major general in the United States Air Force, can conduct such purge proceedings that would be more in keeping with the operation of the Kremlin than with the operation of the Pentagon.

Even more amazing is this drastic action when we consider the statements of CAP officials that the Big Bend unit was not an official CAP organization at the time of the search. Col. Sidney Perryman of Olney, Tex., wing commander of the CAP for this area, told newsmen shortly after the woman had been rescued from the park that he could not officially commend members of the Big Bend flying posse, "because officially they are not yet members of the CAP." I do not know Colonel Perryman, either, but I wonder what kind of a man he can be to make that statement and then, a few weeks later, bring charges against the man designated as the commanding officer of the same organization.

When I read Colonel Perryman's statement in the newspapers, I checked to see why the Big Bend squadron had not been recognized. I found that although the members paid for their I. D. cards and for their charter last March, they had received nothing more. After numerous letters to General Agee, all answered by someone else in his absence, I received a letter from his office saying that as of 2 weeks ago the charter application had not even been received by CAP Headquarters. Thus far General Agee has not explained what happened to that application during the past 5 months. Yet, Colonel Perryman only recently wrote Major Crawford that the unit was "being placed on probation until October 1," and then followed with the secret closed-door hearing in Fort Worth last Sunday at which the character of a man not invited to the session was roundly attacked.

General Agee has given every indication of being the original "rubber stamp" commander. He told me on the telephone yesterday that he has not yet received the official transcript of the star-chamber proceedings firing Major Crawford, but that he "fully intends to back Colonel Perryman up." In other words, he is refusing to review the case with an open mind and has denied Major Crawford the right of appeal. This is a culmination of the biggest railroad job since the railsplitters headed west.

I have only admiration for the Big Bend flyers and for Major Crawford based on their activities of their search in the Big Bend National Park. Likewise, I have only admiration for the CAP members all over the United States who give of their time and efforts to belong to an organization that has done so much good in the past, and that has the opportunity to do so much good in the future. I fear for them, however, because if the actions condoned by General Agee are allowed to go unchallenged, who knows who will next be purged from the ranks of the CAP in the future?

I am calling these remarks to the attention of the Secretary of the Air Force, and am asking him to conduct an investigation into this matter, and into the entire operations of General Agee's office.

In America, we cannot allow a handful of men to establish themselves as paragons of virtue, as censors of our press, as overlords of our right of free speech and petition. I urge each Member of the House to join me in asking the Secretary of the Air Force to look into the situation.

From "Hand to Mouth" with H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, this morning's Washington Post editorial Hand to Mouth? effectively corroborates and supports the much publicized statement of the Secretary of Defense—who administers over half the entire Federal budget—in which he unequivocally condemned as expensive and unsound the partial financing of Government programs and projects. Partial financing is the heart of H. R. 8002, the so-called accrued expenditure bill about which Members have been bombarded with misleading and false information by proponents of the bill.

Conflicting statements from the White House, the Pentagon, and the propagandizing Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report to the contrary notwithstanding, Secretary Wilson used the plainest and simplest language possible in his statement of July 1. His position—and incidentally the Director of the Budget concurs—against partial financing is so clear as to admit of no possible misunderstanding by anyone who wants to understand.

Under leave to extend, I include the editorial:

HAND TO MOUTH?

We hope the House will not enact the ill-advised bill passed by the Senate to put all Federal appropriations on a year-to-year basis, despite Secretary Wilson's last-minute explanation that he favors this so-called reform. If he does, there was nothing in his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee to indicate it—there was, on the contrary, every reason to believe that he was most fearful, and rightly so, of what this proposal would do to important defense procurement programs that necessarily extend over more than 1 year.

It is difficult to understand why the President has reemphasized his support of this deceptively innocent but loaded proposition. The idea behind it, as explained by the Hoover Commission, which also favors the change, is that Congress would retain better control of annual spending rates if all appropriations lapsed at the end of each year and had to be renewed. This might make the budget somewhat easier to talk about—but the simplification would be an illusion.

Under the plan, Congress would still grant contract authority for spending programs covering more than 1 year. Either that authority would be meaningful, or it would not. If it were meaningful, the appropriations to back up the contracts would be mandatory—and nothing would be gained over the present system under which funds may be appropriated to cover the entire contract, however long it takes to execute. But if the contract authority were only a gesture (as legislative authorizations for

appropriations often are), no Federal department would ever know whether it was safe in entering into a long-term procurement contract. "Partial financing," which Secretary Wilson rightly deplores, would become the usual thing rather than the exception, and the resulting extra cost and confusion of canceled and rewritten contracts would play hob with vitally important Federal activities.

If Congress wants authority to cancel programs that get out of hand, it has that authority now. If it wants a budget balance sheet figured on an annual cash basis, it has that now, or can readily obtain it. If Congress wants to make a show of "reform" to help answer the widespread demands for economy, it can do better by eliminating the postal deficit and rivers and harbors pork barreling and in other substantive ways. If Congress wishes to be in position to play politics to the hilt every year with critical long-range defense and other programs, or if it wishes to usurp what are properly administrative responsibilities of the executive branch, the annual appropriation scheme is well suited to the purpose. But the plan would serve no other end and ought to be shelved.

Senator Walter F. George

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it was with much sadness that I learned Sunday of the passing of Senator George. The news brought a flood of memories of this beloved Georgian during a lifetime of public service, and treasured recollections of my association with him personally.

I knew and appreciated Senator George before he came to Washington, while he served as an appellate judge in the Georgia courts. He built for himself there a deserved reputation for ability, learning, and integrity. When a vacancy in the Senate was created by the death of another great Georgian, Senator Thomas E. Watson, it was logical that Judge George should be chosen to represent Georgia in this office of such great responsibility. The diligence and fidelity with which he served in the Senate have written his laudable record there far better than I could ever recount it. His life was a living example of the fact that in America a citizen has the opportunity to rise as fast and as high as his ability and energy qualify him to go.

I came to know Senator George better and more intimately than ever before when I came to Congress in 1947. I had occasion many times during my service here to confer with him regarding legislative matters, and regarding personal problems of constitutents. I found him always the soul of kindness, generosity, and helpfulness. I never called upon him for assistance of any kind that he did not respond promptly and helpfully. The weighty matters of Government with which he was always concerned never caused him to be abrupt, and never interferred with his genial and friendly manner.

It was indeed a high privilege to know Senator George and count myself as one of his friends.

In Senator George's passing the free world has sustained a tremendous loss. His life and his activities have ended, but his public service will for many years to come influence the destiny of America and the world.

I extend deepest sympathy to Mrs. George and the members of the family.

Paper Mills and Pollution Abatement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, the pulp and paper industry is to be commended for the outstanding program it is making in its war on water pollution. It is a source of considerable pride to me that my constitutents are in the vanguard of this battle. At Covington, Va., the West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co., one of the most important members of the industry, has completed a $2 million waste-treatment plant capable of removing up to 90 percent of harmful solid and organic matter from the company's waste water. But the battle is universal, and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Mr. John J. Abele which appeared in the August 6, 1957, issue of the New York Times:

PAPER MILLS GAIN ON POLLUTION; CONTAMINATION IN RIVERS CUT 50 PERCENT

(By John J. Abele)

The pulp and paper industry is making progress in its battle against water pollution. The fight is an expensive one, averaging about $10 million a year. Within the last two decades the industry has doubled its production but cut the pollution load from its waste materials in half.

It has also made each gallon of water go further in the production process.

Water is the lifeblood of the pulp and paper industry, which uses about 4 billion gallons a day, almost 4 times the daily requirements of New York City.

Russell L. Winget, executive secretary of the National Council for Stream Improvement, which is sponsored by manufacturers of pulp, paper, and paperboard, estimates that the industry has spent about $100 million in the last 10 years for waste-treatment facilities.

An additional $1 million or more is spent each year for industry-sponsored research. The NCSI, for example, is conducting projects at 14 research centers. The projects range from the effect of oxygen content on fish eggs to better ways of getting excess water out of sludge wastes. The council represents companies producing 95 percent of the industry's output.

There are several reasons behind pulp and paper's search for more and better ways to combat pollution.

One is that the Nation's waterways have won increased recognition as a major national resource that is not without limits. Concern for wildlife in the streams and rivers has also contributed to public demand for more careful use of water resources. These demands reflect the fact that 44 States now have legislation providing for some control of stream use.

WATER NEEDS RECOGNIZED

Further, the industry's position as a major user of water for industrial purposes gives it an essential interest in conserving water supplies.

Finally, the fight against pollution can lead to the recovery of byproducts that can be reused in production operations or marketed on their own.

Pollution is a complicated problem, one that is made more complex by the varying definitions of pollution applied by public agencies. In pulp and paper, differences in product, method of manufacture, and stream conditions allow for few generalizations on how to solve the problem from one plant to the next.

Basically, the purity of a stream rests upon its oxygen supply. This supply, only a few parts of oxygen to millions of parts of water, is reduced by the injection of waste materials that unite with the oxygen.

In pulp and paper, the offending materials are divided into two broad classifications, solids and chemical solutions. The former—wood fibers, clays, and other solid residues—can be screened out by means of filtration, sedimentation and flotation. More than 90 percent of pulp plants now use equipment that can remove up to 97 percent of the solids. Some of these—fibers, for example—can be reused.

CHEMICAL RECOVERY 50 PERCENT

Chemical wastes are far more difficult and more costly to recover. Methods used include treatment with other chemicals, heat, and electricity and pools in which the wastes are concentrated and then aerated to increase their oxygen supply.

The recovery rate for chemical wastes from the kraft, or sulfate process, used for about 75 percent of all pulp production, is about 97 percent. The other major method of manufacture, the sulfate process, offers little recovery. Yields are being increased, however, through the development of new treatment systems, such as the Weyerhaeuser Timber Co.'s magnesia-base method and the Rosenblatt and Zimmerman processes.

Two of the principal byproducts recovered from chemical wastes are heat, produced by the incineration of organic wastes and chemicals. Some of the latter may be reused in production processes. Others can be used to produce such diverse items as adhesives, ceramic hardeners, fodder yeast, vanillin, cement, and oil drilling muds.

The pollution problems of the pulp and paper companies as well as steel, food processing, textiles, and other industries, have helped create a new industry—the manufacture of waste treatment facilities.

COST IS CONSIDERABLE

The cost of these facilities is a major item in the budgets of pulp and paper manufacturers. They range from 1 to 3 percent of total plant cost—and are going higher.

Among the many companies producing installations of various types for the pulp and paper field are Dorr-Oliver, Inc.; Link-Belt Co., Chain Belt Co., Engineers, Inc., Combustion Engineering Co., Babcock & Wilcox Co., Elmco Corp., Harding Co., Inc., American Well Works, Infilco, Inc., and the Worthington Corp.

A newcomer to the field is the Western Precipitation Co., which recently announced it was installing a sodium sulfide recovery unit in a plant being built by the Consolidated Water Power & Paper Co. in Wisconsin.

Communist Influence in the Caribbean and in Latin Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include therein a letter I sent to the Honorable HOWARD SMITH, chairman of the Rules Committee, relative to my House Resolution 383, which I introduced August 1, 1957, and which I also include in my remarks.

The following letter was sent from Hon. GARDNER R. WITHROW to Hon. HOWARD SMITH, chairman, Committee on Rules, in support of the resolution regarding Communist influence in the Caribbean and the Latin Americas in view of happenings in the last week which strongly indicates a move of international communism. Mr. WITHROW introduced House Resolution 383 on August 1, 1957.

AUGUST 7, 1957.

Hon. HOWARD SMITH,
Chairman, Committee on Rules,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am seriously concerned with the increasingly apparent violence and Communist influence in the Caribbean and the Latin Americas. It is no longer possible for us to distinguish between quarreling among political groups and what we now know to be international Communist tactics.

On August 1, I introduced House Resolution 383, now before your committee, and which I trust you will act upon before the House adjourns. I do not believe the $25,000 to be exorbitant for a study of Communist efforts in the Western Hemisphere; however, in recognition of the economy efforts, I would not object to your reducing the amount, so long as we can begin some concrete effort to meet this problem, which is of concern to all of us.

I need not go into much detail on the need for favorable action by the Committee on Rules and the Committee on Foreign Affairs. We in Wisconsin have long been atuned to the dangers of communism. I need only to invite the committee's attention to the Washington Post on Sunday, August 4, wherein a special New York Herald Tribune dispatch asked: "Castillo Death Starts Check on Who's Next."

President Carlos Castillo Armas, of Guatemala, has just died of an assassin's bullet, fired by a palace guard who stood revealed as an acknowledged Communist. Just previouly, President Jose A. Remon, of Panama, was murdered, followed by President Anastasio Somozo, of Nicaragua. These three were not only devoted friends and allies of the United States, but each was bitterly anti-Communist.

The pattern is much too widespread to be purely localized political unrest. President Batista, of Cuba, is under pressure and one of the strongest opponents of communism in this hemisphere, the Dominican Republic, is under murderous assault from not only Latin American points, but right here in the United States as well. I know of no case in recent history where exiles have been able to stir up such venom in the United States, or where exiles are so vitriolic in their desires to produce punishment or revolution, as in the case of the Dominican Republic. This is, indeed, strange departure from the usual customs of where refugees, many of whom fled from conditions admittedly far worse than in the Western Hemisphere, who are glad to be here and away from those terrorized homelands to forget all and become good citizens. It would not surprise me to learn Communist forces supply much of the energy which makes up this strange program.

Strange, too, is the fact that President Figueres presides over Costa Rica, where about 9 years ago communism was outlawed by official act. Yet, the Communists continue to exist (perhaps in a relatively minor role) openly and without punitive action by the Government of Costa Rica.

One does not live with communism that way. It may well be that here will be No. 4, to answer the Herald Tribune. I understand Figueres recently unmasked two alleged assassins who had voluntarily confessed their mission was at the direction of the chief of state of another country. Perhaps they were correct but it is a story with a familiar Communist theme—murder and revolution stirred up in the international communism program, but tailored carefully for local purposes. The Communists which Figueres seems to tolerate may well be preparing him for No. 4 and laying the groundwork to place the responsibility on another, since Communists are sometimes less concerned with credit than their goals. If Figueres is No. 4, it would bring instant military action by Costa Rica, unless it could be charged to another outside source, which would relieve Costa Rica Communists from punitive action and give them time to organize a coup in their orderly fashions.

No. 5 may be Gen. R. Trujillo, in the Dominican Republic, since he seems to represent the strongest resistance to communism in the Latin Americas today. In the Dominican there is another equally powerful foe of communism, the Catholic Church of Rome, and it leaves little ground to feed a Communist growth. The Communists may need some strong help from within the United States, since we would resist outside foreign assistance at once, to break down this goal, and recent developments indicate they are getting it.

The Monroe Doctrine not only calls for the United States to protect the Western Hemisphere from without, but certainly from within from a foreign influence which would destroy us all. In recent weeks, I have heard colleagues speak of dictatorships as if they were something new. Latin America has always had its strong men, who in turn were replaced by strong men, and strong men will replace those now in power, with a continuing succession for years to come. The limited self-interest of any strong man offers more liberty than communism, which makes every person the abject slave to a strange ideology. In a police state there may be security personnel who will check on citizens, but communism offers the alternative of having a break in a long working day where you don't drink coffee or siesta but spend the time denouncing yourself or having a fellow worker do it.

House Resolution 383 will help in implementing the Monroe Doctrine. I warn the House that we owe it to Christian and anti-Communist governments to help search out and expose the Communists and their plans, as much a matter of our protection as theirs. In so doing we realize a stronger Western Hemisphere, and a more secure and safe United States.

Sincerely,

GARDNER R. WITHROW,
Member of Congress.

House Resolution 383

Whereas communism is on the march in the Latin Americas and Caribbean; and

Whereas the chief of state of a friendly ally was assassinated by a confessed Communist who held a position of trust; and

Whereas revolution is being fomented in the Caribbean and the Latin Americas on such a vast scale as to indicate an organized effort rather than localized feelings; and

Whereas the national security calls for Communist-free and settled governments in the Western Hemisphere; and

Whereas it would appear that Communist forces are crowding the United States in the Western Hemisphere to divert interest from other strategic areas: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs is authorized and directed to make a study of Communist efforts and influences being exerted in the Caribbean and Latin Americas and report to the Speaker of the House of Representatives not later than January 10, 1958.

SEC. 2. The committee is authorized to employ such investigators, and such clerical and professional assistance as may be necessary, and the committee is authorized to travel, and to authorize travel for employees, and to provide for whatever services may be necessary. For these purposes the committee is authorized to expend not to exceed $25,000 out of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 3. The committee is authorized to hold hearings at such places in the United States or Caribbean or Latin Americas as may be desirable and shall have the power to issue subpenas for witnesses for purposes of testifying at any duly authorized hearing provided in this section.

SEC. 4. In the course of its study and report the committee shall pay special attention to any activities calculated to be Communist in purpose or nature tending to create antagonism between countries in the Western Hemisphere with a view to amicable settlement of these hemispheric disputes and trace the irritation to its source, and for the express purpose of bolstering friendly governments whose traditional alliance, anticommunism, Christianity, and strategic importance to the United States is demanding of the confidence and support of the United States.

Hon. Walter F. George

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I join in tribute to Walter F. George. Senator George was the most outstanding Senator of his time. He devoted his entire life to service to his country. He was an authority in all legislative fields and particularly in the fields of taxes, social security, and foreign affairs. His monument will be his contributions to these many fields.

His advice was sought by Presidents and other high Government officials and all of those who were privileged to serve with him in the Congress of the United States. Even before his death he had already earned a place in history as one of the most respected and most beloved public officials of his time.

It was my extreme good fortune to have worked very closely with him in recent years in legislative matters. I often sought his counsel and advice and he very kindly gave it freely despite his busy life.

His loss is one which our Nation can ill afford in these troubled times. Our only consolation is to pattern our efforts after the example which he set for the highest in integrity, patriotism, devotion to duty, and country.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family.

Ferdinand G. Fraser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article from Who's Who in VA, which concerns the retirement on July 31, instant, of Mr. Ferdinand G. Fraser, Chief, Office Services Division, Office of Administration of the Veterans' Administration.

It has been my great good fortune to have known Mr. Fraser over the years, and he has been kind enough on numerous occasions to assist me in matters for the veterans in which I have been interested. Without exception he has been courteous, kind, and painstaking. With his fine ability he was very valuable. A badly disabled veteran himself, he had great sympathy and understanding for the veterans.

He will be missed in the Veterans' Administration, he will be missed in the Federal Government, and I, for one, as a Member of Congress shall miss him. I am happy to call him friend. His many friends wish him every happiness in his retirement, which he may enjoy with the full satisfaction of one who has worked long and hard in the performance of his duties.

The article referred to follows:

WHO'S WHO IN VA

Mr. Ferdinand G. Fraser, Chief, Office Services Division, Office of Administration, formulates and recommends plans, and procedures for the operation of the functional responsibilities of the Office Services Division including centralized general administrative records, receipt, distribution, and dispatch of mail for central office, VBO and insurance center, central master index, claims folder locator records, translation service, and telecommunications. The number and variety of records involved, approximately 133 million, and the number of unrelated functions constitute a complex and varied operation.

Mr. Fraser was born in Ashkum, Ill., March 3, 1891, and attended both high school and business college in that city. He served during World War I, from 1918 to 1919, in the United States Army and is currently a member of the American Legion, 40–8 Society and the Selective Service Association of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Fraser has served in the Veterans' Administration and its predecessor agencies continuously since February 6, 1919. During his employment he held such positions as supervising clerk, administrative assistant, senior administrative officer, executive officer, Director, Administrative Service, and Director, Administrative Operations Service (Washington). During the reorganization of the VA in 1953, his position was redesignated as Chief, Office Services Division under the newly created Office of Administration and was officially assigned to this position on May 23, 1954. In his more than 39 years of service Mr. Fraser has become a friend of all those with whom he has been associated. Mr. Fraser's many friends and associates extend to him their sincere wishes for good health and happiness in his forthcoming retirement, which he has announced will be effective July 31, 1957.

Facts Versus Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, in view of the highly misleading propaganda being used to discredit the jury-trial amendment in the Senate's version of the civil-rights bill, I am glad to include with my own remarks a very fine editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star for Wednesday, August 7, 1957, entitled "Facts Versus Propaganda":

FACTS VERSUS PROPAGANDA

In legislating on civil rights, Congress should be guided by the facts, not propaganda. Highly misleading propaganda is being used now to discredit the jury-trial amendment in the Senate civil-rights bill, and thus the bill itself. That propaganda takes the form of statements to the effect that the amendment kills, or weakens, or nullifies, or makes a ghost of, or, to borrow a White House phrase, "makes largely ineffective," the civil-rights bill. The other line is that it "weakens our whole judicial system."

Is this mere political panic? What else can it be? Whatever it is, Senators are gathering the facts to disprove such absurd generalizations.

For example, in fiscal 1956, there were only 48 cases of criminal contempt in all the Federal courts. Three were for contempt of Congress, in which there is trial by jury. In the same period, the Federal courts were trying 28,739 criminal cases by jury. Would trial by jury of the 45 other cases have weakened our whole judicial system?

In fiscal 1957, 26 of the 69 criminal contempt cases in all the Federal courts were for contempt of Congress, tried by jury.

There are 243 Federal judges sitting in 87 district courts. In only one of the past 10 years has the number of criminal contempt cases equalled the number of district courts. That was in 1951, when 64 of 124 criminal contempts were for contempt of Congress, and tried by jury. The House Un-American Activities Committee was busy that year. How ridiculous to say that had jury trial applied in all criminal contempt cases, our judicial system would have been weakened. We believe the statement will become even more absurd when Senators complete an analysis of circumstances in each criminal contempt case of recent years.

No one knows how many criminal contempt cases actually would result, and be tried by jury, under the civil-rights bill's provisions enforcing the right to vote. But under the jury-trial amendment, it is a Federal judge who decides whether to exercise his criminal or civil contempt powers, or both. His civil contempt powers to send a person to jail without a jury trial are not affected. If criminal contempt is involved, and punishment rather than compliance is the issue, there should be a jury.

As Dean Acheson points out in his article on this page today, the real danger to the Federal courts does not lie in jury trial. It would exist in a situation in which people would meekly accept punishment by a judge for violations of laws so strongly opposed that no jury could be found to enforce them. We agree with Mr. Acheson's statement: "To say that this requirement (for jury trial) nullifies the law is nonsense."

Furthermore, it is insidious nonsense. If believed, after repetition by men in high places, it could undermine the whole fine tradition of jury trial as an essential accompaniment of justice under law.

Report to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, consistent with my policy of keeping my constituents informed as to the activities of the Congress I mail each week a Report to the District. This week in this report I presented certain facts which may be of value to the Members of the Congress which appear as follows:

FARM INCOME

Department of Agriculture reports indicate that the farmers' total net income in the first half of 1957 was at an annual rate of $11.6 billion, exactly the same as for last year, and there are those who optimistically point to this singular fact to proclaim that farm prices are stablized and the downward trend is leveling off. To me, those who view this net income rate for this year with optimism are looking at the farm situation through one eye and if they were to open both eyes they would see by the record, first, that though income rate remains the same as last year, the purchasing power of the dollar has declined because of the rise in the cost of living. Therefore, the $11.6 billion is actually worth 4 percent less than last year. Second, the net income figures do not reflect the adjustment for the reduction of farm inventories necessary to maintain their income. According to reports, farmers sold more goods than they produced the first half of this year. This means they cut back livestock herds, grains, and other inventories since the first of the year at an alarming rate in order to have this net income. This practice is like borrowing money against your car, home, or business; if you want to stay in business you will have to pay back the money you borrowed out of future earnings. So it is with many farmers today who live on a borrowed prosperity which will have to be replaced out of future earnings if they are to continue farming tomorrow.

A CONCRETE SOIL BANK

It has been estimated that the Federal highway program of building 33,000 miles of interstate, limited-access highways plus 8,000 to 9,000 miles of other roads will require about 2 million acres of land for the right-of-way. Most of this needed land is now farm and ranch land which will be purchased for the new superhighways during the next 13 years.

AGRICULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE TO VISIT IOWA

The Honorable CLARK W. THOMPSON, chairman, Family Farms Subcommittee of

the House Agriculture Committee, has informed me of the tentative plans of his group to visit Iowa during the week of November 10 at the request of Governor Loveless. Mr. THOMPSON expressed to me the desire of the subcommittee to look into the family farm problems of Iowa and talk with the farmers themselves in an effort to get firsthand information which will enable the group to recommend to Congress possible corrective proposals for affirmative action.

Answer to Zhukov—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. McINTOSH
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. McINTOSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Mount Clemens Daily Monitor-Leader of August 6, 1957:

ANSWER TO ZHUKOV—II

When Marshal Zhukov told President Eisenhower that communism appeals to the idealistic because it allows people to sacrifice themselves to the State, he spoke of a theory that has no link with the facts of life in the Soviet Union.

Despite decades of effort and concealment of the truth by the distortions of propaganda, the Russians have not been able to hide from the world how a Communist government works in real practice.

It is a dictatorship founded on ruthless coercion of the people. It is arbitrary rule. Decisions are handed down from the top and must be obeyed without question. The people neither debate nor take part in these choices. Their criticisms never touch policy fundamentals but are limited to details of policy execution.

After nearly 30 years of Communist rule in Russia, we have no measurable evidence that Soviet citizen's selflessly sacrifice themselves to the State, and glory in this sacrifice. They yield to the all-powerful government because it monopolizes the means of coercion—and applies them with brutal disdain for human concerns.

In original theory, Communists argued that dictatorship would be a temporary phase, that a gradually reeducated people would develop habits of selfless cooperation which in time would end the need for arbitrary rule.

Early in the game, however, Lenin and other top Russian Reds saw the folly of trying to remake human nature. They thereafter accepted dictatorship as a permanent condition under communism.

Clearly, then, they accepted coercion as a necessary device. All thought that people could be brought to selfless sacrifice for the State, that they could find deep satisfaction in such yielding, was forgotten.

Thus when Zhukov told Mr. Eisenhower communism lured the idealistic because it gave them outlet for sacrifice, he spouted theory which his own civilian leaders long since had given up.

Possibly, being a soldier, he did not understand all that had transpired in the civilian realm. Too, a soldier is trained to accept subservience to firm authority as a good and necessary thing. The military is built upon a system of order maintained from the top.

On the other hand, the Russian military customarily gets far more political indoctrination than do soldiers in free lands. Zhukov in the mid-1940's may very well have understood thoroughly the facts of Soviet life.

The truth is that Russian leaders in all walks have sought continuously to perpetuate the idea of selfless cooperation in the programs and policies of the Communist state. But what was genuine theory at the outside has become gigantic fraud.

Nothing so sharply symbolizes the fraud as does the constant use of the phrase "people's government" to describe Red regimes which have nothing whatsoever to do with the people except to grind them in the dust.

By their nature Communist governments do not serve people but enslave them. The "state" is not an agency rooted in popular consent and sustained by popular cooperation. It exists as a mechanism to prolong and enlarge the power of Communist dictators.

Communism, not democracy, is materialistic. It is a system perfectly conceived to serve the materialistic needs of the seekers of great power.

The man at the top in the Kremlin—or his counterpart in other Red regimes—is truly the only kind of man on earth who can do as he pleases. And very little of what he does ought in fact to appeal to the idealistic.

Honors to a Des Moines Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Bernice Setzer, who is art education director of the Des Moines public schools, was recently honored by being invited to appear on the program of the International Art Convention at the Hague, Netherlands, as well as send an exhibit of the work of the Des Moines school children.

This invitation indirectly came about as a result of a trip she took as a private citizen to Central and South America where she visited art schools, exhibits and became acquainted with people interested in the cultural aspects of their own country and ours. In order to expand her discussion with them that we in the United States were also interested in the arts and culture she assembled an exhibit, from work done by students and others connected with the Des Moines schools, and sent it to several Central and South American countries: to name a few, Guatemala, San Salvador, Costa Rica, Peru.

Mrs. Setzer is past president of the Professional Women's League and Altrusa Club and an active member in several other clubs not concerned with the arts alone. Naturally the women in Des Moines are very proud of this fine woman and the contribution she is making to the cause of other countries understanding the United States.

The following letter, written by Mr. Paul F. Glynn, Cultural Affairs Officer of the American Embassy, Guatemala, Guatemala, May 29, 1957, to Miss Bernice Setzer, and the letter referred to therein written to Mr. Paul F. Glynn, by Prof. Ruben Villagrán Paul, Subsecretary of Public Education, Guatemala, Ministry of Public Education, Guatemala, C. A., under date of April 22, 1957, speak eloquently of the exhibit of children's art that Bernice Setzer sent to Guatemala.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Guatemala, Guatemala, May 29, 1957.

Miss BERNICE SETZER,
Art Supervisor, Director of Art for Public Schools, Des Moines, Iowa.

DEAR MISS SETZER: I wish to express my thanks to you and to the public schools of Des Moines for letting us have the opportunity to display the excellent exhibit of children's art that you recently sent to Guatemala. The show was exhibited last month in the art gallery of the National Palace in a joint show with a similar exhibit which was sent by the French Embassy. The French Ambassador, the French Cultural Attaché and myself, as well as the Director General of Fine Arts and a representative of the Minister of Education all gave a brief talk at the opening of this joint show. The actual organization of the exhibit was handled by Miss Maria Cristina Barrios who is in charge of school arts for the Ministry of Education. I have no accurate count of the atendance but I would estimate that it was attended by between 12 and 15 thousand school children and adults.

The Ministry of Education was most appreciative of having the chance to sponsor this exhibit and has written me a very nice letter to that effect, a copy of which I have enclosed.

The exhibit will be again displayed in the Instituto-Guatemalteco-Americano in late June and then later on in the new United States Information Center in Quezaltenango, the second city of Guatemala, sometime in July or August. I would appreciate knowing what I should do with the exhibit after its final showing here. Would you want it sent on to the Cultural Affairs Officer in San Salvador for display in that country?

Hoping to hear from you in the near future, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

PAUL F. GLYNN,
Cultural Affairs Officer.

GUATEMALAN NATIONAL PALACE,
MINISTRY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION,
Guatemala, April 22, 1957.

Mr. PAUL F. GLYNN,
Cultural Affairs Officer, American Embassy, Guatemala, C. A.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor of sending you this letter to expres to you, on behalf of the Ministry of Public Education and in my own name, our most sincere thanks for giving this country the opportunity to appreciate the art works—drawings and paintings—done by the youth of the nation represented by your honorable Embassy in Guatemala.

I wish to tell you that the works included in the recent exhibit in the ground floor exhibit room of the National Palace were admired by a great number of people and that such an exhibit deserved the warmest praises on the part of all visitors. We see it as a valuable contribution to the culture of our country.

Let me express again to you, on this occasion, the testimony of my most distinguished consideration,

Prof. RUBEN VILLAGRÁN PAUL,
Subsecretary of Public Education.

As the Representative in Congress for the city of Des Moines, Iowa, I am happy to make available to those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this evidence of the honor that has been bestowed upon

Mrs. Bernice Setzer as a result of her work and the cooperation she has received from the children of Des Moines with whom she works and the women of Des Moines who have assisted her in her splendid accomplishments.

The Philadelphia Inquirer Has Some Advice for Postmaster General Summerfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Inquirer, which has supported this administration very vigorously in 1952 and 1956, has not let its support for the Republican administration in those campaigns blind it to the shocking inadequacies of our postal service under Mr. Eisenhower's Postmaster General.

As a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I have sat for long hours in committee hearings listening to officials of the Post Office Department from the Postmaster General on down talk about all of the remarkable innovations they have instituted presumbaly to speed up or improve service. Now we all know the service has never been this bad. We are getting many frills, such as painting the trucks and the mail boxes red, white, and blue, such as printing new stamps, such as buying huge machines to sort mail at a slower pace than the individual clerks can do it—but the service keeps getting worse.

The Philadelphia Inquirer recently commented editorially on all the publicity-minded activities of the Postmaster General in the previous week, issuing new stamps, increasing special-delivery charges, transporting mail by rocket for 1 mile, and putting in a statement telling of all the fine things he is supposed to have done in his job since 1953.

"In all, a great big, wonderful week," commented the Philadelphia Inquirer.

The paper added:

Now, if Mr. Summerfield can only get our ordinary mail from here to there in as reasonable time as postal services do in other countries, with a minimum of those common marks: "Missent to ———" then the average postal user will have something to cheer about, too.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit the full editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of July 11, as follows:

BUSY WEEK IN THE POST OFFICE

The Fourth of July holiday did not keep Postmaster General Summerfield from making last week busy for his Department.

On Monday he issued a special stamp in honor of the Nation's schoolteachers. That same day he boosted rates on registered letters; upped certified mail from 15 cents to 20 cents; special delivery to 30 cents, and business reply cards from 3 to 4 cents.

On Thursday, the Post Office issued one of its most beautiful stamps, depicting the American flag in full color, stamps produced on the Department's new Swiss-made presses. Also on Thursday a rocket was used to transport mail from western Nevada to a point a mile away in California. (The rocket, privately launched, stayed in the air 7 seconds.)

On Tuesday, the Postmaster General himself, to mark the 110th anniversary of the first United States postage stamp, released a statement telling of all the fine things his Department has done besides boosting rates since he took charge of it.

In all, a great big, wonderful week.

Now if Mr. Summerfield can only get our ordinary mail from here to there in as reasonable time as postal services do in other countries, with a minimum of those common marks: "Missent to ———" then the average postal user will have something to cheer about, too.

Humane Slaughter Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on August 6, 1957, the Northern Virginia Sun, of Arlington, Va., published an effective and gripping editorial entitled "Humanity in Animal Slaughter." This editorial urges Congress to enact S. 1497, the bill for the ending of cruelty and barbarism in meatpacking plants—the bill of which the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PURTELL], and I are cosponsors. It seems to me that any person with compassion, who reads the editorial from the Northern Virginia Sun, must come to the conclusion that our proposed legislation is not only justified but, Mr. President, many years overdue.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUMANITY IN ANIMAL SLAUGHTER

From time to time legislation comes before Congress which seems so obviously desirable that one is baffled by the existence of opposition. This is the case with bills now pending in both the Senate and the House which would require the employment of humane methods in slaughtering food animals. The Senate bill, S. 1497, will probably come before the full Senate Agricultural Committee for consideration tomorrow, having already received the approval of the subcommittee. The House bill, H. R. 8308, has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Agriculture and should reach the floor of the House next week.

These bills would compel meat packers to eliminate slaughter practices that are wholly out of place in our modern industrial society.

Most Americans would be surprised to learn that in most of our largest packing houses hogs are still slaughtered in much the same manner as in medieval times. A hog's leg is shackled by a chain. The animal is dragged over a 14-foot wheel to the sticking area. There a man with a knife cuts its jugular vein and leaves the animal to bleed to death.

Frequently, a hog's bones are broken while it is being dragged aloft. Sometimes improperly stuck hogs go into the scalding tank while still alive and conscious.

The practice in slaughtering cattle is quite as crude and brutal.

In most American packinghouses cattle are driven into stunning pens 2 to 4 at a time. A man standing on a platform then tries to hit each animal's forehead with a long-handled hammer in such a manner as to render it unconscious without doing too much damage to its pate and brains. Very often he does not succeed in felling the animal at the first blow; in some cases as many as 9 to 13 blows are necessary.

What makes all this particularly hard to understand is that packers can substitute modern, humane methods for these barbaric practices with little expense. In the long run they should realize substantial savings by avoiding the losses now suffered from bruised meat and by reducing the high industrial accident rate on the killing floor. (The accident rate for the packing industry is double that for all other industries combined.) At the same time the elimination of working conditions that are brutalizing and degrading to human beings should serve to improve the general tone and efficiency of the whole industrial operation.

Some of our leading packers have acknowledged these facts. The Oscar Mayer Co., the George A. Hormel Co., and Kingan & Co. some time ago adopted modern slaughter methods. But the majority of the industry still clings obstinately to outmoded practices and gives no promise of changing unless Congress makes it mandatory to do so.

For a Nation with pride in its humanity, we should be ashamed of our record in this legislative area. Most Western European nations have had compulsory humane slaughter laws for years. Switzerland enacted such a law as early as 1874. If Congress proves unwilling to outlaw present animal slaughter methods, it might well consider legalizing bullfighting and bearbaiting, and thus elevate the torture of animals to the status of sport.

A Critical Situation in the Lead and Zinc Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 20, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I realize that the days of this session are numbered and that we will soon come to an end of this year's work.

However, we cannot lose sight of essential legislation which must be considered this year if it is to have any value. I refer to the import excise fee legislation for lead and zinc now being considered by the Ways and Means Committee.

Our mines, indeed our lead and zinc industry, is currently closing down. Next year will find the workers dispersed, the mines beginning to flood and cave, and the opportunity to save this critical domestic industry gone.

I would like to include with my remarks, a letter which I have received from a group in Leadville, Colo., one of our most noted mining towns. This let-

ter tells the critical situation in which these men find themselves, and is a demonstration of their own effort to do what they can to save this industry.

The letter follows:

Congressman WAYNE N. ASPINALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ASPINALL: During World War II, it was necessary to patrol the South American ports to prevent German submarines from refueling, and picking up other supplies.

As veterans, we feel that we should not now worry about hurting the feelings of the South American Republic. It is our contention that an excise tax should be passed to help alleviate a very serious depression in the zinc industries.

We veterans in Leadville feel very strongly on this subject—our jobs, livelihood, and businesses are threatened.

Thomas E. Schnaed, Wilfred Brink, Charles J. Hauser, L. E. Ossman, George Cassidy, Paul Robinsen, Andrew Cassidy, John Ladage, Jr., Harry M. Applegate, Thomas C. Epson, R. E. Ossman, M. F. Powers, Maynard Morlan, Frank Kendrick, Edward L. Left.

Government Loans for Desert Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, recently I took active part in opposing H. R. 3753 which was a bill to make loans to desert entrymen for the purpose of irrigating their lands obtained under patent rights.

Appearing in the Humboldt, Iowa, Independent, Mr. Lawrence Jaqua, editor, is an editorial titled "For Once We Agree With Coad," under the date of August 6, 1957, which is as follows:

FOR ONCE WE AGREE WITH COAD

MERWIN COAD, Congressman from this district, is against the Government loans for desert land. For once, we find ourselves in agreement with COAD. There are so many things we disagree with him about that it comes as a surprise to us that we should find ourselves in agreement on this one issue.

Congressman COAD says that he opposed the bill to authorize loans for development of desert land because he felt it would only add more farmland when the Government was already taking farmland out of production by the soil-bank plan.

COAD says:

"I led the opposition to this bill because it is my opinion that the Government has already expressed its intention to take good Midwest land out of production by the soil-bank program, and yet, here is a ridiculous situation of the Government offering assistance in the form of loans to open up new lands through irrigation of our arid western desert areas. With irrigation these areas can be made to be productive and add to our present problem. But, because of our rapidly increasing population, we will need the production of this land in future years. For the present, I maintain that this idle arid land is the best soil bank we could have for the simple reason that it does not cost a penny of tax money. Water for irrigation is the key to the development of desert land, and today it is in short supply in those areas. Thus, it is my feeling that if we are to provide for future generations and increasing populations, it would be far better to concentrate on provisions for a long range water supply, which would be adequate for development of these areas, such as the measure which would provide for the construction of the San Angelo Federal Reclamation project, recently passed. In the San Angelo project bill, there is a specific provision keeping waters stored in this project from being used for irrigation for a period of 10 years."

Testimonial to Hon. Donald W. Nicholson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, on last Sunday, August 4, the people of the Ninth Congressional District of Massachusetts turned out in large numbers to pay tribute to the great public service of our beloved colleague, Hon. DONALD W. NICHOLSON, who has announced his retirement at the end of this Congress. I am sure I speak for his colleagues on both sides of the aisle when I say we are all going to miss him very much. At the testimonial last Sunday, Sheriff Adnah H. Harlow, of Plymouth County, spoke for DON NICHOLSON'S constituents in a glowing public tribute. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am happy to insert it in the RECORD.

REMARKS OF SHERIFF ADNAH H. HARLOW AT CARVER, MASS., ON AUGUST 4, 1957, AT TESTIMONIAL TO DONALD W. NICHOLSON

For more than three centuries wherever there have been men and women seeking freedom and opportunity, their eyes have been turned toward these shores. To those of us who for generations have enjoyed these blessings, too many times unconsciously I suspect, these coveted bulwarks of freedom have become commonplace. Until we learn of the privations of liberty endured by other people in other parts of this world, people who live and breathe as we do, have similar physical characteristics, and had they been born amongst us would have not been unlike us, do we become sensitive in a small way at least to the blessings that our people enjoy.

Not the least of the opportunities which come to every American is the right to participate actively and directly in the affairs of his Government. Here there is no ruling class. The divine right of kings has never been a part of the American political philosophy. In our Republic, where those who govern do so only for the time being by the consent of the governed, the only qualification for those who serve in our public affairs has been that they be chosen according to law from among the citizens whom they are to serve. America's greatness among the nations of history can be largely attributed to the fact that it has called into public service, from its earliest beginnings as a free country, men and women from many and varied walks of life; regardless of wealth or lack of it, regardless of social position, regardless of religious differences and political creeds, and regardless of the lack of specialized training for public service, which even in other democracies has seemed so essential. Americans have throughout our generations sought for their servants in Government those who above all else have demonstrated a love of country, and a desire to give of their best to its service. Thus serving according to the dictates of duty, as they saw it, we have had Washington, the Adamses, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, the Roosevelts and our own Calvin Coolidge; all with different backgrounds and philosophies but each adding his contribution to our country and its public service. As with the presidency so has it been in the Halls of Congress. Throughout our history men and women from every walk of American life from the universities, from the back streets of our cities, from the towns and villages have all by their service moulded and strengthened the greatest Nation that the planet has ever known.

Typical of those who have made their contribution to America through its public service is he whom we honor today. Born in our own historic county of Plymouth, in the town of Wareham, a community with a history of which its people are justly proud, the son of a blacksmith in whose strong and sinewy arms flowed the blood of Scotland, our distinguished guest began life with the heritage that was bound to be a strong influence for good throughout his days. Like most of us, he received his education in his hometown, and although he was by no means among the larger boys, he held up his own in athletic prowess in school and in the community. Following his formal education, he set himself to earning a living at the tasks that were available; night telephone operator, grocery clerk, and streetcar conductor. Like many another young man of his time, he answered his country's call and served in our Army in World War I, 18 months of his service being overseas.

How typical of the life of many of our countrymen was that of our honored guest. What better training for the public service that was ahead could a young man have? He knew his people among whom he had lived and grown to manhood. They knew him. It was small wonder that in 1921 the citizens of Wareham called him to their service by choosing him to the offices of selectman, assessor, and overseer of the poor. That he served them well, and that the knowledge of his service had spread beyond the limits of his native town is evidenced by the fact that in 1924 he was elected to the house of representatives in the great and general court. With courage and integrity he commenced in a new field of service, and it was not long before his colleagues in Boston became aware of the fact that from the lower end of Plymouth County there had come a man who was to be reckoned with in the shaping of the legislative program of that day. In 2 short years this freshman representative was ready for advancement, and the electorate of the Cape and Plymouth senatorial district sent him to the State senate. Never a rubberstamp for anyone, zealous in representing the views of his constituency, always motivated by a principle best expressed in his own words, "You've got to think of your neighbor as well as yourself when you pass a law. I've been interested in what the people wanted me to do and what was best for my State and district. Whatever is best for them I'm going to work for." For 21 years, it can be said without fear of contradiction, our distinguished guest left his mark on the legislative history of our Commonwealth. Independent to a point that few in public life have dared to approach, he nevertheless gained the respect and admiration of those with whom he served, and in 1946 we find him unanimously elected as president of the Massachusetts Senate, a lofty office in our government and one that has always been held by men of great distinction.

with such a record of public service, it as no surprise, that upon the passing of r late beloved Congressman Charles L. ilford, the people of the ninth district aced the already distinguished Senator om the Cape and Plymouth in a seat in e National Capitol at Washington. This e the year 1947, and in 1948, and each 2 ars thereafter he has been continued at e task that he has done so well. His service as erected for himself many monuments which we all can be proud; the improved rport at New Bedford, our Maritime ademy, his support and promotion of our shing industry, his firmness in standing r tariff protection for our fading textile dustry, his efforts in behalf of our cran- rry industry, his interests in the safety of ose who go down to the sea in ships, and e retention and expansion of national fense installations in our area, which have ant so much to our local economy, are t a few of the results of his labors in r behalf. Above all he has been a true presentative of his people. While there ve been times in his career that his posi- ons have not always been reconciled with ose of his partisan colleagues, I would uchsafe that they have been views that nuinely represented not only his views but general those of his constituency. Never s he ever used his exalted office for the omotion of personal ideologies and cure- ls.

The announcement from this most dis- guished son of the Old Colony, a few nths ago, that it was his intention to lay ide the burdens of public office at the con- sion of his present term, came as a shock not only his close personal friends and sociates, but to the people of his district d the Commonwealth as well. No single oup has, over the years, benefited more m his support and counsel than the lymouth County Republican Club. The cision to make this occasion a testimony our esteem met with a ready and enthu- astic response. I deem it a great honor and rsonal privilege to have been selected by y colleagues to present in your behalf, this ken of our appreciation for service to our mmunity, State and Nation. Donald Wil- m Nicholson, you have brought great nor by your deeds to yourself, and also flected glory to those whom you have rved. We are proud to salute you; and you and your charming and devoted help- ate we pray for the best that life has to fer in the years that lie ahead. The results your labors we shall cherish, and it will be ur hope that those who will follow you in ur service may be equally dedicated and voted to the welfare of our country. In ehalf of your legions of friends, both gath- red here and elsewhere I say well done, good nd faithful servant.

ombating Inflation by Aiding Low- and Middle-Income-Bracket Investors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, poten- ial Government-bond purchasers in wer and middle income tax brackets ould benefit substantially from legisla- ion which I introduced last week.

The bill, designed as an anti-inflation- ry measure through the stimulation of overnment-savings-bond investments, would exclude for income-tax purposes dividends received from series E, United States savings bonds. Purchasers of the tax-free bonds would be limited to $5,000, maturity value, a year to any one buyer.

Certainly if investments in Government bonds were to be made more attractive, a double-barreled contribution to the Nation's economy would result. That is, low- and middle-income citizens, such as the young prospective investor and home buyer, would surely benefit from being relieved of taxpayments on Government-bond dividends, and the tax-free status of the bonds would undoubtedly attract additional purchasers, thus drawing off possibly inflationary investor cash reserves.

During the fiscal years 1956 and 1957 the Federal Government had outstanding approximately $38 billion worth of series E bonds, indicating no appreciable increase in their sale. These 3¼-percent bonds would be held principally by persons in the 18- to 30-percent-tax brackets. Assuming the bonds had been tax exempt, the revenue loss for the fiscal year 1956 would have amounted to only some $300 million. That loss would have constituted about four-tenths of 1 percent of our total 1956 revenue, and therefore represent a negligible loss as compared to the possible economic advantages to be derived.

M. Sgt. Chester E. Lee, of San Antonio, Tex., Outstanding Airman, Air Force Headquarters Command

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege and honor last week to officially greet and speak with M. Sgt. Chester E. Lee, a resident of San Antonio, Tex. Sergeant Lee was in Washington as an honored guest of the Air Force Association at their recent convention commemorating the golden anniversary of this Nation's air arm.

He was selected as the outstanding airman from Air Force Headquarters Command and as such was one of 21 airmen justly honored with a week-long visit to the convention.

Sergeant Lee is a veteran of 35 air transport missions over the "hump" in World War II, and a former line chief at the Flight Test Center, Edwards Air Force Base, Calif. He is currently performing duties as line chief for the Inspector General Group, Norton Air Force Base, California. Supervising approximately 120 maintenance personnel, Sergeant Lee has been responsible for the operation of both conventional and jet aircraft including T-33's, C-54's, C-45's, C-47's, and B-25's. During 1956 these aircraft logged over 17,000 flying hours, and the organization has had a high in-commission rate and accident-free flying safety record since January 1956, all reflections on the outstanding leadership and technical ability of Sergeant Lee.

Sergeant Lee first enlisted in the Army Air Corps in 1939, and served as a tower operator at Kelly Field, Tex. He was awarded the Air Medal and promoted to the grade of master sergeant at the age of 22, while flying in the China-Burma-India Theater in 1943. Returning to the States in 1945, he participated in the delivery of Air Corps planes to various Latin American Republics. Later he served at Cali, Colombia, in South America, as an instructor in establishing maintenance procedures.

In 1948, Sergeant Lee became active in the maintenance field at Edwards Air Force Base, working as crew chief, inspector, flight chief, and line chief. He worked in the test programs on F-80, F-94C, T-28, and F-84 aircraft. He specialized on the XB-43, the first jet bomber, and was chief of the bomber section. In this capacity, he worked with the Air Force testing of the B-45, XB-51, B-57, B-47, and B-52. He also participated in the early development of the air-to-air refueling systems.

It is entirely proper that Sergeant Lee and the other outstanding airmen should be honored for their distinguished service. By so rewarding these men, the Air Force Association is by this token paying tribute to the contributions made by all airmen to the Air Force and this Nation's defense.

Address by Hon. Robert C. Byrd Before the Youth Temperance Council, Cowen, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, on last Sunday, August 4, my colleague, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, made a speech at Cowen, W. Va., before the Youth Temperance Council. Cowen is in my congressional district, and I have in the past watched the activities of this group of young people with a great deal of interest. Mr. BYRD has always been glad to assist the youth of our country in the development of noble ideals, and I am confident that his speech to the boys and girls at Cowen was received as a challenging one. His address, The Lights of Decency, Faith, and Temperance, is one which is not only appropriate for young people of our day, but it is also one which contains facts of vital importance to the adult generation. I am glad, Mr. Speaker, to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

Congressman BYRD's speech follows:

THE LIGHTS OF DECENCY, FAITH, AND TEMPERANCE

Young people possess certain traits and abilities which are envied by the older generation. And so, it is no mere formality

when I tell you that I am glad you asked me to be with you today. You have made me feel very much at home on this occasion.

You have told me that your theme for the year is Erect Towers of Outreach and your text is verse 3 of the 43d Psalm—"O send out Thy light and Thy truth." The light referred to, of course, is that which comes from the divine source. On many occasions while Jesus was on earth He referred to the light. After His triumphant entry into Jerusalem and just prior to partaking the Last Supper with His disciples, Jesus advised the crowd to "Walk while you have the light, lest the darkness overtake you." He vividly explained that those who walk in darkness do not know where they go. He was simply trying to teach the value of the Christian way of life and He used the word "light" as a most significant symbol. Those who disbelieved on that tragic occasion did not know the extent and power of the light that God had brought into their lives through the teaching and example of Jesus.

In her book, The Sea Around Us, Rachel Carson has a chapter on wind and water, and she describes the effects of coastal storms. Along a rocky coast, for example, the waves of a severe storm are likely to be armed with stones and rock fragments. Once a rock weighing 135 pounds was thrown higher than the lightkeeper's house on Tillamook Rock, 100 feet above sea level. As it fell, it tore a 20-foot hole through the roof. She mentions a lighthouse, which stood on the summit of a cliff, 300 feet high, in which windows and lights were repeatedly broken by stones from the cliff and tossed like confetti by the waves.

In reading her description of the perils of lighthouse keeping, it occurred to me that here was a job even more hazardous than being a Congressman.

What a tremendous responsibility to tend light against the elements. Light always seems to lead a very precarious existence in our world. Like the wall, in Robert Frost's poem, there is something that doesn't like it, something that wants it out. Any man who tries to keep a light shining finds himself from time to time facing great odds.

What was it Jesus said to His disciples? "Therefore, be careful lest the light in you become darkness." In these days when the light in our world seems to be so feeble, we need to hear His words again. The light that He brought into the world needs tending. We never dare to take it for granted, for darkness is always waiting to blot it out at the first sign of weakness. "Therefore, be careful lest the light in you become darkness."

Let me say first of all that we need to be concerned with tending the light of human decency.

One of the sad truths about human life that we have learned in our own generation is that there is no automatic guaranty on decency. One might think that as wealth and standards of living tend to rise, decency would be assured. And yet the family living in a wealthy home with all of its conveniences shows no more natural inclination to goodness than the less fortunate neighbors. Character does not fluctuate with wealth or material resources.

One would suppose that a high standard of culture and intellectual life would carry with it the guaranty of decency. It must be true as one of our Protestant bishops has said, that civilization is always like a little clearing on the edge of the jungle—and that at night, if you are quiet, you can hear the howling of the beasts—and the jungle is always waiting, ready to take over the minute man relaxes his vigilance.

The Christian and the church must always be concerned with tending the light of human decency. There are so many ways in which life is degraded. There are so many circumstances in which darkness prevails. Decency is never guaranteed by wealth, or by education, or by social standing. It is guaranteed only by the moral courage and determination of individuals like you and me.

Now the second thing I want to say is that we need to be concerned with tending the light of faith.

I don't know of anyone who makes me more uncomfortable than the man who knows everything. In religion especially, there are so many people who have apparently never had a moment's doubt about anything pertaining to their faith. Do you remember how much closer Jesus was to a man like Thomas, famous for his skeptical mind—than to the Pharisees who knew everything about everything? Honest doubt seems to me a better foundation for a spiritual structure than a closed dogmatic creed.

Having said that, I want to go on and qualify it by saying that there comes a time when a man has to guard the tiny flame of faith within, for, if he does not, it can be quickly extinguished. It is more important to fight for what you believe than to settle down to a life of indifferent cynicism. And the unhappiest people I have ever met are those who have lived their whole lives without coming to the place where they could say: "This I believe, and hold to be true."

Horace Bushnell is a name that illustrates what I am trying to say. Early in the last century he became a tutor at Yale, and at the same time a student of law. He called himself an agnostic, one who does not pretend to believe anything, one way or another. Two years later a powerful Christian movement began to develop on the Yale campus, and the students watched Bushnell to see how he would react. He was a very popular teacher. He recognized that he was influencing many students, and so one night he decided to face the issue as to where he stood in respect to religion.

He made two columns on a piece of paper, one negative and the other positive. He put three entries into the negative column. "First: I believe that the Bible is a collection of Jewish folklore and Chaldean fables. Second: I believe that Jesus was nothing more than a Galilean peasant. Third, I see no valid reason why I should believe in a God at all." In the positive column he was able to make only one entry: "I believe that there is an eternal distinction between right and wrong."

But this is the important point. He decided that he could not give up what he did believe because of what he did not believe. So he committed his life to it, and little by little the truth broke upon him. Before the year was out, he entered the theological department at Yale, and 2 years later was ordained a minister.

It is a great thing to keep an open mind, but at the same time it is fatal never to be able to object to anything at all. A Christian is someone who has a certain faith; his experience verifies the thing he believes. But any man's faith is at best a tiny, flickering candle in a sea of darkness, so much remains unknown. The light of faith is the light that needs tending.

There is a third thing I want to say: we need to tend the light of temperance. And once again, here is a light that none dares take for granted. Alcohol poses an urgent problem to the youth of today. Every parent faces the disturbing fact that a child of high school age must be prepared to meet the threat of liquor. No parent can say—no young person can say, "This problem does not concern me."

About seventy million Americans drink alcoholic beverages. These are very recent figures—figures quoted in a Washington newspaper on July 20. Medical science know, as a statistical fact, that about 7 percent of all drinkers wil wind up as alcoholics. But I cannot now predict, with any degree of accuracy, who will be included in that percent.

Young people who abstain do a great service to the Nation, to other young people and to themselves. A college student said: "Not drinking is a sign of strength and people respect you for it." Another said: "When I am at a party and the host brings in some drinks, I know that some ought not to drink because they will be driving others home. Some ought to keep away from the stuff for their own good. My example counts for something and as a Christian I feel responsible." These young people are carefully tending the light of temperance.

Our youth can make a mighty contribution to the cause of sobriety. The opinions and the actions of young people attract much attention. It is unlikely that the alcohol problem will ever be solved until young people in vast numbers become voluntary abstainers and become leaders in the battle against the drinking of alcoholic beverages.

Here are some things that young people can do to keep the light of temperance burning bright:

Young people can learn the truth about alcohol. No one can afford to be ignorant about alcoholic beverages. The welfare of family life, the stability of society, safety on the highways, and the health of the Nation depend upon sobriety. Ignorance of the facts about alcohol can cause young people to stumble. I urge you to read and learn.

Young people can patronize social events which do not serve alcoholic drinks. Christian young people have an obligation to make popular the serving of nonalcoholic drinks at social functions. This is being done in many communities and it can be done in many others when Christian young people act courageously and with conviction.

Dr. Hornell Hart, professor sociology at Duke University, has eloquently spoken to youth in the following words: "Because I want to live as richly, keenly, and fully as possible, I am an abstainer from alcoholic drinks. The joy of life depends, for me, vitally upon being in full command of myself. Alcohol deprives those who use it of the possession of themselves. It dulls the keen edge of intellectual power. Personally I feel the need of the utmost abilities I can possess in order to achieve the final 5 or 10 percent of quality in my work which often makes the difference between failure and success. Keenness of living depends in large measure upon health. Alcohol is an enemy of health. Much of richness of experience depends upon looking back to vivid joyful memories. I find that the recollections which people seem to retain of alcoholic sprees are muggy and repulsive to them. The love of my family is one of the most precious of my possessions. Sociological studies show that drinking is a prime cause of grief, of conflict, and of disaster in family life. Many drinkers defend alcohol as a means of obtaining thrilling excitement. But I shall find my thrills by keeping my mind keen, my body vigorous, my memories delightful, my friendships sound, and myself free from enslavement to habit-forming drugs like alcohol."

If you accept the creed I have just repeated, the light of temperance will burn brightly and will not go out.

I wish to express to the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union my congratulations on the success with which this conference has been planned and executed. They are keeping the light of temperance burning in our land.

In closing I want to leave with you a few lines from the contemporary English poem, From the Gate of the Year, by M. Louise Haskins:

And I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year:
'Give me a light, that I may tread safely into the unknown!'
And he replied:
'Go out into the darkness and put your hand into the hand of God.
That shall be to you better than light and safer than a known way.' "

Setback for Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD today, an editorial that appeared in the Peoria Journal Star, Peoria, Ill., Monday, August 5, 1957:

SETBACK FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Eisenhower administration's civil-rights bill still is before the Senate but it is now a vastly different bill from what it was when the Senate received it from the House of Representatives.

Principal change came last week when the Senate, by a 51 to 42 vote, wrote a jury-trial amendment into the section of the bill providing for criminal prosecution against election officials charged with refusing to permit Negroes the right to vote.

Adoption of the bill still would represent an advance in the field of civil rights, but Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican leader who has directed the fight for the bill, is pessimistic about the House of Representatives agreeing to the changes made in the bill by the Senate. The result may be that no civil-rights legislation will come out of this session of Congress.

What happened is that concern of some Senators over two separate constitutional rights came into conflict. The civil-rights bill sought to provide increased assurance of the right to vote to all citizens. A sufficient number of Senators to achieve rewriting of the bill, however, felt that in doing so it would encroach on the right to a trial by jury, which also is assured by the Constitution, and they saw the jury-trial right as more important. Included in this group were the so-called moderates from both parties. They joined the southerners who are determined to do anything in their power to wreck the bill and their combined vote was more than the Republicans supporting the administration and the liberal Democrats could match.

The watering down of the civil-rights bill is a major defeat for the Eisenhower administration. It also may be a setback for the Republican Party throughout the North. The Republicans showed their greatest leadership of this session in the civil-rights fight. Despite the fact they are in the minority, they definitely were in charge as civil rights was debated. That advantage now has been dissipated by the failure to hold the line against the jury-trial amendment and Republican claims of support for civil rights and concern for the Negro will be more difficult to maintain as a result.

President Eisenhower probably will be accused of failure to back up the civil-rights bill, as he has been on Federal aid to education and other administration measures. Whether some personal telephone calls from him might have rallied more votes against the amendment is problematical but it is evident by now that that isn't the way the President works. He apparently doesn't believe in putting on personal pressure for any legislation. It might be that he would have a better legislative record if he did so once in a while.

Southern Juries Will Ignore Negro Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News, Wednesday, August 7, 1957, page 44, carried an article by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt entitled "Southern Juries Will Ignore Negro Rights."

Mrs. Roosevelt says in that article:

Yet the whole point of the southerners' fight for the jury trial amendment is that they know a white jury will not give Negroes the right to vote. This is just a way of escaping from having to face the quite different problem of coming out against that right of Negroes to vote, which is the right of every American citizen.

I wonder where Mrs. Roosevelt obtained the information that white jurors will violate their oaths? I wonder why Mrs. Roosevelt holds southerners in such contempt? Not many years ago, when her husband was seeking the Presidency, they were both fond of pointing out that Georgia was their second home. If I recall correctly, it was in the State of Georgia that her husband regained his health. As a matter of fact, it was to that distinguished doctor, Dr. Michael Hoke, of Georgia, that they came for treatment, because Dr. Hoke happened to be the greatest doctor in all this world in the field in which her husband so sorely needed treatment.

There is not one southerner that believes that southern jurors would fail to convict where there was sufficient evidence to warrant a verdict of guilty. Our jury system has a much better record for upholding the law than does the section from which Mrs. Roosevelt comes. The southerners are insisting upon the right of trial by jury because it happens to be existing law and because we believe in trial by jury. Jury trials are one of our ancient landmarks and one of the finest systems that civilization has produced. The southerners certainly do not believe that they should be denied the right of trial by jury, when apparently we cannot sustain convictions of Communists, although convicted by juries.

There is one thing that the South is quite proud of. That is that not one southerner signed the petition that Mrs. Roosevelt signed, asking President Eisenhower to grant a "Christmas amnesty" to Communist Party leaders jailed under the Smith Act. These Communist Party leaders were convicted for teaching or advocating the forcible overthrow of the Government, the same Government that has been kinder to Mrs. Roosevelt and her family than to any other family in the history of our country.

Indeed, philosophies change. When Mrs. Roosevelt's husband was claiming Georgia as his second home he executed a deed to certain real estate in Georgia, incorporating in that deed that the lands conveyed should never be sold to persons of African descent. That deed is a matter of public record down in Georgia.

Vox Populi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point the results of the second annual survey conducted by myself in the Second Congressional District of the State of Washington.

This poll represents the thinking of more than 14,000 residents of the district, from many walks of life, many occupations, and varying viewpoints on international and domestic issues.

I am pleased with the response to this questionnaire. It has proven to be of value to me in my work in Congress. Many persons who answered the questions also submitted comments on other issues and suggestions for solutions to some of the problems of the day.

In evaluating the importance of various issues to themselves, residents of my home district emphatically pointed up Government spending as being of most concern to them. They then were most interested in defense and preparedness, foreign policy, taxation, farm prices and policies, civil rights, social security, power policies, and immigration.

Questions asked in the poll, the answers given by the pollees, and action taken by Congress this session, if any, are listed below:

1. In the event of a budget surplus this year, should this surplus be used to (a) reduce the national debt (56 percent); (b) cut personal income taxes (27 percent); (c) cut business taxes (2 percent). Administration has applied surplus to reduction of debt.

2. Should the McCarran-Walter Act, our basic immigration law, be (a) repealed (7 percent); (b) left as is (38 percent); (c) amended as recommended by President Eisenhower (55 percent). No action on administration requests.

3. Do you favor inviting heads of governments of nations with whom we do not agree to this country for conferences? Yes, 73 percent; No, 27 percent. President has invited King Saud and other heads of nations for peace talks.

4. Do you favor economic aid to Eastern European and Middle Eastern countries to help them break away from or escape Soviet domination? Yes, 66 percent; no, 34 percent. Congress has approved special programs and President is carrying them out.

5. Do you favor Federal regulation of union welfare funds? Yes, 85 percent; no,

15 percent. Administration recommendations have been pigeonholed for 3 years.

6. Do you favor extending the present $1-an-hour minimum wage to groups not presently covered—mainly retail and service employment? Yes, 87 percent; no, 13 percent. No action taken during this session.

7. Do you favor a cooperative program between the Federal Government and private power companies for the development of atomic power? Yes, 80 percent; no, 20 percent. Development by both Federal and private firms now underway.

8. Do you favor an increase of all classes of postal rates to make the Post Office Department self-supporting? Yes, 70 percent; no, 30 percent. Bill before Rules Committee.

9. Do you favor Federal controls of rents, wages, and prices in peacetime to curb inflation? Yes, 42 percent; no, 58 percent. No congressional or administrative action taken.

The Way to Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Peoria Journal Star, Peoria, Ill., Tuesday, August 6, 1957:

THE WAY TO ECONOMY

Congress gave up control of the public purse in the early years of the New Deal. It has never regained that control, nor is it likely to. Americans should be convinced by now that the only way to Federal economy is to elect a President who believes in it and is strong enough to put his belief into vigorous practice.

The 85th Congress, yielding to public opinion, has done more talking about economy than any Congress in the last 25 years. In spite of all the talk, however, it has not accomplished much.

Some Members of the House, notably those of our own area, have voted consistently for economy measures. But the general pattern of Federal spending has been little changed by the "economy drive" of 1957.

One reason for this is that there is almost no party responsibility for economy in Congress. Both parties are committed to Federal projects that are expensive. Votes on budgets and appropriations are always cutting across party lines. And the executive branch is Republican while the legislative is Democratic.

Another reason why the congressional economy drive has fizzled is that spending has become an executive function. Economy requires rebellion in Congress. And the prestige of the White House is so great that there are definite limits to the ability of Congress to say "No" to the President.

The Senate has unanimously approved a measure (suggested by the Hoover Commission) to restore control of the public purse to Congress. It has yet to come before the House, although has been approved by two House committees. The President has reaffirmed his support of the measure.

This measure would limit appropriations to 1 year, thus requiring congressional approval every year of the spending to be done in that year. Theoretically it would save some $3 billion a year.

But we doubt that it would accomplish much more than the present system is able to do in cutting Government spending.

The way to economy and to reduction of the national debt and to lower Federal taxes is through executive leadership. Congress alone cannot do it.

Foreign Building Program a Proper Use of Foreign Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, recently my distinguished colleague from Tennessee [Mr. EVINS] made reference on the floor to the overseas buildings program being conducted by the Department of State. He pointed out in considerable detail the projects which are now under construction by the Department, and the additional ones which were being planned as a part of the Department's program to house our employees abroad.

I should like to observe that 4 years ago as a Member of a small group from this House, a searching field study was made of this program. During the course of that study, it became evident that in many of the very difficult places in the world, there was sore need to improve the physical facilities of our office buildings as well as the housing for our personnel. In many of these places, the standards for office buildings and living quarters are so inadequate the Department of State has no alternative but to construct adequate physical facilities to house our representatives who are stationed there to conduct the diplomatic and consular functions of this Government.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, I have been gratified to review each year the Department's annual request and to observe that this orderly and systematic buildings program is aimed at solving the needs which exist in those parts of the world where climate, housing, and other conditions make life and duty most difficult. I therefore believe this program which the Department is carrying out is meeting a need for physical facilities abroad which cannot be ignored or postponed if we are to maintain our employees decently and adequately in many of these localities.

I should like to observe also that in carrying out this program a wholly constructive use is made of foreign currencies and credits which are already owned by the United States Government. During the past fiscal year, the Department carried out this program to the extent of $19 million of which $14 million represented foreign currency utilization. For 1958 the Department will carry out essentially the same level of program but will utilize $15 million of foreign currency.

Let me note that during the past 4 years, this program has required $50 million to construct, acquire, maintain, and operate our civilian Government-owned properties abroad. Significant is the fact that of this amount $39,500,000 is foreign currency utilization and only $10,500,000 is new cash dollar appropriations.

I must state that this utilization of foreign currencies for acquisition of needed physical assets abroad is a sound operating program for this Government. I believe also that anyone who has traveled extensively abroad will agree that our Government should be represented in its establishments overseas with dignified, appropriate, and adequate quarters for our people.

Press Buildup of Cuban Unrest Seen as Prelude to United States Intervention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith an editorial by the distinguished Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston News and Courier, dated August 3, 1957, entitled "Press Buildup of Cuban Unrest Seen as Prelude to United State Intervention."

PRESS BUILDUP OF CUBAN UNREST SEEN AS PRELUDE TO UNITED STATES INTERVENTION

Disturbing news of unrest continues to come out of Cuba. What is even more disturbing than threats of revolution against President Batista is the hint of United States intervention.

Cuban Government supporters already are charging that the new American ambassador, Earl T. Smith, is interfering in Cuban affairs. We are in no position to judge the truth of this charge. Mr. Smith lent color to it, however, when he visited Oriente Province, the center of armed revolt, and later commented on "political uneasiness" and bloodshed.

This circumstance, perhaps innocent, seems ill timed. It lends weight also to a prediction attributed to a New York Times correspondent in an interview with the Cuban magazine Bohemia. The correspondent, Herbert L. Matthews, was quoted by Bohemia as saying that the American State Department's attitude toward Cuban affairs had changed. We gather he meant a swing against Batista.

Mr. Matthew's dispatches to the Times have been building up the reputation of Fidel Castro, leader of the revolt. Times editorials have stepped up criticism of the Batista regime.

The News and Courier is no defender of dictators and holds no particular brief for Batista. Nevertheless, as dictators go he has a fairly good record in Cuba. In addition he is a friend of the United States.

Cuba now enjoys prosperity. We would like to see our neighboring Republic, so close in ties to our country that sometimes it has been called "the 49th State," continue to enjoy peace as well.

Herbert Matthews is a specialist in affairs of Spain and Latin America. Recently he published a book about Spain called "The Yoke and the Arrows," containing many comments on the Spanish civil war. He sought to discredit the famous incident of 1936 in the siege of the Alcazar at Toledo, when the red militia killed the commander's hostage son.

A pamphlet we have just received from Spain documents the facts about the incident. It says "Matthews is a bitter foe of the Spanish Government. In July, 1936, he declared war on us and he has been fighting us ever since."

Why did Herbert Matthews deny the Alcazar story, long accepted as true? It appears that he wants to hurt Franco in Spain, as he is hurting Batista in Cuba.

As a writer he has a right to say what he pleases. But our Government is on friendly terms with Franco as well as with Batista. We do not approve a campaign by the Times or any other newspaper to prepare public opinion for intervention in the affairs of foreign countries. That is what we fear is now happening.

The Times and other northern newspapers for years have been preparing public opinion for Federal intervention in the Southern States. Bayonet rule may be averted, but the South is feeling the harsh hand of Washington.

We do not like this kind of Yankee rule. We do not expect foreigners to like it.

Intervention in Cuba need not take the form of landing marines or anything so crude. It might be extension of help in the form of money or arms to the rebels. Of course opposition parties in Cuba and other countries welcome United States help in upsetting their governments and substituting themselves. Communist agitators also are eager to cause turmoil.

The News and Courier believes the United States Government has plenty to do without meddling in the internal affairs of foreign countries. Some dictatorships are worse than others, but the United States is not obliged to play nursemaid to the world.

We see no guaranty that a new regime in Cuba will be better than Batista's. Revolts are painful for the people of a country. Even if we thought revolution would bring improvement, we would leave the decision to the Cubans. The News and Courier favors this slogan: "Yankee, stay home."

The Annual Mason-Dixon Industrial Management Conference, Held at York, Pa., for the Purpose of Promoting Personal Growth Through the Exchange of Ideas, Continues Its Mission of Providing Inspiration and Knowledge to Industrial Leaders in the York Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was a pleasure to accompany Representative S. WALTER STAUFFER of the 19th Congressional District of Pennsylvania to his home city of York, Pa., August 7, 1957, where I delivered the principal address at the Mason-Dixon Industrial Management Conference sponsored by the Foremen's Club of York, Pa., and held at the York Fair Grounds.

For several years the Mason-Dixon Conference has been held for the purpose of enabling leaders of industry in the York area to assemble annually to exchange ideas and opinions on subjects of mutual interest. The prime purpose of the annual conference is to encourage and promote personal growth through exchange of ideas, and in pursuit of this objective the program schedule, from 4 to 9 p. m., featured 2 afternoon speakers preceding the dinner hour, followed by the principal address at 7:45 p. m.

The theme of the 1957 Mason-Dixon Conference was Industry Tomorrow, and in keeping with the theme, I was invited to speak on the subject, Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy. A copy of my address follows:

THE PEACETIME USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

(Address delivered by Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, at the Mason-Dixon Industrial Management Conference, Wednesday, August 7, 1957, at 7:30 p. m., York Fairgrounds, York, Pa.)

Mr. Chairman, you honor me by your invitation to participate in the 1957 Mason-Dixon Industrial Management Conference, which has as its theme "Industry Tomorrow." This idea of bringing together representatives of industry in York County and surrounding areas is highly commendable because it permits personal growth through an exchange of opinions and ideas. The Foremen's Club of York, Pa., sponsor of this industrial management conference, is to be congratulated for such a worthwhile contribution to the industrial life of this area.

In keeping with the spirit of the times, and in recognition of the theme of this conference, Industry Tomorrow, I have selected as the subject of my discourse The Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy. In discussing this important subject, in my capacity as a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, you have my assurance that there is a definite feeling of adventure in exploring the nuclear field.

On the one hand, we are exploring the unknown in sciences—physics, chemistry, metallurgy, biology, etc.—as well as unknown fields in engineering and construction and the knowledge as to how they are managed. On the other hand, there must be applied sound scientific engineering and business principles to solve unprecedented problems arising from unique and sometimes impossible situations.

To date the American people have spent nearly $15 billion in the field of atomic energy, and the surface has barely been scratched. The great bulk of this money has been spent on military application of nuclear energy. Several years ago, however, the rate of spending on peacetime uses of the atom started to climb considerably. The result has been that today we are faced with a vast new science that affects the lives of all of us and which is having a marked influence on the industrial life of the Nation.

Since this Mason-Dixon conference represents a true cross-section of the business and industrial leaders of this area, I wish to tell you the story of atomic energy in down-to-earth language. It is my hope that when this conference terminates you will have a clearer concept of the atomic revolution that is enveloping mankind.

Atomic energy (or nuclear energy, as the scientist calls it) is everywhere around us, with the sun pouring out great quantities of atomic energy which come to the earth in the form of heat, light, and other kinds of radiation. Atomic energy as we know it today results from splitting atoms of heavy element uranium and its byproduct plutonium. Uranium, which is sometimes called a critical or operational mass, is radioactive material and is used to produce a chain reaction. The splitting of the atom, or fission, as it is called, releases great amounts of energy, thus permitting man to tap the almost inexhaustible source of nature's energy which can then be used as a curse or a blessing to mankind.

In any serious consideration or review of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, one significant starting point suggests itself in the form of a question: What do we expect to get out of atomic energy? From a military standpoint, there is no question that the development of nuclear weapons has served as a deterrent to war and a great contributing factor to our national defense. But even the military applications of atomic energy are very obviously bound to intersect, affect, and concern the peaceful uses. This appraisal is principally concerned with, and directs its attention to, these intersections and peaceful applications of the atom.

Returning to our question: What do we expect to get out of atomic energy in its peaceful uses? Let me tell you what we very definitely are not going to get out of it. To begin with, Thomas Edison points out that a better idea may be had of what a thing is if first you know what the thing is not.

There are some who expect atomic energy to be the cure-all, a sort of universal panacea, for both the economic and physical ailments of the world. Some others—who may be called plungers, with their eyes on the making of a fast dollar, view the atom as an easy road to fame and fortune. Well, let me make it perfectly clear; atomic energy is not yet any of these things.

On the other hand, there is room for a good deal of optimism, for in my opinion we have made a great deal of progress since the Atomic Energy Act was first passed in 1946. Considerably more progress has been made since the act was amended in 1954.

This progress is mainly due to:

1. A civilian Atomic Energy Commission responsible for the program and carrying out its activities through industrial and university contractors with administration in the field.

2. The more recent policy of encouraging greater private ownership and participation in the development of an atomic-energy industry free of Government monopoly.

3. Greater declassification of technical information.

4. The basis for the international atoms-for-peace program.

5. And the role of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy which serves as watchdog for the entire atomic program, providing encouragement and sometimes the spur for the executive branch to develop basic technology and to provide both the necessary supplies and the services contributing to the sound growth of the atomic-energy industry.

The time and scope of this presentation forbid a detailed exploration of the atom's steadily mounting peaceful use, or of its impact on:

1. Agriculture.
2. Radiation preservation of foods.
3. Medicine and public health.
4. Power generation.
5. The insurance industry.
6. The coal and mining industries.
7. Commercial shipping and airlines.
8. And many other segments of our economy.

Peaceful uses of the atom in these various fields were recently considered by the McKinney panel. The findings led to the more or less general conclusion that the United States maintains world leadership in the development of nuclear energy for defense and for peaceful progress. The detailed record of the McKinney panel not only led to this last realization but furnished an impressive record of the joint contribution made by our scientists, engineers, and American industry.

One aspect which is deserving of a little more specific treatment is the matter of radioactive isotopes, the miracle tool of the atomic age—the so-called byproducts of our atomic reactors. In the past several years, there has been a dramatic upsurge in the number and variety of things for which isotopes are being used. For an illustration,

existing applications include everything from clinical examination to oil drilling, from agricultural experiments to spot welding. Yet the surface has barely been scratched.

Then, too, the annual savings to American industry from the many different isotopes are estimated at one-third of a billion dollars annually. By 1960, it has been estimated that isotope savings will amount to $5 billion, at an annual cost to the Government of $20 million. Therefore, it is possible, over the long run, that benefits from isotopes will more than repay the huge investment we have made in our atomic energy program. This, by way of anticipation, could prove a very reassuring and comforting answer to our original question: What do we expect to get out of atomic energy?

The role of isotopes in the peacetime uses of atomic energy is revealed in the following authoritative words of Atomcic Energy Commissioner Dr. Willard F. Libby:

"In the field of the atoms-for-peace program, isotopes will play a very great role, for they can be put to work immediately without extensive training and heavy investment, and can serve for years to reconvince the people the world over of the atom's great promise for peaceful uses when they become impatient waiting for the other great peaceful use—atomic power—to arrive."

Recognizing the important part agriculture plays in the economy of this area, let me mention a few examples of the impact of the isotope in the field of agriculture: First, improvement in the fertility of the soil, and second, to kill plant disases and improve strains of farm animals. From the standpoint of handling and processing food, atomic energy plays an important part. It is also effective in purifying salt water for irrigation purposes.

In the field of medicine and pharmacy, the radioactive isotope of iodine is being used to find out more about the distribution of the body's metabolism and its special characteristics. Interesting and rewarding results have been attained in arresting excessive thyroid activity and heart conditions. In addition to the synthetic production of drugs, progress is being made with TB drugs, radioactive-labeled tranquilizer pills, and in alleviation of the dread disease, leukemia. Meanwhile, other interesting techniques are being carried on with regard to the aging process, or what makes people grow old.

Of equal interest to industry are the costs and industrial uses to which the radioactive isotope is capable of being employed. To begin with, it might be noted that the known applications of radioisotope techniques have by no means saturated the market. For example, it is estimated that the market for radioisotope thickness gauges is less than 10 percent saturated. Such installations, on the average, have been found to pay off the initial investment in less than a year. Savings in the measuring, recording, and controlling of the thickness of various materials such as plastic, rubber, aluminum, and cigarettes have returned to American manufacturers approximately $110 million per year. This sum is expected to rise to $1 billion per year in 2 or 3 years, according to Atomic Energy Commission figures.

Another comparatively new use of radioisotopes is to facilitate oil well stimulation. This newly born use for radioactive tracers, already represents a large potential source of profit to the oil industry in terms of getting more oil out of the same piece of ground and doing it more cheaply.

To give you some idea of the great potential from placing short-lived isotopes in the intermediate product itself and using the radiation from these isotopes to control the manufacturing process, let me go into a little detail for you. First, it is possible to make use of radioactive carbon or hydrogen on the part of every organic chemical industry, thus controlling production operations by judicious labeling of the material being processed at safe, low radiation levels. For example, you can label a certain ingredient of crude oil—such as octane—before it goes to an oil refinery.

Secondly, it is possible to use a small amount of radioactive iodine by adding it to the rosin core in a rosin-core solder. Then by means of a continuous Geiger counter monitoring on the production line any poorly soldered joints in radio, TV sets, and similar electronic assemblies will be detected. Thirdly, a small quantity of radioactive iodine can be added to the glue in making a plywood. With a Geiger counter, you can establish uniformity of application of the glue and thus develop quality control and improvement in the strength of the plywood. Fourth, by adding radioisotope to dyes, you can detect "color-bleeding" in the manufacture of textile fabrics. Finally, through the use of isotopes, methods of controlling the uniform mixing of materials such as paint or lubricating grease are possible.

In citing these industrial applications, it is proper to conclude that the application of radioisotopes to industry, medicine, and agriculture continues to be one of the bright spots in the atomic energy program. In addition, their rate of growth is rapid and to such an extent that it may well be that the savings to industry alone will in a few years repay the Nation handsomely for its entire investment in atomic energy development.

In the field of atomic power, there is no need for our Federal Government to undertake a "crash" program. We have ample coal resources here in Pennsylvania and in other parts of the country. The Government's efforts should be restricted to research and development, and construction of small advanced prototypes in the field of atomic power, and construction of large-scale atomic powerplants should be left primarily to private industry, with limited Government research and development assistance.

In connection with the development of atomic power, there is the erroneous belief of many persons not familiar with reactor development that a reactor is a device shrouded in mystery and concocted by long-haired scientists. They believe that new rules of operation must be used on it and that it uses only exotic materials under strange and secretive conditions. All of this is an exaggeration—including the mystery angle.

In plain words, a reactor is a machine for producing energy in the form of heat. It differs from the conventional steam plant mainly in the kind of fuel it uses. The following points should be constantly kept in mind: First, a nuclear reactor is a furnace from which heat must be removed at a rapid, controlled rate. Second, the production of highly energetic waves and particles in a reactor by the splitting of atoms has peculiar effects on the properties of materials. Third, the neutrons, the small bullets produced when atoms split, through fission, must be used as efficiently as possible, to cause other atoms to split. These neutrons are likely to be absorbed by unsplit atoms; therefore, it is necessary to use in reactors materials that resist the neutrons.

The building of a reactor poses three questions:

1. Why are the requirements so unusual or so difficult to meet?

2. Why is so much study and development necessary before each nuclear reactor is built?

3. How do the problems differ from those of a conventional boiler plant?

The answer to these questions is that we have jumped headfirst into an operation for producing heat by means of a novel reaction—the release of energy by splitting atoms. Then, too, we must be mindful of the fact that conventional steam power has had 150 years of development behind it. On the other hand, nuclear reactors are approximately 15 years old, since the first reactor, built by Dr. Enrico Fermi, went into operation on December 2, 1942, in Chicago.

As of June 30, 1957, in the United States, 267 reactors had been built or were in the various stages of planning or construction. It is interesting to observe that while the reactor industry has progressed more rapidly in its 15 years than the steam power industry did in its first hundred years, we are still a long way from developing atomic power to the point where it can take its place in the competitive market. This is due to the fact that there are costly and exacting requirements in the construction of a reactor far in excess of what is required in ordinary steam boilers.

The main problem in designing and constructing reactors is the failure of standard equipment in an operating reactor system. For example, failures in piping, valves, heat exchangers, plates, and flanges have caused more lost time and money than have the unconventional portions of reactors.

Another problem is a real need for alloys of a higher yield strength than we now have developed. In addition, much research and development is necessary to develop materials suitable for the exacting requirements of atomic reactors. We also need to learn how to use the low alloys in reactors and how to utilize them in every spot possible, so that plant costs can be reduced. To obtain these suitable materials, intense investigations are necessary of existing alloys together with experimental development of combinations new to industry. Meanwhile, it remains for industry to give us the know-how which will permit us to use efficiently these steels, alloys, and structures in the atomic machines of tomorrow.

In concluding this discussion on peacetime uses of atomic energy, let me repeat again that even though we have spent $15 billion to date, we have barely scratched the surface in developing the ultimate benefits to be derived by mankind. Fifty years from now, barring an atomic war, atomic energy will be as common as electricity and coal are today. Atomic planes, atomic rocket ships, automobiles, locomotives, farm tractors, etc., will be in everyday use and an accustomed sight on the world scene. Homes will be heated and cooled by the atom. Food, clothing, medicines, and crops will be improved, and in general our way of living will be completely revolutionized.

Regardless of what the future holds in this great atomic age, the businessman and industrialist will surely miss the boat if they fail to keep abreast of rapid developments in the field of atomic energy.

As one of the original members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, and in the best interest of the American people, it was necessary in the beginning to do the research and development on a socialistic basis by giving the Government a complete monopoly in the field of atomic energy. Such a monopoly is no longer necessary, and as an ardent disciple of the American system of free enterprise, I played a part in amending the law to give industry the right to participate in our Government's effort to harness the atom for the benefit of all mankind.

The theme of this Mason-Dixon conference, "Industry Tomorrow," as it relates to this atomic age, will tax your ability, ingenuity, energy, and imagination if you—as businessmen and leaders of industry—seize the opportunity to play an important role in the peacetime development of the atom.

In accepting this challenge, you and your firm will not only derive mutual benefits, but you will likewise aid in strengthening our Nation's effort to enjoy the blessings of this atomic era.

Ninth in a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, since July 29, I have been inserting daily in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a series of editorial letters written by my very good friend, Mr. F. F. McNaughton, editor of the Pekin Daily Times, describing his recent visit to Russia.

Mr. McNaughton, who was accompanied on the trip by his wife, stated in his first column:

We are about to write columns to you from Russia. Chances are that when you read some of them, you will say, "That McNaughton is a Red."

But I tell you now that I am going to write it as I see it. Too often, America sticks its head in the sand and won't see the truth. America is big enough that it does not have to kid itself.

I'm not going to kid you.

These editorial letters, Mr. Speaker, are beginning to provoke some comment. Just today I received a letter from an attorney in New York asking me to "stop cluttering up the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with F. F. McNaughton's pro-Soviet propaganda."

It is unfortunate, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman who wrote me from New York has so little faith in his fellow Americans. Are we so small and unsure of ourselves that we are afraid to get the straight story from as eminent a reporter of the truth as Mr. McNaughton? He is writing only what he and Mrs. McNaughton have personally witnessed and seen. I believe my colleagues will agree that the letters have been most informative for those of us who have not been privileged to travel so extensively as the McNaughtons during their lifetime.

No one who knows Mr. McNaughton as I do would ever charge him with being a "pro-Soviet" propagandizer.

Mr. Speaker, I might remind my correspondent from New York, who is so concerned about the insertion of these articles, that before being elected to Congress, I served as the assistant to my predecessor who served with such distinction as a member and chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for 8 years. I am quite well aware of what the Communist conspiracy is and what its aims and purposes are. Far be it from me to ever aid and abet the furtherance of their goal. I do not believe, however, that I should "bury my head in the sand" and refuse to inform myself of how the other half lives.

In conclusion, I would much prefer to learn of present day activities in Russia via the objective reporting of a man of Mr. McNaughton's caliber rather than rely upon the left wing columnists and fellow-travelers who have an utter disregard for the truth and whose sinister machinations are well known.

In today's editorial letter, Mr. McNaughton describes his visit to Lenin's and Stalin's tomb.

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of July 31, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

We saw Stalin's body today.
He is beside Lenin.
Both are in the black marble tomb in Red Square.
We had seen Lenin's body.
Lenin died at only 54.
Has been dead 33 years.
Stalin died at about 75.

It has been a day of torrential rains; but people have stood steadfastly in a long queue despite the drenching they are taking. Few have umbrellas or raincoats.

Ceil and I had raincoats, rubbers, umbrella, and I wore an old cap while she had a rubber cover for her beret. Since we had "Intourist" buttons, we were put in near the head of the line behind some visiting children.

All is very solemn and formal as one nears the tomb, with soldiers keeping an alert eye on everybody.

From the time we entered the street level door until we emerged again was 6 minutes. All must walk 2 abreast. You go downstairs into the cold vault; then walk around three sides of the large enclosure in which the 2 bodies rest on couches, some 8 feet apart.

There are floodlights on both faces.
Lenin is a slight man.
Stalin is bigger.
Lenin is in plain black.

Stalin is in the olive green of an Army Marshal and has several decorations on his coat. I think Lenin had no decorations.

We moved slowly about, then up the other stairway. There is ample time for a good view.

Having come out, one walks by the tombs of other heroes of the revolution. Some are buried in the ground at your left; others are buried in the thick Kremlin wall at your immediate right. Among those buried in the Kremlin's brick wall is William (Big Bill) Hayward of America. Wasn't he a leader of the Industrial Workers of the World in America about the time 1917 when important revolutionary efforts were being made in Russia? I may be wrong about this.

Let me add that although Stalin may be dead and downgraded, his statues and pictures are everywhere. You'd have to deface the nation to remove them.

Community Effort in Ashtabula, Ohio, Wins Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, it is with the greatest pride that I call attention to the accomplishments of Ashtabula, Ohio, one of the forward-looking cities in northeastern Ohio, the district I have the privilege to represent in Congress. Ashtabula is located on Lake Erie and is the home of one of the busiest ports on the Great Lakes. The citizens of Ashtabula, like all of us in the areas served by the Great Lakes, are looking forward to the opening of the St. Lawrence seaway which will bring new commerce, new industry, and new activity to all lake States and communities.

The unique characteristic about Ashtabula is that the people there are not waiting for someone else to prepare the city to meet the great new demands which the seaway will impose upon it. They have tackled the job themselves. Local city officials, individual citizens, and private industry have cooperated in the tremendous waterfront development, and dock improvement, and they have been zealous missionaries in bringing new industries into the area. This community effort has performed an actual miracle in development of the area, the story of which is contained in the following article from the Painesville Telegraph, one of the fine newspapers of the 11th Ohio District:

[From the Painesville (Ohio) Telegraph of August 6, 1957]

SHIPPING LANES—ASHTABULA WINS HIGH PRAISE FOR SEAWAY EFFORTS

ASHTABULA.—Ashtabula is credited with accomplishing an "almost phenomenal feat on a penny-sized civic budget that doesn't even provide for a port director," in a trade publication on St. Lawrence seaway preparedness.

Stanley Mantrop is the author of an account of that city's activities in Journal of Commerce. The trade publication is printed in New York and on the west coast. The special report stems from a survey of Great Lakes ports and preseaway activity.

Mantrop reports that "civic enthusiasm and private capital are helping this thriving Ohio city, 55 miles east of Cleveland, to live up to its slogan of Seaway City of Progress."

He says the Ashtabula port is not only progressing in a seaway sense but "virtually bursting at the seams with waterfront and industrial developments."

The writer gives much credit to Ned Collander, city manager, for having "virtually worked miracles with what little he had in the way of money." He relates that the tremendous flow of private capital into the port has more than made up for the lack of city funds for waterfront seaway developments.

Ashtabula is given further credit as follows in the account:

"Ashtabula has progressed so rapidly seawaywise, two of its waterway piers, built with the express purpose of handling the anticipated heavy flow of iron ore from Labrador, are already in use.

"One of the 2,000-foot piers is already completed, while the second, of the same size, is in use but still is a long way from being finished.

"Some time ago the officials conducted a survey of the package freight cargo potential, but the port advanced cargowise so quickly the potential has already been surpassed 1 year after the survey was made."

Mr. Mantrop further explains:

"From 1945 to 1955, industrial firms spent roughly $300 million on new plants and developments in the Ashtabula area.

"City officials believe the completion of the seaway will make Ashtabula the ideal port not only for iron ore, but for goods and products coming from and going to every part of the world."

"These include manganese ore, raw rubber, copra, chemicals, automobiles, machine tools, ceramics, and many other items used by and made by the growing industries in the Ashtabula harbor area.

"To meet this challenge from the seaway, Ashtabula is preparing for an even greater development of its harbor area.

"This will be accomplished through a privately financed investment of $3.4 million. The Federal Government has approved a $4.9 million program for harbor deepening, so that vessels coming into the Great Lakes through the St. Lawrence seaway can berth at Ashtabula.

"Ashtabula officials expect a total of $100 million worth of new construction in the city by 1960, to create 9,000 new jobs to support 7,000 additional families by creating an extra spendable income of $32 million per year.

"The chemical industry which had a big stake in Ashtabula's future is expected to invest another $120 million in new chemical construction projects within Ohio during the next 2 years with the lion's share of this work coming here. Most of this new development has come as a result of the seaway project and the possibility it presents for easy access to the sea via the Lake Erie ports.

"Ashtabula's seaway cargo potential is so great surveys haven't been able to tell the full story. However, based on the port's annual total of some 15 million tons of cargo, the seaway can be expected to more than double this already impressive figure."

The report credits Nelson Pinney, head of the Pinney Dock and Transfer Co., as being "the man behind Ashtabula's phenomenal waterfront development.

"Mr. Pinney has invested heavily in Ashtabula's future by planning and carrying out the work on the two new piers without a cent of taxpayers' money," the writer reports.

"Ashtabula lacks the facilities at the present time that would permit the port to openly compete with some of the larger centers for a piece of the general cargo business that will come with the seaway. Instead, the port has geared its deepwater cargo handling to bulk cargoes, the majority of which is expected to come from the ore-rich fields of Labrador.

"At present, Ashtabula handles 12 percent of the Great Lakes iron-ore traffic plus limestone, sand, salt, gravel, coal, iron, steel, and newsprint.

"Iron-ore traffic through the port is expected to mount substantially following completion of the seaway and the steel mill expansion programs in the Ashtabula harbor area."

Address by Hon. Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Secretary of the Navy, at Dinner Meeting of Institute of Aeronautical Sciences, San Diego, Calif., Monday, August 5, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a talk given by the Honorable Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Secretary of the Navy, at a dinner meeting of the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences at the U. S. Grant Hotel in San Diego, Calif., on August 5, 1957.

I feel that it was an excellent presentation of the problems which confront the United States Navy in its extended position throughout the world in preserving peace and the security of the Nation. He stresses the fact that military power without a strong economy back of it would be disastrous.

The Secretary explains that we have conquered the sound barrier, the heat barrier, the energy barrier, and that now we must conquer the cost barrier, and urges industry to meet this challenge by reducing their costs so that the defense dollar can produce more armaments.

ADDRESS BY HON. THOMAS S. GATES, JR., SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, AT DINNER MEETING OF INSTITUTE OF AERONAUTICAL SCIENCES, SAN DIEGO, CALIF., MONDAY, AUGUST 5, 1957

1. This is a time of decision. Decisions have been taken in recent weeks, are being taken today, and will be taken in the next year that will affect our country for many years to come. These are difficult decisions. Some groups would resolve them with deceptively simple changes in the defense organization. This is no answer. There are no easy obvious answers. They must evolve with knowledge. The decisions will have profound effect on us all: on the prospect of peace with security, on the future of our Armed Forces, on the industry which supports them, and on our continued prosperity and way of life. Not all these decisions will be made in Washington. What happens as a result of decisions made in Washington is a matter for the aviation industry and its technology. This naval aviation meeting of the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences represents the technical and operational brains of the American aviation industry. The excellent program has been carefully planned to bring common understanding. Therefore, I think it right and necessary to speak before this audience to the future of the Navy and naval aviation.

2. We have had for some years an expanding and prosperous economy. It will continue to prosper and expand. But there is a limit to the permissible amount of military spending, and we have already just about come to that limit. Our task is to see that within that limit we generate the military force to keep the peace and to preserve freedom in the world.

The United States needs sufficient nuclear striking power—well dispersed and well diversified—but we need a clear-headed rational appraisal of how much nuclear striking power.

The United States needs to maintain the best strategic warning against attack—but not so much defense that we will pass the point of diminishing returns.

Versatile forces that contribute to offensive requirements across the board and defensive requirements as well, give us significant gains in economy and efficiency.

Under this administration we have described the limit in a level military budget. We have avoided feast or famine financing, and have sought instead to establish steady long-range programs—programs on which the armed services and industry could base steady and orderly progress. In the main, and until recently, we have been successful.

3. However, now we are faced with an inflation of costs—almost without precedent. In military procurement, it is three inflations combined:

The inflation of dollars, which results in less for our money;

The inflation of size and complexity; and

The inflation of ideas.

These three inflations will work together to rob us of the forces we know we need for national security, if we do not understand them, and deal with them effectively.

And the first step in understanding is to recognize the "object of the ball game" in the design of our military forces. The object is simply this: to provide military force sufficient to insure, working with our allies, the peace and security of the free world. For this we need forces sufficient to support our policy in cold war, sufficient to win decisively in hot but limited war, and sufficient to make it unthinkable to any aggressor to resort to thermo nuclear war. This much we need—no more, no less.

Our national position on disarmament has been made clear. We have consistently taken the lead in seeking a safeguarded agreement. We have made proposals that would bring under control the nuclear threat, control conventional armaments—and outer space objects, and create safeguards against armed attack. We are seeking today agreements on a safeguarded first stage. But until such agreements have been made, it is vital to the security of the free world that we maintain our military posture.

4. What then are the roles of the Navy? We feel they are these:

To provide military, economic, and political links across the seas for the nations of the free world, and to deny corresponding linkage to the nations of the Communist bloc; and second

To use the ocean areas as a springboard for offensive operations, and as a vast maneuver area for the defense in depth of ourselves and our allies.

In cold war what is needed may be a show of force, as in the Jordan troubles. Ships may come and go on the international waters of the world without treaty or passport; without question of sovereignty or jurisdiction. Our Navy and its ships are our finest ambassadors. They are the strong arm of restraint—guarding our nationals in the Suez crisis or our friends in the Tachens—hoisting the flag of warning over Formosa—a big brother bolstering a faltering ally or a policeman on the beat subduing an irresponsible international brigand.

Our Navy is often able to suppress trouble before it starts merely by being present and available. Herein, the advantage of being on the scene, as our present Sixth Fleet and Seventh Fleet are in the Mediterranean and Far East. Being present or being able to quickly reach an area of tension gives us an immense oportunity for preserving peace, for discouraging aggression, and for forestalling trouble.

Our naval task forces are tailored to classic military principles of mobility, concentration of power and economy of force. Precisely because of our ability to develop and use the new weapons systems the Navy is a force of economy—which makes its future certain.

Naval power gives us the power of choice. Naval power has the capability of precision delivery of measured force. Our Government needs a choice of action—it needs alternatives—when confronted with a dangerous international situation.

In unlimited war, we would have important special capabilities:

Carrier-based air attack against objectives which threaten our control of the seas;

Seaplanes based on mobile supporting ships; and

Surface and submarine launched guided missiles.

And because these attack systems are based on the sea, they can concentrate on the greatest threat, or disperse to the farthest oceans. They are relatively free from the threat of missile counter attack. They are secure from the political tangles of foreign bases. They do not threaten, they are not provocative, but they are available. Most important of all, they can force the enemy to divert his fire away from our homeland.

One of the most obvious features of our national policy today is our emphasis on collective security. The basic strategicy of the Communists is to divide and conquer, to isolate North America and the United States. The mainstay of our collective security system is our mutual love of freedom and our respect for the dignity of man. Its cement is sea power.

It may turn out that World War II marked the high water mark of all outness in warfare. What we are moving toward, if peace cannot be found, is a continuation of wars of limited means, scope and objective, such as Korea, Indochina, and Greece. These were limited by both adversaries because it was to the advantage of both to do so. This is the kind of warfare that has charcaterized classic statesmanship throughout modern military history. In a sense, Korea, Indochina, and Greece were 20th century Crimean Wars against Soviet expansion.

Korea is an excellent example of the value of sea power in limited war. Nearly one-third of all the United States air missions flown in Korea were flown by naval aviation. At Inchon the First Marine Division changed the complexion of the entire campaign almost overnight. In reality, no one of our allies can be supported without sea power.

5. This audience is entitled to ask, "What is the future of naval aviation?" We answer, "It is bright." At the Nation's need, we see naval aircraft hunting submarines—striking the sources of enemy naval power—guarding our ships and our sea flanks against air attack. We see Marine landing forces employing helicopters in vertical envelopment objectives, and Marine and naval aircraft supporting the Marine divisions ashore. We see sea-based air controlling the seas as it has since the airplane came of age.

6. To realize all this, we must reduce—drastically—the costs of hardware and of operations. Dollars, of course, are not everything. But in peacetime and in wartime, they are the best measure of manpower, material, and effort that we have ever been able to devise. So clearly what we want is military worth—the most military value for the money. Where the military worth is high, we will buy. Where it is not, we won't. It's as simple as that.

And what is military value in weapons? It is that combination of careful, ingenious design, advanced technology, and down-to-earth commonsense that yields the simplest, lightest, most reliable weapon to do the job, and not one thing more.

Many people ask our view nowadays on the relationship of missiles and unarmed aircraft. Will the missile supplant the aircraft in military applications? I think the answer is simple—it will supplant the aircraft where it can do the job better, and it will never replace it where it cannot.

In air defense and in nuclear attack it probably will, some day. In reconnaissance, logistics, and in the numberless applications of sea-air power to limited conventional war and politico-military operations it probably will not. So here again we need a well-balanced team in which each component does that for which it is best fitted.

7. The American aircraft industry has done well for naval aviation. It has produced—consistently—aircraft that have held—and that now hold—world's records in speed and range for military aircraft. They yield nothing in effectiveness to aircraft of any service of any power. We have many dramatic and recent examples. With the steam catapults, angle decks, mirror landing systems, and other improvements of modern carriers, we have broken the shackles of carrier aircraft design. With the new hydrodynamics we will break the shackles of seaplane design. By taking advantage of the capabilities of sea bases, we will develop offensive and defensive missiles of higher military worth than can be developed in any other way. It has been a job well done.

But now industry must do all this and much more; it must do it at absolute rock-bottom cost. Let me speak very plainly: The producer who reduces his costs is the one who will survive. To the sound barrier, the heat barriers, the energy barrier, we add one more—the cost barrier. I have the utmost confidence that the energy and creative imagination which overcame the others will overcome this one too.

Diversion of Highway Trust Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I feel very strongly that the present session of Congress should not be allowed to close until it has corrected a serious defect that has been revealed in connection with the handling of the highway trust fund.

Last year, Congress enacted two laws of incalculable importance to the people of the United States—the Federal Aid Highway Act and the Highway Revenue Act of 1956. In this legislation Congress and the country dedicated itself to the job of providing a network of top-ranking highways to serve the vital needs of commerce and defense. The highway program is, and will continue to be, a pay-as-you-go construction program, financed by revenue from highway user taxes paid into a special trust fund. Implicit in this arrangement is a promise to the highway user that Congress will see to it that a full dollar's worth of road is constructed with every highway user tax dollar that is placed in this trust fund.

I know that I need not remind this House of this obligation. However, I am concerned that this House has not fully performed this obligation in the enactment of appropriation bills this year. As a result, taxes which should be used to build roads are being diverted to pay the administrative expenses of the Department of Labor in matters which are beyond the historic scope of Federal-aid highway appropriations, and which constitute a dangerous precedent for further diversion of the trust fund as the national-highway program continues.

Bills to correct this situation and bring the administration of the highway trust fund into line with what I firmly believe was the intention of Congress when it enacted the Federal-aid Highway Act and the Highway Revenue Act of 1956, have been introduced.

On May 6, 1957, I introduced H. R. 7223, and urged the House to recognize the importance of early action. On July 11, 1957, the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Roads of the Committee on Public Works, Representative FALLON, introduced a similar bill H. R. 8648. In the other body, similar legislation, S. 2436 has been introduced by Senator POTTER, of Michigan.

This is a matter which we should not allow to remain on our conscience. The urgency of action to correct this matter was recently expressed by the executive committee of the American Automobile Association in a statement issued July 31, 1957.

Their statement is as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION RELATING TO THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND, ADOPTED JULY 31, 1957

The American Automobile Association deplores the action of Congress in authorizing the use of the highway trust fund to supplement the regular budget of the Department of Labor for carrying out the Department's activities in the administration of the Davis-Bacon Act.

A basic principle is involved in this action. Historically it has been recognized that in Federal-aid highway legislation, administrative costs incidental to the Federal supervision of the program should be absorbed by the executive agencies in their regular budgets. The costs of the Bureau of Public Roads have been the only exception to this rule. The legislative history of the Federal-aid Highway Act and Highway Revenue Act show that Congress intended that this same arrangement should continue.

Almost 15 years of unprecedented road-building activity lie ahead before the present national highway program is completed. During this period, the financing program must keep pace with construction costs. In view of this necessity, highway user taxes deposited in the trust fund must not be subject to diversion into administrative activities of various Federal agencies based on a claim that some portion of the work of that agency is attributable to the highway program.

The American Automobile Association urges in the strongest terms that Congress immediately take steps to protect the highway trust fund against use for administrative expenses of any department or agency of the Federal Government except the Bureau of Public Roads.

Prime Interest Rates in Various Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following item on interest rates. Much criticism has been directed at the tight-money policy of the Republican administration. This has continued in spite of the generally acknowledged economic fact that whereas a loose-money policy tends toward inflation, a tight policy help to brake it. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the United States interest rate is the lowest in the world, as shown by the following article:

By way of illustration, the following table represents an assembly of the cheapest rates at which business firms of the highest credit standing can borrow on an unsecured basis in 54 countries. It must be borne in mind that money is scarce at these minimum rates; that most borrowers able to obtain funds pay higher rates; and that, in many countries abroad, borrowers have to pay, besides interest, loan commissions and/or other extra charges.

Current prime loan rates in various countries

Country:	Rate
Bolivia	[1] 16
Korea	12–15
Chile	12–14
Greece	12
Brazil	12
Israel	11
Peru	11
Ecuador	10
Austria	9½
Mexico	9½
Germany	9
Japan	9
Finland	8–8½
Argentina	8
Uruguay	8
Iran	7½–8½
Italy	7½
Turkey	7–9
Denmark	7–8
Syria	7–8
Costa Rica	7
France	7
Honduras	7
Lebanon	7
Nicaragua	7
Sweden	6½–7
Ireland	6¼
Iraq	6–7
Singapore	6–7
Spain	6–6½
Colombia	6
Dominican Republic	6
El Salvador	6
Guatemala	6
Liberia	6
South Africa	6
Venezuela	6
India	5½–6½
Egypt	5½–6
Hong Kong	5½–6
Australia	[2] 5½
Canada	5½
Netherlands	5½
Great Britain	5¼–5½
Philippines	5–7
Belgium	5–5½
Portugal	5–5½
Cuba	5
New Zealand	[2] 5
Panama	5
Norway	4¾
Switzerland	4½
Puerto Rico	4¼
United States	4

[1] Not including 9 percent representing tax and other charges.

[2] Trading banks average rate.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the August 6, 1957, issue of the Daily Highlander, of Lake Wales, Fla. The editorial relates to the so-called civil-rights bill.

The editorial points up the fact that where you have free and unlimited debate you can develop and bring forth to the attention of the American people the real issues which are involved in any legislation. Unfortunately, we in the House of Representatives are sometime so limited in time for debate that we cannot develop all of the issues involved in a bill or call the attention of the American public to the real purposes of the legislation. Therefore, we cannot too strongly plead the cause of free and unlimited debate in the other body so that the American people can be fully informed on all phases of any legislative issue.

The editorial follows:

HIGHLANDERING ABOUT TOWN

(By Bob Lodmell)

It appears the United States Senate has effectively done away with a section of the so-called civil rights bill which would be a step toward dictatorship.

In section 3 of the bill, which the Senate disposed of before adding on the jury trial amendment, there was a provision which would give a civil rights commission the power to conduct meetings. The release or publication of any testimony given without the Commission's consent would be punishable by a fine up to $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 1 year.

Secrecy in government and restrictions on the free press are tools of the dictator. They have no place in America.

The frightening thing about this entire situation is that the bill was promoted and fought for by two men who are among the leading contenders to be the next President of the United States—NIXON and KNOWLAND. And even more frightening is that the bill, with this provision intact, was passed by the House of Representatives.

Thank goodness there are more statesmen than selfish politicians in the United States Senate.

Statement by the Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corp. Before Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, one of the most impressive statements I have ever heard on our industrial system was presented before the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary by Mr. Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corp. It is of such importance that it richly deserves to be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for wider distribution. I therefore ask unanimous consent that Mr. Blough's statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OPENING STATEMENT

(By Roger M. Blough)

I have read with deep interest, and with understandable perplexity, the conflicting testimony of the distinguished economists who have appeared before you at these hearings. I have studied their differing definitions of the term "administered prices"; I have sought to comprehend that stillborn economic concept called the "zone of relative price indifference"; I have struggled with that impossible paradox known as monopolistic competition; and pursuing my research even further into the semantic stratosphere of economic literature, I have encountered "atomistic heteropoly" and "differentiated polypoly."

Clearly this is no place for simple iron puddlers; so with your permission, I'll just try to keep it simple by avoiding the pitfalls of economic theory and by sticking to the practical economic facts of life which every businessman must face if he is to survive the rising tide of costs, meet his competition, and keep his plant intact in the absence of adequate depreciation allowances.

Now as I understand it, the main purpose of this investigation is to inquire into the warmed-over theory that "administered prices in the so-called concentrated industries are responsible for inflation. Freely translated, I suppose that means: "Is big business to blame for it all?"

The learned economists who have appeared before you have discussed that theory thoroughly, and have—I think—successfully disposed of it; but because of the subterranean implications inherent in the question itself, I should like to be sure that we are all speaking the same language and that we have the same understanding as to the precise meaning of this economic jargon.

For example, I confess that I have no idea just what an "administered price" is—and judging from the wide divergence of opinion among the witnesses who have testified here on that point, I am not alone. Perhaps it is merely the opposite of a "haphazard price." But whatever it is, I gather that the one who should have some understanding of the meaning of the term is Dr. Gardiner C. Means who invented it.

So I would like to note, in passing, some of the statements he has made to the committee about "administered prices"—about what they are and what they are not.

Are administered prices monopolistic? Do they exist only in the absence of competition? In short, are they bad?

To the contrary. According to Dr. Means, they lead "to greater efficiency and higher standards of living. * * * They are an essential part of our modern economy. * * * Without them, big, efficient industry would find it almost impossible to operate."

"ADMINISTERED PRICES" EVERYWHERE, INCLUDING MACY'S BASEMENT

Well, then, are administered prices a phenomenon which is peculiar to big businesses and to "highly concentrated" industries?

Why, not at all, explains Dr. Means. An administered price is merely an established price at which something is offered for sale. In other words, it is the price that you and I pay for virtually everything we buy, wherever we buy it—at the corner drugstore, the neighborhood newsstand, or in Macy's basement. Dr. Means says: "We could not have our big, efficient department stores and mail-order houses if prices were not administered."

Then perhaps administered prices are something new—some modern development in our economy?

Wrong again. Dr. Means says: "Even in Adam Smith's day, administered prices were known." His main idea seems to be that administered prices are something which should be studied further in order that their economic effects can be more fully understood. In no event does he regard them as something that can or should be done away with.

So since Dr. Means' prices prevail generally throughout the business world, and since they are neither bad nor something new, perhaps we should just forget this confusing word "administered" and talk for a while about prices, period. And the question before us then is: Are prices in concentrated industries responsible for inflation?

IS STEEL A CONCENTRATED INDUSTRY?

But what are concentrated industries and how concentrated do they have to be to qualify as potential villains in this cycle of inflation? Throughout the testimony before this committee, I note the almost universal presumption that steel is a classic example of a highly concentrated industry. And frankly, this puzzles me.

The Department of Commerce has prepared for this committee a list of 447 American industries as classified by the Census Bureau, and has shown what percentage of the sales in each of these industries was accounted for by the four largest producers.

Thumbing through that list, I find that 112 of these industries—and remember, I am talking about industries, not just companies—112 of these industries are more concentrated than "steelworks and rolling mills." In fact, one-quarter of all of the industries in America—as shown on this Census Bureau tabulation—are more highly concentrated than steel.

So perhaps—in order to avoid confusion—we'd better forget this term "concentrated industries" for a moment and just ask ourselves if industrial prices are responsible for inflation.

RISING PRICES ARE THE RESULT, NOT THE CAUSE OF INFLATION

And the answer to that—as all of us must recognize—is that rising prices do not cause inflation; they are the result of inflation. As a knowing friend of mine put it: "Price increases cause inflation like wet streets cause rain."

In this connection, all of the economists who have appeared here have emphasized the fact that wages and other costs are inextricably linked with prices; and Prof. Richard Ruggles of Yale University, in the course of this testimony, has come forward with some factual evidence that can hardly be ignored.

Addressing himself to the theory that administered prices have enabled producers to take advantage of wage increases by raising prices even more, he says: "For industrial producers as a whole, this form of the argument is easily shown to be not true."

He then turns to official United States Government figures to show that since 1951 wage costs have risen about twice as much as prices for manufacturing in total; and that wages have also risen faster than productivity.

Coming next to the Government's cost of living index, he shows, through careful analysis, that the rising price of the products—or commodities—that people buy have had relatively little effect upon the consumer's pocketbook in recent years; and that most of the increase in the cost of living index has resulted from the rising price of services—or non-commodities, if you will. Thus since 1951, he says, the price of services—as recorded in the index—has risen 21 percent; while the price of commodities has gone up only 2 percent. And he concludes with this simple statement, which I should like to quote with emphasis:

"It is not possible to maintain, in view of the statistical evidence, that administered prices have been primarily responsible for the inflationary spiral."

That is Dr. Ruggles' statement; and that is what the evidence clearly shows. Yet in the face of the indisputable facts, which are readily available to anyone who cares to look them up, the belief still seems to persist that there is something special and different about steel—that a rise in the price of steel can somehow touch off a new round of inflation; and that it will quickly affect the sensitive pocketbook nerve of every man, woman, and child in America.

PRESENTING THE FACTS TO DISPEL AN ECONOMIC SUPERSTITION

Mr. Chairman, that is sheer economic superstition; and it behooves us, I think, to expose it as such, for if this committee is to contribute—as I hope it will—to a broader public understanding of the real causes of inflation, it must deal in facts, and not in unsupported assumptions, however long those assumptions may have been an established part of our national folklore.

Now what are the facts?

Well, the New York Times, on March 10 of this year, published a front-page story in which it analyzed the changes in the cost-of-living index since 1952, and showed what has happened to the price of all of the major items which are covered by that index. This story, written by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., the Times' economic correspondent, showed—just as Professor Ruggles has shown here—that the price of the things which people bought during this period had remained relatively stable; but that the price of services—or nonthings, such as transportation, medical care, laundry, haircuts, rent, and so on—had risen substantially. And to illustrate the minor role that industrial prices have played in this picture, the Times made this significant statement:

"Though it may seem surprising," said the Times, "the price of steel could practically double and the cost of living would hardly show it. Between 1951 and 1955, the price of steel rose 14 percent; but the price of household appliances—washing machines and the like—actually declined by .13 percent."

How can this be? Well, the most authoritative explanation undoubtedly comes from Dr. Evan Clague, who as United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics for many years, must be regarded as our leading expert on matters pertaining to the cost-of-living index—or the Consumer Price Index, as it is now called.

In August of last year, Dr. Clague said that a rise in steel prices has only a negligible effect upon the cost-of-living index because the amount of steel in the consumer dollar is so tiny. And that, of course, is the crux of the matter. All the money that the American people spend for steel in a year is so small in comparison to their total expenditures for all of the other things they buy, that any change in the price of steel is overwhelmed by the price movement of other goods and services which make up the average family's budget.

In fact, the recent steel price increase would affect that budget by about four one-hundredths of 1 percent. That is considerably less than 1 cent a day for a $5,000-a-year budget—or not even enough to buy 1 cigarette.

But perhaps the most conclusive evidence on this question is to be found in the records of United States Steel itself. Possibly some of you gentlemen may recall that several years ago—on May 1, 1948, to be exact—United States Steel tried to lend what weight it could toward slowing down the inflation that was then running riot. And possibly you recall, too, the result of that experiment. If not, let me refresh your memory.

In the previous year, 1947, the cost of living index had jumped 14½ percent above the level of the year before. That was the largest annual increase ever recorded since the First World War period; and it is interesting to note, in passing, that this 14½ percent rise in that 1 year was more than 3½ times as great as the total increase that has occurred in the past 3 years put together. We were deeply concerned about inflation—as we still are—for among the industrial population of America, the steel industry has been one of the principal victims of inflation. It was a major problem for our company and we decided to do something about it if we could.

Fortunately, we had a unique opportunity to do so, for under the terms of our contract with the union that year, our workers could seek a wage increase; but they could not strike to obtain it.

So instead of granting the union's demand for higher wages, we determined to reduce the price of our products by $25 million—or an average of about $1.25 per ton. Reductions on individual products ranged from $1 to $5 per ton and applied particularly to those steel products which we hoped would bear most directly upon the cost of living—the kinds of steel, in short, that go into automobiles, household appliances, tin cans, roofing and siding for buildings and various wire products such as nails, wire netting and fencing.

Now remember, please, that at this time steel prices were already lagging far behind other prices generally. From 1940 to May of 1948, they had advanced only 40 percent; while the price index of all commodities had gone up 2½ times as much; food products, 3½ times as much, and farm products more than 4 times as much as steel.

But still, we cut our prices, and in announcing this price reduction, Benjamin Fairless—then president of the corporation—made a statement which sounded very much like some of those we hear today. He said:

"We in United States Steel believe that costs and prices in general are too high today for the good of the Nation. We are firmly of the conviction that American industry and labor should cooperatively do everything in their power to avoid further increases in costs, which—if permitted to occur—must result in higher prices for almost everything we buy. Certainly the best interests of all of our people will not be served by a further lowering in the purchasing power of the dollar."

Mr. Fairless went on to express the hope that our action would have a "beneficial effect throughout the Nation," and that it might help to bring "an early stabilization or reduction in the cost of living." But he also made it clear that if costs and wages continued to move forward elsewhere on a broad front, we would have to rescind our price cut and grant wage increases in fairness to our employees.

LEARNING THREE IMPORTANT TRUTHS FROM A "NOBLE EXPERIMENT"

I'm sure you all know what happened. Other unions demanded another big round of wage increases—and got them. Other companies had to raise prices to pay for them. Our costs kept soaring skyward. We might as well have tried to stop an express train with a peashooter. So 3 months later, we had to rescind our price action, increase the pay of our workers, and try to catch up with the parade that we had fallen so far behind.

This "noble experiment," however, was not a total loss for it taught us three important truths that I hope may someday be widely understood: First, that no one company, no one industry, and no one union can alone stop the march of inflation. Second, that neither the steel industry or any other industry ever sets the wage pattern in America; for the postwar wage pattern has been a never-ending spiral in which each industry, in its turn, is called on to pay a little more than the preceding industry did, and the next industry must then pay a little more than that. And third, we learned from the stark statistical evidence, that a cut in steel prices produces no discernible or identifiable effect upon the cost of living. The actual mathematical facts may interest you:

Our price reduction took effect on May 1 of 1948. From January through April of that year, the cost of living had risen only three-tenths of 1 percentage point; but no sooner had our price been lowered than the cost of living began to rise sharply. In the next 8 months it rose 2 whole percentage points.

Toward the end of this time, we had to give up and raise wages and prices substantially. And what happened to the cost

of living? It went up one-half of 1 percentage point in the following month and then began to drop steadily—not only throughout the balance of the year, but throughout all of the following year, until it reached the lowest point it had seen in 22 months.

And so, Mr. Chairman, if we are going to investigate steel prices at this hearing, by all means let us investigate steel prices; but in so doing let us not delude ourselves or anyone else into the notion that we are thereby striking at the roots of inflation.

MODERN INDUSTRIAL MIRACLE: SEVEN AND THREE-FOURTHS-CENT STEEL

On the contrary, let us try, at least, to bring a litle helpful perspective into this whole steel price picture. It is popularly supposed that the price of steel is too high; but I wonder whether 1 person out of 10, in this country, has the remotest idea what the price of steel actually is.

Today steel is selling for about 7¾ cents per pound. That is the average price that United States Steel is getting for all of the carbon and alloy steel that it ships. Yet to produce this steel it must use billions of dollars worth of equipment, the labor and skills of hundreds of thousands of men, and mountains of raw materials gathered from many parts of the world.

It seems to me that in comparison with almost everything else we buy 7¾-cent steel must be regarded as something of a modern industrial miracle.

And how much has the price of steel gone up since this broad cycle of inflation began back in 1940? What is the sum total of all of the price increases that have occurred in steel in all of the past 17 years put together? Why, about 4¾ cents per pound.

During this same period, other basic necessities of life have also risen in price. Bread, for example, has gone up 11 cents per pound; butter 39 cents, and round steak 59 cents; and all of us recognize that this is the inevitable effect of inflation. But when the price of steel moves up just three-tenths of 1 cent per pound—as it did on the first of July—it is declared to be a matter of grave national concern.

The truth is, of course, that during these 17 years, the value of the dollar has shrunk to slightly less than 50 cents. That means that each penny spent for steel today is really one-half a penny. So the price of steel has really gone up very little in terms of an unshrunken dollar. It is mainly that the value of money has gone down.

"T-1" STEEL SAVES $800,000 IN A NEW BRIDGE

And then there is the matter of quality—the change in the intrinsic value and usefulness of that pound of steel—which is so often overlooked in these discussions of steel prices. To compare the price of our 1957 model steel with that of our 1940 model is a good deal like trying to compare the price of a 1940 radio set with a 1957 color television. In many cases the kind of steel we sell today could not have been purchased at any price in 1940, because it simply didn't exist. And while the price of these new steels, such as high-strength and alloy steels, is necessarily higher than that of the older type carbon steels, it may actually represent a lower cost to the purchaser.

A case in point is the new bridge that is being built across the Carquinez Straits in California. Instead of using the old-fashioned steels, the engineers of the State of California are using our new, high-strength, "T-1" steel for many of the principal members of this bridge. And by using this higher priced steel, they estimate that they will save $800,000 on the overall cost of the structure.

So statisticians who ignore this all-important factor of value will conclude that the average price of the pound of steel we sell has gone up. But in the light of the new types and usefulness of these higher cost products, has it really, gentlemen? Or perhaps has the price of steel gone down as an actual matter of value per pound?

I'll leave it to you; but one thing seems crystal clear to me; that when viewed in its true perspective, the price of steel is amazingly low; for steel is not only the cheapest, by far, of all the common metals; but with surprisingly few exceptions, it is also cheaper—pound for pound—than almost anything else you can buy.

To put it in the politest possible terms, therefore, let me just say that the so-called high price of steel is, in my opinion, another myth, pure and simple. Conceivably this myth has been born of a natural desire to find some convenient scapegoat upon which to blame our inflationary troubles. If so, however, it is my purpose to see that United States Steel does not become that scapegoat.

MERE ASSUMPTIONS CLUTTER UP LANDSCAPE OF UNDERSTANDING

In these hearings, Mr. Chairman, we are prepared to present the whole financial story of United States Steel, as it stands today after 17 years of inflation—the facts about our costs, our prices, and our profits. But in my statement here this morning, I am impelled to discuss a couple of other free-wheeling assumptions that have been standing unchallenged in the record, and that seem to me to be considerably cluttering up the landscape of proper understanding.

One of the most persistent of these unfounded assumptions is that a big corporation, like United States Steel, has no real competition; that it thus enjoys monopoly power or concentration of power which enables it to boost its prices to what have been described here, I believe, as unendurable levels; and that in this way it reaps fabulous profits, the public interest to the contrary notwithstanding.

But that is the assumption. What are the facts? Does United States Steel really possess that kind of power? Does it actually get these fabulous profits? Let's look at the record:

When United States Steel was created, 56 years ago, it was the biggest corporation America had ever seen up to that time. It produced twice as much steel as all of its competitors put together.

Now self-preservation, of course, is one of the most basic of all instincts; so if United States Steel did possess, in those days, the monopoly power frequently attributed to it, then presumably it would have expanded its production at the expense of its competitors; or certainly—at the very least—it would have held its own ground against them. In which event, we would expect to find that United States Steel today still produces no less than 66 percent of the total domestic output, as it did back in 1902.

The fact is, however, it does not. Today it produces less than 30 percent of the steel that is made in America; and where once it turned out twice as much as all of its competitors put together, its competitors now turn out more than twice as much as it does.

It is true that United States Steel has grown during this period and that, last year, it produced about 3 times as much steel as it did in 1902; but its competitors have grown far more lustily. They produced 15 times as much steel as they did in 1902.

Yes, over the years, United States Steel's share of total domestic production has declined continuously, right down to the present day, while its competitors have taken an ever-increasing share of the market away from it. For every ton of steelmaking capacity that we have added during these years, our competitors have added almost 3 tons to their capacity; and this year—for the first time—our share of the total capacity of the industry dropped to 29.7 percent.

These are the facts, Mr. Chairman. Here on the record itself is the most conclusive possible evidence of the vigorous competition that exists within the steel industry. To persist in the discredited assumption that there is an absence of competition in steel, is to renounce reality and to cling to delusion. And to argue that concentration in this industry is on the rise, is merely to say that concentration among the smaller companies is increasing at the expense of United States Steel. This, then, is a new concept of concentration—a kind of concentration in reverse.

STEEL MUST COMPETE WITH MATERIALS OF ALL KINDS

Let us not forget, moreover, that vigorous and successful as United States Steel's competitors have been, they are by no means the only competition which we must meet in selling steel. With American wage rates three times as high as those which are paid to steelworkers abroad, we face increasing competition from foreign imports; and in certain product lines, this competition has cut heavily into our market.

Beyond that, too, is the intense competition that steel faces from other industries producing a host of products that can be used as substitutes for steel. Thus aluminum is striving mightily to replace steel in the automotive market, in the building industry, and in containers. Plastics are contending against steel in the manufacture of pipe, and for hundreds of other uses. Detroit has been experimenting with the use of fiber-glass for automobile bodies. The steel we produce for the manufacture of tin cans competes against glass, paper and other substances. In the construction field, steel must vie with prestressed concrete, wood, masonry, slate, asbestos and other materials too numerous to mention. And always it must compete against other metals such as copper, bronze, lead, magnesium and so on.

So let no one suppose that the customers of any steel company are unresourceful in protecting their own interests. They will buy their needs from the company best able to compete for their patronage in terms of price, quality, service, dependability, and availability. And in the end, they alone will decide—as the American customer always does—which companies shall grow, which shall wither, which shall survive, and which shall die. Theirs is the power to regulate and to control.

But still it is assumed that big companies, like United States Steel, have some mysterious and undiscovered power to reap fabulous profits at the customer's expense. And that, too is a myth—a carefully cultivated and widely exploited myth which is perpetuated very simply by those who decry the total dollar profits of big companies, without relating those profits to volume of sales, increased investment, or anything else that would give them meaning.

So we hear that Mr. X made a profit of only $3,000 on his little business last year, while corporation Y gouged a billion dollars in profits out of its customers. And that, of course, is sinful, and unconscionable, and un-American.

But who bothers to point out that Mr. X is the sole owner of his business and has invested a total of $10,000 in it; while corporation Y is owned by a million shareowners, each of whom invested $10,000 in it. So the "greedy" owners of this "giant" corporation had a profit of $1,000 apiece and a 10 percent return on their money; while "poor" Mr. X got 3 times as much profit and a return of 30 percent on his investment. Which of them, then, made the fabulous profit?

Now I know, of course, Mr. Chairman, that no member of this committee, nor of its staff, has any intention whatever of distorting the profits of United States Steel or any other company; but in view of the widespread misrepresentation that has occurred in other quarters, I have used this illustra-

tion to emphasize the necessity of measuring profits always in meaningful terms.

And with that thought in mind, let us see how the profits of United States Steel compare with those of other corporations.

Last month, Fortune magazine published a list of the 500 largest manufacturing companies in America; and it ranked them according to size on the basis of the dollar value of their sales last year.

Now, if you look at this list, you will find United States Steel in fourth place in size of sales. It stood third in assets and invested capital. It also stood third in the total number of jobs it provides; and fifth in the number of stockholders whose savings have been invested in the enterprise. Now these are the measures of the service which United States Steel has performed for the total economy and for the Nation.

SHATTERING A POPULAR ILLUSION ABOUT EXCESSIVE PROFITS

But how about the rewards it has received for these services? Does United States Steel rank fourth in profits as a percentage of sales? Not at all. It ranks in 123d place on that basis. Well, then, how about profits as a return on invested capital, however limited the usefulness of the measure may be? Was it No. 4 on this hit parade? No, I'm afraid not. It ranked 243d on that basis. And among the companies which stood far above it on both of these counts was the smallest company in the entire list—No. 500.

Mr. Chairman, a little study of the facts as they are reported in this Fortune magazine article will completely shatter the popular illusion that big companies have been fattening their profits. Taken as a group the 500 largest companies of this year increased their profits by 2½ percent over the levels of last year's top 500; but all the other industrial corporations—all the littler ones which did not rank among the first 500—increased their profits, as a group, by 20 percent.

In the light of these facts, therefore, it is pointless to argue that big, profit-hungry business has been responsible for the recent inflation. In fact—in the light of the Government's own figures—it is impossible to argue that profits have contributed to inflation at all.

These figures show that the total profits of all corporations, after taxes, were $22.1 billions in 1950 and that they have never been as large as that since then without even considering the declining value of those dollars of profits. And whereas profits represented 9 percent of the total national income in 1950, they had shrunk to only 6 percent of the national income by last year.

So it is a little difficult for me to understand how shrinking profit levels can cause inflation. Compensation of employees, of course, has risen by $87 billions during this same period; and as a share of the total national income it has increased from 64 percent to 70 percent. So if it is the belief of this committee that concentration of power may have something to do with rising prices, I would merely suggest that perhaps you gentlemen are looking on the wrong side of the bargaining tables.

I am aware, of course, that United States Steel is often blamed for wage inflation. It is said that we do not really fight against uneconomic wage increases, because we can easily pass them along to our customers. And it has been suggested to this committee that we be barred by law from raising prices following a wage increase—the supposition being, presumably, that we will thus be forced to resist the union more strongly.

Well, let's look at that one for a moment.

In the first place, a mere glance at our profit rate since 1940 will show that neither United States Steel nor the steel industry as a whole has been able to pass these rising costs along in their entirety. We have had to absorb a part of them. But that, perhaps, is beside the point.

FIVE COSTLY STRIKES IN LAST 11 YEARS

The real point is this: To enforce what we regard as inflationary wage demands, the union has struck our plants 5 times in the past 11 years; and we have taken these costly strikes in an effort to hold the line against inflation. But hardly has one of these strikes begun before there is a nationwide demand that we settle it. Our customers must have steel or close their plants. Their employees face layoffs and loss of pay. The Government, too, must have steel; and daily the pressures upon us keep building up. And ultimately, if we do not settle, we may face the threat of Government intervention, as happened 5 years ago when the then President of the United States seized our plants illegally and sought to grant the union demands in full.

In our most recent negotiation last year, after a 5-week strike, we signed a labor agreement. It was that labor agreement which foreordained our recent price increase.

Under that 3-year labor agreement, we hoped to narrow at least slightly the inflationary gap between our rapidly mounting wage costs and our slowly rising output per man-hour. Only time can tell if what we did represented progress.

On July 1 of this year we faced what our recent total wage-cost history demonstrates was about a 6½ percent increase in our total costs per man-hour; and to cover these costs in part, we raised our steel prices by an average of 4 percent.

This action of ours was promptly denounced on the floors of Congress and elsewhere as being irresponsible and contrary to the public interest. It signaled the launching of a concerted attack which brought down upon our heads all of the unfounded assumptions, the myths, and the economic superstitions that I have already discussed here; and from these convenient assumptions it was no effort at all for a number of people to jump to the conclusion that Congress should subject our basic industries and larger enterprises to price and profit controls—by the force of persuasion, or by the force of law.

In the midst of the attack, nobody stopped to think that inflation has thus far been much less serious in America, under freedom of enterprise, than it has in many other countries of the world where the deadening hand of government controls has long been present. No one bothered to explain just what it is that is wrong with an American industrial system that is the envy of the rest of the world; nor did anyone ask what kind of a system is to be set up in its place—or by whom.

Mr. Chairman, the impulse of governments to extend their powers ever further over the lives and activities of the citizenry has persisted throughout history; and it still persists today among a number of sincere, patriotic and well-meaning Members of Congress. But that doesn't make it a good thing to do nor prove that abandoning freedom in enterprise is in the interest of the people. It also occurs to me that you conscientious and overworked gentlemen who are running this country have troubles enough of your own as it is, without taking on all of ours. So perhaps we ought to look into this question of irresponsibility and the public interest for a moment, before we throw the baby out with the washwater.

Now if the popular thing to do were always the responsible thing to do, a businessman's lot would be a much happier one, and so, I suspect, would a Senator's. There is no doubt that the popular thing for United States Steel to have done would have been to permit its mounting costs to rise, uncompensated, and thus to endanger not only the financial strength of the company, but also the jobs of its employees, and even, perhaps, the security of the Nation. But would that have been the responsible thing to do; and would it have been in the public interest?

MEETING RESPONSIBILITIES DEPENDS UPON EXTENT OF PROFITS

You see, United States Steel, like any other enterprise, has many responsibilities which must be weighed not only in the light of present day pressures, but also in the light of long-range necessities. One of these is our obligation to our shareowners, who are widely assumed to be people of great wealth, people who do not really need their dividends anyway.

But a survey which we took among them 4 years ago showed that more than half of these stockholders had incomes of less than $4,500 a year, and many of them had less than $2,000. That was not just what they got from United States Steel, you understand. That was their total income from all taxable sources. So, the incomes of more than half of our stockholders were less than the average wage we were then paying to the men in our mills.

What, then, is our responsibility to these people? Are we fulfilling our responsibility to them if we subtract from their incomes in order to add to the incomes of our workers and to meet our other costs? Should we, in short, rob Peter to pay Paul?

But entirely apart from its obligations to its owners, United States Steel has grave, long-range, responsibilities to the Nation as a whole—responsibilities which are continuously taxing its financial resources—and the extent of United States Steel's ability to meet these responsibilities is directly dependent on the extent of its profits.

In the face of inadequate depreciation allowances, it is reinvesting a substantial part of its profits in the replacement of obsolete and wornout equipment in order to remain efficient and productive, and to hold costs and prices down. No one will doubt that that is a part of our responsibility.

The potential supply of iron ore availabel within this Nation's borders will undoubtedly last beyond the lifetime of any of the present officers of our company. But that is not enough. For the future security of the company, of the industry, and of the Nation, huge new reserves are constantly being discovered, evaluated, and developed as our work in Venezuela, Canada, Wyoming, and the Lake Superior district illustrates. That, too, is surely a part of our responsibility—a responsibility we share with others in our industry.

Beyond that we are, today, building costly new facilities to treat and upgrade raw materials which are dwindling in quality. We must have multi-million-dollar plants for the washing of metallurgical coal; beneficiating plants to process iron ore, and sintering plants to increase the productivity of our blast furnaces.

OUT OF RESEARCH WILL COME SUPERIOR METALS OF THE FUTURE

As an important industrial unit, research, regardless of how costly it is, is also a part of our responsibility. And we believe our new research center at Monroeville, Pa., is further evidence of our efforts to carry out that responsibility. In our laboratories there, we are seeking to develop new steels that will withstand—as no other metal can—the terrific heats that will be generated by atmospheric friction in the supersonic planes of the future. There, too, we are engaged in a program of fundamental research designed to extend man's knowledge of the iron atom, and to discover—as scientists believe they may—a metal twice as strong as any now existing in the world.

Beyond all that there is the ever-present need for new steelmaking capacity so that the economic growth and security of this

Nation may never be jeopardized by the lack of steel. To play our full part in maintaining an adequate steel supply is, we believe, a compelling responsibility. That is our business, and there is no better reason for our existence.

But no one of these responsibilities is possible of fulfillment by a profit-starved industry or by a company suffering from financial malnutrition.

TOO MUCH OR TOO LITTLE STEEL?

Gentlemen, popularity is a fickle thing. Shortly before World War II we were critically examined in these very halls for having too much steelmaking capacity in what was then termed by some economists a mature economy. With those economists we definitely were not popular, yet within a matter of months Pearl Harbor was upon us; and you will recall how important that supposedly excessive steel capacity was to all of us and how the plants of United States Steel were called upon to outproduce all the steel plants in all the Axis nations put together. I assure you that was a very popular thing to do at the time.

Only 5 years later, however—when we were summoned before another investigating committee of the Congress—we were denounced on the grounds that we looked too big to some of the investigators. And counsel for the committee made a great point of the fact that no nation on earth—outside the United States—could produce so much steel as our company could. That, he said, was not good—and we were then unpopular with him.

Today that charge can no longer be made against us—for there is one country on this earth which now produces much more steel than does our company. That country is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—a thought-provoking fact which no one in our industry or our corporation can overlook.

Mr. Chairman, if steel companies become unpopular because they are too big, they may manage to survive it somehow; but if they ever become unpopular because they are too small, it is quite possible that none of us may survive it.

So in the light of these facts and all of these responsibilities, I commend to the thoughtful consideration of this committee the question of whether or not our price action was responsible and in the public interest.

The Congressional Quarterly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, for many years, the Congressional Quarterly has been considered a veritable "bible" of election statistics and related data upon which many Members of this body have depended.

Unfortunately, the position this publication has enjoyed in the esteem of some Members of this body has been made insecure by its continued inaccuracies and distortions.

I feel it is my duty, both to my constituents, to my colleagues in the House, and the press, to cite here a recent example of errors arrived at by the Congressional Quarterly.

In the supplement to the May 10 edition are listed a number of statistics concerning a State-by-State breakdown of votes cast during the 1956 election.

I was particularly interested in the figures given for Orange and San Diego Counties, which comprise the 28th and 30th Congressional Districts of California.

The Quarterly figures show 299,286 votes cast in these 2 districts for President Eisenhower and 158,228 ballots for Adlai Stevenson. Thus, the magazine concludes, there were 457,514 votes cast in Orange and San Diego Counties for the 2 principal presidential candidates.

The office of the California secretary of state, official source for all such data, has reported an entirely different set of figures. They are: Votes cast for President Eisenhower, 309,252; for Adlai Stevenson, 161,611. The official returns show a total of 470,863 ballots were cast for the 2 principal presidential candidates.

The Congressional Quarterly figures fall more than 13,000 ballots short of the official tabulation compiled by the office of the California secretary of state.

I shall be most interested in the explanation Congressional Quarterly has to offer in connection with the figures for these two districts.

I understand that studies have been made in other districts in which the figures differ from those of Congressional Quarterly. I also am reliably informed that there is considerable difference in published figures for 7 of the 8 congressional districts of Kentucky. May I suggest to my colleagues and the press that they check the figures used by Congressional Quarterly? It would be most interesting to know whether the statistician who prepared those figures is the same one who prepares those for use in evaluating Members' support of the President's program.

The differences between Congressional Quarterly and other studies in most cases would not be important because of their minor nature if it were not for the fact that the editor and publisher of Congressional Quarterly have assumed the attitude that they are always exactly right.

The Trial by Jury Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very timely editorial which appeared in the Polk County Democrat, of Bartow, Fla., under date of August 6, 1957. The editorial, entitled "Rambling Thoughts," deals specifically with the trial by jury amendment to the civil-rights legislation. It reflects the thinking of the many Americans who stand with this editor in the belief that "a trial by jury is the right of every citizen irrespective of race, creed, or condition."

I commend this pertinent editorial to the attention of all of my colleagues in the Congress.

The editorial follows:

RAMBLING THOUGHTS BY THE PUBLISHER

This "trial by jury" amendment which is charged with emasculating the civil rights bill, and which was passed by the United States Senate last week, appeals to us as action which—if the Bill of Rights is to be abrogated—should have been done a long, long time ago. Admittedly the action taken by the Senate was inspired by the present integration battle, but irrespective of the inspiration behind the legislation, we believe that in a country which was designed to be a government "of, by, and for the people" a trial by jury is the right of every citizen irrespective of race, creed, or condition.

Both proponents and opponents of the measure realized that in the present situation the quarrel had to do with judicial contempt charges. Under the present method of procedure any judicial officer is empowered, we understand, to issue charges of contempt against anyone connected with any case being heard in his court, in the fulfillment of the designed purpose of our Government. Still, as we see it, anyone so charged is still entitled to trial by jury to refute such charges. Probably such rulings are more often than not entirely justifiable, but the fact remains that no one should be granted the power to prevent a jury hearing judging his case, regardless of the charge which may be levied against him.

Even the President of the United States, who is able to wield more power than any other one individual in the Nation is subject to the will of the people who stand in effect as a jury empowered by their right to exercise their franchise at the polls to judge of his actions and conduct, or should any President's conduct become too reprehensible the Senate has the right to institute impeachment hearings against the President, and going a bit farther down the ladder, several State governors have lost their jobs as a result of such hearings, while impeachment or recall of city officials is a quite common thing over the Nation, and in each case the government bodies represented by the various senatorial groups or the people themselves in dealing with lesser officials serve as juries for such trials.

The fear of opponents to the jury trial amendment must find it difficult to justify their premise that fair trials cannot be held under the new law can hardly be justified by the trial of certain agitators who stirred up such a commotion in Clinton, S. C., in integration efforts. This southern jury found the defendants guilty, which rather weakens the claim that ordinary citizens will not be governed by evidence, but would rather let their prejudices control any verdict they might render irrespective of the evidence.

Strategic Air Command Has the Weapons, but "Slowly Bleeding to Death" From Loss of Trained Men: Kalberer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herein flashes from a speech by Brig. Gen. Alfred F. Kalberer, deputy commander of the 15th Air Force, as published in the Commonwealth, the official journal

of the Commonwealth Club of California:

[From The Commonwealth (San Francisco, Calif.) of August 5, 1957]

STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND HAS THE WEAPONS, BUT "SLOWLY BLEEDING TO DEATH" FROM LOSS OF TRAINED MEN: KALBERER

(From address by Brig. Gen. Alfred F. Kalberer, deputy commander, 15th Air Force)

At the end of World War II, air power had established itself as a primary military force.

With Russia already showing signs of noncooperation, something had to be quickly developed out of the ruins of our magnificent wartime military machine. Therefor, a handful of highly skilled crews and a few battered B–29's were hammered into an organiaztion.

High priority was given to the Strategic Air Command and it became today's smooth-running fighting force, with over 40 bases, thousands of aircraft, and approximately 200,000 personnel.

The first real global-fighting force ever developed, it operates all over the world and has now been on alert 24 hours a day for over 10 years, with only one mission—to give us security by keeping the peace.

Those of us in SAC sincerely believe that the security of the world is in our hands. We control potential destructive power so far beyond anything ever known in history, that although we are trained to a higher peak than any other organization has ever been, the last thing we want to do is use our training and capability.

It is relatively simple for a SAC B–52 or B–36 or the smaller B–47 to destroy either a city block in San Francisco, or the entire bay area, depending upon military necessity. I am talking about one airplane and one bomb, not about the entire potential of SAC or even the B–36 wing at Travis, or the B–52's at Castle.

MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN ALL PAST WARS

The capability of this one bomber is greater than the results achieved by all the bullets, shells, bombs, and hand grenades used during the Second World War, plus Korea—and if you desire, all the spears, sword strokes, cross-bow bolts, and arrows used since the days of Alexander can be included for good measure.

This tremendous capability is completely dependent upon skilled people, operating highly technical equipment, maintained in perfect condition.

In spite of the almost unbelievable potential of each SAC unit and the tremendous amount of security it gives to you and the world, its capability can be quickly nullified by lack of proper personnel.

SLOWLY BLEEDING TO DEATH

This is where we are hurting. We are slowly bleeding to death from a wound we cannot heal by our own efforts. We need your help.

If the major points of a careful study made by a committee headed by Ralph Cordiner, president of General Electric, and now incorporated in bills before the Senate and Congress, would be implemented we could increase the effectiveness of national defense and simultaneously reduce military costs. We could stop our tremendous turnover of manpower and gain the following advantages:

A definite increase in the combat capability of the Armed Forces.

Savings up to $5 billion a year in the cost of national defense when this program is stabilized.

Sharply reduce training accidents due to the stability of personnel and the higher level of training—and reduce the number of military personnel required to give us a safe level of national security.

Better pay scales recommended in the report will automatically retain and motivate our personnel to such an extent that we will have a long-term solution to the basic manpower problems of the entire Armed Forces.

The Air Force as a whole has, except for a small hard core of a few thousand people, completely changed its personnel several times since the end of World War II.

TRAINED MEN REPLACED BY FARM BOYS

SAC, while enjoying a certain amount of priority, has also had to accept its share of personnel losses. For years, we have released officers and men, trained at fantastic expense, to civilian concerns and gained in their place, unskilled boys fresh out of school or off the farm.

These young men cost us between twenty and thirty thousand taxpaying dollars to train for 3 years to get 1 year of productive work. Between 60 and 80 percent of all these men go back to civil life and use their free education to earn an income well above what they can expect in the Air Force.

We have had numerous cases where a sergeant became well qualified as an electronics technician and then was hired as a field service engineer by the company manufacturing the equipment he was particularly well qualified to maintain.

SERGEANT BECOMES CIVILIAN; PAY LEAPS

In several instances, the sergeant took off his uniform on Friday and returned to the same job in civilian clothes on Monday as a civilian employee, with his starting pay $400 a month instead of $165.

Due to the high cost of training technical personnel, whether officer, noncommissioned officer, or airman, we are losing vast sums and what is still more important, combat capability, or if you desire, security.

Jet aircraft cost so much—$8 million for the B–52 for example—and use such enormous amounts of fuel that training costs are unbelievably high.

To replace and train the people we lost during the calendar year May 1 last year through April 30 of this year, cost each SAC base over $10 million and your own west-coast Air Force, the 15th, $203 million.

COST AIR FORCE $4½ BILLION

SAC, as a whole, lost nearly $800 million, while it cost the Air Force about $4½ billion.

I am sure you do not begrudge the excellent income enjoyed by the well-trained airline pilot to whose skill you trust your own safety and that of your family. Yet nothing is thought of paying the commander of a B–47 or B–52 half as much and demanding from him at least twice as much.

The commander of a B–52 combat crew is required to have a fair knowledge of electrical, mechanical, and electronic engineering, plus considerable nuclear physics. This is on top of flying a very high performance aircraft under bad weather and overload conditions.

One factor alone, unnecessary to the airline pilot, is vital to the bomber commander—complete knowledge of nuclear weapons. Not only does he have to know how they work, but even more important, how to prevent them from working at the wrong time.

Airliners are just going into the jet age while SAC has flown hundreds of thousands of hours in multiengine jet bombers. There is a great difference between high altitude, multiengine jet operation and propeller-type low-altitude aircraft.

At 50,000 feet, clouds are only a dim haze under you as a rule, and the great winds in the stratosphere sometimes sweep you sideways at nearly 200 miles an hour. This greatly complicates navigation, because everything must be done at top speed since you are traveling at nearly the speed of a bullet fired from a .45 caliber automatic.

DEATH 30 SECONDS AWAY

In addition, just outside the thin ice-cold shell of the fuselage, is death from oxygen deficiency within 30 seconds if a shell or rocket rips a hole in your pressurized cabin.

Without your extremely uncomfortable pressure suit, your eyes would pop from their sockets and every square inch of your body bleed from ruptured blood vessels.

You cannot delegate any work, no matter what goes wrong, at 80 degrees below zero and 50,000 feet above the earth—it is all yours, or belongs to the few specialists making up your crew.

The hours are also very long whether they are spent racing through the midnight sky over the pole and back to a sunny base here in California from dusk to dawn—or a 38-hour mission in the slower—but longer range—B–36.

I can personally vouch for how tired you get because I have been commanding B–36 units for the past few years and have made numerous nonstop flights as far as French Morocco—in some cases taking off early one day and landing after dark the next.

We are not lacking in security because of second-best equipment. I have spoken about the B–36 with its 10 engines and 10,000-mile range. However, we now have a better heavy bomber in the B–52. It has only 8 engines, but they are jets of tremendous horsepower and this big aircraft will go almost as fast as a bullet out of the .45 caliber automatic many of you carried during the First and Second World Wars.

Our smaller swept-wing bomber is the B–47, of which we have many hundreds. It is called a medium bomber although it weighs over 200,000 pounds—much more than the B–29. The B–47 has shorter legs than the heavier bombers but with the new Boeing KC–135 tanker, also a jet, its range is easily extended enough for us to attack any potential aggressor's military installations from the North American Continent without landing en route.

B–58 LIKE A PAPER DART

The Convair B–58 bomber looks much like an arrowhead and reminds you of the paper darts most of us made in school. Time magazine states that it will fly at Mach 2, which is twice the speed of sound and approaches the velocity of a rifle bullet.

It is the highest, fastest, most powerful means of carrying unlimited destruction that has ever been conceived by the mind of man, and it is almost certain that it is well ahead of the rest of the world.

At present, you are getting security from SAC only because a very small percentage, less than 20 percent, are hard-core dedicated men like General LeMay, who built SAC, and General Power, now commanding it. Without these people, you would long ago have lost the tremendous security SAC gives to you, the country, and the world.

Now, however, even this hard core is beginning to ravel out at the seams since many are getting older, their families bigger, their children requiring more, and the cost of living rising like a guided missile.

Something must be done and soon, or we will not have enough of even the hard-core men to train the vast flow of replacements, and our combat potential will decline very rapidly.

It will do this at the same time Russia is bending every energy toward developing a strategic air command of their own, not to mention a vast submarine fleet and still more powerful thermonuclear weapons.

TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Question. (G. K. Roberts) Refueling with new jet tanker, how long would it take for around-the-world flight of B–52's compared with propeller tankers?

Answer. It took some 44 hours for B–52's to circle globe using propeller tankers. Jet tankers will cut 6 to 8 hours from this.

Question. Doesn't frequent change of personnel give you better reserve?

Answer. I am not so sure—skills needed today are so high that if you leave the service you are soon far behind.

Question. Won't intercontinental missiles supplant SAC bombers and the defensive missile obsolete the bomber further?

Answer. Every time you throw a spear, up comes a shield. There will probably be things worked out that will keep the situation fluid.

Question. (J. A. Halliday) In East Bay cities during many evenings there is a loud noise like many jet planes—explain?

Answer. So many flights routinely fly above the speed of sound that you will get more and more. Everything is being done to avoid disturbance above cities.

Question. Are the latest type bombers in use by SAC?

Answer. Everything that's had the bugs worked out is used. The B–52's are the latest.

Question. Can Russia spot and destroy SAC bases?

Answer. They probably know where our bases are but we are on constant alert and feel that under the most adverse circumstances, they can't prevent our completely clobbering them.

Question. (Milton Chaban) Why do armed services permit such laxness in security around strategic centers?

Answer. Try to get on the line at SAC bases. The Armed Forces have always believed they should show the taxpayer what he has bought. But no one will get near enough to see the things that are really important.

Question. (Paul E. Anderson) Who can throw the switch? Is it possible that the order to attack might be given in error?

Answer. I don't think so.

Brother Fritz Zeller, O. F. M.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I should like to bring to the attention of the Senate, an article, which appeared recently in the Arizona Register, on August 2, 1957, concerning the passing of Brother Fritz Zeller, O. F. M. Brother Fritz died at the age of 96 at St. John's Indian School and Mission, in Phoenix. For over 50 years Brother Fritz rang the bells at St. Mary's Church, in Phoenix. He was one of the pioneers of my city. Brother Fritz came to Phoenix in 1893, after having become a brother in the Franciscan Order. For many years he rode a bicycle between St. Mary's Church and St. Francis Cemetery, to water the flowers and grass. In 1896, Brother Fritz drove a horse and buggy with the late Father Novatus Benzing, O. F. M., the pioneer pastor of St. Mary's, when the first Mass was said at Komatke, preliminary to the establishment of St. John's Mission. Brother Fritz was born in Germany, and lived in Phoenix from 1893 until 1950. Brother Fritz was truly a pioneer of Arizona, and the many thousands who remember him either personally or by reputation are grateful to him for his many contributions to our present-day Arizona.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous censent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VETERAN FRANCISCAN BROTHER DIES AT 95

Brother Fritz Zeller, O. F. M., aged 95, died here last week, bringing to a conclusion the longest Franciscan career of any man in Arizona. A solemn pontifical Mass of requiem was celebrated by the Most Reverend Daniel J. Gercke July 25 in St. Mary's Church. The venerable servant of St. Francis saw the development of the church here and throughout the State for almost all of his life. He had worked in these environs ever since his arrival from Germany when he was still a boy.

A worker all his life, he was forced by ill health to retire in his declining years. This he spent at St. John's Mission, Laveen.

Born in 1862 at Baden, Germany, Brother entered the Franciscan Order at St. Louis in 1891. He has been in Phoenix since October 1, 1897, shortly after the first friars came to St. Mary's. Known for his retentative memory, Brother Fritz would often recall the colorful details of early days and early personalities in Arizona.

In 1947, he celebrated his golden jubilee of service to the Franciscan Order.

The following from the archives of the Arizona Register, originally written by Esther Clark for the Phoenix Gazette in the October 18, 1947, edition, tells the life story of this amiable Franciscan.

The bells of St. Mary's pealed joyfully the Sunday morning of the Franciscan golden jubilee, October 19, but Brother Fritz Zeller, O. F. M., was not the bell ringer, as he, too, noted his 50th year of service at the downtown church.

An attack of arthritis a short time ago put an end to nearly a half century of belfry duty, but the 85-year-old religious leader compensates in good humor and spirits for his physical disability.

Brother Fritz does not take readily to retirement. Always active before his arms and legs began to stiffen, he rebels at times against the coming of old age.

With a shake of his closely cropped white head, he will offer his opinion on this modern age by saying in clipped accents, which reveals his German origin, that the "Good old days are gone forever."

Apple-red cheeks become rosier as he recalls the day shortly after the turn of the century when he accidentally rammed his speeding bicycle into that of the Reverend Novatus Benzing, O. F. M., causing a clerical spill which put the pastoral arm in a sling.

Brother Fritz was a regular bicycle commuter to St. Francis' Cemetery, where he irrigated lawns and flowers of the newly plotted graveyard. Gopher holes, he said, were his main problem on the 6-mile jaunt.

A shoemaker by trade, the brown-robed Franciscan told of repairing many a pair of shoes in his workship, also the center of his adventures in tailoring for the monastery personnel.

He described his early-day sacristan duties in the basement and upper churches as "an up-and-down affair." Holy-week activities for the English- and Spanish-speaking congregations kept him "on the jump."

Brother Fritz also likes to talk about the days when he rode one of the parish horses, which were stabled with one cow in an adobe building that stood on the spot where Old Glory flies above the grammar-school grounds.

He made it plain, however, that he stayed clear of Charlie Boy, a spirited cayuse whose rodeo-like antics inflicted multiple bruises on another Franciscan brother.

The aged ex-shoemaker and threshing-machine-factory worker, which was his last occupation before joining the brotherhood at Teutopolis, Ill., can still roll out Spanish phrases as well as he did when there were only 10 English-speaking families in the parish.

After he left his native Baden, Germany, in 1880, Brother Fritz spent the earlier part of his life in Ohio. His entrance into the Franciscan order came about after hearing a stirring series of Lenten sermons by another brown-robed friar.

Supplemental Appropriations for 1956

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 9131) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I have been greatly complimented; signaled out for special mention. Within the week, I have been designated by name and number by another committee in another report, a legislative committee in a legislative report, and although the reference is in not too complimentary terms I deeply appreciate the unusual and extraordinary and exceptional honor.

When Tom Reed, the great Speaker was presiding over the House, monarch of all he surveyed, a newly elected Member said to him, "Mr. Speaker, I have been elected to the Congress for the first time."

I do not want to be a one-term Member. I would like to stay at least two terms.

Will you advise me, out of your long and successful political experience, what course I should take, what I should do or should not do, to insure my reelection for at least one more term?

The Speaker, with his usual disconcerting frown, said: "My boy, get your name in the RECORD, get it in the newspapers." And then he added: "Get it in favorably if you can, but get it in."

So, while I may not be getting my name in favorably, I am at least getting it in the minority views of House Report No. 978, issued by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, August 2, 1957.

I am certain that none of the four Members whose names are appended, all of whom are my personal friends of long standing, wrote this report. They have too many times heard me on this floor state my position on the subjects discussed, and take the position directly contrary to that indicated in the report.

It came from another source, willing as heretofore to totally misrepresent in order to support an untenable position in a much more important matter than the opinion of any Member or group of Members here in the House.

So, at the risk of being tedious, I must say again, as I have said here many times before, that I favor, and have

favored, and have supported, at all times the free and untrammeled exercise and promotion of free enterprise under any and all conditions; and that I am unalterably opposed to Government monopoly; that I believe the private utilities should generate and distribute the bulk of electric power consumed by the Nation; that I believe private enterprise should manufacture and distribute fertilizer, machinery, synthetic rubber and all reagents and supplies.

The report says "there was disagreement with every point of law raised by Mr. CANNON." On the contrary every point of law raised was sustained as is evidenced by the reenactment of the law with amendments in compliance with every point of order raised.

The report concludes:

"Mr. CANNON'S main objective, however, was not limited to more technicalities of authorization or appropriation law. His main position was in opposition to privately owned reactor facilities and in favor of publicly owned reactors. Mr. CANNON'S closing remarks were:

"'It is my firm conviction that the Federal Government should immediately initiate construction at existing atomic energy sites of full-scale atomic electric powerplants.'

"The modifications now made by the majority of the committee to the authorization bill start the Commission down this path."

My firm conviction was not due to opposition to privately owned reactor facilities but, as was well known, to the fact, first, that private corporations could not and would not risk the funds of their stockholders in an enterprise which promised a long period of research and experiment and gave no assurance of profits or of return of capital invested.

Second, to the fact that the risk of devestation and loss of life and property which would result from any untoward escape of power in explosions or melting down of plants or escaping fallout was of such potential magnitude that no insurance company would contract unlimited immunity.

Third, to the fact that although many projects and contracts were claimed, only one major reactor is really under construction, the Yankee atomic plant in Massachusetts and it is of the same type as the Michigan Government plant.

Fourth, the Atomic Energy Commission has been in complete charge of the program with unlimited funds since 1954 and the program is now at a standstill. Foreign nations are making progress while we are marking time with little to show for the vast appropriations and the 3 years of desperately vital time.

We are engaged in a tragic race. Every major nation in the world is trying to outdistance us to it, trying to beat us to a solution of the problem by which they will produce electricity and atomic weapons through atomic energy in competition with the old traditional method. That is the issue before the House in this report.

England has made great progress. Japan is buying from Calder Hall. Russia, as we know, is turning out more atomic engineers than America. Our national existence—not merely our national prosperity—depends upon the prompt and rapid development of a feasible method of producing electric power and atomic armament through atomic energy.

You will recall that in the Second World War we were engaged in a race with Germany as to which country would first produce the atomic bomb. We were told in the committee when we were providing funds for that purpose that if Germany first solved that problem Germany would win the war regardless of anything we could do. On the other hand, if America first solved that problem, America would win the war in spite of anything that Germany could do. Under that incentive in the race with the Central Powers of Europe we first solved the problem. We produced the first atomic bomb through the agency of TVA. We saved, so the military authorities tell us, 1 million young men and untold amounts of treasure because we first solved the problem.

Mr. Chairman, we must first solve this problem. We are running a neck-and-neck race with England, with the plant they have over there at Calder Hall and the improved versions of the Calder Hall plant. Russia is even a greater menace. The nation which first solves the problem will have such an advantage in industry and in war as may mean survival.

Mr. Strauss has dominated the Atomic Energy Commission. His administration has been without results. He accepted the method proposed by the joint committee, and a few days later publicly repudiated his acceptance to the press. He has been in complete charge of this industry—atomic-electric power program since 1954, he has had charge of all of the projects that have been advanced, of all of the proposals which have been offered. But only two types are proceeding with assurance in large-scale plants in these 3 years—the pressurized water reactor and the boiling water reactor. Construction of EBR–II, the prototype for the fast-breeder large-scale plant has not even been started. The experimental model, EBR–I, melted down. Yet the Commission is defiantly attempting to go ahead with construction of the full-scale fast breeder near Detroit without knowing whether it can be made to work safely, or even made to work at all.

The Commission has stalled completely on the aqueous-homogeneous and the organic-moderated reactors, and has ignored completely natural uranium reactors with which the British have had such great success.

Time is of essence and when we are being outdistanced by competitive nations. We have only that one large-scale plant near completion—the pressurized water reactor which has been under construction during the past 4 years at Shippingport, Pa. This is the method that was long since developed and proven in the Nautilus. We in 3 years have made practically no progress at all.

Mr. Chairman, we are on the threshold of an era in which atomic energy will revolutionize the economy of the world. We are being bypassed. There is too much at stake to permit political or economic jealousies to interfere. We must again assume the lead. The majority report offers the only feasible plan, the only practical hope of regaining lost time and lost prestige and lost opportunity.

Tribute to Michael Benedum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, when Michael Benedum reached his 88th birthday on July 16, 1957, his whole hometown, and many friends from all over the country, stopped to take a whole day to celebrate the event at Bridgeport, W. Va. Outstanding businessmen, public officials, and his many friends by the hundreds gathered for luncheon in honor of Mike Benedum and for a day of friendship, gratitude, and remembrance. The many good works of Michael Benedum for his community, the people of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the whole United States, were recalled.

It was a pleasant occasion long to be remembered with heart warming ceremonies at the time of the dedication of Michael Benedum's latest contribution, the new community center, to his original hometown community, Bridgeport, W. Va.

I am glad to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following birthday telegram of President Eisenhower to Michael Benedum, extending his hearty congratulations:

JULY 16, 1957.

MICHAEL L. BENEDUM,
Benedum Trees Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.:

Through Congressman Fulton I have learned of your 88th birthday and the splendid celebration of it in Bridgeport. In your gift to the citizens of your hometown, you demonstrate again the standards of public service which have guided your life. Congratulations to you and best wishes to all who enter into the use of your new community center.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *Washington, D. C.*

My research shows the following about this remarkable man:

The great wildcatter, Michael Late Benedum, of Pittsburgh, who passed his 88th birthday on July 16, 1957, is still actively carrying on vast exploratory oil projects. Reputed to have discovered more oil than any other man in history, Uncle Mike, as he is known by oilmen throughout the United States, has recently commenced large-scale undertakings in South America, in Central America, and in Africa on leases covering more than 3 million acres.

Besides being familiar with each petroleum venture in which he has an interest, Mr. Benedum finds time to direct personally the charitable and civic distribution of a large portion of his fortune. There are more than 700 students in 26 colleges in the Pennsylvania and

West Virginia area who benefit from Benedum scholarships and student loan funds. In addition to this, there are dozens of churches, hospitals, and similar institutions in the same area of the country that receive substantial financial support from him.

One of the largest deserving beneficiaries of Mr. Benedum's philanthropic effort has been the small West Virginia community of Bridgeport, where the great wildcatter was born and reared. He has given this town a $2 million church; and also a community center, complete with auditorium, dining room, library, club rooms, swimming pool, ice skating rink, and playgrounds at approximately the same cost of $2 million. In addition to these contributions, Mr. Benedum has spent a half million dollars restoring and beautifying the town's old cemeteries and burying grounds. The population and wealth of Bridgeport has quadrupled in the last 10 years, largely because of what Mr. Benedum has done for the town, in cooperation with the local citizens, in making it a fine place in which to live.

Mr. Benedum does not fit the popular conception of daring oil wildcatter, but is friendly and rather quiet, shy, and soft spoken. Business associates and his many friends are frequent dinner guests at his 8-acre estate in the heart of Pittsburgh's residential East End, where he lives a quiet, hard-working life to this day. We in Pittsburgh, as well as all of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, are proud of the accomplishments and contributions to the American people of such fine citizens as Michael Benedum.

Welcome to Montana for Your Vacation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, now that the 85th Congress is nearing the close of its first session, I would like to extend a warm welcome to everyone to spend a part of their vacation in Montana, the Treasury State, where many of the tourist glories of America and Europe, too, can be found.

From border to border, you will find our Montanans a cordial people, and from border to border you will discover exciting new vistas of scenic grandeur.

An idea of our interest in your vacation plans is well expressed in the following editorial which appeared in the Billings (Mont.) Gazette:

WELCOME TO MONTANA

"Howdy, stranger. Welcome to Montana." This is the friendly greeting thousands of travelers from all over the world receive each summer when they enter our Treasure State, says Frank Bertino in a feature article that appeared in July 16 issue of the Christian Science Monitor. Bertino is one of the 27 courtesy station attendants, all college or high school students, who are manning the 13 Montana courtesy stations, located at convenient points on highways leading into this State this summer. The author of the story is at Culbertson, in Northeastern Montana on Highway 2, a few miles inland from the Montana-North Dakota border.

The young men at these stations can perform many useful services for the incoming tourists other than extending them a hearty and sincere welcome. Before taking on their jobs, these employes were given detailed instructions concerning their work. This included information on the size, general characteristics, road conditions, including construction projects of the State, the best way to reach the sections where the visitor may wish to go, scenic attractions, location of the most favorable streams and lakes for fishing and other information which may be of value to the travelers.

These establishments unquestionably pay big dividends and could be largely responsible for the great increase in tourist business during recent years. That business occupies third position in importance in the State. It is expected to leave upward of one hundred million outside dollars in Montana this year. And the people, or a great majority of them, we may well believe, will end their visit to the State and return to their homes feeling that the money they left here was well spent.

There are few sections of the globe of comparable size that offers so much of interest to vacationists as Montana. This State can claim at least a portion of Yellowstone National Park although there is no disposition to deprive our neighboring State of Wyoming of the credit that goes with the location of most of that internationally known wonderland. Glacier National Park is all Montana's and is attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors every season with the number constantly increasing. While these two national parks are the best publicized scenic attractions offered by the State, there are hundreds of other places in Montana where the vacationists can find beautiful places in which to spend periods of healthful, undisturbed relaxation. There are a number of dude ranches elaborately equipped to provide large parties with comfortable living quarters, fine food and opportunities to enjoy horseback riding, mountain climbing and other forms of exercise to suit their fancy.

There are also great numbers of camping places in our forested areas, beside beautiful mountain streams and lakes where facilities have been provided for the campers-out. The State is also well provided with good hotel and motel accommodations on all of the main and secondary highways. Most people who plan on spending some time in the State travel by car, and they are never very far from a service station.

Except for occasional stretches where construction or maintenance is in progress, all the main and most of the secondary highways of Montana are in good condition during the spring, summer, and autumn months when most of the visitors from the outside come into the State to spend their vacations or merely travel through to other States, east and west. The Red Lodge highway that leads up over the mountains into Yellowstone, some of the highways in Glacier Park and a number of others that have been built through high mountain passes are not well constructed and easily and safely negotiated, but present spectacular, soul-filling scenic effects to the gaze of the traveler.

One experience which hundreds of thousands of visitors to Montana will not forget will be, not only the cheery welcome of the young fellows at the courtesy stations, but also the truly western spirit of sincere cordiality and helpfulness exhibited by all the Montanans with whom they may happen to come in contact.

There still exists in Montana, often referred to as the last of America's physical frontiers, much of that same spirit of genuine friendliness and innate courtesy with which the early settlers greeted strangers who came to their doors. They are proud of their State and cannot resist expressing that pride when talking with folks from the outside. To discover how deeply embedded is that pride in the average resident of the Treasure State, one only has to come across present or former residents of our State while traveling in other parts of the country or in foreign lands. The writer has met up with Montanans in such far-off lands as Britain and France and seldom failed to hear expressions or observe other evidence of homesickness as those people asked how things were back home.

Grants-in-Aid: The Positive Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is probably accurate to say that there are two schools of thought in the Congress on the soundness of Federal grant-in-aid programs.

Recently the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Arizona published a study of the grants-in-aid as a technique of public finance. And subsequently, an excellent newspaper in my congressional district, the Yuma Daily Sun, commented editorially on this report. I present for the consideration of our colleagues this thoughtful editorial which follows:

THERE ARE GOOD ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF FEDERAL AID

President Eisenhower has proposed to turn back to the States certain responsibilities—and tax sources—of the Federal Government. A special committee of governors and Presidential aids meets next week to consider how it can be done.

But, although everyone nods pious agreement, no one really expects anything to come of it. This raises a timely question. How can all be in outward agreement on the virtues of the proposal, and yet expect so few results?

The answer lies in the paradox of Federal grants-in-aid. Political opportunists have succeeded in painting all Federal aid as an insidious scheme to undermine men's characters and rob them of their independence. In public, many profess these sentiments. But in private, they scramble for their share of help along with the others.

Yuma County has not held back. In the 5 years from 1951–55, public schools of Yuma County asked for, and received, well over $1 million. Can such grants-in-aid be logically defended? Or are they universally bad?

An answer may be found in a publication of the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Arizona. It points out that the Federal Government is not the only source of grants-in-aid. States also aid counties and cities, as for example in the distribution of the State sales tax. The State also gives aid to schools, as do the counties.

"The location of the boundaries of the States, counties, and lesser governmental units has been determined largely by his-

torical accident or chance," the UA report reminds us. "Each political unit, of course, has jurisdiction only within its boundaries. Thus it happens that taxable wealth and income frequently are located outside the boundaries * * * where the need * * * occurs. In general, the larger the jurisdiction of the political unit, the better is its power to tax. On the other hand, local autonomy in the expenditure of public funds for certain purposes is believed to have much merit."

This is the situation which has given rise to grants-in-aid. The case for them can be summarized:

1. Grants-in-aid tend to adjust unfair relations in the finances of governmental units caused by political boundaries.

2. The political unit best adapted for collecting taxes may not be the best to administer certain expenditures.

3. Certain functions definitely for the common good, such as education and highways, can be maintained with greater uniformity and at least at some minimum acceptable standard of efficiency.

The report warns, "Some dangers must be avoided in establishing grants-in-aid. Unless suitable limits are imposed, extravagance in local spending may be fostered, because the grants may create the illusion of gifts to the local taxpayers. After all, Arizonians must pay their share of Federal taxes and taxpayers in each school district must pay their share of State and county taxes.

"Another pitfall may take the form of indefensible standards imposed by the central governmental unit as a condition for receiving aid. Although such standards are imposed presumably to attain desirable uniformity, they may prove to be ridiculously costly and inapplicable locally.

"Such standards also may be viewed as an attempt by the Central Government to usurp local autonomy."

But on balance, the report realistically concludes: "Properly administered, grants-in-aid have a definite place in American public finance; their future is assured."

Oil Cartel Subservient to Arab Pressures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD, the following statement:

OIL CARTEL SUBSERVIENT TO ARAB PRESSURE

Threatened withdrawal of Royal Dutch Shell-British Petroleum from marketing operations in Israel demonstrates the oil cartel's subservience to Arab pressure. Not only does this underscore the urgent need for prompt and effective prosecution of the oil cartel by this Government but emphasizes the political dangers inherent in the lack of independent operators in international petroleum activities. It is significant that Arab pressure has succeeded in restricting supplies of crude oil to Israel by the large international petroleum operators which make up the oil cartel. By dint of its perseverance born out of the direst necessity, Israel has been able to procure stocks of crude oil to supplement the supplies from the cartel. These supplemental sources were entirely separate from the cartel operations of the international petroleum companies.

Now, marketing in Israel is being threatened. No member of the oil cartel is willing or able to act independently. This amounts to a virtual veto of American foreign policy and delivers American business to Arab governments neither stable nor friendly. A cartel lives by the agreement of its members and all its members must therefore work in concert without the freedom of action which independence would assure. As the oil cartel submits as a body to political blackmail, so it becomes a major concern of the United States. It is time that the Congress of the United States took a long, hard look at our antitrust enforcement in the international arena.

Time for a Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the other day the subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee approved unanimously the bill H. R. 7315, introduced by my colleague, the gentleman from California, the Honorable CECIL R. KING, seeking the removal of the 3-cent excise tax on coconut oil. The bill is identical in purpose to the legislation which my late father consistently sponsored in the past. It is similar to the bill H. R. 5818, which I introduced on March 11. I am, therefore, happy that progress is being made toward the elimination of this tax, which is no longer necessary.

The New York Journal of Commerce of August 7 commented editorially on the pending legislation under the heading "Time for a Change." I fully agree with the Journal of Commerce that there should be no reason for further delays in passing this measure "for action would benefit the American user in the form of lower prices, and by opening the door to increased use would help strengthen the Philippines economically in their role as an important free-world bastion in the Far East."

Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States, who is highly regarded in this country, has been indefatigably working for the repeal of this tax, not only because it affects, as he says, 8 million of his countrymen who depend on the coconut industry, but also because he knows this will strengthen the ties of friendship that bind our two peoples together, and no one is a more sincere advocate of Philippine-American friendship than he is.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial be printed in the RECORD:

TIME FOR A CHANGE

Despite repeated efforts to get rid of the 3-cent excise tax on the processing of coconut oil, this relic of the depression era still is on the statute books.

Congress should try to find time to legislate this antiquated excise tax, or, if you prefer, import duty out of existence before it goes home this summer.

The latest bill to accomplish this was introduced by Representative CECIL R. KING, Democrat, of California. Its unanimous approval by the Excise Tax Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee has gotten the King bill off to a good start. The full House Ways and Means Committee is scheduled to take it up today.

Since everybody seemingly is now agreed that there is no longer any justification for this burden on Philippine farmers, Congress should realize that, as a demonstration of United States-Philippine friendship, such action would be doubly effective before the upcoming Philippine election.

The 3-cent excise tax on the processing of coconut oil imported from the Philippines was first imposed on May 10, 1934. That made it a typical depression baby, designed to protect domestic producers of fats and oils.

As such, it should have been eliminated as soon as a drastic change in the fats and oils situation occurred. As so often is the case with emergency legislation, however, the law continued in force long after the emergency was over.

Today, final elimination of this impost would have no adverse impact on domestic producers and would not cost the United States Treasury more than a pittance. The same amount, however, would significantly strengthen the Philippine economy because coconut products constitute one of the Republic's chief farm products and also its No. 1 dollar export earner.

When the levy was first imposed, the Philippines was still under the sovereignty of the United States.

Then, as now, United States imports of coconut oil were obtained almost entirely from the Philippines, largely because as early as 1922 an import duty of 2 cents per pound had been levied against coconut-oil imports from non-United States sources. Imports of copra from non-Philippine sources were substantial, however, in the thirties.

It was recognized right from the start (in 1934) that the 3-cent tax would bear heavily on the Philippine suppliers. Congress, therefore, provided that the taxes collected on the first processing of coconut oil from the Philippines be held as separate funds and paid to the Philippine treasury as assistance in adjusting the Philippine economy to a position independent of trade preferences in the United States and in preparing the Philippines for the assumption of the responsibilities of an independent state.

Thus, up to July 3, 1946, when the Philippines became an independent republic, some $140 million had been transferred to the Philippine treasury in remission of the 3-cent tax. Philippine officials have always stressed that these funds were most helpful in sustaining the economy of the islands.

The Philippine Trade Act of 1946 left the 3-cent impost unchanged but terminated the remission of the tax collections to the Philippine treasury. This arrangement, it seems to us, never made much sense. It was hardly made more palatable by the establishment of a duty-free quota of 200,000 long tons of coconut oil, the quota being subject to successive reductions.

Philippine officials have maintained all along that once independence came to their country, providing as it did for preferential entry of the products of each of the two countries into the other, the United States should have continued to refund the tax or the processing tax on coconut oil should have been repealed.

They still feel strongly that such funds, which were urgently needed for the rehabilitation of the war-devasted islands are now necessary in the financing of further economic growth in the Philippines.

Thus far, the Congress of the United States has not seen fit to recognize its claim. As far as can be ascertained, the Department of Agriculture, for some highly technical reasons, likewise opposed any change in the existing setup as late as 1952.

Latest reports from Washington indicate, however, that the Department of Agriculture has changed its view on this regulation and is now ready to go along with an experimental suspension of the processing tax.

That makes the opposition to the current setup virtually unanimous. This newspaper can see no reason for further delays. Action would benefit the American user in the form of lower prices and, by opening the door to increased use, would help strengthen the Philippines economically in their role as an important free world bastion in the Far East.

Ridiculous Censorship of Stephen Foster Songs by Radio and Television Networks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the July 19, 1957, issue of the Daily Highlander, of Lake Wales, Fla., which points out the ridiculousness of the censorship the major radio and television networks have placed on certain folk songs, including the works of the immortal Stephen Foster.

The editorial follows:

HIGHLANDERING ABOUT TOWN

(By Bob Lodmell)

The height of ridiculousness has been reached with television and radio networks banning Stephen Foster songs because they contain such words as "darkies," "mammy," and "black."

But radio and television have long had a reputation of cowardly bowing to the whims of minority groups, with the possible exception of southern whites.

As long as the networks have started this, we suggest they go still further and clean up this song business.

They ought to ban Chinatown, My Chinatown, because it might offend Mao, the Red ruler of China and about 400 million people of that race.

The St. Louis Blues ought to be banned because it gives the impression the ladies of St. Louis are hussies.

Unless they take the Japanese Sandman off the air, we might find ourselves in a hassle that will make the Girard case mild by comparison.

We might eventually have to arm the border between the United States and Canada if the networks continue to use Canadian Capers, which makes a sly reference that Canada is Eskimo land.

An investigation of the use of these nationalities in American songs might reveal there's a Russian in the woodpile.

It goes without saying that Sweet Georgia Brown and the Sentimental Gentleman From Georgia should be banned pronto because of such words as "colored" and "a Mason-Dixon valentine."

We would like to see that the officials responsible for the silly ban get all shook up again and again and again.

The Economic Power of Possible Union Combinations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Who Says It Can't Happen Here?" which was published in the Los Angeles Times of August 6, 1957. The editorial is a recognition by one more great American newspaper of the inherent dangers in having too much power vested in the union bosses.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO SAYS IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE?

Here is a quotation to remember:

"There's one thing I know: If the teamsters and the two dock unions got together they'd represent more economic power than the combined AFL–CIO.

"They are so concentrated. An economic squeeze and pressure can be exerted that puts any employer in a very tough spot—and furthermore puts the United States Government on a tough spot."

That is Harry Bridges speaking.

On the same day James R. Hoffa, president-apparent of the teamsters, says:

"We cannot have a sucessful one-city strike any more."

CALL AND RAISE

Hoffa calls Bridges and raises him. Not only truckdrivers and dockworkers, says Hoffa in his vision of empire, but employees of railroads, steamship companies, airlines, and so forth must be enlisted for the holy war against the people of the United States.

Some citizens may have passed these remarks with the old it-can't-happen-here writeoff, thinking here are two labor bosses so pumped up with their delusions that they are blowing off pressure through their hats. But most citizens, we guess, didn't pay any attention whatever to Bridges and Hoffa. Even in Congress, where this talk ought to alarm the Nation's concentrated wisdom, only two Senators—MCCLELLAN and GOLDWATER—seemed to realize that Hoffa and Bridges mean what they say and can do what they intend.

THE LAW AS WRITTEN

There is no law to prevent Bridges and Hoffa from getting a stranglehold on national transportation. On the contrary, the law as written—or as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court—makes their way easier. The conflict of their own ambitions is the only possible obstacle to a transportation monopoly.

It would be too much to analyze all the laws which encourage the Bridges-Hoffa enterprise. It is better to take a look at one law which would stand in their way if it hadn't been nullified by the Court. This is the Sherman Antitrust Act. Sylvester Petro summarizes this act and how it became a dead letter in labor cases in the following paragraph from the Labor Policy of the Free Society:

"The first national statute applicable to concerted labor activities was the Sherman Antitrust Act. This law was addressed not to labor activities specifically but to all monopolistic interference with the market, whether by businessmen or labor unions, which affected interstate commerce. During the period of its applicability to labor action—roughly 1890 to 1930—the Sherman Act was held to prohibit, by and large, only various types of secondary union action, or combinations betwen unions and employers designed to eliminate business competition in interstate markets. In one famous case there was an implication to the effect that even a primary strike might be held unlawful where it affected an entire field of production, an entire industry, and was intended to affect the market price of the product of that industry. But this implication, as significant as it is in terms of present problems of industrywide strikes, never became a fixed part of the law of the Sherman Act and was, in fact, expressly abandoned by the Supreme Court at a later date."

DELAYING DEVICE

It should be added that the authors of the Taft-Hartley Act intended to forestall the nationwide strike and such power as Bridges and Hoffa have in mind. They sought to do it by forbidding the closed shop, but the intent of that clause has been evaded, often with the connivance of employers. All that remains in the T–H law is a delaying device; if in the opinion of the President any strike affects the public health and safety through the Nation, he may enjoin it for 80 days. That is all.

Nobody needs much imagination to visualize the results of a nationwide transportation strike. It would hold the people, especially the urban dwellers, in the vise of a military siege or blockade. The union combine could threaten, or starve, the country to terms. As Bridges said, it could put "the United States Government on a tough spot."

It could do this if it were not forestalled. Congress could and should amend the laws now. The probability is that if the monopoly were suffered to take shape and to act, the time for reasonable law would have gone by. Harsher forces would come into play, everybody would suffer under the repression, the Federal Government's ascendancy in industrial affairs would become complete. Civil war injures all.

The Bridges-Hoffa threat might set the McClellan committee on a more fruitful course of investigation. It is useful to uncover the union thieves and racketeers, but this is a kind of police work. The committee, which has been urged to assess the political power of Walter Reuther and his UAW, should be looking into all the means by which big labor is preparing for war against the whole American people.

Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Status-of-Forces Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars has prepared an excellent statement on the relationship between the Uniform Code of Military Jus-

tice and the Status of Forces agreements, a relationship that has been slighted in much of the earlier discussion on this subject. So that Members may have the statement without waiting for printed hearings on H. R. 8704, I include it herewith:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., August 2, 1957.

Hon. CARL VINSON,
Chairman, House Armed Services Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. VINSON: Attached is a statement by Cooper T. Holt, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, with respect to certain aspects of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty, and similar executive agreements which provide that under certain circumstances American servicemen on duty in certain foreign countries may be tried by foreign courts instead of an American court-martial.

This statement is in support of legislation to amend the Uniform Code of Military Justice to provide certain constitutional safeguards for American servicemen who are on duty in foreign lands and who are now subject, under certain circumstances, to trial by foreign courts. We requested permission via telephone to appear before the House Armed Services Committee and present Commander Holt's statement in person. We were advised that there was no available time for this purpose and that we would be permitted to submit a statement for the RECORD.

In view of the fact that the membership of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is composed of approximately 1½ million veterans who have served on foreign soil or in hostile waters in the Armed Forces of the United States during some war, campaign or expedition it was a sharp disappointment that we were not permitted to make a personal appearance on this subject which we believe to be of vital concern to our particular group. A survey of the resolutions adopted at the various State encampments of our organization reveals deep resentment and concern over the fact that American servicemen are being made subject to trial by foreign courts.

Under the circumstances may we request the attached statement by Commander in Chief Cooper T. Holt be included in the hearing records on bills which propose to amend the Uniform Code of Military Justice to provide safeguards for American servicemen now subject, or who may become subject, to trial by foreign courts.

Respectfully yours,
OMAR B. KETCHUM,
Director.

UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE AS IT APPLIES TO THE NATO STATUS OF FORCES TREATY

(Statement of Cooper T. Holt, commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Before the House Armed Services Committee, Washington, D. C., August 1, 1957)

The Veterans of Foreign Wars appreciates the opportunity to present to this committee its views on certain aspects of the NATO status-of-forces treaties and related executive agreements in connection with certain bills now being considered by the committee which would amend the Uniform Code of Military Justice and affect certain provisions of the Status of Forces Treaty and related executive agreements.

Our organization has urged the revocation of the status-of-forces treaties and executive agreements since they became effective in 1953. A resolution adopted at our last national encampment in August 1956 again placed the VFW on record as opposing them.

H. R. 8704, introduced by Representative KILDAY, provides that no member of our Armed Forces will be surrendered to the jurisdiction of foreign courts unless the secretary of the armed services concerned determines that, under an existing treaty, the country requesting jurisdiction has primary jurisdiction over the accused.

This proposed bill is good as far as it goes. It at least places in the hands of a responsible United States authority the final determination of jurisdiction in cases where there may be a dispute. If this bill had been law at the beginning of this year, Army Sp3c. William Girard would—at least we hope—have already been tried by a United States court-martial, instead of being surrendered to Japanese jurisdiction.

The weakness of this bill, however, is that it does not go far enough. The issue here is the fundamental right of every American serviceman to due process and a fair trial before being convicted of any crime. Under the present treaties and agreements this fundamental right is not adequately protected—and H. R. 8704 does not fully correct this situation. While it provides some relief, it falls short of what is needed.

H. R. 8820, introduced by Representative Bow, is a more desirable bill. It has five main provisions. The first states that no person subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice will be surrendered to the jurisdiction of any foreign court for an alleged offense arising out of any act or omission taking place while he is on duty.

This is a sorely needed revision of the present agreements which say that the United States will have primary jurisdiction in alleged offenses arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty. The American people have believed that the phrase in the performance of official duty meant on duty. They learned in the Girard case, however, that it does not, and that our servicemen can be tried by foreign courts even for on-duty offenses. This shocked many Americans and, we believe, is something that should not be further tolerated.

The second provision of H. R. 8820 provides that no member of our Armed Forces accused of an off-duty offense shall be surrendered to foreign jurisdiction unless the Department concerned has first determined taht he will have, under the criminal laws of the nation concerned, procedural safeguards substantially the same as those he would have in a general court-martial. Nine specific safeguards which must be guaranteed the accused are then quoted.

We cannot see how this committee or the Congress can reject this section of the Bow bill unless they are willing to proclaim publicly, if indirectly, that servicemen are second-class citizens, that they are to be deprived not only of the full protection of the Bill of Rights but even denied the minimum protection of the Uniform Code of Military Justice which is the only constitutionally authorized body of law applicable to members of our Armed Forces who are accused of crimes.

This is a basic issue. If Congress does not insist that every serviceman to be tried by a foreign court will be granted due process and these minimum safeguards, it will be guilty of trading away the basic rights of all members of our Armed Forces. This is not a pleasant thing to say, but if our Constitution, history, and traditions mean anything, it is true and it is also a face we must all face squarely.

Under the Constitution only Congress has the power to govern and regulate the Armed Forces. It is obvious from the spirit of the Constitution and American traditions that, in exercising this power, Congress has a solemn duty to see that our servicemen are guaranteed every possible right consistent with effective military discipline and operation. Only absolutely essential and minimum departures from the full protection of the Bill of Rights should be made by the Congress in governing and regulating our Armed Forces.

For the Congress to reject a simple demand that due process and the basic elements of a fair trial be provided for all members of our Armed Forces, even in foreign courts, would be to make a travesty of American justice. If it rejects this, it will reject, in effect, the whole spirit of the United States and its Constitution, the very things that have made this country the land of the free.

It is true that some of the safeguards enumerated in this section of the bill are also spelled out in the agreed official minutes of the status-of-forces treaties and related executive agreements between this country and 54 other nations. The fact is, however, that despite this, American servicemen, when tried in foreign courts, have sometimes not been provided with these safeguards. Some method of strengthening the hand of high military officials in seeing that they are provided is therefore absolutely essential.

The third provison of the Bow bill provides that there will be no surrender of any servicemen to a foreign court until the accused has been notified of the decision to surrender him and 10 days have elapsed following such notification. If, within those 10 days, the accused appeals the decision to surrender him to a foreign court to the court of military appeals, he will not be surrendered until that court has decided his appeal.

According to the fourth provision, the court will then determine whether or not the accused commited the alleged offense while on duty or off duty. If it determines that it was an off-duty offense, it must then determine whether or not the accused will have the procedural safeguards enumerated in section 2 before he can be surrendered.

This is certainly a reasonable, or more accurately perhaps, a necessary provision. A man subject to the military code of this country can be surrendered by the military to the nonmilitary courts of this land. When this happens, the accused is actually granted more rights and protections than he would have had if tried by a military court. He is given the full protection of our Bill of Rights by the United States courts. It is certainly reasonable to insist that, if American military personnel are to be surrendered to foreign nonmilitary courts where they do not have the full protection of the Bill of Rights, they should, as a minimum, be guaranteed the procedural safeguards enumerated in section 2 of H. R. 8820.

There is an obvious inconsistency in the present treaties and executive agreements. Either it is wrong—from the viewpoint of justice—for the Congress to give an accused serviceman greater rights than those provided in the Uniform Code of Military Justice by permitting his surrender to a nonmilitary court of this country, or else it is wrong to give him fewer rights (than those in the Uniform Code) by surrendering him to the nonmilitary courts of a foreign country. Reason and common sense rebel at this contradictory arrangement. It is obviously one that demands correction.

In considering this section, we must remember, too, that in any capital offense a serviceman surrendered by the military to a nonmilitary court in this country would have the protection of indictment by a grand jury before he could be tried. But even under H. R. 8820, American servicemen will not get this protection of the Bill of Rights. Few of the 54 nations that now have jurisdiction over American military personnel provide anything in the nature of such protection.

The fifth provision of the Bow bill states that if the court finds the offense was committed while the accused was on duty, or that the accused will not have the procedural safeguards guaranteed in section 2 in the case of an off-duty offense, the court shall so

notify the Secretary of the Department concerned. The Secretary shall then refuse to surrender the accused to the jurisdiction of a foreign court.

If the Court of Military Appeals finds that the alleged offense was an off-duty one and that the accused will have the procedural safeguards previously mentioned if prosecuted by the courts of the foreign nation involved, the Secretary of the Department concerned may then surrender the accused to that nation for prosecution.

This section, too, is reasonable and desirable. We believe it a proposition that needs no argument, that our Armed Forces personnel should never be surrendered to a foreign court that does not provide them with the minimum elements of a fair trial.

The VFW therefore urges this committee that, if it is going to act on any of the measures now before it, it support H. R. 8820 because it is a measure which makes a realistic attempt to see that the members of our Armed Forces will really be assured of what might be called a fair trial in foreign courts.

There are some other vital points that should be made at this time.

Under the military code of this country those convicted under it have the ultimate right of appeal to the President of the United States. They also have the right to review by the Court of Military Appeals and even by the Supreme Court.

Even under H. R. 8820, as laudable as its provisions are, however, there is no provision at all for such appeal or review based on the standards of the Bill of Rights and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. It is most important to stress this fact because never before in the history of this Nation have citizens, including our servicemen, been denied this protection.

It is quite likely that foreign governments would flatly refuse to let any United States court review its courts' decisions. It would be understandable, in a way, for them to take this position. But, if they do so it will emphasize the impossibility of giving our Armed Forces full basic protections under any system of status-of-forces treaties. It will demonstrate the need for revocation of all such agreements.

Today, the more than 1 million men who are serving overseas in our Armed Forces are without this vital protection of the right of appeal to a court of last resort which will judge their case according to the principles of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. A portion of the lifeblood of inherent constitutional right in the body of liberty is being allowed to ebb away. This right and many others have been taken away from our Armed Forces by the President through executive agreements, and by the Senate and President acting together through ratification of the status-of-forces treaties.

Inasmuch as the Constitution does not give the President, or the President and the Senate acting together, the power to govern and regulate the Armed Forces, it is the contention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars that this stripping of servicemen of their rights has been done unconstitutionally—for the simple reason that placing them under foreign courts which may punish them, even for crimes committed while on duty, is obviously a part of the process of governing and regulating the Armed Forces.

As recently as June 10 of this year the United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Reid* v. *Covert*, stated: "When the Government reaches out to punish a citizen who is abroad, the shield which the Bill of Rights and other parts of the Constitution provide to protect his life and property should not be stripped away just because he happens to be in another land.

"This is not a novel concept. To the contrary it is as old as government. It was recognized long before Paul successfully invoked his right as a Roman citizen to be tried in strict accordance with Roman law."

The Court also pointed out that "No agreement with a foreign nation can confer power on the Congress, or on any other branch of Government, which is free from the restraints of the Constitution * * *. Treaties and laws enacted pursuant to them have to comply with the provisions of the Constitution * * *. The prohibitions of the Constitution were designed to apply to all branches of the National Government and they cannot be nullified by the Executive or by the Executive and the Senate combined."

This statement by the Court makes incomprehensible its decision in the Girard case because all servicemen, through the NATO status-of-forces treaties and related executive agreements, have been denied in foreign courts specific basic rights bestowed upon them by the Congress in the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

This condition cries out for correction and we look to the Congress for the remedy. H. R. 8820 has many excellent provisions and is superior to any other bill before this committee. Its passage would do much to protect the rights of our Armed Forces serving overseas. For this reason the VFW would like to see it enacted into law.

The VFW still feels, however, that the only true and complete correction that can be made is the rejection of the NATO status-of-forces treaties and all executive agreements patterned on them.

We say this with full realization of the need for having our troops stationed abroad to strengthen our security and with full appreciation of the problems the Government encounters in trying to arrange this with other nations. Concessions must be made, benefits must be granted, etc., on a quid pro quo basis. That is in the very nature of the conduct of international relations and our foreign affairs.

Ultimately, however, every action taken by our Government must be evaluated by the yardstick of the basic law of our land, the Constitution. We need alliances to protect freedom—our own and that of our allies. But there must be a limitation even on the means used to achieve this end, as vital and noble as it is.

There are some things that cannot be done, some concessions that cannot be made, simply because they cannot be commensurately returned. Among them are asking—or compelling—any citizen to surrender his constitutional rights, liberties and protections or agreeing to violations of the principles, provisions, restraints and processes prescribed by the Constitution.

In the final analysis, except when this Nation is in dire peril, the Constitution and the rights it confers on our citizens should not be sacrificed for anything. Nothing is worth violation of the Constitution except the preservation of this Nation from destruction—and no one has shown that the status-of-forces treaties are essential to this purpose.

This, again, is a matter of principle. It does not matter whether it affects only 1, 2, 10—or thousands of people. This concept of fundamental individual rights has been the basis for this country's sacrificing the lives of hundreds of thousands of its men in war and for its expenditure of billions of dollars of its assets for defense purposes. It would indeed be tragic if, after working to preserve it at such cost, we should trade it away unnecessarily.

One inroad into the Constitution begets another. We cannot sacrifice the rights of American servicemen through status of forces arrangements or any other process without weakening and endangering the rights of all citizens.

This is why the VFW stands for the revocation of the status-of-forces treaty and all executive agreements based on its provisions.

Status-of-Forces Arrangements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, an Army liaison plane, unable to gain altitude on takeoff, is reported to have crashed and killed a Japanese woman who happened to be near the runway of one of our Japanese bases.

I am waiting with interest and apprehension to learn whether the Department of Defense will surrender the pilot to the Japanese for a murder trial.

According to the new definition of duty, enunciated by the General Counsel of the Defense Department, such an unhappy eventuality is entirely possible, even probable.

You will recall that in the Girard case, the General Counsel asserted that the accidental shooting of a Japanese woman who was trespassing on a range Girard had been assigned to guard was "such a complete departure from his duty that he could not have been considered on duty."

Obviously the Army pilot in the recent unfortunate accident was not instructed to crash. Certainly he was not ordered to use his light aircraft as an instrument of death and injury to a Japanese couple. Will the Defense Department consider that his failure to keep the plane aloft was "such a complete departure from his duty that he could not have been considered on duty."

It seems to me that this is very likely to occur if the Japanese authorities suggest it. It appears that this suggestion, together with the assertion that the Japanese people are inflamed, is required to make the new definition of duty applicable to the incident.

Girard's commanding officer and our representatives on the Joint Commission both insisted that Girard was on duty. But, according to the General Counsel of the Defense Department, there was "still further inflammation of the situation in Japan," the "Japanese situation was becoming more and more inflamed," and "this matter was still inflaming the public" as time progressed.

Accordingly, it was decided that the commanding officer was acting in an archaic military manner, unsuited to this era of international good feeling, and that he had been wrong all the time. Inflammation of the Japanese public proved that Girard was not on duty after all.

For a time in late June it appeared that inflammation of the American public might reverse Girard's duty status again. Unfortunately, the American public doesn't seem to sustain an inflammation. The antibiotics of internationalism soothe and quiet the eruption. Emotionalism that can cause flipflops in American policy whenever it seized a Japanese, Italian or Turk is considered unbecoming to an American. Those who exhibit it are narrow-minded,

old-fashioned, isolationist patriots. Few can stand those terms of opprobrium.

If my apprehension concerning the unfortunate Army pilot should prove well founded, I think we may at last find an occasion when Americans will breed a boil big enough to bust the complacency of the General Counsel of the Defense Department, an inflammation on this side of the water that will bring some changes in the status-of-forces arrangements.

A Postal Employee Views the Service Rendered by the Post Office Department and Commends Postmaster General Arthur S. Summerfield for His Courageous and Determined Efforts To Breathe Life Into the Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, living as we do in the midst of one legislative debate after another, many times Members of Congress, as well as the beneficiaries of legislation, become embroiled in the issues at stake to the extent that we are prone to overlook the administrative problems of officials of Government and their efforts to solve them.

Recently when reading the August 1957 issue of the Pen, the monthly publication of the Federal Postal Employees Association, Denver, Colo., I was impressed by the tribute paid to Postmaster General Arthur S. Summerfield in the following article titled, "A Postal Employee Views the Service," by Mr. Frank J. Spillane, a postal employee of Casper, Wyo.:

A POSTAL EMPLOYEE VIEWS THE SERVICE

(By Frank J. Spillane)

Much has been spoken and written of late about our United States postal service. Most of those who write of postal problems are laymen. Their grasp of postal problems is second hand, or the result of inaccurate observation. The problems that beset the postal service are the problems of the American public. We feel that it is time for them to hear of the postal service from a postal employee. For him, there are no political axes to grind, and no other interest except a vital and progressive service. There is no area in the Government service that offers more challenge to the civil employee than the postal service, nor is there anywhere in Government a finer working force. That the full potentiality of this work force has not been fully realized is indicative of the many problems that beset the service.

Historically, the postal service in this Nation predates the Nation itself. In the pre-Revolutionary era King William of England, in 1691, gave to Thomas Neale the postal monopoly in the American Colonies. This venture was undertaken for profitmaking, and came to naught and bankruptcy. In 1710, with the passage of Queen Anne's Act, the postal service came under the British postal system. The primary aim was to operate the postal service for a profit. Service to the people was secondary. So it went, and for the next score and ten the postal service stagnated and showed a deficit in the balance sheets sent to London.

July 26, 1775, is the birthday of the United States postal service. On that day, the Continental Congress named Benjamin Franklin as the first Postmaster General. In those days, when the mail was virtually the only means of communication, the leaders of the infant Government realized the value of the postal service. Thirteen discordant Colonies had been united by the great emotional drive to secure liberty. Emotional drive, however, dies, and it was then that the postal service made its great contribution. It supplied the mediums of communication that cemented the minds of the Colonists with the pride of nationalism.

This thumbnail sketch of postal history reveals why we in the postal service have a rich heritage of tradition and of service. We like to feel that we are also rich in the respect and goodwill of the American people. Despite our proud heritage, the postal service at all times seems to have been beset with great problems. In turning the pages of postal history, we find that from the beginning there has been a difference of opinion between Congress and the various early Postmasters General as to postal policy. Briefly stated, the question has always been: Is the Postal Establishment meant to be a service to the American people, to be operated with deficit financing by congressionally voted funds, or should it pay its own way by sufficient revenues raised from postage?

The battle has raged back and forth to this day. This session of Congress may be the stormiest in history over this question that haunts the Postal Establishment. Undeniably, the Postal Establishment is a service to the American people. Its contributions to the people of the United States cannot be measured in the tax dollars it has used. Yet, this system has operated to the detriment of a dynamic and up-to-date postal establishment. The Post Office in an unrealistic procedure must make estimates for funds it needs for operations 2 years in advance. In times when the Nation is undergoing great expansion, as at present, the rate of growth is easily miscalculated, and insufficient funds for operations are forthcoming from Congress. Congress, which tries to do a good job of watching people's money, then is asked for deficiency appropriations. At this point many laymen, journalists, and perhaps a few Congressmen out for a headline howl over what they feel to be apparent waste by postal officials.

The hapless Postmaster General of the time is brought under fire, and his ability questioned. To avoid these unpleasant circumstances, no doubt, many a Postmaster General has spent, for postal operations, money intended for new equipment, and research, before taking hat in hand in the role of poor relation, to trek to Congress for additional funds. Congress, too, conscious of the unfavorable publicity given the so-called postal deficit, has been slow to recognize the needs of research, new buildings, and modern equipment. In the opinion of many qualified postal officials, there is a solution to the very confused picture of postal appropriations. They argue that the Post Office Department should be given authority, within limits, to set postal rates, and to adjust certain costs with the approval of an agency such as the Interstate Commerce Commission. Then, in the manner of sound business, they would proceed to operate the Post Office Department with their own revenues and within the scope of those revenues. Congress would no longer have to appropriate money to postal operations. It could keep a sharp eye on the Department to see that it functioned in a lawful and efficient manner. Gone would be much of the politics that now block the way to a modern postal service.

Despite the many problems that still beset the United States Postal Service, a new era began with the arrival of Postmaster General Summerfield, in Washington in 1953. We do not intend to eulogize General Summerfield, but to present the facts as we see them. He has a record as a successful businessman, and was reputed to be the Nation's biggest Chevrolet dealer. General Summerfield found the Post Office Department suffering from years of nonprogressive operation; also, from the vast expansion this Nation has been experiencing. Determined to apply sound business principles in the operations of the Department, he sought men experienced in transportation, personnel, and related fields to fill the top-level posts. He began a decentralization of the Department. Fifteen regional offices were set up in principal cities. The regions were further subdivided into districts, with a district manager responsible to the regional operations manager. Into these regional and district posts went qualified and energetic men from within the service itself. Decentralization has wrought wonders in the management of postal operations. No one could be more aware of this than a postal employee such as myself. Our office at Casper, Wyo., is in a community of about 35,000. Prior to decentralization, I never saw a top-level postal official at our office. Since decentralization, the policymaking level of postal management has a personal knowledge of the operation of our office via the periodic visits of our district and regional officers. We feel, at times all too keenly if we goof, that we are part of an organization which knows that we exist. In short, decentralization has brought policymaking management closer to the operations of each office big and small. Manpower expenditure, mail volume, and costs have been closely scrutinized. Modernization of equipment and methods are underway despite short funds. Parenthetically, some citizens might desire to dedicate a memorial to the man who took the scratchy pens from the post office and replaced them with ballpoint pens.

Much, of a positive nature, has resulted from the aforementioned changes. The personnel of the Post Office Department stood at 523,757, in 1952. The year 1956 saw the number reduced to 508,587, or a reduction of 15,170 employees. During this same period, the number of pieces of mail handled by the Department increased from 49 billion pieces to 56 billion pieces. Over 300,000 new homes had mail delivery, and 250,000 businesses were serviced. These great accomplishments, I am sure, the Postmaster General would share with all the hard-working postal employees. It is partly their increased productivity as individuals that has made many of these accomplishments possible.

How do the rank and file of the postal employees feel about General Summerfield? There was a great dispute between employee organizations and General Summerfield over reclassification and wages in 1955. Some of the bitterness engendered at this time remains, but few of the employee fears have materialized. At the present time, the employees from top to bottom feel they are underpaid, and that their wages have not kept up with the inflationary increases in private industry. They feel General Summerfield should go to bat for them for wage increases. By and far, however, it is my observation that most employees of the Department have come to respect General Summerfield for his courageous and determined efforts to breathe life into the service.

There is new life stirring among employees in this old and honorable Department of Government. While it has stagnated in technological advancement, it has kept a fine tradition of individual efficiency among its

employees. Now, far down in the well-disciplined ranks, men such as myself have begun to take heart. We have seen the wonders of a massive organization, long dormant, start to move. It is also a time of crisis. Besides the American public, no one has more at stake in the postal service than we employees. We hold our breath lest this complex organization, now on the move, lapse back into a coma. The sheer weight of the problems at hand could bring this about. Battlelines are drawn in Congress over increasing postal rates. Special interest groups want no increase. It is perhaps an issue that only an aroused American public can resolve. Do they want their postal service modernized? Do they want to stop having the ambiguous issue of a postal deficit brought forth each year? If so, they must tell their Congressmen and Senators how they feel. They must tell the Congress that they want a progressive and modern postal service—one which given the autonomy of operating on its own revenues can ask an impartial board, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission for the increase in revenue it needs, provided such increases can be justified. The public must further insist that much more money be spent for research.

The postal service, in years past, has spent virtually nothing on this vital field. This year, under a new program, the Department is asking for $4 million. The telephone industry spends 18 times that much each year. If it did not, it would die before an avalanche of business it could not service. There is no reason why automation cannot, to a great degree, be applied to the handling of mail. It is going to cost money, a great deal of it. However, in an enterprise which spends 80 percent of its budget for salaries, automation can only save money in the long run. Nor will automation cause mass layoffs or employee hardship. The project will take years to complete and the normal attrition to personnel by deaths, retirement, and resignations will gradually reduce the force. An organization of fewer employees on an automated basis should make for better salaries, morale, and quality of personnel, besides a better postal service.

Which way will the ball bounce? There are rumors that General Summerfield will retire after this year. This would be a severe loss to a postal service which is taking its first tottering steps after a long illness. Despite the progress that has been made, a great deal more must be accomplished before the patient is out of the woods. A change at the helm of the Department could bring the walls tumbling down.

Thus run the thoughts of men whose dedicated profession is the Postal Service. Only you, the American people, can decide, and help us give you a modern postal organization. The ghost of the postal deficit must be laid to rest. If you see fit, postal rates must be raised. Money must be spent for research and modernization. Without these things, we, your postal employees, are lost. The service which we have seen so wonderously come to life will again slumber, and we must go on serving you with dragging steps, when we would fly, and could.

Sanitary Drinking Water Facilities in Railroad Cabooses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times for July 6 includes a list of bills enacted into law in the State of Illinois. One of those bills would require the installation of sanitary drinking water facilities in railroad cabooses.

I know that persons performing services on railroads have a continuing problem with this type of condition. Some time ago I had the opportunity to ride in the Chicago and Carbondale Railway Post Office. I know that although the Post Office Department and railroad companies both claim that the water facilities in railway post office cars are sanitary and clean, the people performing duty in those cars frequently complain of the water running brown. I am constantly amazed at the work performed by these public servants. They handle incredible amounts of mail in unbelievably restricted space. They have a devotion to duty which is little short of being phenomenal.

The Post Office Department has steadily been reducing service in railway post office cars, and yet these people devote themselves to their tasks with a devotion reminiscent of Beau Geste. The significant difference is that in this case the sniping is done by postal officials, rather than by Arabs.

It is good to know that railroads operating in the State of Illinois will now be required to furnish sanitary drinking water supplies to their employees in railroad cabooses. I hope that this legislation will also relieve in some way to the plight of the railway mail clerks in their own little cabooses at the front of the train.

William H. Francis, Jr., Receives Suggestions From American Federation of Government Employees Leaders at the Pentagon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, recently the Honorable William H. Francis, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Defense, received at a conference 15 presidents of the American Federation of Government Employees lodges in this Washington area. I would like to congratulate the personnel leaders at the Department of Defense who, under the leadership of Mr. Carter L. Burgess, former Assistant Secretary and now under his successor, Hon. William H. Francis, Jr., are encouraging intelligent employee discussion and participation in problems of career development and better civilian-military relations.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD at this point the statements made at the conference by Mr. Ardoin E. Casgrain, president of the AFGE defense council representing the Army, Navy, and the Air Force union lodges, and also the statement of Mr. James P. Campbell, the national president of the AFGE. Both these statements contain information on personnel problems that I consider significant to better personnel practices and economy in administration in the defense establishment.

Mr. Casgrain's statement:

As a result of conferences with former Assistant Secretary Carter L. Burgess and his highly intelligent staff, the council members have been kept effectively informed of the progress made to develop better personnel policy in the Department of Defense. We feel that these conferences have helped us to do our part in suggesting ways to improve career development for civilians in the Department. We are deeply grateful for Hon. Carter Burgess' aggressive leadership under which we believe more progress toward good civilian personnel direction was made than at any other period in Department of Defense history. Strong directives on policy were issued:

Civilian Career Development, Defense Department Directive Nos. 1430.1 and 1430.2 and Military-Civilian Staffing, Defense Department Directive No. 1100.92.

Purpose of the meeting is to further establish effective relations with the Department of Defense through you as the new Assistant Secretary to continue progress in personnel policies and to point out what we feel are the areas that need further development. Here are some of the common problems that you in the Department of Defense and we as the AFGE union leaders need to consider with mutual concern:

1. Better pay standards are needed within the Department of Defense. We realize that congressional action is needed for solving pay and salary standards, nevertheless, we believe Defense Department leadership and influence with the administration can help along the solution. The Cordiner report is a step in the right direction. Such measures should be pushed until our Federal employee pay structure is changed to meet the competitions of American industry.

2. The classification of jobs within the Defense Establishment could be greatly improved so that more nearly equal pay for equal responsibility could prevail within Army, Navy, and Air Force. We believe the Assistant Secretary and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission could develop a working agreement to improve a system much out of date.

3. Better supervision and the development of more people centered administrators are greatly needed. We believe the Department should place greater emphasis on human relations qualities and real leadership ability through selection and training of supervisors and administrators.

4. The designation of management positions as military or civilian in support activities has been directed. We would like to see such a program effectively and promptly implemented by the three services. The heart of our civilian career program rests in the honest solution of this problem. Without knowing what are and what will remain civilian jobs, we can have no career ladder or career development. We can give many examples of civilian careers in the Pentagon being ruined because civilian jobs became military jobs for no good reason.

5. A far better referral and personnel counseling job needs to be done, if displaced employees are to be fully utilized and career development is to become effective. Manpower is the most valuable asset in business or defense. Effective utilization of skilled and trained personnel should get fuller consideration.

6. Older employees need a new and different type of consideration. To stop promoting at 45, or even at 60, which is common practice today in Defense, is not only ineffective utilization but damaging to employee morale.

7. Meat ax or percentage cuts are unintelligent and lead to deception and ineffec-

tive utilization of staff. Management studies and consideration of what are essential activities should determine cuts—not some percent or across-the-board system.

8. Installations and employees should be publicly notified well in advance of necessary cuts. Mr. Campbell will discuss this problem in more detail.

9. A will to work and a sense of pride in belonging should be created among employees within the Department of Defense. It seems to us that this great Government establishment could follow the lead of industry in this respect. By incentive awards, recognition of service, promotion of recreational and special service activities we could create a new spirit of pride in being a part of the Department of Defense.

Mr. Campbell's statement:

The decision to close down a defense installation or curtail an activity is one which hits hard at career civilian employees. In many cases, experienced, long-term employees suddenly find themselves jobless.

It is essential that these employees be given the maximum possible advance notice of the intentions of the Defense Department or the military services. The reasons for closing a facility should be frankly explained to employees and to their organizations at the local level. There should be discussion and consultation with employees and their organizations in an effort to avoid the abrupt dismissal of employees and the loss to the Government of their training and experience. Moreover, special referral and placement service should be promptly established among military installations by the Department of Defense well in advance of the closing date.

Mr. Casgrain's statement concluded:

Mr. Francis, the members of this representation include:

Two of our national officers, Mr. James R. Campbell, national president, AFGE, AFL-CIO, and Mr. Floyd P. Swiggett, national vice president of the AFGE.

Of the 21 Defense Department lodges in the District of Columbia area, the following are represented here today:

Ardoin E. Casgrain, president of council, also representing Army Lodge 2; Albertus A. Bagley, AGO Lodge 1409; Charles Bell, QMG Lodge 1490; Byron E. Dunn, Army Lodge 692; Claude Evans, Engineer Lodge 333; Robert Galentine, Fort Myer Lodge 1654; Harry C. Goff, Army Map Service 1202; Jack Graves, Fort Myer Lodge 1126; Hubert E. Potter, Surgeon General Lodge 1191; William F. Burn, Navy Gun Factory Lodge 93; Nicolo Catucci, Navy Recruiting Station Lodge 1464; Carroll Schuler, Navy Research Center Lodge 1125; Theodore Ward, Navy Department Lodge 1; John Mann, Air Force HQ Lodge 1092; Wilmer P. Roland, Bolling AFB Lodge 967.

We wish to extend to you our best wishes for a very successful term as Assistant Secretary. We thank you for your consideration and again we wish to suggest that many of our problems are mutual. Your able staff, we know, will keep us informed and we will plan to offer suggestions. Please do not hesitate to call on us for the help or the reactions we may be able to give.

Our Indian Citizens

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the new Republican speech kit and campaign primer declares that the Republican Party takes pride in certain of its alleged achievements in the administration of the Department of the Interior. One of the claims advanced is that the Eisenhower administration "has carried forward a wide variety of programs beneficial to the Nation, such as * * * assistance to our Indian citizens to assume their rightful place in society * * *."

While I do not agree with the Republican administration in consigning the first Americans to the very bottom of the economic and social ladder as their rightful place in society, the officials in charge of the Indian Bureau are entitled to their opinion as to where the Indian's place should be, I regret that the administration officials take pride in their achievements in relegating the Indians to this low level.

For the Indian standard of living is low, and getting lower, as the population increases on reservations inadequate to provide a living for a fraction of the people already there. Tribal assets, such as they are, are under the trusteeship of white bankers. Indian resources are undeveloped or are being exploited by non-Indian groups, while the Eisenhower administration pays lip service to proposals to develop these resources.

The emphasis of this administration has been on relocation—on moving the Indian from a rural slum to an urban slum.

The only accomplishments in the field of Indian affairs to which this Republican administration can point is that it has given the Indian the right to buy a drink, and to be arrested by a State or local policeman instead of only by a United States marshal.

These facts are only partially obscurred by a smokescreen laid down by a barrage of misleading press releases telling what a good job this administration has done. Previously, I have called this to the attention of the House under the heading "Today's Powwows Aren't Just Talk," on page A804 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 6, 1957.

Here is another example. On May 7, 1957, the Bureau of Indian Affairs issued the following press release:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
May 7, 1957.

OVER 1,000,000 ACRES ADDED TO INDIAN TRIBAL LANDHOLDINGS IN LAST 3 YEARS

Over a million acres has been added to the landholdings of Indian tribes throughout the country in the past 3 years as a result of congressional enactments and administrative action by the Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn L. Emmons announced today.

During the same period, he added, 927,926 acres of land owned by individual Indians has been sold by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in response to written requests by the Indian owners, 392,488 acres has been turned over to Indians who applied for fee patents and satisfied the Bureau of their competency to manage their own affairs, and 122,414 acres of mixed tribal and individual Indian land has been taken by the Government for flood-control purposes with full compensation to the Indian owners.

"In considering the additions which have been made to the estate of Indian tribes over the past 3 years," Mr. Emmons pointed out, "it is important to bear in mind that neither the Department of the Interior nor the Bureau of Indian Affairs has any authority to dispose of tribal lands held in trust unless such action is specifically approved in each case by the Congress. In the case of individual Indian lands in trust status, we have disposal authority but it is exercised only when the Indian owners request a sale and such action is considered to be in their best interests. Each individual case of this kind is carefully examined and considered."

Of the 1,024,349 acres added to tribal holdings in the 3-year period, 818,277 acres was restored to ownership of the Colville Tribe of Washington under legislation enacted last year. The restored land was ceded to the Government by the tribe as a kind of surplus many years ago when the reservation was allotted to individual tribal members. Although the original intention was to sell the ceded land, this was never accomplished and the tribe subsequently requested the restoration which was consummated by the 1956 legislation. Under this law (Public Law 772) the 818,277 acres is now held in trust by the United States for the tribe on the same basis as other reservation lands.

The second largest addition to tribal holdings was the Navajo tribe's purchase of the 98,000-acre Brown and Best Ranch near Sanders, Ariz., in 1956. Although this land is held directly by the tribe in fee simple title, is not in Federal trusteeship and is located apart from the main reservation, it represents a substantial increase in acreage available for use by Navajo tribal members. Since it was paid for by tribal funds in trust status, the action was subject to secretarial approval.

In addition to the Colville Restoration Act, similar legislation in 1955 and 1956 added 41,216 acres to the Pueblo of Zia and 36,352 to the Pueblo of Jemez, both in New Mexico; 27,086 acres to the Seminole Reservations in Florida; 1,320 acres to the Yavapai Tribe of Arizona; and 600 acres to the Kanosh Band of Utah. Administrative actions by the Department of the Interior during the same period added nearly 400 acres to the estate of the Blackfeet Tribe in Montana, 253 acres to tribal holdings on Montana's Flathead Reservation, and 89,192 acres on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.

Purchases made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in trust for individual Indians during the period accounted for nearly 20,000 additional acres.

As of last June 30, the latest date for which full reports are available, the United States was holding in trust for Indian tribal groups approximately 39,500,000 acres and for individual Indians about 13,300,000 acres.

Note that the title and opening paragraph of the press release concentrate on the fact that over 1 million acres—1,024,349 acres, to be exact—were added to the land holdings of Indian tribes throughout the country in the past 3 years. Somewhat less emphasis is given to the fact that, according to the Bureau's own figures, 1,342,826 acres passed out of Indian ownership, or a net loss of 318,479 acres.

A second significant fact obscured by the press release is that of the 1,342,828 acres which passed out of Indian ownership in 3 years, 1,220,414 acres were released from trust administratively through the issuance of patents-in-fee or by supervised sales. The remaining 122,414 acres were taken by the Government for flood-control purposes.

The land added to tribal holdings, on the other hand, was in large measure not the result of action by the Department but rather the result of legislation. Of the 1,024,349 acres added to tribal holdings, for example, 818,277 acres were restored to ownership of the Colville Tribe under legislation enacted last year (Public Law 772 of the 84th Cong.).

This land had been ceded to the Government by the tribe many years ago when the reservation was allotted, but never had been taken up by others; the land has been held for the Colville Indians for a number of years and the legislation merely restored title to the tribe.

According to the Indian Bureau press release, the "second largest addition to tribal holdings was the Navaho Tribe's purchase of the 98,000-acre Brown and Best Ranch." This tract, of course, was paid for out of tribal funds and the only role the Department had to play was to authorize such action.

In addition to the Colville Restoration Act, in 1955 and 1956 Congress passed legislation to turn over approximately 106,000 additional acres of land to Indian groups, mainly Pueblos in New Mexico and the Seminoles in Florida. According to the Indian Bureau press release, administrative actions by the Department of the Interior during the 3-year period added nearly 400 acres to the estate of the Blackfeet Tribe, 253 acres to tribal holdings on the Flathead Reservation, and 89,192 acres on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.

It is true that the Bureau restored approximately 400 acres to the Blackfeet Tribe during the past 3 years. The land restored consists of townsite lots which have never been taken up and are all within the boundaries of the Blackfeet Reservation.

The statement in the press release with regard to the Wind River Reservation, however, is wholly erroneous and I can produce a letter signed by Commissioner Emmons, dated July 10, 1957, which concedes that fact. The truth is that the bulk of the 89,192 acres referred to in the press release was restored to the tribe by section 4 of the act of August 15, 1953 (67 Stat. 592–613). To be precise, 88,712.43 acres were restored under the 1953 act; the minerals in 480 acres were restored under authority of a 1939 statute. The significance of this, I think, is that either the Interior Department is trying to take credit for action by Congress or the Bureau of Indian Affairs just does not know of the authority under which it is operating.

If my addition is correct I find that a total of 653 acres out of a possible 1,024,349 acres was turned over to Indian tribes by the administration, while the remainder either was turned over by Congress or was purchased by the Indians themselves. I find it difficult to see how this is a record to which the administration can point with pride.

One of the last statements in the press release, incidentally, is that purchases made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in trust for individual Indians during the period accounted for nearly 20,000 additional acres. The next sentence, which does not appear in the press release, should be that this land was bought with the Indians' own money.

It is a matter of record before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee that the administration, which is on record as favoring additional economic development on Indian reservations, opposes legislation to do just that.

The administration bill, S. 1433, which Mr. Emmons supports, makes no mention of Indians. Since the aid or loans would be confined to industrial areas, no loans could be made to help finance new plants. The only thing that could be given would be advice—and the Lord knows—the Indians get plenty of that now.

In sharp contrast to this bill is S. 964. In grants for public facilities, it provides that the Administrator "may receive proposals from any State, or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, or private or public organization."

The loan section includes these words:

> Upon the application of any State, or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, or private or public organization or association representing any redevelopment area or part thereof, the Administrator is authorized to make loans to assist in financing the purchase or development of land for public facility usage, and the construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of public facilities within any redevelopment area.

As you can see, the bill which the Eisenhower administration supports would do nothing for the development of Indian reservations. The bill which would do the job is opposed by the administration which has, in the words of the campaign kit, "carried forward a wide variety of programs of assistance to our Indian citizens to assume their rightful place in society."

When I appeared last year before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I went into some detail on economic conditions on Montana Indian reservations—areas where unemployment ranges from 40 to 90 percent, where the average income per family ranges from $450 to $2,639 per year, and where these conditions have existed for a generation, or longer. And some of our tribes are considered among the most prosperous of the tribes in this country.

Indian dwelling units are poor and crowded. More than half the Indian dwelling units in Montana have 1.5 or more occupants per room, as compared with 8 percent of the total.

The most recent report I have on school attendance of Montana's Indian population shows that of a total of 6,610 individuals, 25 years of age and over, 9 percent had not attended school at all, 41 percent had less than 8 years of school attendance, and less than 1 percent were college graduates. The median years of school completed was less than 8 years. These figures compare with all races in Montana as follows: 1.3 percent had not attended school, 17 percent had less than 8 years of school attendance, and more than 6 percent were college graduates.

This poverty, lack of education, inadequate housing, combined with isolation from community facilities and services in Montana, as in other States, have adversely influenced health conditions among our Indians.

For example, the rate of tuberculosis per 100,000 population among Montana Indians was 606.9 in 1954, the latest year for which I have the figures. This compares with a rate of 559.9 on Indian reservations throughout the United States and 61.5 among non-Indians in the country as a whole.

The rate of pneumonia among Montana Indians in 1954 was 1,543.4 cases per 100,000 population, as compared with 1,225.2 on Indian reservations throughout the country and 11.4 among non-Indians.

The trachoma rate was 433.5 among Montana Indians, 241.1 on Indian reservations throughout the country, and .3 among non-Indians.

If this is the Indian's rightful place in society, then I want none of it. And the Republican speaker who uses this phrase from his speech kit is climbing out onto the limb of a tall tree with a power saw in his hand.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Cotton Marches On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a challenging and important address on the problems and progress of the American cotton industry is to be delivered on next Monday in Lubbock, Tex., at the 18th annual American Cotton Congress.

This address is the work of a man who thoroughly knows his subject—Mr. Burris C. Jackson of Hillsboro, Tex., chairman of the American Cotton Congress, and chairman of the Statewide Cotton Committee of Texas.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Jackson's talk be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COTTON MARCHES ON

(Address to be delivered at Lubbock, Tex., Monday, August 12, 1957, at the Lubbock session of the 18th annual American Cotton Congress by Burris C. Jackson, Hillsboro, Tex., general chairman of the congress and chairman of the Statewide Cotton Committee of Texas)

It is good to be in Lubbock again, hub of one of the great cotton-producing areas of the world.

In the first chapter of the Book of Esther we find the description of a royal feast, mentioning white, green, and blue hangings of the palace wherein a king showed the riches of his glorious kingdom.

Historians say it's highly probable that those canopies were exactly the same as the hangings of blue and white striped cotton which may be seen in India today.

Nearly 5,000 years ago crude Hindu gins were separating cotton fiber from seed; Hindu wheels were spinning lint into yarns; and fragile looms were weaving these yarns into cotton textiles.

The threads of this wonderful fiber of ours thus are woven into the destinies of man over a span of at least 50 centuries, stimulating commerce and industry, opening up new lands, and generating economic, political, and social upheaval.

Kings and principalities, monarchs and commoners come and go, but cotton marches on—a fiber which Marco Polo described as the source of the finest and most beautiful fabrics and one which is acclaimed today as the most versatile in existence.

This march for cotton has not always been a rapid or a steady one. From antiquity until modern times, the business of producing, processing, and manufacturing this fiber has been associated with back-breaking and poorly rewarded labor. From the early days of civilization when weaving was discovered until 1738 when John Kay invented his flying shuttle, textile manufacture was entirely a hand operation. And it was some 50 years later before this and the inventions of Hargreaves, Crompton, Arkwright, and others were combined and powered with Watt's steam engine to manufacture lint which had been separated from the seed by a marvelous new invention—the cotton gin. Here was a span of some 30 or 40 centuries in which relatively little progress was made toward relieving man of tedious work and increasing his output of cotton textiles.

Is it any wonder, as we scan the time-stained pages of history, that we marvel at what has happened within our cotton industry within our lifetime—even within the short period of the last 20 or 25 years.

From some several hundred unstable varieties of cotton, susceptible to the ravages of weather, diseases, and insects, have evolved about a dozen major types—disease resistant, early maturing, more productive, with greater strength and length, and adapted to various conditions of production and harvesting.

In our generation we have seen the tractor come to the cotton field so that nearly 90 percent of the land preparation, planting, and cultivation in cotton production today is accomplished with tractor-powered equipment. Since World War II we have seen the advent of precision planting, flame cultivation, and chemicals for control of diseases, weeds, insects, and defoliation. Anhydrous ammonia and other improvements in fertilizers and their application, wide adaptation of irrigation and other practices are enabling us to make more cotton on less land and with greater profits.

This same period has brought a truly modern miracle—the mechanical picker—which can harvest as much cotton in a day as from 40 to 50 men handpicking. It has brought refinements in the stripper. Now about 27 percent of the crop is harvested by machines.

Back in the thirties we thought we were doing pretty well if we equalled the average yield which was about a half bale per acre. Last year the beltwide average was more than 400 pounds, and the average for the past 5 years has been better than 350 pounds. Machines and more efficient practices have enabled us to reduce the labor requirements for producing a bale of cotton by more than half.

The combined improvement in fiber length and strength, compared to that of the late thirties, is up at least 15 percent and, even with the rough harvesting practices of today, our gins can turn out a high-grade sample. With modern testing methods, it is possible to better evaluate the cotton fiber in order to help cut mill costs and control product quality. Manufacturing efficiency at the textile mill has been greatly increased with new machines and techniques, while new fabric constructions and finishes have boosted cotton to the top position in high fashion.

These fabrics are wrinkle resistant. They're wash-and-wear—made possible through chemical finishing which now is being applied to more than a billion yards of cotton textiles annually. Cotton today is a favorite for year-round, round-the-clock wear. It's made up in dark tweeds, velveteens, flannels, suitings, print cloths, and in an endless variety of textiles that glamorize and extend its uses more than ever before.

Yes, cotton has been marching ahead in the technology of production, processing, and manufacturing. And this progress is truly remarkable and inspiring. It could be a cause for elation to us all were it not for one indisputable and shattering fact—we're being outdistanced by our competition at an alarming rate. While cotton has been marching ahead, its competition has been jet propelled.

This is a fact that none of us can deny. Last year cotton's share of the 6½-billion-pound United States fiber market was 67 percent. In 1950 the slice was about 68½ percent. In 1940 cotton held more than 80 percent, and in 1920 it held nearly 90 percent of the fiber market. Synthetics took over the markets cotton lost. Synthetics accounted for 26 percent of the total fiber market last year—up from only 10 percent in 1940. With the exception of war years, per capita consumption of cotton in the United States hasn't increased significantly in 35 years. With population and living standards rising in this country and all over the world, our percentage of the market is declining.

It is disheartening. Here we are with the best fiber in the world, equipped to produce, process, and manufacture it more efficiently than ever before, yet we find ourselves losing markets to our competition and crying out for relief.

All of us are desperately seeking some solution. We want to find a way to move cotton into the channels of trade instead of into Government warehouses, and to keep it moving. We want permanently expanding markets geared to the pattern of efficiency which we have so fast been achieving. We want the kind of market that will keep cotton competitive at home and abroad and provide a decent livelihood for those who grow, process, market, manufacture, and sell it and its products. We want the kind of market that will encourage investment of capital, expansion and growth of facilities, and one in which we all will have a faith in its future.

I think that each and every one of us here recognizes that achieving this kind of market for cotton isn't going to be easy—that it calls for statesmanship, vision, sacrifice, and hard work. It calls for realistic recognition that competition is eating at the heart of our industry and that unless we face this challenge headon and fight with all the weapons at our command we could lose this battle.

It calls for recognition of the fact that cotton has been priced out of some of its most important markets at home and overseas and that, unless this price disadvantage is overcome in a sound, continuing, and convincing manner that will establish confidence with our customers, they will turn to other sources for their fiber.

Achieving this kind of market, furthermore, demands our facing up to the fact that our competitors are outreaching us. They are forging ahead in techniques which have enabled them to lower their costs so as to underprice us and in improving their products to overcome the traditional quality advantages which cotton so long has enjoyed.

Realizing this kind of market, finally, means acknowledging we are being outpromoted—that our competitors have capitalized, far out of proportion, on the gains they are making in developing new fibers, fabrics, and products to tempt the desires of consumers at home and abroad.

Certainly the idea that cotton is going to have to be offered to its customers at a competitive price and quality and effectively promoted isn't a new one. It has been reiterated, in fact, at each meeting of this Congress. However, when we look at the

inroads of our competitors, and assess our own situation where our acreage is sharply curtailed and our output restricted to the point where we are unable to capitalize fully on our efficiency, I think these needs stand out more starkly than ever before.

When we view the rich prize that awaits us—the vast markets in this country and all over the world as population increases and living standards rise—we are inspired to rededicate ourselves in this effort to expand consumption of cotton and its products. There is no better place for such a rededication than here in the high plains of Texas.

If this Congress imbues each of us with a new determination to make cotton truly competitive in price, in quality, and in promotion, it will have achieved its purpose. Cotton will march on.

Five Problems Facing Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege to discuss over a Wisconsin radio station the subject of five problems facing Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent that the text of my remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIVE PROBLEMS FACING WISCONSIN

I would like to mention to you some of the problems facing Wisconsin. I will mention these problems, because it will be most helpful to me to get your reactions—your suggestions on how to meet these problems.

Let me list now the questions. As I mention them, you might turn over the answers in your mind. Here they are—five of our problems:

1. First, how best can Wisconsin keep step in the competitive race for new industries in this atomic age?

In other words, how can we make sure that our State gets its fair share of new factories, new business, new contracts, so as to increase the income of our 1½ million workers—and our 3¼ million population, as a whole?

2. Second, here is a related question: How can we increase the tourist income for our State?

I mean the $400 million which Wisconsin collects each year out of the tourist industry.

Remember, almost all the States in the Union are competing with us for the tourist dollar. What can we do, therefore, to strengthen our hand in that competition to attract more vacationers to wonderful Wisconsin?

3. Now, here's a third question. Again, it is a matter of competition.

What should we do, so as to make certain that Wisconsin gets its fair share of business out of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway which opens in 1959? What should we do to attract the maximum amount of passenger and freight traffic through our own Wisconsin port cities?

Remember, ports in other States all along the Great Lakes are modernizing, in order to attract seaway business.

4. Here is a fourth question: It is the water problem in our State. Specifically, what further steps can we take to insure the availability and the cleanliness of the waters of Wisconsin?

This gets at the heart of the problem of pollution. As you know, we have made great progress in the fight against stream pollution. But I know that my listeners will agree that still more should be done. And not only do we need cleaner water, but we need more water for the use of new homes and new industries. So, what do you think, my friends, should be done so as to assure enough well water, as well as enough stream and lake and river water—clean for recreation—in our State?

5. Here is a fifth problem: What should be done to improve the income position of Wisconsin's farmers?

I needn't remind you that farm income in our State is unfortunately down. When the farmer can't buy goods, the businessman in the village and the town and the city soon feels the impact of that lag in the farmer's purchasing power. So, what do you think should be done to strengthen the economic position of Wisconsin's farmers.

These are some of the basic questions facing our State. There are no simple answers to any one of these five questions.

Naturally, it is my job in Washington to work on all of these problems. I'd like, however, to get the benefit of your reactions to them. Tell me what you think Wisconsin can do in the competition for new industry, for seaway traffic, for the tourist dollar, in the drive for more water and cleaner water, in the effort to improve farm income. Your own suggestions will be most welcome.

This, after all, is your State and mine. It is your job and mine to make sure that it is prosperous and healthy and sound.

Pampering Accorded Labor Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial column written by a columnist for whom I have great admiration, Mr. George Todt, which appeared in the San Fernando Valley Times, entitled "Pampering Accorded Labor Unions."

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAMPERING ACCORDED LABOR UNIONS

(By George Todt)

"Bad laws are the worst sort of tyranny" (Burke).

"Immunities, relieving particular persons or special classes or groups from the duties and liabilities appointed by law for their fellow men, have been regarded from of old as odious." Yet, organized labor enjoys special privileges today which the king and government and landowners and charity and husband and father had years ago, but lost.

This is the theme of the eminent Roscoe Pound, author, former dean and professor emeritus of the Harvard University Law School, who has just written a most informative booklet entitled "The Legal Immunities of Labor Unions." It is worth looking at for those thoughtful persons who wish to know the background of Dean Pound's interesting subject. Copies of this outstanding work may be obtained through the American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1012 14th Street NW., Washington 5, D. C.

In part I, Dean Pound shows in detail how legal immunities once granted to sovereigns—"the royal prerogative of dishonesty"—government officials, diplomats, clergymen, persons of rank, landowners, hospitals, husbands and parents have disappeared through the years.

In part II, however, the author indicates that a new species of immunities has sprung up: "The substantially general privileges and immunities of labor unions and their members and officials to commit wrongs to person and property, to interfere with the use of highways, to break contracts, to deprive individuals of the means of earning a livelihood, to control the activities of the individual workers and their local organizations by national organizations centrally and arbitrarily administered beyond the reach of State laws, and to misuse trust funds—things which no one else can do with impunity."

Seven succeeding sections—covering torts, contracts, restraint of trade, duties of public service, the right to work, racketeering, centralized power, and irresponsibility—document this thesis.

For example, favoring the application of anti-trust laws to labor unions, Dean Pound quotes with approval the late Justice Jackson's dissent in the case of Hunt vs. Crumboch: "This Court now sustains the claim of a union to the right to deny participation in the economic world to an employer simply because the union dislikes him. This court permits to employes the same arbitrary dominance over the economic sphere which they control that labor so long, so bittery and so rightly asserted should belong to no man."

Hunt vs. Crumboch is the case which established the complete immunity of unions to antitrust laws.

Summarizing the immunities of labor unions in part III, the author states that they rest on four established features of American labor law as it has developed through legislation within the last generation:

"(1) Substantial elimination, as against labor organization, of what in practical effect is the insured method of enforcing the law applicable to everyone else.

"(2) Refusal of labor organizations to be treated as legally responsible organizations by becoming incorporated and so legally tangible entities.

"(3) Not distinguishing unlawful actions by labor organizations, their leaders and their members, done outside of the employer-employee relation, from practices in that relation.

"(4) Committing all matters affecting labor organizations to an administrative agency instead of confining its jurisdiction to matters involved in the employer-employee relation."

Dean Pound notes that the usual regulatory agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission, were created and designed to protect the public from possible abuses by the groups involved. By contrast, the National Labor Relations Board has acquired a function of upholding the immunities of labor organizations and labor leaders at the expense of the public.

Dean Pound further points out that at the end of the formative period of American law, which had developed primarily in line with the needs of rural agricultural society, "the grievances of the workingman had become numerous and very real." The reaction to this set of conditions was inevitable. "It was not unnatural," states Dr. Pound, that as the law broke away from this, in view of the political power acquired by labor organizations, overzealous securing of new

recognized and newly delimited interests should develop immunities quite out of line with modern law."

He concludes, however, by proclaiming: "A general policy against concentration of unchecked power has always been regarded as at the foundation of our policy." He leaves no doubt that this new species of immunities—those which surround labor unions and labor leaders—should be eliminated.

Actually, this is something we can all afford to ponder upon, and Dean Pound's booklet is recommended reading for a starter. Doesn't it really boil down to whether we mean it when we say "all men are created equal"? How can we have partiality, favoritism and immunities under the law for one class of citizens in America—those in labor unions—and not have the same for the rest of us Joe Doakeses in our Nation? You tell me. I'm just asking.

Scouting Is Antidote for Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I know that about 2 weeks ago, when the Boy Scouts were here, en route to the jubilee at Valley Forge, all Members of the Senate were impressed with their orderly conduct and the fine manhood displayed by these young men. I saw an editorial from the Florida Times-Union entitled "Scouting Is Antidote for Juvenile Delinquency," which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCOUTING IS ANTIDOTE FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The crusaders against juvenile delinquency could do no better than setting out to increase the scope of the Boy Scouts movement. How many youthful offenders would you expect to find among the 50,000 Scouts attending the National Boy Scout Jamboree now going on at Valley Forge, Pa.? These youngsters represent the cream of the crop of American youth. What is scouting made of that prompts one to make a sweeping statement that in it lies a solution to the problem of crime among young people?

The organization does an outstanding job in character building by mixing it with a generous proportion of discipline, physical exercise, and mental challenge. These are ingredients that appeal to most youngsters, and oftentimes those who go astray do so because they have not been exposed to such a wise program.

Take the regime of discipline. Most offenders are ones who have never learned the value of respect for authority or for anything. Obedience is a theme that runs constantly through a Scout's training; weekly he repeats the 12 laws he will obey. God and country are his two principal objects of respect. This establishes a standard of conduct that is not easily shaken off.

Scouts are the original do-it-yourselfers in our society, for "learning by doing" is a byword of the organization. This gives a boy self-confidence and implies the active life. The great outdoors is the playing field for Scouters, and it is here than many a boy becomes first acquainted with the wonders of nature and learns how to take care of himself on his own. The tests for merit badges and Scout ranks provide a mental spur and a test of one's native ability.

Instead of appointing endless commissions to investigate the needs of our youth, why not a national campaign to enlist more youngsters in the ranks of scouting?

Budget Reform Squarely Up to the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Budget Reform Squarely Up to the House," which was published in the Salt Lake Tribune of Sunday, July 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUDGET REFORM SQUARELY UP TO THE HOUSE

The hour of decision is approaching for H. R. 8002.

This is the bill which would set up annual accrued expenditures budgeting for the Federal Government. It has cleared the House Rules Committee and may come to the House floor for a vote within a few days.

Under present Federal budgeting practices, funds appropriated in 1 year may be carried over itno the next, or even longer. As of July 1, Comptroller General Campbell estimates carryover funds totaled more than $70 billion, almost as much as the highly controversial $71.8 billion budget.

Under annual accrued expenditures budgeting, Congress would review all spending projects annually and stockpiling of unexpended funds would be eliminated.

Here are two examples, compiled by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover report, of the kind of thing H. R. 8002 would prevent:

1. For fiscal 1953 Congress appropriated $12½ billion for guns, tanks, and other military hardware in Korea. The war ended within a month of the new budget year. But in May 1957 the Army was still spending the remainder of the $12½ billion without any further congressional review.

2. In 1951 the Navy contracted to buy 528 fighter planes. By 1955 only 52 planes had been delivered, the design was declared unsatisfactory and the contract was canceled. By then, however, $173 million had been spent—to little effect. Much of this money might have been saved by annual review.

The case for H. R. 8002 is a strong one. It is one of the key economy recommendations of the Hoover Commission. It has been endorsed by the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller General, the Budget Director, the Amreican Institute of Accountants and the Controllers Institute.

Yet it is being strongly opposed by certain advocates of the status quo in Federal agencies.

There are, of course, always those who resist change.

Obviously it would be to the advantage of Federal agencies with large carryover funds to continue the practice.

Once Congress has approved an appropriation, then the expenditure of the appropriation passes out of Congress' control.

Congress ordinarily does not check back to determine if circumstances have changed or whether the expenditure is being carried out properly or efficiently. Moreover, even when Congress does become curious, it usually amounts to locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen.

Adoption of annual accrued expenditures budgeting, with its provision for systematic, periodic review, would change this situation—and for the better.

Macneil and Metz, in their authoritative book, The Hoover Report: 1953–55, state the argument for H. R. 8002 this way: "One of the fundamental requirements of a constitutional republic is that Congress have control over money. Such control is vital because Congress is thereby able to exercise a veto over what the executive branch does. This control has been impaired for years, and improvements in appropriations are necessary to restore it."

We consider H. R. 8002 sound legislation.

We urge the House to give its approval, as the Senate has already done.

If economy in government is ever to be achieved, Congress must first regain the power of the purse. That is exactly what H. R. 8002 will do.

Who Said Airborne Isn't Hazardous?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, during World War II I served on the First Army General Staff. That, to me, constituted the best team I'd ever seen. However, last year after serving with the 82d Airborne for a 3-week period, I changed my mind. The spirit of Airborne cannot be put in words.

The Airborne has long tried to obtain a much deserved increase in hazard-incentive pay. The Airborne Quarterly for July-August carriers the following editorial. All who are interested in their country's welfare should read this story. These men are the first and last line of defense. They are the best; they should be considered the best; they deserve the best:

WHO SAID AIRBORNE ISN'T HAZARDOUS?

The Cordiner committee report is a dramatic confession that the armed services of our great Nation are hard put to develop and maintain a balanced force capable of exploiting the full capabilities of available weapons—or of the more complex weapons of the future.

To correct this deplorable situation, the committee proposed that men already in service should be given incentives to make them want to stay in service long enough to learn how to operate our unwieldy military machines in the modern era "of radical, accelerating technological change."

The committee have proposed, among other incentives, a new basic pay structure which would eliminate inversions. And for hazardous duty, they have proposed a step-in-grade system of compensation.

So far so good. Having enunciated a sound principle for determining monetary incentives, the committee about-faced on hazard-incentive pay for parachutists with this conclusion: "* * * action to revise the fixed-rate dollar amounts was considered

premature." Why this discrimination against parachutists?

The committee's recommended pay for nonairborne hazardous duty rises in steps from $50 for E–1 to $105 for E–7; and from $100 for O–1 to $245 for O–6.

Fixed-rate pay for paratroopers is an antiquated emergency measure adopted at the beginning of World War II to induce men to volunteers for what was then considered the most hazardous of military duties. During hostilities, patriotism outweighed the inadequacy of the monetary incentive. When the fighting ended, $50 a month for enlisted men and $100 for officers no longer proved adequate incentive to noncommissioned officers, or to commissioned officers in the higher grades.

For 10 years, the airborne has been plagued constantly with inability to keep enough trained personnel beyond initial obligated service to meet minimum requirements for top skills at a reasonable cost. We have trained many tens of thousands of short-term draftees as parachutists and lost them as soon as their obligated tours of service were performed. Had the airborne been attractive to career soldiers, turnover in personnel would have been one-fourth and efficiency would have zoomed .

Most of the time during the past 10 years, airborne regiments have been unable to field a full-strength unit with every MOS slot filled with qualified troopers. In fact, many regiments have been hard put at times to field even a single composite battalion at T/O strength with every trooper fully qualified to perform his rated duties.

Why did the Cordiner committee discriminate thusly against the airborne in providing better incentives? One reason, we think, is that its members were over-sold on the truly amazing peacetime safety record of the airborne in millions of jumps since 1945. Because of this record, they undoubtedly considered parachute duty as less hazardous than duty as a crew man in an aircraft.

Nothing is farther from the truth. The fact is that peacetime safety in the airborne is achieved by enforcing rules that could not and would not be observed in actual combat.

The airborne of the future is a pentomic airborne—its hazards in combat will be infinitely greater than in past operations. For example, in recent field exercises, despite extreme dispersal of units, a single simulated enemy atomic blast was assessed by umpires as inflicting 50 percent casualties on a battle group.

Of course, conventional ground troops might suffer comparable atomic casualties, but these can be evacuated immediately to a well-organized rear area for treatment. Parachutists in combat have no rear area. To survive they must be victorious—or be annihilated.

Every level-headed military thinker today realizes that this Nation must—in the face of nuclear stalemate—rely more and more on airborne for the immediate action that alone can prevent small wars from mushrooming into global conflict.

There will be no time to prepare after fighting starts. We cannot count on the Navy to convoy troops overseas within hours after the need arises. Germany started World War II in 1939 with fifty-odd submarines and was winning the battle of the Atlantic until the United States produced a phenomenal 19 million deadweight tons of shipping in 1943.

Russia could start world war III with 10 times that number of submarines.

In World War II, we had from September of 1939 until December of 1941—27 months—to get ourselves organized to fight overseas. To prevent another global war we must be prepared to deliver fighting men in 27 hours—not 27 months.

If we cannot do that, Russia might field 300 divisions plus those of her satellites and seize all of Europe, the Near East, and North Africa. She has the arms, equipment, and supplies underground to do just that—and do it in less than 27 months.

Time and distance favor Russia in all her nefarious schemes to liquidate the free world, unless we implement our finest strategical and tactical weapon to discount time and distance.

That weapon is the airborne. Strategically, a potent airborne army with adequate airlift might deter Russia from attacking our NATO and SEATO friends. Tactically, should she do so, such an army could be at the right spot, at the right time, prepared to nip the attack in the bud before the Russian manpower steamroller gets into full speed.

Such an airborne army must be 100-percent volunteers—an army of men willing and ready to risk every hazard of modern war with pride in their ability to win all the time.

To get such an army, the airborne must be attractive in peacetime. In the net, monetary incentives for airborne duty must appeal to master sergeants as well as privates—to colonels as well as second lieutenants.

If step-in-grade hazard-incentive pay is sound business for Air Force crews, it is just as valid for airborne paratroopers.

Let's go modern with the airborne, too.

Rules for Stamping Out Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I was very much impressed by an interview with Billy Graham in which he gave six splendid rules for stamping out juvenile delinquency. They are contained in a United Press news story as printed in the Paris, Tenn., Post-Intelligencer of August 5, 1957, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BILLY GRAHAM GIVES RULES FOR STAMPING OUT DELINQUENCY

NEW YORK, August 5.—Evangelist Billy Graham, convinced that juvenile delinquency can be stamped out, revealed Sunday night the great percentage who have come forward to make decisions at his crusades are between the ages of 18 and 21.

Speaking before 19,200 persons in Madison Square Garden, Graham offered parents six suggestions on how to curb juvenile delinquency:

1. "Take time with your children."
2. "Set your children a good example."
3. "Give your children ideals for living."
4. "Have a lot of activities planned for your children."
5. "Discipline your children."
6. "Teach them about God."

Graham, whose crusade to save New York has been extended through August 31, said he would devote the week of August 11 to teen-agers.

"If the Communist can fill a stadium with young folks, I don't see why we can't fill the garden for a week with young people," he said.

Blaming parents, churches, movies, television, and lewd literature for the unprecedented outbreak of teen-age violence in New York at the moment, the North Carolina revivalist said, "it seems that some of our teen-agers have gone wild."

He added that many teen-agers in America are troubled by the sex urge.

"Many movies have featured sex, sin, and alcohol," he declared. "Millions of teen-agers see hundreds of acts of violence on their TV screens weekly. They can buy lurid, lewd sex literature on almost any newsstand, and their minds have become saturated with the seamy side of life."

Before the service, Graham spoke to approximately 1,500 persons who were unable to get seats in the packed Garden. His wife, Ruth, spoke briefly and then the evangelist explained he met her about 14 or 15 or 16 years ago on the campus.

Graham said he was bitten by the "love bug" then but that he loves his wife a million times more now.

Attendance brought the crusade total to 1,395,300. A total of 485 new decisions for Christ raised the number for the crusade to 42,367.

Heartbeat at American Fork

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, it is always heartwarming to see a group of citizens working voluntarily to provide assistance to those who are unable to help themselves.

One such example, which I believe will interest the Members of this body, is at the Utah State Training School at American Fork, Utah. Here, for the benefit of mentally retarded youngsters, workers at the Geneva Steel plant, with the cooperation of other members of the community, are erecting a truly remarkable playground—the only one of its kind in the world.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Moana B. Bennett, from the June issue of Steelways magazine, concerning this unique project.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows.:

HEARTBEAT AT AMERICAN FORK

(By Moana B. Bennett)

(A trained reporter from Bountiful, Utah, tells how grown men found a new way to help eternal children.)

A broad grin spread over Joey's face as he heard the truck and turned to see his friends climbing out; tools in hand, ready to work on his park.

"Hi," he called as he ran toward them.

"What are you doing with that broom, Joey?" one man asked.

"Oh, I been sweeping off some cement so it'd be real clean for you to work on," the boy answered with pride.

The man smiled a little and the boy proceeded eagerly, "Can I help today, huh?" It was a child's question asked by a boy whose body had long since passed the age of six.

The two—the man and the boy—looked out on the flat 6½ acres at the entrance to

the Utah State Training School at American Fork, 25 miles from Salt Lake City. Behind them rose the sharp rugged profile of Mount Timpanogos, 12,000 feet tall. To the west they could see the stacks of the steel mill.

On that acreage 30 men from the mill are donating time and talent to the construction of the only playground and park of its kind in the world. The facilities are for those who can never grow up—mentally.

So far the State has allocated $20,000 to buy materials. Another two or three thousand dollars have been contributed largely by parents and civic groups. Last Christmas the workers in various steel plant departments collected over $800 for the cause. It was their Christmas card money.

The park first took shape in the mind of a retired smalltown physician and surgeon who became superintendent of the school a little more than 5 years ago, Dr. Vernon F. Houston. A small, energetic person with balding head and ruddy complexion, Dr. Houston believed that "his kids" had a "right to happiness" even though they may be an economic loss to society."

One day he happened upon a picture post card of the Oakland, Calif., community park dotted with nursery book characters. He showed this to a friend from the steel plant who visits the school at least once a week because his little girl is there. A blood clot had formed on her brain when she was only 4 months old.

The steel man said he would like to help build a park, something like that, and he knew others would, too.

The doctor obtained permission from the State. A committee was selected from among the volunteers to go to Oakland. A landscape artist from nearby Provo agreed to lay out the park. A well-known Utah artist and floatmaker was engaged to fashion the heads and figures. The steel company let the men borrow plant equipment they needed.

About a year ago the ground for the future playground was leveled off. Last July construction began. Steel men worked voluntarily full time when they could and on Saturdays and off hours. Already they have totaled more than 20,000 hours, work that at present labor-market rates would have cost over $50,000. All of the important underground construction is completed. About 8,000 feet of various-sized steel pipe, 4,000 feet of electric underground conduit, and 15,000 feet of underground electric cable have been installed and 150 yards of concrete poured. Above the ground about 12,000 feet of pipe and 12,000 feet of reinforcing rod have been employed.

The steelmen have adopted the playground and park as something almost their own. Pride and a desire to give are manifest on every hand.

In the words of the bricklayer working on the little red schoolhouse of nursery fame: "This is the hardest work I've ever had to do, because here I have to lay bricks crooked."

In the words of a young open-hearth worker: "Here's $3 for the playground. I wanted to give it before Christmas but I just couldn't make it. And I'd like to help build this, too."

The park will be ready for full-scale use this summer. A real train on 2,500 feet of track will transport the youngsters from one play point to another.

Dr. Houston and his construction crew of steelmakers cherish a hope that others will come to see the park, let their children use it and thus grasp more fully the problems of the mentally retarded, only part of whom carry the burden of faulty heredity.

As the man climbed back in the truck, work over for the day, Joey was still there, the same broad grin on his face.

"Look," he said, pointing to the truck. "I cleaned it for you."

It was all the thanks anybody could want.

The Retirement of George Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, in the rush of important legislation we sometimes do not give proper recognition to those who have played and are playing a very important part in keeping the ship of state on an even keel. Today I, and I am sure I speak for a large percentage of the membership of this House, want to pay my respects to a great American, a great citizen of the State of Ohio. One who has recently left Government service with a splendid record of accomplishments.

I refer, Mr. Speaker, to the Honorable George M. Humphrey, who has recently retired as Secretary of the Treasury. Secretary Humphrey sacrificed, along with his lovely and gracious wife, a lot, both financially and physically, when he performed his duties as Secretary of the Treasury. Although Secretary Humphrey wanted to resign many months ago his loyalty as an American citizen, his loyalty to the principles that he believed in, caused him to continue on until such time as it was possible for him to retire.

Mr. Speaker, Ohio is very proud of Secretary and Mrs. Humphrey and it is certainly our wish and our prayer that they will have many years to enjoy possibly a little relaxation to which they are so justly entitled.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in these remarks several articles which have appeared in some of our Ohio newspapers. These newspapers represent both political parties and they clearly demonstrate that Ohioans are very proud of Secretary and Mrs. George Humphrey:

[From the Mansfield (Ohio) News]

HUMPHREY MAKES FINE RECORD IN WASHINGTON

(By Raymond Moley)

When the rumored retirement of Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey becomes official, a fine chapter will have been written in the history of public service. A lawyer by training and an industrial manager by choice, Humphrey brought extraordinary qualifications to the Treasury. Before that, he was a man who had not shirked his civic and political responsibilities in Ohio. He made no secret of his active support of political figures like the late Senator Taft, nor of his many contributions in time and energy to the service of his political party.

As a public official in Washington he handled his public relations so well that in general he has had the best "press" of any member of the Eisenhower Cabinet. Moreover, his great influence with his colleagues and with the President has been used in critical situations in the interest of moderation and stability.

When, in 1954, there was a minor lag in business, some members of the official family, especially Harold Stassen, were pressing for a crash program of spending. It was Humphrey, with Economic Adviser Arthur Burns, who held the line against hysterical action, and the revival of business proved they were right.

The sacrifice that a businessman must make when he takes public office is not, as some would claim, a monetary loss. It is the renunciation of his right to privacy and of the freedom that goes with a job in management. In public office a man must be patient with bores and nuisances, and, above all, restrain himself in expressing opinions on public questions. What is most difficult, he must learn to ignore vicious, partisan attacks from the opposition in Congress.

Humphrey has wisely disdained to comment upon a nasty attack in the present session by Senators KEFAUVER and MORSE. They conducted an oratorical lynching bee over the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury was the owner of stock in the company of which he had been head. There was nothing specific proved or even alleged about the use of influence. It was just a general viewing with alarm.

MORSE ran through his tirade, progressing helter-skelter from Humphrey to foreign policy, to the Middle East, and the oil companies. It was a bewildering profusion of implied villainy, which he embellished by saying that the problem is "one that smells to high heaven."

The Morse nose was never offended by businessmen who in his first race for the Senate supported him generously. Nor has MORSE smelled anything wrong in the support he has more recently had from Beck and his teamsters union in Oregon. He has, in fact, recently announced that he is proud of that support.

What businessmen must realize, if their reluctance to enter public life is to be overcome, is that these demagogs are attacking them not because they really believe them to be untrustworthy or that the public approves such attacks.

Demagogs make these attacks because they want businessmen to stay out of public life. They want businessmen to believe they make poor politicians and are unsuited to public office. The tragedy is that the demagogs have succeeded to a degree in their effort because many businessmen believe that nonsense.

The consequent loss to political life and public service is very great, because with the size and cost of government mounting, and with its problems more and more closely entwined with economic affairs, there is dire need for more business in politics and government." If ever business experience were needed in public affairs, it is now.

GEORGE HUMPHREY RESIGNS AS SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Ohioan George M. Humphrey will leave his cabinet office of Secretary of the Treasury "no later than the close of the current congressional session." President Eisenhower has accepted "with profound regret" the resignation of the Cleveland man.

Humphrey's letter to the President said his resignation had become an absolute necessity because of the illness and retirement of one of the Secretary's former partners. The President prevailed on Humphrey to allow him, the President, to designate the date when the resignation would become effective because "there are a number of critical problems to be considered during this session."

In Eisenhower's letter of acceptance he wrote:

"It would be idle to attempt expression of my feelings of gratitude for the extraordinary talents that, more than 4 years ago, you brought to the Treasury Department and for the loyal and tireless way in which you have, ever since, applied them to problems of the greatest import."

Ohio Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, in commenting on Humphrey's resignation, said:

"He has been one of the truly great men of this administration. I am sorry to see him leave public service. The public had complete confidence in him, and his departure will be a great loss."

Humphrey became Secretary of the Treasury in January 1953. He termed his years in government the most "wonderful experience in my life."

Replacing him will be Robert B. Anderson who formerly held two high posts in the Defense Department.

NEWSPAPERS APPLAUD HUMPHREY'S PUBLIC SERVICE

Cleveland Press: "Integrity and wisdom are perhaps the words which best sum up Clevelander George Humphrey's distinguished years of service as Secretary of the Treasury.

"Humphrey generated confidence—in the administration, in the Congress, and among the great masses of the American people.

"He dealt in a fantastic world of figures and finance which most people can't comprehend.

"And yet somehow folks just assumed Humphrey knew what he was doing, and was doing the right things.

"Among those who trusted him completely, and leaned heavily on him for advice and counsel, was the President of the United States."

Toledo Times: "It has been a great many years since we have read so many expressions of regret as over Mr. Humphrey's resignation. Indeed, we can recall no such outpouring * * * over the departure of a public official.

"Throughout his tenure of the office, Mr. Humphrey has been the symbol of everything the Nation needs in the Treasury: a sound, conservative, courageous, honest man who stood for sanity in Government finances because he knows what it means to the Nation's economy, the welfare of the public."

Cleveland News: "President Eisenhower and leaders of Congress praise Mr. Humphrey's services in the most glowing terms.

"The Secretary deserves such tribute * * *.

"Mr. Humphrey leaves the Cabinet firm in the knowledge that he has contributed much to the financial welfare and integrity of this country. Our whole national economy has benefited immeasurably from his conservative-commonsense fiscal policies."

Columbus Dispatch: "In the 4 years of his tenure, Mr. Humphrey served both the administration and the country in an outstanding way, one which by all odds should leave its impress upon our history at a most critical time in its development.

"He has more than earned the many high assessments being made of his services, and as he retires to private life and back to participation in business affairs he can enjoy the deep satisfaction which comes to a man when he knows he has done a difficult job well."

Macmillan Asks War on Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news article entitled "Macmillan Asks War on Inflation," which was published in the New York Times of Sunday, July 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MACMILLAN ASKS WAR ON INFLATION—URGES BRITONS TO PRODUCE AND SAVE MORE—CONCERN AT RISING PRICES MOUNTS

LONDON, July 20.—Prime Minister Harold Macmillan appealed tonight to his fellow Britons to aid in the fight against inflation by increasing production and by saving.

In a speech to a Conservative Party meeting at Bedford, the Prime Minister reflected the growing concern of the Government over the effects of rising prices in Britain. He said:

"Our constant concern today is: Can prices be steadied while at the same time we maintain full employment in an expanding economy? Can we control inflation? This is the problem of our time."

Mr. Macmillan warned that inflation could price Britain out of the world market and bring back "the old nightmare of unemployment." The Government, he said, would continue to employ credit restrictions and other adjustments of monetary policy, and would retard or accelerate investment programs as long as necessary to combat rising prices.

The Prime Minister denied that there was a sudden crisis in Britain, saying: "This is a constant problem, a long-term problem." He asserted that the United States and Canada also were troubled by inflation as a result of their economic expansion.

While urging Britons to "go on saving" as a means of curbing inflation, Mr. Macmillan declared that "in the long run there is only one answer to the $64,000 question—to increase production."

The Prime Minister cautioned that the Government could not fight inflation alone. "This is a combined operation," he said. "We are all in it: Government, industry, the general public. What we need is restraint and commonsense—restraint in the demands we make and commonsense on how we spend our income."

Mr. Macmillan described Britain's general economic prospects as good. Balance of payments prospects, he said, are favorable for the year. In the first half of 1957, he reported, Britain's gold and dollar reserves rose by £88,000,000 ($246,400,000).

Mr. Macmillan said Britain's exports were up 6 percent in the first 6 months of this year and invisible earnings from shipping and oil were doing well. These, and increased earnings from main industries, such as steel, coal, and automobiles, have made it possible to leave untouched a loan from the United States Export-Import Bank or standby credit negotiated with the International Monetary Fund, he added.

The Prime Minister scoffed at Labor Party policy which, he said, was "nationalization in one form or another still its theme, going back to controls and restrictions."

The Conservatives, he said, stand for "the Government maintaining a general guidance of the economy with the minimum of interference."

Rural Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the whole House and Senate delegation from Florida are very much pleased to hear that rural development farm programs for two counties in our State, Suwannee and Washington, have been established and will shortly be moving forward actively.

In that connection, I note in the current issue of Time magazine, of August 12, 1957, an article entitled "Rural Development," subtitled "One Farm Program That Works."

I ask unanimous consent that the article from Time magazine be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RURAL DEVELOPMENT—ONE FARM PROGRAM THAT WORKS

In campaigning for billions in price supports, Washington politicos often give the impression that the subsidies benefit all of America's 5,400,000 farm families. Actually, only a minority gets them, since only five crops (wheat, corn, cotton, rice, and tobacco) are supported, and they are produced by the Nation's most prosperous farmers. Left out almost completely are some 2,500,000 marginal farmers. These underfed and ill-housed families are a farm problem that few Congressmen talk about. Last week Congress grudgingly voted $2,500,000 for their benefit, a cut of $1,500,000 below the amount President Eisenhower urgently requested this year for rural development, the Nation's newest farm program.

Rural development is one of the few farm programs that really work. Yet it gets a cold reception from politicians, because it is prompted by an unpleasant fact that they prefer to ignore. The fact: too many farmers are trying to scratch out a living on farms that are too small to be profitable. From 1930 to 1954, the average United States farm jumped from 157 to 242 acres. But with the cost of mechanization, even that is not enough to support a single family in many areas. And in hundreds of scrubby farming counties, the cultivated area per farm averages as little as 8½ acres.

To make the first broad-scale assault ever attempted on this problem, the Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Departments, at President Eisenhower's orders, selected 54 counties and 3 multicounty areas in the Southeast, Southwest, New England, along the Ohio River Valley, and in the Great Lakes area as laboratories in which to test a new idea. The big idea—to encourage local farm leaders, businessmen, clergymen, and others to take over and work out their own farm-improvement plans, tailored to their own needs, with technical and loan assistance supplied by their State and the Federal Government.

In the test counties, farmers got a choice. If they wanted to keep on farming, they were shown how to farm better, got help in buying more land and equipment. Others were helped in getting jobs in town or industry. Rural development has also persuaded industries to locate plants in distressed rural areas, and has aided farmers in starting their own businesses.

In Price County, Wis., Gordon Johnson, who was a misfit at dairying, last week started work on his first glass-fiber boat in his new company. In Monroe County, Ohio, ministers sparked a countywide poll of the labor force, which help attract a new Olin Mathieson aluminum plant. In Espanola, N. Mex., fruitgrowers were helped to build a plant to grade and pack their apples and peaches. In Choctaw County, Okla., which was losing population in droves, a new cannery, a glove factory, and a feed mill were established.

With the help of rural development, many farmers are learning to be better farmers. In Lewis County, W. Va., rural development last year helped 12 farmers buy 146 western ewes. In one season they made enough from

their lambs and wool to pay back the loan, this year will pocket a sizable profit from their almost vertical hillside pastures.

In Tippah County, Miss., farmers were giving up their homesteads at the rate of nearly 100 a year, forced out of business by the cotton acreage cuts. The county was helped by rural development to launch a brandnew dairy industry. Merchants raffled off 27 prize Jersey cows as breeding stock, put up $25,000 to start a processing plant. The plant opened February 1, paid back the loan in full June 1. A similar shift is going on in Chesterfield County, S. C., hard hit by the cutbacks in tobacco acreage, where rural development is encouraging farmers to use tobacco barns no longer needed for curing tobacco to dry out and store sweet potatoes. For many families, rural development means the amenities of living, whose lack is incomprehensible to many other Americans. In tiny La Cañada de los Alamos, N. Mex., 13 Spanish-speaking families, thanks to rural development, now have a community well, ending generations of carrying water uphill.

Surveying such accomplishments, all brought about in little over a year with a Federal cash outlay of only $2,100,000 (the cost of storing Government price-supported crop surpluses for 2 days), some enthusiasts believe that if rural development were vastly expanded, it would be an answer for the whole farm problem. But most experts point out that the plan's success is due to the fact that it relies on local and State initiative rather than a vast new Federal bureaucracy to dictate to farmers. As Editor F. W. Heath, of the Price County, Wis., weekly Bee put it last week: "At least we are beginning to realize that 'we' are the 'they' we talk about when we want something done."

A Disservice to Negroes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, freedom of the press in this great America of ours is, more than ever before, making it possible for the American people to be the best informed people in the world. Through news articles, and more particularly through outstanding editorials, the American public is given an opportunity to learn the facts that help them formulate opinions according to their individual beliefs. In the State of Florida, the land of sunshine, happy people, and outstanding progress, we are fortunate in having many newspapers that are dedicated to informing the public in the highest traditions of freedom of the press. As an example, I am submitting two editorials as published in the Lakeland Ledger, Lakeland, Fla., on Wednesday, August 7, 1957, with the hope that through recognition of editorials such as these, our newspaper editors will continue to be a voice of democracy.

The editorials follow:

PROTECTING STATE SOVEREIGNTY

Florida is taking a step to protect State sovereignty against Federal encroachmant. A commission created by the legislature for that specific purpose was formally organized this week. Former Gov. Millard F. Caldwell is its chairman, former Gov. Doyle E. Carlton is its vice chairman, and Cody Fowler, Tampa lawyer who is a former president of the American Bar Association, is one of the members.

If it were a commission of lesser men, it might turn out to be only a shotgun commission firing away at everything in general and hitting nothing in particular.

Chairman Caldwell is not a man to dawdle around over such an assignment. He is likely to put a great deal of vigor into it. In due time, therefore, a report getting down to cases may reasonably be expected.

The commission has a two-phases assignment. First, according to the language of the legislative measure, it is supposed to alert the people to the acts of the Federal Governmen which invade the fields of State sovereignty. Second, it is to work toward an amendment to the United States Constitution that would give clear delineation to State rights and underscore the limitations of power vested in the Federal Government.

The Supreme Court ruling calling for integration in public schools is, of course, one of the basic developments that prompted creation of the commission.

Such drawing of the line between Federal and State powers will serve the worthy purpose of keeping before the people one of the soundest features of our American system of government. The men who drew up and adoped the Constitution sought to establish a bulwark against concentration of great power in the Federal Government.

It was their conviction that our Republic could thrive best as a closely united federation of States whose people would be answerable to the Federal Government as well as to State government, but with the States preserving their individual identities and enjoying specific sovereignty.

State sovereignty gives the American people the localized government that is an integral part of American democracy. It is essential that this localized government be preserved and protected. This can be done by means of aggressive and constant articulation such as is expected of the Florida commission now going to work.

A DISSERVICE TO NEGROES

Censoring of Stephen Foster songs is a disservice to Negroes to the extent that the censoring implies quite broadly that there is something disgraceful about being a Negro.

There is nothing disgraceful about having black skin, yellow skin, white skin or any other color of skin. All people were made in the image of God and no individual has had an opportunity to choose a color for his skin. No man should take credit or blame for the color of his skin.

The best Negro citizens have strong racial pride. They know that if Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Mary McLeod Bethune and others of their race have been able to achieve international fame against great odds, they have a chance to succeed in this day of much greater opportunity.

The Stephen Foster songs are primarily sentimental songs that express affection for the oldtime Negroes of plantation days.

True, those songs recall the period of slavery but in doing so they reflect upon white people, not Negroes, enslavement of humans being one of the most vicious violations of which mankind has been guilty.

We seriously doubt that the censoring of Stephen Foster songs was done at the behest of Negroes. We suspect that some starry-eyed do-gooders bogged down in sentimentality or warped by the crusading spirit applied the pressure to get the censoring done.

This portion of the world now called the United States was occupied by people with red skin until they were exploited and killed off by adventurers with white skin who staked out claims in the name of freedom. We are compelled to recognize this if we take an honest look at history.

Further, it was white exploiters who brought the first Negro slaves to the United States.

So, when the Stephen Foster songs take us back to the era of slavery, they do not take us back to a condition that reflects upon Negroes.

The Stephen Foster songs were written out of a warm heart and the white people who have sung them through the decades have sung them with warm hearts.

Address by Mr. Ralph H. Stone, Chief Benefits Director, United States Veterans' Administration, Washington, D. C., at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 through July 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the 38th annual encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 through July 14, there were several outstanding addresses delivered by prominent officials of the Federal Government in keeping with the theme of the encampment "Defense Means Freedom."

On July 12, 1957, the following address was delivered by Mr. Ralph H. Stone, Chief Benefits Director, United States Veterans' Administration, Washington, D. C.:

TEXT OF REMARKS BY MR. RALPH H. STONE, CHIEF BENEFITS DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION, WASHINGTON, D. C., AT 38TH ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, HARRISBURG, PA.

It's a real privilege to join you today for your 38th annual encampment.

A real privilege, because I happen to enjoy the warm and friendly company of my good friends of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

A real privilege, because you men who know war at firsthand, you men who have fought tyranny on battlefields all over the world, have gained a keener-than-average appreciation of freedom, of the fortitude and understanding it takes to maintain freedom, and to maintain a just and honorable peace in these times of trouble.

I am struck by the deep truth of the theme you have selected for your encampment, "Defense Means Freedom."

Yes, defense does mean freedom. And it also means peace. For the two go hand in hand.

We are living in a world where strength counts. A strong America, and America of adequate defense, an America that is listened to when it raises its voice in the cause of freedom, and in the cause of peace.

Defense means freedom. And there's something else that also means freedom, the American veteran, and his notable contri-

butions to our way of life, contributions that seem to grow with the passing years.

And that's the story I would like to talk about today, the contributions of our veterans to the cause of American freedom.

When I was much younger, there was a Scandinavian playwright who was all the rage, and rightly so, I believe, for he espoused some irrefutable truths. But the plays of Henrik Ibsen aren't read so much any more, and it's a pity.

Well, in one of his plays, he had some wise words to say about freedom, words I want you to hear because I feel they apply to our veterans of today. He said this:

"You should never wear your best trousers when you go out to fight for freedom and truth."

What he meant is that freedom never is handed to you on a silver platter. It must be fought for and defended and nurtured and encouraged, with all our strength and all our might and all our hearts.

As Ibsen would put it, you can't wear your Sunday trousers when it comes to freedom, for they're for sitting back and relaxing. You must wear your work trousers, the kind of a lot of you veterans put on when you paint the woodwork of your house or weed the vegetables growing in the backyard, or approach the Congress on needed veteran legislation.

You must work for freedom, and you must work hard. Now, in just which ways have our veterans been working in freedom's cause? Too many to describe them all, so let me dwell on two.

First, there's the battlefront of education.

Education, of any nature, serves as a strong bulwark of freedom. The entire history of mankind proves time and again that freedom is in jeopardy when ignorance pervades a nation, and that freedom is strengthened when knowledge and enlightenment are allowed to spread their light unfettered.

And second, there's the battlefront of stability.

Yes; stability, too, is a component of freedom, stability of individuals as well as nations. For stability protects against idle discontent that, like a feather, blows first this way and then that. As we have seen in our own lifetime, lack of stability can, and has opened the doors to dictatorship, to charlantanism, to demagoguery.

Education and stability. Two keystones of American freedom.

How have the veterans of America, an army in work pants more than 22,500,000 strong, contributed to our country's freedom, in terms of education and in terms of stability?

How have they, in time of peace, served to preserve the freedom for which they fought in time of war?

Let's first look into the matter of education.

Some day in the dim future, when historians sit down to write the history of the mid-20th century, they're going to give it two names: the age of the atom, of course; and also the age of education. And when they look into the background of the age of education, one fact will stand out clearly and unmistakably:

Veterans played a major part in bringing it to pass.

For in this country today, there are more than 10 million veterans who have furthered their education through 2 GI bills, 1 for those with World War II service, and the other for Korea veterans, and through 2 programs of vocational rehabilitation for the disabled.

Take 10 million veterans, provide them with an education, and you're bound to create a lasting impact upon the face of the Nation. And here's what has happened:

Because of GI training, veterans have raised their educational level to better than 4 years of high school, which means that the average veteran has been exposed to college and all the benefits wrought by college training. What of the average nonveteran male, same age? You'll find not a high-school graduate, not a college trainee, but a man who hasn't gone beyond the second year of high school.

Because of GI training, our colleges were forced to expand their facilities to accommodate the postwar flood of veterans. And it's well they did, for without expansion, our colleges simply could not accommodate all the hundreds of thousands of young people today seeking a higher education.

Because of GI training, the adults of this country have become a generation of learners, of seekers of knowledge. If adult veterans could go to school, why not adult nonveterans? And so today, adult education in America is at least double what it was before the war.

Because of GI training, America is better able to cope with its tremendous need for technologists, as it emerges in a world where technology is synonymous with progress. Where would our country be without the 400,000 engineers, 100,000 scientists, one-half million skilled craftsmen who acquired their learning under the GI bill?

And because of GI training, our veterans have learned to think. Education and training is far more than learning a set of skills. It is learning to think, to reason, to inquire. And good thinking, clear thinking, is a prerequisite to good citizenship.

Yes; good thinking, clear thinking, also is a means to the preservation of freedom. Freemen are thinking men.

Now, what about the other keystone of freedom, the corner post of stability?

Stability isn't an easy attribute to measure, but I believe it can be done if we examine the use veterans have made of another benefit: the GI loan program.

Five million veterans have become American homeowners with the assistance of GI loans. As all you homeowners know, running your home, keeping things on an even financial keel, involves a great deal of responsibility. Plus good judgment. Plus the ability to keep a level head.

Or, in a word—stability.

So the very fact of 5 million veteran homeowners connotes stability, and lots of it. But let's look a little deeper into GI home ownership. What do we find?

We find that already more than 1 million veterans have repaid their GI loan obligations in full. That's recognizing responsibility. That's stability.

And we find that veterans have achieved a record that's hard to match in meeting their GI loan payments. Better than 99 percent are paying regularly, every month, right on time, fully aware of the financial responsibilities they have assumed. And less than 1 percent have defaulted to the point where the Government has had to make good its guarantee to the lender.

Better than 99 percent meeting their payments on the nose. How's that for responsibility? For stability?

There's still more to the picture, as we delve even deeper.

The Veterans' Administration conducted a study recently, and found that the average veteran was paying out for total monthly housing costs only 20 percent of his monthly income. Which means he has had the good sense not to overextend himself.

The survey also found that after making his down payment and taking care of settlement fees, he still had a nest egg in the bank, equal to about 10 percent of the amount of his loan. Which means he's keeping a weather eye on the future; he's not living for today alone.

Those facts, too, add up to stability, unmatched stability.

Yes; that's the sort of stability which contributes to the freedom of America. When such a large segment of our population, our 5 million GI homeowners, demonstrate such a sound sense of responsibility, of stability, how could they ever become pawns of strange ideologies, of will-o'-the-wisp demagogs?

They couldn't, my friends. They couldn't.

Education and stability are just two elements of freedom. The veterans of America have excelled in these, and in many more as well. They are our bulwark of freedom. They are the standard bearers of our way of life.

Fighters for freedom, in work pants, as Ibsen would put it. That doesn't necessarily mean they're out on the front lines pamphleteering, as did Tom Paine of old, or manning the guns, as did the men who fought under George Washington.

No; our veterans are fighters for freedom in another sense. By their day-to-day actions they are furthering the cause of freedom, each in his own way. By getting an education, they are fostering freedom. By growing roots in their communities as homeowners, they are fostering freedom. By taking an active interest in the world about them, in their communities, in their States, in their Federal Government, they are fostering freedom. By raising their children to believe in the same ideals for which they fought in time of war, they are fostering freedom.

Yes; they are practitioners of freedom, in everyday workpants. For them, freedom isn't something to be taken off the top shelf and dusted off on the Fourth of July or on Veteran's Day, and then put back to molder for another year. Instead, freedom is a way of life, to be lived and cherished every day, and every week, and every month, and every year.

Defense means freedom. And so do our veterans mean freedom.

This building, in which we have gathered, is built on strong, firm foundations. We know this is so, and we don't give it a second thought. We don't look around apprehensively, every once in a while, to see whether any new cracks have developed.

It's something like that with our veterans, and with freedom. Our veterans are an element, an important element, in freedom's foundation. Only sometimes we are inclined to take them, and their contributions, for granted.

So it's good to remind ourselves, as we have done today, of their many and lasting contributions to America and to the principles for which America stands. It's good to remember that the freedom, which we enjoy as a way of life, we owe at least in part to them.

I salute them, the veterans of America, fighters for freedom in war, and fighters for freedom in peace.

Thank you.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include a copy of my column Keenotes, which was released today. The article follows:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

Next to golf, circumventing the intent of Congress would seem to be a favorite pastime of the executive branch of the Government. A number of instances spring to mind,

such as when, several years ago, Congress appropriated more funds to build up the Air Force than the Department of Defense had requested. The Secretary of Defense bluntly stated that he would not make use of the money. This year, this same Secretary has sung quite a different tune as the economy-minded 85th Congress has made deep cuts in his budget requests for fiscal 1958.

Closer to home, there is the instance of the Trade Agreements Extension Act in which authority was granted the President to limit imports of crude and residual fuel oil when these imports exceed the 1954 levels. Although Members of Congress from West Virginia and other coal-and-oil-producing States have pleaded for the exercise of this authority, the administration vainly continues to hope for voluntary compliance on the part of the big oil importers while the tide of foreign oil rises higher and engulfs the eastern markets for domestic oil and West Virginia's coal.

Now a fresh instance of the administration's thwarting of congressional intent has occurred. When the 85th Congress passed the Housing Act of 1957, one of the important changes in our housing laws was the amendment lowering downpayments on homes built under the FHA home-building program. There was urgent purpose behind this legislative act.

With our rapidly growing population, millions of American families need and wish to purchase homes. The majority of these are, I venture to say, the families of veterans—young families who have not yet had the time to build up much in the way of cash reserves.

According to the law, of course, the veteran is supposed to be able to get a loan at 4½-percent interest. It is, however, a known fact that under the administration's tight-money policy such loans have been almost impossible to obtain for some little while. Consequently, the only course left open to the veteran has been to buy under FHA.

Then there is the great number of families in moderate circumstances and, like the veteran, without much ready cash. Would-be home purchasers too, many of these families have been unable to meet the downpayments required under the previous law.

This in turn has had a depressant effect upon the home-building industry which, last year, declined more than 20 percent and, so far this year, has fallen off another 16 percent. Permitted to continue, this decline could not only create a serious housing shortage throughout the Nation, but will have an adverse effect upon the entire economy, for not only is the home-building industry one of the Nation's largest industries, giving employment to tens of thousands, but it is also the principal market for the products of many other industries, glass, tile, aluminum, lumber, and electrical appliances, to name a few.

To meet this situation, this Congress therefore amended the Housing Act to provide lower downpayments under the FHA program, and to bring FHA schedules more in line with VA schedules. As written into the new law, Congress said the cash downpayment on a $10,000 home would be $300 instead of the $700 previously required; and $600 on a $12,000 home as against the previous $1,200.

Last week, after a considerable delay, the Federal Housing Administration announced that these lower downpayments on homes financed through Government-insured loans were in effect. But what has shocked Washington is the announcement by FHA that at the same time that it was lowering the cash downpayment requirements, it was increasing the interest rate on these loans from 5 to 5¼ percent.

Thus, while Congress has sought to make it easier for the average citizen to own his own home, the administration has found a way to saddle him with a heavier debt. The increase of one-fourth percent in the interest rate—the second, by the way, that has occurred in the past 8 months—has been roughly estimated to raise the cost of a $12,000 home by some $700 over the average 30-year life of the loan. Seven hundred dollars is a lot of money to people in modest circumstances.

The excuse given for this rise in interest rates is that it was necessary to keep FHA mortgage loans competitive with other demands in the present tight money market. The effect may well be to boost interest rates all along the line to meet other financing demands. And, of course, a very obvious effect is again to enrich the banker and broker at the expense of the average citizen.

Obvious, too, is the fact that higher interest rates add materially to the cost of doing business and hence to the cost of living. The inflationary spiral soars ever higher, and the vast majority of American families are plunging deeper and deeper into debt as they try to stretch fixed incomes or next month's pay envelope to meet today's high prices.

There would, I feel, be a stronger ring of sincerity to the administration's protestations of concern over inflation if the means which it elects to use to control the constantly rising cost of living did not invariably shift a still greater share of the burden upon the consumer, the worker, the salaried employee, the small-business man and retired individuals living on pensions and annuities.

Meanwhile, the Congress must find a way to see that the laws it enacts for the benefit of the general public are not circumvented or nullified by administrative interpretation and regulation.

Honesty in Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, there are many wrong impressions regarding how the finances of a labor union are handled.

Mr. I. W. Abel, international secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL–CIO, has in a very concise story explained the controls and the workings of his office.

Unfortunately, the papers play up the dishonesty much more than they portray the honesty of the great number of good, clean unions.

Mr. Abel's statement, which appeared in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph on Wednesday, August 7, 1957, follows:

"LABOR'S OWN VIEWS: HONESTY IN UNIONS

The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph invited several leaders of labor in the Pittsburgh region to present their point of view to its readers. The subjects on which they have written were of their own choosing. Today's contribution is by I. W. Abel, international secretary-treasurer, United Steelworkers of America, AFL–CIO. We probably could get into an interminable debate by raising the question of whether honesty can be legislated. I have always liked an old truism on honesty I read many years ago. It goes like this:

"Honesty is not the best policy. It isn't any kind of policy. It's a virtue practiced for its own self. The man who does not steal because he might be caught is not honest. He is merely discreet."

All this, of course, is pertinent in light of the so-called McClellan committee's findings about certain union officials. It is all too easy to attribute the evils of a few to the many.

Do all unions operate their financial affairs so loosely, so negligently as to permit such conduct by officials?

The answer obviously is "No."

As a financial officer of a rather large and well-known union, the United Steelworkers of America, I have been invited to write this column for the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph.

The subject was not specified, but I propose to write about our union's financial practices, with which I live daily.

In the United Steelworkers of America we believe our code of ethical practices does a most efficient and effective job. In fact, we have informed Senator MCCLELLAN that he will have our fullest cooperation if his committee cares to look us over.

I should like to note that this course of conduct is not the outgrowth of any present excitement in Washington. Our union has always lived by this code.

The first step we took almost 20 years ago was to employ an outside auditing firm. This firm is Main & Co., nationally prominent, certified public accountants, which audits many, many businesses, including many steel companies.

The firm audits our books twice a year. The published audit goes to every local union, to the homes of 1,250,000 members through Steel Labor, to the Nation's press, Senators, Congressmen, governors—in fact, to anyone interested.

Actually, anyone who cares to investigate the financial accounts of the United Steelworkers of America need go no farther than the nearest public library.

We operate in a goldfish bowl. We have nothing to hide.

Likewise, the financial affairs of our 3,000 local unions are audited by their own trustees and again by a trained staff of auditors from the international office.

Salaries of all elected officers and executive board members are set by international convention. Salaries or wage rates and expense allowances of all personnel are subject to approval and review by the 33-man international executive board, as required by the international constitution.

Investments are made only in the name of the union and such investments are held by a bank or trust company as agent.

All financial officers of the United Steelworkers are covered by fidelity bonds.

Financial records are safely maintained by the elected financial officers for a period not less than applicable statutes of limitations. At the International office such records are microfilmed.

All financial contracts or major expenditures are subject to prior authorization by the union's executive board.

All records of accounts are in accordance with generally accepted principles of accounting, as recommended by Main & Co.

To meet NLRB requirements we have regularly filed a complete financial report with the Bureau of Labor Standards and in addition, we have regularly filed similar financial reports with the Internal Revenue Department in order to maintain our tax exempt status. The reports to these two departments cover not only our international office but our local unions as well and total somewhere in the neighborhood of 55,000 notarized reports annually.

It has always been the policy of the United Steelworkers of America that the responsibility for administration of insurance and pension programs is that of the employers. The union's responsibility is that of negotiating such programs and seeing to it that they are properly funded.

Then, too, the USW code provides three definite prohibitions:

1. No loans to officers and employees.

2. No fees of any nature whatsoever may be accepted or paid by officers and employes where a financial transaction of the union is involved.

3. No major financial contracts can be let without securing competitive bids.

There are many, many more principles in our ethical code—all scrupulously observed.

But these highlights might help others to understand why our union is proud of the honest and democratic manner in which it now operates and has operated since its inception.

Fine Work in Conservation Performed by Former Gov. Oswald West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in 1958 the Nation will mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of a great American, President Theodore Roosevelt. I have been honored with an appointment on the National Committee of Sponsors of this historic event.

My own particular interest in the career of Theodore Roosevelt stems from his great and abiding championing of the protection of our natural resources. He was one of our first great conservationists.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief tribute written by Theodore Roosevelt himself, and published in Outlook magazine for September 1911, which heralds the fine work in conservation performed by Gov. Oswald West, of the State of Oregon.

Ex-Governor West is still a resident of my home city of Portland, and he continues to retain his zealous interest in such resources as timber, soil, water, wildlife, and minerals.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEOPLE OF THE PACIFIC COAST

(By Theodore Roosevelt)

In Oregon I had two small experiences which perhaps will illustrate what I mean when I speak of the development of the cultural life on the coast, of the development of the kind of citizenship that realizes the need of trying to make life more beautiful and satisfactory for the individual, at the same time that we try to make the individual stronger, and to do what we can toward bringing about the reign of righteousness and justice as between individuals.

In Governor West, of Oregon, I found a man more intelligently alive to the beauty of nature and of harmless wildlife, more eagerly desirous to avoid the wanton and brutal defacement and destruction of wild nature, and more keenly appreciative of how much this natural beauty should mean to civilized mankind, than almost any other man I have ever met holding high political position. * * * He desires to preserve for all time our natural resources, the woods, the water, the soil, which a selfish and short-sighted greed seeks to exploit in such fashion as to run them, and thereby to leave our children and our children's children heirs only to an exhausted and impoverished inheritance; he desires also to preserve, for sheer love of their beauty and interest, the wild creatures of woodland and mountain, of marsh and lake and seacoast; and while he puts the economic need first, the need of permanently bettering the material well-being of our people being the foundation purpose of the movement, he also puts in prominent position the desirability of adding to our stock of popular pleasure and interest the inexhaustible delight that comes from knowing and loving, in and for itself, the wealth of beauty in bird and tree and blossom. The lack of power to take joy in outdoor nature is as real a misfortune as the lack of power to take joy in books.

Disturbing Developments in Okinawa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the House should take notice of two disturbing developments that threaten sovereignty over the island of Okinawa, America's most potent military fortress in the troubled Far East.

The first development concerns last Sunday's election for 30 council seats in the capital city, Naha. The outcome favored the anti-American and pro-Communist Mayor Kemejiro Senaga. The mayor was elected in a freak three-way race last Christmas Day. His pro-Red People's Party won 12 seats—not a majority as compared with the 17 seats and one neutral seat won by the anti-Senaga Conservatives, but enough seats to block a two-thirds majority vote for his ouster.

Senaga's election statement followed the usual Marxist pattern, "We hope America will revise its undemocratic policy toward Okinawa and meet the wishes of the people as expressed at the polls."

The fact is, as I personally observed on two visits to the island on my recent Far East trip, the people of Okinawa never had it so good, economically. Their economic level is much higher than under the Japanese. In 1939 the norm in Okinawa was 69 percent of the Japanese norm; today it is 115 percent of the Japanese norm. The island's per capita income has increased from $157 to $181 during fiscal 1956–57. I heard no serious talk in Okinawa about reverting to the days of paying tribute to the old Emperors of China and to the old overlords of Japan. I doubt that those who voted for Mayor Senaga really want to follow him into the slave labor camps and conditions of the Communist world.

The second disturbing development is the growth of the so-called Reversion Movement within Japan. Minority party politicians have been advocating the return of Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty. A segment of the Japanese press has been putting on a synthetic campaign to make this an issue. Before Premier Kishi's June visit to this country for talks with President Eisenhower, they tried to make it appear that his entire mission would fail unless he returned with Okinawa bulging in his briefcase. Of course, this was gross exaggeration, as was revealed when the terms of the communique were announced. The Kishi mission was a great success, without Okinawa. The premier obtained many concessions, talking with the President from the vantage point of equality.

During the discussions, the Japanese delegation did bring up the subject by suggesting that the Japanese flag be flown side-by-side with the Stars and Stripes over the island. Word of this proposal was not contained in the comminque, but it leaked out and reached the Far East, ironically, on July 4. I put it mildly when I say that American diplomats and military men who are stationed in that part of the world to defend the free world against Communist aggression did not like the idea. Asked to comment, I said that the flag suggestion was "premature to say the least." And as for returning Okinawa before it has served its purpose in the free-world struggle, I said we would be foolhardy if we did so. In short, we have been magnanimous victors in our postwar dealings with Japan; but we need not be magnanimous fools.

One American officer who had fought on the Hagushi beachhead on Easter Sunday, April 1, 1945, made this hard remark:

It would be like giving the White House back to the British, now that we've fixed it up.

Mr. Speaker, when the outcome of last Sunday's vote was announced one Japanese newspaper interpreted it as evidence that the people of Okinawa want to be returned to Japanese sovereignty. It is not only interesting but significant that Mayor Senaga and this segment of the Japanese press arrived at the same conclusion—a conclusion that is anti-American in most brazen and barefaced fashion. When it comes to Okinawa, our battle-won and blood-bought fortress of the Far East, the theme songs we hear from Moscow and a segment of Tokyo sound in perfect harmony and consonance.

Mr. Marvin L. Stone, Far East director of the International News Service, appeared on a panel discussion which I conducted in Tokyo to discuss the problems in the Orient. He predicted on that program that we can expect to hear more from the Reversion Movement in Japan within the next 2 years. He commented further, that while he believed that the Japanese Government understood the necessity of continued United States control and sovereignty, it had failed public relationswise in getting over the point to the Japanese people.

While I was in Japan, a demonstration was staged in front of the American Embassy protesting the extension of runways at a United States airbase. There were some Communists in the crowd. The signs read: "Yankee monkeys, get out of Japan and Okinawa." We are already withdrawing large con-

tingents of our Armed Forces from Japan. In fact, the withdrawal had been announced nearly 2 weeks before this July 9 demonstration. The significance of this slogan is that Okinawa was linked with Japan proper. We may expect more of this kind of agitation with reference to Okinawa, as time goes on.

It is therefore important, I believe, for us to make our position on this issue crystal clear before anybody, whether in Okinawa, Japan, Peking or Moscow, gets any delusive ideas. We should state bluntly that insofar as the United States is concerned, Okinawa is not a matter for barter or bickering at this time in the light of our obligations for our own defense and the defense of the free world.

This way my fifth stop at Okinawa; first, in 1952, during the Korean war when our B–29's based on Okinawa, were ranging all over the battle area up to the Yalu River, under the command of General Ralph Stirley; then in 1956 with the Air Force Symphonic Band and guest-conducted two concerts there. In my visit last month, I returned with a much stronger feeling than ever before that, unless there is an unexpected and radical shift in world affairs, we will have to maintain that strategic base at least for this generation and perhaps for the next and the next.

Okinawa is indipsensable today for our defenses in the Far East. Its planes can cover a 2,500-mile radius, fanning out from Borneo and Burma; to Tibet and beyond the Great Wall of China to Mongolia, and north to Vladivostok and Manchuria and beyond. Within that radius live the masses of Asia. Remember that from Okinawa, we can now exercise air control over one-third of the people of the world—both offensively and defensively.

Okinawa is much more strategically located than Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines, where we also have bases, but on foreign soil. Taiwan is too close to the mainland to have sufficient warning of air attack if the Chinese Reds should unleash their jets from the complex of airfields across the Strait of Formosa. The alert time there is only 15 minutes as compared with the 45 minutes that Okinawa enjoys. The only other airbase located on soil under indisputable American sovereignty—aside from Okinawa—is Guam, and Guam is 1,400 miles farther away from the vital Asiatic target areas than is Okinawa.

At the end of the runway at Kadena airport where my planes landed on my various trips to Okinawa, several thousand Americans lost their lives coming ashore in the initial assault wave. Nor can I forget that 12,000 were killed and another 30,000 wounded or missing before that 67-mile-long strip of Pacific real estate was secured. Ernie Pyle, the GI's favorite war correspondent lost his life there in that last great battle of World War II. So did Lt. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, commander of the 10th Army.

Ernie Pyle is buried today in Punch Bowl National Cemetery overlooking Pearl Harbor. This is another link in the minds of Americans between Okinawa and that infamous Sunday sneak attack upon American territory.

No matter how many slogans Japanese Communists and other extremists compose and wave aloft, I doubt that the American people will be inclined to yield Okinawa until Pearl Harbor has faded further back in their memories. And that will be considerable more time than has elapsed since December 7, 1941—that day of infamy.

Let us keep this mighty fortress in our arsenal in the Far East under the strong arm of Uncle Sam as long as we need it.

Lack of Veterans' Hospital Facilities in Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SIKES, Mr. Speaker, the population of the great Sunshine State of Florida is growing at the rate of over 3,000 people per week. Many of these new residents that are choosing the wonders of Florida as a homesite are veterans who have defended our country in the time of need. Florida's already overcrowded veterans' hospitals are becoming faced with an even greater shortage of space and facilities. I am of the sincere conviction that if a man or woman is willing to serve his or her country when the call to arms is sounded, it is the responsibility of the American Government to see that these men and women are afforded the best possible hospital facilities. In line with this, I would like to submit a letter and resolution from the Department of Florida Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States that point out the very inadequate hospital facilities offered our veterans in Florida.

The letter and resolution follow:

DEPARTMENT OF FLORIDA,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
August 5, 1957.

Hon. ROBERT SIKES,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN SIKES: There is enclosed herewith a resolution approved unanimously on July 28 by the council of administration of the Florida Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It is my honest belief that this resolution will receive the unanimous approval of the national encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to be held in Miami Beach this month.

Our department commander, Charles A. Whiteacre, of Hialeah, wishes me to assure you that our organization will give you every possible support in all your efforts to make the expression of this resolution a reality. May I personally urge you to bend every effort to the realization of this goal.

We all know the sad VA hospital situation in the State of Florida, and it is our hope and prayer that the powers that be, who have thus far successfully obstructed decent treatment and consideration of all veterans who might be in our State who need hospitalization, can be prevailed upon to see both the justice and the necessity for the additional hospital facilities requested in this resolution.

Sincerely yours,

M. D. WADE, Sr.,
Adjutant-Quartermaster.

RESOLUTION, DEPARTMENT OF FLORIDA, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Whereas the hospitalization of war veterans by the Veterans' Administration has been established by law as a matter of right for the service-connected disabled, and as a matter of availability of beds for those non-service-connected war veterans who are unable to defray the cost of hospitalization; and

Whereas the State of Florida is attracting disabled and elderly war veterans by the thousands every year, who are in need of VA hospital facilities, and that while all VA hospitals in Florida are full to capacity, there are constantly as many men waiting for a bed as there are beds already available, causing abnormally swollen waiting lists; and

Whereas it has been firmly established by testimony before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee in February of 1957 that the Florida VA hospital situation is the most acute in the Nation, and notwithstanding this acute need for more hospital beds, the record shows that the number of available beds in Florida is now less than it was 10 years ago: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the council of administration, Department of Florida, VFW, in meeting assembled at Ocala, Fla., this 28th day of July 1957, That we again urge our congressional delegation to leave no stone unturned in their united efforts to increase the bed-space allotments at VA, Bay Pines, Fla., and do hereby declare the expansion of Bay Pines of the foremost priority and necessity, and earnestly request the full endorsement of this position by the VFW national convention to convene at Miami Beach in August of 1957; and be it further

Resolved, That while additional GM and S beds are desperately at VAC Bay Pines, we declare that second priority and necessity in Florida is the immediate authorization and construction of the 1,000-bed neuropsychiatric hospital at Gainesville, and thirdly, the complete replacement and enlarging of the facility at Coral Gables, Fla.

Approved by the council of administration, Department of Florida, VFW, the 28th day of July 1957.

CHARLES A. WHITEACRE,
Department Commander.

Attest:

M. D. WADE, Sr.
Department Adjutant.

Tito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, while there was nothing startling in the news of the Tito-Khrushchev meeting in Rumania, each headline of this kind gives added prominence to the questionable American policy toward Yugoslavia. Thanks to the announcement of the new bond of friendship that was welded at last week's meeting between the two Red gangsters, another wave of indignation

has arisen over the State Department's program of giving millions of dollars in vital materials, including jet aircraft, to the Butcher of Belgrade.

Actually, only the most naive could see in Tito's desired independence of Moscow any advantage to the free world. Tito has been a Red fanatic for at least four decades. As Josip Broz, he fought in the Red army in the Russian Civil War in 1918–20. He was presumed to be an agent of the Cominform when he returned to his native Croatia several years later. From 1929 to 1934 he served a jail sentence as a political agitator, and through Soviet backing he was able to rise to power during World War II.

Already a virtual dictator, Tito won a major electoral victory in November 1945 as head of the Communist-dominated National Labor Front, whose candidates were the only ones permitted to run in the election. Then came the execution of Draja Mikhailovich, the imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinac, and whatever other blood-letting was required to maintain Tito's position.

Except for his insistence that he has been independent of the Kremlin, Tito's attitude has always been consistent enough for the world to recognize that there is no place in civilized society for him. Even during conferences with representatives of this country, he made no attempt to don robes of respectability or to hide the bloodstains on his hands that came with his domestic purges and in the murder of United States airmen. Despite his arrogance, Tito continues as a beneficiary of American largesse.

Although there is no relief for American taxpayers, United States Treasury funds are made available to one of the most defiant of all the leaders of the Communist world, the bloc which the foreign-aid program was presumably set up to oppose. Now that he has again drunk a toast to world communism with Khrushchev, perhaps the State Department will finally be forced to reverse its policy of assisting him to carry out his program of brutality and terror. Otherwise it will be all the more difficult for us to convince the rest of the world that what Tito and Khrushchev sup is a dangerous potion.

A Flag for Members of the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, a little over a year ago I introduced House Resolution 536 which would provide for a flag for Members of the House of Representatives. The resolution was reported out of the Committee on House Administration late in the second session of the 84th Congress but was not acted upon. A similar resolution (H. Res. 386) was introduced several days ago.

In an extension of remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 13, 1956, on page A4729, I gave an account of the manner in which the proposed flag had been designed.

Since the introduction of the original resolution a number of the flags have been produced and used by several Members of the House in anticipation that the flag might become official for Members of the House. It was flown at the yard on the steamship *Matsonia* on its trip from Newport News to New York when it was delivered by the shipyard to its owners and a number of Members of the House were on board. It has flown on the boats owned by several Members of the House. It may be seen in the offices of several Members.

Use of the flag to the limited extent indicated has probably preempted the design until such time as the House might desire to make it an official emblem of its Members. The design symbolizes some of the finest qualities of the House and its membership. I hope that action may be taken to adopt the resolution.

The Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court of the United States has come under criticism from many quarters—from the people, the press, and the Congress. Beyond a question of a doubt, this criticism is justified. The Supreme Court has prostituted the organic law of this land and arrogated unto itself the legislative functions of the Congress. It has interpreted law that is not and written laws that should not be written. It has given and comfort to the enemy and has turned loose upon helpless people of this Nation bloodthirsty criminals and insatiable sex maniacs. The Communist Daily Worker has proclaimed the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, on the floor of this Congress I have said before and I say now I have no respect for the present membership of the Court. The disgrace in which they live is the handiwork of their own doing. Lawyers and scholars alike have no confidence in its deliberations. It composes the most motley makeup of political hitchhikers and pseudosocialists since the founding of this Republic. Under no stretch of the imagination could the confidence of the American people be restored to this body unless and until the majority take their black robes and disappear into the black oblivion which will inevitably be their ultimate resting places.

Despite all of these things, seldom does a Federal judge take his pen and write a bill of particulars against their acts of omission and of commission. However, when one does, it is time for us to take note. One such distinguished jurist is George Bell Timmerman, Federal district judge for South Carolina. He has indicted them for the most brazen neglect of duty and of breach of faith to law and precedent.

Mr. Speaker, each Member of Congress should read this masterpiece which I enclose herewith for future generations to read. Somewhere we must stop this Court. Judge Timmerman's remarks remind us of this responsibility. His remarks follow:

ADDRESS OF GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, SR.,
BEFORE THE ROTARY CLUB OF THOMSON, GA.

I shall talk briefly about our form of government, its background, its origin, and the efforts that have been made and are being made to change it. What I shall say will be the expression of my own personal views and is not to be considered an official statement.

Our America was settled by hardy, courageous, and venturesome Europeans, whose aspirations were to escape European despotisms and to gain a refuge for religious liberty.

The tyrannies from which they fled pursued them and, against them, they rebelled. The result was the Revolutionary War. On one side was the loosely organized colonies and on the other mighty England.

The war ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, a direct result of British defeats at Cowpens and Kings Mountain. When the war was over the people of the former colonies, then citizens of sovereign States, sought means of uniting the States for common defense and other mutual advantages. They did not intend to create another tyrannical government that would rob them and their posterity of the right of local self-government.

Following much thought and extended debate a compact among the sovereign States emerged. Upon its ratification, it became the Constitution of the United States.

However, before final ratification there was more debate respecting its merits and the implications of its various provisions. Many foresaw abuse of the powers granted the Supreme Court. Others took a more optimistic view. They thought that no Supreme Court would exceed its intended functions. Recently we have learned that such optimism was unjustified, regrettably so.

The established Government is a Republic, sometimes called a constitutional democracy. It is unique because of the dual sovereignty involved, but without which the Union would not have been formed at the time it was formed.

Almost from the beginning efforts were made to destroy the people's right of local self-government, otherwise sometimes spoken of as States rights, and to centralize total power in the Federal Government. That effort continues even to this day, and it is now better organized and better financed than ever before; and, whether or not they are willing to face up to it, the liberties of the people are now at stake.

The Supreme Court has been construing the Constitution so as to make of it a protective shield for the criminally disposed and disloyal elements in our population and it has been reading meanings into the Constitution and out of it that discriminate against white citizens, especially those of the so-called deep South. If continued, this discrimination will eventually adversely affect the white populations of all the States of the Union, North, East, South, and West.

As illustrative of what is going on, I direct attention to some fairly recent court opinions.

On December 30, 1947, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals held, and the Supreme Court sanctioned the holding, that acts of

the Democratic Party in South Carolina constituted State action. Here is the Court's own language. "The question presented for our decision is whether, by permitting a party to take over a part of its election machinery, a State can avoid the provisions of the Constitution forbidding racial discrimination in elections and can deny to a part of the electorate, because of race and color, any effective voice in the government of the State. It seems perfectly clear that this question must be answered in the negative."

To one familiar with the facts of that case, it is clearly apparent that the Court set up a straw man and then knocked it down. The assertion that the State permitted "a party to take over a part of its election machinery" was completly disproved by the evidence in the case. It is common knowledge that a State's election machinery is established by law and in no other way. It can be stated without fear of successful contradiction that there was nothing in the Constitution of South Carolina, or in any of its statutory laws, that in any way controlled primary elections or any other party action, or that delegated authority over any part of its election machinery to any political party. It is true the State did not by law prohibit the organization of political parties or the function of them, just as it did not affirmatively prohibit the exercise of the senses of sight and feeling, or the use of the tongue or the feet.

It would be ridiculous to say, because of such failure, that the seeing or walking, or feeling or talking of an individual is State action. So, too, it was ridiculous for the Court to say that the voluntary action of private citizens in organizing a party to give legitimate expression and effect to their private political views was State action. The Court attained its objective of discriminating against white citizens of South Carolina by the simple expedient of substituting fiction for fact.

The Supreme Court, on April 19, 1948, signified its approval of what the Court of Appeals had done by refusing to consider the case on appeal. The effect of that action was to deny to white citizens the right to organize and control their own political party, free of the domination of a politically minded court, a discrimination which, if practiced by a State would be plainly unconstitutional.

In an opinion filed May 3, 1948, in *Shelly v. Kraemer*, the Supreme Court, among other things, said: That "* * * the principle has become finally imbedded in our constitutional law that the action inhibited by the first section of the 14th amendment is only such action as may fairly be said to be that of States. That amendment erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful." The court then went on to hold: First, that private agreements to exclude persons of a designated race or color from the use or occupancy of real estate for residential purposes do not violate the 14th amendment, and that such agreements are within the legal competency of individuals to make; and, second, that a State court would violate the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment by undertaking to consider litigation arising out of such a valid agreement.

The parties who asked and got the Supreme Court's aid in outlawing the long established jurisdiction of State courts were Negroes. However, they were not parties to the agreement being attacked in the litigation, nor were they the owners of the real estate about which the agreement was made, when it was made. On the other hand, the parties who entered into the agreement were white, and they owned the land with which the agreement was concerned. By the Court's edict there was engrafted on the jurisprudence of this country a new and strangely un-American doctrine. For the first time in the history of the United States, the Supreme Court usurped the authority to deny to State courts one of their time-honored jurisdictions.

The Supreme Court having held that the agreement in question did not violate any constitutional provision, and that it was a legal agreement, one the parties had a legal right to make, there was no constitutional basis for its attempt to outlaw a State court's legitimate jurisdiction. That case illustrates the extent to which the Supreme Court has gone and is going to discriminate against white citizens, for no apparent reason other than that they are white.

Attention is next directed to the Supreme Court's opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education* (in the so-called school cases), filed May 17, 1954. The Court correctly found as a fact that the Negro and white schools involved in the cases had been equalized, or were being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications, and salaries of teachers, and other tangible factors. The dictionary defines factors as "elements that contribute to produce a result"; and tangible as "capable of being realized by the mind; substantial; objective." So, according to the Court's holding, Negroes were being afforded equal educational advantages, such as could be realized by the mind, and which were substantial and objective. Had the Court's opinion stopped there, it would have been supported both by fact and reason; but—it did not.

The Court went on to say that separately afforded equality constituted discrimination, in and of itself, as against a minority group. As profoundly inaccurate as is that statement, it is not so startling as another that is implicit in the Court's opinion, viz: that in the Clarendon County School case, up from South Carolina, and then before the Court, Negroes constituted a minority group. The truth is that when that statement was made Negroes in that school district outnumbered the whites in a ratio of more than eight to one. This illustrates the distorted vision with which the Court has viewed and is continuing to view, racial controversies.

Another thing which the Court said is this: "In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written." The Plessy case is the one in which the Supreme Court of 1896 sensibly, logically, and factually interpreted the 14th amendment, holding that usable, tangible, and objective equality of treatment, although separate, was the reasonable and practiccal course required by the 14th amendment.

If the statement, "we cannot turn the clock back" means anything, it means that the Court was unwilling to consider the truths of American history, American tradition, and American judicial precedents; that the Supreme Court—our United States of America Supreme Court—preferred recourse to the sociological and socialistic writings of one Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist, and to like writings by Myrdal's fellow travelers in Amerca, none of which was a part of the record in the case befofe the Court. It mattered little to the Court that it had ruled in divers other cases that it was highly improper to go outside the record in a case to find support for a desired result.

The crowning folly and the great danger in the opinion arises out of its inconsistent and illogical conclusions. While the Court held that the 14th amendment requires equality of treatment as between the races, as manifestly it does, it also held that equality of treatment as between the races, even if desirably separate, constitutes inequality in and of itself, and is therefore discriminatory. Thus, the Supreme Court changed the dictionary by holding, in effect, that equality equals inequality. According to it, a State may violate the 14th amendment both by failing to accord equality of treatment and by according it.

Here again is an illustration of the Supreme Court's bias against southern white people and of its disposition to discriminate against white citizens for no apparent reason other than that they are white.

On April 2, 1956, the Supreme Court filed an opinion by Chief Justice Warren in *Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, holding that the Federal statute (54 Stat. 670) prohibiting "the knowing advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, supersedes the enforcibility of the Pennsylvania Sedition Act which proscribes the same conduct." The Court held that a State's sedition law is superseded by the Federal statute and is rendered ineffective by it, even if the State statute is intended to and does no more than supplement the Federal law against sedition. I find nothing in the Constitution that in terms denies to a sovereign State the right to use all reasonable means to protect its own sovereignty, and that of the United States; nor do I find in the Constitution any provision which, when legitimately interpreted, means that the Congress of the United States is granted the sole power to define, prohibit, and punish sedition.

In an opinion filed April 29, 1957, the Supreme Court denied to a testator the right to dispose of his property in accordance with his own wishes. A Mr. Girard, by will probated in 1831, left a trust fund for the erection, maintenance, and operation of a college, directing that "as many poor white male orphans, between the ages of 6 and 10 years, as the said income shall be adequate to maintain" should be admitted to the college, and naming the city of Philadelphia trustee to administer the trust. The Supreme Court held that because the city of Philadelphia was the named trustee of the trust fund the testator's wishes could not be carried out. That the trust fund would have to be used for the benefit of Negroes as well as for the benefit of whites. This is another example of the Supreme Court's attitude of discrimination against white citizens for no apparent reason other than that they are white.

As late as June 24, 1957, the Supreme Court set aside the verdict of a jury finding a Negro guilty of the crime of rape. His victim was a decent white woman. The assigned reason for the Court's action was that the arresting officers took too much time investigating the crime before carrying the defendant before a United States Commissioner. The crime was committed late one afternoon while the victim was alone and unprotected. The defendant was not arrested until the next afternoon. When first questioned he denied his guilt. Later he agreed to submit to a lie detector. The operator of the machine was not readily located. Hence a delay of 2 hours, during which time the defendant was given food and water. Later the defendant confessed his guilt. The officers then attempted to reach a United States Commissioner for the arraignment of the defendant the day of his arrest. Failing to locate one, the defendant consented to an examination by the deputy coroner. That official on examining the defendant saw no evidence that the defendant had been subjected to physical or psychological coercion. The defendant then repeated a prior confession; and the next morning he was carried before a Commissioner. The Supreme Court adjudged the investigating officers guilty of procrastination, citing rule 5 (a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, which requires only that the arrested person be carried before the nearest available Commissioner without unnecessary delay. The Supreme Court thought the officers didn't get the defendant before the Commissioner fast enough. Therefore, the confessions were

ruled incompetent and the defendant's conviction was annulled. Thus the victim was remitted to another public airing of her sorrow, if indeed the Court left enough uninhibited evidence in the case to warrant a retrial of it. Here again is discrimination, and it is against the white victim of a ravisher.

Other cases could be cited to show an apparently fixed determination on the part of the members of the Supreme Court to recast our Government in a mold of their own design, but into which our constitutionally established form of government will not fit.

To my way of thinking, the great issue now before the American people is this: Shall we surrender our fortunes, our liberties and our futures, and those of our children, into the hands of a hierarchy of despotic judges that is bent on destroying the finest system of government ever designed by man and under which we as citizens have enjoyed the highest degree of political freedom and the finest standard of living ever enjoyed by any people, at any time, in any place, upon the face of the earth?

I do not know what decisions others may make, but, as for me, I hold that our form of government and our way of life are worth fighting for.

Two Hours To Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there appeared in the news magazine of the United Lutheran Church in America, the Lutheran, an article headed Two Hours To Die. It concerns Hanns Lilje, who was to be hanged in 1945, but Americans set him free from a Nazi prison. This month he presides at the Lutheran World Assembly in Minneapolis.

Mr. President, the article is a most impressive one. It is one which bespeaks Christian courage. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO HOURS TO DIE

Bishop Hans Lilje is a short, stocky man of 58 whose mild appearance masks the strength of will and certainly of a man who has risked violent death for his faith.

As president of the Lutheran World Federation, Bishop Lilje is the chief official in the largest Protestant church on earth. He is also bishop of the Church of Hannover and president of the United Lutheran Church of Germany.

Today he's physically robust again. His round, full face, beneath a white-fringed bald head, is the picture of smiling health. His blue eyes reflect the peace and serenity of a man who has plumbed the depths of God's love.

It was different in April of 1945 when American soldiers entered Nuremberg and threw open the doors of the Nazi prison. There they found a gaunt and wan Hanns Lilje, chained in his solitary cell. Weak from hunger, black spots danced before his eyes when he tottered from his cot. His execution had been only a matter of hours away. But he was ready.

A fellow prisoner had whispered to him the procedure his Nazi captors would follow. He would be told to stand on a small stool and place his neck in a noose dangling from the ceiling. Then his guard would kick the stool away and leave. He would gasp his last strangling breath alone.

But Bishop Lilje, now in this country to take a leading part in the assembly of the Lutheran World Federation at Minneapolis, claims he never felt alone in the Nazi prisons where he spent 9 months during World War II.

The longer his imprisonment lasted, he says, the more evident it became that there was an unseen power present among him and the other churchmen imprisoned for defying the Hitler regime. One can pray, even with chained hands.

He spent hours every day in prayer and meditation. When execution of his death sentence seemed near, he spent another hour seeking courage. "I looked up to Christ in Gethsemane, and asked that my knees would not tremble," he says.

With the cheerful clarity of one who has ceased to cling to life, he could speak courteously to the jailer who clamped on his fetters, and even assist one particularly young SS guard who did not understand how to close a new type of handcuffs.

When the prison doors swung open to freedom, men shouted and wept for joy. Hanns Lilje stood silent. He tried to explain. The wall between the visible and the invisible had become very thin. Despite his relief and thankfulness, he was asking himself if his time of trial had done all that it should in cleansing, purifying, and giving him new strength.

"I realized," he says, "that the way back to life would be very long and difficult."

His first sermon after the liberation was not acceptable to his hearers. In the prison chapel itself he had tried to preach forgiveness, turning the other check. People were not ready for it.

His second sermon went better. This he preached in a packed church with the windows gone and the roof partly destroyed. Outside the gaping windows nearly a thousand more had gathered. After years under a dictator who told everyone where to go and what to do, people were floundering, dazed, lost. They listened to this man who had defied the Gestapo for the sake of the gospel.

"The only way out of darkness and misery," Hanns Lilje proclaimed, "is the road of obedience to God."

He returned to his administrative duties in the office of the Church of Hanover. He plunged into the welfare and relief work of the church. He felt the gospel message must be related to the problems with which people were living. Together with other church leaders, he disputed the view that in politics the church must be blindly loyal to the state. The church, these men said, has a responsibility in public affairs.

Speaking to 2,000 participants of a youth rally after his consecration in 1947 as bishop of the Church of Hanover, he gave a typical example of the postwar preaching. "The lingering grief and measureless need may seem to goad us to despair," he said. "For we know that we have also ourselves to blame. But there is divine forgiveness if we repent. This is God's way of helping us to make a new beginning, and to have confidence in the future. I am utterly persuaded that God through Christ is our unfailing help."

Bishop Lilje has been influential in formation of The Evangelical Academies, or discussion groups. To these, members of various professions—doctors, lawyers, teachers, students, housewives—are invited to talk over the problems of today's Germany.

Organizing a conference of journalists, he set the subject simply as "Hitler." Most of the best known newsmen in the country came—men who had fought Hitler and men who had sincerely supported him. They delved into the historical reasons for Hitler's rise, the shortcomings of both the conservatives and the socialists.

"We showed," says Bishop Lilje, "that many people who never took an active part in Nazi activities may have paved the way for the Nazis by neglecting the philosophical and religious issues involved."

The bishop is determined that the church must be a factor to be reckoned with in German life. It must stand in the forefront of public affairs and never again descend to live in a ghetto as was the case under the rule of Hitler.

He is determined, too, that in the heady new economic prosperity of Germany, moral consciousness shall not be usurped by creeping materialism. He labors constantly to keep the Christian spirit of love and sacrifice alive and to bring Christian principles into practical politics and everyday life.

Bishop Lilje speaks English, French and Italian as well as German (plus knowledge of Greek and Latin). But he insists on simple speech.

He not only knows English, but he knows American slang, too, and has entered into bull sessions with young GI's with the same success that he earns in councils with high-ranking officials.

The bishop's publications cover political, literary, philosophical, historical and religious themes. The Last Book of the Bible is an exegesis of the Apocalypse and was published when Hitler was at the height of his power. It will soon appear in the United States.

His Valley of the Shadow is a sober account of his 9 months' ordeal in Nazi prisons, with many penetrating observations on his jailers and his fellow prisoners. Luther Now, written mainly during the last years of the war, is an interpretation of Luther's significance for the world today.

He has been traveling almost constantly since his first trip to the Orient 30 years ago. His short, dark-haired wife, Frau Erna Lilje, quietly takes on many of his church administrative duties and keeps things moving in orderly fashion while he is away. Three children, two daughters and a son, are now grown.

The bishop has wit and adaptability that endear him to people wherever he goes on his travels. An audience that listened carefully to his serious address burst into unrestrained laughter when he cited the stock gibe against Christianity, "Although it has been here 2,000 years, the world is no better," and then capped it with: "There has been water on the earth for more than 2,000 years and yet one still sees plenty of dirty people."

Hanns Lilje was born on August 20, 1899, in Hannover, the Boston of Germany. During the First World War, he served as a private in the German army. Later he studied at the universities of Goettingen, Leipzig, Zurich, and at the Loccum Cloister.

Ordained in 1926, he returned to Hannover and served as a student pastor for a year. Then he became general secretary of the Student Christian Movement in Germany until 1935, traveling to India, Egypt, and the United States. In 1935 he became secretary of the Lutheran World Convention.

Visits to ecumenical conferences brought him to all continents. His linguistic gifts enabled him to act as interpreter of even the most difficult theological problems at big international church meetings.

Almost constant conflict with the rising power of Nazism marked these years of Dr. Lilje's life. By order of the political author-

ities, he was suspended for 6 months in 1933 as general secretary of the German Christian student movement. In 1938 he was barred from the province of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1944 he was forbidden to travel and to speak in public in the entire Reich.

Finally, on August 19, 1944, he was arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in Berlin. On January 18, 1945, he was sentenced by the People's Court on charges of high treason and returned to prison to await death. American troops liberated him on Hitler's birthday, April 20.

Two years after the Nazi regime collapsed, in the spring of 1947, he succeeded Marahrens as bishop of the church of Hannover.

Despite his informality when in America, Bishop Lilje preserves a dignified posture in Germany, wearing the most formal clerical garb and riding in a Mercedes Benz 300, manned by a very correct chauffeur. He expects always to be addressed as "Your Grace."

"You know this is not for me," he confides, "it is for the church."

Busy as he is with church affairs in his own country, Bishop Lilje works equally hard for world Lutheranism and for the whole Christian ecumenical movement. President since 1952 of the Lutheran World Federation, he is the highest-ranking representative of some 50 million Lutherans cooperating in the federation. The LWF unites more than two-thirds of the world's estimated 71 million Lutherans.

"We do not yet know," says Bishop Lilje, "whether the grace of God and the power of His Holy Spirit will use this worldwide assembly in Minneapolis as an instrument to revitalize the Lutheran Church. But if this happens it will be an immediate contribution to the Christian vitality of the church universal."

The Nursing Picture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very enlightening article which appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe on August 4, 1957. The article follows:

THE NURSING PICTURE

(By Frances Burns)

The tall young doctor in the teaching hospital said that he wished the head of the nursing school would take a few students who weren't glamour girls.

"I thought when I looked down at our class today," he said, "that I never saw so many Powers models in my life. It's no wonder we can't keep any of them in the hospital afterward. Of course they all marry right away.

"It seems to me that it would make sense to go after some plain girls and keep 'em after they graduate."

His was just another voice raised in the chorus about the acute nursing shortage. It is a threnody heard through the cities today—as much in Massachusetts, which has more graduate nurses for its population than any other State, as anywhere else.

An associate talks about the man who was taken with a heart attack to a hospital and died before any nurse ever got to his bedside, so few were there to man the wing. Someone else was unable to get private duty nurses for an elderly father, frightened and sick as he was when returned to his bed after a serious operation. Voluntary hospitals complain that the girls they train are taken at higher salaries than they can afford to pay by veterans', State, and Army and Navy hospitals. But Govefnor Furcolo, on the other hand, the other day pointed to waiting lists of patients and empty beds at the Shattuck Hospital because of inability of the State to obtain nursing staff.

The State Employment Professional Nurses Registry last year placed more than 3,700 nurses in jobs, had calls for 700 private duty nurses a month that could not be filled. Hospitals advertise in the newspapers for staff and many a person who has had the problem of obtaining nursing help for some member of the family dropped in her lap by the doctor or hospital has wondered if she would have to go on bended knee to obtain it.

WHY NOT MORE?

Laymen and doctors, too, ask why more nurses aren't being trained to meet the increased number of hospital beds, the increased demand for nurses in industry, the increase in population with the inevitable addition at any one time to the number of sick, and the reduuction to an 8-hour day, 5 days a week for nursing which automatically multiplied the number needed for round-the-clock duty.

The answer is, says Massachusetts nursing authorities, that more nurses are being trained, though undoubtedly not enough more. In the 2 years between 1954 and 1956 practicing nurses in the country jumped from 401.700 to 430,000. At the same time there were another 300,000 to 400,000 who were trained but unable to practice because they were too old, sick, or had families that could not be left.

As for the glamour girls, Miss Ruth Sleeper, director of nursing and nursing education at the Massachusetts General Hospital, who has national and international experience and prestige in the field, smiles gently and says, "Take girls the day they come into training and they are not glamour girls. Scrub them up to show their own nice skins, let them brush their hair until it shines, under hospital regulations, and put them in uniform, and they're all beautiful. We had two cross-eyed girls. They were such nice girls and looked so nice that they were the first ones in the class to marry."

There are other factors that tend to develop personality, even if it's not to be called glamour. The young nurse learns self assurance when she is responsible for the lives of people older or younger than herself. She has started with good health, or she would not have been accepted. She knows that she is entering a career that she will have for all her life. And she is constantly thrown with people who are doing things.

It is the general practice today to permit girls to finish their education if they do marry while they are in training—time was when a girl was booted from a hospital staff the moment she headed for the altar—but few of them are lost permanently to the profession.

MARRIAGE DOESN'T STOP THEM

At 10- and 20-year reunions of nursing classes in the last few months practically everyone who did not have a brandnew baby reported that she was doing some kind of nursing, full or part time.

A graduate nurse married to a scientist moved with him to Washington where he had a new and important position with a university. When they made the change he said, "Now you have worked for 12 years, ever since we were married. We have come back here, and I hope you will stay home." She settled their new house and tried to stay home. One morning she went out to Bethesda Naval Hospital and returned with a job as assistant administrator. "I don't know how I am going to tell my husband," she said, "but I'm glad I've done this. By 8 o'clock in the morning I had the house all in order and an empty day stretching ahead * * * I could not stand it."

There are private wings in Boston hospitals that are being kept open by older married nurses who return for part or full time. The M. G. H has refresher courses for women who want to come back into nursing.

One of the difficulties encountered by hospitals and the nursing profession, terribly concerned as it is itself with expanding its numbers, is that of enlarging nursing schools to cope with greater numbers of students. For bigger schools call for more teaching staff, and more nurses trained to provide training on the wards for the girls. And that, say administrators, is the real bottleneck today.

MANY ENTER NURSING

All over the country 41 of every 1,000 girls graduating from high school are going into training for professional nursing. That isn't too bad, and if it continues as high schools bulge with the crop of war babies it will mean a considerable addition to the total of registered nurses, comments Mrs. Dorothy Hayward, spokesman for the Regional Nursing Council of the Red Feather Health Resources Advisory Committee. But it will call for more schools.

The United States Public Health Service already has provided a grant for a regional program for health services in Greater Boston. One plan is to set up an independent regional school of nursing which would use the facilities of a community college for scientific training and of five community hospitals, now without nursing schools, for bedside nursing experience.

The whole plan would take two, instead of the present 3 years, of training. This, point out nurses taking the down-to-earth view, would provide more bedside nurses, and would put further training for teaching and administration in the graduate class.

The Federal Government has made funds available for graduate nursing fellowships—299 this year. A scholarship bill in the General Court would make help available to girls going into collegiate nurse training, under which such institutions as Simmons, Boston University, Boston College, Radcliffe, and Tufts University provide degrees, with nursing diplomas from affiliated hospitals. But many people close to the problem think that more is needed—more scholarship help for girls enrolled in hospital schools, and Federal or State funds for more nursing schools.

Having experienced the blessings of the women in white for more than 75 years, the public's demands will, apparently, never be satisfied.

State Legion Backs Post on Negro Ban

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the left wing press and radio talk about segregation and intolerance in the South. The President and his assistant president, Mr. Sherman Adams, occasionally reflect on this alleged condition. However, a few days ago I was reading the Manchester Union Leader, of Manchester, N. H., under date of August 5, and I saw an article which said this, "State Legion Backs Post on Negro Ban." I know this brought sorrow to Mr. Sherman Adams and disappointed the Presi-

dent. It must have also caused the Vice President quite some embarrassment because we are led to believe that only these conditions exist south of the Mason-Dixon Line. I read the article and I agree with it 100 percent. To be sure, the American Legion which is involved was right and the law of the State of New Hampshire apparently was complied with. I include this article for those who are interested to read it. It only goes to show that one can be colored and not be recognized as a member of the superrace even by those who pretend to think that color means superiority. The article follows:

STATE LEGION BACKS POST ON NEGRO BAN

(By Robert J. Drury)

The William H. Jutras Post of Manchester acted properly when it refused to serve a Negro serviceman at the post taproom, the New Hampshire Department, American Legion, ruled here yesterday.

In a prepared statement issued after a closed meeting of the legion's executive committee, Dept. Comdr. William E. Sanborn said a "thorough investigation" disclosed the Manchester post was "conforming" to the rules of the post and the State liquor commission when it refused bar privileges to William Butler of East Elmhurst, Long Island.

"And further, there was no violation of the established policies and principles of the American Legion," Sanborn said.

Butler, a Reserve airman in training at Grenier Air Force Base, was refused service last month. The bartender admitted that Negroes could not obtain service because of a rule of the club.

Commander Sanborn's statement declared that Butler has the "reputation of being a troublemaker" and in 1956 got in trouble at a private Manchester club. Nowhere did the statement indicate Butler is colored.

MATTER CLOSED

The Legion official said the executive committee concurs with a statement issued by Comdr. Albert Plaisance of Jutras post and considers the matter closed. About 45 committee members attended.

The statement approved by the executive committee and issued by Commander Sanborn follows:

"In connection with the matter concerning one William Butler, of East Elmhurst, Long Island, N. Y., and the William H. Jutras Post, No. 43, Manchester, N. H., wherein said William Butler was refused bar privileges at the aforenamed post on July 19, 20, and 22, 1957, we find after having conducted a thorough investigation of the circumstances involved, it has been determined that said William H. Jutras Post, No. 43, was properly conforming to the rules of the post and the rules of the New Hampshire State Liquor Commission.

NO VIOLATION

"And further, that there was no violation of the established policies and principles of the American Legion.

"It is significant to note that during the summer of 1956 when this same William Butler was temporarily stationed as a member of the Air Force Reserve at the Grenier Air Force Base, he was involved in a controversy at a certain private club in Manchester and the Air Force base chaplain at Grenier succeeded in settling the difficulty.

"Information obtained by this committee from very reliable source from another State, among other things reveals that this same William Butler has the reputation of being a troublemaker.

NOT MEMBER

"According to Mr. Butler's own statement while being a veteran of World War II he never did and does not now hold membership in any American Legion post or in any other post of a war veterans' organization.

"We concur in the statements as contained in a signed press release dated July 25, 1957, over the signature of Albert Plaisance, commander of the William H. Jutras Post, No. 43, and insofar as the executive committee of the New Hampshire Department, the American Legion is concerned, we hereby consider the matter closed."

Bamboo—A Promising New Money Crop for Southern Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. KERR SCOTT

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, an article in the August issue of Farm Journal, entitled "Future Looks Good for Bamboo," presents a very concise picture of the potentials for bamboo as an agricultural and industrial product for the South.

I believe the article is worthy of the attention of other Members of the Congress. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FUTURE LOOKS GOOD FOR BAMBOO

(by Jack Bickers)

President Eisenhower's Commission on Increased Industrial Uses of Farm Products wasn't just pipedreaming when it saw in bamboo a promising new money crop for southern farmers.

Farm Journal has just talked with scientists and pulp company officials in half a dozen Southern States. In general, they share the Commission's enthusiasm:

Bamboo grows much faster and yields 4 to 6 times as much pulp per acre per year as soft woods.

Harvesting could be almost completely mechanized as compared to individual cutting of trees.

It could possibly be as much as 20 percent cheaper to handle at the pulp mill.

It's better for certain specialty papers and for many papermaking uses.

It will grow almost anywhere that the average minimum temperature doesn't fall below 5 degrees. More than 50 million acres from Texas to Virginia appear adapted.

Then why hasn't bamboo caught on before now? Big reason seems to be an Alphonse-and-Gaston act over who'll make the first move.

Landowners hesitate to plant bamboo until they have an assured market. And pulp mills say it won't pay them to tool up for bamboo until they, in turn, are assured of sizeable plantings.

To get the ball rolling, the Commission has suggested that the USDA pay up to $30 per acre per year under the soil-bank program to get widespread plantings.

Spending that kind of money on a relatively untried crop apparently worries some lawmakers. But not Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, Democrat, South Carolina. "It would be just plain ridiculous and false economy for us to pass by such an opportunity for the South," he said. He plans to give the Commission recommendations full support in the Senate.

Years of research have already gone into bamboo, although it's a new idea to most of us. "Our Plant Introduction Station in Savannah, Ga., has been growing bamboo since about 1900," points out Dr. Carl Erianson, USDA chief of new crops work. "We know it has a wide variety of uses like fishing poles, furniture, and novelties. But none of these has been big enough to justify widespread plantings. We figured that it needed at least one big commercial use before it could be recommended as a new crop for the South."

With that in mind, they assigned independent researchers at the Herty Foundation in Savannah the job of trying out bamboo as a source of pulp.

"It's far better than pine for many types of paper—facial tissues and fine writing papers, for example," reported the Herty scientists.

"You can be sure that bamboo would be used for papermaking if a supply were available," says William L. Belvin, Foundation director.

"A while back, a vice president of a large paper mill was here and said, 'If we had a big enough stand to support a mill, we'd be ready to go into it right now.'"

Belvin emphasizes that bamboo is not competitive with pine, but rather a supplemental source of fiber. "It's no wonder crop," he says. "But when supplies are available and a few solvable problems worked out, it can be a valuable one."

D. A. Bisset, superintendent of the USDA's new plant farm near Savannah, spelled out production possibilities. Pointing to a 10-year-old timber-type bamboo test stand, he said, "We can get 6 to 9 tons of bamboo per acre per year from this kind of stand for the next 50 years by clean cutting ¼ to ⅓ of the acreage each year. Good pine stands for pulp will yield only about 6 tons per acre—and that's after 20 years of growth."

Besides growing faster and producing more tonnage, Bamboo will yield 4 to 6 times more pulp than pine.

Another big advantage: "Bamboo harvesting could be 95 percent mechanized. I'd guess it could be cut and put at the pulp mill for half the cost of pine," estimates Bisset.

Dr. E. P. Imle, USDA bamboo project leader, bears out Bisset's mechanization ideas. "We're trying a horizontal circular saw mounted on a tractor to clean-cut bamboo in strips. The cutter would be followed by a chipping machine and the chips baled in the field."

Imle figures the strip harvest method will give bamboo producers a crop every year, once the plant has reached maturity. "It'll probably be ready for first cutting after 3 years—maybe sooner."

You can't grow bamboo just anywhere. "All the researchers agree that it does best on clay loams and sandy loams in the Southern Coastal Plains and Piedmont section," says Dr. Imle.

You plant 1- to 1½-foot long rhizomes or 1-year-old nursery-grown plants on 25-foot centers. But after planting, mechanization can take over.

Bisset expects that "row or cover crops will be grown in the middles during the first and second years." A single plant will spread 4 to 6 feet in each direction by the second year. So it would soon fill the middles.

Three timber-type bamboos (the kind that'll be used for pulp) look good to researchers. All are planted at the Edisto Station, Blackville, S. C.

"We'll have 100 acres planted to timber-type bamboos pretty soon," says W. B. Rogers, superintendent. "While its main purpose is for harvesting and yield tests, it'll be available for planting materials, too."

But if the demand should develop very fast, plants will be hard to find. At least one timber type is available at the following nurseries:

Fruitland Nurseries, Augusta, Ga.; H. G. Hastings Co., Atlanta, Ga.; E. A. McIlhenny, Avery Island, La.; Reasoner's Nurseries, Brad-

enton, Fla.; Royal Palm Nurseries, Oneco, Fla.; Wilson Nursery, Gulfport, Miss.

All paper companies aren't ready to commit themselves to bamboo. Typical is one large Ohio papermaker's reaction: "We've looked into it and think it's a good source of pulp. But we wouldn't be interested in tooling up to process bamboo unless a large acreage were available."

Best chance that a large acreage will become available lies in the Commission's "growth incentive" plan. And right now, United States Department of Agriculture research workers are getting ready to give Congressmen an overall look at bamboo's possibilities. If reaction is favorable, you may be planting bamboo within the next few years.

National Cultural Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed unfortunate that the House on yesterday rejected the conference report providing for the construction of a national cultural center.

A group of public-spirited citizens, under the leadership of Mrs. Eugene Meyer, has worked long and zealously in behalf of this project and without expense of any kind to the Government. They deserve the commendation of all citizens for the interest they have taken in this all important matter. I trust that the action taken by the House so precipitously and under the stress of emotion will not discourage this splendid group of citizens, but that they will persevere with courage until provision is made by the Congress for the construction of this important and necessary facility that will add so greatly to our national prestige as a leader in things cultural.

In my travels in many countries throughout the world, I have been impressed with the emphasis so often placed in each of them upon the cultural side of their national existence and the buildings and other facilities provided for uses that enhance their cultural life. Today, our Nation stands foremost among the nations of the world in our achievement of things material. Is it not time that in the capitol city of our great Nation that we give evidence also to our adherence to things cultural?

We now have in our great city of Washington, as a result of the generosity of public-spirited citizens, museums of art, libraries, and other types of cultural facilities. All of these are the result of cultural-minded citizens. It is now time that we should have some evidence of a national character of our adherence as a Nation to things of cultural value.

The construction of a national cultural center as envisaged by Mrs. Meyer and the citizens who have labored with her would be a fitting answer to meet the need that exists for a national center where cultural gatherings, both national and international in scope, might meet and advance cultural interests among our own people and the people of other nations.

I trust that upon further consideration the Congress will accept its responsibility in this matter.

Murphy Army Hospital Should Be Retained

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following very interesting news item concerning the Murphy General Hospital located at Waltham, Mass., which appeared in the August 1, 1957, edition of the Mattapan Tribune, the Roxbury Citizen, and the Hyde Park Tribune, newspapers published in Boston, Mass.:

MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL SHOULD BE RETAINED

(By David Donahue)

As commander of Federal Employees Veterans Association, Post No. 18, Murphy Army Hospital, I was delegated to accompany Mr. Joseph S. McAteer, State commander of this association, to be present at a hearing in Washington, D. C., in connection with the retention of Murphy Army Hospital as a hospital.

Although the money covering the retention of this hospital for the fiscal year 1958, was actually included in the current budget appropriation to be used for no other purpose, and was accepted and approved by the House of Representatives, it was inadvertently not recognized by the Member of the United States Senate, who voted against the retention of Murphy to be retained as a hospital.

As a consequence, daily newspapers publicized "Murphy Army Hospital to close." However, due to the untiring efforts of Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK and Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, together with the able assistance of the entire Massachusetts congressional delegation, who recognized this discrepancy, a plan was devised to correct this technicality, and therefore, until such time as this piece of legislation is corrected, word has been received from the Department of the Army to the effect that Murphy Army Hospital will continue to function as it has in the past—patients will be received and accepted—outpatient service will be in constant operation—military personnel will not be transferred, and no reduction-in-force notices are to be issued to the civilian employees.

TRUE FACTS

May I present some true facts about Murphy Army Hospital:

This hospital occupies a 93-acre plot of well-elevated semirural land 12 miles west of Boston, and about 3 miles from the center of Waltham. Its 44 individual buildings are Georgian type in design of brick construction, and are all 1 story with the exception of the administration building, bachelor officers', and nurses' quarters, which are 2-story buildings.

All buildings are connected by enclosed heated corridors, excepting the motor pool, fire station, heating plant, and engineers' station, which are located on the rear outer circle of perimeter road surrounding the hospital. The main corridor alone is one-fifth of a mile in length. There is a chapel for all religious services, a post and medical library, theater, snack bar, post office, a post exchange, 2 large baseball diamonds, tennis courts, and other athletic facilities, and has 2 large dining halls for patients and duty personnel.

Murphy Army Hospital is equipped with the latest diagnostic and operative facilities for complete general medical and surgical care. An outpatient service is maintained for military personnel, widows and dependents of servicemen, and retired military personnel and their dependents.

Also, Murphy maintains a staff of prominent civilian professional men who serve this hospital as consultants. These doctors are all staff members from leading Boston hospitals, such as the Massachusetts General, Peter Bent Brigham, Harvard Medical School, Boston City, New England Medical Center, and St. Elizabeth's Hospital, and were assigned by the office of the Surgeon General. Medical care of the patient is the first consideration of our commanding officer, Col. Arthur J. Redland, Medical Corps., his entire staff of doctors, nurses, medical service officers, and the entire duty personnel.

The hospital is located in an area which was utilized by Waltham as a city park after World War II, but as time went on the park ceased to function. In October 1943 this park was chosen as a site for a new $2,500,000 Army hospital, and construction began immediately; the first post engineer arrived in February 1944, with the first commanding officer following, in April 1944. The hospital was activated in July the same year, and known as the Waltham Station Hospital; shortly thereafter it was redesignated the Boston Area Station Hospital. The name was again changed in September 1944 to that of the Waltham Regional Hospital, a class I installation under the First Service Command; finally, on May 15, 1946, it was redesignated as the Murphy General Hospital, and was known as such until, in keeping with the Department of the Army's policy in naming hospitals, on November 1, 1950, was changed to Murphy Army Hospital.

NAMED FOR ENLISTED MAN

This hospital is unique in that it is the only Army hospital named in honor of an enlisted man—Pfc. Frederick M. Murphy, born in Boston, July 27, 1918, who was wounded by rifle fire in a dawn attack in the Siegfried Line at Saarlauten, Germany. He refused hospitalization, went on as an aid and later lost a foot in a mine explosion. He continued to administer to wounded men, and finally was killed when another mine exploded. The Medal of Honor was awarded posthumously to Private Murphy.

Murphy Army Hospital is a class III installation directly under the command of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, and at the present time has 150 operating beds which can be expanded in the event of disaster or another type of emergency to its original 550-bed capacity.

At the present time, the hospital plant, in addition to serving the needs of the Department of the Army Medical Service, also furnishes several hundred square feet of space to the New England district engineers, and to the United States Air Force for troop housing, office space, and classrooms.

THE WORD "ECONOMY"

After reading various articles released to the Boston newspapers, the writer finds the word "economy" promiscuously used as an excuse for closing Murphy Army Hospital. However, during my stay in Washington, I was informed that as soon as the hospital is closed, it is the intention of the Department of the Army to use the facilities for

the New England headquarters of the Corps of Engineers, who now employ approximately 1,000 in personnel.

How can the word "economy" possibly apply when you take into consideration the enormous amount of money necessary to convert the 44 individual 1-story buildings, originally planned to be used for a hospital, with average-sized wards, and present space utilized for offices by its various services, some with even a smaller amount of floor space than the wards, into an office building requiring large areas for office space to carry on efficient work performance?

In this readjustment, the word "economy" will mean added expense in the transferring of their personnel, now scatterred in various sections of Boston; the consolidation of their personnel alone will run into great expense, and, in certain instances, impose a hardship on many of their present employees living north and south of Boston, who will find it impossible to commute daily to Waltham.

Further, consider the expense involved in deactivating this hospital: Patients must be cared for and transferred to another hospital—military personnel must be reassigned, their families cared for, and their household goods crated and transported; some military personnel will be unable to have their families accompany them, creating further worry to the soldier. All hospital equipment must be broken down, crated and shipped to other installations. The paper work alone covering the reassignment or transfer of civilian employees will run into another great expense to the Government, so I ask you, what do they mean by economy?

The Federal Employees Veteran Association is primarily interested in retaining Murphy Army Hospital to care for our American soldiers, their widows and dependents, and for the retired personnel and their dependents who are rightfully entitled to receive the best medical attention at a modern Army hospital such as this installation provides, instead of being obliged to report to the Chelsea Naval Hospital, a 133-year-old antiquated institution, as this writer was informed when last in Washington.

It is our fervent hope that the Department of the Army will consider the true meaning of the word "economy" and realize that by deactivating this modern $2,500,000 Army hospital to spend another enormous sum trying to convert it into an office building is not true economy.

Detention of Members of Unlawful Organizations in Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following statement by the Prime Minister of Ireland, Mr. Eamon de Valera:

DETENTION OF MEMBERS OF UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATIONS IN IRELAND

(Statement by the Taoiseach (Prime Minister), Mr. Eamon de Valera)

It must be clear to every thinking person that no democratic state could endure, that there could be neither ordered government, security, nor progress in any community in which groups could organise, arm, and equip themselves, assume powers of life and death and arrogate to themselves the right to make war at will, in defiance of the legitimate government and the basic law. Those against whom the Irish Government have had recently to take action were leading members of such groups, the activities of which had already led to loss of life and were likely, if continued, to embroil our people not only in war with another country but in a hateful civil war as well.

The government took this action only when other means had failed. These groups were appealed to and warned over the last 2 or 3 years by the head of the previous government, speaking for that government and for the several parties in it. I, as leader of the opposition, strongly supported the appeals and warnings; but all appeals and warnings were ignored, and armed activities, with loss of life, continued.

The constitution of the state, enacted by plebiscite, lays it down explicitly that—

"No military or armed force, other than a military or armed force raised and maintained by the Oireachtas (Parliament) shall be raised or maintained for any purpose whatsoever."

and that—

"The right to raise and maintain military or armed forces is vested exclusively in the Oireachtas."

It is further set out that—

"War shall not be declared and the state shall not participate in any war save with the assent of Dail Eireann."

Owing to our particular circumstances and the need to save the community from the action of illegal armed groups, a law was passed, some years ago, empowering the government, if need be, to restrain the members of such groups by placing them in detention. This law was necessary because armed groups are able, by intimidation of the private citizen and by secret conspiracy, to defeat the ordinary law processes, such as the production of witnesses and trial by jury. The ordinary processes are not designed to deal with private armies.

To prevent error, every one of the detained persons has the right of appeal to a commission, which consists of a judge of the circuit court, a justice of the district court, and a senior army officer. And, if the commission decides that there are no reasonable grounds for his continued detention, he has to be set free. Moreover, the government have made it clear that no one will be kept in detention who undertakes to respect the constitution and the laws and to refrain from being a member of, or assisting, any unlawful organization.

The partition of our country is one of the reasons put forward for the formation of the armed groups. Partition is indeed the source of many evils, and this is one of the worst. The division of our country was effected against the expressed wish of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. But, if force were ever to be resorted to in an endeavour to end it, it would have to be force used with the authority of the government and the assent of Dail Eireann. To permit private armies, on the plea that they would end partition by force, could lead only to anarchy and chaos.

No party in Dail Eireann believes in force as a solution. They know that, even if a military victory were secured, the use of force would leave behind a nation more deeply divided than it is now. Our elections are of the freest and most democratic in the world. The constitution lays down that it is the people's right, in final appeal, to decide all questions of national policy. No minority group has the right to commit the nation to the use of force.

The suggestion is being made that, because 12 men were arrested whilst attending a Sinn Fein Executive meeting, and 11 of them detained, the government's action was directed against a constitutional movement. The persons detained were detained because they were members of one of the unlawful organizations, that is, one of those engaged in armed activities. They were, indeed, leaders in that organization. They included the so-called chief of staff and so-called adjutant general, as well as other members of what they call the army council. Can it be contended that by joining a movement, constitutional, or professing to be so, persons who are engaged in illegal armed activities in defiance of the constitution can secure immunity? If this were so, every group of lawbreakers has at hand an easy alibi and a ready sanctuary.

An Open Letter to the Sports Public of Western Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I believe that every Congressman should be acquainted with the power exercised by a baseball team in their control of broadcasting games.

WMCK in McKeesport, Pa., is trying to bring to the listening public a play-by-play description of the Brooklyn Dodgers ball games. The Pittsburgh baseball club objected.

Due to their objections, WMCK was not permitted to use the World News Service network to broadcast the Brooklyn Dodgers games. This, I believe, is exercising a monopoly of what the listening radio audience should or should not hear.

I have requested the FCC to take action in this case as the same thing may happen in other congressional districts as well.

This practice should be stopped immediately so that no future decision by a ball club or any other commercial enterprise may be made as to who should or should not broadcast.

The following is an open letter from the president of Mon-Yough Broadcasting Co., Inc.:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SPORTS PUBLIC OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

MON-YOUGH BROADCASTING CO., INC.,
McKeesport, Pa.

What you are about to read may come as a shock and were it not for its tremendous importance to every sports fan in southwestern Pennsylvania, to the world of sports generally and baseball in particular, to Americanism itself with all that it stands for in the right of free enterprise instead of monopoly, protection of the small and weak against the power of the large and strong and the right of every American to choose what he will instead of having to take what may be forced upon him—were it not for all this and the thousands of inquiries as to why WMCK is not broadcasting Brooklyn Dodgers games this season, we would not make the following statements which we feel we owe the sports public by way of apology and explanation.

For many of its 10 short years WMCK has carried broadcasts of professional baseball including the Pittsburgh Pirates and Milwaukee Braves and in recent years has presented the games of the National League champion Brooklyn Dodgers via the World News Service network, Richard Eaton, president. During the years with the Braves and Dodgers we were not permitted to broadcast these games when the Pirates played at home or when the Pirates played these teams away from home. We did not like these restrictions because they curtailed our service to the greatest sports area in the world, but, realizing our relative unimportance, we complied.

This year, however, the restrictions were complete and the WNS network was informed that it might broadcast Brooklyn Dodgers games elsewhere, but not over WMCK in southwestern Pennsylvania, the Pirates' den, and, we are advised, the WNS network is broadcasting Brooklyn Dodgers games elsewhere this 1957 season including some cities where there are other professional baseball clubs.

Shaken up a bit but still full of desire to render this much-appreciated service to you we tried a direct contact with the Brooklyn Dogers management and finally, many weeks after the season had started, received an answer and were told that we could do the broadcasts on our own but at a price over 20 times greater than the previous years' figures on which we had suffered a loss because of the necessity, on many occasions, of carrying it as a sustaining program without a commercial sponsor. Since we're not pulling our punches we feel that you should know that the price quoted would have put out cost close to $1,000 per game which is more than 20 times greater, need we explain, than we could afford.

Feeling that the Brooklyn Dodgers club, through its contract with WNS, must or should have known that this arrangement, a belated offer, would squeeze us out completely in our attempts to bring the Brooklyn Dodgers games to you thereby limiting the area to Pirate broadcasts, we began to smell a rat slightly decayed and very strong, so strong in fact that our first impulse, in the interest of everything that is right and fair, was to bring suit against the Brooklyn Dodgers, the Pirates and a few others who would benefit by this monopolistic protection against grade A baseball and broadcasting of play-by-play.

However, believing that this type of action would be harmful to the sport (or is it a business? see congressional investigation) and not wishing to kick any opponent when he's already down or close to the cellar, we decided to write this letter of explanation, send a copy of it to the Congress of the United States as well as every Congressman in our area and rest our case.

Certainly we have not written this from selfish motives since the broadcasts were not money-makers; certainly we stand raedy to testify before a congressional committee if it will help to prevent a recurrence of such conspiracy toward monopoly or restriction of choice; certainly we shall testify fearlessly if called upon, for there can be no fear when one is right; certainly we are aware that we are fighting your fight and that it may harm us immeasurably, but we are willing to make this sacrifice if right will prevail, for, whatever the odds, right must prevail.

We'd sure like to be bringing these games to you now and we would if the powers that be will permit us to rejoin the WNS network as before. Incidentally, how sweet it would be to be able to hear broadcasts of the Brooklyn Dodgers games right now with the race so close and the action so exciting.

Sincerely,

ROBERT M. COX, *President.*

A Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution recently adopted by the Ohio Department of the Disabled American Veterans charging the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs with failure to follow legislation approved by the Congress in connection with the payment of compensation to veterans disabled as a direct result of war service:

Whereas the Ohio Department of the Disabled American Veterans, charges the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs at Washington with failure to follow legislation approved by the Congress of the United States in connection with the payment of compensation to veterans disabled as a direct result of war service, the Administrator admitting he has already terminated or decreased the benefits of more than 40,000 of these veterans, claiming that the original grant was in error; and

Whereas this is the result of a continuing review of compensation claims of the wars' disabled orginally granted under the provisions of Public Law 144, approved by the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas if a field office of the Veterans' Administration fails to remove or reduce the compensation of a sufficient number of wartime disabled veterans through error, the efficiency rating of that office is considered unsatisfactory and that office is ordered to conduct a second review; and

Whereas less than 40 percent of these cases of wartime disabled veterans have been checked to date and at the current rate those removed from the rolls will exceed 100,000; and

Whereas printed instructions, explaining this policy change of the Veterans' Administration have not been issued, this new policy being distinguished by the use of the term, "medical principles"; and

Whereas survey teams are sent from the Washington office of the Veterans' Administration to the many field offices to impart verbal instructions; individual claims files are called to Washington and the adverse decision rendered there affects the benefits of many other wartime disabled veterans; and

Whereas the Washington office of the Veterans' Administration has called all regional office adjudication officers to Washington for a period of instruction, and have admitted that the review of claims of wartime disabled veterans is in compliance with recommendation No. 69 of the report of the Bradley Commission; and

Whereas the rating boards at the regional offices of the Veterans' Administration are now hesitant to approve the claim of any veteran on war-incurred disabilities, the new theory of "medical principles" providing a tool for arbitrary denial; and

Whereas if the Veterans' Administration was sincere in its program of correcting alleged errors, it would also review the claims of wartime disabled veterans previously denied; and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration at Washington proposes a complete revision of the rating table to evaluate disability, 132 pages of material having already been issued with recommended changes; and

Whereas the drastic reductions being proposed are shocking and would materially reduce or discontinue payment of benefits to the wars' combat veterans; and

Whereas the ratings for muscle damage from gunshot wounds and other causes are to be slashed, along with most other disabilities, and to qualify for total disability the service-connected conditions must be so serious that the veteran be housebound, with similar reductions and eliminations of compensation across the board; and

Whereas the considered changes are said to be based on medical advances, but actually are the result of pressure from medical associations, the Bureau of the Budget, and the report of the Bradley Commission—with military pressure; and

Whereas if the present recommendations are carried to a conclusion, the number of wartime-disabled veterans receiving benefits will be reduced to a mere token, and the beginning of the end of this Nation of ours meeting its obligation to the wars' wounded and disabled among the enlisted personnel; and

Whereas no effort has been launched to interfere with the high rate of retirement to the disabled career officers, it appearing that the laws enacted by the Congress of the United States no longer apply to the Veterans' Administration: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Disabled American Veterans, Department of Ohio, assembled in the city of Toledo, July 26–28, 1957, at its 36th annual convention charge the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs with violating his oath of office in scrapping Public Law 144 of the Congress of the United States and replacing the law with recommendations of the Bureau of the Budget, medical groups, and military pressure in the conduct of reviewing claims of wartime disabled veterans; and be it further

Resolved, That we charge the Administrator with a violation of the moral code of decency in his proposal to destroy the present rating schedule and to replace it with evaluations that are grossly inhumane; and be it further

Resolved, That the DAV appeal to the Members of the Congress to cause an investigation to determine the Administrator's fitness for office; and be it further

Resolved, That we request the Members of Congress to enact legislation that will freeze the present or 1945 rating schedule and prohibit any change in the evaluation of disabilities of wartime disabled veterans, without the approval of the Congress.

KENNETH M. ROBEY,
Commander, DAV, Department of Ohio.

Prayer Given at Barratt O'Hara Diamond Jubilee Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the recent diamond jubilee dinner in honor of our good friend and distinguished colleague, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA of the great second district of Illinois, the Reverend John Hayes delivered a prayer of such thoughtfulness and phraseology as to warrant inclusion

in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I ask unanimous consent to insert the following:

PRAYER GIVEN AT BARRATT O'HARA DIAMOND JUBILEE DINNER

(By Rev. John Hayes)

Invisible, patient, permanent Ruler of men and the universe, to whom all of us, Congressmen and simple citizens are subject, to whom are subject even the chairmen of Senate committees, yea also in the long run Cabinet officers, the teamsters' union, and the National Association of Manufacturers, we hope this gathering meets with Your approval. You are aware of our purpose. It is surely patriotic, for we mean to extol honest and earnest public service, as exemplified by our chief guest, Mr. O'HARA. It may well be that this demonstration of appreciation will inspire other men, willing and able, to seek public office and fill it with similar distinction. The willing, as You know, are in ample supply; the able are not quite so plentiful. Please arrange that in future the combination turns up more frequently.

We think You will like the note of fraternal regard and affection which permeates this assemblage. I quote Your own words, "How good it is for brothers to dwell together in peace." We mean to express our fraternal regard not only for our kindly Congressman, but toward one another here present, men and women of diverse ideas and ancestry but all planted by Your loving care in this interesting land. We know You expect us to work together for the common welfare, as peaceably and efficiently as our limited intelligence permits. We are sorry this ideal has not made a deeper impression on us, but we do have it on our minds tonight.

We know You will be pleased by the nonpartisan character of this celebration and will overlook as not wholly uncalled for any slight emphasis upon the advantages of the party to which Mr. O'HARA gives his allegiance. May we explain that this apparent partiality tonight is purely in the interests of his greater comfort and happiness.

We hope that our activities here tonight are, to borrow a phrase dear to Congressmen, in pursuance of Your wishes, Your plans for our city and Nation, Your honor and glory. Nothing matters so much as to please You, for it is only in pleasing You that we promote our true well being and happiness. Forgive us our proclivity to place other things before You, to wit, our prejudices, the accumulation of cash, our own comfort and ease, the fear of taxes.

We know You will welcome a few requests. Grant the Congressman health and vigor to serve us until he reaches the age, say of Senator GREEN. Help us in Chicago and in the Nation to solve justly, wisely, and peacefully the racial conflicts which disgrace us and deserve Your anger. Enable us to provide for all Americans not racing cars and color TV but the material means to a good life, and instill in all of us an appreciation of and longing for the good life, a life suitable not to the well-fed automatons but to rational beings, yes, to the sons of God. Give us the generosity and energy to contribute all within our power to the welfare of other peoples, especially to the impoverished and downtrodden. Make us collectively an instrument of Your peace, peace at home, peace among nations.

Direct us, our friends and our enemies to avoid the calamities which we are so capable of bringing upon one another and mankind. By ourselves, despite the good intentions of many leaders, we are lost. We humbly beg Your assistance on an unprecedented scale.

The Modern United States Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, as the world changes and the international forces within it assume new proportionate relationships, the role and function of United States seapower becomes increasingly important. This was discussed editorially by the Long Beach Press-Telegram last Monday as follows:

THE MODERN UNITED STATES NAVY

The vital role of the United States Navy in free world defense is underscored again by the decision to withdraw all American ground combat forces from Japan.

Weakening of our ground position in the Far East, or elsewhere, has to be offset by our power afloat.

Land bases in other countries are subject to the hazards of politics and negotiation. Seagoing bases are not.

The waters of the oceans are international. A United States ship at sea is a United States possession, capable of moving to all parts of the world. It can be sent into the Formosa Strait as evidence of American strength to prevent precipitate action by Red China. It can be sent to the shores of the Mediterranean as a timely warning to Near Eastern nations against lighting the war fuse there.

Hence, the Navy has been growing in importance and power instead of declining in an age in which, according to some prophets, every weapon of warfare except the airplane was supposed to shrivel into insignificance.

Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, recently summarized in this way the modern Navy's function and its ability to perform:

"Naval power with its tremendous combination of swift mobility, long range, and concentrated firepower is an indispensable element in projecting and applying the total military strength of the United States anywhere in the world. Naval power is America's first line of defense today.

"To defend America your Navy has developed new and startling weapons. Many of these weapons are operational on the ships of the fleet today; many more will go aboard in the near future.

"These weapons, called guided missiles, help keep the modern Navy first in mobility, ready to move and strike quickly and easily anywhere on the globe, above it, or under the sea; first in authority to deter aggression with capabilities tailored to the occasion—from crushing a single enemy feint, to unleashing tremendous retaliatory striking power."

Far from being a competitor of air power, Navy power has adapted to the air age. Limited fuel capacities make it necessary for most aircraft to take off and land at bases in the general region of their operations. The Navy furnishes the floating bases from which aircraft, as well as missiles, may be launched.

The importance which the Government attaches to the naval arm is shown conclusively by the fact that plans are going forward to create a fleet powered by nuclear energy. The first step was the production of atomic submarines. The second was the recent decision to construct the cruiser U. S. S. *Long Beach*, which will be the first nuclear-powered warship in history. More will follow.

All of this has special meaning for coastal cities, such as those along the shore of southern California, which have often wondered what the future holds in store with regard to naval installations and ship traffic in their harbors. The answer is that there will be a Navy for a long time; and its prospects are for development, not deterioration.

Better Than Nothing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, with great seriousness, we have all approached the civil-rights issue in order to form a better America. We are coming to very crucial days on this matter, for further decisions must now be made in this regard. A realistic approach to this situation is expressed in an editorial which appeared in the Des Moines Register August 6, 1957. The editorial follows:

BETTER THAN NOTHING

President Eisenhower apparently is seriously considering a veto of the civil-rights bill unless the House and Senate agree to revision of the Senate-passed jury-trial amendment.

The President's concern is partly centered on the fact that the Senate version of the bill calls for jury trials in criminal contempt cases involving Federal matters in addition to the right to vote. Litigation in labor, antitrust, and many other cases would be affected. The President declared in his statement last week that the provision would "weaken our whole judicial system." An administration spokesman claims it would "create chaos and utter confusion" in enforcement by Government regulatory agencies.

The House should look into this and consider limiting the jury-trial provision to cases involving voting. To eliminate the jury-trial amendment altogether could well mean no civil-rights legislation. Southerners would be certain to filibuster. Even if such a filibuster could be broken, it's questionable whether a law imposed on the South against bitter southern opposition could be as effective as the present Senate version.

House and Senate leaders also should clarify, if at all possible, a section of part I of the bill. This appears to subject newsmen to fine and imprisonment for using testimony taken before the Civil Rights Commission, set up under the bill, without consent of the Commission. The provision is interpreted differently by different Members of the Senate. It ought to be made clear that no punishment for publication, in violation of the first amendment, is intended.

Overall, supporters of civil rights need not be disheartened by the bill as it emerges from the Senate. It is weaker than it might have been, but it provides substantially better machinery than exists now for guaranteeing the right to vote.

The gloomy comments on the bill by Senate Minority Leader Knowland, Vice President Nixon, and President Eisenhower should be taken in the context of the American system of politics—and the 1958 and 1960 elections. The opportunity exists in this Congress to make a real gain toward voting equality in the South. It should not be lost.

A Cry for Correction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Los Angeles Examiner entitled "A Cry for Correction," dated July 29, 1957:

A CRY FOR CORRECTION

The American Bar Association, meeting in London, heard a comprehensive report from its committee on communism concerning the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court that have left the country with weakened defenses against subversive conspiracies.

The report reflected the same conclusions about the decisions that the Examiner and other Hearst newspapers have previously voiced, mainly that the Supreme Court has ignored the basic right of a free Nation to protect itself against its enemies. As the committee said, the vital thing involved is the right of self-preservation, which is mankind's first law.

Speaking charitably, the report said the Court had fallen into the error of "oversealous protection of theoretical individual rights."

But with the greatest vigor and clarity it outlined the program of legislative correction which has been made necessary and urgent by the succession of judicial errors.

For example, the "condition of nakedness" in which the Court has left the unevaluated files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation will be a source of continuing national danger until there is legislative remedy.

The stripping of the investigating powers of Congress in the whole field of subversion is another of the byproducts of the distortions in which the Court has indulged.

The denial of the right of the Federal Government to make itself free of security risks in the so-called nonsensitive employment classifications totally disregards the gravest of national dangers.

The shielding of deportable aliens against questions concerning their guilty associations makes the whole Nation defenseless against those who would destroy it.

For utter idiocy, what is so far afield from judicial wisdom than the Court's interpretation that the Congress did not intend, in its enactment of the Smith Act, to prohibit the advocacy and teaching of the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence?

Granting all the needs for the safeguards of traditional rights, the committee said the greater need still remains for turning back the enemies at our gates.

The basic thing the Supreme Court has overlooked, in the sound opinion of this invaluable report, is this fundamental fact:

"It is equally necessary that the executive and legislative branches take effective action to gird our our country against Communist infiltration and aggression."

This is the important thing that the Supreme Court has not only left undone, but has gone so far toward leaving undoable.

The duty of correction is where the bar association's committee says it is, squarely in the hands of Congress.

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, among the many tasks we as Members of Congress have, is the legislative responsibility for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Located in the western Pacific, north of the Equator, is the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which on July 18, 1947, was assigned by the Security Council of the United Nations to the United States for administrative purposes.

By Executive order of the President, responsibility for the civil administration of six of the districts of the trust territory was placed in the Department of the Interior, while the seventh, Saipan District, is administered by the Department of the Navy.

Each year the High Commissioner of the trust territory files a comprehensive report with the United Nations Trusteeship Council and appears in person with his advisory staff before that body to discuss progress made in the various phases of his administration during the preceding year.

The present High Commissioner is the Honorable D. H. Nucker, a long-time resident of Altoona, Pa. Commissioner Nucker is doing an outstanding job in the trust territory and merits our commendation for his foresight, patience, and diplomacy in this delicate task.

I include for our reading Mr. Nucker's statement presented before the United Nations Trusteeship Council on May 28, 1957. I particularly call attention to several of the achievements of his administration during the past year; increased copra yield, remarkable progress in the settlement of land claims, rehabilitation of displaced Marshallese on Rongelap, Kili, and Ujeleng, and the assumption of major responsibilities by Micronesians in the fields of education, health, and in the municipal governments:

THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

It is a privilege to appear before you as Special Representative of the Trust Territory of the Pacific to report on the significant events that have occurred in the progress of our administration since July 1, 1956. This is the third time I have had the honor and pleasure of serving in this capacity, and I look forward, as I have in the past, to receiving the benefits of the views and recommendations of the members of the council.

My report this year has an added significance. This July 1957 marks the completion of 10 years of administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under the auspices of the United Nations trusteeship agreement and thus affords me the opportunity to report briefly on the progress that has been made in this formative period of our administration.

Ten years ago, the area we call the Trust Territory of the Pacific had but recently emerged from the devastation and ravages of war. Although the area had been secured in 1945, it was a slow and hard struggle to repair the damages wrought by the war. The local economy, which had rested largely on copra, had been destroyed, the transportation system was almost nonexistent, schooling had all but disappeared. In almost all areas of activity a fresh start had to be made.

To rebuild the shattered economy was not an easy task. The difficulties of reclamation, then as well as now, went hand in hand with a geographical handicap perhaps unparalleled elsewhere in the world—that of a small population scattered on tiny islets spread over a segment of ocean surface as vast as the United States of America or the continent of Australia.

The progress achieved by the people of Micronesia in the past 10 years takes on added significance in view of the handicaps faced.

ADMINISTRATION

Among the most important events of general administrative significance this past year was the completion of the conversion program of our American employees to the competitive civil service. Except for a small number of employees who hold temporary jobs, such as those associated with our special construction projects, our American employees now enjoy the advantages of permanent civil-service status.

A minor administrative change came about by the upgrading of our personnel and supply sections to the status of separate departments. Headquarters staff was augmented during the year by appointment of a new deputy high commissioner, an internal auditor, and a general assistant to the chief counsel. Two new positions of considerable significance, that of a training supervisor and a full-time counselor for our Micronesian students in Hawaii, were added to our staff as part of our program of training Micronesians for responsible jobs in the administration of their area.

Our permanent Micronesian personnel increased somewhat during the year, from 1,437 to 1,539, the increase being brought about by sizable additions to our agriculture, education, and public-health departments. In addition, 318 Micronesians were employed in our special construction program.

During the year two top administrative positions formerly filled by American staff members were taken over by Micronesians; these were the finance officer position in Palau district, and the land title officer in Ponape district. A minor milestone also was reached in Palau, where for the first time a senior secretarial position was filled with a qualified Micronesian clerk-typist. Within the next few months it is anticipated that the position of finance officer in Truk district will also be filled by a qualified Trukese applicant.

ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

In the field of economic advancement we have continued to encourage the Micronesians to develop their natural resources within the limits of their own capabilities. We are giving encouragement by way of technical aid and advice, by providing substantial financial assistance to local concerns, and by sending qualified Micronesians abroad to acquire know-how in the fields where economic development appears promising.

We have loaned close to $400,000 to Micronesian-owned trading companies under a development loan program and shall continue this process within our financial capabilities and the needs of the Micronesian

companies. At the present time, some $275,000 is invested in such development loans.

During the past year 2 additional trading companies were chartered by the administration, making a total of 9 such limited stock trading companies now in existence throughout the territory. It is significant that these two new companies came into being in districts where there is stiff competition from large and well-established companies. This type of competition is to us a healthy sign, since by its existence prices of consumer goods will be kept at a reasonable level for the local population.

Copra remains the backbone of the economy of Micronesia and the major source of income for most of our Micronesians. The war completely shattered the copra industry throughout Micronesia, and in 1946, after the area had been secured, only a few hundred tons of copra were exported. By 1948 copra exports had risen to 8,000 tons annually, yielding about $700,000 in revenue. In 1956, 12,300 tons of copra were exported at a value in round figures of $1,250,000. This year we expect to export an estimated 13,300 tons with a revenue return of $1,400,000. The quality of our copra has continued to improve; 82 percent of all copra sold this past fiscal year was grade 1, 14 percent grade 2, and only 4 percent was grade 3. Through our coconut technical expert, a training program in better methods of processing copra was launched, and we anticipate that an even higher proportion of grade-1 copra should result in the future. By the institution of more regular field-trip service, a better quality of copra also is resulting since deterioration due to inadequate storage is being prevented.

In spite of the fluctuating world market for copra, we are able through the copra stabilization fund to maintain a constant price of $110 a ton to the producer for grade-1 copra during the year. This necessitated using only about $30,000 from the copra fund, and at the end of last month a balance of $890,000 was in the fund. During the year we also instituted a program of regular and widespread reporting on the operation of the copra stabilization fund in line with a recommendation made by the 1956 United Nations visiting mission. At regular intervals financial statements of the fund, as well as simple explanatory reports on what the fund is and how it operates, are released. These are translated into the various vernaculars and are given wide distribution. The public reaction to this regular reporting has been intense since it allows the small copra producer to anticipate his potential income at the time of harvest and enables him to plan for his family needs more systematically.

Trochus production during fiscal year 1956 rose to over 400 tons, producing an income of roughly $350,000. While the tonnage of trochus shell harvested during the 1957 season dropped to approximately 350 tons, the season proved to be the most profitable one for the people of Micronesia. A top price of $1,160 a short ton brought in a revenue of over $388,000, or $38,000 more than last year. The 1956 trochus season revealed that there was need for changes in the conservation program in some of the districts, and accordingly the Trust Territory Code is being amended to allow each district to establish its own conservation program.

During the past fiscal year handicraft income dropped somewhat. Uncertainty of supply and inadequate marketing have kept income from this source down. Currently one of the largest trading companies is planning to open a Micronesian handicraft store in Guam as an outlet for handicraft from all over the Territory, and handicraft income is expected to increase with this new outlet.

An appreciable increase in the production of vegetable produce in Rota and Saipan districts came about during the past fiscal year. Income from this source rose to $95,000 in 1956, an increase of about $17,000 from the previous season. The forthcoming year should see an additional increase as the result of improved commercial shipping service by a Saipanese-owned shipping company. This regular service, plus better marketing arrangements, should stimulate the fresh-vegetable produce business for the people of Siapan, Tinian, and Rota.

AGRICULTURE

We have continued to strengthen our agricultural programs since agriculture is the chief economic activity of our people. In the last 2 years our American agricultural staff has been more than doubled, and specialists in the fields of coconut development and marine biology have been employed. After a long search we have been able to recruit a much-needed specialist in plant diseases and now have a plant pathologist on the staff. Our training program for Micronesian agricultural assistants has been stepped up. We now have 178 Micronesians employed in this field, an increase of 25 over last year.

Two Micronesian students now are working for agricultural degrees at the College of Agriculture at the University of the Philippines, and several of our students in Hawaii are specializing in agricultural courses.

As part of our long-range program to introduce new cash crops, 3 members of the Agriculture Department, an American and 2 Micronesians, spent part of this year studying cocoa planting, harvesting, and processing methods in Costa Rica.

Our staff fisheries biologist continued to concentrate on the supervising of the trochus harvesting program. Experimental work in trochus planting started, and better plans developed for the conservation of this valuable shell resource. The staff fisheries biologist also gave attention to the planning of a subsistence fisheries program for the territory. As a first step in the establishment of this interdistrict program in subsistence fishing, 3 young Micronesians, 1 from Palau, 1 from Ponape, and 1 from Saipan, participated in a special 3-month fisheries training course at Noumea, New Caledonia, under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission. Two of these trainees will be sent this June to Honolulu, where for several months they will get additional training and experience as trainees assigned to one of the fishing boats of the Pacific Ocean Fisheries Investigations, an adjunct of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the United States Department of the Interior. Upon completion of this training, we plan to use these two Micronesians as the nucleus of an interdistrict subsistence fishing demonstration team. We are currently recruiting a qualified American fisheries staff man to head this team. Through the development of a program of subsistence fishing we hope to enable the Micronesians to better utilize the valuable resources of the sea.

The improvement of subsistence crops has been accelerated. Each district center has a functioning agricultural station, field nurseries, and an extension service in operation. Our animal improvement program has as its goal the improvement of the quality of the present Micronesian animal strain. Purebred swine from Hawaii were introduced into each district this past year as breeding stock.

In the higher islands where pasturage is available, cattle breeding for improvement of stock and production of meat is being stressed.

The work of the staff coconut expert has been concentrated on a coconut rehabilitation and replanting program and a demonstration program for better copra processing. Mother palms have been selected and coconut nurseries established in all districts. Supervised coconut plantings also have been started in each district and special demonstration plantings started in areas that need intensive coconut rehabilitation work.

The cocoa plantation in Palau, the coconut plantation in Metalanim in Ponape, and the experimental atoll research station in Jaluit in the Marshalls have expanded and increased their programs.

Work continues in the battle against insect pests and diseases that attack the food and money crops of the area. The first assignment of our new plant pathologist will be to investigate taro and breadfruit diseases in the Palau and Marshall districts. The fight against the rhinocerous beetle goes on in Palau. The agriculture department has intensified a cleanup program, and our entomologist continued experimental work with the predatory scolia wasp. The scolia wasp now appears to have successfully weathered its first stage, and in the past year we have been able to introduce the wasp in the larval stage to areas where coconut trees are still being damaged and killed by the coconut rhinocerous beetle. Although elimination of the rhinocerous beetle has not yet been achieved, we have now progressed in its control and extermination to the point where large areas, formerly pest ridden, have been effectively cleared. A large-scale program of replanting of coconut trees in such pest-free areas is underway.

Our agricultural program this year has been one of consolidation and of slow but forward expansion in extension and experimental agricultural work.

CLAIM SETTLEMENT

At long last we are able to report that appreciable progress was made in the settling of claims, particularly land claims in the territory.

All outstanding land claims in the Truk district were settled during May and June of last year.

A property claim by a Belgian family in the territory was brought successfully to conclusion, and a mutually satisfactory settlement both to the administration and claimants resulted.

It is with great satisfaction that we can state that the settlement to the people of Bikini and Eniwetok has taken place, both to their complete satisfaction and ours. The people of Kili accepted the sum of $325,000 and the use rights to the island of Kili and three islets in the Jaluit Atoll and gave in return the indefinite use rights of the atoll of Bikini to the trust territory government. At the request of the Kili people, made through their elected council, a trust fund of $300,000 was established in their name. The annual income of this trust fund will be equal to their present copra income so that the Kilians, from henceforth, can look forward to at least a doubling of their present yearly income. The first installment of the interest from their trust fund will be ready for payment in July of this year.

The people of Eniwetok, now resident on Ujelang Atoll, accepted in exchange for the indefinite use rights of Eniwetok the sum of $175,000 and the use rights to the atoll of Ujelang. Again, as in Kili, the people, through their council, requested that $150,000 of their money be placed in a trust fund. The first installment of interest on this fund will be paid to the people of Ujelang this July.

Work leading toward the settlement of remaining outstanding land claims continues. We expect to settle all remaining land claims which resulted from World War II in the Palau and Yap districts this calendar year. In the Marshalls sizable claims of this nature still remain to be settled. Certain of these at the present time are being negotiated; others still need additional cadastral surveying to determine settlement. We are now in the process of carrying out such necessary surveying.

At last year's session I reported that it was my earnest hope to be able to settle during

this year the Japanese bond and postal savings claims. Administrative difficulties appeared that did not make this achievement possible. We have now set aside money for the settlement of these claims, and plans are under way to effect its use to wipe out this small but important type of claim. When this is done, a source of irritation will have been removed from the minds of the Micronesians.

With the settlement of the land claims in Truk, the Etscheit claims in Truk and Ponape, the settlement of the Bikini and Eniwetok land claims, most of the major land claims have been met. We shall continue to exert every effort to settle all remaining land claims in the near future.

We have made progress also in releasing land to Micronesians. During the year the administration received title to the island of Ulul from a Belgian claimant, and plans are now underway to give the Trukese residents of the island title, through our homestead program, to the land on which they live. The island of Imiej in the Jaluit atoll, which had become public property, was homesteaded to its former owners. In Palau over 1,300 acres of public land on the island of Babelthuap was deeded to one of the municipalities for its use. As mentioned above, the use rights to the island of Kili, the islets of Jabet, Jar, Boklaplap, and to Ujelang atoll were transfererd from the Government to Micronesians during the year.

DISPLACED MARSHALLESE

A most important event shortly is to take place within the territory—that of the return of the Rongelapese to their home atoll of Rongelap. This is an event long looked forward to by the people of Rongelap and equally so by the administration. Rongelap atoll has been determined to be safe for habitation. This month a new and complete village is being constructed on Rongelap; houses, a school, a church, a community building, a dispensary, canoe sheds, and cisterns are being built. Adequate financial resources have been set aside so that a gradual readjustment to their previous subsistence pattern of life will come about without any hardship to the Rongelapese people after their return to Rongelap. A voice-radio station will be established to permit ready contact with our Marshalls district radio network.

The periodic annual medical reexamination of the Rongelapese and Utirikese carried out only 2 months ago demonstrated that they are in fine health and that no lasting effects of the radioactive fallout can be perceived. In addition to the overall medical check on the entire group, five representatives recently volunteered to undergo special refined testing at the Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago. These special tests supported the general examination results that the people had recovered fully and were in excellent health.

We have continued to give special aid to the economic, agricultural, social, and political problems of the people of Kili and Ujelang through our special Kili and Ujelang projects. The former isolation of Kili effectively has been broken by the operation of the Kili boat, the *Libra*, during the past year. This 50-foot auxiliary schooner has accelerated the economic and social progress of the Kilians. Copra production has increased, the Jabor facilities on Jaluit are being utilized, and the islets of Jebet, Jar, and Boklaplap are being cultivated. A truly integrated community is emerging on the island of Kili.

The people of Ujelang also have made an excellent adjustment to their new home. The outstanding success of the Marshallese project manager at Kili led this past year to the establishment of a similar post at Ujelang. Introduction of new food crops, the establishment of a coconut nursery, and the upgrading of local animal stock were among the main activities of the Ujelang project manager during the year. The Marshallese agriculturists of Kili and Ujelang participated in the recent agricultural conference at Guam, and I have been advised that their reports on their respective projects were among the outstanding features of this conference.

Better logistic support for Ujelang was achieved during the year through a more frequent field-trip schedule. Field-trip ships now regularly call at Ujelang once every 3 months. This coming year the installation of a voice-radio link is planned so that emergency communication with the district center at Majuro or Ebeye will be possible.

EDUCATION

One of the most outstanding developments in the past 10 years in the territory has been the growing consciousness on the part of Micronesians as to what public education is about and their acceptance of responsibility in supporting such a program. While the Japanese had instituted a limited public school system for island children, the war completely disrupted this school system and few of the children of school age in 1944 had had the opportunity of attending school for any appreciable length of time.

The first school in Micronesia was reopened in the Marshalls in 1944. Today 197 separate schools are operating in the Trust Territory, comprised of 158 public elementary schools, 20 nonpublic elementary schools, 7 public secondary schools, and 12 nonpublic secondary schools. Last year there were 7,952 children enrolled in the public elementary schools, 1,433 in the nonpublic elementary schools, 820 in the public secondary schools, 495 in the nonpublic secondary schools, and 135 in Pacific Islands Central School, our highest public secondary school, making a total of 10,835 students attending schools in the Trust Territory. Preliminary estimates for the past year indicate that the student enrollment has climbed to over 11,000 students this year.

Increasingly, Micronesians are taking over both the administration and the management of education. One Micronesian is district director of education, and five intermediate schools now have Micronesian principals. Each of the main districts have Micronesian superintendents of schools. In the five districts which still have American directors of education, the role of these Americans largely has become that of advisers to the local school boards and the Micronesian superintendents and principals of the schools.

With the except in the PICS staff we have continued to use our American teaching staff as teacher trainers. Each of our main districts has two or more teacher trainers who devote full time to teacher aid and training. It is our aim that at least one of these teacher trainers devotes the major portion of his time to the improvement of education in the schools away from the district center or on the remote off islands.

Local community support of education has climbed steadily in the past year. In three districts now the district legislative body has undertaken to pass legislation setting minimum salary standards for elementary-school teachers and centralizing payment of all elementary-school salaries. Every district now possesses functioning school boards which are playing active roles in determining educational policy for their respective communities.

New elementary-school buildings have been constructed. Some of these have been completely supported by the local community itself, others have been built through our grant-in-aid project. It can be reported in all sincerity that this administration's oft-stated policy of turning over the main responsibility for elemetniary education to the local community is producing notable results. I will grant that elementary schools on our remote off-islands sometimes fall short of the goal we desire. By and large, the community-sponsored schools that have developed elsewhere reflect a degree of interest and participation in education that is true and strong for the reason that the community itself has underwritten the school, its teachers, and its program.

Through our program of teacher training, the providing of more and better textbooks in the vernacular, the support of new school construction through our grant-in-aid program, the administration shall continue to give every aid and encouragement to this truly grassroots system of elementary-school education.

This past year has seen the planning of an additional public intermediate school. By next June Kusai Island of Ponape district will have a complete public intermediate school, the first such intermediate school to be established outside the district center. We are supplying the materials for construction, the teaching staff, both American and Micronesian, and the upkeep of the school. The Kusaiens for their part are supplying the land, part of the materials, and all of the labor. Through joint enterprise the seventh public intermediate school in the Territory will come into existence this coming year.

In 1956 the Pacific Islands Central School completed its first year as a full-fledged 3-year secondary school. A completely revised curriculum more responsive to the needs and interests of Micronesian youth was instituted.

Building plans for the new Pacific Islands Central School plant on a large site in Ponape were prepared during the year and preliminary work started. The building site area was cleared, roads put in, water lines laid. Preliminary estimates are that at least three major buildings will be ready for occupancy by the fall of 1958 although it now appears that it will be 1959 before the new plant will be completely finished. When this new plant is opened, it will afford opportunities also for a more practical curriculum, especially in the fields of agriculture and technical training, as well as allowing us to increase measurably the overall student enrollment.

An ever-increasing number of students are going outside the trust territory for higher education. Ten years ago only a handful of students had managed to go outside the Territory for schooling. In 1956, 225 students were studying outside the Territory. While the majority, 157, were attending secondary schools in Guam, 37 were studying in Hawaii, 16 in the Philippines, 11 in the United States, and 2 in Suva. This number appreciably increased this current year. Six years ago, other than the medical and dental students at Suva, Fiji, only 1 trust territory scholarship was granted for higher education. Last year 15 trust territory scholarships were granted. This forthcoming year we anticipate the starting of an additional scholarship program designed to give full degree university training to a select group of outstanding students.

In all districts the education department and health department have joined forces in developing a broad program of health education. A Trust Territory-wide health book is being planned for publication this next school year. A joint program between the district education and agriculture departments has been under way for the past few years.

The development of educational materials adapted to the local cultures and printed in the local vernaculars is being encouraged. Three of our districts have small printing presses for such purposes. So great is the demand for materials of this type that this past year we requested a specialist from the South Pacific Commission to make a survey of our local facilities for such reproduction work. It is anticipated that this report, which will be available within the next month, will be of significant value to us.

PUBLIC HEALTH

The safeguarding of the health of the Micronesians remains one of our primary concerns. Tuberculosis continues to be a serious health problem and is receiving major attention. This past year a BCG vaccination program was launched, and testing and vaccination is going on in all districts. The actual in-patient load of active tuberculosis is somewhat les than last year because of persistent treatment of cases at our hospitals and dispensaries. Fewer active cases of leprosy this past year confirm the value of the careful treatment now in process at the district hospital level. Continuous vaccination against smallpox and tetanus is carried on as a preventive medicine activity in all districts.

The inclusion of better trained Micronesians into the public health field remains the underlying and motivating factor of our overall public health program. Ten years ago there were but two qualified Micronesian medical practitioners in all of Micronesia. Since that time we have produced through training programs at Guam, Suva, and Hawaii 26 fully trained medical practitioners so that today 28 qualified Micronesian practitioners are on the job throughout the area. In addition, seven medical students currently are at the Central Medical School in Suva. Three of our medical practitioners presently are getting advanced medical work in a hospital in Hilo, Hawaii, and a fourth will go later this year.

In 1947 there were no dental practitioners in the Territory. Today 19 fully qualified Micronesian dentists handle all the dental work throughout the districts under the direction of an American interdistrict supervisor.

All the territory sanitation work now is done by qualified Micronesian sanitarians directed by an American interdistrict supervisor. One of the outstanding Micronesian sanitarians last year was sent to Honolulu for specialized training and is slated to take over the interdistrict sanitation position, now filed by an American, when he returns from training.

For the last 2 years the Marshalls district has had a Micronesian director of public health, and for the past year all medical services in Ponape district have been handled completely by Micronesian staff.

The two new hospitals at Ebeye and Kusaie will be headed by licensed Micronesian medical practitioners and supported by services staffed by qualified Micronesians.

Advanced training is being given in other fields. One laboratory technician is in training in Hawaii, as are two graduate nurses. Dental graduates are received advanced training through the Navy in Guam. This year plans call for an advanced course in anesthesia for selected trainees at the Guam Naval Hospital. During the year a refresher course in sanitation was completed for 34 employees.

We have increased our hospital units from 7 to 8 this past year and by the end of the calendar year anticipate that a ninth complete hospital unit will be operation in Kusaie. A similar out-island hospital unit for the Jaluit atoll is in the planning stage and is scheduled to be in operation in Jabor by 1958. New hospital construction has been completed at Rota, Truk, and Yap. Partial construction has been completed at Koror, and construction is being done at Ebeye and Kusaie.

The nursing school now is in its second year of operation in its new location at Palau and has intensified its basic-training program.

Training continues for out-island health aids at the district hospitals.

A general improvement in health conditions can be reported.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

Ten years ago Micronesian participation in self-government had just begun. One advisory congress body had come into existence in July of 1947 in Palau, and a district council had been organized and had held one meeting in the southern Marshalls.

In the area of municipal government, half of all municipal magistrates in 1947 still held office by reason of hereditary position or by administrative appointment. Today, out of our 102 municipalities, 97 or 95 percent now elect their magistrates as well as other municipal officers. Only in five outlying islands of the Truk district do we still have magistrates that serve through hereditary status and there only because the conservatism of the island people still is strong enough for them to insist upon honoring their hereditary leader by conferring upon him the role of magistrate.

A great stride in the sphere of municipal government this past year has been the planning of a systematic program of chartering municipalities throughout the territory. Two municipalities of the Saipan district already are chartered, and four major municipalities in other districts are slated to receive charters by the end of June. Our target dates for chartering the remaining 96 municipalities are not completely determined, but according to our present program 9 additional major municipalities should be chartered by the end of this calendar year, at least 16 additional ones by the end of June 1958, and 5 more by the end of fiscal year 1959.

The chartering of municipalities must of necessity be accompanied by an educational program, and accordingly the outlying islands will be brought slowly into the program. We hope though that by the end of 1960 most of our major municipalities will be operating under formal charters.

Today the Palau Congress holds the distinction of being the most highly developed of all our district congresses, having been the first to achieve full legislative powers. This past year 2 regular sessions and 1 special session were held. Among the outstanding resolutions passed by the Palau Congress this year were a law governing inheritance procedures, a budget in which the district congress will take over full cost of paying elementary-school teachers, and the establishment of a special scholarship to train abroad a qualified Palauan in boat building.

In Truk district, the fifth annual magistrates' conference met last November and amongst other acts voted to establish a 2-year district scholarship to be supported by district tax funds. These local government-sponsored scholarships are of great importance since they demonstrate the interest and concern of the older, elected officials to give modern education and training to their young people. The magistrates' conference also unanimously voted to set up a district-wide congress with representatives elected directly by the people. Members of the trusteeship council who were present at last year's session may recall my statement that we hoped to have a district-wide congress in Truk by 1960. I am most pleased to be able to announce at this session that I have been advised by my staff that an official charter for a Truk district congress is almost ready for signature and that, if implementation goes according to schedule, the first session of the Truk district congress should be held this autumn, 3 years ahead of our previous target date.

In the Marshalls district, the former district council long since has become a full-fledged bicameral congress. Eleven resolutions of the sixth annual session received approval. These ranged from new taxation laws to a law subsidizing payment of out-island health aids.

In Ponape, the Ponape Island Congress held its fifth meeting passing resolutions on taxes, inheritance laws, trochus season, and other district affairs. This island congress also is studying ways and means to develop a true districtwide legislative body, the realization of which we hope may take place this forthcoming year.

The first chartered town in Micronesia, Kolonia, came into existence in April 1956. During the year the town elected a council, a mayor, and other officers. The town council in cooperation with an administration grant-in-aid program is building a town council building. This will be the third such government building to be built in the Ponape district through such a joint pooling of administration and community resources.

In Yap, the Yap Island Council during the year met at regular intervals and established new taxes, raised salaries for Yap elementary school teachers, and gave financial aid to a community-sponsored dormitory for the intermediate school male students.

In the northern Marianas an important event of the year was the first meeting of the newly established Tinian Municipal Congress. On Saipan the Saipan Municipal Congress met for its regularly scheduled sessions.

On a territorywide scale the political highlight of the year was the week long micronesian Leaders' Confrence held in Guam in August 1956. Delegates were elected by representative bodies in each district to attend this conference. The success of this conference, where common problems were discussed, led to the scheduling of a similar interdistrict conference for this coming August. Already, in all of the districts, congresses and councils have elected representatives for the forthcoming conference, and even now each delegation is busy conferring with local groups on problems to be discussed. While the conference of last summer and the forthcoming one this coming August cannot as yet be described in terms of a territorial council, they nonetheless are a basic step in the development of interdistrict political consciousness.

The growing interest of districts in common problems was well demonstrated this past year by the increasing number of observers who attended congress sessions in districts other than their own. At each such session this past year 1 to 2 observers from the other districts were in attendance. We are encouraging and aiding this pattern of exchanging observers within the limits of our transportation system.

A number of other joint conferences in Guam between administration staff and Micronesians occurred during the year. In September 1956 a trust territory judicial conference was held. Micronesian representatives, judges, and clerks of courts from each district participated in the adoption of a series of resolutions making recommendations for improvements in the work of the courts.

The annual meeting between administration officials and managers of chartered trading companies included for the first time Micronesian delegates chosen by the Micronesian boards of directors. These delegates took an active role in working out mutual problems faced by the trading companies and the administration.

During the most recent conference, that of the trust territory agriculturists, held only last month in Guam, two Micronesian agricultural project managers who were in attendance participated fully in all aspects of the conference.

We shall continue this policy of bringing representative Micronesians into trust territory conferences where problems that intimately concern the Micronesian people are under discussion.

The administering authority through actions such as these is attempting to set out a number of intermediate targets under which progressive growth may take place in the field of political advancement as well as in economic and social advancement.

LOGISTICS, COMMUNICATION, AND SUPPLY

The improvement of logistic support to our district centers and within the district area remains one of our major concerns. The enormity of our area, the small and scattered land units, makes this a logistic problem of considerable magnitude.

We have attempted in the past few years to achieve this improvement through the accomplishment of these major goals: That of placing the total responsibility of providing service between the outside world and the trust territory in the hands of established shipping firms; the gradual turning over of intradistrict shipping to qualified local companies or individuals; and lastly, to limit the role of the administration in the area of shipping to that of interdistrict ship operations.

The achievement of the first goal, that of turning over our outside shipping to established firms, is well on its way. Majuro, in the Marshalls, has been developed as a world port of call, and a well-known commercial line has been loading and unloading cargo there since 1954. During the past year this commercial shipping service was regularized so that ships now call there at the rate of 1 ship approximately every 2 months.

The turning over of intradistrict shipping to qualified Micronesian companies is of necessity a slow process. The cost of replacement shipping continually is rising, thus making the acquisition of new vessels prohibitive for private enterprise within the territory. Through a liberal loan policy we hope to enable qualified local companies gradually to move into such intradistrict shipping. In two districts, that of the Marshalls and Saipan, significant progress has been made in this field by local companies. In the Marshalls the purchase of a station vessel, made possible by a loan from the administration, augmented a local company's shipping service to the extent that it now handles 50 percent of all intradistrict shipping needs of the Marshalls area. Currently the administration continues to furnish the remaining logistic support for the district, but this, we hope, can be reduced gradually as the local company is able to increase its service.

In Saipan local businessmen raised $30,000 and the administration advanced $25,000 to organize a corporation which bought out an American-owned shipping company which has served the district for the past several years. Originally purchased to serve the islands of Saipan, Tinian, and Rota from Guam, the ship owned by the corporation has been chartered by the administration for field trips to the northern islands to pick up copra. Commercial cargo between ports on Guam, Rota, Tinian, and Saipan is carried on this vessel.

Our other districts have yet to move into this field of endeavor on any appreciable scale, but we shall continue to give every aid and encouragement to local desire to do so.

Through our fleet of amphibious SA–16 planes we have continued to provide weekly air service to each of the five main district centers and regular monthly service with frequent extra flights to the district of Rota. These planes also are used from time to time on emergency medical flights between outlying islands and the district center and between the district center and headquarters in Guam. Saipan is served by twice-weekly flights by Navy logistic aircraft.

We have continued to strengthen our radio communication system. This past year has seen the establishment of a net control center at Truk district center. From our Guam headquarters, voice contact is maintained with each of our districts. Each district center in turn is linked with a network of out-island stations. Four years ago only 5 such outer-island radio stations were in existence, currently 18 are in actual operation, and 4 additional stations are scheduled for installation within the next few months. By the end of this calendar year, 22 out-island radio stations manned and maintained by Micronesians themselves will be in operation throughout the trust territory. Through such a network we are able to provide emergency medical aid as well as to provide information to islanders on our field-trip ship movements.

In the Marshalls district a medium-powered broadcasting station, run and maintained by the Department of Education, is on the air for 3 hours each day from Monday through Friday. Through it the education department sends educational aid to elementary schools on the out-islands and the departments of public health and agriculture have regularly scheduled broadcasts.

This station also broadcasts the movements of our station vessels as they proceed from one atoll to another. This now enables Marshallese to better correlate the harvesting of their copra so as to prevent deterioration due to uncertain length of storage. The local trading companies have reported an upsurge in both quantity and quality of copra as a result in the past year.

Our training program to equip Micronesians to take over the maintenance and operation positions of our communication system has been accelerated. Of the 53 persons regularly employed in our communication department, 42 are Micronesians holding positions as qualified radio operators, radio mechanics, radio mechanic helpers, and communication clerks. In each of five districts the American communicator has a training program for his Micronesian employees. In one of our district centers the communication center is being operated successfully on an interim basis by the Micronesian staff while the American supervisor is on a special assignment. For 6 months of the past year all interdistrict repairs of an electronic nature were carried out solely by our Micronesian staff. One of the Micronesian radio operators currently is receiving specialized training in Honolulu. Our American communicators now are used only where a position requires extensive training, education, and experience not yet acquired by a Micronesian communicator. We are attempting to give our local communicators such training and education as rapidly as possible.

CONSTRUCTION

This past year we have carried out a complete reorganization of our public works division both on a district and headquarters level. This reorganization has enabled us to eliminate a dual supply and maintenance setup and will make for a more efficient construction operation.

While the achievement of an adequate physical plant will still require an intensive construction program for the next 6 years or so, progress is being made in every district. Eight hundred thousand dollars was expended for new construction last year, and a like amount will be used this present year. Work continues on permanent facilities such as powerplants, new hospital construction, administrative housing, warehouses, and harbor and dock installations in all districts. Road improvement is underway. This construction program will be continued this coming year.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted in this brief report to sketch in broad strokes the significant progress made in the past 10 years by the administering authority as well as to cite certain of the chief accomplishments of the past year. I shall endeavor to the best of my knowledge to clarify any details on aspects of our program as may be requested during the question period.

Looking back over the 10 years since the trusteeship agreement went into effect, I feel we have moved forward on all fronts, slower perhaps in some instances than might have been desired but always toward one primary goal, that of making Micronesia a better place for people to live in as Micronesians. We have at the same time tried to equip them with the knowledge and skills they will need to meet the inevitable change that contact with our modern Western World has brought about in their lives. The steady progress made in training Micronesians to take over positions of authority is seen in the ever-increasing number of top positions that are being filled by qualified Micronesians. We confidently look forward to a continuation of this program.

The Micronesian leaders, both those schooled in the old traditional ways and those emerging younger leaders trained under our tutelage, deserve commendation for the manner in which they have absorbed and assimilated concepts of self-government, of economic and social advancement, and the way in which they have passed on these concepts to their people. Our task is made easier by the caliber of leaders with whom we work.

The administering authority has been guided always by the realization that the Micronesians have a heritage of old and tried traditions and had developed a way of life that had served them well on their isolated islands long before we appeared on the scene. We shall continue to respect their way of life while aiding them to acquire the tools and techniques they must have to meet the changing conditions of their modern world.

I am deeply grateful for this opportunity to present this report. I will be pleased to receive the comments of the members of this council as well as to present any additional information the members may desire in connection with this statement or our annual report.

Veterans' Group Views Status-of-Forces Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the emotional outburst against the status-of-forces agreements, ignited by the Girard incident, at times has taken on ridiculous proportions. Recently I received a letter concerning this issue from Mr. George D. Dysart, regional director of the Portland Area Council of the American Veterans' Committee, which merits the commendation of all Americans for the fine sense of civic responsibility this organization has exhibited. Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the following excerpt from this letter:

Because of the many expresions of opposition to these agreements which are being voiced these days, including the expressions of a number of veterans' organizations, I thought you would be interested in knowing that following a full and detailed discussion of the Girard case and of the status-of-forces agreements in general at its last

meeting, the Portland Chapter of the American Veterans Committee adopted the following policy statement:

"We endorse this Government's recognition of the jurisdiction of each nation over nonduty offenses committed within its territory by troops of other nations stationed there. We commend the recognition of this principle of sovereign equality to other governments—particularly the Soviet Union, whose occupation of satellite nations has been in complete disregard of the rights of such nations. We believe that our Nation has an obligation to American servicemen not to send them in peacetime into an area where it cannot assure them basic fairness and due process in connection with any acts they may be alleged to have commited there. We believe that the NATO and similar status-of-forces agreements provide assurances and that American servicemen have received satisfactory treatment under these agreements. We urge continued congressional surveillance of this matter, but we oppose the reckless criticism of these agreements that has been voiced in and out of Congress."

I hope that you will continue to resist efforts to attach a bow amendment on this subject to any foreign aid, defense, or other legislation, and also that you will vote against House Joint Resolution 16.

Larger Tax Revenue Share Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very straightforward and truthful statement of the real facts that have been prevalent for a long time that appeared in the Evening Tribune, of Lawrence Mass., on August 6, 1957:

LARGER TAX REVENUE SHARE NEEDED

The revelation that Massachusetts is paying $1.34 in taxes to Uncle Sam for every dollar it receives in Federal funds is not as startling as it appears. This has been going on for years.

It ranks 10th in the United States in Federal taxpayments, shipping over $2 billion to Washington last year alone. This is not unusual because Massachusetts is loaded with industry.

It is 37th in its return on the tax dollar, away behind many Southern and Western States.

Transfer of some tax-revenue sources to the States is essential in checking the trend toward big government, a House Government Operations Subcommittee studying Federal-State relations was advised not long ago.

Shifting all Federal estate and gift taxes to the States would be a first step toward slowing the present trend.

Unless State and local finances can be built up, it appears ridiculous to talk about increasing State and local responsibility for programs now dominated by the Federal Government.

There is little question but that if they were given a larger share of tax revenues, State and local governments could resume financing and directing many Federal-aid projects.

The amount of Federal taxes Massachusetts residents are paying, in comparison with what is returned to this State by the Government, readily indicates that we are financing and supporting extensive Federal projects elsewhere. We are helping to greatly strengthen States already in competition with our industry, for one thing.

New England is conspicuous by its lack of flood-control financial assistance from Washington, while other sections of the Nation have been getting this gravy. This is one example.

It is time that Massachusetts received equitable consideration. Its State and local government tax burdens can stand relief.

A Vicious and Depraved Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Jackson Daily News of Tuesday, August 6, 1957:

A VICIOUS AND DEPRAVED LAW

Even if passed in its present emasculated and watered-down form, the proposed civil-rights law means that an army of Federal bureaucrats will descend on Mississippi and other Southern States like a plague of locusts to intimidate the people and to demand that all Negroes, regardless of illiteracy, be allowed to register and vote.

That is the purpose of the law and it has not been cured by amendments.

That is the reason why Senator EASTLAND says he is unhappy about it and why he does not favor passage of the bill in its present form.

The proposed law is still as dangerous as a rattlesnake—even more so because it can strike without warning. Under its provisions that wild-eyed fanatic, Attorney General Brownell, could get a Federal court injunction against any person suspected of taking away the civil rights or voting rights of any Negro.

If you defy the Government when it tells you you must hire a "qualified" Negro as your secretary, or as a salesman, or as a lifeguard at the swimming pool, you would be tried on criminal contempt charges. Civil rights means perhaps the beginning of the end of State government and individual freedom in America.

That eminent Socialist turned Democrat, Walter Reuther, says, "The problem of civil rights in the United States is an international issue * * * the key issue in the world."

We must pass civil-rights legislation, the Reuthers, Harrimans, and Kefauvers profess, to keep Russia from exploiting against us our archaic horse-and-buggy conceptions of constitutional law, trial by jury and other freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Imagine! We must impress Russia, where the only people who vote are the 11 men in the Kremlin * * * where American soldiers with hands tied behind their backs were "tried" by being machinegunned into a common grave * * * Russia, which has butchered 20 million of its own citizens.

Or, are we trying to impress England, where aristocracy and colonialism still reign, South American countries where military dictators reelect themselves without opposition with guns? Or, maybe it's the African cannibals, or the untouchables of India we're trying to impress?

The same liberals whose hearts bleed so profusely for minority groups are now trying to kill the right to filibuster, which is the right of unlimited debate unless two-thirds of the Senators vote to cut off debate. The two-thirds requirement is adequate safeguard against the abuse of free speech and is in itself a protection of the minority.

Few northerners, even the worst bleeding hearts, if they knew and understood Deep South areas where backward blacks outnumber whites in some areas 2 and 3 to 1, would favor integration and full voting privileges. As in backward colonial dependencies, a people has to earn equality. To thrust it on them is to guarantee chaos. The beleaguered, back-to-the-wall South is not defying the Constitution, but upholding it. The Supreme Court, not the South, is guilty. The Court is guilty of unlawful and unconstitutional judicial and prejudicial tyranny. The New Dealers, modern Republicans, and crusading Justices are forcing us down the road to a centralized Socialist-labor welfare state, in which individual States and individuals are under the heel of an all-powerful Federal autocracy.

The civil-rights bill, even in its amended form, still denies fundamental rights guaranteed everyone by the Constitution: The right to own, manage, and enjoy property; the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty; the right of appeal; and the rights guaranteed to the people and the States in the 9th and 10th amendments, limiting the Federal Government to the specific powers, except only those which the Constitution forbade the States to exercise.

We are chasing an illusion of equality under socialism instead of the reality of freedom under States rights and local self-government. Many have been deluded into a fuzzy morality which holds that equality and equal rights are the same thing. Forced equality contradicts the dream to excel; smothers individuality; restricts rights; removes freedoms; legislates mediocrity; waters down courage, thrift, self-reliance, and initiative, and nurtures tyranny. Civil rights, like socialism, doesn't level up, it levels down. An all-powerful Federal Government is a mass denial of freedom.

This land of the free was conceived by our Founding Fathers to preserve the inequalities of its people by a minimum restriction of their liberties. But this land, where anybody could be an eagle, is being forced to become a land where everybody must become dumb and spineless as an oyster.

Economy in Financing on the State Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I note with much gratification the interest in Federal grants of the House Committee on Government Operations.

I had hoped to testify before this committee regarding the financing in full by the States of some programs now in part assisted by Federal aid. A study of the facts will show that in some instances a much more effective job could be accomplished on the local level if sources of income for such financing was relinquished to State and municipal governments.

The following editorial which appeared August 8, 1947, in the Tacoma

News Tribune points up the increasing interest in this subject:

TIME FOR A LOOK

The last two reports of Tax Foundation, Inc., should increase public interest in the President's suggestion of a national tax structure survey to see if some of the Federal programs cannot be undertaken more economically by the States.

This week's foundation report said the average $85-a-week American has to work a day and a half of every 5-day week before he has made enough to pay his taxes. Workmen in other brackets have a similar experience. Some work longer for the Government.

On Tuesday noon he is free to start making his own living.

An earlier report pointed up the secret nature of the taxes we pay. There are hidden taxes on almost everything we buy. Every operation along the production line is taxed until a dozen eggs contains 100 separate taxes, a suit 116, a loaf of bread 151. These don't show when we buy. All we are aware of is a sales tax or one special excise tax.

Are we getting enough Government service to warrant such burdens? Why not whittle the Federal bureaucracy down to a more decent size?

Farm Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, Representative POAGE professes in the August 1 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to be filled with fear and trepidation about the future trend of farm prices and cites certain statements of the Secretary of Agriculture to explain his jitters. But the Representative has thoughtfully left two key factors out of his discussion. First, he neglects to point out that farm prices had made a precipitous drop just before the Republicans took office. Second, he ignores the well-known fact that farmers, who must plan their operations months ahead, prefer stable prices, even though a bit on the low side, to fluctuating prices.

During the last 2 years of the Democratic administration, prices were far from stable. From a high point of 113 in February 1951, the parity level began to drop. By October 1951 it was down to 105; in April 1952 to 100; and by January 1953 to 95. In other words, within the short space of 2 years the Democrats let the parity level decline 18 points. Price "breaks" of that proportion can be disastrous. For example, farmers paid an average of $32.60 for feeder cattle in February 1951, but the average price they received for beef cattle in January 1953 was only $21.10. During those 2 years, many farmers feeding cattle forgot about profits. They concentrated on avoiding bankruptcy. Not all of them stayed out of bankruptcy.

The parity ratio in February 1953, the first full month under Republican stewardship, was 94. Since then prices have been about as steady as at any time in the history of American agriculture. Farmers have been able to plan with confidence, because there have been no precipitous declines. This conclusion is amply borne out by official Department of Agriculture statistics. From February 1953 through July 1957—a period of 54 months—the parity ratio has averaged 86. It was 84 in July 1957, only 10 points below what it was 4½ years earlier.

Mr. POAGE also failed to explain that the Republicans were saddled for over 2 years with unsound, unrealistic farm programs that had been carried over from the previous administration, which did nothing to improve the price record. Only now is agriculture recovering from its trip into an economic wonderland.

Representative POAGE's indictment of Secretary Benson's optimism can be dismissed at once. The Republican administration is happy that it has in Secretary Benson a man who can look at the bright side when the situation warrants—that he makes "cheery" statements. There was a time in this country—a time that has come to be known as the era of the New and Fair Deals—when the Government seemed to face a new emergency every day. During this era there was a premium on pessimism, not optimism, and the chap who could croak the direst predictions generally ended up at the head of the largest "emergency agency." In the past 4½ years of Republican guidance, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, and other Government officials have made many cheery statements, as Representative POAGE describes them. It has been an effective formula. As Representative POAGE must admit, the people of this country, under a Republican administration, have never had quite so much to be cheery about.

Opportunity Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, we in Arkansas are proud of our State slogan "Land of Opportunity." That can easily be broadened to include our whole Nation.

Our country is great today because our young people can climb the ladder of success if they have the will to do it and can maintain the integrity which we have inherited from the pioneers.

If the time ever comes when they cannot do that, then our beloved land will go the way of the great nations of the past.

I am disturbed by the trend of our economic structure in recent years. I am not against bigness as such. We are a big country—the leader of the free world—and we need big business, big labor, and big agriculture as integral parts of the process of survival in this atomic age. However, bigness must never be allowed to swallow littleness as large fish swallow little ones in our lakes and streams. If business becomes so big that it becomes a monopoly; if organized labor becomes so big that it forgets the reason for its existence, the protection of those who labor; if agriculture gets so big that big farms drive out the small farmer—then we are in for a sea of trouble. Domestic monopoly is just as dangerous and deadly as government monopoly.

When our small-business people and small farmers, like the ones who helped make this country what it is, can no longer grow and prosper enough to sustain a home and family, but are forced to leave by the thousands for jobs elsewhere, something is wrong in the heartstream of this Nation.

May the time never come when big people are not little people, and when little people are not big people. Our Nation cannot survive without both.

Tenth in a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to insert the tenth in a series of editorial letters written by Mr. F. F. McNaughton, editor of the Pekin Daily Times in which he discusses at some length his visit to a collective farm in Russia.

The editorial letter follows:

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 1, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

I got bawled out good by a Russian woman today.

She is a bull boss.

But I got a pic of the bull.

He weighs 2,530 pounds.

Also took pic of a truck that will lift 25 tons.

Then we took a long trip to a "collective farm." The state (the people) own the land. Much is dense forest, swamps, or mountains; but 1,632,500,000 acres of it is under control of 83,000 collective farms.

That's 20,000 to a farm.

The farm we visited today (named Lenin) was not average for it had only 2,030 acres and being near Moscow (almost big as New York), it was a dairy and truck farm. I believe the man who showed us about told us the exact truth.

Two hundred and fifty-six families live on it.

Three hundred and fifty people work on it.

Two hundred and twenty of them are women. Men were killed in war, or perhaps have jobs in city.

Their 125 cows averaged 4.3 bf. I saw one (Holstein) bull. Cows mixed. Some farms use artificial insemination.

They have 350 swine: 2,500 poultry; and although big grain or cotton farms use all

tractors, this farm has 80 horses because of extensive vegetable and fruit farming. They have 10,000 hot beds; 308 acres in garden; 218 acres in apples; many acres of berries. They raise own hay. Cows are never turned out to pasture.

The farm manager told us he has his workers in 8 brigades: 88 in vegetable brigade; 66 in garden; 86 in fodder; 40 in field; others in livestock, etc.

The manager confused me when he said that in 1956 he got an average of 410 unit days of work from each worker.

How 410 in only 365 days?

So he explained that jobs are rated; partly according to skill. Also, if a woman owned a horse and plowed a hectare (2½ acres) she got 3 unit days for the 1 day's work. (In Russia, you can exploit (make money off the labor of) a horse; but you cannot exploit a human.)

However, most plowing, etc., is done by tractors rented (for share of crop) from one of the many machine-tractor stations scattered over Russia. A skilled man comes with all tools and does your job quickly. Lenin usually rents 10 tractor outfits; uses them 100 percent on crops; 65 percent on potatoes, etc. The state takes its cut of the crops first; then the tractor station takes next cut.

How is farm worker paid?

One Lenin worker gets in cash 70 cents for each work day unit. Thus average worker who had 410 days got $287 in 1956 plus $410 worth of pork, milk, vegetables, etc.

In 1957 the workers aim to do better. They aim, on top of the $278 cash, to have $533 worth of produce to divide among themselves after all the initial cuts have been taken out. So, you see, after all, Russia makes use of the capitalistic "profit incentive." Difference is that in America, the thrifty farmer gets ahead by himself. In Russia, Stalin killed the thrifty farmers (kulaks), and the ones who are left now have to lift each other up, or pull each other down together. Since an average farm probably has 2,000 workers, there are many shiftless ones to pull down.

Of course other farms have different deals than "Lenin." Workers on a cotton farm get all their pay in cash. And while I think of it, I was told that farm "Dawning" has 17,500 acres and 2,000 workers. But when I showed them that that was a worker to every 9 acres, they told me they had only 1,000 workers. That's still a worker for each 17½ acres. Imagine an American farmer working only 17½ acres.

A thrifty farm hand can make money otherwise. He can let his wife work on the collective farm while he gets a job at the tractor station, or as a carpenter in town.

Or, he can make money from the acre that is allowed to each collective former at his home. He can keep a cow or two, hogs, poultry, and raise vegetables, berries, etc. What he gets from them is his; but he cannot hire a human to work for him. He can "exploit" an animal (horse or ox).

A collective farm man starts drawing a pension at 60; a woman at 55. If they keep on working, they get half pension anyway.

Remember, too, that clubhouse, recreation, library (they are great readers), free health care, free education (clear through university and medical or other professional school) for their children, and chances to win awards and medals and honors and travel, are all included in the collective farm package.

It is surely a come-up from the miserable life the poor peasant lived before 1917. For the kulaks, it would have been a comedown—but they've been shot.

Organization of the Unorganized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the talk by Mr. Solomon Barkin, of the Textile Workers Union of America, which was part of the panel discussion on organization of the unorganized at the ninth annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association.

The address follows:

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED

(By Solomon Barkin, Textile Workers Union of America)

Unionism in the textile industry is confronted by the stark realities of an eroding organized base in the North and employer resistance to further organization in the South where the major sector of the industry is now located.

The present textile union was formed by the CIO in 1937 and grew over the years to a high of 450,000 members. The greater part of the strength was located in the Northeastern States where well over 60 percent of the cotton-rayon, woolen and worsted, dyeing and finishing, and carpet industries were organized. Stabilized collective bargaining was substituted for the intermittent but recurrent battles with sporadically organized employee groups. Wage and benefit advances effected through collective bargaining lifted the industry from the low rung in the wage ladder. To reinforce the wage gains, the Textile Workers Union of America vigorously supported and activated the American labor movement in the fight for higher minimum wages under the Fair Labor Standards Act and Government Contracts Act and for higher minimum rates under the wartime regulatory procedures. In the years 1945–50, the benefits gained in the textile industry were on a par with those obtained for the remainder of American industry.

The postwar attrition in the cotton-rayon industry became evident immediately after the pent-up war demand was partially satisfied. Following the Korean incident, the rate of mill closings was sharply accelerated both in this and the woolen and worsted industry with the result that employment in the Northern States was halved. Union membership was also severely cut by these closings. Nor is this process of contraction of the northern textile industry at an end. In fact, the further shrinkage of the entire industry appears inescapable so that mills are closing both in the North and the South.

The maintenance or the growth of the union is largely dependent upon its success in organizing the southern sector, which employs more than 550,000 textile production workers. The union has applied itself assiduously and generously to this task, but the results have been meager to date. In the immediate postwar era, the CIO undertook Operation Dixie, but it succeeded in winning few elections and even fewer contracts. Subsequently, the TWUA took over the organizing drive, maintaining large staffs and conducting many campaigns. In recent months the AFL–CIO organization department has assigned staff members for the campaigns at two large southern textile chains, but the accomplishments have been limited.

In analyzing the problem of organizing the southern textile workers over these many years, we are impressed with the southern employers' ability to integrate and exploit their economic, political, and community power to mount vigorous, successful opposition to unionization. They have made a public, regional cause out of their determination to keep unions out of the Piedmont textile area. This opposition has continued and even extended during the postwar years as northern capital has taken over large parts of the southern industry and as mills have been merged into giant companies.

The corporations have exploited their economic power to destroy union following, to discriminate against union leaders, sympathizers, members, and following, to close mills in which the unions have gotten a foothold, and to corral local community forces in antiunion campaigns. They have utilized older myths of local dependence upon the employer and prevailing textile-worker attitudes on the race issue and segregation, the dominant parochialism and the plight of the textile industry to threaten and intimidate workers.

The southern textile-mill operators have shown no tolerance for unionism and have been determined to prevent union penetration of the industry. They resisted such organization through local efforts from 1943 through 1948. But since the latter date, the opposition has been more studied, organized, and coordinated through the use of a common group of attorneys and public-relations firms, the exchange of information, and the high concentration of ownership. The antiunion fight has been more aggressively pursued during recent years. Not only are they determined to stop the extension of unionism but also to destroy it where it exists.

Employers have used economic power to uproot unions where they have been formed. Unionized mills have been closed rather than permitted to stand out as beacons of union progress. Large mill organizations have shifted work to other plants to permit them to close mills in which the unions had won elections. In one case, the controlling interest shut down a mill after the Army, which had run it during the war, returned it, in order to clear out all union followers. This month it liquidated another mill where the union won an election. To assume complete discontinuity of operations, all of the equipment was sold piece by piece at a public auction.

The Taft-Hartley Act and its present administrators have removed most restrictions on the use of brutal economic power against union workers. Section 8 (c) of the act has become an open invitation for employers to intimidate workers through the free expression of their disapproval of unions and the dire predictions of what would become of the mill should the union win an election. Brain-washing conferences with individual workers are becoming the common practice as the NLRB has sanctioned the interrogation of workers regarding their union activities. The employer may now freely turn to third persons, i. e., nonemployees to reinforce his own antiunion campaign. He is no longer held accountable for the pressures exerted against the union by citizen groups and chambers of commerce.

In a number of communities, local employer groups, in their anxiety to prevent a break in the ranks of opposition to unions, have even coerced new employers to refrain from signing union contracts where they were so disposed or were actually in contractual agreements in other communities.

They have relieved the employer of the embarrassment of carrying on the antiunion campaign and have taken over this task themselves, resulting in the defeat of unions. Many southern community leaders, anxious to secure new plants have been persuaded that unions must be kept out if they are to succeed. The regional enforcement of the antiunion spirit pervading the textile industry is holding off the unionization of nontextile plants in the Piedmont region.

The opportunities for individual redress for workers who have been discriminated against or discharged for union activities have become more limited. In fact, unions have widely recognized that the protection offered by the act is nominal and of little assistance. They resort to this protection only in cases of blatant violations. The range of unfair labor practices has been narrowed by the Taft-Hartley Act and the Board decisions; the proof required by the Board's agents has become so exacting and difficult for private parties to obtain that their assistance is more limited and their sympathy and understanding have almost disappeared. The procedures for gaining relief are prolonged, costly, and exhausting. The final remedies are of doubtful value since the Board has overlooked employers' acts in offsetting findings of unfair labor practices through other propaganda devices. Back-pay awards have been severely cut through new rulings.

Employers have used their economic and political power to limit the union workers' constitutional rights of freedom of speech, press, and assembly. The local political authorities are often in league with the managements. Police officers frequently are also on the employer's payroll. They have interfered with the distribution of literature and have threatened and molested union organizers. Several Southern communities have passed ordinances requiring organizers to obtain licenses and pay prohibitive fees. While these have been considered unconstitutional by the Federal courts, the local officials continue to enforce them, contending that the specific local ordinance has not been passed on. The Federal Department of Justice has shown no sympathy for enforcing elementary constitutional rights, usually directing the union to turn to unsympathetic State courts for protection.

The churches, and particularly the apostolic preachers, have been used by employers to bring the curse of God upon the union. In this church-going area, these sermons, particularly of the itinerant lay preachers, have confused the working population.

In the final weeks of union campaigns employers have often raised the race issue to exploit deep fears of the Negro. They have identified the union with the desegregation movement and have intimated that the union movement has been the financial supporter of the NAACP and the mainstay of the movement for equal rights for Negroes. Workers have been told that a union victory would mean Negro supervisors for this lily-white industry.

Unionists of southern origin and, at times from the same community, are branded as foreigners who are coming to take "dues" money to alien parts. They are pictured as intruders who are breaking up peaceful communities. In an area where there is little contact with or knowledge of unions, this propaganda is effective in weakening the interest in unionism.

Every modern opinion polling technique is now employed in this antiunion cause. The surveys of employee attitudes serve to identify sullen areas. The supervisors of these departments are then fired and minor remedies made to relieve the tension. All types of modern propaganda procedures including literature, movies, radio, newspaper advertisements, community rallies and television are used against the union. Nothing is spared to defeat the union. Several corporations have special full-time staff men to combat organizational efforts.

In recent years employers have even pleaded the sad economic plight of the textile industry to counteract the union's appeals for higher wages. Textile workers have been told that they will lose their jobs if wages are increased. When the feeling for higher rates among the employees becomes too great, the industry's leaders have initiated voluntary wage increases which have served temporarily to dampen the desire for further organization.

Despite these forces the demand for unionism among the southern textile workers is real. Discontent is widespread. Our campaign records demonstrate that more than 30 percent of the workers of most mills are ever ready to stoutly stand up for the union. They will sign up with the union as soon as the campaign is launched. The remainder of the work force is more susceptible to employer pressure. They have not stood up against the antiunion campaign even though many had signed up with the union whose organizers have prepared them to meet it.

The southern textile worker appears ready to accept unionism but is not prepared to make the fight for unionism in face of these virulent organized and strongly financed employer pressures exerted by the employer, his agents and community groups. His dependence upon the employer is so great that the majority of employees is not ready to take the chance. Many of them have seen mills close and they do not want to face that alternative.

The problem of southern textile organization is similar to that faced by the American worker before 1933. While we have Federal legislation which nominally protects the workers against discrimination and coercion, the Taft-Hartley Act and its administrators have emasculated these protections so that they are now empty gestures. To the southern textile worker they are weak reeds upon which to rely. The Federal Government is not determined to restrain the antiunion employer or assure the worker the freedom to choose a union of his own selection. Nor is the United States Department of Justice ready to extend its helping hand in enforcing the elementary constitutional rights of freedom of speech and assembly. Community groups act in concert to support employers. There are no local civil agencies ready to defend individual civil liberties such as existed in northern communities even before 1933. The insistence on conformity to dominant regional patterns is so strong that there is little tolerance for individual freedom or deviation.

In the brutal fight against unions, section 8 (c) of the Taft-Hartley Act has been converted into the abuse of free speech to coerce and intimidate workers into a state of fear. Employers use the right to speak to snuff out independence and liberties.

To assure the same rights at organizing free democratic unions as are enjoyed by workers in other regions of this country, section 8 (c) of the act must be repealed and the provisions of the Wagner Act must be restored. Employer agents and those aiding him in his antiunion campaigns must be enjoined from interfering with the workers' freedoms. Representation procedures must be expedited for southern cases and older procedures under the Wagner Act, permitting recognition of unions on the basis of card checks and other substantial evidence of worker desires and prehearing elections must be restored. The older remedies against employers interfering with union organization and coercing and intimidating workers should again be made effective.

The southern textile worker wants unions but the greater number are not strong enough on their own without governmental protection to withstand the pressures of superior economic forces and coercion exercised by the employer. If the elementary rights of the worker freely to join unions of his choice were enforced as they were done under the Wagner Act, union organization would quickly spread throughout the southern region both in textile and other mills.

A Southern Christian Looks at the Race Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include the following article written by Rev. G. T. Gillespie, D. D., Litt. D., president emeritus, Belhaven College, Jackson, Miss., which appeared in the Southern Presbyterian Journal of June 5, 1957:

A SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LOOKS AT THE RACE PROBLEM

(By Rev. G. T. Gillespie, D. D., Litt. D.)

The charge has been frequently and loudly made that white people of the South are so blinded with prejudice and so filled with enmity against the Negro race that they cannot see the race problem in its true perspective. Personally and on behalf of some 30 million or more other southern Christians I wish to challenge the fairness and truth of that charge.

Prejudice is properly defined as "a judgment or opinion formed without knowledge or due examination of the facts." If any people on the face of the earth have had ample opportunity to learn at first hand the facts about the race problem, unquestionably the southern people must be accorded the preeminence in that respect. For more than 200 years the two races have lived here side by side, in relatively large numbers, in close and intimate contact, and on terms of mutual understanding and good will, so that out of this experience there has come not only to the white people but to the Negro as well, a vast accumulation of knowledge and practical wisdom in meeting the day-to-day problems of personal and race relationships. Moreover, let it be said with all emphasis, in spite of all the hue and cry which has been raised in recent years, we southern people, as a rule, do not have any enmity or ill will in our hearts against Negroes, but only feelings of kindliness and genuine sympathy. As friends and neighbors we wish to see them have better homes, higher standards of living, better schools for their children, and the fullest opportunity for development as law-abiding, liberty-loving, self-respecting citizens.

If there is any room therefore for a general charge of race prejudice it would seem to lie not against southern Christians, but against that very considerable group of sentimental enthusiasts whose knowledge of this problem is limited to what they read in the newspapers and sensational magazines, and to the grossly exaggerated and distorted information furnished to them by self-serving propaganda agencies, and yet who assume that they have all the answers to this diffi-

cult and complex problem, and a divine warrant to solve it by remote control.

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

Southern Christians, generally, feel that the Supreme Court decision, outlawing the principle of segregation and ordering integration of the races in the public schools of the Nation, was a tragic mistake. This decree reversed previous decisions of the Supreme Court which had served as precedents for all Federal and State courts for more than a half century, nullified the constitutional and statutory provisions of 17 sovereign States, and prescribed radical and revolutionary changes in the long-established customs and social traditions of a large proportion of the people of the United States.

Southern Christians cherish a deep reverence for the Federal Constitution; and they wish to respect the dignity and integrity of our courts, and yet to many of us this sweeping decision of the highest court in virtually taking over the control and regulation of the schools of the Nation seems to be a clear violation of the Constitution itself, and an unwarranted usurpation of powers distinctly reserved to the several States and to the people of local communities.

The reasons assigned by the Supreme Court for its revolutionary decision are not based on legal or moral principles, but on the ex parte opinions of psychologists and sociologists, whose knowledge of this particular problem has been clearly shown to be superficial, and whose close affiliation with Socialistic and communistic organizations scarcely qualifies them as safe counsellors in formulating the policies which are to shape the education of the children of this great democracy, for generations to come.

Believing as we do, that this decision was based upon false premises, that it is unsound in principle, unrealistic, and impracticable, and that its consequences, if generally adopted, would prove disastrous and irreparable, we do not regard it as a proper or final adjudication of the issues involved. We believe that it should be reversed, and we appeal to the sober second judgment of the Court itself, to recognize and correct its error; failing that, we shall continue to appeal to the enlightened judgment and the unfailing commonsense of the fairminded people of the Nation to join us in mobilizing public sentiment in support of some wiser and better solution of the problem. For this attitude we have ample encouragement and high precedent. The Supreme Court has often reversed its own decisions, following changes in the personnel of the Court or in the political climate. Abraham Lincoln, in similar opposition to the pronouncement of a Supreme Court of his time, declared: "That burlesque of a judicial decision must be expunged from the books of authority * * *. We mean to reverse it; and we mean to reverse it peaceably" (see Lincoln Encyclopedia, MacMillan 1950, pp. 88ff). The events proved that Lincoln was no false prophet. Men of like vision and courage, who do not give up because the odds are against them, may live to see history repeat itself in our generation.

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

In the South and in urban centers in the North, where the Negro population approximates or exceeds that of the white, enforced integration of the schools, just in proportion as the experiment succeeded, would inevitably lead to the cultivation of such attitudes and social intimacies as would result in intermarriage between the two groups, and eventually to the blurring of all racial distinctions, and the amalgamation of the Negro and white races.

Here therefore is the crux of the whole racial problem: Is it desirable that social relations leading normally to intermarriage and ultimate racial amalgamation should be encouraged and approved; or, is it more desirable, in the interests of all parties and society as a whole, that racial intermarriage should be discouraged or prohibited, and that each race should be enabled to preserve its own racial integrity?

This is the issue which overshadows all other considerations in the minds of parents in typical southern communities, which explains their uncompromising opposition to the integrated school, and which also explains the traditional southern attitude with respect to social intermingling of the races in homes, churches, hotels, public assemblies, recreation, transportation and other public facilities.

Many well-meaning civil and religious leaders who now endorse the policy of integration in schools, churches and other areas of life seem to ignore, or deliberately refuse to recognize, that the question of intermarriage and complete racial integration is necessarily involved, and is bound to overshadow all other issues in the minds of people whose children will be forced to serve as guinea pigs in this dangerous experiment in race relations.

To his credit, be it said that the average southern Negro attaches little importance to the possibility of intermarriage with the white race, and if left to himself would naturally prefer marriage within his own race. For this reason the professional agitators and Negro leaders have had comparatively little to say concerning intermarriage, and have based their appeal on the very natural desire of Negro parents to secure equal educational opportunities for their children, and on the exploitation of some of the (petty) grievances which the Negro feels, by insisting that he is being discriminated against as "a second class citizen."

However, many of the self-appointed promoters of the integration movement are fully aware of the inherent and logical implications of the race-mixing program with respect to intermarriage, and as one of them has frankly stated, the goal which they seek in America is "a social democracy which either begins with marriage, or necessarily includes marriage in its ideals and principles."

THE PRINCIPLE OF SEGREGATION FROM THE SOUTHERN VIEWPOINT

After long and painful experience, southern people are firmly convinced that where two widely different races live together in the same area in approximately equal numbers, that the only alternative to racial amalgamation is some reasonable and equitable form of segregation.

The pattern of segregation which has been in operation in the South, and throughout the Nation generally, is the result of a gradual process of evolution for many generations. It must be admitted that it has not always been consistent or equitable, and some of its features cannot be defended on rational or ethical grounds. Like all human institutions, it is still far from perfect. On the whole, however, it has provided a working basis for mutual understanding and effective cooperation between the two races. With occasional exceptions, peace and order have been preserved, mutual confidence and goodwill have been fostered, and each race has been able in the main to preserve its racial integrity, and to develop cultural and social patterns suited to its own capacities and needs.

The evils and injustices which have arisen under the system of segregation have been purely incidental, and have not been due to any fallacy in the principle of segregation, but to the weaknesses and perversities of individual members of both races. Southern Christians do not condone these wrongs, but everywhere condemn them, and are anxious to see them corrected. Up until the recent violent agitation precipitated by the Supreme Court decisions, steady progress was being made in the correction of such abuses and unfair practices and in the improvement of race relations. Even yet, except in a few localities, there is no indication of any serious disturbance of the friendly relations existing between the rank and file of Negroes and whites throughout the South; which is a tribute not only to the good sense and self-restraint of both groups, but also to the basic soundness and practicality of the system of segregation under which they have lived and worked.

Recognizing, therefore, that the system of segregation as heretofore maintained has certain obvious defects, but believing that in the course of time these objectionable features may be eliminated without sacrificing the major objective, we southern Christians, with some exceptions chiefly in the border States, approve the determination of our civil leaders to employ every legal expedient to prevent the integration of our schools, and to preserve the principle of segregation as a permanent feature of our public policy, with the confident assurance that in the long run, it will prove best for the present and the future welfare of both races.

THE MORAL AND ETHICAL BASIS FOR SEGREGATION

Aside from all questions of expediency, of constitutional technicalities, or of local interests, there is a firm conviction in the minds of southern people that the principle of segregation is amply supported by scientific, historical, and Biblical data, and that it may be defended on moral and ethical grounds, and as consistent with the principles of Christianity and the great traditions of American democracy. The limits of this discussion will permit only a brief summary of several of these reasons, which are believed to be factual and logical.

1. The widely different characteristics of the white and Negro races would render complete integration illogical and impracticable.

Modern anthropologists have discarded the term race as applicable to separate groups of people. They contend the differences shade off so gradually within each group that no valid distinction can be made between the groups. Their contention, however, appears to be largely a war about words or definitions. Actually, as a matter of common observation, we know that there are broad lines of difference between the several major branches of the human family, and whether they are properly called races or by some other designation, the white, the yellow, the brown, the black groups each have their own distinctive physical and cultural characteristics. For all practical purposes, therefore, we may just as well follow common usage, and refer to them as separate races.

Between the white and Negro races, with which we are directly concerned, these differences are quite obvious not only as to the pigment of the skin, but many other physical features. Even greater and more important than these physical differences, are those which relate to mental, emotional, and moral development, esthetic appreciation, social and religious impulses and experiences. It is not necessary to ask or determine whether one of these races is superior to the other, for, after all, that is only an academic question, and the decision would depend upon the standard of measurement and the qualities which were measured. One race is likely to rate high on one point and low on others, and vice versa. Of one thing, however, there is abundant and indisputable evidence; these two races differ in a great many respects. These differences are not incidental or superficial, they are fundamental, and any failure to recognize this fact is bound to generate irritations and tensions resulting in individual and social disorders and the ultimate impairment or destruction of moral and cultural values. That such racial differences have a decisive bearing on the problem of

race relations, and that they constitute a valid reason for the separation of the white and Negro races, is corroborated by no less an authority on race problems than President Lincoln, who, in a speech to a group of free Negroes at the White House in 1862, said: "You and we are different races. Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think * * * it affords a reason at least why we should be separated."

2. Intermarriage between widely different racial groups is unnatural, unfair to offspring, and prejudicial to human progress.

In all nature God has endowed His living creatures with an instinct to mate only with their own kind. The old adage, "Birds of a feather flock together," only expresses a universal law of nature. Bluebirds never mate with redbirds, doves with blackbirds, or mockingbirds with jays. The intelligent farmer does not allow his dairy and beef breeding stock to run in the same pasture, otherwise he would downgrade his herds and have only a herd of scrubs or mongrels. The same principle applies with even greater force to the mating of human beings of widely different types and cultural backgrounds. The offspring are generally unstable, eccentric, ill-adjusted, unpredictable, unhappy. Extend the experiment on a large scale and over successive generations, and the result is a retarded or decadent civilization. Both science and history confirm the truth that progress for the human species as well as for the lower orders of nature comes through selective breeding rather than through mongrelization.

Lebon, the noted French psychologist and sociologist of the past century, testifies as follows: "It is an historical fact that human stocks that have produced the highest civilizations have been strains of stock without mixture for many generations. Every race of fixed type that has attained the highest civilization, has quickly lost its power and standing after mixing with another race radically different."

In confirmation of the truth of this observation we have but to cite the remarkable virility of the cultures of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the English-speaking peoples, all of whom kept their racial stocks pure, as contrasted with the retarded or decadent civilizations of India, Egypt, Spain, Portugal, who allowed their racial stocks to become mixed with the diverse peoples with whom they came in contact. Or, to take an illustration closer home; compare the achievements and progress of the people of North America, including Negroes as well as white people, where the principle of racial segregation has been generally maintained, with the status of the peoples of Central and South America where there is no color line, since the settlers from the Latin nations of Europe freely intermarried with the native Indians and imported Negro slaves. Let those who now so strongly urge the integration of white and colored races in this country cross the Rio Grande, and travel all the way to the southern tip of South America, and see the ignorance, poverty, squalor, superstition, undeveloped resources, inefficient and unstable governments, frequent revolutions, ruthless dictatorships, and the many other evidences of the blight that results from the mixing of dissimilar races.

To the same effect is the testimony of the late Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University, who with a staff of experts was sent by the Carnegie Foundation for Peace, to study the effect of race mixtures in the Orient. After spending many months in China, India, Japan, and the islands of the Pacific, they submitted their report, the gist of which is as follows: "First: The experience of the East teaches that the intermarriage of races which are distinctly unlike is undesirable because the progeny of such mixtures are as a rule inferior to each of the parent stocks, both physically and morally; a fact which has been demonstrated in large scale. Second: The Orient teaches the world that the pure race is best, and the crosses between unlike races seldom turn out well."

In the light of these indisputable facts, how can we consider any proposal or policy which involves the gradual integration and ultimate amalgamation of the white and colored races in the United States, except as a colossal blunder, a betrayal of unborn generations and a monstrous crime against civilization.

3. The principle of segregation is in harmony with the purpose and will of God as revealed in His word, and is consistent with the teachings and spirit of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

God, himself, thwarted the first manmade plan of integration, by the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, and scattered the peoples abroad upon the face of the whole earth. Whether one accepts that as a true story, as do most southern Christians, or whether the allegorical interpretation of modern liberal scholarship is preferred, the fact remains that divine providence is directly responsible for the linguistic differences and other factors which have served to keep the peoples of the earth segregated into tribal, national or racial groups, from prehistoric times down to our day. By special divine decree Abraham and his descendants were separated from all the other peoples of the earth, and for 1,500 years Israel existed as a strictly segregated nation. They were forbidden by God to mingle socially, to intermarry, or to amalgamate with the nations around them. Violations of this command were considered as a capital offense, and punished with great severity, by Moses and later by Ezra.

Jesus used the Parable of the Good Samaritan to rebuke the smug complacency and narrowminded intolerance of the Jews and to show that the duty to love our neighbors is a practical principle of sympathy and helpfulness which knows no limitation of nationality or race. At the same time he did not ignore or denounce racial distinctions, nor did he set plans on foot to abolish them or to bring about amalgamation of the Jews with the Samaritans or other races. Insofar as we have any record there is no indication that Jesus or the Apostles were ever called upon to pass judgment upon the question of the rightness or wrongness of racial segregation or racial integration; certainly no question was raised concerning the mixing of races as dissimilar as the white and Negro races. Since this is primarily and essentially a social or political question, and since our Lord on several occasions refused to decide controversial issues of a social or political nature, but left these matters to the reason and conscience of the individual, we are justified in concluding that he has given us no mandate on this matter, but has left us free to decide the question in the light of reason and experience and the broad principles set forth in the Old as well as in the New Testament.

In this connection, therefore, and by way of reply to the statements made recently by numerous church leaders and various ecclesiastical bodies denouncing segregation as unjust, sinful, wicked, displeasing to God, and essentially un-Christian, from our point of view we confidently affirm, first, since the practice of segregation was instituted among the Hebrew people by divine authority, and enforced by stern theocratic sanctions for many centuries, and since Christ and the Apostles demonstrated that the principles of charity and Christian brotherhood could be made operative in all the relations of life without involving revoluntionary changes in the social, economic, or political order, there is certainly no valid ground for the charge that segregation is inherently wrong, contrary to the will of God, and essentially un-Christian.

4. Segregation is a well-considered and time-tested American policy, and is consistent with the principles of true Americanism.

Ample evidence is available to show that segregation is in accord with the best thinking of representative American leadership, and as a time-tested American policy rests upon moral and ethical principles, and not upon blind and unreasoning prejudice, as has been loudly charged by some of its latter-day critics.

Seventeen of the States of the Union have incorporated the principle of segregation into their constitutions. Most of the other States have approved it by statutory provisions, and all of the States with one or two exceptions, at one time or another have adopted laws prohibiting inter-racial marriages. State and Federal courts have uniformly approved these constitutional and statutory provisions, and until the violent political agitation was started some years ago, segregation was generally accepted as a firmly established principle of American public policy.

Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, and Abraham Lincoln, author of the Emancipation Proclamation, both strongly opposed to the institution of slavery, were both so completely convinced of the necessity of the segregation of the races that they earnestly advocated the repatriation of the Negroes to Africa or the West Indies. Since the abolition of slavery many representative leaders in church and State, both in the North and in the South, who felt a keen sympathy for the Negro and wished to help him improve his lot, never questioned or proposed but that this should be done, and could be done, within the framework of a segregated society.

It was the recognition of this truth as an essential feature of the American way of life, which made Booker T. Washington an influential national leader and the greatest benefactor of the Negro race in the past generation. All would-be leaders and promoters of better race relations in America today would do well to study his realistic approach to the problem and follow his able and far-seeing Christian leadership. In a notable and epoch-making address, delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, pleading for understanding and cooperation between the races, he held aloft the torch which must guide us to the ultimate solution of this great and pressing problem. It is eminently fitting, therefore, that this discussion should be concluded with a quotation of his wise words. He said: "The wisest among my race understand that agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing * * * In all things that are purely social, we can be separate as the fingers, yet one, as the hand, in all things essential to mutual progress."

Investigating Trujillo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an interesting editorial taken from the Omaha World-Herald:

INVESTIGATING TRUJILLO

For 16 months liberal writers and commentators in this country have been accusing Dictator Trujillo, of the Dominican Republic, of kidnapping and killing a Columbia University lecturer, Dr. Jesus de Galindez. The State Department, which has had good relations with this thoroughly anti-Communist and pro-United States Caribbean strong man, has been embarrassed by the hammering against him.

Having tried and convicted Trujillo in print and on the air, the lefty-liberal combine in this country has been demanding that the United States break off diplomatic relations to force a showdown on the Galindez affair.

A few days ago Trujillo knocked the props from under his strident American foes by announcing he had hired two eminent liberal New York lawyers, Morris Ernst and William H. Munson, together with New York public relations man Sydney Baron, to investigate the Galindez affair. If they find Trujillo is involved they are to say so. If they find he is not involved they are to say that.

What has been the liberal reaction? They're in a frenzy looking for an angle or some evidence of bad faith on Trujillo's part. They are trying to dissuade Ernst and Munson from taking the job and are even threatening them. The hapless publicist, Mr. Baron, has already been fired by one of his clients, the New York State Democratic Party, on orders of Governor Harriman.

Do the left-wingers want the truth or are they enraged at the possibility that Trujillo may establish his innocence? It's a fair question.

The Jury-Trial Amendment to the Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Fatal Blow to Monster," which was published in the Aiken (S. C.) Standard and Review, an outstanding daily newspaper published in Aiken, S. C., by Mrs. Annie H. King.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FATAL BLOW TO MONSTER

The many-headed monster, ready to devour this Nation with its insatiable appetite for power of oppression and tyranny, has been dealt a mortal blow in the Halls of the Senate by a majority of statesmen who voted 51 to 42 to add a jury-trial amendment to the civil-rights bill vigorously advocated by President Eisenhower and administration backers.

In order to accomplish the purpose of the intended measure in its original and dictatorial form the present administration was eager and willing to take away one guaranteed right of the individual in order to impose another without considering the far-reaching consequences of such an act upon the future of the Nation as a free and democratic country governed by the people.

One might, in reality, say that the Senate by a small margin of votes, has saved this Nation from calamity, from decay from within, and from severing as a union of free States making up the greatest nation on earth today.

In the event the proposed original measure should have been passed in its original form all Americans could look forward to their inherent right of trial by jury cast to the four winds with political expediency being the measuring stick of justice; could vision the nation of tomorrow being ruled by a black-robed tyrant issuing decrees, dictated, perhaps, by an inner clique of despots and backed by the bayonet.

This Nation has passed a crisis more endangering to the welfare of the entire population than any aggressive force in history which has sought to invade and conquer—and from within—by far the more deplorable.

One can hardly believe that President Eisenhower had the welfare of the entire Nation at heart as he pressed and urged passage of such a measure as the civil-rights bill in its original form—delegating power to a few administration offices as powerful as despotism can make.

One cannot conceive that pressure was not brought to bear from outside groups on the present administration seeking to enact such measures regardless of future consequences to the American public as a whole and one cannot but have the thought that pressure outweighed good judgment.

How any true American statesman in the Senate could have gone on record, to be recorded in history for posterity, as favoring such legislation, so un-American, so devoid of democratic principles, and so pointedly tagged with despotism.

Old Age and Survivors Insurance Coverage for Policemen and Firemen—Resolution of Board of Supervisors of Westchester County, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Westchester County, N. Y., favoring old age and survivors insurance coverage for policemen and firemen, at the exercise of their election.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 187–1957 OF HONORABLE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

Whereas chapter 776 of the laws amended the retirement and social-security law. The amendments provide social security coverage for all members of the New York State employees' and New York State teachers' retirement systems who desire it, and for all public employees who are eligible for membership and who do not become members before completion of a new agreement between the State of New York and the Federal Social Security Administration; and

Whereas Public Law 881, 84th Congress, chapter 837, 2d session, H. R. 7089, an act to provide benefits for the survivors of servicemen and veterans, known as Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivor Benefits Act, amended the Social Security Act to afford coverage to members of the Armed Forces and their dependents; and

Whereas policemen and firemen are not eligible under the existing Federal law; and

Whereas there is no doubt that members of the Armed Forces and law enforcing officers and firemen fall into the same class of risks; and

Whereas to make ineligible policemen and firemen from this very important coverage, which is a vital necessity, to the families of these devoted and courageous public employees is discriminating against this very important group of public employees; and

Whereas the committee on budget and appropriations of this board reported on Resolution No. 145–1957 (old-age and survivors insurance coverage (social security) retroactive coverage): "It is particularly noted that members of the Westchester County Parkway police cannot at this time be included in the proposed social-security coverage by reason of the fact that all firemen and policemen are not eligible under the existing Federal law. Your committee is of the opinion that this phase of the matter be referred to the county's committee on legislation for a proper study of this aspect of the situation"; and

Whereas several Westchester communities have expressed their desire to include policemen and firemen under the old-age and survivors insurance coverage: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this board of supervisors approves of old-age and survivors insurance coverage for policemen and firemen, and urges the passage of such a bill; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Congressman EDWIN B. DOOLEY and United States Senators IRVING M. IVES and JACOB K. JAVITS for their action.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE G. ANNUNZIATA,
Supervisor, Mount Vernon.

AUGUST 5, 1957.

Authorizing Appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission

SPEECH
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

The House Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8990) to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER].

(Mr. HOSMER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask this of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE] following up our conversation earlier with respect to this reactor program: I believe the gentleman said it was of an experimental nature throughout, not an actual economic producer at this particular time?

Mr. PRICE. An experimental development program. No one can say now it is economically feasible in any of these projects.

Mr. HOSMER. The objective of the program is to eventually obtain something that is economically feasible?

Mr. PRICE. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. HOSMER. The program is then divided into a number of different approaches to the problem, different types of reactors?

Mr. PRICE. That is correct; numerous types of reactors. It is the desire of the committee—and, I take it, the Commission also—to get as many of these different types as seem reasonably feasible into the development program.

Mr. HOSMER. Actually it is a very large-scale scientific-research program; is that what it is?

Mr. PRICE. That is correct.

Mr. HOSMER. As I understood the chairman of the committee, he stated that the Joint Committee acted more or less like a board of directors in approving and disapproving certain of the projects that the Atomic Energy Commission recommended, and that some of them were disapproved, and the judgment of the so-called board of directors, the Joint Committee, was substituted. Is that right?

Mr. DURHAM. I think the gentleman is mistaken. I said that that is what Admiral Strauss said, and I quoted from the RECORD.

Mr. HOSMER. But the committee did, on its own initiative at least, initiate this project 58 (b) 8 for $3 million for a special nuclear material reactor.

Mr. DURHAM. Yes, and for a very sound and good reason.

Mr. HOSMER. Was that requested by the Atomic Energy Commission?

Mr. DURHAM. It was not.

Mr. HOSMER. What is this thing going to do, may I ask the gentleman?

Mr. DURHAM. That can be used to start the production and research and development of plutonium.

Mr. HOSMER. Was the judgment of the Commission overruled on this——

Mr. DURHAM. The Commission said they had no request in. The Commission asked for $150 million this year which they did not get because the Budget turned them down. The War Department asked for more reactors.

Mr. HOSMER. This one is a prerequisite to your plutonium reactor?

Mr. DURHAM. That is correct, because every reactor you have at the present time is 14½ years old.

Mr. HOSMER. You also have a project 58 (e) (15) for plutonium recycle experimental reactor, which the gentleman from California says is to try to make plutonium into something other than a bomb fuel. What is there about this project that is promising enough, in comparison to some of the others that have been suggested, to spend at this time $15 million on it?

Mr. DURHAM. I refer the gentleman to the AEC people down the street because they have already spent $2 million on it.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOSMER. I yield.

Mr. COLE. I would like to make a statement to clarify the RECORD. The gentleman from North Carolina said the War Department has asked for more reactors. I was not aware of that request.

Mr. HOSMER. I thought that this was a civilian program? Is it not a civilian program, or is it a War Department program?

Mr. DURHAM. There is nothing under the military here.

Mr. HOSMER. Is this part of the reactor program for the Army?

Mr. DURHAM. No, it is entirely different from that. Has the gentleman ever been at Hanford?

Mr. HOSMER. No, sir. I have never been there.

Mr. DURHAM. That produces plutonium out there in that reactor. I tried to tell you that they are all 14½ years old.

Mr. HOSMER. I realize that. I realize you have no commercial use for the stuff and you would like to use it. I was just wondering—are the prospects of an economical use bright enough to spend that money on it at this particular time or should this money be spent on some other line of research?

Mr. DURHAM. Plutonium is used to produce weapons. It is the entire weapons program.

Mr. HOSMER. I realize that and that is in connection with the plutonium bomb, but this is not for bombs, this is for a reactor.

Mr. DURHAM. You get plutonium out of the reactor.

Mr. HOSMER. As I understood the gentleman from California, [Mr. HOLIFIELD], this was to produce power and then the report says to produce 15,000 electrical kilowatts or equivalent.

Mr. DURHAM. They can build either one they want to.

Mr. HOSMER. Then let me ask you, sir, about this project 58 (e) (14) which is for a natural uranium gas-cooled reactor. What is the hope on that one that it should be in this program today?

Mr. DURHAM. Well, I thought I explained that pretty well in my opening statement.

Mr. HOSMER. I understood the British were working along that line.

Mr. DURHAM. If the gentleman will wait just a moment so I may complete my answer, I thought that the gentleman had understood it. There has been a division between the scientists in this country for some time as to whether or not to build a natural uranium gas fuel type reactor. England built it. England is selling it in the market in Europe. Now we have not got a natural uranium reactor. We have not built one. I think it is well worth spending the money on and everything else that goes with, and if it is no good then we can throw it out the window. If it is good, then American private enterprise can sell it.

Mr. HOSMER. Is this for a long-range program on this particular reactor?

Mr. DURHAM. You can make it as long as you want to and as long as you can get them.

Mr. HOSMER. I notice another program designated a very long range program which is liable to make so many of these things obsolete and that is why I ask.

Mr. DURHAM. Most of our reactors have been on the basis of trial and error.

Address of State Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., at Historic Jamestown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, this is an important year in the history of Virginia. We are celebrating the 350th anniversary of the landing of the settlers at Jamestown and the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in the New World.

Thousands of people from all over the world are bearing testimonial to the importance of this event by journeying to Jamestown and viewing the exhibits set up there for this commemoration.

Jamestown is important in the annals of American history for many reasons but suffice it to say that it was there that, from the beginning, our democracy was set aright. Because of the ingenuity of the men who settled there in 1607 and the dedication of those who came after them to establish the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution we are blessed today with the fine system we have.

It is thus significant that we have this celebration at a time when there are many forces abroad in the land which would undermine the principles which they established at Jamestown. There are those who would take away the individual freedom which they fostered and reduce the States to less and less importance in the Government of the country.

Within recent days Ruritan International has been sponsoring a number of fine programs at Jamestown in which emphasis has been given to these facts. One of the finest addresses made during this series of meetings was delivered on Wednesday of this week by State Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. He draws from his wide knowledge of the history of Virginia to cite many of the stepping stones which led us into the fine government we have in America today.

Senator Byrd is well aware of the departures which have been made from the concepts of the Founding Fathers and he calls attention to these in his splendid address which I wish to insert in the RECORD. I congratulate him on the excellence of his material and his thoughts on the subject.

The address follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY WINCHESTER SENATOR AT HISTORIC JAMESTOWN

In Jamestown we stand on hallowed ground, hallowed by the hardships endured with such great courage by those who came to these shores 350 years ago.

We are standing near the site of the first legislative body in the New World. The

Virginia legislature first met at Jamestown in 1619, 328 years ago.

It was in the historic area where the seeds of freedom were sowed.

It was here that the incomparable George Washington represented my home county of Frederick in the House of Burgesses.

It was here that the eloquent Patrick Henry raised his clear voice toward the creation of a government free from despotism and tyranny.

It was here that Thomas Jefferson began to espouse a political philosophy which led to the immortal words which he penned in the Declaration of Independence.

It was here that America was born, and it was here that was forged the great political philosophy which led to the creation of the world's greatest democracy.

It is fitting and inspiring that so splendid an organization as Ruritan National should meet here to reflect awhile on the glories of a Nation all of us are proud to call our own.

I know firsthand of the splendid work being done by the Ruritan clubs, and I know firsthand hundreds and hundreds of Ruritans. None anywhere are more dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life than are the splendid members of that organization known as Ruritan National.

JAMESTOWN INSPIRES

It is difficult for one to come to Jamestown without becoming inspired by the heroism of the men and women who came here in 1607. It is difficult to come to Williamsburg without becoming inspired by the wisdom of those men, who in the 18th century, sat in the legislative halls and created a new and dynamic political philosophy.

It was because of the fighting, adventurous spirit of those who set sail from England in 3 tiny ships 350 years ago that America was settled.

It was because of the gallantry and sacrifice of those men of 1776 who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor that America obtained its freedom.

It was because of the wisdom and the experience of those who drafted the Constitution that America became the world's greatest constitutional democracy.

Today we must ask ourselves this question: Are we playing our full part in helping to preserve this heritage which was given to us by the blood and the sweat and the toil of those who came before us?

I believe very strongly that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. I believe very strongly that America's great strength lies not just in our great natural resources, not just in our great industrial know-how, but actually that it lies more in our great system of free enterprise, which itself is based on constitutional guaranties of individual liberty.

CONNECTION OF 1787

Last week I read anew some of the debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and I pondered anew some of the writings of Thomas Jefferson and some of the speeches of Patrick Henry. I read and reread the Declaration of Independence and that great instrument of human freedom penned by Virgina's George Mason, the Bill of Rights.

And through all of these runs one central theme: Fear of a highly centralized government.

Our Government was founded on the principle, and our country grew strong under that principle, that all power not delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution, are reserved to the individual States.

The basic political unit is in the State. The Federal Government is entitled to only such powers as the States grant it; and the localities within a State are created by the State.

Those men who came to Jamestown in 1607, those men who signed the Declaration of Independence, those men who gave their blood and their lives in the war of the American Revolution, and those men who created the American Constitution, all ladies and gentlemen, had lived under what, thank God, none of us have ever lived under, a despotic government.

They lived under a form of government which told the people when to sow and when to reap; which told the people what religion they could follow; when and where and how they could worship God; and what they could speak and what they could write.

It was because they knew first hand of the tragedies of such a system that they were determined to forge a constitutional instrument which would preserve for the people themselves the basic liberties, and preserve for the people themselves control over their own destinies.

They wanted to guarantee to themselves and to their posterity a government in which the people could speak and write as they chose, and could worship God according to the dictates of their heart.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

They had seen firsthand the frailties of man. They knew firsthand of the results of ruthless ambition when power became centralized. They were determined that our's should be a government of laws and not a government of men.

Thomas Jefferson expressed it this way: "Put not your faith in man," he said, "but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

That is the purpose of the Constitution. To prevent the usurpation of power.

The Constitution purposely established three coequal branches of government—the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. Our's was to be a system of checks and balances.

Dramatic evidence of how this system works was presented last week when the executive department was using all the power it could command to enact a so-called civil-rights bill which would (1) have invoked a reconstruction era law authorizing the sending of Federal troops to enforce judicial decisions; (2) would have injected the Federal Government into all types of racial activities; and (3) contained a section giving the Federal Government, through the Attorney General, the right to punish by judicial order, rather than by jury trial, citizens charged with certain crimes.

The bill passed the House of Representatives almost without change. But under the Senate's historic right of free debate, the evils of this legislation were exposed; the viciousness and the deception of it were brought to light. The President himself admitted that he did not know the full impact of this proposal, drawn by Attorney General Brownell. When the debate was over the Senate had pulled many of its teeth, had pierced its heart, and had removed at least one of its lungs. Its death may be recorded before this session of Congress is over.

STATES RIGHTS

And hand-in-hand with this system of checks and balances was the additional basic guaranty against centralization of power. That guaranty written into the Constitution in the Bill of Rights says this: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

This basic part of the American Constitution is now under sharp attack. The trend is toward more and more concentration of power in Washington, less and less regard for those rights clearly guaranteed to the States by our Constitution.

Sometimes in the past the attack on States rights has been led by a President; sometimes a Congress has usurped authority. Today the gravest threat is from the Supreme Court.

That Court, under the domination of a politically minded Chief Justice has, in decision after decision, whittled away at the prerogatives and rights of the individual States. In decision after decision, the Court has sought to put more and more power into the hands of the Government in Washington.

The Court has assumed jurisdiction over the local school systems, although no Federal funds are involved and no interstate commerce is involved.

In doing this the Court overruled precedent going back 60 years and cited as its authority for so doing a Swedish Socialist whose writings have been severely critical of the American form of government. Under the guise of interpretation, it in actuality amended the Constitution, a power which only the people can rightfully wield.

In case after case the Court has sought to increase the power of an already powerful Central Government. In case after case it has sought to reduce the prerogatives of the individual States.

CRITICIZING COURT

All of this, in my judgment, is greatly against the eternal fight to preserve individual liberties. The closer a government can be to the people the more democratic and the more responsive to the wishes of the people that government will be.

The more power that is centralized in Washington, the less opportunity the individual citizen will have to make his voice and his views felt.

A distinguished lawyer said the other day that the American people should not criticize the Supreme Court, that the Court is above criticism.

That, in my judgment, is so much bunk. In a democracy no individual or group of individuals is above criticism. The people have not hesitated to criticize and condemn a President when they believed a President to be advocating proposals not in the best interests of the people themselves. The public has not hesitated to condemn, and properly so, a Congress when it sought, as it has done from time to time in the past, to enact unwise laws.

And by the same token the people should not hesitate, in my opinion, to condemn a Court when the individuals who occupy judicial positions usurp authority to which they are not entitled.

And of the three branches of Government, it is only the Court which is not subject to check—the only effective check against its excesses being the voice of the people, speaking in condemnation.

The Virginia Legislature last year by an almost unanimous vote termed the Court decision on school segregation illegal, and 101 Members of the Congress, including the chairmen of 17 committees, solemnly resolved that the Court had usurped power to which it was not entitled.

JEFFERSON AND LINCOLN

Let's listen to what two great Americans have said about the Court:

Thomas Jefferson, in 1821, wrote "The great object of my fear is the Federal judiciary. It is the instrument which working like gravity, without intermission, is to press us at last into one consolidated mass. If Congress fails to shield the States from danger so palpable and so imminent, the States must shield themselves, and meet the invader foot to foot."

Jefferson stated further that "Whenever a free people should give up in absolute submission to any department of Government, retaining for themselves no appeal from it, then liberties are gone."

Another great American, President Abraham Lincoln, said this about a certain Court decision:

We propose so resisting it as to have it reversed, if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject."

OUR GOLDEN AGE

One discerning philosopher once said, "No golden age was ever appreciated until it passed."

We in present day America are in a golden age. As individual Americans we have luxuries unknown to most other countries; we have a standard of living undreamed of only few decades ago.

But while our heritage is great and while our privileges as Americans are many, so too are our responsibilities. Liberties are lost when the people become too fat and too lazy and too complacant to govern themselves.

History records that more nations have been destroyed from within than ever have been destroyed from without.

The grandeur that once was Rome's fell not to foreign invasion but instead to the weakliness of a people more interested in bread and wine and circuses than in the maintenance of a great nation.

America has a great future, perhaps even greater than her great past. But I believe this: That America's future depends almost entirely on the character, the initiative and the energy of the people themselves in protecting basic constitutional rights, without which strength would turn to weakness.

Like Samson's hair, our Nation's strength is America's constitutional Government. There are Delilahs in high position who would not hesitate to use the scissors.

It is against the usurpation of power, from whatever source that threat might come, that Americans of 1957 must stand guard in order to protect the heritage initiated by those who came to Jamestown in 1607.

...'s Veto Threat Puts Him in Thick of Battle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean under date of August 6, 1957. This editorial, concerning the President's expressed disappointment over the Senate's action on the civil-rights bill and the possibility of a veto because of the jury-trial amendment, will be of interest to Members of the House.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT'S VETO THREAT PUTS HIM IN THICK OF BATTLE

President Eisenhower, expressing bitter disappointment over the Senate's action on the civil-rights measure, needs no briefing to understand that this, with all that went before, constitutes a decisive vote of no confidence in him and his too-smooth Attorney General, Mr. Herbert Brownell.

It is not too much to say that if a straightforward measure had been offered in the first place it could have won.

But in trying to outsmart everybody else, Mr. Brownell actually outsmarted his easy-going chief and himself.

Once it had been made clear that the bill was full of jokers, its amendment won favor on a wide front.

So now the time has come when the President must decide whether to reject the Senate version, if finally approved, with a veto which will have repercussions in distant places, or seek a compromise which hardly seems attainable. He might accept the bill, it is now said, if the controversial jury-trial amendment is curbed to apply only in voting cases.

Republican House leaders declare the measure is dead for this session, with the promise that it will be brought up again in the 1958 year of elections when it might do the party more good, in their estimation.

One thing they should not overlook, however, is that support for the jury amendment grew by leaps and bounds before the Senate voted. That strength, instead of being weakened in the future, is apt to be increased. The more one studies Mr. Brownell's handiwork, the less confidence it commands. And the more evident it becomes that the Nation's chief legal officer is a cunning and devious politician.

As passed by the Senate, the bill marks a decided step forward in dealing with civil rights regardless of the White House complaint about its unworkability. This much is attested by Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, Republican, of New Jersey, who voted against the jury amendment. Mr. SMITH doubted that the President would veto the bill even if the amendment were not modified, and told questioners on a television program that when the President "has the measure fully explained to him, he will see that it does not necessarily weaken the whole judicial system."

Two other Senators have joined in saying that any Republican wave to kill the Senate bill would be a display of partisan politics. They are Democrats JOSEPH S. O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, principal author of the jury-trial amendment, and HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, an opponent of the amendment.

"The civil-rights bill is not dead," said Senator HUMPHREY. "It can only be killed if Republicans now show that they are more interested in stirring up a partisan issue than in getting some constructive action."

Mr. Eisenhower's plan of action will hardly be formulated without the advice of Mr. Brownell and that other anti-jury-trial stalwart, Vice President RICHARD NIXON, who deplores the moderate plan worked out by wise Congress leaders. Add the name of Senator KNOWLAND to these, and you have the GHQ of Republican opposition to jury trials.

In the circumstances there is natural curiosity as to why the torrent of criticism by opponents of the rights bill as originally submitted is guided around and away from this eminent quartet.

Strangely enough, the schizophrenic press is not above assailing some southerners who led in the winning fight, among them Senator KEFAUVER, who was cosponsor of the jury-trial amendment. But at last reports they still looked upon President Eisenhower as the great friend of the South, and rendered hardly less homage to the slick Mr. NIXON, who knew what it was all about from the beginning.

Regardless of this, however, the Eisenhower administration has been properly rebuked for seeking to put over a fast one. That which the President so repeatedly described as a very moderate and decent thing was nothing of the sort. And it is mighty late in the day for him to be angling for a face-saving compromise. As we see it, the intelligent compromise has already been reached.

Israel and Her Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in the July 12 issue of the Detroit Jewish News there appeared an article by Philip Slomovitz entitled "Israel and Her Neighbors—Contrasting Views of Eminent Christian Leaders."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS—CONTRASTING VIEWS OF EMINENT CHRISTIAN LEADERS

(By Philip Slomovitz)

While the major Middle Eastern puzzle today revolves around the rumors about secret peace negotiations, the avalanche of propaganda, with its attendant anti-Israelism continues.

Arab leaders, divided among themselves, split asunder by desires for personal aggrandizements which cause them to plot for territorial control over their neighbors, put on a show of unity by mouthing one bit of evidence as proof of unity; their common hatred of Israel.

Nevertheless, there are signs of better understanding of the problem. Basil L. Walters, the executive editor of the Knight newspapers, was deeply impressed by Arab hospitality. Fortunately, the American sense of fair play also has led him to Israel, where he has learned something about modernity plus hospitality plus ingenuity plus determination to live. Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY also met with both Arabs and Jews, and he is today a stanch believer in the possibility of peace, the need for better understanding, the necessity to eliminate intrigue from Middle Eastern affairs. Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, the head of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and president of the World Brotherhood, is back from the Middle East with an abhorrence for extremism and praise for Israel.

Let us first take up the Clinchy argument. In a message to his coworkers from Rome, Dr. Clinchy pointed out that "the word 'Bible' came from the Greek word 'biblos,' derived from the name papyrus to Greece." He proceeded to say that in olden days "the standard of live and let live was disregarded. The morality of live and help other cultures to live was laughed at. Successive civilizations insisted on uniformity—cultural monism." Basically, he added, the struggle in the Middle East now is "between leaders 'possessed' by an obsession with cultural monism, and the merging possibility of cultural pluralism in that region."

Then comes his evaluation of Nasser's talk of driving the Israelis into the sea and he likens it to the totalitarian philosophies of all times. Reporting that "in Beirut, Christians of many cultures, Jews, and Moslems of Lebanon have agreed to work for World Brotherhood," Dr. Clinchy states: "To be sure, Israel is a word the rest of the Middle East do not want to recognize, but that can be overcome, if work is done now for all cultures."

In "just a paragraph about Israel," Dr. Clinchy has this to say in his message:

"I had not seen this area since 1928. Israel is an amazing expression of the human spirit of which we may all be proud. By combining science, technology, money, education, and spirit with will power, Israel is redeeming a land and 2 million human beings. Israel is proving something which all of Asia and Africa wants to believe: that individuals who have lived in ancient ways can skip centuries and be made into modern carpenters, plumbers, electricians, scientific farmers, engineers, musicians, teachers, and artists. Israel is proving that water can be piped hundreds of miles from its source to make deserts blossom, barren hills grow trees, machines free humans from drudgery. Its spirit can move youths to dance and sing in the streets. It is regrettable that circumstances force Israel to feel that she must put so much of her efforts into defense. But the total accomplishment is good, and Israel's culture, like Rodgers and Hammerstein's June blossoms, 'is busting' out all over'. This can happen in Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Iran, and Iraq: Knowhow, money, and machines are available. All it takes in addition is real brotherhood. In Israel there is no corruption in government; the distance between the poor and the rich is righteously reasonable, kept so by honest taxation, and the people are taught a moral faith. Israel's example speaks to Asia, "If you will work and pay this price you can live well too.'"

This is most interesting. Dr. Clinchy has no axes to grind. He deals with all faiths in his great movement for good will, in this country through the National Conference of Christians and Jews and on the international front through World Brotherhood. But we were especially intrigued by what Senator HUMPHREY, one of the most distinguished American leaders, had to say about his visit to the Middle East.

Senator HUMPHREY spoke of the importance of war: "There is a shocking contrast between irrigated land and unirrigated. When one sees the desolate Negev, the great southern desert of Israel, and learns that Israel expects 100,000 immigrants this year, he better understands too why the Israelis are so insistent on irrigation of the Negev. The fact is that water is at least as important as oil in the Middle East, if not more so. The Nile, Jordan, and the Tigris-Euphrates are all international rivers, and if maximum use is to be made of their waters it must be done under some kind of international arrangement."

Then he described his view of the vitality of Israel:

"The new Israeli state is a striking contrast to the ruins of older civilizations one sees on every side. It is a young, vigorous nation—strongly and confidently led by men and women of the caliber of David Ben-Gurion and Mrs. Golda Meier. It is a working democracy, with active political participation. Israel is a good friend of the United States; she has used to the utmost advantage every bit of economic aid we have given her. She is a showcase of what can be done in this dry, poverty-stricken area of the world when there is a will, when there is good organization."

The real contrast was drawn by Senator HUMPHREY a bit later. The Minnesota Senator, during his stay abroad and upon his return, emphasized Egypt's need for help from this country. He advocated assistance to the Egyptians and he had good things to say about Nasser and the Egyptians. Yet he was compelled, after an interval between his visit in Egypt and his return to this country, to make distinctions that merely proved the existence of cancerous enmities in the Middle East which must be traced to the lack of vision and the bias of Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Senator HUMPHREY met with David Ben-Gurion as well as with Nasser. He "tried to give President Nasser the benefit of every doubt, to thoroughly test his good faith"; and he pressed Ben-Gurion more than an acknowledged friend would expect. Here are his impressions:

"President Nasser is an arden nationalist who does symbolize revolt of the Arab people against colonialism. While wanting to be the strong man—the leader of Pan Arabism—his basic insecurity is revealed by his suspicion, prejudice, and distrust.

"With the candor of American fairness—not naive innocence—I put President Nasser's good faith to personal test; and found it lacking. Since our discussions, Radio Cairo and the Egyptian press, both under his direct control, have distorted and deliberately misrepresented my views expressed during my stay in Cairo. This distresses me because if Nasser wants a more sympathetic ear in America, the first thing he'd better learn is that we like people who deal on top of the table.

"President Nasser leaves you with an impression of stubbornness born partially out of trying to cope with huge tasks beyond his own experience or understanding. A stubbornness that could lead to dangerous desperation.

"Prime Minister Ben-Gurion leaves you with an impression of thoughtful determination to overcome any obstacles, of confidence in the justice of his cause and the ability of his people to accept any sacrifice in order to achieve their common objectives of a permanent, stable, homeland for the Jewish people.

"Nasser is overly sensitive and critical about what he terms domination by the western big powers.

"I heard no complaints from Ben-Gurion.

"Yet I heard a great deal of it from Nasser—complaints against the United States, despite the fact that he had been saved by the United States intervention in the United Nations. Nasser was definitely unhappy with the United States. He was pessimistic about our future relations.

"Ben-Gurion had his victory literally taken away from him, yet he did not complain. He was much more objective and philosophical in his attitude.

"When it comes to their educational backgrounds and personal qualifications for sound leadership, there is little comparison.

"Nasser is a military product, with little or no exposure to western culture or ideals, little real understanding of the United States, and handicapped both by lack of travel and knowledge of the world in which he has become such a force.

"By contrast, Ben-Gurion has all the qualifications of a great leader. He is a student of history—a scholar in his own right. He speaks nine different languages; he is a student of law, a talented orator, and skilled in the democratic processes of parliamentary government. With it all he has a greater secret—humility. Ben-Gurion really typifies his country: He is rugged, courageous, imaginative. He seems to combine some of the qualities and characteristics of Andrew Jackson and Franklin Roosevelt, with a noticeable dash of Harry Truman.

"In Egypt, the poverty is appalling; the people are still centuries behind the modern world about them. They deserve a better opportunity and that opportunity could be theirs if Egyptian rulers would concentrate their attention and resources on Egypt's social and economic needs. Assistance could and would be available.

"In Israel, a modern miracle is being wrought out of one of the oldest areas of the world; a youthful spirit is evident everywhere, and tremendous strides of progress are being made—and shared by all.

"Today, Egypt is headed in a dangerous direction, unwilling to stand up shoulder to shoulder with others who recognize the serious menace to freedom in the world, and letting itself get enmeshed into the tentacles of Kremlin influence preying u Egypt's nationalist spirit for ulterior s

"But of one thing you can be sure: I is a friend of the United States and the of the free world. There can be no d about this. She is a natural ally. Wit any formal treaty or alliance, we have in people and Government of Israel a loyal brave ally. This unwritten alliance is h upon mutual understanding and respect

"Israel is not only anti-Commun she is pro-freedom. And the Israelis prepared to defend that freedom.

"Perhaps if Nasser's aims were con trated on helping his own people, he w be facing fewer troubles today. But h obsessed with the past, and looks ahea terms of suspicion of the West and intri in the Middle East.

"As much as the Arab world professes yielding opposition to Israel's existe Israel is not only here to stay—it is alre contributing to improvements for the A people. It is forcing Arab leaders th selves to do more toward development their own countries to keep some semblan of pace with the shining example progress in the midst of their backwardn

"The truth is that eventually Israel benefit its neighbors—and will need neighbors for trade and commerce.

"Time, patience, and a regional appro to many of the pressing economic probl may be the key to lessening tensions eventual settlement of the area's com political problems."

This is a long quotation, but it is portant enough to share with every one has an interest in Israel, with all who concerned in world peace.

Perhaps all these messages from ab will bring the desired results: enlight ment to those who seek war that they c not succeed by the sword; that they m strive for peace; that only through pe will the sick be healed, the hungry those eager for enlightenment provided w means to advance their cultural cravings

The good Christians of America are h ing in this great effort, as Clinchy Humphrey have proven. More must co forth with demonstration of good will; ways in the interest of peace. Perhaps already are closer to it than we realize.

Third Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1957

SPEECH

OF

HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 18, 1957

The House in Committee of the Wh House on the State of the Union had un consideration the bill (H. R. 7221) mak supplemental appropriations for the fis year ending June 30, 1957, and for ot purposes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Chairm the distinguished chairman of the A propriations Committee has worked diligently on the multitude of mat before him that he has been unable study the details of the problem. T proposed act does not put the Gover ment in the insurance business. merely allows the private companies extend risks which ordinarily would n be taken. If these risks pass a certa stage, the Federal Government stan

hind the loss. These people pay a pre-
m, so this is not like many of the pro-
als supported by the gentleman from
ssouri, such as the giveaway farm
grams. In any event, people on Long
nd would like to be able to insure
ir houses and property against the
ges of hurricane. The gentleman
m Missouri is killing their chances.

Benson Program Would Hurt Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave extend my remarks in the Appendix the RECORD, I should like to include an which appeared in the August 3, 7, issue of the Wallaces' Farmer and s Homestead. This item, "Benson gram Would Hurt Iowa," is one which lso true for other States. I call at-tion to the Members of the Congress he following article:

BENSON PROGRAM WOULD HURT IOWA

arm price goals of the Eisenhower admin-ation were spelled out recently in Secre-y Benson's report to Congress on possible hods of improving the feed-grain pro-m.

enson explored several possible feed pro-ms. But he came up with a recommenda-n that would—over the long pull—provide d-grain prices at an average of around 65 cent of parity.

enson would eliminate acreage allotments corn, putting them in the same class in respect as the other feed grains. He allotments have not worked.

he Secretary would take corn out of the ic crop category that includes wheat, rice, ton, tobacco, and peanuts. That is, he ld drop corn from the 75 to 90 percent arity price range requiring boosts in sup-ts when supplies decline. Instead, he ts to set supports as he sees fit between and 90 percent or, if Congress insisted, 90 percent.

It is apparent," Benson added, "that this the direction toward which most corn ducers would prefer to go. The evi-ce is convincing that we should move in direction of more freedom for our farm-to produce, unfettered by allotments de-mined by rigid controls."

e forecast that the effects of his suggested d grain program on livestock producers' me would vary somewhat between those produce and those who buy most of their d.

t is likely that the income from livestock erprises would be reduced somewhat for ers who feed their own grain. But for stock producers who purchase grain for d, incomes would likely not be greatly erent, as lower feed costs and increased ume would tend to offset reduced prices livestock.

Total cash receipts from poultry would slightly," the Benson report added. "If y supports were lowered, dairy incomes ld decrease."

Other possible programs outlined by Ben-include:

A program that would establish a total eage allotment for all feed grains, com-nce with which would be a requirement price supports.

A program of direct payments to growers on an allotted share of production of feed grains.

A long-range soil-bank program directly aimed at feed grains.

Purchase of land by the Government to retire it from agricultural use.

Conservation land use aimed at shifting specific types of land areas out of tilled crops into conservation uses.

A Government-assisted price insurance program with producers paying premiums.

The national farm organizations did not express enthusiasm for the plan. The National Grange said it offered "very little" in the way of actual price support. The National Farmers' Union expressed sharp opposition. The American Farm Bureau Federation said it had "some merit."

Some USDA officials think the new soil bank acreage reserve rules for 1958 will limit its effectiveness. Funds have been reduced from $600 million to $500 million.

Payments to individual farm operators will be limited to $3,000. A plan to set up soil bank base acreages is also being considered. It would limit a farmer's harvested acreage to his base acreage allotment minus any land retired under either the acreage or conservation reserve.

To get worthwhile participation under tighter rules, payments would have to be increased considerably.

The appointment of Don Paarlberg as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture failed to strike any enthusiasm in farm circles critical of administration farm policies.

Paarlberg is a foremost proponent in the department of the idea that price supports should not be used to determine prices, but should be used only as a base or floor that would prevent collapse of prices and markets.

The soil bank program has done what officials consider to be a creditable job in reducing the acreage of corn. This year's corn acreage at 72,289,000 acres is down about 7,200,000 from 1955, the year before the program was inaugurated. It also is down about 3,700,000 acres from last year.

Under the program, farmers in the designated commercial area had signed agreements to retire 5,235,000 acres this year for payments of $196 million.

Americans Well Liked in Spain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Constantine Brown, entitled "Americans Well Liked in Spain," which appeared in the New York Mirror of August 8. This is an interesting and timely description of conditions in Spain, a country of great strategic importance in the defense system of the free world because of the American bases being completed there. I commend Mr. Brown's article to the Members of the House for the significant facts he brings out.

AMERICANS WELL LIKED IN SPAIN
(By Constantine Brown)

Americans continue to be well liked in Spain although our prestige suffered somewhat from our do-nothing attitude in the Hungarian revolution last fall.

There is no "Yankee, go home" movement here. On the contrary the 2,500 airmen and sailors who are stationed at our unfinished air and naval bases seem to get along well with the Spaniards. The few incidents which have occurred so far have been trivial and caused by the fact that our boys have not become accustomed to Spanish drivers who frequently dart through intersections or out of side roads without slowing down.

Some people are worried what will happen next year when some 10,000 to 12,000 airmen and seamen and their families arrive to be stationed permanently at bases which the Spaniards have placed at our disposal. But most military men believe there will be few, if any, serious instances of friction between American personnel and Spanish civilians.

Conditions here are different from those in Germany and Japan. In both those countries the American forces came first as conquerors. Much as the German and Japanese people may appreciate the help they received from America which enabled them to become strong powers again, there is an inevitable strong feeling among the ordinary people against their conquerors.

No such feeling exists in Spain with which we have had no armed conflict since we decolonized Cuba.

But there is in Spain an element which looks with disfavor at the closeness of the Spanish-American relationship. This element, which cannot be described as Communist per se, has now coined a new name for America's intervention. It calls it cocacolonialism which is a repeat of the slogan invented by the French Communists 2 or 3 years ago. To back up their slogan of "Yankee, go home," they added the humorous expression of cocacolonizing France. They pretended that the introduction of our national soft drink, which has now spread more than American democratic ideals throughout the world, would hurt the traditional French wine and brandy consumption and thus ruin the chances of vineyard owners to make a living.

The French Communist deputies in the National Assembly bitterly fought the law permitting the sale of coca cola in France. They are now reviving their slogan in Spain through groups which are not Communist but are anxious to create trouble for Generalissimo Franco. And since El Caudillo has considerably relaxed the former strict controls on public expressions, these elements believe they can best serve their cause by trying to create an unfavorable atmosphere against the United States.

There are unquestionably many internal difficulties facing the Franco regime. They are caused, at least partially, by economic hardships. The generalissimo relies on close relationship with the United States to overcome these troubles. For the time being the Spaniards take their hardships fairly good naturedly. But there is unquestionably an underground swell which the Government cannot overlook. It would be too dangerous for the would-be helpers of communism or anarchism (the main revolutionary brand known in Spain for generations) to challenge Franco's rule openly. But they believe that by sneak attacks against the United States and by efforts to create doubt about America's intentions toward Spain they may be able to fish in troubled waters.

For the time being the work of these groups has been ineffective except in a few instances in the industrial north. But they are worth watching since nobody can gage the effects of galloping inflation anywhere in the world and especially in countries which are only now changing their economy from agriculture to industrial.

Meanwhile, however, Americans, and especially the tens of thousands of tourists representing a cross section of the States, are welcomed and liked.

An Editorial by Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, with the almost daily expression and criticism of the Supreme Court, it seems particularly apropos to bring to the attention of the Members of this body certain statements made by two extremely eminent Americans of earlier days: Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. These comments appeared in separate editions of U. S. News & World Report.

I had hoped to insert both statements together, but the Jefferson extracts were introduced by the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON] and will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 29, pages 11659 and 11660.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to insert the statements of Abraham Lincoln which appear in U. S. News & World Report for August 9, together with Mr. David Lawrence's editorial comments in reference thereto:

AN EDITORIAL BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(On this page last week Thomas Jefferson's views criticizing the Supreme Court were presented. Here are the views of Abraham Lincoln, with particular reference to the right to criticize the Supreme Court, the right to urge a reversal of its decisions, and, indeed, the duty to urge such reversal. These statements are is timely today as any editorial expression that could be made on recent decisions of the Supreme Court.—David Lawrence, editor.)

JUNE 26, 1857, SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

But we think the Dred Scott decision is erroneous. We know the Court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it to overrule this. We offer no resistance to it.

If this important decision had been before the Court more than once, and had there been affirmed and reaffirmed through a course of years, it then might be, perhaps would be, factious, nay, even revolutionary, not to acquiesce in it as a precedent.

But when, as is true, we find it wanting in all these claims to the public confidence, it is not resistance, it is not factious, it is not even disrespectful, to treat it as not having yet quite established a settled doctrine for the country.

JULY 10, 1858, SPEECH AT CHICAGO, ILL.

All that I am doing is refusing to obey it (the Dred Scott decision) as a political rule. Somebody has to reverse that decision, since it is made; and we mean to reverse it, and we mean to do it peaceably.

The sacredness that Judge Douglas throws around this decision is a degree of sacredness that has never been before thrown around any other decision. I have never heard of such a thing. Why, decisions apparently contrary to that decision, or that good lawyers thought were contrary to that decision, have been made by that very Court before. It is the first of its kind; it is an astonisher in legal history. It is a new wonder of the world. It is based upon falsehood in the main as to the facts—allegations of facts upon which it stands are not facts at all in many instances—and no decision made on any question—the first instance of a decision made under so many unfavorable circumstances—thus placed, has ever been held by the profession as law, and it has always needed confirmation before the lawyers regarded it as settled law.

JULY 17, 1858, SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

I think that in respect for judicial authority, my humble history would not suffer in comparison with that of Judge Douglas. He would have the citizen conform his vote to that decision; the Member of Congress, his; the President, his use of the veto power. He would make it a rule of political action for the people and all the Departments of the Government. I would not. By resisting it as a political rule, I disturb no right of property, create no disorder, excite no mobs.

OCTOBER 13, 1858, SPEECH AT QUINCY, ILL.

But we nevertheless do oppose that (Dred Scott) decision as a political rule which shall be binding on the voter to vote for nobody who thinks it wrong, which shall be binding on the Members of Congress or the President to favor no measure that does not actually concur with the principles of that decision. We do not propose to be bound by it as a political rule in that way, because we think it lays the foundation not merely of enlarging and spreading out what we consider an evil, but it lays the foundation for spreading that evil into the States themselves. We propose so resisting it as to have it reversed if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1859, SPEECH AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.

MARCH 4, 1861, FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

I do not forget the position, assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other Departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Essential Qualities for Successful Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 28, 1957

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to incorporate in the RECORD the commencement address delivered [to] the graduating class of the Endi[cott] Junior College, Beverly, Mass., by [Dr.] Jesse P. Bogue, executive secretary of [the] American Association of Junior Colle[ges], Washington, D. C., on June 17, 1957:

ESSENTIAL QUALITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL LIV[ING]

(By Dr. Jesse P. Bogue)

Most of us who are graduating have [spent] 14 years in school and college. Some [of us] will continue formal education for 2 [or] tional years; others may spend several [years] for professional studies; still others [will] enter fields of gainful employment or [take] up the pleasures and duties of making [a] American homes. After the exercises of [this] day have been completed, therefore, [our] further goals and objectives selected by [each] of us will lead into divergent directions.

Now, at the end of our 14 years of [edu]tion, the question is, what have we learn[ed]? As we move ahead in divergent ways, [what] shall we take with us? Can we read [with] comprehension and speed, speak effectively, write with accuracy and clarity, listen [with] understanding and pleasure? Can we [on a] basis mathematical processes with [pre]sion? Do we know what our great Am[eri]can heritage is, its free economic system, [its] social and political structure? Are we [de]voted to our American way of life both [in] what it is and what it may become? Ha[ve] we learned something of the language, liter[a]ture, and ways of thinking of other peo[ple] who live beyond the borders of this Nati[on]? Have we gained insight into the physical [and] life sciences, and have we learned what [are] best relationships are to the environme[nt] in which we live? Have we developed a [de]sense of appreciation and value thro[ugh] literature, the fine arts, music, philosop[hy] and religion? Have we who are complet[ing] formal education mastered some useful [skill] whereby we may make a comfortable livi[ng]? We hope that these questions can be [an]swered in the affirmative. If the most [of] them can be affirmed, you have gained so[me]thing of the rich heritage of past gene[ra]tions, and you are now in a position to [im]prove and enlarge this heritage and to ass[ist] in extending it to others about you, [and] those who will follow you in the future.

What have we learned, however, outs[ide] the 2 backs of books and the 4 walls [of] classrooms? To what extent have we [as]gested facts and knowledge to attain g[en]understanding, and assimilated understan[d]ing so that it has become an integral part [of] the living organism of wisdom? On th[ese] more important questions may we make [a] few suggestions. They have grown out [of] lessons learned in a hard and practical wo[rld] and wide observations of what it takes [to] make the grade" as citizens, members [of] families, and as workers in the mill [or] of occupations.

First, we believe that the skill, will [and] habit of applying our intellectual abilit[ies] to all problems is essential for successful l[iv]ing. The unique difference between m[an] and animals is the ability of men to thi[nk] to reason with logical processes, to tr[ace] straight lines from cause to effect, and [to] formulate sound judgments on all issues. [The] distinctive characteristic of man is his f[a]ulty to look ahead and construct the ev[ent] before the fact. The habit of extending [the] application of our intellectual powers [and] skills to all issues in citizenship, in fam[ily] relations, and the daily questions of getti[ng] on successfully as productive workers is a sharp challenge to everyone of us.

Second, we suggest that the quality [of] initiative be added to the habit of appl[ying] intelligence. Initiative gets us under way, inspires us to venture and pioneer, to [at]tempt things which have never been tried, [to] accept responsibility and have courage [to] take the consequences. Lags in these ch[ar]acteristics have been identified many ti[mes] in recent years by industrial and busi[ness]

executives in altogether too many of our college graduates.

Initiative is akin to inventiveness—that daring and inquisitive quality which has so profoundly affected our economic development. With all the progress we have made to devise ways and means to satisfy our physical needs and wants, we have barely scratched the surface of what may be achieved. In the realm of human relations almost at every level, in the application of moral ideals to daily problems, in further discoveries of the secrets of nature we are on the frontiers.

Third, we further suggest that the quality of being industrious be added to intellectual ability and initiative. In a word, this means that whatever power we have must be geared to consistent and constant effort and hard work. With all of our mechanical gadgets and so-called push-button technology there is still much hard work to be done. Unless we retain the ability to do hard work, to put forth effort to full capacity, we could find ourselves out of step with the progress of American economy and civilization.

Perhaps most of us have heard or read about the heartbreaking ordeals of our men who were captured in Korea. To us they are symbols to remind us that the days in which we live demand toughness of body, mind, and soul. The habit of being industrious, the ability to stay by each job until it is completed is one of the essential qualities to insure successful living.

Fourth, hard work must be interfused with imagination. The Almighty endowed men with the faculty to recall what has been. This is reproductive imagination. We can look ahead with vision. This is creative imagination. In human relations this power is akin to sympathetic understanding of others. In trouble and sorrow it is faith and hope. In hardships and disappointments it is the healing light of a sense of humor.

In human culture imagination expresses itself in literature, the plastic arts, architecture, philosophy and religion. Imagination lifts the face of man from the clods to the skies. It transforms drudgery and dreariness into freedom of spirit for daily work and pleasant relations with others. It is one of the deep wellsprings of human happiness.

Fifth, integrity binds together into a solid striking force the other qualities we have mentioned as the thumb binds the four fingers of the hand to make it a fist. The chain of these essential qualities for successful living is no stronger than its weakest link. Certainly, the chain will break and fall apart if the link of integrity is weak. The man of integrity is whole, complete in a human sense, unified and straight in personality and character.

In business relations integrity is plain honesty. In law and in the courts it is justice. In sports it is fair play. In the home it is virtue, confidence, and sincere affection. In citizenship it is respect, reliability, and unity. In friendship it is loyalty. In work it is the will to do our best.

The essential quality of integrity is the rule and guide to faith and practice for the other qualities of intelligence, initiative, industry, and imagination. Integrity guides the intellect to face all facts fully and honestly. Integrity leads courage and confidence to initiative. In work it holds us steady to a true course of consistent and constructive effort. Integrity balances the wings of imagination with the tail of sound judgment to bear us up and keep us moving ahead toward proper goals.

Increasing Importance of the Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, able editor Jim Heinz of the North Long Beach Herald American spotted an important and prophetic discussion by Adm. V. D. Long of the United States Navy's increasing world importance in the Independent Businessmen's news magazine. In an unusual switch for a news editor, he reprinted Admiral Long's magazine article as spot news, and thereby achieved something of a scoop for his readers. As Commander, Mine Force, United States Pacific Fleet, Admiral Long's words carry special weight. They are as follows:

INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF THE NAVY
(By Rear Adm. V. D. Long)

Conflict is a characteristic of the human race and in the world as we know it there has never been a time of total peace nor a time of total war. The difference between war and peace lies in the degree to which force is actively employed. Were conflicts to be erased from the face of the earth, there would be no need for any instrument of force, but since we cannot see the day when such a condition will exist, it is necessary to possess force in some form or another to protect our rights and property and when necessary to impose our will upon our enemy. This is the function of the Navy for a navy is the backbone of naval power—the force element of seapower. True, in times of peace, our commerce may ply the seas unmolested and the need for active protection of that shipping is not necessary, certainly not as necessary today as it was in the 18th or 19th centuries when numerous perils other than the routine maritime hazards threatened seaborne commerce. However, there exists a threat to the peace of the world—the threat of Communist aggression, and included in that threat is a challenge to our continued use of the seas.

In order to counter or to contain the aggressive tendencies of the Soviet Union, sufficient force must be maintained to provide a deterrent and at the same time to offer visible signs of aid to our allies. The stationing of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and the 7th Fleet in Asiatic waters furnishes excellent examples of this use of naval power, as an instrument for the advancement of national aims, through support of our national policies. The United States Navy, including the United States Marines, is the only sizable force in the free world capable of applying the right degree of force to any type of threatening situation. The degree of force indicated can run the gamut from a mere showing of the flag, through an emphibious operation, to the employment, if necessary, of nuclear weapons. Whatever the situation calls for, the United States Navy has the required mobility, flexibility, and diversity of forces to face it. The free world cannot afford to be without a strong United States Navy; it has no other armed force capable of handling a variety of situations.

The free world is an oceanic confederation bound together by mutual-security treaties. United States policy is firmly based on collective security. World peace and the security of the free world depends upon the continuing ability of the allied armed forces to maintain sufficient strength to counter and overcome any potential enemy. The projection of military power by air, land, or sea depends upon the ability of the United States Navy to control the sea.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 27, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the most valuable resource we have in this Nation is our young people. It is thus a matter of profound concern to all of us when the strength of our youth is undermined. Juvenile delinquency has infected only a small percentage of America's youth but it is a cancer in our society that we should combat with every resource at our command.

This is a sentiment shared by the editor of the Huron (S. Dak.) Plainsman as expressed in his editorial of July 25, 1957, which I include as follows:

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY YOUTH'S NO. 1 ENEMY

Katherine Brownell Oettinger, chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, has arrived at the firm conclusion that teenage delinquency is the Bureau's most pressing problem.

Mrs. Oettinger says the juvenile delinquency rate has risen for the 8th consecutive year.

"It is a trend we can't ignore," she says. "It seems to me to be equally as important as infant mortality was when the Bureau started in 1912. After many years, that problem was greatly reduced just as juvenile delinquency can be."

She proposes grants-in-aid to the States to support research to discover the conditions which cause delinquency and to devise remedies for those conditions.

Ten States already have set up diagnostic centers which separate the emotionally disturbed delinquents for special assignment to proper institutions.

Fourteen States have consultants in juvenile delinquency to which the various communities can go for information and advice.

No doubt there would be more such projects on the State level, Mrs. Oettinger believes, if Congress adopts the pending program of grants-in-aid to help State finance projects to curb delinquency.

However, even grants-in-aid perhaps aren't enough activity on the Federal level. A recent world conference on the subject of juvenile delinquency brought out that those nations with national programs—and England was one of them—succeeded in reducing the delinquency rate while all other nations showed an increase.

Therefore Mrs. Oettinger and her Agency should be encouraged to take the lead in

formulating a national program and Congress should provide the necessary funds to put such a program into operation.

But even that won't be enough. South Dakota communities should follow the lead provided by Attorney General Phil Saunders and his juvenile delinquency committee and take action on the local level.

Certainly every possible resource should be mobilized against juvenile delinquency which now is the Nation's greatest youth problem.

The Ninth Column

SPEECH
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles E. Green is the executive editor of the Austin American-Statesman, of Austin, Tex.

One of the most interesting features of the Austin American is a column written by Mr. Green which he calls the Ninth Column. This column is followed very closely by the readers of this important daily. In the August 6, 1957, issue of the Austin American, Mr. Green emphasizes the great importance of providing for a jury trial in the civil-rights bill.

Because Mr. Green emphasizes not only the importance of trial by jury to the people of our country but the willingness to trust jurors in our Nation, I am presenting his column to the Members of the House.

The column is as follows:

THE NINTH COLUMN

We have not mentioned this before. No reason why but the whole amasing business seemed unreal. We refer to the bitter fight against the inclusion of a jury trial in the civil rights bill; and Mr. Eisenhower's anger at finding it being included.

It is perfectly obvious why some people did not want the jury system included. In general the people in the South and Southwest are not as clever as our eastern counterparts in dealing with snobbery and social situations.

And it was feared that juries would not be as harsh on offenders as a judge appointed for life, etc.

We presume that was the reason. Because that is probably what would happen at first. And will happen until we catch up with our more agile brothers in Chicago, Detroit, and points east.

But why make a trial by jury seem such a despicable thing? Many hardened criminals go scot free because a clever lawyer stacks a jury. But many a hardened criminal gets put behind the bars, also.

Sometimes a tycoon makes a farce of free enterprise through manipulating gentlemen's agreements, etc. And he puts a lot of little people out of business, runs roughshod over others. But no one has yet found a better way for the mostest to make a good living than by free enterprise.

Free speech is one of the firm roots of democracy. Yet, hardly a day passes that free speech is not abused in one way or another. And hardly a day someone in Government doesn't try to devise a way to do away with free speech.

That has not happened to date: But there are still thousands of persons who would forego free speech with the idea it would improve their lot.

So back to the jury system. Mr. Eisenhower seemed to indicate in his fury that by putting in the jury system someone was slipping a fast one by him. Mr. Eisenhower can argue until that hot place looks level, and that is all right. He can point out that in civil rights procedure the jury system might not be in order. Or that it isn't in order. He has a right to that opinion.

But how a man can approach a rage as he is supposed to have done is beyond us. Or why the tempest got into a name-calling stage, is also over our heads.

Personally, we will trust our lot to a jury—and they will make a number of mistakes. But all in all fewer than someone in a position who is not accountable to public opinion.

Raymond Brooks thinks that Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON is masterminding the fight to put the jury system in the civil rights program and that he has made his best performance to date on that detail.

Memorandum of the Steuben Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I have previously introduced bills dealing with the return of alien property. The Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, headed by my distinguished colleague from Illinois, Hon. PETER MACK, is now conducting hearings on this legislation. Among the various groups and organizations urging favorable action on legislation dealing with this subject matter is the Steuben Society of America. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith, for the information of my colleagues, the statement submitted by said society to the subcommittee:

MEMORANDUM OF THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA IN SUPPORT OF THE RETURN OF GERMAN AND JAPANESE ASSETS SEIZED DURING WORLD WAR II

STATEMENT

The Steuben Society of America, a national organization of American citizens, supports the return of seized German and Japanese assets. In the platform and program of this society, as adopted by the 17th national convention in Washington, D. C., on September 2, 1956, there is contained the following:

"We believe in the sanctity of private property and, therefore, advocate the immediate return of all private property confiscated by the Office of Alien Property under the Trading With the Enemy Act as amended."

This statement finds its basis in the traditional attitude of this country with respect to the sanctity of private property within its territory, whether such property belongs to nationals of former enemy powers or to friendly powers. As was said by Secretary Cordell Hull on the eve of World War II, "Taking over of such property except for a public purpose and coupled with the assumption of liability to make just compensation would be fraught with disastrous results."

To support its beliefs that seized assets of German and Japanese nations should be returned, this society makes these points:

POINT I—CONFISCATION IS NOT THE OBJECT OF THE TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT

The Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917, found in title 50 of the United States Code Annotated, was intended to prohibit and prevent the lending of aid and comfort to the enemy by frustrating the enemy's attempt to garner the sinews of war. Confiscation was not the objective. It would seem if the statements found in various cases which have interpreted the statute, are correct, that the time has come when the return of such property would no longer give aid and comfort to an enemy. It might well be said that the withholding of such property for an unreasonable length of time constitutes a form of confiscation because the beneficiary, recipient, or owner thereof may no longer reap the benefit to be derived from its use.

If confiscation is not the purpose of the act, no purpose is served by continuing to hold the property.

POINT II—USING PROPERTY OF A LIMITED NUMBER TO PAY THE OBLIGATIONS OF MANY CONSTITUTES AND IMPOSES AN UNJUST PENALTY

Assuming that the assets of German and Japanese nationals were to be applied to payment of damages assessed against the two nations as a whole, the taking of property of those who were unfortunate enough to have that property fall within the reach of a conqueror would mean that a very limited number of an entire nation is being compelled to meet an obligation which should be shared by many others. It must be remembered, however, that much of the seized property is that which became the property of enemy nationals by virtue of inheritance or gift from American citizens who undoubtedly made their contributions to the war effort along with every other citizen of this country. Taking such property and applying it to the payment of damages done to the United States of America would be the singling out of the beneficiary of American citizens as the prime obligor to pay obligations born of war because their property was most easily within reach.

POINT III—PROPERTY OF GERMAN AND JAPANESE NATIONALS SHOULD BE RETURNED FOR THE REASONS HEREIN STATED

It is respectfully submitted that Congress should anticipate the proposal to be made by the President of the United States of America as indicated in a statement of July 31, 1957, planning for the return of German and Japanese assets and thus reflect the historic American policy of maintaining the sanctity of private property even in wartime.

Respectfully submitted.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
O. HEERLEIN, *National Chairman.*

AUGUST 8, 1957.

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6974) to extend the Agricultural Trade Development

and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, the gentlewoman from New York is a very courageous person. She is defending international morality by refusing to aid a country which is clearly Communist and within the Communist orbit. It is a strange thing that many of the Members who are opposing her amendment—who are normally very isolationist—are doing so on the grounds that the Polish people in their districts are in favor of aid to Poland. We do strange things for politics in this House.

World Flooded With Narcotics From Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Victor Riesel showing the trade in deadly narcotic drugs already being pushed by Chinese Reds into our own country while they want us to supply them with machine tools and minerals and healing medicines. The article is from the Philadelphia Inquirer of July 24, 1957:

MAO POPPIES BLOOM
(By Victor Riesel)

WASHINGTON.—Why are we arguing about opening trade with covetized China? We are trading with the Mao (Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom) Tze-tung. We're exchanging good healthy American bodies and minds and souls for the weed—narcotics.

When Mao talks about letting those flowers bloom, he's not overlooking the opium-bearing poppies. Want evidence? Here's what Federal Narcotics Commissioner Harry Anslinger told the Joint Legislative Committee on Narcotics Study in New York not so long ago:

"Today your (narcotics) problem is New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, D. C., Detroit, Chicago, all through Texas and all through California. You don't see addiction in New England. A little in Boston, but not very much."

Much of "the stuff" comes from Mao's "blooming" China. Take Anslinger's word for it. For this is what he told this reporter:

"Sixty-five percent of the illicit opium came out of Red China last year. Most of it came across the Burma border.

"There were 500 seizures of opium, morphine, and heroin on that border all going through Thailand, Hong Kong, and then to the United States and Japan. It came from the province of Yunan. There were some 7,000 sorties which crossed that border successfully. These were the successful smuggling of amounts running up into the tons.

"You ask how much this brings the Sovietized Peiping government?

"Heroin sells for as much as $3,000 an ounce. The Chinese don't get all of it, but they do take about $100 an ounce and there are 32,000 ounces to the ton. That would give them $3,200,000 a ton to pay for armaments, reconstruction, subversion, and bribery of Asiatic unions and government chiefs.

"You get an idea of the size of this business from the staggering fact that there were 10,000 arrests of Red smugglers in Hong Kong."

This underground trade flows right across the world from the graceful old sampans of Hong Kong Harbor to the sidewalks of New York.

I report this latter city to give Harry Bridges a chance for redemption. You see, his union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Association, ousted from the CIO on charges of following the Communist line, has gotten up a new seven-man trade committee. It is truly exercised and devoutly devoted to trade with the rest of the world, but especially with Mao's China. This committee got some travel money a few weeks ago and rushed to Washington to go through Congress beating the drums for dealing with Peiping.

Brother Bridges and his union aides would sound like the real sincere fellows if they coupled their pleas to Congress with an appeal to Mao Tze-tung to shut off the flow of dope from his blooming poppy fields.

But while we're waiting for the western longshoremen's leader to cry out against this trade, let's count on the Narcotics Bureau to fight it. There's a brave band of men—all of 300 across the world. A handful against Chinese millions.

Looks like that trade will be with us for a while.

Democrat Strategy of Abuse and Disparagement of President Eisenhower Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the technique of destroying a man to destroy what he stands for is a common one in national and international politics. It is not one that can be employed by those with sensitive minds or stomachs, nor even viewed by that kind of people with equanimity. Nonetheless, and however, unpleasant, it seems to be a fact of current political life which columnist David Lawrence felt dutybound to discuss in the following words:

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PRESIDENT—BASIC CAUSE IS VIEWED AS CONGRESS CONTROLLED BY OPPOSITION PARTY

(By David Lawrence)

Why is the obvious so often overlooked? This question might well be asked as one reads the many thousands of words being spoken and written about President Eisenhower's problems in dealing with Congress.

The obvious—that Congress is controlled by the Democratic Party, while a Republican administration occupies the White House—is hardly ever stressed as the basic cause of the differences between the executive and legislative branches of the Government nowadays.

But the ill effects of divided government cannot be suppressed.

It is, for instance, the objective and goal of the Democrats to win the next elections—both congressional and presidential. Plainly, Dwight Eisenhower gives prestige to the Republican Party. So the strategy of the Democrats is to see to it that Ike is discredited, ridiculed, and sniped at, in order that his hold on the people may be broken down. Speeches are prepared for Democratic Members of Congress to issue, and a whole barrage of publicity comes from the Democratic headquarters each week aimed at the President personally.

The drive was begun months ago to give exaggerated emphasis to Ike's illnesses. When this didn't impress the public, the next step was to hammer away at his absences from the White House or his playing golf or taking vacations. The statistics, of course, show that other Presidents—notably FDR—averaged more days per year away from the White House than Ike has. But the people are presumed to have forgotten this—if, indeed, it ever was stressed by the partisans of other days.

Next in importance in Democratic strategy is to spread the impression that Ike doesn't work on the job—that the man who took an oath to execute faithfully the duties of his office, the man who commanded one of the biggest armies in the world in the biggest war of all history, is so lacking in conscientiousness that he would play while Rome burns.

The public reads about official visitors and ceremonies and golf playing, but little is available to the press on what any President does from morning to night—the telephone calls, the cablegrams, the secret messages, as well as the many memorandums on complex problems that come to him from numerous executive departments and agencies for decision in the unspectacular phases of everyday government.

Much of this detail at present is channeled through President Eisenhower's staff, but even four or five knotty problems a day are enough to make anybody want to get some relief from tension and make a break for the golf course. What a cruel form of propaganda it is to deny the man in the White House an easing of his physical burdens by attempting to picture him before the public as lacking in fidelity to his job.

Some of the attack is cautiously and unctuously applied. The President, it is argued, is an honest man but he is incredibly naive, or he is easily imposed upon" or he is bewildered by his job due to lack of experience. There have been many Pdesidents who have been imposed upon or mislead. Some of their official advisers in past administrations have gone to jail for fraudulent behavior. The public recognizes that no President can be responsible for the occasional misbehavior of his appointees. Eisenhower may not have enough experienced politicians on his staff, but at least they are an honest group of advisers.

When all the attacks are appraised, it must be said that, as of this month—less than a year after his relection for a second term—the prestige of President Eisenhower still seems to the Democrats very important to breakdown. It's a curious contradiction—there has been so much said about the waning influence of a second-term President, yet there is so much effort being exerted to weaken an influence that is supposedly nonexistent.

Eisenhower's prestige with the people is not going to be affected by partisan attacks, because the public believes he is doing the best he can while a Democrat-controlled Congress attempts every day to sabotage his administration. The next election will not be decided on the issue of whether Ike played too much golf but on whether his administration was able to maintain the kind of conditions that permit Americans to play golf instead of poring over the casualty list of their sons killed in action on the western front.

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Johansen, August E., *Mich*
Johnson, Lester R., *Wis*. 3816 Pope St. SE.
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo*. 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala*
Judd, Walter H., *Minn*. 3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*
Kean, Robert W., *N. J*. 2435 Kalorama Road
Kearney, B. W. (Pat), *N. Y*
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa*. Sheraton-Park
Keating, Kenneth B., *N. Y*. 1612 34th St.
Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), *W. Va.*
Keeney, Russell W., *Ill*
Kelley, Augustine B., *Pa*
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N. Y*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y*. The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y*. The Gen. Scott
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex*. 3507 Albemarle St.
Kilgore, Joe M., *Tex*
King, Cecil R., *Calif*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Kitchin, A. Paul, *N. C*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*
Knox, Victor A., *Mich*
Knutson, Coya (Mrs.), *Minn.*
Krueger, Otto, *N. Dak*. 112 Schotts Court NE.

Appendix

Labor Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, August 10, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a letter to the editor of the New York Times, written by Mr. Dean Alfange, of New York City. This letter appeared in the August 4 issue of the New York Times and contains recommendations with regard to labor legislation, which are well worth the consideration of the Congress.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO CONTROL LABOR UNIONS—LEGISLATION TO REMEDY PRESENT ABUSES IS ADVOCATED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Much good can come from the disclosures of the Senate Labor-Management Rackets Committee. They provide compelling reasons for needed remedial legislation.

The privileges and immunities which many labor unions and labor leaders have arrogated unto themselves stem primarily from the belief by them that they are sacrosanct, above and beyond the regulating legislation governing every other phase of our economic life.

The basis of this belief is their voting strength at election time. It must be conceded that with some notable exceptions our public officials and legislators have in the past been so fearful and timidly delicate in the handling of matters concerning labor and labor unions as to give ample substantiation to this belief.

AID FOR RANK AND FILE

We must, of course, not confuse the rank and file of labor with the labor union as an entity or with those who dominate the labor unions' activities. The members of labor unions suffer as much or more from the misdeeds and arbitrariness of their leaders as do the people outside the union. Their jobs and the welfare of their families depend upon their uncritical, unwavering obedience to every union act or demand.

They suffer in many instances from unnecessarily high dues, special assessments and the indignities which they must silently accept. The union worker, more than anyone else, feels the need of, and would welcome, corrective legislation controlling the activities of labor unions and labor leaders. Such legislation is long overdue.

Labor unions are necessary and rightly led they can be a bulwark of our democracy. Without the right to collective bargaining the workers would be at the mercy of the employer. But, as with any large new movement which succeeds, the rapid growth of unionism has brought many abuses in its wake.

Wildcat strikes, jurisdictional strikes, boycotts, unauthorized walkouts called not to gain any benefit for the worker but to serve the ulterior purposes of the labor leaders, featherbedding, the refusal by unions in many trades to take on aprentices and new members so as to create a shortage of skilled workers, and the use of political coercion, are but a few.

TAFT-HARTLEY LAW'S MERITS

The Taft-Hartley law was designed to correct some of these abuses but it left many uncorrected. Taft-Hartley is a good law primarily because it frees the worker from the absolute control of union bosses just as the Wagner law freed him from the absolute control of hiring bosses.

Yet, for obvious reasons, labor bosses have gone to extremes to berate this law which so greatly benefits the worker and, unfortunately, the worker has not attempted really to understand it.

Labor unions and labor leaders, and this too is true of big business, have become too powerful. They take unto themselves rights which neither private individuals nor private businesses are permitted.

In many respects labor leaders account to no one, not even to their own members. Unions are virtually exempt from taxation. More serious still, they dictate who shall and who shall not have employment. They have the power, which they exercise in 29 States (19 States have enacted right-to-work laws) to prevent anyone from working who will not join the union and pay whatever dues and other exactions the union demands.

They also have the power to boycott those seeking employment and who are willing to pay union dues and assessments. And it is not an exaggeration to say that labor unions possess the power to generate inflation of the kind that can impair the Nation's economy.

ACTIONS OF LEADERSHIP

The leaders of labor, and this is also true of many leaders of business, have not been notable for thinking and acting for the general good. Until they do, that requirement must be filled by appropriate legal restraints.

Legislation should be enacted to provide that:

Each union shall submit to its members and file with the Department of Labor, annually, a report under oath by two of its officers of its financial condition, listing investments, financial transactions of every kind, income and expenses;

Union funds of every kind shall be declared to be trust funds which may be used only for the conduct of proper union activities or invested in investments legal for trust funds;

Union pension and welfare funds shall be brought under Government regulation and supervision and the trustees of these funds shall be required to report regularly to the beneficiaries thereof with respect to income, expenditures and investments;

Salaries, gifts, bonuses, pensions, and other compensation to union officers shall be paid only if notice in respect to the same shall first have been given to all union members and provided that a majority of the members present shall have voted the same at a meeting called for that purpose;

Action in respect to strikes and settlements of strikes, agreements with employers, wage demands and demands for other benefits, pension and welfare plans, may be taken only when authorized by a majority of the union members present at a meeting called for those purposes of which ample notice shall have been given to all members;

Union labor monopoly and other union monopolistic practices shall be brought under the jurisdiction of the antitrust laws and power shall be given to the Department of Justice to curb all practices which are in restraint of trade.

Never before has the Congress had a better oportunity and a more favorable climate for the enactment of legislation along these lines. The immediate beneficiaries of such legislation would be the rank and file of union members who are unable by themselves to cure these abuses and to protect their interests.

In the long run, legal and moral responsibility should help the labor movement and should be welcomed by the great majority of honest labor leaders who have nothing to hide or fear and whose aim it is to better conditions for the worker and the country at large.

DEAN ALFANGE.

NEW YORK, *July 31, 1957.*

Record of American Indians as Faithful Workers and Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, August 10, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a very interesting memorandum has come to my desk, as chairman of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee. It was written by the engineering department of the Union Pacific Railroad and presents some significant facts on the experience of the Union Pacific Railroad as an employer of Indians on five of their far western divisions.

In studying this memorandum, I was impressed with the fact that a great railroad, one of the Nation's big businesses, if you please, has shown a consciousness of the social significance inherent in their act of employing Indians. It is noteworthy, and certainly commendable, when a company takes into recognition the factors evaluated in this memorandum. In my opinion, this presentation prepared by the engineering division of the Union Pacific Railroad merits wide reading and also equally wide emulation. It answers the vicious canard that American Indians are not reliable employees.

My own experience in my own State, confirms that of the Union Pacific Railroad. Indians at Warm Springs, at Klamath Reservation, at Umatilla Agency, and elsewhere in Oregon, are dependable and trustworthy workers. They help to operate sawmills, pulp plants, and other essentials of Oregon's economic development.

As chairman of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the Interior Committee, I am pleased to ask unanimous consent for inclusion in the Appendix of this Union Pacific Railroad report which gives so favorable an aspect to the ability, capacity, and trustworthiness of our splendid American Indian Nations.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OMAHA, NEBR., *June 12, 1957.*

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS BY THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD CO.

During the past 10 years this company has utilized Navaho Indians to a great extent on our track gangs in the maintenance of way department.

Our experience has been that the Navaho Indians are willing and anxious to learn the methods employed in track maintenance. They have been especially eager to learn the use of all tools and equipment on our rail relay and ballast gangs where mechanized tools and equipment are used. For a number of years the mechanized tools and equipment on such gangs have been operated by Navaho Indians.

We have employed Nayaho Indians as follows during period 1946 to 1956 inclusive:

1946	3,391
1947	5,143
1948	5,361
1949	4,772
1950	4,589
1951	5,363
1952	5,909
1953	5,402
1954	2,416
1955	3,643
1956	2,549

As a result of the interest these people have shown in railroad maintenance work, through close cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a plan was started in 1954 to place Navaho Indians on sections, locating them wherever possible in small groups at one location if housing was available, otherwise every effort was made to locate them on adjoining sections. This proved very successful in cases where families of the employees accompanied them, as it provided relief from homesickness of being away from the reservation. This plan has progressed very satisfactorily as can be noted from the following figures:

Navaho Indians employed on sections August 1, 1955:	
Wyoming division	13
Utah division	22
California division	5
Idaho division	27
Oregon division	5
Total	72
Navaho Indians employed on sections May 1, 1957:	
Wyoming division	20
Utah division	57
California division	52
Idaho division	28
Oregon division	8
Total	165

The railroad has not only been interested in the Navaho Indians as employees, but has made every effort to cooperate with Mr. George P. LaVatta, administrative officer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in his campaign to provide education for Indians when away from the reservation. In Portland, Oreg., Mr. LaVatta was able to set up night-school classes in which a large number of the employees on one of our extra gangs enrolled, and have continued in service becoming more valuable employees by virtue of a better understanding of the English language.

Mr. LaVatta's campaign to provide education for the Indians has not stopped with night school classes, but rather has expanded to full time trade schools at various locations. Two such schools are located near our property at righam City, Utah, and Chewawa, Oreg., where courses in carpentry, painting, machine operation, plastering, cement work, welding, general blacksmithing, cooking, etc., are taught in addition to advance training in English. Early in 1958 some of the students of the Brigham City school will be ready for a period of practical application of the trade they have been studying, and every effort will be made to place them with our maintenance gangs. Mr. LaVatta, in a recent visit to this office, extended an invitation for a representative of this office to make a tour of the Brigham City School to observe the training available, and to determine if the skill and type of work performed by the students could be employed by the railroad.

Progress made by the Navaho Indians in adapting themselves to off reservation conditions, also educationally, has been remarkable during the period we have utilized them on our track gangs. This is emphasized by noting that when we first started to recruit them for our service, a very small percentage could sign their name, however, at the present time we find relatively few that cannot sign their name. It should also be noted from records of Navaho Indians employed by years, that from 1954 through 1956 there was a sharp decline in the number recruited. This is practically due to men remaining on the job longer having become better acquainted with living conditions off the reservation, also realizing the economic advantages of outside employment.

We have also found that the safety record of the Navaho Indians on this railroad has been exceptional, however, over the years we had a number of cases where the Indians were involved in off-duty accidents resulting in serious injuries or death, and the financial status of the relatives was such that they could not provide proper care or burial. To alleviate this condition, negotiations were completed early in 1956 whereby the Navaho Indians employed by this company were eligible to participate in a group accidental death or dismemberment insurance policy. The coverage of this insurance is for a 1-year period starting with date application is signed, and remains in effect for that period even though the insured party may leave our service and return to the reservation. Premium for this insurance is deducted from the empoyes' wages by payroll deduction. This plan has been praised highly by the Navaho people. Mr. Paul Jones, chairman, Navaho Tribal Council, in a letter dated May 8, 1956, to President Stoddard, stated in part:

"Information has come to me that in the first month that accident insurance was made available to Navajo employes of the Union Pacific Railroad, approximately 700 workers voluntarily subscribed for such insurance. This will provide our people with over $2 million of protection for them and their families which was formerly not available to them.

"I want you to know that we here at Window Rock deeply appreciate what the Union Pacific Railroad has done for our people in this matter. * * *"

The participation of Navaho employees in this insurance plan continues to be 100 percent with result that it has been possible to increase coverage in the dismemberment clause substantially.

Experience has proven that the Navaho Indians are the most efficient and satisfactory source of track labor available in this area.

Atomic Research Cooperation at University of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, August 10, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, a new and major discovery in atomic science has been made recently at the University of Minnesota. An atomic particle with 10 or possibly 100 times the energy of any other particle before known to man was discovered 22 miles in the sky over Minnesota by an atomic research team from the University of Minnesota and the University of Bristol, Bristol, England.

This discovery is important to further study of cosmic rays, which to this day have remained a mystery to our scientists. The fact that these mysterious rays contain basic elements was first discovered by another University of Minnesota research team in 1947 working together with scientists from the University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Now we can again point to the University of Minnesota as a leader in the field of atomic research. This most recent discovery also points up the fact that cooperation in the field of scientific research is a necessity if the knowledge of scientists throughout the world is to be pooled together to extend our understanding of the natural forces and things about us.

Mr. President, in recognition of the fine work being done by Dr. Edward P. Ney and Dr. John R. Winckler, together with their associates, I ask unanimous consent that an article which appeared in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of August 8, 1957, be printed as a part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY REVEALS DISCOVERY OF MOST POWERFUL ATOMIC PARTICLE

(By Victor Cohn)

A new and major discovery in atomic science has been made in Minnesota—a discovery that indicates man has only begun to tap the basic energy of the universe.

An atomic particle—a chunk of an atom—with 10 to 100 times more energy than any before observed by man has been detected in the sky over Minnesota.

It was detected 22 miles up by a balloon flown September 18 for University of Minnesota and University of Bristol, Bristol, England, cosmic ray scientists.

This balloon's unusual cargo was an $18,000, 200-pound stack of silver bromide photographic plates—almost solid silver—used not as part of a camera but as a clever, precious trap to detect cosmic ray effects.

This was the biggest cosmic ray trap of its kind ever flown, and its study has occupied months and is not ended.

But through its bulk, it is now established, streaked a particle—a helium nucleus—with an energy estimated at from 1 million billion to 10 million billion electron volts.

This is more than 150,000 times greater than the greatest energy so far produced

on earth by man, the 6 billion electron volts produced in the Berkeley, Calif., "bevatron" or particle accelerator.

Even the individual particle energies in an atomic bomb explosion are far, far smaller, though, altogether, they add up to terror.

The Minnesota particle is a primary cosmic ray, or atomic particle still unaffected by the earth's atmosphere.

Cosmic rays are a mysterious rain of such particles. And here is how the Minnesota discovery confirms their role in providing man an invaluable laboratory for studying the nature of the still-mysterious atom.

It reveals several effects, say the discoverers, that will give theoretical physicists some new things to consider.

For example, it raises new questions about the nuclear particles called mesons—some of which seem to represent the unknown forces that somehow keep all atoms (and the world) from flying apart.

These questions, even partly answered, might give man spectacular new control over the basic forms of atom energy that he has just begun to tap.

This and other particles that streaked into this stack should also contribute new knowledge about the distribution of elements in outer space.

This could help answer the great question: How do the cosmic rays originate?

This bears directly on the very origin of the universe.

The scientists doing this work basically are after a description of nature, small and large. They seek to understand the forces inside the atom, and they seek to understand the forces in outer space that originate and accelerate atoms in the first place.

What their work could really lead to, no one can say.

But these forces are all electro-magnetic forces, and man's whole modern technology, almost, is based on his exploitation of these forces.

Now, here is how this discovery came about.

The men, and one woman, heading the studies here have been Dr. Edward P. Ney, professor of physics; Dr. John R. Winckler, associate professor; Dr. Phyllis Freier, research associate; and two distinguished visitors who arrived last September—Prof. Peter Fowler, of Bristol, and Prof. C. M. G. (for Cesare Mansueto Giulib) Lattes, of University of Brazil.

Lattes was codiscoverer (while working at Bristol in 1948) of a basic atomic particle. Fowler, a keen young British scientist, is a nephew of the famed Lord Rutherford, discoverer of the atom's nucleus.

These men combined the high-altitude balloon work pioneered in Minnesota and the use of photographic-type plates that the Bristol group started.

All were present when the balloon—launched by Winzen Research, Inc., of Bloomington—stayed at 116,000 feet for 8 hours and came down near Redwood Falls, Minn.

Half of the silver stack was sent to Bristol and half developed and processed at the university, with transatlantic phone consultation once the track of this super particle was discovered by microscopic examination.

The track—caused by the action of the electrically charged particle on the silver bromide of the plates—became many tracks, and, finally, 6,000 individual tracks as the scientists worked through the stack.

This was the result of the particle's colliding with more atoms in the silver and "breeding" new particles.

The studies of all the effects may continue for as long as 2 years more.

"For there are millions of events in this stack," Fowler said before he left for Bristol. "For one thing, we are studying thousands of less energetic primary particles. These are nuclei of many basic elements of the universe, elements like carbon and iron."

The fact that primary cosmic rays contain such nuclei at all was discovered by Minnesota and University of Rochester, N. Y., men in flights here in 1947.

Fowler continued, "The distribution of these elements, if known in considerable detail, can tell us much about cosmic rays' real origin and subsequent history. And the beautiful thing about this stack is that it is so big that about one-third of all the primaries in it can be followed to rest—and we can thus know the energy of many particles very accurately.

"We also expect to find and analyze in detail 20 or 30 high-energy nuclear disintegrations. These disintegrations or stars—that's how they look—are caused when the primaries that come in strike nuclei in the silver.

"I'd say there will be about 20 million such disintegrations readily detectable in this stack. We'll study the 20 or 30 of the highest energy we can find—we won't bother with chicken feed."

Studies like these—many of them, here and elsewhere—should give physicists new clues to many present questions.

For example, what are the really "basic" particles that compose the atom's nucleus? Physicists in recent years have turned up a whole zoo of new particles. Among them are the short-lived mesons.

"Here's just one thing in this event," said Ney.

"From what we believed, an event of this magnitude should have made about 100 charged mesons—precisely, pi-mesons. It made only six. I don't know what the answer is, but at this high energy I'd be surprised if something new didn't happen."

So in this way and more, the Minnesota discovery may at first turn up more questions than answers.

It will also, it's sure, spur still more balloon flights at still higher altitudes with probably even greater silver-bromide stacks.

The physicists know that particles of even greater energies exist.

Scientists at Massachusetts Institute of Technology recently spread particle detectors over a space of 50 acres. They detected several large showers, each containing several hundred million secondary cosmic-ray particles.

They deduced that the most energetic of these showers were caused by primary particles with an astonishing energy of a billion billion electron volts.

In effect, the Minnesota-Bristol group has found in the sky the cause of the sort of thing the MIT men have found on the ground. But what the MIT men have found on the ground indicates there are even greater prizes to be snared in the skies.

"You need an immense detector, like the one we used," says Ney, "one with an immense amount of stopping power. But you also have to go higher and stay longer, even for weeks."

This is part of the reason the Minnesota physicists in the past 6 years have been doing their own balloon development, under Government contracts. Last September they sent up a new design, new light-plastic balloon that rose 142,000 feet, breaking altitude records.

From Texas and Saskatchewan, Guam, and the Galapagos Islands, they have sent balloons up to measure things like "east-west effects" and "energy distribution by latitude." These things, again, bear on the cosmic rays' origin.

The group here was visited in March by C. N. Yang (of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J.)—one of the men who made the startling "antiparity" claim last March that atomic particles do not behave symmetrically, but are actually "right- or left-handed" in their direction of spin.

Yang—one example of cosmic rays' importance—came here because cosmic-ray results were different from those observed in earthy, man-made particles.

Minnesota results are even shedding light on the age of the earth, and the true nature of its gigantic magnetic field.

And if we ask again, "What can all this mean?" we can quote England's Fowler:

"Before the war, physicists were involved in low-energy research—and we've seen what that led to. Now we're in the high-energy field."

The Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, August 10, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the small-business man is one of the bedrocks of the Texas economy as well as the entire way of life. His individuality, his desire to be his own boss, is a great example of our heritage of free enterprise.

In recent days the small-business man has had a hard road to travel. In this day of international cartels and world-wide chainstores, the small-business man must have stopped many times and asked himself if the struggle is worth the price of individuality.

The Small Business Administration, in recent months, has been one of the few places to which the small-business man could turn for hope. It is to be commended for its work.

I was happy to work for the passage of such a Small Business Administration bill, Mr. President, because I believe the Small Business Administration is indispensable for the survival of many small-business men.

The Dallas News, one of the largest and most influential journals in the Southwest, too notice of the aid for the small-business man from Congress, and has commended the passage of the Small Business Administration by the Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent of the Senate that the editorial from the Dallas Morning News of Sunday, August 4, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE LIFE FOR SBA

Extraordinary action Friday by Senate and House managed to save the life of the Small Business Administration as it was about to expire. A single objector in the Senate could have ended it now, since it took unanimous consent to shunt aside the civil-rights debate long enough to pass the life-renewing bill.

The evident popularity of SBA is due to an odd fact. It has largely justified itself in a role other than its original main purpose. That is as a disaster-relief agency.

When the mighty Reconstruction Finance Corporation was nearing its end, many urged a Small Business Administration to carry

on at least part of RFC's Government money lending. The idea seemed to be that many small businesses which could not qualify for straight commercial credit should be given a helping hand from Washington.

As SBA has worked out in practice, most of its loans have gone to small-business men, including farmers and ranchers, who were victimized by drought, floods, or other communitywide disasters. Most of them in ordinary times could have gotten credit at regular banks.

The Challenge to American Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, August 10, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the most significant facts in the postwar era is the enormous increase in the number of young Americans who are now being educated in institutions of higher learning throughout our land.

Back in 1870, 1.7 percent of youngsters aged 18 through 21 were enrolled in colleges in our country.

But by 1955, 32.1 percent of all the young people in this age group—2¾ million in all—were enrolled in the Nation's colleges.

And this tidal wave of students is going to increase still further. Indeed, the Educational Policies Commission—cosponsored by the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators—estimates that college enrollment will just about double between now and 1970.

Where are we to find the teachers for this vast tidal wave of students? Where are we to find the facilities, the college buildings, the laboratories, the campus space, in general, and how are the States to provide the tax revenue?

These are questions which engage the serious thinking of thoughtful persons throughout the land.

In my own State, for example, higher education now absorbs around one-fifth of the State's tax income. Enrollment in Wisconsin higher education is already well above the 54,000 mark.

Wisconsin has always had a deep interest in higher education.

Ten years before our admission to statehood, the University of Wisconsin, for example, was provided for by law by the Council of the Territory of my State—in 1838.

On February 5, 1849, the first class opened in a little red brick building.

In the 108 years which have followed, the higher education facilities in my State—the university itself and Wisconsin's State colleges—have emerged as literally the keystones in the arch of progress for the Badger State.

Yet we, like the rest of the Nation, are concerned with the problem of how not simply to expand faculty, but how to find the wherewithal to pay faculty members salaries which they truly merit and which will enable them to continue educational careers. And we are concerned with all of the other financial and less tangible problems confronting the higher institutions of our land.

On July 16, I pointed out in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the financial problems facing independent, privately-endowed colleges in my own and other States.

As an indication now, however, of the broader phase of this problem—the problem facing higher education as a whole, particularly tax-supported education—I send to the desk two articles.

The first consists of excerpts from a column by Mr. John Wyngaard in the July 23 issue of the Janesville Gazette.

The second is an article by the education editor, Mr. Benjamin Fine, of the New York Times on April 28, 1957.

I ask unanimous consent that both artices be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Janesville (Wis.) Gazette of July 23, 1957]

TIDAL WAVE OF STUDENTS IN NEAR FUTURE IS POSING BIG TAX PROBLEM IN STATE

(By John Wyngaard)

MADISON.—A recent State document that was not given the attention it probably deserves was the advice of the State coordinating committee for higher education that public and private interests must ponder the problems of higher education service in the years ahead.

The committee warned of the tidal wave of students in colleges and universities, and especially tax-supported schools, that is inevitable.

The statisticians have an abundance of evidence. Wisconsin higher education enrollments will rise from some 54,000 during the school year just concluded to about 60,000 in 1960, to about 72,000 in 1965, and to 88,000 or about in 1970.

These are highly conservative projections, moreover. They don't take into account the strong chance that the ratio of young people attending college will grow.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Today slightly less than one quarter of the college age young people of Wisconsin attend college. The ratio has been growing at the rate of 1 percent a year. There is no reason to suppose that the trend will be halted, barring such a cataclysm as war.

What does it mean for the anonymous taxpayer?

Obviously it is one of the significant trends of the times. Higher education now takes about a fifth of the State's tax income. The tax structure is strained nearly to the breaking point.

What if the number of students in college and university is increased by a third or more? It is unlikely that the students or the faculties will tolerate any diminution of the quality of service. Indeed, today's students are expecting standards of service that are far beyond what prevailed only a generation earlier.

[From the New York Times of April 28, 1957]

PROJECTIONS OF FUTURE COLLEGE ENROLLMENT POINT UP THE NATIONAL PROBLEM

(By Benjamin Fine)

A report on higher education last week brought the problems of American colleges and universities into sharp focus. It documented the many issues that have been considered at college conferences in recent months. And it also made a number of sharp recommendations and pertinent observations.

The report, prepared by the educational policies commission, was 4 years in the making and runs 150 pages. The commission is cosponsored by the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators—two of the most powerful and influential school groups in the Nation.

The study shows that in the next dozen or more years—from 1957 to 1970—the college enrollment will just about double. This is not serious in itself; the college student body has shown a strong and continuing rise since 1870 both in numbers and in percentage of the college-age group, as this table shows:

Year	Enrollment	Percent of group 18 to 21
1870	52,286	1.7
1880	115,817	2.7
1890	156,756	3.0
1900	237,592	4.0
1910	355,213	4.8
1920	597,880	8.1
1930	1,100,737	12.2
1940	1,494,202	15.3
1950	2,659,021	30.2
1955	2,755,000	32.1

But the growth from here on in will tax the colleges more than ever in the past. For one thing, the colleges are not prepared to admit the huge numbers expected to seek a college education. And for another, educational costs have skyrocketed. The private colleges say they can, at best, expand by 40 percent in the next decade.

These projections show the expected enrollments over the next 15 years. (The first projection is based on the current proportion of 18–21-year olds attending college, the second on an estimated increase in the proportion):

Year	Number	Percent of college age population	Number	Percent of college-age population
1960–61	2,976,683	32.1	3,523,800	38.0
1965–66	3,764,954	32.1	5,134,778	44.0
1970–71	4,365,786	32.1	6,804,916	50.0

Even on the minimum estimate the college enrollment will jump by more than 1 million from its present 3 million figure. But every year for the past 15 years, the percentage of those attending college has increased, going from 15 percent in 1940 to 32 percent in 1955. It is reasonable to expect that this rate of increase will continue at a comparable pace.

FACILITIES

Existing institutions cannot meet the problem. But there are definite steps that can be taken at this time. The report points out that many colleges are fully used. While it is true that the Ivy League and big-name colleges are crowded, many institutions west of the Mississippi or south of the Mason-Dixon line are still seeking students.

The Nation supports 1,855 colleges and universities today. Of these, 540 have fewer than 250 students each. At the other end of the scale, 24 institutions enroll more than 15,000 students each.

The report makes this point: First consideration should be given to the fullest use and wisest expansion of existing institutions. This is specially true of those colleges advantageously located but now underdeveloped. It says further: Plant expansion should be undertaken only after statewide or regional analysis of needs. A large number of new institutions, uneconomically small and unwisely located, would ultimate

ly hurt the development of a strong system of higher education in this country.

FACULTIES

The problem of expansion is a faculty problem even more than one of brick and mortar.

There are not enough competent faculty members to meet the needs of an expanding college enrollment. Many reasons may be assigned for this sorry state. But the truth of the matter is that college faculty members are not paid enough to make their jobs attractive.

While every other profession has received recognition, financial and otherwise, the teachers have been overlooked. In terms of actual purchasing power, the salaries paid faculty members in 1953 were 2 percent below those paid in 1904.

Low salaries make the task of recruiting faculties difficult. The love of teaching is not enough to bring capable men or women into the profession, especially when Government and industry sometimes offer a doubled or trebled starting salary for the doctors of philosophy.

FACULTY RAISES

What is the solution? The report makes a bold proposal: Raise faculty salaries 75 to 125 percent. On the average, this would mean doubling the salaries. Now, that is not as drastic as it might sound. A recent study by the National Education Association showed that the median salary for faculty members was $5,243.

Faculty salaries have, for 40 years, received a declining percentage of university budgets. In 1908 professorial salaries of $5,000 were not uncommon. A present salary would have to go to $20,000 to equal the purchasing power of the 1908 salary. Yet how many teachers get that amount today?

The commission does not say that higher salaries alone will solve all educational problems. But it surely will make teaching more attractive; and it will bring more persons into the fold.

Hells Canyon and Bruces Eddy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, August 10, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Hells Canyon and Bruces Eddy: An Object Lesson," which appeared in the August 1 issue of Conservation News, published by the National Wildlife Federation.

This leading conservation organization candidly states that the Hells Canyon and Bruces Eddy issues have "demonstrated to conservationists the necessity of offering alternatives to river-development plans that jeopardize wildlife and other valuable resources."

In other words, mere opposition to potentially-destructive dams can defeat the worthwhile goals of the conservationists. They must fight for the alternatives which safeguard conservation interests.

I want to commend the conservation organizations for their valiant fight for Hells Canyon Dam, and their opposition to the Bruces Eddy Dam. Congress has not yet received needed departmental reports on the effect of that proposed dam on fish and wildlife.

Mr. President, I commend the National Wildlife Federation for its efforts to conserve all the Nation's resources.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HELLS CANYON AND BRUCES EDDY: AN OBJECT LESSON

The long fight against authorization of Bruces Eddy Reservoir on Idaho's North Fork of the Clearwater River has reached a decisive stage. The House Public Works Committee has amended and reported S. 497, the Rivers and Harbors omnibus bill, in which the Senate included Bruces Eddy among more than a hundred Army engineer projects. The House committee took Bruces Eddy out. Assuming the House will uphold its committee and keep Bruces Eddy out, the issue will then be settled, at least for this Congress, in conference committee.

If the proponents should prevail in conference, and Bruces Eddy be restored, conservationists will urge a veto.

Hells Canyon Dam, proposed for construction on the Snake River and considered by many as an alternative to Bruces Eddy, appears to be entombed in the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Opponents succeeded in blocking the Hells Canyon bill after the Senate passed it June 21 in a surprising vote.

Their experience with Bruces Eddy, together with the emerging pattern of relationship to Hells Canyon, has demonstrated to conservationists the necessity of offering alternatives to river-development plans that jeopardize wildlife and other valuable resources. It has convinced many that the task of protecting fish, game, wilderness and scenic values for future generations involves a greater burden of responsibility than simply opposing the projects which threaten those resources.

Until recent months few conservation groups had voiced support for alternatives to Bruces Eddy or to other potentially destructive dams in the middle Snake Basin. This is partly because the recommendation of alternatives would have involved them in the bitter struggle between public-power advocates and private-power groups, a struggle in which Hells Canyon has been the grand prize. The opposing ideologies here do not necessarily bear any relationship to the sound management of natural resources. While some political leaders are classed among the country's leading conservationists, as a group, conservationists are not politicians in the Republican and Democratic style. They are inclined to shy away from a political brawl. So in the partisan battle over Hells Canyon they had a tendency to stand on the sidelines while the politicians fumbled the ball.

Throughout their long fight against Bruces Eddy, the position of conservationists has been one of principle. They have protested any congressional action to approve or finance construction of the 570-foot barrier until studies have been completed to show what the effect will be on fish and wildlife. This is a sound position. They are now optimistic of winning—at least in this Congress—if the group of conservation-minded legislators who make up the leadership of the House Public Works Committee can prevail against the Senate conferees. They are not so optimistic about future success in saving the great wildlife and recreational resources of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers against the dambuilders. Many have become convinced the future task would be easier if a big dam, developing the full power and water storage potential of the site, were built at Hells Canyon.

That is the reason a number of conservation groups throughout the country came out recently in support of the high Hells Canyon Dam as a workable alternative to the Clearwater project. It offers 3,800,000 acre-feet of storage compared to 1,433,000 acre-feet at Bruces Eddy. Its power potential exceeds the capacity of Bruces Eddy. The Hells Canyon location, while causing inundation of a spectacular section of the deepest river gorge in North America, does not threaten vast fisheries, wildlife, or recreational resources.

Licenses for the three private dams in this same stretch of the Snake River—Brownlee, Oxbow and low Hells Canyon—have been granted to the Idaho Power Co. by the Federal Power Commission. Brownlee is now under construction. But these dams together offer much less in the form of flood storage and hydroelectric potential than the proposed high Hells Canyon project. They do little to relieve the pressure for Bruces Eddy and for the project proposed at the Nez Perce site, downstream from Hells Canyon on the Snake River. The Nez Perce Dam would block the vast runs of steelhead and chinook salmon that now use the Salmon River. It is considered to be the biggest single dam threat to the great sport and commercial fisheries of the entire Columbia basin.

Elsewhere in the Columbia system similar problems are faced and similar losses threatened through construction of high dams. Proposed Glacier View Dam in western Montana, for example, would flood portions of Glacier National Park. Proponents of Glacier View have been quiet of late but like dam promoters everywhere, they have the blueprints filed away and are biding their time. When they decide to push, the Nation will see another controversy not unlike the Echo Park Dam struggle that was won by the conservationists in the 84th Congress.

Nearby in Montana, on the Middle Fork of the Flathead River, proposed Spruce Park Dam would flood out wilderness, big-game wintering areas, and some of the last remnants of grizzly bear range in the United States. Here again conservationists might well consider the wisdom of supporting multipurpose dams at less destructive sites. Two that are now proposed, Libby Dam on the Kootenai River and Paradise Dam on the Clark Fork, would relieve much of the demand for upriver projects that place park, wildlife and wilderness resources in jeopardy.

The lesson to be drawn, then, from the related Bruces Eddy and Hells Canyon fights, is that in controversies over river development, conservationists must choose, or devise, a plan that will serve best to protect the valuable resources which, if not fought for, will be lost in America's passion for pouring concrete. Sometimes the choice may parallel the desires of private industry; in other instances, it may support the plans of public power. This is not to depreciate the private enterprise-versus-Government issue, the outcome of this issue may well be critical, in one way or another, to the future of America. But the way we use or misuse natural resources can be equally critical, and much more quickly, in the ultimate question of survival or disaster. The peculiar function of conservationists, and part of their great opportunity to serve America, is to insist that river-development plans make conservation sense. And if they do their job for America, they cannot be deterred by false accusations of partisanship that will be hurled at them by partisans. Conservationists must hew to the line and let the chips fall where they may.

Dual Compensation and Employment; a Reexamination of the Federal Doctrine

SPEECH
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, at least 35 dual employment and dual compensation statutes are now in effect. It is a practical impossibility to administer them, let alone avoid repeated cases of inadvertent hardship and injustice. This is a situation badly needing a remedy, and the latter involves much more than first meets the eye.

After briefly studying the problem I became aware that both a tremendous research job and a tremendous job of analysis were required. I requested help from the Library of Congress, and Dr. Freeman W. Sharp of the American Law Section spent many months tirelessly assembling and analyzing the required data. I present it in detail today because it is important, and because I feel it should be preserved in a public document readily available to the many persons now and in the future who will want to study it.

For the purposes of clarity and reference, this study, based entirely on the work of Dr. Sharp, to whom full credit is hereby given, is sectionalized under the following topical headings: I—The Problem; II—Dual Employment of Military Retirees; III—The Federal Doctrine; IV—The Common Law and English Background of Officeholding; V—American Colonial and Post-Revolutionary Ideas; VI—The Federal Constitution; VII—The Early Federal Period, 1789–1850; VIII—The Middle Period, 1850–1874; IX—Restatement and Revision, 1874–1924; and X—The Test, 1924–1927.

DUAL COMPENSATION AND EMPLOYMENT: A REEXAMINATION OF THE FEDERAL DOCTRINE

I—THE PROBLEM

The shortage of trained personnel to staff Federal departments and agencies, from typists to atomic scientists, has persisted from the beginning of World War II to the present day, a period of some 15 years. Competition for the services of those available has led to the lowering of standards and the establishment of all kinds of makeshift devices without apparent effect upon the shortage. This has naturally caused Federal employment officers to eye a possible source of adequately trained personnel beyond their reach due to the laws prohibiting dual employment and dual compensation. In recent years an increasing number of bills have been introduced into the Congress to revise and liberalize those laws so that the Federal Government might obtain the benefit of that potential manpower without the return of the evils which those laws were designed to prevent.

The United States Civil Service Commission in a report, Dual Employment and Dual Compensation in the Federal Service, dated June 1955, has outlined the situation respecting the restrictions (pp. 3–4):

"There are now in effect at least 35 dual employment and dual compensation statutes. The earliest of these was enacted in 1894, the most recent in 1954.

"These statutes are extremely complicated; some are overlapping, some are inconsistent, and a number are no longer realistic in light of present-day economic conditions. No central management agency has responsibility for their administration through policy guidance and regulations. This situation results in poor manpower utilization, continuing administrative problems for agencies, and injustices to individuals because of inadvertent errors.

"Because the statutes arbitrarily restrict employment, and are badly out of date, many exceptions are sought. In the absence of any administrative means, such exceptions (sometimes for one individual) are obtained through enactment of additional laws.

"The present dual employment and dual compensation statutes have the following principal effects on the hiring and utilization of Federal employees. In considering the dollar limits discussed, it is important to have in mind that the lowest rate payable under the Classification Act is now more than $1,800 per year. Under Public Law 763, 83d Congress, the lowest Classification Act rate, upon abolishment of the CPC schedule in September 1955, will be at least $2,500 per year. (Today the lowest rate is $2,690.)

"1. A civilian employee cannot hold more than one position at the same time, even while on leave without pay from one of them, if the pay rate for either position is $2,500 per year or more.

"2. When a person does hold 2 positions, such as 2 part-time positions, each having a salary of less than $2,500 per year, he cannot receive salary from both positions for the same period of time if the combined annual rate exceeds the rate of $2,000 per year.

"3. The following retired military personnel can hold civilian Government positions and continue to receive their retired pay without any limitations:

"(a) Retired enlisted personnel other than warrant officers;

"(b) Warrant officers who are retired for disability incurred in line of duty; and

"(c) Retired commissioned officers who are retired for disability incurred in combat or caused by an instrumentality of war in time of war.

"4. Commissioned officers and warrant officers who are retired for another reason than disability incurred in line of duty (nondisability retirees) cannot hold a Federal job if either the retired pay to which they are entitled or the salary of the position is $2,500 a year or more. This restriction cannot be avoided by waiving retired pay. An exception exists for Reserve officers retired (on the basis of age and service credits) under title III of Public Law 810, 80th Congress.

"5. Commissioned officers retired for disability, but not for disability incurred in combat or caused by an instrumentality of war in time of war, may hold any Government position and receive the full salary of the position, but they cannot receive their retired pay while receiving the salary if the combined rate would exceed $10,000 a year. If the retired pay exceeds $10,000 a year, the officer may elect to waive the salary and receive only his retired pay. Reserve officers retired under title III of Public Law 810, 80th Congress, are subject to this limitation.

"6. Many agencies which have special or unique problems in connection with dual employment have obtained exceptions to all or certain provisions of the statutes. Examples: Panama Canal Company, Canal Zone Government, Post Office Department, Weather Bureau, Department of Agriculture, Census Bureau, Federal Civil Defense Administration, District of Columbia government, International Boundary and Water Commission (Department of State), and Central Intelligence Agency. These exceptions are contained in a number of specific laws and appropriations acts."

II. DUAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT AND MILITARY RETIREES

The contrast in the employment of civilians and employment of military retirees can be gleaned from the civil service report, as follows (pp. 9 and 12–13):

"We have not been able to obtain data on numbers of civilian personnel employed in dual capacities, or numbers of applicants found ineligible for or unwilling to take Federal employment because of the dual employment-dual compensation restrictions. This information is not maintained by Federal agencies."

"Dual civilian employment

"Past thinking about changing the restrictions on dual employment of civilians has tended in the direction of arguing for greater freedom to hold more than one Federal job, particularly at the lower salary levels. However, sound personnel management indicates that dual job holding is acceptable practice only if it is consistent with efficiency and economy in Government operations. Such dual employment should be controlled so that it will not be so burdensome as to adversely affect employee efficiency, or be damaging to the employee's mental and physical well-being.

"Except under these circumstances, no employee should be permitted to hold more than one full-time job, or a combination of part-time work equaling more than a full-time job in terms of total hours worked. this is equally true at all salary levels. The rate of an employee's pay should not be a deciding factor in determining whether or not he should be permitted to hold more than one Government job.

"Employment of military retirees

"Civilian office holding by retired military personnel is not the same thing as dual civilian office holding. Only in a legal sense does receipt of military retired pay constitute office holding—no double work or conflict of work is involved. The Government's need for hiring retired military personnel generally differs from its need for dual employment of civilians in terms of type of job, salary level, and duration of employment. Military personnel often retire at a relatively early age, and with service-developed special skills. These factors combine to make their Federal civilian employment particularly valuable and feasible. These facts argue for a separate policy governing civilian employment of retired military personnel as distinguished from dual employment of civilian employees.

"The present restrictions on Federal civilian employment of retired military personnel are inconsistent and inequitable and have no relation to the Government's hiring needs. Gradually, various categories of military retirees have been exempted from the original prohibitions and restrictions. All enlisted men, certain commissioned officers, and some warrant officers retired from military service now may be hired for Federal civilian jobs without restricton on receipt of retired pay. At present, certain officers retired for age and length of service remain as the only retirees who cannot hold Federal positions if either their retired pay or the salary of the position is $2,500 per year or more. Of the disabled commissioned officers, only those whose disability was not incurred in combat or caused by an instrumentality of war in time of war, are limited to a maximum combined rate of $3,000 per year.

"The two tables herewith illustrate how the major restrictions on employment and compensation apply to the approximately 182,000 personnel on the military retired list as of October 1954.

"TABLE I.—*Federal civilian employment of retired military personnel*

	Percent
"Enlisted personnel, disabled officers, reservists: Can hold Federal civilian job at any salary level	87
Nondisabled officers: Virtually barred from holding Federal job because of $2,500 prohibition	13
Total	100"

"TABLE II.—*Compensation of retired military personnel is federally employed*

	Percent
"Enlisted personnel: No limit on combined salary and retired pay	52
Disability commissioned officers: No limit if disability resulted from combat or instrumentality of war, otherwise $3,000 limit applies	31
Nondisabled commissioned officers, including reservists: $3,000 limit on combined annual rate of salary and retired pay	17
Total	100"

III—THE FEDERAL DOCTRINE

The Federal doctrine concerning dual employment and compensation, since it covers both public officers and employees, reaches historically all the way back to the common law.

The basic doctrine is presently stated in two sections of the United States Code, i. e., title 5, sections 58 and 62. Although as stated by the Civil Service Commission, supra, numerous statutes contain exceptions, etc.

Section 58 provides:

"Unless otherwise specifically authorized by law, no money appropriated by any act shall be available for payment to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum" (R. S. par. 1763; May 10, 1916, c. 117, par. 6., 39 Stat. 120; Aug. 29, 1916, c. 417, 39 Stat. 582).

Section 62 provides:

"No person who holds an office the salary or annual compension attached to which amounts to the sum of $2,500 shall be appointed to or hold any other office to which compensation is attached unless specifically authorized thereto by law; but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard whenever they may be elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard retired for any cause, and retired officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard who have been retired for injuries received in battle or for injuries or incapacity incurred in line of duty shall not, within the meaning of this section, be construed to hold or to have held an office during such retirement" (amended July 30, 1937, c. 545, par. 6, 50 Stat. 549; June 25, 1938, c. 694, 52 Stat. 1194; May 31, 1924, c. 214, 43 Stat. 245; July 31, 1894, c. 174, par. 2, 28 Stat. 205).

It is the purpose of this study to trace the history of this doctrine and to indicate the practice thereunder as manifested in administrative and judicial decisions.

IV—THE COMMON LAW AND THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND

The common law placed no limit upon the number of offices which a person might hold at the same time provided that no one of them was incompatible with any of the others. The rule was well settled that "if two offices are incompatible, by the acceptance of the latter, the first is relinquished or vacant, even though it should be a superior office, *Milward* v. *Thacher* (2 T. R. (D and E) 81); *Rex* v. *Pateman* (2 T. R. (D and E) 777); *In re Dyer* (Dy. 158b); *Rex* v. *Jones* (1 B and Ad. 677); and *Rex* v. *Tizzard* (9 B and C 418). For a detailed discussion of the common law see, Mechein, Public Offices and Officers, 1890, pp. 420–427; and Throop, Public Officers and Sureties in Official Bonds, 1892, pp. 30–40.

The feudal system of the middle ages lay behind the concept of office holding. That system had been both a system of land tenure and a system of government. The tenure was not only applied to land but to many things connected with land including those governmental rights which went with such tenures. When Kings desired to secure the performance of governmental functions they did not make a contract with a person to perform them, they granted him a right to perform them on certain terms. The profits of the office were then his. The office was regarded as a piece of property which gave the official certain rights and placed him under certain duties just as land gave the tenant certain rights and placed him under certain duties, *Vaux* v. *Jefferson* ((1556), Dyer 144 b). Thus offices might be bought and sold like land. This conception of the nature of offices and the position of office holders came naturally to medieval common law because it had a very rudimentary law of contract and a very highly developed law of property in land and rights in land. As might be imagined abuses and corruption crept in. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, more modern ideas were beginning but legislation which was passed to give effect to such ideas was ineffectual, see 5, 6 Edward VI, c. 16, sec. 1 (1551–1552) and [British] Hist. Mss. Com. Thirteenth Rept., Pt. V, 17 No. 244 (1690) and same Fourteenth Rept. Pt. VI, 362 No. 710 (1692–1693). With respect to judicial offices, it was not until the beginning of the Nineteenth Century that medieval ideas concerning the nature of an office were rooted out of the English judicial system, for a detailed discussion of office holding upon which the foregoing is based in Holdsworth, A History of English Law, vol. I, pp. 246–264.

V—AMERICAN COLONIAL AND POST-REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

When Englishmen moved to their colonies in North America they, of course, took their ideas with them including those with respect to offices. Two forces were at work, however, in the New World, i. e., English precedents and local conditions. From the interplay of these forces new ideas respecting officeholding evolved. The Pennsylvania Charter of 1682 provided that a person should hold only one public office at a time. No other colony went so far. Most simply provided that certain offices could not be held simultaneously: Sheriffs could not hold office in the colonial assembly, etc. In some colonies attorneys and clerks of courts were barred. Several, as Virginia and New Jersey, required persons accepting salaried positions to stand for reelection in order to hold their place in the assembly.

In the Revolutionary period prohibitions respecting multiple officeholding were extended further. The Articles of Confederation (1777) provided that no person, being a delegate to Congress, shall be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind (article V). Although varying in detail, provisions against multiple officeholding became quite general. Most of the new State constitutions had sections requiring the three departments of the Government to be kept separate and barring officers of one holding office in another. While the original purpose was probably to prevent encroachment of one department on another, the provisions were interpreted to prevent the simultaneous holding of offices in the different departments. Many States also adopted general provisions against holding two lucrative offices at the same time, see *Doyle* v. *Raleigh* (89 N. C. 133). All States prohibited holding United States and State offices at the same time, see *Ryan* v. *Green* (13 N. Y. 295). In one form or another provisions were adopted by most of the new States to prevent incumbents from holding another office during the term of an office to which they had been elected. The most common of these was copied from the United States Constitution. For a detailed discussion of officeholding during this period see Miller, Legal Qualifications for Office in America, 1619–1899, pages 90, 103–104, and 145–150, upon which the foregoing statement is based.

VI—THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Surprisingly enough the United States Constitution contains no prohibition against multiple officeholding with the exception of that in article I, section 6, clause 2:

"No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his continuance in office."

The lack of a general constitutional prohibition on multiple officeholding opened the door wide. We will see, in the early days of the Federal service, those charged with making decisions respecting multiple officeholding enunciating the principle that the law placed no restrictions on the number of offices held so long as they were not incompatible. Although the Constitution left the door wide open, it did not leave control and correction of such abuses as might occur beyond the powers of the Congress. It provided in article II, section 2, clause 2, that the "Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments."

Further, it gave to the Congress the broadest possible control over the disbursement of public moneys (art. 1, sec. 8). That abuses crept into Federal officeholding and that control was needed is evidenced by the series of acts enacted by the Congress and the long series of opinions and decisions by the Attorneys General, the Comptroller General and the courts.

VII—THE EARLY FEDERAL PERIOD, 1789–1850

The early controversies took the form of claims for extra pay for extra duties. Examples of these were Bullus' case (1819) where a naval agent appointed for New York, whose duties were not defined by law, claimed extra compensation for being required to purchase and forward from New York supplies for the lake service (1 Op. Atty. Gen. 302) and Governor Cass' case (1828) where the Governor of Michigan was employed to perform services which did not belong to his duty as Governor. His claim was upheld on the principles of a quantum meruit (2 op. Atty. Gen. 189). As a result of such claims provisions were included in a series of appropriation bills as follows:

1. The Civil and Diplomatic Expenses Appropriation Act, 1839 (5 Stat. 349, sec. 3):

"That no officer in any branch of the public service, or any other person whose salaries, or whose pay or emoluments is or are fixed by law and regulations, shall receive any extra allowance or compensation in any form whatever for the disbursement of public money, or the performance of any other service, unless the said extra allowance or compensation be authorized by law."

2. The Civil and Diplomatic Expenses Appropriation Act, 1842 (5 Stat. 487 (item No. 200)):

"That no alowance shall be made, out of any moneys appropriated by this bill, to any

clerk or other officer for the discharge of duties, the performance of which belongs to any other clerk or other officer in the same or any other department; and that no allowance shall be made for any extra services whatever, which any clery or other officer may be required to perform."

3. The Army and Military Academy Appropriation Act, 1842 (5 Stat. 510, sec. 2):

"That no officer in any branch of the public service, or any other person whose salary, pay, or emoluments, is or are fixed by law or regulations, shall receive any additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation, in any form whatever, for the disbursement of publim money, or any other service or duty whatsoever, unless the same shall be authorized by law, and the appropriation therefor explicitly set forth that it is for such additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation."

4. The Incidental Expenses Appropriation Act, 1842 (5 Stat. 525, sec. 12):

"That no allowance or compensation shall be made to any clerk or other officer, by reason of the discharge of duties which belong to any other clerk or officer in the same or any other department; and no allowance or compensation shall be made for any extra services whatever, which any clerk or other officer may be required to perform."

After the enactment of these acts such claims were disallowed (see 3 op. Atty. Gen. 422—clerks for selling Indian lands; same, 473, messengers and watchmen; same, p. 621, War Department clerks for business connected with Indian reservations; 4 op. Atty. Gen. 126–128, Navy officers for an exploring expedition; same, p. 138, officers at West Point; same, p. 342, Navy officers for distant duties; same, p. 463, Pension Office clerks for acting as secretary to commissioners appointed to treat with the Indians; and Acting Secretary of State, 5 Op. Atty. Gen. 74).

This period might be characterized as the extra compensation period. Job descriptions, where they existed, were ill defined and lines of demarcation between them obscure. An officer or employee might find himself responsible for performing many unrelated duties for which he might demand and receive extra compensation. Today, many of the unrelated duties would have constituted separate jobs or offices. Even in that period some did constitute separate jobs or offices to which the officer or employee held separate appointments, see Bullus' case, Governor Cass' case, the Navy Officers' case, and the Pension Office Clerks' case, cited supra. However, the question of the right of the officer to perform the additional duties or to hold the additional office does not seem to have been questioned in this period. The right to receive extra compensation appears to have been the only question litigated. Congress dealt with the question through the enactment of the appropriation acts of March 31, 1839, May 9, 1842, August 23, 1842, and August 26, 1842, supra. The net effect of the congressional action could be summed up in the words of Attorney General J. Y. Mason in the *Pension Office Clerks'* case (1846), supra, as follows:

"The Executive, under the recent opinions from this office and the judiciary, in the case of the *United States* v. *Eleason's Administrator* (16 Peters) is required to see that these laws are construed and executed according to the plain intention of Congress. This was to put an end to a practice which had long prevailed of salaried officers receiving compensation, over and above their salaries, for services which were not regarded as within the range of his official duties."

VIII—THE MIDDLE PERIOD, 1850–1874

The refusal to allow payment under the guise of extra compensation for what was in effect two offices, squarely pointed up the question of the right to hold two or more offices and to receive pay for each. What appears to have been the first legislative decision specifically on this question occurred as a result of the claims of Richard Rush, then Secretary of the Treasury for compensation for occasional services performed between the years 1825 and 1829 as Attorney General ad interim by designation of the President during the absence of William Wirt, Attorney General (6 Op. Atty. Gen. 83). The President's authority to so designate Rush was contained in the acts of May 8, 1792, and February 13, 1795 (1 Stat. 281, sec. 8: 451). In 1850 Congress included an item in the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Act, 1851, specifically compensating Rush for the services performed but added a proviso (9 Stat. 542–3) as follows:

"That hereafter the proper accounting officers of the Treasury, or other pay officers of the United States, shall in no case allow any pay to one individual the salaries of two different offices on account of having preformed the duties thereof at the same time. But this prohibition shall not extend to the superintendents of the executive buildings."

This proviso would seem on its face to make it clear that, with the exception of executive building superintendents, an individual could not receive salaries for two offices held by him at the same time. However, Attorney General Crittenden in 1851 held otherwise (5 Op. Atty. Gen. 765). By an act of 1807 (2 Stat. 413, ch. 8) the President had been authorized to survey the coasts of the United States and to employ persons for that purpose. He delegated this power to the Secretary of the Treasury. In 1844 (5 Stat. 660, ch. 37) the Secretary was authorized to sell the maps and charts of such surveys and in March 8, 1850, hired one, Gilbert Rodman, to perform these duties at an annual salary of $400. While so acting Rodman was also a clerk in the Treasury Department at a salary of $1,400 per annum. The opinion of Attorney General Crittenden was that Rodman was entitled to hold both offices and to receive the salary of each. The Attorney General reasoned thusly (5 Op. Atty. Gen. 776, 768):

"The statutes of March 3, 1839, (V. stat. at large, p. 439, ch. 82, sec. 3d) enacts:

" 'That no officer in any branch of the public service or any other person, whose salaries or whose pay or emoluments, is or are fixed by law and regulations, shall receive any extra allowance or compensation in any form whatever, for the disbursement of public money or the performance of any other service, unless the said extra allowance or compensation be allowed by law.'

"The act approved August 23, 1842 (V. stat. at large, p. 510, ch. 183, sec. 2), enacts:

" 'That no officer in any branch of the public service or any other person, whose salary, pay, or emoluments, is or are fixed by law or regulation, shall receive any additional pay, extra allowance or compensation in any form whatever, for the disbursement of public money or for any other service or duty whatsoever, unless the same shall be authorized by law, and the appropriation therefor explicitly set forth that it is for such additional pay, extra allowance or compensation.'

"These two sections of the statutes are, in words, nearly the same, in sense and meaning, identical, the latter being only a repetition of the former. The extra allowance or additional pay forbidden by these sections is that exceeding the salary, pay, or emoluments, which was fixed by law or by a regulation, officially made by the President or by the head of a department, or by an officer of the Government, having competent authority to make such regulation. At the passage of these acts, there was no law forbidding any person from holding under the Government of the United States, two compatible offices or employment at one and the same time, and receiving the salary and emoluments belonging to each of the offices, whether fixed directly by law, or by a regulation made by a person lawfully authorized to make it. These sections do not forbid it. They are intended to fence against arbitrary extra allowances in each particular case; but do not apply to distinct employments with salaries or compensation affixed to each by law or by regulation.

* * * * *

"The 12th section of the act, approved August 26, 1842 (vol. 5, of Statutes at Large, p. 525, ch. 202), enacts:

" 'That no allowance or compensation shall be made to any clerk or other officer, by reason of the discharge of duties which belong to any other clerk or officer in the same or any other department; and no allowance shall be made for any extra services whatever, which any clerk or other officer may be required to perform.'

"This act does not prohibit the same person from holding two different offices at one and the same time, nor from receiving the compensation fixed, by law or regulation, to both offices, respectively, if he holds both offices, and performs the duties of both. In such case, the officer, so holding the two offices, is not, when officiating each and either, performing the duties of any other officer or clerk; he is performing his own duties, and in receiving the compensation affixed to each, he is receiving pay for his own proper services in his own proper offices respectively, and not pay for the services which should have been performed by any other clerk or officer, nor for extra services, but for the proper services belonging to his respective offices and proper employments.

"The opinion given by Chief Justice Taney, before cited, makes the holding of two offices and performing the duties of both at one and the same time, an exception from the prohibitions of this statute of August 26, 1842, as well as from the two previous statutes of August 23, 1842, and March 3, 1839. He makes no discrimination between the provisions of the statutes of August 23, and August 26, 1842; but classed them together as the acts of 1842. There is, in truth, no difference in the sense and meaning of the three several acts before quoted.

"Neither does the act of September 30, 1850 (Session Acts by Little and Brown, ch. 90, pp. 542–3), prohibit the holding of two compatible offices by the same person, or the payment to him of the fixed salary or compensation of each of his offices. That was not the mischief intended to be guarded against; for indeed, it might often happen that it would be most convenient and conductive to public economy, as well as to the public service, to confer two offices on the same person. The provision of the act, last referred to, is in these words: 'That hereafter, the proper accounting officers of the Treasury, or other pay officers of the United States, shall in no case allow any pay to one individual the salaries of two different offices, on account of having performed the duties thereof at the same time. But this prohibition shall not extend to the superintendents of the executive buildings.'

"The plain meaning of this seems to be that an individual holding one office and receiving its salary, shall, in no case, be allowed to receive also the salary of another office, which he does not hold, simply 'on account of his having performed the duties thereof.'

"The prohibition is against his receiving the salary of an office that he does not hold, and not against his receiving the salaries of two officers, which he does legitimately hold.

"If it had been the intention of Congress to prohibit, in all cases, the holding a plurality of offices, that purpose could have been easily and directly expressed. The language they have used imports no such purpose, but is directed at an object and abuse, distinct and seperate.

"The case of Gilbert Rodman does not, according to my view of the subject, come

within the prohibitions of the above-cited statutes."

The following year a provision was included in the Civil and Diplomatic Expenses Appropriation Act, 1853 (act of August 31, 1852, 10 Stat. 100), which provided as follows:

"SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That no person hereafter, who holds or shall hold, any office under the Government of the United States, whose salary or annual compensation shall amount to the sum of $2,500, shall receive compensation for discharging the duties of any other office."

This provision, in identical language, had been included as section 7 in the original appropriation bill reported to the House on February 5, 1852, by the Ways and Means Committee (H. R. 196, 32d Cong., 1st sess., no written report). This provision appears to have passed the House without debate as section 9 of the bill. A brief glimpse, however, of the evils aimed at is afforded by the debate on a somewhat similar proposal to limit a proposed salary increase to only one salary where double salaries were involved. Attorney General Crittenden's opinion of 1851, supra, was also criticized (Cong. Globe, 32 Cong., 1st sess., pp. 2165–2166):

"Mr. DEAN. I move the following proviso, by way of amending to the amendment: *'Provided*, That this section shall not extend to any person receiving a salary for discharging the duties of more than one office at the same time, or to any person who does not actually discharge the duties of the office for which he receives such salary, or to any person engaged in prosecuting any claim before any of the departments or Congress; and that in case any paying or accounting officer of the Government shall pay said additional percentage to any such person, it shall be a misdemeanor in the person knowingly paying or receiving such additional percentage, rendering him liable to indictment, and punishment by fine and imprisonment.'

"Mr. Chairman, I am not disposed strongly to resist the proposition of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Gentry], to add to the remuneration of the clerks who are legitimately engaged in the various departments of the Government. I have no doubt there may be instances where that remuneration should be increased, and if the section can be so guarded that the heads of departments and of bureaus cannot further abuse the power now in their hands, I shall vote for it. If I am correctly informed, however, there are individuals now, pets of the heads of departments, who, in the face of laws which have been passed, commencing in 1842, and reenacted year after year since, are receiving the salaries of at least three offices, the duties of none of which they adequately discharge.

"Mr. GENTRY. I know the objection which the gentleman states is an objection with many, and, as a consequence, an argument for voting against this additional compensation; but we cannot correct executive abuses. It is our duty to put it in the power of the executive government to do right, and to impeach them if they do wrong.

"Mr. DEAN. I want to guard the proposition of the gentleman, so that no head of a department of this Government, or head of an executive bureau, can pay to his sons, nephews, cousins, or favorites, salaries to the amount of $2,000, $3,000, or $4,000 each. By the passage of the gentleman's proposition without a provision of the character I have indicated, we shall increase the salaries of these pets to a greater extent. If there be any proper object for the increase of the salaries, it is to enable those men permanently engaged as clerks in the various departments of the Government in this city with families, to support them with respectability; it is not for the purpose of increasing salaries, but to reward labor adequately, and for that only can I support it.

"Another abuse will be corrected by that proviso, very prevalent, I am informed, in the departments—the allowing of persons to take a clerkship at $4 per day, who hire, for the discharge of its duties, other individuals at $1 per day, while they spend their time around the hotels, the gambling houses, or the lobbies of Congress to press claims through here or smuggling them through the departments. My provision is designed to reach cases of that kind. If there be any, it will prevent their continuance and repetition. If there be none, there will be no harm in the adoption of the amendment. It is intended, also, not only to reach those paying, but those receiving two salaries. There is an express law, passed in 1850, prohibiting any person from receiving two salaries except the Superintendent of Public Buildings. I understand the Attorney General, the law officer of this administration, has given it as his opinion that there is no objection whatever to the giving of a man two salaries. How he could give such an opinion I cannot understand. The Secretary of State and the Attorney General, within the last year, have given their certificate to a man as entitled to $3,000 for doing nothing, or discharging the duties of an office which did not exist, while he was at the same time receiving $2,500 for another office. I desire to have it provided by law that any person who shall receive more than one salary shall be liable to indictment. That is the only way in which the evil can be eradicated. If my amendment be adopted, I am willing, as a temporary expedient, to vote for this or some increase of compensation. I believe the expenses of living have increased here as well as in other places; but still, sir, it will be an unpleasant matter for us to meet our constituents, and to tell them we are voting increased salaries to clerks in Washington, while clerks in the various offices of our counties receive only $500 salary, and yet lay up a portion of that. This amendment should not apply to young men, who have no families, receiving a salary exceeding $1,000 per annum. If that will not support them, I fear their expenses are not such as we should countenance or encourage.

"Mr. GORMAN. I am opposed to this amendment. I have had occasion to look into the opinion of the Attorney General upon the subject of paying the officers of the Government, when they perform the duties of two offices. I had occasion in the last few days to present the question before the second Comptroller of the Treasury, and give my views, humble as they were, at some length. The second Comptroller decided, as indeed the former Comptroller has decided, that no person, under the existing law, can receive pay in two capacities. He has decided, if a clerk or other officer of the Government shall perform the duties of any other trade or office, that he cannot thereby get the additional pay. That decision has been made, I say, by the Comptroller, and the Comptroller of the Treasury has overruled, to some extent, the decision of the Attorney General heretofore made. But the Attorney General has not decided the point in the manner in which the gentleman states it. He has decided that an individual cannot draw the pay for two offices; but where a person is in any office, and is detailed to the discharge of other duties not incompatible with the duties of that office, he may receive pay for the duties to which he is detailed."

The salary increase and the limitation passed the House as section 2 of the bill and in fact was enacted with some slight modification as section 2 of the act, see 10 Stat. 97.

The Senate Finance Committee proposed to eliminate the $2,500 double salary limitation which had passed the House as section 9 of the bill. The committee appears to have made no written report. In reading the bill for amendment, the Senate eliminated section 9 and inserted other matter in lieu without debate (Congressional Globe, p. 2371), thus striking out the $2,500 double salary limitation. A detailed search of the proceedings of the Senate from that point through the adoption of the conference committee report by both Houses (Congressional Globe, 32d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 2371–2477) has failed to reveal exactly how the excluded language reappeared in the bill as approved by the President (10 Stat. 100, sec. 18, supra). The original copy of the bill as enacted by the two Houses and sent to the President and which was signed by him contains section 18 as set out in the Statutes at Large. It can only be assumed that the conference committee restored the stricken language as section 18 without specifically mentioning it in their report. There seems to have been some pressure upon the conference committee respecting a time deadline which may account for an omission in the conference report due to haste (Congressional Globe, 32d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2472):

"Mr. HOUSTON. I wish to make a report from the committee of conference upon the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon the civil and diplomatic bill. I will state, in addition to other reasons for desiring to advance that bill as rapidly as possible, that it may be enrolled in time, I understood from one of the Senators upon the committee of conference, a few moments ago, that he had received a line from the President, saying that it would be impossible to look over the bill unless we act hastily upon it; and he made a special request that an expeditious course should be pursued with it. I call the previous question."

The rest of this period was marked by a series of opinions rendered by the Attorney General which guided the disbursing officers of the Government respecting dual office-holding and salaries. The first of these was rendered by Attorney General Cushing in *Hardin's* case on August 18, 1853 (6 Op. Atty. Gen. 80). Hardin held two offices in the Navy Department, one as clerk and the other as superintendent of the southwestern executive building. The question arose concerning his entitlement to the salary increase provided in the act of August 31, 1852, which had been limited therein to 1 salary for those with more than 1 office. In the course of his reasoning with respect to the pay raise, Cushing commented on the question of holding 2 offices and receiving 2 salaries thus:

"It is observable, on the very surface of the inquiry, that the act of 1852 explicitly assumes that persons exist, within the purview of the act, who hold two separate offices, discharge their distinct duties, and lawfully receive their different salaries. The words are, 'This section shall not extend to more than 1 salary of any person receiving a salary for discharging the duties of more than 1 office at the same time.'"

It should be noted that Cushing is referring to the pay raise section of the act (sec. 2), and not to the $2,500 double salary limitation in section 18. It is rather curious that he does not also mention the latter section in connection with this point.

Cushing also considered the Rush proviso in the act of September 30, 1850, supra, but limited its application strictly to situations involving the temporary performance of duties of another office by designation of the President. He then quoted the opinion of Chief Justice Taney of the Supreme Court, then on circuit in the United States Circuit Court, District of Maryland, in the case of *U. S.* v. *White* (Fed. Cas. No. 16, 684 (1852)). Chief Justice stated that there is no law which prohibits a person from holding two offices at the same time. Cushing stated that the Chief Justice had expressed this opinion with the acts of 1839, 1842, and 1850 before him as the very subject of consideration.

Cushing was obviously right with respect to the acts of 1839 and 1842 respecting extra compensation; however, a reading of *U. S.* v. *White* reveals that the facts do not bear him out with respect to the act of 1850 and the Rush proviso. *U. S.* v. *White* was filed in the circuit court on March 25, 1850, and dealt with matters occurring before that date. The act of 1850 was not enacted until September 30, 1850, and its application to *U. S.* v. *White* would have been ex post facto. Nowhere in the opinion does the Chief Justice refer to the 1850 act and in fact at the outset states that the case is governed by the acts of 1839 and 1842.

Attorney General Crittenden's opinion in the Rodman case, supra, on the question of 2 salaries and 2 offices was cited with approval by Cushing who then closed his own opinion by deciding that the salary increase could be applied to only 1 of Hardin's salaries.

The next opinion which specifically dealt with the question of dual offices appears to be that in Maj. R. B. Lee's case (8 Op. Atty. Gen. 352 (1857)). Major Lee was treasurer of a board appointed under the Army Appropriation Act of August 31, 1852 (10 Stat. 108), to pass on the claims for supplies furnished to the command of Captain Fremont in California. The board employed a War Department clerk to serve also as its clerk and proposed to compensate him for such service. The question in the case was whether such compensation could be allowed in the accounts of Major Lee. In his opinion, Attorney General Cushing inquired first whether there was any provision of law which forbade the same person holding two distinct offices. This question was answered by him as follows:

"I am not aware of the existence of any such provision. A clause of the act of September 30, 1850, forbids the allowance to 1 individual of 'the salaries of 2 different offices, on account of having performed the duties thereof at the same time' (9 Stat. L., p. 542). This provision has been construed by my immediate predecessor (Mr. Crittenden), and also by Chief Justice Taney, as not applying to the present question. It means, that a person, holding one office, shall not receive the salary of another, which he does not hold, but of which he merely performs the duty, by temporary appointment, in place of the proprietor of the office." (See opinions, vol. V, p. 765; and vol. VI, p. 84.)

"Indeed, more than 1 of the provisions of statute in question expressly speaks of the same person as holding 2 distinct offices." (See act of August 31, 1852, secs. 2 and 18, 10 Stat. L., pp. 97, 100.)

It should be noted that Mr. Cushing was still in error respecting the opinion of Chief Justice Taney. The rest of his opinion deals with the question of extra allowance and the act of 1842. He reached the conclusion that Major Lee's case involved a separate office under distinct authority, and that the dual salaries might be allowed.

By 1857, Attorney General Cushing had been succeeded by J. S. Black. During Black's incumbency the question arose again in *Stackpole's* case (9 Op. Atty. Gen. 123). Stackpole was a watchman at the President's House who claimed dual compensation for services as assistant doorkeeper. Attorney General Black considered the questions of extra compensation and dual office holding, and reviewed the series of statutes enacted by Congress beginning in 1839, including the Rush proviso of 1850 and the $2,500 limitation of 1852. He stated further:

"A consideration and comparison of these acts plainly show that each of them had a specific aim and purpose. The act of March 3, 1839, was designed to put an end to the system of extra allowances and compensation, which, under various pretexts, were claimed by officers and employees for extra services in their respective offices or departments. Going a step further, the act of May 18, 1842, cut off extra pay for performing the duties of any other clerk or officer either in the same or any other department. A blow at the whole system of extra pay and double compensation was then struck by the act of August 23, 1842, by forbidding any extra pay or additional compensation, in any form whatever, to officers or persons having fixed salaries, for any other services whatsoever, unless on specific appropriation, explicitly setting forth that it was for such additional pay. But notwithstanding the comprehensive terms of this act—it having been held in the spring of 1950, by the circuit court of Baltimore, in White's case, that where 1 officer had performed the duties of 2 offices at the same time he might claim the salaries of both—the act of September 30, 1850, prohibited the payment of the salaries of 2 offices to 1 individual. There still remained, however, another class of officers who were receiving, or claiming, double pay—those; namely, whose salary or compensation was not fixed by law or regulations, but depended upon the amount of service or other contingency. Upon these the act of 1852 operated, by the provision that where the salary or annual compensation of an office amounted, in the aggregate, to $2,500 per annum, no pay for discharging the duties of any other office should be allowed him.

"The whole of this legislation manifests a determined purpose to prevent double compensation in any form, or under any pretext whatsoever. It cannot be denied that the policy which dictated these provisions is founded on just notions of public and private morality. Plurality of offices, and extra allowances to those who hold them, are the vices of a bad government, and have always prevailed to the greatest extent in the worst times. It may be that some officers have performed double duty for which they are justly entitled to additional compensation. In these cases, I do not doubt that proper provision will be made by Congress; but the justice of a claim cannot authorize its payment by the executive while the law forbids it."

With respect to Stackpole, Black noted the exceptions of watchmen and messengers in the act of 1842 and of superintendents of public buildings in the act of 1850. He therefore concluded that Stackpole came within the exceptions. He concluded in general, however:

"That no officer of the Government, having a salary fixed by law, nor no other officer whose compensation amounts to $2,500 per annum, can receive extra pay for any service whatever, whether it be within the line of his duty or outside of it. Nor is it possible for any such officer to receive the salaries of more than one office, no matter under what circumstances he may have performed the duties of more than one."

The next year Black considered the case of a court clerk who had held both the office of clerk of the district court and of the circuit court (9 Op. Atty. Gen. 250). Officers of this class have no fixed salaries but are entitled to retain a percentage of fees and emoluments. It should be pointed out that such offices had not been included in the provisions of the act of 1842 because of separate and distinct provisions enacted in another part of that act with special reference to the judiciary. The provisions in the act of 1842 had been reenacted as section 5 of the act of February 26, 1853 (10 Stat. 165), in substantially the same form:

"No clerk of a district court or clerk of a circuit court shall be allowed by the said secretary to retain of the fees and emoluments of his said office, or in case both of the said clerkships shall be held by the same person of the said offices, for his own personal compensation, over and above the necessary expenses of his office and necessary clerk hire included, also to be audited and allowed by the proper accounting officers of the Treasury, a sum exceeding $3,500 per year for any such district clerk or circuit clerk."

As pointed out by Black, the question of entitlement to the fees and emoluments of offices held at the same time had been settled by Mr. Justice Story in *U. S.* v. *Bassett* (Fed. Cas. No. 14539 (1843)). In that case Mr. Justice Story had decided that the defendant who had held two offices in Massachusetts was entitled to retain the marimum compensation which the law would have given if such offices had been held by different persons. In view of the fact that judicial offices appear to be covered by special provisions they need not be considered further unless they should at a future date come under the general provisions.

Chief Justice Taney again came into the picture in the case of *Converse* v. *U. S.* (62 463 (1858)). In that case the collector of customs had been directed by the Secretary of Treasury to perform extra duties in connection with disbursements for the Lighthouse Service, not only in his own customs district, but throughout the United States. On the death of the customs collector, a claim was brought against his estate for some $17,000, which he had retained as fees for the performance of this service. As collector of customs, his salary was fixed. Justice Taney in his opinion stated:

"The just and fair inference from these acts of Congress, taken together, is, that no discretion is left to the head of a department to allow an officer who has a fixed compensation any credit beyond his salary, unless the service he has performed is required by existing laws, and the remuneration for them fixed by law. It was undoubtedly within the power of the department to order this collector, and every other collector in the Union, to purchase the articles required for lighthouse purposes in their respective districts, and to make the necessary disbursements therefor. And for such services he would be entitled to no compensation beyond his salary as collector, if that salary exceeded $2,500."

He then pointed out that the Secretary was not bound to entrust these services to the several collectors, but might require the whole to be performed by a single agent. This was the action actually taken by the Secretary. With respect to this, Judge Taney stated:

"Undoubtedly, Congress has the power to prohibit the Secretary from demanding or receiving of a public officer any service in any other office or capacity, and to prohibit the same person from accepting or executing the duties of any agency for the Government, of any description, while he is in office, and to deny compensation altogether, if the officer chooses to perform the services; or they may require an officer holding an office with a certain salary, however small, to perform any duty directed by the head of the department, however onerous or hazardous, without additional compensation. But the legislative department of the oGvernment has never acted upon such principles, nor is there any law which looks to such a policy, or to such unlimited power in the head of an executive department over its subordinate officers.

"No explanation is given of the principle upon which the $400 additional compensation was allowed. If the services were regarded as extra and additional, and within the prohibition of the law, then he was not entitled to this additional allowance, because his salary exceeded $2,500, and nothing more than the salary fixed ought to have been allowed him. But if they were not within the prohibition, but for services in a different agency, then he was entitled, not merely to $400, but to the commissions fixed by law. This sum could not have been allowed for

supplies in his own district, excluding those for other districts, because, as regards his own district, there is an express prohibition as above stated. We, however, express no opinion upon that particular item; and whether it is a proper allowance or not, must be determined by the circuit court, when it hears the evidence at the trial.

"For the reasons above stated, the judgment of the circuit court must be reversed."

The question of dual compensation was raised again in 1860 in *Brown's* case (9 Op. Atty. Gen. 507). Brown, at different periods, held various diplomatic and consular offices in Turkey, including that of dragoman and vice consul. Attorney General Black held that according to the decision in the Converse case, a person holding two compatible offices or employments under the Government is not precluded from receiving the salaries of both by anything in the general laws prohibiting double compensation. Subsequently Brown was appointed consul general and in addition discharged the duties of secretary of legation and dragoman. In contrast to the prior situation, where Brown had exercised the duties of several offices to which he had been appointed, Black held that where he had been appointed consul general and merely discharged the duties of secretary of legation and dragoman, without a special appointment thereto, he was not entitled to additional compensation under the $2,500 prohibition in the act of August 31, 1852. Still later, Brown was appointed secretary of legation and dragoman and continued to act as consul general without a regular appointment. Black stated then that he was to receive salary for the two appointments as secretary of legation and dragoman, but not for performing the duties of consul general.

Attorney General Bates, in *Whiting's* case (10 Op. Atty. Gen. 435 (1863)), attempted to bring some order into the confusion existing by reason of the growth of majority and minority schools of thought respecting dual office holding and salaries. Whiting had been appointed clerk in the Interior Department, at a salary fixed by law, to deal with matters respecting the act to suppress the slave trade. He was also appointed by the Secretary of the Interior as a clerk to deal with matters relative to Capitol extension and a new dome, at a small salary fixed by the Secretary. The majority school comprised Attorneys General Grundy (3 Op. 422, ibid. 47); Gilpin (3 Op. 621); Legare (4 Op. 126, ibid. 149); Nelson (4 Op. 432); Mason (4 Op. 464); Toucey (5 Op. 74); and Black (9 Op. 123).

Legare had stated the basic reasoning and conclusion of the majority to the effect that:

"The policy of the act of 1839 and several other statutes on analogous subjects is to deprive the executive department, first, indirectly to raise salaries by extraordinary allowances, and second, to create pluralities in favor of incumbents in office. Should any necessity arise for either of these deviations from the spirit and practice of our Government, it must be acknowledged by some act of Congress, expressly making provision for them."

Bates also quoted a paragraph from the opinion of Black in Stackpole's case, supra, pointing out that the whole of the legislation manifested a determination to prevent dual compensation in any form or under any pretext whatsoever; that plurality of offices and extra allowances are the vices of a bad government. The minority school of thought was composed of Attorneys General Crittenden (5 Op. 765) and Cushing (8 Op. 325), who concluded that these statutes did not forbid the holding of two distinct offices or appointments by one person; that the prohibitions on extra allowances and additional pay meant extra service pay, or allowance in some office, and not distinct service in separate offices.

Bates applied *Converse* v. *United States* (supra) to Whiting's case. He pointed out that the Converse case was not in harmony with the opinions of the majority, but that nevertheless the Court did not go so far in the other direction as Crittenden and Cushing had gone. The Court construed the statutes so as to allow compensation for services in the additional office, only in case such services are required by law and the compensation therefor fixed by laws. He stated:

"After reviewing the acts I have cited, the Court says: 'The just and fair inference from these acts of Congress, taken together, is that no discretion is left to the head of a department to allow an officer who has a fixed compensation any credit beyond his salary, unless the service he has performed is required by existing laws, and the remuneration for them fixed by law.'

"This is the latest and most authoritative construction of these statutes, and having been adopted with all the light which the discussions to which I have referred shed upon the subject, I think it should be accepted as the rule for the decision of these frequently recurring and often difficult questions of additional compensation to public officers."

Under this conclusion, Whiting was not entitled to compensation for services in connection with the Capitol extension where the salary had not been fixed by law but by the Secretary.

On the same basis, Bates decided *White's* case (10 Op. Atty. Gen. 442). White, a clerk in the General Land Office, had also been appointed Assistant Secretary to sign land patents, by appointment of the President under the act of Congress which did not fix the compensation for such an appointment. He also decided *French's* case (10 Atty. Gen. 444), in accordance with the ruling in Whiting's case. On the day following these decisions the question of the offices of register of wills for Washington County and commissioner of police, and the offices of member of the levy court, commissioner of police, and collector of internal revenue for the District of Columbia were decided favorably to the incumbent. The compensation of these various offices was fixed by law. (See 10 Op. Atty. Gen. 446.)

In 1868 Evarts, then Attorney General, was called upon to decide the case of Secretary of the Interior Browning, who had been authorized by the President as the head of the Interior Department, to act as Attorney General ad interim under the act of 1863 following the resignation of Attorney General Stanbery. This, of course, was the Rush proviso situation again, act of September 30, 1850. On examination of the act of February 20, 1863, which authorized the President to make ad interim appointments, Evarts found a very strong implication that Congress intended to make it the official duty of each head of department to perform functions of another executive department when called upon by the President, in the case of a vacancy in the latter office or inability of its chief to discharge his duties. Evarts concluded that independent of the act of September 30, 1850 (the Rush proviso), Secretary Browning was not entitled to receive the salary of the Office of Attorney General, but that in any event, the act of September 30, 1850, was a bar to the receipt of such salary. *U. S.* v. *Shoemaker* (7 Wall. 338 (1868)) involved the question whether a customs collector could receive extra compensation for duties in connection with the erection of a new marine hospital and customs house within his own district. Mr. Justice Nelson, in a brief opinion, pointed out that the difficulty was "that there is not only no law providing for compensation, but the collector is forbidden to receive it" (act of May 7, 1882, sec. 18). The duties even within his own district fell within the prohibitions of the acts of 1822 and 1839, as interpreted in the Converse case.

Stansbury v. *U. S.* (8 Wall. 33 (1868)): Stansbury, being at the time a clerk in the Department of Interior, was appointed in 1851 by the Secretary of the Interior as an agent to proceed to Europe and to prepare an account of the London Industrial Exposition for that Department. During all the time he was engaged in London and subsequently in Washington, a term of 17 months, he drew his pay as a clerk. The Secretary had promised in writing to pay his expenses and to allow him a reasonable compensation for his services. The actual expenses were paid but on his return, a new Secretary having been appointed, the new Secretary declined to pay him anything more. Stansbury then brought suit in the Court of Claims which decided that his claim was barred by the act of August 23, 1842. Mr. Justice Davis, in his opinion, pointed out that no authority of law existed for the promise by the Secretary, neither was there any appropriation authorized; nor was the Secretary authorized by Congress to create such an agency to perform such service. He thereupon cited section 2 of the act of August 23, 1842, prohibiting extra compensation.

IX—RESTATEMENT AND REVISION, 1874–1924

The various provisions with respect to dual and extra compensation which have been enacted by the Congress starting in 1839 were included in the general revision and publication of the laws in force December 1, 1873, known as the Revised Statutes of the United States. The first edition of the Revised Statutes was approved June 22, 1874. The dual and extra compensation provisions were condensed into sections 1763–1765 as follows:

"SEC. 1763. No person who holds an office, the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounts to the sum of $2,500, shall receive compensation for discharging the duties of any other office, unless expressly authorized by law.

"SEC. 1764. No allowance or compensation shall be made to any officer or clerk, by reason of the discharge of duties which belong to any other officer or clerk in the same or any other Department; and no allowance or compensation shall be made for any extra services whatever, which any officer or clerk may be required to perform, unless expressly authorized by law.

"SEC. 1765. No officer in any branch of the public service, or any other person whose salary, pay, or emoluments are fixed by law or regulations, shall receive any additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation, in any form whatever, for the disbursement of public money, or for any other service or duty whatever, unless the same is authorized by law, and the appropriation therefor explicitly states that it is for such additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation."

In *Hall* v. *United States* (91 U. S. 559 (1875)) Mr. Justice Clifford touched upon the question of compensation for extra services stating:

"Compensation for extra services, where no certain sum is fixed by law, cannot be allowed by the head of a department to any officer who has by law a fixed or certain compensation for his services in the office he holds, unless such head of a department is thereto authorized by an act of Congress; nor can any compensation for extra services be allowed by the court or jury as a set-off, in a suit brought by the United States against any officer for public money in his hands, unless it appears that the head of the department was authorized by an act of Congress to appoint an agent to perform the extra service, that the compensation to be paid for the service was fixed by law, that the service to be performed had respect to matters wholly outside of the duties appertaining to the

office held by the agent, and that the money to pay for the extra services had been appropriated by Congress" (*Converse* v. *United States* (21 How. 470)).

One year later Pierrepont, Attorney General (15 Atty. Gen. 71), ruled that where a special agent of the Post Office Department is in receipt of a fixed compensation and in addition performed the duties of a Deputy Marshal, he cannot be allowed in respect of such services as marshal anything beyond his actual expenses incurred. (See 1765 Rev. Stat.)

The question of retired Army officers holding civil office was considered by Devens, Attorney General in 1877 (see *Retired Officer's* case (15 Atty. Gen. 306)). Devens ruled that a retired officer does not vacate his commission in the Army by accepting a civil office unless that office is in the diplomatic or consular service, in which case he is considered to have resigned his place in the Army. He pointed out that section 1222, Revised Statutes, forbidding officers to hold civil office, was limited to officers on the active list, and that even the prohibition respecting diplomatic or consular posts under section 1223, Revised Statutes, although applying to both the active and retired lists, did not apply to certain officers excepted under the act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat. 512, ch. 178), concerning officers wounded in battle. The excepted officers, even though accepting consular and diplomatic posts, would not vacate their commissions thereby. Devens in respect to retired officers in general stated:

"The provisions of the statutes in regard to retired officers direct that they may be assigned to duty at the Soldiers' Home under certain circumstances, and that they shall not be assignable to any other duty (Rev. Stat., sec. 1259). And, further, that they may on their own application be detailed to serve as professors in any college. (Sec. 1260.) It would not, in my opinion, be a legitimate construction of these two sections to say that they prohibit an officer from accepting or being appointed to a purely civil office under the United States Government. In the absence of any provision of law forbidding such officers to hold civil offices, especially when these sections are taken in connection with the law that officers upon the active list are (by sec. 1222 of the Revised Statutes) held to have vacated their commissions by the acceptance of any civil office, and that all officers who accept or hold appointments in the diplomatic or consular service are (by sec. 1223) considered as having resigned their places in the Army, with the exception above alluded to, it must be considered that a retired officer is not precluded from holding a civil office under the United States Government, unless in the consular or diplomatic service.

"The third question proposed by you is, whether a retired officer is entitled to draw his pay as such and also the salary of any civil office he may hold under the United States Government.

"Sections 1763, 1764, and 1765 of the Revised Statutes forbid any person who holds an office, the salary or annual compensation of which amounts to the sum of $2,500, to receive compensation for discharging the duties of any other office, unless expressly authorized by law; they also direct that no allowance or compensation shall be allowed to any officer or clerk by reason of the discharge of duties which belong to any other officer or clerk in the same or any other department, and that no officer in any branch of the public service, or any other person whose salary, pay, or emoluments are fixed by law or regulations, shall receive any additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation, in any form whatever, for the disbursement of public money, or for any other service or duty whatever, unless the same is authorized by law, and the appropriation therefor explicitly states that it is for such additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation.

"The construction which has been given to these statutes (especially in the case of *Converse* v. *The United States* (21 How., 463)) is that the intent and effect of them is to forbid officers holding one office to receive compensation for the discharge of duties belonging to another, or additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation for such other services or duties where they hold the commission of but a single office, and, by virtue of that office, or in addition to the duties of that office, have assigned to them the duties of another office. According to that decision, however, if an officer holds two distinct commissions, and thus two distinct offices, he may receive the salary for each. The evil intended to be guarded against by these statutes was not so much plurality of offices as it was additional pay or compensation to an officer holding but one office for performing additional duties, or the duties properly belonging to another. If he actually holds two commissions, and does the duties of two distinct offices, he may receive the salary which has been appropriated to each office. Sections 1763, 1764, and 1765, above referred to, are condensations from statutes which were in existence at the time that this decision was made, and in conformity with it I deem it my duty, in answer to your inquiry, to say that a retired officer may draw his pay as such, and may also draw the salary of any civil office which he may hold under the Government, assuming always that the duties of the civil office are performed under and by virtue of a commission appointing him to that office, which he holds in addition to his rank as a retired officer."

On April 14, 1882, the Senate by resolution requested the Judiciary Committee to inform the Senate whether or not a retired United States Army officer could rightfully hold a civil office under the Government of the United States (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 13, p. 2878). The committee, through its chairman, Mr. Garland, reported in the affirmative (p. 2977), as follows (S. Rept. No. 429, 47th Cong., 1st sess.):

"There is nothing in the Constitution touching the question embraced by the resolution.

"In the Revised Statutes (sec. 1222) any officer of the Army on the active list is prohibited from holding any civil office, whether by election or appointment, and by the same law, if any Army officer on the active list accepts or exercises the functions of a civil office, he shall thereby cease to be an Army officer and his commission as such shall be thereby vacated.

"This is limited to the active list and would clearly imply that an Army officer on the retired list could be a civil officer.

"The next section (1223) provides expressly that any officer of the Army who accepts or holds any appointment in the diplomatic or consular service of the Government shall be considered as having resigned his place in the Army, and it shall be filled as a vacancy. But this disqualification in the diplomatic or consular service was virtually repealed by the act of March 3, 1875, as follows: 'And every such officer now borne on the retired list shall be continued thereon notwithstanding the provisions of section 2, chapter 38, act of March 3, 1863'; and, also, 'and be it also provided, that no retired officer shall be affected by this act who has been retired or may hereafter be retired on the rank held by him at the time of his retirement.' (Rev. Stat., supp., ch. 178, p. 195.)

"Comparing the different statutes on the subject, the committee answer the question in the affirmative."

Devens once again upheld the right to hold two distinct offices and to receive the pay of each in *Riley's* case (16 Op. Atty. Gen. 7 (1787)). He again applied the ruling concerning the performance of extra duties only, which under section 1763, Revised Statutes, would prohibit extra payment in such cases (see *Dinsmore's* case (16 Atty. Gen. 565)).

"The case of *U. S.* v. *Converse* (21 How. 463) was confirmed in 1884 in *U. S.* v. *Brindle* (110 U. S. 688). In that case, Brindle was employed as a receiver of public moneys in the sale of public lands for a district in Kansas, having an annual fixed salary. He was also appointed agent for the sale of Indian trust lands under the Treaty of July 17, 1854 (10 Stat. 1048). The Court noted that the duties under the latter statute and treaty were different and not imposed upon Brindle by an office under the Government of the United States. Therefore he held two distinct offices. The Court stated:

"In *Converse* v. *United States* (21 How. 463), it was decided that provisions in appropriation acts, like section 18 of the act of August 31, 1852, prohibiting an officer from receiving more than one salary, could not by 'fair interpretation be held to embrace an employment which has no affinity or connection, either in its character or by law or usage, with the line of his official duty, and where the service to be performed is of a different character and for a different place, and the amount of compensation regulated by law.' Page 471. In the present case the employment was for a special service in connection with a special trust assumed by the United States for the benefit of certain Indian tribes, in which express provisions were made for the payment of expenses. In legal effect, the appointment was to an agency for the sale of lands for the Indians, with an implied understanding that a reasonable compensation would be paid for the services rendered. So far as anything appears in the record, the appointment was not made because Brindle was receiver of the land office. The duties to be performed were of a different character and at a different place from those of the land office, and while the exact amount of compensation for this service was not fixed, it was clearly to be inferred that such compensation as the law implies where labor is performed by one at the request of another, that is to say, a reasonable compensation, would be paid. This case comes, therefore, within the rule in *Converse* v. *United States*, and Brindle is not excluded by the act of 1852 from demanding compensation for this service by reason of his being receiver of the land office."

In 1885, Garland, Attorney General, applied the rule in the Converse and Brindle cases to the case of *Donovan* (18 Atty. Gen. 303). He held that a clerk in the office of the auditor of the District of Columbia, who was also appointed a referee by the Court of Claims, under the act of June 16, 1880, was entitled to receive the salaries of both offices.

The question was again raised in the Supreme Court in *U. S.* v. *Saunders* (120 U. S. 126 (1887)). Saunders, a clerk in the Office of the President, was also appointed clerk of the Committee on Commerce of the Congress of the United States. The Comptroller refused to pay him the salary of his position as committee clerk. Mr. Justice Miller, in his opinion, stated:

"We are of opinion that, taking these sections all together, the purpose of this legislation was to prevent a person holding an office or appointment, for which the law provides a definite compensation by way of salary or otherwise, which is intended to cover all the services which, as such officer, he may be called upon to render, from receiving extra compensation, additional allowances, or pay for other services which may be required of him either by act of Congress or by order of the head of his Department, or in any other mode, added to or connected with the regular duties of the place which he holds; but that they have no application to the case of two distinct offices, places, or employments, each of which has its own duties and its own compensation which of-

fices may both be held by one person at the same itme. In the latter case, he is in the eye of the law two officers, or holds two places or appointments, the functions of which are separate and distinct, and, according to all the decisions, he is in such case entitled to recover the two compensations. In the former case, he performs the added duties under his appointment to a single place, and the statute has provided that he shall receive no additional compensation for the class of duties unless it is so provided by special legislation. The case of *United States* v. *Brindle* (110 U. S. 688), in which an Indian agent received large additional compensation for services connected with the sale of lands belonging to the Indians of his agency, which was affirmed in this court, was upon the ground that these additional services were performed for the benefit of the Indians, and the statute implied the payment of a reasonable compensation for such services. See also *Converse* v. *The United States* (21 How. 463).

Attorney General Garland covered the question again in *Marshal's* case (19 Op. Atty. Gen. 121 (1888)). The marshal had, in addition to his duties as marshal, been appointed an agent under section 5276, revised statutes, to bring back a fugitive criminal from a foreign country. Garland pointed out that the construction of the various statutes had been repeatedly passed upon by his predecessors. He reviewed the thinking of the majority school of thought represented by Attorney General Black that the $2,500 limitation prohibited not only the receipt of extra pay, but also the salaries of more than one office, no matter under what circumstances the duties of that office may have been performed and the minority school of thought, represented by Attorney General Crittenden, that none of the acts forbade a person from holding two offices and receiving the salaries thereof, because the prohibition was against his receiving salary of an office that he did not hold, and not against his receiving a salary of two offices which he did legitimately hold. Garland also reviewed the Supreme Court cases concerned in this general question: *Converse* v. *U. S.* (21 How. 463 (1858)); *Stanbury* v. *U. S.* (8 Wall 34 (1868)); *U. S.* v. *Shoemaker* (7 Wall 338 (1868)); *Hall* v. *U. S.* (91 U. S. 559 (1875)); *U. S.* v. *Brindle* (110 U. S. 688 (1884)); and *U. S.* v. *Saunders* (120 U. S. 126).

The question of retired officers was again reviewed by W. H. H. Miller, Attorney General, in *Major Smith's* case (19 Op. Atty. Gen. 383 (1889)). Major Smith, who held the civilian position in charge of river and harbor work at Wilmington, Del., was appointed from civil life to the position of major of engineering in the Army, and thereupon was placed on the retired list of the Army. Miller pointed out that this question had been passed upon by the Senate, the Attorney General and by the courts. He stated:

"The last two questions submitted have substantially been passed upon by the Senate, by this Department, and by the courts before.

"On the 14th of April 1882 the following resolution was submitted to the Senate of the United States:

"'*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire, and report by bill or otherwise, whether or not a retired United States Army officer can lawfully hold a civil office under the Government of the United States.'

"It was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, which, on the 18th, through Mr. Garland, reported to the Senate, 'answering the question in the affirmative.'

"On the 7th of June 1851 a similar question was submitted to Attorney General Crittenden under the statutes of the 3d of March 1839 (5 Stat. 334–349), and of the 23d of August, 1842 (5 Stat., 508–510), from which section 1765, Revised Statutes, was derived. He replied (5 Opin., 768):

" 'The plain meaning of this seems to be that an individual holding one office and receiving its salary shall, in no case, be allowed to receive also the salary of another office, which he does not hold, simply on account of his having performed the duties thereof. The prohibition is against his receiving the salary of an office that he does not hold, and not against his receiving the salaries of two offices which he does legitimately hold.'

"On the 11th of June 1877 like questions were submitted to Attorney General Devens. In his reply (15 Opin., 306) he considers and interprets all the sections to which you refer, and declares:

" 'Sections 1763, 1764, and 1765, above referred to, and condensations from statutes which were in existence at the time that this decision (*Converse* v. *The United States*), was made, and in conformity with it I deem it my duty, in answer to your inquiry, to say that a retired officer may draw his pay as such, and may also draw the salary of any civil office which he may hold under the Government, assuming always that the duties of the civil office are performed under and by virtue of a commission appointing him to that office which he holds in addition to his rank as a retired officer.'

"This interpretation is sustained by the Court of Claims in *Meigs* v. *United States* (19 C. Cls. R., 497), and by the Supreme Court in *Converse* v. *United States* (21 How. 464), *United States* v. *Brindle* (10 U. S. R., 688), and *United States* v. *Saunders* (120 U. S. R. 126), in which last case Miller, J., delivering the opinion, declares:

" 'We are of opinion that, taking these sections (1763, 1764, and 1765) all together, the purpose of this legislation was to prevent a person holding an office or appointment, for which the law provides a definite compensation by way of salary or otherwise, which is intended to cover all the services which, as such officer, he may be called upon to render, from receiving extra compensation, additional allowances, or pay for other services which may be required of him either by act of Congress or by order of the head of his Department, or in any other mode, added to or connected with the regular duties of the place which he holds; but that they have no application to the case of two distinct offices, places, or employments, each of which has its own duties and its own compensation, which offices may both be held by one person at the same time. In the latter case he is in the eye of the law officers, or holds two places or appointments, the functions of which are separate and distinct, and, according to all the decisions, he is in such case entitled to recover the two compensations.'

"I am of opinion that the above interpretation of sections 1259, 1763, 1764, and 1765, Revised Statutes, to which you refer, is well established alike by reason, precedent, and authority.

"I therefore answer your first inquiry in the affirmative, and your second and third inquiries in the negative."

The year 1894 saw the passage of legislation which appears to have reversed in part the doctrine propounded by the Supreme Court. In the Converse case, Attorney General Crittenden's opinion was disallowed to the effect that a person might hold two offices to which he had been legitimately appointed and receive the salary of each. As we have seen, retired military officers had been specifically included within the limits of this doctrine. In 1894 language was attached to the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Expenses Appropriations Act, 1895, in the form of a rider to section 2 which made it clear that persons holding an office, the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounted to $2,500, were not to be appointed to or hold any other office unless specifically authorized thereto by law.

That this rider applied to retired military officers is implied by the fact that the following was a part thereof:

"But this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army or Navy whenever they may be elected to public office, or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Expenses Appropriations Act, 1895, had been introduced in the House of Representatives as H. R. 7097 and had been passed. In the Senate, the Senate Committee on Appropriations inserted the rider as the second sentence of section 2 of the bill. However, the committee did not discuss the matter in its report (S. Rept. 506, 53d Cong., 2d sess.). When the Senate considered the bill as reported on July 13, 1894, the following debate took place (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 26, p. 7423):

"The next amendment was, in section 2, on page 126, line 10, after the word 'each,' to insert:

" 'No person who holds an office the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounts to the sum of $2,500 shall be appointed to or hold any other office unless hereafter specially authorized thereto by law; but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army or Navy whenever they may be elected to public office.'

"Mr. PLATT. I supposed we had a provision of law to the effect that no officer in the Government employ could draw a salary for two offices. Is there not such a law?

"Mr. COCKRELL. There is such a law, but we do not think it covers the case.

"Mr. PLATT. Will the Senator please explain why this amendment is necessary?

"Mr. COCKRELL. This is simply to prohibit in certain classes of cases the payment of double salaries, and yet not to make it an invariable rule in all kinds of cases. There is an exception to be offered to it. The Senator from Iowa has the amendment to the amendment which was prepared for submission. After the words 'public office,' in line 15, to insert 'or whenever the President may appoint them thereto, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.'

"Mr. PLATT. Let the amendment to the amendment be read at the desk.

"The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

"The SECRETARY. After the word 'office,' in line 15, on page 126, it is proposed to insert 'whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.'

"The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

"The amendment as amended was agreed to."

No further debate took place in either House respecting the rider. The conference committee in its report to the Senate stated with respect to the final text of the rider (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 26, p. 7844):

"That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 186, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 4 of said amendment strike out the word 'unless' and insert in lieu thereof the following: 'to which compensation is attached, unless specially heretofore or'; and the Senate agree to the same."

With respect to this the conference report in the House states (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 26, p. 7856):

"On amendment numbered 186: Instead of the provision proposed by the Senate, prohibiting the holding of two offices by one person, inserts the following: 'No person who holds an office the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounts to the sum of $2,500 shall be appointed to or

hold any other office to which compensation is attached unless specially heretofore or hereafter specially authorized thereto by law; but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army and Navy, whenever they may be elected to public office, or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.'"

The bill H. R. 7097 with the rider in section 2 as amended was approved by the President on July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205).

The final text of section 2 of the act was (the text of the rider is in brackets):

"SEC. 2. That the pay of assistant messengers, firemen, watchmen, laborers, and charwomen provided for in this act, unless otherwise specially stated, shall be as follows: For assistant messengers, firemen, and watchmen, at the rate of $720 per annum each; for laborers, at the rate of $660 per annum each; and for charwomen, at the rate of $240 per annum each. [No person who holds an office the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounts to the sum of $2,500 shall be appointed to or hold any other office to which compensation is attached unless specially heretofore or hereafter specially authorized thereto by law; but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army or Navy whenever they may be elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.]"

The 1894 statute was considered by Attorney General Griggs in Putnam's Case, 22 Op. Atty. Gen. 184 (1898). The Honorable William L. Putnam was a United States circuit judge who had been appointed as one of the commissioners under the convention of February 8, 1896, concerning claims growing out of seizures of vessels in the Bering Sea. Griggs considered that, provisions for the appointment of commissioners having been included in the convention, the office of commissioner was one growing out of the foreign relations of the United States and was not an office comtemplated by article 2 ,section 2 of the Constitution, which provided for appointments by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, etc. He concluded that under these circumstances the office of commissioner, not being a constitutional office, was therefore not within the prohibition of section 2 of the act of 1894. Griggs further considered the definition of office in the more popular sense and found that the Supreme Court had indicated that an officer was one whose office included tenure, continuation, emoluments, etc., citing *U. S.* v. *Germaine* (99 U. S. 510), *U. S.* v. *Mouat* (124 U. S. 307), *Auffmordt* v. *Hedden* (137 U. S. 327). He concluded that the office of commissioner being only temporary and for a specific purpose only and having neither tenure, duration, or emoluments, could not be said to be a public office within the prohibition of the 1894 act. He therefore ruled that Judge Putnam could receive both his salary as a Circuit Court Judge and compensation for his work as commissioner under the convention, notwithstanding the fact that his salary as circuit court judge exceeded $2,500.

Putnam's case appears to have been the first exemption from the prohibition against duel office holding in the 1894 act. A further exemption was made by Attorney General Bonaparte in *Neill's* case (26 Op. Atty. Gen. 247 (1907)). Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill was also appointed a member of the Immigration Commission under the act of February 20, 1907 (34 Stat. 898, 909), to investigate immigration affairs. His salary as Secretary of Labor exceeded $2,500. Bonaparte duly noted the holding of Griggs in the Putnam case. He rested his decision in behalf of Neill on the grounds that the position of member of the Immigration Commission, being of a temporary nature and for a single specific purpose, did not fall within the definition of "public office" as defined by the United States Supreme Court in *U. S.* v. *Hartwell* (16 Wall. 385, 393), *U. S.* v. *Moore* (95 U. S. 762), *U. S.* v. *Germaine* (99 U. S. 511), *Hall* v. *Wisconsin* (103 U. S. 8), *Auffmordt* v. *Hedden* (137 U. S. 327), *Opinion of the Judges* (3 Greenl. (Me.) 461), *Eliason* v. *Coleman* (86 N. C. 235), and *U. S.* v. *Maurice* (2 Brock 96). On this basis, Bonaparte held that Neill was entitled to hold both offices and receive the salary of both.

In 1916, the question of double salaries reoccurred in the Congress by the enactment of a rider on the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriations Act, 1917 (39 Stat. 120, sec. 6). That act had been reported in the House by the House Committee on Appropriations as H. R. 12207, 64th Congress, 1st session. As reported and as passed by the House, the bill contained no provisions respecting double salaries. The Senate Appropriations Committee in reporting the bill to the Senate (S. Rept. No. 329, 64th Cong.) included a section 6 in the bill without comment as follows:

"SEC. 6. That no money appropriated by this or any other act shall be available for payment to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum, but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army or Navy whenever they may be elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

When the bill was read for amendment on the floor of the Senate the following debate took place (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 6, pp. 5731–5732):

"The next amendment was, on page 154, after line 14, to insert as a new section the following:

"'SEC. 6. That no money appropriated by this or any other act shall be available for payment to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum, but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army or Navy whenever they may be elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.'

"Mr. Lodge, Mr. Swanson, and Mr. Kern addressed the Chair.

"Mr. LODGE. I merely wish to offer an amendment to the amendment. I dare say the Senator from Virginia rose to offer the same amendment I was going to propose.

"Mr. SWANSON. About the Marine Corps?

"Mr. LODGE. To insert, after the word 'Navy,' the words 'Marine Corps.'

"Mr. SWANSON. And, in line 20, 'appointed or.'

"Mr. LODGE. 'Appointed or' before 'elected.'

"Mr. OVERMAN. What is the amendment?

"Mr. LODGE. The amendment is to insert, after retired officers of the Army or Navy,' the words 'or Marine Corps,' and, of course, it ought also be read 'whenever they may be appointed or elected to public office.'

"The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed amendment will be read.

"The SECRETARY. On page 154, in section 6, after the word 'Army,' insert a comma and strike out the word 'or'; after the word 'Navy' insert the words 'or Marine Corps'; and, in line 20, before the word 'elected,' insert 'appointed or'; so as to make the section read:

"'SEC 6. That no money appropriated by this or any other act shall be available for payment to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum, but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps whenever they may be appointed or elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.'

"Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I think that is a proper amendment."

"The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

"The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

"Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I wish, for information, to make an inquiry regarding section 6. As I understand it, the combined amount of salaries that one person may draw has heretofore been limited to $2,500. Am I correct in that?

"Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. No. The former law was that no clerk who was receiving as much as $2,500 per annum should have any second appointment at all.

"Mr. SHEPPARD. Why was that amount reduced to $2,000?

"Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Because we were informed of abuses in some of the departments; that when they could not raise a clerk's salary—when Congres refused to make the allowance—they would just give him some other place in addition to that which he held.

"Mr. SHEPPARD. That is entirely satisfactory to me, Mr. President."

As thus adopted, the rider passed the Senate. At the conference certain additions were made to the amendment (H. Rept. No. 617, 64th Cong., pp. 6, 7, 12, 13), as follows:

"Amendment No. 229: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 229, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert the following:

"'SEC. 6. That, unless otherwise specially authorized by law, no money appropriated by this or any other act shall be available for payment to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum, but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps whenever they may be appointed or elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate or to officers and enlisted men of the Organized Militia and militia in the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia.'

"And the Senate agree to the same.

* * * * *

"No. 229: Inserts section 6, proposed by the Senate, prohibiting the payment of more than one salary to any person where the combined salaries exceed $2,000, modified so that the section shall not operate where more than one payment is specially authorized by law, and shall not be effective in the case of officers and enlisted men of the Organized Militia and the Naval Militia of the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia."

As thus amended the rider was enacted and became section 6 of the act, supra. Later in the same session the matter was taken up again in the Naval Service Appropriations Act, 1917 (39 Stat. 582), by means of another rider. This act had been reported in the House by the House Committee on Appropriations as H. R. 159457. Here also, the rider was attached in the Senate Committee by amendment and without comment. The following occurred on the floor of the Senate (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 11, pp. 11025–11026):

"The next amendment was, on page 70, after line 2, to insert:

"'Section 6 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, namely" approved May 10, 1916, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"'SEC. 6. That unless otherwise specially authorized by law, no money appropriated by this or any other act shall be available for payment to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per

annum, but this shall not apply to retired officers or enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, or to officers and enlisted men of the Organized Militia and Naval Militia in the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia; *Provided*, That no such retired officer, officer, or enlisted man shall be denied or deprived of any of his pay, salary, or compensation as such, or of any other salary or compensation for services heretofore rendered, by reason of any decision or construction of said section 6.'

"Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I should like to inquire of the Senator from Virginia what change is made in section 6 from the law as it exists now?

"Mr. SWANSON. The only change is in the proviso.

"Mr. NORRIS. From the proviso on?

"Mr. SWANSON. In the proviso itself. I will state to the Senator that this takes care of Mr. Theall, who is the secretary of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House. We passed a provision that permitted that, and the Comptroller of the Treasury decided that the clerk of a committee was not a public officer, which precluded him from occupying that position. This simply puts a construction there so that the Comptroller of the Treasury cannot deprive him of his persent position. We had previously passed a law taking care of him, and he decided that the clerk of a committee was not a public officer, and would not pay the salary.

"Mr. NORRIS. Does this apply to anybody except this official of the House of Representatives?

"Mr. SWANSON. To no one, I understand, except this officer.

"Mr. NORRIS. Why not make a direct reference to the particular person?

"Mr. LODGE. We are amending the statute. You cannot mention him in another statute.

"Mr. NORRIS. This particular position in the House of Representatives is filled by a retired naval officer. There is another question. If this applies only to an official or employee of the House of Representatives, why did not the House of Representatives put it in?

"Mr. SWANSON. I understand that there is another one at the Navy yard. If the Senator will permit me, we amended section 6 so as to enable them to employ a retired officer in the Navy to be clerk of the committee. That was included in the bill. The provision was included in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill. Having used the words 'public officer,' the Comptroller of the Treasury, I understand, rules that the clerk of the committee is not a public officer, and consequently he cannot receive his salary. The amendment is in the proviso which prevents the Comptroller from giving that interpretation to the law.

"Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, I may remind him that this ruling was not made until after the bill had left the House.

"Mr. NORRIS. Even if that be true, this is to give relief to some one in the House, and this is simply, of course, class legislation put on an appropriation bill. I had my attention called to it by a Member of the House, who said that it applied to a large number of retired persons, and I should think it would apply to practically the entire Navy Department. If there is any good reason why one man should be excluded from the operation of the law, I would not have any objection if he was excluded and excluded directly by name or his office or position excluded.

"Mr. LODGE. But the general law expressly provides that the provision about the salaries shall not apply to retired officers and enlisted men. That is the general provision of the statute. The exception is in the proviso, because there is an attempt made to exclude this one man from the general law by the Comptroller by a ruling which, it semes to me, is absurd. Down to the proviso it is the general existing law.

"Mr. NORRIS. Commencing, then, at line 17, with the proviso, that is the only change made in the existing law?

"Mr. LODGE. It is to enable him, if the Senator will read it, to receive his compensation as provided by law for services heretofore rendered.

"Mr. NORRIS. Let us see how it reads: '*Provided*, That no such retired officer, officer, or enlisted man shall be denied or deprived of any of his pay, salary, or compensation as such, or of any other salary or compensation for services heretofore rendered, by reason of any decision or construction of said section 6.'

"Do I understand that the effect of that will be that this official in the House of Representatives, who seems to be the beneficiary, will get his back pay, but will in the future not be able to get any?

"Mr. LODGE. No; he will get it in the future. It covers both.

"Mr. NORRIS (reading)—

"'Of any of his pay, salary, or compensation as such, or of any other salary or compensation for services heretofore rendered.'

"Mr. LODGE. Yes; no such retired officer 'shall be denied or deprived of any of his pay, salary, or compensation as such, or of any other salary or compensation for services heretofore rendered.'

"Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

"Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

"Mr. SMOOT. The Appropriation Committee of the Senate in reporting the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill for this year inserted section 6 in the bill as follows:

"'That unless otherwise specially authorized by law no money appropriated by this or any other act shall be available for payment to any person receiving more than 1 salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum.'

"That is what the committee reported to the Senate. While the bill was under consideration the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] offered an amendment to the committee amendment as follows:

"'But this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps whenever they may be appointed or elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate or to officers and enlisted men of the Organized Militia and Naval Militia in the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia.'

"That is the way section 6 of the bill finally passed the Senate. I understand, of course, that this proviso is put in the pending bill to take care of one man in the employ of the House of Representatives. I will say to the Senator that that case was called to the attention of the Appropriation Committee when it first considered the amendment, but the committee at that time did not feel justified in proposing an amendment to take care of one man, but after the Senate adopted the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts it exempted retired officers and enlisted men of the Army and Navy and Marine Corps, and so forth. It develops now that the employee in the House of Representatives referred to is a retired officer, and if that be true he should be exempted under the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts, but under a ruling it is held that no matter whether he is a retired officer or not, holding the position he does with a committee of the House, he is not entitled to the two salaries.

"Mr. NORRIS. I rather think since we have exempted everybody else from the effect of the law we ought not to hesitate to exempt this one man who is left. I understand the law prohibiting anyone from drawing two salaries is so amended that it does not apply to anyone except this clerk in the House of Representatives, and this is to let him out, also.

"Mr. SMOOT. That is the effect of the proviso, but I will say to the Senator——

"Mr. NORRIS. Why not repeal the law altogether?

"Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me, it was held that the appointment by a committee of Congress, as I understand the ruling of the Comptroller of the Treasury, is not a public officer, and consequently not being a public officer he cannot get the benefit of the exemption that others have. He is a very valuable man, one of the most valuable men in the House of Representatives as far as naval affairs are concerned, and he cannot afford to accept a clerkship in the committee unless this exemption is permitted. This is put in the bill at the request of the chairman of the Naval Committee of the House, who desires to retain the valuable services of this man, and it is made necessary on account of what seems to me to be the foolish ruling of the Comptroller of the Treasury that a clerk of a committee is not a public officer.

"Mr. NORRIS. I should like to inquire how many men are drawing two salaries now who are not affected by the law.

"Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that at the time the amendment to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill was being considered in the Committee on Appropriations we undertook to find out just how many there were in the employment of the Government drawing two salaries. We were unable to ascertain the exact number, but I will say to the Senator there were a great many of them, but since the passage of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill it has done away with all except retired officers, as stated before.

"I will state further to the Senator that the committee found that the practice was growing to such an extent that it decided to pass a law prohibiting it. That is the reason why the committee reported the amendment to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriations bill.

"Mr. NORRIS. Yes; but after it was amended it did not apply to anybody.

"Mr. SMOOT. Yes; it applied to everybody, with the exception of enlisted men and officers in the Army and Navy, Marine Corps, and Organized Militia, and Naval Militia.

"Mr. NORRIS. How many are there of those? Can the Senator state the number?

"Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, it has never been attempted to prevent retired officers from accepting private employment. It would be a useless cruelty.

"Mr. MORRIS. This law does not attempt to do that. We could not pass a law under the Constitution that would be of any validity, probably, that would do that, but we could pass a law that would prevent a man from drawing two salaries from the Government of the United States.

"Mr. LODGE. You could prevent a retired officer from accepting any other employment in private life.

"Mr. NORRIS. Nobody wants to do that.

"Mr. LODGE. You could make him forfeit his pay. That has never been done. Officers have always been allowed to accept private employment. Of course, they are always at the orders of the Government.

"Mr. NORRIS. Can the Senator from Utah answer my question as to how many men were drawing two salaries from the Government and are not drawing it now by reason of the enactment of this law?

"Mr. SMOOT. It would be only an estimate, but I will say to the Senator that there must have been something over 50 men who were drawing 2 salaries who are not doing so today. I do not want to state positively the number, but there were at lesat that many, and perhaps a great many more.

"Mr. NORRIS. I do not know that that is material now, bectuse it is in the law anyway, but what was the reason for exempting Army officers and officers of the Marine Corps?

"Mr. SMOOT. The reason was this: As to retired officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, and officers of the Guard, their time belongs to them, and if any department of the Government desires to avail itself of their services, there should be no objection to that. The exemption was adopted so that the Government could avail itself of their services.

"Mr. NORRIS. Why not the other people who are not retired officers of the Army or Navy?

"Mr. SMOOT. The reason is this, because their time is already paid for by the Government, and extra long hours must of necessity interfere with their efficiency in both positions.

"Mr. WEEKS. It is the custom to pay certain officers connected with the Government a higher rate of pay on account of the excellence of their service. For instance, the clerk of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives is paid an annual salary of $5,000 a year as long as he holds that position. It is simply a reward for efficiency. The salary which he receives is a thousand dollars greater than would be the salary of any other man holding that place. The same general principle applies to this case. The clerk of the House Naval Committee is a graduate of the Naval Academy and served in the Marine Corps. He was retired for physical disability, but he is entirely competent to perform the duties of that technical position not only as well but better than almost any other man. Therefore it has seemed fair that he should receive his retired pay and such salary as the committee gave him. As a matter of fact, he is paid $2,400 as clerk of the committee, and his retired pay is between $1,900 and $2,000 or about $4,300 a year. That is his entire pay from the Government, and it is not a high salary for that particular place, which he fills so acceptably to the House Naval Committee.

"There are 3 or 4 other cases which come under this limitation, I understand. There are perhaps three other naval officers who are employed in such a way that they will not receive their salary under the ruling of the Comptroller. In this particular case the salary for the last 2 months which this House employee actually received is being checked up against his retired pay of the Navy, and unless something is done, as proposed in this measure, not only will he in future receive only the retired pay from the Navy, but the actual pay which he has received under the law up to this time will be checked against that retired pay. It seems to me, from my knowledge of the case, there cannot be two sides to the fairness and desirability of adopting the provision which the Committee on Naval Affairs has proposed to the bill.

"The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

"The amendment was agreed to."

In the conference committee, the House receded from its disagreement to this amendment by the Senate. The amendment was explained by the committee as follows (H. Rept. No. 1099, 64th Cong., p. 23):

"Amendment No. 107: Amends section 6 of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Act, approved May 10, 1916, whereby no person who receives more than one salary from the United States when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum shall be paid from any appropriation in that act or any other act, and excludes from the operation of the act retired officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps who were appointed to public office. The Senate amendment excludes retired officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, or the officers and enlisted men of the organized Naval Militia in the several States, Territories, and District of Columbia, and further provides that no such retired officer shall be checked in his pay due to any construction of section 6 prior to the passage of this act. And the House recedes."

This amendment constitutes the present text of the Federal doctrine on double salaries (U. S. C. 5: 58). The proviso respecting acceptance of retired officers or enlisted men appears in the United States Code, title 5, section 59. Various other amendments have been made to this act. However, the basic principle of the legislation has not been specifically changed. These amendments took the form of exemptions from the provisions of the act. For instance, United States Code, title 5, section 60, exempted employees of the Library of Congress, who perform special functions in connection with its trust funds, from the provisions of section 58. See also section 59a. The decisions and opinions on section 58, which have occurred since the 1916 amendment, are concerned with construing its effect and are reviewed below.

No questions concerning dual compensation and dual employment seem to have occurred during the years between the enactment of the 1916 amendment, supra, and 1921. On June 10, 1921, the Congress established the office of Comptroller General, who succeeded to the powers and duties theretofore imposed upon the Comptroller of the Treasury as well as the duties of the six auditors in that department. The opinions of the Attorney General gradually ceased to concern themselves with questions of dual employment and compensation and the decisions of the Comptroller General, since he was vitally concerned with the payment of money of the United States in accordance with law, supervened.

Between 1921, the date of appointment of the Comptroller General, and 1924, date of the latest and present text of the law (except for a minor amendment) respecting dual office-holding, the Comptroller General issued a number of decisions as follows:

"The act of May 10, 1916, 39 Stat., 120, prohibiting the use of any appropriation for payment to the same person of more than one salary from the Government when the combined amount exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum, is applicable to the funds of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation; hence an employee of the corporation may not also receive compensation from the United States Shipping Board when the combined compensation is more than $2,000 per annum." (1 Compt. Gen. 14, July 13, 1921.)

"A clerk of United States district court may legally be paid as clerk while holding a commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the United States Army, except for such periods as he may be on active duty as an officer in the Officers' Rserve Corps when he would be prohibited by provisions of section 6 of the act of May 10, 1916, as amended by the act of August 29, 1916, 39 Stat., 582, from receiving compensation as a celrk of court." (1 Compt. Gen. 65, Aug. 11, 1921.)

"The employment of a major retired from active duty as special assistant to the Attorney General with compensation attached, and payment to him of that compensation in addition to his retired pay, is prohibited by the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205)." (1 Compt. Gen. 219, Oct. 17, 1921.)

This case concerned the desire of the Attorney General to employ Col. E. G. Davis, a retired Army officer, as a special assistant to the Attorney General. The Comptroller General after quoting section 2 of the act of July 31, 1894, to the effect that no "person who holds an office, the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounts to the sum of $2,500 shall be appointed to or hold any office to which compensation is attached, unless specially heretofore or hereafter specially authorized thereto by law; but this shall not apply to retired officers of the Army or Navy whenever they may be elected to public office or whenever the President shall appoint them to office by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" pointed out that the retired Army officers hold office within the meaning of the section unless they fall within the exceptions noted above. The Comptroller General distinguished the case in volume 38, Court of Claims, page 39, by pointing out that the compensation allowed there was payable from a discretionary appropriation which had been given to the President for national security and defense and was allowed by the court as not open to question for that reason. He further pointed out that *Geddes* v. *United States* (38 Court of Claims 428) turned largely upon the construction of another statute and is not decisive of the application of this section of the act of 1894 to retired Army officers. He stated that the prohibition applies to retired officers sought to be appointed to or to hold any office not elective or appointive in the manner prescribed by the statute. He noted that the earlier decisions permitting the appointment of retired Army officers rested upon the conclusion that the element of duration, thought to be one of the essentials to an office, was lacking in such appointments and concluded that it was clear that the proposed appointment of Colonel Davis at a yearly salary and for the purpose indicated would establish duration as one of the incidents of appointment.

With respect to the question of whether Colonel Davis could give up his retired pay and accept only the pay of the office of special assistant to the Attorney General, the Comptroller General pointed out that the United States Supreme Court has held that public policy prohibits any attempt by unauthorized agreement with an officer of the United States under guise of a condition or otherwise, to deprive him of the right to pay given by statute. (*Glavey* v. *United States* (182 U. S. 595), *United States* v. *Andrews* (240 U. S. 90).) He concluded that any attempts by the colonel to relinquish his retired pay and restrict himself to the right to compensation as special assistant only would be ineffective for that purpose.

"The act of May 12, 1917, 40 Stat. 72, granting officers and employees of the United States, who are members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, leave of absence without loss of pay for not exceeding 15 days per year during which ordered to duty with troops or at field exercises or for instruction, together with section 39 of act of June 3, 1916, 39 Stat. 191, bring such employees within the exception to the general prohibition in section 6 of the act of May 10, 1916, as amended, as to the payment of 2 salaries aggregating more than $2,000 per annum, and they may be paid both their civilian pay and the pay of their rank or grade in the Reserve Corps for the period of such duty or exercises." (1 Compt. Gen. 544, Mar. 24, 1922.)

"Retired officers or enlisted men of the Army or Navy are not prohibited by the act of July 31, 1894, 28 Stat. 205, or the act of May 10, 1916, as amended, 39 Stat. 120, 582, from holding a Government position or office, provided neither the retired pay nor the salary attached to the position or office amounts to $2,500, the aggregate of the two being immaterial." (1 Compt. Gen. 571, Apr. 15, 1922.)

"The act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 203), appropriating from the costs collected by the clerks of the circuit courts of appeals the amounts necessary for clerk hire and other expenses of the courts bring the em-

ployees of such courts within the scope of the act of May 10, 1916 (39 Stat. 582), and they are therefore prohibited from receiving compensation as bailiff of the court and also as clerical assistant when the aggregate of the two salaries exceeds $2,000 per annum." (1 Compt. Gen. 592, Apr. 24, 1922.)

"Retired officers or enlisted men of the Army or Navy hold offices with compensation attached within the meaning of the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), and are accordingly prohibited by said act from holding any other office under the Government, except an elective one or one to which appointment is made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, if either the retired pay or the salary attached to the office or position amounts to $2,500 per annum." (1 Compt. Gen. 571 adhered to.) (1 Compt. Gen. 700, May 25, 1922.)

"Charges by an assistant surgeon of the Alaskan Engineering Commission for performing autopsies outside of the scope of his official duties are fees and not salary and do not come within the inhibition of the act of May 10, 1916 (39 Stat. 120), as amended; and as the salary of such assistant surgeon is not fixed by law or regulation he is not prohibited from receiving such additional fees by section 1765, Revised Statutes." (2 Compt. Gen. 37, July 22, 1922.)

"Retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, whose retired pay is not in excess of $2,500 and who have been employed in the Veterans' Bureau at salaries exceeding $2,560 per annum contrary to the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), may be reappointed to positions paying less than $2,500 effective from the date the appointment is actually made and accepted, but such appointments may not be made retroactive to cover the period of service under the prior illegal appointment." (2 Compt. Gen. 373, Nov. 16, 1922.)

"Teachers in the night schools of the District of Columbia are paid from funds appropriated by Congress and are accordingly prohibited by the act of May 10, 1916 (39 Stat. 120), as amended by the acts of August 29, 1916 (39 Stat. 582), and October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. 384), from receiving for any 1 day's work as such teacher any compensation in excess of one three-hundred-and-twelfth of the amount by which $2,000 exceeds the salary they may be receiving from other employment by the Federal Government or by the District of Columbia in any other capacity than as teacher in the public schools." (2 Compt. Gen. 436, Jan. 13, 1923.)

"A retired captain of the fire department of the District of Columbia may be employed and paid as watchman at $720 per annum in the Treasury Department while continuing to draw his retirement relief of approximately $78 or $79 per month, provided such duty as watchman is not incompatible with his status on the retired list for the purposes of the act of September 1, 1916 (39 Stat. 720)." (2 Compt. Gen. 460, Jan. 27, 1923.)

"Teachers of the public schools of the District of Columbia are not in the Federal service and may therefore be employed during school vacation as expert examiners of the Civil Service Commission, the special appropriation for such examiners relieving them from the restrictions of the act of May 10, 1916, as amended (39 Stat. 120, 582)." (3 Compt. Gen. 24, July 11, 1923.)

"An employee of the United States Tariff Commission having had 15 days' military leave as a member of the Officer's Reserve Corps is not entitled to receive his civilian salary, with annual leave, while performing a second period of military service in the same calendar year if the annual rates of the civilian salary and military pay for such second period of military service exceed $2,000 in the aggregate." (3 Compt. Gen. 116, Sept. 5, 1923.)

"Employment of the same person as laborer and as clerk at the same time when the combined salaries exceed an aggregate rate of $2,000 per annum is prohibited by the act of May 10, 1916 (39 Stat. 120), it being immaterial that by reason of the intermittent character of the employment the total pay actually received per annum does not amount to $2,000." (3 Compt. Gen. 260, Oct. 26, 1923.)

During the course of the 68th Congress, 1st session, an amendment was added to section 2 of the act of 1894 which had prohibited the holding of another lucrative office. The Senate bill 2450 containing the amendment provided for the addition of a new sentence at the end of section 2 of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Act, approved July 31, 1894, to read as follows:

"Retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard shall not be construed to hold an office within the meaning of this section."

This bill was reported by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs (S. Rept. 254, 68th Cong.), passed the House, and was reported by the House Committee on Military Affairs (H. Rept. 498). The House committee in its report repeated the report of the Senate committee as follows:

"The Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2450) to amend section 2 of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Act approved July 31, 1894, having considered the same, report thereon favorably with the recommendation that the bill do pass without amendment.

"A similar bill was reported to the Senate by your committee during the 67th Congress and the report accompanying that measure is appended hereto and made a part of this report, as follows:

" 'The bill was introduced at the suggestion of representatives of the American Legion, and the purpose of it is explained in the following memorandum presented by them:

" ' "The men affected by this bill are about 12 oldtime noncommissioned officers, who have been retired as enlisted men for length of service. All of these men are veterans of the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, and the World War; two at least are veterans of Indian wars. All served as officers during the World War and returned to their grades as retired enlisted men after the war was over. These bills do not call for any appropriation or expenditure of funds.

" ' "It is evident from a study of section 2 of the act of 1894 that Congress had no intention, nor even had in mind including retired enlisted men in the provisions of the act, which provides that no person holding an office with the Government shall hold any other office with compensation over $2,500. The Comptroller General has recently held that a retired enlisted man, as such, holds an office under the Government.

" ' "Due to their ability and fitness in administrative and financial matters, certain of these men have been appointed under congressional and civil-service authority to offices of trust in the Veterans' Bureau, Department of Agriculture, and other departments, and have proved to be valuable men. Under the Comptroller's decision they must now suffer a reduction in salary below many others doing similar or less important work.

" ' "It is surely not the intent of Congress or the public that these men who have spent the better part of their lives in the military service should now be discriminated against on account of being retired enlisted men. It is the intent of this bill to rectify this discrepancy and to place these men on an equal footing for employment as other American citizens of equal ability." '

"A letter requesting the passage of this bill has been received from the Director of the Veterans' Bureau, Colonel Forbes, which is included in this report, as follows:

UNITED STATES VETERANS' BUREAU,
Washington, January 15, 1923.

Hon. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.,
Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WADSWORTH: I desire to invite your attention to Senate bill 4315, introduced by you and which is now before your committee.

This bill allows retired enlisted men of the Army the same privileges of occuping a Government position or office as those enjoyed by the ordinary citizen. The bill has particular application to a limited number of former noncommissioned officers employed in this Bureau. These men are all of exceptional ability and particularly capable of filling positions of importance in the United States Veterans' Bureau because of their experience gained through long service, and it does not seem just that they should be discriminated against because of their service to the country.

I sincerely hope you will find it possible to act favorably with regard to this bill at an early date, in order that the men who have so forcibly demonstrated their devotion to these United States may be treated equitably.

Very truly yours,

C. R. FORBES,
Director.

"Your committee is convinced of the justice of this legislation and urges that it be acted upon by the Senate at an early date."

During the course of the floor debate in the Senate, the purpose of S. 2450 was explained as follows (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 65, p. 5131):

"Mr. KING. I should like an explanation of that measure.

"Mr. WADSWORTH. This bill is here on account of another ruling of the Comptroller General, and I think one of the most extraordinary ones I ever heard of.

"The law provides that a person holding office in or under the Government shall not hold another position under the Government which carries a salary in excess of $2,500 per annum. That needs no explanation.

"There are retired enlisted men of the Army and Navy and Marine Corps who have served 30 years in the service and are retired at three-fourths pay of the grade they occupied on the date of retirement. The Government, in other departments, has employed those men, some of them to the great advantage of the Government on account of their extraordinary training and experience. The Comptroller General comes along and says that a retired enlisted man holds an office as such, a most extraordinary conclusion. This bill states definitely that a retired enlisted man does not hold an office, and, of course, he does not hold an office. His relations to the Government are contractual in nature, that is all. If a retired enlisted man is held to hold an office under the Government, then an active-duty enlisted man must likewise be held to hold an office under the Government. As a matter of fact, we know that when an enlisted man enlists he takes a contract to serve the Government for a fixed period of years. How the Comptroller General or anybody else could say that an enlisted man in the Army or Navy holds an office under the Government passes my comprehension.

"Mr. FLETCHER. Does the bill permit a retired enlisted man to draw his three-fourths pay and at the same time draw his salary?

"Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly, if he is serving the Government in another capacity. That ought to be the case.

"The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for

a third reading, read the third time, and passed."

The bill however was amended on the floor of the House as follows (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 65, p. 9137):

"The Clerk read the bill as follows:

"'*Be it enacted, etc.*, That section 2 of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act, approved July 31, 1894, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence to read as follows: "Retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard shall not be construed to hold an office within the meaning of this section."'

"Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer the following amendment.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"'Amendment by Mr. Stephens: Strike out all of the printed bill after the word "follows", in line 6, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "Retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard retired for any cause, and retired officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard who have been retired for injuries received in battle or for injuries or incapacity incurred in line of duty shall not, within the meaning of this section, be construed to hold or to have held an office during such retirement".'

"The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

"The amendment was agreed to.

"The bill as amended was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed."

The amendment of the House was adopted and concurred in by the Senate as follows (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 65, p. 9279):

"RETIRED ENLISTED MEN OF THE ARMY

"The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2450) to amend section 2 of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Act approved July 31, 1894, which was, on page 1, line 6, to strike out all after 'follows:' down to and including 'section', in line 8, and to insert in lieu thereof:

"'Retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard retired for any cause, and retired officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard who have been retired for injuries received in battle or for injuries or incapacity incurred in line of duty shall not, within the meaning of this section, be construed to hold or to have held an office during such retirement.'

"Mr. WADSWORTH. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House. It relates to the eligibility of persons in a retired status in the military service being employed in the civil service.

"The amendment was concurred in."

It should be noted in connection with the passage of this act that the first argument was that enlisted men do not hold offices under the Government of the United States, but enter into a contract of service. They, therefore, are contractors and not officeholders. The conclusion is that the prohibitions of the 1894 act would not and should not apply to enlisted men. The contrary holding by the Comptroller General therefore was incorrect. (See 2 Compt. Gen. 373 supra.) Although this seemed to be the basic theory of the bill, the House amendment completely shifted from this basis to what is obviously an idea of rewarding those enlisted men who have performed extraordinary service and have been retired for injuries received in battle or for injuries or incapacity incurred in line of duty. Only such enlisted men apparently are to be construed as not holding another office during such retirement. All other enlisted men would therefore be presumed to hold an office provided they were retired merely for age.

X—THE TEST, 1924–57

By 1924 the broad principle of prohibiting dual officeholding and double salaries had become generally established in our law. Although the basic principle has not been revised or changed since that date, exceptions have been made to take care of obvious situations. During this period, the doctrine has been subjected to the test of both depression and total war. In the first decade since 1924, there was a period of prosperity when undoubtedly little attention was paid to the doctrine. Jobs were plentiful, money easy and everybody was on a merry-go-round of prosperity. Then came the depression of 1930 when the idea of spread-the-work was foremost, since unemployment mounted to alarming proportions. The doctrine certainly fitted into that period. The next decade included a long, slow, and painful recovery from the ravages of the depression. This was followed by a period of prosperity accentuated by total war. In the depression period, manpower has been plentiful but jobs scarce. Total war brought the reverse, plenty of jobs but manpower in short supply. The third decade since 1924, found us with the reverse problem still unsolved. The advent of the cold war and the birth of atomic energy have all contributed their part to the continuance of the problem.

During this period a number of opinions and decisions have been rendered by the Attorney General and the Comptroller General of the United States respecting dual employment and compensation in connection with both civilian employees and Armed Forces personnel. While none of the opinions and decisions actually change, by way of interpretation, the basic principles of the doctrine as developed up to 1924, they do represent a refinement of the doctrine, by way of exception, under the stresses of both depression and total war. Digests of the opinions and decisions, divided into two groups, those affecting civilian employees and those affecting Armed Forces personnel, follow:

"1. CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES

"Chief, Bureau of Efficiency—Board of Actuaries, Civil Service Retirement Act—34 Atty Gen. 490—May 23, 1925:

"'Chief of the Bureau of Efficiency may be appointed a member of the Board of Actuaries under the Civil Service Retirement Act, to serve without compensation and such appointment will not be in violation of any statute.'

"Civilian Army employees—court-martial reports—5 Compt. Gen. 374—November 23, 1925:

"'Civilian employees of the Quartermaster Corps of the Army are not entitled to extra compensation for services rendered as court-martial reporters when such extra compensation, combined with their regular salary, exceeds the rate of $2,000 per annum.'

"Member of Alaska Legislature—Alaska Railroad employee—5 Compt. Gen. 806—April 8, 1926:

"'As the act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. 513) prohibits an officer or employee of the United States from being a member of the Alaska Legislature, and the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205) prohibits any employee of the United States whose salary amounts to $2,500 per annum from holding any other position to which compensation is attached, an employee of the Alaska Railroad receiving compensation of $2,500 or more per annum vacates his position with the railroad by his election to and taking his seat in the Alaska Legislature.'

"National Sesquicentennial Exhibition Commission—5 Compt. Gen. 891—May 4, 1926:

"'Under the provisions of the joint resolution of March 15, 1926 (44 Stat. 207), employees of the Government may be paid compensation in addition to their regular compensation for work performed after regular office hours in preparing exhibits for the National Sesquicentennial Exposition, upon the certification as to the necessity for such work, notwithstanding the provisions of section 1765, Revised Statutes, and the act of May 19, 1916 (39 Stat. 120), to the contrary.'

"Compensation—Quarters in kind—6 Compt. Gen. 359—November 20, 1926:

"'The allowance of quarters in kind free of charge, in addition to the fixed rate of compensation specified in the schedule of wages for the regular daytime positions, is prohibited as compensation to employees of the Naval Establishment for duties performed outside of regular working hours, either on the basis that the duties outside regular working hours are separate and distinct from the regular duties of the employees, or on the basis that the duties outside regular work hours are not incompatible with employment in the regular daytime positions, but as extra duties.'

"Two positions in same Department—6 Compt. Gen. 435—January 4, 1927:

"'An employee may not be paid the salary of two separate and distinct positions in the same department or establishment even though the combined salaries thereof do not exceed the rate of $2,000 per annum.'

"Department of State—Public Health Service—6 Compt. Gen. 732—May 11, 1927:

"'An employee of the Department of State receiving an annual salary is prohibited by sections 1764 and 1765, Revised Statutes, from receiving any extra compensation for services rendered the Public Health Service after office hours where such additional compensation was not fixed in advance by law or regulation.'

"Postal service employees—8 Compt. Gen. 487—March 13, 1929:

"'Under the provisions of section 1 of the act of March 1, 1929 (45 Stat. 1441), dual employments are authorized when both positions are in the postal service, regardless of the rates of compensation, provided the total compensation actually paid for all services for any one fiscal year does not exceed $2,000. The act is not applicable to cases where one or both positions are in some other branch of the Government service. 8 Comp. Gen. 262 modified only insofar as postal service employees are concerned.'

"Postal service employees—8 Compt. Gen. 578—May 2, 1929:

"'A postmaster may not serve as substitute or temporary rural carrier and be paid therefor.

"'A postmaster, assistant postmaster, or other postal employee may not enter into contract to carry mail or perform service on a star route.

"'A rural carrier may serve as mail messenger and be paid not in excess of $300 for any one year provided his total compensation from postal funds does not exceed $2,000 for any one fiscal year.

"'A contractor or subcontractor for star-route service may not be employed as substitute or temporary rural carrier.'

"Postal service employees—8 Compt. Gen. 611—May 18, 1929:

"'Section 2 of the act of March 1, 1929 (45 Stat. 1442), authorizing the Comptroller General of the United States to relieve postmasters from unlawful payments made by them to "mail messengers, postal employees, and other employees of the United States employed in post offices" for services in a dual capacity, is not applicable to relieve a postmaster from refunding Government funds he received for carrying a rural route during the absence of the regular carrier.'

"Postal Service Employees—8 Compt. Gen. 662—June 24, 1929:

"'A special-delivery messenger may enter into a contract for mail messenger service and receive therefor in excess of $300 in any one year, provided he is the lowest bidder and his total compensation for all services does not exceed $2,000 for any one fiscal year.'

"Postal service employees—8 Compt. Gen. 76—July 19, 1932:

"'In view of the terms of section 1765, Revised Statutes, and the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), a civilian employee of the Government holding a position, the salary attached to which amounts to $2,500 per annum or more, may not be employed in any other position under the Government with compensation attaching during the period of administrative furlough without pay required under the terms of section 216 of the act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat. 407).

"'In view of the terms of section 6 of the act of May 10, 1916, as amended by the act of August 29, 1916 (39 Stat. 582), a civilian employee whose compensation is at a rate less than $2,500 per annum may not be employed in a position under another department or office of the Government during the period of administrative furlough without pay required by section 216 of the act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat. 407), if the combined rate of compensation under the two positions is in excess of $2,000 per annum.'

"Home Owners Loan Corporation and National Recovery Administration employees—14 Compt. Gen. 822—May 10, 1935:

"'Dual compensation statutes disqualify for further appointment under the National Housing Act those Federal officers and employees already receiving a rate of compensation under any other statute, including those applicable to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and the National Recovery Administration, which, together with the rate proposed to be paid by the Federal Housing Administration would exceed the maximum joint salary rate prescribed by the applicable dual-compensation statute to be received in more than one Federal office or position.'

"Federal Land Bank appraisers—Farm Credit Administration—15 Compt. Gen. 134—September 9, 1935:

"'The authority contained in the act of May 17, 1935 (49 Stat. 247), making appropriation for the Farm Credit Administration for "special reports by personal service without regard to the provisions of any other act," does not authorize the employment of temporary personal services without regard to the statutes relating to dual employment and Federal land-bank appraisers, appointed on a permanent basis with annual salaries in excess of $2,000 per annum, may not, during leave of absence without pay, hold any other permanent or temporary office or position under the administrative appropriation for the Farm Credit Administration.

"'Federal land bank appraisers are "required by law to be exclusively engaged upon some specific work" within the meaning of section 3, act of May 28, 1896 (29 Stat. 179), and when employed full time on an annual basis may not be temporarily detailed or assigned to other duties.'

"Fees from one Department—'per annum' from another—15 Compt. Gen. 828—March 21, 1936:

"'The receipt of fees for services rendered a Government agency while employed by another such agency on a per annum basis is prohibited by section 2 of the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), but said statute is not for application to reimbursement of traveling expenses incurred on behalf of the Government while so employed.'

"Inspector of hulls, Commerce Department—16 Compt. Gen. 813—March 5, 1937:

"'Inspectors of hulls of the Commerce Department may be appointed as deputy collectors of customs for the purpose of issuing "continuous discharge books" to seamen on merchant vessels of the United States as required by section 3 of the act of June 25, 1936 (49 Stat. 1934), notwithstanding their compensation is in excess of $2,500 per annum, provided the appointments are without compensation.'

"Contract fee basis—16 Compt. Gen. 909—April 1, 1937:

"'The employment by one Federal agency on a contract fee basis of a person serving under another Government agency in a part-time position on a per annum pay basis is not prohibited by the dual compensation statutes—section 1765, Revised Statutes; section 2, act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205); and section 6, act of May 10, 1916, as amended by the act of August 29, 1916 (29 Stat. 120, 582), notwithstanding the combined compensation of the two employments exceeds $2,000, or either of them exceeds $2,500 per annum, and a low bid for such contract services on a fee basis may not be rejected because of such other part-time employment.' (15 Compt. Gen. 751; id. 828, amplified.)

"Alien Property Custodian employees—19 Compt. Gen. 751—February 26, 1940:

"'While the moneys available to the Alien Property Custodian appointed to administer the Trading with the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. 411), for the payment of expenses of his office were derived from funds, etc., "due or belonging to an enemy, or ally of enemy," the position of chief of accounts in his office was nevertheless an "office" within the meaning of the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), prohibiting appointment of a person holding an "office" with an annual salary of $2,500 to another "office" to which compensation is attached unless specially authorized by law. Question whether appointment to said position of employee holding an "office," with salary of more than $2,500 per annum, was valid or void because of the said prohibition discussed and determined in favor of its validity, thus requiring refund of salary paid under the first "office" after the second appointment.' Various dual compensation acts—sections 1763, 1764, 1765, Revised Statutes; and acts of July 31, 1894, and May 10, 1916, as amended—discussed.

"Federal Housing Administration employees—19 Compt. Gen. 926—May 14, 1940:

"'Compensation payments to a person employed by the Federal Housing Administration during a period of employment under another Government agency need not be questioned as in violation of the Dual Compensation Act of May 10, 1916, as amended, in view of the broad personnel appointment, etc., authority vested in the Federal Housing Administrator by section 1 of the National Housing Act (48 Stat. 1246).'

"Annual Salary—fees—22 Compt. Gen. 312—October 3, 1942:

"'The employment by one Government agency of a medical adviser on an annual salary basis, who is also employed, whether by contract or otherwise, by another Government agency as a consultant on a fee basis does not constitute a violation of the restriction against the holding of more than one office contained in the act of July 31, 1894, as amended (15 Compt. Gen. 828, modified), nor does such employment constitute a violation of the dual compensation restrictions of section 1765, Revised Statutes, and the act of May 16, 1916, as amended.'

"Nurses aids—23 Compt. Gen. 900—May 27, 1944:

"'In the case of full time Federal employee receiving $2,000 or more per annum, the payment of $1 per annum compensation for services under appointment as nurses' aids outside of their regular hours of work would constitute payment of "salary" in contravention of the prohibition in the dual compensation statute of May 10, 1916, as amended, against the payment of more than one salary to a person if the combined amount of the salaries exceeds $2,000 per annum.

"'The furnishing of subsistence and lodging in kind, when necessary for the benefit of the Government—to full time Federal employees while they are serving as nurses' aides in Government hospitals outside of their regular hours of work does not constitute "salary" within the meaning of the prohibition in the act of May 10, 1916, as amended, against the payment of more than one salary to a person if the combined amount of the salaries exceeds $2,000 per annum; nor is it to be regarded as payment of salary or allowances within the meaning of the other dual compensation statutes (secs. 1764 and 1765, Revised Statutes, and the act of July 31, 1894, as amended).

"'Part time or intermittent employment of a regular full time Federal employee as a nurses' aide in a Government hospital does not constitute the "holding of an office to which compensation is attached" within the meaning of the act of July 31, 1894, as amended, prohibiting persons whose annual compensation in one office amounts to $2,500 or more from holding another office to which compensation is attached.

"'A nurses' aide employed in a Government hospital on a part-time or intermittent basis is not an "officer or clerk," and, therefore, where regularly employed Federal personnel are engaged, outside their regular hours, on a part time or intermittent basis as such nurses' aides, the "additional services" prohibition in section 1764, Revised Statutes, with respect to officers and clerks has no application.

"'Employment of full time Federal employees as nurses' aides in Government hospitals outside of their regular hours of work would not be incompatible with services performed in the regular positions and, hence, would not be in contravention of the additional compensation restrictions of section 1765, Revised Statutes, which have no application in the case of separate and distinct compatible employments.

"'The practice of authorizing the payment of compensation at the rate of $1 per annum is unnecessary unless required by some statute or appropriation act other than section 3679, Revised Statutes, as amended, prohibiting the acceptance of voluntary service for the Government, so that the payment of $1 per annum to Federal employees serving as volunteer nurses' aides in Government hospitals outside of their regular hours of work is not required.'

"Within-grade salary advance—24 Compt. Gen. 52—July 19, 1944:

"'If there have been met all of the terms and conditions necessary to authorize a within-grade salary advancement under the act of August 1, 1941, is one of the two positions which an employee holds, the advancement may not be delayed or defeated by action of the administrative office or the employee even though such advancement may preclude the employee from remaining in the position because of the operation of the act of July 31, 1894, as amended, prohibiting persons whose annual compensation in one office amounts to $2,500 or more from holding another office to which compensation is attached.

"'In view of the provision in the act of July 31, 1894, as amended, prohibiting persons whose annual compensation in one office amounts to $2,500 or more from holding another office to which compensation is attached, the holding by a retired Army officer of a civilian position became invalid on the date the salary attaching to the position equaled $2,500 per annum due to a within-grade salary advancement pursuant to the act of August 1, 1941, and the salary paid to him in such position on and after that date, having been made in direct contravention of law, must be refunded by him.'

"State Federal Agricultural Extension Service employees—25 Compt. Gen. 868—June 13, 1946:

"'Federal funds granted to a State under the act of May 8, 1914, for cooperative agriculture extension work, upon being properly receipted for by the State, lose their identity as Federal funds and become funds of the State, and therefore, the concurrent employ-

ment by the Federal Government of a State employee paid from such funds need not be regarded as in contravention of the dual compensation and employment statutes (5 U. S. Code 58, 62, and 69), provided the dual Federal and State employment prohibition of Executive Order No. 9, dated January 17, 1873, is not for application.'

"State and Federal positions—29 Compt. Gen. 277—December 15, 1949 (B-83536):

" 'The appointment of a full-time Federal employee with a salary in excess of $2,500 to a position as part-time administrative assistant in a State National Guard would not result in the holding of more than one office under the Federal Government in violation of the dual employment restrictions of the act of July 31, 1894, as amended, or of the dual compensation limitations of section 1763, Revised Statutes; nor is the latter employment incompatible with the former so as to constitute a violation of the additional compensation prohibitions of section 1765, Revised Statutes.'

"Dual offices—leave status—30 Compt. Gen. 386—March 28, 1951:

" 'An employee on leave without pay from a Government department may be employed by a Government commission of temporary character without contraventing the act of July 31, 1894, as amended, prohibiting persons whose annual compensation in one office amounts to $2,500 or more from holding another office to which compensation is attached unless specially authorized by law.

" 'An employee placed in a leave-without-pay status from one Government agency is not prohibited from employment with another agency by the Dual Compensation Act May 10, 1916, as amended, which prohibits the receipt of more than one salary of the combined amount of the salaries exceeds $2,000 per annum.'

"Double salaries—aggregate rate governs—30 Compt. Gen. 525—June 26, 1951:

" 'Under the dual compensation act of May 10, 1916, as amended, prohibiting the use of appropriated funds for payment to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of said salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum, the aggregate rate of compensation and not the total amount received in any particular year governs the application of the act, so that a person who is in receipt of two salaries covering the same period of time the aggregate rate of which exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum is required to refund one of the salaries.'

"Congressional committee—Government employees—31 Compt. Gen. 414—February 19, 1952:

" 'An employee on leave without pay from a Government agency may be employed by a temporary Congressional Committee without contravening the act of July 31, 1894, as amended, prohibiting persons whose annual compensation in one office amounts to $2,500 or more from holding another office to which compensation is attached unless specifically authorized by law.'

"District of Columbia judges—reemployment—31 Compt. Gen. 505—April 10, 1952:

" 'In view of the dual compensation restriction in the act of August 29, 1916, as amended, a judge of the Municipal Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia who receives the retirement salary provided under the act of April 1, 1942, may not in addition thereto receive the compensation attaching to a position or office with the Federal Government nor may he waive the retirement salary for the purpose of accepting said compensation.

" 'A judge of the Municipal Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, who receives the retirement salary provided under the act of April 1, 1942, is not prohibited by the dual compensation and employment statutes from accepting compensation as an employee of a State or municipal government or agency having no connection with the Federal or District of Columbia Governments.

" 'In view of the dual compensation restriction in the act of August 29, 1916, as amended, a judge of the Municipal Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia who receives the retirement salary provided under the act of April 1, 1942, may not in addition thereto receive the compensation of a position or office with a territorial government such as Alaska, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, or Hawaii.

" 'A judge of the Municipal Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia who receives the retirement salary provided under the act of April 1, 1942, may accept compensation as an employee of an international agency, such as the United Nations, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the International Labor Organization, without violating the dual compensation and employment statutes.'

"Scholarship and pay—31 Compt. Gen. 670—June 19, 1952:

" 'An employee who was granted a one-year leave of absence from his position to accept a scholarship of limited duration, awarded by the Department of State and Board of Foreign Scholarships pursuant to the act of August 1, 1946, and who during the leave of absence received payment for a scrap survey conducted for his agency while drawing an allowance under the scholarship is not to be considered as having violated any of the dual employment or compensation statutes.'

"District of Columbia teachers—33 Compt. Gen. 466—April 16, 1954:

" 'The Dual Compensation Act of 1916, which prohibits the payment of combined salaries to any Government employee at a rate in excess of $2,000 per annum is applicable to District of Columbia school teachers, therefore an employee who was employed as a District of Columbia teacher while on annual leave prior to separation from the Government, and whose leave payment and compensation as a teacher exceeded the $2,000 per annum rate, is required to refund one of the salaries received.'

"Public Health Service officers—36 Compt. Gen. 243—September 27, 1956:

" 'Members of the commissioned corps of the Public Health Service who are receiving retired pay which amounts to $2,500 or more a year are prohibited by the act of July 31, 1894 (5 U. S. C. 62), from holding any office or position under the Federal Government to which compensation attaches, and the exemption relating to members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard who are retired for physical disability is not applicable to officers in the Public Health Service.'

"2. ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL

"Navy Officer retired for disability 'in line of duty'—3 Compt. Gen. 1009—June 28, 1924:

" 'Navy officer retired for incapacity incurred in line of duty may be employed in a civil position, not in the Diplomatic or Consular Service, irrespective of the salary thereof, and at the same time received his retired pay from the Navy.'

"Army enlisted man on active duty—5 Compt. Gen. 408—December 5, 1925:

" 'Where a retired enlisted man of the Army is detailed to active duty pursuant to law and is in receipt of active-duty pay he may not, at the same time, be paid from Federal funds the pay and allowances of any other military office.'

"Naval Officer on active duty—5 Compt. Gen. 548—January 29, 1926:

" 'A retired officer of the Navy on active duty, whose salary is in excess of $2,500 per annum is prohibited by the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), from holding another position to which compensation is attached.'

"National Guard enlisted men—caretakers—6 Compt. Gen. 683—April 20, 1927:

" 'The employment of enlisted men of the National Guard in the dual capacity of caretakers of material, animals, and equipment of the National Guard and caertakers of target ranges, and the payment of compensation for both employments, are in violation of the provisons of section 1765, Revised Statutes.'

"Emergency officers—Panama Canal—6 Compt. Gen. 221—November 23, 1929:

" 'A retired emergency officer who is entitled to retired pay under the act of May 24, 1928 (45 Stat. 735), is not a person "in military or naval service of the United States" within the meaning of section 4 of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. 561).

" 'The act of May 24, 1928 (45 Stat. 735), is a part of the provisions made for disabled veterans of the World War, and in the construction of statutes imposing disabilities on persons in the military or naval service with respect to employment in the Federal civil service the act of May 24, 1928, should have a construction in keeping with its purpose.'

"Army officer—Bureau of the Census—10 Compt. Gen. 65—August 23, 1930:

" 'The employment under the Census Bureau of a retired officer of the Army, who was retired at his own request after 30 years' service, is in direct contravention of the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), as amended by the act of May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. 245), and is unauthorized.'

"Army officer—Commissioner of the District of Columbia—36 Atty. Gen. 388—March 4, 1930:

" 'A retired Army officer, who has the qualifications of citizenship and residence specified in section 2 of the act of June 11, 1878 (20 Stat. 103), is eligible for appointment of the office of Commissioner of the District of Columbia.'

"Military personnel—National Recovery Administration—13 Comptroller General 60—August 30, 1933:

" 'The National Recovery Administration may employ retired enlisted personnel, who have been retired on enlisted service only, and fix their rates of compensation for such civilian service on the same basis as that for any other officer or employee without restriction other than the value of the services and such employees would be entitled to continue to receive their retired pay.

" 'The National Recovery Administration may employ retired commissioned and warrant officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Coast and Geodetic Survey, who were retired for "injuries incurred in battle or for injuries or incapacity incurred in line of duty", but with the exception of those "retired for disability incurred in combat with an enemy of the United States" whose rate of compensation for civilian service may be fixed without regard to the restrictions of the dual compensation status, the rate of compensation paid for such civilian service, when combined with the rate of retired pay received, may not exceed $3,000 per annum.

" 'The National Recovery Administration may employ retired commissioned and warrant officers who were retired for causes other than disability, i. e., after 30 years' service or for age, only if the rate of retired pay and the rate of compensation fixed for the civilian office or position are each less than $2,500 per annum, but under section 212 of the Economy Act the officer or employee in such case could actually receive a combined rate of retired pay and civilian compensation not in excess of $3,000 per annum.

" 'The National Recovery Administration may not employ retired commissioned and warrant officers who were retired for causes other than disability incurred in line of duty if the rate of either the retired pay or

the compensation fixed for the civilian position is $2,500 per annum or more.'

"Army and Navy Officers (for age) holding temporary positions—14 Compt. Gen. 68—July 25, 1934:

"'An officer of the Army, retired after 30 years' service, or an officer of the Navy, retired after 40 years' service, is not prohibited by the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), as amended from holding a temporary Federal office or position under appointment by the President or the head of a department, notwithstanding his retired pay is at a rate in excess of $2,500 per annum, and if both the retired pay and civilian compensation exceed the rate of $3,000 per annum, he may elect, under the terms of section 212 of the Economy Act, for the period of temporary civilian employment, between his retired pay and the compensation fixed for the temporary civilian office or position.'

"Naval officer (for age) Assistant Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue—14 Compt. Gen. 179—August 29, 1934:

"'Pursuant to the act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), the appointment of a retired naval officer, retired for length of service, whose retired pay is in excess of $2,500 per annum, to the position of Assistant Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of Internal Revenue, a permanent full-time position, was void ab initio, and payment of compensation in the civilian position is not authorized.' (Affirmed, 14 Compt. Gen. 289, Oct. 6, 1934.)

"Chief boatswain, Navy—14 Compt. Gen. 942—May 22, 1935:

"'A retired chief boatswain of the Navy employed in a civilian office or position whose retired pay is based on longevity, including war-time commissioned service subsequent to retirement, is receiving pay "for or on account of services as a commissioned officer," within the meaning of section 212 of the Economy Act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat. 406), which limits his combined rate of retired and civil pay to $3,000 per annum.'

"Navy nurses—15 Compt. Gen. 74—July 24, 1935:

"'A retired nurse of the Navy retired for disability is within the inhibition of section 6 of the act of May 10, 1916, as amended by the act of August 29, 1916 (39 Stat. 582), being neither a retired officer nor a retired enlisted man within the express exception to that statute, and accordingly may not be employed in a civilian position with a salary rate which, together with the annual rate of retired pay, would exceed $2,000 per annum.'

"Naval officer—in line of duty—39 Atty. Gen. 94—August 17, 1937:

"'A naval officer retired on account of incapacity incurred in line of duty may be appointed Director of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation without affecting his right, subject to the limitations in United States Code, title 5, section 59 (a), to receive retired pay.'

"Officers' Reserve Corps—39 Atty. Gen. 107—October 26, 1938:

"'Section 1222, Revised Statutes, does not prohibit appointment of an Army officer on the active list to a civil office, but acceptance of such office vacates his commission in the Army.

"'The section is inapplicable, under circumstances stated, to an officer of the Reserve Corps on leave of absence without pay from active duty with the Army.

"'Section 2, act of July 31, 1894, prohibiting the holding of more than one office, is inapplicable where the annual compensation attached to each office amounts to less than $2,500.'

"Army warrant officer—reclassification of position—23 Compt. Gen. 445—December 16, 1943:

"'The reclassification of a position, which is finally consummated, from grade CAF-6, $2,300 per annum, to grade CAF-7, $2,600 per annum, may not be regarded as void merely because the incumbent, a retired Army warrant officer, is prohibited by the dual compensation statute of July 31, 1894, as amended, from receiving salary in a civilian position at the rate of $2,500 or more per annum, and, therefore, the said retired warrant officer may not be deemed to have continued in grade CAF-6 after the reclassification but, rather, he is required to refund the entire amount of salary paid in grade CAF-7 at the rate of $2,600 per annum (21 Compt. Gen. 38, distinguished).

"'A retired Army warrant officer who has been appointed to a civilian position and has received the salary thereof at a rate in excess of $2,500 per annum, in contravention of the dual compensation statute of July 31, 1894, as amended, may not elect to retain the salary of the civilian position and refund his retired pay for the period involved, but, rather, the civilian salary paid must be refunded.

"'The words "salary or annual compensation" as used in the dual compensation statute of July 31, 1894, as amended, which provides that "no person who holds an office the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounts to the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars shall be appointed to or hold any other office," refer to basic compensation of $2500 per annum, which is exclusive of overtime compensation authorized to be paid under the War Overtime Pay Act of 1943.'

"Coast Guard officer—merchant seaman—24 Compt. Gen. 344—November 3, 1944:

"'In view of the provisions of section 1 (a) of the act of March 24, 1943, excluding seamen employed on vessels owned or operated by the War Shipping Administration for the operation of certain statutes applicable to Federal employees generally, thus indicating a legislative purpose to preserve the private-employee status of such seamen, a retired Coast Guard officer so employed is not to be regarded as within the limitation of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, respecting the concurrent payment of retired pay and civilian compensation in an office or position under the United States Government.'

"Marine Corps officer—United States Minister—24 Compt. Gen. 467—December 20, 1944:

"'Irrespective of the fact that a retired Marine Corps officer may be receiving retired pay "for disability incurred in combat with an enemy" and, hence, is within the exception to the dual-compensation restrictions of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, such retired pay is "salary" within the meaning of the prohibition in the Department of State Appropriation Act, 1945, against the receipt by ambassadors and ministers of any other salary from the United States, so as to preclude the officer from receiving retired pay while receiving the salary of a United States minister.'

"Fleet Reserve members—retired enlisted men and warrant officers—25 Compt. Gen. 521—January 11, 1946:

"'In view of the provisions of section 4 of the Naval Reserve Act of 1938, permitting enlisted men transferred to the Fleet Reserve to receive the compensation attached to civilian employment in addition to pay and allowances accruing under said act, the dual-compensation provisions of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, have no application to prevent such reservists from being paid the retainer pay authorized by said 1938 act in addition to civilian compensation, regardless of the civilian salary rate or whether retainer pay be regarded as "retired pay" under said section 212 or whether commissioned service was included in computing retainer pay or in determining eligibility for transfer to the Reserve.

"'A retired enlisted man of the Navy receiving retired pay on the basis of his enlisted grade is not to be considered as receiving retired pay "for or on account of services as a commissioned officer" within the meaning of the dual compensation provisions of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, solely because service as a commissioned officer or commissioned warrant officer is included in the computation of his length of service for longevity pay and retirement purposes as an enlisted man, irrespective of whether such commissioned service was before or after retirement. (12 Compt. Gen. 37; 21 id. 72, distinguished.)

"'Since retired enlisted men are expressly exempt from the restrictions of the dual compensation and employment statutes (act of May 10, 1916, as amended; act of July 31, 1894, as amended; and section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, latter section being applicable only to retired pay "for or on account of services as a commissioned officer"), retired enlisted men of the Navy who are in receipt of the retired pay of their enlisted grades may receive the compensation attached to civilian employment and continue to receive their retired pay.

"'Since a retired warrant officer may not be regarded as receiving retired pay "for or on account of services as a commissioned officer" within the meaning of the dual compensation provisions of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, such an officer may be employed in a civilian position and accept the compensation attached thereto while in receipt of his retired pay, provided the retired pay and such compensation each is less than the $2,500 per annum maximum contained in the dual-employment statute of July 31, 1894, as amended.'

"Army officers—Army emergency relief—26 Compt. Gen. 192—September 16, 1946:

"'The Army Emergency Relief, a charitable and benevolent corporation organized for the benefit of personnel of the Army of the United States, which, while directed by War Department officials by virtue of their office and administered, for the most part, by Government personnel, conducts its lawful functions without interference or assistance by the Government, is not an agency of the Government, and, therefore, a retired Army officer may be employed by the Army Emergency Relief without regard to the dual-compensation limitation of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, or the dual-employment restriction of section 2 of the act of July 31, 1894, as amended.'

"Navy enlisted personnel advanced on retired listed commissioned rank—26 Compt. Gen. 271—October 28, 1946:

"'A retired Navy enlisted man who, as provided by section 10 of the act of July 24, 1941, as amended, is returned to inactive status with the commissioned rank held under a temporary promotion while on active duty after retirement does not hold the "office" of a retired officer but, rather, continues to hold the "office" of an enlisted man on the retired list and, therefore, remains within the exception of retired enlisted men from the prohibition in the act of July 31, 1894, as amended, against the appointment to, or the holding of, more than one office.

"'Retired Navy enlisted men who, as provided by section 10 of the act of July 24, 1941, as amended, are returned to inactive status with retired pay computed on the pay of the temporary commissioned rank held while on active duty after retirement are to be regarded as in receipt of retired pay "for or on account of" commissioned service within the meaning of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, so as to be subject to the restriction therein on the combined rate of civilian compensation and retired pay which may be received.

"'Navy enlisted men placed on the retired list pursuant to section 8 (a) of the act of July 24, 1941, or retired enlisted men advanced thereon pursuant to section 8 (b) of said act, with retired pay computed on the pay of the temporary active-duty commissioned rank held at the time of incurrence of physical disability, are to be regarded as in receipt of retired pay "for or on account of" commissioned service within the meaning of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, so as to be subject to the restriction therein on the combined rate of

civilian compensation and retired pay which may be received.

" 'Enlisted men or retired enlisted men of the Navy who, pursuant to sections 8 (a) or 8 (b), or section 10, as amended, of the act of July 24, 1941, become entitled to retired pay computed on the pay of their temporary active-duty commissioned rank may not waive computation on such basis and elect to receive retired pay based on enlisted ratings, so as to render themselves exempt from the limitation of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, on the combined rate of civilian compensation and retired pay "for or on account of" commissioned service which may be received. Statements to the contrary in prior decisions no longer will be followed.

" 'The restriction of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, against the receipt by retired military, etc., personnel of retired pay at a rate which, when combined with the "annual rate of compensation" from a civilian position, equals or exceeds $3,000 per annum, has reference to basic civilian compensation, and, therefore, the salary differential payable in certain cases of civilian employment outside the continental United States, being a part of basic compensation, is for inclusion in applying such restriction.

" 'The monetary allowance for quarters, etc., prescribed for certain civilian employees on duty in foreign countries is not a part of basic compensation to be included in applying the restriction of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, against the receipt by retired military, etc., personnel of retired pay at a rate which, when combined with the "annual rate of compensation" from a civilian position equals or exceeds $3,000 per annum.

" 'In the case of a retired Navy enlisted man, employed in a civilian position when recalled to active duty, who, after return to inactive status, becomes entitled under the act of July 24, 1941, as amended, to retired pay computed on the pay of his temporary active-duty commissioned rank, application of the restriction of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, as to concurrent receipt of civilian compensation and retired pay on account of commissioned service does not, constitute an abridgment of his reemployment rights under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended—such restriction being operative in respect of retired pay only.'

"Reserve officers—28 Compt. Gen. 367—December 17, 1948:

" 'The payment of retired pay under title III of the Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act of 1948 to Reserve officers on inactive duty, who also occupy Federal civilian positions the compensation attached to which equals or exceeds $2,500 per annum, need not be regarded as in contravention of the dual employment restriction in the act of July 31, 1894, as amended.

" 'Commissioned Reserve officers retired under title III of the Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act of 1948, with retired pay computed on the basis of their highest grades, and who also hold civilian positions with the Federal Government, are to be regarded as receiving retired pay "for or on account of services as a commissioned officer" within the meaning of section 212 of the Economy Act of June 30, 1932, as amended, so as to be prohibited from receiving combined retired pay and civilian compensation in excess of $3,000 per annum.

" 'A person in receipt of an annuity under the Civil Service Retirement Act of 1930, as amended, on account of Federal civilian service, and who is entitled to be paid retired pay under title of the Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act of 1948 for military Reserve service, concurrently may receive retired pay under the 1948 act and annuities under the 1930 act as amended.'

"Nurses, Armed Forces—29 Compt. Gen. 80—August 17, 1949:

" 'Retired members of the Navy Nurse Corps who were placed on the retired list prior to April 16, 1947, the effective date of the Army-Navy Nurses Act of 1947, which granted commissioned officer status to members of the Navy Nurse Corp, do not receive retired pay for or on account of commissioned service within the purview of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, so as to be subject thereunder to the prohibition against the concurrent receipt of civilian compensation and retired pay at a combined rate in excess of $3,000 per annum.

" 'A member of the Navy Nurse Corps retired under the act of December 3, 1945, without having acquired a commissioned status, and who is receiving retired pay concurrently with civilian compensation in a combined amount in excess of $2,000 per annum—being neither an officer nor an enlisted man—is to be regarded as receiving a "salary" in her retired status within the meaning of the dual compensation statute of May 10, 1916, as amended, and, therefore, such person should be required to refund the salary which she has not elected to retain.'

" 'Fleet admiral, Navy—member of Presidential commission—30 Compt. Gen. 371—March 7, 1951:

" 'The receipt of compensation as a member of the President's Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights concurrently with active-duty pay as fleet admiral of the Navy would be in contravention of the act of May 10, 1916, as amended, prohibiting payments from appropriated funds to any person receiving more than one salary when the combined amount of the salaries exceeds the sum of $2,000 per annum.'

"Commissioned officers—Veterans' Administration—31 Compt. Gen. 27—August 8, 1951:

" 'The 5-year period in section 2 of the act of August 10, 1946, during which the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is authorized to employ retired commissioned or warrant officers without loss of their retirement rights is a limitation on the authority to appoint such officers rather than a limitation on the length of their employment, so that retired officers employed pursuant to said act may be continued on the rolls of the Veterans' Administration indefinitely so long as their services are needed, without loss of retirement rights.'

"Navy enlisted man advanced on retired list—31 Compt. Gen. 619—May 29, 1952:

" 'A retired enlisted man of the Navy who is advanced on the retired list, retroactively to the date of his retirement, to commissioned rank pursuant to the provisions of the act of July 24, 1941, as amended, would not be subject to the restrictions of section 212 of the act of June 30, 1932, as amended, prohibiting receipt of civilian compensation and retired pay in excess of a combined rate of $3,000 prior to the date of the order retroactively advancing him on the retired list.'

"Reserve officers—35 Compt. Gen. 497—March 2, 1956:

" 'Federal civilian officers and employees who have been or may be granted retired pay under title III of the Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act of 1948 and who, prior to January 1, 1953, were members of the Officers' Reserve Corps or National Guard or who, after that date, were members of any of the Reserve components, during the period covered by the payment, may receive retroactive and prospective military retired pay in addition to civilian compensation in accordance with the precedent in *Tanner v. United States* (139 C. Cls. 792), which excluded such reservists from the dual compensation statutes.' "

Statistics Regarding 61 Vessels To Be Inactivated by United States Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, for the convenience of those interested I have prepared a tabulation of the types of vessels, together with home ports and home shipyards, of the 61 vessels being inactivated by the Navy prior to the end of this year. One battleship, 8 destroyers, 5 destroyer transports, 16 destroyer escorts, 2 submarines, 4 landing ships—tank, 5 attack cargo transports, 13 coastal minesweepers, and 7 coastal mine hunters comprise the list. The specific shipyards to which these ships will be assigned for inactivation, and their ultimate disposition in Reserve fleet groups have not yet been determined, according to Navy sources.

The tabulation referred to is as follows:

Summary tabulation of home yards and home ports of 61 ships to be inactivated by U. S. Navy prior to Dec. 31, 1957

City	Battleship	Destroyer	Destroyer escort	Submarine	Destroyer transport	LST	Cargo (attack)	Minesweeper	Total
Balboa								[1] 1	[1] 1
Newport		[1] 8	[1] 1						[1] 9
Christobal								[1] 1	[1] 1
New York			[2] 4						[2] 4
			[1] 5						[1] 5
Philadelphia			[2] 2					[1] 1	[2] 2
		[2] 5	[1] 2						[1] 7
Boston			[2] 2						[2] 2
		[2] 2	[1] 1						[1] 1
New Orleans			[1] 1						[1] 1
Long Beach			[2] 2		[2] 1		[2] 1	[2] 1	[2] 5
			[1] 2		[1] 1		[1] 1		[1] 3
San Francisco			[2] 1				[2] 1		[2] 1
			[1] 2				[1] 3		[1] 5
Mare Island			[2] 2	[2] 2	[2] 1	[2] 1	[2] 3		[2] 9
			[1] 1					[1] 1	[1] 2
Seattle					[2] 3				[2] 3
Norfolk	[1] 1							[1] 1	[1] 2
	[2] 1							[2] 1	[2] 1
Key West								[1] 1	[1] 1
San Diego				[2] 2	[2] 1	[2] 2	[2] 1		[2] 1
Pearl Harbor						[1] 1			[1] 1
Charleston		[2] 1	[2] 1		[2] 3		[1] 1	[1] 7	[1] 8
							[2] 1	[2] 17	[2] 18
								[1] 5	[1] 5
Panama City, Fla.						[2] 2		[2] 1	[2] 3
Puget Sound			[2] 1						[2] 1

[1] Home port. [2] Home yard.

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President, Richard Nixon

Aiken, George D., *Vt*	Carroll Arms
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*	Cleveland House
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.*	6 Wesley Circle
Barrett, Frank A., *Wyo*	The Woodner
Beall, J. Glenn, *Md*	
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*	
Bible, Alan, *Nev*	
Bricker, John W., *Ohio*	The Mayflower
Bridges, Styles, *N. H*	
Bush, Prescott, *Conn*	
Butler, John Marshall, *Md*	
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va*	The Shoreham
Capehart, Homer E., *Ind*	The Westchester
Carlson, Frank, *Kans*	Sheraton-Park
Carroll, John A., *Colo*	
Case, Clifford P., *N. J*	
Case, Francis, *S. Dak*	4635 Mass. Ave.
Chavez, Dennis, *N. Mex*	3327 Cleveland Ave.
Church, Frank, *Idaho*	
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*	
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*	
Cotton, Norris, *N. H*	
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*	
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*	
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*	
Dworshak, Henry C., *Idaho*	
Eastland, James O., *Miss*	5101 Macomb St.
Ellender, Allen J., *La*	
Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., *N. C*	
Flanders, Ralph E., *Vt*	
Frear, J. Allen, Jr., *Del*	
Fulbright, J. William, *Ark*	
Goldwater, Barry M., *Ariz*	
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*	
Green, Theodore Francis, *R. I.*	University Club
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*	
Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., *Mo.*	
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.*	5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*	
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla*	Sheraton-Park
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*	
Humphrey, Hubert H., *Minn.*	
Ives, Irving M., *N. Y*	
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*	
Javits, Jacob K., *N. Y*	
Jenner, William E., *Ind*	
Johnson, Lyndon B., *Tex*	
Johnston, Olin D., *S. C*	
Kefauver, Estes, *Tenn*	4929 Hillbrook Lane
Kennedy, John F., *Mass*	
Kerr, Robert S., *Okla*	
Knowland, William F., *Calif.*	
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*	
Langer, William, *N. Dak*	2101 Conn. Ave.
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*	
Long, Russell B., *La*	
McClellan, John L., *Ark*	
McNamara, Pat, *Mich*	
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.*	The Shoreham
Malone, George W., *Nev*	The Mayflower
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*	
Martin, Edward, *Pa*	
Martin, Thos. E., *Iowa*	4545 Conn. Ave.
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*	
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg*	5020 Lowell St.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*	
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak*	122 Schotts Court NE.
Murray, James E., *Mont*	The Shoreham
Neely, Matthew M., *W. Va*	
Neuberger, Richard L., *Oreg.*	
O'Mahoney, Joseph C., *Wyo.*	Sheraton-Park
Pastore, John O., *R. I*	
Payne, Frederick G., *Maine*	
Potter, Charles E., *Mich*	
Purtell, William A., *Conn*	
Revercomb, Chapman, *W. Va.*	
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*	
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*	
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass*	2320 Tracy Pl.
Schoeppel, Andrew F., *Kans.*	
Scott, W. Kerr, *N. C*	
Smathers, George A., *Fla*	
Smith, H. Alexander, *N. J*	Sheraton-Park
Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), *Maine.*	
Sparkman, John J., *Ala*	4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*	
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*	
Talmadge, Herman P., *Ga*	
Thurmond, Strom, *S. C*	
Thye, Edward J., *Minn*	
Watkins, Arthur V., *Utah*	
Wiley, Alexander, *Wis*	2122 Mass Ave.
Williams, John J., *Del*	
Yarborough, Ralph W., *Tex*	
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak*	Quebec House So.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

Secretary—Felton M. Johnston.
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

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Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Johnson of Texas, Pastore, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Thye, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, Potter, and Ives.

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Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Monroney, Lausche, Clark, Capehart, Bricker, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs. Neely (chairman), Bible, Morse, Frear, Clark, Beall, Morton, Javits, ———.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Anderson, Douglas, Gore, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, Bennett, and Jenner.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. Green (chairman), Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Morse, Long, Kennedy, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hickenlooper, Langer, Knowland, Aiken, and Capehart.

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Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, Yarborough, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Martin of Iowa, Curtis, Revercomb, and Capehart.

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Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Bible, Thurmond, Lausche, Yarborough, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Purtell, Payne, and Cotton.

Committee on the Judiciary

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Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Monroney, Scott, Neuberger, Church, Clark, Yarborough, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Martin of Iowa, Morton, and Martin of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, Gore, McNamara, Neuberger, Scott, Carroll, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Kuchel, Cotton, Hruska, and Revercomb.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Hennings (chairman), Hayden, Green, Mansfield, Talmadge, Curtis, Cooper, Javits, and Case of New Jersey.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Place.
Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 4000 Cathedral Ave.
Mr. Justice Whittaker, of Missouri, The Supreme Court.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John T. Fey, 2931 Cathedral Ave.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Road.
Deputy Clerk—Richard J. Blanchard, 427 St. Lawrence Drive, Silver Spring, Md.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road.
Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd.
Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whittaker. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whittaker. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker, Sam Rayburn

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va.*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Addonizio, Hugh J., *N. J.*
Albert, Carl, *Okla.* 5115 Allen Terrace
Alexander, Hugh Q., *N. C.*
Alger, Bruce, *Tex.*
Allen, John J., Jr., *Calif.*
Allen, Leo E., *Ill.* University Club
Andersen, H. Carl, *Minn.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Anderson, LeRoy H., *Mont.* 800 Crescent Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Andresen, August H., *Minn.*
Andrews, George W., *Ala.* 3108 Cathedral Ave.
Anfuso, Victor L., *N. Y.*
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill.* 4615 Dexter St.
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio.*
Ashmore, Robert T., *S. C.*
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Auchincloss, James C., *N. J.* 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Avery, William H., *Kans.*
Ayres, William H., *Ohio.*

Bailey, Cleveland M., *W. Va.*
Baker, Howard H., *Tenn.*
Baldwin, John F., Jr., *Calif.*
Barden, Graham A., *N. C.* 2601 Woodley Pl.
Baring, Walter S., *Nev.*
Barrett, William A., *Pa.*
Bass, Perkins, *N. H.*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn.*
Bates, William H., *Mass.*
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., *Ohio.*
Beamer, John V., *Ind.* 110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Becker, Frank J., *N. Y.*
Beckworth, Lindley, *Tex.*
Belcher, Page, *Okla.*
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla.* 1530 38th St. SE.
Bennett, John B., *Mich.* 5804 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
Bentley, Alvin M., *Mich.*
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak.* 118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio.*
Blatnik, John A., *Minn.*
Blitch, Iris Faircloth (Mrs.), *Ga.*
Boggs, Hale, *La.*
Boland, Edward P., *Mass.*
Bolling, Richard, *Mo.* 3409 Lowell St.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio* 2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bonner, Herbert C., *N. C.* Calvert-Woodley
Bosch, Albert H., *N. Y.*
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio.* 4301 Mass. Ave.
Boykin, Frank W., *Ala.* The Washington
Boyle, Charles A., *Ill.*
Bray, William G., *Ind.*
Breeding, J. Floyd, *Kans.*
Brooks, Jack, *Tex.*
Brooks, Overton, *La.* 4413 46th St.
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*
Brown, Charles H., *Mo.* 3606 Gunston Rd., Alexandria, Va.
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Brown, Paul, *Ga.* Boston House
Brownson, Charles B., *Ind.*
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va.*
Buckley, Charles A., *N. Y.*
Budge, Hamer H., *Idaho.*
Burdick, Usher L., *N. Dak.*
Burleson, Omar, *Tex.* 2737 Devonshire Pl.
Bush, Alvin R., *Pa.*
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va.*
Byrne, Emmet F., *Ill.*
Byrne, James A., *Pa.*
Byrnes, John W., *Wis.* 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.

Canfield, Gordon, *N. J.*
Cannon, Clarence, *Mo.*
Carnahan, A. S. J., *Mo.*
Carrigg, Joseph L., *Pa.*
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich.*
Celler, Emanuel, *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*
Chelf, Frank, *Ky.*
Chenoweth, J. Edgar, *Colo.*
Chiperfield, Robert B., *Ill.* 1713 House Office Building
Christopher, George H., *Mo.*
Chudoff, Earl, *Pa.*
Church, Marguerite Stitt (Mrs.), *Ill.* 2122 Mass. Ave.
Clark, Frank M., *Pa.* 3735 Gunston Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Clevenger, Cliff, *Ohio.* The Jefferson
Coad, Merwin, *Iowa.*
Coffin, Frank M., *Maine.*
Cole, Sterling, *N. Y.* 2201 S. Knoll Rd., Arlington, Va.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill.*
Colmer, William M., *Miss.*
Cooley, Harold D., *N. C.* 2480 16th St.
Cooper, Jere, *Tenn.* The Washington
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa.*
Coudert, Frederic R., Jr., *N. Y.*
Cramer, William C., *Fla.* Hunting Towers, Alexandria, Va.
Cretella, Albert W., *Conn.*
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr.* 5195 Fulton St.
Cunningham, Paul, *Iowa.*
Curtin, Willard S., *Pa.*
Curtis, Laurence, *Mass.* 3314 O St.
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo.*
Dague, Paul B., *Pa.*
Davis, Clifford, *Tenn.* 4611 Butterworth Pl.
Davis, James C., *Ga.*
Dawson, William A., *Utah.*
Dawson, William L., *Ill.*
Delaney, James J., *N. Y.*
Delray, Vincent J., *N. J.*
Dempsey, John J., *N. Mex.* 2500 Q St.
Dennison, David S., Jr., *Ohio.*
Denton, Winfield K., *Ind.*
Derounian, Steven B., *N. Y.*
Devereux, James P. S., *Md.*
Dies, Martin, *Tex.*
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich.* 2705 13th St. NE.
Dingell, John D., *Mich.*
Dixon, Henry Aldous, *Utah.* 2628 Conn. Ave.
Dollinger, Isidore, *N. Y.*
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass.*
Dooley, Edwin B., *N. Y.*
Dorn, Francis E., *N. Y.*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S. C.*
Dowdy, John, *Tex.*
Doyle, Clyde, *Calif.* 3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Durham, Carl T., *N. C.* The Lee House
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N. J.*
Eberharter, Herman P., *Pa.* 3101 4th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla.*
Elliott, Carl, *Ala.*
Engle, Clair, *Calif.* 3840 Lorcom Lane, Arlington, Va.
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn.* 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md.*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N. Y.*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla.*
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio.*
Fenton, Ivor D., *Pa.* 3725 Macomb St.
Fino, Paul A., *N. Y.*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex.* Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa.* The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga.*
Fogarty, John E., *R. I.* 3627 Chesapeake St.
Forand, Aime J., *R. I.* 4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., *Mich.* 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., *Ga.*
Fountain, L. H., *N. C.* The Westchester
Frazier, James B., Jr., *Tenn.* Fairfax Hotel
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., *N. J.* 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md.*
Fulton, James G., *Pa.*
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md.*
Gary, J. Vaughan, *Va.*
Gathings, E. C., *Ark.* 6377 31st Pl.
Gavin, Leon H., *Pa.*
George, Myron V., *Kans.* 3801 Rodman St.
Gordon, Thomas S., *Ill.*
Granahan, Kathryn E. (Mrs.), *Pa.*
Grant, George M., *Ala.* 4801 Conn. Ave.
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill.*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg.*
Green, William J., Jr., *Pa.*
Gregory, Noble J., *Ky.* 2401 Calvert St.
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich.*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa.*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif.*
Gwinn, Ralph W., *N. Y.*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif.*
Hale, Robert, *Maine.* 2722 N St.
Haley, James A., *Fla.*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind.* 4926 Upton St.
Harden, Cecil M. (Mrs.), *Ind.* The Congressional
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va.*
Harris, Oren, *Ark.* 1627 Myrtle St.
Harrison, Burr P., *Va.*
Harrison, Robert D., *Nebr.*
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind.* 110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Haskell, Harry G., Jr., *Del.*
Hays, Brooks, *Ark.* 314 2d St. SE.
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio.* 1323 Barger Drive Falls Church, Va.
Healey, James C., *N. Y.*
Hébert, F. Edward, *La.* 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hemphill, Robert W., *S. C.*
Henderson, John E., *Ohio.*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla.*
Heselton, John W., *Mass.*
Hess, William E., *Ohio.*
Hiestand, Edgar W., *Calif.*
Hill, William S., *Colo.* 110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hillings, Patrick J., *Calif.*
Hoeven, Charles B., *Iowa.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Clare E., *Mich.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Holifield, Chet, *Calif.*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa.*
Holmes, Hal, *Wash.*
Holt, Joe, *Calif.*
Holtzman, Lester, *N. Y.*
Horan, Walt, *Wash.*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif.*
Huddleston, George, Jr., *Ala.*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo.*
Hyde, DeWitt S., *Md.*
Ikard, Frank, *Tex.*
Jackson, Donald L., *Calif.*
James, Benjamin F., *Pa.* 200 C St. SE.
Jarman, John, *Okla.*
Jenkins, Thomas A., *Ohio.* The Mayflower
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va.*
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa.* 2120 16th St.
Johansen, August E., *Mich.*
Johnson, Lester R., *Wis.* 3816 Pope St. SE.
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C.*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo.* 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala.*
Judd, Walter H., *Minn.* 3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo.*
Kean, Robert W., *N. J.* 2435 Kalorama Road
Kearney, B. W. (Pat), *N. Y.*
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa.* Sheraton-Park
Keating, Kenneth B., *N. Y.* 1612 34th St.
Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), *W. Va.*
Keeney, Russell W., *Ill.*
Kelley, Augustine B., *Pa.*
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N. Y.*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y.* The Gen. Scott
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex.* 3507 Albemarle St.
Kilgore, Joe M., *Tex.*
King, Cecil R., *Calif.*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio.*
Kitchin, A. Paul, *N. C.*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill.*
Knox, Victor A., *Mich.*
Knutson, Coya (Mrs.), *Minn.*
Krueger, Otto, *N. Dak.* 112 Schotts Court NE.

Appendix

The Little Man in Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I call attention to a speech recently delivered by John W. Gwynne, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, before the National Association of Retail Grocers, Chicago, Ill. I am confident that my colleagues, as well as small-business men, generally, will find Judge Gwynne's remarks as stimulating as I have.

In reading the address by Judge Gwynne, I was particularly impressed by his approving reference to the late President Woodrow Wilson's admonition that the antitrust laws must be accepted by the people as a rule binding upon the conscience and honor of the Nation. As I have long felt that Woodrow Wilson's advice on this matter held the key to preservation of our Nation's free and competitive system of private enterprise, to know that the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission concurs is indeed reassuring. Let us hope that the businessmen, large and small, will soon give intellectual assent to the proposition that the effectiveness of our antitrust laws lies in compliance with them for the sake of doing the right thing, and not merely because a violation brings prosecution.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech by Judge Gwynne be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF JOHN W. GWYNNE, CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL GROCERS, CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 10, 1957

I appreciate this opportunity to attend your convention. We often have contacts with the officers and members of your organization, particularly with your Washington representative, Henry Bison. We have found Henry most cooperative and helpful in those matters in which we have a common interest.

There are many industries in the country with which many people have little, if any, contact. That is not true of the grocery business. The distribution of food is important to everyone. In fact, it is essential to our very existence. As a poet once put it:

"Man can live without music; he can live without books;
But civilized man cannot live without cooks."

In a relatively short space of time, the methods of producing and distributing food have been greatly changed. My first recollection is that of the corner grocery store which bought much of its produce from local farmers and distributed it to those living in the small town. Brand names were virtually unknown. Many staple articles were bought in bulk and packaged in the store. Stores were locally owned by people who were an important part of the small community. Competition was usually keen in price, quality of products, and in service. Capital requirements were not great. Therefore, there was ease of entry into the business by new competitors, which fact always makes for the maintenance of competition and of free enterprise.

The increase in the variety of foods now available, the new methods of packaging, of refrigeration, of distribution—all of these have greatly advanced the standard of living. There are, however, certain forces in our economic life today which threaten to limit competition. It is to a few of these that I wish to invite attention.

In the investigation which preceded the adoption of the Robinson-Patman Act, there was considerable evidence of discriminations in prices and allowances in many industries including that of food distribution. Substantial discounts and allowances were being given to preferred large buyers. It appeared in some instances that certain buyers were buying at prices lower than the normal and necessary selling price of smaller competitors. Under the guise of advertising allowances, some suppliers were giving great advantages to some customers not made available to others.

It was discovered that many smaller business enterprises were unable to continue under this situation and that competition was being endangered. The Robinson-Patman Act, which was passed to solve the problem, prohibits discrimination between different purchasers of commodities of like grade and quality, where the effect of such discrimination may be to lessen competition or to create a monopoly. There are, of course, certain exceptions and defenses which need not be considered here.

The law also prohibits the payment of advertising or other allowances, unless such allowances are made available on proportionally equal terms to all other competing customers.

The intention of Congress in passing this legislation was to aid small business, to enable it to keep its place in the sun and thus, over the long pull, to preserve competition and free enterprise. It is not enough, however, to simply put a law on the statute books. It must be enforced by those departments and agencies of the Government to which that duty is entrusted. Furthermore, the law must be accepted by the people as a rule binding upon the conscience and honor of the Nation, as Woodrow Wilson so well expressed it.

In accordance with a congressional mandate, the Federal Trade Commission has brought many actions under this section and many other matters are under investigation. We hear from various sources that violations are all too common and seem to be on the increase. In fact, some leaders in the industry have sounded warnings against present practices. One person in particular has referred to the growing pressure now prevailing in some areas for alowances, discounts and handouts of all kinds. In some trade areas, he said, this has become a regular rat race with both manufacturers and distributors participating to see who can get the most. It can only lead to disaster.

Some of these allowances and handouts run into substantial figures. We heard of instances where sellers offer sizable cash sums to induce a purchaser to handle a certain line instead of that of a competitor. Sometimes it takes the form of discounts or other favors. Sometimes, too, a powerful buyer exerts pressure for discriminatory treatment.

These violations often set off a chain reaction. One company takes an illegal step and his competitors feel they must do the same, or even more, in self-defense. The result is a race in which the small competitor sometimes does not survive the early laps, even though the quality of his product and service may entitle him to a better fate.

Our economic system is based on competition. Everyone benefits when there is vigorous competition, provided that competition is fair and in accordance with established rules. But the use of discriminatory allowances and handouts as substitutes for such competition will in the long run, prove harmful to all concerned. It will prove harmful to those who offer or who receive the illegal allowances, because they will eventually learn that their competitors can also play that game and may even outbid them. Unfair methods of competition sometimes offer a windfall to lucky members of the buying public; nevertheless, in the long run, an undeserved advantage must be paid for by someone.

The methods of law enforcement available to the Federal Trade Commission are very different from those of law enforcement officials generally. It has no authority to administer punishment simply for past wrongs. It can only, either by agreement or after trial, condemn a certain practice as contrary to law and issue a cease and desist order against its continuance. For the violation of such order, a money penalty may be imposed.

In other words, the work of the Commission is largely preventive. One of its functions is to counsel with business and to aid it in complying with the law. Although the number of cases being filed and tried has increased, nevertheless, when the same result can be accomplished by cooperative and mutual understanding, that is the more economical and satisfactory course. Therefore, we comment very highly the efforts of all business people who strive for better law observance.

The other matter I wish to mention has to do with mergers and acquisitions. This is a problem which has been before the country since prior to the Sherman Act in 1890. In 1950, Congress strengthened the law so that it now prohibits the merger or acquisition of a competitor, either by purchase of the stock or assets, where in any line of commerce in any section of the country, the effect of the acquisition may be substantially to lessen competition, or to tend to create a monopoly.

Although there is a difference of opinion as to the extent, it is generally stated that we have been for some time experiencing another merger wave. The first one occurred in the period from 1887 to 1904 and resulted in many combinations which obtained substantial control over their respective markets. The Sherman Act was found to be ineffective in controlling the situation

and, in 1914, the Clayton Act was passed. This also proved to be inadequate because of the failure of the law to deal with acquisitions of assets as well as capital stock. So we experienced another merger wave during the period from 1919 to 1930. According to Professor Markham of Princeton University: "In the course of this wave, some 8,055 mining and manufacturing firms disappeared through mergers; so did 2,757 public utilities, 1,060 member banks of the Federal Reserve System and 10,519 stores absorbed by various distributive chains."

In 1955, the Federal Trade Commission published a report showing roughly the situation during the period from 1940 to 1954. During that time, mergers and acquisitions have continued. While individual acquisitions did not usually affect as large a share of the market as in the first wave (1887 to 1904), nevertheless, the cumulative effect has been considerable.

There have, of course, been acquisitions in the grocery and allied industries. Many of these have been in the bakery and dairy products field. For example, a partial list of acquisitions by some large dairy corporations in recent years shows the following:

	Acquisitions
Corporation No. 1:	
1951	3
1952	5
1953	5
1953	5
1955	5
Corporation No. 2:	
1953	10
1955	6
Corporation No. 3:	
1951	15
1952	3
1953	12
1954	5
1955	14

The sales of fluid milk by 5 large dairy corporations has increased from 1950 to 1954 by the following percentages: 59.9 percent; 34.1 percent; 878.5 percent; 63.4 percent; 44.1 percent.

This trend exists to some extent in all retail establishments as is shown by the fact that there were 43,000 fewer retail establishments in 1954 than in 1948—this in spite of the fact that sales during that period were up 32 percent. A report prepared by your organization indicates that the so-called independents accounted in 1948 for about 65.6 percent of the total grocery business. In 1954, the figure was 62 percent.

In many instances, particularly in the bakery and dairy fields, the acquired company was not engaged in interstate commerce. It was, therefore, not within the wording of section 7. This has led to the suggestion that the law be amended to cover acquisitions where either the acquiring or acquired corporation is in interstate commerce. Some objection has been made to this proposed amendment on the ground that it would make the law applicable to insignificant transactions. However, in any event, the acquisition must be of such a character as substantially to lessen competition or to tend to create a monopoly.

The House Judiciary Committee has recently reported favorably a bill proposing two important amendments to the existing law. The first would require corporations intending to merge where the combined assets are in excess of $10 million to give notice of that intention to the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice 60 days prior to the consummation of the merger.

Our experience in administering the amended Clayton Act has demonstrated the need for this advance information. At the present time, there is no source from which complete and adequate information may be obtained. The Federal Trade Commission now obtains much of its information regarding proposed or pending mergers by scanning financial periodicals, trade journals and other publications.

The amendment would be helpful for several reasons. First, it would afford more complete coverage of acquisitions having probable economic consequences. Second, the information would be secured early in the proceeding, when the chances of adequate and timely consideration and action would be greater. Finally, the whole process of consideration and action, if thought necessary, would be expedited and at a considerable saving. The amendment has been carefully drawn to eliminate the necessity of reporting certain business transactions not material for the purpose of the law.

Another amendment contained in the reported bill would give the Federal Trade Commission authority to apply to the courts, in the proper case, for an injunction requiring the maintenance of the status quo pending the hearing. We are trying to speed up the trial of merger cases and we give them a high degree of priority in the investigation and litigation stages. Nevertheless, the proceedings are complicated and a certain amount of time is required. Past experience has shown that in some instances before the question of a final order of divestiture could be reached, the property of the two corporations has become so commingled that it was not possible to "unscramble the egg."

These proposed amendments have been recommended by the Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Justice and the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

We must consider all acquisitions and mergers against a background of an economy which has already been somewhat concentrated. It is also true that new discoveries in science and advances in technology have increased the average size of operation even in the business of farming.

All of these things may make the preservation of competition and the maintenance of the free enterprise system more difficult; it does not make their preservation and maintenance any less essential. The tremendous development of this country and our high standard of living are due to several facts. One has certainly been a competitive, free-enterprise system. It has lent aid and encouragement to the ambition which exists in most people. It has opened the door of opportunity to our youth—a door which we must at all costs keep open. The grocery clerk aspiring to own a store of his own, a workman at his lathe dreaming of his own shop or factory—these are the things on which we have grown great.

Trial of Armed Services Personnel Overseas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful editorial entitled "Must Our Soldiers Be Tried by Foreign Courts?" published in the Key West Citizen of June 10, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUST OUR SOLDIERS BE TRIED BY FOREIGN COURTS?

A hearing Tuesday in Washington will help decide whether an American soldier, Spc. William Girard, will be turned over to Japanese courts for trial in the slaying of a Japanese woman.

Girard was on duty at an Army firing range when the woman, one of several licensed scrap collectors, was there picking up shell casings for scrap metal. He fired a grenade launcher that someone had stuffed with an empty shell. The shell struck the woman and killed her.

Who loaded the launcher?

Why did he fire it?

The Japanese, crying for blood, charge that Girard killed the woman deliberately. Girard says it was an accident. He didn't explain.

The United States Government, watching fearfully as the Communists used this slaying to whip up a storm of anti-American feeling, decided to turn Girard over to Japanese courts for trial.

Several newspaper columnists who apparently consider themselves above nationalism (a few years ago, it was called patriotism) coolly point out that if Americans insist on a trial by Americans, the Japanese won't like it and we'll lose friendship over there. There is a treaty saying that Japanese courts can try Americans who break Japanese laws on Japanese soil. If we didn't live up to the letter of this treaty—and perhaps a little more—it would make good Communist propaganda, they say.

They're probably right.

This is the issue:

Should we toss Girard on the altar as a sacrifice to Japanese public opinion? Or should we risk losing Japanese friendship and try him ourselves, thus giving the Communists some heavy propaganda weapons?

Maybe Girard would get a fair trial in Japanese courts. And perhaps he wouldn't. Nobody who fought the Japanese in World War II, nobody who knew the horrors of Japanese prison camps where torturers smiled at the agony of the men they killed by inches, will ever completely trust these people.

Yet we signed this treaty.

We're stuck with it perhaps.

We've signed other treaties like it. And the thing we at the Citizen wonder about is how we get ourselves into such messes in the first place. What bubbly overflow of childish enthusiasm signs our names to such agreements, anyhow? How much of a price are we supposed to pay for this so-called international good will?

Suppose one of your neighbors were a moody, unpredictable character who had been jailed a few years ago for assult and battery on your child. Let's suppose you sent a son of yours into his yard, on an errand, and your boy committed some offense while he was there. Would you turn your child over to that neighbor to punish? We'll bet you wouldn't.

If your neighbor were hungry, you'd feed him; if he were needy, you might lend him money; you might go to all kinds of trouble to win his friendship—but when it came to letting him punish your family, we think you'd draw the line.

We think it's time our country draws the line.

This "one-world" business has gone too far.

The American people have coughed up billions of dollars in taxes to help buy food, clothes, houses, factories, medicines for the enemies whose bullets killed our husbands, sons, and friends.

The American people have paid for seeds, plows, farms, factories, powerplants, schooling all over the world, to buy friendship abroad. How much "friendship" and "loyalty" have we bought? The Formosa riots and the down-with-American movement in Japan supply an answer.

If the Japanese and Formosa Chinese are so forgetful that they can't balance the lives this country has saved and the help we have given them against two unfortunate incidents, then heaven help the United States if we ever need to depend on them for anything.

If, for the sake of losing the right to try American soldiers in their courts, they turn against the country that has taxed its own people to put them on their feet, then our money and help were wasted. Our dollars would have been better spent at home, strengthening our own arsenals; for we can at least depend upon ourselves.

We do not imagine that the Russian Army turns over its soldiers who commit offenses on foreign soil for trial in foreign courts. Let's renegotiate these treaties.

Excessive Imports of Foreign Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, when the administration recently took action designed to curb excessive imports of oil into this country, I considered that a step had been taken in the right direction. I expressed the hope that the President's order would strengthen our national security and would give some relief to our hard-pressed independent oil producers.

I still hold to that hope, but there is no denying that the import-cut plan is being resisted in certain quarters. We must keep an alert eye on the operation of the plan to make sure that it has the needed effect.

A thoughtful editorial published last week in a progressive west Texas newspaper, the San Angelo Standard-Times, is pertinent and timely in this connection. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Were excessive imports of cheap foreign oil impairing the national security? For the third time a committee made up of the President's Cabinet made a study of the subject and reported: Yes, imports were sufficiently in excess of requirements as to impair the national security.

So the committee recommended a 10 percent cutback in imports—not across the board, not including the Pacific Northwest, but applying to long-established importers, and based on their average imports for the years 1954, 1955, and 1956. Newcomers would be asked to make some reductions; some others were not asked to make any at all.

Under the plan, the Government will take 6 months to see how well the importers are acceding to the Presidential request. Failure to comply with the request, the White House said, "could lead to mandatory controls." Since 1955 the President has had full authority to compel compliance.

Texas Railroad Commissioner Ernest O. Thompson thought the Presidential request "would be of great help to our national security." He said it would bring "reasonable greater exploration and put idle drilling rigs back to work."

Commissioner Olin Culbertson was not impressed.

"It is my considered opinion that the action recommended will not result in much improvement of the situation as it pertains to Texas"—where oil production is now limited to 13 days a month, a new low, attributed to the effect of excessive imports.

Texas oilmen seem to be divided similarly on the effect, or lack of effect, on the domestic oil situation. Gov. Price Daniel called the request a step in the right direction, but insisted "the step is not firm enough and does not go as far as necessary to meet the present emergency."

The requested cutbacks on imports date back to July 1 and will run for 1 year.

Not encouraging was Secretary of Interior Seaton's comment that there would be a period of several months during which the Interior Department and the Office of Defense Mobilization would check up to determine whether individual companies intend to comply.

A lot of cheap foreign oil could find is way into this country in the meantime.

Tribute to Climax Molybdenum Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, Dr. Paul R. Stewart, president of Waynesburg College, at Waynesburg, Pa., is the dean of small college presidents in Pennsylvania. He is a rugged individualist and a patriotic American. At Waynesburg College he teaches that in order to retain our individual freedom each man and woman must carve out his or her destiny. There is no communism or subversive activity at Waynesburg, because Dr. Stewart exemplifies American ideals.

Dr. Stewart is an outstanding geologist, and I have just received a very interesting letter from him about his work in that field. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCKY MOUNTAIN GEOLOGY STATION,
Florissant, Colo., August 7, 1957.

The Honorable EDWARD MARTIN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MARTIN: This summer at the Waynesburg College Rocky Mountain Geology Station I had one of the most inspiring experiences of my life. The Climax Molybdenum Co., at Climax, Colo., was not only gracious and courteous host to our summer geology class, but furnished us with guides through by far the most magnificent and efficient mining plant I have ever observed. You know the subsidiary plant at Burgettstown in our own Pennsylvania, but this is the parent plant. Its development is a romance of industrial achievement.

Since the discovery in World War I that molybdenum is an essential material for proper hardening of armament steel, Climax has passed through pick-and-shovel days on through almost unbelievable difficulties. Climax, as you may know, is located north of Leadville at Fremont Pass on our Continental Divide. The waters from that pass flow through the Colorado tributaries to the Pacific and, on the other side, through the Missouri, the Mississippi, and finally into the Gulf of Mexico. At this altitude tremendous difficulties from ice, snow drifts, and intense cold, along with transportation troubles make it seem impossible that from the sweat-and-muscle days of World War I they could have won through to such climactic achievement. Yes; without doubt their product gave such personality to the steel of ourselves and our allies that America can proclaim Climax as one of the saviors of the world in World War I.

But to me, and I know to you, the greatest thought is that here America is at its best—its climax. Hardships make men. Therefore, as you would surmise, the efficiency of the Climax staff is high, and with very few labor troubles, the morale of its almost 2,000 employees is at a peak.

Finally, to give to you and to me a real thrill, high above the Climax plant, high above that lofty Rocky Mountain pass, floated the American flag.

I must not close without a word of gratitude to the superintendent, Frank Windolph; public relations director, Don Stephens; Bill Gregory; and our other guides. President Arthur Bunker, at the New York offices, 500 Fifth Avenue, also deserves congratulations.

Yes, here is a spot of rugged Americanism which will really hold back influences subversive in our Nation.

Sincerely,

PAUL R. STEWART,
President, Waynesburg College.
WAYNESBURG, PA.

The Stay-in-School Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, two fine civic organizations in the bustling west Texas city of Abilene have announced their own contribution to a far-reaching stay-in-school program.

The Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs of Abilene have announced that each will give a college scholarship to an Abilene high-school graduate.

The Abilene Reporter-News commends this action and offers throught-provoking editorial comment on a Texas law that encourages students in our State to stay in school every day. I ask unanimous consent that the Reporter-News editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Comes now a booklet published jointly by the United States Departments of Labor, Health, etc., and Defense suggesting each community launch a stay-in-school campaign. And, at the same time comes an announcement from the Chamber of Commerce Education Committee that Abilene Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs will each give a $400 scholarship to an Abilene high grad, good in a local college.

The booklet-suggested drive is aimed at the high school level. The local scholarship program is designed to, on one hand, help the student who is both worthy and needy and, on the other, do something in line with the national effort to provide a better educated populace.

The high school stay-in-school drive is good for the Nation as a whole, since nationally about 40 percent of the youngsters who start to high school get their diploma. But, actually, Texas has a constant school-sponsored drive to keep kids in school, one which proves very effective. Under Gilmer-Aiken the amount of money which a local district gets from State coffers is tied closely to the average daily attendance. The schools are, therefore, most diligent and to a high degree successful in keeping youngsters in school at the lower levels.

The Abilene Kiwanis-Rotary scholarship program comes in to help the boy or girl who wants to but can't go on to college—the kids who need a hand with their bootstraps operations, the ones who stand a good chance to make a real contribution if they can only get a boost to get started.

Deadlines for the scholarships, two each for $400, is August 16. Abeline high grads interested and qualified take note.

Dam Numbers Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a detailed article from the Oregonian of Portland, Oreg., of August 9, 1957, entitled "Storage Lost in Dam Numbers Game." Author of this presentation is Herbert Lundy, editor of the editorial page of that daily newspaper.

Mr. Lundy emphasizes that the loss of full development of Hells Canyon, plus impending private licenses at the Mountain Sheep and Pleasant Valley sites, is resulting in the sacrifice of vast quantities of storage in the canyons which the great Snake River has trenched where it cuts through the Seven Devils and Wallowa Ranges, on its route to join the Columbia.

Like myself, Mr. Lundy opposes dams below the mouth of the Salmon River which would blockade off the valuable salmon migrations which surge upstream from the sea to their remote spawning grounds. Yet, as the Oregonian's editor stresses, important sites for storage still exist above the Salmon's mouth and below the Brownlee project of Idaho Power Co. However, these sites may be irreparably lost for full use if the schemes of the private utilities to carve up the Snake River are consummated.

When any natural resource is lost, our generation and future generations suffer. This is happening along the Snake River today. In my opinion, the Republican administration and its private-utility allies must accept major responsibility for such a sad eventuality.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STORAGE LOST IN DAM NUMBERS GAME
(By Herbert Lundy)

The Snake River power and flood-control fight continues to provide stark examples of piecemeal planning as it sweeps downstream from Hells Canyon. No clearer reason could be given for the establishment of a regional agency with authority to plan orderly and comprehensive development of Columbia Basin water projects for maximum public benefits from all resource values.

The staff of the Federal Power Commission recommended construction of Nez Perce Dam and denial of a permit for Pacific Northwest Power Co. (set up by four private utilities) to build Mountain Sheep and Pleasant Valley Dams in the same area.

An examiner of FPC, Edward B. Marsh, reviewed the same set of facts and handed down a decision rejecting Nez Perce as too far in the future because of the fish problem, and approving the Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley project for immediate construction. FPC itself will have the final say.

Both the staff and the examiner made their own interpretations of what comprehensive development means. But neither ventured to suggest that FPC had made a prior error. That was in licensing a low dam in Hells Canyon which, if it should be built, will prevent the full use of the flood-control storage potential of Pleasant Valley Dam, 34 miles below the Hells Canyon site.

A preliminary study by the Bureau of Reclamation shows the advantages which would accrue from eliminating the low Hells Canyon Dam and building Pleasant Valley high enough to back the river up to Idaho Power Co.'s licensed Oxbow Dam.

Instead of 500,000 acre-feet of usable storage for flood control, attributable to Pleasant Valley under the license approved by Marsh, a higher dam at Pleasant Valley would provide 1,300,000 acre-feet of usable storage on top of the dead storage, Idaho Power's Brownlee dam, above Oxbow, will impound 1 million acre-feet of usable storage, by FPC order. Thus, Pleasant Valley and Brownlee together could store 2,300,000 acre-feet, which could be released as needed in a master control plan of the Columbia Basin. This, by coincidence, is the exact amount of usable storage which FPC conceded would have been provided by a high dam in Hells Canyon.

But the staff and examiner did not even lift their eyes above the low Hells Canyon site. Instead, they discussed two hypothetical plans—plan I and plan II—for development between river miles 151 and 245 (the low Hells Canyon Dam site) of the Snake, plus a piece of the tributary Salmon River.

The FPC staff declared itself for plan I. This would provide:

1. A high dam at the Asotin site (river mile 151), with only 50,000 acre-feet of usable storage and an installed generating capacity of 550,000 kilowatts.

2. An 800-foot-high dam at the Nez Perce site, 35 miles above, which would back water 60 miles up the tributary Salmon River and 64 miles up the Snake to the Hells Canyon site. Nez Perce would have 3,900,000 acre-feet of storage usable for flood control, power and downstream regulation during low-water periods, and an installed capacity of 1,672,000 kilowatts initially and 2,128,000 kilowatts ultimately.

Examiner Marsh plumped for plan II. This calls for five dams, reading upstream, as follows:

1. A lower dam at the Asotin site, with no usable flood control storage, initial installed capacity of 270,000 kilowatts and ultimate capacity of 360,000 kilowatts.

2. China Gardens dam, 25 miles upstream from Asotin, no flood control, installed capacity 240,000 kilowatts initially and 320,000 kilowatts ultimately.

3. Lower Canyon Dam in the Salmon River 4 miles above its confluence with the Snake; height 600 feet, reservoir 59 miles long, usable storage about 1,560,000 acre-feet, generating capacity 456,000 kilowatts initially and 760,000 kilowatts ultimately.

4. Mountain Sheep Dam in the Snake, 25 miles above China Gardens, 4½ miles above the mouth of the Salmon River, 1 mile above the mouth of the Imnaha River; maximum usable storage 46,000 acre-feet; installed capacity 282,000 kilowatts initially and 376,000 kilowatts ultimately.

5. Pleasant Valley Dam, 20 miles above Mountain Sheep; 500,000 acre-feet of usable storage; installed generating capacity 720,000 kilowatts initially and 864,000 kilowatts ultimately (but with maximum capacity 850,000 kilowatts initially and 1,014,000 kilowatts ultimately).

In playing this numbers game, the FPC staff tossed in enough mythical dams to come out with a paper balance for 94 miles of the Snake and 64 miles of the Salmon River. Plan I has more benefits in power and flood control than plan II. But either Nez Perce Dam in plan I or Lower Canyon Dam in plan II would be insurmountable barriers to upstream migration of adult salmon and death-traps to downstream migration of fingerling salmon and steelhead. Either would destroy the bulk of the Columbia spring Chinook runs. Hence, no one in responsible position wishes to build either.

Then why the paper work with unauthorized, hypothetical and unwanted dams? Why not obtain the storage still available in the Snake above the mouth of the Salmon River? The case for a high dam at Pleasant Valley is so incontrovertible that the Federal Power Commission and the utilities cannot deny it if enough pressure is brought to bear. The storage lost at Hells Canyon could be regained by a simple agreement between the Northwest Power Co. and the Idaho Power Co., and the construction of 1 dam instead of 2. No power benefits would be lost. In fact, downstream benefits would be gained.

Dr. Raymond Ross Paty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a few days ago Dr. Raymond Ross Paty, one of the members of the board of the Tennessee Valley Authority, died. There was published in the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News, of Friday, August 9, an editorial entitled "Loss for this Region." It was a great loss for our area, and a great loss to the TVA. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOSS FOR THIS REGION

The death of Dr. Raymond Ross Paty, former president of the University of Alabama, came as a shock to this community and to this region.

His death from a heart attack struck down Dr. Paty at a time when he was at the center

of a controversy over the moving of a branch of the TVA system from Knoxville to Muscle Shoals. As a director of the TVA system, Dr. Paty and Dr. Harry Curtis, who had retired at the conclusion of his term in May, had approved the moving of the agricultural relations department of TVA to Muscle Shoals where it was originally intended to establish TVA headquarters.

His untimely death leaves the TVA directorate in a difficult situation, as far as southern supporters of the system are concerned. Dr. Paty was named to be a TVA Director in 1952 by former President Harry Truman. Since that time President Eisenhower has named two Directors and now will be in position to name a third.

Dr. Paty's career was devoted to education and public service. A native of Tennessee, he was a graduate of Emory University. He taught school in his native State, later was on the faculty at Emory, served for 4 years as president of Birmingham Southern College and another 4 years as president of the university here.

From this position he went to Georgia as chancellor of the university system, later was connected with the public relations department of an Atlanta department store and since 1952 has served as 1 of the 3-man board for the TVA system.

During the 4 years of his presidency here at the university, the Capstone felt the impact of World War II and its immediate aftermath. Wartime training programs were instituted here when civilian student enrollment was at a low point. It was during his administration that the university felt the impact of the returning veterans and a tremendous enrollment surge.

This was a trying period for administrators at the university. The rapid return of veterans to the campus created a major problem of expanding the physical plant in face of construction restrictions imposed by war conditions. But in the 4 years that Dr. Paty was here the physical plant was expanded by a value of over $13 million. Most of the additions were not of the permanent building type but the property and structures obtained through the Federal Government not only served an immediate need but have been of great help to the university since that time. It was during Dr. Paty's administration that the Northington property was acquired as were the facilities in Birmingham for the medical center.

In faculty-student relationships, the office of dean of students was established and a retirement program instituted for faculty supplementing the State teacher retirement benefits. Research also was expanded greatly and a $100,000 appropriation from the State for research and extension was obtained.

His resignation from the university to accept the Georgia system chancellorship was a shock to the Capstone community just as his death now is to the State and the region.

Expressions of sympathy and appreciation for a devoted career to public service are in order to his family from his many friends here and in other communities where he served.

The Continuing Danger of Natural Gas Rate Bill; Consumers Must Wake Up

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this morning we were all rather entertained when we saw the majority leader and minority leaders of the Senate—we call them Damon and Pythias—engage in what were, let us say, countermovements as to what was involved in the civil-rights bill. I am glad they came to an agreement that they would not bury the civil-rights bill. I should like now to speak of something I wish I could get them to agree on. If the gas bill comes up, I hope they will agree to bury it.

Mr. President, within the past few days there have been hopeful indications that the new version of the natural gas rate increase bill will, very fortunately, not be brought up in the House of Representatives for final vote at this session. Apparently, the realistic backers of the bill, after detailed counting of noses, have determined that they do not have enough votes to steamroller it through.

This is good news to the Nation's consumers, because if the news is true, it means that consumers will be saved literally hundreds of millions of dollars in inflationary gas rate increases which might otherwise have "socked" them.

We hear discussion about the increase in steel prices and the increase in wages, because they all make an impact on the inflationary pressures. However, if the gas bill were to be enacted, it would "sock" the ordinary housekeeper around $40 a year additional. Senators can imagine what that would mean in terms of the probably 40 million persons involved.

CONSUMERS HAVE ALMOST BEEN ASLEEP

I wish to say, in all frankness, that the apparent inability of the gas lobby to pass the bill thus far is not due—I repeat, it is not due—to vigilant consumer reaction. On the contrary, the inability of the gas lobby to prevail is due to the basic good sense of the Members of the House of Representatives.

The fact is that, unfortunately, consumers and their organizations still have not spoken in large numbers to the Members of Congress. The fact is, and I say this in all candor, that consumer organizations have almost been asleep on this issue.

But the gas lobby has not been asleep. It might almost have won by default if it had not been for the good sense and the basic good judgment of Members of the House of Representatives, themselves.

Consumers, therefore, cannot take very much credit for delaying this bill, because they have done virtually nothing to stop it.

ACTIVE MINORITIES ON COMMITTEES AGAINST BILL

Fortunately, a minority of the House Interstate Commerce Committee was active against the bill, as was a minority, at least, of the House Rules Committee.

Thanks in large part to those minorities, consumers this time have won—yes, largely, too, by luck, and by the good sense of the House itself. Next time, however, consumers may lose, just as they have lost in the past when a similar bill has several times been passed by both Houses.

Even now, there is no certainty that consumers' luck will hold out. Some Friday, when some Members of the House from nearby large cities are absent, who knows but the gas-rate bill may come up all in a rush and be whisked through to passage?

And then, in the Senate, the bill's prospects are, unfortunately, still more favorable.

HANDFUL OF ABSENTEES CAN SPELL GAS VICTORY

Now, Mr. President, my reason for speaking so frankly is that I may alert the consumers of this country.

The gas lobby is not going to cease in its efforts. For these final 2 weeks of the session, and then during the recess period, it is going to concentrate on trying to round up that last handful of votes which will give it, it hopes, the margin of victory in the House of Representatives. Just a few absentees among opponents will assure the gas lobby literally billions in added profits.

If the consumers of this country do as little in the future against this bill as they have in the past, then there is a very real danger that the consumers' luck will run out and that the gas bill will pass next year. Consumers will have only themselves to blame.

I do not in any way underestimate the efforts which have been performed at the grassroots by a relatively handful of interested individuals—by mayors of leading municipalities, by some State attorneys general, city attorneys, and others.

In my own State of Wisconsin, Mayor Frank Zeidler, of Milwaukee, and Mayor Jack Humble, of Racine, have been active in this fight, as have some other leading individuals. But infinitely more must be done if the bill is to be assured the oblivion which it deserves.

TRADE UNIONS INTERESTED

I was glad to read in the August 1957 issue of the newspaper the Textile Challenger, published by the United Textile Workers of America, a warning as to the dangers of this inflationary bill. The editorial quoted in detail from comments which I personally have previously made.

As a welcome indication that the trade union movement is fortunately not asleep on the dangers of this bill, I send to the desk the text of this editorial from the Textile Challenger. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE IS THE BREAKING POINT IN LIVING COSTS?—A WARNING

On July 9, Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, broke into the civil-rights talkfest to sound a note of warning and to alert 30 million consumers of natural gas. Mr. WILEY said:

"Mr. President, I wish to take a few moments of the time of the Senate to discuss what I think is a very dangerous condition; namely, the inflationary situation. There are many causes. The increase of $6 a ton by the steel companies will add impetus to the inflationary trend. But I wish to speak from another angle.

"Mr. President, 30 million American consumers were dealt a severe blow yesterday. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, by a vote of 15 to 13, unfortunately approved the gas rate increase bill. This bill is designed to eliminate effec-

tive regulation over gas going into interstate pipelines.

"The legislative battle now shifts to the House Rules Committee, and thereafter will go to the floor of the House of Representatives.

"My purpose in speaking today is once more to sound the alert to the American people.

"In connection with the gas bill, there may be diversionary tactics. We may be diverted by the civil-rights bill, and by other matters, so that we lose sight of one of the great dangers to our economic health.

"Once more I wish to caution the American people the gas-rate bill is undoubtedly the most inflationary single piece of legislation coming up for action voting in this first session of the 85th Congress."

DEFEAT THE GAS BILL

"Unfortunately, the American people to date, because of their preoccupation with other problems, have failed to recognize this danger.

"Of course, the lobbying and propaganda forces of the natural gas industry have been concentrating 365 days a year on passing this proposed legislation. But, by contrast, there is not a single force in the United States which has devoted concentrated and continued attention to opposing this inflationary bill. The organization of mayors of the various cities and few consumer organizations have been able to give to this problem only the spottiest attention. As a result, the evil gas bill may win by default, unless the consumers of this country rise up and demand that it be defeated.

"Let me point out that the American dollar is already losing more and more of its purchasing power. On the first day of every month, when 30 million consumers receive their gas rate utility bills, the consumers are going to find, if this inflationary bill shall be enacted, that their dollar will have lost still more purchasing power. So the time to act is now. This gas rate increase bill should not win by default. It must be defeated. The bill must be defeated, because its impact upon the inflationary cycle would be most dangerous to our economic health."

A WORD TO THE WISE

If enacted, this bill would mean an annual increase of $40 or more for the housewife and consumers of natural gas. Congress passed this bill at the last session of Congress but it was vetoed by the President on the grounds of questionable conduct by some of the proponents. However, he said he would sign such a bill under different circumstances.

Organized labor fought the "gas steal" in the last Congress and labor must fight it harder than ever in this Congress.

Textile workers are vitally effected by this legislation. Our opposition is powerful. We now have a combination of the President with leading Democrats and Republicans in the House and Senate. We must write to our Congressmen and Senators urging the defeat of the gas bill.

Preservation of Free and Competitive System of Private Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article by Dr. John W. Dargavel, which appeared recently in the Credit Executive magazine. Entitled "The Little Man Who Is There," the article describes the growing economic crisis in the small-business community.

John Dargavel, the author of the article, is well known to every Member of Congress and to small-business men from coast to coast as a vigorous champion of economic opportunity and equality. At present, Mr. Dargavel is chairman of the Bureau of Education on Fair Trade, and was formerly vice president of the American Pharmaceutical Association, and the National Association of Retail Druggists. In my opinion, no man is better qualified than John Dargavel to speak about the competitive problems of small business.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LITTLE MAN WHO IS THERE

(By Dr. John W. Dargavel)

America's small-business man is very much the little man who is there. He's a key figure in our economy. The country's 4 million small-business concerns add up to 95 percent of all the businesses operating in the United States today. Yet he's facing a growing crisis. If it is not checked, America's small-business man will become the little man who isn't there.

Study findings by Dr. John W. Dargavel, executive secretary of the National Association of Retail Druggists and chairman of the Bureau of Education on Fair Trade, show that the small-business man, with his independent stores, factories, and enterprises of all sorts, provides the livelihood for 1 out of every 3 people in America. This is an impressive fact. It demonstrates that America needs the little- and the medium-sized-business man as well as the giants.

SMALL-BUSINESS IN TROUBLE

But the picture is not so bright as it sounds, Dr. Dargavel finds. Small-business, in the midst of record-breaking prosperity, is in trouble. Bankruptcies and failures are mounting. To date, there have been more failures among small-business men this year than in any year since 1939. Cautious estimates by Dun & Bradstreet indicate that in 1957, over 13,000 small-businesses will be wiped out—unless the present trend reverses itself.

The failures are concentrated in retailing, small manufacturing and home building. This has been going on for some time. The United States Senate Small-Business Committee, for example, reports that in 1956, small-business failures totaled 12,686. This represents a 16 percent increase over 1955, and a post-World War II high. Retailers ranked second highest in business failures last year. Figures from the Small-Business Administration show that 6,841 stores closed their doors in 1956. This is 18.6 percent higher than retail failures in 1955.

Are enough people taking the plunge of opening up their own businesses to offset the alarming increase in failures among small-businessmen? The answer seems to be no. During the 5 years from 1951 through 1955, for example, only 39,000 new business enterprises opened their doors each year, on the average. In the 20 years from 1930 through 1950, an average of 53,000 firms hung out their signs each year. Since 1950, therefore, there has been a 26 percent decrease in the number of new businesses opening every year.

SENATE COMMITTEE HAS ANSWERS

Why is small-business confronted with the growing threat of failure in the midst of a boom? The United States Senate Small-Business Committee has some answers. One is the constantly rising costs of labor and materials. Another is the heavy tax burden which never allows the small-business man to get off the hook. A third is the tight money situation which makes it harder and harder for the little man to get bank loans, even at high interest rates. Then there is the growing trend toward mergers of the little companies with big ones.

And of vital importance, there is the squeeze of cut-throat competition—such as price wars on the popular brands which constitute the independent retailer's bread and butter.

To prevent this destructive competition from creating chaos in the marketplace, rules of fair competition are needed. In the interest of the good society, the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases in the marketplace—as in any other area of life—must be limited by the commonsense restraints which society itself imposes.

COMPETITION ON FAIR TERMS

The fair trade laws are rules of fair competition and fair play over the counter. Enacted by 45 State legislatures, these laws have been supported by Congress and upheld by the United States Supreme Court and 16 high State courts. But today, in 10 States, courts have knocked out fair trade and new legislation is needed to give small business an opportunity to compete on fair terms with big business. As the Senate Business Committee says:

"Independent businessmen simply are not equipped to survive the low blows of unfair competition."

In the absence of fair laws of competition, small-business men, in order to survive, would need lots more dollars—which they don't have.

What is the average citizen's stake in keeping the small-business man from becoming a vanishing American? What would America be like without small business? For one thing, it would be a collection of supergiant businesses, so big and so tough that they would inevitably invite control by a super-big and supertough government. This is not the road to democracy. That the threat of a monopoly by bigness is not an idle one is indicated by the recent statement of a big industrialist who said:

"I think that, if our economic system is to continue, we must have smaller businesses developing, otherwise competition will be eliminated in the next 5 to 10 years, and we will end up with 1, or possibly 2, large companies in each of the major fields."

BIG BUSINESS VERSUS SMALL?

Certainly big business is not deliberately seeking to eliminate small business. But, in the complex conditions of our 20th century marketplace, big business simply moves into the vacuum when small business goes under.

Yet small business is a kind of growth vitamin for America.

How will our communities be affected if small business disappears? The burden of the taxes now paid by small-business men will be shifted to others, including all consumers. Who will take over the financial support and participation which small business now contributes to civic activities and organizations such as hospitals, churches, community chests, the boy scouts and all other efforts to improve our communities? The exit of small business will leave a serious vacuum in towns and cities all over the Nation—a vacuum which cannot be filled by absentee business owners.

SMALL BUSINESS NEEDS FAIR TREATMENT

And finally, there is that precious American dream of working for yourself. If this

dream is to be a reality and not a myth, small businessmen must have conditions of fair competition so that they can prosper if they have what it takes. If people can see no possibility of success in their own business, America must inevitably become a nation of the many working for the few. Freedom of opportunity will come to mean less and less in America.

The American people have it within their power to save small business by supporting legislation to preserve this vital part of our economy and by letting their representatives in State legislatures and in the Congress know they want action before it is too late. Adequate laws to assure fair competition can prevent this.

Jury Trial Victory in Senate Civil Rights Battle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Notable Jury Trial Victory Won in Senate Civil Rights Battle," published in the Birmingham News of August 3, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTABLE JURY TRIAL VICTORY WON IN SENATE CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLE

By a surprisingly wide margin—51 to 42—a notable jury trial victory has been won in the Senate by opponents of the administration's civil rights proposals. An amendment assuring jury trials in criminal cases under this legislation has been adopted and Senator KNOWLAND, leader of the fight for the bill, says the action probably means it is dead for this year. That would be fine, as we see it. Such a program as remains even in the Senate bill would complicate and make more difficult and dangerous problems in this field.

Senator KNOWLAND'S view is based on the belief that the House probably will not accept changes. The House passed the legislation without the jury trial provision and with a section, eliminated by the Senate, which would empower the Attorney General to use the injunctive process in civil rights cases in general. KNOWLAND'S estimate seems reasonable to us.

The Senate measure still is to be acted on as a whole. That may come next week. It contains, besides the injunction section, provision for a Presidential bipartisan commission to study civil rights and for appointment of an additional assistant attorney general and establishment under him of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

The Senate jury-trial amendment would permit selection of Federal court jurors without qualifying under State laws. This change was made with a view to strengthening support for the amendment, as there has been contention that under the amendment jury trials might be held in such cases without any Negro jurors. Qualification of Federal jurors under State law is sound practice. Departure from it would be a highly questionable change. What would be Federal qualifications for such service?

We continue to believe that failure of the legislation as a whole would serve the national as well as southern interest. A Federal civil-rights inquiry now would intensify problems in this field. But the bill as revised by the Senate is substantially less objectionable than it was as approved by the House.

What has been done in the Senate reflects a high regard for sound principle and practice in upholding jury trials in criminal actions under such legislation.

The Senate's action in eliminating proposed use of the injunctive process in civil-rights matters in general, as for instance in school cases, and confining such authority to voting cases, greatly curtailed the scope of possible trouble under such an act.

We are impressed by the comment of Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia, leader of the opposition forces, that the Senate was at its very best in voting the jury-trial amendment and that his faith in representative government was renewed in seeing men have the courage to rise above the pressures and vote their convictions.

If some such legislation finally is jammed through, it will be much less troublesome and disturbing if it follows the lines of the major revisions made by the Senate. But it will be even better if the whole business fails, as Senator KNOWLAND thinks is probable.

Address of United States Senator Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania, at the Annual Convention of the American Legion, Department of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, Pa., August 10, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, Senator EDWARD MARTIN on Saturday morning, August 10, 1957, delivered an address before the American Legion convention in Harrisburg, Pa., which I believe to be an important statement on the economic health of the United States. Senator MARTIN speaks of the sound policies that are necessary for the healthy, vigorous growth of our country in order that our national prosperity will continue and grow.

Both as a longtime friend as well as a Pennsylvania colleague of Senator MARTIN, it is a pleasure to insert this tribute to the ability and sincerity of our senior Senator from Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT HARRISBURG, PA., AUGUST 10, 1957

Your many invitations to speak at your annual conventions help the morale of an old soldier more than these humble words of mine can express.

I sincerely appreciate the honor of addressing you, because the Legion has done so much to advance patriotic Americanism and to build the material, spiritual, and cultural strength of the United States. You have fought bravely and intelligently for all things American. You have battled courageously against all things un-American.

Over the years I have talked to you on many subjects. Today, I would like to bring to your attention the financial situation of our Government and its relation to the welfare of our people. This may not arouse much enthusiasm, but basically it is one of the most important problems confronting our country.

Before taking up what some may consider a dry financial discussion, let us look back with pride at the background of the United States.

The history of America is a glorious story. It tells of toil, sacrifice, and heroism. It tells of victory produced by a people whose hearts and minds were aflame with the spirit of liberty and independence.

It tells of those courageous patriots who met in Philadelphia more than 180 years ago, and pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to establish a new nation. For the first time in all the world, government recognized the divine origin of man's inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

For the first time a government was based upon the sound principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Upon that foundation, in less than 200 years, a savage wilderness has been transformed into the most powerful nation of the earth, with the highest spiritual and cultural level ever attained by any similar area in the world.

We surpass every other nation in industrial and agricultural production but regardless of our great national wealth we are confronted by grave problems.

Our most serious internal danger is the depreciation of the purchasing power of the dollar.

Yes, my fellow Americans, I want to impress upon you that inflation is the No. 1 danger to our country. If allowed to continue it can destroy our system of government. Recent world events have demonstrated beyond all doubt that inflation is a direct threat to freedom.

It has the power to crush any economy upon which it fastens its grip. The record of history proves that more great nations have been overthrown by inflation than by invading armies.

I have every respect for the economist who can discuss inflation from the technical standpoint and can support his conclusions with charts and statistics. His expert knowledge has great value but you don't have to be an expert to know that no matter how fat your pay envelope may be, the thing that really counts is how much you can buy with your dollars.

Let me give you the figures on how much the dollar has depreciated in value.

In 1939 the dollar was worth a little more than 100 cents in purchasing power. Inflationary pressure during World War II forced the value of the dollar down to 78 cents. The decline continued during the postwar years and at the beginning of 1953 the dollar represented only 52 cents in purchasing power. For a time it appeared that the value of the dollar had been stabilized at that point and for the next 3 years remained practically unchanged. However, in 1956 the downward trend was resumed and the value of the dollar sank gradually month after month, going down from 51.5 cents in June 1956 to 49.8 in April of this year.

This is an alarming situation. If the downward trend is not checked the healthy, vigorous growth of our country cannot be maintained and our prosperity will become a thing of the past.

When the dollar loses its purchasing power, it damages all with fixed incomes. The person who lives on a pension, social security, or interest on savings cannot escape the evils of inflation. There are now in the United States more than 16½ million on social security, corporations, and Government retirement, veterans pensions, veterans survivors benefits, and military retirement pay.

Values built over a lifetime, or even over generations, are reduced or wiped out by inflation. Those damaged by inflation include the more than 125 million savers in the United States, the shareholders in corporations, owners of life insurance policies and savings accounts. Men and women paying into social security make up another great list of savers whose benefits are reduced by inflation.

I turn now to some of the causes of the inflationary pressures that have been building up over the years.

First, I would point to big government as one of the primary causes. This includes excessive Government spending, deficit financing, a staggering burden of debt, printing press money and unsound fiscal policies. There has been so much expansion of Government that more than 7 million are now employed at the 3 levels, Federal, State, and local. They are not producers and the total payroll puts into circulation nearly $40 billion dollars a year.

Second, increased labor costs with a corresponding rise in the cost of production. When higher wages bring an increase in productivity there is no danger. But this has not been the case here in the United States in recent years. Inflation results when production does not keep pace with rising wages.

Third, too much use of borrowed money in the expansion of business and purchases by Government, corporations, and individuals, particularly money borrowed from banks.

An official Department of Commerce report issued on May 27, shows that the American people, at the end of last year, owed a total of more than $800 billion in gross private and public debt. This is an average of about $4,700 for every man, woman, and child in the Nation.

Net State and local government debt has increased from $13½ billion in 1945 to $42.7 billion at the end of 1956.

Net corporate debt went up from $93½ billion in 1946 to $208 billion at the end of 1956.

People have been buying out of tomorrow's pay checks. At the end of 1945 they owed less than $6 billion. In 1956 this figure had increased to $42 billion.

Fourth, experience has shown that there is no limit to human desire for goods and services, but there is a limit to the means by which these desires can be satisfied.

We must remember that even though we are the richest Nation on earth there is a limit to our resources. Therefore, when Government attempts to carry out competitive political promises, many of them made by demagoges, and undertakes to supply the wants of groups and individuals, the cost is likely to exceed available revenues. In that event, Government resorts to deficit financing. Increased debt and more inflationary pressure are the natural consequence.

How can inflation be curbed?

It can be done by drastic governmental controls over wages and prices. Americans do not want such governmental controls. We want a free economy, because the great strength of our Nation is our system of free competitive enterprise. If it collapses our entire structure will fail.

Living standards here in the United States are the highest in the world because American productivity has been advanced to the highest level in the world. Production is the golden key to prosperity. We cannot have great industrial production if we have restrictive legislation or controls enforced by administrative directives.

It can be done by voluntary restraints on the part of the people, by reducing individual spending and by building up savings accounts and other forms of savings. But that method has never been effective.

It can be done by tough credit restraints and higher interest rates to make borrowing more difficult. This is not very palatable as far as the American people are concerned but it is one of the best ways of curbing inflation.

It can be done by raising taxes so high that it would control a boom. We will not accept that plan. Taxes are too high now. Tax cuts are not inflationary, if accompanied by reductions in Government expenditures.

Many feel that the objective of full employment is inflationary. It has been suggested that wage and price increases, when more than one State is concerned, should be subject to national approval.

Politicians want to avoid brutal methods like high interest rates, curbing appropriations, and increasing taxes. Such actions are always unpopular. Too often the politician takes the easy way, without regard for the dangers that lie ahead.

The curbing of inflation is a job for all of us because in the United States, we the people are the Government.

The Federal Reserve Board by restricting the expansion of credit has done much to check inflation. This restrictive action has been accompanied by rising interest rates and many now contend this is one of the reasons for the high cost of government. However, the curbing of inflation in defense spending alone has saved us an amount greater than the increased cost of interest to the Federal Government. The stand of the Federal Reserve Board has been criticized but it has rendered a great service to the Nation.

Why has government become so expensive?

One reason is that Federal and State Governments are financing a great variety of activities that formerly were the responsibility of local government and depended upon the self-reliance and initiative of the people in their home communities.

As an example let me cite the big increase in so-called grants-in-aid from Washington to the States. In the early twenties $100 million a year in Federal funds were paid in grants to the States. This has now increased to $4 billion.

Here is another fact. One American out of five—men, women, and children—gets a check at regular intervals from Uncle Sam.

Another illustration of the increase in the cost of government is that the Federal Government proposes to spend $14 billion a year for welfare projects compared with $4 billion 10 years ago.

While we must all work for a sound and solvent America, we must not forget the dangers of Red propaganda. We have found that large quantities of Communist propaganda has been received by embassies and other so-called diplomatic representatives of the Soviet and that this material has been distributed throughout the United States.

Recently there was broadcast into millions of American homes an example of Communist propaganda more flagrant than anything ever before attempted.

It was a brazen attempt to convince American listeners that Soviet Russia has no evil designs against the free nations of the world. We were told that the Russian dictators seek only friendship and peaceful coexistence.

Yes, my fellow Americans, the Communist boss talked peace but real Americans were not fooled. The record denies their words.

Their fundamental objectives have not changed. They have not abandoned their unholy ambition to destroy all human freedom.

Those of you who heard that broadcast will recall the prediction that the grandchildren of Americans living today will live under a socialistic system.

That was a grim warning. It must not be ignored. It calls upon us to be constantly alert to the dangers of Communist influence here at home. We must fight disloyalty with every weapon at our command, and if our laws are not strong enough, they should be made stronger.

We can have a strong and prosperous America if we work for four important objectives:

1. Labor must be gainfully employed at wage scales adequate to maintain the American standard of living.

2. The farmer must have a profitable market for his product.

3. The investor in industry must have a fair return on his investment.

4. The dollar must be stabilized.

In every age in America we have looked forward. We have looked forward with a mixture of courage and doubt. Each one of us has fought his own battle. Many of us have lost. Some have won. The great majority have had both defeats and victories. But, in every generation, courage in the United States has prevailed.

Personally, I feel that America today has the same courage that caused our forefathers to move ahead. They did not have it easy. We will not have it easy. We must always fight for the stability of our currency; for the improvement of living conditions; for our up-building, morally and spiritually.

The early settlers in the New World, facing the hardship of a vast and unknown wilderness, had one thing in common—an ardent faith in God.

Let us emulate their example.

As militant, God-fearing believers in American ideals, let us fill our more than 300,000 churches, cathedrals, synagogues, and temples in the United States, 165 of them built before 1776.

Let us wage a war for complete loyalty by all living in the United States to the principles for which a million Americans died on battlefields within our borders and in foreign lands.

Let us live by the motto "In God We Trust"; and if that trust is deep enough, America will survive every attack.

"Protective Milk" Due in Stores Next Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of August 11 an Associated Press article referring to an address delivered by Dr. W. E. Peterson, of the University of Minnesota. The article is most informative; and Dr. Peterson is one of the outstanding dairy specialists and dairy scientists in the United States, I say without any question at all. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"PROTECTIVE MILK" DUE IN STORES NEXT YEAR

WOOSTER, OHIO, August 10.—The discoverer of "protective milk" says that cow's milk fortified to treat human beings for rheumatoid arthritis and allergies may be available in commercial quantities next year.

Addressing a Dairy Day crowd yesterday at the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Dr. W. E. Peterson, noted dairy scientist at

the University of Minnesota, held out hope for treatment of cancer, rheumatic fever, the common cold and possibly other ailments with protective milk.

He has been experimenting for several years on the capability of the cow's udder, injected with disease bacteria, to produce milk charged with defensive antibodies and to transmit immunity to the consumer of the milk. His talk was a progress report on the research.

He reported:

1. Hay fever sufferers given protective milk acquire complete immunity from the effects of ragweed pollen. Similar good results have been attained on other allergies.

2. Of 26 rheumatoid arthritis victims given protective milk, 20 won relief of their symptoms over long periods.

3. Mice have been immunized against two types of cancer. Experiments on humans are under way with exciting but still unreportable prospects.

4. Milk fortified simultaneously against 21 human ailments has been produced and possibly hundreds can be mingled in the same potion.

Dr. Peterson said that human beings already are drinking protective milk and the available supply will expand as more research herds become available. He added that milk has been shipped to Mexico to combat infant diarrhea.

"By next year, several hundred people with rheumatoid arthritis will be on test," he reported.

The scientist has been his own "No. 1 guinea pig" in research on rheumatoid arthrisis, from which he suffers. He reported that he had obtained 7 periods of relief of about 6 months each and now was waiting for the ailment to recur for the eighth time.

Dr. Peterson's research centers around his discovery, reported in medical journals in 1950, that a pregnant cow has the ability to give milk that protects her calf against disease.

The disease-causing organisms are injected into the udder in quantities of billions at weekly intervals for about 3 weeks before freshening.

Investigation of Labor Racketeering —

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, in yesterday's Washington Star there appeared an article by Frank Kent, published in his column which bears the headline "The Great Game of Politics." The article has to do with the current investigation of labor racketeering. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREAT GAME OF POLITICS

(By Frank R. Kent)

LABOR'S "URIAH HEEPS"

WASHINGTON, August 10.—The recent shock given the country by the acquittal of Mr. James Hoffa, destined to succeed Mr. Dave Beck as head of the teamsters union, by no means has subsided. It is still felt, and will be for a long time to come, not only in the higher labor echelons and not only among the dues-paying rank and file, but among the politicians, both Democratic and Republican.

Actually, before the Hoffa business is over, there is some reason to believe there will be a real and bitter split among the top labor bosses and a disclosure of more wrongdoing among the so-called labor leaders than is now suspected. At least, that is the conviction of those best posted on the existing situation.

For example, the present heads of the AFL–CIO labor combination, Mr. George Meany, president, and Mr. Walter Reuther, vice president, have taken a very hostile attitude toward the Messrs. Beck and Hoffa. They have expressed the severest, and probably justified, condemnation of their conduct, have indicated an intention to toss them out of the AFL–CIO organization and, before the Hoffa acquittal, seemed to take the general view that they were destitute of honor and devoid of shame.

Altogether, the Meany-Reuther combination has occupied very high ground indeed, piously talked about ethics using the words "honesty and decency" as though they had, themselves, invented them. Figuratively, they have spat on the teamsters union and its corrupt leaders. This is not written in defense of these leaders, whose record is a shame and disgrace to every honest union-labor man. It is written to point out that this sickeningly pious effort of the Messrs. Meany and Reuther to proclaim the purity of their souls is more than a little ridiculous.

In this connection it is being recalled by many that Mr. Meany was a close friend of the ex-convict Joe Fay, whom he secretly visited and consulted while he—Joe Fay—was in the penitentiary. And that Mr. Reuther handles the truth carelessly. In the big auto workers' strike some years ago he publicly charged General Motors with having "falsified their books," hilariously admitting, after the strike, that he had faked the whole thing because "I thought it would put the company over the barrel." No one will deny that this was an extremely serious charge and that laughing it off is pretty low-grade stuff.

For these two men now to throw around themselves a cloak of respectability and denounce their colleagues as "unethical" and "unfit" to belong to their group is revolting to those who know the facts. It is particularly revolting to see them accepted at their own valuation by newspapers and so-called "liberal" journalists who know the truth. They are the two outstanding "Uriah Heeps" of the labor world, as old Mr. Baruch would say, "China eggs."

Despite his acquittal, Mr. Hoffa is not in the clear yet. Not only has the McClellan committee plenty of other data upon which he can be brought into court, but his new plans for the expansion of the teamsters union are so far reaching as to justify fear all over the country. It would, as Senator GOLDWATER said, give him control of the Nation.

Several things contributed to the general shock of the Hoffa acquittal. One was that the jury was composed of 8 Negroes and 4 whites. Another was that Joe Louis, former heavyweight champion, was in the court to see, as he said, "what they are doing to my friend, Jimmy Hoffa." Besides the fact that he is a hero to practically every Negro in America, Joe's expenses were paid with teamster union dues. A third thing was the extraordinary way in which the press in general "hush-hushed" the racial jury majority and Joe Louis' presence and statement.

It was printed, of course, but not widely commented upon. If there was anything more unethical than this Joe Louis incident, it cannot now be recalled. Yet, no protest along this line has emanated from that ethical pair—the Messrs. Meany and Reuther. Nor, so far as noted, has any outcry come from any bar association, judicial authority or civic organization. That extremely articulate group—the Americans for Democratic Action, which hardly ever neglects an opportunity to articulate—has been completely silent on this subject. Perhaps future developments may throw some light upon the reasons for this reticence.

Outstanding Work of Salvation Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, a brief item appeared in the newspapers of my State a few days ago which told a most significant story. The item described a well-deserved tribute paid by the assistant director of the correction division of the Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare. The tribute was paid to that fine group of men and women who comprise the Salvation Army of my State and of our Nation.

This particular commendation was on behalf of the Salvation Army's inspiring interest in prisoners and parolees. But other tributes might well have been given for all of the many other splendid services which have been rendered since the inception of the Salvation Army by these soldiers of the Lord.

To them "a man may be down, but he is never out," and countless lives have been saved—thanks to the Salvation Army's humanitarian fulfillment of its Christian responsibilities.

I send to the desk the text of the writeup from the August 9 issue of the Milwaukee Journal, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAROLE WORK GIVEN PRAISE: SALVATION ARMY

EAST TROY, WIS.—The Salvation Army's inspiring interest in prisoners and parolees was praised Thursday night by the assistant director of the State public welfare department's corrections division.

"Some of the original parole officers in this country were Salvation Army people," said Quentin L. Ferm, Madison, speaking at the Salvation Army's fourth annual State conference at its lake summer camp near here. "And the years have not dimmed your humane enthusiasm."

Salvation Army representatives, he said, "never fail to make visits to all of our institutions many times each year."

He urged delegates to promote public acceptance of former convicts in Wisconsin communities.

"If an ex-convict continually runs into discrimination and nonacceptance, we, the public, have poured all of our money for correctional institutions down a rathole," he said.

A statewide information program urging legacies for the Salvation Army was described to the more than 100 lay and professional delegates.

Lt. Col. Dallas P. Leader, of Milwaukee, commander of the division which includes Wisconsin and upper Michigan, said that almost 20,000 brochures would be mailed in the next 6 months asking citizens to leave money or property gifts to the Salvation Army in their wills.

Salvation Army income in the division last year was $949,187, Leader reported. The organization in 1956 gave 191,654 meals, presented religious services for 256,193, and helped 9,400 families, he said.

Delegates were urged to "speak to sell this outfit" by Lt. Col. Fritz Nelson of the group's Chicago territorial headquarters.

Boost in Discount Rate Means "Fed" Sees No Business Slump

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Leslie Gould, which appeared in the New York Journal-American of August 9, 1957, very properly highlights the erroneous approval by the Federal Reserve Board to the entire problem:

BOOST IN DISCOUNT RATE MEANS "FED" SEES NO BUSINESS SLUMP

(By Leslie Gould)

The Federal Reserve, the Government agency that is supposed to have the best feel as to the economic pulse of the Nation's business, apparently sees no immediate letdown in business, nor any lessening of inflationary pressures.

This is the main conclusion to be drawn from the four Federal Reserve bank's increase in the discount rate—the charge to commercial banks borrowing from the central banking system. The other eight including New York will follow.

The increase firmly establishes the new, higher base for all credit. The increase from 3 to 3½ percent is the biggest upward change in 15 years and the largest change in this rate up or down since 1946.

REFLECTS VIEWS ON INFLATION

The Federal's action follows the increase in interest on prime loans by New York commercial banks from 4 to 4½ percent. That also was the largest percentage increase since right after the war.

Both increases, that in prime loans and in the discount rate, were exclusively forecast in this column on July 2.

The action by the Reserve banks had to be approved by the Federal Reserve Board in Washington. So, the change reflects the Board's views as to business conditions and to inflation.

A spokesman for the Board made the significant comment that if business did turn down the rates would be changed as the situation warranted.

The implication is clear. The Reserve Board sees no real letdown in business this fall. A slight recession would be ignored, just as the Reserve has ignored the rolling readjustment of the last year or so, with some lines lagging and others going full steam ahead.

NOT A CREDIT INFLATION

The Federal Reserve probably had to take this step, for otherwise banks could have made a little more by lending money on their commercial loans by rediscounting all those at the Federal. The gap between the discount rate and prime loans would have been an unusual 1½ percent and even greater on less gilt-edged paper. The change in the discount rate holds this gap to 1 percent.

The Federal Reserve insists it is still battling inflation. The trouble is that it is combating a credit inflation, which the current inflation is not. The 1929 inflation was chiefly a credit inflation.

This inflation is a wage-price inflation. It is not the result of any feverish bidding for credit for speculation, as in 1929. Nor is it the result of any shortages, with consumers vying for scarce goods. There are no shortages.

PASS ALONG INCREASES

Wages are going up, without any offsetting increases in worker productivity. The increases are being passed along to the consumers, except in the regulated industries, such as transport and utility services.

The higher interest rates, resulting from the Federal Reserve's tight-money policy, instead of checking the inflation, are to a degree adding to the inflation. It costs more to hire money, and interest is a business expense. The only softening influence is the tax bite. Interests costs are deductible against taxes, so 52 percent of the interest charge is paid by Uncle Sam. To pass it all off that way is just kidding the public.

The Gallup Poll—Most Voters Favor Right-To-Work Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the Gallup poll recently sampled the feelings of the American people on the subject of the right-to-work law. The results of the poll were published a few days ago in the press of the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that an article on the Gallup poll, dispatched from Princeton, N. J., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GALLUP POLL—MOST VOTERS FAVOR RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW

PRINCETON, N. J.—If it were left to the voters to decide in a referendum whether the States should have right-to-work laws or not, the odds would heavily favor the widespread adoption of the law.

A coast-to-coast survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion finds that more than 6 out of every 10 voters, or 63 percent, say they would vote for such a law, while 27 percent say they would vote against it.

This is not to say that the public is anti-union. Institute surveys over the last two decades have consistently found the public to be overwhelmingly sympathetic to labor's right to organize for collective bargaining.

But today's survey evidence indicates that many people thing unions overstep their rights when they coerce employees into joining unions.

Sentiment among union members questioned in the survey is almost the exact opposite of that of the general public. Union members say they would vote against a right-to-work law by a margin of 61 to 33 percent.

As a result of the Senate Rackets Investigation Committee's disclosures, right-to-work laws have been widely discussed in legislative circles as one of the remedies that should be incorporated in the revision of the statutes regulating labor unions.

Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, chairman of the Select Committee on Improper Practices in the Labor Management Fields, has already sponsored, as a civil rights bill amendment, a national right-to-work law that would outlaw all compulsory unionism.

With legislative proposals coming up for action in several States, the institute assigned its nationwide corps of reporters to first ask the following question in today's survey:

"Have you heard of State laws called right to work, or open shop, laws?"

While 2 out of every 3 voters said they were familiar with the laws, unions have done a better job of acquainting their members with the legislation, as the following table shows:

Heard of right-to-work laws

	Percent
General public:	
Yes	66
No	34
Union members:	
Yes	82
No	18

Interviewers next asked the following question involving the job-freedom principle, as follows:

"Some States have passed right-to-work, or open-shop laws that say each worker has the right to hold his job in a company, no matter whether he joins the labor union or not. If you were asked to vote on such a law, would you vote for it—or against it?"

Here is the vote nationwide and for union members only:

Right-to-work law

	Percent
General public:	
Vote for law	63
Vote against	27
No opinion	10
Union members:	
Vote for law	33
Vote against	61
No opinion	6

An analysis of the results by geographical regions of the country shows the majority of voters in each section are in favor of the law, with the strongest sentiment in favor showing up in the East, as follows:

East: Vote for the law, 69 percent; against, 22 percent; with 9 percent expressing no opinion.

Midwest: Vote for the law, 56 percent; against, 33 percent; with 11 percent expressing no opinion.

South: Vote for the law, 64 percent; against, 23 percent; with 13 percent expressing no opinion.

West: Vote for the law, 61 percent; against, 33 percent; with 6 percent expressing no opinion.

Right-to-work bills have already been introduced or are expected to come up soon in eight States: Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Civil Rights Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to include extraneous material, I wish to have an editorial which appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer on Monday, August 5, printed in the RECORD. The editorial which follows speaks for itself and is in accord with my sentiments:

CIVIL RIGHTS VOTE

The angry disappointment voiced by President Eisenhower at the 51–42 Senate vote

that killed the heart of the administration's civil rights bill, was justified. It is a disappointment, as he said, shared by millions of fellow Americans.

If a mere handful more of northern Democrats, who have been among the loudest trumpeters for civil rights, had given their support the injunctive protection of the right to vote, in the form sought by the President and approved by the House, would have passed.

It was to such Senators that Senator KNOWLAND, leader of the Eisenhower forces, appealed dramatically to remember the Democratic civil rights plank in the 1956 platform. He appealed in vain.

Their support of the jury trial amendment opens them to the charge that they were less concerned with passion for principle than with politics. It is a charge that seems likely to haunt them and their party for quite a while.

While it is true that legal subtleties confused the issue, especially to lay minds like ours, we think the President is right in his position that the jury-trial amendment makes right-to-vote protection "largely ineffective" and that "many Americans will continune in effect to be disenfranchised."

Subtleties will be forgotten. The essential purpose of the administration's efforts, to protect effectively the right to vote, will remain.

For this reason it appears more than probable that the Eisenhower Republicans, in losing the battle to protect the voting rights of Negroes in the South, have won the support of Negroes in the North and West to a far greater extent than swung to them in 1956. If this is so, the party of Lincoln will have reestablished itself.

As for the Democrats, the genuine liberals among them must be viewing the prospects with dismay.

Japan Will Import British Atomic Power Reactor, Believe United States Reactors Need Further Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a release on Atoms for Peace, written by the Whaley-Eaton Service, considered to be one of the most reliable of all information sources on atomic energy. The release, dated August 1, 1957, entitled "Japan Nears a Decision" follows:

JAPAN NEARS A DECISION

Japan's AEC has informally decided to import a 200,000-kilowatt to 250,000-kilowatt improved Calder Hall type reactor from Britain and a small pressurized water-type reacter, capable of producing 20,000 kilowatts, from the United States.

The British reactor is to be purchased by the nine private regional power companies together with the Government's Electric Power Development Corp. It is possible, however, that an entirely new agency may have to be established by the Government for the purpose of importing reactors, our Tokyo bureau reports. This possibility stems from the growing antagonism developing between the private companies on the one hand, and the Government company on the other. The new agency would presumably take the initiative for reactor imports.

The Atomic Research Institute at Tokai-mura is purchasing the American reactor, however. One experimental reactor is already set up at Tokai-mura but its opening has been held up while special piping was procured from the United States to replace a faulty section. The opening is now expected very shortly, Washington officials have been informed.

The decision to buy the improved type of British reactor rather than the presently operating type will slow up the Japanese atomic program, since the Calder Hall type—which uses natural uranium fuel—will not be completed until 1961. The Japanese feel, however, that it will be better able to produce power at rates competitive with thermal power rates now prevailing in Japan. The Japanese contend United States reactors have not yet proven themselves, since a test power station using any of the new United States reactor types has yet to be completed.

Japan will send an atomic power generation research team from private industry to Britain this fall. Atomic power agreements with the United States and Britain are to be speeded up. A Japanese draft is to be ready for Britain shortly. Talks with the United States are to begin simultaneously with those with Britain.

Jobs After 40: Resolution of Milwaukee Eagles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to receive from Ray Markey, the dynamic and public-spirited secretary of New Milwaukee Aerie, No. 0137, of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, a copy of a resolution adopted by the aerie at its regular meeting on August 6 endorsing Senate bill 1073 to ban discrimination in employment because of age. I believe that Mr. Markey and my other fellow-members of the Eagles deserve great credit for their interest in this matter and I commend the resolution to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress:

Whereas hundreds of thousands of Americans, over 40 years of age, despite their experience, abilities, and vigorous health, are unable to obtain jobs because of the unjustified employment policies of many plants and firms; and

Whereas this vast army of capable and ready workers constitutes a deplorable, and in many instances, tragic, waste of a great segment of America's most valuable manpower; and

Whereas many of those denied jobs solely on the basis of age are the heads of families, or have other dependents, and employment policies against hiring them lead to personal frustrations, and discontent, often with tragic consequences, and are a denial of a basic right to every American, "the pursuit of happiness"; and

Whereas it has been indisputably established through surveys that mature workers are as good, if not better than younger employees, have more developed skills, have better attendance records, and on the whole are highly worthy of their hire: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That New Milwaukee Aerie, No. 0137, of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, goes on record in support of passage of bill S. 1073, introduced by United States Senator JACOB JAVITS, of New York State, which would ban discrimination in employment based on age; and be it further

Resolved, That New Milwaukee Aerie carry on a broad educational campaign to obtain the support of management, labor, and the general public for job opportunities for older workers; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our representatives in Congress and to our two United States Senators.

Our Monetary Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a letter which appeared in the New York Times on August 6 written by a well-known Washington economist, Dr. Elgin Groseclose. In this letter to the Times' attention is called to the departure from reserve theory of a 25 percent ratio.

Dr. Groseclose is an international economist and business consultant and is the author of Money: The Human Conflict and other works on money and banking. I commend it to the attention of the Congress.

The letter follows:

OUR MONETARY SITUATION—DEPARTURE FROM RESERVE THEORY OF 25 PERCENT RATIO NOTED

To the EDITOR of the NEW YORK TIMES:

Edward Collins' article, The Policy on Gold, in your July 15 issue is excellent as usual. But it misses the main point of concern for the future of the dollar. This is because the point is also ignored by the authorities whom Mr. Collins discusses.

The point is the effect not of the actual technical position of the dollar but of the speculative license it breeds, and its consequences, because the dollar is not anchored to to a tangible rock but floats on the sea of public policy subject to every wind of fear or exuberance.

Now, it is true that the $13.4 billion held here by foreign Governments and central banks is not likely to be drawn down under current conditions. This is so for the reason—Mr. Collins states—namely, the strong inward flow of invisible payments and the consequent demand here for dollars for their settlement.

Abroad, the familiar pattern of the 1920's, in which a European boom was financed by dollar credits, is being repeated. It will be recalled that the 1929 crash was foreshadowed by the collapse of the foreign bond market a year earlier, marked by the failure, in May 1928, of a Danish Government bond issue (a prime investment risk) to find acceptance in the market.

That ended the flow of capital investment abroad, and sharply halted the inflationary boom abroad. Speculative enterprises, no longer able to tap cheap money, began to fold. The effects widened, trade slowed, and when the Austrian Credit-Anstalt failed in 1931 a general European collapse followed.

A moratorium on reparation payments was followed by the standstill agreements, but

without effect. The United States credit structure was disintegrating; the creation of the huge—for the times—lending agency, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, proved futile. The suspension of gold payments, the bank holiday and the beginnings of the welfare state followed.

PRESENT MONETARY PRACTICE

What is the situation today? At the end of 1956 the total money and quasi-money in circulation in all countries members of the International Monetary Fund, as reported by the fund, may be calculated at around $145 billion, stating the various currencies in dollars at the dominant rate of exchange. Against this amount of money the member governments held reserves equivalent to about $29 billion, or at a ratio of about 20 percent. But of the reserves only about $15 billion consisted of gold, the balance being foreign assets; that is to say, dollar deposits. Thus it may be calculated that each dollar of bank deposits in this country held by a foreign central bank supported some $5 of foreign money, which means that upon $1 of gold some $50 of bank money has been created abroad.

Actually, the statement is somewhat academic in conditions of universal nonconvertibility. But it indicates how far monetary practice has drifted from the reserve theory of 25 percent ratio.

At home, the effects are more subjective but not less noxious. Increases in the discount rate and other policy measures fail to dampen speculative enthusiasm for the reason that no one is persuaded that a depression is possible in a welfare state economy.

Everyone is convinced that if the going gets hard Uncle Sam will bail out the luckless and pour money into the economy, regardless of the effect on the reserve ratio. Indeed, we have the assurance of the Secretary of the Treasury that the Government would not hesitate to declare a moratorium if a run on the reserves developed from abroad.

And why should not the American citizen feel this way? We have been bailing out other countries for the past 10 years without requiring them to put their houses in order. Why should not the money presses start rolling if a domestic debacle develops? Surely the children of the household are to be regarded as well as those on the doorstep.

ELGIN GROSECLOSE.

WASHINGTON, *July 28, 1957.*

Are We Willing To Pay the Price of Liberty?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under permission approved by the House, I am including an interesting and informative address delivered by Gov. Ruben Wagnsson, of Kalmar, Sweden, on the occasion of the annual banquet of the National Committee for the Prevention of Alcoholism on July 24, 1957. I believe Members of the House will want to read this interesting statement:

SPEECH BY GOV. RUBEN WAGNSSON, OF KALMAR, SWEDEN

In 1851, a Swedish authoress, Frederika Bremer, published her memories and impressions from several years of travel in the United States. I shall quote a passage from her interesting book: "The American is a young man, who builds his own road through the world, fully confident of his own capacity, who finds nothing impossible, has faith in everything, hopes everything, tries everything, experiences everything and emerges unhurt out of it all. Should he fail, he will rise at once, saying: 'It does not matter'. Should he fail, he will say: 'try again'. His work and aim remains this: always to work, to build up, to begin anew with new tasks, constantly developing and expanding himself or his country. * * * And he accomplishes all this not with gnashing of teeth and with sighs but joyously and in good humor. This, above all, the people of the new world have in preference to the old world: a warmer heart, a more energetic, vital, and youthful life."

Let me assure you that my impressions of America and the Americans of today do not differ very much from Miss Bremer's. I have found very little here in America of the mental plague of Europe, that paralyzing suspicion that there isn't very much to do about this world of ours, that it is going to the dogs anyhow. It is not unnatural that such a belief is widespread in a war-plagued, fear-ridden, and destitute continent and it is still less so if we consider the contrast between the hopes we held and the reality that surrounds us today. However, such a situation isn't new to us.

After the First World War some prophets of disaster kept telling us that civilization had no chances of survival. And still—there are no 20 years in the history of man, comparable to those two decades between the world wars. Not only was materials progress rapid and revolutionizing—to the laboring masses there came the message * * * that we are all heirs to the kingdom of human culture and have a right to share its splendor.

If you doubt that fact, the progress of our civilization has not been curbed, if you feel like saying that there is nothing more to be expected from the future, there is a simple test you can make. Don't ask just in general if there is progress in our world. Ask the farmer, "Oh, yes," he will tell you, "there are a lot of interesting things happening in my field. In many parts of the world the crops have doubled in 40 years. * * * And perhaps you have heard of those interesting experiments that seem to be giving us new fruits, not to speak of the improvement of old brands?" You may ask the engineer, and he is likely to answer something in this line: "There are a great number of really important new inventions registered with the patent offices every day. * * * Complicated machinery is reduced to new simplicity and efficiency. * * * Simplification goes hand in hand with increased purposefulness and power. * * * Simultaneously, we are amassing such enormous lots of knowledge that it is no longer possible for one technician to master even a small part of it. We have to specialize rather strictly, and on top of that we have had to put in a lot of teamwork. I suppose that indicates that there is a lot of progress in engineering today."

Everywhere you will find the same: A civilization teeming with new ideas, a tumult, not of destruction but of construction, to a degree never experienced or dreamed of by former generations. There may be one field where this tendency of progress is deplorably weak; the all-important field of human relations, the problems of successful and efficient government. I have been a politician during most of my life, so I modestly claim to know something about it. * * * There are many problems, for example, unemployment and the administration of large public works, that we know more about and are able to handle better than we did some decades ago. Still the problem seems to be that the atomic age is ruled by stone-age morals. * * * We shall perhaps never be able to do away with clashing interests in private and social life. It is not unreasonable, however, to maintain that new methods of investigation of social problems * * * may be found. Undoubtedly these problems are much more difficult to solve than those of technology or medicine. * * * We have explored and exploited some of the possible fields of human creative activity. Others have been left aside. But it is not axiomatic that they should be left in such a state for all the years to come. * * * The day shall come when we shall apply our richly differentiated technique of scientific thought on the intricate problems of human relations.

If we consider the fact that the speed of progress has been accelerated in a fantastic way in the past few centuries, * * * it is reasonable that we ask: Could a dying civilization renew itself to such a degree? Would it even be conscious of its own crisis, discussing it * * * fighting it as we are doing? No, these are not the death throes of western civilization. They are its birth pains. What we have seen is just a beginning. It may die from its red measles or some similar ailment of some other color. But it is certainly not dying from old age.

However optimistic I am, I cannot deny * * * the dangers surrounding us. If we are to survive, we must not give up the central and fundamental values of democracy. Paramount among them is liberty. * * * If we do not recognize the equal rights of nations, races, and classes, we shall have no liberty and no brotherhood among men.

It is, as a matter of fact, my thesis today, that the whole crisis of our civilization may boil down to the question: Are we willing to pay the price of liberty? Briefly, I may try to state that price, in the following way:

1. We need an all-out effort in western democracy to make it function with an efficiency that leaves bragging dictators and their systems far behind.

2. The whole of our democratic society must be permeated with the ideas of political and spiritual liberty. This, in its turn, is not possible if we do not create a democracy that extends beyond the voting power and the right to have a say in the wage market. It is quite as important that the cultural rights of the citizen are recognized.

3. We must build our future on the perception of our civilization as an expanding unity, capable of progress and reshaping. It is much easier to make a progressive society with increasing production and an ever-increasing treasure of thought and art fulfill the ambitions of brotherhood and equal rights than it is with a static society in which the fight for survival goes on unrelentingly.

Let me make a few comments on these three points. Point No. 1 must be understood to include the willingness of democracy to fight the perils inevitable wherever narcotics and alcohol are used. The public mind has been disturbed over the whole United States by the news of widespread drug addiction among young people.

Still there is no doubt that the damage caused by drugs is comparatively small if you consider the continuous and increasing effect of drinking upon the health and efficiency of the peoples of the Western world. It is very likely that industrial production would increase by 5 to 10 percent if we could abolish alcohol. That 5 to 10 percent would mean a lot in the social budget, and yet this is insignificant in comparison with the improvement in home life, road safety, and cultural standards to be gained by resolute action against drinking.

I would rather like to stress the point of cultural standard of living. * * * I do not say that the teetotaler is morally superior to the man who takes a drink every now and then. But I regard total abstinence as the sensible, clear cut attitude naturally adopted by everyone who believes in the

...ness and beauty of life, the inspiring ...sibilities inherent in man and the glor... ...s vistas of development and progress. ...u can never deny the fact that in every... ...r life drinking is very often the rival of ...her ambitions. To meet the problems ...today we need clear thinking and willing... ...s to accept responsibility. Drinking tends ...develop in the common man an attitude ...at means that you try to take out of life ...hat personal joy you can get. You don't ...ther about social or international prob... ...ms. You are afraid of the facts of stark ...lity and prefer to avoid them by drugging ...ur brain. The responsible way of living ...eans that you accept reality even if it re... ...is you—not to leave it alone and be left ...ne, but in the intention to reshape the ...rld according to your ideals.

* * * * *

It is important that the temperance move...ent does not content itself with walking ...ound in the well-worn clothes of our fore...thers. New methods, new approaches are ...perative, and I know that the American ...stitute of Scientific Studies for the Preven...n of Alcoholism represents such a new ...proach to a vast social, medical, and moral ...oblem.

What I have just said links up with the ...hole question of the cultural platform of ...mocracy. We have a higher standard in ...terial things today than ever be...re. * * * I am not quite so sure about ...e cultural and mental standard. Democ...cy should tell us: You have fought for ...ur political rights, you have conquered ...hort hours and high wages. The time has ...me to fight for your cultural rights as a ...tizen of democracy. Fight for your right ...read the best books, to hear the most ...autiful music ever composed, to see the ...ost wonderful works of art ever created. ...e must no longer accept the infantile su...erstition that the working classes should ...e on a lower standard of culture than ...her groups of society. * * * We are all ...titled to a chance of benefiting from the ...st of human culture.

As for point No. 3, I will say this: It is ...rrible to see the regress in liberty in the ...ternational field. * * * If it were not for ...erica, the future would be very dark in...ed. It is the strength of the United ...ates that guarantees the existence of any ...eedom at all in the world today. Some...mes we think that we see a glimmering of ...ht in the darkness, but such brutality as ...s exercised by Russia in Hungary quickly ...mpens any hopes we may have cherished.

One hundred years ago some young people ...n the State of New York founded an or...nization called "The International Order ...f Good Templars." This order brought the ...irit of the American pioneers to a back...ard, poor, far-off land, my own country, ...weden. The International Order of Good ...mplars helped to form Sweden into a ...odern democracy, and today Sweden is ...ooked upon as a progressive democracy, en...ied all over the world for its high standard ...f living and its educational level. In ...weden the Good Templars run 1,600 public ...braries. They have built more than 1,200 ...alls, open to any democratic activity. ...* Statesmen and administrators have ...ome from their ranks. Members from all ...ur political parties have been educated in ...ood Templar lodges, and there they have ...arned to cooperate for the good of society. ...* All that was the outcome of the ini...iative of a handful of young Americans a ...entury ago. Let us have more of that vi...al Americanism that makes the world a ...etter place to live in. Let us be proud of ...ur heritage of freedom. Let us state what ...e believe in, as citizens of a democratic ...ociety and citizens of the world:

We believe in free thought, in the capacity ...f reason and reasearch to bring clarity and ...oherence to our existence. We believe that knowledge and education will prove themselves to be stronger than the antiquated misconceptions and misevaluations of totalitarian theories. In our life as human beings and as citizens we prefer to stand in the service of truth and reason to giving obedience to blind instincts and traditions.

We believe in brotherhood. We give our fraternal hand to all nations and races, knowing they all have their tasks in our common fight, the fight that shall lead to world peace. * * * We believe in the miracle of creative achievements, in the holy spirit vindicating itself wherever goodness conquers indifference and progress overcomes stagnation. Each one of us is weak and brittle, but in union we stand in the service of the Lord of Hosts, bound together by the obligations of brotherhood, inspired by the ideals of humanity. It depends on you and me to give meaning to our lives. It is up to us to dispel darkness, to mitigate suffering, to build new roads through the wilderness, and create a new world.

The Issue of Civil-Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 2, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the civil-rights bill, as amended at the other end of the Capitol, has come back and is languishing on the Speaker's table.

This measure as it reads now is not just a watered-down version of the bill that passed the House some time ago. Instead, stripped of its confusing legal subtleties, it no longer provides for the needed protection of the right to vote of southern Negroes. And to accomplish this negative effect, it introduces a complete reversal of our system of jurisprudence, substituting a new and dangerous doctrine of government by men for our historic constitutional concept of government by law. That is the result of interposing a jury between the judge and the enforcement of his injunction.

I will not comment as to whether support of the jury-trial amendment in the other body was politically motivated. The press and the public are competent to decide that issue more effectively than the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY].

But I will say I would respect the 18 Members of the other body who voted against final passage of this bill more than I would respect any who supported the bill knowing its enactment was sabotaging its objectives.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I can understand those who are against civil rights saying the bill in its present form is acceptable and therefore it should be considered now without an attempt to obtain a stronger bill. Certainly I can understand that attitude because, in effect, this measure as now written would afford no protection at all to those it seeks to protect. As written the bill would only serve to stir up racial animosity and create disturbances.

Having succeeded in the passage through both Houses of the first civil-rights bill in more than 80 years let us not capitulate. If need be we can stay and face a filibuster. A patient effort should be made to resolve the differences between the House and Senate. Even though the Democratic leadership says this is a satisfactory bill, let us acknowledge that acceptance of the jury-trial amendment represents absolute defeat to the southern Democrats.

Not only the right of every citizen to vote is at stake, but now we must decide if, as our forefathers provided, we shall remain a Government of law or if we are to change to a system of government by men. With either issue there must be no compromise.

Beauty of the American Countryside in the Pacific Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, at a time when some of us in the Senate are putting forth every effort to preserve the outdoor beauty and grandeur along our interstate highways, it is appropriate to call attention to the majesty of the American countryside. This has been done most effectively and movingly in a brief article by a warm personal friend of Mrs. Neuberger and mine, Mrs. Katherine Wonn Harris, in the August 5, 1957, issue of the Lebanon Express, of Lebanon, Oreg.

Mrs. Harris has emphasized, in her essay, the transition between the seasons of summer and autumn which always brings such poignant and idyllic beauty to the Pacific Northwest in the month of August. I ask unanimous consent that her article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMER PAUSES ON THRESHOLD OF FALL
(By Katherine Harris)

August is here and, by the calendar, summer still has nearly 2 months to go. But by the texture of atmosphere, of leaf and flower and root and vine, summer is on the wane. The trend to fall is obvious in sunset, in field and even in the treetops.

This is the time when green and growing things settle back for a breather and then move on to harvest ripeness. It is a pause more felt than seen for this is the time when haste and urgency of growth slows down.

Evident everywhere is the season's achievement. The grasses come to seed and droop dustily along every roadside. Wild blackberry thickets are heavy with completion. Early apples weigh the limbs and windfalls stud the brown orchard grasses.

Garden weeds discouraged by the vigorous hoe of June, are springing up to mock the gardener and test his August staying power.

The South Santiam river is languid, and its feeder creeks, so lusty in June, are now low with stony beds naked to the

sun. My lone vine maple, far from its mountain kin, is rosehued and bears for the first time this year, delicate winged seeds.

Our swallow nestlings are on the wing and safely away. This to the chagrin of the cat, Alley, who camped patiently under the bird house for days waiting for a young one to fall.

The blackbirds are flocking, further proof of the waning season. The dust of harvest drifts over the fields, and high in the air thistledown floats lazily.

So August is here, and midsummer. But across the valley westward, and east over the Cascade foothills is the glow of autumn.

Criticism of Calder Hall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the article, for which I am asking unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD, should be of interest to all Members of Congress in the light of debate in the House of Representatives last week when the Atomic Energy Commission's Authorization Act was under consideration.

Calder Hall is the British reactor in the class of the gas-cool, natural uranium reactor which the majority of the members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy believe the United States should be exploring.

There is no question about the British claims that Calder Hall is the only nuclear power station in the world now producing electricity on an industrial scale.

I herewith submit an item which appeared in the July 1957 issue of Atom, which is the monthly information bulletin of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority.

CRITICISM OF CALDER HALL

In the House of Commons, Mr. Chetwynd asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware of the defects in the British type of reactors which have been criticized at the Tokio Atomic Energy Conference, details of which have been sent to him; and, in view of the effect of such criticism on potential customers, what action he is taking to counteract these statements.

Wing Commander Bullus asked the Prime Minister, in view of the recent criticisms of defects in the British type of reactor, what action he proposes to take to counteract the effect of such criticism on this country's overseas trade.

The Paymaster General: "I have been asked to reply. I have received reports of remarks made about the Calder Hall type of reactor at a conference in Tokyo, organized jointly by the American and Japanese Atomic Energy Forums, which are organizations of industrial firms concerned with atomic energy. The reactors at Calder Hall have gone into operation more smoothly and with far less trouble than is normally experience in starting up a conventional power plant; and the reactor system continues to show great potentialities for further development. We shall be glad to show any customers both the limitations and potentialties of Calder Hall, which is the only nuclear power station in the world producing electricity on an industrial scale.

"The best answer to criticism is to show what we have already achieved—and the critics have not."

SEVEN POWER STATIONS

At the present time Harwell is working on seven types of nuclear power stations. This is because the development period for some of the newer types is likely to be long—over 10 years—so it is important to begin early. It is also unlikely that all these types will come to maturity. It is usually impossible to decide on the relative economic merits of different alternative types without studying the technological problems for several years.

Our highest priority is given to successive improvements in the Calder Hall type of nuclear power station—which uses gas-cooled graphite-moderated reactors as a source of heat. We can envisage a succession of improved marks just as one type of aeroplane developed from a DC–3 to a DC–7B.

We are also studying the advantages of substituting liquid sodium for CO_2 gas to transfer the heat from reactor to steam generators. This would allow more heat to be extracted from each ton of uranium, so the reacter could be smaller for a given output and capital costs would be lower. To balance this, there are difficult problems of compatability of the liquid sodium which need investigation, and fuel economy will be worse. We do not yet know whether sodium cooling will show economic advantages over improved gas-cooled reactors.

A further development of the gas-cooled reactor seems possible by using fuel elements which are completely ceramic in type so that temperature might be increased to 800° C. This reactor system has many development problems and a 3 to 5 year Harwell experimental period is envisaged.

We are also working on the development of the fast breeder reactor with the objective of increasing hundredfold our utilization of uranium in the period from 1970 onward. We envisage fast reactors fueled by plutonium from our earlier gas-cooled graphite-moderated reactor. The plutonium would be fissioned and surplus neutrons would transmute U–238 in the reactor into still more plutonium. In this way we should essentially be burning the abundant U–238 rather than the scarce U–235.

We are also studying the technology of reactors using liquid fuels such as uranyl sulphate or U–233 dissolved in liquid bismuth. The long term objective of these systems is to achieve breeding or near breeding in the U–233—thorium system, thereby bringing the world's large resources of thorium into use. These reactors might also have very low fuel costs.

The development of any 1 reactor system requires the collaboration of up to 100 scientists and technologists from 5 or 6 divisions of the establishment. Nuclear physicists have to provide the nuclear data; reactor physicists and theoretical physicists by experiments and calculations determine the important parameters of the reactor—core size, lattice pitch, fuel element shape and size; the chemists study compatability of the coolant and reactor materials; the chemical engineer studies fuel element processing; the metallurgist develops fuel elements; and the engineer carries out heat transfer and fluid flow experiments and develops reliable mechanical components such as mechanisms for charge and discharge of fuel elements. This last seems to be the most difficult of all.

For all this work we are equipped with powerful tools such as accelerators and research reactors with rather elaborate laboratories for radio chemistry and metallurgy.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING O DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of document not already provided for by la but only when the same shall be accomp nied by an estimate from the Public Print as to the probable cost thereof. Any exec tive department, bureau, board, or indepen ent office of the Government submitting r ports or documents in response to inquiri from Congress shall submit therewith estimate of the probable cost of printing t usual number. Nothing in this section r lating to estimates shall apply to reports documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, whe presented to either House, shall be referr immediately to the Committee on Hou Administration of the House of Represent tives or the Committee on Rules and Admi istration of the Senate, who, in making the report, shall give the probable cost of t proposed printing upon the estimate of t Public Printer, and no extra copies shall printed before such committee has report (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SAL

Additional copies of Government public tions are offered for sale to the public by t Superintendent of Documents, Governme Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at co thereof as determined by the Public Print plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed authorized bookdealers and quantity pu chasers, but such printing shall not inte fere with the prompt execution of work f the Government. The Superintendent Documents shall prescribe the terms a conditions under which he may authori the resale of Government publications b bookdealers, and he may designate any Go ernment officer his agent for the sale of Go ernment publications under such regulation as shall be agreed upon by the Superintend ent of Documents and the head of the re spective department or establishment of t Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72 Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printe to print and deliver upon the order of an Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extract from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the perso ordering the same paying the cost there (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction o the Joint Committee on Printing, may prin for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse th expenses of such printing, the current Con gressional Directory. No sale shall be mad on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p 1939).

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The Public Printer is authorized to fur nish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.5 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superin tendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Texans Devoting Constructive Thought to Water Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, every day brings new evidence that the people of Texas are thinking long and hard about our State's water problem and how it can best be solved.

A recent editorial in the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise commends the announcement that the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation have been asked to coordinate their efforts, down to the field level, to bring about adequate development of the water resources of Texas.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise of August 5, 1957]

JOHNSON'S WATER PROGRAM

We aren't sure that Senator LYNDON JOHNSON covered enough ground when, speaking of his home State of Texas, he said "the water supply problem is the one limiting factor on the continued growth of our population and the continued expansion of our economy."

But he certainly hit upon one of the biggest headaches.

Announcing that a big-scale water development program for the State is on the way, the senior Lone Star Senator said:

"I have asked the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to give me an overall water program for Texas by April 30, 1958. I am expecting the two agencies to work together, down to the field level, in advising and carrying out this program."

And what about the cost? JOHNSON expects Uncle Sam's bill to be perhaps $1.3 billion over a 25-to-30-year period.

The long-range planning angle is highly important, because no program of the type JOHNSON envisions can be practical unless it is carried out on that basis.

As everyone would have known "the purpose of this program is to keep Texas from running out of water and to prevent heavy flood losses * * *."

The same holds true for the statewide program for water use and conservation that was approved in part by the last session of the legislature, and of many other plans of a local or district nature.

Gov. Price Daniel considers it imperative that the other part of the State program be put into operation as soon as possible, and to accomplish this is one of the reasons why he seeks a special session of the legislature in October.

The same commonsense reasoning lies behind efforts of farsighted east Texans to push to completion the multipurpose McGee Bend Dam.

Senator JOHNSON made it very clear that he considers teamwork at the State and local levels as essential to the success of the program he envisions, adding:

"State officials and Texas river authorities will determine how they can best tie in their efforts with those of the Federal agencies."

Fingerprinting of Exchange Students and Others

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Roscoe Drummond, appearing in yesterday's New York Hearld Tribune, in which he emphasizes what I have tried to emphasize in a bill introduced in the Senate, and in a strong plea to the Senate and to the committees which handle such proposed legislation, that the fingerprinting requirements in our immigration laws, as they apply to the exchange of students, sports teams, ballet companies, theater companies, musicians, and a great number of others who can be absolutely invaluable in the person-to-person program between ourselves and the countries behind the Iron Curtain, should be dispensed with on a reasonable basis, and in the discretion of the Secretary of State.

There is no more powerful answer to the Russian propaganda which proceeds not from a desire for cultural exchange, but from the fact that it is found very convenient to blame on us the fact that it lags, than giving this discretion—again, I emphasize, on a reciprocal basis, and in the discretion of the Secretary of State.

The bill which I and other Senators have introduced is very simple. It consists of about five lines. I very much hope that the Senate will not fail to act upon it at this session, and strike a real blow for freedom.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW MOSCOW CLOBBERS US

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—On one of the most crucial fronts of the cold war the Soviets are clobbering us.

Where we should be winning naturally and magnificently, where all the means of winning are on our side—except that we have temporarily thrown them away—we are losing miserably and unnecessarily.

It's time to do something about it—right now and before Congress adjourns and thereby again fumbles the ball.

Something can be done about it. It's not difficult; it is quite simple.

What I am talking about is this:

The Kremlin is successfully picturing the United States around the world today as the one nation unwilling and afraid to engage in a man-for-man, reciprocal exchange of students and specialist groups between the Soviet countries and America.

And is successfully picturing itself as unafraid and eager to let many more American students and specialists into the Soviet Union—if we will reciprocate.

We are pictured as timid, scared to let citizens from Russia and the satellites see the United States, and intent upon maintaining an American "Iron Curtain" against cultural exchange.

They picture themselves as anxious and intent upon extending cultural exchange at every opportunity with America and completely ready to extend reciprocal freedom of travel.

This is a tremendous propaganda victory for the Kremlin.

There are times when the Soviets are going to win a propaganda victory because the advantage may be with their side. But in this instance the advantages belong with the free nations and should and would belong with the United States if we hadn't thus far thrown our advantage away and thrust into the hands of Moscow the very brush with which they are tarring us.

We are just beginning to feel the full effects and see the full consequences of our mistake of imbedding into the Immigration Act the requirement that visitors must give their fingerprints to the United States Government before we will grant them visas.

And how the Soviets relish it; that is, relish taking advantage of it.

Here's what we do for them:

1. We give them the most honey-laden jampot of anti-American propaganda conceivable. It is absolutely sure-fire, guaranteed to win converts and influence waverers everywhere. The United States makes itself the only nation in the world requiring fingerprinting for visas to visit this country. Since we alone impose this requirement, since fingerprinting is associated with crime-detection and is abhorrent to many people, particularly giving your fingerprints to a foreign power—Moscow has no trouble convincing much of the world that we are the ones who are against cultural exchange, that we fear having visitors from Communist nations see America and fear having American students, artists, scholars, and specialists see the Soviet Union. We lose on this one, have no doubt about it.

2. Further, we play right into the Kremlin's hands on another point. We put into their hands the device which enables the Soviets to control and restrict the travel of Russians while appearing to put the blame on America. They have no trouble persuading their people that they ought not to yield to American demands to be fingerprinted and therefore they ought not to travel to the United States or only those should travel whom the government encourages to travel.

I am by no means certain that the Soviets want to expand cultural contacts with America. It would be to our advantage if

they did. We ought to find out and we ought not to give the Kremlin an American-made excuse for restricting the right to come here to a very limited group. The Kremlin may restrict the travel of its nationals, but at least we could take the American label off the restriction.

Why no make one simple, single change in the Immigration Act this month—take out the fingerprinting requirement. The President is for this action. So is Secretary Dulles and Attorney General Brownell. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, raises no objection. "Mr. Immigration" himself, Representative FRANCIS WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, has proposed it in the past.

Why not do something about it now—at this session of Congress?

Effect of Court Decisions on Criminal Investigations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have received the text of a resolution adopted by delegates to the 79th annual conference of the Sheriffs' Association of Texas, meeting in Houston, Tex., July 21 to 24.

I ask unanimous consent that this resolution, which deals with recent court decisions, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas there have been a series of court decisions rendered by the United States Supreme Court, Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, and other appellate jurisdictions which have worked to the detriment of the law enforcement profession in nullifying the most effective methods of criminal investigations; and

Whereas as a result of these decisions our society is being deprived of the protection of effective prosecution of persons accused of felony violations; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this association voice its displeasure with these dicisions; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be called upon to take such action as may be necessary to rectify this undesirable trend; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, and to each Texas Member of Congress.

Death Penalty Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, because the entire question of the death penalty for capital crimes is a Federal as well as a State issue, I want to call to the attention of the Senate a report from the Bulletin of the Oregon Prison Association for July 1957, which describes an address on this subject by State Representative Robert B. Duncan, of Medford, Oreg.

Mr. Duncan is an able and enlightened attorney who believes that abolition of the death penalty would be a civilizing step that would not have an adverse impact on the crime rate. I call particular attention to that portion of his address in which he stresses that States without the death penalty actually have lower homicide rates than those in which the death penalty is still exacted.

Both Mrs. Neuberger and I are members of the Oregon Prison Association, which is one of the most useful and socially beneficial organizations in our State. It is fortunate in having an outstanding and capable secretary and director in Mrs. Claire Argow, a trained and experienced social worker.

I ask unanimous consent that the excerpt from the bulletin of the Oregon Prison Association reporting Representative Duncan's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEATH PENALTY REEXAMINED

"The modern trend throughout the world is to eliminate the death penalty and to substitute rehabilitation."

This was the statement of Robert B. Duncan, State representative from Medford, in his address on May 22 to the 54th annual meeting of the Oregon Prison Association in Portland.

The speaker was one of the sponsors of the constitutional amendment calling for abolition of the death penalty which will be submitted to the voters in November 1958.

Mr. Duncan, himself an attorney, quoted Clarence Darrow, famed criminal lawyer, who maintained that capital punishment was reserved for the poor and friendless. The speaker also pointed out that the death penalty has not succeeded in reducing capital crimes and he emphasized that the States without the death penalty have lower homicide rates than those which still demand the supreme punishment.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT DISCUSSED

In discussing the proposed constitutional amendment, Mr. Duncan stated that capital punishment would still be mandatory as punishment for treason and would be a possible punishment for first degree murder when committed by one already serving a life sentence.

He added that a second law, which would become operative only if the constitutional amendment is approved, provided that those convicted of first degree murder would be required to serve 15 years before becoming eligible for parole. He also emphasized the fact that eligibility did not mean automatic release but that the unanimous approval of the parole board would be required before such a person was returned to the community.

"If the resolution is defeated," Representative Duncan concluded, "it will be defeated by lethargy of persons who favor it but fail to campaign for it."

NEW OFFICIALS NAMED

Stuart B. Mockford, Oregon City, was chosen president of the Oregon Prison Association and 4 vice presidents, 1 from each congressional district, were elected. These included Paul B. Bender, Beaverton; Judge D. R. Cook, Pendleton; George E. Wann, Portland, and Charles P. Champlin, Medford. J. D. Annand of Tigard became secretary-treasurer and Judge Ray D. Shoemaker of Portland continued as legal adviser.

Added to the board of directors were Winston L. Bradshaw, Oregon City; Rolla J. Crick, Portland; Sheriff Edward W. Elder, Eugene; Francis E. Harrington, Portland; William Hilliard, Portland; Willard A. Mears, Portland; Rev. J. Edward Oslund, Portland; Russell A. Peyton, Beaverton; Francis M. Reagan, Portland, and Dr. Edward A. Taylor, McMinnville.

Main Street of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the interesting developments of the times is a general rediscovery of the many virtues, social and economic, to be found in the small towns of America. Managers of industry are finding that small towns offer many advantages as sites for manufacturing plants. Men and women in increasing numbers are learning that small towns are wonderful places in which to live.

A weekly newspaper in a Texas town, the Beeville Bee-Picayune, recently published a thoughtful editorial on this subject; and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Beeville (Tex.) Bee-Picayune of August 8, 1957]

MAIN STREET—1969

The theme of the 1957 National Citizens Planning Conference, held in Little Rock, Ark., in recent days, was "Main Street—1969." The year 1969 referred to the scheduled completion of the 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System. The purpose of the conference was to enunciate and broadcast to all America a clear concept of the forces that are already at work creating the main streets of the future.

Perhaps the most dramatic explanation of what is happening is that of Elmer F. Twyman, vice president of Yale & Towne, who told the conference that America is being rediscovered.

"In the adventure of rediscovery," he said, "we are finding that there is land in all parts of our great country where industry can be established and where it can flourish; we are finding that everywhere there are men and women with skill and aptitude for even the most complex industrial tasks. Our system of communication and transportation has narrowed the expanse of time and space. Nothing is distant any, and all Americans are neighbors."

Mr. Twyman noted that "the continuing dispersal of industry, away from large, concentrated centers" strengthens our defense and security in this atomic age, but even more important is its influence on economic growth. This decentralization, he said, is equalizing prosperity for all."

The dispersal program of his own company has resulted thus far in three new plants in

small towns in Virginia and Tennessee, with others under construction in Arkansas, California, and North Carolina, so he should know whereof he speaks. "We found the strength of people," he said. "* * * Small-town Americans are generous, hospitable, and neighborly * * * good people to be among and good people to work with. * * * We found stability among people in small towns, the stability that comes from nearness to the earth. * * * They are purposeful and direct and proud of their capacities."

But what are the other advantages that industrialists look for in seeking new plant sites? Mr. Twyman lists them as: good transportation, good communications, nearness to raw materials and services, and a strong welcome and spirit of cooperation from officials and civic leaders."

Our people measure up. But how do we stand on other factors? Maybe we ought to check up, before 1969.

Dictatorship by Hoffa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the editor of the Salina Journal, Mr. Whitley Austin, has written an editorial, Dictatorship by Hoffa, which appeared in the August 6 issue of the Salina Journal, that I believe expresses the viewpoint of a great majority of the American people and I am sure expresses the views of the people of Kansas.

I recognize the great need in our American economy for a strong labor organization and further understand that it has been necessary to promote the growth of unions in order to curb the unfair practices of management in years gone by.

The time has now arrived when the unions themselves must assume the responsibility for the actions of their leaders and must be responsible for their conduct toward the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DICTATORSHIP BY HOFFA

Why is Jimmy Hoffa of the teamsters a worry to businessmen and union men alike?

Today you can't move supplies or merchandise without trucks. You may ship by rail or you may ship by air or by water, but somewhere down the line you also are going to have to use trucks.

So a teamsters union controlling most of the truck drivers can tie up almost any business, any industry or any construction job.

This gives the teamster bosses the whip hand. They have power not only over business but also over other craftsmen and groups of workers.

If another union doesn't play ball with the teamsters, either in questions of jurisdiction over who does what work or in union policy and politics, the teamsters by picket and strike can in effect lock the other union out.

Other craftsmen may cross the teamster picket line but if the supplies for the job don't arrive, the other craftsmen have no work.

Not content with this monopoly of power, Jimmy Hoffa is reportedly dickering with the longshoremen's unions—the men who load and unload ships.

Hoffa also has more grandiose ideas about creating a superunion covering all forms of transportation, including railways and airlines.

Jimmy Hoffa is on his way to wield more real power than the President of the United States.

This has been permitted to come about for one basic reason. Congress has given unions an exemption from the antitrust laws that prevent other groups from monopolizing economic power and strangling competition.

This privilege is now proving a Frankenstein to the unions themselves. It has become a threat to the welfare of the United States.

Removal of his special privilege to dictatorship should be the first business of this Congress.

Opposition Shown to Proposed Regulations Restricting Trade in Firearms and Ammunition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a number of Texans have made known to me their opposition to a proposal to amend and revise regulations relating to interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition.

The reasons for their opposition are summed up in a recent article by J. Cullen Browning, editor of the Orange, Tex., Leader. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Browning's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Orange (Tex.) Leader of August 6, 1957]

ACROSS THE EDITOR'S DESK

(By J. Cullen Browning)

Willett Kuhn, who has spent many hours teaching my youngsters and others how to handle firearms safely and how to put a bullet where it is supposed to go, has called attention to a highly objectionable proposal now under consideration in Washington.

Kuhn is a longtime member of the National Rifle Association and has that organization's rating of master shooter. That's as high as you can go in target shooting.

NRA and its members are fighting a proposal to amend and reissue regulations relating to interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition.

The battle is over the question of just how heavy a hand bureaucracy is going to lay on the traditional right of the American people to own and use firearms.

Some of the opponents view the proposed regulations as part of the plot by subversives to take over control of the country.

That may be a bit farfetched but there is certainly something amiss when it is proposed that the American people be required to wade through Government red tape every time they buy a box of .22 ammunition or shotgun shells.

And that is exactly what will happen if the proposed new regulations are adopted.

Here is the background for this battle of the bullets:

The Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service drafts and enforces regulations for interstate traffic in firearms.

Just how this particular agency was assigned this job is one of Washington's many little mysteries. But it was, and now somebody in the division, for a reason that is not quite clear, has decided that the present set of regulations is inadequate.

A much more elaborate set of rules has been drafted and may be adopted unless the American people speak out against them in a loud, clear voice.

Among the proposed new regulations is one requiring that all purchasers of firearms and ammunition of any kind in over-the-counter sales acknowledge receipt of the ammunition in their own handwriting in a record prescribed by the Federal Government.

At intervals, Internal Revenue Service officers would come poking around in the dealer's records and examining his "premises and stock," to guarantee compliance.

In short, you and the dealer both would become suspect every time you bought ammunition for target practice or hunting.

A public hearing on the proposed new regulations must be held before they can be adopted and it has been set for August 27.

NRA, in literature circulated in opposition to the proposed rules, notes two things about this hearing:

1. Whether by design or not, it probably will come after Congress has adjourned and most of the Senators and Representatives won't be around to attend the hearing in person.

2. The bureaucrats have made it very difficult for John Q. Citizen to voice his opinion at the hearing. Written statements must be in duplicate and material relating to each of the several sections in the proposed regulations must be separated and each must bear the number of the section to which it relates.

The best route for the average citizen interested in warding off this threatening new encroachment by bureaucracy on individual rights is to write a letter to his Congressman and Senator urging them to file protests.

And the NRA offers these reasons for protests:

"This is a vital question to every individual who believes in the right of American citizens to possess personal firearms for lawful purposes, free from arbitrary and unnecessary governmental control.

"The issue here is of far greater importance than the merit or lack of merit of any of the proposed regulations.

"The issue is whether under the guise of executive department regulation our rights in the private ownership of firearms can be strangled little by little without legislative action of any kind."

Which is precisely the case. This is not a question of passing a law. It is a question of issuing bureaucratic rules within the framework of general law already passed by Congress with the assumption that the statute would be wisely administered.

Qualification of Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD to the editor of the New York Times written by Mr. Hans J. Morgenthau.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO QUALIFY AS AMBASSADOR—ISSUE TAKEN WITH SECRETARY DULLES ON PREREQUISITES FOR POST

(The writer of the following letter, a consultant to the State Department, 1949–51, is director of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I have been both elated and depressed by Mr. Dulles' definition of an Ambassador's qualifications made at his press conference of August 6.

I am elated because if anybody who has "integrity of character * * * a sharp and quick intelligence" and is "genuinely devoted to the public service" is qualified to be an Ambassador of the United States, there must be tens of millions of American citizens who so qualify. Napoleon said that every one of his soldiers carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. If one takes Mr. Dulles seriously, one can now say that almost every American keeps an Ambassador's cutaway and spats in his closet.

KNOWLEDGE FOR POST

I am also depressed because for a quarter of a century I have tried to impress upon my students how exacting the qualifications of an ambassador are. I have told them how much knowledge he must have of history, of current events, of foreign countries, of men; how profound a judgment he must have of men and situations, and how he must be able to cope with, and transform, situations on behalf of the policies of his government.

I have quoted the statesmen and diplomatists of the past, who stood in awe of what an ambassador must be, know, and do—men like Richelieu, Callières, Mably, John Quincy Adams, Cambon, Jusserand, Harold Nicolson, and many others.

I have been particularly fond of quoting the reference of Mr. Dulles' own grandfather, John W. Foster, to "the baneful influence of political favoritism" on diplomatic appointments and his approving quotation from a Senate committee report of 1868 to the effect that "no man can pass from other pursuits directly into the higher grades of diplomatic and consular service and comprehend clearly the nature and scope of his duties." (John W. Foster, "The Practice of Diplomacy" pp. 10–11.) If I take Mr. Dulles seriously, the only thing I need to tell my students now is: "Boys, be of good character, intelligent, and devoted to public duty. Class dismissed."

HARM TO MORALE SEEN

It is obvious that Mr. Dulles cannot be taken seriously. In order to defend an indefensible appointment Mr. Dulles has laid down a principle which is absurdly at variance with what Mr. Dulles and all men versed in diplomacy know. Yet by doing so, Mr. Dulles has done great harm to the morale of the Foreign Service and to the public understanding of foreign policy. For he has given authoritative support to those still lingering popular prejudices which have proved to be such a formidable handicap to the rational conduct of American foreign policy, his own included.

Citizens who have integrity of character, are intelligent and devoted to public duty may well wonder whether such a fleeting forensic triumph, if such it is, is not too highly paid for by the lastfng damage done to the interests of the United States.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU.

CHICAGO, *August 7, 1957.*

Drought Damage in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, at the hearing yesterday before the Subcommittee on Agriculture of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, on a supplemental appropriation for rehabilitation of soil damaged by disaster, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] pointed out that tree rings in the Southwest showed that the recent drought in the Southwest was the worst in the last 600 years.

I ask unanimous consent that my remarks before the subcommittee on soil damage in Texas caused by drought and floods be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR RALPH YARBOROUGH BEFORE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AUGUST 12, 1957

Chairman HAYDEN and members of the committee, Texas, in the last few years, has undergone two such opposite disasters as to be unique in memory.

The Texas farmer's plight might be compared to the man dying of thirst on a desert: The man, who has somehow managed to keep up his courage, has crawled across the hot sands and he finally sights a body of water. At the moment of his jubilation, a gigantic flood wave sweeps him down the channel to destruction.

The first disaster suffered by the Texas farmer was the worst drought in Texas history. This was a slow torture to the farmer. For 7 years, he would search the skies in hope of some cloud, even a small one. He watched his water tanks dry up and he knew he had no water for his cattle. He was forced to sell at any price. He watched his grass dry up. He planted his crops over and over. Each time the crops merely withered in the parched, cracked land or failed to come up at all.

In a report prepared for President Eisenhower during his inspection of the drought areas last January, Dr. Tyrus R. Timm, head of the department of agricultural economics and sociology at Texas A. and M. College, said this was the worst drought in Texas history in terms of financial losses, necessary human adjustments, and deterioration of physical resources.

The United States Department of Agriculture classified 94 percent of the Texas counties (244 of the 254) as disaster counties. Large areas of the State did not have a single year of normal rainfall from 1950 to 1957. Many farmers on the high and rolling plains and Edwards Plateau prepared their land and planted seed 3 consecutive years without harvesting a crop. Many ranchmen in the same areas fed supplemental rations to their breeding herds almost the year round since 1951.

The carrying capacity of most of the rangeland was seriously depleted.

All 20 major rainfall-reporting stations in Texas during this period showed 20 to 77 percent below normal rainfall.

A study conducted on the Edwards Plateau of the files of 45 members of the Texas Production Credit Association showed that between the fall of 1950 and the spring of 1954 ranchmen lost 38 percent of their net worth.

Literally thousands of Texas farms and ranch people were forced to the wall. In Mills County, for example, 1,000 of the 6,000 farm people left agriculture. From 1951 to 1952, the movement from farms of 80,000 persons annually was considered normal. During 1953–54 Texans left their farms at an annual rate of 160,000.

By 1955 wind erosion and the heartbreak of economic collapse that goes with it, was only one of the consequences of the drought. When the crops failed for the second and third consecutive years, all protective stubble disappeared. Nothing was left to hold the loose, dry soil in place of these cultivated fields. The fields were ready to blow and did blow away.

The cattleman, the sheep raiser, the cotton and wheat farmer—in short, every person connected with agriculture—lost tremendous amounts of money.

And since agriculture is the backbone of the Texas economy, every person in Texas suffered.

Perhaps no one can estimate with any accuracy the untold amount of damage done by the drought. Responsible officials have said it was in the billions.

In late spring and early summer rain began to fall in Texas. At first the rain was greeted with prayers of thanks.

Unfortunately, the farmer's problem had just started.

Whereas the drought was slow torture, the floods which inundated great portions of Texas were sudden disaster.

In a period of 70 days, the total flood damage to crops, seeds, and labor was estimated by John C. White, Texas agricultural commissioner, as $34,536,728. Permanent land and property damages from spring floods were approximately $50 million.

We think it is interesting to note the fact that officials say the flood damage in Texas would have been $106.3 million greater had it not been for a number of flood-control projects recently completed. The total cost of these projects was $121 million. In other words, these projects almost paid for themselves in this 1 year.

One of the tragic results of the floods is this fact: despite the fantastic amount of water that fell, the rainfall was of the wrong kind for breaking the drought.

On July 30 of this year, Mr. Timm reports that economic drought scars are not erased by these floods. Furthermore, the lack of rain and near-100 degree temperatures have accelerated the drought problem during the last 2 weeks. The situation could become very serious if rains fail to fall rather generally during August.

However, since the law under which this hearing is being held authorizes appropriations only for permanent damage to land, and does not cover crop loss or cattle loss or loss of buildings, I will now limit my statement to land damage.

Texas has had two separate areas of agricultural land qualifying for assistance under the supplemental appropriations act. One area qualifies under the wind erosion provisions and the other qualifies under the flood provision. It should be pointed out that

the wind erosion damage was centered in the areas of the Edwards Plateau and the Rolling Plains of west Texas while the flood damage was sustained in north, central, and south Texas. For this reason there is no overlap in the acreage affected by the two types of disasters.

The Texas Department of Agriculture informs me that there are 1,971,849 acres of Texas land meeting the requirements of the act because of recent disastrous floods. At an anticipated assistance level of $6 an acre this program would require appropriations of $11,831,094.

In addition, the 7-year drought created a wind erosion conservation problem on 3 million acres of crop land and 300,000 acres of pastureland. This would require $19,800,000 in appropriations for this wind erosion damage. This figure includes only the land damaged by erosion. It does not include the many millions of additional acres which have been severely damaged by the drought but which have not started to blow as yet. The State of Texas has 141 million acres of agricultural land and a great percentage of this acreage has sustained drought damage.

The total appropriations urgently needed to cover the types of damages clearly covered by the law to save the erosion and flooded land areas of Texas amounts to $31,631,094.

Arab-Israel Peace Needed To Halt Reds, Says Knight Newspaper Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, at the San Francisco convention last month of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Basil L. Walters, executive editor of Knight Newspapers, Inc., recently returned from an extensive tour of the Middle East, told his colleagues of the Nation's press that "Russia is the only nation profiting from the Middle East unrest." He observed that many of the seeds of world peace as well as the seeds of world war III are germinating in the Middle East and concluded that a just Arab-Israel peace must be brought about to halt the Communists.

Mr. Walters is an experienced journalist. To get his story he interviewed both President Nasser and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, traveled both in Israel and in the Arab States, visited the cities as well as the countryside. His observations and his conclusions are worthy of considered attention. It is not necessary to agree with every one of his statements to be informed and alerted by them. I ask unanimous consent to have pertinent excerpts from his address before the ASNE printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD REPORT BY ASNE TRAVELERS

(By Basil L. Walters)

It's easy to get to and around the Middle East. The distance is less from Europe than that from Chicago to San Francisco.

Once there, travel by foot and by auto is easy, comfortable, and cheap. Hotels in the Arab world, as well as in Israel, are as comfortable as those in San Francisco and the night life is equal to that in Paris.

The people are much the same as in America. There are rich and there are poor. The only difference is that the poor are poorer and more numerous.

But there is a growing social consciousness throughout the whole area.

The thing we have to keep in mind in judging the area is that it is less than a decade out from under British and French domination and that the spirit of 1776 is still the hottest thing in the region.

The people, Arabs and Israelis alike, are most hospitable.

The only precaution to observe is to keep in mind that there are a few unresolved differences between Israel and her neighbors.

I made it a point to raise the issue of Arab restrictions on travel or service by Americans of Jewish faith and reported that this policy was regarded by many as poor public relations.

The Arabs argue that their side of the Israel-Arab argument is not well known in America. I pointed out that their restrictions might well be a factor. I made a particular point that the presence of an Israel visa in any American's passport barring even a reporter from Arab countries was shortsighted and did not contribute to objective coverage of the area.

The director of tourism in Jordan indicated he is hopeful that before too long there will be a further easing of the restrictions. I hope so because one of the preliminaries to peace in the area is an improvement in communications and the understanding that comes through people talking to people.

I had hoped to get permission for American correspondents to travel freely between Israel and the Arab countries. This aspiration has to be delayed, and so I have compromised by establishing a bureau on Cyprus with one correspondent assigned to Israel and another to the Arab countries, but with frequent rendezvous, since they are husband and wife, so they can exchange notes and therefore bring the whole jigsaw puzzle together into better informed and more understandable dispatches.

I am convinced that many of the seeds of world peace as well as the seeds of world war III are germinating in the Middle East. Only an enlightened world opinion will root out the war weeds.

Key to peace is a quick lessening of the Israel-Arab tension. And the first step in doing this is to find a solution to the Arab refugee problem. * * *

This problem is not insolvable—but it won't solve itself.

Golda Meir, the able foreign minister of Israel, suggested that if, in the United Nations Assembly this fall, the finger of world opinion is pointed at both Israel and the Arabs and they are told firmly, "Settle your differences," direct negotiations would result.

She recalled that last fall for 5 months the United Nations pointed its finger at Israel and said, "Get out of Sinai—get out of Gaza." If equal force were placed behind a demand to settle the refugee problem, I think there would be action. The politicians out there need some face-saving assistance.

For 9 long years, somewhere between 800,000 and a million Arab refugees have been encamped in squalid camps on Israel's borders, largely ignored by the press of the world.

Because these refugees are fertile fields for Communist activities, they are now a peril to the Arab countries as well as to Israel. At long last there is a desire on all sides to get them back into productive and happy lives.

The United Nations resolution ordering that their property in Israel be restored to them or that they be compensated has not been implemented. Nasser told me that settlement of the refugee problem must be the first step to other settlements.

Ben Gurion told me Israel is ready to compensate and assist in resettling the Arab refugees in Arab lands where there is land and water. I am inclined to agree with him that the clock cannot be turned backwards to permit great numbers of them to be returned to their old homes. Actually, I think they would find conditions so changed that they would not want to return.

I found in the Arab world a rather general recognition that Israel is here to stay and not one responsible leader spoke of pushing the Israelis into the sea. Once the whole Arab world accepts the fact—and it is a fact—that Israel is here to stay, we've made a long stride toward peace.

There is plenty of land and plenty of water in the Middle East to provide a high standard of living for all those who live there, if these natural resources are properly utilized.

What the whole Middle East needs is peace. The Arabs and the Israelis are cousins. Until a decade ago they lived together as friends for thousands of years. It's time for the civilized world to tell them to cut out the nonsense, and their family bickering and complete the job now in progress throughout the Arab world as well as in Israel of making the desert bloom again.

The whole free world has tremendous stakes in this.

Unless the Arabs and the Israelis cut out their family feuding quickly, I fear that within 5 years the whole Middle East will come under the domination of Russia.

Russia is the only nation that is profiting from the Middle East unrest, and our lack of savvy.

The whole tradition of the Moslem world is against communism.

But the policy of the West is surely and progressively shoving the Arab countries one by one into the arms of Russia.

Russie is playing a most skillful game. Instead of shoving itself onto the leaders of the Arab world, it poses as a friend ready to assist when asked.

Every Russian diplomat in the Arab world speaks Arabic. He is taught Arabic and the traditions of the Arabic world in the University of Moscow before assignment to the area.

* * * * *

While the Arab leaders honestly believe they can accept this friendship without getting involved in communism, some already are caught up to the knuckles of the hand. Unless our policy shifts quickly, the whole arm will soon be enmeshed in the Russian mangle.

The Russian goal, of course, is to deprive Western Europe of the Middle East oil. Once Europe is deprived of this oil, it will fall as a ripe plum to Russia which will have control of the oil it needs. Atomic power will not develop quickly enough to replace the need for oil.

Greatest deterrent to Russia's program in the Middle East are the industrialists of West Germany, Italy, and Holland. Unconcerned with politics, free enterprisers are selling, not giving away, industrial machinery and know-how to Arabs. Encouraged by their government, which has set up special banking arrangements, the German industrialists take payment in stock in the new companies.

Best liked Americans in the area are our oil people. They understand the traditions of the people and are regarded as friends.

I think the greatest contribution to peace would be for dozens of American editors to visit the area with completely open minds and with friendship for all in their hearts.

American newspapers are botching one of the most important stories of our generation simply because we're ignoring it or scratching around the edges instead of getting in there and finding out the facts. We can't cover this story as it should be told merely by balancing the propaganda.

News used to be, "Look what happened to the girl next door."

Tomorrow it may be, "Look what happened to the boy next door who is fighting in the Middle East."

If you have time, en route to the Middle East, stop off at some of the American cemeteries in Europe. They're there because of failure of statesmen—and perhaps of editors—to do their duties well.

Fish Can Prepare Seedbed, England Rice Farmer Finds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Fish Can Prepare Seedbed, England Rice Farmer Finds."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FISH CAN PREPARE SEEDBED, ENGLAND RICE FARMER FINDS

There is little chance that Arkansas rice farmers will make a practice of storing their disks and harrows and depending on a school of carp fish to take care of their seedbed preparation, but the system has worked in an emergency.

"I didn't necessarily want to do it that way," said J. L. Huffer, of England, "but in each of the past 2 years I found it impossible to prepare a seedbed for my rice. I simply hired a plane and sowed in the water and it worked."

Huffer farms a section (640 acres) of buckshot land near England. He explained that fish, particularly carp and buffalo, had a habit of rooting into the lakebed like hogs in a pasture. This stirs the soil and acts as a substitute for plowing.

Plowing and disking in the seedbed opens the soil and also destroys competing vegetation. In the tight buckshot land there is a certain amount of gamble in the process, Huffer explained. If the land is dry enough to plow, the farmer must depend on a subsequent rain to germinate the seed. If no rain comes, the land dries out to the extent that the rice will not come up to a stand, and the farmer misses a crop.

Huffer said Alfred Hilderbrand of Stuttgart and several other farmers he knew had depended on fish to prepare their rice ground for sowing.

In each of the last 2 years, spring rains flooded Huffer's riceland before planting time and he could not do his usual plowing and disking. He said the crop last year was excellent, despite the lack of spring work, and his ricefields look good this year.

LODGING CAUSES LOSS

Huffer said he harvested almost 100 bushels to the acre from some of the land he planted last year. He estimated that he lost perhaps 50 bushels to the acre from "lodging." This is the condition when the rice plants fall before harvest time and the combine cannot pick up the grain.

Lodging is one danger that accompanies water seeding. Huffer explained that when rice was planted in the water the root system was extremely shallow and the plant was not strong enough to support a full crop.

"The amount of loss does not seem so important when a man harvests around 100 bushels to the acre," Huffer said.

Fish also contribute other services to farmers who use the fish-rice rotation system. Rooting carp and the natural waves of the lake can do a fair job of minor land leveling. The fish ram their noses into the lakebed in search of food and the waves sweep the loose mud from the tiny knolls into the low parts of the field. In irrigation farming, the small rises in the field must be leveled out in order to make full use of the water.

FERTILITY RESTORED

Fish farming restores the fertility of a field and fits well into the rice rotation. Huffer estimated that a field would be "as good as new ground" after 3 years under water, if the lake were stocked fully with fish.

"After 5 years," he said, "the field would be too fertile for rice and would have to be planted to some other crop for at least 1 year."

He explained that the rice would grow so rank and so tall that a large part of the crop would be lost, if it were planted in over-fertile land.

RESERVE PLAN VALUABLE

Huffer said the conservation reserve part of the soil bank was particularly valuable to the rice farmer. One advantage is that the farmer is allowed to harvest fish from a field that is in the conservation reserve. Another is that the rice acreage has been reduced sharply and many rice farmers find themselves with surplus land. By putting this land into the conservation reserve for a period of 5 years the farmer is able to harvest two crops of fish and restore fully the fertility of the field.

In addition to this, the fish and the water will level the land and destroy weeds and pest grasses.

"We have not learned all the best possible ways to farm," Huffer said. "I am sure that, on certain types of land, seeding in the water will become increasingly important in the future. I am also sure we will learn more and better ways to use fish in our rotation program."

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Senate will very shortly consider the postal-pay bill, and there is no more important legislation remaining for action in the present session.

In Minneapolis over the weekend public prayers were held for the success of this legislation. Among the articles which have appeared in the Minnesota newspapers on this matter is one entitled "Pastor Lauds Prayers for Wage Increase," from the August 5 edition of the Minneapolis Morning Tribune.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PASTOR LAUDS PRAYERS FOR WAGE INCREASES

A Methodist minister Sunday praised Minneapolis postmen's public prayers for a pay increase as one way to make religion relevant.

The Rev. John B. Oman told his Wesley Church congregation, "It's a sad thing when we compartmentalize life, putting politics in one drawer, religion in another. We have a different key for each drawer and make sure one key won't unlock any others.

"When we go to church we use a special theological jargon that so often has no relation to the life we lead. But the praying postmen made religion relevant."

More than 1,000 city postal workers gathered at 5:45 a. m., Thursday, in Pioneer Square opposite the post office, joining other postal employees around the Nation in a minute of prayer for success in their fight for a salary increase.

The Senate civil-rights fight is delaying action on a bill passed by the House to boost postal wages. If the bill is passed by the Senate, President Eisenhower is expected to veto it.

Urging his listeners to "put legs on your prayers" by combining them with hard work, Dr. Oman likened postmen's prayers to those of farmers asking for rain and sunshine for an abundant harvest.

He cited Federal subsidies, saying the Department of Agriculture is underwritten to the extent of 50 percent, while the postal system is subsidized only about 12 percent.

Deploring the "anonymity of our mailmen" and their "take-home pay in Minneapolis of less than $70 a week," Dr. Oman said, "If I had not received a substantial pay increment in the last 6 years, I'd feel like praying for one myself."

Dr. Oman and Rabbi Lewis N. Ginsburg led Minneapolis postmen in prayer at the Thursday service.

Address by Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, to the National Board of Directors of CARE

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on July 25 I spoke on the Senate floor regarding a splendid address which had been delivered by our colleague, the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], on the occasion of the annual meeting of the board of directors of CARE—Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

I felt that this address was of the type which should be given the widest possible circulation.

It came from the heart of our friend, the Senator from Minnesota; and it went straight to the hearts of his audience.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA, BEFORE THE ANNUAL LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF CARE (COOPERATIVE FOR AMERICAN REMITTANCES TO EVERYWHERE), JULY 24, 1957, HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall take the opportunity in a moment or two to comment on some of the information that you communicated to this audience. But in the meantime, I would like to pay my respects to my

two distinguished senior colleagues who are here—Senator GREEN, who has given us such dedicated leadership in the field of foreign policy; and Senator WILEY, who likewise has given us the same devoted leadership in the field of international relations.

I want to say if I meet many more Republicans like Senator WILEY and Mr. Williams, I may have some of my partisan enthusiasm slightly diluted momentarily. [Laughter.]

I couldn't help but note, when the Secretary was commenting upon my expressions, at least alleged expressions, relating to foreign policy, and about my being a vigorous opponent of going it alone, that he then stated he found this to be strangely similar to good, old-fashioned Republican doctrine. Well, it may have such a strange similarity, but it's this modern Republican doctrine, you see, that has me worried. [Laughter.]

Now, having made my comments on political matters in jest and in good spirit, let me be more serious with you.

We are under a little duress of time today. There is a debate going on in the Senate, and I should like to participate in it before the day is through. Therefore, I shall try to eliminate extraneous material and get right down to cases.

UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY

I am here to address a group of men and women who, to my mind, have performed a great and important patriotic service, not only for the United States of America, but for the cause of human decency and freedom all over the world. I always like to identify the overall objectives of American foreign policy beyond the confines of the territorial limits of the United States. After all, there are some universal principles which should motivate and guide us. Our foreign policy demonstrates its strength when it has a relationship to those universal principles of democratic faith; it demonstrates its weakness when it deviates from those principles of democratic faith.

Now, what is the motivating principle behind a democracy? It is service to the individual. And I say that every person who is elected to office, or holds office by appointment, in a free country under democratic institutions, should remind himself every hour of the day that his primary responsibility, duty, and purpose is to serve and not to be served. This is the Christian ethic, too. "He who would be first, let him be last." "I come to minister, not to be ministered unto."

There is much that can be said from the perspective of all religions concerning service.

THE FEATURE THAT DISTINGUISHES AMERICA—VOLUNTARY ACTION

I believe that our foreign policy has real importance and genuine constructive effect when we search for, find, and use the key to what we call the American way of life.

What is it that really typifies our country? Not wealth; other countries have been rich, even though we surely have great wealth compared with other nations today. Not power; other countries have had power and have used it, and sometimes used it to their destruction. It is not size, because we are not the biggest country even today.

So what is it that has exemplified and characterized what one calls an American? We Americans are not a unique breed of the human species. It is impossible to define an American from the point of view of anthropology or physiology. We are a conglomerate. So, what is it that identifies us?

It is a sense of generosity, of compassion, of kindliness, of tolerance, of understanding, exemplified not only in our public institutions but in our voluntary organizations.

No country on the face of the earth has the number of voluntary organizations that we have in the United States—voluntary organizations that are so generously supported and that have such a wide scale of activities.

In France, for example—the France which cherishes her individualism, the France of liberté, égalité and fraternité—one finds a dearth of voluntarism in terms of community activity. The French people rely on the state; they rely on the government for their social welfare programs; they rely on official institutions, without voluntary help or cooperation.

THE MEANING OF SOVIET TOTALITARIANISM

We are engaged today, fellow Americans, in a struggle with a totalitarian force. It is unfortunate that the American people are not being educated as to what is meant by totalitarianism. All too often they assume it is a political party in control of a country; they assume it is just another political force at work. It is not; it is more than that. It is a political force, a military force, an economic force, a social force, a human force—put in one package, mobilized, directed and energized for the purpose of the leadership of a state.

Now, our Government is only part of America. Therefore, when the Government of the United States joins the issue with the Soviet Union, a totalitarian state, we have, so to speak, 1 arm strapped behind our back and 1 leg cut off. The Government of the United States alone cannot successfully compete with a totalitarian power. But the Government of the United States plus the voluntary organizations, plus every social and political institution that we have in America, cannot only compete but can win.

I say most respectfully to my friends who are in public service, the task of American Government today in the field of foreign policy is this: How do me, on the basis of individual participation and voluntary action, mobilize, energize, and utilize the great forces of freedom which are available in the American community? If we cannot find a way to mobilize those forces, we may well lose our struggle. By its nature, a democracy is a limited instrumentality of social organization. Therefore, when a free government is compelled to compete against against the combined forces of a totalitarian state, where the literature, the music, the playgrounds, the household, the factory, the books—where everything is a part of a total state policy—a democratic government is in a weak competitive position.

CARE REPRESENTS TOTAL HUMAN MOBILIZATION

You can understand, therefore, that CARE, representative of 26 great voluntary organizations, is a fundamental adjunct to, and part of, the total mobilization of human resources so urgently needed in this country for the fulfillment of objectives of American foreign policy and the strengthening of the spirit of democracy.

This is why I am here today. I have been a teacher in school; I always mention that because I may need a job again. [Laughter.] From observation it is clear that many of our educators and leaders have done a poor job of teaching democracy, and a worse job explaining to the American people what is involved in totalitarianism. They have some idea that it is socialism; then they argue as to whether that is good or bad. They have some idea that it is atheism. Well, it is that, plus a kind of distorted socialism, plus all kinds of other things that represent power and brutality and organization and strict discipline. Until we American understand what we are really up against, we are going to be constantly fighting an uphill battle, utilizing fewer of our resources than we should for the objectives that we seek to attain.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES MUST TEAM WITH GOVERNMENT

This situation leads me to say this: We can achieve more good in terms of human welfare, in terms of human betterment, in terms of emancipation of people from their fears, from disease, illiteracy, ignorance, frustration—by voluntary groups working in the field of social welfare and voluntary groups working with other peoples in other lands, than we can through government.

Now, both are needed, don't misunderstand me. This isn't either/or, this is "and." It includes both. It means a role to be served by government and a companion, supplemental, coordinate role to be served by the voluntary agency. But at all times the voluntary agency should be truly so. It must not be dominated by government. We must keep that liberalization, that emancpation from the rigidity of official governmental policy, which comes with voluntary organization. This means that we must have trust.

If State Department officials were here today, I would say, "Don't be suspicious of our voluntary agencies; if they don't do everything that you believe ought to be done in the field of American policy, it's possible that you are wrong, not they." The odds are that the voluntary groups may be right. What is more, one of the great attributes of a democracy is the right of people to make mistakes and admit them. The trouble with Government is it hesitates or dislikes to admit mistakes, thus decreasing the democratic appeal of our actions and decisions.

One of the privileges of a great free people is the right to start something, then decide to shift gears, to go some place else, and admit it.

FATE OF WORLD AT STAKE

So, my friends, there is a great role for organizations such as CARE to play. You are not engaged in something now that is just doing good; you are engaged, as you and I know, in a life-and-death struggle.

This is a one-game world series. I don't know how many innings it is going to go, but you do not have 4 chances out of 7 in this one. This isn't the New York Yankees versus the Milwaukee Braves—nor is this the Chicago White Sox versus the Brooklyn Dodgers. This is a one-game world series against forces of evil, of imperialism, of totalitarianism—and we either win or lose. How long it goes on only we can tell, by what we do each day. This is where CARE is important.

OPENING OUR HEARTS TO OTHERS' NEEDS

What does CARE, then, represent?

It represents self-help. This is good.

What else does it represent?

It represents compassion and charity by living application. There is something noble in being charitable. I have always said that between the platforms of Santa Claus and Scrooge, I will stick with jolly Santa. Any time anyone wants to run on that platform, they can count me in. I have no desire to be the richest man in the cemetery. I desire to use the good things that the good Lord gave me. I have never made a fetish to see how many dollars can be saved; I prefer to find out how many can be well invested, and for what purpose. Many people have saved and saved only to destroy themselves and their families; countries have done exactly the same thing.

I grew up at a time when this country closed its doors to immigrants, when it closed its mind to new ideas, closed its heart to the crying suffering of other people. Finally we ended up closing our factories, our businesses, and our banks, and almost destroying the whole temple of American democracy. I remember because that was the impressionable period of my life. From 1920 to 1933 I listened attentively to those who were then the spokesmen of American ideals, and their sense of idealism was only to save, to amass money, to guard it, to protect it—don't let anybody touch it, don't let anybody use it, and don't be too good to anybody. [Laughter.] In the process, they were among the first to suffer and the first to be destroyed.

I remember when bankers were jumping out of hotel windows faster than pheasants were depleted in our South Dakota corn-

fields. [Laughter.] I am not saying this to be unkind; I am saying it because it is true. I am the happiest man in the world to have since lived in a time when the Government of the United States has been criticized for being overgenerous, rather than for being a tightwad.

I am happy to have lived in a time when the American people have been asked again and again through the Community Chest, through the CARE program, through the Crusade for Freedom, through all the many programs sponsored by generous-minded citizens, to contribute and contribute and contribute. And interestingly enough, my good friends, look and see what has happened. The record reveals that as contributions to voluntary agencies grow larger, the economic index indicates the prosperity of the country is that much better. Study it sometime, and see if I am not right.

You will find that when people show a spirit of generosity, of openness, of kindliness, for some peculiar reason the country itself is in a better economic, political, and social state of health.

That is why I feel the way I do about politics, and that is why I feel the way I do about these great programs.

PRAISE OF "CARE" FROM FOREIGN OFFICIALS

Now, what is CARE doing as I witnessed it? I saw CARE in operation, and I want to be specific now. In Italy, for example, I was told that our surplus food, much of it administered through CARE, had done more than anything else to defeat the forces of communism. I was told this by our present Ambassador there, by our economic minister there, and by the former Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Luce. I have been told by three prominent officials that our food program did more to defeat communism in Italy than the Government of the United States had been able to accomplish through any of its other agencies of aid. I happen to think the forces of religion helped immeasurably too, but if you put those two together, that is what did it. Not our military assistance, not one bit. We need that, just as sometimes we may need to remove our appendix. It isn't something planned nor longed for; yet it sometimes is necessary. But constructive aid is preferable.

I was told in Greece, for example, that without our food program and particularly without our CARE program, Greece would be fighting for her life, despite all the military assistance we poured in, despite the hundreds of millions of dollars in grants we gave to Greece. I was told by the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the present American Ambassador to Greece, that our food program was the difference between success and failure in Greece.

FOOD SURPLUS—A GREAT ASSET

I have gone home to Minnesota to tell a few of our farm people about this, because too often they have been criticized for producing food. I want to say to my friends of the metropolitan press, farmers have been abused daily because they produce an abundance of food. Any country or government that doesn't know what to do with food is intellectually sterile and hopelessly lost.

Can you imagine what Bulganin and Khrushchev would be doing if they had the surpluses of food and fiber that we have? Can you imagine what those "Gold Dust Twins of Disaster and Despair" would be doing? They would be tying to the Soviet one country after another economically. Yet we go around crying about our food surplus as if it was the worst thing that ever happened to a free country.

Finally, in the last year and a half to 2 years, it has begun to penetrate the American mind—and I am not complaining only about public officials, I am talking about the whole American mind—it has become increasingly evident to Americans that possibly food may have something to do with acceptance of America abroad. Possibly food might be the vehicle through which we can bring about agreement on other policies.

Fellow Americans, if it were not for the American food provided India, that country would be fast on her way to a Communist society at this hour. American food is doing more to keep India a part of the free world than all the arms of the United States. Without food, India today would be hopelessly lost to the free world. I thank God for the CARE program and the work that it is doing. Thank God for the village help program. Thank God for the Ford Foundation program. Thanks for all of these wonderful things that are being done.

Let us bear in mind also that had it not been for the wheat provided Pakistan, that Government could never have lasted. It is about time Americans were told these things. It isn't tanks or planes that keep Pakistan alive; not at all. In a crucial hour when Pakistan was in dire trouble politically, it was food that saved the day.

CARE'S AID NEEDED IN EGYPT

Our influence in Egypt for a period of time was made possible through CARE. CARE made it possible for Egyptian children to go to school, and the number of schoolchildren in Egypt today is directly related, my friends, to the number of CARE feedings that take place in schools in Egypt. Now, I am not one of those people who have been deluded by Colonel Nasser. I was suspect of him in the beginning, and I have less faith in him now. Nassers will come and go, but the 30 million Egyptians—and there will be 35 million in another 10 years—will be there just like the Nile River.

The question before you, fellow Americans, is what do you want these millions of Egyptians to think about the United States?

These Egyptian people are a force in the world. One of the most powerful forces in the world, as Chester Bowles said not long ago, is people. People, not H-bombs, because, fellow Americans, we don't dare to use and H-bomb and we know it. We know that the official policy of our Government is not to use these terrible weapons of destruction unless we are forced against the wall as a last effort for survival.

In the meantime, what happens when the forces of political attrition nibble away one country after another? What do we do? Did you ever figure that out?

Let me say there is no political policy we can design today which will appeal to Egypt because of the attitude of her leaders. But there is a social policy that can be designed which will appeal to the people back in the villages. There they will know that the food which comes into the mouths of their children is food from America. A message of goodwill is brought every hour of the day. That cannot be destroyed in Egypt any more than it could be destroyed in Poland, where people at the Posnan Fair said, "Thank God for America." That is our reservoir of goodwill. I submit, the Poles didn't say, "Thank God for America" because we were going to put a stockpile of atom weapons in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I may think this is necessary, but I don't go around talking about it.

It is mighty nice to have some of the comforts of living, and people remember us best for the little things we do. It is like politics. Very seldom at home does a constituent get after me because of a vote I made in a major decision; he becomes distressed because his letters were not answered, or he was perhaps ignored at the county fair, or he just was not noticed on some occasion or another. That is what destroys his faith. These seem little things, but they really are not little; they have everything to do with ones' attitude toward people.

I have known many an intellectual who is brilliant in terms of liberal idealism and yet doesn't like people and demonstrates it occasionally. When one doesn't like people and has no faith in them, then our actions usually reveal it, because it can't be covered up. It will come out sometime, and that's the day when a fellow gets into trouble; that's the beginning of difficulties which may well be destructive.

Now we Americans like people and we like them all over the world. We have a vehicle in CARE to demonstrate this neighborly feeling, not by word but by precept. I hope that our Government will reinstitute a feeding program; I say here as I have said before, we should continue to feed the people of Egypt as we do those in other parts of the world.

I hope our Government will recognize what was said before today, about the sale of our surplus commodities under title I. Such sales are still needed, but donations under title III also have a unique role to play, and maybe a better role than title I sales.

I have heard people say, "What are we going to do with all this foreign currency received from food sales?" If you worry about the foreign currency being piled up, don't. It works; I used some of it on a recent trip myself. It bought things; I ate well with it; had no trouble at all. I know some Americans are lazy, and won't look around to see how they can use foreign currency. I say that respectfully. If any of us is really worrying about having too much foreign currency, why don't we divert more food into these great country-feeding programs? We not only deliver the food but receive in return a kindly attitude. We deliver a package with the spirit of America in it; the warm smile, the helpful hand. Maybe a little piece of literature can be added; but, most important of all, it shows we are interested, that we care.

You know, many people are lonesome. Most people want somebody to care for them. This is why a program such as CARE is so symbolic. It not only provides the material thing that is needed; it provides personal interest with it.

MY EXPERIENCE WITH A GREEK FAMILY

I saw this in Greece. There is a picture over on that table showing me taking a package to a family in Greece. I didn't know them; nobody else knew them. It wasn't a preselected family; the name was pulled right out of the file. There was no "fix."

We went down to a neighborhood in the suburbs of Athens. I was told that this was one of the heavy Communist districts. It so happened that a lady in Minneapolis had sent the money for that package, and I was asked to deliver it—a CARE package for a family, four children, husband and wife, and, I believe, the grandmother.

When I came into that house with the CARE representative, I will never forget the look on the faces of that family. First of all, there was the gentleman who had lost a leg in the civil war. He told me his total wage income was 60 cents a day. Their two little rooms were clean, and in them lived some clean-hearted people. I have been in houses—I won't call them homes—that were physically immaculate, but the people involved were slovenly of spirit. Here I found two little rooms clean, reasonably livable, and filled with warmth and human spirit.

When I presented this little package of food to the head of that household, he wept, not in shame but in gratitude. It was tough to take. I asked, "Who is this little lady behind me?" He said, "That's grandma." She came up and I talked with her. I told her about the fine Greek people in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth. I visited with her so I could gain my composure, really. All she could do was smile; she was so grateful.

This man told me if it wasn't for the American food package they received about

once every 7 or 8 weeks, he didn't know how they would be able to live.

LET'S NOT WASTE FOOD

When I think of what I have read in American newspapers about waste of food, I say every American ought to be ashamed that such waste occurs. Any American who is willing to permit even as much as one bushel of our wheat to be wasted is committing a sin. Whenever I hear an official of Government talk about how much it costs to store this grain I say, "Why don't you give it away, then it won't cost so much." It doesn't cost too much to store it right inside the stomachs of hungry people.

It often costs more when we don't act. If we are interested only in saving money, shall we take our children out of school? Of course, it will be costly because they are going to remain ignorant. If we are interested only in saving money, shall we refrain from seeing the doctor? We may not live long, but we will save money.

I repeat, there is not a single thing that will not cost money. The amount that we spend on the total food program is insignificant compared to the total foreign policy and defense expenditures of our Government. It's significant, I think, how much we are given free in service from CARE, for example, and other voluntary organizations, and what an impact this makes upon people. This is the best spent money that we will ever spend.

Have you ever figured out how long we would have gotten along in Yugoslavia without food? Our military assistance for Yugoslavia may cause trouble. I am not sure; I have to rely on the President's judgment. I didn't vote in the Senate to give Tito arms because I think he's a great fellow; I don't. But I have been told by our Government that this is the way we operate our foreign policy, so I reconciled my doubts.

But I talked to a man from Yugoslavia last week. He came here to visit his brother who lives at Harrisburg, Pa. His brother had been in Yugoslavia several years ago. I went with his brother to the Yugoslavian Ambassador; I heard what his brother said to the Ambassador about Yugoslavia—the number of people that were in jail: I asked the man from Yugoslavia, "What is it that Americans have done, that you people in Yugoslavia know the most about and like the most?" I just asked him that without any briefing, he didn't know what I was after at all. And do you know what he said? "CARE. CARE. That's the greatest thing," he said, "that's America."

POWDERED MILK HELPS MORE THAN NEWS OF URANIUM

I found out in Greece, for example, that what they called CARE was America. Little fellows, the little ones that you see in the pictures over there, called CARE America. Was I ever proud when I found our American butter and dried milk in Greece. We have taken a lot of razzing from some people about producing too much milk. Well, I found that a pound of powdered milk will do us more good in some countries than a pound of uranium. People are afraid of uranium, and the fear of people can destroy the world. They love a glass of powdered milk, milk we and our children won't drink anyway because we want whole milk. But other people are eager for a pound of powdered milk. In Spain, where the National Catholic Welfare was administering the food relief program, I watched them mixing this powdered milk in little washing machines.

When I saw these children lined up and their mothers with liter jars, and when I heard what they had to say, I had two feelings: First, I was proud to be an American; second, I was ashamed that we Americans had sold millions of pounds of that powdered milk to feed our hogs. I ask any person in this room: Do you think you have a right to feed pigs wholesome, nutritious, powdered milk when you are unwilling to give it to hungry children in other countries? It might be well to ask the agencies of Government whether we are going to have very much powdered milk for feeding these countries in the days to come.

We have dairy farmers in my State who are having to sell their dairy herds that they worked 25 years to build. There is no market for their goods. Can you imagine that? We are closing down part of America's agricultural plant at the very time that we warn that we are in a life and death struggle; at the very time we insist we have to have more missiles, more this, and more that. I have a suspicion that that man Khrushchev wasn't kidding when he appeared on TV not long ago, when he said that it will be only a short time before the Soviet Union will produce more products, both dairy products and cereal grains. And then he said, "Watch out"; they know what to do with it.

I saw what happened in Cairo, when we refused to sell wheat to the Egyptians. I saw the Soviet wheat they obtained instead, and I learned that in Port Said little Russian flags went up on refugees' tents. I believe our food ought to be used to help people.

In Israel the Prime Minister told me of the desperate need for food. What are we going to do to feed these people? Fortunately the Government of the United States gave them half of their requisition, but only half. There was a statement made here that a national policy is needed so CARE can plan its program further in advance. You cannot afford to set up missions and utilize your energies unless there is something with which to work. Public Law 480 ought to be extended, not 1 year, but a minimum of 3 years. I have asked every reasonable American with whom I have discussed this, "Do you think the surplus agricultural problem will be over in 1 year?" To a man they agreed it will not. Then I ask our Government why it wants only a 1-year extension of our surplus disposal legislation? How is it the administration can ask for 3 years for a loan fund to loan our money, yet shy away from planning more than a year ahead on use of food? How can our Government insist that food is not a vital part of our foreign policy?

Of course it is—and I hope that you will get behind the proposal for an extension of our present programs to more than 1 year; a part of that year is already gone.

May I add one other thing. I believe the gentlemen of the Congress should insist that our Government handle ocean freight negotiations so that CARE and other voluntary organizations should not be forced to argue like diplomats with the government of a recipient country on the details of the payment of ocean freight. We have experienced people in every one of our Embassies. They have the time to negotiate these matters that relate to ocean freight costs so our voluntary workers will not be involved in such activity.

I want to commend you for your plan to have two American CARE officials in each country. I believe that number is about right. The more of the native population that you can use, with some good American guidance, the better off we will be. This will prevent Formosa incidents.

Where our people have been ministering to health needs, to food and nutritional needs, to educational needs, where we confine ourselves to such services, we are not confronted with rioters who tear down our flag or mobs who tear up our files, beat up our representatives and attempt to banish us from their country.

FOREIGN COMMENDATIONS OF PUBLIC LAW 480

From my brief examination I can say that wherever CARE has gone or wherever our other great voluntary agencies have been at work, I have found a reservoir of good will that is far beyond and above the mistakes we make in policy. I have had heads of government say to me, "You Americans can clear up an abyssmal and abominable situation; if you will just help us with food we will forgive you almost anything."

I found many Prime Ministers and their ministers of commerce and agriculture who knew all about our Public Law 480, the so-called surplus disposal law, officially called the Agricultural Trade Development Act. I found that these public officials of other countries knew more about our Public Law 480 than people living right here in the United States. They knew more about it than people in our Embassies. I went into office after office in Italy, Spain, Greece, Israel, and Lebanon. The officials I talked to had all the hearings and legislative debates laid out before them, and knew more about Public Law 480 than most Members of the Congressional Committees on Agriculture who considered and approved the bill. When I compared the knowledge and information of these officials with the knowledge of our Embassy officers it was apparent that these boys are graduates and ours are just in kindergarten. They knew; to them it was the difference between life and death.

In Spain, for example, I had the minister of commerce tell me that never again as long as there was a Spain would his people ever be on such a low diet as they were before American food came. No government, dictatorial or otherwise could stand long under such conditions.

FOOD AS VITAL AS ARMS TO NATO

I heard the top military commander of our southern NATO forces, Admiral Briscoe, tell me that our food program is as vital to the success of NATO in southern Europe as are military supplies. He told me how little food supplies we had available in southern Europe, and that it might be nothing short of a military debacle if there were any hostilities. Yet we have food stored all over the United States. While Napoleon didn't know about rocket warfare and things of that kind, he did know enough about armies to say an army traveled on its stomach. He apparently didn't know about NATO. Recently, I had the opportunity to present these comments to the President.

THE LARGER SIGNIFICANCE OF CARE

Well, I could go on and on. This is my crusade. I want you to know that. I am more interested in this subject right now than almost anything that has ever touched my life. I believe that in this food program, going beyond what you do in CARE alone, there is an opportunity for the redesigning of a foreign policy with great potentialities. In the sale of our food we provide economic means for other countries. We momentarily ease the tension and the suffering. We develop new markets and habits. We carry with it a message of American generosity, kindliness, and democracy, particularly when you tie in donations through voluntary agencies. We build new contacts. We touch the lives of many people and we reach the man in the street, so-called little people whose minds are still open, those whose spirits have yet to be fully roused.

So it is on that basis that I commend you. I appeal to the advertising council for help. While no one has asked me to do this I appeal to them to put this program at the top of the list. I know there are many important programs; there always are. There is nothing more important, however, than a realization of the great human suffering in the world and a program to alleviate human wants and needs. Toynbee called this "a revolution of rising expectations." He said people today just expect more, and no longer can the oldtimers of the Victorian Age say they are not going to get more because they are. People refuse to die quietly, my friends; they just won't cooperate. They just refuse to lie down and play dead, just

because someone says "Don't make any noise. We haven't time to help you."

LET US ACT WITH BOLDNESS

People all over the world today are demanding a place in the sun, are asking for recognition, and, unhappily, some of these people believe the only way they can gain status is through the totalitarian method. Regrettably in a free country governments are timid. Most of the time, unless under duress and emergency, they lack courage. Where is there no timidity? In the people. Most Members of Congress are more timid than the people. There are some of us that aren't timid; I guess I qualify on occasion. But timidity is a characteristic of free government; courage and zeal to meet any emergency is a characteristic of a voluntary agency. We must have that or I am afraid we might lose that one game world series I spoke about.

Congratulations to you all; to CARE, its officers, its contributors, its host of friends.

Thank you very much. It was a privilege to be here.

(Standing ovation.)

The Billboard Nuisance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Washington Post August 13, 1957, relating to the Pestilent Growth of Billboards, on Federal highways. This editorial discusses a very important problem and I hope we will soon take steps to prohibit the use of billboards on the highways.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMO TO THE SENATE

It has been 82 long days since a Senate subcommittee reported out a bill which would discourage the pestilent growth of billboards on the new 41,000-mile Federal Interstate Highway System. The bill, at best, was a watered-down compromise. It now lies buried in the parent Senate Public Works Committee. The leadership of the Senate seems painfully indifferent; opponents of billboards are frankly dismayed; the billboard lobby is quietly gloating. Not coincidentally, the billboard industry is the only major group which favors plastering the new roadway with signboards.

Senator CHAVEZ, chairman of the committee, pledged on the Senate floor last Friday that he would call a meeting of the full committee "as soon as I possibly can." No meeting has been scheduled. Further stalling will invite the conclusion that the Senate—and its leadership—cares more about the welfare of the billboard industry than the millions of motorists who will use Federal highways. The House has been even more sluggish; it has not begun hearings on billboard controls. Does the 85th Congress wish as its monument a scrofulous ribbon—41,000 miles long—on which voters will be continually reminded of an outrageous giveaway to a single vested interest?

The Right of Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Jury of His Peers," published in the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., on August 9, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A JURY OF HIS PEERS

In the name of "preserving civil rights," one of the most fundamental rights guaranteed by the Federal and State Constitutions, and dating back to the English Magna Carta, is being threatened today in Congress.

Self-appointed zealots and politicos, with a weather eye on future elections, are attempting to take away the right of trial by jury in criminal cases in the new so-called civil rights bill.

Fortunately, the Senate amended the civil rights bill last Friday, inserting a jury trial provision for criminal cases, by a vote of 51 to 42. Wednesday the Senate passed the bill as amended by a majority of 72 to 18. But the bill now must go to conference with the House of Representatives, where the so-called civil rights bill has been approved without the jury trial provision.

The Senate's action reaffirmed a basic American tradition older than the Government itself—the right of the accused in a criminal proceeding to place his case before a panel of fellow citizens.

No part of the young United States Government more impressed visitors than the emphasis on this right. De Tocqueville wrote 125 years ago that the jury system in America "imbues all classes with a respect for the thing judged."

What could be more illogical than to assert that reaffirming such a principle would obstruct justice or weaken the Federal judicial system, as President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Senate Republican leader Knowland, and others are asserting?

In reality, opposition to the jury amendment has been based mostly on a cynical assumption that southern juries would not render just verdicts in civil-rights cases. Thus, to make sure of the right verdict, proponents would abolish trial by jury in such cases.

Juries are not always predictable, to be sure, in the South—or in the North. Very recently a surprising verdict of acquittal was rendered in the trial of labor leader Hoffa, after distracting tactics had been used in the courtroom.

In its proposed civil-rights bill, the administration seeks to use the contempt powers of the Federal courts as an instrument of coercion and punishment in an entirely new field of Federal activity.

In this field conceivably there could be thousands of criminal cases. In none of these would the accused have the right to have his guilt or innocence determined by a jury of his peers.

It is to the credit of Senator KENNEDY and many others that they have, while supporting civil rights, refused to go along with attacks on the essentials of fair trials and orderly governmental processes.

Nothing could be more farfetched than the accusation of a State AFL official that KENNEDY had opened himself to suspicion by voting for the jury-trial amendment.

No more courageous action has been taken by the United States Senate in a decade than insisting on the insertion of a jury-trial amendment in civil-rights legislation. The Senate should stand firm in conference in oppositions to the ill-advised House bill.

Criticism of the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence:

CRITICISM OF THE SUPREME COURT

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Criticism from laymen and lawyers concerning recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States has lately been attracting much attention, but how do some of the judges throughout the country feel about the highest Court?

There are not many opportunities for judges to discuss these matters publicly. But something that occurred the other day at the conference of the chief justices of the highest courts of each of the 48 States throws a light on this question. A substantial number of the State chief justices favored a resolution condemning in the severest terms some of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Here is the full text of the resolution offered by Chief Justice Norman F. Arterburn of the Supreme Court of Indiana:

"Be it resolved that it is our opinion that the United States Supreme Court has transgressed sound legal principles, and in particular, usurped fact finding functions in weighing the evidence in the recent cases of *Konigsberg* v. *State Bar of California* and *Schware* v. *Board of Bar Examiners of the State of New Mexico*.

"Moreover, the United States Supreme Court has encroached upon the jurisdiction of the State courts in holding, among other things, that applicants seeking admission to the bars of the States of California and New Mexico, in examinations as to their character and fitness to practice law in those respective States, may refuse to answer questions or enlighten the examining board about their past connections and associations, in particular with Communists and communistic organizations.

"We declare the past acts and associations of applicants do reflect directly upon their character and fitness and are matters relevant for consideration. Whether or not one who went through a long economic depression should have had the strength of character, moral fiber and stamina to withstand the emotional appeals of Communists—as most good citizens did—or whether as a weakling he succumbs to such propaganda is relevant in the analysis and determination of the character of such individuals. The United States Supreme Court is wrong in holding that such acts are of no value in such determination.

"Decisions which are not founded on sound legal principles or commonsense

tend to undermine confidence in the judicial system and respect for the courts.

"We further state that one who is unwilling to give freely all relevant information regarding his history and past associations casts doubts upon his moral character and fitness to practice law in any State of this Union; and such refusal is a relevant factor to be weighed and considered by a fact-finding body on character and fitness. We further declare that although the United States Supreme Court has the authority to fix its own standards of character and fitness to practice in the Federal courts, we do not recognize nor concede that it may do so for the courts of the several States of this Union."

While almost a majority favored the immediate adoption of the resolution, there were a number of justices who were in sympathy with it but felt that the subject should await a further report. Accordingly, a motion was made to appoint a committee to report back to the conference next year, and the resolution which was finally adopted declared that the chief justices were very much concerned with what the Supreme Court of the United States had ruled.

As for the decision in the Konigsberg case to which reference was made, this was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States by a 6 to 3 vote. Justices Frankfurter, Clark and Harlan dissented. In fact, Justice Harlan, in his lengthy dissent, wound up with this observation: "For me, today's decision represents an unacceptable intrusion into a matter of State concern."

Many Americans of the present day do not realize that criticism of the Supreme Court has been frequently expressed in past history and that perhaps the most severe castigation the high court ever got came from the pen of Thomas Jefferson. In a letter to a friend in 1820, he wrote:

"Having found, from experience, that impeachment is an impracticable thing, a mere scarecrow, they consider themselves secure for life; they skulk from responsibility to public opinion. * * * An opinion is huddled up in conclave, perhaps by a majority of one, delivered as if unanimous, and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates, by a crafty chief judge, who sophisticates the law to his mind, by the turn of his own reasoning."

The Presidential Stakes Now in Plain View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Presidential Stakes Now in Plain View," written by Arthur Krock, and published in this morning's New York Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESIDENTIAL STAKES NOW IN PLAIN VIEW

(By Arthur Krock)

MIDDLETOWN, R. I., August 12.—The dispatches from Washington, to one who has composed many, when read at this distance from their origin, leave an oddly mixed sensation of remoteness and familiarity. They are like chimes borne on light airs to a traveler in the next valley who knows from childhood their every melody and tone.

On this rocky hilltop overlooking Sachuest Beach, and a horizon that is the Atlantic Ocean, the news from Washington about the progress of the equal-rights bill now plainly carries the brand of 1960 politics that was obscured at times by the high quality of the Senate debate. The accent is on factional conflict and a contest for advantage among ambitious politicians instead of on the impending revolution in legislation and American political philosophy.

The personal and party standards of the contestants are as visible as moths in the lamplight.

BATTLE REVEALS FACTORS

All these factors, particularly the great central one of the next Presidency, have been visible in the battle from time to time, as each phase projected by the major issues ended on the Senate floor and the next began. They were reported and anticipated with flawless accuracy in the dispatches by William S. White to this newspaper at every step in the conflict since the Republican Party's national political management made its epochal decision in the early spring. This decision was to shift the administration's position from a recommendation to Congress for a bipartisan commission study of the problem of racial discrimination in the South to a demand for a broad legislative grant of Federal force to dispel this discrimination immediately.

But now that all of the discoveries that the administration text was a reconstruction bill in posse have been made and settled, and the only remaining undemocratic provision, the jail sentence for free press reporting that directly descends from the Alien and Sedition Acts, can be rooted out on the floor, the 1960 presidential maneuvering, which largely evoked the measure, has emerged in full force. The restraints imposed on basic politics by the phillipics against part III by Senator RUSSELL, and by the amendments of those constitutional liberals who saw in the blanket denial of jury trials a momentary forgetfulness of the Anglo-Saxon struggle for the rights of the individual vis-a-vis the State, have passed into the record. The parties, their factions and the politicians, avid for a place on a national ticket, are plain in the forefront of the final phase of the struggle that will determine whether 1957 is to be historic in the movement for equal voting rights, or whether the movement is to remain a pawn in the most cynical game known to American politics for a generation.

WHO DESIRES PROGRESS?

Considering the revolutionary nature of the Senate bill in terms of the southern social-economic order and the fact, nevertheless, the southern senatorial bloc refrained from a last-ditch stand against it by filibuster, the burden of proof of a sincere desire for progress in the equal rights field rests heavily on those who proclaim they would have no legislation at all rather than the bill substantially as passed by the Senate. And if they act and vote as they talk and gain the only success they could have in the circumstances, the defeat of an equal rights legislation whatever, that burden of proof will be heavy on their shoulders.

Some of the Republicans who are asserting this position can be acquitted of the suspicion that they hope thereby to become President or Vice President. This is because the doors to both offices are obviously and irretrievably locked against that personal ambition. But they at least are properly suspect of seeing in an all-or-none stand for the administration's original text which would have arrayed the Executive power behind punitive enforcement or racial desegration in all forms and degrees, a formula to assure control of both the legislative and Executive branches of the Federal Government by Republicans and control of the most populous States, but other Republicans in the group may reasonably hope for places on the national party ticket 3 years hence.

SOME GAIN ADVANTAGE

Several Democrats are in the more fortunate position of serving national ambitions by either routine acceptance of the Senate bill with slight modifications made on the floor or insistence on the House bill or nothing. For example, the Senate majority leader, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, has greatly increased his acceptability to a Democratic convention by the brilliant tactics that were principally responsible for the passage of the first equal-rights bill in this century and for the prevention of a Southern filibuster that made the action possible. By the same procedure, Senator KENNEDY has to some degree insured the surprising Southern support given him in 1956 for the vice-presidential nomination.

Conversely, an extreme Democratic "liberal" can support the administration to the end on the jury-trial issue, knowing this is his only chance for national nomination in 1960 and anyhow the best way to get reelected.

Grave Problems Confronted With Vigor and Ability by Oregon Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, agriculture in America has been in crisis in recent years, and this has been true of many farm commodities in the State of Oregon. Comparatively few crops raised in Oregon have shared in the price-support program, and relatively few have come under the acreage-reserve phase of the soil bank. For this reason, we of Oregon have had to exert special effort in difficult circumstances to work out programs and planning for the continued survival of much of our agriculture. So that Members of the Senate may know some of these problems, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a thoughtful letter of August 8, 1957, which I have just received from the Honorable Robert J. Steward, director of the Oregon State Department of Agriculture in Salem. I also ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the informative and moving testimony of Mr. Warren Farmer, of Nyssa, Oreg., when he testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Futures Trading, August 12, 1957, and demonstrated how onion growers are often exploited unfairly by the practice known as futures trading in onions. This practice damages the grower of row crops.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF OREGON,
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Salem, August 8, 1957.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DICK: First, I want to thank you for the fine help you have given us in recent weeks. I have sent on to key people in Baker County your recent findings and recommen-

dations on the Powder River watershed survey, see copy attached.

I spent a couple of days in Jackson County recently and talked to many people there connected with the Fruit Growers Association who were very much encouraged to learn of the favorable action on S. 1314. You and Senator MORSE deserve much credit for effective action on a marketing problem which has serious implications for the economy of that region unless definite steps are planned and taken to reduce last year's fruit pack and to cope with this year's large crop, which is even now moving into refrigerated storage.

Surplus production in crop after crop inevitably brings on marketing problems. It is only in a very few commodity areas that a fair balance of supply and demand exists which is fair to the consumer and at the same time provides a decent standard of living for the basic producer. We often wonder here to what extent we really have overproduction and one question which continually crops up is the extent to which we have maldistribution and underconsumption. Perhaps our attack on the problem should be from three directions: (1) Adequate enforceable controls on production; (2) a realistic measure of consumption based on acceptable standards of nutrition; (3) attack any problem which frustrates effective action in attaining desirable results embodied in points (1) and (2).

Of course, this is an oversimplification of a big problem but it is axiomatic that agriculturists are producing themselves into an economic hole year after year. I was very interested in the recent publication of the Public Affairs Institute which you sent me, entitled "Modernization of the Livestock Industry." I was struck by the truth of their analysis on the interplay of prices and output and the clear indication that the livestock producer operates just in reverse of the prudent businessman. If you can do so handily, I would like to be placed on the mailing list for articles by this institute or similar subjects dealing with the agricultural and livestock economy and with matters pertaining to the conservation and use of our natural resources.

I look forward to seeing you and Maurine when Congress adjourns, and I hope that we can arrange more time for discussion of problems of mutual interest sometime this fall than we have been able to work out in the past. Best wishes.

Cordially,

ROBERT J. STEWARD,
Director, Department of Agriculture.

STATEMENT OF MR. WARREN FARMER, NYSSA, OREG., BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FUTURES TRADING, AUGUST 12, 1957

Honorable chairman, Senators, and guests, I am Warren Farmer, a grower of onions in Malheur County in eastern Oregon.

This morning there were between 50 and 60 migrant workers picking up potatoes on my place. They probably harvested 4 or 5 acres of potatoes, probably 3 carloads, and I hope they got them up clean and into the packing shed without any wind burn.

My regular help supervised these migrant workers and I only hope they all did their jobs like they would if I were at home.

The reason I left in the middle of my potato operation is that I also have 26 acres of onions to sell and I want to talk to you gentlemen about selling onions.

I represent Malheur County Onion Growers Association and I am one of their directors. I also represent South Western Idaho Onion Growers, and Idaho Growers-Shipper Association including Malheur County. The latter is the official organization of handlers for our district.

If you have had occasion to refer to the record of hearings held by the House committee on this matter of onion futures you will note that Charlie Burns of Idaho Grower-Shippers, Doug McGinnis of South Western Idaho Growers have testified at three separate hearings. Those men didn't have time at all to get away and have asked me to represent their groups. This means that I speak for the total of 400 onion growers and 30 shipping firms.

Now about selling these onions. My crop has been very costly to grow this year. I want to get as much for it as I can. On the basis of my experience last year, it looks like I'll have a tough deal to buck unless we can do something about futures speculation. Last year I started selling onions the first of the year at $1.10 a bag. Figures on onion supplies put out by both the USDA and the National Onion Association made the late market picture look pretty good. At this point I decided to hold for a further market rise and didn't sell for awhile. During this time my neighbor sold his onions, and his best price was $2.50 a bag. This looked pretty good, so I got ready to go again. At about this time there was quite a flurry in onion future sales on the exchange and I found that there was little or no demand for about 10 days. My next sales, the last of February brought me $1.55 a bag and by the time I had cleaned up my crop I got $1.10 a bag. That's a drop of more than $1 for each 50-pound bag. I've been talking about 3-inch onions or what we call Jumbos. The medium sizes were really cheap and some of mine brought me only 10 cents a bag. All this happened while the total onion supplies were less than the normal amount usually sold during the period.

I've told just my experience but I wasn't alone. Every grower went through the same wringer, if he didn't sell out ahead of the futures tragedy.

In connection with the effect that futures trading has on prices we always hear that a grower can get price protection by selling his onions as futures. Here is the way this deal looks to me. It costs me about $300 to grow an acre of onions that will put off about a carload. If I hedge these onions I would have to advance $300 per car in addition to my production costs. Then if the future market should advance I would be required to put additional money to protect my original hedge. This could come at a time when I am having to meet the largest part of my cash expense. It would not be impossible for me to have $1,000 to $1,200 per acre tied up in these onions before I had an opportunity to deliver any of them. I just don't have that kind of money.

Apparently onion growers generally recognize these same difficulties I have mentioned. The Commodity Exchange Authority in its recent report on growers use of onion hedges states that "hedging by growers does not appear to be of such character as to be of importance in the marketing of onions."

I, and all my neighbors, try to grow the most profitable crops we can pick out in order to keep our business going. We figure onions should be profitable. We study the plantings in other districts to try to decide how many we can grow and sell at a good figure. Every year in our district we have a number of growers that put in their onions for fresh market, and then plant an additional number of acres, under contract. These contracts have been provided by operators in futures, and presumably the onions are for trading purposes. I suspect this happens even more in districts nearer the exchange centers.

To us who grow for the fresh market, these look like extra onions, or surplus above the growers best guess as to what the market will take. We don't think the futures operators will eat these onions after they are through trading. Eventually our market onions have to compete with them, and we believe it is unfair competition. It's unfair because these onions of themselves do not have to bring any actual value, but serve pretty much the same purpose as chips in a poker game.

The futures traders upset the onion market in other ways besides encouraging surplus. Some years ago I recall that our local shippers would come and buy onions at the field. Sometimes a shipper would buy up 10 to 100 cars, just before harvest at a definite price. They don't do this any more and the reason, they say, is they can't judge the market trend in terms of onion supply.

Shippers who handle our onions say that their customers won't stock up any more, and where they used to sell several cars, they now are apt to sell part cars. And then only after the main question has been answered, "What did the futures do today?"

The onion growers I know do not believe we need futures trading in this commodity. They believe it is just a disrupting influence that upsets all their calculations of supply and demand for onions. Growers, through their organization in our district, have expressed their desire every time they have met together that something be done to stop this disruption of onion markets by futures trading, and they are unanimous in expressing this desire.

We sincerely ask you members of this subcommittee to recommend passage of legislation that will stop futures trading in onions.

Splendid Work of Veterans Committee of the People-to-People Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, my colleagues may recall that on several occasions it has been my pleasure to refer to the excellent contributions which have been made by various of the 42 committees serving under the worthy people-to-people program.

Today I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the commendable activity performed by the veterans committee. It is under the cochairmanship of two fine Americans, former commander of the American Legion, Lewis K. Gough; and the famous Eddie Rickenbacker, of Eastern Airlines, and of World War I flying fame.

From July 8 to July 23, under the auspices of this veterans committee, the national commanders of six major veterans organizations made a tour of four countries—England, France, Italy, and Israel. They met with veteran leaders and government officials in each country.

This is the first time that the six great American veteran organizations have met as a group, approved a single program, and put it into operation. The tour was financed entirely from private sources, in keeping with the private nature of the people-to-people program.

It is altogether fitting that ex-servicemen leaders, representing 23 million Americans who have seen honorable service in the uniform of our country, should interest themselves in the people-to-people program as an instrument for sealing the peace. These veteran leaders and their buddies fought hard and sacrificed a great deal for peace and for

liberty. The people-to-people program can mean much in making sure that World Wars I and II and the Korean war were not in vain.

I commend this veterans committee, and I wish it particular success in the period ahead.

I ask unanimous consent that descriptive material which has been sent to me by former Commander Gough, cochairman of the committee, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandums were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOUR OF THE SIX COMMANDERS—ACTIVITIES OF THE VETERANS COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM

Cochairman: Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker, of New York City and Lewis K. Gough, of Pasadena, Calif.

Committee offices: 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The organization and operation of this committee marks the first time in history that the six commanders of the major veterans' groups have met as a group, approved a single program, and put it into operation.

Two committee meetings have been held to date. The first, last December, approved a 22-point program for the committee. The second in April, was to report progress.

Major undertaking this year of the committee is the overseas tour of the six commanders who, after their terms of office expire, will form the permanent committee. This trip is financed entirely from private sources. Its purpose is to establish personal contacts with veterans' organizations abroad and to arrange for future cooperation and programs.

As part of the people-to-people program, the veterans' committee has placed CARE bookshelves abroad (each contains 99 volumes of outstanding American literature); organized veterans' pilgrimages overseas (the Legion is sponsoring 1 to Europe and the VFW 1 to Latin America); financed distribution of escapee kits to Hungarian refugees; distributed the booklets Window to America and Peace—A Nation's Record, through veterans' posts abroad; provided Hungarian-American dictionaries for refugees arriving in the United States; and shipped tons of leading American magazines overseas.

It is expected that during the next 2 months when many State conventions are held, endorsement of the people-to-people program will be obtained from individual state departments, thus giving the 22-point program additional impetus. Both the American Legion and the VFW have obtained organizational endorsement of the program with the other four groups expected to secure theirs at the coming national conventions.

TOUR OF THE SIX COMMANDERS—BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

American Legion: National Commander W. C. (Dan) Daniel, 43 years old, home is Danville, Va., a Navy veteran, a personnel executive of Dan River Mills (textiles), a member of the Legion for 12 years; married, has one son.

AMVETS: National Commander Dominick L. Strada (American Veterans of World War II and Korea), 51 years old, from West New York, N. J., 20-year Navy veteran, is superintendent of parks and public property in West New York, a member of AMVETS for 11 years, bachelor.

Catholic War Veterans: National Commander William J. Gill, 30 years old, from Cleveland, Ohio, a Navy veteran, is a United States mail carrier, a member of the CWV for 9 years, is married, no children.

Disabled American Veterans: National Commander Joseph F. Burke, 41 years old, from Bayonne, N. J., an Army veteran who lost his left arm at Monte Cassino, a personnel executive with the Asiatic Petroleum Corp., a DAV member for 11 years, bachelor.

Jewish War Veterans: National Commander William Carmen, 38 years old, from Boston, Mass., a Navy veteran, in the real estate management business, a JWV member for 8 years, married, has three daughters.

Veterans of Foreign Wars: Commander in Chief Cooper T. Holt, 32 years old, from Chattanooga, Tenn., an Army veteran (joined when he was 19), a department store executive and Post Office Department appointee, a VFW member for 12 years, married, has one daughter.

Cochairman of the Veterans Committee, people-to-people program: Lewis K. Gough, of Pasadena, Calif., will accompany the party. He is a past national commander of the American Legion (1953); and now is State inheritance tax appraiser of California.

TOUR HIGHLIGHTS, VETERANS' COMMITTEE, PEOPLE TO PEOPLE PROGRAM, EUROPEAN VISIT JULY 8 TO 23, 1957

FRANCE

Receptions: (1) Union National Des Amputes; (2) Union Francaise Des Anciens Combattants; (3) Danube and Rhine Veterans' Association: (4) French Officers' Club.

Dinner, Cercle Militare: Andre Dulin, Minister Veterans' Affairs; General Ganeval and leaders of 11 veterans' organizations of France.

Fountainbleau: General Valevy, General Grele, Commandant Henze, Central Europe Command.

Anciens Combattants de Fountainbleau (lunch at Fountainbleau for local veteran leaders).

Ceremonie: (1) Laying of wreath and rekindling of the flame at Arc de Triomphe, Paris; (2) laying of wreath at World War I and II Monument at Fountainbleau.

Farewell luncheon: Pershing Hall, for all French hosts met on trip.

Press conference: George V Hotel, final day.

Honors: All on visit made member d'Honneur de L'Union Nationale des Combattants.

ITALY

Reception for the commanders and presidents of the 20 veterans and military organizations recognized by the Italian Government.

Wreath: Tomb of Unknown Soldier—Gen. James Fry (U. S. A.) and Italian General Staff participating.

Press conference: Hotel Grand for press of Italy. Met Ambassador John Zellerbach and head of USIA.

ISRAEL

Reception by 40 veteran leaders of 5 Israeli veteran organizations at Veterans Bank Building (Tel Aviv), auspices of World War II Israeli veteran organization.

Reception and dinner for press and for all veteran leaders of Israel who extended hospitality, at Sharon Hotel (Tel Aviv).

Reception and lunch by veteran and military leaders at Haifa, including press conference (Zion Hotel).

Individual meetings with veteran leaders at Dan Hotel (Tel Aviv). Luncheon by Assistant Director General of Foreign Office Comay, at Jerusalem (King David Hotel).

Individual meetings with Israel officials, Prime Minister Ben Gurrion, Chief of Staff Doyan, Ex C. M. S. Yadin, Director General of Prime Minister's office Teddy Kollic.

Visited Gaza Strip (talked with U. N. and Israeli troops, Elat and Gulf of Aqaba).

Exhibition of captured military and naval equipment (Haifa). Nazareth, Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

Briefed Minister of Defense and Government Veterans' Staff, Tel Aviv. Visited prosthetic limbshop and disabled veterans in their homes and at work.

ENGLAND

Reception: Belgian Embassy (honors English and French veterans with citations). United States veterans invited to attend and participate (Belgian Embassy).

Reception: United States veterans' reception for heads of English veteran organizations (Milestone Hotel).

Wreath laying: Cenotaph, Whitehall.

Press conference and TV broadcast at Milestone Hotel.

IN GENERAL

The members of the committee were gratified at the receptions and receptiveness of the veteran leaders of countries visited. These veterans abroad were genuinely interested in the program of people-to-people contact. That they were curious as to our purposes and objectives was indicated by their questions. Some of the leaders of foreign countries indicated that the idea was not new—Le President of the Union Nationale Des Combattants in Paris indicated that many of the veterans' organizations of France had created the Alliance Atlantique des Anciens Combattants (Atlantic Alliance of Veterans) to reinforce unity between veterans and to improve understanding. A similar organization Lamplighters of the World was mentioned in Rome. French and Israeli veterans have recently visited the United States in the interest of understanding and friendship—but without coordination of such a program as ours.

The attitude of veteran leaders visited can be reflected in the comments of Mr. Nussbaum, president, Israeli Veterans' Organization of World War II (attached).

At each visit the committee met with veteran leaders in the capitals and in the countryside, explaining the purpose of our mission and answering questions. We emphasized the private nature of our visit—separate from government—pointing out that we raised all of our own funds from private sources. We stressed the unity of our great veteran organizations in implementing the program—an innovation in itself. We emphasized that in the interest of understanding we desired to learn more about these people we visited—their aim, objectives, hopes, ambitions, and viewpoints. In numerous cases our hots expresed viewpoint not entirely in line with our—as between repected friends who have confidence and trust in each other. This in itself served to clear the air and gave us an opportunity to correct misunderstandings

We invited all the veteran leaders visited to visit us and some are already planning such trips.

Our people-to-people program was furthered in other than veteran contacts—with the press, government, and military officials, and people we met everywhere.

Language was no great barrier—we found many who could talk English and interpret for us. One of our members of Italian derivation talked to the veterans in Italy in their own language.

Our tour was a beginning. We believe it can be extended upon, dependent upon the means, personnel, and the coordinated follow through by correspondence and other means.

Our United States veteran leaders in some of our post abroad were most helpful and could serve a liaison in the future. The same applies to USIA officials abroad who could assist in details—providing they receive adequate advance notice and briefing from USIA headquarters in Washington, D. C.

The visit was a working visit on a schedule which permitted little time for rest or sightseeing, but the friendship exchanged and the understanding which we believe was fostered, made the effort seem most worthwhile.

Press coverage abroad was favorable, a complete report of the entire visit with publicity articles, pictures, and individual

reactions from abroad and from tour members will be prepared soon.

MEETING OF A DEPUTATION OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE WAR VETERANS ORGANIZATION FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE FRAME OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S DRIVE OF "PEOPLE TO PEOPLE" WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WAR VETERANS IN ISRAEL, WHICH TOOK PLACE ON TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1957, AT THE OTZAR-HAHAYAL BANK

At the meeting participated the representatives of all war veterans organizations of Israel, invalids and women brigades.

Mr. Nussbaum received the deputation on behalf of the organizations, saying: "Present with us are the presidents of the war veterans leagues in the United States of America, who represent 23 million veterans. This deputation at whose head stands Mr. Gough, is authorized to lay before us the feelings of a democratic and peace-loving nation. We shall hear from our important guests, what is their wish to tell us in their, and in the names of their organizations. We shall also have the opportunity to express our appreciation and feelings toward them. I would like to say a few words only about my first impression and the experience we all have had in these 2 days which our guests spent with us. It really seems to me that the words 'good will' express everything: searching for a way to truth and mutual understanding, mutual aid, and united fight for freedom and peace. I hope that this visit will advance the reality of the aim of fraternity and peace amongst the nations and peoples."

The Fund for the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have been happy to notice lately in the public press that instances of unfriendliness toward, and misunderstanding of, the purpose of the Fund for the Republic have nearly died out. Favorable comment from many diverse quarters on the fund's activities seems to be increasing.

Seven newspaper articles from the following papers have come to my attention: The Nashville Tennessean, the Bethlehem Globe-Times, Washington News, the Denver Post, Hartford Courant, Providence Bulletin, and the New York Times.

I ask unanimous consent that the texts of these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville Tennessean of July 19, 1957]

ANOTHER PROBE OF THE DEEP

A few weeks ago, science launched a probe designed to pluck from the depths of the earth and the breadth of space unknown truths that have evaded mankind from the beginning of time.

The scientists called it International Geophysical Year. Perhaps, with luck and hard work, they will come a little closer to defining the most perplexing mystery of them all: What is life?

Now comes another group of scientists from other fields to launch still another excursion into unexplored territory. This adventure, by political and ethical scientists, is being underwritten by the Fund for the Republic, and the goal is to define some terms almost, if not equally, as evasive as that of life.

They seek the answer to these questions: What is individual freedom? What is justice? What are civil liberties and/or rights? What are they, not in terms of what the Founding Fathers thought, but as they exist today, in modern society?

"The 18th century Constitution structure, with its Federal and State Bill of Rights," says the fund in beginning its study, "was developed for a small, scattered, almost wholly agrarian society. Except for the church, government was virtually the only large, organized institution with significant impact on the individual; and the constitutional guaranties were, naturally, concerned almost wholly with the protection of individual and minority interests against government.

"There were no giant industrial corporations; no trade unions; the modern political party was not even contemplated; mass communications were not in the hands of huge, highly organized and centrally controlled media; the voluntary pressure group scarcely existed. Today, these and other 'big' institutions affect the individual for good and ill as intimately as "big government" does."

The study is well launched. A right to one person is not a right to another in our complex society. And when one person gains what he considers his right, another invariably surrenders a portion of what he just as honestly believes is his right, too.

Rights change. Today we speak of the right to vote and it is a right. It was not always such, even in America. The Founders considered it a privilege and the ballot was never intended by them to become the property of many groups to whom it is a cherished right today.

Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, strongly opposed extending the franchise to newly-freed slaves and once said it was his personal opinion that only the intelligent should be allowed to vote. The right of women to vote is so new in the world's history as to be considered still in the experimental stages.

The fund is off to an interesting study, to say the least, and one apt to kick up no few disputes before it is ended. The water into which these scientists are plunging is fathoms deeper than a mere ocean floor.

[From the Bethlehem Globe-Times]

THE FUND PROBES A DARK REGION

The Fund for the Republic which usually hits the headlines only when it is in conflict with Congressman FRANCIS WALTER, has launched a survey which may never achieve much publicity but stands to make a substantial contribution toward bolstering the American way of life.

This Nation has advanced far in such complex mechanical matters as splitting the atom and creating nuclear energy, but research has been almost entirely neglected into such basic issues as individual freedom and civil liberty—the forces which frequently have thrown tumult into our society.

A nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation of our civil rights, the fund has attempted to defend our basic liberties by acquainting the public with individual cases in the hope that an enlightened public opinion would take it from there.

The present project has enlisted the service of 10 distinguished Americans in all relavant fields to go further. These men will go beyond the mere study of the Constitution by endeavoring to find out what problems of its application have arisen through the changes in the progress of the American people.

The experts will, for example, attempt to appraise the effects of the corporation on a free society. They will probe into the relationship between the union and community and the implications for individual rights of collective-bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, and other factors. Such other categories as the common defense and religion in a democratic society will also be examined in similar light.

The Fund for the Republic is financing this inquiry into the remote regions of our way of life without hope of profit or fear of criticism. The results could well have far-reaching effects that may ultimately contribute to our own survival.

[From the Washington Daily News of July 2, 1957]

NEW FUND INQUIRY

(By John Herling)

"Little man, what now?" again becomes the country's most urgent question.

Scientists can worry about the challenges of the Geophysical Year which opened yesterday. What the average American and his family fret about, consciously or not, are the social and anti-social pressures that constantly move in on him—to determine whether he is a man or a mouse.

Putting it in other terms, the Fund for the Republic—created by the Ford Foundation—says it will now "undertake an inquiry into the impact of two major United States institutions—the industrial corporation and the labor union—on individual freedom and civil liberty in America."

Fund president Robert M. Hutchins says that the corporation and the labor union are institutions "which may affect the individual for good or ill quite as intimately as big government does. The United States is now a Nation of employes, with more than 75 percent of the working force employed by the corporations. Almost 16 million workers are members of unions."

The labor union project will be headed by Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California. Mr. Kerr is a key figure in industrial relations, with important service on the War, Labor, and Stabilization Boards and various presidential fact-finding bodies.

The industrial corporation project will be directed by Adolph A. Berle, professor of corporation law at Columbia Univeristy and former Assistant Secretary of State.

Basic question which will have to be faced by the consultants on these and other projects will be the effect on the character of the "organization man," the pressures and disciplines which frequently cause the psychological as well as economic entrapment of the individual.

According to Mr. Hutchins, the labor union project will examine the relation between the union and its membership, between the union and the community, the implications for individual rights of collective bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, size of the bargaining unit, and other factors.

Along parallel lines, the industrial corporation project will try to "appraise" the corporation's impact on its employees in certain "traditional" areas: freedom of speech, association, and political activity. Also, hopefully, it aims to develop a comprehensive body of opinions on the proper relationship between employer and employed.

[From the Denver Post of June 26, 1957]

TIME FOR A CHECKUP

"What is a truly free society, and how can such a society be maintained?"

That question has been thrown at the educators and the lay citizens of the United

States. The purpose behind it constitutes two other questions, namely:

"When will the American people make up their minds what they expect from education?"

"Is the American culture exerting a greater impact on education than education exerts on American culture?"

To find the answers to all 3 of these pertinent inquiries, the Fund for the Republic has commissioned 10 eminent citizens to conduct a continuing search for facts about the nature of our society, and of the fundamental issues bearing upon the direction in which we as a people are moving.

The inquiry will fall into five principal categories—studies of communism, maintenance of due process, protection of freedom of speech and belief, education in American traditions and maintenance of equality of opportunity.

In announcing the project, Robert M. Hutchins, president of the fund, said:

"Today social institutions have grown to gigantic size, with consequences the authors of the Constitution could not even imagine. If we are to continue as freemen in a free society, we must find how these developments affect freedom and justice."

Behind all this is the conviction that Americans, who inherited freedom, now have to be educated for it. And that, far more than the material shortages of classrooms and teachers, is the crux of the educational crisis in this country.

The inquiry into both the status and the necessities of freedom, and the search for answers to the questions posed by this situation, offers the 10 distinguished Americans chosen by the fund an opportunity for tremendous service to the nearby present and the further off future of free society in the United States.

[From the Hartford Courant of July 8, 1957]

A STUDY OF UNIONS AND CORPORATIONS

The Fund for the Republic, that independent inquiry agency set up by the Ford Foundation, is going to launch another study. If we may judge from the past, this will also cause some agitation and discussion when the facts are told. This is all to the good. Those who criticize the fund's director, Robert Hutchins, overlook the invaluable role he plays as gadfly in raking over controversial subjects and getting people to think and talk about them. There is too little of that in this age of conformity: too many who "don't want to get involved," the common password of the day.

This new survey will be a study of the effects both labor unions and corporations have on individual liberties. This should be a fruitful inquiry, for it is well known that some labor unions and some giant corporations are working hard to create the mass man whose mind is not his own, and who is dependent on the central pool of authority, the labor boss, or the corporation head, to tell him where he can work and when and how.

In this study the Fund for the Republic could do worse than use the slim volume, "Decentralize for Liberty," by the late Thomas Hewes as a guide book. For Mr. Hewes was a consistent champion of individual rights. In this book he pointed out how big unions, big government, and big industry were all combining to chisel away individual liberties. In pointing this out Mr. Hewes said:

"Today government is not the only potential offender. The real cause for fear, the more insidious and pervasive danger, arises from the behavior of fellow citizens, both individuals and groups, who claim that their acts which on all sides are recognized as injurious to others in fact, are merely exercising perfectly legal rights and are defensible. These acts include effective combination of business and labor in restraint of trade; combinations of business of overpowering size or the same results from associations of business in the same trade; the tyrannical practices of some labor unions, and the many current devices on all sides to restrict production or employment or individual enterprise or all three."

There is no doubt that the fund is again entering dangerous territory. When the facts are again brought out, no doubt there will be bludgeoning from both sides. But honest criticism can be healthy.

[From the Providence (R. I.) Bulletin of June 18, 1957]

WHAT IS A "TRULY FREE SOCIETY"?

The study of pure science is often derided as an impractical and expensive waste of time. Yet, it is only by the understanding of basic laws of nature that dramatic scientific advances are made possible.

For instance, the theoretical discovery by the late Albert Einstein that matter could be converted totally into energy set the stage for the advent of the nuclear age.

Similarly, theoretical studies of the society in which we live can be highly rewarding. The day-to-day problems at all levels, from the scholarly to the mundane, become so demanding of time, thought, and energy that most people never have a chance to take a long, quiet look at where society has come, or where it's going and why.

Therefore, the decision of the Fund for the Republic to direct a major research effort at clarifying the nature of a "truly free society" and how it can be maintained is a welcome one, indeed.

Such an excursion into philosophical definitions might seem as remote from the pressing issues of this day as Einstein's curiosity about matter and energy was to the atomic bomb. Yet the fund's projected study is basic to our understanding ourselves as social and political animals, and so to our very survival.

As Robert M. Hutchins, president of the fund, pointed out, society has undergone revoluntionary changes since the 17th and 18th centuries when the modern concepts of human freedom were being formulated.

Indeed, when civil liberties were defined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, with its remarkable Bill of Rights, the United States was small and life was geared to a sparsely settled agrarian society. Beyond the church, government represented the "only significant social organization." Certainly, there were no such things as the business and industrial colossi, the gigantic labor unions, powerful pressure groups and the overwhelming nature of mass communications that we know today.

Scores, if not hundreds of different pressures and influences are impinging on individual freedoms in ways never even conceived 200 years ago.

Yet, we continue to use the same words to express philosophical values largely unchanged since 1776, with little regard for their applicability or validity in a modern age. And just as a piece of tempered steel breaks with dangerous whiplashing when bent beyond endurance, so society can react with dangerous passions when the concepts by which men live are twisted into cynicism by maladjustment to the social reality.

Competent scholarship is, of course, essential to the success of such a venture, and happily the fund has obtained the services of a group of 10 distinguished Americans to direct the study. If well done, then the project could prove an important bit of philosophical preventive medicine, sparing America from the destructive contradictions of a sort of national schizophrenia.

[From the New York Times of July 19, 1957]

A FREE SOCIETY

The Fund for the Republic is embarking on an important study of one of the great problems facing our democracy: The effect on freedom and a free society of the large-scale organizations and institutions that have grown up in the last half century and that were as unknown to the Founding Fathers as the jet airplane and the atomic bomb.

Big business and big labor, to name two major forces of the new age, inevitably affect our life as a Nation and our freedom as individuals. These new groupings—in industry and in labor, in voluntary associations and in pressure groups—have helped change our society from the relatively simple association that it was to the highly complex network of interrelationships that we see around us. Their profound impact on personal freedom and on the structure of the State must first be understood before it can be properly coped with. In announcing the new study, Robert M. Hutchins, president of the fund, said: "We must find out how these developments affect freeedom and justice. We must discover the basic issues they present."

This basic-issues program is described as a principal part of the present phase of the fund's operations, which began with a grant from the Ford Foundation over 4 years ago. The fund has been spending its money by and large in some exceedingly useful directions despite ill-informed and often irresponsible criticism that has been directed against it. In so doing, the fund has helped strengthen American democracy, and the new study just announced gives every indication of being a major contribution to this end.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith several editorials favoring statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

While I agree with the fact that there is overwhelming sentiment in favor of statehood—with the great majority of the people of the United States and of the Congress in favor—I do not necessarily agree with the conclusions of the editorials as to why statehood has not been granted.

The ascertainment of the blacks and whites—the affirmatives and the negatives—is an easy matter. Explaining the reasons as to why statehood has not been favorably acted upon is not an easy matter.

Opponents of statehood, within Hawaii particularly, have disguised their opposition beneath an appearance of publicly expressed support. Lacking logical reason for opposing statehood and unwilling to place their wholly selfish, shortsighted objections in the open where they would be accorded the consideration they deserve, the opposition has used indirection and subterfuge.

The 85th Congress has given strong evidence that statehood will be of paramount consideration and that Hawaii and Alaska will be admitted as States.

The editorials follow:

[From the Columbia (Mo.) Tribune of July 18, 1957]

THE STATEHOOD BILLS

Action by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Territories in approving separate bills for statehood for Hawaii and

Alaska puts the long drawn out controversy over statehood for the two Territories on a more realistic basis. Supporters of statehood for each are inclined to believe that both can muster more support in the Congress individually than jointly, and individual bills make it possible for the national legislators to consider separately the merits and demerits of each cause. The problems are by no means identical.

Hawaii, with its rapid growth in population and the spectacular development of its industry and tourist trade, has achieved many of the requirements for statehood. Developments in communications—Honolulu is only an overnight trip by air from either San Francisco or Los Angeles—have largely removed the objections to statehood because of distance and noncontiguity, and certainly desire of the citizens of the islands to govern themselves within the family of States weighs heavily in favor of statehood.

On the other hand, there are still questions, even in the islands, as to whether the citizenship has reached a maturity of statehood proportions. Hawaii started the surge toward its present status in World War II, and the growing tourist business has done much to replace the trade with departing servicemen as forces there were reduced after the war and after the Korean "police action." But the fact remains that the majority of its citizens are of Japanese origin, and its handling of some unsavory labor difficulties has not been altogether reassuring.

There is little question of the basic loyalty of the Japanese and other Asian portions of the islands' population, there is some question whether the Hawaiian melting pot is far enough along in its processes to seat members in the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

The separate bills for statehood for Hawaii and Alaska will make possible calmer and more realistic consideration of each.

[From the Wilmington (Del.) Journal of July 19, 1957]

POPULAR—EXCEPT IN CONGRESS

If Congress represents the people, why has it stalled for all these years on granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii? Gallup polls taken over the last decade have shown that about two-thirds of the American public favor statehood, while about one-tenth are opposed. (The rest expressed no opinion either way.) But it is evident that, despite presidential backing of this popular view, Congress has not been strongly influenced by the opinions of the voters.

Perhaps it shouldn't be. If a Gallup interviewer asks an average American for his views on a subject like this, the chances are that he hasn't done much (if any) serious thinking about it. Most Americans have an amiable feeling that Hawaii and Alaska are entitled to statehood, but while they favor the idea they don't really care much either way. In such a case Congress, which has committees to delve deeply into the subject may well be in a better position to make a wise decision.

The trouble with this apologia is that the overwhelming weight of the evidence, at least in our judgment, is in favor of statehood. So we come back to the question: Why?

For many years congressional committee members have enjoyed junkets to Kaikiki, at Government expense, to investigate the question of Hawaiian statehood. Make Hawaii a State, and these junkets will cease. But that is a frivolous reason, not an adequate explanation. In any case, it does not apply to Alaska: Alaskan junkets are not in great demand.

In the case of polyglot Hawaii, moreover, there is considerable opposition from southern Senators, who are not prepared to welcome as a State a Territory where what they call "mixing of the races" goes further than anywhere else under the American Flag. Race politics plays a part in their opposition to Alaska as well. Admit 2 new non-Southern States and there will be 100 Senators instead of the present 96. If the four newcomers vote for civil-rights measures, as seems likely, it will be a little harder for southerners to maintain a filibuster.

But there is northern opposition, too. While the general public, whose views are recorded by the polls, doesn't greatly care either way, there are interests within many States which fear that they might be affected adversely by statehood. And they care enough to make an impression on Congressmen.

These are some of the reasons why the views of the voters have not been readily translated into congressional action.

[From the Woonsocket (R. I.) Call of June 26, 1957]

TIME TO ADD TWO MORE STARS

Flag Day has come and gone, and still there are 48 stars in our flag. But will this be the last year there is that number? That is for Congress to decide, and we earnestly hope that when Flag Day, 1958, rolls around, there will be 50 stars, the additions representing statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

Forty-five years ago, in 1912, New Mexico and Arizona became States, giving flagmakers an opportunity to capitalize on the situation. For the statistical-minded, it is well to record the fact that the 45-year span is indeed a record. Before that the longest gap was 15 years between the admission of Missouri in 1821 and Arkansas in 1836.

The history of Old Glory shows that in 1794 Congress ordered 15 stars and 15 stripes into the flag, with Vermont and Kentucky having been added to the original 13 States.

Twenty-four years later, Congress overhauled the flag setup, cutting the number of stripes to 13 again in honor of the original 13 States and providing for 20 stars. As time went on, the flag ultimately became made up of 13 stripes with 48 stars in 6 rows of 8 stars each.

Of course, flagmakers are going to have a problem if Alaska and Hawaii become states, for how is it possible to arrange 50 stars in 6 rows? Our suggestion would be for 5 rows of 10 stars each.

But that is not the essential point. The question is whether Alaska and Hawaii merit statehood. It is our belief that both are ready for admission, and that further dilatory tactics by our national legislators would serve no worthwhile purpose.

It is pertinent to note that in 1950 the House of Representatives voted for statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii, and that in 1954 the Senate voted for statehood for both.

Now, all that remains is for the House and Senate to vote favorably at the same session. If there are any good reasons—apart from partisan politics—why this should not be the session that makes history by admitting Alaska and Hawaii we'd like to know them.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Times of July 3, 1957]

STATEHOOD HOPES AFTER 10 YEARS

A Senate subcommittee has approved separate bills to grant statehood to Alaska and Hawaii.

This is good news. We hope both bills go all the way through Congress, that President Eisenhower signs them, and that two new stars are added to the flag. But we have our fingers crossed.

That the fight has been old and thus far futile was demonstrated by a paragraph in Martin Moore's Looking Backward column Monday. The 10-year-ago section contained this: "The House voted 196 to 133 the day before to make the Hawaiian Islands a State. Action in the Senate appeared unlikely before the next session."

Well, 10 years have passed and that next session has gone into many sessions. And Alaska and Hawaii still are on the outside looking in.

The overwhelming majority of Americans, if the Gallup poll is any indicator, approve statehood for the two Territories. The platforms of both political parties pledge immediate statehood.

Despite all this, despite the fact that at one time or another 1 Territory or the other has seemed on the threshold of admission to the Union, the 2 Territories remain Territories. Their aspirations have been frustrated many times for many reasons. Nevertheless, we still are hoping.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser of July 31, 1957]

STATEHOOD

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has recommended for passage Senate bill 49. This bill would grant immediate statehood to Hawaii. For a number of reasons the action of the committee is significant to the statehood aspirations of the people of the Territory.

Of greatest importance, the committee's action has taken place during the first year of the 85th Congress. This places the bill on the calendar as the first order of business when the Senate reconvenes next January. The misfortune heretofore has been that favorable committee action has come too late in the second session to provide ample time for consideration.

Most encouraging also is the fact that the committee's approval was by unanimous vote. Such a report never before has had such support in a committee of either branch of Congress.

The action of the members in promptly rejecting all delaying tactics, such as a proposal for a referendum in Alaska, indicates that dilatory methods will be nipped in a bud. Apparently the time is past when parliamentary stratagems can prevail.

Of even greater significance was the willingness of the members to face squarely every possible objection to statehood. The presence of subversive influences in our social and economic life, particularly in labor organizations, received recognition and was discussed frankly. The members probably are as well informed on this topic as any other group in the Nation. It is gratifying that they still voted unanimously for the adoption of the report.

This vote is more than an endorsement of statehood. It is a recognition that the people of Hawaii are good citizens in the best traditions of America; that their social and economic development has kept pace with that of the Nation; that their conduct in peace and in war indicates that their aspirations to become a State are just and reasonable, and that every consideration should be given—at this time—to these hopes and aspirations.

How To Wreck a Road

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the June 1957 issue of Sparks, the official

publication of the Minnesota State Automobile Association, contains an article by Richard Tupper, entitled "How To Wreck a Road."

The AAA, as is widely known, has supported roadside protection programs for many years. It does not seek to ban or outlaw roadside businesses or billboards. It seeks reasonable regulation and orderly planning. The article is particularly pertinent to the bill, S. 963, introduced by our colleague from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER], which is pending before the Public Works Committee. It may point the way to a solution and a constructive compromise.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW TO WRECK A ROAD

(By Richard Tupper)

Controversy over billboards and other forms of outdoor advertising has raged ever since the first glad tidings of a liver nostrum were posted on the side of a barn.

Some folks hate billboards with passion, and would ban them forever. Outdoor advertising spokesmen, on the other hand, would have you believe that our entire economy would collapse without these alfresco ads, and, indeed, argue that some of the modern poster panels actually improve the appearance of an otherwise drab landscape.

The basic fault with a billboard is this: its existence indicates a lack of control which often brings roadside blight and a ruined highway.

In the early days, the sole purpose of roads was to serve the people who lived or did business on adjoining property. Later, some of the roads were widened and surfaced, and through traffic began moving over them. These roads performed the dual function of providing service to vehicles, and abutting property owners. Finally, arterial routes were built to move heavy volumes of traffic with safety and dispatch.

But these arteries—most of them—didn't do the job. Traffic, instead of flowing freely, became clogged and jammed. Accidents, deaths, and injuries soared. Even when the highway was widened and straightened, motorists were confronted with the same dismal picture; traffic congestion and a mounting accident toll.

Gradually the truth emerged: you can't maintain the safety and efficiency of an arterial highway unless you protect its roadsides.

The warning was sounded many years ago. As the traffic streams thickened on main routes throughout the land, they were followed by roadside blight. Junkheaps, automobile graveyards, shanties—and signs of every description from the huge 24-sheet poster panels down to the little snipe pointing the way to Paradise Beach. A few dedicated souls raised an alarm over the dangers of this roadside ravaging, but they were pooh-poohed as mere esthetes.

When traffic volumes reached major proportions and accident rates spiraled, an increasing number of engineers and traffic specialists joined in urging some form of roadside control. For, with unregulated roadsides, all sorts of business enterprises sprung up along the highway. Each had two driveways, maybe more. Instead of being grouped sensibly at interchange points, these businesses were strung out along the highway ("ribbon development," it's called), each with its own driveways. As cars slowed down to enter or others pulled out, congestion was produced on the other lanes and traffic often was forced over to the highspeed inner lanes. Crashes and multiple tieups were the inevitable result.

The highway, once the State's pride, had become an offense to the eye and a hazard to all who used it. In desperation, the engineers put up more and more stop lights and that meant the end of the route as an artery. It then became a long city street out in the country.

And it was impossible to widen it any further. With all those businesses crowding the road's shoulder, extra right-of-way costs too much. The only solution is to build a new highway somewhere else with a right-of-way wide enough to discourage both business and signs except at planned locations.

That's the key word—planning. Roadside business is not only necessary; it should be encouraged. There's no objection to signboards in their right place—commercial, industrial, or similar areas. Everyone selling goods or services along the highway should be able to advertise his wares.

The AAA has supported a positive program of roadside protection for over 20 years. It's not a plan to prohibit billboards or kill roadside businesses. It simply gives the highway department authority to regulate the roadside, including points of access, so that orderliness and sanity will prevail in commercial development. With such controls in effect, motorists can enjoy the countryside uncluttered by either poster panel or the cluster of little snipe signs. And along such roads traffic can move easily, speedily, safely.

Roadside blight may be prevented in many different ways. The AAA has published a handbook on the subject giving full details to the experts and technicians tackling a specific problem. One of the most effective solutions involves highway zoning. All major communities provide for orderly development—residential, business, commercial, and so on—through some type of zoning. However, rural-minded lawmakers often are reluctant to accept this principle. Other measures for safeguarding the highway investment include: marginal land acquisition, reservation of protective easements, purchase of advertising rights and use of the State's police power to preserve roadside amenities.

Just what method is best for any particular State or locality should be decided by the experts. In the meantime, we users can tell the people in the legislatures and other political offices that we want our investment in highways safeguarded; that we want no part of our hundred-billion-dollar investment poured down a rathole; that we insist on adequate roadside protection despite the fulminations and machinations of a small but very noisy opposition.

We're going to work in a big way to solve our traffic problem. On the Interstate System alone, we plan to pour a billion and a half barrels of concrete; we'll use up 9 billion board-feet of lumber; we're going to need 9 billion tons of sand, gravel, and stone.

A statistician can have a lot of fun with those figures—making a boardwalk 6 feet wide stretching to the moon, and building a pile of sand and gravel half a mile high, if our slide rule's working right.

But the Interstate System constitutes only a part of the entire roadbuilding effort. The figure to watch is that hundred billion dollars that Federal, State, and local Governments will spend on highways and streets in the next decade and a half. That's a huge amount of money. Put it all in one-thousand-dollar bills and you'd have more than 100 stacks each as high as the Washington Monument.

There'll be fights, bitter ones, before necessary safeguards for this tremendous investment can be written into law. How the battles are decided depends almost entirely upon the highway users. Our weapons are readily at hand—just pen, paper, and some 3-cent stamps. Write to your Senators and Representatives in Congress now, urging protection for the Interstate System. When your State legislature is in session, write to your representatives there. Write to public officials. Write to editors of your local papers.

If enough motorists write enough letters to people in public life, our hundred-billion-dollar investment in a better traffic future will pay off in terms of safer, more comfortable, more enjoyable driving. That's more than a promise; it's a stone-cold locked-up certainty.

Unfair Drain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an interesting article which appeared in the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., on August 8, 1957.

The article follows:

UNFAIR DRAIN

Massachusetts is suffering a continual drain on its resources to support Federal projects in other parts of the country, according to a study made by the new Commission on the Audit of State Needs.

The finding is nothing new. It has been known to anyone who has had access to the figures on what we pay out in Federal taxes in this Commonwealth and what we get back in Federal projects or assistance. Lynn's own attorney, Guy Newhall, has repeatedly pointed out the outrageous lack of balance between outgo and income in Federal finances in this State.

The situation is dramatized by the second refusal of the White House only yesterday to aid us—or any part of New England, for that matter—in the drought situation. We pay and pay but when we seek a helping hand from Uncle Sam in an emergency, Washington turns its official back on us.

This State pays $1.34 in taxes to the Federal Government for every $1 it receives in Federal funds. On the other hand, Alabama pays only 36 cents for every dollar it receives and Arkansas gets a dollar for every 31 cents.

Massachusetts ranks 10th in the Nation in Federal tax payments. Last year, we paid more than $2 billion to Washington, but we rank 37th in our return on the tax dollar.

An ironic aspect of the situation is that the projects which are being built in other parts of the country with Federal funds to which we contribute, are being used to build up States which are already competing with us and attempting to take away our industries, capital and engineering, and managerial talent.

Congress has been appropriating more than $500 million a year for the development of river and harbor facilities, but Massachusetts, which pays more than 3 percent of Federal taxes, gets less than half of 1 percent of this money.

There are a number of river and harbor projects for Massachusetts which the Federal Government has authorized, but for which Congress has so far failed to appropriate funds. Congress recently failed to appropriate funds for a flood-insurance program which was strongly supported by almost every New England Representative and Senator.

In such fields as civil aviation, agriculture, and education, Massachusetts has also not

received a proportionate share of Federal funds.

The solution? A more militant, more united New England delegation in Congress, both in the House and Senate, to fight tooth and nail, day in and day out, on the floors of the two branches, in the committee rooms, and in the cloakrooms for more funds. If we accept this unfair treatment passively, we'll continue to get it.

Discourse on a Dictator—Trujillo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Arnaldo Otero, which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star, August 4, 1957:

A FATAL ANALYSIS?—DISCOURSE ON A DICTATOR—TRUJILLO

(By Arnaldo Otero)

The most important document in the strange case of Dr. Jesus de Galindez, Columbia University instructor who disappeared more than 15 months ago, has recently been published in Argentina. It is the book that may have caused the disappearance, perhaps the death, of Dr. de Galindez.

In the book, The Era of Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Dr. de Galindez lists these charges against the Trujillo regime:

That assassins hired by Gen. Rafael L. Trujillo have murdered political foes outside the Dominican Republic, at least twice in New York City.

That the Dominican Government encouraged the formation of a Communist Party as late as 1946 and that the Government went so far as to offer guaranties to exiled Communists if they would return to organize the party.

That there is no free press, radio, or television in the country. "The problem is not one of censorship," Dr. de Galindez writes, "it is one of asphyxia," a complete monopoly being held by Trujillo and his brother J. Arismendi (Petan) Trujillo.

That elections are fixed and that terrorism is used, when necessary, to take care of any opposition.

That Generalissimo Trujillo adapts himself to the foreign policy of the western countries, even though he may not agree with it. At the same time, he keeps trouble alive in the Caribbean area.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Dr. de Galindez disappeard shortly after he had completed the book, written in Spanish, as his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University.

The material is carefully documented. It is the work of a graduate student who knew he would have to prove to school authorities that his sources were reliable and his conclusions valid.

But the real value of Dr. de Galindez' thesis, perhaps, lies in its dispassionate approach to the controversial subject. His book is the first work of its kind written during Trujillo's 37 years of absolute control that is neither fanatically critical nor fantastically praising.

Dr. de Galindez's task, as he himself proclaims it, was:

"* * * To study, with coherence, the political regime of the Dominican Republic during the 25 years of the era of Trujillo (1930–55). But not so much as an analysis of a country, but of a continental species. The details may vary, but the characteristics repeat themselves from country to country."

This is Dr. de Galindez' story in brief:

Trujillo was a young telegrapher when the United States Marines landed in 1919 to restore order and fiscal stability to a chaotic nation. From a temporary second lieutenant in the Guardia Nacional, he rose swiftly to become a brigadier general of the newly organized national army.

Trujillo held the post of commanding general of the army until the coup of 1930. "It seems that President Vasquez," writes Dr. de Galindez, "never suspected him until it was too late."

President Horacio Vasquez resigned after a coup on March 2, 1930. Trujillo partisans say the general remained neutral; his enemies say he was the brains behind the revolution and that his conduct was a model of treason.

UNITED STATES ENVOY QUOTED

United States Minister Charles B. Curtis is quoted by Dr. de Galindez as writing in one of his reports to Washington:

"Probably in December (1929), Trujillo emptied practically all the arms available from the Santo Domingo (now Ciudad Trujillo) fort and sent them to the Santiago fort. With all certainty he was conspiring with the revolutionary forces from the beginning and never broke his relations with them."

On March 18, 1930, General Trujillo was proclaimed presidential candidate and on May 16 was elected President unopposed.

"Still I have not found any complete and truthful account of what happened toward the end of February 1930 in the Dominican Republic," Dr. de Galindez writes, "and it is doubtful that a serious historical account will ever be found."

General Trujillo emerged from the first elections as the dominant figure in Dominican politics and the confederation that brought him to power. He reorganized the party and got rid of the leaders of the confederation who did not follow him.

"The army was clearly under the power of the Generalissimo and he promptly began to use it to quell any type of disorder," Dr. de Galindez writes.

After his first term General Trujillo no longer tried to share his powers with other elected officials. Even today, Dr. de Galindez reports, he holds undated and signed resignation letters from all elected officials, including legislators and judges. When the dictator wants to get rid of one of his officials all he has to do is to date the "resignation" and circulate it.

Year after year General Trujillo continued his personal power by eliminating parties and party members. According to Dr. de Galindez, some were killed, some brought into disrepute, others eased out quietly into obscurity.

A PERSONAL DICTATORSHIP

"The government of the Dominican Republic is a great farm that belongs to Trujillo," Dr. de Galindez charges, where the constitution, patterned after that of the United States, is only a "facade." His is a "personal dictatorship * * * better yet, a tyranny."

The Trujillo regime also is one of absolute nepotism. His son, Rafael L. Trujillo-Martinez (Ramfis), who was a colonel of the army at the age of 5, will be the next President of the republic. The Generalissimo's brother, Hector B., is now "President."

Dr. de Galindez declares New York City police have enough proof to convict Trujillo men of two murders. These men have fled to the Dominican Republic and vanished.

The first assassination took place on April 28, 1935. Attorney Sergio Bencosme, secretary of war in the Vasquez government, was shot to death when the assassin apparently mistook him for Dr. Angel Morales, the real target. Dr. Morales was one of General Trujillo's presidential opponents in the 1930 elections.

The second New York assassination occurred less than 5 years ago—October 2, 1952. The victim was Andres Requena, a political exile.

"I have in my possession documents from Trujillo sources," Dr. de Galindez writes, "of a deliberate attempt by the Dominican Government for the public organization of a Dominican Communist Party.

"The exiled Communists were urged by the Government to return; and they agreed to it," Galindez says, to cover the bad smell of his one-party system and show his was a democratic government. The party was soon afterwards disbanded as Russian-Western relations became strained.

In his book printed in Argentina by Editorial Americana, Dr. de Galindez asserts the death of Trujillo will bring chaos to the little island because of the absence of political forces and the needed democratic instrumentalities for a new government to take over.

As a sequel to the disappearance of Dr. de Galindez, the Trujillo regime again hit the front pages of newspapers here when an American pilot, Gerald L. Murphy, was reported as having been murdered in the Dominican Republic. Mr. Murphy is believed to have flown Dr. de Galindez out of this country.

In more recent developments, General Trujillo hired two American lawyers—Morris L. Ernst, of New York, onetime aid to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and William H. Munson, of Buffalo, a former New York State Supreme Court justice—to make an all-out investigation of the controversial case. The Dominican Republic had previously parried United States efforts to get to the bottom of the affair.

With friendly relations between the United States and the Dominican Republic already affected, the Trujillo regime is now trying to establish its innocence of the fantastic charges to which it has been subjected.

Legislation Pending Before the Banking and Currency Committee of the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from a constitutent who is highly interested in legislation now pending before the Banking and Currency Committee of the House. The letter is as follows:

AUGUST 9, 1957.

Hon. BYRON G. ROGERS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROGERS: As a stockholder in a national bank, I would like to express my feelings as to the banking bill

now being considered by the banking committee of the House.

Under our present system of electing directors of our national banks, we have majority control and minority representation. The elimination of cumulative voting will mean that majority control will be changed to monopoly control and minority representation as it now exisits will be obliterated. In short, we will take a big step backwards concerning democracy in our national banks.

Cumulative voting is democratic for it gives the public stockholders the right to have representation on the boards of the banks which they own. We need more democracy and less monopolistic power in our banking system. The elimination of cumulative voting puts the bank managers in a position of monopolistic power over the banks which is very detrimental to our banking system.

Will you please see that this letter is put in the RECORD. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) RUTH PANKOSKI.

Telephone Directories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, before reading Mr. F. F. McNaughton's comments on the poor distribution of telephone directories in Russia, I had not realized how much I took for granted the various sources of information that are readily available in the United States. Little do we realize how much we have come to depend upon the diversified information contained in our telephone directories, a directory which is given without hesitation to each subscriber.

Following is the 12th in a series of letters by Mr. F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the Pekin Daily Times:

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By F. F. McNaughton)

Just tried a phone call. So, hunted phone book.

In various hotels about the world I have found phone books in various places. Where should this one in a Moscow hotel be?

Ceil says I never can find anything; so I kept hunting.

Since our suite has four rooms, and many cabinets and tables and closets and drawers, I hunted for quite a spell.

Finally I said, "Ceil, I give up, please find the phone book for me."

Usually she takes one quick look, and there it is and has been all the time, right under my nose.

But she couldn't find it.

So down the elevator to the office I go to ask to see their phone book to look up "soandso's" number. They had none.

I went into Intourist. They had none.

Now there is an aspect of Russia that I haven't yet mentioned on this trip. It is secrecy.

In a city almost big as New York or London, only a few people have telephone numbers available.

Evidently they don't aim for just anybody to be able to talk to just anybody else. They want to know who talks to whom, and perhaps what he says.

You know how the volume drops on a telephone when somebody else comes on the line. In each phone talk I've had here in Moscow, I have the feeling that someone else (maybe a recording machine) is on the line. If they had phone books and millions of phone talks, like in a normal city, they never could listen to all the talk.

Maybe it's like reading the mail. We know there is mail for us somewhere here in Moscow—has been for 2 weeks. But they won't give it to us. Probably haven't had time to read it yet.

Dean Acheson on Jury Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the so-called jury-trial amendment to the civil-rights bill, as adopted in the other body, will not guarantee trial by jury. The author of this amendment, Senator O'MAHONEY, explaining his amendment during debate on page 11618 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on July 26, declared, "When a court is seeking to secure compliance with its orders, there will not be a trial by jury." Those of us who believe in real trial by jury and constitutional government need no further proof of our position in opposing all civil-rights legislation in this House than the following article by Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Wednesday, August 7:

DEAN ACHESON ON JURY TRIAL

It will be a great pity if a chance to advance the civil rights of our Negro citizens beyond anything achieved in three-quarters of a century is lost because liberals do not realize how much has been accomplished by the bill now before the Senate.

It will be a disaster for the country if bitter sectional animosity is aroused by attempting to change the jury-trial amendment to gain something of little or no value. In all respects, save one, opinion is unanimous that the bill in its protection of the right to vote is first class. The argument arises over the requirement that in certain cases a person, before being punished for violating a judge's decree, must be convicted by a jury.

This requirement of a jury trial in cases of criminal contempt is said by some to nullify the act.

Nothing could be more wrong. Those who make this charge usually have no idea what criminal contempt is or what great powers the amendment gives to the judge to enforce his decree by civil-contempt proceedings.

Exactly what are we talking about? Recently the press has carried stories of a registrar of voters who was preventing the registration of Negro voters by opening his office only for short periods when voters could not readily attend and by dilatory proceedings.

In such a case the United States attorney could, under the amendment bring suit and the court could issue its decree ordering proper and effective registration. If his order should not be obeyed, the judge could put those defying him in jail or under continuing fines until they should obey. If necessary he could order that no list of voters not made in accordance with his decree be certified or used. No jury would be required for these enforcement proceedings.

Now let us assume that the registrar has attempted to deceive the judge into believing that he has complied, when he has not. Here is a situation where punishment is called for—not coercion to enforce compliance, but retribution for a wrong. Before this punishment can be inflicted, the defendant must be found guilty by a jury. To say that this requirement nullifies the law is nonsense.

In the first place, it assumes that in some sections juries will not convict, hence retributive punishment will not be possible, hence the law cannot be enforced. I do not believe the assumption that under proper guidance from the court juries will not convict the guilty.

But, even if I am wrong, the real enforcement powers are in the civil contempt proceedings where no jury is required. In the second place it assumes that in a section of the country so opposed to the law that no jury could be found to impose punishments, the same punishments would be meekly accepted if imposed by a judge alone.

This is not only fantastic, but the Federal courts would be destroyed in such an effort.

Finally, it is said that the amendment is so broad that it will impede the enforcement of decrees in other fields—the antitrust field is mentioned. I can't recall any proceeding for criminal contempt in an antitrust case—though there may have been some. But I venture to say that in a proceeding of this sort a jury would be more of a terror to the defendant than to the Government. However, if any difficulties do develop not now anticipated, they can easily be dealt with by legislation.

At the present time, fears expressed about the amendment are unfounded, usually based on misunderstanding, and sometimes insincere. It would, as I said, be a great pity should they prevent an accomplishment of inestimable importance.

DEAN ACHESON.

August 6, 1957.

Employees of Wisconsin Manufacturers Benefit by Expanding American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement from Maritime Affairs published by the committee of American Steamship Lines. The article points out the many benefits that are enjoyed by the employees of Wisconsin manufacturing concerns which have been brought about by our ever-expanding American merchant marine.

UNITED STATES MERCHANT SHIPS SUPPORT MIDWEST COMMERCE—EXPORTS CREATE JOBS FOR 1,000 RACINE WORKERS

Of Racine, Wis.'s 14,000 industrial workers, 1,000 owe their jobs to foreign trade and ocean shipping, a recent poll of more than 50 companies shows.

TRACTOR EXPORTS UP

Racine's J. I. Case Co., estimates that 10 to 12 percent of its employees are directly affected by the company's ability to sell to

overseas customers. Foreign markets for its wheel tractors and crawler tractors last year helped lift total United States tractor exports to $390 million, the highest level in 7 years.

Massey-Harris-Ferguson estimates that 25 percent of its Racine-manufactured farm equipment is shipped overseas. American-flag merchant ships help carry its repair parts to more than 100 countries.

MALTED MILK TO BORNEO

Horlock's Corp. has salesmen in Ethiopia, Aden, the Channel Islands, Borneo, and elsewhere. Its malted milk, an invention of its founder, is carried abroad regularly to a score of other foreign nations.

Racine's S. C. Johnson & Co., world's largest maker of wax polishes and allied products for household, industrial, and other uses, owes its success to a host of managerial skills—and a waxy power from a Brazilian palm tree. Ocean-going ships carry tons of this powder, extracted from the fronds of the Carnauba palm, to Johnson subsidiary plants all over the world and to New Orleans and New York for transshipment to Racine.

DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTS

Other imports for which Johnson depends on ocean transportation include shellac from India, sugar cane wax from Cuba and beeswax from West Africa, Portugal, Iran, and Afganistan. American freighters help carry Johnson products to customers in 90 countries.

Racine sells calf weaners to Canada and golf-swing practice devices to Italy and Japan. Other exports include everything from artificial limb parts, hair clippers and tools to puzzles, wrapping paper and insecticides.

"Made in Racine," like that phrase, "Kilroy was here," has been seen in the most unlikely places.

Practically every port in the free world has been visited by American ships off-loading products from this highly industrial city of 80,000.

Jacobsen power mowers, for example, are mowing lawns from Luxemburg to the Bahamas.

Motorists have lamented flats in every language, but have been able to continue their trip thanks to Walker automobile jacks, made in Racine.

Young Radiator Co. eqiupment heats a United States post office on a glacier in Fairbanks, Alaska.

Racine-made lollipop machines are shipped regularly to South Africa; mink ranching equipment from Racine finds customers from Finland to Mexico, Massey-Harris-Ferguson tractors are this month on their way to Hyderabad.

IMPORTS ALSO VITAL

But this is only part of what foreign trade means to Racine—and to all the Midwest—because foreign trade is a two-way street.

Ocean-going ships bring these same companies chromite from New Caledonia; tantalum from Uganda; zinc from Peru; and graphite from Madagascar. None of these plants could operate without steel supplies—and its production is wholly dependent on imports of foreign ores.

UNITED STATES SHIPS REQUIRED

The key word, then, to Racine's industrial success and continuing prosperity is access—access to foreign markets for that extra margin of sales that may mean the difference between profit and loss; and access to foreign sources of vital raw materials.

This access to world markets and sources of supply is guaranteed by the merchant shipping fleet flying the American flag, sailing the Nation's essential foreign trade routes, and stabilizing world freight rates.

H. R. 8002—A Delusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, the so-called accrued expenditure budget bill, H. R. 8002, is widely misunderstood. It will not bring about any of the beneficent results claimed in its behalf. It will confuse, not clarify the budget. It will not reduce unexpended carryover balances. It will not save money. It will result in more spending, not less spending.

Under leave to extend, I include a letter of July 30 to all Members of the House, signed by 38 members of the one committee of the House that would be chiefly affected by the plan. The letter follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
Washington, D. C., July 30, 1957.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: We are being urged by many well meaning people to pass H. R. 8002, the accrued expenditures budget bill. We think that the bill is bad and ought to be defeated—that the bill would tend to confuse the economy issue and increase Government spending, make it easier to get Congress to grant authority to obligate the Government.

The Appropriations Committee, the committee which would be chiefly affected by the measure, made a study of the accrued expenditures budget proposal (H. R. 8002) and issued a strong report in opposition to it on March 21, 1957. Please note page 5 of House Report 216 of this Congress.

The big argument for H. R. 8002 is that it would eliminate large unexpended carryover balances. It would not do this: It would merely substitute contract authority for appropriations. The Government would still be obligated for the completion of the long-range programs. It would put the Government into installment buying, a practice which in personal operations has led millions of families into overspending.

Under either system, of course, Congress could cancel the appropriation or the contract authority.

H. R. 8002 would delude the people for 1 year, and to some extent for 2 years, into thinking that a lot of money was being saved by the reduction of appropriations and the substitution of contract authority. Such a program would appear quite attractive and painless, but the day of rude awakening would of course come in confusion and frustration. Valuable time in the economy fight would have been lost.

It ought to be obvious to everyone that the only way to cut spending is to reduce appropriations and the granting of obligational authority. It cannot be done by shenanigans and bookkeeping schemes. Substituting contract authority won't get the job done. We tried it once and discarded it.

Generally, in appropriation bills we now fully finance long-range programs for aircraft, ships, and other long-lead-time items. Congress and the country know in advance just how big and expensive the programs are. Under H. R. 8002 we would follow the confusing process of changing the appropriation bills to provide the following: (a) funds to liquidate prior contract authority; (b) funds for the regular annual functions of the Government; and (c) additional contract authority for partially completed programs and for the initiation of new programs.

This would make less effective the work of the Appropriations Committee; it would be confusing to members of the committee and to Members of Congress generally, and it would tend to conceal from the people the fiscal action of Congress because the press would have difficulty in reporting to the people just what was happening to them under this installment-buying-dollar-down-contract-authority hodgepodge. There are other reasons why H. R. 8002 is bad legislation.

There is always room for improvement in any system, but we believe that H. R. 8002 would be a big step in the wrong direction, a step toward confusion and higher spending.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE CANNON; GEORGE H. MAHON; HARRY R. SHEPPARD; ALBERT THOMAS; MICHAEL J. KIRWAN; W. F. NORRELL; GEORGE W. ANDREWS; JOHN J. ROONEY; J. VAUGHAN GARY; ROBERT L. F. SIKES; PRINCE H. PRESTON; OTTO E. PASSMAN; LOUIS C. RABAUT; FRED MARSHALL; JOHN J. RILEY; ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI; JOE L. EVINS; HENDERSON LANHAM; JOHN P. SHELLEY; DON MAGNUSON; WILLIAM H. NATCHER; DANIEL J. FLOOD; WINFIELD K. DENTON; TOM STEED; JOHN TABER; BEN F. JENSEN; H. CARL ANDERSEN; WALT HORAN; IVOR D. FENTON; EERETT P. SCRIVNER; CLIFF CLEVENGER; EARL WILSON; BENJAMIN F. JAMES; GERALD R. FORD, Jr.; EDWARD T. MILLER; HAROLD C. OSTERTAG; FRANK T. BOW; MELVIN R. LAIRD.

The Domestic Lead and Zinc Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to include with my remarks a resolution adopted by the city of Flat River, Mo., relating to the domestic lead and zinc industries in our country so vital to our national defense.

I have the honor of representing the greatest lead mining district in the United States, the Eighth Congressional District of Missouri, which mines successfully a low grade of ore and is making plans to handle economically still lower grade resources.

Last year the value of Missouri's lead production was over $40 million. An estimated 4,000 people derive employment from Missouri's lead mining, not to mention the collateral employment opportunities.

There is a grave threat to the survival of the lead and zinc industries in our country. I am convinced from my knowledge of Missouri lead mining, that studies the Government has made and the Interior Department's recommendations for relief, do not exaggerate the need for prompt congressional attention if our lead and zinc industries in the United States are to survive. A sliding scale excise tax imposed on imports of

lead and zinc in my opinion will bring relief which is so urgently needed.

Following is the resolution referred to:

Whereas the city of Flat River, Mo., has been called the lead capital of the world, and rightly so; and

Whereas the economy of the city of Flat River is directly connected with that of the entire lead and zinc industry, inasmuch as the majority of its citizens are either directly or indirectly engaged in the production of lead, or providing services for those so engaged; and

Whereas our community is vitally interested in the entire domestic metal mining industry which is one of our vital natural resources, especially from the standpoint of national defense; and

Whereas the present program of stockpiling of lead and zinc as a national defense measure has been curtailed to some extent: Therefore be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Flat River, Mo., That said city council urge the adoption by the Federal Government of such future program or programs as will keep the domestic lead and zinc industry and the entire metal mining industry in a status of economic stabilization and will stimulate the domestic lead and zinc industry so vital to our national defense, and be it further resolved that a copy of these proceedings be sent to our United States Senator and to the Congressmen for the district in which we reside.

Passed this 3d day of August 1957.

J. ALBERT PARKER, *Mayor.*

Attest:

LORELEI WUNNING,
City Clerk.

The 11th of a Series of Articles by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, mention the name Dior in the United States and most women could give you a lengthy dissertation on his latest style innovations. After reading Mrs. McNaughton's commentary on women's fashions in Russia, it is quite apparent that Dior and other world fashion leaders are not familiar names to the majority of Soviet women.

In view of the close proximity of the adjournment of Congress, it will be my intention to insert two of Mr. McNaughton's columns daily from this point on so that all the avid readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will not miss any installments of the series.

Following is the 11th in the series of letters by F. F. McNaughton, editor of the Pekin, Ill., Daily Times:

THE EDITOR'S WIFE SPEAKS TODAY

"Appalling."

"Dowdy."

"Like the women in London's east end."

I've read or heard all those descriptions of how the women of Russia dress.

But I think the word is "Indifferent."

They could comb their hair, even if they can't (or won't) buy clothes.

Most of the women I saw had on a short, gathered cotton skirt and a jacket that looked like a man's coat. And their shoes are shoddy. But they do wear hose—cheap, but they are not bare legged.

Speaking of shoes reminds me of a night at the opera. During intermission, an American girl was standing half way up some marble steps. A Russian woman friend whispered to me: "Notice that all the girls in the foyer are looking at those American shoes." Wasn't it John Gunther who wrote that if Marilyn Monroe came down a Moscow street wearing only shoes, people would look first at her shoes.

Russian women don't use lipstick or make-up.

More important, they don't wear foundation garments.

The women in India did not either; but there it did not make so much difference with a pretty silk sari draped about the figure.

But the Russian woman's figure just sags, and fully relaxed, protrudes where it will.

No rich jewels are seen.

Little costume jewelry.

Reasons probably are:

1. Women are dispirited.
2. They work so very hard.
3. The Government does not manufacture nice things for women.
4. Prices are out of reach.

I'd estimate 5,000 women on this trip have envied me my plastic "Rain Dears." They are light, transparent summer galoshes. We have been out in many rains—some of them torrents. I've yet to see a pair of rubbers on a Russian woman. They just trudge ahead through the rain and wade the gutters without rubbers and without umbrellas.

Of course, you do see exceptions. At our hotel last night was a big party, and the women were all nice appearing; probably wives of well-paid technicians.

Paper Presented by Earl L. Struwe, Chief, Economics and Statistics Branch, Division of Irrigation, Bureau of Reclamation, at the Annual Convention of the Western Farm Economics Association, Las Cruces, N. Mex., July 15, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, we of the reclamation West have noted the concern expressed that reclamation development might adversely affect our efforts to reduce or eliminate present crop surpluses.

We have had no desire, in the necessary development of our own area, to add to crop surplus problems. We have offered such evidence as was available to show that reclamation development was important to the Nation and that it did not add to our surplus.

To firm up this position, I should like to include with my remarks a paper presented by Earl L. Struwe, chief of the Economics and Statistics Division of Irrigation, Bureau of Reclamation, at the annual convention of the Western Farm Economics Association.

In this paper, Mr. Struwe gives careful explanation of this situation, pointing up the temporary nature of crop surpluses, the inevitable increase of demand, and the small impact on present surpluses of reclamation development.

I would urge Members who have an interest in this subject to take the few minutes necessary to examine this presentation. I believe it will be of interest to all areas of our country. It should lay away the assertion that reclamation development adversely affects other crop areas. The article follows:

PAPER PRESENTED BY EARL L. STRUWE, CHIEF, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS BRANCH, DIVISION OF IRRIGATION, BUREAU OF RECLAMATION, AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE WESTERN FARM ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION, LAS CRUCES, N. MEX., JULY 15, 1957

I appreciate the opportunity of participating in the proceedings of the Western Farm Economics Association. This distinguished organization includes in it many of the top leaders in agriculture. You are looked upon to provide guidance in meeting present-day agricultural problems and in planning for the future. This association and similar groups offer a forum for discussing and testing on the drawing board, so to speak, of views concerning agricultural problems. Many of you men occupy strategic positions and I am mindful that your responsibilities deal not only with current issues and problems but also as they cast their shadows on future developments.

The subject which I have been asked to discuss today concerns the relationship of Federal reclamation to the farm-surplus problem. We have two types of natural resources which I shall describe as depletive and nondepletive. Coal, oil, iron, and other minerals characterize the first type, that is, once removed from the earth and used they are gone forever. The nondepletive resources are land and water, which, if properly managed, will serve us forever.

Irrigation, the fruitful combination of land and water, predates our constitutional form of Government in the United States, having its beginning in the era of the Hohokam Indians, in the vicinity of Phoenix, Ariz., in the period of about 1400 A. D., some 500 to 600 years ago. The civilization of the Hohokam passed and today we find the Salt River Federal reclamation project which continues to use some of the early canal locations.

History relates that Coronado, searching for the Seven Cities of the Cibola, found irrigation practiced in the Rio Grande Valley about 1540. Thus, we are meeting today in an area parts of which probably have been under irrigation for more than 400 years. In 1847 the Mormons launched in Utah what we regard as the era of modern irrigation in the United States. For the next half-century irrigation spread throughout the Western States and by 1900 about 7½ million acres had been developed. The natural flow of the streams had by then been largely over-appropriated and the simple low-cost systems had been built. Pressure for Federal financial and technical aid for further developments in the West culminated in the enactment of the Reclamation Act of 1902 under which, as amended and supplemented, we operate today.

In the 55-year history of Federal reclamation, facilities have been constructed in the 17 Western States for full irrigation service to approximately 4.1 million acres, and supplemental irrigation water to 3.5 million acres. The total area receiving water constitutes about 22 percent of the irrigated land in the Western States.

If each of us were to give our own definition of crop surplus, we might find a number of concepts. I would suggest that our present situation relates in major degree to a quantity-price objective. This notwithstanding, I am perfectly willing to grant that we can and probably do have capacity to produce more of certain crops than can be absorbed in a market at any price. A commodity may be found in surplus under a high artificial-price situation, whereas under a lower price it may be marketed in its entirety.

The term surplus, when used with respect to agricultural commodities, seems to have developed a macabre connotation. Actually, no Nation has ever prospered under scarcity. Under our free enterprise system, we have usually prospered, raised our standard of living and the well being of all of our people as we have increased efficiency and raised the level of production. The Department of Agriculture reports that on the average our agricultural output is only about 5 percent above market requirements. This, bear in mind, is under a controlled agriculture and is stated as an average for all crops. Although we stockpile what is termed strategic material for maintaining the peace and for war, if it should come, should we be willing to risk a hand-to-mouth situation with respect to food and fiber? No nation has ever successfully waged war on an empty stomach, and I suggest that no nation has ever waged a successful peace on an empty stomach either. We are told that one-half of the world's population goes to bed hungry and that about 20 percent of our own population suffers to some degree from malnutrition. If we could but satisfy the full dietary requirements of our own people and bring the production of several crops into proper balance with current needs, the slight surplus would be wiped out.

The determination of the number of people a given food supply can support must be preceded by the answer to the question, "At what living standard?" Shall the American living standard be used as the criterion or shall it be the Asiatic? In approaching this problem, Pearson and Harper calculated population density in terms of grain produced per capita rather than using the more conventional person per square mile standard. These calculations indicated the number of persons who could be supported at varying living standards. The results were startling. In brief, they indicated that world food supplies would be adequate to support an additional 600 million people if all living were reduced to the Asiatic standard. If, on the other hand, it were decided that the European standard were to be adopted, present supplies are slightly inadequate. If, however, the standards now attained in North America were adopted, then the world's present supplies are adequate for only 41 percent of the present world population. Conversely stated, if the living standard of the world is to be increased to the American standard, present food production must be increased by an additional 150 percent. Should we place a blanket condemnation upon the blessing of 5 percent abundance?

The Congress, in attempting to achieve a desirable quantity-price situation has developed legislation which defines the conditions under which a crop is considered in surplus. The Commodity Stabilization Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, has certain delegated prerogatives which it exercises to control the quantity held in Commodity Credit Corporation inventories. These inventories, when accumulated through price support operations closely reflect the magnitude of our surpluses. There are several factors affecting the size of the surplus which are artificially set. By that I mean that free market conditions are not allowed to exercise full influence. One of these factors is exports of CCC stocks; if the surplus stocks are held off the world market for some reason they continue to accumulate as long as domestic production is held at a higher level than domestic consumption. Another artificial factor affecting surplus is the arbitrary determination of what constitutes a normal reserve for emergencies. You see, if that would be raised or lowered, the surplus inventories would vary inversely. There are other factors, but my point is that by mere definition surpluses can be operated or eliminated. It would be perfectly possible to wake up tomorrow and read in the paper of a new set of definitions by which surpluses have been eliminated, cut in half or reduced by any other fraction.

You will recall that during the Korean conflict a high Government official found that the cotton inventory, condemned only a few months before as a gluttonous surplus, had emerged as a strategic reserve.

The price support program of the Commodity Credit Corporation totalled $7.6 billion on July 1, 1957. This included both loans and inventories. Four commodities: corn, wheat, upland cotton, and tobacco constituted 87 percent of the value. Corn comprises 29 percent, wheat 30 percent, upland cotton 20 percent, and tobacco almost 8 percent of the value of all commodities under loan and in inventories of the CCC. It is appropriate, then, that we consider the relationship of the Federal reclamation program to this primary area of the farm surplus problem.

Tobacco is not grown on Federal reclamation projects so we can dispose of that commodity by reference only.

Corn production in the United States averages about 3 billion bushels annually. Commodity Credit Corporation loans and inventories on July 1, 1957, amounted to about 45 percent of a year's production. Corn production on reclamation projects in 1956 amounted to four-tenths of 1 percent of United States production and the estimated amount under support was less than one-third of 1 percent of the value of the 1956 crop under support. This negligible amount is of little significance to the overall problem of corn supply. On the other hand, it is of great significance in local areas where it is consumed in feeding. Many Western irrigation projects are in close proximity to large grazing areas. Corn and other grains produced on irrigation projects supplement and permit better utilization of the 700 million acres of rangelands of the West.

Wheat production in the United States totaled almost 1 billion bushels annually. CCC loans and inventories on July 1 amounted to about 85 percent of a year's production. This represents about 30 percent of the value of all commodities under support. Wheat production on Federal reclamation projects in 1956 was less than 2 percent of the United States production. This minor share of our production can hardly be considered a major contribution to the oversupply of wheat. Wheat is not a good irrigated crop. It is grown primarily to balance a rotation and the product is used largely for local feeding operations.

Instead of contributing to the overall wheat situation, irrigation developments actually tend to alleviate this problem. On the Columbia Basin project facilities are being completed to provide irrigation to fifty to sixty thousand new acres each year. The cropped portion of this area was a dryland wheat area alternating with wheat and summer fallow. Thus about 46 percent of the cropland was in wheat each year with yields of about 20 bushels. On each 100 acres of cropland 920 bushels of wheat were produced. In the early years of irrigation some 10 to 12 percent of the irrigated area is in wheat. Irrigated yields are about double that of dryland cropping and the total production on each 100 acres is about 450 bushels, a reduction of 500 bushels or 50 percent from dry farm operations. This same situation obtains on other projects also. As irrigation becomes established the acreage planted to wheat drops off to 5 or 6 percent.

American-Egyptian cotton, I am told by officials of Commodity Stabilization Service, is in short supply and acreage allotments for 1957 have been approximately doubled. All of this commodity is grown under irrigation, a part of which includes our Federal reclamation projects.

Upland cotton production last year totaled 13.3 million bales. As of July 1, CCC loans and inventories of cotton comprised 20 percent of the value of all price supported commodities. Production on Federal reclamation projects amounts to 5.8 percent of United States production and the estimated amount under support was about 2.4 percent of all cotton under support. The carryover on August 1 is expected to total 11.6 million bales, almost 3 million bales below a year ago. This reflects an active export sales program at competitive prices. Under this program 7.7 million bales have been sold this cotton year as compared to 2.2 million bales in 1955. Domestic mill consumption is expected to account for 8¾ million bales. This indicates a total disappearance of almost 16.5 million bales, which brings me back to my earlier statement that surplus or disappearance is related largely to a quantity-price situaton.

Cotton can be produced under irrigation in competition with other areas of the country. Evidence of this may be observed in the continuing shift of acreage and production westward. In 1930 the West produced 4 percent of the crop as compared with 19 percent in 1956. During this same period the Delta States increased from 26 to 35 percent and the Southeast and the Texas-Oklahoma area declined from 35 to 17 and from 35 to 29 percent, respectively.

Yields tell a story also. Cotton yield for the United States last year averages 409 pounds. This compares with 359 pounds in the Southeast and 269 pounds in the Texas-Oklahoma area. The Delta States averaged 499 and the West 957 pounds per acre. Arizona topped the list with a whopping total of 1,113 pounds per acre. We can well anticipate the West will continue to produce cotton.

Spot surpluses of many commodities have arisen in the West as they have elsewhere. They are temporary in nature and relatively small in magnitude. Government programs have dealt with them in a variety of ways. Beans, potatoes, small grains, and milk can be included among these. Irrigation farming is a vastly resourceful type of agriculture, efficient, productive, responsive to input factors, and market conditions. Its versatility enables it to adapt to profitable, new crop economies, contrasting sharply with the one-crop economy which is dominant in large areas of the country. The contributions that reclamation makes to the Nation's agriculture are on the positive side: efficiency, stability, versatility. Who can contend that these advantages are counter to the general welfare?

The following table summarizes for the principal crops, the relationship of production on Federal reclamation projects to total United States production and the total amount under crop support in 1956.

For an overall picture of Federal reclamation projects we should be mindful that about three-fourths of the irrigated acreage produces forage and grain crops which are fed to livestock in the West. Future livestock needs point to an increase of about 45 percent by 1975. These irrigated oases in the dry grazing areas will contribute significantly to meeting that future need.

The irrigated lands in the Western States, including reclamation-developed lands are important in the Nation's productive capacity for certain crops. The irrigated West

produces virtually all of our apricots, almonds, walnuts, filberts, dates, lemons, figs, prunes, mustard, garlic, and olives. They supply about 95 percent of the grapes and plums, 90 percent of the lettuce and sweet cherries, 75 percent of the avocados, pears, and cantaloupes, 65 percent of the asparagus, 50 percent of the peaches, 37 percent of fresh peas, and more than 50 percent of the commercial truck crops. Much of this production is during the off-season for other producing areas and is highly important to our diet. Winter irrigation in Arizona and California provides 45 percent of the winter and 42 percent of the spring lettuce. It gives us over 80 percent of the early spring and early summer cantaloupes, more than 65 percent of the spring carrots and a large proportion of our supply of other choice protective fruits and vegetables. Many of these crops cannot be grown elsewhere in the country and others are produced under irrigation by reason of efficiency. Climatic hazards are reduced and with the water supply under control optimum rates of fertilizers may be used with resultant high yields.

Notwithstanding our efficient transportation system, it is desirable that our production be dispersed geographically. Some degree of regional self-sufficiency is desirable. The dispersion of the population and industry is being encouraged as a matter of national defense and it logically follows that agricultural production also be distributed geographically.

Throughout our history the population has moved westward. After about 1880 the new frontiers offered little opportunity for agriculture except by intensive production under irrigation. Population and commerce moved westward with irrigation. Irrigation provides the opening wedge in many instances into a normally unattractive arid area. Irrigation farmers are followed by a community of tradesmen, merchants, and other workers who establish stable and prosperous new employment and business opportunities.

The population projections of the Bureau of the Census show that the country will arrive at a population level of 220 million as early as 1975 at its present rate of growth. At this rate we could expect that the population will double again in the second half of the century as it did in the first half of the century, notwithstanding the retarding effects of the depression periods of the thirties.

The production on Federal reclamation projects, of principal crops under the Federal price-support program, as related to United States production and total amounts under price supports, 1956

Crop	United States			Bureau of Reclamation projects				
		Price-support program		Production		Assumed support		
	Production	Amount	Percent United States production	Amount	Percent United States production	Amount [1]	Percent United States support program	Percent United States production
Corn....thousand bushels..	3,451,292	434,729	12.60	13,931	0.40	1,441	0.33	0.04
Wheat.....do....	997,207	250,874	25.16	19,709	1.98	4,568	1.82	.46
Cotton:								
Upland thousand bales..	13,303	3,829	28.78	775	5.83	92	2.41	.69
American-Egyptian thousand bales..	49	1	1.91	20	41.85	----------	41.99	.80
Barley..thousand bushels..	372,495	76,391	20.51	28,476	7.64	2,993	3.92	.80
Oats.....do....	1,152,652	35,906	3.12	10,420	.90	530	1.47	.05
Sorghums.....do....	205,065	42,056	20.51	4,498	2.19	309	.73	.15
Rice.....do....	47,402	23,727	50.05	667	2.81	365	1.54	.77
Rye.....do....	21,588	3,144	14.58	84	.39	21	.65	.10
Beans.....hundredweight..	17,114	4,694	27.43	4,743	27.72	1,023	21.80	5.98
Flaxseed.....do....	48,712	17,424	35.77	993	2.04	9,354	.05	.02

[1] Data on amount of any crop under price-support loans and purchase agreements is available on a State basis. The proportion of total State production which is under support is applied to the production on Federal reclamation projects to arrive at a calculated or assumed level of support for crops grown on reclamation projects.

These projections point to a tremendous job ahead for agriculture. The land and water resources of the country are definitely limited. Early in the thirties we became keenly aware that productive soil is a national heritage and not an individual good that can be worn out and abandoned with impunity. A dust bowl, a depression, and two wars drove this message home.

Dr. Byron T. Shaw, Administrator of the Agricultural Research Service, ht indicated to congressional committees hat he expects production and market requirements to be in balance in about 1960–63. Also, in projecting the Nation's future production needs the Department of Agriculture starts with the assumption that accumulated stocks of farm commodities will be worked off by 1960. This reflects the transitory nature of the problem.

About a third larger farm output will be needed in 1975 according to the Department of Agriculture, and the annual increases will have to be about 20 percent greater than the phenomenal gains recorded during the postwar period.

Livestock production will need to be increased about 45 percent, and crops about 25 percent. The increase in feed grains may need to be as much as five and one-half times greater than the long-term annual increase. The net effect is that we will require the equivalent of 150 million additional acres of cropland by 1975. What will be the need by year 2000? We are told that highways, industrial users, and urbanization are claiming more than 1 million acres of farmland each year and that only about 30 million acres can be added to our productive base by irrigation, drainage, and clearing. Only one-half of this additional land can be added by irrigation in the West and at the present rate of development of about 100,000 acres per year it will take 150 years to bring this into use.

We should recognize that Federal reclamation developments are a long-term proposition. Project investigations frequently extend over periods of 20 years or more. Following authorization, additional time elapses before appropriations are available and detailed plans and specifications are completed. Thus, many years usually elapse before construction is actually in full swing. Additional years are required for construction. Farm layout and development and the establishment of an optimum cropping program entail further delays in achieving full production. Depending on the size of the undertaking we visualize a period of from 5 to 20 years before an irrigation project is fully developed and producing. It is obvious then that the reclamation program of today is oriented toward the needs of tomorrow.

Reclamation's efforts are directed toward the long-term objectives of efficient and full development of the Nation's resource base. Actually progress has fallen behind indicated needs. Reclamation seeks the same objectives as are being pursued by research agencies of both private industry and the Government. We must maintain our perspective in appraising the long-term requirements for the well-being and security of our Nation.

Voluntary Retirement Assist for Self-Employed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the self-employed people of our Nation are in many respects the forgotten people of our tax laws. The income tax law discriminates against the self-employed on several counts.

One highly significant aspect of this discrimination would be ended by the enactment of the Jenkins-Keogh bill or some substantially similar proposal. While literally millions of corporate employees, from corporation presidents on down, have enjoyed the benefits of tax-free retirement payments by their companies, the self-employed citizens of our country have been denied this privilege.

For several years, the basic Jenkins-Keogh proposal has been pending before our congressional committees without action. It would permit a self-employed person to avail himself, within limits, of this same privilege, which has been extended to executives and employees of corporate enterprises. We now are approaching the end of another session of Congress, and before we reconvene in January, I believe that very serious consideration should be given to the enactment of this legislation.

TEN MILLION AMERICANS

One out of every 17 Americans is self-employed. Ten million of our citizens are included in this category. This 6 percent of our population is in some respects the most crucial segment of the American economy today.

These are the individualists, the entrepreneurs, the modern prototypes of the yankee trader with his bundle of wares and the western pioneer with his dream of the future. The economy needs them if the type of capitalistic society we have known is to endure. They are the venturers, the risk takers, the planners of new enterprises.

WHO THEY ARE

Among their number is the farmer, the small independent businessman, the doctor and the lawyer and the dentist, the architect and the artist, the engineer, and the accountant—everyone who works for himself. The average one of

them provides jobs for several others. They are indispensable to a vigorous, progressive and well-rounded society.

This group of our economy is dwindling. While 50 years ago, 1 of every 6 Americans was self-employed, a highly institutionalized society has left its mark upon their numbers. Today it is 1 in 17. There are fewer and fewer farms, and the average farm is bigger and bigger. The family farmer as a self-sustaining unit is slowly disappearing from the scene.

Recent years have taken a tragic toll of the ranks of our small-business men, the historic wellspring of our economy. It is a strange anamoly that in these times of unprecedented national prosperity, business failures this year will be almost twice the total number of only 5 years ago. Bankruptcies exceed any year since the depth of the depression. It is estimated that almost 90 percent of these failures have been among the small, independent businesses of our Nation.

Tragically, their ranks are not being replenished. Young professional men and graduates of our colleges today are seeking employment, rather than striking out on their own to rise or fall as their own bosses. Security has become a more effective lure than opportunity. Pension plans and fringe benefits are more attractive than borrowing from a bank and assuming the risks of being on their own.

VOLUNTARY RETIREMENT

What can be done about it? Well, at least a part of the answer may be found in the efforts of several of our colleagues to make it less difficult for the self-employed to establish voluntary retirement plans for themselves. This would be accomplished, under the Jenkins-Keogh proposal, by allowing such individuals a temporary tax deferment on a limited portion of their income when set aside for their own retirement.

Actually, this would be no more than is done for other classes of our society. Such tax deferments are permitted under existing law to employees whose employers have established company pension plans which meet the statutory requirements. Substantial tax concessions have been afforded by the Congress for employed people who avail themselves of stock options, retirement programs, and accident-and-health benefits. This has been a good thing. It is producing desirable results by permitting many hundreds of thousands of employees to lay aside something for their own future security.

Why should the same principle not apply with regard to a small independent businessman, a salesman, a professional man or woman? If such a person places money into an approved fund for retirement of an employee, this amount is allowed as a deduction on his income tax. Why, since he is his own employer, should he not be allowed to do this same thing, up to a reasonable limit, for himself? Taxes would be paid on the money in later years, when he draws the benefits—just as the employee pays taxes on that portion contributed by his employer when he actually receives it.

THE PROBLEM

More and more small, independent business and professional people are finding it harder and harder to lay something aside for their own later years. Unlike the larger corporate businesses, they have for the most part no reserves. Legally and from a practical standpoint, the average self-employed person has practically no opportunity whatever to establish any reserves recognized as legitimate by the Office of Internal Revenue.

Such a person is vulnerable to the tides of business. He has no cushion to fall back upon. Taxes take an ever larger share of his earnings. The mounting costs of doing business eat away at whatever profit he may make. If he is in one of the professions, long years of preparation are necessary, and he unavoidably gets a late start. Usually the self-employed person's earning power rises slowly in his first years as he struggles to establish himself. For a few years, if all goes well, he will be at the peak of his earning capacity, and then it will gradually decline. Yet the small-business man, the farmer, the artisan or professional person who markets his own skill cannot depreciate himself as a building or a machine can be depreciated. He can take no depletion allowance on his own waning energies.

The problem of how to plan any sort of protection for his family or retirement for his own later years is a growing enigma of mounting frustration for an increasing number of self-employed Americans who are caught in this squeeze. While the tax laws happily have been written so as to help millions of their fellow citizens to achieve a dignified retirement, these laws incongruously work to discourage any such course on the part of the self-employed.

THE SOLUTION: HOW IT WORKS

The authors of the Jenkins-Keogh bills have proposed a solution. Here is the way it works:

First of all, a self-employed person would be permitted during his productive years to set aside a small portion of his own net income into a restricted retirement annuity or a restricted retirement fund and to exclude these premiums from his gross taxable income.

Second. A limit is placed upon the amount which may be deducted for this purpose in a given year. The bill provides that it may not exceed 10 percent of the person's earned net income, and in no case may it be more than $5,000.

Third. A lifetime limit also is established, providing that in no case may any individual deduct for these purposes more than 20 times his maximum annual contribution.

Fourth. A restricted retirement fund is defined as a trust or custodial account established under a retirement plan. Moneys held in such a fund could be invested only in Federal, State, and municipal securities, corporate stock or securities listed on a recognized exchange, or stock in a so-called regulated investment company meeting the requirements of section 851 of the Internal Revenue Code.

Restricted retirement policies in which a person could invest would include life insurance or annuity contracts except term insurance. This could include both newly issued policies and existing policies. In the case of life-insurance policies no deduction would be allowed for the portion of the premium attributable to the cost of life-insurance protection.

Fifth. Earnings realized from these systematic savings which the bill makes possible would be subject to income tax when distributed to the individual, either as lump-sum payments, annuities, or payments to beneficiaries upon the death of the insured.

Sixth. A special rule would be provided in the case of persons already having attained the age of 50 years when it goes into effect. Since they would be expected to have only a few years in which to build up a retirement fund, the allowable deduction in their case would be increased one-tenth for each year of age over 50 and under 70.

Seventh. The bill contemplates that generally retirement funds would be payable at age 65, with certain exceptions. Payments accruing before this age would be recognized in event of death or disability.

AS COMPARED TO SOCIAL SECURITY

An essential feature of this plan is that it encourages the establishment of pension plans by individuals on a wholly voluntary basis. There is no coercion. Independent business and professional men would be able to participate where they feel that the program is one which fills their own retirement needs.

I realize that many of these self-employed now are covered by social security, while some groups are not. Yet, as millions of pensionless employed people can testify from personal experience, social-security pensions are not in themselves adequate to afford the protection necessary to a dignified retirement. Many persons are ruled out on the ground that they continue to earn more than $100 a month after reaching the age of 65 and are therefore ineligible to receive OASI benefits. Retirement from the role of wage earner is not necessary under the regulations relating to private pension plans.

As a matter of fact, there is a very serious question as to whether indeed it is good for the economy to expect people to retire altogether upon becoming 65. Certainly it is highly questionable as to whether this is good for the individual. Huxley said, "The greatest shock which can be rendered to the nervous system of an individual is the feeling that one is useless," or that there are no longer constructive contributions for him to make to society.

With the gradual, steady increase of life expectancy, we need seriously to reexamine our concepts about retirement. A growing number of our senior citizens have been discovering that a sudden and abrupt retirement after many active years is that worst thing that can happen to them. They still have energies and ambitions and desires to contribute effectively in some productive, though less strenuous and less demanding, pur-

suit. What seems to be needed is not an abrupt enforced retirement, but a gradual tapering off in which the individual, with the benefit of supplemental retirement income, may still engage in somewhat less active but nonetheless satisfying creative work.

Many employed people coming under retirement plans set up through their companies are today enjoying the fruits of their own savings, matched by those of their employers, and are thus finding this type of retirement possible. This bill would provide the same possibility for self-employed and professional people, for whom there are no guaranties nor even any reasonable probability of escape from the vicissitudes of old age which afflict them in exactly the same way as their counterparts who have throughout their active careers been employed.

As a matter of fact, the social-security program is intended only to provide the minimum benefits necessary for a subsistence standard of living. This has been a blessing for countless thousands. Yet what we seek here is to provide a second layer of benefits for retirement and survivorship purposes which will permit recipients to lay aside for themselves an additional buffer, created by their own labors, which will mean the difference between a retirement in dignity and an existence at mere subsistence level.

TAX RELIEF FOR SMALL BUSINESS

We have heard a very great deal about tax relief for small business. Here is one, specific, concrete method by which some help can be extended to the small, independent business and professional people of the Nation, not by placing them in a favored position, but simply by removing the discriminatory provisions which present tax law imposes against them. Executives of our large corporations, technically as employees, can take advantage of the law permitting deductions of amounts set aside by the corporations for their retirement. They are, in fact, doing so. Yet the independent businessman, the sole proprietor or partner of a small business, cannot do this.

When you examine the specific proposals of the Cabinet Committee on the subject of tax relief for small business, you will discover that they are confined to tax relief for small corporations. I have no quarrel with offering tax relief to small corporations when and as we can afford it, but it should be emphatically pointed out that this does not by any stretch of the imagination meet the needs of the small-business men of our country.

The plain fact of the matter is that the vast majority of our small businesses are not corporations. Of the total businesses filing income tax returns, corporations constitute only a meager 7 percent. In the small-business category, corporations represent even a smaller percentage of the whole. At least 95 percent of those legitimately coming under the heading of small business are partnerships or individual proprietorships. Tax relief which was confined to small corporations, therefore, would certainly not reach those who need it the most.

REVENUE LOSS NEGLIGIBLE

Here is an opportunity to provide a service for these small, independent people, and to do so without appreciable net revenue loss to the Government. Taxes deferred while the saving is going on will be paid when the retirement benefits are drawn down. For a few, this will result in a loss to the Government, since the rates of taxation would be somewhat higher on the basis of their total incomes when they are at their peak earning capacity.

Yet the self-employed are not the rich. On the average, they are not even well off. The average income of all persons throughout the Nation is $4,696. Average income among the self-employed persons, surprisingly enough, averages less than half of that figure, or only $2,205. Less than 2 percent of the self-employed had adjusted gross incomes as high as $15,000. More than two-thirds of the people in this category are grossing less than $5,000 a year.

Therefore, it would be wholly illogical to assume that enactment of this bill would open the door to large-scale deductions. On the average, they would probably amount to $100 a month or less set aside by the independent business, farm or professional person for his own retirement in future years.

Without something of this kind, it is going to be increasingly difficult for such people to pursue any intelligent plans for their own futures. Without some such provision in law, and perhaps even with it, we shall continue to see young men and women seeking their futures in increasing numbers with the large corporations.

There shall be a need for enterprising people in the future. There is a need to rekindle the spirit of opportunity in the youth of this country. There is need to make the venture of self-employment attractive, to the end that this Nation may continue to be the land of individual opportunity. I hope the Congress will give serious consideration to these matters at an early date, in order that the self-employed may not continue to be the forgotten people of our tax laws.

Washington Report, August 10, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following Washington Report of August 10, 1957, my weekly newsletter to constituents:

The supplemental appropriation bill, 1958, was passed with many misgivings. Why—only weeks after a new fiscal year starts, for which period every Government agency appropriation had been previously passed—should more money be needed? Eleven departments received additional funds. Also, with logic known only to the Appropriations Committee's leadership, the $1.5 billion military construction expenses were included instead of comprising the usual separate bill.

Of the State Department appropriation of $6 million the greatest furor came over $3.5 million to Israel for club premises, ceramics kiln, and studio building equipment, one-floor addition to a museum's art gallery, completion of a cultural center, a revolving scholarship fund, financing of a postgraduate college building, completion of hostel construction, choir assembly support, construction of a museum, library, music conservatory, concert hall, and Boy Scout camp development, financing archaeological expeditions, construction and equipment of a nursery, summer camp for underprivileged children, a YMCA building, and many others. Some may question if all these are even the function of a local charity like the Community Chest, much less the role of one government providing for another. Many of these projects we do not permit our Federal Government to provide for our own people. So who's looking after our taxpayers' money and for economy and "cut the budget"? Only 82 of us voted to trim out some of the questionable projects.

No other Texan joined me to eliminate $10 million from the $13.5 million additional appropriation to the TVA for more socialized power production, and we lost 158 to 244. Here's an excellent example of the mutual back-scratching—anyone having a Federal project in the works feels it necessary to vote for the other fellow's project. The alleged Southern States righters voted for this greatest boondoggle of all time. It just isn't right for all taxpayers to foot the bill for the favored few to get Government-subsidized cheaper electricity. This in addition to the violence done to the Constitution and States' rights by this big Federal bureaucratic empire of lakes, dams, powerplants, and numerous Government business enterprises like fertilizer manufacture, etc.

Civil rights, now watered down to a Federal right-to-vote law, poses an interesting question and violation of States rights. What happens now to individual States' varied voting standards, property ownership, residence, and the like? Decentralized voting by States has been one of the greatest protections against complete Federal domination.

The Atomic Energy Commission appropriation bill to appropriate $259 million passed overwhelmingly, but only after a spirited debate over the issue of whether Government (public) or private enterprise should build atomic reactors to develop electric power. Happily, the private enterprise amendments won out by a close vote of 211 to 188 and 213 to 185. It was almost a party line vote—Democrats for Government development, Republicans for private. Only 3 and 4 Texans joined me in these votes to reduce Government participation in this program.

The Federal employees' salary bill averaged an 11 percent increase. In view of the 5 percent cost-of-living rise since the last pay boost, the 11 percent seemed high to me, considering also that retirement benefits have been increased by 25 percent in the last year. I voted to increase the pay 7½ percent because I believe a pay increase is warranted at this time. Of course, it's easy to spend the taxpayers' money. In fact, to some there's a little reason to oppose Government spending at any time, particularly when votes back home are at stake. This pay increase becomes particularly objectionable in view of the already huge Government expenditures. First, we must cut out some Government spending before we hastily spend more; otherwise, we must increase taxes or increase the national debt by borrowing and thus, through inflation, further reduce everyone's buying power. This bill increases the Federal payroll $532 million per year. It passed 329 to 58.

This newsletter will be the last regular weekly—with possibly a summary just at or after adjournment. Remember, you have two Senators to inform how you feel. Congress' adjournment is still most uncertain and most political.

Resolution by the House of Representatives of Texas in Tribute to the Late Lorraine Bell Allison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Lorraine Bell Allison, of Corpus Christi, a fine Texan and a great fighter for democracy and decency, is dead.

Mrs. Allison had an innate dislike for political machines which were shot through with corruption.

She helped me in two strong attacks against the Texas political machine. Twice she managed the women's division of our Nueces County campaign; we carried the county both times.

Mrs. Allison passed away on the 10th day of May of this year. She was a great and good friend. All Texas shares my grief at her passing.

The Texas Legislature has adopted a resolution paying tribute to this outstanding lady. The Corpus Christi Voice-Chronicle has also paid tribute to her in an editorial. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution and the editorial be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Joint Resolution 494

Resolution in memory of Lorraine Bell Allison

Whereas on the 10th day of May 1957, Corpus Christi and south Texas lost one of its most esteemed citizens in the passing of Lorraine Bell Allison; and

Whereas Mrs. Allison was a former member of the State Democratic executive committee, a member of the State advisory council of the Democratic Party, and a long-time member of the Nueces County Democratic executive committee, devoting liberally of her time and abilities to the furtherance of the affairs of the Democratic Party in Texas; and

Whereas Mrs. Allison was instrumental in organizing the Democratic women of Nueces County, and was one of the many fine women who labored diligently to make this organization an effective instrument of public expression in the political life of south Texas, and she was at the time of her death women's chairman of the Democratic Party for the 20th senatorial district; and

Whereas Mrs. Allison was born in Atoka, Tenn., some 60 years ago, attended school in Brighton, Tenn., and moved to Corpus Christi in 1928, after having lived in the city of Houston for many years; and

Whereas she is survived by her husband, H. J. (Al) Allison; a son, Chester R. Jones, Jr., of Corpus Christi; a sister, Mrs. Willie McLester, of Brighton, Tenn.; a brother, Herbert McClerkin, of Greenbrier, Ark.; 3 grandchildren, and 5 great-grandchildren: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the State of Texas, That we pay tribute to this outstanding lady who has served her party and her country so long and faithfully, and that when the house adjourns on this day it do so in her memory; and that a page in the house journal be set aside in respect to her; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution bearing the seal of the house be forwarded to her husband.

HALE,
FORSYTH,
GLUSING,
WOOLSEY.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

[From the Corpus Christi Voice-Chronicle of May 16, 1957]

LORRAINE ALLISON LAID TO REST

Last weekend saw the passing of one of south Texas' most colorful women as the Book of Life was closed for Lorraine Allison. Written in this book were many chapters of public service and charitable endeavors; many pages gilded with thoughtful, loving deeds for her friends; a chapter dedicated to helpfulness to her husband and family, care for the sick and helpless and her ardent work for the political life of her chosen party.

The book is closed to Lorraine; no further entries will be made in this life, but it remains to be opened and followed by those who come after for the betterment of society, charity and good citizenship.

Lorraine Bell Allison was born at Atoka, Tenn., September 24, 1896. She would have been 61 years of age in September. Her early education was completed at Brighton, Tenn. She was a lifelong member of the Presbyterian Church. The wife of Al Allison, she was the great-grandmother of five. Survivors are her husband H. J. (Al) Allison, Chester Jones, Sr., Corpus Christi, Willie McLester, Brighton, Tenn., a sister, Herbert McClerkan, Greenbrier, Ark., Chester Jones, Jr., Corpus Christi, Maureen Hall, Corpus Christi, Sally Gatlin, London, England.

Mrs. Allison was widely known in political circles, being a member of the Nueces County Democratic executive board; member of the State Democratic executive committee; member of the Democratic Advisory Council, and the organizer of the Women's Democratic Club of Nueces County in 1954.

During the tenure in office of the late Hon. W. E. Pope, who was the dean of the Texas Legislature, Lorraine Allison was his Austin secretary.

The Democratic Party as a whole will miss her earnest support, and friends from all walks of life will join Lorraine Allison's family in mourning her demise.

The Honorable Nat Patton, an Honored Man in His Native Countryside

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a column from the Crockett (Tex.) Courier of August 1, 1957, by Editor and Publisher W. W. Aiken, a memorial to a former Member of this House, the Honorable Nat Patton:

AN HONORED MAN IN HIS NATIVE COUNTRYSIDE

One by one the Courier editor's true and tried friends are passing away. One whom the Courier editor knew since coming to Crockett 59 years ago passed to the Great Beyond Saturday. Congressman Nat Patton was 8 years younger than the Courier editor, who was 24 years old when he came to Crockett. That would make Nat about 16 at that time. He was not more than that when he first subscribed for the Courier, which he paid for with a cotton sack of peanuts. He came into the Courier office with the sack of peanuts and said that he wanted to subscribe. Without considering the market value of the peanuts, as we liked the young fellow's looks, Nat was thanked for his subscription and complimented for his youthful generosity.

It was in the day of community schools and Nat was under instruction of an English teacher who had come to his community in the early days of Texas as a State. Nat and the Englishman sometimes came to Crockett riding on the spring seat of a two-horse wagon. Often they were gladly welcomed at the Courier office—always welcomed when they came. The Englishman finally changed over to the Porter Springs school and died there. He had been sending the Courier to his wife in England, as it was his intention to return there, but he gave way to a too-long stay in Texas. The Courier editor had some correspondence with his wife after his death, but must now confess that he has forgotten the name.

Nat's first schooling was under the old Englishman as his instructor. Finishing in other schools Nat became a teacher of the Ratcliff school. He taught in other schools before becoming county judge. He next went to the legislature and later to the State senate. He afterward served five terms in the United States Congress. His life, on the whole, was remarkable and patriotic. As a man of the common people, he was fundamentally a champion of the rights of the common man.

He was always able to call people by their first name and to command attention when he spoke. He naturally had a good word for the Courier and its editor whenever we met. He was so well known as "Cousin Nat" that he could be introduced that way and any new acquaintance would know him without further naming. "Cousin Nat" was an acquirement of the early days when many people of the scattered communities referred to their relatives as "cousin." His familiar face and handshake will be greatly missed in our community. Peace to his ashes is the wish of the multitude.

Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members an article by Fulton Lewis, Jr., appearing in the Detroit Times of August 7, 1957, which I believe provides much food for thought between now and 1960:

ON GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN

Michigan's 46-year-old, fifth-term Gov. G. Mennen Williams—"Soapy," to his fellow social registerites in fashionable Grosse Pointe—never has been taken seriously on the national political level, except by Walter Reuther and himself.

In view of the vacuum in the field of potential Democratic presidential talent, however, that could be a dangerous oversight.

Reuther has his Democratic convention delegation neatly tucked in his money-clip, and he delights in making like a king-builder.

Power is a heady potion, and Williams is the mannequin of his personal handicraft. If there ever is to be an opportunity, 1960 is it. And Reuther is not one to pass up opportunities.

Contrary to popular concept, Williams is something more than a pretty and plausible dilettante, amusing himself at the political game.

He represents the combined inheritances of two great cosmetic fortunes of the past—Mennen's and Williams'—and is somewhat the same pattern, in this regard, as the late Franklin D. Roosevelt: well-heeled and thus not suspect of selfish interest.

It is an atmosphere that labor politicians have found effective and useful, and there's no reason to suppose that it could not be again.

The end results of Williams' 9 years in the governorship weave a disturbing damask.

In his year, the per capita tax rate in Michigan has soared to $103.52, compared with $88.95 in neighboring Wisconsin, $71.11 in Ohio, $64.60 in Indiana, and $64.43 in Pennsylvania.

There is no corresponding improvement or enlargement in the measure of State services.

Michigan's GOP Representative ALVIN BENTLEY says that the combination of overtaxation and increasing socialization is driving new industry elsewhere.

When Michigan industres expand, he says, they do so by setting up in other States, and the once magic industrial names of Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, and Grand Rapids are shunned by investment capital.

"For example," he says, "the first 3 months of 1957 saw a gain of twice as many new plants in Ohio than in Michigan, and four times as many in California."

Commerce Department statistics show that from 1947 to 1954, the nationwide gain in industrial employment was 10.7 percent. In Michigan it was 3.6 percent.

The Detroit metropolitan area showed a decline of 2 percent.

In spite of all this, Williams shook existing Michigan industries to their marrow recently, by proposing a 6 percent tax on all net profits of corporations, to finance a 40 percent new increase in State spending.

This would apply to such as Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and to individual subsidiaries thereof, thus pyramiding into a gigantic grab from the workers' pocketbooks, which is the sole source from which all such taxes must be paid.

The Republican-controlled State legislature turned him down, as he well knew they would.

But over the long pull, a nibbling process will continue, and he will get piecemeal concessions that tend in a continuous direction.

For voter consumption, his pitch is that the schools are undertaught, the school buildings overcrowded, the hospitals inadequate and the existing facilities understaffed.

The big corporations are the only source of big money; syphon it out of them.

If this should be of concern to king-builder Walter Reuther, it is not.

He is unconcerned about driving industry elsewhere, because in the blueprint of his dreams, these industries will all be socialized anyway, and there will be no question of competitive taxes.

The plants will be operated, wherever they may be, by the state. And Mr. Reuther, if possible, will be the state.

This is G. Mennen Williams, as a political reality. Superimpose his pattern on the Nation, and today becomes truly the twilight of capitalism.

Dubious Timidity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that appeasement of our friends tends to strengthen that friendship any more than appeasement of our enemies tends to deter them or their hostility.

For this reason, I am very much impressed by the editorial entitled "Girard Won't Be the Last Sacrifice to Allied Unity," which appeared in the August 10 Saturday Evening Post.

Under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I include the editorial:

GIRARD WON'T BE THE LAST SACRIFICE TO ALLIED UNITY

Leave aside Army Specialist William S. Girard and just how he happened to fire an empty shell case into a group of Japanese civilians, thereby killing a Japanese woman. He may not be the easiest man in the American Armed Forces to defend. But that is not the point. Neither is the relative severity or leniency of American military justice versus the Japanese variety. The issue is whether or not an American's constitutional rights can be waived by his own Government for political reasons. The Supreme Court says they can.

Troops quartered in a foreign land are unpopular at best, and friction or worse is inevitable. What is the Nation's responsibility to these men, who have been drafted and forced to serve overseas in countries which may or may not provide what we consider essential protection for accused persons? Under the status-of-forces agreements we upset the tradition of a century or so, which was that soldiers in foreign lands should be tried by their own commands. But these new agreements at least exempted from foreign jurisdiction acts committed by men under orders.

In the Girard case, our Government waived even this stipulation, despite the statement of Girard's commanding officer that the soldier was on duty and under orders when the incident occurred. There is something unpleasant about the spectacle of the American Government using its vast powers to turn an American soldier over to a foreign country for trial, even providing in advance evidence against the accused man, an American citizen, incidentally, to bolster the case for the Japanese.

In the Girard decision, the Supreme Court goes along with the contention that this soldier must be tried in a foreign court because this will make the Japanese feel better. The constitutionality of the status-of-forces agreement is accepted, but the wisdom of the decision to stretch the agreement to permit the surrender of Girard is left to the discretion of the legislative and executive branches of the Government. The Court, which has continually lectured Congress as to what it could or could not do, is unable to make a determination upon the basic rights of young Americans drafted into the service.

Whatever may be said as to the wisdom of making these agreements in the first place, it seems likely that we shall have to stand by them, now that they have been made. But that hardly excuses the Government for failing to stand by the terms of the agreement and insisting that a soldier should be subject to Army court-martial for offenses committed while on duty.

What will we gain by such timidity? Surely not the respect of the host countries, most of whom fiercely defend the rights of their own nationals up to their ability to do so. They can hardly be blamed if they conclude that a country which pays all the bills, supplies most of the troops, and cheerfully waives the rights of its own citizens is not to be taken too seriously. If we can be stampeded into believing that such concessions are needed to avoid being pushed back to Fortress America, tougher demands are likely to follow.

As for the effect of this episode on the morale of American enlisted men, that phase of the matter is well summed up by the New York Times, which observes that there will be a danger to discipline if troops on duty abroad must constantly keep in mind that they may be brought before a foreign court entitled to pass on the question whether they exceeded their duty or their orders.

Panning the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the opportunity of including with my remarks a thoughtful editorial appearing in the Newark Evening News on August 11, entitled "Panning the President." This editorial is written in excellent taste and I, particularly, call attention to the last paragraph thereof in which the eternal truth is pointed out that the more great men are "slandered by their enemies, the more they are loved by the people." There was a wise man who lived many, many years ago named Solomon and he left for the education of posterity the book of Proverbs contained in the Bible, and in chapter 15 thereof we read:

A soft answer turneth away wrath; but grievous words stir up anger.

The tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright: but the mouth of fools poureth out foolishness.

A wholesome tongue is a tree of life: but perverseness therein is a breach in the spirit.

It seems to me that those who would criticize might well consider the wisdom of Solomon as set forth in the verses quoted above. The editorial follows:

PANNING THE PRESIDENT

President Eisenhower, so long exempt even from partisan barbs, has lately been the target of some uncomplimentary observations, which have reflected on his consistency, his knowledge, his ability, even his integrity and truthfulness. Much of this has come from Congress, a body not notable for the readiness of its Members to concede their own shortcomings.

A man of Mr. Eisenhower's quick temper must be annoyed by this sniping, but even under provocation he manages to avoid the use of the short, sharp words and the replies in kind which criticism drew from some of his predecessors. His is still the soft answer, as he demonstrated in replying to a press conference question about his reaction to the harshness which has been directed at him.

He recalled that President Washington, "the greatest human the English-speaking race has produced," had to endure some pretty rough stuff. Comparing this with the "weak, inconsequential things they say about me," Mr. Eisenhower continued, "I can be quite philosophical about it."

Whether a President rules with a light rein and a quiet voice, like Mr. Eisenhower, or with a hard hand and a tart tongue, like the Roosevelts, he can expect criticism in abundance, much of it tainted with malice.

Presidents never enjoy it, any more than anyone else does, but some learn to take it without loss of sleep or aplomb. Some, on the other hand, suffer acutely and let their misery show. But all, however grudgingly, concede that the rudeness and irreverence of a democracy are elements in its strength.

In a country where self-restraint, moderation, and good manners are not highly regarded, the person of our Presidents is accorded more respect, even veneration, than might be expected. Considering the equalitarian temper of the times, in which not even a young and handsome Queen of England is spared the candor of her subjects, President Eisenhower has good reason to be philosophical.

Besides, he knows of the greatest of his predecessors, that the more they were slandered by their enemies, the more they were loved by the people.

TVA Area Could Be Blighted if Action To Finance Power Production Should Be Much Longer Delayed by Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD H. BAKER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial from the Knoxville Journal, Knoxville, Tenn., Monday, August 12, 1957, entitled "TVA Area Could Be Blighted if Action To Finance Power Production Should Be Much Longer Delayed by Congress":

TVA AREA COULD BE BLIGHTED IF ACTION TO FINANCE POWER PRODUCTION SHOULD BE MUCH LONGER DELAYED BY CONGRESS

The United States Senate finished up last week's work with passage of a TVA self-financing bill which, in the refusal of Congress to make further appropriations for power production, was badly needed. If the House will also recognize the necessity for action, a new pattern will have been established that should enable the big power agency to keep up with area power demands.

The Senate bill included two amendments, neither of which work any hardship on TVA. One of these required an additional annual repayment to the Treasury of $10 million, to apply on the Federal Government's investment in power facilities. The second amendment restricted the Authority's power monopoly to its existing area.

As we have said here before, congressional action in providing for TVA's self-financing is not, in fact, to be considered a favor. Rather, it is simply recognition of an obligation which the Federal Government assumed a quarter of a century ago. When the agency was established and given a monopoly on production and distribution of power in seven States the Federal Government assumed the responsibility, so far as citizens in the TVA area were concerned for enabling TVA to provide the power required to serve them.

We hope that a majority of the House will also be willing, in this session, to honor this obligation as the Senate has done. The fact is that if some arrangements for financing additional power production are not soon made the TVA area could be blighted industrially by comparison with the private power territory surrounding it.

Race Relations Here Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, the efforts of the left-wing politicians of this Nation to agitate the so-called minority groups have succeeded only to the extent that sensible northerners should be and are aware that segregation and discrimination problems are more acute in the northern centers than they have been in the South for more than a generation.

It has been many years since there was a lynching in the South, 3 were reported in the United States—1 in Boston, and 2 in Chicago—and others unreported in Detroit and New York.

Northern cities suppress news of their race riots and violent incidents, yet such news continues to leak out. At least 2 incidents have occurred in Detroit in the last 2 years; only a few days ago racial violence erupted in Chicago, in which 32 persons were injured and 200 extra policemen were required to bring calm, and in New York there have been several incidents.

Recently, when a proposal was made in New York to outlaw discrimination in apartments, the New York Times changed from its usual tune, and opposed the proposal.

I am proud to say that all southern people consider themselves to be Americans—and they do not hyphenate that with race, creed, or color. Therefore, the agitators have failed to incite troubles in the South; their efforts have been successful in the above-mentioned respects.

In this connection, it is a pleasure for me to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, a column written by Editor C. W. Rice, of the Negro Labor News, published in Houston, Tex., July 6, 1957, and reprinted in the Lufkin (Tex.) Daily News on July 15, I especially commend this to every person who is not so prejudiced that he cannot see the truth:

RACE RELATIONS HERE GOOD

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is a reprint of the column, As I See It by Editor C. W. Rice of the Negro Labor News, published in Houston Saturday, July 6.)

As I see it, for some time we have been making a study as to the effect that the controversial issue of desegregation has had on the relations between employers and their Negro help. We find that these relations have grown more cordial in Texas with few exceptions.

In the industries and industrial communities of east Texas where Negroes constitute from 50 to 75 percent of the employees, there is a growing mutual understanding of the race problem and greater effort to improve conditions that have heretofore caused racial dissatisfaction.

In nearly every community in this section, we found that the schools have been improved, new buildings, playgrounds erected, better housing and living conditions have been provided.

Police brutality against Negroes has been greatly decreased. In many of the larger communities, we seldom heard integration discussed by either white or colored. Many would say that there has been no race trouble here and we are not expecting any.

As I see it, Lufkin, Tex., sometimes called the industrial capital of east Texas, can be pointed to as an example of how race relations has worked smoothly. Probably no other industrial section of Texas has made more progress in race relations than in this town. New high and elementary schools have been built, good streets, beautiful subdivisions with modern homes, and new churches are in evidence everywhere.

Negroes in industries have good-paying jobs, especially at the Lufkin and Texas foundries, Southland Paper Mill, Angelina Lumber Co., and other industries. Last month, the Negro chamber of commerce that was organized several years ago, moved into its own building. This is the first of its kind that I know of in the State of Texas including such cities as Dallas, Fort Worth, and Houston. All of these achievements have been made possible through the splendid cooperation of white and colored leadership.

The credit for improved race relations may go to the following persons: Ernest I. Kurth, industrial magnate who is president of the Southland Paper Mill and the Angelina County Lumber Co., better known as Mr. East Texas.

Col. Cal Chambers, founder of the Texas Foundries, 17 years ago, has 300 Negro employees and we understand that on the incentive plan, some Negro employees make top wages.

W. W. Trout, president of the Lufkin Iron & Machine Foundaries, whose father pioneered in east Texas industries and founded the Lufkin Foundries, was always a friend to colored people. He gave them large employment in his plant. The young Trouts, Ed and Walter, have followed in their father's footsteps.

Just 11 miles from Lufkin is located the Southern Pine Lumber Co. and some other industries which give a large part of employment to colored people. They have modern schools and under management of young Arthur Temple, the Negro homes have all modern conveniences, even telephones and beautiful churches. Conditions have improved so much until this saw mill community has taken in a city-like appearance.

In these industries throughout east Texas, white and colored work side by side without any friction. Everyone seems satisfied and unmindful of the great racial agitation, which is going on elsewhere.

Prof. D. G. Clever, principal of the Lufkin High School, summed it up correctly when I asked him how many people felt about school integration. He said "we are so busy here improving our own conditions that we don't have time to worry about the desegregation issue."

What has been said about Lufkin and Diboll, can be said about many other cities and towns of east Texas—the traditional Black Belt.

These communities are a jump ahead of many other sections. They realize that a vast change is taking place in the South and have set out to adjust to these conditions on the community levels.

Citizen Award to Walter H. Beam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a news article which appeared in a recent issue of the Indianola Tribune, Indianaola, Iowa, with reference to a citizen award which was presented to Walter H. Beam, of Martensdale, Iowa:

WALTER H. BEAM WINS FIRST MARTENSDALE CITIZEN AWARD

Walter H. Beam, an employee of the State of Iowa for 43 years and an original resident of Martensdale received Martensdale's first citizen of the year award Monday evening, February 25, 1957.

The award was given by the Martensdale Community Club at a pot luck dinner at the club building and was presented by Mrs. John Powers, master of ceremonies for the program.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, four former Iowa governors and the widow of a fifth, the late William S. Beardsley of New Virginia, sent letters of greeting to Mr. Beam for the occasion. The ex-governors, all Republicans, were Dan Turner, Robert D. Blue, Leo A. Hoegh and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, now United States Senator from Iowa.

Greetings were also received from Judge Harold E. Davidson, of the 15th judicial district, a longtime friend; Glenn D. Sarsfield, state comptroller and Mr. Beam's former boss and William B. Sayre of Ackworth, Warren County Republican chairman and Emory English, editor of the Iowa Annals.

Mr. Beam was honored for six reasons, Mrs. Powers said. In her talk she listed Mr. Beam's qualities: president of the community club, his work for the Wick field picnic, his election work for the Republican Party, Martensdale pioneer, his work for schools and civic development and over 40 years of service to the State of Iowa.

Mr. Beam is best known as parliamentarian to the Iowa senate, a post he filled with distinction while serving as secretary of the senate for seven sessions, 1925 to 1931 and 1937 to 1941. He also worked between sessions, on six issues of the Iowa code as a proofreader.

Mr. Beam first went to work for the State in 1913 when he became senate file clerk. He then worked his way up the ladder, becoming a reading and engrossing clerk and then assistant senate secretary.

He left the senate in 1942, after 29 years continuous service, when he became an auditor with the State tax commissioner. He then went back to the senate for 1 term in 1945 as assistant secretary before transferring to the comptroller's office, where he audited all State printing bills from 1945 until January of this year. He then left State employment when his job was transferred to the State printing board.

Mr. Beam has also worked for Martensdale since the town was founded in 1913. He came July 27, 1913, to buy grain for a Des Moines firm and has lived there since.

He worked to get the first post office for the new community and he worked day and night for the Martensdale Consolidated School District, which operates the present Martensdale schools. He has also been active in the town's Community Church, and took an active part in building the present building, which was dedicated in 1945.

Mr. Beam has also been active in Warren County affairs. He taught country school 4 years when he first came to the county in 1896 from Warren County, Ill., where he was born and raised and attended school. He was born there September 4, 1875, and taught school before moving to a farm near where Martensdale was to be located later.

He also served two terms as county auditor from 1909 to 1912 and he was a member of the county board of education for 27 years, ending in 1942.

He also served 12 years on the county Republican central committee and he has been a lifelong, active Republican. The letters from President Eisenhower, the five governors and Mr. Sayre all praised his faithful party service.

Mr. Beam married the former Katie Ruth Darling December 28, 1910, at her home in Bedford and the couple have lived in Martensdale even since the town was formed. The couple have 4 sons, George and Charles, of Indianola; Burl, of Martensdale, and Max, of Hamilton, Mass., and 6 grandchildren.

Others on the program honoring Mr. Beam were Mr. Frank Lickteig, Martensdale garageman, who talked on early businesses in town; Mrs. Carl Martens, who talked on early families and homes and the Reverend Virgil Bunjer, pastor of the Martensdale Community Church, who gave the history of the church.

Mrs. Powers also asked club members to think about donating the use of their building for a youth center. "This would do no harm at all as we have the space and just have to utilize it," she concluded.

Utah Plant Is First To Make Gas From Ore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

UTAH-MINED ORE USED TO PRODUCE GASOLINE

BONANZA, UTAH, August 11.—An operation unique in the mining and oil industries is mining a solid hydrocarbon, pumping it 72 miles through a pipeline, and making high-grade gasoline and coke from it.

It's the first commercial plant in America to make gasoline from a material other than crude oil.

The system now in operation is a $16-million undertaking of the American Gilsonite Co.

The company mines the hydrocarbon, Gilsonite, from vast deposits near Bonanza in eastern Utah, grinds it up, mixes it with water and pumps it through a 6-inch pipeline to a plant near Grand Junction, Colo. There a refinery melts it down and turns it into gasoline and coke.

The pipeline delivers 700 tons of Gilsonite ore a day to the processing plant. The refinery turns out 275 tons a day of high-grade coke and 54,600 gallons a day (1,300 barrels) of high-octane gasoline.

The metallurgical coke is marketed chiefly in the Northwest for use by aluminum producers.

Gilsonite ore is found in vertical fissures that run for several miles along the earth's surface and may go as deep as 2,000 feet. It is not inflammable, but its dust is highly explosive. There have been disastrous explosions in the mines near Bonanza.

The scientific name of the ore is uintaite. There are deposits of it elsewhere in the world, but virtually the only commercially usable deposits are in the Uintah Basin of eastern Utah and western Colorado.

In 1884 Samuel H. Gilson, an energetic settler, became interested and tried to find uses for it. Local residents applied his name to the material, and the name Gilsonite later became a registered trademark of the Barber Asphalt Co.

The Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from the Ledger, Montrose, Calif., which is a tribute to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. The editorial speaks for itself:

TRIBUTE TO A FALLEN FIGHTER

Every time a great American dies, a little bit of America dies too, if there is no one to step forward and take up the eternal battle that is the price of liberty. Great voids in the fabric of American life were left by the deaths of Robert Taft, James Forrestal, Gen. George Patton, Gen. Waldon Walker, and other great conservative Americans who have died in recent years.

Another great void is left by the sudden death of Senator Joseph McCarthy, who died quietly in the prime of life. He was a devoted husband and father. And he was devoted to the land he had sworn to defend from all enemies, foreign and domestic. Senator McCarthy had laid upon that altar of devotion to country, sacrifices that lesser men would not give: Official popularity, professional career, party leadership, social standing, political standing. But he would not lay upon the altar of political expediency the sacrifices of self-respect, honesty, moral courage, and his sacred honor as a God-fearing American.

Joe McCarthy had been accused of nearly everything, and some believed the accusations. But he could never be accused of being disloyal to his country, or of compromising his position. The charges hurled at him were answered by him, and where necessary, proved. His only sin was to oppose communism with all the vigor he could muster.

On the other hand, the charges he directed at others were answered only with smear. The administration—the administration he helped to put into office—went to great lengths in the notorious McCarthy censure to neutralize his anti-Communist campaign, and to avoid answering the query, "Who promoted Peress?" The questioner was blackballed, but the question was never answered. Who today has the courage to

hurl again the forbidden question that boomeranged on the man from Wisconsin? Who now has the courage to take up the battle where he left off?

The career of Joseph McCarthy is an inspiration for Americans. Of humble birth, he fought his way to an education and to public office. As a fighting marine in the South Pacific, he deplored what he considered to be corruption in Government, and he swore to return to his native Wisconsin and become a Senator.

In the Senate, he devoted his life to fighting the creeping paralysis of communism, only to find that his worst enemies were not the Reds, but those who protected them. His own party, which had used the tremendous personal popularity of McCarthy, MacArthur, and Taft to win the election of 1952, led the counterattack against the man from Wisconsin. The opposition of the New Deal Democrats he expected, but it is safe to say that the crushing censure by his own party hastened his death.

It is sad to see that those same party leaders who did their best to ruin him, added hypocrisy to hatred when they sent messages of sympathy to Senator McCarthy's widow.

And with long faces, his colleagues sat in the Chamber where they had shamelessly crucified McCarthy—the man, in mock tribute to McCarthy—the memory.

In a recent letter to us, Senator McCarthy closed with wishes for good luck and good health. To those who yelped at his heels as he fought a common foe, we wish the same. You'll need both luck and health in your losing fight against communism. And you could use, too, a portion of the brains and courage and fortitude—and devotion to God and country—displayed by a fallen leader, Senator Joseph McCarthy.

When the Next Satellite Revolts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, many of us have been sorely concerned by what happened in Hungary, and our consciences have been disturbed. The Special Committee of the United Nations, composed of representatives of five nations, in a unanimous report has detailed the ruthless manner in which the revolt was crushed by the Soviet Union, and a legal government, popularly supported by the people of Hungary, was deposed. I think that the peoples of the free world should be now discussing and adopting policies to deal with such future revolts. There is little we can do to repair what has happened in the past. We can prepare for the future. I ask unanimous consent to print an article which I wrote on this subject and which appeared in Western World for August 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEN THE NEXT SOVIET SATELLITE REVOLTS

(By Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Senator KEFAUVER served in the House of Representatives from 1939 until 1949, when he was elected to the Senate where he has served since that time. He is a member of the Judiciary and Armed Services Committees. He was the Democratic candidate for Vice President last year.)

There is an ominous silence over Eastern Europe. How long will the calm last?

In Hungary, Soviet repression continues and the trials of the rebels seem about to begin.

Red Poland is balancing on a tightrope. Gomulka, whose antipathy to Moscow has been greatly exaggerated, has relaxed the tension somewhat by loosening the peoples' shackles. He can hardly retighten the screws without provoking a popular revolt that would bring a worse repression. Yet, allowing his restless Poles full freedom (sure to include secession from the Kremlin) would have the same tragic result. How long can his act continue?

Another satellite outbreak anywhere seems almost sure to ignite a rebellion among the East Germans of the so-called People's Democratic Republic.

Already exiled Hungarian leaders are predicting a new revolt in the near future. It could hardly be otherwise. For the Hungarian revolt revealed unmistakably what the West should never have doubted—namely, that the East European peoples reject all forms of communism, national or Soviet, and will settle for nothing less than real freedom. Certainly not all of Mao Tse-tung's promises of a "hundred flowers blooming, a hundred schools of thought contending," will placate the dissatisfied if the condition is that all must be red.

Since the political barometer points to storm, elementary statesmanship would seem to require the governments of the free countries to face this possibility, and singly and collectively decide what, under such circumstances, they are prepared to do when the tempest breaks. Doing nothing could be excused in the case of Hungary on the grounds of surprise. For Westerners to stand idly by and once more wring their hands while brave men (and women and 12-year-olds) die in a cause we claim is ours, would discredit the West entirely. Henceforth no uncommitted people would be tempted to rely upon us for anything.

How, some will ask, can we be sure of anything behind the Iron Curtain? Would we not risk going off half-cocked, and plunging the world through ignorance into the world's worst war?

Let's look at Hungary.

Within the past few months that country has disgorged 190,000 refugees. And we have heard the sounds of that historic uprising, from the wild shouts of a short-lived triumph to the shrieks of terror that died out in a thin radio cry for help.

Now, to eliminate the last uncertainty, a United Nations report indicting the Soviets before the world and its fellow nations in the strongest denunciatory language gives the complete story.

On January 10, 1957, almost 3 months after the initial October revolt began in Hungary, the General Assembly of the United Nations appointed a Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, composed of Mongi Slim, of Tunisia; Alsing Andersen, of Denmark; K. C. O. Shann, of Australia; R. S. S. Gunewardene, of Ceylon; and Enrique Rodriguez, of Fabregat, of Uruguay.

The Assembly asked the committee to carry out a full and objective investigation af all aspects of Soviet intervention in Hungary by armed force and by other means, and of the effects of such intervention in Hungary by armed force and by other means, and of the effects of such intervention on the political development of Hungary.

In its report, the committee stated that in carrying out the mandate, it studied "a rich documentation supplied by governments and obtained from other sources, while it closely questioned more than a hundred witnesses, representing every stratum of Hungarian society, whose testimony filled 2,000 pages in the verbatim record."

The committee also pointed out that the General Assembly had asked that the investigation be pursued in Hungary also, but the attitude of the Hungarian Government did not allow the committee to carry out this part of its mandate.

The five United Nations delegates saw fit to delete the more gruesome details of Soviet cruelty and barbarism. Yet the report is shocking enough in its blow-by-blow account of the heroic but fruitless uprising of an entire people and its subsequent bloody and illegal repression by the Russians. Even in its unexpurgated edition, free peoples wince to remember how they looked on passively while this was going on, and the United Nations—so prompt and brave in its reaction to Suez—did nothing but vote a series of academic resolutions, which Soviet Russia systematically and insolently flouted.

The essence of the committee's conclusions are:

1. The entire population, excluding only the political police, and including women and 12-year-olds, participated in the revolt.

2. The rebels established a legal government popularly supported by the people of Hungary.

3. Russia intervened, and removed this popular government formed by a spontaneous national movement, and neither aided nor abetted from the outside.

4. The government put into power by the Soviet did not at the time, and does not now, have the support of the people of Hungary.

5. The situation in Hungary today is as bad or even worse than at the time of the revolt. The people have no personal freedom and are completely under the yoke of the Soviet communistic dictatorship.

A CONGRESSIONAL VIEW

A previous special report on the subject of Hungary by the House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs gave the world additional background information about what happens when a satellite nation defies Soviet Russia.

Here is a summary of some of its observations and impressions:

The catastrophic Hungarian revolution of October 23 caught the free world totally unprepared, and subsequent events clearly show the Soviet Union is determined to go to any and all lengths to maintain its empire of enslaved peoples by the most brutal forms of armed subjugation and repression, when permitted to do so. Its policy toward the satellite nations is one of ruthless colonialism and overlordship of both human and natural resources without parallel in modern history. Because of this knowledge now broadcast without equivocation or doubt to the world, it might be difficult if not impossible to prevent free world volunteers from moving in to counter Soviet aggression should another satellite nation revolt.

A third detailed report made by the International Commission of Jurists in The Hague in April of this year has this to say in summary:

Soviet intervention in Hungary clearly constituted aggression, if it took place without Hungarian permission, according to the Soviet definition of the word "aggression," the relevant part of which (art. I) reads as follows:

"In an international conflict that state shall be declared the attacker which first commits one of the following acts: Invasion by its armed forces, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another state; bombardment by its land, sea, or air forces of the territory of another state or the carrying out of a deliberate attack on the ships or aircraft of the latter; the landing or leading of its land, sea, or air forces inside the boundaries of another state with-

out the permission, particularly as regards the length of their stay or the extent of the area in which they may stay."

Permission to station Soviet troops in Hungary is given by the Warsaw Pact of May 14, 1955, provided it is "by agreement among the states, in accordance with the requirements of their (the signatories of the Warsaw Pact) mutual defense."

So the world now has proof positive and authentic background information on how the Soviets acted when a satellite nation revolts. It also has the dismal evidence of how the rest of the world behaved in the face of such action as a direct result of lack of foresight in planning a policy of action in the wake of such a revolution.

The revolt of Hungary may have been a dangerous crisis wherein extreme prudence can be understood if not approved.

But it was nonetheless what the House of Representatives subcommittee called "the lost opportunity of our generation." For the United States administration, which had for years emphasized the need for the "liberation of East Europe," to fall back on "reliance on moral pressures" was a retreat that verged on a surrender. But neither the American nor his European colleague showed any stomach for positive action.

Nor did the United Nations.

In fact, the double failure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United Nations to give positive help to the Hungarians was one of two things. Either it was the acknowledgment of Russia's "right" to dominate the Warsaw Pact area (a revival of the 1944–45 American alibi that the U. S. S. R. could properly claim "friendly neighbors"), or it was a confession that Western devotion to freedom is a punier thing than Western fear of being involved in another major war.

Give the Western peoples credit. They wanted to help. I have never seen my own fellow Americans or Members of the United States Congress so universally disturbed by any world crisis as they were by the Hungarian revolt. I trust in this world of the stiff upper lip that it would not be melodramatic to say I heard women weep and saw usually cheerful men walk around with a stunned solemnity in those days immediately following the Hungarian revolt. I have never seen shame and horror so universally written on the faces of my countrymen.

And I heard them ask over and over * * * what can we do?

The thing is, they didn't know what to do. Many were ready to spring into action as volunteers along with the Hungarians.

And the United States administration, preoccupied with the events around Suez, gave no lead. For 4 days, October 23 to 27, it did nothing. Then, having summoned the United Nations, it limited itself to strictly verbal condemnation of Soviet aggression. To all of which the Kremlin paid not the slightest attention. Indeed, to underline their contempt for world opinion, Russian leaders suddenly threatened to obliterate Paris and London with guided missiles.

President Eisenhower later announced that Americans cannot have one law for their friends and another for their enemies. Indeed, it would have been enough if he had treated our enemies, the Red Russians, with the same severity he showed toward our much-provoked friends—France, Britain, and Israel. Instead, some suspect the administration of whistling in the dark. While talking bravely, it was actually preoccupied with preventing the revolt from spreading from Hungary to other captive peoples. This might have made liberation a fact, but it would not have contributed to that relaxation of tensions with communism which the President had steadfastly pursued. And it would have made a caricature of the previous American policy of urging the captive peoples to settle for some form of national communism, rather than demanding the same amount of freedom as Americans consider their own birthright.

Ninety percent of the Americans would, in my judgment, have been prepared to follow wherever the administration led. But the Hungarian crisis came at a peculiarly awkward moment. With a national election less than 2 weeks off, the people were absorbed in domestic politics. They were also understandably confused by the simultaneous Suez affair. And finally, one must admit, they shared the administration's fear of provoking the U. S. S. R. into starting a major war. These reasons were obvious at the time, and contributed to the general atmosphere of impotence.

Yet, looking back, I am convinced the main cause of the West's paralysis was quite simple—lack of a united plan of action by the NATO powers.

For years these countries had simply ignored paragraph 2 of the NATO treaty urging amplification into economic and political fields. Yet the recent recommendations for strengthening NATO by the Three Wise Men were almost insignificant.

KEFAUVER'S RESOLUTION

As far back as 1949, I introduced a resolution requesting the American President * * * "to invite the other democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates, including members of their principal political parties, to meet in a convention with similarly appointed delegates from the United States and from other democracies as the convention may invite, to explore and report to what extent their peoples might further unite within the framework of the United Nations, and agree to form, federally or otherwise, a defense, economic and political union."

This my colleagues never allowed to get out of committee, but it has been discussed in various sessions of Congress and, at one time or another, has had the support of about 40 percent of the Senators and House Members.

Without going nearly so far, the NATO governments could easily have amplified and deepened their understanding. On the basis thereof, they could have made appropriate plans for dealing with crises of almost any type, in any part of the world.

Instead, nothing.

Or rather * * * nothing but the Hungarian debacle, with its frustration and subsequent dangers. For, in my opinion, the dangers of not intervening on behalf of freedom may in the long run outstrip the danger of intervention.

Now in my judgment, the time has come to end the period of Western equivocation and find out just how far the American and other governments are willing and able to agree upon a policy for action both now and when the next satellite revolts. Here is what I propose:

First, immediate measures.

The tragedy of the Hungarian revolution, and what it has meant in the crushing of human beings and their love of liberty, should be kept alive continually before the people of the world. Its horror should remain a constant reminder of what is behind the facade of the Soviet Union. It should not be forgotten in the confusion of various statements from various representatives of the United States Government and the governments of other nations.

The three reports to which we have already referred, especially the UN report, should be circulated as widely as possible. These reports should be continually and persistently referred to for the next 5 years in the United Nations.

When the United Nations General Assembly reconvenes, it should demand that the Soviet Union explain why it should not be expelled if it continues to violate the resolutions of that body.

The Kadar government, by virtue of the United Nations own report, does not represent the Hungarian people, and should therefore be immediately expelled from the world organization.

STOP EXECUTIONS

The U. N. should take immediate steps to stop the execution of 2,000 Hungarian patriots who have been sentenced to death. A resolution unanimously passed by a conference of lawyers organized by the International Commission of Jurists at The Hague, March 2, 1957, reports as follows:

"This conference * * * is of the opinion that the laws and decrees of the authorities in Hungary violate human rights in failing to provide the minimum safeguards of justice in criminal trials which are recognized by civilized nations, particularly for offenses punishable with death, in that they fail to provide in every case for an impartial tribunal; define offenses in vague terms open to abuse in interpretation; give the accused no proper notice of the charge preferred; do not allow adequate time and facilities for the accused to prepare his defense, to call witnesses, and to instruct counsel on his behalf; do not always provide an effective right of appeal or effective procedure for clemency.

"Deplores the secrecy in which almost all the criminal trials in Hungary have been conducted since November 4, 1956, and regrets the refusal of the authorities in Hungary to allow impartial legal observers to trials which are of concern to lawyers of all nations."

The United Nations should immediately create a permanent military force ready for action in all future cases of naked aggression.

And what should NATO do?

First, at their next meeting, the NATO parliamentarians should urge their respective governments to negotiate immediately a common plan of concerted action when the next satellite country revolts. We—for I am one of them—should set up a watchdog committee to see that our several governments get busy immediately and do not stall for fear of "provoking" the U. S. S. R. For unless there is such a common policy, a repetition of the Hungarian debacle is inevitable—with even worse consequences. Action by some, inaction by other NATO governments, will not do. Nothing could be worse than, say, positive action by Britain and France, inaction by the United States and West Germany—or the other way around. Once NATO as NATO has accepted such a common policy, it should broadcast it to the world, thus letting everybody know that the U. S. S. R. cannot expect to commit rape a second time with impunity.

A 6-POINT PROGRAM

Now my suggestion for the planks of such a policy.

To begin with, monetary and physical help for the refugees of the last time is mere salve on a deep wound. The gaping sore of peoples condemned to slavery is a festering wound and its healing must include disinfection and, if necessary, surgery.

1. The NATO countries should seek to have the U. N. Assembly instruct the Secretary General in advance to issue in the Assembly's name to an aggressor country whose troops cross an established frontier an immediate warning to desist.

2. The Secretary General, in case of noncompliance within 24 hours, and without further authorization, should send into the attacked countries U. N. civilian observers with their own transport, regardless of any protests by the aggressor.

3. The NATO countries should immediately summon the U. N. Assembly and when it convenes, consider the opportunity of sending a previously constituted U. N. military force—if any—to assist the country attacked.

4. At the same time, the NATO countries should ask the Assembly to recommend that

the members take complete economic and political sanctions against the aggressor, including an embargo on all shipments and future trade and the breaking of diplomatic relations. In case the Assembly refuses, the NATO countries should undertake these sanctions independently.

5. The NATO countries should publicly reserve the right as nations to come to the accumulative defense of any sovereign people that invites assistance against attack.

6. The NATO countries should move quickly to grant diplomatic recognition to any government that manages to achieve the start of a success in an armed uprising against Communist tyranny. They should not wait—as in the case of Hungary—and then merely refuse to recognize somebody's stooge.

Such measures would be legal insofar as they would be either in defense of the U. N. Charter or justified by other international laws. They would not, under these, be acts of war. However, they might cause a war if the Kremlin decided it would prefer its own total destruction to any relinquishment of territories or victim peoples.

The East European satellites are of value to the Kremlin in two ways: as cows to be milked for the benefit of the U. S. S. R. and as a glacis lying before the Soviet fortress (militarily and ideologically). They are of little value as a source of military contingents since the peoples would leap at the first opportunity to desert. In case of war, satellite manpower would doubtless be shanghaied into Soviet factories or put to guard remote stretches of railroad track in central Asia.

Short of an attack upon them, it is extremely unlikely that the Kremlin benficiaries of a spoils regime will risk their own position and the total destruction of world communism rather than lose control over rebellious peoples whom it cannot hope to keep forever unless the West disintegrates or surrenders. But against the risk of war, the West must weight the risk of any further nonintervention in defense of its principles. For these are the most precious capital on earth.

A House Divided

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Jaime Potenze which appeared in the Commonweal of March 1, 1957:

A HOUSE DIVIDED
(By Jaime Potenze)

When someone from the United States refers to South America he usually adds an adjective which connotes suffering or pain, disgrace or property. With the exception of the tourist agencies, which present a world that simply does not exist, made up of Cuban rumbas, Brazilian sambas and Peruvian bullfighters, most intelligent allusions to South America are tinged with pity.

To balance Habana's nightclubs, one can find the wretched workers of the tobacco and sugar plantations. If in Bolivia there is a Patiño married to a real Bourbon princess, there are also slaves who sleep in beds that are always warm, because as soon as one returns from the mines for his rest another leaves for work—all so that Aramayo and Hochshild "tin barons" can go on losing fortunes in the glamorous international casinos.

It is true that the Modern Art Museum of São Paulo is perhaps the most important in the world, thanks to Mecenae Matarazzo, but it is also true that there are thousands of Negroes piled up in rotten shacks in Rio de Janeiro's "morros," within a few blocks of the Copacabana Palace Hotel, with its lavish floor shows. * * * Yes, the naked truth is that in every country in South America one can find violent contrasts, the most violent the imagination can conceive. People know this. What else do they know?

"The Americas are a free and united world," we held. Well, we are fed up with that refrain. The Americas are "sister nations," but almost all disdainfully ignore everything about their neighbors right up to the type of government in power. And this blindness comes from the fact that most of us really do not care a hoot about what's going on in other nations of the Americas. If we hear that in the Dominican Republic the picturesque "Generalissimo Doctor" Trujillo has built a palace for his son Radames and appointed him general at the ripe age of nine, we simply laugh. When German Arciniegas points out that in 31 years there have been 22 presidents in Paraguay, we shrug our shoulders.

Let's be frank about it. I am a native of Argentina. We Argentines, and our brothers north of the border, have no real solidarity with our American neighbors. We know superficially that there have been Aztec and Mayan civilizations, that Chilean wines are exquisite, that Uruguay is America's Switzerland, and we accept as natural the fact that generals, generalissimos, or field marshals govern these tough lands. It is true that we tear our clothing because this is so, and that we support unhesitatingly a Haya de la Torre (of whose aims we know nothing). Or we are ready to express our solidarity with any movement claiming to represent anti-imperialism (although we are not sure of the real meaning of imperialism), and words like Indo-America have a celestial sound to our ears (although if we temper our enthusiasm we find it is an idea no one can accept). But real understanding and solidarity do not exist.

Richard Dyer, an American correspondent, summed up the Quitandinha Conference in 1947 with a sentence which was more than a wisecrack. On the day before the conference started, he sent a cable to the effect that due to the number of delegates who had arrived the whiskey supply of the Copacabana Palace Hotel was used up. And this is not surprising. The delegates had little else to do. At the conference the only mission of the "yes men" of Latin America was to assent to the dictates of the delegation of the United States of America.

There were, it is true, a few exceptions to this generalization. Argentina was one, but by the grace of God and not because of the principles of the men who then governed us. In Quitandinha, the goal was to consolidate peace; the distinguished delegates of South America knew that this was possible only through their support of the country which had strongly supported all the dictatorships south of the border. In 1942, for example, Ambassador Avra Warren handed the illiterate Trujillo a diploma of doctor honoris causa from the the University of Pittsburgh. And if Perón had wanted it, I am sure that Ambassadors Messersmith, Bruce or Nufer would have gladly given all the doctorates available, with Dwight D. Eisenhower—acting on the advice of Brother Milton—giving his blessing. Why not: If the Christian Democracies of Germany and Italy bestowed medals on Raul Apold, Perón's press secretary, justly called the Argentine Goebbels, there is little reason to suppose that other regimes would not grant a doctorate to Perón or any one of his gang.

The pattern of Quitandinha has been followed at almost all the Pan-American conferences. I say "almost," because the Caracas one, in 1954, was marked by an incident that few people remember. Costa Rica, which is the only Christian democratic country in America, simply refused to attend that conference because of the general lack of democracy in the Americas. Costa Rica was right. How could a representative of such a decent and democratic nation discuss democracy and freedom with men appointed by tyrants? Why should it lend its prestige to another farce? President José Figueres said "No," but he was the only one.

South America is today, for the most part, a conglomeration of tyrannies governed by men who know that as long as they put their natural resources at the disposal of the United States, nobody will bother them. This and official anticommunism guarantee that "American unity" will have no embarrassing fissures. But things would not have to be this way. If cooperation could really rest on the foundation of Pan-American spirit, the United States could be an important factor in the development of the countries south of the border. But things do not work out that way today.

Uruguay, for example, is one of the "democratic bulwarks" of the continent, and has been always a close friend of the United States and a stanch supporter of the principles so dear to Pan-American conferences. The backbone of Uruguay's economy is wool. However, when certain businessmen in the United States asked Washington to impose a special tax on Uruguayan wool so that little brother from the River Plate could not compete with them, Congress agreed. Apparently the economic policy of nations in such matters is still dictated by expediency.

Unfortunately, policy in this area seems to be dictated solely by the importance attached to the countries involved, and that importance is measured in material terms. When Costa Rica refused to attend the Caracas conference, the gesture went almost unnoticed because it is a small nation which counts only from a moral point of view. If Argentina had been reluctant to go to Caracas, however, things would have been different, and for obvious reasons. The latterday honeymoon between President Eisenhower and Perón, after all, was largely due to the fact that our oilfields can be important in the Pan-American economy, and the fact that our reserves in cattle, wheat, and corn are also enormous. Factors like these things are inclined to make people listen. But who listens to little Costa Rica?

Basically, many of us in Latin America feel that the trouble stems from the policy of the United States. This policy supports tyrants and flouts Latin American opinion. Witness the army of doctors who flew to Nicaragua from the United States to help the late Dictator Somoza after he had been shot. No one, certainly, would want to say that killing Somoza was a good thing, but there is little sympathy with Eisenhower's gesture of sending at least 3 planes full of specialists to the stricken dictator.

Furthermore, if United States officials want to understand Latin America, it would be wise for them to study a little Spanish psychology through the ages, instead of banking on platitudinous slogans. When for reasons of its own the United States did issue a blue book against Perón, it intervened in precisely the wrong way. All the South American countries promptly supported the new David who was threatened by Goliath, and the victory of Perón was thus due in large measure to the blindness and stupidity of the State Department. In the same way, when Ambassador Peurifoy's wife was quoted in Time for her poems on the Guatemalan situation while her husband was serving there as a United States envoy (and at the same time backing the rebel revolution), there was widespread disapproval in Latin America. If there is one thing we do not want, it is this kind of North American interference in our affairs.

South America has moral as well as material resources. We feel that this fact is being ignored. South America is something more than rumbas, congas, tangos, and parakeets. We feel that this too is being ignored. To establish real friendship between the United States and South American nations mutual understanding is indispensable. You must not think of South Americans as illiterate slum-dwellers; we must not think of you as being Negro-baiting money-grabbers. The truth of the matter is that we do not know each other well, and that generalizations are therefore dangerous and misleading.

If bigotry could be laid aside, and if the United States would put into effect in her Pan American policy the principles enunciated in official speeches, we could be very good friends. Trujillo, Rojas Pinilla, Batista, Stroessner, and Pérez Jiménez are not representative of the best of South America. The United States did a wonderful job in helping to sweep totalitarianism from Europe. We wish the United States would remember that South America belongs to the civilized world, too.

Women In Our Nation's Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by one of our outstanding Congresswomen, the Honorable COYA KNUTSON, of Minnesota, before the convention of Democratic Women's Clubs held recently at St. Petersburg, Fla. Mrs. KNUTSON is a valued member of the House Committee on Agriculture and is highly esteemed by her colleagues. I am delighted to have this opportunity to share Mrs. KNUTSON'S interesting speech with Members of the House and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSWOMAN COYA KNUTSON, NINTH DISTRICT, MINNESOTA, BEFORE CONVENTION OF DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUB, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

Madame Chairman, distinguished guests, and fellow Democrats, your chairman has suggested that I talk with you today about the part that women can and do play in our Nation's politics.

The subject is one of my favorites and I gather, from your attendance here, that it is a favorite subject of yours too. The men have been knocking over the ten-pins of our civilization long enough. Women will have to set them up again.

Historically, women have waited a long, long while for an articulate voice in our country's politics. Indeed, it will be only 40 years come 1958 since, and under a Democratic administration, she was accorded that right. So I was amused by the observation of a Republican bigwig after the last election. He was complaining that the loss of the Congress to the Democrats, despite the phenomenal popular appeal of President Eisenhower, indicated a serious lack of Republican political strength at the precinct level. He hoped, he said, that the women of the country would set matters aright. His diagnosis was so right. But why he thought the women of the country would pull his Republican chestnuts out of the fire escapes me. Unless, poor innocent, he thought that all women, being indubitably virtuous have, naturally, been Republicans since birth.

But this isn't necessarily so.

However, the Republican was right about one thing. He recognized that women—women's votes—are a formidable force in politics. Why? The fact of the matter is that we've been actively engaged in politics ever since man came out of the cave and was content to stay home nights. How else do you suppose the lawns get themselves mowed, leaky faucets fixed, fences repaired, Johnny's toys and baseball mitt picked up, the trash put out, the dog given his run, the dinner plates scrubbed and the children put to bed without too much remonstrance from the lord of the manor if woman were not a fairly smart politician. In the "do-it-yourself" lexicon, man's genius may be to analyze, take apart, explore and expose; but after the pieces are strewn all over the living room floor it's usually women's job to see to it that everything is picked up and put together again.

How to pick up the political pieces? How to mend the "leaky faucet" of Party responsibility, the "broken toys" of our friendly relations with other countries? How to settle "arguments between the children" of the world, and restore order and peace "in the household of the nations?" These are our present, pressing problems. Our home-trained and experienced skills, our womanly instincts and feelings, our native organizational abilities, channeled to the larger purpose, can do it. As one old beat-up campaigner, I would like to give you a few hints and suggestions—and more important—encouragement.

First: Their deep feeling for humanity makes women most effective campaigners. Let us remember we have wielded a heavy political club even though ours was not the place in the spotlight. The many women's organizations have left their indelible impressions in almost every phase of life. We may not fully realize the part we have played in politics. As often in the past, we have not received credit for the part we play in molding the thoughts and lives of our children. I feel that with the march of political time, the place of women in politics becomes more and more clear cut.

Women, the mothers of the generations, the bearers and supporters of the race of mankind, must do the job of discovering new, better and permanent solutions to the pressing social and survival problems of this age. We must study the problems, know the issues, provide the imaginative solutions. We must, logically, for example, lead the way out of the national lethargy and complacency about the dangers of continued testing of the world-consuming potential—the hydrogen bomb. As Dr. Albert Schweitzer, one of the greatest living men, says "We're committing a folly in thoughtlessness. We must muster the insight, the seriousness and the courage to leave folly and to face reality." Where there is a doubt as to the danger from fallout and from the death-dealing, cancer and mutation producing gamma rays, the decision must be made in favor of the doubt, not, as Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Straus would have us do—minimize these possibilities and pretend they don't exist. We cannot brook the attitude that would permit the possibility that our children or our children's children will be monsters, idiots, bone-cancer ridden, suffering, or destroyed. We must take the lead. You and I must demand that our President (who, though he seems quite unaware of this dreadful responsibility, is solely responsible for making this decision) shall know of this universal demand that he take the initiative in leading the world out of this terrible darkness, this terrible danger.

We should use our peculiar gifts and capacities, our feminine understanding and warmth. We are the people who, by our very makeup, are physically and emotionally geared and committed to the loving care for the children and other helpless ones who need us. It necessarily follows, it seems to me, that the logical political home for women is the Democratic Party which has always been the party of the people, devoted to the interests of the people, the helpless and the unfortunate. Our party has always taken the lead in social reform, in providing for the needy and the ill. Moreover, our party's entire political philosophy is based upon the one most important premise that a healthy economy is the solution to social problems, and this is the principle upon which all Democratic legislation is based.

If we increase the number of consumers, business is automatically increased. If we increase purchasing power in the hands of each individual, business will expand to meet that demand. Our tax base grows. All these imply the need for an adequate farm program, adequate legislation to clear slum areas, to build schools and to take care of our aged among many others. A fair income to our farmers provides the base for purchase of items produced in the cities. Slum clearance and attendant programs develop citizens with incentive for better life. They do not become burdens on society and shiftless heads of families. Schools promote the training of minds, our greatest national resource, the medium for development of all other national resources. Our fast growing numbers of older people provide a wonderful opportunity for full play of our economic imaginations, to provide security and continued adequate purchasing power during the retirement years and at the same time utilize any possible overproduction.

These problems are all in the forefront of Democrats' minds. By contrast, as Mr. Stevenson pointed out last year, "It is a revealing reflection on the sense of values of the present administration that it has had a staff of 40,000 people working on the problems of the Nation's business concerns and exactly 9 people (with a budget of $65,000) working on the problems of our 15 million senior citizens. And when the President announced—with much fanfare and fine words, that he was setting up a Federal Council on Aging 'to review existing programs within the Government' and to 'make recommendations,' I couldn't help thinking how consistently the corporations get action from this administration, while the people get only conferences, councils, commissions, and confabs."

These unfortunate people, like all those on fixed incomes, are most vulnerable to inflationary pressures. The administration's money policies are directly contrary to our people's interests. When the Patman resolution for a congressional investigation of high interest rates by the Federal Reserve Board came up I was quite disturbed by the pressures exerted against it.

This resolution provided for a routine investigation by the Congress. I felt that if labor as a whole gladly accepts an investigation of the teamsters, certainly the Federal Reserve Board could stand an investigation. To me, the hard money and high interest rates negate the administration's theoretical efforts to prevent inflation. Inflation results, among other things, from inadequate production to meet demand. Industrial expansion and increased output of goods to meet demand are the principal deterrents to inflation. Expansion can only be achieved if credit is available at low interest rates. Since high interest rates and hard money restrict expansion the administration's policy merely feeds the inflationary pressures. Economic theories and practices change constantly. During the Feudal Age, those who engaged in banking operations and interest charging were held in contempt, although

their services were widely used for financing of feudal wars. Today, those who engage in banking practices are among the most respected of our citizens. Only a few short years ago, installment buying was frowned upon as improvident. Today, installment buying and commercial credit are the very foundation of our free economy. Consequently, I believe, and the Democratic Party believes that interest rates should be based upon the needs of the economy and the interest needs of the people. As such, the policies of the administration, which are not in the interests of the people, could very well stand an investigation by the Congress—the watchdog of the taxpayer's interests.

So much for the issues. I have named but a few to which women can devote their attention.

Second. I would like to say that women in politics have their own special techniques for promoting their candidates. There is ample printed material to assist with the mechanical details of block organization, educational registration and get-out-the-vote programs, and the like. And each of us has worked out our own do's and don't's. But I would like to give you a few additional ideas. It is an axiom that demonstrated interest engenders interest. You remember the successful advertising campaign put on a few years back by a hosiery manufacturer—incidentally, the company's only advertisement: "One woman tells another." If a large number of women in a given community become interested in politics, greater interest is instilled into the average woman. One significant factor in my first campaign was the large percentage of women who turned out in my district. My campaign manager, one of the county chairmen, fully cognizant of the potency of organized women, capitalized on this by developing Democratic women's clubs in all the villages in his county. One village with a population of only about 400 has now an active Democratic club of over 10 percent of the women and it is still growing.

There are several reasons for the effective part women can play in politics. Women have the time and the will (primarily because of their concern over the welfare of their families and their future) and the downright fortitude and patience which enable them to perform cheerfully the grinding, but fundamental, political chores of doorbell ringing, envelop stuffing, and coffee making ad nauseum. I turn an unbecoming shade of green when I contemplate the quantity of coffee I have drunk in the past and—horrors—the amount I shall have to consume before I die. However, coffee hours (and all the attendant chores) have become one of the political facts of life. Two of our outstanding Democrats in the Congress have categorically stated—and I second this—that they owe their political success to the coffee hours, the talks face to face with neighbors of the untiring little woman who brews the stuff and asks her friends in to meet the candidate. Coffee hours, in town after town across the country, have replaced the soap box which is usually on a cold, windy, snowy, hot, or otherwise uncomfortable corner in front of the drugstore and not conducive to easy and pertinent give-and-take political discussion.

I remember one Congressman who made the statement "Give me 10 good women and I won't need any men in my campaign." This indicates the value many elected officials place upon women. As much as possible we should encourage all people, regardless of political faith, to devote time to their political parties. (The political education on the facts of life can come later.) Sitting on hands accomplishes nothing, politically or any other way, except to warm the hands.

Third. We can well be proud of the part women played in the development of our country and in the capabilities we possess in the field of politics, both as to ideals and as to campaign techniques. But there is one additional consideration we should bear in mind always. Women in politics, particularly, should conduct themselves in such a way that they do not stand out as women. This probably sounds like a contradiction of everything I've said so far. On the contrary, this is the only way in which we can be effective. I have been quite aware of this during my experience in Congress.

As a Democrat, I am proud of my women colleagues. Congressman IRIS BLITCH is noted for her good looks as well as her background in the legislature in Georgia, and for her experience in the drug business and farming. She has been successful in the passage of watershed legislation and is a member of the Public Works Committee. GRACIE PFOST, the Congresswoman from Idaho, served five terms as treasurer of Canyon County and owned her own real-estate firm before coming to Congress. She is now widely known as "Hell's Belle," because of her eloquent and forceful espousal of a high Hells Canyon Dam.

Congresswoman MARTHA GRIFFITHS was an outstanding judge in Detroit. Congresswoman L. K. SULLIVAN maintains one of the most efficient offices on the Hill and is one of the most respected members of the Banking and Currency Committee and the Marine and Fisheries Committee. Her special interest during her service in the House has been on consumer problems. Foreign affairs is the specialty of another outstanding and highly esteemed Congresswoman, EDNA F. KELLY, of New York. Congresswoman KATHRYN GRANAHAN, of Philadelphia, Pa., elected to complete her late husband's term, then reelected on her own merit, has a wide and extensive background in social service and civic work, and continues in Congress her efforts on behalf of a better, safer, and healthier world, and has particular concern for all people's welfare. Oregon has contributed a valued Congresswoman in EDITH GREEN, a former teacher with an outstanding background in the educational organizations of that State. She serves on the Education and Labor Committee—and the legislation she has introduced shows her special concern over problems in areas of health, education, and public welfare. Congresswoman ELIZABETH KEE of West Virginia, widow of the late chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is continually aware of the needs of her district, parts of which are depressed agricultural and coal-mining areas. She is a valued member of the House Committees on Veterans' Affairs and Government Operations, with a special and sympathetic interest in disabled veterans and the physically handicapped citizen. They are all outstanding women leaders. This brief description is indicative of the wide range of interests and the diversity of background to be found among these Democrats. It also shows the different avenues by which one approaches active political life.

However, to get back to my point, for all the diversity of our interests and activities there is one thing we have in common—our conduct in the House. We have, apparently, subconsciously, arrived at the same conclusions as to the atmosphere we want to create. My feminine colleagues and I are the soul of consideration and go out of our way to avoid personality clashes.

In addition, we avoid speaking on every subject under the sun, purely for the sake of talking. For example, we avoid making speeches on the floor of the House, except where issues affecting our constituents or the national interest require them. Whenever we find it necessary to make political speeches, we try to make them outside of Congress. For my part, I find I have the best results from working with my male colleagues on a personal basis. If I speak to a fellow legislator, explain a given problem carefully and individually, he will usually help all he can.

I recently found a set of comparisons which illustrate some of the problems we women contend with in the popular imagination, probably stemming from the stresses and strains of our changing status over the course of the last half-century:

"If he doesn't marry, he's a bachelor, a glamorous word. If she does not marry, she's an old maid.

"What he hears at the office is news. What she hears at the bridge club is gossip.

"If he runs the family, he is the head of the house. If she runs it, she wears the pants of the family.

"In middle-age he is in the prime of life, or the peak of his career. At the same age she is no spring chicken.

"If he is an easy spender, he 'Does not deny his family anything.' If she does not count the pennies, she's a poor manager and extravagant.

"If he keeps an eye on her at a party, he is an attentive husband. If she sticks close to him, she is a possessive wife.

"If he hasn't any small talk, he is the quiet type. If she hasn't any she is just dumb.

"If he is oversolicitous of her, he is a devoted husband. If she is oversolicitous of him he is henpecked.

"When it's his night out, he's out with the boys or at a meeting. When it's her night out, she's at a hen party."

It is perfectly true that these are instinctive characterizations and are what you might call "holdover aspects of the double standard." However, as a result, if possible, we must avoid any actions that would permit of characterizations of this type or bolster any such diehard opinions. We have to be better than good and maintain always a positive, frank, impersonal yet friendly attitude toward everyone, without irriation or taking personal offense. We should never exhibit aggressiveness, or any of the other eager-beaver characteristics which lead to a charge of egotism or limelight seeking. In short, like Caesar's wife, we must be above reproach. Hard lines, but that's the way it is. And these considerations are as important in your precinct work as in mine.

Above all, my friends, talk to everyone, your friends, your neighbors, your servicemen, your children's teachers, your minister. Talk politics, talk issues, talk plans. Constant emphasis on issues, problems, facts, will leave a subconscious but indelible impression and stir the interests of all those with whom you come into contact.

My dear ladies, one would almost think that I am suggesting that you "get out there on the field and save the game." Well, for your information, that is exactly what I am suggesting. You are the new and potent force in politics, and if I have managed to put a little steel in your spines and a little pride into your hearts as to your capacities and your potential, I have been successful in my mission. I am reminded of the zookeeper, who, after years of effort, had managed to cross a tiger and a parrot. Asked what in the world came from such a combination, he replied, shakily, "I don't know, but when he talks we listen."

Postal Wages Too Low

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks there has been

a great deal of discussion concerning H. R. 2474, the postal pay-raise bill, which passed the House by an overwhelming majority July 23. This bill is scheduled to come up in the Senate this week. Many Republican Members of Congress and even a few of the Democrats are predicting a Presidential veto for the bill because they say the increase would be inflationary. The Oregonian of Portland, Oreg., printed a very good editorial last week with reference to postal wages being too low. It certainly paints a true picture of the financial predicament of the faithful and conscientious postal workers of today. I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial from the Oregonian printed in the RECORD at this point.

POSTAL WAGES TOO LOW

Postal clerks, carriers, and other employees got about a 10-percent wage increase in 1951. They got an 8-percent increase in 1955. Since postal wages have slipped behind those in many other Federal agencies, and far behind wages in industry, the post office is having a rough time keeping younger employees. The turnover is too great for efficiency. Some older workers are leaving for greener pastures. The post office is not so attractive as a career service as it once was.

The House of Representatives has adopted H. R. 2474, providing a $546 annual across-the-board cost-of-living increase for postal employees. This amounts to about 12 percent, but is by no means too generous. There is talk that the Senate committee, which has been considering a separate bill, may go along with the House to expedite the legislation.

The possibility of a Presidential veto has been raised. Although post-office employees consider themselves on the tail rather than the head of inflation, and we think they are right, Postmaster General Summerfield has said the increase would be inflationary. But why single out postal employees to hold the line, when wage adjustments are being made in other departments and the price of steel has boomed $6 a ton?

The view that post-office wages should not be increased unless there is a comparable boost in mail rates and charges is untenable. Congress sanctions a $600,500,000 annual deficit in the post office because it is politically afraid to increase rates. But employees cannot in justice be made the scapegoat for political timidity, or for any more tenable reason for subsidization of the Federal mails. The House postal pay bill should be adopted in the Senate, and it should not be vetoed by President Eisenhower.

What Do Minneapolis People Think on Major Issues?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, in recent years I have annually prepared and sent to each resident of my congressional district whose name was listed in the telephone directory, a questionnaire dealing with some of the major controversial issues facing Congress and the Nation. The response to this year's questionnaire, totaling almost 9,000 replies, has been most gratifying and informative.

It was my plan to report a compilation of the replies earlier in the present session. In fact, May 1 was established as a cutoff date and complete tabulations were made. But when hundreds of additional replies continued to come in, it seemed advisable to retabulate. This has considerably delayed the public report, but the trends in the thinking of the people of my district were quite plain by last April.

At least a third of those replying took the trouble to add constructive comments. Many said that on certain questions a straight "yes" or "no" answer was not fully descriptive of their view. I recognize fully that on a complicated issue it is not possible to phrase a short question in such a way that a "yes" or "no" answer will express exactly what one believes. But even so, the person's reaction of approval or disapproval in general, tells me a lot and is very useful.

This is the same problem a Congressman has to resolve when he votes on a complicated bill. How often I wish I could vote, say, 70 percent for and 30 percent against a bill. But I can vote only "yes" or "no" as if it were all good or all bad. The decision has to be made on whether I think the good features are sufficiently good to justify accepting the bad or less good along with them.

Highly significant is the consistency with which residents of the Fifth Minnesota District are in fairly close agreement on most issues regardless of partisan affiliation. This is particularly true with respect to foreign policy questions, but carries over to a surprisingly high degree on most major domestic issues. For example, a large majority of the members of both parties as well as of independents believes that postal rates should be increased to pay more of the costs of operating the postal service, and that Government aid to farmers should not be increased.

Considering the recent magazine articles and radio and TV programs emphasizing waste or failure in our foreign aid programs, it is important to note overwhelming support in all groups for the basic objectives of our mutual security programs to assist friendly nations in the struggle against world communism. The rank and file are properly concerned about the trees, but they do not lose sight of the forest.

The replies show clearly that the two uppermost concerns of our people today are our national security and our economic stability. They recognize that the menace of world communism is the No. 1 issue of the 20th century: National defense—the threat from without—ranks first in concern. Communism in Government—the threat from within—ranks second. The economic stability of our Nation is next, as shown by the fact that reducing the Federal budget, reducing taxes, and reducing the national debt rank third, fourth, and fifth.

The replies make plain the desire of the people for greater economy in governmental expenditures. And, I might add, this desire has brought results in Congress. I have received much less mail this year urging new spending than in any of my 15 years in the Congress.

Yet, by no means do people desire to abolish or curtail established assistance programs, such as social security. They show, however, a growing awareness of the costs of these programs and ask that a real justification be made before we further extend or expand them.

What the people want now, the replies demonstrate, is a thorough reappraisal of our social security system in terms of today's conditions. Many failed to realize, when social security was begun in the depression years, that it was not designed primarily to provide for employed persons the income necessary to an adequate living standard in their later years, but rather to get older persons out of the labor market and thereby spread the number of jobs. To accomplish that end the original law provided that a retired person would lose his benefits if he earned more than $14.99 a month. But now there is no such need to save jobs for younger people. The economy needs the skills or labor of all, including the elderly. There is no need to penalize them for the good American virtue of industry. They are happier as well as better off if they can work and earn for a few years longer.

Furthermore, they need the additional income because they find that they cannot live on the retirement benefits they receive. Too, many had been led to believe that social security would take care of all their retirement needs and did not save as formerly or make other provision for their old age. Their payments into the fund were never adequate to provide annuities of the size they need—especially since continued inflation has reduced so drastically the purchasing power of those annuities. Much clear thinking, reevaluation and numerous adjustments are necessary in this area if the confidence of our people is to be retained.

Distinctly evident in the replies is the tendency of rank-and-file people to have less confidence than some of our officials in their ability to make any lasting and beneficial arrangements with the leaders of Communist nations—be they Russian, Chinese, or Titoists. The people can tell the difference between right and wrong; they put principle ahead of expediency. They know that the Communist form and philosophy of government is incompatible with human freedom and with our own way of life; therefore they are not too optimistic about negotiations with leaders of Communist governments. They put more trust in sticking to our principles than in deals with oppressors. My own conviction is that history will prove the people more realistic in their appraisal than many supposed experts have been.

It is interesting to note the overwhelming and bipartisan support for increased postal rates to pay the cost of the postal service, and yet the very great difficulty in getting the Congress to pass this type of legislation.

Civil rights is of greater concern to the people of the fifth Minnesota district this

year than it was in last year's questionnaire, as would be expected in view of recent public discussion of this issue in Congress, the courts, and news media.

Low farm prices are of less concern than they were last year. Probably this is accounted for by the leveling off in farm price decline, and in many instances, substantial increases in farm prices under Secretary Benson's long-range farm programs.

May I also say that I am personally very grateful for the appreciative remarks a good many added about my work as their representative in the Congress. Naturally I like to hear that, but I also value and welcome the criticisms expressed by some. Wherever there is dissatisfaction it is helpful to know it, so that my views or actions, if in error, can be corrected; or if the criticism results fom misunderstanding, my position can be better explained.

Mr. Speaker, these are but a few of the observations and reflections suggested by the response to my questionnaire this year. The replies indicate careful consideration and thought. They deserve equally careful and serious study.

The survey follows:

OPINION SURVEY—FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., 1957

Do you consider yourself:

	Number of replies	Percent of total
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	737	8
Republican	4,956	57
Independent	3,015	35
Total returned	8,708	100

FOREIGN POLICY

1. In general, do you approve the way the Eisenhower administration is handling our foreign relations?

	Yes	No	No opinion
In Europe?			
All	75.5	16.9	7.6
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	47.4	42.9	9.7
Republican	86.3	8.5	5.2
Independent	68.0	24.6	7.4
In the Middle East?			
All	63.6	28.1	8.6
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	29.0	60.8	10.2
Republican	74.9	17.2	7.9
Independent	52.7	38.1	9.2
In the Far East?			
All	68.8	21.9	9.3
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	38.5	49.7	11.8
Republican	79.3	12.6	8.1
Independent	58.9	30.6	10.5

2. In general, do you favor continued United States assistance to other countries in the Free World's struggle against Communist aggression and subversion?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	79.5	13.8	6.1
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	75.9	17.2	6.9
Republican	82.0	11.7	6.3
Independent	76.2	16.4	7.4

3. Do you favor such assistance to:

	Yes	No	No opinion
Egypt?			
All	30.7	55.7	13.6
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	30.4	58.3	11.3
Republican	31.4	54.2	14.4
Independent	29.7	57.5	12.8
Israel?			
All	50.6	36.4	13.0
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	56.2	34.3	9.5
Republican	50.3	35.9	13.8
Independent	49.9	37.5	12.6
Poland?			
All	52.1	34.8	13.1
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	54.3	34.6	11.1
Republican	53.2	33.4	13.4
Independent	49.2	37.2	13.6
Yugoslavia?			
All	43.0	42.1	14.9
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	46.5	40.9	12.6
Republican	43.6	41.1	15.3
Independent	41.1	44.2	14.7

4. Do you favor changing our laws to permit barter of farm surpluses to Communist nations?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	42.1	49.5	8.4
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	39.3	52.9	7.8
Republican	40.3	50.9	8.8
Independent	45.7	46.3	8.0

5. Do you think Congress should authorize admission of a greater number of refugees from Communist-dominated countries?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	30.8	62.7	6.5
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	29.1	66.4	4.5
Republican	30.9	62.4	6.7
Independent	31.1	62.1	6.8

DOMESTIC POLICY

6. Do you favor Federal financial aid for construction of public schools:

(a) If the amount of aid to a State is determined only by the number of school-age children in that State?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	29.9	56.6	13.5
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	45.0	40.3	14.7
Republican	26.1	60.7	13.2
Independent	32.7	53.6	13.6

(b) If the amount of aid takes into consideration also a State's resources and the effort it is making with those resources? (A "no" answer to both (a) and (b) will indicate you are opposed to Federal aid.)

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	59.6	31.9	8.5
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	73.7	17.1	9.2
Republican	56.4	35.9	7.7
Independent	61.3	29.2	9.5

7. If you approve Federal aid for public school construction, do you favor inclusion of a provision barring aid to States that maintain segregated school systems?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	37.0	40.6	22.0
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	47.1	44.8	8.1
Republican	33.5	39.7	26.8
Independent	40.4	39.3	20.3

8. Welfare programs such as social security, old-age assistance, unemployment and disability compensation, etc., have been expanded substantially during recent years, with corresponding increase in costs. Do you favor further expansion of these programs?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	55.2	38.9	5.9
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	84.0	13.0	3.0
Republican	47.1	46.9	6.0
Independent	61.5	32.1	6.4

9. In general, do you believe the Congress should provide greater financial assistance to farmers than they are now receiving?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	15.1	78.5	6.4
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	39.3	53.7	7.0
Republican	9.8	84.5	5.7
Independent	17.9	74.6	7.5

10. Do you think Congress should increase postal rates to reduce the estimated Post Office deficit of $650 million instead of paying the annual deficit by taxes as at present?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	75.4	19.9	4.7
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	72.9	23.7	3.4
Republican	75.5	19.9	4.6
Independent	75.7	19.2	5.1

11. Do you think Congress should repeal the provision under which some States have banned compulsory union membership clauses in labor-management contracts?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	21.7	68.1	10.2
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	50.5	38.4	11.1
Republican	14.7	75.7	9.6
Independent	26.1	62.7	11.2

12. Do you think Congress should pass legislation requiring Federal registration and regulation of labor union pension and welfare funds?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	85.3	9.3	5.4
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	77.7	16.7	5.6
Republican	88.1	7.1	4.8
Independent	82.2	11.5	6.3

13. Do you think Congress should increase substantially the limitation of $1,200 which a person receiving social security benefits can earn without losing those benefits, even

though such increase would require larger payroll deductions for social security?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	86.4	35.8	7.8
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	65.7	27.8	6.5
Republican	55.3	37.2	7.5
Independent	56.0	35.5	8.5

14. Do you favor continued development of Wold-Chamberlain Field as the major airport for commercial flying in the Twin City area?

	Yes	No	No opinion
All	78.9	15.4	5.7
Democrat-Farmer-Labor	78.4	17.8	3.8
Republican	80.3	14.1	5.6
Independent	76.8	17.0	6.2

15. Please number (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) in order of their importance the five domestic issues which cause you greatest concern today:

	All	Democrat-Farmer-Labor	Republican	Independent
National defense	16,683	1,243	9,767	5,673
Communist influence in United States	12,256	850	7,739	3,667
Reducing taxes	11,834	840	7,178	3,816
Reducing the Federal budget	11,778	444	7,815	3,519
Reducing the national debt	10,199	463	6,717	3,019
Civil rights	8,314	945	4,065	3,304
Corruption in Government	8,041	729	4,234	3,078
Federal bureaucracy	7,900	207	5,253	2,440
Cost of medical care	7,824	828	3,783	3,214
Provision for eldery people	7,294	801	3,774	2,719
School construction	7,188	935	3,421	2,832
Labor-management relations	7,043	416	4,459	2,168
Slum clearance	3,627	493	1,573	1,561
Low farm prices	3,561	545	1,757	1,259

NOTE.—Totals weighted: 5 points for 1st, 4 points for 2d, 3 points for 3d, 2 points for 4th, and 1 point for 5th.

The Lead-Zinc Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, it is important that the Members of this House recognize the fact that unless some action is taken soon to stabilize the domestic price of lead-zinc most of our remaining domestic mines will be forced to suspend operations. Such action will adversely affect thousands of American miners and their families.

Last week the Committee on Ways and Means heard testimony from some of our Nation's leading industry authorities who clearly predict disaster for the domestic lead-zinc industry under present circumstances. One of these witnesses speaking for the entire industry was Miles P. Romney, of the State of Utah, who is manager of the Utah Mining Association. I am having Mr. Romney's graphic statement inserted in the RECORD at this point for the information of the Members of Congress:

STATEMENT OF MILES P. ROMNEY, MANAGER, UTAH MINING ASSOCIATION

I graduated with a degree in geology from the University of Utah and did postgraduate work at Columbia University. My practical experience in mining covers 25 years, principally in the Western States, working in the capacities of miner, geologist, and mine manager. As manager of the Utah Mining Association I represent Utah mine operators producing 10 percent of the Nation's lead and zinc, about 25 percent of the Nation's copper, and substantial quantities of other minerals and metals, including uranium, molybdenum, vanadium, potash, tungsten, fluorspar, iron, coal, gypsum, limestone, etc. Recent oil and gas discoveries have elevated Utah to major status in terms of reserves and potential production.

Due to the necessity of limiting the number of witnesses, I will attempt to present the case of Western States to the committee on the subject of the hearing.

The 11 Western States since the end of World War II have annually produced from 50 to 60 percent of the total domestic mine production of lead and zinc. In 1956 they produced 56 percent of the totals of each metal.

In the critical period since mid-1952 economic pressure on domestic mining of lead-zinc has forced the closing of all but the lowest cost, most efficient, highest grade and better financed operations. Domestic mine production of lead and zinc in 1956 was but 81 and 79 percent, respectively, of their postwar, best productive years (1950 and 1951, respectively). Those surviving the low price and inflated-cost experience of the past 5 years have made strenuous efforts to survive through mechanization, revamping of mining methods, elimination of exploration and long-range development, and by resorting in many cases to selective mining of higher grade ore, a practice which wastes both investment and ore reserves.

In marked contrast, the 1956 domestic consumption of slab zinc and new lead had increased 28 and 8 percent, respectively, over the averages of 1947–49. In the same period worldwide mine production increased 59 and 42.5 percent, respectively; and imports of new zinc and new lead increased 111 percent for zinc and 50 percent for lead.

The low level of existing duties, as recognized by the 1958 lead-zinc investigation of the Tariff Commission, an investigation initiated by this committee, has been a substantial factor in permitting a continued flow of excessive imports. The resulting depressed prices of lead and zinc have forced mine shutdowns, curtailments and elimination of most exploration work for replacement of reserves.

Every mine is marginal at a given price for metals. American mines have been marginal to foreign production since 1952 largely because our American miners enjoy an American standard of living through the highest wages, the most inclusive fringe-benefit programs and the best working conditions in the world. Most of those now operating would not be marginal in foreign areas.

One western operator tersely illustrated this point when he said:

"My mine is not marginal because of its ore, it's marginal because of its being located in the United States."

With lead at 16 cents and zinc at 13½ cents for the full year of 1956, 4 of the 5 major lead-zinc mines in Utah lost money. New Park Mining Co., at Park City, Utah, reported a loss of $113,840 in 1956. A statement to this committee shows an additional loss of $6.29 per ton of ore mined at present prices of 14-cent lead and 10-cent zinc.

The issue at stake in the proposed sliding scale import tax for lead-zinc is related directly to economics of mining ore. All costs beyond direct mining costs, including cost of milling, smelting, refining, marketing, and the transportation cost related to each are deducted from the prevailing price of the metal before the miner is paid for his ore. The statement of the United Park City Mines Co. to this committee indicates that the mine receives about 61 percent of the market price of lead and 27 percent of the price of zinc for the metal content of the ore it sells. This return is called "net smelter return," i. e., that amount of the price which is left for payment to the miner after the above cited costs are deducted.

Lead and zinc prices in 1956 averaged almost of the same as for the 1947–49 period. However, a review of the factors of cost in 1956 as compared with 1947 shows a 79 percent increase in miner's base wage, 48 percent increase in cost of blasting powder, 80 percent increase in steel (base for tools, equipment, and many mining supplies) and a 57 percent increase for mine timber. Freight charges on lead bullion shipped to market from western plants has increased 96 percent over 1947 freight costs and that on slab zinc is up 99 percent.

The costs of milling, smelting, refining and marketing and transportation related to each, have increased proportionately with mining costs. For example, in 1947, a ton of lead ore containing 15 percent lead sold to a lead smelter on a 16 cent price would have a net smelter return value to a certain western mine of $31.48 per ton. In January of 1957 the same ton of ore at the same metal price would have returned to the same mine only $19.61, only 62 percent of the net realized in 1947. The net smelter return in January 1957, was 3.96 cents per pound of lead less than in 1947. The decrease in net smelter returns on zinc for the same period has been in the same proportion.

The impact of the depressed price—inflated cost, economic squeeze has been reflected in decreased domestic mine production of lead and zinc. Two specific examples will serve to illustrate for the West. Utah mills and smelters have traditionally served as buyers of ore from many independent mine producers in the adjacent and nearby States of Colorado, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Montana and California. In 1949 those mills and smelters purchased ore from out-of-States mines from which 49,000 tons of lead and zinc metal were recovered. In 1955 but 7,000 tons of those metals were recovered from such ores, representing a casualty among independent operators of some 42,000 tons. Tons are cold figures. The figures, on lost jobs, lost investment, distressed communities and general discouragement with mining as a vocation and an investment field are difficult to document, but would be realistically warmer. The total domestic mine production loss in 1956 was 145,000 tons of zinc and 83,000 tons of lead-compared with peak, postwar years production records.

The records of the Utah State Tax Commission shed further light on the casualty list of smaller independent lead-zinc operators.

Twenty-three operators appeared on Utah property tax rolls in 1949, 14 of whom produced less than 10,000 tons of ore each, but who made an aggregate production of 26,068 tons. In 1955 such operators reached a low ebb, there being only 4, and they produced a total of only 1,791 tons of ore. Major operators, producers of 10,000 tons or more, dropped from 9 in 1949 to 5 in 1955. Of those 5, 2 more have closed since the price drops in May of this year. One had produced lead-zinc continuously since 1909, the other for at least 25 years.

Economies of western States are heavily dependent on raw materials, production and sales. They export minerals and metals in exchange for the goods they don't produce—

goods which come from other areas of this country. Our ratio of manufacturing to raw materials production is far below the Nation's average. We don't manufacture cars, or refrigerators or watches or cotton fabrics, or radios and TV sets, or drugs, or furniture, etc., etc., but we do buy a substantial quantity of those items with the American standard of living wages, salaries and business incomes dependent on mineral and other raw material production. We are firmly convinced that a dollar paid for metals produced in the United States ultimately buys far more American produced goods than the dollars spent for foreign produced metals. Dollars spent in America for American metals not only buy American goods but also pay their full share of American taxes.

I have tried to arrive at some practical appraisal of the direct tax producing potential of the domestic lead-zinc mining industry. However the number, the variation and the complexity of tax applications forced me to give up. I can but call attention to a few facts.

Individual income is taxed at about 30 percent of its total by local, State and Federal Governments. Wages on lead zinc mining in 1956 therefore produced about $20 million of such tax income.

Federal income taxes of about $9 million would be paid if the industry were sufficiently healthy to earn an average of 1 cent of taxable income per pound of metal produced. Very few companies have paid Federal income taxes on lead-zinc production since 1952.

Utah property and production taxes on lead-zinc mines were about $570,000 in 1949. In 1954 they were about $362,000. The direct tax loss in this taxable bracket was $200,000, not a big loss in today's astronomical figures, but $200,000 that other Utah taxpayers had to pay. There were similar losses in tax income to the State from sales tax, corporate franchise taxes and the many hidden taxes on the supplies, equipment and utilities, normally consumed by the mines. The Federal transportation tax of 3 percent amounts to some $325,000 per year on western produced lead and zinc.

The total tax impact of the industry is substantial and the tax losses over the past few years of depression in the industry have been painful. Particularly to western and other communities which rely in substantial measure upon tax income from mining to sustain community services.

Mr. C. E. Schwab in his statement for the Emergency Lead-Zinc Committee urged that import taxes on lead and zinc be set at levels which would maintain domestic prices at 17 cents for lead and 14½ cents for zinc, the peril-point price levels stipulated for application of the proposed import taxes. We firmly support that position and offer the following data to substantiate industry's need for such prices.

In the statement of the New Park Mining Co. to this committee a loss of $113,840 is reported for 1956. Prices throughout the year were 16 cents for lead and 13½ cents for zinc. That loss was equaled 1 cent per pound of metals produced. At 17-cents lead and 14½-cents zinc that company would have broken even in its 1956 operations; or would have traded a dollar's worth of ore for a dollar's worth of labor, supplies, services, and tax obligations.

The United Park City Mines Co. in a statement to this committee itemizes a loss of $176,745 in the 16-month period from January 1956, through April 1957, when prices remained at 16 cents lead and 13½ cents zinc. They show that a 1-cent increase in lead and 2-cent increase in zinc prices would have enabled them to break even or realize a very slight profit.

In other words those two properties would have about broken even at the 17-cents lead and 14½-cents zinc peril-point price levels.

The United States Tariff Commission in their report of April 1954, to this Committee on the Investigation of Lead and Zinc (Rept. No. 192, 2d series), give data on profits of lead-zinc mines in table L. Z.-5, page 228. Companies reporting profits to the Tariff Commission for the first one-half of 1953, representing 79 and 56 percent of the domestically produced lead and zinc, showed a 5.3 percent profit. (Whether operating profit or net after tax liabilities is not stated.) Prices during that period average 13.324 cents for lead and 11.35 cents for zinc—24.674 cents total lead-zinc price.

Weighted averages of the increases in base wages and in the cost of basic mine supplies from 1953 to 1957 show an increase in mine production cost factors of 23.3 percent. The total lead-zinc price of 24.674 cents for the first half of 1953 thus equals about 30.423 cents at present cost levels. However, the miner now receives a lesser amount of the metal price because of the increased cost of smelting, refining, marketing, and transportation. The increases in such costs, charged to the miner, amounted to about 1 cent per pound of zinc and about 1 cent per pound of lead. This loss of 2 cents in the combined net smelter return, added to the increased cost of operation, indicates that the miner needs 32.423 cents today to be equal to his position as determined by the Tariff Commission in mid 1953. The Tariff Commission, after investigating the condition of the lead-zinc industry at that time, found the industry being damaged by excessive imports and recommended substantial increases in the import duties on lead and zinc.

The Emergency Lead-Zinc Committee has prepared an 18-page summary of the Tariff Commission's findings and recommendations on the lead-zinc case. With the chairman's consent I would be pleased to offer that summary for the record of this hearing.

Lead-zinc mines have closed since the drastic drop in metal prices in May 1957 in the Western States of California, Montana, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Washington, Idaho, as well as in several Midwestern and Eastern States. Curtailments have also been made in the production from other properties. The present prices of 14-cent lead and 10-cent zinc forced by greatly excessive foreign supplies, have placed in jeopardy the backbone of our domestic lead-zinc mining industry, i. e., those mines which have managed to survive the uncertain and largely unprofitable conditions prevailing since early in 1952.

Utah and western operators join the rest of the lead-zinc industry in urging passage of import-tax legislation. We believe the industry proposals, as to peril points and import-tax applications, contained in testimony presented to this committee by Mr. C. E. Schwab, chairman of the Emergency Lead-Zinc Committee, will accomplish that end and respectfully urge the committee to favorably consider those proposals.

Significance of the Gluck Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the Foreign Service of the State Department is today, in the name of economy, turning aside scores of young men and women highly trained to devote a lifetime to the diplomatic service of this Nation.

It is characteristic of this administration's approach to the critical problems of our world that, at this particular time, a dress salesman who cannot pronounce the name of Nehru, and one of whose two vaunted qualifications for the post was that he never got into trouble with the FBI, has been named Ambassador to one of the most sensitive nerve centers in southeast Asia. There is no way to measure how many millions of dollars must be spent for propaganda and foreign aid in the hope of persuading the people of this area that, although our Ambassador does not know, the American people do know and, more important, care, something about them. Mr. Gluck may learn how to pronounce the name of India's famed Prime Minister, but in the process the American people will have paid a staggering sum for his tuition.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Oregon Journal of August 6, 1957, concerning the significance of this appointment:

PEACE DEMANDS OUR BEST MEN

Considerable furor has been raised in recent weeks over the impending fight between Pete Rademacher, champion Olympic boxer but still a rank amateur, and Floyd Patterson, professional heavyweight champion who has demonstrated a deadly power with his fists.

The concern is justified. At best the so-called fight could turn out to be an extremely poor exhibition. At worst, it could result in injury or death, something that has happened too often in recent years.

While we exhibit considerable concern over a prize fight between an amateur and a professional, we seem content to put our diplomacy in the hands of men who, prior to appointment, have shown neither interest in nor aptitude for the job of representing us abroad.

The fact is, for years both political parties have used top diplomatic spots as a haven for party members with money and time on their hands.

In years past this system resulted in no great harm and occasionally it has produced excellent diplomats. Today, our diplomacy is a dominant force in the battle for world peace. Particularly delicate are our relations with countries which are experiencing the birth pains of freedom and a raising nationalism, such as those in Asia.

Similar danger exists in the Central and South American countries. They are extremely touchy about domination by or condescension from the big brother to the north.

In each of those areas we fight a continuous battle for men's minds against the ever present Communist threat. The Russians are hard-headed, hard-fisted diplomats—professionals in every sense of the word.

Into this type of breach we, all too frequently, throw rank amateurs whose sole qualification is that they can afford to take a diplomatic post and that they "want to do good" for the country.

Two recent developments illustrate the point. The first is Maxwell H. Gluck, Ambassador-designate to Ceylon, who did a consummate job of fumbling when questioned by the Senate committee.

Secretary of State Dulles attempted to excuse him by saying that if America were to limits its selection of envoys to Ceylon to those who know the premier's name (Bandaranaike), we should have a very limited choice.

Knowledge of the Premier's name is a minor item. What Gluck exhibited was a monumental ignorance of Ceylon, the Far East and foreign affairs in general. President

Eisenhower has suggested Gluck has the capacity to learn. That is interesting, but in the meantime newspapers in Ceylon have dubbed him "I don't know Gluck" and suggested he would do well not to accept his post.

In Cuba, our Ambassador, after 11 days of diplomatic experience, made remarks which has led the government bloc in the Cuban congress to demand his recall.

The Ambassador, Earl E. T. Smith, is a wealthy former New York stockbroker and former amateur boxer at Yale whose qualifications for United States representation in Spanish-speaking Cuba is a knowledge of French and German and the fact that he has traveled extensively.

Perhaps Gluck can learn and perhaps Smith's remarks which offended Dictator Batiste were justified. Children have the ability to learn and occasionally truth emerges from the mouths of babes, but no one so far has suggested diapers as the prime requirement for a diplomat.

Excellent diplomats have come from the nonprofessional ranks, but the time is past when they can learn on the job. They must be prepared, either by personal background and interests or by some type of inservice training, to step out on the right foot from the moment they are first considered for diplomatic duties.

It has been said that the history of our time will be written in Asia. Let the pages not show that we failed merely because of ignorance or carelessness.

Jerome K. Kuykendall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the appointment of Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall to the Federal Power Commission is before the United States Senate for confirmation.

Chairman Kuykendall during his tenure of office as Chairman of the Federal Power Commission did absolutely nothing to protect the consumers' interest and devoted his entire time and effort to serving the vested interest that he was charged with regulating. He is unfit for any office, especially that which he seeks.

A number of very important charges were leveled at him during a hearing before the Senate committee which heard his case. These cases were included among others, and I will only summarize briefly:

First. The fact that he has traveled around the country at the expense of the oil and gas companies which he was charged with regulating.

Second. That he made misleading representations to Congress in 1954 when he declared that the now defunct Dixon-Yates power contract was fair and reasonable to the Government, and suppressed criticism of the contract by the Federal Power Commission's Bureau of Law.

Third. That he is consistently, constantly, and unfailingly giving the gas companies precisely what they want in rate cases. Indeed, unless the claims of the gas companies were vigorously contested by the consuming interests he probably gave the gas companies whatever they wanted. In the recent matter of the Olin Transmission Corp., Mr. Kuykendall said, "Olin was a bit lucky here because I don't think their case was contested like it could have been."

Imagine entrusting the consumers' interest to a man of this sort, who thinks so little of the consumer that he makes an award to a gas company merely because the matter of consumer interest is not pressed vigorously enough.

Fourth. That he has permitted electric and natural-gas companies to use fast tax writeoff certificates as tax-free dividends to enrich supposedly regulated utilities and to gouge consumers.

Fifth. That he admitted in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce that he called "secret" meetings of representatives of the gas industry to draft the present natural-gas bill, and that he actively participated in that endeavor, plainly aimed not at protection of consumers but rather at enrichment of the large natural-gas producers.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD a copy of a letter sent by me and four of my colleagues, the Honorable THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, the Honorable JOHN E. MOSS, the Honorable B. F. SISK, and the Honorable CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, detailing a still further reason why his appointment should not be confirmed, the opinion in the case Catco matter.

Mr. Speaker, I hope very sincerely that the Senate of the United States will not permit this tool of the vested interests to pass upon the consumers' problem and that his nomination will be denied confirmation by a resounding vote.

JULY 18, 1957.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Since several of the undersigned appeared to testify against the confirmation of Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall of the Federal Power Commission, certain matters have come to our attention which we feel should be considered in connection with his confirmation. It is our feeling that these matters furnish additional grounds for withholding confirmation of Mr. Kuykendall to the Federal Power Commission for another 5-year term. It is our hope that you will include this letter in the record of the hearings.

Our opposition to Mr. Kuykendall's nomination is based on his disregard of, and lack of sympathy for, the obligations, duties, and responsibilities placed upon the Federal Power Commission by the Congress of the United States in committing to that Commission the preservation of the public interest in the development of the Nation's resources and the protection of consumers of electric energy and natural gas against exploitation at the hands of the electric and gas companies under the Federal Power Commission jurisdiction and control.

Mr. Kuykendall's disregard of, and lack of sympathy for, his obligations, duties, and responsibilities as a member of the Federal Power Commission is self-confessed. Testifying before the House of Representatives Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce during hearings on H. R. 6790, a bill to amend the Natural Gas Act to deprive consumers of natural gas of effective protection against exorbitant gas rates, which bill Mr. Kuykendall enthusiastically endorses, Mr. Kuykendall was questioned about the Commission's recent decision in the Olin Gas Transmission Co. rate case. In that case the Commission granted Olin an increase in rates based in substantial part on an allowance of the field value of its own produced gas which exceeded Olin's actual cost of gas production by 100 percent. In excusing the windfall granted Olin and the very favorable disposition of other issues in favor of Olin, Mr. Kuykendall offered the incredible explanation that "Olin was a little bit lucky here because I doubt that their case was conducted like it could have been" by Olin's customers. If it had been contested more vigorously, he testified, "we might not have had substantial evidence to support a finding that this was warranted."

This is shocking testimony from a public official. Candid, to be sure, but nonetheless shocking and revealing. It reveals a callous disregard for his responsibilities which renders him totally unfit for the position to which he aspires and a fundamental failure to understand the Commission's proper function and the reason for its existence. Obviously, the Commission's responsibility to protect the consumers against excessive rates imposed upon the Commission by the Federal Power and Natural Gas Acts does not vary with the degree of opposition that may prevail in a given case from the customers of the pipeline company and cannot be made to depend upon it. The Commission's obligation exists and persists in every proceeding, at every stage, in the same degree, regardless of the degree of participation of the customers. The Commission, which includes its expert staff of technicians and lawyers, owes its existence to the fact that consumers are unable to protect themselves adequately against the utilities that are well able to take care of themselves, having the resources and the wherewithal to retain experts to present the utilities' point of view. How can consumer interests be entrusted to him.

One might conclude from Mr. Kuykendall's testimony with reference to the Olin case that he welcomes and encourages intervention of customers. But this is not the fact, for under his leadership the Commission's attitude toward intervention has been much less liberal and in the courts the Commission has opposed review of its orders at the instance of consumer-intervenors on technical grounds more than it ever did prior to his leadership of the Commission.

There was a time when the Commission rarely objected to review of its orders on technical grounds. Rather, it welcomed review. Today, however, the reverse is the case and the major reversals suffered by the Commission in the courts when consumer interests have managed to overcome the technical obstacles and secured review of Commission orders explains the Commission's greater preoccupation in recent years with efforts to block court review by consumer interests.

There was also a time when review of Commission rate orders in the courts found the Commission and consumer interests defending the Commission's rate orders against attack by the regulated utilities. Today, however, review in the courts finds the Commission and the regulated utility stand shoulder to shoulder against the consumer interests which have had to invoke the aid of the courts to secure fulfillment of the Commission's responsibilities.

The Commission's dereliction of its responsibilities under Mr. Kuykendall's leadership has become so grave that it has produced the remarkable spectacle of a regulated utility protesting the Commission's failure to protect the consumers against exploitation and calling upon the court to "act as a guardian of the public interest."

In a brief filed with the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, Mississippi River Fuel Corp. declared:

"In sum if the prices paid by a pipeline company to nonaffiliated producers are to be accepted as sufficient in themselves to form the basis for future decisions in determining the fair field, market, or commodity value of pipeline-produced gas for ratemaking purposes, the consuming public—represented here by Mississippi—is being deprived of even the minimum protection to which it is entitled under any criteria of ratemaking. An affirmance of the Commission's order and examiner's decision will put a stamp of approval upon a method affording a pipeline company self regulation of the price of gas produced by it or an affiliate. The correction of this patent error is of crucial important if an effective system of regulation is to be maintained."

* * * * *

"In this, it need only be pointed out that the Commission has a positive duty in this respect, a duty entrusted to it by the Congress under the Natural Gas Act. That duty is to protect the consumer interests against exploitation at the hands of private natural gas companies, or to protect consumers from excessive rates. That duty is not discharged by inaction of the type which counsel for the Commission endeavors to explain in his brief.

"This is not the first time, even in recent years, that this court has been called upon to act as guardian of the public interest when this and other regulatory commissions have been derelict in their duties in carrying out congressional mandates."

* * * * *

"Apparently, unless the Commission's functions are to fall into a condition of regulatory desuetude, this vigilance on the part of this court must continue. No better example of such a necessity can be found than in this case."

On July 8, 1957, the court of appeals vacated the Commission's order and remanded the case to the Commission for the performance of its duties. *Mississippi River Fuel Corp.* v. *Federal Power Commission*, F. 2d , No. 13199.

Mr. Kuykendall's leadership produced the recent unconditional surrender of the consumers to the mercy of the producers in the CATCO certificate proceedings involving applications by four producers from which the proceeding derives its short name (Continental Oil Co., the Atlantic Refining Co., Tidewater Oil Co., and the Cities Service Production Co.) to sell a large block of gas from their leases off the coast of Louisiana to Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. at an initial price of 22.4 cents per thousand cubic feet until November 1, 1962, which thereafter would escalate by 2 cents per thousand cubic feet every 4 years until the contracts for sale expired.

First, by order issued April 22, 1957, the Commission said:

"* * * The record shows that the 22.4-cent price is higher than Tennessee Gas is paying under any other contract. It is this price, with the provision for escalation, to which the interveners have made vigorous objections in exceptions to the presiding examiner's decision, which would grant a certificate without a rate condition attached to it. They contend that if the rate were allowed to stand it would establish a higher price plateau in a new area to the detriment of consumers.

"The record contains insufficient evidence or testimony, however, on which to base a finding that the public convenience and necessity requires the sale of these volumes of gas at the particular rate level here proposed. The importance of this issue in certificating this sale cannot easily be overemphasized. This is the largest reserve ever committed to one sale. This is the first sale from the newly developed offshore fields from which large proportions of future gas supplies will be taken. This is the highest price level at which the sale of gas to Tennessee Gas has been proposed.

"These factors make it abundantly evident that, in the public interest, this crucial sale should not be permanently certificated unless the rate level has been shown to be in the public interest. (See Cities Service Gas Co., Signal Oil & Gas Co., 14 F. P. C. , opinion No. 288, Nos. G-2569, G-2570 November 28, 1955, affirmed as *Signal Oil and Gas Co.* v. *F. P. C.* 238 F. 2d 771 (C. A. 3), certiorari denied 353 U. S. 923.)"

* * * * *

"The contracts between Catco and Tennessee Gas provide November 1, 1957, as the date for commencing service, and in order to comply with the leases and the Louisiana Shelflands Act, production should commence by 1958. To meet this schedule Tennessee Gas must build its underwater pipelines before the onset of the season of bad weather. In view of this total situation we are disposed at this time to grant temporary certificates to Catco for the sale of gas and to Tennessee Gas as requested by it for its proposed 107 miles of connecting pipelines. At the same time, we shall remand the Catco proceedings to the presiding examiner to determine at what rates the public convenience and necessity requires these sales to be made if permanent certificates are to be granted to these companies upon final disposition of their applications."

This disposition of the case did not, however, satisfy the appetite of the producers. They threatened to cancel their contract for the sale of the gas unless the Commission issued a permanent certificate for the sale at the intial price of 22.4 cents per thousand cubic feet.

The Commission then yielded to the demand for a permanent certificate in its order issued May 20, 1957, but insisted that protection of the interests of consumers required that the producers agree to an initial price of 18 cents per thousand cubic feet, "the highest price presently being paid by Tennessee Gas for the purchase of any gas produced in the Southwest area." As a further concession to the producers, however, the Commission agreed in advance to permit the producers to file for an increase in that rate, even to the 22.4 cents per thousand cubic foot price, and to suspend the proposal for only 1 day although the Natural Gas Act provides for the suspension of a rate increase proposal for a period of 5 months in order to maintain the status quo while the Commission has some opportunity to investigate the reasonableness of the proposal.

This concession, of course, literally reduced to lip service the Commission's avowal of concern for the protection of the consumer interests. But even this was not enough for the producers. They demanded a permanent certificate with no strings attached. By order issued June 24, 1957 the Commission, therefore, abjectly surrendered its public responsibility and issued a permanent certificate at the initial price of 22.4 cents per thousand cubic feet, although it had previously loudly proclaimed, and the fact remained, that the evidence could not support a finding to support the issuance of a certificate on this basis.

This was too much for Commissioner Connole, who dissented. Protesting the abandonment of public responsibility he said:

"The record is plain that the controlling reason the parties refuse to submit their contracts to regulatory review in the manner found to be necessary in the public interest is their preference for a proceeding in which the burden would be on the Commission to establish that the rate was more than reasonable. They flatly refuse to submit to one in which the parties would be required to show only that the rate was required by the public convenience and necessity. No citation of authority or reference to regulatory theory is needed to demonstrate that the burden of showing the public convenience and necessity requires a proposed service at a particular price level is on the party seeking to take advantage of the proposed service and not on the tribunal before which the case is to be made. Under the unique conditions found here, the critical importance of that decision is indisputable."

* * * * *

"The decision of the majority is justifiable only by the evil consequences of the loss of these reserves to the particular pipeline which is a party to the contracts. Such evils would, in the opinion of the majority, exceed the gain to follow from the proof that the public convenience and necessity does not require the sale of this gas at proposed rates.

"In my opinion, the consequences of abandoning our position will be more serious than their effect on this particular sale. Whether by design or accident, the issues in this proceeding now transcend the close limits of the original hearing. At stake is the question whether the Commission should hold a position which it has determined is in the long run public interest, or whether it should abandon it when confronted with allegations that short run injury to one segment of the industry and consumers might result. Where the issue is reduced to this simple statement, the answer is clear."

* * * * *

"As concerned as I am for Tennessee's customers, I am more concerned for the whole body of consumers on all transmission pipelines for whose protection we are responsible. And as deserving of preservation as I believe those particular orders to be, I believe the principle that Federal regulatory orders should not be changed by threats of abandoning public responsibility is even more important.

"On balance, and in view of the expansion of the issues beyond those originally contemplated by this docket, I believe it more important to the public interest to preserve the Commission's authority to make lawful and necessary orders than it is to preserve these contracts as written. The right to maintain valid orders against allegations of urgency, the importance to the consumer of the Signal Oil doctrine, and the right of all consumers for protection against unreasonable initial rates outweigh the potential damage to the consumers of Tennessee Gas Transmission which might flow from maintaining the position I urge here.

"While dissenting may appear to serve no useful purpose, the damage to consumer and to the public interest, to the regulatory process, and to the future of the interstate natural gas business as it is given me to discern it, would be such under the majority decision that, inevitable as that decision may appear to be, I am left no choice but to protest it by filing a dissenting vote."

It is true, of course, that Mr. Kuykendall's name does not appear on the final order issued Monday, June 24, 1957, since on that date he was no longer a member of the Commission, his term having expired the evening of June 21, 1957, the preceding Friday. He did, however, participate in the oral argument on June 12, 1957, and was in attendance at each of the series of Commission meetings from then through the meeting which took place on Friday, June 21, 1957, at 3 p. m., with the exception of the 10 a. m. meeting on June 19. The only other meeting at which he was not present during which the Commission could possibly have considered this Catco decision was on June 24, at which time the Commission made the formal vote on this last surrender to the big oil companies. It is interesting to note that on that date, June 24, the Commission met at 9:30 a. m. and at 11:30 a. m.

e final form of the very lengthy order was ot only completed but was approved and as mimeographed for distribution to the ess and public. A long dissenting opinion Commissioner Connole was also drafted, ed and reproduced. On the basis of these cts it appears reasonable that discussions the Catco matter must have been held uring this interim period in which Chairan Kuykendall was not only present acording to the Commission's minutes, but ost probably participated actively. It is so fair to infer that he must have played a art not only in the consideration by the ommission of the necessary preliminary rafts but in the acceptance of the Commison of the final form of this last giveaway his term, which was so much in keeping ith the tenor of his leadership in the preous two decisions of the Federal Power ommission on this same Catco matter, and other similar giveaways such as Hells Canon, Dixon-Yates, and the Olin case.

One may also fairly wonder, in the circumstances, why no order was forthcoming hile he was still a member of the Commison. We respectfully suggest that the pendncy of the hearings on his confirmation ay have had something to do with it.

At any rate, Mr. Kuykendall should be ompelled to justify his actions in these pecific cases which have arisen since the ate of the formal hearing on his confirmation, and which so flagrantly constitute complete, abject and dismal surrender of he consumer interest and the Commission's esponsibility to the very people who are to e regulated by the Federal Power Commission.

These are but a few of the horrible examples. There are others. The record of Mr. Kuykendall's administration of the affairs of the Federal Power Commission during his term which has recently expired, in our opinion, shows his unfitness for continued service as a member of the Commission and we, therefore, urge that the committee disapprove his nomination.

Very sincerely,

JOHN D. DINGELL,
15th District of Michigan.
THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ,
1st District of Michigan.
JOHN E. MOSS,
3d District of California.
B. F. SISK,
12th District of California.
CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
4th District of Wisconsin.

Atomic Energy Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News of August 8, 1957:

ATOMIC ENERGY BILL

When the House of Representatives killed the so-called Gore bill in July 1956, it was a signal victory for the development of atomic energy by private industry. But now a bill of similar intent which would put the Government headlong into the atomic energy development field has been reported out by the Joint Atomic Energy Committee. It is expected to face a hot fight in the House and Senate, and well it should.

Basically the bill provides for the Government to take over development of atomic energy. In this respect it is almost a direct contradiction of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which invited private enterprise to work with the Government in this vast new field.

The Republican Members of the Joint Committee issued a minority report which pretty well sums up the philosophy of the committee majority in approving the bill. "The privately owned reactor has been as effectively eliminated as if it had been wiped out of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954," they said. "The general approach * * * is this: 'We cannot do enough to help the public-power groups. On the other hand, we must do everything possible to discourage the private groups'."

In another section of its report, the minority pointed out "To revert to a federally controlled atomic power program is a step backward, not forward. It is a big, fateful step, and it may be difficult to turn around and start walking in the right direction again after the mistake has been realized."

This is the bill in which public power advocates have taken their latest shot at the Enrico Fermi Atomic Power Plant at Lagoona Beach. While authorizing the expenditure of some $58 million neither requested by the Atomic Energy Commission nor approved by the Bureau of the Budget for Government-controlled atomic powerplants, the committee majority eliminated the $4,200,000 the AEC had requested for research and development for the Fermi plant. This is necessary to enable the AEC to fulfill the terms of its contract with Power Reactor Development Co. for the Lagoona Beach reactor.

In its majority report accompanying the bill, the committee said: "The committee does not approve the requested authorization for preconstruction research and development work and waiver of fuel use charges in connection with the reactor project of the Power Reactor Development Co."

The committee minority labeled this "a flat and flagrant misstatement as to the intent of the members of the committee." The minority contended it was the understanding that $1,500,000 included in the bill for research on fast-breeder reactors could be applied on the Fermi project, if the AEC so desired.

"The Commission is fully authorized to use any of the funds authorized by * * * this bill, or any other funds available to it, to fulfill its obligations under this (PRDC) contract, and should do so," the minority contended.

We do not put too much stock in reports that PRDC might cancel the Fermi project if the AEC is prevented from fulfilling its research obligation. We believe PRDC would pay the relatively small amount involved itself. As Robert W. Hartwell, PRDC assistant general manager, told the joint committee little more than a month ago:

"Quite frankly, PRDC thinks that, when a group of companies has already spent or obtained firm commitments for the expenditure of over $60 million for research, design, and construction of a nuclear powerplant and has actually started erection, it is an argument born of desperation to say that the companies will not or cannot raise several more million dollars should that prove to be necessary."

This is only one of the provisions in the bill which will, or should, be thoroughly hashed over as Congress itself begins consideration of this vital atomic-energy measure.

"Ten Years After"—Barbara Ward Jackson Speaks Out on the Marshall Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, all over this great country of ours we have learned to respect a very charming English woman, brilliant author and economist Barbara Ward Jackson. It would seem particularly pertinent for us all to be aware of her considered judgment upon a decade of the Marshall plan. It is with pleasure that I include in my remarks an excerpt from her speech before the Alumni Association at Harvard University on June 13, 1957, which appeared in the August issue of the Foreign Service Journal:

TEN YEARS AFTER—IS THE VISION VANISHING?
(By Lady Barbara Ward Jackson)

The Marshall plan proved that men need not be, as Marx proposed, prisoners of their own most narrow material interest. It showed that no limits need be set to the imaginative generosity of freemen.

How, after a decade, shall we read its profit and loss account? Some of the effects have been enduring—the upward physical surge of Europe goes on. It is Western Europe that has grown and prospered while Soviet exploitation and Communist superplanning has kept Eastern Europe in penury and despair. The hope of a wider political unity in Europe, first sparked by the Marshall plan, has not flickered out, and this year could bring the first foundations of a common market. The United States has sustained the practice of foreign aid and Congress now seems likely to accept the salutary principle of aid planned on a sustained basis and linked to long-term purposes. All this is a great gain and to measure how great it is we can recall the end of the decade after the First World War, when with depression, unemployment, and despair, the world was already preparing for Hitler, for Japanese militarism, and for renewed conflict.

But in spite of these real and sustained gains, I would not say that today, 10 years after General Marshall's great speech, the alliance of free men stood in as hopeful a posture. No great enterprise unites us now. We maintain a defensive alliance within NATO, but as history has always shown, nothing dissolves so quickly as defensive coalitions—and at this moment while Khrushchev steals the headlines over disarmament, NATO is in fact disarming itself with little mutual consultation and certainly no quid pro quo from the Russian side.

Politically, the alliance had by last autumn drifted so far apart and confidence and understanding had dwindled to such a pitch that the tragedy of Suez became possible. Anyone coming from Europe must candidly report that distaste for the Atlantic association is widely expressed. In fact, one distinguished American statesman, questioned about the alliance on his recent return from Europe, replied: "There isn't any." While this may be too extreme, what is certain is that the distrust, the envy, the fear of American power and competition—which are inevitably given the nations' relative strengths—are now unchecked by any opposite sense of working with America to achieve any larger purpose and of experiencing first-

hand the energy, the vitality, and the imagination which America can bring to any high task it proposes to itself.

The trend, therefore, is now towards a disintegration of the Atlantic community. The work begun by General Marshall still persists. But it is growing weaker and unless it is renewed, the political cooperation of free men—that vision of a new method and a new purpose in world diplomacy—will vanish as surely as did the union between the Greek states before Persia or the Italian cities before the Spaniard. The drift in human affairs is against cooperation and we are in those slack and dangerous waters now.

But at least we are not as badly off as we might have been 10 years ago. Then one could have despaired of free coalition of nations ever uniting in time of peace to achieve some great and constructive aim. Today at least we know it is possible and we know, from the Marshall plan, some of the preconditions of success. If we wish to restore our alliance—and who, in view of Communist strength and ambition, can think the need for it any less?—we know what we have to do. The lessons of the last 10 years are not lost. The book is open, if only we will read.

In the first place, our aim should be our own, not dictated by Communist pressure, not evolved as a countermeasure, but springing from the positive needs of our society and taking the initiative in meeting them. Ten years ago, General Marshall declared that the policy of free men was not directed against any country or any doctrine but against poverty, despair, and chaos. They were the international enemies then—they are the enemies now. But we are no longer fighting them together.

Secondly, the enterprise should not be the monopoly of any one nation. Those with most wealth and strength cannot abdicate the duty of leadership but the essence of the Marshall plan was that American aid, given to a cooperative group of powers, called out their efforts and energies in equal measure. Today, when these economies are largely restored, they can participate as givers as well as receivers. The cooperation could thus be more complete. But the essential point is joint, not unilateral, action.

Last of all, our joint work as free nations ought to aim, as the Marshall plan aimed and succeeded, in going beyond the conventional, national limits of our traditional economy and diplomacy. In 1947 the crisis facing Europe could only be solved by America's disregarding the conventional limits set to international buying, selling, trading, and lending and by Europe setting aside the narrow bilateral political inhibitions under which each nation separately had been trying to drag itself up from the morass.

If we look for the preservation of our alliance in these terms, I do not think we need look far for the kind of concrete constructive programs which would meet what one might call the Marshall criteria. Take, for instance, the issue of the common market in Europe. Valuable as it can be, it could also become a means of division, setting up that political chimera—a third force—and splitting the free world straight down the Atlantic Ocean. But why should not Europe's efforts be paralleled by joint efforts to develop a low tariff area—if not a free trade area—for the Atlantic community as a whole? Such an effort would need a new attack upon the problem of convertibility and would require a high, progressive overseas investment program to ensure that lowered tariffs and wider competition could be eased by expanding markets elsewhere. But again, there is no shortage of such possible areas of investment.

India and China have both reached a crucial stage in their 5-year plans. In both, rising population and the drift to cities are endangering the investment targets set in the plans. For India, the pressure is particularly heavy upon the sector demanding foreign exchange. If the Atlantic powers at this time jointly underpinned a part of India's essential investment, the Indians could forge ahead of the Chinese and show all free Asia that development without compulsion, backed by Western capital, gives the answer of growth, hope, and ambition whereas communism is caught in its own contradictions.

Asia is not the only possible field for an imaginative program. All west Africa is within sight of independence and this area, bulging out into the Atlantic, may be the first arena where Africa's unforced allegiances are tested. France is urging its fellow-Europeans to invest there. Such new states as Ghana are in search of capital. Wide international schemes for Saharan development could be one factor in pacifying north Africa. No, it is not shortage of potential areas for imaginative investment that is impeding western plans. It is the fading away of all idea that exceptional policies are still necessary in our continuously exceptional, revolutionary, and indeed catastrophic world.

For this surely is the root of our trouble, 10 years after the Marshall plan. We have lived with the mushroom cloud and the falling strontium, with Communist brutality and the agony of subject peoples, with death and disaster, until, in some way, we have managed almost to accept our universe in these terms. While the gates of hell swing ajar, we turn away our eyes and conduct our affairs almost as though the staid patterns of limited 18th century diplomacy and sovereignty were still relevant. In the Marshall plan, for once, the Western World had a concept and achieved a program which in some measure met the extreme challenge, the extreme strangeness and newness of our atomic age. But since that time, we have done little but coast along on its declining momentum and that momentum is nearly spent. Today our world is no less revolutionary but we have almost created—as we did between 1919 and 1929—the illusion of normalcy.

The illusion is as deadly now as it was then—indeed, more deadly now that the stake is literally the annihilation of the human race. The old ways lead to the old disasters. Today we need for very survival to revive the vision of the Marshall period and think, work and plan together in enterprises adequate to our revolutionary world and worthy of the energies of free men.

Happy Birthday, Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News on the occasion of the 83d birthday of former President Herbert Hoover:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, HERBERT HOOVER

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Tomorrow we shall honor Herbert Hoover on his 83d birthday. We wish him many, many happy returns of the day. Every liberty-loving American will place a wreath of affection at the feet of this great statesman, patriot, and gentleman.

When future historians survey the character and achievements of our ex-President, they will find them rising like a huge mountain above the undulating plain of humanity. His virtues will grow brighter. His name will be written larger with each passing year.

The life story of Herbert Hoover is a romance of adventure, of indomitable energy and courage, of real training in the school of life. He was the son of an Iowa village blacksmith. He was orphaned at the age of 7. His life symbolizes the fact that America is another name for opportunity.

He is one of the rare constructive thinkers along political and economic lines today. He is one of America's best informed statesmen on world problems which have a vital bearing on our Nation. His vision and imagination, his Yankee grit and fearlessness. His vast knowledge of world affairs, his genius for organization, saved the world during World War I from a wave of anarchy and unbridled revolt that threatened civilization.

For the first time in the history of mankind America became her brother's keeper, without expecting any reward, without any selfish motive, without any thought of gain. Herbert Hoover interpreted the heart of America to the world. He translated the idealism of America into humanitarian service.

There is scarcely a nation that has not been aided by Mr. Hoover in behalf of America. He has brought America to the world. He has raised American prestige and moral influence for universal peace, for international understanding, for international good will. Herbert Hoover's place in history is secure.

May the poorest lad in our blessed land learn from the career of Mr. Hoover that poverty is no bar to the triumph of the free spirit. The avenues of the citadel of our strength and posts of honor are open to universal competition.

The freedom-giving institutions of our land call to the highest honors her children from the workshop, from the city and from the farm. The ranks of American eminence have come from the humblest origin.

When the future paints the picture,
And the angels set the time,
There will be a master artist
Who will paint a form divine,
When with deft and hallowed fingers
He will write upon the scroll
The name of Herbert Hoover,
A great American soul.

May God be with you—Herbert Hoover—now and forever.

Address by United States Senator Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10–14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10–14, there were several outstanding addresses delivered by prominent officials of the

Federal Government in keeping with the theme of the encampment, Defense Means Freedom.

On July 12, 1957, the following address was delivered by United States Senator EDWARD MARTIN of Pennsylvania:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE 38TH ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, AT HARRISBURG, PA., JULY 12, 1957

It is a great honor for an old soldier to be invited to address this outstanding organization of real Americans.

Your patriotism has been tested on foreign battlefields. You know what it means to face the enemies of our Nation in the hellfire of war. Sustained by loyalty and devotion to American ideals you have been willing to sacrifice everything that this Nation, under God, may live in honor, peace, and freedom.

The welfare of our country is always uppermost in the hearts and minds of the veteran. For that reason I want to discuss frankly with you some of the dangers confronting our Nation.

But first, let us look back with pride at the background of the United States. Let us review the magnificent achievements which in less than 200 years have converted a savage wilderness into the world's greatest stronghold of industrial and agricultural production. Let us be thankful that we have advanced to the highest cultural and spiritual levels ever attained by any similar area in the whole world.

The history of America is a glorious story. It tells of toil, sacrifice, and heroism. It tells of victory produced by a people whose hearts and minds were aflame with the spirit of liberty and independence.

It tells of those courageous patriots who met in Philadelphia more than 180 years ago, and pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to establish a new Nation. For the first time in all the world, government recognized the Divine origin of man's inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

For the first time a government was based upon the sound principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The story of America is the story of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and all the dedicated statesmen of each generation.

It is the story of the heroes who offered their lives for independence at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown. It is the story of Gettysburg, New Orleans, the fields of Mexico, and Admiral Dewey at Manila. It is the story of Chateau Thierry, the Argonne, the Normandy Beaches, Iwo Jima, and the frozen hills of Korea.

There is no story so glorious in all world history. It should be told and retold, over and over again, in our schools and colleges from the pulpits and lecture platforms, in meetings of fraternal and patriotic organizations, in labor meetings, political rallies and every other place where Americans assemble.

Therefore, it is most appropriate, in a meeting such as this, to consider the situation confronting the United States.

The course of history has placed upon the American people the responsibility for peace and progress in the world. The United States stands as the one strong barrier against the Communist conspiracy to dominate and enslave the entire world.

We must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security by the mask of friendliness now worn by the masters of the Kremlin.

Recently there was broadcast into millions of American homes an example of Communist propaganda more flagrant than anything ever before attempted.

It was a brazen attempt to convince American listeners that Soviet Russia has no evil designs against the free nations of the world. We were told that the Russian dictators seek only friendship and peaceful coexistence.

Yes, my fellow Americans, the Communist boss talked of peace but real Americans were not fooled. The record denies their words.

The civilized world will long remember the ruthless slaughter of men, women and children by Communist tanks and machine guns in crushing the Hungarian revolt of 1956.

Yet those guilty of this monstrous crime—those responsible for the wholesale execution of Hungarian freedom fighters—ask us to believe that this time they are sincere when they talk of peace. The record shows that the Communists have sabotaged every effort for peace and will continue to do so.

Their fundamental objectives have not changed. They have not abandoned their unholy ambition to destroy all human freedom.

Those of you who heard that broadcast will recall the prediction that the grandchildren of Americans living today will live under a socialistic system.

That was a grim warning that must not be ignored. It calls upon us to be constantly alert to the dangers of Communist influence here at home. We must fight disloyalty with every legal weapon at our command, and if our laws are not strong enough they should be made stronger.

You are all familiar with the decision of the United States Supreme Court made about a year ago, which held that the Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction in the field of sedition and subversion.

This decision struck down laws enacted in 42 States and Territories under which those guilty of subversion could be prosecuted and punished by the State.

I believe that each State should have the right to combat sedition within its borders. I believe each should have the right to punish not only those who seek forcible overthrow of the State but also those who would overthrow the Nation by force.

More recently several other decisions of the Supreme Court have greatly weakened the Federal Government's legal drive against Communists and subversives.

I have no cirticism of the Court. We are a nation of law and under our system no individual is denied equal justice. But I repeat if existing law is not adequate to deal effectively with disloyalty it is the duty and responsibility of Congress to enact legislation strong enough to do the job. I can assure you that Congress is taking steps in that direction.

Now I would like to direct your attention to some other dangers that threaten America.

First, inflation. Since 1939, the purchasing power of the dollar has dropped to less than 50 cents.

One of the most difficult functions of a free government is to maintain a stable currency. At the same time it is one of the most important objectives of government. Inflation has the power to crush any economy upon which it fastens its grip and thus it can destroy a nation. In fact, more great nations have been destroyed by inflation than by invading armies or destructive bombs. A nation destroyed by a military force can rebuild itself, if the people have the spirit and the will to work, but a nation where incentive of the individual is destroyed has very little chance of recovery.

Inflation damages all with fixed incomes and inflicts severe hardship on millions of our people. The person who lives on a pension, social security, or interest on savings cannot escape the evils of inflation. There are now in the United States more than 16½ million on social security, corporation, and Government retirement, veterans' pensions, veterans' survivors benefits and military retirement pay. Many are widows and orphans. Continued inflation is a threat to the many millions of savers in the United States, the owners of bonds, owners of life insurance policies and savings accounts.

Second, big government and government doing things that we should do for ourselves. More than 7 million now work for the 3 levels of government, at an annual payroll of $40 billion.

The vast expansion in the size and cost of government at all levels is leading us away from the ideals of the Founding Fathers. The people are constantly demanding more and more services and many believe that projects paid for with Federal funds do not cost them anything.

The cost of State and local government has been increasing more rapidly than the Federal Government. The tendency toward more and more expensive government by taxes and borrowing must be stopped or we will drift into creeping socialism.

It has been proposed that consideration be given to a new division of the functions of government and a new allocation of taxes to perform those functions. President Eisenhower in a speech delivered to the governors' conference at Williamsburg, Va., on June 24, called upon the Governors to join in an effort to return certain responsibilities to the States.

Several years ago I suggested that national defense, foreign affairs, rivers and harbors and banking and currency be Federal functions with income taxes, import duties and liquor and tobacco taxes to furnish the Federal revenues. The States would build the roads, provide higher education, administer penal and correctional institutions and conservation with estate taxes, sales taxes and the gasoline tax to furnish them the money. Local government would provide police power, sanitation, courts and public schools and have as its tax source real estate, admissions, mercantile and wage taxes. This is just a brief outline but I am sure that such a plan would mean a big saving for the taxpayers.

Third, too much private and public debt. Never before in the history of the world have any people owed so much as we owe today. It should be a matter of deep concern to every one of us that the American people now owe a total of more than $800 billion in gross private and public debt. This is an average of about $4,700 for every man, woman, and child in the Nation, or about $18,800 for the average American family of four persons.

Net corporate debt went up from $92½ billion in 1946 to $208 billion at the end of 1956.

People have been buying out of tomorrow's paycheck. At the end of 1945 individuals owed less than $6 billion which in 1956 had increased to $42 billion.

Net State and local government debt has increased from $13½ billion in 1945 to $42.7 billion at the end of 1956 and has greatly increased since that time.

Fourth, moral decay among the people. Great armies and great navies will not maintain a nation's strength where the moral courage and patriotic fervor of its people are permitted to decay. Every student of history knows that great nations of the past have gone down to destruction when the moral fiber of the people was undermined by greed and corruption.

Fifth, too little interest in government. Unfortunately, there are too many misguided Americans who do not understand and do not appreciate the real meaning of America.

They do not seem to realize that our system of free government places upon each

citizen an equal share of responsibility for our security and our progress.

Good citizenship is the basis of patriotism. That is why I am constantly urging every individual to take a more active, intelligent and patriotic part in government.

I bring these dangers to the attention of this great organization of veterans because your patriotic service entitles you to leadership in civic responsibility.

We pray that America may never turn away from its historic mission—to defend liberty, to oppose oppression, to stand against injustice and to support the aspiration of all men of good will for a world of peace and freedom.

We hope and pray for the day when all nations will lay down their arms and live in brotherhood under God.

But until that happy day dawns we must be prepared to defend the God-given freedom that we hold sacred.

Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty.

Real Motive for Opposition to Reactor Plant Evident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Ann Arbor (Mich.) News of August 8, 1957:

REAL MOTIVE FOR OPPOSITION TO REACTOR PLANT EVIDENT

The thin veneer that has covered one of the real objectives of those opposing the construction of a fast breeder atomic reactor near Monroe wore through the other day at the Washington hearings. The United Automobile Workers and other unions have contended they are opposed to the plant in the Lake Erie shore marshes because they fear it will not be safe. The builders point out that the Government will never allow a reactor to operate unless it can pass safety tests.

It has been clear from the start that major opposition to the project of the Power Reactor Development Co., a group of private firms engaged in atomic power research, comes from Federal power advocates. They prefer to see the Government deeply involved in another line of endeavor, another tax-free operation like TVA.

It is easier to gain popular support, however, by raising the issue of safety.

At the hearing the other day, an attorney for the unions protesting the construction permit for the plant, questioned the AEC general manager about an AEC order setting the price paid for plutonium. The UAW attorney contended an illegal subsidy was planned in the price to be paid PRDC for plutonium produced as a byproduct of the Monroe plant.

The AEC examiner conducting the hearing ruled that this was a matter for the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee to determine and its legality a subject for the courts. It seems to us he might properly have asked also what that has to do with the safety of the Enrico Fermi reactor.

The point raised appears to be one the congressional committee will not overlook. It already has struck a blow against private atomic power research by eliminating from an AEC bill an allocation of $4,200,000 in research funds for the group building the Monroe plant. It is all right for industry to put millions into such an experiment and fight a legal battle at the same time, but apparently it is wrong for the Government to invest less than a tenth as much as a group of private companies are willing to risk.

It is about time for Congress to say whether it is sincere about encouraging private industry to enter into the atomic power field in competition with Government, or whether its purpose is to strengthen that monopoly.

Strength With Economy Fixed as Objective for Navy Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in his speech last week before the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences meeting at San Diego, Navy Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., made a frank exposition of the Navy's policies and plans for the future.

Secretary Gates' background as a naval officer in World War II and his subsequent service as Under Secretary of the Navy, has admirably qualified him for his newly assigned duties as civilian head of the Navy. He is quietly and effectively leading the Navy at a time when it faces tremendous transitional changes.

An editorial outlining a portion of Secretary Gates' recent remarks was featured in the San Diego Evening Tribune of August 8, 1957. I ask unanimous consent to include this editorial as a portion of my remarks.

The editorial follows:

STRENGTH WITH ECONOMY FIXED AS OBJECTIVE FOR NAVY PLANS

An enlightening restatement of the United States Navy's role and plans has been made in recent days, part of it in San Diego this week when Navy Secretary Gates spoke before a meeting of the Institute of the Aeronautical Sciences. The meeting was a part of the National Naval Aviation Week program.

Briefly stated, the Navy proposes to achieve the maximum strength possible without waste.

And industry must make its contribution "at absolute rock bottom prices," Gates emphasized.

Gates spoke against a backdrop of national and international statements upon defense problems.

Britain has done some reappraising of its own position, and its conclusions have a pertinence for the United States defense planners.

The British experts believe Russia's long-range submarine fleet is a greater menace to their country than are the big bombs. The bombs could be dealt with promptly, and perhaps the nuclear phase of a war with Russia would be over in 3 weeks.

But with not less than 350 submarines, Russia could starve the islands out during the succeeding 12 months, it is feared.

It is here that the United States Navy finds one of its greatest probable roles. As Gates pointed out here, it will be the duty of the Navy to be "a big brother bolstering a faltering ally."

It is primarily naval power that must keep the seas open.

In order to do this, Gates believes the Nation's defense organizations should be directed under the concept of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Referring to this recently in a Boston address, Gates said he is opposed to "such nonsense" as a merger of the Army, Navy, and Air Force into a single service. He said that those urging such monolithic unification are "wholly uninformed and (are) looking for easy answers to a gigantic problem."

This opposition to a Prussianized command is supported by a statement in Congress recently by Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican of Massachusetts.

In introducing a paper by Col. James D. Hittle in the Marine Corps Gazette for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, SALTONSTALL said:

"This article very effectively discusses the fundamental military, political, and historical reasons why the United States-developed defense organization is superior."

Hittle's paper strongly opposed the idea of a single control for the defense forces, arguing that nations which have followed this system have been defeated by other nations following the joint-chiefs plan of direction and planning.

The nature of the Navy's function directs that it be a member of a "well-balanced team in which [each] component does that for which it is best fitted," Gates said.

As a member of that team, he said, the Navy would have:

"Carrier-based air attack against objectives which threaten our control of the seas.

"Seaplanes based on mobile supporting ships.

"Surface and submarine-launched guided missiles."

These three groupings of power will have these objectives, Gates said:

"To provide military, economic and political links across the seas of the Free World, and to deny corresponding linkage to the Communist bloc.

"Second, to use the ocean areas as a springboard for offensive operations, and as a vast maneuver area for the defense in depth of ourselves and our allies."

In San Diego and overseas, the roles and the need of a strong United States Navy in defending the Nation and the whole Free World against a deadly menace thus have been clearly stated.

The Nation and the Free World cannot afford to imperil that defense by any such gamble as a one-man command in the Pentagon instead of the present balanced Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Civil Rights Compromise by Trusting the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, the civil rights issue can be compromised by both sides trusting the greatest institution of all time, the Congress of the United States. I submit herewith an editorial which speaks for itself and which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N. Y., on August 9:

CIVIL-RIGHTS COMPROMISE?

The civil-rights issue of 1957 is not yet settled by any means. Although both the Senate and House have passed a bill called H. R. 6127, to protect the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, the bill which the Senate has sent back to the House is the merest shadow of its former self.

What the House will do with it seems to be anybody's guess. The logic of the situation calls for an attempt to iron out differences in the two versions in a Senate-House conference committee. But the differences to be resolved are immense, and the area for possible compromise is narrow.

From the viewpoint of civil rights alone, two points are beyond debate: (1) the Senate version represents a far punier effort to protect the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States than does the House version; but (2) even the Senate version would mean some advance for the cause of civil rights, and is clearly better than nothing.

There is a complicating element, however, that can't be minimized: The Senate, after drastically narrowing the bill to apply only to the right to vote, then gratuitously broadened it again to restrict the injunctive powers of the Federal courts by guaranteeing a jury trial to any person accused of criminal contempt—not only in right-to-vote cases, but in antitrust and every other kind of case.

The question which thus faces the President, if Congress sends him the Senate version unchanged, is whether this inching advance for civil rights is worth signing into law, at the expense of possibly crippling one of the traditional powers of the Federal judiciary.

He has not indicated yet whether he would sign or veto, but he has made very clear his hope that the jury trial amendment, at the very least, will be narrowed to apply only to right-to-vote cases.

How much more of its own original bill the House can realistically expect to hold out for we can't be sure. The South was so happy to settle for the detoothed Senate version that five Senators from the States of the old Confederacy actually ended up voting for the bill. Whether the House's insistence on toughening it up a bit would kill any civil-rights enactment is something the conferees will have to consider with care.

The House and the administration will probably be willing enough to accept everything in the Senate bill except the jury-trial amendment. If there is any room for compromise here—beyond the White House insistence on limiting it to right-to-vote cases—it still seems to us to be along the line suggested by Buffalo's Representative RADWAN before the Senate acted.

His proposal is that the jury trial be accepted for right-to-vote cases, but only on a 3-year probationary basis. After that, the jury-trial clause would expire unless Congress reenacted it. Instead of starting out on the premise that southern juries are not to be trusted to do their duty, his proposal would start by trusting them and giving them 3 years to demonstrate that the trust, on the whole, was well placed.

The real issue, after all, is whether this bill to protect the voting rights of United States citizens is going to be made a mockery by the refusal of juries in the Deep South to enforce Federal court injunctions. If it is, then we can be sure that the clamor for a more effective guaranty of the right to vote will be intensified in the next few years. So every jury in a right-to-vote contempt case will be in the spotlight of national public opinion either way. What the Radwan amendment would do is serve notice in advance that the jury-trial clause will expire automatically if it is openly used to thwart the right to vote.

Questionnaire to 11th District of Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, I submitted a questionnaire to the rural, star route, post-office boxholders and to all persons listed in the telephone directories in all cities and towns of the 11th Congressional District of Missouri. I am pleased to report that 14,414 people have answered the questionnaire to date. I appreciate the fine response to the questionnaire and I am gratified to say that the people of the 11th District of Missouri are intensely interested in their Government and are willing to take the time to participate in it by expressing their opinions and advice to their Representative in the Congress.

The following is the questionnaire and the results, first in the actual figures and second in percentages:

1. Would you rather balance the budget and reduce the national debt than cut taxes? Yes, 9,565 (67.2 percent); no, 3,518 (24.7 percent); no opinion, 1,160 (8.1 percent).

2. Do you favor Federal aid for school construction? Yes, 7,584 (53.4 percent); no, 5,771 (40.7 percent); no opinion, 843 (5.9 percent).

3. Do you favor extending the Federal minimum wage and overtime hour laws—$1 an hour minimum—to retail stores and service establishments? Yes, 7,595 (53.4 percent); no, 5,093 (35.8 percent); no opinion, 1,541 (10.8 percent).

4. In the operation of the Post Office Department there is presently an annual deficit of approximately $464 million. Do you favor an increase in all classes of postal rates to: (a) Make the Post Office Department self-supporting? Yes, 7,418 (52.8 percent); no, 3,555 (25.3 percent); no opinion, 3,085 (21.9 percent). (b) Make a substantial reduction in the deficit? Yes, 5,633 (39.9 percent); no, 1,937 (13.8 percent); no opinion, 6,517 (46.3 percent).

5. If it requires a social-security tax increase, should the social-security retirement age for men be lowered to 62 (as now provided for women)? Yes, 6,945 (45.2 percent); no, 6,420 (45.4 percent); no opinion, 768 (5.4 percent).

6. Do you favor an increase of old-age assistance benefits? Yes, 8,549 (60.4 percent); no, 4,232 (29.9 percent); no opinion, 1,369 (9.7 percent).

7. Last year we adopted the farm soil-bank plan (costing $1.2 billion annually) to pay farmers for taking certain farmlands out of production to reduce farm product surpluses. (a) Do you favor this program? Yes, 3,371 (24 percent); no, 8,656 (61.6 percent); no opinion, 2,015 (14.4 percent).

(b) Do you favor the Eisenhower administration of this program? Yes, 3,045 (21.1 percent); no, 7,586 (52.6 percent); no opinion, 3,783 (26.3 percent).

8. Do you favor Federal regulation of labor union welfare funds? Yes, 9,767 (68.2 percent); no, 2,546 (17.8 percent); no opinion, 2,001 (14 percent).

9. Do you favor right-to-work laws which provide that a worker does not have to join a union to hold a job? Yes, 10,600 (75.1 percent); no, 2,954 (20.9 percent); no opinion, 564 (4 percent).

10. The President's annual budget asks for $4.4 billion for foreign military and economic aid ($2.6 billion for military aid and $1.8 billion for economic aid) for and during the next fiscal year. Do you favor this? Yes, 4,215 (30.9 percent); no, 7,133 (52.4 percent); no opinion, 2,278 (16.7 percent).

11. Do you approve President Eisenhower's general foreign policy? Yes, 4,951 (36.6 percent); no, 6,353 (47 percent); no opinion, 2,219 (16.4 percent).

12. Do you favor admitting more immigrants, including refugees from Communist-dominated countries, as permanent residents? Yes, 2,548 (18 percent); no, 10,094 (71.4 percent); no opinion, 1,504 (10.6 percent).

13. Do you favor the admisison of Alaska and Hawaii as States? Yes, 10,861 (79.6 percent); no, 1,370 (10.1 percent); no opinion, 1,406 (10.3 percent).

Atomic Powerplants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Daily Telegram of August 10, 1957:

ATOMIC POWERPLANTS

A $58 million program to build Government owned and operated atomic powerplants is recommended by the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee. The bulk of the appropriation would go to build a duplicate of the Calder Hall reactor, Great Britain's first atomic powerplant. The Atomic Energy Commission says we have no need of such a plant because reactors already being built in this country have greater economic promise.

The recommendation for an atomic reactor program, putting the heavier emphasis upon Government ownership and Government operation, was adopted by the Democratic majority of the committee. Included in the proposal is one calling for the Government to supply funds for five small reactors to serve rural electric cooperatives and municipal power stations. Also in the recommendation is a substantial reduction in Government funds that would aid the building of atomic powerplants by private industry. Clearly the Democratic majority of the committee wants Government control of atomic electric power. And that is a form of socialism.

There are strong reasons to doubt the need for any large-scale Government construction of atomic powerplants, and certainly more reason to doubt any need for rushing into it. America is not short of fuel for steam production—either from oil or from coal. A fuel shortage is the reason why Great Britain is rushing atomic powerplant construction. Any large-scale atomic plants built in the United States now are bound to produce steam at a much higher price than from available types of fuel.

America's real need is to continue research of the type that numerous public utility and manufacturing concerns are beginning under the Government, industry partnership instituted by the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. One such plant, financed by a combination of private companies, is under construction in Monroe. Several others are also on the way, including one in the Pittsburgh area and another near Chicago. These are pilot plants

aimed at finding the cheapest and most efficient ways of developing atomic power. If and when such undertakings show methods by which atomic power can be made truly competitive with, or cheaper than power from other sources, only then, will the spending of great sums of money for large-scale atomic installations be warranted.

And when that time comes, there will be no need for the Government to use taxpayers' money to build the plants. Private capital will provide it, and do it eagerly.

The recommendations of the Joint Congressional Committee are slanted toward getting the Government in on the ground floor of the atomic power business and keeping it there.

Col. John R. Donovan, Jr., a Tragic Loss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, many people in Massachusetts and throughout the country were greatly saddened recently to learn of the untimely passing of Col. John L. Donovan, Jr., United States Air Force, retired, who for some years had resided at Quincy, Mass. He was a close friend, and I am deeply grieved by his demise.

Colonel Donovan had a distinguished, inspiring career. A graduate of Harvard College, where he stood out for his brilliant scholarship and his athletic prowess as an outstanding football star, John Donovan was a man of many parts and many interests.

At the time of his death, he was a high and very capable official of the General Services Administration at Boston, and previously served with the Veterans Administration in that city. His government service was conspicuous for great ability, efficiency and devotion to duty. Yet it was only one facet of the busy life of this most striking personality, who moved in many spheres of life.

The interests of John Donovan covered the widest range. He was active in a host of societies and organizations. To each, he brought unbounded enthusiasm, commanding mental powers and tireless energy.

John Donovan was a natural leader who inspired the confidence and trust of the people. He was brilliant in his conceptions, and once he decided upon a course of action he vigorously pursued it until it was successfully completed. He was a born organizer and his activities covered unceasing efforts and contributions in religious, patriotic, charitable, civic, military, and political programs.

He was intensely interested in the problems of youth and from early in life took effective leadership in the guidance, assistance, and counseling of innumerable young people. He worked wholeheartedly under the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in activities to better and improve the lot of the disabled, the handicapped, and less fortunate brothers.

Devoutedly religious, he rendered unselfish service and furnished superb direction to a number of laudable, organized groups of his own religious faith—a faith which he embraced with unfaltering love, devotion, and loyalty throughout his life.

Prior to his association with the Government, he was prominently identified with political affairs in the city of Boston and the State of Massachusetts, and his advice, counsel, and help were eagerly sought by many candidates, who rose to high public stations. I can recall and acknowledge from a very grateful heart the magnanimous support and effective assistance which he rendered to me early in my political career and which was so helpful in enabling me to advance in the public service.

John Donovan was a dedicated and zealous patriot. When World War II came, he immediately rallied to the great cause of country and served with rare distinction in our great Air Force. At the time our American forces invaded France, Colonel Donovan was assigned with our expeditionary units and had the great honor of raising the American flag above the towers of the City Hall at Paris.

One of Colonel Donovan's most brilliant accomplishments was his work in organizing and leading the Air Force Reserve unit at Boston following the war up to the time he became physically disabled not long ago.

I had the privilege at one time of visiting with and addressing this very remarkable unit. I was profoundly impressed by its personnel and esprit de corps. I came away convinced that it was the finest Reserve unit I had ever seen. Its roster read like a list of Who's Who in the business and professional life of New England. This was one of Colonel Donovan's greatest prides and greatest achievements. He was heartbroken when his physical condition required him to withdraw from its activities, because it was so dear to his heart. And well it may have been. I doubt there is another Reserve unit like it in the country. It is a monument largely to the vision, ability, and hard work of John Donovan.

Colonel Donovan has passed to his heavenly reward at the very crest of his powers. He leaves a rich legacy of devoted service to his country and his fellow man. He will long be remembered for his amiable personality and his constructive achievements, high character, and purpose.

Loving husband and brother, warmhearted, generous and devoted friend, public benefactor in many fields, loyal servant of his country in war and peace, Colonel Donovan leaves a deep void in the lives of many that can never be filled. His memory will long remain green to bring inspiration, hope and faith for those who strive for a better nation.

I join in mourning the loss of a dear, admired friend and an able, generous counsellor, and extend to his bereaved family, his gracious wife, who did so much to encourage, help and sustain him, and his loyal sisters who were ever a source of encouragement and assistance, most heartfelt sympathy. May they be comforted by the Almighty to bear their irreparable loss with true Christian reconciliation.

And may he find peace and rest in his eternal reward.

U. S. S. "Ranger"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 10, 1957, Adm. Arthur Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, delivered the following address at the commissioning of the Navy's new aircraft carrier, U. S. S. *Ranger*. The address should be of real interest to Members of Congress.

ADDRESS BY ADM. ARTHUR RADFORD, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, AT THE COMMISSIONING OF THE U. S. S. "RANGER," NORFOLK, VA., AUGUST 10, 1957

Captain Booth, Secretary Gates, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, we are gathered here today to place in commission, a new aircraft carrier—a sister ship to U. S. S. *Forrestal* and U. S. S. *Saratoga*. The name she bears is legend in American history. She is U. S. S. *Ranger*, and the Armed Forces of the United States welcome her with pride.

In all, seven previous United States naval ships have carried the name *Ranger*. The first was an 18-gun frigate in the Continental Navy. The seventh was a World War II aircraft carrier. This long line of *Rangers* spans our entire history from the birth of our Republic to today. Each was a great ship in her time. Each did her part in helping to protect our country.

Now we are to commission this new *Ranger*—the eighth one. She carries on a great tradition where the last *Ranger* left off. I am sure that her crew feels the proud influence of her predecessors as she takes her place in the Armed Forces of today.

In fact, I wish all former *Ranger* commanding officers and their ships' companies could be with us to see this magnificent ship. If they could, they would be awed by her speed, her size, her power, her seaworthiness, and her varied equipment.

But former *Ranger* commanding officers and ships' companies would feel more than awe for her size. They would be impressed with the way in which this ship embodies the latest in design, concepts, and weapons. They would sense the great strength she brings to all those who cherish the ideals of liberty which she is being commissioned to protect.

In a few days, I relinquish to my successor the responsibilities of the Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff for continuing the development of our military strength. Based on my long military service plus my experience as Chairman I would like today to leave with the *Ranger's* captain and crew—and with their teammates in all our Armed Forces—some suggestions for the future which I believe will be helpful in further strengthening our great military team.

As a consequence of rapid progress in technological developments and in the power of modern weapons certain fundamental changes have occurred in national and military thinking and planning. But I can

cover only a few in the limited time available.

One of the great lessons of the past decade is that no longer will the United States be afforded an opportunity to mobilize and rearm after the outbreak of a general war.

Stemming from this basic fact the United States has adopted as national policy the placing of primary reliance, in event of general war, on a strong retaliatory capability.

It is obvious that certain requirements must be met if our overall retaliatory capability is to be meaningful. It must be adequate, it must be ready for immediate application, and it must be able to avoid being neutralized by enemy action at the outset of general emergency.

Under conditions short of general war, our forces must be able to handle adequately situations varying from cold war to limited aggressions. With consideration for budgetary limitations, our planning, therefore, should be such that the forces which we have for general war contain within them the elements and the flexibility to handle situations short of general war.

Now, how does the *Ranger* fit into this picture?

First, it is a floating moving, fighting, self-contained airbase whose power can be projected a great many miles overseas and into an enemy's territory. This ship, together with her sisters, provides a high degree of dispersability to the Navy's contribution to retaliatory power.

Second, it is a flexible unit of the fleet, usable under all conditions ranging from cold to general war. The versatility of her aircraft and weapons will permit her to engage in a wide variety of tasks on the sea, above it, below it, and on land—wherever threats to our freedom of the seas are to be found. It is up to her crew to see that her capabilities can be exploited to the maximum.

I would like to stress at this point that the characteristics which will make the *Ranger* a valuable element of the Nation's fighting power do not come about automatically.

Let us take readiness, for example. Readiness is often thought of as a willingness to answer a call to the colors. In that sense nearly every able-bodied man may be said to be ready to respond to his country's call in its day of peril.

But the readiness of which I speak is much more than a willingness to answer the call. It is the product of knowledge, and knowledge is but another name for knowing how. It requires training, and training is practice and practice and then more practice. It also requires being well equipped and well supplied.

In other words, readiness is the ability to do your job instantaneously when and where called upon, and to do it better than the enemy. Under the conditions which I have outlined, it is apparent that we must place increased reliance on our active forces. These forces must be truly ready forces.

Next, I would stress mobility. Insofar as I can foresee, we will continue to require mobile ready forces, available in forward areas, or which can be deployed rapidly to forward areas.

Too often we think of mobility as being merely a question of rapid transport of personnel and materiel by air. Thinking along this line is shortsighted in that it does not consider all of the problems involved. For instance, air transport requires an air base network complete with terminals, refueling and repair facilities, weather and communication services, housing and messing facilities; and each part of this network requires considerable logistic support in itself.

I do not mean to imply that we do not need air transport—we do. It is vitally important—but a surfeit of it cannot solve all our problems. We also require an across-the-board kind of transport which gives us the ability to deploy effective units rapidly over distances long and short, and to move supplies and equipment to points near or far—all in order to place a destructive firepower at the right time and at the right place to do the most damage to an enemy.

This aircraft carrier you see before you is an example of mobility which has been proved in combat. It is the mobility of sea-air power. Here is one ship we combine the attributes of mobility and self-sufficiency with great defensive and offensive striking power.

Finally, as an all-inclusive requirement, I would list Armed Forces "teamwork." I regard it as one of the most basic, fundamental facts of life in modern warfare.

The armed services have much in common. We speak the same language. Each has vital roles to perform. Together, we have common objectives, and we share many traditions. We have fought together in many battles, and we are greatly indebted to each other.

In essence, we are a land-sea-air team, all subordinate to a single authority—all serving under the same flag, the flag of the United States—the same flag the first *Ranger* fought to protect.

And so I come back to this great ship—U. S. S. *Ranger*. In her, and in the captain and the ship's company, the American people should find readiness, mobility, and teamwork—all rolled into one.

The commissioning of this ship is a tribute to the large number of great Americans who have a part in developing and maintaining the unified fighting strength of the armed services—not the least of whom was James Forrestal, who quite literally worked himself to death in the process, and for whom the first of this series of attack carriers was named.

It is a tribute to the men of America who are dedicated to maintaining freedom—men who are convinced that control of the oceans, and the airspace over the oceans, must never be relinquished to an enemy.

We welcome this fine ship with her gallant name—U. S. S. *Ranger*. As she joins the fleet and sails to the far ends of the earth, she will take with her the American flag as the symbol of freedom and protection. She will be a major addition to the means whereby we extend our national power in defense of peace.

Captain Booth: With this destiny before you, both Mrs. Radford, who had the great honor of christening your ship, and I wish you and each member of your crew the best of success.

A Bill To Allow School Teachers an Income Tax Exemption on the First $3,000 of Their Salary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SID SIMPSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which would allow all accredited schoolteachers an income-tax exemption on the first $3,000 of their salary. It seems to me teachers and instructors, because of low salaries, are harder to obtain than classrooms.

This exemption, which is equivalent to a salary increase, can well be the contribution of Federal aid to education, and without any Federal control. It would relieve local taxing bodies of any tax increase in order to obtain teachers at higher salaries. Some States have a minimum teacher's salary, which in Illinois is $3,200.

The estimated number of teachers in the United States for 1956–57 is as follows: Elementary schools, 751,490; high schools, 426,560; college instructors, 1955, 298,910; almost 1½ million.

In introducing this bill this late in the session, I am hopeful the Ways and Means Committee will consider some such proposal when that committee holds hearings this fall on next year's tax bill.

There is a precedent for this kind of legislation in the additional exemption for all over 65.

Buffalo's Contribution to the Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith a letter from the Buffalo, N. Y., Chamber of Commerce which speaks for itself, but I will add only that the tax figure quoted in the letter is in many cases higher than the total collections from some of our States.

The letter follows:

BUFFALO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
August 6, 1957.

The Honorable EDMUND P. RADWAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ED: Mr. Eugene C. Coyle, Jr., district director of the Internal Revenue Service, reported on August 1 that Federal taxes paid in the Buffalo district during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, reached the recordbreaking total of $1,013,101,581.

Topping the billion-dollar mark for the first time, this enormous contribution made directly to the Federal Treasury by Buffalo businesses and individuals is one indication that the Buffalo area is progressing and prospering.

Consequently, I am calling this matter to your attention in the hope that you may effectively use it in convincing Washington officials that, when it comes to Federal improvements, the Buffalo area has been receiving relatively small consideration in Federal appropriations. In 8 years, for example, we have been granted only a total of $5,791,000 for the approved $14 million harbor-deepening program. And I can assure you that this sorry neglect of our harbor improvement needs has not been the result of our lacking of making those needs known in Washington. Since you have ably and forcefully supported our program, I know that you have been equally disappointed.

The United States Army Corps of Engineers is now making a survey to determine where best to deepen Buffalo's outer harbor to make it ready for oceangoing ships that will want to come into our port after the St. Lawrence seaway is open. This survey, of course, will prove meaningless and a waste of Federal funds unless adequate appropriations are made to get on with the job once the survey is completed in early fall.

Consesquently, we recommend that an effort be launched immediately further to impress upon Washington officials the urgent need for granting Buffalo its rightful share of Federal-financed improvements. We are only asking that this area be treated fairly and equitably in a reasonable ratio to the high amount of taxes it contributes to Federal revenues.

I send kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

CHARLES C. FICHTNER,
Executive Vice President.

Tuna Import Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CECIL R. KING

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I have referred from time to time over the past several years to the increasingly difficult problems arising from the twin desires of increasing trade with Japan and keeping our tuna fishing industry not only alive but in a thriving, prosperous and growing condition.

I find it necessary to report that neither of these desires is being fully met under the present law and its administration. Once again the price of albacore to our fishermen has dropped, this time to a level lower than any time prior to World War II. The distress felt in the albacore fleet is keen and current. This is reflected in the number of vessels engaged in the albacore tuna fishery which this year has reached hardly a third the number which were engaged in that fishery so short a time as 6 years ago.

The purse seine fleet which makes the town of San Pedro and the port of Los Angeles a primary fishing port of the Nation has recently had the price for its bluefin tuna catches reduced by another $20 per ton from an already unprofitably low level. It was notified this past week by one of the major tuna canners that no yellowfin and skipjack tuna would be accepted by it for the indefinite future. The cumulative economic effect of these past 8 difficult years on that fleet is indicated by the fact that no new tuna purse seiner has been built in that length of time and whereas 125 purse seiners were engaged in the tuna fishery as short a time as 6 years ago, only 51 were so engaged this year.

The bait boat fleet which makes San Diego a primary fishing port of the Nation, normally provides 70 percent of the total annual domestic landings of tuna in the Nation, and provides a major part of the raw material for the great tuna canning industry of Terminal Island, has been affected even more seriously by the events of these last several years and even days. The fleet has decreased from 214 vessels to 153 in the past 6 years. Only nine new vessels have been constructed in that length of time, and the fleet now averages 12 years of age. At the present time 40 vessels containing 8,000 tons of frozen tuna in their holds are lying in San Diego Bay. For 2 months the vessels of this fleet have had to wait 20 to 30 days before they could unload their catches, and it is now apparent that these delays will stretch out to 40 to 60 days as the summer progresses. Prices are down a quarter from what they were even 3 years ago and it is evident that the present critical situation in the market will drive these already unprofitably low prices down yet further.

These adverse reactions from the steadily increasing flow of tuna imports, primarily from Japan, have been aggravated substantially by the general inflation which has been taking place in our domestic economy and which has had the effect of steadily increasing the cost per ton of production by our domestic fishermen and boat owners.

While the distress in all branches of our domestic tuna fishing industry has been increasingly painful and sharp it should not be thought that this has resulted in absolute peace and prosperity in the Japanese tuna fishing industry. The contrary has been the case.

Certainly one of the objectives of our country's foreign trade policy as it affects our ally Japan, is to increase her dollar earnings in this country. While the volume of tuna imported from Japan has continued to increase steadily, the actual dollar earnings by Japan from its tuna exports to the United States has trended downward steadily for these past 3 years. Obviously this part of our trade policy is not working well.

This has been reflected by major adverse movements in different branches of the Japanese tuna industry. In 1955, the Japanese canners were forced to dump a considerable amount of canned tuna on the world market at less than their cost of production. In 1956 the Japanese frozen tuna exporters were forced to dump about 14,000 tons of frozen albacore on this market at about $100 per ton less than their cost of production. This action produced such distress in the Japanese industry that the Japanese Government has been brought to making basic changes in its legislation governing the tuna export trade.

This year the price received by the Japanese albacore fishermen has been a little less than half what it was the year before and the distress which has been felt in turn by the Japanese tuna canner, and then by the Japanese frozen tuna exporter, has now been transmitted to the Japanese fisherman.

It must not be thought that the two governments have avoided cognizance of these problems. The Japanese Government has from time to time over these several years established check prices and voluntary quotas over the various tuna commodities in its export trade in an effort to mitigate or eliminate the gyrations of price and volume which afflict this trade. These steps have been unavailing. The political forces arising from the various branches of the Japanese tuna industry and the economic forces arising from the interaction of the several tuna commodities upon each other's markets in this highly competitive trade have been too great to give these programs of the Japanese Government sufficient permanence or strength to meet the problems.

In 1955 the crisis was so bad in the United States tuna fishing industry that the White House established a task force composed of the Departments of State, Commerce, Interior, Labor, Treasury, and Defense to examine into the problem and make recommendations for its alleviation. The study was completed and a number of recommendations short of import controls were made.

The domestic tuna industry actively followed up each of these recommendations during the remainder of that year and during early 1956. All of the recommendations were found to lead into blind alleys and one of the reasons for this was found to be a lack of authority and direction within the executive to implement the recommendations. As a direct outgrowth of this discovery a number of us who are particularly interested in the welfare of the domestic fisheries introduced legislation designed to establish a policy for the domestic fisheries and to provide an agency in the executive competent to implement the policy. As a result the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 was enacted into law and the carrying out of these functions in the executive have been undergoing the reorganization prescribed by that law for the past year.

Beneficial results have already begun to flow from this new legislation to several branches of the domestic fishing industry and it would appear that it will turn out to be a milestone in the Nation's handling of its commercial fishing problems. But that law has not prevented a continued sharp deterioration in the tuna trade for the reason that the troubles of the tuna trade arise from basic anomalies in the treatment of tuna commodities under the tariff act and under the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act.

Having seen all other recourses exhausted over these past several years to bring our tuna fishing industry to a healthy condition and to regularize our tuna trade with Japan in a manner beneficial to both nations I have drafted and introduced legislation that will strike at the heart of the matter by amending the Tariff Act of 1930 and by directing the President to take certain actions under the authority given to him by the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act.

What the bill will do may be described as follows:

First. Section 2 (a) provides that the importation of all tuna in whatever form—canned, frozen, discs, loins, or whatever—shall be limited to 200 million pounds per year when converted to a round weight basis, or 35 percent of the average of the apparent annual consumption of tuna in the United States, whichever may be the larger quantity.

The actual situation for the past 2 years, and it appears likely for this year too, has been that the total amount of tuna imported into the United States when converted to a round weight basis, has varied between 200 million and 207 million pounds per year. The apparent annual consumption of tuna in the United States last year, when converted to a round weight basis, was between 620 million to 640 million pounds. Accordingly 200 million pounds of imports

would be about 30 percent to 31 percent of the apparent annual consumption of tuna. However, the consumption of canned tuna in the United States has been increasing steadily and when an average is struck over the past 5 years 200 million pounds will be found to be about 35 percent of the apparent annual consumption during that period.

Thus this bill does not intend to reduce the imports of tuna from Japan or from other countries as to actual volume. It accepts the status quo with respect to volume.

Nor does this bill attempt to restrict the share of the domestic tuna market that is now enjoyed by the foreign producers. Since the market for canned tuna has consistently increased over the past 20 years at a rapid rate, and is predicted by competent authorities likely to continue to so increase for the indefinite future, the effect of this bill will be to permit the foreign producers of tuna to continue to send in approximately the same volume of tuna that they now do, and as the market in this country increases the actual volume which the foreign producers can send in will increase so long as it does not exceed 35 percent of the total market.

What this section of the bill does do to aid our domestic fishing industry is to guarantee to it 65 percent of this market and permit it to plan for a stable future. In view of the wide spreading penetration of Japanese tuna fishing vessels under the sponsorship of the Japanese Government into the eastern Pacific, the Caribbean, the Atlantic, as well as throughout the tropical and subtropical Pacific and Indian oceans, this absolute safeguard is required by our industry.

Second. Section 2 (b) defines terms used in the act.

Third. Because of the numerous tuna commodities that enter world trade, and their varied treatment under our trade law and in trade agreements, it is necessary to deal with them in two groups—those commodities that are not cooked or canned and those commodities which are so prepared and preserved.

Section 3 (a) of this bill deals with the former category. Principally affected is frozen tuna in the round but also affected are frozen tuna which have, in the parlance of the trade, been gilled and gutted, and also fish which have been filleted and frozen but not advanced so far in their manufacture as to be cooked. This section provides three levels of treatment for this class of tuna commodities:

a. Up to a limit of 50 million pounds per year, or 5 percent of apparent annual consumption whichever is the larger, these commodities will be in a duty-free status.

The reasons for this provision are various. In the first instance there is a small quantity of tuna produced by several Latin American neighbor countries for the United States market. The quantities are not large either severally or together and the cost of production is such that these imports on a duty-free basis do not create disturbances in this market. The practical effect of this provision will be to provide for the growth of these small fishing industries in our neighboring countries or at least to place no impediment upon that growth.

In the second instance there are small tuna canneries on the east, west and gulf coast of the United States too far distant from the center of domestic tuna production to be able to rely upon it for their raw material and which rely wholly upon imported frozen tuna. The net effect of their operations do not materially disturb the domestic market. The practical effect of this provision will be to assure them a continuance of their foreign source of supply or at least not interfere with it.

In the third instance the product of the domestic albacore fishery has not been sufficient in the last few years, because of the distressed economic condition of the industry, to provide all of the raw material required by the United States market for this sort of canned tuna. This provision, taken together with the provision instructing the Secretary of the Treasury to provide individual quotas for the different species of tuna on a historic basis within this duty-free quota, will protect our albacore fishermen from sudden surges of cheap albacore into their market, while protecting our small canner's source of raw material and providing an adequate volume of this sort of tuna for the market.

b. Up to a limit of 140 million pounds per year, including the 50 million pounds of duty-free frozen albacore provided for above, or 15 percent of the average apparent annual consumption of tuna in the United States whichever is the larger, frozen tuna shall bear a duty of 3 cents per pound.

This is approximately the amount of frozen tuna which has been imported in each of the past 2 years and is anticipated this year. Since this rate of duty will not be prohibitive the present volume of frozen tuna being imported will not be lessened. However, the provision of this duty will protect the price received by our domestic tuna fishermen and raise it somewhat above its presently depressed low level. This is the only way in which the domestic tuna fishery can be headed in the direction of becoming the vigorous growing industry it once was.

c. Any frozen tuna above 140 million pounds per year, or 15 percent of apparent annual consumption whichever is the larger, will bear a duty of 6 cents per pound. This rate of duty is intended to be prohibitive and in the generality of years will be so. Only when there is an abnormal glut of tuna abroad will it be not prohibitive.

The intent of this provision is to throw the other 60 million pounds of tuna provided for under section 2 of the bill into the cooked or canned form of imports. Since this is approximately the level and proportion of these forms that have been imported in recent years the effect of this provision will, like other provisions of the bill, be to stabilize the market, protect the status quo situation and provide for the rational growth of the market, the domestic industry and the import trade alike.

Fourth. At the present time there are four tuna commodities imported in the cooked or canned form. Three of these are products that have arisen not from the natural demand of the market but have been developed to take advantage of loopholes in the tariff law. Three of the four commodities bear different duties and are involved in different trade agreements.

Tuna canned in oil bears a duty of 35 percent ad valorem under the trade agreement with Japan.

Cooked frozen loin tuna and tuna discs bear a duty of 1 cent per pound under the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade by reason of coming within a basket category in the Tariff Act.

Tuna canned other than in oil bears a duty of 12½ percent ad valorem under the trade agreement with Japan.

The confused situation of the tariff treatments of this class of tuna commodities, and the generation of these three artificial tuna commodities, by the tariff act itself, has been one of the most important factors in keeping the United States tuna market continually disturbed and in inducing a distressed condition in the domestic tuna fisheries.

The function of section 3 (b) of the present bill is to establish a definite uniform tariff base for all cooked and canned tuna commodities at the duty rate now paid on the primary commodity in this category, tuna canned in oil, which is 35-percent ad valorem. While this section will not alter the tariff rate on the principal tuna commodity in the United States market it will contribute in a major manner to stabilizing the canned tuna market in the United States protecting the earning power of tuna imports, and providing for the prosperity of the domestic tuna industry.

Fifth. Section 4 (a) provides for the entry into effect of various provisions of the bill.

Sixth. Section 4 (b) provides that no duty imposed by these amendments shall be collected in violation of any international obligation of the United States and directs the President to renegotiate any international obligations necessary to carry out the purposes of the act.

Mr. Speaker, our domestic tuna fishermen are in a critical stage of distress. This is harmful to the economy of these west coast port cities. The effect of this is to create disturbance in our friendly relations with our good ally, Japan. The earning power of Japanese tuna exports to this country is declining, and the trade in tuna is an important part of Japan's dollar-earning capacity. The tuna industry in Japan is not much less disturbed by these factors than is our own domestic industry. I am hopeful that the bill which I have introduced will go a long way toward mending the basic causes of these difficulties. I am mindful that there can be no positive action on this bill until we reconvene in 1958. In the intervening months, however, the appropirate executive agencies can provide the necessary technical studies upon which appropriate changes in the proposed bill might be based. I am informed that the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries of the Department of the Interior is already well advanced on such studies and that the United States Tariff Commission is

about to engage in bringing up to date its studies on this complex subject.

I have also been mindful that there are different views in the different branches of the domestic industry as to how these matters may best be handled. I am hopeful that those several interests may be able to use this bill as a basis for composing any differences that may so exist among themselves during the months of the summer recess.

If these several lines of actions can be advanced by the executive agencies and the industries, Mr. Speaker, I should hope that the Congress would be in a position to enact legislation of this nature next year that would be at once beneficial to our domestic economy, our foreign trade, and improved understanding in our foreign relations.

Earning Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD one of the most pertinent editorials I have read on the civil-rights issue. The editorial, which is entitled "Earning Civil Rights," appeared in the August 9, 1957, issue of the Lakeland Ledger, a daily newspaper published at Lakeland, Fla.

So much has already been said on this issue, but here are the words of a Negro bishop, who, in speaking to the national convention of African Universal Church and Commercial League, Inc., in Louisiana this week, brings to the attention of his own people some of the most significant facts in this issue. I hope that every one of my colleagues will read this editorial so that they, too, will be cognizant of the words of good sense he spoke and will give thoughtful attention to them. The editorial follows:

EARNING CIVIL RIGHTS

A Negro bishop from Harlem who was born in Georgia delivered an address in Louisiana this week that commands attention. Civil rights was his subject and his audience was the national convention of the African Universal Church and Commercial League, Inc., of which he is head.

"No laws and no group of lawmakers can give the Negro or anyone else civil rights," he said. "Rights have to be earned from within a man. What they are calling rights is a pacifier.

"The Negroes who see this clamor for civil rights as something substantial are people who look to someone else to do the things they must do for themselves if they are to have them. The Negro must earn respect if he is to have it.

"There are a million Negroes in Harlem. Yet not a single toothpick factory or any kind of business is owned by a Negro. You have to come south to find a Negro owning anything.

"We believe that the white man must be the controlling factor in his own destiny and the black man must be the controlling factor in his destiny. This is the only way the Negro can be a first-class citizen of America."

The bishop who thus expressed himself talked good, solid commonsense that is reminiful of the attitude Booker T. Washington had, and it deserves thoughtful attention, especially in the North, where so many radicals who do not know the South are trying to solve the South's complex problem.

The cloud-riding do-gooders in the North who constantly point the finger of accusation and scorn at the South ought to do something about the plight of Negro citizens in such centers as New York, Chicago, and Detroit before they concentrate on long-distance improvement of the South.

Lyndon Johnson, One of Ablest Leaders in Senate's History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it has often been repeated that a prophet is without honor in his own country. This may be true in many instances, but I am happy to say it is not the case concerning Texas and its distinguished native son, Senate Democratic Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON.

I would like to call to the attention of the House an editorial published August 5, 1957, in the Dallas Times Herald which expresses the admiration we all feel for our fellow Texan's outstanding abilities as a leader of Democrats and his concern for all Americans everywhere:

JOHNSON'S AMAZING LEADERSHIP

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, continues to demonstrate his skill, tact, and statesmanship as Democratic majority leader in the Senate. His masterful handling of the controversial civil-rights bill has been particularly outstanding.

The task of a majority leader in the Senate is never easy, but in the case of Senator JOHNSON it is particularly complex because, though his party has a majority in both Houses of Congress, there is sharp division in the ranks on many crucial issues. Furthermore, a Republican is in the White House.

Senator JOHNSON has the two-pronged task of leading the Senate along the course of constructive legislation and of preventing a split among the Democrats that might prove ruinous to the party.

When the so-called civil-rights bill came from the House bristling with thorny provisions that some Democrats strongly favored and others bitterly opposed, the majority leader was on the spot. A desperate filibuster seemed unpreventable.

Senator JOHNSON desired not to kill the bill but to divest it of provisions that southern Democrats could not accept and that were clearly out of line with the Constitution. But Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican leader, was confident he could force the bill through intact, a filibuster notwithstanding.

The bill was reduced to nothing more than a right-to-vote measure, and when the conclusive Senate action on the trial-by-jury amendment came up, only 9 of the 48 voting Democrats rebelled against JOHNSON'S leadership. KNOWLAND rounded up 33 votes, but saw 12 of his Republicans line up with the JOHNSON side. It is generally conceded that the Texas Senator is one of the ablest majority leaders in the Senate's stormy history.

Peeler Presents Grain Sorghum Plan During 22 Commodity Groups' Meet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to request unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a statement made by my good friend, R. G. Peeler, of Hereford, Deaf Smith County, Tex., presented before a recent meeting of 22 commodity groups, meeting in Washington. The insertion is from the Hereford (Tex.) Brand, printed August 3 and edited by Jimmy Gillentine.

At this Washington meeting Mr. Peeler represented the Grain Sorghum Producers Association of which he is president. As a conscientious farmer from the Texas Panhandle, Mr. Peeler has been an outstanding layman working to improve American agriculture.

The studied comments of Mr. Peeler are concerned with the need for some positive action by the Government toward solving the problems now besetting the farmers producing grain sorghums. The plan for action which is suggested by Mr. Peeler is both responsible and reasonable.

The statement follows:

PEELER PRESENTS GRAIN SORGHUM PLAN DURING 22 COMMODITY GROUPS' MEET

The increase in efficiency gained by the American farmer since 1940 is saving the consumer eight to ten billion dollars a year, declared R. G. Peeler in a statement during a meeting of 22 commodity groups in Washington this week.

Peeler, Hereford farmer and president of the Grain Sorghum Producers Association, said that agriculture is the only segment of our economy doing anything toward stopping the inflationary spiral of the cost of living.

He presented an appeal to change Federal farm laws to treat grain sorghum and other feed grains on the same basis as corn, and urged adoption of a program to divert cultivated land from production without payment.

Complete text of his statement is as follows:

"We are a commodity producers group organized in October, 1955, for the purpose of promoting grain sorghums as a feed grain and for industrial purposes. Our organization serves an area which produces 60 percent of the Nation's grain sorghum. Needless to say it is a basic commodity of this region.

"Grain sorghum is recognized today by livestock feeders and industrial users to be equal to corn pound for pound in practically all respects. There is no feed grain in America today whose popularity is spreading as rapidly as grain sorghum. It is even gaining a strong foothold in the old Corn Belt where many farmers plant their corn crop to be placed in Government loan and plant

grain sorghum to use in putting the fine finish on their hogs and cattle. The strongest evidence of its rapidly spreading popularity can be found in production records of the past 10 years. In 1947 there were 96 million bushels of sorghum grain produced in the United States. Compare this with the 1957 forecast of 500 million bushels. An acreage increase of 49 percent over 1956 still further emphasizes this fact. Grain sorghum acreage is greater than 4 of the 6 basic crops but the principal point of importance is 2 out of every 5 acres of cultivated land in the United States is feed grains. All feed grains should be treated alike according to their feed value equivalent.

"We recognize that each commodity has special problems but it is high time we got together to work out some of the differences within our farm groups and above all present a united front to the other 87 percent of the American people.

"It is indeed a sad state of affairs when the American farmer, through the media of national magazines and big city newspapers, is pictured as a whining parasite who is bleeding our national treasury white while the rest of the taxpayers nobly bear the burden. Furthermore, while this dismal picture is being painted for our urban friends, the Secretary of Agriculture adds certain negative highlights which do nothing to improve our posture. The American farmer is saving the consumer $8 to $10 billion annually by his increased efficiency since 1940. He is the only segment of our economy who is doing anything toward stopping the inflationary spiral of the cost of living.

"The Grain Sorghum Producers Association has a farm program which it wishes to present for your earnest consideration. You will note that the outstanding feature is that all commodities are supported at the same level. We feel very strongly that the idea of supporting one commodity higher than another is indefensible. We would like to add that a high percentage of our membership have allotments of wheat or cotton or both. All commodities are related as to use and one commodity cannot be dealt with without affecting another or others.

"You will also note that we have provided for a percent of the cultivated acres to be retired from production. This is to prevent acreages diverted from the basic crops causing a surplus of non-basic ones. This plan will solve the surplus of feed grains quickly as it would take 50 million acres of feed out of production with a 15 percent layout, or 70 million acres with a 20 percent layout.

"There would be no discrimination among farms, as each farm could have the same percentage of price-supported crops. Land values would not be determined by the allotments but by true value of land.

"It would have the effect of treating all feed grains alike and would take corn off the basic list. A corn farmer would have up to an 85 percent allotment of total tilled acreage. This program would be effective, fair, easy to administer, inexpensive and a farmer could not beat it. It is our contention that the combination of uniform support for all commodities plus the retired acres would within a very few years eliminate the need for allotments and bring about a flexibility in our farm management impossible under any Government control program used up to this time.

"The American farmer, like the rest of the various segments of our economy, can only prosper when his business is expanding and he is getting a fair return for his labor and capital outlay.

"The Grain Sorghum Producers Association does not like Government controls and support programs anymore than anybody else but with the rest of the American economy continually inflated by defense and foreign-aid programs, the cost-price squeeze is fast reaching the breaking point for the farmer.

"SURPLUS REDUCTION FARM PLAN

"1. No farm will be permitted to plant more than approximately 85 percent of total cultivated acres in price-supported crops, leaving approximately 15 percent in nonrevenue layout acreage.

"A. No payment will be received by a farmer for nonrevenue layout acreage.

"B. No grazing or cash crop will be permitted on nonrevenue layout acreage (fallow or soil building crops permitted).

"C. Nonrevenue layout acreage must be rotated yearly.

"D. Nonrevenue layout percentage can be increased or decreased yearly by the Secretary of Agriculture within limits set for by law, according to supply of nonbasic crops (feed grains, soybeans, cotton seed, noncommercial corn, etc.).

"2. Cross-compliance will be in effect.

"3. Farmers will be permitted to plant price-supported nonbasic crops in case of drought, hail, or flood on basic crop acreage.

"4. Marketing and acreage allotments will not be used on price-supported nonbasic crops as nonrevenue layout automatically reduces acreage.

"5. Program voluntary (in that it must be approved by a national referendum each year, and then is mandatory).

"A. Penalty of 50 percent of parity for noncompliance.

"6. In exchange for no pay on nonrevenue layout land, farmers will receive 75 percent of old parity for presently price-supported crops (basic and nonbasic).

"7. All crops now supported will be supported on the same parity formula.

"BENEFITS OF THIS FARM PLAN

"1. The layout land could be increased or decreased yearly by the Secretary of Agriculture to meet supply and demand within limits established by Congress.

"2. No payment on the layout land would be received by the farmer, as this is his offer in return for a minimum floor for presently price supported basic and nonbasic crops.

"3. Farmers in many instances would take their layout acres out of the basic crop allotment. This would help reduce the surplus of these commodities.

"4. This plan is flexible and takes care of hardship cases (hail, flood, drought).

"5. This plan would not penalize the farmer who is already summer fallowing his land.

"6. Compulsory rotation would prevent the farmer from permanently laying out his least productive land.

"7. With no payment to the farmer for layout land, this plan would help balance the budget and cause less resentment by taxpayers, as a farmer would not be receiving payment for not producing crops.

"8. This plan could be effective immediately upon referendum and give strength to farm credit, both in the banks and through FHA.

"9. Easy to administer under present set-up.

"10. Each basic crop problem subject to Government change in future without affecting this program.

"11. This program would eliminate the problem of diverted acres increasing surpluses.

"12. Adoption of this plan would eventually eliminate allotments."

Our Friends in the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to commend to the Members of the Congress a group of articles and editorials which appeared in the July issue of Bataan magazine, and part of which I insert in the RECORD today. These interesting and informative articles deal with our friends in the Philippines under the dynamic leadership of President Carlos P. Garcia. In order to predicate properly the splendid treatment of this interesting subject, I insert a brief biographical sketch of the able author who is editor and publisher of Bataan magazine and a noted authority on Far Eastern-American affairs. Dr. Yap is also the editor of Know Your Congress, an informative and historical publication which contains photographs of the 531 Members of Congress of the United States together with feature articles dealing with the activities of the Congress.

The matter follows:

THE AUTHOR, DR. DIOSDADO M. YAP

Dr. Yap was born in Baybay, Leyte, Philippines. He attended primary and secondary schools there and then came to the United States for his college training. He graduated with honors from Crane College where he took an active part in student affairs, and then attended the Northwestern University Law School and the Lewis Institute in Chicago.

In 1930 he attended George Washington University, from which he received his master of arts in education the following year. His doctrine was awarded in 1935. In addition, he has the degrees of bachelor of science, master of science, bachelor of laws, doctor of education, doctor of pharmacy, and doctor of laws.

Dr. Yap was among the first authorities on the Far East to tour the Army camps for the War Department. Soon after the Pearl Harbor incident he was commissioned as expert consultant to the United States Secretary of War to visit the encampments and lecture to the officers and enlisted personnel on all phases of the Far Eastern countries and of the war in the Orient, with special reference to American-Philippine relations. In less than 3 months he spoke to approximately a million men.

Dr. Yap was formerly publicity officer and researcher for the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. He was also director of the Philippines Information Bureau, managing editor of the Philippine Journal, and technical staff member of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs. At present he is publisher and editor of the Bataan magazine and chief of the Washington bureau of the Manila Chronicle.

He is author of History of Higher Education in the Philippines, and of numerous articles on the Far East for different American publications. For some years he has been American correspondent for leading

Philippine papers and a radio commentator on far eastern affairs in Washington, D. C.

He has made repeated trips to the Orient, traveling through China, Japan, India, Pakistan, Hong Kong, and his native islands. His long study of the problems of the Far East and his association with its leaders qualify him to speak with authority. Dr. Yap is a speaker of the highest ability. His command of English is flawless.

CARLOS P. GARCIA: SYMBOL OF FIGHTING FILIPINOS

(By Diosdado M. Yap, editor and publisher of Bataan)

When President Sergio Osmeña, of the Philippine Commonwealh, arrived in Washington on the eve of President Roosevelt's fourth inauguration, he was accompanied by a man who was new to America and to whom America was new. Yet, in a few short weeks, the man has come to mean much to Americans and Americans come to mean more to him.

The man is dark-faced, gray-haired, lithe Carlos P. Garcia, one of the last men to be sworn in as a senator in the Philippines before the Japanese closed in with their blackout of freedom, and one of the first men in the islands to relight the victory torch.

Few men are privileged to escape unscathed the adventures that have characterized Mr. Garcia's existence since the Japs landed on Bohol in 1942, the province of which he had been governor for many years before he became senator on December 30, 1941—22 days after Pearl Harbor, which is viewed as December 8, in the Philippines.

Like many other valiant Filipinos, Senator Garcia received a plea to surrender. The pleas of the Japanese fell on deaf ears, and so the fight was continued.

GREAT QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP

But then, few men have the leadership qualities that have brought Mr. Garcia through. Long before the Jap invasion called forth his qualities of heroism, the people of Bohol, Mindanao, and eastern Leyte had recognized his great qualities of leadership.

After having practiced law in those regions only 2 years, he was elected representative of the third district of Bohol, and reelected in 1928 and 1931. In the latter year he ran for the office of Governor of Bohol, winning by a 14,000-vote majority.

He was reelected in 1937 and in 1940. It was the first time in the history of the province that any man had been elected three times successively.

FAKED FRIENDSHIP FAILED

The Japs moved into Bohol in the spring of 1942. At first they tried their policy of apparent friendship, but the mask quickly fell off and the Filipinos recognized that the Japs were real enemies indeed.

Senator Garcia, although a marked man by the Japs, started the first outbreak of the guerrillas in Bohol in August 1942, and 4 months later he and his men controlled 34 towns out of the 36 in the province.

He united the command of the guerrillas on November 2, 1942, and organized a new civil government on January 9, 1943, by which time the last Jap had been kicked off the island, or killed.

By February of 1943, President Manuel Quezon and Senator Garcia had been able to establish communication, and, shortly thereafter, President Quezon approved the printing of 2 million pesos emergency notes (Philippine currency) to maintain guerrilla operations and civil government expenditures.

JAPS REINVADE BOHOL

For more than 20 months this civil government operated, the people of Bohol feeling only indirectly the Jap yoke that hung around the neck of the Philippine Islands as a whole.

Then, on June 25, 1944, another D-day came for Senator Garcia and his faithful guerrilla followers. The Japs reinvaded Bohol and overran the entire province. All of the guerrillas either had to escape by boat to other islands, or hide in the bush. The resistance continued, but it was most ineffective in this period, due to the overwhelming numbers of the enemy.

However, the Japs began to withdraw later in the summer, and, by October 20, when the American and Filipino troops under Gen. Douglas MacArthur landed at Leyte, the Bohol guerrillas were able to report that they were retaking town after town.

Senator Garcia says that when he left, although no Americans had landed, except for brief stays, there was only one town on Bohol controlled by the Japs—Tagbilarian.

ACCEPTS WASHINGTON POST

Senator Garcia himself was in Hilongos, Leyte, when D-day came for the Americans and Filipinos. He was promptly summoned by President Sergio Osmena to Tacloban and asked to serve on the Filipino relief and rehabilitation commission. He accepted his new commission, agreeing to come to Washington with President Osmena.

Since then, he has come to believe in the American wonderland of which he had heard so much. Just 48 hours after he and President Osmena left Tacloban, they were in San Francisco—a journey that only 10 years ago would have required more than a month by fast steamer.

From there, they went to Florida for tropical inspection and for other reasons, and thence to Washington, where Senator Garcia has been in the limelight of constant work, social activity, and publicity.

PEOPLE SYMPATHETIC TO GUERRILLAS

Shortly after arriving in Washington, he was asked by the Office of War Information to make a radio speech beamed to the Philippines and the Far East. In that address he paid tribute to the memory of the American people and declared:

"I find that the heart of this great people overflows with genuine—even passionate—sympathy for that mighty resurgence of our national spirit called the Philippine guerrilla movement. * * *

"The mighty spiritual forces of the world gravitate in our favor. We have every reason to wait with unshakable faith that America will never fail us."

Senator Garcia's early life is that of a typical Filipino leader who rose from a poor family to a place of great leadership . Born on November 4, 1896, only a couple of years before Emilio Aguinaldo and his brave fighters decided to lay down their arms and cooperate with America, young Carlos Garcia was educated at a high school in Cebu and attended Silliman Institute. He graduated magna cum laude from National University where he was valedictorian of his class.

He was admitted to the bar in 1923. A member of the Nationalista Party, headed by the late Manuel Quezon, he entered politics actively in 1925, winning the first office for which he ran. In politics, he took an active part in every battle of wits in recent years and, although he was not always on the winning side, his friends admired him and his political enemies respected him always.

Following is the text of the recording by Senator Garcia mentioned above:

"My fellow countrymen of the Philippines, it is indeed with deep and glowing satisfaction that I greet you from the United States of America. You will wonder how I could really feel any satisfaction at all when I am conscious at all times of the appalling misery and utter economic prostration of our country resulting from the rapacity and vandalism of the enemy. But I find here that the American people remember with undying admiration the Filipino soldiers who fought side by side with their brave American comrades in those glorious Thermopolae of freedom and democracy called Bataan and Corregidor.

"I find that the heart of this great people overflows with genuine—even passionate sympathy for that mighty resurgence of our national spirit called the Philippine guerrilla movement.

"I see in Washington, in this great Olympus of democracy, an American Government headed by a President truly worthy of the 20th century, sincerely and seriously committed to the task of liberation and then rehabilitation of the Philippines. Hence the depth and fervor of the emotion and satisfaction that seize my soul upon addressing you tonight.

"My message to you tonight, especially to my comrades in the guerrilla movement is: On with the fight to expel the invaders and oppressors of our land. Have faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and democracy. America will never fail us.

"SOME SERVED SATAN

"When we decided in the darkest hours of our history to start the guerrilla movement in the Philippines, we knew that some of our fallen national idols, in a vain attempt to salvage a tarnished prestige, abandoned us and served the enemy. Others, seduced by the glitter of power, or position, renounced loyalty, honor, and convictions and became fanatic collaborators. Still others, the faint-hearted, shrunk from the immensity of the obstacles in our path. It was clear that the goal of the guerrillas lies beyond mountains of sacrifices and across oceans of blood and tears.

"Everything around us was fearfully dark and gloomy. The disasters of Bataan and Corregidor were too real to be forgotten. Within a few miles of us were concentration camps where the heroes of Bataan languished in slow agony, deprived by the enemy of adequate food and medicine. The air was full of Japanese propaganda—sugar coated and seductive—although between the lines it was clear that the real aim was to undermine our loyalty and our national ideology. Then, after the first outbreaks of the guerrillas we began to taste Japanese brutality in its nudity. We began to witness with the vividness of a nightmare vision executions en masse, hangings, reprisals, robbing and defiling of homes, sacking of towns, and other atrocities without name in any civilized language.

"SPIRIT STEELED BY OPPRESSION

"But the spirit of the nation, far from being broken, was instead steeled by oppression. There was born, during this long night of humiliation, and in the abyss of disaster, a new national credo. It is, that the Philippines shall rise again, and the way is to fight to the finish. The way to national salvation is through fighting to victory with the eventual help of America. Despite the collaborators' lingo of genuflexion, the enemy is still our foe and accepting their control and collaborating with them is treason in any language.

"Thus, the Filipino nation, crushed and outraged, betrayed and looted as she was, could still unite in the supreme will to conquer. For 3 long and stormy years in a thousand skirmishes we fought and prayed, suffered and hoped. We staged an epic struggle for freedom, written with the very lifeblood of true and brave sons of the Philippines.

"With us stood and fought and died Americans also. We resolved to fight on with the deep conviction that we owe it to our loyalty to the American flag and to our own. You determined to fight, convinced that it was the only course of honor and the only way to win the vital issues of freedom and democracy for us and for all other peoples. We decided to fight on because it is our duty of loyalty and gratitude to help the American war effort in the Pacific. We knew the American Army of Liberation someday would come to redeem us from the abyss of subju-

gation. We always knew the American people learned of our refusal to submit to Japan, knew of our resolution never to collaborate with her, knew of our monumental decision to fight Japan everywhere and any time. And we knew the heart of the great American people was with us in the abyss of distress and in the glory of triumph.

"ASKS NO DOUBTING BY FILIPINOS

"And now that the irresistable American forces of democracy have returned to our shores and have blasted the Japs out of Leyte and are smashing their way back to Manila, now that the mighty forces of freedom have unshackled France, Poland, and other countries that have fallen under the jackboots of Hitlerian domination, now when victory is in sight, and the radiant dawn of a better day is breaking in the eastern horizon, there can be no doubting on our part. There can be no flagging. There can be no renunciation.

"But then after the glory of victory, what? Better than anyone I know your frightful shortages of food and clothing, money, and other necessities. President Osmeña realizes the fearful economic prostration of the nation and the urgency of instant relief. This is why he came to Washington? "What about all these?" you will certainly ask. My answer is: Wait, America will not fail us. America will never permit that victory will result in nothing but an empty word inscribed on medals and monuments to heroes.

"VICTORY WILL BRING SAFEGUARDS

"The American people and all true democrats of the common man in this war, the ideas which will pervade the peace must be great enough for the whole of humanity. Realistic statesmanship everywhere recognizes that the crowning glory of victory in this war will consist in creating a universal system in which and by which the liberty, economic security, and dignity of the individual of all peoples and nations and states, great or small, are safeguarded and guaranteed.

"The greatness of this war consists in having revealed in the lightning and fire of battle to the nations not only their material solidarity but also the absolute necessity for spiritual unity. In battlefields and in factories, among leaders and followers alike, among the oppressors and the oppressed, among victors and vanquished, over and above racial prejudices, hatred, and egoism, a mighty surge of aspiration is sweeping toward the attainment of a common, interracial, international ideal.

"President Roosevelt, the greatest advocate of international cooperation, reiterated his hope for a lasting peace and his adherence to this goal when he said in his fourth inaugural address: 'The greatest fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.'

"CALLS FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION

"You are fighting and suffering for our independence. We fought for freedom and justice, and the right of individuals and nations to self-determination. We fight for a lasting peace that will afford us national social security. We want a world organization which will establish in every sphere lasting social, economic, and spiritual solidarity and mutual help among nations.

"Fellow countrymen: The overwhelming majority of the American people subscribe to and believe in all these principles. President Roosevelt is exerting his utmost in a sublime effort to realize these for us and for all nations.

"The mighty spiritual forces of the world gravitate in our favor. We have every reason to wait with the unshakable faith that America will never fail us."

NEW LEADER IN MANILA

President Carlos P. Garcia, of the Philippines, knows how it feels to have the moon and the stars fall on him. The tragic death of President Magsaysay which catapulted Mr. Garcia into the Presidency at Manila sent him to President Truman's Memoirs to study the similar transition of authority that occurred in this country in 1945 on the death of President Roosevelt. Mr. Garcia's countrymen, too, are conscious of this historic parallel, and it is heartening to hear them report that Mr. Garcia, a quiet man without much of the dramatic in him, is rising to the occasion as Harry Truman did.

Mr. Garcia's friends admit that he lacks the genius for reaching the hearts of the people that President Magsaysay had in rich abundance. But he has a good grasp in realities. He has identified himself with the ferment of freedom, independence, and improved standards of living that is felt throughout the Orient. And he sees that the greatest hope for attainment of these aims so vital to all the peoples of Asia lies in close friendship with the United States. Like his predecessors, he speaks with profound thankfulness of the freedom the United States gave to the Philippines and of the influence that example has had on the whole Orient. So he makes continued partnership with this country the cornerstone of his foreign policy.

In both the foreign and domestic spheres Mr. Garcia is seeking to carry out the policies to which Magsaysay was dedicated. Following the Truman example, he is also making a fight for election in his own right in November. His emergence as an able successor to the venerated Magsaysay is a salutary demonstration of the strength of Philippine democracy—(Washington Post).

MAGSAYSAY'S WORTHY SUCCESSOR

After the death of Ramon Magsaysay fear was expressed in many quarters here in the United States that there may be a political upheaval in the Philippines, that his policies may be abandoned, that communism may again rise to power, that there may be a disruption of the constitutional processes.

None of these happened. The reason is simple. The duly elected Vice President of the Philippines took over. And Carlos P. Garcia has all the qualities of leadership necessary to meet the emergency and all the experience in government needed to carry on the functions of a head of state with dignity and competence.

President Garcia is a seasoned public official. He has gone through the mill of public service. He started as governor and did a remarkable job. He became a member of Congress and was one of the best we ever had in the lower house. He was elected senator and was reelected several times because the people saw in him an able parliamentarian, a superb orator and debator, a true servant of the nation whose integrity of character is irreproachable. He became Vice President in his own right and the number of votes that he received was such as to show beyond the shadow of a doubt that he was the people's choice. The defeat that he administered to his opponent for the Vice Presidency was so decisive he won overwhelmingly in the very province of Mr. Jose Yulo (who is now the candidate of the opposition for the Presidency against President Garcia.)

During the entire term of the late Magasaysay, President Garcia held concurrently the office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs. It is important to remember this fact. Magsaysay entrusted to Garcia the conduct of our foreign affairs. It is no disparagement of the late President to say that foreign affairs was not his forte. He had to depend on a man in whom he could trust. Garcia was the coarchitect of the policy of close friendship with the United States. There need be no fear, therefore, on this score. And it is because by conviction Garcia believes in the United States as the world leader that is the exemplar of democracy and freedom, and this he has proved beyond doubt in the more than 3 years that he was Secretary of Foreign Affairs under Magsaysay.

President Garcia is a convinced anti-Communist and antineutralist. As Secretary of Foreign Affairs he has directed the policies of our United Nations delegation. His utterances against communism are on record. His decisions in the Department of Foreign Affairs against communism are clean cut. His pledge when he assumed the Presidency that he would pursue Magsaysay's anti-Communist policy was no idle promise. Recently in signing a bill passed by Congress outlawing the Communist Party in the Philippines, he made a statement that was hailed by Members of the United States Congress and by the American press as "a state paper of the highest value to democracy" and President Garcia was properly called "the able successor of President Magsaysay."

In that statement he said:

"I have signed into law the bill outlawing the Communist Party in the Philippines.

"With this law, our people have not only officially made the fight against communism a matter of national policy but we have also acquired a potent weapon in the fight against subversion.

"Successful as we have been in breaking the backbone of armed Communist resistance, we find ourselves seriously handicapped in countering effectively the more insidious activities of Communists who have ostensibly forsworn violence and sought expediently the protection of the very laws of the land which they seek to destroy.

"Thus, even with our success in the military field the congressional committee on anti-Filipino activities after conducting the most comprehensive and authoritative study made on the problem of communism in our country, concluded that communism remains a real and continuing threat to the national security. It is to the credit of this committee that the bill outlawing the Communist Party was conceived and recommended. It is, likewise, to the credit of the champions of civil rights in Congress that necessary safeguards were made such that the legitimate exercise by citizens of their rights shall remain inviolate. What the present law punishes is not dissent nor heresy but subversion and conspiracy.

"Communist sources, as well as the evidence of our own experiences, establish the fact that the objectives of communism are the destruction of our social, political, and economic system, and their replacement by a foreign and godless ideology guided and directed from abroad. Those same sources, as well as our experience, establish the Communist means of achieving these objectives as including armed force, sabotage, espionage, and the many sinister forms of subversion. Far from contenting itself with seeking victory, as do other political minorities, by legal democratic process, Communist doctrine flatly denies the possibility of legal success and prescribes criminal conspiracy as its orthodox tactic.

"Under the circumstances it is clearly the right and the duty of this Government to invoke the policy powers of a sovereign state to protect itself and the institutions entrusted to its care from criminal attack.

"The passage of this law reaffirms the position which our Government has taken, and will take, vis-a-vis communism: A firm, unequivocal, and uncompromising stand against freedom's most odious and implacable foe.

"In this vigorous and reasoned counteroffensive to Communist aggression, I feel

that we are serving the cause of the free world as well as our own best interests. If our neighbors can derive benefit or guidance from our experiences and approach, we will have made a substantial contribution to the peace and security of this area.

"I assure lovers of freedom and democracy's friends everywhere that during my incumbency as President of the Republic of the Philippines, I shall not only see to it that the anti-Communist program of my illustrious predecessor, Ramon Magsaysay, will remain intact, but I shall also push it through with the same dedication and with unrelenting vigor."

Like Magsaysay, the innate honesty of President Garcia is a legend in the Philippines. After all the years in public service, he does not even own a home in Manila. He is a poor man and is proud of it. He cannot boast of a sugar plantation because he is one of the few public officials whose name never appeared in the list of debtors to the Philippine National Bank. He never took advantage of his official position to borrow money from the Government bank without adequate collateral. This is one of the reasons why the people have faith in him and why they consider him, as they considered Magsaysay, one of them. He is with the poor because he is of them. Any effort to propagandize sugar barons as belonging to the masses will have an empty ring because the people know, as they unerringly did with Magsaysay, who is really their guy.

President Garcia's patriotism is his greatest asset. When the Japanese overran the Philippines, that was the time to test the patriotism of our politicians. The opportunists immediately showed their colors. Why not collaborate with the enemy, enjoy the perquisites of public office, ride in limousines, make hay while the Japanese sun shone, anyway the Americans may never return, and if they do, it can always be said that it was in the interest of the civilian population that some good Filipinos should protect them from above. President Garcia was no opportunist. He was offered high positions by the Japanese. He refused. He preferred to starve in the mountains and help the resistance movement. He showed that he was not a fair-weather friend of the United States. He demonstrated with deeds his loyalty to democracy.

This is the man who took over where Magsaysay left off. This is the man who with his actions since he became President has shown that he wears the Magsaysay mantle. There are many aspirants to that mantle. Political propaganda will try to manufacture new leaders who will claim that they are the heirs to the Maysaysay tradition. Let us not be deceived. Let us judge them by their past record and by their deeds. With such a yardstick, Carlos P. Garcia emerges as the man who has earned the people's confidence to continue being their leader the next 4 crucial years.

MESSAGE FROM GARCIA

In the face of Supreme Court decisions on domestic communism, the action taken by Philippines President Garcia stands out impressively.

President Garcia signed into law a bill outlawing completely the Communist Party in his country.

This may have come as a surprise to Americans who thought the Philippines no longer were troubled by the Communist menace.

But as Mr. Garcia said, though they have broken up armed communism, "we find ourselves seriously handicapped in countering effectively the more insidious activities of Communists who have ostensibly forsworn violence and sought expediently the protection of the very laws of the land which they seek to destroy."

In such fashion apparently the American Communists have beguiled the majority of our Supreme Court Justices. The Communists disavow violence, conspiracy or ties with Moscow. And the High Court seems to regard them as no more menacing than just another political party with dissenting views.

From long and bloody experience, the Filipinos know better. Their conclusion as President Garcia puts it, is that "communism remains a real and continuing threat to the national security." Communism's worldwide aims are indivisible, wherever the area of their operations, whether in the Philippines or the United States.

"Communist sources, as well as the evidence of our own experiences," says President Garcia, "establish the fact that the objectives of communism are the destruction of our social, political, and economic system, and their replacement by a foreign and godless ideology guided and directed from abroad."

In outlawing the party, all necessary safeguards are taken for preservation of Philippine civil rights. As pointed out by the able successor to the late President Magsaysay—himself an ardent champion of the democratic processes—"the legitimate exercise by citizens of their rights shall remain inviolate.

"What the present law punishes is not dissent nor heresy but subversion and conspiracy."

So speaks a leader wise in the ways of the Communists.

Jewish War Veterans Question Constitutionality of Discriminatory Dhahran Airbase Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUDWIG TELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. TELLER. Mr. Speaker, we fight for vindication of a profound American tradition when our efforts are directed to combating all forms of discrimination, whether based on religion, color, creed, or belief. This American tradition is not only an internal source of strength but a beacon of hope for all the world, and substantially accounts for our international prestige.

The present administration has sullied this glorious tradition in recently confirming an agreement with Saudi Arabia by which soldiers of the Jewish faith are excluded from the airbase at Dhahran. As usual, the Jewish people are not alone in this disgraceful episode of discrimination. Chaplains representing all faiths are obliged to perform their religious services surreptitiously. Insignia and other identification of the clergy of all faiths may not be worn or displayed at the Dhahran Airbase.

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States adopted a resolution in May 1957 in which the Dhahran Airbase agreement was condemned as an unwholesome departure from American instincts and traditions, and the constitutionality of this oil-motivated agreement was questioned.

On Tuesday, September 17, 1957, Constitution Day, the New York State Jewish war veterans will hold a conference at the Wall Street Synagogue from 6 p. m. to 8:30 p. m. at which Department Commander Hyman Bravin will preside. The main purpose of the conference will be given over to questioning the constitutionality of the Dhahran Airbase agreement. The discussion will be led by one of our most active figures in Jewish, fraternal, civic, and political affairs, Jacob Padawer, department judge advocate of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. Mr. Padawer, a noted lawyer, will dissect the constitutional infirmities of the Dhahran Airbase agreement, and he will also expose its violation of basic American principles and traditions.

The September 17 meeting of the Jewish war veterans at the Wall Street Synagogue has large current significance, and Mr. Padawer's presentation will be of great public interest, because its celebration of Constitution Day will be accompanied by warnings that we must practice what we preach if our ideals are to be respected at home and abroad.

Ernest R. Breech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, following is the text of an address delivered by Ernest R. Breech, chairman of the board, Ford Motor Co., at the commencement Exercises of Lebanon High School, Lebanon, Mo., on Friday evening, May 17, 1957:

As I listened to the splended introduction given me by Superintendent Heagerty and the nice remarks by Judge Curtis tonight, amid these hometown surroundings, the names and associations mentioned seemed familiar, of course. But tonight, they seem a long way off and part of some other person's life, not mine.

I deeply appreciate the honor which you have paid me tonight. No honor, no title could mean more to me than this wonderful tribute from the people of my hometown.

One of the pieces of advice that I give to successful young men who are commencing to get their first publicity is: "Never let yourself believe the flattering things that you hear or read about yourself." You will remember, in Shakespeare's Hamlet, the advice of Polonious to his son: "To thine own self be true." Nothing will keep one more humble than always to know himself, particularly his own weaknesses and his own shortcomings. I have always felt that there are two kinds of individuals in this life: Those who grow with added responsibilities and titles and those who merely swell. They are readily distinguishable to all of us.

There is no such thing as a self-made man. Every individual—to a degree, at least, inherits from his parents his physical characteristics, his mental capabilities, yes, even his disposition. In childhood, environment, both family and community environment—is equally important, with these inherited characteristics, for any potential accomplishments that he or she may attain in future life.

There are, however, many other contributing influences that make it possible for a person to live a good and rewarding life. A very important influence is being lucky enough to get a lifetime partner who will always be a real help. You don't have to concern yourselves with this just yet. I was lucky in this respect. I married a young lady from Lebanon, who had much the same background as I, and with whom I had common interests. She has shared in all the disappointments and successes, sorrows and joys that have come to me over the years. She has never lost her common touch and her very deep appreciation of the real things in life—the family, the home, friends, and the church. But, at the same time, she has always carried her share of ever-widening spheres of responsibility with great credit. And let me add quickly that she has always been a great balance wheel as far as I am concerned.

I have jokingly referred to her for years as the chairman of my board. Maybe I've overdone it, because when a cartoon appeared recently in the Saturday Evening Post of a good wife saying to her husband, "Now, don't adopt that chairman-of-the-board tone with me," several friends clipped the cartoon and mailed it to me.

I have known for some time that this would be a difficult address for me to make. As you might guess, my job has made it necessary for me to talk to all types of audiences on a variety of occasions. But relatively speaking, those—all of them—were impersonal audiences. Here tonight, in the place of my birth and my childhood, amidst all the scenes and associations of my youth, with many dear friends and relatives present, I find it difficult to speak impersonally.

Every time I come to Lebanon I relive those happy, carefree days when, for me, the world consisted primarily of Lebanon and Laclede County, Marshfield and Rolla—where we played baseball and football—and, occasionally, the big city of Springfield.

As I walked to school from our home on Madison Avenue, I often tried to visualize just where I would be only 20 years hence, which then seemed a long way off.

I read Horatio Alger's books—as many of them as I could get—and my knowledge of the big cities was limited to his description of life in the New York or Chicago of that day and age.

It is difficult to realize, but it has been 43 years this month since my brother, Earl, and I received our high-school diplomas at the graduation exercises in the old Opera House. My father got home early that night from the blacksmith shop so he could clean up and change to his Sunday suit. He and mother and our sisters sat proudly in the audience, as so many of you parents are doing—with such justification—here this evening.

I am sure that, to those of you in this year's graduating class, 1914 seems like a long time ago—only slightly more recent than the days of the Roman Empire or, perhaps, the signing of the Declaration of Independence. To many of us, it was only yesterday. Only the tremendous changes and the greatly improved standards of living that have come about make it seem a long time ago.

There were only 21 boys and girls in our graduating class; tonight you number some 180. Lebanon was then a town of only 3,500 persons. Not only has Lebanon grown, but the high school and the number of young people taking advantage of today's wonderful educational opportunities have grown manyfold.

I have just seen a copy of your annual, the Magnet. There are about 65 football players listed on the combined A and B teams. In my day, with unusual persuasion, we were able to muster only 13 on the total squad. That didn't give us many substitutes, in case someone got hurt. One just couldn't afford to admit that he was hurt. He had to keep on playing. No two members of the team had sweaters or football pants that matched. It was up to us to furnish our own. Comparatively, the situation was the same with the number of boys playing baseball and basketball. However, with the exception of Springfield, our competitors were in much the same fix. So, competitively, we had a pretty good record. I doubt, with all the material that you have available today, that I would have been able to make even the B team. But, in my day, I was the quarterback on the first and only team. So—for me, at least—there were some advantages in not having too much competition in numbers.

We had a good town baseball team then, too. I wonder how many here tonight remember Charlie Moneymaker as catcher; Dallas and Owen Vernon as pitchers; Drew Donnelly at first base; Herman Grossenheider at second, and Pat Hannigan at third base. I played shortstop. Deacon Joslyn, Mart Hufft, and Brick Barrows in the outfield. Well, believe it or not, that was a pretty good team. We proved it 1 year when we played the St. Louis Browns a post-season game. It took them 13 innings to beat us 1 to 0. I can still hear us urging our home run hitter, Deacon Joslyn, to slam one over their heads in the outfield.

In those days, the principal entertainment on a Sunday afternoon was to go to the railroad station, and meet No. 4 or No. 3, as these passenger trains stopped in Lebanon. In fact, a lucky event to which I have already referred really had its beginnings because of that custom. I saw a young lady get off the train one Sunday in September, dressed in a pink dress and accompanied only by a little dog on a leash. When the train pulled out, Ralph Hughes and I kept a safe and comfortable distance behind her as we followed her to the home which her parents had rented so that she might attend high school here. Occasionally one of us would whistle and say "Me for the pink." She never gave us a tumble, that afternoon, but obviously, I didn't give up.

At that time, there weren't more than 25 or 30 automobiles in Lebanon and there wasn't a single paved street in the town. I shall never forget seeing Chick Bantley drive the first automobile into Lebanon, with its rubber-tired buggy wheels, along about 1910. Then Mr. Brown got a steam car and spent all his spare time trying to keep it running. And Mr. Heavener, who ran a store in town, a few years later joined the elite class by buying a model T Ford.

Automatic heating had not yet been invented, nor were there all of these fancy indoor plumbing devices with which most of you have grown up. I think if we'd had a choice between a car and a bathroom, most of us would have insisted on the car first and let the bathroom go until later.

There were no electrical refrigerators then, no television sets, not even a radio. There was, of course, the great entertainment medium of those days—the silent movie. There was very little opportunity to earn the spending money to buy a ticket to the silent movie of that day.

We had to plant the gardens in the spring, saw the wood for the stoves in the fall, milk the cow and take her to the pasture and, in my brother's and my case, go to Dad's shop whenever he called us, to put some new tires on a buggy or a wagon. But in those days, these weren't necessarily paying jobs. They were some of the routine work each of us contributed to the family commonweal. On Saturdays my first real job consisted of running the cash register at Red Morris' barber shop, now "City Barber Shop," for which I received 75 cents a Saturday, 7 a. m. to 9 p. m. Later, I made as much as $1 each Saturday, working for Steinberg Bros. Clothing Store.

In fall and winter, I trapped rabbits and sold them before going to school. During vacation the jobs were even more sought after. One year I was fortunate enough to get a job washing bottles at the Magnetic Bottling Co. for $2 a week, and the next year I got a real promotion. Along with Harland Hoppock, I was made "bottler," at $3 a week; and, incidentlly, it was no 40-hour week.

So, in one way or another, we managed to keep busy—and we learned many important lessons that, later on, were to stand us in good stead. For instance, with such early experiences in the background, you can never get to feel that the world owes you a living; you know how to appreciate each added reward for your efforts.

I have many other lasting memories of those high school days and the great influence that teachers like Miss Bowdle, Miss Philbrook, and Miss Jessie Burley had on my life. I remember very well in Miss Philbrook's Cicero class, which consisted of about seven students, what happened when she asked for a modern cussword for "O Te Deum." I won't name the individual, but he really gave her a word which shocked her. We finally compromised on a less literal translation.

I know that you, too, will have many pleasant memories of your years in Lebanon High School which will stay with you all your lives.

To the men in the class of 1914, at least to me, the greatest opportunities ahead seemed to lie only in the professions of teaching, medicine, and law. At that time I knew nothing of the tremendous opportunities in such fields as mechanical and electrical engineering or research, with their great promise of a vast, new world.

Business administration as a profession was equally unknown. True, we could take a so-called business college course and become a bookkeeper or a stenographer. But businesses, at that time, were run primarily by owner-managers, and there were very few large companies directed by professional managers, as there are today.

Because of family financial limitations, I couldn't go to college the first year after graduation. I was fortunate enough, however, to get a job at the A. G. Phippeney General Merchandise Store.

I shall never forget one experience I had clerking for Mr. Phippeney. All the farmers and their wives knew Joe Breech the blacksmith, and many of them had seen me around my father's shop. I was completely stumped one Saturday when a farmer's wife walked into the crowded store and asked to look at some counter pins. Undaunted, I pulled out a drawer and placed it up on the counter. It was filled with every type of pin that we had in the store. She immediately shouted so as to get everyone's attention in the store, and cried out, "Joe Breech's boy doesn't know the difference between a counter pin and a safety pin." More experienced hands than mine came to my rescue, bringing forth the counterpanes, or bedspreads, for which she was looking.

Because of slack business in the next spring, I was laid off. Not having any unemployment insurance or supplemental unemployment benefits in those days, I had to find something to do in a hurry. Having been mailed a catalog on the Dodge automobile, I immediately went to work on my father to let me go to Springfield and try to get a franchise to sell Dodge cars out of his blacksmith shop. It was a tough thing to sell my father, but he finally consented, and I talked Doc Wetzel in Springfield into letting me have a hand at selling Dodge cars in Lebanon. Our stock consisted of one car—and that was a demonstrator. I had no trouble in getting people to take demonstration rides, but I had a tough time selling any automobiles.

Then something happened which I have often said was the good Lord's own doing. I heard that Dr. L. E. Meador of Drury College was in town asking for me. We met on Main Street, and I sat down on the curb with Doctor Meador and listened to his persuasive talk as to why I should enroll in Drury College the coming term. They were prepared to give me a tuition scholarship. I went to Springfield and saw Dr. A. P. Hall. He assured me that I should be able to find employment on the campus to assist me in paying for my room and board.

I went to Drury for 2 years, and I shall always be indebted to Doctor Meador and others at Drury for the broader outlook on life which those 2 years at Drury gave me.

Thus far, I have taken the liberty of addressing myself to all of you here tonight, hoping that the graduates might find some inspiration by my reliving a few early experiences that many in this audience have shared. Now, however, I want to direct my remarks primarily to you, the class of 1957.

Let me tell you what I see in store for you from where I sit, provided you consider this occasion as only the commencement of your education.

I want to talk to you about the future, your future, and about this world that you are destined to inherit in just a few short years. You are at that wonderful stage in life where there are many paths before you, where you may choose freely the career you will follow and the life you will lead in the years ahead. Let me urge you to set your sights high, make big plans and act boldly, to make the most of the magnificent opportunities that are yours today for the taking.

Above all—and I cannot urge this upon you too strongly—do not make the mistake of wasting your opportunities in an endless search for security. You are coming to maturity at a time when a great many people are preoccupied with the pursuit of security, without recognizing that there is only one real security, namely, one's own capabilities.

You are coming of age in one of the most difficult and yet one of the most exciting and challenging periods in history. You are moving out into a new world, both literally and figuratively—a world that is vastly different from what anyone might have expected only 15 years ago. It offers you more of almost everything—jobs, knowledge, material comforts—than it has ever offered any generation before you. At the same time, it will demand more of you than it has ever demanded before.

One of the most urgent demands of this age is for brainpower. No matter what career you ultimately choose, an important part of your success will depend upon your basic education in the liberal arts. The only real shortage in our country is the shortage of trained people—in the professions, in government, and in business. In industry alone, we are today waging the greatest talent hunt of all time. We are in critical need of scientists, engineers, managers, highly trained technicians of all kinds. In other words, although we may be long on horsepower, we are definitely short on brainpower.

Let's go back a few years, to a time when you were about to enter school. Most of you know by now the story of that dramatic coded telephone message that was sent from Chicago to Cambridge, Mass., on December 2, 1942. The message was very brief: "The Italian navigator has landed in the new world." The "Italian navigator" was of course Enrico Fermi, the leader of a small group of nuclear physicists who had been working in an old squash court under the football stands at the University of Chicago. The "new world" was that vast, mysterious region that had never before been penetrated by man—controlled nuclear fission.

In 1942, that message—telling fellow scientists in Cambridge that the Chicago team successfully had taken the first steps in solving the mysteries of controlled nuclear fission—might have meant very little to me. In 1955, as a member of an advisory panel to the United States Congress which was to study the impact on our economy of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, it came to mean a great deal more.

In the next 20 years, atomic energy will gradually bring about dramatic changes in your way of life. For one thing, atomic power can and should be an important resource for the generation of electricity, but large sums of money and years of effort will be spent to bring atomic power to a point where it can be used effectively and widely in this country on a basic competitive with present fuels.

By the use of irradiated isotopes, atomic energy has made possible some most important advances in medicine and public health, especially in the diagnosis of many ailments, and as an improvement over the X-ray in the treatment of cancer. As a new tool in agricultural research, atomic energy will enable the farmer to specialize, diversify and better deal with his worst foes—weather, pests and disease. Progress in the use of these new tools will be limited only by the availability of young men and women trained in their handling and use.

I could cite many more possibilities—atomic propulsion of ships and military aircraft, for example—but there is not time for that here. My point is that there is so much work to be done, so many scientific and engineering ideas to be explored and exploited, that it almost defies the imagination. Every new idea or discovery opens up many new avenues to be followed by trained, inquiring minds.

Out in California, there is a subsidiary of our company known as Aeronutronic Systems, Inc. That name is made up of three words aerodynamics, nucleonics, and electronics, which gives you some idea of the kind of work that goes on there. In that organization are brilliant young scientists who are almost literally out of this world—pioneering man's conquest of space. As chairman of the board of that company, I have been privileged to follow closely the work of those men. I wish that you, too, could hear them talk of launching space satellites, of sending rockets to the moon in order to learn more about our universe.

These young men and women of science are today's pioneers, pushing outward the frontiers of knowledge and creating the new ideas upon which our progress will be based. But there are far too few of them. In this age of science, there is an insatiable demand for young men and women with such inquiring minds. How many of you will go on to such careers in science?

Another great need of our times is for men who can organize and direct the efforts of others in a common enterprise. An idea isn't useful until it has passed the blueprint stage and has gone into production. That calls for capital and equipment; but more importantly it calls for able managers who can give overall direction and leadership to the enterprise.

Industry is finding it difficult to secure enough of these managers—men with broad and diversified education and experience to integrate the efforts of others.

This need for managers is not limited to the technical or production phases of industry. In all of our operations—accounting, sales, purchasing, industrial relations—we are constantly on the lookout for those men and women who can get things done through skillful management of human and material resources.

I could suggest no more challenging or rewarding career for any of you than business management as it assumes growing and greater responsibilities in our industrial society.

I don't mean to give the impression that it is only industry that is searching vigorously for educated, trained young people today. Far from it. Government, too, is in need of many more men and women of the kind I have just described. In addition, Government also seeks people skilled in the social sciences, languages, international relations, and public administration. The caliber of our government at Federal, State, and local levels is dependent upon the people who fill its responsible positions. It is a wide-open field for those with education. And, might I add, that Government has become the biggest business in the world.

It does no good to talk of expanding our Nation's brainpower or of upgrading the level of education in this country unless we have an adequate number of capable teachers at the elementary, secondary, and especially the college levels. It has been estimated that our elementary and secondary schools will need 16 new teachers between now and 1965 for every 10 now teaching. In other words, we are going to need 60 percent more teachers than we now have below college levels. In our colleges, the need is even greater. The expected growth in college and university enrollments over the next 10 years will call for approximately twice as many professors as those teaching today, plus many more researchers of all kinds.

To put it another way, the number of new teachers that will be required over the next 10 years could reach nearly 2 million, or more than one-half of all the people who will be graduated from college during that time. This is one of the great dilemmas of our society, and at the same time one of the great opportunities for the young men and women—and especially the young women—of this class.

How many of you will enter that noble profession?

Time does not permit me to cover the hundreds of other fields that are open to you for a full and rewarding life. You, yourselves, have thought of many others, I am sure: Scientific farming, nursing, and hospital administration, and for young women—the noblest of all careers—being a good mother and homemaker, and becoming a civic leader as well.

I hope that your education and training will not end at Lebanon High School. All of you will learn that education is not a gift to be handed you by someone else. It is something that you yourself must gain through your own efforts.

Even if circumstances should make it impossible for you to complete your formal education on a full-time schedule, I should like to remind you that the cooperative courses and night-school courses of our universities and colleges are available to all who are willing to put forth the extra effort—that distinguishing characteristic of those who are determined to succeed.

Full attainment of a rewarding life will not come easily. I shall always be indebted to Dr. Bacon for his inspirational commencement address to our class of 1914. His theme was Ad Astra Per Aspera—To the stars through bolts and bars—as he translated it literally. May I renew that theme tonight—43 years later—as the rule and guide for your lives.

Nor is education a process that can ever be allowed to stop. Learning is a never-ending process. Do not be afraid to take on responsibilities greater than you feel prepared to handle at the time. In that way a person keeps growing intellectually so that he or she will be prepared for still greater responsibilities ahead.

It is not only desirable but necessary that we maintain and, if possible, increase our Nation's industrial and technological supremacy. But it is equally imperative that we as people possess the brainpower, the knowledge and understanding, to eliminate from the world, in time, the possibility of war. This is a task in which every one of you can share.

Finally, I urge you to hold fast to those wonderful qualities of mind and spirit that are the heritage of every son and daughter of Lebanon. You have learned, I am sure, to believe in God and to understand that there are spiritual as well as material values in this world.

This may be the final opportunity that I shall have to speak to an audience in the place of my birth and childhood. It is appropriate, I think, for me to say some things that I do not say to other audiences. May I say them now?

Yes, the Lord has been good to Ernie Breech. I have repeatedly asked for His help and His guidance—not just that I might achieve material success—but to give me the intelligence to make the right decision, to do what He wanted me to do.

Thus, at several critical periods in my life, the course I have followed has not always been of my own choosing. But ultimately it has turned out to be the right course—not alone for my own benefit, but for that of many other people.

So I urge you young people to place reliance on the limitless spiritual resources at your command. It is my hope that in future years you, too, may say, as I do so often:

Thank you, dear Lord, for letting me be born in America with its great heritage of freedom; for letting me grow up in a fine community like Lebanon, a part of the grassroots of America; for my God-fearing parents who taught me the real values of life, and for my own understanding and loyal family.

Thank You for the opportunities of life that You have revealed to me.

Thank You for all my blessings.

President Carlos P. Garcia of the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent to insert further articles from the July issue of Bataan magazine edited by Dr. Diosdado M. Yap. These include the following editorial concerning President Carlos P. Garcia and an article by this distinguished President regarding the true friendship and partnership which exists between our great and free countries:

CARLOS P. GARCIA, PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

The fourth President of the Republic of the Philippines is Carlos P. Garcia, who took his oath of office on March 18, 1957. He succeeded the late Ramon Magsaysay who, along with 25 others, died in a flaming plane crash on a mountain in Cebu Island on March 17, 1957.

Under the constitutional provision the former vice president was sworn into office on March 18 by supreme court chief justice, Ricardo Paras. His oathtaking assured a smooth continuity of administration in the 10-year-old republic.

In a brief informal address, President Garcia promised to "carry on the massive program of the Magsaysay administration" and said there would be no sweeping changes in the government.

"I can hardly say a word on this occasion. I can only tell you I shall carry out every item of the Magsaysay program to its full realization."

President Garcia is a convinced anti-Communist. On May 7, 1954, the day Dienbienphu fell, he delivered an address in which he said:

"The Philippines is keenly aware of the perils of Communist aggression from without as well as of the Communist subversion from within. Asian nationalism has nothing in common with communism."

After receiving news of Magsaysay's death, Garcia immediately flew to Manila from Canberra, Australia, where as chief Philippine delegate, he was attending the Third Council of Ministers meeting of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Magsaysay was elected President of the Republic on November 10, 1953, on the Nacionalista Party ticket with Garcia as vice president.

President Garcia was born on November 4, 1896, in the town of Talibon, Province of Bohol, 1 of the 13 provinces which constitute the Visayan group. His father was Policronio Garcia, who was mayor of Talibon for four terms, and his mother was Ambrosia Polistico, both deceased. As student, President Garcia attended Talibon Elementary School, Cebu High School, Silliman University and the Philippine Law School. He was always at the head of his class. He won the Carlock medal, Cebu High School oratorical contest, and the Hoeson gold medal, Philippine Law School oratorical contest. The President was a Malcolm 4-year law scholar. He graduated valedictorian of the Philippine Law School in 1923, and passed the bar in the same year, 1 among the first 10.

He was a public schoolteacher for more than 2 years. He served as congressman for 2 terms; as Governor of Bohol for 3 terms; and as senator for 3 terms. He became minority floor leader of the senate in 1946. He resigned in 1953 as senator after his election as vice president. As senator he was chairman of the advisory committee on government reorganization, and the subcommittee on Japanese reparations. He was a member of the senate electoral tribunal and commission on appointments, the senate committee on foreign relations, finance, public works, national defense, and revision of laws.

After the war he served as Philippine delegate to the World Conference To Draft the United Nations Charter and in the same year, 1945, he was sent to Washington in connection with Philippine rehabilitation and war damage claims. In 1950 he was delegate to the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in Dublin, Ireland. After returning to Manila, he attended the 1950 Southeast Asia Conference held in Baguio City.

In 1954 he was chairman of the Philippine delegation to the Geneva Conference for Korean Unification. He served as chairman of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Conference in Manila in September 1954. Since 1955, he has regularly served as chairman of the Philippine delegation to the Council of Ministers meetings of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. With all these multitudinous duties for his people, he has served as Secretary of Foreign Affairs with credit and distinction.

Newspaper reporters voted him as one of the most outstanding and most useful senators from 1949 to 1953.

During the war he was hunted for 3 years by the enemy. Three times he narrowly escaped capture by Japanese soldiers after refusing to surrender in May 1942. On Christmas Day of 1943 he received via submarine a letter from the then Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon, Washington, D. C., confirming and approving the guerrilla government in Bohol and the resistance movement in the area of which he was an adviser.

As vice president he concurrently held the secretaryship of foreign affairs.

In an address on February 14, 1957, he told the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Masonry of the Philippines thus:

"The Philippine Republic immediately upon her regaining independence set down as a cardinal and fundamental policy the preservation and maintainance of close Philippine-American relations and the continuing effort to improve the same. Consequently, we alined ourselves with the democratic nations of the free world under American leadership. We continue to fight side by side with the other members of the free world, to make freedom, democracy, and justice the common patrimony of all countries and peoples of the world. It is our unalterable determination to pursue this policy as long as divine providence from whom we received the blessings of freedom and democracy will continue to guide the destiny of our country. As long as the basis of Philippine-American relations will continue to be that of equality, mutual respect, and national dignity and justice, so long will the Philippines and this United States of America stick together."

A well-read man, President Garcia's reading habits incline him to philosophy, poetry, history, and economics. He has attained recognition as a poet in the Visayan language. His favorite diversion is chess.

He is married to Leonila Dimataga, a pharmacist of Opon, Cebu. They have one daughter, Linda, who has a bachelor of arts degree from the University of the Philippines.

THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP IN DEMOCRACY

(By Carlos P. Garcia, President of the Philippines and Concurrently Secretary of Foreign Affairs)

Twenty years ago on November 15, 1935, we established the Philippine Commonwealth, and our flag, the glorious flag of our forefathers, was raised upon its masthead to wave thereafter side by side with the American flag over this land we love. That was symbolic of the Philippine-American friendship, which, having arrived through the acid test of the Second World War, will endure, I hope, across the surging centuries of time.

But you and I, and perhaps generations and generations of Filipinos yet sleeping in the womb of time are beneficiaries of the happy Philippine-American relation. How, then, can I speak of it without being carried away from impartiality by the mighty emotions of love and gratitude to our benefactor?

We won our long-cherished independence in peace and by pacific constitutional processes freely granted us by the free will of a free people. It is unique. It is unprecedented. Theretofore "no star ever fell from an imperial diadem except through force and at the cost of torments of human blood." It is to the deathless credit of Philippine-American friendship the essence of which are love of, and faith in each other, that the consummation of our supreme national ideal was achieved by the fullest cooperation of Americans and Filipinos. And it is to the undying glory of Philippine-American relations that the transcendental event of the granting of Philippine independence by American voluntary act had produced tremendous benefits to humanity. Because the pattern set here resulted in the independence of India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia. The cycle started here was global in proportions and it has now reached the shores of Malaya, Africa, and will yet touch all lands and races until the complete acceptance of the principle that peace and freedom are indivisible, and that the world cannot attain peace half slave and half free.

Let the muse of history set down to the credit of Philippine-American relation that

a new morality in the dealings of nations, especially between dominant and colonized peoples has been inaugurated. The event of our independence has shaken the foundations of empires and brought new hope to the benighted millions still denied of freedom. Because of Philippine independence, the mighty powers of the world have come to realize that the irresistible march of freedom around the world is a divine decree that no human power can stem or subdue. Such, my friends, are some of the revolutionary effects of Philippine-American relation, worthy to be recorded on the imperishable tablet of time.

DEMOCRACY IN THE PHILIPPINES

But my friends, if we Filipinos were to answer the question: What is the greatest product of Philippine-American relation as far as the Filipinos are concerned—the answer would be spontaneous and resounding. And it is: the implantation of democracy and the democratic way of life in the Philippines.

In the thrilling saga of our fight for independent nationhood, the story of the development of Philippine democracy is central motiff and constitutes inspiring reading. The cornerstone of Philippine democracy was laid down from the beginning of the American regime by extending to Philippine citizens the Bill of Rights. Thus, the Filipinos began to love America as they started to enjoy freedom of worship, freedom of speech, thought, and conscience, freedom from unwarranted search to guard the sanctity of the home, freedom from unwarranted arrest with the right of habeas corpus, freedom from expropriation of one's property rights without just compensation, freedom from testifying against self, and all other rights that are now consecrated in article 3 of the Philippine Constitution.

Taking cognizance of the fact that these sacred rights of the citizens must be effectively enforced, the American regime instituted here sweeping judiciary reforms and established the greatest bulwark of democracy, the Philippine supreme court. It was composed of a majority of American justices but headed by the greatest living Filipino jurist of the day, Don Cayetano Arellano. Great American and Filipino statesman-jurists gave the Philippine supreme court the stature and equal to the best in the world. Such justices as Arellano, Mapa, Araullo, Torres, de los Santos, and others, contributed to make the Philippine jurisprudence a rich mine of wisdom, uprightness, statesmanship, and profound legal lore. Such great American jurists as Justice Moreland, Carson, Malcolm, Johnson, Street, and others, made the Philippine jurisprudence a massive monument on which stands and will stand for many centuries the beacon lights of justice, liberty, and equality.

AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP

It is our good fortune that American statesmanship long realized that democracy will only work effectively and successfully where there is an intelligent public opinion. We can only expect to find courage, vision, and dynamic leadership in Malacanang; integrity, dedication to public welfare and loyalty to public trust in Congress if the electorate is enlightened, educated, and highly principled. Realizing all these, the American regime in its earliest days instituted sweeping reforms in the Philippine educational system designed to afford every boy and girl of this country elementary education and enable them to understand their rights and duties, not as American citizens, mind you, but as Filipino citizens. Coeducation was instituted throughout the country, even over the objection of many. Social distinctions were obliterated in the classrooms and education was no longer the exclusive privilege of the rich and the powerful. Thus, education became the masterkey to the implantation of democratic institutions, democratic practices, and democratic processes in the Philippines. Thus, the róots of the democratic way of life went deep into our national soul that now no earthly power can take it away from us.

The University of the Philippines, now no doubt one of the world's highest institutions of learning, was later established to be the capstone of the Philippine educational system. It was later followed by many other private universities and colleges that now the Philippines can claim to be the intellectual capital of the Orient.

By the implantation of a democratic system of education in the Philippines, the avenues to fame and success were opened equally to rich and poor alike. The star of hope began to shine on the roof of the poor man's cottage. A new horizon was opened to the vision of the poor man's child. The gate of opportunities to rise and grow were swung open equally to all, breaking down the barriers of social exclusivism. Thus, democracy in the Philippines grew in strength and power and depth year by year. And now, it is a mighty part of our national soul.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED

Immediately upon seeing the spread of education fairly into the masses, another stride in popular and democratic government was taken in 1907, when the Filipino people were allowed to elect their representatives to Congress. That body was then called the Philippine Assembly composed of 81 members, elected from congressional districts all over the Philippines. Composed as it was of men chosen directly by the people themselves, the Philippine Assembly immediately became a powerful legislative chamber through which the nation voiced its ideals and aspirations and realized their burning desire for progress. So the first speaker thereof, Don Sergio Osmeña, of Cebu, rose as the brightest star in our political firmament, and by popular acclaim he became the leader of the Filipino people. He remained in this exalted position from 1907 to 1922. He was at the same time the president of the ruling political party, the Nacionalista Party during the same period, with Manuel L. Quezon and Rafael Palma as cofounders. The main plank of the Nacionalista Party platform was enunciated in an atmosphere of complete freedom. It said: "Immediate, absolute, and complete independence for the Philippines." This platform swept over the country like wildfire and a complete renascence of the spirit of ninety-six seized and thrilled the national consciousness. Philippine nationalism was again in gorgeous bloom.

The friendly and understanding American regime, far from suppressing or throwing cold water on this nationalistic effervescence, hailed and encouraged it. William Howard Taft, then the Governor General, conveying the sentiment of American President Roosevelt, used this occasion as an opportunity to drive deeper the foundations of democracy in the Orient. The American way received new and greater popular acclaim and plaudits not only in the Philippines, but throughout the entire Orient. America thus became the hope of the colonized peoples in the entire Orient. In the heart of the benighted millions of Asia, America was hailed as the redeemer.

With the heightened momentum of nationalism in the Philippines, the wheel of progress in all aspects of the national life turned faster and faster. Our trade with America zoomed by leaps and bounds. Prosperity spread not only in the upper stratum of Philippine society but deep into the masses. Agriculture and industry experienced a sudden rebirth into new and vaster horizons. America gave all sorts of stimulus and encouragements to the economic development of the Philippines alongside the broadening of political autonomy.

The monumental task of building up Philippine democracy acquired increased momentum with the boundless enthusiasm of the people. Reforms followed one after another in rapid succession. In 1916, the Jones Act was passed by the American Congress, giving us greater autonomy, Filipinizing both houses of Congress and all positions of the Government, except the Governor General, Vice Governor General, and justices of the supreme court. Then came the Independence Act of 1934 first called the Hare-Howes-Cutting and later the Tydings-McDuffie law. It authorized the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth for 10 years as the last transition period toward independence. And the same act fixed the date of granting us our long-cherished national freedom on July 4, 1946.

ACHIEVEMENTS UNPARALLELED

This long line of achievements, political, economic, cultural, and otherwise, realized in three decades, is unparalleled in history. They can only be wrought by love and faith. And love and faith were the outstanding elements in the Philippine-American partnership. The cordial Philippine-American relation was tested in two world wars and emerged through them stronger and deeper than ever before. After World War II, new evidences of American love and faith flowed into the records. And you will pardon an abuse of your indulgence in recalling some of these eloquent testimonials of the mutual love and faith that make up the essence of Philippine-American friendship.

You will recall that our country became the first major casualty of the Second World War in the Pacific. Such hitherto impregnable bastions as Bataan and Corregidor fell into the hands of the Japanese invaders after an epic resistance in which Americans and Filipinos fought and fell side by side under the shadow of the Philippine and the American flags. Thereafter, the Japanese conquered and occupied the Philippine territory, but never the heart of the Filipino people. The occupation of the Philippines was brutal, ruthless, and cruel. But 3 years thereafter, or to be more precise on October 20, 1944, the American Forces of Liberation, led by the greatest statesman-soldier of this age, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, landed on Leyte with one determination: to redeem the Philippines from Japanese bondage. This he accomplished almost with the speed of lightning. By February of 1945, he restored the Philippine Republic back to its seat in Manila. America gave profusely of the blood of her noble youth to liberate us from Japan, not for herself to keep, but for the Filipinos themselves, because on July 4, 1946, America relinquished sovereignty over the Philippines as she promised and enfranchised us as a sovereign independent country. You will search in vain in the history of the world for any precedent of that noble action. This glorious act of American magnanimity and magnificence shines like the brightest star in the historical firmament of the whole world.

But this is not all. We were granted our independence in fulfillment of a solemn American pledge, on the exact day it was promised, regardless of the situation and circumstances at the time. Then we were yet buried under the wreck and ruin of the most devastating war that ever cursed mankind. Our public coffer was empty, our national economy destroyed, our manpower seriously reduced, our morality tainted and corrupted by the brutality and misery of war. And on top of that, we were faced with the new responsibilities concommitant with our independence. No country has ever assumed an independent national life in the midst of greater adversities and difficulties as the Philippines. I can say that at that time we could count on nothing except our faith in ourselves, that with the new instru-

ment of freedom that we regained, we can master these adversities, however great. But we also could count on American love and faith.

AMERICAN ALTRUISM

America did not fail us. She could not bear to see the infant Philippine Republic fail after she had nurtured it for 50 years. So she poured billions of dollars to keep us going at that critical stage. She helped us rebuild our towns and cities, rehabilitate our economy, restore peace and order, rebuild our educational and cultural institutions, and advance our health and social services. She has even helped us to build for ourselves a little name and prestige in the international field by helping us reestablish our foreign trade and foreign credit and even make friendly relations and alliances with other countries. She has agreed to revise the Bell Trade Act that has been shown to work serious handicaps and impairment to our economic independence, thereby enabling the Philippines to be an effective factor for democracy in the Far East. In the spirit of helpfulness to insure our territorial integrity from foreign invasion, she has entered into a mutual defense pact with us, and as a consequence thereof her naval and aerial might stand guard to defend us from foreign invasion. My friends, all of these are superabundant proofs of the fruitfulness and beneficence of the Philippine-American friendship.

So it is only but the irrevocable logic of history that President Magsaysay's foreign policy to maintain and further improve Philippine-American friendship and partnership received a categorical and resounding approval by the Filipino people in the last elections. The President, in giving full support to the enunciated policy of the United States to prevent the fall of Formosa into Communist hands which eventually will lead to the swallowing up of the Philippines and southeast Asia by the giant Communist octopus, was only interpreting with unerring fidelity a profound sentiment of the Philippines. The critical voices that opposed these foreign policies of President Magsaysay which are unaltered and inalterable policies from our first President Quezon to the last were drowned in an ocean of votes in the last elections. The leadership of President Magsaysay stands!

My friends, let me conclude. The Philippine-American relation's greatest benefit and blessing to us, as I said, is democracy, whose foundations are justice, liberty, and equality. On this day that we celebrate this friendship let us renew our pledge to defend that democracy and preserve it as the most precious heritage we can bequeath to our posterity. Let our hearts awaken to a renewed devotion to freedom and high resolve to defend it with our lives. Let our unswerving determination be to keep the stand of the Philippine Republic as free equal of the United States on the rock of Philippine-American partnership and keep it "growing in stature, wealth, and power, loved and revered by her citizens, honored and respected abroad, and the cherished home of contented free men."

Suggests a Way To Cut the National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include a letter from my good friend and constituent, J. Kesner Kahn, which was published in the Chicago Daily News under a 4-column heading in the department on the editorial page devoted to letters from readers. The letter follows:

Perhaps we should wonder why government isn't bigger and more expensive than it is. After all, the bigger Federal departments get the higher the pay of the department head.

The bigger and more expensive a Federal-aid project becomes, the higher is the pay of the bureaucrats who administer it.

Thus everything encourages big, expensive government.

Why not change all of this by creating incentives for Government officials and employees to save money for us?

Why not a cost savings bonus where 5 percent of all savings, under budgeted amounts, is given to those who make the savings?

For example if the State Department saved a billion on foreign aid, and that shouldn't be difficult, then $50 million would go into the "kitty" for State Department employees and officials and would leave $950 million in the pockets of the taxpayers, nearly $17 per taxpayer.

J. KESNER KAHN.

CHICAGO.

The Cotton Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 21, 1957

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "The Cotton Problem," which appeared in the May 23, 1957, issue of the Cullman Tribune, Cullman, Ala. The editorial is as follows:

THE COTTON PROBLEM

With cotton acreage decreasing in Cullman County, it's interesting to have a national viewpoint of this important farm product.

From an editorial about cotton in the May 20 edition of Life magazine is the following—"Do you know that:"

"The technology of growing cotton has been so perfected that the man-hours required to grow a bale of cotton have dropped since 1930 from 260 hours to 108, and the average yield per acre has risen from 157 pounds to 409 today?

"The most efficient producers—mechanized farms on flat lands ideally suited to irrigation and cotton culture, as in Arizona—can produce up to 1,108 pounds per acre?

"From start to finish, cotton culture is now chemically or mechanically controlled—high-yield seeds chemically treated to resist molds and insects are machine-inserted into ground prepared by soil looseners and nutrients, nourished by a dozen varieties of chemical fertilizers; the sprout fed with nitrate pellets, and sprayed with insecticides, and the boll defeafed with chemicals?

"This technology has become so increasingly efficient that no matter how much acreage allotments are cut back under the crop reduction program the crops keep right on increasing?

"Cotton culture is so successful and efficient that 17.5 million acres now yield more production (14,725,000 bales in 1955) than was grown on 43 million acres in 1930?

"The really successful cotton farms—the big mechanized ones and the good medium-sized farms, which still produce most of our cotton—could surely get along without help, eventually, if the industry was put on a basis of free competition and our prices left to find their own level. The business would quickly thin down to efficient operators, who could produce all the cotton really needed, and at a profit. Yet the Government last year laid out $1.4 million in crop loans to one of the biggest of all these corporate cotton industrialists, Mississippi's Delta & Pine Land Co., a British stock company.

"This program is causing cotton to strangle itself to death. When the consumption of everything else in this growing land has been rising cotton has been standing still by comparison. In 1930 it made up 85 percent of all fibers used by Americans; last year it made up only 66 percent. The sales of synthetic fibers have soared by 1,000 percent—from 1 pound per person to 10 pounds, while cotton rose only from 21 pounds to 26, or about 25 percent.

"Does any of this make any sense? We don't think so. And it emphasizes the underlying nonsense of a large part of the farm program, on which Congress this week is debating the spending of another $5 billion—one-sixth of the whole nondefense budget, going to an industry in which only 7.3 percent of all Americans now make their living."

Up East where Life is published the growing of cotton is not a problem. Here in Alabama, the planting and harvesting of this agricultural product is important to many people. And the Tribune is for subsidizing the small cotton farmer, as well as protecting the large American manufacturers with a reasonable tariff and the industrial workers with wage-hour laws.

Airborne Division Association Supports Cordiner Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I have pending in Congress my bill, H. R. 8305, to change the method of computing basic pay for members of the armed services, to provide term retention contracts for Reserve officers and for other purposes. Substantiating my desires for passage of this legislation is a resolution approved by the 82d Airborne Division Association at its recent annual convention in Cincinnati. This organization of 56,000 veterans stressed the need of retaining persons with scientific, professional, combat leadership and management skills necessary to maintain a deterrent power. This substantially is in line with the Cordiner report concerning which I am happy to note the President now has reversed his position and is favoring implementation of the report.

I am urging that hearings be held on my bill, H. R. 8305, and other similar bills as soon as we return to congressional sessions next January. This will be necessary so that we may soon en-

joy the greater efficiency and economy that will result in a more effective defense.

The resolution of the 82d Airborne Division Association is as follows:

Whereas the Military Establishment is desperately in need of a means for attracting and retaining persons with scientific, professional, combat leadership, and management skills necessary to maintain a deterrent power; and

Whereas the Armed Forces do not presently have the means to compete for trained personnel urgently needed for the defense of this country, and a significant factor in their inability to do so is the inadequacy of the present compensation practices now in use to bring military pay more in line with the pay standards of industry, and to offer greater reenlistment incentive for highly trained personnel: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be urged to take favorable action to revise the existing pay structure now in use in the Armed Forces, along the lines proposed by the Cordiner Committee; and further

Resolved, That inasmuch as the parachute is a most hazardous form of transportation into battle, it is recommended that the hazardous duty pay scale, as provided by the Cordiner report, be applicable to all paratroopers as well as to the submariners of the Navy and the fliers of the Air Force.

Rejection of the Ainsworth and Farwell Irrigation Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, it is a great personal disappointment not only to me but to the folks living in the Ainsworth and Farwell areas of Nebraska to learn that the conference committee on the public works appropriations bill failed to include funds to get two worthy reclamation projects underway—the Ainsworth irrigation district and the Farwell irrigation district.

These projects, fully approved by the Department of Interior and Bureau of the Budget, were stricken from the bill by the House committee. They were put back into the bill by a Senate committee and approved on the floor of the Senate. The conference committee then struck them out.

These are sound projects. They are feasible projects. They are needed projects. They would be a great investment in the future of America.

There seemed to be only two reasons advanced against their inclusion in the bill:

First. That the Bureau of Reclamation failed to make an adequate presentation of the merits of the projects;

Second. That the Nebraska Legislature had passed resolution No. 10 in which Congress was asked not to pass new grants-in-aid programs.

Mr. Speaker, the resoltuion had rather wide publicity. It was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Comments extended across the country relative to the action of the Legislature. Some newspapers carried big headlines, Nebraska Wants No More Federal Aid. That was not the meaning of the resolution at all.

Now as to the first complaint, I want to point out that I agree the hearings showed a very poor presentation of the case by the Department of the Interior. Some of this testimony was vacillating, not at all positive. However, I would further point out the projects do have legislative approval. They do have full approval of the Department of the Interior. The projects do have the approval of the administration and were budgeted when funds were requested. In all fairness, funds for these sound projects should have had the immediate approval of Congress.

Now as to the resolution which seemed to dampen the ardor of some of my colleagues in regard to Federal money for Nebraska, it is quite true the Nebraska Legislature passed a resolution against new grants-in-aid programs and asked that such existing projects be reexamined. Here is the potent paragraph in the resolution:

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the Nebraska Legislature in 68th session assembled, That the Federal Government refrain from enacting new grant-aid programs and reexamine all such existing programs and end or reduce their costs wherever possible.

The resolution in no way referred to irrigation projects such as Ainsworth and Farwell. These are not grants-in-aid programs. They fall within an entirely different category. They follow the pattern of the wise men of vision who founded reclamation more than a half century ago.

It would seem that the resolution provided a rather flimsy excuse for removing from the appropriations bill projects that have met all legislative and Bureau of the Budget demands.

The people of the Ainsworth and Farwell areas had formed legal irrigation districts. They had signed repayment contracts. They had met all the demands of the law in their efforts to get water to their parched land.

It is a little difficult for me to understand why a single resolution by the legislature should be the governing factor in rejecting funds for projects which will repay their cost, a resolution in no way related to these projects, a resolution with which the people involved in these projects had nothing to do.

Of course, Nebraska, like other States, participates in a great many grant-aid programs. Some of these require matching by the State. Others are outright grants. I believe the record will show that Nebraska last year participated in 65 various types of Federal-aid programs. The total amount allotted to Nebraska last year was $56,237,891. Some of these programs are fine ones. Some should probably be curtailed. Others were available in which Nebraska did not take part. But I emphasize again such programs are totally unrelated to irrigation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is not always easy to find the full facts when conferees meet behind closed doors. However, I am told that when this appropriations bill was considered, tempers were rather high and it would seem that emotion dulled the senses of good, honest, reasonable men sitting in that conference. Perhaps this long and very fatiguing session of Congress had its effect in shortening the conference to such an extent that full consideration could not possibly have been given to individual projects.

It must have been so or these men could not have avoided coming to the conclusion that the Ainsworth and Farwell projects do have merit. If they had given only casual attention to the language of the resolution against new welfare programs, that resolution could not possibly have carried enough weight to be the determining factor against the development of good, sound, feasible irrigation projects which are of vital importance to the people of the State of Nebraska.

The Ainsworth and Farwell projects are two of the best in the entire Missouri River Basin. They would pay back, over a period of years, most of the moneys invested in them. The projects carry only about 4 percent of nonreimbursable funds for flood control and fish and wildlife benefits.

The Ainsworth Irrigation District is designed to bring water to 34,000 acres of land. The Farwell Irrigation District is designed for 52,500 acres which in conjunction with the Sargent Irrigation District, now under construction, would irrigate a total of 68,700 acres. These projects would bring the glow of agricultural prosperity to areas which have been stricken with drought year after year. They would bring new hope, new ambition, new wealth to the fine people who populate the two areas.

Mr. Speaker, we are now considering a conference report. It is not possible to offer an amendment to make it concur with the bill passed by the Senate which included the two Nebraska projects. Were it possible, I would want to take that course, but the rules seem to prohibit that procedure.

I can only hope, Mr. Speaker, that when these two projects come before the committee next year for consideration that a better presentation can be made by the Bureau of Reclamation and that Congress will have placed the Nebraska resolution in its proper perspective. These projects will stand the closest scrutiny of the appropriations or any other committee. Such scrutiny is invited. The projects will stand up.

Mr. Speaker, in a few days we will be passing a bill for foreign-aid appropriations. At this time I cannot help pointing out that in that foreign-aid bill there is probably 30 times as much money for projects all over the world as is needed for the two projects in Nebraska.

Remember, too, that money is gone forever. It will not be paid back as would be the case with Ainsworth and Farwell.

I was disturbed and dismayed a few months ago when I had a report compiled for me showing the expenditures of our money for reclamation, irrigation, flood control, and power projects overseas.

I found that in a period of about 8 years, ending last December 31, our cost for such projects was $355.8 million for

197 projects in 46 countries. That is a lot of money to be spending all around the world at the very same time our good people at home are standing helplessly by while a burning sun in a rainless sky destroys their crops.

Mr. Speaker, I consider the Ainsworth and Farwell Irrigation Districts an investment in the great resources of a great America. The projects are sound. The people have met all the legislative and budget demands.

In a spirit of commonsense, the people should not be prevented from bringing together the two great resources that are needed to raise food for your table and mine—water and land.

Attached is a telegram which came from the directors of the Farwell irrigation district:

GRAND ISLAND, NEBR., *August 13, 1957.*

Hon. A. L. MILLER,
Washington, D. C.:

Understand public works appropriation bill will come up today or tomorrow for a vote in the House of Representatives. Our people are extremely disappointed that conference committee saw fit to leave out an appropriation for the Farwell unit. Surely, the determination of our people to have irrigation development, as evidenced by the formation of a reclamation district, an irrigation district, and the signing of repayment contracts, should not now be frustrated by a single resolution of our State legislature, over which they have no direct control. It is a black day for us to have had years of hard work be held for naught by actions of others who are in no way connected with us. Our people have the utmost confidence in your leadership, and, frankly, we firmly believe we are entitled to have you exert every act at your command to have this irrigation development now, not in the future. We have fulfilled every demand made on us by all Government agencies including Congress itself. The matter now rests with you and your colleagues. To be sure we feel justified, and are hopeful of your efforts on our behalf.

Peter I. Badura, President; George R. Semler, Vice President; Rudolph Manasil; Martin Sack; Ray Lewandowski; Harold Grint; Marvin Price; Alvin Chriastensen; Arnold Krogh; Steve Smith; Anders Nielsen; C. S. Lukasiewicz; C. P. Shaughnessy, Attorney; the Loup Basin Reclamation District, and the Farwell Irrigation District.

Army Missiles Program Held Back by Unrealistic Limitations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, the 11th annual national convention of the 82d Airborne Division Association was held this year at Cincinnati, Ohio, and in conclusion, passed a resolution which should be of interest to every person in Congress who is interested in the Nation's defense. This airborne division association represents a group of 56,000 veterans whose courage and fame in time of war is unquestioned. They served with distinction, and faced realities forthrightly. Now, faced with unresolved world tensions, they point realistically to some of the major problems confronting the Nation, among which is the policy of the Department of Defense concerning the Army's missiles program and airborne transportation.

The 82d Airborne Association's resolution reads as follows:

Whereas the veterans of America's first airborne division are fully conscious of the serious world situation, and feel that it is not only their privilege, but now it is their duty to express their opinion regarding the future of our Army and the survival of our country; and

Whereas we can foresee an important need for increased development of greater mobility, flexibility, and higher concentration of firepower within our Armed Forces; and

Whereas the Army, with its increased mobility and striking power stationed in strategic locations, is a major deterrent to aggression, and the role of the Army in any future wars will be decisive: Therefore be it

Resolved by this convention, That the limitations imposed on the Army by the Department of Defense regarding Army missiles, limiting the range to 200 miles, be re-evaluated to be more in line with the rapidly changing concepts of future warfare; further be it

Resolved, That the airborne forces be supplied, as an integral part of its tables of organization and equipment, with the types of aircraft such as helicopters, convertiplanes, and the C–130 aircraft, necessary for the accomplishment of its missions.

I sincerely hope that the new Secretary of Defense, Mr. McElroy, will review present unrealistic limitations on Army's missiles, which restrict them to a range of 200 miles, and on Army's planes, holding them to a load limit of 5,000 pounds, as decreed by Secretary of Defense Wilson. Unrealistic controls such as these pose a threat to our national security.

Aviation Corporation of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, 1,200 workers employed by the Aviation Corporation of America—Avco—at its New Idea division plant have been on strike more than 16 weeks. It has meant great sacrifice for the workers and for their union. But the union is as solid today as it was when the strike began.

The union has continued because the workers involved are fully convinced of the justice of their demands. The New Idea division has always brought a substantial profit to Avco and there is no doubt that the company can afford to meet the wage standards generally prevailing in the steel industry.

Avco is listed by Fortune magazine as the 121st largest manufacturing company in America. It had sales of $350 million in 1956. Its assets total $181 million. Yet, this firm pays a substandard wage at its struck plant at Coldwater, Ohio—a wage more than 50 cents an hour below that paid by other organized companies in the industry.

This is the basis for the strike and the reason it has gained solid support from the workers at Coldwater—this, and the medieval policy of Avco. Despite the fact that a pension plan generally is recognized as a standard working condition by America's large industrial companies, there is none at Avco's Coldwater plant and the company refuses to grant one. Although the idea of supplemental unemployment benefits has been accepted by major steel-fabricating companies, this idea is too advanced for Avco.

A decisive part of big industry has recognized the justice of cost-of-living clauses guarding the buying power of their employees. This has not been the case at Avco, which even today offers what is at best only an inferior clause making a mockery of the whole idea of worker protection against inflation.

The union shop had existed at Avco for years, but now, in retaliation against the strikers, the company is seeking to destroy all union security at its New Idea plant. Avco wants a long-term contract. The union is agreeable to a 3-year contract to insure stability for all. The company offers a package increase over that period worth only slightly more than half the gains accepted by other major fabricating firms as fair and reasonable.

In a telegram sent to Mr. H. W. Lacey, industrial relations director for Avco at the struck Coldwater plant a week before he died, Red Davis informed the company that when "Avco manufacturing decides to agree to a fair wage structure, a seniority provision in the contract that actually gives Avco employees protection against your sharpshooting tactics, and grievance procedures that we have always had at New Idea, and that protects the incentive employee, then you can have a new contract in a matter of hours."

These facts involve a matter of economic and social justice for these citizens of Ohio, and the Nation, but they also involve an important matter of public policy.

Avco manufacturing retains its advantageous position in American industry today largely because of Government contracts. Despite the strike and the company's refusal to pay wages equal to those of its competitors, Avco has been guaranteed a profitable operation by the taxpayers, millions of whom are union members.

During the current negotiations at Coldwater, Avco management there informed United Steelworker negotiators that its workers have no need for the prevailing industry wage or pensions because they are, after all, little more than country bumpkins who will only spend the money foolishly. Yet this company which views American citizens with contempt has had no hesitancy in accepting the defense business of those same citizens.

On July 2, the New York Times announced that Avco had been awarded a $111 million contract for the development of a nose cone for the Air Force's hydrogen bomb carrying ballistic missile. The Wall Street Journal's account of this

transaction pointed out that it was the largest peacetime Government contract awarded to this company and that it is in addition to more than eight millions of previous research and facilities contracts.

An enlightened social policy is as much a part of the defense of our free America as the H-bomb and possible more so. It will do us little good to defend ourselves with H-bomb development if, in the process, we permit the destruction of free collective bargaining by antiunion employers emboldened and supported by Government sudsidy coming in the form of negotiated defense contracts.

It is time for the agencies that let out our defense contracts to recognize that an enlightened labor policy by employers should be as much a requirement as efficient engineering. Certainly employers who persist in paying substandard wages or in maintaining poor working conditions in any part of their operation have no right to Government contracts on the same terms as fair employers. Certainly, Government money should not be used to subsidize employers seeking to impose substandard contracts upon workers, as in the case of Avco.

Government policy in this whole area will benefit if this situation is carefully examined. It may well be that the provisions of the Bacon-Davis law are being disregarded by permitting Government contracts to be given to employers paying less than the prevailing wage to their employees.

Why Does the Administration Continue To Ignore the Cordiner Report?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the sensible military pay proposals contained in the report of the Cordiner Committee have been given increasing attention in the press and in the Congress recently. Replacing the present "Methusaleh" pay system by the Cordiner plan's pay-for-merit system would improve our Defense Establishment while saving, by 1962, perhaps as much as $5 billion a year. In view of the continued failure of the administration to accept this plan, it becomes necessary to ask again, as does the following editorial from the August 2 edition of the Northern Virginia Sun, the question: Why does the administration continue to ignore the Cordiner report?

The editorial is as follows:

PROPER PAY FOR THE MILITARY

The Senate's last minute action late yesterday afternoon in voting an appropriation bill for the Defense Establishment may have prevented a payless payday for thousands of Pentagon employees. But it was a small achievement.

It did not face up to the compelling problem of designing and adopting a modern, sensible, and fair compensation plan for the thousands of employees, both military and civilian, in our defense services.

Two years ago there was reason to hope that the administration understood the nature of this problem. Against a background of promises to reduce the drain which the requirements of defense were exacting from our economy, the President appointed the Cordiner Committee to make a thorough study of the question in the light of modern technology.

After 14 months of work, the Committee published a report.

But what has happened?

The recommendations of the Cordiner Committee have been largely overlooked. The whole point and thrust of the report have been studiously ignored or misunderstood. Why?

Two weeks ago, the Sun, in an editorial, reported a current rumor that the Eisenhower administration was giving the report a polite brushoff because it was wary of its political implications. Anyone reading the report carefully, would be bound to ask himself: If these recommendations were adopted, would the draft any longer be necessary?

Yet, rumor had it, the Eisenhower administration did not want to admit that the Democratic presidential candidate could have been right last November in suggesting that the draft might no longer be the best way of mobilizing the manpower to operate the intricate and sensitive machines of mid-20th century warfare.

Our editorial was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator SYMINGTON, who has fought valiantly but so far without avail, for the adoption of the Cordiner report—or, if not its adoption, at least for a serious explanation from the administration as to why it has treated the Cordiner Committee, which it created, as thought it were a self-constituted pressure group of irresponsible zealots.

So far, however, the administration has kept silent. It has not only taken no step to scotch the rumor, if scotchable it be, but it has failed to give a satisfactory reply to the powerful economy arguments which the report contains.

Mr. Cordiner has stated, not only in his report but over national television, that, based on the estimates of Pentagon experts, the full adoption of the report's recommendations would save the Government more than $5 billion by 1962. Nobody has attacked this statement frontally, but Mr. Charles Wilson, the Secretary of Defense, has written that he is "not in position to confirm these estimates since they depend greatly on the conditions assumed."

Yet, as the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal points out in a recent issue, since Mr. Cordiner has asserted that the figures were "compiled by the Defense Establishment itself and not by members of the Committee," Mr. Wilson's scepticism must mean that he is unsure of the figures compiled in his own Department.

Mr. Cordiner, it is to be noted, went farther than predicting a $5 billion saving. In his personal opinion, he asserted—and the personal opinion of an industrialist of his stature who has spent over a year studying the problem is worthy of considerable respect—the estimate was understated.

Meanwhile the draft continues, erratically, unevenly—perhaps unnecessarily, perhaps not. The administration, which should be able to tell us, maintains a chill and slightly embarrassed silence.

Meanwhile, increasingly larger numbers of our graduates from the military schools—from West Point and Annapolis, for example—are emigrating from the Armed Forces to the greener pastures of private business, as soon as they have served their obligated period of time.

Meanwhile, we continue to depend for our defense basically on Armed Forces which are grossly underpaid and manned by an officer staff grossly underpaid.

We, the richest country in the world, enjoying our greatest prosperity, pay our recruits $78 a month for the first 4 months, then $83. Is Canada so much richer? Canadian privates, under legislation just adopted, will receive $110 a month.

Canadian colonels will get $730 a month, while United States colonels will receive $665.20 base pay for over 16 years service.

Maybe all this is necessary if the administration is to make a record of budgetary saving that can lead to tax reductions in the election year of 1958. But to us it seems not only foolish but dangerous.

The leaders of our businessmen's government, we feel sure, would never put up with such nonsense in their private activities. They would never tolerate a rate of turnover such as prevails in our citizen's army. They would know without being told that that was not only an inefficient but a ruinous operation.

If that be true of private business why isn't it true of our public business, of the most serious, hazardous, critical business that we shall ever face—the defense of our western way of life, of ourselves, of our children in this most critical period of the Christian era?

Isn't this a question worth asking? And shouldn't the administration give us an answer?

Sense of Freedom Makes a University Great

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of stimulation that I have read the address of Chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton at the 274th convocation of the University of Chicago. There is no other place in all the world where there is more stimulation in the eternal quest for knowledge than in the lecture halls and on the campus of the University of Chicago, which is a vibrant part of the dynamic district that four times has honored me by selection as its Representative in the greatest deliberative body of the world. Chancellor Kimpton's address, reflecting the spirit of the University of Chicago and the sense of freedom that helps make a university great, follows:

SENSE OF FREEDOM MAKES A UNIVERSITY GREAT

One of our large metropolitan newspapers recently ran a surprising series of articles rating the universities of the United States. It has been amazing how much interest and controversy it produced. Education seems to rank right along with the Federal budget and atomic fallouts in public interest.

Even more amazing was the thorough and systematic job done by the reportorial staff. One somehow thinks of reporters as being accurate enough in giving and even slanting the news but as possessing no special wisdom and insight on matters of higher education.

Of course, all of us disagree with details and even exact ratings, and I for one believe that universities 2 and 3 should have been a little farther down the line. I would insist that our own university is at the very least No. 2 instead of 4, and in more euphoric

moments I am convinced that we are the very best. When last year the Ford Foundation gave only 9 universities their top grant of $5 million, I reasoned that it went to Harvard because it is the oldest, to New York University because it is the largest, and to us, of course, because we are the best.

In any case, whether judged by the world's greatest newspaper or by the world's wealthiest foundation, you are being graduated from one of the very finest universities in this country, and I congratulate you. And for the parents may I add that your tuition was well spent, and I hope you are as satisfied as we with the product.

This series of articles has led me to ponder the essentials of a great university, and, since I freely admit that I inherited one rather than, like our founding president, William Rainey Harper, created one, I have been led to further deliberation on the problem of how a great university is kept great and even made greater. I would hope that you, trembling on the verge of becoming alumni of this great university, would share this interest and concern of mine, for you as holders of a degree from the University of Chicago become in some real sense holders of this trust. Part of our future stature will depend on what you do and how you perform. But, however much you do and however well you perform, your distinction alone cannot forever guarantee that of your university.

There are a few essentials for keeping a great university great, and I shall mention them quickly, since they must be assumed. A great university possesses, holds, and attracts great men, who are productive in their research and stimulating in their teaching. It also possesses, attracts, and holds—sometimes for an unconscionable time—superior students who are eager and able to learn. It is significant that those State universities listed within the first 10 have the power to select their students and are not required to accept everyone who somehow succeeds in acquiring a high-school diploma. It is the scheming politician, not the thoughtful educator, who produces that perversion of democracy by which all must be entitled to enter the highest portals of higher education.

It is clear, too, that a great university needs money and a lot of it. You will be hearing more about this little matter as alumni, and I venture to say that hardly a week will pass when you will not receive communication intended to be provocative and remunerative. And please do not stint in your response. We need money, and I hope and pray that we deserve it.

Finally, a great university should have adequate physical facilities properly to do its teaching and research. Magnificent buildings do not produce a great university, and we all know of institutions where the intellects do not approximate the architecture. But scientific research today needs elaborate instrumentation, and the productive scholar cannot manage with a 5-foot shelf. I feel, too, that our Gothic adds dignity, seriousness, and even inspiration to our university. I can only add as I glance over the ratings of the top few universities that an urban environment seems to help. It plagues us all, of course, with the enormous problems that have been visited upon our cities since the turn of the century; but a rural retreat, for all its bucolic beauty, does not seem to stretch and stimulate the minds of men.

All these essentials must be present, they are the sin qua non of the great university. But there are many institutions that possess some or almost all of these characteristics and yet remain without distinction. These are the tangibles of the great center of learning, but, as in most other things, it is the intangibles that ultimately make the difference. A great university is a spirit, a mood, an atmosphere, that somehow transcends men and money and materials, although it is not easy to specify these immaterial things that transmute the baser metals into gold.

The first intangible that one always feels around a great university is a sense of freedom. It is not a postured, self-conscious thing, and one rarely hears the word on a great campus. Those who shout freedom loudest are generally those who are concerned to express their own unorthodoxy and deny the privilege to others. The freedom of a great university is as natural as the air, and no amount of shouting will produce it. The scientist and the scholar pursue their research in whatever direction it leads them, with no other motive than the discovery of truth itself. But it is also a disciplined freedom, except that the discipline is imposed by the facts and by the character of the scholar. The fancy fellow who announces a discovery prematurely or the casual inquirer who does not bother to check all the evidence is in deep trouble. The pervasive air of freedom does not countenance stupidity or casualness or error unless it be honest error. And freedom always carries with it the obligation to tolerate, indeed to protect and nourish, those viewpoints that are different. It is the research worker who is different and unorthodox who discovers new truth.

Industry is learning this the hard way. Personnel officers are so careful to obtain the good organization man, the kind who fits in happily with the routines of the office, that the new and significant can hardly happen. I do not mean that we have to cherish the deviant, the odd-ball, simply because he is this way, but I come very close to recommending this. A university that has no oddities is not a great university, and occasionally it should discipline itself in freedom by embracing and supporting a weird one just for his weirdness.

A great university is also characterized by a particular kind of relationship to the society of which it is a part. If the role of a university is to meet the immediate or fancied needs of its community, as some professional educators would have us believe, then it becomes functional, vocational, and ultimately degraded, producing only useful gadgets and artisans and tradesmen. On the other hand, if the university is so cloistered that its teaching and research are without any relevance to the real needs of men and women, it is without impact and import. It is a fine line we walk, in careful suspension between heaven and earth, seeking out, with Plato's philosopher-king, the clear form and beauty of the eternal ideas, but ever mindful of the shadows they cast upon the walls of the cave.

And, third, the great university must be efficient in an atmosphere of magnificent inefficiency. It must have an administrative structure instantly responsive to communication and productivity, and its administrators must rival those of industry in their ability to make quick, hard-eyed, and correct decisions. Yet all this structure and these people must be subordinated to a set of human and humane values that have nothing to do with efficiency and may seem to run counter to it. An economical university must be prepared to throw money away on things that do not seem to matter. It must be ready to make the big mistake, suspecting all the time that it is a mistake. It must insist on the dignity and rights of every man when often he is without dignity and deserves no rights. There was a member of this faculty who was to be dropped for incompetence at the end of his contractual period, but through a secretarial error he was made a full professor with tenure. And he was unaware to the day of his retirement of this phenomenal "goof." A big university is big, for it has found that the petty meanness of immediate efficiency must yield to those larger human values that produce an ultimate efficiency.

The fourth thing that one always feels on the campus of a great university is an air of excitement, and I must say we have this in great abundance at the University of Chicago. A distinguished professor we were trying to hire recently told me he would not dream of coming here because he would be so overstimulated that he would never get anything done. But if occasionally we lose a man on this account, we gain and retain many more.

The quest for truth, like the chase, must be accompanied by baying hounds and tingling blood. And all this means at least two other things. The great university must be young, though this need not refer to chronology. It must be young in its ways and young in its thinking. It does not hurt to have a lot of kids around to help produce this spirit, but even the old in age must be young at heart. And, what is more, an exciting university is not a particularly happy or well-adjusted institution. The great university, if it could be personalized, would be a fit subject for the psychiatrist's couch, and yet it would lose all its greatness if it were tortured into adjustment through analysis. It must always retain the excitement and rebellion, the maladjustment of youth, if it is to retain its quality. I have no idea where the general public gets the notion that behind the walls of ivy all is peace and quiet. A week without a revolution is a lost week, and if you do not believe it, look at the lined face and harassed eyes of the bedeviled administrator of one of these distinguished universities. For several reasons it would be fitting to call them "mental institutions." But sedation is for sissies, and in the great universities chaos must continue.

There is a final characteristic that is a part of a great university, and I find it peculiarly difficult to put into words. The great university has a sense of direction, but you have to watch this one. It should not know too completely and too finally where it is going. There are no accurate road maps in the traveling that the mind must do, and any university that knows exactly where it is going is going no place. The final goals and ultimate objectives of education should be constantly redefined in the process of trying to realize them. A great university cannot be static; it is either moving forward or it is going in reverse. In the process of moving forward it must have a general sense of direction, but this has to be kept very general indeed.

There are many roads that lead to Rome, and Rome always turns out to be a very different place from what you thought and also a place that is only a pause in the journey. The neat blueprint of a curriculum, the exact formulation of the objectives of a scientific experiment, and the final meaning and value of a program in the humanities are things that never happen in a great university. I do not mean, of course, that, like Leacock's hero in Gertrude the Governess, we should ride madly off in all directions, but the direction that we go, like the navigation of a ship, is subject to constant adjustments for wind and tide and magnetic deviation. And the voyage, all the way along, takes on new and unanticipated meanings and values, and the destination is always beyond the last horizon.

These are intangibles that make and keep a university great. And perhaps they differ only slightly if at all from the basis things that make life itself significant and productive. A life without freedom is intolerable, and personal freedom deeply obligates one to respect the rights and dignity of others. It is a good thing to have your roots in the solid earth, but leaves should seek the sun and air. The good life, too, is a big life, quick and efficient in accomplishment but only in a larger context of human values. And life, if it is to be worth living, must be a great excitement, renewing itself end-

lessly with the new. The happy and successful man remains forever young, with all the enthusiasm and discord and rebellion of youth. I am sorry for those who have completely defined the ends of life and the means for attaining them. It is good to know where you are going, but it is an unhappy thing ever to arrive. And the scene along the way must change and evolve day after day as progressively you redefine and reevaluate the objectives of living. All this may be a good reason for calling your university your alma mater. Its life, if it remains a great university, should be your own.

Save Grange Headquarters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to prohibit any Government agency from acquiring or using the National Grange Headquarters site here in Washington without specific congressional approval.

The bill is a companion to a number of bills introduced in the House and to S. 2696, introduced in the Senate by Senator POTTER. The bill would require the Administrator of the General Services Administration to withdraw the declaration, heretofore filed in United States district court, taking title to the Grange Building and lot, and would require him to take such other action as may be necessary to restore title to the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry.

Title was taken by the Government to the entire block known as Jackson Square, in which the Grange lot is situated, with the notable exception of the Decatur House which surrounds on the west and north the relatively small rectangle—50 by 70 feet—occupied by the 7-story Grange Building.

I have tried to view this matter objectively. Based upon information which has come to my attention, I believe Grange Master Herschel D. Newsom has justification for saying that because of its juxtaposition with Decatur House, destruction of the Grange headquarters building is not necessary in order to permit erection of the planned Federal office building.

Furthermore, present plans for the proposed new office building to be erected in Jackson Square indicate that the new building will not occupy any of the land now owned by the Grange. It appears that the Grange site will only serve as lawn area for the new building. In light of the important economy drive now in force, I do not think taxpayers would approve an expenditure of $150 to $200 a square foot to provide for grass and flowers.

Certainly the National Grange property, purchased in 1941 with funds raised through the activities of more than 7,000 local Grange organizations, should not be sacrificed merely to provide lawn space.

I believe that the Members of Congress should keep in mind also that the Grange Building, in addition to its own national offices, houses the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, the American Institute of Cooperation, National Agricultural Research, Inc., Farm Roads Foundation, and Washington offices for more than 30 farm publications.

Certainly, this building is now serving very important and worthwhile public purposes which are in the interest of agriculture, the American farmer, and the Nation generally. I therefore urge my colleagues to give all possible support to proposed legislation which would save the National Grange headquarters building from destruction.

Let's Save the Old War-State-Navy Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith a letter of protest I have written to Mr. Robert V. Fleming, Chairman of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Office Space, in the matter of the Commission's recommendation that the War-State-Navy Building be razed. My letter and the material referred to in the letter follows:

AUGUST 9, 1957.

Mr. ROBERT V. FLEMING,
Chairman, President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space, General Services Administration Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FLEMING: It is with much regret that I read the recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Office Space to tear down the old War-State-Navy Building and erect upon the site a modern, functional building.

Frankly, I cannot understand the lack of appreciation of traditional value that this exemplifies. There are very few buildings left of this architectural design, which represents a very definite period in the building of America. Some call it the "Grant era," others remind us that it really has a French second empire style. Comparable buildings are considered to be the Luxembourg Palace, the Louvre in Paris, and in our own country, Philadelphia's City Hall.

Passing it the other evening I was struck with a sense of its beauty that I had not before appreciated. Why in the world should we want to destroy everything that sings our history, to reduce ourselves to a monotonous modernity, I cannot understand.

The $6 million it would cost to destroy the building might certainly be well used for cleaning it and altering the interior to a more useful arrangement of the rooms.

I protest, as strongly as it is possible for one person to do, what I consider ruthless destruction of one of the most perfect examples of French renaissance architecture in the United States. Tied in as it is with our history, how can we give consideration to its destruction.

Attached is a collection of quotations from published material regarding the building which, while not organized in article form, do describe the building's beauty, utility, and architectural significance.

Hoping that the Commission may find it possible to reconsider their recommendations on this matter, and with all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

FRANCES P. BOLTON,

QUOTATIONS FROM PUBLISHED MATERIAL REGARDING THE PRESERVATION OF THE STATE-WAR-NAVY BUILDING

A. B. Mullett's $12 million design was described as "an almost perfect specimen of architecture * * * the interior has been constructed in a very magnificent and yet entirely substantial manner." As the Federal Government grew, the War and Navy Departments moved to buildings of their own, the State Department remained here until after World War II.

American mansard was considered the perfect style to express the dignity of Government at every level. The United States post office, the State university, the county courthouse, the city hall, and the township hall—all were crowned with mansard roofs and often had towers with mansards of their own. For some years A. B. Mullett, supervising architect of the United States Treasury Department, held a virtual monopoly on the design of major Federal buildings; he preferred the French Renaissance manner with row upon row of pillars and columns. The mansard roof itself took many shapes, its slope could be straight, or concave, or convex, or both combined in an S-curve. The dormer windows might be rectangular or pointed and gabled or round-like portholes. Some large roofs even featured a double row of dormers, one above the other.

The massive 5-story building, containing 566 rooms leading off 2 miles of corridors, stands at 17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, as a tomb or a monument to an architectural phase—depending on the architect one talks to.

Admirers laud the structure, fathered by Treasury Architect A. B. Mullett, as a worthy remembrance of times past. The opulent structure, French second empire in style, is a reflection of American interest in 17th century French architecture.

The columns, pilasters, pavilions, pediments, and rusticated basement are harmoniously assembled into a careful piece of architectural design. Comparable buildings are the Luxemburg Palace and Louvre in Paris and the Philadelphia City Hall.

The porch block constitutes a central pavilion that is articulated; that is, it gives an indication of what's inside. The porches are emphasized by superimposed orders of columns, with the first three stories being Doric style and the fourth, Ionic. The porches narrow as they ascend.

Each vertical strip of windows, from ground floor to top, reflects the sublety of design that avoids dullness. Over each window in the strip is a different pediment or eyebrow—curved, segmental, triangular, and so forth.

The paired pilasters or flat strips at the corners give the feeling of strength to the building. They are a variation from free-standing columns.

Each facade has receding and projecting planes to break up the surface and avoid monotony. The high rusticated (in grooves) basement, for example, offers a variation.

Some way must be found to make the present old War-State-Navy Building more useful. It would be a discredit to our foresight to replace this important architectural example with a new building which would be contemporary for another few years.

Many people also question the appropriateness of the classic marble buildings on Con-

stitution Avenue, with their own share of cluttering columns, but none considers demolishing any of these.

Why then tear down one of the really interesting buildings in the city, to replace it with something that will sink into its surroundings better?

Contrast contributes much to the character of Washington, and buildings such as the old State and the Smithsonian serve to throw the White House and the Mall into sharper relief.

Let us have a sense of tradition, and even of humor. Let us keep Washington from becoming a monotony of modern efficiency. Save this wonderful period piece.

This building is classed by Henry Russell Hitchcock, of the Architectural Historians Society, as one of the two most important 19th century structures standing in the Federal City. The other is the Treasury Building.

Three most interesting and beautiful buildings in Washington stand side by side: State-War-Navy, White House, and Treasury. All the more interesting and beautiful because each is different.

All that the fine old State-War-Navy Building needs is a good scrubbing to restore it to its original classic beauty.

This beautiful building of French Renaissance, which so long housed our State, War, and Navy Departments, would be the pride of any other capital city in the world. The mere mention of its destruction is enough to make our great statesmen, generals, and admirals, who occupied it, cry out from the grave in protest.

At the recent convention here of the American Institute of Architects, many of its most distinguished members, including Ralph T. Walker, of New York, who received the institute's "special centennial medal," strongly opposed the contemplated destruction of what is, perhaps, the finest building of its type in the United States, and a landmark in Washington since it was completed in 1888.

It is a striking commentary upon today's inflationary market that it would cost nearly as much to tear this building down in 1957 as it cost to build it in 1875–88, the price then being $10,038,482.42.

While taste has changed since its erection when it was considered the finest building in Washington, it is still just as impressive in design and scale as it was then, and its granite steps and columns and details are unblemished by 80 years of weather. With its superposed orders and mansard roofs and towers, it is a monumental example of Second French Empire architecture, simplified to suit the hard stone.

Its ample, ornate corridors and curved, cantilevered staircases are impressive. Its offices are spacious with high ceilings and decorative cornices and window embrasures. All appears in perfect repair.

A PLACE FOR PRESIDENTS TO WORK—COST: $32 MILLION

A plan is afoot to change and enlarge the White House.

The goal is to give the President enough office space, for the first time in more than 100 years.

Ike backs this plan. But there's opposition, too. A Washington landmark would have to go.

It is going to cost at least $32.8 million to give future Presidents the space they need to house their staffs.

That simple figure offers an idea of the size to which the job of being President has grown. It is a figure arrived at by a special Commission—including Members of Congress—that just completed a study of the White House.

This amount, the commission says, would provide offices outside the White House big enough to meet needs for Presidential offices for at least the next 50 years. The new construction, the Commission adds, can be done in a way to preserve and enhance the traditional appearance of the President's home.

Details of the Commission's plan were first reported in the March 8 issue of U. S. News & World Report.

Today, President Eisenhower's staff of about 1,500 people is jammed into cramped offices in the east and west wings of the White House, and in the 70-year-old State, War, and Navy Building, across the street from the west wing.

Arrangements are "outmoded, overcrowded, inefficient," according to the study Commission's report.

STANDING ROOM ONLY

The President's staff secretary shares 1 room with 4 other people. The appointments secretary's office is too small to hold enough chairs for visitors; some must stand while they wait. Mr. Eisenhower's press secretary has a news ticker in a washroom. Desks and files and stacks of documents are scattered through corridors, the basement, the attic.

It's a situation that has been getting worse and worse since 1800 when the White House was first occupied. All early improvements, the Commission notes, were made "without any consideration" of the President's office needs.

When original offices on the first floor became too crowded, some activities were moved up to the second floor. Cabinet meetings also were transferred to the second floor, close to the President's study. As years passed, secretaries, officials, and visitors who had to see the President increased—and privacy of the President's living quarters declined.

By 1902, the situation was so bad that President Theodore Roosevelt, unable to get support for a plan to create permanent office space, built a temporary office west of the Executive Mansion.

Now, 55 years later, the temporary office is known as the west wing. It was completely rebuilt in 1934, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. An east wing also gobbled up for offices, was added in 1942.

In 1946, President Harry S. Truman tried to enlarge the west wing to relieve congestion, but Congress impounded the money after protests mounted.

Mr. Truman then took over the State, War, and Navy Building, renaming it the Executive Office Building. Some thought that that solved the space problem, yet in 10 years it has become more acute than ever.

In the study commission's view, for 157 years the problem of giving the President office space has always been dodged, never faced. Only makeshift improvements have been made. Meanwhile, elsewhere in the Government, great office buildings such as the Pentagon were being put up for all the other Departments and Agencies—which take orders from the President.

A permanent cure? Heart of the commission's plan is to tear down the old State, War, and Navy Building and replace it with a modern structure, 3 or 4 stories high and in keeping in size and character with the White House.

In the White House itself, the west wing offices would be torn out and replaced with spacious living quarters for visiting dignitaries. The east wing would be made over to include an entrance for large social functions; an art gallery and museum. But outward appearance of the White House would be little changed.

The opposition. Proposed destruction of Old State has created opposition to the commission's plan. To some, the venerable building is an architectural monstrosity. To others, however, including the powerful Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN, Democrat, of Texas, it is a historical edifice worth preserving.

The man who lives with the White House space problem, President Eisenhower, is sentimental about Old State, too—but, for the comfort and efficiency of future Presidents, he is backing any solution that will get more office room and preserve the White House as a home for Presidents and a shrine for all Americans.

Looking Back and Looking Ahead at Jamestown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the text of a significant address delivered by our colleague, the Honorable WATKINS M. ABBITT, on the occasion of the Appomattox Area Day, at Jamestown, Va., August 5, 1957.

The address follows:

It s a great privilege and high honor for me to be here today to participate in the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in America.

I am sure that many of us fail to realize or to appreciate the significance of that occasion. It is hard for us to visualize what it has meant to the development of the Anglo-Saxon civilization. Here were planted the first seeds of the greatest Republic ever to exist in the world. They could have hardly begun under a greater disadvantage. At that time, there was considerable rivalry for the settlement of the New World. Spain and Portugal had been allotted this New World territory by Pope Alexander VI in 1493, with the western coast of North America going to Spain. Spain subsequently protected her claim by establishing settlements in Florida. She had also attempted to establish colonies in Virginia but it was a complete failure.

It was in this historical context that the British began to establish rival colonies of their own in North America. The British, being mostly Protestants, considered it important that Protestantism, preferably the Protestantism of the church of England, should gain a foothold in America. Historians also agree that economic motives were important in the settling of Jamestown. I think we can agree today that the determination to establish an English colony in the New World sprang from religious and economic motives.

In the early 1600's there were hard times in England. Many people were out of work. There were many young sons of nobility who had no title, had no trade, and were without means of livelihood. There were also many people of substantial means who desired to establish in the New World a colony with which the mother country could trade, where its young people could go to find opportunity as well as to spread the Christian religion.

It was under this atmosphere that private individuals banded together in 1606 and secured from King James a charter authorizing the company known as the Virginia Company of London to establish colonies in North America in the area lying between the present locations of Philadelphia and Wilmington, N. C. Finances of the enterprise were entirely the responsibility of the investors and not the government.

While the colony was at the outset under strong royal control, the original impetus

and the responsibility of its success came from private enterprise. In other words, the establishment of the colony was not being undertaken by the government but rather it was being carried on by those great individuals in England who had dreams of a great future for the mother country by establishing in the New World colonies which would permit the expansion of trade and religion on the part of England.

I am sure that they had no idea of the great future in store for civilization as a result of their efforts at colonization. Their motives, however, were inspired by patriotism, piety, and profit.

We are all familiar in a general way with the details of the settlement of Jamestown, the hardships, the perils, and the disappointments encountered by the settlers. We are familiar also with the fact that gradually those settlers who were able to survive overcame and conquered the hardships and slowly expanded the colony, with the help of new arrivals, into a permanent, self-sustaining territory. A new trail was being blazed and there was no past experience to point the way.

Little did these first settlers and their immediate successors realize the trail that they were actually blazing.

Here in this colony was nurtured and born the spark of liberty and freedom. The first trial by jury in America was held at Jamestown soon after the first settlers landed. The accused was Capt. John Smith who had been put under arrest on a charge of attempted mutiny before the colonists had landed. Smith's enemies among the Jamestown authorities had planned to return him to England, at the time of his accusation, for trial but Smith demanded his rights under the Magna Carta and demanded a trial by his peers. On June 20, 1607, the trial was held and the jury acquitted Smith. We see that from its very inception, the colonists were determined to protect the freedoms and privileges of the individuals so far as they could under the existing circumstances.

The settlers of Jamestown naturally brought with them their own British traditional notions of government and law. In addition, they were far removed from the seat of government and it made them yearn for self-government, liberty of action and recognition of the dignity of the individual. We are familiar with the fact that here in this little colony at Jamestown was established in 1619 the first representative legislative body in the Western World and the first General Assembly of Virginia consisting of the Governor, the council and the house of burgesses. From then on until the Colonies were freed from England at the close of the Revolutionary War there was a constant struggle between the Colonies on one side and the Crown on the other. The Colonies struggling to secure freedom and the Crown to compel obedience to its will including taxation without representation. We will not attempt to go into the great struggle for freedom and the hardships overcome by the Colonies in establishing this great Nation of ours. Suffice it to say, our forebearers came here and carved out of the wilderness a great Nation. They had to fight every step of the way. There was a constant uphill battle against tyranny, oppression and the desire on the part of the mother country to extract part of its livelihood from its Colonies. Our great Nation has come a long way since 1607. Since those brave, courageous and hearty settlers set foot on this sacred spot, much has been done to achieve freedom and liberty for the people of the great Nation.

First, our freedom was obtained from England. It was done at the cost of great sacrifices in life and material wealth. Patriots fought, bled and died that men might be free, that individual liberty could be had in this country. We had the Declaration of Independence given us as the pole star to guide this little country in its fight for freedom.

Following that, great statesmen and scholars of that time produced the Constitution of the United States, the greatest document ever conceived by man. It guaranteed to the people their liberties and freedoms. It guaranteed to the States their sovereignty. All of this flows from that little seed planted in this hallowed spot by those settlers 350 years ago. Our Nation, from then until now, has grown into the mightiest nation on earth. We have the greatest civilization ever known to mankind. We live in a land of plenty.

The National Government under the Constitution started out to be the servant of the people. It was so created and it was never intended that the people would be the servant and vassal of the Government.

It is time now that we pause, take stock, and ascertain in which direction we are now headed and try to determine where we will land if we continue our present course.

In the past few years, the Government has grown so fast and become so large that the people are in grave danger of losing control over it. We have created a huge Frankenstein monster whose power, if allowed to continue to grow, will gobble up its creators. Our people have been so busy accumulating material wealth and trying to get advantages from the Government that they have failed to realize how big our Government has become and how dangerously close we are to losing the birthright and heritage that has been ours for generations. We are raising up a generation who is being taught to look to the Government for their needs, desires, and wants rather than to rely upon their own individual ingenuity and self-help.

Our people must realize that there is no such thing as Federal handouts. The Federal Government cannot give us anything until they have first extracted it from the people. The people never give up their liberty but under some delusion. Many of our people have been deluded into believing that the Federal Government can solve all of their problems without cost to the taxpayers and can carry their burdens and obligations on its shoulders without cost. Nothing is further from the truth but so many people believe in this philosophy that our Government has gone a long way toward a centralized, all-powerful dictatorship. This trend must be stopped in the foreseeable future if we are to retain our republican form of Government and preserve the rights and freedoms of our people.

We fail to realize this country was founded on private enterprise. It has become great because of individual initiative, determination and hard work on the part of citizens who have not in the past depended upon the Government to look after their wants, needs and desires. We have remained free because the people were willing to do for themselves, to work hard to get ahead, and had a determination to remain free.

There are some in this country today, and their number is not small, who are determined to nationalize, federalize, and socialize this country of ours from one end to the other. They desire to make of this great Nation a socialistic, welfare state. The time is at hand when the people of America must choose up sides. They must make a determination as to which course we shall pursue. This is an opportune occasion for the people to rededicate themselves to the cause of liberty, freedom and the concept of Government held by the Founding Fathers of this great Nation. Many of our people do not begin to comprehend or realize that a great battle is raging throughout the Nation today. Insidious forces are at work endeavoring to weaken, to break down, to change our form of government, and to wreck our way of life as we know it. They desire to concentrate all authority in the National Government. They are making an all-out effort to put the purse strings of the Nation directly under the control of the Federal bureaucracy.

Our people and the Nation as a whole fail to see the significance or importance of this conflict. They do not believe that a conspiracy is afoot against the rights and privileges of our people and the sovereignty of our States. What we are fighting today is not just a recent movement or a small operation. It has been building up for years and years. It has behind it some of the most wicked forces presently inhabiting this earth. The battle has become of such momentous importance, the stakes so high, and the outcome so vital, that I shudder to think what will happen to our people if we lose the conflict. Make no mistake, our very way of life is at stake.

The creeping socialistic invasion of State and local power by the Federal Government must be stopped before it turns this Nation into an all out socialistic welfare state. The hour is already late and unless our people awaken and realize the seriousness of the situation, we will soon see our way of life taken from us and the liberties and freedoms that were wrought out for us by our forebearers devoured by the octopus-like Federal Government that we have allowed to be established.

In the very recent past, we have seen the judicial arm of the Federal Government attempt to strike down the customs, habits, mores, and traditions of our people by usurpation of authority that they never had, authority that was specifically retained by our Founding Fathers for the people themselves and the individual sovereign States.

That was just one of many such incidents when the judicial branch of the Federal Government has, by usurpation of power and authority, attempted to amend by judicial decree the Constitution and by judicial fiat write into legislation the personal, political philosophy of the individual members of the Court. This same Court is gradually taking over the legislative and executive functions of the Government.

It is interesting to note that only last week the members of the American Bar Association held their annual meeting in England. While there, the members of the bar association, including members of the Federal judicary, dedicated a memorial to the Magna Carta, that great instrument which 2,000 English patriots wrested from arrogant, truculent King John in the year 1215. This instrument has been hailed by many historians as the first statement and source of many human freedoms in English civilization. It was the first solid achievement in the struggle for liberty in the English speaking countries.

I pray that the judicial branch of the Federal Government will stop digging the grave and erecting a tombstone over the liberties and freedoms of the individuals and the sovereignty of our States. I say to you in all candor that this is being done step by step and will be carried through unless the citizens of this great Nation arise to the occasion, fight off this octopus-like arm of the Federal Government and demand a return to the concepts of constitutional government where the dignity of the individual is recognized, the sovereignty of our States preserved, and the private-enterprise system continued.

It is indeed discouraging to observe that the spirit of self-reliance so dominant among our early leaders is becoming more difficult to find today. It is alarming to note that principle is being sacrificed too often for the sake of political expediency. The lure of a welfare state has caused many to surrender their liberties. Many of our people forget the duties and obligations they owe as citizens of this great country of ours. It is so easy to look for security rather than to stand upon principle.

Apparently, there are those in the Congress and executive branch of the Government who have joined hands with the judicial branch in an effort to take from our people the liberties and freedoms guaranteed them under the Constitution.

I have reference to the so-called civil rights legislation now pending before the United States Senate. This legislation is the most obnoxious, evil, liberty destroying proposal that has been before the Congress in our time. It strikes at the very heart of the liberties and freedoms of our people and the sovereignty of our States. It is an attempt to strike down with one stroke of the legislative pen the theory of our very form of government itself.

This legislation is intended to deprive the people of this great country of many fundamental rights that our forefathers guaranteed to them by the ratification of the Constitution.

The legislation, as passed by the House of Representatives, strikes down the right of trial by jury. It does away with the sovereignty of our States. It takes from our individuals their right to be tried in the local courts. It sets up a small Gestapo under the direction of an Assistant Attorney General who will be the political hatchet man of the administration in power. It allows our people to be dragged from the four corners of our country and brought before an agent of the Federal Government without a formal charge being placed against them and without knowing who instigated the investigation. If enacted into law, it will be the beginning of the end of our very way of life and of democracy itself in this great country of ours.

This legislation is intended to establish law by injunction. It permits the Attorney General to make of the local Federal judge the administrator, the prosecutor and the executor of the functions of the States and localities, particularly the operation of the schools, transportation system and other public recreation activities.

These are but some of the evils of this legislation. The most shocking part of it all, however, was the part played by a large segment of the press and other news media in keeping from the people the true facts about the so-called civil rights legislation. Large segments of the press, radio and television commentators failed and refused to give the public information and news dealing with the civil rights legislation.

Now the iron curtain of the news media has finally been broken down and the northern press is carrying the true facts about this iniquitous legislation. As a result of the long debates, the people at last are becoming aware of the evils that are contained in this legislation. I have hopes that when the people awaken to the dangers confronting them they will rise up and demand that this legislation be killed.

I realize what a dreary picture for the future of our Nation has been painted in what I have had to say but I say to you, in my opinion, it has been a true picture. America is at the crossroads. Our people are on trial today. It is for them to say whether or not we will measure up to the principles and heritage that that little band of settlers and their predecessors wrought out for us. The only hope is for a rededication on the part of the American people to the concepts and precepts of fundamental constitutional government. There must be a determination on the part of our people to keep this country on a solid foundation of private enterprise, and individual freedom.

I have great faith in the American people. I believe that when they become aware of the consequences facing us they will measure up to the high standards set by those who have gone on before and will clean up the temple and steer our ship of state back on its right course.

We must preserve liberty and freedom in this country. We must see that State sovereignty is respected and maintained. We must instill in the younger generation that the least governed are the best governed and that there is no such thing as something for nothing. This we must do and shall do or else we will have lost what this great Republic has gained in the years gone by.

A National Lottery Means Taxes Without Tears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to inform the Members of this Congress that in the past few months increased interest has been shown in my national lottery bill. More and more newspaper and magazine articles have evidenced greater support for this type of legislation. The most recent support comes from a magazine article which appears in the July issue of Town & Country.

This article, written by W. A. Powers, entitled "A National Lottery Means Taxes Without Tears," presents legal and moral justification for a lottery in the United States.

Because of its informative and interesting discussion of this topic, I am pleased to include it in this RECORD:

A NATIONAL LOTTERY MEANS TAXES WITHOUT TEARS

(By W. A. Powers)

In spite of protestations to the contrary on the part of politicians and clergymen, the American people today are the greatest gambling nation in the world. To say differently is only to bury your head, ostrich fashion, in the sand. And this is what most churchmen and politicos are doing when they campaign against a national lottery.

Clergymen and politicians, conscious of the church's influence, have long opposed the holding of a national lottery in the United States on the grounds that it would encourage gambling and would provide an evil influence on the poor. Today, with employment and wages at their highest peak in history, this argument is ludicrous. The plain facts are that every year over 57 percent of the adult population of America bets some $30 billion, and much of this sum is bet illegally—which means that the Government receives no percentage from it in the form of taxes. In the 24 States where parimutuel betting is allowed at racetracks, the Government's "take" in taxes is $100 million a year. And in Nevada, the only State where gambling in all forms (except lotteries) is legal, the taxes on it are sufficient to pay for all highways, schools, and hospitals throughout the State. Only by putting the Government stamp of approval on it can gambling be rid of racketeering, and only with this stamp of approval and with Government control can gambling dollars find their way into the United States Treasury.

Legally or illegally, Americans are going to continue to gamble, just as they continued to drink during Prohibition. Present-day figures more than bear this out. It is time, we believe, that the moral hypocrisy about gambling was ended and was replaced by a nation-wide legal policy that would result in increased revenue to the Government. A Government-controlled national lottery in the United States would not only put an end to today's vast and crooked "numbers game" but would also largely discourage the flow from this country of some four to six billion dollars that Americans spend every year on foreign lotteries. On only a small portion of this money does the Government collect anything in the way of taxes.

At almost every session of Congress, the proposal is raised to establish a United States national lottery. Invariably, these proposals are stillborn in the House of Representatives because the legislators are afraid of antagonizing the church groups. This holier-than-thou attitude about lotteries on the part of the church is little more than eyewash. For years, churches have been the country's biggest advocates and practitioners of bingo games and, by definition, a "bingo game" is nothing other than a "lottery." "The word 'lottery'," says the Encyclopedia Britannica, "may be applied to any process of determining prizes by lot, whether the object be amusement or gambling or public profit."

It may also interest the churchmen to know that the funds for the steeple of Old Christ Church, in Philadelphia, were raised by a lottery run by Benjamin Franklin and that the drawing for the first lottery ever held in England, in 1569, took place at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral. Religious lotteries were also common in 18th-century France—the two largest being the Loterie de Piété and the Loterie des Enfans Trouvés. These examples show that religious opposition to lotteries has neither historical nor current validity.

The latest proposal for a United States national lottery was submitted to the House Ways and Means Committee this January by Representative PAUL A. FINO, Republican, of New York. Shortly before the running of the Grand National at Aintree in March, Representative FINO brought attention to his Federal Lottery Act under the 1-minute rule. His timing was apt. Every year the outcome of the Aintree steeplechase determines the winners of the Irish Hospitals' Sweepstake, one of the best-known, best-run, and richest lotteries in the world. With no cost to Irish taxpayers and considerable support from American ticket buyers, these sweepstakes have given Ireland an outstanding system of hospitals.

The bill for a Federal Lottery Act that now sits in Congress carefully outlines just how such a lottery would be conducted. It would be under the sponsorship of a five-man Commission appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. This Commission would determine when and how often lotteries should be held and for what amounts of money. Tickets would be engraved and printed by the Secretary of the Treasury and sold only in United States post offices under the direction of the Postmaster General. Proceeds from the sale of tickets would be deposited in the Treasury, and prizes would be paid from this fund on vouchers signed by the Chairman of the Lottery Commission.

The remaining money, after prizes and costs had been paid, would be turned over to Federal hospitals, to the blind, to recipients of old-age benefits, and to disabled veterans. At the present time, these services take some $4½ billion a year of the taxpayers' money. The income from a national lottery, it is estimated, would be close to $10 billion a year. All this would be in the form of painless, voluntary taxation and would reduce the general tax burden an average of $250 a head throughout the country.

HISTORICAL JUSTIFICATION

Historically, lotteries of one sort or another are as old as history itself. In Exodus, it is recorded that Moses divided the land west of Jordan "by lot." Private lotteries were popular in the Roman Saturnalia and at the banquets of the aristocrats. Nero often had his guests draw for such prizes as a country house or a slave, and Heliogabalus would vary the interest of his drawings by having one ticket win a golden vase and another 6 live flies. The first known public lottery was held by the Emperor Augustus, who used it to raise funds to rebuild Rome from a brick to a marble city.

From the Romans, the tradition of lotteries was handed down to the feudal and merchant princes of medieval and Renaissance Europe. The Italian republics of the 16th century used the lottery principle to sell merchandise. The lotto of Florence and the seminario of Genoa were the best known of these, though Venice also had a lottery that raised considerable revenue for the state. In France, we find that the first letters patent for a lottery were granted in 1539 by Francis I and, in 1656, another was opened by Lorenzo Tonti, originator of the tontines, for the building of a stone bridge between the Louvre and the Faubourg St. Germain. Later, lotteries came to enjoy immense popularity in France and became a major source of government income, even paying for a large part of the War of the Spanish Succession.

In England, Queen Elizabeth realized that her people were natural gamblers who played secretly and openly, regardless of penalty. Deciding to have the government profit from this proclivity, she instituted a lottery for the repair of harbors in 1569. Another was formed to finance the Virginia Company in 1612. In 1698, all English lotteries—with the exception of the Royal Oak Lottery, for the benefit of the Royal Fishing Company—were prohibited as public nuisances. But Parliament revived them again in 1709 and annually derived large profits, until they were again suppressed in 1824. From 1793 to 1824, the government made an average yearly profit from these lotteries of £346,765.

Critics who feel that lotteries are not compatible with the American way of life might be reminded that as early as 1665 the Dutch held a lottery in New Amsterdam, to benefit the poor of the colony. In 1768, George Washington personally signed tickets for the Mountain Road Lottery and, in 1776, the Continental Congress authorized a national lottery to defray the expenses of the Revolution. At that time most States legalized lotteries, and before 1820 the Virginia Legislature passed as many as 70 acts authorizing lotteries for public improvements. As early as 1795, the city of Washington was empowered to raise money for public purposes by lottery, and this same means was also employed to finance the building programs of Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, Dartmouth, and William and Mary.

Not until 1833 did the trend against lotteries begin in the United States. New York and Massachusetts were the first States to legislate against them and soon other States followed suit, until the only legal lottery in America was the Louisiana State Lottery, which continued until 1890. What defeated these lotteries was not the feeling that they encouraged gambling or took the savings of the poor, but that most of them, because they were privately run, became dishonest. Accounts were falsified, fake tickets were sold, and drawings were crooked. In a Government-controlled national lottery, these evils could never exist, as fines for issuing invalid tickets would be as stringent as those for counterfeiting Government bonds. The whole lottery would be run by the Government and policed by Government agencies. There would be no more danger of having racketeers monopolize the venture than there would be of having them run the United States Mint. The difference between a privately run lottery and a Government-run one is exactly the same as that between bookmaking and parimutuel betting. The one is eminently dishonest and nets the Government nothing. The other is beyond reproach and nets the Government millions.

FOREIGN EXAMPLES

People who feel that lotteries are an outmoded way of raising money need only look around them. With the exception of the United States, almost every major country in the world augments its income by lotteries. England not only has its legalized football pools—from which the Government receives tremendous taxes—but recently authorized the Bank of England to run a lottery which, in its first 4 months of operation, brought $175 million into the British Treasury from only 2¼ million participants. Almost all South American countries run government lotteries and find that they are the best means of stamping out the privately run numbers rackets. Mexico's lottery, with 8 drawings a month, has been in operation since 1770, and 20 years ago France reintroduced a national lottery that has been largely responsible for its economic stability.

Other countries that run national lotteries of one sort or another are Canada, Turkey, Greece, Belgium, Italy, Egypt, Japan, and the Philippines. Sweden's national lottery, with monthly drawings, supports its state theaters, orchestras, and other cultural interests—and still has $20 million left over for the general treasury. Another well-organized and highly profitable state lottery is that run by the Australian Government, which sells some $200 million worth of tickets a year to Americans alone.

The situation that now exists in the United States regarding lotteries is in every way reminiscent of the one during prohibition. When that law became impossible to enforce, it was wisely repealed. As a result, crime diminished and Government profits soared. The time has now come for us to be equally realistic about a national lottery. The money is going to be gambled, whether we legalize it or not, and, by legalizing it, we can have it gambled honestly and to our national benefit. The church groups who oppose the move are only bedding down with the big and little racketeers of organized crime.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

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LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

The Oil Import Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have received from Gen. Ernest O. Thompson, a member of the Texas Railroad Commission, who is well known to this body, a copy of a statement on oil imports setting forth the official sentiment of a group of associations of independent oil producers regarding administration action recently taken to curb imports.

I ask unanimous consent that this statement annd the resolution included in it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with a list of the associations represented at the meeting at which the statement was adopted.

There being no objection, the statement with enclosures, was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON OIL IMPORTS ADOPTED AT MEETING OF ASSOCIATIONS COOPERATING ON THE OIL IMPORT PROBLEM, DALLAS, TEX., AUGUST 5, 1957

The action by President Eisenhower and his Cabinet Committee on July 29, 1957, was a most important and constructive effort to limit oil imports in the interest of national security and the consuming public.

This action results from a petition filed by the Independent Petroleum Association of America and 18 cooperating associations of oil producers, under the defense amendment (sec. 7) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955.

The problem of excessive oil imports is now fully recognized by both Congress and the executive branch of the Federal Government. The Government is now committed to the policy of limiting imports to a proper balance with domestic supplies. Under this policy, domestic producers can continue to provide ample oil at reasonable prices.

National policy as to oil imports is now established. Only one question remains. Are the import limits and the method of control adequate to assure the necessary development of United States petroleum resources?

The recommended limitations on crude oil imports would have a significant effect on both imports and domestic production. Under the plan, domestic production is estimated to increase in the coming months by 300,000 to 400,000 barrels daily over the present level which is depressed by a combination of increasing imports and seasonal factors. This would represent substantial relief from excessive imports and should encourage domestic exploration and development.

After careful consideration of the report and recommendations, we are hopeful that the plan will prove to be effective. We recognize that further action may be required. Importing companies now have both an opportunity and a responsibility and we urge their strict compliance. We commend the President and the Cabinet Committee for the clear intent to impose mandatory controls if importing companies fail to comply with the specific quotas established for each company: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend the action by President Eisenhower and his Cabinet Committee as a long and important step toward a sound and lasting solution to the oil import problem. We pledge our continuing cooperation, our vigilance and our full efforts to that end.

ASSOCIATIONS REPRESENTED AT JOINT MEETING, AUGUST 5, 1957, DALLAS, TEX.

1. Independent Petroleum Association of America.
2. Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association of New Mexico.
3. Oil Producers Agency of California.
4. Kentucky Oil & Gas Association.
5. Kansas Independent Oil & Gas Association.
6. Ohio Oil & Gas Association.
7. Bradford District Pennsylvania Oil Producers Association.
8. West Central Texas Oil & Gas Association.
9. Texas Independent Producers & Royalty Owners Association.
10. North Texas Oil & Gas Association.
11. Oklahoma Independent Petroleum Association.
12. Independent Oil Producers & Landowners Association, Tri-State (Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky).
13. American Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors.
14. National Stripper Well Association.
15. East Texas Oil Association.
16. Panhandle Producers & Royalty Owners Association, Amarillo.
17. Independent Oilmen and Landowners Association of North Dakota.
18. Southwest Pennsylvania Oil Producers Association.

Phenomenal Growth of Industry in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the most startling aspects of the past decade has been the phenomenal growth of industry on the Texas gulf coast.

The synthetic rubber industry, production of petrochemicals, and manufacturing of various types, have increased steadily. Some of the leaps have been spectacular.

Recently, I received a memorandum from John F. Rudy, the respected assistant to the executive vice president of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. The Goodyear synthetic rubber plant in Houston is now the world's largest. A $10 million expansion program has been completed and the plant's capacity is now 220,000 long tons a year.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this memorandum be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE LYNDON B. JOHNSON, UNITED STATES SENATOR

The Goodyear Houston synthetic rubber plant is now the world's largest. A $10 million expansion program has been completed bringing the plant's productive capacity of synthetic rubber to 220,000 long tons a year.

Some 650 persons are employed at Goodyear's Houston plant. The yearly payroll approaches $4 million. Plant investment totals $22 million.

The Houston plant has had a colorful career. It was born out of a wartime emergency on a 136-acre patch of gulf coast grazing land in 1943.

Goodyear is very proud of its record in building and operating this plant for the Federal Government from 1943 through April 1955. During this period the Houston plant made history with an imposing list of "firsts" in the field of synthetic rubber and of economic importance to all American industry and defense.

Goodyear purchased the Houston plant from the Federal Government 2 years ago. Since then its improvements in equipment and processing have enabled it to produce over 286,000 long tons of synthetic rubber.

The Goodyear Houston plant manager is Mr. Ben A. Rosinski, a tireless worker in church and civic affairs in Bellaire, a neighboring residential community to Houston.

JOHN F. RUDY.

AUGUST 8, 1957.

San Angelo, Tex., Reclamation Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, when the Senate last week passed the bill providing for the San Angelo, Tex., reclamation project, it acted in the best interests of a stable and growing area in West Texas.

The San Angelo Standard-Times editorially heralds this legislation as the beginning of a new era for that section. I ask unanimous consent that the Standard-Times editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ENCOURAGING PROGRESS FOR THREE RIVERS DAM

When the Three Rivers Dam bill, voted favorably by the Senate Tuesday, goes to the

President, the Chief Executive need not rely on hearsay evidence for any action he may take. He has been on the ground, he saw here the effects of 7 years of drought, and he knows the dilemma that drought imposes on a great section of the country.

He saw in west Texas a stability of character and a tenacity of purpose on the part of the citizens that impressed him at the time. He suggested a situation wherein the Federal Government could lend a helping hand.

San Angelo greets with hope the action of both the House and Senate in approving the $32,220,000 proposal for constructing a dam here as indicative of the soundness of the project, the interest of the representatives of the people in water conservation, and as endorsement of a "do-it-yourself" program.

With a strong assist from the Federal Government the city of San Angelo and the irrigation interests who will benefit among others from the dam are prepared to handle the financing themselves. Studies by reputable, dedicated men have proved that such financing is not an impossible burden, but for a growing developing area is indeed a bargain package, with vast benefits certain to accrue from our farsightedness.

It is encouraging that the project has gotten so far in as short a time as required. The drought over 7 years made it imperative that action be taken to take care of a growing city, protect it from floods, and provide some insurance for a continuing stable economy.

Credit for the progress of this measure, fraught with so much importance to this section, rests in the early spade work done by local leaders, and then the work of the Texas delegation in Congress, including Representative O. C. FISHER, of the 21st District; Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Representative SAM RAYBURN, and Representative J. T. RUTHERFORD, of Odessa.

They had valid argument to substantiate the San Angelo project in that it met the requirements of the Bureau of Reclamation and it followed the pattern of other projects where no voice of opposition was heard.

The signature of President Eisenhower on this measure will mark the beginning of a new era in the industrial and economic growth of the Queen City of the Conchos.

Alcoholics Anonymous in Operation in the Municipal Court for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report by Robert J. Conner, Sr., assistant director of probation, on Alcoholics Anonymous in Operation in the Municipal Court for the District of Columbia.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS IN OPERATION IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—REPORT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR JULY 1, 1956–JUNE 30, 1957

(By Robert J. Conner, Sr., Assistant Director of Probation)

PREFACE

Since the inception of Alcoholics Anonymous in this court over 11 years ago, we have operated in the realm of a creative minority and we humbly maintain that position as we continue to expand and grow to a degree that is very rewarding in terms of salvaging the lives of a segment of society that has been classified and reclassified by many well-meaning individuals and organizations.

The fact remains, and the proof is in the final results, that the simple program of Alcoholics Anonymous is the answer to the problems of a greater number of alcoholics than the answer drawn from the combined efforts of all those interested in contributing to the rehabilitation of alcoholics.

Alcoholics are a complicated people; experience proves that they cannot comprehend a complicated answer. We have endeavored to keep Alcoholics Anonymous simple and operating on the proper level and have hurdled every obstacle in sight, some of which appeared very suddenly.

Have any of you who read these lines thought what it would be like to change places with someone less fortunate than you? That is precisely the position which we have taken and are still occupying. It is not the easiest task by any stretch of the imagination, but let us assure you that it is about the most rewarding, for out of our efforts have come revolutionary changes for the better in the warped lives of those whom we have attempted to help rebuild their lives into something worthwhile, which from the surface appeared forever lost.

During the fiscal year July 1, 1956, through June 30, 1957, a total of 243 probationers were referred to Alcoholics Anonymous. Of that number, 17 were revoked, 11 absconded, and 1 was dropped due to mental deficiency. Of the 214 individuals remaining who either have completed their probation or are still in the process of rehabilitation, less than 1 percent are unemployed. Many of them have been reunited with their families and are assuming their rightful place in society.

When one considers that a total of approximately 40,000 arrests for intoxication were made during the fiscal year, which passed through this court, then it is obvious that the above total of 243 or slightly more than one-half of 1 percent of the total, represents an almost infinitesimal fraction referred to Alcoholics Anonymous through this office.

However, on a second glance, when one considers the present staff of this office and the large volume of work it normally carries, the above 243 probationers represent an unusual responsibility for the individualized attention they have received.

With an adequate and enlarged personnel, it is understandable how many more cases we can individualize through the process of rehabilitation.

The classes of Alcoholics Anonymous meet every Monday at 8:30 p. m., in room 114 of the Civil Division, located at Fourth and E Streets NW. This is an additional feature just begun and we are very grateful for the court's added cooperation in this new endeavor.

An Alcoholics Anonymous court group meets every Saturday at 9 a. m., in room 301 of the Criminal Division, located at Fifth and E Street NW. The classes and meetings are not only for the benefit of those selected from the defendants appearing in this court for rehabilitation but for any Alcoholics Anonymous member from the area, many of whom attend. All these meetings are conducted on the same level as meetings of the other 38 groups in the metropolitan area.

After these people are screened in court, conditioned for a short period of time in the District of Columbia jail, and finally received for probation and reference to Alcoholics Anonymous, not a few are found to be entirely destitute. First, we place them in a suitable home established by Alcoholics Anonymous members with a similar history, a home where the atmosphere is conducive to sobriety and constructive thinking, occupied and operated by alcoholics. We then endeavor to secure suitable employment, which is accomplished through other members of Alcoholics Anonymous to a large degree. Finally, there is the problem of re uniting the individual with his family That, too, is brought about to a great exten by and through an understanding of the purpose of the Alcoholics Anonymous program.

Translating impressions into actions ha brought the living program of Alcoholics Anonymous under court auspices from it humble beginning to its present size and continuous growth. The very fact of at tendance in the setting of a court building by those whose disappointments and heart aches once brought them to their lowest ebb implies faith in Alcoholics Anonymous. This faith includes their faith in us and their strengthened willingness to look for a new set of directions and values to lift them up and out of their misery.

Directing thoughts and actions into har mony and wholesomeness through Alcoholics Anonymous principles is a fact. The pro bation office is forever present to implement concrete cooperation toward this goal.

This is the only court in the country where an Alcoholics Anonymous meeting actually functions within the confines of the court. Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the wholehearted cooperation of Chief Judge Leonard P. Walsh who has made a great contribution for the benefit of this group, especially since the beginning of the year 1957 when we implemented his idea to further and broaden this effort to the extent that this present year will show an expansion far greater than in any previous year.

Tribute is also due all of the associate judges of this court for their cooperation and understanding of this, the greatest single problem confronting this court and community. In not one instance have any of the judges declined to cooperate when it was thought that the Alcoholics Anonymous program could be a benefit to an individual who was at the time on his way to total ruin as the result of the excessive use of alcohol.

The McCarthy I Knew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio interview of Dr. J. B. Matthews by Mr. Hardy Burt, broadcast over the Mutual Broadcasting System, May 22, 1957, entitled "The McCARTHY I Knew."

There being no objection, the radio interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MCCARTHY I KNEW—HARDY BURT INTERVIEWS J. B. MATTHEWS ON MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Mr. BURT. Few Americans did more to influence the state of the Nation than Senator JOE MCCARTHY, and with perhaps a few exceptions no American in history gained so many dedicated admirers and friends and made so many implacable, even very emotional enemies. When the name, MCCARTHY, was almost a daily fixture on the front pages of the Nation's newspapers, the mere mention of that name in a crowded room was guaranteed to set off some kind of verbal explosion. Our topic this evening is The MCCARTHY I Knew. Senator MCCARTHY, as he was known

y one of his closest and most loyal friends, . B. Matthews, at one time executive direc- r of the Senate Permanent Investigations ubcommittee, the famed McCarthy commit- e. I have been able to persuade Dr. Mat- ews to come and be our guest here this ening. He has accepted extremely few in- itations since his retirement from that com- ittee several years ago to appear on any ind of broadcasts, radio or television. But, view of Senator McCARTHY's death, Dr. atthews has acceded to our invitation to ppear to discuss The McCARTHY I knew. Dr. atthews was well known, incidentally, be- ore he was executive director of the Mc- arthy committee, as director of research of he Dies committee.

J. B., millions of Americans, of course, were yal friends of JOE McCARTHY, applauding n campaign to rid the Government of Com- unist influence and spies and, on the other and, millions literally hated him. I hate o use that word—they just hated his guts, hat was what they did. Why did so many mericans, in your opinion, literally hate JOE cCARTHY?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the first place, let me y that JOE McCARTHY was not only an in- piring leader for me personally, but a dear ersonal friend. I think the answer to your uestion, "Why did so many people hate enator McCARTHY?" is found is a very simple tatement, namely, the influence of the Com- unist conspiracy extends outward to reach lmost incredible lengths. People who were ever sympathetic with the Communists, ho had nothing but hostility in their own houghts concerning communism, were, evertheless, drawn into the web of hatred hich was initiated by the Communist con- piracy.

Mr. BURT. Do you think, J. B., that most mericans who did hate McCARTHY could pecifically tell you why they hated him?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, I have tried to get any of them to do that and I have found hat they are stumped for an answer.

Mr. BURT. When did you first meet Senator cCARTHY?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I first met Senator Mc- ARTHY on the evening of March 7, 1950, in he lobby of the Statler Hotel in Washing- on, D. C. I may say that the meeting was rranged by a very well-known publisher ho called me by telephone and asked me o come to Washington to meet the Senator o go over with him certain data which the enator was to use in his appearance before he Tydings committee on the morning of arch 8. At that meeting in the Statler otel, several other people were present, in- luding the wife of Senator McCARTHY who as then Miss Jean KERR—

Mr. BURT. His secretary at that time——

Mr. MATTHEWS. One of his assistants. Also resent was his devoted secretary, Mary riscoll.

Mr. BURT. Well, why—what was the pur- ose of this meeting, J. B., may I ask you hat?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, as I said, the purpose f the meeting was to go over certain data.

Mr. BURT. In connection with the Tydings ommittee hearings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That's right. You will re- ember that Senator McCARTHY made a peech in Wheeling, W. Va., on February , 1950, in which he alleged that certain ommunist influences had been dominant n the State Department. That speech roused considerable national interest and rew the fire of certain Senators, and Mc- ARTHY was called upon to appear before a pecial committee set up under the chair- anship of Senator Millard Tydings, of Maryland.

Mr. BURT. Well how did it happen, Mr. atthews, how did it happen, J. B., that ou became executive director of the so- alled McCarthy committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Several years after this first meeting with Senator McCARTHY, the Senator became chairman of the Senate permanent investigations subcommittee in January of 1953. During the previous 3 years I had collaborated very closely with Senator McCARTHY in his work and apparently he considered that my presence with the subcommittee would be of some assistance.

Mr. BURT. How long were you the executive director, J. B.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. For approximately 18 days, as I recall the exact number of days.

Mr. BURT. Those were quite hectic days, too, I rather imagine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; if I may revert to the record. Shortly before I went to Washington to become executive director of the McCarthy committee, I had published an article in the American Mercury magazine on the Communist infiltration into the ranks of clergymen. The article was written long before Senator McCARTHY invited me to become executive director of his committee and he had no knowledge of the article. The article drew the fire of outstanding politicians and papers and other mediums of communication.

Mr. BURT. As well as a great many of the Protestant clergy, I should think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, that's correct, but I think I should say that it was not the article that was under fire and it was not J. B. Matthews who was under fire. It was simply an excuse for attacking Senator McCARTHY.

Mr. BURT. Then in your opinion it was a way of getting at Senator McCARTHY. Would you stand by today what you wrote in the article at that time, J. B.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Certain very, very distinguished Protestant clergymen have said in print, including the Saturday Evening Post, that I understated the case very grossly.

Mr. BURT. Do you think the situation is better now insofar as Communist infiltration of the clergy is concerned than it was at that time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Oh, immeasurably better, and by that I mean that the Protestant clergy have now been alerted to a point where only the hard core fellow travelers among them still persist in following the party line.

Mr. BURT. There aren't so many dupes, in other words, in your opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The dupes have been stripped away, for the most part.

Mr. BURT. J. B., do you think Senator McCARTHY smeared innocent people as so often alleged?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That's a very general question, and I've heard the accusation made quite frequently. When I have asked for specific details, they have never been forthcoming. If you'll give me a single illustration, let's discuss that.

Mr. BURT. Well, how about this Miss Moss in that famous case? Mrs. Moss, was that her name? Annie Moss?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Annie Lee Moss? Well, now, there's an interesting case. Senator McCARTHY had nothing whatever to do with the accusations or allegations made against Annie Lee Moss. A witness called before his committee, by the name of Mrs. Mary Markward, identified Annie Lee Moss as a Communist Party member from whom she collected dues. And I should say, to make this perfectly clear, that Mrs. Mary Markward was an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Whatever error may or may not have been made, it was not of the making of Senator McCARTHY.

Mr. BURT. But it has been charged that he did often falsely accuse innocent people, hasn't it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. As I have just cited a single example, the charge against Mrs. Moss was made not by Senator McCARTHY. The charge was made by an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and there's still a great deal of doubt as to whether the testimony given by Mrs. Mary Markward was accurate or inaccurate.

Mr. BURT. Well, what you're saying is that a great many people falsely accused innocent Senator McCARTHY, is that what you're saying?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That's correct.

Mr. BURT. You knew the Senator as well, perhaps, almost as well as any man in the world. Do you think that he deliberately sought publicity? Was he a publicity hound?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Any man who is a Member of the United States Senate will receive a certain amount of publicity by virtue of his membership in that august body, particularly if he happens to be the chairman of an important Senate committee. Publicity is unavoidable. When Senator McCARTHY launched his crusade to rid the Government of the United States of Communists and Communist dupes and fellow travelers, no one could have expected him to keep his information secret. When he gave it to the public, naturally the press carried it.

Mr. BURT. During the latter months of his life, J. B., it has been charged by friends of Senator McCARTHY that the press met him with a campaign of silence, a wall of silence so far as the press is concerned. Do you think the press deliberately ignored Senator McCARTHY?

Mr. MATTHEW:. No; I don't think so; I saw his name in print quite frequently. In fact, only a day or two before the Senator's death, U. S. News & World Report featured a statement which he made in answer to an inquiry concerning the definition of modern Republicans. Senator McCARTHY answered, "A modern Republican is somebody who was not a Republican at all until 1952."

Mr. BURT. It was very clear, from many evidences, including the fact that the Senator and his wife were never invited by President Eisenhower to any White House function that the President had indeed an extreme distaste for Senator McCARTHY. He didn't like him and, obviously Senator McCARTHY didn't care too much for President Eisenhower either. What is the story back of this? Is there anything that has not been reported in the press that you could tell us as to the animosity between President Eisenhower and Senator McCARTHY?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There was obviously political hostility between the Senator and the President. I dont' know that he was never invited to the White House. He may have been in the earlier days of the Eisenhower administration.

Mr. BURT. In the latter days, I was thinking, since the friction, the division between Senator McCARTHY and President Eisenhower.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think one day the story will be told of the meeting at the Department of Justice, the news of which John Adams accidentally let slip in his testimony during the Army-McCarthy hearings. You'll remember that as soon as Mr. Adams let that information slip out, namely, that there had been such a meeting at the Department of Justice, the President clamped down on all information concerning that meeting and disallowed its being investigated by the Army-McCarthy committee.

Mr. BURT. Do you think that President Eisenhower's hostility to Senator McCARTHY was occasioned by the fact that McCARTHY was seeking Communist influence in the United States Army, and, of course, the United States Army would be the pet of General Eisenhower?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Senator McCARTHY was not conducting a hunt for Communists in the Army. He was simply seeking to expose information which had come to him from Army

sources concerning the presence of Communists in the Army. You remember the famous case of the promotion of Peress from one rank to a higher rank after he had been identified as a Communist Party member by the McCarthy committee investigations.

Mr. BURT. J. B., who promoted Peress?

Mr. MATTHEWS. As it was finally told by the Army itself, the final decision for the promotion of Peress came from John Adams, the general counsel of the Army.

Mr. BURT. Dr. Matthews, it's been said that with all of the activity of Senator MCCARTHY, of all the hearings, the millions of words taken of witnesses, and so forth, that he never actually sent a Communist to jail. What would you say about that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. As you well know, and as the public, I think, knows, it is not the function of a congressional committee to prosecute persons for crimes. There would be no possibility of sending a man to jail as the direct result of a congressional inquiry. It's also true that the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not have powers of prosecution. It can be said quite as well that the FBI has never sent a Communist to jail. It's the business of the FBI to gather information; it's also the business of congressional committees to gather information and make such information available to the Department of Justice and, in the case of the congressional committees, to make it available to the public.

Mr. BURT. Some commentators have said that the reason for MCCARTHY's crusade and subsequent publicity that he personally was receiving, that the reason for this was that he was seeking the presidency of the United States. You knew the Senator quite well. Was he seeking the presidency of the United States, J. B.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If the Senator had in the background of his mind or thinking an aspiration to become President of the United States, he never let me in on that secret. However, it should be pointed out, I think, that there's no disgrace in a man's aspiring to be President of United States. His enemies have been the ones who have made this allegation. It used to be considered an honorable thing for every boy born in the United States to aspire to become President.

Mr. BURT. But you don't know definitely whether or not JOE MCCARTHY was actually seeking the presidency of the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, so far as the evidence is concerned, I would say that he definitely was not considering ever aspiring to be President of United States.

Mr. BURT. J. B., I know what a really loyal, dedicated, confirmed friend you were of Senator MCCARTHY, that you often spoke to him on the telephone; that he was often a guest in your house; you were his guest in Washington. Do you think, though, that at some times perhaps Senator MCCARTHY did get off the beam a little bit in his attitude toward witnesses in the vigor in which he talked to them and questioned them, or not?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, I don't think so. But let's examine that question for a moment. The successor to Senator MCCARTHY, as chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, is, in my opinion, a much tougher interrogator than was Senator MCCARTHY. I see nothing at all amiss in an interrogator of witnesses pursuing his inquiry with all possible vigilance and firmness.

Mr. BURT. When was the last time, J. B., that you talked with Senator MCCARTHY? What was his attitude at that time? When was it that you talked with him last before his death?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Senator MCCARTHY went to the hospital on Sunday evening. He called me on the telephone the previous Sunday morning and asked me to assemble certain data for him, and I was busily doing that at the time he passed away.

Mr. BURT. He gave you no indication that he had any premonition that he would actually die then?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Certainly not; he seemed to be in the best of spirits, as vigorous as ever to pursue the course of his own particular inquiry, namely, the influence of Communists in the United States.

Mr. BURT. J. B., it has been said that the Senator had a great deal of personal charm. Did you find in your experience with him that this was true, that his personality was very good, and that personally with people, with his friends, with his constituents he revealed a great deal of charm?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Senator MCCARTHY's enemies have depicted him as a pugnacious, violent, and passionately unbalanced crusader. I never knew any such JOE MCCARTHY. On the contrary, he was as even-tempered, as lacking in violent passions, as any man with whom I was ever associated. His personal charm was very contagious; I've seen it at work in many instances. When he would leave a hotel where he had just delivered a speech, he would unfailingly greet persons on the sidewalk who recognized him, he would walk to the corner of the block to shake hands with the policeman on the beat, and this was in States where he was not seeking votes.

Mr. BURT. What do you think really made JOE MCCARTHY take in his crusade against Communists and the vigor with which he carried on that crusade? What was back of it; what started him in that role, J. B., would you say?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You've asked two questions. What started him I'm not in a position to say. But I am in a position to say that from the time I became associated with him until the time of his death, he was a man who never deviated from his fixed purpose to expose the Communist conspiracy, which, in his mind, constituted a threat against civilization itself.

Mr. BURT. And it's your opinon that there was an organized campaign because of the manner in which he did prosecute this campaign, this crusade of his, that there was an organized campaign to get MCCARTHY, as such?

Mr. MATTHEWS. May I refer to a document which I prepared for use in the censure hearings before the United States Senate in the fall of 1954? I entitled this brief "Operation Get MCCARTHY," and if I may I'll read a few sentences from it to give you the answer to what I——

Mr. BURT. Just a few sentences because our time is short——

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Let us be under no illusions or misapprehensions. The Communist Party of the United States, an arm of the international Communist conspiracy, directed from the Kremlin, is the originator and successful manager of 'Operation Get MCCARTHY.' If the United States Senate votes censure of the Senator from Wisconsin, the Communist Party of the United States will have carried to final success the most extensive and impressive operation of the entire 33 years of its existence. If the United States Senate votes censure of the Senator from Wisconsin, the Communist Party of the United States will have demonstrated its power to capture the minds of a large section of the American people. This will have been a consummation too dreadful and too fantastic to contemplate. The leaders of the Communist Party, from their prison cells in Leavenworth and Atlanta, will exult over their greatest achievement to date."

Mr. BURT. There's been a lot of talk going on about MCCARTHY's place in history, so far as it's recorded in history books. What do you think, J. B.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In my opinion, Senator MCCARTHY has already taken his place among the immortals of the United States Senate.

Autocratic Firing of Professors at Texas Tech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the refusal of the Texas Tech board of directors to reinstate the three recently fired professors is a shadow on the great history of the school and a tragic departure from the principles of American life and democracy.

The board wrongly fired and wrongly refused to reinstate these three qualified men.

Dr. Byron Abernethy, Dr. Herbert Greenberg, and Dr. Per G. Stensland were the victims of this malicious action. Tech President E. N. Jones registered a vigorous protest at the time of the firing. He termed all three professors highly qualified.

This is a tragic departure from the principles of American life and democracy upon which this Nation was founded. If this action stands, the members of the board of directors of Texas Technological College have buried the principles of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and the Founding Fathers who brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty.

The great position of leadership along educational, intellectual, and technical lines built up by Texas Tech since its founding has been compromised and a shadow thrown over its great history by this act of intolerance and lack of vision of the board of directors.

It is plain that these highly qualified and competent men were not fired for inefficiency. They were discharged for exercising their constitutional right of free speech. There are certain people and interests in Texas who want to deny all schoolteachers their right of free speech. These persons and interests are afraid of an informed electorate.

We are not behind the Iron Curtain. We are living in a free world. This is democratic Texas, not communistic Russia or Fascist Germany and we should observe and apply democratic principles.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial from the Jacksonville Daily Progress printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I also request unanimous consent to insert four thoughtful letters to the editor which were printed in the Lubbock Avalanche-Journal in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Both these papers have been militant leaders in trying to correct this great wrong.

The Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, a great newspaper in the hometown of Texas Tech, has done a great job of reporting this blow to academic freedom. The Avalanche-Journal's editorials have been models of thoughtful, yet forceful, essays on this matter that has greatly concerned every Texan and every believer in fair play everywhere.

Barnes Broiles, the militant Democratic editor, of the Jacksonville Daily Progress has long been a foe of autocratic and underhanded actions such as the Tech firings.

There being no objection, the editorial and letters to the editor were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Jacksonville (Tex.) Daily Progress]

FREEDOM'S FATE—TEXAS CAN'T ALLOW TEXAS TECH INSULT BE FORGOTTEN, UNCORRECTED

In Russia if a professor didn't agree, politically, with the ruling regime, he would be liquidated, or banished to Siberia.

In Hitler's Germany a professor who differed with Hitler would have been exterminated.

There are many countries where free speeech is denied.

In Texas, there is freedom of speech generally—in most every place except Lubbock, that is.

Three professors who didn't agree with the Shivers-appointed board of directors were fired, dismissed, terminated. They'll live, but their way of making a living was cut off.

The three professors were banished because they had different political views than J. Evetts Haley, a radical appointee, a former college professor himself.

Gov. Price Daniel has condemned the secrecy of the board in taking the action. He is to be commended for that. Maybe he'll appoint men who have more respect for freedom when terms expire on the Tech board. Maybe he'll insist his appointees pledge open meetings. No star chambers.

Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH put it thusly: "This (the firing of the professors without a hearing) is a tragic departure from the principles of American life and democracy upon which this Nation was founded. If this action stands, the members of the board of directors of Texas Technological College have buried the principles of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and the Founding Fathers who brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty."

We had hoped the Tech board would grant a hearing, but that apparently is out.

We must never let the Tech matter die. Every man who stands for political office, especially for the legislature or for governor, should be asked to take a stand on the star chamber and freedom of speech.

This is not Russia. This is Texas, the land of free people who should never be cowed by college boards or anybody else in saying whatever they believe is best. Free speech is the very foundation of our liberty. We must protect it.

[From the Lubbock (Tex.) Avalanche-Journal of August 4, 1957]

IN WHICH OUR READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RAPS TECH DECISION

EDITOR, THE AVALANCHE-JOURNAL:

Nothing in America is more inimical to American ideals and American tenets of political faith than those specimens of intellectual petrification and academic atrophy who call themselves conservatives to escape the opprobrium of their real title, Fascist, while they try to prescribe for all of us what we shall hold orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, and other matters of opinion.

There should be no room on the board of any educational institution for one of these modern Tories to advocate and promote suppression and distortion of thought. To dictate to teachers what they shall think and teach is as un-American as vodka.

The first thing a teacher should tell an American student is that there isn't a thought that enters the mind of man that he hasn't the right to examine, to understand and to accept or reject. There is no education possible when thought and the expression of thought isn't free. Nobody in America has the right to cram the minds of our young people into an arbitrary intellectual and academic box and forbid them to think outside of it.

Thomas Jefferson told the members of the faculty of the new University of Virginia, "In this institution you will not be afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead and to tolerate error as long as reason is left free to combat it."

And on another occasion he said, "The first business of this Nation will be to fight every form of tyranny over the minds and thoughts of men."

These two statements taken together and understood should tell every intelligent citizen and taxpayer what he should think of the political coup on exhibition out at Tech. That is the first long step toward making that great institution a noisome pool of intellectual and academic stagnation. The youngster I intended to educate there will have to go somewhere else, where reason takes precedence over gullibility as the goal of a university education.

C. RAY WILLIAMS.

GIRARD.

SEEKS NEW BOARD

EDITOR, THE AVALANCHE-JOURNAL: The secret session at which the board of directors of Texas Tech fired three professors without hearing or stated cause has damaged Tech seriously.

This action threatent Tech's accreditation and will make it very difficult to recruit and hold a first class faculty.

Article 2630 of the Civil Statutes of Texas gives the Governor power to remove any member of the Tech board for inefficiency. Taking the most charitable view, the board's politically motivated action constitutes at least gross inefficiency. Therefore, I am writing the Honorable Price Daniel today requesting that the entire board of directors be removed, and I urge all friends and alumni of Tech to do the same.

Sincerely,

JUNE R. WELCH,
Master of Arts, Texas Tech, 1953.
GRAND PRAIRIE, TEX.

SLAP AT EDUCATION

EDITOR, THE AVALANCHE-JOURNAL: I wish to commend you on your stand in regard to the Tech situation. As a Texan, a Techsan, and a Texas teacher, I find the whole affair a slap in the face of Texas education. If we need teachers, and they say we do, who is going to want to enter a profession that deprives them of their right to take part in the democratic processes, to exercise their rights as an individual, and to be able to answer sincerely questions asked by their pupils? And believe me they ask them at all levels without jeopardizing their positions.

I hold two degrees from Tech and have a son who is an honor graduate from the engineering school. What about our rights to an explanation? Just who are these people that the board is supposed to be representing? I haven't found a single one. Everyone that I have contacted deplores the fact that such gestapo actions can take place in our State, and to our school.

I would like to commend President Jones in his defense of his staff. But I am afraid that said board will be after his scalp next. Personally, I hope that the Southern Association does investigate, and that each board member continues to have this affair pounded in his ears until the final day of his respective term.

I would like to sign this, but things being what they are maybe I had better not. See what I mean?

Sincerely,

A TECHSAN.

FROM STUDENT'S DAD

Editor, the Avalanche-Journal: If the Texas Tech Board fired Dr. Byron Abernethy for his stand with the Democrats of Texas, then they stink with political bigotry. If they had legitimate reasons and do not give him a hearing, they are guilty of the same practice made famous by Joe Stalin. Some pretty good men died at Bunker Hill, Gettysburg and the Alamo that such despotism would never exist in America. And to think that one or probably both such conditions do exist in our own Texas Tech is abominable.

Some Tech board members stated Dr. Abernethy's constitutional rights had not been violated, which marks them as highly unfit for their job. Freedom of speech and the press and the right to be heard are cornerstones of American liberty and are guaranteed under our Constitution.

Dr. Jones states he "supposes" Dr. Abernethy was fired on account of his activity with "the liberal Democrats of Texas." So what if he was active with them. All real Democrats everywhere are liberal Democrats who rate people above dollars. Since the Tech board was appointed by Shivers, it is possible they belong to that species of souls who say they are Democrats and then vote Republican. Maybe that accounts for their bigotry in not giving a man his day in court.

As the father of a senior in Texas Tech, the writer calls upon the board to either accord an open hearing or resign themselves. Most students work long and hard and their families sacrifice in order for them to graduate.from an accredited school. As the matter now stands, Tech has been disgraced by the board and is certain to be placed on the blacklist. It is not right for this to happen, and if the board had the best interest of Tech at heart it would not happen. In the alternative, along with thousands of other parents and students, the writer is waiting—with the very positive assurance we are not going to take it sitting down.

J. B. BENNETT.

ABILENE.

Highway Conditions in North Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several communications from A. W. Wentz, State highway commissioner of North Dakota, enclosing resolutions adopted by the Western Association of State Highway Officials, in a recent meeting at Houston, Tex. I ask that both the letters and resolutions be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTH DAKOTA
STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT,
Bismarck, N. Dak., August 9, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: Enclosed you will find a copy of Resolution No. 5 recently adopted at a conference of the Western Association of State Highway officials held at Houston, Tex.

I have written to you heretofore concerning support of such a measure to exclude conveyances of property to State highway departments from the Internal Revenue documentary stamp tax and therefore am forwarding this resolution for your information.

Very truly yours,
A. W. WENTZ,
State Highway Commissioner.

RESOLUTION 5

Whereas under present rulings of the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue conveyances of private property to public agencies for public use are subject to the imposition of the Internal Revenue documentary stamp tax; and

Whereas while technical legal liability for such stamp tax rests upon the private property owner, in fact the cost thereof must frequently be borne by the public agencies in order to avoid condemnation proceedings and to that extent, imposition of the stamp tax upon such conveyances constitutes an unreasonable interference with and burden upon necessary State governmental functions; and

Whereas H. R. 6849, presently being considered by the Congress of the United States, would eliminate such unreasonable interference and burden by exempting conveyances of private property to public agencies from said documentary stamp tax: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Highway Officials in annual convention assembled in Houston, Tex., this 13th day of June 1957, instructs its president and executive committee to actively seek enactment of H. R. 6849 or other appropriate legislation to assure that conveyances of private property to State highway departments for highway purposes be exempted from the Internal Revenue documentary stamp tax.

NORTH DAKOTA STATE
HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT,
Bismarck, N. Dak., August 9, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: I am enclosing a copy of Resolution No. 1 adopted by the Western Association of State Highway Officials at a recent meeting at Houston, Tex.

We are informed that Representative ROBERT E. JONES of Alabama has introduced two measures which would, in effect, carry out the petition contained in resolution No. 1. These have been identified as H. R. 6987 and 6988.

You are perhaps aware that the 1957 session of the North Dakota State Legislature enacted a bill providing for the reimbursement of utilities when required to remove from right of way involving the Interstate Highway. Subsequently, the attorney general of North Dakota ruled that this law violated our State constitution.

The latest information available to us indicates that the only court test of this matter has been in the State of Maine where the Supreme Court ruled that such a provision violated the constitution of the State of Maine.

We recommend that you support proper legislation to prohibit the payment of highway funds for nonhighway purposes such as utility removal.

Very truly yours,
A. W. WENTZ,
State Highway Commissioner.

RESOLUTION 1

Whereas there is a concerted nationwide movement by utility companies to cause legislation to be enacted in the respective States having for its purpose the mandatory payment from public fuhds of the costs of removing or adjusting the facilities of such companies located upon public highway rights-of-way, when it is necessary that such relocations or adjustments be effected in order to provide for Federal-aid highway or State construction; and

Whereas it is unfair to require the payment from public funds for the relocations or adjustments of utilities where such utilities have been occupying publicly acquired rights-of-way without the utility having paid any part of the costs of such public right-of-way; and

Whereas such legislation would be detrimental to the entire Federal-aid highway program because it would be diverting public funds and would be decreasing very considerably the funds to be available for highway construction and would greatly delay the completion of the Federal-aid highway systems thereby depriving the public of the highways needed in the national defense, for the economic development of the entire Nation, and for the safety and convenience of the motoring public: Therefore be it hereby

Resolved by the Western Association of State Highway Officials assembled at Houston, Tex., this 13th day of June 1957, That such association vigorously oppose such legislation in the respective States, and that the Congress of the United States be hereby petitioned, for the reasons hereinabove set forth, to enact proper legislation to prohibit the payment or rembursement from Federal-aid highway funds of any portion of the costs for moving, removing or adjusting the facilities of utilities when such facilities are located upon the publicly owned rights-of-way of a public highway; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be submitted to each Member of the Congress of the United States.

NORTH DAKOTA
STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT,
Bismarck, N. Dak., August 9, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: Enclosed you will find a copy of Resolution No. 4 which was adopted by the Western Association of State Highway Officials in a conference at Houston, Tex., recently.

Many of our most severe problems concerning the Interstate System in North Dakota, we believe, would be solved if we were permitted to construct access roads outside of the area of right of way acquired for the Interstate Highway itself.

We would urge that you support even a broader law than that petitioned for in Resolution No. 4, as we feel that agricultural interests also require the services of access roads to the Interstate System.

Very truly yours,
A. W. WENTZ,
State Highway Commissioner.

RESOLUTION 4

Whereas there is increasing need for the construction of access roads for the development of our natural resources, to stimulate the mining of vital strategic minerals, and leading to Federal installations; and

Whereas such access roads will provide recreation opportunities to great numbers of our people; and

Whereas the Nation will receive much benefit from the supply of these strategic minerals so necessary for the defense of our country; and

Whereas the resulting industrial growth will provide economic benefit to the entire Nation; and

Whereas State and local governments are unable to provide for financing such access roads: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Highway Officials in convention assembled at Houston, Tex., on June 13, 1957, urgently requests the Congress of the United States to take the necessary action to provide funds for the construction of such access roads, and that copies of this resolution be sent to Members of Congress of the Western States and to members of the appropriate committees.

NORTH DAKOTA STATE
HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT,
Bismarck, N. Dak., August 9, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: Enclosed you will find a copy of Resolution No. 2 adopted at a recent meeting of the Western Association of State Highway Officials at Houston, Tex.

It is our understanding that there are proposals now before Congress, proposing to expand the mileage of the National System of Interstate Highways.

We feel that it is not good business to make a present extension of this system until such time as the present designated highways have been assured of completion.

Very truly yours,
A. W. WENTZ,
State Highway Commissioner.

RESOLUTION 2

Whereas the executives and member delegates of the 36th annual conference of the Western Association of State Highway Officials are aware of the current status of the expanded highway program, as it applies to the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, having been so appraised of the progress made thereupon, by Federal Highway Administrator Bertram D. Tallamy; and

Whereas the membership of this organization is also fully cognizant of the many serious obstacles confronting the orderly completion of the interstate program within the time allotted by the Congress of the United States, even though progress to date has been satisfactory and on schedule; and

Whereas it is the general feeling of the membership of the Western Association of State Highway Officials that completion of the currently established 41,000 miles of the interstate network will test the capabilities of the several State highway departments and the United States Bureau of Public Roads: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Western Association of State Highway Officials, in conference at Houston, Tex., on June 13, 1957, does hereby record its opposition to any current or proposed legislation which would expand the mileage of the National System of Interstate Highways, until such time as funds have been made available to assure the completion of the existing mileage, in accordance with established standards of design and construction.

Protecting the Small Investor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, from time to time I have commented publicly on the need for continued vigilance by the investing public against stock frauds.

Fortunately, thanks to the Securities Exchange Act, thanks to self-policing by the vast securities industry itself, and thanks to the public's own increased caution, the amount of stock swindles has been greatly reduced.

Swindles do, however, still ocrur. They derive from a relatively small number of fringe operators.

From time to time, newspapers and and other exposés remind us of new outbreaks of what are generally described as "boilershop" operations.

In my work on the Judiciary and Senate Foreign Relations Committees, I had taken up with the Securities Exchange Commission, with various State attorneys general and other sources, the matter of protecting American investors. From the standpoint of the Foreign Relations Committee, I had been particularly active in seeking to curb frauds based up high pressure telephone or mail solicitations from swindlers abroad.

But whether the promoters of worthless stock were inside or outside our borders, the public has needed more protection, especially in the case of often gullible old folks and other unsuspecting investors.

I was interested to read, therefore, in last Sunday's New York Times, a writeup of one of the most important self-policing instruments in terms of protecting the good name of the securities industry and protecting the public.

I refer to the vital National Association of Securities Dealers.

The writeup described the work and background of its able executive director, Mr. Wallace H. Fulton, with whom my office has been in contact in times past.

I know that the Times writeup was of special interest to the Senate and House Banking Committees which concern themselves with this field. Beyond any question, still more vigilance is needed. Legitimate small business need finances to expand in the tight-money days. But "get-rich-quick" artists are still hawking their worthless wares and reaping millions in ill-gotten gains.

In order that the Times article may be more widely available, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PERSONALITY: SECURITIES BUSINESS POLICEMAN—NASD'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR KEEPS HIS EYES ON DEALERS—W. H. FULTON HAS HIS SHARE OF CRITICS—AND SUPPORTERS

(By Robert E. Bedingfield)

Wallace H. Fulton is a policeman's policeman.

Mr. Fulton is executive director of the National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc., which was created in 1938 to give Wall Streeters—particularly those dealing in the over-the-counter market—their own "private eye."

The NASD is by no means a governmental or even a quasi-governmental agency. But under the powers Congress gave it there is as much weight behind some of its regulations as is in the hands of the courts. The organization, with 21 governors from all parts of the country and 14 district committees can discipline a member out of business. And it has become almost impossible to conduct a securities business without being a member of the NASD. The association does not exist to reimburse wronged investors. Its principal function is to prevent wrongdoing in the first place.

In Wall Street the organization is sometimes referred to facetiously as the "last feather of the Blue Eagle." The Blue Eagle was the emblem of the National Recovery Administration of the early New Deal days.

FORMER COMPLIANCE DIRECTOR

The NASD was formed from the ashes of the old Investment Bankers Code devised to police the investment banking industry under the National Recovery Administration. Before being named executive director of the NASD, Mr. Fulton had served in Washington as director of compliance of the Investment Bankers Code Committee.

Mr. Fulton, as executive director of the NASD, is responsible for the day-to-day policing activities of the organization. With more than 4,000 members, it is the largest group in the securities business. Like most paid administrators of a supervisory body, Mr. Fulton occupies a fairly hot seat.

He not only has to please the members who pay his salary—and whom on orders of the governors of the association he can rule out of business—but also the investing public. In addition, he has to work closely and remain on the best possible terms with the various Federal agencies that depend upon the N. A. S. D. to keep a "taut ship" over the over-the-counter market dealers and traders and their business methods and operations. Consequently, Mr. Fulton has a full quota of detractors as well as supporters.

Mr. Fulton is a reserved man, yet he speaks positively and firmly. He acknowledges that he learned early in life to "think twice and speak once." This, perhaps, sharpens the differences in attitude with which he is regarded in financial circles.

One Wall Streeter expressed the view last week that "Wallace Fulton is probably the best acquainted man in the securities business. He can go anywhere in the country and call 3 out of 4 securities men by their first, last and middle names. Yet there's no half-way in your relationship with him. People either like Wally and like everything about him or they don't like him and can find nothing good to say about him."

Mr. Fulton, a resident of Washington, D. C., where the N. A. S. D. has its headquarters, was born in Oakland, Calif., on March 16, 1896. He was no amateur in the securities business when he moved to the Nation's Capital during the NRA days.

After hanging up his private's uniform following World War I, he entered the University of California and then transferred to the University of Minnesota, where he studies agriculture and business administration. He explains that "the switch in colleges was due simply to the fact that I learned I could secure a part-time position in Minnesota."

FIRST JOB AS A CLERK

Following his graduation in 1922, Mr. Fulton returned home and took the first job that was offered—working as a clerk for Walkers Manual, Inc., a statistical rating agency for West Coast securities similar to Moody's manual in the East. He advanced rapidly and by 1929 was president and part owner of the organization. During the 1920's he joined the partners of several of the big Pacific Coast banking houses in forming a California Securities Dealers Association.

"And then," he recalls, "when the Investment Bankers Code came in, I was asked to act as secretary. The job was described as 'one of those things that won't take up much of your time.'"

Mr. Fulton says that that proved to be one of the understatements of all time, "but, after all, Californians are brash people in many respects."

As the code committee's work became more complex, Mr. Fulton one day was asked to go to New York to attend a meeting with the chairman of the code group. He says that when the boarded the Twentieth Century Limited in Chicago he was pleasantly surprised to find Francis Patton, a partner in A. G. Becker & Co. and a code committee member, also aboard the train.

"PLANTED" ON THE TRAIN

The two men had dinner together and, Mr. Fulton says, stayed up "much too late in the observation car regaling each other with our latest stories and gossip about friends in the business. The subject of the code or my meeting of the following day were never discussed. It wasn't until a year later after the Supreme Court ruled the NRA as unconstitutional that I learned that 'France' had been planted on the train to size me up before the committee met and offered me the job of compliance director of the code."

After the code had been thrown out, Mr. Fulton returned to California and Walkers Manual. He says that he never again expected to have any reason to leave the west coast. But in 1936 he got a long distance call asking him to return as director of the Investment Bankers Conference, Inc.

The conference, while it was in operation, worked with Congress and the Securities and Exchange Commission on enabling legislation for the creation of the NASD. All the organization's actions since its formation have been subject to review or appeal to the SEC.

The keystone of the NASD as set forth in its articles is: "A member in the conduct of his business shall observe high standards of commercial honor and just and equitable principles of trade."

The organization's 26 rules are designed and applied to protect investors and the public interest in securities transactions; to see to it that high standards of business conduct are observed by its members; to collaborate with governmental and other agencies in promoting the observance of securities laws; to provide safeguards against unreasonable profits or unreasonable charges of any kind and to prevent fraudulent and manipulative acts.

FEES: $1 MILLION A YEAR

The association, which collects $1 million a year in fees from its members, is empowered to inspect members' books and records to ascertain if rules have been or are being violated. These inspections are by direct examination or by questionnaire and are made at frequent intervals, whether or not there is reason to believe violations will be found. Thus the NASD has not had to rely on complaints from the public or other members to obtain information concerning the practices of its members.

The organization has not pussyfooted. Mr. Fulton reports that to date it has expelled 117 members; suspended for as little as 15 days to as long as 2 years, 38; fined 246 members as little as $25 to as much as $12,500. In addition to these penalties imposed on members against whom complaints were filed over the years, it has censured, fined, suspended, or expelled 157 individuals in the securities business.

The NASD is organized on both a national and a district basis—the country is divided into 14 districts. As executive director, Mr. Fulton is constantly meeting with members and district committees. It means that he

doesn't spend much time at home in Washington.

In fact, he is away so often he has had to give up one of his cherished hobbies—raising orchids and, instead, turn to the raising of dwarf trees. Orchids, he explains, require careful attention and must be raised under the right humidity conditions.

The United States and the Refugee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Eleanor Waters, committee secretary of the Catholic Association for International Peace, and the statement she encloses of the Committee on World Order of the Catholic Association for International Peace.

There being no objection, the letter and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE,
Washington, D. C., August 1, 1957.

The Honorable WILLIAM LANGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: Permit me to direct your attention to the enclosed statement by the Committee on World Order of the Catholic Association for International Peace, emphasizing the need for emergency refugee immigration legislation. We believe that this statement will be of interest to you.

With every good wish, I remain,
Sincerely yours,

ELEANOR WATERS,
Committee Secretary.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE REFUGEE—POLICY STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE ON WORLD ORDER

At the termination of World War II, the United States embarked upon a wholesome emergency refugee resettlement program that was designed to enable our country to play its rightful part in the solution of the huge postwar refugee problem.

Through the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and its amendment of 1950, we permitted over 400,000 uprooted and displaced persons to find sanctuary and a new life in our blessed country. Although there was some early opposition to the proposed legislation and even against the refugees, and although their reception and integration into our American way of life presented many problems, very few now object to their presence here. They have become part of the national scene and are contributing from their culture and skills to the enrichment of our industrial and economic life; their children have found their way into our schools, many of them into American colleges and universities. They are part of our parishes and our communities, and in every way we are richer for having accepted them.

In 1953, the Congress enacted the second Emergency Refugee Relief Act as another evidence of its desire to participate in the resettlement of these victims of war and oppression. The large majority of the 209,000 nonquota visas that it authorized were made available for refugees. This legislation provided an opportunity for sanctuary in behalf of many who had fled from oppression to a haven of refuge here, where they and their families now have a guaranty of freedom.

The Hungarian crisis of last November and its consequent displacement of almost 200,000 people again served to dramatize the need for further United States participation in granting asylum to these victims of Communist tyranny. Our country, again anxious to come to the rescue of persecuted people, responded by means of a presidential directive, resulting in the admission of some 32,000 of them to the United States. A majority of these were admitted under parole status, due to the fact that the few thousand visas remaining under the Refugee Relief Act could be made available only to the first lucky ones. The regularization of the status of those admitted on parole is now perplexing many people, and there are some, including the President himself, who have appealed to Congress to accomplish this by means of special legislation.

Thousands of these Hungarian refugees, many of whom have been separated from their families and who sought sanctuary in Austria, Yugoslavia, and other countries of Western Europe, should be given an opportunity to seek a decent livelihood in some more fortunate country like our own. In addition, there are several thousand Croats, Macedonians, Serbs, and Slovenes who have fled into Austria and northern Italy. There are also large numbers of refugee families who were in the so-called pipeline when the Refugee Relief Act ended on December 31, 1956. Many of the breadwinners from Italy, who came in under the Refugee Relief Act, left their spouses and children behind, thus creating serious problems for separated families. The conflicts in the Middle East and the Far East also have produced tremendous numbers of refugees for whom agencies of mercy, both voluntary and governmental, have been seeking relief through migration to places that can provide them with the opportunity to begin life anew.

It is extremely doubtful that Congress will incorporate refugee legislation into our basic immigration law, at least in the foreseeable future. Hence it would seem that strong efforts should be made to obtain further emergency legislation to supplement those measures passed in previous Congresses.

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, has introduced an immigration bill, as has Congressman FRANCIS WALTER, of Pennsylvania. Both bills would grant some limited relief for refugees, but would not adequately serve the purpose of granting asylum to large numbers of those who fled persecution and are so urgently in need of resettlement.

We have assumed a role of world leadership that places grave responsibilities upon us in this and other world crises. The refugees' plight is not the least of the sores in today's sick world. To assure some form of action on this critical issue, the citizens of this country should urge their representatives in Congress to exert the best possible influence toward the passage of further legislation to alleviate the refugee problem. Surely, there is still much more room in the inn.

A Canadian View of the McKay Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, because there has been considerable controversy over the appointment of Douglas McKay, former Secretary of the Interior, as Chairman of the International Joint Commission, I believe a Canadian opinion of Mr. McKay's qualifications will be significant.

I wish to call to the attention of the Senate the column about Mr. McKay by Bill Ryan, business editor of the Vancouver Province, which was published in that important British Columbia newspaper August 6, 1957. For the information of the Senate, I will point out that the Province is a newspaper which traditionally supports the Conservative Party in Canadian elections. Thus, it cannot be dismissed as radical by Republican defenders of Mr. McKay. The column by Mr. Ryan describes the appointment of Mr. McKay as "another roadblock."

I ask unanimous consent that the entire comment by Mr. Bill Ryan in the Vancouver, British Columbia, Province appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TERRITORY BOOMS—BRITISH COLUMBIA'S YUKON TRADE BUCKS SOFT SPOT FOR EDMONTONIANS

(By Bill Ryan)

Canada-United States talks on Columbia River power development have likely hit another roadblock—rather than stimulant—in the appointment of former United States Interior Secretary Douglas McKay as United States Chairman of the International Joint Commission.

McKay, say Washington observers, is a private power exponent, and probably lukewarm to any expansion of public power in the Pacific Northwest. What's more, his appointment apparently does nothing to solve the continuing private-versus-public power squabble in the United States, with which Canada's Columbia River hopes seem inextricably bound.

It is a bleak picture for British Columbia, one virtually without visible solution—unless Canada goes it alone on upper Columbia development. And such a course has its drawbacks since it might provide the United States Pacific Northwest with substantial downstream benefits—free of charge.

Michigan Bean Soup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, a grave error has been committed against the Michigan bean by a certain food columnist who states that bean soup can be made by mixing together canned black bean soup and canned beef consomme, flavoring the mix with lemon juice and hardboiled eggs.

The Grand Rapids Herald, one of the great newspapers of Michigan, has taken the position that bean soup is made with beans—and furthermore that the best bean soup is made with Michigan beans.

It is well that the Herald has endeavored to correct the terrible wrong done to Michigan beans. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD the editorial to which I have referred. It is entitled "Peabeans Only."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEA BEANS ONLY

Senator CHARLES E. POTTER, who sends out on request copies of the recipe for Michigan bean soup as served in the Senate restaurant, is probably the man to deal with the atrocious error that appears in the August number of a magazine women are reputed to believe in.

Under the heading "Michigan Bean Soup," the magazine directions begin like this: "Mix together in a saucepan, one 10½-ounce can of condensed black bean soup, one 10½-ounce can of beef consomme" and goes on with matters like lemon juice and hardboiled eggs.

It may be a good soup, but no Michigan bean grower is ever going to recognize it as Michigan bean soup.

White pea beans—that's the foundation for Michigan bean soup. You can skip the broth and lemon juice, substituting a little salt pork, but the beans, white and nourishing, are the thing you can't change or leave out. Michigan grows those beans, and no other bean, black, red, or pinto, will do for Michigan bean soup.

Visits by National Commanders of Veterans' Organizations to Foreign Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, Joseph F. Burke, national commander of the Disabled American Veterans, and six other national commanders of veterans' organizations, recently returned from a tour of several foreign countries. The national commanders made their trip in conjunction with President Eisenhower's people-to-people program designed to increase contacts between our leaders and institutions and those of other nations throughout the world. Mr. Burke, who is from Bayonne, N. J., and his colleagues visited England, France, Italy, and Israel for 2 weeks.

Upon his return, at the request of the Bayonne Times, his hometown newspaper, he wrote a series of three articles on the impressions of his visit. I know it would be of interest to a great many people to read the warm and sympathetic views of this American abroad in seeking to better understand the ways of others, as he would have them understand us. It is not necessary to agree with all of Joe Burke's observations to commend them to the attention of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the three articles written by Mr. Burke appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bayonne (N. J.) Times of August 1, 1957]

VETERAN ABROAD, I—BURKE REGARDS ENGLAND AS FIREST UNITED STATES ALLY

(Joseph F. Burke, national commander of the Disabled American Veterans, returned recently from a 2-week tour of England, France, Italy, and Israel. Accompanied by six other national commanders of veterans organizations, Burke made the trip in connection with President Eisenhower's People-to-People program, in which representatives of institutions in this country meet with representatives of similar agencies overseas. In a three-series article, Burke will give his impressions of the places he visited.)

(By Joseph F. Burke)

I want to say this first of all: I am not an expert on Europe or the Middle East. Perhaps there are some people clever enough to visit 4 foreign countries in 2 weeks and come back and tell you all about it. They can tell you what is wrong and what should be done about it. I can't do that. I am not that gifted.

PRESS FRIENDLY

However, I saw a lot and I listened a lot. To my way of thinking, that is the best way to learn a lot. I did.

Before leaving the United States, we were advised that we might meet a hostile press. This proved to be untrue. We were interviewed many times, and were asked many searching questions. But at no time were we deliberately embarrassed.

It was surprising to note that the entire attitude of the people changed when we told them that we were not making the tour on Government funds. They became much more interested, talkative and helpful. It is a point I intend to study much further, as you may well understand.

An opinion which was held by some of the people I spoke with was that Americans are given to friendly talk and hostile actions. I explained that we always have been friendly. I said, certain policies and decisions which we believe were made in the interests of our own security by our Government occasionally appear unfriendly to other people.

However, I want to emphasize this: The people were gracious toward us. There was not one unpleasant instance during the entire trip. I did not see any "Yankee, go home" signs.

I found England very pleasant. The sentiment of the people there seemed to be that if we aren't friends then we should be. They are a bit troubled and worried about some of our actions, but still basically pro-American.

They feel as though we must stand together. Because of the same language they believe that no serious differences would ever come between us. We might argue, but never fight. That's the way they look at it.

Naturally, the Suez question was the main topic. Many of the people I spoke to objected to our stand in the matter. I pointed out to them that they had to understand that there was a difference of opinion in the United States also regarding the steps we took.

They were quick to assure me that there also was considerable differences in their own country. I found the English a wonderful agreeable, and intelligent people. Of all the nations I visited I believe that England would be the one we could count on first to help in case of emergency.

One of the highlights of the trip to England was a visit by two gentlemen from Eire. They were members of the American Legion, and when they heard we were in London they came across to say hello. They were our guests at our general meeting with the British veteran representatives.

Naturally when they found out that my mother and father were from the Auld Sod they were very pleased and we had a stimulating conversation.

[From the Bayonne (N. J.) Times of August 2, 1957]

VETERAN ABROAD, II—ISRAEL SETTLERS REMIND BURKE OF UNITED STATES PIONEERS

(This is the second of three articles written by Joseph F. Burke, national commander of the Disabled American Veterans, who has returned from a 2-week European and Middle Eastern tour. Yesterday Burke discussed his general impressions and England. The national commander stresses that he is no expert on European affairs, and that he merely is reporting his general ideas of the trip.)

(By Joseph F. Burke)

Israel was the country in which I noticed the most tension. The situation is taut. The Arabs feel that there is no Israel, and the Israelis are determined to keep their country.

I feel I am safe in saying that neither the Arabs nor the Israelis will advance until they decide to live in peace and harmony. Friendship must develop between the two peoples before the first steps of real progress can be taken.

TOURED GAZA STRIP

This tension of which I speak was one of the most important phase of the trip. I did not think things were so desperate as they are.

One of the things which stuck hard in my head was that you can leave an air-conditioned hotel in Tel Aviv, and within 10 minutes by car you can see Jews of 42 nationalities trying desperately to eke out a living.

We toured the Gaza strip where tension is alive. People work in the fields and live close by in places you might call bockhouses. They are constantly on guard, and always watching as they work.

Looking at these people in the fields makes you think of our own American pioneers who worked with their rifles always within reach.

I found the Israelis very pro-American. Perhaps this is because they realize how much they owe us. And the feeling of this debt perhaps overbalances any bitterness they might have about the Suez crisis.

The standing army in Israel is small but the country can be defended quickly with this blockhouse system. These people in the fields would be under the command of senior noncommissioned officers. They are ready to fight.

The Israeli army is small but as modern as any that can be put in the field today. That is, without atomic weapons which the Israelis do not have. This is no exaggeration. They proved that they can move fast.

Defensively, their army can be ready for complete action within a matter of hours. Offensively, they can be set to attack within a few days. They showed that this was possible in the Egyptian campaign.

Perhaps the only way for an American to understand Israel's position would be to visualize constant attacks from Canadians and Mexicans across our borders. Then we follow those raids with retaliatory raids of our own. And add to all this tension the fact that the country has 1,000 miles of borders to defend.

Of all the countries I saw, I believe that Israel left the most forceful impression with me. London, Paris and Rome looked like the cities we all have seen many times before—they are alike in many respects.

But this was the first time I had been in a little country which was struggling so desperately to keep its name and honor.

While we were being interviewed by newsmen in Tel Aviv, Herb Block of the Jewish

War Veterans was asked what he thought of Israel.

"I'm a prejudiced witness," said Herb, "and this is a bit unfair. Why not ask Joe here for his reactions?"

I turned to Herb and I said: "Herb, what makes you think you're the only prejudiced witness here? My Irish ancestors have been fighting for their independence much longer than Israel. That puts me in a prejudiced class, too."

We had conferences with Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and General Moshe Dayan, Israel's chief of staff. I found them both confident and very interesting. Besides Tel Aviv, we visited Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Haifa.

[From the Bayonne (N. J.) Times of August 3, 1957]

VETERAN ABROAD, III—EUROPEANS DISAPPROVE UNITED STATES POLICY, NOT NATION ITSELF, BURKE FINDS

(This is the third and concluding article by Joseph F. Burke, national commander of the Disabled American Veterans, about his recent trip to Europe and the Middle East in conjunction with President Eisenhower's People-to-People program. He made the trip with six other national commanders of veteran organizations.)

(By Joseph F. Burke)

A good way to sum up this trip would be to say that the people overseas are not anti-American, but they are anti-American policy.

The one country I would worry most about is France. I do not say they would go Communist in case of hostilities. But I do think that unless we get busy, and fast, they would be inclined to remain neutral. In other words, we might lose them—not to the enemy but from ourselves.

I noticed there was considerable difficulty in getting these people to understand how our democracy works. You had to sit down and explain it.

For instance, many people I spoke with in France were upset by the remarks of our Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, about their Algerian problem.

KENNEDY, you remember, objected to France's handling of the situation, and said that the United Nations should step in and stop hostilities until the case had been reviewed.

I went into detail to explain that when individual, prominent Americans make statements they are not necessarily speaking for the entire United States. I told them that Senator KENNEDY had made the statements from his vast knowledge of foreign affairs and after a long study of the Algerian situation.

Americans realized, I said, that this opinion was his own, and we could either accept or reject it in our own minds. I repeated to them that this free speech was one of the cornerstones of our democracy.

A newspaperman asked me what were my impressions about being in France for the first time. I told him I was won by the country and the people. My feelings, honestly, were stirred. I felt wonderful about being on the soil of the country which had helped us win our war of independence. We must remember that without France none of us might have had the privilege of being born an American citizen.

I repeat that we must act soon to save France from adopting a neutral outlook on world affairs.

On the other hand we have Italy, which is very warmhearted toward Americans. Maybe this is because of the fact that they have been treated more generously by us than the other two Axis members, Japan and Germany. Remember, we took no reprisals against Italy, and our troops were completely out of there shortly after the war was over. All this despite the fact that she was our enemy in World War II.

I noticed that the Italians seemed to go out of their way to be nice to Americans.

I must tell you this. During the fighting in Italy, I lost my left arm. Lewis Gaugh, cochairman of our trip, was kidding around and said, "Joe lost his arm over here and came back to see if he could find it."

The Italian newsmen were not sure how to take the joke, so I said, "I am content to let my arm stay in Italy. I came to know and love this nation during this war. I know what the people went through."

And even though the remark had been indirectly the result of Gaugh's kidding, I meant every word of it. I can say that the Italian veteran leaders were very pleased with what I said, to put it mildly.

Getting away from veteran problems for a while, I would like to go on record as saying that the Italian girls are just as beautiful as we have been led to believe by the importation of Italian actresses to our country.

Of course, as one of our group suggested, we might have been looking at American tourists. That could be true, too, because Rome was flooded with tourists from the United States.

Although they are not so emotional as the French—who are the extreme—the Italians can be very gay and fun-loving.

And yet the mood changes as one approaches another section of Rome-Vatican City. Here one realizes the tremendous religious significance of this city-within-a-city. Many people don't know that the Holy Father appears at his study windows each noon and blesses the thousands who gather outside. He does this every day that his health permits.

The pilgrims who come here from all over the world know the contributions he has made towards peace. Just to see him makes a tremendous impression on all the people who visit Rome.

In conclusion, I believe that President Eisenhower's people-to-people program is a worthwhile project. I believe that it will expand until every representative organization in the United States has sent delegates to see, talk to, and get to know our friends overseas.

Plight of Farmers in North Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Oscar Lykken, of Kindred, N. Dak., relating to farm conditions in North Dakota.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KINDRED, N. DAK., *August 2, 1957.*

Senator BILL LANGER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BILL: It seems that under Ike's rule, or the Government's I should say, are doing nothing to help the farmers from going broke.

Our Berkely Implement Co. here at Kindred is soon to be foreclosed on, as the farmers can't pay their bills.

Who is running this country anyway? Everything we buy is going up and our grain prices are going down. How can we balance our books with this going on. With that rat Benson in Washington we will all go broke. Ike must know that, or he does not care.

It's getting pretty rough.

Yours truly,

OSCAR LYKKEN.

Legislation To Protect Security of FBI Files Vitally Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, the Congress should pass without further delay the legislation which has been reported out of the Judiciary Committee to offset the disastrous effects of the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case. We are failing the American people in our plain duty to the national welfare if we adjourn without passing this most essential measure. Every day of delay adversely affects the work of the FBI and the other investigatory agencies of the Government. This is clearly pointed out in the following letter which I have received from Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI, who stresses the urgency of the legislation:

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOE: I have just had the opportunity of reading your statement in Saturday's New York Herald Tribune regarding the necessity of acting upon the legislation designed to clarify the situation brought on by the Jencks decision. It was heartening indeed to note the hope that the legislation would be acted upon before the adjournment of Congress.

The need for the legislation which the Attorney General has recommended and which has now been approved by the House Judiciary Committee becomes more real as additional cases come before the various Federal district courts. Its enactment is vital to the future ability of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to carry out its internal security and law enforcement responsibilities.

Already we have had the revolting experience of witnessing persons charged with violations of Federal law turned loose when the Government was faced with the dilemma of either disclosing the contents of its investigative reports or abandoning a prosecution. This situation could have been avoided had it been possible to present records and documents to the courts for an in camera inspection to safeguard the rights of the defendant as is provided for in the legislation presently before the Congress.

The FBI and other Federal investigative agencies are effective in direct ratio to their ability to secure information and evidence. The fact that prior to June 3, 1957, informed people knew that our files were inviolate has been a powerful factor in our ability to secure information. Since the Jencks decision, however, we have faced one obstacle after another. We have experienced instance after instance where sources of information have been closed to our agents because of the fear that the confidence we could once guarantee could no longer be assured. We have also experienced a reluctance on the

part of numerous citizens to cooperate as freely as they once did.

Thus, you can appreciate how encouraging it was to note your hope that Congress, before it adjourns, would take steps to clarify the situation with which every Federal investigative agency has been confronted since the Jencks decision. The need is urgent, I can assure you, to act upon the Attorney General's recommendations which have been approved by the House Judiciary Committee.

With best wishes and kind regards.

Sincerely,

EDGAR.

Overcrowded Schools in Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently Mr. Tom Henshaw, an Associated Press news-feature writer, wrote an article entitled "Alabama Schools Most Overcrowded in Nation," which was published in the Birmingham News of August 4, 1957.

I think the article presents a very good picture of the deplorable condition which exists in many of the public schools of our country and the need for some kind of school construction aid or other Federal aid for education.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIRTY-EIGHT PERCENT BEYOND NORMAL—ALABAMA SCHOOLS MOST OVERCROWDED IN NATION

(By Tom Henshaw)

"I hope the hard fight will increase the interest of the citizens in providing classroom facilities for the children of America."

Thus spoke Representative SAMUEL MCCONNELL, Republican, of Pennsylvania, sounding a hopeful note at the bier of a $1½ billion Federal aid to education bill, for which he was GOP floor leader.

School aid bills have been beaten in the House in each of the past two congressional sessions, despite the fact most people agree the Nation's public schools are badly overcrowded

Next month an estimated 33½ million youngsters will be trekking back to classrooms with facilities resigned to handle possibly little more than 30 billion.

The answer, of course, is more classrooms. But they would cost most States more than they care to tax. A large school of thought feels the Federal Government should provide the funds.

The accompanying maps and charts illustrate graphically the school problem facing the States: Rising enrollment plus lack of funds equals overcrowded classrooms.

How fast is enrollment rising?

In 1950, says the United States Office of Education, there were 25,241,000 pupils enrolled in public schools. By 1954, the last year in which complete figures are available, the number had risen to 28,995,000.

The Office of Education estimates more than 33½ million children will be in public schools this fall and, projecting ahead, it figures there will be nearly 38 million in 1962 and more than 40 million in 1965.

How badly overcrowded are the schools?

The Office of Education figures that the 31½ million pupils who attended public schools last year was about 2¼ million or more than 7 percent above the normal capacity of facilities.

Alabama was by far the most overcrowded with more than 38 percent of its pupil population in excess of normal capacity. Wisconsin is the least overcrowded, less than one-half of 1 percent.

Where does the school money come from?

The community and the State provide about 92 percent of funds used to build and operate schools, says the Office of Education. Almost all is raised by taxation and appropriations.

The Federal Government kicks in 4½ percent, mostly for the school-lunch programs; intermediate governments, like counties, account for 3 percent and the remaining one-half of 1 percent comes from special fees such as tuitions and transportation.

How much is spent per pupil on education?

The Office of education says $264.76 was spent annually on each pupil in average daily attendance at a public school in the United States during the academic year 1953–54, the last in which full figures are available.

By State, there were wide differences in amount, from the $361 spent by New York to the $122 provided in Mississippi.

Do the States spend money on schools in relation to their financial ability?

Generally, yes. New York, with the highest total personal incomes, spends the most on its schools, Mississippi, with the lowest total personal income, spends the least?

Is there a relationship between the amount of money spent on each pupil and the percentage of overcrowding?

Broadly speaking, yes. But there are exceptions.

Washington, for instance, where the population has been increasing rapidly, spends $305 on each pupil in average daily attendance, a figure topped by only eight other States. But Washington's overcrowding index is 15 percent, fifth on that list.

On the other hand, West Virginia, with a relatively static population, is 40th on the spending list with $186 but it's little more than 4 percent overcrowded.

Houses Are Too High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of August 10, 1957:

HOUSES ARE TOO HIGH

The National Housing Conference says only about one-sixth of the families in the United States have a high enough income to justify the purchase of a new home, at today's prices.

This is both informative and discouraging. It would seem in the richest country in the world, more than 1 in each 6 families would be in a position to buy their own home. However, after a careful study of prices and the incomes of the average American family, that is the conclusion reached by the NHC.

The results of the survey show that the minimum price of a 1-family home ranges from about $8,500 in Philadelphia to about $14,000 in Milwaukee. The average is about $11,500, which is about the cost in Kansas City.

Further, it is estimated that a family should have an annual income of over $7,000 to meet the cost of an $11,500 house, the average. This finding is based on estimated monthly expenses of $119 for amortization, taxes, insurance, maintenance, utilities, and heat.

The NHC believes housing costs should not exceed one-fifth of a family's income, and we are inclined to agree, although the rule cannot apply generally to all families. Inflation, of course, has increased the price of a new home. So have higher and higher labor costs.

As a result, in our country, the richest in the world, only 1 in 6 families can afford to purchase a home of their own. While this is a high percentage, when compared with that prevailing in other countries, we think it should be higher. That the cost of homes should somehow be reduced, even if it is done by wider usage of, and better designed, prefabricated houses is evident.

Postal Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Charles Dunavant, legislative representative of branch 39 of the National Association of Postal Supervisors, together with the editorial he encloses from the Los Angeles Herald-Express of July 29, 1957.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRANCH 39, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTAL SUPERVISORS,
Los Angeles, Calif., August 6, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: The enclosed editorial which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald-Express, traditionally a conservative newspaper strongly supporting economy in Government, clearly defines the urgent need of an immediate salary increase for Post Office employees. It reflects the universally held favorable public opinion toward adequate salaries for postal people.

The more than 400 members of the Los Angeles Branch 39, National Association of Postal Supervisors, urge you to support an immediate and adequate salary increase.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES DUNAVANT,
Legislative Representative.

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Express of July 29, 1957]

POSTAL PAY INCREASE

Although there seems to be a general opinion in some Washington quarters that the President will veto the postal pay increase measure which seems likely to have final congressional approval at this session, we sincerely hope that is not true.

The Herald-Express, along with the other Hearst newspapers, has been waging a determined campaign to reduce Governmental

expenditures and lower taxes, but we would like to see Government expenses cut in the right places.

Of all the workers in the United States, we feel that the downtrodden postal workers are among the most deserving for salary increases. They are the poorest paid of all Government workers, although all of us, in our homes or offices, know how essential their services are to us personally and how important they are to the business health of this Nation.

If you have a chance to talk to your postman, or to workers in Los Angeles postoffice stations, they will tell you that the pay is so poor it is almost impossible to obtain enough recruits for jobs or retain workers beyond the time when they can take better paying jobs.

The House of Representatives has approved an across-the-board increase of $546 a year for postal workers. This would raise the total Federal expenditures by less than a third of a billion dollars annually. A Senate committee has endorsed a somewhat smaller wage boost.

There is no doubt of the merit of the proposed wage increase. The only possible doubt is as to whether it is enough.

Our Colleague James E. Van Zandt, of the 20th District of Pennsylvania, Paid Unusual Tribute by the Department of Pennsylvania American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, last week, in convention assembled at Harrisburg, Pa., the department of Pennsylvania American Legion approved a resolution commending Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT for his work as a member of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the House Committee on the Armed Services, together with his many years of service to the veterans of the Nation and their dependents.

The honor accorded Congressman VAN ZANDT was the subject of the following editorial which appeared in the August 13, 1957, issue of the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror:

PAID UNUSUAL TRIBUTE

Unprecedented as it may seem, Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT of Altoona is a peacemaker and today he rates as perhaps the most outstanding individual among war veterans, all because of a recent honor bestowed upon him during the annual convention of the Pennsylvania department of the American Legion.

Congressman VAN ZANDT, during the Harrisburg convention session, was honored by the Legion delegates, a resolution being unanimously adopted commending him for his work as a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee and calling him an outstanding Member of Congress, as well as a distinguished and hard-working friend of all servicemen.

The commendation was unusual, but well merited, and the Legion committee called attention to the many achievements of the Altoonan, his war service, his activity in organized veteran affairs, and his excellent record in Congress.

The award is rated unprecedented for it is the first time in American Legion history that a rival, organizationwise, one with strong ties to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, has been so highly lauded.

The Congressman is affiliated with both veterans' groups and he twice served as department commander of the VFW in Pennsylvania and on three occasions headed the national VFW as commander. To be accorded the high honor by the Legion is a most appreciated tribute to Congressman VAN ZANDT'S ability, his services to all veteran organizations, and his extreme popularity and knowledge of national affairs.

The award came as a complete surprise to the Congressman, who was absent, however, from the meeting. During the reading of the award on the convention floor, Legionnaires loudly applauded the official action.

Congressman VAN ZANDT, an Altoona native, now 59 years old, served in World War I as a volunteer, rising to chief quartermaster at the end of the war. He has held a continued enlistment in the reserves since that time and has never missed an annual cruise. He was recalled for World War II service in the Pacific, ending almost 4 years' active duty with the rank of captain. He also served in the Korean area. His military and war records brought him numerous awards and decorations.

With Congress scheduled to adjourn this month, Mr. VAN ZANDT plans to attend the national encampment of the VFW at Miami Beach. He will tour later in September, flying to Vienna, Austria, for an atomic energy session, and he will visit in various foreign countries for a month.

The Congressman is closing out his 8th term, first from the 23d District in 1938 and now the 20th District, his service being interrupted by World War II. His Pennsylvania railroad service dates from 1916.

Wilkes-Barre's 109th Field Artillery Battalion Makes Excellent Showing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of August 12, 1957, which comments on the performance of the 109th Field Artillery Battalion at the Governor's Day review held at Indiantown Gap, Pa., on Saturday, August 10, 1957:

ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH MEASURES UP

Its excellent showing at the annual Governor's Day Review at Indiantown Gap Military Reservation on Saturday is a credit to the officers and men of the 109th Field Artillery Battalion and a source of gratification to our community. The battalion was living up to its own best traditions and those of the long line of predecessor organizations with proud records in war and peace.

Saturday's creditable performance that drew applause and words of commendation was no accident. It was the product of careful planning, competent instruction, and faithful drilling. The public knows and sees little of these things but the members of the battalion are conscious of them. Lt. Col. Frank Townsend and those associated with him in the command of the battalion can justly take pride in the results achieved. The devoted spirit shown by this organization deserves appreciation.

Citizen Award to Walter H. Beam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a news article which appeared in a recent issue of the Indianola Tribune, Indianaola, Iowa, with reference to a citizen award which was presented to Walter H. Beam, of Martensdale, Iowa:

WALTER H. BEAM WINS FIRST MARTENSDALE CITIZEN AWARD

Walter H. Beam, an employee of the State of Iowa for 43 years and an original resident of Martensdale received Martensdale's first citizen of the year award Monday evening, February 25, 1957.

The award was given by the Martensdale Community Club at a pot luck dinner at the club building and was presented by Mrs. John Powers, master of ceremonies for the program.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, four former Iowa governors and the widow of a fifth, the late William S. Beardsley of New Virginia, sent letters of greeting to Mr. Beam for the occasion. The ex-governors, all Republicans, were Dan Turner, Robert D. Blue, Leo A. Hoegh and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, now United States Senator from Iowa.

Greetings were also received from Judge Harold E. Davidson, of the 15th judicial district, a longtime friend; Glenn D. Sarsfield, State comptroller and Mr. Beam's former boss and William B. Sayre of Ackworth, Warren County Republican chairman and Emory English, editor of the Iowa Annals.

Mr. Beam was honored for six reasons, Mrs. Powers said. In her talk she listed Mr. Beam's qualities: president of the community club, his work for the Wick field picnic, his election work for the Republican Party, Martensdale pioneer, his work for schools and civic development and over 40 years of service to the State of Iowa.

Mr. Beam is best known as parliamentarian to the Iowa Senate, a post he filled with distinction while serving as secretary of the senate for seven sessions, 1925–31 and 1937–41. He also worked between sessions, on six issues of the Iowa Code as a proofreader.

Mr. Beam first went to work for the State in 1913 when he became senate file clerk. He then worked his way up the ladder, becoming a reading and engrossing clerk and then assistant senate secretary.

He left the senate in 1942, after 29 years' continuous service, when he became an auditor with the State tax commissioner. He then went back to the senate for 1 term in 1945 as assistant secretary before transferring to the comptroller's office, where he audited all State printing bills from 1945 until January of this year. He then left State employment when his job was transferred to the State printing board.

Mr. Beam has also worked for Martensdale since the town was founded in 1913. He

came July 27, 1913, to buy grain for a Des Moines firm and has lived there since.

He worked to get the first post office for the new community and he worked day and night for the Martensdale Consolidated School District, which operates the present Martensdale schools. He has also been active in the town's Community Church, and took an active part in building the present building, which was dedicated in 1945.

Mr. Beam has also been active in Warren County affairs. He taught country school 4 years when he first came to the county in 1896 from Warren County, Ill., where he was born and raised and attended school. He was born there September 4, 1875, and taught school before moving to a farm near where Martensdale was to be located later.

He also served 2 terms as county auditor from 1909 to 1912 and he was a member of the county board of education for 27 years, ending in 1942.

He also served 12 years on the county Republican central committee and he has been a lifelong, active Republican. The letters from President Eisenhower, the five governors, and Mr. Sayre all praised his faithful party service.

Mr. Beam married the former Katie Ruth Darling December 28, 1910, at her home in Bedford and the couple have lived in Martensdale ever since the town was formed. The couple have 4 sons, George and Charles, of Indianola; Burl, of Martensdale; and Max, of Hamilton, Mass.; and 6 grandchildren.

Others on the program honoring Mr. Beam were Mr. Frank Lickteig, Martensdale garageman, who talked on early businesses in town; Mrs. Carl Martens, who talked on early families and homes; and the Reverend Virgil Bunjer, pastor of the Martensdale Community Church, who gave the history of the church.

Mrs. Powers also asked club members to think about donating the use of their building for a youth center. "This would do no harm at all as we have the space and just have to utilize it," she concluded.

Farm Conditions in North Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two GTA Daily Radio Roundups, prepared by the Public Relations Department, the first dated August 8, 1957, and the second dated August 12, 1957.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 8, 1957

The 1957 small-grain harvest is at its peak right now. It's a busy time for farmers in the GTA country—the two Dakotas, Montana, and Minnesota. Here is where the choicest grain in the Nation is grown. The harvest is a race against the weather to get the ripe grain off the fields, before it can be damaged by rain and weather. This year the harvest started about 2 weeks early, and the first truckloads of oats, barley, rye, and wheat came in over the scales late in July.

Some of the grain is running light in test weight, because of unfavorable weather during the growing season—too much heat, too little rain. That makes bad news for farmers who had hoped to hit top price brackets with high-quality grain. Most farmers are hauling right from field to elevator, and they ned cash to pay bills and living expenses, like the rest of it. That means they sell their grain outright, or put it under Government loan.

Only a generation ago, this great flood of grain to market would have spelled price disaster for farmers, particularly with some of the grain running light in test weight. The harvest comes only once a year, and it is telescoped into a few weeks. It used to be that prices nosedived, and after the grain was out of the farmers' hands and in the big elevators, prices worked back up to profitable levels. Prices still go down during harvest, but it is not the landslide it used to be. Back of this change for better marketing lies a vast cooperative grain marketing system, built by the farmers themselves, and, of course, the Government loan program, which cooperatives played such a big role in obtaining for farmers.

The farmers had two main objectives in mind when they set out, more than 50 years ago, to build their own marketing system. They wanted more services, and they wanted stable markets that would lead to better prices. They now have the services, and getting better each year. And, markets are far more stable than they used to be. A big reason for this is millions of bushels of storage space for grain, in the country and in the terminals, where the grain is held—still under farmer ownership—until the harvest tide is flushed out of the market.

In the big terminal markets, GTA now has storage space for 20 million bushels of grain. The country elevators that ship to GTA, and there are 650 of them, have space to store, roughly, another 60 million bushels. You can see how that takes the rush out of grain marketing, and smoothes it out into a more stable operation.

But, don't believe for a minute that the farmers are resting on their laurels, that they have quit building their marketing system. Steel bins and quonsets and warehouses and new "prairie skyscraper" elevators are pushing up all the time, working toward the day when market stability will be 100 percent accomplished.

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 12, 1957

Back in the thirties, when farmers all over the Nation were in deep distress, farm groups all got together on ways to help. Out of this unity came price supports, the REA, farm-credit facilities, crop insurance, and many other legislated aids to agriculture. The question that now is in order is, Can our farm groups get back to working in harmony for the common good again?

Farm unity, as we knew it in the thirties, has well nigh disappeared. The so-called farm bloc has been shattered. Has it been part of the grand strategy of the present Secretary of Agriculture to destroy first the farm bloc, then the farm programs that have worked so well in the past? Some reporters of the Washington scene say it has, and we all are aware, of the constant campaign that has been waged by the Secretary against price supports and production controls.

Now there is underway a new effort to piece the farm bloc back together again and come up with some kind of a program that will satisfy the various segments of our agriculture. That effort was undertaken in Washington last week when spokesmen for some 37 commodity organizations met. The meeting has been condemned by the Farm Bureau. The farmers union had observers present, and hopes something good may come out of it. The Grange was even actively participating. Little was done at this meeting, other than to agree on 2 or 3 principles and to set another meeting for more detailed discussion in September.

The big-city newspapers, of course, have seized upon the meeting to condemn present farm programs and to predict dire consequences for the major farm organizations. But the newspapers in the big cities have so frequently lauded the Benson efforts to sabotage all farm programs that their prophetic accuracy can be discounted considerably. It is completely possible that the meeting in Washington of the commodity groups can make a good start toward repairing the damage that Benson has done to farmer-managed programs. It is almost certain, however, that the general farm organizations will, in the end, have the say in determining the final program. To think otherwise would be wishful thinking.

In the meantime, reliable sources in Congress tell us there is virtually no prospect for farm legislation at this session, and the session is expected to be concluded in the next couple of weeks. But these same sources feel there will be a big drive on when the new session opens next January, and that we will see some real farm legislation by its end. It all depends on the concerted action of farmers throughout the country. Congress must know what farmers want and how bad they want it.

The farm-legislation problem calls for the big job of cooperation on the part of farmers, their farm organizations, and their leaders. It's a job we ought to know how to do on these upper Midwest plains, where cooperation, through GTA, the co-op way, has become a byword.

Mr. Byrd of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, recently Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, one of Virginia's outstanding journalists, wrote a very fine article about our colleague, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD]. This article appears in the August 10 issue of Human Events. So that more people in this country may have the opportunity to know this great statesman and great American, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. BYRD, OF VIRGINIA—AT 70, HE CONTINUES HIS GREAT CAREER

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Every Friday evening, the debates of the United States Senate permitting, HARRY FLOOD BYRD drives the sixty-odd miles from Washington to his home at Berryville, Va. It is a pleasant drive at almost any season of the year, through the rolling hunt country of Fairfax and Loudoun Counties, across the Shenandoah River, finally up a winding drive to the white-columned mansion, Rosemont, where dinner is waiting for him. From his veranda he can rest his eyes on a countryside so perfect it might have been clipped from a British travel poster—chimneys and steeples, and tree-lined country roads, and far away the soft, slate shadows of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Here the senior Senator from Virginia finds not only a few hours of rest and relaxation, but more deeply, a sort of spiritual purging and renewal. Here are his land, his well-

ordered orchards, his State. On Saturday mornings, when he goes to his office in the Winchester Star Building, he can study the neat, comprehensible figures of his farming operations. Saturday afternoons, in an old pair of pants and some worn hiking shoes, he can occupy himself with the realities of a farmer's world—scale on the Winesaps, the yield of Red Delicious. By Sunday night, when he drives back to the Shoreham and to the maelstrom of Washington, he is ready for another week of struggling against the forces of centralization he has resisted so long.

HARRY BYRD is 70 now. He has been in public life for 50 years, from the time he was elected—he was not quite 21—to the city council of Winchester. He was a State senator at 28, Governor of Virginia at 39; he has served as a Senator from Virginia since March of 1933. Today he is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, third in seniority in the upper Chamber, by general agreement one of the most powerful men on the Hill.

There are paradoxes in the Senator's makeup, as there doubtless are in every man's. He was raised in a State that prides itself on tobacco and fine liquor, but the Senator neither smokes nor drinks. He is a lifelong Democrat, with one of the most remarkable Republican voting records in the Senate. His every political instinct is conservative, yet his 4-year term as Governor of Virginia was marked by the most radical innovations in the State's government in this century.

But the student who delights in the inconsistencies of man, and in documenting the expedient about-faces of the average political leader, can glean little from BYRD's career. Thirty-four years ago when he led a fight in Virginia to keep the State's highway system free of debt, HARRY BYRD was crying for economy, efficiency, and sound finance. He was fighting for States rights and quoting the 10th amendment when Harding was in the White House. He has never swerved, never shifted. In a woefully unstable time, when old institutions totter or take on new faces, the Senator goes steadfastly on his way. He is an aristocrat, in the oldest and deepest meaning of the Greek root word—in the same sense that Jefferson, who was also a good politician, was an aristocrat, too; which is to say that BYRD believes in government by the best men the State can provide, and by "best" he means not necessarily the most brilliant or the most cultured, but the most honest, most industrious, and most highminded men.

Does all this depict the gentleman from Virginia as some paragon of virtue, an iceberg of gentility in a sea of common politicians? If so, the words are ill chosen. BYRD is essentially a gregarious person, with a lusty laugh and a childlike love of a good story. He actively enjoys making a speech before Rotary or Kiwanis; his battered felt hat exudes a characteristic informality; he is one of the easiest men in Washington for a reporter to reach by telephone. BYRD could not live down his illustrious ancestry if he wanted to, and he doesn't want to; but he doesn't take himself too seriously either.

The Byrds of Virginia go back to William Byrd I (1652–1704), a wealthy gentleman who laid out the city of Richmond and still is known affectionately in the State capital as Father Byrd. His son was William Byrd II (1674–1744), builder of the fabulous plantation known as Westover, a power in colonial times. Unhappily, the next Byrd in line was William III, who gambled away the rich inheritance of his father and left the family with neither position nor special prominence during the turbulent days of the Revolution.

Next in line was Thomas Taylor Byrd (1752–1821), a farmer who established the clan in Clarke County. His son was the first Richard Evelyn Byrd, a lawyer in Winchester; his son, in turn, was a Col. William Byrd, who migrated to Texas, became adjutant general of the State, and in time commanded a Confederate cavalry unit. It was in Austin, Tex., that the Senator's father, Richard Evelyn Byrd, was born in 1860. Soon after the war, the family returned to Virginia, and in time Richard Evelyn embarked upon a political career that saw him become speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates.

HARRY FLOOD BYRD was born in Martinsburg, W. Va., June 10, 1887. He was named for his mother's only brother. When two more boys came along, the infants were christened, with a puckish fealty to family tradition, Tom and Dick. After a distinguished career in World War I, Tom settled down in Clarke County as a quiet farmer and apple grower; Dick, of course, became admiral of the polar seas; HARRY took to politics.

The boys were born into a family rich in history but short on cash. At 15, as the oldest son, HARRY dropped out of school to do what he could toward improving the family fortunes. He rented a part interest in a small apple orchard, and began his days at 4:30 a. m. with a hand sprayer. He worked most of the day for the local telephone company. He saw an opportunity in the bankrupt weekly Star. It was a Horatio Alger story. His earnings on one orchard provided an equity in another; by the time he was 21 he was running the telephone company; he managed to get the Star back on its feet by driving into West Virginia every Wednesday with enough cash to buy paper for the week's press run. Today the BYRD family's holdings in Virginia and West Virginia constitute the largest private apple orchards in the world, and the Star, edited by State Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., is a thriving daily.

It was inevitable that the Senator should have gone early into politics. By the time his father won election to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1906, the 19-year-old son was saturated with politics. His mother's father and grandfather had served in the Virginia assembly; another of her grandfathers had served as Ambassador to France under Buchanan; her uncle was a United States Senator from West Virginia; her brother, "Uncle Hal" Flood, was for years a Member of the House of Representatives. Household conversation revolved constantly about the tribulations of the Democratic Party. In 1915 young Mr. BYRD became State Senator BYRD, and his career was on the way.

Political affairs in Virginia at this time were pretty much dominated by United States Senator Thomas S. Martin, a colorless figure who held a loose alliance with the powerful Methodist minister, James Cannon, Jr. Then, in a relatively short span of time, several events came together: Martin died, Cannon was raised to the bishopric and assigned temporarily away from Virginia, and there arose the road bond fight of 1923. HARRY BYRD, hating public debt, swiftly found himself leading opposition to the bond issue. He adopted John Randolph's magic slogan, "Pay as we go" and swept the State with passionate arguments against indebtedness. When the votes were counted, the bond issue was defeated by nearly 50,000 votes ("we would have turned out another 50,000 to vote against it," BYRD once recalled, "if the farmers could have driven through the mud to get to the polls"). And with the results of the referendum, BYRD was pushed into the vacuum of political leadership created by Martin's death.

At that, he might have remained in the State senate and tended his orchards if a chance remark at New York had not raised his temper. Attending the Democratic National Convention of 1924, BYRD found himself in a taxi with Bishop Cannon. The bishop, who still regarded Virginia as his political see, coldly advised BYRD not even to think of running for governor. "We," said the bishop, "have decided to elect Walter Mapp." Four months later, BYRD announced his own candidacy, and in the Democratic primary of 1925 he had the pleasure of defeating Cannon's nominee by an overwhelming margin.

BYRD's term as Governor of Virginia, from 1926 to 1930, is vividly remembered in the State to this day. There had been nothing like it before; there has been nothing like it since. He undertook a wholesale reorganization of the topheavy State bureaucracy and, amazingly, won easy legislative approval of reforms that most observers had thought impossible. Ninety-five State agencies were regrouped under 12 departments (40 agencies were abolished altogether). There had been 48 separate agencies collecting or disbursing State funds; these were boiled into 1 office of a State treasurer. BYRD instituted an 8-hour day for State employees who had been working 7 hours. More significantly, BYRD threw his whole support behind a movement to revise the Virginia constitution of 1902. A constitutional convention would have cost at least $500,000, and would have proclaimed amendments without direct approval of the people. Governor BYRD, as an alternative, named a small commission of outstanding attorneys (the commission spent a frugal $5,000 only), which recommended 47 material amendments to the constitution.

These changes were approved by the general assembly, and in June 1928, were approved by the people. Interestingly, 1 change increased the State supreme court from 5 to 7 members. BYRD declined to name the new justices, and forthrightly explained why: "I assured the public in my speeches advocating the proposed amendments that their adoption would give me no new appointments during my term. I believed that statement when I made it, and I expected the people to believe it when they heard it."

By the time BYRD went out of office in January of 1930, State taxes had been reduced; the State debt had been lowered by $4 million; a strong antilynching bill had been written into law (Virginia has not had a lynching since then), and mileage in the State highway system had increased by 45 percent. BYRD's Program of Progress, as he proudly called it, was an astonishing achievement in a State accustomed to moving, if at all, with painful slowness. The record caused BYRD to be nominated as Virginia's favorite son during the Democratic convention of 1932; and the following year, when Claude Swanson resigned his seat in the United States Senate to become Secretary of the Navy, no other appointment could have been made but that of HARRY BYRD. He took his seat March 4, 1933, and has held it against all challengers from that day to this.

The Democratic platform of 1932, he has often asserted, was an admirable platform. "I am still standing on it." The platform called for a reduction in Federal spending, for a renewed dedication to States rights, for economy in government. The first bill that BYRD voted on was a bill to "preserve the credit of the United States Government."

Before many months had passed, to be sure, the platform that was to have been so faithfully kept, had been summarily discarded. Senator BYRD, surprised and resentful, began building up the record of fierce party independence that he continues to compile today. He voted against the NIRA, the Guffey Coal Act, the AAA, the Wagner Act. He sought a program of Federal reorganization, only to have his efforts frustrated by President Roosevelt's ambitious plans. To BYRD's absolute horror, the Federal budget began going ever deeper in the red. Speaking to the Academy of Political Science in New York in 1937, the Senator observed in awe that "the Federal Government has spent in 7 years the in-

credible sum of $47 billion." It is inevitable, he asserted, "that the national credit will be impaired unless we retrench."

BYRD's repeated demands for a balanced budget led to a memorable exchange late in 1938 with Marriner S. Eccles, then chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. In a public letter on December 26, Eccles ridiculed BYRD's adherence to "those old-fashioned virtues of thrift, frugality, self-reliance, and industry." BYRD waited until January 16, and then fired a devastating reply. The Senator has a gift for pungent political attack; he took Mr. Eccles' hide clean off. His statement was widely commented upon then; it is excellent reading today.

Yet it is notable that in succeeding months, BYRD the economizer became BYRD the advocate of greater spending—greater spending on defense. In one speech after another, he needled the White House for what seemed to him inadequate outlays for the armed services. At one point, the President devoted a fire side chat to assuring the public that things were not so bad as the gentleman from Virginia believed. Roosevelt, though often sorely irriated by Senator BYRD, remained on good terms with him to the end. He loved to poke fun at the Virginian's incessant cries for economy, and made the mistake, just prior to his fourth inaugural, of remarking publicly that he would show BYRD and his fellow economizers a few things: he wouldn't spend a cent on his inauguration. Senator BYRD, who by accident of his chairmanship of the Rules Committee was chairman of the inaugural committee, took him at his word. At BYRD's request an appropriation for the ceremony was held to $25,000, half the usual cost. Out of this BYRD agreed to pay $700 in printing costs only, and while FDR fumed the Senator blandly turned back $24,300.

BYRD had played a significant role in the first nomination of Roosevelt in 1932; he also had given a boost to Truman's bid for the Vice Presidency at the convention of 1944, though not for any special love for Harry Truman (BYRD's only interest was in blocking Henry Wallace). As events worked out, the Virginian was even cooler to the Fair Deal than he had been to the Rooseveltian New Deal. The week after World War II ended, BYRD called publicly for a cutback in the Federal payroll to the prewar level of 1 million employees. Badgerlike, he went after Mr. Truman's budgets with unrelenting zeal. Every January, with the assistance of his crack staffman, Heywood Bell, Jr., the Senator worked up a "Byrd budget," to show that appropriations really could be cut by specific amounts. It was this monumental labor on BYRD's part that provoked and infuriated Truman into the historic declaration that there were "too many BYRDS in Congress." The Senator's expression, when he first heard of the remarks, was one of absolute glee.

BYRD's repeated conflicts with the White House during the Truman administration not unnaturally offended disciples of "party loyalty." He was often accused of "voting with the Republicans." For a time, BYRD passed off the charge with a good-humored comment that "my name begins with a 'B,' so I vote first and the Republicans vote with me." But at one point, the Senator delivered a tart reply to an insistent questioner who kept wanting to know, "What kind of Democrat are you?" BYRD's response was quoted by the Washington Post in 1951:

"I want to tell you what kind of a Democrat I am. I am not a Republican, I will tell you that. I vote with them when they are right, and against them when they are wrong, but I am not a Republican. The kind of Democrat that I try earnestly to be is that kind of Democrat that two of the greatest presidents of these United States were, both from Virginia, Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson. The kind of Democrat I try to be is the kind that Andrew Jackson was, who boasted that the proudest achievement of his administration was to pay off in toto the public debt. That is an opportunity that no one will ever have again. I am the kind of a Democrat that Grover Cleveland was, who said it was the duty of the people to support the Government, and not the Government, the people. The test of my vote in the Senate and my actions elsewhere, now, as they have been in the past, and as they will be in the future, is determined by what I believe to be best for my country."

That may seem a hackneyed peroration. BYRD means it. Time after time he has offended powerful interests in Virginia by his uncompromising independence of spirit. He has refused to support merely desirable, but nonessential, public improvements in his own Virginia. Late in 1951, less than a year before his most bitter fight for reelection, he rejected a plea from Virginia veterans that a VA district office in Richmond be maintained. "I do not feel that I can sincerely talk economy in Washington and oppose economy in Federal operations in Virginia," said BYRD. And that was that.

But statesman that he is, the senior Senator from Virginia is a thorough politician also. Now and then it appears that his hold on the Byrd organization (known to his foes as the Byrd machine) may be slipping. But every time the organization has been written off as an aggregation of old mossbacks, it bounces back to life more vigorous than before. Like the imperturbable oyster, the organization has a way of sucking in irritants and turning them into pearls. Through a process of genteel persuasion, so quiet as to be barely audible, unseemly controversies generally are avoided. When the organization is pushed into a fight, as it was in the Virginia gubernatorial race of 1949 and again in the Senator's own campaign of 1952, the organization fights like a catamount. BYRD has a hot temper; he sometimes has difficulty keeping it under control.

Most of the time, however, he is as cool as the white suits he wears throughout the summer months. In the Senate, he is a behind-the-scenes man. He seldom speaks on the floor, perhaps because he is not an exceptional orator. His voice is rather high pitched; he has little sense of timing. Yet he is a superlative organizer and skilled parliamentarian. Presiding over the Finance Committee, he is often fretful with bores on the witness stand, and ignorance of easily ascertainable figures causes him acute anguish. He has been working on the Federal budget so long that his mind is a storehouse of itemized facts on spending. If there is one criticism to be made of his public statements, it is the unusual complaint that they have too many facts—too many detailed figures that are clear to Senator BYRD but often obscure to others.

What is ahead for BYRD? The presumption in Virginia is that he will, of course, run for another term next year. He has offended many party-line Democrats by his unwillingness to support Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956; he is a continuing irritation to the State's liberals and globalists; his uncompromising advocacy of massive resistance to race mixing in the public schools would aline the growing Negro vote against him. Yet the same factors have served to enhance the affection in which BYRD is held by conservative Virginians who are appalled by the course of the national Democratic Party; his stand on the school-segregation issue unquestionably is admired by the bulk of the people. At this writing, there is no Democrat, and certainly no Republican, who could give him much of a contest.

Thus the prospect is that BYRD will be around for a long time to come. Virginians hope so, for they are intensely proud of him. If his voice often seems to be the voice of one crying in the wilderness, they are confident that he, at least, sees the straight way.

The Agricultural Conservation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the agricultural conservation program shares with farmers and ranchers the costs of practices needed for conserving cropland, range and pasture, orchard land, farm woodlots, and agricultural water. An average of over 2 million farmers a year have participated voluntarily in the ACP during the past 10 years.

As a farmer-Government partnership, ACP cost-sharing supplies about half the cost of approved practices. The program is open to all farmers to help them carry out their conservation plans, get their most urgently needed work done, and to get more needed conservation done than they would, or could, working entirely on their own resources.

Farmers have made tremendous strides in protecting and improving the productive capacity of their land since the Congress started the ACP in 1936. Among such accomplishments made with ACP cost-sharing during the past 10 years, are:

Four million acres of permanent-type conservation cover.

One hundred and forty-eight million acres of green manure and cover crops.

Two hundred and fourteen acres limed to permit conservation cover to grow.

Six hundred and eighty-seven thousand dams to store water for erosion control, water conservation, and better distribution of grazing.

Eleven million seven hundred thousand acres terraced.

Forty-seven million acres of contour farming and stripcropping.

One million acres planted to trees.

The national ACP is adjusted each year on the basis of local farmer recommendations, congressional suggestions, and departmental knowledge of conservation needs and conditions. As a result of such constructive efforts, farmers find the ACP a flexible program easy to adapt by local farmer committees to help solve the many and varied local farm conservation problems.

More emphasis is given to practices with long-lasting benefits, but assistance is not limited to such practices. Special attention is given to urgently needed water conservation measures. The program is often used to establish conservation practices on farmland that contribute to flood control and watershed conservation.

In many counties, farmers have made good use of the ACP to pool their efforts to get at community problems which they could not solve working individually. Almost 10,000 such pooling efforts,

of about 12 farmers each, have been completed.

The program utilizes where needed, the local technical services of the Soil Conservation Service and Forest Service. Seeding, fertilizing, and other such information from land-grant colleges is used. Farmer committees are assisted in planning and developing their local program by these local technicians and representatives of other local agricultural groups.

The agricultural conservation program helps to assure our rapidly growing population that its future requirements for a generous supply of food, clothing, shelter, and many other raw materials will be met. The ACP shares with farmers and ranchers the costs of needed conservation practices the producers would not or could not do without assistance.

The future security of all the people depends on protecting the Nation's soil and water resources. These croplands, grazing lands, and woodlands furnish 70 percent of all raw products used by industry today.

During the past 10 years, the general public has benefited from the conservation work done under ACP by an average of over 2 million farmers a year.

Examples of the tremendous strides made in protecting and improving productive capacity to meet the future needs of the country during the past 10 years under ACP:

One hundred and seventy-four million acres of conservation cover.

Six hundred and eighty-seven thousand dams to control erosion, save water, improve grazing land.

One million acres planted to trees.

Eleven million seven thousand acres of sloping land terraced.

In carrying out its part of the farmer-Government partnership, ACP cost-sharing supplies only about half the cost of approved practices. Farmers supply the rest of the cost. The program is open to all producers on privately owned land to carry out their conservation plans, get the most urgently needed work done, and emphasizes practices with permanent and semipermanent benefits.

The program is so flexible that it is easily adapted to meeting special, local, and emergency problems such as drought, flood damage, and severe erosion. Special attention is given to urgently needed water-conservation measures. The program is often used to establish conservation practices on farmland that help control floods and wind erosion.

The ACP has helped solve some 10,000 special community conservation problems in the last 10 years which producers could not have solved working individually.

The ACP utilities technical services and research information as well as local farmer experience, in developing and carrying out local programs.

The ACP utilizes technical services the conservation aspects of the soil bank. Instead, the two programs supplement each other in getting conservation farming systems started and in getting conservation speeded up on farms and ranches in the public interest.

Trips on Colorful Utah's Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, Mrs. Joyce Rockwood Muench, a member of one of America's best-known husband-wife, writer-photographer teams, has written a series of articles in Arizona Highways on the Nation's outstanding scenic-vacation land, the colorful standing rocks country of southeastern Utah.

Mrs. Muench describes this country as the "grandest, most challenging country I can think of, the fabulous and little known 'Land of the Sleeping Rainbow'."

These articles and the superlative Muench color photos of this area are helping tell the world about an area that until very recently was known only to local cowboys, prospectors, and Indians and a few venturesome tourists brave enough to get off the paved highway.

We in Utah who know and love this dramatically colorful desert-mountain country are gratified at this publicity given to our State by the distinguished monthly publication of the Arizona Highways Department. And because of the national interest in travel and in wilderness lands, I hereby request unanimous consent to reproduce in the Appendix of the RECORD the Muench article from the June issue of Arizona Highways.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIPS ON COLORFUL UTAH'S HIGHWAYS

(By Joyce Rockwood Muench)

Under the guise of work, my husband and I have spent the last two decades scouting out and photographing beautiful places. You might say that we make a business of other people's vacations.

We've been asked so often that we have the answer ready before the sentence is finished: "What area do you like best?"

"The most wonderful area is where we've just been."

So right now, although we're back home, reliving our adventures and enjoying our pictures, the grandest, most challenging country I can think of is in southeastern Utah, the fabulous and little known "Land of the Sleeping Rainbow."

You never heard the name? It's what the Navaho Indians call a most dramatic portion of the Colorado Plateau.

It's where you'll find such enticing labels as the Circle Cliffs, Cathedrals in Stone, Capitol Reef, Valley of the Goblins, the majestic Henry Mountains (that are still growing).

Within its borders are the Aquarius Plateau, with the highest forest in the world beginning at most peak's timberline and rising another thousand feet; the Hondoo on the Muddy, in the San Rafael Swell; Utah's Grand Canyon, and weird Upheaval Dome.

Yes, those and more than you could see in a dozen vacations all rolled into one.

Rainbows, I realize, are traditionally to be seen in the sky, with a pot of gold at their foot—if you can reach it. Today, the style even in rainbows has changed. Uranium hunters look for treasure where the many-colored bands of the Chinle shales spread over the ground, and every other formation has its brilliant tints.

Whether he found pay dirt or not, the modern prospector has left a trail through some of the most gaily painted, fantastically shaped and eroded scenery on the globe. We can follow him into yesterday's remote and inaccessible corners to see amazing examples of Nature's handiwork.

Along the approaching highways, fine little towns with modern motels and restaurants seem completely unaware of the exciting places you are heading for, but are glad to serve you. Within the magic circle itself are Torrey, Fruita, Hanksville, Boulder, Escalante and Moab to cater to your needs.

You may spend your days in some of the most rugged scenery on earth and, if you so desire, be back to a white tablecloth at supper time.

Next to "what area is best," people most persistently want to know "when is the best time to go?" That's easy to answer—"Whenever you can go, from early spring to the very end of autumn."

There's so much climate in the Land of the Sleeping Rainbow, that any month in nine will be ideal for some part of it. Since you can't possibly see it all at once, perhaps next year you may come in another season.

Elevations vary from 3,480 feet above sea level at Hite on the Colorado to 12,500 feet on the Aquarius Plateau, making for many climates to choose from.

In spring and early summer there will be flowers up high, and the lowest desert stretches will be pleasantly cool. July and August bring heat to low-lying areas, but the finest kind of weather to great portions of the plateau lands. They also bring great thunderclouds, which photographers dote upon, and flashfloods in some of the canyons.

Fall is crisp, with clear air, lovely color on the aspens in the heights and later on cottonwoods and tamarisk in the canyons. November may close high roads with the first snow and then warm up to glorious weeks of a belated Indian summer. Then it is that mountains 70 miles away seem about to fall in your lap, and the nippy nights put you right to sleep after a long day among the rainbows. After that—before you know it—it's spring again.

Perhaps you've already noticed very few roads on the map inside the 100-mile-wide area between Federal highways. Utah State 24 crosses from 89 to 6–50 and State 95 leaves it at Hanskville to meander southward. State 54 from Bryce Canyon serves Escalante and Boulder, merging into 117 over shoulders of the Aquarius Plateau to Torrey.

The rest of the roads aren't on the map yet, because you can bulldoze a road faster than you can print it on a map. Don't blame local information for failing to include a route that wasn't there a month ago, or where only cattlemen or prospectors travel. But believe me, there are some wonderful roads in that country. Some are almost as spectacular as the scenery and for those you will definitely need a four-wheel drive and a guide.

On our adventures, we went in Marilda, a four-wheel drive station wagon of acrobatic-contortionist abilities and personality-plus. She was put through her paces by Lurt Knee, only licensed guide in the area. We made his Pleasant Creek Ranch in Capitol Reef National Monument our headquarters.

Cradled among great walls of the Reef and perched on juniper-studded "Hogan Hill," Sleeping Rainbow Lodge has magnificent views and as yet, limited accommodations. The Henry Mountains on the east watch it through the rift of Pleasant Creek Canyon and from a side window the Aquarius Plateau with its lofty forest can be glimpsed up a cut in Miners Mountain.

Deer, porcupine and desert fox investigate the premises at night and no summer day is without its cooling breeze.

When Lurt first took us into the Circle Cliffs, years ago, we were probably the first party to penetrate the great Wingate sandstone escarpment and drop into the rounded dome of Burr Flat, just for the fun of it. There were "ways" to get in but no roads and once inside, the car knew as much about where to go as we did. Now, with a bow to uranium-searchers, there are two entrances by road and one exit (only) by canyon.

What might be considered the front door to the exclusive Circle is the Burr Trail, breaching the eastern rim. It climbs over the Waterpocket Fold from a well traveled road that joins Notom, on State 24, a few miles east of Capitol Reef National Monument.

The Burr Trail was only that, a few years ago, a difficult horse path switchbacking up a rocky canyon wall. When uranium men decided on making a road of it, oldtimers shook their heads and said it couldn't be done. Now it's a thrilling sight as it mounts at an angle, turns and goes back—climbing every inch of the way. A wonderful view looking east to the Henry Mountains is achieved with new perspective on each rising level.

If the irregular cliffs, cut into shapes beyond all cataloguing, were not enough for the visitor, the Black Forests would draw people as bees to honey to this rockhound's paradise. For a characteristic of the Chinle and Shinarump formations is the presence of petrified trees which grew in swampy lowlands.

They lie on slopes, in gullies and rolling down the hillsides. Some were giants of a primeval forest, 150 feet in height (or so the petrified remnants measure) and 1 standing stump, 12 feet tall at 1 side and 10 feet through at the base. Other, only slightly less magnificent specimens lie athwart each other, as in a driedup millpond. Segments from thimblesize to immovable sections, are just emerging from their clay blankets.

The exit to the Circle Cliffs leaves Burr Flat by a channel through which a goodly share of a mountain (once standing above the flat) was carried away. It's not really a road but one of the most spectacular canyon trips which the Colorado Plateau offers. Fall is particularly lovely through Silver Falls Canyon.

Our tiny car worked its way down rock corridors with cliffs above sweeping in overhangs, curving back in undercuts where sun never penetrates dark seeps, fringed by ferns. From a shadowed room we rolled into great golden amphitheaters. Immense old cottonwoods drape their irregular, dark-ridged trunks and heavy branches with golden leaves through which the afternoon sun filtered.

Reflected light from the cliffs filled the spacious chambers and we watched reflections of high domes and marveled at the weathering—painted on cross-bedded Navaho sandstone.

Silver Falls finally comes into the canyon of the Escalante River and a little downstream from the ford, Harris Canyon enters, providing a convenient continuation of the route. Inclining gently, the gorge is quite as dramatic and overwhelming as the earlier miles. A small perennial stream must be crossed and recrossed through vast rooms and past deep caves, where prehistoric Indians built small houses.

The town of Escalante lies a few miles beyond the canyon head. Once there, the pavement of State Route 54, the modern motels, and a good dinner at a cafe make the day's experiences in the Circle Cliffs seem completely unreal.

An extra day's trip leads south from Escalante to Kodachrome Flat and the graceful Grosvenor Arch. Both of interest and unique in their way, they are always in demand for the camera fan.

The return can be made through the town of Boulder, which, until 1935, was a packhorse town without road access, into the Circle Cliffs via wonderful views from Long Canyon Point on the western rim, and out over the Burr Trail. This is always open as a through route if a summer storm should make the canyon exit temporarily inadvisable or fall snow shut the high road over 117.

But for an illuminating overview of the circle, you will want to climb the flanks of Boulder Mountain on the way to Torrey.

This is a reviewing stand for the march of events which cover more of geologic time than the spectator can easily grasp. The Aquarius Plateau, on which we are (Boulder Mountain is the local name for this portion of the plateau), is one of the region's great headlands, visible for miles in every direction.

The 49 miles on top is the remnant of a vast surface that once stood much higher and reached south and east of the present Green and Colorado Rivers. Since landscapes are never the static affairs we take them to be, profound changes have come with the centuries, as erosion has torn at the highlands.

We look down into the ruins of a mountain, once mounded up to 11,300 feet, a vanished neighbor of the Aquarius, the existence of which was first surmised by the geologist. Its volcanic cap was split open and its own streams devoured the rocks, chewing them up and spitting them into a maze of desert canyons. The Escalante River is still concerned with carrying off debris, delivering it to the Colorado River to be scattered clear to the Gulf of California.

All that is left here is a great ellipse of cliffs, standing like the edges of a broken and empty eggshell. You can see across the domed basin they guard to the white cones of the Henry Mountains beyond.

At the foot of the cliffs sweep the Sleeping Rainbow—one of the largest and finest displays of the Chinle formation in the whole region. There are purples and yellows, lavenders and pinks, lilacs, ash gray, red, blue, and brown.

The great geologist, Herbert Gregory, says of the colored bands:

"Their wide expanse, their brilliant coloring and fantastic weathering makes them an outstanding scenic feature, even in a region where most rocks are highly colored and eroded into picturesque forms."

Learning the Hard Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Lancaster (S. C.) News of August 8, 1957:

LEARNING THE HARD WAY

"We have had amply demonstrated to us that medicine and politics do not mix." That quote is from a magazine which can speak with authority, the British Medical Journal, Britain has had socialized medicine for many years, and her National Health Service employs something like 99 percent of all British doctors.

The service's current troubles have been much in the news lately. The most publicized issue has been doctors' pay, by any reasonable standard, it is low and the Government so far has refused to make adequate adjustments. But there is more to the matter than this economic factor. As the British Medical Journal puts it, "The employees have lost all trust and confidence in their monopoly employer." As evidence, it cites the fact that in recent months there has been a striking increase in the number of doctors investigating the possibility of leaving England for one of the Dominions.

What are the troubles, other than the salary problem, that socialized medicine has brought to Britain's doctors? The Journal has this to say: "The pettifogging arguments about whether a food is a drug, the formfilling, the regulations, earnest discussions on whether a week's leave not taken one year can be carried on to the next, the ever-increasing intrusion of the administrator, both centrally and locally, all this and much more is turning medicine into an administrator's maze."

Then the Journal makes the most ominous statement of all, "The unfortunate doctor soon loses his sense of direction and will end up by losing his sense of profession."

Measures are periodically proposed in this country which would give the Government sweeping and varied controls over the doctors and medical practice, and thus set the stage for ultimate socialized medicine. We can profit by Britain's costly example, and avoid such schemes like the plague.

Comments on Recent Supreme Court Rulings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the Arizona Republic of Saturday, August 10, carried a very interesting comment on recent Supreme Court rulings, written by one of Arizona's outstanding lawyers, Mr. Terrence A. Carson. Mr. Carson has had long experience in the law, having practiced in Arizona since 1923. He is recognized as one of the great constitutional lawyers of the West, having had more cases involving the Constitution than any other lawyer in the State during the time he has practiced. Mr. Carson understands his subject, he expresses himself well on it, and I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for the perusal of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUSTICES HIT OWN COURT'S RULING

(By Terrence A. Carson)

There has been a storm of protest against the United States Supreme Court decisions dealing with communism and other local issues of the States. For the first time in history, the Court's decisions have been protested by the American Bar Association, judges of the State supreme courts, State attorneys general, Members of Congress, governors, law enforcement agencies, and even by Judges of the Supreme Court itself.

Justice Douglas bitterly criticized the Court in the Chessman case, where Chessman had been convicted of 17 felonies in California, including murder and rape. He pointed out the case had been before the Supreme Court seven times and, he stated

the abuse of appellate power would lead to the curtailment or the abolishment of the jurisdiction of the Court in some respects.

Justices Harlan and Clark criticized the Court in the Konigsberg case where Konigsberg refused to answer certain questions regarding communism in his application for admission to the bar. Konigsberg also stated that the Communist Party in the United States did not believe in the overthrow of our Government by force, which is contrary to everything that the Communists have taught in their long history. Judge Clark, who had been United States Attorney General and who had battled the Communists, bitterly dissented in the Watkins case and in other cases dealing with the power to curb communism.

The Supreme Court for the first time overruled the actions of States regarding applications for admission to the bar after the applications had been rejected by reason of Communist membership or affiliation. The Court held, in spite of the showing of communistic affiliation or connections, that evidence of good character overcame this fact. It will be remembered that Alger Hiss produced evidence of good character from the White House down.

The Supreme Court has dealt serious blows to Congress in dealing with their investigative powers. Had it not been for these powers, the treason of Alger Hiss would have never been discovered. The facts of the Teapot Dome scandal would not have been brought to light, and the uncovering of recent labor racketeering would never have taken place.

The Court has curtailed the powers of the FBI and of Congress to run down traitors, criminals, and labor racketeers. It has given unnecessary aid and comfort to murderers, rapists, and acid-throwing labor thugs such as blinded Victor Riesel. Certainly the court should protect the rights of individuals but, it is not its duty to open the flood gates. The Court also has by its decisions crippled the power of the Secretary of State to deny passports to Communists or subversives to travel in foreign countries. In one case, the State Department was forced to grant passports to arch traitors now in France who, as American citizens, had carried on treason against the United States with their Communist connections.

We wonder why the Supreme Court, under the leadership of Chief Justice Warren, has been so solicitous of the rights of Communists and traitors. The Court must know that if the power of the United States was destroyed, the Communists would take over the leadership of the world. America, like the rest of the Communist countries, would become a slave camp. The Court must know that since World War II, we have spent over $300 billion for national defense and, $50 billion for foreign aid and, we are now spending $36 billion a year for national defense. This back-breaking burden is borne mostly by the taxpayers of America, and at the present time there is no relief in sight.

The Court must know that if we are forced to draft young men and send them to the four corners of the earth to guard against communism, then our beloved country should have the right to protect itself agatinst subversives at home. We hope that the Court has not forgotten the countless millions who have been butchered, tortured, and murdered along with the other millions who have been sent to the Siberian slave camps and who have died of torture.

We hope that the court has not forgotten the millions of hapless Chinese peasants who have been butchered in Communist China. If this does not convince the court, then it can think of the millions in the satellite countries in chains, some of whom fought tanks with their bare hands to gain their freedom.

If this is not enough to convince the court of the dangers of communism, let the court read the report of the special U. N. committee that investigated the butchery and the sending off to the slave camps of Siberia, the freedom fighters of the Hungarian revolution. If this still is not enough, then the court might remember the countless thousands who died in the frozen wastes of Korea due, in a large part, to the treason of homegrown Communists.

With the cry of countless millions of people held in bondage by the Communists with their murder, butchery, and rape of innocent victims, and the motortal cries of the Hungarian freedom fighters whose bodies were ground up like cattle and dumped into the waters of the Danube, I am reminded of the answer Ross gave to Macduff in the immortal lines of Shakespeare's Macbeth:

"Stands Scotland where it did? Alas poor country
Almost afraid to know itself! It cannot
Be call'd our mother, but our grave: where nothing,
But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile;
Where sighs and groans and shrieks that rend the air,
Are made, not mark'd; where violent sorrow seems
A modern ecstasy; the dead man's knell
Is there scarce ask'd for who; and good men's lives
Expire before the flowers in their caps,
Dying or ere they sicken."

The Special School Milk Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the special school milk program which was inaugurated by the 83d Congress has been a tremendous success. As one Member of Congress who was most active in establishing this program and in cosponsoring the extension of it for an additional 2 years, I desire today to give a progress report on the program.

The special milk program operated by the Department of Agriculture is designed to increase the consumption of fluid milk by children. It is a relatively new program; it was inaugurated only 3 years ago by the Republican 83d Congress. In that time, however, it has developed into a remarkably successful program—benefiting both our children and our dairy farmers.

This program was authorized as a part of the revised dairy price support program included in the Agricultural Act of 1954. It was intended to represent a positive approach to the problem of surplus milk production. By making it possible for children to drink more fluid milk—it was reasoned—less milk would flow into Government inventories in the form of surplus butter, cheese, and dry milk.

By the second year of operations, 1955–56, over 60,000 schools were in the program. In that year, over 1.4 billion half-pints of milk were consumed by the children in these schools. This was in addition to the 1.7 billion half-pints children were consuming as a part of the school lunch. As the result of these two programs, the Department of Agriculture estimates that about 17 million children are drinking milk at school.

Studies made by the Department of Agriculture show that milk consumption by students increased by as much as 80 to 100 percent after the school entered this special milk program. Commodity Credit Corporation funds finance the program and the chief use of the funds is to permit the schools to reduce the price of milk to children. Schools are also encouraging children to drink more fluid milk by establishing new times of service—during recess periods, before the children take their bus ride home—and in many other ways.

The program was scheduled to end in June 1956. But, upon the President's recommendation, it was continued for another 2 years through legislation which I cosponsored. The program was also extended to summer camps, orphanages and other institutions caring for children. The program continued to grow in its third year, 1956–57. Over 70,000 schools and institutions participated and the children drank almost 1.8 billion half-pints of milk, over and above the milk served with the school lunch.

Thus, the special milk program is not only helping children, it is building bigger markets for fluid milk.

H. David Frackman Rededicates Our Constitutional Heritage of Individual Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUDWIG TELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. TELLER. Mr. Speaker, massive historical upheavals which wrested individual liberties from tyrants contributed to the concept of individual liberty—a concept which is a cornerstone of our constitutional system.

H. David Frackman is a prominent lawyer of 40 years' standing at the bar, a past national officer of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. He is also the president of the Manhattan Civic Club, and prominent in fraternal and interfaith activities. On July 4, 1957, he delivered an address under the auspices of the Captain Belvedere Brooks Post of the American Legion, at the Soldiers and Sailors Monument at Riverside Drive in New York City.

Mr. Frackman's July 4 address contains a penetrating analysis of our constitutional heritage. It is a scholarly address, and at the same time it points up the need for rededicating ourselves to the protection of those ideals of constitutional liberty which have made our Nation great.

The address follows:

We are assembled this Fourth of July at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument erected to commemorate the memory of our departed comrades who fought and died in de-

fense of our freedoms. This day we especially bear in mind the beginnings of our country. The Declaration of Independence documented our grievances against the English King and declared to the entire world our determination to be free of tyranny and to stand upon our own feet as a sovereign Nation. These freedoms were won only after extreme sacrifices and the loss of lives. The men and women who died did not seek war. None of our comrades in the colonial days or in the wars which followed sought to benefit by its spoils. War was forced upon them by those seeking to destroy our concept of individual liberty.

The foundation of human freedom had its beginning in 1215 with the signing of the Magna Charta by King John. This document was presented to King John by the English Barons who felt that their rights had been violated by him. Because of King John's abuse of power, the barons had cast off their allegience and taken up arms against him. They wanted a guaranty that for the renewal of their homage and fealty, the king would grant to them the freemen of England and their heirs, certain liberties and privileges dealing with the church, their feudal rights, law and justice, taxation, the seizure of property, popular interests and temporary evils. It must be borne in mind that these privileges granted by the Magna Charta were extended to the English barons only and did not include the common man. These privileges rested entirely upon this feudal contract which would continue to be the basis for the contractual relationship between the King and the English barons so long as he respected their rights. This document is often referred to as the palladium of popular liberties and has a constitutional importance in the development of human rights.

The next constitutional document of great importance in the historical growth of human liberty is known as the Mayflower Compact. This document was signed by 41 Pilgrims aboard the Mayflower in Provincetown Harbor, November 11, 1620, 1 month before landing at Plymouth. This was the first written constitution in America. By the signing of this instrument its subscribers formed a civil body politic to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony.

On May 10, 1776, delegates from the United Colonies of New Hampshire; Massachusetts Bay; Rhode Island and Providence Plantation; Connecticut; New York; New Jersey; Pennsylvania; New Castle, Kent, and Sussex in Delaware; Maryland; Virginia; North Carolina, and South Carolina met in Philadelphia to discuss and recommend to the respective assemblies the adoption of a document setting forth the grievances of the Colonies against the British Crown and stating its determination to be free and independent of its rule, and finally, in the form in which we know it to be, our Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Congress on July 4, 1776, and signed by the representatives of the 13 States mentioned.

It contained a recital of the wrongs and injuries perpetrated by the King of Great Britain against the Colonies and announced to the entire world our determination to form a free and independent government under democratic rule. With this declaration of fact, the delegates of the Colonies then went on to take steps to formulate our structure of government. As we already know, the Articles of Confederation which followed proved ineffective.

The next important constitutional document in American life is known as the Articles of Confederation, adopted by the Colonial Congress November 15, 1777. The source of its authority emanated from the delegates of the several States assembled. It did not vest in the Federal Government, the centralized authority which was subsequently provided for in the United States Constitution, adopted in 1789. The Articles of Confederation permitted each State to retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence. It proved ineffective to unite the several States and its people under a centralized form of government adequate to grant and guarantee the rights which are presently enjoyed by our people. Soon after its adoption it became evident that the Articles of Confederation would not serve the purpose for which it was intended and steps were taken to insure to the people the privileges desired and subsequently secured to them upon an adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

On May 25, 1787, 55 delegates from these 13 States met in Philadelphia to discuss and draw up a Constitution which would replace the Articles of Confederation. There were differences of opinion, heated and bitter discussions, and after many compromises a document was prepared and referred to the 13 States for its ratification. It was not until June 21, 1789, that the required 9 out of the 13 States ratified the Constitution and the new Federal Government was established at New York on April 30, 1789.

The basic difference between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States lies in the source of its authority. The authority for the Articles of Confederation emanated from the States; the authority for the Constitution of the United States emanated from the people.

After the adoption of the Constitution and before the first sessions of Congress held under it in New York City on March 4, 1789, resolutions in the form of amendments thereto were offered and subsequently adopted because it was felt that without these amendments there were no sufficient safeguards for human liberty. These first ten amendments are referred to as our Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights guarantees to us freedom of religion, speech, and the press. The right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances; guarantees to us that persons and houses shall be secure from unreasonable search and seizure; due process of law; a trial by jury in cases involving felonies; other privileges and rights which have become the heritage of a free people. These rights and privileges could not have been vested in the people under a form of government other than one centralized and maintained for all the people governed by it. Any disintegration of our central federalized government can well jeopardize these rights and privileges and impair our freedoms. How well within recent times have we come to know that freedoms can be impaired unless zealously guarded. It was Thomas Paine who said "that those who would enjoy the blessings of liberty must suffer the inconvenience of supporting it". Some of these freedoms in our own day became impaired because some submitted to the slanted thinking of one individual. The Supreme Court of the United States recently rectified these wrongs, pointing out anew the safeguards of liberty guaranteed to us apparently ignored by those believing themselves above the accepted thinking of the majority of the people.

I think we have reached a turning point in this situation and that we are now fully awake to the realization that these freedoms must be zealously guarded.

Our forefathers in the very beginning of our national life were aware of the possibility that from time to time individuals and groups might try to destroy or impair these freedoms. A word of caution was delivered by the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay. What he said then can well be heeded by us now. In writing for the "Federalist", Chief Justice John Jay said, referring to the Constitutional Convention which drafted the Constitution.

"This convention composed of men who possessed the confidence of the people and many of whom had become highly distinguished by their patriotism, virtue, and wisdom in times which tried the minds and hearts of men, undertook the arduous task. In the mild season of peace, with minds unoccupied by other subjects, they passed many months in cool, uninterrupted, and daily consultations; and finally without having been awed by power, or influenced by any passions except love for their country, they presented and recommended to the people the plan produced by their joint effort and very unanimous councils. * * * These and similar considerations then induced the people to rely greatly on the judgment and integrity of the Congress; and they took their advice, notwithstanding the various arts and endeavors used to deter and dissuade them from it. I am persuaded in my own mind that the people have always thought right on this subject and that their universal and uniform attachment to the cause of the Union rests on great and weighty reasons. They who promote the idea of substituting a number of distinct confederacies would put the continuance of the Union in utmost jeopardy.

"I sincerely wish that it may be as clearly foreseen by every good citizen that, whenever the dissolution of the Union arrives, America will have reason to exclaim in the words of the poet, 'Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness.' "

Our Constitution was not written for a section of our country nor for a segment of its people. It was written for all of our people. It was not written for the North or the South, the East or the West. It was intended to be a rule of law and order for all America; a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

We did not fear foreign ideologies during the period when immigration was unrestricted. During this era we grew into the mightiest nation on earth. We should not and need not fear the outside world now.

We recognize the fact that opposed to our way of life there exists in the world an ideology which seeks to overthrow our democratic institutions. It is the task of each of us to vigilantly guard our freedoms and our liberties. None of us would willingly surrender our way of life or the form of government under which we live. The world is no longer as big as it once appeared to be. Of necessity we must consider the lot of people in other lands in relation to our own security. In advocating the cause of freedom, America has been obliged to assume the role of world leadership, and we stand irrevocably committed to this obligation. To settle differences among nations by peaceful means the United Nations organization came into being. In the United Nations, we play a prominent part as it is the instrumentality through which all liberty-loving people hope to achieve permanent peace economically and politically, security and freedom from the scourge of war. Through the United Nations it is hoped that all people will realize better standards of life in larger freedom and for these ends we must live together with one another as good neighbors practicing tolerance in our dealings with each other for the common good.

There has been adopted by the United Nations through the workings of its Commission on Human Rights a universal bill of rights. It consists of 400 words set forth coincidentally in 10 articles and closely follows our American Bill of Rights. It is hoped that just as our Bill of Rights is the foundation stone of liberty for our people here, so the universal bill of rights in time will become the foundation stone of freedom for the oppressed people of all lands everywhere. To implement the universal bill

of rights and the Charter of the United Nations, a North Atlantic pact was entered into as a collective self-defense arrangement among countries of the North Atlantic area who, while banded together to resist armed attack against any one of them specifically, reaffirms their obligations in the Charter of the United Nations to settle their disputes with any nation solely by peaceful means. It is designed to fit into the very framework of the United Nations and to insure practical efforts for maintaining peace and security.

We have come a long way since the days of the Magna Carta. We are effectively planting the knowledge, the desire and the hope for freedom in places heretofore unknown. This Government leads the way in the struggle now pending between democracy and totalitarian ideologies. As we meet with the representatives of foreign lands to work out the destiny of all people by peaceful means, we must nevertheless bear in mind the necessity of maintaining ourselves militarily in the strongest possible position. We have not yet reached the day when we can turn our swords into ploughshares. We must remain militarily at least as strong as those who seek to destroy our American way of life. However, we must not exclude any avenue in the field of diplomacy or international relationship which may tend toward a better understanding and a more secure peace.

To this end, we must remain united within our own borders. We must think alike concerning the fundamental principles of liberty and we must not permit one segment of our people to disregard the constitutional rights of another. We must unite for our common good.

Let us this day rededicate ourselves to the task of preserving our freedoms; to minimize with all our might the political and economic inequalities which exist; to give spirit and truth to the Declaration which induced our forefathers to sever their relationship with their mother country, and to recognize that our systems of government will endure only if we serve well all the people without regard to race, creed, color, religion, or place of origin.

Let America be a land in which no man shall be master and none shall be slave.

William Rifkin, of Wilkes-Barre, an Outstanding American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of August 12, 1957, commenting on the passing of Mr. William Rifkin, of Wilkes-Barre:

WILL RIFKIN, A FINE AMERICAN

There is a lesson for all America in the life and death of Wilkes-Barre's beloved William Rifkin—Bill to his brothers at the Elks and Will to countless others who, through the years, enjoyed the privilege of his friendship and drew inspiration from his example as an American and humanitarian.

Will Rifkin was just about everything a good citizen and a good neighbor could possibly be.

Yet, his forbears did not come to these shores on the Mayflower. Nor was he able to trace his ancestry to the gallant colonists who struck a blow for liberty in the Revolution. Like millions of his countrymen, he was of a later generation of Americans who have contributed so much to the land of their adoption, although their roots may not be so deep in the soil of America.

Will Rifkin's folks came from Russia. He himself was born in Moscow, in the very shadow of the Kremlin. In view of what pictures are conjured in the minds of Americans today when mention is made of Moscow or the Kremlin, it seems incredible that so loyal an American, so generous a neighbor and mild-mannered an individual could spring from the same soil that produced such ruthless dictators for four decades and, before that, despots in royal raiment. He was the antithesis of everything they portrayed.

The explanation is simple. The czars of yesterday and the Communist gangsters of today are not representatives of the Russian people who include millions of Will Rifkins, victims of conditions over which they had or have no control.

Will Rifkin was fortunate to have resourceful parents with the courage of their convictions. They managed to liberate him from this tyranny and to provide for him a fresh start in America. The imigrant boy, who came to Wilkes-Barre 66 years ago, demonstrated his gratitude not only by becoming a success in business, but by contributing to the betterment of this land of opportunity.

It is difficult to write about two classes of men—those who do relatively little and those who do so much. Will Rifkin was in the latter category. No attempt is made here to enumerate all his good qualities or deeds, for that would be a monumental undertaking. Rather, we mention a few highlights for purpose of illustration.

Take, for instance, his connection with the Elks. For 38 consecutive years, he was retained as treasurer on the basis of ability and loyalty. What finer compliment could be paid a man from so representative a body of citizens as members of this organization? The congregation he served as president, other fraternal groups with which he was identified and the charities to which he contributed—all could testify to his worth if space were available.

Will Rifkin not only shared his resources with worthy causes and individuals; he gave generously of himself. If we take with us when we die only that which we give away, Will Rifkin this afternoon departed heavily encumbered indeed. He believe it was more blessed to give than to receive.

This friendly, modest man was endowed with commonsense, understanding, tolerance, and compassion. His good works speak for him far more eloquently than any words of ours. America and Wilkes-Barre are better places because Will Rifkin passed through on his journey from the cradle to the grave.

Accomplishments of the Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the Forest Service was created in 1905. This is the 52d year of operation of the Forest Service in the United States Department of Agriculture.

Forestry in the United States has made rapid forward strides during the past few years. Working together, public and private agencies are effectively demonstrating the values of protection, good management, and wise use of the Nation's forest resources. Especially significant have been the advances in knowledge obtained through forest research, the gains made in organized protection of forests against fire, insects, and disease, the development of the national forests, and the advances in cooperative activities by the Federal Government, the States, and private owners of forest lands.

The Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture has had a leading part in this progress. New knowledge developed through its research program has contributed greatly to the improvement of forest and range management practices both on public and private lands, and to the development of new wood products and more efficient utilization of wood.

The national forests administered by the Forest Service are playing an increasingly important part in the Nation's economy. They provide recreational opportunities for millions, more than 45 million recreational visits were reported last year. They also helped to meet the country's needs for forest products, and contributed to the food supply by furnishing seasonal grazing for nearly 4 million livestock. One of their most important services is watershed protection, safeguarding the headwaters of many important streams and the sources of water supply for hundreds of towns and cities.

The Forest Service last year cooperated with the State of Wisconsin and many other States in providing organized protection against forest fires; also in producing and distributing trees for forest planting, and in furnishing technical advice to woodland owners on forest management.

COOPERATION IN FORESTRY

The Forest Service, United States Department of Agriculture, is cooperating with State forestry agencies and private forest-land owners to promote effective protection and sound management of forest lands.

The Forest Service is cooperating with 44 States and the Territory of Hawaii to provide systematic protection against fire for State and private lands. Cooperative protection was extended last year to 4.8 million more acres, bringing the total area covered to 387 million acres. Some 44 million acres still remained to be covered by organized protection. Acreage burned on the protected areas was held to six-tenths of 1 percent of the area protected, compared with 11.3 percent on the unprotected area. The rate of burn on unprotected areas is 18 times greater than that of areas receiving organized protection.

The Forest Service also cooperated with 44 States, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico in the production and distribution of trees to farmers and other landowners for forest and windbarrier planting. Distribution from the State nurseries last year amounted to some 559 million trees, an increase of about 60 million over the preceding year, and enough to plant about 560,000 acres. Interest in

woodland planting was expected to increase still more because of the soil-bank program, in which tree planting is one of the authorized means for converting cropland to conservation uses. An increase in production of several hundred million trees a year is underway.

Another Federal-State cooperative program provides technical advice and assistance to woodland owners. Last year 38,121 owners received technical assistance on forest management problems. Products harvested under the guidance of the cooperative project foresters brought a total of $14,757,555 to the forest owners.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL FORESTS

The Forest Service, United State Department of Agriculture, is responsible for the administration of a system of national forests comprising in all about 150 units, and totaling 181 million acres. National forests are located in 39 States, and in Alaska, and Puerto Rico.

Administration and development of the national forests has progressed to a point where they are a significant factor in the total national economy. Their resources are the principal economic support of hundreds of communities, and under the sustained yield management policy of the Forest Service they will contribute permanently to the stability of those communities.

National-forest timber is now making an important contribution to the Nation's timber supply. These forests supplied 6.9 billion board-feet of timber last year, a new record. The yearly cut will be further increased as growing stock is built up and as more roads are built to give access to stands that cannot now be reached. National-forest ranges last year furnished 5.6 million cow-months and 7.9 million sheep-months of seasonal grazing for livestock, an important contribution to the Nation's production of meat, wool, and leather.

Recreational use of the national forests has doubled in the past 8 years. With 45,713,000 visits in 1955, the national forests carried a big share of the Nation's outdoor recreation use. The total included more than 12 million visits by hunters and fishermen.

Of vital importance to local and national welfare is the protection of watersheds. National forests are located at the headwaters of many of this country's major rivers and streams. They help protect the water supplies of some 1,800 cities and towns, of more than 13 million acres of irrigated farmlands, more than 600 hydroelectric power developments, and thousands of industrial plants.

PROGRESS IN FOREST RESEARCH

One of the major activities of the Forest Service, United States Department of Agriculture, has been research, aimed at finding the best answers to many problems in forestry and wildland management and in wood utilization.

The Forest Service maintains nine regional forest and range experiment stations in continental United States, with a number of branch stations and research centers. New knowledge developed through the work of these stations has provided the basis for many management practices now widely used both on the national forests and on the holdings of progressive private timberland and rangeland owners.

Research at the Forest Products Laboratory, maintained by the Forest Service at Madison, Wis., has contributed hundreds of new or improved wood products, led to development of new industries, and brought about savings of millions of dollars annually through improvement of products or reduction of waste.

Among the many research accomplishments reported in the past year were development of an effective method of fumigating seedbeds at forest tree nurseries to control root rot losses; new techniques in wood boat construction to reduce decay losses; more economical spraying procedures for control of pine bark beetles. A hitherto unknown disease causing losses of red, black and scarlet oaks in the Northeast was discovered; research was started to determine the causes and to develop control procedures.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Secretary Benson and the entire Forest Service for their record of accomplishment in behalf of all our citizens.

Assessment, Training, and Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, a former Member of Congress and a very good friend of mine is doing wonderful work on behalf of the handicapped of this country. Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, United States Marine Corps Reserve, retired, is well known as the Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, and I would at this time like to include in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I know you will agree is truly inspiring and which he delivered at London, England, on July 24 of this year before the Seventh World Congress of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples. The address follows:

ASSESSMENT, TRAINING, AND EMPLOYMENT

(Address by Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, United States Marine Corps Reserve, retired, Chairman, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, United States of America, before the Seventh World Congress of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, London, England, July 24, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I am very happy to have the opportunity to participate in this world congress with so many people from so many lands who are interested in the problems of the handicapped and endeavoring to find common solutions to their problems.

The subject assigned to me, Assessment, Training, and Job Placement for the Handicapped, is a fascinating one and very close to my heart.

I think you might be interested in some of the problems that we have encountered in the United States and the solutions which we are developing. I have no desire to try to convince any of you that you should do what we are doing nor in the same way we are doing it. I know that only too often American energy is misinterpreted as cocksureness and our enthusiasm to help others is mistaken for a desire to impose our way of doing things on other people. I assure you nothing could be further from my purpose.

I expect to learn a great deal from these sessions in new techniques, methods, and procedures which I can take back to the United States to help improve our own programs. I am sure that I will get out of this Congress far, far more than I can contribute to it.

At the outset, let me tell you something about the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped of which I have the honor to be Chairman. The Committee is not a Government agency. It is a group of volunteer citizens but under the sponsorship of the President of the United States. While I hold a Presidential commission, I am not a Government official, which in plain language means that I am not on the payroll.

The President's Committee is composed of some 300 members mostly representing great national organizations which are a cross section of the United States. On the membership are represented all the great employer associations, the great labor unions, the veterans organizations, the medical profession, women's clubs, social workers, the clergy and a number of outstanding individuals—all dedicated to the advancement of the cause of the handicapped.

The mission of the President's Committee is educational, informational and promotional. Our work is to create an atmosphere among employers, the unions, fellow workers and the general public of acceptance for employment of qualified handicapped men and women. We know that such rehabilitated and vocationally trained men and women make not only good employees, but frequently superior ones in the matter of production, safety, attendance records, and steadiness on the job. They are the equal and frequently superior to the average of other workers.

The President's Committee is not in the business of conducting rehabilitation nor of actual job placement. We cooperate and support the agencies of Government which do conduct these activities. We work very closely and virtually in partnership with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which guides some 1,000 local State offices of vocational rehabilitation, and with the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, which similarly assists some 1,700 local State employment offices.

The procedure which we have developed is that a potentially employable handicapped man or woman is referred to a team made up of a physician, a social worker, a psychologist, a rehabilitation expert and an employment specialist. A scientific analysis is made of the individual's physical condition and potential physical capacities if rehabilitated and, if required, furnished with appropriate prosthetic devices. The team makes a thorough analysis of the individual, studies job possibilities in the light of physical and mental potentialities. When a conclusion is reached by this expert team, a recommendation is made as to the rehabilitation necessary. Then the individual is sent to a rehabilitation center where he or she is given necessary medical restoration, and thereafter an intensive course of vocational training is undertaken. This may include further medical treatment, physical therapy, psychological adjustments. When the vocational re-

habilitation process has been completed, the individual is taken over by the employment service and interviewed by a trained counselor and a placement expert. After reviewing the individual's case history and analyzing the physical capacities, the individual is referred to an employer.

Part of this whole process is the encouragement to employers to subject each job under their control to a scientific analysis of the physical requirements of every position. These requirements are carefully card-indexed. The employment specialist refers the rehabilitated applicant to an employer where the physical requirements and skills of a job can be matched to the remaining physical capacities and the skills developed by rehabilitation of an individual. Employment is then carefully followed up, after an appropriate period of work experience, to see if the individual has actually been properly placed. If there is any doubt, a conference may result in a reassignment to a more suitable job.

Under a law requested by President Eisenhower, rehabilitation has been substantially increased in the United States since 1954, when the United States Congress enacted what we know as Public Law 565. Under this law, the Federal Government makes available to the States substantial grants of Federal funds which must be matched by only a fraction of the Federal funds to qualify. No State is compelled to accept such funds but they are made very attractive in order to induce States to accelerate their rehabilitation activities.

As an evidence of the substantial increase in rehabilitation in the United States in the year just concluded, 75,000 individuals completed vocational rehabilitation, this in contrast with 66,000 the year before which in itself was a substantial increase over any previous year. Keeping pace with this has been the increase in the number of physically handicapped who have obtained jobs in the past few years. Last year through just the public employment service alone, 295,000 handicapped men and women obtained jobs in contrast with 265,000 the year before and 185,000 the previous year.

Our entire effort is on a voluntary basis. No handicapped person is compelled to accept rehabilitation; no employer is compelled to accept the handicapped as employees. Our efforts are directed to persuade the handicapped to accept rehabilitation and jobs and to convince employers that the rehabilitated handicapped makes not only good but outstanding employees. As a result, rehabilitated handicapped men and women in the United States are now successfully filling every type of position and job in every occupation in our complex industrial and business structure from top executives to skilled operators of machine tools.

All of this has had a profound impact on the economy of the country. As an illustration, the men and women who have obtained jobs during the past 10 years during this crusade of jobs for the handicapped earned in the past year alone over $6 billion. These men and women had been costing the communities of the country in the aggregate millions upon millions of dollars a year for their maintenance in idleness. Now they are returning to the Government hundreds of millions of dollars from their wages in income taxes alone.

However, it is not this monetary consideration that is the reason that the Government and these voluntary groups of citizens are so active in the campaign of obtaining jobs for the handicapped. The motivation behind this in the United States is our devotion to the principle that every citizen, regardless of race, color, creed, or physical appearance because of a physical handicap, is entitled as a matter of right to his or her opportunity to achieve economic equality. It is because of our dedication to the philosophy that recognizes the dignity of every human being and because of our passion for individual freedom.

We know that there is no real freedom for the man or woman who wants to work and who is willing to work, who can't get a job because of prejudice, intolerance, or discrimination. Whatever lies behind that discrimination we know that there is no independence for the man or woman who wants to work, is capable of work but is forced to remain on public welfare because he or she can't get a job.

We believe that the secret in the United States behind our growing success in helping the individual to achieve economic independence is our determination to be good neighbors. A good neighbor is one who helps others to help themselves. That is the essence of the whole problem of the handicapped. It is helping the handicapped to help themselves.

We feel that if we are good neighbors in our communities, we will be good neighbors to all. We are certain that if everywhere in the world people become good neighbors in their communities, in time they will become good neighbors in the world community, War results only from hatred, fear, and jealously. But you can't hate nor fear a good neighbor who helps others to help themselves.

Therefore, I believe that you and the international society, in contributing to the building of communities of good neighbors toward a world community of good neighbors, are doing more to contribute to the ultimate attainment of man's oldest and most cherished dream, universal and lasting peace, than the diplomats or military leaders.

I am sure that President Eisenhower joins with me when I say God bless you and the great humanitarian work which you are doing.

Orphan-Refugee Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, there is an urgent need for revision of our immigration laws, and of vital concern is the need for legislation to admit orphan children who have been adopted by American families.

At the present time, adopted orphan children from Italy, Greece, the Far East, and other countries with relatively small immigration quotas cannot be admitted to the United States except by private legislation. I am advised that nearly 500 private orphan bills have been introduced, and this represents almost 5 percent of the total number of bills introduced in Congress. Private legislation, with its long delay, and the consumption of vital congressional time, does not provide a suitable remedy.

Mr. President, I have sponsored legislation since last January to admit orphan children into the United States who have been or will be adopted by American families. The need for such legislation is urgent, since many of the children adopted by American families face death in their homelands because of inadequate food, medical care, and poor sanitation. Children adopted by American families have already died while private legislation has been pending in Congress.

I am, indeed, pleased that the House and Senate Judiciary Committees are now actively considering legislation which would provide for the admittance of these orphan children, and I earnestly hope that the humanitarian and noncontroversial orphan legislation can be kept separate from the controversial changes in our immigration laws.

Mr. President, I was honored to join with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] and other liberal Senators in sponsoring S. 2410 which provides for liberalization of our basic immigration laws. This proposal would permit the reallocation of unused immigration quotas and provides for other humanitarian changes in our immigration laws. I understand that the basic proposals of this bill have the support of Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee. Indeed many of the proposals are similar to his H. R. 8123.

It is important to remember that all of us except full-blooded American Indians are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. The United States has a tradition of offering sanctuary to the oppressed.

Immigration has helped to build America. Each immigrant is not only a jobholder, but he and his family are consumers who buy goods and services and otherwise contribute to our economic system. While our country has grown by 25 million people in the last 10 years, only about 2,770,000 immigrants have entered the country. Immigration thus plays a very minor role in our continued population growth. Our population growth has had a beneficial rather than a depressing effect on our employment and economy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article by Jalmar Johnson, the associate editor of the Oregonian, of Portland, which appeared in his paper on August 10, 1957, on the need for revision of our immigration laws.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIBERTY STATUE'S WELCOME NEEDS REVISION

(By Jalmar Johnson)

When the United States let down its immigration bars temporarily a few months ago to admit refugees from Hungary, some Americans were incensed. Charity should begin at home, they cried; aliens should not be let in to take the bread from those citizens who for various reasons were not sharing in the general prosperity.

By May, only 32,075 Hungarians had been admitted and since then there has been only a trickle of refugees from that country. The impact could not have been great on a population of approximately 170 million. Few, if any, crusts of bread have been torn from American mouths.

How the United States has lost its preeminence as the refuge and great hope of the poor and oppressed people of the world is shown in the immigration figures for the decade 1946–55. In those tempestuous post-

war years roughly 50 million persons migrated from their homelands in search of political and economic stability, according to the August bulletin of the Population Reference Bureau, Inc.

It was a mass movement of people unprecedented in world history. Yet less than 2 million of these uprooted folk came to this country, where, on the base of the Statue of Liberty, are carved these inspired lines of Emma Lazarus:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, the tempest-tost, to me;
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

The principal reason so few were guided here by the lighted lamp is that they could not come because of the quotas, which in one form or another have controlled immigration quantitatively since 1920. Some, such as the Irish and Scandinavians, who once came to America by the hundreds of thousands, did not care to come. They evidently are happy at home these days. But 400,000 refugees and displaced persons, chiefly from eastern and southern Europe, did come under special legislation which mortgaged the quotas of countries in these areas for periods ranging from 3 to more than 300 years.

Net immigration to the United States, including half a million from quota-free countries of the Western Hemisphere, was 1,704,000 for the decade. This represented approximately 1 percent of our total population and 7 percent of the country's population growth during the decade.

The 1946–55 immigration was almost exactly the same as in the decade 1841–50 when the total population of the United States was 23,191,876. It was about one-fifth as great as in the decade 1906–15 when 9,422,141 aliens came here to put our total population barely over the 100 million mark.

Perhaps we need to be more cautious now than we once were in admitting foreigners to our shores. Maybe in 1841–50 and 1906–15 the United States took too big a chance. But many of our leaders and innumerable good citizens are descendants of those who came then, and in the years between, to escape economic, political or religious oppression.

The Chief Justice of the United States is only 1 generation removed from Ellis Island and the First Lady only 2. The other day the son of a Yugoslav immigrant was appointed Governor of Alaska. Examples almost without end could be given of immigrants and their descendants who have made lasting contributions to America.

If we must be extremely choosy about those we admit, then we should rewrite the verse on the Statue of Liberty. Perhaps it should read like this:

"Give me a few of your not too tired, your not too poor,
Your quota of those double-checked for desire to breathe free.
A not too wretched sampling of your teeming shore.
Send these—with proper credentials, of course—to me:
I leave ajar, ever so slightly, the golden door."

Or we might ship the Statue of Liberty to Canada, where immigrants accounted for more than one-fourth of that country's total population increase in the postwar decade. Or to Australia, or New Zealand, where immigration made up 40 percent and 27 percent, respectively, of the total growth.

In any event, we shouldn't pretend the lamp is lit when it isn't.

Federal Employees Salary Adjustment

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2462) to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Chairman, the House is now considering a bill of very great importance to every classified Federal employee and his family. It is no exaggeration to say that for many thousands of people, the difference between bare subsistence and a decent standard of living depends upon congressional enactment of an adequate pay raise, such as the one provided for in H. R. 2462.

The compelling necessity for an immediate increase in the Government's classified pay schedule can be made abundantly clear by citing a few basic and unyielding facts about the American economy today. The cost of living has been very high for some time, and it is steadily increasing. Federal salaries have not increased at anything like the same rate, with the result that the average civil servant's real income becomes smaller and smaller with each passing day.

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which I am proud to be a member, has within the past 2 months completed hearings on both postal and classified pay raise bills. Witness after witness has brought out, not just with emotional pleas, but with facts and figures and case histories, the unfortunate plight of those who are trying, without adequate funds, to make ends meet.

The last classified pay raise law was enacted in June of 1955 and made retroactive to March of that year. At that time, in March 1955, the cost-of-living index stood at 114.3. This index, through June of this year, was 120.2. The fact that this index jumped six-tenths of a point from May to June of 1957 shows how rapidly living costs are now rising and further emphasizes the urgency for speedy action on our part.

The administration has steadfastly opposed a pay increase, primarily on the grounds of fiscal policy and the belief that it would add to inflationary pressures. I reject these arguments. Increases in salaries do not reflect themselves in the price of goods. They render services and do not produce goods.

Even the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, although opposing any pay increase, admitted that "hundreds of thousands of (persons) on the Government payroll, undoubtedly need more money."

By what logic is it sound fiscal policy to ignore the financial hardships under which many Government workers are now living and to oppose any action designed to relieve this hardship?

Nobody wants inflation, but to argue that a pay increase will cause inflation is to confuse cause and effect. The Federal payroll is not the cause of inflation, and an increase in this payroll is needed now to keep up with the effects of inflation. Government employees no more cause inflation than they control it. There certainly is no good reason why they should be made to suffer excessively because of it.

In favorably reporting H. R. 2462 last week, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee presented what I regard as cogent and unanswerable reasons for its immediate passage. Since 1951 classified employees have received only 1 pay raise—the 7.5 percent increase in 1955 which, as the report says, "failed by a considerable margin at that time to bring the compensation of these employees abreast of the rising cost of living and of salary increases granted other employees in private business and industry." This report goes on to point out that since 1952, "the average hourly straight-time earnings of employees in manufacturing industries have increased 18.5 percent."

There are additional excellent reasons why Congress should pass H. R. 2462 without delay. Employee turnover in the Government has long been a serious problem. Former President Hoover has said it costs $3,000 to recruit and train the average civil servant. How can the Government hope to attract and keep competent people unless we pay them a decent salary? What hope is there for greater economy and efficiency in Government if we must cope with a 25-percent turnover in employees each year?

We must remember that, compared to workers in private enterprise, civil servants have very little bargaining power. They have no right to strike. They are wholly dependent upon Congress to take care of their needs and interests.

It is our responsibility to make certain this bill becomes law before this session of Congress adjourns. To do less would be a dereliction of duty on our part.

Death of Dr. Christie—First Air Medic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, one of the most interesting developments over the years since World War I has been the field of air surgery. The Chief Air Surgeon for the American Expeditionary Forces in France during World War I was Dr. Ralph Conklin Christie. He also wrote the first manual on physical requirements for flying.

A few days ago Dr. Christie died in the city of Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news item relating to the death of Dr. Christie.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DR. CHRISTIE DIES—FIRST AIR MEDIC

Dr. Ralph Conklin Christie, the first flight surgeon in the United States and a former city councilman, died Friday in a local hospital.

The 74-year-old physician, who was medical officer on the staff of Gen. William (Billy) Mitchell during World War I, was a victim of cancer.

During his World War I service as chief flight surgeon for the Air Service's American Expeditionary Force in France, Dr. Christie wrote the first manual on the physical requirements for flying.

Locally, Dr. Christie served as councilman in 1932–34, and was a member of the Long Beach Water Commission.

Born in Creston, Iowa, October 9, 1882, Dr. Christie moved to Omaha, Nebr., where he received his early schooling.

In 1910, he was graduated from the University of Nebraska with a bachelor of science degree and doctor of medicine degree. He took post graduate work at Columbia University in New York.

He was a member of Phi Kappa Psi, and Phi Rho Sigma, a medical fraternity.

At the outbreak of World War I, Dr. Christie joined the Air Service and rose to the rank of captain. Later he became the first flight surgeon in the Nation.

After his distinguished achievements in the war, Dr. Christie moved to Long Beach with his wife, Jessie M., and began private practice in 1922.

At one time he was associated with the Douglas Aircraft Co.'s medical department here.

While a member of the Long Beach Water Commission, Dr. Christie was instrumental in this city becoming part of the metropolitan water district.

The Story of King Gold and King Silver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, representing the people of Nevada, who are naturally interested in the rightful use of metals, gold and silver, as a medium of exchange and as a basic valuator for all of the items we wish to purchase or to sell, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to a very interesting fable written in 1936 by Mr. Peter Ivanoff, an acknowledged authority on monetary systems and currency. Mr. Ivanoff was with the Franco Bank in Hankow, China, and was an active member of the Rotary Club there. He left China in 1947 when the Communists invaded and took control of the mainland. This book, which tells the story of king gold and king silver, points out the fact that eons ago men were slaves in their respective communities because they had no measure of exchange and no valuator. Then one day a man, noticing a shinging, yellow piece of metal, made a medallion from this discovery, and thereafter his wife became the envy of all the ladies on that island. It was not long before the natives of adjoining islands, bringing their various wares to barter and trade, observed the medallions this man had made and offered to trade certain of their products for one of the medallions, that they might present this thing of beauty to their queen. The man quickly recognized that with a very few medallions he could leave his home island to trade his medallions elsewhere for any goods he wished to acquire. This was truly the birth of freedom from slavery.

Down through history nations of the world have traded and bartered with confidence when they had gold and silver as valuators. History has shown us that in times of great stress and emergency men and governments have been prone to depreciate their currency and walk away from the path of freedom by ignoring the awful confusion that would result from printing currency that had no fixed tie with an agreed valuator. In the 1930's, to regain some of the tremendous markets in India, England so set forth to loosen the controls on their pound. This necessitated drastic action by the Japanese, who devaluated their yen to meet this competition. And so we witnessed the depreciation of the pound from its highly respected international position of $4.86 down to $2.80. All nations trading with these countries that abandoned the gold standard have suffered through lack of confidence in the currencies they could offer in the world markets for the purchase of services and goods from other countries. Countless billions of American dollars have been exported in an effort to bolster up the economic positions of so-called friendly nations. I say "so-called" in a qualified way, because it is apparent that many times we have tried to help with our money, goods, and services, only to find little appreciation for the handouts we have so magnanimously given to foreign nations while at the same time refusing support to some of our own industries.

I might mention here that you are well acquainted with the efforts we western Congressmen made to protect the tungsten industry, which is so vital to many communities in my State and in other States of the West. I would be reluctant to speak on this subject were it not for the fact that I have in my hand some material recently written on how we may stop inflation in this country. All of us know too many retired people, too many white-collar workers, too many people living on fixed incomes to not be aware of the suffering or the embarrassment brought about when every year these people's dollars buy less and less. I am not against helping those friendly nations who are helping themselves and who indicate their desire to join with us in our world fight for freedom, and I am all for our country's having a strong Military Establishment for the defense of our Nation and the protection of our principles.

It is my firm belief that if the financial experts of our Nation will join with qualified Members of both Houses of Congress, they will reach the conclusion that we should and we must stop printing more currency, stop increasing our national debt, stop devaluating the value of the goods owned by the people, and arrive at a basis whereby our currencies and our fiscal policies will be tied to and fixed with a gold and silver standard. This would restore confidence in our own currency and the Government behind it, to lead the way out of chaos and frustration for the scores of countries whose very existence depends upon having a medium of exchange that can be relied upon by all nations with whom they trade.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the fact that in this story of the two kingdoms there is highlighted the confusion that peoples would be confronted with were we not to agree on the matter of measurements, whereby we know that 12 inches equals 1 foot and 3 feet equals 1 yard. We all also have a great appreciation of the value of our system of weights, where 1 pound contains 16 ounces, or 2,000 pounds 1 ton. To change this would throw our whole national and international economic system out of balance.

Not too many years ago the nations of the world looked to the pound sterling as the valuator. The pound sterling contained 123 grains of gold. It is my opinion, and I know a good many Members of the House concur with me, that unless this Congress takes some definite action to restore a valuator we will surely be confronted with the 10-cent dollar before the next 10 sessions of Congress. I believe every Member of this House would fight to avoid shouldering this burden on our sons and daughters. Certainly those who may look forward to living their twilight years on a fixed income would hate to contemplate what measures would have to be taken in order to buy the barest necessities we all must have.

For the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have printed a copy of a letter written to me on March 8 by Mr. William P. Moloney, of Marion, Ohio, who in his closing sentence says, "I know of no situation where corrective measures are so sorely needed."

The letter follows:

MARION, OHIO, *March 8, 1957.*

Hon. WALTER S. BARING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARING: Approximately 25 years ago I acquired 2 mines in the State of Nevada, 1 gold and 1 gold and silver. The gold mine was operated in a small way until the closing act in 1942. Both of these mines have merit and I have expended approximately $200,000 in the purchase and development of these mines and both could be operated successfully now if it were possible to sell newly mined gold and silver at its real value.

A recent issue of the Battle Mountain Scout carries a rather lengthy interview stating your position in reference to proposed legislation, the purpose of which is to correct the injustice to which the owners of gold and silver mines have been subjected by governmental action.

Every act of Congress since 1934 that affected, directly or indirectly, the gold and silver mining industry has been detrimental to the industry and you are to be commended for your efforts to restore some measure of justice to the industry.

It is difficult to conceive that the United States Government should refuse to purchase the products of any industry at a price that represents its true value and at the same time prevent that industry from selling its products to those who are willing to purchase these products at their true value. The basic concept of the right to own, to hold, and to sell private property which the Government of the United States is pledged to uphold and to defend at all costs, is denied by the Government itself.

Not only does the Government deny the fundamental right of the private citizen to own, hold, and dispose of private property but it becomes socialistic in its treatment of this industry by supplying the commercial users in this country, the gold and silver needed for commercial use. Of course the Treasury Department very graciously grants permission to sell newly mined gold and silver to the industry, but it stands ready to serve the commercial users at cost so that the owner of the newly mined gold and silver is in the same position as if he sold it to the Government.

It is a well-known fact that this policy of the Government of selling gold and silver to commercial users without profit to the Government has not only been to the tremendous advantage economically of the fabricators and users of gold and silver, but has been largely instrumental in keeping the gold and silver mines in Nevada and elsewhere out of operation.

Obviously, it would be a great step toward restoring justice to the gold and silver industry if the mine owners were permitted to sell newly mined gold and silver in the world market, a privilege and a right enjoyed by every other industry in the United States.

There is no need to say to you that the condition of the gold and silver mining industry in the West is sad nor is it necessary to say to you that if the Government would get out of the market of selling gold and silver to commercial users and permit the industry to sell to commercial users in this country at a price competitive to world prices the gold and silver industry would revive immediately. Is there any way to induce or to compel the Government to cease selling gold and silver to commercial users and to leave this field to the industry? That would restore some measure of justice.

I know of no situation where corrective measures are so sorely needed and your efforts are certainly to be commended.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM P. MOLONEY.

Face-to-Face Discussion Far Better Than Any Correspondence Sent to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I firmly believe that a primary task of each Member of Congress is to maintain the closest possible contact with the people he is privileged to serve in the House of Representatives. This poses a considerable problem when dependence must be placed upon correspondence instead of direct, face-to-face discussion of the issues which confront the Nation. It has been my experience that personal conferences held throughout the 15th district of Ohio have provided my constituents an excellent opportunity to discuss public affairs as well as matters of personal concern in which some action by the Federal Government is involved.

As soon as the present session of Congress is concluded, I shall return to Ohio where constituents may meet me in my district office in the Central National Bank Building at Cambridge. As in past years, I shall visit all of the 7 counties of the 15th district often in the coming 4 months before returning to Washington in January. It is also my intention to spend a day in the courthouse of each county-seat town where I will welcome the opportunity to discuss privately any matter of interest. These meetings will be informal and will be held from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. The following schedule has been arranged for these informal conferences:

Perry County, September 16, Muskingum County, September 17, Monroe County, September 18, Noble County, September 19, Washington County, September 20, Morgan County, September 21, Guernsey County, September 23.

No appointments are necessary for these conferences and I will be pleased to meet with such individuals as may wish to call at the courthouse.

Transmission Belt for the Power Trust Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 19, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appearing in this week's edition of the national weekly newspaper, Labor, did much to clarify some blatant misconceptions concerning the Hells Canyon fight which were contained in an article entitled "Pacific Northwest Stands On Its Own Feet," recently published by the Reader's Digest.

This editorial also had high praise for a fine letter written to the editor of the Reader's Digest about this subject by Senators MAGNUSON and JACKSON, and Congressman DON MAGNUSON of the State of Washington. As was pointed out by Senators MAGNUSON and JACKSON and Representative MAGNUSON, the author of this fallacious article completely ignores the real issue in the Hells Canyon fight, that is, full development of the public resources as opposed to partial utilization envisioned by the Idaho Power Co. projects.

Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues will find this editorial interesting reading and under unanimous consent I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

TRANSMISSION BELT FOR THE POWER TRUST LINE

The power trust puts out such a blizzard of propaganda that it's seldom worth while to single out any one piece of it. However, when a particular devious and deceptive article is published in Reader's Digest, comment is needed, because that magazine has millions of readers, many of whom also read Labor.

The article—entitled "Pacific Northwest Stands on Its Own Feet"—was written by William Hard.

Hard lauds the Pacific Northwest States for, as he claims, proving that local agencies can meet their own light and power needs without a penny from the Federal Government. As examples, he cited three power projects in the State of Washington. One is being built by a group of public and private electric utility bodies. Another, the Rocky Reach Dam, is being built by the Chelan public district, a local public power agency. The third, the Priest Rapids-Wanapum project, is being built by the Grant County public utility district under contracts to sell the power to 12 distributors, some public-owned and some private power companies.

Hard completely disregarded a main point in this story, declared Senators WARREN MAGNUSON, HENRY M. JACKSON, and Congressman DON MAGNUSON, all Washington State Democrats, in a protesting letter to the editor of Reader's Digest.

"This point," they said, "is that neither Rocky Reach nor Priest Rapids-Wanapum could have been built without the upstream water storage and river flow control provided by the Federal dams at Grand Coulee, Albeni Falls, and Hungry Horse.

"This combination of Federal multipurpose projects, plus largely power-only dams built by non-Federal bodies, is a working reality only because the water-storage facilities exist through previous Federal developments," the three solons from Washington State said. "We feel that Hard's article, making the entirely illogical conclusion that local utility districts should take over the Columbia River and its tributaries, is misleading and deceptive."

Actually, the first part of Hard's article, about the dam projects named above, is merely window dressing for the part he is leading up to—a shockingly distorted version of the Hells Canyon dispute. The main and real business of this article is a devious attempt to justify the administration's giveaway of the Snake River to the Idaho Power Co., thus blocking construction of a high public dam in Hells Canyon.

The article contains so many omissions and misstatements that only a few can be noted here, as follows:

Hard says that, under the license granted by the FPC, Idaho Power must impound up to 1 million acre-feet of flood-control water. He fails to mention that the high public dam would provide nearly 4 million acre-feet of water storage—about 4 times as much as the low private dams.

Hard dodges the two biggest issues—the comparative amounts of power which the private and public Hells Canyon projects would produce, and the prices at which that power would be sold. He didn't dare challenge official figures showing that: The high public dam would produce 1,122,000 kilowatts of power, more than twice as much as the 505,000 from the 3 low private dams. The cost of the public power would be 2.65 mills per kilowatt, less than half the 6.69 mills for the private power.

That's why supporters of the high public dam project say the giveaway is not only a vastly valuable handout to the power trust, but also is an inexcusable waste of natural resources vital to the Northwest and the Nation.

Discussing the Hells Canyon part of Hard's article in their protesting letter to the Reader's Digest editor, the two MAGNUSONS and JACKSON said:

"Just as the Grand Coulee, Albeni Falls, and Hungry Horse Federal dams make downstream projects possible, so would the high Hells Canyon Dam utilize the river system's resources to the fullest. The high Hells Canyon Dam would provide an additional 436,000 kilowatts of power at the dams downstream on the Snake and Columbia Rivers.

"This is the crux of the fight for the high Hells Canyon Dam project," the letter to the Digest editor declared. "Contrary to Hard's conclusion, the issue is not private versus public power development. The issue is full development of these public resources as opposed to the partial utilization envisioned by the Idaho Power Co. projects."

Just try sending the Digest this editorial pointing out some of the bugs in Hard's article, and see if that reactionary magazine will print it. Also watch to see whether the Digest publishes the protesting letter from the MAGNUSONS and JACKSON.

Resolution Renaming the Grass River Lock in Honor of Senator Wiley and Representative Dondero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the people of Toledo, Ohio, for many years have been vitally and actively interested in the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway. They have recognized the immeasurable economic benefits that will accrue to the entire Great Lakes Basin and, indeed, to the entire Nation upon completion of this project.

In recognition and appreciation of the invaluable role of Senator ALEXANDER WILEY and Representative GEORGE A. DONDERO, of Michigan, in spearheading the St. Lawrence seaway development project, the City Council of Toledo recently adopted the following resolution, recommending that the Grass River lock at the east end of the Long Sault Canal be renamed the Wiley-Dondero lock as a fitting tribute to these distinguished gentlemen.

I am happy, indeed, to insert at this point in the RECORD the full text of the resolution:

RESOLUTION TO RENAME THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY LOCK IN HONOR OF SENATOR WILEY AND REPRESENTATIVE DONDERO

Whereas the Council of the City of Toledo has long recognized the great economic advantages that will accrue to the Toledo metropolitan area, the State of Ohio, the entire Great Lakes region, and to international trade on the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway project; and

Whereas it is recognized that for many years efforts had been made to enlist support of the United States Government in the St. Lawrence River development, but it was not until the 83d Congress passed Public Law 358 on May 6, 1954, which President Dwight D. Eisenhower approved on May 13, 1954, that United States participation in the project was assured; and

Whereas Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, then chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Representative George A. Dondero, of Michigan, then chairman of the House Public Works Committee, were coauthors of the St. Lawrence seaway bill, now designated as the Wiley-Dondero bill, and were leaders in guiding the measure through the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively; and

Whereas a vital part of the seaway project, the Grass River lock at the east end of Long Sault Canal in the International Rapids section, is now under construction with completion scheduled for 1959, when the seaway will be opened to ocean traffic; and

Whereas one of the two great locks in the American seaway project has been named the Eisenhower lock in recognition of Presidential support of the seaway project: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That in recognition of the great leadership of Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, and Representative George A. Dondero, of Michigan, and in tribute to their dauntless championship of the seaway over a period of many years, the Council of the City of Toledo in meeting assembled on August 7, 1957, does hereby recommend and urge the Congress of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, and the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation of the United States that the Grass River lock in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence seaway be designated as the Wiley-Dondero lock as a fitting tribute to these two congressional leaders for their contributions in making the St. Lawrence seaway project a reality.

Adopted August 7, 1957.

OLLIE CZELUSTA,
Mayor.

Attest:

C. F. DIEFENBACH,
Clerk of Council.

A Strong Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Christian Science Monitor of Tuesday, August 13, 1957, there appears an editorial entitled, "A Strong Civil-Rights Bill."

This is an editorial which explains the present situation regarding the bill passed by the Senate, and I note included in the editorial the following statements:

The more the Senate bill is studied, the harder it becomes to oppose it as ineffective.

Further—

Precisely because it would enlist an essential degree of consent, we believe the Senate bill is strong, in terms of actual effectiveness. And the clearer its strength is perceived, the harder it will be to play politics with the issue.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STRONG CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL

Political maneuvering over civil rights the last few days has been complicated. Strange bedfellows have climbed in together. Latest ill-matched team is composed of certain civil rights Republicans and conservative southern Democrats. Both are trying to place the conflicting bills passed by the respective Houses in the hands of a House-Senate conference committee for revision.

The purpose of the southerners is said to be to obtain such serious modifications of the Senate bill that it can be killed by filibuster. The aim of the Republicans is said to be to so strengthen the bill that even if it fails in Congress they can go into next year's election as supporters of a strong program. The Democratic leaders are pushing an alternative plan to have the House take up the Senate bill directly and make one simple amendment—to limit the jury-trial provision to voting cases. This procedure would be less likely to split Democratic ranks.

Both sides are hurling recriminations. An interesting common denominator of these is the charge that the opposition is trying to block civil-rights legislation. This is a hopeful sign, indicating that neither side relishes to appear as blocking it. So despite the hurdles remaining—including the possibility that uncompromising diehards will dominate a conference committee—there is good hope for effective legislation.

The more the Senate bill is studied the harder it becomes to oppose it as ineffective. Here are some of its solid gains:

1. A national commission, equipped with subpena powers, would dig into civil-rights violations and recommend action, focusing public opinion as never before.

2. A special division of the Department of Justice would be working continually on civil-rights cases.

3. The full power and majesty of the National Government would intervene by injunctive processes to halt beforehand efforts to deprive Negroes of the right to vote.

4. Such suits—so long as they are aimed at prevention rather than punishment—cannot be interfered with by jury trials.

5. High legal authorities believe these civil-contempt proceedings can be made effective. Orders can include any person holding the office of registrar of voters so a man could not nullify them by resigning. To prevent intimidation peace bonds could be required.

One cannot exactly predict the operation of any such law and undoubtedly some ingenious blocking steps can be taken by State legislatures and local officials. But this bill is far less likely to encounter such resistance than measures attempting to enforce integration—an issue on which there is both more unity of opposition and far higher emotional feeling than on voting rights.

Precisely because it would enlist an essential degree of consent we believe the Senate bill is strong—in terms of actual effectiveness. And the clearer its strength is perceived the harder it will be to play politics with the issue.

The Country Doctor—A Beneficiary of Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in the past 2 or 3 decades modern medicine has made advances in care and prevention of disease that would stagger the imagination of doctors of an earlier day.

One characteristic of the early-day doctor, however, will permit no improvement. That is in the field of human relations.

Many of us in Texas remember with fondness the country doctor who made his rounds on horseback or in a buggy. The ranches and farms were widely scattered and the doctor might ride horseback for 4 or 5 hours to make a $2 call on a patient. This doctor knew no office hours, night or day. This doctor was not only a professional man, but also the best friend to many of these pioneer families.

In those years, the doctor was the last person to be paid. And in many of the cases the doctor had to raise cattle on the side to make a living.

Texas today is becoming a leader in medicine. Its hospitals and specialists rank second to none, even though there aren't enough of them. Texans salute this great progress. But we also keep a place in our hearts for those great humanitarians and men of medicine of another era.

Mr. President, such a man was Dr. A. B. Edwards, a beloved doctor and friend of pioneer Texans. He was born the year after the War Between the States on Elm Fork of the Trinity River in Texas. He graduated from the medical branch of the University of Louisville in 1888 and that year he came back to Texas and settled at Antelope. His practice was spread over Archer, Clay, Jack, and Young Counties. He was a beloved civic and business leader of his community.

Last Thursday Dr. Edwards was laid to rest in Henrietta. He would have been 91 years old the 31st of this month. He was the father-in-law of the late Lucian Parrish, a former Member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to print in the Appendix of the RECORD this tribute to him from a story in the Wichita Falls Record News. It is not only a tribute to him as an individual, but a tribute to that great race of men of pioneer Texas, the country doctor.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DR. BRYANT EDWARDS SUCCUMBS IN HENRIETTA

Last rites for Dr. A. B. Edwards, Henrietta, have been set for 10 a. m. Thursday in the Henrietta First Baptist Church. Burial will be in the Hope Cemetery, Henrietta, under direction of Hawkins Funeral Home.

Dr. Edwards, a pioneer Clay County physician, died Tuesday morning in a Henrietta hospital. He was 90.

A business and civic leader since the 1880's, Dr. Edwards combined his many other interests with a medical career that brought him acclaim throughout the entire Southwest.

Born on Elm Fork of the Trinity near present Valley View in 1866, Dr. Edwards would have been 91 years old on August 31.

Funeral arrangements, under the direction of Hawkins Funeral Home in Henrietta, are incomplete.

The long-time physician's father, Jackson Berry Edwards, came with an immigrant train to Texas from Tennessee in 1844 and settled on the Elm Fork of the Trinity. When Dr. Edwards was 11 months old, his father died and his mother took over active management of their livestock business.

After Dr. Edwards graduated from the medical branch of the University of Louisville in 1886, he went to Antelope on the Clay and Jack Counties line. At that time he planned to practice at Antelope for a while and then go to Gainesville, because he doubted he could earn a living in the Antelope community, according to biographical sketches. However, the young physician was a busy man.

In 1888, in partnership with his brother, C. B. Edwards, and under the firm name of Edwards Bros., a supply store and cattle business was established. Dr. Edwards practiced medicine and his brother superintended the mercantile business and their cattle interests.

Those were the days when ranches were far apart, and the doctor kept good teams and buggies to care for his many patients in Archer, Clay, Jack, and Young Counties. His driver sometimes was called on in emergencies and to give anesthetics, with surgery frequently done on kitchen or makeshift tables.

The brothers obtained their first land in Clay County in 1887 and then they got together a ranch near Antelope and stocked it in part with livestock taken in on grocery and doctor bills.

In 1889 Dr. Edwards was married to Betty Moore, daughter of Capt. James Bryant Moore of Jacksboro.

Their three children, who survive, are Mrs. Lucian Parrish of Santa Barbara, Calif., wife of the late Lucian Parrish who died in 1918 while a Member of Congress; Bryant Edwards of Henrietta and A. B. (Kirk) Edwards of Henrietta, both well-known cattlemen of this area.

There are two grandchildren, Lucian W. Parrish, Fort Worth, and Mrs. Henry Fowler, Dallas.

Five great-grandchildren also survive.

In 1901, Dr. Edwards moved from Antelope to Henrietta and immediately became one of the outstanding citizens of the town. Although he continued his practice of medicine until 1906, Dr. Edwards was constantly building his cattle business and trying new and modern methods of ranching.

The Edwards brothers became members of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association in 1900, and Dr. Edwards continued as an active member until recent years. He was believed to be the oldest living member. The pioneer rancher also was one of the first men in the State to feed cottonseed meal to steers and to bring in registered bulls to develop his herd.

After Mrs. Edwards' death in March 1950, Dr. Edwards became less active in the cattle business, but he continued his participation a number of years in his favorite sports, hunting and fishing.

Henrietta, Clay County and the entire area owe much to the leadership and inspiration of this pioneer resident. It was in 1953 that Edwards, described as a retired country doctor and beloved cattleman-citizen of Henrietta, gave the Clay County Memorial Library to his fellow citizens. Dr. Edwards and his two sons made the gift in memory of the wife and mother, Mrs. Bettie Edwards. The site, half a block from the courthouse square, was acquired by Dr. Edwards in 1952, and construction of the modern brick building was undertaken with only a few public officials knowing the use for which it was planned.

Known as Edwards Public Library, the building and its contents stand as testimonials to the Edwards family and its contribution to Clay County.

Dr. Edwards for many years was a leader in Clay County pioneer reunions, serving as president of that event in 1955.

This Is New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial, which recently appeared in the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass.

This editorial, which relates to a speech on New England that I recently delivered in the House, is very ably written and will be of deep interest to all those interested in New England and its problems.

I desire to express my appreciation to this outstanding newspaper in my great State for its consistent, effective advocacy of measures designed to protect and to promote the interests of Massachusetts and New England as well as those of the Nation as a whole.

The editorial follows:

THIS IS NEW ENGLAND

Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN of Clinton, representing the Massachusetts third district, delivered a memorable address on the floor of the House that should stir pride in the heart of every New Englander.

A native and life-long resident of the Bay State, Representative PHILBIN was concerned that the virtues of New England may not be as well known as they should be in other sections of the country.

Mr. PHILBIN not only was concerned—he did something about it. He delivered an inspirational speech entitled "New Horizons for New England." In his preliminary remarks he said:

"Historically, economically, politically, spiritually and in many other respects, New England is truly an outstanding section of this great country. In my mind, by and large, it is the best place in the world in which to live and work, and I say this with real pride and with no reflection upon any other part of our great Nation."

The veteran congressman—in his 15th year on Capitol Hill—then cited a few facts and figures to back up his claims about New England. It was an impressive presentation.

More than one-quarter of the Nation's private nuclear projects planned for the next 5 years will be in New England.

This region has one-seventh of the country's companies that supply products relating to atomic energy.

The world's first 2 atomic-powered submarines were made in New England, and 7 of the next 8 will be built in the region.

New England has 15 percent of the Nation's electronics industry—more than 1,200 plants in all—and half of these were not in existence a decade ago.

One-eighth of the country's aircraft parts and products are made in New England—providing employment for some 75,000 persons in more than 2,600 plants.

New England has one-sixth of the Nation's research facilities. It produces 80 percent of the country's packaged and frozen seafood, 38 percent of the shoes, one-sixth of the plastic products.

Congressman PHILBIN went on to enumerate other assets of New England and discussed some of the region's problems.

"We in New England," he said, "have found in diversification of industry, in research, in the will to work—we have found not only

the means to offset previous industrial losses of historic businesses but the ability to forge ahead to new, higher and broader horizons of industrial activity."

New Englanders will concur heartily with PHILBIN's pungent prophecy: "Our progress has been phenomenal; our future progress will be even greater."

This region could use more goodwill ambassadors with Mr. PHILBIN's enthusiasm.

Problems in the North

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, racial tension north of the Mason-Dixon line often are overshadowed by discussions of what the South needs to do to solve its problems. Two daily newspapers in Alabama's Fourth District, which I am privileged to represent, carried editorials recently pointing up the need for some doorstep sweeping in the North.

The editorials, which appeared on August 8, are as follows: from the Anniston Star, "Negroes in the North"; and from the Selma Times-Journal, "Cause for Wonder."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the two editorials:

NEGROES IN THE NORTH

In a Monday editorial taking cognizance of the recent race rioting in Chicago, the Milwaukee Journal observes that on "the record to date, we in the North must be a little ashamed of ourselves."

Such reproof is, to our way of thinking, too mild. But at least the Milwaukee paper is objective enough to concede the hypocrisy of northerners who criticize the South's approach to racial matters.

In fact, some further comment in the editorial in question suggests very strongly that northerners' criticism well might become a thing of the past.

It is stated that in Chicago, as one example, Negroes now number approximately 1 million, or one-fifth of the population of the city and its immediate suburbs.

Other metropolitan areas outside the South also have received sizable migrations of Negroes, and every month thousands more of them leave the South with the grossly erroneous idea that they are going to places where, despite limited training and skills, they can command high pay and can enjoy abundant living.

The awakening to a cruel deception naturally makes for unrest—a fact that apparently is recognized by the Journal. For it declares: "All things considered, authorities and unofficial organizations have done quite well in preventing worse and more frequent outbreaks."

The editorial goes on to say that rather than excusing those which do occur in Chicago and elsewhere in the North, the conscientious northerner "will accept the unpleasant fact as evidence that we still have a long way to go before Negroes get their full rights and privileges here."

The paper's appeal is for extra effort in the interest of easy assimilation.

But by painful experience, it no doubt will be learned eventually that the racial problem best can be solved by encouraging Negroes to raise their educational, economic, social, health, and moral standards within their own race—and not in competition with whites.

CAUSE FOR WONDER

Reading about racial tension in Chicago, Southerners cannot help but wonder why northerners spend so much time worrying about our problems when they have much more serious ones of their own.

As the result of recent racial clashes on Chicago's south side, 800 extra policemen were ordered on emergency duty, making a total of 934 in the Calumet and Trumbull Park areas alone.

Police Commissioner Timothy O'Connor said the extra manpower is part of a continuing effort to prevent recurrence of stone-throwing melees in which 37 persons were injured and almost 90 arrested. He added that all citizens of Chicago would be given full protection of the law, regardless of how many policemen were required.

Nobody can find fault with this policy, but let us examine the costs of maintaining it. At a moderate guess, each of these extra 900 policemen draws at least 10 dollars a day salary, and various other expenses of the racial patrol undoubtedly run the daily bill well above $10,000.

In Alabama, where Negroes are safe without police protection anywhere they are supposed to be, at any time, there is not a single city which spends anywhere near this much for maintenance of its entire law enforcement agency.

If Chicago wants to continue bearing this tremendous burden, that is the business of its citizenry, but it does seem to be an exorbitant price for persisting in the senseless process of trying to force round pegs into square holes.

The Late Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. MALONE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the radio broadcasts by Fulton Lewis, Jr., May 3, 6, and 7, 1957, on Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

Mr. President, on May 8 I took occasion to say that:

JOE MCCARTHY was a great American. He believed, as I do, that any man refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, or any man who hid behind the fifth amendment when asked if he had ever been disloyal, did not belong on the public payroll.

Mr. President, the censure of Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY by his colleagues, in the absence of an allegation that he had ever violated any rule of the United States Senate, was a very dangerous precedent. It was the first tangible move to destroy the investigative power of this great body. It was accomplished under an emotional strain, comparable to a war hysteria.

The precedent could not have been established under normal conditions. It is a dangerous precedent, and if followed hereafter, any Member of this distinguished body can be censured when any other Member can be persuaded to submit a resolution looking to that end, provided the emotion and hysteria of the moment can be aroused to the point of securing the necessary majority vote on this floor.

Mr. President, the whole proceedings relating to the censure of Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY should be expunged from the permanent record.

Mr. President, I am advised by the Public Printer that the cost of printing the article will be $173.25. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask that the text of the broadcasts be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the broadcasts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Fulton Lewis, Jr., broadcasts of May 3, 6, and 7, 1957]

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY

MAY 3, 1957

The body of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY of Wisconsin is lying in state tonight at a Washington funeral home, and will remain so over the weekend so the public may pay its respects; and Senate leaders decided today that a state funeral in the Chamber of the Senate which he loved so devotedly will be held on Monday morning at 11 o'clock, with a Catholic priest and the chaplain of the Senate presiding.

It is the first time such services have been held in the Senate Chamber since the one for the late Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, and it is an honor that has been accorded to few men in history.

The committee which decided on the arrangements consisted of Senator STYLES BRIDGES of New Hampshire, Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND of California, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, and Senator CARL HAYDEN of Arizona. Shortly before noon they called on Mrs. McCarthy at the little remodeled house just three blocks from the Capitol, and asked her wishes, and she agreed to the Senate funeral. She was haggard and tired, but she was calm and in complete possession of herself and she has held up admirably throughout the day. During the night she got a few snatches of sleep, and close friends have been with her constantly, in shifts, since they picked her up yesterday afternoon at Bethesda Naval Hospital, shortly after Senator MCCARTHY passed away.

Prior to the Senate funeral on Monday, there will be a mass at St. Matthews' Cathedral, where Senator MCCARTHY and Jeannie Kerr were married in 1953. After the Senate ceremonies, the body will be flown to Appleton, Wis., where the Senator will be buried in the family plot. All flags on Government buildings, including the White House, were at half mast; messages of condolence were pouring in from all over the Nation, and even from ships at sea.

President Eisenhower issued a statement of sympathy for Mrs. McCarthy which was very carefully worded, and which avoided any expression of regret except for Mrs. McCarthy's personal loss. Other top officials, including Secretary of State Dulles and Vice President NIXON sent messages of sympathy.

Mrs. McCarthy requested that no flowers be sent, but that instead, in the case of those who would have done so, a contribution be sent to the New York Foundling Hospital, 175 East 68th Street, New York City, which is the home from which she and her husband got their black-haired, blue-eyed adopted daughter of 6 months, Tierney.

Mrs. McCarthy's mother was under a doctor's care from shock, and apparently suffered a slight heart attack last night, although doctors do not believe there is serious damage.

Moscow radio said, in reporting MCCARTHY's death, that he was responsible for the preparation of a new military venture by the United States. It said:

"The aims of this double-dyed reactionary are linked with such a phenomenon of American reality as McCarthyism—a fierce onslaught against the progressive forces in the working-class organizations of the United States of America, hunting down and

subjecting to terrorist persecution all who oppose the domination of a handful of millionaires. McCarthyism spread throughout the country on an atmosphere of fear and anti-Communist hysteria which contributed to a more reactionary, antinational policy within the country, and to the preparation of a new military venture."

So Moscow is happy, and feels it has been rid of a dangerous enemy. That would have been a source of great satisfaction to JOE MCCARTHY.

* * * * *

The foundling hospital in New York indicated very strongly this afternoon, that Mrs. McCarthy will be allowed to keep little Tierney, despite the fact that the probationary adoption period is only about half over. So that hurdle seems to be cleared.

From Members of the Senate came various expressions of shock and loss, one of them, by Senator WILLIAM JENNER, is perhaps typical. He said, "America has lost a fighting patriot, a courageous man who has been willing to pay the price for his convictions and for his country. I was proud that I stood by him in his fight for America."

That last comment is important, because it referred directly to the cause for Senator MCCARTHY's death, the Senate censure resolution, engineered and pressured through by those forces that were gripped by fear of their own pasts, and had to get rid of Senator MCCARTHY to save themselves.

That was what killed the junior Senator from Wisconsin. That was what preyed on him constantly, and gnawed at his heart, and broke his spirit, and I saw it happen. He didn't believe the Senate would vote censure. He found it incredible that his colleagues would do him an injustice, or subject him to a stacked committee in the censure hearings. But he failed to calculate the pressure and the money and the influence that was at work, some of it from the White House itself. One man above all others in the White House family hated JOE MCCARTHY, and that man was Paul G. Hoffman, the President's confidante whom he named to the United Nations, the man who wrecked the Studebaker-Packard Corp., the man who headed the foreign-aid program in its most squandering days, the man who conceived and until recently, headed the notorious Fund for the Republic.

Paul Hoffman, in his hatred, helped to pay for the lawyers who drew up the censure charges which Senator FLANDERS, of Vermont, lodged against Senator MCCARTHY, and which finally—though proven to be false—resulted in the McCarthy censure.

On July 19 of last year, Senator FLANDERS openly admitted this fact on the floor of the United States Senate, at the time he publicly apologized to Senator MCCARTHY for what he had done. He said he wished the whole thing could be forgotten, but he did admit that Mr. Hoffman contributed $1,000 for the drafting of those false charges.

And it was the vote of censure, under pressure such as many Senators had never known before, growing out of those charges, that started Senator MCCARTHY on his long, slow death. From then on, he had no will to live. And I knew, when I heard the diagnosis of the Bethesda Naval Hospital doctors on Monday, that this was the end of the Nation's most dedicated fighter against communism and subversive activities, because his physical strength was so spent that he couldn't possibly survive any major illness.

So I hope Paul Hoffman is satisfied. But I doubt that in his project he has won much in the way of thanks or affection from the average American citizen. JOE MCCARTHY was too much of an American patriot, and too devoted to his country. Mr. Paul Hoffman is interested in the rest of the world, and expending our substance over the world.

There will be a note of some irony in those Senate services because that, in a sense, was the execution chamber. And thus, Monday, the Senate, which performed the execution, will honor the man it executed. In that, at least, there is ironic justice.

I have received hundreds of telegrams today, suggesting that the Governor of Wisconsin appoint Jeannie Kerr McCarthy to fill the vacancy left by her husband, and let me say that no person alive—man or woman—could fill it more capably than Jeannie McCarthy. She has been the top-level consultant and adviser to her husband, first as secretary, and then as wife, virtually ever since the beginning of his Senate career.

Unfortunately, however, the Wisconsin law does not provide for such appointments, but rather prescribes that the Governor shall order a special election, from 55 to 70 days after the vacancy occurs, with a primary 4 weeks beforehand, and Jeannie McCarthy is hardly in any condition, emotionally or physically—or financially, so far as that goes—to conduct any campaign throughout the State of Wisconsin.

If she were drafted, that might be a different matter, and it could be done by the simple expedient of seeing to it that she is the only candidate in the Republican primary. She could win without campaigning in the general election.

Perhaps some such move as that will take place. The Governor is scheduling conferences immediately after the funeral ceremonies in Appleton to talk over that situation.

* * * * *

One last observation.

It is interesting, indeed, to observe today the deep silence from all those sources that screamed such indignation because a Canadian diplomat committed suicide when he was accused of Communist associations, and Harry Dexter White died of a heart attack after he had been accused, and Larry Dugan jumped out of a window in New York when some of his associates found themselves in Communist trouble.

Those screaming voices are silent when JOE MCCARTHY, the enemy of communism, dies as a result of their persecutions.

MAY 6, 1957

The remains of Senator JOE MCCARTHY are in Appleton, Wis., tonight, after a weekend of his Nation's and his church's highest honors, and homage from many thousands of just ordinary people who filed past his bier in a funeral home, a stone's throw from the White House.

How many there were is impossible to determine, but a guest book in which some of those who came to pay their respects signed their names showed some 5,000 signatures; many additional thousands failed to register because of the jam, and there were many groups of young people who also did not register. At times, the queue was 3 and 4 blocks long and many people stood in line for hours.

There was a rosary service at 8:30 p. m. last night, and another chapel service with family and close friends early this morning. Then, shortly before 9 a. m., the body was moved to St. Matthew's Cathedral where the Senator married the beautiful young Jeannie Kerr in 1953, and where, this morning, about 2,000 persons were gathered.

Among those present were the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon; White House assistant I. Jack Martin, representing the President; Senate Republican Leader William Knowland, and a group of other Senators; and the Senator's two leading assistants in the famous McCarthy investigations, Roy Cohn, and staff director Frank Carr.

Among the company that participated in the requiem mass were 72 priests, monsignors and bishops.

Mrs. McCarthy, in the company of her husband's brothers and sister, held up well until after Archbishop O'Boyle left the altar, and stopped momentarily to take her hand and say a few words, which were inaudible to anyone else. Then, for a moment, she bowed her head and sobbed, but she seemed to force herself under control after a fleeting moment, and resumed her composure.

After the mass, the casket was taken—with a 48-man Marine honor guard—to the Capitol, where it was carried by Marine pallbearers up the great steps of the Senate wing, and onto the Senate floor. With its draping of flags, it was placed in front of the Vice President's rostrum. Mrs. McCarthy came into the Senate chamber momentarily, then retired to a chair that had been prepared for her, just outside the open doors, where she could hear and see what went on without being exposed to the eyes of the gallery visitors.

Admission to the galleries was strictly by card, but they were filled to capacity, except for the Senators' private gallery (which is always exempted on card occasions, as a matter of tradition). There were a handful of seats, there.

The Senate services were brief and included a eulogy by the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, and the Reverend Father William J. Awalt, who married the McCarthys in 1953.

There were 37 Republican Senators present, and 32 Democrats, many of them Senators who voted for the censure of Senator MCCARTHY in December of 1954—the vote that broke his heart and spirit, and started the decline in his health which ended in death Thursday afternoon at 6:02 p. m.

Few people realize this next fact, and perhaps it becomes important only in perspective, but the resolution of censure which finally was voted in regard to Senator MCCARTHY had absolutely nothing to do with the original charges which Senator FLANDERS, of Vermont, financed to the tune of $1,000 by Paul Hoffman, brought against the junior Senator from Wisconsin. They were all thrown in the wastebasket. The actual final censure resolution had to do with Senator MCCARTHY's activities after the Army-McCarthy hearings were over—and I say this because the Senator's traducers are constantly talking about the resolution of censure by which he was condemned by his colleagues by a vote of 67 to 22 as "growing out of the Army-McCarthy hearings."

To keep the record straight, I'd like to read the exact resolution to you, and here it is:

"*Resolved*, That the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY] failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct as a Senator, and affected the honor of the Senate, and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY] is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned.

"SEC. 2. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY], in writing to the chairman of the Select Committee to study censure charges [Mr. WATKINS] after the Select Committee had issued its report, and before the report was presented to the Senate, charging three members of the Select Committee with 'deliberate deception' and 'fraud' for failure to disqualify themselves; in stating to the press on November 4, 1954, that the special Senate session that was to begin November 8, 1954, was a 'lynch party'; in repeatedly describing this special Senate session as a 'lynch bee' in a nationwide tele-

vision and radio show on November 7, 1954, in stating to the public press on November 13, 1954, that the chairman of the Select Committee [Mr. WATKINS] was guilty of 'the most unusual, most cowardly thing I've ever heard of,' and stating further: 'I expected he'd be afraid to answer the questions, but didn't think he'd be stupid enough to make a public statement' and in characterizing the said committee as 'the unwitting handmaiden,' 'involuntary agent,' and 'attorneys in fact' of the Communist Party and in charging that the said committee, in writing its report, 'imitated Communist methods—that it distorted, misrepresented, and omitted in its efforts to manufacture a plausible rationalization' in support of its recommendations to the Senate, which characterizations and charges were contained in a statement released to the press and inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 10, 1954, acted contrary to senatorial ethics, intended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate, and to impair its dignity; and such conduct is hereby condemned."

Those were the things for which the Senator's colleagues censured him—not his conduct of the Army hearings, or any other McCarthy committee hearings; so the next time you find someone who implies otherwise, you will know better.

As for the Senators who made up this list of 67 votes in favor of the censure resolution, all Democrats who voted at all, voted in favor of it. That was a straight political party-line vote, to be expected in any such internal Republican hara-kiri performance as was going on.

The important votes for that resolution were the ones from the Republicans, and you will note as I go along that, included in this list, are all the names that Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, as high priest of the new modern Republicanism, considers to be the stalwarts of his movement.

Here they are:

Mrs. George P. Abel, of Nebraska; George Aiken, of Vermont; Glenn Beall, of Maryland; Wallace Bennett, of Utah; Prescott Bush, of Connecticut; Frank Carlson, of Kansas; Francis Case, of South Dakota; John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky; Norris Cotton, of New Hampshire; James Duff, of Pennsylvania; Homer Ferguson, of Michigan; Ralph Flanders, of Vermont; Robert Hendrickson, of New Jersey; Irving Ives, of New York; Frederick Payne, of Maine; Charles Potter, of Michigan; Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts; Margaret Chase Smith, of Maine; Alexander Smith, of New Jersey; Edward Thye, of Minnesota; John Williams, of Delaware, and the leading figure in the prosecution—Arthur Watkins, of Utah.

Senators HOMER CAPEHART, of Indiana, and JOHN BRICKER, of Ohio, were absent, but had their positions on the resolution announced as "nay."

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, was absent and unannounced.

I give you that list because I've been asked in hundreds of letters to do so.

Getting back to the services today, when the Senate ceremonies were over, the casket was taken to National Airport, where a MATS plane was waiting to transport it and the family party to Appleton for the final service and gravesite ceremonies there. The entire McCarthy office staff, to the last person, made the trip to Appleton, and friends provided private planes to make it possible. Some members of the staff were on the verge of hysteria, others were suffering from shock. Most of them were in as bad shape as Mrs. McCarthy herself. I know of no individual, in any line of endeavor who was held in higher affection by those who worked with him day by day, than Senator MCCARTHY.

So ends the drama that was JOE MCCARTHY. His enemies still attempt to malign him, and will do so for a long time to come. They have reason to do so, because Senator MCCARTHY, in death, may well be even more powerful as a force than Senator MCCARTHY could ever have been in life.

The death sharpens the focus of public sentiment and public thinking on the real issues that he represented, and the true facts of the McCarthy controversy. For one thing, it leaves to calm public appraisal the question of why Paul Hoffman wanted to destroy him, and why the other forces who worked so feverishly for that same destruction, considered it so important, and whether those grounds for censure, which I just read you, were really justification for the almost unprecedented Senate action of censure, and if they were not justification, why and how the Senate was pressurized into adopting that censure resolution, and who was behind it.

Any one of the Senators whose names I read you will tell you that the pressure was terrific, and most of them will tell you that they wish they had never cast the vote as they did. And what, pray, is the answer to that?

Somebody—some forces—had to get rid of Senator JOE MCCARTHY, and they did it.

MAY 7, 1957

Senator JOE MCCARTHY of Wisconsin, probably the most controversial political figure of modern times, so far as the United States is concerned, was laid to final rest beside his Irish-born mother and father today, in the cemetery of 98-year-old St. Mary's Catholic Church in Appleton, Wis., which he has attended since he was a small boy.

Some 30,000 of his fellow Wisconsinites, coming from near and far, filed through the church late yesterday afternoon and last night, to pass by the open casket and pay their final respects.

The Reverend Adam M. Grill, pastor of St. Mary's, said in his remarks that Senator MCCARTHY did not die of disease alone, but principally because he exhausted himself physically for love of his fellow beings. He said:

"Even more threatening than the atom and hydrogen bombs is the common enemy of all democracy and God-fearing people—communism.

"Of all the great men in our country, no one recognized this more completely than Senator MCCARTHY."

Here in Washington, the Senate post office was struggling with the most prodigious volume of mail ever to flood the office of any one Senator at any time. One report was that 70 mailbags full had been delivered to the McCarthy office this morning, and another large load this afternoon.

The only person in the offices this afternoon was the social secretary of a close friend of Jeannie McCarthy, Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, and she said she had no idea how many there were because she had made no attempt to count them, but that they were stacked everywhere, to the extent that it was almost impossible to move around.

Most of it seems to be condolence mail for Mrs. McCarthy, expressions of sympathy, and so forth. Mrs. McCarthy's mother, Mrs. Kerr, is very much improved from the heart attack she suffered when she learned of the Senator's death last Thursday night, although she still is under a doctor's care.

The Herbert Hoover Memorial Library, in Palo Alto, Calif., which has probably the greatest collection of papers of famous statesmen and public figures in the world, has expressed an interest in getting the McCarthy papers, under whatever terms and conditions Mrs. McCarthy wants to prescribe, which itself is considerable of an accolade to the late Senator. This is very exclusive company, the Hoover Library, and the mere expression of interest is, in itself, a very high honor.

The tentative schedule as things stand at present is for Mrs. McCarthy to return to Washington tomorrow and leave to others the problems of her husband's affairs there in Appleton, although at the time she left here, that had not been finally decided.

* * * * *

A sudden move developed today, proposed by Republican Representative ALVIN O'KONSKI of Wisconsin, urging the Governor of that State, Vernon Thompson, to ask the legislature to change the law to permit him to fill the MCCARTHY vacancy by appointment, instead of calling a special election, but it is too early as yet to gage the progress of that suggestion. The idea, of course, would be to appoint Mrs. McCarthy to at least fill out the unexpired portion of the Senator's terms, and as I said last Friday night, she would be a brilliant appointment. She has been at his right hand as his No. 1 adviser virtually since he was elected to the Senate, and she could continue his entire staff, just as it is.

Thirteen Ambassadors Gave Republican Party $156,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article which appeared in Labor on August 17, 1957. The article entitled "Find 13 Ambassadors Gave GOP $156,000" follows:

FIND 13 AMBASSADORS GAVE GOP $156,000

Thirteen noncareer ambassadors appointed or reappointed by President Eisenhower in his second term contributed a total of $156,200 to the 1956 Republican campaign, a check of campaign records disclosed this past week.

This fact contrasted with the President's recent assurance that he never considers campaign contributions in appointing ambassadors and a similar assurance from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that such contributions aren't an important factor in choosing Uncle Sam's top representatives abroad. Eisenhower insisted that he picks only highly qualified men.

Both Ike and Dulles were quizzed about this after newsmen found the new ambassador to Ceylon, big-business man Maxwell H. Gluck, didn't even know the name of Ceylon's prime minister. On the other hand, Gluck had shelled out $21,500 to the GOP campaign last year.

Other ambassadorial plums, with the GOP contributions that preceded them, are as follows: John Hay Whitney (Great Britain), $37,500; John C. Folger (Belgium), $11,500; Joseph S. Farland (Dominican Republic), $9,000; Amory Houghton (France), $8,500; Earl Smith (Cuba), $3,800.

Also, Jefferson Patterson (Uruguay), $21,000; L. Corrin Strong (Norway), $20,500; James D. Zellerbach (Italy), $8,500; Robert H. Thayer (Rumania), $6,000; Robert D. Coe (Denmark), $4,950; Whitney Willauer (Honduras), $2,500, and Wiley D. Buchanan (Luxembourg), $1,000.

In addition, 6 former ambassadors who served in Ike's first term but weren't reappointed gave $82,500 to last year's GOP campaign. Nearly all of this came from C. Doug-

as Dillon, now promoted to be Deputy Under Secretary of State, and from Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, who resigned as Ambassador to Italy for health reasons. Dillon gave $27,500 while Mrs. Luce and her husband gave $25,000.

On the other hand, one Democratic contributor got appointed too. He's David K. Bruce, Ambassador to Germany, who gave the Democrats $1,000.

Proposed Solution of Present Agricultural Ills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, to many of our people the most dangerous economic problem is inflation. However, in the rural areas there is the added problem of low farm prices. The cost of living is going higher and higher but the price for agricultural commodities is still on a very low level.

The agricultural economic problem is most serious. There are many of us in the Congress who are concerned about this situation. There are those of us who are attempting to study this matter through in order to come up with a workable solution.

With genuine appreciation I received this week a letter from Mr. Walter W. Goeppinger of Boone, Iowa, which is also my home town, and along with it he sent his "Proposed Solution of Present Agricultural Ills." Mr. Goeppinger has given this problem a great amount of study and has presented some straightforward statements regarding the agricultural situation. I believe every Member of the Congress will be enlightened by the thinking presented in Mr. Goeppinger's proposals. Mr. Goeppinger's statement is as follows:

PROPOSED SOLUTION OF PRESENT AGRICULTURAL ILLS

Following are the conclusions of my enclosed proposals:

1. Present chaotic conditions in agriculture are the result of farm programs carrying no requirement to bring total agricultural production in balance with consumption.

2. Pass a new farm law providing for crop production on that portion of our entire tillable land in the United States that it is felt by the United States Department of Agriculture is needed for our present ability to consume. If United States Department of Agriculture economists arrived at a figure of 90 percent, then every farming unit would have the right to crop only 90 percent of its tillable acreage. The balance of the land, 10 percent, would have to remain absolutely idle, no pasture, hay, or crop production from it. The amount of retired land could be adjusted each year as United States Department of Agriculture determined the need.

3. Under the above program provide for some acreage restriction on the basic crops to prevent the South from putting the greatest portion of its ground to cotton, corn, grain sorghums and soybeans and the North from putting the greatest portion of its land to corn, grain sorghums, and soybeans. However, these acreage allotments should be more realistic than this year when corn acreage allotments were placed so ridiculously low that 70 percent of the farms in Iowa are not complying as a result.

4. Guarantee farmers 100 percent parity for all the products that they raise that are of a storable and nonperishable nature. If this is done, then meat, dairy products, poultry and eggs will automatically move close to or above 100 percent parity price levels. Raising feed grain prices raises such secondary products' prices within a short time. Lowering feed grain prices lowers the secondary products' prices within a few months' time.

5. Provide in the law some form of penalty such as marketing quota restrictions to prevent some operators staying out of the farm program above outlined. Unless we get 100 percent cooperation with the law or near to it, the program cannot be expected to realize its goal.

6. Overcome city taxpayer criticism of the soil bank by doing away with all acreage reserve and conservation reserve payments and make the incentive to farmers for reduced acreage 100 percent parity price guaranties on all grains, cotton, tobacco, rice, soybeans, peanuts and any other products of the land that United States Department of Agriculture economists feel should be included in 100 percent parity price protection.

7. Bring wheat production down to a domestic consumption basis, renting or buying whole farms in the Great Plains' winter wheat belt to help accomplish same. Thus, eliminate the export subsidy program until the world wheat market can stand our offerings and put lands back into grass in the Dust Bowl that should never have been plowed in the first place.

8. Have economists and agriculturalists from the cotton areas bring forth a program suitable to them that would fit into the general picture of solution that I propose.

9. Cattle and sheep ranches should take a proportional cut on any lands where grain or fodder crops are raised. Present grazing lands would not be required to put land into the soil bank.

10. Leave it up to United States Department of Agriculture to decide what would be required of lands in fruit and vegetable production. These are minor problems compared to those posed by the basic crops.

11. Unless something drastic is done soon to reverse the present pathetic chaos in agriculture, the family farm will be a thing of the past and large scale hired hand or corporation farming will be the only alternative. Such a condition is not desirable either socially or economically.

12. We need to and must save some of our soil fertility for posterity. With 75 percent of Iowa's topsoil lost in less than 100 years of farming, present soil mining must stop. A program providing for part of our tillable land out of production is the only one that is sound. One hundred percent parity for farm product prices is the only level fair to the farm producer.

Tribute to Hamil of REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to submit for the record the following tributes I have received to David Hamil, Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration.

From the Lane-Scott Electric Cooperative of Dighton, Kans.:

We are very much perturbed about the attitude of the present administration toward Dave Hamil. We feel that he has the interest of the rural people at heart and is a very able administrator. We hate to see the big business interests undermine him the way they are. It looks as though he will get the same treatment given Claude Wickard. We will appreciate anything you can do to help Mr. Hamil.

From the Kansas Electric Cooperatives, Inc.:

At the regular board meeting of the Kansas Electric Cooperatives, Inc., held in Lyons, Kans., August 2, 1957, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we commend David A. Hamil, REA administrator for his outstanding work, and urge his continued wholehearted contribution for the public benefit.

I also wish to add my thoughts in tribute to Mr. Hamil. I feel that Mr. and Mrs. Rural America are in great need of his services and it is my hope that he will continue to serve for many more years in his present capacity as Administrator of our rural electrification program. I have received several letters from constituents who wanted to express their high esteem of Mr. Hamil and I join with them in expressing appreciation for his efforts.

Soil Conservation Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture has been doing a tremendous job. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Soil Conservation Service on its splendid work during 1957 and to commend the many county committees and employees of this Service for their contribution to a better agricultural future and to a better America.

CONSERVATION PROGRESS THROUGH SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICTS

The dramatic spread of soil conservation farming over the United States in the last two decades or so is reflected in the growth and accomplishments of farmer-organized and farmer-managed soil conservation districts.

Established under State laws—the first in 1937—approximately 2,750 of these districts today include 9 out of 10 farms and ranches in the country and more than 87 percent of all the farmland. At the beginning of 1957, nearly 1¾ million farmers and ranchers already were cooperating with their local districts. Through them, these landowners and operators receive Soil Conservation Service help in soil surveys, conservation farm planning and applying soil and water conservation practices. They also

draw upon facilities of the United States Department of Agriculture and other Federal, State, or local agencies or private sources.

Soil surveys, on which is based farm and ranch planning for treatment and use of land within its needs and capabilities, have been completed on more than half a billion acres. More than 64 million acres of range site surveys also have been made. The survey information also is widely used in watershed flood prevention, forestry and range, cost-sharing and farm credit, rural development and other programs, and by county, suburban, and other interests.

As of January 1, this year, nearly 1,140,000 soil conservation district landowners and operators had basic conservation plans, on 318¼ million acres. These plans, worked out by the farmers and soil conservation technicians together to meet the physical and economic needs of each farm or ranch, are the blueprints for stable farming and the conservation and best use of the Nation's vital soil and agricultural water resources.

Conservation actually put onto the land is, of course, the real measure of accomplishment through the planned land-use adjustments. Although, individual practices are not of themselves infallible yardsticks of progress, they do show the consistent advancement we are making conservationwise. Thus contour farming has been adopted on about 34 million acres, stripcropping on between 14 and 15 million acres, and range and pasture seeding on some 30 million acres. More than a million acres of terraces have been built in soil conservation districts; irrigated land leveling has been done on approximately 5 million acres and conservation water application on about 8¼ million acres. About 4 million acres of land in the districts have been planted to trees, and more than 803,000 farm and ranch ponds had been built by the first of this year.

It is significant that a substantial part of this work today is being done as part of communitywide watershed protection and flood prevention undertakings, in which soil conservation districts are taking active leadership. The scope of conservation farming undoubtedly will be broadened further through the soil bank conservation reserve, Great Plains and related programs, as it already has been in agricultural conservation programs and other activities.

MODERN CONSERVATION BENEFITS ALL COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Individual farmers and whole communities throughout the United States today are putting to effective use what we might call a matched set of conservation tools for developing the Nation's soil and water and related resources adequately to meet current and future needs.

Federal and State legislative authorizations, local community desires, and technical and other facilities are being translated into cooperative action on a broadened scale through various interrelated programs and incentives. These include local soil conservation district programs, small-watershed projects, agricultural conservation program cost-sharing, the soil-bank program's acreage reserve and conservation reserve, the rural development program, soil and water conservation credit facilities, and Federal income-tax deductions allowed for certain conservation expenditures.

The Federal Government's contributions, at congressional direction, to the agricultural conservation action, cost-sharing and credit programs, as well as to important conservation research and extension education, are made available through the United States Department of Agriculture. The Soil Conservation Service, in turn, as the agency responsible for technical leadership in the Department's soil and water conservation and flood prevention activities, provides technical and certain other help to 1¾ million cooperators in 2,750 soil conservation districts, to community watershed groups, and to others as directed.

In the agricultural conservation program's cost-sharing program, for example, the Service, in meeting one of its assigned responsibilities, helped approximately 464,000 farmers and ranchers with the installation of various enduring practices during 1956.

The Service has similar responsibility for giving help particularly to farmers in the conservation reserve part of the newer soil-bank program, which also calls for the fullest practicable use of land-use capability data and for completing the basic land inventory of the Nation as rapidly as possible. The Service counseled approximately 42,000 farmers in 2,500 counties on conservation and acreage reserve problems in 1956. In doing so, it drew upon such experience as that reflected in the fact that during the past 5 years more than 1½ million acres were converted each year from cultivated crops to grass and trees on farms and ranches serviced by the Soil Conservation Service.

The Service also makes recommendations and gives technical assistance to farmers in connection with soil and water conservation loans made through the Farmers Home Administration. Such loans, to individual farmers and farmer associations, totaled $11¾ million in 1956.

Another responsibility of the Service is to give technical help to low-income farmers in selected areas as part of the rural development program. Out of an appropriation available for direct technical aid under this program in 50 some pilot counties, the Service is providing, in most counties, the equivalent of 1 full-time and 1 part-time technician for soil survey and farm planning.

Especially in light of the broadened resource conservation demands, the Department of Agriculture has undertaken a national inventory of soil and water conservation needs. It is under Soil Conservation Service leadership in cooperation with other departmental agencies, State and local agencies, organizations and groups concerned with soil, water, forest, grass, and wildlife conservation, utilization and management. Substantial progress has been made in gathering economic and soils data, and in perfecting inventory procedures in pretests underway in several counties in five States.

WATERSHED PROTECTION AND FLOOD PREVENTION MOVES AHEAD

Rapidly spreading interest and participation in community watershed protection and flood-prevention projects point to upstream watershed development as one of our most promising devices for resource conservation.

Rural and urban interests all over the country are joining forces in land and water conservation and management on a local-State-Federal partnership basis in creek-size watersheds. Federal technical and cost-sharing assistance is provided under Public Law 566 of the 83d Congress and the amending Public Law 1018 enacted by the 84th Congress.

In addition to the work getting underway through the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, conservation land treatment and structural work is well advanced in 58 pilot small-watershed projects for which Congress first appropriated money in 1953. Also, similar flood-prevention work has been in progress since 1947 on subwatersheds of 11 major authorized watersheds as authorized by the 1944 Flood Control Act. These are Buffalo Creek, N. Y.; Middle Colorado, Tex.; Coosa River, Ga. and Tenn.; Little Sioux, Iowa; Little Tallahatchie, Miss.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Potomac, Md.; Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia; Santa Inez, Calif.; Trinity, Tex.; Washita, Okla.; Yazoo, Miss.

As of the 1st of April 1957, more than 650 applications for watershed planning help under Public Law 566 had been received in Washington from 46 States and Hawaii, after being initiated by soil conservation districts, watershed associations, or other local sponsoring community interests and having received State approval. Approximately 250 of these had been approved for planning assistance, and 36 had been approved for operations, in 24 States. Work plans on many more are in some stage of preparation. Construction work will get underway progressively as the plans are completed and approved for Federal assistance, by the Department of Agriculture through the Soil Conservation Service or by Congress, depending upon the size or cost of structures involved.

Work done in the 58 pilot projects to January 1, 1957, included nearly 200 floodwater-retarding structures, more than 1,400 stabilization and sediment-control structures, 165 silt and debris basins, and about 125 miles of stream channel and stabilization improvement. Work has been contracted and is underway on comparable additional works of improvement. More than 55 percent of the total area in the pilot projects is covered by soil conservation district agreements, with basic conservation plans developed on about 37 percent of the area and 42 percent of the operating units; and soil surveys have been made on more than 63 percent of the pilot-projects area.

Meanwhile, 278 work plans covering 15½ million acres had been prepared in the 11 authorized watersheds by January 1, in which more than half the total land area was covered by district agreements, and basic plans had been developed on about 40 percent of the area

and 42 percent of the operating units. Sixty-four percent of the authorized projects area was covered by soil surveys. Structural work completed includes some 430 floodwater-retarding structures, nearly 6,000 stabilization and sediment-control structures, and 975 miles of stream-channel improvement and stabilization work.

THE GREAT PLAINS CONSERVATION PROGRAM

A more stabilized agriculture in the 10 periodically drought affected Plains States is the longtime objective of the Great Plains conservation program now being developed through concerted local and Federal efforts.

The program represents renewed efforts by local and State people in that area, the United States Department of Agriculture, and Congress, to minimize future drought effects. This through conservation farm and ranch planning and treatment that helps to stop wind erosion and bring about safe land use in dry years and wet. Implementing legislation for Federal participation, Public Law 1021 of the 84th Congress, supplements but does not replace soil conservation district, watershed, agricultural conservation program or other programs.

Farmers and ranchers who wish to take part present plans acceptable to the Secretary of Agriculture for needed conservation measures and land-use changes. The Department of Agriculture will then offer them long-term contracts providing for sharing the cost of establishing the combination of conservation practices provided for in the plans. Such contracts may run for up to 10 years or whatever shorter time is required, but not later than December 31, 1971. Total Federal expenditures may not exceed $25 million in any 1 year or $150 million all together, in counties designated by the Secretary based on recommendations of program committees made up of State and Federal agencies in the States.

No new agencies are being set up to help local people carry out this program, assigned to be worked out by an interagency group of representatives from 10 Department of Agriculture agencies under administrative leadership of the Soil Conservation Service. The Great Plains council, land-grant colleges, farm organizations, and others are continuing to assist in the program. Soil and water conservation technicians of the Department will help landowners and operators make the plans, as part of the total Great Plains program designed to help bring about all the agricultural and economic adjustments needed to protect, stabilize, and improve the productive capacity of the important Great Plains agricultural region.

Although July 1, 1957, was fixed as the date for formal start of the Great Plains conservation program as money should be made available by Congress, technical, educational, cost-sharing, research and other related activities began to be speeded up after the Department of Agriculture proposed a Great Plains program to the President in 1955. Thus ACP cost sharing for certain water conservation and other practices has been broadened.

The Soil Conservation Service, meanwhile, accelerated soil surveys in 166 designated counties in the critical wind erosion areas of Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming. Soil surveys were made on more than 15 million acres in the 10 States in 1956, compared to 12¾ million acres in 1955 and not quite 11¾ million acres in 1954.

The Service also has provided for a general expansion of surveys and for increased assistance in planning and establishing conservation practices throughout these States, North and South Dakota and Montana as part of its regular operations. As of July 1, 1956, nearly 99 percent of the farms and 91 percent of the land in farms in the 10 Great Plains States were in 871 farmer-organized and farmer-managed soil-conservation districts.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Secretary Benson, the Department of Agriculture, and the Soil Conservation Service for an outstanding job of accomplishment.

H. R. 8002—"Gadget" Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of August 12, 1957, pinpoints accurately the principal defects of H. R. 8002, the so-called accrued expenditure bill. It labels the bill as gadget legislation.

Under leave to extend, I include the complete article:

BUDGETARY REFORM

(By Edward H. Collins)

There always has been, and probably always will be, a substantial proportion of the public that can be counted upon to be fatally fascinated by what are known as gadget proposals for legislative reform. The term "gadget" legislation, as used here, refers to proposed legislative shortcuts for the solution of public problems—shortcuts that are distinguished by their simplicity, or apparent simplicity, rather than by their realism, and whose followers are likely to consist largely of persons who find themselves so enamored by the stated purposes of the proposed legislation that they are little inclined to ask too many questions about the latter's feasibility.

All of which is by way of a preliminary to raising an open question about a widely publicized piece of legislation now pending in Congress and identified as House bill 8002. This measure traces its origins to the second Hoover Commission, which submitted its final report in June 1955. It deals with the controversial question of controlling budgetary balances carried forward from one year to another. The section of the Hoover report on which it is based carries the persuasive title "Restoration of Congressional Control of the Purse."

FOUR BILLION DOLLAR SAVINGS CITED

This is an undeniably wholesome policy objective. Equally alluring, perhaps, is a quotation from the Commission's task force carried in that document to the effect that if the program should be adopted a saving of $4 billion could reasonably be expected.

These are the two arguments that have been employed by the enthusiastic and well-organized advocates of this measure. Are they ligitimate claims, substantiated by specifications and reasoned arguments This is not an academic question. The House bill is still in the Appropriations Committee but the Rules Committee has given it the green light that could result in its going to the floor before this session of Congress is over. If the claims of its sponsors are valid, then obviously it should be brought to a vote at the earliest possible moment.

Unfortunately, the closer one scrutinizes this measure, the more it seems to take on the all-too-familiar characteristics associated with gadget legislation. No specifications have been advanced, for example, in support of the estimated saving of $4 million. Moreover, responsible members of the administration, such as Budget Director Percival F. Brundage, who are on record as favoring the measure, have flatly refused to identify themselves with this, or, indeed, any other, firm figure on estimated savings.

This fact would not, of itself, of course, necessarily condemn the proposed legislation. But when a measure has attracted widespread popular support largely on the basis of two more or less spectacular claims, and one of these collapses, as it were, at the touch, then prudence would seem to suggest a very serious examination of the soundness of the other.

SUBCOMMITTEE UNIMPRESSED

Actually, one such study was undertaken early this year by a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. The subcommittee turned the measure down unanimously, branding it a snare and a delusion.

And now comes George Y. Harvey, of the Department of Political Science of the University of Missouri and many years staff director of the House Appropriations Committee, with a second exhaustive analysis of the proposal, which appears in the spring issue of the Public Administration Review. Mr. Harvey's findings, though stated more urbanely, are hardly less devastating.

The heart of the proposed budgetary reform in House bill 8002 lies in the phrase "contract authority," or "contract authorization." What it comes down to is an arrangement under which Congress could authorize contracts for long-term procurement programs without appropriating the full amount at that time.

METHOD REJECTED IN 1950

Instead, only as much would be appropriated as would accrue as an expenditure that year. The theory, one gathers from Mr. Harvey's scholarly study of the proposal, is that by pretending that the carryover of unspent authorizations doesn't exist, Congress, by some process that is not exactly clear, can "regain control of the purse." In the first place, this authority observes, there is nothing new in this approach to budgeting long-term programs. It was widely employed for several years after 1942, finally to be abolished as unsatisfactory in 1950 by joint agreement of the Bureau of the Budget and the House Appropriations Committee.

As Mr. Harvey sees it, the problem comes down to this question: "Will the change to contract authority to cover the lead time, with appropriations made as needed to liquidate such programs produce a better controlled budget?"

Contract authorizations, this authority notes, are in effect, promises of future appropriations, and are just as binding as appropriations. The failure of Congress to make appropriations for the liquidation of such contracts would only result in deficiency requests and ultimately in court judgments. His conclusion is that "control of expenditures would move to the executive

branch, with Congress required to take a second—ministerial—action to provide money for payment.

Even if it could be shown that contract authorization was as effective a budgetary procedure technically as the present system of long-term appropriations, when the human equation is considered it would represent a long step backward. If one doubts this, let him ask himself: "Who would be the more likely to succumb to the temptation to extravagance and reckless spending—the legislator who, when he voted for a given long-term procurement program, let us say, had to vote the money to pay for it at the same time, or the legislator who could vote for it in the knowledge that he would be called upon to vote the funds for only a token downpayment?

What Should Congress Do?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "What Should Congress Do?" which appeared in the August 12, 1957, issue of the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal.

WHAT SHOULD CONGRESS DO?

A week ago it was said in these columns after the Senate attached the jury-trial amendment to the civil-rights bill that "it makes no difference now" whether the legislation is passed. The bill has since been approved by the Senate and sent back to the House where Speaker RAYBURN and House Republican leader MARTIN are trying to decide whether to seek a compromise between the radically different House and Senate versions of the legislation. So a new decision is called for. In the circumstances, Congress should, as Speaker RAYBURN said Friday, approve the bill.

But no one should be under any illusions that the legislation will result in any important advances in civil rights. However, what the Senate left in the legislation is at least better than no bill at all. And there is a disturbing indication that many Members of Congress, Republicans as well as Democrats, would just as soon keep the civil-rights issue for the 1958 congressional elections, as pass the bill in its Senate form, which any compromise will have to approximate.

The bill as approved by the Senate Wednesday would establish a Civil Rights Commission, set up a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department and permit the Attorney General to seek Federal court injunctions against any violations of voting rights. However, if he tried to get the court to punish anyone accused of such violations, it would be necessary to bring the case before a jury. In the South most juries are all white, and such proponents of adequate civil-rights legislation as Senator DOUGLAS of Illinois, believe it would be extremely hard to get a white jury to convict a white man of a charge of denying voting rights to Negroes.

But, as has been pointed out so often in the last few days, the legislation is the first civil-rights bill to be passed by the Senate in 82 years—since the post-Civil War Reconstruction days. That in itself is an accomplishment.

One important change should be made in the Senate bill. And that is to limit the scope of the jury-trial amendment to voting-rights cases. As passed by the Senate, it would apply to all criminal contempt cases in Federal courts. Such a sweeping change in judicial procedure is not only unnecessary but unwise.

While the Senate civil-rights bill is a disappointment and not likely to advance anyone's rights very far, it is still better than none. This is faint praise, but it is reason enough for congressional approval of the legislation.

Thirteenth and Fourteenth of a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to have inserted in the RECORD today two editorial letters by F. F. McNaughton of the Pekin Daily Times in which he discusses housing and expenses in the Soviet Union.

The letters follows:

THE EDITOR'S LETTERS
(By F. F. McNaughton)

At last our guide has balked. I asked to be taken into an actual home to see how the poor people live. She said that would be an invasion of privacy (she doesn't want us to see).

I know that they share toilets, baths and kitchens. (Our guide does.) In the old quarters, families jam into small rooms, then muscle each other to get into the toilet down the hall, or get a burner on the one stove that is in the common kitchen.

But before you get to feeling too sorry for the Russians about this, let me tell you two things:

1. Rent is almost free;

2. They are building nice new apartments for 200,000 people, in Moscow alone, in 1957.

In America, 20 to 25 percent of a man's pay may go to rent. I was dumbfounded to find that a Russian rarely pays 2 percent. Our guide pays about 1 percent. The building firm engineer who took us to see a big new project told me that he and his wife (she's an engineer, too) make together $400 a month. And they pay $3.70 a month rent.

This engineer and a building superintendent took me through a new project that will house 12,000. It includes schools, theater, sports area, always a library, shopping center. Here there will be mostly 2 families to a kitchen. They are trying to get the living area per person up to 10 square yards. That is a 9- by 10-foot space per person. Of course most are short of that.

Rent is charged according to the square yards you get and your income.

They all seemed to be angry over something in Life last spring. Seems that Life ran pictures of this same housing area and gave the impression that only aristocrats could get into it. They demanded that I look carefully at the tenants, and see for myself that laboring men lived there as well as better paid engineers and skilled workmen. They admitted that a quite nice apartment building nearby was occupied almost entirely by teachers, who are honored here, and paid way above average.

I wanted to ask if the women who were digging trenches and spreading tar on this new construction lived in the buildings already finished. But I didn't have the nerve to walk up close and take a picture of those women doing that hard, manual work, there in the mud on a rainy day; even as I had not taken pictures of the women shoveling manure at the collective farms.

They insisted that I come back in 5 years and see all bad housing gone.

Just got Russian haircut—cost 25 cents.

It causes me to write you a column on what the Russian man pretty largely escapes paying.

For instance, 2-bits for a haircut. But let's talk of bigger items.

Rent: As we wrote you yesterday, it is 2 percent to 2½ percent of pay; might be 50 cents to $5 a month.

Income tax: Is tiny.

Education: All education is free; and smartest students are paid to go to school.

Health: All free.

Court: If you think the cow is yours, the state will provide a lawyer for you. You can hire your own if you wish.

Automobile: The state does not think you need one, so doesn't manufacture one for you. Thus you escape all that big expense.

Preacher: Nope, you don't have to pay the preacher because you "don't believe in God." That means, too, that you escape all that rather heavy expense in America that comes under the heading of charity. You don't have to dig up for Red Cross, Salvation Army, hospitals, colleges, mission, the Y, polio, community chest, the poor benighted Hindu, or even the poor Armenian. And since you cannot carry or send 1 ruble out of Russia, I assume that the Jews here cannot contribute to Israel.

Vacation: Much of it is paid.

Women: There's the biggest one of all. A Russian girl, when marrying does not plan to become a liability to her young husband. I talked to the woman who is head of the English department at the university. She is the most charming woman I have visited with in Russia. I was asking her: "What happens to the wives of young students studying to be doctors?" She made it plain to me that no wife becomes a burden on her student husband. She herself, a trim, dimpled blonde, looks 30, but is mother of 5, and now a grandmother, and she told me that "in 30 years while having my family, I have never missed any work."

But there is more to woman cost than that. Russian women, as Ceil wrote you, don't spend billions on cosmetics and beauty treatments. They buy no foundation garments (corsets); almost no furs or jewels. They spend no time dressing up in high heeled shoes and white gloves to go to cocktail parties. A few days after the baby comes, he goes into a nursery, and just as a mare returns quickly to the plow, so they return at once to spreading tar, pitching manure, waiting table, running a hotel, or acting as head of the English department in a country that now has 41,000 teachers teaching English.

Average pay in Russia is about $100 a month; but without all those expenses listed above, $100 isn't as bad as it might be.

The Battle for Our Souls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the drastic cuts in the United States information program overseas which resulted from budgetary restrictions are not passing unnoticed by our friends abroad. Under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

Mr. Speaker, I submit the following editorial which recently appeared in the respected newspaper Dagens Nyheder in Copenhagen, Denmark:

THE BATTLE FOR OUR SOULS

England's BBC is stopping its shortwave broadcast of many years' standing to Denmark.

The American Embassy Information Office, Copenhagen, has had its budget cut 40 percent, which so far has resulted in giving notice to 8 employees, and cutting library and film operations.

The Soviet Union is opening an information office in Copenhagen.

These three announcements have all come within a single week, and give some food for thought.

Cutbacks on United States information activities here are taking place across the board, with similar cuts over the rest of the world. They are the direct result of congressional economy efforts—and to a certain degree of certain powerful congressional circles' war on the present administration. The American Information Service is Copenhagen has never attempted to carry on propaganda but has—not least as a result of its excellent library and its comprehensive film service—managed to create a needed basis for cooperation between the two peoples—and understanding of that America which to so many Danes seems distant and wondrous.

Not yet is the cold war ended, and international policy is still a worldwide battle to win souls, a war of ideologies carried on across national boundaries. It is with some regret and with more than a grain of concern that we realize that it is the voice of the West that is being silenced or tuned down, while the propaganda trombone of the East—where no dictator is forced to seek budget approval from Congress or Parliament—turns up its howls.

A Bill To Prohibit the General Services Administration From Acquiring the Property of the National Grange at Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, having been a member of Laurel Grange No. 40, Harmony, R. I., for the past 25 years and being very much interested in the welfare of the National Grange, I am today introducing a bill which would prohibit Government agencies to acquire or use the National Grange headquarters site without specific congressional approval.

For some time now, hundreds of Grange members in my district in Rhode Island have been writing to me and have enlisted my aid to try to save their headquarters property here in Washington. It appears, from speaking to others of my colleagues here in the House from various sections of the United States, that similar action has been taken in their districts. You may say this is an unusual request. Why are persons from all over the country up in arms calling upon Congress to assist in returning to a national organization a piece of property, 50 by 70, located in the Capital. I understand that back in 1941 land at 744 Jackson Place was purchased by the National Grange and that the building which now stands thereon was itself raised, thanks to the united and concerted efforts and contributions of local Grange units throughout the entire land.

I have looked into the matter and have been convinced that the Federal Government has no need of this property. The reason I have joined with several of my colleagues in presenting this legislation to the Congress is that I felt the more Members who rally behind the drive to save the National Grange Building, the better will be our chances of succeeding.

My bill provides that no portion of lot 816, square 167, in the District of Columbia, the headquarters and property of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, shall be acquired for or used by any agency of the Federal Government. Too, the Administrator of the General Services Administration is directed to withdraw the declaration of taking of said lot heretofore filed by him in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia and to take such other action as may be necessary to restore title to said lot to the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry.

Our course is simple in this matter. The National Grange has a valuable piece of property in a very convenient location, actually not needed by the General Services Administration, which contemplates erecting a new office building adjacent to it. I believe that we should take the necessary steps to prevent the taking of the National Grange property.

Twelfth Anniversary of Independence of Indonesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of independence of one of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly terms with the United States.

I wish to extend warm greetings to the Indonesian people, President Sukarno, and His Excellency Moekarto Notowidigdo, Ambassador of Indonesia, on the occasion of the celebration of the 12th anniversary of independence of Indonesia, August 17, 1957.

Indonesia is by far one of the most important of the Southeast Asian countries recently emerged from colonial status into nationhood. Realizing that the burden of independence is not a light one, President Sukarno in his speech opening the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, summed up part of the price of independence when he said:

For many generations our peoples have been the voiceless ones in the world. We have been the unregarded, the peoples for whom decisions were made by others whose interests were paramount, the peoples who lived in poverty and humiliation. Then our nations demanded, nay fought for independence, and achieved independence, and with that independence came responsibility. We have heavy responsibilities to ourselves, and to the world, and to the yet unborn generations. But we do not regret them.

In 1945, the first year of our national revolution, we of Indonesia were confronted with the question of what we were going to do with our independence when it was finally attained and secured—we never questioned that it would be attained and secured. We knew how to oppose and destroy. Then we were suddenly confronted with the necessity of giving content and meaning to our independence. Not material content and meaning only, but also ethical and moral content, for independence without ethics and without morality would be indeed a poor imitation of what we sought. The responsibilities and burdens, the rights and duties and privileges of independence must be seen as part of the ethical and moral content of independence.

Ambassador Notowidigdo looking back over the recent events in Indonesian history wrote:

These first years of our Republic have been marked with many difficulties and frustrations but also with substantial progress in many fields. * * *

We do not yet see the full fruit of our labor, but we have already laid the foundations of our national institutions and sown the seeds for the progress of our Republic. Since the achievement of Independence, the domestic and international position of the State has been consolidated with the implementation of plans for social, economic, educational and cultural development. For these and other reasons, I am convinced that a feeling of optimism toward the future is justified.

In the field of education, many new schools have been built and the drive against illiteracy has reduced it from 90 percent of the population in prewar days to 48 percent today. The provision of modern health services and the building of much-needed housing are only examples of the many efforts being made toward improving the welfare of the people.

On the economic side there is much to be proud of and grateful for. There is also much more to be done. Indonesia has a wealth of natural resources and a large reservoir of manpower; the increased technical skills we hope to see attained by our people in a few years will add greatly to our productivity. Transportation facilities have been modernized and expanded. Projects for development in all fields of production are being carried out as quickly as materials and machinery become available. Agricultural production, especially in rice and sugar, has increased recently. Many fertile fields for investment, such as ship-building for our inter-island trade and the construction business, exist today in Indonesia, and we encourage and protect foreign capital investment on a mutually benefiting basis.

The economic progress of Indonesia, however, is still dependent to a considerable extent upon the world market for our raw materials such as rubber and tin. If the international community of trading nations can work out a method of controlling the fluctuations of raw material prices, then world-wide economic and political stability

will be much easier to achieve and countries like Indonesia will be better able to develop themselves.

Indonesia has pursued and will continue to pursue a course of friendship toward all nations. It is our hope that our country will become an ever-increasing influence for peace and justice in the world.

Indonesia is discovering, through bitter experience, that difficult as it is to found a nation, it is even more difficult to build it up. Her problems, though great and perplexing, are not different in kind from those faced by other nations with diverse peoples or covering large areas, such as the United States, Canada, or India. None of these countries is exactly like the other. Each is trying to solve its problems in its own way. And each has prospered under a nonguided, democratic form of federalism.

Indonesians showed, during their independence, that they did not lack for leadership, imagination, or courage. Surely they can pull together today, as they did then, to find their own democratic solutions to their challenging task of nation building.

Swinish Misrepresentation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a thought-provoking article which appeared in a west coast maritime publication.

The editorial prepared by John Haydon, editor and publisher of the Marine Digest, decries the indiscriminate usage of the term "pork barrel" to apply to projects designed to develop our marine industries.

Since my congressional district has had, during the past 4 years, appropriations for 8 harbor improvement projects, I am in a position to know what these projects will mean to the shipping, commercial fisheries and general boating industries in the Pacific Northwest.

These projects cannot be justifiably termed "pork barrel" when they will return to the Government many benefits. All of them were judged by the United States Army engineers to have high cost-benefit ratios. In addition, the extra tax revenues accruing from increased employment and expansion of facilities and activities will be an added return on the investment of this Federal money.

I would like to concur with Mr. Haydon's thoughts that the cynical term "pork barrel" be stricken from the congressional vocabulary. Text of the editorial is as follows:

"PORK BARREL" MISLEADING SLANG

Let's drop the expression "pork barrel," in reference to projected Federal construction projects. It often is applied at random to public works such as flood control, irrigation, reclamation and power, for a particular area of the country.

A campaign, which should receive immediate support, was initiated recently by Herbert G. West, executive secretary of the Inland Waterways Association, to eliminate this misleading expression, used for many years in various parts of the country in connection with Federal projects.

As used in Congress, "pork barrel" disparagingly suggests that such projects, if authorized, would result in efforts to please or placate the Congressman and his district. It is regarded as a fund appropriated more for political patronage than to make Needed improvements.

No expenditure authorized by Congress is subject to the deliberate scrutiny of as many agencies of Government as public works appropriations.

The use of "pork barrel" in reference to these important Federal multipurpose projects should be banned both in and out of Congress. It is misleading political slang.

Niagara Power at Last

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the New York Times on the subject of the Niagara power project.

As one who strongly supported the legislation authorizing the New York Power Authority to proceed with this important project, I feel that the Times has summed up admirably the facts surrounding the situation prior to the enactment of the necessary piece of legislation. The editorial follows:

NIAGARA POWER AT LAST

The frustrations of congressional delay and disagreement for 7 years are ended at last, and the New York State Power Authority will develop to its fullest allowed potential the generation of electricity from the Niagara River. By voice vote the Senate approved the bill passed 2 weeks ago by the House, 313 to 75. The Presidential signature is expected.

Credit for congressional completion of reasonable compromise legislation crosses party lines. The issue of private versus public development, once so hotly debated, had been supplanted by a rather mild anticlimax of argument over the amount of power to be shipped into Pennsylvania and Ohio. As recently as 4 years ago the House had voted by 262 to 120 to allow private-company development, while last year the Senate had divided, 48 to 39, for public development under the Lehman plan of preference distribution.

The estimated cost of the Niagara project has gone up to $600 million from the $385 million it might have cost in 1950, when a treaty with Canada determined our share of waters to be used for power. This capital will be raised by the sale of bonds to private investor. The power authority has no call on State or Federal credit; it has no taxing powers. It is, in the words of Chairman Robert Moses, "a business organization under Government auspices."

It is fruitless to speculate on whether the long, deplorable, wasteful delay on Niagara could have been avoided. Perhaps the argument over private or public development would have been going on yet—in view of the nature of the 1953 House vote—had not a natural disaster, in the form of rockslides in the summer of 1956, nearly destroyed the Niagara Mohawk Co.'s plant at the falls. This was a powerful peacemaker.

But another catalytic agent was the bonfire built under Congress by the power authority in the successful challenge to the treaty reservation inserted by the Senate which required congressional approval before any agency would be licensed to develop Niagara waters. The Federal court of appeals on June 20 ruled, in effect, that this reservation was domestic legislation and that the Federal Power Commission had authority to license.

Well, the long battle is over. The power authority is not only ready to go ahead; it has, with anticipatory help from a State loan, already started making studies, surveys, borings, and designs. The settlement approved by Congress seems fair to all, and it comes none too soon to avoid disastrous hardships to power-hungry industry.

The Problems of the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a column by David Lawrence:

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PRESIDENT: BASIC CAUSE IS VIEWED AS CONGRESS CONTROLLED BY OPPOSITION PARTY

Why is the obvious so often overlooked? This question might well be asked as one reads the many thousands of words being spoken and written about President Eisenhower's problems in dealing with Congress.

The obvious—that Congress is controlled by the Democratic Party, while a Republican administration occupies the White House—is hardly ever stressed as the basic cause of the differences between the executive and legislative branches of the Government nowadays.

But the ill effects of divided government cannot be suppressed.

It is, for instance, the objective and goal of the Democrats to win the next elections—both congressional and presidential. Plainly, Dwight Eisenhower gives prestige to the Republican Party. So the strategy of the Democrats is to see to it that Ike is discredited, ridiculed, and sniped at, in order that his hold on the people may be broken down. Speeches are prepared for Democratic Members of Congress to issue, and a whole barrage of publicity comes from the Democratic headquarters each week aimed at the President personally.

The drive was begun months ago to give exaggerated emphasis to Ike's illnesses. When this didn't impress the public, the next step was to hammer away at his absences from the White House or his playing golf or taking vacations. The statistics, of course, show that other Presidents—notably F. D. R.—averaged more days per year away from the White House than Ike has. But the people are presumed to have forgotten this—if, indeed, it ever was stressed by the partisans of other days.

Next in importance in Democratic strategy is to spread the impression that Ike doesn't work on the job—that the man who took an oath to execute faithfully the duties of his

fice, the man who commanded one of the iggest armies in the world in the biggest ar of all history, is so lacking in conscien- ousness that he would play "while Rome urns."

The public reads about official visitors and eremonies and golf playing, but little is vailable to the press on what any President oes from morning to night—the telephone alls, the cablegrams, the secret messages, as ell as the many memorandums on complex roblems that come to him from numerous xecutive departments and agencies for de- ision in the unspectacular phase of every- ay government.

Much of this detail at present is channeled hrough President Eisenhower's staff, but ven 4 or 5 knotty problems a day are enough o make anybody want to get some relief rom tension and make a break for the golf ourse. What a cruel form of propaganda is to deny the man in the White House n easing of his physical burdens by at- empting to picture him before the public s lacking in fidelity to his job.

Some of the attack is cautiously and nctuously applied. The President, it is rgued, is an honest man but he is in- redibly naive, or he is easily imposed upon, r he is bewildered by his job due to lack f experience. There have been many Presi- ents who have been imposed upon or mis- d. Some of their official advisers in past dministrations have gone to jail for fraudu- nt behavior. The public recognizes that no resident can be responsible for the oc- asional misbehavior of his appointees. isenhower may not have enough experi- nced politicians on his staff, but at least hey are an honest group of advisers.

When all the attacks are appraised, it must e said that, as of this month—less than a ear after his reelection for a second term— he prestige of President Eisenhower still eems to the Democrats very important to reak down. It's a curious contradiction— here has been so much said about the wan- ng influence of a second-term President, yet here is so much effort being exerted to eaken an influence that is supposedly non- xistent.

Eisenhower's prestige with the people is ot going to be affected by partisan attacks, ecause the public believes he is doing the est he can while a Democrat-controlled Con- ress attempts every day to sabotage his ad- inistration. The next election will not be ecided on the issue of whether Ike played o much golf but on whether his adminis- ration was able to maintain the kind of con- itions that permit Americans to play golf nstead of poring over the casualty lists of heir sons killed in action on the western ront.

McElroy Is Ideal for the Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a leasure to give hearty congratulations o Charlie Wilson, the Secretary of De- ense, for the capable handling of the emanding job of Secretary of Defense uring the Eisenhower administration. he job is so big and complicated that harlie Wilson deserves the thanks of he American people as well as every itizen of the free world for the vital art he has taken in assuming respon- ibility for the wonderful buildup of our United States forces and defenses, as well as the United States bases throughout the world, numbering 250.

Three cheers and a pat on the back to Charlie Wilson and his loyal wife as they finish their duty in Washington, D. C., and a real welcome for the new Secretary of Defense who is assuming this tremendous responsibility with the good wishes of Charlie Wilson as retiring Secretary of Defense and all of us who are interested in strong United States defense as the best insurance against another war.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh, Pa., Press of August 8, 1957:

MCELROY IS IDEAL FOR JOB
(By Douglas Larsen)

WASHINGTON.—Neil McElroy, the 52-year-old president of the Procter & Gamble soap company looks like an ideal man to fill the shoes of Charley Wilson, outgoing Secretary of Defense.

Mr. McElroy is full of energy, and an industrialist of proven ability. He set up the various soap divisions of Procter & Gamble so that they would be in direct, heated competition with one another.

The result: The corporation's business zoomed.

President Eisenhower announced yesterday that he plans to nominate Mr. McElroy to succeed Mr. Wilson.

As Chairman of the White House Conference on Education, Mr. McElroy demonstrated that he had that special personality touch and sixth sense for sniffing out political boobytraps. These are essential attributes for a successful top Washington official.

EXPLOSIVE

This education conference had dangerous, explosive political and personal possibilities for Mr. McElroy. At least half the delegates to the meeting came armed with some kind of harpoon to hurl at him or the President.

But by being honest, direct, and businesslike he ended up with a pat on the back from everyone there, and with some work accomplished. The latter is rare and not really expected from education conferences.

It's good that Mr. McElroy has this nice collection of talents because there is no such thing as a boss of the Pentagon having too many talents. In fact, before Charley Wilson came along it was believed by many serious students of government that this defense post was too big for one man.

Charley proved that one man could run the three services and survive reasonably well. But it was frequently a harrowing experience.

To say that Mr. McElroy is moving into a hornet's nest is to minimize the hazards of his future employment. Recent reports indicate that the United States is more ahead of the Russians in the development of new weapons than most people have assumed. But that's where any optimism about his working conditions ceases.

SENATORS ROUGH

First off, Mr. McElroy is bound to be subjected to a rough session by the Senate before it confirms his appointment.

Because soap has been his product he won't be as vulnerable as Mr. Wilson was. General Motors was the biggest defense contractor when Mr. Wilson left the presidency of that firm to move to the Pentagon. But Mr. McElroy's personal holdings and business interests will get a microscopic inspection.

No matter how tough this preliminary bout is, it'll seem like fun compared to what will face him when he finally takes office in the Pentagon.

Among his problems will be an agonizing budget reduction and the Army-Air Force feud over guided missiles.

If Not the Kinzua, What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, with the passage of the public works appropriations bill for 1958, the proposed Allegheny River Reservoir in Pennsylvania and New York will become a reality.

After a period of more than 25 years the need for such a project has been recognized by the Congress and an initial appropriation of $1 million provided to commence construction in 1958.

May I add that much of the credit for this reservoir must go to Congressman LEON H. GAVIN, of Oil City, Pa., for his fine, persistent efforts over a long period of years to bring this project to a successful conclusion.

His knowledge of the facts in the case were indeed such that greatly impressed me as to the need for the Allegheny Reservoir.

The following newspaper article from the Oil City-Franklin-Clarion, Pa., the Derrick relates an interesting story as to the great need for the Kinzua Dam, and its probable effect in the years to come.

It is especially interesting to note the beneficial effect it will have for sportsmen.

Congressman GAVIN has given the people of western Pennsylvania fine service in advocating and pressing for this Allegheny Reservoir which will mean much to the future development of western Pennsylvania.

The article follows:

IF NOT THE KINZUA, WHAT?

If you have read the papers for the last 6 months, you might have noticed that some sportsmen's organizations are opposing the construction of the Kinzua Dam at Warren, Pa.

The opposition seems indecisive. It is yes and no.

At the convention of the Pennsylvania of Sportsmen's Clubs in Harrisburg last March, the federation passed a resolution opposing the proposed dam on the Allegheny River.

But at a meeting of the northwest division, part of the same federation, in New Castle last June, some sportsmen were undecided. How could the northwest division oppose the Kinzua Dam without opposing Congressman LEON H. GAVIN, of Oil City? GAVIN, fn 1956, received a citation for his efforts in behalf of conservation of our natural resources. It came from the hands of the northwest division.

And then on Sunday, June 29, at Cooks Forest, after the Western Pennsylvania Clean Streams Association, Inc., of Tarentum, conducted what appeared to several Oil City people to be a "cut and dried" session of its board of directors and officers, an effort was made to argue the merits of the Kinzua Dam again in the open part of the meeting.

AN ARGUMENT STAGED

Either by accident or design the stage had been set. Congressman GAVIN, a prime

mover for the Kinzua and a persistent and performing conservationist with national honors stretching from here to Washington, D. C., was the principal speaker.

From Clarion, "Heap" Alexander, just as much opposed to the Warren Dam, came in with an armload of papers.

In that part of the meeting where the pollution of Hemlock Creek could have been presented to the Clean Streams Association as new and serious business, Mr. Alexander was introduced. And instead there developed some egging-on of the juvenile, "sic 'em" variety.

But diplomatically, the president of the clean streams group would not encourage any Gavin-Alexander argument. The Congressmen declined also. Mr. ALEXANDER spoke his piece briefly.

After which there appeared to be some telling-off in one corner of the shelter. The Congressman's voice carries, even informally.

DEBATING SOCIETIES

So it appears at this late date, some 15 or 20 years after the Kinzua Reservoir had been authorized, after $650,000 had been spent on preliminaries and many lives and millions of dollars had been lost to floods along the Allegheny River watershed, sportsmen of this State, and others, are turning what should be fast-moving, forward-looking conservation groups into dillydallying, doubting, debating, we're-going-to-see-the-governor societies.

The question now arises by what yardstick of conservation have the sportsmen of Pennsylvania prejudged the Kinzua? If not the Kinzua Dam, what?

Can the northwestern Pennsylvania sportsman (outdoorsman would be better if he could be called a conservationist), favor or accept a diversion ditch to Lake Erie? Does he favor choking the Allegheny River with mooneyes, lamprey eels, and other water trash which would stream from the overflow gutter from the Great Lakes?

Can any sportsman be opposed to 9 more inches of water in the Allegheny River in the recreation season. Does he oppose better boating—the fastest growing outdoor recreation?

Can any conservationist oppose the improvement in ecological conditions which controlled streamflow may bring to the Allegheny? Does he want the yearly scourings by flash floods which wash out the aquatic insect life in the upper Allegheny and its tributaries to continue? Can he ignore the benefits of a controlled flow at times when bass, pike, and muskellunge are spawning?

WHO LIKES MOSS?

Will not 9 more inches of water in the river spread to cover many acres of gravel bars, shorelines, small islands, which now are burned out of insect life during the dry spells of later summer and fall. More water in the river can mean more food for fish and more fish and more sport.

Can any outdoorsman oppose lower water temperatures which the Kinzua will provide in the Allegheny? Will not better temperatures keep down moss and weed growth?

Will not the game fishes in the river benefit by the added oxygen which will be infused as the Kinzua discharges its storage?

Will not the 30-mile lake attract migratory waterfowl and speedup the Pennsylvania Game Commission's "geese in the mountains" projects?

RESERVOIR IS INSURANCE

Granted that the ideal way to stop floods is to trap water as it falls in the watershed. But with so many people abusing our soils, woods and waters, can any conservationist hope to secure $150 million or any sum equivalent to that which may be spent on the Kinzua, for basic land, soil and water conserving measures in the Upper Allegheny River Valley?

Is it wrong for a conservationist to accept a reservoir of water for flushing out domestic and industrial pollution, should such a need develop in the tremendous growth of this country's population as predicted for the next 25–50 years?

Has not the present-day prosperity, by-product of American industry, given the sportsman license to be choosy about the type of industry which settles in his watershed? Think back to the 1930's when thousands of western Pennsylvanians wheeled dirt and clay from one end of a field to the other on what were make-work projects. Remember our own Hasson-Ramage? Would not any industry, even one with the worst water-consuming and pollution features, have been accepted by any of the river-front, depression-suffering cities in the Allegheny Valley? May not these conditions return?

BY 2000 A. D.—A PITHOLE?

Can anyone oppose the Kinzua Reservoir because one of its multiple benefits may be a water supply for Pittsburgh's industry or homes? May not the same water yet be needed in Oil City, Knox, Clarion, Franklin, where new, open-pit operations are discharging mine acid waters, loosely, recklessly, and in some instances dangerously close to sands, springs and wells that yield our drinking water? (In heavy rains; poisonous, acid waters now are washed out of Horse Creek and Hemlock and many yet contaminate wells on the Seneca Farms—the source of Oil City's water).

Can the conservatinist say the Kinzua will form ugly mud banks along its 30-mile lake and then be ignorant of the mud which flows in the Allegheny River today. Let them post a watch on the State Street Bridge. After a heavy rain in the Upper Allegheny Valley, the river flows coffee-brown for 5 to 7 days? Isn't the mud already here—from Potter County to Pittsburgh? And what is the federationist, member of a clean streams group or corner conservationist doing about it?

If not the Kinzua Dam—by the year 2,000 what?

Equal Rights Amendment Is Democracy in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to sponsor House Joint Resolution 519 and since I was unable to participate in the discussion about the equal-rights amendment at the time Congresswoman ST. GEORGE spoke on the floor July 19, I feel it fitting and appropriate I make the following very brief comments:

The controversy regarding the equal-rights amendment today brings to mind Benjamin Franklin's passionate outburst prior to the Revolution when certain timid colonists opposed independence on the ground that they would have greater security as English colonies than as an independent nation. With fine scorn, Franklin said: "Those who would give up essential liberties for a little temporary security deserve neither liberty nor security, and will get neither."

The issue at stake in the equal-rights amendment is the fundamental question of freedom versus bondage for women. Shall we continue a dual system of government, with half of our citizens subjects of State authority, deprived of civil and political liberty guaranteed to all by our Constitution; and the other half free citizens, in a democracy, 100 percent protected by that great document?

In our democracy the principles of equal rights for all and special privileges for none and equal protection of the law should apply to both men and women alike. The equal-rights amendment would make such application a living reality.

Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times on Sunday, August 11, 1957; it is a splendid expression of the relationship between freedom of the press and free people:

Freedom of the press is the greatest enemy of tyranny. It is also the greatest friend of liberty. These truisms were realized long ago. The men who formed the United States knew so well that liberty is impossible without freedom of the press that the principle is enshrined in the very first amendment to our Constitution.

Politics is an art and not a science, but it is nevertheless tempting to set up a law: a dictatorship cannot survive freedom of the press, and conversely where there is true and sustained freedom of the press there cannot be a dictatorship.

Cuba under President Fulgencio Batista is probably the most striking evidence of this fact in modern times. So long as General Batista maintained censorship last winter he was able to restrain the popular movement against his regime. When this censorship was broken in February, first by a revelation of the truth about Fidel Castro's successful rebellion in the Sierra Maestra and secondly by the expiration of the term for the suspension of constitutional guaranties, the resistance to the regime began to swell.

The Cuban press was still operating under great difficulties. Government pressure was menacing. It induced most Cuban newspapers and magazines to adopt a self-censorship, but it is to the credit of the press that it forced the issue to the utmost limits which could safely be reached. In recent weeks the news and articles were getting bolder and bolder in the amount of unpleasant truths printed and in the critical tone adopted.

One might say that the censorship now imposed is a tribute to the courage of the Cuban press under great difficulties. The information published in a newspaper such as the Prensa Libre of Habana or the widely distributed and influential weekly Bohemia, to name only two organs, was obviously building up a state of mind in the public that General Batista and his supporters could not stand.

It was the truth they could not stand. Truth kills dictatorships as surely as the

most deadly revolution. This is why General Batista suspended constitutional guaranties on August 1. Under them, the press was relatively free. Now, except for official communiques, it is blacked out. This may well give the Batista dictatorship a lease on life, but it may turn out that General Batista waited too long.

Tenth Anniversary of Independence of Pakistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of independence of one of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly terms with the United States. I rise today to congratulate the people of Pakistan, Prime Minister H. S. Suhrawardy, and His Excellency Mohammed Ali, Ambassador of Pakistan, on the occasion of Pakistan's 10th anniversary of Independence, August 14, 1957.

Pakistan is only 10 years old yet the cultural heritage of the land and peoples comprising the nation stretch back to antiquity. Pakistan is a country formed by people of ancient lineage and great traditions. The nation came into existence as the result of a struggle of a people to win a homeland for themselves in which they would be free to live their own way of life, develop their own culture, and safeguard their political and economic interests. Pakistan was founded by the indomitable will of a people determined not to be relegated forever to the unalterable position of a colony. Pakistan thus represents the will of a people to live as a distinct nation because of their independent and distinct culture and outlook.

Pakistan has demonstrated its dedication to the ideals of democracy. Nearly 8½ years after Pakistan came into existence, the constitution of the country was completed. March 23 is and always will be a memorable day in the annals of the history of Pakistan. On this day, the new constitution of this young and virile nation of over 80 million people came into being, and Pakistan became a Republic. March 23, 1956 was, therefore, a milestone in Pakistan's progress along the path of political stability and constitutional government. The constitution lays the utmost emphasis on human rights and envisages a state which is conducted and inspired by fundamental democratic elements.

Pakistan was first firmly launched on this path by the Father of the Nation, Quad-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, on August 14, 1947—the day Pakistan came into existence as an independent, sovereign state. Upon the death of Mohammed Ali Jinnah soon after the establishment of the new nation, there fell upon the shoulders of former Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, the tremendous task of giving substance to the blueprint of building the machinery of government in order that Pakistan might effectively express the will of her people to contribute through democratic processes to the welfare of mankind. Today Prime Minister Suhrawardy is continuing in the same fine tradition.

The economic heritage of Pakistan was not so rich. However, the accomplishments of the country since it began its separate political existence evoke sincere admiration. Her achievements since winning independence are myriad. The astonishing progress made during such a short augurs well for the future. In the opinion of Mr. Zahiruddin Ahmed, economic counselor, at the Embassy of Pakistan in Washington:

Although Pakistan, starting from scratch, has made tremendous progress, there is still need and room for much greater efforts for the development of the country if the living standard of the common man is to be improved. The Government of Pakistan has set this target and is determined to achieve it. The main effort must of course be Pakistan's own but the help and assistance of friendly countries can materially accelerate the rate of progress, through continuing foreign aid, loans and, most important of all, through the investment of private venture capital in Pakistan.

Though Pakistan and America are far apart in space, though they are very different in their ways of life, each has great responsibilities for the peace and welfare of mankind which it cannot hope to meet fully without the advice and help of the other. From its birth as a new nation Pakistan has drawn inspiration from the United States in its efforts to resolve its problems. Through a positive policy designed to promote better understanding and closer cooperation between other nations and themselves, Pakistan has received substantial aid from the United States and has drawn closer to the American people.

The events of their early years of freedom and the manner in which the people of Pakistan faced them, have rightly filled them with hope and confidence for the future. We rejoice at Pakistan's march toward progress and a better standard of living, benefits which are common to all true democracies.

Again, I salute Pakistan and offer her a tribute of admiration and the most fervent good wishes for a successful and glorious national future.

Bob Addie Has Written a Column in Which Most of Us May Well Find a Bit of Each of Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, every once in a while a talented sportswriter dashes off a piece of refreshing prose which brightens our otherwise dull lives.

Bob Addie, of the Washington Post, has turned out just such a piece. Being of the breed, I perhaps can more appreciate his words than many of you. I am certain, however, that, for each of you in whom has sprung the hope of being a sportswriter or seeing his byline on the sports pages, there will be found a trace of yourself.

It is such a delightful departure from the usual stock in trade of the monotonous report or comment on those who make the news for sports pages that it should be shared by as many as possible. For these reasons, I pass it along to you, under leave to extend my remarks, and include Bob Addie's sparkling bit:

THE SPORTSWRITER

He affects sports shirts, sports jackets, sports overcoats, and sports shoes. He would like to affect a sports car, but he can only afford the sports cap. But, as you can see, he is a sport all the way.

He usually has had very little sports experience on the playing field. In high school and college, he was the official scorer, the waterboy, the equipment man, the team manager. When anyone asks him if he played college football, he says: "I was too light."

He's a frustrated foreign correspondent (who is a frustrated sportswriter). He would like to wear a trenchcoat, smoke a pipe, wear a fuzzy hat with a feather in it, speak nine foreign languages, and escort mysterious Swedish beauties out of the country a step ahead of the Russian spy ring which is trying to steal the secret on how to wear seersucker suits without wrinkling the cloth.

He's also a political seer and thinks he never misses picking a presidential race. After all, he figures, he picks 16 teams in the major leagues in baseball and then picks the No. 1 football team in the country out of hundreds of aspirants; so how hard can it be to pick between two candidates?

He can never leave his work because people won't let him. After all, he's in sports and sports to most people are recreation and relaxation. People like to relax talking about sports.

If he marries—and he usually does to pick up a reader—his wife generally knows nothing about sports and couldn't care less. If he has any kids they must be in the mold of champions he has admired.

If people look down their nose at his occupation, the sportswriter is quick to remind you that some of our most respected pundits were once sportswriters—people like Westbrook Pegler, Paul Gallico, the late Heywood Broun, Scotty Reston, Drew Middleton, Eddy Gilmore, George Dixon, and Winston Churchill. (Churchill covered cricket during the Boer War.)

He's proud of his profession and points to such giants in his business as the late Damon Runyon, the late Ring Lardner, the late W. O. McGeehan, the late Grantland Rice, and the late O. B. Keeler. The reason he admires all the late sportswriters is that our hero will never admit anyone alive is better than he is. But still he's proud of his integrity and points to the famous line of W. O. McGeehan, who was once offered a sum of money for a story. "If it's a bribe, it's enough," W. O. said. "If it's a gift, it's too much."

He always brings up the story of John Kieran, the erudite, onetime sportswriter of the New York Times. John was asked to speak at Yale but some students objected to the compromise with intellectualism in allowing a sportswriter to address a group of

old Eli's sons. So Kieran made his entire address in Latin.

He's proud, too, of the "characters" in his business—fellows who have become legends with their flights of whimsey. There was the old sportswriter, for instance, who was asked by a cub: "Is that the west where the sun is setting?" And the veteran replied: "If it isn't you have one heluva story, son." Then there were the two New York sportswriters in Texas covering the Giant's spring training years ago. They got homesick while "tapping the tea" and decided to take a taxi all the way back to New York. As they got in the cab, one said: "You'd better get in first because I'm geting out on 34th Street."

He is, after all, a newspaperman so he's proud of his scoops. But the day he writes a story which beats everybody else, people will forget where they read about it.

He is quick to defend and slow to offend. He can count on the fingers of one hand the number of athletes who have ever thanked him for a story but if he had a dime for every guy who threatened him when he wrote a critical story, he'd be too rich to write sports.

He can pontificate on the strategy of a football coach who has something like 100 intricate plays at his command and usually has them executed with the precision of a machine. But that doesn't awe the sportswriter, who figures all coaches are managing editors with their brains knocked out. (Or maybe it's the other way around.)

He lives in a beautiful world where it's always game time and yesterday's tragedies fade like the ripples on a lake. He's the eternal juvenile who would not change places with a king. He's Pagliacci, the Pied Piper, Walter Mitty, Peter Pan, and Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy.

The Navy's Role in Keeping the Peace—Address by Rear Adm. Stephen R. Edson, S. C., United States Navy, Commanding Officer, Naval Supply Depot, Mechanicsburg, Pa., Representing the Department of the Navy, at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 Through 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 through July 14, there were several outstanding addresses delivered by prominent officials of the Federal Government in keeping with the theme of the encampment, Defense Means Freedom.

On July 12, 1957, the following address titled "The Navy's Role in Keeping the Peace," was delivered by Rear Adm. Stephen R. Edson, S. C., United States Navy, commanding officer, Naval Supply Depot, Mechanicsburg, Pa., representing the Department of the Navy:

The Navy's Role in Keeping the Peace

(Address by Rear Adm. Stephen R. Edson, S. C., United States Navy, commanding officer, Naval Supply Depot, Mechanicsburg, Pa., representing the Department of the Navy, before the 38th annual encampment of Veterans of Foreign Wars, July 12, 1957, Harrisburg, Pa.)

It is a distinctive honor for me to appear here today. The theme you have chosen for this year's encampment is one which has been a great influence upon our people, particularly in this prolonged period of world tensions when alert, patriotic organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, must devote so much of their efforts toward public realization that defense truly does mean freedom. As a professional military man I can express it no better way.

Since the foundation of the Republic we Americans have enjoyed a long list of basic rights and privileges. These rights and freedoms are as unquestioned in our daily lives as the air we breathe. We have freedom to worship as desired; we have the right of free speech; we have the right of trial by jury; to be confronted by our accusers and many, many other guaranties included in the Bill of Rights. These blessings are worth fighting for. Free nations such as ours are aware of the Communist threat to these freedoms.

Action taken by the United Nations in Korea helped to forestall Communist aggression. We must stand ready and alert to guard our freedom—and to preserve a just and lasting peace. We must be militarily strong. International communism led by the rulers in the Kremlin respects only power. To deal with the Communists successfully we must possess the power which they will respect. By possessing this power we are in a position to negotiate with them on the issues between their world and the free world, and we are thereby able to strive for measures that will ultimately change their thinking, their actions, and their worldwide ambitions. Our mission in the Navy is to fulfill this requirement in concert with our sister services and our allies among the friendly nations. The strength we develop must be great enough to give pause to any would-be aggressor. The Navy operating jointly with the Air Force, Army, and the Marine Corps must make any "adventure" in aggression a calculation in which the risk of defeat is greater than the prospect of victory, and therefore unacceptable at the outset.

The mission of the Navy, as well as that of the other Armed Forces today, is to deter war. We believe that public sentiment is not likely to be aroused in the future as it was by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. As a consequence, we believe our capabilities can be created and developed only by months and years of sustained, unglamorous effort. Strong, well-armed forces are the essential instruments by which to defend ourselves against communism. Experience shows that if armed forces are weak, that fact when known by a potential enemy, results in an invitation to attack. We also believe force is a major deterrent to any tyrant.

I should like to tell you then what we believe the Navy has done, and is doing, toward prevention of war as we view war's possibilities.

First in importance, this Nation and its allies must maintain control of the seas. Such control is vital and can be guaranteed only by a strong Navy. When we think of seaborne forces we must continually bear in mind that two-thirds of the earth's surface is made up of navigable water.

Control of the seas in relation to the defense of our Nation is the basic reason for the Navy's existence. This control means securing the use of the seas for ourselves and our allies, and denying the use of those seas to the enemy. We can easily picture the results to our own country if the enemy were to control the seas in wartime. For example, we could not supply our overseas bases or the forces of our allies. We could not import critical materials from sources beyond our borders. The frontline of any fighting would recede to our own coast. America's shorelines would be open to assault.

Our Commander in Chief, President Eisenhower, has stated that "the most important factor preventing an attack on our country is composed of several elements—the well-dispersed mobile forces of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and our ability to deliver immediate retaliatory attack with nuclear weapons against any aggressor." It should be noted in this statement that emphasis is placed upon mobile forces. The Navy represents mobility. Today's attack carrier striking force can change position 1,000 miles in 24 hours. This force is a hard target to find, and even harder to hit once it has been located. Since it does not occupy a fixed position it is much less vulnerable to attack by missiles than bases on land. On the other hand its aircraft can hit any target within an area of 3½ million square miles.

The heart of the carrier striking force is the new 60,000-ton aircraft carrier, such as *Saratoga* and *Forrestal*, with supersonic aircraft and nuclear weapons. This type of ship is a fully integrated airfield complete with two runways, hangars, and supply shops. It can launch aircraft which—were they based ashore—would need 10,000-foot runways. It can recover these same aircraft while it is launching others. These mobile airbases can be moved wherever needed. They bring up no problems of real estate or sovereignty, and when the task is finished we can bring them home again. The attack carrier striking force is a highly mobile assault force which if operating off the Atlantic coast could, for example, strike Harrisburg with nuclear weapons in a matter of minutes.

Now I should like to repeat that the chief purpose of the United States Navy is to serve as a deterrent to hostilities. Our national policy is based upon a desire for peace, not for war.

Of course, a strong Navy is invaluable in winning wars, but its greatest value lies in deterring or preventing local conflicts which lead to wars. The Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean is an excellent example of a naval force accomplishing diplomatic objectives. The Mediterranean and Suez area, a troublesome spot, has been patroled by the Sixth Fleet since the end of World War II.

The importance of the Middle East to American diplomacy lies in the continuing unrest existing between the new Nation of Israel and the surrounding Arab States. Also, the colonial areas of Algeria and Morocco are restless in apparent movements for independence. This unrest includes Communist struggling for control of several Mediterranean countries. In this oil-rich territory the presence of our strong fleet is tangible and constant evidence to the Mediterranean people of America's interest in that region. I'm sure we all remember when a strong Communist bid for Greece was overcome by anti-Communist forces with the result of a clean-cut victory in that part of the Mediterranean.

The same situation exists in the Formosa Strait. In that sector our Seventh Fleet is often called the biggest deterrent to war in that troubled area. There is little doubt but that the Communist Chinese would have attempted to occupy Taiwan except for the barrier we have maintained there. So there you have a mobile diplomatic arm that can take the initiative in the far corners of the world and in so doing preserves the peace as we have come to know it in recent years. I believe it is most significant that most of communism's gains have been within the Eurasian heartland beyond the contact of

the United States Navy and its diplomatic influence. We should take heart in noting that by far the largest percentage of the world's navigable coastlines, and the countries which own them, have not been lost to the free world.

Now I should like to say a few things about the future of the Navy. I'm sure you all have read of the great advances made toward nuclear propulsion, particularly the tremendous achievements of the submarine *Nautilus*. As you know, she has recently been refueled after more than 60,000 miles of cruising and is now operating in the Pacific with her second atomic charge. This vessel has operated almost continuously for a year and a half with only the original supply of atomic energy. We have also commissioned recently the second atomic submarine, the *Seawolf*, and there are 10 other nuclear-powered submarines scheduled to be finished in present shipbuilding programs.

Funds have been made available for a nuclear-powered 11,000-ton cruiser. This atomic powerplant is being adapted to use in the supercarriers which will form the basis for our mobile attack forces. And speaking of supercarriers, in addition to *Forrestal* and *Saratoga* there are several others of the *Forrestal* class authorized. They will be *Kitty-hawk, Ranger, Independence,* and others yet to be named.

Also, experiments in the use of atomic energy for aircraft indicate that the first nuclear-powered plane, weighted down as it will be with reactor and shielding equipment, will be a seaplane to utilize the unlimited runways of the sea.

The Navy has made splendid progress in the field of missiles. We have two guided-missile cruisers, *Boston* and *Canberra*, already operating with the fleet and these ships use the missile Terrier. We see this missile or its refined successors, as the broadside battery of the men-of-war of the future. The heavy guns are on their way out. We have other missiles, some used for different phases of offense, such as air-to-air in which we have Sidewinder and Sparrow. And then there is Regulus, a surface-to-surface type, which already is at sea in 2 submarines and 4 cruisers. Petrel, another air-to-air missile, is in use by two aircraft patrol squadrons. And the experimentation continues toward greater range, greater accuracy, and wider adaptability in this new but apparently almost limitless weapon.

I mentioned earlier that atomic power will in the near future be used to propel certain aircraft. The Navy Department has predicted that nuclear-powered planes will fly in 1958 or 1959. That's just around the corner. Now these aircraft will virtually destroy the distance barrier in their operations. Their range will be limited only by the endurance of the crews who man them. This new source of energy as demonstrated by the *Nautilus* has revolutionized our Navy. The future nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, probably of the *Forrestal* class, will be able to operate, conceivably, throughout an entire war without refueling. Much of her bunker space will be utilized for stowage of food supplies and parts for auxiliary machinery instead of fuel oil as we now are required to do. From the experience gained in our operation of the great ships designed for war will come the knowledge to use in our merchant fleets. This is the purpose we seek; to build, not destroy.

With our shores protected from Communist aggression we can move forward to productive enterprises. By the use of atomic energy we hope we shall one day be able to carry much of our material improvements to the rest of the world, and bring back to America the raw supplies we need to keep our Nation prosperous.

Up to now I have mentioned the part to play and being played in our country's defense by the Navy. I have told you a little about new weapons and developments designed to keep our people free from attack. You do not need to be reminded that these shiny new tools cost money—lots of money. The newspapers have recently described in detail the current size of the military budget and the huge slice of taxation from which these funds are derived. Most of us will agree that whatever the cost, it is cheap when compared to defeat or enslavement by an atheistic, alien, authoritarian system which recognize no dignity except that of the all-powerful state. But I am compelled to say that all of our inventions, developments, and complicated machinery in which we must place some faith for our defense will acutally mean little without good men to operate them. The Navy needs good men, both as officers and enlisted personnel. In the opportunities for enlisted men we have a choice of 60 major fields. Many of them are particularly well adapted to industrial and other civilian use. For example, we train and utilize the skill of our selected men in every branch of electronics. Navy yeomen perform clerical duties similar to those of civilians such as office manager, junior executive, clerk typist and the like. There are specialized assignments, too, such as frogmen or underwater demolition teams, and duty on board our submarines. We operate hundreds of schools giving technical training in various specialties as well as on-the-job training, ashore and in the fleet. In addition, there are free correspondence courses available to all who will study. The Navy of today is a complex, scientific organization which uses and needs the best men it can find, and offers in return a satisfying career, excellent training, world travel and the best in retirement benefits. Your sons can find wonderful opportunities in this new Navy and, at the same time, make their contributions toward their country's defense.

I should like to leave you with one thought which, I believe, epitomizes the Navy's efforts of today: an early day oriental statesman once said, "To avoid bleeding in war one must sweat in peace." Let us all continue to sweat and to remain alert to the job before us, that we and our children can remain forever free.

Lahey Feels United States Aid Should Be Continued

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article:

LAHEY FEELS UNITED STATES AID SHOULD BE CONTINUED

(By Edwin A. Lahey)

GUATEMALA CITY.—Guatemala has been operated for 3 years as a laboratory experiment in democracy. This experiment has had the moral and financial support of the United States.

In the uncertainty created by the assassination of President Carlos Castillo Armas, there have emerged two questions of vital and immediate importance to both the United States and Guatemala.

One: Has the investment of the United States in Guatemala been justified?

Two: Should the United States Congress renew its faith in Guatemala by continued generosity in foreign aid?

The answer to the first question is an unqualified "Yes." The United States has nothing to be ashamed of in its strong support of the late President Castillo Armas. The objective evidence in Guatemala supports this statement.

The answer to the second question involves political argument, rather than an examination of the record.

But it can only be "Yes" if Congress, now about to appropriate for foreign aid for fiscal 1958, wishes to protect our investment in democracy in Guatemala.

AID WITHDRAWAL INVITES CHAOS

Withdrawal of United States aid, or substantial reduction of it at this critical time, would be an invitation to chaos in Guatemala, and an American confession of failure in the project we undertook when we first supported Castillo Armas in the revolution of 1954.

It was then that the Communist-dominated government of Jacobo Arbenz, the only Red bastion in the Western Hemisphere, was overthrown.

These hard political facts make it probable that the Department of State will urge Congress, if Congress needs the urging, to back its faith in Guatemalan democracy with money in the coming weeks, when appropriations for foreign aid are voted.

The same facts make it probable that both civil and military leaders in Guatemala will strive to avoid the traditional excesses of Latin American politics and follow the middle-of-the-road policies to which Castillo Armas was firmly dedicated.

Castillo Armas was baited and badgered by both the far rights and the far left in Guatemala, but he made no bones about his desire to shape the character of his country to something resembling that of its political godfather north of the Rio Grande.

A recent official progress report on the 3 years under Castillo Armas gives a conclusive answer to the question whether our investment of about $60 million in direct grants and loans since 1954 has been a good one.

That money has helped the Guatemalan Government launch programs to improve the lives of the people, particularly in the rural areas and to help them help themselves.

The assistance has been translated into roads, low-cost housing, hospitals, health centers, and education.

PROGRESS CALLED MIRACULOUS

Considering the opposition that Castillo Armas had from both the far right and the far left, it is a modern miracle that he made as much progress in a middle-of-the-road program that he did.

The landed barons of the country, for example, wanted revenge against the spineless proletarians who had given them a hard time under Communist leadership before 1954.

But Castillo Armas, by presidential decree, established a minimum-wage law for agricultural labor, inadequate even by Latin American standards, but a sign of his sense of moderation.

And in recent weeks, the late president told a meeting of private employers:

"At no time must we think that the exploitation of our wealth can be carried out at the cost of inhuman exploitation of our workers."

When he died, Castillo Armas was trying to persuade the middle and upper classes of Guatemala that they must accept the income tax as inevitable. This tax is now under consideration in Congress.

At the working-class level, large groups were equally impatient with the Castillo Armas government and unable to understand the slow pace of its reforms.

The labor movement, completely dominated by Communists under the Arbenz regime, was shattered in the revolution.

It has been necessarily slow in rebuilding, because of the quarantine against Communists.

In the May Day parade a few months ago, which the late president reviewed from the balcony of the national palace, workers carried angry placards denouncing the government as antidemocratic and complaining about their own wages and working conditions.

RICH, POOR FORGET HOSTILITY

This most remarkable aspect of the assassination of Castillo Armas was the evaporation of this hostility at both ends of the social spectrum.

Rich and poor alike suddenly came to the conclusion that Castillo Armas had done a heroic job for his country in the 3 years of his service.

Without the magic spell of the late president's sincere devotion to his country's democratic aspirations, some sort of a military coup would have been as natural in Guatemala City last week as the afternoon rains that come ploping out of the low clouds with deadly regularity.

Representative Clyde Doyle of California Asks and Receives From Library of Congress, History of Prayers in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present to your attention documentary material which I requested from the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. The topic thereof indicates that the material furnished me is not the text of bills, resolutions, petitions, nor unanimous consents; yet it deals with a subject which is daily brought up and participated in during every session of the House of Representatives, in which I have been honored to be a Member in this my sixth term and over which you have presided with exceeding dignity, fairness, and distinction longer than any American—living or deceased. For, Mr. Speaker, every day before we begin our work on bills and resolutions and unanimous consents; before we begin our debates under the 5-minute rule—in fact, Mr. Speaker, before we begin any of these daily duties and responsibilities in the field of legislation, we very appropriately and properly engage in prayer. This is led for us by the distinguished and devoted Chaplain of the House of Representatives, Reverend Braskamp, and the distinguished Chaplain of the United States Senate. Mr. Speaker, this is well. It is well and good and strengthening to our clear thinking and rededication to the highest and best there is in our hearts, souls, and minds and ambitions as we begin our legislative procedures.

Mr. Speaker, several years ago I was invited to speak over a radio hookup over a wide geographical area. When I was asked by the master of ceremonies of the program as to what I felt was the most important step for America to take, and not having had notice previously of the question I was to be asked—I extemporaneously replied that it was that America should get on her knees humbly and reverently and frequently and stay there in an attitude and ambition to every major problem confronting America, both in domestic and foreign relationships. I still feel, Mr. Speaker, that my answer of several years ago still applies. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, you and my other distinguished colleagues, I am sure, will all understand why it is that I appreciate having received unanimous consent to include the following history of prayer in Congress from the Library of Congress.

The last several years, Mr. Speaker, there have been two very significant developments in the field of prayer in Congress. For, as you know, for several years now there has been a breakfast prayer group which meets every Thursday morning during the time Congress is in session for prayer and worship. The group consists entirely of House Members and the attendance each Thursday morning ranges from 25 to 50 Members. I have been pelased and received much inspiration from the fraternity of spirit and comity of reverence which has come to me from participation in the group these 11 years that I have already served in this great legislative body. Within the last 2 years, Mr. Speaker, has come the opening of that beautiful Prayer Room in the Capitol itself. You and other distinguished leaders in this Congress, both in the House and the Senate, recognize the important place of prayer in the life of Congress itself by making this Prayer Room available each day for Members to use with reverent use.

The information furnished me by the Library of Congress follows:

MARCH 25, 1957.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: What is the history of the opening of the Senate and the House with prayer? When did it begin? Was the first session of Congress at New York opened with prayer? If so, will you give me a copy of it? Who was the chaplain?

Was there any period of time when either House or the Senate was not opened with prayer? Was it opened with prayer all through the Civil War?

Give me a copy of the prayers given in the Senate and the House at the time of Washington's Farewell Address and then at the time Abraham Lincoln sent his message to Congress on the State of the Union.

Also give me the prayers given in the House and the Senate at the time Theodore Roosevelt sent his first message to Congress on the State of the Union. Also Franklin Roosevelt each time he sent his first message on the State of the Union.

Also, when Thomas Jefferson sent his first message on the State of the Union. Also the following on similar occasions: Hoover, Taft, Coolidge, and Cleveland.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

HISTORY OF EARLY PRAYERS IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

The first prayer officially given in the Congress of the United States was made on September 7, 1774, by the Reverend Jacob Duché. On Tuesday, September 6, Mr. Thomas Cushing, of Massachusetts, had proposed that Congress have a season of prayer every morning. Mr. Samuel Adams moved that the Episcopal clergyman, Rev. Mr. Duché, be requested to offer prayer the following morning.

Reverend Duché, read the psalter for the seventh day of the month, which included the 39th Psalm. He then struck out into an extemporary prayer which noticeably moved the Delegates. No complete text of this prayer was found in any of the bibliographical sources.

On May 10, 1775, the Second Congress invited Reverend Duché to open the following morning's session with a prayer. Silas Deane wrote that Reverend Duché "made a most pathetic and pertinent prayer."

On July 8, 1776, John Hancock wrote to Reverend Duché asking him to accept the appointment of Chaplain of Congress. The appointment was accepted and the duty consisted of opening each session at 9 o'clock with a prayer. The first prayer which Reverend Duché offered in his new official capacity was a plea for protection for the new American States. The prayer, quoted from Sabine's History of the Loyalists, is as follows:

"O Lord our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers on earth, and reignest with power supreme and uncontrolled over all kingdoms, empires, and governments, look down in mercy, we beseech Thee, on these our American States, who have fled to Thee, from the rod of the oppressor, and turn themselves on Thy gracious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on Thee; to Thee do they now look up for that countenance and support which Thou alone canst give; take them, therefore, heavenly Father, under Thy nurturing care; give them wisdom in council, and valor in the field; defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries; convince them of the unrighteousness of the cause, and if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, O let the voice of Thine own unerring justice sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle. Be Thou present, God of wisdom, and direct the counsels of this honorable assembly; enable them to settle things on the best and surest foundations, that the scenes of blood may be speedily closed, that order, honor, and peace may be effectively restored, and pure religion and piety prevail and flourish among Thy people; preserve the health of their bodies and the vigor of their minds; shower down on them, and the millions they represent, such temporal blessings as Thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come. All this, we ask, in the name of Jesus Christ Thy Son, and our Saviour. Amen."

Reverend Duché resigned on October 17, 1776, because of ill health and parochial duties. Congress voted him $150 as an acknowledgement for his services. However, on October 30, the Reverend Jacob Duché replied that the money should be applied to the relief of widows and children of Pennsylvanian officers killed in battle.

According to the sources consulted, Reverend Duché was actually not sympathetic to the cause of the new Republic. He went to England and did not return to America until 1792.

(Sources: Edmund C. Burnett, the Continental Congress; New York, Macmillan, 1941. Journals of the Continental Congress, vols.

II, V, VI; 1774, 1775, 1776. Rev. Edward D. Neill, Rev. Jacob Duché, the first Chaplain of Congress.)

PRAYERS IN CONGRESS

The custom of opening sessions of Congress with prayer originated in the Continental Congress.[1]

The first sessions of the new Congress under the Constitution on March 4, 1789, were not opened with prayer. The Senate elected its first Chaplain, Rt. Rev. Bishop Samuel Provost, on April 25, 1789; [2] the first Chaplain of the House of Representatives was Rev. William Linn, elected May 1, 1789.[3] Copies of the first prayers offered by these chaplains are not available.[4]

A search of Annals of Congress, Congressional Globe, and CONGRESSIONAL RECORD does not reveal any period when the custom of prayers was abandoned in either the Senate or the House. Prayers were offered as usual at the opening of sessions of Congress during the Civil War period, 1861–65.

Copies of prayers made at the time of Washington's Farewell Address September 17, 1796, were not shown in Annals of Congress or in Richardson's Messages and Papers of Presidents.[5]

In the report of the first annual message delivered by Thomas Jefferson on December 8, 1891, no prayer is mentioned.[6]

The Congressional Globe for March 4, 1861, the date of Abraham Lincoln's inaugural address delivered from the east front of the Capitol, does not mention that a prayer was given.[7]

GROVER CLEVELAND

On Wednesday, March 4, 1885, before President-elect Grover Cleveland delivered his inaugural address,[8] Rev. E. D. Huntley, Chaplain to the Senate, offered the following prayer:

"Thou who art the same yesterday, today, and forever, we are grateful for another opportunity of appearing before Thee in the attitude of humble worship, and though we tarry but a moment in Thy presence, it shall suffice to quicken our consciences and to remind us that for the performance of all public as well as of all private duties we are amenable to Thee.

"We come to thank Thee for the mercies of the past and to implore the continuance of Thine all-favoring providence.

"We come to ask Thy blessing upon the retiring President of these United States and upon him whose Presidency of this Senate has added steadiness and safety to its legislation and maintained impartially the rights and privileges of all its Members. And though these officers transfer their responsibilities to other hands, we ask that they may never cease to be the objects of Thy care and the recipients of Thy godly favor.

"We ask Thy blessing upon him who is about to be inducted into the high office of President of this Republic. May his life and health be precious in Thy sight. May he receive the hearty, honest, and unbegrudged support of all good citizens; and may he, together with those who shall be constituted his advisers, be so under the direction of Thy Holy Spirit, that his administration shall prove a signal blessing to this Nation and so a blessing to the world.

"Be Thou with him who is to preside over the deliberations of this body, the Vice-President of the United States. As the eyes of the servants look unto the hands of their masters, so may his eyes look unto the Lord his God. May he be faithful to his trust, and may he be supplied with wisdom from on high for the discharge of all his duties.

"We ask Thy special blessing upon those who for years have been honorable Members of this Senate, and who this day retire from the public service appertaining to this body. May the years which remain to them be crowned with tokens of Thy love. May goodness and mercy follow them all the days of their life. And may those who come to take their places be men who, fearing the Lord and working righteousness, shall be acceptable to Thee.

"Regard in mercy all who occupy advisory, legislative, or judicial relations to the Government. Dispose their hearts to keep Thy law, and may they so direct in public matters that all nations shall be constrained to recognize us as a happy and prosperous people, and to ascribe our happiness and our prosperity to the readiness with which we yield ourselves to Thy suggestions and the promptness with which we follow Thy commands.

"Our petition is before Thee, Lord, and we humbly pray that Thou wilt answer it according to Thy riches in glory by Christ Jesus. Amen." [9]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

On December 5, 1905, the date of the reading of Theodore Roosevelt's first annual message, a prayer was offered in the Senate by the Chaplain, Rev. Edward E. Hale,[10] and in the House by the Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden.[11] The texts of the prayers are not given in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

On March 4, 1905, when Theodore Roosevelt delivered his inaugural address, the following prayer was given by Rev. Edward E. Hale, Chaplain of the Senate:

" 'I will multiply my people, they shall not be few.
I will glorify them, and they shall not be small.
Their congregation shall be established before me;
And I will punish all that oppress them.
Their nobles shall be from themselves and their governor from the midst of them.
I will cause Him to draw near
And He shall approach unto me.
And ye shall be My people and I will be your God.
The law shall not depart from them.
Be thou strong and of good courage;
Be not afraid, neither be discouraged.
For the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.'

"Let us pray.

"Father of life, Father of love, the work is done—for better, for worse—which Thou hast given this Congress to do. Grant Thy blessing to our endeavors. Thou wilt crown with Thine own success every good effort. Thou wilt forgive every mistake of ours. The past is gone, and we will forget the things behind. Tomorrow is Thine, and we trust it to Thee.

"For the homes and the country we pray again and again and always that they may come into Thy kingdom of love and hope and faith, pure as Thine own light, peaceable as Thine own purpose, and alive with Thy life. Give to Thy servants wherever they may go of Thine own strength that they may be fellow workers together with God.

"Almighty God, this Nation is in Thy care, and this people seeks Thee today. We are in prayer for the country, that it may be more and more the happy Nation which seeks Thee and finds Thee, as they find Thee who seek for Thee with all their hearts.

"Thou hast made this people master of its own destiny. This people has chosen its leaders and its Congress for these years before them. And they ask, and we ask, Thy consecration on these years, for every father and mother, for every son and daughter, for every home, the help and blessing of the living God.

"For the President, for the Vice President, for the Congress, for the judges, and for the people we ask the blessing every hour of the living God.

"For purity in their homes, for peace, for health, for strength, for all that God can give, for all that men can use in the service which is perfect freedom.

"Hear us, answer us, and bless us as Thine own children in Christ Jesus.

"Join me audibly in the Lord's prayer.

"Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever. Amen." [12]

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

William H. Taft's first annual message was read separately to each House of Congress on December 7, 1909. In the Senate, an opening prayer was offered by the Chaplain, Dr. Ulysses G. B. Pierce.[13] The prayer in the House was given by the Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden.[14] Texts of these prayers are not printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

On March 4, 1909, when William H. Taft delivered his inaugural address in the Senate chamber, Rev. Edward E. Hale, Chaplain of the Senate, offered the following prayer:

" 'I will multiply my people; they shall not be few.
I will glorify them, and they shall not be small.
Their congregation shall be established before me;
And I will punish all that oppress them.
Their nobles shall be from themselves and their governors from the midst of them.
I will cause him to draw near
And he shall approach unto me.
And ye shall be my people and I will be your God.
The law shall not depart from them.
Be thou strong and of good courage;
Be not afraid, neither be discouraged,
For the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.'

"Let us join in prayer.

"Father Almighty, Thou hast been pleased to make this people Thine own nation. In Thy providence, Thou hast watched over the fathers. Thou hast led them from the beginning, that this should be that happy nation whose God is the Lord.

"This is our prayer: That this Government of the people, for the people, by the people may not cease from the land; that all the people this day would consecrate today to Thee and ask for a father's blessing upon the children; that as Thou wert pleased to lead the fathers in a thousand thousand providences, so wilt Thou be pleased to lead all the magistrates of this Nation; that Thou wouldst bind together the States of this Nation; that each and every man, each and every woman, and each and every child may know that they live to Thy glory and in Thy fear.

"Hear us, Father, answer us, and bless as Thine own children, in Christ Jesus.

"Join me audibly in the Lord's prayer.

"Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever.

"God bless the United States of America." [15]

CALVIN COOLIDGE

On Tuesday, December 8, 1925, Calvin Coolidge's first annual message was read to the Senate. The Chaplain of the Senate,

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Rev. J. J. Muir, opened with the following prayer:

"Our gracious heavenly Father, we thank Thee for the sunlight; we thank Thee for every inspiring influence, for the guardianship of the night and for the opportunity of service with the day. We beseech of Thee that there may be given unto us such a consciousness of Thy nearness and to [sic] the great realities that press heavily upon our thoughts, so as to lead us to the largest purposes befitting the individual. We pray for Thy guidance this day, and ask Thee to lead us even when we ourselves think we can be self-sufficient. Hear and help us. For Jesus Christ's sake. Amen." [16]

The same day, when the President's message was read to the House of Representatives, the chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, offered the following prayer:

"O Thou in whom we have our being, again we turn toward Thee as our blessed heavenly Father with praise and gratitude. We thank Thee that we are still the objects of Thy love and in the counsels of Thy infinite heart. May this day bring to us duty with wisdom and grace. In our failures rebuke, chasten, and forgive us. If impulsive, restrain us; if we lack knowledge, O do Thou inspire it. Make us strong in faith, clear in vision, and immovable in our allegiance to every vital interest of our country. We pray in the name of Jesus. Amen." [17]

HERBERT HOOVER

Herbert Hoover's first annual message was read to the Senate on Tuesday, April 16, 1929. Rev. Joseph R. Sizoo, D. D., minister of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church of the city of Washington, opened with the following prayer:

"Ever-living, ever-loving God, source of worlds without end and beings without number, in whom all our longings, hopes and aspirations are centered, we thank Thee that Thou art mindful of Thine own. We are not strangers to Thy care. Give us to know at the opening of another day that nothing, however small, escapes Thy notice and that there is no experience in which we cannot find Thy presence. May it be so with us today. Bless the President of the Senate, endow him with wisdom, patience, and courage born of faith in Thee. Grant that through our fidelity to our tasks a better and braver day may come to mankind. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." [18]

That same day, the President's message was read in the House,[19] and the chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, offered this prayer:

"Teach us, O Lord, to keep in our grateful minds Thy prevailing providence. We would praise Thee for that love which is the supreme power and sign and wonder of God in the world. Let us always determine to make Thee the divine Lord of our lives, upon which falls no shadow and rests no blame. Make us serious in thought, helpful in act, and gracious in manner. May these virtues be the constant tempter of our daily conduct. So abide with us that the record of this Congress shall be real, exalted, inspiring, and possessing a captivating influence that shall be felt throughout our land. Amen." [20]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—1933

When Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered his first inaugural address, on Saturday, March 4, 1933, the Chaplain of the Senate, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, offered the following prayer:

"Eternal God and Heavenly Father, before whose face the generations rise and pass away, who through all the ages hast led Thy children with the fire and cloud; hearken to our prayer and turn the heart of every citizen of the Republic unto Thee in this fateful hour of our own and the world's great need. Bestow Thy choicest blessings upon these Thy servants, who under Thee have been called to be President and Vice President of the United States. Give unto them the grace of true humility, the heart that knows no guile, the courage born of innocency of life, the gentle patience of the Christ, and, above all, the spirit of love that believes and hopes and endures, that they may be true leaders of Thy people.

"Bless every Member of the Congress and all others in authority, that they may be a glorious company, the flower of men, to serve [as] a model for this mighty world and to be the fair beginning of a time when, with every root of bitterness cast out, the good of all shall be the goal of each. Let Thy blessing rest upon the retiring President, Vice President, and Members of the Congress, to whom we pay our loving tribute. Bring the nations of the world, through an ever-increasing sense of fellowship, into one great family; hasten the time when war shall be no more, and may we never be content with any peace save that of Him who won His peace by making this world's ills His own, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." [21]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, 1934

On Wednesday, January 3, 1934, President Roosevelt delivered his first annual message in person to a joint meeting of the Senate and the House. Prior to the entrance of the Members of the Senate into the House Chamber, Rev. James Shera Montgomery offered the following prayer:

"'O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good, for His mercy endureth forever.'

"We wait on Thee, of whom we are fragments and from whom all virtue flows. We thank Thee that Thou are heart of our hearts, soul of our souls, and self of ourselves; in us do Thou work out Thy holy will. Our President, do Thou keep him in the circle of divine love and care. With Thy presence, Lord, do Thous bless our Speaker, the Members, the officers, and the employees of this Congress, and may all hearts confess that from Thee cometh all our benefits. O spread the mantle of happiness and good health upon all hearthstones. Almighty God, let these days be a prelude of the triumph that is to come. Merciful Father, come with us, and marvels shall come to our Nation reborn. Let self-sacrifice, heroism, and idealism make their irresistible appeal to our Republic until all citizens shall realize their brotherhood in one common Father. May they listen to the law of love, and then strife and conflict shall be in the melting shadows of the past. O righteous God, frown upon all Mammon worship and hasten the time when the world over shall become just and generous, and by Thy touch man everywhere shall receive the blessing that he needs. In the name of our Elder Brother and the world's Savior. Amen." [22]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—ANNUAL MESSAGE, 1937

When President Roosevelt at the beginning of his second term delivered his annual message in person to a Joint Meeting of the House and Senate, a prayer was offered by Reverend Montgomery prior to the entrance of Members of the Senate.

That prayer was as follows:

"Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open and all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy holy spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee and worthily magnify Thy holy name. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen." [23]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—1941

On Monday, January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt at the beginning of his third term delivered his annual message to a joint meeting of the House and Senate. At 12 noon, when the House convened, Reverend Montgomery gave the following prayer:

"Thy mercy, O Lord, is in the heavens and Thy majesty and power reach unto the ends of the earth. We pray Thee that somewhere we may see peace dawning beneath our fancied hopes and fears. Oh, let the Macedonian cry of brotherhood be heard in the dark places of this sad world and make us men of equal temper, of responsive consciences, of sturdy wills, and of courage that even dares to die for duty. In doubt, cloud, and storm let Thy right hand be strengthened and lifted up until the precepts of the Master rest in a golden cloud upon the hilltops of earth. Blessed Lord, for those who are being robbed under skies without blue or stars, let the rich, the talented, and the strong be joined, renewed in all those deep emotions which are the creative urge of true patriotism. We pray that its message may move us over the uncharted seas before us. O Thou who are both loving and righteous, both holy and just, restrain us from all discord and prejudice that we may pass through these days with vision and with consecration to serve. Almighty God, hear our prayer beating up through this weary, troubled world to that throne that forever rests in the white light of the Father's love and mercy. In our dear Redeemer's name. Amen." [24]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—1945

On Saturday, January 6, 1945, the annual message of the President was read to a joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress. Prior to the Senate's entrance to the Hall of the House of Representatives, the House met at noon, and the Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris offered the following prayer:

"O God our Father, who art love and light and truth, we turn unfilled to Thee. In a world where the very foundations seem to be shaken and the mad fury of battle assails our senses and tears our hearts, we cherish this hushed and hallowed moment which so long ago the Founding Fathers set apart as an altar of prayer at the day's beginning. Here, bowing with contrite hearts, we would be sure of Thee and of spiritual resources before we go to meet the high solemnities of waiting tasks.

"Enlarge our sympathies. Deepen our compassion and our pity. Save our sacred cause from the poison of misunderstandings. Forbid that fogs and shadows rising out of the fever and panic of these tense times should dim our unity. When we are tempted by petty annoyances, by despondency, by resentments, and by the angry emotions of the world, may we gaze tenderly at the gaping wounds of our allies and remember with gratitude that in our favored land not one steeple has fallen, not one temple has been demolished, not one home is in ruins. Ennoble our spirits so that through us may be preserved for all mankind the ideals of the Republic, to the glory of the God who hath made and preserved us a Nation. We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen." [25]

CHAPLAINS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

Chaplains	Denomination	Date service began [1]
Rev. William Lynn	Presbyterian	Mar. 4, 1789
Rev. Samuel Blair	do	Jan. 4, 1790
Rev. Ashbel Green	do	Nov. 5, 1792
Rev. Thomas Lyell	Methodist	Nov. 17, 1800
Rev. W. Parkinson	Baptist	Dec. 7, 1801
Rev. James Laurie	Presbyterian	Nov. 5, 1804
Rev. P. Elliott	do	Dec. 1, 1806

[1] Date of beginning of session of Congress in which each chaplain first served. Not necessarily the date of his appointment.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

CHAPLAINS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

Chaplains	Denomination	Date service began [1]
v. O. B. Brown	Baptist	Oct. 26, 1807
v. Jesse Lee	Methodist	May 22, 1809
v. N. Sneathen	do	Nov. 4, 1811
v. Jesse Lee	do	Nov. 2, 1812
v. O. B. Brown	Baptist	Sept. 19, 1814
v. S. H. Cone	do	Dec. 4, 1815
v. B. Allison	do	Dec. 2, 1816
v. J. N. Campbell	Presbyterian	Nov. 18, 1820
v. Jared Sparks	Unitarian	Dec. 3, 1821
v. J. Breckenridge	Presbyterian	Dec. 2, 1822
v. H. B. Bascom	Methodist	Dec. 1, 1823
v. Reuben Post	Presbyterian	Dec. 6, 1824
v. Ralph Gurley	do	Dec. 6, 1830
v. Reuben Post	do	Dec. 5, 1831
v. William Hamett.	Methodist	Dec. 3, 1832
v. Thomas H. tockton.	do	Dec. 2, 1833
v. Edward D. mith.	Presbyterian	Dec. 1, 1834
v. Thomas H. tockton.	Methodist	Dec. 7, 1835
v. Oliver C. Comock.	Baptist	Dec. 5, 1836
v. Septimus ustan.	Presbyterian	Sept. 4, 1837
v. Levi R. Reese	Methodist	Dec. 4, 1837
v. Joshua Bates	Congregationalist	Dec. 2, 1839
v. T. W. Braxton	Baptist	Dec. 7, 1840
v. J. W. French	Episcopalian	May 31, 1841
v. John N. Maffit	Methodist	Dec. 6, 1841
v. J. S. Tiffany	Episcopalian	Dec. 5, 1842
v. J. S. Tinsley	Baptist	Dec. 4, 1843
v. William M. Daily.	Methodist	Dec. 4, 1844
v. William H. Milburn.	do	Dec. 1, 1845
v. W. S. S. Sprole	Presbyterian	Dec. 7, 1846
v. R. R. Gurley	do	Dec. 6, 1847
v. L. F. Morgan	Methodist	Dec. 1, 1851
v. James Gallagher.	Presbyterian	Dec. 6, 1852
v. W. H. Milburn.	Methodist	Dec. 5, 1853

From 1855 until 1861 the House of Representatives did not elect regular Chaplains. Instead, the different members of the District of Columbia clergy took turns in opening each daily session with a prayer and in preaching on Sundays. The 37th Congress, meeting in 1861, returned to former practice of choosing a Chaplain.

Chaplains	Denomination	Date service began
ev. T. H. Stockton	Methodist	July 4, 1861
ev. W. H. Channing.	Unitarian	Dec. 7, 1863
ev. Charles B. Boynton.	Congregationalist.	Dec. 4, 1865
ev. J. G. Butler	Presbyterian	Mar. 4, 1869
ev. S. L. Townsend	Episcopalian	Dec. 6, 1875
ev. John Poise	Methodist	Oct. 16, 1877
ev. W. P. Harrison	do	Dec. 3, 1877
ev. Frederick D. Power.	Christian	Dec. 5, 1881
ev. John S. Lindsay	Episcopalian	Dec. 3, 1883
ev. W. H. Milburn	Methodist	Dec. 7, 1885
ev. Samuel W. Haddaway.	do	Aug. 7, 1893
ev. Edward B. Bagby.	Christian	Dec. 4, 1893
ev. Henry N. Couden.	Universalist	Dec. 2, 1895
ev. James Shera Montgomery.	Methodist	April 11, 1921
ev. Bernard Braskamp.	Presbyterian	Jan. 3, 1950

(Sources: Congressional Directories; United States Library of Congress. Legislative Reference Service. Chaplains of the House of Representatives of the United States.)

CHAPLAINS OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Chaplains	Denomination	Date of appointment
t. Rev. Bishop Samuel Provost.	Episcopalian	Apr. 25, 1789
t. Rev. Bishop William White.	do	Oct. 24, 1791

Footnotes at end of table.

CHAPLAINS OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

Chaplains	Denomination	Date of appointment
Rt. Rev. Bishop John Thomas Claggett.	Episcopalian	Nov. 27, 1800
Rev. Dr. E. Gantt	do	Dec. 9, 1801
Rev. A. T. McCormick.	do	Nov. 11, 1807
Rev. R. Elliott	Presbyterian	Nov. 10, 1808
Rev. M. Wilmer	Episcopalian	May 24, 1809
Rev. Ob. B. Brown	Baptist	Dec. 5, 1809
Rev. Walter D. Addison.	Episcopalian	Dec. 12, 1810
Rev. J. Breckenridge, D. D.	Presbyterian	Dec. 8, 1815
Rev. Jesse Lee	Methodist	Sept. 27, 1814
Rev. J. Glendie	Presbyterian	Dec. 8, 1815
Rev. S. E. Dwight	Congregationalist.	Dec. 16, 1816
Rev. W. Hawley	Episcopalian	Dec. 9, 1817
Rev. John Clark	Presbyterian	Nov. 19, 1818
Rev. Reuben Post	do	Dec. 9, 1819
Rev. William Ryland.	Methodist	Nov. 17, 182-
Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D.	Episcopalian	Dec. 9, 1822
Rev. W. Staughton	Baptist	Dec. 10, 1823
Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D.	Episcopalian	Dec. 14, 1824
Rev. W. Staughton	Baptist	Dec. 12, 1825
Rev. W. Ryland	Methodist	Dec. 8, 1826
Rev. H. V. D. Hohn, D. D.	Episcopalian	Dec. 15, 1829
Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D.	Methodist	Dec. 19, 1831
Rev. C. C. Pise	Roman Catholic	Dec. 11, 1832
Rev. T. W. Hatch	Episcopalian	Dec. 10, 1833
Rev. E. T. Higbee	do	Dec. 23, 1835
Rev. Mr. Goodman	Not known	Dec. 28, 1836
Rev. Henry Slicer	Methodist	Sept. 11, 1837
Rev. G. Cookman	do	Dec. 31, 1839
Rev. S. Tuston, D. D.	Presbyterian	June 12, 1841
Rev. Henry Slicer	Methodist	Dec. 16, 1846
Rev. C. M. Butler, D. D.	Episcopalian	Jan. 9, 1850
Rev. Henry Slicer	Methodist	Dec. 7, 1853
Rev. Henry C. Dean	do	Dec. 4, 1855
Rev. Stephen P. Hill	Baptist	Dec. 8, 1856
Rev. P. G. Gurley, D. D.	Presbyterian	Dec. 15, 1859
Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D.	do	July 10, 1861
Rev. Dr. Thomas Bowman.	Methodist	May 11, 1864
Rev. Dr. E. H. Gray	Baptist	Mar. 9, 1865
Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman.	Methodist	Mar. 8, 1869
Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D.	Presbyterian	Dec. 8, 1873
Dr. J. J. Bullock	do	Mar. 24, 1879
Dr. E. DeWitt Huntley.	Methodist	Dec. 18, 1883
Dr. John G. Butler	Lutheran	Mar. 13, 1886
Dr. W. H. Milburn [1]	Methodist	Apr. 6, 1893
Rev. F. J. Prettyman.	do	Nov. 1902
Dr. Edward Everett Hale.	Unitarian	Dec. 14, 1903
Dr. U. G. B. Pierce	do	June 18, 1909
Rev. F. J. Prettyman.	Methodist	Mar. 1913
Rev. J. J. Muir	Baptist	Jan. 21, 1921
Rev. ZeBarney Phillips.	Episcopalian	Dec. 5, 1927
Dr. Frederick Brown Harris.	Methodist	Oct. 10, 1942
Rev. Peter Marshall [2].	Presbyterian	Jan. 4, 1947
Dr. Frederick Brown Harris.	Methodist	Feb. 3, 1949

[1] Blind.

[2] Died Jan. 25, 1949. See biography, National Cyclopedia American Biographies, p. 137.

NOTE.—The 35th Cong., discontinued the usage of electing chaplains and extended an invitation to the clergy of the District of Columbia to alternate in opening the daily sessions by prayer, and in preaching on the Sabbath, which they continued to do until the 36th Cong., but the 37th Cong. returned to the old practice.

Total number to date by denominations

Episcopalian	15
Methodist	16
Presbyterian	11
Baptist	6
Unitarian	2
Lutheran	1
Roman Catholic	1
Congregationalist	1

(Source: CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 4, 1947, pp. 107–108, as corrected and brought down to date.)

COLLECTED PRAYERS OFFERED AT OPENINGS OF DAILY SESSIONS OF HOUSE 1923–46 AND SENATE, 1927–31; 1942–46

United States Congress. House. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, James Shera Montgomery, at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives during 68th and 69th Congresses of the United States, 1923–27. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1927. (69th Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. No. 780.)

United States Congress. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives of the United States during the 70th and the 71st Congresses, 1927–31. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1932. (72d Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. No. 239.)

United States Congress. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery * * * at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives of the United States during the 72d the 73d Congresses, 1931–34. Washington, Government the United States during 72d and the 73d sess., H. Doc. No. 409.)

United States Congress. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery * * * at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives of the United States during the 74th and 75th Congresses, 1935–38. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938. (7th Cong., 3d sess., H. Doc. No. 710.)

United States Congress. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery * * * at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives of the United States during the 77th and 78th Congresses, 1941–44. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1945. (78th Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. No. 806.)

United States Congress. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery * * * at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives of the United States during the 79th and 80th Congresses, 1945–48. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949. (80th Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. No. 753.)

United States Congress. Senate. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney Thorne Phillips, at the opening of the daily sessions of the Senate of the United States during the 70th and the 71st Congresses, 1927–31. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1931. (71st Cong., 3d sess. Senate Document No. 306.)

United States Congress. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, at the opening of the daily sessions of the Senate of the United States during the 77th, 78th, and 79th Congresses, 1942–46. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946. (79th Cong., 2d sess. Senate Document No. 204.)

CHAPLAINS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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ment Printing Office, 1907. Volume 1, sections 187, 272–282.

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United States Congress. Senate. Prayers offered by the Chaplain * * * at the opening of the daily sessions of the Senate of the United States. Washington, United States Government Printing Office. 1929. Covers period from 1927.

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[1] U. S. Library of Congress: Legislative Reference Service. History of early prayers in the Continental Congress (appendix A of this report).

[2] Gale, Joseph, composer. The debates and proceedings in the Congress of the United States, comprising the period from March 3, 1789, to March 3, 1791, inclusive. Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1834, p. 24 (annals of Congress).

[3] Ibid., p. 242.

[4] "This seems to be a proper place to notice a fact, which is necessary to account for the meagerness of the report of the Senate proceedings in the earlier days of the Government, viz: that the legislative as well as the executive sittings of the Senate were held with closed doors until the second session of the Third Congress." Ibid., p. 16.

[5] United States President. A compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897, by James D. Richardson. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896–99. 10 volumes.

[6] The debates and proceedings in the Congress of the United States. Seventh Congress, first session. Washington, Gales, and Seaton, 1851, pp. 11–15 (annals of Congress).

[7] Rives, John C. The Congressional Globe, containing the debates and proceedings of the 2d session of the 36th Congress; also of the special session of the Senate, vol. 30, pt. 2.

[8] Cleveland's inaugural address was indexed as his annual message in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 16, index, 1885, p. 257.

[9] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 17, pt. 1, March 4, 1885, p. 1.

[10] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 40, pt. 1, December 5, 1905, p. 90.

[11] Ibid., p. 106.

[12] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 40, pt. 1, March 4, 1905, p. 1.

[13] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt 1, December 7, 1909, p. 24.

[14] Ibid., p. 62.

[15] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 44, pt. 1, March 4, 1909, p. 1.

[16] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 68, pt. 1, December 8, 1925, p. 457.

[17] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 67, pt. 1, December 8, 1925, p. 519.

[18] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 71, pt. 1, April 16, 1929, p. 41.

[19] Ibid., p. 46.

[20] U. S. Congress. House. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives of the United States during the 70th and the 71st Congresses, 1927–31, pp. 93–94.

[21] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 77, pt. 1, March 4, 1933, p. 3.

[22] Ibid., vol. 78, pt. 1, January 3, 1934, p. 7.

[23] Ibid., vol. 81, pt. 1, January 6, 1937, p. 81.

[24] U. S. Congress. House. Prayers offered by the Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., at the opening of the daily sessions of the House of Representatives of the United States during the 77th and 78th Congresses, 1941–44, pp. 1–2.

[25] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 91, pt. 1, January 4, 1945, p. 63.

Comments Concerning Proposed Change in Method of Filling Supreme Court Vacancies

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I introduced a resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution by providing that a committee composed of a judge from each of the highest courts of the 48 States would make the appointments to fill vacancies on the United States Supreme Court.

If adopted this would relieve future Presidents of a heavy and difficult burden. It is designed to obtain the very best judicial talent in the country for service on the Supreme Court. This method should result in more public confidence in the Court, and should make decisions more independent of political, sociological, and ideological considerations.

Mr. Speaker, since this amendment was proposed I have received a considerable amount of mail from over the country expressing approval of this approach to the problem. As evidence of interest in the subject I shall quote from a few of those expressions.

A former Attorney General of Texas writes:

I have noted with a great deal of interest press reports on your resolution for constitutional amendment to change the method of selecting Supreme Court judges from Presidential appointment to selection by a committee of State judges from each of the 48 States. This sounds like an excellent idea to me and I sincerely believe that if you can ever get it through Congress that the various States will vote for it.

A letter from New York City agrees with the proposal:

I agree with Your Honor 100 percent in regards to Supreme Court Justices being nominated by the majority of judges in our 48 States. In that case it is up to them to find out whether or not that person is qualified for the bench and that would end harsh words between the GOP Party and Democrats.

Another from Phoenix, Ariz., approving the proposal, adds:

In Washington's Farewell Address we hea... this admonition to all who shall live under the Constitution of the United States: "But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

From Mr. and Mrs. Allen LaCour, of San Angelo, Tex., came this:

We wish to command you for the recent step you took in regard to a Supreme Court vacancy.

The recommendation to amend the Constitution so that a vacancy may be filled by a method you outlined seems more democratic and would result in less political pressure.

Another constituent, Mr. P. M. McKinley, also of San Angelo, wrote:

I was glad today to see in our local paper where you are taking steps to change the manner in which members of the Supreme Court are selected.

There can be no question about our judges of the various States being better qualified to give us those that know how to consider cases before them from a strictly judicial standpoint.

Here is another one, this from Mr. Earl E. Stiefel, Kerrville, Tex.:

Your proposed constitutional amendment for the selection of Supreme Court Justices seems to me to be the best solution which has been offered to the problem of selecting the men to fill these positions. In fact, I know of no other proposal which has been made or will be made to curtail the political appointments to the Supreme Court of the United States.

From Budd Lake, N. J., comes another letter, including this viewpoint:

Read your article in last night's Journal American. I thank God somebody down there is bringing to the people a solution for a condition that has developed under our present system. * * * Keep up the good work.

A letter from Napa, Calif., comments:

Your novel proposal to select Justices of the Supreme Court is worthy of commendation and is a timely action that should have been proposed many years ago.

Another letter from Geneva, Ill., includes this:

Today's Chicago Daily Tribune reports that you have proposed a constitutional amendment vesting the selection of members of the United States Supreme Court in a special committee of State court judges.

Such an amendment strikes me as very much needed. * * * When the Constitution was written, I think the members of the convention, while fearful of excessive power in the hands of the Executive, did not visualize the extent that power has now reached. Such an amendment as you proposed would do much to return to the States power that must be lodged in them if our Republic is to continue.

I shall conclude with another letter from the many I have received on this subject, this one from a Houston attorney:

The Houston Chronicle of August 9, 1957, reports that you have introduced a bill in the House calling for the appointment of United States Supreme Court Justices by a special committee of judges from each of the 48 States.

I would appreciate very much having a copy of the bill as introduced. Apparently yours is similar to the so-called Houston plan which is a resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution. We are very much interested in the plan here.

Statement by Col. Jose Luis Cruz Salazar, Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Col. Jose Luis Cruz Salazar, Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States, at a press conference August 5, 1957:

STATEMENT BY COL. JOSE LUIS CRUZ SALAZAR, GUATEMALAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, AT PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 5, 1957

Ladies and gentlemen of the press, please allow me, at the very outset of this press conference, to take this opportunity to express through you the deep appreciation that my country feels for the kind sympathy that has been extended to us by government officials, by the press and by the people of the United States, regarding the death of our President and leader, Carlos Castillo Armas. These fine expressions, coming to us at a time of great national sorrow, are accepted by my people as one more demonstration of the genuinely friendly feeling that the people of the United States have for my small nation.

My purpose in calling this press conference is to discuss with you members of the press any aspects involved in the assassination of President Castillo, about which you may wish to inquire, but particularly to discuss the motives which provoked this murder. I believe that the reasons behind this assassination involve not only my own country, but are directed against the peace and security of our entire hemisphere.

A few days ago my government made available to the press in Guatemala City documentary evidence to support our allegation that the assassin, Romeo Vasquez Sanchez, was a Communist, and that, therefore, the murder of our President was a Communist conspiracy. This evidence was examined by several competent, experienced newspaper reporters of international reputation, including some of your own colleagues.

Indeed, the allegation of my government that Castillo's murder was the result of a Communist plot, had already been pretty well confirmed, in effect, by a remarkable statement made to the press by one of the leading Communists in the Western Hemisphere, Juan José Arévalo, the former President of Guatemala who turned the government of my country over to the Communists. Let me read Arévalo's direct quotation, as carried in a United Press dispatch, from Santiago de Chile, under the dateline of July 27. What I am reading is the translation of an article written in Spanish, in the Spanish language daily, Las Americas, published in Miami, Fla.

I quote Arévalo: "Romeo Vasquez Sanchez enters history as a symbol of the Latin American struggle against those who would attempt to transform them into colonies. Those who tried to sell or lease Guatemala to foreign commercial concerns, will fall 1 by 1 under the terrible judgment of popular vendetta."

That is the calculated statement by the man who betrayed my country to communism, and who now is one of the directors of the CTAL, the Communist trade union movement in Latin America, and one of the most powerful arms of the Communist conspiracy in this hemisphere. I think his words are worth some study, and should be viewed in the light of the fact that Castillo was the third Central American president to fall under an assassin's bullets in the past 18 months.

Those of you who are familiar with the propaganda techniques of the Communists in Latin America will certainly recognize the exact phrases used by Arévalo: "The Latin American struggle against those who attempt to transform them into colonies," and "those who tried to sell or lease Guatemala to foreign commercial concerns."

Ladies and gentlemen, I assure you that every Latin American public official of consequence, who by word or official act has dared to demonstrate his friendship for the United States during the past 30 years, has been repeatedly attacked by Communists with those same charges, and, indeed, even with those very words.

By canonizing the assassin, Arévalo, in effect not only admits Communist complicity, he brags about it. And there can be no question of the meaning of his arrogant statement that those of us who are friendly to the United States, "will fall one by one, under the terrible judgment of the popular vendetta." He is telling us that others are already marked for slaughter. And he is issuing a thinly veiled warning to all Latin American officials, of the fate that may befall them if they are too friendly with the United States. Do you wonder that many Latin American officials are asking themselves today: "Which of us will be next?" Speaking as an individual who has worked hard to maintain the friendliest of relations between our two sovereign governments, do you not feel that I would be naive, if I were to ignore the personal warning contained in Arévalo's proclamation of a vendetta.

To me there is no question that one of the motives behind Castillo's brutal murder, was an attempt to intimidate the leaders of Latin America from following policies of friendship with the United States. I think I can speak for my colleagues, when I say that this will fail. We will not be intimidated.

However, I believe there is another, and more significant motive behind the assassination of our leader.

During the 3 years since Castillo led us in a successful effort to overthrow the Communist dictatorship in my country, we have made truly great progress, politically, socially, and especially economically. Our economic progress has been very substantially speeded by the generous assistance we have received from the United States. Much of this aid has come under what you have called the "mutual security law."

Let me say that President Castillo and the members of our government attached much significance to that word, "mutual." To us it means that we in Guatemala have a mutual responsibility, with the United States and our other allies, in this unrelenting cold war between democracy and communism. And from the very outset we members of Castillo's government have been determined to discharge that responsibility, and to contribute our share to the security of the hemisphere and of the free world.

Therefore, as our economic programs commence to produce tangible results, we undertook a continuing program which I think will be of special interest to you members of the press.

We have been bringing to Guatemala journalists, educators, and public officials from our sister Latin American Republics, which we know, like ourselves, have been deluged with an unceasing stream of Communist propaganda. And we provide them, as only Guatemala can do, with the opportunity of making a factual comparison of the actual results that can be produced in an underdeveloped nation, by a Communist dictatorship, and by a free democratic government.

First, we suggest to our visitors that they talk with our people, and learn from them both of the terror that existed in Guatemala during the Communist regime, and also of the complete failure of the Communists to produce any beneficial results for our nation and its citizens.

Then my friends, we take our visitors about the country and show them the things that have already been accomplished during the 3 short years of a democratic government, under the leadership of President Castillo. Let me tell you some of the things that we are able to show them.

Hundreds of miles of new highways; vast areas of virgin land now being opened to cultivation; more than 15,000 small farms that have been given to landless farmers; a system of banks that make modest loans to small farmers for the purchase of seed and tools; new small industries springing up; a serious unemployment situation wiped out (we actually have a shortage of labor right now); 8 new office buildings, 2 new hotels, and more than 3,000 new homes that have been built, or are under construction in Guatemala City alone; 4 new private banks that have been established, the first new private banks to be opened in Guatemala in 15 years.

We are showing them new schools that have been opened; new hospitals now serving our sick; new health and sanitation programs now going into effect. We are building a new telephone system, and expanding our power facilities. And, what I know will be of special interest to you, we can show them a free press in operation, which freely criticizes the acts of our Government, without fear of official reprisal.

We tell our visitors that this is simply the beginning of a program that is just commencing to get underway. But that nevertheless, these are things that have been done in an underdeveloped country in 3 years. Not things that have been promised, but which have been actually achieved. And we say to them, go back and tell your people what an underdeveloped country can really do under good, democratic leadership.

Ladies and gentlemen, I submit to you in the world, where they are contesting so that the Communists cannot tolerate. The matching of polemics and empty promises, with positive achievements.

As many of you know, ever since the downfall of Arbenz the Communists have provoked a series of incidents in Guatemala designed to create dissension and unrest, and to impede our economic progress. These efforts failed. Our progress was being brought to the attention of all Latin America, and they knew of our plans to bring it soon to the attention of other underdeveloped areas in the world, where they are contesting so intensely for the support of the masses.

So I submit to the test of your logic, what appears to me to be the obvious thesis. When the failure of their other strategems became apparent, in a desperate effort to halt our forward progress and create political and economic chaos in Guatemala, they murdered the man who had guided our Government through a crucial period.

But, although they succeeded in murdering our leader, I say emphatically that they will fail in their objective. Fortunately Castillo left behind him a strong and well-constructed organization, which is more

than a political party; it is a democratic movement of men and women who are dedicated to carrying out the ideals he planted in us and effecting the programs for our people for which he gave his life.

Life Magazine's Unfair Attack on the Cotton Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Life magazine has published an editorial entitled "King Cotton—the Royal Nonesuch," in which it has attempted to diagnose the ills of the cotton industry and prescribe a cure. Life's remedy is drastic and simple, and is as follows:

If the (cotton) industry was put on a basis of free competition and our prices left to find their own level * * * the (cotton) business would quickly thin down to efficient operators who could produce all the cotton really needed and at a profit.

* * * * *

(Cotton subsides for) the distressed small farmers—no longer makes sense. It keeps them at it when, if left to their own devices, they could go to town and work at a useful job.

* * * * *

We have every sympathy for the marginal, high-cost little fellow who is inexorably being crowded out, but is there any depression to justify keeping him on a dole? There is no likelihood of agricultural shortages either. The longer the 92.7 percent of the rest of us taxpayers keep him there by giving him money to stay in a business he can't possibly succeed at, the longer will the whole farm picture stay in a needless and senseless mess.

Life's cure for the ills of the cotton industry is not one which it is willing to adopt for itself, namely, the renunciation of Government subsidy. Life does not propose that its free competition formula extend beyond the cotton industry to business, industry, and labor, which thrive on a variety of Government subsidies and benefit programs.

In prescribing free competition for the cotton industry, Life held up General Motors as its shining example. Life said:

Instead of letting this very successful industry (cotton) stand on its own feet, the way General Motors does, the Government has so far lost a total of $1.7 billion in trying to keep it artificially regulated.

While Life apparently views General Motors as the essence of free competition, very little has been heard from General Motors along that line. General Motors rests comfortably in back of a 9 percent tariff on foreign car imports and appears to be content to let the United States send tax appropriated dollars to foreign nations for foreign aid, rather than allowing those nations to earn dollars by selling foreign cars in the United States at competitive prices. General Motors and most of American industry was born in the shadow of a protective tariff wall and there it has developed and prospered.

General Motors' brand of free competition has kept the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice in court for the past 5 years seeking to restrain General Motors and Du Pont from unfair trade practices.

General Motors has taken advantage of the Federal program for rapid amortization of industrial expansion expenditures. The United States Government will lose about $35 million on rapid tax writeoffs for General Motors on certificates already granted, with more pending. General Motors holds about 1 percent of rapid amortization certificates issued to industry. These concessions to industry in the name of defense will cost about $450 million in net revenue loss and will create additional interest costs to the Government estimated at $3 billion by 1976, resulting from postponement of anticipated revenues. Before this program has run its course, losses to the United States Government through rapid amortization for capital expansion to industry will exceed losses through the cotton program by at least 3 times, yet these concessions are being granted to industry during a period of rising and unprecedented profits.

The public was treated to a glimpse of the way General Motors stands on its own feet when an armed services subcommittee looked into General Motors' handling of a $375 million Air Force contract. The chairman of the subcommittee accused General Motors of manipulation that borders on actual fraud. The investigation disclosed that General Motors had obtained a $375 million Air Force contract and had made $42.2 million profit, or 12.65 percent. According to the General Accounting Office, this was $17,459,000 in excess of the amount anticipated, or the profit rate of 8 percent which was agreed upon.

Life magazine criticized the program currently operating to dispose of surplus stocks of cotton through sale and barter to foreign countries and said:

This form of economic warfare wipes out a great deal of good will built up by other United States programs such as foreign aid.

Here Life entertains the theory that the American cotton farmer is to be sacrificed to obtain the good will of foreign nations and, to a considerable degree, that is what is happening. About $66.5 billion has been spent in foreign aid throughout the world. Much of these expenditures have gone to increase agricultural production in various countries. In 1956, there was an increase of 48 percent in the world's cotton production over average annual production for the period 1945 to 1949. Cotton production in the United States during the same period increased only 10 percent. Cotton production in Mexico increased 206 percent. India increased its cotton production 80 percent. Turkey increased its cotton production 123 percent. Cotton production in Africa and Oceania increased 33 percent. Cotton production in Egypt has remained at about the same level for 10 years; however, had not negotiations for the Aswan Dam been terminated, United States funds would have been used to construct that project and put hundreds of thousands more acres of land into cotton production.

Historically, the United States cotton farmer has depended on a foreign market for his production. United States foreign-aid dollars are being used to stimulate cotton production throughout the world and the United States foreign cotton market is shrinking. Despite this situation, Life magazine complains that the current program of the Department of Agriculture to dispose of farm surpluses abroad may offend foreign nations.

Life has called for free competition for the cotton industry and has predicted that:

If enough Americans squawk, something will be done to stop this silly business.

Life apparently is not concerned about Government subsidies and supports to business and industry. These supports come through a variety of ways and are well hidden from the public. The magazine industry, including the Luce publications, which publish Time and Life magazines, enjoy a subsidy through the Post Office Department.

The Post Office Department has estimated that it loses $9,494,000 per year delivering Life magazine. The year-end deficiency for 1956 for handling magazines and periodicals was estimated at $70,539,141. Very probably the taxpayers of the United States have expended more funds subsidizing the American magazine industry and other commercial publications during the years that the cotton program has operated than has been spent operating the cotton program. Life and other magazine publishers see a great issue of national interest involved if subsidies for the magazine industry are discontinued. A spokesman for Macfadden Publications appeared before a Senate committee and opposed a bill designed to require publishers to pay a greater part of the cost of delivery of publications and said:

Increased postal rate costs, which we would have to bear under H. R. 2983, would have a disastrous effect on our business.

Macfadden publications publishes such literature as True Story, True Romances, Photoplay, True Detective, True Experience, and Master Detective, magazines which undoubtedly are essential to upgrading the intellectual level of the American people.

A vice president of Time, Inc., publishers of Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, House and Home, and Architectural Forum, appearing before a Senate committee considering a postal increase, opposed the rate increase and said that the Nation's welfare would be seriously affected by the absence of magazines and that the support of the magazine industry in the form of low postal rates, involving considerable amounts of public-service costs, should be accepted as a matter of policy. In other words, Life sees the public interest involved in subsidizing the magazine industry, but believes that the cotton industry should be placed on a basis of free competition and prices left to find their own level.

Federal subsidy and indirect support to American business and industry is so extensive that it defies comprehension. The bulk of American industry enjoys protection from competition through tariffs. The simplest implication of the tariff is that industry, which needed protection during Revolutionary days from industrial giants of Europe, continues to enjoy the protection of a subsidy or premium from the purchasers of industrial products. Importers of small metal items and cutlery pay a 15-percent tariff. The tariff on imported bicycles varies from 11 percent to 30 percent. The tariff on chinaware ranges from 60 percent to 70 percent, while the tariff on clocks and watches is from 32½ percent to 65 percent. The tariff against hemp rope is 4 cents per pound, and the tariff on shoes varies from 10 percent to 35 percent.

One of the Nation's largest industries, the transportation industry, is subsidized by the Federal Government.

Ocean shipping is subsidized through grants for construction of ships and operating subsidies. During the period 1936 through 1952, the United States paid $426,185,833 in subsidies for the construction of ships sold to American ship operators. In 1955 and 1956, about $92 million was obligated in subsidies for construction of ships. Eight hundred and forty-three ships were built for the Maritime Commission during World War II and were sold to United States citizens at prices of from one-fourth to one-fifth of their replacement cost. These ships were placed in operation by private owners, hauling war cargo at a guaranteed profit during World War II and Korea, with risk covered by Government insurance. The subsidized operator sometimes repays the Government part of the subsidy but only from a portion of his profits exceeding 10 percent on the investment. In addition to construction subsidies, operating subsidies are paid. During the period 1947 to 1952, the operating subsidy was estimated at $203 million. The subsidy, payable from January 1953 through June 1955, was estimated at $165 million and, despite these payments, it was estimated that an additional $112 million was still owed to ship operators. It is contended that the principal justification for Government subsidies to American shipping is to enable American ships to compete with foreign shipping and provide adequate shipping for defense purposes.

The extensive airline operation in the United States and American-owned airlines operated throughout the world, were brought into being through Government subsidy programs. From 1954 through fiscal year 1958, subsidy payments to air carriers are estimated at $216,845,250.

The railroad system of the United States was subsidized primarily through land grants from the Federal Government and States, amounting to approximately 183 million acres. It has been estimated that the total amount of public aid given to railroads to promote construction amounts to $1,282,000,000. In addition, since 1932, loans on very favorable terms have been made to railroads, and there is under discussion at the present time a new federally subsidized railroad program for the construction of railroad rolling stock by the Federal Government to be leased to railroad companies under highly favorable conditions.

The oil and gas industry and most mining industries are subsidized through a special depletion allowance for tax purposes. This allowance varies from 27.5 percent on oil and gas to 5 percent on brick and tile clay, gravel, stone, and so forth. It has been estimated that these depletion allowances result in tax revenue loss for all minerals of about $1 billion per year. It is estimated that the total revenue loss for oil and gas depletion allowances over the last 7 years may approximate $5 billion. The necessity for special depletion allowances is argued on the basis of needed incentives for exploration and the needs of national defense for development of oil, gas, and mineral resources.

Mining interests have also benefited from other Federal subsidy programs. Exploration for new strategic and critical minerals and metals has been stimulated by Government payment of one-half to three-fourths of the cost of drilling. The stockpiling program of the Government has, at times, provided a market price for particular minerals higher than the open market price and thus has created a subsidy for certain producers. The silver mining industry has been subsidized through special legislation since 1878.

Various segments of industry have benefited immeasurably from the Federal Government's surplus property disposal program. Following World War II, it is reported that $15.1 billion worth of surplus property was sold by the Federal Government for $4.1 billion. Certain transactions, involving large industrial installations, such as rubber plants and industrial plants, and so forth, received particular attention when they were sold to private buyers at a fraction of their original cost to the Government.

The Nation's housing program operates as a support to the homebuilding, real estate, and lending industries. The Federal Government has guaranteed housing loans through the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration in excess of $60 billion. Billions of dollars in Federal funds have been invested in mortgage paper through the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Veterans' Administration. The investment of these funds has created a secondary mortgage market and has stimulated the homebuilding, real estate, and lending industries, although it was necessary for funds for these projects to be obtained by the Federal Government through deficit financing.

Since the beginning of World War II, hundreds of billions of dollars have been expended on war materiel produced by industry. Virtually all of these purchases have been on a negotiated basis, under which industry was guaranteed a profit of about 10 percent after all costs were considered. Competitive bidding for defense contracts today is practically nonexistent. When an industrial organization negotiates a contract, its profit level is assured before any work is undertaken.

Minimum wage legislation provides a subsidy for those who, as a result of such legislation, receive a higher wage than they would otherwise. Certain Federal legislation which has been enacted has encouraged the growth of trade unions and has made it easier for organized labor to bargain effectively for higher wages. Labor in several of the larger industries, such as the automobile and steel industries, has obtained wage contracts based on the cost of living and, through this device, has set the pattern for wages in industry, with the result that organized labor is guaranteed an increasing share of the national income in direct relation to the cost-of-living index and national income.

Many of the business and industrial subsidy programs have been devised as defense measures. The cotton program was not established for defense purposes; however, in actual operation it has been of tremendous importance to the Nation's defenses, both in World War II and Korea. Cotton is a commodity which can be stored successfully for long periods of time. The cotton loan program was carrying substantial stocks of stored cotton, at the beginning of World War II and Korea. These reserves were used for defense purposes and had they not been available, our defense efforts would have been seriously hampered.

Against this background of broad government subsidy and support of business, industry, and labor, Life recommends that supports be withdrawn from the cotton program and the cotton industry be left to shift for itself on a free-competition basis. It is obvious that one segment of the economy, agriculture, cannot successfully operate on a free-competition basis when the other major segments of the national economy, labor, business and industry, are subsidized and supported directly and indirectly by protective legislation and a variety of Government programs. Evidence of agriculture's inability to compete is clearly shown in national income figures. During the period 1951 to 1956, the national farm income went down 20.7 percent, while the national nonfarm income went up by 27.6 percent during the same period. In 1952, farm net income was $15.1 billion. It had declined to $11.7 billion by 1957. Net interest income in 1952 was $7.4 billion and rose to $12.7 billion by 1957. Since 1952, the Administration has been aggressively pursuing a program of flexible price supports under which a determined attempt has been made to lower and withdraw support of agricultural prices. At the same time, the administration has been pursuing its hard money policy, which has resulted in a 62.9 percent increase in net interest income to lenders.

Probably United States agriculture could operate on a competitive free enterprise basis more successfully than any other segment of the Nation's economy. Only about 20 percent of the national farm produce is supported. Entire segments of agriculture, such as the poul-

try and meat industry, operate without price supports. Removal of price supports on the five basic commodities, corn, cotton, wheat, rice, and tobacco, would result in economic chaos throughout the agricultural economy, but these repercussions would be slight compared to the tremendous confusion, loss, unemployment, and disruption which would occur if Life's formula of free competition was applied to business, industry, and labor. Such a program would require the abandonment of tariffs; removal of oil and mineral depletion allowances; discontinuance of subsidies to the transportation industries; all rapid tax write-offs would be withdrawn from industry; magazine publishers would be required to bear expense of distribution; the guaranteed housing loan would be ended; the negotiated cost-plus contract would be abandoned; and the American economy as we know it today would be materially changed and, as Life puts it, "thinned down to efficient operators." Such drastic steps are not justified in the case of business, industry, and labor, and neither are they justified in the case of agriculture.

The Federal Government's programs for the cotton industry are not above criticism and are not entirely successful. Nevertheless, the programs of production control and price supports are the most successful yet devised. Programs to increase cotton consumption at home are of value and more should be done to find new uses for cotton. It is necessary that the cotton industry aggressively pursue the foreign market. A dramatic migration is in progress from the farm to the city. Whether it is in the national interest remains to be seen. It should not be unduly accelerated by abandonment of the Federal Government's agricultural programs. Agriculture cannot survive on a free-competition basis in a subsidized and supported business and industrial economy.

Castillo Slaying Brings World Alert; He Is Third Anti-Red Chief Assassinated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article:

CASTILLO SLAYING BRINGS WORLD ALERT; HE'S THIRD ANTI-RED CHIEF ASSASSINATED

(By James E. Warner)

WASHINGTON, August 3.—A worldwide intelligence alert now is underway as a result of the assassination last week of Carlos Castillo Armas, President of Guatemala.

Purpose of the alert is to find out, if possible, "who's next."

President Castillo Armas was the third anti-Communist and pro-United States Latin American chief of state to be killed in the last 18 months. The others were the Presidents of Panama and Nicaragua, both violently anti-Communist, and pro-North American.

Communist connection with the killings of the latter two executives has never been proven, unlike the published pro-Communist rantings of President Castillo Armas' assassin.

READY FOR NEXT ATTEMPT

If the Central Intelligence Agency and other vitally interested bureaus come up with the answer to the question of "who's next?" there will be no publicity. But steps already are being taken to thwart any possible Communist attempt on the life of any other Latin American President.

Some Members of Congress already have taken cognizance of the trio of assassinations and are asking whether, after all, the Communist secret underground is not more efficient in this hemisphere than had been deemed possible. Moscow had sought to make Guatemala the headquarters of its Latin-American subversion department before its literally Moscow-directed government was overthrown by President Castillo Armas.

Two of the three anti-Communist Presidents were killed after President Eisenhower went to Panama last July for a meeting of chiefs of state demonstrating the solidarity of the hemisphere against Communist infiltration.

Predictions that other anti-Communist leaders would be assassinated were made by a former Communist Foreign Minister of Guatemala, Juan Jose Arevalo, now in Santiago, Chile, and published, among other places, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Representative PATRICK J. HILLINGS, Republican, California, close friend of Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, and former chairman of a House committee which looked into Communist infiltration in Latin America, said:

"In some quarters there has been a question as to whether or not the President of Guatemala was killed as the result of a Communist plot. Statements by the former Communist Foreign Minister of Guatemala, Juan Jose Arevalo, openly praising the killer of President Castillo Armas, were made in Santiago.

"In addition, Arevalo, now in exile, has arrogantly told the world that there might be more such attacks indicating that other countries will fall in the same manner in which Guatemala fell: and further indicated that leaders of other free countries might also be the victims of assassins' plots."

Representative DONALD L. JACKSON, Republican, California, was even more blunt, asserting that "it appears that Murder, Inc., has opened a southern branch in the Western Hemisphere." He quoted Mr. Arevalo as hailing Romeo Vasquez Sanchez, the assassin member of President Castillo Armas' bodyguard who was promptly killed for his Communist inspired attack Sanches, said Mr. Arevalo, by his action in killing the President of Guatemala, "enters history as a symbol of the Latin American struggle against those who attempt to transform them into colonies."

AREVALO'S REMARKS

Mr. Arevalo added, in remarks published elsewhere in this country, that:

"Those who tried to sell or lease Guatemala to foreign commercial concerns will fall, one by one, under the terrible judgment of popular vendetta."

"Colonization" and "commercial exploitation" are the Communist keywords, thus far unsuccessful, in attempting to exploit Latin countries for their own imperialistic aims.

Representative JACKSON observed, regarding the foregoing Arevalo statement: "It appears that communism and its zealot agents intend to give any Latin American country which disagrees with the Communist philosophy the blood-purge treatment."

Before the accession of President Castillo Armas after his anti-Communist revolt, the United States Government issued an unusual white paper linking the Communist government in Guatemala directly to Moscow, and traced a shipload of arms, obviously destined for use against neighboring free countries and/or the Panama Canal, to Communist-dominated Poland.

NO OFFICIAL COMMENT

Neither the State Department nor the CIA, charged with intelligence operations outside the United States, would comment officially tonight on what action is being taken in the assassination of President Castillo Armas, over which President Eisenhower has expressed deep personal concern.

It can be stated, however, that intelligence services of the free nations throughout the world, as well as in the Americas, are hard at work to forestall any repetition of the Castillo Armas killing.

Statement by Chairman of Finance Committee of United States Steel Corp. Before Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee is presently conducting public hearings on administered prices and some of the executives of the United States Steel Corp. are currently appearing before the subcommittee.

One of the witnesses appearing is Mr. Robert C. Tyson, chairman of the finance committee of the United States Steel Corp. His testimony is very informative and deals with the cost facts of United States Steel. Since some of the principals could also well apply to other industries and its relation to their national economy, I ask unanimous consent that his statement with exhibits be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COST FACTS OF UNITED STATES STEEL

(By Robert C. Tyson, chairman of finance committee, United States Steel Corp.)

One of the important factors which must have consideration in determining the prices United States Steel seeks to obtain for the products it sells, is the cost of operating the business. In the last two decades, certain unique and alarming cost trends have developed, full understanding of which is quite necessary, I believe, if the inflation problem with which the Nation is confronted is to be solved. These cost trends are by no means peculiar to United States Steel or the steel industry. Virtually all American industries are confronted with them. They are, however, well illustrated by the financial facts of United States Steel, which facts I would like to take a few minutes to display to this subcommittee.

United States Steel has only one continuing source of revenue out of which it must pay all its bills. It is receipts from products and services sold to customers. The biggest cost we incur, as may be noted in exhibits I and II, in providing goods and services to

customers is our employment cost—what we have to pay to or for our employees. In 1956 this 1 cost alone was 39.7 percent of our sales. The next biggest cost was the cost of products and services we have to buy from other people. It amounted to 35.2 percent of sales. The next biggest cost was taxes amounting to a little over 10 percent of sales. Next in size was wear and exhaustion—often called depreciation. Depreciation in a given year represents the allocation to that year of its share of the cost of facilities previously paid for out of savings. The cost was 6.6 percent of sales, but it was unrealistically low as I will explain in a moment. Beyond these costs interest and dividends, representing compensation for savings loaned and savings invested, totaled 4.2 percent of sales. Out of our business last year Government got in taxes about 2½ times what the bondholders and stockholders got; employees got nearly 10 times what bondholders and stockholders got.

The remaining item on our statement of income is called reinvested income and amounted to 4.2 percent of sales—the same as interest and dividends. This is the part of sales receipts used to help provide the additional working capital required by inflation and growth and, with the wear and exhaustion amount, to pay for plant and equipment purchased from others and to pay off debt.

It is in our most major cost that the most disturbing inflation is most readily observed. Ever since just before World War II our employment costs per hour, as you may note in exhibit III (exhibit III, chart, omitted), have been experiencing a continuous high-speed inflation. There is no year in which they have declined. On the contrary this cost has been compounding year by year at the frightening average rate of over 8 percent per annum—a doubling per decade. Last year the increase was 10 percent. Wartime wage inflation is traditional, but such persistent peacetime wage inflation is a new thing in the American economy. We have never had anything like it before. Something new has been added.

The wage inflation underlies all other cost and price inflation. This is because the wage inflation is surprisingly universal and uniform throughout American industry. Of this there is simple statistical proof. Thus all of 22 available, nonoverlapping, hourly wage series compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics rose markedly from 1940 to 1956—almost 200 percent on the average, as may be noted in exhibit IV. There were, of course, differences in the rate of change but such differences were not too material. This universality and uniformity of employment cost inflation, plus the fact that in consolidated industry employment cost represents three-quarters or more of all costs, explain why costs other than employment costs tend to parallel the inflation in employment costs. The products and services currently purchased from others, the plant and equipment purchased, the taxes paid—all have embodied in them the paralleling wage inflations. That they actually do so may be readily observed by noting the total cost curve in exhibit III (omitted). For each dollar that our employment costs increase, our total costs increase over $2. Economic arithmetic tells us that the new cost-push inflation can never be terminated until inflation in the biggest and most basic cost—employment cost—is terminated.

Another disturbing feature of the wage inflation is what appears to be its almost complete insensitivity to ordinary economic forces. By looking at the chart of our hourly employment costs one would be hard put to tell from it when we entered World War II or when that war ended, when we fought in Korea or when we stopped fighting, when business was good or when it was not so good, when the money supply was expanding or when it was not, when population growth was slow or when it speeded up, when wages and prices were subject to control or when they were not. Such inexorability of cost-push inflation must find explanation in changing American institutions rather than in altering economic conditions. Thus inflation has been institutionalized in America.

In this framework of institutionalized cost-push inflation it is apparent that industry must seek to secure at least cost-covering price increases from customers—or face possible insolvency. United States Steel has, accordingly, since the close of World War II advanced its prices from time to time within competitive limits indicated by long-range considerations.

The price increases have not, however, been sufficient to widen the profit margin. Thus in emerging from the great depression United States Steel made a profit in 1940 of 9.5 cents per dollar of sales—a figure often exceeded in predepression years but never equalled since 1940, as is disclosed in exhibit I. The nearest approach to the 1940 rate was in 1955 when United States Steel earned 9 cents per dollar of sales while operating at a 91-percent rate in contrast to the 83-percent rate in 1940. Last year our income was 8.2 cents per dollar of sales and the operating rate was 85 percent.

It also should be noted that although our costs per employment-hour in 1956 were 284 percent greater than in 1940, the prices of finished steel mill products, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, were only 138 percent greater. The difference between this very substantial increase in total costs per hour and the relatively smaller increase in prices has been absorbed by United States Steel over the years through greater efficiency of operation, intensive cost reduction, the expenditure of billions of dollars on modernization and improvement of our facilities and partly by the previously noted decline in the profit rate.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to exhibit V (exhibit V, chart, omitted) and its supporting data in exhibit Va in order to warn against certain fallacious statistical comparisons. In this diagram you will note the ever-rising employment costs per hour which are compared, on the basis 1940=100, with the lesser rises in wholesale prices and steel prices. The heights of the bars across the bottom of the chart as measured by the scale on the right show United States Steel's income percent of sales for each year beginning with 1940. Please note that during the war period both our employment costs and wholesale prices in general rose rapidly, both increasing by over 50 percent from 1940 to 1946. On the other hand steel prices under regulation were not permitted to rise at all until 1945, and in 1946 were only 12 percent greater than in 1940. Profits were squeezed down to a low in 1944 of less than 3 percent of sales despite a 95 percent operating rate. In no prewar year had United States Steel ever operated at 90 percent or more and experienced an income percentage of less than 14 percent. Owing to this wartime factor steel product prices in 1946 and 1947 relative to wholesale prices in general were more out of line on the downside than they have been within the past half century for which we have records. A postwar readjustment was absolutely required if the steel industry was to escape gradual disintegration. To select as a base year one of these most abnormal years as a standard against which to compare present-day wage-price-profit relationships would obviously represent resort to extreme abuse of statistical methods.

In judging the cost-profit relationships of United States Steel there is another consideration of vital importance to economic health which is gradually coming to be understood by more people. I refer to the fact that income nowadays, especially for companies heavily invested in long-term facilities, must perform a new and additional functnon over and beyond its traditional role. This new function is to cover after taxes the depreciation deficiency which exists before taxes.

I start with the indisputable fact that, because of inflation, to construct or purchase new plant or equipment today costs a vastly gerater number of dollars than the plant or equipment being replaced cost 20 or more years ago. Yet the depreciation on these old plants is required for tax purposes to be based on the relatively small number of dollars paid for them long ago. As a result the depreciation currently allowed is quite insufficient to equal what has to be paid out when the old facilities are modernized or replaced. In the case of United States Steel and for many other companies, the addition to regular depreciation on old facilities of 5-year amortization on that portion of new facilities certified as necessary for the national defense has approximated temporarily a truer total of wear and exhaustion on all facilities based on current dollars. The inclusion of 5-year amortization in United States Steel's costs has not resulted, as some of our critics have misleadingly contended in the past, in an overstatement of wear and exhaustion, realistically considered. It has served instead to prevent a more serious understatement of depreciation cost.

Few people realize the extent of the deficiency in depreciation. United States Steel has calculated the number of dollars of wear and exhaustion that would have been needed in each year since 1939 to equal in each year's dollars the portion of the buying power originally expended which was used up in the year's production.

In every year since 1939, as shown in exhibit VI (exhibit VI, chart, omitted), the wear and exhaustion recorded—including amounts not allowed for tax purposes shown on the chart as accelerated depreciation for the years 1947 to 1952—failed to equal that needed for recovery of buying power. The 17-year aggregate deficiency was $904 million. The Federal income tax paid, as a result of treating this deficiency and the accelerated depreciation as income for tax purposes, aggregated $608 million, or 22 percent of the taxes paid. The $608 million for United States Steel and analogous amounts for all other companies, big and little, may be regarded as the hidden taxation of capital as it turns over through depreciation or, alternatively, as a hidden increase in the tax rate on true income. From the latter viewpoint it is highly inequitable, because it results in a higher rate for those industries or companies which require relatively heavier investment in longer term facilities than the average for all industry.

Short of correction of the tax injustice the depreciation deficiency is destined to become more serious. Thus United States Steel's wear and exhaustion recorded for 1956 was $278 million, or about $67 million short of the $345 million needed for buying power recovery. Included in recorded wear and exhaustion is $140 million of 5-year amortizatiton which will decline and virtually disappear after 1958.

As that happens the depreciation deficiency will actually increase and income will seemingly increase. Since taxes will increase by over half the decline in amortization, a curious and serious situation will result: At the very time that the business appears to have greater income the cash with which to conduct it is diminished; and cash is what is required to cover the ever-mounting costs, to supplement the inadequate depreciation permitted, and to meet the expanding working capital requirements in a period of continuing cost inflation. The prospect is that the portion of reported income that must be regarded as "phantom" income,

because it is required merely to maintain the business under conditions of continuing inflation, will increase.

As basic costs continue to be forced upward management's problem becomes especially acute with respect to covering the depreciation deficiency because it takes $2, either from cost reduction or from customers in the prices they pay, to yield $1 toward meeting the depreciation deficiency. This is because tax law refuses to treat the depreciation deficiency as a cost. Thus I have just noted the prospective disappearance of $140 million of amortization from our recorded wear and exhaustion. If such amortization had not been available in 1956, United States Steel's depreciation deficiency would have been increased from about $67 million to about $175 million. Such a deficiency is equivalent to more than $6 per ton of finished steel shipped in 1956, and to have $6 per ton after taxes requires $12 per ton in the price of steel.

I am sure that the more one studies this inflation-wrought deficiency in depreciation the more convinced he will become that part of what is conventionally labeled as income cannot be regarded as income in the former and traditional sense because it is actually required to cover realistic depreciation cost if the company is just to keep even, let alone expand. This in turn means that he who would inveigh against a reported profit margin, which is already low when compared with margins in past years of similar operating rates, had better think twice about it lest he find himself in reality demanding that the Nation's job-creating tools of production be eroded away and the incentive to provide new ones undermined.

While on this matter of profit size I should briefly mention another statistical fallacy to be avoided in measuring its historical trend. It is the use of a so-called percent return on investment. The point is, of course, that owing to accounting practices and tax laws the properties acquired long ago are recorded in an entirely different kind of dollar than is the present-day income. Moreover, the expedient of 5-year amortization has served still further to bring down the recorded net book values of properties. Today's income in cheapened in dollars cannot properly be compared with the smaller number of bigger dollars paid for things 20 or more years ago. The ratio records the speed of inflation as much as it does the return on investment. Its use for measuring historical trends is therefore denied. Its only significant use might be to compare one industry or company with another at the same time. Even that use of the percent return on net assets is impaired by the fact that the extent to which particular companies or industries are required to be heavily invested in long-term assets varies over a wide range. The longer lasting the assets the more understated the books assets are in terms of present-day dollars comparable with present-day income dollars. The steel industry is more heavily invested in such long-term assets than most other industries. Accordingly its income percent of net assets should be much higher than for most other industries if it is realistically to be earning at an equivalent rate of return on investment. This, however, is not true of the steel industry's rate of return on net assets.

Thus the First National City Bank of New York has compiled from published reports the percent return on net assets for 41 manufacturing industries in 1956. The range of rates among the various industries are shown in exhibit VII (exhibit VII, chart, omitted). The average rate for all industries was 13.9 percent. The average rate for the iron and steel industry was also 13.9 percent. There were 16 industries having as high or higher rates, ranging up to 22.4 percent, and 24 industries with lesser rates, ranging down to 6.3 percent. The evidence is that the steel industry earnings by this measurement are just about average, even without taking into consideration the qualifications I have mentioned with respect to the use of this kind of comparison. With those in mind it is obvious that the steel industry earnings are subaverage. If the steel industry book investment figures were adjusted to present-day dollars, and if the income were adjusted to take account of the depreciation deficiency, the rate of return would then calculate out to less than the lowest rate shown for these 41 industries.

A more realistic measurement of profit propriety is to compare the stock market valuation of the facilities on which the profit is earned with what it nowadays would cost to reproduce those facilities. United States Steel's common stock, selling at about $70 a share, puts a market valuation of not over $80 on a ton of integrated ingot capacity. Yet we know that it costs a minimum of $300 per ton to create brand new completely integrated ingot capacity. Profits or the prospect thereof would obviously have to be greater than at present to make it attractive to invest venture capital in a new integrated steel producing enterprise as against putting the money, for example, in tax exempt bonds. It is in fact quite probable that a truly objective analysis of profit margins available from steel producing might justify the concern expressed from time to time in past years by congressional committees about the adequacy of future steel supplies for a growing America.

I now would like to address myself briefly to two matters I believe to be of both widespread public interest and public misconception. First is the responsibility involved in absorbing wage increases without cost-covering price incerases; and, second, is the matter of financing expansion and other capital requirements through reinvestment of income and recourse to the capital markets.

With regard to the question of absorbing cost increases it often is stated, or at least implied, that the absorption can be out of profits. This at best is only a part truth, for 52 percent of the cost increase, which is not offset by price or efficiency increases, comes directly out of Federal income taxes. The balance of the cost increase then has to be met either by reduction of dividends or by reduction in the purchasing of things for which reinvested income is spent—that is, for needed added working capital and the purchase of new tools of production. The question thus really comes down to whether buyers of steel products shall pay for the higher costs of producing it, or whether they are to be subsidized out of the Government's tax revenues, out of stockholders' dividends, or out of moneys used in providing the Nation's plants and facilities.

How this would actually work out can be readily shown by a brief reference to the financial facts of United States Steel. Both costs and prices in 1956 were greater than in 1955. What would have happened if prices in 1956 had been held to the 1955 level? The answer is shown in the following table:

United States Steel's results in 1956

[Dollars in millions]

	Actual	At 1955 selling prices	Decrease
Receipts from customers	4,229	3,899	330
Disposed of as follows:			
Costs other than taxes on income	3,550	3,550	
Taxes on income	331	159	172
Dividends	170	190	158
Income reinvested	178		
Total	4,229	3,899	330

Thus, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, steel prices in 1955 averaged 7.8 percent less than they did in 1956. Taking that percentage off of our 1956 sales would reduce them and the tax base by $330 million. This would cause a drop in our income taxes from $331 million to $159 million, thus more than cutting them in half. There would also be a drop in our dividends, in our income reinvested, or in both from a total of $348 million to $190 million, that is, from 8.2 percent of sales to 4.9 percent. If profits were to continue to shrink at this pace it would be little more than another year before they were entirely wiped out, and all income taxes with them. After that the Treasury would have to look elsewhere for taxes, stockholders would be entirely without dividends, industries supplying us with tools of production would have to look elsewhere for orders to replace those lost from us, deterioration in the tools of production would supersede the modernization and expansion out of which comes increased productivity, the jobs of our own employees would become endangered, no one would lend money to the industry, and certainly no one would buy new stock in it—and, finally and ironically, the price of steel, after this brief interruption, would again have to march upward at the cost inflation rate just to keep on breaking even. So the technical answer to whether rising costs can be absorbed without price increase is, "Yes—for some companies for a brief and disastrous period." But I submit that there is no good purpose served in so doing. The evil in this matter is the basic cost inflation; once it has happened the alternatives are to try to keep productive America functioning with cost-covering price increases, or to head it towards the insolvency that no one really wants.

I must add one word of caution. We are quite accustomed to having our critics rework our figures to suit a self-serving purpose. Thus, a calculated payroll increase, forgetting all the other employment cost increases that attend it, and completely ignoring the fact that all other costs move right along up with the employment cost increases, is sometimes compared with the gross increase in revenue resulting from a price increase. I suppose the basic pretense is that the only justified price increase is one which yields just enough to cover an unearned payroll increase. This flies in the face of the truth established by a decade and a half of unrelenting experience—a truth that cannot be assailed in view of the record: All costs move upward reflecting the widespread underlying wage inflation. Only on an unwarranted and unstated assumption is it proper to compare revenue resulting from product price increases with wage increases gained for the members of one union alone. This assumption is that no other employees elsewhere in the economy are to enjoy similar wage increases, so that no increases of others would be reflected in our purchased products and services, the plants and equipment we buy, and the taxes we pay. It is not, shall I say, a responsible assumption.

I come finally to the matter of financing new capital requirements out of reinvested income and through the capital markets. I think there is a good deal of public misconception about the matter and so I would like to get a few perspective-giving facts on the record.

First, I would like you to note that according to data regularly published each month in Economic Indicators, prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers, an average of 53 percent of profits after taxes for all corporations has been paid out in dividends over the past 7 years, the balance being reinvested income as I describe it. The corresponding percentage for United States Steel is 51 percent. In short, United States Steel's decisions in this respect appear to follow closely the decisions of corporate America as a whole. There is nothing unique or especially interesting about this policy of United States Steel as such. It should be

noted that not all of the 49 percent of United States Steel's income reinvested was available for modernization and growth, since a substantial and growing part of it had to be used to make good the deficiency of depreciation I have described.

Next, I supply to you in exhibit VIII a tabulation showing for 18 steel producers combined, including United States Steel and representing 88 percent of the industry, and for United States Steel alone, the total outside financing done over the past 11 years since the close of World War II. This financing is compared with fixed capital expenditures in excess of the depreciation that was available. The balance of the expenditures financed by reinvested income is also shown. By inspection of this tabulation you may note that the external financing for the combined 18 companies, net of refunding, was equivalent to nearly two-thirds of the fixed capital expenditures in excess of depreciation. In the case of United States Steel such outside financing was equivalent to about one-third of the capital expenditures in excess of the depreciation. The notion that the steel industry relies almost exclusively upon reinvested income as a means of providing for expansion is just another one of those myths founded in fancy rather than in fact.

This is not to suggest for a moment that there is anything wrong with the traditional American business practice of growing by plowing back earnings. Indeed the plowing back of earnings is an essential part of growth—particularly of small business—no matter what other financing methods may be employed. Let me explain. All of you are aware, of course, that there are only three sources of new money available to any company, big or small, to meet the costs of modernizing or expanding its tools of production. All of them represent savings. All of them depend upon the presence or prospect of profit.

The first source of new money for modernization and expansion is reinvested income over and above that required to meet the depreciation deficiency I have mentioned. It is obvious that this source depends upon profits because it is a process whereby the owners of a business forego immediate dividends in favor of reinvesting part of the earnings in their business. During the past two decades of cost inflation United States Steel has striven mightily to maintain its modest prewar profit margin, and in this endeavor it has not been entirely successful, as I have noted. There are only two ways to maintain a profit margin in a period of cost inflation. One is to keep costs as low as possible through increased efficiency, to accomplish which is a continuing objective of United States Steel. But this has not entirely sufficed so that the other way—increasing prices within limits permitted by competition—has had to be utilized.

The second of the three sources of new money is borrowing. But borrowing is possible only if there is profit and reinvested income. We are confronted by the simple fact that there is limited capacity to borrow, particularly, if it is on top of any existing debt. And certainly one cannot borrow at all unless there is a big enough profit margin to convince bond buyers in wholesale fashion, that the bonds will be paid off at maturity in stride. And unless the bonds can be paid off, constantly increasing borrowing and perpetual indebtedness must be faced, which brings us right back to the necessity of having reinvested income.

I come finally to the sale of stock as a source of new money, and here again, I must point out to you that the feasibility of stock financing hinges on the adequacy of the profit margin. If there are not adequate dividends and reinvested income, the stock cannot be sold in a large enough amount and at a high enough price to avoid seriously diluting the equity of existing stockholders. On the other hand, if there is a good profit margin, there will be reinvested income to spend for modernization and growth and stock can be sold if it is desirable to supplement income reinvested.

I want it clearly understood that no one should decry any of these methods of financing as such. United States Steel has used all of them in the past and may use all of them in the future. But I do hope that I have helped you to understand that none of these methods of financing can provide for the healthy growth of the steel industry, or for any other industry in America, unless there are profit prospects which cover both the payment of dividends attractive to investors and reinvestment income as the company's own contribution of a cushion against adversity and of provision for growth. In short, you can't kill profits and keep progress.

In conclusion, gentlemen, the big basic cost fact affecting United States Steel's financial affairs is the unremitting and rapid rise in employment costs—far beyond the rates of increase in productivity. This appears to be a common denominator of all manufacturing activities with the result that there is a very close and inevitable rise in all our costs per employee-hour. Historically this cost rise got way ahead of prices during World War II. Following that war steel prices have ever since been experiencing the effects of the continuing cost-push. Steel prices have not, however, during the entire period, ever sufficiently restored the prewar cost-price relationships to result in a profit margin, conventionally stated, equal to that of 1940. This is despite the fact that operating rates in many subsequent years have been substantially higher than they were in 1940. Moreover, depreciation as conventionally stated and permissible for tax purposes is, as a byproduct of the inflation, far from realistic—whether we like it or not, it costs a great deal more to replace plant and equipment than is yielded from depreciation and accelerated amortization, when the depreciation is based on prices paid long ago for similar plant and equipment. This means that additional functions of just keeping the company even with the board fall upon what is called income, with the result that only a portion of such income can be regarded as available for the purposes formerly served by income in prewage inflation days. The records of United States Steel cumulatively and convincingly show that as long as nationwide wage inflation continues at rates exceeding the increases in productivity a price inflation will be compelled. By squeezing out profits there could be a brief lull, but prices thereafter would have to reflect directly the rising costs. In the meantime such squeezing out of profits, if adopted and enforced as a national policy for industry in general, would obviously bring about great unemployment. It brings to mind the 1930's, the last time when the American economy had to operate without profits and a period the like of which we all hope will never be repeated.

EXHIBIT I

United States Steel's financial story, 1910–56

[Dollars in millions]

Year of operation	Products and services sold	Employment costs	Products and services bought	Wear and exhaustion	Interest and other costs on debt	Income and other taxes	Income or loss	Preferred stock dividend	Common stock dividend	Reinvested in the business	Percent income of sales
1910	491.8	175.0	157.1	32.5	30.5	9.2	87.4	25.2	25.4	36.8	17.8
1911	431.7	161.6	146.3	27.8	31.1	9.6	55.3	25.2	25.4	4.7	12.8
1912	533.9	189.6	214.3	33.4	32.6	9.8	54.2	25.2	25.4	3.6	10.2
1913	560.8	207.5	191.6	34.0	33.3	13.2	81.2	25.2	25.4	30.6	14.5
1914	412.2	162.7	153.7	26.6	33.2	12.6	23.4	25.2	18.2	[1] 17.0	5.7
1915	523.7	177.3	189.8	34.3	32.8	13.6	75.9	25.2	6.4	44.3	14.5
1916	902.3	263.9	265.3	43.0	32.0	26.6	271.5	25.2	44.5	201.8	30.1
1917	1,284.6	347.9	345.9	53.3	31.0	252.3	234.2	25.2	91.5	107.5	17.5
1918	1,344.6	453.0	339.2	98.8	30.7	297.6	125.3	25.2	71.2	28.9	9.3
1919	1,122.6	479.7	264.5	89.9	30.1	81.6	76.8	25.2	25.4	26.2	6.8
1920	1,290.6	581.8	413.6	80.0	29.3	76.2	109.7	25.2	25.4	59.1	8.5
1921	726.0	333.2	240.9	40.1	28.5	37.7	36.6	25.2	25.4	[1] 14.0	5.0
1922	809.0	323.4	334.7	47.1	28.4	35.8	39.6	25.2	25.4	[1] 11.0	4.9
1923	1,096.5	470.4	377.4	56.9	28.0	55.1	108.7	25.2	29.2	54.3	9.9
1924	921.4	443.6	266.9	53.2	27.3	45.3	85.1	25.2	35.6	24.3	9.2
1925	1,022.0	458.2	333.6	61.6	27.1	50.9	90.6	25.2	35.6	29.8	8.9
1926	1,082.3	469.3	346.7	70.4	26.8	52.4	116.7	25.2	35.6	55.9	10.8
1927	960.5	412.7	323.1	64.4	26.1	46.3	87.9	25.2	49.8	12.9	9.2
1928	1,005.3	402.9	338.4	73.2	25.7	51.0	114.1	25.8	49.8	39.1	11.4
1929	1,097.4	410.2	350.0	69.8	14.9	53.0	197.5	25.2	63.8	108.5	18.0
1930	828.4	371.7	294.8	63.8	5.6	48.1	104.4	25.2	60.4	18.8	12.6
1931	548.7	258.4	187.2	50.4	5.5	34.2	13.0	25.2	37.0	[1] 49.2	2.4
1932	387.7	138.5	141.8	41.6	5.3	31.7	[1] 71.2	20.7	----------	[1] 91.9	[1] 24.7
1933	375.0	167.9	161.4	45.3	5.2	31.7	[1] 36.5	7.2	----------	[1] 43.7	[1] 9.7
1934	420.9	214.8	140.5	46.4	5.1	35.8	[1] 21.7	7.2	----------	[1] 28.9	[1] 5.1
1935	539.4	253.9	191.2	49.8	5.0	38.4	1.1	7.2	----------	[1] 6.1	.2
1936	790.5	339.0	287.5	50.0	4.9	49.6	50.5	50.4	----------	.1	6.4
1937	1,028.4	447.1	342.6	64.1	5.1	74.6	94.9	58.5	8.7	27.7	9.2
1938	611.1	294.4	228.3	50.3	8.3	37.5	[1] 7.7	25.2	----------	[1] 32.9	[1] 1.3
1939	846.0	386.5	293.5	63.4	9.3	52.2	41.1	25.2	----------	15.9	4.9

Footnotes at end of table.

United States Steel's financial story, 1910–56—Continued

[Dollars in millions]

Year of operation	Products and services sold	Employment costs	Products and services bought	Wear and exhaustion	Interest and other costs on debt	Income and other taxes	Income or loss	Preferred stock dividend	Common stock dividend	Reinvested in the business	Percent income of sales
1940	1,079.1	464.3	358.3	72.6	13.6	68.1	102.2	25.2	34.8	42.2	9.5
1941	1,622.3	628.3	604.6	98.6	6.0	168.6	116.2	25.2	34.8	56.2	7.2
1942	1,863.0	782.7	673.4	128.2	6.2	201.3	71.2	25.2	34.8	11.2	3.8
1943	1,972.3	912.9	730.6	134.0	6.3	125.9	62.6	25.2	34.8	2.6	3.2
1944	2,082.2	957.2	814.4	130.0	5.0	105.8	60.8	25.2	34.8	.8	2.9
1945	1,747.3	825.5	670.1	123.4	3.5	66.8	58.0	25.2	34.8	[1] 2.0	3.3
1946	1,496.1	704.5	560.4	68.7	4.8	69.1	88.6	25.2	34.8	28.6	5.9
1047	2,122.8	903.6	830.4	114.0	2.5	136.2	127.1	25.2	45.7	56.2	6.0
1948	2,481.5	1,035.7	1,008.9	146.0	2.4	158.9	129.6	25.2	52.2	52.2	5.2
1949	2,301.7	945.9	885.7	119.7	2.3	182.2	165.9	25.2	56.1	84.6	7.2
1950	2,956.4	1,179.4	1,118.8	143.9	2.2	296.6	215.5	25.2	92.7	97.6	7.3
1951	3,524.1	1,374.5	1,327.9	162.1	2.0	473.3	184.3	25.2	78.3	80.8	5.2
1952	3,137.4	1,322.1	1,307.6	176.9	1.9	185.3	143.6	25.2	78.3	40.1	4.6
1953	3,861.0	1,569.2	1,418.7	236.6	2.1	412.3	222.1	25.2	78.3	118.6	5.8
1954	3,250.4	1,387.0	1,134.3	261.8	5.2	266.7	195.4	25.2	85.5	84.7	6.0
1955	4,097.7	1,614.9	1,355.2	285.2	9.1	463.2	370.1	25.2	122.9	222.0	9.0
1956	4,228.9	1,681.0	1,487.5	277.6	7.7	427.0	348.1	25.2	144.9	178.0	8.2

[1] Deficit.

NOTE.—The data are in some respects necessarily approximate, and are based on the yearly earnings reported annually to stockholders without adjustment for surplus charges and credits except that the years 1942 and 1943 reflect renegotiation settlements made in the succeeding years. For example, taxes are as accrued before adjustments. Employment costs include pensions and social security taxes and, beginning with 1949, also include payments for insurance and other employee benefits.

EXHIBIT II.—*United States Steel Corporation, consolidated statement of income, 1956*

	Million dollars	Percent of	
		Sales	Costs
Products and services sold	4,228.9	100.0	
Costs:			
Employment costs	1,681.0	39.7	43.3
Products and services bought	1,487.5	35.2	38.3
Wear and exhaustion of facilities	277.6	6.6	7.2
Interest and other costs on debt	7.7	.2	.2
Income and other taxes	427.0	10.1	11.0
Total	3,880.8	91.8	100.0
Income	348.1	8.2	
Dividends:			
On preferred stock	25.2	.6	
On common stock	144.9	3.4	
Total	170.1	4.0	
Income reinvested in business	178.0	4.2	

EXHIBIT IV

Average hourly earnings, 22 industry groups,[1] 1956 as a percent of 1940

Industry groups:	1956 index 1940=100
Blast furnaces, steel works and rolling mills	299.76
Primary smelting and refining of nonferrous metals	309.62
Automobiles	252.14
Ship and boatbuilding and repairing	255.44
Canning and preserving	330.53
Apparel and other finished textile products	264.71
Pulp, paper and paperboard mills	314.50
Petroleum refining	272.35
Tires and inner tubes	262.23
Metal mining	315.07
Anthracite	284.63
Bituminous—coal	318.23
Crude-petroleum and natural-gas production	281.50
Nonmetallic mining and quarrying	338.03
Local railways and bus lines	269.23
Wholesale trade	271.99

Average hourly earnings, 22 industry groups, 1956 as a percent of 1940—Continued

Industry groups—Continued	1956 index 1940=100
General merchandise stores	266.67
Food and liquor stores	305.61
Automotive and accessories dealers	285.71
Hotels, year-round	302.94
Laundries	244.76
Cleaning and dyeing plants	258.20
Average	286.54

Average deviation—23.2 points or 8.1 percent.

[1] Source: U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

EXHIBIT V–A.—*Employment costs per hour, prices and profits, 1940–56*

Year	Index 1940=100				
	United States Steel (per employee hour)		Wholesale price index [1]	Finished steel mill product prices [2]	United States Steel income as a percent of sales
	Employment costs	Total costs			
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	9.5
1941	109.1	124.3	111.2	100.4	7.2
1942	121.0	131.6	125.6	100.6	3.8
1943	128.1	127.3	131.1	100.7	3.2
1944	128.4	138.9	132.3	100.7	2.9
1945	142.1	138.1	134.6	103.1	3.3
1946	152.2	144.5	154.0	112.2	5.9
1947	165.4	173.6	188.6	130.8	6.0
1948	183.7	198.2	204.3	148.8	5.2
1949	190.9	204.8	194.1	161.1	7.2
1950	218.3	241.1	201.8	160.2	7.3
1951	237.5	274.3	224.7	182.8	5.2
1952	260.7	280.5	218.4	186.8	4.6
1953	277.1	305.4	215.5	201.0	5.8
1954	283.4	307.0	215.9	209.7	6.0
1955	318.2	349.1	216.6	219.5	9.0
1956	350.0	384.1	223.7	238.0	8.2
Average annual rate of change compounded:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
1940–46	7.3	6.3	7.5	1.9	
1946–56	8.7	10.3	3.8	7.8	
1940–56	8.1	8.8	4.2	5.6	

[1] All commodities—U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
[2] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

EXHIBIT III.—*Steel industry capital expenditures versus financing, 1946–56, eighteen companies representing 88 percent of steel capacity in 1957*

[Dollars in millions]

	18 companies		United States Steel	
	Amount	Percent of property expenditures met by new money	Amount	Percent of property expenditures met by new money
Property expenditures	$8,305.5		$3,003.2	
Met by wear and exhaustion	4,628.7		1,992.5	
Met by new money	3,706.8		1,010.7	
Borrowing	$2,441.6		$362.1	
Sale of stock	462.0		29.7	
Total	2,903.6		391.8	
Less: Refinancing	545.3		37.0	
Outside financing	2,358.3	62.6	354.8	35.1
Property expenditures met by reinvestment	1,408.5	37.4	655.9	64.9
Property expenditures met by new money	3,706.8	100.0	1,010.7	100.0

Source: Annual reports of companies, Moody's Investors Service, Standard & Poor's Corp.—Standard Corporation Descriptions.

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Appendix

Tribute to Leadership of American Labor Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in an address before the annual convention of the New York State CIO in New York City last Friday, Gov. Averell Harriman paid a deserving tribute to the leadership of the American labor movement for standing firm against racketeers trying to exploit the working men and women of the country, and for working through the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee to put their own house in order.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Governor Harriman's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR AVERELL HARRIMAN AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NEW YORK STATE CIO, COMMODORE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 9, 1957

Gov. Averell Harriman said today: "It is intolerable that hoodlums and racketeers, in the guise of trade unionists, shall be permitted to exploit working men and women of New York State."

Speaking at the annual convention of the New York State CIO, Governor Harriman said:

"There is no room for these elements in American life. I know you join with me in the determination to root them out.

"The position of the AFL–CIO on the issue of racketeers is plain. Its constitution evinces no words. It specifically establishes that 'it is a basic principle of the federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining effort of communism, fascism or other totalitarian agencies.' The ethical practices code of the AFL–CIO has defined this section in this way: 'Under this constitutional provision there is no room within the federation or any of its affiliated unions for any person in a position of leadership or responsibility who is a crook or a racketeer.'

"I have talked with George Meany about this, and more than a year ago, I met with members of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee. I told them then they could count upon me and the State government to give full support to their objectives.

"I salute George Meany and the other leaders of labor who are working vigorously to wipe out these parasites.

"In addition, we've got to get at those unprincipled employers who do business with the racketeers in order to keep legitimate trade unions out of their plants. And we've got to root out the phony labor relations consultants who negotiate 'sweetheart' agreements to perpetuate sweatshops.

"In doing this, we will be protecting and strengthening the legitimate trade union movement that has helped raise the standard of living and well being of our workers and their families and helped bring our Nation to the highest level of prosperity ever known on this earth.

"Here in New York, the AFL–CIO committee on Puerto Rican affairs is working to protect newcomers from exploitation. While I was in Puerto Rico recently, I discussed these problems with the Governor of the Commonwealth, and I was glad to learn that he and his government are prepared to help us any way they can.

"I commend you for what you are doing, and you can be sure you will have the fullest cooperation from the State government.

"But there is more to be done by the State. Unions are not law enforcing agencies. I am appointing a group of outstanding citizens to consider and recommend the manner in which the State can play a more effective role in protecting the public interest and the legitimate trade union movement by ridding our State of racketeers. This committee wil consult with all State and city agencies involved, as well as your unions and responsible employers.

"In addition, your unions can be helped in your efforts, if certain Federal administrative regulations which now serve as protective weapons to racketeer locals are changed. A regulation of the National Labor Relations Board provides that a contract between any union—even a racket union—and an employer is a bar to the election of another union in the plant. This is not part of the national labor relations law. It is an administrative ruling of the Board. This is a hindrance to efforts of your legitimate locals to break the grip of racketeers and certainly should be changed."

Discussing the civil-rights bill in Congress, Governor Harriman said, "The position of the Democratic Party of New York State is clear. Every single Democrat in the Congress from New York voted for the bill that passed the House. Unhappily, when the bill reached the Senate, the President of the United States expressed doubt as to his position on certain important provisions. As a result the enemies of the bill were quick to exploit the advantage handed them by the President's faltering confusion. Senators from both parties joined in watering the bill down. I only hope that it is still possible to stengthen the bill before its final passage by Congress. Regardless of what happens to this bill, the Democratic Party of New York State will continue its unwavering fight for full and effective civil rights for all the citizens of our country.

"In the meantime it is more vital than ever that we here in New York continue to press forward in eliminating discrimination in our State. When I became governor, revitalization of SCAB was one of my principal objectives. And, I am gratified to say that, despite the refusal of Republican legislative leaders to give the commission the additional powers and funds it needs, we have made substantial progress in the past 2½ years.

"We have extended the authority of the State Commission Against Discrimination to cover all publicly assisted housing including FHA and VA housing. We have a new and vigorous chairman of SCAD who has been working closely with you and with industry. I want to thank you for your action in setting up a labor advisory committee which has been so helpful in working with the commission. With your cooperation and that of industry, the commission has made important gains against discrimination not only in employment, but in promotions and upgrading.

"Our progress is shown by the fact that more complaints have been filed with the commission in the first 6 months of this year than in any previous full year with the exception of 1956. This doesn't mean that acts of discrimination are becoming more prevalent in our State. It does demonstrate that our citizens are becoming more fully aware that this administration has made the commission a more effective instrument for enforcing out antidiscrimination laws. Our people are more and more confident of SCAD's willingness and ability to halt discriminatory practices—and if this be zeal, let's have more of it.

"In other areas we have brought new vision to State government in advancing the welfare of all our citizens.

"For the first time, we have passed legislation to protect the consumer who buys on time from exploitation and gouging. And that means most of our families.

"Our charter for the aging has achieved national recognition as a practical program for assisting elderly citizens to continue to fulfill active and satisfying roles in their communities. We have been concentrating upon the placement of older workers in productive jobs. And we are breaking down the prejudices against hiring older people. During the past year, 1 out of every 4 workers placed in a job by the State employment service was over 45 years old.

"Despite the high level of business activity and general prosperity, substantial numbers of our families still don't have adequate minimum incomes, and this is true in rural communities as well as in the cities. To help these families help themselves, we have organized an attack on poverty, and this means greater efforts to expand educational opportunities, to extend vocational training and apprenticeship, to rehabilitate the physical handicapped, and to end discrimination in hiring and job advancements. I ask your support in furthering these practical programs to help eliminate poverty in our State.

"Since I became Governor, there has been the greatest increase in State aid to schools in the history of New York State. We have broadened the opportunity for higher education by tripling the number of Regents' scholarships. In addition, the State university must play its part in taking care of greatly increased numbers of boys and girls coming out of high school, growing numbers of whom are seeking higher education. To play its part, we must expand the State university. I ask your support for the $250 million bond issue for the State university that is coming before the voters this November.

"After bitter controversy, we beat off the efforts of Republican legislators, backed by the real-estate lobbby, to weaken rent controls in New York City. And after nearly 3 years of effort we made some progress this year in closing some of the loopholes in the rent law, but not enough.

"We have discussed the evils of exploitation of Puerto Ricans and other newcomers through low wages. But it is equally vicious to exploit them by making them pay exorbitant rents. Today, through the decontrol of phony conversions of apartments, many of our lowest-income families in poor and overcrowded quarters are required to pay a higher rent, on a square-foot basis, than families living in luxury apartments on Park Avenue.

"I think it is shameful that the Republican leaders of the legislature refused to join me in ending this type of exploitation. If the limited powers they grudgingly gave the rent commissioner are not adequate, I will be back this winter for additional legislation. And here again I ask, and I know I will have, your support.

"At the regular session and again at the special session of the legislature, we saw the true colors of the Republican majority on matters directly affecting the workingmen and women of our State. In Washington, the Eisenhower administration has been exposed as the captive of self-seeking, special-interest groups. Make no mistake about it. It's the same with the Republicans in the legislature at Albany.

"In Washington, the tight-money, high-interest policy of the Eisenhower administration is favoring big business at the expense of small business and individuals. The policy was supposed to stop inflation, but it has failed to do this. The cost of living has reached a new high in each of the last 10 months, and it is now about 4 percent higher than a year ago. Under the guise of checking inflation, the Eisenhower administration is applying measures to curtail consumption at a time when we are not fully using our productive capacity. This will not stop inflation, but will create unemployment—which is what they appear to want.

"At Albany in the last 2½ years, we have made important advances in labor legislation. Disability benefits have been increased. Unemployment benefits have been raised and coverage extended. But not enough.

"This year, I proposed we increase maximum benefits under the unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation laws from $36 to $45. The Republican leaders accepted my recommendation, but, as a price, they insisted upon riders which violate long-accepted principles of unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation.

"By attempting to force thousands of small and seasonal employers in the garment and apparel industries, the construction industry, the canning industry, and other seasonal industries to pay disproportionately higher taxes, the Republican bill challenged the sound and proven doctrine that unemployment is a social risk. It singled out as deserving of special punishment the worker who voluntarily quits his job to take another. It opened the way for the unscrupulous employer, out to delay or block payment of benfits to unemployed workers. The Republican bill on workmen's compensation threatened workers injured on the job with time-consuming and costly litigation to collect awards made by the Board.

"At the public hearing I held, representatives of labor from all over the State opposed these bills—without a dissenting voice. And there was substantial opposition from small and seasonal employers.

"I vetoed these bills.

"I then called the legislature back in special session and asked them to pass bills covering what all agreed upon, namely, increasing maximum benefits to $45 a week, and leave all controversial matters to be considered on their merits at the next regular session. Once again, the hypocrisy of their claim to be interested in the welfare of the working people was exposed. They showed they were ready to give increased benefits only if they could take away the rights that working people had gained over the years.

"Now the job ahead of all of us is to see to it that we get an increase in benefits at the next regular session—and make them retroactive to July 1. And there are other improvements we need, such as broadening disability benefits to help in meeting hospital expenses.

"In order to protect our high standards from the unfair competition from low-wage States, we must continue to fight for a national minimum wage of $1.25 an hour. On three occasions, the Republicans in the legislature refused to join me in this demand upon Congress. Employers, as well as labor, should be for this. And all of us in New York—employers and labor—should urge the President and the Congress to repeal those sections of Taft-Hartley which the President himself called union busting. I assure you that as long as I am Governor, there will be no misnamed right-to-work law in New York State. From now on, to make clear what these so-called right-to-work laws really are, I propose that we call them by their proper names—right-to-scab laws."

Reducing the Federal Wasteline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interview between Colonel Sherman and Norman MacDonald over WEEI in Boston on July 14, 1957, on the subject Reducing the Federal Wasteline.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REDUCING THE FEDERAL WASTELINE—INTERVIEW WITH NORMAN MACDONALD

Mr. SHERMAN. In its great survey of the organization and operation of the executive branch of the Federal Government, the Hoover Commission necessarily gave detailed attention to Federal personnel procedures and the civil service system.

Mr. Hoover himself has said that no portion of the Commission's monumental report compares in importance to the section dealing with findings and recommendations in the whole area of how we handle the Government's problem of employing civilians to run its complicated machinery.

Because he has so often been heard to say publicly that control of the cost of Government is lost when control of personnel is lost, it has seemed appropriate to invite to discuss this activity Norman MacDonald, executive director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations.

Incidentally, this month marks the taxpayers' federation's 25th anniversary of vigilant guard mount over Massachusetts tax dollars. Back when the federation was new the State was collecting only $77.5 million to carry on its services; this year Norman MacDonald and his staff are struggling to analyze a maze of figures totaling approximately $400 million. It is not surprising, therefore, that he and his organization are asking the question: "Isn't it time the State slowed down its spending at least long enough to take a look at its obsolete, inadequate, and unfair taxing system?"

Norman, I know you share Herbert Hoover's concern with the people Government must hire to do its business—their number, their conditions of employment, what they are paid while they work, and how much they will get when they retire. Perhaps like the Hoover Commission itself you are unable to translate directly good personnel practices into direct dollar savings; but perhaps also like the Hoover Commission, you see the possibility of even greater benefits than direct and immediate dollar savings.

Mr. MACDONALD. I do, as a matter of fact feel deeply about the whole subject, and very greatly regret the general dismal public apathy toward public personnel, which apart from defense and foreign aid which we still hopefully look upon as temporary necessities, represents the most important element in the cost of what we might call normal government. If we were to include the cost of military personnel and of payments to veterans there we would find the one great reason for high taxes. And we would also find ourselves confronted by a series of problems so complicated as to seem on the surface to be nearly insoluble. Fortunately the Hoover Commission has gone beneath the surface to find a course through the maze of complications.

Mr. SHERMAN. Do I gather, then that you agree with the Hoover Commission from whose report I now quote: "Our task force has found, and we agree, that the Government's personnel on the whole is competent, faithful and, in numerous specialties, distinguished. The greatest weakness is in expert managerial direction. Management needs to be improved at all levels, from the noncareer political appointees and the career administrators down to the first-line supervisors."?

Mr. MACDONALD. I not only agree, but I think I would go one step beyond the report to argue that the mere size of the Federal establishment (and it is indeed gigantic) has had altogether too much attention while the reasons for the growth in size have been largely ignored. It is dramatic, of course, to recall that when the new Federal Government moved into the new city of Washington some years after the Revolution, it carried with it only 143 officers and employees, while currently we have something like 2,300,000 of them. But size all by itself means nothing. A series of controls which may regulate size upon rational bases might mean everything in influencing the cost of Government.

Another thing I might mention in passing as sensible and realistic in approaching the personnel problem is that the Hoover Commission did not fall into the trap which has caught many a distinguished amateur over the years and that it did not suggest that all we need to do is to apply certain business practices and policies in personnel administration to the Federal establishment and we would be out of the fiscal woods. I often have felt that such thinking is folly because no two human enterprises can be further apart in their very natures than the profit drive which makes business operate as well as it does, and the service drive which forces government to operate as badly as it sometimes must.

Mr. SHERMAN. Am I to gather from what you have said that you do not think that governmental operation can be efficient so far as personnel is concerned? I think you rather alarm me.

Mr. MACDONALD. There is no cause for sustained alarm—if the Congress will heed the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. The base upon which these recommendations stands is, as I have already said, one rooted in realism. It is one which recognizes that policies should be fixed and in a sense executed by the party in power, and that continuity in the operation of the Government's manifold services requires

merous skilled, trained, nonpartisan employees whose permanence and conditions of employment are protected by law. These, anyone can see, are two different things requiring two different approaches. In recognizing this fundamental fact, the Hoover Commission has performed a most valuable public service. This double concept of public service has always been difficult to accept in the United States. I suppose the reason is that when we think of civil service we think only of the statutory means we established back in 1883 to regulate the selection, promotion, compensation, and retirement of certain public employees. In our devotion to what has sometimes been an unrealized ideal, and let's face that fact, we have refused to regard the term "civil service" as reasonably embracing all the nonmilitary men and women, whether within or without the statutory classified service. This fairly simple concept is understood in Great Britain and France, for instance, and will be understood here by anyone who will give the Hoover Commission's personnel report more than a cursory reading.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am sure you are right. Certainly I gained from reading the report of what we all think of as our "Civil Service" was originally a device for the recruitment, regulation and protection of appointment to the working force of the Government and only by later reference impinged at all upon the top supervisory and policy-making force.

Mr. MACDONALD. There you have stated what is the heart of the matter. But I think we have deliberately done so only in part. As I read the report, the great contribution of Mr. Hoover and his distinguished associates has been to recommend a change in national thinking—no longer to consider civil-service employees as only the rank and file, but to include in the category senior, well-paid career administrators of exceptional skill and experience for continuing service in our manifold departments and agencies. Salaries would range from $10,000 to a maximum of $17,500 after long, constructive and otherwise outstanding service.

Mr. SHERMAN. As I understand it, that recommendation, if carried out, would attract and hold the finest type of young men and women seeking a successful career in the public service. It might even reduce the tremendously expensive turnover of such employees which now ranges between 25 and 30 percent?

Mr. MACDONALD. Colonel Sherman, I shudder whenever I hear that turnover figure mentioned. It means only one thing to me: that Government, which sorely needs skill, loyalty, imagination and even vision is losing its most competent people at an appalling rate simply because neither the politicians nor the public has been willing to face up to the facts of life in a 20th century United States—as the Hoover Commission has done. Remember, I blame both the politicians and the public, because there is a general acceptance of the enlightened concept of the Hoover Commission that our situation is bound to deteriorate, with more taxes and lessening efficiency among the consequences. Probably I should also include a declining standard of service as well.

Basically, it is the standard of service which concerns me. A high standard, I am convinced, can result only from general understanding of what the Hoover Commission is trying to accomplish. To illustrate what I mean let me once more refer to the British and French civil services, both of which have permanent administrators of high rank. On the one hand, the British offices are world famous for their rigidities, and the French for their incomparable bureaucratic confusion. Neither of these things do we wish to see brought upon us as a consequence of a truly constructive recommendation. I am sorry, however, about the possibility unless your Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report which has performed prodigies of public education goes all out to inform the American people of what they can gain taxwise and in efficient service by the adoption of the recommendations we have been discussing.

Mr. SHERMAN. Right now our cause has the support of a countrywide wave of genuine public interest in how our Government is run and how much it costs. The President's 1958 Federal budget, which establishes a record for peacetime budgets, focused everybody's attention on the size and cost of Government. To go back to your comment on what you described as the double concept of service that has always been difficult to accept in the United States, I would like to point out that the Hoover Commission found that serious confusion did exist between the activities of officials with political responsibilities and the activities of career officials who remain in the Federal service no matter which political party is in power. They found that while career administrators normally have not been asked to actually engage in political battle, they have at times been thrust into the position of having to defend agency policies, programs, and activities. Now obviously a career official should not be asked to take political responsibility for a program nor should political officials be distributed amidst the permanent administrative structure of our career service. So it was to be expected that the Hoover Commission recommended there be this clear delineation between career and noncareer posts, with more career executives at the departmental level to take over the more political and partisan tasks. As I said, right now there seems to be an upsurge of genuine political interest in Government and we can at least hope that Congress will reflect this interest by adopting some of the noncontroversial measures that are waiting for action in Washington.

Pro and Con on Cigarette Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, as is well known, some of the finest tobacco in the entire world is grown in the great Free State of Maryland. Consequently, we Marylanders have a very special interest in all aspects of the tobacco industry. We are also quite proud of the way in which our forefathers who were tobacco growers established a pattern of patriotism, hard work, individual initiative, and responsibility. This tradition, I might add, is still faithfully observed by our tobacco producers of today. With these facts as background, I present an article entitled "Pro and Con on Cigarette Issue," and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The author is the well-known David Lawrence, and the item was printed in yesterday's issue of the Evening Star, of Washington. In his article, Mr. Lawrence discusses the suspicion which has been used as a foundation for much of the misleading propaganda about cigarette smoking, and he indicates that the entire subject should be considered in the light of facts, not misrepresentations through guilt by association. I feel that most Marylanders share his desire to obtain hard, cold, basic facts on this issue, and I recommend his article for the special consideration of this body.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRO AND CON ON CIGARETTE ISSUE—CANCER SOCIETY OFFICIALS SEEN OPPOSED ON CAUSE-AND-EFFECT QUESTION

(By David Lawrence)

Does cigarette smoking really cause cancer of the lung? Scientists are divided on the subject, and evidently there is even a difference of opinion among the directors of the American Cancer Society as to how much actual proof of a cause-and-effect nature had been adduced.

This correspondent wrote 2 weeks ago that the statistics with reference to tobacco and lung cancer may really turn out some day to prove a cause-and-effect relationship, but to date it is only fair to say that no such evidence has yet been produced.

M. R. Runyon, executive vice president of the American Cancer Society, sends me a letter under date of August 9 in which he says that the case against cigarettes as an important cause of lung cancer rests upon a number of studies in the last 20 years which, when added together, form "a most convincing chain of evidence." He points to the report made by seven prominent scientists, described as an independent study group on smoking and health, sponsored by the American Cancer Society and other organizations. This group reviewed all the evidence available and on June 7, declared:

"The sum total of scientific evidence establishes beyond reasonable doubt that cigarette smoking is a causative factor in the rapidly increasing incidence of human epidermoid carcinoma of the lung."

Runyon also quotes from the report of a scientific body in Great Britain which, on June 27 last said:

"Evidence from many investigations in different countries indicates that a major part of the increase (in lung cancer) is associated with tobacco smoking, particularly in the form of cigarettes. In the opinion of the council, the most reasonable interpretation of this evidence is that the relationship is one of direct cause and effect."

This writer did not in his recent dispatch, nor does he now, dispute the right of various scientific groups to bring whatever facts they have gathered to the attention of the public and of Congress, together with any implications or interpretations the American Cancer Society or anybody else may derive from the statistics or the studies.

But it is also a significant fact that Dr. Ian G. MacDonald, director of cancer research of the University of Southern California who is not only chairman of the American Medical Association but is himself a director of the American Cancer Society, said to a congressional committee on July 25:

"Although there is an apparent association between cigarette smoking and lung cancer, a review of the total evidence fails to establish a cause-and-effect relationship. * * *

"In summary, the total evidence here reviewed fails to establish any sound basis on which a causative influence may be assigned to cigarette of cancer of the lung. As in a majority of human cancers, we have at hand an imposing list of predisposing factors, no one of which is of more than ephemeral status. The total problem of cancer in homo sapiens from the standpoint of its basic cause remains as much an impenetrable mystery as in the days of Aesculapius."

The Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service—Leroy E. Burney—in a statement issued on July 12, does not go as far as the American Cancer Society's study

group in claiming that the scientific evidence establishes beyond reasonable doubt that cigarette smoking is a causative factor in lung cancer. Surgeon General Burney says:

"In the light of these studies, it is clear that there is an increasing and consistent body of evidence that excessive cigarette smoking is one of the causative factors in lung cancer."

But the Surgeon General also adds:

"At the same time, it is clear that heavy and prolonged cigarette smoking is not the only cause of lung cancer. Lung cancer occurs among nonsmokers, and the incidence of lung cancer among various population groups does not always coincide with the amount of cigarette smoking.

"The precise nature of the factors in heavy and prolonged cigarette smoking which can cause lung cancer is not known. The Public Health Service supports the recommendation of the study group that more research is needed to identify, isolate, and try to eliminate the factors in excessive cigarette smoking which can cause cancer.

"The Service also supports the recommendation that more research is needed into the role of air pollution and other factors which may also be causes of lung cancer in man."

There was a time when medical men throughtout the country insisted that the public should take its medical advice from them and not from public discussion of controversial aspects of cures as well as alleged causes of various illnesses.

Today, however, mere suspicion and guilt by association through statistics are apparently considered sufficiently convincing to arouse the public to change its habits of life. Just as it is important for all pertinent facts and statistics to be publicized, so it is also important for the dissenting view among scientists and physicians to be presented to the same public.

This writer happens never to have been a smoker, but does not feel it incumbent upon him to help scare other people into changing their habits of life on the basis merely of statistical association or suspicion.

Need for Retention of United States Naval Base at Chaguaramas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the President of the United States has spoken out firmly and clearly in behalf of appropriating the full amount of funds which have now been authorized for the 1958 mutual-security program.

I fully respect, of course, the prerogatives of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. I believe, however, that the President is correct in stating very decisively that the needs of free world security should not be ignored, and that the present proposed budget should not be slashed.

While I am glad to back up the President's position, I want to let it be known, simultaneously, that I feel the United States must, at the same time, speak very frankly to our friends when too much may be asked of us.

A case in point is the proposal of some of our West Indian friends to the effect that the United States should surrender the naval base at Chaguaramas, Trinidad, a base which we secured on a 99-year lease back in 1940. This base has cost us an estimated $100 million. Now, however, we are being asked to kindly move from this base, abandon it, and build it somewhere else, in order that the West Indian Federation, now in the making, can have a capital.

I, for one, am gratified that West Indians are moving steadily toward federation and self-government. But I see no reason why, in this instance, Uncle Sam should dip into the United States taxpayers' pockets to the tune of $100 million and simply writeoff our past expenditure at the base.

We of the United States have gone out of our way to be kind and to be generous. We have asked the taxpayer again and again to sacrifice. We are asking him to sacrifice, still again, in terms of the 1958 Mutual Security budget. But there is a point beyond which generosity becomes folly. There is a point beyond which the desire to make friends becomes a mere habit of squandering money.

I believe that the United Stats Navy is 100 percent correct in its desire to maintain the present base, and I, for one, pledge my full support to it.

I make these comments without any sense of vindictiveness or harsh criticism, but simply as plain, blunt facts.

I believe that the case for our American position was well summed up in a Milwaukee Journal article of August 6. I send it to the desk, along with the text of another Journal article of August 11 and a New York Times article of the same day. I ask unanimous consent that all three of these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of August 6, 1957]

A REQUEST THAT WOULD GOUGE THE UNITED STATES A FEW HUNDRED MILLIONS

Many Americans hailed establishment last year of federation government for most British territories in the Caribbean area. The proposal that the United States surrender a $150-million naval base for a federation capital site is something else again.

The naval base is on Chaguaramas Bay, Trinidad. It was started during World War II. Enclosed by a string of islands, it is considered one of the best naval bases in the world. It is an integral part of the defense system of this country, all the friendly territories in the Caribbean and South America. No other natural site like it is available in the area.

The United States has a 99-year lease, given by Great Britain in 1940, on the base property.

There are 13 major islands or groups of islands in the Caribbean federation. They reach from Jamaica (south of Cuba) through the Greater and Lesser Antilles to Trinidad, off Venezuela.

In these many islands there are plenty of sites for a West Indies federation capital, more central and practical than Chaguaramas Bay. It is interesting to recall that during early negotiations leading to federation no mention was made of Trinidad for a capital. The thinking was that Grenada was the best and most logical capital site. Jamaica was also mentioned.

Now federation leaders and newspapers [illegible] asking Uncle Sam to void his lease, junk [illegible] naval base, build a new one elsewhere—[illegible] all for free, as a gesture of good will [illegible] friendship toward his Caribbean neighbo[illegible]

This plea will leave the overburde[illegible] American taxpayer very cold, indeed. Let [illegible] federation find another capital site. [illegible] someone else make a gesture of good [illegible] for a change, instead of trying to wring [illegible] few more hundred million dollars out of [illegible] United States. And, in this instance, let [illegible] new British West Indies Commonwealth [illegible] tion show a proper appreciation of the f[illegible] that its defense is now being provided ga[illegible] tically without charge by good old Uncle S[illegible]

[From the Milwaukee Journal of Aug[illegible] 11, 1957]

WHY WEST INDIES ASKS UNITED STATES B[illegible] AS GIFT—AND MAY NOT GET IT

(By Patrick Keatley)

LONDON, ENGLAND.—Three million West I[illegible] dians are asking Uncle Sam for a mighty [illegible] birthday present. Its name is Chaguara[illegible] and in cold cash it is worth no less th[illegible] $100 million.

That is the amount that has been inves[illegible] by the United States Navy in its deactiva[illegible] antisubmarine base at Chaguaramas, in [illegible] island colony of Trinidad. Now the W[illegible] Indians want it as the site of their new f[illegible] eral capital.

Next April the 10 colonies which make [illegible] the British West Indias will take a decis[illegible] step toward independence. For three c[illegible] turies they have been ruled from London, b[illegible] now a timetable has been drawn up, setti[illegible] 1962 as the target date for nationhood.

BASE SEEN AS KEY TO PANAMA DEFENSE

The first step is the holding of federal el[illegible] tions next March, and the assembling of t[illegible] first house of representatives at Trinidad [illegible] April. But where will they assemble? Th[illegible] is something that 3 million West Indians [illegible] demanding to know.

And that is what brought their prime [illegible] politicians hot footing it to London for thr[illegible] way talks with the British and the Americ[illegible] The next move, if any, must come fr[illegible] Washington.

But it is not at all easy for Uncle Sam [illegible] move out of a naval base that represent[illegible] huge investment and occupies a key positi[illegible] for the defense of the Panama Canal.

In case of war, Soviet strategy would [illegible] most certainly provide for a blockade of t[illegible] shipping routes through Panama. It [illegible] known that Soviet submarines were being [illegible] fueled at Guatemala 4 years ago, when [illegible] pro-Russian regime was in power there.

MOVE TO ST. LUCIA?

These are points that were stressed in t[illegible] London talks by the two top spokesmen [illegible] the United States Navy—Rear Adm. H[illegible] Collins, Assistant Chief of Naval Operatio[illegible] Logistics Division; and Comdr. George [illegible] Dress, of the office of the Chief of Na[illegible] Operations.

Chief spokesman for the West Indians [illegible] the man generally touted for the office [illegible] Prime Minister when the West Indian fe[illegible] eration comes into being in April. He [illegible] Norman W. Manley, chief minister of t[illegible] colony of Jamaica, who bears a certain phy[illegible] ical resemblance to calypso singer Ha[illegible] Belafonte.

Manley is a persuasive pleader. He fi[illegible] appreciates the United States view that th[illegible] must be at least three bases, as at pres[illegible] to act as pincers in controlling enemy su[illegible] marines. The United States Navy is [illegible] Chaguaramas, Jamaica, and Antigua un[illegible] the 99-year destroyers-for-bases deal of 1[illegible]

SEES BASE AS ONLY POSSIBLE CAPITAL SI[illegible]

Manley says that the smaller island of [illegible] Lucia possesses a splendid natural har[illegible] that would suit the purposes of the Uni[illegible]

States Navy in every way. It could replace Chaguaramas.

But why must the West Indians regain possession of Chaguaramus?

Manley's argument is that this spit of land, jutting out into the Caribbean 6 miles from the town of Port-of-Spain, is the only possible location for a capital. When the Navy bulldozers moved in in the spring of 1942 there were only swamps and tropical forests running down to beaches of golden sand. Today Chaguaramas is a parklike area with well-tended lawns, sweeping roads, and harbor facilities for warships and seaplanes. Since it was deactivated a year ago it has been maintained by a skeleton force of 15 officers and 180 men.

Elsewhere in densely populated Trinidad there is no clear area like this. Steep mountains plunge into the sea and in the narrow valleys the tenement dwellers huddle in close packed wooden huts.

Three million West Indians, says Manley, cannot afford to pay compensation to Uncle Sam. What is wanted, he declares, is an outright gift—an act of imaginative statesmanship.

[From the New York Times of August 11, 1957]

NAVY AIMS TO KEEP BASE ON TRINIDAD—MISSILE TRACKING STATION IS RISING AT CHAGUARAMAS DESPITE OUSTER THREAT

(By Tad Szulc)

CHAGUARAMAS NAVAL BASE, TRINIDAD, August 8.—Confident that it will be able to retain this vital Caribbean naval base, which is also a slice of tropical paradise, the United States is erecting a guided missile tracking station here as a part of its South Atlantic testing range.

Work on the tracking station is in progress on a site of this 18-square-mile reservation studded with tropical growth and surrounded by picturesque bays. The base is 8 miles from Port-of-Spain on Trinidad's northwestern peninsula, which points toward Venezuela across the Gulf of Paria. The work progresses as Trinidad's government and the infant West Indies Federation continue to insist that the United States give up the base so that a new federal capital can be built here. The base is operated by the United States Navy under terms of the 1941 agreement between the United States and Britain in which 50 destroyers were swapped for a 99-year lease on this base and others to the United States.

AIR FORCE INSTALLATION

The missile tracking station is being installed by the United States Air Force, which is completing a network of such facilities along a 5,000-mile range extending from Patrick Air Force Base in Florida to Britain's Ascension Island in the middle of the South Atlantic.

However, the importance of Chaguaramas to United States defense—and to that of the Western Hemisphere—lies primarily in its naval facilities, which for practical purposes cannot be duplicated in this area.

Situated off the coast of South America, Chaguaramas is an anchor point in the United States defensive system of Panama Canal, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic. As such it falls within the scope of plans of the Inter-American Defense Board, which would be just as unhappy as the United States if the base would have to be moved.

In World War II, Chaguaramas was used as staging point for convoys of tankers with oil and fuel from Venezuela and refineries on Aruba, a Dutch island to the west. It could be used for the same purpose in a new emergency.

SUPPORT POINT FOR FLEETS

It is a logistic support point for fleet movements to and from the North Atlantic and to the Panama Canal, and was used in the war as a base for new ships on shakedown cruises. The importance of Chaguaramas as a refueling center was again demonstrated during the Suez crisis, when naval reinforcements were rushed for the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and to the Persian Gulf.

Chaguaramas likewise provides logistic support for vessels rounding Cape Horn on the way to or from the Pacific, as well as for ships operating in the South Atlantic.

One of Chaguaramas' foremost advantages is its natural deepwater harbor which allows cruisers, destroyers, and smaller craft to tie up in base docks, while battleships and aircraft carriers can anchor near shore in a small bay that can easily be closed by antisubmarine nets.

For all these reasons the Navy opposes West Indian demands that it evacuate Chaguaramas. Trinidad's chief minister, Dr. Eric Williams, said in a speech before the legislature here yesterday, that the Navy should find a new base on the island. He said that although the base originally cost more than $100 million, to give it up and build a new one would be a small price for West Indian friendship. He added, that if compensation were to be paid to the United States it would have to be done by Britain, a viewpoint unlikely to command much sympathy in London.

NAVY SAYS SITE IS BEST

The United States Navy contends however, that in the first place, there is no site so naturally suited for a base on Trinidad as Chaguaramas. It says also that to build a new base today would cost at least $350 million.

Installations here include underground fuel storage and underground ammunition dumps in the Tuckers Valley section of the reservation, one of the hemisphere's best seaplane ramps, roads, sewage water systems, and much permanent and temporary housing including a hospital and powerplant.

At a London conference last month with United States and West Indian representatives Britain informally suggested that the Navy give up part of the base, including Tuckers Valley, for the Federation's new capital. But the Navy thinks this is impractical because would leave it only the mountainous section of the reservation and shoreline facilities.

Such a solution would also create a difficult security problem. Under the command of Captain John D. Shea, the base operates now with skeleton garrison of 240 officers and men, including a marine detachment. Their duties are to provide support for visiting vessels and keep the base in shape. In World War II 5,000 men were stationed here, and the Navy says that under mobilization plans Chaguaramas could be returned to fully active status in 48 hours.

The Navy hopes the government and Trinidad politicians will not seek to make too much of an issue of Chaguaramas. A joint commission will soon be appointed to study the matter as a result of the London conference. Meanwhile old and new work is progressing here.

Relations between base personnel and the Trinidad population appear to be excellent. The base employs about 1,000 local workers and has a local payroll of $578,000 annually. This is important for the island's economy, and for this reason it is believed that Trinidadians would be unhappy to see the base moved, politics notwithstanding.

There is also here a fund of goodwill toward the United States, dating from wartime. And Chaguaramas ranks high with Navy personnel as a duty area. It has the scenic beauty of green mountains, blue sea, tall palm trees, banana groves and wild flowers, and manmade comforts that include a lovely beachhouse on Maqueripe Cove, one of the Caribbeans' most striking beaches; a boating club, a hilltop officers club, and sports fields and outdoor movies.

Aside from strategic considerations, men stationed here would be sorry if the United States ever has to leave it.

Comment on United States Foreign Trade Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the St. Louis Post Dispatch for June 14, 1957, contained an article by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on United States foreign trade policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mrs. Roosevelt's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENT ON UNITED STATES FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

(By Eleanor Roosevelt)

DENVER.—I am afraid that too few people in this country fully understand how much the present protectionist backsliding in our foreign-trade policy is playing into the hands of Soviet Russia, which has started an economic and propaganda offensive based on it. In Italy, for instance, the Communist sympathizers have put out a slogan: "The United States is willing to take our sons, but not our goods."

President Eisenhower has endorsed a recent statement by the United States delegation to the U. N., which said, "We could lose this economic contest [with the Russians] unless the country as a whole wakes up to all its implications."

A most interesting fact sheet and a pamphlet called The Returns Are In have been issued by the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc. I wish everyone could see them. The aim of this committee is to expand public interest in the United States tariff trade policy and to stir broad, popular support for a liberalization of that policy.

Trade is important to good will and understanding among the nations of the world. Some of our leading businessmen understand this. But many of us, who have not made a careful study of trade problems, fail to realize that if we wish to sell goods to the rest of the world we must also buy goods from the rest of the world.

Countries like Great Britain and Japan are beginning to trade with Red China and Russia. They are seeking these new markets because they cannot depend on us and they do not think we understand their situation.

We are expanding our field of protective influence tremendously and our own population is growing rapidly. Both facts mean that our foreign trade must grow, also. The fact sheet before me says, "Imports and exports combined should reach well over $30 billion by the end of 1957. Even now, however, 4 million American families are directly dependent on foreign trade."

Those who believed in high tariffs and a system of protection for our infant industries many years ago must revise their thinking. Today we need a new kind of protection for a forgotten man who is left out in the tariff-trade fight—the consumer.

It is obvious that in making trade agreements someone always must be hurt, so one must make them in the interests of the great majority of the people. It has been suggested that when any particular group really is hurt by a trade agreement with a foreign country, some adjustment can be made in that particular industry. It seems to me we have the intelligence to make these adjustments.

I think it is essential that the United States become a member of the Organization for Trade Cooperation this year. This is one of the moves necessary to give an efficient, day-by-day administration to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (known as GATT), which is the international trade agreement to which we and 34 other nations have belonged since 1947.

Already, through GATT, the United States has received well over $7 billion worth of tariff concessions from foreign countries—which is more than the concessions we have given in return. With the help of OTC (Organization for Trade Coopeartion), GATT would become even more useful to us than it has been.

Proposed Investigation of Broadcast Music, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Hempstead, N. Y., Newsday on June 26, 1957, involving an important matter of public interest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JO COPPOLA SAYS: BMI NEEDS PROBING

Bing Crosby's evaluation of popular music today which he reduced to so much trash, is simply an echo of what a lot of persons, in or out of the music field, have been saying. Crosby, in what has come to be known as the ASCAP-BMI controversy, is on the side of such celebrities as: Oscar Hammerstein, Richard Rodgers, Frank Sinatra, Abe Burrows, Arthur Schwartz, Billy Rose, and even Paddy Chayefsky. These and many others have been blasting BMI (Broadcast Music, Inc.) which is a pool of about 2,000 publishing companies and which is owned and operated solely by the broadcasters. Now, a song cannot become a hit unless it is played often enough on radio and television. These celebrities claim, as did the House Judiciary Subcommittee report following an investigation of monopoly practices in broadcasting, that BMI has exerted great pressure to promote BMI songs on the air and kept off tunes written by members of ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers).

The BMI control of what music the public hears is, like the Grand Canyon, something that needs looking into. The ABC of BMI, which was distributed to all affiliated broadcasters, contains this statement of philosophy: "The public selects its favorites from the music which it hears and does not miss what it does not hear."

Even a glance at the hit tunes shows that the bulk are always BMI numbers and most often of the All Shook Up or Hound Dawg quality. Now it doesn't seem possible that all of the ASCAP composers—who are the cream of American songwriters—have suddenly dried up and can no longer turn out a Night and Day or a Dancing in the Dark. That isn't the answer. It's just the old story of how taste can be manipulated.

BMI was born out of desperation. In principle, it was a good thing for it provided what might have been healthy competition for the then monopolistic ASCAP. In practice, it wasn't. It was in the wrong hands: the broadcasters—the networks and station owners—who could make or suppress a tune.

ASCAP began in 1914 as a cooperative to license broadcasters to play songs written by its members. ASCAP collects fees for each performance to be distributed to composers and publishers. In 1940, when ASCAP presented a new contract to broadcasters, they refused to accept it. For 9 months, no ASCAP tunes were heard on the air. Music in the public domain was played instead but because radio and the audience couldn't exist on Jeanie With the Light Brown Hair the big three—ABC, CBS, and NBC—started to buy up music publishers. The next step was a sort of company union, to control the music played on the air and to dictate terms of payment. So BMI—owned by the networks and individual stations—was born. For 8 years, ASCAP and BMI lived side by side until 1948 when The ABC of BMI was published.

Then, BMI tunes began to dominate the hit list. How this came about is an intricate story but a few illustrations can give a part of the overall picture.

The subcommittee's report charged that BMI paid substantial sums to orchestra leaders to induce them to play BMI tunes. Two music men named were: Xavier Cugat and the late Tommy Dorsey.

Disk jockey Martin Block, according to the report, who is now at WABC, received substantial subsidies from BMI. Introduced at the hearings were letters to and from BMI to the Martin Block Publishing Co. and one contains this interesting sentence: "BMI agrees that with respect to each network performance received by any five musical compositions published by you and licensed through BMI and which receive professional exploitation by you during the period commencing November 1, 1944, and ending October 31, 1946, you will receive a payment credit of $48 for each such network performance." The letters also mention sums in thousands of dollars in royalties. The disk jockey also published a column in a BMI trade paper called Poor Williams Almanac.

In a June 27, 1944 issue of the paper, Block in a column called Platter Chatter, quotes some rave notices for BMI records and follows these with this warning: "I have not mentioned the backs of these disks. That will come another week," promised Block. "May I warn you, however, to watch the backing of Cugat's Amor. It is not BMI."

It would be foolish to assert that all of the ASCAP tunes are good and all the BMI ones are trash but as Abe Burrows described BMI tunes * * * "Most of them are not even good enough to be insulted." ASCAP composers have written some "beauts" but they have also written the best in popular American music: the music of Cole Porter, Hammerstein, Rodgers, Lerner and Lowe, Arthur Schwartz, and others. The broadcasters know it. Everytime they want music for a spectaular, they go to ASCAP writers. They went to them for Cinderella, High Tor, Bell for Adano, Our Town, Ruggles of Red Gap, and Jack and the Beanstalk. Yet, except for Frank Sinatra's Love and Marriage from Our Town, which he recorded separately, none became hits.

The broadcasters have created their own Frankenstein. Even though they get the best composers to write music for TV, it is seldom heard on radio. Yet, one of the fastest selling albums today is Polly Bergen's renditions of old favorites which the public heard on the recent Playhouse 90 production recreating the life of Helen Morgan. It is also no accident that more and more people are turning to station WPAT, for this station, too, plays the old standards. The BMI tunes, as one songwriter put it, will "never become standards. They just aren't good enough. Who will want to hear All Shook Up 10 years from now? Who wants to hear it now?

Liquor Drinking on Planes a Threat to Air Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, July 13, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in support of the basic principles of S. 4 and S. 593, which ban the consumption or the serving of alcoholic beverages aboard commercial and service airliners as a safety measure for commercial air safety.

The statement follows:

LIQUOR DRINKING ON PLANES A THREAT TO AIR SAFETY

(Statement of Congressman THOMAS J. LANE before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, supporting basic principles of S. 4. and S. 593 August 15, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, by serving or permitting the consumption of alcoholic beverages on aircraft while they are airborne, the commercial airlines and the Department of Defense are asking for trouble. By giving in to the demands of a few, they are jeopardizing the safety of all.

We have the testimony of passengers who have been annoyed and frightened by the offensive and irresponsible actions of those who insist on having their own way as a result of drinking liquor on a plane while it is in flight.

The people best qualified to give an objective opinion because theirs is the responsibility of coping with the problem, are opposed to the servicing and consumption of intoxicating beverages aboard aircraft.

The pilots, stewards, and stewardesses are not theorizing about this. They have had the harrowing experience of trying to control and even subdue passengers who are not in full possession of their faculties. The human discipline that is essential to safety in air travel is seriously weakened when any individual is encouraged or permitted to drink any kind of intoxicating beverages that make his actions unpredictable.

Due to military secrecy, we have no way of knowing how many accidents or fatal crashes can be traced to this cause. No matter how few they may be, we feel that the ban proposed in the legislation under discussion, should be applied to military as well as commercial aircraft, as a further precaution.

The present policy on many commercial airlines, of serving liquor to passengers, is difficult to understand in view of their otherwise excellent record in living up to the highest standards of mechanical and operational efficiency and safety. The serving of liquor adds an unnecessary and worrisome burden to the responsibilities of the crew. It hardly inspires confidence in the majority of the passengers when they observe that the airlines, in effect, offer this special service to those who want cocktails in the sky.

This easygoing policy could precipitate a major disaster. It is our duty to anticipate and prevent such dangers by proper legislation. This is not a question of a person's right to drink or not, as he may desire. Safety is the most important factor in air travel and it must be paramount over the minor wishes or inclinations of the few.

We had hoped that the airlines in particular, and of their own volition, would realize

the chances they are taking, and would abandon this custom.

Two years ago, on August 21, 1955, I served notice that; "unless the airlines cooperate by discontinuing the practice at once" or the CAB takes action, I would introduce a bill making it a Federal offense to serve alcohol in the air.

That warning has been disregarded.

Since then, the pilots, stewards, and stewardesses, have had to put up with a number of distressing indidents that have accentuated the need for legislation to prevent the service or consumption of firewater on commercial aircraft, and military planes.

Even many people who take a drink themselves, acknowledge that a line must be drawn here, in the interest of public safety.

When air travel is concerned, there is no such thing as being too careful. An unruly passenger in a plane is a far greater menace to the safety of others than he would be on a bus, a train, or a ship. Is sobriety too much of a sacrifice to ask of a person aboard a plane, as his contribution to the safety of all?

My correspondence indicates overwhelming support for legislation to outlaw the serving or consumption of alcoholic beverages aboard commercial passenger aircraft and military aircraft.

Public opinion insists on this reasonable regulation to protect the planes and their passengers.

Freight-Rate Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I feel sure that I will be joined by all my colleagues from areas served by the Southern Railway in applauding the position taken by Southern's able and distinguished president, Harry A. DeButts, in reference to the latest freight-rate increase granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Southern's policy in regard to this increase is not to apply it in any situation which, according to Mr. DeButts, "will price us out of the market and reduce our income."

I wish here to quote briefly from Mr. DeButts' statement.

All railroads—

He declared—

need more money, for the rate of return on investment has been discouragingly low in the railroad industry for years. But it is our opinion that higher freight rates simply mean a merry-go-round ride to nowhere for us in today's bitterly competitive transportation business.

Mr. DeButts has put his finger squarely on an important point. It is important to railroads and business in general. Higher and higher prices, whether for transportation, services, commodities, or goods, will lead to an economics of scarcity. Higher and higher freight rates—and they have mounted enormously since World War II—will not produce new business for the railroads. They will not, as Mr. DeButts fears, produce in the end a greater overall income for the railroads for the simple reason that shippers will be forced to use other means of transportation. To raise rates continually and consistently as has been done will result in driving business from the railroads, and placing an ever-increasing burden on the products of our farms, mines, and factories.

There is no doubt whatsoever that rising transportation costs have had a large share in advancing inflation. No increased costs are passed on to the ultimate consumer more quickly than transportation costs.

According to the classic ideas of the economists, competition tends to reduce costs. Yet, as Mr. DeButts points out, competition in the field of transportation is bitter in its intensity. It is a remarkable reversal of economic practices and traditions that the reaction of the railroads is always to seek higher rates in such situations. Everyone knows that railroads do not have command of their costs as may exist in other industries. But there is a question of simple prudence. Is it prudent to follow a course which inevitably, through increases in charges, will mean less and less business? Less and less business through the imposition of higher and higher charges has never been the American way. American industry has grown great and has become the envy of the world by following precisely the opposite theory.

I hope Mr. DeButts' voice is not one crying in the wilderness. I hope that his voice will be heard and his conclusions and judgment studied not only in the railroad business but in all industry.

We are treading on dangerous ground. Through inflation we may lose many of the gains we have made in the past. The security of millions of families is put in doubt. A continuation of the present trend will lead us all to an economic bust.

M. Sgt. Thomas F. Bell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK IKARD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the privilege of visiting in my office with a very distinguished constituent of mine, M. Sgt. Thomas F. Bell, from Vernon, Tex. Sergeant Bell entered the military service in 1942 as an infantryman and transferred to the Air Force in 1943. He was with the 15th Air Force in Italy during the early part of 1944 as a flight engineer and gunner in the 781st Bomber Squadron and flew 56 combat missions in B–24 heavy bombers. His missions included bombings over Ploesti, Munich, and Frankfurt, and during one of his missions he was wounded over Bologna, Italy. Since the war he has served as line chief in B–26, test engineer at Frederick Air Force Base, Okla., and later sent to Sheppard Air Force Base as a liaison sergeant for the Air Force Reserve and returned to flying status when he was transferred to Walker Air Force Base, N. Mex., where he also served as a flight engineer on B–29 and B–50 aircraft.

Sergeant Bell was in Korea with the 27th Fighter Bomber Wing and served for 9 months as a line chief on F–84 thunder jets. In 1951 Sergeant Bell returned to the United States and took his discharge from the Air Force. He returned to Vernon, Tex., as a civilian and served as chief of police in Vernon from 1952 to 1955 when he decided to go back into the Air Force. He was voluntarily recalled to active duty in 1955 and became a line chief for F–86 Sabrejets while stationed at Perrin Air Force Base, Tex. He went overseas to Naha Air Force Base, Okinawa, and served as line chief in the 16th Fighter Interceptor Squadron.

The occasion of Sergeant Bell's visit to Washington was for the purpose of attending the golden anniversary of the United States Air Force as the representative of the Pacific Air Force. He was chosen for this honor in competition with other Pacific Air Force noncommissioned airmen and was 1 of 21 outstanding noncommissioned airmen selected for this honor. Sergeant Bell is married and has three sons. He is presently serving with the Air Force in Okinawa.

I consider it a privilege to call attention to the splendid record of Sergeant Bell, and to publicly commend him for his distinguished service to his country, both in time of war and in time of peace.

Republican Support of Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I noticed last night that one of the syndicated columnists, Doris Fleeson, said:

There are Republicans, too, who can take credit, but any veteran of the congressional galleries will certify that there have consistently been more Democrats favoring civil-rights legislation through the years than Republicans by a fairly wide margin. The number in Congress who have a passionate conviction about the issue is another story entirely.

It has been brought to my attention that other columnists are using this same line to the effect that Democrats favor civil-rights legislation more than the Republicans.

In order to set the facts straight and to inform the public of the erroneousness of the statements of Miss Fleeson and others, the record proves that it is the Republican Party that actually supports civil rights.

In this year's civil-rights legislation in the Senate, all 18 votes cast against the measure were Democrat votes. In the House of Representatives, 168 Republicans voted for the civil-rights bill and only 19 against. The Democrats voted

118 in favor and 107 against. In other words, the Democrats were practically evenly split down the middle on the civil-rights issue whereas the Republicans in the House were about 9 to 1 in favor of civil rights. A review of the previous civil-rights legislation several years ago proves the same story.

On July 23, 1956, last year's civil-rights legislation on H. R. 627 in the House of Representatives, there were 279 votes cast in favor and 126 votes against final passage on this measure. The Republicans voted 168 in favor and 24 against, whereas the Democrat vote was 111 in favor and 102 against this issue. Therefore, the great Republican support of civil rights is most readily discernable.

In spite of all of the ballyhoo of the Democrats and the liberal columnists who support Democrat causes, the truth is that it is the Republican Party that has consistently supported civil rights through the years. In the period from 1933 through 1952 when the Democrats controlled the Nation, of the 19 important Senate votes on civil rights, the Democrat majority voted against civil rights in every single case with the exception of 2. On 2 of these 19 occasions, not a single Democrat voted favorably, and on 2 occasions, only 1 Democrat joined the Republican majority in sponsoring and being for civil rights.

In this same period from 1933 to 1952 in the House of Representatives, the Democrats failed in 7 out of 14 votes to cast a majority in favor of civil-rights legislation.

The Republican record in the Senate during this same period shows that the majority of Republicans voted in favor of civil rights in every single case with the exception of one. In three of these votes, the Republicans were 100 percent in favor of civil rights. In 14 major votes in the House during this period, the Republicans supported civil rights on every single vote with the percentages varying from 68 to 100 percent.

The following table during this period from 1933 to 1952 should be noted:

Percent-favorable votes of each party's Members present and voting on civil-rights issues, 1933–52

ANTIDISCRIMINATION (INCLUDING FEPC)

Date of vote	Republican	Democrat
SENATE	*Percent*	*Percent*
Jan. 17, 1946	93	61
Feb. 9, 1946	76	44
Apr. 21, 1949	78	7
Do	83	7
May 3, 1949	48	0
May 31, 1949	90	47
May 19, 1950	85	42
June 21, 1950	87	39
July 12, 1950	85	45
HOUSE		
Feb. 21, 1946	84	51
Apr. 4, 1949	68	47
Feb. 22, 1950	68	48
Feb. 23, 1950	75	46
June 6, 1951	80	51

Percent-favorable votes of each party's Members present and voting on civil-rights issues, 1933–52—Continued

ANTIPOLL TAX

Date of vote	Republican	Democrat
SENATE	*Percent*	*Percent*
Aug. 25, 1942	100	47
Nov. 23, 1942	57	42
May 15, 1944	58	35
July 31, 1946	68	47
Jan. 18, 1950	53	0
HOUSE		
Oct. 13, 1942	97	61
May 25, 1943	91	49
June 12, 1945	87	57
July 21, 1947	100	47
Do	94	43
July 26, 1949	82	60
Do	83	62

ANTILYNCHING

Date of vote	Republican	Democrat
SENATE	*Percent*	*Percent*
July 26, 1937	83	30
July 31, 1937	100	34
Jan. 6, 1938	100	69
Feb. 21, 1938	71	18
Jan. 13, 1950	56	2
HOUSE		
Apr. 15, 1937	99	61
Jan. 10, 1940	95	47

Apparently, the Democrat Party and certain segments of the press use the "big lie" technique assuming that if you tell a lie often enough, the public will begin to believe it. The review of the facts should disprove the false claims of Democrat support of civil rights.

A Break for the Teachers: Tax Deductions for Further Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill which I believe will do much to further the interests of education in this country. This measure not only will have the effect of raising the standards and increasing the quality of instruction in our schools, but it also will be of considerable financial assistance to our thousands of teachers now struggling along on miserably inadequate salaries.

WHAT THE BILL WILL DO

My proposal, in short, provides for the deduction as business expense of any additional expenditures made necessary because of a teacher's attempt to improve his professional standards through summer school. This deduction would be applicable not only to those who are forced to further their training to hold their present jobs, but also to teachers who feel it desirable for any one of many reasons to increase their academic proficiency.

Under current internal revenue interpretations, businessmen and executives may take advantage of section 162 of the 1954 Revenue Code and deduct a wide variety of expenses. Teachers, however, are prevented from deducting similar expenses unless they can certify that the stipulated summer work is required for them to retain their current jobs.

This seems almost ridiculous. It is no more logical than it would be to require a businessman to establish that an expense were necessary to keep his profit on a par with last year's and to deny him the right of deducting a business expense which had the effect of improving the business position of his firm.

My bill would allow teachers to claim up to $600 in additional deductions for expenses while attending an accredited institution of higher learning. This tax relief, which I think is due as a matter of justice, would furnish a major incentive for more teachers to further their preparation and to work for higher degrees.

NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN NEED OF FURTHER TRAINING

We can obtain a fair estimate of the number of teachers who need to do further study by considering the number of teachers operating on substandard certificates.

According to reports from various State departments of education, there were in 1956 some 89,000 full-time teachers with substandard credentials. This represents an increase of 11,800, or 15.3 percent over the previous year. Full-time teachers holding inadequate certificates constitute fully 7.5 percent of all those now teaching.

In addition to these verifiable figures, there are literally thousands of additional teachers who must be hired each year because of the tremendously increased enrollment in elementary and secondary schools. A really alarming number of these "emergency teachers" are without proper training or certification.

TEACHERS LEAVING THE PROFESSION

This problem of securing properly trained teachers is further aggravated by the tremendous number of professionals now leaving their teaching careers for more lucrative fields of endeavor.

It is true that some of those leaving the profession do so for family reasons, or for retirement; but by far the greatest single cause is the inadequate compensation coupled with additional expenditures made necessary by desirable summer training. Of the 26 States on which figures are available, nearly 35 percent of those leaving gave as their reason better jobs in industry, or the need for an adequate, stable, year-round income without the continual necessity and attendant expense of further schooling.

Forty-two States reported overall figures for those leaving the teaching profession, and they add up to an annual turnover of a full 9.1 percent. In the 1956–57 school year there were some 97,000 professionals leaving teaching for good.

ADDITIONAL TEACHERS NEEDED ANNUALLY

Anyone at all familiar with the school problem is aware, too, of the fantastic increases in the number of school-age children in this country these past 6 or 7 years. The impact of these increases on the schools and the attendant need for thousands of new teachers will justify a brief review of enrollment statistics.

The following figures are from the United States Office of Education:

In the 1950–51 school year, there were 19,900,000 students enrolled in the elementary schools of our Nation and 5,806,000 in the secondary public schools. By 1956–57, these numbers had skyrocketed to 25,478,000 in the elementary grades and 7,175,000 enrolled at the secondary level.

This gain of some 6 million in the elementary schools coupled with 1.5 million in high schools represents a demand in less than a decade for 250,000 additional teachers in the public schools.

Still further studies show that if we are to take care of only the present new enrollments, without considering projections for the future, we must make up the accumulated deficit of 180,000 teachers as of this year.

Our teacher-training institutions throughout the country produced last year only some 87,000 qualified persons, and of these only about 58,000 entered upon a teaching career. This leaves an obvious gap of 120,000 between the number we are producing and the number that is required. This year's overall deficit will approximate 200,000.

These figures do not take into account the burgeoning growth of enrollments in the colleges and universities of our Nation. These higher institutions are often understaffed today, and the problem will assume truly critical proportions within a very few years unless effective incentives are provided for many thousands of teachers to qualify themselves with higher degrees to take up the growing slack on university and college faculties.

Make no mistake about it: When there are not enough teachers to go around, it is our children who suffer. The teacher suffers, of course, through the necessity of doubling up. But the ever-increasing classroom load inevitably leaves its mark upon the quality of individual instruction, and the real victim is our Nation which is becoming increasingly dependent upon the skills and training of an educated citizenry.

PARTIAL ANSWER

A partial answer to the enigma has been sought by many school administrators when they have been forced to go out into the community and persuade college-trained housewives, clerks, and others to serve on an emergency basis. These individuals are performing a great service, and happily, many of them so enjoy their new work that they are tempted to stay with it.

This expedient cannot completely fill the gap, however, and even on a temporary basis it can suffice only if these "emergency instructors" are encouraged to go back to school, obtain additional advanced training, secure certificates, and achieve greater professional standing through graduate work.

The present severe interpretation of the statute by the Internal Revenue Service will permit no such encouragement, however, without amendatory legislation. This reform would be accomplished by enactment of my bill.

A PROPER FEDERAL ROLE

I offer here today no panacea for the ills of education. The enormous deficits of classrooms, playgrounds, and other facilities will continue to plague school officials and the States for many years, and there is relatively little we in the Federal Government could do to relieve this situation short of direct Federal aid.

I do believe, however, that this bill offers one important way in which the Federal Government can at least help to ameliorate the problem without any danger of becoming involved in the controversies over segregation, Federal control, or any of the other major issues which have prevented enactment of the various plans for full-scale Federal aid to education.

This plan, Mr. Speaker, attacks the problem in its most sensitive part—instruction. I would remind my colleagues of the dictum "A thousand buildings can never be a school without a teacher, but one teacher revealing the truth to eager young minds is a school regardless of where the instruction takes place."

Newspapers Are Not at Beck and Call of Pranksters or No Ruse Is Good Ruse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I wish to include a front-page editorial written by Edmund R. McCullough, editor of the Stamford Advocate, explaining how his newspaper was used as an instrument to perpetrate a hoax which began as a party gag and developed into a national news story.

How Mr. McCullough was able to restrain his natural newspaperman's temperament in his front-page "apology" is probably best explained in the prose itself—a subtle, satirical tome bristling with wry Irish wit.

The newspapers of the Nation are vested with a tremendous responsibility to the public. This responsibility has been traditionally upheld. It is unfortunate that pranksters at times circumvent the many safeguards thrown up around the editorial curtain to bore into the front pages and perpetrate their foolish rhubarbs on the Nation's readers. Their faith in their newspapers is built up after years of conscientious reporting and editing.

Sometimes the newspaper, the real victim of a hoax comes out looking silly. In the incident in Stamford this week, the verbal spanking administered by Mr. McCullough deftly puts the whole affair in its proper perspective.

[From the Stamford (Conn.) Advocate of August 13, 1957]

AN APOLOGY

To the Dave Becks, Sr. and Jr.:

This is an apology.

If you'll just read along, you'll understand why an apology is coming out of the blue Connecticut sky on August 13, 1957.

They had a real big do at the palatial estate of the George Skakel, Jr.'s, in Greenwich on Saturday night. George's sister married Bob Kennedy, that fellow on the Senate committee, and she was there and they had a great crowd. The daughter of old Frank Hague of Jersey City, you must remember him, was there with her husband, Paddy Loughran, of New York. And lots of others of the best people.

It appears they had more fun than you fellows ever had at a teamster's clambake. Somebody had the gay idea that two of the guests would be named Dave Beck, Sr., and Dave Beck, Jr.

And so Mrs. Skakel reported to representatives of this newspaper as early as 6 p. m. on Saturday and several times as the evening wore on toward Sunday. And then on Monday morning from his New York office, Mr. Skakel solemnly confirmed that you two fellows had been his house guests on Saturday night.

Well of course, you fellows know that when the kin of the Kennedys are reported entertaining the Becks of Oregon during this session of the Senate, that's big news.

Within a few hours after the news broke, Mr. and Mrs. Skakel were the objective of several score reporters. And after a time, Mrs. Skakel said the whole thing was a prank and hoped she hadn't caused any inconvenience.

Frankly, we believed the Skakels on Saturday night and Monday morning, and we suppose we've got to go along with their latest story.

Outside of this incident things have been pretty quiet up this way. Some poor fellow lost all his money at the racetrack the other day and reported to police that he was held up and robbed in order to have an excuse for the wife. The cops discovered it was a prank and they hauled him off to the can. That happened in Greenwich too, so you can see it's not such a dull summer.

Hope you both are well. If you have any thoughts on adult delinquency, I wish you'd drop me a note.

Sincerely,

E. R. MCCULLOUGH,
Managing Editor.

Mr. Brownell Finds "the Law of the Land" Entirely Unacceptable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I am including

two thought-provoking editorials, as follows:

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion Ledger of July 16, 1957]

MR. BROWNELL FINDS "THE LAW OF THE LAND" ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE

While fully prepared to use force if necessary in compelling the South to obey Supreme Court decisions, Attorney General Brownell has flatly refused to accept as "the law of the land" the same Court's ruling that suspected Communists must be given access to confidential FBI records in trials involving subversion.

Instead, Mr. Brownell has rightly demanded and is receiving congressional action to circumvent our highest tribunal's ruling in favor of subversives. Every citizen with his country's welfare at heart approves legislation requested by the Attorney General which will largely nullify the Supreme Court's ill-advised ruling.

In seeking such legislation, Mr. Brownell clearly proves that he does not regard the United States Supreme Court as sacrosanct, nor its ruling in favor of Communists as a final immutable "law of the land." On the contrary, his rather frantic action in this matter proves he realizes that the Court is capable of judgment potentially disastrous to the national interests.

This is precisely the same realization upon which the South's steadfast resistance to racial integration is based. Therefore, from now on, Southern States will merely be following the example set by Mr. Brownell in refusing to accept an arbitrary Court decree as "the law of the land."

Our observations are not intended to reflect against the Attorney General for declining to accept the tribunal's pro-Red decision as final law. Meekly bowing to such prepostrous judicial reasoning would seriously imperil the national security. By the same token, the South would invite chaos and bloodshed by meekly bowing to the Court's integration decree, which stems from sociology rather than constitutional law.

Despite pious insistence that Supreme Court rulings are "the law of the land" and must be obeyed, it is quite obvious that our politically-minded tribunal does not always decide in the Nation's best interests. Apparently Mr. Brownell is just discovering what the South knew all along—that Court decrees can be dangerous enough to require corrections, or even evasion by every legal means—if proper remedies are not forthcoming from Congress.

[From the Nashville Tennessean of July 23, 1957]

BROWNELL'S COURT LOYALTY TURNS INTO QUICK DEFIANCE

A few days ago in Federal district court in Bowling Green, Ky., an agent of the FBI refused to turn over to the defense records of information in an important case.

He did this in spite of the judge's order to the contrary, in line with a recent decision of the Supreme Court that an accused man is entitled to see the information on which he is accused. Furthermore, he did it on instructions from his superior, the attorney general of the United States, Mr. Herbert Brownell.

Now this is strange, since Mr. Brownell until recently has been among the foremost defenders of the court of last resort.

The leading article in the July issue of the American Bar Association Journal bears the attorney general's name, and urges full obedience to the Supreme Court as the "symbol of orderly, stable and just government."

Going further in the same article, Mr. Brownell quotes Abraham Lincoln to the effect that "whoever resists the final decision of the highest judicial tribunal, aims a deadly blow to our whole republican system of government—a blow, which if successful, would place our rights and liberties at the mercy of passion, anarchy and violence."

In the abstract it thus appears, that the Nation's chief legal officer is 100 percent loyal to the principles laid down by Lincoln. Whenever the high court agrees with him, as it has done on many occasions, it is a noble institution which can only be assailed at the Nation's peril.

In his law Journal contribution he was moved to these conclusions:

"As attorneys and officers of the court, we have an important stake in the independence of the court and a greater duty to it. The court relies on us for assistance. We must give it our support by our own example. We must do everything possible to preserve its reputation. We can stir fuller recognition of the court's distinguished role in our government, in our history, and in our development as a leader among nations."

Hardly had these patriotic words gone into print, however, before he gave the court definance, rather than support by orders to disobey its clear ruling on the use of secret testimony in certain cases. He is revolted by the idea that secret FBI files, which he himself has used for political purposes, should be made available as a matter of justice to some defendants.

Lofty principles are easy to enunciate or transscribe as they apply to the Supreme Court, but putting them into practice is something else again when they affect a subagency of the Department of Justice.

If the court relied greatly on Mr. Brownell for assistance by reason of his special position of trust, it would be in a bad way indeed.

Address by Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission, at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 Through July 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the 38th annual encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 through July 14, there were several outstanding addresses delivered by prominent officials of the Federal Government in keeping with the theme of the Encampment, Defense Means Freedom.

On July 11, 1957, the following address was delivered by Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission:

ADDRESS BY LEWIS L. STRAUSS, CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, AT THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, 38TH ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT DINNER, PENN HARRIS HOTEL, HARRISBURG, PA., JULY 11, 1957

Commander Fromm, Congressman VAN ZANDT, officers and members of the Pennsylvania Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, ladies of the auxiliary, and distinguished guests, it is a pleasure and a keenly felt honor to have this opportunity to speak to the members of this organization of veterans who, individually and together, have served our country so devotedly in times of both peril and peace. The demands upon you today, by your Government and your fellow citizens, for wise leadership and vigilance are no less exacting than the claims that were made on your patriotism and gallantry in time of war. You have reason to be proud of your record in both roles, as defenders and as custodians of American freedom and liberty, and it is a privilege to salute you here in this State where that liberty was cradled.

It is a pleasure also for me to revisit the home State of my good friend and yours, JIMMIE VAN ZANDT, who has twice served with dictinction as your departmental commander and three terms as commander in chief of your national organization.

Many of you, of course, know JIMMIE VAN ZANDT most intimately as a fellow veteran who, during the nine terms he has served in Congress, has represented his constituents faithfully and well and who, by reason of his military experience and wide knowledge of veterans' affairs, has become one of the Nation's foremost authorities in legislation touching upon your welfare and interests. The scope of his interests and his statesmenship, however, is broader.

It has been my good fortune to work in close and—for me—rewarding association with JIMMIE VAN ZANDT for a number of years, because of the important place he holds on the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, and I know of the wide range of his interests in serving the public welfare. If he should find my references to him slightly embarrassing, then I can only say that this imposition upon his modesty is the penalty to which he unwittingly exposed himself when he conveyed your invitation to me to be here this evening to speak to you.

I have come to know him as a man of outstanding ability and exemplary integrity. My life has been made richer by his friendship and I know, beyond any question, that the Nation's atomic-energy program—both in providing the weapons essential to the defense of our freedom, and in unfolding the munificence of the peaceful atom—has benefited incalculably from his understanding, his diligence and his wise counsel.

Mr. VAN ZANDT and his colleagues on the Joint Committee have never denied to the Atomic Energy Commission their wholehearted cooperation, nor have they ever stinted us in the matter of support for the proper functioning of the atomic-energy program, either in regard to weapons or developing the peaceful uses of the atom.

The people of Pennsylvania are fortunate to be represented in Congress by a man of his rich talents—a leader who rose from enlisted man to captain in the Navy, in which service I share with him, in addition to our other common interests, a mutual pride. He is a man whose life for 40 years has been marked by high devotion to public service—as a civic leader, Member of Congress, and a hero of three wars.

The theme of this 38th annual encampment—defense means freedom—is one that appeals strongly to me, for the Government's atomic-energy program is firmly based on the concept of security, freedom, and peaceful progress. It is a program of power for peace. We who are associated with that program are entrusted by the Congress with the paramount responsibility of using the energy of the atom to develop and produce the nuclear weapons essential to the national defense and survival. Yet, on the other hand, we work to channel that same energy into the arts of peace.

Until the day when sanity prevails over man's propensity for self-destruction, until wisdom succeeds in bringing an end to wars, we have no prudent course but to provide ourselves with the most effective weapons to assure our security and survival. That

means development, testing, production, and stockpiling of such weapons.

With strength we can negotiate for a sound and reliable basis for peace and disarmament—as we are now doing under the leadership of our President. From a position of weakness negotiation would be impossible.

But as we perserve along the difficult road toward the goal of peace and disarmament, we are developing and sharing the bright promises of atomic energy even while we work to suppress its menace. It is my belief that the United States leads the world in peaceful development of the atom.

Our program is firmly in the American tradition and—regardless of the propaganda efforts of the Communists to dispute this fact—it is a program of peace. The development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is a natural and inevitable course for us, since it is an expression of our devotion to peace and our deep and genuine abhorrence of war. History has shown us that civilization flourishes in peace. We know also that a third world war in this 20th century would bring disasters without precedent and a regimentation destructive of the liberties which we treasure most.

These convictions, which are ever poignant to you who have experienced war, are basic to our national policies. We are exposed, as all men are exposed, to nuclear war and the wake of disease, misery and destitution which would follow it. Therefore, cost what it may to forestall such a catastrophe, we must exert our utmost of material and spiritual strength to do just that.

Yet, our retention of nuclear military strength while we strive to banish the menace of nuclear war has been badly misunderstood in parts of the world and there are some among our own people who express sincere misgivings that our country should possess weapons of such destructive capabilities. These misgivings arise from an innate decency and could only be voiced in a free country. Certainly no one who is familiar with the capabilities of atomic weapons can be entirely free from moral reservations about them. In the world at large, the misunderstanding about our nuclear weapons of defense is due, not alone to the failure thus far of the nations possessing atomic weapons to arrive at a meeting of minds for controlling them, but to a very great degree this misunderstanding exists because of studied efforts by the Communist enemies of freedom to distort and falsify our motives.

Those who strongly share misgivings about our possession of those weapons of mass destruction should reflect on the condition we would face today if atomic and thermonuclear weapons were in the arsenal of Soviet Russia and not in ours. Would we, in such a circumstance, be allowed the opportunity to sit down with the Soviets—as we are now doing in London—and negotiate on proposals for disarmament? The answer seems to be self-evident, in the light of experience of certain weak nations during the past 12 years. Even the names of some of them have been erased from the map of the world. Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia are no longer in modern geographies. Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and others have retained their names but their liberties have been lost and their patriots have been liquidated.

I share with many other Americans—and with many others of the free world—the firm conviction that the United States possession of nuclear weapon superiority during the past decade has been a main deterrent to the kind of aggression which would spell the outbreak of another world war.

We pray for the day when all nations agree to workable international controls over weapons of every sort—controls which provide more than mere promises or affirmations of good intentions. But until that day dawns, we have no reasonable course but to remain strong. We must continue to produce and test weapons and perfect the systems for their delivery as the only effective deterrent to war.

Let us think back to the situation as it existed 12 years ago this summer, at the end of World War II.

At that time, within the space of 10 months, we disbanded and scattered an armed force of 8 million men. We turned wholeheartedly away from the instruments of war and passionately devoted all our thoughts and energies to the prospects of peace. It came as a rude shock to the American people when they realized that there were nations in the world whose appetites for aggression had been actually whetted by the bloodshed of the great war just ended.

We, alone among all nations of the world, possessed at that time an arsenal of nuclear weapons. A dictator, had he been in sole possession of such weapons, would have enforced his will upon others. We, however, gave tangible evidence of our desire for peace. We offered to give up our most powerful instruments of war—nuclear weapons. We announced that we stood ready to share the nuclear technology we had achieved at great price, and to internationalize control of the atom to the end that a basis for durable peace might be found and mankind's fears of atomic destruction might be banished. We offered all this in 1946. We asked in return only that a comprehensive system of disarmament with dependable international safeguards be established.

You know, without recital by me of the dreary train of events, the discouraging reception which our efforts received. We tried then, as we have tried in the years that have followed, to find within the prudent requirements of our security and the security of the free world, some way to limit the use of atomic energy to peaceful pursuits, by all nations. At each step we encountered new frustrations and roadblocks, and as the years passed the Soviets acquired atomic and thermonuclear weapon capability.

President Eisenhower, from the day he took office, sought to find some way out of this deadlock. First of all, he was determined that no opportunity should be overlooked which might offer even a slight point of beginning for international disarmament and that, however discouraging progress might be, he would never relax our efforts toward that end.

In this he has persevered during the past 4½ years, and continues to persevere. Under the President's leadership—and as a means of fulfilling his objective, in his own words, "to strip the atom of its military casing and devote it to the arts of peace"—we seek to head off the nuclear arms race and lift the dead weight of the world's fears. To this end, the United States proposed that we and the other atomic powers suspend nuclear weapons testing and that production of fissionable materials be channeled, not into weapons, but into peaceful uses. We proposed this as a step in a comprehensive system of disarmament.

We insist, however, as is only reasonable and prudent, that any suspension of tests must involve a wider, more effective agreement embracing reductions in other weapons and components of military strength, and that there be ample safeguards including careful inspection and controls. We dare not, in the earnestness and impatience of our desire for disarmament and peace, abandon our most essential weapons of defense, or the improvement of those weapons, unless we are adequately insured against attack by surprise.

The Soviets, for some years past, have used their extensive propaganda resources to play upon the world's fears—first in seeking the banning of nuclear weapons by mere agreement, without safeguards, and secondly, by grossly exaggerating the effects of nuclear weapons testing. Since Russia has a distinct advantage over the West in sheer weight of military manpower, it is to her advantage to stigmatize our nuclear weapons and to create a climate of fear of those equalizers of manpower.

It must be regretfully conceded that the Communist propaganda for this end has been astonishingly successful.

For instance, there are well-intentioned Americans, unaware of the advantages which would accrue to the Communists, who have succumbed to the doctrine, wholly false, that the gravest danger which we face is the continued testing of nuclear weapons. These good people believe the assertion that if we stop testing, and if the Russians stop testing, or, shall we say, if they agree to stop testing, we will then have received an adequate quid pro quo in terms of our security. But let us keep in mind that the threat to our well-being and our freedom lies, not in the consequences of testing weapons, but in the danger of the large-scale use of weapons in nuclear war. That is the danger we seek to avoid. The suspension or abandonment of nuclear testing alone cannot solve the threat of war. Indeed, it would give a false sense of security.

Whatever risks may be incurred in the testing of nuclear weapons, particularly in the rigidly controlled manner in which we conduct tests, I think no informed person will contest that those risks are dwarfed by the consequences of all-out nuclear war which would produce horror and devastation beyond imagining. We must try to make this clear to our friends.

Mr. VAN ZANDT's Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy has only recently concluded highly worthwhile hearings on this subject, taking the testimony of many eminent scientists. To be sure, there were areas of disagreement, as there always are in any precise scientific symposium.

However, it is noteworthy that various scientific leaders—objectively analyzing the voluminous testimony presented at the hearings—have found little or no disagreement with the fact that weapons testing—at the present rate—is not producing detectable harmful effects on the world population.

Our testing program is not "poisoning" the atmosphere. The Communists have been spreading that scare for years now, whenever we announce our tests, while conveniently neglecting even to mention their own nuclear tests which—in contrast to ours—are conducted in secret.

Furthermore, our weapons tests are not capriciously conducted nor in order that we may develop and stockpile weapons of ever greater destructive force. As President Eisenhower has stated on several occasions, we do not test merely to make larger and yet ever larger weapons. Our recent tests are for the purpose of producing weapons better suited to strengthening our defenses against nuclear attack launched by others. We test also that we may produce more weapons having maximum effect against the designated military target, but with little or no widespread radioactive fallout at a distance from the target.

Our recent tests have placed heavy stress on the development of defensive weapons, including nuclear warheads for missiles to be used against attacking enemy planes, troops, and armored forces, and against submarines. In perfecting these new-type nuclear weapons, the size and explosive yields of the devices tested during the past 2 years have been considerably smaller than those tested prior to 1955.

One of the most satisfactory results of the tests during the past 2 years has been the development by scientists of the Commission's laboratories at Los Alamos and Liver-

more, Calif., of weapons having drastically reduced radioactive fallout.

Perhaps some of you are thinking, in that connection, why we should take any comfort from such weapons in our possession since, in event of war, it is the enemy's nuclear weapons which would be used against our cities, and when we have no reason to suspect that an enemy would be even remotely interested in developing cleaner weapons.

I can answer that best by stating that, first of all, we regard it as our responsibility to our own people and to humanity to do all within our power to confine the effects of our nuclear weapons to military objectives.

In the second place, there are sound tactical reasons for the development of clean weapons. For example, in event of war, our cities and industrial centers might be attacked by enemy planes carrying atomic bombs, or by missiles with nuclear warheads. Our defense, using nuclear weapons with insignificant radioactive fallout against those attackers, could save our people from the otherwise dangerous fallout from the battle being fought near our borders, or even overhead.

Also, in a tactical sense, such clean weapons would be of distinct advantage to our ground forces.

Had we suspended our tests a year ago, we would not today know surely how to produce these weapons.

Let me sum up: Nuclear weapons are not in themselves the dark danger of our times. The real dilemma is war, and nuclear weapons have only served to make more urgent and more logical the solution of that dilemma of war or peace.

But we desire one thing as much as peace—and that, of course, is freedom. To remain free, we must have the means of defending ourselves against surprise attack.

In other words, we must remain strong until there is international agreement for the control of armaments, safeguarded by adequate, dependable supervision and inspection. Only from a position of obvious, clear, demonstrable and unquestioned strength can we negotiate soundly and in safety.

Our survival, and the survival of the free world, demands of us that in these critical years we shall be prudent, undiscouraged and strong.

Sewer Delay Costly: Get on With Planning Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to call attention of the Members of the House to an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner on August 9, 1957.

As the editorial points out, the Nashville-Davidson County community must have an adequate sewer system to serve its urban population, and the reasoning of the Regional Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in disapproving the Nashville-Davidson County application for a planning loan for a sewer program has no sound basis.

The editorial follows:

SEWER DELAY COSTLY: GET ON WITH PLANNING NOW

Rejection by Federal authorities of the Nashville-Davidson County application for a planning loan to project metropolitan sanitary sewer programing presents. The Banner believes, a shortsighted and untenable reasoning on the part of the Regional Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The fact that this community had plans underway for a unification of local government under a metropolitan charter is not a sound basis for delaying the planning of a metropolitan sewer system.

This metropolitan community must have an adequate sewer system all of its urban population both inside and outside the present city limits. The proposed Federal loan for planning and design of such a system can advance this project by at least 2 years and place the new metropolitan government in position to carry out the work expeditiously.

The reasoning of Regional Administrator Walter Keyes that consideration of the joint city-county-loan application should be held up pending the referendum on the metropolitan charter now being drafted, has no sound basis.

The Banner agrees fully with the thinking of Mayor Ben West that the sewer planning project can and should go forward immediately.

Under terms of the legislative enabling act the new government must assume the covenants and obligations of each of the two local governments unified by the metropolitan charter.

There can be no question of a default in carrying out the terms and conditions of the Federal loan contract. The credit of both existing governments, as Mayor West points out, is excellent. The credit of the new government must be—and will be—as strong as the governments it consolidates.

It appears to this newspaper that the regional administrator is temporizing and using the metropolitan government proposal as an excuse which is not valid in the face of facts.

Mayor West, the Banner believes, is right and is fulfilling an obligation to the people of this total community when he strongly protests the ruling of Mr. Keyes and makes an appeal directly to HHFA Administrator Albert Cole.

The Banner is sincerely hopeful that the metropolitan charter will be adopted by an overwhelming vote of the people of Nashville and Davidson County if it proves—as the Banner believes it will—to be a sound and workable document.

Whatever the future holds there is a vital necessity for projecting sanitary sewers throughout the urban area. The requested Federal planning loan will enable both existing governments to advance that project to a point where the metropolitan government can carry it through.

If the metropolitan charter is rejected the necessity for sewer construction remains as a top priority need which must be met by concerted action of the community and the city and county governments.

Mayor West is to be commended for his refusal to allow this initial rebuff to discourage his efforts to push forward with a most important project.

It is to be hoped Administrator Cole will overrule the decision of Regional Administrator Keyes and approve the planning loan requested by Nashville and Davidson County.

Communist Russian Plot Strongly Organized in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Borris Morros, the well-known Hollywood producer and composer, has rendered great service to our country in his role as a counterspy working under cover for the FBI.

In a recent press conference, Mr. Morros very emphatically pointed out and emphasized the fact that the Communist Russian plot is far more strongly organized in the United States and throughout the world than is generally understood by our people.

It has become popular in recent years to discount the Communist movement in this country, and it is worth while to present to the attention of the American people that this treasonable conspiracy still flourishes within our own country.

These thoughts are very aptly contained in the editorial of the Washington Evening Star of August 14, and are as follows:

SPY AND COUNTERSPY

Further evidence that Communist espionage and subversion are a continuing threat that can be taken lightly only at grave risk to national security is provided in the case of Counterspy Boris Morros. Mr. Morros, well-known Hollywood movie producer and composer, has revealed a cloak-and-dagger story of undercover work for the FBI, while posing as a Soviet agent, that rivals the more lurid spy plots of the movies or novels.

Following so closely on the arrest of Rudolf Ivanovich Abel on charges of Soviet spying, the Morros disclosures show that Russia still seeks to maintain an expert espionage apparatus in tihs country, despite severe setbacks from the FBI and other Federal intelligence agencies. As far back as the Kremlin knew, Abel and Morros were trusted members of the apparatus. But there was a difference known only to the FBI. Mr. Morros was reporting secretly to the FBI everything of importance he learned about Russian espionage. For, at great peril to himself, the Russian-born American citizen had accepted an invitation to become a Soviet agent only after consulting the FBI about the offer. During his years of hazardous duty as a double agent Mr. Morros collected and gave to the Federal authorities valuable data about the Communist conspiracy to undermine our Government. His testimony played an important part in the recent indictment as spies of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Soble, Jack Albam, and Mr. and Mrs. George Zlatovski.

Mr. Morros, his usefulness as an American counterspy at an end as a result of these indictments, told a press conference that it was a mistake to brush aside the Communist threat as fanciful. "I want to emphasize," he said, "that the Russian plot is far more strongly organized in this country and throughout the world than is generally understood by our people." He may have had in mind some of the recent Court decisions which have made it easier for the Reds to

operate in this country. There has been too much of a tendency in some high quarters to treat the Communists as harmless political agitators instead of conspirators in the subversive sense.

Congress right now is considering legislation to undo the harmful effects of the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case—an ambiguous decision which, if interpreted broadly, could seriously hamper the FBI in its counterespionage work. The Jencks decision requires production in court of certain reports by FBI agents who appear as witnesses. Since such reports may contain confidential matter, including the identity of undercover agents, the Government faces the prospect in some cases of dropping prosecution of known spies. Certainly it could not betray the confidences of such daring operatives as Mr. Morros and others who may be serving the Government as counterspies. Pending legislation would provide safeguards against such betrayal. Congress before it adjourns should see to it that these safeguards are written into the law.

A Reader's Philosophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, as one who was a schoolteacher for a brief period in his formative years, I was particularly impressed with the following column of Mr. George E. Sokolsky which is also carried daily in my hometown newspaper, the Huntington (W. Va.) Herald-Dispatch. I feel that Mr. Sokolsky's comments on the present state of public education are extremely timely. I am certain there is not a Member of this House whose mail each day does not reflect the alarming fact that a great many of our schools are not producing literate nor skilled artisans in the field of building coordinated thought through the tools of words.

So many today do not reflect the general idea that language should express thought. Rather, they use it as a medium to conceal the basic things they seek to convey.

A READER'S PHILOSOPHY
(By George E. Sokolsky)

This is as the letter came:

"I've written a letter on these days. But I just wonder if you will dare print it. If you do, and I hope you do, please don't use my name. Not that I'm ashamed of a word of it for it's all true. I just don't want to receive insulting letters from our older people."

The lady who writes the attached letters says that she is 38 years old and a mother. "This older generations make me sick to my stomach running our future generation down all time."

Then she writes:

"Let me tell you older folks just what I think of you some of you any way did you ever stop and think of the filty examples you set today for our young people to see & hear. For one thing these night clubs they call them. Just places to go and do things in the dark behind your kids back. Ha! Ha!"

I shall give you no more of this. What I want to point out is that we have had more than a century of public-school education in this country, paid out of the pockets of the taxpayer. It is surprising how many letters I receive which contain faulty sentence structure, incorrect spelling, and lack of evidence of reading or of memorizing poetry which gives one a vocabulary. I have one here from a soldier stationed in Washington who believes that Gen. Douglas MacArthur is corny because, I presume, the general writes English. This is what the soldier says:

"Your suggestion that General MacArthur should speak to the American people more often is obviously an attempt to boost phonograph-record sales.

"Such 'gems' as 'Old soldiers never die; they just fade away,' and this latest remark '* * * the earth has spun through the black vacuum of space from the sun * * *' are 'gold mines' for the purveyors of trashy music.

"Please don't assume that I am taking these phrases in their literal sense. I enjoy much of the classic literature which contains the metaphor. I believe that the general is being just a bit too corny."

Unfortunately, language has gone to pot in this era of rock-'n'-roll thinking and this young soldier has probably never been required to read the prose of Milton or Carlyle or Macaulay.

The question then arises, in my mind, whether our people are really going to school for knowledge or for attendance.

When I went to elementary school, decades ago, we had to memorize practically everything. English, for instance, was really a course in memory and now, half a century later, when perhaps I do not remember the name of my next-door neighbor, I recall almost perfectly what was implanted in those early years.

Education is not a cultivation of prejudices nor the formation of friendship. Education is designed to train the mind, to develop an appreciation of knowledge, to learn of the past, to gain skills according to one's fitness and aptitudes. All the fancy stuff such as social adjustments may be a product of the process of education but they do not make the man or woman.

The engineers shriek that the students do not know enough mathematics; everybody complains about the spelling of the younger generations; it is obviously so that Americanized English has become a jargon in its spoken form and what is called clever writing is the attempt to reproduce on paper the horrible sounds of a corrupted tongue. The soldier who regards a simple sentence of well-written English as corny is a product of inadequate schooling. Had he had the advantage of familiarity with the masters of English prose, he would have found that that to which he objects is not corny but English—a beautiful language if well used.

The 15th and 16th of a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to insert the 15th and 16th of a series of editorial letters by F. F. McNaughton appearing in the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.

The letters follow:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of August 7, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER
(By F. F. McNaughton)

We saw Galina Ulanova—Ulanova the incomparable.

(Pronounce with accent on lan.)

It was at a gala performance of stars in the sport palace. (From looks of press box and scoreboard, it may be where that great Russian basketball team plays.

Fourteen thousand were present.

We had good $2.50 seats.

Much had come before, with long intermissions with nearly all 14,000 filing out and back in 20 minutes.

Then came the announcement that a great old conductor who helped make Ulanova famous, but who now is so blind that he can not see music (can merely see the form of Ulanova on the stage) would conduct the orchestra for Ulanova to dance the famous Death of the Swan.

The announcement was met with tremendous applause.

Then came the dance.

Now there is no use of me trying to describe Ulanova's dancing. You see a thing like that—you don't have it described to you; especially by me.

Here, dancing on the stage, is one of the most honored, and decorated, and probably highest paid persons in Russia.

All Russia is at her feet.

In her, Russia is supreme.

You've seen a crowd come to its feet for a play at the plate. You've seen a crowd come to its feet for a winning touchdown pass.

Even so, as Ulanova, at the end of the swan's dance, fluttered and sank to the floor in graceful death, the 14,000 came slowly to their feet, as Ulanova sank slowly to her death.

Then the applause broke.

I looked at my watch.

The applause roared for 6 minutes.

Finally the old blind conductor took his place again.

The beautiful music that the whole world knows so well come again from 50 string instruments.

And Ulanova did the entire dance again.

For us it became another unforgettable memory.

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of August 8, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER
(By F. F. McNaughton)

An Australian University man came in as I was talking to the beautiful woman who heads the English Department of Moscow University.

He speaks Russian.

He saw that I was having trouble understanding what happens to the wife and children of a student while he is in medical school.

And she (the English department head) was having difficulty understanding what I meant by the question—of course a woman takes care of herself.

So the Australian spoke up and said:

"Your trouble is that you have different outlooks at life."

And so it is.

Here is another one.

Yesterday I took a short trip with a young university professor from Ohio. (Most Americans we meet here in Russia are professors here on grant for some fund.)

This professor had been hunting books to be found only in libraries in scattered Russia cities.

He had been on a 3-week trip.

His "girl Friday" (his attractive young interpreter guide) had gone along with him on the 3-week trip just as she would have walked over to the Kremlin with him here in Moscow.

He looked like the kind of fellow who probably was superintendent of his Sunday School at home; and I imply no wrong.

A bit ago I asked our "girl Friday (a university girl) if she went on such trips and she replied: "Of course."

And she told me of men whose magazine articles she had later read, or whose published books or pictures she had later seen, with whom she had gone on trips of several weeks.

In London I was told that the new plan for letting tourists drive autos into Russia includes, of course, an interpreter guide, and (I was told) if the tourist is a woman, the guide will be a man; but if the tourist is a man, the guide will be a girl.

You'll understand this better if you realize that here, females work with males in all jobs—and as though they were males.

But for an American, it is a bit of a start.

The Extent to Which a Union Monopoly Will Go To Destroy an Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to include a letter which I received from the Ryan Aeronautical Co., in San Diego, Calif. I do this because it points up the extent to which a union monopoly will go to destroy an industry. The Senate Investigating Committee has spent the greater part of the year exposing the misappropriation of funds by certain unscrupulous labor bosses. Embezzlement per se, of course, is unconscionable but does not in itself constitute a fatal blow to our economic system. While a nationwide boycott of one industry, if successful, would put every business, large or small, in jeopardy of unmoral practices which if perpetrated by any business or combination of businesses would immediately generate the full power of our courts under the antimonopoly law.

If the Senate committee concludes its hearings without a thorough investigation of the UAW–CIO's assault upon the Kohler Co., of Sheboygan, they will have strained at a gnat and swallowed the fly.

The letter follows:

RYAN AERONAUTICAL CO.,
San Diego, Calif., August 12, 1957.

Congressman JAMES UTT,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JIM: The contest between Walter Reuther's UAW–CIO seeking to break the Kohler Co. and that company's valiant fight to uphold the principles of free enterprise and free labor has been a matter of continuing interest to me and to the other industrial management men of my acquaintance. We have watched the Senate committee headed by Senator MCCLELLAN in the hope that the conduct of Mr. Reuther's organization would be as thoroughly investigated as has been the activities of the bosses of the teamsters' union. Mr. Beck's free and easy ways with the teamsters' union funds was, of course, a shocking affair, but in itself it presented no real threat to our economic and political system being, in essence, a case of large-scale embezzlement. Of course, Mr. Hoffa's purported plan to consolidate all transportation forms into one great union under his dictatorship is another, and very dangerous, proposition.

The record of extreme violence at Kohler, the blockading of a foreign-flag ship attempting to discharge cargo at Sheboygan, the diversion of enormous sums of money collected in dues from UAW locals all over the country to press and support the attack on Kohler, and the campaign by Mr. Reuther and his union to bring about a nationwide boycott of Kohler-made products, should certainly engage the attention of the Congress. If this union can break one company, as is their announced intention, by the violent tactics which they have employed, then it will follow that any company which attempts to preserve its right to manage its business and protect its own employee's right to choose whether or not they will belong to a union can, and will, also be broken.

Reuther's nationwide boycott of Kohler products has even reached into our plant here in San Diego. On several occasions in the past year, our UAW–CIO local's newspaper has carried long and hotly worded editorials vilifying the Kohler Co. and urging all the local's members to boycott Kohler products. Two weeks ago a building contractor completed and turned over to the company a fine, large factory building. It so happened that in the men's restroom two fixtures out of a dozen were Kohler and marked with the Kohler name. This immediately became a cause for grievance by our union officials. They foresaw all sorts of unfortunate and lamentable results unless the company removed this offending equipment. They were, in effect, demanding that this company acknowledge and support their international union's attempt to break the Kohler Co. by boycott. Of course, this the company refused to do.

I hope that you will exert your influence in the Congress to bring about a thoroughgoing investigation not only of the Kohler situation but of the deep involvement of Mr. Reuther and his top officers in political activity on every level, disregarding entirely the fact that not all UAW–CIO union members are supporters of the same party.

Important and valuable as has been the work of the McClellan committee in investigating the teamsters' union and the confectioners' and bakers' union, their work will be less than half done if they pass over the activities of Mr. Reuther in the political and company-busting field, and if the Congress fails to place big unionism under controls comparable to those placed on big business.

Most sincerely yours,
LESLIE E. GEHRES,
Manager, Personnel and Security.

Army Reform Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the very serious problems of making proper use of the young men in our armed services is discussed in a recent editorial by Ray Dix, publisher of the Wooster Daily Record. The editorial is a comment on a recent European trip. I agree with his thinking on this subject, and include the editorial as a part of my remarks.

The editorial follows:

[From the Wooster (Ohio) Daily Record of August 7, 1957]

ARMY REFORM NEEDED

One of our flying companions on the way back from Europe was a GI from Kansas who, after being "busted" three times, was being sent home to try to get his feet on the ground.

"There just ain't anything to do but drink and run around," he said. "A guy gets all mixed up and does things he hadn't ought to do."

Something is terribly wrong about our present Army set-up. The sense of futility and frustration felt among many of the GI's attests to this. We believe that something should be done, and at once.

The number of men in arms should be trimmed to a minimum. Every man in uniform should be there because he is needed in that particular spot. To feel that one is not needed makes one feel more like a prisoner than a soldier.

Men should be kept busy on constructive projects. Make-work projects are not satisfactory substitutes. The men are intelligent. They know when they are going through motions, and when they are doing something worth while.

On-the-ground schooling should be made available at regular schedules. Classes ranging from high school through university should be taught. The men should be encouraged to attend these classes and should receive special recognition for any progress made.

We don't like much of what we see. We haven't any confidence in the present program.

Our manner of raising the armies we need is out of date. It is suitable only for wartime when every man is needed. It is not suitable where only a fraction of the available young men are called.

We need some sort of NATO army, of course, but what we have should be effective. It will be only as effective as the individual men.

A Distinguished and Beloved Mississippi College President Retires After 50 Years of Service to Christian Education: Dr. D. M. Nelson Reviews the History of a Great Baptist Institution and Issues a Challenge for the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, June 2, 1957, marked the end of a great and noble career. On that date, Dr. D. M. Nelson, president of Mississippi College, turned over the duties of his office to a worthy and distinguished successor, Dr. R. A. McLemore.

Dr. Nelson had rendered 50 years of service to the cause of Christian education at Mississippi College, and had been its president for 25 years.

Not only is Dr. Nelson one of the foremost educators of our time, but his life is a shining inspiration to Christian people throughout our country. No college president ever enjoyed the respect, love, and loyalty of his students more than Dr. Nelson, and none deserved it more.

Although Dr. Nelson will no longer serve actively as president of this great Baptist institution, I know that he will continue to be active in its affairs. All of us wish for Dr. and Mrs. Nelson a full measure of happiness in their well-earned retirement and we pray that God's richest blessings will be theirs to enjoy for many, many years to come.

Dr. Nelson's last act as president of Mississippi College was to deliver the commencement adress to his 1957 graduates. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include the text of Dr. Nelson's memorable address:

MISSISSIPPI COLLEGE: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

Through the years multitudes have felt the beneficient influence of Mississippi College. Her past is one crowned with golden deeds and resplendent with glory and honor. Founded in 1826, just 9 years after Mississippi achieved statehood, she early became a potent factor in the growth and development of the State whose name she proudly shares and which name was taken from the mighty river that flows so majestically along the entire western border.

Her cultured sons and daughters for over a century have been serving in places of trust and responsibility and making a worthy contribution to the material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual welfare of our beloved State. Some of her graduates have sat in the governor's chair, some have occupied prominent places at the bar and upon the bench, some have served in the Halls of Congress as Senators and Representatives, many have been college presidents and college professors, many more teachers in the public schools and preachers of the Word. Still more in less prominent places as good stewards of what they possessed have been found faithful. Mississippi College, through her ministerial students alone, pastoring rural churches while in college, is largely responsible for the phenomenal growth of Mississippi Baptists from 10,000 in number a hundred years ago to 450,000 today. All of the worthy vocations and callings have furnished areas for the exercising of varied talents of her sons and daughters; nor have the boundaries of the State been able to contain all of them. They have overflowed into other commonwealths and other countries on out to the ends of the earth. Truly it has been said that the sun never sets on the head of a son or daughter of Mississippi College. They stand today around the globe in strategic places, bearing proudly the banner of truth and virtue, and valiently contending for the triumph of truth over error, of right over wrong, of God over Satan.

Mississippi College has been under three flags of ownership and control. In the beginning, educated and cultured citizens of the Clinton community envisioned the need of an institution of higher learning in the most favored spot in all the land. For 16 years these educational pioneers and lovers of learning blazed the way for the young institution and carefully sustained and nurtured and watered it with their sacrifices and devotion. As an indication of their concept of what a college should be, they had written in the charter these significant words: "Be it further enacted, That the president, professors, and trustees of said Mississippi College be, and they are hereby authorized to confer on the students at said institution, such degrees in the arts, sciences and languages, as are usually conferred in the most respectable colleges in the United States, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by said president and trustees of the Mississippi College."

They also showed advanced thinking in the college field when they provided for the admission of young women along with young men. In fact, the first graduating class was composed entirely of young women. And so far as is known, Mississippi College is the first institution of higher learning to grant a degree and deliver a diploma to a woman. Most of the colleges of repute have today followed her example. Even Yale is about to capitulate.

In 1842 these interested citizens of Clinton, feeling that the college would fare better with a sponsorship with an influence extending over wider areas, transferred the young and struggling institution to the Presbyterians of Mississippi. After 8 years of operation in which valuable experience was gained and some worthwhile contributions made to the young college, financial difficulties led this church group to turn back the institution to the original owners, who then transferred the property without cost to Mississippi Baptists under whose ownership and control it has been these 107 years. And in the providence of God, it seems destined to be until the end of the ages.

The first 10 years under the new management with I. N. Urner as president were characterized by growth and development and the kindling of high hopes for the new venture. The two most important accomplishments during this decade were the raising of $102,000 endowment, which soon was consumed by the fires of fratricidal conflict, and the construction of the Old Chapel, which still stands in majesty and is the pride and joy and inspiration of all former students.

While in the midst of high expectation and great optimism for the growing institution came the War Between the States, occasioned by an attempt to settle some constitutional questions by the arbitrament of the sword which the Founding Fathers had been unable to do in the Council Chambers at the time of the formation of the Government. As is well known, wars always involve youth. They cannot be fought without them. So in this instance practically the entire student body laid down their books and took up their arms to defend imperishable principles and inalienable human rights. How faithful were these college lads in the grim business of war? What of their courage on gory battlefields of awful carnage? How did they acquit themselves while being baptized in liquid flames of death? The fact that of the 104 who went out in the Mississippi College Rifles Company to the battlefields of Virginia with only 8 returning to tell the story answers in silent but eloquent tones. The poet was right:

"No nobler men were e'er by duty led;
No braver soldiers ever faced the foe;
No heroes ever marched with firmer tread;
No souls with deeper courage e'er did glow."

The supreme sacrifice of these noble sons of our great college for a deathless cause created for us a priceless heritage and indissolubly linked us to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion. And if there be those today among us as this ageless struggle recurs with sympathies alien to the eternal principles for which those paladins fought so nobly and died so heroically future generations will find an appropriate term to designate them for their perfidy as was so well done in another era. So Mississippi College by blood-bought right is not only a vital part of the State of Mississippi but of the entire southern area as well. The fact that these noble souls were contending for the universal doctrine of self-determination of a free people and the eternal principle of local self-government and constitutional rights makes them and us a part of the ages without limitations or bounds. It should be remembered by the young as well as the old in this, another crucial period in our history, that an attempt to compel a free people by legal sanctions or executive pronouncement or even religious and moral implications to conform to a distasteful order and a repulsive way of life is more intolerable and indefensible than the application of physical force to gain such ignoble ends.

The returning Confederate soldier in 1865 found his home in ruins, his land laid waste, and his property destroyed or taken from him by force. The section, which before the holocaust of war was recognized as the richest in the country, was now in direst poverty. All organizations and institutions were therefore in a sad plight. Mississippi College was no exception. President Urner, devoted soul during a stressful period, persuaded the invading Federal forces from burning the college buildings, even though many of the stately mansions of the once prosperous citizens of the Clinton community went up in smoke and flames. After holding the college together during the first decade and the war period and 2 years thereafter, the first president of the college under Baptist control resigned in 1867, and President Hillman, of the Central Female Institute (later called Hillman College), with his wife, Adelia, took on the added responsibility of administering the affairs of both institutions. This they did with fidelity and devotion for 6 years. Then there appeared as leader that massive character and great heart and dedicated soul, Walter Sheldon Webb, to become the third president under present ownership. For 18 difficult and trying years he served and laid deep the foundation of Mississippi College in Christian concepts and spiritual verities.

In our humble judgment to President Webb more than anyone else is due the credit for Mississippi College wearing so well today the name Christian in fact as well as in name. Those who graduated under him were quick to pay glowing tributes to their great president who inspired them to a richer and fuller life. This speaker well remembers that soon after he assumed the presidency, one of them, Dr. B. D. Gray, came by unannounced and bade us go with him to the Clinton cemetery. He went straight to the grave of his great college president, Dr. Webb. As he stood there with his arm upon our shoulder, he delivered a eulogy on the life and character of President Webb. Then he went to the throne in prayer, thanking our Heavenly Father for giving Mississippi College the great and good president and having permitted him to sit at his feet and learn so many of life's great lessons. Then he prayed for the new president, beseeching the Lord to hold him true to the principles and the precepts lived and taught by his great leader. You can imagine how profoundly this experience influenced the future actions of the new president. We were further blessed in having two others who graduated under President Webb as members of our board of trustees. These were the Honorable A. S. Bozeman of Meridian and the late Brother J. W. Lee of Batesville. They were steadfast and unmovable for the right and always abounding in wisdom and good deeds for the college.

When age and infirmities removed Dr. Webb from the scene of action, the scholarly Dr. R. A. Venable, his son-in-law, was named his successor. He was the first alumnus to become president of Mississippi College. The question of moving the college to Meridian arose early during his administration. This provoked a great deal of controversy and no doubt had something to do with cutting short his tenure to 4 years. He was called to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Meridian, where he served in this capacity long and well. Later he rendered signal service in teaching Bible in Clarke College. With the closing of the administration of President Venable, the curtain on the past was drawn and the present appeared with the princely and esteemed W. T. Lowrey as president. He grew to maturity on a college campus. His father before him was a college president, and he had succeeded him to

the presidency of Blue Mountain College. He was also a preacher of power and was widely and favorably known in religious and educational circles. With his knowledge and wisdom and consecration he began the present era of Mississippi College which is now rapidly drawing to a close.

During his administration, Jennings hall, the dining hall, and the science hall were built, the endowment increased, the student body enlarged, reaching the 400 mark in 1906–07, which was the occasion for a holiday and a visit to the "Stute" with the professors as captives borne on the students' shoulders, some speeches were made, both publicly and privately, and a good time was had by all. In this administration, significantly enough, the Bible was introduced into the curriculum as a subject of study with the great soul, H. F. Sproles, as teacher.

When conditions at Blue Mountain necessituated the return of Dr. Lowrey to the presidency there, Dr. J. W. Provine, a member of the faculty, succeeded him to the presidency of Mississippi College in 1911. He had come to the faculty in 1893 fresh from the University of Goettingen with the degree of doctor of philosophy in chemistry. He could have gone to universities of high rank as teacher, but he chose to plant his life in Mississippi College as so many had done before and continue so to do. He had already served 2 years as chairman of the faculty and 1 year as president in the interim between the administration of President Venable and the coming of President Lowrey. So he was no novice in the field of college administration. With his profound scholarship and vision of what a college ought to be and tireless energy and capacity for making friends and holding them, the work of Mississippi College gained new recognition at home and abroad. Ratliff hall, Chrestman hall, the library building, the infirmary building, and alumni hall were constructed during the Provine administration. The endowment was raised from $240,000 to $632,000, enabling the college to qualify for membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. After weathering successful World War I and surviving the first shock of the world-wide depression beginning in 1929, Dr. Provine, who up to that time had served the college as president longer than any other, returned to his teaching position, where he remained for 10 more fruitful years.

To fill the vacancy, the present president was called from his department of physics. He had known Presidents Webb and Venable. He had received his diploma from the hands of President Lowrey. He had been taught chemistry and geology and German by the outgoing president and had served on his faculty for a score of years, and while so serving he was granted a leave from his department to lead in the movement to prepare all of our colleges for accreditation, so he was no novice either in knowledge of college affairs and perhaps would have been considered in the line of succession if president had been chosen after that fashion. Suffice it to say that he was chosen in the usual way and for 25 years, in this position, he has given his best to the college he loves dearer than life itself. What has been done during this administration is largely the result of a firm foundation laid by others, a sympathetic and supporting constituency, and the directing hand of an omnipotent and approving heavenly Father. With few exceptions, the governing body and the faculty have been to him as a rock in a weary land, and a shelter in the time of storm. The students, God bless them, have been like "apples of gold in baskets of silver." They have furnished inspiration and delight and their value has been far above the price of rarest rubies. During this administration there have been enrolled 12,095 different students. This number compares favorably with 12,686 who were enrolled from 1850 to 1932. Four thousand one hundred and three of this number were graduated, which is 2,203 more than had received diplomas before the beginning of the present administration. Modesty forbids and time fails to tell of the expansion of facilities and personnel and curricula and added endowment during the last quarter of a century. A scanning of the period might well provoke the exclamation of the inventor of the telegraph: "What hath God wrought."

With the close of this administration, a new era begins and what has gone before may be but an earnest of what is to be. With the proper regard for the meaning and mission of Mississippi College the future will be as bright as the promises of God. As was said by the great Churchill of his beloved country, "There will always be an England," so says an humble son of his alma mater: "There must always be a Mississippi College." A glorious past and a challenging present but presage a great future. We can but wish for a Longfellow to write of the perpetuity of our college as he wrote so truly and so well of our country:

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workman wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock—
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock, and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee.
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith, triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee!"

We of Mississippi College too need not fear sudden sounds and shocks. For our institution also is built upon a rock, the rock of eternal truth. In the long ago it was written by the Founding Fathers: "Our desire is to educate youth, not merely to hear recitations. To teach them to think as well as to remember. To improve the heart as well as the head." Again it is recorded: "Though our institution be in the hands of the Baptist denomination, we shall not deem it our duty to teach them our peculiar tenets. Yet we will rigidly require a regular attendance of prayers according to college usage, and attendance at some house of worship on the Lord's day, determined to notice any violation of the command against breaking the Sabbath." Of one thing there is assurance, doubly assured, that so long as there is firm and uncompromising adherence to her motto, "Truth and virtue," she will remain not merely a college of an age, but the college of the ages.

To achieve her manifest destiny there are some essentials that must obtain. Among these are a governing body devoted and loyal with a degree of permanence of tenure; a president, with a supporting staff, full of wisdom and strength and courage and consecrated to the glorious task in hand; a faculty such as has characterized her entire history, scholarly, spiritually minded and lovers and leaders of youth; a curriculum broad enough to provide not only a liberal arts education with the Bible at the center, but also adequate provision for graduate and professional education; a student body as now made up of wonderful young people from the best homes of the land, eager to learn and with an unquenchable desire to excel in all of the noble virtues; a constituency and a denomination committed to the great cause of Christian education and making liberal provisions for the operation of the college so that even worthy students of restricted means may be able to partake of her offerings. These high purposes realized, this college that majors upon spiritual values and Christian distinctives is well on her way toward achieving her manifest destiny.

As I was in the spirit a while ago, I had a vision. There was gathered together a great concourse of people which no man could hardly number. A speaker arose and in stentorian tones began to tell of the scenic beauty and charm of the State of Mississippi; of her healthy climate and fertile soil, of her stately hills and rolling plains and sweeping rivers, of her diversified crops and extensive forests and blooded cattle grazing in knee-deep pastures, and a people forward-looking, lighthearted and happy, in favor with God and man. He also spoke of how agriculture was being balanced with industry and capital had at last discovered that in this goodly and favored land profitable investments could be made. And with this increasing prosperity there were coming, said he, better schools, better homes, better churches, and richer living conditions for all the people. When this one sat down, another arose to ask a question. What was behind all this growth and prosperity? He wanted to know. What was the responsible factor? For a moment there was a great silence. Then one arose standing head and shoulders above them all and began to give answers to the questions propounded. Said he, "There are several minor factors, no doubt, that enter into the phenomenal growth and development of this great State, but fundamentally and basically the major cause lies in the fact that there was founded in 1826 a college in the strategic town of Clinton, in the center of the State, hard by the capital city, which is just 9 years the junior of the State, and through these more than 130 years, she has been sending a stream of cultured Christian leadership into all vocations, professions, and callings into every nook and corner of the State, making the crooked places straight and the rough places smooth. And this benevolent influence has not been confined to Mississippi alone, but the flow has extended to earth's remotest bounds."

Then another with animated voice and serious demeanor arose to offer a suggestion. "If what has been said is true and who can gainsay it, let the citizenry of the State of Mississippi of all faiths and of no faith show its appreciation and gratitude for favors and benedictions received from this benevolent institution rise up en masse and provide adequately for training and developing not 2,000 as now, but 5,000 young men and women, not only providing work in the area of the liberal arts but in all the professions and callings as well." When he sat down, the applause was so thunderous as to awake the dreamer. The hope continues to persist that the vision in due time will prove to be more than a dream. And to the members of the class of 1957, we issue the charge and the challenge to join with the class of 1907 whose living members are celebrating their 50th anniversary today and all others of the same mind toward realizing the highest hopes and fondest dreams for alma mater. Then a mighty chorus of kindred voices can make the welkins ring and the earth resound with

Fairest of all is our dear Mississippi
Rising in state as the crest of a hill;
Staunch as a rock is our dear alma mater,
Round her so noble our hopes ever live.

When in the future, our hearts may be yearning
For the bright scenes of our dear college youth,
Back to thy portals our memories turning,
Clear, gleams thy beacon of virtue and truth.

M. C., we hail thee, our dear Mississippi,
Queen of our hearts, no foes shall alarm;
Faithful and loyal thy children will ever
Cherish thy mem'ry, acknowledge thy charm.

Clear It With Alcorn—How Ambassadors Are Chosen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the August 10, 1957, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald entitled "Envoys Reported 'Cleared' by GOP."

ENVOYS REPORTED CLEARED BY GOP
(By Drew Pearson)

Despite President Eisenhower's angry denial that he ever appointed an ambassador because of political contributions, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has discovered quite by accident that the State Department clears every diplomatic appointment with the Republican National Committee.

A State Department stenographer made a slip and sent the wrong letters to Foreign Relations Chairman THEODORE GREEN, Democrat, of Rhode Island. The letters were supposed to have been sent to the ranking Republican, Senator ALEXANDER WILEY of Wisconsin. Instead, Democratic Senator GREEN was assured on two occasions that ambassador nominees had been cleared with the Republican National Committee.

GREEN has now demanded to know whether the State Department or the Republican National Committee is running our diplomatic service.

The Foreign Relations Committee is also tracing the political contributions of key ambassadors and finds overwhelming evidence that Mr. Eisenhower just didn't know what he was talking about or else wasn't telling the truth when he said campaign contributions didn't influence diplomatic appointments. The committee's findings indicate that diplomatic posts are put on the auction block and almost sold for cash on the barrelhead to campaign contributors.

MONEY RAISERS

The chief money raiser for last year's campaign, GOP National Treasurer J. Clifford Folger, was appointed Ambassador to Belgium. He and his wife not only raised money, but gave $10,500 out of their own pockets. Aside from his money-raising ability, Folger has no other known qualification for handling our complicated foreign affairs.

Total contributions of $8,500 have been traced to James David Zellerbach's immediate family. He's the California paper-box king who was named Ambassador to Italy, a juicy diplomatic plum.

The President's new Ambassador to France, Amory Houghton, coughed up $6,000 and his son gave another $2,500. John Hay Whitney, Ambassador to Britain, has long been a big Republican contributor. Ten contributions have been traced to him and his wife, totaling $30,000. Other family members also donated heavily to the 1956 campaign.

The former Ambassador to Denmark, Robert T. Cole, got his job after contributing to the Eisenhower campaign in 1952. He reportedly was asked for a more substantial donation in 1956. The records show his family scraped up $6,190.

"It was more than that. I doubled my 1952 contribution," Coe told this column by long-distance phone from his home in Cody, Wyo. But apparently it wasn't enough; he was kicked out as Ambassador.

HARD TO TRACE

It's no secret that only a percentage of the actual campaign contributions are officially recorded. The balance is often passed under the table. All Mr. Eisenhower's noncareer ambassadors are known to have donated to the political pot.

However, it's difficult to trace the individual contributions. For example, Jefferson Patterson, Ambassador to Uruguay, gave $4,000 to the Eisenhower campaign in Dayton, Ohio. The records also show another $20,000 contributed by Jefferson Patterson and his wife in Washington.

Robert Thayer, Ambassador to Romania, is listed as donating $1,000 via the American Embassy in Vienna, Austria. Two contributions of $1,000 and $2,000, respectively, have been traced to Mrs. Thayer in Vienna. Still another $2,000 shows up in the record, contributed by Mrs. Thayer in Washington.

The evidence clearly shows that the political spoils system is followed in handing out diplomatic posts. This may explain why the United States has suffered so many diplomatic setbacks.

NOTE.—The man who stirred up the controversy over political ambassadors, Maxwell Gluck, admitted contributing $36,000 to 2 Eisenhower campaigns. He was a close friend and associate of Ben Javits, attorney brother of Senator JACK JAVITS of New York. Senator JAVITS didn't want to appoint Gluck from New York, so arranged with his Republican Senate friends from Kentucky to appoint him from that State, because Gluck kept a racing stable in Kentucky.

The Late Thomas L. Blanton

SPEECH
OF
HON. CARL VINSON
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, somewhere in the great beyond a great American, the Honorable Thomas L. Blanton, has joined the heavenly hosts. Judge Blanton served as a Member of the House of Representatives with distinction, energy, and integrity from 1917 to 1937, except for one term in 1929 when he was an unsuccessful candidate for nomination to the United States Senate. Prior to his congressional service he had served as judge of the 42d judicial district of Texas.

I first met Judge Blanton in his first term in the Congress. I quickly realized that he was a man of great talent, strongly devoted to his country, extremely conscious of his duty to his constituents, firm in his convictions, and ready at all times to fight for what he thought was right. He was undoubtedly one of the best informed and one of the hardest working Members that it has been my privilege to meet. I respected his knowledge and admired his courage.

I always considered Judge Blanton as a personal friend and I shall always cherish the memory of that friendship.

Judge Thomas L. Blanton made his mark on the American scene. There was never any question as to where he stood on national issues so important then to our national welfare.

I am saddened by the news of Judge Blanton's death, and I express my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Blanton and to the many friends of Judge Blanton who, like I, respected him and admired him.

The Determination of Tariff Levels by Wage Differentials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on February 18, 1955, the House passed H. R. 1, a bill to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930 as amended. At that time I took the floor of the House to explain an amendment I had sought to make to this act. These remarks appear on page 1479 of the RECORD.

On March 9, 1955, I appeared before the Senate Finance Committee in behalf of this amendment, and my remarks appear in the Senate Finance Committee hearings on H. R. 1.

In essence, my amendment sought to enable the Reciprocal Trades Act to accomplish what it advocates and professes to do. At the same time, it will not do the damage to American domestic industry that the opponents of the act claim it does.

Personally I do not believe that the Reciprocal Trades Act has accomplished what its proponents claim for it. During the period that the Reciprocal Trades Act has been the law of our land, international trade has not become more liberalized. Quite the contrary, international trade has become clogged with more trade barriers than ever before. I think it is properly argued that there were other forces at work which created this clogging of international trade and, as a matter of fact, I think it can be successfully argued that, but for the Reciprocal Trades Act, international trade might have become even more clogged than it has. Be that as it may, the number of barriers erected in international trade is legion and they have increased, not decreased.

Certainly the evidence of maintaining friends abroad as a result of our trade policies is questionable. Despite the impression that the press releases of our State Department give to the American public, the United States is by far the freest trader of any industrial national in the world today. Yet, with all this liberalization, world trade is in the clogged state I have described. Furthermore, any fair analysis will show the use of the tariff to regulate foreign trade is the most liberal of all regulatory devices. Such regulatory devices as licenses, quotas, systems of dual currencies, and so forth, are much more rigid, arbi-

trary, and restrictive than are tariffs. What regulating the United States does is done essentially through the tariff device.

We have not been building the economies of what are termed the friendly nations in a really solid manner, either through our aid policies or our trade policies. Our aid programs are, in essence, socialistic inasmuch as they are channeled through the political government of the country involved. Our trade, which is essentially private enterprise so far as the United States is concerned, meets with a highly protected and subsidized enterprise system in most of the foreign nations. Furthermore, the benefits derived from industry in most of these allegedly friendly and allegedly free nations is such that labor takes little and capital takes much. No domestic markets exist in most of these countries and no domestic markets are likely to exist so long as the country concerned permits its labor to be exploited in a sweatshop fashion.

Our own domestic industry is required to obey social legislation designed to build a sounder and more abundant economy such as minimum wage laws, health laws, antitrust laws, and so forth. Very obviously, if our Government does not permit a price differential to exist to reflect the added cost of these socially desirable restrictions on our industries, the sweatshop operations abroad—frequently under American capital gone abroad to escape the domestic socially valuable legislation—can take over the great domestic market. In the long run, of course, if unchecked this will destroy the great American domestic market.

The best way, of course, for us to combat communism in these friendly nations abroad is to help them build their own domestic market. This is done by encouraging them to give their laboring group enough take-home pay so that they can become customers for the products they assist in making. We do not do this, even though it be in the guise of friendship, by giving them readymade markets for sweatshop labor.

The amendment I proposed to the Reciprocal Trades Act sought to tie in our tariff reductions with the minimum wages paid in an industry abroad seeking to sell its product in the United States domestic market. In my appearance before the Senate Finance Committee I had developed a formula somewhat more realistic than the crude one I proposed to the House Ways and Means Committee which simply tied minimum wages of foreign countries with our minimum wages. In the perfected formula I threw in an additional factor of ratio of per capita GNP of the foreign country with the United States per capita GNP. This was necessary in order not to have an industry manufacturing for export into the United States wages too greatly out of line with the national wage scale of that country. However, the essence of the formula was to have our tariffs go down on a particular product as the wage scale of the foreign industry making the product for export approached our minimum wage scale. It was not required to approach the wage scale paid in the United States domestic industry which, of course, would be 2½ and sometimes 3 times greater than our national minimum wage scale.

The State Department said this approach was too impractical. They also said it would interfere with the economies of countries abroad. Actually, the problem is not an easy one. But a little brains applied to it should be able to make it practical. The point that it would interfere with the economies of nations abroad should hardly be dignified by an answer. Our present policies are interfering with nations abroad in a manner which, in my judgment, has caused damage. The interference such as a purely voluntary program, as my amendment suggests, would be a great step forward in lessening interference and, at the same time, accomplishing the main thing we say we want to accomplish; that is, to build the economies of our friends abroad and help to make the peoples of that country free and beneficiaries of the good things in life.

With this preamble, I am placing in the RECORD a suggested amendment which seeks to grapple with the solution to this problem in more detail. I am certain that one reading this proposal will immediately comment, "how complicated." But I believe if attention is kept to the issue at hand the reaction will be that this is a further step forward in reaching the objectives for which we should all be looking. I hope the officials of our State, Commerce, and Labor Departments will read this over carefully and start applying a little constructive criticism to it. In my judgment, if action along this line is not formalized the entire Reciprocal Trades Act may go by the boards. The Eisenhower administration has often spoken of bold new programs. Most of these programs I have seen have been neither bold nor new. This, indeed, would be a bold new program that could start a new era in American foreign relations.

The suggested amendment follows:

THE DETERMINATION OF TARIFF LEVELS BY WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

The new and dynamic kind of capitalism created in the United States during the last 40 years depends not only upon the capacity to produce but the ability to consume, broadly shared by the great majority of citizens. The high level of wages paid to production workers here, made mandatory by the Fair Labor Standards Act, is an integral factor in this ability to consume.

By contrast, foreign nations of the so-called free world, with the exception of Canada, continue to follow the kind of capitalism which was characteristic of the United States in the 19th century. Wages paid to production workers are low, and the ability of the average man to consume extends not much beyond subsistence items. Abject poverty exists side by side with great wealth, and the market for consumer goods other than basic necessities is restricted to the few.

Since no nation exists as an economic entity unto itself, this difference in the two forms of capitalism causes thoughtful people much concern. Rigid immigration quotas imposed by the United States prevent a flood of foreign labor from undermining our wage structure. But if the product of cheap labor is permitted free access to our markets, the effect is the same. If the foreign manufacturer, by reason of a lower labor cost, can undersell American producers in their own primary market the rates of pay of American workers, and their very jobs, are in jeopardy.

The tariff policy of the United States should have two objectives. First, product by product, it should offset the extra cost, if any, of wages to production workers paid by the American producer. Where the American producer's cost of production is penalized by manmade rules, that penalty must be balanced by other manmade rules to the extent, and to no more than the extent, of that penalty.

Second, the United States tariff policy should be used as the instrumentality to extend this concept of capitalism abroad to the end that workers elsewhere will receive a fairer share of the product and the increment of industry. This can be accomplished by making the level of United States import duty on a specific product contingent upon the level of wages paid by the foreigner who sends his product to this market. To grant concessions in our markets to the owners of foreign businesses may increase the profits of the few, but so limited a benefit will neither bolster the sagging economy of our allies nor will it arrest the spread of Communism. Wherever great wealth and abject poverty exist side by side, the situation is ripe for the cancer of the Communist cell.

The problem of determining levels of United States import duties on various products by the relative cost of wages to production workers is not as difficult as importers, manufacturers who produce abroad for the United States market, and doctrinaire free traders, would have us believe. The very variety of objections they raise indicates their awareness of the essential fairness of this approach provided that it could be done realistically.

It is true that a simple comparison of average hourly wages paid to workers in domestic and foreign industries neglects the relative productivity of labor. It is likewise true that it would not be practical to compare the total labor cost content of the United States made product with the total labor cost content of the foreign made product, because reliable data would not be available from the foreign producer. And it is true that fringe benefits which do not appear in workers' take-home pay, are a higher percentage of hourly earnings in many foreign countries than they are here.

But there is no reason why we should follow a blind alley, or omit factors which should be included. The average hourly wage comparison is important if we are to accomplish the purpose of recognizing better levels of foreign wages. There is, however, no reason why it must be used alone in a formula without a weighting factor. Likewise, total labor cost content is important, and if foreign figures are unobtainable, the figures of each domestic industry can be readily obtained and can serve as a basis for calculation.

The following method is suggested as an equitable way to determine ad valorem duty rates, product by product, using wage differentials as a basis:

1. Determine a weighted foreign hourly wage rate that can be equitably compared to the competitive United States industry wage rate.

2. Determine the man-hours per dollar of sale to measure the effect of the difference in wage levels and establish difference in actual labor cost.

3. Determine the ad valorem duty necessary to offset the computed difference in actual labor cost.

The calculations to accomplish the above are described below:

1. Determine a weighted foreign hourly wage rate.

(a) Divide the foreign wage rate by the domestic rate, both rates to include fringe benefits which constitute a direct charge on

the manufacturer. The domestic rate shall be the United States industry average for that product. The foreign wage rate shall be attested to by the foreign manufacturer who shall list the hourly average wage to all production employees, plus a list of applicable fringe benefits so that the document constitutes a basis for ready investigation by the responsible agency of the United States Government.

(b) Divide the foreign per capita income by the United States per capita income.

(c) Divide the ratio of wages (I a) by the ratio of per capita incomes (I b). This results in a weighting factor to adjust the foreign wage so that wages paid by foreign and domestic producers can be compared in the economic climate in which each is paid.

(d) Multiply the attested foreign wage rate by the weighting factor (I c). If the foreign wage rate represents a higher relationship to the domestic wage than the foreign per capita income does to the domestic per capita income, the attested wage rate is adjusted upward. If the reverse relationship exists, i. e., the wage ratio is lower than the income ratio, the attested wage is reduced for purposes of computing United States duty.

2. Determine the man-hours per dollar of sale and establish difference in actual labor cost.

(a) The average United States industry percent of labor cost to product selling price is considered to be the cents of labor cost per dollar of United States selling price.

(b) Divide the cents of labor cost per sales dollar (II a) by the United States industry hourly wage rate to determine the man-hours required per dollar of domestic sales price.

(c) Multiply the man-hours required (II b) by the weighted foreign wage rate (I d) to determine the weighted foreign labor cost per dollar of United States selling price.

(d) Subtract the weighted foreign labor cost (II c) from the United States labor cost (II a), both based on a dollar of domestic sales price, to determine the difference in labor cost.

3. Determine the ad valorem duty necessary to offset the computed difference in labor cost.

(a) Subtract the domestic labor cost per dollar of sales (II a) from a dollar of domestic price to determine all factors besides labor included in the domestic price.

(b) Add the weighted foreign labor cost per dollar of domestic sales price (II c) to the domestic cost of all factors besides labor (III a) to establish a foreign price base, i. e., a price that includes all domestic price factors except labor and includes labor on a foreign weighted cost basis.

(c) Divide the difference between weighted foreign labor cost and domestic labor cost (II d) by the foreign price base (III b) to determine the ad valorem duty necessary to equalize the labor cost differential.

An example of how this formula applies in a specific situation is attached as an addendum to this memorandum.

The system outlined above is clearly based on the real differential in the cost of wages to production workers. It does not prejudice the product of any country by reason of the current stage of that country's economic development. It uses nothing but obtainable statistics. It is easy to calculate the United States ad valorem duty on any product made in any country.

It preserves the most favored nations concept, because it need be applied only to those nations now so considered. Others would continue to pay the pre-Trade Agreements Act rates of duty.

It answers the categorical objection of the International Chamber of Commerce to the effect that United States industries paying the lowest wages are those most likely to seek protection. Obviously, just as this system rewards foreign manufacturers who pull their weight in the boat as far as other wages in their own countries are concerned, so this system would penalize United States industries paying substandard wages according to this country's economy.

It would put international trade and trade agreements on a sounder basis. Since the abandonment of the gold standard as a dependable reference point, such agreements have often been warped or nullified by one country depreciating its currency. With this system, there would be no advantage in such a course because of the cross relationship of per capita incomes and hourly wages, and the relation of both to the United States dollar.

It would identify United States trade policy with the interest of peoples abroad, and would become a powerful countervoice against the appeals and promises of communism.

ADDENDUM NO. 1

Following is a list of 20 countries and their latest per capita income figures as given in the 1956 United Nations Statistical Handbook. Figures for other nations are available from the same source, and should be translated into United States dollars at the free rate of exchange prevailing. These per capita income figures, together with assumptions as to domestic and foreign average hourly wages, can be used to calculate ad valorem duty on any product which would be imposed in accordance with this formula:

Australia	$1,032
Austria	444
Belgium	814
Canada	1,335
Denmark	770
Finland	787
France	821
Greece	230
Israel	557
Italy	353
Japan	212
Mexico	164
Netherlands	582
Portugal	188
Spain	279
Sweden	1,101
Switzerland	1,092
United Kingdom	832
United States of America	1,960
West Germany	603

ADDENDUM NO. 2

Problem: To calculate the ad valorem duty imposed on XYZ product made in Japan and exported to the United States of America.

Facts: United States per capita income, $1,960; Japanese per capita income, $212.

Assumptions: United States XYZ industry average hourly wage, including fringe benefits, $2.10; Japanese XYZ manufacturer's average hours wage, including fringe benefits, $0.33; United States XYZ industry's average labor cost percent of selling price, 28 percent.

Formula paragraph:

I. (a) $0.33÷$2.10=15.7 percent (foreign wage percent of United States wage); (b) $212÷$1,960=10.8 percent (foreign per capita income percent of United States per capita income); (c) 15.7 percent÷10.8 percent=1.45 (weighting factor to adjust actual foreign wage); (d) 1.45×$0.33=$0.478 (weighted foreign average hourly wage).

II. (a) 28 percent×$1.00=$0.28 (United States XYZ industry's labor cost per sales dollar); (b) $0.28÷$2.10=.133 (man-hours per sales dollar); (c) 0.133×$0.478=$0.064 (weighted foreign labor cost per United States sales dollar); (d) $0.28−$0.064=$0.216 (difference in labor cost per United States sales dollar).

III. (a) $1.00−$0.28=$0.72 (United States XYZ industry's price factors other than labor); (b) $0.72+$0.064=$0.784 (foreign price including all United States factors except labor and adding weighted foreign labor cost); (c) $0.216÷$0.784=27.5 percent (ad valorem duty).

The Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, this country needs a civil-rights bill about as much as, but no more than, a hungry man with an empty pocket, no food, and unemployed needs an additional appetite.

There is on the books ample law to protect the right to vote. If we have had as little enforcement of that right as we have had of some others, the impatience of the American people with the practices existing in a few States is understandable.

At the same time, we might well keep in mind the fact that, in elections where the franchise is free, voters are continually coaxed by the candidates to go to the polls, yet a large percentage of the population just ignores the privilege. For example, at many a municipal, township, and school election, no more than 25 percent of the eligible voters take the trouble to express their will.

In truth and in fact, whatever may be the real situation in some States, where it is said certain groups are not permitted to vote, the cold, hard fact is that all this furor over the civil-rights bill grows out of a struggle of politicians to corral the vote of certain minority groups.

The bill not only gives unjustified power to an Attorney General, power which in the hands of a wicked, ambitious man might enable him to establish himself as a dictator, but it creates a new and expensive agency—an agency which will be dominated and controlled by self-seeking members of minority groups who have their own personal political advancement in mind to a greater degree than their desire to serve others.

This week's Saturday Evening Post has this to say:

HAS TRIAL BY JURY LOST ITS STANDING AS A CIVIL RIGHT?

The civil-rights bill would have stirred up less opposition than it did if its proponents had been willing at the beginning to include in the bill the civil right of trial by jury for those accused of violating the law. The device by which persons accused of disobeying this one isolated statute were to be charged with contempt of court, in order to make possible their conviction of a Federal offense, left a bad taste all round.

The reasoning behind this attitude was ably stated at the convention of the Americans for Democratic Action. Efforts to insert a guaranty of trial by jury into the civil-rights bill were denounced as a "hoax," since it is well known that "southern juries can be counted on not to do justice." In other words, if you can't hang 'em according to

the rules, change the rules. In view of the fact that the qualifications of voters have long been in the hands of the States, this effort to control it from Washington might well be approached with greater caution.

Opportunism is not original with liberals. Back in the Presidency of John Adams, Federal judges raced up and down the eastern seaboard jailing editors and others accused of violating the sedition laws, by which was meant that they had attacked the Federalist Party. Local government was not trusted by conservatives then for the same reason that it is not trusted by liberals now: it could not be relied on to convict the right people. Alexander Hamilton, whose views on this point have been summarized by John Dos Passos in a fascinating book, The Men Who Made the Nation (Doubleday), "would like to see the large States subdivided into small States and these cut up into districts, each presided over by a Federal court appointed by the President to enforce the Federal laws at the county level."

The American people had a taste of that idea a century and a half ago and, as soon as they could, they threw it in the trash can. James Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, who has written another good book, The Sovereign States (Regnery), is confident that the people will repudiate new efforts to advance one set of civil rights by denying others. But "the States," Mr. Kilpatrick declares, "for their own preservation must insist upon shouldering those proper responsibilities they too often have abandoned by default."

It should be added, of course, that one of the proper responsibilities of the States is protection of the essential civil rights of all their citizens. Those who fear civil-rights legislation might ask themselves whether they have always gone as far as they reasonably could to welcome the Negro as a full citizen. And some of the advocates of hurry-up civil-rights measures, including the denial of jury trial, might think more profoundly about the Bill of Rights and all its implications.

Do Most People Know Where Government Gets Its Money?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville (Ind.) News of August 8, 1957:

DO MOST PEOPLE KNOW WHERE GOVERNMENT GETS ITS MONEY?

In these relatively enlightened times, it would seem almost fantastic that most Americans do not know where government—and particularly Federal Government—gets the money with which to provide countless services which have increased at a phenomenal rate in recent year. But with many millions of citizens now receiving Federal payments of one kind and another, and with many others demanding that Uncle Sam do for them what they could more properly do for themselves, there appears to be no great hope for a reversal of this paternalistic trend.

To many people the mere thought that there are great numbers of our countrymen who fail to understand where the Government obtains the funds it spends, is nothing short of ridiculous. But, nevertheless, there is ample reason to believe that such is the case, and that a failure to understand this basic truth—that the Government can give only what it first takes away—threatens our future economic progress. Indeed, this failure threatens our entire way of life.

And because of this failure by so many people, the Government is persuaded to believe that it has to do more and spend more to meet the desires of the people. Our Government leadership, it would seem, reasons that if the majority of people appear to want the Government to go on giving and taking, the people really understand the consequences.

First of all, there are many who apparently believe that the Government has some mysterious and endless supply of money—not even understanding the fact that Government can get money from just one source, taxes. And then there are others who, while understanding that Government obtains all its funds from taxes, believe that Government can soak business for taxes and thereby make things monetarily more easy for the private individual. Nothing could be further from the truth. Businesses can operate only at a profit, and there soon would not be enough profit for operation if businesses sought to absorb a near-confiscatory tax burden. Businesses do the only thing possible for them to do—they pass on the taxes to their customers as a part of the price of the commodities they sell.

No, there is no magic money tree for Government. It must be supported only by millions of individual Americans who must dig down into their pockets and give. Government cannot give anything which it does not first take from the people. That's a good thing to keep in mind the next time you hear someone say Government is going to give you something for free.

Farmers Hold the Key to Future Hog Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, farmers hold the key to future hog prices. If the favorable prices and feeding ratio now enjoyed by producers prompt overexpansion of hog production, heavy supplies could easily bring about lower prices as past experience clearly demonstrates.

Too many hogs leads to inefficient use of resources with accompanying low prices and incomes as producers well remember from their experiences in 1949 and 1955. In 1949, hog producers increased the pig crop by 10 million head and hog prices dropped $5 to $6 per hundred. Again in 1954, producers increased total production by 9 million hogs followed by another 9-million-head increase in 1955. Hog market prices dropped sharply.

On the other hand as production is reduced, prices go up. Hog producers made a cut of 7½ million hogs in production in 1956. Hog prices have been running from $18 to $21 per hundred at midwestern markets during recent weeks. A year ago prices, while markets were recovering from heavy 1955-crop marketings, were as much as $5 per hundred less.

There have been periods when prices have held when hog numbers expanded but usually this was during a period when demand was high due to emergencies such as World War II and the Korean war. In 1941, the United States Department of Agriculture asked for an increase in production and prices held in the war period. With stable production in years following the war, prices stayed high in 1946, 1947, and 1948.

Hog production was increased in 1950 and 1951 but prices held due to the Korean war. Sizable reductions in 1952 and 1953 production increased the price of hogs in 1953 and 1954.

The past shows that when production is balanced with demand, hog producers receive satisfactory prices. If production remains on an even keel during the coming months, price prospects for hogs should be favorable.

The Department of Agriculture has expressed the hope that producers will continue to avoid excessive increases at the time of breeding for the 1958 spring pig crop. It should also be pointed out that the trend toward production of meat-type hogs is continuing which indicates that producers are becoming increasingly aware of the need for producing quality pork for effective marketing.

Farmer Unable To Cope With Redtape

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, some farmers want less Federal aid or meddling. From a farmer in the Fourth Congressional District of Michigan, who received a request from the Department of Agriculture to furnish certain information on the June 1, 1957, nursery products inquiry, together with a franked addressed envelope for its return, came this reply, which he requested that I forward to the Department:

I received three of your requests and promptly filed them in the wastebasket.

Will you lay off wasting Government money—my tax money—writing me?

We have altogether too many State and Federal employees who have nothing to do but write out to the farmers for information that will only take a few moments of our time.

As far as being confidential, nothing you birds get is confidential, all you want is something to broadcast to the winds. Besides, what I do is none of your——business. As far as I am concerned, you can tell——.

As far as "no stamp is needed," it would be a —— of a lot cheaper for me if it needed a stamp; since I have to pay for the frank in taxes anyway, besides paying some Government employee to write me to tell me that the frank privilege doesn't cost anything. How dumb do you think we people are?

Reading the letter, I gather that this farmer is rather thoroughly convinced that one policy of the Department, that is, of preventing unemployment in it, is and will continue to be quite successful.

He's Brave

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, a real problem in Government today is that of obtaining high caliber men for top appointive offices. Washington has seen great men come and go—men who have deprived themselves of the security and salary and comfort of their established way of life in an effort to be public servants—only to find that when they have crossed the bridge into Washington life they have subjected themselves to the painful criticism and cross-examination so characteristic. Neil McElroy will be no exception in being fair game for the politicians, cartoonists, and reporters just as have been so many people who have made great sacrifices to come to Washington.

The following is an editorial from the August 14 issue of the Zanesville, Ohio, Signal, which aptly describes the future for Neil McElroy. I commend him for his courage in agreeing to come to Washington and to devote his vast experience in the service of the Nation as our new Secretary of Defense.

HE'S BRAVE

Only time will show the full range of attributes possessed by Neil H. McElroy, named by President Eisenhower to succeed the resigning Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson.

But at this stage there can be no doubt of his bravery.

A man who undertakes a top cabinet job in the Washington of this era is either brave or utterly foolhardy. And McElroy has given no indication that he is anybody's fool.

He must therefore be brave because if he is confirmed in his new post:

He will be giving up a relatively high-paying job as president of Procter & Gamble, soap manufacturers, to take a lower-paying assignment with the Government.

He probably will have to divest himself of any stock holdings he has, in order to avoid any conflict of interest between his public and private activities.

Most likely he will have to maintain two homes—one in Cincinnati and another in Washington—on less money than he now has to keep one going.

Instead of worrying just about what his company board of directors may do he will have to worry over what some 531 United States lawmakers may say and do relative to his operations.

On top of this he will have to adjust his actions to the White House, to his fellow Cabinet officers, to the various agencies and departments which affect his own field. And he will have to worry over what foreign governments think of the Defense Department's pronouncements and activities.

He may find he's spending as much time answering congressional and other inquiries about his activities as he is performing them.

He may discover, too, that he'll be criticized as inaccessible if he sticks to business and doesn't talk publicly, or that he'll be just as roundly assailed as a "popoff" if he talks freely.

In short, he'll be playing a course that's nearly all sand traps, and rough, and practically no fairway. It takes nerve. And after he's chopped his way along for awhile, McElroy may find himself dreaming of the old days in Cincinnati, when, by comparison, it was all fairway.

The Wilderness Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on July 25, 1957, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. ULLMAN] received unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD, an article from the Christian Science Monitor of July 22, 1957, entitled "Forest Service Opposes Sealed Wilds." At this time, I would like to point out for the benefit of my colleagues several misunderstandings of the purposes of the Wilderness bill and one outright misstatement of fact which are included in this article.

In the eighth paragraph, the author of the article, Mr. Roscoe Fleming, writes:

> Under the conservationists' bill as it is framed, the Wilderness Council it would set up could lessen, add to, create, or abolish any wilderness area, and the order would become effective unless either House of Congress vetoed it within 120 days.

This statement would seem to have no basis in fact. Quoting from Dr. Richard McArdle, Chief of the Forest Service, in his statement on S. 1176, the Wilderness bill, before the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, June 19, 1957, we find the following:

> The Wilderness Council would have no administrative responsibilities but would act as a repository for information, sponsor and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs, advise with governmental officials, report annually to Congress, and transmit to the Congress proposed changes in wilderness boundaries.

Quoting directly from section 3 (a) of the bill itself, we find:

> The council shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any unit in the system nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction.

I feel this is an obvious misunderstanding on the part of Mr. Fleming and hope it may be corrected in future coverage of this bill.

As far as "freezing" all present wilderness areas into law is concerned, as referred to by Mr. Fleming in paragraph two, this is an expressed viewpoint of the Department of Agriculture. It is, of course, the purpose of this bill to ensure the preservation as wilderness of the present areas so designated. As such this is the preservation of status quo. The bill, however, provides a procedure for making changes—additions, modifications, or eliminations. These changes would be made in the same way as at present. The only difference under this legislation is that before such changes become effective, Congress would have a 120 day period during which a majority vote of either house could reject the decision. The only situation when such a vote could be secured on such short notice would be a case of clear violation of sound policy. Thus, this safeguard against an unwise decision of a future Secretary of the Agriculture should not be interpreted as a freezing of the status quo.

Regarding Mr. Fleming's reference to the Wilderness Council as being composed of a "minority of Federal officials and a majority of conservationists," it should be pointed out that amendments have already been proposed to the wilderness bill which would add the Director of the Bureau of Land Management to the Council and reduce the number of citizen members from 6 to 3—thus giving the Council a composition of 5 Federal land administrators and 3 citizen members. So constituted, the Council could effectively carry on the functions for which it was designated, yet not threaten either to outvote or override the land administrators.

In an attempt to clarify the intent of the bill with respect to what the Forest Service has termed an interposition of another layer of authority between the executive and the Congress, an amendment has been proposed which will provide that reports of proposed changes in wilderness areas shall be submitted directly to Congress by the Secretary of Agriculture. Copies only of such reports will go to the secretary of the Council, as a matter of information.

Regarding the Department of Agriculture's substitute bill, which would apply only to national forests, the Bureau of the Budget has advised: "Congress may not wish to deal with the problems of preservation of national wilderness assets except in a general and uniform statute applicable to all affected agencies." Therefore, our opportunity would seem to be one of integrating the suggested provisions of the substitute bill into the general statute. If this can be acceptably done, the objective we are aiming for will have been achieved—the preservation of a portion of America always wild.

I certainly hope this may clarify some of the misunderstanding of the wilderness bill set forth in Mr. Fleming's article. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Civil-Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to point out that Governor

Williams and the AFL–CIO have sold the Negro down the river on the civil-rights issue.

The executive council of the AFL–CIO in reversing its stand, made a deliberate attempt to play for southern votes in the Democratic convention in 1960. Governor Williams has White House fever. He is willing to sacrifice whatever principles he may have once possessed in this regard in a desperate effort to become a candidate for President.

The Governor dragged the AFL–CIO right along with him in the sellout of one of our most basic constitutional guaranties—the right to vote.

Governor Williams has charged that President Eisenhower killed the civil-rights bill. This is ridiculous, and he knows it. It is a desperate effort to wiggle off the hook. The record will show that it was the Democrats—not the Republicans—who voted against an adequate civil-rights bill in the Senate. Only 9 out of 49 Democrats supported the President in this measure compared to 33 Republicans.

What happened to the rest of the Democrats? Apparently, they still want to use the civil-rights issue for campaign purposes rather than to show concern for equal rights for all of our people.

What Gluck Achieved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the New York Times of August 12, 1957]

WHAT GLUCK ACHIEVED

(By James Reston)

Maxwell H. Gluck may not be the smartest ambassador nominated by President Eisenhower, but he has succeeded in doing these things nobody else has been able to do in the last 10 years:

By his failure to know the name of the Prime Minister of the country to which he was appointed, Ceylon, and his failure to pronounce Jawaharlal Nehru, he has focused attention on the odd ways in which ambassadors are selected by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

He has forced the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to reconsider its practice of confirming ambassadors in secret.

And finally, he has forced the State Department to release information it has previously refused to make public on the high cost of being a United States ambassador.

COST FIGURES DISCLOSED

For example, it has long been known that the root of the trouble in getting the best Americans available for these jobs was that the Government would not foot the bill. But not until the administration had to defend itself against criticism of the Gluck appointment would it release the figures that illustrated the problem.

This has now been done. Christian A. Herter, the Under Secretary of State, called before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to explain "the case of the innocent ambassador," produced a memorandum showing what the United States pays its Ambassador in London, John Hay Whitney, compared with what the British Government pays the British Ambassador, Sir Harold Caccia, here in Washington.

This illustrates why the United States feels it has to select its top diplomats only from the ranks of the wealthy, for according to the Herter figures, Sir Harold gets $42,468 more a year for salary and allowances than Mr. Whitney, and while this is not likely to bankrupt Mr. Whitney, it is still an interesting statistic.

"The American Ambassador to Great Britain," the Herter memorandum says, "receives a salary of $27,500; a representation allowance (limited strictly to official functions) which does not even pay for the Embassy's annual Fourth of July party and an official residence allowance of $11,312.

SIXTY-FOUR THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED AND FOUR DOLLARS VERSUS ONE HUNDRED AND TWO THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY DOLLARS

"The total salary and emoluments is $50,812. If we add to the $50,812 figure the items of expense that are paid directly by the [London] post through operating allotment and which are included in the British allowances, we would have to add the wages of a local chauffeur who drives the Ambassador's limousine and the wages of gardeners and janitors. This amounts to $9,592, and makes the new total $60,404.

"The $60,404 of the American Ambassador to Great Britain and the $102,870 of the British Ambassador to the United States are comparable in that the two figures exclude identical categories of expense."

In addition, the British, who are supposed to glory in austerity and maintain they have less money than the United States, give their Ambassadors other advantages. For example, a British Ambassador receives a transfer allowance for every change of post that comes to 10 percent of his salary if he has two children. A United States Ambassador's transfer allowance is $200.

The British, moreover, pay much more liberal clothing and educational allowances. One example is that the British Ambassador, for example, would be given allowances for his children's education in the United Kingdom as well as at his post of duty.

In questioning Mr. Herter on the Gluck appointment, Senators pointed out that all the most desirable ambassadorial posts overseas recently went not to career diplomats, but to political appointees: London, Paris, Rome, Bonn, Brussels, The Hague, Stockholm, Madrid, Copenhagen, Dublin, New Delhi, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Paris.

The Congress had great sport with Mr. Herter about this, but he was able to point out that the Congress itself had repeatedly rejected the requests made by the administration for funds to enable the administration to appoint men who could not afford to pay the costs of entertaining Americans, including visiting Senators and Congressmen.

Mr. Herter was also able to note that the Congress had cut its request for representation allowances to be given to needy United States diplomats overseas, and that recently the top career officers in London and Paris had requested transfers because they were out of pocket between $5,000 and $10,000 each in the last year.

Thus, Mr. Gluck, who has been condemned by the Congress and the Foreign Service as a terrible example of the practice of appointing well-heeled party contributors to important posts, may very well prove to be the best thing that has happened to the Foreign Service in a long time.

FIGURES WERE REFUSED

Others have tried to throw some light on this expense problem. The New York Times, for example, asked for precisely these figures on the British and American Ambassadors immediately after the last election, before the recent wholesale change in United States Ambassadors took place. The State Department refused to cooperate. Now that there are no more posts to fill, it is more cooperative.

This newspaper also urged that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee open its hearings on ambassadorial appointments so that the public would know something about the quality of the people who were being sent abroad to represent the United States at such a critical period of negotiation. This, too, was refused.

Mr. Gluck, however, has thrown a shaft of light on what is generally regarded here as an anachronistic system that cannot be reconciled with the Nation's responsibilities.

At present the defense budget is running to over $38 billion a year while the Congress, which votes these funds, is boggling at a few million dollars to take diplomatic appointments out of the pork barrel.

To put a man without financial means in the London Embassy, the State Department says it would have to do the following to bring him up to the standards paid by the British to their career Ambassador in Washington:

Give him an additional $13,188 for the expenses of his official residence.

Add another $20,000 in representation allowances.

Provide $13,000 for clothing, secretarial help, printing and engraving, and club memberships.

The question, therefore, is not whether the Congress wants the best available men in these jobs—as it has been maintaining recently—but whether, as Mr. Gluck has demonstrated, they want to pay what it costs to get them.

Achievements in Agriculture—Cooperative Extension Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, as an integral part of the United States Department of Agriculture land-grant college system, the Cooperative Extension Service is concerned with helping people apply the results of research and experience to the solution of their problems.

To this end, Extension is committed to the philosophy of helping people to help themselves by assisting them to develop educational programs for solving their problems. At the same time, it accepts the responsibility of helping people to identify problems, evaluate situations, plan programs, and develop procedures which will help them to achieve the goals they set forth.

This system of offcampus extension education has helped farm people accomplish the almost unbelievable. Agricultural progress in this country during the past half century has been greater than that which occurred in all previous history of mankind. Today's farmer is over 100 percent more efficient than he was a mere 25 years ago. He now produces food and fiber for himself and 19 others—1 more than it was just a year ago. And in contrast with 25 years

ago, there are now 37 percent fewer workers in agriculture producing over 50 percent more products. These workers are doing this in fewer hours, with less drudgery, and with more time for family and community interest than ever before.

Such progress, however, has not come easy. It has been characterized by an agricultural revolution that has had as great an impact upon farming as the industrial revolution had upon industry and labor. Developments in agricultural technology brought about by this revolution have progressively increased in number each year since the end of World War II. To the farmer, this has meant mechanization, greater management efficiency, adjustment to market demand, and farming systems based on the long-time demand outlook. To extension workers, it has meant working intensively with individual farm families in analyzing their resources and opportunities, comparing alternative courses of action, and selecting and implementing those which offer the best solutions in terms of the family's needs, wants, abilities, and resources.

Extension doesn't limit its work, however, to the tiller of the soil. To rural youth it offers opportunity through its 4-H Club program for the development of their inherent capacities in the fields of agriculture, home economics, and rural living on a par with the opportunities provided youth in other fields. Currently, some 2,156,000 rural youth, the greatest number in the history of extension work, are taking advantage of these opportunities.

To the rural homemaker, Extension provides the opportunity to apply the science of home economics to the creation of improved diets, better time and money management, laborsaving practices, and new skills, all directed at fuller development of each family member and better family living.

Although Extension directs the results of research and experience primarily to the problems of agriculture, marketing, and rural living, its work is of value to all of our citizens. Extension work with consumers of agricultural products, for example, is doing much to bring about a more orderly movement of agricultural products. Such work helps to encourage the development of better diets through greater consumption of health-protecting foods and, in many other ways, contributes greatly to producers, processors, and consumers alike.

Closely related to this is the whole field of Extension educational work with those engaged in the distribution of agricultural products, which has direct benefit to producers, processors, and consumers. As a result of this work, agricultural products are moving to consumers in better condition, with less waste, and at lower per-unit costs.

Another significant facet in Extension progress is that of helping farm people to better understand and to cope with forces operating outside the boundaries of their farms but that have major impact upon their welfare. This work is frequently referred to as public affairs education. Such public affairs vary all the way from matters of only local concern to those of national and international concern. In this endeavor, Extension is striving to help farm families understand and to appraise those matters of joint concern so that they may, as informed citizens, do their part in deciding upon the best courses of action to pursue.

The Miraculous World of Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, Mr. P. C. Spencer, president of the Sinclair Oil Corp., who graduated almost 50 years ago from the high school at Cody, Wyo., and later was secretary to the late Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming, delivered the graduation address this year at his old high school in Cody.

His subject, The Miraculous World of Change, is one that demands the attention of all who seek an adjustment of the standards of human liberty with the marvelous technological and scientific developments of all time.

Mr. Spencer's address is an earnest and practical analysis of the problem involved in winning progress in human affairs.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MIRACULOUS WORLD OF CHANGE

(An address by P. C. Spencer, president, Sinclair Oil Corp., before the graduating class, Cody High School, Cody, Wyo., May 27, 1957)

Governor Simpson, members of the board of trustees, members of the faculty, members of the class of 1957, and friends of my old hometown, needless to say, it is a tremendous thrill to be here today. It would be difficult to imagine an occasion which could stimulate more pleasant memories for me. You will never quite understand the full measure of this thrill unless by some stroke of good fortune you, too, should happen to be honored with an invitation to speak to a graduating class of your high school alma mater almost 50 years after your departure from the scene. Just to be remembered after all these years is something to gladden the heart.

While the occasion is a happy one accompanied by many joyous emotions, it nevertheless carries with it certain serious responsibilities. During the few fleeting moments one occupies this platform, one should at least try to say something of lasting value to the members of this graduating class—some constructive word of counsel and advice which will be of assistance to them in the future.

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A MIRACULOUS AGE

We live in a wondrous and miraculous age—no words are adequate to express it. The great phenomenon of our times is change—endless, ceaseless change, not just change in the ordinary sense to which we have become accustomed in recorded history from time immemorial, but a vastly accelerated rate of change which leaves one breathless when he pauses to contemplate it objectively.

Some 150 million years ago the ground upon which we now stand was not a bench high above the Shoshone River surrounded by mountains and inhabited by man, by Indians and cowboys. It was a hot, steaming jungle in which roamed huge creatures called dinosaurs and such, and no Indians or cowboys. Many changes have taken place in the last 150 million years, but one need not go back that far to find great changes on the Cody scene. Even those which have occurred during the past 50 years are quite amazing.

My boyhood memories bring back a picture much different than that of today—memories of water hauled up from the river at 25 cents a barrel, with some cactus thrown in to settle the dust; very few bathrooms with running water; kitchen stoves that were fueled with wood any thing else handy which would burn; schools which were small and plain, but good; quite a few churches, but many more saloons; mostly board sidewalks; 2 policemen—1 by day and 1 by night—and a fire department which operated wholly on a volunteer basis; a few bicycles, but mostly the horse and "shank's mare" were our means of transportation.

THE ETERNAL HILLS

Some 50 years later the scene is hardly recognizable except for the 2 mountains to the west which still stand guard over the city like 2 huge sentinels. There have been stupendous changes here and elsewhere. Automobiles speeding on modern highways everywhere; airplanes taking wing to the four corners of the earth; radio and television bringing the news, entertainment and culture of the world to your door; modern schools and buildings of all kinds; modern homes filled with an abundance of modern conveniences and labor-saving devices—automatic washers, deep freezers, air conditioning units, and so on—modern hospitals to care for the sick and the injured; modern churches; modern this and modern that—the astounding wonders of the scientific and economic advances of the last few decades are all about us, but not so many cowboys and Indians or woodsheds in which to find firewood or a paddle in case the young man needs discipline.

And yet, as great as these changes of the last half century have been, I am certain that the changes in store for us during the next 50 years will be even greater. As a matter of fact, many of them are now on our doorstep and many more are just around the corner.

MORE KNOWLEDGE

No one can foretell with exactness all of the new wonders which our scientific and technological forces will produce tomorrow, but we can be sure of this—that more and more of the unknown secrets of the vast universe in which we dwell will be unlocked, and as each secret door is opened even just a small crack (as in the case of atomic energy) it will have a profound significance on our lives and the lives of those we love.

That these important and far-reaching changes are all about us and are crowding in upon us with ever-increasing speed and pressure, I think we can all agree. The big question is what can you and I do about it? To many it may appear that there is not much that any individual can do about it, that there is some kind of manifest destiny carrying us along inexorably on the crest of a great scientific wave and that one might just as well relax and try to enjoy what comes.

In my view, this attitude may be philosophically pleasant and tranquilizing but still much too passive, much too pessimistic,

much too defeatist. There are things that we can and should do about it. Even though one may never aspire to master these great changes, he can still strive to understand them and to adjust and adapt himself to them to the maximum of his capacities. That, to me, should be the aim and goal of every member of this graduating class. Equally, it should be the aim and goal of every man who thinks and reasons, which after all marks the principal difference between him and other members of the great animal kingdom.

AGE OF THE DINOSAUR

The dinosaur, which I mentioned as having inhabited these parts some 150 million years ago, passed on, and is no more. Why?—because he was unable to adjust himself to changing conditions. Someone has written that great hordes of little ants and other insects harassed and worried him to death. Be that as it may, he exists today only in a fossilized form, and thereby hangs another interesting tale, especially in my business. The remains of the dinosaur and a lot of his ancient friends and foes are being resurrected from the depths today in the form of crude oil to make petroleum products to drive your automobile, your tractor, your airplane, your diesel engine and hundreds of other engines which do an infinite number of important jobs today (150 million years after) to add to the comfort, convenience and well-being of mankind. Sometimes I wonder if we shall prove to be as useful 150 million years hence.

In order to exist successfully, every living creature must have the capacity—by instinct or otherwise—to adjust to changing conditions, to take advantage of favorable change and to protect and defend against unfavorable change. If a nation is to remain strong and self-sufficient, it must not only adjust to change, but ofttimes it must lead the procession. If a corporation is to remain strong and prosperous, its management must be ever alert to changes of all kinds, or suffer the penalty of falling by the wayside. And in this great drama of change which encircles us, there is no place for fear or apprehension no matter how stupendous the approaching changes may appear.

In my own business, we are interested in converting petroleum raw materials into fertilizers, such as anhydrous ammonia. Recently a scientific friend said to me, "You are wasting time and money with your synthetic fertilizers. Why don't you bypass the soil, the alfalfa, the hay and the grains and put your carbohydrates in proper food form to feed directly to the cow?" That seemed to be such an intriguing idea that a bystander suggested, "Well, why not bypass the cow, too, and feed your converted carbohydrates directly to the man?"

ADAPT AND ADJUST

I can't imagine life—the good life—without ranches, alfalfa fields, and cows, but it is possible that may come to pass one day if we want it that way. You now have nightshirts made from petroleum products, and you could have food from the same source, no matter how boring it might be. The point is that changes—rapid and all-important changes—are inevitable. In themselves, some will be good and some will be bad, but as to you and me, they all will be bad unless we learn to adjust and adapt ourselves to them, unless we learn to roll with the punches, so to speak.

There are different degrees of adjustment and adaptation—some passive, some active, some defensive, and some offensive. One can adjust himself to the hot sunshine by lying down and going to sleep in the shade. A measure of peace and tranquility may be thus attained, but not much progress is made. Let me emphasize this: a changing world means a world full of challenging opportunities for anyone who has the spirit and the talent not only to accept them, but to benefit by them.

An old friend many years ago gave me an interesting sidelight on change. "Watch successful men," he said, "and you will note that they have an instinctive sense of impending change. They have a keen perception of things that are out of balance by reason of change, and they take advantage of it." One harnesses a river on its way to the sea to make electric power, a change which follows the law of gravity. Another harnesses the wind to sail his ship or to pump water for man and beast. Another senses a future shortage of a commodity and he commences to acquire a surplus. Another senses a future surplus of a commodity and he commences a selling program.

Our current shortage of skilled specialists—particularly engineers, scientists, and technologists—is a classic example of what I am talking about. Here is a supply and demand situation which has been out of balance for years. No young man, or woman for that matter, with a technical education need search for a job today. In fact, if you but let your whereabouts be known, the world (including my own company) will be beating a path to your door.

YOUNG MEN WANTED

I have here a special section of a recent Sunday New York Times, which contains nothing but appeals by business firms (large, medium, and small) for the services of qualified young men and women in technical fields. More than 10 solid pages of it in fine print offering the highest wages and every conceivable incentive from swimming pools and country clubs to babysitters. It is indeed a strange new world in which we live. I daresay if this great change in demand for professional talents of all kinds could have been foreseen clearly by our high school graduating classes 10, 15, 20, or more years ago, the lives of many young people seeking productive ways of life would have been vastly different.

But the changes in our ways of life which should have been foreseen in the past are only of academic interest here. The important question is, What are the changes to be expected in the next 5 or 10 years and thereafter? And this brings me to my forecast for the future as it affects particularly the lives, the business, and affairs of the members of this graduating class.

I firmly believe the young people of today are entering into the most hazardous and yet the most challenging and the most promising period in our history. The host of developments in science and technology of today are but the forerunners of many more and miraculous triumphs across more fascinating new frontiers in medicine, transportation, communications, and industrial production, triumphs not only in the physical world, but—let us pray—in the area of the mind as well. Somehow, sometime—perhaps sooner than we expect—we shall begin to solve this complex business of human beings living together in a world of peace and spiritual well-being.

MASTERS NEW FORCES

Our times have been called the atomic age—the age of nuclear energy, the age of atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs and guided missiles—labels which are so awesome and frightening that we are all too apt to be hypnotized by the almost supernatural resources man now has at his command. But granting the magnitude and the power of these great forces, I am still confident man will find the way to be their master and not their servant, and that these newly discovered resources and powers will be the means of creating a far better human society than that we know today. I am supported in this confidence by my boundless faith in millions and millions of young folks like yourselves. Each generation has passed on and will continue to pass to the next generation many problems (including debts) which at the time seem to be insoluble, but somehow they are solved and with not too much difficulty either. Your generation and those that follow after you will not, I am certain, fail to respond to the challenges that new world forces present.

There are many ways to prepare yourself for these great challenges, these great opportunities. Education and experience are the obvious answers. In the field of education there are at least as many ways to acquire an education as there are educational institutions, and to be sure not all of the wise and successful men of tomorrow will have had the opportunity to go to college. As for experience, there is really no substitute—one has to have experience. In one way or another, one must learn the rules of adjustment and adaptation, the sense of rhythm, one might call it, which goes with a well-timed life. Some people go through life with what seems to be perfect timing, in time with every change, forever adjusted to whatever happens. Others seem to be less fortunate. I am sure that there are rational explanations for both cases.

Riding home recently, I found in my newspaper a very cynical article headlined, "Science and Medicine Pouring Childhood Adages Down Drain." The writer suggested that medical progress has made us so aware of such conditions as ulcers, inner tensions, overworked hearts and on-the-job fatigue that people are reluctant to work hard any more. The writer recited some of the modern versions of once tried-and-true proverbs:

"Never do today what you can put off, period."

"Early to bed and early to rise makes a man puny, looney, and cuts him down to size."

"The slug-abed is full of lead; but, then again, he won't drop dead."

And finally, it is no longer "swim or sink" but "tread water until the life raft drifts by."

Now I have no prejudice against doing things the easiest way, but I am sure that individual initiative and enterprise have not gone out of style. Times will never change that much. In any society, the real payoff will continue to come to the person who concerns himself first with blazing the trail ahead and not with keeping the road behind open—and that is a lesson to learn early in life.

NEED FOR INITIATIVE

I believe wholeheartedly in the great progress in human affairs represented by social security, benefit plans which protect the individual against unforeseen events, and measures which would help insure a steady income. But if you happen to be young and facing a world filled with wonderful opportunities, as you are, then you should not start out by depending on anyone else or any system to give you a guaranty of a happy, prosperous life.

The men who pioneered in the development of Wyoming were certainly not afraid to go it alone. They set their eyes on a goal and pushed toward it with a singleminded-ness that left no room for worrying about next year, let alone the next 10, 20, or 40 years. These men and those who followed them built a great State and a great country. The Nation's need for such individual spirit, drive, and initiative has not changed, except possibly to be more necessary today than ever before.

With confidence in your own abilities and faith in the wisdom of the goal you have set in life, you will be able to adjust and to adapt to winds and storms, come what may. You won't be thrown far from your course, I am sure.

And if fate is exceptionally kind to you, you may one day find yourself where I am today, on a platform like this delivering some of your pet philosophies to a captive

dience. If such should be your happy ivilege, keep in mind one side of human ture that does not change: a graduating ss is attentive to and tolerant of its eaker only so far. Try to quit while you e ahead, as I hope I am doing now.

This is your day, to hold and to cherish your own. Enjoy it, revel in it, and so nduct yourselves in the future that you, ur family, and your friends will always be proud of it as you are today. And may od bless you and bring you the best of ck.

Water: How Fast Can We Waste It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. peaker, under unanimous consent, I inlude the following article from the Atntic Monthly:

WATER: HOW FAST CAN WE WASTE IT?
(By John Robbins)

I

A Yale University study published in 1939 dicated that the minimum daily ration of ater necessary for an individual was 20 llons. It allotted 1 gallon for drinking, for laundry, 5 for personal cleanliness (but thout tub or shower), and 8 for the toilet. ven if the individual takes an occasional 5-gallon bath in the tub, or a 5-gallon-per-inute shower, he isn't likely to build up a tal for personal use of more than 50 gallons a day. But all this is pure theory. The mount of water which an American is tually using in 1957 is something over 1,500 llons a day.

Most of the 1,500 gallons is essential in e cultivation of the food he eats and in e manufacture of nearly every article he es in his daily life. The production of a ce of bread, including the growing of the heat, has been estimated to require 37.5 llons of water. A steer, in order to create ch pound of beef, must consume somening like 4,000 gallons, not so much from s drinking trough as from its pastureland. Each ton of steel, in being produced, requires 40,000 gallons of water, or 160 times s own weight. Ten gallons of water are ployed to refine one gallon of gasoline. he brewing of a gallon of beer takes eight llons of water in addition to what actually ds its way into the bottles.

As an educated guess, we as a nation are w using around 275 billion gallons of ater a day. Less than 10 percent of the tal is for domestic purposes, either through unicipal water systems or from rural wells. ore than a third, around 100 billion gallons day, is necessary for irrigation. The rest, ell over half, goes for the needs of industry.

There is nothing inherently alarming bout the magnitude of these figures. merica is well blessed with water resources. he average rainfall over the surface of the ited States is 30 inches. About 70 perent of this returns to the atmosphere by aporating or by the transpiration of aves. The equivalent of 8 inches remains to flow through the streams and rivers the ocean, or to soak into the ground, here it forms deposits in the porous subrranean formations. This annual increment to our surface water and our ground ater is four times the amount of water e use in a year.

The distributing aspects in all this are not generally appreciated. The first is the unequal distribution of our water resources. The second is the tremendous growth of our water usage, particularly by industry. The third is the possibility that a long-range change in the climate is going to dry up parts of the country that are already on a marginal basis. Taken together they add up to an almost inevitable conclusion: water is going to play an increasingly important role in determining the economic geography of the United States.

The uneven way in which nature has distributed our water resources must be obvious to anyone who has traveled any distance around the country. We have our deserts and we have our swamps and rain forests. In between we have a full range of climatological conditions, from Maine with 40 inches of rainfall annually, only 15 of which evaporate, to Arizona with 14 inches, 13.3 of which evaporate. The 17 westernmost States—North Dakota to Texas and westward—average less than 4 inches of water yield or runoff after evaporation a year. The 31 eastern States average 16 inches. Within the western States there is another general division. Eastern Texas, northern California, and the Northwest are generally well watered. But half the area of the 17 States, constituting a third of the territory of the United States, has a natural water yield of less than 1 inch.

In many parts of the country the water table, the top level of the underground storage water, is falling. In most of these areas it isn't a case of drought but of overuse. In Milwaukee, for instance, when a large brewery recently began pumping at high volume from a big new well, water levels of another manufacturing plant 7 miles away dropped 75 feet within a few hours. The spring water has sunk so deep in the city that the great breweries may have to switch to Lake Michigan from the wells that helped make their beer famous. Outside Phoenix, Ariz., Goodyear established a farm 35 years ago to grow high-grade cotton. Originally the irrigation water was brought a mere 20 feet to the surface by small pumps. With every passing decade the water table has dropped ,and the pumps have had to be replaced with more powerful models. The lift is now more than 100 feet, and the table is still sinking.

The same pattern has been repeated in hundreds of other localities. Geologists have traced water in rare instances to limestone formations as deep as a mile below ground. The pumps to lift it more than 600 feet, however, are so expensive as to make the use of the water uneconomic.

A half century of growth in water usage was spelled out by the President's Materials Policy Commission (the Paley Commission) in 1952. In 1900, according to its estimate, we withdrew from our streams and wells about 500 to 600 gallons a day per capita. By 1950 our population had doubled, and so had our per capita use, quadrupling our total usage. As it did with other natural resources, the Paley Commission projected its estimates of water use forward to 1975 and predicted that it would nearly double again in the 25 years.

It already appears that the Commission underestimated the rate of growth. A second Hoover Commission study based on 1955 figures reported that in the 5 years since 1950 water use had soared from 185 billion gallons a day to 262 billion, almost halfway to the Paley Commission's 1975 estimate of 350 billion. Admiral Ben Moreell, chairman of the Hoover Commission task force on Federal policy toward water resources, made a new stab at a 1975 figure—453 billion gallons a day. In other words, less than 20 years from now our demand for water is likely to exceed our available supply by more than 25 percent.

It is interesting to analyze where this growth is occurring. It isn't in personal use, although an increase in suburban lawn watering is putting a strain on some municipal systems. It isn't in irrigation. The lands most easily and economically irrigated have long since been utilized. Any suitable land left to be irrigated would require a large capital investment for a relatively small rate of profit. The application of irrigation to land is, in fact, a classic example of the law of diminishing returns.

The increase, then, is concentrated in the need of industry for cold, clear water—cold because 75 percent of the water employed by industry is used for cooling; clear because dirt, minerals, and salts clog up pipes, form deposits on boilers, corrode equipment, and generally raise hob.

The amount of water required by industry is staggering. Steam generators of electric power alone use 40 billion gallons a day for their boilers and for cooling their condenser coils. The steel industry last year used a total of 5 trillion gallons, and petroleum refining another 2½ trillion. Between Buffalo and Cleveland along the south shore of Lake Erie, powerplants and chemical works built just in the past 8 years use more water than the combined municipal water systems of both those cities.

New types of industries increase the use of water still further. Prime examples are the new synthetics plants. Rayon, nylon, and the miracle fabrics, for instance, need far more water than the cotton and wool they replace, and the manufacture of synthetic rubber needs American water instead of the rainfall in the jungles of Malaya.

Unlike irrigation water, which either evaporates or soaks into the soil, most industrial water is returned to its source or to the surface. It may or may not have been polluted by its use. It has certainly been heated. A big industrial plant, therefore, needs a big body of water so that the water temperature won't be raised beyond the point of efficiency.

Water has always been a factor in the selection of factory sites, either as a source of power or as a means of cheap transportation. Today it is a prime factor. The areas of the country with assured water supplies are enjoying the fruits of the economic boom. The shores of the Great Lakes, the banks of the Ohio River, and the borders of Lake Pontchartrain, for example, are sprouting with new power and chemical plants, and prosperous industrial complexes are building up around them.

This is not to say that even a heavy industry cannot settle in a water-short area in order to take advantage of some particular situation in relation to raw materials, labor supply, or markets. But it must pay the price. Any lack of water is reflected in increased costs for washing or cooling equipment. Kaiser Steel chose to settle in Fontana, Calif., for instance, knowing it would have to install a recirculating system able to use partially treated municipal sewage as a coolant. Even so, Kaiser can compete in West Coast markets with water-cooled eastern steel mills because of its lower transportation costs.

II

The prospects of the water-short areas, and especially of the Southwest, are complicated by the possibility that the North American continent is growing warmer and drier. Weather records indicate that most parts of the northern United States during the past half century have warmed up by 2 to 3 degrees. As to just what this means, there is wide disagreement. Some scientists think we have reached a climatic optimum, and that the climate is about to reverse itself and start growing cooler. They suspect that the spring rains which flooded Texas this year and which, at least for the moment,

have broken the 5-year-old drought in the Southwest are the signal that a change has occurred. A second school, more noncommittal, talks only in terms of short weather cycles of 7 years or so. A third group is convinced that the warming-up process is still under way.

A leader of the group predicting a 50-year cold-and-damp spell is Hurd C. Willett, professor of meteorology at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He bases his reasoning on the sun-spot count. The United States Weather Bureau, led by Harry Wexler, Chief of the Scientific Services Division, takes the more cautious stand that long-range predictions are dangerous, and that the warming trend and the drought in the Southwest represent short-term cycles. A proponent of the warm-dry thesis is Paul Sears, head of the conservation department at Yale, whose studies have shown how changes in the glaciers affected the culture of the corn-eating mound dwellers, by altering the rainfall pattern of the midcontinent.

In its report to Congress 2 years ago, the National Science Foundation noted, "Glacier studies have given clear indications that we are now in a cycle of warming which began about 1900. It is estimated that if the indicated warming continues for another 25 to 50 years, the ice will melt out of the Arctic Ocean in the summer, making it navigable. In addition, the warming cycle, if continued, may melt enough ice, now tied up in glaciers, to add to the sea level sufficiently to affect the lives of millions of people living along low-coastal lands." Our shores may get plenty of water, all salt.

If America proves to be really drying up, the Southwest will be the first area faced with tragedy. Even to a greater extent than during the Dust Bowl days of the thirties, families will be forced to leave their homes. The great investment in irrigation facilities, much of it subsidized by the taxpayers of other parts of the country, will be wasted. Even if the drought is broken and a damp wave is about to begin, the water capacity of the Southwest won't be able to keep up with the national expansion of water use. The attorneys of the American Bar Association, who found the tap water at their Dallas meeting place last summer so salty that it ruined the taste of their whisky, aren't likely to advise industrial clients to expand into such a chancy area.

What is a sensible program for a country facing a tremendous increase in the load on a stable or declining water supply? A tempting suggestion is to recommend an all-out study by our scientists of how we can control the long-range climate or the short-range weather. Let them figure out, as an east coast newspaperman urged this spring, how to provide gentle rainstorms every Tuesday and Thursday, with sunshine between, especially over the weekends. His recommendation isn't so farfetched as it might seem. The great mathematician, John Von Neumann, remarked shortly before his untimely death last year, that the control of the force of the climate was the greatest challenge facing science today.

Unfortunately, the prospect in the field for the immediate future is bleak. Scientists aren't even sure what starts the climatological changes that affect the earth—solar radiation, cosmic rays, sun spots, or clouds of dust circling through the ionosphere in the wake of volcanic eruptions. Even the experiments on promoting rain by seeding clouds with dry ice or silver iodide look less promising than they did when the principle was first discovered a decade ago. After studying the evidence, the Council of the American Meteorological Society issued a gloomy statement this spring. Cloud seeding has been perceptibly effective, it said, only where conditions were such that natural rain might have occurred anyway. Over flat country it has been notably ineffective. "Present knowledge of atmospheric processes," it added, "offers no real basis for the belief that the weather or climate of a large portion of the country can be significantly modified by cloud seeding."

III

Another hope for the distant future is the conversion of sea water into fresh water. The minimum cost yet achieved for distilling the salt out of sea water is $1.50 per 1,000 gallons, even for large-scale operations. That is 90 times greater than the cost of treating the poorest grades of water now used by cities and industries. The Paley Commission recommended against investing in more research on distillation. The Interior Department went ahead and issued a cheery statement early this spring, indicating that new experiments would make large-scale conversion of sea water economically feasible in the near future. The Department's watchdog committee in Congress quickly came back with a report that officials of the Department were misleading the American people while letting the research program drift along. And there the matter stands.

Two more likely paths to progress are efforts in the direction of conservation of water and pollution control. Government and industry, as they have become aware of the problems involved, have shown more willingness to spend money on programs of both sorts.

For industry, conservation means the use of more complicated equipment to recirculate cooling water, to reclaim used water, and to employ alternate methods of cooling such as refrigerants or air. For governments, particularly at the State level, it involves stream regulation, antierosion devices, small dams, artificial recharging of ground water reservoirs, and the proper use of plant life.

Industry is also accepting antipollution measures as part of its normal production costs. Partly from public spirit and partly under the pressure of public opinion and State laws, most new industrial plants have incorporated waste treatment devices. General Petroleum's new refinery at Ferndale, Wash., releases an effluent so thoroughly cleaned that salmon have been caught 100 yards below the outlet. The installation of antipollution measures in older plants, however, is often such an expensive process that it throws their costs out of line with those of newer competitors. No town likes to see an industry shut down, cut off its payroll, and stop paying taxes. Industrial pollution, therefore, continues to exist.

The pollution problem for towns and cities is easily stated. Any government body can install sewage systems to keep from fouling its own or its neighbor's nest as soon as its voters are convinced that clean water is worth paying for. That conviction is slowly spreading around the country.

But neither conservation nor antipollution measures, wholesome though they are, can solve industry's need for water. The best solution at the moment seems to be the importation of water by pipeline from water-plus to water-minus areas. Such pipelines will be expensive. They aren't likely to be built in large numbers around the country until the shortage of water and the shortage of industrial space adjacent to bodies of water both grow more stringent than they are today.

The most famous existing water pipelines are those serving Los Angeles, a city which has outgrown its water supply. It now supplements its limited local reservoirs with water from the Owens River on the east side of the Sierra Nevada, 240 miles away; from Mono Lake, 350 miles away; and from the Colorado River, 450 miles away. It hopes to expand its system to reach the better watered, less densely populated northern part of the State.

An example of how a pipeline can be used to protect the interests of a regional economy is the story of Saginaw and Midland, two cities in central Michigan. After nearly dying along with the Michigan lumber industry 40 years ago, Saginaw, thanks to a set of General Motors factories and foundries, made a strong comeback. Midland, the younger city, grew from a small town with the expansion of the Dow Chemical Co. During World War II a serious water problem threatened both cities and their industries when the rivers through the towns grew so polluted and the water so hard that treatment was almost impossible. They joined forces after the war to build an 80-mile pipeline to Lake Huron. It cost the communities $10 million, but it can deliver a total of 43 million gallons a day of pure, fresh water. Added to existing supplies of ground water, that is enough for all their needs for years.

From an engineering point of view, Great Lakes water could be piped for hundreds of miles to thirsty cities outside their basin. Because of a legal technicality, it can't be. Thirty years ago when Illinois sought from Congress the authority to drain water out of Lake Michigan to flush Chicago's sewage into the Mississippi, the other Great Lakes States and Canada protested violently. They charged—with some reason— that any lowering of the lake levels would affect their trade and prosperity. The parties involved reached a compromise. Chicago got limited permission to dig its drainage canal, but by international agreement a complete prohibition was clamped on any other device that might move Great Lakes water outside the natural drainage area of the lakes. The effect of the agreement is going to be felt and soon.

In the Mahoning Valley in eastern Ohio, for instance, are clustered the steel mills of Youngstown, Warren, and Niles. Although the headwaters of the Mahoning River are within 25 miles of Lake Erie, the stream flows southeast into the Ohio. Twenty years ago the Mahoning had a worldwide notoriety among geographers as the hottest river in the world. The steel mills were so concentrated along its banks that they warmed its water beyond the point where it was useful as a coolant. New dams and reservoirs have corrected that situation for existing mills, but the possibilities of expansion of industry in the valley are inhibited by the limits of the water supply. To pipe Great Lakes water into the river would be technically simple and fairly cheap. Legally it can't be done.

Akron, on the other hand, lies just inside the edge of the Lake Erie basin. Should its need for water expand, some Akron and Cleveland interests have a plan for a 16-mile pipeline from the lake through which water could be pumped into the Cuyahoga River at its source. The Cuyahoga flows south to Akron, then north to enter Lake Erie at Cleveland. Such a pipeline would only pose a problem in finance.

The Province of Ontario would like to open up the water-short area around Kitchener and Guelph to industry by piping water out of Lake Huron near Goderich and letting it drain into Lake Erie. The water would never leave the Great Lakes Basin. It would, however, bypass Detroit, which needs every inch of depth in the St. Clair River for its harbor. Legally, the project is somewhat doubtful. Ontario might be able to swing a deal in which, as the quid pro quo, streams in the Hudson Bay watershed would be reversed and piped into Lake Superior.

Only circumstances will determine when such pipelines as these will be economically feasible to build and operate. By 1975, however, a network of water pipelines is likely to be growing that may eventually rival in scope the oil pipelines which now trace their way throughout the country.

A Subversive Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, om time to time I find in the Methodist hallenge, published at Los Angeles, alif., articles which are full of commonnse and truth.

I regard the editor of that paper as able, consecrated minister of the gosl.

In the September 1957, issue of the ethodist Challenge is an article entitled Subversive Court." It deals with the st and loose manner in which the Sueme Court has been usurping legislae functions, and trifling with our Conitution and laws. Under unanimous nsent previously granted, I insert this ticle herewith:

A SUBVERSIVE COURT

Every good American owes it to himself d to his country to respect the Supreme urt of the United States, so long as its tivities and decisions deserve respect. But honest citizen should succumb to softss or stoop to compromise in appraising Court that betrays its high mission and ds itself to the criminal element in our dst or plays fast and loose with the treanable subversion that threatens the surval of our Nation. In my judgment, we e one of the most serious hours since the olution. Undoubtedly, there is widespread distrust of the Supreme Court. The st citizens within this Republic have lost nfidence in what our fathers planned ould be one of the most important, if not e most important, institution within our ire federation of States.

Hundreds of critical editorials, expressing ubt and disappointment, have been writ- and published concerning recent deions of our highest Court. Not only have me of these decisions been slanted in vor of criminals and served to protect their lless activities, but the subversive element our population has found a city of refuge recent findings of these Justices. A group acknowledged Communists, who were conted of plotting the overthrow of our coun- and seeking to undermine our American stitutions have been freed and permitted continue unhindered their treasonable tivities.

Possibly the most menacing findings of s Court have been aimed at crippling and sibly wrecking the splendid services of e FBI, trusted as a shelter and defense for r Nation, in this hour when communism s even invaded the sacred domains of blic office. For many years this godless, alitarian system of organized tyranny has de every effort, even within our own rders, to drive back the congressional and natorial committees that have actively ght to protect human freedom and the hts of true Americans. Such committees the Committee on Un-American Activity ve been hindered and blocked in every hion imaginable. I am sorry to concede at certain high churchmen of the Metho- Church have been discovered in cooperon with the anti-American activities of e Communists at home and abroad.

A Supreme Court decision has recently en rendered which would in effect make e FBI impotent and helpless. This follows er decisions of a less potent character, ed undoubtedly at the FBI and the congressional and senatorial committees that seek to counteract subversion.

The members of the Supreme Court who have, without reasonable doubt, conspired to befriend the criminal and subversive elements within our borders, are now well known. Unfortunately, they are members of this Court for life, unless their fellow Judges should find them guilty of bad conduct, the only manner in which the Court could be redeemed at this time would be some impeachments. The prospects of "cleaning up" this high Court are meager indeed.

When our several States became a federated nation, our Founding Fathers went to great lengths to protect inviolate the administrative, the legislative and the judicial branches of our Government. They sought studiously to see to it that no one branch of Government usurped the prerogatives of the other. We have watched two most dangerous trends of recent years: First, an increasing trend toward centralization in the administrative branch of Government. Second, a disposition on the part of the judiciary to operate outside its allotted field and dominate both the administrative and legislative branches of Government. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court have been aimed deliberately at Congress, and the evident purpose of the Court is to legislate as well as construe the law.

The integration decision, written by Chief Justice Warren, was not in fact a decision at all. It was an act of legislation. Since that so-called decision was announced, the Court has attempted to go further and take over the administration of the law. If permitted to continue its un-American activties, it will become a kind of politburo, very similar to the governing group of the Soviet Union. It is clear that it is at the present moment seeking to destroy the rights of the States and hinder in every manner possible the activities of Congress that would preserve the American way of life.

We have heard from childhood that the Supreme Court was set for the preservation of the Constitution of the United States. No thinking student of the decisions and opinions handed down by that Court within the immediate past would dare claim that they were thought out and written for the purpose of preserving constitutional law. Over and over this Court has reversed the laws by which we have operated for generations. In its boasted determination to protect the rights of dope criminals, gangsters, Communists and traitors, this high court has in fact enacted new laws that have taken from law-abiding Americans and honest taxpayers their God-given rights to remain free and be given protection from gangsters, bandits, Communists and traitors. The Supreme Court has competed with our Congress. It has gone further. It has proceeded to annul the laws passed by Congress. In no instance, with which I am familiar, has it thus proceeded, in an effort to protect law-abiding citizens. Its activities have invariably been favorable to the criminals who threaten our Nation. They call it, "protecting minorities." We constantly hear of the "rights of minorities." Could it not be possible that majorities sometimes have rights?

We are told that the President is "outraged" at certain decisions for which appointees of his on the Court are largely responsible. The question is: Why did he appoint such men? Another question: Why did the United States Senate confirm them?

The cure is seemingly so impossible that it now behooves us to turn our attention to prevention. The way to prevent our courts from flirting with criminals and subversives is to put a different variety of judges on the bench.

In the same issue of the Methodist Challenge in the column entitled "This Changing World," there appears another thoughtful article regarding the question of impeaching the Supreme Court. I think this is also well worth reading, and insert it herewith:

IMPEACHING THE SUPREME COURT

Impeaching the Supreme Court might be a most healthful exercise but it is not the way to do it. The appointment of genuine American judges, who know the law, love the Constitution, and despise the cheap politicans who seek to use them, is a far more effective cure of the disgraceful situation that now curses our country than impeachment would be. If you should impeach the Court, it would be necessary for the same politicians or men like them to replace them. There seems to be no question of the general feeling of disgust that greets the mere mention of the Supreme Court. This is most unfortunate. But the cure begins before the members of that Court are appointed. We have a political court because the last three Presidents of the United States have appointed politicians to that Court. America needs a different character of men to make the appointments and a different character of men to be appointed. In other words, America sorely needs men right now.

Achievements in Agriculture—Dairy Herd Improvement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, we all know that one of the best ways to cut the cost of livestock production is to use more efficient, higher-producing animals—thus reducing feed and labor required to meet demand for livestock products. Research and experience have shown that animals can be bred for high production and economic-feed utilization through the use of superior-breeding stock.

The proved-sire system of dairy breeding—applied in the national dairy herd improvement program—is a fine example of what can be done through breeding for higher production through the program of the Dairy Herd Improvement Association, developed and sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture, the average milk production of the 1½ million cows enrolled has risen to 9,500 pounds and has helped to bring our national average to 6,000 pounds.

Dairy farmers in Wisconsin are especially outstanding in their progress in dairy herd improvement work. The State stands first in the Nation in milk production of cows enrolled in the Dairy Herd Improvement Association—exceeding the national Dairy Herd Improvement Association record by more than 600 pounds. The average for all cows in the State is some 1,354 pounds above our national average milk production.

A logical outgrowth of the proved-sire system of breeding is the artificial-breeding movement, which is giving tre-

mendous impetus to our progress. Today, about a fifth of all dairy cattle in the United States are being bred artificially—a fivefold increase in the last 10 years. The net effect is a gradual reconstruction of the genetic makeup of our dairy population to carry the productive ability of the best breeding stock in the country. The result will be more efficient, lower cost milk production—nationwide.

Thus, the cooperative Federal-State research, which showed that high-producing bulls, proved on the basis of their daughters' production, will continue to pile up ever-increasing dividends for American people in the years ahead.

Grants From the William Green Memorial Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the great citizens of this land whom we all recall with fondness was the late William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

The other day, newspapers carried word as to the initial grants which have been made from the memorial fund, which was established in his honor.

The grants went to a variety of deserving organizations in many fields of endeavor.

It is altogether fitting that the trade unions of this land remember this fine leader of organized labor in the form of these grants which are living memorials. Bill Green, like Samuel Gompers before him, is the kind of American of whom we can all be proud.

All Americans will be benefited, directly or indirectly, by the constructive use of these contributions in Bill Green's name.

I think it is well to recall these facts, particularly considering the fact that, these days, much of the news from our Nation's Capital concerning organized labor relates unhappily to gangster infiltration of the trade union movement.

Fortunately, the disturbing story which is coming to light through the efforts of the McClellan committee does not characterize the overwhelming proportion of the legitimate trade union movement. Fortunately, it is the exception, not the rule. Fifteen million trade union members should not therefore, be condemned, nor should their bona fide leaders.

I send to the desk now the text of the Associated Press story of Tuesday, August 13, describing the grants from the Green fund.

May they help to add further luster, not simply to Bill Green's memory, but to the trade union movement, as a whole, and to the spirit of man's service to his fellow man.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS GIVEN BY GREEN FUND

Grants of $140,000 from the William Green memorial fund were announced Monday.

They included $40,000 to Deborah Tuberculosis Sanatorium, Browns Mills in the Pines, N. J.; $25,000 to the National Research Foundation for Cystic Fibrosis for establishing a cystic fibrosis research clinic at Children's Hospital, Washington, D. C.; $25,000 to the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civic Order, Washington, D. C., for establishing a library for use by the foundation's national committee on American education in communism; $25,000 to the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation, New York City, to finance research; and $25,000 to the Religion and Labor Foundation, Inc., Columbus, Ohio, to establish fellowship groups of clergymen and representatives of organized labor around the country.

The fund, named for the late president of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, was raised by contributions from unions. About $200,000 remains to be allocated from the fund.

Achievements in Agriculture—Statement on CCC Inventory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, a great sales job, a first-rate demonstration of handling a topheavy inventory, has been accomplished in recent years by the Department of Agriculture.

Once the millions of pounds of butter stored around the country, bought up by the Government to help dairy farmers, was a matter of concern to every citizen of this great land. Today, the 521 million pounds of butter once in the hands of the Commodity Credit Corporation, has been moved, and as of August 7, 1957, the present CCC inventory shows only 78 million pounds. It was not plowed under, but was made available for human consumption.

At one time the Government held 110 million pounds of eggs; today, there are no surplus eggs in warehouses. At the peak, the Government held 1,013,000,000 pounds of cottonseed meal and 878 million pounds of cottonseed oil. All of that has been moved in one of the most remarkable merchandising jobs ever accomplished. There were burdensome holdings of tung oil, honey, and flaxseed, and these too have been reduced to zero in the CCC inventory.

While the soil bank is coming into stronger use as an instrument to prevent the pileup of future crop surpluses, it should be noted that the Department of Agriculture has, and is, accomplishing a noteworthy job of disposing of old surpluses.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this time a list of the several commodities in which holdings have been completely liquidated, or reduced to a minimum:

Commodity	Peak inventory		Year
	Unit	Amount	
Butter [1]	Pound	820, 847, 000	1954
Cottonseed oil	do	877, 738, 000	1956
Cottonseed meal	do	1, 013, 428, 000	1956
Linseed oil	do	528, 208, 000	1956
Flaxseed	Bushel	9, 494, 000	1956
Seeds	Pound	427, 963, 000	1955
Tung oil	do	38, 516, 000	1955
Honey	do	6, 168, 000	1955

[1] Present inventory (as of Aug. 7, 1957) 78,000,000 pounds.

Barter Theater Observes 25th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. PAT JENNINGS
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, the world famous Barter Theater, located in Abingdon, Va., in the Ninth District, is observing its 25th anniversary. Founded in 1932 by its present director, Robert Porterfield, Barter Theater is the State theater of Virginia.

I know that the Members of this body who have visited Barter and are acquainted with Bob join me in wishing Barter every future success on the occasion of this 25th anniversary celebration.

Bob recently came to Washington to appear before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor. His statement in support of legislation to establish a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts was excellent and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a column from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Wednesday, August 14. Mr. Richard L. Coe, drama critic of this newspaper, has just returned from a visit to Barter and has written this column which follows:

ONE ON THE AISLE—RURAL SETTING SERVES BARTER

(By Richard L. Coe)

ABINGDON, VA.—The Barter Theater is a play in itself, with plot setting, atmosphere and characters.

We'll have to leave the large cast of characters till tomorrow, but notes on other ingredients may give you the idea. Virginia's partially subsidized State theater is dedicated to the idea that theater in our country can prove a lively regional factor. Right now Barter has been giving three different plays a week during the Virginia Highlands Festival. On August 26 it will be offering a week's run for a world premiere.

Qualifications are in order. That State subsidy is a modest matter—$15,000 this year—but its value lies in giving it official recognition; hence statewide respect. Although manuscript plays are always a problem of Barter's plot, they don't always crop up—that is, manuscripts clearly worth the risk of production.

Undisputed star of the characters is a man who manages to do the impossible by being pretty casual about it. Robert Porterfield

founded this theater in 1933 for actors who couldn't get work in the Gotham Theater, but whose work, Bob thought, could earn them livings on the regional level.

His hunch has proved exactly right. His discovery of acting talents has been remarkably rich. Olney's William Prince, Gregory Peck, Hume Cronyn, Patricia Neal, Margaret Phillips, Larry Gates, Fritz Weaver, and Ernest Borgnine are among those who tried their wings here.

The old townhall can bulge up to over 400 souls a night, mostly on the orchestra floor. There's a trim balcony running around three sides.

Atmosphere is added by the curtains, chandeliers, drapes, chairs, carpets, and paintings from Broadway's old Empire Theater, obtained for Bob by Virginia-born Lady Astor.

The company includes 10 Equity members, twenty-odd apprentices, a good-sized technical staff, many of whom stick on from year to year. All the players try out for roles in open readings, and sometimes apprentices manage to outpoint the Equity members.

So far this summer they've offered The Great Sebastians; The Teahouse of the August Moon; The Desperate Hours; Thieves' Carnival; Anastasia; The Reluctant Debutante; Anniversary Waltz; Come Back, Little Sheba; with The Rainmaker, The Fourposter, and the new one, The Golden Lantern, still to come. This is a drama by Rebecca Franklin and M. K. Stewart, the writing name of the late veteran actress, Marie Doro.

LITTLE LEISURE

All this activity means very little leisure. The actors have Equity contracts, but in their zeal, wink at some demands for they would rather be working than not. Rehearsals are underway at 10 a. m., resume after lunch, with perhaps two or three plays and casts practicing simultaneously. Evening performances are at 8:30, with Wednesday and Saturday matinees.

Considering the usually emotional atmosphere of theater people, one is struck by the nonbickering ease with which these varied talents get along. Porterfield lays it to his ability to pick people.

"I want ladies and gentlemen as well as gifted talents," he muses. "Boors cannot maintain a schedule like this." Some of his ladies and gentlemen are from humble homes, some from wealthy ones, but they seem to share the vital secret of human courtesy.

There's another side to Porterfield which accounts for how he keeps his unique operation moving. Nothing seems to rattle him in the erratic maze of public support, personnel nerves or the everpresent need to keep strict balances. His payroll is over $2,000 a week. His tickets cost $2.50 each, with children admitted to the unreserved matinees for 50 cents.

Porterfield lives with his company at Barter Inn, a onetime college dormitory, with a cafeteria downstairs. But ever so often he manages to slip away to the family farm, 12 miles away. It's a real farm, too, cattle, tobacco, corn, outbuildings and the latest in dairy equipment.

On the lawn are twin oaks, said to have been there since Columbus, on a farm whose only owners have been the Indians and seven generations of Porterfields. Bob is a childless widower, but he's got a brother, all sorts of cousins and relatives throughout the area.

OF THE EARTH

Here, you feel, is that closeness to earth that makes the Barter possible.

A load of old canvas drops had been dumped in a field on the farm and the sight of Bob leading a cow away from evidently an appetizing dish of painted backdrops seemed to sum up the whole inspiration of grassroots theater. You've got to stick close to the ground to keep your head in the clouds.

Tomorrow I'll tell you about some of Barter's characters, including the lady who was born the year the Yanks invaded Abingdon.

Senator Talmadge Lauded on Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Senator TALMADGE Lauded on Birthday" from the August 11, 1957, issue of the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle-Herald.

I offer this editorial for the RECORD because it demonstrates that the people of Georgia have already come to respect and place full confidence in the distinguished Senator's ability to ably represent his State with honor and dignity in the greatest deliberative body in the world.

He has been a Member of the Senate but a short time, but in this brief period he has laid the foundation for one of the most distinguished careers in history as a statesman and Member of the United States Senate.

The people of Georgia are justifiably proud of the record he is compiling, and I am sure that I can speak for the people of South Carolina in saying that they have also been highly impressed by the performance of his duties and his strong adherence to the principles of constitutional government.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR TALMADGE LAUDED ON BIRTHDAY

And many happy returns.

It's a belated happy birthday to Georgia Senator HERMAN TALMADGE we're sending, hoping that his 44th birthday, Friday, was a happy one.

He couldn't have asked for a better present than the fine words of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, who pointed out that the Georgia junior Senator has made "a great impression on this body since he came here. He has served only a few months but he has already demonstrated that he is one of the most diligent and one of the best Senators in the Senate."

Georgians can be justly proud of the accolade and can be justified in their pride in having two of the outstanding legislators in Washington. The State has been most fortunate in having men of the stature of the late Senator Walter F. George, Senator Richard B. Russell, and Senator Herman Talmadge.

No State we can think of has ever had such three outstanding men representing its interests in overlapping terms. Senator TALMADGE'S thorough knowledge of law and his astute reasoning power have played and will play an important part in the civil rights fight and corresponding legislation.

Senator TALMADGE has conducted himself on numerous occasions when he has been the direct butt of attacks from the press on television interviews with the utmost of integrity and intelligence. He has what Senator RUSSELL has and what Senator George was so well known for—class.

Senator Kefauver's Trap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the use to which a congressional investigative committee puts the testimony of a staff employee of the Democratic Advisory Committee throws a political shadow over the committee's deliberations. It causes one to wonder whether the committee is in search of economic facts or campaign fustian.

A committee to look into "administered prices"—whatever that is—called, with some fanfare, as a leadoff witness, the notorious Prof. John K. Galbraith, of Harvard, relict of the let's-hate-all-businessmen era.

Perhaps all should be advised that the good Dr. Galbraith is also economic adviser to the Democratic advisory committee.

Dr. Galbraith wears two hats—one as an employee of a political organization, the other as an eager witness before a politically-oriented committee. The investigators might well look into Dr. Galbraith's conflict of interest.

Under leave granted, I include an article from the Journal of Commerce of August 5, 1957:

SENATOR KEFAUVER'S TRAP

The second round of Senator KEFAUVER'S attack against big business is about to start. Beginning August 8, the steel industry will be on the carpet. The first scheduled witness is the chairman of the United States Steel Corp., R. M. Blough.

Some traps have been carefully set for him by the Senator from Tennessee where folks know a thing or two about traps. The Senator and his staff are eagerly standing by to spring them.

This puts the spotlight not only on the Senator but on the economist who is expert-ing the hearings for him and the committee, Dr. John M. Blair, former Federal Trade Commission staffer and a trust buster from way back. One of the committee's earlier witnesses, Prof. John K. Galbraith, of Harvard, also had a hand in setting the stage for the second phase of these hearings.

The KEFAUVER hearings, although carefully camouflaged as an inquiry into administered prices, actually are an episode in a much broader campaign; the campaign to undermine and ultimately destroy big business.

Talking about alleged monopoly control in his opening statement, on July 9, Senator KEFAUVER spoke about two possible approaches to the problem—"either try to destroy the power or attempt to control it." Describing the "antitrust approach * * * as most in keeping with our American traditions," the Senator from Tennessee stated that the logical approach would "involve dissolution suits on a widespread scale; trust busting in the literal sense."

That is verbatim the same recipe prescribed by Dr. John M. Blair in his 1938 book, "Seeds of Destruction," and, as late as 1949, in a paper on "Dissolution" delivered before the economic workshop at the University of Minnesota.

On this occasion, Dr. Blair said: "The hard core of the monopoly problem is the concentration of economic power, specifically the ownership and control of a large

proportion of the industrial economy by a small number of giant corporations. Within the framework of the antitrust laws, the problem can be met in only one way, namely, through dissolution—trust busting in the literal sense."

In outlining such a dissolution program, Dr. Blair left no doubt that, in his opinion, "great size and power, in and of themselves and unaccompanied by unlawful practices," ought to be destroyed as injurious to competition.

This reminder to those spokesmen of industry who are to appear before the Kefauver Committee and to those who will have to evaluate these hearings is not an attempt to dig into the past in order to discredit the committee's economist because of ideas he may have held in his youth.

What bothers us is that, as the record shows, Dr. Blair never changed these views and is now feeding them to Senator KEFAUVER, as evident in the use of Dr. Blair's point of having the Senator pick up his 1949 phrase of "trust busting in the literal sense."

This stamps the Kefauver hearings as something more sinister than a technical exposé of administered prices—whatever that term may mean.

The committee brain trust obviously expects spokesmen for the steel industry to justify the recent steel price increases as the logical aftermath of rising costs.

That gives the following sentence in Professor Galbraith's testimony before the committee (on July 11) special and somewhat ominous significance.

Said Professor Galbraith: "The United States Steel Corp. justified its price increases of 2 weeks ago by the contention that its costs had risen. In doing so, it not only conceded its ability to pass higher costs, including higher interest charges, to the consumer but based its policy on the need to do so. But no such opportunity is open to the farmer or the smaller businessman. They cannot raise their prices, for these are market-determined. They shoulder themselves the effect of the policy."

Some astute observers believe that the Kefauver committee will use this Galbraith quotation in an attempt to trap the steel industry into the admission that its prices are administered without any regard to supply-and-demand forces.

If such a trap is sprung, the steel industry's economists should have no difficulty in exploding the myth that the steel industry can work outside the market system.

The record is full of instances where large companies in such fields as steel, nonferrous metals or petroleum products tried to raise prices but couldn't make the increases stick because of competitive conditions in the market place.

The trouble is that, even if the Kefauver hearings succeed in showing up administered prices as mere figments of the imagination of those who are constantly finding fault with the capitalistic system, this is not likely to end the drive against "bigness per se" once and for all.

If the current attack proves a dud, they will think of something else.

Tight Credit for Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter, dated August 12, 1957, which I received from Arthur J. Geoghegan, president of the First Westchester National Bank, New Rochelle, N. Y.

FIRST WESTCHESTER NATIONAL BANK,
New Rochelle, N. Y., August 12, 1957.
Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: Unfortunately, I was away for a month and didn't get your note as to any comments I might have in relation to your remarks made before the House of Representatives on Thursday, July 25.

Without being a traitor to the American Banking Association, I must agree more with your feelings on what the tight-money policy effect has been on small business. Possibly the ABA's remark "the tightening of credit which has occurred over the past 2 years has not borne with undue severity on small business" can be interpreted many ways. Undue severity can mean extreme hardship. Probably, if that is the meaning of the association's remarks, I could go along with them.

I would prefer to say that small business has unquestionably been penalized to a considerable extent by the tight-money policy and that in many cases I am sure that credit has been withheld due to the severity of the shortage of available credit, whereas 2 or 3 years ago that same small business would have readily been advanced the funds requested.

I feel more strongly than ever the need for the continuance of the Small Business Administration. I also feel that the tight-money policy will continue to adversely affect many small businesses as the unfortunate tendency for business to become bigger and bigger in the United States is forcing the small business, if he wants to stay competitive, to invest in more fixed assets. With this type of investment his current ratio of assets to liabilities becomes adversely affected and the banker is forced to restrain himself in the amount previously loaned.

The Small Business Administration could be a tremendous help in these circumstances, and I would encourage you to continue the splendid work you are doing in keeping this program very much in the forefront.

Sincerely,
ARTHUR J. GEOGHEGAN,
President.

Achievements in Agriculture—50 Years of Meat Inspection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, last year the Federal Meat Inspection Service of the Department of Agriculture celebrated its golden anniversary. The meat industry, retail distributors, newspapers, and radio-TV stations, chambers of commerce, and many other public agencies all joined in commemorating this anniversary.

During the year hundreds of items on the Federal Meat Inspection Service appeared in the Nation's press. Radio and TV stations contributed many hours of public-service time. Paid advertising space totaling many thousands of inches was used in promoting inspected meats and meat products and to tell the story of wholesome meats through inspection. Chambers of commerce and other civic agencies publicly honored the men of the Inspection Service. Here, for example, is a statement from one newspaper editorial:

What can you buy for a dime? Not much. Offhand, an ice-cream cone, a cup of coffee, or a bottle of pop—all things that give fleeting satisfaction but have little permanent value. But the dime per person the Government spends annually on its meat inspection program buys assurance for you and your family of a wholesome meat supply, probably saves you from illness and doctor bills, even means the saving of lives.

During these last 50 years, the Federal Meat Inspection Service, with the full cooperation of the meat industry and of the consuming public, has guarded this Nation's meat supply. Largely as a result of this Service, Americans take it invariably for granted that meats available at the market are clean and wholesome, as well as nutritious.

This work is also important to our farmers. Livestock and livestock products account for one-half of the total farm income. Inspection contributes immeasurably to the stability of these markets.

Public interest in and acclaim for the work of the Meat Inspection Service has been earned by hard work and devotion to the ideals of public service. It deserves the full support of every Member of the Congress.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, once again we are faced with the proposition of spending the American taxpayers' money on a program about which the average American is all too familiar. The continuation of our foreign-aid program, which has squandered billions upon billions of dollars with doubtful and haphazard results, is completely without sound justification.

The theme of the foreign-aid program is to fight communism, win friends, and establish world security through foreign aid. The foreign-aid portion of this theme, that is the reckless spending of billions of dollars, certainly stands true, but the remaining portions, that is fighting communism, winning of friends, and establishing security, falls completely short of even the most liberal interpretation. We have only to look at the countries of the world, who are receiving this aid, to see how far we have fallen short in purchasing their friendship and buying freedom from communism. One of the brightest features of the foreign-aid program is the ever-increasing awareness of the American public to the foolhardiness of the idea and the increasing

resentment and opposition toward its continuation. I am convinced that by in large the American public understands fully the shortcomings of the program and the complete lack of progress in the attainment of its so-called objective.

The fantastic spending program, which we know as the foreign-aid program, had its beginning prior to World War II in the lend-lease program of 1940. The billion dollar year really began to pick up momentum with lend-lease. The money expended under that program was neither lend nor lease. There had long been extravagance in Federal spending, although it had been restricted to domestic fields. With lend-lease, our spending branched out into the foreign field and, before the program had run its course, the taxpayers were soaked to the tune of $48,674,000,000.

Lend-lease set the trend of American thinking toward extravagant foreign-aid spending, and we have been suffering from that malady ever since. With the expiration of lend-lease in 1946, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was left as the vehicle to funnel American dollars abroad. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was supposed to be a joint project, financed by allied powers, but Uncle Sam paid the tab to the tune of over $2½ billion. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration money was indiscriminately spent all over the world, including Communist-ruled countries, and did much to strengthen the communistic concept. Larger than the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was the real successor to the lend-lease program, namely, the Marshall plan.

This program as it is now known was established in 1948 to administer the gifts and loans that were appropriated to assist the countries of Western Europe in rehabilitating their economies. This was the mission of the European recovery or Marshall plan.

This goal was soon accomplished but then came the Korean war and the signals were changed. Emphasis then was placed upon military assistance and the economic cooperation was transformed into the Mutual Security Agency. Then came the Foreign Operations Administration and the International Cooperation Administration. Present international Cooperation Administration programs incorporate all aid, other than that given for direct military assistance, which comes under the Department of Defense. They included so-called defense support—economic aid to countries to which we are giving substantial military assistance—aid for economic development, and technical cooperation.

Although the programs have had different targets, they have one thing in common. They are based upon the belief that the continued giveaway of taxpayers' dollars can solve the free world's problems. Indeed, in some quarters the belief is prevalent that, by giving away dollars, we can buy the friendship of foreign peoples. Too often we resort to this easy way out of difficulties which, in fact, can be solved only by a realistic, and clearly stated, consistent, and properly implemented foreign policy.

One cannot buy trustworthy friends with money, regardless of the price. To attempt to do so amounts to plain bribery, which is hardly the way to win friends. Even in those cases where aid may not be looked upon as bribery, it is looked upon as something for nothing, and what is obtained without effort is never valued as much as what has been acquired at some cost.

Certain interests are now working and trying to move heaven and earth to retain the foreign-aid programs for their own benefit. On both sides of the aisle, Republicans and Democrats, are using high pressure methods to keep Congress in line to forward foreign aid. We hear of meetings at high levels in which the leaders of both parties are called in, but we do not hear of any mass meetings of the constituents whom we represent. If the voters of the United States could be sounded out, we would find, I am sure, that 2 out of every 3 are against foreign aid, especially the business interests upon whom taxes fall so hard. Ninety out of every one hundred letters I received mention the fact that we could do away with foreign aid as a means of relieving the tax burden.

Foreign aid started out as wartime cooperation, when we and our allies were fighting the common Nazi enemy. We pooled our resources, recognizing that cooperative effort in wartime is quite different from peacetime lending.

We even went a step further. After hostilities were over, we recognized that economic rehabilitation of the countries that were devastated by the war was part of the phenomenon of war itself. We had been fortunate in that our own fields and factories had not suffered damage, whereas much of Europe had been laid flat. So, we extended our hands to them in humanitarian assistance to help them rebuild their economies. Under the Marshall plan we gave them vast quantities of food, fuel, fertilizer, and industrial equipment for this purpose. The goal was accomplished and, by 1952, notwithstanding the Korean outbreak in 1950, Western Europe was well on the road to recovery.

But, termination of the Marshall plan did not extinguish the concept that the way to solve knotty foreign problems is to make large grants of money. Those advocating direct foreign assistance have become quick to substitute direct military assistance to take the place of economic rehabilitation. Paralleling this was the idea, first incorporated in the so-called point 4 program, that the United States should make substantial grants in order to assist the development of economically backward countries.

I am afraid that we have long since reached the point where the advocates of direct foreign aid are more anxious to give aid, as such, than they are to achieve the ostensible objectives of the aid programs. Vested interests have been created, in the form of a vast bureaucracy, both in Washington and abroad, that have a direct interest in the continuation of aid programs. It is something like a snowball rolling down hill. It picks up larger and larger amounts of snow until it becomes dangerous. The philosophy of foreign aid has been picking up more and more advocates until a powerful pressure-group has been created.

I am afraid that we are disposed to increase our foreign aid appropriation whenever the world situation becomes more tense. If we were to think through the problems first and define our objectives clearly with regard to each country, taking into account the personnel that we have available to accomplish our objectives, we would accomplish more than we do now, by first deciding to appropriate more funds and then, later on, wondering how to spend them advantageously. The real question, in each case should be, not how much but, what why, and how. All too often, I am afraid, we have placed the cart before the horse.

Take the case of Iran, which is one of the greatest examples of waste and extravagance in foreign aid spending.

For a long time the program there was headed by William E. Warne. The story is clear and known to many, since it has been the subject of investigation and publicity. The Administrator of the program went to Iran in 1951, to help build prosperity in that country of 20 million inhabitants. The Iranian economy was at a low ebb due to the expropriation of the British-controlled oil wells there. With the Administrator's arrival there began a furious spending program which has cost American taxpayers some $300 million to date, and which is the equivalent of income taxes paid by more than 700,000 average American families in a year.

One glaring example of wasteful spending was the construction of a beet-sugar refinery before sugar beets were being grown in Iran. To make matters worse, a second refinery was built and much of the machinery bought and stored. A novel twist was added when United States Treasury checks were distributed directly to Iranian ministers. Money was provided the Iranian Government to meet payrolls and, in fact, salaries were raised at about the same time. A staff of more than 400 assistants in 10 regional offices were built up and apparently these staffs lived in the lap of luxury.

One office, with 55 employees, including clerks and office boys, required 53 automobiles and 41 chauffeurs.

Vast sums were spent on farm equipment which could not be used, owing to the nature of the terrain. Millions upon millions of dollars in physical assets were scattered about without rhyme or reason and have since been entirely lost.

Teheran, the capital of Iran, badly needed electric power and sought $500,000 to be used in constructing steam generators. This was logical because Iranian oil could easily provide the necessary fuel. Because of his background the Administrator decided that a public-power-type hydroelectric dam would be more suitable. Accordingly, a terrific spending program was launched to support the construction of a dam on

the Karadj River. The population of Teheran, something over 1 million plus, was thus to have an electric supply sufficient to handle a population of an American city of some 15,000. Over 40,000 applications were pending and about the same number of customers were being served. The available electric supply was totally inadequate to take care of the requirements. Beyond home use for electricity many industrial plants required electric power which, in turn, would improve the economy of the area.

Under the foreign-aid program Teheran received $2¼ million for the construction of a model cotton mill but, unfortunately, the mill had no power to turn its wheels.

In an effort to solve this pressing problem Iran had planned to build stem-driven oil-powered generators which could be constructed with the $500,000 sought from the foreign-aid program, combined with their own funds. The dam which the Administrator proposed had first come up for consideration in the 1920's and would span a narrow mountain stream which practically dried up in the summer and became a torrent during the spring flood season. The original idea was abandoned as impractical, and inadequate to supply the country's needs for electricity.

A French company began some work on the dam which was halted in 1951. The initial pledge toward construction of the dam was $1,400,000. One estimate toward the total cost amounted to $17,300,000 while another estimated the cost amounted to $28 million.

Work began immediately on the dam and continued until June 1955. Considerable controversy was raised about the merits of the dam and 1 estimate reached the figure of $90 million. It was finally agreed that the dam was too expensive and work on the dam has ceased. About all that exists is an uncompleted stretch of road through the mountains, a construction camp, complete with swimming pool, which cost $3,500,000, but no dam.

The Iranians got around the problem, however, because they decided that the money was not forthcoming from the foreign-aid program so they built the necessary steam generators themselves.

In the period immediately following World War II, few argued against the principle involved, which was to extend a helping hand to destitute and war-ravaged peoples, even though some of the methods for distributing the aid were questionable. The theme, in the beginning, was to combat communism by combating poverty. The logical approach to this objective was to strengthen those nations by building prosperous economies. If their economies eventually got on their feet and could do for themselves, that would be fine, but unfortunately that has not been the case.

Today our national debt is around $270 billion, a sum which is almost twice the combined debts of all the other principal nations of the world. Some $64 billion can be attributed to grants and loans to foreign governments in the postwar period. If to this are added the amounts granted during the war period 1940–45, in the form of lend-lease and other grants-in-aid, the total is raised to cover $113 billion. Statistics, inconclusive as they may be, show that about $3 billion of our taxpayers' dollars have been used by foreign governments to reduce their own national debts. This same $3 billion has been added to our national debt.

Some of the proponents of foreign aid giveaway programs like to point out that our economy is bolstered by foreign aid in that our own products and services are bought with the money. Since we give away the money that is used to purchase our products and services, is not this a rather absurd way to promote trade? Our Nation has grown and prospered through the self-interest of private enterprise and industry. Let us keep it that way. Now, let us take a look at a few of the recipient nations to see how the program has failed to work. Consider France. Since 1947, we have given more than nine billion dollars in aid to France, which is second only to England as far as benefits under the foreign-aid program are concerned. Today everyone is aware of France's resentment of the United States and of France's response to a communism which can be noted most clearly in the results of her national elections. The average citizen of France is indifferent toward our giveaway program, because they feel that they do not personally receive any of the money. They feel that aid has been funneled through the hands of a favored few.

In Greece, the United States has spent over $1.3 billion, plus military assistance. Yet, the feeling there toward the United States is certainly not a friendly one. Fairly recently, Greek voters gave strong support to a Communist-backed ticket.

In Italy, even the strongest proponents of foreign aid are conceding the obvious fact that communism remains an important factor. Reports from southern Italy, where vast sums of our taxpayers' dollars have been squandered, indicate that if anything, more persons are becoming Communist than anti-Communist.

In Yugoslavia, where more than $700 million of our taxpayers' dollars have been spent, plus military aid, the Nation has its own brand of communism. By no stretch of the imagination can anyone concede that we have made progress in that nation.

In Egypt, over $45 million has been spent for economic and technical aid, yet few Egyptians appear to be aware of the fact. Developments there clearly show that the United States does not rank very high in the Egyptians' estimation.

There is continuing argument that American generosity is merely building a host of ingrates all around the globe. For example, India, which has received millions of dollars in American aid for its village improvement program, seems more friendly to the Soviet Union than to the United States. Krishna Menon, its delegate to the United Nations, and now to become its defense minister, is a glaring example. In votes and statements during the past 5 years, at least 23 times he supported the Communist Party line against the United States and the majority of the free world; 4 times he abstained—including the vote on our request for an important investigation of Communist charges of bacteriological warfare in Korea; twice only he opposed the Soviet. Within the last few months he called the Soviet terror in Hungary "just a civil conflict" and refused either to condemn the Soviet or—presumably until instructed otherwise—to call for removal of military pressure.

Turkey continues to demand all sorts of industrial equipment and nonwar supplies. This would be fine for Turkey, which is burdened by a large Army, but why should our taxpayers be called upon to finance Turkey's whole modernization program?

Finally, let us take a look at Great Britain, to whom our taxpayers have contributed vast sums. It is no secret that the average Britisher looks with unfriendly eyes upon us. He seems to feel that we owe Britain the aid it has received and that Britain should not be required to make any effort to repay.

There is an expression to the effect that some people cannot see a tree because of the forest, and this certainly applies to the manner in which our foreign aid program is being handled. What more fertile place could the Communist forces seek to plant their seeds of discontent than in the politically and economically unstable Latin American Republics? These nations, our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere, have suffered historically from political strife and the hand of dictatorship. Would it not be wise, since we have foreign aid hanging over us, at least to try to make the most of its intentions and apply more than we have so far applied toward the improvement of our neighbors who are literally in our own front yard, in preference to helping those on the other side of the world?

The $673 million that we have made available to the Latin American Republics since the close of World War II is small in comparison with the $49,095,000,000 that we have given to other areas. To be precise, it accounts for only 1.4 percent of the total.

Yet, we and the Latin American Republics have common interests which make that part of the world especially important to us. Latin America tends to be politically unstable and provides enticing targets for dictatorship and communism. It certainly would be in our self-interest to enhance our prestige throughout the Western Hemisphere. If ever we should be called upon to enforce the Monroe Doctrine it would be essential that the ties which bind together all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere be as strong as possible. We have not done as much as we could to keep the good neighbor policy alive and vigorous.

There is danger that we overlook the composition of our existing foreign aid programs. Although, prior to 1951, the bulk of all aid was economic, the bulk of it today is military. Of the almost $5 billion included in the aid program submitted to Congress last year for fiscal

1957, approximately $3 billion was for direct military assistance. Another $1.1 billion was for defense support, or economic assistance to countries receiving substantial military assistance. Inasmuch as the purpose of defense support is military, it is logical to consider that portion of economic assistance as military also.

Thus, more than four-fifths of all aid recommended for fiscal 1957 was either directly, or indirectly, military.

Much as I believe in military preparedness, I cannot help but doubt whether this policy is wise, even though it might cost more if we were to provide for military defense exclusively with our own defense establishment. With the world as unstable as it is, there is the ever-present danger that some day we, ourselves, may have to face the very guns, and other military equipment that we are giving so liberally throughout the world.

I am not a military expert and I do not intend to pose as one. But, I am of the firm opinion that we need to reexamine our military assistance programs in the light of the new weapons that are being developed so rapidly. We need to rethink this matter through, particularly since the United Kingdom only recently decided to rely almost exclusively upon new weapons systems. I hope that the Military Affairs Committees, of this House and of the Senate, are giving this problem the careful and mature consideration that it deserves. Since it is more economical to support Korean and Nationalist Chinese troops than it is to support American troops in the field, it may be that we are jumping to the conclusion that we should rely too exclusively upon traditional military thinking.

I have never noticed that our military leaders are disposed to change their traditional manner of thinking between wars. Neither have I noticed any disposition on their part to think in terms of true economy.

The people of the United States have a right to expect that the dollars they are spending for military purposes are being spent just as efficiently as the dollars they are spending for other functions of government, including economic foreign aid. Let us stop military foreign aid, at least for the time being, at least until we know what kind of weapons will really be useful.

The question uppermost in the minds of our taxpayers today is why continue this burdensome program. I for one, am opposed to its continuation in anything like its present scale. There are ample funds appropriated, but as yet unspent, to carry the aid program on through an adjustment period. We would gain immeasurably from an economic standpoint, as well as from a moral standpoint if for the time being at least we stopped with the billions already appropriated but not yet spent. Each of us could then feel a measure of relief in reduced taxes. Each of us could see a better chance of a balanced budget and there would be more money for development and improvement within the United States. I cannot see where there would be dire and earth-shaking confusion if we should discontinue much of our foreign-aid program. Let us cease thinking in terms of buying friends.

Railroad Retirement Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert a letter from Mrs. Martha Flett of Cloquet, Minn. Mrs. Flett writes about railroad retirement and the general question of our treatment of the older folks. She doesn't ask for anything, nor does she complain. She only tells us her story in hope that we could aid someone else. To all those who say that we never had it so good and that things are better than ever, I commend this letter for reading; to all those who think that our social security and railroad retirement systems are adequate, I urge you to read this letter; to anyone who thinks that we do not need some form of Federal medical insurance, I urge you to read this letter; because in her very simple and forthwright manner Mrs. Flett has more eloquently told of the need for these things than any of the long speeches that are so often heard on this floor. The problem will not solve itself, Mr. Speaker. We must get moving and improve our social security program, railroad retirement system, and medical care provisions so that the people of the Nation will have true social and economic security in their later years and so they can share in the tremendous benefits of the great wealth of our Nation.

CLOQUET, MINN., *July 22, 1957.*

The Honorable JOHN BLATNIK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to tell you about our own particular situation regarding railway pensions.

My husband was retired in June 1955 from the Duluth, Missabe, and Iron Range Railroad where he had worked for over 30 years in the electrical department. He was 69 at the time of retirement, but because we had 2 teen-agers in high school, we pleaded that he be allowed to work 2 more years, since he was in good physical condition and able to work. This was not granted. The summer following retirement was a nightmare of adjustment. We did not receive enough compensation to carry on insurance, sick benefits or any necessities which are essential to good living. His pension was based on wages from 1926–31 when he was receiving 77 cents an hour in comparison to $2.25 an hour in 1955. Because our income was insufficient, we skimped on medicals. In 1956, around the holiday season, Mr. Flett was taken ill with what we thought was a stomach flu. We struggled along until after Christmas, when medication was necessary. It was found to be cancer. Mr. Flett died on February 19, 1957.

While my husband worked, his life insurance with the Equitable was $5,250. After retirement, the amount is reduced to $1,250. We could not pay the premiums to keep its original value.

I am 56 years old. Our son, 19, is considered an adult as far as the railroad company is concerned. Our daughter was 18 in May. There is no compensation until I am in my sixties. Yet my husband has paid thousands of dollars into a fund from which he never benefited and from which I do not receive compensation when I most need it.

My son worked last summer to be able to go to U. M. D. My daughter has been unable to find a good-paying job this summer to help her go to college in the fall. Yet the Nation is crying for young folks to be engineers, scientists, and so forth.

I have a part-time job as cook in a school cafeteria. I applied for work at a local plant which would bring more income. But at 56, you are too old for work, and too young for compensation.

To get Mr. Flett into the university hospital, I had to mention the Welfare Department as a possible source of paying bills. This is a rather terrifying situation after a man has worked for the same company for over 30 years.

Before my husband died, he asked that I send this material to our Senators and Representatives, in hope that we could aid someone else.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

MRS. MARTHA FLETT.

The Excise Tax on Coconut Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, I strongly believe that the 3 cents per pound excise tax on coconut oil has no reason left for being and that it will serve the best interests of our country if it be repealed. Accordingly, I introduced H. R. 3652 some months ago to repeal the tax. Similar bills were introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. KING] (H. R. 7315), and by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL]. Recently, Mr. KING's bill was unanimously approved by the Ways and Means subcommittee to which it was referred.

I wish to call the attention of the House to an editorial that appeared in the New York Times of August 13. The Philippine Ambassador to the United States, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, has ceaselessly advocated the repeal of this tax because he says it affects 8 million of his fellow countrymen who depend on the coconut industry in the Philippines. General Romulo believes that it will strengthen the friendship between our two countries for us to abolish this tax and he has so expressed it in a strong note to the State Department.

As the New York Times very well says:

The logical and sensible thing to do is to repeal the act.

We should not allow this session of Congress to adjourn without acting on

this measure because, to quote again from the New York Times:

The arguments for repeal are economically sound, politically wise and fundamentally humane.

The editorial to which I referred reads as follows:

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Among the important bills at this session of Congress that are in danger of losing out in the pressure of unfinished business is the House measure to repeal the 3-cent-a-pound excise tax on coconut oil. This has already had unanimous approval in a Ways and Means Subcommittee, but it should be brought out, passed by both Houses and sent to the President.

This excise tax on coconut oil was originally adopted in 1934 as one of a series of emergency measures designed to protect struggling American interests. In this case, the dairy farmers feared the competition of coconut oil that found its way into the manufacture of margarines. However, as a matter of conscience, the proceeds of the tax were remitted to the Philippines, principal supplier of the oil, and they served a good purpose in stabilizing the Philippine economy during trying days.

Now things have changed. The dairy farmers no longer need the protection, since coconut oil has virtually disappeared as a base in margarines. Moreover, the proceeds of the tax have not been remitted to the Philippines since the advent of independence in 1946. The coconut producer—and there are 7 million persons dependent upon the industry in the Philippines—is being penalized to protect a now nonexistent American need.

Meanwhile, the soapmakers in this country are losing out to synthetic detergents because of the artificially high price of coconut oil. A natural flow of useful products at a reasonable market price is being impeded by legislation that has long ceased to correspond to needs or facts in the case. The American soap user is footing the bill, on the one hand, and the Philippine coconut grower is paying his share, on the other.

The logical and sensible thing to do is to repeal the act. Any loss in revenues should be offset by economic gains, especially those to the ultimate consumer. If the Philippines is not to have any advantage from the imposition of the tax it is no more than fair that its needful producers should have the advantage of a more favorable market. The arguments for repeal are thus economically sound, politically wise, and fundamentally humane. Action should be taken.

A Civil-Rights Bill This Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House will make their final judgment on the pending civil-rights bill on the basis of their conscience and their understanding of the issue. It might be helpful to them in making their judgment to know the position which has been taken on the bill by groups that have been in the forefront for many years in the promotion of meaningful civil-rights legislation.

Two of the leading groups are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. I believe it is a mark of courage that each of these organizations in recent days has found it possible to declare publicly in favor of a measure which does not fully meet their own goal. Members of the House will recall that both of these organizations, along with many others, gave us strong and unflinching support when we successfully resisted the addition of a jury-trial amendment covering both civil and criminal contempt to H. R. 6127. Both the NAACP and the AFL–CIO supported the House-passed bill as a minimum program for the protection of human rights.

It would be easy for these organizations, as it is apparently easy for some Members of the Congress, to keep waving the flag for the full measure of justice which they so justifiably demand. They could take an intransigent position now and thus remain simon pure. But the leaders of these organizations are both realistic and idealistic. They are determined to have action this year on the maximum bill that can pass both Houses of Congress without any further risks to the bill itself.

In a statement which Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, sent to all of his organization's chapters this week, he says:

We believe the Seante bill, with some modification can be useful.

After stating his disappointment at some of the changes made by the Seante, Mr. Wilkins continues:

However, in the Senate version of the bill there are residual potentialities for (a) increasing the number of Negro voters in the South; (b) discovering whether, as has been claimed, the vast majority of voting cases will be disposed of in civil actions without a jury; (c) determining whether or not, for the official record, southern juries can render verdicts in voting cases on the basis of the evidence and the law; (d) investigation and exposure by the Federal Government of the deprivations of voting rights; and (e) establishment of an effective and fully manned Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.

He then very realistically and significantly comments:

We believe that if the bill is passed it will break the stalemate of 87 years and will get us off of the very discouraging dead center on which we have been operating because we could not secure the passage of a perfect bill. We believe this bill will constitute a start toward our goal, and a start is better than standing still.

Mr. Wilkins is a courageous man as well as a realistic one.

This position may not be popular at this time—

He says. He points out that some of his own members will be bitterly disappointed but his answer is:

We believe that we have chosen a course which is practical rather than emotional.

In making this decision, Mr. Wilkins has told his people that he has relied on the intimate knowledge of his Washington representative, Mr. Clarence Mitchell.

To those who advocate delay in an effort to get a stronger bill, Mr. Wilkins makes some very wise and realistic observations. Briefly, he says:

We doubt a stronger bill (that is, with the jury-trial omitted) can be passed at this session.

We consider it doubtful that a stronger bill (that is, without a jury-trial amendment) can be passed next year.

We do not believe that if this bill is passed, it will be 10 or 20 years before we can get anything more done on the civil-rights legislation.

Similar to the action of the NAACP has been that of the AFL–CIO. This great labor organization, representing 15 million working men and women, including millions of Negro workers, has been in the forefront of the fight for the best possible civil-rights bill. Their support for part III in the bill and their opposition to a jury trial amendment needs no reiteration now. But they have faced the practical situation which exists, and their top leadership, meeting just 2 days ago in Chicago, has called upon the Congress to pass a bill this year. The Senate bill is disappointing to them but they recognize the potential good in the bill. They declare "We will not join with those who would defeat the present weakened measure in an effort to obtain a political advantage."

This declaration by the AFL–CIO executive council was adopted unanimously by the 29 members of that body.

One final word: Both the NAACP and the AFL–CIO, and many other organizations, fought against the jury trial amendment as it was presented to the House. Although these organizations also resisted the amendment as adopted by the Senate, it must be recognized by all that the Senate amendment covers criminal contempt only and therefore constitutes much less danger to the efficacy of the bill than would have the amendment which the House rejected. The position of these organizations would probably be different if the jury trial amendment offered to the House were now still under consideration.

Is the attitude to be a little is not enough, but nothing is sufficient?

Consumerism—Latest Economic Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Joseph Arnold Livingston, syndicated financial columnist, is must reading for all Americans who are interested in the economic future of themselves and the country.

Mr. Livingston's article appeared in the July issue of Western World and is as follows:

CONSUMERISM—LATEST ECONOMIC FRONTIER

(By J. A. Livingston)

Poor Mr. Foofram. He's an elderly business executive well known to readers of

American comic strips. But he's not up on modern economics.

"I can't figure it," says he. "They (the workers) stand around talking most of the morning. * * * Then they leave for coffee at 10. At 12 o'clock they go to lunch and straggle back about 2. Another coffee break at 3—then they leave early to avoid the rush hour. And we're still making more money than we have ever made in our history." That's America in the 1950's.

Foofram, Inc., which epitomizes all the great United States corporations—General Motors, United States Steel, American Telephone & Telegraph, Radio Corporation of America, Ford, Du Pont—is making money because of, not in spite of, shorter hours of work. American workers have time to enjoy their record incomes. They have time for television, movies, vacations at the seashore and countryside, visits to Europe and other foreign lands, do-it-yourself work around the house and garden, automobile trips in the evening. Golf once was a rich man's pastime. Now it's everyone's.

American prosperity is a two-way trickle up as well as down. The Fooframs are well off only when the Joneses, Smiths, Pilsudskis, Pihauds, Swansons, Schmidts, Rossos, Kellys, and Cohens are busy as consumers. For America in less than 250 years has fashioned a society undreamed of by early economists, a consumeristic society. General Motors can't sell cars unless it finds customers. It can't find customers unless wages are high and people have time in which to use American highways. Consumerism has replaced geography as America's latest economic frontier.

To the economists and Fooframs of the 18th century low wages were necessary to make the lower classes of people do more work and become more careful and industrious. Adam Smith rejected this subsistence theory of wages, but Malthus came back to it. He felt that workers were condemned to live on the verge of starvation. Their wages should be just enough to provide a continuing supply of workers to operate capitalistic machines. This suited Karl Marx, to whom profit was booty pumped out of the laborer—surplus value. To Marx, periodic depressions, accompanied by widescale unemployment, were capitalistic essentials to force down wages toward subsistence living.

SUNRISE TO SUNSET

America's consumeristic growth rebuts the Marxian hypothesis. A hundred years ago, the worker went to his job at sunrise and was set free at sunset. For this treadmill existence, he got less than $250 a year, a sum he now earns in 2 or 3 weeks. A philosophy of hard work while you work was already established in America in 1857. Philadelphia and Its Manufacturers records that "nearly every citizen has some regular occupation and prizes himself upon diligence in the transaction of business and punctuality in fulfilling his engagements. The circle of those, at least among the male population, who aspire to distinction because of their uselessness, is like a wart on a man's nose, more looked at than important."

And technology—the use of machines—had ready acceptance. American workmen were not Luddites, who destroyed knitting machines in England in the 19th century. Philadelpha and Its Manufactures notes that "one American girl can accomplish as much as two English girls," and that British workers do more than French workers. Already America was groping its way toward an accounting concept of wages: "The only standard by which to estimate the cost of labor is the amount of work done for the money paid—the per diem earnings of the workmen being in itself no criterion by which to judge the cost of labor."

By 1895, American workmen were getting $450 a year, nearly double their pay of the 1850's. But they were still putting in a 10-hour day—to the distaste of Wendell Phillips, a New England reformer. Said Phillips: "When shut up an excessive number of hours in labor, the workman comes out but the tag end of a man, without the brain to think. Now, therefore, it is a fair division to give him 8 hours for labor, 8 hours for sleep, and 8 hours for his own use as he pleases * * *." The Consumeristic Society began with agitation for the 8-hour day.

THE COLONIAL TRADITION

Social and economic gains inevitably spring from workers' backgrounds. The country was settled by immigrants who had broken away from tradition, from class and caste distinction, American workers seldom said: "That's not for the likes of me." When improvements came—when gas light supplanted the kerosene lamp and electricity the gas mantle; when the automobile began putt-putting over the dirt roads; when indoor plumbing and running water ousted the outhouse and the pitcher pump, the American worker wanted not only to keep up with the Joneses in the flat next door, but also with the Astors and the Vanderbilts who lived in stately Fifth Avenue mansions.

Further, the colonial foundation of America—the coming here of settlers who had to battle winter, Indians, and an unknown land—fostered teamwork, a spirit of mutual help (it was necessary to survival), and compassion for fellow men. To Americans misery, poverty, and low standards of living are a personal affront. Hence, laws doing away with child labor, laws limiting the hours of work for women, and, finally, in 1937, the Fair Labor Standards Act, which requires overtime pay beyond a 40-hour week.

Unions have carried the trend toward leisure and consumerism further. Many contracts set 35 and 37½ hour weeks. George W. Taylor, one of America's outstanding authorities on labor, figures that the average hours worked per year in America at regular pay would be closer to 35 hours than 40 hours considering that workers now get 2 weeks paid vacations plus about 7 holidays.

Workers early attained an economic dignity in the United States. They were granted credit ratings. Not by banks, but by merchants. If a railroad could buy locomotives and freight cars on time—paying while using—why couldn't a worker buy a living room suite or a bed at so much per week? And so began installment credit. But not without its social stigma. Credit stores delivered their furniture in unmarked delivery trucks—so that neighbors wouldn't know that the Smiths or the Joneses were paying by the week.

Today, the best families do it. Some 70 percent of automobiles are purchased on installments. You buy refrigerators, clothes, jewelry, sewing machines, frozen foods, clothing—nearly anything—on time. Personal loans of $300 to $500 are easy to get. You travel to Europe—plane or ship—and pay when you return. You purchase gasoline anywhere in the United States on credit—merely show your credit card. You can go into restaurants and sign the check and pay later. And, wonder of wonders, banks compete actively for consumer loans.

As recently as the 'twenties, the Fooframs in the banking business considered consumer lending a perversion. Bank credit must be confined to production. If a householder coudn't pay for a piano, a sewing machine, a dining room table outright, he should wait. He should save up for it. But merchants—in their own self-interest, in their quest for ever more sales—had a keener understanding of consumer psychology. To most persons, saving comes hard. It is easy to put off buying a piano or sewing machine until tomorrow in order to spend money for flowers, fancy foods, or bric-a-brac today.

Installment credit had its beginnings in America early in the 19th century when Cowperthwait, a New York furniture store, advertised "the most reasonable and accommodating terms." The Singer Co. sold sewing machines on time starting around 1850. Yet, installment credit is hardly an American exclusive.

In the late 19th century in France, the Grands Magasins Dufayel sold merchandise extensively on credit in Paris and through branches. This is a French Horatio Alger story. Dufayel was a groom for a Mr. Crespin and acquired Crespin's merchandising and credit business, greatly expanding it. Dufayel actually financed the time sales of other stores, taking customers' notes or bonds. In this, Dufayel was a forerunner of the American finance companies that were organized to handle installment paper for automobile dealers. The Dufayel business ran down rapidly after his death in 1916.

EUROPE'S FEAR OF CREDIT

Yet, Europeans distrust installment credit. They are alarmed by the rapidity of its growth in America, from $4,500 million to $30 billion since 1939. Suppose, runs the argument, business should decline, people lose their jobs. New installment purchases would cease. Families would be unable to pay off old purchases. Retail sales would drop. A depression spiral would uncoil.

A reasonable argument. But how valid?

It presumes that installment credit is granted unthinkingly. It isn't. Bankers carefully examine borrowers. How long have they worked? What do they earn? Do they have references? Automobile dealers also check up. Are the car buyers responsible? Finance companies crack down on dealers who make bum loans. And the record of losses, of repossessions, over the years is low enough to encourage creditors and merchants to expand installment operations.

Consumers—borrowers—are not reckless. People borrow when they feel secure in their jobs. When they are nervous, when the business outlook is uncertain, they will be anxious to get out of debt. So, neither the lending nor the borrowing is indiscriminate.

Besides, no longer is the individual in America a bit of economic flotsam, adrift and alone on a vast, impersonal sea. We have learned a little from the great depression of 1929–33. In times of trouble, the Government—society—comes to the rescue of the economically injured. In that way we hope to tame the old-fashioned business cycle.

LAWS TO PROMOTE CONSUMPTION

In 1946, Congress passed the Employment Act to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. A Council of Economic Advisers to the President constantly studies economic developments and confers with employers, bankers, and union leaders, so as to detect, in its incipiency, any downward trend. The administration has available at all times a shelf of public works to arrest a down spiral in production and employment. Further, the compensatory spending teachings of Great Britain's renowned economist, John Maynard Keynes, are accepted doctrine in America. In poor times, when consumers haven't money, the Government overspends, runs deficit, thus pumping out purchasing power. This cushions against any runaway consequences of overexpansion of installment credit.

In earlier years, nations had sumptuary laws to limit extravagance, consumption. Now we have consumer laws to limit impoverishment nonconsumption. In the United States, when persons lose jobs, they receive unemployment compensation. Persons over 65 get regular social-security remittances.

To help farmers, the United States has a system of support prices, which guards against the bottom falling out of the market. All this to stop a recession before it gains accelerating headway.

To Adam Smith, consumption was the main purpose of the economic process. And nowhere in the world has this concept been more exalted than in America. Industrialists believe in cheap things for dear people. Prices of goods must be low enough, cheap enough, so that workers, who are paid well, can buy them. Or, conversely, wages must be high enough so that things workers buy will be cheap. Henry Ford, in the heyday of the Ford car, believed that the end of consumption was best served by a standard car at a low price: "The customer can have any color car he wants, so long as it is black." But, as America became richer, consumers wanted more, better quality. The standard of consumption rose. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., for many years chief executive of General Motors, observed: "Each year we build the best car we possibly can to satisfy the consumer, and then the next year we build another to make him dissatisfied."

Some 50 percent of American families own their own homes; about 75 percent their own automobiles. And mechanized refrigerators, dishwashing machines, air conditioners, washing machines, and general appliances are the common aspiration of all families, rich and poor, white and dark-skinned. Consumerism is a limitless frontier.

And it is a democratizer. One of the finer streets in Philadelphia, Lincoln Drive, now has a sprinkling of Negroes—something which would never have been possible 20 years ago. Economics draws no color line. People with similar consumption habits can share experiences. Negro families own their own cars, have television sets, modern kitchens. In the North, they have a common bond—an area of conversation—with the whites that did not exist 50 years ago.

Consumerism can develop only in countries with high standards of living. Only citizens who possess discretionary income, who earn more than they need for food, clothing, and shelter, can capitalize their future income, can save while consuming. No businessman or banker would extend credit to a family that needs all its income just to eat and pay rent.

Up to now, installment credit has been impermissible in the Soviet Union. The average Russian is hard put to buy the necessities of life. Food is scarce and hard to get. Clothing is poorly made and expensive. A man's suit will run to 900 rubles, or more than a month's wages for the average worker. In the United States, a man's suit of far better quality than in Russia will cost $60, or three-quarters of a week's wages. Women's rayon dresses, which sell for $3 in the United States—a fifth of a day's wages—will cost 100 rubles, or one-seventh of a month's wages in the Soviet Union.

PRODUCTION FOR POWER OR CONSUMPTION

The Soviet Union is one of the most capitalistic nations—and therefore one of the least consumeristic nations—on earth. The rulers of Russia produce for power—military power, industrial power—not for consumption. Roughly, about 25 percent of the total production goes for armaments; another 25 percent goes for plant and equipment—industrial expansion. About 50 percent is left for consumption goods. By high prices, the state draws off consumer purchasing power. This is regressive taxation—ne plus ultra.

In contrast, only about 15 percent of America's production goes for capital formation. Another 10 percent goes to the Armed Forces. Thus, proportionate to the U. S. S. R., only half as much of America's energy goes into industrial and military sinew. But since American output is about 2½ times that of the Soviet Union, our total industrial expansion and military effort (including the Navy) each year still exceeds that of the Soviet Union.

American consumerism has become a stabilizing force in the economy, and not a destabilizing force as worriers about installment credit suggest. Heretofore, depressions have been associated with capital booms: An extraordinarily large outlay of energy and dollars on new plant and equipment, on schools, highways, hospitals, and homes followed by a rapid cessation. But consumption has advanced so rapidly that even in the present boom, capital formation, percentagewise, is less than it was in the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's, as you can see:

Period	Annual average		Capital formation as percent of total output
	All goods and services	Capital formation	
	Billions	*Billions*	
1869–78	$7.0	$1.3	19
1879–88	10.7	2.0	19
1889–98	12.7	2.7	21
1899–08	21.6	4.3	20
1909–18	40.1	8.3	21
1919–28	81.2	16.9	21
1929–38	78.2	9.0	12
1939–45	156.3	15.2	10
1946–55	303.0	52.7	17

Marxists who have always talked about the violent ups and downs of capitalism, about the inherent instability of the American production system, would do well to ponder the implications of that table. The tail which once wagged the business cycle is getting smaller.

Often the argument is used that American consumerism is a threat to the Western World. Americans are softies, living on the fat—the tin, iron ore, petroleum, rubber, and coffee—of the world, spending so much on consumption that not enough is devoted to sinew.

Conversely, the Soviet Union is the hungry prize fighter. He trains hard, wants to knock out the champ. Therefore, he will. But no fighter, no matter how determined, can succeed without the physical equipment and know-how. And America is still the industrial champ. We produce four times as much oil as Russia, 3 times as much electricity, almost 3 times as much steel.

Consumerism, far from being a drawback, is a constant industrial goal. The competitive pressure among producers to sell more and more results in a continuing expansion of industrial capacity, technology, and know-how. United States industrial expansion—tons of oil, tons of steel, and kilowatt hours of electricity—continues to exceed Soviet Russia's. This not only adds to economic strength, it is a margin that allows for sacrifice—in time of war. Because America could divert resources and manpower from consumption to military production, it became the arsenal of democracy in World War II.

To many Europeans, the American idea of greater and greater consumption accompanied by higher and higher wages is a primrose path to inflation. Money—credit—is created just to generate sales. Consumers are persuaded to go into debt. Thomas Jefferson's moralistic injunction, "Never spend your money till you have it," is ignored.

Europeans have an inflation psychosis. Frenchmen read in the history books about assignats. Parents know firsthand the inflation after World War I. The younger generation has personal experience with the franc after World War II. And Germans have watched the debauchery of the mark after two World Wars.

Emotionalism is poor economics. Demand for goods did not cause the German and French inflations after World Wars I and II. Lack of supply, lack of industrial capacity, did. People were hungry, people were ill clothed. And the stores were empty.

In America, the postwar inflation has been comparatively mild. The capacity to produce—to satisfy wants—rapidly filled store shelves. Great productive capacity has made possible a continually rising standard of living without violent price advances.

HIGHER WAGES AND OUTPUT

Higher wages do not necessarily result in higher output per man—great productivity—which has been the history of the American workman and workmanship, as already noted: A good day's work for a good day's pay. Workers, themselves, by enjoying a high standard of living—by seeing what higher productivity brings—are willing to accept new machines and new methods of doing things. And the constant outpouring of goods by machines tends to keep down prices.

Consumerism imparts a broader stability to economic life. Demand for homes, refrigerators, washing machines, television sets is well nigh insatiable. It doesn't run in waves—fits and starts—as does capital investment of coporations.

Consumerism has just started. It will spread as living standards improve in England, France, Italy, and other European countries. Epecially if customs barriers are reduced, especially if Europe can develop the common market necessary to maximize efficiency. For then the benefit of low cost mass production will extend throughout the continent. The workers will reap the benefits of technological improvement in the form of lower prices, and, I would wager, higher wages. Mass production begets higher productivity—more goods—and more leisure for consumption.

Installment credit is sure to gain greater status abroad among merchants and bankers. Governments nowadays assume responsibility for the welfare of their citizens. When workers get unemployment benefits and old-age pensions, they can afford to use a large proportion of current income for current consumption. They can afford to mortgage future income. They have capacity to repay. And they have less need for rainy-day funds. Modern institutions—economic and political—protect the lender and the worker. Thereby, they abet consumption. They reinforce consumerism as the latest economic frontier.

On Polish Provinces East of the Oder-Neisse Line and Economic, Historical, Legal, and Political Aspects Involved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, on the 16th of May of this year, Mr. REECE of Tennessee submitted to the House a lengthy statement concerning the situation in east-central Europe. He stated that he had given a great deal of attention and time to studying this situation in its economic, historical, legal, and political aspects. In his quest for truth, however, it seems that the learned gentleman from Tennessee has been led into error by false allegations, openly proclaimed or surreptitiously whispered by the stanch militants of German revisionist propaganda. As a result the pic-

ure presented was a distorted one, rongly biased in its general tendency, r removed from reality and danger- usly misleading in its conclusions.

In view of the paramount importance the present Polish-German frontier hich awaits the final confirmation on e part of the Western Powers, it would em appropriate to call your attention a number of outstanding facts and gures. Factual evidence, corroborated the lessons of history, may help us grasp the true nature of this intri- te problem and to set it in proper per- ective.

GENERAL REVIEW

In his opening remarks the gentleman om Tennessee said that "12 years ago e of the greatest tragedies in history ok place in central-eastern Europe." ere he should have reached back in his emory to the source of the tragedy hich started 6 years earlier. On Sep- mber 1, 1939, Nazi Germany invaded oland in violation of fundamental rinciples of international law. In the dgment of the International Military ribunal for the Trial of the German ajor War Criminals "the war initiated Germany against Poland on the 1st September 1939, was most plainly an ggressive war, which was due to de- elop in due course into a war which mbraced almost the whole world, and esulted in the commission of countless rimes, both against the laws and cus- oms of war, and against humanity."

The Polish nation, undeterred by the erwhelming superiority of the invad- g armies, accepted the open challenge nd fought with courage and determina- on to defend its sacred right to inde- endent existence. Poles proved true their tradition as a freedom-loving eople; they confirmed by their example he profound maxim of the great Ger- an jurist Rudolph von Jhering, quoted Mr. REECE:

The surest test of character is a man's or people's reaction when facing the violation f right.

The 1939 autumn campaign in Poland as not yet finished, and the German rmies had not yet been able to over- me the heroic defense of Warsaw, the apital of Poland, when, on September , a pact of friendship was concluded etween Germany and Soviet Russia. hile the shattered Polish divisions ere still fighting fiercely, the two ex- lusively interested powers—as the Ger- an-Soviet declaration ran—divided be- ween them the territory of Poland, as ey had done 150 years before at the me of the partitions of Poland. After viding the country the two powers, cting in collusion, set to work method- lly to break the spirit of the Polish ation, to weaken its strength, and to estroy the foundations of its centuries- d culture.

Hundreds of thousands of Poles were illed from the Soviet-occupied eastern rovinces to Siberia and central Asia. t the same time the Germans proceeded ith ruthless brutality to expel the Polish opulation from the western parts of oland and to settle German colonists in eir place.

The Germans carried out their devilish work of destruction with a cruelty unmitigated by any considerations of humanity. The process of mass extermination assumed the character of premeditated genocide. Over 6 million Poles and Jews perished as victims of German mass executions, gas chambers, and concentration camps. Over 2 million Poles were deported as slave labor for German industry and agriculture. Warsaw, the ancient capital of Poland, was obliterated in a wanton excess of German fury. Art treasures and historical monuments went down in flames to satisfy the German lust for revenge. For 5 long years terror ruled supreme in that part of Europe.

All these crimes belong to recorded history of our time, but history is easily forgotten. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. REECE] remembers reading in his schooldays "of wars in the ancient age of barbarism, when cities were sacked, people were slaughtered or driven into slavery." He does not seem to remember the untold horrors of the Nazi New Order in Europe. For him the tragedy of Central-Eastern Europe started at the end of the war which was launched by Hitler and fought to the bitter end by the German people.

DIVIDED GERMANY

Lack of proper perspective is bound to obscure political issues. The learned gentleman from Tennessee claims that "the problem of a divided Europe is almost entirely the problem of a divided Germany." This is a misleading oversimplification. The problem of a divided Europe goes much deeper and much farther. Europe presents a delicate pattern, closely interwoven, varied and colorful; its organic unity was formed by centuries of common history. Beyond the present eastern frontiers of Germany there stretch wide areas, still underdeveloped but rich in natural resources and full of promise. These regions are inhabited by millions of people who have grown under the dominating influence of western civilization. Pressed against their will into the Soviet orbit, they are longing to be free and to be able to develop their resources in friendly cooperation with the Western Powers, and in particular with the United States. They belong to Europe and form an integral part of it. To ignore their fate is to ignore the true nature of the problem of Europe.

Divided Germany is undoubtedly one of the big problems of our day. But it is only part of a still bigger dilemma which is awaiting a bold and constructive solution. The whole future of Europe, and—maybe—the future of our Western World depends on it. The two problems: the reunification of Germany and the liberation of Central-Eastern Europe are closely interrelated. Such is the compelling logic of the situation, confirmed and amply demonstrated by recent developments. Were Germany reunited and Central-Eastern Europe left under Soviet domination, the European problem would remain unsolved. It is, therefore, neither politically wise nor morally just to separate the Germany problem from the whole problem of Eastern Europe, still less to give it a definite priority over the needs and sufferings of our true friends to whom we owe considerably more.

FROM TEHERAN TO POTSDAM

In his further remarks the gentleman from Tennessee attempted to sap the legal foundations of the present Polish-German frontier. He contended that "Poland's right to administer the area of Germany which it now occupies arises from a unilateral act of the Soviet Union, the conquering occupant, permitting it to occupy this area until a peace treaty eventually determines the status thereof." I beg to disagree with this statement which is not borne out by the evidence of historic facts.

It appears that the first agreement regarding the extension of the Polish territory to the West was reached during the Teheran Conference of the Big Three, November 1943.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, referred to this agreement in a memorable speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944. He revealed that he had agreed with Stalin upon the need for Poland to obtain compensation at the expense of Germany both in the north and in the west. He added that there would be no question of the Atlantic Charter applying to Germany as a matter of right and barring territorial transferences or adjustments in enemy countries.

It is clear in the light of successive developments that at Teheran President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin went beyond a general recognition of Poland's right to territorial accessions. On October 13, 1944, during a conference in the Kremlin, attended by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Molotov, the then Polish Prime Minister Mr. Mikolajczyk, and the Ambassador of United States of America, Mr. Harriman as American observer, the British Foreign Secretary declared:

It had been said at Tehran that the new Poland's frontier in the west would go as far to the Oder as the Poles would wish it.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Molotov firmly assented.

Three weeks later this declaration was formally confirmed by Sir Alexander Cadogan, at that time Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In his letter of November 2, 1944, addressed to Mr. T. Romer, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Alexander wrote:

The Prime Minister, after consultation with the Cabinet, has now directed me to give you the following replies:

You asked in the first place whether, even in the event of the United States Government finding themselves unable to agree to the changes in the western frontier of Poland foreshadowed in the recent conversations in Moscow, His Majesty's Government would still advocate these changes at the peace settlement. The answer of His Majesty's Government to this question is in the affirmative.

Secondly, you inquired whether His Majesty's Government were definitely in favor of advancing the Polish frontier up to the line of the Oder to include the port of Stettin. The answer is that His Majesty's Gov-

ernment do consider that Poland should have the right to extend her territory to this extent.

President Roosevelt returned to the subject after his reelection in November 1944. In his letter, addressed to the Polish Prime Minister, Mr. Mikolajczyk, on November 17, the President wrote:

In regard to the future frontiers of Poland, if mutual agreement on this subject, including the proposed compensation for Poland from Germany, is reached between the Polish, Soviet, and British Governments, this Government would offer no objections.

On the transfer of population President Roosevelt told the Polish Prime Minister:

If the Polish Government and people desire, in connection with the new frontiers of the Polish state, to bring about the transfer to and from the territory of Poland of national minorities, the United States Government will raise no objections and as far as practicable will facilitate such transfer.

Mr. Churchill reiterated his former statements in his review of the general situation he made in the House of Commons on December 15, 1944. The British Prime Minister was very outspoken on the subject of the transfers of populations. He said:

The transference of several millions of people would have to be effected from the East to the West or North, as well as the expulsion of the Germans—because that is what is proposed: the total expulsion of the Germans from the area to be acquired by Poland in the West and the North. For expulsion is the method which, so far as we have been able to see, will be the most satisfactory.

At the issue of the Yalta Conference, February 1945, the chief representatives of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union recognized, once again, in a joint declaration that "Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West."

At the Conference at Potsdam, July 1945, the three heads of Government—President Truman, who succeeded Roosevelt; Mr. Attlee, who succeeded Churchill; and Marshal Stalin—agreed that—we quote the text of the official protocol:

Pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier, the former German territories east of the line running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemunde and thence along the Oder River to the confluence of the Western Neisse River and along the Western Neisse to the Czechoslovak frontier, including that portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with the understanding reached at this conference and including the area of the former free city of Danzig, shall be under the administration of the Polish State and for such purpose should not be considered as part of the Soviet Zone of occupation in Germany.

The protocol of the Potsdam Conference contained two important provisions. The first said that "the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement." The second dealt with the transfer of the German population. It said:

The conference reached the following agreement on the removal of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary:

"The three Governments having considered the question in all its aspects, recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and human manner."

There is nothing in the protocol to substantiate the opinion, advanced by Mr. REECE as to the unilateral character of the Potsdam decisions. The text of the protocol, clear and precise, does not lend support to the allegation that the Oder-Neisse line was only meant as a temporary arrangement. Were it so, the Great Powers would not have recognized that "the transfer to Germany of German populations will have to be undertaken." Military authorities may—in some exceptional cases—remove the inhabitants of a strip of territory, engulfed in military operations. But no responsible head of Government would dream of removing the whole German population from a province, which it was intended to maintain within the limits of Germany.

FOOD BASKET OF GERMANY

The gentleman from Tennessee claims that "the part east of the Oder-Neisse line was known as a food basket of the German people." This clever definition which has found wide currency in the West does not correspond to the hard economic facts. It is true that the territories in question covered nearly 25 percent or one-fourth of "the effective agricultural land of Germany"—as Mr. REECE puts it. But the surpluses in basic agricultural produce, which they exported to the western Provinces of Germany, were relatively small:

A study of interregional trade in prewar Germany reveals Western Germany as more self-sufficient than is popularly supposed and the "separated areas" as rather more dependent upon Western Germany than Western Germany upon them." (Germany's Eastern Neighbours by Elisabeth Wiskemann. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London 1956, p. 171.)

In the period between the two wars, the "German East" was in a state of permanent economic crisis. Successive German governments mobilized huge sums of money in order to forestall the steady decline of agriculture and to arrest the flight of the population to the West. Large subsidies, lavishly distributed among east-German landowners poured from Berlin in a steady flow. During the period of 15 years, 1922–37, they reached RM2,600,000,000—over $1 billion prewar value.

German economists of the prewar period investigated the whole situation with German thoroughness. One of the most prominent among them, Prof. Wilhelm Volz of the University of Leipzig, whose opinions the gentleman from Tennessee now tries to disparage, got to the roots of the trouble. As a German patriot, Professor Volz was deeply alarmed by the decline of the eastern Provinces of the Reich. As a man of great scientific integrity, he did not shirk from presenting his conclusions, however unpopular these might have seemed at the time.

If one still hears that the German East is the food base (Nahrungsgrundlage) of the German Reich—said Professor Volz—then the contention is a fallacy (Trugschluss). The East might be this, if the rest of the Reich did not satisfy its food demand partly by its own production, partly by overseas imports. The Reich does not need the East. This is a bitter truth, but unfortunately it is a truth. It should at last be said in plain words. (Wilhelm Volz, Die Ostdeutsche Wirtschaft. Eine Witschaftspolitische Untersuchung uber die natürlichen Grundlagen des Deutschen Ostens und seine Stellung in der gesamtdeutschen Wirtschaft. Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, p. 85.).

It is true that in the last years before the Second World War Germany made great efforts in order to achieve the highest possible measure of self-sufficiency. German agriculture was stimulated and forcefully developed by diverse means in order to be able to meet the pressing requirements of war economy. Economic self-sufficiency was inscribed on the Nazi banner. On the eve of the war Germany's self-sufficiency in food, computed on the basis of its caloric value, rose to 83 percent—as against 65 percent in 1928. After having secured such a high measure of independence Germany could now risk the supreme effort: the well filled food basket increased her chance of winning a war of aggression.

This self-supporting economy, tuned to the pressing needs of a powerful war machine, belongs now to the past. In 1945 Western Germany, so happy to live in a free world, set to work with sustained energy which earned her deserved admiration. Germany economy, rising from the ruins and quickly recovering its strength, seems to have found a new balance of productive forces.

In August 1946 the prominent English economist and social reformer, Lord Beveridge, expressed the view that 70 million Germans could perfectly well live in the territory west of the Oder-Neisse line if the country were more intensely industrialized and if it expanded its foreign trade in order to be able to buy its requirements in foodstuffs.

The economic development of Western Germany has vindicated this opinion. German economy expanded under the powerful stimulus of American aid and of the mass influx of Germans transferred from the east. American dollars, so generously given, and the skilled labor of the industrious newcomers from the east contributed mightily to the process which was so justly called the miracle of German recovery.

Western Germany has to import from abroad a part of her food supplies. She has no difficulty, however, in paying for these imports by exporting her manufactured goods. At the present degree of self-sufficiency in food, estimated at 60 percent, Federal Germany is more secure than is Great Britain, whose own production covers only about 48 percent of its food supply.

The food situation will still improve after the reunification of Germany, which is bound to shift the balance of the German population in relation to its agricultural basis. It is worth recalling

that only some 28 percent of the total German population live in the Soviet zone which contains nearly 40 percent of Germany's arable land.

WHAT IS GENOCIDE?

The gentleman from Tennessee has given much attention to the mass transfer of the German population from the eastern territories. He maintains that 10½ million were summarily expelled and, in 1945 and 1946, were forced to leave the land which had been theirs and their ancestors. Of these 10½ million human beings more than 7 million reached west and middle Germany; about 1 million people were able to remain on the soil of their fathers. Mr. REECE forgot to mention that the majority of the last category are people of Polish origin. But, to quote again Mr. REECE:

Two and two-tenths million human beings is the heavy toll of those who did not survive the process.

The gentleman from Tennessee concluded by saying that—

Factual evidence that has since been submitted shows that they (viz, the 2.2 million human beings) and the other 7 million were victims of the crime of genocide.

If one wishes to pass a judgment on a crime he must first define the nature of the crime and then indict the guilty criminal. If he fails to do this, his judgment may turn out to be an act of wild injustice.

What is genocide? The matter was debated by the General Assembly of the United Nations which on December 9, 1948, unanimously adopted a convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. The text of the convention contains a number of clear definitions. It would seem proper to quote here from the official publication of the United Nations.

Genocide is a new name for an old crime—

We read in the background paper.

It derives from the Latin words: "genus," a group, and "caedere," to kill. It means the destruction of whole groups of people just because they belong to particular groups. The group may be racial, national, or religious; it may be a particular ethnical or racial group. Its destruction may take the form of massacres, of executions, of subjecting the group to such conditions * * * that it cannot continue to live.

These were all techniques used by the Nazi Government of Germany as part of its deliberate policy. They were used particularly against a racial and religious group—the Jews—and against a national and linguistic group—the Poles." (United Nations, Department of Public Information, Research Section Genocide, Background Paper No. 38.12, November 1951.)

In the light of these definitions it would seem just and fair to examine the whole process of the mass evacuation of the Germans.

On the eve of the final collapse of Nazi Germany the population of the eastern territories, swollen by large numbers of new German settlers—Umsiedler—and Luftkriegevakuirten who had taken refuge from the British and American air bombardments, amounted to nearly 10 million. This huge mass of human beings, kept in complete ignorance of the desperate situation, was taken by surprise. The German military authorities, obeying strict orders from Hitler who refused to accept defeat, entirely neglected an orderly evacuation of civilians. In face of the imminent Soviet advance, millions of people, driven by despair and stricken with fear of a savage Russian retribution, rushed westwards and got entangled with the retreating German troops. There followed wild scenes which stagger imagination. The advancing Soviet troops machine-gunned the unending convoys of refugees.

One ship alone, the *Wilhelm Gustloff*—

I quote the gentleman from Tennessee—

took more than 6,000 refugees, mostly elderly people, women and children, from East Prussia to their grave.

Mr. REECE was justly indignant about that disaster which he compared to the sinking of the *Titanic*—though he should have been more explicit with regard to the Russians who actually sank the *Wilhelm Gustloff*.

Thousands of innocent people found an untimely death amid the chaos of a disorderly evacuation. Hundreds of thousands were deported to Russia. The fate of many remains unknown. But their disappearance has no connection whatsoever with the removal of the German population, authorized by the Potsdam agreement. It would be utterly unjust to hold the Polish people responsible for the heavy German losses, sustained in the course of military operations or caused by savage Soviet retribution.

TRANSFER OF THE POPULATION

When Germany capitulated on May 7, 1945, about 4.4 million Germans remained east of the Oder-Neisse line. The mass exodus of the German population continued and at the date of the Polish Census—February 14, 1946—there were 2,288,000 Germans within the present limits of Poland. By the end of 1947 a further 2,171,000 had been transferred to Germany.

The mass transfer of the German population was carried out in most difficult conditions. The country, utterly disorganized, devastated by the retreating Germans and then stripped bare by the advancing Russians, had to face tremendous difficulties. Food, fuel and medicaments were in short supply; rolling stock—utterly deficient. In the first stage the technical difficulties involved in the mass transfer might have overwhelmed the erratic administration set up by the new Communist regime which had been enforced upon Poland. In some cases there might have occurred individual acts of cruelty or harsh treatment, regrettable but comprehensible amid the fresh ruins and smouldering ashes of the Nazi gas chambers. All these incidents and transient difficulties may have cost some lives: they do not justify, in the least, wild accusations levelled against the Polish people.

ECONOMIC FACTS

Poland, extending to the West in accordance with the Potsdam Three Powers decisions, entered a desert. In 1945 the Territories to the East of the Oder-Neisse line persented a picture of ruin and desolation. Once prosperous towns suffered heavily during the last months of war, many towns, which had served as German strong-points, were practically obliterated. In Gogów—Glogau—and Kostrzyn—Küstrin—95 percent of all buildings were destroyed or damaged; in Koobrzeg—Kolberg—Gubin and Nysa the degree of destruction reached 80 percent; in Brzeg—Brieg—70 percent; in Elblag and Legnica 60 percent; in Wrocaw—Breslau—and Szczecin—Stettin—over 50 percent. It was generally the center of the town, with its historic churches and buildings that suffered most. In the nights of August 16–17 and August 20–21, 1944, Szczecin was the target of two heavy air raids by RAF Lancaster bombers. On March 12, 1945, Swinouiscie—Swinemünde—was bombed by USAF Flying Fortresses. In addition all the towns in these areas suffered badly from ruthless Soviet dismantling of industrial plants, from pillage by Soviet soldiers and sometimes from a senseless destruction by hand grenades and fire after all fighting had ceased. The old town of Gdansk—Danzig—was thus transformed into a heap of charred ruins.

The situation of the agriculture was no better. In the countryside, out of the total number of 434,000 houses, barns, stables, and other buildings, 123,000—28 percent—were destroyed or heavily damaged. At the end of 1945 the total number of horses in these areas shrank to 10 percent of the prewar figures; the number of cattle fell to 7 percent and the pig population to 4 percent. As the chemical industry was destroyed by war or dismantled by the Soviet authorities, there was a general lack of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers. The loss of Polish Kalusz potash salts, annexed by Soviet Russia, seriously hampered a rapid restoration of agricultural production.

Capital was deficient, agricultural machines and tractors in short supply. After 6 long years of a devastating war Poles had to rebuild the appalling ruins out of their meagre resources. On specific orders from Moscow the Warsaw Communist Government was forced to refuse the benefits of American aid, which had been generously offered to Europe within the framework of the Marshall plan.

Skilled labor and managerial experience were lacking. During the whole period of their most ruthless occupation the Germans were busy exterminating the best among the Poles of all classes of the population. In the Katyn Forest and in other, still unknown localities of Russia, the henchmen of Stalin murdered another 10,000 or so.

To complete the picture we should add the impact of a wrong policy, stubbornly followed by the Communist regime. The new settlers, coming from other Provinces of Poland, had to work in most precarious conditions. Many Polish farmers were forced, against their will, to join the collective farms. Early in 1955 the Polish Communist press published a number of articles which condemned harsh treatment of peasants and complained of the exorbitant taxation to which they were subjected. Trybuna

Ludu, a Warsaw newspaper, on February 26, 1955, carried an article which attributed peasant desertion of the land in the county of Niedzica in the county of Olsztyn precisely to these things.

And, in spite of all these difficulties which might have seemed unsuperable, Poles rushed in large masses to the western Provinces. They filled the empty desert, cultivated wasteland, rebuilt destroyed buildings, and repopulated deserted towns.

On January 1, 1957, the recovered territories had a population of 7.3 million. The dynamic race which settled in these areas expanded rapidly: Its natural increase which reached the level of 27.5 per thousand stands far above the high average in Poland—19.1 per thousand in 1952–56. Towns are throbbing with life. Out of a total of 63 towns with 10,000 inhabitants or over, 28 towns had a population higher than in 1939.

In spite of heavy errors of Communist policy, the hard work of the newly settled Poles is beginning to pay handsome dividends. Agriculture is recovering from the acute crisis of the most difficult afterwar period. In the years 1953–55 production of the 4 principal grains in the western Provinces reached 71 percent of the prewar level—3,500,000 metric tons against 4,861,000 in 1934–38; production of sugar beet attained 68 percent of the prewar figure—2,300,000 metric tons against 3,422,000 in 1934–38.

However, the greatest efforts went into the reconstruction and further development of industry. Coal is the basic raw material on which the growing industrialization of Poland is being built up. In Polish Silesia in 1938 coal production amounted to 38.1 million tons, in the prewar German part of Silesia it reached 32.5 million tons, making an aggregate of 70.6 million tons. In 1955 the figure for the now united Silesian coalfield was 94.5 million tons—a rise of 34 percent.

THE COAL PROBLEM

In his further remarks the gentleman from Tennessee recalled the fact that before the war "the hard-coal production of the industrial part of the region, i. e. Silesia, went to meet the requirements which Western European countries had in addition to their own production." He assumed that "today the coal from German Upper Silesia would suffice to offset West Europe's present deficiency of hard coal."

I entirely agree on that important point with the learned gentleman. The rich coal-basin of Polish Silesia forms an integral part of the European economy. In conditions of political freedom it could make a most valuable contribution to European recovery. But Mr. REECE seems to have forgotten that after the war Poland lost her freedom of choice. Pressed against her will into the Soviet orbit, she had to export very large quantities of coal to meet the exacting demands of her Soviet overlords.

On August 16, 1945, an agreement was signed in Moscow by Mr. V. M. Molotov, then the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and E. Osóbka-Morawski, the so-called Polish Premier. This agreement forced Poland to deliver to the Soviet Union, at the ridiculous price of $1.25 per ton, 8 million metric tons of coal in 1946, 13 million tons in each of the years 1947–50, and 12 million metric tons per annum thereafter until the signature of a German peace treaty. True, in March 1947 the quantities of the coal tribute were reduced by 50 percent; but even so, the "liberator" still extorted from the "liberated" an exorbitantly low price. From 1946 to November 1953, when this tribute ceased, Poland delivered to the Soviet Union about 54 million tons of coal for which it received the ridiculous sum of $67.5 million. If we assume that the average world market price of coal was $16 per ton, we shall have no difficulty in calculating that in this typically colonial transaction Poland was robbed of nearly $800 million.

In the light of my foregoing remarks it is hardly surprising that a delegation from Warsaw wished "to get from this Government a fat loan with which to purchase grains, fats, oils, farm machinery and other equpment." I quote here again the gentleman from Tennessee. I feel I must say that on this matter of vital importance all Poles were unanimous. They all agreed that a broad-minded American aid was urgently needed in order to redress the balance of the Polish national economy which had been badly shaken by 12 years of Communist misrule.

True, the Communists are still at the helm in Warsaw. But millions of Poles, living under Communist control, are trying hard to take full advantage of the new opportunities which they have gained in slightly relaxed conditions. The irresistible pressure of the peasant masses swept away the abhorred collective farms. Life is returning to the countryside. Agricultural production, relieved of the exacting burden of compulsory deliveries of grain, is beginning a process of organic regeneration.

I am glad to add that millions of Poles in their hardly tried country greeted with satisfaction the first installment of the American loan to Poland. They saw in it a most welcome proof that their cause is not forgotten in the West and that their efforts to achieve genuine independence are duly appreciated.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

The historical arguments which the Congressman from Tennessee developed at such length betray false sources of information based on clear political bias. For what is the impression left by his account of the thousand years of German-Polish relations? It is that the Poles and not the Germans were the imperialists through the ages, that it was the Poles who subjugated German lands and not the other way around, that history tells of a Polish expansion to the west in search of living space and not of the German Drang nach Osten—which formula Mr. REECE describes as an "absurdity," "hazy," and "malicious."

To a doctrine which would stand historical truth on its head history itself provides the answer.

Hitler's Germany which began the conquest of Eastern Europe in 1939, occupying first "ancient German" Cracow and then "ancient German" Lwow, was in fact faithfully carrying out an imperialist design whose foundation had been laid 1,000 years earlier by Emperor Henry I. In the years 927 and 928 it was this German ruler who, forcing the Elbe which divided the Slav tribes from the west, established two German marches with the object of subjugating by force and intrigue the territories of the western Slavs who were then entering the European scene. With a break under Otto III, this task has been taken up by Holy Roman Emperors, Margraves of Brandenburg, Teutonic knights, electors and kings of Prussia and rulers of the German Reich.

Two unchanging features of German policy throughout a millenium—territorial acquisitiveness and ready recourse to force—are absent from Polish political history. Polish policy was always defensive. If any idea is strange to Poles it is imperialism. This does not of course mean that other nations were not associated with Poland in the Polish Commonwealth. But this came about through voluntary federal relationships, which are historically of the greatest interest. It was a specifically Polish method, thank to which unions of nations emerged which, according to the German historian Jacob Caro, cannot be matched in European history. It was the way of charity which, in the words of the rector of Cracow University, Paul Wodkowic, to the Council of Constance—1414—acknowledges the right even of pagans to freedom and land. We read in the Polish-Lithuanian Act of Union of 1413 that this charity which "creates laws, governs countries and establishes towns, will lead the estates of the Republic toward a better end, and he who despises it will lose all." Poland concluded a number of these voluntary relationships based on moral principles of respect for the freedom of the nation and of the individual. In 1466 there was a union between Prussia and Poland, and in 1561 another voluntary union with Courland, while in 1569 the original dynastic union with Lithuania was crowned by a solemn covenant.

These differences in the political background of Germans and Poles, as evidenced by the history of a thousand years, are highly relevant to any consideration of German-Polish relations. Mr. REECE forgets these differences when he discusses the present Polish-German frontier with the result that his historical arguments lack not only substance but plausibility.

These arguments deal with the alleged ancient German character of Pomerania and Silesia, the successes of the Teutonic knights and the rolé of Prussia in the 18th century partitions of Poland. Let us consider each in turn.

POMERANIA

Mr. REECE does not deny that Slav peoples lived in Pomerania in the 10th century. And in 962 Pomerania is in fact found in the hands of the first historic Polish ruler, Mieszko I. A document of the greatest significance for the proper understanding of Polish history in the 10th century, is the so-called

Dagome judex, dating from 990–992. It contains the donation of Poland to the Papacy, with detailed descriptions of the country's boundaries, from which it appears that the whole of Pomerania, between the lower Oder and the lower Vistula, belonged at that time to the Polish State. The description in the document begins as follows:

A primo latere longum mare fine Bruzze usque in locum qui dicitur Russe.

That is, "from the first side along the seacoast of Prussia to the place which is called Ruthenia," and ends with the statement that from Olomuniec the border runs to the land of Militz, that is, between the Oder and the lands of the Milchanians and the Lusatians—which is the present line of the western border of Silesia—and along the line of the Oder to "Schinesghe," identified by both German and Polish scholars with Szczecin—Stettin.

Mr. REECE, however, believes that the Pomeranians fought the Poles who "wanted to subjugate them," but that "all this ended in 1181 at the time of the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, when the dukes of Pomerania became princes of the empire." What did happen in 1181? It was indeed the year of the final defeat of the northwestern Slavs, of western Pomerania, by the Germans under Saxon Duke Henry the Lion and Margrave Albrecht. Albrecht established on Slav territory, between the lower Elbe and the lower Oder, the new German duchy called Brandenburg from the Slav town of Branibor which its ruler Przybyslaw was tricked into surrendering.

While Mr. REECE describes as "aggression" the process of integration which went on between Slav and Christian Poland and Slav but pagan Pomerania in the century and a half between 967 and 1130, the forcible German conquest of Slav lands from the Pomeranians is not to be so described. Yet their motives were none other than those which Archbishop Adelgot of Magdeburg was already urging in 1107:

These pagans (that is, the Pomeranians) are the worst people in the world, but their land is the best, so overflowing with meat, honey, flour, birds that none can be compared with it. Therefore go east, o Saxons, there you can save your souls and win the best land to live in.

Then, as the historian says, the Slavs beyond the Elbe laid down in their graves, and were replaced by German villagers, whose settlers' documents included a routine phrase "ejectis Slavis"—"after the Slavs had been thrown out."

The Congressman from Tennessee would like to give the impression that Pomeranians and Poles, although Slavs, were distinct nations. But apart from the fact that it is impossible to use the term nation in the modern sense in discussing the 10th century, the words of the 12th century chronicler Nestor may also be borne in mind:

Of the Lachs (i. e., the Poles) some called themselves Lusatians, others Mazovians, others Pomeranians.

This chronicle, an authoritative source on all counts, thus plainly asserts that the Pomeranians were one of the Polish tribes.

It should also be understood that until the 13th century, internal conditions in Pomerania differed in no way from those in other Polish territories. The ducal court, the entire town and country population and the clergy in large proportion were Polish. Afterward, when the dukes in particular succumbed to Germanization, the picture began to change. German elements were reinforced when the victory of the Reformation brought the German Bible to Pomerania. But the native dynasty of Pomeranian dukes, descended from a branch of the Piasts, preserved until its extinction with the death of the last duke, Boguslaw XIV, in the middle of the 17th century, a strong sense of difference from Germans. They perpetuated male family names like Warcislaw, Boguslaw, Barnim, Racibor, and female names like Miroslawa, Dobroslawa, Przybyslawa, and always called themselves dukes of the Slavs, Pomeranians, or Cassubians (dux Slavorum, Pomeranum, Cassubie).

SILESIA

Mr. REECE is of the opinion that Silesia, in particular the region east of the Oder and Neisse—so-called Lower Silesia—was never the homeland of Poles or of any other Slavs but is ancient German land. The name Silesia, on this theory, is derived from the German Syling tribe.

The German chronicler Thietmar, writing in the 10th century, remarked of an area now in Silesia that Sleza Hill—Zobtenberg in German—on the Sleza River—Lohe in German—was the center of a secret Slav pagan cult. After a contemptuous reference to this cult, he added:

There are as many temples and gods there as there are lands.

Let us pass at once to the 19th century and quote two views expressed by Bismarck on Silesia. When Wilhelm I expressed doubt about his right to take Schlesvig and Holstein from Denmark, Bismarck reassured him with the words:

Did the Great Elector or Frederick have more right to Prussia and Silesia? All the Hohenzollerns have been aggrandizers of the state.

And to Prince Buelow, who had expressed similar scruples, he said:

Frederick the Great stole Silesia and nevertheless he is one of the greatest statesmen of all time (v. Buelow Bernhard, Denkwürdigkeiten, vol. 4, p. 10).

Thietmar and Bismarck supply the answer to Mr. REECE. Let us add the evidence provided by excavations near the castle church in Wroclaw begun in 1946 by Prof. Rudolf Jamek, of Wroclaw University. Initial investigations showed the existence of ancient settlements which were Polish beyond doubt. No trace of Scandinavian influence was found, which disposes of yet another German theory that Wroclaw fortress was organized by Vikings.

Mr. REECE emphasized the service performed by German settlers in founding towns in Silesia. But the most recent researches into the history of Polish law make plain that not all founders of towns were German and that such foundations were usually made at places where local markets and craftworkers' settlements had already grown up round a castle or fortress. These investigations have shown that for example 81 out of 95 market centers which existed before the Germans arrived later became towns under German law.

The fact that the Polish King Casimir the Great recognized the Czechs' right to the Silesian duchies in 1335 was not the final historic decision in favor of Germany that Mr. REECE implies, but a politically imposed renunciation. He does not mention that the Polish King simultaneously arranged for ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Wroclaw to be exercised from Gniezno, an arrangement which lasted until 1821.

Finally, Mr. REECE passes over in silence the most important fact of all, which is that the Silesian population, despite 600 years of rule by foreign states and the unparalleled germanization methods of Prussian governments during 200 years, have preserved not only their religion, language, and customs but their national consciousness.

THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS AND EAST PRUSSIA

According to Mr. REECE the Teutonic Order took up the conquest and Christianizing of the Baltic Prussians by the direction and with the consent of the German Emperor and the Pope, proceeding in due course to organize the most modern state of the Middle Ages. Poles, in alliance with Lithuanians, invaded Prussia and inflicted a heavy defeat on the knights at Grünwald. But the knights held on to East Prussia, although the Polish King gained sovereignty over it. Western Prussia, however, was illegally incorporated into Poland by a coup d'etat performed at the Lublin diet of 1569. The links between Poland and East Prussia were finally broken in 1660, when the elector of Brandenburg, heir of the knights, won Prussia's complete independence from Poland.

The facts of history are different. In the first place, there is no mention in Mr. REECE's account of Poland's part in introducing the knights, although they could not have begun their action against the Prussians except by passing through Polish territory with the consent of the Polish ruler. In fact it was the Duke Conrad of Mazovia—of the Piast dynasty—who in 1226 suggested that the knights come to Poland. He did so because at the time Poland was divided into duchies and was struggling to acquire the Cracow throne, and so authority over the whole country, for himself. To this end he wanted relief from the threat of incursions by the pagan Prussians among whom, ever since the murder of St. Adalbert in 997, the Piasts had fostered Christian missionary activity. Conrad's invitation to the knights was an ill-considered move: he had ignored the warning implicit in the King of Hungary's expulsion of the order from Transylvania, whither it had been invited to convert the pagan Kumans, for aggression, exclusiveness and disloyalty in the previous year. When he ejected them the Hungarian

King complained that to him they had been "like fire in the chest, a mouse in the wallet, and a snake in the bosom."

The hiring of the knights to repel pagan attacks was not unusual in the Christian world at the time and certainly did not affect Poland's sovereignty. When he granted the order property in the district of Chelm, Conrad could not foresee that the knights, contrary to all law and their own undertakings, would transform their endowment into a separate state, not only independent of Poland but actively hostile toward her. The well-known German historian Roepel remarked that Conrad would improbably have divested himself of his sovereign rights over the Chelm lands or over the Prussian lands which were to be occupied by the knights. Subsequent historians maintain that the document from Conrad produced by the knights in self-justification was in fact forged.

Towns and the modern methods of which the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. REECE] speaks approvingly were introduced into the Baltic countries by the knights at the cost of the physical and national extermination of the indigeneous inhabitants, Prussians, Latvians, and Samogitians. Baptism at the hands of the order involved in practice extinction of the national individuality of the converted. Toward the end of the 14th century, the Lithuanians, taught by historic evidence of these missionary methods, sought refuse in union with Poland. The great scholar A. Brueckner has contrasted German methods with those employed by Poland in the work of Christianization:

The Poles were pioneers of Christianity and culture among the Prussians; and if this natural course had not suddenly ceased with the introduction of the knights, the Prussians would have become Christian as the Lithuanians did, that is, without losing their national character in the process (Brueckner A. Archiv fuer Slavische Philologie, XX, 1898, p. 481).

Laudatory terms, so lavishly used by the gentleman from Tennessee with regard to the Teutonic knights, do not stand the test of history.

The truth of history is that wherever they were active, the knights' name was synonymous with violence, robbery, murder, and germanisation, an object of universal hatred.

When in 1410 Ladislas Jagiello, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, defeated the knights at Grunwald he was acting in defense of two countries which had united a quarter of a century earlier in face of the aggression of the order, whose presence on the Baltic ceased to have any justification after the conversion of Lithuania. In 1409, the archbishop of Gniezno, Michael Kurowski, warned the grand master of the order that aggression by the knights against Lithuania must provoke a Polish reaction, and was told in reply:

I consequently prefer to strike at the head rather than at the members, and I will move against Poland, a country populous and cultivated, rather than against the Lithuanian forest wildernesses.

Mr. REECE admits that the gentry and the Prussian townsmen—the so-called League of Lizards—were already in revolt against the oppression of the order in 1454, when they sent a mission to the Polish king to ask for the return to Poland of the lands seized by the knights. But it is not true that West Prussia, which was joined to Poland by a personal union in 1466, was somehow illegally incorporated into Poland in 1569. In that year the Sejm in Lublin extended Polish law to West Prussia—leaving the area its separate treasury and courts—and Prussian deputies and senators present endorsed the reform.

Mr. REECE, who regards East Prussia as German land, and Poland's historic and legal claims to it as absurd, who mocks the Poles' use of the expression "regained territories," says that in the partition of Poland in 1772, Prussia "merely regained the lands conquered by Poland in the 15th and 16th centuries."

GERMANY'S PART IN THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

Discussing the first partition—which took place at the instigation of Frederick II—Mr. REECE claims that in "regaining" these lands from Poland, Prussia was only "repairing the partitioning of Prussia in 1466." And yet the fact, not concealed by Mr. REECE, is that the knights began to conquer the land of the Prussians, who were Balts and not Germans, in 1230. At the Peace of Torun—1466—Poland received back Pomerania, which had never been German, but had been taken from King Ladislas the Short in 1308 by the knights, who by then controlled Danzig and other Pomeranian towns, having put their populations to the sword. At the same time East Prussia became a fief of Poland—the Polish king was henceforth known as "lord and heir of Prussia"—also in accordance with historic tradition, for the Prussians had owed allegiance and paid tribute to Poland since the 10th century. So it becomes understandable that in the 16th century a Polish envoy, Dantyszek, was able to convince Charles V that Prussia semper subfuisse regno Poloniae—Prussia was always subject to Poland.

The subsequent partitions, in 1793 and 1795, which gave Prussia Polish territory as far as Warsaw, are justified by Mr. REECE on the grounds that "it was largely a question of preventing Russia from grabbing all of it." The well-known American Historian, Prof. R. H. Lord, puts forward quite different Prussian motives. He suggests that Frederick William was not afraid of Russia's growing preponderance in Poland; on the contrary, he regarded it as advantageous to Prussia.

He determined—

Says Professor Lord—

without any real necessity or compulsion whatever, to exploit the situation in order to satisfy his long-repressed covetousness for Polish territory. (R. H. Lord, The Second Partition of Poland, Cambridge, 1915, p. 496.)

Against Mr. REECE's comments on the Poles, "political gluttony" and "dreams of aggrandizement" may be set the considered views of Professor Lord on Prussian policy in Poland:

This policy—

He says—

was essentially one of territorial and selfish aggrandizement. The great • • • was the acquisition of new territories in any quarter—Lusatia, Swedish Pomerania, Dantzic, Great Poland, or the whole left bank of the Vistula; acquisitions by any means. • • • This aggressive policy was not dictated, of course, by any ideas about Prussia's German Mission or the duty of recovering lands of German nationality. Its basis was simply the conviction that this Prussian Monarchy must take on flesh and bulk, and acquire a defensible frontier. (R. H. Lord, The Second Partition of Poland, Cambridge, 1915, pp. 492–3.)

It would be difficult to find a more telling answer.

PLEBISCITES AND VOTES

After a survey of history, reaching back into the Middle Ages, the gentleman from Tennessee discussed at some length the results of the plebiscites which took place after the First World War. He stated that the Treaty of Versailles "imposed these plebiscites upon several regions of East Germany." It would seem more appropriate to say that these plebiscites were imposed upon Poland. Carried out in most unfavorable conditions, they vitiated in many cases the genuine feelings of the Polish population of the territories concerned.

It is worth recalling that in the peace proposals, submitted to the German delegation on May 7, 1919, it was intended to transfer the whole of Upper Silesia to Poland. The German delegation in its counterproposals presented on the 29th of May, very strongly objected to this paragraph of the draft treaty.

Only with Upper Silesia—

Stated the German memorandum—

can Germany fulfill the obligations arising from the war, but without it never.

When the German counterproposals had been examined, the British Prime Minister Mr. Lloyd George advised that a plebiscite should be held in Upper Silesia. President Wilson, rather reluctantly and after some hesitation gave his assent. He stated, however, that "the people in Upper Silesia were entirely dominated by a small number of magnates and capitalists," and that his experts "did not believe that a free plebiscite was possible in these conditions"—The Paris Peace Conference, volume VI, pages 147 and the following.

The cautious judgment of the President and of his American advisers was fully vindicated by the event. German big landowners and industrial magnates exerted a very strong pressure on the working people of Upper Silesia. Coertion and intimidation reinforced the dominant influence of the German Catholic hierarchy, headed by the Archbishop of Breslau—Wroclaw—Cardinal Bertram. At the plebiscite, held on March 20, 1921, many Poles cast their vote under duress. For many of those 479,000 who voted for Poland the vote was an act of self-abnegation and great moral courage.

The plebiscite in East Prussia was carried out at a very critical moment—July 1920—when the Red army stood at the gates of Warsaw. The population stricken with terror voted under the

threat of imminent danger. Fear is sometimes the worst adviser. Before Poland, engaged in deadly struggle, won the decisive battle on the Vistula, the vote was cast. That part of East Prussia was safe for Germany, as a springboard for a future invasion of Poland.

SOUND POLISH VOICES

Contradicted by history and by factual evidence, the gentleman from Tennessee patiently pursued his search for acts or declarations which might help to invalidate the present frontier on the Oder-Neisse line. In this laborious pursuit, he was however ill-advised to quote the historic protest of the Polish Government in exile against the decisions of the Yalta Conference. That government, headed by the veteran Socialist leader Tomasz Arciszewski, in 1944 lodged a solemn protest against the seizure by Russia of the eastern Provinces of Poland and against the subjection of the whole country to an ill-disguised Soviet domination. In this protest, which was intended as an appeal to the conscience of the free world, there is not a single word about the present Western frontiers of Poland. In no circumstances could this declaration of the Polish Government be made to serve the purposes of those who are trying to impugn these frontiers.

The gentleman from Tennessee was no better advised in quoting an opinion, falsely attributed to General Anders, the gallant Polish military leader. It appears that the general most emphatically denies having expressed such views. In a letter to Congressman REECE, which has since been made public, General Anders stated:

To enforce your point of view you quoted an opinion which was falsely described as the text of an interview which I allegedly gave on December 14, 1946. This opinion ascribed to me was, it is true, published at that date in Die Tat. It was completely untrue and the editors of Die Tat were immediately informed of the fact, while the Polish Press in the free world at once published my official denial. For instance the Polish dailies in London: Dziennik Polski, Dziennik Zolnierza, and Slowo Polskie on January 1, 1947, gave the statement on the utter falsity of this alleged interview. The same was printed by the weekly Orzel Bialy at that time.

Moreover, the editor of Die Tat in a letter dated as recently as July 6, 1955, has expressed his regret for the incident.

General Anders is very outspoken on the subject of the present Polish-German frontier. He says in his letter:

For my part, during all these years, in public appearances, radio speeches, and press publications I have repeatedly emphasized my conviction of the intrinsic justice and inviolability of the present Polish western frontiers.

LOOKING FORWARD

There is not much, indeed, I would wish to add. To my mind the position is clear. Poles in Poland, and Poles living in the free world speak with one voice. They do not admit the possibility of a peaceful revision of the present western frontiers. And after all their ordeals and tribulations they will not be deluded by the alluring words we have heard here from the honorable gentleman.

Mr. REECE said:

The argument is sometimes advanced that the newly settled Poles * * * have struck roots in the German provinces and can no longer just be turned out. Of course, there has never been any suggestion of that kind by any group of German expellees.

I believe that the Poles understand the meaning of these words. Since the overwhelming majority of German refugees have settled for good within the limits of the Federal German Republic, there are relatively few Germans who would like to return to the former eastern Provinces of the Reich. The hard labor of the millions of Poles who are living and toiling there would be badly needed if German revisionists had their way. Thus, the new cloak of noble humanitarianism—"stay, where you are"—covers the old German expansion, eager to conquer both land and people.

I agree with the gentleman from Tennessee that the present situation is fraught with dangers. The very fact that the Soviet Union, alone among the big powers, did recognize the present western frontiers of Poland is bound to increase Poland's dependence on Russia. If the Western Powers would join in an explicit recognition of that frontier, they would greatly assist the Polish nation, anxious to secure genuine independence and would earn the deep gratitude of many peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

I would wish to strike a note of warning. It is true that words cannot shift frontiers. But careless talk here might only nourish dangerous illusions in Germany. It could embolden the extremists among the Germans and distil the heady spirit of German nationalism which has cost the world so much.

Let us not try to undermine a territorial settlement which has come to stay. Let us not discourage millions of people who are deeply attached to it. They are our friends, as they still believe in freedom and democracy. Driven to despair by a lack of understanding on our part, they could fall victims of bitter disillusionment and that vital part of the old continent of Europe would be lost forever.

Let us face the future with courage and imagination. One day the waves of the Soviet flood will recede to the East. A new pattern of things will emerge in Central-Eastern Europe. Let us hope it may bring a better and happier world, based on the foundation of four freedoms: freedom of expression, freedom of belief, freedom from want and freedom from fear.

Arms and the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of August 14, 1957:

ARMS AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Russian arms continue to pour into the Middle East. Syria is where the main buildup has been taking place this year and Egypt has been receiving replacements for the arms lost to Israel, plus some new features like the three submarines recently delivered.

Now Yemen is becoming a major center for Iron Curtain arms. The British announced officially from Aden yesterday that another shipload of arms—the seventh—just reached the Yemeni port of Salif. Along with the planes, tanks, and light arms have gone some 50 Communist technicians and advisers, including a number of pilots.

The idea, in theory, is that the technicians will train Yeminis to handle the planes and arms. However, at the time of the Suez crisis last year the Egyptians demonstrated their complete inability to make use of the enormous stores of materiel the Russians gave them. The Syrians and Yemenis are still less likely to make good use of these deadly gadgets. Why then, are the Russians continuing to flood the Middle East with arms?

There are few questions one can ask about that crucial part of the world more important to answer. It could be that the answer is obvious and simple. The Russians naturally want to build up those countries which are especially anti-Western and which are willing to deal with the Soviet bloc. The arms are generally not the latest models and they can easily be spared.

This would be worrying enough, but an even more important reason probably lies in the Soviet determination to strengthen their influence and position at this vital crossroads of Asia, Europe, and Africa where the oil is produced that is necessary to the economic functioning of Western Europe. Since President Nasser of Egypt made his arms deal with the Czechs nearly 2 years ago Russia has become a power in the Middle East. The British and French fought in Egypt last year partly because they realized this fact.

Now the buildup is again assuming large proportions. The time may be approaching when the United States will have to do something effective, in or out of the United Nations, to meet this growing danger.

Crime and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting an editorial that appeared in the Philadelphia Tribune of August 10, 1957:

CRIME AND CIVIL RIGHTS

"All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."—Edmund Burke.

Many writers are proclaiming the defeat of the Eisenhower civil-rights bill as a great victory for the astuteness and political skill of Texas' Democrat LYNDON JOHNSON. It would seem to be nearer the truth to say that the bill was made ineffective because some of the so-called great liberals did nothing to prevent its death.

Senator JOHNSON now wants Americans to believe that he, the executioner, is a sincere advocate of civil rights. He declares that those who refuse to accept the bill after all of its teeth were pulled are not sincere; that he is the true friend of civil rights. The Senator will soon find out that Americans are not as stupid as he seems to think.

His fellow Senator JOHNSTON of South Carolina let the cat out of the bag when he was joyously telling the people of his State that it was not the Republican Party that helped to water down the bill. "It was the Democratic Party leadership from the West, some from the North, and some from the Eastern States that joined the southern ranks. Quite frankly the South alone would have been beaten to death on this issue without help."

The New York Post says: "But pity the nonsouthern Democrats who must swallow the dubious compliment paid them by Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. For what he is saying is a clear confession that the chance for truly effective civil rights legislation was finally at hand and that only the capitulation of a bloc of liberal Democrats saved the day for the southern diehards."

Here is why this newspaper thinks the bill as amended in the Senate is absolutely worthless: Ever since the adoption of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution all citizens have had the right to vote and serve on juries. So the right to vote was not involved. It is the exercise of those rights that was at stake in the civil rights bill. Since the effective enforcement of the law has been eliminated, it is worthless; and Senator JOHNSON and those who supported him know that to be the truth.

Crime is a $40 billion operation in America. The Director of the FBI has declared that his agents, the several police departments, and other law enforcement agencies lack the power to curb the rapidly increasing crime rate in the United States of America. He thinks that the only way to stop it is by an aroused public; by the citizens of all segments of the population fighting crime and all its works.

There are those who believe that unless all laws are enforced none can be; that unless the rights of all citizens are protected, none will be safe. Those who killed the civil rights bill joined forces with those who have declared that they will never obey the United States Constitution or the orders of the Supreme Court. In so doing they have strengthened the hands of criminals both in public office and in private life.

"Well Done" Admiral Radford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. LATHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Nation and the Congress should send today a hearty "well done" to Adm. Arthur W. Radford, who today retires as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It is my belief that no man has made a greater contribution to his country.

His calm, clear thinking has been a tower of strength to the administration in the difficult days past. While he has earned a rest it is hoped that his wise counsel and advice will be available in the days to come.

I would like to set forth the following editorial from the New York Times:

ADMIRAL RADFORD RETIRES

Today a man who has grown gray in the service of his country relinquishes the highest ranking and most important military position in the United States Armed Forces.

Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman for the past 4 years of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a veteran naval airman, richly deserves the rest and ease from tension that retirement will bring. Often a storm center of controversy, never one to speak the fair beguiling words of the compromiser, Admiral Radford has taken the part of the "strong man" who said what he thought.

His judgments may not always have been right—certainly they have been challenged by many who do not place as much reliance as he appears to on the deterrent effect of "massive retaliation." But Admiral Radford's rugged honesty, his unrelenting drive, and his unflagging ardor in the service of his country commend him to history.

Is the House a Rubberstamp?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in all kindliness, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the New York Times of August 11, 1957.

Is it not time that we, as Members of the House, had a heart-to-heart talk among ourselves about this matter? And then proceed to do something about it?

The article follows:

IS THE HOUSE A RUBBERSTAMP?

(By Allen Drury)

It has been a long time since anyone criticized the House of Representatives, but of late the accumulated irritations and annoyances growing from the record of recent sessions have begun to find expression in many quarters. Upsetting though it may be for its Members to acknowledge, the idea is getting about that the House is not carrying its weight in the present era of American Government.

It is said, for example, that the House is letting the innumerable demands of its constituents bog it down. It is said that the House is using this as an excuse to follow the easy road of flaccid obedience to a handful of party leaders. It is said that the House is lazy, that it is sloppy, that it is relying on the Senate to do its job.

These, it may be, are serious charges, but there is no doubt that the House has among its Members stanch and outraged defenders. "Don't we work expeditiously?" they demand. "Don't we whip legislation through in double time? You don't see us engaging in any filibusters. You don't see us dilly-dallying with the public business. Brother, when we legislate we legislate."

And they rattle off the standard figures on so many bills introduced, so many considered, so many passed, with an arch intimation that the gentlemen in what they always refer to as the other body are lagging far behind and are in every way inferior as spokesmen for the people.

According to the critics, this final argument in particular does not comport with the facts. Actually, they say, were it not for the gentlemen in the other body the House would be exposed in an uncomfortable nakedness for all to see. The Senate, they hold, is a great shield and coverup for what goes on in the House.

They point out that, while it is frequently said as a joke on Capitol Hill that "the House proposes and the Senate disposes," the reality of it may not be quite so jocular. They say that there is considerable evidence that this is so, and that the country may be thankful that it is so, for if it were not so things would be in a pretty pass.

Consider specifics for a moment, they say. A civil-rights bill, cluttered up with devious and dangerous language devised for their own clever purposes by the bright young men of the Justice Department, roars through the House with a whoop and a holler under tight parliamentary restrictions that divide debate neatly between the indignant and the innocuous. It then goes to the Senate, and thereupon everybody is vastly surprised to find that a sober and careful appraisal, a reasoned and cogent and deliberate debate, reveals all kinds of peculiar worms in the woodwork.

There is a part III, for instance, harnessing the bill to reconstruction force statutes, making it possible—unlikely, it is true, but none the less legally possible—for the President to send the armed might of the Federal Government into the South to enforce a whole range of civil rights extending far beyond voting to school desegregation, joint use of entertainment facilities, equal employment opportunities, and the like. Whatever the merits of these rights standing alone, force, the Senate and most responsible observers believed, is not the way to achieve them; yet the House dismisses this aspect of the bill as though it doesn't exist.

There is also the matter of the jury-trial amendment. It is offered in the House, but the House votes it down with a will after a cursory debate. There are the powers of the special Civil Rights Commission set up in the bill, the provision that its members need not be confirmed by Congress, the provision that they may hire unpaid voluntary workers to roam the country in the search for civil-rights violations, the provision that newsmen who reveal the proceedings of secret Commission meetings may be subject to fine and imprisonment.

The House pays these no mind, although anyone who knows Washington knows exactly the uses to which the unpaid volunteers and the secret Commission meetings would have been put.

Nor does the record need to be limited to recent days. Go back a bit to a proposal such as Harry Truman's bill to draft the railroad strikers in 1946, quite possibly one of the most fundamentally dangerous propositions ever put forward in this free land. Again, the story is the same. Through the House it goes with a hue and a cry and a view halloo—in a debate lasting just 40 minutes. It reaches the Senate and a number of responsible people, led by the late Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, begin talking. Time passes, the frenzy evaporates, the fantastic hysteria of the House is revealed in all of its bald outlines. The bill dies—in the Senate.

Or take a foreign aid bill, intelligently trimmed in the Senate, shredded to ribbons in the House; or a labor bill, loaded with wide-open dangers in the House, patiently reworked into sound legislation in the Senate; or a bill—but the examples the critics cite are manifold, and multiplication can make their point no stronger than it inescapably is.

This is the way the House legislates, its critics say, and it must be admitted that

there is a deal of evidence that the House knows it. Everyone who covers the Congress has had the experience at one time or another of talking off the record to House Members about the shortcomings of some particular piece of legislation that has gone through with all the calculated deliberation of a greased pig. The reaction never varies: a shug and a grin and the private comment, "Well, it's the Senate's worry now. Let them stew about it and when it comes back to us for conference we'll take another look at it."

All very well, except that the House in some fields of legislation, such as appropriations, has the sole initial responsibility, and in any event is supposed to have a responsibility fully equal to that of the other body.

This sort of legislative buck-passing is particularly noticeable in such controversial areas as civil rights, labor, foreign aid, the military, Government salaries. It grows more arrant when sheer politics is involved. The popular thing to do at the height of the railroad strike was to mirror the country's frenzy; the popular thing to do on the civil-rights bill was to bow to the weight of every passing pressure group that said "boo." To be responsible took guts.

The explanations for this condition to which the critics point are inherent in the structures and the practices of the House, subject to change by the House if the House will change them, but in recent decades ratified by custom and the fear of the leadership's displeasure.

One such explanation resides in the way in which a little handful of oldsters, sitting in committee chairmanships, is allowed to ride roughshod over regular committee procedure, shutting off committee debate and study so that even there the free flow of opinion is stifled, a situation not present in all committees, but in far too many.

There is the exaggerated power of the House Rules Committee, so great that a bill must leap not only the hurdle of its own committee's approval, but then must meet the arbitrary and cantankerous objections of the Rules Committee as well, before it can reach the floor for debate.

There is, in many communities, the ease with which election to the House comes to citizens whose qualifications equip them, perhaps, to be good businessmen or leaders of fraternal organizations, but do not equip them for the more sophisticated and thoughtful business of participating in National Government. And possibly, most fundamental of all, there are the much-vaunted debate rules of the House, with all their cute little 5-minute limitations and other gimmicks that permit the party leaders on both sides of the aisle, to choke debate as ruthlessly as a fox chokes a rabbit.

Out of all this, in recent years, there has come an air of conspicuous desuetude which is perhaps understandable but nonetheless of serious import to the future of responsible representative government in the United States. A certain lassitude pervades the atmosphere of the House; few seem to care very much. Last year's election is just over and next year's is already claiming attention, and the way the rules are rigged and the show is run, why should anybody do anything anyway but go along supinely with the will of the leadership?

So the House becomes in essence a sometimes uneasy but far more often compliant rubber stamp, for a strong Executive in the periods when the country has one, for the party leaders in the Chamber in times like the present, when a mood of spasmodic disinterest prevails at the White House.

Inevitably, this makes the task of those who really run the House—the Speaker, the leaders of the majority and minority, their aids and satellites and the committee chairmen—that much simpler. Inevitably, it narrows the focus, brings to the forefront only those who are either so idealistic or so ornery that they can't be silenced. In a House of 435 there are today perhaps 30 or 40 men and women who take the lead in debate; their names come to the top of the news again and again because there just isn't anybody else. Sometimes they are able, more often they are either loud, or persistent, or both. The ideas before the House, in the main, come from these few minds—and some of them are very tired.

Are there solutions for it? Some have suggested that the 2-year term be expanded to 4, with the whole House being elected at the same time the President is chosen. This, it is said, would remove the nagging pressure of having to run for reelection every time a Member turns around, the nagging desire for personal publicity at any cost. Others have suggested a drastic overhaul of the rules, so that debate can really be debate and matters of the most serious and fundamental gravity can be given the attention they deserve.

And some hold that there should be a modification of the committee seniority system, probably the least practical suggestion of all in the light of the deadly and divisive ambitions and horse trading that would inevitably follow upon such a change.

In any event, it seems likely that none of these could in the long run be any real substitute for a greater determination and a greater responsibility on the part of the individual Member. He is the key to the House, and it is upon him, or her, that the ultimate burden falls.

The plea is made—and in some ways it is a valid one and fully deserving of sympathy—that the average member is weighed down with the endless demands of an insatiable constituency. This, it is argued, keeps him too busy to pay attention. But he is elected to pay attention, and it is just possible that paying attention to a major bill involving some sensitive area of democratic government is a trifle more important than running enough errands to get reelected. It is understandable why these values go skew-gee in the mind of the average member, but it is not excusable. Too much is at stake in this crossroads century, and too, much is in his hands.

But, as they say, there is always the Senate. Its prestige has risen steadily in recent years as that of the House has declined, and essentially there is only one corrective for the imbalance. It lies in a greater attention to duty, a greater independence and a greater attitude of personal responsibility by the individual Member on the floor of the House.

For, when all is said and done, the House, of course, is a great institution with a great and obviously indispensable role to play in the governance of the American Republic. That is why it is so desperately important that it live up to its place in the scheme of things.

The House ought to legislate as if the Senate were not there. For too often, as its critics truly say, it legislates as if nothing but the Senate were there.

The Pollution Control Act—A Year Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, Public Law 660 of the 84th Congress, the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, has now been in operation for 1 year. This act, as you know, represents the greatest forward step that the Federal Government has ever taken to assist the States in preserving the quality of the Nation's precious water supply.

Of late, Public Law 660 and especially the section pertaining to sewage treatment plant constructions grants has been subjected to considerable criticism. The charge has been made—and just recently on the floor of this House—that the construction grant program has held back rather than accelerated construction of needed sewage treatment plants throughout the country. Attempts were made this spring to actually eliminate funds for this vital program from the Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill. And again the charge was made that the program was holding back construction of treatment plants.

The facts available to us now after a year's experience under the program do not justify these attacks. As I have maintained from the time I introduced this idea into the water pollution-control bill if this program is given a chance to succeed it will succeed. That is why the critics were so anxious to destroy the program in its infancy. They knew that given the opportunity this program would prove itself successful.

With a year's experience behind us we can now fairly ask the question, Is Public Law 660 a success? And have the grants-in-aid stimulated construction? I am happy to report, Mr. Speaker, that the States say "Yes"; the municipalities say "Yes"; and the figures say "Yes." These facts are reported in the authoritative publication Engineering News-Record for August 15.

In an article by Marc Leggiero, assistant editor, it was pointed out that the first year of the Federal construction program helped build interceptors, treatment works, and outfalls—all essential to the control of pollution—at a rate exceeding any previous year's construction. And this despite the fact that the municipal bond market is in the worst shape it has been in since the blackest days of the depression.

In the program's first year grant offers were made for 446 projects involving $166.8 million of construction. Of special interest is the fact that 54 percent of this amount went to towns of 10,000 or under and this same group accounted for 78 percent of the projects. In short, Mr. Speaker, the construction program under Public Law 660 is in high gear and contributing greatly to the abatement of the Nation's pollution problem.

The article and an editorial which appeared in the Engineering News-Record are as follows:

Public Law 660, with its Federal construction grants for sewage works, has gone through its first year of life and $38 million, part of the first $50 million of a $500-million, 10-year program.

The 1956 Federal act has a big job to do: Stimulate sewerage construction in the United States and its Territories by paying part of the cost of a municipality's pollution abatement project.

Is it doing so?

Yes.

And is it proving an administrative success?

Again, yes.

As of June 30, end of the program's first year:

Four hundred and forty-six projects had been approved and offered Federal grants;

Total estimated construction cost involved is $166.8 million, with the Federal Government's share at $37.9 million; and

One hundred and forty-one projects, totaling $54 million worth were under construction, and 4 projects costing $241,867 had been completed.

States, municipalities, and the United States Public Health Service—the administering agency—are all pleased with the way the program has gone and gives indications of going.

THE STATES ARE FOR IT

Checking with a number of State pollution control officials to get their reactions to the Federal grants, has produced almost unanimous praise for the program.

Although an extremely small minority still contends that the program will hinder rather than speed sewerage construction, the overwhelming majority gave general assent that the program has supplied a real impetus to added sewerage construction. To quote a few:

Charles E. Carl, director of the sanitary division of the South Dakota Department of Health: "* * * has undoubtedly given impetus to the sewage treatment works construction program in South Dakota. A majority of the projects (offered grants) have been planned or designed since the Federal-grant program was established."

Clarence W. Klassen, technical secretary, Illinois Sanitary Water Board: "We feel that the program has given impetus to added sewerage construction in Illinois * * * however difficult to determine based on comparison with other years * * * conditions are not the same. We feel that without the program construction would have dropped behind * * * because of particularly bad bond market."

Dr. Berwyn F. Mattison, secretary of health, Pennsylvania Department of Health: "Among the 11 projects approved for grants during the 1957 fiscal year, we believe that a few would not have proceeded with construction without the grant program * * * hoping continuation of Federal construction grants will result in a larger number of municipalities constructing * * * who would have been unable to finance such projects."

The fear that municipalities would hold back necessary construction until they could get a Federal grant, has not been realized, according to those State people who are in a position to know.

THE MUNICIPALITIES ARE FOR IT

Next step was to check with a number of municipalities that had been offered Federal grants. Again, the concensus was that the program was a good thing. It could be cynically said that it would be a rare municipality that would not be in favor of getting money for nothing. But both State officials and regional PHS officials agree that, by and large, the municipalities have proved to be exceedingly conscious of the goal of the Federal program and have been acting accordingly responsible. It was, after all, the American Municipal Association that conceived the Federal-aid idea and fought for its inclusion in the law.

Every municipality contacted, without exception, felt that its Federal grant had turned the trick in some way. Some would not have been able to build without it. For others, it meant the difference between a hardship situation and one of minimum comfort in paying for the planned project. And for still others, the grant is making possible a faster, more comprehensive and more complete pollution abatement program than would have been possible had they had to go it alone.

A number of municipalities reported that the promise of a Federal grant made the difference between voters approving or not approving a bond issue to finance construction of the sewerage project. This is true even where State aid, too, is available. In Vermont, for example, some municipalities are able to get outside help for 50 percent of the project cost, up to 30 percent from the Federal Government and 20 percent from the State.

The majority of the grants are going directly for construction. There are a number of cities, with big programs, that are using the grant to help pay the important overhead expenses such as bond issue financing fees.

To sum up, municipalities can now build what previously had been impossible, exceedingly difficult or somewhat incomplete.

THE FIGURES ARE FOR IT

There was the fear when the law was passed sewerage construction would suffer, not gain. It would now seem that this fear may be laid to rest.

The Federal act went into effect July 1, 1956, although its first grant offer was not made until December. A comparison of sewerage construction figures for the first half of 1956 with those for the first half of 1957 makes a good case for the Federal-aid program as a stimulant to construction.

Latest ENR sewerage contract award figures, for the first 31 weeks of both years, make 1957 a better year than 1956—the record year for such awards. For 1956, $354.3 million in sewerage contracts were awarded; in 1957, the figure is $341.3 million. However the 1956 figure includes the $80 million Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa., sewage works project. Subtracting this from the 1956 figure—and for this comparison, it would seem legitimate to do so since such a project comes along but rarely—puts 1957 ahead by nearly $65 million. And according to ENR projections, by year's end the sewerage contract awards could top last year's record high, even without subtracting the Allegheny amount.

Still other figures point to the effectiveness of the Federal construction grants. According to USPHS totals, which include only those elements eligible for Federal aid—treatment works, interceptors, and outfall sewers (ENR figures include laterals as well)—1957 is turning out to be a better year than last year's record year. January through June, the 1956 total was $223.7 million; for 1957, the total is $165.7 million. Again excluding Pittsburgh's $80 million (contracts awarded in January, 1956), the first 6 months of 1957 are $20 million ahead.

And the clinching argument is that this is being done in the face of unfavorable conditions, foremost among which is the tightened revenue bond market, a popular source for sewerage construction funds. The rising interest rates have been a depressing factor on the volume of new construction work, especially so in the case of smaller communities.

A special survey made for PHS by an outside consultant showed that 18 smaller communities in North Carolina, Maryland, and Wisconsin met considerable difficulty in selling bond issues for sewage treatment works construction. This was true even for several of the communities which had been assured Federal grants.

The ENR figures also are a strong argument. They have gone to the high level in 1957 even though industrial building and mass housing—major affectors of the dollar volume of sewerage contract awards—have dropped off sharply.

WHO AND WHAT GET MONEY

It had been planned and hoped that the Federal aid would make the biggest impact on the smaller municipalities. The act provides for the Federal Government to pay up to 30 percent or $250,000—whichever is the lesser—of the cost of a municipality's sewerage construction project. Grant offers would be made upon application by the municipality to the regional PHS office for approval. State bodies, and not PHS, would decide which project had priority over others in their State for the State allocation. Payments would be made in three parts, the last coming with the completion of the project.

The program's aims in this respect are being realized. Of the 446 projects approved and grant offers made in fiscal 1957, only 38 fall in the $1 million or over category. The maximum grant offer of $250,000 has been made to only 43 of the 446.

Smallest project for which an offer was made is a $6,430 extension to a treatment plant at Unity, N. H. Federal share here amounts to $1,929. Largest project is listed at $5.9 million for extensions and additions to a treatment plant in the District of Columbia. Federal aid offered is the $250,000 maximum.

Municipalities with populations of 10,000 or under account for 78 percent of the 446 projects and 54 percent of the $38 million. Cities of 50,000 and under are sponsors of 94 percent of the projects and have been offered 80 percent of the Federal money. The really big cities of 500,000 or over, hold only 4 percent of the projects and account for about 7 percent of the Federal money.

The Federal grants for fiscal 1957 are going for projects that are concerned almost exclusively with new sewerage construction. Only 15 of the 446 projects entail simply remodeling or altering existing works. Brand-new projects are the receipients of 334 of the Federal grant offers. The remaining projects include some new work or some degree of extension and addition to present systems.

One example is North Dakota's 19 projects for which Federal grants have been offered. All are stabilization ponds and appurtenances—17 brand new, one remodeling and alteration job and one extension and remodeling.

A very high number—335—of the 446 disposal projects include treatment plants. In addition, 78 projects include stabilization ponds. Only 33 do not include some sort of treatment works and are instead concerned solely with interceptors or outfall sewers.

WHY ONLY $38 MILLION

Although Congress appropriated $50 million for construction grants for the first year, fiscal 1957, only $38 million had been committed by PHS by June 30, the end of the fiscal year.

The reason for this is simply that it took some time for the program machinery to be set up and operate smoothly. First grant offer came through in December 1956, and then they started pouring out. So that, actually, the $38 million was committed in the short period of 7 months.

The $12 million represents money that had not yet been asked for by municipalities in the States for which the allocations had not yet been used up by June 30. However, it is permissible under the law for unused funds from one year to be held over and allocated in the next fiscal year. Most of the States concerned have already indicated that even though it has been a slow start they will easily use up last year's and this year's Federal money.

SIXTY-TWO MILLION DOLLARS FOR 1958?

When Congress made appropriations for fiscal 1958, it cut $5 million, appropriating only $45 million at the insistence of the Senate Appropriations Committee, which said it intended doing the same for fiscal 1959. The Senators did this after the first year's experience showed that not all the States and Territories were likely to submit projects for the full allotment. The Virgin Islands for example, says PHS, is not expected to ask for Federal grants for sewerage construction.

But this $5 million drop is not likely to deny eligible requests. Congress permitted

PHS to set up fiscal 1958 allocations on the basis of $50 million. And if such areas as the Virgin Islands do not pick up their full allotment, the money will be there for those States that subscribe for their full allocation. And should it be necessary, indications are strong that PHS won't have much trouble getting supplementary appropriations from Congress up to $5 million before June 1958. This then brings potential Federal money up to $62 million for fiscal 1958.

Already, on the basis of applications in process, there are unmistakable indications that all the $57 million will be offered in what is now the current fiscal year.

Since June 30, over 40 grants have been approved. And right now, PHS regional offices and State pollution control agencies have under review over 600 applications calling for $60 million of Federal construction grants. In addition, municipalities are preparing another batch of projects that will call for some $12 million more as the Federal Government's share.

So there are in process projects totaling $72 million of Federal aid money. However, some of the projects are sure to be ineligible for Federal funds and there will also be a number where the voters will turn down a bond issue to construct the projects. Therefore, the Federal money that will be available will probably cover the projects on hand.

As far as the States go, they are generally satisfied with the amount of Federal aid allocated to their State. The feeling was that, of course, if they were given more money, they could use it, but recognized that the Federal program was, to paraphrase one official's statement, merely one tool in the administration of the State's water pollution control program.

THE SYSTEM'S WORKING

The check with State and PHS-regional officials showed that while it took some time for the program to get rolling, it is now going well and very little additional trouble is anticipated.

The PHS regional offices—which receive the requests, review and approve them, and then make Federal grant offers—are now in high gear and wading into fiscal 1958's lot. Although undermanned and dealing with a new program, the regional offices have received high praise from both State and city officials for the job they have been doing. They have proved themselves extremely cooperative, helpful, and patient, according to reports.

The time elapsed from time of application to PHS to offer of a Federal grant has ranged all the way from 2 weeks to 9 months. However, according to PHS officials, 2 to 3 weeks should be the time for untroublesome applications, and 3 months the latest for the worst. The important thing is for the applicant to be thorough, making certain to submit the necessary documents along with the application—and being especially certain that financial authorization and the engineer's report are correct and complete.

Illinois reports that for its 18 projects, elapsed time from application to PHS to grant offer did fall between 2 and 3 weeks for each project. And the municipality that waited 9 months tended to blame itself rather than PHS.

Generally, replies indicated that elapsed time ran from 1 to 2 months, and all parties expressed satisfaction.

PRIORITY NO SATISFACTION

States report having set up some formal system for rating a project's priority, except for a few States which said it was not necessary to do so since their allocation covered all requests for grants by municipalities.

The priority systems are going smoothly, according to the State officials, who also are generally satisfied with their own role in the program. A few did comment that the amount appropriated by the Federal Government to the States for administering the program ($2 million) should be increased to ease their burden.

Some of the priority systems reported are extensive and elaborate. Great weight was found to be given to whether or not the municipality requesting a grant was under State order to clean up a pollution condition. Many used a point system to come up with a project's priority.

Illinois, for example, assigns point values to pollution conditions, abatement progress (voluntary progress gets highest rating in this category) and prevention progress. These are then worked with financial need and cost to arrive at a priority rating.

One aspect of the program that both PHS regional men and State officials are mutually happy about is that the only one body decides priority—the State. Thus, the States don't feel interfered with, and PHS is spared the headaches of making that decision.

All in all then, the end of the first year of Federal aid for water pollution control finds all concerned happily anticipating the second.

GRANTS-IN-AID ARE WORKING

Sewage-works construction in the United States has been stimulated by a well-administered program of Federal aid. This first appraisal of the construction grants program is drawn in ENR this week after a check at city, State, and Federal levels, and after careful study of the all-important contract-awards figures in the sewage-plant field.

The well-substantiated conclusion that Federal aid is a success after 1 year is an important finding first and foremost because this sewerage stimulation program has 9 more years to go. But perhaps it is a finding of even broader significance.

It may be that champions of Federal aid for school construction could profit from study of Public Law 660, the Water Pollution Control Act. For, while school aid failed to pass in this session of Congress, the sewerage-construction aid found congressional support readily a year ago. And, while one objection to Federal aid of any sort is the presumed loss of control to the administering Washington agency, there has been little, if any, of this evidenced by the cities or States now working with grants on pollution-abatement projects.

It was not evident from the start that the program would work so well. In fact, when the notion of Federal aid to cities first came up, sponsored by the American Municipal Association, it appeared in the House bill as a loosely specified Federal dole completely lacking in assurances that it could stimulate new construction. It simply stated that "the Surgeon General shall make Federal funds available for such treatment works, in a manner which will tend to result in a wide distribution of such funds among the several areas of the United States"—a most carelessly written provision and one which would have led to all sorts of administrative difficulties.

But in remarkable short time, the sound thinking of pollution-control experts was brought to bear on and through the United States Public Health Service for the writing of a grants-for-construction provision that is now passing the test of application. These experts could support Federal aid only with assurances that it would help the cities needing help and thereby stimulate construction that might be an unreasonable financial burden on these communities without help. And that, generally, is the kind of aid now being disbursed so effectively.

It is interesting to speculate that because it was written in such haste, the water-pollution legislation came out a better law. The point is that the Federal Water Pollution Act formulated only enough details to assure that the objective of construction aid would be attained, and left many of the fine points of deciding who is to get what aid to the States. If there had been more time, we might have wound up with a Washington-spun ravel of redtape that would have stifled sewage-works construction. Instead, there is a minimum of Federal control, a maximum of State responsibility, and, it appears, a smoothly functioning, effective aid program.

All who are concerned with this sewerage program—the States, PHS, and the cities—are to be congratulated for the way things have started out. And as suggested above, there may be others who can profit from study of how the cooperating Federal and State agencies have made it work. Last July, when it was signed into law, we said the Federal aid-to-sewage-works construction "optimistically can be presumed workable." This optimism was well founded.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Jury of His Peers," published in the Standard-Times, of New Bedford, Mass., on August 9, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A JURY OF HIS PEERS

In the name of preserving civil rights, one of the most fundamental rights guaranteed by the Federal and State Constitutions, and dating back to the English Magna Carta, is being threatened today in Congress.

Self-appointed zealots and politicos, with a weather eye on future elections, are attempting to take away the right of trial by jury in criminal cases in the new so-called civil-rights bill.

Fortunately, the Senate amended the civil-rights bill last Friday, inserting a jury-trial provision for criminal cases, by a vote of 51–42. Wednesday the Senate passed the bill as amended by a majority of 72–18. But the bill now must go to conference with the House of Representatives, where the so-called civil-rights bill has been approved without the jury-trial provision.

The Senate's action reaffirmed a basic American tradition older than the Government itself—the right of the accused in a criminal proceeding to place his case before a panel of fellow citizens.

No part of the young United States Government more impressed visitors than the emphasis on this right. De Tocqueville wrote 125 years ago that the jury system in America "imbues all classes with a respect for the thing judged."

What could be more illogical than to assert that reaffirming such a principle would "obstruct" justice or "weaken" the Federal judicial system, as President Eisenhower, Vice President NIXON, Senate Republican leader KNOWLAND and others are asserting?

In reality, opposition to the jury amendment has been based mostly on a cynical assumption that "southern juries" would not render "just" verdicts in civil-rights cases. Thus, to make sure of the "right" verdict,

proponents would abolish trial by jury in such cases.

Juries are not always predictable, to be sure, in the South—or in the North. Very recently a surprising verdict of acquittal was rendered in the trial of labor leader Hoffa, after distracting tactics had been used in the courtroom.

In its proposed civil-rights bill, the administration seeks to use the contempt powers of the Federal courts as an instrument of coercion and punishment in an entirely new field of Federal activity.

In this field conceivably there could be thousands of criminal cases. In none of these would the accused have the right to have his guilt or innocence determined by "a jury of his peers."

It is to the credit of Senator KENNEDY and many others that they have, while supporting civil rights, refused to go along with attacks on the essentials of fair trials and orderly governmental processes.

Nothing could be more farfetched than the accusation by a State AFL official that KENNEDY had opened himself to "suspicion" by voting for the jury-trial amendment.

No more courageous action has been taken by the United States Senate in a decade than insisting on the insertion of a jury-trial amendment in civil-rights legislation. The Senate should stand firm in conference in opposition to the ill-advised House bill.

The Business and Defense Services Administration—A Valuable Agency of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that too often we in Congress are inclined to speak out in criticism of various agencies of Government without having a full understanding of the importance of the work being done by these agencies.

For example, I recall that during debate on appropriations for the Department of Commerce earlier this year, there was some questioning of the importance of that Department's Business and Defense Services Administration.

Today, I would like to speak in defense of that agency—an agency which, to date, has provided the Nation with an emergency manpower pool of more than 400 executives of business and industry, trained in the important field of Government-private enterprise relations.

These executives, who served without compensation with the agency on loan from their private jobs, provide the Nation with a nucleus of trained men to aid our Government in times of emergency.

This year, two outstanding executives from my Sixth District of New Jersey—Mr. Henry Berring of Westfield and Mr. Lawrence H. Zahn of Mountainside—have served the BDSA. From their experiences, I have obtained a much clearer insight into the importance of this agency's work.

This week, I received a most informative letter from Mr. Berring, following completion of his service with the Government. This letter comprises a comprehensive and penetrating summary of an American industrial executive's views on government service in general, and the BDSA in particular, which I feel should be of interest to all Members of Congress.

The letter follows:

The Honorable FLORENCE P. DWYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. DWYER: I have, as you know, served with the Business and Defense Services Administration for 8 months from November 1, 1956 to the end of June, 1957. In that time I was able to see the agency at work and to become familiar with most of its programs. I also had a good opportunity to see how usefully the agency applied itself to its tasks and how competently it performed its work. If I should be biased in my judgment, it would be in the direction of being critical rather than indulgent, because my industry background makes me regard inefficiency, indirection, and lost motion as deadly.

The BDSA was established in 1953 as a primary organization unit of the Department of Commerce infurtherance of the Department's statutory responsibility to foster, promote and develop commerce and industry. It consists broadly of the Office of the Administrator with a number of subdivisions including the staff offices devoted to technical services, small business, and distribution; next, twenty-five industry divisions; and finally, the Office of Field Services with its branches throughout the United States.

In a release prepared for use in industry task force activities the functions of the 25 industry divisions are described as follows (abridged):

"(1) To assure the achievement of military and atomic energy programs * * * by administration of the DMS (including set-aside determinations); by issuance of directives and administration of * * * special orders for allocation and controls of materials. * * *

"(2) The performance of specific mobilization readiness and preparedness programs delegated to the BDSA by the ODM. These * * * include recommendation of expansion goals and certification of necessity for tax amortization; * * * stockpile recommendations; * * * program levels for full mobilization of * * * critical and strategic materials, appraisal of productive capacity for * * * mobilization requirements; (identification of) critical industry facilities for * * * the Industry Evaluation Board and conduct of conferences with industry on * * * plans to insure continuity of essential production; * * * preparation of standby orders.

"(3) The * * * promotion and development of domestic commerce and trade, (including) the conduct of industry conferences at which the problems of industry are discussed and programs are developed to assist industry in their solution; * * * making studies * * * of market demand and new end uses of products; making analyses of the effect of foreign trade on domestic production (and) * * * furnishing information on * * * foreign production; obtaining the viewpoints of industry * * * on national economic policy matters affecting business operations and preparing recommendations to the Secretary; * * * providing technical economic, statistical and other information relative to production, distribution, requirements, and (their) * * * trends, including advice on simplification of Government purchase contract practices, disposal of surplus and standardization of Government specifications; and the preparation and publication of basic information available only to Government through reports, pamphlets and bulletins."

It is obvious from this three-part description that through their direct contact and familiarity with individual industries and their products and problems the industry divisions form the very heart of the BDSA if not of the Department of Commerce, in all matters and areas where industry touches either the current defense effort, the planning for future security and survival and the health of the industrial economy as a whole.

For example, the Bureau of the Census leans heavily on the industrial experience of the industry divisions in BDSA in making meaningful breakdowns and groupings of statistical data so that these conform to actual industry practices and industry terminology. The National Bureau of Standards does likewise in studying the implications of standardization of products and measurements. Similar reliance on the specialized knowledge available in the industry divisions is placed upon them by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, the Foreign Service, the Internal Revenue Service, the Council of Economic Advisers and probably any government body or agency that was ever in need of specific, reliable industry information.

I doubt that there is any other agency in the government where information is compiled on the actual processes and procedures by which our natural resources are transformed and shaped into finished products and into the tools with which finished products are shaped. I doubt that any other agency concerns itself with, and understands, the physical and economic problems of these industrial processes. I doubt that any other agency can sit together with representatives of a supplier and a user industry and debate the technical aspects of changes in methods or substitutions of materials to meet an overall objective such as a defense program. No doubt, there is fine talent available in the Armed Forces and the Defense Department; but without the moderating influence of competent BDSA specialists many an agency might attempt to achieve its goals at the expense of another or at the expense of the civilian economy.

Members of my industry remember with horror the early phases of World War II when materials began to be scarce and economists or administrative Government workers without technological background tried to enforce substitutions. However, it is not necessary to go back that far. A look at Government lists of industries and commodities of current vintage shows how much there is yet to be done to bring technological sense and industrial logic into many of them. Loopholes and inequities in the import tariff, misunderstandings in the export control procedure, misleading economic statistics and many other troubles and problems relate directly to areas of unfinished work for BDSA.

I do not wish to make this letter too long—or else I could discuss government-industry realtions of many kinds, government services to industry and business, regulatory activities, advisory and promotional aids, statistical and procedural analyses, protection of essential skills and much more. Let me conclude by saying that in all these and other phases of the work that I witnessed in BDSA I met with great ability and competence, integrity, impartiality, fairness, intelligence and diligence. If I found grounds for criticism, and I did on occasion, it was invariably on matters related to inhibitions which kept the agency from doing what it should; and these inhibitions stemmed largely from budgetary inadequacies or other retarding influences, all resulting from insufficient knowledge of what the BDSA is doing and what its work is worth to the Nation.

Incidentally, it is in these industry divisions of BDSA that men from industry

have served and are serving without compensation from the government, on loan from their industries, in order to keep the specialized knowledge of the career employees up to date, and in order to share with the government much unique, priceless information.

To suspect that some of these men might guide the Government in directions favorable mostly to themselves or their companies rather than to the good of the Nation would be to disregard not only the screening by which only men of proven integrity and responsibility are selected, but also the workings of the trade associations and of responsible management in a free, competitive industrial situation. A man who permitted himself to carry improper information from one company to another would be an outcast in the trade association which sponsored his job in the Government. And the economic laws under which competing enterprises survive and profit simply do not favor those practices which some of our legislators are much concerned about. At least in the industries with which I am familiar, monopolistic policies have never worked in this country.

My observations have been such that I would have nothing but confidence in the unselfishness of the WOC's whom I have met. Not only had their companies freed them completely from any possible conflict of conscience or interest; but I happen to be well enough familiar with the work they had to do in the Government to know that it was much too broad, much too public and much too general to even invite the possibility of a split in loyalty.

As to BDSA as an agency—it is the only home, in the Government, of all manufacturing industries. It is the only place where they can turn for advice, understanding and help, and where they, in turn, can render direct, effective assistance to the Government and the Nation. The BDSA is the only place in the Government where these industries can count on being heard, not by virtue of being either small or large, but solely by virtue of the goods they produce. Just as labor and agriculture have homes in the Government, the manufacturing industries deserve a home there—even if it be a modest home such as BDSA. If industry is important enough to this Nation, BDSA should be looked at as important enough to be maintained and strengthened.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY BERRING.

WESTFIELD, N. J.

Which Way Civil Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, we, the United States people, are entering a vital period of decision on one of the major issues of our times, the question of civil rights for everybody.

As I believe moderate voices from experienced groups are to be heard, as well as the extremes of opinion, I am offering for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the excellent and thoughtful editorial of the Pittsburgh Courier entitled "Civil Rights Statute or Not?"

The Pittsburgh Courier is one of the largest papers in the United States that covers in its circulation, the colored citizens of our country. The Pittsburgh Courier is published in 13 different editions, with its home office at 2628 Centre Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., and with its news offices in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Washington, Detroit, Houston, Miami, New Orleans, and Atlanta.

It is a pleasure to say that I count among my good friends, the publisher, Mrs. Robert L. Vann; the editor, Mr. P. L. Prattis; the managing editor, Mr. Beverly Carter, and the many members of the editorial and printing staff of the paper; I know them to be competent and civic-minded people whose opinions are worthy of consideration and high respect.

The editorial follows:

CIVIL-RIGHTS STATUTE OR NOT?

The Courier is thoroughly convinced that a civil-rights bill should be enacted into law.

The bill originally proposed by the administration was a very moderate approach to the problem of the denial of civil rights in this country. It was in line with the progressive conservatism of President Eisenhower.

As this moderately conceived bill made its way through the Congress, its power to protect civil rights, particularly of Negro citizens in the South, was effectively diminished by amendments sought by southerners, but sponsored by northern and western Democrats and Republicans.

The majority of Democrats, led by the South, voted for these amendments. The majority of Republicans voted against them.

The first crippling amendment struck out section 121 of part III. This section would have enabled the Attorney General to intervene where Negroes, or any other citizens, were denied their legal right to attend public schools, use public parks, libraries, swimming pools, or any other public facility or convenience.

The second crippling amendment was for jury trials in criminal contempt proceedings. This was the bobbytrap amendment sponsored by Democrats O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, and KEFAUVER, of Tennessee. The purpose was to provide for jury trials in right-to-vote cases when defendants had disobeyed the order contained in a court injunction. After 39 Democrats and 13 Republicans had voted in this amendment with great glee and charity, they ran into the stark fact that the amendment forced jury trials in a broad range of criminal contempt proceedings. They had taken the teeth out of some 35 or 40 statutes already on the books.

What is left of the civil rights bill? Not much, but something.

A Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice is left. This Division will have responsibility for concentrating on the enforcement of other provisions of the bill, such as the right to vote. That is a step forward.

A Civil Rights Commission with power to subpena witnesses and to hold public and private hearings. There is nothing to prevent this Commission from conducting investigations that cover the entire spectrum of civil rights. That is a step forward.

The right of judges to act, without jury, to obtain compliance with a court order involving the right to vote is established. That is a step forward.

The right of the United States to initiate suits on behalf of persons who are denied the right to register and vote is established. That is a step forward.

The foregoing are elements of the first semblance of a civil rights bill to pass the Senate since 1875.

We think the changes sought by the President to preserve the strength of the courts under other statutes are necessary and wise.

However, if such changes are made, we believe the bill should be signed. We do not accept it as the full order for civil rights. It is a civil rights minus bill. But it is unquestionably a step in the right direction. It is a grudging surrender to the demand of the times. These demands are insistent and continuing.

We cannot and must not be satisfied with this half-loaf. No sooner than this small skirmish is won, we must consolidate our forces and gird ourselves for bigger battles and bigger victories until America comes completely clean on civil rights.

We have just begun to fight.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to insert a letter from my good friend, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and treasurer of the Pittsburgh Courier.

Mrs. Vann's letter follows:

PITTSBURGH COURIER,
Pittsburgh, Pa., August 14, 1957.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
United States Congressman,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: This letter has a dual purpose.

First, on behalf of the Pittsburgh Courier and its thousands of readers, I wish to take this opportunity to sincerely thank you for your support of a civil-rights bill, which was substantially the same as the program recommended by President Eisenhower.

Second, may I earnestly urge and respectfully request that you continue your efforts to secure an effective civil-rights bill.

Not only is the passage of this bill important to those who would benefit directly by such legislation, but it would strengthen America's position in world leadership as well.

Sincerely yours,

JESSIE M. VANN.
Mrs. Robert L. Vann,
President and Treasurer.

Poland's International Trade Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the New York Journal-American of Saturday, June 22, 1957, entitled "Poles At Fair Find United States Life Amazing," as well as an editorial entitled "Fair Values," from the New York Journal-American of June 26, 1957.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLES AT FAIR FIND UNITED STATES LIFE AMAZING—MODERN HOME ON EXHIBITION

The first American eye witness to return from Poland's International Trade Fair told today how hundreds of thousands of Polish men, women, and children reacted to a sample of what life is like in the United States.

He is Norman K. Winston, prominent New York builder and housing specialist. Winston said the Polish visitors to the fair welcomed the opportunity to taste the American way of life as offered in a dramatic United States exhibit.

The trade fair is being held in the economically hard pressed city of Poznan, scene of workers' bread riots a year ago.

This was America's first participation in a trade fair behind the Iron Curtain.

NAMED BY MAYOR

Winston had been appointed by Mayor Wagner as a New York High Commissioner and the mayor's personal representative to the Paris fair last month.

While in Paris, he was invited to attend the Polish fair as an official observer.

Here is his story:

"Our star attraction at the fair was a fully furnished model of a three-bedroom ranch-type house. The people flocked to see it. To them it was like something from another world. They couldn't grasp that people of middle income actually lived in such houses.

"One fellow asked me how much it cost. When I told him between $16,000 and $18,500, he wanted to know how an American workman could pay such money.

"INSURED MORTGAGE

"I explained that the Government insures a 30-year mortgage. That amazed him further. Imagine such interest by a government. Imagine being allowed 30 years to pay for a home.

"There was a barbecue set on the landscaped lawn. Another fellow asked me what it was for.

" 'For preparing steak,' I explained.

" 'Propaganda,' he scoffed.

" 'How'd you like it if there was a steak on it right now?' I asked.

"He shrugged and grinned. His expression said he would have loved it.

"ELECTRIC APPLIANCES

"The people who came to the house were amazed that a home could be equipped with electric ranges, driers, washers, electric can openers, a workshop, and radio and TV sets.

"The children were especially strong for the American toys. They just wouldn't leave. And it was obvious that their parents didn't want to pull them away.

"The women shook their heads in wonder at the dresses that were being modeled. They gazed with interest at the deep freezers laden with fresh foods, and at the models operating the latest types of sewing machines.

"Nickels were handed out to the visitors so that they could try American vending machines to buy cigarettes, candy, and soft drinks.

"ORANGE JUICE SERVED

"There was a frozen orange-juice counter. Those people probably haven't been able to taste an orange in a long time. They were given paper cups filled with orange juice.

"They listened to the latest American popular music and also examined Montgomery Ward and Sears-Roebuck mail-order catalogs. It was difficult for them to understand that the products were available to everyone in the country.

"When I first reached Poznan, the Communist newspapers were claiming that the American exhibit was strictly propaganda. The Red newspaper, Gazeta Poznanska, protested that the exhibit was like a rich uncle showing off his wealth before poor relatives.

"When I met with the Poznan mayor, the city council, and a group of newspaper representatives I explained to them:

"Our Government realizes and caters to the fact that life revolves around the family and home. Our system seeks to provide each family with as much comfort and convenience as possible.

"Not every nation is capable of producing large quantities of home appliances, food products, cars, and TV sets along with tractors, locomotives, and other heavy machinery. But our country does.

"I further explained that our exhibit was offering the visitors both these types of goods. They could examine either or both, if they wished.

"When the fair opened, the people gave their own answer. They swarmed to the United States exhibit. The crowds were far greater than those at the Russian exhibit where they featured equipment and other heavy machinery.

"Outside of the fair grounds, here and there in Poznan there still are scars from the riots of last year. The leaders of the riots either are no longer around or were forced to flee.

"There appears to be a feeling that the present government is liberalized and perhaps they will succeed in having it liberalized more and more.

"NOT HUNTING TROUBLE

"Basically, though, the people of Poznan are not searching for problems. They would rather find a peaceful method of bringing about self-improvement.

"Traditionally, the Polish people are friends of America. I think that the United States exhibit at the fair gave them a look into the future they hope to build for themselves."

The exhibit arranged by the United States Commerce Department, cost a little more than $400,000.

"It was money well spent," Winston declared. "We actually showed the people of Poznan our way of everyday life. We didn't have to do any talking. We showed them:

" 'This is what we have. Is this what you want also?'

"We showed them and they wrote their own editorials in their minds.

"We should concentrate our efforts on such exhibits.

"If people behind the Iron Curtain keep seeing what the American way of life is like year after year, they will begin asking why can't we have such things also?"

The next such trade fair will be held starting September 7 at Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Winston will attend as an official observer. Later this year—August 31–September 15—another fair will be held in Stockholm. Next year, there will be the Brussels World's Fair.

Winston said:

"In my discussions with workers' groups in Poland I pointed out that our citizens are fortunate in that they don't have to choose betwen production of capital or consumers' goods. We do both."

FAIR VALUES

We have had two dramatic examples recently of how the American way of life has profited from our participaion in various fairs and trade exhibitions in other countries.

Despite Communist warnings to stay away, some 85,000 eager Poles visited the United States pavilion on the very first day of the international fair at Poznan and were both amazed and enraptured by the three-bedroom, fully furnished American ranch-type home and the time-and-work saving appliances on display.

It was difficult for the impoverished Poles to believe that American workmen lived in such "palaces."

Our exhibit at the Paris Fair, built around the peacetime uses of atomic energy, did much to nullify Communist propaganda that we were harvesting this power only as a destructive force. Norman K. Winston, prominent building and housing specialist, who was New York's high commissioner to the Paris Fair, said our exhibit made many friends for America because it proved that we were willing to share our know-how to raise the world's productivity and better living standards for all peoples.

Mr. Winston also visited the Poznan Fair and found the Poles favorably impressed by our exhibits.

At the Brussels World's Fair opening next spring, we have another effective opportunity to display the benefits of the American way of life in contrast to Communist dictatorship. But we may miss the boat unless Congress provides the minimum necessary to put on a good show. The Russians are spending $50 million to $60 million on their exhibit but the United States planners feel we can do a good job for the $15 million specified as a minimum budget.

Howard S. Cullman, United States Commissioner General to the Brussels Fair, has announced he will fight against any short-sighted moves which might hamstring a good chance to do a valuable public-relations job for this country. We agree with Mr. Cullman that we should not put up a second-rate show in competition with the Russians.

Freight Rates in the Pacific Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, because the Pacific Northwest is more remotely located from major consumers' markets than any other region in the United States, any increase or reclassification of railroad freight rates is of major importance and significance to the economic life of our area. For that reason, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues a thoughtful and informative editorial entitled "At Railroads' Mercy," which was published in the August 11, 1957, issue of the Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg. I join with the editors of the Oregonian in searchingly questioning the wisdom of the policy of the Interstate Commerce Commission in granting such major freight increases to the carriers, at a time when the Government is so eager to hold down inflation that the administration cannot even favor pay increases which will provide normal living standards for the families of our postal employees.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AT RAILROADS' MERCY

Last week's authorization by the Interstate Commerce Commission of another railroad freight increase, the 13th since the end of World War II and the second in a little more than half a year, is dangerously inflationary for the country as a whole and puts the West at a greater disadvantage than ever in its attempt to compete in the national market.

The authorized increases since last December total 14 percent in the East, 12 percent in the West and 9 percent in the South. Southern railroads had not asked for as large a boost, 15 percent as against 22 percent requested by eastern and western carriers. The more advantageous rates in the South will attract to gulf ports Asiatic shipments which naturally should go through Pacific coast ports.

One might properly ask whether the southern roads are more interested in developing their part of the country than are the western roads, whose constant percentage rate increases push this part of the country farther out of the picture.

The West is at the mercy of the railroads. Although the Panama canal was built at great cost to facilitate intercoastal as well as foreign water shipping, it is largely unused for transporting western products to eastern markets. This is due principally to the high costs of handling water cargo, but the railroads themselves have acted to throttle this competition. The rate increases they obtain so frequenly are permissive, not mandatory. They can, and do, cut rates, as well as increase them.

Take canned fresh fruits and vegetables, for instance, which are one of the Pacific Northwest's principal products sold in the East. About 6 months ago, intercoastal steamship lines had a considerable part of this business. Then the railroads cut their rates drastically and made the further concession of permitting 3 stops in transit so that part of a carload could be delivered at 3 separate points. This was a convenience that the steamship lines could not meet.

Also, while asking for rate increases on commodities generally, the railroads have filed decreased tariffs on fresh meats and packinghouse products from the Middle West to the west coast. This, they contend, is necessary to meet truck competition.

The railroads didn't get nearly as much as they asked from the ICC. They have indicated that they will ask again for a rate boost to give them what they contend they need to make a fair return on their investments. Motor carriers will follow the railroad pattern in seeking higher rates, which pyramid frighteningly as products are handled time and time again.

How come the ICC, a Government agency, gave inflation such a shot in the arm, when Government leaders are urging that every one hold down inflationary demands? It could do little else, as railroads are entitled to a fair return by the laws under which the ICC operates. The carriers made a showing of increased costs of labor and supplies.

What then can be done to stop the rapidly spinning spiral? The ultimate answer may be Government controls similar to those of wartime.

Airways Must Be Made Safer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY G. HASKELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] yesterday inserted a speech in the RECORD which attempted to justify the serious cuts in our air-safety program recommended by the Appropriations Committee, of which he is a member, and approved by the Congress this year. The gentleman's speech attacked remarks which I made on this subject on August 1, 2 weeks ago.

The speech made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] contains several factual errors and his conclusions that our air-safety program has not been hurt by congressional reductions in radar and other essential control equipment requested by the Civil Aeronautics Administration are so out of line with the facts that it is necessary for me to comment further today.

One of the main points of the gentleman's speech is that I have charged that our airways are unsafe. I have never said that because it is a generalization that I am not competent to make.

I do say that our airways are not nearly safe enough; that we must make them safer at once or we run the risk of a series of air tragedies as our air traffic increases in both volume and speed; and that we are avoiding disastrous tragedies right now only through the skills of extremely competent, dedicated traffic-control personnel in the CAA, and experienced, quick-thinking pilots who are working under unbelievably difficult conditions.

These convictions of mine are based on the following facts, many of which have been unknown by the general public and by Congress until this year. I believe these facts show clearly the seriousness of the air safety problem we face.

First. It is a fact that almost 10,000 people were aboard just half of the aircraft involved in these 783 near-collisions reported by pilots between all types of aircraft in the 7 months from September 1956 through March 1957.

Second. It is a fact that there were three hair-raising near-collisions during July involving 163 persons aboard three commercial airliners. In each incident passengers were seriously injured by the violence of the evasive action taken to avoid a crash.

Third. It is a fact that every Government official in a responsible position recognizes the seriousness of this situation and believes that our air traffic problems must be solved with all possible speed.

Fourth. It is a fact that the Civil Aeronautics Administration has presented to Congress a well-designed Federal Airway Plan specifying the minimum equipment that they must have to handle the Nation's mushrooming air traffic. In each of the past 2 years there have been congressional cuts in this program which can only be classified as serious and damaging to our air safety program.

Therefore, I feel that it is necessary to take up point by point the speech made by the gentleman from Ohio yesterday.

First, the gentleman from Ohio has made a mistake in how much money has been cut from the CAA's budget. He states that the CAA budget was cut by $45,229,475, when actually the budget was finally cut by $53,730,475, a difference of $8,501,000.

Actually his own committee voted to cut the budget by $82,224,340, and if action on the part of the House and the Senate as a whole had not taken place afterward, the budget would not have survived as it did.

Second, the gentleman from Ohio said the Appropriations Subcommittee believes "the assurance of maximum safety in flight must be the primary consideration of Congress under this program"—the CAA's program.

These commendable words have not been followed when the actual appropriations were decided. The Appropriations Committee this year cut the CAA's long-range radar program by 52 percent. These radar units, which number 11, were designed to help provide safety for planes flying between two airports, were denied by Congress. In the areas which would have been covered by these units, there were 105 near-collisions reported by pilots in a 7-month period.

The Congress refused to provide money for airport surveillance radar units at 8 cities out of 23 requested. It is interesting to note that all 23 units were denied in the 1957 appropriations, requested last year. This 35-percent reduction in air-safety equipment means that eight American cities—Detroit, Mich.; Greenville, S. C.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Mobile, Ala.; Providence, R. I.; Richmond, Va.; Roanoke, Va.; and Tulsak, Okla.—will have to wait another year to improve their air-traffic situation.

These deep cuts can hardly be used to support a claim that the Congress has provided for maximum air safety.

Third, the gentleman from Ohio inferred that because the CAA has "sizable balances of unobligated and unexpended" funds, that the CAA can't use any more money.

The gentleman knows full well as a member of the Appropriations Committee that these unobligated funds are earmarked for installation of radar and other air-safety equipment which cannot be used until previously ordered equipment is delivered. And to any businessman it would seem poor budgeting not to set aside funds, called in Government, unobligated funds to be able to install equipment to be delivered.

To repeat, the radar units which were purchased last year for delivery this year have to be installed before they can be used. That is what probably 90 percent of these unobligated funds are for.

Fourth, the gentleman from Ohio used a statement out of context from the 1957 budget hearings to indicate that the CAA could not use any more money.

Not only does this statement refer to last year's budget but it also completely ignores the fact that, when the late Mr. Lowen, Administrator of the CAA last year, said he had requested all the money he needed, the fact is Mr. Lowen, whose diligent efforts brought about the present Federal airways plan, was new in his job and he soon came back to the Congress for additional funds of $54 million in order to speed up this badly needed airways program. Incidentally, that request was cut by 35 percent.

Fifth, the gentleman from Ohio cannot shift the blame, in the minds of the public, from the Congress to the CAA for denying 11 long-range radar units at certain specific locations in the country.

Of course, the locations of this radar equipment are determined by the CAA, but the gentleman from Ohio knows that Congress and Congress alone denied these 11 radar units. If it had not been these 11 locations determined on a priority basis, previously identified in

my speech of August 1, it would have been 11 other cities.

Sixth, the gentleman from Ohio said that increased appropriations will not permit the CAA to control additional airspace all over the country, and cites the Grand Canyon crash as an example of an incident that could not have been pervented.

The fact is that the CAA has been provided appropriations which will enable them to control all airspace in the country over 15,000 feet.

We, of course, will never prevent all near collisions and accidents. However, what I have been urging is more and better equipment right now so that we can materially reduce these near collisions.

Seventh, the gentleman from Ohio said he emphatically and categorically denies that budget cuts made by the Congress have hurt our air-safety program. I say emphatically and categorically that our air-safety program has been hurt by these reductions.

The Nation's air-safety program is and must be planned by the CAA, the experts in this field. When the long-range radar budget is cut 52 percent, the airport-radar program cut 35 percent, and the overall budget cut 12 percent, it means clearly that our air-safety program has been hurt, and hurt seriously.

Eighth, the gentleman said he has the utmost confidence in James Pyle, the Administrator of CAA. I share this view completely. I believe that Jimmy Pyle and his associates are doing everything they can to provide safer and more efficient air-traffic control. But they can only work with the tools Congress gives them.

Ninth, the gentleman from Ohio said that I did not express my views before his committee, and that I did not offer amendments to increase the appropriations for the CAA.

That is correct. When this budget was discussed and acted upon, I had been in Congress only a few months. I, and I am sure many other Members of this body, must lean heavily on the recommendations of the Appropriations Committee. As our study began to reveal additional facts in respect to the cuts administered by the Appropriations Committee we became increasingly alarmed at the possible damage to our air-safety program.

As soon as these were collated, I presented them to the Members of the House. Apparently, a number of other Members and the public at large were equally in the dark, judging from the many dozens of telephone calls requesting information which came to me after my speech of August 1.

Tenth, the gentleman from Ohio said, "charges are now made that our airways are unsafe." As I said before, this charge was never made. The point was made that our airways need to be much safer than they are, and that is what I think must be accomplished.

The objectives of the gentleman from Ohio and mine are identical, and as a matter of fact the Appropriations Committee has seen fit to give the CAA a substantial budget increase. However, in my belief, they simply have not gone far enough to get the very necessary job done.

I have confidence in the future that the Appropriations Committee and the Congress as a whole working toward these same objectives will be successful in providing safe air travel for the people of this country. A great step toward these objectives has been taken by the signing into law yesterday of the new Airways Modernization Board.

Minshall Will Again Bring Traveling Office to District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege and honor to represent the people of the 23d Congressional District of Ohio in the Congress of the United States. As the Representative of this outstanding district, I have at all times considered it my duty to render the best possible service.

In addition to my Washington office, I maintain on a year-round basis a congressional office at room 525 of the Federal Building in downtown Cleveland where I can meet with people personally at any time during trips back to the district when my official duties permit. During the time I am in Washington attending to legislative and official duties, a competent staff is in charge of the Cleveland office.

In 1955, I initiated the idea of bringing a traveling office to the various suburban communities in the 23d District. Similar meetings were held the following year. They have been tremendously popular, and it gives me a wonderful opportunity to learn at first hand the opinions and individual needs of the people.

With the understanding that Congress will not be in session during the early part of December, I will again this year from December 2 through December 13 follow the same procedure and have a series of conference meetings so that every resident of this suburban district can conveniently meet with me. These are not group meetings but office conferences for the individual. No appointments are necessary, and I urge individuals to meet with me on the date and at the place that is most convenient. Every resident of the 23d District is cordially invited to talk over problems of national concern, to discuss personal problems they might have with the Federal Government, or to just chat and get better acquainted. The knowledge thus obtained, will better enable me to represent the residents of the 23d District in the Congress of the United States.

This is the schedule, time 6:30 to 9:30 p. m.:

December 2, 1957: Bedford, Bedford Police Station, 683 Broadway.

December 3, 1957: Brecksville, Brecksville Town Hall, 49 Public Square.

December 4, 1957: Bay Village, Bay Village Town Hall, 350 Dover Center Road.

December 5, 1957: Warrensville Heights, Warrensville Heights Village Hall, mayor's office, 4770 Warrensville Center Road.

December 6, 1957: North Olmsted, North Olmsted City Hall, mayor's office, Dover Center Road.

December 9, 1957: Lakewood, Lakewood City Hall, mayor's office, 14532 Lake Avenue.

December 10, 1957: Rocky River: Rocky River City Hall, 21012 Hilliard Road.

December 11, 1957: Solon: Solon Village Hall, Council Chambers, 6315 S. O. M. Center Road.

December 12, 1957: Berea: Berea City Hall, mayor's office, 47 East Bridge Street.

December 13, 1957: Shaker Heights, Shaker Heights City Hall, mayor's office, 3400 Lee Road.

I am most appreciative of the fine cooperation of the many officials who have made these meeting places available as an aid in rendering this public service.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

Appendix

Employment in Professions and Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address made by William P. McCahill, executive secretary of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, before the sectional meeting of the seventh world congress of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, held in London, England, July 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMPLOYMENT IN PROFESSIONS AND INDUSTRIES

(Remarks by Mr. William P. McCahill, Executive Secretary, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, United States of America, before the sectional meeting of the Seventh World Congress of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, London, England, July 24, 1957)

Most people who discuss employment of the handicapped with a person considering the subject for the first time are asked: "What kind of jobs can the handicapped do best?" During the past 10 years, the answer of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped has always been the same. Instead of trying to cite chapter and verse of accomplishments, we have emphasized that "there is no job that some handicapped person cannot do."

And, the voters of America have agreed with this thesis, for 2 of our last 3 Presidents have conquered dramatic physical disability and proved their competence in what we think is one of the most demanding jobs in the world today.

Consequently, the title assigned for my short quarter hour today posed for me the difficult question of where to start and what to cover. In my difficulty, I called upon our associates in the Employment Service, the Veterans' Administration, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Civil Service Commission, the major branches of the United States Government concerned with employment of the handicapped. I also requested material from some friends outside of Government and was told by one that so much was available that I should visit his library in New York and select my own reference material. This last bit of advice, I quickly discarded because I already had a 4-inch stack of background material plus three bound volumes of our monthly magazine, Performance, the Story of the Handicapped, which for 7 years has been recording dramatic stories of dynamic people who have proven that disability is no drawback in the professions and industries. I shall share with you then, the highlights of several inches of printed or duplicated material and the impressions gained during the last 10 years as I traveled from coast to coast and border to border as the senior staff officer of the President's Committee.

Shortly before leaving Washington for London, we released a new bibliography on employment of the handicapped. This will be available to organizations represented at this Congress and will provide a rather complete postscript to these remarks.

Now, to the subject. Semantics being a rather inexact science, with the same word meaning different things to different people, I shall define "professions" and "industries" as I shall use them. This way, although everyone may not agree with my definitions, my remarks should be considered within this framework of reference. The "professions," then will be the groups for which advanced schooling and a college degree are usually necessary. To satisfy any purists in the crowd, I'll fire and fall back upon table 8 of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation fiscal year 1956 preliminary report which lists some 22 employment areas plus one labeled "Other."

The "industries" will be the groups which normally are labeled "Manufacturing" in my country and which make up approximately 23 percent of nonagricultural jobs in the United States today. I have selected this somewhat limited field because it is one in which considerable research has been done. I also happen to know more about it since it has been my good fortune to have visited dozens of our large manufacturing plants during the past decade where I could observe large numbers of the handicapped at work.

Certainly since World War II, we have never considered disability as any bar to advancement in industry and the professions. As we put several million Americans into uniform a rather substantial "army" of the handicapped took over essential chores on our industrial front. And, as many of our veterans returned home with severe disabilities, we found that we had an almost astonishing number of young men and women setting their sights on the professions. The postwar rehabilitation graduates, both veteran and nonveteran, generally have moved into the professions and skilled industries in a much higher proportion than a similar number of nonhandicapped selected at random from the general population.

This, of course, didn't just happen. It was partly the result of good experiences with the handicapped during the later war years, including the special contribution of seriously impaired persons in our Manhattan project. And, it was also partly the result of top-level thinking in enlightened management which generally went out of its way to assure the returning disabled veteran his old job back or one more in keeping with new service-acquired skills or vocational rehabilitation training. This initial patriotic motive quickly proved to be such good business and employers were so well pleased with performance that the civilian handicapped also found more and more doors open to them in the professions and industries. This also provided the President's Committee with its two slogans which we are always repeating, "It's good business to hire the handicapped" and "Ability counts, not disability."

These slogans were not coined on Madison Avenue in New York City where so many of our advertising ideas are born, but in the shops and laboratories of our industries and professions. The monumental work by our Bureau of Labor Statistics, "The Performance of Physically Impaired Workers in Manufacturing Industry," which was prepared for our Veterans' Administration during the tenure of Gen. Omar Bradley has been the beacon light and basic reference work in this field since its issuance in 1948. It was this survey, conducted in 16 States and in 19 of the 20 industries recognized by our standard industrial classification which generally credits the handicapped with equal or better work performance in the vital areas of mobility, quality, lack of absenteeism, safety, output and quit rate. Some 11,000 impaired workers were compared with some 18,000 so-called able-bodied person in this survey.

Subsequently, surveys of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Association of Manufacturers gave the handicapped in industry a strong vote of confidence for performance on the job. The Atomic Energy Commission also conducted a study at Oak Ridge which again proved the handicapped could hold their own in competition with the nonhandicapped when properly placed on the right job.

As a matter of actual fact in American industry today, it is becoming increasingly more difficult to identify the handicapped in the work force. Many corporation executives tell us they have no way of estimating the percentage of handicapped in their work force because once the worker is satisfactorily on the job he ceases to be handicapped in an employment sense. The same thing, incidentally, is true in the Federal Government. The United States Civil Service Commission can proudly tell you that since 1942 they have made 138,000 placements of severely handicapped employees, many in the professions and industries. But they can't tell you how many handicapped are on their rolls on any given day this month because once the handicapped satisfy medical and job requirements, they are no longer handicapped on the job.

One final reference on industries, a quote from the National Association of Manufacturers' policy statement adopted by its board in 1952:

"Employers know from experience that the handicapped individual when matched to the requirements of the job, is no longer handicapped."

Now, let's take a look at the professions side of the ledger. Of the more than 66,000 persons rehabilitated into jobs by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation last year there were 3,500 persons who went into short-supply professional fields such as engineering, medicine, and education. An additional 1,600 found jobs in semiprofessional occupations in addition to the 22 professional groups I mentioned earlier. The largest group were teachers, some 1,300 of various specialties. There were 426 accountants and auditors, 274 engineers, 185 trained nurses, 139 clergymen, and 136 musicians.

The above figures are just the smallest sampling and, of course, we have no figures at all on handicapped persons who went into professions without any Government assistance, either in training or finding jobs. We know there are a large number of them because we see them every day in our hospitals, schools, and courts, at meetings of professional and learned societies, and in the active file of our public employment service.

Having mentioned statistics of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, I should share with you some very interesting results of the Veterans' Administration program for disabled veterans. Of some 600,000 World War II veterans who accepted vocational rehabilitation services, 21 percent selected professional-job objectives and 7 percent semiprofessional. Of 44,531 disabled veterans of Korea, 29 percent went into the professions and 8 percent into semiprofessional occupations. The percentage of professional workers in our country is nowhere near this high, absolute proof not only that the disabled can enter the professions, but also of the value of training.

I'd like to condense two Veterans' Administration studies into as many sentences. A study of 388 totally blinded veterans of World War II and Korea showed that 38 percent were now working in professional, technical and managerial jobs. A study of 466 paraplegic veterans revealed that 47 percent were successfully engaged in professional work, including managerial. Both these studies, the first of a series, emphasized that the blind and the paraplegic veteran have moved into many employment areas successfully which previously were thought closed to them.

In summation, I should like to point out that the President's Committee has selected a "Handicapped Man of the Year" each year for the past 6 years from State governors' committee nominations of outstanding persons who have triumphed over disability. The six include a manufacturing chemist, an electronics manufacturing executive, a circuit court judge, an advertising executive, a physician and an insurance executive. Four were in wheel chairs, the judge was blind and the chemist was an amputee. These men certainly have proved by their lives that the professions in America welcome the qualified handicapped worker. The two manufacturers, incidentally, employ large numbers of handicapped persons in manufacturing industry, doing some of the most intricate work imaginable. This story provides a happy blending of the manufacturing with the professional and indicates that where qualified handicapped workers enter the professions they frequently move into policy positions where they are able to increase employment opportunities for skilled and semiskilled workers.

However, we have much to do in the years ahead to hold our gains and to increase opportunities for those who have as yet been unable to enter the professions and industries. We shall continue our informational and promotional efforts to change the attitudes of the many employers and workers who are not yet willing to accept the handicapped on a basis of equality.

The success of the past shall serve as the key to the future as we work toward the day when the handicapped the world over shall be limited only by their own talents, a day when all professions and all industries will be open to the handicapped all over the world.

Dr. Raymond R. Paty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, an editorial in the Birmingham (Ala.) News of August 9, 1957, pays a very beautiful and richly deserved tribute to our late friend and former member of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Dr. Raymond Ross Paty.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RAYMOND ROSS PATY

Dr. Raymond R. Paty came to Birmingham in 1938 from Emory University in Atlanta. He was recognized from the first by this community as an erudite, courteous gentleman and he quickly instilled in students under him at Birmingham-Southern College a feeling of respect for learning.

He came to that presidency on the heels of Dr. Guy E. Snavely. The challenge, of course, was immense, and Dr. Paty met it, and well. Later he was offered the presidency of the University of Alabama. Leaving Southern with regret, he undertook the big job at the university. Later his talents as an administrator having shown so brilliantly, he was asked to become chancellor of the university system of Georgia.

In that capacity he served equally brilliantly, though he later was to try new fields.

At the time of his death, Dr. Paty was a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. As such, he faced up to considerable challenge. Some, we know, disagreed with his degree of belief in the necessities of expansion for TVA. But no one could have said, no one did say, that he was not totally sincere in his pursuit of the TVA objectives. In that Government post, he served as he had served everywhere else, with maximum devotion.

Dr. Paty was a remarkable man. He was vitally alive, keen, inspiring to the younger and a challenging man among his peers. He had a joviality which glinted through with a peppery quality. Quiet and dignified, he was a figure to inspire work, to create a feeling of well-being among those with whom he associated. This was of great value to all who knew him.

We have always felt it was Alabama's considerable loss that Dr. Paty did not stay longer with us. Now that he has gone, we feel a keen sense of loss, a bitter regret that he was not spared to pursue longer his devoted interest in human beings and their welfare. Such a man is rare. Birmingham should feel proud, Alabama should feel proud to have had him with us as long as we did.

The Scope, Purpose, and Activities of the Fine Arts Committee of the People-to-People Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been pleased to receive from the Honorable David E. Finley, chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts and former director of the National Gallery of Art, a memorandum describing the work of the Fine Arts Committee of the people-to-people program.

Mr. Finley is, appropriately enough, chairman of this People-to-People Committee. Its aim is to fulfill President Eisenhower's splendid concept of acquainting the people of the world with the very best which we of this country have to offer—in this instance, our artistic achievements.

I ask unanimous consent that this memorandum be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON SCOPE, PURPOSE AND ACTIVITIES OF THE FINE ARTS COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM BY DAVID E. FINLEY, CHAIRMAN, FINE ARTS COMMITTEE, AUGUST 14, 1957

In September 1956 President Eisenhower called a White House conference in Washington, designed to promote contacts and activities among individuals and nongovernmental organizations in this and other countries and in this way to promote mutual understanding and friendship among the people of the world. On February 18, 1957, a Fine Arts Committee was organized in response to President Eisenhower's request that private individuals and organizations in this country should increase their efforts to make American achievements in the fine arts better known abroad, and to bring to this country a greater knowledge of what is being done in this field in other countries. The scope of the Fine Arts Committee includes painting, sculpture, prints, drawings and architecture, but not music, which is represented by another committee.

The chairman of the Fine Arts Committee is David E. Finley, chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts and former Director of the National Gallery of Art who was asked by President Eisenhower to organize the committee and to serve as Chairman. A group of some of the most distinguished leaders in the American art world met in Washington to organize the committee and to outline a program of activities which would be effective in achieving the purposes of the committee. Dr. Leonard Carmichael, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, was elected Vice Chairman; C. F. Jacobsen, president of the National Metropolitan Bank of Washington, was elected treasurer; and Oscar Cox of Washington is general counsel. Thomas W. Leavitt was appointed executive director, and headquarters of the committee were established in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, through the courtesy of the gallery trustees and its director, Hermann W. Williams, a member of the Fine Arts Committee. The officers and chairmen of the various subcommittees constitute the executive committee.

The general purpose of the program, as adopted by the committee, is to make it possible for people in other countries to learn about our artistic achievements largely through their own art historians, museum directors and curators; university professors and teachers in schools; and through books and articles about American art published in their own journals and in their own languages. In order to do this we must make available to foreign museums, libraries, institutions of learning, journals and publishers, source material on American art, such as has long been available in the United States for the study of the art of other countries. The committee hopes to make permanent deposits in other countries throughout the world of color slides, photographs, film strips and color reproductions of works of art in this country, particularly by American artists. A start has already been made on this program by the gift of such material to a university in the Far East which has requested such material. The committee hopes by loan exhibitions, by exchange of lecturers, by publication of articles and books about American art, and by gifts of American paintings, sculpture and prints for the permanent decoration of our Em-

...ssies abroad, to make it possible for our ...t to become better known in other coun...es. This program is getting under way as ...nds from private sources become available. ...r. Frederick Gutheim, architect member of ...e committee, has arranged for the showing ... Edinburgh and certain cities in England ... the exhibition One Hundred Years of ...nerican Architecture, and other exhibitions ...e being planned.

Texans Pay Tribute to a Great Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, ...e late Senator Walter F. George was a ...eat American statesman, and his con...tributions to this Nation have been rec...nized by people in every part of the ...untry.

The people and the news journals of ...y State of Texas have praised his ...tesmanship and mourned his pass...g. One of the finest tributes was paid ... the Austin American-Statesman of ...gust 11.

I ask unanimous consent that the trib...e in this great newspaper be printed ... the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article ...s ordered to be printed in the RECORD, ... follows:

STATESMAN

The late Senator Walter George was the ...nd of lawmaker who makes the American ...islative system workable and effective.

Inevitably, that system depends heavily ...on a relatively few men of character and ...elligence. This handful soberly guides ...e Congress on a generally sane course, ...ps it to balance or cancel its errors, keeps ...moving toward objectives despite its great ...herent inertia.

For many years George headed the im...rtant Senate Finance Committee which ...mes the Nation's tax laws. In this post ... was a stalwart guardian of governmental ...al responsibility.

Basically a conservative, his opposition in ... mid-1930's to some of Franklin D. Roose...lt's policies led the latter to attempt to ...rge George at the polls in 1938. The effort ...led and George continued a Senate career ...t lasted 34 years.

Despite FDR's action, George led the late ...sident's campaign to gain congressional ...roval of the vital wartime lend-lease pro...m through which we aided our allies.

Later in life, the Senator turned his in...rest to foreign affairs and took the leader...p of the Senate Foreign Relations Com...ttee.

...s chairman he was a strong advocate of ...partisanship in foreign policy. His per...al pronouncements often had important ...ct both at the White House and in for...n capitals.

When he decided in 1956 not to run again, ...sident Eisenhower gave recognition to his ...hievements in this field by making him ... special Ambassador to NATO.

Though for long years he was less in the ...blic eye, Senator George had the kind of ...cerity and intellectual honesty that ...rked the legislative career of the late Sen...r Taft, of Ohio. In consequence he was ...ld in high esteem by members of both ...rties.

George never shied from bearing the heaviest burdens a legislator could assume. In performing so wonderfully well the difficult tasks he undertook on behalf of the American people, he earned their lasting respect and won for himself a place among the outstanding United States Senators of the Nation.

Statement on Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products and New Uses Developed for Surplus Agricultural Commodities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

The Soil Bank Act of 1956 established a bipartisan Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products. The five members of the Commission were appointed by President Eisenhower and confirmed by the Senate. The duty of the Commission, as prescribed by Congress, was "to prepare and present to the Congress, not later than June 15, 1957, the necessary recommendations which in its opinion would bring about the greatest practical use for industrial purposes of agricultural products not needed for human or animal consumption, including, but not limited to, use in the manufacture of rubber, industrial alcohol, motor fuels, plastics, and other products."

The members of the Commission were Mr. J. Leroy Welsh, of Omaha, grain dealer, and nationally known farm chemurgist, who was Chairman; Dr. Karl Butler, farm counselor for the Avco Corp.; Mr. George Coppers, president of the National Biscuit Co.; Dr. Charles R. Sayre, president of the Delta and Pine Land Plantation; and Dr. Frank Welch, dean of the Kentucky College of Agriculture. Mr. Wheeler McMillen, vice president of the Farm Journal, and nationally known agriculturalist, was Executive Director of the Commission. These able, openminded, and devoted men were engaged vigorously for almost a year in fulfilling their assignment. The Commission was aided in their endeavors by Dr. G. E. Hilbert, their Research Director, and Dr. S. R. Hoover, Assistant Research Director, who were loaned to the Commission by the United States Department of Agriculture.

Since their appointment in July 1956 the Commission held more than 20 meetings. They met with and sought the advice and counsel of President Eisenhower, Members of Congress, top Government officials in the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Defense, and representatives of farmer organizations, land-grand colleges, and agricultural processing industries.

In its assignment, the Commission was interested in obtaining information on: incentives that would encourage industry to undertake more research and developmental work in the field of agricultural products, developments that are worthy of trial commercialization—that is, developments which need to be translater from a laboratory to a commercial scale, and on areas of research that need to be attacked to develop new industrial outlets for the products of agriculture.

In November 1946, 16 task groups were set up by the Commission to develop and appraise ideas for the Commission to consider. These groups were organized to bring together leading technical and industrial representatives in various fields. Some of the task groups were built around commodities, such as cotton, hides and skins, wool and mohair, dairy products, poultry products, white potatoes, and others. Three distinct groups were concerned with different industrial phases of grain consumption: one was confined to the wet milling of corn and sorghum from which starch and corn sugar are the basic products; another worked upon industrial uses for grain other than alcohol, and a third dealt with the various uses for industrial alcohol from grain.

A task group on new crops was set up also. This task group gave consideration to the development of new crops which would be noncompetitive with crops already being produced in this country and which could be grown on acres taken out of production to reduce the size of the surplus problem. Castor bean, safflower seed and timber bamboo have great promise as replacement crops.

The Commission found that in every industry which uses or may use farm products there were men willing to put their services, knowledge, and judgment at the service of the Commission, and to give freely of their time to serve on the task groups. Obviously, the men qualified for these services were busy men, but they were ready to contribute their inconspicuous and unpaid service.

The reports of these task groups were studied and appraised by the members of the Commission and its staff and were used as the basis for developing their recommendations and in preparing their report to Congress.

The final report of the Commission was submitted to Congress on June 15, 1957, on which date the Commission expired.

In its deliberations, the Commission was concerned with the question: Can the economy develop profitable industrial markets capable of absorbing enough of the excess farm production to minimize, possibly even to eliminate, the need for costly restrictions, supports, and surplus-disposing operations?

The Commission believed the answer to be an emphatic "yes," provided the necessary steps are taken to make possible and encourage such a development. To effect this, there are four main needs:

The first is a sufficiently sharp sense—lacking so far—of the importance, the possibilities, and the urgency of the industrial utilization approach to farm surplus problems.

The second need is a greatly expanded program of fundamental, applied and pilot-plant research—physical, chemical, biological, economic—to learn far more about the nature of agricultural raw materials and to determine what existing or new industrial products and processes might profitably use them.

The third need is to insure, through fellowships, scholarships, grants, and other means, that much more scientific talent is trained for and channeled into this neglected field of farm-product research and development than it has engaged so far.

The fourth need is to provide in certain cases, suitable financial incentives during a temporary trial or development period—for example, new products or processes that are expensive to launch or that seem less promising than alternative uses of risk capital, or that might lead to especially rapid disposal of surpluses.

The Commission believed that the initial step in launching such a program is sound legislative action by Congress.

The Commission's report outlined 106 broad fields of research and development, including hundreds of product uses, that seemed to promise fruitful results.

Following the instructions of Congress, the Commission drew up specific recommendations for achieving the objectives it proposed.

Seven of the 10 recommendations deal with participation by many public and private institutions in an effective research network; fostering basic research; grants, fellowships, and scholarships to increase the supply of scientists; Government industry sharing of research costs; research and development work with new crops; commercial-scale trials of new products; economic incentives.

The other three recommendations are concerned with financing and administration. The amount now available for industrial utilization research in the United States Department of Agriculture is $16,145,000. The Commission recommended that this be increased at least threefold, with additional sums for new crops, development and trial commercialization and incentives.

It also recommended that in lieu of direct appropriations, 15 percent of the annual gross receipts from customs revenues be allotted for the industrial utilization program. This would be in addition to the 30 percent from the same source now available to the Secretary of Agriculture, under Public Law 320, for other designated purposes.

For the administration of the program, there are two alternative recommendations:

The first, to establish a five-member nonpartisan Agricultural Research and Industrial Board to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate; and

The second, to place the responsibility for the program in the Department of Agriculture, under a director with the title of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture who would be in charge of research and education within the Department and would coordinate all agricultural research in the Federal Government.

In proposing this pattern of procedures, the Commission had in mind the need to achieve effective results as promptly as possible, to maintain and expand the excellent research operations of the Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges and experiment stations, to make effective use of the talent and facilities of other institutions, and to add as little as possible to the structure of government.

The Commission believed that the expanded program of utilization research and development which it proposed would enable agriculture to do what industry, with its bigger, better integrated units, and larger resources of money and men, has long been doing.

The Commission was convinced that this approach would be productive in view of the excellent results which have already been obtained in the Department with its limited funds in this field of research on utilization of agricultural commodities.

Much of the research work of the four regional research laboratories of the United States Department of Agriculture has resulted in the development of new and extended uses for agricultural surpluses. These contributions are of two types: (1) Dealing with seasonal surpluses of perishable commodities, and (2) concerning annual surpluses of stable commodities.

Most of the research on perishable commodities has been directed toward the development of methods for converting them to a stable, palatable, convenient-to-use form so that they are preserved and available throughout the year. This conversion to a year-round product tends to stabilize the price of these commodities. Foods in a convenient-to-use form provide an incentive for the housewife to purchase them.

Pioneering investigations to improve quality and lower processing costs on frozen foods has played an important part in the genesis and growth of the great frozen food industry, particularly that in the Pacific Northwest. Many contributions have been made in solving the new problems that were arising continually from the enormous growth and diversification of this industry which has become a major channel for utilization of many of our food commodities.

Not only the frozen food industry of the Northwest, but also the entire industry has acknowledged on many occasions, the debt it owes to the scientists and technologists of the Department of Agriculture. These men tackled problems that were entirely beyond the powers of the industry, found the answers, and by precept and example, showed the industry how to meet them.

Another important contribution made in this field is on the development of frozen concentrated orange juice. The Department, in cooperation with the Florida Citrus Commission, developed this basic process. The patent covering this process was dedicated to the Secretary of Agriculture for use by industry on a royalty-free basis.

The citrus processing industry had the vision to follow through vigorously on this development. This industry has mushroomed at an enormous rate. At the present time, no less than 50 percent of all Florida oranges produced are converted into frozen concentrated juice.

This development has stimulated the production of other frozen concentrated fruit juices. Some of these are frozen concentrated lemon, lime, tangerine, grapefruit, grape, and apple juices. Of these, frozen lemonade concentrate has been particularly well received, and its production has increased markedly in the past few years. It has had a helpful stabilizing effect on industry.

Fruit and vegetable juices also can be converted into another stable, palatable, convenient-to-use form, and that is as powders. The Department has developed a process which yields powders which have the full flavor of the original raw product. Orange, lemon, grapefruit, apple, prune, grape, and tomato powders now can be made. Due to the excellent storage stability, these powdered juices can be stored on the kitchen shelf with other staples and can be reconstituted quickly by the addition of water, even ice water.

A great deal of commercial interest has arisen in fruit and tomato juice powders. A plant in Florida has been producing orange juice powder for a number of years. The construction of a plant for the production of tomato juice powder was completed some time ago and is now making preliminary commercial runs to produce tomato juice powder. This development has great promise and is expected to have a tremendous impact upon our fruit and vegetable industry.

The commercialization of potato granules, or instant potato, has moved ahead rapidly in the last 2 years. The knowledge the Department has developed in increasing the storage life of instant potato and in developing equipment for its production has been responsible for the success of this development. The instant potato now being produced can be converted quickly and conveniently into the mash form in the kitchen. The mashed potatoes are indistinguishable from the product made with fresh potatoes. Five companies which have adopted the findings of the Department are now producing this form of dehydrated potato. The domestic demand is so great that the industry has been having difficulty in supplying the market. This industry will continue to expand. The Department believes this development will do for the potato industry what frozen concentrated orange juice has done for the citrus industry.

Powdered eggs that can be stored and still be as palatable as fresh eggs is quite a recent development. All of us remember the dehydrated eggs that were available during World War II; they simply did not stand up in storage. Several years ago, the cause of the rapid development of off-flavors in dried eggs was discovered in the Department. Through appropriate processing and drying, this difficulty was overcome. Several companies are now producing this improved type of dried egg powder. It is being used by the Armed Forces and commercially, particularly in the manufacture of baking pre-mixes. The production of dried eggs has been averaging about 20 million pounds a year. This development is making a significant contribution toward stabilizing the egg industry.

Important contributions have also been made on storable surplus commodities.

Perhaps the most important, significant contribution made in the field of cotton in the development of new equipment for lowering the cost of processing cotton in textile mills. Before cotton can be processed, the matted or compacted masses of fiber in a bale must be opened and fluffed to enable more efficient removal of the foreign matter from the fiber. A new cotton opener which the Department developed several years ago does this better than any other. With this machine, more trash, but less spinnable fiber, is removed in the processing operation. Savings are estimated by industry to amount to 50 cents to $1 per bale of cotton processed. The textile industry has already put into use enough of these machines to process 2 million bales of cotton annually, and new machines are being installed at a rate to handle an additional 500,000 bales each year. The basic patents on this opener have been dedicated to the Secretary of Agriculture.

The Department has made other improvements on equipment used in the processing of cotton. A simple attachment to a loom has been developed which permits the weaving of abnormally dense cotton fabrics having resistance to the passage of water and wind. This loom attachment is being produced commercially by two manufacturers.

Entirely new fibers with new and improved properties have been prepared from cotton by chemical modification. One such new product is acetylated cotton. It has higher resistance to heat than cotton and most synthetic fibers, and is used in laundry press covers, and ironer roll covers in commercial laundries. Two firms are now manufacturing this next textile product.

One of the disadvantages of cotton fabrics has been the problem of soiling. An antisoiling treatment has been developed by the Department which involves the use of a simple and inexpensive compound in laundry rinse waters. This makes cotton goods harder to soil and easier to clean. Preparations of the antisoiling compound are being manufactured by at least five companies for use as antisoiling treatments for cotton both at home and in commercial laundries.

Because of the lack of uniformity in cotton fibers, it is necessary to have accurate methods of measuring their properties in order to determine their best end usage. A number of new instruments have been developed by the Department and are in use for these purposes. A new dye technique for distinguishing between immature and mature fibers has been of great help to the industry in pinpointing processing problems. The relationship between length and strength of cotton fibers and the spinning of more uniform yarns has been appraised accurately and summarized in convenient-to-use charts for textile mills.

All these developments help to reduce processing costs and improve the quality of cotton fabrics, thus placing the cotton textile industry in a better competitive position with respect to synthetic fibers and aiding the cotton producer by retaining the markets for his product.

The largest new use the Department has found for inedible fats is in the feed field. When the price of these fats dropped to 3½ cents a pound a few years ago, inedible fats actually were cheaper, on a calorie basis, than almost any other feed. Before they

ould be used in feeds, however, it was necesary to show that fats in feeds had value, nd that the fat could be stabilized suitable or such a purpose; this was shown by the Department. As a result of this research, he use of inedible fats in the feed industry xpanded rapidly. The present annual conumption of fats in feeds is now about 250 million pounds. This expanded use for fats as been responsible largely for the increase n price of inedible fats from 3½ to 7 cents a pound.

Other new markets for inedble fats have been developed in the chemical industry, in the plastics industry, and in the hot dip tinning of steels.

Basic research on the development of improved grades of oleic acid has been translated to a commercial scale. Basic methods for the modification of oils and fats have resulted in their use as plasticizers or as stabilizers in plastics. From the earliest days of hot-dip tinning, imported palm oil has been used for this purpose. The work done and confirmed by pilot plant and full mill scale operations demonstrated that modified inedible tallow and greases perform even better than palm oil.

During World War II, the Department developed a new resin from soybean oil. This has been produced on a commercial scale for more than 10 years. It is used for the heat sealing of glassine paper and other food packaging materials. Recently, a paint company showed that the use of this resin in paints leads to the production of a gelled paint. More than 30 companies are now using the resin to manufacture gelled paints.

About 60 million pounds of fats and oils are now being used by industry for these various new uses.

Much of the research work on corn and wheat concerned their use as a motor fuel. The Department obtained valuable information on lowering cost of the production of alcohol from grains. The work showed also that alcohol is an excellent motor fuel either as a blend or by direct injection into the motor. Alcohol-gasoline blends containing 10 to 25 percent alcohol can be used by engines of current model cars and tractors without loss in general performance, provided the fuel is properly blended. Alcohol has definite antiknock value and its wholesale fuel value in a 10-percent blend with gasoline is estimated to be about 14 cents per gallon. To produce alcohol competitive with gasoline, grain would have to sell at from 10 to 25 cents per bushel depending upon the size, location, and efficiency of the plant.

It is now known that there is no technical problem in producing power alcohol from grain, and no technical problem in using it as a liquid fuel. It is known, also, that the use of grains for the production of power alcohol literally would burn up any conceivable surplus we could have in this country. The key problem in this whole matter is the economic one.

Several new fermentation uses for corn which the Department has developed have been commercialized. A new outlet for corn is its fermentation to produce a feed rich in the vitamin riboflavin. A number of companies are using this process now. Approximately one-half of the current production of vitamin B_{12} is produced by new fermentation methods which were discovered by the Department. Another process concerns the production of vitamin B_{12} and an antibiotic which produces favorable growth responses. This also has been translated to a commercial scale. The ready and economic availability of vitamin B_{12} for chick and swine nutrition has contributed greatly to the more efficient production of these important farm commodities. It has been an important factor in their expanded production. This, in turn, has resulted in increased utilization of large quantities of corn.

Processes which the Department has developed for the production of calcium gluconate and sodium gluconate have also been adopted by industry. Sodium gluconate is being produced in increasing quantities for use in the clarification of detergent solutions used in the bottle-washing industry.

A process developed for producing a new type of protein fiber from corn gluten was commercialized several years ago. This new type of fiber, called Vicara, is being produced in large quantities and has properties quite similar to cashmere.

The Department's research, done in cooperation with private breeders and the Iowa State experiment station, has led to the introduction of a new type of corn called waxy corn. Waxy corn produces a unique type of starch which is finding increased use in the pudding and adhesive industry. Several million bushels of this corn are now produced in the Middle West, and its production is expanding.

In part because of defense activities during World War II, less progress has been made on wheat than on any of the other commodities upon which the regional research laboratories were working. During World War II, the Department's research was concerned with extending the uses of wheat in established industries; for example, a process for separating wheat flour into gluten and starch was developed. A number of companies used this process for producing dextrose from the starch. This dextrose was used as an extender for cane and beet sugar which were in short supply. After the war, when dextrose from corn and sugar were freely available, the production of a sweetener from wheat ceased. The Department was requested by the War Production Board to coordinate all activities on the production of alcohol from wheat. The alcohol was used for the production of synthetic rubber. More than 150 million bushels of wheat were used for this purpose. This operation also stopped after the war when our need for feeding Europe was great.

Within the last 3 years major emphasis has been shifted to the development of new and expanded food and industrial uses of wheat.

All told, the developments resulting from utilization research that are now in commercial use number 141. A list of these is attached.

CEREAL AND FORAGE CROPS

1. A new textile fiber from corn protein (zein).
2. Production of riboflavin by Ashbya gossypii.
3. Production of vitamin B_{12} by Streptomyces olivaceus.
4. Fungal amylase process for industrial alcohol.
5. Commercial production of penicillin.
6. Commercial production of clinical dextran—a blood plasma extender.
7. Fermentative production of sodium gluconate.
8. Starch sponge as a hemostatic agent.
9. Saccharic acid and its salts for sequestering agents.
10. Waxy cereal grains as sources of new industrial starches.
11. Batter process for production of starch and gluten from wheat flour.
12. Freezing procedures for bread and other baked products.
13. Waxy rice flour as a thickener for sauces and gravies in prepared frozen foods and canned foods.
14. Improved drying techniques for rough rice.
15. Process for canning white rice.
16. Humidity control during rice milling to improve yields of head rice.
17. Aeration of stored rough rice to maintain high quality.
18. Preservation of vitamins and other nutrients in alfalfa meal with an antioxidant.
19. Addition of vegetable oils or animal fats to dehydrated alfalfa meal to control dusting.
20. Improvement of steeping process in corn wet-milling.
21. Safe drying of corn for industrial utilization.
22. Production of 2-ketogluconic acid by fermentation.
23. Industrial yeasts improved by hybridization.
24. Important micro-organisms made available to industry.
25. Gibberellin—a plant growth regulator.
26. Commercial production of itaconic acid.
27. Corrugating and structural boards from wheat straw.
28. Ground corncobs for soft-grit blast cleaning and other uses.
29. Mechano-chemical process, a new and revolutionary method for producing pulp from straw in high yield and with excellent strength characteristics.

COTTON AND WOOL

1. Cotton conforming bandage.
2. Heat- and rot-resistant cotton by partial acetylation.
3. Use of CMC (carboxymethylcellulose) in laundered goods to improve resistance to soiling.
4. Tobacco shade cloth with longer life.
5. Permanent flame-resistant cotton cloth with THPC (tetrakis-hydroxymethylphosphonium chloride).
6. Loom attachment for weaving dense cotton fabrics—air-permeable but water-impermeable.
7. New machine for more efficient opening and blending of cotton from the bales.
8. Differential dye test to evaluate maturity and dyeing characteristics of raw cottons.
9. Improved nep control through new techniques for carding cotton.
10. New guides for drafting cotton to improve the uniformity and strength of the resultant yarns.
11. Formulas for determining the correct distribution of zone drafts on three types of long draft roving systems.
12. New instrument for measuring fiber properties which aids the development of improved quality cottons with high elongation.
13. Printed cotton fabrics for fertilizer bags suitable for reuse in garments.
14. Stabilization of nitrocellulose in the manufacture of gumcotton from cotton linters.
15. Speedy method for conditioning wool prior to spinning and weaving.
16. Development of objective standards for grading the yellowness of wool.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

1. Process for recovering volatile flavor concentrate (essence) from applies and other fruits for use as a flavor. Enginering design for a fruit-essence recovery unit.
2. Full-flavor superconcentrated fruit juices from apples, grapes, strawberries, cherries, and other fruits.
3. Process for recovery of fruit essences from preserve manufacturing operations.
4. Citrus fruit juice powders—orange, grapefruit, and lemon.
5. Preparation of highly concentrated (6- to 7-fold) frozen citrus juice.
6. Development of color standards for orange juice.
7. Process for production of frozen purees of citrus and other fruits.
8. Flash pasteurization of citrus juice.
9. Frozen concentrated citrus juices.
10. Maturity test for oranges and grapefruit.
11. Method of developing color in citrus fruits by ethylene.
12. Deaeration equipment for use in canning single-strength juices.
13. Dehydrofreezing of apples.
14. Frozen concentrated strawberry and other berry juices.
15. Treatment of berry picking boxes with sodium orthophenyl phenate to control mold.

16. Method for removing thrips, etc., from cane berries.
17. Ripening procedure for freestone peaches for canning.
18. Ripening methods for juice apples.
19. Process for canning dates.
20. Pectin enzyme control in tomato product manufacture.
21. Tomato juice powder.
22. Dehydrofreezing of pimientos.
23. Objective indexes of quality deterioration in frozen fruits and vegetables during distribution.
24. Low temperature lye peeling for prepeeled potatoes.
25. Improvements in dehydrated diced potatoes and potato granules.
26. Starch-coated dehydrated diced carrots.
27. Control of delay off flavor in frozen peas.
28. Improved procedure for blanching green beans for freezing.
29. Inpackage desiccation (for citrus and tomato powders, potato chips, hard candies, and dehydrated vegetables).
30. Froth flotation cleaning of vegetables for processing.
31. Single-pass evaporator with steam-injection heating for use in concentration and pasteurization of juices.
32. Fluidized bed drier for use in the production of potato granules.
33. Airlift drier for use in the production of potato granules.
34. Belt-trough drier for use in dehydrofreezing or dehydration.
35. Design for a laboratory fermenter (the Humfeld fermenter).
36. Procedure for measuring frozen food temperature in unbroken cases without sacrifice of product.
37. Use of nuclear magnetic resonance for automatically controlling moisture content of processed agricultural products.
38. Pasteurization process for fresh-pack pickle products.
39. Reduction of losses in cucumber pickling by removing the replacing brine, thus reducing enzyme action which causes soft stock.
40. Process for preparation of chlorophyll, xanthophyll, and carotene from leaf meals.

OILSEEDS

1. Polyamide resins from soybean oil for use in gelled paints, adhesives, and printing inks.
2. Soybean protein adhesives for shotgun shell casings and water-resistant boxboard.
3. Soybean oil of improved flavor stability.
4. Improved procedures in production of isolated soybean protein.
5. A process for removing the beany and bitter flavor of soybean products and for improving their color.
6. Nitrogen solubility index—an analytical procedure used to control the processing of soybean oil meal.
7. Taste panel procedures for evaluation of soybean oil and other edible fats.
8. Dimer acid, a new industrial raw material from vegetable oils.
9. High shear agitation to improve the refining of crude cottonseed oils.
10. Improved preparation of cottonseed for direct solvent extraction.
11. New filtration-extraction process for oilseeds.
12. Nonclogging, vapor-tight, screw conveyor for continuously feeding oilseed flakes to solvent-extraction systems.
13. Improved recovery of solvent and improved color of oil from cottonseed solvent-extraction plants.
14. High-quality cottonseed meal for feeding to poultry and swine.
15. Chemically modified cottonseed oil (acetoglycerides) for use in cosmetics.
16. Methods for determining gossypol in cottonseed meats, meal, and oil.
17. Improved method for determining moisture in peanut kernels.
18. Improved tung-oil vehicle formulations for use in paints.
19. Improved methods for handling and processing tung nuts.

SUGAR AND SPECIAL PLANTS

1. Improved techniques for processing sugarcane.
2. Reduction of losses in sugar content and purity by prompt grinding of sugarcane.
3. Recovery of aconitic acid from sugarcane molasses.
4. Improved yield of beet sugar through reduction of fermentation in extractors.
5. Basic studies leading to method for removing floc-forming materials during processing of sugar beets.
6. High-flavor maple sirup.
7. Dial thermometer for use in maple sirup manufacture.
8. Sanitary handling of maple sap.
9. Color standards for official grading of maple sirup and extracted honey.
10. Honey-fruit spread.
11. Production and pharmaceutical use of rutin and quercitrin.
12. Development of steam turpentine still.
13. Development and introduction of Olustee process of pine gum cleaning.
14. Covered separateor and dehydrator for removing water from turpentine.
15. Improved removal of rosin acids from gum turpentine.
16. Steam cleaning of dip barrels.
17. Continuous still for the production of turpentine and rosin.
18. Process for production of myrcene.
19. A new chemical, maleopimaric acid, produced directly from pine gum and made available for use in plastics, photographic chemicals and printing inks.
20. The use of paramenthane hydroperoxide—produced from turpentine—as a catalyst in the manufacture of synthetic rubber.

POULTRY, DAIRY AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

1. Processing methods for producing satisfactory dried eggs.
2. Sterilization of shell eggs by high temperature treatment for a very short time.
3. Modifications of scalding and chilling procedures in the freezing and storage of poultry to reduce labor and avoid toughness of product.
4. Feather meal for fertilizer and feed uses.
5. Dairy waste disposal system which prevents stream pollution.
6. Improved heat exchanger for high-temperature pasteurization of milk.
7. Improvements in cheese manufacture.
8. Use of whey in caramels and in other candies and foods.
9. Use of butter in candies increased by using yeast to lengthen shelf life.
10. Use of soaps made from animal fats in manufacture of synthetic rubber.
11. Improved keeping quality of farm-rendered lard.
12. Animal fats in industrial tinplating.
13. Process for making high-quality technical oleic acid.
14. Vinyl stearate from fats for use in new-type plastics.
15. Epoxidized fats and oils for use in plastics.
16. Use of technical grade fats in animal and poultry feeds.
17. Synthetic detergents from fats.

Importation of Crude Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

THIRTEEN COMPANIES IN EFFECT OBJECT TO THE UNFAIRNESS OF RESTRICTIONS ON OIL IMPORTS

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, my colleagues will recall that I have consistently opposed plans for arbitrary restrictions on importation of foreign crude oil. I have pointed out again and again that such restrictions are unfair to the consumers of this Nation because the restrictions interfere with the law of supply and demand. The restrictions artificially limit the supply of oil, especially at a time when oil demand is rising.

A further reason for my opposition to these restrictions is that they inherently discriminate between specific American oil companies. As proof of that fact, I should like to cite an article published in the August 9 Wall Street Journal. It shows that of the 22 companies affected by the administration's so-called voluntary plan to curb imports, 9 have asked the Government to change their quotas of import ceilings. Two more indicate they will need adjustments later on.

Thus, approximately 50 percent of the oil companies affected regard the limitations as being unfair. They may not be in a position frankly to say so. But they can hardly enjoy the fact that the Federal Government is, in effect, arbitrarily limiting their profits, their return on overseas investment. Uncle Sam is once again arbitrarily doing what the NRA or the OPA and other meddlesome Government agencies with slide rules tried so unsuccessfully to do—to say who can sell how much.

Even those companies which do not feel themselves too adversely affected by oil imports cannot help realizing that they themselves are a party to putting the camel's nose of Government interference under the tent. They themselves are allowing bureaucratic hands to direct them as to what they should do and should not do. The so-called voluntary facade fools no one.

All in all, slavish acceptance of Federal dictation is a strange position for a great industry which prides itself on free enterprise to put itself in.

Let me say that I well realize that the 13 oil companies which indicate they will comply for the time being are not exactly in a free and unhindered position. None of them, I am sure, particularly likes to displease the administration in Washington. So the response which the Government has received is probably nothing like an accurate indication of the real feelings of these companies. In effect, the two companies which criticized the whole plan probably speak the sentiments of many other companies as well.

of them are trying to make the best what they undoubtedly all feel is a bad uation—a situation in which the Gov- nment is meddling with free enterprise. In conclusion, I say that independent oducers of Texas who pride themselves being great champions of free enter- ise may themselves one day regret their viting the camel of Government boss- n into their tent.

I ask unanimous consent that the arti- to which I have referred be printed the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article s ordered to be printed in the RECORD, follows:

E OIL CONCERNS ASK GOVERNMENT TO BOOST CRUDE IMPORT CEILINGS—TWO OTHERS MAY WANT VOLUNTARY CURBS EASED IN FUTURE; ELEVEN GO ALONG WITH QUOTAS SET

WASHINGTON.—Nine of the twenty-two mpanies affected by the administration's luntary plan to curb crude-oil imports ve asked the Government for immediate osts in their assigned import ceilings. Two more have indicated they may need justments in the foreseeable future, the terior Department, which will administer voluntary scheme, disclosed.

The remaining 11 companies have indi- ted they will stick with their assigned otas, but two of these have voiced criti- m of the whole plan, which is designed to mit crude-oil imports into the United ates to 1,031,000 barrels a day on the basis current demand. Imports recently have en running at a 1,200,000-barrel daily rate.

The companies' intentions were contained telegrams sent to Capt. Matthew V. Car- n, Jr., recently named special assistant to terior Secretary Seaton to administer the luntary program. They were in reply to legrams sent out last weekend by Captain rson informing the companies of their re- ective ceilings and urging their coopera- n.

Hearings will probably have to be held to nsider complaints by seven companies, ptain Carson said. These are Atlantic fining Co., Tidewater Oil Co., Sinclair Oil rp., Northwestern Refining Co., St. Paul, ndard Oil Co. (Ohio), Standard Oil Co. diana) and Eastern States Petroleum Co., uston.

Two other oil-importing concerns, Lake perior Refining Co., Superior, Wis., and ternational Refineries, Inc., have asked for justments but apparently do not seek arings.

Phillips Petroleum Co., Bartlesville, Okla., d Great Northern Oil, St. Paul, Minn., in- ated they might need adjustments at me future date.

Captain Carson said he hopes to schedule arings beginning possibly at the end of t week and said he believes they will not long. He added he is confident com- nies will adhere to the voluntary plan, ce it is infinitely preferable to manda- y controls which, the President warned, y be necessary if the 1-year plan does work.

Under the voluntary plan, upward adjust- nts in import allotments of individual mpanies presumably would have to be at expense of other companies, assuming were using their entire quotas.

Sun Oil Co. and Socony Mobil Oil Co. also ticized the plan. Robert G. Dunlop, sident of the Philadelphia-based Sun Oil, d his company will trim imports from present 58,000-barrel daily average to its 400-barrel allotment by next April.

The nine companies offering unqualified pport of the plan are Texas Co., Cities vice Co., Gulf Oil Corp., Shell Oil Corp., ndard Oil Co. (New Jersey); Standard Oil mpany of California, Lakeland Pipe Line , Toronto, Ont.; Gabriel Oil Co., Interna- tional Falls, Minn., and Southwestern Oil & Refining Co., Corpus Christi, Tex. Together with Sun and Socony they account for about 350,000 of the 755,700 barrels allotted to the 22 affected companies.

Drought Again in the Southwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in Texas and in the Southwest United States, from 1950 to the spring of this year, we suffered the worst drought in 600 years. Then we had 70 days of flooding rains. The floods were so widespread that it was generally thought that the long drought was finally broken.

Unfortunately, there are signs appearing now that this hope was premature. The drought again is rearing its ugly head. These signs underscore the urgency for helping the stricken farmers in the stricken areas.

Raymond Holbrook, an Associated Press reporter, has written a story after a survey of the Southwest area. I ask unanimous consent that his story as published in the Abilene Reporter News on August 11, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DROUGHT AGAIN REARS UGLY HEAD IN SOUTHWEST AREAS

(By Raymond Holbrook)

DALLAS, August 10.—The weather-battered Southwest, whose parched scars are being slowly covered by the first real crops and grass in years, is again anxiously scanning its treacherous skies.

There has been no happy medium to the Southwest's weather.

In the past 7 months the region has been swept from one of the worst droughts in its history through a sucession of destructive blizzards, dust storms, tornadoes, cloudbursts, and floods to what some fear may be the hint of another drought.

Many crops in southwestern States are again feeling the water pinch. It is beginning to look remarkably like the Southwest of last year—a land of famine and debt.

When President Eisenhower flew to the Southwest in January he found vast areas devastated by drought in a region extending from Arizona and Utah eastward into Missouri.

Twenty-nine million acres—nearly twice the area of the old dust bowl of the mid-1930's—in Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska had suffered wind erosion damage.

Many ranchers had been forced to sell all cattle except a few foundation head. Farmers told of going 3 and 4 years without making a single crop. Some farms were abandoned. Reservoirs shriveled to muddy puddles.

Then in March, a blizzard that lasted nearly a week swept across the Southwest. Between 60,000 and 70,000 head died.

WELCOME RAIN

The first rains were welcomed, hailed as drought busters as they continued.

In some places they fell slowly but in many others they were violent downpours, washing away top soil, sweeping away livestock and flooding lowlands. Early plantings were washed out while in other areas farmers had to wait weeks and months before they could get into the fields.

At scores of southwestern points the downpours were the first real rain in years.

Major County, Okla., which had only 4.17 inches in 7 months last year, recorded a whooping 30.24 for the 7 months ended this June 1.

LUSH PASTURES

Once the rains and floods ended, the Southwest was like a new land. Rangeland and pastures became lush for the first times in years. For the first time in 5 years it appeared that Kansas would be able to have enough pasture and crops to feed its own livestock. Pastures there were rated 84 percent of normal July 1, compared to 46 percent a year before.

Ranges in Colorado became so good that a shortage of cattle was noted at the Denver stockyards as stockmen were able to hold their animals longer than in previous years. On July 1, the condition of all range and pasture feed in Texas stood at 86 percent, the highest for that date since 1949.

While damage from excessive moisture, hail, and wind took the edge off the highest hopes of growers, the wheat crop in most of the Southwest was considerably better than in previous years.

The soaking rains did more than revive pastures and crops. They filled stock tanks and municipal reservoirs and restored badly depleted subsoil moisture. Southwest farmers and ranchers, for the first time in years, were able to stop borrowing and to start buying.

HIGH TEMPERATURES

But high temperatures, hot summer winds, fast disappearing surface moisture—and no recent rains—are taking the bloom already from the Southwest's improved agriculture.

Some areas, especially New Mexico and far-west Texas, did not receive enough rain to revive the drought-ridden land. In other sections, pastures and crops that were verdant a month ago, have begun to turn brown for lack of moisture.

C. G. Gibson, director of the Texas Extension Service said in a recent report, "late crops, delayed by wet fields during spring planting season, now are wilting under the strain in many areas. Pastures and ranges are becoming brown."

RAIN NEEDED

Alfred C. Brittain, United States Department of Agriculture crop and marketing statistician for Missouri warned that corn, soybeans, cotton, hay, and pastures are going to need more rain during August.

Even Nebraska, which "got off easy" in the drought and has had good rains this spring, reports additional moisture needed in some sections.

Farmers and ranchers in the area have a saying: "There's nothing wrong with this country that a good rain won't cure."

But in the Southwest, there's a mighty fine line between disaster from too little water and catastrophe from too much water.

Airborne Drunks and Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excel-

lent editorial from the August 15, 1957, issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer entitled "Airborne Drunks and Safety." Hearings have just been concluded on my bill, S. 4, which would promote air safety by prohibiting the service or consumption of alcoholic beverages aboard aircraft. I hope the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee will order this bill favorably reported before the Congress adjourns.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIRBORNE DRUNKS AND SAFETY

Just about a year ago there was widespread controversy over problems raised by excessive drinking in planes. When it seemed possible that legislation might pass Congress, the airlines agreed to put their own limits on the serving of liquor aloft.

That those limits have been ineffective is suggested by the fact that Congress is considering new legislation to ban liquor sales on airliners, and by the further fact that such legislation is strongly supported by the Air Line Pilots Association and the Air Line Stewards and Stewardesses Association.

The issue here is not one of prohibition, but one of safety. Who should know better about that question than the pilots?

It is argued that there is not much point in banning liquor sales in flights when drunks are permitted abroad, carrying bottles. But the pilots point out that civil air regulations now forbid tipsy persons to board planes, but they are not enforced and drunks are able to get liquor abroad, anyway.

The answer is that, if safety will be promoted, the sales should be banned on commercial flights; while the ban on admitting tipsy passengers should be enforced.

Probably the crudest argument for serving liquor aloft is put forward by Civil Aeronautics Board Chairman Chan Gurney. He says to ban liquor would hurt United States airlines competing with foreign carriers. That certainly sets a low price on human life.

Some day a tragedy may settle this matter once and for all. Meanwhile, we are prepared to stick with the pilots on the issue.

Hog Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, farmers hold the key to future hog prices. If the favorable prices and feeding ratio now enjoyed by producers prompt overexpansion of hog production, heavy supplies could easily bring about lower prices as past experience clearly demonstrates.

Too many hogs leads to inefficient use of resources with accompanying low prices and incomes as producers well remember from their experiences in 1949 and 1955. In 1949, hog producers increased the pig crop by 10 million head and hog prices dropped $5 to $6 per hundred. Again in 1954, producers increased total production by 9 million hogs, followed by another 9 million head increase in 1955. Hog market prices dropped sharply.

On the other hand as production is reduced, prices go up. Hog producers made a cut of 7.5 million hogs in production in 1956. Hog prices have been running from $18 to $21 per hundred at Midwestern markets during recent weeks. A year ago prices, while markets were recovering from heavy 1955-crop marketings, were as much as $5 per hundred less.

There have been periods when prices have held when hog numbers expanded but usually this was during a period when demand was high due to emergencies such as World War II and the Korean war. In 1941, the United States Department of Agriculture asked for an increase in production and prices held in the war period. With stable production in years following the war, prices stayed high in 1946, 1947, and 1948.

Hog production was increased in 19[illegible] and 1951, but prices held due to [illegible] Korean war. Sizable reductions in 19[illegible] and 1953 production increased the pri[illegible] of hogs in 1953 and 1954.

The past shows that when productio[illegible] is balanced with demand, hog produce[illegible] receive satisfactory prices. If produc[illegible] tion remains on an even keel during th[illegible] coming months, price prospects for hog[illegible] should be favorable.

It is hoped that producers will contin[illegible] to avoid excessive increases at the time o[illegible] breeding for the 1958 spring pig cro[illegible] Production of meat-type hogs market[illegible] at 225 pounds or less, will also insur[illegible] better hog prices as well as more por[illegible] exports, which all help to stabilize ho[illegible] prices at a proper level.

Year	Pig crop	Slaughtered	Average farm price point of 1st sale per 100 pounds	
1940	79,900,000	77,610,000	$5.40	
1941	85,000,000	71,397,000	9.10	Increase production World War II; prices up; slaughter decrease.
1942	104,900,000	78,547,000	13.00	Increase production World War II; prices up; slaughter increase.
1943	121,800,000	95,226,000	13.70	Do.
1944	86,700,000	98,068,000	13.10	Do.
1945	86,800,000	71,891,000	14.00	Increase production World War II; prices up; slaughter decrease.
1946	82,700,000	76,115,000	17.50	Lower production; prices up; slaughter increase.
1947	83,300,000	74,001,000	24.10	Normal production; prices up; slaughter decrease.
1948	83,800,000	70,869,000	23.10	Do.
1949	93,200,000	74,997,000	18.10	Increase production; prices drop; slaughter increase.
1950	97,400,000	79,263,000	18.00	Korean war; price held; slaughter increase.
1951	100,609,000	85,540,000	20.00	Do.
1952	88,800,000	86,572,000	17.80	Lower production; price held until September; slaughter decrease.
1953	77,900,000	74,368,000	21.40	Lower production; price up; slaughter decrease.
1954	86,800,000	71,495,000	21.60	Increase production; price drop; slaughter increase.
1955	95,700,000	81,058,000	15.00	Lower production; price started up May; slaughter increase.
1956	89,700,000	85,216,000	14.40	Normal production; price up; slaughter decrease.
1957	90,200,000	80,700,000	[1] 17.50	

[1] Estimated.

America's Crusade for Free Men's Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently Miss Joanne Andrews, Route 3, Ozark, Ala., won the statewide award in the VFW Ladies' Auxiliary contest. The subject of Joanne's essay was America's Crusade for Free Men's Rights.

The essay is a very fine and thought-provoking paper, which all of us can read with profit.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S CRUSADE FOR FREE MEN'S RIGHTS

"This is my country, land that I love." That is only a line from a song, but they are replete with feeling for those of us who do love America—and that is indeed all of us. What is America's most priceless asset? Is it the limitless natural resources, its matchless national wealth, or numerous other qualities? No, I think it is the character of its people, with their inexhaustible energy, their boundless courage, their indomitable self-confidence, their transcendent vision, their sleepless initiative, and perhaps above all, their inherent irrepressible optimism is the true glory of Americ[illegible]

Had it not been for those courageou[illegible] crusaders for freedom in 1776, America woul[illegible] not be the free Nation that it is today. [illegible] was not easy—winning our freedom fro[illegible] the British. Our ancestors fought for 5 lon[illegible] hard years in order for men to have the[illegible] free rights. The day we signed our Declara[illegible] tion of Independence, we could not read ou[illegible] future in the stars—there were times w[illegible] wondered. Time has proven, however, tha[illegible] it was the right road, and the only road [illegible] freedom—and proudly we walked that ro[illegible] to victory.

Today, as then, it is our job as loyal Amer[illegible] icans to crusade against the forces tha[illegible] would destroy our country. The fate of ou[illegible] Nation and of humanity is in our hand[illegible] now, and, we must carry on what our fore[illegible] fathers started.

Shakespeare wrote, "And you all know s[illegible] curity is mortals' chiefest enemy." We, [illegible] individuals must be on constant guar[illegible] against sacrificing our freedom to becom[illegible] slaves to security. For every benefit w[illegible] gain, we have to pay a price. Oftentime[illegible] that price is a part of our freedom. An[illegible] man in America has the free right to wo[illegible] at any job that he pleases. The man wh[illegible] drives the plow in the field or swings his a[illegible] in the forest, or with cunning fingers pli[illegible] the tools of his craft, is as truly a patriot o[illegible] his country as the statesman in the Senat[illegible] or the soldier in battle. Let us remember[illegible] the price of our freedom—and that to pro[illegible] tect and preserve it, we must be constant[illegible]

lant against every tendency in our politi- economic, and social life to weaken the ndation of private enterprise and free itutions upon which our Nation has been t in its greatness and strength.

e Americans have more privileges, com- s, conveniences, and opportunities than other people in the world. We get some- g out of life because we have a real in- tive to put something into life. This ntry rewards intitiative, ingenuity, and illingness to work. We dream, here in erica—then, strive to make our dreams e true. That is what we call the Amer- way and it will be that way as long as remain a free enterprising country that etermined to hold fast our rights of rty. As long as we continue to crusade all that the American way means—cru- e in our every walk of life with vision forethought, with determination and rifice: and with brotherly love and prayer. This is my country, land that I love." s just a line from a song until we put souls into it, and give it meaning. Then breathe life into these words, and make it d for anything we believe in, and refuse ive without.

Attack on the Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I unanimous consent to have printed the Appendix of the RECORD the edi- ial entitled "A Subtle Attack on the ht To Know," from the August 14, 7, issue of the Savannah (Ga.) ening Press.

There being no objection, the editorial s ordered to be printed in the RECORD, follows:

SUBTLE ATTACK ON THE RIGHT TO KNOW

he unidentified author of the so-called l-rights bill that bears the imprimatur of Attorney General of the United States tainly had a strange and distorted view of h rights. As this fact emerged in the t of the Senate debate and the explora- into the real import of the language of bill, courageous Senators saw to it that dious sections of the bill were eliminated that the great, hard-won civil right of l by jury was written into the act. There ains, however, one provision that, in our nion, needs to be eliminated lest the right the public to know be dangerously tailed.

he provision to which we refer is one of e subtle sort of attacks on freedom of rmation wrapped up in the specious ar- ment that secrecy is essential to full in- y. In our view, and the facts of history bear us out, the contrary is true. Se- y, sessions in camera, executive sessions, se the more modern expression, or call m what you will, produce results weighted the side of those who wish them to pro- e predetermined ideas. This is so be- se the purifying light of publicity is with- d and the people know only what the ers that be want to let them know.

he civil-rights bill as it now stands, even r the vital amendments made in the Sen- gives to the proposed commission on in- y into civil-rights problems the authori- to hold hearings in the open or behind ed doors. The closed door provision is enough, but coupled with this punitive condition becomes absolutely intolerable: Any who released or used information obtained by the commission behind closed doors, in executive session, would be fined up to $1,000, or jailed for a year. This provision undoubtedly raises a question of censorship of the press, for, as succinctly pointed out by an Associated Press news analyst, the word "used" would seem to mean that a newspaperman who got such information—and used it—could be fined or jailed. A court might, and perhaps would, so interpret it.

If the bill becomes law it become one of the major news developers during the next few years. We do not believe it is to be seriously disputed that it would be a direct trespass on the public's right to know for newspapermen to be subject to fine or imprisonment for reporting executive sessions.

This newest instance of the fact that there is more to the civil-rights bill than meets the eye is to us further confirmation of the belief that the authors of the bill intended it to be that way. We urge the Senators who have been so diligently successful in protecting civil rights from invasion by juryless courts, aye, even, by Federal troops, insist that the secrecy provisions under which men of devious purpose might work, be eliminated. We ask this not in the name of newspapermen, who seek no special privileges in the pursuit of their work, but for the public—for the people who have a right to know.

Let's Remember Hungary on the Day of St. Stephen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on August 20 Americans of Hungarian descent will once again celebrate the Day of St. Stephen. This year, however, this national holiday has significance to more than just those of Hungarian birth and ancestry. It is meaningful to everybody who cherishes liberty and national independence, because the name of Hungary has become a symbol of dedication to those principles.

The heroic revolt of last October and November has had enormous political significance throughout the world. It provided living proof that communism as an ideology has failed completely to win the hearts and minds of men, and that it is only by brute force that the Soviet tyrants are able to hold power. The revelation of the naked terror of their power shocked all civilized mankind.

The report of the United Nations investigating committee has now confirmed the tragic evidence of last fall. We all look forward to the meeting of the U. N. General Assembly on September 10 when this report will be discussed and the hypocrisy and shame of international communism will be written on the record by the representatives of free nations everywhere.

I hope that our own Government has learned from the experience of Hungary and that no longer will it sit by just waiting for something to happen. It is time now to prepare a positive program toward ultimate liberation of Hungary and her neighbors behind the Iron Curtain. A mutual withdrawal of troops from Central Europe, so that Soviet bayonets would no longer bolster the puppet regime in Budapest, might well be the first step toward freedom.

Let us celebrate the Day of St. Stephen this year with the glory of 1956 in our hearts and the opportunities of 1958 in our minds.

Resolutions Adopted by the 82d Airborne at Their 11th Annual Reunion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, the 11th annual reunion of the famed 82d Airborne Division recently took place in Cincinnati, Ohio. These men whose fearlessness and devotion to their country was one of the brilliant chapters of World War II have continued to concern themselves with problems of our national security. The following are the resolutions of the convention adopted on July 5, 1957, which I call to the attention of the Members for their very serious consideration:

RESOLUTIONS OF 82D AIRBORNE DIVISION

Whereas veterans of the 82d Airborne Division, meeting in convention for the eleventh time, foregathering to renew the esprit d'corps for which that group of 56,000 veterans is justly proud, to join again in tribute to its honored dead, and to consider the problems of national defense; and

Whereas the United States Army maintains at least four separate parachute training centers, duplicating resources and training personnel; and

Whereas the world situation necessitates the need for fully trained and equipped airborne divisions, ready to move into any area of the world in an emergency; and

Whereas our national economy and defensive demands require the careful budgeting and expenditure of our tax dollars; and

Whereas the Parachute School at Fort Benning, Ga. proved during World War II the value of a central training center to supply parachute troops for active combat duty; and

Whereas such a central training center for parachutists would be a necessity in the event of war, when our airborne divisions would be quickly assigned military objections outside the national boundaries: Therefore be it

Resolved, That an Airborne Forces Training Center be established for the purpose of supplying trained personnel to all the airborne divisions; and further be it

Resolved, That the basic airborne training of parachutists elsewhere cease immediately on the establishment of the Airborne Forces Training Center.

Whereas the Military Establishment is desperately in need of a means for attracting and retaining persons with scientific, professional, combat leadership and management skills necessary to maintain a deterrent power; and

Whereas the Armed Forces do not presently have the means to compete for trained personnel urgently needed for the defense of this country, and a significant factor in their

inability to do so is the inadequacy of the present compensation practices now in use to bring military pay more in line with the pay standards of industry and to offer greater reenlistment incentive for highly trained personnel: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be urged to take favorable action to revise the existing pay structure now in use in the Armed Forces along the lines proposed by the Cordiner committee; and be it further

Resolved, That inasmuch as the parachute is a most hazardous form of transportation into battle, it is recommended that the hazardous-duty pay scale as provided by the Cordiner report be applicable to all paratroopers as well as to the submariners of the Navy and the fliers of the Air Force.

Whereas the veterans of America's first airborne division are fully conscious of the serious world situation and feel that it is not only their privilege but now it is their duty to express their opinion regarding the future of our Army and the survival of our country; and

Whereas we can foresee an important need for increased development of greater mobility, flexibility, and higher concentration of firepower within our Armed Forces; and

Whereas the Army, with its increased mobility and striking power stationed in strategic locations, is a major deterrent to aggression, and the role of the Army in any future wars will be decisive: Therefore be it

Resolved by this convention, That the limitations imposed on the Army by the Department of Defense regarding Army missiles, limiting the range to 200 miles, be reevaluated to be more in line with the rapidly changing concepts of future warfare; and be it further

Resolved, That the airborne forces be supplied, as an integral part of its tables of organization and equipment, with the types of aircraft such as helicopters, convertiplanes, and the C–130 aircraft necessary for the accomplishment of its missions.

Military Land Withdrawals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I have taken a very active stand in opposing the proposed Navy's so-called modified application to withdraw more than a million acres of land in Pershing County, Nev., designated as the Sahwave Mountain Range. H. R. 5538, introduced by Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, chairman of the Interior Committee, would prohibit the withdrawal of any public lands in excess of 5,000 acres for military purposes without the consent of Congress. That bill has been amended by a subcommittee of the Senate Interior Committee to except from the provisions of the bill the Navy's application referred to above. If the Senate approves the bill as amended, it will in all probability go to conference.

Since it is probable that this legislation may again be considered by the House, I ask permission to have inserted in the record an editorial by Bill Jenkins that I believe tells the story more colorfully and realistic than it has heretofore been told.

The editorial which appeared in the Herald and News, Klamath Falls, Oreg., is as follows:

HOLDOUT

(By Bill Jenkins)

My admiration of John Prather, the New Mexico rancher who has so stubbornly defied the Government and the Army in their attempts to oust him from his ranch, continues to grow.

If there was anything I could do personally to help I'd be more than glad to take off for the southern regions and lend a hand.

Prather, in my opinion, is fighting for more than a piece of land. He's fighting for an old American principle and hammering the first wedge into what well may become a fresh split in ideologies.

You are all familiar with the story. Prather, who homesteaded his ranch more than 50 years ago and since has built it up into a 27,000-acre holding, has been ordered off the land because the Army wants to add it to their already huge guided-missile range. He maintains that he wants to keep the ranch for his heirs and that he wants to die there.

Prather is 82 years old.

Yesterday he left the land for the first time since the battle started and was promptly served with papers depriving him of all but 15 acres of the ranch. Deputy marshals had already moved in on the ranch and driven off Prather's cattle. They tried to drive him off, too, but quailed in the face of the old man and his trusty smoke pole and left without carrying out the orders from the court.

It poses a problem for all of us. The business of turning over huge areas of land to the various armed services for use as bombgrounds has gone too far already. The combined services already control millions of acres of land, much of it productive range and farm land, and are reaching out for more. There is no cooperation between services and they all stoutly maintain that they must have their own grounds; cannot share with the other services.

It would seem that our tax-supported national-defense agencies feel that national security rests on one shoulder only, not the combined abilities of ground, sea, and air forces. Personal initiative in business is one thing, squabbling over power and rights among the Armed Forces is another.

I think it is high time that the Pentagon and the halls of Congress took some note of what is going on. The threat is pretty close to home as far as we are concerned. The Navy is currently trying to grab off huge portions of land lying immediately adjacent to southern Oregon. The old idea that it can't happen here is out the window. It not only can happen here but just might happen any day.

If John Prather's hopes and dreams and years of hard work go down the drain he will be merely one of the first men to head down that lonely heartbreak trail. But there will be a horde behind him. And any of us could be numbered in that sorrowful troop.

Elton Layton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT HALE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, I regret that the time was not available on July 31 when some of my colleagues addressed the House for me also to be recognized to speak about the service of Elton Layton to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which he has been clerk since the year 1921. All of us of the committee lament, though we cannot question, his decision to resign this summer.

There are very few records to equal his in length of service and none that surpasses his in diligence, fidelity, and efficiency as clerk of a great standing committee. The very word "clerk," when applied to an official of a committee like that of Interstate and Foreign Commerce, is misleading. The duties of the clerk are only incidentally clerical. He has formidable administrative tasks and formidable administrative responsibilities in working with the chairman of the committee to schedule all its hearings, maintaining relations with the thousands who follow the committee's legislative schedule, and overseeing the work of a staff of subordinates. Added to this there are a multiplicity of details which may not be overlooked.

Elton Layton is a paragon of efficiency. I have never known him to forget anything or to make a slip or mistake of any kind. On trips of the committee, I have seen Elton attending to his duties on at least three continents in Tropic heat and Arctic cold. I am certain he would have been equally good on the other two. I have never known him to get confused or flustered. Public service of this character deserves all the recognition that we can get. The Nation owes far more than it realizes to the experience, competence and devotion of Elton Layton and the very few people like him who run the machinery which as all Members know is indispensable to the work of a great congressional committee.

Having served on the committee for 11 years now, I have come to number Elton among my most valued friends. It is a privilege to pay him this tribute and to wish him long life and great happiness.

We shall miss him.

Southern Railway Rejects Freight Rate Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following release from the Southern Railway System:

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 13, 1957.—"Southern Railway does not intend to increase any freight rate where such action will price us out of the market and reduce our net income," Harry A. DeButts, the railway's president, said today in a statement commenting on the freight rate increases recently authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

outhern didn't ask for this increase, not because we don't need the money. ailroads need more money, for the rate eturn on investment has been discourag- y low in the railroad industry for years. it's our opinion that higher freight rates ly mean a merry-go-round ride to no- re for us in today's bitterly competitive sportation business.

e are tired of seeing more and more ht which by its very nature belongs on ails being carried, instead, by our sub- ed competitors. And we are convinced the principal reason is constantly ad- ing rail rates. This gives our subsidized petitors the chance to skim off the cream ur most desirable and profitable traf- while they ignore traffic they don't want arry. They happily allow us to have t's left, knowing we're obligated by law andle volume. It's our bread and but- We want more business, not less.

e believe we can get and hold the vol- of business our modern railroad now eared to handle by keeping our rates n, even lowering them when conditions ify. We know that it is through a large me of traffic that Southern can best and cheaply 'manufacture' transportation— g money for our customers, and mak- ome for ourselves. That's what we are rmined to try.

s to our position in this rate case, we that it has been a sound one, and in public interest. Certainly it already has ed those interested in the well-being of transportation industry to give serious ght to the dangerous effect of upward- ling freight rates."

West Point Plans Stiffer Selection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

r. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the York Times lists the following in- nation which I trust will be of in- st to the House:

m the New York Times of August 16, 1957]

T POINT PLANS STIFFER SELECTION—LEAD- SHIP, PHYSICAL TESTS ADDED TO STANDARDS N COMPETITIVE APPOINTEES

EST POINT, N. Y., August 15.—A new pro- re for selecting cadets among competi- appointees to the United States Military demy was announced today.

e new system is intended to raise the dards for incoming cadets. It will af- about 15 percent of each class, or about of the 735 young men who are admitted ually. The system will be used for the entering the Academy next July.

der the new procedure, competitive ap- tees will be selected on the basis of their tal abilities, physical aptitude, and lead- ip potential. Previously, only the scores ined on the college entrance examination d mental tests were used to establish order of entrance for these candidates.

mpetitive appointees include those ed by the President of the United States, e from the Regular and Reserve compo- s of the Army and Air Force, sons of ased veterans, and graduates of honor tary and naval schools. The noncom- tive appointees are those nominated by resentatives and Senators.

ABILITIES TO BE TESTED

Mental abilities will be determined by the competitive candidate's record in the scholastic aptitude test and achievement tests in intermediate mathematics and English composition, given by the college board in March, and his scholastic standing in his high-school graduating class.

Physical autitude will be determined by the West Point physical aptitude test, which will be given with the college board's tests.

Leadership potential will be determined by a review of the candidate's extracurricular activities at schools attended, and by confidential appraisals furnished by school principals, teachers, guidance counselors, and others.

The Academy's Academic Board will have responsibility for the final selection of all competitive candidates.

The 17th of Series of Editorials by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert the 17th of a series of editorial letters by F. F. McNaughton appearing in the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.

The letter follows:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of August 9, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S WIFE SPEAKS TODAY

Here's a mystery.

Maybe it tells nothing.

But this happens.

My hearing aid is very sensitive. It is quick to detect unusual electric currents.

Last time we were in Moscow we (largely out of curiosity because the boys were along) hunted the hidden microphones in the rooms.

Russia then was a "police state." People disappeared, never to be heard of again.

So we were cautious.

But this time we came into Russia totally carefree. We are not whispering; not hunting hidden microphones; not looking over our shoulders.

But this has happened:

At two points in our rooms, my hearing aid acts up.

It beeps.

It has about the rhythm of a busy signal on a telephone line.

It could be the hidden monitor on the telephone line.

It may be an alive microphone, hidden somewhere to record all our conversation.

May not be anything.

One thing is certain: I do not get that noise anywhere else.

It is sure that, if they wanted to record our conversation, they would have no compunctions of conscience whatsoever against doing it.

Also it is sure that we are not concerned about it and are not paying any heed to it. We have nothing to say that we are not willing to have any Russian hear.

Mister Mac wrote a letter to Logan Unland telling an experience that was not for feminine reading. He started the letter off with an apology to the Russian censor (who undoubtedly would be a woman) for having to read "such stuff."

The So-Called Civil-Rights Bill With Senate Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, the so-called civil-rights bill, which passed the House of Representatives over my strenuous objections and vote, has been amended by the Senate and returned to the House. After its passage by the Senate, however, some very serious flaws in the Senate version have been discovered. It is now conceded by the proponents of the bill in both bodies that the bill as passed by the Senate must be changed materially.

The following are some of the fatal defects in the bill which the Senate enacted and which they now want to correct. Under the terms of the bill, a newspaper reporter can be fined or imprisoned if he publicizes evidence or testimony taken in executive session before the Civil Rights Commission. In other words, if a witness who testified before the Commission tells a newspaper reporter what he testified to, and the reporter uses or releases this testimony to the public, the reporter may be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year. The proponents of this bill admit that this provision violates freedom of the press guaranteed by our Constitution and they promise to pass a resolution eliminating this provision.

The Senate's provision with respect to a jury trial is fatally defective, and the proponents of the bill now admit that it must be changed. According to this amendment defendants under this act can be held in civil contempt without a jury trial. But in the case of criminal contempt they are entitled to a jury trial under certain circumstances. As stated by the majority leader in the Senate, the vast majority of cases would be handled under the civil contempt, which means that the judge would order the defendant to jail and keep him there until he agreed to comply with the court's order or decree. The court would not need to resort to criminal contempt because he could accomplish what he wants to through civil contempt. In practical effect, therefore, defendants under this act are not given a jury trial. However, the provision which extends jury trial to all cases of criminal contempt will apply to 38 acts of Congress, wherein the administrative agencies of the Government are compelled to enforce their orders and decrees through injunction. It is now conceded that this will produce chaos and hopeless confusion in the administrative of our Government, and the proponents of the bill now want to eliminate this provision and to limit jury trials in criminal contempt to this act.

In order to illustrate the harmful effect which would result from the Senate amendment, let us take a typical case: When someone puts on the market a

poisonous or deleterious food or drug, the Food and Drug Administration can get a Federal judge to issue an injunction restraining the shipment, sale or marketing of such food or drug. Under the Senate amendment the defendant could demand and obtain a jury trial. Let us take the case of a "quack" who is peddling some harmful drug. He is enjoined but ignores the injunction. When he is held in criminal contempt he demands a jury trial and weeks may be consumed in the trial. He can introduce scores of deceived patients to testify regarding the efficacy of his treatment or drug. This situation applies to practically every administrative agency of the Government.

The effect, therefore, of the Senate amendment would be to do far more harm than good. It would afford very little protection for defendants accused of denying voting rights, but it would practically paralyze the administration of many laws of Congress.

Thus we have another example of a politically motivated bill which has been carelessly and loosely written for the purpose of capturing minority votes.

It is probable that many other flaws in this so-called civil-rights bill will be discovered in the course of time. For instance, under the present law, if any act is made a crime by State or Federal law every defendant is entitled to a jury trial in contempt proceedings. It appears that the Senate amendment repeals this law so that hereafter the criminal contempt will be defined by general jurisprudence. What will be the effect of this? Some very responsible authorities hold that this provision will actually curtail the present right of defendants to a jury trial in contempt proceedings.

Furthermore, the bill as amended by the Senate permits the Federal Government to prescribe the qualifications of jurors in violation of our Constitution, which reserves this right to the States. It is now conceded that the Senate amendment is unworkable, and the proponents now want to limit it to voting rights. This illustrates the political nature of this bill from its very inception.

When this bill came before us in 1955, I offered an amendment providing for fair rules of procedure, which was adopted by the House. I also offered several other important amendments which were adopted. In fact, the bill was materially changed on the floor of the House because it was so loosely and carelessly drawn that even its proponents could not defend it. The bill failed to become a law. It was hoped that this experience would persuade the proponents of civil rights to write a bill which could be understood. While this bill is an improvement over its predecessor in some respects, it is still subject to many serious objections.

Of course, the fatal defect in the bill is the basic provision, which authorizes the Attorney General at the taxpayers' expense to foment litigation. This is absolutely indefensible. There are ample civil and criminal laws on our statute books to protect the constitutional rights of every citizen. Under our present Federal laws, if any qualified citizen is denied the right to vote on account of race, color, or creed, all that he has to do is to complain to the Federal district attorney and the guilty person or persons can be prosecuted and convicted for a crime. As I said, the real purpose of this bill is political. It is designed to capture the Negro vote. In doing so, little or no consideration has been given to the mischief and ill will which will be stirred up.

I recognize of course, Mr. Speaker, that those of us who are opposed to this kind of legislation are in a hopeless minority. Any bill labeled civil rights which comes on the floor will be adopted by a majority of 3 to 1. Under the rigid rules of the House, there is no opportunity for a filibuster after the bill once reaches the floor. Our only hope has been that the other body would exercise its privilege of prolonged debate to keep such a bill from becoming a law. This was not done, and we are now confronted with a politically inspired measure which will be passed when it reaches the floor.

I am hoping that the bill can be kept in the Rules Committee until next year at least, so that the Congress and the country will have an opportunity to understand the unwise provisions of the bill. Many bugs in the bill have been discovered since it passed the House and the Senate, and many more will be discovered before next January.

I want to compliment those of my southern colleagues who have courageously and steadfastly fought this inequitous bill with all the resources at their command. It has been my privilege and honor to collaborate with them. It is my understanding that the bill was originally slated to be brought to the House on February 15th, but it was not until July that it came to us for a vote. The delay in the consideration of the bill, which has been brought about by the strenuous opposition of a minority of Members, has been responsible for the discovery of some of the glaring defects of the bill.

I want to compliment my colleagues, Hon. HOWARD SMITH and Hon. WILLIAM COLMER, for their great leadership in our fight against this bill. They have shown rare courage and resourcefulness and our country owes them a great debt of gratitude. Anyone can go downstream and move with the tide, but it takes the very rare quality of moral courage to stand up and be counted when the going is rough. Both of these great statesmen are true sons of the South. They have typified that devotion to principle which has characterized so many of our southern leaders. They have refused to bend their knees so that thrift may follow fawning. They have chosen the stony paths of self-respect to the alluring and comfortable road of political advancement. In their leadership of the opposition, they have been supported by a group of the finest men I have even known in Congress. All of them are a credit to their people. They have kept the faith and fought the good fight, uncaring consequences. They have taken seriously Shakespeare's immortal words:

This above all: To thine own self be tr
and it must follow, as the night the day, th
canst not then be false to any man.

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to t
bill with or without the Senate amen
ment. This legislation strikes at t
very heart of constitutional governm
in America. It is another step in t
direction of stripping our States of th
reserved rights. Those who vainly ima
ine that this bill will satisfy the ad
cates of so-called civil-rights legislat
are doomed to a rude awakening. Th
success in this measure would only se
to whet their appetite for more dra
legislation. You cannot compromi
with principle and satisfy those who d
mand such compromise, or safegua
those who yield such compromi
Time will prove, Mr. Speaker, that t
is one of the worst bills that Congr
ever passed.

Ideas and Ideals, Vehicles for Perma
Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speak
under leave to extend my remarks I
clude for printing in the RECORD an
dress by Mr. Henry J. Kaiser to
American Society of Newspaper Edito
post convention, at Hawaiian Vill
Hotel, Honolulu, T. H.

The indomitable Henry J. Kaiser h
been in Hawaii but a comparatively sh
time. When he came, he brought w
him a vision and a dream, as well as
enterprise and energy for which he
justly famed.

The result has been accomplishme
the opening of new and wider horizo
and a realization by the people of Haw
that the impossible just takes a lit
longer. Mr. Kaiser has made a ma
contribution to Hawaii today and to h
future tomorrow. I am sure that h
speech will be of general interest.

The speech follows:

My wish for your stay in Hawaii is th
May you partake of the real Aloha sp
of the friendly people of the islands.
May the melodies and beauty of t
islands enter and live in your hea
And may you store up memories her
did Mark Twain who recalled Hawaii as "t
loveliest fleet of islands that lies anch
in any ocean."

When Riley Allen invited me to speak
day, I asked him, "What do you think
editors would like me to talk about?"
"About 20 minutes," Riley said, "
more."

Then our esteemed Riley jotted dow
suggested title for my talk: "Free Wo
Travel as a Factor for Peace."

At first, my thoughts rebelled at the m
nitude of even touching on "peace" in
minutes, especially among leaders of pu
opinion who daily are giving voice to m
kind's craving for lasting peace, and rep
ing the ceaseless struggles that must
waged to attain both peace and human f
dom.

Our age can and will extend the benefits civilization to the entire human race. I lieve this will prove the surest way to ace and freedom.

In a world still half-starved, half-educated, lf-enslaved, the final victory for permant peace can be won within this century, rough ideas and ideals that move the arts of men, through helping a thousand illion people around the globe rise to lives greater abundance.

Americans have the God-given opportuty—the opportunity that is seen so crystal ar by men of the press—to lead the cruade for the revolutionary improvement in e spirits and the lot of mankind. That's course for preventing a world war of omic and hydrogen bombs from vaporizing ilization.

Now you see why I hesitated at trying to ce free-world travel in perspective as a tor for peace.

Riley Allen came back with this thought, ich I agree with:

No part of the world is more keenly cogzant of the value of travel—individual vel as well as business and official travel—n Hawaii.

"Here we regard free travel, free choice of tinations, free choice of modes of transrtation, as not merely a boon to our accelting tourist business, but as an important tor in making friendships and thereby tending commerce and peace."

As a matter of fact, speaking personally, it k my own travels through South America d to this "Paradise of the Pacific" to open eyes to certain significant things.

In 1954 and 1955, I made a number of trips, aling maybe 75,000 miles of flying, through in America. I was overwhelmed by the portunities I saw for industrial developnt and for multiplying the people's proctivity and standard of living.

I traveled a South and Central America ssessed of natural resources spread over land mass twice the size of the United te, possessed of the virtually untapped man resources of 200 million people, desed to reach a population of 500 million hin this century.

These travels gave me a sharp, first-hand lization that we cannot have a strong rth America without a strong South erica; nor, in the Pacific, can we have a ure United States without our billion ghbors bordering the Pacific also living re abundant lives.

What American enterpriser can see vast man wants and needs and not try to do nething about fulfilling them?

Travel can certainly expose and awaken to our fellow men's needs.

As I saw jobs crying to be done to assist Latin American people, I was reminded an epitaph that Andrew Carnegie wrote: e succeeded because he surrounded him-f with men who knew more than he did." was grateful to be able to call upon teamtes—men who know more than I do.

I could cable or telephone home, and the t day, there might fly into a South Amern country a team of automotive men to n the establishment of the first motor hicle manufacturing industry in the thern continent; or other teams of exts to survey opening up coal resources or er vast sources of power; or to help build other nations' infant steel industries; or e fabulously rich iron ore; or discover uxite and produce aluminum; or build ps, cement plants, oil refineries, highways, ns—the many projects basic to people ging forward.

When I was told big-scale financing of tain Latin American projects appeared imsible. I was glad to be able to turn to ancial brains back home who had a part the Kaiser companies—during our period expansion since World War II—having emyed $1,555 million of private financing. I hope you'll pardon me for underscoring private financing, and may I add that right today, our companies have overall expansion programs aggregating about $540 million.

Yet the investment of American know-how can prove infinitely more important than the investment of dollars in helping other peoples advance.

It has been profoundly stirring to witness—wherever around the globe our engineers, production managers, construction men and technicians are working today—how peoples of less developed lands respond avidly and ably to secret of mass production and to the application of science, technology, and efficient management methods.

Through Honolulu Airport, our organizations have a flow of engineers and builders going out to India to assist Tata build a $130 million steel plant; to Australia to help build the biggest project in that country's history to develop electric power and irrigation; or others going to Asia to confer on peaceful uses of atomic energy; to assist in Jeep production; or see about a new ship being built for us in Japan.

Multiply and remultiply these examples by what other American corporations are doing and you realize that the travel that takes know-how to other peoples becomes a priceless contribution to freeing humanity from want and war.

Yet I am sure, in coming years, American know-how will be on the move—on the evolution-creating move—far more than up to now.

Turning now to another aspect of travel, it has been Hawaii that awakened me to what I call a new industry—the new vacation industry. It is at the beginning already of becoming a giant industry.

I came here for a 1-week visit in 1954, and was shocked at the shortage of hotels and ships that was preventing so many people from enjoying vacations in the islands. I felt Hawaii should make it possible and alluring for five times as many visitors as then to enjoy the romance, melody, sun, and sea of the tropical islands. Indeed, eventually 10 times as many.

You witness what is taking place now.

More than a 50-percent increase has been accomplished in hotels.

More than three times more cruise-ship passages are scheduled next year than last—a total of more than 61,000 passages each way to be run in 1958 between the mainland and Hawaii.

Then will come the jet passenger planes in 1959, reducing traveltime from New York to the Pacific coast to little more than 4 hours, with another lightning flash of 4 hours on into Honolulu.

At last Hawaii has the transportation and facilities to invite major conventions. And, before long, conventions alone can double travel to the islands and require the building of a thousand hotel rooms a year.

Here you can see how the Hawaiian Village Hotel has grown to 650 rooms in less than 2 years, but master plans are to expand this vacation center to 3,000 rooms. Next I expect Magic Isle to rise off nearby Ala Moana Park, creating a beach double the length of old Waikiki and a magnificent site for hotels with a total of 10,000 rooms.

No longer is there any doubt that the vacation industry will overtake the historic sugar and pineapple industries and become the No. 1 creator of employment and businesses in the islands.

The farflung Pacific area scarcely has scratched the surface yet in attracting travel and vacation income, as compared with Europe and popular resort areas both on the mainland and abroad. There will be terrific competition to lure vacationists, and every area that is aggressively alert to the opportunities can gain.

The possibilities for some of the greatest percentage gains lie in increasing travel throughout the reaches of the Pacific—to Japan and other free countries of Asia—the South Sea islands—romantic Tahiti, American Samoa, and Fiji—the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, and so forth.

Jet passenger planes shortly will shrink world travel time 40 percent.

Looking years ahead, the aviation industry promises that the next major breakthrough in commercial airplanes will result in flying passengers at 1,200 miles an hour and up, across the country in 2 hours or less, around the world in a day, instead of Jules Verne's 80 days.

But the jet age's boom to world travel will start being felt on a really big scale by 1959, when jet transports, as I said, will reduce present flying times by two-fifths. This will be a great impetus to world travel, which already is on the uptrend.

Can you imagine a more pleasurable way for Americans to put buying dollars into hands abroad than through travel?

Concerning the economic importance of American dollars being spent increasingly on travel around the world, I leave it to you editors to editorialize.

I won't overeditorialize, either, on how much free-world travel can inculcate friendship between people—trust, understanding, and practical cooperation—which are vital elements in arriving at international peace.

I would like, though, and quite briefly, to indicate why there is bound to be tremendous growth in the travel and vacation industry and, in fact, in all the service businesses and professions which will contribute more good things of life and the spirit for always more and more people.

The underlying answer, in my opinion, is this: Materially speaking, man has discovered far more and has advanced far faster and further in recent years than in all preceding recorded history.

Scientists have created a new scientific revolution and the limitless industry of discovery to supercharge the onsweeping industrial revolution.

Science creates new sources of power—the prime mover of industrial civilization—releasing the energy of the atom and fuels, together with an array of chemicals, from coal and petroleum.

Electronics makes it possible to do jobs in factories, offices, and laboratories heretofore too complex or laborius for human beings.

Science is at the threshold of providing man the physical means to produce ample supplies of basic materials from such ordinary things as rock and water, unlimited energy from the sun, unlimited fresh water from the sea, vast synthetic sources of food and raw materials.

And the science of medicine is in the process of making it commonplace to live healthy and vigorous lives beyond the age of 100.

Our respected economists forecast that the people of the United States will create, before the end of this century, another America about as large as the present one, with a population of 300 million and a national economy roaring considerably beyond the trillion-dollar-a-year rate.

The travel and vacation industry already is growing by leaps and bounds, because people have been given the means to increase productivity and hence their earning power to new heights. I have barely suggested the highlights of the chain reaction of progress that is underway and continuing.

I need not fill in the details as to why our people will have constantly more spendable income and leisure for world travel. The base is laid for enormously more people to gain livelihoods in the vacation industry—both in the United States and abroad. The same base of amazing progress also will result in Americans being able to go in increasing

numbers into the underdeveloped countries of the world and provide more leadership than ever before in the development of other lands.

But can we move fast enough toward a workable brotherhood of man?

We cannot afford to be content living as though on an island of unbelievable productivity and prosperity, surrounded by other peoples who have not unleashed the merest fraction of their potentials. May I reiterate my belief that the benefits of civilization will be extended to the entire human race—and then will come lasting peace.

My faith is that it is given to us to participate in the making of an ampler life for all mankind.

Thank God to be alive in such an age of lightning change and to have in it a part.

Your part as editors? It is given to few in their life's work to live as close to the people, people of all races, all faiths, all stages of rising to the sanctity and greatness of the individual. It is yours to hear and heed the heartbeats of people, to learn the motivations and aspirations of people, to report the daily lives of people, to serve, and to light with truth the ways of the people—to envision the people's destiny.

"Ye that have faith to look with fearless eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife,
And know that out of death and night shall rise
The dawn of ampler life:
Rejoice, whatever anguish rend the heart,
That God has given you the priceless dower
To live in these great times and have your part
In freedom's crowning hour,
That ye may tell your sons who see the light
High in the heavens—their heritage to take—
'I saw the powers of darkness take their flight;
I saw the morning break.'"

Reduced Workweek Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I am finding increasing awareness of the problems of automation, and while I realize that action on the subject matter of H. R. 4695, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to reduce the workweek, is out of the question at this time, I do hope many of my colleagues will give the matter their careful consideration.

ALLIANCE OF INDEPENDENT TELEPHONE UNIONS,
New Haven, Conn., August 12, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROOSEVELT: The Alliance of Independent Telephone Unions, comprised of 10 labor organizations representing over 100,000 employees of the Bell Telephone System in New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New England, wholeheartedly endorse and support your bill, H. R. 4695, which would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to reduce the workweek for overtime purposes from 40 to 35 hours over a 4-year period.

The alliance feels that the amendment proposed by you is a most constructive measure to meet the inroads of automation, which is already an accomplished fact in the Bell Telephone System.

Very truly yours,
CARROLL J. DOWNING,
Chairman.

Congress Losing Control of Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial that appeared in the Janesville Daily Gazette on August 3, and call attention to the fact that the writer of the editorial has quoted from the minority views expressed by members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs at the time the mutual security bill was being considered.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS LOSING CONTROL

Citizens generally are not aware of the intricacies of giving and lending billions in aids to foreign countries, but they ought to know something about the plan to commit the United States to billions of payments in the future and other schemes now presented.

This is not to say that aid to other countries in the free world is all bad. We have helped them to rebuild their economies and to strengthen their defenses so as to relieve our own load in defending ourselves. It is cheaper to buy uniforms and arms for South Korean soldiers than to train and maintain an American soldier there—a ratio of $600 to $2,000.

However, some of the aid program seems even dangerous in its effect upon our controls of funds being used. Congress is losing its control over the billions it appropriates out of our taxes.

The development loan fund, for example, with $500 millions, plus another $500 million in borrowing power in 1959, plus another $500 million in 1960, is aimed to develop economies of other nations. It would be a revolving fund in local currencies. A loan is made for a worthwhile development. It succeeds. Interest and principal are paid in local currencies. The latter is reloaned for another development in that country, and supposedly the fund has a constantly expanding volume of local currency for other loans.

According to the minority views filed by members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, "Now the Congress is requested abjectly to abdicate its powers and to grant a blank check to be cashed wherever, by whomever, and in whatever amounts as are designated by those in charge of the mutual-security program."

"Integration of the military assistance program into our regular defense program would be unwise," said the minority report. "It would conceal from the American people the exact amounts spent on military assistance overseas and would hide these figures and statistics in a mass of voluminous detail."

"The development loan fund," the report said, "is not subject to any effective congressional or other control. Congress is asked for $1.5 billion for a 3-year period without any effective restrictions as to fiscal years and without any requirement for pro planning. This huge sum is to be ma available * * * to any undefined ant without shape or form. * * * Limits on t program represent wishful thinking in t extreme.* * *

"Lack of congressional control over spe assistance authorization of 275 millio is illustrative of the degree to which co gressional control has been relaxed. * * It may be used for practicaly any purpose.

"There were no less than $6,232,734,000 undelivered materials, commodities an services in the pipeline as of June 1957, * * * plus $1 billion in counterp funds. * * *

"Every year those who oppose the progra or who advocate economies, are charged wi a reckless disregard of America's securit and with a lack of understanding or know edge. * * * Last year the request for mil tary assistance was cut by a billion dolla Despite this cut there are still 500 millio in unobligated balances from the funds ap propriated last year, clearly demonstrati that the cut last year was not too dee but rather shallow."

It is now certain that this same effect w be seen next year, despite the protest th any further economies would be reckle disregard of national security. * * * p example, in 1955 a fund of $100 million f Asian economic development was authoriz to remain available till June 30, 1958. Tw years later, however, 87 millions remai in this fund. It is readily apparent that re quests often far exceed the actual needs the program.

It would be easier for taxpayers to dig the administration's demands for foreig spending if they felt that someone, Congre or someone reliably interested in their wel fare, were actually in control of the spendi

Mrs. May Craig

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, as a member of Maine's congressional dele gation, it is my privilege to work close with Mrs. May Craig, Washington cor respondent for the Guy Gannett chai of Maine newspapers and radio station

The August 12, 1957, issue of News week carried an interesting story en titled "Lady With a Hatpin," which pre sents to the public a brief story abo this newspaperwoman held in high re gard by Maine readers in particular an by people in general who view on tel vision the excellent news program know as Meet the Press.

I want to add to the Newsweek sto my observation that it is a personal pleasure to have her as one of the corr spondents with whom I work almo daily. I find Mrs. Craig exceedingly fai in her handling of news. She place high value on integrity, and as a news paperwoman develops her daily co umns and news stories on that basis.

I agree with those who express th opinion that May has no peer in know edge of the working machinery of th executive and legislative branches of o Government. She has traveled world

ide, and attended news conferences
d interviewed leaders throughout the
orld. She has the ability to propound
ry penetrating questions and to trans-
te news into form that enables readers
her column and news stories to get
e full significance of complex situa-
ons.

Because of the privilege of working
th her almost daily, I would observe
at May is nonpartisan in her appreach
news reporting. I would question the
notation in the Newsweek story that she
s described herself as "75 percent
emocratic." Had this observation been
at she described herself as "75 percent
beral," in my opinion it would have
en far more accurate. I believe if she
ere to state her political philosophy
e would say that it is more liberal than
nservative.

As a resident of Washington, D. C.,
ay Craig does not vote, and she is not
d never has been a member of any
olitical party.

I wish to pay my warm respects to
ay Craig and commend her accom-
lishments in the field of journalism
d her knowledge of the operations of
r Federal Government.

LADY WITH A HATPIN

"My goodness," said Mr. Eisenhower on his
y out of the Indian treaty room of the
d State Department Building last week,
t gets hot in here." Indisputably, it had
en one of the warmest Presidential press
nferences on record. For almost 40 min-
es, the President fielded fast ones on every-
ing from the civil-rights controversy to
s personal finances.

In a tradition of Washington press con-
rences, one of the toughest questions of all
me, as usual, from a tiny (5 feet 2), gray-
ired lady up front. "The friends of the
hool bill," said Mrs. May Craig from her
customed seat, "say that you failed to
e your influence [to save it]. On the
her hand. * * * Senator RUSSELL com-
ained [that you] were using your influ-
ce for the civil-rights [bill]. Could you
mpare where you do and when you don't
e your influence?" The President could
d did: "You don't influence Congress, in
y opinion, by threats, by anything except
ying to convince them of the soundness
d logic of your view."

Although May Craig once described herself
"75 percent Democratic," the chief Wash-
gton correspondent of the Gannett chain's
Maine papers is no player of political fa-
rites. In a tart southern voice (she was
rn in South Carolina some 60 years ago)
e has tackled almost every governmental
gure since the Hoover administration.

SWEET HARDSHELL

NBC's Meet the Press, on which "Miss
ay" is a regular panelist, has endeared her
millions, for good reasons. "When she
ers out at you from under one of those
ts [she has 40]," says one top Government
icial, "she looks like a sweet little old
aine grandmother. But her mind is as
ugh as a very old down-East lobster." On
e show during the 1956 political campaign,
e demanded of Sherman Adams: "Gov-
nor, I don't understand why you should
ate a historical fact like all the wars come
nder Democrats and now try to get out of
when you Republicans may get into a
ar."

Three months earlier, she had jumped on
aul Butler, the Democrats' national chair-
an: "Harriman had an operation and Sen-
or SYMINGTON had an operation * * *.
hy would you take them [as presidential candidates] and still say the President's ill health is a liability?"

Miss May trotted into journalism in 1923 as an informal assistant to her husband, the late Don Craig, then Washington bureau chief of the old New York Herald. An intense fighter for newspaperwomen's rights (some years ago she got a Senate appropriation for the outfitting of a ladies' restroom in the Senate Press Gallery over the unanimous opposition of antifeminist male correspondents), she maintains a grueling editorial pace. Up at 6:30 daily, she knocks out her 1,000-word, 7-a-week column by 8:30.

Miss May rarely breaks big national stories, but fellow writers agree that her column is one of the best out of the capital. "She can shift from a corrosive account of a silly teaparty to a two-fisted blast at some official's misbehavior in the next paragraph," one editor said last week, and she can simplify complex national issues in a neat phrase. Of the President's cooled attitude on the school bill, she wrote last week: "He is against legislation that might inflate more."

Once she asked the late Guy Gannett to allow her to cut down her output, but he would not hear of it. The readers, Gannett said, "have had May Craig every day for breakfast for 20 years and I ain't gonna let 'em break the habit."

Concern Over the Inflationary Spiral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the International Latex Corp., Mr. A. N. Spanel, commented recently that "we are no longer threatened by inflation but that over 90 percent of America's families bitterly wrestle with it on a daily basis." Both the administration and the Congress have also frequently voiced concern over the inflationary spiral which is rapidly taking the cost of living out of sight and reach of the average citizen.

This makes all the more illogical the administration's attitude toward two bills passed by the House last week. One bill, overwhelmingly approved by a vote of 329 to 59, provides an 11-percent pay increase—an average raise of about $518 a year—for nearly a million of the Federal Government's classified employees. It was passed over threats of a Presidential veto, as was its earlier-passed counterpart providing similar increases for postal employees.

Mr. Speaker, the administration opposes this pay raise legislation on the grounds that, by some mysterious means, it would contribute to inflation. On the face of it, this claim is patently absurd. Since July 1951, Federal employees have had only one salary adjustment—a woefully inadequate 7½ percent which Congress managed to wangle for them in March of 1955 after two previous attempts, in 1953 and 1954, were vetoed by the President. That pay raise did not bring Federal employees' earnings into line with the cost of living which, since then, has continued to rise by 5.2 percent as of June 1957.

With no signs that the steady rise over the past 17 months in the cost of living will be halted in the foreseeable future, Federal employees have been finding it more and more difficult to stay out of debt and at the same time maintain for themselves and their families a decent and reasonable standard of living. Granting them salary increases which will barely help them to keep up with higher prices will scarcely send them on buying splurges that would give appreciable impetus to the inflationary spiral.

On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, the second bill passed by the House last week does, in my opinion, do just that. The postal rate increase bill had the full support of the administration behind it and is legislation for which the Postmaster General has belabored the Congress almost from the first days of his taking office. Only recently, let me point out, the President directed an urgent plea to industry and labor to hold prices and wages down. Yet, what is an increase in postal rates, especially on first-class mail, if it is not a price increase?

As passed by the House, this bill raises the cost of mailing first-class letters from 3 to 4 cents; increases the cost of cards from 2 to 3 cents; boosts airmail rates from 6 to 7 cents, and airmail cards from 4 to 5 cents. At first glance, an increase of 1 cent in the price of sending a letter through the mails first class may not seem anything to become very excited about. The total of these increases on first-class postal rates alone will, however, raise by about $340 million the burden which the American taxpayers are already carrying in support of the services rendered by the Post Office Department.

Nor does the full cost to the public stop there, Mr. Speaker. The bill also proposes to raise rates on second-class mail—newspapers and magazines—by 15 percent in each of the next 4 years to a total of 60 percent. Similar rate increases on third-class mail—advertising and like matter—would go into effect in their entirety as of October 1. You may be quite certain that these rate rises would not be absorbed by the senders, but would quickly be passed along to the consuming public in price increases.

Yet this is not the only nudge which the administration has given to inflation and the spiraling cost of living. Just before he retired, former Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey raised the interest rate on Government bonds. Big business, the principal purchaser of large blocks of these bonds, is the gainer. The taxpayers will foot the bill with higher interest payments on the national debt.

Moreover, the raising of interest rates on Government bonds has set off a whole series of rate and price increases across the country. The Federal Housing Agency has raised interest and discount rates. The home buyer is the loser. The mortgage broker gains.

Mr. Speaker, the Interstate Commerce Commission has approved freight-rate increases for the railroads—increases which are expected to add nearly $900 million a year to shippers' transportation costs and which Mr. and Mrs. Con-

sumer are sure to find tacked on to their food, fuel, and other essential commodity bills before very long.

And while the purchasing power of the dollar steadily declines, the cost of money—the interest rate paid by borrowers—as steadily rises, as bank rates climb, propelled upward by the administration's tight-money policies.

These policies, the administration declares, represent the best possible way to hold the line against inflation. By some strange alchemy, however, they seem consistently to line the pockets of big business, big corporations, and big banks while the average wage earner, with the biggest pay envelope he has ever received, and the average white collar worker with the largest salary check he has ever had, struggle vainly to make ends meet.

The administration opposes pay increases for hard-pressed Federal employees as inflationary. The administration warns that tax cuts for the average individual would also prove inflationary. Meanwhile, in the midst of the greatest prosperity the Nation has ever known "90 percent of America's families bitterly wrestle with inflation on a daily basis."

Mr. Speaker, is it not time that the man in the street spoke loudly enough for Congress, at least, to hear him—before the disastrous boom-and-bust of the 1920's overtakes us once again?

Three Hundred Million Dollars Compensation for Germans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, this is a matter about which a great many of my constituents have written and it was so well expresesd in this letter to the editor of the New York Times that I am submitting it for the information of my colleagues.

PAYING FOR GERMAN ASSETS—PROPOSED COMPENSATION DECLARED BURDEN FOR AMERICAN TAXPAYER

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The recent White House announcement, on the eve of the German elections, that the administration will support legislation next year in the Congress calling for payment of over $300 million as compensation for vested German assets is most distressing news for the United States taxpayer.

This move, long fought for by a myriad of wealthy lobbyists in Washington, had up to this time been resisted by the Justice Department and the Bureau of the Budget supported by our allies that had signed the Paris reparations treaty of 1946.

The principal beneficiaries of this transfer will be large German corporations, some of whom were mainstays of the Hitler regime.

In a remarkable about-face the administration has abandoned its own bill, H. R. 6888, under which all individuals who were not war criminals would receive payments up to $10,000, which would have taken care of 92 percent of the claimants. As late as April 3 the administration in a letter to the Speaker of the House stated: "H. R. 6888 represents the considered position of the administration, based upon a full and careful study."

For the Germans the chief issue is one of taxation. If the United States Treasury pays them the appreciated value of their assets, a 25 percent capital gains tax will be levied. If the German Government pays them, as it was obliged to do by the Bonn Convention of 1952, a heavy "equalization of burdens" tax will be levied.

Tht attitude of the United States taxpayer, such as myself, is entirely free of any trace of animosity toward the German people, who have made such magnificent strides on the road to democracy. The isue for Americans is simply whether we should bear this burden (in addition to foreign aid) rather than the now very prosperous German taxpayer, largely for the benefit of prosperous German corporations.

It is to be hoped that the Congress give these problems its most careful scrutiny, and reject all considerations based on foreign politics or improper lobbying activities.

CHARLES R. FOSTER.

WASHINGTON, *August 8, 1957.*

Mutual Security Appropriation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the habit of irresponsible spending of other people's money is more contagious than Asiatic flu and its incidence among Federal bureaucrats is far more general than this much dreaded epidemic is apt to become. Regardless of the economy-mindedness of agency heads, it is very difficult for them to understand and control the details of administrative allocation of appropriated funds.

I was pleased to see the House approve the bill appropriating funds for mutual security in its reduced form. To me it represents adequate provision for our national defense and recognizes the lawmaker's final responsibility to his citizens.

With military outposts around the world facing the constant threat of Communist challenge and our position of free world leadership, any other course at this time might mean loss of face, of prestige, and of influence in the cause of world peace.

Unfortunate as our world position has grown to be, there is no alternative but to accept it, however, this does not mean we should continue to involve ourselves promiscuously in new areas, the cost of which endangers our own security and national solvency. As final appropriation measures clear the Congress, there is definite evidence that dangerous overspending and inflation, our greatest enemies, are being recognized and dealt with.

I do not believe the limitations we have placed on foreign aid will adversely affect our standing among our allies. Surley they must by this time realize that the United States Treasury is not bottomless. Commonsense should teach them that unlimited aid must sometime cease.

The action of the Congress in revising downward appropriations for foreign aid will, in my opinion, have a far-reaching beneficial effect. First, it will renew the hopes of American citizens that their heavy tax burden may soon be lightened. Second, it will serve notice to Government agencies and defense leaders, that closer scrutiny of all phases of Federal spending must follow if they would stay within the limits of their appropriations. Third, it will serve to awaken free governments everywhere that the major part of their ability and preparedness to resist aggression rests with their own determination to fully utilize their own resources and national products, and their will to remain independent of outside assistance. Fourth, it will tend to assure the free nations of the world that America is determined to preserve her own economic strength and solvency in order that she may continue to maintain the balance of world power without which the destiny of recently freed nations throughtout the world would become totally insecure.

Agriculture Conservation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the agricultural conservation program has been saved for the farmers of America, and I am proud to have had a part in saving it. On July 9, I made remarks on this floor which exposed a brazen effort by Assistant Agriculture Secretary E. L. Peterson to literally wreck ACP in direct contradiction of the expressed will and intent of Congress.

Mr. Peterson's proposals would have been a killing blow to many farmers, particularly the small, family-sized farms. Having been born and raised on a farm myself and having spent my lifetime in the farming regions of southern Indiana, I know—only too well—of the many heartbreaking problems with which they have been faced for so many years. Our farmers are caught in a squeeze between higher costs of operation and lower income for the food and fiber they produce. It is a vicious thing.

My speech of July 9 caused a considerable furor, Mr. Speaker. One result was a public announcement by the Secretary of Agriculture that the ACP would be left intact and administered exactly as Congress intended. Another result—that of public reaction—is one to which I would call your attention at this time. It bears out my own contention, which I have expressed frequently over the years, that the ACP is of vital importance to the Nation's agriculture and is widely appreciated by farmers everywhere.

Daily for the past several weeks I have received letters from farmers all over the country expressing their appreciation of my efforts to keep ACP as an integral part of the agriculture program. They have pointed out the vast good ACP is doing in conserving the soil of America. I will quote from a few of these letters at this time, and my colleagues are welcome to inspect the many others I have in my office.

Richard S. Winder, Route 2, Bethel, Ohio, wrote:

I wish to thank you for helping to prevent elimination of the most important practices in the ACP. The proposals of Assistant Secretary Peterson would have made the program worthless to dirt farmers.

William H. Reichling, LaPuente, Calif.:

As a citrus grower in Los Angeles County, I wish to congratulate you and express my appreciation of your efforts in behalf of the conservation-minded farmers of this county in preventing deletion from the 1958 ACP many of the practices so necessary to conservation in various areas of the country.

Marlon King, Princeton, Ky.:

Having lived in a farming area all my life, I have had opportunity to observe at first hand the tremendous value of ACP to the farmers of our Nation. I express my personal thanks for all you did to save this program.

Everett Gould, West Pawlet, Vt.:

As an eastern dairy farmer I wish to thank you for helping to save the 1958 ACP. Conservation is an investment from which everyone can benefit. It does not cost—it pays.

Martin B. Thorson, Iola, Wis.:

Farmers of Wisconsin will thank you for your work in saving the practices of ACP. Any effort to weaken it would seriously threaten their security.

Raymond A. Klopp, Route 2, Fremont, Wis.:

In my opinion, ACP has done much to preserve our irreplaceable topsoil, and in many other ways. It is gratifying to know that we have Congressmen like you who do care for the farmer.

M. E. Conley, chairman, ASC Committee of Montgomery County, Tex.:

This committee wishes to express appreciation for your help in sustaining provisions of the ACP. We feel the proposed changes would have been most detrimental to the farmers and ranchers of this and all other Texas counties.

John M. Deely, Lee, Mass.:

Thank goodness there are people like you in Congress who have the foresight and fortitude to protect the farmers. My hat is off to you.

William Reckelhoff, Route 3, Huntingburg, Ind.:

I feel that if it had not been for you and a few other good men, the ACP would have been a poor program for many a farmer. Of all farm programs, ACP stands out as the most important. We cannot afford to let the ACP be broken down.

Louis A. Burges, Jasper, Ind.:

In behalf of the farmers of Dubois County, I want to thank you for taking a stand in trying to keep our ACP effective. I have worked in the office of the Dubois County ASC committee for 18 years. The ACP has consistently helped our farmers. Considering the small cost, the results have been amazing.

The Growth of Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD today an editorial from the Peoria Journal Star entitled "The Growth of Federal Aid."

This subject is drawing more and more attention. As Members of this body know, our House Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations has already held several days of hearings here in Washington preparatory to our hitting the road to hold on-the-spot hearings around the country after Congress adjourns on this very important problem of Federal-State-local relationships.

Following the editorial, I should like to list some very revealing, and I might say staggering, figures dug out from the various departments of Government which show to what degree my home State of Illinois participates in the multitude of Federal grant-in-aid programs.

[From the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star of August 7, 1957]

THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL AID

President Eisenhower's suggestion to the governors' conference that the State and local governments should take over more of the functions now performed by the Federal Government has directed attention to the growth of Federal participation in local affairs in recent years.

According to Tax Foundation, the Federal Government in 1934 was interested in the operation of only 18 Federal-aid programs in which it turned money over to the States for programs to which the States also contributed. That number has increased until in the present fiscal year, which began July 1, there are an estimated 97 such Federal-aid programs (no one seems to know what the exact number is).

Every category into which grants-in-aid programs are divided has shown an increase. Whereas there was one veterans service and benefits program in 1934, today there are two. Labor and welfare programs to which the Federal Government contributes have increased from 3 to 36. Today there are 9 agriculture and agricultural resources programs instead of 4. Natural resources programs have increased from 8 to 25; and where there were only 2 commerce and housing programs in 1934 there now are 20. There were no general Government participation programs 23 years ago and today there are 5.

This shows how a tendency once developed grows and grows until it becomes a monster which threatens to undo all the benefits it was conceived to bring about. Federal aid has taken over such a big portion of the revenue available to governmental units that it constitutes a serious strain on States and local bodies. The only way it can be headed off is through the defeat of such new programs as the President's schoolroom construction bill and a determination to refrain from trying to get something for nothing from the Federal Government.

Federal grants to Illinois

Program	Type	Amount
Department of Agriculture:		
Experiment stations	Regular grants	$658,714
Cooperative extension work	do	1,347,404
School lunch	do	3,047,726
National forests fund	Shared revenues	18,440
Projects in marketing	Cooperative	42,708
State and private forestry	do	72,424
Commodity Credit Corporation	Value donated	3,016,117
Special school milk	Cash payments	3,776,071
Removal of surplus	Value distributed	4,535,764
Department of Commerce:		
CAA, Federal airport	Regular grants	2,285,377
Highway construction	do	38,977,506
Lease of flood control lands	Shared revenue	5,932
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:		
Colleges, agricultural and mechanical arts	Regular grants	156,905
Cooperative vocational education	do	1,460,900
School construction and survey	Emergency grants	1,081,100
School maintenance and operation	do	1,988,390
Venereal disease control	Regular grants	17,730
Tuberculosis control	do	229,752
General health assistance	do	399,265
Poliomyelitis assistance	Emergency grants	91,900
Mental health activities	Regular grants	144,734
Cancer control	do	117,535
Heart disease control	do	38,055
Poliomyelitis vaccination	Emergency grants	1,194,218
Hospital construction and planning	Regular grants	564,974
Construction of community facilities	Emergency grants	225,000
Maternal and child health services	Regular grants	309,715
Services for crippled children	do	458,405
Child welfare services	do	194,730
Old age assistance	do	39,498,856
Aid to dependent children	do	20,051,897
Permanent and totally disabled	do	3,353,054
Aid to the blind	do	1,625,692
American printing house for blind	do	11,140
Office of vocational rehabilitation	do	1,491,315
Department of the Interior:		
Fish and wildlife restoration	do	517,378
Migratory Bird Conservation Act	Shared revenues	4,892
Mineral Leasing Act	do	23
Department of Labor: Unemployment compensation and employment service	Regular grants	9,860,869
Federal Civil Defense Administration: Federal contribution	Emergency grants	222,694
Housing and Home Finance Agency:		
Defense community facilities	Emergency grants	4,767
Urban renewal fund	Regular grants	830,110
Annual contributions	do	3,851,121
Veterans' Administration:		
Homes for disabled	do	651,836
Supervision of on-job-training	do	151,950
Total grant payments		148,585,175

Federal grants to Illinois—Continued

PAYMENTS TO INDIVIDUALS WITHIN ILLINOIS

Program	Amount
Department of Agriculture:	
Conservation program	$7,051,467
Administration of Sugar Act	84,542
Department of Commerce: Bureau of public roads, forest, highways	164,453
Department of Defense:	
Air Force National Guard	5,765,719
Army National Guard	6,598,175
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:	
National arthritis and metabolic diseases institute	338,010
Neurological diseases and blindness institute	306,940
National Cancer Institute	450,196
National Institute of Dental Research	49,187
Institute of allergy and infectious diseases	167,282
National Heart Institute	510,278
National Institute of Mental Health	386,061
Division of research grants	232,817
Traineeship awards:	
Arthritis and metabolic diseases	3,815
Neurological and blindness	3,400
Cancer	9,200
Heart	21,700
Mental Health	127,360
Training grants:	
Arthritis and metabolic diseases	28,749
Neurological and blindness	58,334
Cancer	164,948
Heart	174,950
Mental health	188,026
Field investigations: Cancer	122,939
Fellowship awards:	
Arthritis and metabolic diseases	1,708
Neurological and blindness	10,293
Cancer	43,080
Dental institute	10,092
Allergy and infectious diseases	500
Heart	45,597
Mental health	33,416
Research grants	823
Vocational rehabilitation: Training and traineeships	88,628
Department of Labor:	
Unemployment compensation for veterans	1,995,212
Unemployment compensation for Federal employees	1,331,548
National Science Foundation:	
Research grants awarded	1,253,480
Fellowship awards	183,541
Veterans' Administration:	
Automobiles, etc., for disabled veterans	70,319
Public Law 346 and Public Law 16	36,449,253
Total payments to individuals	64,526,038
Grand total	213,111,213

Goodby to New York's Historic Carnegie Hall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times commenting on the announced plan to raze historic Carnegie Hall to make way for a skyscraper:

GOODBY TO CARNEGIE HALL

We have known for some time that the days of Carnegie Hall were numbered. We have followed the plans to transfer the home of the Philharmonic Orchestra to a new and perhaps better location. Nevertheless, it came as a shock the other day to see the pictures and plans of the 44-story skyscraper that will eventually take shape at that corner on 57th Street. It just won't be the same.

No building, however imposing, is likely to fill the same place in the hearts of thousands of New Yorkers as did the old Carnegie Hall. It will be at least a generation before New York will be able to forget. The old building had to give way and come down, of course. That is the inevitability of progress. But what it stood for cannot easily be replaced.

When those walls are razed, there will be many persons passing by who will think of what was heard within them. There will be memories of Schumann-Heink, of Kreisler and Paderewski. There will be echoes of the orchestra under the batons of the world's greatest conductors. The Beethoven Fifth, the Meistersinger Prelude, and the Hallelujah Chorus. All those were a part of Carnegie Hall.

Such things are imperishable. No new building can take them away, no wrecking crew destroy them. So long as men and women can remember it, Carnegie Hall will live on.

Orlando Passannante

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, a kind and beloved gentleman, for many years my constituent and friend, recently was called to his last rest. Over a long period of years he gave generously of his time to his neighbors and friends, and his continuing charitable endeavors and efforts to be helpful to others greatly benefited the good people of his community.

I speak of Dr. Orlando Passannante, late of Rochester, N. Y.

Born in Vietri Di Potenza, Italy, Dr. Passannante received his early education in Naples and Salerno. He came to the United States in 1908 and 6 years later was graduated from Columbia University's School of Pharmacy. In 1916 he arrived in Rochester and soon thereafter opened the pharmacy which he owned and operated until his retirement in 1954.

Dr. Passannante was a pioneer in Italian language radio broadcasting in Rochester. In 1935 he began the Italian Hour, a program of Italian news, music, and religious events, which now is conducted by his son. He was known and applauded for his efforts to advise and assist those in his community. He had a way of making their problems his own and with rare patience and understanding he strove to lighten or resolve them. It so happened that he encountered and counseled with many newly arrived Italians, and in the interest of all concerned he never failed to explain and emphasize the privileges and advantages of American citizenship. Representing, as I do, the 39th Congressional District of New York in which Dr. Passannante lived, I am fully aware of his great contribution in assisting those in need of help and guidance, particularly in regard to immigration matters.

Dr. Passannante's life was a rich and full one, and the community in which he spent it is a better one for his having lived there. His countless friends will cherish his memory.

Will Motorists See Signs or Scenery?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Waterville Sentinel dated August 10, 1957:

WILL MOTORISTS SEE SIGNS OR SCENERY?

Congress has demonstrated a remarkable indifference to the question whether Americans are going to see billboards or scenery when they drive on the new Federal Superhighway System. Either the billboard lobby has had its way, or our delegates in Washington have decided that they simply can't be bothered with this matter.

Whatever the cause, the idea of billboard control seems to have withered on the congressional vine. Unless it can be revived, motorists on the coming highway system will not see the broad sweep of the American countryside but will have to be satisfied with glimpses caught between signboards.

Controlling the size and placement of billboards among the highway would be neither an invasion of State rights, as the outdoor advertising lobby has asserted, nor an unwarranted curb on free enterprise. On the

contrary, it would be a kind of zoning to preserve the natural beauty of which Americans are justly proud. That sort of zoning has won general public acceptance. Without it, our residential areas, far from having open space and trees and lawns and gardens, would probably soon become scabrous with signboards and jerry-built structures of all kinds.

In every large city, and in many smaller communities, there are blocks and blocks made ugly by this sort of thing. Unhappily, it has become a distinguishing mark of the American urban landscape. Reasonable control over outdoor advertising along the new Federal Highway System would help to prevent the spread of such ugliness into our countryside. Billboard control is in the public interest.

The Drought, the Surplus, and Foreign Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I think it is particularly appropriate at this time to submit the editorial from the Hartford Courant of August 14, 1957, for insertion in the RECORD.

The editors of the Courant have effectively pointed out the important factors involved in the current drought situation in Connecticut. While an excellent case can be made for aiding the drought-stricken farmers, it is unnecessary to bring in extraneous issues which have the dangerous potentiality of undermining the confidence of the public in necessary programs in operation today.

The editorial follows:

THE DROUGHT, THE SURPLUS, AND FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

At least two politicians have seized upon Connecticut's current drought situation to take gratuitous cracks at the foreign aid program. There is an attitude that tends to blame all troubles on participation in international affairs. The "foreigners" can be accused. As usual, the drought remarks are demonstrably wrong. They take the form of thinking that all feed grains and the like are being shipped overseas free, thereby making them unavailable to local farmers, and that it's easier to qualify in India for help than it is here.

What is now happening in Connecticut is that feed for cattle is going to be short this year, as a result of pastures having been dried up in this season. It has been suggested that farmers ought to be allowed to purchase commodity surplus stocks at reduced prices. If the area were declared a disaster area, they could. But the disaster law was written to guarantee survival of basic breeding herds, and Washington doesn't think this State qualifies—nor has South Dakota, New Jersey, Massachusetts, or Rhode Island, which made similar appeals.

The foreign aid crack has been dragged in by the heels. But the truth is that a recent survey showed exports of feed grains running behind last year's, while supplies are still high. A big carryover of feed grains is in prospect. The total supply is adequate to meet all prospective requirements for domestic use and exports, a Senate committee was told earlier this year. Farm Bureau spokesmen are urging a renewed effort to dispose of surpluses overseas, for production elsewhere is continuing to grow. And they recognize that unwise efforts to dump these surpluses—selling them at reduced prices—can harm domestic markets.

So the farmer's argument is with other farmers who don't want to see the Government competing with existing markets by cutting prices. There's a question of the taxpayer's interest, too, for he's the one who bought and paid for these surpluses, whether he liked it or not. The Connecticut farmer, hard hit by the drought in this extraordinary season, can make a good case for special privilege in the purchase of surplus feed. Certainly it makes sense to open these surpluses for sale to relieve a severe hardship. But there should be no reason to quarrel with other legitimate uses, covered by legislation, which are in the interest of the United States.

Ryukyuan Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the strategic location of the Ryukyu chain of islands has fostered this archipelago into a position of prime importance in the defense and security of the free world. The main island of Okinawa has become the bastion of United States defense forces in that area of this planet. This group of islands has been under the physical control of the United States since the cessation of hostilities at the conclusion of World War II. The peace treaty with Japan provided that this physical jurisdiction would be for an indefinite length of time.

The future status of the Ryukyus recently received a great deal of attention as a result of the visit to Washington of the Prime Minister of Japan. The communique issued jointly on June 21 by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan referred to this question and mentioned that this problem was constantly being reviewed and receiving consideration at the highest levels of Government. However, as long as present international conditions continued as they now exist, final determination would have to be delayed. Finally, the communique confirmed the pertinent provisions of the peace treaty in this respect.

At this time, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleague a newspaper editorial which appeared originally in the Korean Republic of Seoul, Korea, and which was reprinted in the Okinawa Morning Star.

This editorial was brought to my attention by Mr. William Perkins, a former resident of Grand Junction, Colo. Mr. Perkins has served the past 4 years with the United States Civil Administration in the Ryukyus. In that period of time, he has developed a very keen understanding of the local problems, and is greatly interested in the future prosperity and progress of the islands.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial follows:

[From the Okinawa Morning Star of July 27, 1957]

RYUKYUAN FREEDOM

(The following editorial is reprinted from the July 12 edition of the Korean Republic, a daily newspaper in Seoul.)

One of the first and foremost tasks of an Asian alliance would be the protection of the Ryukyus against a predatory Japan. On the fate of the Ryukyus may well hinge the future of national self-determination in this part of the world.

Japan's claims in the Ryukyus are of no more validity than its assertions to 85 percent of the property in Korea. The claims are based upon a long-continuing aggression against another country, and Ryukyuan return to the Japanese would serve as a precedent for attempts to extend the new Japanese Empire to Korea, the Philippines, Indochina, and the rest of Southeast Asia.

Ryukyu formerly was a fully soverign and highly civilized country. For a time, Chinese influence was very strong there, but the Chinese never sought to extinguish Ryukyuan nationalism. Japanese and Chinese influences clashed during the 18th and 19th centuries. Finally, in 1874, Japan swallowed up the islands in one of the first aggressions of the modern Japanese imperialistic era.

Ryukyuan nationals became second-class Japanese citizens. Their role was to raise food for the Japanese, and that was what they did. Japanese nationals controlled all business, all economic opportunity, and most property. Ryukyuan culture was ruthlessly suppressed, and higher education was denied.

When the United States achieved the total defeat of Japan in World War II, it was presumed that the Ryukyus would be dealt with as Cuba and the Philippines had after the Spanish-American War. Gen. Douglas MacArthur implied a period of democratic tutelage, such as that in the Philippines, and then a granting of complete independence. Unfortunately, some pro-Japanese Americans never accepted this; they wanted the Ryukyus returned to Japan, and undertook a propaganda campaign to persuade others that the people and islands were Japanese and therefore could not be given their freedom.

The success of this campaign has been indicated in statements by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that Japan has residual sovereignty in the Ryukyus. Even more shocking was the declaration in the Eisenhower-Kishi communique, issued following the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Washington, that the United States expects to return Ryukyus to Japan at some unspecified date when the danger of Communist aggression has been ended.

Asians who really believe and practice what they say about freedom and democracy can never countenance this. The Ryukyuans are not Japanese or Chinese or anything else except Ryukyuan. They cannot be given to anybody, and if the United States persists in trying to do so, it will be regarded as a colonial power giving away its possessions as though they were pawns in a game of power politics.

What the United States has failed to understand—largely because of the deceptions of the pro-Japanese Americans—is that Japan, as well as communism, has embarked upon a career of Far Eastern aggression. Okinawa is a steppingstone to Formosa, the Philippines, and southeast Asia. Once before the United States ignored Japanese advances into Korea, Manchuria, and China—and the cost of that failure was the Pacific war. The mistake must not be repeated.

An Asian alliance—starting with a nucleus of Vietnam, the Philippines, and Korea—could and should bar Japan's aggressive bid for the Ryukyus or any other piece of territory that does not historically belong to the Japanese. Such an alliance—closely linked to the United States for purposes of mutual

security—also would serve to counter Japanese propaganda and bring America back to its adamant defense of the rights of self-determination, freedom, and independence for all states and peoples.

Free Asians know that Japan cannot be trusted, and why. It is up to them to get together and—with or without American assistance—block the way to renewed Japanese aggression.

Crossroads on the Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert the following article from the Washington Evening Star of August 14, 1957, entitled "Crossroads on the Rights Bill" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CROSSROADS ON THE RIGHTS BILL—OUTLOOK FOR MEASURE VIEWED AS BEING A LITTLE LEGISLATION OR NONE AT ALL

(By Doris Fleeson)

President Eisenhower cancelled his press conference this week without explanation. An informed guess is that he has not yet found his way through the civil rights wood where the tall presidential timber is sticking up a mile.

Every informed person here now knows that if Republicans would accept a civil rights bill with a modified form of jury trial in it, that bill would be approved by Congress and on its way to the President for signature within a short time.

The battle for the civil rights groups outside Congress has been won. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is actively seeking approval of the Senate bill as the best available. The AFL–CIO is urging its adoption as a practical matter.

A great portion, perhaps most, of the Nation's press is relieved that a messy filibuster has been avoided, not unhappy about a jury trial in some form and praising the joint Senate effort that brought about the legislation.

In a really remarkable show of comity, the Senate leaders, Democrat LYNDON JOHNSON and Republican WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, have joined in a warning to the national chairmen of both parties to keep hands off the situation.

The President, on the record, does not care to buck trends of this type. He has an innate distaste for purely political maneuvering, which is where the civil rights bill currently stands. It must be as clear to him as it is to everyone else that the burden of proof has shifted from the framers of the Senate bill to those who would now so act that no bill at all would be the inevitable result.

The front man for the latter group is House Republican Leader JOE MARTIN. To what extent he has in his corner the strategists who framed the first salvos against the jury trial amendment—Vice President NIXON and Acting Attorney General William P. Rogers—is not clear.

MARTIN certainly has on his side the die-hard southern Democrats of the House. This is an old coalition, and its capacity to be difficult, starting with its entrenched position on the Rules Committee, is very, very great.

It can stick to its hardnose attitude that the Senate version must go to conference with the House only if the President and Vice President allow it. The President has JOE MARTIN's ear, and so does NIXON.

As matters now stand by kind of weird justice, the Democrats are beginning to look like the civil rights party. Their southern Senators sacrificed the sacred filibuster to allow the passage of the first Federal civil rights statute since Reconstruction. It may be better or worse than it looks, but it's there.

There are Republicans, too, who can take credit, but any veteran of the congressional galleries will certify that there have consistently been more Democrats favoring civil rights legislation through the years than Republicans by a fairly wide margin. The number in Congress who have a passionate conviction about the issue is another story entirely.

The counsels now reaching the President's ear are carefully guarded from the public view and there will be no gathering of reporters to smoke them out this week.

What he has to gain, where his intense anxieties focus, is, however, clear. In an extraordinary White House meeting, he has begged 20 congressional leaders—half from each party—to support the full amount of foreign aid in the compromise bill. It is only realistic to suggest that his control of that situation is in part dependent on how carefully he treads the civil rights path with a Democratic majority in the Congress.

Foreign Aid Pipeline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in today's Washington Daily News outlines in a comparatively few words, the reason for the action of the House of Representatives yesterday in upholding the cuts in the foreign affairs recommendation by the Appropriations Committee:

MONEY IN THE PIPELINE

President Eisenhower has a real fight on his hands in attempting to avoid deeper cuts in the appropriations for foreign aid.

Judging by his extraordinary efforts, he regards this as the biggest issue between him and Congress. He puts it virtually on a life-and-death basis.

The cuts approved by the House in a rousing battle were made in the face of the President's dramatic pleas, which included a threat to call Congress back in special session.

Despite all the fuss, the amount of the House reduction is less than Congress cut from foreign-aid requests in any year of the Eisenhower administration except 1955.

But what the House obviously had in mind was the huge backlog of foreign-aid money still in the pipelines. As of June 30, more than $6 billion previously appropriated still was unspent—enough in itself as the House Appropriations Committee pointed out, to run the program well into 1959.

Beyond this, another couple of billions will be available for assistance to other countries in foreign currencies accumulated under the surplus crop disposal program abroad.

So there is no lack of money for this program. On the contrary, there is more than can be spent, prudently or otherwise.

Both the President and some of his supporters allege that the cuts cannot be justified. But it is not the cuts which need to be justified. It is the spending of taxpayer money, for whatever purpose. The President simply has not made out a case, as the House action demonstrated. The Senate, on the same basis, should follow suit.

A Family Fights Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the Parade magazine of Sunday, August 11, contains an excellent story entitled "A Family Fights Back." This story is a moving drama of life in the coastal lands of Louisiana, lands that have been recently ripped by the violent forces of the hurricane Audrey. It is of intense interest.

Aside from the fascinating interest of this article, I call the attention of this Congress to the fact that we have a Federal program of water utilization. More than the wind, in this instance the damage was done by the violence of water. Whether it be in Louisiana or elsewhere we are concerned with the proper handling of our water resources and the proper curbing of the violence and devastation which arises when elemental forces are unbridled and unchecked. I am happy over the fact that I have been able to serve for several years as President of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and in this capacity I have had more than the average opportunity to see in proper focus our water problems, whether these problems arise out of the great deserts or arid regions of the Southwest or whether they arise along the coastal plains of the Atlantic, Pacific, or Gulf of Mexico.

The article is as follows:

A FAMILY FIGHTS BACK

(By Sid Ross)

(Rarely has the Nation been so ravaged by weather as during the first 7 months of 1957. Tornadoes crisscrossed the South and Southwest; floods smashed through Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia; blizzards tore into 13 Midwest and Southwest States; torrential rains drenched the Pacific coast; the worst spring snowstorms in 20 years paralyzed the Rocky Mountain States. This summer the first of the year's dreaded hurricanes boiled out of the Caribbean, smashed into Louisiana's gulf coast. Called Audrey, she left havoc and a high death toll (over 600) in her wake. Headlines flashed each of these disasters—in terms of lives lost, damage done. But what about those who survived? In this 20th century of scientific wonders, what happens to man and his machines when nature explodes? And what does today's average American do when everything but the clothes on his back is swept away? To find out, Parade visited a family that lived through the nightmare of Audrey. Theirs is a story of terror, suspense and quiet heroism—and two clear conclusions: Man and his biggest works still are but puny things before the giant fist of nature. Americans—despite charges that modern living has turned them soft—still

have the gumption of their pioneering forefathers to rebuild with their bare hands what nature casually destroys.)

CAMERON, LA.—It was a day much like other days—Wednesday, June 26. Warren (Gage) Miller, 40, busied himself looking after the chicks he was raising out back. His wife, Ruby, 36, made ready to sew a new dress for their oldest daughter, Frances, 13. Their 3 other girls—Judy, 7, Karen, 6, and Donna, 4—played in the backyard.

By 10 p. m. the Millers were getting ready for bed. Staying with them that night were 8 relatives. Most had come because hurricane Audrey was bearing down on the Louisiana coast from the Gulf of Mexico and the big, 4-bedroom house was considered safe because it was on high ground.

Nobody was too worried. Extra cans of water had been put away and some candles fetched. But the Millers saw no immediate danger; the latest weather forecast said Audrey would not hit till the next afternoon, giving folks plenty of time to make the safety of inland Lake Charles, only an hour's ride away.

DECISION TO STAY

What nobody knew was that (1) Audrey had picked up speed; and (2) she was pushing ahead of her a giant tidal wave, later estimated at 9- to 20-feet high.

Before retiring, Gage Miller checked up. Outside the night was calm. He decided (because "we're used to a little wind down here") not to leave the next day for Lake Charles.

Gage hated to leave his home and property. He'd worked close to 20 years—in a cotton gin and as a farmer—before building it, mostly with his own two hands.

In the back he had a chicken house, with over 1,000 5-week-old chicks. Along one side was a row of 9 small bungalows, which he rented to transient oilfield workers (that afternoon he'd collected $80 in rent). Down the road a few hundred yards stood a filling station and grocery store, which he also rented. At 40, Gage Miller was a fairly well-to-do man.

But time had already run out for him—and his neighbors.

At midnight the Weather Bureau changed its prediction; the hurricane, it warned, would hit the coast early in the morning. Few people heard.

Like the Millers, most were asleep, their radios turned off.

But Doug Murphy was awake.

A brother of Mrs. Miller, Doug had brought some relatives to the Miller home. Worried about the storm, he lay awake with the radio turned on very low. At 2 a. m. he heard that Audrey would hit in about 7 hours.

Doug dressed quickly, woke up Gage, then drove off to pick up his mother-in-law a few miles away. Gage meanwhile sped off in the opposite direction, to awake the school janitor and have him open the new brick schoolhouse as a refuge for possible storm victims.

When Gage started out, there were a few drops of rain, a few gusts of wind. When he reached the janitor's home a few minutes later, the rain was coming down in sheets. Orvis Portie, the janitor, lost no time. Driving to the school, he kept one hand on the horn to wake people up. Some ignored the alarm, thinking there still was plenty of time for a getaway, and went back to sleep.

Within minutes after Portie opened the school, people were pushing into it. Doug Murphy dropped his mother-in-law there, then took off for the Miller house. He brought with him husky, 17-year-old Gary Primeaux, figuring help would be needed to transport the women from the home to the schoolhouse. But it was already too late.

Back home, Gage Miller had also decided that it was time to go. He helped rouse and dress the children. They were about to leave when Doug came rushing in.

His face was white. "The water's up to the running board of my truck—and it's still rising.

Gage took one look outside and saw they'd never make the schoolhouse. Waves of water—the advance guard of the tidal wave—churned at the house. A heavy tool box floated by the front door.

They saw four cars picking their way along the road toward the schoolhouse. Near the Miller home the cars stopped, unable to go any further. The people got out and raced through the storm to the Miller home.

There were 16 altogether, men, women and children. Soaking wet and frightened, the children crying, the women began apologizing for "muddying up your clean floor." Ruby Miller shushed them, made some warm milk for the children, wrapped them in blankets.

By six there was light enough to see the water as it raced through the back yard, smashing at the walls of the house. The surging, racing water was close to three-feet high; just a few inches more and it would begin pouring into the house.

Gage ducked out to the garage, brought back a stepladder. "I figured," he says "we'd need it if we had to climb up to the attic. But I never dreamed the water would get as high as it did."

WATER AND WIND

On the way Gage saw that the chicken house—and the thousands of dollars in chicks, not to mention the tiny creatures themselves—had already been washed away. An hour later he figured his house was about gone. Water, pounding with sledge-hammer force, crashed through the front windows, cascading across the floor.

Then there was a sudden jar. The water—and 120 miles per hour winds—slammed the house off its concrete blocks, knocking it back against a steel television antenna. ("Maybe that's what kept the house from being swept away like the others," says Gage.)

In a few minutes the water was pouring through the windows in a torrent. The men tore down doors and nailed them to the windows, but tons of water flipped the doors aside like matchsticks, flooding over the men.

Gage put a stepladder under the trap door and, one by one, the 30 men, women and children squirmed into the narrow stifling attic. The light from one small candle made flickering shadows against the walls.

Frightened, Ruby Miller still could plan. "I was sure the house would be smashed to pieces by the water. I told my husband that when it happened, he should grab one child while I held on to another. Then I asked a man and a woman, who didn't have children of their own, to try to hold on to our other two."

There was a crack in the attic floor. The oldest Miller girl, Frances, looked through and saw the water swirling through the house, sweeping away furniture, pots and pans, clothes, everything. And it kept getting higher and higher.

Always there was noise: the wind howled; the house creaked, groaned, shook like a leaf in a storm; the water roared; logs flung by the waves cracked against the walls.

About 8:30 a. m. there was a new sound—a grinding, ripping noise. Then, with a jarring crash, one side of the house swept away.

The women began crying hysterically, but, amazingly, the rest of the house held—for a while. At 11 there was another ripping noise; Gage saw the front porch scud away.

"I huddled the family together," says Gage, who still licks his lips nervously when he talks about it. "My wife, Frances, and myself formed a circle around the smaller children. Any moment we thought we'd be separated."

The water was now almost up to the attic floor. "We had nowhere else to go," says Gage, "since we didn't have tools to cut through to the roof. I figured if the Lord didn't help us now, we'd either drown in the attic or be washed away with the house."

Everybody prayed. A 76-year-old woman kept repeating the 23d Psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want * * *." A young man fell to his knees and prayed silently.

A gaping hole had been torn in the side of the attic and through it they could see the churning water rising toward them. "We all started to cry," says Frances. "But we held tight to each other. If we were going to die, I wanted us all to die together."

A few hours later—about 1 p. m.—Gage and others noticed something that gave them hope. They'd been watching the water, now over 5 feet high in the yard, inching up a telephone pole. It had stopped inching. Hopefully, prayerfully, they strained their eyes, staring at the pole. Then a boy looked through the crack at the water downstairs. "There's no more furniture," he cried happily, "but the water's going down."

By 2 p. m.—after more than 6 hours in the cramped attic—two of the men decided to risk trying to get to the schoolhouse. An hour later they were back with good news: some 30 people there, including relatives of some in the attic, had survived the storm. "We had thought," says Mrs. Miller, "that they were drowned for sure, since the schoolhouse is on lower ground."

Gage and the rest decided to set out for the schoolhouse. Carrying the women and children, they made it.

HELICOPTERS COME

On the way, they could evaluate some of the damage. "All but one of our bungalows had been swept away, just as though they were never there," says Ruby. "The Baptist Church was gone, just gone. I kept thinking: How many have died?"

In the school pantry they found food for the dazed, shocked victims. All Thursday afternoon and evening, and far into the night, they sat in various states of exhaustion.

Early the next morning Fourth Army helicopters came to evacuate those at the schoolhouse. The Millers, in the last group to leave, were brought to Lake Charles.

There, for some, were happy reunions with their families. But for others, there would never be any reunion.

Today, living rent free by courtesy of Lake Charles townspeople until he can get started again, Gage Miller looks to the future with confidence. But, he admits, he's starting from scratch.

"I got out with just $80 in my pocket and the clothes on our back," he says grimly. "I've got about $100 in the bank and that's about all. The house is a total wreck; it will have to be torn down and rebuilt. My two cars are wrecked. The bungalows are all gone, except one, and so are my chickens and the gas station. I also owe about $12,000."

Insurance will help some but not nearly enough to cover his losses, which Gage estimates at between $65,000 and $70,000.

LOOKING AHEAD

There were other costs. Neither Gage nor Ruby will ever erase the memory of Audrey from their minds. A week later, revisiting desolated Cameron, they saw nightmarish scenes that still horrify them: houses turned upside down and strewn over the marshes; bloated carcasses of farm animals; hundreds of wrecked automobiles; scores of poisonous snakes, washed out of swamps, slithering along the roads.

All this won't soon be forgotten by Gage and Ruby. He still can't speak about the storm without beads of sweat breaking out on his face. Where once she took pleasure in the cool gulf breezes, she now turns pale at the slightest sound of wind, even the soft blowing of an electric fan.

But they're going back to the gulf coast—even if it means the threat of new hurricanes. "That's my home," explains Gage, "where I was born and raised and where I hope to be buried. During the storm I promised the Lord that I'd work harder if we came through it alive. And I will. I can't wait to get started. We'll build a smaller house here, and I'll make out—some way."

He turned away and looked out toward the gulf with brimming eyes, and said quietly, "We're not licked."

A Sad View of the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with my own remarks I am including an editorial from the Wall Street Journal for Friday, August 16, 1957, entitled "A Sad View of the World."

This seems especially appropriate in view of our action on yesterday in sustaining the cuts made by the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Foreign Operations from the President's request for foreign-aid money.

The editorial follows:

A SAD VIEW OF THE WORLD

One does not ordinarily expect Presidents to talk of extraordinary sessions of Congress except to meet grave situations. And what is it that has provoked President Eisenhower into hinting at a special session this fall?

The provocation is Congress' action on the mutual-security program. The President asked for an authorization to spend another $3.9 billion for aid to other countries. The Congress authorized $3.4 billion, and it may appropriate less. This difference caused the President to call an impromptu press conference and warn that he may have to call Congress back.

Mr. Eisenhower offered "the really prayerful hope" that $3.4 billion would be enough, "but there is no disguising the fact that the effects of the $500 million cut will be serious." Reductions in foreign aid, he said, may put the interests of the United States in real jeopardy. Then he would have no recourse but a special session.

Now, this is grave talk indeed. It is the kind of talk that would certainly be appropriate if an irresponsible Congress had left the Government without funds for our Armed Forces; in view of the President's opinion about foreign aid, it might have been expected from him if Congress had suddenly abolished the whole program.

But this is not what happened. Three billion dollars, and more, is no small sum. And Mr. Eisenhower is not merely arguing that more would be better. He is saying that even a few millions less can be a life-and-death matter for our national interests, a question of such great urgency that it may not wait between August and January.

It is almost impossible to find this credible.

But if the President is right, if somehow that is actually the case, then it seems to us he has raised far graver questions than whether foreign aid should be $3.4 billion or $3.9 billion or some other sum.

Consider: In World War II the United States had to support its allies to the extent of something like $50 billion, over and above the billions spent on our own forces. Since World War II we have levied upon ourselves to the extent of some $60 billion—the exact figure is lost in a welter of budget categories—to give aid to other non-Communist nations.

This postwar money has gone not only to help these countries repair war-torn areas and to give them guns against a next war. It has gone also to bolster their currencies, irrigate their farms, develop their resources, and thus make them economically strong so they can be dependable members of the alliance against communism.

Yet the inescapable implication in the President's grave view of the situation is that in all of this we have not improved our position a whit. What he now says about the urgency for foreign aid is hardly altered from what President Truman said when pleading for a temporary foreign-aid program in 1947, a full 10 years ago.

This is indeed a sad view of the world. For the inescapable conclusion must be that all our treasure has bought practically nothing of value. If after all those billions our friends and allies are still so weak, or so undetermined, that they will collapse for want of some $500 million then the platform we have built is too flimsy to stand on at all. If the President is right, then the thing to question is not the $500 million but the whole thing.

Fortunately for our own peace of mind, we do not really believe that all is so dire; the tail end of congressional sessions is the season for political arguments to become ultimatums. But if the world is in so sad a shape as Mr. Eisenhower says, then a few hundred millions more of foreign aid offers no remedy.

The Role of Private Industry in the Development of Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, in its editorial of Monday morning, August 12, the Hartford Courant very clearly underlines the necessity for the strong role to be played in the development of atomic energy by private enterprise. I believe it is most pertinent, at this time, to submit this editorial for the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

A PUBLIC POWER BIAS CUT FROM THE AEC BILL

The House of Representatives has shown good judgment in amending the appropriations bill for the Atomic Energy Commission. Public power advocates had been anxious to write into it strong language directing the AEC to spend $130 million for cooperative power and to build three new experimental plants. These should be administrative decisions. The Democratic majority on the Joint Committee had insisted on forcing the issue, although some Government reactor construction envisioned in the bill had neither been sought by the administration nor approved by the Bureau of the Budget.

A minority report signed by Representative JAMES T. PATTERSON opposing the appropriations bill as originally presented commented that this was the first time the public power versus private-power fight had cropped up on funding within the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The efforts of the public power bloc have now been temporarily checkmated. They appeared reasonable, scattered through the bill to look like other AEC projects. But they amounted to an effort to put the Government deeply into the atomic power business, to provide construction projects for certain favored groups including Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover's technical staff, and to play down the substantial contribution being made by private power elements to the nuclear-power concept.

In one of those developments, the AEC has just announced it is ready to issue a construction permit for the Yankee atomic project in Rowe, Mass. This is the project that concerns four Connecticut utilities and means the first atomic powerplant in New England. It is concrete evidence of the progress of private agencies in bringing nuclear power to the aid of the people. It is a milestone reached despite the dragging of feet by some elements in Congress, including those who have kept a hammerlock on insurance guaranties while insisting on public development. The House has acted wisely to encourage taxpaying private industry to go ahead with the job. Let the Senate do likewise.

Delay for the Natural Gas Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert the following article from the Washington Evening Star of August 14, 1957, entitled "Delay for the Natural Gas Bill" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

DELAY FOR THE NATURAL GAS BILL—TEXAS DEMOCRATS REPORTED DECIDING TO GIVE UP ON ACTION TILL 1958

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

In this day of soaring prices the lowly consumer should perhaps be grateful for small favors.

In this instance, the subject is the consumer of natural gas—some 40 million of him. He has been granted a stay of undetermined duration. This comes about through the decision of the Texas Democratic leadership of Congress that it will not press for action in this session on the bill to exempt natural gas producers from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

Such exemption would almost surely cause a boost in natural gas prices. That is the view of experts.

The decision by the Texas Democratic leadership—Speaker of the House SAM RAYBURN and Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Democratic Senate leader—is one dictated by necessity, not by any cooling of their ardor for this measure sought by the big oil companies which own the bulk of the Nation's natural-gas reserves. They hope to get the bill through at the next session of Congress.

The real reason for abandoning the bill at this session is that the Speaker made a count of noses in the House and found he was short of enough votes to put it over, though his excuse publicly was that because of the long session Members of the House

are too "unstrung" to tackle such a controversial measure. That's a new one for the book. Everything had been all set to jam the bill through. It had been approved some time ago by the appropriate legislative committee—the Interstate Commerce Committee—and had the green light from the powerful Rules Committee to go to the floor.

Speaker RAYBURN, you may remember, had some trouble in getting the House to swallow the bill in the last Congress. He had to take the floor himself, which a Speaker seldom does, and cast into the balance his prestige and the influence he wields because of his position. He turned the trick by a mere handful of votes. But he knew he had been through an ordeal.

Victory for the measure was much easier in the Senate for the other Texan, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON. Then, presto, his triumph and that of Speaker RAYBURN was spoiled by President Eisenhower, who vetoed the bill somewhat unexpectedly, but on account of the arrogance of the oil and gas lobby and not because of the principle, which he said he favors and still does.

The strategy of the Democratic leadership was to push the bill through again at this session and get it out of the way now instead of waiting until the next session of this 85th Congress, which will be just ahead of the 1958 congressional elections. Dramatizing the issue in an election year, it was feared, might hurt Democratic candidates in consumer States of the East and Middle West, even though Democrats in those areas, like Republicans, vigorously oppose the bill. Democrats are in control of this Congress and thus responsible for its record.

But now the Texas Democratic leaders have to postpone action, and thus take their chances of political repercussions. It is their hope, however, and it may have some basis, that President Eisenhower can also be saddled with the blame and thus take some of the curse off of the Democratic Party, or at least confuse the voters.

They feel sure that the President will sign the bill if Congress passes it next session.

A few weeks ago, during public hearings by the House Interstate Commerce Committee, an administration official submitted on behalf of the President two amendments designed to protect the consumer. The oil and gas industry let up a great howl of protest. Whereupon the President promptly backed down in a letter to the committee saying he was not really insisting on these amendments, but that enactment of the bill was the essential thing. Naturally the amendments were eliminated pronto, and the bill approved without them.

We might take some encouragement from abandonment of the bill for this session, though very cautious encouragement. Maybe the constant fight by consumer interests has had some effect. We can't be too optimistic, because of the tremendous power that oil exerts in each party through its campaign contributions. Not in recent years has it lost a fight in Congress. Up to now its money and its influence have spoken far louder than the consumer and taxpayer.

But we might as well enjoy this respite while it lasts—and keep our fingers crossed.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Cry at the Crossroads," found in the Tampa Tribune for Monday, August 12.

The editorial page of the Tribune is one of the most widely respected and read of editorial pages in our State. It is always enlightened and accurate. It continually provides leadership and guidance to its many readers. It has always been and is now true to its southern heritage. It does this recognizing the inevitable growth and change over the long course of history.

I hope my southern colleagues will read and reflect upon this editorial prior to the final vote on the so-called civil-rights bill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CRY AT THE CROSSROADS

Southern Congressmen stand this week at a crossroads in history where both principle and the hard realities of their own sectional interest plead eloquently not for the defeat of the Senate civil-rights bill but rather for its passage.

This we declare while thumbing through the Constitution to the 15th amendment, and in looking to the past, the present, and through the haze toward the future.

The past tells us that after 1870 the southern power in the Senate blocked all civil rights bills for 87 years. The present testifies that southern Senators, although still influential far beyond their number, are no longer in absolute command; a bill shorn of its harsh provisions but appreciably implementing the right to vote has actually passed the Senate. The future warns that if this reasonable compromise is not enacted now, the time may come when compromise is no longer possible.

The Constitution declares that the right to vote may not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude. Further, it says that Congress shall have power to enforce the article by appropriate legislation.

As the crucial week begins, southerners in the House would do themselves and their peoples a lasting disservice if they peremptorily brush aside the sharp and critically important distinctions between the amended bill now before them and the bill which the House passed earlier over their proper cries of indignation.

First and foremost, the Senate has stripped the bill of its perilous part III. This was the shotgun clause, empowering the Attorney General to file his own suits for injunction on any alleged denial of civil right. Under part III, the Attorney General could have scattered law suits indiscriminately across the South in a drive to force rapid desegregation in the schools.

Such suits inevitably would have stirred bittered dissension in direct proportion to their number, for the South is already resentful deeply troubled by the conflict between its old custom and the new interpretation of law, hard put to keep down the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils.

Within section III lay the seeds of a discord unparalled since reconstruction. It might well have disrupted the schools instead of integrating them. It was an invitation to a rule of nightriders rather than a rule of law.

But the Senate, in its wisdom, has rooted part III out of the bill, knowing that in essence desegregation cannot be forced by a United States marshal but can come only where it is accepted in the hearts and minds of men.

As the bill stands now, the Attorney General's powers in civil law would be limited to enforcing the right to vote, and here the Senate has added a second safeguard. If a defendant is charged with criminal contempt of a court order, he may demand trial by jury.

The measure still sets up a Civil Rights Commission to investigate denials of constitutional right with power of subpena. It could not do more than hear, inquire, and recommend.

(The bill has also picked up a quiet rider not associated with its purposes. It would arrogantly provide jail or fine for public disclosure of the Commission's proceedings when secret. This threat to press freedom regrettably clutters the issue and should be stricken.)

But in essence the Senate's plan is a right-to-vote bill. It deals with the incontrovertible right in a democracy.

The South cannot quarrel with the 15th amendment nor can it deny that in some States (and in a few counties in Florida) the absence of Negro registrations defies any reasonable explanation except intimidation.

This is the right that is spelled out without question. It is not open to doubt nor is it any interpretation based on moral and sociological reasoning. It is absolute.

We do not suggest that southern Congressmen support this bill where it would mean political suicide. But if they make effective intrigue against it, in incongruous coalition with some northern liberals who would also like to kill it, they swap a temporary satisfaction for the danger of drastic measures to come.

If no civil-rights bill of any kind is passed this year, what of 1958? Next year is election year. The voice of the bloc in the galleries may be too much for the parliamentary brilliance of RICHARD RUSSELL and the cloakroom diplomacy of LYNDON JOHNSON. If nothing is passed now, there is scant hope that JOHNSON and RUSSELL can work their magic again.

We fear the consequences for both South and Nation if a harsh and punitive bill were passed because this one failed. At this crossroads in Congress and in the tense years ahead, the need is for men of both North and South who will seek a firm middle ground in a spirit of restraint and reason. The lessons of past and present, and the omens of the future, cry for honorable compromise.

Report on Far East: Part III. United States Has Been Left Holding the Bag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, article III of the series of articles on the conditions in the Far East as reported by the veteran newspaper reporter, J. Lacey Reynolds, appears herewith:

[From the Nashville Tennessean of July 31, 1957]

J. LACEY REYNOLDS REPORTS: UNITED STATES HAS BEEN LEFT "HOLDING THE BAG" THROUGHOUT FAR EAST—NOW THE JAPS WANT US OUT OF OKINAWA

HONOLULU.—The American position in the Far East is a sad sight to behold. It has deteriorated rapidly and alarmingly since my last survey of the situation there 2 years ago.

Mobs such as that which demolished our Embassy and defiled our flag in Formosa last May reveal a latent hostility toward us, even among our supposed friends.

Demonstrations in Japan and the Philippines indicate we have overstayed our welcome. Friction between American personnel and native populations means the United States will have to make more and more concessions if permitted to operate bases on foreign soil.

Without so much as a polite nod, Japan and the leading commercial nations of the world are elbowing us aside, hell-bent to resume trade with Communist China.

WE'RE OUT ON THE RIM

We sit like wallflowers on the mountaintops that ring the picturesque harbor of Hong Kong, watching fat cargo ships flying the flags of almost all the world unloading into jostling junks flying the Red flag of China and the day's laundry.

The Stars and Stripes flies, not from cargo ships, but only from the masts of visiting American warships or passenger lines. They represent a conspicuous minority in all that armada of shipping.

In the eyes of many orientals, we have become the symbol of hated colonialism. It does not matter that we, as a Nation, have never attempted to wield great colonial power. Nor does it matter that our record in the Philippines is a paragon of decency and restraint in the exercise and relinquishment of colonial rule. The sins of other colonial exploiters have been visited upon us. We have been taken on a snipe hunt and left holding the bag.

THE BAN ON NEWSMEN

American newspapermen have long chafed under the State Department's ban on entry to Red China. While Washington quibbles and filibusters about lifting the ban, they sit frustrated in the press clubs of Tokyo and Hong Kong. They monitor the Peking radio (which has won no Pulitzer prize for its objectivity). More galling still, they interview European reporters who can travel in and out of China without restriction. What they have to say about the State Department—well, Secretary Dulles is just too young to hear such language.

The Japanese press is stepping up a synthetic campaign for return of the bloodbathed island of Okinawa—the most deadly American air fortress in the Far East. Within range of planes stationed there live one-fourth of the people of the world. Its air arms reach out in a great arc that extends to Borneo, Burma, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, and Vladivostok.

More than 12,000 Americans lost their lives capturing this 67-mile island in the last great battle of World War II. On the Hagushi beachhead where our plane touched down, more than 2,000 Americans died on Easter Sunday, 1945, in the initial assault wave. Ernie Pyle fell on a nearby island—the GI's favorite war correspondent. Three-quarters of a billion dollars worth of hardware has been lavished on this vital piece of ocean real estate. It bristles with arms like an aroused porcupine.

"YANKEE MONKEYS"

Yet, Japanese Premier Kishi had the temerity to suggest in his talks with President Eisenhower last month that the Japanese flag be flown alongside ours as a symbol of Japan's residual sovereignty which we have already conceded. And, as recently as July 9, demonstrators carried signs in front of the United States Embassy in Tokyo reading: "Yankee monkeys, pull out of Japan and Okinawa."

The flag matter was not mentioned in the Eisenhower-Kishi communique. The story leaked out 2 weeks later, ironically arriving in the Far East on Independence Day.

One American made this brittle observation: "Why not give the White House back to the British, now that we've fixed it up?" Representative CARROLL D. KEARNS, Republican, of Pennsylvania, with whom I was traveling as his special assistant, said if we returned Okinawa before we were through with it, we would be "Just a bunch of magnanimous fools."

We walked the ruins of the American Embassy on Formosa and saw half a roomful of busted typewriters and office machines. All day long on "black Friday," May 24, a mob had sacked and looted the building, uncontrolled by the T'ai-pei police. An American court-martial had acquitted an American sergeant on manslaughter charges for shooting a Chinese "peeping Tom."

Despite the repeated apologies of President Chiang Kai-shek and other sincerely sorry officials, the question lingered: "Why did you have to do it?—You of all people?—You whom we picked up from the dust of defeat on the mainland?"

The wonder is how much longer Chiang can cast his hypnotic spell over American Far Eastern policy. For Formosa has long been the tail that has wagged the dog of our Pacific policy. The wag seems to be becoming somewhat weaker.

Support for Academy of Public Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the bill introduced by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] to fill the great void in our public affairs by creating an academy for training in foreign affairs is meeting with immediate approval from the people. I am honored to be a cosponsor of this bill.

The Beaumont Enterprise, a newspaper noted for its articulate and thoughtful editorials, commends this proposal in its lead editorial in the August 14, 1957, edition.

I am also in receipt of a resolution from the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the world's largest organization of women, which commends the proposal.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed the editorial and the women's club resolution in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and the resolution were ordered to be printed in in the RECORD, as follows:

CAREER FOREIGN SERVICE

The sad story of Mr. Maxwell Gluck, our new Ambassador to Ceylon, made many Americans conscious of the fact that career men are too often on the second team when it comes to diplomatic assignments.

And the man who couldn't say "Nehru" also made us realize that we should never have a shortage of persons who can—and that we should use these instead of Americans who get the jobs only because they have had successful business careers, have a lot of money, or make heavy contributions to the political campaign chests.

We fully endorse, therefore, a request to Congress to set up a special Government academy for the training of young persons for the career foreign service.

It is also gratifying to Texas to know that their own Senator YARBOROUGH is one of the cosponsors of the proposal made by Senator MANSFIELD, of Montana. It is much more significant though that Senator KNOWLAND, of California, Republican leader in the Senate, is one of the sponsors of the bill, this fact indicating that the response of the lawmakers, whatever it is, will not be based on partisanship.

As the Montana legislator says: "The time has come when we should be assured of a source of topnotch people to fill these important positions." He pointed out that the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard now have their own schools to train future officers and said the Senate knows that "the front line of our diplomatic defense in all areas of the world is our Foreign Service personnel."

Where, we ask you, is know-how needed more?

GENERAL FEDERATION
OF WOMEN'S CLUBS,
Washington, D. C., August 15, 1957.

Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: The women of the General Federation of Women's Clubs wish to extend to you their congratulations on your forward look into the future.

Your sponsorship of a bill to set up a special Government academy to train young people for a career in the Foreign Service is in line with action taken by the general federation in 1954, through a resolution passed at annual convention:

"ACADEMY OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

"Whereas the present situation in both domestic and foreign affairs emphasizes the need for trained men and women on every level of public life; and

"Whereas the General Federation of Women's Clubs recognizes the value of the training being offered by institutions of higher learning in the science of government; nevertheless, it has long had the conviction that highly specialized training is desirable and necessary as a means toward elevating the standards of government service on certain levels; and to that end it has advocated the establishment of a National Academy of Public Affairs; and

"Whereas the General Federation of Women's Clubs has been on record supporting the establishment of a National Academy of Public Affairs for the past 20 years: Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, June 1954, urges the early establishment of a National Academy of Public Affairs by the Congress of the United States."

You can count on the General Federation of Women's Clubs to throw all its influence behind your bill.

Sincerely,

Mabel Prout
Mrs. R. I. C. PROUT,
President.

Assault on Ancient American Virtue of Thrift Deplored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, David L. Cohn, of Hopewell, N. J., is concerned—as are many others—with the current

assault on the ancient American virtue of thrift by the business community.

Until recent years, thrift was one of the outstanding characteristics of the citizens of our country. Yankee thrift was universally known and respected, as was the thriftiness of the frontiersman. Times are changing, but we should keep the good things that have been ours. Progress consists of keeping the good things as we look ahead into the future.

I include the fine letter to the New York Times, written by David L. Cohn who, in addition to his other accomplishments, is the author of The Good Old Days and The Life and Time of King Cotton:

SPENDING MORE INCOME: ASSAULT ON ANCIENT AMERICAN VIRTUE OF THRIFT DEPLORED

(The writer of the following letter, a student of American folkways, is the author of The Good Old Days and The Life and Time of King Cotton.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In his letter published August 8, Prof. Sumner Slichter blames the "present stagnation of the economy" on you and me. We are not spending enough for our own good, it would appear. "The crux of the difficulty has been the reluctance of consumers to spend their growing income."

Here government (refreshingly) is helpless. "Only business firms can persuade people to spend a larger proportion of their income," Professor Slichter's views raise some interesting questions in values.

I think of one woman—sister to hundreds of thousands of women—whom business persuaded to leave her house and take a job. Married, mother of two children, her husband's salary of $4,500 a year was just enough to permit the family to live decently through thrift. The wife cooked, cleaned the house, cared for the children until recently. Then business persuaded her to take a job.

All day, as she went about her tasks, radio and television urged her to buy this and that, as did the advertisements of newspapers and magazines she read. Soon she felt she could not face her neighbors if she did not have the gadgets they had. But since her husband's salary was insufficient for the purpose, she got a factory job.

ACCUMULATION OF GADGETS

Nowadays when the children return from school there is no mother to greet them. They are left to their own devices. The home has become a house. And when husband and wife meet at day's end, they face one another across a gulf of fatigue and dissimilar interests.

The wife, however, is buying the gadgets she wants, and in the world where Dun is a god and Bradstreet is his prophet, she doubtless has acquired a certain merit. But one may nonetheless ask at what price her contribution to prosperity has been bought.

I think of a lifelong friend in this general context. A successful small-business man in a small southern town, he was always abhorred personal debt and embraced thrift.

He owns no car. He bought his house only when he could pay for it. He keeps perishables in an oldfashioned icebox, heats his house with cordwood from his nearby farm, and when he has an extra dollar buys a gilt-edge bond. His wife and three children are admirably cared for, he is a deacon of his church, a member of the school board, a Scoutmaster, a Rotarian, and a willing worker for community betterment.

JUDGMENTS QUESTIONED

By the criteria of 2 centuries of American life he is a good man and a good citizen. But by the implied criteria of Professor Slichter he is an enemy of society. If then, one must ask, a man who is a good husband, a good father, and a good citizen, becomes an enemy of society because he stubbornly continues to practice the ancient American virtue of thrift, what is wrong with our society?

Or, to put it another way, if tomorrow we should find that 5 million Thoreaus have miraculously displaced 5 million profligate buyers of the goods sensible and nonsensical that are thrust at us, would the country be the richer or the poorer because of the transposition?

Finally, it would seem to me that the magnificent pageant of Western man for 2,000 years, with all its figures of saints and seers and lawgivers and givers of the light and makers of beauty and liberators of the chained mind, must be something more than a detour to arrive at a new-model automobile with a new tin whistle and a new easy way of paying for it. Or is that in our new catechism—the first article defines it as man's first duty to become a consumer?

DAVID L. COHN.

HOPEWELL, N. J., *August 11, 1957.*

The 3,500,000 Unemployed Don't Share Our Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much about the record number of Americans gainfully employed. However, little is said about the 3½ million unemployed citizens who total almost 5 percent of the entire civilian labor force. The effects of this unemployment are magnified by the fact that it is concentrated in certain distressed areas of our country. My own State of Pennsylvania has 4 major and 7 smaller labor market areas with a substantial labor surplus.

Under the State administration of Gov. George Leader, the Pennsylvania Development Commission was established for the purpose of bringing in new industry and thus creating additional jobs for our unemployed. Its efforts were outstanding despite the obstructions raised by the Republican controlled State legislature.

Liberal Democrats in Congress have been urging that action be taken on pending legislation to establish a comprehensive program of Federal assistance to economically depressed areas. We are also supporting an economic expansion program to meet the critical shortages of school classrooms, hospitals, research facilities and other public works requirements. Liberal Democrats also want our aged and retired citizens to have a better share in the Nation's increased wealth and prosperity. We want improved social security and retirement benefits, all of which will strengthen the economy and help meet the challenge of surpluses and abundance. Increased purchasing power of our needy aged and handicapped citizens will help stimulate business.

The suffering of 3½ million unemployed and their families is an indictment of hard money, high interest, and curtailment policies of the administration. Recession planners in the administration ignore human values, but they are also unrealistic in thinking that the way to get rid of great surpluses and the way to fight inflation is to lower the living levels of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, a very interesting editorial on this subject was published in the Reading Times on July 18, 1957, and an excellent letter was written to the editor by one of my constituents, commenting on the editorial. I include them in the RECORD along with my remarks:

THE 3,500,000 UNEMPLOYED DON'T SHARE OUR PROSPERITY

It was in 1945 that Henry A. Wallace, then out of a job as Vice President of the United States, an embittered man who was toying with the leftwing idea that ultimately made him the presidential candidate of the long defunct Progressive Party, wrote a book called Sixty Million Jobs. In it he looked longingly and hopelessly at an America that could provide employment for 60 million Americans. If, he argued, America could one day see that 60 million of its citizens were gainfully employed, it would have few economic worries.

Civilian employment in the United States long since has passed the 60-million mark. Secretary of Labor James Mitchell reported last week that there had been an increase of 1,300,000 jobs in June over May and that the total civilian employment roll had reached 66,500,000, a record level. The Secretary did not say so in the published reports of his announcement, but the plain fact would seem to be that employment rolls will continue to rise just as long as productivity rises, as long as the demand for goods and services continues to rise, and as long as our population rises. Only the most dire catastrophe could throw a monkey wrench into this cause-and-effect relationship.

The prospect is pleasing, as is the present fact. But there is another side of the shield that the folks in Washington choose to gloss over. They announce, it is true, that though 66,500,000 men and women are gainfully employed, 3,300,000 Americans were unemployed in June, an increase of 600,000 over May. They credit the increase to young people looking for summer or postgraduation jobs.

For the sake of argument, let's say all of the 600,000 increase for June was attributable to these reasons. That still leaves 3,700,000 men and women jobless. That still leaves a blot on the otherwise bright escutcheon. That still leaves some millions of American families on unemployment compensation, on the relief rolls, or dependent upon welfare agencies, friends, and relatives.

What to do about areas seriously blighted by unemployment? Men like Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, have a pretty good idea what to do, but he can't sell either the Congress or the administration on the idea. His bill for aid to blighted areas has gathered dust in committee for at least three sessions of Congress and he never has been able to persuade the Eisenhower administration to make it part of the administration's legislative program.

What the Federal Government has failed to do in this respect, some States have done, albeit with a somewhat different approach. Pennsylvania is one of these. Early in his administration, Gov. George M. Leader set up the Pennsylvania Development Commission, with the sole idea of attracting to the Keystone State industry that would not only add to the industrial product, and therefore the total prosperity of our commonwealth, but also would create jobs for Pennsylvanians. The recent legislature cut the development fund appropriation but the fund still operates and is performing a useful function.

It long has seemed to us that the huge task of creating jobs for the jobless, who now number nearly 3,500,000 throughout the United States, is everybody's job. By creating, new do not mean fashioning made jobs; we mean merely providing an economic atmosphere in which a man or a woman can perform a useful function, earn a living, and at the same time help the employer prosper. It further seems to us that we can do just this if the Federal Government and all the State governments join forces. For as long as there are some millions of unemployed Americans, our vaunted prosperity will be a mockery to just that many millions of Americans.

WRECKING CREWS

EDITOR, THE TIMES:

The editorial which appeared in the Times on Thursday was fine. I am referring to the one about the 3,500,000 unemployed in the United States. In such a case the waste of manpower is terrific. It is almost unbelievable that the administration or Congress is doing nothing about it.

The Eisenhower administration certainly should be making an all-out effort to solve the problem. The GOP mouthpieces claim about everything under the sun for the administration. But what have they done?

The Republicans have wrecked the Eisenhower program. And in Pennsylvania they have wrecked Governor Leader's program to add industry to our State. Governor Leader had an industrial development plan to bring industry into our State and thereby create jobs for unemployed citizens of Pennsylvania. But his plan was wrecked. His plan for mental health was wrecked, as was his plan to aid retarded children.

And the Republican "wrecking crew" are proud of their wrecking job which they boastingly call "holding the line on taxes." Taxes for whom? This job is called their "crowning achievement" and as usual it is at the expense of progress and the general welfare.

In order to save a few dollars for the "upper crust" of society, the general welfare is sacrificed. And eventually the general public will pay the full price in misery and suffering.

Let's face the future by looking forward and preparing for things to come. We are about to enter the atomic age and must be prepared for it. The "wrecking crews" will have no place in the new society which is now in the making. They will be cast aside, and replaced by men of vision who are not afraid to face the future.

MRS. ALICE MOORE.

READING, PA.

A Bill To Prohibit Government Agencies From Acquiring or Using the National Grange Headquarters Site Without Specific Congressional Approval, To Provide for Renovation of the Old State Department Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, and my distinguished colleagues, I would like to rise and say a few words in behalf of a bill I introduced today to retain the National Grange Building and historical old State Department Building.

The National Grange Building, located on Jackson Place in the Nation's Capital, just one block from the White House, is in imminent danger of being demolished to make room for a Government office building. The Grange Building is the symbolic national home of many of America's farm families, and I feel, along with some 21,000 grangers from the State of Kansas, that this property should remain intact. This bill is to prohibit Government agencies from acquiring or using the National Grange headquarters site without specific congressional approval. Since we are all concerned with economy, I would also like to point out that it will undoubtedly cost the Federal Government $500,000 if this property is acquired by condemnation, and that the taxpayer will be put to the expense of wrecking the building, clearing its site and then sowing the 3,500 square feet of land to lawn. I must concur with Representative MACK that this will indeed be "some lawn."

This bill also provides authority for the Administrator of the General Services Administration to make such improvements and repairs to the old State Department Building as shall be necessary to make this building suitable for use as an office building by the President of the United States, except that any action taken shall not materially alter the exterior appearance of this building.

Tight Money Impact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, even before the most recent round of increases in interest rates charged borrowers by banks and other lenders, the Thorp (Wis.) Courier noted editorially on August 8, 1957, the effect of that policy on county finances. Boosts in the cost of money for this unit of government are financed through increases in the general property tax. The editorial follows:

TIGHT MONEY IMPACT ON COUNTY PLANS

The Republican administration tight-money policy is starting to hit home and should be a serious consideration to all of us.

The increased interest rates resulting from this policy threaten future school expansion and road improvement in this county.

Interest Clark County must pay on the money it borrows for these purposes has increased 50 percent in the past 3 years under the Republican administration policy and the only recourse to finance the cost of this increased interest rate is an increase in general property tax to pay for the same.

While this is not pleasant for Clark County property owners to contemplate, the tight-money policy has brought glad tidings to some, that is, the lender who has the funds, will profit increasingly more from the policy the Republicans pursue.

Clark County is not the only area feeling the pinch. All over the country local governments have been forced to cut back their school expansion programs because of increased interest costs. Some of these communities are in desperate straits because of lack of classrooms. Their one hope for help from the Federal Government school bill was killed in the House of Representatives while the Republican President twiddled his thumbs.

The tight-money policy is supposed to halt inflation, but the Bureau of Labor Statistics latest report shows the cost of living has jumped to another all-time high.

The policy has already added billions to the cost of financing the national debt, all of which comes out of the pockets of the taxpayers. And interest rates are continuing to go up. Now, we in Clark County, can look forward to some increases in our property taxes or go without the improvements we need.

Must everything the Republicans do, be done for those who have everything already?

A Voice of Freedom: The United States Could Profit by Japan's Example of Using the Arts for Democracy's Purposes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in the propaganda war constantly being waged by Russia and the free world for the loyalty and allegiance of the uncommitted peoples we have often been defeated but our cultural ambassadors have met with greater success.

An outstanding example of this fact was the recent tour of the Westminster Choir of Princeton, New Jersey under the auspices of the Humphrey-Thompson Act, Public Law 860, 84th Congress. This great organization was cited in the New York Times, and the Trentonian, a leading newspaper of the Fourth District of New Jersey, which I have the privilege and the honor to represent, as having whetted the appetite for liberty of Asians by means of a cultural program that serves, rather than stifles, the democratic way of life.

The president of the Westminster Choir College, John Finley Williamson, and Mrs. Williamson, have been engaged by the Government of Japan to conduct summer schools in several cities. The Japanese Government is paying for these schools and I learn that it is doing so because there are 4,000 choirs directed by Communists who are working against the Government of Japan. The Government of Japan hopes to train choral directors who can displace the Communist leaders and the Williamsons have been asked to develop a songbook to replace the Communist songbook.

I include here an editorial from the Trentonian, and an article from the

New York Times by Ross Parmenter, the discerning music editor of that paper:

[From the Trentonian of August 10, 1957]

MUSICAL DIPLOMACY

Where the loud and constant harangues between America and Russia for the allegiance of the "uncommited" nations of the world have boomed and echoed and propagandized, often with impotence, John Finley Williamson has tried a gentler and more memorable form of diplomacy—and succeeded.

The reason for his success is the universality of the idiom in which he presented his message—music. And it is music which touches the mind as well as sways the ear. For as president of Westminster Choir College of Princeton and director of the choir's recent world tour, he has channeled his students' song into a voice of freedom which has opened the way to better relations between America and Japan.

It was a case of harmony breeding harmony. As a result of the tour, the Japanese government has requested that Mr. and Mrs. Williamson return to the Orient and conduct summer schools of music at three cities there, Sendai, Osaka and Tokyo. Japan is willing to pay to out-sing the more than 4,000 Communist-directed choirs which are plaguing her with discordant indictments against her government. It is one of her efforts in the name of freedom.

Cited in the New York Times as displaying "a more far-reaching influence than some of the choirs of famous professional musicians," the Princeton choir has done more than answer the hunger in the Orient for trained choral leadership. It has whetted the foreign, liberty-seeking appetite for a cultural program that serves rather than stifles the democratic way of life.

Thus the effects of the tour are by no means limited to Japan. There are overtones, and these may be only the preface to a large-scale program of cultural exchange: A two-way interchange program has been inaugurated between Westminster College and a number of Asian countries, with Westminster students planning to attend schools in India, Okinawa, Thailand, and Pakistan. A wealthy Indian banker is expected to journey here in the spring to make arrangements to take a Westminster member back to India. Westminster aid in developing western choral music for the Karachi broadcasting station has been sought by Pakistan. And it is safe to say that the note of friendship forwarded by the choir will have a musical snowballing effect which will echo and reecho the world over.

We have learned that there is a voice for freedom in our culture as well as in our politics. It is the development and presentation of that culture that we must praise and support, as this district's Congressman, FRANK THOMPSON, JR., has said on so many occasions.

For it is not altogether unreasonable to think that the cause of freedom can be fostered more sincerely and effectively by a baton than by a gun.

[From the New York Times of July 14, 1957]

THE WORLD OF MUSIC: ORIENT SEEKS TEACHERS FROM CHOIR COLLEGE

(By Ross Parmenter)

The full effects of the foreign tours being undertaken by American artists in the exchange program of the American National Theater and Academy will not be known for years. It is probably safe to say, though, that the 4-month tour of the world made by 50 singers from the Westminster Choir College is likely to have a more far-reaching influence than some of the tours of famous professional musicians. One says this on the basis of repercussions that have already begun.

There is a hunger in the Orient for trained choral leadership. The tour, by bringing the college to the attention of people in Japan, Okinawa, Thailand, Pakistan, and elsewhere, has opened a two-way interchange. Orientals are both coming to the college in Princeton, N. J., for training here and importing college people to the Orient to give training there.

Next year, for instance, there will be 10 or 12 oriental students at Princeton, including 3 from Hong Kong. And in May a wealthy Indian banker is coming to the college to see what can be done about taking a Westminster member back to India. Okinawa is engaging a choir member to set up choral units on the island. Thailand has asked for two individuals to set up training schools for choral directors. And Pakistan has asked for a Westminster faculty man for 3 months to help the Karachi broadcasting station develop western choral music.

SCHOOLS IN JAPAN

Japan, however, is the country that has acted most decisively. It has engaged John Finley Williamson, the college president, and Mrs. Williamson to return there this summer to conduct summer schools in three cities. They will teach from August 19 to 23 in Sendai, from August 26 to 30 in Osaka, and from September 2 to 10 in Tokyo. The Japanese Government is paying for the schools and it is doing so because there are said to be 4,000 choirs directed by Communists, who are working against the Government. The idea is to train choral directors who can displace the Communist leaders. The Williamsons, too, have been asked to develop a songbook to replace the Communist songbook.

Report on Far East: Part I. The Chinese Said "So Sorry"—Part II. A Tea Party With General Chiang

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, no area in the world presents more problems to the future of our Nation than the Far East. In appraising the situation in the Far East, Mr. J. Lacey Reynolds, veteran newspaperman and an authority on Far Eastern affairs, has recently completed a 21,000-mile tour of the eastern Pacific area with our colleague, Congressman KEARNS, the gentleman from Pennsylvania. Mr. Reynolds served as assistant naval attaché to our Ambassador to China, Mr. Patrick J. Hurley. He covered the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indochina, in 1955 for various newspapers. Mr. Reynolds writes as he personally sees the situation which may not, to some, be the orthodox view. He has, following a firsthand observation of conditions in the Far East, written a series of four articles on conditions in Asia. I believe these articles worthy of review and consideration by our State Department officials and others, and I ask unanimous consent that the series of Mr. Reynolds' four articles be reproduced in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The first two of these articles appear herewith:

THE CHINESE SAID "SO SORRY" WITH A FOURTH OF JULY SALUTE—BUT WE NEVER GOT TO SEE THEIR PRISONERS—I

(By J. Lacey Reynolds)

TAIPEH, FORMOSA.—Lt. Gen. J. L. Huang, a product of Vanderbilt University and an old personal friend, was the first person on the telephone upon our arrival in this Chinese Nationalist stronghold.

"We're having a party for you tonight to celebrate your Fourth of July," he announced.

"I want your Congressman (Representative CARROLL D. KEARNS, Republican, of Pennsylvania) to sit at the head table. I want you to sit at the table of honor with Mrs. Huang."

J. L. explained that the Chinese Nationalists have long celebrated our Fourth of July on the third.

"A sort of Independence Eve celebration," he explained, "with a huge pageant depicting the points of American history. It'll be bigger than anything we ever had in our old Chungking days."

FOR A SPECIAL REASON

It was a whopper of an affair with soup and peanuts; fireworks and fanfare.

The Chinese had outdone themselves for a special reason this time. The Taipeh riots of last May had left the American Embassy and the United States Information Service office in shambles, and the American Flag trampled in the dust by the feet of an uncontrolled mob.

As a result of this surprising and serious episode, the Chiang Kai-shek regime was doubly disturbed:

First, that American resentment would lead to a cut in essential American arms and aid, and,

Secondly, that the obvious laxity of Formosa's internal security forces might spell future trouble for their own regime.

Congressman KEARNS and Lt. Col. Thomas L. Shockley, his aid, and I as his special assistant went to the affair. It was sponsored by the Taipeh American University Club, of which General Huang is chairman.

VANDERBILT A FRONT RUNNER

Six hundred Americans and Chinese who had attended universities in the United States sat around tables of ten. The hall was decorated with the pennants of American universities. The Amherst flag had the place of honor because Foreign Minister George K. C. Yeh, the main speaker, had earned his doctorate there. J. L. saw to it that the gold and black of Vanderbilt was right in the front running, directly opposite the head table.

Both officials spoke flawless English. J. L. won the Vanderbilt Founder's Day medal for oratory his senior year in 1922.

Both had most flattering words for the United States and for our previous aid and friendship. Yeh's account of the birth of the Declaration of Independence was far more scholarly and even more accurate than most of the Fourth of July speeches I ever heard.

A HATRED OF ALIENS

The Foreign Minister significantly said that some of the most valuable contributions of our early revolutionaries were due to "the acceptance of foreign ideas, foreign capital, and the tolerance of aliens." He seemed to emphasize "tolerance of aliens," directing it toward the Chinese. For one of the few facts certain among the many mysteries surrounding the Taipeh riots was an eruptive hatred of aliens, particularly American aliens.

J. L. and I did not discuss the signs that were painted by rioters on the walls of one of the Embassy building rooms:

"Friends don't kill others."

"Protesting against American disregard of human rights," and, with a touch of typical Chinese humor:

"Please don't take anything."

He apologized profusely and sincerely for the affair, as did Chinese of all echelons from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on down to coolies and ox-drivers. I knew that Congressman KEARNS was working on a statement saying just as sincerely that Americans had been hurt to the quick by the infamy.

I did not mention it then, but I did give J. L. a copy when he came to the airport to see us off, just before it was released to the press.

NOT COMMUNIST INSPIRED

General Huang agreed that the riot was not Communist inspired. This was the view of all American officials on the island, from Ambassador Karl L. Rankin on down.

The mob followed acquittal by a United States court-martial of M. Sgt. Robert G. Reynolds, of Maryland (no relation), of killing a Chinese "Peeping Tom."

I suggested to General Huang that we might get at the mystery of what motivated the mob by interviewing some of the prisoners. He said this might be difficult; that it was out of his jurisdiction as director of the Government's social service program.

We never saw them. The foreign office came up with some law, prohibiting it—a law that had never been on the books in our old Chungking days.

The general was justly proud of the pageant. It was held on the spacious grounds of the Government guest house which the Japanese had occupied up until V–J Day.

"I would have put you up here if I had known you were coming," he said. This is one of his many special service hostels.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS

The band played the Chinese Nationalist anthem and the Star-Spangled Banner from a stand on the other side of a small lake.

An American boy trotted around the lake to the stage, riding a miniature China pony. He depicted Paul Revere, cocked hat and all.

There were salutes to the dozen or so American agencies operating on Formosa and to each of the more than 75 American colleges represented at the dinner beforehand.

The finale came with a fireworks display that surpassed those held each July Fourth on the Monument Grounds in the shadow of the Washington Monument.

"Our fireworks were made in our arsenals on Formosa," he said proudly.

Not one of them fizzled.

TIMES HAD CHANGED

The general and Mrs. Huang said their son, who went to the States for a serious leg operation in 1945, was now living on the west coast. They thanked me again and again for having expedited a visa for the boy, then 8 years old.

Times had changed since then.

General Huang had risen in the favor of the Gimo (Chiang) to higher authority.

Once a lesser official in an ocean of men and square miles on the mainland, now he was a larger official in a lake that was, comparatively speaking, hardly larger than the lake that young Paul Revere had just circled.

Great events may change the fortunes of China, but not the friendship of men.

IT WAS A MELANCHOLY TEA PARTY AT THE RESIDENCE OF GENERALISSIMO AND MME. CHIANG KAI-SHEK—II

(By J. Lacey Reynolds)

T'AI-PEI, FORMOSA.—Tea with the Chiang Kai-sheks is always an indelible occasion.

For many years, the President of the Republic of China has conducted his negotiations with foreigners over the tea table.

It was at tea that he abruptly replaced the top of his teapot, signifying the end of a dramatic World War II conference with American Gen. Joseph Stilwell.

This indicated the Generalissimo's rejection of a Roosevelt message urging appointment of "Vinegar Joe" to command all Chinese forces. Chiang did not have confidence in Stilwell, believing him to be the dupe of American Communists and fellow travelers.

Stilwell was replaced. And thus Chiang fought Vinegar with tea.

THEN AND NOW

Seeing the Chiangs again at teatime after 12 years, naturally suggested comparisons between then and now.

He has not perceptibly aged. If time has dealt unkindly with him otherwise he does not show it at 70.

Madame Chiang was as alert and alive to issues as in her heyday in 1943, when she dramatically appealed to a joint session of Congress for American aid to an embattled China.

She could have worn the same trim high-collared dress she wore on the rostrum that day. She said she had recovered from a skin infection that plagued her for so long.

I went to tea this time at the Chiangs' Shihlin Mountain residence, some 10 miles from Taipeh. It was a relatively modest home, considering the splendor with which most oriental potentates surround themselves. Compared with the mansions erected by some Texas oil tycoons, the Chiang residence is only semiprecious.

The gimo entered the room with the usual greetings to foreigners: "How! How!" * * * "How! How!" He smiled inscrutably. He wore a high-collared olive green uniform with absolutely no ribbons, stars, or stripes. Madame Chiang entered shortly, in a white print, Chinese style.

ART AND URANIUM

The small chat turned to happier days. When Madame Chiang was told that my old boss, former American Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley, had discovered uranium, she said:

"Tell him that while he was discovering uranium, I was discovering art. I've been painting for 5 years," she added, pointing to 4 or 5 of her works on the wall.

General Hurley was present at the Chungking tea party when the gimo dismissed General Stilwell.

Representative CARROLL D. KEARNS, the first Member of Congress to visit the Far East since the first of the year, got down to business. I was present as his special assistant, and Lt. Col. Thomas L. Shockley, USAF, as his aid.

Through an interpreter, the Pennsylvania Republican told the gimo that Americans had been hurt to the quick by the Taipeh riot of May 24. On that "black Friday," the American Embassy and the United States Information Service were sacked by an uncontrolled mob.

President Chiang expressed regrets as he had previously done, assuming faulty leadership on his own part. He is just about the only world leader I know who steps up bravely and takes responsibility when things go wrong.

He told the Congressman that he feared the damage that might have been done to the 100-year-old Chinese-American friendship. What he did not discuss was his concern over the way the mob got out of hand. It was angered by the acquittal by a United States court-martial of an American sergeant who shot a Chinese peeping tom.

We discussed his new bok, Soviet Russia in China * * * A Summing Up at Seventy, recently published in the United States.

Using a brush and black ink, he autographed copies we had brought with us from the States. His hand was bold and sure.

Madame Chiang joined in the conversation about condensing the book for a paperback edition for sale in America and the Far East. She had directed translation of the manuscript into English.

MAYLING SOONG CHIANG

She was quite proud of a speech which she gave to the T'ai-pei Rotary Club in April: "The Crossroad: Survival or Destruction." With a ball-point pen, she autographed a slick paper reprint as "Mayling Soong Chiang."

Recalling her schooldays at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, she asked about one of her teachers there, Mrs. RALPH CHURCH, now a Republican Congresswoman from Illinois and a colleague of Representative KEARNS.

She recalled how Mrs. CHURCH scolded her for forgetting her books:

"In springtime, my eyes and my mind just wandered out the window."

Though we conversed in English, the gimo seemed to follow the gist of what was said. She and his interpreter would prompt him occasionally in Chinese.

HE SEEMS TO UNDERSTAND

Many Americans have long suspected that he understands English readily, and merely uses the interpreter to gain time for thought before responding. His facial expressions and the timing of his faint smile indicate that he is following the English.

In many ways, it was a melancholy tea, dampened by a nostalgia for days when they sat at the peak of power, ruler over an ocean of miles and men. At his peak, in 1945, no Chinese leader had ever held greater authority over more people and territory.

Now, his domain had shrunk to 14,000 square miles populated by only 10 million native Formosans and an estimated 2 million restless refugees from the mainland. He was leader more in symbol than in actuality.

Since the first of the year, his regime has suffered trip-hammer setbacks. The T'ai-pei riots threw a chill over Sino-American relations. Europe and Japan were resuming trade with the mainland to which he hopes to return. The question was persistently arising everywhere as to whether he would ever return.

Discussing the general setting later with Spencer Moosa, the veteran Associated Press correspondent, who had followed the gimo from Chungking to Nanking to T'ai-pei, we thought he made a very impressive point:

"Don't discount his resourcefulness," Moosa said. "Remember that he has been in power longer than any other world leader of our times. All the rest are gone from the scene."

Federal Approval of Ninnescah Reservoir Should Be Approved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 12, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted and approved by the House, I am including a resolution adopted by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Wichita. It relates to the question of providing a supply of water for the city of Wichita, one of the fast-growing and progressive cities of the Midwest. It is observed the city is ready and willing to pay for all benefits on behalf of Wichita by reason of construction of this project.

The resolution follows:

Whereas legislation has been introduced into the United States House of Representatives and Senate authorizing the construction by the Federal Government of a dam, reservoir and relating facilities at or near the Cheney site of the North Fork of the Ninnescah River, Kans., for the purpose of furnishing water for municipal, domestic,

and industrial uses, providing for the control of floods, facilitating irrigation, enhancing recreational opportunities and preserving and propagating fish and wildlife; and

Whereas the welfare of the city of Wichita requires the construction of said dam and reservoir project at the earliest possible date: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Wichita, Kans., by a unanimous vote of its members, That the members of Wichita's congressional delegation be and they are hereby respectfully requested and urged to make every possible effort to secure Federal authorization of the Ninnescah Dam and Reservoir project at this session of Congress, or as soon thereafter as is possible.

Adopted at Wichita, Kans., this 6th day of August 1957.

E. E. BAIRD,
Mayor.

Attest:

C. C. ELLIS,
City Clerk.

Report on Far East, Part IV: Shall We Let Formosa Sink?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, article IV of the series of articles on the conditions in the Far East as reported by Veteran Newspaper Reporter J. Lacey Reynolds, appears herewith:

SHALL WE PULL PLUG, LET FORMOSA SINK?—WITH THE WORLD PASSING US BY, WE FACE SOME HARD DECISIONS IN THE HALF WORLD OF THE PACIFIC

(By J. Lacey Reynolds)

HONOLULU—Let's look at the great half world of the Pacific as if it were a giant weather map.

The American area of interest stretches westward from Pearl Harbor across countless waves and restless islands to the shores of Asia, and thence inland to Mandalay, Tibet and beyond the Great Wall of China. From south to north, it stretches from tropical Indonesia to frigid Siberia and Alaska.

Within this expanse of empty miles and massed humanity, the general weather outlook is depressing, from the American point of view.

Around Hawaii is concentrated what the weatherman would call a "high" where our military might has been consolidated under a single command, for the first time since the turn of the century.

It is sunny here and we can be as carefree and happy as the Hawaiian Chamber of Commerce says we should be.

INCREASING CLOUDINESS

Traveling toward Asia, we run into increasing cloudiness, with a low-pressure area centered around Formosa. New political storms, perhaps of typhoon proportions, are forming up there. The center of disturbance hovers over all of the China mainland and is being felt from Indonesia and the Philippines up to Korea and Japan.

Around Hong Kong, trade with Red China is being resumed with relish by all the major commercial nations of the world—except the United States and Japan. Even Japan is packing up her bags, and we will be left to run the empty household in lonely isolation.

Elsewhere in the Philippines, Formosa, and Japan where we were supposed to enjoy popularity, mobs and demonstrations have indicated where some people would like Americans to go—which includes home, among other places.

On the back side of these glowering storm clouds is the silver lining of our armed might.

The blue Pacific skies are embroidered by the vapor tracks of our jets; our ships crisscross the sea. The recent redeployment of our ground forces in the Far East has given us a more compact fighting force. The withdrawal from Japan relieves us of many headaches; the air buildup in Korea compensates for the Japanese withdrawal.

IT HAS A SAD SIDE

Yet, this picture of power has its sad side. We stand strong but muscle-bound—bound like Gulliver by the multiple strands of politics, economics, ideologies, racial divergencies, nationalism and historic wrongs.

Let the mighty U. S. S. *Yorktown* fire her 21-gun salute impressively as she did at noon on July 4 in Hong Kong Harbor. But the junks will resume their loading, and nonchalantly fly their Red flags and tattle-gray laundry across their bows, headed up the Pearl River for Canton.

Rattle the atom bomb and Peiping cries: "Warmongers." "Remember Hiroshima." "The Fallout Poisons Your Fish."

Militarily speaking we could silence this squawk box by dropping the bomb on the city's peaceful Temple of Heaven. But who wants to assume that awful responsibility except as a last resort? Meanwhile, we are taking an awful psychological beating.

Of course, our poor Gulliver might be unleashed by dropping a superclean H-bomb very gently to snip the silken strands that bind him. But, are we sure what would happen to poor Gulliver?

AN OMINOUS LULL

Turning to Formosa, we come upon an ominous lull. Since it became a Nationalist refuge in 1949, its strength has been more political than military.

Militarily, the island has shrunk in strategic importance. Despite all the ballyhoo, it was never quite the indispensable fortress it was cracked up to be. Some American military men (mostly retired) have gone so far as to suggest that the fall of Formosa would automatically topple Okinawa and Pearl Harbor, and expose our west coast. Yet, Formosa was of such minor strategic value in World War II that it was bypassed in the island-hopping drive toward Tokyo.

With speedier jet bombers, Formosa's position is becoming increasingly precarious. It is located too close to the mainland to allow adequate time to get its fighters into the air if the Chinese Reds made a determined mas sassault from bases only 15 flying minutes away.

The T'ai-pei riots of last May meant more than the sacking of the American Embassy and USIS office, shocking and surprising as that was, coming from alleged allies. It demonstrated the laxity of the island's internal-security setup.

A GILDED SYMBOL

Formosa once stood as a gilded symbol of last-ditch resistance to Communist aggression. It was held out as an example to the tottering governments of all free Asia. Americans were told with the fullest confidence that if we forsook Formosa, all of southeast Asia would succumb to communism.

This point of view was challenged by some delegates to the Asian-African conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, 2 years ago. To many of those delegates, the Chinese Nationalists were anathema. To those of us who covered that spectacular affair, it was repeatedly pointed out that Nationalist China had not even been invited. My most recent information is that this antipathy to the Formosan Government has increased, if anything.

Just as Formosa was bypassed during World War II, it is being bypassed politically today. If Britain's resumption of China trade was a diplomatic defeat of the first magnitude for us, it was doubly a defeat for Chiang Kai-shek.

Formosa is but a symbol of our general predicament in the Far East. Some hard decisions may be staring us in the face.

A DISCONSOLATE THOUGHT

It's a disconsolate thought, but events that are whizzing by with such rapidity may be forcing us to reevaluate our whole Far Eastern policy sooner than we think.

We may have to face up to the question of recognizing Red China as a going concern. It is getting late in the day to keep pretending that it is just the little man who wasn't there.

We may also be confronted with Red China's admission to the United Nations sooner than we think. We may find ourselves outvoted in the Assembly of the nations.

We may have to backtrack on our adamant no-trade ban, unless we want to continue standing on the corner watching all the world go by.

And then come the melancholy thoughts of what to do about Formosa. Seal it off hermetically under some sort of international trusteeship, like a faded document in a library or museum?

Or, as one GI suggested to Representative CARROLL D. KEARNS, Republican, of Pennsylvania, on his recent visit to T'ai-pei:

"I think we oughta pull the plug and let her sink."

Dr. Lovett Transformed Dream Into a Great University, Rice Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the great educators of the Nation, and indeed, of the world, is dead.

Edgar Odell Lovett believed that institutions of higher learning were for scholarship. That was his aim. That great aim he brought to fulfillment.

Rice Institute, recognized the world over as one of the great seats of learning, was only a dream when he was chosen president in 1908. His leadership made that great school what it is today.

The Houston Post, one of the most influential organs of information and opinion in the South, pays tribute to Dr. Lovett in a very fine essay in the August 14 edition.

I ask unanimous consent that this tribute be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDGAR ODELL LOVETT TRANSFORMED DREAM OF W. M. RICE INTO REALITY

When in 1908 a group of trustees acting under the will of the late William Marsh Rice asked various university presidents to nominate candidates for president of a school they were going to build in Houston, Woodrow Wilson, then president of Princeton University, nominated Edgar Odell

Lovett, professor of astronomy at Princeton.

Dr. Lovett was chosen, and under his guidance Rice Institute was transformed from a dream into one of the world's great institutions of learning.

In the death of this distinguished educator, Houston loses a valued citizen.

Rice Institute literally was the brainchild of Dr. Lovett. For several years after he was selected as first president, he traveled the world over, studying universities and methods of teaching, making notes on prospective faculty members, and planning the architectural format. Seldom, if ever before, was so much preparatory work done in building a school. It was not until September 1912, that the doors were opened to students.

Dr. Lovett served as president until 1946, when he retired as president emeritus.

In a talk to the class of 1944 Dr. Lovett summarized his aims for the school. He said:

"We put scholarship first originally, we keep scholarship first, still. We cannot give you brains, but we can help you to improve the brains you have. We cannot give you minds, but we can help you to man and master the minds you have. We cannot make you think, anymore than you can make some horses drink, but we can make you see how wonderful a thing it is to be able to think, and be conscious of it. We cannot give you ambition, we can give you only opportunity, but we think that we can stimulate your ambition. We cannot give you physical fitness and self-discipline and the fair play of sportsmanship, we can only show you by example how important we think these things to be. We cannot even make good American citizens of you, we can only offer you the rights, duties, and privileges of citizenship right now in one of the most democratic academic communities on earth and trust that you will forever persist in the practice and promulgation of these our ideals of citizenship in a free, self-governing, representative, self-sustaining democracy."

That was Edgar Odell Lovett's idea of what a school should do. His success was unbounded.

He was not a man to seek the limelight. He was innately shy, but he had a warm spirit, a great understanding of his fellow man and a fine sense of humor. His influence with Rice students was through the school itself, rather than on a person-to-person basis. This influence, however, has been great. Rice graduates have distinguished themselves in many fields the Nation over. Through them and through the school he planned so carefully his contributions to this community and to society as a whole will endure.

James Izlar Sims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, earlier tday I made some remarks about the late Mr. J. Izlar Sims, of Orangeburg, S. C. I ask unanimous consent at this time to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD his biography, which was published in the Orangeburg (S. C.) Times and Democrat on April 14, 1957.

There being no objection, the biography was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Orangeburg (S. C.) Times and Democrat of August 14, 1957]

J. IZLAR SIMS, TIMES AND DEMOCRAT PRESIDENT, DIES—CAREER SPANNED HALF A CENTURY

James Izlar Sims, president of the Sims Publishing Co. and a number of other local businesses, died at his home yesterday afternoon of a heart ailment. He was 67 years old.

A prominent figure in Orangeburg's community and business affairs since 1905, Mr. Sims enjoyed wide contacts throughout the State and was admired for his gentle modesty and philanthropy, much of which was completely unknown.

He died at 2:50 p. m., eastern standard time, in his home on Edisto Avenue.

Mr. Sims had been critically ill since Sunday night. His personal strength and tenacity pulled him through several crises, as they had in several other attacks, beginning in 1942, but in recent days his heart grew steadily weaker and the end became a matter of time.

It was said that he never met a stranger during his long business career and his door was always open to the lowest-paid employee during his direction of various businesses. His humility and sense of humor enabled him to understand people and be accepted by all, many of whom he befriended and aided through the years.

Mr. Sims was president of several local businesses, including the Sims Publishing Co., the Bank of Orangeburg, WTND, Inc., Edisto Homes, and the Orangeburg Theaters, Inc.

Surviving are his widow, the former Isabelle Wannamaker; a son, James L. Sims; two daughters, Mrs. James H. Gressette and Mrs. John B. Rembert; two brothers, Dr. Henry R. Sims, of Rock Hill, and Rear Adm. Gelzer L. Sims, of Orangeburg; one sister, Miss Georgia Sims, of Orangeburg; and numerous grandchildren, nieces and nephews.

A funeral service will be held at 5 p. m. Wednesday at the First Baptist Church. The Reverend J. Carlisle Smiley, his pastor, will officiate, assisted by Dr. Carl Caughman and the Reverend J. M. Lane. Burial will take place in Sunnyside Cemetery.

The eldest son of James Loyal Sims, who founded the Times and Democrat, and Georgia Carolina Sheridan, Mr. Sims was born November 11, 1890, at the family home at 521 Amelia Street. He attended Orangeburg City School and then Orangeburg High School. When his father became seriously ill, in 1905, Mr. Sims—then 14—left school and assumed his father's responsibilities at the newspaper.

With the newspaper tradition in both his father's and mother's families, Mr. Sims built the Times and Democrat into a modern daily newspaper. He assumed a slightly less active position with the paper in 1942, following his first heart attack. By that time he was also president of several other businesses.

Shortly after taking over management of the Times and Democrat, while only 15, he traveled to New York to learn how to assemble and operate the Mergenthaler Linotype, and returned and installed the first modern typesetting machine in this part of the State. The Times and Democrat grew from a weekly to a biweekly, then to a triweekly, and finally to a 5-day daily, in 1936, under his management. For a short time immediately after World War I the newspaper was printed seven times a week, but it later resumed triweekly publication.

On the eve of World War II it became a 6-day daily. In addition to publishing the newspaper, Mr. Sims printed part or all of as many as 25 newspapers in various towns and cities in South Carolina during the twenties. He began a theater circular business which distributed circulars throughout the United States and in foreign countries.

He entered the theater business after World War I, having operated the Reliance, Blue Bird, Carolinian, Prince, Carolina, and Edisto Theaters in Orangeburg. At one time he operated a chain of theaters, including houses at Charleston, North, Denmark, etc., and was southeastern agent for Moviephone Sound Movies.

Mr. Sims brought the first modern talking picture to Orangeburg in the late twenties and played it 7 days at the Reliance. It was Rio Rita. The latest sound equipment was installed to play it and the event was a milestone in the entertainment history of Orangeburg.

Mr. Sims promoted many community developments in his day and brought many firsts to this community. Among them were early balloon ascents, air shows, and parachute jumps. He arranged for the Times and Democrat to bring the first airplane to Orangeburg, where one of the first flights in this State was made at the old fair grounds, prior to World War I.

He was a lover of youth and sports and seldom missed any of the local ball games, even in his later years. He was president of the Orangeburg Baseball Association in this city in the early twenties and served as assistant chief of the Young American Volunteer Fire Department, serving on the committee which brought the first motor firetruck to Orangeburg—which he often drove.

During this period he also operated Sims Book Store, which sold the county's schoolbooks for many years. He applied for the first license to operate a radio station in Orangeburg, at the beginning of World War II. The application was frozen for a number of years because of the war and afterward the FCC granted the first license to another applicant. Two years later, however, WTND went on the air.

In the 1940's Mr. Sims entered several other fields of business. He became a director of the Bank of Orangeburg, becoming president in 1956. He was instrumental in bringing Paintset Fashions, a dress factory, to this city. He was the franchised builder of Gunnison Homes, and built 25 in this community in the post-World War II period.

He headed the organization which built and operated the Edisto Homes apartments.

He was actively associated with the Orangeburg County Tuberculosis Association for many years, becoming a director in 1943, serving as secretary from 1946 to 1954, and representing the county as a director of the State association. In 1956 he was TB bond chairman.

During Senator J. STROM THURMOND's tenure as governor he served as an honorary colonel on the governor's staff. He took a great interest in the history of this section of South Carolina and the South, and was widely read on all points of United States and world history. He was an active and regular participant in the meetings of the Orangeburg Historical Society in recent years.

Mr. Sims was throughout his life loyal to the ideals of the South and the traditions of the southern gentleman. He seldom raised his voice though he commanded respect from young and old. His personal life was an example in sobriety and christian simplicity. He loved people, and was never too busy to take up his time talking to anyone who sought his advice, or aid.

Hard work was his fare all his life, and there were few jobs at the Times and Democrat he could not do, or did not fill, at one time or another. Because he possessed genuine humility, and sympathy for the unfortunate or distressed, he was looked upon as a close friend by countless numbers of associates who have come and gone over the years, but who will always remember him as "the boss."

One of the community's most prominent and popular citizens, he was a member of St. Paul's Methodist Church, a Mason and Shriner, a member of the Rotary Club of Orangeburg, Woodmen of the World,

Knights of Pithias, the Junior Order of United American Mechanics and other organizations. He was not a "joiner" and when he lent his cooperation to any group or community effort it was because of genuine interest.

Active pallbearers will be W. L. Parker, of Palm Beach, Fla., Will St. Amand, of Oak Ridge, Tenn., Charlie Marahal, of Lancaster, S. C., Edward H. Sims, Hugo S. Sims, Henry R. Sims, Richard Rhame, Edward Paulling, Hampton H. Culler and Ray Linn, all of Orangeburg, Carson R. Rembert, of Beaufort, and R. E. Gressette, of St. Matthews.

President Wayne Freeman of the South Carolina Press Association last night named these representatives of the Association to attend the funeral:

S. L. Latimer, Jr., the State, Columbia; Julian Starr, the Chester Reporter, Chester; Hall T. McGee, Jr., the News and Courier and Evening Post Charleston; W. W. Smoak, the Press and Standard, Walterboro, and Herbert Hucks, Berkeley Democrat, Moncks Corner.

Unfair Drain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a most interesting and very truthful editorial which appeared in the Chelsea Record, Chelsea, Mass., on August 14, 1957.

UNFAIR DRAIN

Massachusetts is suffering a continual drain on its resources to support Federal projects in other parts of the country, according to a study made by the new commission on the audit of State needs.

The finding is nothing new. It has been known to anyone who has had access to the figures on what we pay out in Federal taxes in this Commonwealth and what we get back in Federal projects or assistance. Lynn's own attorney, Guy Newhall, has repeatedly pointed out the outrageous lack of balance between outgo and income in Federal finances in this State.

The situation is dramatized by the second refusal of the White House only yesterday to aid us—or any part of New England, for that matter—in the drought situation. We pay and pay, but when we seek a helping hand from Uncle Sam in an emergency, Washington turns its official back on us.

This State pays $1.34 in taxes to the Federal Government for every $1 it receives in Federal funds. On the other hand, Alabama pays only 36 cents for every dollar it receives and Arkansas gets a dollar for every 31 cents.

Massachusetts ranks 10th in the Nation in Federal taxpayments. Last year we paid more than $2 billion to Washington, but we rank 37th in our return on the tax dollar. An ironic aspect of the situation is that the projects which are being built in other parts of the country with Federal funds to which we contribute are being used to build up States which are already competing with us and attempting to take away our industries, capital, and engineering and managerial talent.

Congress has been appropriating more than $500 million a year for the development of river and harbor facilities, but Massachusetts, which pays more than 3 percent of Federal taxes, gets less than one-half of 1 percent of this money.

There are a number of river and harbor projects for Massachusetts which the Federal Government has authorized, but for which Congress has so far failed to appropriate funds. Congress recently failed to appropriate funds for a flood insurance program which was strongly supported by almost every New England Representative and Senator.

In such fields as civil aviation, agriculture, and education. Massachusetts has also not received a proportionate share of Federal funds.

The solution? A more militant, more united New England delegation in Congress both in the House and Senate, to fight tooth and nail, day in and day out, on the floors of the two branches, in the committee rooms and in the cloakrooms for more funds. If we accept this unfair treatment passively, we'll continue to get it.

Gluck Just Doesn't Fit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert the following article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 13, 1957, entitled "Gluck Just Doesn't Fit" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

GLUCK JUST DOESN'T FIT
(By George E. Sokolsky)

The unfortunate Gluck appointment does not lead to the conclusion that all diplomatic assignments should go to career men. Many ambassadors and ministers taken out of business and the universities have represented the United States admirably. Walter Hines Page, for instance, made one of the most distinguished records as Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. He was a book publisher.

Clare Boothe Luce surprised even her friends and admirers by her rare ability while Ambassador to Italy. Paul S. Reinsch and Jacob Gould Schurman, both out of the universities, did remarkably well in China.

One could go on and on detailing excellent representation by businessmen, bankers, lawyers and professors, many of whom made astonishingly notable careers in the diplomatic service. Others, of course, were duds.

The Gluck appointment created a furore because there was no reason for appointing him. He does not possess the background, the manner or the personality for this particular task, although that is no reflection on the man.

I am sure that the thousands who are not able to direct a symphony orchestra would not regard themselves as lesser human beings; on the other hand, if they tried to direct, let us say, Beethoven's Ninth because they had successfully earned enough money to make an excessive contribution, perhaps in violation of the Hatch Act, to a political party, they would produce catcalls and insults and possibly a strike on the part of the musicians. It is the old story of shoemaker stick to your last.

Maxwell Gluck ought not to go to Ceylon. Being an associate of Benjamin Javits will do him no good in the east of Asia. The new Asiatic countries are very proud of their achievements. Those who head their governments are educated men, often trained in British universities who speak European languages in cultured tones and whose familiarity with world affairs represents years of study. A high school education in Farrell, Pa., is not sufficient educational or cultural background for such an assignment.

The United States cannot afford to be represented in the east of Asia by a man who cannot possibly have the status essential for the task. Some of the career diplomats now in those countries are not of the best, but that is an internal problem in the State Department which John Foster Dulles said he would solve before he became Secretary of State, but he apparently has been too busy for it.

I will cite Chester Bowles as an example of what can happen. Bowles started life as a huckster and made his fortune in partnership with William Benton. But Bowles came of the distinguished Bowles family of Springfield, Mass., newspaper publishers. He studied at Yale. He had a long career as a public official during World War II and after. He served a term as governor of Connecticut and then was appointed Ambassador to India and Nepal, where he served with ususal distinction.

He became a close friend of Nehru and undoubtedly played some role in holding Nehru in neutrality at a time when personal predilection and the pressure of events in China could have driven Nehru into the arms of Mao Tse-tung, if not Stalin.

Gluck's statement that he could not pronounce the word Nehru represents sheer ignorance. Nehru is as well known to literate human beings as Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill or even Hoffa. While it is possible for a man to sell goods and not know the word Nehru, it is impossible for him to represent his country in the east of Asia.

The fact that Gluck came well recommended by JACOB JAVITS, Benjamin Javits, and as some say, Sherman Adams, is no warrant for this particular type of appointment. He should quit. He should resign. He should do whatever is necessary to serve his country patriotically by removing himself from the temptation of embarrassing Uncle Sam in Asia.

Achievements in Agriculture—The Broiler Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago, the broiler business was a farm fringe operation. Today, it is a booming industry, supplying the market with more than a billion birds a year and representing a gross income to farmers of more than three-quarters of a billion dollars.

To a large degree, this near-revolution is the result of widespread and rapid application by farmers and the feed industry of poultry research findings from the United States Department of Agriculture, the State agricultural experiment stations, and industry.

Many scientific factors have contributed to the modern broiler farm. Scientists have bred hardy, fast-growing birds. They developed better feeds containing vitamins, minerals, and antibiotics; found ways of controlling many of the worst poultry diseases, and developed better buildings and equipment. They have improved marketing meth-

ods so that high-quality birds move rapidly from farm to consumer.

For example, today's broiler producer can turn out a 3-pound bird in 10 weeks with a little more than 8 pounds of feed. Twenty years ago it took him 12 weeks and more than 12 pounds of feed. In other words, scientists have trimmed off 2 weeks and nearly 4 pounds of feed.

Now, Federal and State poultry scientists are saying that broiler efficiency is sure to improve even more in the years immediately ahead. They are predicting that 3-pound broilers will be produced in less than 8 weeks and with less than 6 pounds of feed.

President Eisenhower: A British View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the field of international journalism the London Economist has always held a high rank. I present today an incisive commentary on the President and his relations with Congress which appeared in the August 3 issue of the Economist.

The commentary follows:

[From the Economist of August 3, 1957]

WANTED—A PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The session of Congress which is now nearing its close has not enhanced President Eisenhower's reputation. By slipshod handling of the administration's congressional business he has frittered away in a few months most of the prestige of his astonishing personal triumph at the polls last November. The collapse last week of the bill to help local authorities to build schools by providing Federal funds illustrates and reinforces the mounting exasperation in Washington at Mr. Eisenhower's lack-luster leadership.

It began when he failed to supervise adequately the drawing up of this year's budget. There is no other function which gives a President so direct an opportunity of imprinting his personality on a session of Congress. But Mr. Eisenhower seems to have been so disturbed at the size of the figures which were handed to him that he merely passed the budget on to Congress and country as if his responsibility were no more than that of a custodian. As popular reaction mounted against this huge spending by the Government, the President conceded vaguely that there were some programs he cared very much about, but that there were others which he did not mind Congress cutting. This did not sit well with Democrats who had seen him gain electoral advantage from having appropriated, as part of his modern Republicanism, reforms which they had initiated.

When, finally, with the economy drive apparently out of hand, Mr. Eisenhower was induced to defend his estimates on the country's television screens, he drew on all his reputation as a general to stress the fearful gamble that would be taken and the terrible consequences risked if the defense budget were materially cut. Then, after the clamor in the country had died down and the Senate under Democratic leadership was restoring the heavy reductions imposed by the House on military spending, the President began to undertake that trimming of his budget which might more appropriately have preceded its publication. This provoked Senator SYMINGTON to ask bitterly whether the President could any longer be taken seriously on the subject about which he was supposed to know most.

The civil-rights bill made the situation worse. It had been deliberately decided to sacrifice almost all other major legislation in the Senate during this session in order that a measure for the protection of the Negroes in the South might be passed. This was the second year in which the administration had presented a bill for this purpose. Yet, when he was first asked to comment publicly on this highly delicate subject, Mr. Eisenhower showed little knowledge of the bill's contents. On the next occasion his explanation did at least coincide with that which had been given to Congress by the Attorney General, although it was still not correct. Repeatedly in the debate Senator JAVITS, a modern Republican who both understood the original bill and believed in it, was acutely embarrassed by the latest meandering comment from the Presidential news conference.

But the President's faltering performance over the school bill was the last straw for many politicians of both parties who have attempted to work with him on those individual parts of his program with which they agree. As the economy wave gathered momentum Mr. Eisenhower became increasingly embarrassed at the apparent contradiction between his efforts to pass on to Congress the responsibility for existing expensive domestic programs and his commitment to launch a fresh program of spending on education. Moreover, after a series of regional meetings to plan ahead for the congressional elections of 1958, word came back to the White House that the Republican rank-and-file wanted the school bill to be dropped.

But in the House of Representatives a substantial bipartisan group had been working hard for several years, clearing away the obstacles to an acceptable bill. Of these there were principally two, which had brought grief to a similar Bill last year: the Powell amendment, which would antagonise the South by withholding funds from racially segregated schools; and a difference between northern Democrats, who wanted a straight distribution of Federal funds between States according to school populations, and the administration, which wanted to weight the formula so as to recognize special need and penalize lack of local effort. Since last year painstaking compromises had been worked out. Half the money was now to be distributed according to the administration's formula, half according to that of the Democrats. Liberals on the race issue agreed not to press the Powell amendment if the general bill on civil rights had passed the House before the school bill came up—as it had. Mr. McConnell, the principal Republican specialist on education in the House, and Mr. Marion Folson, the energetic "modern Republican" who heads the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, saw the President to enlist his full support for the compromise. All they got was a cold statement that the bill would be "acceptable" to him. In conversations with Republican leaders, many of whom were temperamentally inclined to bury the Bill, he enlarged principally on the details in it which he disliked.

In the House last week events moved swiftly. Although a Negro Congressman spoke against the Powell amendment, Republican opponents of the bill succeeded in attaching it to the bill for wrecking purposes. Northern Democrats tried a complicated parliamentary maneuver to save the measure, but in the end a purely destructive motion which killed the bill entirely was carried by only five votes. The majority against the Bill included three of the leaders of the President's party. Among them was Mr. Halleck, who frequently boasts of his personal loyalty to Mr. Eisenhower; it is inconceivable that he would have voted thus if the President had been taking any active interest in changing the minds of wavering Congressmen. But when this missed opportunity was explained to him at his press conference on Wednesday, Mr. Eisenhow seemed quite surprised.

There is little doubt that these incidents will have implications much wider than the measures which gave rise to them. They have caused deep resentment among Democrats who have worked hard to build up coalitions in support of what was substantially the President's program, and deep discouragement among the modern Republicans. Most unhappily Mr. Eisenhower has contrived to antagonize many of the men on whom he must rely for other important measures during his second term. In particular those who feel most let down over the school bill include some of the key figures in the critical debates that will come next year over future American policy on foreign trade.

Why does President Eisenhower seem to have lost his enthusiasm for his domestic programs? Perhaps it is because he always tended to regard mildly progressive legislation as a kind of therapeutic treatment for the Republican Party. When the party failed to win control of Congress last November, even though his name was also on the ballot papers, legislation lost much of its appeal to him. Probably it is also because Mr. Eisenhower remains a man of basically conservative instincts and no strong political, as distinct from moral, convictions. As he was reproved by his friends and business people whom he admires for the extravagance of his Government, he may have begun to doubt whether he ought not in fact to return to first principles. This would explain his recent rather wistful appeal to the States to take back their powers and the ease with which he slips into the vocabulary employed by his critics. The danger is that, if he keeps to his present course, he will be progressively shunted on to the margin of political decision—particularly since under the Constitution the Republicans are forced to find another presidential candidate for 1960.

Achievements in Agriculture—Progress in Brucellosis Eradication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, officials of the Department of Agriculture say that they are within touching distance of eradicating brucellosis—one of our most costly diseases of cattle.

Excellent progress against this disease has been made since the end of World War II, and particularly since 1954, when the Congress provided additional funds for this current campaign. My own State of Wisconsin has been the leader in this important program.

Sometimes called Bang's disease or contagious abortion, brucellosis costs our farmers at least $50 million a year.

The progress of the eradication campaign can be measured in the rapid increase of counties that have been rated modified-certified brucellosis-free—in

other words, containing less than 1 percent infected cattle and less than 5 percent infected herds. In September 1954, at the beginning of the accelerated campaign, 341 counties including 3 States—North Carolina, New Hampshire, and Maine—were modified-certified free. Now as of March 31, 657 counties, including 3 more States—Washington, Wisconsin, and Delaware—have this status. By June 30, the Department of Agriculture estimates that the total number of modified-free counties will have grown to nearly a thousand. Although in New York State only two counties are modified-certified brucellosis free, good progress is reported and many other counties are expected to gain this status in the near future. We in Wisconsin are proud of the fact that we were the first State to be certified under this program.

Much of the success of the campaign is due to the close working relationships that exist between the research and the regulatory people in the Department's Agricultural Research Service. Many years of scientific study and especially the development of an effective vaccine and of accurate, rapid methods of testing for the disease, form the foundation for this eradication effort. It is to the credit of Department organization that regulatory officials have been able to apply research findings with such practical and beneficial results.

A Plan To Break the Suez Bottleneck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, moving ships across dry land in giant tubs rolling on 12-inch ball bearings may sound fantastic, but it seems sensible the way Henry E. Tweed, Richmond, Calif., businessman and engineer who devised the plan explains it. A tub carrier, 1,000 feet long by 100 feet wide, would accept ships at sea level in the same manner as ordinary canal locks. Then it would move out of the water onto dry rails, traveling on ball bearings and pulled by diesel-powered tractors which operate on sprocket gear wheels along sides of the roadbed leading overland to another deepwater port. The ship is secured to the tub carrier by cables, never leaving water during the transit. Further details of the plan were given in the San Francisco Call-Bulletin of August 10, as follows:

AN IDEA: DRY LAND SHIP ROUTE

A novel plan for supplementing or even supplanting the Suez and Panama Canals has been presented to the United States State Department by a San Francisco Bay area engineer.

He is Henry E. Tweed, 68-year-old Richmond businessman and onetime drainage and irrigation engineer in the Northwest.

Tweed's plan, basically, provides for moving ships across dry land in huge electronically controlled carriers filled with water.

He told the Call-Bulletin that he has submitted his designs to the State Department after consultation with consular officials of Mexico, Israel, France, and Great Britain.

MEXICO PLAN

The idea of moving ships across dry land is not new, Tweed said, and 9 years ago the Mexican government was considering the possibility of such a portage across the Tehuantepec isthmus.

The one big obstacle, however, was the objection of marine insurance carriers who were fearful of hull damage when ships were removed from the water.

Tweed then hit upon the idea of transporting ships without removing them from the water, and devised his present plan after discussions with Dr. J. J. Polivka, an engineer now lecturing at Stanford; J. W. Wig, former head of the United States Bureau of Standards, and University of California Prof. H. A. Einstein, a hydraulics expert and son of the late Dr. Albert Einstein, world-renowned physicist.

ROLLER BEARINGS

Tweed's concept calls for the construction of huge rectangular tub carrier ships, filled with water, which would move on steel roller bearings along steel rails extending the length of a walled cut.

Such a cut, he pointed out, could be constructed in Israel, extending from the Gulf of Aqaba to the eastern Mediterranean at a point near Gaza.

Similarly, in his view, one could be built across the Tehuantepec isthmus in Mexico, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific.

The tub carrier, according to his plan, would be 120 feet wide by 1,000 feet long, and could accommodate vessels up to 950 feet in length.

HOW IT WORKS

Here's how the Tweed plan would work, as he has designed it:

A ship first would move into a water lock at a terminus of the rail canal.

Then, through the gates of the lock, it would move into the carrier itself, filled with water. The rear gates of the carrier would be closed, the water would be pumped from the lock, and the carrier then would be ready to move, carrying the ship.

Motive power for the carrier would be provided by diesel-powered tractors, or "mules," operating on sprocket gears along the sides of the rail canal.

OIL NEEDED

On the bottom of the carrier would be spring-cushioned roller bearings, each bearing a 12-inch steel ball surrounded by 2-inch satellite bearings, lubricated by oil pumped to the bearings under pressure.

Tweed figures that there should be 2,475 sections of 16 balls each for 1 carrier. The balls would roll along the tracks much as a train wheel, for instance, moves along railroad tracks.

According to Tweed's plan, such a rail canal would be a two-way transit, with provisions for switching the carriers at either end.

He figures that the speed of a carrier would range between 7 and 20 miles an hour.

NINETY-SIX SHIPS A DAY

Allowing for the operation of the canal locks and gates, he figures that the Israel canal, built according to this plan, could handle 96 ships entering and leaving the canal every 24 hours.

Tweed, who last month filed descriptive and mechanical plans of his canal project with the Department of Commerce Inventors' Council, said he has no idea how much such a project would cost.

"It would take a survey crew in the field and a corps of engineers on ground inspection with complete research material, to put all the facts together for a preliminary estimate," he said.

He pointed out, however, that plans for a comparable dry run across Mexico, which would be 157 miles in length, placed the estimated cost in 1948, at $240 million.

BRACED ON CARS

This plan involved bracing ships on mammoth flatcars which would move over a 20-track rail line.

Tweed suggested that an Israeli canal, such as he has in mind, could be financed by the maritime powers using the canal through 50-year revenue bonds.

Postal Wage Increase Justified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the possibility of a Presidential veto on the bill to increase salaries of postal workers prompts me to place in the RECORD additional evidence of support for the legislation. The very fine editorial from the Oregon Journal of August 10—states that the postal pay increase is justified and indicates that Congress and this administration will be doing an injustice to the postal workers if a pay adjustment is not provided in the current session of the Congress.

The overwhelming vote for the increase clearly indicates that the big majority of my colleagues in the House share this belief.

Under the unanimous consent of my colleagues I insert the editorial in full:

WAGE INCREASE JUSTIFIED

Congress and the administration will be doing an injustice to a large group of Government employees if a pay adjustment for postal workers is not provided at the current session.

The House passed a pay increase measure by a vote of 379 to 38 and the measure now rests in a Senate committee. This bill provides a $546 across-the-board increase. With this increase a Portland clerk or carrier who has put in 7 years and worked himself to the top civil service grade for his position still would be making less than $5,000 a year gross income.

The postal service is a big operation. In all, some 518,000 workers across the country would be affected by this bill and the total annual cost would be in the neighborhood of $318 million.

The administration has opposed these measures on two grounds—first, that such an outlay would be inflationary and, second, that Congress should consider legislation to provide prevailing pay scales for Government workers in different localities or that an allowance system, such as the one used in the Army and diplomatic service, be provided.

The first argument is valid only in the sense that any new expenditure is inflationary. But from an overall standpoint, postal workers have been the victims, not the cause of inflation.

Their last wage increase was in 1951. The inflation which has occurred in the interim cannot be blamed on them. In his budget message President Eisenhower said that any wage increases—private or Government—must be reasonably related to improvements in productivity.

On the basis of pieces of mail handled, postal clerks show a 43.6 percent increase in

productivity between 1945 and 1957. The second reason is valid only if some reasonable effort is made to implement one or the other of the suggestions.

To date no such effort has been made and postal workers should not be asked to continue at substandard wages while Congress decides whether some alternative might work.

Considerable has been said about wages in relation to the post office deficit. It is true that postal rates should more nearly meet costs, but again this problem is not directly related to wages.

The workers are entitled to a living wage and it is up to Congress to decide whether these services should be paid for by the taxpayer or by the user of postal services.

On the Girard Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article which appeared in the National Amvet publication for August 1957:

[From the National Amvet of August 1957]

ON THE GIRARD CASE

Capping a series of highly controversial decisions which had the effect of setting two convicted murderesses free and giving new trials to convicted Communists, the Supreme Court decided that the Federal Government did have the right to turn Specialist William Girard over the the Japanese for trial.

The Court ruled, as it must, on one very narrow point of constitutional law. In doing so it ignored the hard facts of the case. The deceased woman was a trespasser on United States Army property. She and her neighbors who scavenged for brass shellcasings on the firing range had been warned off the area many times.

Girard was assigned to guard a machinegun and other equipment. The Government attorney admitted that he was on official duty.

Whether or not Girard enticed the woman within range of his post is not in point. Nor is the question of a fair trial pertinent. We might assume he will get one considering the bright light of public interest now focused on the case.

It should be made clear here that we of Amvets do not condone Girard's act nor do we believe he should go unpunished for it. The point that should be considered is this: Shall the State and Defense Departments have the authority to surrender for foreign trial American servicemen who are accused of crimes while on duty?

The foundation for this authority rests on a series of status-of-forces agreements negotiated with nations in which American troops are stationed. Although each differs from the other in some aspects, most provide that primary jurisdiction over an American offender in an on-duty case can be waived if one of the parties to the agreement so requests. None of the status-of-forces agreements were ratified by the Senate since they were entered into under the powers of the Chief Executive. The Supreme Court confined itself to ruling that the President did have this authority.

A great deal of mention has been made of the many cases where American servicemen have been tried by foreign courts. But these statements ignore the very fundamental fact that in almost every case the offender was off duty at the time of the crime.

That is why the public is outraged over the treatment accorded Girard. He was on official duty. He would have been court-martialed had he not been where as was when the shooting occurred. If he had been off post and off duty there would have been no question but that he should have been given over to a Japanese court.

The impression the American public has been given since the introduction of the status-of-forces agreements was that they would apply only to off-duty, off-post crimes. If that had been the actual case, then there would be no clamor over Girard's case now.

A vicious pattern has been set. We are now seeing it repeated in the Philippines where Filipinos are reported to be rioting for the return of two servicemen accused of causing auto accidents. And it may well be repeated in every nation where we have troops stationed.

There will be an accident in which an American is involved. We may desire to retain jurisdiction. But then there will be threats of violence. The gentlemen in striped pants will yield to this vile form of blackmail and instruct the men in olive drab to surrender another American to avoid an undesirable situation.

AMVETS primary objection to the Girard decision is that it now is possible to use American troops as political pawns to be offered as diplomatic sacrifices whenever some well-insulated and well-protected but not well-known individual decides the situation demands it.

Like every other veterans' organization, AMVETS has been solicited to aid in the recruiting of servicemen. It is difficult to see how we can induce young men to join the Armed Forces when it is now apparent that they will be abandoned when expediency and not justice indicates.

There is a saying that, "The Army takes care of its own." It rings rather hollow in the case of young Girard. That is why delegates to the national convention are urged to consider and adopt a resolution even stronger than that passed 3 years ago when we asked that the status-of-forces agreements be revised to avoid such an incident as the Girard case.

The administration and its congressional supporters in this issue must be shown that much firmer ground than a Government functionary's opinion must be found before we discard fundamental justice.

Public opinion is a powerful instrument. It's time it was crystallized and employed in the protection of the individual rights of America's servicemen throughout the world.

It Has Been a Long Time Since Egg Money Was "Pin Money"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, as a result of my campaign against the depression-low egg prices, I have received one of the largest mails I have had this year on any subject, and from many parts of the country. Egg producers all over the country, as one correspondent puts it "invest lots of money and back-breaking hours to produce that egg that someone gets more for than we do—just for the handling." This seems to me the height of inequity.

Under unanimous consent I insert a number of these letters in the RECORD:

COLFAX, ILL., *August 13, 1957.*

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
Democratic Congresswoman, Minnesota.

DEAR MADAM: I am writing this letter to thank you for your championship of the farm woman and her egg money. This wonderful prosperity we hear of sounds pretty hollow to we farm women. We invest lots of money and back-breaking hours to produce that egg that someone gets more for than we do just for the handling. Seems to us a case of someone profiting from our hard work.

Thank you again.

Mrs. CLARENCE HARNES.

AMES, IOWA, *August 11, 1957.*

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR Mrs. KNUTSON: Thank you for your comments about the egg prices for the farm women. Since Senator MARTIN from my own State made the inane remark about farm women needing good egg prices for their "pin money" I have been mad about the whole thing. If every Senator and Representative had to live on what the average farm flock brings in they would soon do something about the price of eggs. It has been a long time since the egg money was pin money. It never was in my house. Your comments were exactly right. How the money is spent is so true. You could have included car servicing, music lessons, school lunches, etc.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,

DOROTHY MATHER
Mrs. L. H. Mather.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *August 12, 1957.*

Representative Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR Mrs. KNUTSON: The reports in the press of your special efforts in behalf of the American farm women for more egg money is of especial interest, and certainly needs more attention from the Government in Washington.

All last winter and spring eggs were selling at 20 to 22 cents per dozen by the farmer (or about one-third of what the city housewives were paying in our larger cities). When we consider the present value of the dollar this means that the farmer's wife selling eggs this past year was actually getting 10 or 11 cents based on 1940 money values. At the same time, feed and all the costs of production of eggs are higher than ever. This means the egg prices have been below depression prices in actual values.

Poultry farmers have not asked for support on prices and for various reasons the consumption of eggs has actually declined per person in recent years. Eggs are still one of the very best food products, and as such the Government should expand its use of eggs in diverting surpluses to school hot lunch programs and through welfare channels. Incidentally, some of the school cooks should be told various ways to prepare eggs so that they are attractive and not as they look and taste like scrambled yellow plastic bubbles.

Keep after any promotion you can of more Government help for use of eggs. I am sending copies of this letter to our Senators THYE and HUMPHREY because we know full well their interest in promoting eggs and poultry. I am sure that they will go along with you in supporting any programs that

will influence greater egg consumption to boost the present egg prices on the farms.

Thank you again for your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

HILLTOP LABORATORIES, INC.,
FRED H. MOORE, *President.*

GERMANTOWN, OHIO, *August 12, 1957.*

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: Truer words were never spoken than the statement you have made about the egg market for farm wives. At 25 cents per dozen (which I have been getting from the egg market in Dayton and a little grocery in Germantown) we can't afford to feed the hens.

Some grocers refuse to buy eggs direct from farmers.

They say they have to be graded and Government inspected.

We have to sell to the egg market, they go through a process of grading. (We never sold the small eggs; used them at home.)

Then after a month or more the grocer gets the same eggs, supposed to be fresh, with a grade A stamp, Government inspected. It's funny, but so disgusting.

The manager of the Kroger grocery where I used to trade and sell eggs, told me he had customers who came to buy our eggs. Since he can't sell them any more, they don't buy eggs at Kroger's.

Someone is getting the egg market tied up. Farm wives won't be allowed to sell eggs only at the markets if someone don't speak up. You are in a place to do it. More power to you. "Let 'em have it, but good."

Too much profit is made off those eggs, from the farms to the consumer. Eggs come from Canada to the egg market here in Dayton—that is a long way to ship eggs—when we only get 25 cents per dozen and almost have to beg to sell them for that.

I guess you know by now how I feel about selling eggs to get "pin money." We don't have much left for pins.

Sincerely,

Mrs. WILLARD H. IORNS.

THE NEW INN,
Okoboji, Iowa, August 11, 1957.

Hon. COYA KNUTSON,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: Power to you in your crusade for more egg money for the farm woman. I honestly believe that you are the foremost farm expert in Congress.

You are so right in what the egg money means to the farmwife. It is the money the family uses to eat from, buy the clothes, and educate the children with. It certainly influences the gross sales of the merchants.

What has happened to the rest of our people in Congress who used to be in there fighting for the farmer? Certainly the farm problem is not solved and the next time it comes to haunt us it may be too late.

Business here in the Midwest is poor. Very few businessmen seem to realize that the farmwomen's price they are getting for eggs compared to what you have to pay at the grocery for them makes a lot of difference.

If there is any way I can help in your crusade, please let me know. As you know my first and last thoughts are with the farm situation. In closing I believe the price of eggs and the farmwoman exerts more influence on the future of the Nation than atomic energy.

Yours very truly,

CECIL MALONE,
Atlantic, Iowa.

MENTOR, MINN.

Hon. COYA KNUTSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: A couple of weeks ago we were getting 21 cents top grade eggs then 15 cents B-grade and down to 12 and 15 cents for 5 grades. These folks went to Peterson Riddick and asked 4 dozen top grade eggs. They charged 42 cents just double so they bought 4 dozen B-grade instead at 36 cents again double and they never even got that grade as they said not one had a good shell and 2 had holes and 4 with such dark yolks had to be thrown away. Last week a young couple was here from Grand Forks. They were paying 60 cents a dozen for eggs. Here they were 32 cents. Thank you so much.

Mrs. CORA BASSLER,

HAWLEY, MINN.,
August 14, 1957.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: Thanks for the boost you've been giving the farmwoman's eggs. We need it.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. HERBERT C. CARLSON.

Sentiment in North Shifts on Civil-Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Sentiment in North Shifts on Civil-Rights Legislation," written by Raymond Moley, and published in the Houston Chronicle of August 12, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENTIMENT IN NORTH SHIFTS ON CIVIL-RIGHTS LEGISLATION

(By Raymond Moley)

Since both Vice President NIXON and Senate Majority Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON are concerned with the fine art of politics—and who in public office is not?—it seems to me that the man from Texas has definitely the better of their argument about the jury-trial amendment to the civil-rights bill. For not only is this turn toward moderation pleasing to the South, but it is, in my judgment, agreeable to a great majority of the sensible people of the rest of the Nation. I greatly fear that the Vice President, usually as sensitive to the atmosphere of public opinion as is a morning glory to the rising sun, is missing a very important shift in northern sentiment which has been underway for some years and which has quite evidently crystallized this year.

Surely I am willing to admit that when anyone ventures a guess about so broad a matter as public opinion he should, with or without Gallup, indicate that he has some concrete evidence to back up his opinion. In my case, I can claim some sense of public sentiment because I have within 2 months crossed the Nation from coast to coast. I have talked with plenty of people, including shrewd newspapermen. And I have found a pronounced and prevalent inclination toward moderation in any civil-rights legislation.

NARROW APPRAISAL

To be sure, if one is calculating on swinging enough Negro votes in strategic sections of northern cities, he will see political advantage in a drastic civil-rights act. But this is a somewhat narrow way to appraise political advantage. For there are millions of people other than these minorities whose sentiments about coercing the South have greatly changed in the past decade or two. The simple reason for this is that the northern cities have acquired some valuable lessons in the problems involved in creating equality by law. They have learned that the South has a serious problem which cannot be solved except by moderation, gradualism, or what you will. And as Americans these northerners are not inclined to engage in an attempt to hurry the process of evolution by any means that suggests the abandonment of strict constitutional guaranties.

When opponents of a guaranty of jury trial claim that southern juries will not convict white people for a denial of suffrage to Negroes, and that to meet this failure of justice there should be no juries, they are taking on a very serious assumption. They are assuming that it is wise public policy to enact legislation that is objectionable to at least a quarter of the population of the Nation. We have a program here involving an ancient principle, "the consent of the governed." In a careful effort to define this principle in a book, I wrote this:

"What, then, is consent? Is it mere resignation to the inevitable? Is it agreement secured under duress? Is it agreement obtained as the result of promises that, under proof, can be shown to be deceitful and fraudulent?

"Consent is real when those involved freely, knowingly, willingly, and with a part in creating the decision, enter into the benefits and responsibilities involved in carrying out the decision."

NORTHERN DISCRIMINATION

The North has had some experience with attempting to create consent by mere majority power. It still recalls the era of prohibition. It sees also, every day, in every one of its cities, the theory of racial equality denied by the fact of discrimination.

I am aware that an immediate answer to this is the assertion that the Negro has given no consent to the denial of his right to vote by the State and local governments of the South. That is true. But the expressed objective of this legislation—that the Negro be allowed to vote—can be attained only by having the people of the South agree upon a method through which that end can be attained.

Therefore, I believe that Senator JOHNSON is speaking not only for the South but for a massive proportion of northern and western opinion when he derides the Vice President's assertion that the passage of the jury-trial amendment marked "a sad day for the Senate."

I believe, further, that Senator JOHNSON could get a majority vote of the people of the North for his proposition that "this bill represents an advance in the field of civil rights."

Achievements in Agriculture—The Meat-Type Hog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, agricultural research has shown hog producers how to meet consumer demand for lean pork and to cut the fat surplus at the same time. Scientists in the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation with State experiment stations have shown that meat-type hogs can be produced within any breed by selecting the right breeding stock.

These streamlined, meaty hogs dress out 50 percent or more of the preferred lean cuts, compared with 44 percent in the lard-type hogs that have been grown in this country for many years. This means an extra 13 or 14 pounds of good lean meat with a corresponding decrease in the amount of fat. Furthermore, these hogs produce just as big litters, which grow just as fast and just as economically as the old-fashioned lardy hogs do. Farmers can collect an extra dividend of as much as $5 a head for the extra pounds of lean cuts.

Between 15 and 20 percent of the hogs going to market these days are meat-type hogs, and the number is increasing as the advantages show up all along the line. Some packers are paying a differential for leaner hogs and others are discounting the price for fat hogs. Market grades have been established to help buyers identify hogs with the most desirable weight and degree of fatness.

Every man, woman, and child in this country is benefiting from the research that has made it possible for farmers to give us the kind of pork we want and need for best nutrition. It looks now as if our scientists will be able to do the same thing for beef. They are working hard to develop beef animals that will produce steaks and roasts that are tender and juicy without the large amount of fat consumers no longer want or need. They are making progress and deserve our full support.

Refugees From Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of attending a meeting of the National Council of the Boy Scouts in Philadelphia on July 12, at which time I heard Dr. A. L. Sachar, president of Brandeis University, make a brilliant address on the need for greater emphasis on individual responsibility in community life. He had a message that I believe would help all men and women in public life. I hope we can provide him with sufficient evidence that we in the Congress are diligently searching for the fulfillment of the very ideals that he mentions are the sinews of a vital democracy.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include his speech as follows:

The longer I go on in public service, the firmer becomes my conviction that we must focus some very heavy artillery on the so-called good people of every community—the indifferent, the slothful, the oversensitive, the cynical, the tired liberals, the refugees from responsibility. Some years ago, Bertrand Russell wrote a provocative essay which he titled "The Harm That Good Men Do." He was not primarily concerned with the patent scoundrels and fakers—the malicious, the evil, the predatory; we have been alerted to their menace, and we have built up defenses to ward them off or to hold them in check. Russell was more troubled by the respectable elements, the pillars of society, the smugly righteous who would be outraged if they were bracketed with the antisocial elements. Yet it is these who wear out the patience and the courage and the vision of those who, with great dedication, devote themselves to the service of their community. I have often thought of encouraging some young graduate student to write his doctoral thesis on this phenomenon. He would then list these good people in the scientific categories where they belong. Perhaps he would give them forbidding Latin labels, and these might waken them to the obloquy which they merit.

The first group should be titled "Genus Cynicum." These are the good people whom Walt Whitman once excoriated as men with hearts of rags and souls of chalk. They find the world beyond repair and wish to retire to their ivory towers. They believe that we are now so overwhelmed by forces which we cannot control—vast, impersonal economic, political, and military forces—that there is no point in trying to fight back. No one can really any longer shape his personal destiny, they say. We are all mere cockleshells now. We have been trapped by the iron vice of inevitability. So why resist at 2 minutes to midnight? This morbid spirit has captured many campuses where despairing youngsters, certain that the times are out of joint, retire to the mourners' bench. What is the good of study, where is there any relevance in application to history or philosophy, the humanities or the creative arts, when tomorrow you are to be siphoned out to devote the best young years of life to the sterility of militarism? Paul Valery has summarized the mood of this Genus Cynicum in a memorable phrase. He said, "The trouble with our times is that the future is not what it used to be."

There is a second, much more numerous company. This group, not at all cynical or defeatist, is just unwilling to be tempted into any kind of aggravation. Perhaps the proper identification here should be genus tranquillum. These are the people who above all seek peace of mind. This quest, which normally is worthy and wholesome, has become an overwhelming fetish. We are flooded with prescriptions on how to escape from anxiety, and the best-seller lists burgeon with guides to the Shangri-La of ease and serenity. The fashionable code word seems to be relax. We have virtually a national movement to evade any personal responsibility that may affect the blood pressure.

Some years ago, one of my old friends, the late gifted Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman, wrote a book which he felicitously called Peace of Mind. It sold many millions of copies. Most of the people who bought the book probably never read it. They thought they were buying a prescription to happiness, an elixir which would magically help them to cope with the exasperating problems of concontemporary living. Peace of Mind to them meant the sloughing off of all responsibility. But Dr. Liebman meant nothing of the sort. He was calling for determination to face up to problems, not to run away from them; to link living with perspective, to release anxiety through understanding. Dr. Liebman substituted the conviction of solvability for the dogma of inevitability, and found the truest peace of mind in such maturity.

One of the most meaningful dispatches of our generation was written many years ago by Leland Stowe, a gifted American correspondent. He was describing an interview with a desperately wounded Finnish soldier in a hospital in Helsinki during the first Russo-Finnish War. The soldier said to him, "Do you know what troubled us most as we lay desperately wounded in the subzero weather of the Arctic? Not the parachute troops which came down upon us in such bewildering numbers, used experimentally by Russia for the first time in the Finnish War. We developed a defense against them. Not even the 40-ton tanks which were also tried out for the first time on a large scale by the Soviet forces. We were able to develop a defense against them. What troubled us most as we lay so desperately wounded was the fear that we might succumb to the temptation of falling asleep. The pain was so intense that we courted the blessed oblivion of sleep. We didn't have to be physicians to recognize that when pain disappears, death is near."

The dispatch made a lasting impression on me. I have often thought of it in the neo-isolationist tides that periodically sweep our country. Woe be to us if we are ever tempted to court the anodyne of sleep because of the multiplicity of our problems. Too many of us look back nostalgically to our earlier history when we did not have to worry about billions in taxation in order to buttress the tottering structures of European societies; when we could forget for the moment who would be the new prime minister of France or what the outcome was likely to be in an Italian election; when the relationship of the Tachens or the Pescadores or Formosa to our national security was a footnote in a history book. This is an understandable nostaglia. But we cannot forget that America now has attained primacy in the world. When one of our statesmen drops an indiscreet statement, as he usually does, the chancelleries of the world react at once, for every public utterance in America has an impact everywhere. Of course, our isolationists hold fast to our primacy. They are proud that the map of the world has been colored American in such a large part, economically as well as in military control. But they recent the aggravations that walk hand in hand with greatness. Individuals are often that way, too. Some people, when responsibility increases for them, grow. And some people merely swell. America will never be worthy of its heritage if patriotism condones flight from responsibility, if chauvinism crowds out responsible service. Today, charged with the responsibility of protecting our Judeo-Christian civilization against one of history's most resourceful and dangerous enemies, it is craven to glorify the escape from obligation as a worthy national aspiration.

There is a third group which may be properly labeled as genus dejectum. These men are not cynics, nor do they seek escape from responsibility. Indeed in the first flush of their idealism they court responsibility, they are anxious to give themselves to public service. They come out of university halls not only prepared to win honorable and secure places in business and the professions but eager to participate in the institutional life of the community. They soon discover that nothing gets done by will alone. There is discussion, persuasion, then opposition, discord, and conflict. Motives are questioned. There is abuse and insult and vituperation. Then one day these eager idealists take stock. They ask themselves, "What do I need all of this for? I have a family that I neglect habitually in the interest of meetings and conferences and campaigns. I am giving the most precious leisure hours to philanthropy, to education, to public service. I am not asking for gratitude. But at least I am entitled to respect. Instead, all I get is grief and headache and affront. I must give dreary hours to collaborate with demagogs and egomaniacs and charlatans and they have no holds. It is painful to wade around in muck. It is humiliating to be continuously smeared. Yes, what do I need all of this for? I want out." And so these most precious of our leadership assets withdraw.

Have you often wondered with me why, in so many areas of public service we get the fantastically inept kind of leadership that has become so common? We listen to their banalities; we shudder at their antics. And we ask, "How did they ever get there? We are not a nation of morons, and surely we do not deliberately choose such lunkheads and nincompoops to represent us?" In truth they are there because they have had the stamina which the more sensitive have lacked. They hang on for dear life no matter how the currents swirl about them. But the oversensitive move out. They resign and leave the field to the men whom they despise. And in this way we get the survival of the unfittest.

The painful lesson which must be learned is that along with idealism there must be large reservoirs of abdominal fortitude. Good intentions must be linked with stamina. Idealism cannot function in a vacuum. Unless our good people are willing to fight for their convictions, to slug it out, toe to toe, with the primitives and the Neanderthal men, their well-phrased intentions will remain only to mock and shame them. Real progress cannot come from the flashy verbalizers who speak brave words but whose timidity and impatience in relation to the tedious techniques of fulfillment lead in the end to futility and impotence.

There is time for but one other category, which I shall call Genus Vituperosum. This is the group of belittlers who sit in the seats of the scorners. They themselves would never get into the market place or into the arena. They have no stomach for the patient drudgery and the unglamorous plodding and grubbing which public service so often entails. But how quick they are with their criticism. Every political figure is a potential grafter, and of course he has his price. Every trustee of a philanthropic institution is seeking glory or authority. Or perhaps he does not have a sufficient outlet at home and his nights in smoke-filled board rooms are really a sublimation of domestic inadequacy. Every educational administrator is really a Babbitt; else why does he lay so much stress on budgets and campaigns and the weary problems of teachers' salaries and curricular standards? Why must he be so obsessed with statistics of growing enrollments and the need for buildings? This must be because he suffers from an edifice complex. Do you recognize these Monday-morning quarterbacks, these artists in denigration, who dip their pens in gall and shave with their tongues? They are never within earshot when volunteers are called up for vital community tasks. But they are everywhere available when the opportunity opens to drive barbed shafts into the motives of those who never spare themselves in the community interest.

As voices are again raised to follow a dangerous neoisolationism, look for the cynics who form the vanguard. As respect for democratic processes lessens, look for the bankrupt liberals, exhausted volcanoes whose idealistic lava has congealed. As doubts are thrown over the heroic efforts of progressive teachers and administrators to use education for the release of capacity, look for the escapists and the defeatists who can smell out failure even before an effort is made.

Fortunately, the field is not abandoned to these self-righteous people. There are enough men and women of real moral stamina in each community who continue to hold the line. They are our best hope for international peace, for good government, for the fulfillment of social justice and, of course, for the kind of schools and teaching that are the sinews of a vital democracy. For they are anchored to the conviction that the most honorable objective for a going society is not ease; it is adequacy. It is not serenity; it is fulfillment.

Real Progress in Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very excellent editorial entitled "Real Progress in Civil Rights," by Dorothy Thompson, an outstanding observer of the national and international scene, which appeared recently in the Washington Evening Star.

The article highly compliments the excellent manner in which the civil rights legislation was handled by the Senate. Miss Thompson's analysis of the situation is an excellent one indeed, and I recommend its reading to all Members of Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REAL PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS: SENATE ACTION ON BILL SEEN RELIEVING ADMINISTRATION OF IMPOSSIBLE TASKS

(By Dorothy Thompson)

Intervention of the Federal Government to enforce the civil rights of southern Negroes was sought by the Eisenhower Republican administration on the assumption that these rights were being violated.

But exactly what the rights are was in serious dispute. Despite the Supreme Court decision, most southerners believe with intense conviction that there is nothing in the Constitution that prohibits the education of the races in separate schools; that the Court's decision was not made on constitutional grounds but out of unprovable sociological considerations; that it was a usurpation by the Federal Government of powers never granted it, which it would take a constitutional amendment to obtain; and that the Supreme Court decisions have been successfully challenged in the past.

The right, however, of every American citizen to register and vote under whatever qualifications are equally applicable to all, is constitutionally assured, and is the law of every State. It was charged that this right is de facto violated in certain communities, and that, patently, it was the duty of the Federal Government to hear and judge such complaints.

The question then arose whether judgments against defendants in such cases constituted civil or criminal contempt.

Now this is a very interesting question indeed, depending, basically, upon a social intention.

The object of a sentence for civil contempt is to cause the culprit to desist from practices of which he has been found guilty.

The object of a sentence for criminal contempt is punitive—to "throw the fear of God" into the defendant.

In the fascinating debate in the Senate the issue eventually revolved around the question of what authority could judge crime. Southerners, in unexpected alliance with Western liberals, insisted that sentences for criminal contempt must go before before a jury if defendants were not to be deprived of their civil rights.

The administration has maintained that southern juries would never convict, assuming an irradicable prejudice that would frustrate the law.

It seems to me that this unprovable assumption, if accepted, would challenge the very concept of trial by jury. Everyone alive has prejudices. Very righteous people (according to the late Clarence Darrow) are harder on those accused of wrongdoing than are those who have been subjected to similar tempatations. Every juror—and every judge—brings himself into court. Yet the assumption is that 12 citizens are capable of weighing the facts and deciding, despite temperaments and prejudices on the basis of law and evidence.

It is not true that southern all-white juries have never convicted a white man nor upheld a Negro complainant. They have often done so. And the mere fact that a complaint of injustice in election matters can be brought before a Federal judge will incline local officials and citizen groups to watch their steps.

The South feels from remembered experience the danger of antisouthern zeal to punish—with partisan eyes upon the colored vote.

What is needed is justice and reconciliation.

The President should be grateful to the Senators who have made real progress in civil rights possible, and relieved his administration of impossible tasks whose exercise would further sectionalize the Nation and embitter its races.

Letter From Lloyd Godley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, many letters are received daily by those of us who are privileged to serve in this body. These messages are largely well written and convey the attitude and observations of the writer. Occasionally an exceptional and an outstanding letter is received.

Such is that which came to me from Mr. Lloyd Godley, of Osceola, Ark., under date of August 13. He deals with the farm dilemma and its effect on farmers.

Mr. Godley is an able administrator of the Mississippi County, Ark., Production Credit Association, and a successful businessman. He has testified many times before congressional committees on various farm proposals. His views are worthy of the attention and consideration of the membership of the Congress and of the Nation.

Mr. Godley's letter follows:

OSCEOLA, ARK., *August 13, 1957.*

Hon. E. C. (TOOK) GATHINGS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOOK: Very likely there is not a thing in this letter of which you are not already aware, but I do grow so tired of seeing our farm programs sabotaged by those who are supposed to fight our battles that I must unburden to someone—so, it might as well be you.

This administration is to say the least, unique. It is the first time in the history of our great Nation that we have had a Secretary of Agriculture who spends all his time degrading the people and the programs that he is supposed to represent. At this

time of severe farm price deflation coupled with rampant general business inflation is when a farmer needs a friend, but he doesn't have it in the Secretary of Agriculture.

He set out to strengthen the farmer's "moral fiber," but instead he is breaking his spirit. It is my contention that if a farmer's bank account is strong, his "moral fiber" will take care of itself.

In my opinion, no one should ever accuse Mr. Benson of failure to do his best at the job he was hired to do. Evidently the task assigned him was the complete liquidation of our farm programs. All that has kept him from fulfilling his mission is the Congress. May it always be controlled by a party that considers human beings more important than corporate wealth.

I was just checking through my files this morning and I ran across a statement of a tractor that I bought in 1945. That tractor was paid for with the gross proceeds of nine bales of cotton. Today that same tractor would cost the gross proceeds of 20 bales of cotton. No doubt this same price relationship will apply to any major farm commodity.

When we must buy in a subsidized, controlled, price administered market and sell on a free speculative market over which we have no control, we must have adequate supports to survive.

We have read the propaganda line "that support prices caused the surplus", so often that some of us would come to believe it if it were not for the historical fact that our greatest surplus problems have been in times when farm prices had almost reached the vanishing point and support prices had never been in effect.

Now on top of our low prices and high consumer cost comes higher and higher interest rates. They tell us that rates must go up and up and up to control inflation of which we farmers haven't had any except on what we buy. They say it is to keep the business boom from getting out of control.

There is a great question in my mind as to the real motive back of the constant increase in the cost of money. I have checked the record and I find that in the period from 1923 to 1933 Federal Intermediate Credit Bank interest and discount rate averaged about 5 percent and on December 15, 1931 it was 5½ percent. Now that was more than 2 years after the start of the great depression. Stopping a business boom certainly could not have been the reason for the extremely high interest rate at that time.

Shortly after the start of the Roosevelt administration, the Federal Intermediate Credit Bank interest and discount rate dropped below 3 percent—at times, too, as low as 1½ percent and it never went above 3 percent again until November 1, 1955. It has constantly gone up since that date and is now at about 4½ percent.

Another thing that gripes farmers no end is the constant threat of program discrimination against a farmer because he is successful. Farmers are just people and most people want to get ahead. That is what has made the United States of America the envy of the world.

Most all little farmers long to be big farmers and most every little businessman longs to expand his business. Even General Motors, I understand, has expanded quite a little the past few years.

This thing of limiting any type of farm program because of the size of a man's operation is not in accord with the traditions of our country and such discrimination is not imposed upon any other segment of our society.

I haven't heard of an oil man failing to get depletion allowance on his income tax because he is big. I haven't heard of a corporation that has been denied tariff protection because of its size.

The thing that disturbs us most is that some of our good friends in Congress seem to have fallen for the idea of discrimination. That's the so-called soil bank. We don't think much of it, but if, as its proponents claim, it was set up for the purpose of reducing planted acres, then an acre taken out of production on a plantation would reduce as much surplus as would an acre taken out of a 40-acre operation.

If by such rank discrimination as is now in practice and which has been proposed continues and becomes more intensified, many of the strongest farm leaders may become so disillusioned that they will lose all hope and interest. If that happens then those who have worked so long to destroy all that you, your Committee, and your friends have fought for these many years will have fully succeeded.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

LLOYD GODLEY.

Capper's Farmer—GTA Daily Radio Roundup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the GTA Daily Radio Roundup for August 14, 1957, on the subject "Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minn."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 14, 1957

Many of you folks are familiar with Capper's Farmer. It's one of the leading commercial farm magazines. It's usually chuckfull of advertisements appealing to farmers to buy, and it carries article after article on how to farm more efficiently. Capper's Farmer has, at long last, discovered there's more to farming than efficient production. It has discovered there is a trend of events in Washington that's not good. And it's alarmed—it's actually in the air about what it has found. It runs its analysis under a headline that says: "They are trying to kill price supports—Efforts to arouse public resentment against Government supports are endangering the whole farm program."

It's easy to see that Capper's Farmer has joined GTA, the Farmers Union, and others who are fighting to save the farm program. Here are some of the key point suggestions that the magazine makes: "Farm price supports you've known since the war are in danger of being eliminated completely. Supports gradually have been discredited to the overwhelming majority of nonfarming Americans. It could be only a matter of time until the program's back is finally broken." The editors say they've been studying the official actions and statements of Secretary Benson and his associates for the past 5 years. And the only conclusion that they can come to is, of course, that Mr. Benson's real aim is to wreck the whole price-support program to tear the whole thing down.

They go through his actions, step by step, and they find that "Secretary Benson's request for the full 0 to 90 percent of parity flexibility is the latest evidence" of what's afoot. Furthermore, they find that the Secretary has no constructive program for the future. In short, Capper's Farmer, a magazine founded by the late Arthur Capper, a leading and long-time Republican Senator, is alarmed at what's happening to farm programs. It says that, "We think there is much evidence that the drive to kill price supports could succeed." Its editors say they fear the timing couldn't be better to wreck price supports because the farm bloc is completely disorganized.

So Capper's Farmer calls on farmers to do something—to fight back. Here are its words: "It's time to speak up. Capper's Farmer doesn't want to see the loan program killed before we have some better plan for the improving of farm income. Such action would be disastrous to agriculture, and dangerous to our whole economy. Now is the time for you, as a farmer, to speak out in your own behalf. If you want a sound workable farm program, it's high time to say so. Silence may be interpreted by Congress as disinterest."

Those are words of good advice, in line with GTA's unrelenting efforts to save and strengthen the price-support programs for farmers. Market your grain through GTA, the co-op way, and you can help win that fight.

Lake Washington Illustrates Federal Policy of Water Pollution Control Is Ineffective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks I should like to say it was most heartening to read a press dispatch of August 10, 1957, from Hershey, Pa., to the effect that jointly a group of State governors and Federal officials had tentatively agreed to recommend that the several States take over five programs, all or parts of which are presently financed by the Federal Government. This was, of course, a sequel to President Eisenhower's suggestion of a study looking toward return of functions to the States and relinquishment of areas of income in order that any such projects could be adequately financed.

According to the newspaper article the group of distinguished leaders meeting in Hershey tentatively agreed to urge as a trial that certain excise taxes be relinquished on the national level, and as a starter consideration be given to transferring full responsibility back to the States for five programs. In particular I was pleased to see that control of water pollution was 1 of the 5 programs suggested. This was because I firmly believe the need of water pollution control is urgent, and the only way to adequately and properly solve that problem is by the States themselves accepting full responsibility for a solution. My interest and information in this one particular subject stems from the situation in my own State of Washington and a critical example which unfortunately exists in my own congressional district in Seattle. I want to refer to this particular example because it demonstrates convincingly

hat in this field our Federal program is adequate and can be wasteful and ineffective—that it cannot solve overall ollution problems.

Briefly, the problem I cite has to do ith Seattle's backyard and concerns ake Washington and its drainage area. ight now a comprehensive sewer surey of this metropolitan area is in progss, and competent engineers on the asis of previous studies already point o that the solution is impossible unless l cities in an enitre drainage basin onsolidate into one united plan and rogram. Our State has authorized such consolidated plan.

Anyone who watched television last unday and saw the Seafair festival and e gold cup hydroplane races held on ake Washington will have obtained an ea of a great city of more than 500,000 eople expanding across and encircling beautiful, deep fresh lake 12 miles ng and a few miles across. What was ot visible was the effect of sewage disosal in the drainage basin of this lake hich up to now has been an unsurassed water and boating recreation ea. How tragic pollution is to this eautiful spot cannot be put into words. he drainage area of the lake is rapidly ing urbanized, it should be emphaized, and any plan for sewerage treatent or any other public service must ontemplate the continued population rowth. In 1954 there were about three uarters of a million people living in the ea, and sewer problems today must be udied on the basis of the future with n estimated 2 million population durg the expected life of any comprehenve sewer disposal program.

Today in the lake's drainage basin, an ea of about 480 square miles, the peoe entrust 19 city councils in that many ties and commissioners of 21 sewer istricts to protect their health and solve e problem of sanitation. Thus there e 40 separate authorities to cope with e respective community problems, and this connection 18 different municipal eatment plants are presently operated, us 8 private sewer systems and plants. ut these 26 separate systems or others en added will not prevent pollution the lake.

After the gold cup races were over, if e watched television one saw the mainance crew of the winning boat and driver jubilantly jump into the water, d swimmers were in evidence earlier. t actually Lake Washington is conminated and unsafe for swimming. is great deep beautiful lake, lined with ely homes, as I previously mentioned about 12 miles long and a few miles de. Engineers say the only way to ve the water from becoming unsafe to im in, or as has been said, from being rned into a cesspool, is by diverting sewerage affluent into Puget Sound to e west of the city, where the waste uld be processed before it was disarged into the salt water and was disrsed by tidal action. In other words ere is no scientific longrange means discharging treated sewage waste into e lake that will provide uncontamited water.

Yet each one of the 40 different communities on Lake Washington with sewer systems can qualify for Federal funds, and much money would be spent; yet the net result would not save the lake's beauty and freshness from excessive algae growth due to over-abundance of nitrogen and phosphorus.

Mr. Speaker, in the area I have described are thousands of homes where the occupants depend upon septic tanks. It is said 6,000 new private septic tanks are installed each year. Thousands of these tanks do not work properly, and much untreated sewage, in spite of increasing legal restrictions, flows into the waters around Seattle. Besides Lake Washington there is a bad pollution situation to the south of Seattle, in the drainage basin of the Duwamish River which flows into Seattle harbor. Industrial waste here is such that the river's oygen content will barely support fish life.

Now the point I desire to bring out is that with both the drainage areas mentioned, as industry develops and population increases the only solution is diversion of all sewage direct to salt water and into Puget Sound. Seattle's cost in such a program will run into millions and millions of dollars. The Federal aid program to assist in financing sewer disposal is too limited to help Seattle, but it might encourage smaller neighboring cities to install the very individual plants which do not contribute to a solution of the overall situation.

I want to point up this fact—the real road to control of pollution lies in area collaboration, in interstate compacts, and vast sewer districts both interstate and intrastate in nature.

Central consolidated treatment plants represent an economy, too. I have seen it stated that with a 100-million-gallon capacity, primary treatment, the costs run $8 per million gallons per year; whereas with a 10-million-gallon capacity, primary treatment, the per million gallons cost per year is almost 3 times higher—or $23 per million. For 1-million-gallon capaciy the annual cost would be $58 per million.

So in the case I have given as an example, it would be more economical for all cities in the drainage area to join in financing the construction of 1 or 2 large plants rather than for each city, even with the present 30 percent Federal assistance or $250,000, whichever is smaller, to go it alone. The yearly users' cost, not the first construction cost, is what represents the important factor. Still more important is the overall result, and to achieve area pollution control it may well be desirable to completely abandon existing installations.

The solution of other problems such as transit and parks may likewise be resolved in a similar way. The State of Washington passed recently what is called the metropolitan council law. It authorizes a form of government to handle metropolitan services.

Of course, Federal aid could conform to such area programs and planning, but my feeling is that large cities, in all fairness, should be entitled to benefit on the basis of their proportionate tax contribution. Actually, by a sewer use tax, any community can finance its own system. The incentive Federal pollution-control law meanwhile is obviously inadequate, unfair, and worst of all, encouraging individual rather than area treatment which can be unnecessary, ineffective, and wasteful.

So, Mr. Speaker, as I said earlier, the suggestion of returning the function and financing of water-pollution control to the local level is sound, and deserves the fullest support.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed two bills on atomic energy.

House passed sundry tax bills and adopted conference report on poultry inspection bill.

Senate committees approved numerous bills and nominations.

Civil service retirement annuity increase bill approved by House committee.

See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 13645–13659

Bills Introduced: 6 bills were introduced, as follows: S. 2804–2809. Pages 13646–13647

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 2720, to increase the authorization for the fisheries loan fund established under Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, with amendment (S. Rept. 982);

H. Con. Res. 172, to establish a joint congressional committee to investigate matters pertaining to the growth and expansion of the D. C. metropolitan area, with amendments (S. Rept. 983)—referred to Committee on Rules and Administration;

H. R. 7825, private bill (S. Rept. 984);

H. R. 8256, to amend the D. C. Income and Franchise Tax Act of 1947, with amendments (S. Rept. 985);

S. 2438, to amend the D. C. Business Corporation Act, with amendments (S. Rept. 986);

H. R. 7458, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to restrict its application in certain overseas areas, with amendments (S. Rept. 987);

H. R. 7467, relating to citizenship and residence qualifications of the directors or trustees of certain D. C. companies (S. Rept. 988);

H. R. 8892, to extend the time within which a minister may elect coverage as a self-employed individual for social-security purposes, with amendments (S. Rept. 989);

S. 2722, to amend laws relating to enforcement of masters on vessel documents (S. Rept. 990);

H. J. Res. 370, to extend the time limit to sell certain war-built vessels for utilization on essential trade routes 3 and 4 (S. Rept. 991);

H. R. 9023, relating to Indian hospitalization payments to Bernalillo County, N. Mex. (S. Rept. 992);

H. R. 6456, amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act relative to disposition of certain imported articles which have been seized and condemned (S. Rept. 993);

S. 2254, relating to vocational rehabilitation programs in the States, with amendment (S. Rept. 994);

S. 395, to encourage expansion of teaching and research in education of mentally retarded children, with amendment (S. Rept. 995);

H. R. 8076, relating to termination of Veterans' Education Appeals Board (S. Rept. 996);

S. 655, a private bill (S. Rept. 997);

H. R. 787, authorizing exchange of certain lands between U. S. and California (S. Rept. 998);

H. R. 2816, conveyance of Esler Field to parish of Rapides in Louisiana (S. Rept. 999);

H. R. 3025, conveyance of certain rights of access by Navy Department to city of New York (S. Rept. 1000);

H. R. 3246, relating to exchange of lands between Puerto Rico and U. S. (S. Rept. 1001);

H. R. 7914, to amend the Career Compensation Act of 1949 to provide incentive pay for human test subjects (S. Rept. 1002);

H. R. 8531, providing an interim system for appointment of cadets in the U. S. Air Force Academy (S. Rept. 1003);

H. R. 9188, authorizing Secretary of the Navy to transfer certain property to Massachusetts (S. Rept. 1004);

S. 1732, to readjust equitably the retirement benefits of certain individuals on the Emergency Officers' Retired List, with amendment (S. Rept. 1005);

S. 2305, to define service as a member of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps as active service under certain conditions, with amendments (S. Rept. 1006);

S. J. Res. 96, to establish the U. S. S. *Enterprise* in the Nation's Capital as a national shrine, with amendments (S. Rept. 1007);

H. R. 6952, to authorize the transfer of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, with amendment (S. Rept. 1008);

Appendix

A Time for Decision in Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful and provocative address delivered to the Montana State Press Association by our acting majority leader, the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD]. I highly commend the address to the attention of all Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TIME FOR DECISION IN FOREIGN POLICY

(Address of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, convention of Montana State Press Association, Great Falls, Mont., August 17, 1957)

Some Members of the Senate read the New York Times. And some read the Chicago Tribune. But all Members of the Senate read the newspapers from home. Whatever may be the fate of your circulations, therefore, you can at least count on my loyal patronage.

There is a reason for this devotion. Newspapers from home are the flowers of the grassroots. Newspapers constitute the ground to which the ear of an elected official is bent. What he hears may sometimes bring a smile of pleasure to his face. And sometimes it may bring a frown of displeasure. One in a while what he hears is not even fit to print. Pleasant, unpleasant, or unprintable, however, you may be sure that your words do not fall on deaf ears—at least as far as your Senator is concerned.

Looking back, I find that I owe my years in Congress largely to the guidance of the press of the State, largely to you ladies and gentlemen. The Democratic editors here tonight—I hope that there are at least 2 or 3—have kept me advised of the needs of the people of Montana. The Republican editors have informed me of the needs of President Eisenhower and the Republican Party. And the independent editors have reminded me that there is a bridge upon which the Democratic and Republican train can occasionally meet. I am sure that you editors of Republican persuasion will be perturbed by the knowledge that you have helped to elect a Democrat. You may take some comfort, however, in the fact that in the process you have also contributed either to my enlightenment or to the height of my blood pressure.

This is the first time that we have all been together and I want to take the occasion to thank you for your help whether it was given wittingly or unwittingly. For, in all seriousness, out of your criticisms, your comments and your wisdom on the public issues which have confronted the State and Nation has come much of the guidance for the course I have tried to pursue as a Representative and Senator of all of the people of Montana.

Having listened to all you for 15 years, I think there is a kind of just retribution in your having to listen to me for 15 minutes tonight. The subject to which I shall address myself is one on which the Republican-Democratic twain can and ought to meet. There is also plenty of room on the bridge for the independents. That subject is foreign policy.

When I say that we can meet, I mean that we can agree on the objectives of foreign policy. There may be some differences, however, as to how these objectives are to be achieved.

The objectives of foreign policy, I believe, are reasonably clear to all of us. We do not and ought not to maintain the Department of State wih its thousands of employees all over the world merely because it is the stylish thing to do. We have not or ought not to have spent some $60 billion of public funds in aid to other nations during the past decade simply because we had nothing better to do with this money. We did not spend hundreds of billions of dollars, as we have done in these postwar World War II years—we ought not to spend most of the tax money collected this year, as we shall do, to maintain an Army, Navy, and Air Force so that we may be entertained with air shows and naval exercises and parades on appropriate civic occasions.

We do or ought to do these things and others in inter-related fields of foreign relations and national defense with one overriding objective in mind. We ought to do them because they are necessary for the safety and well-being of the people of the United States.

I do not believe anyone in this room would take exception to that observation on the purpose of foreign policy and defense. With the objective of doing what is necessary for the safety and well-being of the Nation there is no dissent from any responsible quarter in this country. There is not a Democratic position, as distinct from a Republican position, as distinct from an independent position.

We can agree on this objective because, bound up in it, are the common interests, the common hopes and the common fears of all Americans. Just as we live our individual and family lives within the common framework of the State and the Nation, our national life is lived within the common framework of a world of many nations. What happens in the world, what we do or fail to do in foreign policy affects the Nation. And what affects the Nation affects each of us. If foreign policy helps to keep the Nation safe, prosperous and at peace, if it helps to reduce the cost of defense, all of us gain from it. If foreign policy produces the opposite results, all of us suffer in consequence. That is why it is possible for us to agree on the broad objective of foreign policy.

The differences arise among us when we attempt to realize the objective in practice. The differences arise when we seek to define what is necessary in foreign policy for the Nation's safety and well-being. They arise, too, when we try to determine how we are going to do the necessary even if we can agree on what it is.

It has sometimes been said that I am a critic of the administration in matters of foreign policy. I do not know whether that description is valid or not. It is true that I have commented frequently and at length and sometimes with considerable vigor on the course which this Nation has pursued in our relations with other nations. In all of these comments, however, I have had no difference with President Eisenhower or Secretary Dulles over the objectives of our foreign policy. I have never doubted that both of them had only one purpose in mind. They have sincerely tried to do what they believe is necessary for the safety and well-being of the country. They have tried to do it in the best way that they know.

If I have had differences with the administration they are over the questions of what it is that is necessary in foreign policy and how it ought to be done. I have certainly differed with the administration in my belief that the extent and the cost of the official activities in which we are presently engaged abroad is excessive. I have certainly differed with the administration on the way in which these activities are being pursued in some areas.

On the basis of what I have read in the newspapers, heard over the radio and seen for myself, moreover, I have sometimes differed with the administration's general interpretation of the international situation and the general course which we have followed in dealing with it.

To summarize, I have not differed with the objectives of the administration in foreign policy or questioned its patriotism. I have been at odds, however, with the methods which have sometimes been employed in seeking to reach these objectives.

That has been the case, when the administration has persisted in policies—often the policies of the previous Democratic administration—which seem to me to have outlived their usefulness. It has been the case when the administration seemed to me to be trying to do with dollars in foreign policy what can only be done with clear purpose, new ideas, initiative and effective diplomacy. It has been the case when I believe that the administration of policy is wasteful of public funds and manpower. It has been the case when foreign policy has borne the stamp of a boisterous of excessive public relations. It has been the case when the administration, instead of speaking to the world on behalf of this country with one stable and forthright voice has seemed to speak with a babble of many voices. It has been the case when policy has seemed to me to stray from the traditions of courage and compassion, and faith in freedom which underlie the greatness of the United States.

Some may believe that it is best for Members of the Congress and the public to stay entirely out of foreign policy. They may believe that it is best to rely exclusively on the President, the Secretary of State, and the executive bureaucracy to set an effective course in foreign relations. They may see the role of Congress as merely that of tagging along in these matters.

That is a point of view which can be defended; but I do not happen to agree with it. I have been in Washington long enough to know that all wisdom—in foreign policy as in other matters—is not concentrated in the executive branch of the Government. I know that that branch—regardless of whether it is headed by a Republican or a Democratic administration—sometimes loses sight of the forest for the trees in foreign policy. As all of us do, it sometimes makes errors of understanding and judgment. It sometimes takes the path of inertia, on the

mistaken theory that if all apparently goes well today it will also go well tomorrow. It sometimes seeks to expand in power, in size and in cost whether or not the interests of the Nation actually are advanced by such expansion.

Our system of government—the system of checks and balances—was devised precisely to restrain these unhealthy tendencies in Government. That system, I believe, has great validity not only in domestic affairs but also in question of foreign policy. That is why I do not agree that the Congress and the public should automatically defer to the President, the Secretary of State and the executive branch in foreign relations. The leadership of course must come from the President, and the President and Secretary of State must conduct these relations, but the Congress and the public can contribute a great deal that is constructive. They can do so by the process of free discussion of the issues, and, when necessary, free dissent. Out of this process can come a constant and up-to-date evaluation of international developments and new ideas for meeting them. Out of this process can come change which is as essential to survival and progress in our relations with the rest of the world as it is in our daily lives.

It seems to me, therefore, that all who have public responsibilities—and that certainly includes the press of the Nation—must keep a close and continuing watch, an independent watch, on the international situation and on the policies that are pursued in dealing with it. You ladies and gentlemen of the press have as much right to criticize the decisions of the President and the Secretary of State as you have to criticize the decisions of a Senator. I would be delighted to have you exercise this right with respect to their decisions with the same enthusiasm as you have sometimes shown with respect to mine.

The questions of foreign policy may seem remote from the daily interests of the citizens of the State. Yet none which engages the attention of the Federal Government is of greater importance to each of us. The state of our foreign relations accounts for the preponderance of the taxes we pay. It has a deep effect on the prosperity and progress of our economy. In a nuclear age, it can determine whether or not future generations, if not this generation, shall live in a recognizable civilization, even perhaps in an inhabitable world. That is the reality which confronts us today whether we are prepared to face it or not. All of the issues—management-labor relations, schools, roads, public health, power—all of these domestic issues which are of the highest importance to us fall under the shadow of this reality.

As for a Senator, if he is going to discharge his responsibilities to the people who have entrusted him with public office, he cannot neglect the domestic questions which affect his state. At the same time he cannot ignore the international issues which confront the Nation. He can only seek to inform himself as best he can on these issues and make what contribution he is able to make to their solution.

In this connection, I can say without in any way desiring to flatter you that I have found the press and the radio of the Nation and the able correspondents which they maintain at home and abroad of prime importance. They provide an independent and timely source of information and ideas that is of the greatest utility in understanding the international problems of the day. It is almost amusing sometimes, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to attend secret briefings by executive branch officials on aspects of the international situation only to find that 80 to 90 percent of the ground covered behind the closed doors of the committee will have already been covered days before in the press. That is a tribute to the astuteness and the alertness of American journalists. It is, at the same time, a commentary on what is a necessary use but which becomes, on occasion, an excessive and often unfounded use of the secrecy label in Government.

I have also found it helpful to go abroad to make personal observations on the international situation. I have done so many times in may countries during the past few years and I have issued reports on the journeys. The observations which they permit have enabled me to form independent judgments. When I have agreed with the administration I have said so. I did not, for example, hesitate to comply with the invitation of the President and the Secretary of State that I serve as a delegate to the SEATO Conference in Manila in 1954.

At times, however, I have reached conclusions as to the course of foreign policy, at variance with those of the executive branch. That was the case in connection with the Indochina situation. It was the case with the foreign aid program, with the Suez crisis and many other issues. And when I have differed with the administration I have spoken out on the differences as I believe it is my public duty to speak out. And on occasion, it has been gratifying to see subsequent shifts in the position of the executive branch, shifts which I believe have been in the direction of a more effective and less costly policy.

In the same vein, I speak out tonight. Again, let me stress that I intend in my remarks no criticism of the personal motives of the President and the Secretary of State. It goes without saying that they are honorable men who seek what you seek and what I seek in foreign policy. They seek to develop and to maintain a policy that does what is necessary for the safety and well-being of the country.

They have done many things aimed at that objective. Yet I do not believe anyone can say that we have yet achieved an effective policy. We cannot say it when two-thirds of the taxes of the people of the United States—over $40 billion a year—must still go for purposes of defense. We do not have an effective policy when the situation in the Far East and the Middle East are still not far from the brink of war. We do not have an effective policy when sudden nuclear extinction still threatens not only Soviet communism, not only American democracy, but all mankind.

I realize fully that this country did not make these vast international problems and others which press in upon us. I realize fully that alone, we cannot unmake them, no matter how effective our policies may be. This administration, like its predecessor, has had to contend with a dangerous and provocative Communist totalitarianism in many parts of the world. It has had to deal, like its predecessor, with great and dynamic changes in what were formerly the colonial areas of Asia and Africa. It has had to tackle, like its predecessor, many vexing problems in connection with the survival of freedom in Europe—the birthplace of Western civilization and liberty and, in two world wars, almost their graveyard.

It is not easy to deal day after day with an international situation as complex as the one in which we live and I have a deep awareness of the burden of decision that is carried by the President and the Secretary of State. I have supported their efforts in the past whenever it has been possible to do so in good conscience.

I shall continue to extend that support in the future. By the same token, however, I shall continue to think independently on foreign policy. Whenever I reach the conclusion that policy, in concept and administration, veers from a course that is not as fully in accord with the best interests of the State and the Nation as it might be, I shall not hesitate to say so.

Since the Suez crisis last fall, I believe there have been improvements in both the general international situation and in the policies which we are following in dealing with it. As for the international situation, changes are taking place within the Soviet bloc which promise a greater national independence from Moscow for the satellites than has heretofore been the case. Even within the Soviet Union, there are apparently internal pressures at work which may impel that country toward a more rational approach to the rest of the world. Western Europe shows signs of moving in the direction of greater unity, an essential development, it seems to me, for both peace and for the survival and growth of freedom. The situation in the Far East may well be entering into a period of major transition due to obscure pressures in China as well as to the resurgence of an economically powerful and independent—or weak and dependent—Japan. In the Middle East, the tendencies toward a violence that contains the seeds of world war III have been curbed, at least for the moment.

There is general agreement that these changes are taking place. What, however, are their implications? Do the changes means that the chances for peace will brighten or are they merely a prelude to a new period of heightened international tensions which may give way to war?

It seems to me that these changes are not leading automatically in the direction of either of these alternatives. What they foreshadow, I believe, is a moment in history when the nations of the world will cast the die clearly for peace or for war; they suggest that a time of great decision is at hand. It will be a time when nations will determine whether or not to turn back from the edge of catastrophe on which they have stood for so long and walk on the surer ground of more stable relations with one another. It will be a time to determine whether the present tenuous grip on peace—this holding action for peace—can be made firmer. It will be a time to determine whether the present truce based on a fear of mutual extinction can be replaced by agreements of mutual restraint which will provide greater security for all nations. It will be a time to see whether the words of peace which echo from all lands can be translated into the actualities of peace.

Let me make clear that I do not believe that the problems which plague mankind are going to dissolve overnight. There are no miracles in foreign policy. There are no wonder drugs for the ills of international relations. A broad summit conference, for example, which produces more glittering generalities on peace may serve only to obscure the hard realities of peacemaking.

When I say that we may be approaching an hour of great decision, the only point I wish to make is this: There are indications that the international situation which is never static may now be in major transition. The changes that are taking place may open an opportunity for the world to begin the long ascent to a durable peace.

Mankind, of course, is not going to make that ascent unless all the principal nations—certainly the Soviet Union among them—are prepared to make it. I do not know whether recent political developments in the Soviet Union suggest that the Russians—in their own interest—are prepared for a new approach to the world's problems. I do not know whether friendly nations in Europe and elsewhere are prepared for it. I do know, however, that unless all nations are ready to exercise the mutual forbearance which alone will make peace possible, the world shall move irrevocably into a path which can only lead to a devastating conflict. It will not matter then, that we have managed in the year 1957 to cling to an illusion of peace. In the end, this illusion, this delicate balance on which the fate of hu-

manity rests will be upset by some miscalculation, perhaps by some act of madness. In the end this truce of mutual terror will give way to the terror of a war of mutual extinction.

The time for dawdling with peace, in short, is running out. The chance for moving to consolidate it may be soon or never. I do not know what course other nations may take in these circumstances. I do know that if a genuine opportunity does develop which promises to reduce the present dangers of a nuclear catastrophe to all nations, if there is an opportunity to build greater international stability, it must not be lost through inertia or other shortcomings in our own policies.

It must not be lost, because a reliable peace—I emphasize the word reliable—is in the interests of the people of this state, in the interests of the people of the Nation and of all humanity. That kind of peace is essential if a significant reduction in the cost of Government is ever going to be made. It is essential if the ominous cloud of impending doom which now hangs over civilization is ever to lift. It is essential if the people of this country and of all countries are ever going to be reasonably certain that what they build today is not going to be blasted into eternity tomorrow.

Let me say that I believe we have been moving in recent months in the direction of a policy which will enable this country to seize the opportunity to strengthen peace if it should be present. The Eisenhower-Dulles policy of expanding commercial and other contacts with Poland, for example, may offer a greater promise of increased independence in Eastern Europe than the pattern of sympathetic words and bold words but no action that was followed in Hungary. And greater independence in Eastern Europe, in my opinion, is essential to peace on that continent. In recent months, we have also seen the Eisenhower doctrine, as amended by the Senate, act to bring a measure of temporary stability to the Middle East. This measure is an expensive and not very satisfactory stopgap. While it has by no means dealt with the basic difficulties in that region, it has at least bought time in which to deal with these difficulties. In the interests of our own peace, we have had no choice but to sustain this so-called doctrine. Unless the administration uses the time that has been bought, however, uses it effectively to tackle the basic problems of our relations in the Middle East, we shall be asked to go on paying an ever higher price and in the end be no closer to stability in that region.

In recent months, finally, we have also had the base laid for improvements in the foreign-aid program and the information program, both very important instruments of foreign policy. The changes in these programs, initiated largely by the Congress, have already resulted in the saving of hundreds of millions of dollars of public funds. They have also shown the way to a more effective use of these programs.

Despite these and other improvements, however, I believe much remains to be done before we obtain a policy that is well adjusted to the realities of the present world situation, the kind of policy that best serves the interests of the people of the United States. We have yet to take fully into consideration, for example, the problems and possibilities inherent in the emergence of a common market in Western Europe and the institution of Euratom for the common development of nuclear energy in that region. We have yet to develop an adequate diplomacy and other substitutes for what promises to be the endless funneling of hundreds of millions of dollars in public funds into the Middle East under the Eisenhower doctrine. We have yet to face up fully to the implications of the different directions in which the forces of liberation are acting in Eastern Europe—in Yugoslavia, in Hungary, in Poland, and elsewhere. We have yet to recognize fully that disarmament, however desirable, lies at the end of the road to peace, not at the beginning. We have yet to take the initiative in attempting to move down this road by slow and careful steps, by gradually bringing armaments under firm control, by gradually breaking down the wall of human fears and suspicions built by a lack of civil contact between ourselves and other peoples.

We have yet to recognize, finally, that changes of deep and long-range significance are taking place in the Far East while the policy of this Nation remains wedded to the fears and distortions of the past. If I digress on this point it is because the far eastern question has special significance for you ladies and gentlemen here tonight.

In the situation that is developing in Asia, it seems to me highly desirable that the activities of American newsmen be extended as far as possible. As it is now the public information which comes to us from China amounts either to official press handouts of our own Government and the Chinese Communists or the reports of journalists of other countries. As one who prefers the press of this Nation to that of other nations, as one who has often found a greater accuracy in the American press than in government press releases, I am opposed to any policy which seeks to curb the activities of the press or the free movement of its legitimate representatives.

I recognize the difficulties of the Secretary of State in attempting to determine whether press representatives should be allowed to go to China. Since it is the policy of the Department of State not to permit Americans generally to go to China—and I am in accord with that view—newsmen ought not, in the view of the Department, to go either. I believe that that position is now changing because it is untenable. In matters related to informing the people of the United States, the press is in a special position, clearly safeguarded by the Constitution.

Even thought the executive branch may change its position, the issue remains and it is much larger than the question of whether or not a handful of reporters shall be allowed to enter China. The issue is whether the press shall play in matters of foreign policy the same role that it plays in domestic questions. To put the question bluntly: is the press in matters of foreign policy an instrument of policy or an independent check on policy, an independent enlightener of the people of the United States?

It seems to me that under our system of government the press must exercise, in foreign policy, the same independence as it does in domestic matters. Under our system of government, it is not for the Congress and certainly not for the executive branch to decide where legitimate representatives of the press shall go to get the news. If they are alert newsmen they will go wherever they can. If they are willing to take the real risks of unsanctioned travel in dangerous regions abroad they are performing a very real and courageous service for the people of the Nation. They most certainly ought not to be subject to punishment or threat of reprisal from the Government or any of its officials for their courage. It is bad enough, as you well know, when other governments place obstacles in the path of legitimate news gathering abroad. It is indefensible when those obstacles arise from the policies and actions of our own Government.

Before concluding, I should like to turn to one other shortcoming which I believe must be corrected if this country is going to have the kind of foreign policy that fully serves the interests of the people of the United States. It is, in some respects, the most fundamental, the most costly and, in the last analysis, the most dangerous shortcoming of present policy.

I refer to the tendency within the executive branch to base the international actions of this country almost exclusively on fear of the Russians. Fear as a factor in international relations is not much different than it is in human relations. If it is excessive, if it is out of proportion to the danger which induces it, fear may produce unnecessary and excessive action and, in some instances, it will prevent reasonable and necessary action.

For years, I have listened in Congress to officials of the executive branch, under both Democratic and Republican administrations—officials of the Department of Defense, the Department of State, the Voice of America, and countless other agencies—justify their requests for ever-increasing appropriations. Many of these requests have had high constructive merit in terms of the interests of the United States and I have not hesitated to vote for them. Yet, increasingly, the element of fear has been brought in to justify these requests. These justifications have sometimes reached a point where it has seemed that the executive branch has been acting in foreign policy preponderantly on the basis of two fears: Fear of what the Russians might do in the world and fear of what Congress might do to appropriations if there were no Russians to fear.

Certainly this country must maintain a healthy concern with the threat which communism poses to freedom. Certainly there are continuing dangers to the peace and well-being of this country and other countries in the totalitarian power of the Soviet Union and in the erratic, unpredictable and frequently ruthless behavior of its rulers.

There is also a danger, however, in the tendency on the part of the executive agencies to inflate this fear, whether the inflation derives from an eagerness to insure appropriations or from simple miscalculation. This inflation can only lead as it has been leading to a costly and futile effort to build absolute security in a nonexistent fortress free world. It can also lead, as it has also been leading among the people of the United States, to a revulsion with these excesses and to the unwarranted expectation that we may be able to obtain absolute security more cheaply in a fortress America.

There is no likelihood, in my opinion, that this country or any country will find absolute security regardless of what course is pursued, regardless of how much is spent or done to that end. There are, however, degrees of insecurity and I believe that an effective foreign policy can lower the degree of insecurity. It can reduce the international dangers under which we all live and labor. It can do so at the same time that it lightens the burden of Government expenditures all of us sustain because of these dangers.

Foreign policy can act in this fashion, however, only if the judgments of the international situation on which it is based are not distorted by a stimulated and excessive fear. It can do so only if the actions which are pursued under that policy are effectively adjusted to the real situation, the actual dangers that confront the Nation.

That is why I emphasize tonight that I believe it is time for the executive branch to put aside the excess of fear that has underlain much of our policy in recent years. It is time to recognize that if Russia is strong in a material sense, this Nation is and can remain stronger provided it is united and properly led. It is time to recognize that if there are dangers to freedom in the ideology of communism, there are even greater dangers to communism in the doctrines of liberty.

What I am suggesting, in short, is that foreign policy if it is to serve fully the interests of the people of this country, must be based less on fear and more on faith.

I do not speak of faith in the Russians or even of excessive faith in allies. I speak rather of faith in ourselves, in the intelligence, the courage and the steadfastness of the people of this country and faith in the power and in the ultimate triumph of freedom throughout the world. It is on that faith that this Nation has grown to greatness. It is on that faith that we must depend, that we can depend, to find the way to a just and enduring peace.

Christian Missionary Activity in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a message to his congregation sent from Japan by Dr. Folkemer, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, Washington, D. C., dated August 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MESSAGE FROM DR. FOLKEMER, PASTOR, LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Our pastor is at present on a tour of the Far East, and in a letter received by Pastor Prigge this week, he enclosed the following message to the congregation:

"Living 10 days in Japan at the pace we lived it gives you a pretty good glimpse of that beautiful and fascinating country. You can't possibly miss the graciousness and charm of the Japanese people. They are quick, intelligent, pleasant, and unusually industrious. It becomes evident very soon that one of the reasons for the rapid Westernization and modernization of Japan is the vigor and enthusiasm with which the people, in general, enter into things. I should say that Japan is one of the most hopeful and fruitful areas for Christian missionary activity. Though the number of Christians is relatively small, they are a forceful and sometimes quite influential group. Though Christians number only ½ of 1 percent of the total population of Japan (91 million), they are sometimes discovered in key positions of government and Japanese society. For example, approximately 24 of the members of the Japanese Diet (Congress) are Christians. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is a Christian and other members of the judiciary system. I took a sleeper from Tokyo to Kyoto, and my traveling companion in the compartment, in the upper berth, was the mayor of Kyoto, a city of 1,200,000 people, a Christian, member of the Congregational Church, which was one of the denominations that entered into the Kyodan or the United Church in Japan.

"I attended the Lutheran service of our mission in Tokyo at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, and at the close of the service brought a brief message and personal greeting from all the members of Reformation Church to the Lutheran Church of Tokyo. I told them that we had rejoiced in the fact that we at Reformation could contribute in a special way to the work of the Japanese mission.

"In Kyoto, Japan, I spent 3 days meeting with Christian leaders, and also prominent Buddhist and Shinto leaders of that city. Comparisons are always difficult and dangerous to make, but I should say that Kyoto is more like Washington and Tokyo more like New York. Kyoto is a beautiful city, situated right in the center of the mountains. It is the center of much of historic Japanese tradition and religion. It should be a key city for our missionary work.

"Hong Kong is a fantastic place. It is, as every tourist knows, a shopper's paradise. And I hate shopping. But more than that, it is the melting pot of the Orient and one of the most cosmopolitan, yet difficult places to understand. One of the tragic conditions of Hong Kong is the terrible refugee problem. I took a number of pictures of conditions here and hope that they turn out well. The city now is trying to care for about 1 million refugees from Communist China and other places of the Orient. Our contributions to Lutheran World Action are helping to meet the problem, and fortunately I was able to see some of the families which are being helped through that means. It is not a pretty picture to see—this refugee picture—and it may turn some sensitive stomachs, but Christians cannot turn away their hearts, even if they must turn their eyes. Families are living on rooftops by the hundred thousands, on the sides of cliffs under cardboard roofs, and even on the sidewalks. Five adults—and this is something of a recent luxury—are living in an area equivalent to a 10 by 12 rug in your living room. Jesus Christ and the ministry of the Christian Church is needed more than ever in the Far East as in our own land."

Pennsylvania Gas Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is now much discussion all over the United States relative to the production of gas because of the so-called gas bill now being considered in the House.

Natural gas has been produced and used in western Pennsylvania for almost three-quarters of a century. The history of it is a most interesting story. By reason of better producing methods, we now produce in western Pennsylvania more gas than we did 30 years ago. However, our section is a greater user of gas than any part of the United States, and it is necessary for us to import large quantities every year.

The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of August 14 contained a very interesting editorial on this subject, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR GAS RESOURCES

Those who believed that western Pennsylvania's natural-gas resources were about exhausted may change their opinion in view of the big new gas well which has been brought in about 8 miles east of Apollo in Armstrong County.

It was producing 11 million cubic feet a day before being capped.

Another new gas well of equal productive capacity recently was drilled in Mount Pleasant Township, Westmoreland County.

Pittsburgh's consumption of natural gas now is so great that to meet the demand gas is piped into the area from distant States.

Probably the supply in the ground nearer home always will remain inadequate but it is gratifying to learn that it is far from exhausted.

New methods have produced fresh supplies of petroleum from western Pennsylvania wells which seemed to have been pumped dry. And it may be that new methods and exploration at different depths underground will disclose unsuspected gas reserves.

The subject is of peculiar interest to Pittsburgh because of the pioneer work done in the development of natural gas.

The history of natural gas contains many interesting stories.

On his first trip to Fort Duquesne, George Washington camped at a spring in the mountains. An ember from his campfire dropped into the bubbling water of the spring and it burst into flame.

East Liverpool was using natural gas for street lighting as early as 1860 but the first gas utility to reach Pittsburgh did not arrive until 1883 when the Penn Fuel Gas Co. ran a line from the Murrysville field to 16th Street.

The name of George Westinghouse, Pittsburgh's famous inventor, figures prominently in the story. Becoming interested in natural gas, in 1884 he drilled a well at his home near Thomas Boulevard, between Murtland and Lang Avenues.

It was a heavy producer and soon was being used for domestic purposes in the Westinghouse home. As more gas was coming from the well than the Westinghouse household could consume, a standpipe was erected to pass off the excess.

The waste gas was lighted with a mighty roar and flame. Many people were attracted to this first public exhibition of burning natural gas.

Subsequently, Mr. Westinghouse organized the Philadelphia Co., which became the largest gas utility serving Pittsburgh.

Natural gas has passed through many vicissitudes in the Pittsburgh area since then. It replaced coal as a fuel for heating homes and revolutionized manufacturing methods in various industries.

It would be a sad day for Pittsburgh if we were to be deprived of this clean, inexpensive fuel with whose development the city's history has been so closely linked for three-quarters of a century.

Hence the discovery of heavy gas-producing areas in nearby counties is interesting.

Wisconsin University Teaches Consular Officials All Over the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to note a news dispatch concerning a pioneering program by the University of Wisconsin's extension division, which is inaugurating correspondence courses toward better training of consular officials of the United States State Department throughout the world.

I believe that my colleagues are familiar with the fact that our university at Madison has become the No. 1 center for training courses by mail for the Armed Forces throughout the world.

It is appropriate, therefore, that the State Department should now avail itself likewise of this fine extension teaching facility.

I send to the desk the text of an editorial which was carried in the Friday, August 16 issue of the Milwaukee Journal describing this program. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN TEACHES OUR CONSULAR OFFICIALS ALL OVER WORLD

The famed teaching-by-mail activities of the University of Wisconsin continue to expand. Now 840 State Department employees in farflung posts across the world are learning from Madison how better to handle visa and immigration matters.

Five Foreign Service officers have assembled in Madison from posts in England, Egypt, Brazil, Greece, and Canada to guide the correspondence students under general direction of the university extension division and its bureau of government.

Until recently American consular officials have pretty much had to learn on the job. This didn't encourage uniformity. Washington was constantly flooded with requests for information, guidance, and policy decisions. This meant delay.

Now new officers get a 9-week course in the Foreign Service Institute. The thought of freshening the minds of the older hands through correspondence courses came to mind. This was thought particularly necessary because of the McCarran-Walter Act, which created new and complex immigration law.

Wisconsin was the only place in the running when it came to selection of the place to prepare and administer the course. Robert J. Cavanaugh, the Foreign Service officer in charge, explained that the university had the experience, the organization, and the methods. So the State Department made a contract with the university, the courses were outlined by Department experts, the organization was established in Madison, and in the not distant future there should be more uniformity in American visa and immigration procedure than ever before.

This should mean an improved consular service. It should cut down on time-consuming requests to Washington. It should win friends for Uncle Sam among citizens and foreigners who make use of the service. And it should save money.

If all works out well—and there is no expectation that it won't—there are thoughts that the present correspondence course will be a forerunner of like courses for Foreign Service people dealing with passports, citizenship, and like matters.

What Do Senators Read?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on July 14, 1957, I contributed an article to the book review section of the New York Times. The article analyzed the reading habits of some of my colleagues in the United States Senate. My article mourned the fact that all of us have so little time to keep pace with the worthwhile literature and publications of our era. A thoughtful editorial has now been written about that article by the editors of the Eugene Register-Guard under the title "What Do Senators Read? Very Little." This editorial was published in the Register-Guard of August 9, 1957, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT DO SENATORS READ? VERY LITTLE

A Senator, by definition and somewhat by tradition, is a grand old man, learned and wise. He is an oracle, a prophlet, a seer, and a fount of all wisdom. This has been so since the ancient Roman Senator, in striped toga and red shoes, established the tradition. But in practice in America today the Senator is not so learned and wise, and that may be no fault of his. So laments Oregon's junior Senator, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. In a valuable contribution to our understanding of how Congressmen keep up, the Senator has written an article on senatorial reading habits for the New York Times book review.

He points out that one of the books that truly changed American history was a mediocre novel called Uncle Tom's Cabin. Presumably some Senators, in the tense years before the Civil War, read that volume. But if such a work were to appear today (or if such a one has appeared) the Senators would quite likely be unaware of it. They just don't have time to read books.

They read, to be sure. They read tremendous stacks of stuff. Government reports, statistical studies, letters from home, piles of big-city and hometown newspapers, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. But few have time to keep up with the more important periodicals. And almost none reads books—at least not so many books as the literate, interested American who is not a Senator.

Senator NEUBERGER himself, he wrotes, gets up at 6:30 a. m. to spend an hour with the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. He reads reports and studies and mail. But when he finds time for book reading, he succumbs to the human temptation to use reading as an escape. He like books about the West and about the outdoors. And who can blame him for that?

"Probably the most literate man in the Senate, PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, complained that he, too, found reading possible only at the expense of sleep. But read he does, or tries to do. Before breakfast the Illinois Senator goes through the New York Times, Washington Post and CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. At noon he skims the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Daily News, Wall Street Journal, Christian Science Monitor, and five downstate Illinois papers. Evenings he spends with the New Republic, New Leader, Progressive, America, Commonwealth, Unitarian Register, Friends Journal, Manchester Guardian, London Observer, and London Economist. In addition he's pecking away at five books—C. Van Woodruff's Reunion and Reaction, Santayana's Three Philosophical Poets, the Beidens' So Fell the Angels, Bacon's Essays, and Bertrand Russell's Portraits from Memory. No other Senator testified to a reading program nearly so extensive."

None quoted by Senator NEUBERGER indicated he had time to read Harpers, Atlantic, the Luce magazines, Christian Century, Farm Journal, New Yorker, Reporter, Saturday Review, U. S. News & World Report, or the college quarterlies. None said he was able to keep up on the new books, either the very good new books or the very popular new books that are shaping the thinking of Americans everywhere.

Senator NEUBERGER, we think, is very sincere in his concern. And, as an American whose destiny is affected by the behavior of all Members of Congress, we share the Senator's concern. Congressmen, we'd like to think, are not only up on the day's news, but also filled in on the background and perspective that one can obtain only from the more leisurely journalism of magazines and books. Also, we'd like to think, Congressmen with concern for their souls would have time to sit down, as Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, says he does, to listen for an hour or two to the hi-fi. A modest diet of fiction, drama, and poetry belong in the fare of every educated man.

Senator NEUBERGER didn't say why Congressmen don't have time to read but we surmise it is because they spend so much time talking to constituents, writing letters, fighting among themselves, entertaining visiting voters at lunch, running errands for the home folks and running for reelection. It's probably a revolutionary suggestion, but it might be a good idea if we'd field two teams of Congressmen—one to be on the field passing laws while the other is back in the dugout reading and thinking. Every few months they could switch places.

Common Market in Western Hemisphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask uanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Six Latin Nations Push Common Market Plan," which appeared in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald. The article demonstrates that the delegates to the Buenos Aires convention are taking a very practical approach toward seeking a solution to and toward working out their common problems with respect to economic questions, and I am sure every Member of Congress wishes them the highest success in their endeavors.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIX LATIN NATIONS PUSH COMMON MARKET PLAN

(By Joseph Newman)

BUENOS AIRES, August 18.—Six South American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay—are preparing the groundwork in Buenos Aires for the first major common market in the Western Hemisphere.

These countries, adjoining each other, represent the greater part of the South American continent.

In area, their common market would constitute the largest in the world. In volume of trade it would be the second after the common market being established by six West European countries.

Finance ministers and economic experts of the six Republics, using the occasion of current economic conference in Buenos Aires, are meeting privately to advance their common market project.

These meetings, if successful, could produce more concrete results than those which

are likely to emerge from the overall conference of the 20 American Republics.

Without specifying the scope of the area, Krieger Vasena and Jose Maria Alkmin, finance ministers of Argentina and Brazil, publicly declared their governments in favor of a common market.

Chilean Finance Minister Eduardo Urzua Merino is expected to follow suit Monday.

The project is supported by a study prepared by experts of the Organization of American States in Washington.

The study envisages the eventual creation of three common markets in Latin America—the southern part of South America, the northern part including Colombia, Equador, and Venezuela and finally, Central America.

Central American Republics already have taken steps to secure clearance from the Secretariat of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade for the creation of a common market.

A common market in South America is likely to bring important changes in trade between the United States and this continent, possibly harming some North American exporters while opening new opportunities for North American investment.

Oil Wells Do Fade Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is much talk about oil reserves and the expense of finding new reserves. We now have the information that in every exploration the average cost is $123,000 a well. Only 1 out of 44 wells produces enough oil to fill the American demand for just 4 hours.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial in the Oil City Derrick of August 15, which very interestingly discusses this subject, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OIL WELLS DO FADE AWAY

Lewis W. Douglas, who has held top positions both in private industry and in Government, recently related some sober facts behind the search for oil.

The oil driller, Mr. Douglas pointed out, must now invest an average of $123,000 in every exploration well he drills, yet only 1 out of 9 of these wildcat wells produces oil. And only 1 out of 44 wells finds an oilfield big enough to produce the equivalent of American demand for just 4 hours. The odds against a find big enough to supply that demand for a week are long, indeed—966 to 1.

But that, as Mr. Douglas pointed out, isn't all. The shallow sands where oil is found most easily have already been tested for the most part. So the searcher for oil must send his wells deeper and deeper. This means that drilling and exploration costs are now about 400 percent higher than they were 25 years ago, and they continue to rise.

Then, to quote Mr. Douglas directly, "unlike a factory which can produce at a constant rate for many years, an oil well dies a little each day. Finally it stops producing altogether; in other words, it becomes depleted."

There is the reason for the depletion allowance given oil producers. It simply recognizes the fact that oil wells "die a little each day" and must be replaced—at ever-higher cost. It applies to production only, not to the industry's other activities.

Soil and Water Problems of Nebraska's First District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, there is a significant development taking place in Nebraska about which I want to comment. It has to do with the conservation of the soil and water resources of our great State. During the past few years the people of the First Congressional District have become keenly interested in the watershed approach to their soil and water problems.

This watershed approach is a community approach in which all of the interests in a small watershed get together to bring their efforts as a group to focus on the installation of needed conservation measures for farmland and water-control structures on the small streams. This coordinated effort has developed as the people become more and more aware of the need for water conservation. It has become apparent to them that the conservation of our water and soil must go hand in hand.

In many communities within my district town and farm people alike have banded together into watershed groups to do an effective and permanent job of soil and water conservation. Construction work is already under way in some communities. In other communities they are in the planning stage. And in still other communities they are currently getting organized for this kind of a job.

As an example of what is being done I am pleased to state that construction work is moving ahead rapidly in the Dry Creek watershed in Frontier and Red Willow Counties, in the upper Salt Creek watershed in Lancaster County, and in the Indian Creek watershed in Gage and Lancaster Counties.

Watershed planning is currently in process in the Soap Creek watershed and Mud Creek watershed in Gage County, in the Plum Creek watershed in Gage and Pawnee Counties, and in the Brock tributaries watershed in Nemaha County.

In planning and installing this watershed work these local communities are getting valuable assistance from the soil and conservation agencies of the Department of Agriculture. Other communities have asked for help and are now waiting their turn for the Department of Agriculture to get to them. This is the case with the Bowman-Spring Branch watershed in Thayer County, the Buckley Creek watershed in Jefferson and Thayer Counties, the Big Indian Creek watershed in Jefferson and Gage Counties, and the Bear-Pierce-Cedar watershed in Gage County.

In Nebraska the State and county ASC committees have cooperated with local soil conservation districts, watershed associations, and local citizens in furthering this watershed work. They have cooperated magnificently in using the cost sharing resources available through the agricultural conservation program to install the soil and water conservation measures needed on farmland and required by law as an integral part of the community effort. As a result, there has been a significant increase in the establishment of many permanent soil and water conservation practices such as terracing, contour farming, waterway development, constructing diversions and ponds, channel improvements, and tree planting. I am proud of this progress in Nebraska.

The local people in my district have been pointing out to me the need for more resources to move ahead faster for this real, permanent type of soil conservation work. For the country as a whole, on the other hand, it has been reported that in 1955 from 50 to 60 percent of the ACP funds were used on temporary, short-term practices that tend to increase crop production.

It is my opinion, Mr. Speaker, that during this period of crop surpluses, now is the time to concentrate the use of ACP funds on permanent soil and water conservation measures such as those presently being carried on in the area of Nebraska that I represent.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend Ervin L. Peterson who is assistant in charge of soil and water conservation programs for the Department of Agriculture along with his many associates for the outstanding job that they are doing in directing the Federal Government's part of the national soil and water conservation effort. I congratulate them on their desire to improve on the use of funds made available to the Department of Agriculture for helping farmers with soil and water conservation work through the agricultural conservation program.

Tribute to Public Service of Mrs. Jane Yelvington McCallum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, last Wednesday, August 14, there passed away in Austin, Tex., the most distinguished lady ever to serve the people of Texas. Mrs. Jane Y. McCallum served as secretary of state of the State of Texas, and was the moving force in the adoption of an amendment to the constitution of Texas that enfranchised the women of Texas.

Mrs. Jane Y. McCallum was likewise the leader in the ratification by Texas of the 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The amendment was ratified by Texas on June 28, 1919, Texas being the ninth State in the Union to ratify the women's suffrage amendment.

In addition, she exercised a beneficial influence on the lives of more Texans than any other woman who has ever lived in the entire history of Texas.

The Austin-American Statesman, one of the leading journals of information and public opinion in Texas, published a touching tribute to Mrs. McCallum in the August 16 edition of that newspaper. Mr. Charles E. Green, the independent and courageous editor of this newspaper, has also written a fine tribute to this great woman in his well-known column, entitled "The Ninth Column."

The Austin-American, in its issue of August 16, 1957, published a fine tribute to Mrs. Jane Y. McCallum, under the caption "Notable Public Service This Texan's Monument."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTABLE PUBLIC SERVICE THIS TEXAN'S MONUMENT

The Yelvington family has been prominent in education, literary, and public affairs in Texas for more than a century. It remained for a daughter, Mrs. Jane Yelvington McCallum, to establish new records in Texas for women's service in government, and in leadership which brought women into full rights of citizenship.

Mrs. McCallum's death in Austin, at the age of 79, brings to public attention her career of achievement on behalf of her sex. It emphasizes the remarkable change in the public attitude toward women as citizens which has taken place within the span of one lifetime.

While political parties compete to confer political favors on racial minorities, women had to achieve their rights to full citizenship by their own toilsome effort.

Women came to vote, by statute, in a Democratic primary for the first time in 1918. In that year a woman for the first time was elected to State office. Texas had pending submission of a constitutional amendment to confer general voting rights on women when the 19th amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified and went into effect. There were many more battles to be fought and won, culminating only recently when the last barrier in the State constitution to equality of citizenship, the right and duty of jury service was removed.

Mrs. McCallum was a leader in the long suffrage fight. Later, she was an organizer and the chairman of what was termed the "petticoat lobby," an organization representing numerous women's clubs and organizations, crusading for social, moral, and welfare legislation and for removal of the many discriminations against women.

In her later years of semi-invalidism, while she was writing books which will be part of Texas literary heritage, she continued as the counselor and guide to others who carried on the crusade for clean government and better citizenship.

Mrs. McCallum was 1 of 2 women who have served as secretary of state of Texas. She is the only woman to have held that office more than 1 term, and in the administrations of 2 State governors. She served first under appointment by Gov. Dan Moody, then through the administration of Gov. Ross S. Sterling.

She survived for many years her husband, distinguished Superintendent N. McCallum of the Austin public school system.

When her children reached adulthood, Mrs. McCallum followed the precedent she so often had urged upon other women, that of giving one's time and effort to public affairs, better government, reshaping of obsolete laws that permitted, and the fashioning of new laws that prohibited the gross discriminations against her sex and against groups of Texas citizens.

A disappointment this woman leader expressed in her later years was that women had not followed up and made use of the broadened field of service in government and public affairs which found its greatest expression soon after women finally achieved the ballot.

In those years, Texas had the first woman governor elected by an American State, and had a woman superintendent of public instruction; women secretaries of state; a woman commissioner of labor; women on administrative and governmental boards; an all-woman special supreme court. Texas has had 1 woman senator, but not more than 1 at a time, for most of 20 years. It has had as many as 6 women members of the house of representatives at 1 time. It now has 1 woman senator and two women representatives, and women members of college, institution and other boards.

Mrs. McCallum deplored the lessening of interest by women citizens in public office for themselves, at the same time emphasizing their decisive power at the polls.

Hers has been a life useful to her State. Her name will be among those at the top of the list in the history books, so long as history preserves the record of the long and hard and gradually successful battle for equality of citizenship.

THE NINTH COLUMN

A very grand person has just died. Those who have moved here during the past 10 or 12 years will know her only by name, and the headlines they read. But Jane Y. McCallum will be a living name when the vast majority of us are hardly a memory. The good she did cannot be measured. She and a handful of others began something that grew and is still growing: Woman's fight for emancipation.

She called herself a suffragette in those days. She was not. She was a woman with courage, backbone, and sweetness. She could have been anyone's mother, and whoever that person was, he would have been proud to call her so.

If she called me once in the old days, she called me a thousand times. One day she started to apologize for the time she was taking. I stopped that right quick. In the sad, black days when it seemed the Nation might be coming apart at the seams, she was the inspiration that kept a great number of us young ones in hope.

She never wasted anybody's time.

Jane Y. McCallum was a dedicated person, but she was not a bore. She thought life was the most important gift that God could give. She could not understand those who held life lightly, their own, or that of those around them.

She was not a do-gooder or a crusader, yet she was eternally in the good fight to improve man's lot on this globe. Man, of course, being a general term for people. She read voraciously, she sought out interesting people, and she was a most interesting woman.

She was, in the true sense of the word, a liberal. She was against abuse. She believed that the Democratic Party best represented the interests of the Nation, and the section in which she lived. She did not think the Democratic Party a perfect party. She was not afraid to fight the abuses within her own party.

When times became lush and most anyone could find or join a country club, it did not add much to your standing to admit to being a Democrat. Jane Y. McCallum never withdrew into the shadows. She did not join this or that or call herself this or that.

She remained a Democrat.

She was a lovely person, with charm and good manners. She was a most vital woman. When she came in to see you her talk was concise without being brusque. When she left she generally left a little of herself behind. You could feel it in the room. It was a nice feeling. Especially with those who deal so much with phonies, pretenders, people who try to palm off utterly selfish ideas in the name of community welfare. The intellectually dishonest, and their names are legion.

Jane McCallum was a very honest person.

The last time she called me she said, "Charles, I'm getting old and garrulous. But worst of all, I'm sick * * *."

Without being told I knew what she meant. She meant it was the beginning of the end. She was not bitter, she was not complaining. She was stating a fact. And she was thinking that a woman of her vitality, her energy, her love of freedom—her love of these things also embraced freedom from affliction.

And that is always so in people of accomplishment.

She, who never gushed, would not want her friends to gush over her.

So we end this with the thought:

You who did not know her, some fraction of your life is better because she once lived, once worked in this community. She made everyone who worked in her vicinity a better person—and thus her accomplishments went even beyond her own personal enterprises.

She was a grand person, a fine lady. She had courage, backbone, and sweetness.

STATE AND CITY TO HONOR MRS. JANE Y. MCCALLUM—FUNERAL TRIBUTES SCHEDULED

Mrs. Jane Y. McCallum will be honored Friday by the State and city she served so long and faithfully when the flags on Austin's City Hall and on the State capitol will fly at half-mast.

Final tributes will be paid the widow of A. N. McCallum, superintendent of the Austin public schools for 39 years, at 11 a. m. Friday at the Weed-Corley Funeral Home. Dr. Frank Jewett, longtime neighbor and friend of the McCallums, will conduct the service assisted by Rev. E. Otis Moore, associate pastor of the First Southern Presbyterian Church.

Her body will lie in state at the funeral home throughout the morning Friday.

Burial will be in Oakwood Cemetery beside the grave of her husband.

Death came Wednesday night to the well-known writer and public figure, who served as Texas' first woman secretary of state and the only secretary of state to serve under two governors. She was first appointed by Gov. Dan Moody, then served again during the administration of Gov. Ross Sterling.

Zollie Steakley, the present secretary of state, Thursday pointed out the continuing influence of Mrs. McCallum on the office.

"She reorganized the corporation files in the secretary of state's office in a manner that served as a pattern for succeeding administrations," he said. During her administration she found the original Texas Declaration for Independence moldering away in an old file and through her influence, it was restored for future Texans.

Mrs. McCallum's service to the city of Austin (she was a member of the city planning commission for 7 years) was noted at the city council meeting Thursday when the council members stood in respect for her.

A quiet and gentle lady in the old southern tradition, Mrs. McCallum yet was a sturdy and dedicated worker for women's rights and was a leader in the suffragette movement in Texas.

In her later years, Mrs. McCallum spent many hours tending her garden at 613 West 32d Street and in studying and writing about Texas history. She recently prepared for the permanent files of the Austin public schools the story of her husband's life and his service to Texas education.

She was active in Theta Sigma Phi, woman's journalism fraternity. She was married when she was 18, before she had the opportunity to attend college. After

she had her children, she entered the University of Texas and earned her degree.

Mrs. McCallum once wrote a column, "Suffrage Corner," for the Austin American and later was a staff member of the Austin Statesman. She was author of a book "Not All Texans Are Men," in which she wrote about prominent and notorious women in Texas history.

She was a member of the First Southern Presbyterian Church.

Those desiring may make memorial contributions to the A. N. McCallum Scholarship Fund, care of the administrative offices, Austin Public Schools, 701 East 11th Street.

Survivors include her 5 children. They are 1 daughter, Mrs. John L. Morley, of Austin; 4 sons, A. Y. McCallum, of Corpus Christi; A. N. McCallum, Jr., of Austin; Brown McCallum, of Alice; and Henry D. McCallum, of Tyler; 1 sister, Mrs. E. Rex Tarver, of Laredo; 1 brother, Rev. Jesse L. Yelvington, of San Antonio; 8 grandchildren, and 1 great grandchild.

Labor Leaders Parrot Democrat Line and Overlook the Rank and File

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I noticed from an Associated Press dispatch on August 14 and from newspaper articles the following day that the AFL–CIO executive council branded the Eisenhower administration's economic policies as "designed to hasten a recession," and characterized the Republican administration's fiscal policies as "blundering," "confused," and "self-defeating."

At first when I read the news articles and the Associated Press dispatch, I thought it was the spokesman of the Democrat Party talking because of the closeness of the line which both the labor leaders and the Democrat politicians have been following.

It would seem to me that the self-perpetuated leaders of the labor movement in the country would be more interested in the maintenance of the value of the dollar so as to protect the interests of the salary workers, pensioners, and people who live on fixed savings, all of whom are just as much members of the labor unions as other sections of the unions.

The Republican administration's desire to protect the interests of all Americans is certainly far more praiseworthy than the stand of the union leaders and the resultions coming out of the Chicago meeting which seem to prove the fact that the union labor leaders are but an arm of the Democrat Party.

On Friday, August 16, I received a letter from a former union man who bitterly protests the action of the union leaders and who speaks of the big problem of inflation which every serious minded citizen wants to control but about which the union leaders apparently are not concerned as evidenced by their blatant criticism of the administration's desire to bring inflation under control.

In order to prevent any labor union leaders from putting pressure on the writer of this letter, I am purposely withholding his name.

The letter is as follows:

GREEN VALLEY, ILL.,
August 14, 1957.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHEEHAN: I would like to see H. R. 5551 defeated because I do not want to pay any income taxes from my railroad retirement benefits. I want my insurance and other incomes to be worry free. My Government has no money to give except the taxes it collects.

Inflation is a problem especially for the worker who received $6,000 to $7,000 annually and not has only retirement. Could we legislate for him? Our benefits are only a stop gap.

Our union leaders through Labor seeks to discredit President Eisenhower, Senator DIRKSEN, and the Republican Party. They try to wheedle dollars for the Railway Political League and then give the money to the Democrats to defeat our candidates.

I want our party to always work for the good of the whole country and not put one man against another for the sake of a vote.

Yours respectfully.

The writer of the letter enclosed the Saturday, August 10, issue of Labor and as he so well pointed out, this paper seems to take special pains to discredit the Republican administration and Republicans in general and serve as a spokesman for the Democrat Party. It is my firm belief and knowledge that the rank and file members are able to make up their own minds. However, in all fairness, papers which espouse labor's cause should bring both sides of the question and not serve as a rubber stamp for the Democrat Party and ignore the wishes and thoughts of a great number of the rank and file of union members.

Hoover's Service Under Woodrow Wilson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Wilson Idealism Lives Again," published in the Northfield, Minn., News of August 15, 1957. This editorial is most thought provoking, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues. It deals with a book being being written by Herbert Hoover regarding the 3 years he served under President Woodrow Wilson.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILSON IDEALISM LIVES AGAIN

It is typical of the breadth of understanding and the intellectual honesty of Herbert Hoover that on his vigorous 83d birthday the announcement was made that he is writing a book about the 3 years that he served directly under President Woodrow Wilson during the first World War and the peace negotiations which followed. Excerpts of his views indicate that the great living ex-President will testify in highest praise, albeit in tragic retrospect, of the great war president and his passion for peace. Mr. Hoover's work will be a contribution to recorded American history of future as well as contemporary importance.

It must be apparent to many, in the light of what subsequently happened, that President Wilson stands vindicated today. He forewarned his countrymen that unless the balance of power theory was eliminated from world affairs, there could be no lasting peace, and that the answer rested in a concert of nations for peace. "We must provide a machinery of readjustment in order that we may have a machinery of good will and friendship," he said.

A great tragedy in President Wilson's fight for the League of Nations was his own physical collapse at the height of his effort to rally public support, and he saw his countrymen officially turn away from the pledges he had made to an attentive world and prevent American participation in the League of Nations. How large a factor this was in the events that subsequently transpired, with the rise of brutal dictatorships and a devastating second World War, with its tense aftermath, may be a matter of conjecture among historians, but the fact remains that without the power and prestige of the United States behind it, the League of Nations was doomed to impotence in the successive crises which enveloped the world.

Mr. Hoover, who describes President Wilson as "the embodiment of the ideals of the new world," sees an inspiring epilogue to the Wilson tragedy: "In the years after he proclaimed his freedom of men and his self-determination of peoples, 25 nations achieved independence. Some lost it again to Hitler and Stalin. But 25 years later, after another great war, the nations assembled in San Francisco to draw up a new covenant to establish lasting peace. The United Nations Charter in its every major part was a plagiarism, less well expressed than the League of Nations. The spirit of Woodrow Wilson had risen again to lead the world."

Why Mr. Hoover's forthcoming book is important to Americans generally, as well as to those who will especially appreciate his generous evaluation of Mr. Wilson, is well summed up in his own words: "The supreme purpose of history is a better world. History gives a warning to those who would promote war. History brings inspiration to those who seek peace. In short, history helps us learn. Yesterday's records can keep us from repeating yesterday's mistakes."

One of the Specious Claims for H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, one of the foremost arguments being distributed to Members to secure support for H. R. 8002, the accrued expenditure bill, is that the Congress does not now, but should, directly control the annual rate of disbursements from the Treasury. Direct annual control is the point being stressed. The argument is:

H. R. 8002 will provide a means for congressional control over the annual rate of Government expenditures.

Emphasis is on the words "annual rate." The inference of course is that

the present system affords less annual control than would H. R. 8002.

Of course, this completely misses the point. The time and place to control is when agencies request authority to obligate the Government. It is too late to try to effectively control spending after the contract is entered into. Trying to control the precise amount to be disbursed in a particular year accomplishes nothing because, once the contracts are made, they have to be honored sooner or later—if not one year, then the next, or the next. An executed contract inevitably means an expenditure.

But, how valid is the persistent contention that H. R. 8002 will impart closer direct annual control of spending? The answer is simple. If Members will turn to table 6 of the 1958 budget, page A11, the first three columns show that $48 billion of the $72 billion spending budget is from new authorizations, that is, from current 1958 authorizations. The next three columns show that the remaining $24 billion is out of unexpended carryovers from prior years. In other words, two-thirds of spending in 1958 is from authorizations for 1958 and one-third is from carryover balances.

So, as to two-thirds of the spending budget, direct annual control of actual spending is as readily had under the present system as would be possible under the H. R. 8002 system. There is not an iota of difference. Under the present system a cut in this part of the appropriations for 1958 means a direct cut in the spending estimates for 1958, just as would be the case under the H. R. 8002 scheme.

Now, what about direct annual control as regards the remaining one-third, or $24 billion, of the $72 billion total? By far the greater portion represents amounts contracted under authority granted in earlier years, especially in defense. An obligation created in an earlier year falling due in 1958 must be paid regardless of the system used. Would the Congress, under the accrued expenditure scheme, refuse to appropriate to cover goods and services to be received in 1958 under obligations entered into in earlier years?

The answer is that H. R. 8002 will procide little if any additional opportunity to effectively control annual spending rates.

The cold, hard reality remains. To reduce drain on the Treasury requires reduction in authority to first commit the Treasury. Statements from the executive branch corroborate this simple fact.

Former Treasury Secretary Humphrey said:

> It is not the size of any particular budget which is our paramount concern. It is control of the upward march of total Government spending which is of greatest importance to all of us on a long-run basis.
>
> The biggest budget problem, as I see it, is one of seeking out long-term savings.

And here is a statement in point from the Executive Office of the President:

> Because obligational authority foreruns expenditures, it is necessary to exercise control over the amount of new authority voted for Government agencies in order to keep expenditures within receipts. If in any year the Government obligates itself to pay more money than it is receiving, it is courting future deficits.

Mr. Speaker, as indicated, the way to reduce spending is to reduce authority to commit the Government. Bookkeeping schemes, such as H. R. 8002, will not keep the money in the Treasury or the taxpayers' pockets.

Inflation and the Tight-Money Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a splendid article which was published in the Oklahoma City Times of Friday, August 16, 1957, written by Allan Cromley, the Oklahoman-Times Washington Bureau correspondent. This fine article relates to the fight which the distinguished senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR] has been making against inflation and the tight-money policy, which is causing the inflationary spiral.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFLATED? NOT OUR BOB

(By Allan Cromley)

WASHINGTON.—Gather around and we shall talk about a commodity dear to everyone—money.

Our expert is a man who has more than a nodding acquaintance with that wonderful stuff. He's Senator ROBERT S. KERR who lately has been giving the administration you-know-what for its high-interest-rate policies.

He was on the NBC-TV show Meet the Press the other day and told several well-known reporters they didn't know what they were talking about. Got away with it, too.

Inasmuch as he has been something less than hesitant to criticize the way Ike is doing things, KERR was asked what he would do if he lived at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW.

He said he would be glad to, but there was insufficient TV time to explain it.

We gave him the chance the other day, and he almost talked our arm off.

It gets pretty technical, but don't be alarmed if the snow gets deep. We're in this together.

Okay, Senator, what would you do to cure what you consider a threatened, if not an outright, recession?

Well, he's ready to do battle with anyone who claims that high interest rates check inflation.

All it does, he says, is to make it more expensive to produce the things we buy, and the producer just passes the added cost to us consumers.

For example, current policies of the Federal Reserve Board have caused Bell Telephone Co. to pay 4 percent interest on the more than $5 billion it has borrowed.

The rate used to be 2¾ percent. That means it is costing Bell $125 million more to do business. The telephone customers—that's us—pay the difference in higher phone bills.

Or take steel. It went up $6 a ton recently. Industry moguls said the cost of producing it had gone up. One of the major expenses was interest on borrowed money.

Result—a bigger price tag on the new car you had planned to buy next year.

The big error, according to KERR, is the assumption that when you raise interest rates you discourage borrowing and thus discourage overproduction.

It doesn't work that way, according to the Kerr theory. The big corporations are going to borrow money whether they have to pay 2 percent or 4 percent, just as you and I are not going to quit eating if the cost of food rises.

We "gotta" have bread, and the big money borrowers "gotta" have credit. They have the wherewithal to outbid smaller borrowers in the auction of credit.

Well and good, Senator, but what specifically would you do if you were running the show?

"I would restore an environment in which agriculture could prosper.

"I would restore the environment in which home building could go forward at a rate required to meet growing needs.

"I would operate the Federal Reserve System to provide the increase in the flow of money required for the normal growth of the economy.

"After all, population is increasing at the rate of 3 million a year, and there's continued improvement in the standard of living of 170 million people.

"I would operate the Federal Reserve System so that money could flow into the bloodstream of the economy, with interest rates on long-term bonds finding their natural level, as they did in 1951 and 1952.

"I would stop the issuance of rapid tax writeoff certificates for all but the factories which produce defense goods in short supply (This is being done in current legislation.)

"I would change the income tax laws so as to increase the individual personal exemption."

He said this would cost about $2 billion a year in revenue, but the Government will save that much in changing the tax write-off rules.

Tapping a heavy finger on our notebook, KERR said, "Economic charts show that there's a great increase in income of those who collect interest and dividends. They represent a small percentage of our consumers.

"The great mass of consumers are workers, farmer, and small-business people. Economic charts show substantial decreases in the income of farmers.

"They show a slight decrease in the income of small-business men, and they show a much less increase in wages than in the income of those who collect interest and dividends.

"That accounts for the surplus now existing both in inventory and production of consumer goods. * * *"

In other words, the Senator says there are more things on the store shelves than the consumers are able to buy and high interest rates are not slowing down the rate at which those goods are being produced.

We have inflation but it isn't the type we've known before, says the Senator. This is perhaps his major premise on which his whole argument stands or falls.

"Historic inflation is where too many dollars are chasing too few products. To cure it you need to increase the cost of credit and syphon off the surplus with taxes.

"This inflation is a different kind than we had in 1946, 1947, and 1948, because today we have a surplus of consumer goods.

"For the first time in history the cost of living continues to rise despite a surplus inventory and actual reduction in the rate of industrial production."

Bathtubs are in surplus, for example. The reason is that people can't borrow money to buy homes to put the bathtubs in, argues KERR.

But don't misunderstand him. He wouldn't just shower the country with money.

"I'm just as much opposed to too much increase in the money supply as I am to its being too restricted. You can produce inflation by either too much or too little credit."

He says the administration is pushing interest rates above their natural level. The administration, particularly the recently departed Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Humphrey, says KERR would depress interest rates below their natural level.

"Credit is a manufactured product," he says. The Government is in competition with private business to get it.

Jack up the interest rates and the smaller businesses are outmatched in the bidding for credit, maintains KERR.

That's just a start, but if you are unconvinced or want more, write Senator ROBERT S. KERR, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Our bet is that he'll deluge you with statistics until you cry "Uncle," as we did.

Tour Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Tour Kentucky," written by Jacqueline Anderson and published in the American Motorist for July 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOUR KENTUCKY

(By Jacqueline Anderson)

Year after year Kentucky bluegrass thoroughbreds thunder down the racetracks of America to become the victors of over half our Nation's major stake winnings. Annually, millions of schoolchildren read about Daniel Boone's pioneer exploits, Abe Lincoln's American success story, Jefferson Davis' Confederate presidency, and Henry Clay's senatorial achievements. Our people learn My Old Kentucky Home in childhood and sometimes drink Kentucky bourbon before maturity; we burn 80 million tons of Kentucky coal yearly and smoke 370 million pounds of Kentucky tobacco. And we've probably all listened to stories of Kentucky's mammoth underground caverns and its TVA wonder—the world's largest manmade lake.

Yes, Kentucky's rich personality has left an indelible mark on our past, and it wields a powerful influence in American life today. Now, for the first time, in its history, this State is welcoming a tremendous surge of eastern vacationers, who are happily discovering the wealth of scenic allure, historic fascination and recreational excellence which 1957's Kentucky has to offer.

Variety is the keynote for Kentucky scenery. Topographically, the countryside gradually changes from open sloping plains in the western purchase area to forest-covered mountains in the east. Between these areas lie rolling knoblands, winding river valleys, massive manmade lakes, and the fertile bluegrass region.

A well-developed park system encompasses many of Kentucky's most scenic and historic areas, and fine highways invite motorists to tour the Commonwealth via the park circuit.

Starting in western Kentucky, visitors will find 3 State parks situated along the winding 2,300-mile shoreline of Kentucky Lake, a 184-mile long manmade wonder created by TVA's impoundment of the Tennessee River waters. These parks, Kentucky Dam Village State Park, Kentucky Lake State Park, and Cherokee State Park, offer fine lodge and cabin accommodations which average from $3 per person daily up to $6. (This rate structure holds true with only slight variations for all of their parks.) Especially recommended is Kentucky Lake State Park's Kenlake Hotel, a $600,000 architectural masterpiece which stands on a low hill overlooking the lake. Boating, swimming, hiking, horseback riding, golfing and year-round fishing are feature park attractions.

Going east through Hopkinsville, the traveler passes by Jefferson Davis' Monument, a 351-foot high, concrete-cast monument which stands in quiet memory to a Kentucky son who became the South's Confederate President. Here it may be remembered that no State suffered greater emotional conflict within its borders during Civil War days than did Kentucky, for she gave to our Nation, not only its southern President but its northern President, Lincoln. And the irony and tragedy of this situation was written with the blood of broken households where fathers took up arms against sons, and brothers against brothers. Lincoln's birthplace, which lies 3 miles south of Hodgenville on U. S. 31E, has now become a 116½-acre national park, at whose center, enshrined within a beautiful pink and granite marble structure, stands the primitive, log-walled, slab-roofed cabin where our Union President was born.

Between these two historical landmarks lies Mammoth Cave National Park which covers 51,000 acres of scenic countryside and makes available 95 unit accommodations. The cave itself comes by its name honestly. With more than 150 miles of explored corridors, it offers a mammoth underground panorama of unusual rock formations, rivers, and lakes. For hardly spelunkers, a day-long trip through the cave is offered—in addition to four shorter tours—with a stopover for lunch at a subterranean cafe.

FIRST WESTERN SETTLEMENT

Kentucky's "Jamestown" lies slightly northeast of the cave, at Harrodsburg. Here is a reconstruction of Old Fort Harrod, first permanent English settlement west of the Alleghenies. Countless relics of pioneer life are on display in the many log-cabin museums which make up this authentically reproduced replica of the original fort.

The barrenness and simplicity of everyday conveniences in this picturesque village stand in stark contrast to the beautiful colonial-style homes which lies east of the mountains; and they constitute solemn reminders of the courage and sacrifice which these early pioneers demonstrated when they left the eastern comforts of gracious living to venture into unexplored, Indian-infested territory.

Surrounding the fort is a region which will forever be linked with the name of Daniel Boone. It was he who blazed the first trail into this wilderness paradise and helped the settlers who followed him to successfully repel the fierce Indian attempts to protect their "happy hunting ground." Many historic markers along the roads retell this heroic tale to the motorist as he travels through the area.

Passing south to Russell Springs on Kentucky 35 and 55, the motorist will reach the Lake Cumberland region. Here, in the heart of towering mountain and forest scenery, lies Cumberland Falls State Park, a 1,098-acre reservation bordering man-made Cumberland Lake. Practically all types of outdoor recreation are offered in this park, as well as de luxe accommodations at Du-pont Lodge which has 75 rooms plus 47 cottages and cabins. Cumberland Falls, 125 feet wide and wih a drop of 65 feet, is the park's outstanding natural feature. On bright moonlight nights, a moonbow can be seen in the midst of the falls. The only other known moonbow in the world is in South Africa.

BLUE GRASS COUNTRY

Swinging directly north, the motorist comes to Lexington, which lies in the heart of the bluegrass section. Here, beneath the turf, lies a layer of rare Ordovician limestone which supplies the soil and water with a high percentage of phosphorus and calcium. It is these minerals which give the grass its bluish color (hence the name "Bluegrass") and to the horses who feed upon it the strong tendons, solid bones, and elastic muscles which invariably carry them to racetrack victory.

Surrrounding Lexington are the palatial horse farms where past, present, and future champions live in air-conditioned luxury. No commerical tours through this area are available. However, visitors are welcomed at nearly all of the farms where they may wander around the paddocks, into the barns, and through the famous horse cemeteries.

OTHER KENTUCKY ATTRACTIONS

Louisville, Kentucky's largest city, is the northwest gateway for travelers entering the Bluegrass State. Situated on the Ohio River, it is connected by bridges with Jeffersonville and New Albany, Ind. Fine highways lead into the city from every point of the compass, and an airport offers regular flights to and from all parts of the country.

In 1779, Col. George Rogers Clark and 13 families came down the Ohio River and settled Corn Island, opposite the present site of the city. The following year these colonists moved to the mainland, and Louisville, as the settlement was named—after Louis XVI of France—became the base of supplies for Clark's expeditions which culminated in the conquest of the Northwest. Today this thriving city distills 25 percent of all the liquor made in the United States and it manufactures many nationally known brands of cigarettes, including Viceroy, Kools, and Spuds. It is also the gathering place for some 100,000 race-track fans who assemble at nearby Churchill Downs on the first Saturday of every May to watch our Nation's annual racing classic—the Kentucky Derby.

Other interesting objectives for a motor tour of Kentucky should include the following: Bardstown, where the beautiful Georgian-style mansion in which Stephen Foster supposedly wrote My Old Kentucky Home is kept open for public inspection; Berea, a unique college town where mountain youth can obtain higher education through a work-as-you-go program, and where Pulitzer Prizewinner Paul Green's historical drama, Wilderness Road, is currently being shown at Indian Fort Amphitheater; Frankfort, founded as capital of the Bluegrass State in 1792; and "Ashland," Lexington, home of Kentucky's famous "pacifist" Senator, Henry Clay, father of the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1871.

If Kentucky is best known for its thoroughbreds, its renown for fine bourbon probably runs a close second. So, Mr. and Mrs. Motorist, before you leave the Bluegrass State and all its many attractions behind, make a farewell toast to this beautiful land with a real Kentucky mint julep. This frosted concoction of bourbon and mint, sweetened by a little powdered sugar and served with southern hospitality, will put the finishing touches on a memorable trip to the East's newest 1957 vacationland.

Closing the New Inflationary Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sound statement by Clifford F. Hood, the president of the United States Steel Corp., given before the Committee on the Judiciary.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLOSING THE NEW INFLATIONARY GAP

(By Clifford F. Hood)

I share the concern about inflation which I am sure that you gentlemen have in your minds. In fact no other matter so seriously and adversely affects the operations of United States Steel. An increasing number of people are coming to understand that one part of this problem—a part that I must face every day—is the failure of production to rise as rapidly as production costs.

Aside from taxes, and as in any manufacturing concern, the cost per unit of production in United States Steel is determined by the unit costs of man-hours, machines, and materials and the combined effectiveness with which all of these factors of production are utilized; in other words, unit prices and productivity. The unit prices United States Steel has had to pay for man-hours, machines, and materials have been increasing at rates far in excess of increases in productivity, thus creating a disparity which has resulted in steel price increases. Many other enterprises are confronted with a similar disparity which we might think of as the new inflation gap, a problem of nationwide scope.

This problem threatens the long-range security of our business, and of every individual who gains his living, in whole or in part, from our business. It poses a similar threat not only to every other steel producer but to every other industry and, in fact, to every other group in America. It is a national problem of great importance.

Heretofore the great problems with which this Nation has been confronted have been solved in ways determined by the will of the people, following the development of adequate public understanding of the problems and needs for solution. I have an abiding faith that this will continue to be our way of life, and I am sure that the activities of this subcommittee will contribute to the growth of that public understanding.

To the furtherance of that purpose I would like briefly to present certain views on the new inflation gap, particularly with respect to what individual companies or industries can and cannot do about it.

Without professing to understand all of the complex economic aspects of inflation, it nevertheless seems clear to me, and I presume to many others as a matter of ordinary arithmetic, that the way to close the gap is either to step up the overall rate of productivity increase, or to lower the overall rate of cost increase, or both. Out of that simple observation comes one responsibility that I think rests squarely upon the individual managements and employees of every business enterprise, big and little. It is to manage their affairs and perform their jobs so as to bring about the maximum possible increase in overall productivity, and put a stop to the production cost increases which are within their power to control.

This is, of course, not a new responsibility. It is one, however, worth emphasis in view of the national predicament in which we find ourselves. I say it is not new, because fortunately the American competitive system makes it necessary for management to develop ever more efficient methods of producing or lose out in the competitive race. The wonderful byproduct has been an ever-rising standard of living, for it is only as we develop more efficient ways of producing today's goods and services that we can free manpower and resources to provide tomorrow's more abundant, new, and better products.

This is the result of a productivity rise over the long stretch of American history of slightly over 2 percent per year on the average, according to the National Industrial Conference Board calculations. In order to have a stable price level, it follows that there cannot be sustained increases in the Nation's wage levels at a much greater rate without inevitably forcing up prices. But now we are faced with the fact that employment costs per hour have been compounding for many years at much greater rates than that—over 8 percent per year in the case of United States Steel. It follows that to close this new inflation gap something has to be done about the over-rapid increase in employment costs throughout American industry. The managements and employees of individual enterprises can help solve this problem, but clearly the real solution of the matter lies beyond the power of management of any one enterprise or any single industry. Its solution will require concerted effort on the part of all managements and all employees. We in United States Steel are doing what we can.

The management of United States Steel has no desire whatever to withhold justified wage increases. But we do not want the employees of United States Steel, through their collective bargaining representatives, to demand and strike for unjustified wage increases. Our real desire is to raise our rate of productivity increase, with the cooperation of our employees and their collective bargaining representatives, to the highest attainable level, reduce our costs, and, as we progress, to negotiate wage increases which respect the related interests of the employees, owners, and customers of United States Steel.

The management of United States Steel cannot reach this objective without full cooperation of the employees and their collective bargaining representatives. And the development of such cooperation does not come about overnight. But we think we have made a promising start in this direction, and based on the mutuality of interest, believe we can continue to progress.

The labor agreement of August 1956 was negotiated with this in mind. Whereas the employment cost per man-hour had been increasing at about 8 percent per year compounded, the company's offerings, short of strike settlement, contemplated a 5-year agreement and employment cost increases at approximately 4 percent per year. This offering was based on a planned program to move in the direction of closing the gap we have been discussing. The settlement arrived at through force of strike involved a 3-year agreement and employment cost increases amounting to about 6 percent per year compounded, exclusive of the unknown factor of cost-of-living.

These terms, far short of the obectives sought by United States Steel and obtained only after a costly strike, were accepted as a matter of general public necessity. And cost-of-living increases of unforeseen size have already nullified a substantial proportion of the anticipated gain.

Nevertheless, this agreement marked a step forward. It provided, hopefully, 3 years of industrial peace in which: the customers could count on uninterrupted supply of steel; the employees could count on a strike-free period of employment and steady income; the company could plan and proceed with facility replacement and modernization in more orderly fashion; and of paramount importance, the management of United States Steel would have reasonable opportunity to seek better understanding with the employees of United States Steel and their collective bargaining representatives.

Upon execution of this labor agreement the management of United States Steel moved to further concentrate and accelerate its long standing efforts in two directions, namely:

1. Develop improved understanding with the employees and their union representatives as to the mutuality of interest involved.

2. Increase the productive effectiveness of United States Steel in every possible way.

With respect to improved understanding, we are conducting concentrated and planned programs to acquaint each member of our management organization with the facts concerning our basic problems, so that they in turn can do likewise with respect to their employee associates. We have used the occasions of public utterances to describe our inflation problem for the knowledge of employees and the public.

To date the union has not seen fit to help us clarify this problem in the employee and public minds. But we live in the hope that it will not always be thus, and that a point will be reached where we will be able to conduct our bargaining in light of the applicable facts and conditions. Only in this manner, we believe, can our collective bargaining truly serve the individual and related interests of the employees, stockholders, and customers of United States Steel.

With respect to the second line of endeavor, namely, management actions to improve the productive effectiveness of United States Steel, we have a number of carefully planned programs now going forward.

Through research and technology, we are constantly searching for new methods, processes, and products to lower the cost of production and improve the products and services supplied to our customers.

Extensive research and experimentations go on continually in our efforts to make better use of available raw materials.

Our facility planning is conducted on an organized and effective basis, designed to make the most productive use of funds invested in them.

We continually employ a number of ever more modern management procedures or tools, all of which endeavors are coordinated and directed toward the objective of being a low-cost producer of the products and services offered for sale by United States Steel.

These are contributions that management can make in the directions of productivity improvement, dealing primarily with making possible such improvement.

This brings us to the all important matter of employee performance.

In one way or another the human equation is involved at the core of every operation in steel and that equation includes both those who direct and those who are directed. The machines and processes do not operate themselves. They must be regulated by people.

The owners of the enterprise can supply the tools of production; the management can acquire the raw materials, employ the people, and plan the most efficient operations; but at that point, under the given circumstances at the given time, the productive result depends entirely upon the employees and the way they perform the available work.

Constant improvements of the tools of production tend steadily to reduce physical labor in the steel industry through the substitution of mechanical and electrical equipment. This places greater premiums upon employee teamwork and effective coordina-

tion of the actions of huge pieces of equipment through pushbutton or lever controls.

With these ever-increasing amounts of the tools of production, made available and acquired by use of the investor's money, it becomes increasingly important that such tools be operated at their most productive rates. This can be accomplished only through the most efficient employee performance consistent with safety, good health, and sustained effort. The attainment of this objective is as much in the long-term interest of the employees as of the owners. Only by the most effective use of the tools of production can investment in them be justified, and only by such justification can new tools and the related jobs of their operation be supplied.

In United States Steel we recognize that efficient employee performance in total accrues from the initiative and actions of the employees as individuals. Thus we strive continuously to generate an employment environment conducive to good employee attitudes, individual initiative, and high performances. Widespread use is made of monetary incentives applied to work performances, and a cash-award suggestion plan has been installed to encourage the contribution of ideas for cost reduction, improved safety, improved products, and others.

In all of these endeavors we seek to make it crystal clear that:

1. It is in the interest of the stockholders that there be equitable compensation for the employees.

2. It is in the interest of the employees that there be equitable return for the stockholders.

3. It is in the interest of the customers, the employees, the stockholders, and the public that, after payment of employee compensation and other costs, and stockholder dividends, there be a remaining profit to maintain United States Steel in healthy financial condition to meet the new and ever-expanding needs of this Nation.

4. Anything that operates against the attainment of these objectives is contrary to the best interest of all concerned.

5. The way to meet these objectives is to solve the problem at hand and close the gap between rapidly rising costs and slowing rising production.

Mutual understanding and cooperation in these endeavors is the American way to solve the problem. The understanding of this problem must not stop with the employees of United States Steel and its management. It must be extended to a broad public appraisal of the problem such as I indicated earlier, with broad public understanding that the problem cannot be solved by one company or one industry—it will require the concerted efforts of all employees and all managements.

Without placing a definite time table on these objective accomplishments, we do have hope that the present trends may be arrested and brought into balance.

The Uncertainty of Canadian Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, despite the desire of applicants to speed up the Canadian gas cases, the Federal Power Commission's presiding officer followed tradition and recessed hearings for the closing days of July and the greater part of this month. This decision is commendable, for it indicates that the Commission regards the case as far too important to hurry it through to completion at the possible expense of the wisdom and justice that come with assiduous investigation and consideration.

The Commission has insisted on deliberate action despite the international pipeline people's hurry-up attempts, including an offer of bargain rates to American consumers if applications are approved by November 1 of this year.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, Canadian gas cannot be permitted to enter the United States until a lot of questions are answered. For my part, I strongly object to any effort to import a fuel which will cost American workers their jobs. I want to go on record in favor of legislation to bar imports on natural gas into areas which already have abundant domestic fuel resources.

Perhaps it will eventually be necessary for Congress to enact a law spelling out this position. It is my feeling, however, that the Federal Power Commission will dispose of this particular case in favor of American industry and labor; at least the Commission cannot in conscience approve the applications so long as the issue is in such complete chaos. From all indications, it will be a long, long time until the complications centered about the pipeline in Canada are neutralized. The material which I am going to insert in the RECORD at this time is a calendar of confusion assembled from Canadian publications.

For the sake of brevity, I shall go back no more than 2 months in listing excerpts that partially reflect the sharp divergencies attendant to the pipeline project.

In Babel, Noah's descendants set out to build a tower to reach to heaven. For this presumption their words were made incomprehensible. The pipeline across Canada, with its proposed outlets to the United States, has produced a variety of opinions that place the whole Canadian gas case in a state of incomprehensibility, particularly when viewed from this side of the border.

One need not be a subscriber to Canadian newspapers to uncover this intelligence. The evidence may be obtained at out-of-town newsstands or in the Congressional Library. You need only to pick up almost any Canadian newspaper to read all about it.

The Montreal Star of June 24, 1957, reprinted an editorial from La Tribune, Sherbrooke, Quebec, which includes this item:

As the CCF (Conservative Commonwealth Federation) attitude was quite categorical in pushing for nationalization, the Diefenbaker government may well find itself in an embarrassing situation if the CCF profits by its balance-of-power position to demand acceptance of its pipeline policy. After examining the question the government will perhaps see that the previous administration's pipeline policy may not have been theoretically the best but was undoubtedly practical in the circumstances.

The same issue of the Star carried this quotation from Le Droit, Ottawa, Ontario:

Because the CCF (Conservative Commonwealth Federation) more than social credit, will command the situation in the next Parliament, we presume it will put pressure on the Diefenbaker government to change the pipeline administration and push for its expropriation. We do not intend to raise again the arguments we used in support of our attitude, but we sincerely hope, for the good of the country, that this colossal and monopolistic enterprise will come into the hands of the state and be administered by a state commission. * * * Only expropriation of this enterprise at a fair price seems to us to be the logical and definitive solution of the pipeline crisis which played such a part in the Liberal defeat and the political demise of its protagonist, C. D. Howe.

The Stratford (Ontario) Beacon Herald June 25, 1957:

An oil expert foresees an early expansion of the capacity of the Trans-Canada gas pipeline. But not, it is hoped by the Brantford Expositor, with the aid of Government loans, mixed up with fat profitmaking share options for a few individuals.

The Hamilton (Ontario) Spectator of July 3, 1957, printed the following dispatch from Ottawa:

OTTAWA TO INVESTIGATE SOME PIPELINE DEALS RESPECTING CONTRACTS

(By Warren Baldwin)

OTTAWA.—The new government is expected to open a thorough investigation into the Trans-Canada pipeline deals with particular attention to the price being paid Alberta producers in relation to the proposed price to be paid for export gas at Emerson, Manitoba.

The contract between Trans-Canada Pipelines, Ltd., and Tennessee Gas Transmission Co., still dependent on Federal Power Commission approval, calls for an initial price at Emerson of 27.27 per thousand cubic feet escalating to 29.64 cents by 1981. The Trans-Canada is buying from the Alberta producer at a price of 10 cents at the wellhead escalating to 15.75 cents by 1981.

BUYS FROM MEXICO

Meanwhile Tennesese has contracted to buy gas from the Gulf of Mexico producers at an initial price of 22.4 cents escalating to 34.4 cents by 1982. The distance from delivery points to Tennessee's markets is about the same and it could prove to be that Tennessee, which is a one-third partner in Trans-Canada, has made a very advantageous deal for the 200 million cubic feet a day which it will receive at Emerson if and when the FPC has approved the import and Canada has issued the necessary export permit.

Trade Minister Howe had committed the Liberal Government to issue this permit as soon as FPC approval was obtained. In a letter to Trans-Canada dated September 1955, which was filed as evidence with the FPC, Mr. Howe states:

"Your company has also made an agreement with Tennessee Gas Transmisison Co. to sell 200 million cubic feet daily to Tennessee at Emerson, Manitoba; to sell additional gas to that company when available at Niagara Falls, Ontario, or any other designated point, and to purchase gas from Tennessee for distribution in eastern Ontario and Quebec.

"For the Emerson export Tennessee must obtain an import permit from the United States Government. When this has been issued action will be taken by the Canadian Government under the exportation of power and fluids and importation of gas act to authorize export at Emerson, Manitoba, of 200 million cubic feet of gas daily for a period of 25 years from the date of the first delivery of gas."

MAY IGNORE DEAL

The new Canadian Government will not consider itself bound by this undertaking of a defeated minister which is said to have no legal status. One aspect which is likely to be investigated is whether competing gas

companies such as Northern Natural, Peoples Gas, or Michigan Wisconsin, all of them opponents of the Trans-Canadian-Tennessee deal, might bid a higher price for the gas at Emerson. It has been suggested that any 1 of 3 companies which have distribution systems in the midwest states could afford to pay at least 3 cents more per thousand cubic feet and might be glad to do so. It would not be surprising if the new Government informs Trans-Canada that it is not standing behind the Howe undertaking and that it would like to see the door opened to competitive bidding for Canadian gas before it will agree to the export.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is particularly important that both Congress and the Federal Power Commission take especial notice of the paragraph which points out that the new Canadian Government will not consider itself bound by the undertaking made under a defeated minister. This factor should at all times be given a prominent place in every discussion regarding proposals to establish a fuel dependency upon Canadian gas in areas of the United States.

The dispatch from Forbes Rhude, Canadian press business editor, which appeared in the Winnipeg, Manitoba, Free Press on June 29, 1957—and presumably in other Canadian newspapers—presents so many problems involved in the pipeline project that I consider it important to reprint the entire article in the RECORD. It follows:

SETTING ALLOWABLE GAS FLOW COMPLEX TASK

(By Forbes Rhude)

JASPER, ALBERTA.—Important decisions lie ahead for all concerned in the natural-gas industry, it was indicated in both formal and informal discussions at this week's annual meeting of the Canadian Gas Association.

The decisions—which presumably will arouse some controversy—concern such matters as follows:

An adequate supply of natural gas for what Trans-Canada Pipe Lines, Ltd., expects to be growing requirements for its pipeline now being built from the Alberta border to Montreal.

How much gas may be made available for export to the United States via two pipelines now in the discussion stage and which at the moment appear to have differing interests.

The wellhead price for gas.

ALBERTA POLICY

Part of the background to these matters is the long-standing policy of the government of Alberta that gas may not be sold outside Alberta unless the Province's requirements are assured for a reasonable term of years.

Federal Government policy has been along the same lines—that no gas may be sold outside Canada until Canadian requirements are similarly assured.

This means that Alberta's gas may not be sold outside the Province, even in Canada, without approval by Alberta, and even if Alberta is willing, it may not be sold outside Canada without Federal approval. Additionally, it may not enter the United States without approval of the United States Federal Power Commission.

There seems little difference of opinion concerning the Alberta and Federal stands as basic principles.

OPINIONS DIFFER

There are differences of opinion, however, as to what constitutes adequate supply for both the Province and Canada; and as to what may reasonably be exported to the United States.

One side of the argument is that the gas should be retained—except for minor export—for use of Alberta and Canada.

The other side is that the whole industry will be held back—even from the Canadian point of view—if a sufficiently large market is not developed to encourage producers to spend the money necessary to find further gas.

This side holds that in view of forecasts of the reserves which will ultimately be found in Alberta, it is unrealistic to hold down export severely.

In general, in assessing reasonable supplies, gas people seem to be thinking in terms of 25 years or so. If, in future, there should be no more gas, there would be other sources of power from oil, coal, or nuclear developments.

TANNER VIEWPOINT

At this week's convention statements by three people seemed of special interest.

N. E. Tanner, chairman of Trans-Canada Pipe Lines and former Alberta minister of mines and minerals' who had much to do with framing the Province's policies on oil and gas, said:

"The Federal Government's policy is to serve Canadians first, and Trans-Canada Pipe Lines has been chosen as the vehicle to supply eastern Canadian markets."

At the same time, Mr. Tanner quoted figures to indicate that Canada, over the years to 1980, could export one-third of its gas production.

Mr. Tanner didn't say so, but there are indications that Trans-Canada, though not opposing export if there are ample supplies, would like to see a conservative look taken at applications for export of gas beyond those now contracted for.

WANTS PRIORITY KEPT

Another interesting statement was made by D. K. Yorath, president of Canadian Western Natural Gas Co., Ltd., Calgary, and Northwestern Utilities, Ltd., Edmonton—Alberta's major gas distributors. He said:

"It is absolutely essential that no additional quantities of natural gas be permitted to be withdrawn from Alberta unless the permit is contingent upon the Alberta market having prior call if the gas is needed for Alberta consumption."

At the same time he presented figures which seemed to indicate that probably reserves are beyond Alberta's or Canada's needs and he expressed belief that within the next 5 years a third pipeline (additional to the 2 now building) would be built to export Alberta gas.

IN EL PASO MARKET

Mr. Yorath didn't expand on this, but reference to the various existing geographical, economic and other factors would indicate that California and probably San Francisco would be the logical aim of such a line.

If this is so, it would offer competition in an area in which El Paso Natural Gas Co. now is dominant.

Pacifica Northwest is the company which will take gas—starting about next September—from Westcoast Transmission Co., Ltd., which is building a 650-mile pipeline from the Peace River area of British Columbia and Alberta to Vancouver, and to the international border south of Vancouver.

El Paso, incidentally, owns a large block of Westcoast shares.

This brings up the remarks to this week's meeting of Frank M. McMahon, president of Westcoast.

He proposes a pipeline from Savanna Creek in southwestern Alberta to the British Columbia-Idaho border to connect with a line which Pacific Northwest would build from Spokane, Wash.

This would give Westcoast two connections with Pacific Northwest

ADDITIONAL REQUEST

To supply increased demand from the Westcoast line and the new demand from the proposed Savanna Creek line, Westcoast, is applying for permission to take out of Alberta an additional 400 million cubic feet of gas a day, about double the amount of its present permit.

This situation envisages two applications involving increased export to the United States—that of Mr. McMahon's Westcoast and the line mentioned by Mr. Yorath.

At present the two lines would appear to be in opposition to one another.

Some observers see a similarity to the situation which once existed between Westcoast and Pacific Northwest. They opposed one another until the United States Federal Power Commission turned down an application by Westcoast and approved one by Pacific Northwest. Then the two companies got together.

The wellhead price paid to producers may be involved in the developing situation.

Trans-Canada pays about 10 cents a 1,000 cubic feet which, it is said, nets the producer between 6 and 7 cents. A pipeline, if built to San Francisco, might be able to pay a higher price.

SEE RESERVES GROWING

Current known Alberta natural gas reserves are estimated at around 20 trillion cubic feet. They are expected to be more than double that by 1986 and may ultimately reach 100 trillion cubic feet.

Alberta to date has given permits for withdrawal from the province of 5,750,000,000,000 cubic feet. Trans-Canada's part of this is 4,350,000,000,000 cubic feet. About a quarter of this would be exported to the United States at the Manitoba border and the rest would be to meet its needs across Canada from Alberta to Montreal.

Trans-Canada is understood, however, to expect that growing markets will raise its requirements to 3 or 4 times this amount.

Its exports to the United States would be to Mid-Western Gas Transmission Co., which would build a 1,400-mile pipeline to connect with the big Tennessee corporation.

The United States Federal Power Commission has not yet given a permit for this import.

Alberta's own requirements in the period 1957 to 1986 are estimate at 7,600,000,000,000 cubic feet.

Of equal importance to Congress and to the Federal Power Commission is the following editorial entitled "Questions on Natural Gas," from the Vancouver, British Columbia, Province, reprinted in the Edmonton, Alberta, Journal, July 2, 1957:

QUESTIONS ON NATURAL GAS

News that still another gas pipeline is being planned to carry natural gas from the Savanna Creek area in Alberta into the United States raises a question of utmost importance.

The public would like to know exactly how much Canadian natural gas will be shipped to the United States when these pipelines are completed, compared with how much is to be used in Canada.

Some 4 years ago this newspaper first raised the question of use of Canadian natural gas resources. The Paley report, then before the President of the United States, had underlined the fact of rapidly diminishing supplies of natural gas in the United States. We forecast the United States would try to take over the Canadian supply. We wanted a policy that would insure preservation of adequate supplies of Canadian natural gas for Canadian use.

Since then elaborate plans have been set afoot to market natural gas, and it is clearly indicated that the bulk of our gas will be sold in the United States.

This is a public resource. The people of Canada are entitled to a clear statement of the position. Who is making the decisions about how much of Canada's natural gas will be exported? What is the basis of decision?

We know there is no additional preservation policy. The individual provinces have made their own calculations about proven reserves and their own probable needs, and export licenses are no doubt granted accordingly. The conservation role of the Board of Transport Commissioners is vague.

What is the criterion? How will these decisions affect the overall Canadian requirement in the future? Has anyone ever troubled to make a careful estimate of what Canada will need for herself in 25, 35, or 50 years?

This is a depleting resource. When it is gone it is gone.

Is this great Canadian resource to be used mainly to enrich promoters of the present era, or is it to be fitted into Canada's economic development program?

There are a lot of questions to be answered about natural gas policy. There is grave suspicion that the boomers are running away with the issue, at the expense of Canada's own future. This should be a priority issue with the new Conservative government.

Here is an important paragraph from the July 5, 1957, Sarina, Ontario, Observer, in its report of a Toronto district labor council meeting:

The labor council also called on the Conservative government to take over construction and operation of the trans-Canada gas pipeline. It said the pipeline should be completed and operated by the Dominion Government to ensure adequate supplies of gas to areas in need of it and to prevent the creation of enormous private profits out of public subsidies.

The (Calgary) Albertan's July 11, 1957, edition carried the following news story under the headline, "CCF (Conservative Commonwealth Federation) Leader Foresees Second Pipeline Debate:"

CCF LEADER FORESEES SECOND PIPELINE DEBATE

OTTAWA.—Among slippery spots on the minority government tightrope being walked by the Progressive Conservatives is the trans-Canada natural gas pipeline.

"We are not through with this pipeline business," CCF Leader M. J. Coldwell said recently, explaining that he believed it would again go before Parliament when the company sought an export permit.

If it does go before Parliament again, he added, the CCF will resume its demand that the controversial project be placed under public ownership.

Conservative spokesmen concede that this could put the government in a delicate spot. There are several reasons for this.

The CCF with 25 commons seats, holds the balance of commons power.

WANT NO CHANGE

Since they got the project going, the Liberals would be unlikely to favor any changes in the pipeline's status. The 19-member social credit group backed the Liberal government in the bitter pipeline debate last year.

In that debate, the Conservatives opposed the Liberal government's proposal. But they did not favor the CCF's demand that the pipeline be taken from private enterprise and built as a publicly owned project.

A decision to permit gas export could be taken by cabinet order, informants say. But that still would not keep the matter from coming up in commons.

Or any opposition party could bring up the matter in the commons throne speech debate; as an amendment to the address in reply to the throne speech; on a supply motion, or as a private member's notice of motion. It also could be brought up on a motion to adjourn normal debate for consideration of a matter or urgent public business.

From the column, Minding Your Business, in the Toronto Globe & Mail, July 18, 1957:

That old parliamentary horror, the pipeline, could be making another appearance in Parliament early next year. It depends on how quickly the Federal Power Commission in Washington rules on a case now before it, and what happens thereafter.

The important part of that case for Canada is that contained in it is an application by Tennessee-Midwestern for permission to import Canadian gas into the United States via a spur line from the Trans-Canada pipeline, south of Winnipeg.

According to an American source, the FPC might be in a position to grant a certificate by December. If it does—that is, if it gives Tennessee-Midwesten a go-ahead—the opponents will probably challenge the certification in the courts.

That probably wouldn't stop Trans-Canada Pipe Lines, Ltd., from going ahead with an application here in Ottawa to export to Tennessee-Midwestern. It would, however, make a difficult decision more difficult.

On top of that, the Government already has been advised by CCF leader Coldwell—not formally, but in a newspaper interview which he gave—that when the question of an export permit arises, he will again press the CCF's contention that the pipeline should be nationalized.

The last plainly hasn't been heard of the subject which, in 1956, produced the greatest parliamentary upheaval in Canada in decades.

After reviewing pipeline matters as they now stand, C. J. Harris wrote in the Toronto Clip Sheet of July 31, 1957:

At the moment western Canada's gas reserves are estimated at 18 to 23 trillion cubic feet. Exploratory drilling has been increasing the estimate by about 2 trillion cubic feet a year. But a field marked out is not a field finally measured and considerably more drilling is essential before a final figure is possible. Also, the question of Canada's own needs is far from settled.

The Federal law proclaimed on June 20, 1955, specifically states that "the quantity * * * to be exported shall be limited to the surplus remaining after due allowance has been made for distribution to customers for use in Canada." Thus, no gas export license may be issued by Ottawa until Canada's own needs are known, and provided for.

From the Toronto Globe and Mail of July 13, 1957:

The rapidly expanding market potential of Trans-Canada Pipe Lines, Ltd., and Westcoast Transmission may be expected to force careful consideration of the gas reserve situation, by both the Alberta and the Federal Government before approval is granted for further outlets for gas export.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe it necessary to continue the list at this time. The statements which I have presented fully document my argument against granting permission to open American markets to Canadian natural gas. The Federal Power Commission is unquestionably aware of what has been transpiring in Canada in relation to the pipeline project, but I shall nevertheless transmit a copy of my statement of today, including the quotations from the Dominion's press, to Chairman Kuykendall in order that he may include this material in the RECORD if he chooses to do so.

Meanwhile I trust that every Member of Congress will keep in mind that the running battle over the pipeline in Canada has turned into a free-for-all that cannot possibly resolve itself for long into the future. The controversy that is taking place north of the border is important because it emphasizes the futility of any program to project the importation of Canadian natural gas on a firm basis and with any degree of stability pricewise.

To those of us who would resist foreign competition that takes away American jobs, the import proposal is all the more repugnant. Coal miners and railroad workers have suffered perhaps more than any other segment of the working population in the past decade. Exposed to the inequitable competition of imported residual oil, the coal industry has lost millions of dollars in revenue that would have gone into expansion of properities and further mechanization of equipment and operational methods. The wages lost to miners because of this deluge of a foreign fuel on east coast markets can never be regained. Almost identical losses have occurred on the railroads, which normally move—at least for a substantial part of its journey—all the coal that is used in seaboard utility and industry markets.

The losses to coal and railroads are of course reflected in every business establishment where these industries comprise an important part of the economy. Pennsylvania has been plagued by unemployment, to which foreign competition has contributed immeasurably, from the time that immediate postwar industrial activity began to recede. The congressional district which I represent has since 1949—except for a brief period during the Korean war—been certified by the United States Department of Labor as a labor-surplus area. Since 1954, when surplus food was first made available to needy families, an average of 70,000 persons in the 3-county area of Pennsylvania's 20th Congressional District have been receiving surplus commodities. Under the circumstances, it would be completely illogical to initiate a program that would deprive the bituminous coal and anthracite industries of their natural markets through admission of another foreign fuel into this country.

Food Additives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL E. NEAL

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, an oldtimer visiting a modern food market cannot help reminiscing. Seeing fruits and vegetables from many different climates, of

many varieties, clean, fresh, and appetizing, packaged to appeal to the eye, and emanating nostalgic odors, elicits comparisons of conditions in the earlier days when things were different.

Only those who remember the wellhouse or the earth cellar in the garden where a few seasonal products could be preserved from freezing and early spoilage, can fully appreciate the transition from methods common to our fathers.

Meats were smoked and salt cured for year round use. Potatoes kept in cool places could be available until the early spring planting. Onions, subject to early decay, were planted in the fall to supply spring relish containing that vital health ingredient we now know as vitamin C. For the most part, fruits were sun dried, home canned, or preserved in sirup. Milk products demanded meticulous and timely care. Bread was made from homegrown grain. Time consuming, yes, but hungry stomachs were fully satisfied and physical energy seldom lacking.

Not only do concentrations of people make these old methods impractical, but modern advances in production and distribution of food products make it unnecessary. The scientists and the creative artists have joined mass producers to evolve methods that combine abundance, variety, and safety of foods readily available at the corner grocery store.

Without the use of chemicals used in processing, preserving, coloring, and industrial chemical products used in packaging of human foods, large groups of people living in densely populated cities could no longer boast of being the best fed people in the whole world.

But, it seems that well-fed and well-nourished people suffer from fears and frustrations among which is worry about "things that have not happened yet." Sensational lay writers for popular periodicals and magazines need only suggest that some chemical used in food may be poisonous or capable of generating cancer, to create, a fear psychology that is more detrimental to the peace and happiness of many than the actual incidence of such unusual dreaded diseases other than those experienced only in the minds of individuals.

As a matter of fact, there are several hundred chemical substances and derivatives used by food processors, some of which have been utilized for a long period of time. Some of these are known to be poisonous in large doses. But in the infininitesimal amounts used in the preparation of food, there is absolutely no danger as shown by experience over a long period.

Food processors and industrialists producing chemical additives for use in foods maintain competent research chemists and scientists at great expense to conduct such studies and experiments as will insure the harmlessness of any drug or chemical proposed to be used in the packaging of foods. More recently considerable attention has been given to so-called carcinogens. Animal experimentations show that some chemicals applied to or ingested by animals do sometimes result in the formation of tumors but as yet none, even cigarette smoke, has been proven to be the direct cause of cancer in the human body.

So, I would like to ease the minds of fearful consumers of processed foods of their discomforting fears of chronic disease or cancer. Just forget these imaginary dangers and enjoy your food and give thanks for its purity and abundance.

The Pure Food and Drug Administration has been policing food processors for many years. The food producers have been uniformly cooperative in ceasing to use any additive even suspected of causing harm to human beings. The rapid advances in chemistry, the discovery of new and untried chemical products that promise further advantage to the food industry add new responsibilities to both the industry and to the guardian agency.

The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has recently held exhaustive hearings on matters pertaining to the use of additives to foods. Out of these hearings the committee has concluded that protection for the food-consuming public can best be assured by demanding that all chemicals intended for future use in the processing of foods be thoroughly pretested for safety before they can be used as food additives for any purpose whatsoever.

With such a statute faithfully executed by the Pure Food and Drug Administration, our people can enjoy all the luxury and conveniences of processed foods without fear or worries. These words from a recent column written by Dorothy Thompson are apropos:

Excessive concern with one's health, anxieties about diseases one doesn't yet have, continuous watching for symptoms, perpetual pulse-taking, trepidation about everything one takes into one's mouth, be it a cigarette or a piece of chocolate cake, is very unhealthful indeed. Phychosomatic research (a new name for a very old observation) registers that anxiety and fear cause body derangements. One can scare oneself into one's grave.

One also can be bored to death. And all the talk of illness, disease, diets, and death has become, for this writer, hideously boring.

Everybody's going to die of something. "One out of five will die of cancer," the placards proclaim. Well, then, 4 out 5 won't. Meanwhile, as the motto of my high school class proclaimed, "Let us live while we live."

Processing Costs Cut Farmers' Share of Consumers' Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Processing Costs Cut Farmers' Share of Consumers' Dollar," written by Ovid A. Martin, and published in the Washington Sunday Star of August 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCESSING COSTS CUT FARMERS' SHARE OF CONSUMERS' DOLLAR

(By Ovid A. Martin)

For decades the farmer was the major stockholder, so to speak, in the Nation's food industry.

That is not so today. He has been relegated to a position of a minority holder. He has been forced by developments to trade places with processors and distributors.

When the farmer was the top man, the bulk of the money consumers spent for food went to the tillers of the soil. In the early years of the country, processing and transportation played minor roles. This was particularly true of processing.

Consumers bought most of their food in the raw or unprocessed form. The curing, the canning, the drying, the preparation, and the cooking were done in the home.

But as the years went by, service units were set up outside homes to do more and more of the processing and preparation. Along with this went increasing shares of consumer expenditures for food. There came the meat-packing plants, the flour mills, the butter- and cheesemakers, the canning companies, the bakeries, and more lately the food freezing and cooking plants.

No longer does the farmer get the major portion of the consumer food dollar. This portion now goes to the processing, transporting, and distributing phases of the food industry.

ON THE SHORT END

Latest Government figures show that in 1956 consumers spent roughly $48 billion for foods produced on American farms. Of this amount, the farmer got about $19 billion. The remainder—$29 billion—went to processors, transporters, and distributors.

Stated in a different way, the farmer got about 40 cents from each food dollar and others got 60 cents. Developments indicate that the farm share may drop even lower this year, as well as in the years to come.

Much of this change reflects the desire of today's housewife to turn over to others the task of preserving, preparing, and even cooking the family meals. This is reflected in a steady increase in retail sales of cakes, pies, and other pastries which once were baked in the home.

It is reflected in prepared cake and pie mixes, canned and frozen soups, preprepared meats and vegetables, and numerous other food preparations once made up in the home.

In other words, the food industry is selling maid and cooking services along with the foods produced by the farmer.

RESTRICTS BUDGETS

Some farm leaders say this hurts farmers—at least to some extent. They say that in the case of lower income families this purchase of these services restricts the total volume of food such families are able to buy. They argue that if more families bought more food in the unprocessed form, they could purchase a much larger and perhaps more selective volume.

The amount received by labor employed in processing, transporting and distributing farm-produced foods was not too far behind the amount farmers received. The Government estimates labor's share at nearly $14 billion.

Labor's share has been going up as the farm share has been declining. This is a reflection principally of the fact that consumers are buying more and more maid and cooking services with their food. It is taking more and more workers to handle the job of getting the food from the farmer to the dinner table.

Labor's share also has been increasing under a long-upward movement in the wage scale, as well as the addition, in recent years, of such worker benefits as social insurance, private pensions, welfare grants and compensation for injuries.

WAGE RATES RISING

Government reports show that the average hourly earnings of food-industry workers increased an average of 5 percent last year and now are 50 percent higher than in the 1947–49 average.

Total profits before income taxes of corporations from processing, wholesaling and retailing farm-produced and domestically consumed food products are estimated by the Government at $1 billion for 1956. Figures were not available on profits of unincorporated firms. Profits of corporations after taxes were estimated at $900 million compared with $800 million in the 1947–49 period.

Other costs in getting food to the consumer were estimated at a total of $9.9 billion last year compared with $7.3 billion in the 1947–49 period. These costs include fuel, electric power, containers, supplies, depreciation, rents, taxes other than income, interest on borrowed capital and profits on unincorporated marketing firms.

What has happened to farm prices since 1947–49—a period of rising returns for other segments of the food industry? They have gone down 8 percent. Net farm income dropped from an average of $16 billion in the 1947–49 period to about $12 billion last year. But this decline has been offset to some extent by the fact that there is a somewhat smaller farm population now.

Congress Has Responsibility To Curb Labor Racketeering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News carried an interesting editorial on August 17 entitled "They Got Rights, Ain't They."

Congress should not attempt to shirk its responsibility. Under the guise of protecting the labor movement, they have been protecting racketeers. The editorial referred to is inserted at this point:

THEY GOT RIGHTS, AIN'T THEY

Time was when the industrious hoodlum had to keep an eye peeled for the cops. But this here labor-leading racket they're on to now is strictly legitimate. It's blessed by both Wagner Act and Taft-Hartley, fortified by court and Labor Board decisions which tolerate anything from mayhem to assault and battery—so long as the victims are "enemies of labor."

And if anyone is indelicate enough to question the ethics of the system, these goons can always "respeckfly decline to chat about it ona grounds it might 'criminate them. They got constitutional rights ain't they?"

As Senate committee testimony clearly proves, this sanctimonious racket has been used mainly for extortion but also to prevent honest organization of workers. It has established a new form of "gangster union" far more vicious than any "company union" we had in the old days.

This racket works better with a charter; and the ability of notorious Sing Sing alumni to get these useful pieces of paper from some of the national unions is interesting.

A picket line is thrown around the target plant. A picket line is legal, see. It needn't include any of the plant's employees who haven't been consulted anyhow and maybe never heard of this particular union. This is known as organizational or educational picketing. The latter term is apt. It educates the boss and the workers too, as to what they all have to do to stay in business. The cops will protect the demonstration. They have to. It's the law.

A few known gangsters in the picket line help prove you mean business. Any employee still brave enough to go through the line is a strikebreaking scab. He also is liable to need a new set of teeth.

Perhaps the boss is in on the deal—trying to keep away an honest union. Honest or not, he can't hold out long, particularly if the teamsters honor the picket line and shut off his supplies. So he signs a contract which places the sheltering arm of these labor-leading gangsters around his employees—far enough around to get into their hip, or wallet, pocket.

And this also is legitimate because what comes out of the wallet is known as initiation fees and dues.

Maybe the workers get a little raise in pay, and maybe they don't Maybe the raise is enough to offset the dues. And maybe the boss splits the dues with the union organizer as a reward for cooperation. The workers have to stay in the union and pay their dues to keep their jobs.

Technically the employees can vote themselves out of this trap but there are ways to get around that, as testimony before the Senate committee has shown. It is particularly easy to use these dodges among the foreign-born and low-wage workers who are the most pitiful victims of this racket.

And so the money rolls in. The prohibition racketeers were gentlemen and pikers compared to this mob, which has perverted well-intended labor legislation to its own vicious ends.

It is to the eternal credit of President George Meany, and other decent men in the AFL–CIO, that they have backed the work of the McClellan committee, even at the risk of weakening the labor federation.

But Mr. Meany really can't do a great deal about it. That's up to Congress.

Address by Maj. Gen. Alfred B. Denniston, the Deputy Quartermaster General, United States Army, Representing the Department of the Army, Washington, D. C., at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 Through July 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the 38th annual encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 through July 14, there were several outstanding addresses delivered by prominent officials of the Federal Government in keeping with the theme of the encampment, Defense Means Freedom.

On July 11, 1957, the following address was delivered by Maj. Gen. Alfred B. Denniston, the Deputy Quartermaster General, United States Army, representing the Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.:

ADDRESS OF MAJ. GEN. ALFRED B. DENNISTON, THE DEPUTY QUARTERMASTER GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY, REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, AT 38TH ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, HARRISBURG, PA., ON JULY 11, 1957

When I received the invitation to join you in the 38th annual encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania, I am frank to say that my reaction was a bit mixed.

It is my feeling that there are many others more competent to speak for the Army before this gathering of veterans.

On the other hand, I am a native of Pennsylvania. I was reared in this great State, have been imbued with its history and traditions. I know of the great contributions which Pennsylvania has made to our Nation in peace and war. I know that in the love of country and the support of its liberty and institutions, our native State stands second to none.

My first military experience was as a horseholder. As small boys in Uniontown, we looked forward to Memorial Day. On May 30 of each year we could watch the parade of the GAR and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. When the parade reached the cemetery where homage was paid to those veterans who had given their lives for our country, the leaders dismounted and we had the rare privilege of holding their horses.

It has not been my privilege to serve our country on the field of battle. I have had to be content, in peace and war, to exert all the abilities I possess to the end that the American in combat, in the face of the enemy, is the best equipped, the best supported, and the best led fighting man in the world. And I say to you combat veterans of our past wars, if we could return to the Veterans Day and Memorial Day ceremonies of a past era, it would be as rare a privilege today as it was 40 years ago to hold your horses while we pay tribute to those veterans who gave their lives so that we can assemble here today as freemen.

I am here, not as a proponent of the Army at a time when the Army needs all the support it can muster, but as one of you who are interested in what is best for the United States.

It goes without saying, that the first concern of every true American is the survival of our country as a great democracy—the noblest and most successful demonstration of self-government the world has ever known. With all its faults we would not trade it for any other form of government now in existence, or that has existed since the dawn of civilization. We know that we are making it better each day and there is no limit to what we will accomplish in the interest of the common man and woman in the future.

Having all the things we have today, and with unlimited prospects for our children and our children's children, we would like to insure that they will never be taken away from us, or that we will lose them through our own neglect. Our insurance against foreign attack, of course, lies with our armed services. It is upon our military strength that we must depend for protection against those who would destroy us or take us over. If we remain strong enough, we are most likely to deter the ambitions of a would-be aggressor, and so preserve peace through strength. I believe we have all learned through past experience in lack of preparedness, that failure to maintain a strong defense would be the sheerest folly.

We who are in active service look to organizations like the Veterans of Foreign Wars to lend active and aggressive support toward keeping our country strong. This, I know, you have always done. From Valley Forge to Gettysburg, from the Revolution to this day, the people of Pennsylvania have done their full share and much more, in helping to preserve our sacred heritage.

If I may digress again and reminisce, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and I started out with something in common. We came into existence at about the same time shortly after the turn of the century—one in Denver, I believe, and the other, I am told, in Mount Pleasant, Pa. I would that I had grown in body and spirit as your great and dynamic organization has grown. My birthplace was the small town from which Company E of the 10th Pennsylvania Volunteers went to the Spanish-American War and to which the survivors of that gallant band returned. The ones who returned were among the early members of your organization, who banded together in the interest of alleviating the hardships faced by the disabled veteran and by the widows and orphans of those who did not return. It is impossible to exaggerate the pride, the remaining few of those early pioneers must feel when they look at your organization today.

But while we maintain our military defenses, we must guard against the forces, both subtle and overt, which can undermine our unity as a people, and so weaken our strength as a nation. This is a problem much more intangible than military organization, and its solution lies in the home, the school, and the church. It may be expressed in the one word—patriotism. Here is another field in which your organization has been highly effective, and, I am certain, it will continue to command your best thought and action throughout the years ahead.

For the Army I would like to say that it recognizes it is but one element of the triservice military team, all of which are essential to our national security. But I want to emphasize that the Army is an indispensable element of that team. The Army respects the roles and missions of its sister services and supports their development and maintenance at appropriate levels of strength. The Army neither seeks controversy nor avoids honest differences of professional opinion. It accepts its proper subordination to civilian authority and cheerfully executes the decisions of that authority.

A strong, combat-ready Army, as an essential element of the triservice team, helps deter general and local wars by its oversea deployments under the shadows of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains; by its role in the antiair defense of the United States; by the existence of the Army Strategic Reserve; by its capability as an instrument for the application of measured force; and by the training and material assistance it provides the ground forces of our allies. The United States Army, joined by the armies of the free world, provides visible evidence that communism's ground forces will be resisted effectively.

I can report to you that your Army is a forward-looking, progressive instrument of ground combat. While retaining many of the so-called conventional weapons, it is also being armed with organic atomic weapons, including missiles, all of which may be required to insure victory in a future conflict.

The Army sees the necessity for increased mobility to facilitate the application of its versatile strength. It has taken steps to augment and increase its own or organic aviation, but still looks to the Air Force and Navy for tranhport outside the battle zone.

The Army recognizes the ultimate importance of good people in its organization. Competent leadership is in increasing demand, and the Army must continue to attract its share of the country's most promising young men. In this respect I can do no better than quote a great leader well known to all, who, while temporarily residing with us in Washington, has become an adopted son of Pennsylvania, who said: "Americans, indeed all freemen, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy as a prisoner's chains."

The Army believes that it should have the reserve strength to insure victory and a viable peace.

The Reserve components of the Army—the Army National Guard of the United States and the Army Reserve—are indispensable parts of the Army. Our active forces represent the minimum requirements to satisfy the Army's day-to-day responsibilities. The Reserve components must provide the trained units and individuals to support and reinforce our regular Army, which in time of peace is never in perfect balance. They must provide replacements for active Army units ordered overseas in time of emergency. And they must provide for the generation of additional strength necessary to execute our war plans and fulfill our commitments to our allies.

Today's National Guard is the best citizen force in the history of the world. It is now organized to provide 21 fully modern infantry divisions, 6 armored divisions, 9 armored cavalry regiments, and 9 regimental combat teams, plus additional armored, artillery, engineer, quartermaster, and other nondivisional organizations. With a strength of over 400,000, the Guard is at its highest peacetime strength.

The United States Army Reserves also provide a ready force of troop units as well as pools of experienced individuals with specialized or technical knowledge.

The major objective of the Army Reserve program is to create a network of units consisting of trained men established in local communities throughout the United States. The training programs of these units are designed to permit them to attain as fast as possible the state of readiness required by their mobilization assignments. These requirements vary from being ready for commitment immediately upon mobilization to a degree of readiness which will permit their use in war or other emergency within a few months after D-Day. The present organization of the USAR includes infantry divisions, training commands, maneuver area commands, and numerous other types of combat, combat-support, and service organizations.

We in the active Army are deeply appreciative of the support which the Veterans of Foreign Wars have given to the Army Reserve program. Located as you are in communities through the State where National Guard and Reserve units are maintained, you are in an excellent position to aid this vital element of our defense organization in many ways.

I have attempted to given you some of the highlights of what your Army of today is doing to meet its responsibilities of the present and the future. It is a flexible Army, alert to its responsibilities. It has the capability of applying military power with weapons of great adaptability. It stands ready to meet Communist aggression, wherever, whenever, and however it may come. In developing its purpose and mission it appreciates the unfailing support it has received from the Veterans of Foreign Wars. I know I voice the Army's sentiment when I say we are confident that your organization can be counted on to back your Army in the future as it has in the past.

Statement of Crete Anderson, Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of Crete Anderson, chairman, subcommittee on immigration and naturalization of the national Americanism commission, the American Legion, before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Senate Judiciary Committee:

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the following statement is in accordance with existing mandates of the American Legion on immigration and naturalization as adopted at the 1956 national convention held in Los Angeles, Calif., September 3 to 6, 1956, resolution No. 5.

In previous statements before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and before other subcommittees on immigration of the Congress, the American Legion has quoted from the Americanism Manual of the American Legion, page 41, as follows:

"The American Legion has consistently opposed any great influx of immigrants and has insisted that immigration should be on such a moderate and regulated scale that immigrants may be readily absorbed into the lifestream of our country. The Legion has insisted that immigrants should not be admitted in such numbers that they would displace veterans from either employment or housing. Thirty years ago it supported the National Origins Quota Act of 1924 and, more recently, Public Law 414 (82d Cong.), commonly known as the McCarran-Walter Act, which set a quota for immigration from the respective countries, based on a selective and restrictive system—in proportion to the number of United States citizens, who themselves or through their ancestors originated in the respective countries. The Legion has vigorously opposed exceptions to this quota system, except (1) as they applied to honorably discharged wartime veterans of the United States Armed Forces, their wives, or immediate dependents, and, except (2) emergency admission of 400,000 displaced persons and German ethnics as the United States fair share of the humanitarian task."

NATIONAL ORIGINS QUOTA SYSTEM

The American Legion will firmly oppose, as in the past, any and all efforts to alter, weaken, or destroy the national origins quota system, or the original intent of the system, as expressed by the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the 68th Congress, in part, as follows:

"It is obvious that a change in the character or composition of the population must inevitably result in the evolution of a form of Government consonant with the base upon which it rests. If, therefore, the principles of * * * a constitutional government created on this continent nearly a century and a half ago, is to endure, the basic strain

of our population must be maintained and our economic standards preserved."

CHANGE OF BASE YEAR

The proposals before you to advance the base date, on which the annual quota is computed, from 1920 to the 1950 census year (using the figure one-seventh of 1 percent of the inhabitants in the United States instead of the figure "one-sixth," as used in the present law) would increase the number of quota immigrants by 65,000 annually; 92,251 quota and 143,113 nonquota immigrants, making a total of 235,364, entered the United States for permanent residence in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957. Refugee Relief Act and Hungarian parolees admitted bring the total admissions to 344,738 for the last fiscal year—more admissions for permanent residence than in any of the past 30 years.

It should be noted that the number of nonquota, in proportion to the number of quota immigrants in the past fiscal year, approximated 1½ nonquota to 1 quota immigrant. Applying this reasonable formula to the proposed increase of 65,000 quota numbers annually, through the change of the base date to 1950, the figure 65,000 becomes 162,500, including those nonquota immigrants accompanying, following to join, or otherwise entering for permanent residence. The future number of quota and nonquota admissions would, by this proposed amendment, be increased by two-thirds over the last fiscal year to a grand total of 398,000 admissions annually for permanent residence.

TRANSFER OF UNUSED QUOTAS

The proposal to transfer the unused portions of all quotas to quota areas not exceeding 7,000, to be allocated in the following fiscal year, would increase the number of quota immigrants by an additional 65,000. Applying the aforementioned formula of 1½ nonquota to 1 quota immigrant, the figure 65,000 again becomes 162,500 quota and nonquota immigrants annually admitted for permanent residence. This total of 162,500 added to the preceding total of 398,000 swells the permissible permanent admissions to 560,500, an increase over the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, of 325,000, based on these two proposed amendments; namely, "Change of the base year to 1950" and "Transfer of unused quotas."

EXPANSION OF NONQUOTA CATEGORIES

The proposals to repeal provisions in the Immigration and Nationality Act making orientals chargeable to oriental quotas, and permitting them to use the quota of the country in which they are born, opens the door to the admission of an unlimited number of Asiatics from the nonquota countries of the Westen Hemisphere, principally from South America and contiguous islands. An estimated more than 600,000 Asiatics now in the Western Hemisphere would thus be potentially eligible for immigration to the United States under the nonquota status accorded those countries.

These proposals have dire implications when viewed in the light of the recent influx of Puerto Ricans (more than 800,000 in the past few years) and the economic and housing problems this migration has created in the metropolitan centers of the East, principally in New York City.

The possibility of subversive infiltration from Communist China is, likewise, dangerously present in the admission of large numbers of Chinese. The recent cases in the Federal district courts of New York City and San Francisco on the fraudulent entry of hordes of Chinese (40,000 estimated): the difficulty in returning indictments against the leaders of this fraudulent paper fatherson ring due to language differences and difficulty of locating these illegal Chinese entries once they were in the United States—all point to the dangers to our security and welfare attendant on the enactment of these proposals.

Present immigration laws permit the admission for permanent residence, on a nonquota basis, of children and spouses of citizens of the United States.

Proposed amendments expanding these nonquota categories to inclue brothers, sisters, and other relatives establishes another chain reaction factor, the extent of which is impossible to accurately estimate. These proposals further augment the swelling totals permitted to enter the United States for permanent residence under the pending amendments to the McCarran-Walter Act.

Estimates on the additional permissible admissions through these two proposals (orientals and expanded nonquota categories) run as high as 90,000 to 100,000 annually.

DESTRUCTION OF NATIONAL ORIGINS SYSTEM

Inherent in the three preceding proposed amendments is the virtual destruction of the intent and purpose of the national origins system, as expressed by the House Committee on Immigation of the 68th Congress, at the time this nonpolitical, mathematical formula was devised. The proposed readjustment of quotas from northern to southern and eastern Europe, and to Asia, ostensibly within the framework of the national origins system, would make the system so flexible as to destroy its controlling effect.

Deep inroads have already been made on the balances established by the national origins system, through the Displaced Persons, Refugee Relief and other acts. To extend those inroads, as proposed in pending amendments, is a further move toward nullification of the Origins System, reducing it to a mere token section in the McCarran-Walter Act.

In a press release July 13, 1957, Congressman FRANCIS E. WALTER stated:

"I would be opposed to destroying the National Origins System. I haven't heard of anything else to take its place. I think it would be a mistake to have an official or a commission make the allocations. I am opposed to anything outside a formula. As I have said many times, immigration is something for a mathematician and not a politician. We can't absorb anymore than are coming in under the existing law."

REMOVAL OF MORTGAGES AGAINST QUOTAS

Amendments to eliminate the mortgages charged against certain quotas under the displaced persons and other acts (totaling 320,000) constitute proposals to twice use these individual quotas numbers. When the Displaced Persons Act was enacted, it was presented as doing our fair share toward resettlement of these victims of Communist oppression. The American Legion supported this act for humanitarian reasons.

These mortgages are now classified as inequities and the reuse of these quota numbers is again presented as a fair share requirement.

When the refugee relief bill was proposed it, likewise, was labeled a fair share bill, despite the fact that the United States had taken, up to that time, more escapees, expellees, and refugees than any other nation in the world.

The term fair share has thus become one of expediency to be used when efforts to bypass the McCarran-Walter Act are being proposed. The American Legion does not favor these proposals.

PERMANENT PAROLEE PROVISIONS

The American Legion opposes proposed amendments to empower the Attorney General to parole into the United States a number of aliens, annually, equal to one-ninth of the total admitted since June 25, 1948, under the Displaced Persons Act, the Refugee Relief Act and other special acts. The numbers to be admitted under these proposals have been estimated to be 68,000 annually, with some estimates being considerably higher. These and other proposals to delegate to the Attorney General discretionary powers now vested in the Congress, places arbitrary authority in the hands of one man, inviting political pressures and otherwise endangering a fair and equitable administration of our vital immigration laws.

The American Legion is of the opinion that emergency powers are, at present, granted the Attorney General in respect to parolees under section 212 (d) 5 of the McCarran-Walter Act, and that no extension of these powers should be granted.

There had been admitted to the United States, as of July 1, 1957, a total of 33,542 Hungarian refugees, 6,130 of these came in as permanent residents under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. As of the above date, 27,412 Hungarians had entered as parolees to the Attorney General, ostensibly when all visa numbers in the act had been exhausted. However, it now appears that 18,000 unused numbers remain under the refugee act.

The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the discretionary powers presently vested in the Attorney General in respect to parolees; hence, the proposals to establish another category, outside the McCarran-Walter Act, is just another back-door evasion of the act and an obvious effort to additionally increase, by 68,000, those permitted to enter the United States without respect to the national origins system. Further, there would be the additional numbers accompanying, or following to join.

FINGERPRINTING

The American Legion is opposed to granting the Attorney General discretionary power to waive the requirements of fingerprinting of aliens entering the United States. Such requirements are standard practice in the United States and, for security reasons, our standards should prevail.

We, likewise, oppose the waiver of travel documents for aliens coming from all Western Hemisphere countries and, on a basis of reciprocity, in the case of all visitors and crewmen. This proposal is extremely dangerous to the internal security of our Nation.

AMERICAN LEGION APPROVALS

We will not oppose, but warmly approve, the admission of orphans under proper adoption procedures.

We approve the legalizing of illegitimate children of American GI's.

We approve the entry of tubercular cases, when they are spouse, parent or child of a United States citizen and when required conditions and controls apply.

We will not oppose the use, under the McCarran-Walter Act, of some 18,000 visa numbers remaining when the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 expired. We strongly urge, however, that these numbers be returned to the countries to whom they rightly belong, principally Western Germany and Holland.

SUMMATION

The American Legion urges thoughtful consideration of serious internal population problems certain to confront us in the next few decades.

Let's take a look at some of the facts and projections. Our present population has now passed the 170 million mark; by 1981 it will be 250 million; by 1993 it will reach 300 million and by the year 2000 we will have more than 330 million inhabitants. These figures are high level projections of the United States Census Bureau and other expert projectionists. Bear in mind that they do not give consideration to the proposed substantial increases in immigrants permitted to enter the United States. Should the proposed amendments to the McCarran-Walter Act, and the proposals outside the act, become law, a fair estimate would be the addition to these figures of 30 to 40 mil-

lion within the next 4 decades. Thus, we would be further compounding a vital problem that has our population and economic experts puzzled to a degree of near frustration.

Our present explosive birth rate (4,207,000 in 1956) is certain to increase annually, since "the bigger we get the faster we grow" and problems of food, water, jobs, housing, and sustaining our American standards and our American way of life, multiply in proportion, and become increasingly difficult of solution.

The American Legion has, for the past 38 years, continuously studied, and taken a deep interest in our protective immigration laws. In view of the certain and rapid increases in our native population, we are therefore of the firm opinion that these proposed amendments, designed to multiply our present influx of immigrants, are not in the best interests of our country at the present time, and create dire forebodings for its future welfare.

The United States has taken its stand. That stand is within the confines of four inflexible walls—the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Canadian border, and our southern boundaries. Here our children and generations to come must cast their lot and mold the future destiny of our Nation. We seek no satellite conquests in the name of breathing space, or bread-baskets. We covet no other lands or possessions.

We cannot arrest or change God's immutable laws of nature as they apply to the perpetuation of the human race. We, therefore, are confronted with complex future problems of population pressure of our own, without endeavoring to alleviate the age-old over-populations of the world, thus, jeopardizing our own progeny and future national welfare.

The American Legion urges serious consideration of its position, on the part of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to the end that these dangerous amendments and other proposals be rejected.

More Bargaining Power for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, farmers belonging to the Wisconsin Farmers Union were recently asked in a poll to pick one of a group of approaches by which they might increase their bargaining power. By far the largest number of them favored the establishment of national cooperative marketing associations. The results of the poll were published in the Eau Claire (Wis.) Leader as follows:

STATE FU MEMBERS FAVOR CENTRAL CO-OP MARKETING

CHIPPEWA FALLS.—Wisconsin Farmers Union members have cast an overwhelming vote for centralized cooperative marketing associations as the best means for obtaining more bargaining power for farmers, it has been learned here.

Results of the farm bargaining power ballots, which were distributed among all Farmers Union locals in the State, reveal that 70.4 percent of farmers responding favored marketing co-ops of national scope over three other suggested approaches.

Farmers were polled on the question: "Which of the following approaches do you favor as being, in your opinion, the best way of obtaining more bargaining power for farmers?" Here are the results:

National cooperative marketing associations: 70.4 percent;

Nationwide strikes on farm commodities: 8.4 percent;

Self-help programs with production controls: 8.4 percent;

Government programs with production controls: 9.6 percent;

None of these methods: 3.2 percent.

Size of farm operations apparently had little influence upon the farmers' choices. A breakdown of farm-size figures shows that 17 percent of farmers who reported their acreage have farms of 100 acres or less; 54 percent are in the 100-to-200-acre class, and 29 percent operate farms of over 200 acres. No significant differences were found between the small and larger farmers in regard to their preferences.

Age of the farmer also had little effect upon selections, with two exceptions. Farmers over 50 cast over half of all votes for Government programs and had the smallest proportion choosing nationwide strikes.

Results of the poll seem to substantiate the fact that a growing percentage of Wisconsin farmers are in the upper age brackets. Forty-two percent of the farmers who gave their ages were over 50; 43 percent were in the 35-50 group, and 15 percent were under 35.

Of the 3 percent who listed other preferences, little less than half (46 percent) selected combinations of the 4 suggested approaches, and 39 percent listed the Brannan plan. Only one answer was critical of the proposals on the ballot. "Get the Government mules out of farming" was this farmer's comment.

Federal Aid Is a Mirage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, as the number of Federal-aid programs increase, it is sometimes assumed that the National Government is more and more responsive to the needs of the people. That this assumption is not necessarily correct becomes clear when we realize that these programs syphon off tax funds into the Treasury in Washington to pay for their support. With each new program, sources of revenue for activities which are legitimate provinces of the States and local communities are further reduced. This, of course, increases the vassalage of State and local governments to a swelling Federal colossus in Washington.

Too often, we are prone to forget that Federal-aid programs are very costly, indeed, and that the benefits received from them are not simple largesse from a responsive Federal Government. More often, such programs erode local and State initiative and responsibility and remove Government one more step away from the people to increase the growing and costly national bureaucracy.

I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the Marietta Daily Times, of Marietta, Ohio, for August 14 which analyzes the "mirage of Federal aid." The editorial is as follows:

FEDERAL AID IS A MIRAGE

Whatever aid States such as Ohio and communities such as Marietta get from the Federal Government is a pittance compared to what both State and city lose every year to Washington, where the idea of give it to us and we'll send some of it back got started.

Financial aid to States and local governments, divided among several of the general appropriation measures, has long been a major item of expense in the Federal budget and has been increasing. According to a Tax Foundation report, it was $2,657 million in 1954, $3,124,300,000 in 1955, $3,752,600,000 in 1956, and $4,454 million in 1957. It will go above $5 billion in fiscal 1958. The amount is not certain at present but will at least be somewhat less than it would have been had the proposed school construction assistance program been enacted.

There are right now 83 programs of Federal aid. New ones are continually being proposed, but fortunately not all of them get beyond the proposal stage.

Most of the Federal assistance is in the form of grants-in-aid, or outright gifts from the Treasury of tax money collected in the local communities throughout the land. The remainder consists of loans and repayable advances. In contrast to the billions handed out in the last fiscal year, collections of $492,736,000 (estimated before the year's end) were credited against the expenditures.

Principal factor in the big increase for 1957 over the previous year was the aid to States from the newly created highway construction trust fund. This amounted to $1,136,800,000. The corresponding item for fiscal 1958 is $1,654 million. These still are not as big as the sums allotted for the numerous programs coming under the heading of social security, welfare and health, which have long been the dominant fields of Government's do-gooders.

The total in these fields for 1957 reached $1,920,600,000, the Tax Foundation reports. That tops highway aid and dwarfs aid to education and research, $207,500,000, and to housing and community development, $243,400,000.

One of the newest programs in the public health field is that of grants for construction of local sewer facilities. In 1957 an estimated $7 million of the authorized $50 million was spent. The remainder was carried over into the new fiscal year, making $93 million available.

Government aid is a mirage that has been created to soften objections to bigger and bigger Federal spending. Since there really is a limit to the amount of money that can be wrung out of the taxpayer, who must support government on all levels, it follows that every city and State could have more tax money available if Washington spent less on aid. Only Congress can cut down its flow.

Technology, a Threat to Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an arresting article by Assistant Attorney General of Missouri

Hugh P. Williamson, reprinted from the summer issue, 1957, of the American Journal of Economics and Sociology, as follows:

TECHNOLOGY, A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

(By Hugh P. Williamson)

Among the many and diverse factors which today are threatening the good health of democracy in the United States must be counted that electronic device, which is able to transmit the voice and image of one individual into the presence of numberless other individuals, at great distances and over vast areas, simultaneously, thus enabling a mortal person to approximate ubiquity. Television will accomplish this seeming miracle for anyone who has, and is willing to expend the financial resources necessary to command its services.

It is obvious that television, with its unique qualities of personality projection, is an ideal medium for political campaigning, or for any other propaganda effort. Its effect upon the traditional concept and pattern of our democratic process as it directly relates to office seeking, and only a little less directly to governmental control, is, however, disturbingly disruptive.

This traditional concept is that, in this free land, any person who possesses the statutory qualifications may seek, with reasonable hope of success, any office in this Nation from the lowest to the highest. These legal qualifications are few and simple and are possessed by the vast majority of our adult citizens. From the formal beginning of this Government in 1789, and for many years afterward, this concept that any office was within the reach of any citizen was more actual than theoretical. That ideal was realized in numberless instances. This concept remains today as one of the cornerstones of our governmental house. But it has become far more theory than fact, an illusion rather than an actuality. The reasons for this change would seem to be two, a vastly increased population, and technology, of which television is the most recent and dramatic expression. Due to these developments, all offices above the county level, which throughout much of our national history could be attained without the expenditure of big money, no longer can be. Let us look at the reasons for this change:

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Long political experience has firmly established the political principle that the great objective of every candidate should be to be seen and heard by as many voters as possible. The soundness of this principle has been repeatedly demonstrated by the fact that in the large majority of instances, and in the absence of unusual circumstances, those candidates are successful who are seen and heard by more people than are their opponents. The reasons are obvious. One is that a majority of voters do not compare, analyze, and determine in their minds, by a dispassionate intellectual process, the candidate best qualified for office. On the contrary their vote is cast for that candidate with whose face and name they are most familiar. That greater familiarity is, of course, achieved by the simple process of more frequent impressment, which is effected by simple repetition. The same policy is also effective, although perhaps in somewhat less degree, with the thinking, or egg-head voters because if the candidate has any substance in his campaign, and most candidates do have, its presentation will usually have some effect. This is partiularly true if rival candidates, through negligence or lack of opportunity, do not present their cause for the consideration of the intellectual voter.

Until the advent of technological devices there was substantial equality of opportunity among candidates in this respect. This was true, for example, when the recent juvenile hero, Davy Crockett, ran for Congress in Tennessee. He was, reputedly, a financially poor man, but even so he was able to obtain and maintain an adequate riding horse, since the horse cost very little and its maintenance almost nothing. And Crockett's opponent, although he may have owned half of the State of Tennessee, had no better means of transportation than Davy, because horseback was the best means extant, and that means was available to almost everybody who wanted to seek office. And Davy certainly could ride as far, and being a superman, probably much farther, and see as many voters in a day, and probably many more, than his opponent. The opponent, being rich, could buy more whisky for electioneering purposes. But in the more basic things of imprinting upon the mind of the voter a name, a face, a personality, and presenting a cause, there was substantial equality of opportunity. Which candidate saw more voters, made the better impression, and so gained more votes, was a matter that depended directly upon the respective powers, abilities, energies, and fundamental worth of the respective candidates. Neither had much if any artificial advantage over the other. This, then, surely was democracy in very nearly a pure form. Strangely enough, almost every technical advance made by us since Crockett's time has lessened this equality and increased the part played by money, to the ever-increasing advantage of the candidate who had the most of it.

The coming of the railroads, and the great increase in the production and distribution of newsprint, were great factors in this process of democracy's debasement. The wealthy candidate could travel much farther and faster and so contact many more people than could his financially poor opponent, since train travel was far more costly than riding a horse about the country. In addition to this, money could buy advertising in newspapers. Enough advertising in the period of the political press, could usually gain for the advertiser the editorial support of the paper and a certain amount of free advertising, since almost all editors were human beings, possessed of the usual human weaknesses.

The general use of automobiles, which improved roads made feasible around 1910, gave the candidate greater mobility. They quickly became a campaign necessity, and also placed a greater financial burden upon the candidates.

Following the factors of railroads, newsprint, and motor vehicles in the campaign field, was radio. Candidates had been tentatively experimenting with it for several years prior to the general election of 1932, but until that time radio could not be said to have been a major campaign medium. However, in the presidential race that year it became of vast importance. Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, and radio seemed to be expressly designed for each other. Not only did he use it with great effectiveness in his initial campaign, but to an even greater degree in maintaining, consolidating, and increasing his popularity with the American people. His inaugural address, delivered on March 4, 1933, in which he said, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," calmed the panic feelings in millions of his fellow countrymen. And his famous fireside chats made him a welcome and familiar visitor in almost all American homes that had radio sets, which included most homes. Meanwhile, however, the candidate for nomination in a party primary campaign, who had limited financial resources, very severely felt the strain of technology's latest contribution to electioneering. While it was highly effective, it was also exorbitantly, and for extensive use, prohibitively, costly. And so the former Davy Crockett era of substantial equality of election opportunity between rich and poor receded yet farther into the background as the role of money loomed ever larger. While primary candidate John Poorman was addressing, in person, a group of 50, 75, or a few more, voters, his opponent, Bill Moneybags, or perhaps someone more talented and personable, was sitting in a radio booth presenting his case in his behalf, to thousands and perhaps to hundreds of thousands of voters.

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With the coming of television, which amazingly stimulates the appearance to the viewer of the person projected by the machine, the climax of technology has seemingly been reached, as has also the disparity of election opportunity between the rich and the poor primary candidates, because, as compared with the cost of television, radio campaigning is a dime-a-dozen medium. Furthermore the enormous increase in population, an increase which steadily continues, makes it increasingly difficult for a candidate to see personally more than a small percentage of voters, a percentage which is decreasing in general ratio to the increase in the number of voters. This fact of course increases the value of the electronic devices by which means a candidate can come into the presence of a million persons as easily and as quickly as he can come into the presence of a hundred.

The specific result of this situation is that to make an adequate primary campaign on a statewide level, the candidate must spend, or have spent in his behalf, a very large sum of money, a sum so large that the man of even better-than-average financial condition cannot even start to do it. This means, it would seem, that in the future candidates will largely be of two kinds only. One will be the very wealthy person who can afford to risk the expenditure, and the loss, of anywhere from $50,000 to $100,000 in a primary campaign. The other kind of candidate will be the person who, unable to finance his campaign himself, permits it to be subsidized by special interest groups. Such groups do not put money into a campaign out of admiration for the candidate, or because they believe that he will make a good public official. They do so only after a thorough and ironclad understanding with the candidate that if elected he will do the bidding of the group that financed his campaign, and will use all power of his office to further the objectives of the group, even though such objectives are contrary to public policy and the general welfare. Every dollar spent by such a group is spent in the expectation that it will return, manifold.

Thus, in the future, it seems inevitable that candidates for office on the State level, and to only a somewhat lesser degree on the State senatorial and congressional levels, will be either men of great wealth, or men of no principle who go into office in chains and fetters. This is a far cry from the times of Davy Crockett, and presents but a bleak outlook for democracy, of which indeed it makes a solemn mockery. It represents a rather amazing return, after a long departure, to a part of Alexander Hamilton's concept of government by the rich and well-born.

Certainly the possession of great wealth does not always, and necessarily, mean that a person will not make an excellent public official, as many wealthy public officials have amply demonstrated. But, on the contrary, it cannot be denied that the viewpoint of the man of average income is not that of the wealthy man, and that the immediate interests of the two are not the same. And no one, of course, would take the position that a situation in which only a wealthy person could seek public office was democratic or good. It is too obvious to need elaboration that a person such as the subsidized candidate, who uses all the resources of an office for the benefit of a special interest group, to the extent of his influence completely defeats the democratic objective.

For a good many years prior to the turn of the century observant persons of good in-

tent had discerned this evil and had recognized its threat to the democratic process. General recognition of it was strong enough, in Missouri, as early as 1893, to result in the passage of an act "to prevent corrupt practices in elections, to limit the expenditures of candidates."

In 1921 this law was amended and the amount of permissible expenditure was increased.

In 1952 the attorney general of Missouri, at the request of the secretary of state, rendered an official opinion holding that the amount which a candidate could lawfully spend in a primary campaign for United States Senator was $16,786, exclusive of actual traveling expenses. This same figure would also be applicable to candidates for all other offices on a statewide level. Due to some increases in population this amount will be slightly higher in 1956, but not much. It is an amount which is wholly unrealistic inasmuch as strict compliance with it would not enable a candidate to do much more than makes the initial moves in his campaign. However, the corrupt-practices law is so framed that the candidate can remain, technically, within its narrow confines at the time that vast, and completely unlimited, sums of money are poured into his election effort.

As a solution to this situation it may be suggested that the corrupt practices law be so rewritten that no evasion of it is possible. The answer to this is that, even if that could be done (which, for many reasons, is highly doubtful), it is not entirely certain that it would be desirable to do so. It is true that a primary campaign expenditure of $16,786, in addition to traveling expenses, would place such a campaign within the reach of many would-be candidates, and in that respect it would we highly desirable. However, it is also highly desirable, from the viewpoint of functional democracy, that as many voters as possible know as well as possible the candidates from among whom they must make a choice. If, as stated, every primary candidate were limited to a total expenditure of the sum which is now fixed by law, the voters, to a very large extent, would have to choose blindly because the candidates would not be able to make themselves generally known. If the permissible amount were raised to around $50,000, the bare minimum now necessary for a serious campaign, then automatically many worthy potential candidates of limited financial resources would be eliminated.

It would appear that we are in a curious situation. In radio and television, we have the devices that could do much to make the democratic process effective insofar as by these media practically all voters could become thoroughly familiar with candidates for public office. This, as I stated, is highly desirable. But instead these media, for the reasons discussed above, are highly corruptive of the democratic process.

III

It might seem that this very undesirable situation, which appears to be incapable of change by any method now available, would call for State and Federal control. The only way, it would seem, in which this could be done (at least on the State level) would be for the State to allocate to every primary candidate, of every party, an amount of money sufficient to enable the candidate to make a campaign of such a nature as would enable the voters to become familiar with them.

Such a procedure would appear to have some features to recommend it. It would very largely eliminate the present situation of vast inequality of election opportunity and would, in this respect, go far toward a return to the democratic times of Davy Crockett, in which the success of every candidate would largely depend upon his qualities of body, mind, and spirit. It would facilitate the democratic process by enabling the voters to be familiar with all candidates for office and so to make a more intelligent choice. Furthermore the amount of public money which would be required for such a plan would not be, comparatively, very significant.

But such a plan would have numerous obvious weaknesses and dangers. Government control can be impartial and dispassionate; in the hands of partial and selfish public officials, it can also become highly discriminatory and oppressive. Many apparent difficulties would present themselves in its actual administration. Doubtless, if a primary campaign could be made without expense to the candidate, many frivolous candidates would appear and demand an allocation of money from the State for campaign purposes. Eliminating such persons would present serious difficulties. It would appear that such a plan would be much more easily followed in a general election, after party candidates had been elected. Such a plan, however, is also far less necessary in a general election because there the major political parties are usually able to muster enough money to get their candidates and their issues before the voters. It is in party primaries, where each candidate for nomination is very largely dependent upon own resources, that the great disparity of opportunity exists.

It is suggested that the situation here discussed is a serious threat to the democratic process, which it has already seriously debased. Certainly a solution to the situation can be found. Finding it is very much worth our time and thought. If democracy is to withstand the enormous stresses and pressures which are being brought to bear upon it, and to function in a manner which will, by example, persuade the doubtful peoples of the world that it is the best of all possible forms of government, it must not be cheapened, weakened, or adulterated.

Mr. Speaker, in the same vein, and further emphasizing the effect on our democratic processes, Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, in the introduction to his recent book, Profiles of Courage, says:

Our everyday life is becoming so saturated with the tremendous power of mass communications that any unpopular or unorthodox course arouses a storm of protest such as John Quincy Adams—under attack in 1807—could never have envisioned. Our political life is becoming so expensive, so mechanized and so dominated by professional politicians and public relations men that the idealist who dreams of independent statesmanship is rudely awakened by the necessities of election and accomplishment.

Only the very courageous will be able to keep alive the spirit of individualism and dissent which gave birth to this Nation, nourished it as an infant and carried it through its severest tests upon the attainment of its maturity.

Labor Racketeering Embarrasses Union Members

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial from the Janesville (Wis.) Daily Gazette under date of August 14 which calls attention to the fact that the present exposé by the McClellan committee is quite embarrassing not only to the people but to the rank and file of union members. The editorial follows:

DORIA, DIO, HOFFA & CO.

Members of labor unions and the public are getting a new look at a sinister coalition of rackets and labor leaders that has put big labor in a most embarrassing light. The Senate Rackets Investigating Committee under Senator MCCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, is turning the spotlight on hoodlum-labor alliances that are liable to be costly to union labor's power.

The public, rank and file union members and many employers have been the scapegoats of rackets, as brought out in the hearings. Anthony Doria, former secretary of the Allied Industrial Workers, for example, admits that he kept thousands of dollars in a secret strongbox in his office in Milwaukee, but never accounted for it to his union members.

Doria protested that New York racketeer Johnny Dio, the convicted hoodlum extortionist, wanted to go straight but that a "cruel society" wouldn't let him. It was Doria who brought Dio into labor union affairs.

Dio is just a good, softhearted fellow who broke down and cried when his henchmen were caught thieving, Doria told the Senators. He is a frustrated man, poor fellow, who only wanted to be an honest labor leader, Doria insisted. But the investigators were tracing Doria's financial wizardry and what became of $9,620 of union funds he deposited to his own map-making company, and other union funds he controlled.

Dio has denied he had any connection with the acid blinding of labor columnist Victor Riesel, but he is under indictment for that act.

Dio took over local 102 of the UAW–AFL after 1952 when the local was chartered to organize New York taxi drivers. But this local became a nest of hoodlums, the committee shows, and these hoodlums spread out into teamsters' locals. They were especially chartered to elect a man picked by Jimmy Hoffa, Midwest boss of the teamsters, to control teamster affairs in the New York area, the testimony indicated.

There is an alliance between Dio and Hoffa, the committee contends, to build up Hoffa's power on the east coast. Hoffa is in line to succeed Dave Beck as teamster international president. He has declared that he will bring all transport workers into one giant union to control transport everywhere, big and little.

Certainly, with this kind of tieup between the rackets and labor, and with Hoffa in command of transport unions the Nation over, the whole country could soon be strangled. Surely, the Senate and Congress must take into consideration the dangers posed by such monopolistic power, especially power in the hands of such gentlemen as Doria, Dio, Hoffa & Co.

Farmers Are Caught Between More Than the Cost-Price Squeeze

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a constituent, Mr. Virgil Knudson, of Gully,

Minn., has most clearly described the critical situation in which a good, efficient, and responsible family farmer finds himself when caught between the present administration's antifarmer farm program and the uncontrolled forces of nature, in the form of floods which wipe out entire crops. Between the lack of flood control in these areas and the cost-price squeeze, farmers are being "sucked under." The family farmer—the symbol of our way of life—cannot long survive against the onslaughts of both the sliding scale parity and the uncontrolled forces of nature.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert this excellent letter which so clearly describes a tragic situation, which need never have been.

The letter follows:

GULLY, MINN., *August 15, 1957.*

COYA KNUTSON,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MRS. KNUTSON: First, I would again thank you for the ardent representation you are giving us. We do appreciate your every effort.

To quickly brief you in our status, you will perhaps recall that my father (C. M. K.) and I are partnership farming 1,040 acres north of Gully on the Lost River. This enterprise was started upon my return from the service 11 years ago. We started with one quarter section of cheap land and have sweat up to our present status. In these 11 ensuing years we have lost 3 entire crops from the flooding of Lost River—11 years we have promoted and waited for the channeling of the river. With the present price-cost squeeze and this year's entire crop loss, we have been forced deep in debt. The situation we are facing is critical in our lives. Should be discontinue while we are still able to sell and leave farming with more assets than which we started? Mr. Benson would say, yes, of course. Perhaps you would say it depends on your individual situation. We find it hard to find a basis for clear, clean-cut facts upon which to establish a definite decision. Everyone desires to help us (the family farmer) but no one can do anything basically constructive. Perhaps I am unduly pessimistic today since yesterday we visited with Mr. Anderson, our district FHA representative, and found they have no money applicable to our situation. Well Coya, it summarizes to this. Dad and I have concluded we can no longer survive the combined elements of a price squeeze and Lost River floods. Without one or the other we will continue in our life's ambition—farming.

We have only one hope. The passage of the rivers and harbors bill, including Lost River. Should this bill be rejected by either Congress or the President, two more farmers hang up their hats to make room for Mr. Benson's farm barons.

I am sincerely sorry to take of your time for another tale of woe, but you have expressed a desire to know the facts. We realize your situation and your efforts. The only further request we might make is that you would please keep us informed as to every move this rivers and harbors bill makes. You see so much depends on that bill for us—our future.

Our: C. M. Knudson, father; Alice Knudson, mother; Mona Knudson, wife; Julie Knudson, daughter; Gail Knudson, daughter; Virginia Knudson, daughter; Jack Knudson, son.

Yours truly,

VIRGIL KNUDSON.

Birthday of the Honorable Bernard Baruch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to remind my colleagues that today marks the 87th birthday of one of our greatest living Americans, Bernard M. Baruch, whom we all admire as a master mobilizer of our national strength and security.

Warm congratulations are due this vulnerable elder statesman whose lifetime of devoted service to his country and his oft-repeated recommendations over the years may be aptly symbolized by the phrase: peace through strength.

Not alone, however, is this his birthday, but it is also the publication date of the first volume of his autobiography entitled "Baruch: My Own Story." This book is an absorbing record of events that molded Mr. Baruch's life and, in a larger sense, many of the events that are recounted had a significant impact on our American history and the days since the Civil War.

On the occasion of Mr. Baruch's 87th birthday and the publication of his book, I consider it an honor to offer public tribute to this stalwart American. It is with a feeling of admiration and deep respect for him that, under unanimous consent, I place in the Appendix of the RECORD the excellent review by Arthur Krock of Mr. Baruch's book which appeared in the New York Times of August 18, 1957:

LOOKING BACK UPON A RICH LIFE—BERNARD BARUCH RECALLS HIS ADVENTURES IN WALL STREET AND IN PUBLIC SERVICE

(By Arthur Krock)

This is the first volume of the autobiography of an American whose prescience, integrity and disciplined mind brought him fame and fortune—"at 32 I had in cash $100,000 for every year of my life." But, except under Woodrow Wilson, as Chairman of the War Industries Board in World War I, Bernard Baruch, for all his miraculous prescience, though often called on, was almost as often disregarded. He accurately forecast events for succeeding Presidents who summoned him to counsel and public service, and he told how popular action would be shaped by these events. Yet, save for programs for stockpiling essential raw materials and regulating their prices and a brief adherence to his plan for checking the atomic weapons race, most of his warnings and formulae in the areas of economics and diplomacy were not acted on until it was too late to realize their full potentials.

That is the dismal history of Baruch's efforts to prepare the Nation for World War II, to dispel the awful threat of nuclear war and to head off this conflict and the war in Korea. But Baruch makes no lament for this irony in his experience. Elaboration of the point would be alien to his trait of looking forward; also, it developed after the period in which this volume comes to an end. But to a reviewer familiar with Baruch's Government services after Wilson's time, the anomaly comes strongly to mind in reading the last chapter, wherein Baruch gives his view of the qualities the American people and their public servants will require to meet the tests of the times and his formula for saving civilization from atomic war.

As a financier, in contrast to his larger role as a statesman, Baruch also knew disappointments. From the time when, as a lad in Camden, S. C., he watched the trains go by he always wanted to own a railroad. He almost attained his ambition in the struggle for control of the Louisville & Nashville. Once he came nearer to his goal.

This opportunity arose during an evening at bridge. The matter of Baruch's ambition having been mentioned, Thomas F. Ryan and to James B. Duke, "Why don't we buy the railroad for Bernie and let him run it?" The road was the Atlantic Coast Line, and Henry Walters, principal owner of its stock, was willing, but the purchase, which Baruch was resolved to finance himself, was canceled by the bankers of the ACL.

In each instance the frustrating power was J. P. Morgan, Sr. As the book makes plain, one of Baruch's great aspirations was an association with Morgan he could never attain. So much did he desire this that on an occasion when Morgan was supporting a panicked market, Baruch decided to hand the great banker in person a certified check for $1,500,000 in support of the effort. He ended by sending it through the mails to a committee.

On another occasion he offered Morgan participation in the fabulous Texas Gulf Sulphur enterprise that made Baruch and William Boyce Thompson many millions. When Baruch told Morgan, "I personally will gamble $500,000" on the project, the banker coldly replied, "I never gamble," and turned away. And once, when Baruch had produced a miracle of raw materials investment, Morgan sold a large block of shares in it to Baruch's partner without giving Baruch the chance to buy that to which he felt he was entitled. None of this experience, however, affected the judgment expressed in this book that Morgan was the greatest mind and most constructive force in our financial history.

Self-discipline and organization he puts high among the requirements for a financial career such as his, and for the United States in this perilous world. He writes: "We should ask nothing of our Allies that we are not prepared to do ourselves. * * * The friendship of other nations cannot be bought * * * I for one will never concede that we cannot do as much in defense of our freedoms as any enemy may be doing to destroy them."

Lest an erroneous impression of the autobiography may be given by stress on these aspects, the prospective reader should be notified at once that this is an exciting tale of men and millions, of titanic conflicts, speculations and panics in Wall Street and of reconstruction times in South Carolina. It also is a tale of tender family relations and parental reverence. And it is sufficiently salted with humor and peppered with anecdote to produce a literary item of absorbing interest.

Appropriately, the major part of the book relates the American financial story from the panic of 1893 to the beginning of World War I. The characters are giants—Morgan, Jacob Schiff, James J. Hill, Edward H. Harriman, John W. Gates ("I saw him bet $1 million at baccarat in the old Waldorf"); James R. Keene ("easily head and shoulders above any speculator I ever knew"), Eugene Meyer, Jr. ("a man of the highest integrity"), Daniel C. Jackling, and the Guggenheims.

And there are quieter folk; but of equal importance to the narrative, and more charming.

Among these was Prof. George B. Newcomb of the faculty of the College of the City of New York. He taught young Baruch economics, hammering at the inevitable workings of the law of supply and demand, and "10 years later I became rich for remembering his words."

There are the simple Negroes on Hobcaw, the South Carolina plantation bought by Baruch in his thirties out of sentiment for his native State: Moses Jenkins, whose favorite sermon was about Phar-a-oh and De Chillun; Abraham, who failed to attain his repentent wish to join the church, late in life, because he could not believe with the deacon that "dem hongry African lions done spared de Prophet Dan'l."

And there are the late Senator Key Pittman, of Nevada, and Justice Richard Lydon, of New York, who rushed into the flaming manorhouse at Hobcaw in the agonized remembrance that a fine barrel of corn licker was about to be consumed with the rest of the property.

Mr. Baruch describes the conflicts among the giants of finance in the greatest stock market wars of history. This extract from an account of the fight for control of the Northern Pacific is an example: "On the exchange floor fear had completely taken the place of reason. Stocks were being dumped wildly, dropping from 10 to 20 points. There were rumors of corners in other stocks. In a panic it is not easy to avoid being swept along with the mad tide * * *. However, having made my plans in advance, I was able to step aside and keep my wits. When stocks were dumped I bought—my net profit that day was more than I made on any other day, before or after."

"On father's side I am the son of an immigrant," Baruch writes, in an early mention of the gallant surgeon of the Confederate Army who labored with the wounded at second Manassas, Sharpsburg, Gettysburg and the Wilderness, and lived to found, with his son's help, healing institutions of hydrotherapy in his adopted city and State of New York. "On mother's side I am descended from a family which came to America in the 1690's" is the author's first reference to Belle Wolfe Baruch, for whose sake he observed the Jewish ritual, and in her memory still observes the holy days (though "I hold to no creed"); whose reminder that "tomorrow is Yom Kippur" was enough to make him abandon a promising "short" drive in the market (incidentally to his unexpected profit), and whose forgiveness of his early propensity to visit games of chance contrived to turn his steps to Wall Street.

"New York City at first overwhelmed and terrified me," writes Baruch of his first view, at the age of 11, of the city where he was to become a legend. There too, he had his first encounter with a discrimination, unknown in Camden, "which I was to experience many times in my later life." It barred his Episcopalian daughters from their mother's dancing class, and would have excluded them from the private schools they attended had it not been for their rector's intervention. "But laws," he comments, "will not wipe out bigotry and oppression."

He got his first job at $3 a week with a wholesale supplier to druggists, and, taking some securities downtown, "I first saw J. P. Morgan's famous nose and tawny eyes. "Then as a runner in Wall Street, still at $3 a week, he became an expert at arbitrage, amassed a few extra dollars and began his acquaintance with the stock market. ("It is merely the register of human reactions to events as affecting the future * * * it is merely people trying to read the future.") And in this reading the most proficient ultimately was B. M. Baruch.

His real start came when he joined the firm of A. A. Housman at $5 a week and attended night school to study bookkeeping and contract law. Then he took to the study of railroads, especially those reorganized after the panic of 1893, and chose the ones whose bonds he believed would surely rise. He urged them on the firm's customers, and himself would buy 10 shares at a time on a 10-percent margin.

Part of the first substantial capital he made—$60,000— was acquired by alert exploitation of an advantage none can have in this electronic age. Baruch, at Long Branch, heard from his partner of Admiral Schley's victory at Santiago and decided that stocks would rise. The pair, at Baruch's suggestion, chartered a locomotive to take them to New York; at sunrise, having telephoned customers for orders, they bought stocks on the London market and then sold them at a high profit on the expected rise in New York.

Later came the association with Ryan and Duke that paid out in millions. Later came the day when Baruch, asking to see James Stillman, president of the National City Bank, and, referred to the cashier, opened an account with a certified check for $1 million; the furious and profitable episode of the Northern Pacific "corner" by Harriman; and then (mark the date), in September 1929, with a vast fortune in securities, the decision to turn into cash "everything I had."

This review of a book may fittingly conclude with the story of another book. It is a copy of Oliver Twist, and it was presented to a schoolboy by Miss Katherine Blake, teacher at Public School 69, New York City. The citation describes as well as any a life that now has spanned 87 years. It reads "To Bernard Baruch, for gentlemanly deportment and general excellence, June 1881."

Performance Record Speaks for Itself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, by Wednesday it should be clear as to whether or not we will have an opportunity to act on a civil-rights bill at this session—and perhaps likewise we will know if the bill is to be a gesture or if it will actually protect the voting right of southern Negroes.

As for me, I shall continue to the last trying to strengthen as much as possible any bill before the House; but let me make it clear that when the chips are down on final passage I shall vote in favor of any measure we have before us, if I believe such legislation is better than no legislation, because any step in the right direction is better than standing still as we have for 82 years.

As to all this hue and cry about a delay for political advantage, let me say that nothing said or done by the Democrat propagandists can whitewash their party record or brainwash the public.

President Eisenhower and the Republican Party have a performance record that speaks for itself.

Not a Republican voted against this year's civil-rights bill in the Senate. In the House, 168 Republicans voted for the civil-rights bill and only 19 against, while 107 Democrat Members voted "no" and only 118 "aye." In other words, the record shows the membership in this House is: Republican about 9 to 1 in support of civil rights; Democrats not quite half and half.

In 1956, in connection with last year's civil-rights bill, the Republicans voted 168 in favor and 24 against, whereas the Democrat vote was 111 in favor and 102 against.

So it has been in the period 1933 through 1952. During those many years that the Democrats controlled the Government, of the 19 important Senate votes on civil rights, the Democrat majority voted against civil rights in every case except 2. Twice not one single Democrat voted favorably; twice only one Democrat joined the Republican majority supporting civil rights.

During those same years, 1933 to 1952, here in the House of Representatives in 7 out of 14 votes the majority of Democrat Members failed to give civil rights their vote in favor. On these same 14 recorded votes a majority of from 68 percent to 100 percent of Republican Members supported civil rights.

The Senate record shows in 3 cases Republicans were 100 percent in voting for civil-rights legislation. Only once in 19 important votes did Republican Senators fail to give a majority of their votes in support of a civil-rights issue so vital to minority groups.

So, Mr. Speaker, if anyone fails to credit the Republican Party, and the party of Lincoln, from a continuing effort to establish the freedom of voting franchise, I say let the record speak for itself.

As for me, I have been a part of the bipartisan effort to get a bill passed. Let no one say that my efforts and interest in that direction in any way have diminished.

I am for a strong civil-rights bill, yes; but I am for a civil-rights bill, and I am for a civil-rights bill this year. And as for the false and misleading statements about the Republican Party, as I said, look at the record—the record of the past and the record of the future.

Soil and Surplus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Soil and Surplus," which appeared in the August 14, 1957, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

SOIL AND SURPLUS

The administration's soil-bank program, now in its second year, is aimed, of course, at reducing the Nation's huge farm surpluses. The somewhat limited record so far indicates that it may not prove too effective in achieving that result.

The bank involves six main commodities—wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanuts. The biggest portion of the bank is an acreage reserve, created by farmers taking land devoted to these crops out of cultivation. The law specifies, too, that land thus set aside cannot be used to grow other crops.

Last year the act was adopted too late for full effect, but about 12.2 million acres (10 percent) of the total allotted to the 6 listed crops went into the acreage reserve. Most of this was taken from wheat and corn allotments.

Farmers' payments for participation in this program came to $260 million. They got another $25 million for taking part in the other aspects of the soil bank plan—the conservation reserve.

But despite the acreage withdrawals, wheat and corn in 1956 both registered 7 percent production increases. Output of the other 4 crops dropped varying degrees from 15 to 1 percent. Most experts ascribed the declines, however, to widespread drought rather than to the soil bank.

As of April 30 this year, Government price supports on 1956 crops had fallen 17 percent below the previous year to a figure of $2.8 billion. And commodities in Federal inventory or pledged for farmers' loans down to $7.8 billion from $8.8 billion the year before.

But the record suggests that sharply boosted exports of wheat and cotton were more responsible than the soil bank for the whittled surpluses.

In 1957 the amount signed up for the acreage reserve is 21 million acres, against last year's 12.2 million. About three-fifths comes out of the wheat allotment.

It's too early to say how 1957 production will turn out. But first indications for wheat are that output will fall perhaps just 3 percent below 1956, despite the fact that nearly 13 million out of a 15-million-acre allotment are in the soil bank.

As so often before with other efforts to cut back production, experts are finding that farmers set aside their poorest acres and step up output to new highs on the remaining. It's a hard game to lick.

Equal Rights Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following information, which I received in a letter from Mrs. R. N. Longwell, of Los Angeles, Calif., California chairman of the National Woman's Party. This material expresses ideas with which I am glad to be associated:

When our Founding Fathers drew up the Constitution they did not "remember the ladies." This may not have been an intentional oversight on their part. We are not certain that they deliberately bequeathed this legal handicap upon their great, great, great granddaughters. But, even if they did, we must be careful not to do our Founding Fathers an injustice, for their world was not ours. Their way of life no more resembled our way of life than an oxcart resembles a rocket ship.

To the 1789 woman, gazing out her curtained window at horse-drawn carriages on cobbled streets, our modern world would have seemed more improbable than Gulliver's tallest tale. How could she imagine 23 million women marching each morning to salaried jobs outside the home? How could she visualize women attending college, becoming lawyers, doctors, scientists? How could she know that women, someday would be driving cars, flying planes?

Old Father Time, in exchange for progress, ever demands adjustments. And if, as the Supreme Court decrees, our Constitution has excluded half the population, let us bring it up to date.

Millions of women are working for a constitutional amendment that would put them in that great document on equal legal footing with men and bestow upon them full citizenship. The 19th amendment gave them the right to vote. Now, by passing the equal rights amendment, let us finish the job.

Investment in Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of August 16, 1957, on the subject of our mutual security program:

INVESTMENT IN FREEDOM

President Eisenhower used dramatic language when he cited the case of Korea in justification for the insistence that in our mutual security programs there be no further cut. He said that we had "invested" 135,000 casualties in Korea. This "investment," he said, was "required from us in order to support our security in the world and to stand firmly behind the cause of freedom." He went on to ask: "Are we going to nullify all those casualties by failing to recognize the position of Korea, facing a long battlefield of 155 miles, and without adequate support from us?"

We don't always think of it just that way. Obviously the House Appropriations Committee was not thinking in those terms when only a few hours later, it voted a still further and drastic cut in mutual-aid appropriation, nor were other House Members when the full body affirmed the committee's cut. The President had said that such further cuts would imperil the whole program and with it our own security. Economy-minded legislators apparently felt that they could take the risk that the President had so clearly set forth. We doubt their wisdom.

Perhaps one difficulty is that there has not been enough realization of the real significance of that word "invest." We have always talked about "aid," "help," "assist," and in some quarters there has always been stress upon "give" or "giveaway," often in an unfriendly context. Of course, there is nothing wrong about giving, helping, or assisting. We could well be proud and happy that it is in our means to carry out this role. But what is implied is that we are giving to no good purpose and possibly giving beyond our means.

The investment idea is the best answer to this form of disbelief in ourselves and in our friends and allies. We invest, in any field, something that we have in the expectation that we will eventually receive a compensatory return for what has been expended. We don't give out of mere goodness of heart. We want a return and a profit.

That return and profit, in the case that President Eisenhower cited, is support for our own security. It involves also our standing firmly in the cause of freedom. The assurance of our security and the advancement of human freedom—our own and that of others—is a substantial return on the investment. To quote the President again, mutual aid is not supported by any "special pressure group"; this is "a case where the welfare of all of us is involved—every single one of us, and our children."

It should be noted that in each of the "frontline" cases that the President noted—Korea, Greece, Turkey, Formosa, and Vietnam—we are not the only investors. Our casualties are small, for example, compared to those of the Koreans who have died for freedom, theirs and ours. This is not "giveaway." It is joint effort with its joint sacrifice. The term "mutual" security is correct.

This certainly is too important to us, and to those who are our allies, to become a mere political football. Attention has been focused upon whether a special session of Congress would have to be called. There has been a curious mathematical focus upon what percentage of the program could be lopped. Such approaches are basically wrong. We are working the field of investment, not aid. The focal point should be what we hope to gain, and, indeed, what we must gain by what we do at this time. There is still time to reconsider in the House and Senate the rash action taken yesterday. We are coinvestors in freedom with our allies. We cannot afford to fail them and to fail ourselves.

Lt. Col. Emma Jane Riley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. HULL, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, men of Missouri rank second to none in the art of soldiering. Their heroic conduct in every one of our great conflicts bear eloquent testimony to the fact that Missouri is a "home of the brave."

From the Civil War's Jo Shelby—if that great soldier had been from Massachusetts or Virginia, the libraries would not be able to contain the books written about him—to General Pershing in World War I and Gen. Omar Bradley and Maxwell Taylor in the Second World War era, Missouri has contributed very substantially to the ranks of great and courageous men who have led American boys to victory on battlefields which gird the globe.

Missouri now is making a great feminine contribution to our military forces in the person of Lt. Col. Emma Jane Riley, a native of the community of Plattsburg in Clinton County in northwest Missouri.

On September 1, Colonel Riley will officially assume the duties of Director of

the Women in the Air Force, commonly known as the WAF.

Colonel Riley is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Riley, of Plattsburg, and she attended the University of Missouri. She joined the military in 1942 as a private and in only 15 years has climbed to the top position she will assume on September 1.

Missouri is proud of Col. Emma Jane Riley and wishes her well in her important new post.

Under leave to extend, I include the following fine article written by John R. Cauley and appearing in the August 11, 1957, edition of the Kansas City Star:

WASHINGTON, August 10.—One day last May, Lt. Col. Emma Jane Riley and her sister, Miss Dorothy Riley, of Plattsburg, Mo., were vacationing in Italy and picked up a copy of the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

Their attention was attracted by a short news item which reported that a disastrous tornado had wiped out a small community near Kansas City. There were no other details.

The two girls were greatly alarmed. Could the small community be their hometown, Plattsburg? Their parents, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Riley, live there, and their father is president of the First National Bank. After all, they recalled, Plattsburg was only about 30 miles north of Kansas City.

When they returned to Wiesbaden, Germany, on May 26, there was a cable awaiting Colonel Riley. Fearfully, she began to open it. Here, she thought to herself, is the bad news from home.

GOOD NEWS IN A CABLEGRAM

As she read the cablegram, her expression of fear turned into a joyous smile. It was a note from a friend in the States congratulating Colonel Riley on her appointment as director of the women in the Air Force.

"I could hardly believe the news," she said in her office in the Pentagon here. "I knew a new director was going to be appointed, but I did not think that it was going to be me."

The next day when she returned to her desk in Wiesbaden as staff director of the women in the Air Force in Europe, she was officially notified of her selection.

In her new job, which she officially assumes September 1 as successor to Col. Phyllis D. S. Gray, who is retiring, Colonel Riley will be in charge of more than 8,000 WAFS, as they are called. Her principal responsibilities are to advise the Air Force chief of staff on the recruiting, training, and utilization of women in the Air Force.

Colonel Riley is 45 years old. She appears much younger. She has a smooth complexion, sparkling green-blue eyes, dark hair sprinkled with gray, and an easy and mobile smile. She weighs 130 pounds and is 5 feet 6 inches tall.

She keeps her figure trim, she explains, "by watching my diet. You have to do that after you're 40."

Colonel Riley was born in Plattsburg on January 11, 1912, and attended the grade school and high school there. From Plattsburg, she went to Sullins College in Bristol, Va., and then entered the school of journalism at the University of Missouri as a junior student. She was graduated from Missouri University in 1934. She completed work on her master's degree the following year.

HER MEMORIES OF MISSOURI UNIVERSITY

She has many happy memories of the university. She vividly remembers having cokes in Gabler's and working for 25 cents an hour stuffing envelopes in the office of Dean Frank Martin. Sororities she eschewed, and chose instead to live in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Curtis Rollins.

"I got out of the university at a bad time," she recalls. "Newspaper jobs in those depression days were nonexistent. I went home and did odd jobs around my father's bank and on the side wrote space rate stories for the old Kansas City Journal Post and helped the Associated Press cover election returns.

"In 1937 I went to Peoria, Ill., and worked on a historical magazine which was just starting. The magazine and I both struggled along for about 3 years and finally I got tired of the battle and returned home."

In August 1942 Miss Riley enlisted in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps as a private and was graduated from the WAC Officer Candidate School at Des Moines, in December of the same year.

Thereupon following a wide range of assignments in this country, each one growing in importance and responsibility. She activated and commanded one of the companies at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., shortly after that base was opened as a third WAAC training center. In April 1943 she was made a battalion commander.

In 1943 she was assigned to duty with the Army Air Force, performing various duties in personnel and administration at Mitchel Field, N. Y., Langley Field, Va., Boca Raton Field, Fla.; Grenier Field, N. H.; Fort Totten, N. Y.; and Washington, D. C.

PLANNED TRAINING COURSE FOR WAFS

After 2 years as WAC staff director with the Air Transport Command she was assigned in 1948 to the Office of Procurement and Training, Headquarters, United States Air Force, as chief of the basic military and officer candidate school section. In this capacity she monitored plans for all phases of Air Force training of WAFS, which started in October 1948, at Lackland Air Force Base, Tex.

In 1952 she took on a dual position of WAF staff director and chief of the Career Actions Branch, Headquarters, Military Air Transport Service, and later as Chief, Promotions and Separations Division, Deputy Chief of Staff and Personnel within that headquarters. In August 1956 she was assigned to Wiesbaden.

Colonel Riley was one of the first 8 WAF officers selected for the rank of permanent lieutenant colonel in the Air Force in 1950. Retroactive seniority went back to July 1948.

She said she had no idea of making a career of the military service until after the war was over.

"I liked the orderly pattern of life in the service and was attracted by the opportunity of making some contribution to the country," she says. "I was just plain lucky to be assigned to the Army Air Corps in 1943, and I wanted to stay with that branch of the service."

BUT NO COMBAT DUTY

The women in the Air Force serve principally in the fields of weather forecasting, communications, secretarial work and as flight attendants on the planes of the Military Air Transport Service. By law, they cannot be assigned to combat aircraft.

"There is a chance," she explains, "to enter a career which later can be translated to civilian life. There are opportunities for world travel and for a high-school graduate to get a college degree after 1 or 2 terms of enlistment."

Besides the United States, WAFS are assigned to air bases in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, England, France, Germany, and Italy. There are also WAF officers in Alaska.

Colonel Riley herself has been in Denmark, England, France, Germany, and Italy.

Naturally, Colonel Riley never has commanded men, but she has been around long enough to observe that there is little difference in handling the problems of men and women in the Air Force.

"The women are more interested in their housing quarters, but no more interested in their clothing than the men," she says.

She has had little time for her hobbies since she returned from Germany to familiarize herself with her new duties here.

"I still love to write," she says. "If I tried half as hard on my writings as I do on these military papers, I might get some place."

She loves the ocean too, and plans to spend time at Bethany Beach, Del. Colonel Riley has taken an apartment here at the Dorchester House, where she lives by herself.

"There is a wonderful opportunity for girls in the Air Force," Colonel Riley exclaims enthusiastically.

Seven Billion Dollars a Year in Buying Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include an article by Sylvia Porter in the Chicago Daily News of July 15, 1957. This article stresses the importance to our entire national economy of the annual contribution of over $7 billion to the buying power of our country that comes from social-security payments.

This furnishes justification of the argument made in the pioneering days of Dr. Townsend. His original plan was for $200 a month, all to be spent in the month of its receipt, thus not only providing for the aged but supplying a buying power to sustain industry on a scale sufficient to give employment to those in their working years. At the time the Nation was in a depression, there was precious little buying power and unemployment was at an all-time low. The Townsend plan, while attacked by some as visionary and unsound, swept the country like a forest fire. I was happy to be one of the early champions of a plan that gave the only hope in an era of dispair and hopelessness. If industry was to pick up so that the unemployed could find jobs there had to be buying power, and it should be a buying power of continuing volume sufficient to sustain employment at the required level. It seemed to me just commonsense that payments made to those who had passed the working years, not for saving but for spending, would do the double trick of taking care of the aged and providing jobs for the younger.

It is a source of satisfaction to know that social security, as Miss Potter points out, is doing just that. I would be happier, however, if the payments to the aged were geared closer to the $200 a month of Dr. Townsend's original suggestion in the dark years of the depression.

The article from the Chicago Daily News follows:

GREASING THE WHEELS—SOCIAL SECURITY MUSHROOMS IN UNITED STATES ECONOMY—SMALL PAYMENTS TO MILLIONS CREATE "FIRSTS" IN OUR HISTORY

(By Sylvia Porter)

A 63-year-old woman in New York opens an official envelope, draws out a Government check for $68.10. She cashes the check at once and starts spending the money on goods and services she needs.

A 66-year-old farmer in Iowa opens an identical envelope the same day, also draws out a modest Government check. He, too, cashes the check immediately, begins to buy things he needs and wants.

"Small" people they are, getting and spending relatively small amounts of money.

Yet, these little people and their little checks multiplied by millions of similarly little people in their senior years and their little checks are key forces behind these vitally important developments:

For the first time since the social-security system was created in the late thirties, the Government fund is today pouring out more money in benefits than it is collecting in social-security taxes.

For the first time in American history, incomes being paid by the Government to older citizens are climbing at a faster pace than the take-home pay going to all wage and salary workers in the land.

For the first time ever in America, the spending by our older citizens of incomes belonging directly to them is a powerful stimulant to our prosperity, accounting for much of the bounce in consumer spending.

TEN MILLION BENEFICIARIES NOW

In the couple of decades that our Social Security System has been in existence, it has grown to proportions that defy comprehension. Just glance at these few figures.

Early this month, Mrs. Jean Gavin, 36, a widow and mother of 2 young children, became the 10 millionth beneficiary under the system. She's to get the maximum family benefit of $200 a month.

Today, 73 million workers are covered under the program. That means 9 out of 10 of us are either covered or eligible for coverage.

This year over $7.3 billion will be paid out by the fund in social-security benefits. To grasp that figure, ponder the fact that in 1941, the first year benefits were paid, the total was $64 million.

In 1957 the fund will collect about $7 billion in social-security taxes. In 1941 our contributions came to $688 million.

(Despite the gap this year between tax collections and benefits, don't fret about the fund running out of money. It has income from investments which will more than cover the gap this year and next. It may sink into the red temporarily in 1959, but social-security taxes are slated to go up under the law in 1960 and it will jump right back into the black.)

PAYMENTS AHEAD OF ESTIMATES

Regardless of the details the significant point is that social-security benefits are becoming of tremendous meaning to the entire economy.

The reason the fund is paying out so much more this year than originally estimated is that almost 700,000 women have taken advantage of the change in the law in 1956 to allow women to begin drawing benefits at 62, and almost 400,000 self-employed farmers are now qualifying for benefits.

And in August, when the fund starts paying benefits to the permanently and totally disabled who have reached the age of 50, another 275,000 or so will go on the benefit rolls.

And as these and the other millions who are drawing monthly checks from the social-security pool spend their incomes, they'll keep the wheels of the economy turning.

Negroes Still Want Effective Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, since Senate passage of the civil-rights bill, there has been considerable propaganda to the effect that some organizations which have favored the legislation are willing to settle for a weak, watered-down version of the bill.

My mail indicates that the overwhelming numbers of our Negro citizens, who are most directly concerned with civil-rights legislation, do not want just a mere bill and will feel that this fight has been in vain if we pass anything less than an effective measure to protect the voting rights of the Negro people.

I have received hundreds of letters and telegrams from leaders of organizations, leaders of Negro opinion, and individual citizens protesting against the enactment of any bill which will not enforce the voting rights of a large body of American citizens who have been waiting since reconstruction days for an effective instrument.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert a cross section of the messages that have come to me from representative Negroes asking for a real bill:

Congressman JOSEPH MARTIN,
House of Representatives:

The National Fraternal Council of Churches, 14 denominations, over 10 million members, at their annual session endorsed the administration civil-rights bill as passed by the House. That's the bill that over 75 percent of the Negroes of America want personally. I would rather have no bill passed at this session of Congress than to accept the bill passed by the Senate.

W. H. JERNAGIN,
Chairman of the Executive Board.

Hon. JOE MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

As president of National Business League my contacts clearly indicate that Negroes generally regard civil-rights bill with jury-trial amendment completely unacceptable. It will not protect voting rights of Negro citizens in most southern States where intimidation, punitive action, and willful evasion can be supported by prejudiced juries. Elimination of jury-trial provision necessary for absolute protection of voting rights.

FREDERICK D. PATTERSON.

Hon. JOSEPH MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

As Grand Exalted Ruler of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, I wish to inform you that the order of Elks is against the Senate civil-rights bill in its present form. Please establish for your records our position, that the bill should be vetoed in its present form. Our survey shows that a majority of the newspapers and organizations actively working in the interest of minorities are against the Senate jury-trial amendment, and are willing to continue to work for a civil-rights measure which will be of real benefit to all Americans. I shall appreciate your continued support to our advancement, and feel that it will be mutually beneficial for all concerned to veto the present bill.

ROBERT H. JOHNSON,
Grand Exalted Ruler, IBPOEW, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

As publisher oldest Negro newspaper in two Carolinas believe I voice sentiment Negroes both States when I say they are bitterly opposed to civil-rights bill with jury-trial amendent. Urge a strong civil-right bill or no bill.

L. E. AUSTIN,
Publisher, Carolina Times.

Hon. JOSEPH MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Comments from readers of the Pittsburgh Courier throughout Nation indicate complete confidience in your position relative to emasculated civil-rights measure. The Courier strongly urges that you continue to insist on strong civil-rights bill or ask President to call special session to enact measure as recommended in platform of both parties.

Mrs. ROBERT L. VANN,
President-Treasurer, the Pittsburgh Courier.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I agree with you fully that the present civil-rights bill passed by the Senate is inadequate. Unless the jury-trial amendment is changed and there is a House-Senate meeting to make other needed changes it is preferable to wait until the next session of Congress to consider this legislation.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. EVERETT B. SIMMONS,
President, NAACP Branch of the Oranges and Maplewood, Orange, N. J.

BOARD OF MISSIONS, THE EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH,
Dayton, Ohio, August 14, 1957.

The Honorable JOSEPH MARTIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MARTIN: I have followed with deep interest and grave concern the debate on the civil-rights bill in the Senate. The bill as approved by your body, the House, has been so emasculated by the Senate that I respectfully urge you to vote against the Senate proposal for the following reasons:

1. Because it does not protect every citizen in exercising the franchise which is his inalienable right.

2. If passed in its present form, the public will be falsely led to believe the right to vote has been protected whereas it will result in the contrary and it may be a generation before the injustice can be removed.

3. The Senate bill in its present form handicaps the Federal judge and weakens the power of the Federal courts by imposing a jury trial between the judges decree and the carrying out of the court order.

In presenting this request may I assure you I shall continue to put forth every effort to create attitudes and encourage practices in my own community which will make it possible for every citizen, irrespective of race, color, or national origion, to enjoy and exercise his civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

S. G. ZIEGLER,
Recording Secretary.

RICHMOND, VA., *August 13, 1957.*

Hon. JOSEPH MARTIN,
Majority Leader, House of Representatives, United States Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Many of us think that Mr. Roy Wilkins, of the NAACP, did not express the

opinion of the overwhelming majority of Negroes in urging that the emasculated civil-rights measure passed by the Senate be adopted by the joint committee. Negroes want a changed status in the South. For too long we have been treated like quasi-slaves.

The 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States grants Negroes the same right expressed in other language in the Senate version of the civil-rights measure, but Congress has never seen fit to enforce that amendment. Consequently, Negroes have been largely disfranchised by devious devices and intimidation. If the Senate measure is adopted the Negro's voting status will remain substantially the same as it has been for the past 90 years.

Race prejudice is so strong in the South that public sentiment of the majority of white people is positively in opposition to the idea of convicting whites in civil-rights cases involving Negroes. Hence, jury trials would be a farce. I have been urged to bring this to your attention.

Negroes in the South do not want a half a loaf.

Yours respectfully,

DAVID E. LONGLEY,
Treasurer, State Conference of NAACP in Virginia.

BLADENBORO, N. C., *August 5, 1957.*

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have watched the House and Senate actions on the civil-rights bill with keen interest. I want to express my appreciation to you for not accepting the meaningless bill passed by the Senate.

By not accepting this bill passed by the Senate, you have not only strengthened the Republican Party, you have also rendered a service to this Nation before God and men of Christian morals all over the world.

We are not an immatured people, as the United States Senate seems to think we are when it comes to dealing with human rights. We will use whatever voting rights we have now at present until God helps us to elect men with courage enough to stand firm and fearless of any immorality when it comes to dealing with human rights. Only then will our country be respected as a leader of freedom loving people.

God created men to love and to seek freedom. The leaders of your party realized this truth under Lincoln, and I'm happy to see you and others of the GOP still have courage enough to stand on these principles today.

You have nothing to fear from your stand by not accepting this meaningless bill passed by the Senate. I can cite cases where a jury would not convict admitted criminals. To name a few: Emmett Till, Willie Earl, the case in South Carolina where a music teacher was beaten by men of the Ku Klux Klan, and many others including my own county, Bladen.

I would be glad if I could be of some service of maintaining the principles of men such as you and those with courage to stand up and be counted for human rights.

You have my permission to use this letter in any way to help the cause of freedom.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. JAMES C. BELLAMY,
President, Bladen County Branch of NAACP.

DANVILLE, VA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.:

Rights of unborn generations of American Negroes depend on your unqualified support of an effective civil-rights bill. We want an effective bill or no bill.

Attorney RUTH L. HARVEY,
President, Danville Council, National Council of Negro Women.

DANVILLE, VA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

We favor the civil-rights bill as passed by the House and we urge you to push for passage of the House version.

J. L. WILLIAMS,
President, Danville Chapter of Dominion Bar Association.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Please hold out for a meaningful civil-rights bill; the version passed by the Senate is too weak.

L. J. WILLIE.

DURHAM, N. C.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MARTIN: The civil-rights bill in its present form, as I see it, is not acceptable with the jury-trial amendment. I hope that you will use your influence to either defeat or amend the bill in its present form.

LOCAL UNION 204, TWSU,
A. J. STANLEY, Sr., *President.*

ATLANTA, GA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

It is vitally necessary for the protection of the right to vote of thousands of disfranchised citizens of Georgia and other Southern States that the United States Congress pass the strongest civil-rights bill possible. The majority of these citizens feel and know that the Senate version of this bill is inadequate to provide this protection.

W. J. SHAW.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

The officers and members of Quinn Chapel, the oldest church established by Negro Americans in Chicago, urge you to insist upon a strong civil-rights bill as proposed by President Eisenhower and not accept the weakened version fashioned in the Senate by the opponents of fair play.

ARCHIBALD J. CASEY, Jr., *Minister.*

ATLANTA, GA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

A stronger version of the Senate's rights bill is the only thing that will guarantee our full freedom. Don't fail us.

WILLIAM FOWLKES,
Managing Editor of the Atlanta Daily World.

DURHAM, N. C.

Hon. JOSEPH MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

I am gravely concerned and hoping that you will put forth every effort to secure the passage of an effective civil-rights bill.

Rev. R. L. SPEAKS,
Pastor St. Marke AME Zion Church.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the Eisenhower Colored Republican Club, are very grateful to you Republicans for your fight for full freedom for everybody everywhere. We urge that you hold out for an all-but-nothing civil-rights bill.

Dr. G. P. PARHAM.

FORT WORTH, TEX.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

We wholeheartedly concur in the stand you are taking in carrying this fight for civil rights where there will be justice and liberty for all citizens of America.

H. H. MONROE,
President.
J. DORSEY ADAMS,
Chairman of the Board, City Wide Voters League.

DURHAM, N. C.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Most Negroes in America are bitterly opposed to a civil-rights bill with a jury-trial amendment. It is our hope that this bill will be passed without such amendment.

WILLIAM A. CLEMENT.

BALTIMORE, MD.

Representative JOSEPH MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Afro-American newspapers urge you to stand firmly for House civil-rights bill without the crippling Senate amendments.

CARL MURPHY,
President.

FORT WORTH, TEX.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
House Republican Leader,
Washington, D. C.:

We appreciate so very much the firm stand you are taking as relates to the civil-rights bill. It is because of your kind of leadership thinking that we as Negroes can feel that you are making a genuine contribution toward the elimination of race discrimination and to the development of democracy and the democratic processes. We hope for a civil-rights bill that assures every citizen equal opportunity and equal justice under the law. We are depending on you to continue contending for the faith that was delivered to the saints.

Dr. GEORGE D. FLEMMINGS,
National President, Phi Delta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.

DANVILLE, VA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.:

The rights of the American Negro will not be protected by the Senate version of the civil-rights bill.

The opinion of a representative group of Negroes with whom I am associated indicates a desire for a strong civil-rights bill or no bill at all. We humbly urge you to zealously support a strong and effective civil-rights bill.

Attorney HARRY I. WOOD,
President of the General Alumnae Association of Howard University.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
The Capitol:

Every one of more than 50 responsible Negroes with whom I have talked within the last 3 days and most of whom are NAACP members oppose civil-rights bill with jury-trial amendment.

A. T. 3PAULDING.

DURHAM, N. C.

RICHMOND, VA.

Hon. JOSEPH MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:

A civil rights bill without teeth will not help the Negro. Use all of your influence to get a good bill.

RICHMOND BRANCH NAACP.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.
Washington, D. C.:

No civil-rights bill at all is preferable to the Senate's watered down jury trial one.

Rev. J. C. PERRY.

HOUSTON, TEX.

Hon. JOSEPH MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:
The civil-rights bill in its present for is not acceptable to my race. Am urging the elimination of the jury-trial amendment in order that the voting rights of Negro citizens may be secured.

HOBART TAYLOR.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.:
Sir: We had rather have no bill at all if there is a jury trial.
Respectfully.

W. M. PARKER.

DANVILLE, VA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.:
Give us strong civil-rights bill or no bill at all.

Dr. C. C. HARVEY,
Member, Trustee Board, Virginia Theological Seminary and College; Pastor of Whiteoak Grove Baptist Church; Cross Roads Baptist Church; Jeters Chapel Baptist Church; Owens Grove Baptist Church; Sunflower Baptist Church.

ATLANTA, GA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:
Senate version civil rights unsatisfactory. Urge passage strongest possible measure.

J. H. CALHOUN,
President, Atlanta Branch, NAACP.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.:
Our experience here in the South tells us that the Senate jury trials amendment would not guarantee voting rights. The jury trial amendment gives us the same results as no bill at all.

FRANK HUNTER,
Public Relations Director, Abraham Lincoln Republican Club,

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Washington, D. C.:
As members of the George H. White Bar Association, composed of Negro attorneys, we are strongly opposed to a civil-rights bill with the jury-trial amendment. We solicit your strong support to the bill proposed by the President.

M. HUGH THOMPSON,
President, George H. White Bar Association.

BRIGHT HOPE BAPTIST CHURCH,
Philadelphia, Pa., August 14, 1957.

Hon. JOSEPH MARTIN,
House of Representatives, United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MARTIN: Permit me to assure you that Negro Americans are mindful of the interest you have shown in trying to obtain congressional action on an effective civil-rights bill. It is therefore regrettable that the bill which is now pending has been so altered as to render it relatively inconsequential in solving the real problem of guaranteeing voting rights to southern Negroes.

It is an obvious fact that in many southern communities, Negroes have not obtained justice in the trial courts before local juries on simple and clear-cut issues of law; and it is therefore unrealistic to believe that the bill as it now stands will correct the existing customs which have led to the disfranchisement of thousands of Negro citizens.

For this reason we urge you to insist upon the elimination of the jury-trial amendment inclusive of voting rights, or forgo at this time, passage of any civil-rights bill in the hope and prayers that a climate of open-mindedness and fair play will come into existence to enable passage of a useful and effective bill in some future congressional session.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM H. GRAY, Jr.

A Sad View of the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "A Sad View of the World," which appeared in the August 16, 1957, issue of the Wall Street Journal of New York, N. Y.

The editorial is as follows:

A SAD VIEW OF THE WORLD

One does not ordinarily expect Presidents to talk of extraordinary sessions of Congress except to meet grave situations. And what is it that has provoked President Eisenhower into hinting at a special session this fall?

The provocation is Congress' action on the mutual security program. The President asked for an authorization to spend another $3.9 billion for aid to other countries. The Congress authorized $3.4 billion and it may appropriate less. This difference caused the President to call an impromptu press conference and warn that he may have to call Congress back.

Mr. Eisenhower offered the really prayerful hope that $3.4 billion would be enough, but there is no disguising the fact that the effects of the $500 million cut will be serious. Reductions in foreign aid, he said, may put the interests of the United States in real jeopardy. Then he would have no recourse but a special session.

Now this is grave talk indeed. It is the kind of talk that would certainly be appropriate if an irresponsible Congress had left the Government without funds for our Armed Forces; in view of the President's opinion about foreign aid, it might have been expected from him if Congress had suddenly abolished the whole program.

But this is not what happened. Three billion dollars, and more, is not small sum. And Mr. Eisenhower is not merely arguing that more would be better. He is saying that even a few millions less can be a life-and-death matter for our national interests, a question of such great urgency that it may not wait between August and January.

It is almost impossible to find this credible.

But if the President is right, if somehow that is actually the case, then it seems to us he has raised far graver questions than whether foreign aid should be $3.4 billion or $3.9 billion or some other sum.

Consider: In World War II the United States had to support its allies to the extent of something like $50 billion, over and above the billions spent on our own forces. Since World War II we have levied upon ourselves to the extent of some $60 billion—the exact figure is lost in a welter of budget categories—to give aid to other non-Communist nations.

This post-war money has gone not only to help these countries repair war-torn areas and to give them guns against a next war. It has gone also to bolster their currencies, irrigate their farms, develop their resources, and thus make them economically strong so they can be dependable members of the alliance against communism.

Yet the inescapable implication in the President's grave view of the situation is that in all of this we have not improved our position a whit. What he now says about the urgency for foreign aid is hardly altered from what President Truman said when pleading for a temporary foreign-aid program in 1947, a full 10 years ago.

This is indeed a sad view of the world. For the inescapable conclusion must be that all our treasure has bought practically nothing of value. If after all those billions our friends and allies are still so weak, or so undetermined, that they will collapse for want of some $500 million then the platform we have built is too flimsy to stand on at all. If the President is right, then the thing to question is not the $500 million but the whole thing.

Fortunately for our own peace of mind, we do not really believe all that is so dire; the tail-end of congressional sessions is the season for political arguments to become ultimatums. But if the world is in so sad a shape as Mr. Eisenhower says, then a few hundred millions more of foreign aid offer no remedy.

Academy Graduates Should Serve Longer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it has long been my contention that after the Government invests a considerable amount in the education of a young man in one of the Military Academies the individual should be required to serve a longer period on active than is now the case.

I am having legislation drafted which would require that graduates of the Military, Naval, and Air Force Academies must serve a minimum of 10 years on active duty, and I plan to introduce such a bill at an early date. It seems to me that this is a reasonable requirement, and I hope the legislation will be given favorable consideration during the 2d session of the 85th Congress next year.

A 10-year active-duty requirement is suggested in an editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the Waterloo, Iowa, Daily Courier, and I am pleased to include the editorial as part of my remarks:

It costs the taxpayers $37,756 to put a single cadet through the 4 years of training at the West Point Military Academy. This specialized education, while naturally slanted toward military applications of knowledge, is the equivalent of a good college education and West Point graduates can usually find excellent jobs after their term of service is ended.

This term of military service after graduation from West Point is only 3 years. Forty-eight of the 446 men who graduated in 1954 have already resigned. Some 20 percent of the class of 1952 has resigned.

Higher education for all students is subsidized to some extent—through State support or endowments. Millions of veterans

have received help through the GI Bill of Rights.

But surely the graduates of the three service academies are receiving the highest per capita subsidy and should, in return, be required to remain in the service longer than 3 or 4 years. The Government is not justified in investing large sums in the education of young men in these service academies unless it gets some guaranty of longer service on active duty. Surely a minimum requirement of at least 10 years should be imposed.

The 18th and 19th of a Series of Editorials by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, following are the 18th and 19th of a series of editorial letters by Mr. F. F. McNaughton, commenting on his recent trip to Russia, which are appearing in the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of of August 10, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By F. F. McNaughton)

Do we teach Russian?

No.

But they teach English.

They have 41,000 teachers in Russia who teach English.

My guess is that they are exclusively English teachers.

Also, the children are required to learn English.

For a while, children had to study English from their first day at school. (They start school at 7).

But now they have changed it and do not start teaching English to the children until they are 10.

Of course more adult students may (perhaps many must) study other languages, too.

Why?

Because Russia wants her people equipped to make friends with and deal with the world.

Russia invites and entertains many guests. All important Indians, Burmese, Celonese; and many important Chinese and Arabs speak English.

Besides, important technical books are nearly all translated (from whatever tongue written) into English. The Russians don't aim to miss any technical information from how to control potato bugs to how to buy a hydrogen bomb.

But when I see Russians by the millions studying different languages from their own, I think most of the one billion people on this earth who have not yet joined either the Russian side or our side.

They aim to get them.

Then us.

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of August 12, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By F. F. McNaughton)

"Who gets this apartment?"

The Russians were showing us through a new apartment building near the University. We came to an apartment that would have a kitchen and bathroom of its own.

(Nearly all families live in a room or two and share a kitchen and bathroom and toilet with other families.)

"Who gets this?" I asked.

The answer was: "The state decides."

That is typical of the situation which the average man of the free world, whether he be French, Dane, Arab, Scot, Indians, German, or American, finds hard to take.

It's the same with jobs.

There is only one boss.

It is the state.

Imagine living where you could not get mad at your landlord and move because there is only one landlord.

And if you get in a huff at your boss, well—there's only one boss.

And that same landlord and boss tells you what you should read and keeps from you what they forbid you to know.

And that same landlord and boss aims to control your thinking!

Of course the Russians might reply:

(1) Having only one landlord isn't so bad if he charges you only $2 a month rent.

(2) Having only one boss isn't so bad, if you know he will always have a job for you.

But how can the Russians justify trying to compel one to think in only one way?

Reclamation and Water Conservation as National Policy Boosted by President Eisenhower in Signing San Angelo, Tex., Reclamation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, by signing the San Angelo, Tex., reclamation project bill on last Friday, President Eisenhower further confirmed his support of reclamation and water conservation as a national policy. The action of the Congress in passing this bill and the action of the President in approving it will be acclaimed by all true friends of reclamation, particularly in the west and southwest where the value of water and its conservation is so universally recognized and appreciated.

This project, highly recommended and justified by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Secretary of the Interior, is one of the sounder reclamation projects that has been considered by the Congress in recent years. Its benefit-cost ratio is more than 2 to 1. The proportion of cost chargeable to municipal and industrial uses is only 20 percent—every penny of which is reimbursable to the Government, with interest. There have been very few reclamation projects before the Congress in recent years where such a small proportion of the cost was attributable to municipal uses. This proportion in most of the reclamation projects runs up as high as 40 to 75 percent.

One of the pressing domestic demands in this country today is a more widely recognized need for water conservation, which goes hand-in-hand with soil conservation. To meet the minimum requirements for normal progress we must store and conserve floodwaters and convert such water to the use of man. That sort of planning is needed everywhere, on every stream and river in America where storage dams are economically feasible. To ignore that need and its importance is to gamble with our future and to stymie progress on the homefront, and to practice false economy.

So long as the Congress supports projects of this nature that are engineeringly sound and economically feasible, reclamation as a national policy will continue to command and deserve public support. The Congress in approving the San Angelo project has given support to that principle. The President in signing the bill has demonstrated his friendship for sound and feasible water conservation policies. The passage and approval of this bill is deeply appreciated by the people in the immediate area of the project, as well as by the people of Texas and of the great Southwest.

Some Things You Cannot Buy Even in a Big City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial written by Carlton Morris:

SOME THINGS YOU CANNOT BUY EVEN IN A BIG CITY

(By Carlton Morris)

GATESVILLE.—People in the cities have a lot of trouble understanding why other people live in small towns and rural communities. Perhaps we who live quietly beside the road could tell them our reasons.

Perhaps we would say that we love peace and quiet and country things best of all and of course we would be right as to our reasons. But I think that we live in small towns and communities because we can know our neighbors by first name and feel free to drop around to pass the time of day when we please.

We like to know all about our neighbors in small communities. We know when the baby is sick and when he is well. We know who is getting married and who should get married. We know whose husband is running around and we know whose wife he is running around with, for all things are revealed in small communities.

We don't particularly like our neighbors in these small communities unless their views, religion, and politics are the same as our own. We don't especially like to see them get ahead and very seldom do they act with knowledge and forethought and very seldom do they consult us about their problems, even when we are better equipped to handle their problems than they are to handle anything.

We don't like the way they build their homes. If they decide to repair, we almost invariably feel that they would have done better to build anew. And when they build, we often feel that they are going too deep in debt and should have made out with the old home.

We don't care for a man or woman who drinks too much and we can't abide the prude who refuses to touch the stuff.

On any issue, no matter how simple, we

find it necessary to take side one way or the other.

We have a deep and abiding interest in our schools in small communities. Or at least we say we do, but strangely enough we can never find the time to help out with them in any form or fashion. But we know all about them and how they should be operated, even better than the teachers. We do not hesitate to tell one and all about our knowledge in this matter.

In our churches we condemn sin in any form except the private little pet sins that we like of our own. These are not so bad to begin with and actually harm no one. But we do condemn it among the neighbors for we want our little communities to be good places to live.

We are not particularly interested in the rest of the world in our little communities for if we succeed in keeping our own little world on the straight and narrow, we will have done enough.

Viewed from the outside, it would seem that we are maybe a little narrow in our viewpoint and that we tend to grow inward rather than expanding outward, and as everyone knows, this is not good.

Comes a time though when a small community is the best place on God's green earth. Just let one of the neighbors really need help. Financial aid or a loss by fire or a death in the family or bad sickness or any one of a dozen things. Then friend and foe turn out and help him in every way possible. At a time like that friend and foe alike stop by to place a hand on his shoulder to let him know they are with him all the way. And that is the way of small communities.

And you can't even buy such in a city.

German Assets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter to the editor of the New York Herald Tribune, which appeared in that paper on August 18, 1957:

GERMAN ASSETS—READER QUERIES REVERSAL OF UNITED STATES POLICY

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE:

Unless prompt action is taken, pro-German lobbyists in Washington will be celebrating a resounding victory. After World War I Germany promised to pay the war claims of American citizens, and the United States returned confiscated enemy property, Germany defaulted.

After World War II, America, Great Britain, and 16 other Allied nation signed the Paris Reparation Agreement (1946). They agreed to retain sequestered enemy assets in lieu of reparations, and specifically undertook not to return them to German ownership or control. In 1948 Congress gave added recognition to this agreement in the War Claims Act, declaring that German and Japanese assets would not be returned, nor former owners compensated. In 1952, Federal Germany agreed in the Bonn convention that the sequestered assets should be retained by the victors as their only reparation.

Yet now, while hundreds and thousands of those who suffered under Nazi persecution still await their promised compensation, Washington proposes measures for an equitable monetary return of confiscated German assets. This would be very gratifying to some of the German vested interests who strongly supported the Nazi regime—until it fell; and realizing the inherent dangers, the peoples of America and her allies have every right to know just what is behind so extraordinary a reversal of policy.

L. M. HOPKINS.

DEVIZES, ENGLAND, August 15, 1957.

Plan Expands Use of Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the attached article from the New York Times of August 4 reflects a recognition, at least in part, of the growing need for improvement of the Panama Canal. Without in any way detracting from the wisdom of judgment exercised in proposing these improvements, it is noted that they are merely symptomatic treatment of a basic ill.

The Congress should not be lulled into complacency by anything less than a comprehensive study of the various recommendations which are now before it. These include proposals for long-range structural changes, alteration of alinement, serious diplomatic considerations and various others. For a long time I have advocated the appointment of a nonpartisan, entirely unbiased, and completely competent commission to weigh the data at hand and to recommend to the Congress the long-range program. This move has been opposed by various executive departments for reasons which they consider to be sufficient. In any event, they have forestalled the passage of the enabling legislation.

I now note with great interest and satisfaction that the chairman of the Merchant Marine Committee, the Honorable HERBERT C. BONNER, of North Carolina, proposes to appoint a commission of a similar nature but with fewer members to study the situation and to report its findings to the committee. Knowing Mr. BONNER as I do and have through many years I am confident that his choice of members of the commission will be wise and that the resulting report will in all probability lead the way to an early solution of the Panama Canal problems.

[The New York Times, Sunday, August 4, 1957]

PLAN EXPANDS USE OF PANAMA CANAL—WIDENINGS AND ADDITIONAL LIGHTING WOULD PUT SAFE TRANSIT ON 24-HOUR BASIS

BALBOA, C. Z., August 3.—A short-range plan for improvements to increase the dependable transit capacity of the Panama Canal by about 25 percent has been approved by the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company.

The plan, which is designed to meet world shipping requirements for the next 10 to 20 years, will be submitted to the Bureau of the Budget and to the appropriate congressional committees. Its estimated cost is $18,956,000.

Five major improvements are proposed but the cost of one of these is already budgeted. This phase of the program is the purchase of five additional towing locomotives.

One of the four phases of the program for which approval is sought is the lighting of Gaillard Cut and improved lighting of locks for safer night operation.

Another phase of the plan contemplates mooring facilities for two large ships just north of the Pedro Miguel locks. The aim is to facilitate the dispatching of ships through these locks and the narrow reaches of Gaillard Cut.

PROJECTED WIDENINGS

A further phase of the plan is the widening of the Paraiso and Cucaracha reaches of the Gaillard Cut to 500 feet, plus the deepening of the widened reaches by 5 feet.

The other phase is the widening of Bend 1,660.

The sections of the channel marked for widening have had many ship accidents. The Paraiso and Cucaracha reaches are considered particularly hazardous because of their narrow rocky banks and because surges of water from the Pedro Miguel lockages make ships sheer unexpectedly.

The widening of Bend 1,660 is deemed urgent. The Bend 1,660 record for bank-strikings and collisions is the worst of any part of the canal. The channel changes direction by over 37° at this point, making heavy bulk carriers difficult to maneuver.

ADVANTAGES OUTLINED

The widenings and added lighting, it is said, would reduce the number of ships requiring daylight transit and the number of those needing "clearout," which means one-way traffic with no passing permitted.

The plan is designed to permit round-the-clock operations under safe conditions. The waterway is now on a basis of about 16 hours.

Canal transits during the overhaul period would drop to an estimated minimum of 28 from the present normal of 35 in 24 hours. The increase under the plan would be to about 45 normal.

The improvements would result in an average saving of about 3 hours for ships in waiting and transit time.

The savings for shipping companies would aggregate about $2 million yearly.

The Small Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "The Small Farm," which appeared in the August 16, 1957, issue of the Herald-News, of Irvington, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

THE SMALL FARM

An official of the Department of Agriculture recently stated that, in his opinion, there were too many farms in the United States. While the official may be right, we dislike accepting such a statement.

We like to believe that in this country there is always room for the free farmer, who wants to till his land and make his life by working the soil. We hesitate to accept the conclusion that farming is only for the big operator, the mass-farmer, so to speak.

We think that America will be a stronger Nation, and a greater one, as long as the individual and his family can farm a small area, living with the soil, keeping in touch with the earth in this fashion. We think that no occupation is nobler than that of farming.

We suspect the trouble with the farmer today and the farm situation in the United States is that the farmer does not get an adequate share of the income and profits from his products. We think the Agriculture Department would do well to concentrate its efforts in this direction, rather than in the negative field, by concluding that we have too many farms.

Actually, the one-family farm can operate relatively cheaply today—with a few mechanized vehicles—because much of the labor is performed by the family itself, in the tradition of the farm, and therefore labor costs are kept down to a minimum.

If the farmer were getting his fair share of the income and profits derived from farm products, there would always be room in this country for the one-family farm. We hope there always will be.

The American Red Cross and Hurricane Audrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. A. THOMPSON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to read into the records of the Congress of the United States an expression of praise and respect for the wonderful and outstanding work of the American Red Cross during Hurricane Audrey as well as for the thorough understanding and tireless manner in which their personnel are accomplishing the monumental task of rehabilitating the entire Parish of Cameron in addition to other areas in Jefferson Davis, St. Landry, Vermilion, a total of 21 parishes and 4 counties in Texas.

During and immediately after the hurricane struck and in the early emergency stages of the disaster, the local Calcasieu-Cameron Chapter of the American Red Cross, guided and assisted by National Red Cross personnel, opened some 18 shelters in Lake Charles and Sulphur and others throughout southwest Louisiana to care for the 26,000 or more people who left their homes seeking safety or whose homes were destroyed by the winds and tides of the hurricane. This emergency period of some 3 or 4 days duration cost the Red Cross some $374,481.

The emergency is by no means over in Cameron Parish to this day for despite the 1,108 grants made from among the requests for assistance filed in Cameron alone, there is still no store open in Cameron Parish, no restaurant or cafe, no place where a person may purchase food or clothing. Much used clothing is available through Red Cross and Salvation Army. Electric power is not yet restored although crews are working long hours erecting poles and stringing power lines. Without electric power, there are no lights, refrigeration, no way of lifting water or power to operate workmen's tools.

You may wonder why after 7 weeks this condition exists. To truly know the answer, you would have to visit Cameron Parish and see the total devastation of an entire Parish, an area some 50 miles long by 30 miles wide. The only place where a worker can get a hot meal in the entire parish is at 1 of the 3 Red Cross kitchens. These kitchens are staffed by military personnel of the Army and Air Force and are housed in tents supplied by the military and who have performed a great job in support of the Red Cross during the rehabilitation phase of this operation. Mass care of returning residents, working to clean up and rebuild their property, workers clearing roads, workers rebuilding houses and other personnel in the area has already amounted to $85,059 in costs to the American Red Cross and the job is far from over—already over 100,000 meals have been served.

Outright gifts in the amount of $1,036,105 have been made to some 3,137 families who suffered losses as a result of the hurricane. There were many, many more families affected by the hurricane, but who however, due to their financial position or resources made no request to the Red Cross for assistance. The Red Cross, serving as the Nation's official disaster relief agency under its Congressional charter, in carrying out its traditional but less publicized rehabilitation assistance phase of Red Cross disaster operations which it gets underway as soon as possible after the emergency period of a disaster, plans with the individual family for the family's recovery, when the family asks Red Cross for such assistance. The Red Cross does not replace loss, but does provide the funds necessary to meet a family's disaster-caused need which the family is unable to meet through its own resources without undue hardship. The Red Cross gives this assistance as an outright gift in behalf of the American people who provide the funds which are channeled through the Red Cross to do this wonderful job. I strongly recommend that each of you become more familiar with the work of our American Red Cross in disasters. I think that all of you would have a new conception, a real understanding of what the phrase "neighbor helping neighbor" means and why it is so symbolic of our Red Cross.

To date, the American Red Cross has spent or awarded in gifts, a total of practically $1½ million in the wake of Audrey and the entire operation will probably run an additional million dollars.

I would be remiss if I did not praise the unusual and outstanding work of the Red Cross personnel. Unusual because, in a great number of cases, these families spoke French rather than the English language. Outstanding because of the understanding way in which the Red Cross workers helped families establish the required facts; their former assets, their present resources, and their basic needs. Using these developed facts, trained Red Cross technicians made recommendations to the advisory committee, composed of local business and civic leaders of the affected areas. These advisory committees, using their personal knowledge of the families and situation combined with Red Cross recommendation settled the case. Needless to say, due to the thoroughness of the Red Cross workers' development of the case and trained ability to arrive at an equitable and fair amount as an award, their suggested award was followed in 99 percent of the cases presented, and while Red Cross personnel will be still engaged in planning with the disaster stricken families in Louisiana for their rehabilitation, in the manner I have spoken of, for possibly weeks after this body adjourns, it has been my earnest desire to recognize and commend to you for the current record the work of the Red Cross to date and for what it will continue to do until every disaster sufferer who has requested Red Cross assistance has his claim carefully considered. The people of my State can never forget what it has meant to have the help of the rest of the Nation channeled to the individual families through our American Red Cross.

Amendment Misused

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention of the membership to a most timely and pertinent observation concerning the use and misuse of the privileges granted under the fifth amendment which appeared as an editorial in the Kentucky Advocate, Danville, Ky.

It behooves me to suggest to the membership that it is truly food for thought for all of us.

AMENDMENT MISUSED

We know that our forefathers, in framing the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights, did not intend that the fifth amendment be used as an escape hatch for racketeers. It never entered their minds that Senate probe committees would be faced with the dilemma of having a witness go as far as to invoke the amendment as an excuse not to answer such simple questions as "What is your name?" and "Do you know your father's name?" Our racketeers are a smart bunch of cookies with all their thoughts and energies directed toward graft, violence, embezzlement, and other tactics that produce money and power for them in an illegal manner. We would be the last to advocate the depriving of a man of his rights as a citizen, but by the same token all citizens deserve protection and it is hard for us to see where a majority of our citizens are getting full protection from gutter rats when such characters are allowed to invoke the fifth amendment in a farcical manner. Take a look at the sneer on the face of racketeer Johnny Dio in the papers and really get sick with frustration.

Dedicated Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story and an editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of August 15, 1957, as well as an editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of August 16, 1957, on the changes which took place last week at College Misericordia, located at Dallas, Pa.:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of August 15, 1957]

SISTER CELESTINE NEW MISERICORDIA HEAD—THREE KEY EDUCATIONAL POSTS ARE FILLED BY SISTERS OF MERCY

The board of trustees of College Misericordia, Dallas, announced today the appointment of Sister Mary Celestine McHale, R. S. M., as president of College Misericordia, and Sister Marianna Gildea, R. S. M., as dean. At the same time, Sister Mary Annunciata Merrick, R. S. M., former dean, was appointed by Mother Mary de Lourdes, Mother Provincial, as community supervisor of schools conducted by the Sisters of Mercy in the Diocese of Scranton. The three sisters are prominently known as leading educators throughout the State.

Sister Mary Celestine assumes the important duties of the administration of College Misericordia just 1 month after completing a 6-year period as Mother Provincial of the Sisters of Mercy of the Province of Scranton. She brings to her new office educational and administrative qualities, as well as wide experience as teacher, principal, and supervisor in all fields of education.

TAUGHT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A native of Wilkes-Barre, Sister Mary Celestine taught in the public schools before entering religion. She received the bachelor of arts degree from College Misericordia, the master of arts degree from Villanova, and the doctor of philosophy degree from Fordham University. She was professor in the department of education at College Misericordia, and had been principal at St. John's, Holy Savior, and St. Mary's, Wilkes-Barre, and St. Vincent's, Plymouth. Sister Celestine also served as community supervisor of schools. As mother provincial she directed the educational activities of the Sisters of Mercy in the Scranton Province, an area encompassing Pennsylvania, Long Island, N. Y., and British Guiana, South America.

The office of president of College Misericordia has previously been ex officio. In making the new appointment, the board of trustees spoke of the need of an active administrator, due to the increased pressure of duties caused by the continual expansion of the college in enrollment, facilities, and curriculums.

STUDIED IN EUROPE

Sister Marianna, newly appointed dean of College Misericordia, returned August 12 from a year of study in Europe, where she attended Regina Mundi, the theological institute for religion in Rome. After completing the course of studies there, she enrolled in the Institute Catholique in Paris, for further study. A native of Luzerne, Sister Marianna has been associated with College Misericordia since its doors opened. She was a member of the second graduation class in 1928, and then returned as a faculty member in 1934, in the departments of Romance languages and education. She was away from the campus for a brief period of teaching at Sacred Heart School, Plains, and for the years of study necessary for higher degrees. Sister Marianna received the master of arts degree and the doctor of philosophy degree from the Catholic University of America, where she majored in the Romance languages. As a member of the faculty of College Misericordia for 20 years, Sister Marianna is also the author of the book, "Living the Little Office."

HELPED DEVELOP COLLEGE

As community supervisor of schools, Sister Mary Annunciata will represent the Mother Provincial in the elementary and secondary schools conducted by the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese of Scranton. As dean of College Misericordia for 12 years, Sister Annunciata did much to bring about growth of the institution. The elementary and nursing education departments were State-accredited, other departments were expanded and enlarged, and four new buildings were added to the campus facilities.

Sister Annunciata was secondary school principal over a period of 12 years in the commercial department, and in the high school of St. Mary's, Wilkes-Barre. While at St. Mary's she taught in the College Misericordia extension division. In 1936 she was professor of political science and sociology, teaching fulltime on the campus and in the extension division. She was appointed dean in 1945. Sister received the bachelor of arts degree from the Catholic University of America, the master of arts degree and the doctor of philosophy degree from Notre Dame University. A native of Avoca, she is a niece of the late Msgr. Rev. John J. Curran.

The office of community supervisor is at St. Mary's Convent, Wilkes-Barre, where Sister Annunciata will reside. She is succeeding Sister Mary Colette Rafter, a member of the Provincial Council, who has been appointed superior of College Misericordia.

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of August 15, 1957]

MISERICORDIA CHANGES

Appointment of Sister Mary Celestine McHale, R. S. M., as president of College Misericordia, Sister Marianna Gildea, R. S. M., as dean and Sister Mary Annunciata Merrick, R. S. M., as community supervisor of schools in the diocese of Scranton is stimulating news not only for the religious order with which they are identified, but for the community as a whole. In their new roles, they will continue to serve the public in key educational and administrative posts.

Sister Mary Celetsine, a native of Wilkes-Barre and a doctor of philosophy, recently completed a tour of duty as provincial. A public-school teacher in this city at the time she entered the novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy, she subsequently served as a teacher, principal, supervisor, and provincial councilor. She brings to the presidency of Misericordia a broad experience as an educator and executive, eminently qualifying her to carry on the program of expansion, now in progress.

Sister Marianna Gildea, the new dean at the college, is a native of Luzerne and also a doctor of philosophy. She recently returned from a year of advanced study and post-doctoral research in Rome and Paris. A Misericordia graduate and faculty member for 2 decades, she will be at home in the new capacity in which she has been called to serve. By coincidence, she, too, was a public-school teacher before entering the novitiate. She is regarded as an outstanding scholar as well as an author of distinction. Her appointment is not at all surprising to those who are familiar with her attainments and career.

Sister Mary Annunciata, the retiring dean of College Misericordia, who comes to Wilkes-Barre as community supervisor of schools, hails from Avoca. She is a niece of the late Msgr. J. J. Curran and also holds a doctorate in philosophy. She has carried on the family tradition of intense interest in political and social needs of the community. As dean, she displayed immense energy, tireless devotion to duty, a brilliant mind, and administrative ability. Having dealt with the educational problems of so many teachers in training, she is well aware of the challenges facing the elementary and secondary teachers today and fitted to cope with them.

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Record of August 16, 1957]

DEDICATED WOMEN

Carrying on its policy of providing the community with the most experienced personnel, the Religious Sisters of Mercy announced the appointment yesterday of three of its outstanding sisters to key positions in the educational circles of this community.

Sister M. Annunciata, R. S. M., former dean of College Misericordia, will assume her new duties as community supervisor of schools conducted by the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese of Scranton. Sister's vast experience as a teacher and administrator provides her with a wealth of background for her new role.

During her 12-year tenure as dean of College Misericordia, vast changes appeared both physically and academically on the Dallas campus. New buildings—four in number—have been added in the past decade to the beautiful campus. New courses such as nursing and elementary education found their way in the curriculum under her guidance. The number of students has almost doubled during her service.

Now, once again she will serve in the vital role of administrating and guiding education of the young—in the very important and formative stage. Sister M. Annunciati, like her beloved uncle, the late Msgr. John J. Curran, has given her life to the welfare and education of the young of this community and her influence finds its way into the four corners of the universe. She will serve in her important new role with the same dignity and unselfish interest that is part of the dedication of the Sisters of Mercy.

Assuming her new role as dean of College Misericordia, Sister Marianna, R. S. M., is beautifully prepared. Her formal education plus the addition of advanced training provides her with the qualities that personify the dedication of the Sisters of Mercy. An alumnus of College Misericordia, a faculty member for 22 years and a student and scholar, Sister Marianna will carry on in the true tradition of those unselfish women whose life is one of study, good works, understanding, and leadership.

The third appointment, Sister M. Celestine, R. S. M., former provincial of the Sisters of Mercy, to the important role of president of College Misericordia, once again signifies that the gallant women who have built a college for women in little more than a quarter of a century, will continue to expand and improve with every year that follows.

Mutual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress will, I am sure, be interested in having the observations of

one of my constituents who has recently returned from Europe, and who strongly advocates support of the mutual security program as proposed by the President. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a telegram I have from Howard Frank of Oskaloosa, Iowa:

OSKALOOSA, IOWA, *August 16, 1957.*

KARL M. LECOMPTE,
Representative, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Urge your wholehearted support of Eisenhower foreign-aid program. Six weeks in Europe this summer made me realize we either compete against Russia or pullout. The Germans greatly fear we may back out and turn it over to Russia. I do not like the taxes, but it is a far better deal than loss of position.

HOWARD FRANK.

United States International Air Transport Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have on several occasions in the past joined with other of my colleagues in calling upon the Department of State to take a firm stand in the protection and promotion of American interest in international aviation.

One of the items which we have discussed has been the failure to secure the extension of the route of an American carrier from Frankfurt to Zurich. This flight is but 178 miles. However, it is a very important link in a route that makes economically feasible an international flight. I have had further correspondence with the Department of State on this matter and I, therefore, include in these remarks a letter which I received from the Department of State, dated July 18, 1957, from John S. Hoghland II, Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, together with my reply to Secretary Hoghland on August 9, 1957:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D. C., July 18, 1957.

The Honorable FRANK T. BOW,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BOW: Reference is made to your letter of June 14, 1957, in which you expressed interest in the extension to Zurich and beyond of Trans World Airlines' present route to Frankfurt via London. Your speech and extension of remarks on this matter, and on United States international air transport policy in general, have received thorough consideration. Your courtesy in forwarding the texts of your remarks on these subjects is appreciated. In view of your expressed interest, the following detailed comments have been prepared for your further consideration of the issues in question.

Your views as to the importance of TWA's Frankfurt-Zurich extension are fully shared by the Department. Since the carrier's amended certificate was approved by the President in 1952, the acquisition of additional traffic rights from foreign governments, where required, has been a primary objective of United States foreign relations in the air transport field. In some countries the additional traffic rights in question could be obtained only by the grant of additional traffic rights in the United States. For example, the fact, mentioned in your speech, that the German Government does not object to the service, is due to the fact that the traffic rights desired by the United States have been obtained from the German Government in exchange for the grant of traffic rights of equal value for the German airline. Incidentally, the grant to Germany of traffic rights necessary for this purpose was strenuously opposed by certain United States airlines which either had no interest in the extension of TWA's route beyond Frankfurt or which activity opposed such extension for competitive reasons.

It is true that the British Government thus far has refused to grant additional traffic rights in the United Kingdom for TWA operations over the proposed route beyond Frankfurt. Within the last 16 months, this Government has pressed its request during each of 3 formal meetings with representatives of the British Government and has actively pursued the matter through diplomatic channels. It should be emphasized that TWA already is exercising unrestricted rights to carry traffic between New York and London and between London and Frankfurt. These rights would not be affected by the extension of the airline's route beyond Frankfurt. Moreover, the British are interposing no objections to the extension as such. They have not agreed however, to permit TWA to carry traffic between London and points in countries beyond Frankfurt. The British Government takes the position that airlines of Great Britain and the foreign countries involved have primary claim to traffic between their countries; that competitive United States-flag carrier services between such points would have a serious adverse effect on British carriers; and that Great Britain has at present no reciprocal route desires of the United States which would equal in value the additional rights desired by this Government for TWA. The Department remains determined to pursue this matter to a satisfactory conclusion. However, in view of the adamant position of the British Government and the opposition of most United States airlines to the grant of additional traffic rights to British airlines, it is not possible to estimate when this issue may be resolved. In the meantime, of course, the decision to delay the establishment of service beyond Frankfurt in the exercise of the traffic rights already negotiated by this Government rests solely with TWA.

With respect to the portion of your speech which expressed concern lest the Government was abandoning the basic principles upon which its international air transport policy has been based since 1946, the Department takes this opportunity to assure you without qualification that the Government's actions have been guided by the desire and the determination to give effect to those principles and to encourage adherence to them on the part of foreign governments. All of the bilateral air transport agreements which this Government has concluded since 1946, with the possible exception of that with India, reflect these principles. The bilateral agreement with India differs in some respects from the other air transport agreements which the United States has negotiated since 1946. This was necessitated by the differing philosophy between the two governments as to the methods through which the orderly development of air transportation might best be achieved and by the unique nature of air transport between the two countries.

With regard to the application of United States international air transport policy to specific route exchanges, the agreement with the Netherlands, which was mentioned in your letter, is one of the most controversial. The Department's position in this matter, and the practical problems which it must face in discharging its responsibilities in the interest of the Nation as a whole, were explained by Mr. Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, in a recent address before the International Management Association. A copy of Mr. Kalijarvi's remarks is enclosed.

The Department appreciates your interest in these matters, and hopes that you will find the foregoing comments and the enclosure useful in your continued consideration of the important issues relating to United States international air transport policy.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. HOAGHLAND II,
Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 9, 1957.*

Mr. JOHN S. HOGHLAND *II,*
Acting Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HOGHLAND: Thank you for your letter of July 18, 1957, commenting on the Department's inability to secure operating rights for Trans World Airlines' route beyond London via Frankfurt.

Your position seems to be that international routes result from trades between governments and that the United States has nothing to offer the British in return for TWA's Frankfurt-Zurich rights. The idea seems to be that we have nothing to trade because we have already given them everything they want.

I understand, moreover, that the United States recently accepted without protest a notice under the United Kingdom bilateral that had the effect of giving the British traffic rights between Tokyo and the United States and that we received nothing in return for this grant. I do not understand why the same procedure cannot be used with respect to TWA's Frankfurt-Zurich rights.

I also understand that there is now in effect an extremely generous interpretation of British rights under the bilateral agreement that extends BOAC's transatlantic route from New York to California. Under that interpretation, BOAC is carrying between California and New York traffic destined for London that is to be carried beyond New York on the lines of another carrier, as well as traffic originating at New York that is destined for points in the Orient on the routes of Qantas. I also understand that BOAC intends to carry across the United States traffic originated in Canada and destined to Honolulu. These appear to be valuable rights arrived at by interpretation in return for which our American carriers again received nothing.

I have been told that BOAC does approximately $25 million worth of business a year on its transatlantic route to and from the United States, and that just the annual rate of increase in this business for the last 6 years far exceeds the revenues that TWA could expect to receive as a result of extending its operations beyond Frankfurt.

The true interest of our Government must be in the practical effect of the route situation on our carriers and on foreign carriers, and I for one am not impressed by the argument that the British are not asking for anything just now.

Second, your letter explains that TWA could start operating the Frankfurt-Zurich traffic today if it did not carry traffic between London and points east of Frankfurt. Surely you must agree that the right to operate in an uneconomic manner and one not contemplated by the CAB award, cannot be regarded as any right at all.

I would appreciate it if you could from time to time keep me advised of progress made by the Department on this route.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK T. BOW,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Reuther's Smokescreen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, since I recently introduced a resolution asking the Congress to join with the President in urging the labor leaders and the business leaders of the Nation to voluntarily cooperate in holding down further wage increases, and further rises in prices in the hope of stopping the present inflation and turning the cost of living index downward, I should like to comment on a statement by Walter Reuther carried in the press yesterday.

It appears that the statement given out by Reuther, asking the automobile industry to reduce the price of their new 1958 line by $100, and giving the impression, in his nebulous statement, that they would give consideration to such reduction when they ask for a new wage contract in 1958, is a rather neat trick to gain the jump on the automobile industry in the hope of gaining public sentiment favorable to him and his union leadership.

Mr. Speaker, the suggestion he makes has the appearances of propaganda—hoping to gain the favor of public sentiment. He will have to be more specific.

Mr. Speaker, if Mr. Reuther is sincere, why did he not make the suggestion 2 or 3 months ago—before the automobile industry got out its new, and doubtless improved, line of cars for 1958? Better than that, why does he not now say to the automobile industry that if you reduce the price of your cars an average of $100 each to the dealers, we will forego wage increase demands, and preserve the status quo of the contracts now in existence, so the public may share in the lower prices for automobiles—thus contributing their part to the reduction of the cost of living.

Mr. Speaker, in this connection, I contacted General Motors Corp. this morning, and find that on $10,910 million annual gross business they averaged about 7¾ percent profits, of which 5¼ percent was paid to over 1 million stockholders in dividends, whose finances make the operation of this gigantic business possible, with jobs for over 1 million people.

Mr. Speaker, the following table will show percentagewise how this gross amount was distributed:

For material and services, 49 percent plus.

For wages, 29 percent.

For all taxes, 10½ percent.

For depreciation and obsolescence, 3¼ percent.

For stockholders, 5¼ percent.

Retained for facilities and working capital only, 2½ percent.

From the above, you will note that out of 7¾ percent net profit, 5¼ percent went for dividends to the stockholders, upon which these stockholders still must pay Federal income taxes, and that the corporation retained for upkeep of facilities, new facilities and working capital only 2½ percent.

Mr. Speaker, we are glad to note that in Mr. Reuther's statement he admits that the constant increase in wages is inflationary; that his organization and the automobile industry should cooperate to hold down manufacturing and retail prices in an effort to stop inflation, and reduce the cost of living.

We hope he will now make a further understandable, factual statement as to just how he will make his contribution to the reduction of the cost of automobiles by foregoing further wage demands and benefits, and preserving the status quo.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress and the public will appreciate the combined efforts of both the automobile industry and labor in making an effort, just and fair to both parties concerned, to stop inflation and lower the cost of motor vehicles.

[From the Journal of Commerce of August 19, 1957]

MR. REUTHER'S SMOKESCREEN

Walter Reuther's invitation to the automotive industry's Big Three to join the United Auto Workers Union in a dramatic antiinflation program shows up the UAW chief at his best and at his worst.

Mr. Reuther's proposal looks quite simple: The automobile makers are to reduce prices on their 1958 models by an average of $100 per car. Against that, the union pledges to "give full consideration to the effect of such reductions on the financial situation of the auto companies" in the drafting of the 1958 union demands and in the collective-bargaining negotiations next year.

The answer to Mr. Reuther's proposal is quite obvious.

Any move honestly designed to alleviate inflationary pressures in the economy is a fine thing and should be encouraged. There is serious doubt in our mind, however, that this plan of Mr. Reuther's was made in good faith. It looks to us like a move designed to build up public sympathy for the UAW rather than an honest attempt to stop the wage-price spiral in the automobile industry.

Mr. Reuther's letter makes a persuasive case against inflation. He admits quite significantly that the members of the UAW—though protected by cost-of-living escalation in their wage contracts—actually have much to lose by inflation because it erodes the purchasing power of their savings, life-insurance payments, and pensions just as other important sectors of the public are victimized by it.

With the flair of a master politician, he berates both management and labor that "self-discipline is the price of freedom and that free management and free labor cannot for long remain free if they abuse their power." Moreover, their responsibility to the public, as he sees it, goes beyond "mere resistance to further price increases in the auto industry."

He wants the automobile industry to take the leadership in a drive toward reversing the inflationary price trend.

The hitch in this plan lies in the fact that he wants a definite commitment from the industry to cut prices when the new models are announced within a matter of weeks, while he fails to match this with any specific concession with respect to wages.

Nobody could expect him to come out with a proposal to cut wage rates, of course. However, he did not even suggest that the union might offer the industry maintenance of the status quo in wages and fringe benefits as reward for the suggested price cuts.

His letter contains a lot of window dressing about setting up a review board in case the 1958 union demands, in the opinion of the industry, would necessitate withdrawal of the suggested price cuts, in full or in part. Actually, Mr. Reuther did not even hint or imply that he might be willing to drop his campaign for a shorter work week for the life of the next contract.

The real tipoff to Mr. Reuther's latest maneuver lies in the way he is trying to mastermind the impact of such price cuts on the industry's sales and profits.

Using what must be a new model crystal ball, he stated categorically that average price cuts of $100 per car charged to dealers will result in a gain of 1 million cars in 1958 auto sales and thereby pull industry earnings to even higher levels although unit profits would be lower.

This prediction has a very definite purpose, of course. It is meant to prepare the public for the shock that the union will enter next year's collective bargaining period with a long list of additional demands which, in its opinion, should be granted in order to bring about a "fairer distribution of the fruits of a growing economy."

Here again, the master politician is showing his hand. What he really wants at this time is to embarrass the auto makers and to put them on the defensive.

Having failed in his prior attempt to soften rising public resentment against the endless chain of wage boosts by blaming the current phase of inflation on the bugaboo of administered prices (he was personally responsible for sicking the Kefauver subcommittee on that subject), he is now launching another public-relations program.

The public is not likely to be fooled any more than it was the last time. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Reuther really could have contributed something to the fight against inflation, if he had been willing to offer the industry a status quo. This would have put the industry on the spot. However, this chance he passed up, for obvious reasons.

Eisenhower May Not Mention the Name of Harry Truman but History Will Record Truman as One of Our Truly Great Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an excerpt of Post Scripts which appeared in the August 19, 1957, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald:

President Eisenhower is so vexed with his predecessor, Harry S. Truman, that he even tries to steer clear of using his name.

In a flash press conference held in his office last week, the President was appealing through the press to Congress to appropriate sufficient money for mutual security. Telling the history of the program, he said:

"It started in 1947, and since that time there have been many points in the free world that have been transformed from positions of weakness and threat into positions of real strength for the free world. Greece and Turkey started it."

He made no mention of Mr. Truman's part in all this or of the now historic Truman Doctrine.

On June 5, President Eisenhower wrote and made public a glowing letter to Gen. George C. Marshall on the 10th anniversary of the Marshall plan. He credited the plan with saving Europe when it was on "the brink of economic collapse and political chaos." But he made no mention of Mr. Truman, without whose backing and whose fight on Capitol Hill, of course, there would have been no Marshall plan.

Federal Aid to School Construction and TVA as Seen by a Pennsylvanian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a feature article which appeared in the Evening Chronicle, of Allentown, Pa., on August 9, 1957, which discussed both Federal aid to school construction and TVA as seen by a Pennsylvanian:

(By W. D. Reimert)

The Federal Aid to Education bill, which was defeated only recently by the devious means of introducing a segregation amendment, was nevertheless one of the biggest flim-flams ever perpetrated upon a large segment of America.

Utilizing the successful slogan that no expense is too great to provide our children with good educations, proponents of the bill had painted a lurid picture of the collapse of public education in this country, if it did not pass. A great many well-intentioned persons fell for this line and warmly advocated the measure.

But plenty of good evidence was introduced to show how fallacious the glowing statistics of school need were and to prove that, despite all the cry for Federal aid, the States themselves were building more schoolrooms than the bill's sponsors said will be needed.

Actually, what the bill would have done was to saddle on 18 States a large portion of the costs of building schools in States which refused to recognize their own responsibility in the matter.

Thus Pennsylvania would have paid out several millions more than it would have received, while States like North Carolina and other southern States which have been stealing industries from the North right and left largely because of low tax inducements, would have collected millions more than they paid in.

The arithmetic of the whole proposal, plus the fact that the biggest recipients were not doing their own job adequately, should have been enough to defeat Federal Aid to Education on the face of it, not to mention the threat of Federal domination over all public education. So it was unfortunate the bill was not laid to rest on the basis of these good arguments, but because of racial prejudices.

All this is now history and most of it has been said before, but it serves a good purpose to recall some of these things at this time because of two other bills now rolling around in Washington's legislative hoppers. They are known as House bill 4266 and Senate bill 1869.

Both are designed to vastly expand the Tennessee Valley Authority with especial reference to its electric power producing facilities. Both practically remove the last vestige of control by Congress over TVA. Both would saddle States without even a remote indirect interest in TVA power with paying tremendous portions of the cost, while the States who benefit most will use cheap power produced at taxpayer expense to lure industries into the Southland, which has had its hand out for Government handouts ever since the Roosevelt depression days.

Among other things House bill 4266 does are these:

1. Terminates the TVA obligation to replay a billion and a half dollars already invested by the taxpayers of the Nation. Under the Government Appropriations Act of 1948, TVA is required to repay all funds appropriated for power purposes over a period of 40 years. H. R. 4266 could repeal this requirement.

What does this mean? Simply that TVA will wipe the books clean of a billion and a half dollars in appropriations over the past years. Of this amount, according to Senator EDWARD MARTIN, Pennsylvania, has contributed $147.3 million and gotten nothing in return, while Tennessee, the principal beneficiary of these appropriations has paid only $25 million as its share. North Carolina, now included in the expanded TVA area under Senate bill 1869, and which has been advertising for industry in the North by holding out its low tax rate as bait, has paid only $29 million. Thus, Pennsylvania taxpayers have been paying from 5 to 6 times what either Tennessee or North Carolina have.

2. Gives TVA unlimited right to issue bonds for expansion without authorization or approval or check by Congress or any other governmental agency.

This is the first time in American history that a government agency has been authorized to sell bonds to support a business activity.

3. Gives TVA the power to set rates without Federal Power Commission approval. Thus, it is conceivable that under some starry-eyed management the people of the South could get electricity for nothing or next to nothing at the expense of the rest of the country.

4. Makes the taxpayers' interest secondary to that of the bondholders, thus wiping out, to all intents and purposes, past obligations of a billion and a half.

5. Makes these bonds Federal obligations, and excludes them from budget control. In other words, receipts and expenditures from bonds need not be accounted for when TVA submits its budget to Congress.

All this, despite the fact that TVA by its own statement already has about $100 million a year available for expansion purposes.

6. Removes any requirement that TVA get approval before expanding. All that is necessary is for its officials to notify Congress of its plans.

7. Establishes a responsibility on the part of TVA to furnish power for a variety of purposes the same as the law does for private utilities. But under the broad powers of H. R. 4266, this has the effect of enabling TVA to spread from an area of 80,000 square miles to 1 of 200,000 square miles by merely declaring its own feeling of responsibility to do so. This additional area is as big as the six New England States and New York combined.

This is perhaps the most dangerous portion of the entire bill, because it removes any limit to TVA expansion. There is no stopping these things. Originally, TVA was set up to control the waters of the Tennessee River. That was done long since. Power was to be a byproduct. Now it has launched into producing power with steam. What it will do next is limited only by the few controls Congress chooses to exercise.

The socialistic expansion of governmental activities in the power field, knows no bounds. According to S. C. Hollister, dean of the College of Engineering at Cornell, in 1933 the Government owned one-half of 1 percent of the total electric generating capacity of the country. By 1953, this had jumped to 10 percent. Including projects now authorized, the Federal Government will soon own nearly one-third of the total installed generating capacity of the country.

"How," Dr. Hollister asks, "would you like to receive your electric bill with a notation that 35 percent was being deducted because the utility furnishing your electricity could now do so without having to pay the usual taxes and the full cost of capital? This is what the biggest power producer in the business can do for its customers. Who is this producer? Your Federal Government. How does it do this? It taxes you to make up the deficit.

"How would you like to receive a note on your light bill saying that a sum has been added so that someone you never heard of could get his light bill reduced 35 percent? This is what is happening to most of you, but it isn't being so marked on the bill. About 80 percent of the people are paying a quarter or a third of the light bill for the other 20 percent."

It is as simple as that.

House bill 4266 and Senate bill 1869 would simply extend the money grab deeper into the taxpayers' pocket, your pocket that is, if you live in Pennsylvania or New York or in any of the other States beyond the pale of this generosity to the few at the expense of the many.

They should be killed promptly and in their place Congress should follow the recommendations of the Hoover Commission and "empower and direct the Federal Power Commission to fix the rates on Government power sales at such a level as will (a) eliminate the inequities now imposed upon the great majority of the people; (b) amortize and pay interest on the Federal investment in power, plus an amount which will equal Federal exemption based upon the Federal taxes paid by the private utilities; and (c) provide payments in lieu of full taxes to the State and local government equivalent to those the private utilities would pay."

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, last week in the other body a memorial service was held for deceased Members. A great many Senators spoke of Senator McCarthy and what he meant to many Americans. It is readily apparent that some Members in the other body have changed their appraisal of Senator McCarthy. They should be commended for their new evaluation of Senator McCarthy.

I append hereto a most worthwhile comment of Nagene Campbell Bethune—a great American patriot who has long made her views felt in the realm of basic, American doctrines:

DEAR GUARDIANS: Although there are many happenings recorded in the news today

which challenge our attention, the Guardian has chosen to pay its tribute to the inexpressibly sad news of the death of the greatest champion the cause of patriotism our country has ever had. Loyal to the core, he represented the best there is in American life, the most valient fighter, he must be credited with great vision, understanding, and to rarest courage—that courage he exhibited to preserve and safeguard America in the fight to cleanse our country of saboteurs in our Government. I refer, with saddened heart, to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

"Men may come and men may go" many leaving no trace in the sands of time except that of evil—but not so with Senator McCarthy's passing. There was no evil in him, and the old Chinese proverb still rings true: "Just as tall trees are known by their shadows, so are good men known by their enemies."

With the fearless independence of a rugged character, boldly defending whatever he believed would promote the welfare of our common humanity and the redemption of America as we once knew it, Senator McCarthy will go down in history as the man upon whose investigation the country learned of the frightful corruption in Government where scandals were shrugged off as a part of politics and the presence of traitors there had all but destroyed our Constitution. He believed the Bill of Rights must not be used for the protection of traitors and that as long as our Government protects the man who engages in conspiracy to destroy the very institutions which give him freedom, we cannot deal adequately with the fifth-column columnists (a word coined by him). Witness after witness appeared before him from the highest echelon who had their orders and their stories well prepared—down to the petty racketeer and his shady operations. His investigation brought howls of rage from his opponents. The violence and methods used by them, even to attacks upon his personal character and honesty did not intimidate him although Machiavelli himself could have hardly devised a more cruel, cold-blooded, and amoral plan than the schemes to discredit him, by the pinks, the reds, the leftist commentators of radio, TV, and the controlled press.

They said he was "rough" but one does not handle treason with slogans. Some characterized "rough" as lacking in the veneer that is so quickly attained by those who come to this cocktail, party-loving, social Washington who are so accustomed to having public men say quite a lot less than they really mean that it startles them when anybody ges up on a platform and talks as if he were sitting in a room with close friends, but Senator McCarthy's sincerity, simplicity, and earnestness soon won them to his cause. He had many precedents who lacked the social graces. Is it not recorded that Abraham Lincoln was on the lowest of the low social scale? Did not the gentlemen regardless of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the resultant war, object to the backwoodsman, Patrick Henry, as captain of the militia?

Senator McCarthy had a remarkable capacity for instilling faith and loyalty in the hearts of those who shared his beliefs. Out of the byways and hedges, in the humble places of the Nation, in the hearts of men whose words are perhaps illiterate and tones halting, there lies latent virtues that have been bred in the century or more of our free national life that have come through tradition—mostly accepted on trust—the laws and opinions laid down by our progenitors. Such men do not need a glossary to understand Joe McCarthy for he spoke their language—a language they understood—and they looked upon him as a spearhead to restore this country as the Founding Fathers envisioned it.

Senator McCarthy believed that the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution were divinely inspired and that if our Republic is to remain free, the people, not the Pentagon, the State Department (giving us such information as we need to know), or foreigners—must decide the issues before us.

I am proud to have known Joe McCarthy. The Nation owes him a debt of gratitude in alerting the Nation not only to the danger of communism in our Government, if for no other reason, they, as Communists, are obliged to destroy it, but in calling attention to those internationalists who are of a mind to compromise with the spirit of the Constitution. Inoculated with the materialistic virus, with little or no religious faith, indeed, so lacking in religious faith that it is almost a violation of etiquette to take the name of God into an international assembly of lawmakers or politicians, although we, as a Christian nation, Atlas-like, are carrying on our backs most of the nations they represent. They take no account whatever of America and its interests. We are second. They are first. Always first. They consider us unable to decide what is best for our own country; they would run it for us. And again and again they have brazenly broadcast to the world that we are gullible and inferior in matters of statesmanship.

Senator McCarthy had the courage of a man who knew he was in the right. He typified the spirit and was, in a sense, a prototype of the Father of Our Country, with the same moral armament as George Washington, who led his ill-fed, ragged, half-frozen Colonial Army through the Revolution. He lost most of the battles; but when all seemed hopeless, Washington is pictured at Valley Forge, as seen and described by Isaac Potts, by the following: "General Washington's horse was tied to a sapling in a thicket. The general was on his knees praying most fervently." On that memorable night Washington stood firmly and won the last battle that changed the course of history.

Joe McCarthy was deeply religious. He, too, in moments of great despair, sought guidance from his Maker in the sanctuary of his church.

Senator McCarthy devoted himself to the service of his country with a zeal as great as it was unselfish, and it can be truly said that he gave his life, every drop of it, his last breath, to his beloved country. We who heard him that last afternoon little dreamed it would be his last address. We were uneasy, for he had shown signs of emotional strain and nervous exhaustion, but, as courage was one of his gifts, with characteristic tenacity he fought on. The physical body can stand only so much. If it is true, as many contend today, that "emotions kill"—and no one knows this better than the sordid sinners who heaped vilification and venomous animosity upon him—then Joe McCarthy was killed just as surely as were his buddies in the war in Korea. Is there any difference between physical and moral murder?

Time works strange magic on events and human beings and very often brings a different perspective and belated honor to the daring souls pilloried during their lifetime and often makes martyrs of men. It was only yesterday that condemned Billy Mitchell and Dr. Wirt, that stalwart western schoolmaster who was the first to bring forth evidence regarding the Brain Trust only a year after the New Deal came into power.

Joe McCarthy is gone, and with him went something of the heart and soul of every patriotic American. To them the name shall remain a cherished memory; but he leaves more than a memory, for he left behind him his spirit; and though he is no longer here, his cause lives on, for he has inspired milions of his countrymen with a new patriotism.

NAGENE CAMPBELL BETHUNE.

Hawaii Opinion on Okinawa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. A problem of particular significance to the position and influence of the United States of America in the Far East is that of Okinawa and the Ryukyus.

In connection with Hawaiian Statehood, I have pointed out on innumerable occasions that I am for statehood for Hawaii primarily because I am an American. Statehood for Hawaii is in the interest of the United States because thereby the great potential of Hawaii's Americans of many diverse ancestries will be accorded full recognition and maximum growth, affording a bridge of understanding so vitally needed in solving the problems in the Pacific and Far East.

The editorial I include herewith reflects Hawaii's awareness of and closeness to problems of the Orient that involve social, as well as military, economic, and political situations, the importance of which continues to mount.

I am sure that the editorial touches a problem which should concern us all.

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of August 16, 1957]

TWELVE YEARS AFTER THE SURRENDER

Japan is marking, this week, the 12th anniversary of its unconditional surrender as the loser of its greatest gamble.

That was the launching of World War II in Asia and the Pacific.

An Associated Press report from Tokyo said that Japan today has a sober realization that it is on the road back to the ranks of major nations.

Japan is, in fact, one of the major nations today.

Its shipbuilding industry is one of the largest in the world. It is turning out steamers, ships, and boats of all sizes at a record rate.

Its steel and paper mills and other factories are roaring and humming.

Tokyo is today the world's largest city. It has caught up with and surpassed New York and London.

Japan has formidable problems yet to solve. On 4 main islands are more than 85 million people. Its agricultural resources are limited. Its battle-won overseas empire that once stretched from Manchuria to Indonesia, Malaya, and the Solomon Islands, has been lost. To survive now, it must be a great exporting nation, but its overseas markets are limited.

In its serious problems Japan has now—as it has had ever since that day of surrender in Tokyo Bay, September 2, 1945—the cordial help of the United States, and considerable assistance from other members of the United Nations.

Japan will continue to have this help—which includes billions in grants and other aid—so long as Japan does not display a resurgent militarism aimed at new aggressions and new conquests.

The move made by Premier Nobusuke Kishi a few weeks ago to get Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands returned to Japan's administrative control has already roused strong protest. Particularly Ryukyuans, both in their island homes and elsewhere in the world, are alarmed and indignant.

That move, made first openly in Washington during Kishi's visit, appears, unfortu-

nately, to have gotten some encouragement from the United States State Department and perhaps from the White House.

United States military commanders are much concerned. They are not in position to speak publicly on such a matter of United States national policy. Privately, they are both amazed and disturbed that the United States should give any recognition to Japan's specious claims to residual rights to Okinawa and the Ryukyus.

Okinawa today is our major northern anchor for that vital line of defense for the free Americas that stretches down the west Pacific to Australia and New Zealand.

Any further moves by Japan, any further signs of concession by our national administration on this issue of Okinawa will be watched with special concern by all who know today's military-economic-political situation in the Pacific.

Dr. Robert G. Neumann Analyzes France and the Algerian Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Robert G. Neumann, professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles, has written a series of excellent articles on France and the Algerian crisis. Professor Neumann's articles appeared in recent issues of the Los Angeles Times. His excellent background and on-the-spot study of this important question makes him eminently qualified to analyze this vital problem.

I urge all of my colleagues to obtain the benefit of Dr. Neumann's views in this regard. Following is the first of three articles written by Dr. Neumann:

FRANCE AND THE ALGERIAN CRISIS—I

(By Robert G. Neumann)

PARIS.—The Algerian crisis works like a slow but sure poison. It is not and cannot be absent from any political discussion in France. It has made for a bitter division among frequently equally honest and sincere men. It hangs a cloud of uncertainty over France's future, it isolates it and endangers its relations with its friends and allies; and it has raised some of the most poignant and serious doubts about the viability of France's republican institutions.

The much-tried American citizen knows by now that we are getting involved in this one too, as usual. Happily not as knee-deep as in the Middle East where we have assumed direct responsibilities and have undertaken direct action; there is no likelihood of such a thing happening to us over Algeria. But France's difficulties weaken the western alliance system and there is every indication that the forthcoming debate before the United Nations General Assembly will be a difficult one for France. Eventually America will have to take a stand there and vote for or against a resolution condemning France. Our attitude will have an important bearing on our future relations with France, the Arab countries and the Afro-Asian bloc.

Moreover, if I judge correctly from afar, America seems to become interested in this knotty problem. Senator KENNEDY, *smoothly* seconded by Senator MANSFIELD and HUMPHREY (all Democrats), has taken a strong stand and put the blame for the existing situation solely on France. The Eisenhower administration and especially Secretary of State Dulles has taken the opposite view and Mr. Adlai Stevenson has supported the administration view, more or less, rather than that of KENNEDY, MANSFIELD, and HUMPHREY.

If we want to gain some understanding of the Algerian question we must, first of all, free ourselves rigorously of a number of outmoded and utterly incorrect notions. Americans are prone to view a struggle of this kind as a colonial fight in which the suppressed natives rebel against their foreign rulers. Our sympathy is usually with the underdog; moreover we have a solid (and in contrast to my French friends I think very healthy) tradition of anticolonialism. Hence, the average American reaction is likely to be something like this: "Why don't the French give up Algeria and go home."

This reaction is of course understandable, but it misses Algerian realities completely. When France occupied Algeria 130 years ago it was a large, empty territory without any government and with few inhabitants. This was the land of the barbary pirate where America had intervened before and where Stephen Decatur undertook his daring action which every American child knows.

The French brought to Algeria modern economic and administrative measures. As a result Algeria began to attract many immigrants, both European and African, and well over 90 percent of the non-European population of Algeiria is therefore of no more ancient origin in that country than are the Europeans, most of whom have settled there for several generations. Both Europeans and non-Europeans have therefore an equally strong claim to calling Algeria "theirs." Of the European population only one-third came from France; the rest are of Spanish and Italian origin. Hence, Algeria, not France, is their country and it makes little sense to tell them to go home. They are at home. It is a tragic factor in this worsening situation that both the Algerian nationalists and the Europeans there have the passionate certainty of fighting for a man's most sacred possession: his home.

As I have stated in a previous article, the social structure of Algeria is not that of a colonial country. The Europeans do not form a thin, governing class of administrators and planters. They live largely as they do in France, as workers, farmers, farm laborers, artisans, businessmen, civil servants, etc. They are not rich. Their average income is lower than that of the French population in France proper. And in fact the backbone of the European resistance to concessions in Algeria the rabid European nationalists of Algeria, known as the "ultras," are the poorer Europeans: the rich ones could, if need be, move somewhere else and live comfortably there: the poor ones, however, have their backs against the wall; they stand to lose everything. This is a far cry from the legend of the moneybags and the colonial administrators who do not want to give up their privileges and rackets. If it were merely a matter of the rich and powerful the Algerian problem could be easily solved by buying the rich off and sending the administrators elsewhere.

And yet, the Europeans are, in a sense, a privileged group in comparison to the Moslems. (I am using the term Moslem as the most convenient one. We can't call them "natives" because the Europeans are just as "native" and we can't call them Arabs because many of them are Berbers and do not speak Arabic.) The European position of economic superiority is not the result of discrimination, either legal or otherwise. But in the process of settlement the superior European training, working habits and financial backing naturally brought the better land into European hands and established the Europeans more solidly in business. But there are rich Moslem businessmen and there are wealthy Moslem farmers whose economic status is superior to that of many Europeans. The Europeans therefore do not feel that their position is any more unfair than is that of a businessman in comparison to a less successful competitor. I do not think this point of view is realistic but it is easy to see why it is sincerely held.

In the field of political administration, however, there can be no question that the Moslems have been discriminated against; and yet, the French people who hotly disagree with me on this point are quite sincere. How is this possible?

French administration is ruled by the strictest centralism. Local government, in the American sense, does not exist. Mayors and city councils have next to no power and the councils of the departments (something like counties) have even less. Each department of France is in effect governed by a prefect who is a civil servant and is under the strict orders of the Minister of the Interior in Paris. Now this system may be good or bad, but in France proper the fact of being governed directly by Paris raises no significant political issues. But for the Moslem Algerians direct rule by Paris means foreign rule and hence does have an aspect of colonialism.

The French have been very slow to recognize this fact. They are people who like precise, legal formulas and who accept them as fact. The legal doctrine was (and actually still is) that Algeria is an integral part of France and is governed like other departments of France. If the Christian French citizens of Brittany or Normandy do not object to this system, why should the Moslem French citizens of Algeria? But this kind of thinking was based on a fallacy: the French citizens of Brittany and Normandy are, first of all, Frenchmen. But if the Moslem Algerians were to feel, first of all, like Frenchmen, they would have to become fully assimilated into the French culture, the French way of life.

It was therefore quite logical that assimilation should, for many years be the official policy of France. Unfortunately, it was a complete failure. Whether it could possibly have succeeded must remain a mute question because it was never applied down to its last consequences. The policy of assimilation was based on the contention that the French have no racial prejudices (which was once more nearly true than it is now) and that anyone who becomes wholly French in language, culture, and custom is accepted without prejudice. A few people, primarily Negroes, have benefited by this policy, have become completely Frenchified and have risen to the highest offices of the state, like the present President of the Council of the Republic and a Cabinet Minister in the present Government. But to the great masses of Africans this road remained closed because they did not receive even the rudimentary beginning of an education. Even today, the great majority of Moslems in Algeria are illiterate, while every European child had an opportunity for full education. In view of these circumstances one must question whether the French were ever serious about the policy of assimilation.

Whether assimilation would have succeeded if really applied must remain a mute question. Certainly conservative Moslem forces, as well as the rising spirit of nationalism did not look kindly upon those who accepted the European way of life. But, at any rate, the failure of the assimilation policy left the great masses of the Moslem Algerians without a meaningful status. Differences of language, culture, custom as well as social and economic conditions prevented them from feeling wholly French. Yet, the system of centralization and the doctrine of the one and indivisable Republic of which

Algeria was merely an integral part left no other alternative. A former governor-general of Algeria, Maurice Violette, predicted the present development with tragically prophetic clarity when he said to the French in 1935: "Beware, lest the indigenous population of Algeria be left without a homeland by your fault. They are seeking one. They want from you the homeland of France. Give it to them quickly, or, failing that, they will create another one for themselves."

Postal Wage Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming vote of the House of Representatives in support of a pay increase for postal employees indicated, I believe, the widespread conviction that these dedicated public servants merit salaries more in keeping with the current cost of living. I am pleased to see that newspapers in my home State of Oregon have also reflected this conviction. Both the Portland Oregonian and the Oregon Journal recently carried editorials calling upon Congress to speedily enact legislation which would raise the salaries of postal employees.

Mr. Speaker, I think these two editorials will be of interest to other Members of Congress and under unanimous consent I ask that they be printed in the Appendix.

The editorials follow:

[From the Portland Oregonian of August 6, 1957]

POSTAL WAGES TOO LOW

Postal clerks, carriers, and other employees got about a 10-percent wage increase in 1951. They got an 8-percent increase in 1955. Since postal wages have slipped behind those in many other Federal agenices, and far behind wages in industry, the post office is having a rough time keeping younger employees. The turnover is too great for efficiency. Some older workers are leaving for greener pastures. The post office is not so attractive as a career service as it once was.

The House of Representatives has adopted H. R. 2474 providing a $546 annual across-the-board cost-of-living increase for postal employees. This amounts to about 12 percent, but is by no means too generous. There is talk that the Senate committee, which has been considering a separate bill, may go along with the House to expedite the legislation.

The possibility of a Presidential veto has been raised. Although post-office employees consider themselves on the tail rather than the head of inflation, and we think they are right, Postmaster General Summerfield has said the increase would be inflationary. But why single out postal employees to hold the line, when wage adjustments are being made in other departments and the price of steel has boomed $6 a ton?

The view that post-office wages should not be increased unless there is a comparable boost in mail rates and charges is untenable. Congress sanctions a $600,500,000 annual deficit in the post office because it is politically afraid to increase rates. But employees cannot in justice be made the scapegoat for political timidity, or for any more tenable reason for subsidization of the Federal mails. The House postal pay bill should be adopted in the Senate, and it should not be vetoed by President Eisenhower.

[From the Oregon Daily Journal of August 10, 1957]

WAGE INCREASE JUSTIFIED

Congress and the administration will be doing an injustice to a large group of Government employees if a pay adjustment for postal workers is not provided at the current session.

The House passed a pay-increase measure by a vote of 379 to 38 and the measure now rests in a Senate committee. This bill provides a $546 across-the-board increase. With this increase a Portland clerk or carrier who has put in 7 years and worked himself to the top civil-service grade for his position still would be making less than $5,000 a year gross income.

The postal service is a big operation. In all, some 518,000 workers across the country would be affected by this bill and the total annual cost would be in the neighborhood of $318 million.

The administration has opposed these measures on two grounds—first, that such an outlay would be inflationary and, second, that Congress should consider legislation to provide prevailing pay scales for Government workers in different localities or that an allowance system, such as the one used in the Army and diplomatic service, be provided.

The first argument is valid only in the sense that any new expenditure is inflationary. But from an overall standpoint, postal workers have been the victims, not the cause of inflation.

Their last wage increase was in 1951. The inflation which has occurred in the interim cannot be blamed on them. In his budget message President Eisenhower said that any wage increases—private or Government—must be reasonably related to improvements in productivity.

On the basis of pieces of mail handled, postal clerks show a 43.6 percent increase in productivity between 1945 and 1957. The second reason is valid only if some reasonable effort is made to implement one or the other of the suggestions.

To date no such effort has been made and postal workers should not be asked to continue at substandard wages while Congress decides whether some alternative might work.

Considerable has been said about wages in relation to the post office deficit. It is true that postal rates should more nearly meet costs, but again this problem is not directly related to wages.

The workers are entitled to a living wage and it is up to Congress to decide whether these services should be paid for by the taxpayer or by the user of postal services.

Uneasy Plight of Small-Business Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Uneasy Plight of Small-Business Man," which appeared in the August 10, 1957, issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

UNEASY PLIGHT OF SMALL-BUSINESS MAN

Among other things which have turned up in Washington in recent days is a discovery that every bill introduced to help small business is being left to die in the 85th Congress.

Dr. John W. Dargavel, who is secretary of the National Association of Retail Druggists, made the announcement and warned of the consequences of treating small-business men as though they were expendable.

Dr. Dargavel points out that in the national election campaigns of 1956 both parties took note of the squeeze being applied to small businesses these days, and both made rosy promises to leave nothing undone to help insure the survival of independent enterprise in America.

Then, to quote the critic of this charged congressional neglect:

"After the political oratory ceased and the votes were counted, the majority of the victorious candidates seemed to make haste to forget the pledges they made to strive in behalf of independent enterprise.

"One of the examples in sharp focus is the evasive tactics used to dodge action on relief from the overload of taxes levied on small business firms."

For our part, we have long maintained that the small-business man is a vital factor in the American way of life, and we dread to think of the consequences should it become impossible, one of these days, for the small-business man to survive.

The small-business man not only is a key figure in our economy; the fact is that our country's 4 million small-business concerns add up to 95 percent of all the businesses operating in our Nation today.

The small-business man, nevertheless, is facing a growing crisis, and there are those who view the situation with alarm and claim, with considerable evidence to back their claim, that America's small-business man may become the little man who isn't there.

The figures show, so advocates of small business tell us, that the small-business man with his independent stores, factories, and enterprises of all sorts provides the livelihood for 1 out of every 3 people in America.

Which demonstrates, of course, that this amazing country of ours needs the little-business man and the medium-sized business man as well as the giant-business man.

As for the warning itself: To date in 1957 there have been more failures among small-business men this year than in any year since 1939. Cautious estimates by Dun & Bradstreet indicate that in 1957 over 13,000 small businesses will be wiped out—unless the trend reverses itself.

Alaska-Hawaii Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter, I include for printing in the RECORD for the information of the Members an article written by the Honorable Victor S. K. Houston, Delegate to Congress from Hawaii in the 1920's.

My predecessor, Mr. Houston, is a man of outstanding dedication and devotion and an honor and credit to the Americans of Polynesian ancestry. I have the

greatest respect for him as a man of the highest character and integrity.

His article should be compared with an article which appeared on June 19, 1957, page A4875 of the RECORD. More than meets the eye is found therein.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser of August 15, 1957]

IMPLIED STATEHOOD PROMISE GIVEN

(By Victor S. K. Houston)

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 19, 1957, contains an extension by the Honorable JOHN R. PILLION, of New York, of an article by Kathleen Mellen that first appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser.

The article is titled "Hawaii's Statehood Pledge Challenged"; this, in the extension, was changed to "Hawaii Pledges Not To Seek Statehood." The article deserves an answer.

It is quite true, as Mrs. Mellen says, that in 1893, annexation of these islands to the "United States was desired by a mere handful of Hawaii's total population."

Those who sought annexation then, were racially non-Hawaiians; and described themselves as "one-fourth of the voters and owners of nine-tenths of the private property of the kingdom." (Proclamation of the Committee of Safety of January 17, 1893.)

It is also true that the Treaty of Annexation was consented to by a Hawaiian senate that contined but two native Hawaiian members, and was approved by the President of the Republic and his council, in which there was but one native Hawaiian member. The franchise at that time being restricted, and limited by a loyalty oath.

To say, however, that "annexation was approved on the mainland by an even smaller proportion of American citizens" is to disregard the status of the American Congress, which through its elected representatives, passed the Newlands Resolution in both Houses (Public Res. No. 51, 55th Cong., 2d sess.). This was certified to by the Speaker pro tempore Sereno E. Payne and the Vice President Garret A. Hobart, and signed by President William McKinley on July 7, 1898.

The statement that "proponents of annexation did not want statehood" is in the article supported by selected quotations out of context, to suit the writer's purpose. It is quite as easy to quote the opposite as follows: In a discussion with Secretary of State Foster, the Hawaiian commissioners expressed a desire "to have Hawaii annexed as a State" (Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution by L. A. Thurston, p. 283). It is true that subsequently the Hawaiian commissioners did play down statehood, but this was due to Secretary Foster's argument that the main problem was to get annexation, and that the question as to whether it should be a State or a Territory was a secondary matter.

Much water has since gone over the dam, and the native Hawaiian citizens are thoroughly reconciled to the situation, largely as a result of the passage of the organic act by the Federal Congress and the granting of universal male suffrage. The commissioners representing Hawaii had tried to limit the franchise by property and financial qualifications. (See draft of organic act as submitted in Ex. Doc. No. 16, 55th Cong., 3d sess., pp. 28, 29.)

Hawaii is now an organized, and incorporated Territory of the United States, an integral part of the Union.

Speaking of the Louisiana Purchase, Justice White said in part ,"The inhabitants of the ceded Territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States * * *." (*Downs* v. *Bidwell*, 182 U. S., p. 325). Of this Frederic R. Coudert, a member of the bar, said in his address of June 18, 1926—"The evolution of the doctrine of territorial incorporation." This it seems clear enough to me was a promise of ultimate statehood, at page 24.

An earlier quotation that supports the thought of an implied promise of statehood, is found in the report of the Hawaiian Commission, supra, Executive Document No. 16, page 16, whence the quotation: "The bill provides that the Constitution and laws of the United States locally applicable shall have the same force and effect in the Territory of Hawaii as elsewhere in the United States. This is the usual provision found in acts of Congress providing for the establishment of Territorial governments in the United States heretofore." All such previous Territorial governments have since been elected into States.

The commission further states: "The people of Hawaii are capable of self-government, and have proven this by the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii and the adoption of a constitution and code of laws which compare favorably with that of any other government." (Executive Document, supra, p. 17.)

It is quite clear from a study of the whole record, what there is good ground for holding that an implied promise of statehood is contained therein.

The record is definite also that the present electorate is asking for statehood. We don't like taxation without representation, especially when it extends into the second half of a century, a matter of two generations.

Promoting Sales of Meat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, if farmers desire to contribute any part of the proceeds of the sale of their livestock for the promotion of the sale of meat, I certainly have no quarrel with them for doing so, but I am opposed to compulsory deductions for this purpose.

The following editorial from the Des Moines (Iowa) Daily Register approving the recent House action in decisively defeating legislation to provide for compulsory deductions is timely and is inserted herewith:

The House of Representatives rejected the meat promotion fund bill last week. This bill would have permitted buyers of livestock to deduct up to 10 cents a head from prices paid for cattle and calves, and up to 5 cents on sheep, lambs and pigs. The money would have been turned over to producer organizations to finance market research and sales promotion.

We believe the House acted wisely in rejecting this plan.

In the first place, a considerable amount of sales promotion and advertising of meat already is being carried on by the American Meat Institute and individual meatpacking companies. Advertising and sales promotion are normal functions of the meatpacking industry, meat wholesalers and meat retailers—not of producers of the raw materials.

Second, it is doubtful that further sales promotion and advertising would increase the returns to livestock producers. For farmers to gain, it would be necessary to induce the American public to spend more money on meat and less on nonfood products and services. Economists who have studied the demand for meat and patterns of consumer spending consider the chances for accomplishing this not very good. Nearly every American who can afford it is buying all the meat he wants to eat now.

The best possibility for increasing the demand for meat in the United States is higher incomes for the people who cannot afford as much meat as they would like. Additional sales promotion would not help increase sales very much among the few Americans who cannot afford an adequate meat diet.

Third, if more advertising and sales promotion are deemed advisable, we question whether the check-off system of raising funds is the best way to go about it. Why does the Government need to be involved? If farm groups think more promotion is needed, they should try to persuade the packers to kick in more money to the American Meat Institute for its promotional programs.

The Enlisted Men—He Knows What They Think

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Our Navy for September 1, 1957:

"WE TRUST YOU"—THE ENLISTED MEN—HE KNOWS WHAT THEY THINK

(By William J. Miller, chief journalist, U. S. Navy)

Take away the names of the Navy giants—such names as Halsey, Nimitz, and Spruance. Take away the names of those top admirals whose stars now shine the brightest—such names as Radford, Burke, Wright, Felt, Holloway, Stump, Brown, Beakley. * * * Take away those names and it may be said that of living Navy men, no name is better known either throughout the Navy or in the Nation's Capital than that of Charles E. Lofgren.

An outstanding naval career that spanned 20 years' active duty—a period of storybook adventure in the late 1920's and early 1930's—a total of 24 years' service as head of a unique organization: Those are the main headings of Lofgren's lifetime chronicle.

It is in the last of those three, as national secretary of the Fleet Reserve Association, that he has made his greatest mark. The sole national association of enlisted men in the Armed Forces, the FRA has seen him in the forefront of those looking after the interests of the career enlisted regulars of the Navy and Marine Corps. It is on the occasion of his stepping down from office this coming October, 1 month after his 64th birthday, that his life story is here being told.

Lofgren's interests in matters naval first began in the last century. The year was 1897 and his uncle, emigrating from Stockholm, gave him a cap of the type worn by Swedish Navy bluejackets. "H. M. S. *Thule*," it read on the cap ribbon. Neighbors in his native town of Malden, Mass., were soon treated to the sight of the young Lofgren strutting around, proud in his new sailor cap. He was 4 years old.

Though Scandinavians, none, of his ancestors had followed the sea. Instead, they were farmers. Lofgren's interest in the Navy

was given a strong boost during the formative years of his early teens, when in 1907–09 the "Great White Fleet" made its round-the-world cruise. The demonstrated qualities of silent might and preparedness made a lasting impression on him.

On July 11, 1911, the 17-year-old Lofgren checked into the recruiting station at Boston. Only 3 weeks before this he had graduated from Boston's Everett High School. The recruiter noted his business course background—bookkeeping, typing, and shorthand—and signed him on as a "landsman for yeoman, second class."

After 2 months of boot training at the Newport (R. I.) Naval Training Station, he was transferred to the Navy's yeoman school. It was a 6-month course and upon graduation, Lofgren—(who stood No. 1 in his class—was rated yeoman, third class. Following a stenographic exam and a brief tour of court-recorder duties at Newport, he was advanced to yeoman, second class. His next important event takes place at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Here he is one of the crew that, on September 17, 1912, put the U. S. S. *Arkansas* into commission.

Cage masted, coal burning, and torpedo mounting, the battleship *"Arky"* was one of the world's most powerful war vessels at that time. (During World War II she was our oldest active battleship; and in 1946 she went down in 20 minutes at Bikina, broken by the A-bomb.)

His first duties as a seagoing sailor were as gunnery yeoman. And 19 months later the *Arkansas'* main battery 12-inchers were to play something of a role in hemispheric politics. For during the 1914 difficulties at Veracruz, Mexico, with the Government of "that unspeakable Huerta," the *Arkansas* was the backbone of the offshore force that helped enforce Woodrow Wilson's decisions in the matter.

After 15 months as gunnery yeoman Lofgren became captain's writer and served as such with three successive skippers. In 1914 he was advanced to chief yeoman. His age at the time was 20, which gave him the distinction of being the youngest CPO then in the Navy.

An *Arkansas* shipmate who later won admiral's stripes was Ensign Louis E. Denfeld, Chief of Naval Operations from 1947 to 1949. Proof that admirals, like chief petty officers, have long memories is brought out by the fact that 37 years after their shipmate days, Admiral Denfeld mentioned those early days. The occasion was the FRA's 22d national convention at Annapolis. Said the admiral to the 500 careermen assembled there:

"I was really brought up by one of the people that built up the Fleet Reserve Association. When I first went to sea in 1912, Charley Lofgren was a second-class petty officer on the *Arkansas*. We were fresh and green, as all ensigns are, you know. Charley took us under his wing. He guided us. He helped us and, for your private information, he has done that for me ever since. Whenever I want to know what the enlisted men think, what is best for the enlisted man, I ask Charley Lofgren.

U. S. S. *Arkansas'* duties for Lofgren ended in March 1917. He left her at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and a week later was in Norfolk, Va. There he received orders directing him to report for duty in the Recruiting Division of the Navy's Personnel Bureau.

The years 1917–18 were significant ones for Lofgren. They marked his appearance on the Washington scene—a scene in which he was to be an active participant for 40 years. They marked his first entry into commissioned ranks—as an ensign on July 3, 1918.

By the end of World War I, he was a lieutenant (jg) and an assistant to the Director of Navy Recruiting. In 1920 he reverted to his old rate of chief yeoman. The end of 1920 saw him reenlisting and being assigned to the Bureau's Enlisted Personnel Division. He was soon placed in the Division Director's Office and then began one of the most unusual duty station assignments that an enlisted man of the Navy had ever known. The first Division Director with whom he served—knowing of Lofgren's mastery of the work—extended the length of Lofgren's normal tour to enable his successor to utilize Lofgren's knowledge. The successor, in turn, kept Lofgren on for his own tour of duty and then turned Lofgren over to his relief. This pattern kept on until January 1927, the month of Lofgren's retirement from active duty and entry into that retired-but-ready-for-service category known as fleet reserve status.

A week later the 33-year-old Lofgren started to work as a full-time national officer of the FRA, beginning what would prove to be a full second career and the chief work of his life. Enter here the Fleet Reserve Association of that time—a nonofficial organization formed mostly of Navy retired Regulars in the above-mentioned fleet reserve status—

He, together with George Carlin, who had founded the FRA, occupied a single office of the Earle Theater Building in downtown Washington. Carlin, credited by Lofgren as being his teacher in the science of organization, was the national secretary, while Lofgren was director of organization. He had been voted into this position 2 months earlier while still on active duty by delegates to the FRA's second national convention.

The outfit he was tying up with calls for a closer look at this point. It had existed in one form or another since the fall of 1922. For its first 3 years, it was centered in Philadelphia. During its first few years, it was quite shaky—and not just financially or in numbers. Some Navy officials termed it "the enlisted man's union" and wondered just what "that gang up in Philadelphia" was up to.

One account of its early days puts it this way: "They (the early FRA officials) had to overcome in the minds of member-eligibles the belief that such an organization would be frowned upon by the Navy Department; that they would get into difficulties if they dared to appeal directly to Congress in seeking enactment of laws not approved by the Navy Department; that there would be a constant round of 'tarpaulin musters' to meet demands of civilian contacts. * * * It was obvious to all eligibles that benefits and privileges gained by or for the member must also be shared by the nonmember with similar service. * * *"

Its 1927 membership was 2,334; it was operating on an annual budget of $12,000 and had assets of about $2,845. One highlight of Lofgren's first year was a trip through the Middle West that resulted in the chartering of a number of new branches. Another was the granting of authority by the United States Veterans' Bureau to the FRA to represent principals in cases of veterans and dependents.

After 18 months on duty at the FRA's 1-room headquarters, Lofgren heard the same call he had heard while a boy in Malden. He had been pretty much deskbound for several years and travel and adventure were beckoning in the form of Cmdr. Richard E. Byrd's upcoming First Antarctic Expedition. In a letter to Byrd, Lofgren set forth his qualifications and was selected as the expedition's assistant business manager. Unlike present Arctic expeditions, this one was not governmentally sponsored. So a lot of private money had to be raised.

Six months were spent in fitting out the expedition in New York City. In October of 1928, the expedition set out in the barque *City of New York*, and was not to return for 22 months. Some 14 of those months were spent at the Little America base. After the expedition set sail for the Antarctic, Lofgren's duties took on more of a military nature and he was designated as Byrd's personnel officer and paymaster. "All hands turn to" was the scheme of things in that expedition, which, by today's standards, would be considered primitive. And even the paymaster-personnel officer took his turn as seaman, coal passer, dog driver, mess cook.

The Antarctic phase completed, the expedition set sail for Duneden, New Zealand. It was at Duneden that in answer to press queries Byrd singled out Lofgren as "the most even-tempered man on the expedition and an anchor to windward." Those qualities must have endeared Lofgren to the heroic Byrd, for upon his return stateside, he selected Lofgren to accompany him on his American lecture tour. Byrd then turned over his reels of film to him and gave him permission to strike out on his own.

Accompanied by his older brother, Arthur, who served as projectionist, and by Tom Prat, a Labrador husky born at Little America, Lofgren set forth on a series of illustrated talks sponsored by educational groups. From January 1931 to December 1934, he covered the greater part of the United States, and brought the Little America story before more than 2,400 groups, most of them student bodies. Lofgren wore his chief petty officer's uniform while lecturing and in one way or another always got in a boost for the Navy.

All during this Byrd expedition phase, Lofgren's interest in the FRA continued to be strong. In the fall of 1934, he timed the tour to be in Boston where the 10th national convention was being held. There he was elected national secretary, an action that would be repeated every 2 years until 1955.

When, in January 1935, Lofgren once again started work as a full-time official of the FRA, he had a picture before him that was anything but prosperous. Financially, and in numbers the association was, in fact, worse off than in 1927. Members, less than 2,000; finances, $5,000 in the red.

In other matters, however, the FRA's position was fairly favorable. Most important, it had been recognized officially by the Navy Department and each year a departmental representative had been on hand to greet the FRA members at their convention. Perhaps the most significant action along these lines was the appearance of three admirals at the 1929 convention. One of them was Rear Adm. Richard H. Leigh, then head of the Navy's personnel bureau. His words cleared up any doubts in the minds of eligibles: "* * * The Navy Department is not opposed to organizations such as this. We are glad to see it. We want you men to inform yourselves; to organize, because we know that you back the Navy. You have the interest of the Navy at heart. We trust you; we have tried you * * * and you stand ready, I feel confident, to carry out the policy of the Navy Department."

Through their actions, the FRA set forth the case of the careermen. "Reasonableness" was the watchword and "a fair shake and decent consideration" was all they asked for. The work of these men was, in part, responsible for such actions as these: Payment of 6 months' death gratuity to beneficiaries of active-duty fleet reservists; free hospitalization and medical treatment for fleet reservists not on active duty; counting for retirement purposes of commissioned service for those World War I-era enlisted Navy men. They also helped shoot down such depression-spawned threats as: A proposal to pay a cash bounty of $5,000 in lieu of transfer to fleet reserve status; a proposal to prohibit those men in fleet reserve or retired status who were in civil service from drawing pay for both.

It might be said that Lofgren's second appearance on the FRA's full-time scene came at a time when the tide had reached its greatest ebb—but that the potentiality of such an organization had been shown. He moved swiftly. At the end of his first 6

months he was credited by the FRA's national president with giving the association a new lease on life. Creditors had been paid off, and there was a cash balance of $3,272. There were 3,866 members.

Signs pointed to the fact that for the FRA the ship was finally making knots and that an alert helmsman was at the wheel. Looking back to that era now, there are also signs that for the first time someone was taking a long and searching look at the outfit. Fortunately, this same person possessed administrative and organizational abilities that even then were highly developed.

A brief look at the present organization will help explain Lofgren's work from 1935 on. For the present organization is something on the order of what he had in mind at that time and is what he was working for.

First off, here is what the FRA is not. It is not a union, a veterans' group, a lobby, a guild, a fraternal organization. It does have some of the elements of each of these, though. And of them all, its nature probably favors that of the fraternal organization.

The FRA is one of a handful of associations formed of military personnel—such outfits as the Retired Officers Association, the Marine Corps League, the National Guard Association, the Reserve Officers Association * * * But even with the category narrowed down this fine, the FRA stands unique in these respects. Its membership is formed solely of Navy and Marine Corps regulars—no reservists. At least 6 years' active service is another requirement. Its membership is basically an enlisted one—even its warrant officer and commissioned officer members are ex-enlisted men. A majority of its members are on active duty.

Active duty is the keyword to an area that has been strongly influenced by Lofgren's leadership. It might be said that prior to 1935, the emphasis of the FRA was almost entirely on the man who had retired after 16 or 20 or more years' active service. From 1935 on, however, more and more emphasis has been placed on the active-duty Navy or Marine Corps enlisted men. At present, the membership is roughly 60 percent active, 40 percent retired.

With the creation of the Department of Defense some 10 years ago, it was only natural that DOD officials would sooner or later take notice—one way or another—of the FRA. How notice was taken may be shown by the following episode. The time was the fall of 1955, about 2 weeks after Lofgren had completed his testimony on the Career Incentive Act of 1955. The place was Lofgren's office. Visiting him were an Army colonel and an Air Force colonel. Purpose of their visit: to get an idea of how the FRA functioned.

Lofgren's testimony during the hearings had been so impressive that there was some feeling in the Department of Defense that the Army and Air Force might do well to sponsor similar enlisted outfits.

How much the two colonels learned from Lofgren during their 4-hour visit is, of course difficult to say. But if they had spent a few weeks with him they would have begun to get an idea of how Lofgren goes about his multiple, complex duties. To put it another way, they would have learned what he does to earn his annual salary—which, by the way, amounts not to $25,000-$40,000, the going rate for Washington heads of similar-sized organizations—but to $8,000.

Lofgren's work lies in three main areas. The first of these is, naturally enough, as executive head of the association itself. The second and third areas are in connection with the Federal Government's executive and legislative branches.

In the FRA's national executive offices, he heads up a small group of full-time salaried officials and the supporting clerical force. His task is considerably eased by the FRA's well-designed internal structure: 210 worldwide branches in 9 regional districts. Then, too, the participation of nonsalaried elective FRA officials is much greater than in comparable associations. Despite this fine aid from the field, Lofgren's out-of-town travel schedule is a heavy one.

His correspondence schedule is even heavier. Each of the nearly 50,000 members has a direct tie-line to Washington—through a letter to FRA headquarters. The problems are numerous and deal with such varied matters as: active-duty dates, enlisted promotions, classification of fleet reserve and retired lists, suggestions for morale improvement in the Navy and the Marine Corps, questions about duty station assignments, assistance in military pay matters. Others are: Service housing difficulties, hospitalization and commissary privileges, civil-service rights, veterans' benefits, widows' and orphans' protection.

The above muster leads to the second of Lofgren's work area—that of dealing with the executive branch of the Government. Answers to many of the members' letters can be obtained through a phone call or letter request for information. In some cases a personal visit is needed; in other cases, it is a matter of pleading a case before a special board. The Navy Department, Marine Corps headquarters, Veterans' Administration, Civil Service Commission, Workmen's Compensation Section of the Labor Department Passport Division of the State Department—these are the main locations on Lofgren's usual around town schedule.

The third area of Lofgren's work deals chiefly with congressional committees. He estimates that he has spent more than 500 hours in committee rooms. He has testified about 55 times as a committee witness for the FRA. Most of his testimony has been before the Senate and House Armed Services Committees and—prior to 1947—the old Naval Affairs Committees of both the House and Senate. Other committees before which he has testified are Civil Service, Judiciary, and Veterans' Affairs. He states that one of the finest things about the American system of government is that it has a way of placing some of the Nation's very best men in public office. Among those he singles out in this respect are Congressman Carl Vinson of Georgia, Congressman Paul J. Kilday of Texas, and the late Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts.

Typical career-beneficial items for which Lofgren has testified over the years include these: (a) reenlistment bonus; (b) retention of commissary stores, Navy exchanges, and post exchanges; (c) free rations in Government hospitals for retired Navy men and Marines; (d) free transportation of household effects; (e) reimbursement for enlisted men's dependents upon change of duty station; (f) clothing allowances for enlisted men promoted to officer status; (g) physical disability retirement for enlisted men.

His testimony was heard by committees considering these dollars-and-cents acts: Career Incentive Act of 1955; 4-percent pay increase of 1952; Career Compensation Act of 1949; Pay Readjustment Act of 1942. Also: Naval Reserve Act of 1938; and the 1956 Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivor Benefits and Dependents' Medical Care Acts.

During the period May 1942–March 1946, congressional committee rooms were not once graced by the presence of Lofgren. It not that he was unwelcome or that he was too far away. In fact he was less than 3 miles from "the hill." It was just that he had been ordered into uniform and was assigned to the Navy's personnel bureau in Arlington. One result of this was that he had to step aside from his position as active head of the FRA.

Once again in Navy blue, he served for 3 weeks in his old rate of chief yeoman. Then he was promoted to lieutenant. And when paid off in April 1947, he was a commander—one of the eight who had risen from enlisted grade to three-striper during that time.

Upon reporting to the bureau, he went to work on a redtape-cutting job. He reviewed all the Navy standard personnel reports then called for. Then he recommended that several hundred of them be abolished, and it was so done. Next he assisted in revising the bureau's basic manual. Then he was placed in the enlisted personnel division with the title of Policy and Policy Enforcement Officer. Here he served as the "sounding board for morale effect on enlisted men of new policies and procedures."

In the main, though, his role was anything but a passive one. He came up with many ideas of his own—ideas born, for the most part, during his FRA work. One was a new reporting-in-station procedure. It did away with the situation in which a man would be detached from a cruiser at, say, San Diego, go home on leave to New York City, then report back to San Diego only to learn that he had been assigned to Norfolk or Boston. The change sounds simple and logical, but the older procedure had been going on for years.

He also developed a standard transfer order form and the related procedures. Earlier, transfers had been made on an individual-letter basis—which for a Navy of 3 million men really ate up the man hours.

There is evidence that Lofgren's lifetime credo of "service to others" permeated the ranks of those Navy men in the clerical ratings. This is a very general thing, but the general attitude in these ratings is now a very decent one: "We're here to help you." The pre-World War II attitude was more on the order of: "I'll do this because it's my job * * * but just the same consider it a favor."

Not a man given to boasting, Lofgren likes to point out, however, that he has personally known each of the 17 chiefs of the Navy's personnel bureau since 1917. Two in particular he singles out. Vice Admiral James L. Holloway, Jr., the present Chief of BuPers—"from whom I learned the most in the fine science of administration." And Adm. Louis E. Denfeld who, as Lofgren points out, "took the rap for the Navy when he was fired as Chief of Naval Operations in an interservice fight; but who was later vindicated by the turn of world events, which placed the Navy in its proper place on the national-defense team."

Released from active duty June 30, 1947, Lofgren once again began full-time work with the FRA. The stature of the outfit was vastly better than at his two other "startin' anew" periods of 1926 and 1935. There were 29,255 members and $63,700 in assets. He was just getting the feel of the helm when, in October, he was again ordered to active duty and became a member of a board convened by SecNav to try to up-date the badly outdated Naval Reserve Act of 1938. One part of this act dealt with fleet reserve status provisions—a subject of high complexity and the very subject in which Lofgren is a recognized expert. So complicated is the subject, indeed, that a two-man subcommittee was set up to deal with it. Its members: the Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel and Lofgren.

The board assignment lasted for 2 months, and then he began his fourth and final and longest tour of full-time duty with the FRA. Looking back now, Lofgren views the era from 1948 to the present and sees it in various lights.

He sees it as one of rapid growth and prestige for the group he has headed for so long. The year 1957 is an especially significant one, with the 50,000 member mark in sight and the acquisition of a headquarters building of its own, a $112,000 3-story office building in the DuPont Circle section of Washington.

He sees it as an era unique in that the standing forces have been the largest, by far,

in the Nation's peacetime history—but also an era of high national prosperity. To Lofgren—as head of the only career enlisted men's association for any branch of the Armed Forces—this combination meant a continuing vigilance. Particularly in the matter of assisting in the sponsorship of legislation on such matters as pay and allowances, military housing, dependents' and survivors' protection, medical care, commissary and exchange privileges. Legislation, in short, designed to keep the standard of living of Navy and Marine Corps enlisted career men (and their families) at least apace of their civilian contemporaries.

And what perhaps is the most important of all, he sees it as an era in which a key precept of the FRA was first threatened and then vindicated. "Support of a strong Navy," the precept states. In 1948, though, there were many thinking persons who could not seriously see a future need for the Navy. Whereas in 1957, America's three-pronged—underseas Navy, surface Navy, air Navy—trident of seapower is increasingly being recognized as the scepter of the world.

The center prong of that trident recalls to Lofgren the days of the great white fleet and its display to the world of the Navy's silent might and preparedness. Those qualities made a strong impression on the youthful Lofgren and resulted in his donning the Navy blue. It is possible that at one time he had doubts about the validity of those qualities. But his record during 46 years of service to the Navy itself and to the men of the Navy shows that those doubts were removed long, long ago.

Public Power Socialists Block Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is generally recognized that union leaders do not thrive as well and their members do not fare as well with government ownership of plants in dictator countries as they do under the free enterprise system. They take what the political bosses want to give them and in most instances cannot strike against the government which owns the plants.

Therefore it is a little difficult to understand why some of this country's union leaders plug for socialistic government ownership of some segments of our industrial economy.

Efforts of CIO's Walter Reuther to block plans for a privately sponsored power reactor development plant in Michigan would seem a little strange were it not for the fact that Mr. Reuther's socialistic tendencies are pretty widely known.

The Bay City Times, in an editorial published August 14, places Reuther in the ranks of public power socialists and accuses him of using a phony safety issue to thwart this progress by private industry.

The editorial follows:

REUTHER WOULD STOP THIS PROGRESS

Every time the Power Reactor Development Co's. plant at Monroe comes around again in the whirl of the day's news, the motives and ideologies of Walter Reuther become more transparent than before if that is possible.

Ever since the plan to build the reactor with private funds was announced, Reuther has been crying that it is "unsafe."

He has been answered, again and again, by the country's leading atomic scientists. A study by University of Michigan scientists—who are close enough to Monroe to be concerned personally with the safety aspects of the plan—again has reaffirmed the company's contention that the plant is harmless.

Despite that, Reuther is asking Congress to reject an allotment of $4,200,000 in research funds for the plant. Those who let Reuther think for them join in the appeals to Washington.

The House, in effect, has rejected the appeal by voting to restore the funds cut out of an appropriation bill by the Democratic-controlled Senate-House atomic energy committee, but the CIO leader will keep right on trying.

Reuther, who, on the basis of his past performances, deserves a high rank among the public power socialists, wants to kill a $4,200,000 research allotment so that Uncle Sam can spend many times that amount building the reactor powerplant with Government money.

The only danger in the Monroe project is to the socialists who can't stand the thought of their pet theories being damaged by a successful private venture into a new field of power production.

They see the development of atomic power as a golden opportunity to establish the Government as the sole proprietor of the power generating industry in America.

They see every plant built with private funds as a defeat in the development of their grand strategy. They will use every trick in the book, including a phony safety issue, in an effort to win this crucial battle.

A Tumbling House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have requested permission to have included the following editorial from the Daily Dunklin Democrat, of Kennett, Mo., under date of Friday, August 16, 1957, because I believe it does set forth some of the fears which are being expressed in connection with a recent request from the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. Jack Stapleton, Jr., publisher of this newspaper, has set forth quite clearly why the farmers of America and others who recognize agriculture as the basis of any sound economy feel that Secretary Benson's record does not justify either their confidence or the authority which he seeks.

I am sure that many, in fact most of the Members of Congress will agree that no action of the Secretary of Agriculture would warrant the authority which he seeks and which unquestionably could be used to do even greater injury to millions of farm families:

A TUMBLING HOUSE

The Secretary of Agriculture wants authority from Congress to peg farm support prices at anywhere from 90 percent of parity down to zero percent.

He has specifically requested Congress for this authority.

And there are undoubtedly some in both the Senate and the House who would give him this right.

But we hope, for the sake of American agriculture, that no secretary—and particularly Mr. Benson—ever gains this much control over the economic life of such a large segment of the American population.

Mr. Benson, individually, does not deserve the authority, based on his past record.

For it was Benson who suggested to candidate Eisenhower back in 1952 that the farmer should receive 100 percent of parity. But it was Benson who later termed this rate dangerous and unnecessary.

And it was Benson who suggested that the American farmer should be free of governmental controls and operate under a free system of production. But it has been Benson who has constantly tightened and restricted the number of acres the American farmer can use for major crops.

And it was Benson who called for greater marketing facilities for the American farmer. But it took an act of Congress to force Benson to begin an export program for such major crops as cotton.

And it was Benson who has constantly criticized his predecessors for their official acts while in his office. But under Benson, farm income has declined from $14 billion in 1952 to $11 billion in 1956.

And it was Benson who stated that the farmer must make sufficient profit from his operations to meet capital costs. But under Benson, the national farm debt has increased by exactly 50 percent.

And it was Benson who said the Commodity Credit Corporation must be made to show a profit. But under Benson, the CCC has lost three times the amount of money it did in the previous 20 years, while CCC stocks have increased from $2 billion in 1953 to more than $8 billion as of January 1, 1957.

The House of Agriculture, under Benson, has been a house divided against itself. Cotton legislators in Congress now find that representatives from other areas are no longer sympathetic to our problems. Much of this can be attributed to the energetic work of Mr. Secretary Benson.

The House of Agriculture needs restoration, but it will not be rebuilt by Benson or his general friend who lives at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

It will only be restored by a comprehensive farm plan from Congress. To date the Congress has lacked the fortitude to take up the tools and start to work.

But it must now allow Benson to take the hammer he seeks or the House of Agriculture will come tumbling down.

Deductions Must Be Voluntary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, when the bill was before the House recently to provide for a checkoff in the sale of livestock I voted against it for the reason that it was not voluntary.

The bill provided for a compulsory deduction when a farmer sold his livestock and was voluntary only in the sense that he could apply for a refund of the deduction within 30 days after the sale. To how many groups a farmer

would have to apply to obtain his refunds was completely unclear in the proposed legislation. There is little doubt that the House Agriculture Committee could have obtained passage of this legislation had it provided that written consent of farmers be obtained for the deductions before they were made. With that proviso, the voluntary deduction would have been fact and not fiction.

The following editorial from the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier sums up quite well the reasons why this proposed legislation met decisive defeat in the House, and the basis on which it would have a chance for enactment:

The House recently refused, by a 216 to 175 vote, to debate a bill which would have authorized deductions, for promotional purposes, of up to 10 cents a head for cattle and calves when marketed and up to 5 cents a head for sheep, lambs and swine.

The vote was a victory for the American Farm Bureau Federation and other general farm organizations which had opposed the bill and a defeat for the meat producers' associations which had favored it. Geographically, the bill was favored by heavy majorities in the West and South but opposed by heavy majorities in the Middle West and East.

The idea of a checkoff for promotion of agricultural products is not new. Dairymen pioneered the idea and the deductions from milk checks are used for local dairy promotions and the national advertising campaigns of the American Dairy Association. A similar deduction is made on livestock marketings (augmented by packer donations) to finance the activities of the National Livestock and Meat Board. A deduction is made from the Government subsidies paid wool producers to finance promotion of that fiber. Many cooperative marketing organizations, as exemplified by citrus-fruit growers, engage in extensive promotional efforts.

Why, then, did the House refuse to debate the bill? One reason was no doubt the fear of influential general farm organizations that independent associations of farm producers would obtain large sums in this way and thus counteract the influence of the general organizations. If meat producers obtained these deductions, why should not producers of major crops form associations to promote those crops? The American Soybean Association is seeking a similar checkoff to promote soybeans.

But opponents of the proposal also stimulated fears that the checkoff system would add to food costs, that the checkoff was something less than voluntary and that there was no clear indication in the law as to which producers' groups were to get the funds. Under the proposal, the deductions would be made automatically at livestock markets and producers would have been required to request refunds within 30 days if they did not desire to participate in the program. That is the system currently used by the dairy associations.

A promotional deduction on livestock would be under a legal cloud only at the posted markets. There is nothing to prevent producers now from making a voluntary donation for promotional purposes if meat packers agree to serve as the collection agency.

The Courier believes, however, that Congress should eliminate all legal obstacles to voluntary contributions by farmers who wish to participate in these promotional efforts. But such legalizing acts should clearly establish that the "checkoff" is a voluntary contribution and not a tax. The ethics of the transaction would be more firmly established if producers of either livestock or dairy products signed authorizations for the checkoff in advance of the sale and designated the agency or association which was to receive the money.

While that complicates the routine of collections, it puts the program on a much more sound basis. Since the support of the overwhelming majority of producers would, in any case, be needed, it should be possible to obtain this advance approval of the deduction. And such a system would leave opponents of the plan without any effective argument.

America, the Beautiful Illustrated in Methodist National Publication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, America, the Beautiful, which is known as America's second national anthem, will be illustrated in an 8 page color spread of the August issue of Together. Announcement of this has been made by Lawrence Giese, Milwaukee, chairman of the board of world peace of the Wisconsin conference of the Methodist Church which has been active in promoting this hymn as an anthem portraying the peaceful aspects of our Nation.

The illustrations of America, the Beautiful, are the results of a nationwide contest which started last fall for colored pictures which would best illustrate the hymn. Over 7,000 persons submitted 13,000 transparencies in the biggest contest ever held in securing illustrations for a hymn. It is estimated that the entrants culled about a million transparencies to secure the choicest representations. One individual went through over 2,000 slides to select several that he would submit.

Printing of these color illustrations is creating a great deal of attention in both Methodist and non-Methodist groups. Together, the official Methodist publication, is a monthly 80-page magazine, having over 850,000 subscribers, nearly 40,000 from Wisconsin.

America, the Beautiful was written as the result of an inspiration received by Miss Katharine Lee Bates as she made a journey up Pike's Peak by prairie wagon in 1893. The indelible impressions of a 3-week stay in Colorado Springs are embodied in the four stanzas of the hymn which were written before she left. The hymn was first published on July 4, 1895 with slight revisions during the next decade. When set to music to the tune of Materna, it became intensely popular at that time and the popularity continues to increase. It is sung at rallies, patriotic gatherings, and conventions. It is a favorite hymn of our service men and women all over the world—it is sung by people of all faiths.

It reflects the beauty and bountifulness of our Nation, it embraces the best of the major religions, each stanza ends with a prayer for a better nation. It is dedicated to the past, it concerns itself with the present, it is hopeful for that which the future holds. It is no wonder then that the lead paragraph in Together states that—

You can't see America without thanking God for the bountiess and beauties of our land—her fields in harvest, her deserts in bloom, teeming commerce, skyscraper cities, and above all, free men with the spirit and the strength to match our mountains.

Miss Bates in her private autobiography wrote:

That the hymn has gained such a hold as it has upon our people, is clearly due to the fact that Americans are at heart idealists with a fundamental faith in human brotherhood.

Methodist congregations in the Wisconsin conference will be singing the hymn on Sunday, August 25. Many will be singing from Together with the 13 colored illustrations as a background for the words.

I hope all my fellow Members of Congress will have an opportunity to see this wonderful pictorial presentation.

Factors in Future of Far East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, many things are taking place in the Far East which will shape the course of Asia and the world in the years to come. The enclosed story, taken from the Washington Evening Star of July 23, 1957, points out some of the issues of great significance. Because Dr. You Chan Yang is intimately acquainted with these problems and is also a very good friend of the United States, these charges are deserving of study and consideration:

REDS PLAN SUB BUILDUP IN VLADIVOSTOK, UNITED STATES TOLD

(By Earl H. Voss)

Closing the port of Vladivostok portends a buildup of secret submarine activity and a stepped-up flow of munitions to Communist North Korea, Ambassador You Chan Yang, of the Republic of Koren, warned today.

He said he is passing this information, drawn from Korean intelligence sources, to the United States Government.

The Soviet Union's Council of Ministers announced the closing of Vladivostok to foreign ships and planes last Saturday.

Red submarines already are concentrating at Vladivostok, according to Ambassador Yang's information.

HUNGNAM BASE SEEN

He believes the Soviet Union plans to base a submarine fleet not only at Vladivostok but also at Hungnam, in North Korea, the port from which American troops were evacuated after being cut off by the Chinese Communist forces.

From these bases Ambassador Yang expects Soviet submarines to fan out over the whole Pacific. In case of war, he believes they would be able to close all of eastern Asia.

Dr. Yang also warned that the closing of Vladivostok—"a naked power move"—will

influence negatively Japan's "tenuous relationship with the free world."

He fears that the new Soviet power in the North Pacific will enable the Kremlin to bring new pressure on the Japanese Government which, in his view, is already "doing everything to please the Communists."

Ambassador Yang also criticized American policy on Okinawa and the Ryukyus Islands.

Secretary of State Dulles repeated recently that the United States will maintain military forces and administrative control in Okinawa as long as defense requirements dictate it, but that Japan has residual sovereignty there.

Ambassador Yang claims that the Ryukyuans are not Japanese either historically or ethnologically and should be made an independent island state.

"We believe the United States, in the position it is now taking on the Ryukyus," the Ambassador stated, "is making a grievous mistake and, like the great and magnanimous Nation we know it to be,should clearly affirm anew to the world that it stands for freedom and independence of all nations, large and small, and for justice and human dignity for all peoples."

WARNS OF JAPAN

In warning of a resurgent Japan, Ambassador Yang said:

"We pray the United States will realize, before it is too late, that the stronger Japan becomes, the more brazenly it speeds down its present course of playing both sides against the middle and, above all, for the renewal of Japanese hegemony in Asia.

"The return of the Ryukyus to Japan's dominating control would be a major first step toward realization of its aggressively resurgent dream of expansionism."

Internal Revenue Service Proposes Further Invasion of Rights of Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here a letter from two of my constituents which I wish to commend to the attention and earnest consideration of my colleagues. The Internal Revenue Service is proposing new regulations in regard to the ownership of firearms and ammunition by our citizens which are direct violations of the second and fourth amendments to the Constitution, which provide respectively: "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," and "to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searchers and seizures."

The letter follows:

HANSBORO, N. DAK., *August 7, 1957.*

Hon. USHER L. BURDICK,
Representative in Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BURDICK: I am writing you for the purpose of making a most emphatic and indignant protest against adoption of the proposed new regulations of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit of the Internal Revenue Service, which are to implement the Federal Firearms Act. These proposed new regulations, and particularly sections 177.50, 177.51, 177.52, 177.54 and 177.55, go far beyond the original intent of the law as written by the Congress, and amount to a rewriting of the law by the enforcement agency concerned. The impact of the new regulations, particularly on small business, gunsmiths and ordinary hardware and sporting goods dealers will be so sharp it will lead to many of them going out of business, and will also lead to widespread violation and evasion. I suggest the Congress should sharply scrutinize these new regulations as to the intent and purpose of this agency.

Section 177.50 provides for stamping of much more information on all firearms than is now the case, making a great deal more expense for the manufacturer, both in the stamping and the attendant record keeping. No good purpose is served by this additional marking, which goes way beyond even that required by the United States Customs on imported firearms. There is no present problem which would be solved, or to which a solution would be approached, by this marking, unless the creation of myriads of records is considered a desirable purpose. No regard or consideration is given to the difficulty of marking, on imported weapons, for instance, of heat treated steel parts such as the receivers, which after manufacture is completed are extremely difficult to even drill for the mounting of sights. The question also occurs to this writer, "do these people intend an attempt at making all firearms manufactured prior to promulgation of these rules, to be contraband, because not properly marked?"

Section 177.51 provides for the keeping of records, voluminous records to be kept in perpetuity. This appears to be an attempt to obtain by subterfuge a record of all the firearms in the country, together with the names and addresses of the owners (registration of firearms). I see no reason why the man that buys a firearm for his own use, a rifle or shotgun to be kept on the farm, should have a record made permanently of such transaction. What conceivable useful purpose can it serve? It is an unwarranted invasion of privacy, and, of course, these records will be just ducky for a Commie or other fifth column to use. It could work out the same as in France in 1940 after the German breakthrough and the breaking down of the French armies, when the Gestapo used the French firearms registration lists in disarming the people, which was the direct cause of the French maquis being so slow to getting started with the resistance—no arms.

Section 177.52 is probably the prize foolishness of the lot—ammunition records. Each dealer must maintain on the licensed premises complete records of the receipt and sale of all pistol and revolver ammunition, the identity of the purchaser and also of the wholesaler to be shown, with disposition of each box recorded, with address of purchaser. If this section is aimed at criminals, how asinine to think they would identify themselves in buying ammunition, to say nothing of the fact that the criminal uses very little ammo, and steals most of that. If the section is not aimed at criminals, what is the purpose of the recording of this information?

Section 177.54 provides that in over-the-counter sales of firearms, the buyer must acknowledge receipt of the weapon in his own handwriting. This, being that it applies to all firearms, rifles, shotguns, and handguns, seems to have no useful or legitimate purpose under the act and will just build up a feeling on the part of the prospective buyer, "I don't want to buy a gun if I'm going to be treated like a criminal." And, as there appears to be no provision in the regulation for the buyer furnishing documentary identification, the wrongdoer, if he does buy a gun, will either give a false name and address or use fraudulent identification.

Section 177.55 provides, in effect, for "exploratory searches," without search warrants, and exploratory searches, even with a warrant, are illegal and always are frowned upon in law. What the ATTU agent would be searching for, or what he would do if he found something he thought was a violation, is hard to determine. This section provides ostensibly for examination of records, and then, for searches of the premises.

This rewriting of the regulations under the Federal Firearms Act, to build a lot more powers for the enforcement agency than, I think were ever intended by Congress, goes a lot more deeply into the rights of things than appears at first glance. It is an infringement of the rights of Americans to possess, and use, under proper regulations as to game seasons, etc., personal firearms without a lot of arbitrary and unnecessary governmental controls. Also at issue is the matter of whether by a mere rewriting of regulations our rights to possess such arms, as is stated in article 2 of the Bill of Rights, can be slowly strangled without legislative action by our appointed representatives.

Departmental action such as this I am petitioning you about, plays right into the hands of the Communists, and probably of other dissident factions, for one of the basic tenets of the Communist Party is the disarming of the party of the citizenry who would support the Government against their attempts to take over by force. And the terrific load of recordkeeping, with little or no usefulness, added to the already great load of social-security records, income-tax deductions, etc., leaves too little time for keeping up a small business. There is another thing to be considered, I think, and that is the expense to the Government of administration of the rewritten records. If the ATTU has now enough of a staff to handle all this additional work, they have been overstaffed a long time. And, if they do not, consider the increase of the number of agents, travel funds, and additional motor vehicles to be required.

I would suggest that this Federal Firearms Act be repealed, as having outlived its usefulness, or if retained, be transferred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for enforcement. The actual revenue derived from the act does not justify the expense of administration at present, to say nothing of the prospective increase in such expense.

Sincerely yours,

LEROY H. ANDERSON.
GRANVILLE WARD.

Sound Farm Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as one who has been an outspoken critic of production-adjustment laws and the principle of the Federal agricultural price-support program, I was pleased to read an article entitled "Faith in Farmers" which under unanimous consent I will include following these brief remarks. This article was in the August 19, 1957, Farm Bureau News.

I hope in particular that this article will be read by my distinguished friends who are members of the committees of the House of Representatives having to do with agriculture and farm policy. It has seemed to me, Mr. Speaker, that there has been some encouraging evidence and signs of hope in this first ses-

sion of the 85th Congress; namely, that the membership of the Committee on Agriculture is at odds and, as a result of their division of opinion or partisan politics, much farm legislation has not been reported; either that or bills have been openly scuttled on the floor. This is a situation which in time might help both the farmers and the housewives of America.

As the editor of the Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman says, the farmers are capable of controlling their own production without, I would add, pricing their products out of the markets such as Uncle Sam has done with peanuts—to name only one commodity.

The following illustration is a reminder that it is time to return to a policy of sound farm economics:

FAITH IN FARMERS

(By Dan B. Murphy)

Like most of you, I thoroughly dislike having someone say "I told you so."

Therefore, I've been hesitant about doing a column on the hog situation. However, I'd still like to review a bit on this matter—not to rub in any previous claim or statement—but in the hope that we all may have learned something.

As you recall, hogs 18 months or so back dropped way below production costs. You were losing not only your work, but a good part of your actual feed. Naturally, you were worried. So were we.

In the strain of that situation, a widespread effort was made to convince farmers that the only solution was to set supports under hogs at 15–16 cents—and ask Government to control our pork output.

Farm Bureau members had been asked for their ideas on livestock supports several times. They had studied the matter that fall. Their decision, as noted in some 40,000 written answers, had been strongly against imposing supports and controls on livestock. The several producer groups had arrived independently at the same policy.

We therefore opposed such supports and controls.

By holding to the position of our members, we became target No. 1. I had scores of letters saying we were selling farmers down the river. Most of these letters insisted that farmers could not reduce hog numbers without Government regulation. We heard, over and over, the statement that farmers had no choice but to raise more and more hogs—in a desperate effort to survive.

Farm Bureau lost members over this matter, even though we explained what we thought were the key factors repeatedly. Experience had shown that controls usually don't work well, and that price supports almost automatically become price ceilings. We contended that the free market rewards farmers when they exercise the necessary self-control, just as it was then penalizing us for plunging too heavily.

We had faith in farmers' ability to limit output. The other forces insisted farmers could not get the job done—and they urged Iowans to settle for $15 or $16 hogs, even though this was likely to become a ceiling.

Perhaps now we can be more objective. We can examine the two kinds of thinking in terms of fact. Farmers did reduce output without Federal orders. Markets did respond as they they always have and prices have run well above the proposed support for more than a year.

When you see headlines about $22–$23 hogs, please remember that had you taken bad advice in a panicky time, the cost to you would be running at $8 per hundred on your hogs. Strangely enough, you'll be hearing the same bad advice, based on the same unsound premises, the next time hog prices drop. So think now, and decide now—on which side was right.

The Cameron Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. T. A. THOMPSON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, it befell the lot of the people of my district to suffer the devastation of the first killer hurricane of the 1957 hurricane season. Hurricane Audrey which came into the Louisiana coast at Cameron on June 26 and carried with it a wall of water from the Gulf of Mexico varying in height along this coast from 8 to 13 feet above normal tides. Even at this date, Mr. Speaker, an evaluation of losses, both in lives and properties, cannot be accurately determined. I do know that upwards of 600 of our people are known to be killed or are still missing—most of those missing presumed to be dead—and untold millions of dollars in property have been lost by the force of water and gales.

My frequent absence from Washington since the hurricane, I hope, will be understood by this membership. I felt it my duty to be with my people in the time of their great anguish to assist in any way that I could in coordinating the efforts of our various governmental agencies who are charged with the responsibility of rendering assistance in such disasters.

I am extremely proud, Mr. Speaker, of the marvelous efforts put forth by Senators ELLENDER and LONG and Congressman WILLIS, of the Third District, and all of our Federal officials who observed their responsibilities and reacted to them in a most expeditious manner. From the time the President declared the disaster as one qualifying for emergency assistance, the Federal Civil Defense Administration assumed the helm of operations and nothing was left undone in the matter of rescue and rehabilitation.

That organization, which represents the generosity and understanding of all the American people, namely the Red Cross, again has proved that it reflects the great humanitarian instincts of the American people. The work that was done by the Red Cross from the time the hurricane struck our areas and the work that I know is planned to be done in rehabilitation can well be an inspiration to all of us. Mr. Donald Stout, who is in charge from the national level of the Red Cross, and his associates are people of great understanding and long experience in the matter of disaster relief. The local Red Cross chapters have worked tirelessly and have no doubt been directly responsible for the saving of many lives and will be on the scene until these unfortunate people can again resume a semblance of normalcy in their lives. The American people can well be proud of these accomplishments by the Red Cross and her sister agency, the Salvation Army.

Having gone into the area immediately after hurricane Audrey had struck, I was able to see the activities of our local agencies in the matter of rescue and assistance to the suffering. Sheriff O. B. Carter and all of the officials of Cameron Parish, many of whom had themselves lost some of their dear ones and most of their properties, worked tirelessly and with inspiration. And the people of the Parish of Calcasieu, who themselves sustained many losses, reacted generously and with a show of true American neighborliness. The local civil-defense officials and other local government officials set up emergency procedures and at great risk to themselves were able to rescue literally hundreds of people who otherwise would have been lost.

Sheriff Henry A. Reid and Mayor Sidney Gray, of Calcasieu Parish, and the city of Lake Charles and other city officials did a banner job in setting up rescue stations, refugee camps, and feeding stations in coordination with Federal agencies and the Red Cross.

Sheriff Reid especially displayed great courage and effectiveness that only a staff as well trained as his could have accomplished. Throughout the day of the hurricane and the trying days following, Sheriff Reid and his deputies plied the streams of the area under almost impossible circumstances to evacuate those who were marooned on housetops and in trees, most of whom could not have survived too many hours otherwise.

The entire fraternity of the medical profession, including the nurses of the area and sepecially Dr. C. W. Clark, who himself lost half of his family, and Drs. G. W. Dix and S. E. Carter, should be commended by the American people for their heroic efforts. Certainly, it would be proper to consider that special Federal commendation be afforded these men and others who accomplished seemingly impossible tasks which exemplify the highest traditions of American heroism.

Mr. Speaker, there have been many questions asked as to whether sufficient warning was given to the people of my areas in regard to this impending disaster. Unfortunately, there have been some charges made as to incompetence or laxity in the operation of some of our services. It would not be my purpose to criticize or condemn, but certainly, there is a lesson to be learned from this horrible catastrophe and it shall be my purpose to seek better methods and adequate equipment, which I am sure will be available to us through the ingenuity of our scientists and men of training in the matter of protection of lives and property, not only of the people of my areas, but wherever an even remote possibility of visitation by such a storm exists. Four years ago, Mr. Speaker, I initiated legislation to authorize that weather ships be placed in the Gulf of Mexico, where nearly all of the tropical hurricanes are born, which perhaps, if implemented, would have supplied the necessary information

to many who were otherwise uninformed as to the danger. I am even now not certain, however, that this would be the answer. Suggestions have been made of providing hurricane-tracking airplanes. Perhaps a more tightly knit ring of radar installations around the perimeter of the gulf would be the answer. I feel that I am not qualified to judge these things which are of the most technical nature, but I do insist that our qualified Government scientists be given whatever authorization is necessary for them to proceed with studies with the assurance that our Government will accomplish their recommendations, not in the nebulous future, but as a matter of utmost urgency.

Last week at my suggestion, hearings were held in the area by Gen. Holmes E. Dager and Mr. Welcome Wilson, of the Natural Disaster Division of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, and other qualified persons in order to build up a file of information which will later reveal the weaknesses in our present system of weather forecasts and rescue operations. These hearings I attended and I am confident that in a short time, the answer to these all-important problems will be found and it is my hope that this body will take whatever action is necessary to insure our people of this Nation that adequate protection and forewarning will be provided.

Mr. Speaker, I know that this entire membership joins me in extending heartfelt sympathy to those who lost their dear ones to hurricane Audrey and it is my hope that we can join our efforts towards the ends that the loss of these lives may well serve the purpose of providing means for others to survive.

Seventh District Tour Schedule, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, to discuss the problems, interests, and wishes of the people of the Seventh Congressional District, I will meet people at the various post offices in accordance with the following schedules:

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30

8:30: Trafalgar.
9:30: Nineveh.
10:30: Edinburg.
11:30: Franklin.
1:45: Needham.
2:30: Whiteland.
3:30: Greenwood.
4:30: Bargersville.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31

9:30: Indian Springs.
10:30: Shoals.
11:30: Loogootee.
1:30: Alfordsville.
2:30: Burns City.
3:30: Crane.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 4

9:00: Oakland City.
10:15: Somerville.
11:00: Mackey.
12:00: Ft. Branch.
1:30: Owensville.
2:45: Haubstadt.
3:45: Buckskin.
5:00: Princeton.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5

8:00: Francisco.
9:00: Patoka.
10:00: Hazleton.
10:30: Decker.
11:30: Vincinnes.
2:00: Monroe City.
3:00: Wheatland.
4:00: Bruceville.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6

8:30: Emison.
9:30: Oaktown.
10:30: Freelandville.
11:30: Ragsdale.
12:15: Bicknell.
2:00: Edwardsport.
2:45: Westphalia.
3:30: Sandborn.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8

9:00: Odon.
10:00: Elnora.
11:00: Plainville.
12:00: Washington.
2:00: Montgomery.
3:00: Cannelburg.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12

9:00: Solsberry.
10:00: Owensburg.
11:00: Koleen.
12:00: Bloomfield.
1:30: Doans.
2:15: Scotland.
3:15: Newberry.
4:00: Switz City.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13

8:30: Worthington.
9:30: Jasonville.
10:30: Coalmont.
11:30: Midland.
12:30: Linton.
2:00: Marco.
3:00: Lyons.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14

9:00: Farmersburg.
10:00: Shelburn.
11:00: Hymera.
12:00: Sullivan.
2:00: Fairbanks.
3:00: Graysville.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15

9:30: Merom.
10:00: New Lebanon.
11:00: Paxton.
12:00: Carlisle.
2:00: Pleasantville.
3:00: Dugger.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18

8:30: Harmony.
9:00: Knightsville.
10:30: Carbon.
11:00: Brazil.
1:30: Staunton.
2:30: Cory.
3:30: Poland.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19

9:30: Bowling Green.
10:30: Center Point.
11:30: Clay City.
1:30: Coal City.
2:30: Patricksburg.
3:30: Spencer.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21

9:00: Freedom.
10:00: Gosport.
11:00: Quincy.
1:30: Eminence.
2:30: Hall.
3:30: Monrovia.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22

8:30: Harrodsburg.
9:30: Smithville.
10:15: Clear Creek.
11:15: Stanford.
12:15: Bloomington.
2:30: Unionville.
3:30: Ellettsville.
4:30: Stinesville.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25

9:00: Morgantown.
10:00: Centerton.
11:00: Brooklyn.
12:00: Mooresville.
2:30: Paragon.
3:30: Martinsville.

The Construction of a Sister Ship to Steamship "United States" Highly Important at This Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, two similar bills, H. R. 4342, by Mr. BONNER of North Carolina, and H. R. 9351, by Mr. TOLLEFSON, of Washington, were introduced today which, I believe, merit the immediate attention of every Member. The purpose of the bills is to authorize commencement of construction during the present fiscal year of a sister ship to the *United States* as a replacement for the steamship *America*. The effect of favorable action on the bills would be to guarantee the continued development of a maritime fleet capable of protecting the national interest in peace or in war.

Mr. Speaker, a matter of such great importance deserves an objective and dispassionate examination by the House. My appeal is to reason—to the dedicated concern of my colleagues—for the well-being of the land we serve. The facts which I shall present at this time will establish beyond any doubt the justification and the urgent need for the measure which has been offered.

In evaluating this appeal, I trust that Members will bear in mind several fundamental factors which attest to the national significance and the emergency nature of the problem.

The principles of this proposed legislation are supported by the entire maritime industry. In 2 years of active discussion of the issue, every interested and qualified individual—in Government and

out—has indorsed the idea of replacing the *America* with a superliner of the *United States* class. There is universal agreement that failure to do so would be tantamount to scuttling our future as a first-line maritime power. Even more important, it would all but demolish the capacity of our merchant fleet to do its assigned job in the event of another national emergency.

Mr. Speaker, that is too big a price to pay—too grievous a risk to run—for the sake of achieving a relatively small dollar saving.

The course provided for in these bills involves no radical departure from precedent. As a matter of fact, from our recent experience in connection with the building of the *United States*, it serves to diminish the problems and uncertainties which normally would attend an undertaking of this size. Of course, Members will recall that the construction of the *United States* involved substantial misunderstandings and controversy. There were questionable procedures and even litigation before delivery.

But I submit, Mr. Speaker, that it would be illogical and foolish for anyone to permit these circumstances to weight his judgment against the building of a second superliner at this time. On the contrary, the very fact that there were difficulties and the fact that a most searching investigation was made provides assurance that the difficulties will not be repeated.

We Americans traditionally place great stock in performance. The record, we hold, is a fair judge.

Today, after 5 years of service, the *United States* is the unchallenged queen of the seas. On her maiden voyage she established a speed record for the North Atlantic crossing which no other vessel has approached. She has operated at 95 percent capacity, well above the rated level for her class. Her fuel consumption has been less than was anticipated, attesting to the soundness of her design. To millions of our friends abroad who have seen her come and go in the ports of Northern Europe, she is a majestic reminder of the power and prestige of the Nation whose name and flag she bears.

Mr. Speaker, on the basis of the record, I suggest that every Member of this House today can derive real satisfaction from the construction and performance of this splendid ship. Certainly those Members who have made a crossing on the *United States* will agree with me. Let me point out, however, that one vessel—even one of this caliber—does not make a fleet. Our ocean-going passenger fleet, at the present time, is woefully inadequate. We simply are not competing with foreign-flag ships either on the seas or in the shipyards.

The reason for this is well known to Members who have followed the fortunes of our maritime industry in recent years. Our merchant marine was a casualty of World War II, and it has continued in casualty status as a result of post-war policies which have in effect aided its foreign competition.

In September of 1939 we had in commercial operation a total of 123 passenger ships with a capacity of 38,000 passengers. Today we have 39 ships with a capacity of 11,170 passengers. Of these 39 ships only 4 can sustain a speed of over 20 knots, and more than half operate under 18 knots.

This fleet, as a unit, is old and slow. Many of the ships have passed the age of economic operation. According to our naval leaders, their transport utility in wartime would be extremely limited and would entail severe risk.

The ship construction program now underway will bring America's passenger fleet up to approximately one-half its pre-war tonnage. From the standpoint of our maritime progress, the prospect is at best disappointing. From the competitive standpoint, it is dismal.

For other maritime powers also are building ships, and most of them are building at a far greater rate. The ship construction program now underway in the United Kingdom, for example, will restore that fleet to 81 percent of its prewar size. The Netherlands will have 81 percent of its prewar tonnage, France 71 percent, and Greece, Norway, and Sweden 100 percent.

In each of these countries the government is contributing substantially to passengership construction. In some, the government is doing the whole job. And in every instance this building program has been made possible and accelerated by American economic aid.

Mr. Speaker, I do not quarrel with the principle of foreign aid. I invite every Member to ponder and decide, however, whether it is consistent and wise, while carrying on such a program, to withhold continuing support of our own maritime fleet.

The procedure contemplated in these two bills which have been introduced would permit commencement of work this year on a sister ship of the *United States*. It is a procedure that has been proved sound over a period of many years of cooperation between the Government and the maritime industry. Favorable consideration, in my opinion, would assure that the Congress is fulfilling at least its minimum obligation—as set forth in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 to "foster the development and encourage the maintenance of a strong merchant marine."

Mr. Speaker, action by this Congress at this session to authorize the replacement of the *America* with a vessel of the *United States* type is clearly in the national interest. Let me cite some of the specific and practical advantages from which the entire country would benefit.

First, construction should have been started this fall in order to have the new vessel ready for service at the time the *America* is due for retirement in 1960. Unless we act now, the *America* in all probability will be removed from service at that time, leaving just one American-flag vessel on the North Atlantic passenger run. This is so because the terms of the contract between the Government and the United States Lines provide that the *America's* operating subsidy will be withdrawn in 1960 unless a replacement contract is in effect.

Second, construction of the ship would strengthen our overall defense posture. The Navy Department wants the vessel built. Its spokesmen, both civilian and uniformed, have repeatedly supported the project as being essential to the national defense. Testifying before a House Committee more than a year ago, a naval official stated—I quote:

> The construction of this ship will (1) help to relieve the block obsolescence in transport vessels. There are some 24 Victory-type transport vessels in the national defense reserve fleet whose deficiencies in speed and safety cannot be overcome economically; (2) give the United States a capability of delivering 308,000 troops to Europe in a year as compared to the capability of the Steamship *America* to deliver 124,000 troops per year in convoy; and (3) provide a greater measure of safety to the troops carried against submarine and air attack because of its very high speed and the inherent flexibility in its use.

Third, savings in time and money can be realized by making use of the basic design and engineering features incorporated in the steamship *United States*. We have the word of the Navy and the Maritime Administration that a sister ship, built at this time, would require only minor modifications of the *United States* plans.

Finally—again in the important area of economy—it is reasonably certain that costs of material and labor will be 5 percent higher a year from now than they are today. Where is the economy in postponing this matter? I have sufficient faith in the wisdom of the Congress and the Administration to assume that sooner or later a ship of this type will be built. Certainly, there is no economy in a further delay which can only jack up the final cost.

The legislation which has been presented was not drawn in haste. Neither is it offered in criticism of our established procedures. I commend it to your consideration at this time as a means of correcting what I believe to have been a simple oversight occasioned by perhaps an overly emotional—and in this case a misdirected—concern for economy.

Mr. Speaker, in fiscal year 1957 the Congress appropriated the sum of $100,700,000 for the purpose of ship construction. The budget estimate for fiscal 1958, as it came to us from the Administration, was $94,500,000—and the estimate included provision for the building of a sister ship to the *United States*. However, the Appropriations Committee recommended, and the House approved, a cut from $94,500,000 to $3 million, a gigantic reduction of more than 96 percent. Among the items eliminated was the one providing for the *America's* replacement.

The committee, acting in good faith, stated that its action was based upon the fact that considerable funds would carry over from the 1957 appropriation and upon the belief that this unspent reserve would support an effective maritime program for another year. Mr. Speaker, the facts do not sustain that belief. For the reasons which I have summarized, the people who are closest to our maritime needs are in agreement that an effective ship construction pro-

gram for 1958 must include a start on replacement of the *America*.

I am convinced that, in acting on the appropriation bill, the House did not have the opportunity to fully understand the effect of this wholesale reduction. The Maritime Administration, itself was not in a position to aggressively support its case. And those who might have pressed the matter apparently attached higher priorities to other items in the budget.

Be that as it may, Mr. Speaker, the issue is not one of placing blame. My appeal now is for action by the House in the national interest. We have the time and, in my judgment, we have the responsibility to avoid an error whose consequences might well be disastrous.

I count extravagance and inefficiency in Government among the mortal enemies of our Republic. My record as a Member of this body will, I believe, verify that fact. But, Mr. Speaker, there is sometimes a thin line, particularly in the field of defense, between extravagance and sensible precaution.

Should an emergency develop and leave us no choice but to commit our boys' lives to transport that is too little and too late, it will be no help to them that we thought we were practicing economy.

During the present session we have approved a Federal budget of $78.2 billion. Many of us would prefer to have the Government run for less, but none of us seriously doubts the capacity of our economy to survive. The bill for which I ask my colleagues' support would entail a cost during the new fiscal year of $75 million. The price, I submit, is small in terms of what it will buy for America. It is a part—and a fractional part—of the price which we can and must afford for military and economic preparedness.

Mr. Speaker, the Members of this House bear an awesome responsibility with respect to the future security of our country. We best discharge that responsibility when we act not from fear but from reason, not for the moment but for the future, not in deference to possible criticism but in in furtherance of the Nation's strength. Let us heed the counsel of reason and vision and statesmenship, and act favorably on this bill.

Creation of a Commission To Study the Utilization of Those Areas of the Radiofrequency Spectrum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on June 20 of this year I introduced House Joint Resolution 381 proposing the creation of a Commission To Study the Utilization of Those Areas of the Radiofrequency Spectrum which are assigned to the Federal Government. An identical proposal had been introduced previously by Senator POTTER.

The three Commission members would be experts in the communications field, but they would not be officers or employees of the Federal Government. The obvious purpose of this study would be to allow persons outside of the Federal Government, but competent in the field, to see how well the frequencies reserved for Government use are being utilized. It is not uncommon in matter of great public interest to establish a study group composed of private individuals; our Government has not been and should not become a closed-door operation.

The Commission, in addition, would make some assessments about the future requirements for Government use of radio frequencies. The rapid changes in armament have brought about startling innovations in the fields of communications and electronics. New uses for the airwaves have been found, and many of these uses are important to our defense establishment. We have heard of the ever-increasing crowding of the airlanes, but the increasing demands of airwaves are perhaps even more of a problem. It is not a matter to be considered lightly, and this resolution was put forth with very serious purposes.

The resolution was referred to the Commitee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce which requested reports from several agencies of the executive branch. The Bureau of the Budget, in replying to this request for comment, reported adversely on the bill and endorsed the views set forth in a letter from the Office of Defense Mobilization to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on Senate Joint Resolution 106, Senator POTTER'S resolution.

The Director of Defense Mobilization states that such an undertaking would require the work of many experts over an extended period of time, pointing out that a recent study of only a portion of the spectrum required the efforts of more than 50 experts for an estimated equivalent of 2½ man-years. He did not say that because this report was classified the public was merely informed that the Government could not release any of the spectrum space it is currently in possession of. Furthermore, the Commission would be expected to make use of the results of any such investigations completed by Government agencies. The resolution states specifically that—

> The Commission is authorized to secure from any department, agency, or independent instrumentality of the Federal Government any information (including information which has been classified for security purposes) it deems necessary or desirable to enable it to carry out its functions.

It would use such information as base for its further investigations.

The Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, in the letter referred to above, states—

> The classified report which resulted from the study pointed out that in addition to national security requirements, the programs for guided missiles, radar networks, earth satellites, and other defense necessities will continue to cause an ever-increasing demand for radio frequencies.

It is in this field that we are trying to provide some light.

I became interested in this inquiry partly because of recurring reports that the Military Establishment is going to request the use of frequencies in the area between 50 and 90 megacycles. Such use might infringe on the frequencies of five VHF television channels. Channel 2 is 54 to 60 megacycles; channel 3 is 60 to 66 megacycles; channel 4 is 66 to 72 megacycles; channel 5 is 76 to 82 megacycles; channel 6 is 82 to 88 megacycles. It is apparently the contention of at least some military engineers that defense requirements may bump television out of these frequencies.

This is a matter of great public concern. Should the hundreds of stations on these channels be forced to move, where would they go? If space were found for them in the UHF frequencies, it would greatly alter and impair their service, and cause further bumping and jostling of other stations. What about the millions of Americans who have television sets designed to receive these frequencies, and in some cases receive service only on these frequencies? Television is here to stay as much as the cold war; adequate service is a public demand which must be considered and met.

In addition to the VHF television frequencies, the public has a great interest in many of the uses of other radio frequencies, and the future problems and use of them are of significant and national interest. I do not suggest that the Government officials charged with responsibilities in this field are unaware or unmindful of this national interest. I do suggest that an independent study of the field is called for, whether it be by the Commission I have proposed or by some other means.

If the Congress passes this resolution, it would not of course be with any intention of hindering defense efforts or hampering nondefense communications use of radio frequencies. The members of the Commission, appointed by the President, could surely be expected to be men dedicated to our national interest. The purpose of the study would be merely to let someone from the outside peer in, for it is easy to become so engrossed in our own labors that we lose perspective and fail to comprehend the broader view.

The Federal Communications Commission is empowered to assign radio frequencies to non-Government users, and the President is empowered to assign frequencies to Federal Government users. There is no designated arbiter. Should the President decide that the national interest required him to appropriate other portions of the radio frequency spectrum for the use of the Government, public acceptance would surely be gained more quickly if a study of all available material by competent private persons had been made.

The need for some independent study is apparent to me, and if the Congress decides against the Commission proposed, then some other body or a special committee of the Congress itself should be given the responsibility for it.

Sobering Views on Foreign-Aid Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 30, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times, in its editions this past Sunday, carried an editorial in which it observed that the House slash in President Eisenhower's mutual-security appropriations requests is a warning to our allies that the American public is beginning to weary of carrying so large a share of the free world defense burden and now expects them to assume a bigger share of it.

There is unquestioned truth in that statement, but, to me, the following sentence in the editorial is even more significant as we in this Congress continue to face the vital question of foreign aid.

The sentence stated:

But it is also a warning to all free nations, including ourselves, that if we all weary of the burden or seek to shift it to shoulders unable to bear it we stand in danger of facilitating a Soviet victory in the cold war and unleashing a new Soviet aggressiveness which could burst into the flames of a hot war.

Certainly, these are words to which we all should give grave consideration. Certainly, in the face of the President's repeated warnings, we should ask ourselves: Are we gambling with our Nation's security when we wield a heavy and indiscriminate ax on mutual security funds?

I do not believe that any of us would dispute the need for economy; the need for a determined seeking of means by which the tax burden our people are carrying can be eased. But I do not believe that any of us—or the people we represent—would want such economies to be made at the tragic price of weakening our Nation's strength in a sorely troubled world.

The bitter harvest we might reap from such a shortsighted policy would be not only far vaster expenditures than we now are considering, but the blood of our men and the hopes of our future, as well.

In recent days, there have been a number of penetrating editorials written on the mutual-security question. Today, I would like to submit for study by Members of this House, two of these editorials—one from the New York Herald Tribune of August 17 and the other from the Newark Evening News, Newark, N. J., of August 16.

The Herald Tribune editorial follows:

FALSE ECONOMY

The House, in one of those aberrations that seem to seize legislative bodies when adjournment draws near, has slashed the mutual-security program of the United States to ribbons. After authorizing a program totaling $3,367,083,000 on Wednesday, on Thursday it refused to appropriate more than $2,524,760,000 in new money and confined the whole program to $3,191,800,000, including unspent funds.

The authorization measure, a compromise between House and Senate versions of the bill, was already half a billion dollars short of what President Eisenhower had requested. Signing it, the President took the unusual step of calling a special press conference to underline his fear that this cut would have serious effects and his prayerful hope that the act would enable his Government to sustain the essential interests of the United States in the free world. That the House could, the very next day, make a bad matter much worse, shows a lack of responsibility on the part of that body.

There is no use, at this time, in assessing all the elements that went into the debacle. The administration undoubtedly contributed to it, in part through open dissensions among Cabinet members over the size of the budget, in part through the failure of the President, in person or by deputy, to fight for the mutual-security program early enough, in part through the changes of front on military spending in the Defense Department budget. But this does not relieve the House of the onus of slashing the mutual-security funds in the teeth of warnings from almost everyone who knows what these funds mean to the United States and the free world.

There are two ways in which the program can be salvaged. One is by firm Senate action, concurred in by the House. The other is by a special session. The President has said quite plainly that he will watch the overseas situation carefully and whenever for lack of money the United States interests become placed in real jeopardy, at that moment I would have no recourse except to call a special session.

The House made its cuts in the name of economy. It is attempting to practice false economy, since for every dollar saved in this manner, much blood and treasure might have to be spent. As the President said: "Here is the cheapest money we can spend, as long as we are talking about getting security for the United States." The House majority—the Republicans put up a good fight for the President's plan—may prefer to get security the hard way, in isolation, but that is not what the American people have voted for in any election since World War II. The mutual-security program must go forward, with all the money needed to do the job.

The Newark Evening News editorial follows:

PRESIDENTIAL WARNING

A lagging Congress with one eager eye on adjournment and a less eager one on the unfinished part of the President's legislative program has had a jolt. Mr. Eisenhower has raised the possibility of a special session if he doesn't get the full amount of money authorized for foreign aid.

Congressional Democrats protested. Some spoke of the President's warning as a threat, a term which he rejected.

Yet it was only a short time ago that the Chief Executive was roundly criticized from the same sources for failing to speak out at the last minute for his school-aid bill. He was accused of responsibility for the death of that measure, which he had made an essential part of his program.

Now, when he intervenes to prevent further whittling of mutual security funds, Senator JOHNSON, majority leader, responded that Congress, in its collective judgment, would determine what was adequate for foreign aid.

That imperative presidential action was required was made evident shortly afterward when a House appropriations subcommittee defiantly voted to cut $842 million from the authorized funds. This would be in addition to a half-billion cut already made by the authorization bill. The House itself followed the committee's lead and approved the new reduction, 252 to 130.

Mr. Eisenhower had told a special press conference he hoped the Government would be able to get by with the amount covered in the authorization bill. But he said if funds made available proved inadequate to maintain American interests, he would have no recourse but to recall Congress.

He called this the cheapest money we spend. In effect, he warned those who are trying to pare it down that the country will not permit the security program to be damaged by misguided legislators who imagine this a safe place to strike an economy pose because the issue has no local political impact.

One-Hundred-Billion-Dollar Road to Graft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present an editorial which appeared in the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La., on Wednesday, August 7, 1957, entitled "One Hundred Billion Dollar Road to Graft." The highway program is important to all of us and I feel this editorial offers interesting reading. It is as follows:

ONE-HUNDRED-BILLION-DOLLAR ROAD TO GRAFT

The huge Federal road building program, under which approximately $100 billion will be spent by the Federal Government and the States in a network of highways totaling 41,000 miles and linking practically all cities of more than 50,000 population in the United States, is a step toward both prosperity and corruption.

This is the most colossal project of road building since the Roman Empire built 50,000 miles of what we would today call dirt trails—a job that took 500 years, where the present program is supposed to be completed in 15 years.

When $100 billion of public tax money is to be spent a lot of people are certain to have sticky fingers. Those sticky fingers already have appeared. The question now is how much of this spending is going to be along the lines of graft and corruption and how much is going to be along the lines of honesty.

One hundred billion dollars is something to attract the attention of big league crooks, particularly those in the field of politics who think they can get by with moral crookedness and bypassing of laws, as well as those who are tempted simply to break laws. Life magazine points out examples of plain, unadulterated, statutory crookedness that already has been exposed in certain States and raises the question of whether this is going to spread to other States. It says, editorially, in part:

"At least two States have proved that their highway appointees were ill-prepared to handle the coming Federal shower of gold without scandal. A Pennsylvania jury last week convicted five men, including a former turnpike commission chairman, of trying to defraud the commission of no less than $19,500,000. The case involved a contract to drill and fill some abandoned coal mines that underlay a turnpike extension, but the work done was largely a gigantic boondoggle, and the contract was clearly drawn either by grafters or incompetents.

"In Indiana three former highway officials, including a commission chairman, have been indicted for misusing their jobs. The chairman is charged with purveying inside dope on prospective land acquisition so

that friends could buy lots and then sell them to the State at excessive prices. This same chairman has also shown up in nearby Iowa, charged by a legislative committee with trying to rig specifications for highway equipmen there. But Iowa is in good shape compared to Indiana, where a lot of other people apparently got into the land acquisition act, including Maurice Hutcheson, president of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, 1 of the 4 unions which will have most to do with the whole road-building program.

"The Indiana mess came to light through the enterprise of the Indianapolis newspapers, the kind of enterprise which every State needs to keep its highway skirts clean. But the subsequent cleanup has certainly been hastened by the fact that Bertram Tallamy, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, immediately announced that he was withholding Federal funds from Indiana. According to the grand jury, a chief source of the corruption was the sloppy housekeeping of the highway department under former Governor Craig. The department had neither the trained personnel nor the clear regulations it needed. The new Governor, Harold Handley, has installed a new hard as nails policy which has recently removed the stopper from the Federal faucet.

"The Indiana experience shows where most trouble is to be expected in the new program, namely land acquisition. The appraisal of land values is an inexact science at best, but it is complicated by two factors, one old and one new. The new one is the limited access highway, which may divide a man's farm in two and force him to drive 30 miles to get across it; this can destroy as much value as the old-fashioned highway used to create. The older factor is the larcenous impulse that wells up in every landowner whenever he smells taxpayers' dough. When the State's offer to buy is backed by the threat of condemnation, this larcenous impulse becomes self-righteous, and judges and juries often share it. Since close to a million parcels will be changing hands before we get these highways built, this attitude may add enormously to their cost.

"One way to combat it has already been learned by the best highway departments. Former Chairman Robert Beck of the Iowa highway commission says they 'have long since abandoned the horse-trade theory * * * The State does not want to pay less than it is worth, or it would be cheating its own citizens; nor does it want to pay more.' The method of publicity for intended routes, independent prenegotiation appraisal, and condemnation if necessary should gradually tame our natural larceny and minimize the margin for graft.

"The Bureau of Public Roads has set and can enforce minimum national standards, but there remains a wide spread between the best and worst of the 48 independent highway departments. Nearly half of these are not yet immunized from politics (though some of those which remain political, notably Texas and Virginia, have very good highway departments indeed). Every department will need to do more than it has to attract and hold good engineers. When the Maryland department launched a college recruitment program lately, it was able to find only 1 of 80 needed engineers and in the meantime lost 70 more. The engineer shortage may prove to be the most vulnerable part of the whole program unless every department improves its pay and professional status.

"Thus further scandals are to be expected; but it would be a sad mistake to take them for granted. Not only good newspapers but public attitudes can make an enormous difference, as is evidenced by the best highway department of them all, California's.

"It has its own sources of income and methods of expenditure, prescribed by the constitution and statutes, virtually beyond any legislative meddling. Its highly professional staff is protected by civil service and its unpaid commissioners are picked by the Governor 'with just as much care,' says the director of the northern California AAA, 'as a regent of the university. He can't afford to mix politics with highways because every motorist in California watches him like a hawk.' The land acquisition program, wholly separate from maintenance and construction, is run according to a long-range plan which the legislature adopted in 1953 after 8 years of study and hearings. Contractors are kept up to taw by their own organizations, by State records of past performance called 'the integrity file,' by the AAA and by other private groups. Behind all this is a public attitude that stems from the fact that California grew to political maturity in the automobile era. Everybody depends on the highways, from farmers to weekend skiers, and everybody is his own watchdog. Says one State senator, 'It would be easier and safer to tamper with the water supply than the highway program. This is a highway State.'

"The other 47 are, or soon will be, 'highway States' too. The vast new road program will be cleaner, cheaper, and better if all of us copy our best models."

Equal Rights for Men and Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, throuhout the United States today, many thousands of women are engaged in what most of us consider to be a highly meritorious effort to gain support for House Resolution No. 127, proposing an amendment to the Constitution relative to equal rights for men and women.

Some weeks ago it was my pleasure to be one of the 239 Members of the House who lent their names as sponsors to this resolution. I have continued to be greatly interested in the progress of this rapidly growing campaign to breakdown the remaining barriers standing in the way of equal rights.

It is a long and arduous job that these women have taken upon themselves, since as we all know, passage of a constitutional amendment requires approval not only of two-thirds of the House and two-thirds of the Senate, but approval of the legislatures of 36 of the States.

If she were alive today, Susan B. Anthony would be proud of these thousands of members of her sex who continue the heroic fight which she so bravely initiated. I am sure that the great mass of Americans—men and women alike—stand shoulder to shoulder with those who lead in these final skirmishes for equality and justice.

Naturally enough, among our vast population of 170 million people, there are bound to be some who oppose the equal-rights amendment. Among women, of course, the opposition constitutes but a handful and this is daily growing smaller.

However, I am informed that there are sinister influences at work to make it seem that the number of people against the amendment is much greater than it really is.

The most vocal opponents of equal rights are found among the members of the Communist Party, who, through their newspaper, the Daily Worker, and by other insidious means are seeking to block this legislation.

I am informed that a woman lawyer from Burma, who is also a distinguished educator, recently declared thousands of leaflets are being distributed to women in Communist-dominated nations of the Far East which distort beyond all recognition the actual legal discriminations that exist against women in the United States.

These leaflets use the standard Communist technique of combining halflies and half-truths to influence Asiatic women against American institutions and women.

Mr. Speaker, passage of the equal-rights amendment would put an end to this vicious Communist propaganda by eliminating the few remaining outmoded State laws that make it possible to malign our democratic principles. In this connection, I urge approval by the House of the equal-rights amendment at the earliest possible date.

The Northwest Timber Industry Looks Toward the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the Northwest States of Washington and Oregon contain 30 percent of the timber supply of the United States and supply the Nation with 25 percent of their annual timber needs. Such a national resource is vital to our future and its management must provide for its permanence.

In this area are some 2,500 wood-producing and wood-using plants employing 140,000 workers and producing wood products annually valued at nearly $2 billion. Their annual payroll exceeds $700 million. A resource industry of such magnitude is of vital concern to all of us and must be operated in such a way as to assure a permanent supply of wood products both for the present and for future generations.

So that Members of Congress will have information on how this resource is being developed and managed I present part of a paper recently read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers by Mr. W. D. Hagenstein of Portland, Oreg. Mr. Hagenstein is vice president of the Industrial Forestry Association and an outstanding authority on tree farming and forest management. The article follows:

Wood is a replaceable resource. To meet the needs of America's growing population for homes, food packaging, books, writing

paper, newspapers, rayon, furniture, and a thousand other everyday uses, the wood processing industry is harvesting, manufacturing, and growing trees. In few places has forest management been more dynamic than in the Douglas fir region, where the forest industry began its march toward permanence by founding the tree-farm program in 1941.

The Douglas fir region, a highly productive forest, extends from British Columbia to the Oregon-California boundary and from the Cascades west to the Pacific Ocean. This relatively small region, named after its principal tree species, contains only 5.3 percent of the total commercial forest land in the United States. It has 30 percent of the Nation's timber supply. It serves the American people with one-quarter of their annual timber needs.

The Douglas fir region has gone through a revolution in wood use in the last 15 years. Nowhere in the world in so short a time has a giant industry so integrated its operations to get the most from each log by processing it or portions of it in the plant which can get the most out of it.

The region's diversified wood use is best demonstrated by pertinent statistics. In 1955 it produced 9.6 billion feet of lumber, 4.4 billion square feet of plywood, 2.7 million squares of shingles, 3 million doors, 3.4 million tons of wood pulp, 1.9 million tons of paper and paperboard, and 435 million square feet of hard, soft, particle, and chip board.

These products were manufactured by a great number of wood-using plants including 843 sawmills, 29 pulp mills, 30 paper mills, 93 plywood plants, 63 veneer plants, 149 shingle mills, 17 board plants, and 17 door factories. In addition, there were 1,100 miscellaneous wood-using industries which produce molding, boxes and containers, treated products, furniture, wood flour, woodenware, cooperage, boat stock, cross arms, etc.

The value of forest products manufactured in 1955 was $1,845,000,000 or $570 for each of the region's 3¼ million people.

The forest industries employ directly more than 140,000 persons. Their wages in 1955 were nearly $700 million. In addition, another 90,000 people manufacture, distribute, and service equipment and furnish supplies for the wood processing industry and move its products to market. Six out of every ten railroad cars which leave the region carry forest products. Eighty percent of the waterborne tonnage is forest products. While no accurate data are at hand, trucking of forest products is significant.

Before a forest can be managed for the maintenance of a permanent wood processing industry, one must know its species, extent, growth habits, protection problems, and engineering problems of road construction and timber harvesting. Public forest policies because of the preponderance of Government ownership, forest taxation, and landownership pattern which affects access, protection against fire and insects and management planning, are also important considerations.

The Douglas-fir region has a relatively small number of commercial tree species. Five species comprise 90 percent of the total timber inventory. These, in order of importance, are Douglas-fir, western hemlock, true firs (actually five species), western redcedar and Sitka spruce.

Douglas-fir is the prime lumber species of the world because there is more of it, it is available in large sizes and long lengths, and has excellent structural properties. It is the principal softwood plywood species and makes excellent kraft pulp.

Western hemlock is the principal pulp species and is used particularly for sulfite pulp for tissues, rayon, cellophane, photographic film, explosives, and newsprint.

The true firs are principally pulp species, although they are used increasingly for lumber, particularly Shasta and Noble fir. Western red cedar is used primarily for shingles and lumber. Sitka spruce is used for lumber, sounding boards for musical instruments, woodenware, newsprint and sulphite pulp.

The total area of commercial forests in the Douglas fir region is 25.5 million acres. Of this, 52.4 percent is privately owned, 28 percent is in national forests 8.9 percent is managed by the Bureau of Land Management, other Federal holdings comprise 1.2 percent and local government owns 9.5 percent.

Merchantable timber inventory of the region is nearly 600 billion board feet. Private owners hold 45.6 percent, the Federal Government 48.5 percent (mostly in national forests) and local governments nearly 6 percent. It is clear that constructive management of public forests, as well as private, is essential for continuation of the region's wood processing industry.

Forestry begins with the axe in the Douglas fir region. Old-growth forests steadily decline in volume of usable wood. Their annual growth is more than offset by annual mortality. Therefore, changing the untamed, old-growth forest to a managed one must be accomplished by orderly conversion into a series of age classes from zero to rotation age for continuous production.

The region's coniferous forests grow best in even-aged stands. This dictates that to reproduce them, they must be harvested by clearcutting. Foresters have long recognized that provision of a seed supply and protection againt fire are the two main considerations in timber growing. Seed-bearing timber is reserved adjacent to harvest areas to regenerate them and adequate fire prevention practiced. Where these measures fail, artificial reforestation is used to keep the land productive.

A harvesting rate, termed "allowable cut," at which the oldgrowth forest is converted to the age classes necessary for continuous forestry must be determined. As advancing improvements in wood utilization make timber inventories obsolete every 5 years, an allowable cut, figured at any given time, must be recalculated periodically to reflect current economics and technology. This is one of the region's serious forestry problems at present.

Data for the past decade show that the principal government ownership, the national forests, has contributed only 12.3 percent of the region's log harvest, although its timber inventory was 37.3 percent. Private owners, on the other hand, holding only 45.6 percent of the timber supply, contributed 79.8 percent of the region's log harvest.

From these data it is clear that the national forests have been undercutting and private forests overcutting on the basis of any realistic allowable cut. This has made it difficult for adjusting timber harvest rates, irrespective of ownership, in some localities.

The current trend of the Federal Government to inventory its forests as rapidly as possible, some of them for the first time on any intensive basis, will help solve this problem by getting allowable cuts revised. An example of what this means in a specific situation is a national forest in western Oregon which has recently been reinventoried. In 1936 it was estimated to contain 13 billion board-feet of timber. Now it is found to have 31½ billion feet. Its previous allowable annual cut was calculated at 189 million board-feet. On the basis of the up-to-date inventory, which reflects today's economy and technology, a recalculated allowable cut will exceed 400 million board-feet per annum. If the Federal Government offers this allowable cut for sale each year, it will help local private owners, now overcutting, adjust their cut downward within the framework of a realistic allowable cut. This will permit them, too, to manage their forests permanently for the benefit of their communities.

To focus attention upon the necessity for forest management, the Douglas-fir industry started its tree-farm program in 1941. Its prime purpose was to mold public opinion for effective protection against forest fires. A second objective was to stabilize private landownership. Third, it was hoped that it would become a vital force in education of all private landowners to their forestry opportunities.

By 1957 there were 432 tree farms comprising nearly 5 million acres in the region. Ninety-eight percent of their area is owned by wood-using organizations.

At the time the tree-farm movement started forest products prices, from trees on the stump through the finished product, were relatively low. So were conversion costs. A rising demand for forest products and a change in timber supply and demand have resulted in driving timber prices up sharply in the last 12 years. With this has come a continuing and increasing interest in tree farming. Annual progress data for the region's industrial tree farms for the last 7 years illustrate this conclusively.

Many kinds of wood processing companies own and operate tree farms in the Douglas-fir region. In 1949, for example, 28 companies managed 51 tree farms. Fourteen properties were managed by five integrated companies which used their logs for more than one product; e. g., plywood and lumber, lumber and pulp, etc. In 1957 with 53 companies managing 108 tree farms, it is significant that 13 are integrated companies which manage 51 tree farms. This demonstrates the advancing trend of the Douglas-fir industry toward integration of wood use. Integration is one logical solution to the problems of high stumpage, logging, manufacturing, and shipping costs. Integration is occurring not only within single companies, but there are a dozen integrated wood-processing centers in the region in which there has been developed between a number of companies an outlet for every kind, size, shape, and quality of wood.

Another interesting trend has been the proportionate use of the log harvest for the principal forest products. In 1925 89.3 percent of logs were converted to lumber, 0.7 percent to plywood, 3 percent for pulp, and 7 percent for shingles. In 1955 the comparable percentages were lumber, 61.6 percent; plywood, 13.8 percent; pulp, 22.2 percent; shingles, 1.9 percent.

This appears that other uses are making inroads on log use at the expense of lumber, but the total footage converted to lumber in 1955 was almost the same as 30 years earlier. Also, more than two-fifths of wood used for pulp and board products is from leftovers rather than logs.

Currently the industry is experiencing a soft market. With many companies depending on public stumpage in whole or part, they are squeezed by a combination of high stumpage, logging and manufacturing costs, and high freight rates to the centers of consumption. When the market softens, something has to give. It will probably be timber prices and current appraisals for public timber are beginning to reflect this.

One of the greatest contributions made to the economy by tree farms has been the additional opportunities for wood use unearthed by their timber inventories. The writer previously reported what these meant in 1949. They are more important today. Had anyone predicted in 1941 that by the end of the decade relogging would occur annually on tens of thousands of acres previously logged for all their merchantable values, he would have been referred to a psychiatrist. But this is exactly what has happened and hun-

dreds of truckloads of small, broken, and defective logs are encountered daily on every public road in this region. This, coupled with the use of new timber volume tables which reflect current wood use and more accurate forest area data from aerial photographs, has increased the timber volume of the Douglas-fir region by 100 billion board-feet in the last decade. This additional timber inventory was always in the woods, but at the time of previous surveys wasn't usable or located. It is useful now for every major forest product. This means an additional 10 years' cut in old-growth forests with the accompanying benefit of aiding in the toughest problem of all in converting an unmanaged to a managed forest—building up the age classes necessary for continuous production.

Inside the Chapel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the other day, the House voted $3 million to build a chapel on the grounds of the Air Academy in Colorado.

Much of the debate questioned the outside appearance of the proposed $3 million chapel with its 19 aluminum spires. From the air, the spires would appear to blend into a vaulted structure with the look of a cathedral.

A small part of the debate touched on the 2 floors and the 3 chambers within the Air Force chapel to accommodate those of the Jewish, the Catholic and the Protestant faiths.

During the debate, models and drawings of the proposed inside and outside of the chapel were on display in the Speaker's lobby.

The concept of the proposed Air Force chapel was so bold, daring, and new that one had hardly time in debate to question the impression it would leave on those who entered its doors to worship.

And even if one did have the time and the presence of mind to question the impression given by the chapel, would such questioning be fitting and proper by the membership in the House Chamber?

The House voted the $3 million and left it for others to work out the nicities.

A chapel, by definition, is a private place of worship or oratory. It is not connected with a church. It is a subordinate place of worship, a sanctuary other than a parish or cathedral church.

To what extent will the Air Force chapel give one the impression of the love of God and of man? To what extent will it give one that impression of love on which all law hangs and in defense of which lives have been given?

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the inside of the Air Force chapel could do much to answer that question.

It could do much to keep our boys, though separate in faith, equal in their love of God and man, of country and countrymen, in defense of whose flag they pledge their lives.

As of possible assistance to those to whom Congress entrusted the refinements of the Air Force chapel, I should like to offer, if I may, for their consideration, a few observations on the inside of one of America's great and unique university chapels.

The stained glass is the chief glory of the Princeton chapel. It tells the story of the life and teaching of Jesus. It shows our Lord in the red robe of the martyr, in the blue robe of the philosopher and teacher, and in the white robe to judge the world at the second advent.

Great figures of the old testament are shown, as are great teachers of the gentiles in philosophy, theology, poetry, literature, law, and science.

Shown too are the great books thought to be the foundation of a university education.

As one enters the Princeton chapel, one is impressed by the love of God and of man, the love on which hangs all the law.

I trust it will be of help, Mr. Speaker, to all who are interested in the refinements of the Air Force chapel, to cite here a description of the Princeton chapel as it is found on page 12 of a booklet entitled, "A Guide to the Princeton Campus and Its Treasures," published in 1955 by the University League of Princeton, N. J.

The description follows:

THE PRINCETON CHAPEL

The university chapel, the fourth structure Princeton has built for her religious services in the course of 200 years, stands to the east of the library on the very summit of the ridge on which the university is situated. Visible for miles, the great church commands the flat Jersey plain to the south and to the east and, from a distance, impresses the visitor with its great length and height. But to one standing immediately in front of its elegant and intricately sculptured façade, the effect is one of intimacy rather than of grandeur. The chapel takes its proper place among the libraries and recitation halls and hardly seems any longer to be, as it is, second in size only to the Chapel of Kings, in Cambridge.

The façade with its pinnacled turrets resembles the transept of a cathedral. The great west window is recessed under a heavy moulding which terminates in clusters of pine cones to commemorate, in the form of a rebus, the Pyne family to whom the chapel is indebted for the beautiful west front. Above the outer arch of the entrance is carved the masterpiece of the sculptor John Angel, the two flying angles who display with sensitive hands the precious sudarium with its imprint of the Crown of Thorns to recall the Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ who himself sits in judgment—a majestic figure—in the tympanum over the main doors beneath. He is surrounded by the Four Beasts of the Apocalypse, symbolizing the Evangelists, and holds in his hands an open scroll on which is inscribed, in Greek, "Who is worthy to open the book."

The interior of the Princeton Chapel, to one who has passed through the low and oppressive narthex, comes as a revelation of space and dignity. The great width of the nave, wider than that of Westminster Abbey, the four great piers of the crossing opening into the transepts and choir, the distant east window with its myriad of little colored lights— all combine to produce what is the finest gothic interior in America. In spite of the great length (250 feet), the effect is one of harmonious unity and quiet caused by the emphasis on the enormous space of the crossing borne up by the many channelled piers and domed by the simple and beautiful vault culminating at its highest point (78 feet) in the central boss of the Holy Trinity.

The long choir to the east contains the elaborately carved and canopied stalls of the faculty of the university together with the throne of the president and the benches for the choir. Above, on either side, are the intricate organ cases with sculptures representing the eight Gregorian tones. All the woodwork in the choir is of English pollard oak from Sherwood Forest, finely grained and apt for the carving of the lace-like tracery and the many little statuettes of saints, scholars, and musicians who populate the stalls and standards of the choir. Included among them are St. Peter, Pope Gregory the Great, St. Augustine of Canterbury, St. Columba of Iona, Calvin, Jonathan Edwards, Ptolemy, St. Cecilia, Charlemagne, King Alfred, William of Wykeham, etc. At the end of the choir in front of the most elaborate stalls is the Communion table covered with a crimson pall and having upon it the brass flower vases and, as a focus for the whole chapel, the large gilded Celtic cross to recall Princeton's Scottish connections.

The shallow transepts are decorated with sedilia having cusped canopies. Above are sculptured the coats of arms of Nassau, the Isle of Jersey, George II, George Washington (north transept), of Princeton University, the University of Edinburgh, and Queen's College, Belfast (south transept). In the north transept also is placed, between the sedilia, the magnificent bronze high relief of President James McCosh by Augustus St. Gaudens, perhaps the greatest work of art in the chapel.

The chief glory of the Princeton chapel is the stained glass which fills most of the windows. The chapel contains the finest ensemble of this art to be found in the Western Hemisphere. Throughout the windows there runs a unified iconographic scheme or rather set of schemes. The subject of all is the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. This is made to culminate in the four great windows at the arms of the cruciform chapel. The central figure of each of these windows is Christ. In the north transept He is clad in the red robe of the martyr. Below is the inscription "He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved." and around Him are the great martyrs of the church and of history. The east window in the choir has Christ between the Virgin, His mother, and St. John, His friend. The inscription reads: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Above in the rose is represented the Crucifixion against a red ground. Below is the Last Supper instituting the commemoration of the death of the Lord, and around are many little scenes from the life of Christ to illustrate the love on which hang all the law and the prophets. The south transept shows Christ in the blue robe of the philosopher or teacher. The inscription reads: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Surrounding Him are the apostles of the New Testament, the fathers, and great religious teachers. The great west window shows Christ in the white robe, seated in a mandoria of the Signs of the Zodiac, coming to judge the world at the second advent. The inscription reads: "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." Around Christ are the four evangelists and the worthies of the Old and New Testaments and of history who have contributed to show the abundance of the Lord. Below is represented the Nativity, the First Advent, the coming of the Lord in the world. Immedi-

ately in the north aisle follow the windows of the Life of Christ culminating in the Passion represented in the many little scenes in the apsidal chapel of the north transept. In the south aisle windows are the Teachings and Parables of Christ beginning with the Sermon on the Mount and ending with the Parables of the Second Coming which then is represented in the Great West Window. In each of the two staircases leading to the gallery below this window are two lancets depicting the whole of the great parable of the Old Testament, the Book of Job, the righteous patriarch who contended with God. Above in the clerestory are, to the north, the great figures of the Old Testament and, to the south, the great teachers of the gentiles, in philosophy, theology, poetry, literature, law, and science.

The choir in its window of the love of God and man is the climax of the whole iconography, and this is expressed entirely from the four gospels. Supporting the gospels are four great Christian epics, each represented in one of the tall lateral windows of the choir. To the north are Dante's Divine Comedy and Malory's Morte d'Arthur. To the south are Milton's Paradise Lost and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. Thus in the choir, in the myriad of scenes, are pictorially displayed for all to see the great books which are the foundation of a university education. All these splendid windows are the masterworks of the famous glassmaker, Charles J. Connick.

The Princeton Chapel was built by Ralph Adams Cram and was dedicated on Memorial Day, 1928.—A. M. FRIEND.

Manpower Utilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on Manpower Utilization, I read with interest the article from the Reader's Digest of May 1957, "Let's Stop This Shocking Waste of Scientific Manpower," which deals with the types of problems we encountered in our investigation of the utilization of engineers in the Federal service. Congressman DAVIS, chairman of the subcommittee, has done an excellent job in bringing out the details of that investigation. I believe action should be taken to prevent any contractor with the Federal Government from using Federal funds to advertise for engineers. Thereby the problem will be greatly alleviated and if the example set by Boeing in recruiting and training young men to fill semiskilled jobs in engineering departments is followed, not only the industry but the Nation as a whole will benefit.

The article follows:

LET'S STOP THIS SHOCKING WASTE OF SCIENTIFIC MANPOWER

(By Albert Q. Maisel)

A vast—and rapidly growing—shortage of scientists and engineers is forcing cutbacks in military and civilian research programs and causing critical delays in the completion of urgent defense contracts.

For lack of engineering manpower, such major manufacturers as Caterpillar Tractor and Sylvania Electric have had repeatedly to turn down invitations to bid on production of material for our Armed Forces. Raytheon, AiResearch Manufacturing and scores of other firms report intermittent slowdowns in new product development. The Radio Corporation of America is searching for at least 1,000 additional graduate engineers, General Electric for 2,300. In the Civil Aeronautics Administration 35 percent of the authorized science and engineering positions have been vacant. At Redstone Arsenal, the Army's principal missile research center, the shortage of civilian scientists has exceeded 40 percent.

Behind this mounting famine of scientific brainpower lies the fact that ever since 1950 our output of college-graduated engineers has been from 20 to 40 percent below the soaring needs of our expanding economy. This June our colleges and universities will graduate fewer than 40,000 young physicists, metallurgists, mathematicians, and engineers—10,000 below the number needed to make up for deaths, retirements, and the normal growth of industry and research.

Is there any way to ease this crucial shortage—right now? Indeed there is. Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, president of California Institute of Technology, pointed it out a year ago. "If we could improve by only 5 percent the efficiency of our utilization of the 600,000 engineers we already have," he declared, "we would add to the effective supply of engineering talent as much as all this year's new graduates."

But that is exactly what the Defense Department and many of our largest defense plants have not been doing. Instead, they have been squandering the time and talent of thousands of their most skilled research and development experts.

Worse yet: Thousands of key men have been diverted from top priority research work to the wasteful job of luring away the scientific staffs of other defense plants, of civilian industries, and college faculties, and even of the Defense Department's most important military research labs.

Most fantastic of all, the Pentagon has been fostering and financing this piratical raiding with millions of your tax dollars and mine. For the Army, Navy, and Air Force have been lavishly "reimbursing" their industrial contractors for the cost of thousands of pages of flamboyant want ads and hundreds of high-pressure recruiting teams.

Three times within the last year and a half this prodigal waste of money and manpower has been detailed and documented in testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy and the House Armed Services and Civil Service Committees. Members of these committees have repeatedly prodded the Defense Department to alter its talent-squandering policies. But the most wasteful practices continue unabated.

At Government expense, for example, west coast airplane and electronic plants have been flooding east coast newspapers with advertisements urging engineers to abandon their jobs in the land of slush and snow and head for sunny California. These ads promise full relocation expenses. Even dogs and cats have been crated and transported—with the taxpayer, of course, picking up the bill.

East coast defense contractors have not taken this lying down. One large electronics manufacturer, for instance, has been using big space in newspapers all over the West for ads reading: "Are you homesick for fresh green spring, sparkling autumn, snowy winter? You can enjoy four-season living again—swimming, fishing, hunting, skiing, and unique career opportunities too." In 1 year this tempting offer induced some 230 engineers, most of them originally migrants from the East, to pick up stakes for a second cross-country trek and a second round of Government-reimbursed relocation expenses.

To flush out additional prospects, military contractors have been sending swarms of recruiters to every scientific meeting. The 308 physicists who attended a recent meeting of the American Institute of Physics were besieged by more than 2,000 job offers. Out of 40,000 who went to a recent convention of electronic engineers, an estimated 15,000 changed their positions before the sessions ended. "I was happy in my old job," explained one engineer, "but I just couldn't go home and tell my wife that I'd turned down an offer of a $2,500 increase."

What has all this shuffling and reshuffling been costing the taxpayer? With some 10,000 primary and subcontractors in the plane and missile field alone, the Pentagon has thus far been unable to supply congressional investigators with even an estimate of the total cost. But the Navy, in a spot check of 37 companies selected at random from among those doing most of their business with the Government, found that even this small group was running up total recruitment charges at the rate of nearly $9 million a year.

One contractor was spending $500,000 annually just for help-wanted advertising. Another firm's travel and moving expenses, which were charged back to the Pentagon, came to $540,000. A third firm spent $907,560 to recruit and relocate 193 engineers, but in the same period lost 134 engineers to other companies—thus scoring a net gain of only 59 men. For each engineer actually added to this plant's staff the Treasury had to pay out $15,380.

Yet such fantastic hiring costs are only a fraction of the staggering waste. For these raids and counterraids have been drastically reducing the productivity of our existing scientific work force. Before 1950, only 3 to 4 percent of all scientists and engineers switched from one plant or laboratory to another in any given year. But last year the engineering turnover was more than 12 percent, while in airplane manufacturing the turnover rate soared to 17 percent. Throughout industry the time wasted between jobs and in becoming familiar with new assignments is now estimated to equal the full year's productivity of nearly 19,000 engineers and scientists.

To tap the only source of new scientific talent, defense contractors and other industrial firms have sent their headhunters stalking over every college campus. This spring 500 such squads descended upon Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to solicit the services of 1,200 prospective graduates. Columbia, Rensselaer, Cal Tech, Georgia Tech, and Carnegie Tech have been similarly overrun. Outstanding students often have 50 job offers to choose from, at $450 a month and up, plus fringe benefits. The result, unfortunately for the future of research, is that hundreds of the best brains abandon their plans for further study which would lead to advanced degrees. Thus, the country has been losing its future Einsteins, Fermis, and Tellers.

Nearly every Government engineering and research laboratory has had its work disrupted and delayed by the raiding. Last year alone, offers of jobs at salary increases of $1,500 to $15,000 induced over 9,300 engineers and scientists to resign from Federal positions. The quit rate in Government labs today is 50 percent higher than that of private industry and is rocketing rapidly upward. The new hire rate, on the other hand, is plummeting downward.

Ironically, it is in the laboratories of the Defense Department itself that Pentagon-subsidized personnel pirates have been wreaking their greatest havoc. The Army Engineering Corps has lost 2,000 of its civilian engineers and scientists in less than 2 years. At its Fort Belvoir Research and Development Laboratories, one out of every

five of its budgeted scientific jobs is now vacant.

All three services have been desperately trying to compete with the free-spending recruiters from the defense plants. The Army Engineers, for instance, made 1,164 offers of employment to civilian engineers during a recent 3-month period. They managed to hire only 52. Recruiting squads from the White Sands Proving Ground visited 74 colleges, but could induce only 47 young men to accept jobs.

While paying its contractors to wreck its own research staffs, and everyone else's as well, the Defense Department has also been wasting the working time of thousands of engineers and scientists still under its control. About 5,000 draftees who are scientists and engineerss, for example, are currently serving in the Army as privates and corporals, classified under a special Scientific and Professional Personnel Program. Theoretically, they are being utilized to relieve the pressing shortage of civilian scientists in our understaffed military research laboratories. In practice, however, the Army has not seen fit to release these men from routine chores, and half their time is wasted upon KP and other fatigue details, on compulsory attendance at training movies and marching in parades. At Fort Belvoir, Congressman CARL HINSHAW found an entire company of masters and doctors of science being removed from lab duty 2 days a week to swab pots, pick up cigarette butts, and stand guard.

At Fort Monmouth, 50 draftee engineers made a 9-month study of the Army's utilization of their time. Keeping meticulous records, they found that details having nothing to do with their specialized skills had consumed the amazing total of 31,872 hours. Less than 60 percent of their time on duty was left—in short and unpredictable snatches—for their professional assignments.

At Rossford Ordnance Depot, two half-idle engineer draftees applied for transfers. Their request was rejected "due to the critical shortage." A few days later, these same men were given the vitally important task of copying long lists of serial numbers from file cards onto sheets of paper.

What about the civilian engineers and physical scientists who still work for the services? In a recent survey Army investigators interviewed 4,000 engineers and scientists in 14 principal Army research centers. They discovered that nearly one-third of the working time of these experts was being consumed by duties that could be performed by office managers, draftsmen, laboratory assistants, bottle washers, stock clerks, or messengers. The shocked investigators found that saving even half of this time—780 man-years—would make up for all the vacancies currently plaguing these Army labs.

Many large defense plants are as profligate as the Government in the misuse of scientists and engineers. A study by Booz, Allen, & Hamilton, management consultants, revealed that 41 percent of the scientists employed in 25 major companies were heavily burdened with such tasks as lettering on blueprints, compiling bibliographies and reports in longhand, and performing repetitive calculations which could have been done by assistants.

The stock excuse for these practices is the claim that technical help is even harder to find than graduate engineers. But that alibi was punctured back in 1951 when an ad appeared in Seattle newspapers, reading: "Boeing will teach you drafting and pay while you learn. Must be able to do simple arithmetic." In the first 2 days, 243 persons applied for the 6-week course, which has run to capacity ever since. Thanks to the graduates of this in-the-plant school, Boeing has trebled the proportion of semiskilled helpers in its engineering departments and eased its shortage of engineers by at least 1,000.

By a similar plan, International Business Machines has so increased its use of technical helpers that their number now equals the combined total of its scientists and engineers. The result? The quit rate in its laboratories has fallen to less than one-sixth of the national average.

Some firms use machines to replace or aid men. Sperry Gyroscope Co., for instances, has 11 sets of electronic computers which work out in minutes the solutions to mathematical problems that formerly took scores of engineers weeks.

At Hughes Aircraft, an intensive program to improve working conditions has produced phenomenal increases in productivity. Instead of huge bullpens, there are semiprivate offices, each shared by two or three men doing related work. Instead of having to line up to obtain supplies, scientists are trusted to browse through selfservice, supermarket stockrooms. For every three engineers, there are four supporting technicians, clerks and other aides. As a result, Hughes' quit rate has fallen below the west-coast average, while engineering output has skyrocketed.

Unfortunately, instances like these are the exceptions. Far more typical are conditions reported at another plane plant where more than 1,100 engineers are crowded into a loft originally designed for 750. Another group works immediately above a wind tunnel, the noise level being 80 decibels and the summer temperature sometimes topping 100°. Two hundred additional engineers work on an open mezzanine, overlooking a metalworking shop where the noise tops that of a boiler factory. More than a third of this plant's engineering staff quit their jobs in 1956, the highest turnover in the entire airframe industry.

What can be done to eliminate this waste of talent? Must we resort to wartime controls: job freezes and wage freezes? Not at all. Our shortage of engineers and scientists could be immeasurably and immediately eased by a few simple changes in Defense Department policies.

A logical first step would be to release from military service the 5,000 draftee scientists and at least an equal number of ROTC engineers and scientists whose specialized skills are currently going almost unused. They could serve far better in defense production.

A second would be to eliminate the Defense Department's misuse of its civilian engineering force.

Third, the armed services could curb the destructive practice of personnel pirating, and save many millions of dollars besides, by stopping their lush subsidies for recruiting teams and switch-your-job ads. Compelled to pay their own hiring expenses, most defense contractors would find it far cheaper to train technical aides and to improve working conditions in order to hold on to the engineers and scientists they already have.

Finally, military procurement officials could provide an incentive, a reward, for efficient use of engineers by defense firms, just as they reward efficient manufacturing production with share-the-savings contracts.

None of these steps are the panaceas of visionaries unfamiliar with the scientific manpower problem. They have been repeatedly recommended by outstanding educators and industrialists, by professional societies of scientists and engineers, and by three successive congressional investigations. Only the public, which pays for the waste, has not been heard from. If its powerful voice rang out—in letters to the Secretary of Defense and the Members of Congress—our shocking waste of engineers and scientists would soon come to a halt.

Justice, Jencks, and Junk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Post of August 12, 1957:

JUSTICE, JENCKS, AND JUNK

It has long been a fact of United States life that most newspapers, like most politicians, are unwilling to differ with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a public place.

But there is something especially degrading about the way in which most metropolitan dailies are serving as propaganda organs for the FBI in its campaign to overthrow the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case.

That decision affirmed nothing more than the sound American principle that a defendant shall have access to any information material to his defense—even if it be contained in that sacrosanct vault known as the FBI files.

It did not require the FBI to divulge any secrets or unveil any underground agents. It simply obliged the Government to decide whether the protection of such hidden bodies was more or less vital to the national security than an individual prosecution.

These distinctions are being hopelessly obscured in the drive to stampede Congress into enactment of legislation repealing the spirit and substance of the Jencks decision. The drive has reached new depths of fraud and fury in the aftermath of the indictment of accused Soviet intelligence agent Rudolf Abel.

The news columns of the august Herald Tribune are competing feverishly with those of the know-nothing gazettes in spreading the word that the FBI's war against communism in general and its prosecution of Abel in particular will be fatally crippled unless Congress acts at once to scrap the Jencks decision.

Legislation sponsored by Representative KEATING, Republican, New York, and noisily seconded by Representatives MARTIN, Republican, Massachusetts, and WALTER, Democrat, Pennsylvania, would in effect restore to the FBI—in cooperation with friendly and timid judges—the right to withhold relevant data where J. Edgar Hoover deemed such suppression expedient.

The growing tumult is clearly designed to smother free debate and to force frenzied legislative action in an area that deserves calm, thoughtful appraisal. Now, as so often before, it is being suggested that anyone who quesions the FBI formula must be a hireling or dupe of the Kremlin, and not even Chief Justice Warren has been spared such attack.

The timing of the tempest is parenthetically puzzling in view of the known facts in the Abel case. The chief witness against Abel, as the Times noted yesterday, will be Abel's former top aid, whose defection is no longer a secret. It is hard to believe under these circumstances that the success or failure of the prosecution truly hinges on the restoration of secrecy to the FBI files.

But in any event the crucial matter is the principle of disclosure; it is bigger than Abel or any other single case. Obviously Abel himself ceased to constitute a threat from the moment when the FBI caught up with his operations; in the past Mr. Hoover himself has noted that there are times when the FBI prefers to keep foreign agents under

surveillance rather than initiate prosecutions. If the Jencks decision actually threatens an effective trial, why was the indictment brought at this juncture?

Police agencies naturally prefer rules of operation which afford them maximum convenience and minimum complexity. They prefer to reveal as little as possible about their methods and to intimate that their work would be crippled if it became exposed to serious scrutiny. The FBI lives by that code. Yet that code for many years offered protection to such dubious FBI informants as Harvey Matusow, and subjected many Americans to unjust harassment at the hands of untrustworthy witnesses who flourished behind closed doors.

The Jencks decision was a dramatic reassertion of what used to be basic American doctrine: that business of our courts is to secure justice, not insure convictions, and that the rights of defendants shall not be subordinated to the comforts of the police. Surely this is the point at which our law clashes most fundamentally with the gospel of Communist and Fascist states. But that issue is being disguised and distorted by the panic of the patrioteers, and by the craven performances of most of the press.

Visit Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

COME TO THE COURTHOUSE—MEET YOUR CONGRESSMAN—HOME AFTER CONGRESS ADJOURNS—RENDER ACCOUNT OF STEWARDSHIP—HOLD GOVERNMENT CLINICS—NOT POLITICAL MEETINGS—SCHEDULE MEETINGS

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, during my 15 years in Congress I go home immediately after adjournment to render an account of my stewardship. This year I will again hold my government clinics in all of the 38 county-seat towns. The first hour in each clinic is devoted to high school students. The second hour to adults. The question and answer session is mutually beneficial, informative, and stimulating. It takes up all phases of government.

MEETINGS AT COURTHOUSE

September 16, Sidney, 2 p. m.
September 17, Chappell, 2 p. m.
September 17, Kimball, 8 p. m.
September 18, Bridgeport, 2 p. m.
September 18, Alliance, 8 p. m.
September 19, Harrison, 2 p. m.
September 19, Chadron, 8 p. m.
September 20, Rushville, 2 p. m.
September 20, Valentine, 8 p. m.
September 21, Springview, 10 a. m.
September 21, Bassett, 2 p. m.
September 21, Ainsworth, 8 p. m.
September 23, Butte, 10 a. m.
September 23, O'Neill, 2 p. m.
September 23, Ord, 8 p. m.
September 24, Bartlett, 10 a. m.
September 24, Taylor, 2 p. m.
September 24, Burwell, 8 p. m.
September 25, Greeley, 10 a. m.
September 25, Loup City, 2 p. m.
September 25, St. Paul, 8 p. m.
September 26, Grand Island, 2 p. m.
September 26, Kearney, 8 p. m.
September 27, Lexington, 2 p. m.
October 7, Broken Bow, 8 p. m.
October 8, Brewster, 10 a. m.
October 8, Thedford, 2 p. m.
October 8, Mullen, 8 p. m.
October 9, Tryon, 10 a. m.
October 9, North Platte, 2 p. m.
October 10, Stapleton, 2 p. m.
October 10, Ogallala, 8 p. m.
October 11, Arthur, 10 a. m.
October 11, Grant, 2 p. m.
October 11, Oshkosh, 8 p. m.
October 14, Harrisburg, 10 a. m.
October 14, Scottsbluff, 2 p. m.
October 15, Hyannis, 2 p. m.

Small Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the farm program over the years has consistently eliminated the small farmer and made more secure and powerful the big, factory-type farm.

When the program first started over 20 years ago, I insisted that the family-size farm should be given first consideration; that any allotments or quotas that were made should first guarantee to the family-size farmer a sufficient allotment to enable the farm family to earn enough for the family to enjoy a good standard of living. In other words, a cotton farmer should be allowed to market each year a sufficient number of bales of cotton at a fair price to give that farmer enough income for a good living and something for the future.

Although I testified before congressional committees and did everything possible to urge the adoption of such a proposal, it was not possible to get it accepted. The whole trend seemed to be during all these years to base the allocation on land or property without consideration of human rights or families. We are now suffering from that fallacious policy.

The time is likely to come when there will be a serious demand to divide up the large land holdings among farm families, who desire to work on the farm for a living. This has happened in other countries. I hope it is never forced in this country. We believe in the private enterprise system, but in the case of the small farmers, it has not worked satisfactorily because the small farmers have not had the right kind of opportunity. Therefore, if this trend and development go too far, there will be demands for changes that are not compatible to our private enterprise system. The way to forestall them is to make changes now before it is too late. There is little encouragement from the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, who advises small farmers to seek other employment.

Last week, there appeared in the De Kalb News, De Kalb, Tex., an interesting article on "The Small Farm," which I am inserting herewith. It is as follows:

THE SMALL FARM

An official of the Department of Agriculture recently stated that, in his opinion, there were too many farms in the United States. While the official may be right, we dislike accepting such a statement.

We like to believe that in this country there is always room for the free farmer, who wants to till his land and make his life by working the soil. We hesitate to accept the conclusion that farming is only for the big operator, the mass farmer, so to speak.

We think that America will be a stronger Nation, and a greater one, as long as the individual and his family can farm a small area, living with the soil and keeping in touch with the earth in this fashion. We think that no occupation is nobler than that of farming.

We suspect the trouble with the farmer today and the farm situation in the United States is that the farmer does not get an adequate share of the income and profits from his products. We think the Agriculture Department would do well to concentrate its efforts in his direction, rather than in the negative field, by concluding that we have too many farms.

Actually, the one-family farm can operate relatively cheaply today—with a few mechanized vehicles—because much of the labor is performed by the family itself, in the tradition of the farm, and therefore labor costs are kept down to a minimum.

If the farmer were getting his fair share of the income and profits derived from farm products there would always be room in this country for the one-family farm. We hope there will always be.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

Senator Knowland's Interview on the Meet the Press Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the program Meet the Press on which I appeared last Sunday evening.

There being no objection, the text of the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEET THE PRESS

(Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak, Sunday, August 18, 1957; moderator, Ned Brooks; guest, Senator William F. Knowland, Republican, of California; panel, May Craig (Portland (Maine) Press Herald), Lyle Wilson (United Press), Bill Thies (International News Service), and Lawrence E. Spivak)

The ANNOUNCER. Our guest, ladies and gentlemen, is Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Republican, from California, whose announcement early in January that he would not run again for the Senate has kept interest high in his future political plans.

Now, Meet the Press, the prizewinning program produced by Lawrence E. Spivak.

Ready for this spontaneous, unrehearsed conference are four of America's top reporters. Their questions, please remember, do not necessarily reflect their point of view. It is their way of getting a story for you.

Here is the moderator of Meet the Press, Mr. Ned Brooks.

Mr. BROOKS. And welcome once again to Meet the Press.

Our guest is the Republican leader of the Senate, Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, of California. As Congress comes closer to adjournment, important decisions are still to be made. One major issue is the administration's foreign program. The House of Representatives has reduced the appropriation asked by President Eisenhower by more than $800 million. Senator KNOWLAND was called to the White House on Friday to discuss the restoration of at least a substantial part of that reduction. He also was in the forefront of the battle to reach a compromise on the administration's civil-rights bill.

On the political front, Senator KNOWLAND's plans for the future have been the subject of much speculation. Early this year he announced he will not be a candidate for reelection in 1958. Since then he has been talked of prominently as a candidate for Governor of California next year and for President in 1960. When Congress adjourns he plans to make an extensive speaking tour of his home State.

Senator KNOWLAND has been the Republican leader of the Senate since 1953. He is a member of three important committees, Foreign Relations, Appropriations, and Atomic Energy.

And now seated around the press table ready to interview Senator KNOWLAND are Lyle Wilson of the United Press, May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press Herald, William Thies of International News Service, and Lawrence E. Spivak, our regular member of the Meet the Press panel.

Now, Senator KNOWLAND, if you are ready, we will start the questions with Mr. Spivak.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, you were one of the first to call for a cut in the foreign-aid program. Do you approve of the cuts made by the House or do you think, as the President does, that they have gone too far for our security?

Senator KNOWLAND. I think the House cuts go far too deeply for our national defense interests and our foreign policy. I believe that the Senate amount will be less than the authorization bill, but more than the House appropriation.

Actually, even with the authorization bill, if you will total the amount, will be over $1 billion less than the President first recommended in January.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, after your talks with the President, what do you consider the minimum foreign-aid money that we need?

Senator KNOWLAND. I think something in the neighborhood of $3 billion can be justified in the assistance to those Nations where we have a deep obligation, with mutual defense pacts, for instance Korea. We are supporting some 20 divisions—helping to support some 20 divisions there. I think it would be generally looked upon as a catastrophe if the Communists should be able to destroy seven divisions. Yet a 30-percent cut in the defense support and the military support for Korea would be indicated by the action taken by the House and I think that is far too deep a cut in our own national interests or the interests of the free world.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, there is one question I would like to ask you about the House of Representatives' most recent cut: Do you think that our House of Representatives is conducting itself as a responsible body when it votes a bill authorizing a foreign aid expenditure of $3.3 billion and then cuts that authorization when it comes to appropriating the money, to $2.5 billion, in round figures?

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes, I think the House is conducting itself—I certainly wouldn't be critical of the House action. That is part of our constitutional system. We have to get an adjustment between the House and the Senate point of view and I think there is room for an honest difference of opinion. They happen to have one viewpoint, the Senate may have another.

Mr. SPIVAK. Now, that is not what I am getting at, Senator. The House itself passed a bill for $3.1 billion and then in conference agreed to a bill roughly of $3.3 billion but now when it comes to appropriating the money for the bill that it itself accepted, it cuts it to $2.5 billion. Now, is that responsible government?

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes; I think it is responsible government, Mr. Spivak. It happens to be the viewpoint of a majority of the Members of the House. That is representative government. We don't have to agree with that action and term it irresponsible. I don't believe that is the proper term to use.

Mr. SPIVAK. No; but why did they pass a bill for $3.3 billion?

Senator KNOWLAND. That is not unusual for an authorization bill to be higher than an appropriation bill. I think that the House perhaps in the back of its mind may have thought that the Senate was going to adjust the amount upward. That has been done before. In the final analysis, however, I think that the House cut is too deep in our own national interest because it will most heavily fall upon the Republic of Korea where they are facing some very heavy Communist forcoes north of the 38th parallel; it would drastically cut the defense forces in the Republic of China, on Formosa; it would cut them in southeast Asia, in Pakistan and in Turkey and all of these countries have been very stout allies of ours.

Mr. THIES. Well, Senator, as the Republican leader of the Senate, do you fight for restoration of the full $800 million eliminated by the House or will you tend to compromise the $3 billion figure?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I do not believe that it is feasible to restore the entire amount of the authorization bill, but I do believe that the House reduction is deeper than it should have been and I shall certainly do what I can to have the Senate adjust those figures in the neighborhood of $3 billion.

That, as I pointed out before, will be a reduction of about $1,400,000,000 under the January recommendations of the President.

Mr. THIES. This week the President warned pretty bluntly that if he didn't get adequate foreign aid appropriations he would call Congress back into a special session. Now, what is your understanding of what he means by adequate?

Senator KNOWLAND. I didn't quite interpret his press conference statement in the way that you did. I think what he said was that if there were not adequate appropriations and if the world conditions warranted, where he felt that the national interests of our country were adversely affected, he would then consider calling Congress into special session and I think that would be the obligation of any President, Democrat or Republican, if he felt our vital national interests were adversely affected or if world conditions should indicate a further Communist encroachment.

Mr. THIES. In other words, if there is no worsening of the international situation he would not go that far?

Senator KNOWLAND. I am inclined to believe that would be the case because we will be back here in January. I think the second part of his alternative is the one that would be controlling if the international situation should warrant.

Mr. THIES. Did he have Syria in mind this week when he spoke of possible changes in the international situation?

Senator KNOWLAND. Syria is one of the critical problems in a very difficult area of the world and we never know when there may be some outbreak in the Middle East, in the Far East, or in Europe that would completely change the international situation. The developments in Syria certainly indicate that the situation in the Middle East is still tense.

Mrs. CRAIG. Senator, it is definite you will not run for the Senate in 1958?

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes; I made that position clear on January 7 and I have not changed it. I am not going to be a candidate for reelection to the Senate.

Mrs. CRAIG. Will you retain the Senate leadership while you are in the Senate?

Senator KNOWLAND. I have no present intentions of resigning from the Senate leadership.

Mrs. CRAIG. Will you tell us whether or not you are going to run for Governor of California?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; not at this time. When I make that decision I expect to inform the people of California, in the State of California.

Mrs. CRAIG. If you remain as leader, how would you get time to campaign for governor?

Senator KNOWLAND. We will cross that bridge when we come to it, Mrs. Craig.

Mrs. CRAIG. Did you read the story in the Washington Star, the interview with Mrs. Knowland, in which she said that she believed you would run, but you were not committed?

Senator KNOWLAND. I read the interview and that was her opinion.

Mrs. CRAIG. Do you agree with her?

Senator KNOWLAND. I would say I have never attempted to censor my wife's views or her letters.

Mrs. CRAIG. Well, Senator, you are scheduled for something like 45 speeches in September in California. Now, if you are not going to run for reelection, what are you going to make speeches about?

Senator KNOWLAND. Oh, Mrs. Craig, for 12 years I have gone back to California and made reports to the people of my State and I am doing that this year. I may discuss some other problems with them as well, but I am still reporting on conditions in Washington and elsewhere in the world.

Mrs. CRAIG. Do you have any agreement, tacit or otherwise, with Vice President NIXON that he will support you for governor if you decide to run for governor?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I have no agreement with the Vice President whatsoever.

Mr. WILSON. Senator, may I take you to perhaps an easier area, back to foreign relations? When President Eisenhower proposed aerial inspection at the summit conference, it is my recollection that you were something less than enthusiastic. Now the aerial inspection idea seems to be basic in the present disarmament discussion. Do you think now that that proposal or the policy is useful, desirable, or mistaken?

Senator KNOWLAND. When the original proposal was made, Mr. Wilson, it is true that I was less than enthusiastic until we had some of the details develop. For instance, on the first announcement I could personally not picture a situation where Soviet planes would be allowed to fly over the United States and maybe fly over six times and on the seventh time come over containing atomic or other weapons and I wanted to be sure how we were to be safeguarded in that regard. I think that has been satisfactorily explained that either the planes, if they were Soviet planes, would have to land at an American airport, we will say in Alaska or elsewhere, be searched, take on an American observer before they could proceed, or American planes would be furnished to Soviet observers and they would make the trip in that way, so we would be safeguarded against maybe on the sixth or seventh trip, having a sting in the tail of the plane, so to speak.

The next thing was, personally I could not accept the idea that we would merely inspect the frozen wastes of Siberia while they were inspecting all of the United States including my own State of California, and the United States west of the Mississippi River. I thought this was trading 1 horse for 1 rabbit and that did not appeal to me. But that is not the proposal. If they are only willing to allow arctic areas to be inspected, I now understand our position that we will only allow arctic areas in Alaska and northern Canada to be inspected.

If they will allow all of their country to be inspected, we would then consider allowing all of our country to be inspected but I think it is a more equitable arrangement than some of the Soviet proposals that have heretofore been made.

Mr. WILSON. Would you be prepared to defend it in the Senate?

Senator KNOWLAND. I would be prepared, with the necessary safeguards.

Mr. WILSON. May I take you to another area now: Assuming that you are familiar with the McClellan hearing, the Senate hearing on rackets and labor, organized labor has accumulated a great deal of money and a great deal of political power. Do you think that the political and money power of organized labor should be held as strictly accountable before the law as are the powers exercised or that could be exercised by corporations, with their vast supplies of money?

Senator KNOWLAND. I certainly do. I believe that always in a business, in labor or in Government, with power must go responsibility. I believe that it is very dangerous to have power without having the equal responsibility to go with it and I think that the leaders of organized labor have the same responsibility to their membership and to the public to adequately and honestly account for their funds and to safeguard them as our great insurance companies or business organizations have. And I think that a great many of the leaders of the organization, including Mr. Meany, feel that way about it.

Mr. WILSON. Corporate money and political power is strictly accountable to law passed by the Congress.

Now, if you feel that way about labor money and political power, do you plan any legislation to bring it about?

Senator KNOWLAND. I am not sure that that is necessarily the field of Federal legislation. I think that the States have a great responsibility to be sure that trust funds are adequately safeguarded and I don't think that the States should fall down on their responsibility in giving this protection to the general public and to the union membership and pass the buck entirely to the Federal Government.

Now, it may be in those organizations which are interstate in character and where one State could not get to the problem, that the Federal Government would be amply justified in passing some legislation.

Mr. WILSON. Do you think the big unions are interstate?

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. Would you propose legislation in California if you were governor?

Senator KNOWLAND. Wherever legislation would be necessary to protect the rank and file of the union membership and the general public, I would believe that a governor would have a responsibility to recommend legislation.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, where you you stand on the controversial right-to-work laws? I believe they have been under consideration in California. Do you believe that the State has a responsibility to pass such laws?

Senator KNOWLAND. I think that that is primarily a State problem. I think undoubtedly that the right to work is a civil right of the highest character and that the person's ability to earn a livelihood is one of the highest civil rights next to voting that a person could have and I think he ought to be assured that he has a right to earn a living.

Mr. SPIVAK. You are satisfied then with section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which now gives the States the right to pass such laws. You wouldn't want an amendment for a national act of that kind?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I would oppose any attempt on the part of Federal legislation to take away from the States the right to enact such legislation if in their judgment they felt it was wise to do so.

Mr. SPIVAK. As I understand it you are for State legislation. Are you for a State law of that kind, though?

Senator KNOWLAND. On that Mr. Spivak, I don't know. It would depend on what the type of the State law might be. I personally believe that, as I say, the right to work is one of the greatest rights next to the right to vote and worship your God according to your conscience, that an American citizen can have and I don't think it should be infringed upon by any group or organization.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, most of us have found it rather difficult to make head or tail of the disarmament discussions that are going on in London between Governor Stassen for the West, and the Soviet. Do you think that Governor Stassen has made any progress of importance in these discussions?

Senator KNOWLAND. I am not certain at this time whether we have made any real progress in this regard. I think we may have made some negative progress in the sense that we have found that the Soviet Union is just as determined to have their way, or have no agreement and to that extent I suppose you can say there is some progress in knowing that the Soviet Union hasn't changed its position. But I see up to this point no indication that a satisfactory and sound agreement will be entered into.

Mr. SPIVAK. Do you see any point in the continuing of these discussions?

Senator KNOWLAND. I think that we should always search for ways of finding methods of limiting armaments and preserving international law and order and there may come a time—maybe not with this crowd that is controlling the Kremlin, but at some future time—when we can reach such an agreement and I don't think we should ever abandon the possibility that some such agreement may be arrived at.

Mr. THIES. Senator, conceding your natural reluctance to make what you may think is a premature announcement about the governorship of California, many Republicans, including Gov. Goodwin Knight, have said that a fight between you and the Governor for that seat in the primary would split the party wide open in California and possibly throw the election to the Democrats. What is your view on that?

Senator KNOWLAND. I don't agree with that point of view. I happen to believe in the direct primary system. I think the people of my State who have for now, for some 50 years almost, had the direct primary—40 years—feel that they are entitled to have a voice in the selection of their candidates for State office and for the legislature.

Mr. THIES. Senator, I remember a conference that you had with Vice President NIXON aboard his airplane in 1953 in which you and he got together and issued a joint statement endorsing then Lieutenant Governor Knight for the governorship. I assume at that time it was to avoid a fight. Was that correct, and how does that compare with this situation?

Senator KNOWLAND. Not necessarily, because I don't think you can always draw a parallel between conditions one year and in a subsequent year. I think conditions change and if the people of California have a choice of candidates I certainly think they are competent to make a choice.

Mrs. CRAIG. Senator, going back to foreign aid, you said in a speech last May "I do not favor taxing the American people to support Communist economic or political systems abroad."

Senator KNOWLAND. I don't favor it now.

Mrs. CRAIG. Yes.

Well, now, in this bill which will come up to you soon for money, are you for money for Yugoslavia and Tito?

Senator KNOWLAND. Personally I am not.

Mrs. CRAIG. How are you going to get it out? Will you get it out? Will you try?

Senator KNOWLAND. I don't know whether we can get it out, but I have made representations to the administration then and I expect to make them in the future. I certainly think that it is unsound to give military aid to Tito. I did then; I do now.

Mrs. CRAIG. Well, how do you feel then perhaps about selling food to Poland and the other satellites? You did say, I believe, that you thought anything that would make people happy in a Communist country only strengthened the Communist system.

Senator KNOWLAND. I have always drawn a line, I believe, Mrs. Craig, if you will examine the text of speeches and statements I have made, between feeding hungry people and supporting the general economic system of Communist powers.

Now under the leadership of Mr. Hoover after World War I in the twenties when there was a great famine in the Soviet Union itself, the American people showed their desire as humanitarians to prevent innocent people from starving to death due to the incompetence of their Government. And I would believe that we could help hungry people in the world without strengthening their economic system.

I do not favor a building up of Communist nations by the support of their economic systems.

Mrs. CRAIG. Do you think that there should be a special session and do you think the President's eventual suggestion of such a thing was resented at the Capitol?

Senator KNOWLAND. Personally, I do not see the necessity of a special session, at this time. If world conditions warranted it, I would think any President of the United States would call Congress into special session.

Mrs. CRAIG. But not for more foreign aid?

Senator KNOWLAND. Not necessarily unless that, in turn, had a direct implication with the international situation, which then might be confronting the Nation.

Mr. BROOKS. Senator, before we close, I think we ought to have a word about the civil-rights bill and the conference between the House and the Senate. How do you account for the fact that so many Republicans voted to weaken the civil-rights bill?

Senator KNOWLAND. Not so many of them did vote to weaken it. As a matter of fact, the predominant vote of the Senate Republicans was against weakening the bill. But some did and those together with the large majority of the Democrats who voted to weaken it, was a sufficient majority to enable them to make the change.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Wilson——

Mr WILSON. I wanted to go back to that matter of economic aid. You would oppose economic aid to a Communist state. Would you oppose it to a Socialist state?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I think that there is a difference between those countries which are under Soviet occupation and a neutral state which is not under Soviet occupation. Personally, however, I think that insofar as we can, we should gradually get out of the business of government to government, even loans, to say nothing of grants, and encourage private enterprise making investment in foreign countries. And, of course, they are not apt to make investments in countries which are threatening to socialize the economy.

Mr. WILSON. The reason I inquire is that the movement toward socialism in Europe, for example, has been precipitous since the war and it is perfectly likely that in the course of time, the United States will be a little island of private enterprise in a Socialist world. It would make it very difficult for the United States to trade and engage in foreign trade under those circumstances.

Senator KNOWLAND. Of course, one of the great differences, however, has been that Germany which has had the greatest advance in all of Western Europe, has turned directly to private enterprise and away from socialism and I think that is what has given them their economic superiority.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, are you willing to settle for the Senate bill on civil rights?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I am not willing to settle for the Senate bill as finally passed. I believe it will be amended. I hope that it will be sufficiently amended to make it fully effective.

Mr. SPIVAK. You are going to fight for a better bill then; are you?

Senator KNOWLAND. Yes; I would expect that we will get a better bill than the one finally passed in the Senate.

Mr. THIES. Do you think this will end the long battle for civil-rights legislation for the foreseeable future, Senator?

Senator KNOWLAND. No; I think not, but I think we will get some experience under this and the Commission will be able to make a study of just how much progress we can make under this bill.

Mrs. CRAIG. How are you going to get out of the civil-rights bill that section which would fine or put in jail a reporter who revealed anything in a secret session of that Commission?

Senator KNOWLAND. That could be done by a separate bill or they can concur and amend in the House and I think they can get it out.

Mr. BROOKS. I am sorry, I am going to have to interrupt. Our time is up.

Thank you, Senator KNOWLAND, for being with us.

Wiley Salutes Aviation Industry—Urges Approval of More Funds for Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as we know, yesterday was National Aviation Day. All of us, of course, are deeply aware that our country is safer, stronger, and greatly advanced because of the great contributions of the aeronautical industry to our development and progress.

In its brief lifetime, aviation has changed the complexion of communication, commerce, warfare, and generally, world affairs.

Behind this conquest of the air, of course, are the brains, brawn, foresight, imagination, and sweat of millions of men. Lest we forget, there are also the graves of those who risked their necks in experimenting and testing.

During the years, aviation has been confronted with a multitude of challenges—from the problem of just getting off the ground to development of supersonic jets, launching of space satellites, and other advancements that, only yesterday, were the subject of science fiction.

Now our task is to increase our efforts for ever greater air progress, including resolving its problems and supporting programs to meet our air needs of the future.

BUDGET CUTBACKS "TRIM THE WINGS" OF AVIATION

Regrettably, some budget cutbacks are, in effect, "trimming the wings" of the aviation industry.

The Air Force is stretching out or canceling a great many contracts.

Civil aviation, too, feels that its expansion programs as well as its ability to provide adequate services to our people, is being too greatly restricted.

Frankly, I do not believe we can afford to jeopardize air progress by wielding the economy knife recklessly.

As we know, progress in any field is based on a sound research program.

Today on the Senate Calendar is a bill, H. R. 3377, which would authorize the acquisition of new land and the construction of additional facilities for aeronautical research. It would include testing and experimentations of nuclear propulsion, rocket research, pilotless aircraft, and other phases of aeronautical progress. The authorized cost is not to exceed $45 million for these purposes.

I should like to point out that none of the projects in this particular bill are in my State. However, I am happy to note that the University of Wisconsin in 1956 participated in other research projects sponsored by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

I believe that this modest step—the passage of H. R. 3377—in advancing aeronautical research, is definitely necessary.

Consequently, I urge that the bill be favorably considered when it is reached on the calendar today.

In addition, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement saluting Aviation Day, and briefly pointing up the challenges facing our aeronautical industry.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

Now that yesterday's dreams of air travel have become today's realities, we must dedicate ourselves to ever-increased progress in this industry which has contributed so much to our growth and progress as a Nation. In this young industry of aviation the question of "Can man fly?" has been displaced by the queries: "How fast can he fly?" and "How safely can he fly?"

Too, we are faced with fulfilling the needs and requirements of the dual role aviation plays in our country: that of maintaining strong, effective air power to protect us; and, that of further developing aviation for commerce, travel, and other peaceful pursuits.

As we know, the Air Force celebrates its 50th anniversary this year. Again and again, this flying fighting arm of our service has spearheaded progress in aviation.

Our civilian industry, too, has been a fine record of notable breakthroughs toward ever-greater progress in harnessing the airways for the benefit of our people.

WISCONSIN'S FINE RECORD OF AIR DEVELOPMENT

As we look forward to additional achievements in aviation, we must also prepare to resolve its problems.

These problems exist in varying degrees, across the Nation.

In Wisconsin, our officials and citizens are making valiant efforts to fully bring the benefits of this air age to our people. They are grappling with the jobs of expanding facilities, improving navigation aids for local and interstate commerce, establishing new routes linking us with the South, Southwest, and Far West, and others.

I am proud to point out that this work is going forward at a good pace. For example, the following facts illustrate the scope of our program as regards airports, aircraft, pilots, and airways:

Airports: As of January 1, 1957, there were a total of 182 civil airports in the State of Wisconsin. Of this number, 80 were public-use airports and 102 were classified as limited.

Aircraft: As of January 1, 1957, there were a total of 1,338 civil aircraft registered in the State of Wisconsin. These include: general aviation multiengine, 85; postwar, 5; and 5-place single engine, 418; all other, 835.

Pilots: As of January 1, 1956 (latest available figure) there were 14,409 pilots registered in the State of Wisconsin. Of this number there were: Student, 1,575; private, 8,615; commercial, 4,103; air transport rating, 108; and others, 8.

Airways: As of May 30, 1957, there were a total of 2,392 miles of airways in the State of Wisconsin. Of this total, 568 miles were on low-frequency airways, 1,129 miles were very high frequency airways, and 695 miles were very high frequency alternate airways.

I am proud to point out also that in Wisconsin there have been many outstanding men who have contributed to the advancement of aviation.

To name a few, I include Gen. Billy Mitchell, Gen. Nathan Twining, Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, Adm. Mark Mischer, Maj. Richard I. Bong, Gen. Lester Maitland, and others.

To this notable group, I am now happy to add the name of Jim Durfee, present Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, who is making a fine contribution in this field.

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THIS VITAL INDUSTRY

On the national scope, we need a stepped-up program for the future if we are to get maximum benefit from the potential of our air age—the jet age. The requirements of such a program include expanded air facilities; improved navigational aids; greater air safety; a fair competitive climate for economically healthy airlines; a sound rate system to enable them to meet their financial burdens; strong United States-flag carriers servicing routes to the four corners of the world; a wider program for cross-continent travel; trunklines to provide service to fast-developing areas of the Nation; and adequate local service; expanded use of aeronautical advancements for such important segments as agriculture, commerce, industry, etc.; an appropriate assumption of responsibilities for aeronautical development at Federal, State, and local levels; highway improvement to and from airports, so as to relieve congestion.

These are only a few of the challenges confronting us.

I could mention the military and dozens of other problems. The problems of jet noise, of airways used exclusively by the military.

I am happy that our people are displaying foresight, ingenuity, and commonsense in tackling these and other problems.

I should like also to pay tribute to Wisconsin's Aeronautics Commission, and to its counterparts across the Nation, as well as other officials who are making an outstanding contribution in this field.

Their unrelenting efforts to meet and resolve our problems are, indeed, an example of the best way we can commemorate Aviation Day.

Resolution Opposing Proposals To Increase REA Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, those of us who have supported the program of the Rural Electrification Administration view with concern efforts to increase REA interest rates.

For many years REA loan funds bore interest rates greater than the rate which the Government paid on its borrowings. This resulted in a net margin to the Government of more than $47 million from lending operations.

Recently the board of directors of the National Telephone Cooperative Association, meeting in Washington, adopted a resolution stating the official position of the association regarding proposals that REA interest rates be raised. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL TELEPHONE COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

Whereas Congressmen HIESTAND, of California, and BECKER, of New York, have introduced bills which would substantially raise the REA interest rates; and

Whereas the administration through the Bureau of the Budget has sent a proposal to the Congress which would do the same thing; and

Whereas the rural telephone cooperatives are serving in sparsely settled areas and cannot afford an increase in interest rates: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Telephone Cooperative Association oppose the Hiestand and Becker bills and the proposal of the administration; and be it further

Resolved, That the NTCA continue to oppose these bills and recommend to the Rural Electrification Administration and the Congress that the current structure of interest rates charged to REA borrowers be maintained.

Negotiations With Foreign Countries Regarding International Air Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, on July 2 of this year I introduced Senate bill 2459, to amend section 402 of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1948. In connection with that I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Air Transport Association of America on June 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 24, 1957

Whereas the Department of State in recent negotiations of international air-service agreements with the Governments of the Netherlands and of Australia, has pursued a giveaway philosophy under which valuable additional air transport rights have been taken from United States airlines and surrendered to foreign airlines, and that Department has announced its intention of following the same course of action with others; and

Whereas this giveaway philosophy menaces the very structure of the United States civil air transport system, both international and domestic, and threatens to impose upon the American taxpayer the burden of financial support of that system; and

Whereas the United States civil air transport system is vital to the welfare and security of the United States; and

Whereas the present philosophy of the Department of State is in defiance of the long-established, bipartisan, air transport policy of the executive branch and the Congress: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Air Transport Association of America:

1. Condemns the grants of additional routes to the Governments of the Netherlands and Australia, and the announced intention of the Department of State to make similar grants to other nations, as destructive of a sound United States air transport system, and as unjustifiable under long-established bipartisan United States air transport policy; and

2. Urges that grants to foreign airlines which jeopardize the development of a sound United States air transport system and violate long-established United States policy, should be halted immediately; and

3. Directs the president of the association to bring this resolution to the attention of the public, the appropriate committees of the Congress, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Department of State.

Foreign-Aid Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, again Mr. Walter Lippmann, with his usual sharp and penetrating wisdom, has analyzed the causes and effects of the present deplorable conditions in our foreign relations.

In the Herald Tribune of today his column appears under the headline "The Rebellion in Congress," and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REBELLION IN CONGRESS

(By Walter Lippmann)

The cuts made by the House in the appropriations for foreign aid are big. But their true significance cannot be measured in terms of money. For what the House has done is not merely to insist on spending less money. It has rejected the fundamental conception of the function of foreign aid in our current foreign policy, and it has voted its lack of confidence in the President's judgment of what is necessary for national security. Unless the action of the House is clearly reversed, the world will be on notice that the policy of maintaining our alliances by subsidizing them no longer has reliable public support.

The debates in Congress show that there is a preponderant opinion which wants, not merely to reduce foreign aid but, to bring it to an end. Last week, for example, Representative NEAL put it this way: "I would support any program that would assure gradual withdrawal of expenditure for foreign aid, but I am unwilling to approve plans to perpetuate the present program."

Mr. NEAL, who reflected the majority opinion, had seen, quite correctly, that this year's proposals were designed to establish foreign aid as a continuing activity of the Government. Military aid was to be put under the Department of Defense. Economic aid was to take the form of a banking operation which, it was hoped, would not need to be examined and voted upon by Congress each year.

The House would have none of this, at bottom because, as Mr. NEAL said, it wants to wind up and not to perpetuate the basic policy.

As a rough measure of the size of the cut by the House, we can say that it is about equal to last year's total military and economic aid to South Korea and Formosa combined. That does not mean, of course, that there will now be no money for South Korea and Formosa. But it does mean that in order to subsidize them at something like the level to which their civil and military officials have become accustomed, money will have to be squeezed out of our contributions to the NATO alliance, to Iran, Pakistan, and South Vietnam, and to others among the fifty-odd nations.

This will, asserts the President, seriously delay the modernization of their military forces. It will compel them to reduce the size and effectiveness of their forces. It will make impossible important capital assistance through loans for development. In substance what the House has said to this argument is that it is probably not a vital interest of the United States that our military allies should have modernized forces that are larger than they themselves can afford to pay for—and that even if it is a vital interest of the United States, they are not willing to accept the President's judgment of how much money is needed.

After all, how modern would be a modernized force in South Korea or in Iran? What is the size of the forces that would be effective in each of the free nations bordering on the Communist powers? Nobody can answer these questions with any assurance, certainly not the President himself who has made two sharply different estimates of the money needed.

In view of the state of mind in Congress and in the country, the President would be very badly advised if, in the casual manner of last week's impromptu press conference, he called a special session of Congress. The chances are now very great that he would be inviting an even more resounding defeat than he has already suffered. For a special session, called without his having first recovered his leadership of the Nation, would be asking for a showdown on whether his foreign policy is still the national policy. If he were rebuffed by Congress, the policy of our alliances would be gravely injured.

No doubt it is our duty to hope for the best, in this case to hope that the President will learn from his bitter experiences during this session of Congress. But he will have to do more than read speeches and statements that are written for him, and to plead at the last moment with the leaders of Congress.

He must learn to believe in his own recommendations to Congress—which means, to recommend to Congress only what he himself understands and believes in. The collapse of his leadership in this Congress stems from his failure to take sufficient trouble to understand and then to defend his own great measures: The budget, civil rights, and foreign aid.

No doubt the country is big and strong, and we shall somehow muddle through. But there is no use trying to pretend that the indecision and the vacillation, the ambiguities and the moral generalities, are an inspiring spectacle for the world to watch.

Texan Protests Proposed Revisions in Regulations for Control of Interstate Traffic in Firearms and Ammunition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a number of Texans have protested to me against regulations recently proposed by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service, which would amend the Federal Firearms Act of 1938 by Executive decree.

John H. Wootters, Jr., has sent me copies of several statements of protest he has filed with the Division, to be entered in the record of a public hearing for August 27.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Wooters' statements be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. WOOTTERS, JR., PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 177.50, PROPOSED REGULATIONS FOR CONTROL OF INTERSTATE TRAFFIC IN FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION UNDER THE FEDERAL FIREARMS ACT OF 1938 (AS PUBLISHED IN VOL. 22, NO. 86, THE FEDERAL REGISTER)

I protest adoption of paragraph 177.50 on the grounds that this regulation will reduce or destroy the value of thousands of obsolete firearms with the status of collector's items by requiring an identifying stamp which will obviously alter the original condition of the piece. This argument will also be valid in the cases of many firearms which are lawfully imported into the United States for sale to collectors, and of thousands of domestically manufactured rifles and shotguns of an earlier (but not antique) date now in dealers' stocks or the hands of private citizens. In many cases, a serious question will arise as to the status of these last-mentioned weapons, and a resolution of the question may be to the injury of the owners who acted in good faith when purchasing the guns.

This paragraph will also work a hardship and additional expense on the manufacturers of firearms, which cost must be passed on to the consumer.

Such a regulation is unnecessary and unduly restrictive upon law-abiding citizens while it will seldom, if ever serve a useful purpose in the prevention of crime.

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. WOOTTERS, JR,. PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 177.51, PROPOSED REGULATIONS FOR CONTROL OF INTERSTATE TRAFFIC IN FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION UNDER THE FEDERAL FIREARMS ACT OF 1938 (AS PUBLISHED IN VOL. 22, NO. 86, THE FEDERAL REGISTER)

I protest the adoption of paragraph 177.51 on the grounds that it imposes an unhecessary and unreasonable burden of records keeping and storage upon duly licensed dealers in firearms and ammunition. The smaller dealer, or the merchant to whom a stock of guns and ammunition is a sideline, maintained for the convenience of his customers, will be forced to the choice between complying with a regulation which will increase his costs unfairly and simply abandoning the firearms dealership entirely.

This regulation unduly restricts the lawful activities of citizens while serving no purpose in the prevention of crime.

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. WOOTTERS, JR,. PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 177.52, PROPOSED REGULATIONS FOR CONTROL OF INTERSTATE TRAFFIC IN FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION UNDER THE FEDERAL FIREARMS ACT OF 1938 (AS PUBLISHED IN VOL. 22, NO. 86, THE FEDERAL REGISTER)

I protest the adoption of paragraph 177.52 on the grounds that it is totally unreasonable and that it can serve no useful purpose in preventing crime. The concept of persons of criminal intent complying with a regulation so easily circumvented is absurd, so that its sole effect will be to discourage dealers in ammunition from commerce in that item. The only hardship worked will therefore be upon the law-abiding dealer and his law-abiding customers. It would be much more reasonable to require that the sale of every bottle of alcoholic beverage sold in the United States must be recorded and described as to distiller, proof, type, quantity, and the identity of the person from whom received and to whom sold. Such a regulation would be by no means so nonsensical as the proposal in paragraph 177.52, here in question.

The adoption of this paragraph will impose an intolerable burden upon dealers in ammunition, with no benefits accruing to the public therefrom in anyway whatsoever.

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. WOOTTERS, JR., PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 177.54, PROPOSED REGULATIONS FOR CONTROL OF INTERSTATE TRAFFIC IN FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION UNDER THE FEDERAL FIREARMS ACT OF 1938 (AS PUBLISHED IN VOL. 22, NO. 86, THE FEDERAL REGISTER)

I protest the adoption of paragraph 177.54 on the grounds that it attempts unlawfully to regulate the activities of a private citizen transacting business in good faith and entirely within the borders of his own State of residence. The purpose of the Federal Firearms Act of 1938 is the regulation of interstate commerce, and the intent of paragraph 177.54 goes beyond that purpose, since the act of purchasing a gun or ammunition by a private individual is quite patently not in any way, shape, or form interstate commerce.

Adoption of this paragraph would amend the Federal Firearms Act without the consent of the Congress, thus depriving all private citizens of their right to representation by elected officials, and would constitute "legislation by decree." If this paragraph is

adopted, I have no doubt that the Supreme Court of the United States will have the opportunity to pass on its legality in the near future.

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. WOOTTERS, JR., PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 177.55, PROPOSED REGULATIONS FOR CONTROL OF INTERSTATE TRAFFIC IN FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION UNDER THE FEDERAL FIREARMS ACT OF 1938 [AS PUBLISHED IN VOL. 22, NO 86, THE FEDERAL REGISTER]

I protest the adoption of paragraph 177.55 on the grounds that it will deny to manufacturers and dealers of firearms and ammunition their constitutional protection from unwarranted search of their places of business, and that it would do so by administrative decree. This paragraph is unreasonable and unnecessary since other regulations require these businessmen to maintain records of importation, shipment, and disposal only of items of stock.

The adoption of this paragraph will create unfair harassment of those lawfully engaged in commerce in sporting arms and ammunition, with no public benefit accruing therefrom.

Appointment of Arnold R. Jones To Be a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the great newspapers of the Tennessee Valley area, representing the sentiments of the people of that area, are practically unanimous in their criticism of the appointment of Arnold R. Jones to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and in their expression of hope that his nomination will not be confirmed by the Senate. I think this is indicative of the general feeling on the part of the people of that section who are affected by the operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorials from the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Sacramento, Fresno, and Modesto Bees regarding the nomination of Arnold Jones to be a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. These editorials followed a series of articles by Nat Caldwell, of the Nashville Tennessean, which were published in that newspaper and many others in which were revealed Mr. Jones' hostility toward the agency. To quote the Louisville Courier-Journal editorial: "Mr. Jones won't do."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville Tennessean of August 2, 1957]

VISITOR'S CORNER—REPORTER CALDWELL HAS DONE NATION A SERVICE—LOUISVILLE NEWSPAPER CITES SERIES ON JONES, CONCLUDES PRESIDENT HAS MADE A SORRY CHOICE

(Editorial comment from a wide range of newspapers has followed publication of a series of articles on Arnold Jones by this newspaper. The following excerpts are the second of two such reprints in this space.)

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal]

Reporter Nat Caldwell of the Nashville Tennessean has done the Nation a service with his series of articles on Arnold Jones, the man President Eisenhower has nominated for appointment to the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Mr. Caldwell's articles show beyond the possibility of sensible dispute that Mr. Jones is not suitable for the job.

Mr. Caldwell has done an especially useful job in his story of Mr. Jones because, outside his native Kansas, practically nothing was known of Mr. Jones at the time his name was picked out of obscurity by the President. Interested Senators became suspicious upon learning that Jones was employed in the Bureau of the Budget, an agency that has seemed hell-bent on destroying TVA as an efficient service agency of the Government. Their suspicions were increased when it was discovered that Jones was author of a letter to Congress recommending measures that would have restricted TVA to a point where operation would have been difficult, if not impossible.

Friends of TVA began to fear that this was another appointment like that of Herbert Vogel, the former Army officer who, as an Eisenhower appointee to the Board, has ably served the interests of the enemies of TVA while seeking to cripple the very agency he heads. The Caldwell series gives sound basis to their fears. Indeed, it makes it apparent that Arnold Jones cannot in good conscience accept the job of TVA Director.

According to Federal law, a TVA Director must believe in the spirit of the TVA Enabling Act and the agency it created. He must, in other words, believe in the original purpose of TVA, a public power and area-improvement agency of the United States Government. There is nothing in Mr. Jones' background to indicate that he can honestly say that he so believes.

A Board member of TVA should be an an efficient administrator as well as a man who can inspire loyalty from subordinates. Said a former associate of Jones, when he was on the faculty of Kansas State College: "If they want a man on the TVA Board who will magnify redtape until the people under him will hate the agency and quit in disgust, Jones is the perfect man for the job."

A TVA Director should not only understand the scope of the agency's operations, but should approve of them. There is absolutely nothing in Mr. Jones' background to indicate that he does. On the other hand, it is significant that he has been for the past 20 years identified with political and private-power groups that have sought to undermine and cripple TVA, and that his only written record on the subject was directed at hampering TVA financing efforts.

This is the type of man President Eisenhower now describes as "the best and most disinterested man" he could find for the job of TVA Director. It has become customary in Washington to excuse the President's actions in such cases on the curious grounds that he doesn't know what he is doing. This is no excuse for his nomination of Arnold Jones. If the President does not know, he is not fulfilling his duties. If he does know, the appointment is unforgiveable. Mr. Jones won't do.

[From the McClatchy newspapers—Sacramento, Fresno, and Modesto Bees]

The United States Senate would be more than justified in taking a close look at the record of Arnold Jones in view of facts which have come to light since his appointment by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to the Tennessee Valley Authority Board of Directors.

Jones' record as a State corporation commissioner in his home State of Kansas has been interpreted as being friendly to the private utilities and damaging to the rural-electrification cooperatives, which could suggest what his performance might be were he confirmed for the TVA Board.

In addition, the Nashville Tennessean points out:

"Before his appointment to TVA's Board, this capable and disinterested man, this noncontroversial figure, wrote a letter from the Budget Bureau to a Senate committee in which he urged more stringent legislation for TVA and in which he proposed a bond limitation even below that recommended by his agency."

The authority to float bonds is vital to TVA's continued growth. The Budget Bureau, where the Dixon-Yates contract was spawned, has sought to beat the bonding capacity down to the point where it would not help TVA to meet its power requirements. And when Jones even goes beyond that point, it would be straining to say he is one who is in sympathy with the principles and objectives of TVA, as the law requires of a Director.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch]

As Arnold Jones' record begins emerging from national obscurity, the early doubts that were felt about his nomination to the TVA directorate are becoming more than justified. On the heels of the rejection of Mr. Jones by the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association comes the disclosure of his hostility to the Rural Electrification Administration in Kansas.

As a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission—the equivalent of the utilities commission in most States—Mr. Jones was a party to a program of gradually starving out the REA co-ops.

The attrition of the co-op's lifeblood was started in the pre-Jones era on the corporation commission and has continued after it, but Mr. Jones is credited with carrying it forward. The process has gone so far that co-ops must either destroy the starvation policy or be destroyed by it, according to their statewide association, Kansas Electric Cooperatives.

In the light of all this: Does President Eisenhower still regard Arnold Jones as the most capable disinterested man that I could find?

Enough has become known to warrant and even demand the more detailed examination which the Senate confirmation hearings can provide through subpenaing of records and questioning of witnesses. Though Kansas law does not forbid conflicts of interest between public service and private profit, the law of the United States makes it a criminal offense, and it is to the service of the United States Government as a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority that Mr. Jones has been nominated by President Eisenhower.

If Mr. Jones sees nothing wrong in conflicts of interest, if he is potentially an Adolphe H. Wenzell or another of the steady stream of officeholders before him who have vexed the Eisenhower administration by confusing their public and private responsibilities, now is the best time to find out about it.

[From the Memphis Press-Scimitar of August 7, 1957]

JONES SHOULD NOT BE A TVA DIRECTOR

The Senate Public Works Committee is about to consider President Eisenhower's nomination of Arnold R. Jones to the three-man Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The committee should not confirm the President's choice.

Mr. Jones is a 53-year-old Kansas Republican who attained his greatest distinction just a little more than a year ago when he

was appointed Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Jones has stated his views on TVA. Either he must reverse himself or he cannot even qualify under the law as a TVA director: The TVA Act requires that persons believing in the aims of the act shall be appointed its directors.

Jones would limit TVA's borrowing power to $200 million. This is $550 million less than President Eisenhower himself has said he favors as a ceiling. What $200 million is in flood control or power development can be seen by these comparisons: The Memphis steam plant is costing $117,500,000 and will generate 750,000 kilowatts by nameplate rating. Kentucky dam, last of the great multiple-use dams built on the Tennessee River, was completed at a cost of $114 million—and that was almost 10 years ago.

Jones would have TVA pay interest on the total United States investment in TVA, an after-the-fact suggestion which is a little like suggesting a higher rate of interest to a borrower after the loan has been made on his house. TVA has been repaying the United States investment in the power operations, has been doing so since 1948.

Jones is unknown to the Senators representing the Tennessee Valley States. Senator GORE has said he does not know him. Senator COOPER of Kentucky was surprised by the nomination. Senator KEFAUVER believes Jones "doesn't have anything good in mind for TVA."

Tennessee's Senators should have the support of their colleagues, regardless of party and geography, in opposition to Mr. Jones.

When President Eisenhower nominated Mr. Jones, it was an action which will not, in our opinion, effectively carry out the promise he made to the people of the TVA region, in a telegram to the editor of this newspaper on November 1, 1952:

"If I am elected President, TVA will be operated and maintained at maximum efficiency."

[From the Chattanooga Times of July 23, 1957]

CONSIDER THE 6 MILLION

The Tennessee Valley Public Power Association speaks for some 6 million consumers of TVA electricity in this valley. The association has now announced its opposition to the nomination of Arnold R. Jones to be a member of the Board of Directors of TVA.

It has not been explained why Mr. Jones, Deputy Director of the Budget Bureau, was nominated by President Eisenhower for this vital post. Whoever becomes the third member of the TVA Board could decide the fate of the great valley development for the future, depending upon whether he sided with Chairman Vogel or with Dr. Paty.

Six million people are quite a respectable percentage of the population of this country. The TVA law does not require that they be consulted before a new Director is named, but at least they should not be treated with indifference.

It has been revealed by a Nashville Tennessean correspondent who went to Kansas to investigate, that Mr. Jones, while a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission, helped make Kansas the only State where private power companies at will can take customers from rural electrical systems. It is charged that while a member of the commission he also helped make it possible for private power to offer cooperatives cheap wholesale rates with assurance that the commission would reject them. The result is that private power has a stranglehold on rural electric development and is able to maintain its high-rate structure.

The Budget Bureau has been hostile to TVA and many in this valley were shocked when the President or Sherman Adams chose the Deputy Director of that Bureau to have decisive power in leadership of the TVA.

There is yet time for this nomination to be withdrawn. In addition, it appears probable that the Senate will not begin its investigation of Mr. Jones' fitness until after a TVA financing bill has been passed.

In that event, the Senate might not act on the nomination at this session. The President would be able to give Mr. Jones a recess appointment, but he would have to be confirmed by the Senate early next year.

The protest by the Tennessee Public Power Association representing 6 million Americans is only one of the roadblocks being thrown up against confirmation of Mr. Jones. At this time it appears that he would be taking a chance of being out of a job if he accepted a recess appointment.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of July 26, 1957]

BLANKS IN THE JONES RECORD

The developing record of Arnold Jones leaves it still unclear whether he turned his position on the Kansas Corporation Commission to the profit of his auditing firm.

The exact dates of his partnership in the firm of Breisford, Gifford & Jones are unknown. The exact date or even the exact year when GOP leader Walter Fees transferred the account of his multi-million-dollar oil and gas business—regulated by the corporation commission—to the accounting firm, is unknown.

Records of payments to the accountants are also missing, and Mr. Fees explains that a fire in 1949 destroyed all his business records. Six oil and gas companies—also regulated by the corporation commission—are said by several persons to have retained the Jones accounting firm, but their names are not on the firm's microfilm records, according to W. F. Hardesty, a member of the firm.

It is not even known whether Mr. Jones took any profit out of the accounting firm while he was a corporation commissioner, or, if so, how much, though Mr. Hardesty says he assumes Mr. Jones took 10 percent of the profits as he himself did.

Further light might be thrown on these and other pertinent matters by fine-toothcomb examination of the corporation commission's records and the accounting firm's microfilms.

Enough has become known to warrant and even demand the more detailed examination which the Senate confirmation hearings can provide through subpenaing of records and questioning of witnesses. Though Kansas law does not forbid conflicts of interest between public service and private profit, the law of the United States makes it a criminal offense, and it is to the service of the United States Government as a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority that Mr. Jones has been nominated by President Eisenhower.

If Mr. Jones sees nothing wrong in conflicts of interest, if he is potentially an Adolphe H. Wenzell or another of the steady stream of officeholders before him who have vexed the Eisenhower administration by confusing their public and private responsibilities, now is the best time to find out about it.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of July 23, 1957]

ARNOLD JONES' RECORD

As Arnold Jones' record begins emerging from national obscurity, the early doubts that were felt about his nomination to the TVA directorate are becoming more than justified. On the heels of the rejection of Mr. Jones by the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association comes the disclosure of his hostility to the Rural Electrification Administration in Kansas.

As a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission—the equivalent of the utilities commission in most States—Mr. Jones was a party to a program of gradually starving out the REA co-ops.

This program consisted of giving the six big Kansas power companies progressively more and more of the cream of the market, and restricting the REA co-ops more and more to the skim milk.

Since REA came into existence in the first place to supply a market for electricity which most privately owned power companies scorned as too poor to notice, this was a particularly lethal approach. It was gone about from two directions: First, the co-ops' territories were pinched in geographically. Second, the co-ops were forbidden to serve the profitable industrial and commercial market, including the rich oilfields. Both these ideas for persecuting rural co-ops were peculiar to Kansas.

The attrition of the co-ops' lifeblood was started in the pre-Jones era on the corporation commission and has continued after it, but Mr. Jones is credited with carrying it forward. The process has gone so far that co-ops must either destroy the starvation policy or be destroyed by it, according to their statewide association, Kansas Electric Cooperatives.

In the light of all this: Does President Eisenhower will regard Arnold Jones as "the most capable disinterested man that I could find"?

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of July 22, 1957]

PLAIN TALK TO THE PRESIDENT

The kind of voice President Eisenhower has often said he wants to hear has spoken to him from the Tennessee Valley.

It is the voice of people making decisions about their future in their own local communities and taking the initiative to bring that future about.

Some of the electric systems in the Tennessee Valley belong to municipalities. Some of them belong to cooperatives owned by farmers and other non-profit-making groups of citizens. All distribute TVA electricity.

The municipal systems came about because the people in their own local communities decided to own their own systems and issue the bonds to finance them. They made these decisions in free and democratic elections.

The co-op systems came about because these other American citizens made the same decision and borrowed the money to carry it out.

Now these municipal and co-op systems serve some 6 million customers. They are banded together in the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association. And the association, speaking with the voice of local decision and local self-help, tells President Eisenhower it does not like his choice of Arnold R. Jones for the second vacancy on the TVA Board.

The association points out that it is in partnership with TVA and that its member systems have half a billion dollars invested in it.

It does not, therefore, want to see anything go wrong with its source of supply. And it is concerned lest Mr. Jones might be something wrong.

It feels that a TVA Board member should be better qualified; that the people should know more about him. Moreover, Mr. Jones "knows little or nothing about the TVA itself." The Valley association is fearful Mr. Jones may be hostile to TVA, since he is Deputy Director of the hostile Budget Bureau and is the handpicked choice of Presidential Assistant Adams, No. 1 foe of public power.

The President must know how important it will be to his new TVA Director to have the confidence and support of the people he must work among. And, as we said before, he has spoken repeatedly and with evident feeling of his deference to "the people, locally," making their own decisions in their own communities.

His handling of the Jones appointment will show how these principles are put into practice.

[From the Nashville Tennessean of August 11, 1957]

VISITOR'S CORNER—IT ONLY TAKES TWO FOR A TVA WRECKING CREW—COLORADO NEWSPAPER URGES SENATE TO PROBE QUESTIONABLE BACKGROUND OF ARNOLD JONES

(Many newspapers have taken an editorial second look at the noncontroversial Mr. Arnold Jones, appointed to serve on the TVA Board, since this newspaper published a series of articles on his background. The following is from the editorial page of the Denver Post. Excerpts of other editorials will follow in this space tomorrow.)

According to the act creating the Tennessee Valley Authority, the three members of the Board of Directors of TVA shall be persons who profess a belief in the feasibility and wisdom of this act.

In 1954 when President Eisenhower named Gen. Herbert D. Vogel to be Chairman of the TVA Board there was considerable question as to whether he could truthfully profess a belief in the wisdom of the TVA Act. Subsequently, when General Vogel supported the notorious Dixon-Yates scheme to turn over to private companies part of the electric power market which TVA had built up, it began to appear the general's profession of belief must have been made with tongue in cheek.

Belief in the wisdom of TVA is now becoming an important issue again in connection with President Eisenhower's nomination of Arnold Jones, Deputy Director of the United States Bureau of the Budget, to succeed Dr. Harry A. Curtis as a member of the TVA Board.

Jones was a rather obscure figure in Washington when he was nominated. The President called him the most capable and disinterested man I could find for the job. Why disinterested should be considered an important qualification the President did not say.

If Jones was noncontroversial before his nomination, he is rapidly becoming highly controversial now that some of the friends of TVA have had time to check into his record.

TVA's rehabilitation of the Tennessee Valley in parts of six States has been so successful that TVA now needs more power to serve the farms, industries, and cities it has helped develop.

TVA is asking Congress for authority to issue $750 million worth of revenue bonds to finance a healthy power expansion. These bonds would not cost taxpayers a cent.

Jones, it develops, has written a letter to the Senate Public Works Committee proposing that TVA should be limited to issue $200 million worth of bonds and that other restrictions be added which might force TVA to increase its power rates or circumscribe its power operations.

The private power industry for years has been waging a bitter—and often untruthful—campaign against TVA, aimed principally at increasing its rates and limiting its service. It looks very much as though Jones had lined up on the side of the foes of TVA before he was picked to serve on the TVA Board.

The Nashville Tennessean, a strong supporter of TVA, has been doing some checking on Jones' record back in his home State of Kansas. It claims to have discovered that when Jones was a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission he pursued policies which favored private electric companies to the detriment of rural electric associations.

The Tennessean charges that Jones, instead of being capable, was such a petty tyrant of redtape at Kansas State College, when he was a dean there, that he was quietly demoted. It also claims that while Jones was on the corporation commission an auditing firm with which he was connected had as its clients several firms which were under regulation by the commission, thereby creating a questionable conflict of interest as far as Jones was concerned.

These are matters which the Senate should investigate thoroughly before any action is taken on Jones' nomination to the TVA Board. The vast TVA program to control floods, provide navigation, improve agriculture, and sponsor new industries was set up by act of Congress. It should not be crippled or liquidated except by act of Congress.

TVA's Board of Directors now has a Chairman whose devotion to the purposes of TVA is suspect. If he should be joined on the Board by another member who harbors hostility to TVA, the two of them would comprise a majority which could wreck an important experiment in basinwide development beyond the ability of Congress to repair.

Changing Nature of American Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, those of us who come from agricultural States are well aware that farmers and ranchers are not getting their share of the national income.

This fact was pointed out recently by Dr. Tyrus R. Timm, head of the department of agricultural economics and sociology of Texas A. and M. College. Dr. Timm's address on the Changing Nature of American Agriculture was reported fully by the Texas Ranchman, an outstanding livestock business weekly published at Strawn, Tex.

I ask unanimous consent that the Texas Ranchman's report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DR. TIMM OUTLINES CHANGING NATURE OF UNITED STATES AGRICULTURE

COLLEGE STATION, TEX.—Agriculture isn't sharing in the Nation's current record prosperity, Dr. Tyrus R. Timm, head of the department of agricultural economics and sociology, Texas A. and M. College, declared during a brief address delivered here Saturday night.

And, peering into the future, the A. and M. agricultural economist didn't paint a particularly rosy industry picture for the years to come—but neither was he pessimistic. Work, deliberation, and understanding will be required to meet and solve the challenges of tomorrow, he said.

Dr. Timm spoke on "The Changing Nature of American Agriculture" following an informal dinner in the memorial student center on the A. and M. campus which concluded the first annual college-sponsored conference for livestock auction operators of Texas.

The economist told his audience that while the national income has increased 25 percent, the income of farmers and ranchers has decreased about that same proportion.

However, he did inject this heartening note:

Prospects for Texas' agricultural and livestock industries have been greatly improved as a result of abundant rains which have broken a long 7-year drought.

Current plentiful supplies of feed, he said, are now a favorable factor.

Also, present reduced numbers of beef cattle—which could continue through a possible cycle of 7 to 8 years—may assure generally favorable market prices for producers.

Dr. Timm said that expenditures for food now take around 25 percent of the consumer's dollar. But, he emphasized, only about 5 cents or less goes to the basic producers of the Nation's meat and food products.

Processing, packing, transportation, merchandising, and ever-increasing new techniques and services and their added costs are constantly widening the gap between the basic price paid the grower and the eventual inflated retail price paid by the food-consuming public at markets and food stores.

The A. and M. economist also pointed out that price produces little change in production and consumption. For instance, he explained a 5-percent reduction in price usually results in only a 1-percent gain in consumption.

Dr. Timm foresees no radical deviation from the present trend in the years ahead and reminded his audience "that Government has now been participating in agriculture for about 30 years."

"Nothing," he quipped, "is more permanent than a temporary Government agency for agriculture."

The future? "We're going to continue to have Government programs," he predicted, "and to have them regardless of the party in power, Republican or Democrat, because economic and financial conditions, not party, are the basic factors.

"Government will play an important, significant, and major role in agriculture's future," he said. "The extent and the eventual benefit and progress derived as a result of Government in agriculture will be determined through sifting the good from the bad, and will take time.

"Government's future role in agriculture, however," Dr. Timm asserted, "probably will be more evolutionary than revolutionary in nature."

Other important remarks in Dr. Timm's address pertained to the Nation's farm population and "its changing nature."

He notes the ever-increasing number of "part-time" farmers and ranchers. This new trend, he explained, is the result of agriculture's economic problems.

Although farm population has generally been reported on the wane in many States, Dr. Timm revealed there are more farmers and ranchers in Texas, year by year. The increase in numbers of these agriculturists, however, appears insignificant in relation to the vast increase of the general population of the Lone Star State.

This year, he said, there are 15,000 more farmers and ranchers in Texas, and there were about the same number of new farm and ranch operators in 1956 compared to the year previous.

Illustrating how statistics can sometimes be misleading, the A. and M. economist pointed out that despite the fact that only about 7 percent of the Nation's population is directly engaged in the basic production of agricultural products and livestock, 25 to 40 percent of all business today is directly related to agriculture.

And increased use of agricultural products in the industrial field and expansion of overseas markets, he declared, are developments which should brighten the future economic picture for American agriculture.

"There'll be more part-time farmers and ranchers in the years ahead," he told the livestock auction men. "In fact, in the future the livestock auctions of Texas may be doing more business with part-time producers than with full-time farmers and ranchmen."

Dr. Timm complimented the Texas operators for their interest and participation in the special conference and urged them to work for "better livestock auctions, more efficient livestock auctions, for the betterment of the country and to aid in building confidence in the future."

FBI Files

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "FBI Files," from the August 17 issue of the Concord Daily Monitor, one of New Hampshire's leading newspapers. I am in complete accord with the writer of this editorial as to the imperative need for immediate congressional action to define and clarify the ruling of the Supreme Court in the Jencks case. A bill to accomplish this purpose is now on the Senate Calendar. I urge that it be scheduled for consideration without further delay.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Concord (N. H.) Daily Monitor of August 17, 1957]

FBI FILES

The bill to protect FBI files from court exposure has become emergency legislation. The fact is brought to public attention by the arrest of Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, master spy and colonel in the Soviet intelligence.

Thanks to the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case, the FBI now faces a choice of possibly dropping prosecution of Abel or having its own intelligence secrets bared in the courtroom at the insistence of Abel's lawyers.

It is conceivable that any information made public about the FBI's methods of counterespionage might be more useful to the Russians and their international conspiracy than that which Abel managed to gather through his own efforts and transmit to Moscow inside hollowed pencils.

This dilemma puts the issue squarely before Congress. It has the power to change those statutes which the Supreme Court interpreted to give defendants' lawyers access to FBI files whenever information of any kind from those files was used in prosecuting Communists or others.

A bill to amend the law so as to protect the security of the FBI files is before Congress. Already a number of Federal prosecutions have been dropped rather than reveal FBI information. Others have been dismissed by courts when FBI records have been withheld. One FBI agent is under a $1,000 contempt of court fine for refusal to yield such records.

Up to now most of the cases in which prosecution has been dropped rather than reveal FBI files have not involved espionage. The Abel case, however, involves national security and puts the whole issue squarely before Congress and the public. If the FBI can be compelled to reveal to Soviet agents and their lawyers names of counterspies and the details of their methods the Kremlin will have gained through our courts vital secrets it could not have hoped to obtain through its spy network.

The FBI bill is on Eisenhower's program. Leaders concede that Congress favors passage. While there may be no opposition, the fact will matter little unless the measure is speeded to the House and Senate floors and voted upon before Congress adjourns.

Houston Regains Second Place in Nation's Ports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the port of Houston, one of the young seaports of the Nation, has climbed back into second place among the ports in the total tonnage handled.

This is indeed a remarkable achievement. The port of Houston is only a few years old. In the development and promotion of this port, Houston has had to compete with other fine ports of the Nation, some of which have been in operation for centuries.

The port of Houston's recapture of the second ranking spot in the Nation is a great tribute to civic leaders of Houston. Howard Tellepsen, the head of the port commission, and all the other civic-minded businessmen on the Houston Port Commission are to be commended for this achievement.

The Houston Post, one of the great newspapers of the South, hails the port of Houston's feat in an editorial.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this Houston Post editorial of August 16, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORT OF HOUSTON REGAINS TOP PLACE ON GULF—SECOND IN THE NATION

Maybe it was a blessing in disguise that the port of New Orleans topped Houston in 1955, in tonnage handled. Houston's port people have been working strenuously to regain our lost position, but were unable to learn from New Orleans what the Crescent City's 1956 port tonnage totaled. Figures released Wednesday by Army engineers showed clearly that Houston was ahead of all other gulf ports, with 52,293,262 tons moving to, from, or through the ship channel. That puts the port of Houston back again in second place nationally, unless you lump the tonnage of the half dozen or more ports in the 3-State area on the Delaware River with that of Philadelphia into 1 total. Philadelphia itself is behind Houston.

It is really remarkable, when you stop to think about it, that a comparatively new port on a bayou that ends in Houston should outstrip the 200-year-old State-subsidized port near the mouth of the mighty Mississippi. Of course, petroleum accounts for much of Houston's tonnage. However, while Louisiana has only 2 other minor ports, Houston shares the maritime commerce of this section with nearly a dozen Texas ports, 3 of which have a larger combined tonnage than Houston's.

In the race for continued port leadership, Houston has the advantage of a faster population growth and industrial growth, in the city, the State, and the inland trade territory. But those New Orleans boosters are on their toes. They have been intensively wooing the Latin American trade, as well as the shipping of the United States hinterland. New Orleans has the advantage of being better known as a port in the southern parts of the hemisphere, the greatest potential source of shipping yet to be developed. New Orleans is aggressively pressing its advantage there.

Houston will have to get its share of that business to keep ahead. It is essential to the future of our port. The port of Houston is not State-supported, as is that of New Orleans. It must look to the city and county, and to its own revenues, for physical development. It needs the moral backing of the business interests and the citizens generally of the community. We need to be port-conscious, enthusiastic boosters—like the New Orleaneans—for our own economic good.

The Houston Port Commission and all the portworkers are to be congratulated on the 1956 tonnage record.

Sensing the News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Mr. Thurman Sensing in Sensing the News.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENSING THE NEWS

(By Thurman Sensing, executive vice president, Southern States Industrial Council)

The coming of the Pilgrims to the New England coast in 1620 forms a glamorous chapter in American history. Now, 337 years later, we have been hearing and reading much about a rather thrilling and adventuresome duplication of the trip in a replica of the original *Mayflower* in which the first trip was made. It would therefore seem to be an appropriate time to review a little known fact about the system of government or control the people on the original *Mayflower* set up for themselves.

The fact that is generally ignored, overlooked and unknown about this landing at Massachusetts Bay 337 years ago is that it marked the first Communist settlement in America. The main lesson about this settlement that is generally ignored, overlooked and unknown is that this experiment in communism failed within 3 years' time, and—for their very survival—the Pilgrims had to turn to what we know as the free enterprise system.

Through the years, it would have been—and it still would be—a valuable lesson to the pupils in the classrooms studying American history if this lesson in the failure of communism—some people call it socialism; there is no real difference—were emphasized.

Before landing, the Pilgrims entered into what is known as the Mayflower compact. Under this compact, Plymouth was set up as a share-the-wealth community. Nobody owned anything. Whatever was produced belonged to the community as a whole. They called this system "the comone course and

condition." They lived under this system from the desperate, disease-ridden first winter of 1620–21 until the hungry spring of 1623. Then they changed to private enterprise. Why?

We find the answer in a book written by William Bradford, one of the leading original Pilgrims and second Governor of Plymouth Colony, entitled "Of Plimoth Plantation." This book had an interesting history itself. It was written by Bradford in 1647, was available to historians until 1767, and then it completely disappeared from this country for almost a hundred years. It was finally located in the library of the bishop of London in 1855. After long negotiations and finally upon formal request from "The President and Citizens of the United States," Queen Victoria had it sent back and it now reposes in the Statehouse at Boston, Mass. Printed copies are available in most major libraries.

The Pilgrims weren't long under this "comone course and condition," writes Bradford, until it "was found to breed much confusion & discontent, & ritard imployment that would have been to their benefite and comforte. For the young men that were most able and fitte for labor and service did repine that they should spend their time & strength to worke for other mens wives and children, without any recompense. The strong * * * had no more in devission of victails & cloaths then he that was weake. * * *

"Upon the poynte all being to have alike, and all to doe alike, they thought themselves in the like condition, and one as good as another. And so, if it did not cut off those relations that God hath set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take of the mutuall respects that should be preserved amongst them."

Instead of a Thanksgiving feast in the fall of 1622, there was literal starvation and hopelessly low morale. "So they begane to thinke how they might raise as much corne as they could * * * that they might not still thus languish in misere. At last, after much debate of things, the governor" (Bradford himself) "gave way that they should set corne every man for his own perticuler. * * * And so assigned to every family a parcell of land. * * * This had very good success for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted then other waise would have bene."

The Pilgrims offered thanks for deliverance from communism with a great Thanksgiving feast in the fall of 1623.

Then Bradford philosophizes somewhat: "The experience that was had in this comone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst Godly and sober men, may well evince the Vanitie of that conceite of Platos and other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that the taking away of propertie, and bringing in communitie into a comone wealth would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God!"

This is the story about the Pilgrims that should be taught in our schools—because "that conceite of Platos and other ancients" is still "applauded by some of later times." Men still have the idea "that the taking away of propertie, and bringing in communitie into a comone wealth would make them happy and flourishing." Socialism and communism were tried many times before Plymouth Colony; they have been tried many times since. "As if they were wiser than God!" They have always failed.

Why doesn't mankind learn the lesson? Is it because the lesson is left out of, or unemphasized in, our history books?

The Battle of Cowpens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article containing facts on the Battle of Cowpens:

FACTS ON THE BATTLE OF COWPENS

The Battle of Cowpens took place on January 17, 1781, between American and British forces. Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton commanded the British forces of approximately 1,150 officers and men, and Gen. Daniel Morgan of Virginia, commanded the American forces of approximately 850 officers and men.

Soldiers from the following States participated in the battle: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Americans had 12 killed and 60 wounded in battle; the British had 110 killed and 200 wounded with 531 prisoners taken, making a grand total of 841.

The name, Cowpens, S. C., originated in 1730. Sir Alexander Cumming made a treaty with Cherokee Indians and when the white men settled in this natural paradise, they were called cow drivers or cowpens men, and in 1780 a man by the name of Sanders lived at the battle site. He had plenty of grass for his cattle and many pens, hence the name Cowpens.

OFFICERS AND MEN THAT PARTICIPATED

Col. John Thomas, Jr., Spartanburg County (commanded the Spartan regiment).

Col. Thomas Brandon, Union County (commanded South Carolina men).

Col. Andrew Pickens, Pickens County (Major McArthur surrendered his sword to Colonel Pickens in person).

Colonel Glenn, Newberry County.

Colonel Hayes (commanded South Carolina men).

Lt. Col. John E. Howard, Baltimore, Md. (seven officers surrendered their swords to Howard).

Lt. Col. William Washington, Charleston County. Colonel Washington and Colonel Tarleton had a personal encounter as Tarleton's aide was about to strike him his bugler boy wounded him with a pistol and Washington wounded Tarleton in the hand.

Lt. Col. William Farr, Union County.

Lt. Col. Benjamin Roebuck, Spartanburg, County.

Major Cunningham, Georgia.

Major McDowell, North Carolina.

Major McCall, South Carolina.

Major Triplett, Virginia.

Maj. James Jackson, Georgia.

Maj. Joseph McJunkin, Union.

Maj. Thomas Young, Union County (wounded in action).

Maj. Samuel Hammond, Edgefield County.

Maj. Benjamin Jolley, Union County.

Captain Beatie, Virginia; Captain Buchanan, Virginia; Captain Tate, Virginia; Capt. James Caldwell, Newberry County (all wounded in action).

Lt. Joseph Hughes, Union County.

Dr. Francis Whelchel, of Union County cared for the wounded.

Sergeant Major Perry; Pvt. John Whelchel, Union County, wounded in action. After the war it was "Dr." John Whelchel.

John Savage, Union County, fired first shot.

William Sharp, Union County, listed as hero.

Pvt. Golden Tinsley, Newberry.

William Giles, Union, listed as hero.

Samuel Hodge, Union County.

William Caldwell, Newberry.

Samuel Clowney, Union County.

Adam Skain, Union County.

Peter Skain, Union County.

John Skain, Union County (killed in action, buried on battle site).

Deshazer and McJilton, Virginia.

OTHERS BELIEVED TO HAVE TAKEN PART IN BATTLE

Col. James Steen, South Carolina.

Maj. Henry White, Georgia.

Lieutenant Patterson, South Carolina.

James Park, South Carolina.

George Walton, Georgia.

Christopher Brandon, Union.

Samuel Smith, Union.

Francis Whelchel, Jr., Union.

William Whelchel, Union.

Davis Whelchel, Union.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Information taken from "Battle of Cowpens, S. C., Army War College, Washington, D. C."

"American Heroes and Grindal Shoals," written by Rev. J. D. Bailey, Cowpens, S. C.

Compiled by Thomas C. Littlejohn, Sr., Cowpens, S. C.

Written by Frank Oglesby, Cowpens, S. C.

Unfairness of Federal Freight Levy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a cogent editorial entitled "Unjust Freight Tax," from the Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg., of August 14, 1957.

This editorial supports in principle an advocacy voiced by me in the August 1957 issue of the Railway Progress magazine, under the title of "The Tax That Chokes the West," when I wrote an article describing how the 3 percent Federal freight tax acts unfairly and discriminatorily to deny full opportunity to western industry and agriculture.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNJUST FREIGHT TAX

How Uncle Sam helps drive the West out of the national market through a 3 percent Federal freight tax is shown by Oregon's Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER in the current Railway Progress magazine.

Oregon canners, he points out, pay almost four times as much in transportation excise taxes as do midwestern shippers on a carload of canned goods to the Pittsburgh area. The tax on Oregon grain is more than 3½ times that on grain from the central States and on livestock nearly 4 times. The Oregon lumberman is taxed 40 percent more than the Georgia lumber shipper.

The Senator might have added that every time freight rates are raised, as they were a week ago for the second time since last December, the Federal penalty for living in the West increase proportionally.

Federal transportation taxes should be repealed outright, as Senator NEUBERGER has urged in the Senate. Shipping cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be termed a luxury. Neither can traveling, which is taxed 10 percent.

Eggs and Commonsense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Everett Daily Herald, an outstanding daily newspaper published in my hometown of Everett, Wash.

There has been considerable discussion in the pages of the RECORD lately, some of it bordering on the hysterical, on the necessity for the Government to rush out and enter the poultry market. Eggs are going through one of their periods of lowered price. Having talked with poultrymen in my congressional district I know that most of them believe they are better off taking care of their own business and would like the Government to stay out and not interfere with their operations with subsidies, production controls and the various other programs that have been applied to other farm products.

This editoral points up the solid constructive steps being undertaken by the Government and poultry groups to guard against the flash expansion that occurred in some other farm areas under the subsidy plan where today we are still paying for marginal lands under absentee ownership and wasteful cultivation.

I believe the Everett Daily Herald has delineated an important point concerning our poultry industry, and I believe my colleagues will find it of interest.

Text of the editorial is as follows:

PRUDENT GRANTING OF CREDIT WILL HELP STATE POULTRYMEN

The Tacoma News-Tribune has called attention to action by the poultrymen in our midst that it believes will prove a constructive step by easing expansion in an industry that it is asserted, should not be expanded. The Tacoma paper puts it this way:

"The men already fighting to keep their heads above water knew it was no service to induce more competitors to jump into the struggle at this time. So they laid their facts before the Department of Agriculture, which has now announced an agreement that should be of considerable assistance to the poultry industry in the end.

"The Farmers Home Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, the American Feed Manufacturers Association, and the American Bankers Association, have agreed to put the brakes on easy credit. Credit will, by no means, be cut off, but it will be advanced prudently to discourage demoralising over-expansion."

The poultrymen have faced the situation where the price of eggs and dressed chickens is barely above the cost of production. Again they have tried to solve an economic problem without resorting to Government price supports or other artificial devices. They have attempted to solve over-production. They believe they are on the right track.

Any industry which endeavors to solve its own problems in this manner, deserves commendation. As pointed out, the poultrymen could have stormed Congress to give them a ceiling on eggs and chickens. But this would only have created large backlogs of Government-owned stocks of both. Their action could result in a saving to the taxpayers and a result beneficial to themselves, to the State, and to the Nation. And it will discourage those who enter into a venture merely to try their luck—lacking funds and, so often, the know-how that is the foundation of success.

Minority Views of Mr. Holifield and Mr. Porter on the Amended Bill, S. 1411

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the House has reported out an amended form of S. 1411.

At the present time it is impossible to predict whether the bill will be considered in this session. But in the event that it is scheduled for consideration, I fear the opportunity to debate the bill will be limited.

I, therefore, under unanimous consent heretofore granted, will have printed the minority report for the benefit of advance information to the Members. The brief report is appended hereto.

MINORITY VIEWS ON S. 1411

INTRODUCTION

The Supreme Court in *Cole* v. *Young* (76 S. Ct. 861 (1956)) declared that the intent of Congress in passing Public Law 733 (64 Stat. 476), was to define national security, to emoprehend only those activities of the Government that are directly concerned with the protection of the Nation from internal subversion or foreign aggression, and not those which contribute to the strength of the Nation only through the impact on general welfare.

Accordingly, the Court held that President Eisenhower acted without statutory authority when he issued his Executive Order No. 10450 imposing the standard that a Federal employee's employment must be clearly consistent with the interest of national security to Federal employees occupying positions not affecting national security.

The committee's amendment to S. 1411 is designed to overrule the Cole case by defining national security to mean that all Government activities involve the national safety and security, including the protection of the United States from internal subversion or foreign aggression.

COMMITTEE REVISION OF SENATE BILL

As S. 1411 passed the Senate and came to the committee it was a noncontroversial measure to clarify suspension provisions in existing law. The majority in our committee has added to this simple proposal a highly controversial basic change in the substance of our laws governing personnel security. We suggest that S. 1411 should be shorn of these new and unrelated provisions; otherwise the Senate will reject the rewritten bill on which no hearings have been held in the Senate, and the salutary Senate bill will be lost.

Despite the clear implications in the arguments of those who would have the House adopt S. 1411 as reported by our committee, the present state of the law does not require the Government to retain in its employment or to hire disloyal persons. On the contrary, the Government not only has the authority to bar Communists and those who would overthrow our Government from its rolls, but is under the positive duty to do so. The Hatch Act of 1939 and the Internal Security Act of 1950 are a positive bar to the employment of such persons.

The provisions the committee has added to this bill are an attempt to legislate a national security interest into every Government position. This is an attempt to create a security interest where none exists. This is an attempt to reverse the Supreme Court without rhyme or reason; it is spite legislation.

The proposal was first presented to the committee as section 3 of Mr. WALTER'S bill, H. R. 981, and would have extended the Federal personnel security program to all positions affecting the national welfare as well as the national safety. The bill as reported drops the national welfare criterion. Which employees are meant to be included by the phrase national safety? Which employees are meant to be excluded by deletion of the phrase national welfare? How many years of senseless litigation will be required to answer these questions?

The proponents of S. 1411 suggest that all Government employees should be put back under the often-criticized, loose-security program, which fathered the disgraceful numbers game of a few years ago. Many sincere advocates of a strong security system have vigorously criticized the application of the security program to all positions in Government as the weakest link in our national security. In its monumental study, the Federal loyalty-security program, the association of the bar of the city of New York had this to say:

"In evaluating the personnel security system the committee has been guided by the need to protect national security and at the same time to adhere to the American tradition of individual liberty. Other security measures must also be taken into account, such as existing statutes which bar Communists from all Government positions. With these considerations in mind the committee has found weaknesses in four aspects of the program:

"1. There is a lack of coordination and supervision of the various personnel security programs.

"2. The scope of the personnel security programs is too broad in that positions are covered which have no substantial relationship to national security.

"3. The standards and criteria do not sufficiently recognize the variety of elements to be considered, including the positive contribution which an employee may make to national security, and they do not readily permit a commonsense judgment on the whole record.

"4. The security procedures fail in various ways to protect as they could the interests of the Government and of employees."

PROPOSAL WILL NOT AID NATIONAL SECURITY

As a result of the Supreme Court decision in the Cole case, the Federal personnel security program has been limited to security-sensitive positions. In this limited area improvements can be worked out to provide security for the Government and fair procedure for the Government employee. Improvement of the existing program rather than its extension should be of first concern to the Congress. To reextend the present inadequate and unfair program will make improvement all the more difficult.

The bill, far from strengthening our national security, will actually weaken it. If the intelligence agencies of our Government concentrate on sensitive positions, they can do their job well; if they have to investigate millions of persons in nonsecurity positions, they can only do their job superficially. As has been well said, "If we watch our toothbrushes and diamond rings with equal care, we will lose less toothbrushes but far more diamond rings."

In the summer of 1956 our committee and the Congress were told by the proponents of the pending measure that immediate legislation to overcome the Supreme Court's decision in *Cole* v. *Young* was essential if the Government were to protect itself from disloyal persons. The Congress in its wisdom did not succumb to these urgent appeals, and there has been no evidence presented that as a result of *Cole* v. *Young* one disloyal person has been kept on the Federal payroll. Here again, in the closing days of a session of Congress, we are urged that immediate action is necessary to protect the integrity of the Government. Such hasty action is no more necessary now than it was last summer.

NO CASE HAS BEEN MADE FOR S. 1411

No one has made a case for the reextension of the security program to all Federal jobs. In testimony before our committee the only witnesses who supported the pending legislation were a few members of the Wright Commission on Government Security. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission was called, and stated that the Civil Service Commission has not taken a position on the pending legislation. Eight representatives of Government employees' unions, including a representative of the parent labor body, the AFL–CIO, appeared, and all eight of them opposed enactment of the pending legislation. These sincere and conscientious officials are concerned with the Nation's security. They know that Communist imperialism is a real threat to freedom. They have fought the Communists in the trade-union movement and know the tactics the Communists employ. And they urged the committee and the Congress not to weaken our security and undermine our civil service by adopting this proposal to extend the security program to non-security-sensitive Federal jobs.

We reject, categorically, the assertion made in the hearings by the principal proponent of the pending bill when he appeared as a witness, that "Now, this," [the decision in *Cole* v. *Young*] "of course, adds an additional burden and excepts from the operation of the law disloyal people unless they are in a sensitive position." We also reject the contention of this same witness that a janitor, who has access to the confidential files of the head of an agency or the stenographer that takes the notes of conferences involving national security have been excluded from the Federal personnel-security program by the decision in *Cole* v. *Young*. The decision does no more than prevent the Government from treating nonsensitive jobs as though they were security positions; any positions reasonably classified as sensitive positions, including this janitor and this stenographer, are within the security program under the Cole case.

We note that there has been no urgent appeal for the pending legislation from the administration. On the contrary, following the Supreme Court decision in *Cole* v. *Young*, Assistant Attorney General George C. Doub told the Criminal Law Section of the American Bar Association last August, in Dallas, that the administration was preparing a new Executive order limiting the Federal employee security program to sensitive positions.

THIS IS NOT STOPGAP LEGISLATION

The proponents of this bill demand its enactment as stopgap legislation. But it stops nothing, and fills no gaps. The Code decision is almost 15 months old; there has been no showing of any harmful effects to our national security during this 15-month period that should now be stopped. There is no gap in our national security to be filled; the bill provides for security screening in a nonsecurity area where it is unnecessary and unwarranted.

We urge that the pending proposal be rejected and that the committee face up to the task of making a thorough study of how the present restricted program can be improved. In the meantime, we suggest that there is no need for alarm for the Nation's security. As the Association of the Bar of the City of New York stated in the report referred to above:

"Restriction of the personnel security program would leave unaffected the laws which bar all Federal employment to Communists or persons who belong to an organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional Government by unlawful means. The Internal Security Act of 1950 bars from all Federal employment any present member of a Communist-action, Communist-front, or Communist-infiltrated organization. Members of Communist-action organizations are forbidden employment in any defense facility. The general suitability requirements of the Civil Service Commission would also continue to apply to the classified service in Federal employment."

CONCLUSION

The bill establishes each of the 65 agency heads as a court with power to fire and, be there no mistake, to brand permanently in the eyes of his community—any employee on unspecified and unproven charges of disloyalty. The appeal to the Civil Service Commission would be of small value because the records submitted would be prepared solely by the agency head who is both accuser and judge in the first instance.

Any agency head who wished to restaff his organization could unrestrainedly dismiss any and all his subordinates. While we do not expect such extreme action by an agency head, it is possible and we fear the granting of such power to any man.

The cost to the Government of extending FBI loyalty clearance to all of its employees regardless of job classification could be required by agency heads in the discharge of their new responsibility. If this occurs the cost could well run into millions as well as requiring FBI personnel to be assigned to routine and relatively unimportant new and extended responsibilities. Each FBI loyalty investigation costs on an average of over $500 each.

The undersigned yield to no one in their desire to protect the national safety and security. The closing days of the session of Congress do not permit adequate hearings and calm consideration of this most important problem. The Congress might be well advised to study carefully the report of President Eisenhower's Wright Commission, whose recommendations are being passed over without due evaluation by those who support this stopgap bill.

CHET HOLIFIELD.
CHARLES O. PORTER.

Education Funds From Ty Cobb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a story from the Memphis Press Scimitar of July 30 reporting that Ty Cobb, one of our greatest baseball players, has given a million dollars for the education of needy youths in Georgia. This is a fine Christian gesture and Mr. Cobb is to be commended for a deed which will have far reaching results.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION FUND FROM TY COBB—BASEBALL GREAT TO AID NEEDY YOUTHS

NEW YORK.—Ty Cobb, 71, one of baseball's alltime greats, has given more than $1 million in cash and securities to a foundation for the education of needy youth in his native State of Georgia, it was reported today.

The New York World-Telegram and Sun, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, quoted Cobb as saying the report was true but he didn't want it to get around.

"I'm giving away an extensive part of my wealth," the newspaper quoted Cobb. "I'm a believer in the Christian spirit and faith. When we die, we are all leveled off, no matter how many millions of dollars we've got."

"I've portioned out money to take care of the immediate family—my former wife and three older children. And I'll keep some to take care of Ty Cobb until he passes on. Just enough for that."

Cobb was making about $50,000 a year when he retired in 1928 and had many canny investments in Wall Street. He told the World-Telegram and Sun that he had made a killing over the years but always had in mind "getting money so I could help somebody else in later life."

Financial Crisis in France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, Reuters News Service brings us from Paris a remarkable story of how French officials are tackling their financial crisis. A virile call for austerity is made both by Felix Gaillard, Finance Minister, and the new Premier, M. Maurice Bourges-Maunoury—one by which the nation may pull itself up by its bootstraps. So unusual are the suggested actions, that I ask unanimous consent that the story be published as an historical document in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PARIS, August 8.— Felix Gaillard, France's dynamic young Finance Minister, called on the nation tonight to tighten its belt in order to export more.

He also warned in a radio and television speech against a wave of new wage demands and unjustified price rises which, he said, would spell failure for his austerity campaign, aimed at restoring France's financial health.

Commenting on his successful budget battle, the 37-year-old Gaillard said: "Everyone must get it thoroughly into his mind that unless he stints himself a little to export more, the whole national economy will be threatened with asphyxia and unemployment will loom over our industries.

"If we cannot fill our ships, we will empty our shops."

Gaillard said new measures now under study would show the Government's determination to fight price increases and defend the workers living standards.

"But if the workers, by wage claims—and I understand their impatience—and industrial and agricultural producers and shopkeepers, by unjustified price rises, put our efforts in question they will take the responsibility for failure. And our failure will be theirs, too."

In another development, Premier Maurice Bourges-Maunoury today appealed to exservicemen to give up their pensions voluntarily to help get the country out of its financial difficulties.

Taxes, Trujillo, Jr., and Training for Tyranny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, Members particularly concerned with the prudent spending of the taxpayers' money in the interest of national defense may be interested in the following correspondence between myself and the Defense Department:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 25, 1957.

Hon. WILBER M. BRUCKER,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: An item appearing in a New Orleans newspaper on July 19, 1957, reports that Rafael L. Trujillo, Jr., the son of the Dominican dictator, left New Orleans on that day to attend the Army's Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

I should like to know if this information is true, and if it is, the explanation for General Trujillo's admission there.

Furthermore, I should greatly appreciate having a list of those individuals from Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic who are in the same class with General Trujillo, and a list of such nationals who have been in previous classes within the last 5 years.

I must say that I find it hard to rationalize making this wonderful training available to men who will use it to oppress their own peoples and who will never be able to contribute anything substantial to American defense. Your comments on this aspect are invited.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES O. PORTER,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY,
Washington, D. C., August 13, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. PORTER: This letter is in further reply to your inquiry concerning the attendance of Gen. Rafael L. Trujillo, Jr., and other foreign nationals at the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

General Trujillo, who assumed the rank of colonel while at school, and Lt. Col. Fernando A. Sanchez, members of the armed forces, Dominican Republic, are students at the Command and General Staff College. Enrolled in the same class are two students from Venezuela, Lt. Col. Benjamin Maldonado and Maj. Carlos Oscar Mendez Cardenas. Cuba and Nicaragua do not have students enrolled in the present class.

Under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, the Dominican Republic is eligible to receive military assistance. The Dominican Republic requested and was allocated two spaces at the Command and General Staff College.

The following students from Cuba, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Venezuela have attended the Command and General Staff College during the past 5 years:

Cuba: Maj. Benjamin Camino y Gomendia, 1955.

Dominican Republic: No students have attended prior to fiscal year 1958.

Nicaragua: No students have attended to date.

Venezuela: Lt. Col. Jose V. Zambrano, 1952; Lt. Comdr. Carlos Bacalao-Lora, 1952; Maj. Raul Antonio Groce-Roa, 1955; Maj. Lulio Salgado Ayala, 1955.

The Department of the Army provides training at United States Army service schools only to those countries which have been declared eligible for such training under Presidential directives, the Mutual Security Act of 1954 as amended, and Department of Defense policy directives.

Your interest in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely,
J. E. BASTION, JR.,
Brigadier General, GS., Deputy Chief of Legislative Liaison.

Willow Run Airport Finally Achieving Due Recognition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from Ann Arbor (Mich.) News of August 14, 1957:

FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW: WILLOW RUN AIRPORT FINALLY ACHIEVING DUE RECOGNITION

Things are looking up for the University's Willow Run Airport, only recently the target of attacks by Wayne County interests which sought to move the airlines to Wayne-Major.

The Civil Aeronautics Administration gave the biggest boost to the airport last week by increasing its Federal grant for improvements in 1957–58 from $45,000 to $188,000. Pleased university and airport officials ascribe the boosted allotment to the fact that the Michigan Department of Aeronautics has finally recognized Willow Run as a permanent installation.

Another new phase in airport operations is marked by appointment of an advisory committee to coordinate its public affairs. The university plans a 10th anniversary observance at Willow Run on September 10, at which time improvements to the terminal will be completed. The ceiling is being lowered by installation of a modern and attractive new dome, and new dining facilities and other passenger accommodations are planned. Airport parking facilities also are being changed.

Willow Run—always one of the safest major air terminals—is fast becoming one of the busiest with 11 passenger lines operating from there and more than 460 flights daily scheduled, in addition to nearly 100 military and civilian aircraft operations.

The airport is one of the biggest operations of any kind in Washtenaw County, with about 2,500 nonflying employees and an annual payroll of more than $10 million.

A visit to the observation deck of the terminal provides the greatest 10 cents worth of entertainment available to residents of Washtenaw and Wayne Counties. With takeoffs and landings of the big planes averaging one every 3 minutes, the spectacle is one not soon to be forgotten, and the color and excitement continues for 24 hours of the day. Night operations are particularly interesting.

Willow Run has become one of the county's greatest assets, and Ann Arbor's much-traveled population can count itself fortunate at having an outstanding air terminal so convenient.

The 20th and 21st of a Series of Editorials by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert the 20th and 21st in the series of editorial letters by Mr. F. F. McNaughton which are now being published in the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.:

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of August 13, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By F. F. McNaughton)

Russians like to show off.

You all know that from watching their behavior in international affairs.

They act for effect.

They make gestures of peace and good will to gain ends.

Used to be that every visitor was practically required to look at their subway. While other cities have underground tubes built strictly to carry people, the Russians made their Metro a thing of art. It has art in tile, and frescoes, and it has beautiful chandeliers.

Returning from ballet at the Sport Palace, way out by the university, Ceil and I chose to ride back by Metro instead of by a Limousine (with Persian rug) which they insisted we accept free.

The dive down a hole into that subway was the longest, fastest, and steepest escalator ride we ever took. We must have dived 120 yards.

We sardined ourselves into the first subway train that came along.

Since the Russian alphabet is different from ours, I was worried as to whether we would know where to get off. But a well-dressed Russian man took us in tow. He was as well dressed and pleasant as any man in Pekin who might have gone out of his way to help strangers—such a fellow, say, as Bud More.

Couldn't speak English.

So we could not say a word; but he indicated for us to be at ease.

Presently he found Ceil a seat. Then when we came to the Moscow Hotel station, he indicated for us to follow him and he got off with us and led us to the escalator to take to get up to the street.

It warmed our hearts.

By the way, you can ride all over Moscow on the subway for 5 cents.

Surface fares cheap, too.

Another way in which the Russians are making an impression now is their new jet passenger planes. They've cut the former 8-hour time to Prague to 2 hours. But their big show is their flight to Peiping. (Wish it were Pekin, Ill.) They run a regular commercial passenger plane to the capital of China—make the 4,845-mile flight in 10 hours.

And butter!

Millions in Russia are bound to be short of butter, but I know of nowhere in Asia, Africa, Europe, or America where they pile butter on the table like they do for guests in Russia.

Show off? But isn't that just one more way in which the Russians are like Americans?

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times of August 14, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By F. F. McNaughton)

Cell has noticed one thing that may be important or may not be.

We see no babies—that is, almost none. And no pregnant women.

Can it be that Russian women are acting so mannish or are so eager to work that they do not want to have babies?

One thing sure: They have no church to tell them it is wrong not to bear children.

When we asked our guide about this, she said the babies were in the country in the summer; and as to the pregnant women—well, they do not like to come into the center of the city.

But pregnant women appear freely in every other place we have been on earth; and if Russian women go about (as they do practically 100 percent) without corsets or girdles, and just let their stomachs stick out as they will, why would they hesitate at coming downtown pregnant?

We don't know.

And I think I failed to make one thing clear about free education.

It is free for the bright.

That is, at the top.

It just might be that America could make room in its universities and engineering, medical, art, etc., schools for all the brilliant youths and girls in America if all students who could not pass the stiff Russian entrance exams were eliminated from American universities.

And if the money spent on frats and sororities (which are quite undemocratic) were spent on dormitories, there would be places for these brilliant young Americans to live while they got free education.

A Better Atomic Plant Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE MEADER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Better Atomic Plant Bill," published in the Adrian Daily Telegram, Adrian, Mich., on August 13, 1957.

The editorial follows:

A BETTER ATOMIC PLANT BILL

Amendments approved on the floor of the House have made the atomic plant construction bill a much better measure. The $337 million measure was shorn of its order to the Atomic Energy Commission to build five reactors for cooperative and other public power companies. Likewise the bill veers away from the original directive to rush construction of a reactor similar to one Britain is hurrying toward completion.

The measure now provides for the orderly development of atomic plants in a working partnership with private industry. Democrats on the committee which prepared the bill had included various provisions designed to freeze private industry out of atomic development to a considerable extent. The House action again gives the green light to the fast reactor plant under construction at Monroe. It does this by retaining $4,200,000 of research funds. Committee Democrats had asked that any mention of the private group be kept out of the bill and that a million and a half dollars be authorized for fast breeder research in general.

In general the bill holds to the line of legislation adopted 3 years ago designed to interest the power industry in building pilot atomic plants under Atomic Energy Commisison authority. As offered in the House, the bill as first drafted would have made an abrupt change in this policy and substituted one of keeping such developments largely within Government corporations and agencies. All this was along the lines of socialism. The House refused to go along, and, by topheavy votes on various sections of the bill, showed it.

There Is No Substitute for Wood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, lots of people in my district are concerned with what appears to be a tendency to overlook the wonderful building qualities of wood. Therefore, I should like to call to the attention of the Members of this House the following editorial which appeared in the August 8, 1957, issue of the Cottage Grove, Oreg., Sentinel, which is published and edited by W. C. Martin:

One of the basic troubles of the Northwest is due to the fact that wood is being excluded as a building material over the Nation and aside from the efforts of a few companies like Weyerhaeuser Timber Co., little is being done to combat the tendency to count wood out in the building plans. Our readers will recall a thought provoking article appearing on the editorial page of the Sentinel on July 25, under the heading of "Transfusion Needed," by H. V. Simpson, executive vice president of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association, in which Mr. Simpson pointed out that the people of the Northwest have not always been loyal to the No. 1 payroll of the region, lumber.

The present troubles of lumber are not all due to the fact that lumber has been replaced in some sections of the country to a large extent by substitute materials, but if wood could assume its rightful place in the building industry as the No. 1 material with which to build a dwelling, a large portion of the present difficulties might be lessened.

But the trouble is even in a section of the country where lots of lumber and wood should be used, most of us are willing to sit by and see brick, stone, and concrete replacing wood in many instances and we have done nothing about it.

We have called attention in previous articles about living in a transition period, where so far as the timber operator is concerned, he must utilize every bit of the tree he can to get even a margin of profit and an increasing number of the large operators have turned to finding ways of using the waste as a hard board, as container material and as pulp and paper. Even so there has never been a material on the market which would take the place of wood as a building material for a residence or dwelling as far as warmth, beauty, and charm goes. This is the theme of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Co. in its national advertising program and its efforts to create and maintain a market for wood for building homes.

In California and in other places where there has been a mass production of housing, even the window and door frames have been made of steel and practically no wood is used.

Adequate Financial Support for Our Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. COFFIN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of adequate financial support for our ambassadors is not new. Our interest has been quickened by the recent controversy surrounding the appointment of an ambassador to Ceylon, and the questions it has raised about the necessity for wealthy men in our diplomatic posts. But long before this the Congress was concerned with such matters as the 1878 proposal to increase the salaries of certain ministers. Representative James H. Blount of Georgia denounced the suggestion, voicing the hope that someday we would be able to dispose of the diplomatic service because of improved communications. This was apparently based on unlimited faith in diplomacy by telegraph.

Thomas Brackett Reed, one of our great speakers and a distinguished son of Maine, offered a response which stands the test of time very well.

I apprehend—

He said—

that while we are a great people, while we are a noble and magnificient people, yet there is some wisdom outside of the United States; and so long as we have a diplomatic corps * * * we ought to pay our ministers such salary * * * will enable them to maintain themselves properly in the places to which we send them.

A similar, and recent, plea has been made by a retired career officer of our Foreign Service. In a letter to the New York Times, published August 18, 1957, Mr. Edward P. Lawton struck a fresh note in the appeal for more adequate recognition and support of our career officers in the diplomatic corps:

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

James Reston, in commenting on the recent nomination of Maxwell H. Gluck as Ambassador to Ceylon, suggested that with the facts now made public about the underpayment of our Ambassadors, something might conceivably be done to correct a bad situation. I should like to invite attention to certain aspects of the problems which do not seem to have been aired in the press.

A number of career officers without private means have served as Ambassadors at expensive posts. For example, the present Ambassador in Buenos Aires, long viewed as

on of the costly posts in the service, makes ut on his official income even though he as a large family. He previously served as mbassador at Havana, another expensive ost.

This Ambassador's predecessor at Buenos ires was likewise a career officer without rivate means.

Nearly all of the posts recently filled by olitical appointees have at times been occupied by career men with little or no private means.

POSTS UNDERPAID

Unquestionably our Ambassadors are rossly underpaid. Nevertheless, in all but or 3 posts—London, Paris and possibly ome—career men without money can get y. They may find it difficult, they may ip into their savings; but they can do it nd creditably. Were this not so, the State epartment would hardly go on making such ppointments.

Why then does the administration assert hat top ambassadorships must be filled by ich men? May it not be that this provides plausible reason for the noncareer appointments it wants to make anyway?

There is no evidence that any recent President desired a true career Foreign Service. There is no evidence that any substantial ortion of the Senate ever wanted such an nstitution as the British Foreign Service, ith the prestige and authority it has acuired through generations of application f the career principle up to the highest ppointments.

No President ever said to the Congress: ive me half a million (or a million) dollars dditional a year and I will nominate no ore political Ambassadors. A million, at he most, would be enough.

What is that in a budget such as ours, with 38 billion dedicated to defense? Or does the President truly believe that the major bastions of our first line of defense throughout he world should continue to be commanded y innocents like Mr. Gluck for the sake of minuscule saving?

SPIRIT OF OPTIMISM

When I entered the service in 1925 under alvin Coolidge, a spirit of optimism reigned. e younger men all looked forward to the ay when the career principle would be eslablished here as firmly as it is in Europe.

Twenty years later, when I resigned, the morale of the service had never been so low—nd this was long before the onslaughts of enator McCarthy. A majority of the men I new in the service looked forward only to ne thing, the earliest day they would qualify for retirement. Many of these men tepped happily out of the ranks at the early ge of 50, and with them the Nation lost ome of its best potential ambassadors.

A few others, with money or connections, left with the expectation of returning as olitical appointees to rank far higher than hey could have received through career advancement. The effect on the service of this omersaulting to top posts is easy to imagine.

What caused the decline in morale? There were many reasons, but inadequate pay was ot a principal one. In fact remuneration had risen, all the fringe allowances were better, there was promise of still more favorable treatment to come.

The chief reason was that the career men, who had entered the service after a stiff competitive examination and had risen in rank slowly over the years, found themselves suddenly joined in class standing by outsiders appointed—or so it was believed—largely through influence, and were blocked from the most desirable ambassadorships by the preference given political proteges.

ADDITIONAL EMBASSIES

It is a habit of the State Department to cite the number and percentage of career appointments that have been made, which usually show an increase. But it is never pointed out that this favorable showing is due only to the fact that a large number of new embassies have been created in recent years and that nearly all of them are in out-of-the-way posts where climate or living conditions are so difficult that no self-respecting politician would endure them.

With such posts filled by career men through default, and with Iron Curtain posts also filled by career men, it is a simple matter to assign the choice posts in Western Europe to the party national committee and still present a convincing record of fostering the career service.

One justification often made for the continuance of noncareer appointments is that the career service has insufficient men of top caliber. This may be true—though it is difficult for anyone intimately acquainted with the service to believe it. But if so, isn't there an obvious answer? Is such a condition not an effect of the system rather than a cause?

If good men can hope for no better than a third-rate ambassadorship in an unhealthy locality as the apex of their career will they enter the service in the first place, or, if already in, will they remain after reaching the earliest age of retirement?

EDWARD P. LAWTON.

CANNONDALE, CONN., *August 12, 1957.*

Mr. Speaker, we cannot afford less than the best in our diplomatic service. Is it too much to hope that, after over a century and a half, we shall at last recognize this fact?

General Lane Gives His Views on Soldiering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Revere Journal, Revere, Mass., on August 15, 1957, concerning former District Commissioner Thomas A. Lane, who is a native of Revere.

The article follows:

GENERAL LANE GIVES HIS VIEWS ON SOLDIERING

"The business of soldiering" came in for comments last week at Gen. Thomas A. Lane's first staff and commanders conference at Fort Leonard Wood, Mo. General Lane, a Revere native, was engineer commissioner of the District of Columbia before coming to Fort Leonard Wood on August 1.

Fort Wood's new commander pointed out to the assembled officers his views concerning soldiering, its obligations, and the honor and respect shared by every serviceman "from the lowest private up."

"We find a great deal of talk in our country today that men who have been drafted have been unfortunate and those who escaped the draft are lucky." the general said. "This is opposite of the truth. It is important that young men coming into the Army are made to understand the Army, to have pride in it and to realize that their Army service is one of the most fortunate things in their life."

General Lane went on to say that if Army officers do their job right "these young men will go back into civilian life and look back on this service as one of the finest things that ever happened to them."

Pointing out that difference in rank are minor, General Lane told the officers at his conference that all soldiers share equally the honor of being a soldier.

"We must honor and respect every soldier at all times," General Lane continued, going on to say that he wanted every soldier at Fort Wood to feel a pride in his position and his organization which can be brought about only by an understanding of his position and a feeling of confidence that he knows his duties.

When a soldier comes into the Army one of the first fundamentals he learns is how to salute and that, said General Lane, is an expression of pride. "When he stands up and gives a salute he should say to himself, 'I'm a soldier.' You will not have trouble getting compliance when a man understands his position and what is expected of him. We want Fort Leonard Wood to be what it is supposed to be, one of the finest training centers in the world.

"I have spoken of duty," General Lane continued, "but I am also deeply concerned about your happiness. One of the primary requirements for happiness is a feeling of doing something worthwhile, having a place in the community and filling it. A good soldier has this basic requirement for happiness. He has a feeling of team work, that we are all members of the team."

General Lane concluded his conference by reminding the senior officers of their responsibility for looking after the welfare of their subordinates.

"It is not their (senior officers) duty to pamper them but it is their duty to look after them and if they need help to see that they get it. I want to assure you that is my position—I will be doing everything I can to make Fort Leonard Wood a better and happier place for all of us."

Speech of Hon. Basil L. Whitener

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, on last evening our distinguished colleague, Congressman BASIL L. WHITENER, the Representative of the 11th North Carolina Congressional District, delivered a splendid address before the Shelby Junior Chamber of Commerce at Hotel Charles in Shelby, N. C.

In view of the sound and basic philosophy embodied in that speech and because of my very high regard for Congressman WHITENER, I desire to see it made a part of the permanent RECORD of this Congress. Mr. Speaker, I am firmly convinced that unless the trend toward centralism in this country is reversed, this splendid young Republic with its great institutions is bound to come to an end. If this tragedy to the world is to be prevented, our people must awaken to the dangers ahead and rededicate themselves to the Jeffersonian principles upon which the Democratic Party and the country were founded.

Congressman WHITENER's able address is as follows:

President Heath, members of the Shelby Junior Chamber of Commerce, and distinguished guests, I am most appreciative of the

very generous introduction by my long-time friend, Dave Gillespie. While Dave has only been in Shelby a short time, I am certain that you have already observed in him those traits of character and that sense of public service which resulted in his being selected by the Gastonia Junior Chamber of Commerce as Young Man of the Year a short time ago. His service as managing editor of your great daily newspaper, the Shelby Star, will, I am sure, be of great value to his paper and to the community which it serves.

It is always a privilege for me to speak to Jaycees. The most enjoyable period of my life was that period in which I was permitted to take a somewhat active role in the affairs of the local, State, and national organizations of which you are a part.

As a matter of fact, I have always had a deep sense of pride in the role that I was able to play in the formation of your organization here in Shelby. I remember so well our first meeting at the Cleveland Hotel and the enthusiasm for civic work which was evidenced by the young men of Shelby who at that time founded this organization which has meant so much to your city and county. Through the years that have followed this zeal for civic service has not lessened as is shown by the splendid record of service which you are continuing to build from day to day.

Your membership and activity in the various projects of this organization directly and indirectly touch every phase of community life. This broader value of your service is a noble thing. But there is another and more personal value resulting from your pursuit of the high ideals of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

This other important value arises out of the personal development which the individual Jaycee experiences through his diligence in community service. No other organization in the Nation affords young men a greater opportunity of self-expression, equality of participation, and opportunity for accomplishment than does the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

We are told in the book of Joel that: "Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." These visions of the young men of hundreds of communities throughout the Nation are being given reality through the programs and projects which you and your colleagues conceive and promote. Tonight I would like to call to your attention another area of public service in which you as an individual and as a member of this great organization may find an opportunity for further service. This field of service is not limited by city, county, or State lines but embraces the entire area of the American continent. And, by reason of the influence which our great Nation has in the affairs of the world we might even say that this area of opportunity is as large as the world itself.

I speak of the opportunity to assist in the preservation of the fundamental principles upon which this Nation has built its foundation of greatness.

The psalmist has said: "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage."

The heritage of all Americans is known and understood by even the casual student of history. I, therefore, shall not undertake to remind you of the many lines that have fallen about us in pleasant places. Rather, I prefer to discuss with you in a brief way some of the assaults which are being made upon this heritage of ours.

While my service in the Congress has been of short duration, it has been sufficient to convince me that in no similar period of our history has this country strayed further from the sound philosophy and principles of good government upon which this Republic was founded than it has during our lifetime. As a Member of Congress I have witnessed some further assaults which have been made on the very foundation stone of our society, the Bill of Rights.

It has been my constant aim when I was called upon to cast a vote to record myself as one who believes that the time has come when the chipping away at the bedrock of our society shall be stopped.

I am sure that you, as young civic leaders, are greatly alarmed over the ever-increasing tendency toward consolidation of power in the Federal Government at the expense of the States and freedom of our citizens. The great Thomas Jefferson issued a warning to the people of this country when he said: "It is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into States, that division must be made, that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly, and what it can do much better than distant authority."

In order to prevent this consolidation of power our forebears adopted the 10th amendment of the Constitution which provides that: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

For more than a century that mandate was scrupulously honored. On those rare occasions, when the Congress in its zeal invaded the domain of the States, the Supreme Court firmly pulled it back. The Court at that time was a great bulwark in the preservation of constitutional Government.

How changed the situation today. Apparently the States no longer have any rights which the Federal Government is bound to respect. The Congress cannot evade its partial responsibility for this development. It has passed laws, expressed in vague general terms, empowering the Federal agencies to regulate vast areas of our economy. Immediately these agencies set up all the trappings of bureaucracy. They issue directives, regulations, and interpretations, which, as time goes on, bear less and less resemblance to the act passed by Congress.

But the evil presented by the executive and legislative branches has been minor in comparison with the destructive influence during the past two decades of the nine black-robed gentlemen who occupy the marble palace across the plaza from the Nation's Capitol.

You may search the Constitution, but you will find nothing about preemption in it.

The Supreme Court, however, with ever-increasing frequency is applying that doctrine to whittle down the jurisdiction of the State courts. In doing this the argument is advanced that the Court is carrying out the intent of Congress. Whatever its purpose, this assault upon time-honored constitutional principles has as its net effect the further centralization of power in the Federal Government.

Some of the outstanding examples of this are found in recent decisions which I will mention briefly.

(a) The Steve Nelson case in which the Court held that under this so-called doctrine of preemption the antisedition law of the State of Pennsylvania was void. This means that the antisedition laws of every State in the Union were stricken down with a stroke of the pen and that there is no authority except in the Federal Government to legislate against such sedition.

(b) The Slochower case in which the Court denied the right of the city of New York to terminate employment of a schoolteacher who had invoked the fifth amendment in a congressional committee investigation concerning his past membership in the Communist Party.

(c) The Girard College case in which the Court said that Steven Girard had no right to provide in his will, over a hundred years ago, that his money was to be used for the establishment of a college for the education of white orphan boys. The flimsy reason given was that the board which operate the college is an agency of the State of Pen sylvania.

(d) The Konigsberg case and its co panion case in which the Court held that State had no right to deprive an applica of his law license where it was shown th the applicant was a Communist. The rat er remarkable idea was expressed by the ni black robes that membership in the Co munist Party did not necessarily refle upon the moral character of the pers applying for admission to the bar.

These are just a few of the ill-advised d partures from the goodly heritage which o generation has received from those w went ahead of us. One great newspaper h commented that in its recent decisions t Supreme Court had continued its studi campaign to obliterate the States of t American Union. This is not a partis political matter. It is as fundamental the members of my party as it is to t members of the Republican Party. It pr sents a problem which is on the minds laymen and lawyers alike. Legislators a constantly wrestling with the problem determining what legislative steps, if an can be taken to curb the assault upon co stitutional principles now being carried by these men who have tenure in office f the duration of their natural lives.

I mention to you the fact that young me have visions. To be sure, young Thom Jefferson had more vision than many of h fellows when he wrote: "There is no dang I apprehend so much, as the consolidation our Government by the noiseless and, ther fore, alarming instrumentality of the S preme Court."

Jefferson's basic philosophy and vision w set out in the oft-quoted statement: "Th government is best that governs least."

In 1798 Jefferson was the author of t famous Kentucky Resolution, which spell out the kind of nation that he hoped to se when it said: "The several States compo ing the United States of America, are n united on the principle of unlimited sub mission to their general Governme but * * * by compact under the style a title of a Constitution for the United Stat and of amendments thereto, they const tuted a general Government for special pu poses, delegated to that Government certa definite powers, reserving each State to i self, the residuary mass of right to the own self-government."

Jefferson's principal antagonist, Alexa der Hamilton, ably presented his plea f complete sovereignty in the general Gover ment, but this principle was not engraft into the basic constitutional concepts of o Nation.

Can anyone fail to see that there is no a trend away from the Jeffersonian theo of government, and toward the Hamiltonia concept?

Those who profess to be great liberal seem to me to have turned their backs upo that great liberal, Thomas Jefferson, and have embraced the theories which in Jeffe son's day and time were known as conserv tism or federalism.

I believe that the people in the Sout have consistently clung to the Jeffersonia idea of liberalism. To me a liberal is on who believes that the individual should b as free as possible of restrictions upon th exercise of his daily pursuits, whether of social or business nature. How then ca one say that the further expansion of Fed eral domination over State, local, and coun government and the very lives of the ind vidual within the various local communiti constitutes liberalism?

As the young business and profession leaders of this Nation, the members of th Junior Chamber of Commerce have a gre opportunity and responsibility in this batt for survival of our established system o

vernment. You can do much to direct e people of your community and the tion from the present path now being trod d restoring to the people all of our cher- ed, God-given institutions of freedom and erty which were wrested from the tyran- s and oppressions of the past.

n the Acts of the Apostles the chief cap- n was quoted as saying to Paul: "With a at sum obtained I this freedom." And l said: "But I was freeborn."

Yes, my friends, you and I, as Paul, were eborn. But if we are to remain free it y be necessary that we pay a great sum maintain and preserve our freedom.

Bill Extending the Effective Date for Regulations Governing the Operation of Small Passenger Vessels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. COFFIN
OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday e House did a very sensible thing in ssing H. R. 7494, which extends time r working out reasonable regulations r the passenger-boat owners of the tion. This is not a frivolous move, r is it a delaying tactic. This is an fort to arrive at a sensible and realistic of regulations for the field of small ssenger boat operation, covering mul- udes of small operators, working in ery conceivable set of climatic and ographic environments.

We do not want to delay, longer than cessary, the promulgation of these gulations. We do want to be abso- tely sure that the overwhelming ma- rity of conscientious passenger-boat ners will not be penalized and driven the wall by regulations which incur eat expense without necessarily adding preciably to the safety factor in the ssels which they operate.

There is, at the present time, a great vergence of opinion between the Coast ard and boatowners on the reason- bleness and practicability of the tenta- e regulations. The Coast Guard has ade two revisions in the proposed regu- tions, indicating the problems which e agency itself recognizes.

Patterns of regulation can more easily imposed on big units than on small es. The 5 biggest steel companies form unit easier to regulate than the 5,000 allest machine shops. The giant eamship lines are, for all their vast- ss, a more manageable subject matter r safety rules than the numberless flo- las of small passenger craft plying eir way along the coasts of this Nation.

Boatowners have indicated their will- gness to sit down with the Coast Guard d work out sound regulations which ill insure, as far as is possible, safe op- ation of small passenger vessels.

The 6-month delay proposed in this ll is not as much as we would have ed, but it does give us time to work it this problem in a sensible fashion. know some of the men who captain small passenger vessels along the Maine coast. They are expert sailors and they have great pride in the safety record they have compiled. They deserve the opportunity to work with the Coast Guard, contributing their invaluable experience to the drafting of the final version of these regulations.

I hope that the Coast Guard will use this added time in the spirit in which the House has granted it.

Letter to the President by the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN
OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. KARSTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following letter addressed to the President by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means regarding pending proposals for the enactment of a sliding scale import excise tax on lead and zinc:

AUGUST 16, 1957.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing to you in connection with the proposal of the Honorable Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, on behalf of the administration, for the enactment of sliding-scale import excise taxes on lead and zinc.

Although the communication from Secretary Seaton on this subject was not received by the Committee on Ways and Means until June 19, 1957, at a time when the session was far advanced and the committee was diligently following an agenda previously determined by it, due to the importance of the subject and due to conditions in the lead and zinc industry as depicted by the communication of the Secretary, the committee broke into its agenda and conducted hearings on August 1 and 2, 1957.

I have now had time to carefully review and study the testimony which was presented to the committee at the public hearing on this important subject. It is my sincere conviction that you already have authority, previously delegated to you by the Congress in the trade agreements legislation, to afford relief to domestic industries from import competition in appropriate cases. The testimony of your representatives at the public hearings, in conjunction with the written recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, indicates that the lead and zinc industries properly constitute such a case in the opinion of the administration. The testimony further shows that your present authority is adequate to afford the relief which you have recommended to the Congress.

As you will recall, one of the principal purposes of the so-called escape clause provision (section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951) and the national security amendment (section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955) was to afford you an avenue under which you can provide relief from import competition to domestic industries according to the procedures and standards set forth therein. As may further be recalled, the committees of the Congress and the Congress in past years have devoted much time, thought, and attention to providing you with these powers so that our domestic industries can be afforded protection in appropriate cases and so that the national interest can be served by presidential action without resort to further legislation.

It is clear that in this instance you have not made recourse to existing administrative procedures which are available to provide relief to these industries. In addition, you have not advised the Congress that your existing authority under the escape clause and the national security amendment is inadequate in these matters generally, although a subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means last fall specifically called upon the administration for any recommenations which it might have for modifying or strengthening these provisions of existing legislation.

The testimony presented to the Committee on Ways and Means during the course of the public hearings on August 1 and 2, 1957, indicated that the proposal for a sliding-scale import excise tax on lead and zinc is almost identical in major respects with the recommendations of the Tariff Commission made to you under the lead and zinc escape clause proceeding in 1954. You rejected this recommendation, stating among other things, that the proposed relief did not meet the needs of these industries. The testimony of your representatives further indicated that the situation today in the lead and zinc industries is substantially the same as it was at the time of the escape clause investigation by the Tariff Commission and your rejection of the unanimous finding of the Tariff Commission.

The testimony at the public hearings also clearly showed that the proposal which the Secretary of the Interior now recommends on behalf of the administration is almost identical in effect to a proposal that was before the Committee on Ways and Means in 1953 and on which a strongly adverse report was submitted by the State Department. The State Department set forth 10 reasons why this proposal was inadvisable and contrary to the national interest. This report was made a part of the recent public hearings.

The proposal which the administration has now recommended would not become effective, in event of its enactment, until January 1, 1958. Yet, under the national security amendment any relief found appropriate could be put into effect by you almost immediately. Also, under the escape clause I see no reason why you cannot direct the Tariff Commission to report to you within a stated time as to measures which it may deem appropriate for relief of these industries, and I see no reason why you could not have done so on June 19, the date of the proposal, or even earlier for that matter. It is clear from the testimony presented to our committee, aside from the merits of the proposal, that relief can be afforded by you much more speedily than would be the case even with enactment of the proposal.

As you of course know, I have been a strong and consistent supporter of the reciprocal trade agreements program since the inception of the program in 1934. I have consistently supported and worked for proposals which you have made to continue our foreign-trade policies, including, for example, your proposal during the last Congress and in this Congress for approval by the Congress for membership in OTC.

You have gone on record strongly supporting the reciprocal trade agreements program. At your request the Congress has provided three extensions of your authority during your administration. An important consideration of the Congress in providing these extensions was the fact that should trade agreements concessions result in such

import competition that domestic industries are injured or are threatened with injury you would have the authority where it is in the national interest to relieve domestic industries of such injury.

I cannot refrain from expressing to you my very great concern as to the impact of a proposal such as the one which your administration has made concerning lead and zinc on the whole structure of the trade-agreements program. In stating this, I do not intend to imply that the lead and zinc industries may not need relief. My concern is due to the fact that this proposal would completely bypass existing authority given you in present trade-agreements legislation. You are asking the Congress to do that which you already have ample authority to do. The authority which you have is not selective, but broad and general, and applies to any and all industries which are injured or threatened with injury as a result of trade-agreements concessions. I am sure you are aware of the fact that there are many other industries that are asking for relief from import competition. Among these are textiles, velveteen and ginghams, tuna fish, hardwood-plywood, stainless steel flatware, fluorspar, natural gas, petroleum, and many others. There are numerous bills now pending before the Committee on Ways and Means which would provide relief from import competition on the above specified items and many additional ones. I am confident that you would not want to see the Congress bypass and undermine your present authority under trade-agreements legislation by acting on individual items.

I sincerely urge you to personally review the situation in the lead and zinc industries and the proposal submitted to the Congress. Upon such a review, I am sure you will be convinced as I am that you do have ample authority to provide such relief as you deem necessary in the national interest to the lead and zinc industries. I am also confident that you will agree that to bypass the existing provisions of our trade-agreements law will undermine the trade agreements program.

I can only observe in closing that there is considerable sentiments that in the absence of your exercising such authority as you may have for an expansion of our foreign trade and the protection of domestic industries, the Congress will be forced to study again the delegation of authority made to you under the trade-agreements legislation. This is an eventuality which neither you nor I would contemplate with equanimity.

The other 14 Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means concur with me in this letter.

Very cordially yours,

JERE COOPER,
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means

Tyrone, Pa., Celebrates the 100th Anniversary of Its Incorporation as a Borough

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, as a fitting climax to months of careful and patient planning, the Borough of Tyrone, Pa., in my congressional district, opened its centennial program, August 11, heralding the beginning of a fun-packed week of community celebration in commemorating the epochal event.

Situated in northern Blair County, for a century Tyrone has been known as the gateway to the picturesque Bald Eagle Valley regarded as one of the scenic splendors in the great Keystone State.

Tyrone which is a thriving community of patriotic and God-fearing people takes pardonable pride in its colorful history which was reenacted in a stirring pageant titled "Proud Heritage" which told the captivating story of the history of Tyrone with a cast of over 400 local residents performing on a 300-foot outdoor stage.

During the centennial celebration, it was my privilege to have the honor of crowning, as queen of the centennial, "Miss Tyrone" in the person of Miss Hope Snyder. In addition, I had the pleasure of bestowing the crown of "Little Queen" of the centennial on 5-year old Debbie Markel, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William L. Markel.

One of the highlights of the centennial celebration was the participation by the famed Tyrone Gardner Guards in each performance of the pageant Proud Heritage. This famous drum and bugle corps has gained national recognition and since 1950 has won 145 first-place awards, including first prize in President Eisenhower's inaugural parade in Washington, D. C., last January. Recently the Gardner Guards appeared on Ed Sullivan's TV show, Toast of the Town, and has recently received an invitation to appear on Fred Waring's program. Incidentally, Fred Waring is a native son of Tyrone and all through the years of his successful ascent in the musical world has always found time to take an active interest in his old hometown, lending his support in a material manner in support of any programs designed to make Tyrone an ideal community in which to live.

The week-long centennial program opened in an appropriate manner in a spiritual vein on Sunday evening, August 11, with a community vesper service which included clergymen of all religious faiths.

During the period Monday, August 12, through Saturday, August 19, the weekly program consisted of Youth Day, Civic-Industrial Day, Rural-Suburban Day, Firemen's Day, and Veterans' Day. Each evening during the week there was a gigantic display of fireworks with the Saturday program consisting of an antique auto parade, a muzzle-loaders shooting match at Sportsmen's Lodge, and, as a finale, a musical festival featuring Lanny Ross, Elizabeth Doubleday, Buddy Williams and his Golden Echo Music, and the Winged Victory Chorus.

The various parades held during the centennial period elicited enthusiastic approval from the overflowing throngs that gathered along the route of march. With the Kiddies' Day parade on Monday and the martial atmosphere of the fine Veterans' Day and firemen's parades, coupled with the dazzling beauty of nearly twoscore of business and industrial floats in the civic and industrial parade, centennial visitors were treated to parades that were second to none for beauty and interest. The colorful and unique floats in the civic and indust parade portrayed in a novel and ef tive manner Tyrone's progress dur the past century. Almost every ph of American life was depicted due the ingenuity and artistic talents those who designed the many brilli floats.

During the entire week, general cha man of the centennial, Emmanuel Rodgers, who is also burgess of Tyro and his many associates on the vari committees were the recipients of wa praise for the well-planned and ent taining programs that daily delight the thousands of centennial visitors a residents of Tyrone.

One aspect of the Tyrone centenn that sounded a nostalgic note was outdoor horse show at Horseman's Fie For many years the famous Sherid troop of cavalry soldiers was known and wide in the military circles of State and Nation. The gleaming sp tacle of over 100 expertly groomed hor on exhibition was a vivid reminder the part horses played in the early h tory of Tyrone. Their important r is revealed by an article from the p of William Robert Fuoss, Tyrone, P which appeared in the August 9, 19 centennial edition of the Tyrone (P Daily Herald. Mr. Fuoss, who is kno throughout Pennsylvania as an ora and writer of no mean ability, is expert on horses having been interes in them since early boyhood.

In addition to Mr. Fuoss' article, whi I am inserting at the conclusion of remarks, there is also appended an a ticle from the August 9, 1957, cente nial edition of the Tyrone (Pa.) He ald which gives an interesting accou of the incorporation of Tyrone as a bo ough, July 27, 1857.

In concluding this salute to the bo ough of Tyrone, I wish to congratula the centennial committee for its unti ing efforts which culminated in a su cessful celebration of the 100th birthd of Tyrone borough.

At the same time I warmly comme the businessmen and industrial leade of Tyrone, and all the residents of th thriving community, for their civi minded and cooperative efforts in ma ing the centennial celebration an ou standing success.

It is my sincere wish that the progre enjoyed by the borough of Tyrone du ing the 100 years of its existence will continued in even greater measure. Th is certain to be experienced because t theme of the 1957 centennial pagean proud heritage, will provide a stimula ing influence and prove an incentive Tyrone residents to face the future wi unbounded faith in God in meeting t challenge of everyday living in th atomic age.

[From the Tyrone (Pa.) Daily Herald of August 9, 1957]

TYRONE INCORPORATED AS A BOROUGH JULY 27, 1857—SITE OF TYRONE LAID OUT 1850, THE SAME YEAR FIRST HOUSE BU

Tyrone City, so called in its earliest day its original proprietors, was one of the com paratively new towns in the central part the State.

It was originally laid out by Lyon, Scho & Co. an old and much-respected iron fir

hat carried on extensive iron works in different parts of the State.

John T. Mathias, a venerable and highly respected citizen of the town at that time, in 1850, assisted in planning the streets and laying out the lots. He was then the superintendent of what was known as the Tyrone forges.

Jacob Burley built the first house and moved into it in November 1850, and Rev. John D. Stewart and Mr. Burley started business together in the building first then completed, adjoining the city hotel.

In 1852, the Central Hotel was erected by Joshua Burley, and in 1853, Edwin L. Study, Silas Sneeringer and Samuel Berlin, on their way to the Far West from Adams County, were induced to interrupt their journey and look at the new town. They were so favorably impressed that they purchased lots and ever afterward identified themselves with the growth and prosperity of Tyrone.

Mr. Study died some years later, in 1879, after being widely and favorably known over the entire State as an active and honorable businessman. He was president of the Blair County Banking Co. at the time of his death.

Mr. Berlin commenced in the drug business, and Mr. Sneeringer started in general merchandising and retired in the late 1870's.

In 1852, the first schoolhouse and the Methodist Episcopal Church were added to the many new buildings previously erected, and in the following year the Presbyterian and United Brethren churches were built.

The railroad facilities of Tyrone were second to no town of like population in the State, and the early completion of the Tyrone & Lewisburg Railroad (soon to be affected) made Tyrone in reality a railroad center and a point which was sought after by persons whose inclinations and means would lead them into the manufacturing business.

In 1853, the Bellefonte plank road was completed, and in 1856 the Tyrone & Clearfield Railroad was commenced by David J. Pruner, but owing to some difficulties the road was in an incomplete condition until 1860, when the Pennsylvania Railroad took charge of it and soon laid the rails over what is said to be the steepest grade in the State, and Clearfield County poured its coal and lumber into the already flourishing borough.

In 1862, the Bald Eagle Valley Railroad superseded the old plank road, and a new division of the Pennsylvania Railroad was organized, with Samuel G. Black as superintendent and D. D. Wood, a well-known railroad man, as trainmaster. From this time the town grew rapidly.

The Pennsylvania Railroad, as early as 1863, established shops for repairs in Tyrone, which, for a number of years, were under the management of Andrew Vauclain, Sr., of Altoona. He was succeeded by William H. Jackson, Altoona. Mr. Jackson was succeeded by William H. Carothers, who had also held the office of chief director of the Good Will Fire Company of Altoona in its early history.

There were large boiler and machine shops in successful operation, under the management of W. H. Pawling; two large planing mills, owned by Samuel McCamannt & Co.; and Boyer, Guyer & Co.; a large steam tannery, owned and conducted by D. P. Ray; extensive limestone works and quarries of A. S. Morris, sawmill and shingle mill; large steam flouring mill in town and others close by; new process steel works in the vicinity, as well as the extensive Tyrone forges, conducted by S. C. Stewart, proprietor, who was long identified with the prosperity of Tyrone, doing all that could be done to further its interests and especially in urging the completion of the Tyrone & Lewisburg Railroad. The manufacture of illuminating gas, by the Tyrone Gas & Water Co., was considered as one of the growing industries of 1880.

A large paper mill was erected in the northern end of the town in 1880 by Morrison, Hare and Cass in which about 80 persons were employed. With a front of 120 feet on Main Street, the building extended back 190 feet. The rear wing on a parallel with the front, was 70 feet, making the walls on 3 sides 380 feet. Other buildings were also erected in the immediate vicinity of the plant. The interior of the main building was filled with improved and finely adjusted machinery.

About 1866, William M. Lloyd opened the first bank in the town, and was shortly after succeeded by the Tyrone bank, with Caleb Guyer as its cashier. For a long time previously, Mr. Guyer had acted as railroad agent, and in that capacity acquired an extensive acquaintance. Both banks did a large business. In 1876 the Blair County Banking Co. was organized, and it also became one of the fixed institutions of Tyrone. Edwin L. Study became its first president and Gen. Robert A. McCoy of the famed Pennsylvania Reserves and private secretary of Governor Curtin, was made cashier.

In 1835, 11 years before the establishment of Blair County, David Robinson; J. G. Fleck, of Sinking Valley; Allen McGlathery, E. B. Tipton, Robert Biddle, of Altoona; O. P. Haggerth, of Logan Township, and Thomas Skith, of Scotch Valley, were 7 of the 60 men who formed a military organization called the Union cavalry company.

The company was organized in Pleasant Valley and Martin Bell, of Elizabeth Furnace, uncle of Martin Bell, Hollidaysburg attorney, was made captain. James Hutchinson, of Altoona, was made first lieutenant and Joseph Irvin, of Hollidaysburg, second lieutenant.

Other members of the Union cavalry company included: B. F. Bell, James Hutchison, Oliver P. Haggerty, J. G. Fleck, John Hamilton, Smith Hamilton, Allen McGlathery, David Henshey, Samuel Noble, who was born in the old log house that formerly marked the site of Altoona; Thomas Smith, E. P. Tipton, Robert Biddle, Elias B. McClellan, Stephen Johnson, Thomas Trout, O. P. Trout, Joseph Irvin, Elias Moore, James Hopkins, A. K. Bell.

The Sheridan troop was organized July 15, 1871, with C. S. W. Jones, captain, and J. C. Akers, first lieutenant. Jones was elected captain in 1876.

Up to the 8th day of July 1880, Tyrone met with no serious reverses. About 3 o'clock on the morning of that day, a fire broke out in the livery stable attached to the City Hotel. The stable was burned to the ground. Its contents, including horses, a number of buggies, carriages, wagons, etc., were also destroyed. The third story of the Central Hotel, as well as a two-story frame dwelling, occupied by the Blair Banking Co., clothing firm of Meminger and Stewart and by Dr. J. M. Gemmil as an office, disappeared with the flames; also a frame two-story house with a one-story frame addition owned by James T. Owens, and occupied by W. B. Stewart as a shoe store and dwelling, and by Mrs. S. G. Black as a notions and stationery store.

The next victim of the fire was a two-story frame building owned by John A. Crawford and brother, of Sinking Valley, and occupied by John W. Thomas as a dwelling and by Smith & Gray groceries. From this point the flames leaped across an alley and attacked a large brick building owned by the heirs of Wesley Nowlin, and occupied by Templeton, Crawford & Co. as a dry-goods store, the roof and upper story of which were partially destroyed.

A large frame warehouse in the rear of the store and a frame dwelling house in the same locality also belonging to the Nowlin estate, met a similar fate. A frame dwelling house, owned by F. W. Fisk Conrad, was next consumed. A dwelling house adjoining, owned by Mrs. Rebecca Waler, was totally destroyed.

The Herald Building next to the City Hotel on Main Street, the first floor of which was occupied by D. B. Wilson, was a book and stationery store, the second floor of the Herald printing office, and the third floor by the Grand Army of the Republic, were partially destroyed, the first story remaining.

Next to the Herald Building, a two-story brick house, owned by Patrick Flynn, the first floor of which was occupied by the Tyrone Banking Co., and the second floor as offices of D. T. Caldwell and John A. Mathias, as well as a two-story frame hall adjoining the bank building, also owned by Mr. Flynn, yielded to the flames. The latter building was occupied on the first floor by the post office; P. Sneeringer & Sons, tobacco dealers, and George H. Garner, dealer in drugs; second floor, Democrat Printing Office.

Next destroyed was a frame building, owned and occupied by Van Valsah and Wilson as a dry goods and grocery store; also John Schullin's three-story brick building, occupied by him as a dwelling and merchant tailoring establishment; two-story frame building used by I. P. Walton as a dwelling and jewelry store.

An inconsiderable portion of personal property (goods, furniture, etc.) were saved, and in the absence of insurance the loss fell heavily upon many. The insurance, altogether amounted to about $100,000. The value of property destroyed was in the neighborhood of $150,000.

In response to a telegram transmitted by J. D. Hicks of Tyrone to Chief Engineer Rose of Altoona, about an hour after the fire broke out, the latter gentleman, with the Vigilant Steam Fire company, hastened to the scene of the conflagration.

Fires and floods, however, never dimmed the spirit of the businessmen and people of Tyrone. After every disaster the people worked together for reconstruction to make a bigger and better community.

There have been disasters which are not recorded in this account, but they are still within the memory of many persons residing in the community. Only the early vicissitudes of the community are recorded here.

Tyrone was incorporated as a borough on July 27, 1857, and on August 11, 1857, the community began to function as a borough and the first meeting of the Tyrone Borough Council was held. Jonathan H. Burley was the first burgess of Tyrone and through the succeeding years the borough has had men of competence and integrity as head of the municipal government.

Men with true community spirit directed the municipal affairs of the community. Those who have served as burgess are: Jonathan H. Burley, William Davidson, James Crowther, J. M. Harper, W. O. Myers, I. P. Walton, Samuel Berlin, James Bell, S. W. Barr, G. W. Ramsay, J. M. Calderwood, Thomas W. Graffius, Robert G. McLanahan, D. P. Ray, C. S. W. Jones, Rowan Clarke, James McCann, C. W. Bowles, J. W. Thomas, S. B. Templeton, Richard Beaston, J. K. Ray, J. W. Howe, James S. Gillam, Jacob A. Hoffman, E. J. Pruner, A. M. LaPorte, John H. Grazier, James I. Ginter, John S. Ginter, Raymond A. Hagerman, and Emanuel E. Rodgers, the present burgess.

Tyrone's first big step toward municipal ownership of public utilities came on February 5, 1932, when the water properties of the Tyrone Gas & Water Co. were purchased at a cost of $400,000. Since then great improvements have been made to the watersheds, reservoirs, and to Reservoir Park, which was first made available to the public by the late Adie A. Stevens, the park being known as Stevens Park until the name was changed, after being acquired by the borough.

The present municipal building at the corner of Logan Avenue and 11th Street houses all municipal offices, including the police department storage rooms, tax collector, borough auditor, water department offices, office

of the burgess, and the council room on the second floor.

At present extensive improvements and extensions are being made to the sewage system of the borough, first erecting a large sewage-disposal plant on the old Stine foundry property just east of the borough.

The present borough council and burgess are: Emanuel E. Rodgers, burgess; J. Lynne Ferner, council president; J. Scott Hommer, borough secretary and secretary for the water department; Miss Charlotte Faust, assistant secretary of the water department; Benjamin C. Jones, solicitor; Edgar A. Guyer, borough treasurer; Joseph A. Dickson, tax collector; James W. Hutchinson, chief of police; John W. Keefer, chief of the fire department and building inspector.

Members of the borough council are: First ward, James R. Black, John B. Jones; second ward, P. J. Meiklejohn and Bernard J. Oberly; third ward, Charles H. Cassady and Gilbert W. Kessler; fourth ward, John F. Dickson and Harry R. Gates; fifth ward, Edwin H. Woodring, Jr., and Sheldon Sellers; sixth ward, J. Lynne Ferner and Guy W. Hess; seventh ward, Robert H. Wilson and John T. Fitzpatrick.

[From the Tyrone (Pa.) Daily Herald of August 9, 1957]

HORSES HAD IMPORTANT ROLE IN BUILDING OF COMMUNITY

(By William Robert Fuoss)

Anybody who loves an outdoor horse show won't want to miss the big centennial celebration exhibition of Wednesday, August 14 at Horesman's field, Athletic park. This is the show extraordinary—the first and best of tis kind ever staged at the field. It begins at 1 p. m.

No prettier, more dramatic spectacle is imaginable than the sight of one hundred silken-coated, brilliant-eyed and splendidly groomed sale horses making the grand entry to spirited music, into an outdoor ring where, for 3 full hours, these horses and their riders will give a classical portrayal of Tyrone's century of progress.

Each set of ears will be at alert and velvety-soft necks will be arched as never before and long-flowing tails will be carried with a dash of extra pride for, consciously or otherwise, these beautiful creatures will know that they are putting on a show in Tyrone's honor. Even their glossy legs will glisten under the power of their great strength—these specially-trained animals that will come from far and near.

In ancient times these honors—such as Tyroners will see for nothing August 14—were reserved for the great of earth, kings and potentates, the rulers of empires. Only those of noble birth then dared own a horse. Many a crown fell from a kingly head for the want of a horse—the means of safety and security. No king or queen was crowned without the horse being at the coronation.

In this age of the mechanical, even the dawning of atomic power and wonders, few take time out to ponder what made this Nation great and strong and free. Three factors entered into the picture, the arduous labors of pioneering men, the advent of the steam engine and the domestication of the horse. It has been said "the railways brought civilization together and the horse kept it together." The horse tilled the soil, hauled the grains to the grist mills where they were translated into food for the table of men, even brought the timbers from stern mountains so they could be transformed into lumbers for man's home, his church, his school, his mill, plant and factory.

In a century of peace and prosperity—1857–1957—men do well to think of the part three factors played in our today's peace and progress. These things will be faithfully told, in simple and understandable language, at the big show of August 14. Long hours have gone into the drills, the preparation, and the planning. There will be a variety in this show—the kind you will like.

Life then was stern—100 years ago. The hours spent on farm and in factory were long, the pay miserably meager. Evolution, like education, is slow and gradual and so, too, is progress and prosperity. The early man, the steam locomotive and the faithful horse were the trail-blazers, forerunners of the glories of today. "Our Proud Heritage," factually speaking, dares not overlook these three factors—to do so amounts to a perversion of history. There will be a wholesome entertainment for all August 14. Plenty of food and plenty of souvenirs, too.

The Kuykendall and Paarlberg Nominations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the degree of similarity or difference between this administration and its predecessor has been the subject of considerable discussion from time to time. Therefore, it was with considerable interest that I read an editorial entitled "There Is a Difference" in the August 18, 1957, issue of the Sunday Sun, of Baltimore. The editorial was quite thought-provoking and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE

There has been a considerable argument to the effect that the Eisenhower administration is just New Dealism warmed over and that its strategy consists largely in stealing the old Roosevelt-Truman thunder away from the Democrats. This illusion could hardly survive three debates which have just occurred in the Senate.

First there were the long wrangles over the confirmation of Mr. Jerome K. Kuykendall for another term on the Federal Power Commission and of Dr. Don Paarlberg as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Then there was the very lively discussion on the AEC capital authorization bill.

The essential issue in the Kuykendall confirmation debate and in that over the AEC measure was the same. Mr. Kuykendall (who was finally confirmed) is anathema to men who want the Government to push forward in the development of power. The administration amendments to the AEC bill would have killed off plans for the AEC to build a $40 million nuclear powerplant at Arco, Idaho, and a $15 million plant at Hanford, Wash. Both amendments were defeated by substantial margins.

The debate over the Paarlberg nomination turned into an argument between critics and friends of the Benson farm policies. The gist of these is a return as near to the normal supply-and-demand market as possible and as soon as possible. Secretary Benson and Dr. Paarlberg, the latter a farm economist of high caliber, thus oppose Government supports and subsidies, the whole farm machinery which for 20 years has expanded Government control of agriculture. This debate the administration won when Dr. Paarlberg was confirmed.

But the issues here show clearly the difference between Eisenhower and his critics. He wants to widen as much as possible the area where private business and natural market interests prevail. They want to expand Government influence at strategic points. For the President, Government intervention should be marginal and exceptional. For his opponents it could be nearer the center of things and a good deal more frequent.

The President, of course, is not a laissez faire man in the sense that the Reverend Dr. Adam Smith was—that the Reverend Dr. Smith conceded freely that the Government must do some necessary things which private operators could not or would not do. His opponents are not Socialists. But there is a perfectly obvious ideological divergence between them and people who deny it would have to deny that the Paarlberg, Kuykendall and AEC debates took place.

School Construction in Federally Affected Areas

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOE HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I support the pending legislation as it is. It would not have been voted out of the committee unless an emergency had existed with respect to the military bases. There are over 150 bases that are affected by this CAPEHART housing matter and I feel many of them are more important than the Air Force Academy. That is why I support it.

It is true we intend to take up Public Law 874 when Congress convenes once again because we realize the school districts are having a tough time with their budgets and, speaking for the Republican side, we intend to take it up thoroughly next year and give all school districts plenty of time for their planning.

I supported the extension of Public Law 815 for an additional year beyond its present expiration date of June 30, 1958. This is necessary to finance the construction of schools for approximately 34,000 children that it is expected will be living in some 45,000 CAPEHART housing units located on military installations in 40 States and 3 Territories, which will be completed between the present termination date for Public Law 815, and June 30, 1959.

If this extension is not made at this time, none of the children may be counted for entitlement under the law as it is currently in effect; yet, it is this group of children which the law is intended to cover.

While much stress was laid upon the necessity for passing this legislation to accommodate the children of military personnel who would be housed at the Air Force Academy, I found, after making a personal investigation, that 150 bases covering all branches of the service would be affected by this Capehart housing and were in need for the extension of this legislation.

I certainly feel that authority should be given at this time so that the building of schools would be ready at the time the houses were completed and occupied. If this extension were not made, a year would elapse, during which time the children would have no school buildings as it requires on the average of 12 to 15 months to construct a school after Federal funds are made available.

There are some provisions of Public Law 815 which need amending. This is true also of Public Law 874, which provides Federal funds to local school districts for the maintenance and operation of their schools in impacted areas. It is my judgment, which has been concurred with by the subcommittee and full Committee on Education and Labor, that there is no need to extend Public Law 874 at this time, primarily because the subcommittee plans to begin hearings on this matter early in January. In fact, the subcommittee expects to have a thorough study to the recommendations of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and report out legislation early in the next session, which should be in ample time for the local school districts to calculate their budgeting for Public Law 874 and make any modifications necessary due to the changes made in Public Law 815.

St. Stephen's Day in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 950 years ago a king ascended the throne of Hungary; a king who by his Christian character and benign rule gained the title of "Apostolic King"; a king who was the founder of the Hungarian state as it has existed down through succeeding centuries. In commemoration of the saint who was the first King of Hungary, Hungarians will celebrate on August 20, as best they can, St. Stephen's Day.

To remember their national founder today must bring mixed feelings to the hearts of the Hungarian people. On the one hand, it must arouse a feeling of pride in the history of the Hungarian nation, a history brightly studded with achievements in the arts, in the sciences, and above all, in the struggle for human and national freedom. On the other hand, it must bring a feeling of tragedy and sorrow as they consider their nation, bound under the heel of the oppressor, betrayed and dishonored by the ruthless tyranny of Soviet communism.

Every American who cherishes deeply within him the belief in human rights and fundamental freedoms, the belief in the sovereign right of self-government, would have joined in some way, if he could have, in the recent gallant fight of the Hungarian people for the restoration of their freedom. The cruel exigencies of modern power politics and of modern warfare, made such a course impossible. A liberation which precipated a world war would be a liberation of desolation, a silent freedom of the grave. What can be done now, however, is to keep aroused the world public opinion which has so sternly condemned the Soviet Union in the United Nations. What can be done now is to keep open the doors of sympathy and relief and rehabilitation and resettlement of those valiant freedom fighters who would have given their all for the redemption of their homeland. What can be done now, is for individual Americans to help in what way they can, those warriors of the cause of Hungarian freedom who have had to seek refuge in our own land. What can be done now is to keep alive the hope that some day, in the not too far distant future, St. Stephen's Day will again be celebrated in freedom, in joy, and in thanksgiving.

The Fast Tax Writeoff Gimmick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column by Richard L. Strout from the Christian Science Monitor of August 3, which is a very clear and detailed discussion of the fast tax writeoff arrangement popularized by this administration and substantially repealed by a recent act of Congress.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of August 3, 1957]

THE FAST TAX WRITEOFF GIMMICK—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—Suppose you owe the Treasury $500 in income tax. It's a lot of money and makes you feel uncomfortable. For the next 5 years you will probably have about the same annual tax. But suppose the Government allowed you to hold back $100 of this tax every year for 5 years. That would amount to $500. And then suppose the Government agreed to let you repay that debt through payments a little higher than the normal tax for the next 45 years, without interest.

Would that aid you? You would have to sit down and figure. In the long run, the Government would get back the same number of dollars as though you had paid the whole tax year by year. But you would have one advantage. You would have received what amounts to an interest-free loan of $100 that first year, another the second year—$500 in all. Would that help you?

Well, suppose you had invested that $500 "loan" at 4 percent compound interest. Over 50 years that mounts up. Even though you paid a little higher income tax over the remaining 45 years, the initial advantage would outdistance it. Actuaries say that at the end of 50 years you would be $1,819.17 to the good.

Put it the other way round. The Treasury would be the poorer by $1,819.17 at the end of 50 years, if it gave you this little favor reckoned on a 4-percent basis. (The Treasury now has to pay 4 percent when it issues bonds to fill in for such deferred taxes.)

If your neighbor did not have this tax advantage—which is called, in technical parlance, the fast tax writeoff—and learned about yours he would probably be sore. "Why not to everybody?" he would say.

The Federal Government has been granting fast tax writeoffs—but not to individuals, to corporations. They were meant to encourage companies to undertake important defense contracts in emergencies. The war emergency is over but this tax bonanza is still being handed out. It is going not merely to defense plants but to civilian companies, particularly private power groups, whose connection with defense is difficult for the layman to understand.

An article in the current Reader's Digest on Northwest power discusses the fast tax writeoff. Under the plan, it explains, the Idaho Power Co., for example, could have deducted from its taxable income, for 5 years, some two-thirds of the construction costs of 2 of the proposed Hells Canyon dams. But, continues the article, the company would thereafter have paid more than normal taxes. At the end of the lifetime of the two dams (50 years), it would have paid full Federal taxes on all of the income from the operation of the dams. This, the article explains, is merely a temporary advantage.

Under Senate criticism the Idaho Power Co. gave up the fast tax writeoff advantage which the administration had granted it. A Treasury official testified that the Treasury would have lost as much as $83,960,000 by this writeoff. This would have been spread over 50 years.

The fast tax writeoff gimmick is hardly a paltry matter. The Treasury estimated last month that it has already lost more than $4 billion since 1950 by it. Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, estimates that by 1958 private power utilities alone will have benefited by $6 billion.

Former Treasury Secretary George Humphrey called the fast tax writeoff an artificial stimulus of a dangerous type. Economy-minded HARRY BYRD, Senator from Virginia, bluntly calls the practice a subsidy. Mr. BYRD described the particular (and now voided) grant to the Idaho Power Co. utterly indefensible.

Anyone supporting free enterprise must think twice about a system of government interference in business which gives fat tax bonanzas to some companies and withholds them from others.

This Land of Ours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle, of August 14, 1957:

THIS LAND OF OURS

Ours is a wonderful country filled with a lot of wonderful people. Take, for instance, the case of Dorothy Brown, the discovery out of the two-room shack in the North Carolina mountains backcountry. Since a newspaperman tripped upon her several days ago, she has received nationwide publicity, and now everybody, from piemakers to shoe salesmen, are ready to dump a fortune into

this dark-haired beauty's lap. It could only happen in America.

Then take another example. "Tennessee Ernie" Ford. Raised on cornbread, blackeyed peas and sowbelly, proud of it, too. Tells the world about it. He could pick a guitar a little, had a pretty good voice. Now he counts his fortune in the millions. Again, it could only happen in America.

And, then too, there was the late Senator Walter George, of Georgia. The son of a poor Georgia sharecropper. Very few advantages, but he went far, a great leader of all the people of the Nation.

Capitalists, the Russians call us. The richer getting richer, the poorer getting poorer. The rich dominate the poor. No opportunity for the poor. Tommyrot.

America is a great country, great in size, great in opportunity. The sharecropper's son wanted it badly enough to toil for it. He got it. The opportunity he had we all have. It's the fight and drive which separates the men from the boys.

The Effects of the Decision in the Mallory Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the far-reaching and adverse effects of the Supreme Court decision in the Mallory case were demonstrated again yesterday.

The United States Court of Appeals reversed a first-degree murder conviction of another confessed murderer because of the precedent established by the Mallory case decision.

Clarence E. Watson, Jr. has twice been convicted of first-degree murder for the slaying of Miss Alyce O. Taggart on July 5, 1953. But yesterday the United States Court of Appeals, relying on the Mallory case decision by the Supreme Court, held that Watson had been detained too long after his arrest before he was arraigned. In referring to the Mallory case, the Court of Appeals said that "the circumstances there narrated so closely parallel those in the instant case that we see no basis for distinction."

Mr. President, law enforcement officers all over the country have voiced their fears that the Mallory case decision will provide a basis for many serious crimes to go unpunished.

This latest case, the Watson case, is a clear demonstration that the fears voiced by law enforcement officers are valid fears. The man whose conviction was reversed yesterday is already serving a prison term of from 13 to 40 years on a conviction of rape. He committed murder when he was resisted in attempting to commit the same crime in another instance.

The lives of innocent citizens of this country are in increased danger from murderers and rapists so long as the Mallory case decision is permitted to stand unaltered.

Mr. President, I hope that before the Congress adjourns action will be taken on the bills now pending in the committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives to enact a law to prevent the Supreme Court from giving continued protection to criminals at the expense of innocent citizens.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Washington Evening Star yesterday, August 19, entitled "Appeals Court Again Reverses Watson Verdict." This story points up the seriousness of the legal situation which has resulted from the Mallory case decision.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APPEALS COURT AGAIN REVERSES WATSON VERDICT—MALLORY PRECEDENT INVALIDATES DUCKPIN DEATH SENTENCE

(By William G. Pollard)

The United States Court of Appeals today for the second time reversed the first-degree murder conviction of Clarence E. Watson, Jr., 23-year-old former Pentagon shoeshine boy, relying on the Supreme Court decision in the Mallory case dealing with detention prior to arraignment.

Watson has twice been convicted of first-degree murder in the duckpin slaying of Miss Alyce O. Taggart, a 45-year-old Government secretary, on July 5, 1953. Miss Taggart was slain in her room in Scott's Hotel, 2100 block of O Street NW.

Watson's first conviction had been set aside on grounds that a written confession was illegally admitted as trial evidence. The court at that time ruled that an unreasonable length of time had elapsed between the time of arrest and arraignment.

NEW TRIAL EXCLUDED CONFESSION

Last December, Watson was again convicted at a trial where the written confession was excluded.

A jury at that time found him guilty of slaying Miss Taggart while attempting to rape her, a first-degree count. At the same time, the jury found him guilty on a lesser charge of second-degree murder on a count which had originally charged murder through premeditation. He was sentenced to death.

First Assistant United States Attorney Edward P. Troxell said the decision will be studied to determine what future action will be taken. United States Attorney Oliver Gasch is on vacation.

Court sources not wishing to be quoted expressed the view that it would be impossible to convict Watson upon retrial in light of the appellate ruling.

ATTORNEY TO ASK DISMISSAL

Attorney Albert J. Ahern, Jr., representing Watson, said he will seek dismissal of the murder indictment against his client in view of the appellate court decision.

In the unanimous opinion today, written by Judge John A. Danaher, the appellate court declared it was bound to apply the Mallory rule in the Watson case.

It was pointed out that Watson had been apprehended at 6:40 p. m. when he returned home from work.

"During the evening and part of the night he was questioned, denying guilt until about 3:15 a. m., when he made the first oral inculpatory disclosures. They were repeated to various officers next morning before 9 a. m. when the courts in the District were opened. Many judges were available, but Watson was not presented before any of them," continued the court of appeals decision.

"After 9 in the morning, still without arraignment and lacking judicial warning, the accused reenacted the crime and accompanied by the police, went to his apartment where the police obtained the articles of clothing later offered in evidence against him. The situation in this particular was not unlike that presented in Mallory, where the court had concluded that 'the consent was an immediate accompaniment to a confession of the crime and derives color from the confession.' Some hours later he was arraigned," said the opinion.

"Thus, his admissions, his reenactment of the crime, his consent to the visit to his apartment and his turning over the clothing were all unwarned, and the evidence had been so developed during a period following by many hours his arrest the previous evening."

TIME ELEMENT CITED

On this score, the court of appeals declared: "All must fall together, as *Mallory v. United States* requires, for he was not arraigned until 'judicial caution had lost its purpose.'"

Judges E. Barrett Prettyman and Walter M. Bastian heard the case in the court of appeals with Judge Danaher.

Watson is currently serving a prison term of from 13 to 40 years for breaking into an apartment and raping an airline stewardess.

In its decision, the court of appeals pointed out that Watson had asked reversal of the conviction on the ground that District court had erred in the denial of his motion to suppress the use in evidence of certain articles of clothing seized without a search warrant from appellant's (Watson's) apartment in that the Government had failed to establish a waiver of appellant's fourth-amendment rights or a voluntary consent to the search.

MALLORY CASE CALLED PARALLEL

The court commented on the motion, but pointed out that since the appeal was argued last June 10, the Mallory case had been decided. In connection with the Mallory case, the court declared the circumstances there narrated so closely parallel those in the instant case that we see no basis for distinction.

In the Supreme Court's recent decision reversing the rape conviction of Andrew R. Mallory, the Court held that Mallory was held too long between arrest and arraignment. His confession reportedly came 7½ hours after his arrest. The opinion has been interpreted as barring headquarters questioning of suspects that leads to confessions.

The Mallory decision has created nationwide alarm in law-enforcement circles and prompted a series of hearings by a House Judiciary Subcommittee exploring the possibilities of legislation.

School Construction in Federally Affected Areas

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES P. S. DEVEREUX
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. DEVEREUX. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask 1 or 2 questions of the gentleman from Montana. There is no question about the fact that if 874 were added to this bill by the other body the committee would go along with it?

Mr. METCALF. I cannot speak for the committee. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BARDEN] is chairman of this committee. As far as the

ubcommittee is concerned, we voted unanimously for 874 as well as 815.

Mr. DEVEREUX. Did the subcommittee recognize the urgency as far as planning is concerned? We are particularly concerned about that in some sections of my State. We are interested in the planning phases of maintenance and operation.

Mr. METCALF. Planning was considered by Secretary Folsom and he sent his recommendations up feeling it should not be extended. We in the subcommittee discussed that.

Indirect Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Lancaster (S. C.) News of August 12, 1957:

INDIRECT TAXES

Everybody talks about taxes. And, in doing so, practically everybody talks about direct, visible taxes, such as those on income and property. That's natural enough, for we can actually see and feel the inroads those taxes make. They come out of pocket, or are withheld from our pay checks, or are a specified part of mortgage installments.

But the tax problem and the tax burden don't end with these taxes—not by a long shot. Hidden or indirect taxes, which enter in the cost of anything, are a huge item of expense to the American people. As a matter of fact, at many income levels they are a much larger item than direct taxes.

Bem Price, an Associated Press Newsfeatures writer, has come up with an interesting account of what is involved. As examples, he takes a cheap commodity and an expensive one—a loaf of bread and an automobile. "Actually," he says, "nobody has managed to count the taxes included in the final price of either." It's an impossible job * * * for in the case of bread alone you would have to trace back to the taxes on the machines that made the machines that made the machines that planted and harvested the tax-supported wheat, grown on tax-paid land by an income-tax paying farmer.

The same problem arises in the case of a car—Hildebrand – Nite Pats – Aug. 20—43305 the car. However, there are certain taxes that can be accurately totaled up. Mr. Price takes a car carrying a Michigan price of $2,000. The figurable tax is $559.83, of which $488.81 is hidden so far as the purchaser is concerned. Included are estimated taxes on materials and parts, estimated income and other taxes paid by the manufacturer, similar taxes paid by the dealer, and so on. If the car is bought at a distant point instead of Michigan, the hidden transportation tax adds further to the cost.

Going back to bread, Mr. Price quotes the Tax Foundation as counting 151 identifiable taxes which are passed along to the consumer. An authoritative estimate holds that taxes take about $1 for every $5 spent on food. Searchers have run down 116 taxes on a man's suit, 600 on a house and 150 on a woman's hat.

Dickson J. Preston of the Scripps-Howard staff also has produced an interesting piece on hidden taxes. He says that about 20 percent of all you spend is absorbed by taxes, and in the case of many items the proportion is much higher—nearly nine-tenths of the price of a bottle of whisky, for instance. And he quotes another Tax Foundation report, concerning a man earning $4,500 a year. This man pays a total Federal, State and local tax bill of $1,393. The visible part of that is only $387. The invisible part is $1,006.

The moral is found in Bem Price's last paragraph: "The man who wrote that song about the best things in life being free had better have another look. He might change his tune."

Smoking and Lung Cancer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the extensive publicity that has been recently given to the proposition that there is a casual relationship between smoking and lung cancer, I feel that the observations set forth by Dr. Milton B. Rosenblatt, in a letter to Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, dated July 15, 1957, will be of substantial and constructive interest to everyone. Certainly, every bit of information, both pro and con, treating of this delicate and serious problem must be made available to all.

Dr. Milton B. Rosenblatt is associate professor of medicine at New York Medical College and visiting physician and chief of the chest clinic at New York City Hospital.

Dr. Rosenblatt, with Dr. James R. Lisa, director of the pathology service, New York City Department of Hospitals, is author of an authoritative medical book entitled "Cancer of the Lung—Pathology, Diagnosis, and Treatment," published by the Oxford University Press, New York City, 1956. Six other medical authorities contributed chapters to this book on aspects of the disease in which they specialize.

Dr. Rosenblatt is also a fellow of the American College of Chest Physicians, the American College of Cardiology, the New York Academy of Medicine, and the American Medical Association.

The Rosenblatt-Lisa book has received favorable notice in medical and scientific journals both here and abroad.

Both Dr. Rosenblatt and Dr. Burney have approved the insertion of this letter in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *July 15, 1957.*

Dr. LEROY E. BURNEY,
Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. BURNEY: In an article in the New York Times on July 13, 1957, statements from my book Cancer of the Lung were quoted in regard to your taking an official position on the etiological role of smoking in lung cancer.

There is no question of the responsibility of the Public Health Service in bringing health facts to the attention of the health professions and the public. Should not this responsibility be extended to include a presentation of all the facts from responsible sources? In an issue which seriously involves the public's welfare and which is so highly controversial, the official promotion of one point of view denies the public the opportunity to evaluate the data which reject the proposition that a casual relationship between smoking and lung cancer has been established. May I summarize some of the facts:

1. Cancer of the lung has been recognized for more than 150 years antedating the popularity of cigarette smoking by more than a century.

2. In hospitals interested in the disease, and/or with routine autopsies, there has been no real increase in lung cancer with respect to total cancers. This holds for the 19th century as well as for the 20th century. For example, in a survey of the hospitals conducted by the London County Council, the percentage of lung cancer to total cancers was 25 in 1936 and 27.1 in 1947.

3. The attempt to implicate tobacco was first made in this country by Adler in 1912. Inasmuch as cigarette smoking had not yet achieved popularity, the onus was placed on cigars. With the greater consumption of cigarettes in later years, the blame was gradually shifted to cigarettes, finally culminating in the recent barrage of statistical epidemiological studies conducted on the grand and loud scale.

4. A statistical association does not imply a cause and effect relationship, particularly, when the validity of the conclusions is seriously questioned by such responsible statisticians as Joseph Berkson of the Mayo Clinic or Edward Lew of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

5. Bronchogenic carcinoma has never been produced by tobacco or its products in any experimental animal despite the multiplicity of attempts. Dr. Greene, of Yale, who has devoted a lifetime to experimental cancer research found no casual relationship between smoking and lung cancer. Actually, he found tobacco tar to be among the lowest of the carcinogenic agents used experimentally. The production of skin cancer by tobacco products is of little significance, particularly, when reputable investigators could not reproduce the experiment.

6. History has repeatedly demonstrated that whenever an inaccessible cancer becomes accessible, the incidence automatically increases. Prior to 1930, the clinical facilities for the diagnosis of lung cancer were few and far between even in thoracic disease hospitals. The perfection of diagnostic tools (exfoliative cytology, bronchoscopy, radiology, and exploratory thoractomy) occurred within the past 25 years. This is obvious to all who have worked through this era. Many hospitals now perform more bronchoscopies per day than they did per year a quarter of a century ago. The records of a world-famous cancer institute show that its staff recognized only about half a dozen lung cancers annually before 1930.

7. Lung cancer is a disease of older age groups. There are more older people among us and more potential candidates for lung cancer. The total number of cases is increasing but the rate of increase is slowing down and will eventually be stabilized like laryngeal or other upper respiratory cancers in which diagnostic methods have been long established.

8. The nasopharynx and the larynx are greatly exposed to tobacco products and if tobacco is a carcinogen for the lung, it should also act on the upper respiratory passage. However, no statistical association has been demonstrated between increased consumption of cigarettes and increased incidence of upper respiratory cancer. In 1940, the United States death rate from laryngeal cancer was 1.1 per 100,000 and in 1950, it was 1.2 per 100,000.

9. The predominance of the disease in males has lent support to the smoking

theory on the assumption that men are the heavier smokers.[1] Be that as it may, women have been smoking prodigiously for a great many years. If smoking were a factor in lung cancer, the ratio between male lung cancers and female lung cancers should be gradually decreasing over the years. However, although the disease is increasing in females, the ratio is always predominantly in favor of the male suggesting that the greater susceptibility of the male is based on more basic sexual factors.

10. The prevalence of lung cancer is more related to diagnostic facilities than it is to smoking, air pollution, or other urban factors. No matter how remote the community, the establishment of a diagnostic center inevitably results in a greater incidence of lung cancer. A survey in East Pakistan disclosed 20 new cases over an 18 month period; only 2 of the new cases were heavy smokers and these used the hukka, a water-filtered pipe.

The recent increase of lung cancer throughout the world has occurred in countries where cigarette consumption has increased (United States, Canada, Italy), and it also occurred in countries where cigarette consumption remained fairly stationary (Germany, Austria, Turkey, Japan). National origins have also been implicated in lung cancer. In an epidemiological study in New Zealand, Eastcott found a higher incidence of lung cancer among those who were originally born in England, the risk of contracting lung cancer being proportionate to the years in which they were exposed to the English environment. Smoking was absolved inasmuch as the smoking habits of both countries are similar.

11. The epidemiological studies, unsupported by corroborative experimental data, show only the number of smokers who have lung cancer. Any other conclusion is speculative. In a disease like cancer, in which so little etiological data has been established, it is presumptive to rely on epidemiological studies which are questioned by statistical experts and refuted by clinical experience.

Until the etiology of lung cancer has been firmly established more will be gained by a circumspect point of view. Medicine has had its share of collossal blunders in the past. Not too long ago, tuberculosis was attributed to night air and lung cancer, to tuberculosis.

Respectfully submitted.

MILTON B. ROSENBLATT, M. D.

P. S.—References are available at the end of chapter 11, Cancer of the Lung, Oxford University Press, 1956.

[1] 26,000,000 adult male regular cigarette smokers in the United States, 15,000,000 adult female regular smokers in the United States.

The Small Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the South Carolina Gaffney Ledger of August 13, 1957:

THE SMALL FARM

An official of the Department of Agriculture recently stated that, in his opinion, there were too many farms in the United States. While the official may be right, we dislike accepting such a statement.

We like to believe that in this country there is always room for the free farmer, who wants to till his land and make his life by working the soil. We hesitate to accept the conclusion that farming is only for the big operator, the mass-farmer, so to speak.

We think that America will be a stronger Nation, and a greater one, as long as the individual and his family can farm a small area, living with the soil and keeping in touch with the earth in this fashion. We think that no occupation is nobler than that of farming.

We suspect the trouble with the farmer today and the farm situation in the United States is that the farmer does not get an adequate share of the income and profits from his products. We think the Agriculture Department would do well to concentrate its efforts in this direction, rather than in the negative field, by concluding that we have too many farms.

Actually, the one-family farm can operate relatively cheaply today—with a few mechanized vehicles—because much of the labor is performed by the family itself, in the tradition of the farm, and therefore labor costs are kept down to a minimum.

If the farmer were getting his fair share of the income and profits derived from farm products, there would always be room in this country for the one-family farm. We hope there always will be.

Jury Trial for Editors?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, it begins to appear that some of the newspaper editors who so vigorously supported the House version of the civil-rights bill and who so militantly opposed the jury-trial amendment have suddenly discovered that the bill may not after all be entirely meritorious in every detail. They are afraid that one provision in the bill may possibly expose them to criminal prosecution for the disclosure of matters discussed in executive session of the Civil Rights Commission. In connection with such prosecution they have not, significantly, protested the fact that they will be entitled to the protection of a jury trial.

Touching that point in a most piercing way was an editorial in the August 18, 1957, edition of the Sunday Star which, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith:

IF THIS BE TREASON

Some of the editors around the country are quite upset over one of the provisions of the civil-rights bill which could affect them. Under that provision, approved by House and Senate, anyone who releases or "uses" without the consent of the Commission on Civil Rights any testimony or evidence given in executive session of the Commission shall be fined or imprisoned.

The protesting editors, knowing they would print such testimony if they could get it, say this provision is very bad, and they argue that it infringes upon freedom of the press. Maybe so. Yet the editors may not realize how fortunate they really are. For if they were prosecuted for violating the objectionable provision, they would at least have the right of jury trial.

According to some of the propaganda emanating from the Department of Justice which some of the editors have been parroting, jury trial has no place in the civil-rights bill. What is sauce for the goose, however, is sauce for the gander. Why should editors have jury trials? Perhaps the juries would not convict. What should be done, therefore, is to "strengthen" the provision. It should be amended to give the Attorney General the right to bring a civil action in the name of the United States to prevent acts on the part of editors in printing unauthorized news that leaks from executive sessions of the Commission. This would follow the basic pattern of the civil-rights bill in seeking to protect the right to vote. Clothed with this new power, the Government could try offending editors without a jury. The process would sustain the power and dignity of the Federal judiciary, as this empty phrase goes, and send the editors to jail without undue delay.

That, at least, is the line some of the editors have been taking in opposing the Senate's jury-trial amendment. The civil-rights bill, therefore, should not be "weakened" or "emasculated" or "nullified" or "destroyed" by giving offending editors jury trials, or by safeguarding the freedom of the press at the cost of interfering with the rights of the Commission on Civil Rights to the privacy of its executive sessions.

The irony of political circumstance which finds able editors defending freedom of information while swallowing the hokum that some citizens should forfeit the freedom of trial by jury is inescapable. So if this be treason, make the most of it.

The Jaycee Safe Driving Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the Members of this body are familiar with and applaud the efforts of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce to encourage safe and responsible automobile driving on the part of our teen-agers and to report the progress being made. These efforts are made effective through the Jaycee chapters and members in the several States. The written examinations and road tests provided for afford an opportunity for all teen-agers to demonstrate to their community that they are interested in increasing their knowledge of traffic laws and improving their driving ability, and that actually they are doing so.

Now in its sixth year as a national junior chamber of commerce safety program, the Teen-Age Road-E-O has gained steadily in teen-age participation. The demonstrated value of this type of traffic safety programing has attracted the support of teen-agers themselves, their parents, educators, traffic authorities, and community leaders. Each year, State and National organizations, all interested in traffic safety, contribute time, abilities, and money to make every Teen-Age Road-

E-O a success. Businesses, law enforcement officials, driving instructors, and insurance personnel cooperate with the Jaycees in staging the local, State, and National Teen-Age Road-E-O programs.

On June 30, last, I had the privilege and pleasure of attending the New York State Teen-Age Road-E-O held in Batavia, N. Y., in my congressional district. Upon this occasion the Batavia Jaycee Chapter, under the chairmanship of Mr. E. A. Thornton, Jr., of Batavia, was host to the participants. Some seventy-odd teen-agers from all parts of the State were there to sit for the written examination and participate in the driving tests. I was deeply impressed and encouraged by what I saw there. There is much to hope for from the enthusiasm and determination of those young people and the results of their performances.

I am proud to report at this time that the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce has honored the State of New York for conducting the outstanding Teen-Age Road-E-O in the Nation. The welcome and gratifying decision to do so was made upon the basis of the overall excellence of the Batavia event the splendid percentage of participation of Jaycee Chapters in the State the effective promotion program used and the size and scope of the awards banquet.

A handsome trophy was presented to the State by the national Jaycee organization. Its executive board made the presentation to Past New York State Jaycee President F. Joseph Leone at a luncheon meeting in Tulsa, Okla., on July 26. The inscription upon it read: "United States Junior Chamber of Commerce Outstanding Safe Driving Teen-Age Road-E-O 1956–57—New York—State President F. Joseph Leone, State Chairman E. A. Thornton, Jr." This is the first time that such an award has been made and we of New York State are justly proud of this outstanding record of achievement.

Communist Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest hazards to our way of life is the refusal or inability of our people to recognize the subversive individual for what he is. I commend to you the following article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Herald Tribune this morning, August 20, 1957:

TODAY IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS—SPY ARREST, MORROS REPORT CALLED A WARNING TO GULLIBLE

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, August 19.—The arrest of a high officer of the Soviet secret police who has been gathering and transmitting secret defense data from this country to the Communists, and the revelations of an American businessman who has for 12 years been an undercover agent of the FBI, participating in Communist espionage operations in America from the inside, ought to open up the eyes of many well intentioned but incredibly naive Americans who have been pooh-poohing the Communist menace.

Boris Morros—a counterspy for the FBI—issued a few days ago, with the permission of the United States attorney in New York, the most significant statement about Communist activity in this country that has yet come to light. He said:

"I know from personal information and experience that Soviet espionage has made considerable infiltration in this country. Many of the agents working for Russia are important people, financially independent and often held in high esteem. Many of the Soviet's most active workers in this country don't come from the rank and file, nor the underprivileged. They are people who have the kind of contacts which will be useful to the Soviets, and they are being paid to do their jobs of treason in the United States."

Those Supreme Court justices who live in a vacuum might well ponder what this undercover man now tells. Likewise, those so-called liberals who have been unwittingly lending their prestige to a kind of blanket protection of Communists and sympathizers—as being merely addicts of some kind of philosophy or political belief—might prepare for a sad disillusionment as they read what Boris Morros has learned about the work of Soviet spies in America.

MUST HAVE CONTACTS

For no Communist spy calls directly on a newspaper editor or on a Member of Congress or on a political leader to exercise influence. Somewhere in between the espionage apparatus and the official or institution sought to be reached is a contact—with no foreign accent or identification—who attempts to use Americans as tools of Moscow. This is the most baffling kind of screen that faces the detective arm of the Government, the FBI. Sometimes there is another type of contact who himself is unaware that anything has been planted on him. Also there may be other intermediaries beyond him who help to relay a suggested course of action which ultimately would be favorable to the Communist cause, particularly in the field of propaganda.

Then there is the cover technique by which, according to Mr. Morros, 55 business firms in the United States were covers for Soviet espionage. Mr. Morros told the House Committee on Un-American Activities how the Communists had proposed to expand his own small recording company in Hollywood.

"This firm," said Mr. Morros, "was to serve as an espionage cover and provide an opportunity to legitimize Soviet agents as representatives of the firm."

COURT STAND RECALLED

Yet a majority of the Supreme Court say they don't know what an un-American activity is and why the committee wants to expose un-American activities.

"I want to emphasize," says Mr. Morros, "that the Russian plot is far more strongly organized in this country and throughout the world than is generally understood by our people. * * *

"Another Russian agent, a prominent American woman * * * not only said the same thing (suspicion about Morros) but she reported her suspicions to the second secretary of the Russian Embassy in Washington. I had a number of close shaves but none closer than when this woman's report on me was received in Moscow while I was there, conferring with the heads of the Russian secret police."

Yet there are many persons who want to throw monkey wrenches into the machinery of exposure which congressional committees have been using effectively. Also, there is a concerted effort to assist in the evasive tactics of witnesses who could, if they chose, give important information that would tell the FBI and the public about spies and their contacts with Americans.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court—by ruling that the first amendment as well as the fifth amendment now can be invoked to help conceal treason—has thwarted the efforts of the Government to obtain much data necessary to protect the security of the United States.

Maybe the testimony by Boris Morros will open the eyes of the American people to the barriers and obstacles being placed in the path of investigative agencies by well-meaning but misguided and ill-informed persons in what amounts to a protection of the espionage being conducted by the Soviets inside America.

The Capitol Guide Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today for appropriate reference a bill to establish a free guide service for the United States Capitol Building.

The Capitol Building is the only building in Washington where visitors are charged for guide service.

The White House visitors do not have to pay for the privilege.

One of the very interesting and curious institutions in the Nation's Capital, familiar to anyone who has visited here, is the Capitol Guide Service. This service has persisted for at least 80 years in its present form, so I have learned, and the 2 million to 3 million people who visit the Capitol Building annually are led to believe that they are required to pay a 25-cent fee for the services of these guides. Few know in advance of the charge and fewer still know that they are free to roam over the Capitol Building by themselves without paying the fee—they feel they have to pay to see their own Capitol.

The anomaly of a guide service in the Capitol Building of a major Nation charging the sightseers for services is unique, and is remarked on constantly by visitors from abroad, being compared unfavorably with practices in their own countries.

Personally, I never have had the slightest complaint to make about any of the Capitol guides as individuals. These guides are unusually fine men and women who make a contribution to an understanding of their Government by those who visit Washington, D. C. I simply am commenting on the practice of leading visitors to the Capitol Building—who, after all, as citizens and taxpayers, own the very building housing the Congress—to believe they must pay to see their own property. Ever since I first had the privilege of going through this building, I have been convinced that it, of all buildings in the United States, ought to have free guide service. The present system just grew up without any thought being given to a permanent program.

I visited a few foreign capitals when abroad in the Navy during World War II and I have talked to widely traveled Members of the Congress as well as other experienced travelers and the consensus is that the system of charging is distinctive and that there is no foreign capital, and no capital in any of the 48 States, which has a similar system.

Control of the Capitol Building is vested in the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and these distinguished officials delegate their authority to a board, composed of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives and the Architect of the Capitol.

I would like to see the uniform practice for guide service established in the Nation's Capital applicable alike to the White House and the other Federal buildings, extended to include the Capitol Building. The practice of charging, and herding visitors to this great Capitol Building into groups, to make sure that all pay and few escape, seems to me to be a cheap and degrading one.

According to the best information I have been able to gather on the subject, the present guides make at least $10,000 a year.

Legislation was considered by the Congress in the 1920's to set up a free guide service but affirmative action to change the system did not result. Perhaps the time has come to abolish the present pernicious and unwise system and establish a permanent and dignified guide service for the Capitol Building, one more in keeping with our historic character and traditions.

It is interesting to note that on February 12, 1925, Congressman Taylor, Democrat, Colorado, sponsored legislation at that time to establish a permanent guide service and told the Members of the House of Representatives that:

In 1876, during the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, great crowds visited Washington and came through this building. Up to that time there had been no guide system of any kind. There were some shell-game and three-card fellows, numerous pickpockets, and other crooks got in here. As a result Congress decided to establish some system in the handling of tourists, and they appointed five guides to superintend the sightseers, and they were allowed to collect tips as their remuneration. That is the way this thing started.

I include here an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 18, 1957, entitled "The Bite in the Capitol":

THE BITE IN THE CAPITOL

Many persons who have been made to feel that they were encroaching on a private preserve as they browsed through the Capitol without joining an organized tour will appreciate Representative FRANK THOMPSON'S suggestion that free guide service be provided. The Capitol is the center of interest for millions of tourists who visit Washington. They ought to be able to see it and to hear a bit of the history that has been made within its walls without being solicited for a fee. No doubt the guides who now do the work are able and conscientious, and since they draw no salaries from the Government they must necessarily charge visitors for their services. Courtesy tours by salaried guides would certainly be much more in keeping, however, with the dignity of a great nation.

Address by Mr. Henry Loomis, Director, Office of Research and Intelligence, United States Information Agency, Washington, D. C., at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 Through July 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the 38th annual encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 through July 14, there were several outstanding addresses delivered by prominent officials of the Federal Government in keeping with the theme of the encampment, Defense Means Freedom.

On July 13, 1957, the following address, entitled "Propaganda in the Struggle With Communism," was delivered by Mr. Henry Loomis, Director, Office of Research and Intelligence, United States Information Agency, Washington, D. C.:

PROPAGANDA IN THE STRUGGLE WITH COMMUNISM

(Remarks of Henry Loomis, Director, Office of Research and Intelligence, United States Information Agency, before the 38th Annual Encampment, Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Harrisburg, Pa., July 13, 1957)

It is always a pleasure to meet with a group such as yours, who have demonstrated their awareness of and interest in foreign affairs. Your previous speakers have discussed the various aspects of foreign affairs—I would particularly like to concentrate on a specialized phase—that of information and propaganda.

In his recent television presentation to this country, Khrushchev merely repeated the basic Communist belief in the inevitable triumph of the Communist way—which he called the socialist way. In order to achieve this eventual triumph, nothing is overlooked. No tactic is rejected—any zigzag in policy is acceptable—threats, violence, compromise, concession—peace postures—anything which serves to advance the cause. Strategy may change but the goal remains the same—world domination.

The Communist arsenal is fitted with many weapons. One of the most important has been propaganda.

The step-up in the total propaganda effort of the Communists to the free world has been increasing steadily over the past several years and we estimate that the step-up of 1956 over 1955 is between 10 and 15 percent.

But the most important development is the emergence of Red China as a major propagandist.

The warhead of propaganda is semantics. The manipulation of words to produce the desired effect—to confuse—to stimulate support—or to dissolve opposition. The Communists attempt to capture words such as peace, democracy, peoples, socialism. Thus, Mr. Khrushchev speaks of the ultimate socialism of our grandchildren when he means the communism of our grandchildren.

Just how does Communist propaganda maintain its appeal to all peoples in light of recent events? The zigzags may be obvious to us but they do work. Through counterattack and falsification they lessen the impact of bad situations. When the crisis occurred in Hungary, what was their propaganda tack? First they emphasized Suez—then they counterattacked. The Hungarian revolution was, they said, obviously a Western invasion—and had the Soviet Union not courageously intervened, the situation would have lead to world war III and the bomb. The commies provided white papers, news stories, pamphlets, and films to all parts of the world—and even staged public trials—to prove this line.

It would be very wrong to assume that the Communist propaganda output is ridiculous—to assume that they are merely dispensing obvious lies. On the contrary. They appeal to the natural aspirations of people. In Asia and Africa, for example, they appeal for immediate solutions to colonial problems irrespective of the practicability while we attempt to work out real solutions which the extremists tend to consider too slow.

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As I mentioned earlier, Communist China has emerged as a major propagandist. In many areas of the world, their propaganda has advantages. China has become a world power in the last 5 years and makes the claim that its experience is therefore more helpful to the other newly emerging independent countries and those striving to be independent. The Chinese are nonwhite and non-European, which gives them an advantage in Asia. They have demonstrated a subtlety and flair for propaganda which, in many areas, has made them a more effective opponent than the Russians. Naturally, the large numbers of overseas Chinese—about 12 million—give them a special target.

The Communist propaganda apparatus is large and complex. Three major devices are used. First, government-to-government relationships which provide the normal tools available to any major country—diplomatic missions, cultural attachés, friendship societies. A single free world country may have as many as a half dozen bilateral friendship societies, including Soviet, Chinese and satellite. One of the half dozen societies may have as many as 100 branches within the country. The second propaganda device is the activity of local Communist parties which exist in every country, though they are illegal in some.

The third device is front groups, both national and international—all of which are controlled by Communists—although often this control is covert and not apparent to many well-meaning but naive members. There are 13 international fronts—the major ones include organizations such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Others are aimed at lawyers, doctors, women, youth, and so on. Each front group has its own propaganda, hewing to the party line.

All three of these propaganda devices make use of the normal channels of communication. For example: the Russians alone published 28 million books in free world languages in 1956—in the first 6 weeks of 1956, Red China sent more juvenile books into Southeast Asia than had the free world countries during the entire year of 1955. Communists broadcast 2,141 hours to the free world and produced 182 films in 1956.

Thus far I have dealt with only their positive propaganda directed to the free world. They also spend considerable money on defensive effort—for example: approximately $115 million was spent last year just in jamming the broadcasts from the West—incidentally, this is $20 million more than the entire 1958 budget for the whole United States Information Agency.

What is the United States doing about this Communist propaganda?

Responsibility for the official information effort of your Government rests with the United States Information Agency. It has a dual role—positive—to explain America and American policy abroad—and negative—to combat the lies of communism.

To see how this works exactly, I would like to explain how a typical post in the Mideast looks and operates. It would have on its staff 5 to 10 Americans and 30 to 40 citizens of the Mideast country. The major post would be in the capital city and probably there would be posts in the provinces.

These people, working with the United States Ambassador and Embassy, handle the public relations of the United States in that country.

They serve as press officers, issuing material for use in the local press and radio and providing background information on a myriad of subjects from official American policy to current situations in American education to facts about the Hungarian revolution.

They operate an information center and library—often the only public library in the country—where people may come for information, to learn English—to see and meet Americans. These officers must be adept in the use of motion pictures, showing movies at the center, and taking them into the villages through mobile units—movies covering everything from health and sanitation to current news events.

Our officers must work closely with ministries of education, local institutions of learning—community cultural leaders and students. They must interview and select candidates for exchange scholarships. They must be equipped to conduct classes in basic English—they must even be able to call a square dance when the occasion presents itself. In short, they must, day and night, perform a myriad of duties all aimed at improving the position of the United States in the country.

To aid these field officers, materials are sent out from USIA—Washington—books, pamphlets, news and feature stories, exhibits, packaged radio and TV shows, films. Most of the material sent from Washington is translated and adapted in the field. Frequently this semifinished material is given to local people who use parts of it in their own publications. One of our primary duties is to provide reliable, basic facts about the United States for a host of people. This has paid off—even in countries as sophisticated as England, reputable editors come to us to check their facts about the United States.

Our officers work long and hard hours—they often endure real physical hardships with sometimes considerable health risk. On small posts, away from the capital, they are sometimes the only American in miles—often the only contact which people will ever have with America.

The United States has its allies, who, from time to time assist in the job of countering Communist propaganda—but they do not explain America.

Of course, the United States Information Agency is not the only source of information about the United States for overseas people. Where there is a sizable United States industry, its actions and its public relations policy have a major local impact. American communications outlets, particularly, have a major impact—wire services, newspapers, book publishers, motion-picture productions. But these private concerns, of course, are not primarily interested in explaining United States Government policy or Americans. That is the primary interest of the United States Information Agency.

Obviously, none of these private groups can be centrally directed—nor should they be. Much of what they do is helpful to USIA. Some of it is neither helpful nor a hindrance—frankly, a little of it has from time to time been counterproductive.

To achieve some unity of action abroad the President recently inaugurated the People to People program, of which the VFW is an important part. This effort is, necessarily, nongovernmental. USIA does stand ready to help or advise when called upon. As the President has said, the job of creating understanding between peoples is too big for one agency, too big, indeed, for Government itself. It demands the active participation and support of all Americans.

You cannot win the propaganda battle once and for all—it is a continuous ebb and flow. For example, the effect of Hungary is rapidly wearing off. None of us, either the United States Information Agency or the American people—can relax, any more than a business can give up advertising because its sales increased this year.

We must keep punching away, day and night. This is a long-range struggle we're engaged in. The Communists view it that way and we must too.

Shaker Heights Sun-Press Nation's Top Suburban Weekly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues the recent journalistic honors awarded to the Shaker Heights Sun-Press. This outstanding publication under the editorship of my good friend, Harry Volk, assisted by his most accomplished and efficient staff won top honors in a national contest for urban and suburban weeklies conducted annually by the Accredited Home Newspapers of America.

The Sun-Press took 5 first-place citations in the category of weeklies with from 41,000 to 50,000 circulation. It was awarded first place for: First, General excellence; second, Community service; third, editorial and news content; fourth, best use of illustrative material; and, fifth, color printing.

I am particularly proud to bring this to your attention, for not only does the Sun-Press serve nearly one-half of my congressional district, but I know at first hand what a wonderful job Harry Volk has done in building this newspaper over the past few years from a little throwaway to a newspaper of general circulation, and it is an accomplishment of which Harry Volk can well be proud.

This is not the first time that the Sun-Press has merited national recognition, for only a short time ago, Time magazine mentioned it in a most favorable manner citing the outstanding coverage this newspaper has.

My sincerest congratulations to Harry Volk and the members of his Sun-Press staff.

The Reserve Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 1, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I have long been of the opinion that our great country must have a reservoir of trained available manpower in reserve to back back up our standing military force if we are to maintain our military strength. Recent developments have indicated that there is a move to weaken this Reserve strength. I am so strongly interested in what is happening to the Reserve that I have addressed the following letter to the Secretary of Defense:

AUGUST 19, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES E. WILSON,
Secretary of Defense, the Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Members of Congress heard with satisfaction Defense Department statements 2 years ago that plans were in the making to expand and strengthen the Reserves as the standing force is reduced in strength. These policy announcements were made in testimony on the Armed Forces Reserve Policy Act of 1955.

The concept that this Nation rely for its military security upon a relatively small but highly trained and gifted standing force, supported by a huge reservoir of trained available manpower in Reserve was given to us by President Washington and has remained ever since among America's proudest and most realistic traditions.

At the conclusion of World War II, Congress and the leaders of the Defense Estab-

lishment were in agreement that the Nation must keep in readiness its huge population of experienced and battle-trained soldiers, sailors, and airmen. An incentive program, aimed particularly at keeping available for possible call-up our Reserve officers was put into effect, and now has been expanded to bring into the trained military manpower pool those who would serve in the enlisted ranks.

There now are widespread reports that new Defense Department policies are replacing these incentive policies, and whether by accident or design, many of the older officers are discouraged and even dismayed by what some consider to be efforts to force them into premature retirement.

As an example of the incentive in reverse is the removal of the United States Army Reserve school trainees and other officers from a part-time pay status. Some of these Army Reserve officers have taken this as an implied suggestion that they withdraw from the training program. Whether or not that was intended, it readily can be seen that the abandonment of a training activity whose cost was relatively insignificant in a $40-billion military program might be subject to such interpretation.

More discouraging to the Reserve officer, however, has been the imposition of very low age ceilings on the United States Army Reserve school trainees, which will have the effect of forcing to the sidelines many of our finest, experienced officers with proven mature leadership capacities.

The overall effect of an unjustified curtailment of the Reserve training program could be dangerous to our security.

Our traditional reliance upon the Reserves has been more than simply a safeguard based upon superior numbers and training. The United States has survived because of the fighting spirit of our Armed Forces who have been called temporarily from civilian life to repel a military threat. In our tradition, we know this as the spirit of the minuteman—in the pattern of the American patriot who was called from his plow, his shop, and his home in 1776 to wrest our independence from the mother country. We cannot risk loss of this spirit, and a blow at our Reserve leaders, as a group, involves such a risk.

We in Congress are concerned that the civilian policymakers of the Department of Defense may have overlooked this possible effect. It is not pleasing to see our citizen-soldiers, sailors, and airmen given cavalier treatment when their desire is to be ready to serve their country in time of need. It makes us wonder if Defense leaders are dropping our guard and perhaps inviting disaster.

It is hoped that careful scrutiny will be given to all aspects of the current new policies governing Reserve training. The committees of Congress will expect to review thoroughly all decisions which affect this program, particularly those which appear to be a departure from our traditional concepts.

With good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

ROBERT L. F. SIKES,
Chairman, Army Subcommittee,
House Appropriations Committee.

"Thirty-one Knot Burke" Steams Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include an editorial from the San Diego Evening Tribune of Friday, August 16, 1957. This editorial, "'31-Knot Burke' Steams Ahead," is a highly deserved tribute to Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, whom we know and admire as the recently reappointed Chief of Naval Operations.

As the editorial points out, Admiral Burke, as Chief of Naval Operations, is still going full steam ahead in assuring this Nation of a modern, versatile, highly mobile Navy that is an increasingly indispensable feature of our national security.

In this connection, the editorial points up the farsighted, technological advancements that are being made in our seapower under the present leadership of our Department of the Navy.

Thus, the editorial places particular emphasis upon the effective teamwork that characterizes the top-level relationship in the Navy. I am glad to note that the editorial specifically underlines a situation which has been the inspiration for many favorable comments by Members of this House. I refer to the widely admired relationship that exists between the Chief of Naval Operations and the Commandant of the Marine Corps. The Burke-Pate team, based upon the personal and mutual respect and understanding, that exists between them provides, as the editorial also points out, perfect support for the able civilian leadership of Navy Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., in integrating our naval forces in the Department of Defense.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee I have personally been impressed by the fine relationship that exists between the Navy and the Marine Corps within the Department of the Navy. This fine Navy-Marine Corps relationship is, I believe, the direct result of the example set by the personal and professional relationship existing between Admiral Burke and General Pate. This Burke-Pate relationship, so faithfully reflected in Navy and Marine Corps organizational matters, is a most reassuring and refreshing one in view of the frequent reports of dispute and argument within the Pentagon.

The organizational efficiency and smooth personal relationships that have become the hallmark of the Department of the Navy under Secretary Gates are a genuine source of satisfaction to all who are interested in our national security. Unquestionably this fine Navy and Marine Corps relationship which stems from the Burke-Pate spirit of teamwork could well serve as an example for other agencies with the Department of Defense.

I commend the following editorial to the attention of the Members of the House.

"THIRTY-ONE-KNOT BURKE" STEAMS AHEAD

During World War II, Arleigh A. Burke earned the colorful nickname of "31-Knot Burke" for his habit of pushing his destroyer units at just under boiler-bursting speed.

Today, as an admiral and chief of naval operations, Burke still is going full steam ahead—at far faster speeds than 31 knots—as he completes his first term and begins a second one as CNO.

This is a significant anniversary. It is the first time since World War II that a CNO ha taken office for the second time. Upon com pletion of his second term, Burke will becom the first CNO since 1927 to have held th office for 4 years.

But far more than lengthy tenure is in volved in any discussion of Arleigh Burke This Nation can take pride and assurance in the Navy's top man for the progress he ha wrought in our seapower and in his grasp o naval strategy and significance.

During his first term as CNO, the Navy launched the U. S. S. *Forrestal*, the first of line of giant new carriers—actually floatin airbases. Since 1955, the Navy has sent aloft such speedy jets as the *Skylancer*, *Crusader*, *Skyhawk*, and the *Martin Sea Master*. Tw more nuclear-powered submarines, the *Seawolf* and the *Skate*, have joined the *Nautilus* the world's first atom sub.

Burke fully understands the importance of the earth's water surface and its control by peaceful naval surface, subsurface and aerial forces.

And he is one of the most articulate and effective spokesmen in the country when it comes to championing the Joint Chiefs of Staff system which gives the Navy a full voice in overall military affairs—as opposed to a single, Prussian-style command.

The high degree of efficiency of the Department of the Navy is credited to the effective teamwork in which Burke functions so capably with Gen. Randolph McC. Pate, Commandant of the Marine Corps. The personal mutual respect and understanding of the two uniformed heads of the Department unquestionably provide perfect support for the able civilian leadership of Navy Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., in integrating our naval forces in the Department of Defense.

America is fortunate in having a man of the stature and ability of "31-Knot Burke" at the helm of its naval operations in these swiftly changing times.

An American Legion Post Speaks on Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the New Hyde Park Post, No. 1089, of the American Legion, which is in New Hyde Park, N. Y., adopted the following resolution on August 15, 1957:

Whereas the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, after 5 years of intensive investigation and research, was overwhelmingly passed by both Houses of Congress; and

Whereas the objectives of the act are to keep from American shores criminals, Communists, and subversives, and to preserve the historic national origins quota system of immigration; and

Whereas the act represents the most liberal immigration law in American history; and

Whereas organized pressure groups, some of them subversive, have launched an intensive attack against the Walter-McCarran Act, and introduced proposals which if enacted into law would virtually wipe out all of the protection against unrestricted immigration; and

Whereas the 16th anational convention of the Communist Party of the United States on February 12, 1957, passed a resolution to give high priority to a plan of action on a national basis to destroy the Walter-McCarran Act: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, New Hyde Park Post, No. 1089, does hereby oppose

y further attempts to weaken, destroy, or peal the Walter-McCarran Immigration d Nationality Act either by direct weakening amendments or by any other legislative ction. And be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be rwarded to Senators and Congressmen repenting legionnaires of New Hyde Park ost, No. 1089.

Adopted by the New Hyde Park Post, No. 00, American Legion, this 15th day of ugust 1957.

Certified:

HAROLD A. SANDFORD,
Adjutant.

Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Herren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, on July 31, 957, a distinguished son of Alabama and faithful servant of the United States, t. Gen. Thomas W. Herren, retired rom the Army after serving more than years.

General Herren marked his long years f service with the outstanding qualities f integrity, intelligence, and fortitude. e is a credit to the traditions of faithful ational service and sacrifice which have een characterized by military service.

He was born in Dadeville, Ala., August , 1895, and was graduated from the Uniersity of Alabama in 1917. He immediately entered the Army and received a ommission as second lieutenant after ompleting the officer's training course. hortly afterwards, he decided his lifeng career by accepting a commission in he Regular Army.

General Herren served in France durg World War I, and returned to the nited States to serve as a distinguished orseman in the old cavalry units. He as well known in and out of the Army s an expert polo player and a champion horseman.

During World War II, he took three egiments of his division, the 70th Inantry, into Marseille and moved the orce, named Task Force Herren, to the est bank of the Rhine River where deensive positions were set up. The task orce played an important part in halting he last-ditch German offensive effort of ate 1944. When the remainder of the ivision arrived in France, Task Force erren was dissolved, but General Heren continued to demonstrate his leaderhip and skill as a valued subordinate.

After the war, General Herren held imortant assignments in Korea, and as the hief of Army Special Services where he id much to improve the Army's splendid ntramural athletics activities. He was ell known to many of us while he served s commander of the Military District of Washington.

In 1952, General Herren returned to orea, where he served as chief of civil ffairs, and later as the commander of he Korean Communications Zone.

General Herren's enormous capacities or leadership and administration typied his service in the Korean war. He was the engineer for the pattern of prisoner exchanges which repatriated gallant American fighting men. He met the demands, often urgent, for critical military supplies on the front lines, and he skillfully helped to maintain the democratic Government of Korea on a firm footing. His work was often behind the scenes, and rarely made the headlines, but it was the sustaining lifeblood of the action in Korea.

Subsequently, General Herren took command of the vast Northern Area Command of Germany at a time that the democratic Republic was truly beginning to assume its position among the leading nations of the world. Through his skillful, tactful, and understanding direction, lasting bonds were cemented between the American and German peoples. In the short span of 8 years, one of Germany's fiercest fighters had become one of its stanchest friends.

In December 1954, General Herren took command of the First United States Army, where he directed the Army units in New York, New Jersey, and New England. In this populous area of the United States, General Herren became a valued counselor, benefactor, and rescuer.

During the disastrous hurricanes and New England floods of 1955, General Herren directed the skillful and humanitarian efforts of his troops to avert tragedy which might well have followed had he not acted quickly and decisively. In the flight for freedom of the Hungarian patriots, it was General Herren who personally directed the opening and Army operation of the Hungarian Refugee Center at Camp Kilmer. He threw excuses and delays out the window and prepared the Kilmer center in a few days for the tremendous influx of grateful Hungarians who have come to be a world symbol in defiance of the evil forces of communism.

In his capacity as senior member for the Army to the Mililtary Staff Committee of the United Nation, General Herren won the respect and admiration of that august body. He strengthened relations among the various armed services in his area, and he was counted as a valuable friend by his New York City neighbors. His life is reflection of the highest standards of service to his country.

The citizens of the United States together with their elected servants give their sincere thanks to Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Herren for his faithful and effective service, and all wish him every happiness in his retirement.

Workers' Paradise?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of August 16, 1957, commenting on the way the Communist regime in Poland handled the recent streetcar strike at Lodz:

WORKERS' PARADISE?

The Communist regime in Poland won a pyrrhic victory at Lodz when it succeeded in crushing the strike of streetcar workers through familiar tactics—the employment of force. Regular troops and the so-called workers' militia, meaning strong-arm squads of Reds, came to the assistance of the local police, employing guns, clubs, and tear gas to subdue the workers. Thus, Poland and the rest of the world, free and slave, were treated to another demonstration of the love and consideration of the Communist masters of the land have for their subjects.

It will be interesting to see how the Reds, pledged to aid downtrodden, explain this "settlement" of the walkout. In the first place, the workers were not making extreme demands, seeking only an increase in wages from 15 to 20 cents an hour, so life might be sustained. They asked also an end to the lottery system under which they were paid according to the amount of collections.

For seeking relief from these intolerable conditions in what is supposed to be a workers' paradise, they were pushed around by thugs until they capitulated. All demands, of course, were denied.

But this is not the last of the incident. The Reds may not know it, but they have a lion by the tail, not just at Lodz and Poznan, but everywhere. Poland is ready to snap, but apparently the people want to be sure there will be no repetition of Hungary when they make their bid for freedom.

The Red leaders in Warsaw these days must find their seat just as uncomfortable as their contemporaries in Moscow despite all the bluster with which they are confronting enemies at home and abroad.

Bernard M. Baruch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News on the occasion of the 87th birthday of that great humanitarian and American, Bernard M. Baruch:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY BERNARD M. BARUCH

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

On Monday Americans will honor Bernard M. Baruch on the occasion of his 87th birthday. We express our gratitude for his great contributions to his country and to humanity. We pray God that he will be spared to us for many more years of useful and honorable service.

If we were asked to name the man who has contributed most to America's greatness in the last half century, we should place Bernard M. Baruch at the top. He is a monarch of the mind, a giant of the American spirit. He has crowded into his life the achievements of a veritable host of men. His gifts are varied and his pursuits many.

Mr. Baruch has been for America first and always above all the rest of the world. His is a virile Americanism. It is the philosophy of his life, the touchstone of his thoughts, the mentor of his actions.

He is giving himself to his country and his country's cause, justifying the application of Paul's tribute to the Macedonian church: "They first gave themselves." Mr. Baruch is known as a President maker, a

presidential adviser, a park-bench statesman. He has never held public office, but he has been the head coach of his country.

His towering integrity, his mighty heart, and his greatness of soul exercise far-reaching influence on world events. He is among the foremost leaders of the common good of our generation. He is a genius as a leader of men.

His deep sympathy and sincere interest in all phases of human activity has attracted the admiration and confidence of the people of our Nation. A fidelity of purpose and a profundity of moral rectitude guides him in his public and in his private life.

His splendid optimism, his lofty patriotism, and his unbounded faith in humanity never desert him. A magnificent individuality coupled with a magnetic personality endears him to all. His superb courage is neither halted by the magnitude of the task before him nor by the criticisms of those who differ with him.

Bernard Baruch is the apostle of peace. His is the authentic voice of our country. In Europe kings, presidents, and premiers have honored his name and heard his voice. He speaks in denunciation of duplicity, cruelty, bigotry, and hate. He speaks in the name of standards unsullied and ideals sublime.

In every act, and in every utterance, his only motive is "my country." His generosity knows no bounds. His life is an answer to that noble sentiment voiced by the poet, S. W. Foss:

"Bring me men to match my plans,
Men with empires in their purpose,
And new eras in their brains.
Pioneers to cleanse thought's marshlands,
and to cleanse old error's fen;
Bring me men to match my mountains—
bring me men."

Loyalty and duty and reverence urge us to write, while memory is clear and events are fresh, what we know of him upon whom his fellow men place such great faith. Let us propose a universal toast to the health of Bernard M. Baruch. Let us resolve to do our full duty in the pursuit of his high ideals and concepts. Let us give thanks to Almighty God for him.

Address by Congresswoman Kathryn E. Granahan, of Pennsylvania, at Annual Session, Imperial Court, Daughters of Isis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, on last Sunday it was my privilege and pleasure to address the opening meeting of the 43d annual session of the Imperial Court, Daughters of Isis, as this group began an outstanding convention in my city of Philadelphia.

A number of the Members have inquired of me about the speech I made at that affair and indicated that there was some interest in my remarks among the membership of the House. I am flattered to think that is so. In any event, and in view of the inquiries, I am including the text of my talk under unanimous consent in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

To the imperial commandress and to all the members of the Daughters of Isis, I bring you greetings from Philadelphia—and a warm welcome to each and every one of you. We are pleased and delighted to have this wonderful group meeting in our convention hall. I bid you welcome on behalf of everyone in this great city.

Believe me when I say that I am deeply flattered—and that is the only word for it—to be invited to address this great gathering. The letter which came to me from my fellow Philadelphian, your imperial publicist, Mrs. Louise Stewart Jones, was so complimentary that the moment I received it I immediately accepted and said I would come.

Congresswomen are not immune from flattery, and a comparatively new Member of Congress such as I am is still at the stage of being a little surprised to be singled out for attention.

But it was not just the nice invitation, addressed in such flattering terms by Mrs. Jones, which convinced me I should quickly accept the invitation. It was, rather, some of the information which I received about this organization, and the work you do, which convinced me I wanted to come and speak to you and meet with you and join you in this affair honoring your imperial commandress.

The world is full of a lot of things, and everyone is so busy that frequently we neglect to stop and look at the things of real value all around us. Each day, we have problems in the operation of our households, or problems on the job of one sort or another, or problems in finding the right shoes to go with the new dress or hat, or problems in paying off debts or buying a car or a million and one other things. The day ends and we are exhausted and we wonder where all of our efforts have gone—and what we have accomplished.

As individuals, I am sure all of us have had that experience from time to time. There are never enough hours in the day, never enough days in the week, for us to be able to do the things we plan for and intend to do. We just never seem to have enough energy to carry out our good intentions.

But through your organization, I note that you have found the time and found the energy and found the leadership and found the will to do many fine things as a group. And for that I salute you and congratulate you.

You seek, through this organization, to achieve as your goals the virtues ascribed to the goddess from whom your organization's name is derived—the ability to change evil to good, to change sorrow to joy, to change poverty to plenty, to change ignorance to shining light.

You could have no greater goals, no finer goals.

And I will say this, too: If we are, in fact, to carry out the theme of your convention—Building for Tomorrow's World—then not only your organization, but all Americans must endeavor to change evil to good, to change sorrow to joy, to change poverty to plenty, and to change ignorance to shining light.

And the people in every land must join us in that endeavor.

We have in our power—in our country—the ability, just by a push of a button, to turn darkness to daylight, and life to death just by pushing a button, or throwing a switch. And in other countries—for instance, in the Soviet Union science has reached a similar pinnacle—it can also accomplish the same miracle of brightening the sky with a brilliance which outdoes the brilliance of the sun—at the same time plunging mankind to destruction.

That is a great scientific accomplishment—there is no doubt about it. Scientists have used their God-given brains and reasoning power to unlock the secrets of nature, to give them the power of destroying whole nations, whole continents, and in fact, the whole human race, and every thing which lives or breathes on this earth.

"Give us time," the scientists might well be saying to us, "and we will figure out how to blow up not only a continent but the entire earth, the moon and the nearer planets, and perhaps the entire universe."

That is one way that mankind can be said to be building for tomorrow's world. But it is building to a sorry goal if all effort goes toward mass destruction.

Who builds for a better world of tomorrow?

Who organizes the brains of man to seek the end of suffering, the elimination of cancer, the destruction of poverty, the opening of new opportunities for every person—for every man, woman, and child on this earth?

Well, for one, I think this group the Daughters of Isis, is building in the right direction. You may or may not have in your membership the genius the world needs who will find the solution to cancer. But that does not deter you from doing your part. There is a role for everyone in the fight on cancer, and you are making your contribution by the funds you provide in the fight.

Jonas Salk developed the polio vaccine, and we honor him for it. But one man alone cannot eliminate polio. Everyone must help. You are helping, and I know will continue your efforts to see to it that every child and eventually every adult in the vulnerable age groups is vaccinated against polio.

These are just some of the things you do in behalf of a better tomorrow through the activities of this organization. You have proved how an organization set up primarily for social fellowship can be utilized also for great good for your fellow citizens.

To me, that is the reason for life, and the reason for organizations of people, and yes, even for governments.

The test of our worthiness on earth is what we do for each other—not what we can grab for ourselves. We learn that in our churches, and we learn it in the closeness of our families as we grow from childhood, and we learn it in our schools—or we should.

But how often we forget. And how easy it often is to forget.

In our country, and even in Washington, there are frequently voices raised to appeal not to the greatness in men, but to the weaknesses in the character of human beings. The process of government is sometimes used not to help but to harm—to harm the great majority of the population in order to grant special privilege or special treatment to a few.

It is a great tribute to the essential goodness and rightness of the American form of government that these raids on the public interest are getting harder and harder to accomplish, but that does not prevent many groups and individuals from making the attempt nevertheless.

I think there is a greater alertness these days on the part of the newspapers, joined by radio and television, in trying to keep the people informed on these self-seeking and self-serving efforts, but nevertheless, I know it is hard—it is extremely hard—for the average citizen to keep up with each new development. Even for those of us in the Congress, it is difficult to keep track of each step and each development on the major legislative issues which arise in one House or another, and are shuttled back and forth in committee, on the House or Senate floor, in conference committees, and so on.

I know you are interested in the subject matter of the civil-rights bill which has so dramatically dominated the Washington scene these past few months, and yet I will tell you right now, as one who is intensely

terested in that bill and who is deeply ncerned about the attempts which have en made to water it down or kill it, that one can yet really tell you what is going happen on it.

Those of us who are sincerely concerned d want a good bill are deeply anxious. e have argued among ourselves hour after ur in the cloakroom of the House and in e Chamber and in our offices over the best olicy to follow at this point.

We want a bill which is meaningful and hich will do some real good. We do not ant to kill off the possibility of having any ongress at all by insisting on the unobtainble perfect bill. On the other hand, I do ot want to settle for the milktoast bill hich passed the Senate. Is there a real ossibility of compromise—or is this issue ce again going to be shaped and decided nd determined by those who want no effecve civil-rights legislation?

I just don't know at this moment. I wish could bring you a final and decisive word this. All I can do is assert to you my wn sincere conviction that we must not rrender to those who would deny qualified mericans the full rights of citizenship, inluding—and especially—the full rights of oting in our elections.

It is not my intention to be political at his fine gathering, because I know that you ave in your membership the same diversity f political views as one would find in any arge gathering of Americans. But I must eak what is in my heart in connection ith this great issue which we have been ebating in the Congress.

And this fact strikes me and worries me eeply: Why was the Attorney General of he United States, the man who drafted the ivil-rights bill, not on hand to defend it nd fight for it and explain any unclear feaures of it when the fight was hot and heavy n the Senate?

Why did he pick that particular time to o to London to make a political speech atacking former President Harry Truman's adinistration?

It seems to me—and I make no apology or this statement—that if Mr. Truman were n the White House during this bitter struggle he would not have allowed his Attorey General to be off somewhere abroad aking political speeches attacking the Hoover administration, but would have insisted on his chief lawyer being right on hand every moment of the debate to fight for his handiwork, and to go down the line for the principles of civil rights and decency.

And that's where the present Attorney General should have been.

If he could not have explained his bill better than he did to the President, so that the President would feel he knew what was in the legislation he was recommending, the Attorney General could at least have been on hand to explain it to critical Senators who were intent on tearing it to shreds.

If this bill had in it some of the things the President admitted he feared might be in it, then what sort of relationship is there between the President and the Attorney General? Was the Attorney General guilty of deliberately misleading the President about this bill?

If so, then I would say the Attorney General should either be asked by the President to resign or should be impeached. That is a strong statement to make, and I do not make it without a great deal of thought. The developments over this civil-rights bill have been little short of scandalous—the way the President supported it and then backed away from it and expressed doubts about it and allowed its enemies to use his own doubts to help shred the bill. If the President was misled, or not properly informed on this legislation, the fault lies in his Attorney General—an official who could not even be bothered to be on hand in Washington when the bill was under its most damaging fire.

If we are going to build for a better tomorrow—and if we are to try to enlist all of the other nations of the world to join us in the hard tasks which must be accomplished if we are to achieve a better world—then we, in this country, at least, have got to stop fooling each other. We have to stop trying to trick each other for possible political advantage or other purposes. We have got to stop misleading each other—or trying to mislead each other.

Facts are sometimes elusive. We must search for them. We must think about their meaning, their significance. We must seek out the divine guidance we need to understand the facts.

It is a hard and difficult process, but in a democracy it is a process which must take place among all citizens. We must be encouraged and stimulated to think our problems out together.

But we cannot think out the issues if we are being deliberately mislead or unlead. In that connection, our President must show real leadership and understanding not just of the overall aims or objectives but of the day-to-day details of achieving those goals.

He must work terribly hard at the job if the job is to be done. He cannot assign this responsibility to underlings. Under the Constitution it is his job, and under our way of doing things, he alone can execute its responsibilities.

Now I hope what I have said is not taken to be partisan, for I do not mean it that way at all. We must look at these problems objectively. Neither party is ever completely right on any issue. Neither party is ever completely wrong on any issue. We must weigh the facts in each case.

On the question of human rights or human dignity the protection of the individual from violence or discrimination or persecution based on un-American concepts of race or creed or color the question is not partisan in that both political parties have in their membership high officials who oppose civil-rights legislation. Largely, this is a sectional issue. Republicans and Democrats alike from the South joined to try to kill this legislation. This is often lost sight of, in view of the fact that the South is so often regarded as a one-party area. But there are Republican Congressmen from the South and they were just as vehemently against civil-rights legislation as Democratic Congressmen from the South. So we cannot win this battle by ascribing partisan political praise or blame.

But win it we must.

The Supreme Court and the lower Federal courts have led the way in recent years, in contrast to the experience of only 20 years or so ago when the Supreme Court was standing squarely in the way of progress. Now it leads the way.

And to me the most remarkable and encouraging and heartwarming feature of this great advance in human decency, as represented by the Supreme Court, is that the southerners on that Court were in agreement with the northerners on the need, for instance, of integration of the schools—on the unconstitutionality of segregation in the schools—the most significant single forward step in civil rights, I believe, since the report of the Truman Commission on civil rights of 10 years ago.

This means to me that the fight for civil rights in the South is certain to be won. Politicians who play the theme song of divisiveness and segregation and hate are going to learn that this issue has gradually lost its appeal to thinking people. They are going to find that it is poor politics, and is no longer the sure-fire road to votes and election.

I look forward confidently to that day. It will be part of the better world of tomorrow which you and I and all of us here today look to and pray for and are going to work for. And that is the kind of work which brings joy in the doing. Thank you, and have a wonderful time in Philadelphia.

St. Stephen's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on August 20 the people of Hungary again will observe St. Stephen's Day, and it is fitting that on that day our thoughts and prayers should be with the valiant men and women of Hungary whose hearts were set on the day when again they shall dwell in a land of freedom.

Over 900 years ago, Stephen I of Hungary fought to preserve Hungary's right to choose, without outside coercion, her own form of government and to follow the dictates of her own conscience in choosing the religious faith she wished. His deeds of courage were successful, for he introduced Christianity into Hungary and established the Hungarian state on a healthy base. And throughout the years Hungarians have considered Stephen I such an outstanding patriot that they set aside one day in the year to celebrate his life, works, and achievements.

Today, however, the Hungarians look more than ever to Stephen as their symbol of liberty and justice, for once again Hungary has been forced into an abyss of despair and darkness by the forces of foreign tyranny and despotism. But, we ask, what possible succor can Hungary hope to find from a past so far removed from the realities of the 20th century? The answer is the past never is far removed from the present, for it is a part of the whole fabric of man's struggle for right, decency, and a better way of life.

Tyranny and genocide are not new phenomena in the world. But as civilization has advanced and become refined so have the methods and techniques for making all the forces of evil more terrifying and capable of destroying civilization completely. But Stephen's stand against tyranny and oppression 900 years ago is the symbol for present-day Hungarian resistance to those same forces. Let us look more closely at the life of Stephen to see what is the real significance of his continuing adulation.

Stephen I knew that if Hungary was to survive as a nation, her ideas and her goals had to be free to develop. He knew initiative and progress suffocated in an atmosphere of oppression and subjugation. Thereupon, he waged many wars against his oppressors, so that the Christian faith would survive and the Hungarian state would be preserved. And this struggle was not without adversity, for his enemies were in the homeland as well as outside Hungary.

Stephen's greatest triumph over the forces of evil was his uprooting of idolatry among his people. Of course, this act did bring down upon him the wrath of many dissident groups. In fact, in 998 Stephen had to attack a rebel group who had resisted this action against paganism. The church also became the disseminating center of information on cultivation of crops and the use of manual arts. The churchmen, by their examples, taught the villagers and farmers western methods of agriculture and western methods of arts and handicrafts.

Last October in Hungary the spirit of St. Stephen I reasserted itself, when unarmed workers rose in rebellion against domestic traitors and foreign encroachers to preserve their personal integrity and national existence. It is true these courageous Hungarians were not able to crush the despotic domestic and foreign elements as had Stephen of old, but it showed 900 years of time had not eroded Hungary's innate love of justice and liberty. Nor will that spirit die under the heavy hand of Soviet Communist genocide and deportations.

Today we Americans are bearing witness to the continued courage of the Hungarian refugees who gained entrance into our country; we can be proud of our action which made that immigration possible. Of course, we could hope for more liberal and definite provisions in our immigration laws which would allow them to stay permanently or to have a regular status as immigrants. The fight for freedom by these refugees was for the whole world, not for one country, and should be recognized openly as such a fight. We are indeed proud to have them in our midst, and also wish to join with freedom-loving Hungarians everywhere in saluting the first Hungarian prince of peace, St. Stephen I.

The President's 48-Carat, Multimillion Dollar Boondoggle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, 58 bills to prohibit Government agencies from acquiring or using National Grange headquarters site in Washington, D. C., without specific congressional approval have been introduced in the House of Representatives. Similar or identical measures have been introduced in the Senate by 12 Senators on a bipartisan basis.

One of the sponsors of this legislation in the House, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MACK], explained the matter as he saw it this way on Friday, August 2, 1957—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 12251 and 12252:

> It is generally admitted that the Federal Government will have to pay $500,000 or more for the Grange property if it is acquired by GSA by condemnation. In addition to this half a million dollars that will be paid for the property the taxpayers will be put to the expense of tearing down the present building, clearing its site and then sowing this 3,500 square feet of land to lawn and planting it to garden. This means a cost of as much as $150 to $200 a square foot for a lawn. Some lawn.

Some lawn, indeed. In addition to the National Grange headquarters there are other beautiful, modern, efficient buildings on Jackson Place, adjacent to the Grange Building, which are considered by many to be among the finest office buildings in Washington. Among these are the International Bank Building, the Brookings Institution Building, and the United Auto Workers AFL–CIO Building. These buildings can serve the Federal Government well and it would be sheer extravagance and waste to destroy them.

There are other significant and important structures facing Lafayette Park which go back to the last century and are intimately connected with the history of the Nation's Capital. Many distinguished architects and the congressionally chartered National Trust for Historic Preservation strongly recommend that these buildings be preserved and that the new Federal Office Building, FOB No. 7, Veterans' Administration—be confined to the Pennsylvania Avenue, 17th Street, and H Street sides of square 167. If this course were followed the buildings on Jackson Place and the National Grange Building would be preserved.

On July 17, 1957, President Eisenhower transmitted to the Congress the recommendations of the President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space for razing the present buildings on Jackson Place and the historic State, War, Navy Building as well. The President urged that these structures be replaced by expensive Federal buildings to house White House employees. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCGREGOR], according to the Washington Evening Star, estimated it would cost $6 million to tear down the old State Building and said:

> If we keep giving space to White House employees, I have the feeling that the executive branch will keep hunting people to fill it.

The gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] had this to say about the State, War, Navy Building in a letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 13, 1957, page A6624:

> The $6 million it would cost to destroy the building might certainly be well used for cleaning it and altering the interior to a more useful arrangement of the rooms.
>
> I protest, as strongly as it is possible for one person to do, what I consider ruthless destruction of one of the most perfect examples of French renaissance architecture in the United States. Tied in as it is with our history, how can we give consideration to its destruction?

The Washington Post and Times Herald of June 4 reported that the distinguished Speaker of this House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] was one of the traditionalists who were rallying to defend the State, War, Navy Building from destruction. The Speaker was quoted as saying he was "very much opposed" to tearing this landmark down, and that if the building "does not suit them on the inside, then they can do as they did at the White House" and renovate its interior. He was reported as opposing any efforts to obtain congressional funds for the purpose of building a replacement.

The President's plans for expansion of the White House office space are made necessary by the Eisenhower way of doing business—first developed at SHAEF headquarters during World War II and at NATO—and a staff expansion of unprecedented magnitude is planned to fill these buildings.

The President's plans for 2 office buildings to house an expanded staff constitute a 48-carat, multimillion dollar boondoggle.

I can just imagine the kind of campaign that would have been mounted by the Republican Members of the Congress if either President Franklin Delano Roosevelt or President Harry S. Truman had made such recommendations to the Congress.

How things have changed.

As the columnist George E. Sokolsky wrote in the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 20, 1957:

> A criticism of President Eisenhower for pursuing some policy that Roosevelt or Truman pursued is very wicked. It was all right to oppose Roosevelt and Truman, but it is bad form and intellectual degradation even to whisper a suggestion that while Mr. Eisenhower is a pretty decent person, he is not a deity to be adored and salaamed.

An unparalleled opportunity is presented in the President's grandiose plans "for the next hundred years" to save the American taxpayers several millions of dollars.

The President recently recalled his 1952 technique of using a small piece of pine wood which he broke in half, saying "Here's what you get for 15 cents now."

The President's plans for staff and office expansion certainly offer vivid proof of how far this administration has progressed from its thinking in the 1952 campaign when it was running for office.

I have discussed certain aspects of this matter many times before and call your attention particularly to my statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 31, pages A6183–A6186. I am confident this statement of mine contributed to the understanding which my colleagues have today as to the true size and shape of the President's glorified boondoggle.

On Thursday, August 15, I introduced H. R. 9313, a bill to prohibit Government agencies from acquiring or using the National Grange headquarters site without specific congressional approval, to provide for renovation of the old State Department building, and for other purposes.

This measure has as its purposes (1) saving the National Grange headquarters building and the many important structures in the White House-Lafayette Park area from being destroyed; and (2) saving the taxpayers of this country several millions of dollars that would be needlessly wasted if the President's plans for expansion of his staff and office space are carried out as presently contemplated.

My bill, H. R. 9313, is complementary to a bill, H. R. 9060, introduced by the

entleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF], and a companion measure to H. R. 9660 introduced in the Congress by Senator JAMES E. MURRAY for himself and Senator MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD as S. 2724.

The Metcalf-Murray bill designates Lafayette Park, the Dolly Madison House, and the Commodore Stephen Decatur House as national historic sites.

I am very pleased to be able to say to you today that a number of my colleagues have joined me in sponsoring measures identical to my H. R. 9313 and that these measures are a decided improvement over the bills which have been previously offered on the National Grange headquarters site problem.

The following have joined in sponsoring my measure: the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. BREEDING], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the gentleman from Maine [Mr. COFFIN], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the gentlewoman from Idaho [Mrs. PFOST], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RHODES], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BOYLE], and the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. PORTER].

I include here an interview with one of the leading American architects, Frederick Gutheim, a distinguished author, and Washington editor of the magazine Progressive Architecture which was carried in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 15, 1957. Also included is the text of my bill, H. R. 9313.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 15, 1957]

LAFAYETTE SQUARE PLAN OFFERED

A Washington architect recommended yesterday that the residential aspect of Jackson Place NW. be preserved in planning Government office structures in the block.

Frederick Gutheim, of Dickerson, Md., writing in the current issue of Progressive Architecture, said this would be the best solution in trying to preserve the once fashionable street and yet answer pressing demands from the White House and its agencies for more working space.

Gutheim said "tall office buildings that have been allowed to intrude on Jackson Place could be replaced with structures in residential scale." However, he said, "suitable private organizations such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation, should be permitted to occupy these structures.

One such structure might serve as an official residence for the Vice President, he suggested.

The Government is planning to build a 27-million office building in a block bounded by Jackson, Pennsylvania Avenue, and 17th and H Streets, NW. All existing buildings, except Blair and Blair-Lee House and Decatur House, would be torn down.

Gutheim said a "frankly utilitarian structure—about all we can expect of Federal building in these preoccupied and uninspired days—could be allowed" on the 17th Street side.

As Gutheim saw it the pressures for the Government office building stem from the White House organization and its vast expansion by the Eisenhower administration.

A staff expansion of unprecedented magnitude was required by the Eisenhower way of doing business at SHAEF headquarters during World War II and at NATO, according to Gutheim.

H. R. 9313

A bill to prohibit Government agencies from acquiring or using the National Grange headquarters site without specific congressional approval, to provide for renovation of the old State Department Building, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That no portion of lot 816, square 167, in the District of Columbia (the headquarters and property of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry) shall be acquired for or used by any agency of the Federal Government.

SEC. 2. The Administrator of General Services (hereinafter in this act referred to as the "Administrator") is directed to withdraw the declaration of taking of such lot 816 heretofore filed by him in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia and to take such other action as may be necessary to restore title to such lot 816 to the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry.

SEC. 3. No building situated on lot 3, 4, 22, 46, 48, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 819, 822, or 823, square 167, in the District of Columbia shall be razed by any agency of the Federal Government, but each such building may be improved, altered, added to, or repaired in such manner as (1) not to materially alter the appearance of its exterior (thereby preserving the historic Jackson Place and Lafayette Park), and (2) to make it suitable for use by the Federal Government. Nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit the construction of the Federal Office Building, FOB No. 7 (Veterans' Administration), which has the General Services Administration prospectus number 3–DC–05, on lot 9, 25, 50, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, or 808 in square 167 in the District of Columbia.

SEC. 4. The Administrator shall make such improvements, alterations, additions, and repairs to the old State Department Building situated on the southeast corner of the intersection of 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D. C., as may be necessary to make such building suitable for use as an office building by the President of the United States, except that no such improvements, alterations, or repairs shall materially alter the appearance of the exterior of such building.

Lutheran World Federation, an Example in World Fellowship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 9, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, an event of the greatest importance for the development of closer international relations on a people-to-people basis, is taking place in Minneapolis, Minn., August 15 to 25. Quite apart from the religious significance which, of course, is great, the Lutheran world federation's third quinquennial assembly is a wonderful demonstration of free congregation of free people for a common purpose.

Lutherans came to Minneapolis from all over the world to attend this history-making conference. There are representatives from Germany, Chile, Indonesia, Japan, India, to name a few of the 32 nations represented. This is the first time the United States has been so honored as to be host to this great assembly which has been called only twice before in history.

I was so fortunate as to be able to attend this historic gathering and was tremendously impressed by the variety of costumes, the sounds of different languages, the color, the warmth and the friendliness and understanding in evidence on all sides.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I have requested permission to insert three articles reporting the assembly:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of August 18, 1957]

THEY CAME FROM MANY LANDS AND THEY TALKED ABOUT THE LORD

(By Ed Magnuson)

Now it was in the city of Minneapolis in the State which was known as Minnesota that the people came from many lands and talked in many tongues about the wonders of the Lord.

And they assembled together in a large building which the people of those days called the auditorium and they sat at long tables which were covered with green cloth. Men of dark skin and men of white sat they side by side and smiled one unto the other.

They were met in the name of the Lutheran world assembly and they were quiet as they listened to those amongst them who did rise to speak before a curtain which was light blue and in its center was the sign of the cross in red and in gold.

And the words of the speakers were written on white paper so the other could consider them with great care. And the words were carried through the air to wondrous machines at the green tables and each man could hear the words in a tongue which he knew.

And the name of each man and the name of each woman was written on a white card and the name of his land was imprinted upon a white silk banner so all would know who his neighbor was.

And it came to pass that Austrians were seated beside Australians and men of Hungary beside men of Iceland and men of Germany beside men of France. And if they did not always agree on all things, they spoke of their differences without hate and each listened carefully one to the other.

Their chairs were of chrome and the cushions were of bright red or bright blue. And their garments were of many kinds, some according to the dress of their 32 lands as had been the custom for generations before them.

Above their heads were large blue flags and there was a red heart on each flag and within the heart was a black cross and these flags were the symbol of the love they shared for the Lord.

And above the flags sat thousands upon thousands of other people who had come to watch this remarkable thing that had occurred. They talked quietly among themselves when the speaker was not of their own tongue or they followed the words on the white paper.

Some had come bringing all of their children and some were young and some had known many years and they remarked to one another about the strangeness and the goodness of the sight before them.

And when the members of the assembly tired of talking and of listening, their leader did call a rest period and the large hall did become noisy with their walking and their laughter and their conversing one with another.

And many among them did go forth into the halls and did partake of food and drink provided by women of the temples of the city. And the food they called cookies and the drink they called coffee.

Now in the halls there was a great friendliness as the men of one nation talked with the men of another about things of small moment and they did pat one another on the back and they did smile.

And underneath the great hall other people did walk among stalls in which were displayed the goods a temple must have. There were among them vestments and toys for the nurseries of children and musical organs and stained glass windows and all manner of wondrous things.

And there were books of the church and works of art and charts of the world showing where the work of the Lord was being carried on. And mothers carrying babies and women of high fashion and many other people did look and did wonder.

And it was in another large room that travelers to the city did have their needs cared for and there they were helped to find places to sleep and places to see and they could receive epistles from their homeland and have their questions about the strange city answered.

And so the people who were met together did both laugh about small things and think seriously about the things of the spirit.

And their leader told them there were vehicles there to carry the women to the shops of the city.

And he did tell them that there was a great need on the earth for men to work together in accomplishing the work of the Lord and that they should love one another as He had loved them.

All this did come to pass in the city of Minneapolis on the 17th day of August in the year of our Lord 1957.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune]

BISHOP SAYS REDS CAN'T KILL CHURCH—EDITOR DEPLORES SMALL EFFECT OF CHRIST ON UNITED STATES

(By Daniel J. Hafrey)

The Christian church will survive the onslaught of communism in Eastern Europe, a man who has had a major share in keeping it alive told the Lutheran World Assembly, Saturday.

"It has never happened in our age that the state could permanently subdue the church," said Bishop Otto Dibelius, of Berlin-Brandenburg, whose congregation straddles the Iron Curtain.

The same meeting heard a leading Lutheran editor deplore the fact that Christian morality and conscience have remarkably little effect on American public life.

"Thus it is more important in America whether a man is against private property than whether he is against God," said Dr. G. Elson Ruff, Philadelphia, Pa., editor of The Lutheran.

"And being a Communist is more frowned upon than being an atheist."

Addressing a panel session on church and state, the fighting German churchman who has won worldwide respect for his sturdy opposition to nazism and communism said:

"The church has an eternal life. Thus it can be patient. We may suffer occasional defeats. But the church will always arise and recover as long as it is faithful and loyal to its fate."

"Our personal lot is immaterial," added the cleric who has been called the "one-man Berlin airlift" because of his unceasing trips from his headquarters in the West to East Berlin.

"Our children and grandchildren will win the battle, for our Lord won't desert us."

Dr. Ruff, to illustrate his point—without mentioning any names—spoke of Lutherans such as Representative WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, in whose opposition to immigration laws favored by most churches little Christian morality is noticeable.

And he referred to a great Lutheran State nearby which has sent such a man as Joseph McCarthy to the United States Senate.

Even where religious attitudes have entered into public acts, he said, such as into the 18th amendment (prohibition), they have been misguided.

Somehow, in our day-to-day affairs, he said, the gulf between Christian principles and public decisions has grown too wide. Among possible exceptions to this general State he singled out the Augustana Lutheran Church.

Particularly he referred to Luther W. Youngdahl, former Minnesota Governor appointed a Federal judge by President Truman, who wrestled with his Christian conscience and came up with a Christian decision in the Lattimore case.

Youngdahl dismissed the Government case against Owen Lattimore, former Johns Hopkins University professor accused of working for the interests of Russia.

Youngdahl's stand and similar ones by others, Dr. Ruff said, are just surface signs of much thinking being done by Americans now about morality. He added:

"Christian morality is beginning to have its effect on American Government. We American Christians are coming to understand that the church has insights of tremendous values which may influence the state."

Discussing the relation of church and state in America for the benefit of foreign visitors, Dr. Ruff pointed out that the state is absolutely neutral toward religion. Thus, he said, a teacher may not even put up the Ten Commandments in a classroom.

But this does not mean, he said, that the state is unfriendly toward the church. Religion is important in this country, he added, but because of the bewildering multiplicity of churches here, neutrality is the only possible approach.

The third panel member, Dr. Kristian Hansson, director general of the Ministry of Church and Education of Norway, described the relations of church and state in a nation with an established religion, as Norway is.

CHUCH MUST SERVE WORLD, GERMAN SAYS

Christianity must be more than just "a pious feeling on Sunday morning," the Lutheran World Assembly was told Saturday night.

In order to be a vital force in today's world, the church must show its concern for the entire community and the entire world, said Dr. Reinold von Thadden-Trieglaff, founder of the German Kirchentag (church rally) movement.

"The church does not exist for itself," he stressed to his audience in the Minneapolis auditorium. "It exists to serve the world."

He continued: "The test of a church that is alive is not only a growing membership and an increasing budget.

"A deeper test is whether the society in which the church is called to serve is being transformed."

Out of this realization, said Von Thadden, descendant of a 600-year-old noble family who lost his estate during the war, has grown his movement "to bring the church to the people, to bring it to bear on today's realities."

Out of this, he added, have grown the mammoth rallies, attended by as many as 500,000 persons, at which people from all walks of life gather to discuss life in the light of Christianity.

"At these rallies," he said, "we discuss not only the question of personal salvation, but also the burning problems of politics, of social welfare, of family life and education."

Addressing the same meeting, Dr. George Aus, vice president of Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, said Christian congregations must be more than mutual admiration societies "made up of nice people like ourselves."

He reminded his audience that "as the Body of Christ it is our mission at home in the congregation to be His heart, sharing His concern for others."

Where this concern is real, he said, "it cannot rest until it has reached the furthest most nook and cranny of the parish; to the rich, the poor, the broken-hearted and the indifferent, the learned and the unlearned—those who know they need a physician and those who think they don't."

On the heels of Friday's proposal for a study of Roman Catholicism, the assembly yesterday was warned of a "theological offensive" by the Catholic church.

"If we lose the field theologically," said Dr. Vilmos Vajta, Geneva, Switzerland, director of the federation's department of theology, "we have lost everything."

He pointed to the fact that the Catholic offensive has "gained converts of leading theological and cultural personalities."

A call for an honest, frank look at theological differences was issued yesterday by Dr. Han-Werner Gensichen, Madras, India, in a talk on "The Unity of the Church in Christ."

He referred several times to his experiences in India where Lutherans and other Protestants—by means of such discussion—have attained a high degree of cooperation in the United Church of South India.

MINISTER TO REVIEW LUTHERAN SCHOOL LIFE

The Rev. H. Hermon O. Hendrickson, Edmonds, Wash., will review the history of Lutheran Normal school, Madison, Minn., at the school's sixty-fifth anniversary reunion Friday.

The dinner, which is open to all students and their wives or husbands, will be at the Minneapolis YMCA. Reservations may be obtained from Mrs. E. B. Eliason, 3731 Oakland Avenue.

Biography of George Augustus Finch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I have asked the Library of Congress to prepare a short biography of the late George Augustus Finch, along with a bibliography, and a list of the productions of his lifework. I ask that they be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matters referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE AUGUSTUS FINCH

George Augustus Finch, noted as an authority in the field of international law, was active in many other areas of endeavor. He was also recognized as an excellent lecturer, teacher, and author. Always, throughout his long and exemplary career, George Finch devoted his tireless efforts to the establishing, maintaining, and teaching of the principles of world peace on the lasting basis of law and justice.

Born in Washington, D. C., to James and Emma Finch on September 22, 1884, George Finch sprang from a long line of Washingtonians. His great-grandparents settled in the area during the early 19th century. His formal education, too, terminated in the same city of his birth and lifelong residence.

In 1907, George Finch received his bachelor of laws from Georgetown University. Forty-one years later, in 1948, he received an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University of Thessalonika, Greece.

Although George Finch received his law degree in 1907, his associations with institutions of higher education did not cease. In 1928 he became a member of the Advisory Committee on Research in International Law of Harvard Law School, a position he held until his death. From 1945 until 1952, Mr. Finch was active as a professor of international law in the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. He also lectured at universities and law schools the world over.

In 1905, George Finch married Mae Wright. This long and happy union lasted more than 50 years. Six children were born to the Finches: Eleanor Harrison, Augusta Emma, David Wright, Mary Roberta, George Augustus, and Beatrice Anne.

George Finch began his long and illustrious career in Government service. He first worked as a clerk in the War Department in 1905. The following year, 1906, he joined the Department of State and served as a law clerk until 1911. In 1909, while with the State Department, George Finch gained recognition for the manner with which he discharged his duties as the Secretary of the American Commission to Liberia.

That same year, 1909, George Finch joined the staff of the 2-year-old publication, American Journal of International Law. He served continuously with the Journal in various capacities until his death in 1957. He began his association with the publication as its business manager. From 1914 until 1924, Mr. Finch was secretary of the board of editors of the Journal as well as its business manager. He was elected managing editor in 1924. In 1943, he succeeded Prof. George Grafton Wilson as editor-in-chief upon the latter's retirement from office. In 1953, Mr. Finch retired from the active position he held to become the honorary editor in chief and honorary vice president of the Journal.

During his tenure in various capacities associated with the publication, George Finch devoted his energies and abilities not only to the administration of practical affairs, but also to the maintenance of a high standard of scholarship in its contents, to which he contributed in good measure. Under his capable leadership the American Journal of International Law published many important contributions to the subject of international law both in articles and editorials by authorities in the field.

George Finch joined the War Industries Board in 1918 as an expert on international problems. In 1919, he served the United States again as the assistant technical and legal adviser of the American Commission To Negotiate Peace.

His worldwide travels equipped George Finch with an understanding and an insight which enabled him to deal with international legal problems with great dexterity. He represented the United States at several inter-American conferences. Not only was Mr. Finch familiar with the inter-American nations, but he had widely traveled in Asia and central and western Europe. His knowledge, gained from experiences in these countries, qualified George Finch as a consultant to the United States delegation at the San Francisco Conference on the United Nations. He also served as the vice chairman of the American Bar Association's committee on peace and law through the United Nations.

Another aspect of the career of George Finch began in 1911. In that year he became associated with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the division of international law. From 1911 until 1940, Mr. Finch served as the assistant director of the division. He became the associate director and a trustee in 1940, and, from 1943 until 1947, he served as the director. He was a counselor to the Carnegie Endowment from 1947 until 1950.

George Finch was an active participant in the affairs of the American Institute of International Law. He was the assistant secretary general of the institute from 1927 until 1942. In 1942 he became a member of the executive council of the organization. He was also elected president, in 1945, of the Inter-American Academy of Comparative and International Law at Havana, Cuba.

More recently, George Finch is remembered for the active and wholehearted support he gave to the Bricker amendment to limit the President's treaty-making powers. He had worked on the American Bar Association's Committee on Peace and Law which consulted with Senator BRICKER regarding his position on treaties. Mr. Finch also drew up a statement for the Senate Judiciary Committee on the latest revision of the amendment. He offered his valuable opinions in testimony several times during congressional hearings regarding the amendment.

A noted authority on treaty-making powers under the Constitution, George Finch was the author of learned articles regarding the case for the Bricker amendment.

On July 4, 1957, George Finch suffered a heart attack. The attack proved fatal, and he died on July 17, 1957.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

1884, September 22: Born, Washington, D. C.

1905: Married J. Mae Wright, clerk, War Department.

1906–11: Law clerk, Department of State.

1907: Bachelor of laws, Georgetown University.

1909: Secretary, American Commission to Liberia.

1909–24: Business manager and secretary of the board of editors, American Journal of International Law.

1911–40: Assistant director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, division of international law.

1918: Expert on international questions, War Industries Board.

1919: Assistant legal adviser, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, in Paris.

1924–43: Managing editor and secretary, American Journal of International Law.

1927–42: Assistant secretary general, American Institute of International Law.

1928–57: Member, advisory committee on research in international law, Harvard Law School.

1940–43: Associate Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, division of internal law.

1942–57: Member, executive council, American Institute of International Law.

1943–47: Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Division of international law.

1943–53: Editor in chief and vice president, American Journal of International Law.

1945–57: President, Inter-American Academy of Comparative and International Law.

1945–52: Professor, international law, Georgetown University.

1947–50: Counselor, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Division of international law.

1953–57: Honorary editor in chief and honorary vice president of the American Journal of International Law.

1957, July 17: Died.

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Dr. Robert G. Neumann Analyzes France and the Algerian Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I placed in the RECORD the first of three articles by Dr. Robert G. Neumann, professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles on France and the Algerian crisis. Following are two articles:

FRANCE AND THE ALGERIAN CRISIS—II

(By Robert C. Neumann)

Tension and dissatisfaction in Algeria do not date from yesterday. The inequality between the European and Moslem populations was most clearly expressed by the system of electoral colleges through which 1 million Europeans elected as many deputies as did well over 8 million Moslems. The orientation of Algeria emphasized winegrowing which made Algeria a less favored economic extension of France, rather than certain cereals which would have been more advantageous for the economy and the consumption of the Moslems. Resistance to the industrialization of Algeria did not give the Moslems a sufficient opportunity to develop an adequate middle class from which the required number of civil administrators might have sprung.

This point must not be exaggerated. The French did invest a great deal in the country. They modernized it and gave it standards of health and social services unequaled in any of the Arab countries. Moreover, a certain number of Algerians did enter the civil service and the army, and some of them reached high positions and had Frenchmen under them. But this was certainly not an adequate number by far. Hence, dissatisfaction began to seize wider and wider circles. They were often suppressed, but during World War II the atmosphere of liberation was in the air and certain statements by General de Gaulle raised hopes of a new kind of regime. These hopes and aspirations were pushed and nourished by nationalist movements, one of which was the movement of the Algerian manifesto of Ferrhat Abbas and the other the Algerian national movement of Messali Haj. These movements grew in numbers, but they achieved no tangible results.

What really tore the matter wide open was the decision of the Mendès-France government to grant independence to Morocco and Tunisia. Nationalist agitation had reached considerable heights in those countries while Algeria remained relatively calm. Now, after many vicissitudes, they had achieved their aim; yet, Algeria remained unchanged as before. How could the French have believed that they could get away with this?

There are several reasons. To the French public and the French Parliament the new status of Morocco and Tunisia was presented as "independence within interdependence," presumably a new formula which would somehow keep a measure of the "French presence" intact in those two countries. But this was an empty phrase: the rush of events bypassed all finely wrought legal formulas and the two countries achieved their full independence actually before the treaties with France were ratified. This made the contrast between Tunisia and Morocco on the one hand, and Algeria on the other, much sharper than anticipated.

The French like to say that Algeria is different from Tunisia and Morocco and so it is. Algeria is very much larger and more important. But Tunisia and Morocco have a national tradition which Algeria lacks and which explains in part why those two countries were able to develop a nucleus of managers and civil servants while Algeria lagged behind. On purely objective grounds the French statement that Algeria is less ready for independence than either Tunisia or Morocco is certainly true. But it would have been against human nature if the Algerians themselves had not viewed it otherwise. And yet, if large and generous concessions had been made at that time and applied quickly, all might have been well. But the dogma of the "one and indivisible republic," so illusory and yet so tenaciously upheld by the French, made it unthinkable that any part of the sacred soil of France should have a different status from any other part and that Algeria should be permitted to develop a separate personality. And so nothing was done and tragedy was invited.

In all fairness I must state that there were many Frenchmen who understood the needs of the hour. But a radical change in Algeria would have run up against much opposition in France and furious resistance among the Europeans in Algeria. The Europeans persuaded Government and Parliament that they knew "their" Arabs and that all would stay quiet. The French aristocrats had also know "their" people before the great Revolution. This patronizing attitude which often hides the absence of real knowledge and understanding is the surest road to the guillotine.

The consequences of this blindness appeared quickly enough. Resistance to French rule became violent; the former, relatively moderate Algerian political movement which became known as the Front ments were bypassed and outclassed by a of National Liberation (FLN). What the world has since come to call "the war in Algeria" had begun.

It is well to understand what kind of a war this is. Many Americans are under the impression that this is an uprising of the masses against French rule. Some think of it as a regular military operation in the style of the war in Indochina. This is a most inaccurate picture. In the first place the FLN is not a popular, mass movement like the Neo-Destour of Tunisia or the Istiqlal of Morocco, but a very loose association of independent operators, groups, or grouplets. On this point there seems to be general agreement among people whose views on Algeria are otherwise diametrically opposed. There are some chiefs, like Ben Bella whom the French captured through the use of a doubtful ruse; there is Quamrun, the military leader who enjoys a certain authority. But there is no evidence of a specific policy or direction. Ferrhat Abbas, who suddenly went over to the FLN tries to look and act like their minister of foreign affairs but his authority is somewhat doubtful.

Their methods of combat are most effective. They are the traditional ways of the terrorists. The number of active FLN fighters is surprisingly small. Official estimates run from 20 to 30,000. This is probably inaccurate as their is a considerable infiltration from Tunisia. But even if their numbers had doubled they would still be a mere handful against the over 400,000 well-equipped French soldiers stationed in Algeria. But numbers matter little in this deadly game. The principal target of FLN furor are not Frenchmen but Moslems. For each Frenchman killed 10 Moslems become victims of the FLN. Every Moslem who shows any sign of collaborating with the French, or even of being a moderate is marked for assassination and the FLN succeeds only too often. Several hundred, as many as 800 per month, are thus dispatched.

Of course they also kill Frenchmen. Attacks on isolated farms were frequent. Cars are shot at or destroyed by mines. With increasing frequency there are ambushes and usually small-scale fights with troops. If possible, they try to attack units of recently arrived draftees whose training may not as yet be up to snuff. Quite frequently FLN attacks are seemingly aimless, a grenade under a bandstand at a dance, a grenade tossed into a store crowded with Europeans and Moslems alike, a grenade tossed into a crowd taking a Sunday afternoon stroll. A grenade * * * it is an endless story.

What is the FLN trying to achieve? Surely it cannot hope to throw 400,000 French soldiers into the Mediterranean by such means. The answer is simple. Terror as a combat weapon is not designed to defeat troops in the field but to bring life to a standstill. If the Moslem population refuses to serve the Europeans, to cooperate with them in any way, the French will simply have to give up even if they do not lose a single soldier or a single gun emplacement. If the FLN can establish a parallel administration, that is to say if it can establish a secret network of agents whom the people will follow rather than the official administrators, French administration will grind to a halt. This is why the attacks are mainly directed against Moslems, in order to frighten them into obedience to the FLN. But the exercise of actual power has always legitimized power according to the islamic tradition and makes a considerable impression on the Arabs. Hence, people are not merely terrorized into the arms of the FLN; the effectiveness of the terror is impressive and seductive to many Moslems and not all conversions are by direct force.

The most bitter FLN hatred is reserved to the followers of Messali Haj's Algerian National Movement (MNA). This was once the most radical of the Algerian groups but has long since been bypassed by the FLN. The MNA has little strength left in Algeria, but it dominates among the 300,000 Algerians working in France. This is not surprising. These Algerians are able to enter France freely and work there under conditions which are superior to those of Algeria because they are French citizens. As such they benefit by all the provisions of the far-reaching French social-security system, get better wages than they could get at home. They live frugally and send most of their money home to their families. Thus, the 300,000 in France effect perhaps 2 million people at home, a considerable number.

Therefore the FLN must strike against the MNA in France proper. There is hardly a day without a murder and tempers are rising in France.

Back in Algeria FLN terrorism arouses French counterterrorism. The young soldiers, especially the tough paratroopers, the elite of the elite, are getting rattled over these attacks that dart out of the dark and which cannot, apparently, be combated effectively by ordinary military means. And so, sometimes, when they get hold of a suspect they may commit acts which do little credit to France. These acts are certainly not the wish of the French Government. They are the result of taut nerves cracking under the intolerable strain of an invisible enemy who could be anybody in a crowd. They stem from the frustration of a war which can seemingly be neither won nor lost. They stem from bitterness over buddies shot in the back in silent streets or ambushed in the lonely bled.

And then there are the violent European crowds who, after burying their dead resulting from a grenade tossed into a dancehall, suddenly get out of control, roam the streets and kill every Moslem in sight. This suits the FLN fine. It makes it more difficult for Moslems to remain neutral; it is to remind them that they can never feel safe with the French. Another example of the old rule that extremists feed one another.

France and the Algerian Crisis—III

(By Robert G. Neumann)

Paris.—The Algerian nationalists, the FLN, are determined to oust the French, to achieve independence and to be masters in their own homes. The Europeans are just as equally determined to stick it out. Make no mistakes about it: these Algerian Europeans are not just a bunch of colonialists fighting to keep their privileges. These are determined men who have made up their minds to defend the only homes they have ever known and to defend them come what may. One day when I was waiting in the Hotel Matignon, the French Prime Minister's office, I met a group of Algerian mayors coming out. Some of them were pro-French Moslems, most of them were Europeans. As human specimen they rather impressed me and reminded very much of the American memory of the West. These were men who knew how to live in the wilderness, who had become used to danger and had accepted it as a normal part of their existence. They looked far less worried than the French ministers who had received them. Some of them were hopeful over the measures taken by the French Government, others were skeptical. But if need be they were all quite prepared to continue to live under the present condition of strife without end. They were supremely confident of their own ability to hold out; their only fear was that France might not continue to support them.

What is to be done? France is a free country and hence all shades of opinions can be heard, from those who want to drown the rebellion in blood to those who want to pull out immediately and abandon everything. But the more rational spirits will certainly

reject either of these extremes. The French military effort is already very great. A drowning in blood could only be contemplated by a wholesale killing of Moslems; nobody but a few isolated desperados could think in those terms. Nor can France simply pull out and leave over a million Europeans and untold Moslems who had worked with them to their fate. Only the Communists seriously advocate such a course of action.

All serious discussion evolves more or less around two themes. The first is the work of Robert Lacoste, Governor General of Algeria. It envisages the creation, my military means, of pacified zones in which the Moslem population, then presumably free from FLN pressure and threat, will be encouraged to form its own local government and gradually develop a responsible, native leadership with whom a more permanent settlement could then be negotiated. Such negotiation would not consider independence but a better way of allowing the two communities of Algeria, the Moslems and the Europeans, to live together in peace and equality. No return to the old, unequal double-college system of voting is contemplated.

The Lacoste plan has many difficulties but it hinges above all on the practical possibility of establishing such control that terrorism becomes impossible and large numbers of Moslems may feel safe in collaborating with the French administration. I have been assured on the part of well qualified authority that this plan is making headway. Others dispute that strongly. I cannot pronounce this statement true or false until I go to Algeria and see on the spot. But I must admit to considerable skepticism. This is not the first time that Mr. Lacoste has been confident and subsequent events did not support him. Worse, his plan seems too easily disturbed. It is not too difficult to slip a couple of men with knives and grenades into almost any area. A few explosions, a few cut throats and the Moslems discover that under these circumstances nobody can really guarantee their safety. I think in general it is safe to say that Mr. Lacoste would have to produce very impressive, concrete results, before his plan is considered realizable, both in France and especially abroad.

The other road is that of negotiation. Many people here talk about negotiations without being really quite sure what that means. Algeria is at war; hence, any negotiation to bring about a cease-fire and eventual peace must take place between the two parties who do the actual fighting: France and the FLN. Some people here rave about negotiating with somebody else, of finding a valid "opposite number" (interlocuteur valable). The logic of the situation, however, is inexorable: the FLN may represent little or nothing at all. It may be disunited and have no political direction. But it does the fighting. If you want to stop the fighting by negotiation you have to negotiate with them primarily or even exclusively. If you do not want to do this it would be better not to talk about negotiations.

There are other consequences which follow. If the French were to start negotiating with the FLN in earnest the importance and prestige of the FLN would greatly rise. Some believe that in that case their political leadership might become more unified and more moderate. This seems to be the hope of President Bourghiba of Tunisia but there is no guaranty that this would actually be the case. And whatever the outcome, if a cease-fire could be negotiated it would certainly, at the very least, give the FLN a most prominent place in the future life of Algeria and that means that eventual independence is inevitable. Bourghiba sees this very clearly and he is trying to induce the FLN leaders to be more moderate because in that case, victory would soon be in their hands. It is perhaps an indication of their immaturity that they do not see the wisdom of this counsel.

The best that could be expected from negotiations with the FLN would be gradual independence which would give the Europeans time to adjust themselves or leave. But even that is not certain because the recent events in Morocco and Tunisia have shown that events which were supposed to take a certain amount of time may become telescoped into a day. The Europeans in Algeria understand this quite well and that is why most of them are bitterly against any negotiations. Some people believe that if the French Government were to take this road the Europeans of Algeria would rise up in arms and take over the country (Algeria) under the benevolent neutrality of the French army and police who would not turn against their fellow countrymen.

One thing seems clear: the Lacoste plan of pacification and the encouragement of a more cooperative Moslem leadership on the one hand, and the idea of negotiation with the FLN on the other, are mutually exclusive. One cannot expect a considerable number of Moslems to come out for cooperation if one plays with the possibility that they may one day be left to the tender mercies of the FLN. And on the other hand one cannot expect to negotiate seriously with the FLN while at the same time pushing a plan which is designed to exclude the FLN.

And yet the French Government does seem to do both. The Lacoste plan is the official version but contacts with the FLN leadership have recently been admitted by premier Bourgès-Maumoury. To give the French Government the utmost benefit of the doubt it is perhaps fair to say that this seeming lack of logic is the result of a genuine division within the Government itself, where Governor-General Lacoste leads the tough faction and his colleague, Foreign Minister Pineau (both are Socialists), favors negotiations.

This was brilliantly illustrated by a recent event. The French Government used the occasion of the international conference of free trade unions in Tunis to make contacts with the FLN leadership. A special envoy was sent who met the FLN leaders. The latter wished to consult their chief, Ben Bella who is in prison in France. They sent him several messages which were to be delivered by his lawyer who is also the general secretary of the leading Tunisian party, the Neo-Destour of President Bourghiba. But when the lawyer landed at Orly Field (Paris) he was arrested and the incriminating documents naturally found on him. As the French Government must have had at least semiofficial knowledge of this trip this action seemed to make no sense at all. But it is now pretty clear that this was a move of the Lacoste faction against the Pineau faction which was to expose the tentative negotiation attempts and thus make their resumption more difficult.

And so, as the difficult U. N. debate over Algeria approaches it is not quite certain what the French Government's policy is. Some people here suggested that if France is condemned by the U. N. or is in danger of such condemnation it should quit the organization. But surely this is the counsel of despair. The U. N. and its majority may be judges of doubtful validity but France can hardly afford to isolate itself as the unhappy experience of the Suez debacle has amply demonstrated. And this time it would be even more isolated because Great Britain is not supporting such a French policy.

Many people here speak of institutional reforms, of a Federal structure by which a semiautonomous Algeria might remain attached to France. Some think of a federation of North Africa, including Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria maintaining some sort of commonwealth-type relationship with France. These are serious plans but they are secondary. The first and inexorable decision is that between negotiation with the FLN or a purely French solution along the Lacoste line. Until this decision is resolutely taken all discussions of institutional reforms remain purely academic exercises without concrete value.

Can the French Government, any French Government make such a fateful decision? The notorious instability of French Governments makes this difficult. A short while ago, Christian Democrat (MRP) Pierre Pflimlin almost became premier; he only failed by a few votes. Had he been elected, his policy would probably have been quite different from that of the present Premier, Bourgès-Maunoury. In October, when the National Assembly reconvenes, the picture could easily be reversed. How can a long-range policy emerge under such circumstances?

Short of a national catastrophe which might bring a strong man, such as the still immensely prestigeous Gen. Charles de Gaulle to power, there is only one policy-making group of stable composition in France, and that is the Parliament. What is needed of Parliament is a process of deep soul searching and something like a newly concurrent majority for a specific Algerian policy. This is not easy for French debates are more brilliant than constructive and compromise is not considered a virtue.

The hour is desperately late. A few days ago, one of France's really grand old men, former Premier and Foreign Minister Robert Schuman told me of his long experience which had taught him that often a bad decision is better than no decision at all. A bad decision can perhaps be lived with and adjustments are often possible. But absence of decision usually makes the situation worse. These are great words of wisdom which the French Government, the Parliament and public opinion should seriously ponder. The coming U. N. debate in the fall will be bitter and contains many dangers for France. France must make up its mind quickly and resolutely, lest the debates of October become the Ides of March.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

National Security—A Vital Factor in Excessive Oil Imports Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, there is no question at all that a point exists at which imports of oil into the United States become a threat to our national security.

That fact was brought out forcefully in an editorial published recently in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, one of Texas' truly great newspapers.

The only way, says the Star-Telegram editorial, that we can be sure of having enough oil in case of emergency is to rely upon our own resources.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECURITY A REAL FACTOR IN OIL DISPUTE

The Wall Street Journal, whose editorial page we respect tremendously, leaves us a little perplexed at its stand on the question of oil imports, which the President has just undertaken to restrict in the interest of the domestic oil industry.

If we understand the Journal correctly, it argues against the control of imports with the contention that the way to conserve our own oil is to leave it hidden in the ground and to use oil from overseas, and that this also provides the consumer with cheaper petroleum products and keeps the thumb of Government off the oil business.

This is one way of looking at it, but we cannot believe it is the right way or that any such program would be in the national interest. If there were no possibility of war it might work for a time to the consumer's advantage, as long as a domestic industry remained to provide competition. But eventually it would kill or drastically curtail the production of domestic oil and the search for new United States reserves because it costs less to produce oil in the big foreign fields.

Since there is no way of assuring ourselves war will not happen and since war would immediately endanger foreign petroleum supplies, it is a fair question to ask what we would do for petroleum in such an event if the domestic industry had been crippled and our unfound reserves remained safely hidden in the ground. It is not beside the point to inquire what would have happened in the Suez Canal crisis if we had been dependent upon oil from the Middle East. The American motorist would have been garaged for the duration, and an oil policy would have been promptly reversed.

More is involved in this question than conservation. While conservation of United States oil obviously is important, and while the import of some volume of foreign oil obviously relieves the drain on our own resources, there is a point at which imports become damaging to the domestic industry. And a vigorous domestic industry, we are persuaded, is essential to our strategy of defense.

Price itself, even from the viewpoint of the consumer of oil products, would seem somewhat less important than the assurance of an oil supply in event of emergency, and the only way that can be accomplished with certainty is to rely upon our own resources.

Record of Italians in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared paying a well deserved tribute to loyal Americans of Italian descent.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BEALL

I wish today to offer a strong protest against a vicious insult which has been directed against all loyal Americans of Italian descent, against the good citizens of Italy itself, and, in fact, against every person who believes in the principles of truth and fairness.

This insult was delivered recently by one of our retired admirals during testimony on proposed changes in the Immigration and Naturalization Act.

These changes, incidentally, were ones offered by the Eisenhower Administration to wipe out the injustices and hardships which have arisen as a result of certain sections of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

I shall not dignify the unfortunate statement made by the retired admiral by repeating it at this time but, as a cosponsor of immigration legislation which would eliminate the type of petty prejudice which he supported, I should like to make a few comments of my own.

It is only natural that we deplore slurs against our fine Italian-American citizens because each such lie insults a culture which is 3,000 years old and which has contributed immensely to the progress of civilization in every corner of the world.

Some idea of the advancements and glories which have flowed in unceasing torrents from the shores of Italy to other lands and climes can be gained from a visit to the Albert Memorial in Kensington Garden, London. There it will be found that of the 169 statues representing benefactors of our humanity, more than half pay honor to Italians.

In Italy was cradled and nourished the poetry of antiquity, and in Italy was found a group of historians who would preserve and continue the registry of civilization.

When one thinks of literature, the theater, architecture, sculpture, art, navigation, science, music, or religion, it is impossible not to think of the men and women of Italian blood who were primary contributors to their development.

Ovid, Horace, Michelangelo, Verdi—I could go on and on and on. With each name, though, I think of a dozen more, and with each of the dozen comes the memory of the renowned accomplishments of still another dozen. It is not necessary that I call this honor roll.

Suffice it to say that in age after age Italy has enriched civilization through her thought, talent and work, so that all the world can join with Macaulay, the English historian, in the tribute he offered when he wrote:

"Italian civilization, nearly 3,000 years old, has never faded out.

"The nights which have descended on Italy have been nights of Arctic summer, the dawn always reappearing before the reflection of the preceding sunset has faded from the horizon."

I have commented in a very general way on the contributions which Italy has made to the entire world, and now I should like to discuss some of her gifts to our United States.

Any schoolboy will tell us, of course, that Christopher Columbus discovered America, and that the very name "America" is derived from that of an Italian mapmaker and navigator, Amerigo Vespucci.

In addition, there have been such men as Cabot, who laid the foundation for English settlements in this country; Verrazzano, discoverer of New York Bay, and Malespina, who explored the West. Nor can we forget that Paolo Busti founded Buffalo; Father Cataldo, Spokane; Henry DiTonti, Detroit.

In 1773, Philip Mazzei, a physician of Tuscany, became a companion and adviser to Thomas Jefferson. The most interesting fact about Mazzei, however, is that he was the first writer to present the cause of the colonies to Europe and to encourage support from many Europeans of culture and refinement who had been deprived of liberty in their own homelands.

One of the greatest of the Italian heroes of the Revolution was Col. Francis Vigo. In Vincennes, Vigo County, Ind., an immense boulder placed over his grave by the Francis Vigo Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution bears this inscription:

"Francis Vigo—Patriot—Whose devotion to the cause of American Liberty made possible the capture of Fort Sackett, February 25, 1779. Born in Mondovi, Piedmont, Italy, 1744. Died, Vincennes, Ind., 1836."

Another, Cosmo de Medici, a Florentine captain, organized the first troop of light dragoons in the Revolution and fought with distinction throughout the war, many times under the direct command of Washington.

Now we come to the present day, which also brings us face to face with the pros and cons of the Italian immigration issue.

If immigration from Italy were a detriment to the United States, as some misguided persons have claimed, we would not have in this body such a man as our worthy colleague from Rhode Island, Senator PASTORE.

If immigration from Italy were a detriment to the United States, as some misguided persons have tried in vain to prove, we would not have in the other House of this Congress such men as Representatives

ADDONIZIO, ANFUSO, CRETELLA, FINO, MORANO, RODINO, and SANTANGELO.

These men are representative of the thousands of Italian-Americans who are serving America faithfully and loyally in the executive, the judicial, and the legislative branches of the government, on the national, State, and local levels.

At this time I would like to pay a very special tribute to the Marylanders in public and semipublic positions who can point with just pride to their Italian background.

Again, it would be impossible to name them all.

I will mention, however, that in Baltimore alone we have such men as Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., a former Member of the House of Representatives; Judge Anselm Sodaro, of the supreme bench, who formerly served as State's attorney; State Senators Joseph A. Bertorelli and Anthony F. DiDomenico; State Delegate Samuel A. Culotta, who is also a counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee and venerable of the Lord Baltimore Lodge of the Order of Sons of Italy in America; Joseph F. DiDomenico, commissioner of the Maryland Department of Labor and Industry; Mrs. Agnes L. Giordano, chairman of the State board of hairdressers and beauty culturists; and Dr. Frank C. Moreno, member of numerous State boards and commissions, civic leader, and philanthropist.

I would like to mention hundreds more—for instance, the great Metropolitan Opera diva Rosa Ponselle—but time forbids.

Instead, I will turn once again to the national picture to pay tribute to a very special group of Italian-Americans, and I will then conclude my remarks.

The men to whom I wish to direct my special praise are the ones whose patriotism is reflected, in part, in the rollcalls which echo throughout our land each Memorial Day and whose names are etched in the Defense Department's records of wearers of Purple Hearts and other decorations.

Now I should like to end my statement by quoting the words of Charles E. Russell, the historian. Mr. Russell wrote: "From the southern shore of Europe projects a peninsula of no great size, partially filled with mountains and with stretches of land no better than any other terrain, and yet out of that strip of land has emerged a great flaming dynamic force that has influenced the entire Western World and made that world what it is, in its anatomy, in its essence and function, purely Italian."

Proposed Electoral Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Key West Citizen of Tuesday, August 13, 1957, entitled "Electoral Reform Due."

The only comment I wish to make, Mr. President, other than to state that this is in my judgment a worthwhile editorial, is that the title should read "Electoral Reform Long Overdue."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELECTORAL REFORM DUE

Once again the ever-recurring attempt to reform the election laws is bobbing up in Congress. The latest proposal is to allow each State to divide its electoral votes by congressional districts.

This constitutional amendment has been introduced in the Senate by two Democrats, Montana's MIKE MANSFIELD and South Carolina's J. STROM THURMOND, and by two Republicans, South Dakota's KARL MUNDT and New Jersey's ALEXANDER SMITH.

Many observers have felt that the present system of electing a President is not in the best interest of the United States nor a healthy democratic process. As the current system now works, the candidate who receives the largest number of votes in a State receives all of that State's electoral vote.

In other words, if one candidate received 10 more votes than his next highest opponent, and just a few more votes than the third-ranking candidate, he would nevertheless receive all the State's electoral votes—and the votes of far more than 50 percent of those who went to the polls on election day would not even count.

Under the proposed system, a State's electoral vote would possibly be split as to congressional districts. Therefore, if half a State's congressional districts voted in favor of one candidate and the other half voted for another candidate, the State's electoral vote could be split and the votes of most of those who went to the polls would usually count.

Back in 1950, the Senate voted 64–27 for a plan whereby each candidate would receive in the various States the proportion of the electoral vote in that State equal to the proportion of the popular vote. The House, however, failed to pass this constitutional amendment with the necessary two-thirds majority, and thus ended that effort.

The question has come up again in recent years and, in 1956, the Senate voted, by less than the required two-thirds, however, in favor of another electoral vote amendment.

The latest one seems to have a fairly good chance of passage. Eventually, the electoral voting system will be changed for it is obviously unfair for the highest candidate in a plurality to receive all the electoral votes, voiding the votes of all those who voted for the other candidate, or candidates.

The Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the GTA Daily Radio Roundup for August 15, 1957, and August 19, 1957, prepared by the public relations department of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association.

There being no objection, the GTA Daily Radio Roundups were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 15, 1957

Yesterday we were telling you about a magazine, Capper's Farmer, that has stiffened its back, and is now fighting to save farm price supports. And, not long ago, we saw how another magazine, Prairie Farmer, admitted that it had been wrong in selling the idea that all farmers needed was efficiency and free markets. It changed its tune and conceded this wouldn't do the job in winning for farmers the bargaining power they so desperately need. To get such bargaining power takes laws—takes price supports. That's one of the economic facts of life.

So, there we've got a couple of heartening examples of magazines starting to do something to really tell the farmers' side of the story. But such enlightenment is not universal among magazine publishers. For example, one of the old enemies of farmers and their efforts to build bargaining power through laws is Time magazine. It's part of a huge publishing empire of five other magazines, including Life and Fortune, as well as a string of radio and TV stations.

Time is an old hand at doing a hatchet job on farm programs. The current issue features an article in which it unleashes another attack on these programs and, as always, fails to tell the true facts. It starts murdering the truth right in the headline, calling the farm situation, "The $5 Billion Farm Scandal." In claiming that farm price supports are costing, annually, $5 billion or most of that figure, the magazine, of course, has given its readers a completely distorted picture. The editors could easily have checked to learn the truth, but didn't do so.

President Eisenhower blundered into the same trap last April, and shortly thereafter Members of the Senate told the true facts in Congress. Their breakdown showed that not much over $1.2 billion was in the form of direct benefits to farmers. The rest of the budget of the Department of Agriculture was going for programs to help people abroad—a foreign policy matter, or in programs that benefited all the country, like the meat-inspection program, the national forests, and school lunches. And then there are the loan programs like REA and FHA—money repaid by the borrowers.

But Time does its job of discrediting the effort to build price-support programs by using that $5 billion figure. It wants to end the programs. It has no constructive alternatives to offer. Yet it admits that a farmer is helpless in a free market. Its editors are telling the truth when they concede that "In a free market, even modest surpluses can send farm prices sinking drastically." And they tell the truth when they point out that farmers don't have collective bargaining power like big corporations or big labor unions, and that "Vulnerable as they are, the farmers must look to Washington for help." But Time, which is an old hand at getting subsidies in the form of low mail rates, continues to fill the air with attcak on price supports for farmers.

Farmers have a tough job fighting back against such powerful enemies of farm programs that protect farm prices. They've got to do that through their own organizations, such as GTA, the co-op way, marketing grain for farmers and working to get better farm laws.

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 19, 1957

The people who view events in the Nation's Capital from the sidelines are still reminiscing with wideyed wonder at the massacre of the so-called farm bloc in Congress. A newspaper columnist writes that, "One of the extraordinary political phenomena of the Eisenhower administration is the complete and utter collapse of the once-powerful farm bloc. Its dissolution," the writer states, "is so complete it does not even put on an interesting struggle these days."

How well the farmers know that? They have waited in vain for a workable farm program, that would help feed into family farm pocketbooks a more nearly equitable share of

the national income. What has happened to the farm bloc? This newspaper columnist takes the charitable approach and says its death is the result of widespread population shifts, the flight from farm to city. One politician points out that when he arrived in Washington, back in New Deal days, about 300 out of the 431 Members of the House of Representatives had to pay attention to farm needs and complaints. Now only about 100 have their ears tuned to the farm grassroots.

This is a logical approach, no doubt, but it overlooks the fact that the farm bloc did not die a natural death. It was murdered. In a vicious, organized campaign, the farm bloc was run into the ground—beaten to death. The death campaign was organized by no other than Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson. He's in solid with the Eisenhower administration, and it backed him in every move he made.

Benson used great political know-how in ripping apart the cohesive group of Senators and Representatives, who had become known as the farm bloc. He played the cheap feed interests of eastern chicken raisers against the western feed-grain growers. By juggling price supports, he set northern corn against southern peanuts, and Great Plains wheat against Delta cotton. In a final blow, he insinuated to city consumers that farmers were reaping the benefits of high retail food prices—obviously an untruth—but effective for propaganda and political purposes. No longer do big-city Congressmen trade votes with farm-State Members.

Thus, the farm bloc was dismembered, and its epitaph might well read: "Here lies one of the great keystones of American agriculture, done to an untimely death by one Ezra Taft Benson, and much mourned by the farmers of the Nation." Even so, there is for farmers a fresh hope in the elections of 1958 and 1960. If farmers are to have the program they need—and, frankly, that the Nation needs, to keep the overall economy in balance—they must use their ballots to make the changes in Washington that must be made.

Awarding of Government Contracts on Competitive Basis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the recent issue of Southern Textile News. It is entitled "Let's Stick to Competitive Bids," and it supports my bill, S. 5, which would prevent the channeling of Government contracts to labor-surplus areas.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S STICK TO COMPETITIVE BIDS

Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, has written a bill which would require that Government contracts be awarded on a strictly competitive basis, eliminating special considerations for disaster or labor-surplus areas. This bill, it seems to us, is worthy of full support and consideration. Competition is the basis on which our entire economy operates. Any attempt to step in, suspend the normal laws of economics, and award bids on a negotiated or appointive basis opens the door to the worst type of graft and corruption. In addition to this such measures have the further evil of directing us toward a controlled, socialistic economy.

Since the early days of our Republic, there have been those who wanted to use Government funds as a political football to be tossed around at the will of those who happen to be in power. As long as the Government, like any sensible buyer, gives its business to those who offer the best value for the money involved, we can have some hope of keeping the situation under control. The minute we adopt any other standard, however, and award contracts on the basis of need, economic planning, or any other artificial factor, we can expect nothing but trouble.

A few years ago when Mike DiSalle, Chester Bowles, and other bureaucrats were trying to tell the American people how to run their business, we discovered that nobody is wise enough to operate our economy by means of arbitrary rules and forced regulations. Communist countries such as Russia and China are finding out the same thing. Therefore, we had better keep the planners and the politicians out of our Government procurement programs. If we want welfare, let's turn it over to the Welfare Department; if we want to build up or preserve industry in a certain section of the country, why not get the local chamber of commerce on the ball? What we don't need, though, is for a bunch of piddlers and meddlers to start doling our procurement money here and there according to the pressures of the moment. That would be a good way to tear up our private-enterprise system and give rise to even more waste in Government.

Texas Newspaper Opposes Proposed Revisions in Firearms Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, opposition is being expressed in many quarters to proposed revisions in regulations on sale of firearms and ammunition.

In Texas, the Tyler Courier-Times, a leading newspaper in the eastern part of our State, says editorially that the issue involved is "whether under the guise of executive department regulation, our rights in the private ownership of firearms can be strangled little by little without legislative action of any kind."

I ask unanimous consent that the thought-provoking editorial from the Courier-Times be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPOSED FIREARMS REGULATIONS

Attempted Government control of private property is rooted in proposed revisions in the administrative regulations for enforcement of the Federal Firearms Act.

A public hearing will be held on the proposition August 27 in Washington.

Some tight controls in interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition are being sought. There are new demands that every firearm be minutely marked as to its manufacturer, his address, serial number, model number, caliber number, and other details. A mountain-size amount of details would continue after the firearm entered trade channels, involving numbers, names, and numerous other entries and descriptions. The same endless process would apply to ammunition. Receipts would be signed and countersigned in each transaction and any revenue officer, if designated for the part, could enter and examine all the books, papers, records, etc., with all the authority and thoroughness of probing into the affairs of a moonshine booze maker.

Understandably, the proposed regulations have aroused the ire of many law-abiding, gun-owning citizens and of such groups as rifle clubs, sports associations, fish and game clubs and veterans', fraternal and patriotic organizations.

These opponents invite others to join in opposition to the proposed regulations and they ask that individuals and clubs urge their Congressman or Senator to help beat down the proposition that is regarded as an invasion on personal rights.

It is a vital question to every individual who believes in the right of American citizens to possess personal firearms for lawful purposes, free from arbitrary and unnecessary governmental control. The issue here is of far greater importance than the merit or lack of merit of any of the proposed regulations. The issue is whether under the guise of executive department regulation, our rights in the private ownership of firearms can be strangled little by little without legislative action of any kind.

Alabama and the River Boom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, since the very beginnings of time, water has been a powerful influence in the development of men and nations. That this influence has not diminished is attested by the fact that today there is in progress a gigantic industrial boom along the waterways of the United States.

In 1955 new plants valuated at $6.5 billion were located on waterside sites. That was triple the 1954 total. During the first half of this year, already, more than $3½ billion have been earmarked for construction of industry along waterways.

In 1952 the midcontinent of the United States outstripped the industrial East as a producing area. The main reason was because industries, leaving the East, are settling along the inland waterways. In recent years freight business on waterways in this country has increased from 10 to 15 percent each year. Traffic on the inland waterways has tripled since 1946.

As these developments take place, the areas around the waterways are undergoing almost revolutionary changes. New towns and villages have sprung up, existing cities are bursting at their prosperous seams, and population centers are being rearranged.

Mr. Speaker, within the not-too-distant future, there will be another important industrial boom along another

important waterway. I refer to the Coosa-Alabama Rivers in Alabama, one of the principal rivers of the Southeast, which extends from the Blue Ridge Mountains of northwest Georgia and southwest Tennessee southwesterly across the Piedmont Plateau down to the lowlands of the Gulf Coastal Plains in Alabama. The river cuts diagonally across Alabama to where the Tombigbee River joins it to form the Mobile River 45 miles north of Mobile, Ala. The river system touches every county but one in Alabama's fourth congressional district, which I proudly represent.

This area will reap a bountiful harvest of industry and growth when the waterway is developed in accordance with plans well underway. The Alabama Power Co. intends to build four new dams on the Coosa River and to improve one existing dam. The dream we of Alabama share is that soon the Coosa-Alabama Waterway will be complete with a comprehensive system of locks and dams, a waterway navigable from Rome, Ga., to Mobile, Ala., with ample hydroelectric power and industrial sites.

Mr. Speaker, these thoughts are an outgrowth of an editorial I read in the August 18 issue of the Selma (Ala.) Times-Journal. This editorial points up the extreme value of river development about which I have been talking.

I submit the editorial:

A VISION TO BE CAPTURED

If the Times-Journal were to attempt to present on its own authority even a reasonable estimate of what can be expected in the way of expansion for this section from development of the Coosa-Alabama River system, no doubt many would brand us as wildly visionary.

Yet there are numerous substantial facts from the record of experience which prove that sound waterway development always results in gigantic economic progress for a large area around it. Some of these expansions come immediately, while others accrue over the years, but never in recent times has there been adequate development of a feasible waterway program which did not carry the Midas touch.

For instance, just a few days ago the Times-Journal printed a dispatch from the Associated Press telling of almost overnight development of an extensive boom area in northern New York as the result of start of construction on the St. Lawrence seaway.

Every village in that area, we are told, literally is bursting at its economic seams as the result of an influx of thousands of high-type workers, who are contributing not only bustling prosperity but sound citizenship as well.

Assurance that this construction prosperity will not be a short-lived impetus has been given by steps toward permanent location in the area of several multi-million-dollar industries which will exploit water supplies, hydroelectric power, and cheap transportation resources made easily available by the seaway. Almost unlimited recreational possibilities also comprise a potent attraction.

It is just such industrial miracles as these, that undoubtedly would be regarded as fantastic on the basis of mere assumption, which inspired the Wall Street Journal, widely known business newspaper, to make an exhaustive survey of what it terms the Nation's "riverbank boom."

It found that "there's an industrial boom surging along the Nation's waterways."

Citing the fact that in 1955 manufacturers and public utilities picked waterside sites for a hefty $6.5 billion worth of new plants, more than 3 times the 1954 total, the Wall Street paper adds "in the first 6 months of 1956 they stepped up this pace, earmarking $3.6 billion for construction along waterways."

"What's back of the river bank boom?" the paper asks.

It answers its own question by explaining that industry's postwar urge to decentralize has sent companies scurrying around the United States looking for new plant sites.

"Two assets," we are informed, "are common to all waterway sites: Low cost transportation and ample water supplies. These advantages have grown more alluring as rail and truck rates have risen and water shortages have gripped many parts of the Nation. Some water sites, too, offer sources of cheap hydroelectric power.

"The comeback of waterways now is well under way," the Journal declares.

Here, in brief form, is an answer to those who persist in the conviction that Coosa-Alabama waterway development is nothing but a vision and always will remain so.

What they overlook is that visions are things to be captured—and put to work.

We can capture the vision of the Coosa-Alabama if our people so will it. We can sponsor development of this prospectively great river system so effectively and rapidly that the first culminations of it could be realized in our time. Beyond that, we could leave a great industrial asset and economic force for the generations coming behind us.

To do that, we have got to work at the job—all of us.

We have got to capture that vision.

Mutual Security Statement by Secretary Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of the statement on mutual security made by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, before the Senate Appropriations Committee on August 19, as printed in the New York Times of August 20:

DULLES STATEMENT

The House of Representatives, in its pending bill appropriating funds for the Mutual Security program, has made drastic cuts. These are superimposed upon substantial cuts already made by the authorizing legislation. Also they are superimposed upon cuts made in prior years against the judgment of the executive.

The cuts proposed for this year are, in the aggregate, of a magnitude and character to raise grave policy questions.

There can be honest differences of opinion as to how much money is required to carry out United States policy. But the cuts of prior years have brought the common defense into an area of serious risk. In Greece, Turkey, Pakistan, Vietnam, Free China, Korea and elsewhere, there is concern because the needed military effort is creating an inflationary threat not counterbalanced by our defense support. In other countries bases essential to the common defense are endangered because it is felt that the risks are not being adequately compensated for. When, in the face of that situation, the amounts requested by the President for the current year are cut to the figure now in the House bill, the effect is to challenge the Mutual Security policy itself.

The fact is that the Mutual Security program, which has been successfully holding together the free world and protecting it from Communist depredations, cannot continue to function vigorously and well under such treatment as is accorded by the current House appropriations bill.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

The President requested $1.9 billion of new funds for military assistance, together with the reappropriation of certain unobligated balances. The House of Representatives cut this request by $650 million.

It is the judgment of the President and the immediately retired and present Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that such a reduction in military assistance, the impact of which would come primarily in supplying new types of weapons, would deeply concern our allies, and that, particularly in the case of NATO, the failure to supply certain types of new weapons would have a serious effect upon our NATO alliance.

The report of the House Committee on Appropriations does not make clear whether the committee has a different political and military budget, or whether it is the judgment of that committee that it is now unimportant to the United States whether or not the strength of our military allies disintegrates.

We believe, however, that the Congress before it finally acts should be aware of what it is doing to the security of the United States by making it impossible to supply our allies with the military equipment needed to maintain the effectiveness and morale of their fighting forces.

DEFENSE SUPPORT

I turn now to the matter of defense support. This is money which enables those of our allies which are economically weak to maintain the military forces which we judge necessary for their security. The President asked for $900 million. The House bill would appropriate $621 million.

There is need to extend defense support to 14 allies, chiefly in the Middle and Far East. Over $600 million is required to enable five countries, Korea, Free China, Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey, to support the 2,100,000 men they now have under arms. These five countries all lie along the Sino-Soviet border. They are all faced by powerful Communist forces. They have all been subjected to repeated Communist threats. The United States, by treaties overwhelmingly concurred in by this Senate, has found that the peace and security of the United States would be in jeopardy if they should be attacked by Communist aggression.

It is the considered judgment of the President and his military advisers and of the Secretary of State that the House cut in defense support would make it impossible to maintain in these areas, adjudged vital to the United States, the strength necessary to defend them.

The report of the House Appropriations Committee does not make clear whether it judges that the danger is past.

Again, before the Congress finally acts, it should be clear what the issues are and what, and where, is the responsibility.

SPECIAL ASSISTANCE

I turn now to the matter of special assistance. The Executive requested $300 million. The House provides $175 million. Already $100 million is required for specific programs underway. These would have to be cut nearly in half.

The $200 million, requested for emergencies, would also have to be cut nearly in half, to about $115 million. This is substantially less than the actual emergency

needs which have had to be met during each of the last 4 years.

There is no single item more vital than this President's emergency fund. At least that is the judgment of the executive branch of the Government and that is a judgment buttressed by experience.

Obviously, the House Appropriations Committee report takes the view, not shared by the President, that there are less apt to be emergencies in the future than in the past. We hope that it is right. But we think it is reckless to proceed on the assumption that what saved Iran, Vietnam, Guatemala, Jordan, and the Hungarian refugees may not be required again.

DEVELOPMENT LOAN FUND

I turn now to the development loan fund. This was designed to make it possible for underdeveloped countries, most of whom have recently achieved new political freedom, to find the way, in freedom, to strengthen their economies so that they would not turn to communism to find that way.

The plan of doing this by loans rather than grants and seeking a long-range approach was based solidly upon the notable study made by the Senate Special Committee To Study Foreign Aid on which your chairman and banking minority members served.

The President recommended that the fund be launched with an assured capital of $2 billion; to be provided in three annual increments. The House bill would appropriate $300 million.

The purpose of the fund is not to piddle away money but to engage in selected well conceived major, long-range projects which would really help get the economy out of the rut and make it easier to bring in private capital, world bank loans, etc.

The treatment accorded by the House bill is so severe as to jeopardize the basic concept that underlies the fund. In effect, the House bill is a policy measure, running contrary to the almost uniform judgments of the executive, the Senate Foreign Relations, and the House Foreign Affairs Committees and also the judgments of numerous special groups who have been studying the matter for the Executive and for the Congress during the past year.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

I turn now to the item of technical assistance. The Executive requested $151 million. The House appropriated $125 million. The House action was designed to bring the program down to the level obligated for fiscal year 1957. However, this ignores the fact that in 1957 two countries, Spain and Yugoslavia, had their technical aid financed from what was then known as defense support. Also it is deemed important in 1958 to extend technical assistance to several newly independent countries. If we cannot slightly enlarge the program it will mean either cutting the present programs elsewhere or else giving no aid to these newly eligible countries.

CONCLUSION

The House action, should it stand, would involve a serious crisis of confidence in the United States and the dependability of its policies.

Throughout the postwar decade, the Congress, whether it was Republican or Democratic, and on a bipartisan basis, has, broadly speaking, followed and implemented the Mutual Security policies proposed by the President and approved by the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees.

If the Congress is no longer willing to follow that kind of leadership, then the free world in turn may not be prepared to follow the leadership of the United States and the whole foundation of our security structure is endangered. Our allies, their forces, our bases abroad, all are required for the security of the United States. If the Congress is unwilling to do what is necessary to maintain them, then we face a new insecurity and a future of grave risk.

Mutual Security Statement by Admiral Radford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of the statement on mutual security, made by Admiral Radford, retired, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, before the Senate Appropriations Committee on August 19, as printed in the New York Times of August 20.

RADFORD STATEMENT

I welcome this opportunity to again appear before your committee in support of this year's mutual-security program. Exactly 1 month ago, in my then official capacity as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I appeared before you and stated unequivocally that I thought this program was both necessary and modest, and that it was an essential part of our own national-security program. I still think so.

Reading the record of the debate on this program which took place last week in the House of Representatives, I am appalled at the fact that we have not been able to put this program in its proper perspective before the American people. I say this because those Members of Congress who argued against the program, or for a greatly reduced program, for the most part, sincerely and undoubtedly reflected the views of their constituents.

This opposition presented the program as a vast boon-give-away program reminiscent of the WPA era. When I hear statements like that made by sincere Americans, it worries me. They are just not compatible with the military facts of life as they exist today. The time is past when we could depend on our vast industrial capacity to build a war machine that would pull us through—after an emergency occurred. The time is past when we would be given time to train our reserves of manpower, equip them, and transport them overseas to meet an enemy.

DEPEND ON FORCES IN BEING

In the next war, whether it be of the global or limited variety, we are going to depend almost entirely on trained forces in being and already in place in the danger spots around the world. That is where our mutual-security program comes in. For the past 9 years we have been developing a national-defense posture which is integrated with, and depends upon—let me repeat that—depends upon indigenous forces and bases around the world. There are two alternatives to such strategy:

First, United States forces in much larger numbers could take the place of these indigenous forces. In most allied countries, they would be welcomed as visible evidence of our determination to stand with them against the Communist menace; but it would require a major mobilization effort on our part, and nearly every able-bodied young man of military age would spend several years in his life in military service overseas. The cost would be staggering.

Or, second, we could adopt a fortress America concept. In the world we live in today, such a concept is entirely negative and would merely mean that we postponed an ultimate and violent showdown with international communism or, in the long run, would capitulate.

BIPARTISAN SUPPORT CITED

The program of national security which has been followed for the last 9 years is a positive program and has had bipartisan support. It is, in my opinion, the only program which offers us the hope of avoiding global war, and without such a war, of ultimately prevailing over Communist enemies who are still determined to destroy our way of life if they can.

If our national security program is to be changed, let us make the change advisedly and not cover up the facts of life with arguments which avoid or hide the real issues.

I am sure that the mothers—the mothers—the wives—in our country would vote for an adequate mutual security program if they understood it. Our mutual security program is not foreign aid—it is not a giveaway program—it is a program which is in the best interests of the people of the United States and their friends and allies of the free world who want to stay free. It does not mean that we hire our friends to do our fighting for us as the Communists so often charge. It means that each country in the free world is prepared to do what it can to defend itself and counts on the great reserve of power in the United States to come to its assistance when trouble starts.

OFFERED RECOMMENDATIONS

I do not maintain that our handling of the military aid program has been perfect. As I have traveled around the world in the last 4 years, I have found evidence of mistakes in judgment and in administration. Whenever this happened, I took immediate corrective action if within my field of authority or dispatched recommendations for changes to higher authority.

Let me point out that this mutual security program in its magnitude and complexity is probably without precedence in history. Certainly, it is much more difficult to handle than the lend-lease program of World War II. The personnel of the Defense Department—civilian and military—in Washington and abroad are doing their best to administer the program efficiently. We have made great progress in the last 9 years—and admit there is still room for improvement.

What we cannot admit is that this program can be materially reduced without endangering the entire foundation of the collective security policy the United States has been following for the last 9 years. As I said earlier, if this policy is to be changed, let us make that change the issue straightforwardly.

I am certain there is not one citizen in the United States who wants war. Therefore, I am equally certain that if all our citizens understood the mutual security program for what it is—an important part of our national program to prevent war—they would unanimously vote for it.

Red Spies and Naive Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD an enlightening article by the distinguished newspaper columnist and magazine editor, Mr. David Lawrence. It is entitled "Red Spies and Naive Americans," and it appeared in the August 20, 1957, issue of the Washington Evening Star.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RED SPIES AND NAIVE AMERICANS—NEW REVELATIONS OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES CITED AS PROVING MENACE IS REAL

(By David Lawrence)

The arrest of a high officer of the Soviet secret police who has been gathering and transmitting secret defense data from this country to the Communists and the revelations of an American businessman who has for 12 years been an undercover agent of the FBI, participating in Communist espionage operations in America from the inside, ought to open up the eyes of many well-intentioned but incredibly naive Americans who have been pooh-poohing the Communist menace.

Boris Morros, a counterspy for the FBI, issued a few days ago, with the permission of the United States attorney in New York, the most significant statement about Communist activity in this country that has yet come to light. He said:

"I know from personal information and experience that Soviet espionage has made considerable infiltration in this country. Many of the agents working for Russia are important people, financially independent and often held in high esteem. Many of the Soviet's most active workers in this country don't come from the rank and file, nor the underprivileged. They are people who have the kind of contacts which will be useful to the Soviets, and they are being paid to do their jobs of treason in the United States."

Those Supreme Court Justices who live in a vacuum might well ponder what this undercover man now tells. Likewise, those so-called "liberals" who have been unwittingly lending their prestige to a kind of blanket protection of Communists and sympathizers—as being merely addicts of some kind of "philosophy" or "political" belief—might prepare for a sad disillusionment as they read what Boris Morros has learned about the work of Soviet spies in America.

For no Communist spy calls directly on a newspaper editor or on a Member of Congress or on a political leader to exercise influence. Somewhere in between the espionage apparatus and the official or institution sought to be reached is a "contact"—with no foreign accent or identification—who attempts to use Americans as tools of Moscow. This is the most baffling kind of screen that faces the detective arm of the Government, the FBI. Sometimes there is another type of "contact" who himself is unaware that anything has been "planted" on him. Also, there may be other intermediaries beyond him who help to relay a suggested course of action which ultimately would be favorable to the Communist cause, particularly in the field of propaganda.

Then there is the "cover" technique, by which, according to Morros, 55 business firms in the United States were "covers" for Soviet espionage. Morros told the House Committee on Un-American Activities how the Communists had proposed to expand his own small recording company in Hollywood.

"This firm," said Morros, "was to serve as an espionage cover and provide an opportunity to legitimize Soviet agents as representatives of the firm."

Yet a majority of the Supreme Court say they don't know what an "un-American activity" is and why the committee wants to expose "un-American activities."

"I want to emphasize," says Morros, "that the Russian plot is far more strongly organized in this country and throughout the world than is generally understood by our people. * * *

"Another Russian agent, a prominent American woman * * *, not only said the same thing [suspicion about Morros], but she reported her suspicions to the second secretary of the Russian Embassy in Washington. I had a number of close shaves, but none closer than when this woman's 'report' on me was received in Moscow while I was there 'conferring' with the heads of the Russian secret police."

Yet there are many persons who want to throw monkey wrenches into the machinery of exposure which congressional committees have been using effectively. Also, there is a concerted effort to assist in the evasive tactics of witnesses who could, if they chose, give important information that would tell the FBI and the public about spies and their "contacts" with Americans.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court—by ruling that the first amendment as well as the fifth amendment now can be invoked to help conceal treason—has thwarted the efforts of the Government to obtain much data necessary to protect the security of the United States.

Maybe the testimony by Boris Morros will open the eyes of the American people to the barriers and obstacles being placed in the path of investigative agencies by well-meaning but misguided and ill-informed persons in what amounts to a protection of the espionage being conducted by the Soviets inside America.

Students in Staples Win National Honors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of August 19, 1957. The article relates to a teacher in Staples High School, in Staples, Minn., and the question of vocational education. The news story relates to the importance of vocational education activities.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STUDENTS IN STAPLES WIN NATIONAL HONORS

(By Miriam Alburn)

STAPLES, MINN.—One of the proudest high school teachers in Minnesota right now is Michael Matanich.

Matanich, who teaches the vocational machine shop classes in Staples High School, has just seen his boys beat every other school in the country in one classification of the annual Ford Motor Co. industrial arts competition.

John E. Wicht, Jr., a farmer's son from Aldrich (in the Staples school district), won 1 of 32 outstanding achievement awards, along with first place, for precision work on expansion reamers.

In the same class—machine shop division, for which contestants enter blueprints and the objects made—Staples students took third place (Stanley Tyrrell), fourth (David E. Mertens), an honorable mention and two place awards. In other words, all the important winnings but second place.

The contest drew 50,000 entries.

Matanich has seen his students burst ahead in this contest from 2 fifth places 2 years ago, to the best record in the State last year, and now the impressive collection of cash awards and medals.

Wicht's achievement will mean a trip to Dearborn, Mich., for Matanich and Wicht, an 18-year-old football tackle, 6 feet 5 tall.

Wicht graduated in June and is now working at Northern Ordnance in Minneapolis, as are all the other 17 members of that class in shop work. The visit to the Ford plants will be his first plane trip and his first trip outside Minnesota, according to the teacher.

With Matanich the record of awards stands for much more than the momentary honors. It is an indication of the ambition and perseverance which permeate his classes. The fact that big industrial employers in the Twin Cities grab his graduates as soon as they leave the commencement stage is an even more important indication.

How does this teacher do it? How does he achieve this enthusiasm and devotion to high-quality work, not just in a few top students but throughout his classes?

"I encourage the students' confidence in their own work," says Matanich. "I say, 'you'll only get out of a job what you put in—and even if you don't win a first place, if you exert all your effort, you're qualified in this field.'"

Matanich promotes competition in his classes constantly.

"In our way of life in the United States, there's always competition; if you're not good, you're replaced," he reminds his boys.

He starts early fostering interest in shopwork. One of his sidelines is fixing broken bicycles for the little kids in the neighborhood of the school.

"They come in here to ask me about their bikes, then they look around and get interested in the machines," he says.

Occasionally a teacher brings a class of youngsters to visit.

"I talk to them quite seriously—even the second graders," Matanich says. "They don't understand all of it, but they remember when it's time to decide about taking machine shop courses."

The teacher, a Virginian, taught at Chanute Field, Ill., during the war and was a tool maker in Chicago after the war. He came to Staples 6 years ago.

He praises the Staples school board and the other leaders who had the vision to build and equip the big shop in the annex to the high school.

The town is now convinced of the value of the project, as it is apparent that the training leads many of its boys to good jobs.

"Every little town should know this—that it is worthwhile to put more money into education," Matanich says firmly.

The big ambition tied to the boys at the training lathes is that in time the program may help to bring new industry to Staples.

The town, a northern Pacific division point where most of the wage earners work in the railroad repair shops, sees some of those specialized jobs disappearing as steam engines go out and diesels come in.

So Staples, a community of nearly 3,000, is searching for small industry which might move in. The town knows it has two basic drawing cards—the railroad and a new labor supply, coming out of that high school shop.

U. S. S. "Arizona"

SPEECH
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I share in the gratification over the action of the

House in passage of H. R. 5809, to authorize construction of a U. S. S. *Arizona* memorial at Pearl Harbor.

I am sure that the survivors of those who made the supreme sacrifice appreciate this added evidence that devotion to country has not been forgotten.

Residents of the Third Congressional District of Michigan who are entombed in the *Arizona* are Edward Charles Morse, of Battle Creek; Laddie James Willette, of Battle Creek; Paul Daniel Keller, of Coldwater; Cecil Eugene Whitcomb, of Homer; and Frank Hendricksen, of Kalamazoo.

Texan Gives Literary Treasure From Spain to All Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Austin Independent School District of Austin, Tex., is noted for the excellence of its faculty and the high quality of its instruction.

Within the last 2 months 2 teachers in the Austin public school system have received national recognition. In June Mr. Guy Bizzell, a teacher of English and Spanish, won the National Teaching Award presented by McCalls magazine. Mr. Bizzell is at McCallum high school. And now, Miss Eloise Roach, of Stephen F. Austin high school, has had published by the University of Texas Press, operated by the University of Texas and noted for its scholarly publications, the book Platero and I.

This book is one of the rare treasures of literature. This translation gives that great Spanish classic to English-speaking people everywhere. This is the first authorized and complete English-language translation of the book.

The New York Times' book review section and other scholarly publications have hailed this book. Life magazine has a 10-page full-color spread on the book.

Eloise Roach is a teacher of Spanish and French, and she has been with the Austin school for many years. A quarter century ago she fell in love with Platero and resolved to translate it. In 1936 she journeyed to Spain and visited Jiménez, who approved the chapters which she showed him and gave her translation his blessing.

Returning to the United States, she attempted without success to find a publisher; few Americans then had ever heard of Jiménez. It was only after the Nobel Prize was announced for Jiménez that Miss Roach got out her manuscript again and submitted it to the University of Texas Press. This time the complete translation was sent to Jiménez, now at the University of Puerto Rico, and he authorized its publication.

This is a great achievement for this fine representative of the Austin school system. It is also a fortunate one for English-speaking people.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article entitled "United States Premiere for Famous Tales of a Donkey," in the August 19 edition of Life magazine, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES PREMIERE FOR FAMOUS TALES OF A DONKEY

To millions of children—and grown-ups—in the Spanish-speaking world, a little donkey named Platero is as familiar as Winnie-the-Pooh or Peter Rabbit is to readers of English. "Platero," wrote his creator, "is a small donkey, a soft, hairy donkey; so soft to the touch that he might be said to be made of cotton, with no bones. * * * I call him softly, 'Platero,' and he comes to me at a gay little trot that is like laughter of a vague, idyllic, tinkling sound. * * * When on Sundays I ride him through the lanes in the outskirts of the town, slow-moving countrymen, dressed in their Sunday clean, watch him a while, speculatively: 'He is like steel,' they say. Steel; yes. Steel and moon silver at the same time."

The man who wrote this is Juan Ramón Jiménez, a Spanish poet who won the 1956 Nobel Prize for Literature and, at 75, is a living legend in the Spanish-speaking world. His best-known book, Platero y yo (Platero and I), is a warmly humorous and moving evocation of his young manhood in his native town of Moguer (below) in southwest Spain. This week the University of Texas Press will publish the first authorized and complete English-language translation of it, by Eloise Roach. To celebrate this introduction of the great work to its English-language audience, Life sent Photographer Mark Kauffman to Moguer to re-create the scenes of which Jiménez wrote.

The simple style and compact storytelling of Platero make it ideal for young readers. But beneath its charm lies a poetic distillation of love and sorrow, life and death, violence and peace, in a setting that seems universal. To Jiménez, who left Spain after the start of the civil war in 1936 and now lives in Puerto Rico, Platero and I conveys much of what he has tried to say in a lifetime of poetic writing. But of his art, Jiménez says, "God is my favorite poet."

Eisenhower's Methods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Adrian Daily Telegram of August 19, 1957:

EISENHOWER'S METHODS

What kind of a President do the American people want?

Do they expect him to crack the whip over the heads of Members of Congress, compelling at least those who are members of his party to do his bidding and do it quickly?

Or do they expect the President to submit a legislative program and suggested appropriations, explain the whys and wherefores but leave to Congress the adoption or rejection?

These questions are prompted by questions reporters have asked the President in recent press conferences. They have asked Mr. Eisenhower to comment about recent charges made in Congress and elsewhere that he has been weak in supporting administration proposals. By the phrasing of the questions they have suggested that Mr. Eisenhower does not use fully or effectively the power and prestige of his office.

Replying to such questions, the President has patiently pointed out his conviction that the executive and legislative branches of our Government are equal in authority and responsibility. It is not his policy, he says, to use the tricks of intrigue or the pressure of intimidation in dealing with Congress. He prefers to rely upon persuasion and soundness of his case. He said:

"If that is wrong politically, well then I suppose you will just have to say I am wrong, but that is my method."

One reporter offered the President an easy way out by attributing Mr. Eisenhower's difficulties to a weakening of influence resulting from the two-term limitation upon the Presidency. But Mr. Eisenhower refused to take advantage of that.

Some Members of Congress, and from both parties, have been disappointed because the President did not pound the table and insist upon passage of legislation they favored. But it is a fair guess that they would have been alleging dictatorship and shouting other critical words if he had insisted upon passage of bills they did not like. And these critics seem to forget also that the President deals with a Congress organized by and controlled by the opposite political party.

In such circumstances there is not much a President can do but reason with the opposition. Ranting and roaring would get him nowhere. Besides all that, we've an idea that the people do not want a President to try to make Congress a rubber stamp.

Our Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, before the Congress closes, I would like to bring to the attention of all who are interested one of the paramount requirements which our United States must meet if she is to protect her people and give leadership to the free world.

It is of the greatest importance, Mr. Speaker, that we build a Foreign Service second to none, consecrated to the protection of our citizens wherever they may go and to all the implications of such protection.

To this end we must be certain that those who enter our Foreign Service as a career have every opportunity to be made aware of the far-reaching responsibilities they assume and be given the training and the knowledge and the pay that will keep them alert and eager to do their best.

We now have an increasingly good Foreign Service Institute which not only prepares new men and women, but gives refresher courses all along the way that prepare them for top posts. This institute deserves to have Members of Con-

gress make themselves thoroughly aware of the courses available and the work done.

Considered as an outstanding, satisfying career as such, it is interesting to note that the career ambassador has been on the increase, as he should be. The records show that under the Roosevelt administration 51 percent of the American ambassadors were career officers. Under Secretary of State Herter recently testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that today 68 percent of our ambassadors serving abroad are career men. This reportedly is as high as the percentage has ever been since the establishment of the career service.

Of the 16 noncareer ambassadors nominated this year, only 3 were without previous Government experience. These 3 had broad executive experience in business; while of the other 13, 3 had previously served as ambassadors and 10 had held other high Government positions.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that we have really begun to build.

Charles E. Lofgren, National Secretary, Fleet Reserve Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, since 1922 the enlisted men of the United States Navy have had a determined champion representing them in Washington in the person of Charles E. Lofgren, who is retiring this year as national secretary of the Fleet Reserve Association.

Charlie Lofgren has testified on behalf of all pay legislation affecting the Navy for the past 35 years. He has been an articulate spokesman for the enlisted personnel of the armed services, and his well-deserved retirement is bound to leave a void that will be difficult to fill.

As evidence of the high regard and sincere esteem with which he is held by many fellow members of the House Committee on Armed Services, under unanimous consent, I include as a portion of my remarks copies of letters addressed to Mr. Lofgren by members of this committee and other members with whom he has worked for many years.

I know I speak for the entire membership of the Armed Services Committee when I personally wish Charlie Lofgren many more years of happy yet productive life.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D. C., August 15, 1957.

Mr. CHARLES LOFGREN,
National Secretary, Fleet Reserve Association, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LOFGREN: I have learned, with deep regret, that you are about to retire as National Secretary of the Fleet Reserve Association.

I cannot believe it possible that your retirement from this splendid organization will mean the termination of your long and distinguished association with the Fleet Reserve. Therefore, I will assume that I may in the future think of you and the Fleet Reserve Association as one and the same.

I want to take this opportunity to tell you that in my opinion you have not only ably represented the Fleet Reserve and the Fleet Marine Corps Reserve, but also many millions of other men who have served in our Armed Forces. In your many appearances before the Committee on Armed Services you have always stood for sound principles in legislation affecting pay, retirement, promotion, and other matters of vital concern to service personnel.

You have established an enviable record as an able advocate and a staunch representative of a distinguished naval organization. I wish you well for everything in the future and sincerely hope that your good advice will continue to be available for many, many years to come.

Very sincerely,

CARL VINSON,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D. C., August 19, 1957.

Mr. CHARLES LOFGREN,
National Secretary, Fleet Reserve Association, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LOFGREN: It has come to my attention that you are about to retire from the Fleet Reserve Association.

It will be difficult for me to think of the Fleet Reserve Association without your presence before the Committee on Armed Services to express the views of your association on legislation affecting the personnel of our armed services.

In the many years that you have appeared as a witness my respect for your ability and your reasonableness has grown.

I can assure you that the Navy Department, the Fleet Reserve Association, the Committee on Armed Services, and in many ways, all of the enlisted personnel of our armed services, will be conscious of your absence.

I sincerely hope that the years ahead hold many pleasant thangs in store for you and that your sound counsel will continue to be available to all who have learned to hold it in such high regard.

Sincerely,

PAUL J. KILDAY,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 16, 1957.

Mr. CHARLES LOFGREN,
National Secretary, Fleet Reserve Association, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: Word just reached me that you are soon to retire as national secretary of the association.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of your many instances of cooperation with me personally; and, of course, your help and cooperation with the Armed Services Committee, of which I am a member. I hope we may still see you around from time to time.

You have made a distinguished record representing this worthy organization and I wish you continued success and high achievements.

With kind personal regards,

Cordially,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D. C., August 16, 1957.

Mr. CHARLES LOFGREN,
National Secretary, Fleet Reserve Association, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LOFGREN: On the occasion of your pending retirement as national secretary of the Fleet Reserve Association, I wish to take this opportunity to express to you the admiration I have for you personally and the Fleet Reserve Association.

I have observed your conduct before the Committee on Armed Services on many occasions. I have always found you to be a man of high integrity, extremely well informed, and invariably guided by sound principles in all of your testimony.

I think it is sufficient for me to say that on every occasion when you appeared before the committee your stature rose even higher. May I wish you every success in the future and also express the hope that your sound counsel and advice will always be available to the Fleet Reserve Association, the United States Navy, and the House Armed Services Committee.

Sincerely,

LESLIE C. ARENDS.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 21, 1957.

Commander CHARLES LOFGREN,
National Secretary, Fleet Reserve Association, Washington, D. C.

DEAR COMMANDER LOFGREN: I want to join with your thousands of friends in wishing you well in your retirement and expressing my personal gratitude for the magnificent job you have consistently done for naval personnel, whether active or retired.

We will all miss working with you, but know that, despite your retirement, you will ever be behind all those working for the common cause.

Most sincerely,

CRAIG HOSMER,
Member of Congress, 18th District, California.

Cargill: 92 Years as "Servants to Agriculture"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article that appeared in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of August 18, 1957, entitled "Cargill: 92 Years as 'Servants to Agriculture.'" It is a very informative article.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CARGILL: 92 YEARS AS "SERVANTS TO AGRICULTURE"
(By Russell Hurst)

A rural mailbox mounted on a common post with 2 others 17 miles from downtown Minneapolis marks the entrance to the headquarters of the Nation's largest grain-handling firm.

The name on the box: "Cargill, Inc." Down a winding, black-topped roadway flanked by tree-studded hills, up a gentle

slope and you arrive at an imposing Norman mansion.

Inside is the nerve center of the only firm in the Northwestern United States that had more than a billion dollars' worth of sales last year.

In the industry itself, Cargill has been established for decades past as one of the major grain firms of the world.

The public, however, has heard relatively little of the company, since its officials long have shied away from the idea that bigness in itself is worth telling the world about.

Cargill's size, and it is an enormous operation in many respects, has been played in a low key party because of a traditional rural distrust of big business.

"But times have changed," said Cargill MacMillan, 56, who assumed the presidency this month, succeeding his brother, John, 61, who stepped into the role of board chairman and chief operating officer.

"Farmers today realize that bigness can also mean efficiency. We like to think that we can pay more for the farmer's product. And that's how we've grown," he said.

That simple formula obviously has worked.

From a single country elevator in Iowa close to a century ago, the Cargill interests have bloomed steadily into a network of elevators, plants, warehouses, seaport facilities and offices from coast to coast and in several foreign countries.

"Sales have passed the billion-dollar mark," MacMillan said. "However," he was quick to add, "many firms make more money than we do.

"In a word, though, we have big sales and we operate on a small unit margin with a small staff" (5,000 employees).

Last year the firm handled 14 million tons. (You'd need 4,662 freight trains, each handling 60 carloads of 50 tons per car to move that volume—or 1,400 shiploads of 10,000 tons per ship.)

Manufactured products accounted for 2 million tons. These included feeds, copra, coconut oil, soybean meal and oil, linseed oil and meal, resins, seed, and specialty oils.

But while processing accounted for about one-seventh of the volume, it brought in about half the firm's total income—a figure which is not made public.

Cargill MacMillan bears the name of two families long synonomous with the grain industry.

His grandfather, W. W. Cargill, acquired an interest in several grain elevators in Iowa shortly after the Civil War.

In the years following, he entered a number of partnerships in the grain business, most lasting of which were with his brothers, Samuel D. and James F. Cargill.

John H. MacMillan, who had married W. W.'s daughter, became manager of the Cargill interests in Minneapolis in 1903, 3 years after the present president was born at La Crosse, Wis.

MacMillan was joined by his brother, Daniel D. MacMillan, and later by Austen S. Cargill, youngest son of the founder, and the trio set about expanding the firm's elevator facilities, country operations, and sales organizations. Austen Cargill, who retired as board chairman in 1953, died earlier this year.

Cargill MacMillan started with the firm after graduating from Yale in 1922. His first job was handling statistics, a task he felt ill prepared for. So he asked for, and obtained, a short leave to study the subject in depth at Cambridge University, England.

He returned in 1923, became a grain merchant the next year, and gradually entered the administrative end in the late 1920's. He became a director in 1930, vice president in 1936, and executive vice president in 1950.

Along the way, he gained the respect of the industry and those close to him for a perceptive, methodical yet humanistic approach.

Through the years he has been chiefly responsible for personnel policies that have kept Cargill employes ahead of or even with large-corporation employe benefits elsewhere.

"He likes people instinctively," said a close associate. "You get that impression when you first meet him.

"And you go away with the feeling that you've been analyzed and evaluated—with a gentle touch—and you don't resent it."

MacMillan arrives each workday from his home at Orono, a 10-minute drive, at 8:45 a. m.

Conferences with key executives usually consume the next hour and a quarter until 10 a. m., when most of the lake office staff adjourns to the employe cafeteria for coffee.

(As is the case at many companies, "coffee" means "business as usual," but at a different pace.)

Returning to his second-floor office, which follows the French provincial decor of the rest of the building, MacMillan launches into a loose routine in which correspondence and a steady stream of phone calls are sandwiched between report reading and conferences.

Outside the office, MacMillan likes golf (he shoots in the 80's), he plays less frequently than in previous years ("that handicap keeps getting bigger").

Hunting game birds and fishing for trout fill much of his leisure time. Indoors, he reads pocket thrillers or heavies in geology, archeology, and history. "There is nothing in the middle—it's one extreme or the other," he confessed with the chuckle of a man who enjoys a joke on himself.

In carefully measured words, MacMillan sketched the overall role—the mission—of the Cargill complexity:

"We look upon ourselves as servants to agriculture.

"Our principal 'product' is the ability to smooth out a production-consumption pattern in an industry where production hits in a rush and consumption is spread out over a long period."

This takes:

Vast sums of money. Cargill is one of the largest users of bank credit in the nation.

Vast storage facilities. The firm's 100 strategically located storage depots will hold 135 million bushels, largest of any single company. (The 14-million-bushel elevator at Port Cargill includes a 7-million-bushel bin, largest of its kind in the world.)

Technical know-how necessary for having the right grain at the right place at the right time.

Cargill frowns on speculation. The firm believes it is unnecessary because of the hedging facilities provided by the futures market, which eliminates most of the risk.

Hedging is the process of offsetting a purchase of cash grain with a similar sale in the futures market to protect the original purchase price.

(In the futures market, farmers, elevator men, millers, processors and others buy and sell grain to be delivered at some later date. Grain delivered on futures contracts must meet official grading requirements.)

"This is an incredibly efficient business," MacMillan said. "We average about $200,000 in annual sales per employee; but," he added, "our net profit on sales per unit is very low."

Macmillan turned for a bristling moment to the subject of Government handling of grain:

"Our best service is distributing as cheaply as possible—and we think the Government is doing just the contrary.

"For example, in the main, the Government uses rail transport, whereas Cargill would use the cheapest form available, be it rail, barge or truck.

"They shouldn't be in the business," he snapped.

"The Government is doing it less efficiently at the expense of the taxpayers. It's costing millions of dollars a year."

Continuous research has been one key to Cargill's growth.

"I guess we were doing research—of the most practical kind—before we thought of applying a label to it," MacMillan reflected.

A great uncle, James F. Cargill, invented cribbed storage, which is the design of today's typical country elevator.

MacMillan's older brother, John, had a leading role in two developments that revolutionized the grain-handling business:

Temperature control inside huge storage bins. Cargill officials believe no one else has duplicated the process, and they won't elaborate on how it's done.

Equipment for unloading huge bins in jig-time. These methods also are kept within company circles.

"We had some Russian visitors once," MacMillan recalled. "We showed them a bin and told them we could unload it overnight. They laughed it off as impossible.

"The next day we showed them the empty bin—but didn't tell them how it was done."

The MacMillan brothers complement each other.

"John is energy and creative thinking personified," said one business intimate.

John is credited with many firsts in the industry, including huge-capacity storage, control systems, barge design, and seaport elevator construction.

His inventions range from air-supported structures patented 20 years ago to ship hull designs that increase the propulsion efficiency of river, lake, and ocean-going vessels by 15 to 20 percent.

His associates cite his fearless approach to pioneering steps and a penchant for efficiency and economy as John's trademarks.

The Cargill chain of command begins with the MacMillan brothers and 7 other members of a close-knit directorate, only 1 member of which is not in the company (James Dorsey, Minneapolis attorney).

Members, in addition to the MacMillans and Dorsey, are H. Terry Morrison and Erwin E. Kelm, executive vice presidents; Fred Seed, vice president and head of the vegetable oil division; James North, president of Nutrena Mills; R. C. Woodworth, vice president for public relations; and A. G. Egermayer, vice president for financial matters.

Next comes a group of five key upper echelon men: H. Robert Dierks, vice president for grain; H. B. Juneau, vice president, administrative division; C. W. Mooers, vice president and treasurer; Donald C. Levin, secretary; and R. J. Harrigan, vice president and comptroller.

Problem solving isn't complicated by long-distance calls to scattered executives. Most of these men are available immediately at the lake office, where informality (everyone is on a first-name basis) is the rule.

It's an unlikely setting for the headquarters of a billion-dollar business.

The 63-room mansion (17 bathrooms) was acquired from Rufus M. Rand, Jr., former Minneapolis businessman, who used it as his Minnetonka Lake home.

Thick carpeting extends through most of the offices, heavy ornate chandeliers shed their light over smooth-topped desks and complex business machines.

The president's office looks more like a sitting room. MacMillan's uncluttered French provincial desk—with cubbyholes on the left—sits unobtrusively in a corner. (Its mate, with cubbyholes on the right, is in John's office.)

The firm's founder looks down from a portrait over a fireplace imported from a European castle.

Through the branches of fir and oak trees spaced on a well-manicured lawn sloping down from the front of the mansion, the visitor can see a huge kidney-shaped swim-

ming pool, and farther away, Grays Bay, where the waters of Minnehaha Creek begin a meandering course to the Mississippi.

"We were among the first to leave downtown," MacMillan noted. "And we've found it a good move—both economically and because we've achieved greater efficiency in a relaxed atmosphere."

Most incongruous of the various offices and conference rooms is the wire room—a a miniature grain exchange—where clerks post market figures on a long blackboard. Merchandisers sit at a battery of desks facing the board.

The communications center handles from 4,000 to 6,000 messages a day, ranging from crop reports to actual transactions, giving the company up-to-the-minute information on every grain market in the country.

The lake office is home base for the top operating executives of Cargill's major divisions. The five operating divisions and their activities, in profile, are:

Grain: Buys grain at country and terminal market levels, collects and stores stocks of grain in terminal and subterminal warehouses, and sells grain to flour millers, feed manufacturers, alcohol and beverage distillers, cereal manufacturers and other processors.

Vegetable oil: Operates plants which extract vegetable oils, principally from soybeans, flax and copra; sells oils and meal byproducts to processors who manufacture feed (including Cargill's own feed division), refined oils, paint and other products. Also refines technical oils and synthetic resins.

Nutrena Mills, Inc.: Operates the feed division, a subsidiary company. Manufactures and sells feed for cattle, dogs, poultry, hogs and other farm and domestic animals.

Cargo Carriers, Inc.: Transports grain and other commodities by water, rail and truck; merchandises various cargo commodities. Uses 40 percent of all Great Lakes grain space.

Hybrid corn: Produces and distributes hybrid corn throughout the Corn Belt.

In addition, the administrative division, a nonoperating element, exercises top management control, coordinates staff activity and provides services which can be performed most economically and efficiently through a central agency.

Research now is centered in a new two-story laboratory building a half-mile down McGinty road from the lake office.

Other research facilities are located in Minneapolis and St. Peter, Minn., Missouri, Iowa, and Florida.

About one-fifth of Cargill's 5,000 domestic employees are in the Minneapolis area. Four offices are maintained in downtown Minneapolis, in addition to a feed plant and an oil plant.

Stretching from coast-to-coast and from North Dakota to Texas is a network of more than 200 installations including elevators, plants, offices, country stations, feed warehouses and research centers.

The number of installationsa has been doubled in the last 10 years. Personnel has more than tripled in the last two decades.

North of the border, Cargill operates through four Canadian subsidiaries and employs about 50 grain merchandisers.

Largest producer of hybrid seed corn in Argentina is Cargill Sociedad Anonima Commercial & Industrial, which also has a branch in Chile. Only two of the employees are Americans. The balance—up to 1,000 during harvest—are Argentines.

Cargill is an important factor in world trade of agricultural commodities.

Through the firm's 9 seaport grain elevators located on all 3 coasts pass hundreds of millions of bushels of United States surplus grain, soybeans, soybean oil, and meal and animal feeds.

Cargill carries on the management, transportation and sale of export grain to the point of turning it over to foreign buyers. Export volume has reached an all-time high this year.

Greatest growth in the company's 91-year history has come in the last 5 years, during which 8 seaport facilities were added.

Diversification—always allied closely to the firms roots in agriculture—has brought entry in the last year alone into salt distribution, briquet manufacture, molasses and poultry and petlitter-processing.

Five new elevators, each with more than a million bushels' capacity, were completed in Minnesota and North Dakota.

A multi-million-dollar soybean oil extraction and refining plant was opened in Memphis, Tenn., an automated livestock feed plant completed at Peoria, Ill., and so the story goes.

Future expansion and refinement of Cargill facilities and techniques is a foregone conclusion. "No company like ours can afford to stand still," said MacMillan.

Greater initiative probably also will be forthcoming in the vital area of public relations.

Cargill has been little publicized in the past for two primary reasons:

It's largely a family-owned firm with no public stockholders to report to.

Cargill officials disdain boasting of size and growth.

"But we've found that when we have infrequently hit the newspapers, it was usually over a court case," MacMillan explained, "and we saw signs of negative reactions that would not have been there had the public known the company better."

Last year the firm hired one of the country's biggest public relations firms. Result, an enormous improvement in that area, according to MacMillan.

No change of direction can be read into the recent change that put Cargill MacMillan into the presidency, said MacMillan.

An ironclad company rule is retirement at 65.

"We reorganized to pass on the chain of command—to pave the way for bringing up younger blood," he said.

The younger blood, consisting of a large number of young executives, includes Cargill MacMillan's sons, Cargill, Jr., and Whitney; John's sons, John Hugh MacMillan III and William Duncan MacMillan and Austen Cargill's son, James.

Their challenge, in the new president's words: "Continued growth—through continued service to agriculture."

Appearance of Representative Charles O. Porter on Meet the Press

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on August 4, 1957, a most unusual honor came to Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of the Fourth Oregon District. It is comparatively rare for a freshman Member of the House of Representatives to be interviewed on the National Broadcasting Co. network program, Meet the Press. On that occasion, Representative PORTER was interrogated by four veteran interviewers and newspapermen. They were Luke P. Carroll, New York Herald Tribune; Marquis Childs, St. Louis Post-Dispatch; Richard Wilson, Cowles publications, and Lawrence E. Spivak, regular panel member.

Incidentally, one of these outstanding journalists has told me that he thought Representative PORTER was one of the most adroit and effective public figures yet to appear on Meet the Press.

Representative PORTER has taken a particular interest in the entire controversy surrounding the Government of the Dominican Republic because Gerald Murphy has tragically disappeared in that country. Mr. Murphy is an outstanding airplane pilot, 23 years old, and a resident of Eugene, Oreg., where his parents live. Eugene is located within the Fourth Oregon Congressional District.

So that Members of the Senate may learn of the questions put to Representative PORTER and his answers, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the Meet the Press program of Sunday, August 4, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEET THE PRESS—AMERICA'S PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE AIR

(Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak; guest, Representative Charles O. Porter, Democrat, of Oregon; panel, Luke P. Carroll (New York Herald Tribune), Marquis Childs (St. Louis Post-Dispatch), Richard Wilson (Cowles publications), Lawrence E. Spivak (regular panel member); moderator, Frank Blair)

ANNOUNCER. Now, Meet the Press, the prizewinning program produced by Lawrence E. Spivak. Ready for this spontaneous, unrehearsed conference are four of America's top reporters. Please remember, their questions do not necessarily reflect their point of view; it is their way of getting a story for you. While Ned Brooks is on vacation, here is our guest moderator of Meet the Press, Mr. Frank Blair.

Mr. BLAIR. Good evening and welcome once again to Meet the Press. Our guest this evening is Congressman CHARLES O. PORTER, Democrat from Oregon. Most freshman Congressmep are seen and not heard, but Mr. PORTER in his first 7 months in office has been involved in a sensational cloak and dagger tale of international intrigue. His speeches in Congress on the subject have been widely reported. He has been the hero of Calypso ballads in Latin American countries. He has been attacked as a self-appointed international revolutionary by fellow Congressmen, and he has been advised by police authorities to carry a gun for protection in our Nation's Capital.

The facts in the case are these: Dr. Jesus de Galindez, a Columbia University teacher and a critic of Generalissimo Trujillo, the dictator of the Dominican Republic, disappeared from New York City without trace on March 12,1956. Gerald Murphy, a young airplane pilot from Congressman PORTER'S home town in Oregon, told friends he had flown an invalid believed to be De Galindez from the United States to the Dominican Republic on that date. Then on December 4, 1956, Gerald Murphy himself disappeared in the Dominican Republic. Congressman PORTER insisted there is a direct link between the three events and persistently demanded an investigation. Congressman PORTER'S one-man crusade, and an aroused public opinion, forced State Department action, and as a result the Dominican Republic has taken an extraordinary step in international affairs. It hired an American public relations man, Sidney Baron, who hired the American law-

yer, Morris Ernst, to investigate the Murphy-Galindez mystery. This investigation is soon to begin. And now seated at the press table, ready to interview Congressman PORTER, are, Marquis Childs of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Richard Wilson of Cowles Publications, Luke P. Carroll of the New York Herald Tribune, and Lawrence E. Spivak, our regular member of the Meet the Press panel. Now Congressman PORTER, if you are ready, we will start the questioning with Mr. Spivak.

Mr. SPIVAK. Congressman PORTER, in Coronet magazine recently you were quoted as saying this: "The shocking fact is that a highly paid organization of killers is at large in our country, operating chiefly in New York City and Miami, whose job it is to assassinate or intimidate the enemies of Trujillo in the United States. They don't draw the line at expatriate Dominicans. They will murder Americans, too." That is a serious charge against a man who has long been considered a friend of this country, Generalissimo Trujillo. You are a lawyer; have you evidence that will stand up in court to prove these sweeping statements?

Representative PORTER. Yes; I have such evidence. Of course, this charge didn't originate with me, and I wouldn't say that Generalissimo Trujillo has long been regarded as a friend of the United States by many people who have facts similar to this. We can cite all sorts of cases; we can start with people like Bencosme and Requena. We can name cases that are very familiar in New York. But we can come down to date, if you want evidence of this network of terror. You can recall a radio show that Ed Murrow had not long ago and how 50 of the 130 people he talked to didn't want to say anything or have their names used. In answer to your question, yes, I do have.

Mr. SPIVAK. You say that, as a lawyer, you have evidence to make out a case on which a jury would convict the people you mention.

Representative PORTER. The crime of murder in the Murphy case; yes. I suppose it is no crime to have a network of terror, specifically, although it is something that we don't want to have here.

Mr. SPIVAK. Are you prepared to furnish this evidence to Morris Ernst, who is now carrying on the investigation of the charges?

Representative PORTER. No; I am not, and that represents a change in my point of view. I have given all this evidence as I have gotten it to the FBI, because they are the ones conducting the investigation. I told Mr. Ernst just last week when he called me that I was going to give him full access to my files. I have thought the matter over, and even before I received telephone calls from people who said, "Don't show him letters I wrote to you because if they get back to Trujillo—," I decided I would not make this material available to Mr. Ernst. He, in effect, is working for Trujillo, and I would be turning over information to him which would mean trouble for these people who are helping our Government to solve the case.

Mr. SPIVAK. You say you have given this evidence to the FBI?

Representative PORTER. Yes; I have.

Mr. SPIVAK. I take it you have great confidence in the FBI as an organization?

Representative PORTER. I have great confidence.

Mr. SPIVAK. Do they know what you know—that there is a network of spies here—and are they letting these people get away with murder?

Representative PORTER. No; I wouldn't say that; I would say the FBI is working hard on this case. I am not one of those who thinks the FBI is infallible. I think they are fallible like the rest of us.

Mr. CARROLL. To go back to Mr. Ernst for a moment, Mr. Porter, do you think it is impossible for him to make an objective study of this crime?

Representative PORTER. I don't know Mr. Ernst. I know him by reputation. I know people who like him and respect him. The circumstances, I think, just make it impossible for him to come up with a conclusion that the public will accept, because he is paid by the man who is charged with the murder.

Mr. SPIVAK. But he has said that if he is handicapped in any way he will get out of the investigation.

Representative PORTER. Then, I think he should get out now, because I think he is handicapped by the way he has gotten into the investigation.

Mr. SPIVAK. It is impossible for some of our authorities to question some of the people in the Dominican Republic who may or may not be involved—the former consul general in New York. Why would you not allow Mr. Ernst to question him and then to turn over his material to the proper authorities? Wouldn't you be one step ahead that way?

Representative PORTER. I am not saying there are not advantages in it, but I think the disadvantages overweigh the advantages because it will make people think because a man like Ernst is in this, those who do know him, that we are going to come up with something that we can rely on. It won't be anything that will be generally acceptable because it can't be. But Espaillat, the man you are talking about, could come up here and be questioned as we have asked, twice, officially, of the Dominican Government. They want to cooperate. If they want to clear the record, let them send General Espaillat up here. Why have their client, or their attorney, go down to the Dominican Republic to question him there? To me, that doesn't seem in accordance with the usual processes of investigaton.

Mr. CHILDS. You and others have repeatedly made charges in the Galindez and Murphy cases, but there has never been anything more than circumstantial evidence in these cases, isn't that correct?

Representative PORTER. Many people, Mr. Childs, go to prison, to death, on what is called circumstantial evidence. Actually there is also real evidence—the forged note.

Mr. CHILDS. That is not proof of murder in itself.

Representative PORTER. But to show that someone who is accused of murder would make up a purposeful lie, as in this case the Dominicans did when they presented us an explanation of Jerry Murphy's death. Circumstantial evidence and real evidence—those are the two classes of evidence, if you want to make the legal distinction, but circumstantial evidence when it is powerful, when it convinces a lot of juries, every day——

Mr. CHILDS. But you, as a lawyer, would hesitate to send a man to death on circumstantial evidence?

Representative PORTER. It is done all the time. I hesitate to send any man to his death, but——

Mr. CHILDS. Let me ask you this further question. The murderer or murderers are obviously in the Dominican Republic, won't you say?

Representtaive PORTER. I would say the murderer or murderers, the actual ones are dead, but they were in the Dominican Republic.

Mr. CHILDS. Or those who ordered the murder?

Representative PORTER. Yes.

Mr. CHILDS. Then, do you see any point in this grand jury investigation that is now going on? Do you think this is a complete dead end, Congressman?

Representative PORTER. No, we can't reach Trujillo himself, because of international law. He is the man, I believe, who ordered the murders. Getting his minions like John Frank, who has been indicted for being an agent and having a part in this—and I am told by high State Department officials that much of the evidence which has to do with connecting the Dominican Government will come out in the course of the trial of John Frank, and, I assume, any other trials that result from the present grand jury's indictments.

Mr. CHILDS. You think the administration moved quickly enough and vigorously enough in this case?

Representative PORTER. No, indeed.

Mr. CHILDS. Do you think anything more than the indictment of an incidental person such as Mr. Frank will come out of this grand jury investigation?

Representative PORTER. After they began to move they got Mr. Frank, but not in the very first, last December and January when they wanted to slough this thing off, and when Trujillo had every reason to think they would slough it off because he had always gotten such fine treatment by our Government, many of whose personnel treat him as though he is respectable when he is not.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Porter, some of your critics speak of the anti-Trujillo script writers as being responsible for building up what they say is this fanciful tale of kidnaping and murder. Your insertions in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on this subject are quite comprehensive and even journalistic in tone. Did you write all of those, or did you get any help in writing them?

Representative PORTER. I had help from the Library of Congress experts in this matter, but every word that went in there could have been based on fact, much of it was based on facts by people who know more about historical matters and current matters than I do, but they are my words, and nobody writes my script.

Mr. WILSON. You got no help from anybody except the Legislative Reference people?

Representative PORTER. That is correct.

Mr. WILSON. You state that you have evidence that a crime was committed here. What evidence do you have that either de Galindez or Murphy is dead?

Representative PORTER. This is the old problem of the corpus delicti which many people think mean the dead body, but, of course, it is the body of the wrong in crime. Murphy disappeared in December, and he is gone. De Galindez disappeared. We have a great deal of circumstantial but very strong and legally acceptable evidence to show that they were murdered because they crossed Mr. Trujillo.

Mr. WILSON. What evidence, sir?

Representative PORTER. Starting at the first we know that de Galindez worked for Trujillo for some time. He went there and was there during the war. He learned about Trujillo's methods, he went to Columbia to write his thesis about Trujillo, a thesis which was very detailed with regard to Trujillo's wrongs and the kind of government he had. Trujillo didn't want that published. We have evidence that he especially didn't want it published because it showed how his own bloodline was not exactly pure, in his own terms. It showed things which he didn't like, at all. Shortly, after it was finished, before it was published, he disappeared. After there had been threats, which had been reported to the FBI, from people we know were working for Trujillo. The circumstances of his disappearance pointed a finger at Trujillo. Of course, there was this blind alley. The evidence is very complete. I couldn't go into all of it. There is a good deal of it.

Mr. WILSON. You haven't cited any evidence that would impress me, as a curbstone lawyer, but let me pass that. The Dominican Ambassador de Moya asserts that the answer to de Galindez' death—he was a Span-

ish Basque, as we all know—he says, "The answer is to be found in Manhattan's Spanish-speaking colony, and I have a feeling that the final solution is not far distant." What is your reaction?

Representative PORTER. Like so many of Ambassador de Moya's statements, it isn't supported. As a matter of fact, one of your panel members knows that de Moya is a liar, because he lied to him and was found out. The Ambassador made statements like that in San Francisco about this Murphy-de Galindez operation being a Communist plot. Going back to your question about evidence, our State Department, based on FBI findings, has already said there is a connection between Murphy and de Galindez.

Mr. WILSON. I want to ask you about this note which was found in de Galindez' apartment. Much has been made of the note as being a substantial piece of evidence. In this note it was stated that his kidnapers—he apparently assumed he might be kidnaped—should be looked for in the Dominican Republic. Is it true that this note was not found until the third search of the de Galindez apartment, although when it was found it was lying in plain sight on top of a desk and that two previous searches had failed to disclose it?

Representative PORTER. I have heard those allegations. I do not regard the note as the most important item of evidence in hooking de Galindez to the Dominican Republic. I do not know whether it is true.

Mr. SPIVAK. You yourself and others have said that Trujillo knows how to get rid of a man in this country. Why would he kidnap him and take him over there to get rid of him when you can buy somebody in this country to "bump a man off" for a good deal less?

Representative PORTER. I think there are two answers to that. One is that he wanted to stop publication of the book, which he would do, if he just disappeared. If he dies, it goes to his heirs. The other explanation, which is probably more credible, is that in this book he had written, "The Era of Trujillo," he had criticized the Generalissimo, said he had part Negro blood, pointed out the illegitimacy both above him, and below him, something about his children being born at embarrassing times and by two different marriages. That sort of thing, we are informed, made the Generalissimo very angry, and he said he was going to have de Galindez eat this article; he wanted personal revenge.

Mr. SPIVAK. But you yourself said in that Coronet article, "Only one thing could successfully silence the work. De Galindez must disappear." He hasn't silenced the work. Some of these things appeared in Mexico, they appeared in Chile, and chapters have appeared already here. He hasn't been successful, at all, has he?

Representative PORTER. He hasn't always accomplished what he wanted to accomplish.

Mr. SPIVAK. Congressman Reece recently charged you appear to have used your office "for the purpose of advocating the violent overthrow of the Dominican Government." Would you like to see that Government overthrown by revolution?

Representative PORTER. I would.

Mr. SPIVAK. Do you think such overthrow would be in the interest of this country in view of what is happening in all of Latin America?

Representative PORTER. I favor people any place, whether in Hungary or Poland or any other country where there is a dictator, overthrowing that dictator. I would not take any personal part in it, but I sympathize with people who want to overthrow dictators.

Mr. SPIVAK. And you would take chaos at this time in that country rather than a strong dictator who has been a friend of ours?

Representative PORTER. Chaos, Mr. Spivak, does not come from an emerging democracy; it comes from the death pains of a dictatorship. I would say the chaos, at least, is leading to something which means freedom and justice, and the dictatorship is not.

Mr. SPIVAK. What do you want to get out of all this thing? Do you want to send Marines over there, to bring Trujillo back here and try him?

Representative PORTER. No; some of my criticis have said that that is what I have in mind, but I have never advocated that. We know that that wouldn't work. All that I want our country to do is to differentiate between the dictators and the democracies and frame our policies accordingly. If we just publicly said which are the dictators and which are the democracies, we would be a big step ahead.

Mr. SPIVAK. Don't you think our President and Secretary of State have said that? You are not the only man who said that.

Representative PORTER. A high State Department official told me the other day that the reason President Eisenhower had never said "Bravo, Colombia" after Colombia came out on May 10 from 8 years of dictatorship—the President said nothing because he thought he would make Venezuela which is a dictatorship, of course, mad.

Mr. SPIVAK. At one point you called for an investigation by the Organization of American States. You felt that was the only way to get anywhere with this. But you also said "Again and again Latin Americans tell me they have no faith in the OAS, because it is controlled by the dictators with the tacit approval of the United States." Why would you want an organization which you yourself have condemned to do the investigating?

Representative PORTER. I have been told by some responsible Latin Americans that the reason they believe that is because the United States has been treating these dictatorships as though they were respectable. If we change our attitude, the OAS would change its attitude and could be effective in promoting inter-American relations.

Mr. CARROLL. To go back to the former Dominican Republic Consul General in New York, General Espaillat, you have suggested that he come to the United States and subject himself to our juridical system. Would you apply this in reverse, if a representative of the United States was involved in some questionable matter, or if the Government wanted to investigate to make inquiry of a representative of the United States and if that government was a backward, primitive, even Communinst country, would you say "Yes, our representative should be turned over to that country?"

Representative PORTER. I would say, yes, if the circumstances were exactly the same as in the case of Mr. Espaillat.

Mr. CARROLL. Who would determine those circumstances?

Representative PORTER. The circumstances in this case are very plain.

Mr. CARROLL. They are plain to you.

Representative PORTER. They are plain to everybody in New York, or everybody who has followed this case. He said time and again, "I want to cooperate to the fullest extent. My country is innocent; we are much wronged." And then what happened? Two days after the State Department sent a note to his Government saying, "We want Espaillat available, amenable to the usual processes of investigation and trial," he packed up on the fourth and went back to the Dominican Republic and refuses to come out. In other words, he turned tail and ran.

Mr. CARROLL. Wouldn't this be a precedent in diplomatic relations? Has it ever been done before?

Representative PORTER. We had no way to demand it. We have no way to require it. I don't know whether it has or not.

Mr. CARROLL. I think not. Let me ask you one question about Generalissimo Trujillo's holdings in the United States: You have asked that these be investigated. Have you any evidence at all to indicate what the result of that investigation might be?

Representative PORTER. The evidence I have is that he own considerable real estate in Florida, in New York, and some Middle Western cities—that he has very considerable holdings in the United States.

Mr. CARROLL. What would that prove one way or the other?

Representative PORTER. It would prove for one thing we shouldn't send him $250,000 a year point 4 aid, and we shouldn't as Look magazine says in an issue coming out this week, give him $6 million in military aid.

Mr. CARROLL. Do you think all this money is going to Trujillo?

Representative PORTER. I know it is. There is nobody familiar with the setup down there who doesn't know he controls the economy of the country. It is his plantation, and then we give him aid.

Mr. CHILDS. While advocating we stop our aid to four Latin American dictatorships, you have gone along with the administration in urging or continuing aid to Tito in Yugoslavia because you said we would get some benefit out of this. Isn't it true that now that Tito has made his peace with Moscow, there is no point in this?

Representative PORTER. And, the aid to Yugoslavia is conditioned on that. If we consider him lost to the other side, we don't give him aid. That is the way it should be done. If we see a military advantage in terms of security to the American people, sure, we "sup with the Devil with a long-handled spoon," but we don't do it when there is no military reason for it.

Mr. CARROLL. It is a pretty risky policy, though, isn't it? Do you make a distinction between a dictatorship of the left and the right?

Representative PORTER. No; I say they are the same, but where we have a military advantage to gain—I don't say we are close to them or show we like them or think they are respectable, but we have bases in Spain because it is going to mean our protection. Then we deal with the government, and we spend $400 million there.

Mr. CARROLL. Our new Ambassador in Cuba, Mr. Smith, has just spoken out apparently against the Batista dictatorship. Do you think this is right, or do you think it was a blunder?

Representative PORTER. I think it was very right, indeed. I think, Mr. Smith is to be congratulated for speaking up as an American would. He didn't speak up against the regime; he spoke out against the terroristics or the police methods, turning the fire hose on some defenseless women who were protesting a treaty that had been violated namely, that American arms were being use to kill their boys. The Ambassador simply said, "I'll give this my serious consideration," which he should do, because those arms were given to Cuba on the basis they would not be used internally. I say, Mr. Smith is acting as a good American and not as his predecessor did, who was so close to Batista that everybody, all the oppressed people in Cuba—and there are some oppressed people there—thought that the American Government was on the side of the dictator.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. PORTER, you mentioned the article in Look magazine which charges that a half dozen very well known people in this country, including a son-in-law of Secretary Dulles and several other prominent people—a relative by marriage to the President's wife have received large sums of money, some of them as high as $270,000. Are they a part of all this scheme of Trujillo's to spread a network of terror?

Representative PORTER. He works in two ways, Mr. Wilson, generally, cold cash or cold terror. He gets what he wants either by spending his money, or he gets it by sending his boys to do it another way. So it is part of his way of exercising his influence for his own profit, his own power.

Mr. WILSON. Does he get his money's worth out of these highly placed people?

Representative PORTER. I don't know. Some of them I suppose he does, and some he doesn't.

Mr. BLAIR. There is one question I would like to ask you before we conclude: Do you carry a gun?

Representative PORTER. Whenever I think it is reasonably necessary. The Washington police have so advised me, and when I think it is necessary I carry it.

Let's Tighten Safety Standards in Plants Using Nuclear Radiation Materials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, a recent issue of the Department of Labor magazine, Monthly Labor Review, contained an important article as regards the problem of expanding workmen's compensation coverage for employees working in hazardous nuclear energy industries.

The plain fact is, as a recent AFL–CIO sponsored conference pointed out, that in dealing with radioactive materials, literally hundreds upon hundreds of plants throughout the United States are for the first time venturing into an area in which the highest precautions must be continually observed.

The health of worker and supervisor forces is directly involved, as is the health of entire communities.

Meanwhile, there is need for a tightening of State and local safety codes and safety inspection systems, as well as a need to strengthen workers' compensation coverage. My own State is but one of 15 out of the 48 States in the Union offering the kind of broad-scale workmen's compensation for radiation hazards which is essential in this day and age.

Obviously, nuclear energy holds great promise for the Nation. But we cannot have "horse and buggy" safety standards in the atomic age. I am sure that thinking management will agree, as will all other segments of society.

Let us not allow carelessness to result in wholesale tragedy which some day might have to awaken us to this problem. Let us show foresight and vision. Let us neither be fearful about atomic energy to the point of paralysis nor reckless to the point of folly.

I send to the desk three related items:

(a) The first consists of excerpts from the article from the Monthly Labor Review.

(b) The second is an excerpted article from the July 27 New York Times showing widespread violations of the radiation code in one State, New York.

(c) The third is an excerpted article from the March 8 issue of Labor's Daily illustrating hazards affecting all kinds of workers in plants using radioactive isotopes.

I ask unanimous consent that these articles, necessarily abridged, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Monthly Labor Review for April 1957]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AND RADIATION HAZARDS

(By Earl F. Cheit, St. Louis University)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The AFL–CIO Conference for Affiliated Unions on Atomic Radiation Hazards was held in Washington, D. C., on February 27 and 28, 1957. The following paper was one of several delivered at the 2-day meeting of experts in various fields of atomic science and of union leaders associated with the industrial application of atomic energy.)

New industrial methods and materials are frequently accompanied by new job hazards—for example: enameling processes and the danger of lead poisoning; fluorescent lighting and berilium-caused death and disease; increasing industrial uses of atomic energy and radiation injury and disease. As the industrial uses of atomic energy develop, the possibility that [more] workers will be exposed to disabling ionizing radiation makes urgent a reexamination of what protection is available to them.

In only 15 States (California, Connecticut, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin) can we say with certainty that [such] cases will receive full coverage, unlimited medical benefits, and in general, the same protection offered all other injured workers. The other State laws offer combinations of uncertain coverage, limited medical benefits, and indefinite recovery.

Beyond the general weaknesses in the compensation protection of some States are others which have special significance for radiation cases. And unless many States make significant legislative changes, workers suffering radiation-caused disability will joint a group of second-class beneficiaries under a system whose first-class citizens are not to be envied.

Basically, the radiation hazard of atomic energy is an occupational disease problem. Disability or death due to explosion or burn are clearly covered under all laws. But for those persons who escape death or immediate injury from atomic blast and who are subsequently afflicted, the problem of tracing disability to the accident and of gaining coverage may be more difficult. These persons, as well as those disabled from chronic exposure to ionizing radiations (a more significant group numerically), [will] likely encounter barriers to compensation for their disabilities.

Chronic exposure, either externally or through inhalation or ingestion, [may] cause injury or disease if it exceeds permissible safety limits. But, as experience with cases of tissue damage or ulcer from over-exposure to X-rays or radium rays has taught, radiation-caused disease or injury may not develop its symptoms or create disability until months or even years after the harmful exposure.

Bone tumors suffered by young women working with radium dial paint in the 1920's were discovered as early as 2 years after exposure; yet new ones have been discovered as late as 1954, some 36 years after exposure.[1] Data from the [National] Cancer Institute, United States Public Health Service,[2] reveal that although the average latent period of occupational skin cancers due to X-radiation is 7 years, this period ranges from 1 to 12 years. Lung cancer from ionizing radiation has an average latent period of 25 to 30 years, and a latent period range of from 7 to 50 years.

Hopefully, there is much that can be done in the prevention of disability due to chronic exposure to ionizing radiation. With the aid of its labor advisory committee, and the published radiation protection standards of the Atomic Energy Commission, New York State has developed and put into effect a pioneering safety code for atomic radiation covering industry in that State.[3] Recommendations for legislative action in this field are available,[4] as are details for procedures, evaluation, and control of radiation hazards.[5] Even more encouraging, where such procedures and precautions have been used, safety records, such as those reported by the Atomic Energy Commission, have been very good.[6]

But sometimes exposures within permissible safety limits can later prove harmful. Industrial cases in which workers are not protected by safety standards must look to workmen's compensation laws for their economic rehabilitation. But they will find that disability due to occupational disease does not receive as good coverage or protection as does disability due to accidental injury under our compensation laws.

No one would seriously argue that a worker suffering bone destruction or a tumor due to chronic job exposure to radioactive material is less a casualty of industry than a coworker who loses a hand in a machine tool mishap, yet the compensation laws of many American jurisdictions will deny these workers equal treatment. There are three barriers to equal treatment: (1) failure to cover occupational disease; (2) time barriers to occupational disease claims; and (3) poorer medical benefits than those provided for the accidentally injured.

COVERAGE FAILURE

Two States, Wyoming and Mississippi, provide no workmen's compensation coverage for injury or death due to occupational disease. By contrast, full "blanket" coverage of all occupational disease is provided by 33 compensation laws.[7] The remaining 19 jurisdictions[8] offer the limited "schedule" type of coverage—that is, compensation only for certain stated diseases. The number of diseases covered ranges from 6 in Louisiana to 46 in Texas.

Experience under the laws of those States which have provided full coverage for some years seems to indicate quite clearly that [despite fears to the contrary] the costs of such coverage have actually proved to be remarkably small and have created no great problems of abuse or administration.[9] Even when a flood [of accrued liability cases] has been threatened, such as in nontraumatic occupational loss of hearing, the provision of adequate protection has proved neither burdensome nor beyond administrative solution.

* * * * *

Schedules of occupational-disease coverage tend to become inflexible; change is resisted; and even when schedules are revised, they very quickly become obsolete as the processes of work change. Most States with occupational-disease schedules include radiation-caused disability. But after a study of these schedules, Ashley St. Clair, an official of a leading compensation-insurance carrier, concluded that "in a number of these laws * * * the description used is so restrictive that some workers in those States who hereafter suffer radiation diseases as a result of work exposure to radioactive isotopes or to other forms of atomic energy will not be entitled to compensation benefits. * * *"

TIME BARRIERS

The statutes of limitations which many jurisdictions maintain are only slightly less

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serious in their effect of barring compensation for disability due to occupational diseases. In all States a claim will be denied unless two notices are filed within a specified time after the disability. Although these requirements vary from State to State, the first notice, that to the employer, must be given usually within a month of injury; and the second, that for filing a claim, must be made within 1 year. * * *

But a limitations statute can deny disabled workers benefits that are rightfully due them. This problem could be particularly acute in cases of radiation injury and diseases where the latent period may range as long as 50 years. Failure to give timely notice to the employer has in the past proved a minor problem, since it has been easily excused. But for many jurisdictions such a waiver is not likely under the second time limit—that for filing claims. In general, these statutes of limitations can be grouped into two types—those which run from the date of last exposure (or last day of work for the employer) and those which do not run until the date of disability. It is the former type of bar which, unless changed, will operate to preclude claims of many (perhaps most) radiation cases.

* * * * *

Fortunately, the harsh effects of the statutes of limitations have been reduced through liberal court interpretation. Case law has in several jurisdictions stated that the time bar will not run until the disease is reasonably discernible,[10] or until the first manifestations of the disease, or until it is reasonably discernible that the disease is due to the employment. Although liberal court interpretation has brought many welcome changes to workmen's compensation laws, it is no substitute for adequate legislation.

MEDICAL BENEFITS

Some victims of radiation disease will be denied equal treatment with accidental injury cases because of the statutory limits on medical benefits for occupational disease. Like the occasional indemnity benefit limits found in the laws, most of these apply to silicosis and asbestosis cases only. Nevertheless, they are part of the larger problems of limits on medical benefits under compensation laws. Perhaps the easiest way, briefly to examine the amount of medical care which radiation cases will receive under present-day workmen's compensation is to divide the laws into two groups. In the first group are those compensation laws which offer both full occupational disease coverage and unlimited medical benefits; in the second group are laws which limit either occupational disease coverage or medical benefits to the occupationally diseased, or both.

Twenty-five[11] of our 54 workmen's compensation jurisdictions[12] provide complete protection. Radiation cases, as well as all other occupational disease victims in these jurisdictions, will be assured of coverage as well as of unlimited medical benefits. Only one thing mars the admirable record of these 25 laws—7 of them also provide for time bars to recovery which run from last date of exposure (or employment). These are Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, and South Carolina.

The second group—those that limit coverage and/or medical benefits to occupational disease cases—[is composed of 29 laws]. Radiation disease victims in these jurisdictions will face a wide range of situations—most of them undesirable.

* * * * *

To anyone who has had experience with the treatment of radiation cases, the meaning of these limits on medical benefits is devastatingly clear. Treatment may require months, sometimes years, and often, many thousands of dollars. There has been an encouraging trend toward unlimited medical benefits, but until the remaining 17 jurisdictions[13] who limit them revise their laws, it is clear that radiation cases stand a poor chance of getting adequate medical care in these States.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Radiation cases raise other important workmen's compensation issues. Since radiation hazards are likely to produce cases with long latent periods, the question of how their liability should be apportioned between employers is bound to become an important one. So will the long-debated issue of the right to select a physician for medical care. Efficient administration of the specialized medical care needed for radiation cases may require a greater degree of supervision over medical care than now exists under our workmen's compensation laws. In fact, it is sometimes suggested that because of their somewhat unique nature these casas be given separate and special administration under the laws. Methods of insuring workmen's compensation liability may also be outmoded for this new hazard.

SUMMARY

Regardless of the level of this protection, radiation cases can be assured equal protection with victims of accidental injury when all States: (1) adopt full coverage of occupational diseases; (2) adopt flexible statutes of limitations on claims filings; (3) remove barriers to equal medical benefits; and (4) where they exist, remove other special requirements for occupational disease benefits.

EARL F. CHEIT,
St. Louis University.

[From the New York Times of July 27, 1957]

RADIATION CODE FOUND VIOLATED—STATE SURVEY SHOWS LAXITY IN 6 PERCENT OF PLANTS—TIGHTER REGULATION IS SOUGHT

(By A. H. Raskin)

State inspectors found violations of the safety code on the industrial use of radioactive material in 6 percent of the plants they surveyed in the code's first 18 months of operation.

This was disclosed in a report filed with Industrial Commissioner Isador Lubin yesterday by Dr. Morris Kleinfeld, acting director of the division of industrial hygiene of the State labor department.

Dr. Kleinfeld made it plain that he considered the number of plants in which the exposure of workers to radiation exceeded possible limits to be relatively low. He added that after the violations had been disclosed only 1 of the 9 plants involved had failed to bring its dose rate down to levels at or close to those prescribed in the code.

The State has begun court action against the one noncomplier. Three of its nine employees were reported to have suffered injuries as a result of chronic excessive radium dosage. Another company moved out of the State for economic reasons after being cited for infractions of the code.

GROWING HAZARD FORESEEN

The report indicated that only a handful of the State's 7 million workers were now employed in industrial applications of radioactive material outside the national security field. The total exposed to ionizing radiation, even of the minimal variety, was put at 3,500. This represents only 1 percent of the combined work force in the 320 plants that registered under the safety code.

However, Dr. Kleinfeld warned that, in terms of the strength and diversity of sources, the hazard was of sufficient magnitude to justify the increasing effort devoted to its control.

[From Labor's Daily of March 8, 1957]

"STRANGE" DISEASES PLAGUE ATOMIC WORKERS—INDUSTRIES VIOLATING STANDARDS OF SAFETY

(By Al Toffler)

WASHINGTON.—Last week a bawdy-house madam, a two-bit gambler, and a few petty politicians appeared as witnesses before a Senate probe attempting to substantiate charges of labor racketeering. Their testimony became front-page headlines across the Nation.

But, at the very moment that the hearings were taking place, another, far more significant labor event was occurring at Washington's ornate Mayflower Hotel, a few miles away from Capitol Hill.

The meeting was the first national conference on atomic radiation hazards held by any nongovernmental or nonscientific group. Sponsored by the AFL–CIO, it brought together 150 union officials, safety and compensation specialists, and—more important—dozens of honest-to-goodness atomic workers from installations all over the country.

These men are on the firing line every workday of their lives, and they had more than a few uncomfortable stories to tell. But reporters weren't there to listen.

IMPORTANT TO YOU

That radiation hazards are of vital concern to you, even if you live a thousand miles from Oak Ridge, Tenn., should be obvious. In case it isn't, take a look at these facts about the spread of new, potentially dangerous processes involving use of radioactive materials.

At the end of 1951, less than 500 institutions—hospitals, schools, laboratories, and research institutes—were authorized by the Atomic Energy Commission to procure and use radioactive isotopes. By 1956, according to Leo Goodman, nuclear-energy expert for the United Auto Workers, this figure had skyrocketed to 5,600.

You may think that the radiation danger exists only in big, well-marked installations guarded by sentry posts and high wire fences.

If so, you're wrong. It may exist in the building next door to your home, or—without your knowing it—in the shop where you work. For radioactive substances are now in use in thousands of big and small plants for a wide variety of purposes.

At the end of 1951, there were 134 industrial firms using isotopes of sufficient potential danger to require licensing by AEC. As of May 1956 the number had zoomed to 1,360 in 44 States. And this represents companies, not individual plants. GM, for example, with its scores of factories, is only one of the 1,360.

* * * * *

The spread of these new processes is continuing at an accelerated pace. Experiments now underway may lead soon to additional applications in plants breeding, pest control, food preservation, and other fields.

What has all this meant to the workers directly involved?

Charles Romine is a husky, healthy-looking atomic worker at the Goodyear Atomic Corp.'s big Portmouth, Ohio, installation where uranium 238 is produced. He is president of Local 10689, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers.

Indignant and articulate, Romine told me that within the last 2 weeks 1 member of his local, a man named Herbert Smith, died of leukemia, a rare blood disease closely linked to radiation. The man was healthy and working until about 3 weeks before his death. Nobody spotted the disease in advance.

Two other men, Romine charges, are in hospitals now with lung cancer and are expected to die, if the doctors are right in their predictions. The company has taken the position that the cases had no connec-

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tion with the work, but the men were employed in "contaminated areas," according to Romine.

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STANDARDS VIOLATED

Other Oak Ridge unionists at the conference told of three cases of mental disorder that were traced to kidney ailments—also frequently associated with radiation.

The unionists charge that the companies violate even the AEC's loose prescribed safety standards every day of the week. At Oak Ridge, for example, Green says, decontamination crews always work in hot areas where the radiation exceeds AEC's so-called permissible limits. He charges that the company constantly underplays the dangers of radiation and coaxes the workers to work in high radiation areas. It tells them that AEC standards are so strict that a little laxity won't hurt.

The truth is, many unionists and scientists agree, that AEC's standards are far from being stringent enough.

In fact, safety standards are so abused, the union men say, that the conference went on record calling for a sweeping investigation of situation by Congress. But that didn't get in the papers either.

Anyway, Congress is busy investigating labor racketeering.

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[1] Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions (IAIABC), 1955, Bureau of Labor Standards, Bull. 186, 1955 (p. 192).

[2] Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the IAIABC, 1954, Bureau of Labor Standards, Bull. 180, 1954 (pp. 126–144).

[3] See Monthly Labor Review, January 1956 (p. 62).

[4] Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the IAIABC, 1955, Bureau of Labor Standards, Bull. 186, 1955 (pp. 195–198).

[5] Ibid. (pp. 180–186).

[6] Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the IAIABC, 1949, Bureau of Labor Standards, Bull. 119, 1949 (p. 68).

[7] Alaska, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Federal Employees Compensation Act, and Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act.

[8] Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Puerto Rico, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Vermont.

[9] Herman M. Somers and Anne R. Somers, Workmen's Compensation, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954 (pp. 50–53).

[10] See William R. Schneider, Workmen's Compensation Text, St. Louis Thomas Law Book Co., 1943, Vol. III (pp. 519–520).

[11] California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin, Federal Employees Compensation Act, and Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act.

[12] 48 States, Alaska, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Federal Employees Compensation Act, and Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act.

[13] Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Nevada, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia.

New York Times Appraisal and Praise of Senator Paul Douglas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include an article by Edward H. Collins on the first page of the business and financial section of the New York Times of August 19, 1957, as follows:

BATTLE ON INFLATION—AN APPRAISAL—AND PRAISE—ON THE FIGHT MADE BY SENATOR DOUGLAS TO CUT SPENDING

(By Edward H. Collins)

In the course of last week's hearings on administered prices before the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER introduced figures from certain trade journals that purported to show that the United States Steel Corporation's estimates on the dollar amount of the steel price increase of June 28 underestimated its potential inflationary significance.

One gathered, however, that he regarded the increase, even on the basis of the company's own figure of approximately $170 million as constituting a destabilizing influence on the economy.

This writer would be inclined to agree with the chairman's position on this point. But he is also inclined to agree, and much more emphatically, with the position taken by another Senator who, as recently as August 8, attacked another inflationary action of approximately the same magnitude but incomparably more indefensible. That Senator was PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois, who happens to be not only far and away the ablest economist in that chamber, but who, by virtue of his frequently demonstrated capacity for putting the country's welfare above his own immediate political fortunes, enjoys a public respect and a public confidence that knows no party lines.

The object of Mr. Douglas' attack that day was the then pending Public Works Appropriation bill. Had this one-man fight on that $900 million piece of political log rolling succeeded, the Senator from Illinois would not only have saved the country's taxpayeqrs $213 million; it would also have reduced the potential inflationary pressure on a highly vulnerable segment of the national economy by the same amount. And the passage in his speech with which it was particularly easy to agree was this:

"The Senate Committee on Finance is holding a very elaborate study of inflation. The Secretary of the Treasury and the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board have been subjected to lengthy and punishing questioning as to why they have not been able to check this inflation. I think some of that intellectual effort could also be employed in the field over which we have some direct control, namely, our appropriations."

Like the rest of us, every Senator can be expected, presumably, to have his own particular weaknesses in the eyes of his colleagues, and the key to Senator DOUGLAS' weakness (if one likes to think of it that way) is visible here in that telltale word "intellectual."

The trouble with the Senator from Illinois, it seems, is even after 9 years in the Senate he has shown little disposition to relinquish the sense of human values acquired in the previous 30 years of his life, most of it devoted to the teaching and writing of economics.

It seems to be widely agreed that he still cherishes what must seem to those of his colleagues, to whom running for office and holding office has long been both a vocation and avocation, as an almost pathological confidence in the human intellect. To be more explicit, he has an unshakable belief in the ability of the human intellect, acting under the discipline of logic and driven forward by the merciless application of human energy (sometimes referred to as hard work) to provide the answers to the great economic and social problems of our times.

HIS OWN WEAPON

Once one understands the seriousness and the unique nature of this affliction of Senator DOUGLAS it is easy to understand why he should disdain the fight on inflation in the news headlines and should elect to use the weapons in which he places his greatest confidence and in the handling of which he is most accomplished.

It takes a high degree of courage for a Senator to challenge his colleagues to their faces; but to think of the episode of August 8 as merely an exhibition of courage would be to give the Senator from Illinois but a fraction of the credit he deserves, for not even his defeat in this doomed cause by a vote of 85 to 1 can erase, or dim the fact that his speech on that day can be rated among the best of his many masterpieces and an example of sound economics and unanswerable logic.

Senator DOUGLAS laid the economic foundation for his plea by showing, with appropriate statistics, that the pending measure called for spending another $900 million on the very products in which inflationary pressures are strongest. He then proceeded to remind his colleagues that virtually everyone of them was in agreement on the principle that public works programs should be accelerated in times of recession.

"Should we not realize," he asked, "that the logical corollary of this principle is that public works projects should be slowed down in times of boom and inflation, such as the present?"

UNANSWERED QUESTION

These points were, of course, logically unassailable. But they didn't answer the question of how the job of cutting back this $900 million spending program, representing well over 400 different projects, was to be carried out. If the Senator from Illinois had no plan, if he was proposing to use the meat-ax approach, or if he had in mind some other oversimplified formula, he would clearly be wasting his time. That would provide his colleagues with the very out they needed—an excuse, even if a feeble one, for proceeding, as they intended to do, to pass a measure that in essence meant that they placed their own and each other's local political popularity above the welfare of the country.

But these 85 Senators with a single mind were given no escape hatch. Senator DOUGLAS quickly made it clear that he was not opposing worthy projects, which, he declared, were in a decided majority; he was seeking to sidetrack, for the time being at least, those projects that couldn't justify themselves in the economic climate prevailing today.

There is not space here to give a detailed account of how, with the aid of some very able staff assistants, he studied everyone of the more than 400 projects involved, tested them in terms of what is known as their benefit-cost ratios (as worked out by the Army engineers), and showed, at least to the satisfaction of this nonexpert on such ratios that enterprises with a ratio of 1.40 or below were expendable.

It would appear that the Senator's colleagues were equally convinced, because not one of them, including such usually vocal experts as Senator KEFAUVER and Senator KERR, showed any inclination to throw so much as a single dainty punch in the direction of the Illinois assassin. Unfortunately, it is necessary to add, in the light of the 85 to 1 vote that came a few minutes later that if they were convinced, they were against their will.

Let's Begin the War Against Fire Ants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, until one has actually seen what damage the imported Argentine fire ant can do, it is hard to realize the dire necessity for immediate action to eradicate this pest. Earlier this year, I walked across Alabama farmland and saw the havoc that had been wrought by fire ants. The ravage was typical of what is happening in an ever-spreading section of our country.

In March legislation which I strongly supported was enacted, authorizing the Department of Agriculture to enter into a program to eradicate this uninvited and dangerous pest. Up until now, USDA has dragged its feet on this program, claiming that it did not have the money to implement this project.

I am extremely happy that both Houses of Congress now have approved funds to initiate an eradication program. The $2.4 million authorized in the supplemental appropriation budget for combating fire ants is not much, considering the vast job that must be done, but it is a start, a step in the right direction, and I am grateful. Thousands of stricken farmers and cattlemen are also grateful.

Mr. Speaker, even while there was no action taken by the Department of Agriculture to fight fire ants, some States have taken the initiative in finding products to eradicate this pest which is taking an annual toll of millions of dollars.

In Arkansas, Union County has successfully ridden itself of the fire ant. I have a report which shows how successful their program was. Using granular heptachlor at the rate of 2 pounds per acre and applying this chemical by air, ground, and hand equipment, the State's plant board covered 11,153 acres.

Mr. Carter P. Seymour, head of the department of plant pathology and entomology, Arkansas State Plant Board, reports that he has reinspected the treated area and is unable to find any fire-ant activity in mounds located within the treated area.

This, Mr. Speaker, shows that fire ants can be beaten. I submit that they must be beaten. The experiment station at Alabama Polytechnic Institute reports that fire ants are known to be in 40 or more counties in Alabama and are spreading rapidly. If left alone, the pests will multiply to such an extent that the value of land will drop and certain farming operations will become very difficult, if not impossible. In many instances, this has happened. This is typical of what is happening in a number of States.

One of the problems which has been necessary to overcome is very technical, since it involves pesticide residue in milk. The fire ant prefers open, sunny sites in pastures or uncultivated areas, but they also build their mounds in woods and cultivated areas. These mounds average in size from 10 to 12 inches high, but around posts, stumps, or bunches of grass, they sometimes reach 2 feet or more in height.

On pastures, farmers must be extremely careful since many chemicals which have been used have been found to show up in the milk of dairy cows or in the fat of meat animals. At present, the only product cleared under the Miller pesticide residue amendment to the Federal Food and Drug Act is heptachlor. This chemical, when used as it was in Arkansas, that is, as prescribed, does not show up in milk or meat; and farmers do not have to worry about their products being seized by Food and Drug as being adulterated.

In short, Mr. Speaker, we have a chemical—heptachlor—which can safely and effectively kill fire ants; and we have funds—$2.4 million—to initiate an eradication program. I see no reason why the Federal Government, through the Department of Agriculture, should not begin immediately full-scale war against fire ants.

St. Stephen, Symbol of Hungarian Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, in the days before the Communist occupation, August 20, St. Stephen's Day, was a happy feast day in Hungary. On this occasion the Hungarian people with great pomp and religious ceremony celebrated the feast of the saint who brought them out of the darkness of paganism into the light of Christianity.

Although the Hungarians today will not be celebrating this holy day with jubilance, they nevertheless will observe it with solemn prayer. They still piously and graciously cherish the memory of Saint Stephen. They remember that during his reign, Hungary was a free nation ruled by Christian laws rather than by fear, as it is today.

St. Stephen was a deeply religious monarch. It has been said that all his life he had Christ on his lips, Christ in his heart, and Christ in all he did. When he became King in 1000 A. D. he vowed that the task of his reign would be the extension of Christianity throughout his kingdom. He accomplished this by rooting out idolatry, breaking the power of paganism, and establishing monasteries and churches throughout Hungary.

King Stephen was also a benevolent monarch. He passed good laws and saw to their execution. The King was easily approached; he listened to all his subjects no matter how minor their station in life. A large sum of his royal funds were distributed to the poor. Under his benign leadership Hungary became a great nation. He died in the year 1038. Forty-five years later he was canonized by Pope Benedict IX.

Today, the Communists will prevent any open celebration of this great feast day. Nevertheless, the day is still hallowed to his memory. The Hungarian people still refer to his holy acts, judgment and knowledge. He still is a source of inspiration to them during these troubled days. On this holy day, they will fervently pray to St. Stephen to ask God for sustenance enabling them to endure the brutality of communism.

To all Hungarians St. Stephen is a symbol of a free Hungary where truth and justice prevailed and where the dignity of man was recognized. Consequently, on this August 20, they will be praying for the return of this freedom. All freedom-loving people will join them in their prayers.

Address by Hon. Basil L. Whitener to Adelphotis Arahoviton Karyae Annual Greek-American Reunion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH Q. ALEXANDER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 18, 1957, our colleague, Congressman BASIL L. WHITENER, of the 11th District of North Carolina, delivered an excellent address to the Greek-American Society known as Adelphotis Arahoviton Karyae at its annual reunion in Gastonia, N. C.

This assemblage of approximately a thousand Americans of Greek descent is an annual occasion in Piedmont North Carolina. It brings to that area citizens from all parts of the United States.

The sentiments expressed by Congressman WHITENER as to the worth and value of our citizens of Greek descent conforms to the high regard which I have for those splendid citizens. It is, therefore, a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of our colleagues in the House the splendid address made by our colleague, Mr. WHITENER.

ADDRESS BY HON. BASIL L. WHITENER TO ADELPHOTIS ARAHOVITON KARYAE ANNUAL GREEK-AMERICAN REUNION

I consider it an honor and a great privilege to have the opportunity to meet with you this afternoon. Of course, I always feel at home among my friends of Greek ancestry.

For many years it has been my great pleasure to attend your annual reunion held here

at Karyae Park. Each of these events has been most enjoyable and informative. The bringing together of your friends and relatives from every section of the United States is of great value to you in keeping the ties of kinship and friendship more tightly bound.

This convocation of distinguished and splendid citizens also constitutes a great compliment to the people in our section of North Carolina. All of us appreciate your selection of this beautiful property at the foot of Crowders Mountain as a permanent park and recreational facility for the ingathering of your families and friends for a week each year.

And may I say to you that the churches of all faiths, the civic clubs, and the citizens generally appreciate the generosity of your society in making these excellent recreational facilities available to them for public gatherings and events. This is a further evidence of the type of unselfish citizenship which is exercised by you from day to day.

And, I will say to you that I personally am deeply appreciative of the warm friendship which I have had through the years with so many of you. In the professional, political, and social activities in which I have participated you have been most helpful and generous toward me.

Your devotion to the principles upon which our great Nation is founded and your glorious heritage of enlightened civilization stretching back through 3,000 years of history have always been an inspiration to me. Free people everywhere have been fascinated and thrilled by the magnificent history of Greece. One never tires of reading and studying of the land of Aristotle, Socrates, Hippocrates, and Demosthenes.

Greece has given so much beauty to the world. The art galleries in every land reflect her glory. The mind of man from early antiquity has been enriched and disciplined by Greek philosophy, and Spartan courage has thrilled all ages and given hope to mankind in its unceasing struggle for liberty.

No country on earth can boast of a more glorious, constructive, or romantic history than Greece.

Our Nation's Capital is full of Greek temples. I remember the first time I saw the United States Capitol. This beautiful shrine of representative government is supported by countless columns whose very names reflect the glory of ancient Greek cities and islands. The fluted and delicate columns of beautiful Corinth support the wing where I sit as a Member of the House of Representatives. Throughout our magnificent Capitol Building are many stately Ionic and Doric columns of polished marble. To walk among the Government buildings in Washington actually is to take a journey into the distant past and stroll over the slopes of the majestic Acropolis.

The civilized world owes a debt to Greece impossible to repay in material things. Wherever you find men who love freedom and cherish the forms and modes of representative government, you will find friends of Greece. She gave the first representative government to the world, and it was her blood and treasure that was first sacrificed in order that civilization might not perish from the earth.

Had there not been a Greece the world would not have successfully struggled forth from the savage bondage of antiquity. Had there not been a Greece our Christian faith would not have flourished so soon after the crucifixion of the Man of Galilee.

Greece has been a defender of the Christian faith for nearly 2,000 years. Her devotion to the teachings of Christ has been and is reflected in the character of her people. The very name of Christ—Christos—is Greek. The New Testament was written in the Greek language and for many centuries even the Old Testament was preserved in the Greek language.

It was to the Athenians that Paul preached his great sermon that has come down in ringing tones through the ages to comfort mankind.

Greece is the cradle of democracy, the lover of liberty. She is the mother of philosophy and creator of the drama; the patron of medicine, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and oratory.

The bonds between the United States and Greece have been strong and enduring for many years. The American people, ever mindful of the price paid for their own liberty, have been quick to support and cultivate the friendship of other nations devoted to democratic principles and representative government. No one can deny that this mutual friendship has been of inestimable value to both nations.

When the heroic Greek struggle for independence broke out in 1821 the United States rallied to the side of the Greeks. The American people sympathized with the Greek patriots in their effort to throw off the tyrannical yoke of foreign despotism. Our great statesmen, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, lifted their eloquent voices in support of Greece. President Monroe in a message to Congress paid special tribute to the Greek patriots fighting for their liberty. Greek independence became a reality, and the spirit of freedom in the hearts of her people remains alive and vigorous unto this day.

Greece has known great tragedy in her march through history. She has been trampled upon by barbarians of old and frequently threatened by totalitarian foes in modern times. All too well we remember the yoke of Turkish domination that strangled Greece until the early 1920's, and we shall never forget Greece's heroic defense against the German and Italian invaders in World War II.

Conquered after stiff resistance, the Greek nation continued to harass the invader and keep large numbers of Italian and German troops immobilized.

After the defeat of the Axis powers Greece again faced a grave problem that threatened her free existence. International communism decided to make Greece a testing ground for Marxist ideology. The memory of Greek resistance to that menace is fresh in our minds.

As she had resisted other forms of tyranny over the mind of man during 3,000 years of history the Greek nation successfully threw off the yoke of Communist domination. Today she stands as a stalwart sentinel in the front line of the defense of the free world.

America is proud of Greece and her unsurpassed contribution to civilization. America is proud also of the many thousands of her citizens of Greek ancestry.

Our great Nation is made up of people of many lands. Here they have been assembled, and in our wonderful climate of freedom they have been welded into a common Nation.

Some of our American citizens of foreign birth have found it difficult to become assimilated into American life. They have held on to their ancient customs and allegiances, and as a result they have been accused by some as not being first-class American citizens.

Such has not been the case of the Americans of Greek descent. Wherever Greek immigrants have gone in the United States they have become active and patriotic American citizens. They have bought homes, established businesses, and assumed an active part in the social, educational, and religious life of their communities. They have been proud to call themselves Americans and anxious to fulfill their obligations of citizenship.

When one reads the list of persons of Greek origin who have become leaders in the business and professional life of the Nation, one realizes how completely our people of Greek ancestry have become a part of America.

In every phase of American life we find outstanding examples of your contribution to our society. The story of men like Spyros Skouras, head of the giant 20th Century Film Corp., is in keeping with the best American business tradition. A poor immigrant boy, he rose to be a giant in his industry, and his many philanthropic activities have done much to help his fellow Americans.

In the entertainment world we also have of Greek ancestry the famous Elia Kazan, noted for his production and direction of such films as On the Waterfront. Of Greek origin is Dimitri Mitropoulos, conductor of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. And in the popular music field the Andrew sisters, who are of Greek ancestry, are internationally known.

In the field of government and politics, we find that Americans of Greek ancestry have been honored by election to public office in every part of the country. San Francisco has the able and popular George Christopher as mayor. Just below us in South Carolina, Peter Lempesis is serving as the mayor pro tempore of Charleston. And you and I are all proud of our mutual good friend, Ernest Kerhulas, who has served with such distinction as mayor pro tempore of the lovely resort city of Tryon, N. C., in my own congressional district. Then, too, one of your sons, young George Miller, is making a great contribution to good government in Charlotte, the metropolis of the two Carolinas, as he daily serves as prosecuting attorney in the Charlotte municipal court.

I do not want to overlook another great man whose tireless efforts have contributed immeasurably to the spiritual life of the United States. I refer, of course, to the great Archbishop Michael, head of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America. Archbishop Michael's tireless efforts in behalf of his great church and of Americans of every creed is an example of the highest type of religious leadership.

Yes, the roll of distinguished Americans of Greek origin is a long and honorable one. There are countless other examples of their accomplishments which time limitation will not permit us to discuss.

Your people have a record of patriotic citizenship that is admired and respected by all America. Here in the Carolinas your splendid contributions toward the betterment of your individual communities has endeared you to all of our citizens of whatever national origin, or religious persuasion. You are thought of as proud and honorable Carolinians. I know of no greater tribute that can be paid to any segment of our society.

In conclusion, I would like to say that your community and Nation as a whole is appreciative of your leadership in the area of good citizenship.

Ours is a great freedom-loving country. The blood of many lands and many races flows in our veins. No finer blood is to be found than that of the Hellenic race.

I salute you for your many past accomplishments and envision for you an even greater role in the life of this great Nation of ours as she marches forward to a more glorious future.

Disposal of Federally Owned Property at Obsolescent Canalized Waterways

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I am very much surprised at the position of the gentlemen on the left side of the aisle who have discussed this proposal. The gentleman from California, my good friend Mr. SCUDDER, referred to it as a charity proposition. I wonder what he thought I had in mind during the last 11 years when I voted for a half billion dollars for flood-control improvements in the State of California. It was not charity.

Mr. SCUDDER. It was not charity.

Mr. BAILEY. I would like to say the same thing for the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. MACK]. I voted for improvements on the Columbia River and the Coulee Dam. Yet they talk now about a charity proposition.

Mr. MACK of Washington. Every project on the Columbia River was recommended by the Army engineers and the Bureau of the Budget. In no place has the Congress given them more money than recommended by the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. BAILEY. We are talking about the Government taking care of its just responsibility. I want to pay my respects also to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCGREGOR]. S. 1520 was sponsored by Senator REVERCOMB, a Republican Member of the Senate from the State of West Virginia. This particular project is in a Republican county. Your Congressman is just acting as a Boy Scout in the hope of doing a good turn for some people in Wirt County, but the Army engineers have that included.

I want the opportunity of making good, so I am supporting the Senator's position.

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAILEY. I think I will not yield.

Mr. McGREGOR. The gentleman used my name; I think he should yield.

Mr. BAILEY. The gentleman has 10 minutes in which to discuss the matter.

I like for people at least to be consistent. The situation is this: In 1874 a private corporation built five locks on the Little Kanawha River in the State of West Virginia. It is a small river intersecting the Ohio River at Parkersburg, W. Va. It was operated as a private concern until around 1905, at which time Congress appropriated funds to purchase it and Army Engineers took over its operation. They continued to operate it as a navigation project until the close of World War II. I think about 1947 was the last active participation. It was neglected by the Army engineers over the years right following World War II until 1954. In 1954 a break occurred in the lock which diverted the flow of the Little Kanawha River considerably.

Right there is the time when the Army Engineers' responsibility began. They totally ignored doing anything about this situation in 1954 when this break in the locks occurred. It is their business and it was their business to keep those locks in repair, or at least it was their business to take action at the end of World War II when they ceased to use it as a navigation facility. It was their business then to try to get rid of the responsibility. But they waited until 1955, 2 years ago, and Public Law 996 was the result of it. But their responsibility began at that time.

They have continued to neglect it despite Public Law 996 passed by the 84th Congress. They are still neglecting it because they have not done anything to comply with the provisions of Public Law 996. They never even asked for an appropriation of the $20,000 which was carried in Public Law 996.

So the responsibility of the Federal Government is well established. They failed to take care of this situation.

Let me explain to the members of the committee the situation affecting the State fish hatchery. It is true that the fish hatchery is not on the water impounded by Lock No. 3; it is Lock No. 4; but the Army Engineers allowed Lock No. 4 to wash out completely. There was damage to the State fish hatchery and they submitted to me an estimated cost of building a retaining wall. That estimated cost was turned over to the committee by former Congressman Burnside when we were considering Public Law 996. It was in the amount of $94,000.

On two separate occasions I have visited the scene of this particular lock. I have inspected the fish hatchery and the damage that has been done there. I have consulted with property owners whose property has been damaged. This land is particularly susceptible to caving banks. It is mostly sand. When the current of the stream is changed and it hits a bank of the river, there is undermining. If it were possible to do so, I could take the members of the committee and show you 50 or 60 acres of land that have fallen into the riverbed. This is fine bottom land, and it has been lost forever due to change in the course of the river.

The people there are not responsible for this situation. Those property owners are not responsible. I want to say to the Members of the House that unless this legislation is approved and this committee report is agreed to, the Government will face damage suits involving $4 million or $5 million filed by 8 or 10 property owners, the State Conservation Commission of the State of West Virginia, and other people who have been adversely affected by this situation just because it was not taken care of at the time it should have been by the Army engineers.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I wish to yield to the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia's Fourth District who at one time was a Member of Congress when this particular county was a part of his district. The gentleman is thoroughly familiar with the situation and I am going to ask him to make a statement.

Mr. NEAL. I thank the gentleman. It is rather surprising to me that some Representatives of other States of the Union who have proverbially participated in the great benefits of public works in their own areas now come before the House today and object to an appropriation as small as this in an area of a State that has been neglected not only in the way of public works but it has been the little stepchild ever since we have had support prices on grains and anything else of that nature. It has had to bear its proportion of the cost without in any way participating in the benefits.

The State of West Virginia is entitled to a proportionate amount of public funds in whatever way it may be spent, provided there is a useful purpose. I consider this proposition a very useful purpose.

While it is not in my district, it just borders on my District. The little Kanawha Basin from the headwaters to the point where it empties into the Ohio River is one of a series of mountains and lowlands. The floodwaters run off very rapidly. The floods they have down there do a great deal of destruction. Where this little stream flows into the Little Kanawha Valley is an area of the State of West Virginia where droughts are frequent, where the rains are heavy and where the runoff is heavy. For the protection of those people who have farms along the river it is very important that they have some storage of flood waters some place.

It is probably 10 to 12 miles from the point of this proposed dam down to the mouth of the river at Parkersburg. As has been said before, the dam at the mouth of the river is now being maintained by the Army.

As a matter of flood protection this is not such a great problem because it is only 10 to 15 miles from the dam to the mouth of the river, but as a matter of water storage for these farmers in this valley who have to dig deep for their water and who during the dry season are almost without water at all, this would be a wonderful protection.

When the Department of Agriculture goes all over the country and enables headwater areas to build dams for the preservation and conservation of water, that is one thing. Here we have the Public Works Committee representing the Army engineers proposing to have a proposition built on a navigable stream that serves the very same purpose as these headwater dams and construction works due to the preservation of the water system.

To my mind, this is not asking too much. I have visited this location personally and I know the damage that has been done up and down this valley by reason of these heavy floods and by the diversion of the stream and by reason of a portion of it having fallen in, depositing material on the other side. To my mind, the amount of money that is necessary to do this job is not too much. It is not overestimated, when you accept

the committee's recommendation of $112,500.

May I say to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY] I sincerely hope that the Members of this House will see his side of the proposition and sustain the committee.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I believe, Doctor, you will recall that several years ago a committee, of which you and I were members, went on a trip to the great Northwest and inspected some public-works projects. We looked over projects that cost, some of them, $300 million and $400 million. Is it not ironic for you to come in here and ask this House for $112,500 in the face of what we have seen all over this country in public-works programs?

Mr. NEAL. As I said in the beginning, it seems unusual and rather surprising that representatives from States who have asked so much and received so much public funds for various improvements that are not any more deserving than the one we present today should oppose this. I feel they are just a little inconsistent, even though they are members of my own party.

Mr. BAILEY. I thank the distinguished gentleman from the Fourth West Virginia District. He knows the situation and he had given you the facts.

Mr. Speaker, there is another item of responsibility that would attach to the Army engineers. This little county seat town of Elizabeth, of some 1,200 or 1,500 population, has drilled some water wells along the riverbank from which they get their water supply. When this dam was breached and the impounded waters receded and disappeared, their water wells dried up, and they are going to have to redrill them much deeper in order to maintain their municipal water supply. So I again point out that through the neglect of the Army engineers not handling this property and not taking care of it when the first break came, great sections of it have washed away since then until practically the entire dam has to be rebuilt and the locks sealed off. So, there is a definite Government responsibility, and that is all I am asking for at this time. And, I am certainly objecting to anyone referring to it as charity when again I want to say to you that I have voted for hundreds of millions of dollars—yes, even billions of dollars—for reclamation projects and for flood control projects in the districts of the gentlemen who are today raising the question about the difference between this project and those they were interested in.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAILEY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SCHERER. I believe the gentleman stated that a great deal of damage has resulted from the neglect of the Army engineers in the maintenance of this dam and lock. Did I understand correctly?

Mr. BAILEY. I inferred as much, yes, and I am correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Then the gentleman said that the Government was facing a series of damage suits totaling possibly $5 million or $6 million.

Mr. BAILEY. I say that individuals have already consulted attorneys, and I know the State conservation commission is getting ready to file a suit against the Government.

Mr. SCHERER. What assurance do we have that if we pass this legislation no suits will be brought?

Mr. BAILEY. This bill provides that the responsibility for the maintenance of it rests with the people, and I can assure you there will be no suits filed if this lock is repaired.

Mr. SCHERER. In spite of the fact that this damage of $5 million or $6 million has already been sustained, you can assure us that if we pass this legislation the Government will not be facing those suits?

Mr. BAILEY. There will not be any suits filed by the State conservation commission. I could not speak for the individuals, but I think they will assume the same attitude. We want the lock repaired. We need it, and we are not interested in bringing suit. We are entitled to it. I hope it will be the pleasure of the House to support the findings of the conference committeee.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAILEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, am I to understand that the people of West Virginia and all of its officials believe that this is absolutely necessary for the good of West Virginia?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Is it not a fact that West Virginia has received practically nothing from the Federal Government in the way of public works, at least to compare with that received by other States?

Mr. BAILEY. That is true. For the benefit of the gentleman, may I remind him that the last military construction bill carried one item for West Virginia. That was the first installation that West Virginia has received in 2 or 3 bills of that kind. It was the only State of the Union that had not received a military installation.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I can say to the gentleman from West Virginia that West Virginia being in this situation and facing this need and having received so little from the Federal Government, it will have the support of our Democratic colleagues from Illinois.

Mr. BAILEY. I thank the gentleman.

Fantastic Federal Aid to Dallas County Revealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Dallas, Tex., Mr. ALGER, has placed his newsletter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD each week. These statements have told at great length what a statesman is the gentleman from Dallas, and he has been modest enough to admit that he is apparently the only Member of Congress interested in economy in Government.

I have nothing against newsletters, and believe they often are useful in informing the people of governmental actions. But the gentleman from Dallas is unusual in that he is one of the few, and perhaps the only, Member of Congress who places his newsletter in the RECORD each week, at a cost of some $200 per week to the taxpayers, for the purpose of saying he is opposed to spending Government funds.

In Dallas, Mr. Speaker, it is chic in some circles these days to be a Republican, and in those same circles it is popular to condemn Federal grants, loans, or any form of Federal assistance. The gentleman from Dallas, who apparently represents a very vocal oligarchy in his city, does not deviate from the norm in this respect, with relation to his public utterances and literary efforts.

But the idea that Dallas does not want, and does not accept, Federal funds is so false and misleading I am almost willing to ask the Federal Trade Commission to investigate it as unfair advertising. While the gentleman from Dallas, Mr. ALGER, and the Dallas Chamber of Commerce board of directors flay Federal aid in all forms, that aid pours into Dallas County in great abundance. It is a well-known fact that Dallas has two full-time paid lobbyists in Washington for the purpose of obtaining Federal projects, and furnishes them with an almost unlimited expense account, a suite of rooms at a swank hotel, and a modern office in downtown Washington.

I do not condemn the programs, for the most part, that are made available to the good people of Dallas. But I do think this House should be informed as to the true amount of Federal funds and projects going into this conservative stronghold, Dallas County, Tex., United States of America. For the facts are not consistent with Mr. ALGER's public statements.

Let me say at this point I believe I am privileged to make these remarks for two reasons: first, I am Texas born, and although I hold the State of California near and dear to my heart, I am not anti-Texas nor anti-Dallas. As a matter of fact, I have been in Dallas many times, and I found it to be a beautiful city populated by many very cordial, friendly, fair people. Second, the fact that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER] spends tax money in reproducing remarks showing him to be economy minded is a direct invitation for the full facts to be brought out.

I believe at this point I should relate that while the gentleman from Dallas was in his district recently, telling the people how he opposes foreign aid and other spending programs, a huge foreign-aid program was then under House consideration. On July 15, 1957, a foreign-aid bill came up in which the House trimmed more than $800 million from the measure: Mr. ALGER was not present

in this Chamber to vote either way on the measure. I submit that Mr. ALGER can fight programs to which he is opposed much more effectively in Washington, D. C., than he can in Dallas.

I have said that many of the Federal projects in Dallas are good ones. That is true. But it is not true of a proposed Federal building there, which is billed as a $24 million building, but which will actually cost much more. According to General Services Administration, this huge Federal building is apparently for the sole purpose of consolidating agencies from their present widely scattered locations. The GSA admits the Federal Government already owns one enormous building in Dallas at 1114 Commerce Street, but says it is not quite nice enough for their purpose.

Now it would cost only $870,000 to renovate the present building in Dallas. But apparently the administration had rather spend a great deal more money. This proposed new building would be financed at 4 percent interest rates, and during the first 25 years the Government would pay out $2,361,000 annually. At the end of that time, there would still be an annual custodial and maintenance upkeep cost of approximately $746,000 annually. The upkeep on the new building would be almost double the present $428,000 total rent the Federal Government pays annually to provide space for these widely scattered agencies that will be brought into this costly new building. Average cost to the Federal Government for this building will be $1,553,800 annually for a period of 50 years.

It would appear that if the gentleman from Dallas is really as economy minded as he would have us believe, he would protest the construction of this building. I am sure that, being a member of the Republican Party, which controls the executive branch, he could convince the Government this is an extravagant spending proposal. But I have searched the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in vain for an objection to this construction by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER]. I point out, too, that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER] is a member of the committee to which such construction matters are assigned for the necessary legislative action, and that he cannot, therefore, logically plead ignorance of this proposed building. Yet, within his committee he has not opposed this costly proposal. Now, he is either for economy or he is either for construction of this Federal building at great expense to the taxpayers. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER] cannot be for both. How will he declare himself on this matter?

Dallas is a prosperous city. It is a city of wealth and great abundance. Yet, according to the Texas Education Agency in a report dated August 1, 1957, Dallas County last year received Federal funds in the amount of $135,437.93 for its school-lunch program. And the Government gave Dallas County a total of $613,276 in Federal subsidy for its lunch program since 1952, and an additional $96,941.08 for its school-milk program. In addition to this, the Federal Government has reserved approximately $654,000 for Dallas County schools under the Federal-aid-to-impacted-areas program. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER] says he is against Federal aid to education. Does it not follow, then, that he wants the benefits herein described withdrawn from the schoolchildren of Dallas? And yet, I have not heard him make such a suggestion.

Dallas County last year received $249,617 from the Federal Government for medical research, and another $53,899 for dental research. In fact, the Federal Government has sent almost $847,000 into Dallas County for this research during the last 10 years, and put up $1,500,000 in Federal funds to help construct a fine hospital completed there in 1955. It would appear that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER] and his conservative physician friends would have objected to the Federal Government's helping the sick folks of Dallas.

According to Charles R. Grant, budget officer of the Department of Agriculture, Dallas County, during fiscal years 1955 through 1957, received $7,496,000 in Federal money from the Agriculture Department. I believe the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER] has been in Congress during that period, and, although he has said he is opposed to farm subsidies, the records do not show that he has protested 1 penny of the money sent into Dallas County.

During the year ending June 25, 1957, the Small Business Administration granted 52 loans in Dallas totaling $1,849,913 of Federal money, and additional $69,420 in disaster loans. No protests are filed.

Mr. ALGER hates Federal contributions, social security, and what he calls Government handouts if we can believe his newsletters. Then how does he feel about the people of Dallas County who receive $1,641,281 per month—or almost $20 million per year—in connection with the old-age and survivor's insurance program? Some 31,582 Dallas residents receive such checks every month. Does the gentleman from Dallas wish these checks to be discontinued? If he does, why does he not say so? And if he does not, then why does he insist upon verbally flaying that program that assists so many of his constituents?

According to the Veterans' Administration, for the year ending June 25, 1957, some 3,523 Dallas residents obtained GI home loans totaling more than $41 million, with a Government guaranty of $22,945,706. Since the end of World War II, veterans in Dallas County have received loans on 45,575 GI homes for a total of almost $350 million, with a Federal guaranty of more than $194 million. Would Mr. ALGER, have these more than 45,000 Dallas families move out of their homes because a Government program is involved? No telling how many of these veterans and many others received $75 monthly Government checks for some time while attending Southern Methodist University in Dallas under veterans' educational program. Would the gentleman from Dallas have these veterans surrender their diplomas from SMU because they are trained by Federal assistance?

I do not have the figures, but I am certain that much money from the Federal Government goes to thousands of Dallas County veterans in connection with pensions and disability compensation. Mr. ALGER says he is opposed to the veterans' program. Does he mean the Dallas County veterans should turn back their checks to the Government?

Another example of these terrible Federal funds is found in connection with Love Field, a commercial airport located in a heavily populated section of Dallas. Then entire project at Love Field was created and constructed outright by the Federal Government at a cost of $3,412,000, and all told the Government has given $5,832,109 to Love Field construction, expansion and renovation. And even this does not account for all Federal funds going into Dallas County for the use of airports there. The total figure for all Dallas County airports is $7,465,866. Why does not Mr. ALGER protest this encroachment by the Federal Government upon Dallas' commercial air industry?

Mr. ALGER recently attacked a flood-control project passed in the district of one of his Texas colleagues, shortly after the area for which it had been passed had suffered a damaging flood. He issued press releases and wrote in his newsletter that he could not in good faith vote to spend Federal money on the project. Where was Mr. ALGER's good faith when the Government was considering a project known as the Dallas floodway? I did not see him rise to object to the fact that the Federal Government is putting up $8,996,000 in Federal funds for this project, while the Dallas local government will put up only $1,400,000.

In addition to the federally financed Dallas floodway, Dallas directly gets the benefit of three other dams, located in adjoining counties, costing a total of 36,123,000 Federal dollars for construction, maintenance, studies, and general operation. The dams were constructed for the primary purpose of helping Dallas citizens. Would Mr. ALGER say to the Government: "Remove these dams, they are not needed nor wanted by the people I represent, because they were constructed by tax funds"?

And how about those socialistic military payrolls? In Hensley Field, Dallas, the Federal Government last year paid out $1,462,000 to civilian employees, and another $1,526,000 to military personnel stationed there. Grand Prairie Naval Air Station in Dallas County got $581,415 for the civilian payroll and another $2,104,000 for the military payroll, during the past year. Should the merchants of Dallas reject these "evil" Federal dollars, I ask the gentleman from Dallas?

Even those payrolls pale when compared with the Federal contracts given Temco Aircraft Corp. and Chance Vought Aircraft in Dallas County. According to the Department of Defense, the Government contracts at Temco total $33 million, and at Chance Vought the total Government contracts amount to $463 million. Yes, these plants are free enterprise in name, but who will dispute the fact that money from the

Federal Government provides employment for thousands of Dallas citizens and brings food to their tables? Should these plants be moved from Dallas County, Mr. ALGER, or should the Government cancel its contracts because you say you are opposed to Government in business?

There are many Government employees in Dallas, and they receive a great deal of Federal money with which they pay their local taxes, buy their cars, their food, their clothes, their entertainment, and other items from Dallas businessmen. Mr. ALGER apparently has not protested any of the fine buildings and projects constructed by Federal money in Dallas, nor the excellent equipment placed in these buildings by Federal funds. But how has Mr. ALGER reacted to the workers who are employed in these buildings and on these projects? Why, he has voted against pay raises in Congress that would give these many Dallas employees added compensation, and allow their purchasing power in Dallas to increase for the benefit of the local economy.

Dallas Post employees number 2,505, and in a single year, fiscal 1957, their payroll amounted to $11,431,000. Would Mr. ALGER have mail service in Dallas discontinued because it costs some Federal funds to provide service? Would he toss the faithful Dallas postal workers out of jobs? Or, does he feel he is being big hearted because he has not asked for their jobs, but "only" opposed their recent pay raise, designed to bring up their standard of living?

There are numerous other Federal offices of regional and district importance in Dallas, including the District Internal Revenue Office, the Immigration Service, Customs, General Services Administration, Regional Post Office Department, Small Business Administration, Department of Labor, and so on. I don't have the figures for all these agencies, but let us consider one as an example.

Let's look, for instance, at the Regional Veteran's Administration office in Dallas. The Government constructed a hospital there at an original cost of $11,397,652. The real estate was purchased at a cost of an additional $10,358,263. The Government has since invested more than $2 million in additional equipment, and the payroll at the Dallas VA office is almost $5 million—to be exact, $4,899,804 per year.

How about the Commodity Credit Corporation? Well, one man, the epitome of conservatism," received more than $8 million from this agency for storing Government wheat, then became outraged when the Government insisted he make good on most of the wheat because he allowed it to spoil and ruin from faulty storage. And that is only one case of Federal money being released in Dallas through this agency.

Dallas County has some excellent roads and highways. Some 109.9 miles of this was constructed by Federal funds totaling $19,128,800 through fiscal 1957, from fiscal 1953. I will bet Mr. ALGER drives on those roads, and I know many of his constituents do. Shall we rip the roads up, I ask the gentleman from Dallas, who loves economy and hates Federal money?

Why, Mr. Speaker, I don't believe there is a field in which Dallas citizens have failed to receive some Federal aid. At Seagoville, Tex., in Dallas County, the Government spent a great deal of money constructing a Federal Correctional Institute. During fiscal 1957, the Federal Government spent $752,919 operating this correctional institute. Would Mr. ALGER say open the gates, turn the inmates loose on Dallas County's law-abiding citizens and never mind the danger, because, after all, we'll save the Government some money?

Now the figures I have recited to you certainly do not account for all Federal money in Dallas County. Think of the untold dollars that could be added to this total if one but had the time to figure them out. This does not include construction and upkeep of many regional and district offices, salaries for each of these agencies employees, and many, many other items. The best I can figure, the total amount of Government expenditures revealed here today, counting grants, loans, gifts, subsidies, guaranties, and other programs, is $902,105,597, and that is only a drop in the bucket, as I only hit the high spots.

So let the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER], and the Dallas Chamber of Commerce directors, and others of this high oligarchy which prides itself in "controlling" Dallas County, cease from their verbal spoutings against Federal aid, while they enjoy the fruits of Federal aid in so many, many ways. Let us dispel the idea that Dallas County is so conservative it stands alone without any Federal assistance. Let the Dallas Morning News, which gleefully chronicles the statements of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER], to all and sundry, reflect for a moment on the good the Federal Government has done for Dallas County. Let this newspaper and the chamber board of directors and its Congressman realize, for once, that the Federal Government is here to help, not hurt, our people.

I am sure the great majority of the thinking people of Dallas already know these facts. I am sure the average Dallas resident loves his city, loves his State, loves his Nation, and the Government that works for the benefit of the people. Most thinking Dallas people, I am sure, are fully aware of the bountiful blessings they enjoy, and will no longer be fooled by the utterances of the gentleman from Dallas [Mr. ALGER], who wants to pretend Dallas gets no Federal aid, who wants to speak against Federal aid, but who knows within his heart that the good people of Dallas benefit from almost every Federal program known to the mind of man.

Either the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER] is opposed to these programs, and is, therefore, against the benefits his city and its people get, or he is not opposed to them. And if it is the latter, Mr. Speaker, then he should change his speeches to fit his views accordingly.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, this has set the RECORD straight with relation to "conservative Dallas and its Federal-aid-hating leaders."

Twenty-second, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fourth in a Series of Editorial Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, following are the 22d, 23d, and 24th in the series of editor's letters by Mr. F. F. McNaughton currently being published in the Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.:

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 15, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

In fairness to Russia, I think I should write this.

Russia fears Germany.

Twice in the memory of most adult Russians, Germany has jumped on Russia.

In both cases, Germany, damaged Russia savagely. It is as though you, a farmer, had a neighbor farmer who twice had jumped on you and beaten you, and busted your skull with a rifle butt, and rammed a bayonet through your body a few times.

How would you feel toward that neighbor?

I can remember when I said, after Germany had done it only once, that Germany must never be allowed to lift its head again.

Then Germany did it again.

The person in Russia whom I most surely believe (he has lived there as head of a big news agency for many years) told Ceil and me that he believed 25 million Russians were killed in the last war. A Russian woman whom we knew in America said: "The men of my age were killed."

One thing sure:

Russian men of that age are not in sight. Women are doing the work from hotel clerks to hog tenders.

"I was here during that war," said our friend. "I was in Moscow when the Germans bombed and shelled it. The Germans destroyed city after city; and killed entire armies. They came within an ace of destroying Russia.

Now, oddly, we Americans have gotten around on the side of the Germans. We are mad at the Russians because they object to Germany being reunited and made strong again.

But the Russians—they cannot understand why we encourage an enemy that not only has fought us twice in one generation, but started both fights, and (especially if they get strong) probably will start world war III.

The Russians pointed out that Germany already has recovered so well that it is the most prosperous nation in Europe. England is poor. France, Italy, Spain, Austria are much poorer. Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Portugal, and Greece are little. But Germany is getting richer and stronger every day, and (Russia believes) more dangerous again. Why (asks Russia) put a gun in the hands of a man who has twice run amuck already?

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 16, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S WIFE SPEAKS TODAY

"Now you come see us."

Isn't that what every polite guest says to a host who has gone all out to please?

We have met some pleasant and gracious Russians who have put themselves out to be kind to us, but when we invite them to

"Come see us sometime," they reply, sometimes sadly:

"Your Government won't let us."

We've invited Britons—and they have come.

We've invited Arabs—and they have come.

We've invited Indians—and they have come.

But Russians?

I don't know much about such things, but they tell me Communists are barred from visiting America.

And fingerprinting.

No Scotland Yard, no uppish dictator anywhere in this world has ever demanded that we be fingerprinted upon entering a country.

Russians tell us that the United States requires that tourists from Russia be fingerprinted. Wisdom may dictate that this is necessary; but Russia thinks it is an insult.

Mister Mac and I both think that the best way to convince Russians that the American way is better than the Communist way is for ordinary Russians to come over and see the American way of life.

We wish a million would come.

We think it is highly important that since those Russian farmers visited the United States a couple years ago, there has been unrest among farmers wherever Communist dictators make farmers work as hired hands of the state. Perhaps my husband will write more about this tomorrow.

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 17, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

There's unrest on Communist farms.

You may recall that I wrote that the two things most damaging to communism in recent months were:

1. Massacre of Hungarian workingmen and students on orders from Moscow;

2. Russia's permitting some of her farmers to come to America to see how American farmers work and live.

Both were major boners.

The second was made much worse by permitting Russian reporters to come along with the Russian farmers.

You know the song:

"How you gonna keep 'em down on the farm, after they've seen Paree?"

No Russian who has ever seen an Illinois farm would ever again be content as a hired man of the state on a collective farm.

You remember the political upheaval here in Moscow this summer, with Khrushchev coming out on top. The first government decree issued after that was:

"Ease up on farmers."

Do farmers like collective farms on which the state owns the land and the former owners work as hired men?

They do not.

Here is the proof.

When Tito in Yugoslavia gave farmers permission to dissolve collective farms, the farmers quit in a rush and went back to individual farming.

I've just talked to a well-informed Pole and he told me that when Gomulka gave Polish farmers permission to quit collectives, 80 percent of them quit the collectives in a few months. I verified later that Poland has only 2,200 collective farms left. They had 10,600 last year.

In Hungary, after the massacre, half the collective farms collapsed.

Some of the big bosses in Moscow must find this hard to understand for plainly many peasants are better off in collectives than in the old days; but it must be the natural yen of a man of the soil to be his own boss and reap the profit from his own toil.

So, when you add the discontent of the farmers to the fact that the collective farm plan is failing to come anywhere near American production, you can see that communism in agriculture in Russia (and China) may fail—and if it does, can communism live?

New Idea Division of Avco Manufacturing Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, on page A6621 of the Appendix to the RECORD, dated August 13, 1957, appears extension of remarks of the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. DINGELL. The remarks refer to the New Idea division of Avco Manufacturing Corp., which is located in my district, fourth, Ohio.

I am in recipt of a letter from Mr. Blair Williams, assistant general manager of New Idea which contains some pointed statements concerning such extension. The letter will follow my remarks.

I suggest that Mr. Williams' letter be carefully read by every person who was, or may now, be interested in the dispute, which, fortunately, was settled by mutual agreement 10 days, or more, ago:

NEW IDEA DIVISION,
AVCO MANUFACTURING CORP.,
Coldwater, Ohio., August 20, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MCCULLOCH: My attention has been directed to an extension of remarks the Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL, Democrat, of Michigan, placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Tuesday, August 13, in which he presented inaccuracies, misleading statements and false inferences about a labor dispute that had existed in your district and which had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties more than 48 hours before he chose to make this improper use of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I protest the use of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the United States in this unorthodox manner. However, because this ill-considered and improper attack has been made by Mr. DINGELL on Avco Manufacturing Corp., and on its New Idea Division in Coldwater, Ohio, I respectfully request that the following facts be given equal prominence.

As evidence of the satisfactory settlement of this work stoppage, I quote from a statement issued jointly by a company representative and S. K. Brock, president of the New Idea local of the Steelworkers which was published in the Daily Standard, Celina, Ohio, on Monday, August 12: "* * * the new settlement, which assures almost 3 years of uninterrupted labor-management relations, will be extremely beneficial to both parties."

To give you the major features of the new contract, I quote from a joint company-union release to newspapers made on Saturday, August 17:

"The farm equipment plant (New Idea, at Coldwater) resumed full production August 12, after union members unanimously accepted the agreement at a meeting August 11.

"The new contract expires April 15, 1960, and contains automatic wage increases in lieu of a wage reopening arrangement as in the past.

"The wage increase that was put into effect immediately provides for a 14-cent increase in the lowest labor grade. Employees in all other labor grades will receive a 9-cent across-the-board increase plus additional increases in each grade of 1 cent increments.

"Across-the-board increases of 7 cents in 1958 and 8 cents in 1959 are included in the contract. Under the new agreement, wages reflecting the first of these increases will range from $1.69 to $2.65 per hour through 18 labor grades.

"Other economic increases include improved hospitalization and insurance benefits and increased vacation pay. A cost-of-living provision based on the BLS index level of November 1957 will go into effect July 1, 1958, should any increase in the cost of living occur. An extra half holiday has been added, bringing the total paid holidays to seven and one-half.

"The contract provides also for arbitration of incentive standard grievances and incentive payment figured on a job basis."

Parenthetically, in reference to the second paragraph of the news release, the company insisted on a 3-year contract with a no-strike clause to insure labor peace—something New Idea has not experienced since the steelworkers became the authorized bargaining agents for its Coldwater employees. It is my understanding that our new contract grants more generous increases than any negotiated in our industry to date in 1957.

Mr. DINGELL refers to a wage lower than 50 cents an hour below that paid by other organized companies in the industry. He doesn't state what companies, or what industry. I wish to point out that in a comprehensive survey of farm-equipment factories, made by New Idea before the strike, in no case was there a wage differential even approximating the amount to which Mr. DINGELL referred. Indeed, New Idea wage rates before the strike compared favorably with those of other farm-equipment plants, and our new rates place us among the highest in our industry.

Mr. DINGELL states that New Idea can afford to meet the wage standards generally prevailing in the steel industry. I'm sure you know that manufacturers of farm implements cannot be correctly placed under the broad heading of the steel industry. the farm implement-industry, in general, pays lower wages than the steel industry, because of the type of production work done. Farm-equipment production involves lighter work and a smaller percentage of highly skilled labor than steel production.

New Idea, in its months of negotiations with the steelworkers, was in a real sense fighting the farmer's battle against price increases on the machines they use to earn their living. Our sales are to farmers, and their plight—caught in a cost-price squeeze for several years—is of especial interest to us, as it is to the Congress. Farming is the critical area in the national economy. In our judgment it is not practical for New Idea to pass on to farmers the full impact of higher costs resulting from wage increases and other employee benefits.

In a prestrike survey of 13 other manufacturers in this area, employing from 89 to 1,700 production personnel, New Idea wages were shown to be above the average and the only ones ranking above New Idea in wage rates were those having a higher percentage of highly skilled employees.

Mr. DINGELL made passing reference to cost-of-living clauses. As examination of our new contract would reveal, the cost-of-living section as agreed to by the company, incorporates the steelworkers' own cost-of-living escalator clause.

Mr. DINGELL brought up the subject of defense contracts. New Idea is Avco's farm equipment division and has no defense contracts. During the firm's 58-year history, it has had only 3 small Government contracts, in 1951, amounting to only $336,000.

Mr. DINGELL implied that Avco's profits are such that the company could well afford to grant wage increases of most any size,

while the truth of the matter is the corporation showed a substantial loss for the latest full year—1956. Each division of Avco is expected to stand on its own feet, and New Idea itself lost money in 1955 and has not made adequate profits in the last 4 years. A major factor has been the frequent strikes by the steelworkers at this location, totaling 7 months in the past 4 years.

Your efforts to give the above facts equal prominence to the inaccuracies, misleading statements, and false inferences made by Mr. DINGELL will be appreciated not only by myself, but by many other citizens in this area who know the issues involved in the work stoppage and who share my happiness that the community now looks forward to at least 3 years of labor peace.

Sincerely,

BLAIR WILLIAMS,
Assistant General Manager.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Subject Dogs to Poison Gas and Thus To Repeat Observations Made on Gassed Soldiers in the First World War."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO SUBJECT DOGS TO POISON GAS AND THUS TO REPEAT OBSERVATIONS MADE ON GASSED SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

This experiment is reported in the Journal of Clinical Investigation, volume 26, No. 5, dated September 1947, pages 936–944. It is reported by its perpetrators: H. D. Bruner, Robert D. Boche, Charles C. Chapple, Mary H. Gibbon, and Miles D. McCarthy.

This group of investigators starts right out by admitting, in their article, that doctors have known since World War I that the breathing of atmosphere having abnormally high oxygen content is the best treatment for poison-gas cases. That is, a poison-gas case—if there were any today—would be treated in an oxygen tent.

The investigators knew that before they started their experiment, and they knew it when they got through: But it is only fair to mention that, if their experiment had seemed to show that oxygen therapy is not worth while in poison-gas cases, sensible doctors would have paid no attention to them whatever, since sensible doctors know that oxygen therapy is indicated in such cases.

Here is the way the vivisectors justify this experiment while flying in the face of the fact that their whole admitted purpose was to learn nothing substantial whatever: They cite the fact that doctors, since the First World War, have had "a uniformly high opinion of breathing oxygen." They state that "the use of oxygen in subsequent accidental poisonings has confirmed that evaluation"; that is, the evaluation given to oxygen therapy during World War I. But the vivisectors go on to say, "While it is generally agreed that oxygen therapy is clinically indicated * * * no data have been found which permit statistical confirmation." In other words, here were some vivisectors setting out merely to pile up statistics, which they thought valuable.

Their method of going about it was to use phosgene gas on dogs in groups of 4 or 6. Phosgene gas is a cyanide product. The dogs exposed to it were placed in a special chamber where the gas was poured in upon them for periods of 30 minutes.

Then came the part of the experiment which perhaps was most interesting, at least from the standpoint of the dyed-in-the-wool gambler. A lottery was held to determine which of the gassed dogs would be given oxygen therapy and which would be allowed to go untreated.

The unluckiest group—that is, the group for which the vivisectors decided to do nothing—was put aside, while its members were free either to recover or to gasp out their lives as quickly as they could.

There is little point in going into the terrible details of poison gas. Everyone is generally familiar with them. The symptoms include nausea horrible gasping. Who has not seen a motion picture, at one time or another, showing the plight of a soldier in World War I staggering through a gassed area, coughing and clutching miserably at his throat? Indeed poison gas is generally conceded to be so cruel that the whole world long since has agreed to outlaw it altogether. Even the Nazis abided by this decision during the recent war—so that poison gas is used today, apparently, in only one place: the vivisectional laboratory, where nothing is barred, no matter how repulsive it may be to humanitarians.

The dogs to be treated, meanwhile, were placed in an oxygen chamber and kept there either for 72 hours or until they died, even in spite of receiving treatment. It should be noted that the original gassing was so severe as to invite death even with treatment.

Indeed the gassing was so severe that about two-thirds of the untreated dogs died; and almost that percentage of the treated dogs also succumbed. However, as the vivisectors point out, the abnormally large amount of oxygen breathed by the dogs under treatment had, in itself, a harmful effect. That is, the oxygen content was just naturally too high—higher than would be used in the sensible treating of human patients. Therefore the vivisectors admit that it is impossible to tell whether many of the treated dogs died as a result of the phosgene gas or of the oxygen treatment itself.

Consequently, the vital statistics developed in this experiment admittedly mean very little even as meaningless statistics.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Time for Adjournment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the title of the following editorial should be "Time for Adjournment." Appearing in the August 19 issue of the Marion (Ohio) Star, it reflects the feeling in the Eighth District of Ohio that the people want Congress to quit and go home. It also points up the fact that some of the issues which we here in Washington think are important are not received with the same enthusiasm at home:

Reports from Washington of plans to push for adjournment of Congress not later than August 24 are being heard in an atmosphere of complete consent from the constituents of Representatives and Senators.

There is no popular pressure on Congress to stay in session beyond August 24. There has been no popular pressure on Congress to stay in session this long.

The 1st session of the 85th Congress has been and will continue to be free from pressure. The only issue that generated any steam was the budget, and the pressure that was built up against a $72 billion budget was dissipated by adroit management which made it appear the total would be whittled down without drawing blood or leaving scars.

The civil-rights issue, which threatened to start a filibuster in the Senate, also was adroitly handled. Aside from it, no other proposal could have produced a time-consuming deadlock.

The circumstances of deadlock were not present this year. There were no burning isues to inflame public opinion. President Eisenhower's proposals for legislation were neither arbitrary in nature nor in the manner of their presentation.

Adjournment by August 24 is entirely feasible. There is a time for Congress to get out of Washington, just as there is a time for everything else—and the time this year is before Labor Day.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment Concerning the Administration of Adrenalin to Cats Which Have Been Skinned Alive."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF ADRENALIN TO CATS WHICH HAVE BEEN SKINNED ALIVE (DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO SCHOOL OF MEDICINE)

This test was carried out in the department of physiology, University of Buffalo School of Medicine. It was reported by the men who performed it, Charles E. Whitcher and Fred R. Griffith, Jr., in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 156, dated January 1949, pages 114 through 116.

Adrenalin, being a stimulant, normally causes a slight rise in temperature soon after it is administered.

On the other hand, it is well known that the skin is an animal's heat regulator: If all the skin is removed, temperature may be expected to drop.

At the risk of oversimplifying this experiment to a slight extent, it may be said that the Drs. Whitcher and Griffith, Jr. reasoned that if a cat were skinned alive, even the administration of adrenalin wouldn't prevent the animal's temperature from dropping.

So they proceeded to make temperature comparisons between skinned cats and an-

other variety of creature which they described as an intact cat. That means a normal cat wearing a skin.

The vivisectors used 14 cats in this experiment, removing all skin save on the heads, feet, and tails. Each animal was given what the vivisectors call anesthesia by means of dial urethane (Ciba).

It just happens, however, that dial urethane (Ciba) is not an anesthetic. It is a hypnotic drug, somewhat stronger than a sleeping pill, to be sure—but still a hypnotic and not an anesthetic. The Ciba people do not sell it as an anesthetic.

In this experiment (though the vivisectors do not say so) the dial urethane probably had two advantages. First, it rendered each cat dopey enough to make him largely unable to fight back against having his skin torn off. Second, it did not, of itself, cause the sort of temperature drop usually associated with real anesthetics. And that was important—because the vivisectors wanted to measure the drop in temperature resulting from being skinned, not the drop resulting from being given an anesthetic.

With the cat completely skinned, the doctors placed a thermometer in his rectum, gave him adrenalin, and then watched him for half an hour—noting that his temperature, sure enough, did decline markedly.

There is no statement as to what happened to each cat at the end of the half hour, though it is only reasonable that all had to be destroyed—probably as painlessly as possible under the circumstances.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Determine How Much Pressure Must Be Applied to an Animal's Tail To Cause It To Rot Away."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO DETERMINE HOW MUCH PRESSURE MUST BE APPLIED TO AN ANIMAL'S TAIL TO CAUSE IT TO ROT AWAY (DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA)

This strange test was reported in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 158, dated July 1949, pages 113 through 118, by the two men who carried it out—Arnold L. Lehmann and Roger M. Reinecke, of the Department of Physiology, University of Minnesota.

At first glance, the reader will wonder how on earth two sane human beings could have thought of such an experiment—let alone suppose that it could have had an actual purpose.

Actually, it did have a "purpose," in a sense. That is, it appears to be utterly without relationship to anything sensible whatsoever—and yet it does bear some slight relationship to work that already has been carried out by doctors engaged in treating day-to-day patients. The connection is slight, but admittedly it does exist.

First let us examine the technique of this experiment. The Vivisectors Lehmann and Reinecke knew to start with that if blood circulation is cut off in any member of the body, the result will be that the member will "die" and rot away.

Accordingly, they worked out a novel way to cut off circulation in the tails of mice, and thereby to cause those members to rot.

The implement used in this "work" is described as a pneumatic sheath. Imagine the sheath for a sword. Imagine that when the sword is in the sheath, the mouth of the sheath can be made air tight. Then imagine that a hole in the sheath makes it possible to connect an air hose so that compressed air can be forced into the sheath, thereby building up pressure on the sword blade.

Now, a sword blade would not be affected much by a sheath full of compressed air—but the tail of a mouse is a little more sensitive.

The Vivisectors Lehmann and Reinecke fitted sheaths to the tails of a large number of mice and then built up the inside air pressure, more in some cases, less in others. When the air pressure became sufficiently greater than the blood pressure, it squeezed shut the blood vessels within the tail, thus cutting off the flow of blood. Anyone who has had a tourniquet applied to his arm for a few seconds can understand to some degree how this would feel.

The experimental animals spent not a few minutes but an entire week with their tails under high air pressure.

What the vivisectors learned, according to their report, was this: If a tail is kept under a pressure of 30 millimeters of mercury for a week, recovery still is possible. But if the pressure is held at 40 millimeters, the tail will rot away. That is what the experimenters learned. It is what they reported. It is substantially all they reported.

The reader may wonder, now, what bearing this has on any sensible medical problem. The answer is that the bearing is slight. It is this; In recent years, practicing doctors have worked out a form of dressing for wounds known as a "pressure bandage." It is especially useful in treating such things as burns.

Formerly, burns were coated with tannic acid. This caused a crust to form over the burned area, and thus prevented seepage of plasma. But at the same time, infection almost always formed to some extent under the crust. But with a sterile dressing, kept under pressure by means of elastic material, infection can be avoided and at the same time the pressure can be made sufficient to prevent the seepage of blood plasma from the surface of the wound.

The question, then, is how tight may a pressure dressing be without causing serious damage to the circulatory system? Practicing doctors of course know the answer. They learned by tentative trials with their human patients—subjecting those patients to careful "experiments" which, nevertheless, were bound to be an improvement over the old tannic acid system.

That, presumably, is what gave the Vivisectors Lehmann and Reinecke their basic idea for squeezing animals' tails to dry rot and death. The reader may form his own opinion as to the need for this particular animal experiment in the interests of medical science.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Observe the Carbon Dioxide Content After 'Sharp Freezing' the Brain of Conscious but Paralyzed Cats."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO OBSERVE THE CARBON DIOXIDE CONTENT AFTER "SHARP FREEZING" THE BRAIN OF CONSCIOUS BUT PARALYZED CATS (DEPARTMENTS OF PSYCHIATRY, PHARMACOLOGY AND BIOLOGICAL CHEMISTRY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE OF MEDICINE)

This experiment was reported by its authors—James A. Bain and J. Raymond Klein, of the Departments of Psychiatry, Pharmacology, and Biological Chemistry, University of Illinois College of Medicine—in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 158, No. 3, dated September 1949, pages 478 through 484.

The vivisectors set forth at the outset that upsets in the central nervous system are linked to the degree of concentration of carbon dioxide in the blood as it passes through the brain. That is, extensive breathing of carbon dioxide can cause panting, convulsions, and coma. At the same time, petit mal (a slight epileptic attack) can be relieved by forcing the victim to breathe a higher concentration of carbon dioxide.

Knowing this, the vivisectors decided that they wanted to pile up some exact statistics on the subject. Specifically, they wanted to make notes concerning the amount of carbon dioxide found in the blood and brains of animals which had been forced to breathe various concentrations of it and which, also, had been given various sorts of drugs intended to produce convulsions and certain other unpleasant conditions.

One medical critic, looking over the report of this experiment, made the following observation: "The exact point of all this escapes me. Either it is an investigation of a high, complex, and distinctly theoretical nature, or else I am feeling more than usually dull this morning."

At any rate, it may be of interest to examine the technique used by the vivisectors. The subjects of the experiment were cats, apparently at least 13 in number. Each cat, to use the vivisectors' own wording, was "paralyzed with dihydro-β-erythroidine." This does not mean that the cat was placed under anesthesia. It means simply that the cat was given a drug which caused paralysis. The cat's breathing, from that point onward, had to be accomplished by means of artificial respiration.

The cat then was strapped down, and the top of its skull was sawed off to expose the brain.

Then various cats were treated in various ways. Some breathed room air; some breathed varying concentrations of carbon dioxide. Some were stimulated to the convulsive stage by electrical shock. Others were thrown into convulsions through injection into the veins of a number of drugs—

bicarbonate, hydrochloric acid, sodium cyanide, and metrazol.

One cat was subjected to an additional bit of surgery; the vivisectors cut into its neck and tied off the carotid arteries.

One hour after the start of such procedures, each cat was given the final blow; its exposed brain was "sharp frozen." That is, the vivisectors poured into the brain cavity a quantity of liquid air, having a temperature of 320° below zero Fahrenheit. The liquid air treatment of course killed the cat, because it instantly caused the animal's brain to be frozen rock hard. The frozen brains then were removed for examination.

In connection with this experiment, it may be noted that doctors often object to the word "vivisection," meaning "to cut up alive," because (they contend) experimental animals never really are cut up alive. The present experiment offers an interesting sidelight on the truth or falsity of this oft-repeated medical statement.

It may also be noted that the experimenters in this case drew the following conclusion from their work. They state in their report that the breathing of carbon dioxide "raises the convulsive threshold to certain drugs and to electric shock, whereas it lowers the convulsive threshold to other drugs." This was known, of course, before the start of the experiment.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Observe the Effects of Intense Chilling Applied to 21 Dogs."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO OBSERVE THE EFFECTS OF INTENSE CHILLING APPLIED TO 21 DOGS (DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY, BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE)

This adventure into science was carried out by the Drs. Hans O. Haterius and George L. Maison, of the Department of Physiology, Boston University School of Medicine. They reported this apparently pointless experiment in the American Journal of Physiology for February 1948.

The technique employed by Haterius and Maison was very simple. They took dogs—21 of them in all—and immersed them up to their necks in a tub of ice water having a temperature just barely above the freezing point. The idea in submerging an animal up to his neck was to observe the length of time it would take him to sustain a collapse.

Haterius and Maison, having caused an animal to collapse, then proceeded to rewarm him in another tub with water at a temperature of about 112° F. If the dog managed not to die they sometimes put him back in the ice water to see how well he could withstand a second supercooling.

Those with pure scientific curiosity may be interested to know that a dog placed in water just above the freezing point may collapse in as little as 67 minutes—although his ordeal may extend to 193 minutes, 3¼ hours for all practical purposes.

The vivisectors made some interesting observations in connection with their report on all this. Here is what they had to say about anesthesia:

"While recourse to anesthesia in this type of experiment is difficult of defense on a strictly physiological basis, it proved desirable from certain standpoints to induce an initial narcosis sufficient at least to offset the intense psychomotor disturbances otherwise incurred by abrupt immersion in a chilled bath."

What the experimenters mean is that anesthesia itself tends to lower body temperature, among other things, and consequently an animal under anesthesia would succumb to the cold water treatment more quickly than an unanesthetized animal. However, the vivisectors did not wish to be disturbed apparently, with the intense psychomotor disturbances displayed by their subjects—which is to say, shivering and perhaps involuntary and voluntary struggles—so they gave to each dog, not anesthesia, but such light and short acting drugs as sodium pentothal in sedative doses. This would be something like taking the cold water treatment after being anesthetized only to the extent of having swallowed a sleeping tablet.

Incidentally, Haterius and Maison apparently consider themselves fairly merciful at that, for in their article they refer to the fact that C. R. Spealman did this same experiment without any pretense at anesthesia whatever. He reported his work along this line in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 146, page 262, issued during 1946.

In the course of their article Haterius and Maison make an interesting observation. They announce the finding that continued shivering is a distressing experience. And they add that concentration is difficult, one thought dominating—the desire for termination of shivering.

And while their 21 experimental dogs, one after the other, were lying in the iced water, presumably dominated by a desire for freedom and the termination of shivering, Haterius and Maison learned the best treatment for an animal suffering from supercooling. They learned that the proper therapy in such a case is to warm the animal up. They say so in their article. That statement is, in brief, their total scientific contribution which might be regarded as constructive. To be specific about it, they found that an animal which had been in the cold water long enough to collapse as a result of either the failure of his heart or of his lungs, usually could be revived by being placed in a bath of warm water.

It is interesting to note that out of the total of 21 dogs, only 8 died as a result of the treatment meted out to them by Haterius and Maison. The other 13 lived—and possibly were subjected to other vivisectional whimsies later on.

NATIONAL ANTIVIVISECTION SOCIETY.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Demonstrate Certain Known Characteristics of Shock by Mashing the Legs of Dogs With a Rawhide Hammer."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO DEMONSTRATE CERTAIN KNOWN CHARACTERISTICS OF SHOCK BY MASHING THE LEGS OF DOGS WITH A RAWHIDE HAMMER (DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

This experiment was the project of Magnus I. Gregerson and Walter S. Root, of the department of physiology, Columbia University. They reported on it in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 148, dated January 1947, pages 98 through 123.

On a great many occasions—but especially during the First World War—doctors treating human patients noticed a reduction in blood volume during the development of shock. It was this observation, made in Flanders' Field, which caused doctors to realize that transfusions should be given in shock cases.

However, Gregerson and Root decided that it would be interesting to watch blood volume drop in dogs as a result of shock. It should be noted that they knew at the outset that blood volume could be expected to drop in shock cases. In this experiment, Gregerson and Root were not searching for a means of preventing shock. They were not searching for any details as to the proper administration of plasma. They were not searching for a cure for anything in particular. They were intent merely upon shocking dogs by means of a procedure which neither man nor dog very well could be expected to encounter in ordinary living.

The "surgical" part of this experiment was very simple. The dog was strapped down. He was given a very light administration of ether—apparently enough to make his struggles ineffective, but, according to Gregerson and Root, not enough to blot out his sense of "feel." To use their own words: "Although we were able to produce a fatal shock consistently in a high percentage of the animals, we never eliminated the element of 'feel'."

Protective hair covering over the dogs' hind legs was removed with clippers. Then a rawhide mallet was brought into play. Each dog received from 700 to 1,000 blows on each of his hind legs. Perhaps it would be well to let the vivisectors tell this part of it in their own words: "The contusions (injuries) produced marked swellings and hemorrhage into the tissues. The swelling extended into the flank and groin. The first few hundred blows usually caused a greater degree of swelling than did the later blows."

The ether, never given in any great amount, was stopped as soon as the beating was finished. The dog was allowed to get up, if he could, on his mashed hind legs.

Of 30 dogs treated in this fashion, 25 died—but first they lived, for periods ranging from a bit less than 1 hour to 9 hours and 21 minutes.

Numerous interesting observations were made: Dogs able to survive for less than 2½ hours panted and gasped. An injured dog, allowed to drink water, immediately vomited. When death was near, the animals frequently twitched. These are the contributions to scientific knowledge made by the vivisectors Gregerson and Root.

It has been noted that of 30 dogs, 25 died within less than 10 hours. But what of the other 5?

They were brought back to the vivisection room the following day to be beaten again. Three of them died the moment they were placed once more upon the vivisection board.

Apparently they died of terror. Here is the way the vivisectors express it: "We have seen three dogs which survived shock suddenly expire the following day when they were again placed upon the animal board. We do not know how great a role this may play in our experiments" (the placing of the animals on the board, that is).

The vivisectors give no clue as to the ultimate fate of the surviving dogs in this experiment.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Verify Certain Failures Already Confirmed in Human Surgery."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO VERIFY CERTAIN FAILURES ALREADY CONFIRMED IN HUMAN SURGERY (DEPARTMENT OF SURGERY, HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL, AND THE DEPARTMENT OF NEUROLOGICAL SURGERY, CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, BOSTON)

This experiment, or long series of experiments, was reported in the Journal of Neuropathology and Experimental Neurology, volume 7, No. 2, dated April 1948, pages 123 through 143. The following vivisectors made the report: Franc D. Ingraham, Donald D. Matson, Eben Alexander, Jr., and Robert P. Woods, of the department of surgery, Harvard Medical School, and the department of neurological surgery, Children's Hospital, Boston.

The experiments had to do with the disease known as hydrocephalus, which means a collection of fluid in the ventricles of the brain. The brain ventricles are a series of connected cavities running through the brain; and under normal circumstances fluid rises from the blood stream, flows into these cavities, through them, and out of them again, being absorbed by other body tissues and finally being carried away by the blood stream as waste.

But when the exit from the brain ventricles becomes plugged up, the fluid has nowhere to go. The volume of the fluid rises, exerting undue pressure throughout the brain. After exhibiting numerous distressing symptoms, the patient generally dies. That is hydrocephalus.

Naturally, doctors would like to find a way to relieve this ailment, and as a matter of fact, serious surgeons have been trying to do so for years. At one time or anothers, they have operated upon human patients, and while some of them have rendered favorable reports, others have not. The general consensus is that hydrocephalus is not likely to respond to surgical techniques for a number of technical reasons.

At the risk of oversimplifying, it may be said that about the only apparent surgical approach is to create or to install an artificial passage leading from the brain ventricles, around the stopped-up point, and thence back to the blood stream. The trouble is that venous blood pressure is always greater than brain-fluid pressure, even when the fluid pressure is much too high—so that the flow of liquid in the artificial drainage passage tends to go in exactly the wrong direction. This is unfortunate, but it seems to be just as flat and final as the loss of a leg.

Nevertheless, the Drs. Ingraham, Matson, Alexander, Jr., and Woods went right ahead with their experiment. In their report, they noted that it has been "apparent to surgeons interested in hydrocephalus for a long time" that a shunt, or detour, around the stopped-up point would seem to be necessary. They noted that surgeons have tried to accomplish this—but they called it unfortunate that most of the methods * * * have consisted of sporadic clinical trials in uncontrolled individual instances or in small series of human cases."

It may be proper to point out that the word "uncontrolled" is uncalled for in the above quotation and that the phrase "small series of human cases" tends to belittle the work of surgeons attending real cases merely on the basis that such surgeons do not rush through the volume of work that may be done on a limitless supply of animals.

Before examining their procedure, let us see what the vivisectors produced as the achievement of their experiments. First, they appear to have had less surgical success in treating hydrocephalus than has been reported by various surgeons; and, second, they produced the following nonsurprising conclusion: "It is felt * * * that all attempts to achieve ventricular decompression by ventricular-venous shunt will fail and should not be submitted to clinical trial."

Now let us see what they did in order to reach this scientific discovery concerning matters previously discovered.

They first operated on a number of dogs, inserting rolls of cellophane in the vessels intended to carry fluid out of the brain-ventricle system. This produced hydrocephalus in from 8 to 14 days—including paralysis, loss of muscular control, weakness, loss of appetite, drooling, irregular breathing, palsies, and coma. The vivisectors said nothing about pain, because while they, of course, were able to observe the palsies, only the dogs were in position to observe the pain.

The vivisectors found (though all doctors know it anyhow) that temporary relief of hydrocephalus results from a brain puncture in which excess fluid is removed through a hole drilled in the frontal part of the skull. This treatment, they reported, often causes an animal to revive, howl, and struggle.

There is little need to describe here the surgical failures the vivisectors encountered in their efforts to create shunts by surgery. This work, at least, was done under anesthesia. But it met with no success, and the animals that were submitted to it lived only until they were sacrificed for examination—or until they died natural hydrocephalic deaths, often a matter of weeks after the ailment had been given to them.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Make Further Recordings of Brain Waves of Animals Suffering Fatal Convulsions."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO MAKE FURTHER RECORDINGS OF BRAIN WAVES OF ANIMALS SUFFERING FATAL CONVULSIONS (DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHIATRY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE OF MEDICINE)

The vivisectors Arthur A. Ward, Jr., of the department of psychiatry, University of Illinois College of Medicine, reported this experiment in the Journal of Neurophysiology, volume 10, No. 2, dated March 1947, pages 105 through 112.

In his report, he stated that he had tried the experiment on a number of dogs and cats. Specifically, however, he gave details only concerning his cat work, since the results on the dogs had been entirely similar.

His purpose in this experiment was to measure certain brain waves, minute electrical activity of the brain of a creature suffering deadly convulsions which are of a subcortical nature and therefore beyond the animal's control. Vivisector Ward supplied numerous charts of the brain waves in question, but he did not suggest a manner in which these could be put to any particular use.

His method of producing convulsions consisted to giving each animal an injection of sodium fluoroacetate. There was no question, of course, of using any anesthetic whatever for this series of tests.

One hour after receiving his injection, the animal began to retch and drool. He showed appearances of fright, began looking for a hiding place, and emitted what Ward calls distressed crying.

In a few minutes, the animal began suffering violent fits of an epileptic nature. His back bent involuntarily, his legs stiffened, and often he was thrown to the ground.

At first, these terrible seizures came only once in every 10 minutes or so. But as time passed, the seizures became more frequent and more severe. Finally, the animal passed into a state of continued seizure. This continued until death, an occurrence which took place after a total elapsed time of from 3 to 5 hours, depending on the individual animal's ability to stand the strain.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today, referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment Into the Injurious and Fatal Effects of Injecting 'DFP' Into Rabbits."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT INTO THE INJURIOUS AND FATAL EFFECTS OF INJECTING DFP INTO RABBITS (ARMY CHEMICAL CENTER, IN MARYLAND)

This procedure was carried out by A. M. Freedman and H. E. Himwich, at the Army Chemical Center, in Maryland; and it was reported by Freedman and Himwich in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 156, dated January, 1949, pages 125 through 128.

There is a drug called di-isopropyl fluorophosphate (DFP for short), and the experimenters knew in the first place that rabbits would be injured by heavy doses of it. They reasoned that if the drug were to be injected into a rabbit's leg, the leg would show signs of injury before the head would—and if it were injected into the neck, trouble would start in the head before it reached the hind leg. This profundity is something like stating that if one is kicked in the shin, his shin will hurt before he develops a headache—or like saying that if ink were injected into the arm, the blood in the arm would be stained black before the blood in the little toe.

The vivisectors have a more ponderous way of stating it, of course. They put it this way: "Symptoms and lethality may be expected to vary with the site of injection."

So they set out to prove this weighty point. They strapped down their rabbits and gave each one a short pentothal anesthetic. As they explain it, the anesthetic lasted only while they were attaching electrodes to the rabbit's brain and while they were placing injection tubes in one or more of the rabbit's major blood vessels.

Then—with the rabbit fully conscious—they began injecting DFP. They made observations as to how the rabbit acted under this treatment. The electrodes attached to the rabbit's brain enabled them to note the strength of the electrical impulses or brain waves, which the animal's brain gave off. To use their own words, the vivisectors timed pethal exitus—meaning that they noticed how long it took the rabbit to die.

Injections were given at several points in various rabbits: (a) at the cafotid arteries, (b) at one of the carotid arteries, (c) at the femoral vein, (d) at the femoral artery, (e) and at the portal vein.

Incidentally, each rabbit, not being under anesthesia, received a dose of curare sufficient to paralyze him so that he could not fight back.

Results of this experiment were very interesting: If DFP were injected into the leg, lively activity was noted by the vivisectors. If it were injected close to the intestinal tract, hypermotility was observed—meaning violent changes in breathing took place. And finally, when it was injected into the neck, near the head, convulsions of the epileptic type were produced—and death ended the experiment.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Deliver Electric Shocks to the Brains of Unanesthetized Animals in Ways Never Tried Before."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO DELIVER ELECTRIC SHOCKS TO THE BRAINS OF UNANESTHETIZED ANIMALS IN WAYS NEVER TRIED BEFORE (DEPARTMENT OF ANATOMY, CHICAGO MEDICAL SCHOOL, AND JAMES W. WARD, OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY MEDICAL SCHOOL)

This procedure was described in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 158, No. 3, dated September 1949, pages 474 through 477. The report was made by the men who performed the experiment—George Clark, of the department of anatomy, Chicago Medical School, and James W. Ward, of Vanderbilt University Medical School.

Clark and Ward begin their report by recalling that "a number of (previous) reports have been made of the effect of stimulation of the cerebral cortex in anesthetized animals, but we have found none concerning the effects of concurrent or immediately consecutive stimulation of two or more cortical points."

This passage means that numerous vivisectors have made copious notes on what happens when one shocks an animal's brain, one point at a time. But Clark and Ward thought it would be interesting to deliver the shocks two or more at a time. Also, they mention in their article that fruitful results have been noted as a result of trying this experiment on animals under anesthesia. They were not satisfied with that. They wanted to shock the brains of animals not under anesthesia.

Here was their technique: They collected a number of immature monkeys and (using anesthesia) they operated on the animals to place electrodes in contact with their brains at numerous points. That is, each monkey emerged from his surgical operation with a number of electrical connections imbedded in his skull and all ready to be hooked up with an outside electrical power supply.

The next day, when the monkeys had recovered from this rather startling piece of surgery, they were experimented upon. Each monkey was strapped into an examining chair. Using no anesthesia, the vivisectors then proceeded to give the monkey a sort of scientific hot foot—in his head. Power was supplied from a 60-cycle sine wave current derived from the lighting circuit. Of course, the usual voltage was greatly reduced to prevent the monkey from dying outright at the first jolt to his brain.

The results recorded by the vivisectors as a result of this experiment are very illuminating. Let us examine a sample.

Monkey No. 23, after being strapped down, was shocked via electrode No. 2, the current being delivered for 4 seconds. His head turned to the left, but no eye movements were observed. That result could have been predicted on the basis of similar experiments previously made.

Then Monkey No. 23 was given another jolt—this time via electrode No. 4. As a result, the left leg was flexed. That, too, could have been predicted on the basis of previous experiments.

Then came the big moment. Monkey No. 23 was shocked through both electrodes at once.

Sure enough—his head turned leftward and his left leg also was flexed. Whatever else may thereby have been proved, it undoubtedly is safe to say that the vivisectors demonstrated that both electrodes were working fine.

By way of conclusion, the vivisectors reported that, in general, double shocks delivered to the unanesthetized brain invariably produce more reaction in the victim than do mere single shocks. The vivisectors definitely did not suggest, however, any methods by which these data might be put to practical use.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Investigate a Particular Phase of the Phenomenon of Pain."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO INVESTIGATE A PARTICULAR PHASE OF THE PHENOMENON OF PAIN (NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY MEDICAL SCHOOL, CHICAGO)

Vivisectors frequently declare that there is no pain connected with vivisection; but in making this statement they overlook many things—including such laboratory experiments as the ones which are conducted for the purpose of investigating pain itself.

The present report appeared in the Journal of Neurophysiology, volume 12, No. 1, dated January 1, 1949, pages 1–15. The report was made by the vivisectors Irving C. Sherman, Eli L. Tigay, Alex J. Arieff, and Maurice A. Schiller, all of the Northwestern University Medical School, Chicago.

We have no desire to suggest that this experiment was particularly painful, as painful vivisectional procedures go; but it should be noted that the experimenters were dealing with pain itself, and they were reobserving certain characteristics of pain which have been observed before. Thus, we wish to make two points: (a) that the experiment dealt primarily with pain and, (b) that there appears to have been no particular point in performing it.

The vivisectors Sherman, Tigay, Arieff and Schiller begin their report with a discussion of certain general principles concerning pain which have been known for a long time—that if a major nerve is cut, a loss of feeling results in the area which the nerve formerly served; that, after a time, sensation tends to return; that this is due to the fact that nerve fibres in areas adjacent to the paralyzed area learn to reach out and pick up pain responses in the area where the nerve connection no longer exists.

In connection with this experiment, the vivisectors severed the sciatic nerves in the hind legs of a number of cats. The sciatic nerve is the principal line of nervous communication leading from the spine to the leg.

After the cats recovered from the cutting of their sciatic nerves, there was a period during which they could feel nothing in their hind legs. But as they moved along on the road to recovery, sensation began to return to the maimed legs so that the cats again showed a tendency to withdraw their feet when these members were squeezed by the vivisectors.

The vivisectors now restrained the cats and indulged in repeated pinpricking of the hind legs. This, they say in their report, allowed them to determine the areas in which the animals could and could not feel pain.

The vivisectors make this sage observation: "When the pain was perceived the animal would cry, shiver, or withdraw the foot."

The vivisectors do not go into detail concerning the extent to which they indulged in pinpricking, nor do they make any statement concerning whatever other methods they may have used to prove that their cats—sciatic nerves or no sciatic nerves—still were capable of being hurt in their hind legs.

We are unable to state, meanwhile, exactly what addition to scientific knowledge this experiment made or could have been expected to make.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Study the Known Results of Freezing a Member in Which the Nervous System Has Been Destroyed."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO STUDY THE KNOWN RESULTS OF FREEZING A MEMBER IN WHICH THE NERVOUS SYSTEM HAS BEEN DESTROYED (SCHOOLS OF MEDICINE OF YALE AND INDIANA UNIVERSITIES)

This procedure was described in the Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine, volume 21, No. 5, dated May 1949, by the Vivisectors E. Lempke and Harris B. Shumacher, Jr., of the Schools of Medicine of Yale and Indiana Universities.

The vivisectors in this case wished to see whether the effects of frostbite are more or less severe in a foot or a leg whose nervous system has been cut away by surgery. Of course, they knew the answer to this question in advance. In their own report, they start right off by pointing out that Hyndman and Wolkin have reported that in human patients denervated skin remains warm longer and does not become as cold as normal skin. The vivisectors remark that this peculiarity of nerveless tissue "is readily demonstrable on all patients who have been treated by sympathectomy"—that is, treated by the cutting of the nervous system by surgery.

"On the basis of what we know * * * it could be anticipated that sympathectomy would afford some protection against frostbite," observed the vivisectors. Let us note that they knew this before performing their experiment. Let us note also that the knowledge is largely of academic interest to the extent that not even the Vivisectors Lempke and Shumacher would venture to suggest that patients have their nervous systems ruined by surgical means in order to protect themselves against the possibility of frostbite.

At any rate, knowing what the end result of their experiment would be, the vivisectors went to work. Here's what they did.

They performed operations upon 10 dogs, cutting the animals' nerves in such fashion as to disconnect the nerves of 1 hind leg from all the other nerves in the body. This was done under anesthesia which the vivisectors describe as light—though why it should have been light is a question which they do not venture to explain.

After each dog had recovered from his sympathectomy—that is, 8 days after the sympathectomy—the vivisectors again took him in hand and removed all the hair from his hind legs. Both his hind feet up to the hocks then were placed in a freezing mixture consisting of ether chilled by solid carbon dioxide. Temperatures ranged from 15 degrees Centigrade to 30 degrees Centigrade—which is to say, as low as 22 degrees below zero Fahrenheit.

This sharp freezing was performed under more light anethesia—and again the vivisectors do not bother to say why they kept the anesthetic light. We may note, however, that recovery from a light anesthetic would occur very soon, perhaps even within a few minutes after the actual freezing of the hind legs had occurred.

With both hind legs thus frozen solid, each dog was returned to his cage to wake up and experience the torments of how it feels to have the hind legs frozen as hard as a sharp-frozen steak. As the animals lay in their cages, their feet began to thaw out and swell. In some cases the swelling was so marked that the skin was torn apart. The vivisectors, meanwhile, made observations on the extent of the swelling and on certain other symptoms in which they were interested. Their observations continued until gangrene developed in the maimed and frozen members—or until a particular dog somehow managed to recover. Needless to say, all the legs were horribly injured. A few of them actually fell off.

In the end, the doctors succeeded in restating the fact which they had known in the first place—namely that the effects of freezing are not quite so severe if all the nerves have been severed in advance.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks and in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Observe Anew That Cats Can Survive Immense Convulsions."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO OBSERVE ANEW THAT CATS CAN SURVIVE IMMENSE CONVULSIONS (ALFRED ULLMAN LABORATORY FOR NEUROPSYCHIATRIC RESEARCH, SINAI HOSPITAL, BALTIMORE)

This procedure is recorded as experiment No. 15,957 in the proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, volume 65, No. 2, dated June 1947, pages 348–351. The report was made by the Vivisectors H. S. Rubinstein and Albert A. Kurland, of Alfred Ullman Laboratory for Neuropsychiatric Research, Sinai Hospital, Baltimore.

The two vivisectors lead off by remarking that cats have been shown to be able to withstand terrific convulsive shocks of electricity without dying.

However, the vivisectors observe, there are a few graphic reports of the exact types and kinds of brain waves which a cat suffers during convulsive shock. That is, not very many people have bothered to draw specific pictures of the zigzagging waves. Just what those pictures could be used for, the Vivisectors Rubinstein and Kurland do not happen to explain, but they do describe the manner in which they went ahead to make such pictures.

Twelve cats were used in this experiment. Each cat had electrodes attached to its skull to record the minute brain waves. Heavier electrodes were attached elsewhere for the purpose of shocking the animal. The cat—entirely without anesthesia—then was placed in a shielded box; and within the confines of that small prison cell, began to come the shattering jolts of electricity.

Each shock was made strong enough by the vivisectors to cause the cat to suffer a marked convulsion. Shocks were delivered 5 minutes apart. If the cat survived a good many of these, it was removed from the box to be shocked again some other day. Some of the cats were thrown into as many as 9[illegible] separate convulsions within a period of 3 weeks. Some died too soon to endure that much.

Among all 12 cats, 7 died, 5 lived.

The vivisectors conclude their report substantially where they started—by remarking that cats show a surprising ability to recover from shock treatment. It should be noted, by the way, that the shock treatment given the cats was far more severe than any shock treatment ever given to human patients. The vivisectors do not attempt to explain what connection there might be between the shocks given to their cats and the shocks sometimes given to human patients by physicians who are seriously attempting to relieve illness.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

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Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "Another Experiment To Study the Results of Smashing a Dog's Hind Legs."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER EXPERIMENT TO STUDY THE RESULTS OF SMASHING A DOG'S HIND LEGS (SECTION OF PHYSIOLOGY, BIOLOGICAL LABORATORY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY)

In recent months, a great deal of public attention has been drawn to the fact that the vivisectors, Gregerson and Root, indulged in the procedure of tying down a number of dogs and pounding their hind legs to pulp with a rawhide mallet. But it should be noted that Gregerson and Root are by no means alone in the performance of this procedure which has horrified so many people.

Let us examine the American Journal of Physiology, volume 140, No. 4, pages 490–498, dating all the way back to January 1944. At this point in the medical literature there is an article by the vivisectors, W. J. Eversole, W. Kleinberg, R. R. Overman, J.

W. Remington, and W. W. Swingle, of the section of physiology, biological laboratory, Princeton University.

As early as 1944, these five vivisectors were pointing out that "traumatization of the leg muscles has been used often to produce shock in dogs." They then go on to name some of the vivisectors who have beaten dogs' legs to pulp and have written articles about it. These include the following: Blalock et al.; Parsons and Phessister; O'Shaughnessy and Slome; Lorber, Kabat, Welte and Freedman; Kendrick, Essex and Helmholz; Best and Solandt—and, last, but far from least, Dr. Donald Meek of the University of Wisconsin, who is the man who once testified before a legislative committee, "No agony is too acute to be inflicted upon an infinite number of animals if in the opinion of the least member of any medical faculty there is the slightest chance for adding to the sum of human knowledge—and this without reference to the question of whether such addition shall be of any practical use or not."

So—Vivisectors Eversole, Kleinberg, Overman, Remington, and Swingle decided that they also would have a turn with the rawhide mallet on the hind legs.

Their particular specialty, they observe, is that they were studying the "nervous factor" occurring in dogs which have had their legs mutilated.

Specifically, the vivisectors in this particular experiment mutilated first a group of 15 dogs and then a second group of 12. They used an ether anesthetic during the actual beating which was administered to each animal—after which they allowed each animal to recover and consciously linger between life and death as the result of the fearful injury it had sustained.

In the group of 12 dogs, the vivisectors gave an additional spinal anesthetic with the result that 3 of the 12 animals survived. Perhaps this may be due to the fact that these 12 suffered far less than the 15 dogs in the other group.

In the group of 15, the animals were kept on their backs, fastened to the "animal board" and left in that position either until they died or until a total of 7 hours had elapsed. All but one died. Fourteen of them in from 1 to 8 hours, the average being 4 hours of torture while stretched upon the animal board. Of the group of 12 dogs which were given spinal anesthesia and put back in their cages instead of being left on the board, 3 recovered, 4 lived a comparatively great length of time—as much as 24 hours in one case—while the rest died in a period of about 4 hours.

This experiment would seem to prove two things: (1) That an animal won't die so quickly if he is treated a little less savagely, and (2) that the vivisectors, Gregerson and Root, have a great deal of company when it comes to the practice of smashing dogs' legs with a rawhide mallet.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Observe the Results of Choking a Group of Dogs to Death."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO OBSERVE THE RESULTS OF CHOKING A GROUP OF DOGS TO DEATH—DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

This procedure was reported by three men—Francis J. Haddy, Gilbert S. Campbell, and M. B. Visscher, all of the department of physiology, University of Minnesota, in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 161, No. 2, dated May 1950, pages 336–341.

As the vivisectors point out, it often has been noted that pulmonary edema, or a swelling in the tissue of the lung, has been seen to occur whenever it is made difficult for a creature to breathe. This is true whether the creature is strangled, whether an obstruction is placed in his throat, or whether he is unable to take air into his lungs properly as a result of having a disease, such as infantile paralysis.

So, knowing that this pulmonary edema with consequent strain on the heart always takes place in any sort of strangulation case, the vivisectors decided in this instance to reproduce the choking effect in a group of dogs—though, of course, the dog choking was to be done in a fashion that would never be encountered in actual day-to-day experience.

Now it should be noted that the vivisectors used anesthesia. The particular type of anesthesia administered was pentobarbital sodium, 30 milligrams for each kilogram of a particular dog's weight. This is the normal amount of anesthesia to keep an animal asleep for perhaps 2 hours—but it should be noted that these experiments "in most instances were permitted to run as long as the animal lived and varied in length from 1 to 24 hours."

Let us see precisely what the vivisectors did. They ran catheters (or tubes) through the pulmonary artery and through the pulmonary vein in order to measure blood pressure at the heart. They inserted somewhat similar tubes in large blood vessels running beneath the flesh of the hind leg and in other large vessels located in the neck. The vivisectors say this: "Induction of anesthesia and insertion of the various cannulae and catheters (tubes) consumed a period of approximately 2 hours."

In other words, the vivisectors seem to be telling their colleagues at this point that the animals awakened and became conscious at just about the time when the business part of the experiment was due to begin. Each dog subjected to this experiment, we may assume, awakened to find half a dozen or so of his major blood vessels rigged up to an extensive "plumbing system," and his body strapped helplessly to a standard "animal board."

Now the "resistance to breathing" were installed. That is, some sort of impediment was placed in the dog's air-way. In one group of dogs, the vivisectors permitted the animals to breath out freely enough, but they made it difficult for the animals to inhale. Specifically, each animal could draw air into his lungs only against a resistance of 15 to 20 centimeters of water. To say it another way, the dog's lung muscles, before drawing in any air, first had to do enough extra work to move a column of water 15 to 20 cubic centimeters in height. This does not sound like much, perhaps, but it makes a very great amount of extra work when applied to the commonplace task of breathing.

The second group of dogs was permitted to inhale freely enough, but this group could not breathe the old air out except against a resistance of 15 to 20 centimeters of water.

A third group literally was "half drowned." That is, dogs in this group suffered the partial flooding of their lungs by massive quantities of salt water.

As the vivisectors had known it would, the treatment applied to all three groups of dogs caused edema, or the gathering of body fluid within the tissues of the desperate animals' lungs. In the end, all the dogs died. The vivasectors made extensive measurements of the precise amounts of swelling and of the precise changes in blood pressure.

In their article, however, the vivisectors give no clue of one thing which may have been a considerable factor contributing to the death of the victims: specifically, they gave no data as to how much the death of each dog may have been hastened as a result of terror induced by the slow strangulation process to which he was subjected.

NATIONAL ANTIVIVISECTION SOCIETY.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals and birds, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To See How Long It Takes To Starve a Pigeon to Death."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO SEE HOW LONG IT TAKES TO STARVE AND FREEZE A PIGEON TO DEATH (MEDICAL DIVISION, ARMY CHEMICAL CENTER, MARYLAND)

Before discussing this experiment, it may be well to ask the reader this question: "In order for your doctor effectively to treat any illness you may have, do you think it is vital for him to know precisely how long a pigeon can live without food at a temperature of 40° below zero Fahrenheit?"

If you answer yes, then undoubtedly the following experiment was important. But if your answer is no, then you may be inclined to wonder why grown men wasted their time on such an experiment—for it should be noted here and now that pigeons, for some reason or other, are very much more nearly impervious to cold weather than are human beings. The length of time that a pigeon can survive in the cold does not correspond at all with the length of time that a man could survive.

This experiment was reported by the Vivisectors Eugene Streicher, Donald B. Hackel, and Walter Fleischmann, of the Medical Division, Army Chemical Center, Md. They reported their work in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 161, No. 2, May 1950, on pages 300–306.

Briefly, as the vivisectors explain in their article, they knew that pigeons could stand a great amount of hunger and cold before dying. The question was to determine precisely and exactly how much.

Each pigeon used in this test first was placed in a sealed jar and after a time the air he had been breathing in the jar was examined—this giving the vivisectors an accurate index as to his metabolism (the rate at which his body was burning up his food energy) in a normal temperature.

Thereafter, the pigeon in his jar was placed in a cold chamber whose temperature was 40° below zero Fahrenheit. This experiment

involved not one pigeon, of course, but a good many. At intervals of 24 or 48 hours, certain pigeons were removed from the cold and were killed and studied.

Others continued simply to freeze and starve in the cold chamber.

The details of the metabolism of the birds are of course merely the highly technical story of a living organism's struggle to survive in a set of impossible circumstances. In the end, the vivisectors learned that husky pigeons could live under these circumstances for as long as 144 hours—6 full days—before losing their unsporting battle with the cold chamber.

Of course, no anesthesia was used in this experiment.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment Into the Effects of Striking a Dog's Exposed Brain With a Steel Weight."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT INTO THE EFFECTS OF STRIKING A DOG'S EXPOSED BRAIN WITH A STEEL WEIGHT (DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND DIVISION OF NEUROLOGICAL SURGERY, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO)

This diverting procedure was carried out by 3 vivisectors: Lillian Eichelberger, Jerry J. Kollros, and E. Earl Walker, of the department of medicine and division of neurological surgery, at the University of Chicago.

They made their report on it in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 156, dated January 1949, pages 129 through 136.

For a long time, it has been contended generally that if a living creature receives a blow on the head hard enough to be described as "concussion," swelling will occur shortly afterward. Numerous experiments prove this, and it has been borne out anyhow by ordinary clinical observation.

Incidentally, one of the treatments often used in concussion involves the intravenous injection of a normal solution of salt and water. Clinical observation generally has indicated that such treatment is advisable.

But the Drs. Eichelberger, Kollros, and Walker wished to make more profound studies. They wanted to measure the water, nitrogen and electrolyte concentrations in brains that had been subject to concussion.

In order to achieve pure concussion, they rigged up a novel apparatus. In the first place, they removed a piece of the skull bone from each of 28 dogs, thus exposing the brains. Then they carefully placed above these skull holes a 5-foot length of hollow pipe. They placed water in the pipe to a depth of 2 inches.

With this set up in place, they dropped into the pipe a steel weight, weighing 140 grams (4½ ounces). The idea was that the weight hit the surface of the water after a 5-foot drop—and the blow was transmitted evenly by the water to all exposed surfaces of the brain.

The Drs. Eichelberger, Kollros, and Walker report that the shock to the animals was considerable. Some only missed a heart beat. Others had to be given artificial respiration.

The weight dropping procedure was carried out under nembutal anesthesia—but then the animals were placed in their cages to revive. At various times after the concussion, the dogs were killed, their brains removed, and studies made. Four of the dogs were killed as soon as 15 minutes after concussion. Probably they still were under anesthesia and did not suffer at all. The other dogs, however, had more time to lie in their cages and think over the effects of a severe blow delivered to a hole in the head.

Four dogs were allowed to live from 1½ to 3¼ hours; 6 of them were allowed to go for 5 hours; 3 suffered for 24 hours; and the unluckiest 3 of all were allowed to live for periods from 48 to 72 hours.

Here is what the experiment proved.

It proved that brain concussion does not cause swelling—a conclusion disputed in many quarters.

And it showed that the brain tissues had suffered a loss in sodium and sodium-chloride (salt). Thus, the doctors concluded that the dogs would have been helped if they had been given injections of normal solutions of salt and water, a point well known before the experiment was started.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Pile Superfluous Detail Upon Certain Facts Long Since Known and for a Long Time Regularly Used."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO PILE SUPERFLUOUS DETAIL UPON CERTAIN FACTS LONG SINCE KNOWN AND FOR A LONG TIME REGULARLY USED (DEPARTMENT OF NEUROLOGY AND NEUROLOGICAL SURGERY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, AT CHICAGO)

The following account has to do with an experiment which has been done countless times over dozens of years. It is perhaps one of the most horrifying experiments ever recorded in vivisectional literature. The present report comes from the Journal of Neuropathology and Experimental Neurology, volume 7, No. 2, dated April 1948, pages 182 through 189. The report was made by O. Sugar, J. G. Chusid, and J. D. French, of the Department of Neurology and Neurological Surgery, University of Illinois College of Medicine, at Chicago.

A word of explanation is necessary here. If you go to your family doctor and complain that your left little finger often feels insensitive and that your left eyelid sometimes shows a strange and uncontrollable droop, the chances are that your doctor will touch a point on the right side of your head and ask you if you have received a hard bump there lately. If you answer, in amazement, that you did receive such a bump some time ago, your doctor probably will send you to a brain specialist who may, after careful examination, perform an operation to relieve pressure at a point on the right side of your skull.

The reason this is possible is that doctors, long ago, noticed the connection between certain brain injuries and certain later symptoms in other parts of the body. Little by little, they thus "mapped" the brain.

That is, the brain surgeons learned what brain areas control which parts of the body—and they learned to relieve brain injuries, always with the reservation, of course, that there is and always will be a limit to the amount of surgical tinkering that can be done with any brain no matter how desirable such work otherwise might seem.

But the vivisectors Sugar, Chusid, and French were not content with these practical and workable facts. Like so many other vivisectors, they wanted to pile up the most minute details on "brain mapping," even if such details scarcely could be expected to have any practical use, and even if the very minuteness of the details tend to make them meaningless and perhaps confusingly unreliable.

Here is the technique the vivisectors followed on numerous occasions:

They strapped down a monkey and gave him Dial, sold as an analgesic rather than an anesthetic. They reinforced this somewhat with a modified form of ether gas "during the beginning of the surgical procedures," to use their own words; but they stopped the ether "well before the beginning" of the real business of the experiment.

To use the vivisectors' own words again, "No further anesthesia was used, even in experiments which lasted many hours." However, they did keep the monkey from going into profound shock by warming him with an electric blanket. It should be stressed that the reason anesthesia was not used in this experiment—save as a convenience to the vivisectors just at the start—was that the fullest success of the experiment depended upon the monkey's ability to feel, to respond, to twitch, to jump, to struggle, moan, and—in short, suffer.

In the past, vivisectors have performed experiments such as this under anesthesia—not so in the present case.

Here is what happened to the monkey. The entire top of his skull was sawed off so that his brain was left bare. Probably he did not feel much pain for the few minutes preceding the time when he regained full consciousness and full ability to react to what was going to be done to him "in experiments which lasted many hours."

With the monkey conscious, the vivisectors now began to poke here and there at his brain with electric needles. On a chart conveniently nearby, they recorded the exact way in which the monkey showed his suffering. A poke at one part of his brain would cause his leg to twitch. Another poke would cause his leg to twitch somewhat differently. Yet another poke would wring a groan from him. Another would seem to make it impossible for him to groan. More pokes would cause his face to be contorted. And so on.

The vivisectors missed none of this. They posted three observers—one to watch the lower extremities, one to watch the upper extremities, and a third to watch the changes of expression on the victim's face.

Their report did not state which observer found his point of observation the most fascinating. However, disregarding the harm done to the monkeys, it appears that no harm was done to science in general—for,

after discounting the numerous differences in detail between the human and the monkey brain, the results produced by the vivisectors seem to be generally not out of agreement with truths about the brain which brain surgeons long have known.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks and in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals and birds, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "A New Experiment To Observe the Deaths of Animals Whose Hind Legs Have Been Beaten to Pulp."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW EXPERIMENT TO OBSERVE THE DEATHS OF ANIMALS WHOSE HIND LEGS HAVE BEEN BEATEN TO PULP (DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA SCHOOL OF MEDICINE)

Here is yet a third report on an experiment which involves strapping down a number of dogs and using a heavy mallet to pound the tissues of their hind legs to pulp, thereby causing fatal shock.

It was reported in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 161, No. 1, dated April 1950, pages 125–131, by the six vivisectors who performed it—J. W. Remington, W. F. Hamilton, H. M. Caddell, G. H. Boyd, Jr., N. C. Wheeler, and R. W. Pickering, all of the department of physiology, University of Georgia School of Medicine.

Apparently the idea of studying the shock that occurs in a dog whose hind legs have been mashed with a hammer is capturing the imagination of vivisectors everywhere; for an examination of the medical literature shows this selfsame procedure cropping up lately with surprising frequency.

In this particular experiment, the vivisectors lead off by asking a question as to how much—or to what extent—death may be due in such shock cases to vasoconstriction, which means the closing down of blood vessels. The vivisectors explain that it was their purpose to check on whether vasoconstriction is a factor in death by preventing vasoconstriction from occurring in the present cases. They prevented its occurrence by giving their victims small doses of a drug called dibenamine which is known to check vasoconstriction in dogs.

In 9 undosed dogs which had suffered the fate of having their legs mashed, death was universal in periods ranging from 1 or 2 to several hours. But in the dogs which had been given a dose of dibenamine, 8 out of 9 survived and even the ninth one, which died, managed to hang on to life until he had dragged out 15 terrible hours. By the way, the vivisectors mention that no water was given to any of the survivors for a period of 24 hours.

Of course, the vivisectors used anesthesia during the short time required to mete out to each dog his fatal beating; but each animal recovered from his anesthesia soon enough so that he was in just as good a position to observe his own plight as were the vivisectors themselves.

All of this—aside from whatever cruelty may be involved—means very little, since it is well known that severe blows administered to a man cause an immediate drop in blood pressure and consequently a quicker occurrence of shock than is the case in a dog whose blood pressure first rises. Hence it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to translate the results of this experiment (if any) from dog to man.

Suffice it to say that here we have yet another glimpse of "scientists" systematically beating animals to death with the measured and scholarly blows of a massive hammer. Against the backdrop of what we like to consider a civilized society, it is indeed an interesting picture.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Redemonstrate the Effect of Breathing Carbon Dioxide During Convulsions."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO REDEMONSTRATE THE EFFECT OF BREATHING CARBON DIOXIDE DURING CONVULSIONS (DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHIATRY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, CHICAGO)

This experiment was reported by Vivisector George Howard Pollock, of the department of psychiatry, University of Illinois College of Medicine, Chicago, in the Journal of Neurophysiology, volume 12, No. 5, dated September 1949, pages 315–323.

At the start of his report, Vivisector Pollock points out that back in 1939, McQuarrie and Zeigler reported that dogs breathing a 15 or 20 percent mixture of carbon dioxide were prevented from having convulsions. This was confirmed, says Pollock, by Gellhorn later on in a series of tests on rabbits. Later, Gellhorn and Yesinick proved it all over again on cats, and later still Moussatche proved it yet again on dogs. Still later, Moussatche and Mello again proved the point on guinea pigs.

So, following the method of reasoning common to vivisectors, Pollock decided that he would start out to pile up new figures all over again, giving details concerning the well-known fact that the breathing of carbon dioxide tends to halt convulsions. He wished to show that convulsions may be checked in an animal, no matter whether the animal has been shocked into a convulsive state by electricity ranging up to 100 volts, or whether it has been given massive doses of such convulsive drugs as metrazol, insulin, picrotoxin, coryamyrtin, absinthe, strychnine, or camphor. As it happened, Pollock concentrated in his own series of experiments on electricity and metrazol.

He used a number of cats in his work. This is what he did to them: Under an anesthetic of divinyl ether, he cut into their hind legs and exposed the principal veins to be found at that point. He inserted a breathing tube in each animal's mouth, reaching all the way down to the entrance of the lungs. He cut into the head and exposed the skull. With the animal in this condition, the anesthetic was discontinued. To use Pollock's own words, "the anesthetic was removed and paralysis was induced by dihydro-beta-erythroidine hydrobromide."

Let us visualize this. The cat now finds himself with his anesthetic gone, but he is paralyzed by means of a drug flowing into his system through a tube inserted in one of his hind leg veins. Being paralyzed, he is unable to breathe and artificial respiration, is maintained by means of the tube inserted in his windpipe. He finds electrodes (for shock purposes) placed one in his right foreleg and another in his left hind leg. Into his exposed skull bone are screwed two other electrodes for the purpose of measuring the brain waves which he will experience and which will give a reliable index as to the convulsions he is about to undergo.

Vivisector Pollock gave no indication as to how much time was required for the carrying out of each one of these experiments on paralyzed but perfectly conscious animals.

However, he relates that the animals were tested by being given nonconvulsive doses of metrazol, and thereafter were given convulsive doses. Then each animal was tested with varying concentrations of oxygen and carbon dioxide for various periods of time. Pollock also says, "The interval between attempts to induce convulsions varied from 5 to 30 minutes." Of course, a number of attempts were made in the case of each individual animal from which it probably can be deduced that each animal spent several hours and perhaps an entire day.

Suffice to say that, in the end, Pollock demonstrated precisely what one would have expected him to demonstrate: he showed that an animal which normally would have convulsions either from electric shock or as the result of being given a powerful drug, actually will not suffer a convulsion if he is forced to breathe carbon dioxide. This is, of course, precisely what had been shown previously on half a dozen different occasions.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "A Series of Experiments To Produce Fatal Shock by Means of the 'Blalock Press,' a Flesh-Crushing Machine."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SERIES OF EXPERIMENTS TO PRODUCE FATAL SHOCK BY MEANS OF THE "BLALOCK PRESS," A FLESH-CRUSHING MACHINE (DEPARTMENT OF RADIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER SCHOOL OF MEDICINE AND DENTISTRY, ROCHESTER, N. Y.)

In vivisectional circles, there is a standard piece of laboratory equipment called the "Blalock press." It is a machine in the sense that it is a mechanical device. It also is a machine in the sense that it produces more efficiently than could a workman using

hand tools. Its end product, among other things, is torture and slow death.

The Bialock press looks like an implement used in a medieval torture chamber. Indeed, its operation is similar to the operation of the "boot" and the "iron maiden," two of the torture devices used in the ages before men had become intelligent enough to begin working out the modern concepts of ordinary decency.

It is odd that, among vivisectors, the Bialock press is so called in order to honor its inventor—somewhat as if our culture also boasted devices known as the Jones lash or perhaps the Smith eye gouger.

The series of experiments presently under consideration was reported in the Journal of Clinical Investigation, volume 24, No. 2, dated March 1945, starting at page 127 and running all the way to page 151. In these pages, the slow deaths of literally hundreds of animals are described by the Vivisectors Renato A. Ricco, K. Fink, Leonard I. Katzin, and Stafford L. Warren, all of the department of radiology, University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry, Rochester, N. Y.

The reasons these hundreds of flesh-crushing experiments were performed is that the four vivisectors wanted to prove that other vivisectors had not been performing still other flesh-crushing operations with sufficient accuracy and attention to detail. Specifically, they declare that despite the great number of shock reports, there is sufficient lack of standardization to introduce a large element of confusion and controversy.

They then set forth that changes in ordinary room temperature alter the speed at which dogs die under the Bialock press; and they say that these changes in temperature influence or control the outcome.

Throughout the experiments, the vivisectors are intent on this point—that room temperature changes the times at which animals die of torture and shock. The vivisectors seem little interested in making any other point.

They report that at a temperature of 83 degrees Fahrenheit, a 5-hour ordeal in the Bialock press will kill 90 percent of the dogs subjected to it—but at a temperature of only 61 degrees, only a few animals expire. Thus, the vivisectors seem to prove that an animal body in shock is better off in an atmosphere that enables it to keep its own inner temperature as nearly normal as possible. Apparently (from the fact that the experiments were performed) the vivisectors felt unable to arrive at this conclusion by means of the strenuous exercise of common sense.

The Blacklock press is what its name suggests. It is somewhat similar to an ancient printing press in which one opposing face descends upon its mate by means of a screw arrangement. But the faces of the Bialock press are not smooth. Instead they are equipped with two rows of dull steel teeth. This mechanical jaw is scientifically clamped together at measured pressures ranging from 500 to 4,000 pounds. In general, the Vivisectors Ricca, Fink, Katzin, and Warren bit into their dogs' hind legs at a pressure of one ton.

The procedure was to take each dog and give him anesthetic of nembutal in sufficient quantity to render him unconscious during the worst of the experiment. Additional anesthesia was given as required during the first 4 hours under the press.

But in no case was anesthesia given during the last hour—and of course none was given in the later hours when the animal lay dying as a result of his ordeal. Some of the dogs remained alive as long as 24 hours after removal from the press. But the vivisectors state that death usually came in from 5¼ to 12½ hours after release from the press.

In the first experiment reported, 69 dogs were used.

Here is what the vivisectors say about it:

"The surviving dogs were restrained on the table (tied down, that is) for 12 hours following the removal of the press. If the animal still survived after 12 hours it was placed on the floor on a leash * * *." It received water as soon as it was able to drink, usually 3 hours after removal from the press.

In another report (pp. 140–145) the vivisectors crushed the legs of more than 300 dogs to check on room temperatures again and to illuminate often-discussed data concerning changes in body fluid which result from shock.

In yet another report (pp. 146–148) the vivisectors used 85 dogs, remarking on the rather obvious point that the sulfas do not help in shock cases—and commenting again on room temperatures.

On pages 149–151 the vivisectors discuss additional flesh-crushing inflicted upon 97 rabbits, half of which were given no anesthetic whatever. The only point gleaned from this mass adventure into pain was that normal temperature aids survival—an idea which begins to grow tiresome by repetition.

But there is one point which should be borne in mind concerning so much attention paid via so much agony to the above remarks concerning room temperature and shock. It is this: The findings of the Vivisectors Ricca, Fink, Katzin, and Warren disagree absolutely with other findings by other vivisectors working along the same lines and making their reports in the Proceedings of the Society of Experimental Biology and Medicine and in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

It is hard, sometimes, to know what to think.

NATIONAL ANTIVIVISECTION SOCIETY.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment for the Purpose of Comparing the Methods of Artificial Respiration in Suffocation Cases."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMPARING THE METHODS OF ARTIFICIAL RESPIRATION IN SUFFOCATION CASES (DEPARTMENT OF CLINICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS MEDICAL SCHOOL, AND OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY MEDICAL SCHOOL)

This experiment was reported in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 156, No. 2, dated February 1949, pages 145 through 148. Its authors were H. Schwerma, Andrew C. Ivy, W. L. Burkhardt, and A. F. Thometz, of the Department of Clinical Science, University of Illinois Medical School, and of the Department of Physiology, Northwestern University Medical School.

The stated purpose of this procedure was to learn whether there is a difference in the efficiency of artificial respiration applied by hand and artificial respiration given by machine.

In connection with the machine type of resuscitation, the vivisectors also showed some interest in which worked better—a machine using pure oxygen, or a machine using some mixture of oxygen and a little bit of some other gas. However, little attention was paid to this latter detail, and according to the authors, the figures on it are of no significance and may be ignored.

Thus, the whole experiment may be considered as a test of artificial respiration—manual versus machine.

In all, there were 103 dogs used in this experiment, divided into 5 groups of 20 to 22 each.

Each dog was treated in the same way: He was strapped down and given local anesthesia at the throat and at one hind leg. This was to make it easier for the vivisectors to prepare for the experiment, not to save pain or discomfort during the experiment itself.

With the local anesthetic administered, the vivisectors inserted a tube in a leg artery so that they could record the dog's blood pressure. Then they cut into his windpipe and inserted there a T-shaped tube. The dog could breathe normally through his windpipe and through the top section of the T. But the vivisectors kept the lower end of the T tube in their own hands.

When all was ready, and with the animal fully conscious, the vivisectors rammed a plunger down the T until it blocked off the dog's breathing altogether by completely shutting off the air passage through the top part of the T.

The dog now found himself with no choice: he could only lie there and slowly suffocate.

The vivisectors used a stopwatch to see how long it took him to do this. They found that the average dog could bear only 4 minutes of total airlessness. Then he collapsed.

To be more precise about it, the average dog stopped struggling to breathe in 230 seconds. The average suffered heart failure in 259 seconds.

In one group of 20 dogs, no treatment at all was given. The dog was simply put aside to die or gasp his way back to life as best he could. In this group, 32 percent actually did struggle back to life, and hence were available for other kinds of vivisectional experiments later on.

In another group, artificial respiration was given to the dogs by hand, and among these animals, 35 percent survived, possibly indicating that manual artificial respiration is better than no treatment at all.

The rest of the dogs were treated by machine. That is, they were given the services of a Pulmotor, or inhalator—and of these animals, split in 3 groups, 75 percent, 71 percent, and 85 percent pulled through as well as to be fit for other experiments after recovering their strength later on.

This experiment proves one thing only. It does not pretend to prove anything else. It proves that a Pulmotor is much more efficient than a boy scout in cases where artificial respiration is indicated.

No practicing physician has gone on record, as yet, stating that this fact comes as any surprise.

In connection with this experiment, one point in particular should be made. One of the four vivisectors involved is Andrew C. Ivy, well known in vivisectional circles the world over. Almost any doctor will swear that Ivy is an important man and that his work as a vivisector is vital.

Without examining the rest of his work at all, we may take note of the fact that the work described in this experiment ranks relatively high in Ivy's own estimation. For otherwise he and his colleagues would not

have bothered to publish an article about it. In other words, most of the vivisectional work done by Ivy from day to day obviously is less important than this experiment rather than more so.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Learn the Fate of Dogs Subjected to a Particular Type of Kidney Surgery."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO LEARN THE FATE OF DOGS SUBJECTED TO A PARTICULAR TYPE OF KIDNEY SURGERY (DEPARTMENT OF PHARMACOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE)

This procedure was reported by N. S. R. Maluf, of the department of pharmacology, University of Louisville School of Medicine. He made his report in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 156, dated January 1949, pages 79 through 85.

There is a surgical operation known as omentopexy in which a flap of tissue associated with the big intestine is attached to the liver in such fashion that the liver is able to share its blood supply. The idea is to correct conditions of poor blood supply in the liver.

The same operation also would seem capable of improving blood supply to the kidneys—and while some doctors have reported such improvement, no one has bothered to make adequate measurements, according to Vivisector Maluf.

Instead of troubling to make such measurements—an admittedly annoying, long-drawn, and perhaps costly procedure—Maluf decided to resolve the question the cheap and convenient way.

Using full anaesthesia, he performed an operation in which he wrapped the omentum around the kidneys and kidney arteries of a number of dogs. He allowed healing to give the kidney a chance to borrow from the blood supply of the omentum if it could.

With healing accomplished, he then made a series of new operations. In these, he cut into the normal blood supply to the kidneys, reducing it greatly in some dogs and not so much in others.

In some of the animals he tied off only one artery. In some of the animals he removed a whole kidney and largely destroyed the other. Then he waited.

Anyone who has had a kidney removed knows that such an operation, under anaesthesia, is not painful in itself. But such a person also knows the misery which follows such an operation.

In one 6-month-old puppy, Maluf carried his experiment to the limit. He first removed a kidney and one kidney artery. When the puppy managed to survive and become healthy again, he tried a new operation, leaving the puppy only about one-eighth of normal kidney blood supply.

The puppy no longer was able to urinate. On the third day, poisoning had set in and the puppy lay twitching in his cage. He then was put to death and examined. As had been generally assumed in the first place on the basis of inadequate measurements, it was found that omentopexy had not succeeded in giving the kidney a substitute blood supply.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Study the Hearing Ability of Animals Near Death From Lack of Oxygen."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO STUDY THE HEARING ABILITY OF ANIMALS NEAR DEATH FROM LACK OF OXYGEN (PSYCHOLOGICAL LABORATORY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY)

This experiment was reported by four vivisectors, Ernest Glen Wever, Merle Lawrence, Richard W. Hemphill, and Charles B. Straut, of the psychological laboratory of Princeton University. They made their report in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 159, No. 2, dated November 1949, pages 199–208.

This experiment was a study of one of the results of depriving a living creature of oxygen. Specifically, it was a test of the ability of cats to hear when they are near death from lack of oxygen. The vivisectors point out that only a few studies have been made along this line, "and," they add, "their results have been conflicting." The vivisectors make no statement as to why their own present studies should be considered any more valid than studies made in the past.

The animals used in this experiment were cats, 11 of them in all. They were anesthetized with a drug known as dial. But it happens that on page 255 of the Modern Drug Encyclopedia and Therapeutic Index, fourth edition, dated 1949, dial is described as a hypnotic or sedative just as are such mild drugs as allonal and veronal—i. e., sleeping tablets.

Thus the experimental animals were anesthetized with an anesthetic so light that it presumably could not disturb their bodily functions to any great extent (as deep anesthetic is bound to do), nor, presumably, could it do very much to dim their pain.

An interesting slant on this idea is provided in the article by the doctors themselves. They point out that the cochlear potentials (meaning the responses of the inner ear) become impaired when the physiological condition deteriorates for some reason, as perhaps a faulty use of anesthesia. They do not explain what faulty anesthesia is; but, under the circumstances, it would seem likely that they mean too much.

At any rate, the inadequately anesthetized cats then were deprived of the ability to move or struggle by means of the drug curare, which paralyzes a living creature completely but does not check pain in any way whatever.

Under curare, a perfectly conscious creature is unable to move in any manner. It cannot even breathe. Consequently, the cats used in this experiment had to be given continuous artificial respiration with a device similar to a fire-department pulmotor.

Electrical instruments then were connected to each cat's ears so that graphs could be drawn to show how well the ears were working.

The main part of the experiment consisted of cutting down the oxygen being furnished by the artificial respirator so that each experimental cat found himself receiving as little oxygen as one would find in an airplane at 40,000 feet if one were not wearing an oxygen mask.

Briefly, the graphs which were drawn showed that hearing was not impaired until oxygen was almost entirely lacking. This might be interesting save that it is a fact already widely reported by aviators, and hence is well-known to doctors. The vivisectors make note of this fact in their report.

The animals, still helplessly paralyzed, were kept in various stages of oxygen-lack for long peiods of time. In their report, the vivisectors mentioned intervals up to 4 hours.

When oxygen was cut down to the point at which death is likely to occur, the vivisectors found that they were able to revive the cats, sometimes by giving them oxygen, sometimes by injecting adrenalin. Even after a cat appeared to have died, the vivisectors found that they usually could bring him back to life—after which they again began taking his oxygen away, thus bringing him once more to the point of death.

A number of the animals used in the experiment did die. The remainder were able to struggle back to life, presumably to be used in other vivisectional experiments at a later time.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment in the 'Sham Feeding' of Dogs."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE "SHAM FEEDING" OF DOGS (DEPARTMENT OF CLINICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS)

Vivisectors contend that many vivisectional experiments do not involve cutting up animals and do not cause pain.

Here is an experiment which indeed does not cause pain. It remains to be seen whether its nature is such—or its purpose such—that men should be allowed by law to perform it.

This experiment was reported in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 159, No. 1, dated October 1949, pages 143–148, by its

authors, Henry D. Janowitz and M. I. Grossman, of the department of clinical science, University of Illinois.

The vivisectors, in this case, wanted the answer to a profound point: Why does a creature feel like not eating any more once its stomach becomes full?

Commonsense would indicate an answer (if indeed an answer is considered vital)—namely, that when the stomach becomes full and distended, the jaws tired of chewing, the taste buds temporarily bored with the flavor of food, then the nerves associated with all these functions telegraph a message to the brain: "You've had enough. Quit eating."

In the same fashion, if a fingertip is applied to a hot stove, the nerves associated with that finger telegraph a message to the brain: "Move. Snatch your hand away."

But the Vivisectors Janowitz and Grossman weren't satisfied so easily. Here's what they did:

They took 5 dogs and fed them a little bit 20 minutes before their normal mealtime. Result: the dogs ate somewhat less at meals. The mother of any child could have told the vivisectors that the dogs were spoiling their dinner by thus eating between meals.

Now the vivisectors moved on a step. Instead of letting the dogs take a little food into their stomachs the usual way before supper, the doctors operated (under anesthesia) and permanently installed in each dog a tube through the flanks leading into the stomach. Each tube was equipped with a cork stopper.

By means of this tube, the vivisectors could place in the dog's stomach, whenever they liked, either food or indigestible bulk to give the impression of a full stomach. This tube arrangement led the vivisectors to a notable discovery: If they placed 40 to 46 percent of food or bulk in the dog's stomach shortly before his mealtime, the result was that he ate 33 to 50 percent less (roughly a corresponding amount).

But the experimenters weren't satisfied. They now took a group of dogs and cut their throats (under anesthesia), so that whatever each dog took into his mouth and swallowed fell right out again on the floor through the hole in his throat.

This novel arrangement gave the vivisectors an interesting choice: While the dog was trying to eat—and spilling his food out onto the floor through the hole in his neck—the vivisectors were free either to help him or not help. That is, they could—if they wished—fit a tube into the lower part of his severed food pipe and pump food into his stomach thereby. Or, of course, they could do nothing, allowing the dog to try to eat without satisfying his hunger.

This, too, produced interesting results. The vivisectors proved that whereas the average normal dog will eat for 2.5 minutes, a dog with a severed food pipe will go on gulping down food and trying to obtain nourishment for an average of 14.1 minutes. More amazing still, he still will prove to be hungry an hour later—possibly as a result of the fact that he has had nothing to eat.

But if while the dog "sham feeds," spilling his food on the floor, the vivisectors also fill his stomach through a throat pipe, he will become satisfied with his eating in about 7 minutes.

Don't laugh about this. It is very serious business.

The Vivisectors Janowitz and Grossman decided on the basis of all their observations that there are gastric factors and oral factors that tell us when we've had enough to eat. That is, our stomachs get full and our jaws grow tired. The full stomachs—those are the gastric factors. The tired jaws—those are the oral ones.

Both factors tend to tell us when to quit eating—but we are told better (and stop eating sooner) if both factors tell us at once.

This is one of those contributions to scientific knowledge which vivisectors describe as absolutely vital to human welfare.

True, the dogs in this experiment were not hurt more than any ordinary surgical patient, although it is obvious that they were teased and annoyed relentlessly. The question is: What would the average decent citizen do if he were to catch his neighbor opening up a dog's food pipe and running a series of sham feeding tests? Would he consider it all very scientific and worth while—or would he have his neighbor arrested as a man too cruel to be allowed to own a dog in the first place?

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Demonstrate the Known Fact That Plasma Transfusion Is Valuable in Treating Shock."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO DEMONSTRATE THE KNOWN FACT THAT PLASMA TRANSFUSION IS VALUABLE IN TREATING SHOCK (SURGICAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL, BOSTON, AND THE DEPARTMENT OF SURGERY, HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL)

This procedure was reported in the Journal of Clinical Investigation, volume 23, No. 5, dated September 1944, pages 731 through 741. The vivisectors making the report were Jacob Fine, Howard A. Frank, and Arnold M. Seligman, of the Surgical Research Department, Beth Israel Hospital, Boston, and the Department of Surgery, Harvard Medical School.

During the First World War, doctors began to realize that whole blood transfusions, or plasma transfusions, ought to be administered in shock cases. They began giving transfusions more and more, and the success of that therapy was so marked that, by the time World War II came along, all doctors were agreed that transfusions should be given at once in all shock cases. That point was decided. Everybody was in accord on it. The writer of this commentary, for example, learned it—not in medical school—but when he was a boy of 13, attending a Boy Scout first aid class in the early 1920's.

Apparently the vivisectors fine, Frank and Seligman were not satisfied.

They decided to throw a number of dogs into fatal shock in order to study the benefits of plasma transfusions. Their method of throwing dogs into shock was to take heavy walled rubber tubing and twist 5 or 6 turns of it around a dog's thigh, pulling the tubing as tight as a man's strength would allow. In some cases, they gave this treatment to both of the dog's hind legs.

They used no anesthesia. Here is what they say on this point: "A review of the technics hitherto employed reveals that all experiments so far reported were carried out under anesthesia—usually a barbiturate. The notorious effect of anesthetics on the shock state led us to omit all anesthetics or sedatives except intravenous or intramuscular morphine sulphate." They go on to state that this was of effect only while the tight rubber tubing was being applied to the victim's legs.

Once it was applied, the dog was put aside to endure his ordeal. The tourniquets were left on his legs from periods ranging anywhere from 5 to 11 or more hours.

The vivisectors made the discovery that a dog subjected to this treatment for only 5 hours seldom goes into a serious state of shock, no matter how uncomfortable he may be. But animals so treated for periods from 8 to 11 hours almost always suffer shock. As the vivisectors put it, 79 out of 80 developed "profound shock." If they received no treatment, they invariably died within another 12 hours after shock set in. Of the 79 profoundly shocked dogs, 61 were treated. The other 18 received no treatment and all died.

In this experiment, however, the vivisectors explain that "survival" means merely that the dog lived for 24 hours. He then could be said to have recovered from shock—though numerous dogs lingered on for some days, only to die of necrosis and infection in their mutilated hind legs.

As previously stated, this ordeal of so many animals was intended to prove only that blood transfusion is here to stay. Undoubtedly, any vivisector would swear under oath that here is one of the procedures vital to medical progress.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Record Certain Changes in Blood Pressure Resulting From Shocks and Piecemeal Destruction of a Dog's Brain."

There being no objection the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO RECORD CERTAIN CHANGES IN BLOOD PRESSURE RESULTING FROM SHOCKS AND PIECEMEAL DESTRUCTION OF A DOG'S BRAIN (DEPARTMENT OF NEUROLOGY AND NEUROSURGERY, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL)

This experiment was reported by vivisectors B. P. Babkin and W. C. Kite, Jr., department of neurology and neurosurgery, McGill University, Montreal, in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 161, No. 1, dated April 1950, pages 92–100.

Babkin and Kité begin their report by pointing out that there have been many studies concerning changes in blood pressure due to shocks delivered to the brain. But, they point out, no one has paid much attention to the fact that in addition to major changes in blood pressure, brain shocks also set up what the vivisectors call "waves" in blood pressure. That is, under certain

forms of excitation or injury to the brain, the blood pressure not only receives a big jolt, but thereafter it varies in a rhythmic manner—swinging up and down the scale of the blood pressure measuring device in a manner of great interest, at least to the vivisectors Babkin and Kite. In their report, Babkin and Kite fail to mention what bearing these blood pressur. waves" might have on the treatment of any illness likely to confront a medical man.

Briefly, it may be said that the dogs experimented upon by Babkin and Kite were hooked up to machines measuring their blood pressure and their respiration. The vivisectors then proceeded to make exhaustive notes on their blood pressure "waves" in response to electric shocks delivered first to the animal's whole brain, and then to smaller and smaller parts of his brain as the vivisectors systematically proceeded to remove the brain bit by bit.

Now the question of anesthesia in this experiment is a little bit complicaed. At a glance, the reader of the American Journal of Physiology would see that Babkin and Kite go into some detail on the subject of anesthesia. But let's see precisely what they say about it. They point out that in an earlier series of experiments on a different subject, they found that nembutal stopped the very blood pressure waves that they wanted to study, even if it was given in as little a quantity as 30 percent of the anesthetic dose. However, they say, another anesthetic, namely chloralose-urethane, allowed the blood pressure waves to come through no matter whether it was given at the rate of five one-hundredths of a gram for each kilogram of the animal's weight, of five-tenths of a gram for each kilogram of weight.

It will be noted that this little discussion does not provide us with much detail—but from it we may conclude that the vivisectors gathered their information by operating on some dogs under full nembutal anesthesia, on other dogs under only 30 percent of adequate anesthesia, on some dogs at perhaps a sufficient dosage of cloralose-urethane, and upon still other dogs at only one-tenth that amount of chloralose-urethane. In other words, some of the animals experimented upon undoubtedly felt no pain, but it is difficult to conclude anything save that certain other animals were operated upon at either one-third the proper amount of anesthesia, or one-tenth the proper amount of anesthesia.

With a particular dog thus presumably perfectly well able to feel pain, the vivisectors tied him down and literally picked his brain to pieces, meanwhile shocking his brain with electricity at each step of the procedure to see what results would be produced in the blood-pressure chart.

Bewteen electrical shocks, the vivisectors first removed the brain cortex, which is to say the outer layer which covers the brain. The tissue of the cortex, as may be noted, was drawn off by suction. The withdrawal of both the cortex and part of the white matter of the brain itself then was accomplished by suction and by an electric cautery. Finally, the whole brain stem was removed with a surgical knife.

Needless to say, all the animals involved in this experiment died. As an end result of the experiment, the vivisectors found themselves in possession of a great deal of data relating to minute changes in brain waves which may be expected in case a doctor ever meets a patient, part of whose brain has been withdrawn from his skull by suction.

NATIONAL ANTIVIVISECTION SOCIETY.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment for the Purpose of Producing Intestinal Peritonitis in Dogs."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF PRODUCING INTESTINAL PERITONITIS IN DOGS (DIVISION OF EXPERIMENTAL SURGERY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA MEDICAL SCHOOL)

This experiment was reported in Surgery, volume 22, dated September 1947, pages 550 through 551. It was carried out at San Francisco by the Drs. Sanford Rothenberg, Henry Silvani, and H. J. McCorkle, all of the division of experimental surgery of the University of California Medical School. The doctors frankly state that their only intention was to make dogs desperately and fatally ill. They were seeking merely to kill dogs with peritonitis, the same horribly painful ailment from which a human being usually suffers as the aftermath of a ruptured appendix.

If the doctors used anesthesia in this experiment, they did not mention it; and it is only fair to point out that, both in the interests of scientific completeness and in protecting themselves from charges of cruelty, doctors make it an almost invariable point to mention the type of anesthesia (if any), the quantity administered, and the method of administration. Therefore, it seems reasonable to infer that no anesthesia was used in this experiment.

In their article, the vivisectors refer to the fact that there already existed a method of producing peritonitis in dogs. This consisted of tying off the base of the appendix (a surgical procedure), and then giving the dog-victim about a quarter glassful (54 centimeters) of castor oil.

But, they explain, they wanted to "improve" this method. They "improved" it by applying a technique far more agonizing.

With the animal strapped down and his belly laid open, they interrupted the blood supply to the appendix, and then tied off the appendix with ¼-inch cotton tape. The appendix itself then was crushed by repeated clamping. Then the omentum (part of the intestinal tract) was cut out, as was the spleen.

With the dog's intestinal system thus mutilated and unable to function in anything like normal fashion, the immense, one-fourth-glass does of castor oil was given.

The authors state their results thus: "A fatal, fulminating, diffuse peritonitis of appendical origin may be uniformly produced in dogs" by means of the procedure already described.

One may wonder what happened to the 56 dogs used in this experiment. They all died—but the doctors state that the average survival time for these obviously suffering animals was 39 hours—more than a day and a half.

The animals, by the way, were not treated. Nothing was done to relieve their slow progress toward death. Any human being who has suffered even a nonfatal peritonitis is in excellent position to estimate the extent and the scope of the horrors visited upon this group of dogs.

As stated previously here, the purpose of this experiment was merely to cause peritonitis. There was no reported effort to cure it, once it was caused, nor was there any apparent desire in the first place to make useful observations concerning it. The Drs. Rothenberg, Silvani, and McCorkle made no observations in their report.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment Attempting To Show What Causes Fever."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT ATTEMPTING TO SHOW WHAT CAUSES FEVER (DEPARTMENT OF ANATOMY, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL OF MEDICINE)

This experiment was reported in the American Journal of Physiology, volume 159, No. 2, dated November 1949, pages 209–216, by the vivisectors, W. W. Chambers, H. Koenig, R. Koenig, and W. F. Windle, of the department of anatomy, University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine.

They begin their report by stating that the temperature of an animal body is regulated by the hypothalamus, an area of tissue located near the base of the brain. At least, say the vivisectors, numerous investigators have believed that the hypothalamus causes fever or cold; but they point out that other experimenters have been unable to agree to this. So Chambers, Koenig, Koenig, and Windle decided to make a test of their own.

They obtained a new drug called Pyromen, a preparation which is known as a pyrogen. A pyrogen is a drug that causes fever.

The vivisectors wished to know whether Pyromen would produce fever in dogs and cats if the animals' hypothalamuses were disconnected from other parts of their bodies.

Using anesthesia, the vivisectors created such disconnections on a number of dogs and cats. The animals were surgically maimed in a variety of ways. Spinal cords were cut at various points, the brain cortex was scooped away, or other damage was done to the victims' nervous systems.

Some of the animals in this series of tests were experimented upon and killed there and then, so that they never recovered from their anesthesia. These animals undoubtedly were not hurt.

The others, however, were allowed to recover.

In from one to several days after their "operations," the animals were given Pyromen, and then were studied to see whether they exhibited fever.

The doctors "proved," if that word may be used, what they apparently had realized in the first place—that there seems to be an area near the base of the brain which makes it possible for a creature to experience fever. Fever can be caused, the vivisectors found, if most of the brains have been cut out. But they found themselves unable to produce fever symptoms in animals which had suffered spinal injuries of such nature as to disconnect successfully the hypothalamus.

The vivisectors were persistent in their efforts. If a dog or cat failed to develop a fever after one injection, he received another. Tests were made upon the injured animals over and over again for periods up to 2 months.

It should be understood that the animals used in this series of tests were hopeless cripples. Their nervous systems had been ruined beyond repair. In some cases the animals were completely without the ability to maintain normal body temperature and, hence, could be kept alive only by being maintained in a specially heat-regulated room.

In addition, it should be understood that, on top of the fact that their day-to-day lives had been made totally burdensome, the animals suffered greatly upon receiving each dose of Pyromen. According to the vivisectors, the administration of the drug commonly caused "retching, vomiting, defecation, urination, drowsiness, and respiratory changes."

We have no desire to comment at any length on the "scholarliness" or scientific worthwhileness of this report. But let us examine just one sentence, as an example. Under the heading "Discussion," in the body of the vivisectors' report we find the following sentence: "The fever that occurs in a pyrogenic response is the result of increased heat production and reduced heat loss."

First, let us see what a "pyrogenic response" is. "Pyrogenic" means "fever producing." Thus, the sentence can be made to read this way: "The fever that occurs in a fever-producing response is the result of increased heat production and reduced heat loss."

Now, of course, a fever always means "more heat produced and less heat radiated away." That's what a fever is. So a still simpler method of rendering this sentence would be as follows: "The fever that occurs in a fever is the result of a fever."

We have no idea why this seemingly pointless sentence should be included in a published article; indeed, we have no idea why the article should have been published at all.

NATIONAL HUMANE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Observe the Results of Feeding to Dogs a Drug Known To Be Violently Poisonous."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO OBSERVE THE RESULTS OF FEEDING TO DOGS A DRUG KNOWN TO BE VIOLENTLY POISONOUS (DIVISION OF EXPERIMENTAL CHEMOTHERAPY, SLOAN-KETTERING INSTITUTE, NEW YORK)

This experiment was reported in the Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, volume 72, No. 2, dated November 1949, pages 401–408. The vivisectors making the report were Frederick S. Phillips, and J. B. Thiersch, of the division of experimental chemotherapy, Sloan-Kettering Institute, New York.

This is a "study" made on a complex drug about which very little is known at present. This drug, being strictly in the laboratory stage, has no popular name as yet. For the time being, the chemists call it by the complex "2, 6-diaminopurine."

To start with, the vivisectors knew perfectly well that this strange commodity, 2, 6-diaminopurine, was highly irritating to the intestinal tract in small doses. That is, they knew that—if in the future this drug should prove to be good for say, rheumatism—it still would be impossible to give it except in very weak doses because of its irritating quality in the intestines. One might suppose that this practical knowledge as to limits of dosage would prove to be sufficient. But the vivisectors in this case weren't satisfied. They wanted to know what would happen if 2, 6-diaminopurine were given in quantities so large as to be completely beyond the upper limits of commonsense.

In other words, they wanted to see what would happen if they gave it in doses which they knew in the first place were of such size as to be nonsensical. To use their own words, they wanted to see what would happen if gross doses were administered.

Of course, chemical analysis of 2, 6-diaminopurine told them the nature of the drug's structure and thus made them sure of their answer in advance—but still they had to see it with their own eyes.

For the sake of brevity, we may as well pass over the fates of groups of mice and rats to which gross doses of 2, 6-diaminopurine were given. This brings us directly to the account of what happened when the drug was given to 8 dogs by injection every day over periods ranging from 2 days to about 3 weeks. Here, in the vivisectors' own words, is a picture of what these dogs endured:

"Vomiting occurred at 3 hours and continued profusely until death. (Note: From this 1 line we undoubtedly may assume that some of the dogs vomited profusely and almost continuously for 2 days, and that some endured this same condition for a full 3 weeks.) Food was refused after the first day. Hemorrhagic diarrhea appeared within 24 hours and increased in severity progressively. During the course of intoxication (poisoning) animals lost weight and developed severe upsets in fluid and electrolyte excretion. * * * Dogs 1 and 2 succumbed after 40 hours; dog 4 after 54 hours; and dog 3 was sacrificed when moribund (obviously near death) after 54 hours."

Some of the other dogs received smaller doses and—naturally—didn't suffer quite so much.

Needless to say, no anesthesia of any sort was used during the lengthy course of this experiment.

This experiment is interesting when considered against an occurrence which took place at a congressional committee hearing in Washington some years ago. At that hearing a vivisector poured out a whole glassful of a new kind of worm poison and suggested to antivivisectionists attending the hearing that, since they opposed the use of dogs in research, perhaps one of them would be willing to step up and drink the glass of poison. Obviously, no antivivisectionist accepted this foolish challenge—and so the vivisector managed to make a kind of dramatic hit before the committee.

Now obviously enough, there would have been no point in the drinking of a whole glassful of that worm poison. The vivisector in question knew in advance that the drinking of so great a quantity would cause death—just as the vivisectors in the present experiment knew that the injection of gross amounts of 2, 6-diaminopurine would cause death.

There is little purpose in the administration of such meaningless, massive doses, since any person equipped with ordinary commonsense is likely to be interested in studying only the minute doses which safely can be presumed to be harmless or at least not unreasonably painful or fatally dangerous.

Serious doctors will wish to test out such minute doses, not so much upon animals as upon themselves, or upon their volunteering students or patients. They know that such tests may prove occasionally unpleasant, though not fatal—and it is such tests as these, made upon man, which undoubtedly are necessary for the gaining of valuable practical knowledge.

But practical commonsense information, likely to be useful in realistic practice, very often is not the sort of information in which vivisectors appear interested. This is the point principally to be gained from the experiment reported herewith.

NATIONAL ANTIVIVISECTION SOCIETY.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cruelty to Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to my remarks in the Senate today referring to experiments on animals, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a leaflet entitled "An Experiment To Pile Up Statistics on 15,000 Animals Scalded to Death."

There being no objection, the leaflet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EXPERIMENT TO PILE UP STATISTICS ON 15,000 ANIMALS SCALDED TO DEATH (RESEARCH LABORATORY OF CEDARS OF LEBANON HOSPITAL AND THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA MEDICAL SCHOOL)

This experiment, staggering not merely for its brutality but for its amazing scope in terms of the number of animals sacrificed, was reported in two standard medical publications—the Journal of the American Medical Association, volume 122, No. 11, dated July 10, 1943, pages 720 through 723; and the Journal of Clinical Investigation, volume 23, No. 5, dated September 1944, pages 795 through 806.

The two reports were made by Myron Prinzmetal, Oscar Hechter, Clara Margolies, and George Feigen, of the research laboratory of Cedars of Lebanon Hospital and the University of Southern California Medical School.

This group of vivisectors wanted to test a specific substance, a liver extract, to compile figures on its worth in treating shock. It should be noted that they knew, in advance of the experiment, that practicing

physicians had tried and approved the liver extract. What the vivisectors wanted was a staggering array of statistics. They used rats and mice over a period of a year and a half, reaching a grand total of 15,000 animals—and in reporting on the matter, they call this a sufficient number of animals to yield results of statistical significance.

Here is the technique they used. They took each animal (under anesthesia) and dipped it to its neck in scalding water for a standard length of time, a matter of a few seconds. Since this experiment was carried out on so grand a scale, animals received their anesthetic in groups. Hence, none received any individual attention. Hence, some died of the anesthetic. If an animal died within 30 minutes, it was presumed that the anesthetic had been too much for him as an individual and his death therefore was attributed to the anesthetic, not to use the scalding.

The vivisectors make no comment along this line, but it may be fair to wonder how many of the animals found the anesthetic not too much for them as individuals—but too little, so that they found themselves being dipped in scalding water while still conscious. It is to be presumed that, in mass anesthetizing, a normal average amount of anesthetic would be given—and this naturally would be too much for some individuals and too little for others.

In any case, the animals that did not die of the anesthetic were allowed to revive and suffer until death or recovery. If an animal pulled through 48 hours, he was automatically listed as a survivor, even if his burns were serious enough so that he died later on anyhow.

After the scalding, the vivisectors divided the animals into several groups—a group given no treatment at all, a group given normal saline solution, and a group given saline solution plus the preparation of liver extract that was being studied. As had been expected, the liver extract group showed a better survival average than the other groups.

It should be noted here that, by inflicting total scalding on 15,000 different animals, the vivisectors disclose their own ignorance of elementary statistics. To wit:

It is a statistical fact that if you flip a coin 6 times, it may come heads all 6 times. But if you go on flipping, it will start to come tails. If you continue flipping, there soon will be periods in which tails may come up 6 or 8 times in a row, maybe more. And if you still go on flipping to a total of 100 times or so, the law of averages will show definite signs of operating. That is, the law of averages operates in such fashion that if you go on flipping a coin, heads will turn up exactly half the time—within very narrow limits. You will find, at 50 flips, that your half-and-half ratio is off by perhaps only halz a dozen flips. It still will be off by only half-a-dozen or so at 100 flips, at 200, at 300, at 400, at 500, and so on. In other words, the law of averages is a real and definite arithmetical law. It is not merely a theoretical fancy. So by the time you reach, say, 500 flips, you know that your heads-tails average is going to be 50 to 50—and you know that it is not going to be anything else even if you go on flipping to a total of 100,000 or 1 million or 1 billion.

In short, assuming that a point is worth proving statistically it is possible really to prove it in fairly short order. To go beyond that point may be amusing if one has nothing better to do—but from an arithmetical standpoint it is utterly unnecessary and consequently an absolute waste of time. All mathematicians are agreed on this. Any high school boy who has had a few weeks of advanced algebra should know it.

The only question, then, is why the vivisectors insisted upon the torture of not 50, not 150, not 1,500—but 15,000 animals in order to prove a point that already had been proven before they started. This experiment, it should be noted, undoubtedly would be defended by every vivisector in the country as one of the procedures absolutely vital to the progress of medical science.

NATIONAL ANTIVIVISECTION SOCIETY.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Happy Birthday, Mr. Baruch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, last Monday Bernard Baruch, adviser to Presidents, park-bench philosopher, and friend of man, observed his 87th birthday.

Mr. Baruch has a host of friends in the Paterson, N. J., area I am privileged to represent and he has been very kind and helpful to me during my congressional tenure. Whenever I have called on him for advice he has given it most willingly, always basing his conclusions on his own experiences in life.

An exceedingly fine likeness of Mr. Baruch bearing a personally autographed message hangs in a beautiful frame in the offices of his lifelong friend, Mr. Harry B. Haines, publisher of the Paterson Evening News which Monday ran the following editorial tribute:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, MR. BARUCH

This is the birthday of one of the great men of our times—a man whose wise counsel has guided rulers of nations and whose abundant good sense has charted safe courses for the world through enveloping dangerous shoals.

Bernard Baruch, America's No. 1 citizen, is 87 today, and with all the civilized world which is so keenly aware of his benefactions, we of New Jersey join in joyous felicitations to him and the fervent prayer his health will continue unimpaired, his enjoyment of life undiminished, and the keen perceptiveness of his wisdom and vision ever sharper.

The world more than ever needs men like Bernard Baruch because statesmen of genuine stature seem so sadly lacking. Either their viewpoints are narrow and provincial or walled in by restrictive political considerations, so that what is good for the country or for the world is often submerged, wittingly or unconsciously, in a welter of confusion.

Not so with the venerable Mr. Baruch. His thinking cuts through the dense fog of ignorance of selfishness and reduces the most complex problem to a simple ABC wrapped up in a magnificent soundness of judgment.

During and after the Korean War, Mr. Baruch urged the United States Government to institute rigid controls, operative against us all, to avert the calamity of uncontrolled costs and ravaging inflation. Unless we did so, he cautioned, we would be paying fabulous sums beyond what was necessary for the things we needed.

What he favored was price control, ceilings on climbing wages, tightening of our belts to win the war and pay for it in the spirit of gratitude for victory, rather than with bacchanalian rejoicing.

The advice went unheeded, and we're paying dearly today for turning a deaf ear to his counsel. Prices are at an all-time peak and still going up, the clamor for higher wages to meet the rising scale goes on unchecked, and economists divide as to the significance of the inflationary cycle and how to check it.

Now, on his birthday, the esteemed Mr. Baruch offers advice which should fall on receptive ears in Washington, where our statesmen are on a new economy bender.

Economy in Government is most desirable and indeed, essential in the right places.

But when it comes to cutting of our defense lines, let's hearken to Mr. Baruch's counsel:

"The one sure thing in all operations is that the cardinal rule is to protect yourself. In the prize ring and from there, in widening circles, to the protection of a nation.

"Therefore, nothing that we Americans spend for defense is too much. This should be plain enough. If we lose, we are finished.

"I don't think it will happen that way in our great country. Yet why gamble and I'm a gambler at heart—by trying to save today's pittance against posterity and our country's future? There we could be gambling against the perpetuation of civilization itself."

Who but Bernard Baruch could speak out so succinctly and with such simple effectiveness?

We trust Washington will note the significant warning and act accordingly.

America is indeed fortunate in its possession of this precious man whose generosity of heart and soul have matched the greatness of his mind. Many are the benefactions he has worked for countless people in the exemplary spirit handed down to him by the father he so deeply revered, the late Dr. Simon Baruch.

Similarly, through the years, Mr. Baruch has sat in the seats with the mighty—with the late President Woodrow Wilson, with President Herbert Hoover, and with the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Eisenhower has looked to him for counsel. One of his dear friends—a buddy with whom he has communed through the darkest days in world history, is Winston Churchill who has leaned so heavily on this magnificent citizen's incomparable wisdom.

On this the anniversary of his natal day, Henry Holt & Co. releases "Baruch—My Own Story," and we recommend it as must reading for young and old, for people as well as for governments, as the fountain of guidance in an era when troubled minds are seeking comfort and a surcease from turbulence.

Prince among men, counselor to world statesmen, benefactor and incomparable citizens, happy birthday, Mr. Bernard Baruch. May your light never grow dim, may it continue to glow with unimpaired brilliance as a beacon for world happiness.

Let Us Stop Fumbling Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the incidents that have been occurring recently in Syria should give all of us more than ample reason to wonder where our foreign policy is leading us.

I hurried home from the Middle East in December 1955 to warn our State Department, and everyone else in the administration who would listen to me, as

to what was happening there, pointing specifically to the danger of the Sovietization and communization of Syria and the threat to world peace that would follow thereon.

I testified at length on the subject before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 8, 1956.

I elaborated upon the subject in my testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on January 16, 1957. In my January 1957 testimony I said, among other things:

We must serve notice now that we will not permit the Communists to enslave any of those peoples or subjugate any of those countries, and we must serve notice that, if necessary, we will move our Armed Forces into those countries to prevent the Communists from taking them over. Nothing less than that will stop them. If we do not intend to do that, we should take our 6th Fleet out of the Mediterranean, recall our Marines from that area, and let the world know that we do not intend to act; if we do intend to act and to use those ships and troops, we should let the Communists know in no uncertain words that an infringement upon the liberty of any people anywhere in the world is an infringement upon the liberty of all the free peoples in every part of the world.

When the Eisenhower doctrine was being considered before the House on January 30, 1957, and again on May 7, 1957, I pointed out how meaningless was the so-called Eisenhower doctrine. There, too, I indicated that Syria would not ask for our help against Communist subversion, infiltration, and subjugation. I also said that we could not keep the peace by saying to the Communists anywhere, that if and when someone asks us for help, we will then move in. I indicated that we must do in the Middle East, precisely what we have done in Formosa and Guatemala.

I most sincerely regret that I can say to my colleagues today: I told you so. Syria has fallen to the Communists and we stand idly by and commiserate with the Syrian people whose past miseries will be as nothing when compared with what the future holds for them.

In that connection, permit me to direct the attention of our colleagues to the editorial which appeared in the New York Times of August 20, and an editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of August 21, 1957, as follows:

[From the New York Times of August 20, 1957]

SYRIA VERSUS THE DOCTRINE

In the gravest challenge to the Eisenhower doctrine thus far the Soviets have apparently scored a major success by precipitating a virtual coup d'etat in Syria which has put pro-Soviet and even reputedly Communist officers in control of the army which controls the country. This coup, executed behind the smokescreen of trumped-up charges that American diplomats plotted to overthrow an already leftist Syrian Government, appears to have been the price exacted by the Soviets for lavish promises of both military and economic aid to Syria of the type extended to Egypt, Yemen, and others.

Because of the rigid Syrian censorship the exact nature of the coup and the precise political orientation of the men now on top is still obscure. But irrespective of whether the new rulers are Arab nationalists who have hitched their wagon to the Soviet star or are outright Communists, they threaten to reduce Syria to a new type of Soviet satellite giving Moscow a firm basis in the Middle East for further penetration. That is what the Eisenhower Doctrine is designed to prevent.

Syria, the only Arab country to legalize the Communist Party, has long been a member of the Moscow-Damascus-Cairo axis that gave the Soviets their first foothold in the Middle East. This axis was created by President Nasser when he turned to the Soviet bloc for arms and organized an Egyptian joint command for the Egyptian and Syrian Armies to promote his campaign against the West and for his projected pan-Arabic empire. But Syria remained divided. Now the extreme leftists led by General Bizi and Colonel Serraj have seized control and are crushing all actual or potential opposition.

The challenge to the Eisenhower doctrine is all the more formidable because the coup has been legalized by President Kuwatly's signature, which, under whatever pressure it may have been obtained, makes the upheaval a Syrian domestic affairs. Yet the main aim of the Eisenhower doctrine is to provide military aid, including American forces, to help middle eastern nations asking for such aid to resist armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism. Thus, unless the new Syrian rulers launch new adventures against either Israel or Jordan, both of which they claim as "southern Syria," that part of the doctrine will be difficult to apply.

The doctrine does provide economic aid against internal subversion, and the Syrian upheaval is an urgent warning to Congress against courting similar developments elsewhere by cutting the mutual defense program. But Syria will now scarcely ask for such aid. That imposes on all the Western Powers, on all the members of the Baghdad Pact and on all still independent Arab nations the grave responsibility of finding the proper measures to deal with a situation threatening all of them.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of August 21, 1957]

TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO LEARN HOW TO USE WORLD POWER

The Eisenhower Doctrine was brought forward on the theory that a vacuum of power existed in the Middle East. The British and the French, according to this theory, had progressively been edged out of their positions in the area; it was too late to reestablish them, and the new sovereignties that arose in their place were weak and divided. Consequently, the Soviet Union began to move in. To prevent this, the United States would offer guaranties to the nations of the Middle East against Soviet aggression. That was the theory.

But the power vacuum persists. The Soviet Union has succeeded in placing a Communist at the head of Syria's army, and the civil government in that country is subservient to the army. The Soviet Union has its beachhead in the Middle East. The Eisenhower Doctrine, as such, has no provision against the effects of infiltration and subversion. The policy of the United States has been unsuccessful—if, indeed, any serious effort was made in that direction—in preventing the Syrian Red coup. At best, this country has helped to awaken Syria's neighbors to the danger of overly close association with that Soviet base and has been instrumental in preserving Jordan from a similar fate. But the danger of Communist subversion, trading on nationalism, exists throughout the Middle East and North Africa—indeed, it is critical throughout Asia and Africa and many of the Pacific islands. How does the United States propose to meet those threats?

It must be by the exertion of power—moral, economic, political and military. There has to be a concept and a capability for exerting this power at any threatened point. There must be more than general principles, more than paper alliances, more than broad programs of economic welfare. And above all, the power must be exerted, overtly or covertly as the case may demand, before the crisis. To wage the peace requires action, not ad hoc committees after the fact; preventive medicine, not autopsies.

The United States has to be prepared to resort to massive retaliation against major aggression—and the Soviet Union must know that that purpose and potential exists. One may hope knowledge of such retaliatory power will serve as a deterrent to an open Soviet assault on a grand scale. But there must also be developed within the American military system the ability and the willingness to use force locally, and with discrimination, when the necessity arises and when the great strategic weapons are inappropriate to the case. This too, the Soviets must know. For so long as they feel free to wage minor wars and local insurrections without fear of American intervention they will do so to the detriment of order, peace and freedom.

The Syrian situation, like that of Egypt, was before the Cabinet and the National Security Council for several years. There was indecision, and inaction until matters had reached the point of no return. So Syria slipped within the Soviet orbit. The dangers along the Arabian coast, in the little principalities, are known. Yemen is receiving Communist arms and raiding over the border of British-held Aden. The Oman revolt—a very minor military episode—has not yet been wholly crushed. But the United States has no agreed policy with Britain on this vital area. American power—the complex of all the qualities that this country can bring to bear to keep the free world (including the United States) free—is neither known nor respected in many areas of strategic importance. If there is another failure—as in Syria—there could only be another post mortem.

The techniques of bringing power to bear for the defense of freedom are, of course, varied and intricate. They require adaptation to particular cases. But behind them must be the will, the determination, and the resolute policy to act, to act intelligently and to act first. The United States wants peace. The President stands as a symbol of that desire. But peace cannot be won without risks and the willingness to fight for peace if need be. President Eisenhower and his administration will have to adapt themselves to a climate in which peace cannot be preserved by merely wishing it, or even confining themselves to broad, beneficient, and constructive programs. Syria was given ample opportunity to join in peaceful, useful work for the benefit of its own people and those of the whole Middle East, with the assistance of the United States. But the Soviet Union bored from within, took over the army and subverted the government. There must be no more Syrias, and the United States must learn how to prevent them.

Cotton Treadmill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Arizona Republic dated August 12 entitled "Cotton Treadmill." There follows the editorial:

COTTON TREADMILL

If Secretary of Agriculture Benson isn't careful, he will be the victim of his own energetic attack on farm surpluses. Take cotton, for instance. In the year ended July 31, the United States sold 7.6 million bales of cotton abroad, compared with 2.2 million bales the previous year. To be sure, it was a cut-price deal, with the taxpayer making up the loss actually suffered. But it did help reduce the surplus cotton in this country from a onetime high of 15 million bales to roughly 11.5 million bales.

Last week the Agriculture Department published its first estimate of the current crop, forecasting 11.8 million bales for this year, compared with 13.3 million bales last year. The smaller crop is due to the flexible Government support program, to land withdrawn and put in the soil bank, and to some bad weather. If the estimate is correct, 2 or 3 million bales of the surplus will be required to meet the 1957–58 domestic demand.

It is obvious that the Benson program is getting somewhere. We could probably go a full year without picking another pound of cotton and still supply all our normal needs, but at least the walls of the Government storehouses have stopped bulging. It might even have been hoped that current steps would bring the surplus down to a normal figure and allow the Government to retire gracefully from the entire business of supporting cotton, running soil banks, and dumping surpluses abroad.

But such hopes fail to take notice of the hard facts of life. Any chance of restoring a free market is blocked by a law providing that higher price supports must be put into effect as soon as the supply drops to a certain figure. Like Lewis Carroll's Red Queen, Secretary Benson has to run faster and faster in order to stay in the same place. If he reduces the surplus, the price support will be boosted, and the farmers will raise more cotton, and the big surplus will be back.

Here is something that Congress really should go to work on. Unless it expects to continue agricultural handouts as a permanent way of life, it must restore a situation in which cotton farmers produce for the market, not for the Government warehouses. It won't achieve that goal so long as incentive payments go up automatically whenever the surplus shows signs of becoming manageable.

Murder Case Ends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of August 20, 1957:

MURDER CASE ENDS

Fortunately for this community, Clarence E. Watson, Jr., is serving a 13 to 40 year sentence for another crime. So this depraved criminal, whose conviction for the murder of Miss Alyce O. Taggart has just been set aside for the second time by the court of appeals, will not be wandering through the streets of Washington any time soon.

This, however, is a coincidence. For the murder case undoubtedly will have to be dropped, and Watson soon would be a free man if he were not already serving a jail sentence for rape.

The court of appeals had no choice in the matter. More than a year ago it reversed Watson's first conviction on the ground that he had been held too long by the police before arraignment. But the court held then that confessions made between 6 o'clock in the evening and 9 o'clock the next morning were legal. These served as the principal basis for the second conviction.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court decided the Mallory case. This ruling held that Mallory had been detained too long (about 7½ hours) and, although clearly guilty of rape, he had to be released. When last heard from, he was heading south. This ruling was binding on the court of appeals and it clearly had no choice except to set aside Watson's conviction.

Watson is a vicious criminal with a long record. There is not the slightest doubt that he murdered Miss Taggart, and that he should escape punishment for his brutal crime is an affront to justice. But he will not be punished for it, and in fact he would not be punished at all had he not been caught and convicted in the other case.

This is a situation which calls for some second thinking on the question of balancing the rights of an accused against the rights of a community. As things stand under the Mallory ruling, the police cannot conduct any appreciable investigation or questioning of an arrested suspect until after he has been arraigned and charged before a judge. The purpose of this is to insure that the suspect will have access to counsel and will be advised that he need not answer any questions asked by the police. The advantages of this, from the point of view of the accused, are obvious. It seems equally obvious, however, that the police, if they cannot investigate or question a suspect before arraigning him, are going to find it extremely difficult and often impossible to solve such crimes as the murder of Miss Taggart.

This has nothing to do with coercion, duress or third degree tactics of any kind. They have not been sanctioned in the past and they were not involved in the Watson and Mallory cases. If the public is to have the protection from criminals to which it is entitled, however, the police must have reasonable opportunity to question suspects and check out their stories. At the request of the District Council on Law Enforcement, a bill to provide for this is under consideration in Congress. It probably will not be acted on in the adjournment rush of this session. But the ruling in the Watson case argues strongly against needless delay when Congress reconvenes.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to my colleagues' attention to two excellent editorials. As one who has opposed foreign aid during this session of the Congress, I am in complete accord with the views set forth in the editorials which follow:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of August 16, 1957]

FOREIGN AID CUT

One word from President Eisenhower and the House Appropriations Committee does what it pleases.

Late Wednesday the President signed the bill authorizing foreign aid appropriations totaling $3,367,083,000. This was half a billion less than he wanted, but in a special news conference he said he thought it would be enough, provided Congress appropriated the full amount. If it didn't, he might have to call a special session.

A few hours later a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee approved a bill authorizing the expenditure of $2,524,760,000—a cut of more than $800 million.

Yesterday morning President Eisenhower issued a statement calling for a restoration of the cut, "in the conviction that the national interests of this country are deeply involved."

Whereupon the full committee met and promptly voted to uphold the subcommittee's $800 million cut. So who's out of step with whom?

The House committee's action, we believe, simply reflects the sentiment of the people. They're fed up with the idea of perpetual foreign aid. They think it's about time our friends and allies—if such they be—stood on their own feet, economically, and financed their own defense needs to a greater extent than they are now doing. They are skeptical of the results claimed for the foreign-aid program and they are not sold on the merit of foreign aid to Tito and the possibility that it may be extended to other Communist countries. In general, if we interpret the public pulse correctly, the people want Government spending cut and their taxes reduced.

While the Appropriations Committee was defying the President, another House committee—the one on Government Operations—made news. It reported that the State Department had illegally tapped the Secretary's emergency fund for more than a half million dollars in the last 14 years to pay for public opinion polls. Even if this had been done legally, through appropriations made by Congress, it woud seem to be a silly sort of business and a waste of the taxpayers' money. By clipping the Gallup Poll out of any one of the scores of newspapers which use it, the Department could have found out what the public's opinion was on almost every conceivable issue.

It might be useful to know what the Department's poll found out about the public's opinion of foreign aid, but Congress will never know because, in a crowning act of stupidity, the results were labeled "confidential." Oh, well.

We don't think the foreign-aid outlook is as dark as the President pictured it. To begin with, the Senate will probably restore some of the cuts made by the House and there will be a compromise appropriation of possibly $2,800,000,000. And if that isn't enough, the foreign-aid spenders have unexpended balances of more than $6 billion to draw on.

[From the Cleveland Press of August 16, 1957]

THE FACTS ABOUT FOREIGN AID

President Eisenhower has a real fight on his hands in attempting to avoid deeper cuts in the appropriations for foreign aid.

Judging by his extraordinary efforts, he regards this as the biggest issue between him and Congress. He puts is virtually on a life-and-death basis.

The cuts approved by the House in a rousing battle were made in the face of the President's dramatic pleas, which included a threat to call Congress back in special session.

Despite all the fuss, the amount of the House reduction is less than Congress cut from foreign-aid requests in any year of the Eisenhower administration except 1955.

But what the House obviously had in mind was the huge backlog of foreign-aid money

still in the pipelines. As of June 30, more than $6 billion previously appropriated still was unspent—enough in itself as the House Appropriations Committee pointed out, to run the program well into 1959.

Beyond this, another couple of billions will be available for assistance to other countries in foreign currencies accumulated under the surplus crop disposal program abroad.

Both the President and some of his supporters allege that the cuts cannot be justified. But it is not the cuts which need to be justified. It is the spending of taxpayer money, for whatever purpose. The President simply has not made out a case.

Help Block the Drive for More Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiaia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present herewith a very forceful editorial which appeared in the Sunday, August 18, 1957, issue of the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La. The editorial is entitled "Help Block the Drive for More Immigration" and is as follows:

HELP BLOCK THE DRIVE FOR MORE IMMIGRATION

During the 12 months ending last June 30, with the much-maligned Walter-McCarran Immigration Act in full effect, 343,738 aliens were permanently admitted to the United States. For most Americans, this total is sufficient, marking a level at which the inflow of aliens should be held.

However, the total is not sufficient in the eyes of powerful propaganda and lobbyist groups now at work in Washington.

Under the terms of a dozen or more amendments now being urged as necessary changes in the Walter-McCarran Act, the number of aliens admitted to the United States would be more than doubled—the proposed annual increase being estimated at 378,200.

One proposed amendment which Congress is considering would change the base year for fixing quotas from 1920 to 1950. Because of the increase in the Nation's population, that would mean boosting quotas by approximately 65,000 annually.

Another proposed amendment would transfer annually about 70,000 in unused quotas from northern and western European countries to the countries of southern and eastern Europe and Asia. There was sound logic in assigning the quotas originally to the northern and western areas of Europe, based upon the origins to which this country's population is traced, and there is no reason to disregard that logic now.

Still another amendment would permit Asiatics born outside of Asian countries to use the non-Asiatic quotas, and if born in nonquota countries to immigrate to the United States without quota limitation. One estimate is that 600,000 Asiatics now in the New World would become eligible for immigration to the United States under this amendment.

The other changes being urged upon Congress are similar in general effect to those above.

In addition to these highly undesirable proposals to relax restraints upon immigration, other proposed amendments to the Walter-McCarran Act would break down such security safeguards as the fingerprinting of aliens. One amendment would require court review of the action of American consuls in issuing or declining to issue visas. Another would provide waiver to travel documents presently required of all aliens seeking admission to this country.

Taking the lead in urging Congress to reject any and all changes in the Walter-McCarran Act is the American Legion, which has throughout its history wielded a strong influence in behalf of sound immigration legislation. The Legion denounces each of the amendments mentioned above, and urges citizens generally to take the same position, and to communicate their views to their Senators and Representatives. The Times unreservedly recommends this course.

While there are no doubt some worthy organizations working for immigration-law changes, it is an undeniable fact that the most vociferous foe of the Walter-McCarran Act is the Communist Party. The aim behind Red opposition to the act is partly to bring about the entrance of alien Communists and partly to destroy unity within the United States by increasing the number of aliens in the population.

Congress should turn a deaf ear to all pleadings for revision of the immigration law. The Walter-McCarran Act was drafted carefully, after long study. It has functioned well. It should be retained intact, no matter how much howling for amendments echoes through Washington.

Objections to H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to place in the RECORD a telegram which I have received from Mr. William M. Allen, president of the Boeing Airplane Co., analyzing many of the objections to the enactment of H. R. 8002. Mr. Allen speaks from the experience of the Boeing Co. as one of the principal defense contractors. I feel the objections he states to this bill are valid and strongly urge my colleagues to study them carefully before supporting this legislation which would, I am afraid, throw a monkey wrench into our system for defense procurement and in the end result in more—not less—Federal expenditures.

The telegram follows:

SEATTLE, WASH., *August 20, 1957.*

The Honorable DON MAGNUSON,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Our study of the proposed change in methods of appropriating funds and authorizing contracts, as contained in H. R. 8002, leads me to believe that this bill, in its present form, contains the following defects which might adversely affect the defense programs of Boeing Airplane Co., and thus the economy of the State of Washington. The defects are principally applicable to programs extending over more than 1 year, and such programs constitute the bulk of the defense business of this company as well as the aircraft industry generally.

1. The change to annual accrued expenditure basis of appropriating funds would require detailed advanced estimating of contract cash expenditures by year. Past experience has shown that actual rates of expenditure by time periods are extremely difficult to accurately determine. This is particularly true when a substantial portion of the end product is purchased and/or subcontracted from thousands of subcontractors and vendors. Furthermore, if the rate of expenditures exceed the estimates, funds might not be available to make payments to the contractor. This could also tend to increase overall costs of programs by requiring a contractor to pace his efforts to stay within estimates of expenditures rather than proceed on most economical total program basis.

2. Any delay by Congress in appropriating funds for a new year would result in invoices not being paid, which could seriously disrupt the financial program of the company, as well as its ability to maintain a stable work force, and, in addition, its ability to make timely payments to its subcontractors and vendors.

3. The bill contains authority to enter into contracts for programs in excess of funds appropriated for the next ensuing year, but statements in committee reports indicate that contract authority would be good for 1 year only. This could result in a year-end rush to place contracts before authority expired, which is an old evil of several years ago, now eliminated from the present method of appropriating funds which are available until expended.

4. In those instances where contracts extending over more than 1 year are terminated, the contractor might have to await an appropriation by Congress before termination costs could be paid.

For the reasons indicated above, I believe this bill should be given further study before it is adopted by Congress. As you may know, a majority of the members of the House Appropriations Committee is opposed to this bill. If you agree with my views and those of the majority of the members of the House Appropriations Committee, I would appreciate whatever action you may take to delay enactment of this bill until its impact upon defense contractors can be better analyzed and considered.

WILLIAM M. ALLEN,
President, Boeing Airplane Co.

Conflict-of-Interest Statutes Conflict With Best Interests of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, success in private life is at least a good indication that a man will be successful in Government service. It is at least some assurance that qualities which the business world was willing to pay handsomely for will be brought to Government service and thereby the Government and the people will benefit. It is also assurance that the possessor of such qualities is pretty unlikely to be a thief, chiseler, racketeer, grafter, or other slimy-type character because people of that type are so seldom successful in legitimate pursuits.

A look back at the pre-1953 era of scandals in Government discloses few, if any, culprits that could be classified as successful men prior to their entry into Government service. Thus the conflict of interest statutes, based on the assumption that successful people are

crooks and must be stripped of any possible temptation to make their decisions in Government posts on the basis of what is good for themselves and their friends instead of the United States and its people, just do not stand up. The practical effect of such statutes, when combined with the constant abuse these people get from congressional committees and free-wheeling, one step above Confidential magazine type newspaper columnists, is to keep a lot of good talent away from Washington that is badly needed.

A further amplification of the problem is set forth in the following editorial by Lawrence A. Collins, Sr., appearing in the Long Beach Independent:

USELESS SACRIFICE

As Neil H. McElroy takes over the tremendous responsibilities as Secretary of Defense he must dispose of all interests he has in any enterprise that may have contracts with the Government. He will be succeeding Charles Wilson who sacrificed several million dollars when he sold his General Motors stock to accept the Defense post in the Cabinet. In addition, Mr. Wilson gave up a salary of over $600,000 a year. Mr. McElroy is giving up a salary of $285,000 a year.

Each of these men achieved success in industry after years of working up from the bottom. They proved their ability and honesty. Each of them has long records of unselfish public service. The can afford to take over great public responsibility only because they have accumulated enough money and securities to make up for the difference in the Cabinet post salary of $25,000 a year.

Mr. McElroy must sell his 600 shares of General Electric and 200 shares of Chrysler Corp. stock. These are a minute percentage of the stock in these corporations. The income to the holder would be $1,800 a year. It would be difficult for the money to be invested in the stock of any industry that did not do some business with the Government.

In our opinion the rule requiring disposal of all ties with former employment or investments is unrealistic. The type of man who is sought for these high positions is big enough to refuse favoritism to companies in which he holds stock. In fact, it is probable such men would lean over backwards in such affairs. To be sure they are not to be criticized they would make it harder on former associates than they would if they had no financial connections.

There are always a few in Government who play favorites. But men who have been successful in operating big enterprises have to have a lot of commonsense and character. The chiselers are usually men who never operated a legitimate business or who were never successful before taking public employment.

If the "conflict of interests" theory were sound it would have to go much further than the kind of securities owed by the individual. It would be concerned with the man's children and friends. A man might do a favor that would be helpful to a relative when he would scorn doing so because he happened to own stock in a company.

Most Cabinet officers in the President's official family are responsible for more employees and money than is the head of any private enterprise in the Nation. Our only hope for efficiency and sound judgment in handling the people's business is to have men who have proved their ability. Such men are already employed. The only reason they are willing to leave that employment is that they feel they owe it to their country—or they are wealthy enough that they can afford to take on a new challenge.

It is becoming even harder to get such men to accept public office. The pay of $25,000 a year is less than many salesmen or union leaders receive. Young men cannot afford to take such jobs. Mr. McElroy is only 52 years of age. But he has been one of the outstanding successes of the Nation. He has long shown his devotion to public service. His having to dispose of all his interests with any enterprise dealing with the Government is demanding a sacrifice which is unreasonable and actually meaningless from a practical standpoint.

The Spirit of Babe Ruth Lives On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial written by Harry H. Schlacht for the East Side News, a publication circulated in the 19th Congressional District of New York on the anniversary of the death of the immortal Mr. Baseball—Babe Ruth:

THE SPIRIT OF BABE RUTH LIVES ON
(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Today marks the ninth anniversary of the death of Babe Ruth. He was a great sport. He was a great sportsman. He was a great showman. He was Mr. Baseball.

The story of Babe Ruth will fascinate the children for years to come. He was a great influence for good in the life of American children. He exemplified the truth that only in America can a poor lad rise to fame and riches through his own athletic prowess in the fashion of a Horatio Alger hero. He rose to become the toast of the Nation.

Babe Ruth was a symbol of what can be achieved in the face of handicap. He was an emblem of American sportsmanship. He was a product of American opportunity. His name is written of American opportunity. His name is written large in the annals of the sporting world. His living personality is enshrined in our hearts.

In youth, he was a problem child. In manhood, he was a respected citizen. He was cast in the American mold. He was tough and rough, and yet he was as gentle as a lamb with children whom he loved and who loved him. Babe Ruth loved his fellow man.

The three images which will remain longest in the memory of our people will be the sight of Babe knocking the ball out of the park, will be the sight of Babe sitting beside a kid's bed in a hospital, will be the sight of Babe giving a new lease on life to a sick child.

He was a God-loving man. He was a true American. Babe Ruth loved his church. It was there that he was fired with ambition. It urged him to overcome obstacles. It assured him against all dangers. It sustained him against all fears of failure.

If there is anything on earth that made him dream Heaven, it was what he felt within the sacred walls of St. Mary's Industrial School. It was the joy that he brought to little children. It was the happiness that he brought to his fellow man. His joy of service was the tenderest note on the keyboard of our hearts.

Babe Ruth believed that the gate of Heaven is the door to the church temple; the key to Heaven is the key to His tabernacle; the joy of Heaven is the possession of that God whom first he found within his church's holy precincts.

He was a man who practiced friendship and friendliness to a fault. His life was filled with prayer. His life was aflame with love. His life was winged with faith. His life was vibrant with spiritual force.

Babe Ruth's life has become a legend. His name will linger long after the pages that carried his fame will have yellowed with age. His memory will be measured not in length of years, but in his achievements. His feats on the diamond will be the golden page of baseball.

Babe Ruth is not dead. He will live among the immortals of our national pastime. He will live as long as baseball lives. Men who have achieved do not die.

Address by Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Vice Chief of Staff, United States Army, at the Annual National Convention of the Jewish War Veterans at Boston, Mass., on August 17, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following address by Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Vice Chief of Staff, United States Army, at the annual national convention of the Jewish War Veterans at Boston, Mass., on August 17, 1957:

ADDRESS BY GEN. LYMAN L. LEMNITZER, VICE CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY, AT THE ANNUAL NATIONAL COMMANDER'S DINNER, 62D ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U. S. A., STATLER HOTEL, BOSTON, MASS., AUGUST 17, 1957

I deeply appreciate the opportunity to join you tonight on this important occasion. I was very pleased to receive an invitation to talk to this distinguished group of American citizens who, after serving your country in uniform, continue to devote considerable time and effort to the furtherance of our national security.

The combat service of such men as your national executive director, Ben Kaufman, stands as a testimonial to the extent of your wartime contributions. As a fighting infantry sergeant during World War I, his bravery was recognized by awards from nine allied governments and our Nation's highest decoration, the Congressional Medal of Honor. The wartime records of Mr. Kaufman and many other members of your organization—in two World Wars and the recent war in Korea—are those of which you may well be proud.

We in the Army and in the other services also are keenly aware of the achievements of your national legislative director, Bernard Weitzer, which reflect the continuing efforts of the membership of this organization in support of maintaining adequate military forces to preserve the security of the United States and the free world. I assure you that we in the Armed Forces share your desire for military forces which provide, both in quantity and quality, an adequate deterrent to war and the capability of winning a war if deterrence fails. I hope in my comments tonight to provide you with a better

understanding of the situation which confronts us in the world today and the way the United States is designing our military forces to cope with it.

First, in turning to the situation we face, it is hardly necessary to underline to this audience that the aim of international communism is world domination. This aim has been deeply rooted in Communist minds since the October revolution in 1917 and has been repeatedly stated by Communist leaders since that date. It is their aim today as surely as it ever was, and from it stems the real threat to the future of the United States.

This threat to the security of our country and the measures we must take to guard against it fall into four main categories: military, economic, political, and psychological. Since the news media keep you sufficiently informed on the nature of the other threats, I shall confine my remarks to the military threat that confronts us.

Fortunately, the military threat is a tangible one. Thus, it is possible—indeed essential—to take concrete steps to meet it. The simple truth is that the Communist bloc today possesses vast military power in both Europe and in Asia with which it is capable of launching an attack anywhere along the entire frontier of the free world.

What are the specific forces that make up this Communist military threat? First, the powerful, well-trained and modernized armies, supported by a strong tactical air force, provide the foundation of the Communist military strength. These large armies of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communists, and their many satellites represent far greater strength than that required solely for defense. Second, a serious naval threat is posed by the Soviet Navy with its powerful submarine fleet which is capable of seriously interfering with our sea lines of communication and the ability to supply our allies and to support our own forces overseas. Third, Soviet air power has achieved a strong air bombardment capability against countries in Europe and Asia and an increasing ability to launch a surprise atomic attack on the United States and free world nations.

This does not imply, however, that international communism will not resort to aggressions short of general war. The 40-year history of Communism is far too replete with examples of subversion and deliberate aggressions short of general war for us to harbor false hopes regarding Communist intent and capabilities. Greece, Korea, and Vietnam—3 of the 8 limited-type wars that the Communists have initiated or participated in since World War II—clearly indicate their recent record in this regard.

The possibility of the small war is, therefore, one which we cannot overlook. As atomic capabilities approach parity, it is certainly a likely type of conflict. Should it break out, it must be dealt with quickly and effectively. Otherwise, it could result in the piecemeal erosion of the free world, or it could spread into the general war which we are trying so urgently to avoid.

At this point you may well ask: How do the Armed Forces contribute to preventing war? Since the threat to our country's security is multiple—on the land and sea and in the air—each service has an indispensable role to play. The Army, Navy, and Air Force form a unified team to deal with these threats. I can best illustrate how the deterrent efforts of the three services are meshed together by outlining some of the major forces which contribute to the maintenance of our security.

First, the Air Force-Navy air retaliatory forces—a powerful deterrent with which I know you are familiar—serve as an obvious warning that a surprise attack on the United States will surely bring immediate retaliatory attacks on the enemy.

Related to our air capability are those forces located here in the United States designed to defeat a surprise enemy air attack. The continental air defense of our country is a triservice effort combining the Air Force early-warning radar stations in the Arctic, Navy radar ships at sea, and airborne early warning planes, Air Force interceptors, and Army air-defense missile units.

The forces of our Army, Navy, and Air Force deployed overseas represent another important part of our deterrent structure. In Europe, the United States Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean is a powerful influence in maintaining stability in the Middle East. Ready units of the Air Force clearly indicate our ability to retaliate promptly and effectively should the Communists attack. Facing the Communist armies, strong Army forces—along with the armies of our allies—visibly block the paths of aggression. These Army forces form the protective shield which covers the bases of the three services, thereby permitting us to deliver the full weight of the free world's military power in the event of war.

On the other side of the world in the Far East we find a very similar situation. The United States Seventh Fleet patrols the waters off the China coast. Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine units comprise additional, visible deterrent strength. In Korea, two United States Army divisions are an integral part of the United Nations Command. This powerful blocking force—built around the battle-tested divisions of our stalwart ally, the Republic of Korea—assures the so-called Chinese People's Volunteers and North Korean Communists that the initial success of their deliberate attack in 1950 will never again be possible.

Here at home the Armed Forces keep their ready backup strength. The Army, for example, maintains additional divisions, which are the forces the Communists would quickly encounter in increasing numbers if they launched an attack anywhere in the world. In a general war these ready forces would promptly reinforce our troops overseas, which would be heavily engaged from the start of the war by powerful enemy armies.

In addition to our own Armed Forces—deployed overseas and available at home to reinforce our overseas forces in event of attack—we are assisting our free-world friends in developing forces required for our collective security. We are accomplishing this important objective through our mutual-security program—frequently misnamed the foreign-aid program. This program stresses mutual security—the security of both the United States and our free-world friends.

As the first Department of Defense Director of the military aid program—one part of the overall mutual-security program—I have been particularly interested in what the program is accomplishing throughout the free world. I have recently returned from the Far East, where I have been the commander in chief of the Far East and United Nations Commands for more than 2 years. Accordingly, I have had the opportunity to observe at firsthand the tremendous accomplishments of our mutual-security program. As in Europe, where our NATO allies possess much greater military strength today than would ever have been possible without the assistance rendered under this program, our allies in the Far East stand as a strong bulwark against further Communist aggression. They, too, are a strong deterrent against future attacks.

In Korea in 1950 we saw the price of military weakness, and as a result we and the other nations who answered the call of the United Nations Security Council to come to the aid of the Republic of Korea paid a very heavy price in blood and treasure to defeat the Communist aggressor who deliberately planned the attack to eliminate the last free-world foothold on the northeast Asian Continent.

Our mutual-security program is designed to assist in maintaining a common worldwide defense against the constant threat of international communism. It is the program that saved Greece and Turkey in the late 1940's without the necessity of our direct armed support and consequent expenditure of American lives. What feature of the program could more convincingly and effectively recommend it to the American people than its demonstrated service, not only to the security of our friends but to our own security as well?

Now let us sharpen our focus on what our mutual-security program is doing for ourselves and our allies in this battle against international communism. Let us take a look at the Republic of Korea—one of our stanchest allies. I have selected the Republic of Korea because I am most familiar with the situation there where during the last 2 years I commanded the military forces charged with the mission of protecting that Republic from renewed Communist aggression.

The military situation in the Republic of Korea can best be described as that of suspended war. No progress whatsoever has been made in attaining a political settlement of the shooting war which was suspended 4 years ago when the military armistice was signed on July 27, 1953. The Republic of Korea—as the result of Communist actions—still remains a divided nation. Along the 155-mile Korean front strong enemy forces have the capability of striking powerful blows—as they did in 1950—without warning.

That front is held by the forces of the United Nations Command comprising principally the battle-tested Republic of Korea Army, two famous United States divisions—the 7th and 24th—and the forces of our allies in the United Nations Command. The airspace in the vicinity of the front is patrolled by our 5th United States Air Force and the Republic of Korea Air Force. Coastal naval patrol against Communist infiltration and smuggling is provided by the Republic of Korea Navy.

Here in the United States, we devote about one-half of our budgetary expenditures to national defense. The Republic of Korea devotes about 71 percent of its budget for defense purposes. Even with this heavy expenditure, the Republic of Korea with its limited resources cannot meet all defense costs. They can and do provide in large measure the requirements of courage, determination, and devoted service in opposing the Communist threat which faces them. They must, however, look to us—since they have no means of providing their own—for ammunition, guns, planes, ships, equipment of all kinds, gasoline, and the other military supplies essential to maintaining constant readiness against a surprise attack. While I have used the Republic of Korea as an example, many of our other allies being aided under the mutual-security program are equally dependent upon us for support.

I am sure that the members of this audience—who themselves have actively and personally participated in the defense of our country—appreciate fully how important it is to keep these forces of our allies—especially along the frontiers of the free world—equipped and ready to defend themselves and oppose any future Communist aggression. In defending themselves they also defend the United States. These are the objectives of our mutual security program. I am sure that you will agree with me that money spent for these purposes contributes substantially to the security of the United States, as well as to the security of our allies, and makes military, economic, and national security sense.

I would like to say a few words about the disarmament discussions presently taking place in London. How—you may properly ask—do these fit into the situation I have been discussing: namely, military strength and national security?

The meetings in London of the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee represents a concerted effort upon the part of the United States and its free world allies to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union which will provide a safeguarded—I repeat, safeguarded—first stage agreement.

I would like to make one point crystal clear. In spite of the Communist propaganda to the contrary, the United States has for years consistently taken the lead in seeking a safeguarded agreement on disarmament. To this end, the United States has made positive and constructive proposals that would bring under control the nuclear threat; bring about controls on conventional armaments and armed forces; bring about controls in the development of outer space objects, and the creation of aerial and ground inspection to provide against surprise attacks.

Until first-stage, safeguarded agreements in these regards have been reached, however, it is vital to the security of the United States and our free world allies that we maintain a strong military posture that will insure our individual and collective security.

I hope that my remarks tonight have provided you with a better understanding of the situation we face and the measures your country and its Armed Forces are taking to cope with the current situations.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that national security is everybody's business—not the concern of our Armed Forces alone. Our strength—at home and abroad—will accurately reflect your demands—it will be no better than you insist that it be.

I deeply appreciate the opportunity—and it has been a real pleasure—to talk to a group that has shown so much interest and devoted so much time and effort in the interest of our national security as you have.

Why the South Must Prevail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, so much has been written in the newspapers and periodicals of sections of our Nation outside of the South concerning the so-called civil-rights bill, definitely slanted to prejudice the minds of the American people against the South, that I was agreeably surprised to note in a magazine published in Orange, Conn., National Review, a weekly journal of opinion, an article entitled "Why the South Must Prevail." Under leave to insert my remarks I include this article:

WHY THE SOUTH MUST PREVAIL

The most important event of the past 3 weeks was the remarkable and unexpected vote by the Senate to guarantee to defendants in a criminal contempt action the privilege of a jury trial. That vote does not necessarily affirm a citizen's intrinsic rights: trial by jury in contempt actions, civil or criminal, is not an American birthright, and it cannot, therefore, be maintained that the Senate's vote upheld, pure and simple, the common law.

What the Senate did was to leave undisturbed the mechanism that spans the abstractions by which a society is guided and the actual, sublunary requirements of the individual community. In that sense, the vote was a conservative victory. For the effect of it is—and let us speak about it bluntly—to permit a jury to modify or waive the law in such circumstances as, in the judgment of the jury, require so grave an interposition between the law and its violator.

What kind of circumstances do we speak about? Again, let us speak frankly. The South does not want to deprive the Negro of a vote for the sake of depriving him of the vote. Political scientists assert that minorities do not vote as a unit. Women do not vote as a bloc, they contend; nor do Jews, or Catholics, or laborers, or nudists—nor do Negroes; nor will the enfranchised Negroes of the South.

If that is true, the South will not hinder the Negro from voting—why should it, if the Negro vote, like the women's, merely swells the volume, but does not affect the ratio, of the vote? In some parts of the South, the white community merely intends to prevail—that is all. It means to prevail on any issue on which there is corporate disagreement between Negro and white. The white community will take whatever measures are necessary to make certain that it has its way.

What are such issues? Is school integration one? The NAACP and others insist that the Negroes as a unit want integrated schools. Others disagree, contending that most Negroes approve the social separation of the races. What if the NAACP is correct, and the matter comes to a vote in a community in which Negroes predominate? The Negroes would, according to democratic processes, win the election; but that is the kind of situation the white community will not permit. The white community will not count the marginal Negro vote. The man who did not count it will be hauled up before a jury, he will plead not guilty, and the jury, upon deliberation, will find him not guilty. A Federal judge, in a similar situation, might find the defendant guilty, a judgment which would affirm the law and conform with the relevant political abstractions, but whose consequences might be violent and anarchistic.

The central question that emerges—and it is not a parliamentary question or a question that is answered by merely consulting a catalogue of the rights of American citizens, born equal—is whether the white community in the South is entitled to take such measures as are necessary to prevail, politically and culturally, in areas in which it does not predominate numerically? The sobering answer is "yes"—the white community is so entitled because, for the time being, it is the advanced race. It is not easy, and it is unpleasant, to adduce statistics evidencing the median cultural superiority of white over Negro; but it is a fact that obtrudes, one that cannot be hidden by ever-so-busy egalitarians and anthropologists. The question, as far as the white community is concerned, is whether the claims of civilization supersede those of universal suffrage. The British believe they do, and acted accordingly, in Kenya, where the choice was dramatically one between civilization and barbarism, and elsewhere; the South, where the conflict is by no means dramatic, as in Kenya, nevertheless perceives important qualitative differences between its culture and the Negroes', and intends to assert 'its own.

National Review believes that the South's premises are correct. If the majority wills what is socially atavistic, then to thwart the majority may be, though undemocratic, enlightened. It is more important for any community, anywhere in the world, to affirm and live by civilized standards, than to bow to the demands of the numerical majority. Sometimes it becomes impossible to assert the will of a minority, in which case it must give way, and the society will regress; sometimes the numerical minority cannot prevail except by violence: Then it must determine whether the prevalence of its will is worth the terrible price of violence.

The axiom on which many of the arguments supporting the original version of the civil-rights bill were based was universal suffrage. Everyone in America is entitled to the vote, period. No right is prior to that, no obligation subordinate to it; from this premise all else proceeds.

That, of course, is demagogy. Twenty-year-olds do not generally have the vote, and it is not seriously argued that the difference between 20- and 21-year-olds is the difference between slavery and freedom. The residents of the District of Columbia do not vote; and the population of the District of Columbia increases by geometric proportion. Millions who have the vote do not care to exercise it; millions who have it do not know how to exercise it and do not care to learn. The great majority of the Negroes of the South who do not vote do not care to vote, and would not know for what to vote if they could. Overwhelming numbers of white people in the South do not vote. Universal suffrage is not the beginning of wisdom or the beginning of freedom. Reasonable limitations upon the vote are not exclusively the recommendation of tyrants or oligarchists (was Jefferson either?). The problem in the South is not how to get the vote for the Negro, but how to equip the Negro—and a great many whites—to cast an enlightened and responsible vote.

The South confronts one grave moral challenge. It must not exploit the fact of Negro backwardness to preserve the Negro as a servile class. It is tempting and convenient to block the progress of a minority whose services, as menials, are economically useful. Let the South never permit itself to do this. So long as it is merely asserting the right to impose superior mores for whatever period it takes to effect a genuine cultural equality between the races, and so long as it does so by humane and charitable means, the South is in step with civilization, as is the Congress that permits it to function.

Foreign Aid Versus Postal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is most pertinent at this time to submit the following editorial entitled "Foreign Aid Versus Postal Aid," which appeared in the Davenport (Iowa) Democrat and Times on Sunday, August 18, 1957:

FOREIGN AID VERSUS POSTAL AID

Postal workers of the Nation are deserving of better salary considerations, as pointed out in another article on this page today.

Deterioration in postal services, already evident, will surely get worse unless the Congress takes its sights off foreign-aid appropriations long enough to face up realistically to the serious problems at our own doorsteps.

When compensation in the postal services is so low that it has to draw on undesirables who can't hold down jobs in the other posts, it would seem that the President and the Congress should take prompt action to remedy the situation.

Patrons of the United States mail services certainly don't want to entrust their precious letters and packages to carriers recruited right off the streets.

While the House of Representatives recognizes the need for postal pay increases, and has passed a bill to accomplish this end, the Senate hasn't even had any hearings on the measure. President Eisenhower has indicated he would veto a pay hike for postal and other Federal employees on the grounds that it would generate more inflation.

The President and the Senate need to be aroused by citizens of the Nation to put first things first. The matter of handing out billions in foreign aid, which is getting all the attention in these closing days of Congress, could well have waited until our own good postal servants were taken care of properly.

The Hungarian Fight for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the editorial staff of the newspaper, Nemzetor, which is published by the Free Hungarians in Munich:

GENTLEMEN: We wish to appeal to the intellectual elite and youth of the free world in this, our first, English-language edition.

We, the young writers of Hungary's fight for freedom, are unknown here in the West, even our own country knows little of our existence, for our literature was born in prisons, concentration camps, and the underground movements of our universities. Examples of our work were never published, they were passed on by word of mouth or in manuscript form, keeping awake the spirit of resistance and fostering that ideal which makes us feel part of the free world.

Inspiring our modest efforts was that instinctive need—alive in us all—of giving expression to truth. Our generation grew up in the past 15 years, excluded from the intellectual community of Europe and the free world, whereas in its thoughts and desires considered itself part of that community. Our only means of contact with current free intellectual life were the fragments of information which reached us through the double bars of prison and the Iron Curtain. Among us younger writers the refusal to accept notorious ideologies and theories created an intellectual vacuum, which we eagerly tried to fill with the culture of the real Europe. Our translations and studies were born out of this desire.

The hatred of the well-known existing regime and the deep desire to resume closer relationship with the free world brought about the revolution. Today, our youth at home is once again the victim of terror; out here political and power groups, through their organizations, use it to achieve their own ends. We guard the voice of this youth, and make its aims our own. What these aims are? To tell the world what we experienced behind the Iron Curtain, to say also what we expect, what we ask for in the interest of our future, the future of all nations of the world. To achieve this end, we are prepared to risk causing discomfort to those who consider themselves the world's masters.

The uprising came suddenly, but found us not unprepared. After taking our part in the fighting, we founded, on November 3 in Budapest, the newspaper called Nemzetor. The paper's first edition should have appeared on the following day but for the Soviet attack on the city. Nemzetor was originally founded by Kossuth in the days of the 1848 revolution. In 1956, fighting once again for our national independence, we have carried on Kossuth's tradition.

There is not one professional journalist among us, nor any great authors. The paper is written and edited by students, workers and intellectuals scattered all over the globe. We are independent of all parties, ideologies and groups. To remain independent we had to make sacrifices here in the West, where not arms and ideologies, but money and power politics wage constant war. In the early days of our existence we were strongly advised to attach ourselves to some interested group if we wished to survive. We did not accept this advice and we are still in existence after half a year. It is true, that even our Hungarian edition can only appear fortnightly, and that this is our first attempt at a foreign edition, but, at least, we remained independent to this day. We refused security and the offers of world publicity. All over the world new friends turn toward us, moved perhaps by their conscience or the feeling of impending world catastrophy.

Perhaps our call has found an echo: the sounding of the alarm in a common army of intellect, above all national or power interests, in this hour of fast approaching danger.

We turn to you: students, writers, politicians to those of you who have not yet sold your words or pens, help in this common fight. Show our paper to your friends, use our articles in your publications. Call attention to our problems, problems on which your own bare existence may soon depend.

You have the right to publish all our articles, we only ask you to mention our name, and send us three file copies of the publication. We do not ask for any remuneration, but would accept gratefully any support you may be able to give.

Accept the warning of those who fought in the front line, and who still keep fighting, in the struggle which you will have to face some day.

EDITORIAL STAFF OF NEMZETŐR.

MAY 1957.

Senate's Chance To Aid United States Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Gould Lincoln appearing in the Washington Star of August 20, entitled "Senate's Chance To Aid United States Security":

SENATE'S CHANCE TO AID UNITED STATES SECURITY

The Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate, itself, have an opportunity to act strongly in support of the security of the United States. It remains to be seen whether the Senate, like the House, is willing to play political football with that valuable commodity. The mutual security appropriation bill was slashed by the House last week to approximately $2.5 billion—which is $800 million less than the authorization bill passed by both the House and Senate and now law. Further, it is $1.3 billion less than President Eisenhower said originally was needed to bolster the strength of the free world.

A determination on the part of many Democrats to kick the Republican President around, plus the willingness of too many Republican Congressmen, in the name of economy, to play the same kind of game, was responsible for this drastic action. When the bill was before the House, a final effort to have $715 million restored to the mutual-aid funds, made on motion of Representative JUDD, of Minnesota, Republican, was defeated by a vote of 254 to 129. The Democratic vote against this motion was 171, and only 43 Democrats voted for it. The Republicans—on whom the President might have relied for aid—were divided almost equally on this vote—86 for and 83 against.

THE ECONOMY DRIVE

Early this year mutual security appropriations—which go to support armed forces other than American in key spots in the free world, and to give economic aid to nations needing it and which might turn to the Communists—became the prime target of the political minded, including those who think they will gain support from economy-minded voters. The word went out that they had sharpened their knives to cut these appropriations to the bone. They were singled out in the Presidential budget, which was regarded in many quarters as too high in these days of peace. And now the blow is about to fall.

The Senate is in a position to restore some of these funds for mutual security and to fight it out with the House in conference on the appropriation bill.

President Eisenhower has appealed again and again to Congress not to make these drastic cuts in funds which go in major part to help finance the armies of Korea, Greece, Turkey, Vietnam, and Formosa. Without these funds, those countries will have to reduce their armed forces materially. The cut for Korea, for example, will mean a reduction of 5 army divisions—5 out of 22 divisions. Without striking a blow or firing a shot, the Communist armed forces, which have been constantly augmented along the Korean border, will see the potential strength of the Republic of Korea deprived of five divisions. Such a loss in actual war would be considered tremendous and vital. Considering the fact that American Armed Forces and billions of dollars were used only a few short years ago to halt the Communist drive to ake over the Korean Republic, the action of the House seems little short of insane. As President Eisenhower has pointed out, we "invested" 135,000 casualties—Americans boys—in the Korean war, and now it is proposed to endanger, or even to cast down the drain, that priceless investment.

MOSTLY FOR MILITARY AID

Almost all of the mutual security funds go for military aid—a fact the economists in Congress fail to emphasize. They like to speak of the mutual aid appropriations as a giveaway program. They do not, apparently, pay attention to the fact that if we permit large decreases in the armed forces of nations we have as allies in a war against the Communist nations, war becomes more probable. They do not reflect that if our money for these armed forces is withdrawn, our allies cannot maintain their strength, for they have not the resources to do so. And the money we give to these allies of ours puts soldiers under arms and in training which would cost us many times our contributions if we undertook to arm and train a similar number of our own men and keep them in the service.

President Eisenhower was overwhelmingly reelected last year because the American people believe (a) he is dedicated to maintaining peace and (b) he is qualified to perform that task. To that end, the President has given his utmost effort.. We have peace, al-

though it is constantly threatened by the Communist ambition to take over the world. The military and economic strength of the United States remains the great deterrent. This the President is determined to retain. But he has pointed out that without allies and their strength in the free world, the task of assuring peace is a burden that would become enormous and in all probability impossible. He rates the mutual-security program as essential; so essential that he is prepared, if world conditions demand it, to call Congress back into special session if the program is thrown out of the window now.

4–H Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, those of us familiar with the 4–H Club program throughout the United States are aware of the splendid training offered to the fine boys and girls who are members. Within the 10th Congressional District of Texas, which I am privileged to represent, we have some very outstanding 4–H Clubs, such as the one at Lexington in Lee County, Tex., under the expert guidance of Mr. Brown O. Spivey, Lee County agricultural agent.

One of the members of the Lexington 4-H Club, John Alexander, has written an excellent story about his accomplishments through his 4–H Club work, and because I know it will be of interest to those of us in Congress, especially the Members from agricultural districts, I would like to have it included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. John's story is as follows:

4–H STORY: MY 4–H EXPERIENCES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

(By John Alexander, Lexington, Tex.)

LESSONS LEARNED

What I have learned in 4–H Club work. I have learned to keep good records on my projects, to be submitted in the county agent's office on the right date.

What I have learned to make in 4–H Club work. I have made lamps, brooders, hog sheds, hog wallows, and self-feeders.

JOYS AND SATISFACTIONS EXPERIENCED

What joys and satisfactions I have had in 4–H. Some of the joys and satisfactions I have had in 4–H are as follows. Fairs and Achievement Days.

The most exciting day of my life was the day of the F. F. A. Livestock Show. I was going to show my gilt for the first time. After the judging was over I was very happy because my gilt had taken first place.

The next satisfaction of my life was when the same gilt took second place at the county fair. Another satisfaction of my life was when our county agent asked me if I wanted to go to the district leadership lab. I had a wonderful time there. Because I learned a lot of new games that are a lot of fun. I also learned a lot about county councils and observances, because that was the class I was in. We discussed a lot about county councils. The other group I was in was the singing group. We discussed what you had to have before you could be a good singer.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

When I joined 4–H I didn't know hardly anything about livestock. But, with the help of our county agent I learned how fast. Because he showed me how to keep records on my projects. He showed me how to care for hogs, cattle, turkeys, chickens, sheep, and goats. Our county agent showed me how to take care of our tractor and equipment.

INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY

Before I was in 4–H I didn't have hardly any responsibility. Now since I have been in 4–H I have had increased responsibility, because my parents think that 4–H has taught me something about responsibility.

HELPED OTHERS

I was in 4–H about 3 years and then I told my sister, Vivian, all the fun I was having in 4–H. After talking to her a long time I finally talked her into becoming a 4–H member. She said that she didn't have a project. So I said that was O. K. because she could write an essay to win one of the Sears gilts that were to be given away. So she said that she would write the essay and so a helped her to write the essay. About a month later she found out that she had won a gilt.

HOW 4–H HAS HELPED OUR FAMILY

The 4–H has helped us a whole lot, especially my parents. Because with all the projects that I have I can buy my own clothes and I have all the spending money I need without asking them for any money. The 4–H has taught our family a lot about farming, and many other things that we didn't know about. I am going to save my money from my projects to buy me some cattle. When cattle are cheap this fall I'm going to buy as many as I can so I can sell them this spring, when the cattle market is up.

With that I'm going to build me a fairly large brooder house. Because I am going to write an essay to try winning 300 baby chicks.

WHY I LIKE 4–H

Because it has helped me and my family so much. It has really showed us how to make better crops.

What I believe the most important reason of all is that I really like our county agent. Because he helps us with all our problems that we ask him about, and it doesn't matter on any subject either. Whenever there is a contest he tries to let us know about it. Because he likes to see us get awards, he tries very hard to get each of the 4–H members to enter each and every contest that comes around.

Sportsmen, Dealers Oppose Unwarranted Restrictions on Firearms, Ammunition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, we Members in Congress from Montana are deeply concerned about a proposed Internal Revenue Service administrative action to place sharp restrictions on firearms and ammunition. A hearing on this matter has been scheduled by the Revenue Service here in Washington, August 27.

I should like to present the views of our Montana delegation and also the views of our western sportsmen and equipment dealers, which I believe are very well expressed in a letter I have just received from an eminent physician and sportsman, Dr. Alexander C. Johnson, of Great Falls.

The Montana delegation has directed the following letter to Mr. Dwight E. Avis, Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service:

DEAR MR. AVIS: In the opinion of the Montana congressional delegation, the proposed regulations pertaining to interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition appearing in the May 3, 1957, Federal Register, represent an invasion of the rights and privileges of the sportsmen in our State as well as those throughout the Nation. Furthermore, the procedures that would be established would work a hardship and an inconvenience upon manufacturers and dealers in sporting arms and ammunition.

The idea of firearms registration by owner is not new. In application, however, it is associated with attempts to suppress crime and amounts to no more than a penalty on the millions of law abiding sportsmen and gun owners in the hopes of frustrating those few individuals who would use firearms for illegal purposes.

It is conjectural whether the authority for the proposed regulations is contained in the Federal Firearms Act. In fact, it appears that the Internal Revenue Service is going beyond the implications of that act with the proposed regulations.

We object to the adoption of the proposed regulations in that they impose unreasonable and unwarranted restrictions on millions of sportsmen and other gun owners, on dealers and the manufacturers and importers of firearms and ammunition.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES E. MURRAY,
United States Senator.
MIKE MANSFIELD,
United States Senator.
LEE METCALF,
Member of Congress.
LEROY ANDERSON,
Member of Congress.

A BUREAUCRATIC EDICT

The letter from Dr. Alexander C. Johnson is as follows:

GREAT FALLS, MONT., *August 13, 1957.*
The Honorable LEROY ANDERSON,
Representative From Montana,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am taking this opportunity to add my voice to the numerous protests you have undoubtedly already received concerning proposed revisions of the Internal Revenue Service Regulations pertaining to the Federal Firearms Act.

Hearings on this are scheduled for 10 a. m., August 27, Room 3313, Internal Revenue Building, Washington, D. C. These hearings are in reference to proposals on the part of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service which would impose a multitude of new regulations concerning the identifications of firearms, firearms records by manufacturers, and to add absurdity to the ridiculous even the requirement that complete and detailed records be kept of over the counter ammunition sales. I venture in regard to this latter item alone it would take a 10-story building of bureaucrats (heaven forbid) to keep the files and records alone during an average hunting season in Montana.

A particular item that is particularly dangerous is the proposal that the Internal Revenue Service would have the authority to examine records, etc., of arms and ammuni-

tion dealers at any time during business hours. This alone would appear to violate the constitutional provisions concerned with search and seizure.

All of these proposals constitute a usurpation of legislative action since various proposals encompassing the matters under consideration have been many times introduced as bills in State legislatures throughout the country and by and large have been rejected through the education and efforts by the honest law abiding sportsman of the country who use and enjoy firearms for hunting and marksmanship competition. There is no need for the proposals of the Internal Revenue Department and the only excuse that I can conceive for these matters even being considered is the desire of the Internal Revenue Department to enhance its own bureaucratic stature.

The history of all restrictive firearms legislation shows that the proponents of such action fall into two categories: The largest group are merely misguided individuals who feel that registration and control of firearms and ammunition will have beneficial effects from the standpoint of law enforcement. This is manifestly not so since some areas of the most rigid statutes and attempted control such as New York City are among the highest in crimes of violence involving firearms. The criminal can always get firearms. Restrictive legislation only disarms the honest sportsman. The second and possibly more dangerous group are the subversive elements who are aware of the value of a disarmed American public should there ever be an invasion or a war in which internal sabotage or turmoil would be much more easily carried out by armed subversive groups in the face of a disarmed public. This was the experience in numerous invaded countries during World War II where the invading army simply confiscated registration books and either collected the weapons or executed those who did not have the weapons listed in their name. The recent disclosures of active espionage networks in the United States suggests that this is not an idle supposition or fear.

I urgently commend to you that you exert all efforts to suppress this reprehensible attempt of the Internal Revenue Department to usurp the legislative prerogatives of the Congress by mere bureaucratic edict.

ALEXANDER C. JOHNSON, M. D.,
Commissioner Great Falls Police Department, Life Member National Rifle Association.

Address by Col. T. S. Ivy, USMC, Director 4th Marine Corps Reserve and Recruitment District, Representing Headquarters United States Marine Corps, Washington, D. C., at the 38th Annual Encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 Through July 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the 38th annual encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held at Harrisburg, Pa., July 10 through July 14, there were several outstanding addresses delivered by prominent officials of the Federal Government in keeping with the theme of the encampment Defense Means Freedom.

On July 11, 1957, the following address titled "Defense Means Freedom: The Role of the Marine Corps," was delivered by Col. T. S. Ivey, USMC, director 4th Marine Corps Reserve and Recruitment District representing Headquarters, United States Marine Corps, Washington, D. C.:

DEFENSE MEANS FREEDOM: THE ROLE OF THE MARINE CORPS

(Address by Col. T. S. Ivey, USMC director, 4th Marine Corps Reserve and Recruitment District, Department of Pennsylvania Veterans of Foreign Wars, 38th Annual Encampment, Harrisburg, Pa.)

It is a very great pleasure to meet with you men and women of the Pennsylvania Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars here at your 38th annual encampment.

I have the honor to represent the Marine Corps in your encampment program. The Commandant of our Corps, General Pate, has asked me to convey his best personal wishes to all of you and to express his hope that your State encampment will be a most successful and enjoyable affair.

Few citizens have such an investment in the welfare of our country as those who have fought on the field of battle to safeguard our Nation's interests. Nor is there any group which has a greater reason to want a future of peace.

Your keen interest in our national security remains a vital asset to our overall strength. You have every reason to be proud of your continuing efforts to promote and support an adequate Military Establishment for our country. The theme of this encampment, Defense Means Freedom, is in keeping with those efforts. I speak for all marines when I express our gratitude for your achievements in encouraging public support for the national-defense program.

In any discussion of national defense, it seems to me that we should always keep clearly in mind why our Nation is engaged in a defense effort that dwarfs anything we have ever had in time of peace before. We, as a Nation, certainly have no designs on the territory or rights of any of our neighbors in the world community. On the contrary, since World War II, we have contributed generously in men, money, and the material to aid and assist other nations to recover from the effects of that war and to safeguard our freedom and integrity.

I need hardly remind this audience that our defense efforts are rather the direct result of the menace posed by militant national communism. Despite announcements regarding reductions in armed strength, the Communists will still retain armed forces far in excess of anything needed to defend their home territories. This, coupled with the expansionist policy of the Communist world, means that, for our own safety, we must keep our defenses strong.

We must be so strong and so ready, in every department, that it is obvious to the entire world, to friend and foe alike, that we cannot be defeated on any battlefield, in a big war or in a little war, in a global or in a peripheral war, by sneak attack or in the long pull.

This is our task today, and it will be our task for a long time to come. Our aim is to prevent war by our apparent ability to win it.

Today I want to tell you what the Marine Corps is doing as its part in maintaining defense for freedom. I want to give you an up-to-date report on the role of the corps, and how it is organized to play its role.

Our present regular or active strength stands at approximately 200,000 officers and enlisted. Backing up our active-duty marines, and ready to furnish the increased strength we would need in event of a large-scale emergency, we have a Reserve of approximately 265,000 officers and enlisted.

The condition of the corps today is excellent. We attribute this to the high sense of motivation which prevails among our individual marines. We are made up 100 percent of volunteers—vigorous young Americans who share a common desire to serve their country.

The Marine Corps responds to the needs of a country which is primarily a maritime power. Our Nation, by virtue of its geography and the genius of its people, has exploited the value of seapower for almost two centuries. Seapower is the means which enables us to extend our national strength beyond our own borders. Without seapower, our land strength and our air strength might well be confined to bases far removed from those areas of the world where we need them most.

Seapower means more than just ships that move upon the ocean. It means all the elements that make the seas a source of strength for us and, conversely, a source of weakness for our enemies. It means surface strength, air strength, undersea strength, and in the particular area of the Marine Corps, it means amphibious strength also.

It is this principle—dependence upon seapower—which dictates the necessity for the Marine Corps, the Nation's amphibious force in readiness. As such, the corps is constantly available on the shortest possible notice for service beyond the seas in time of emergency.

The corps provides a compact, flexible, mobile air-ground striking force, ready for employment in any sector of the globe on the shortest possible notice. The value of such a force in the light of present world conditions cannot be overestimated.

To meet its responsibilities as America's emergency military force, the corps is organized into two main groups: the operating forces and the supporting establishment. By act of Congress, we are required to maintain 3 marine divisions and 3 aircraft wings.

These forces operate as close-knit air-ground teams. They constitute the bulk of our operating forces. Our lean supporting establishment, consisting of schools, training and supply depots, and posts and stations, exists for the sole purpose of supporting the operating forces.

The hard core of our combat organization, the 3 divisions and 3 aircraft wings, make up the Fleet Marine Forces assigned to the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets. These are strategically disposed to meet the situation which exists in the world today.

The Second Marine Division and its aviation partner, the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, are based on the east coast in North Carolina. One battalion landing team of this air-ground force is afloat with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. If the need arose, the rest of this division and wing could leave for the Mediterranean, or anywhere else in a matter of days.

In southern California, the 1st Marine Division is based at Camp Pendleton. Its supporting Marine Aircraft Wing, the 3d, is located at nearby El Toro. These units are welded together as taut, highly trained striking forces, needing only the command and the necessary shipping to load out for combat operation.

Overseas, we have the 1st Marine Brigade—an air-ground team in the fullest sense—stationed in Hawaii.

Further west, in Okinawa and Saipan, the 3d Marine Division and 1st Marine Aircraft Wing (less the units forming the

brigade in Hawaii) are poised on the edge of a vast area where the flames of aggression may break out at any time in many localities.

All of these units are prepared to move to any trouble spot in the world as fast as ships or transport aircraft can be made available. And they are ready to go into action upon arrival.

At the moment, the Marine Corps' primary purpose is to help prevent war by deterring aggression against the United States or any of our allies.

As I have already indicated, to be effective in deterring war, our military strength must create in the mind of any potential aggressor the firm conclusion that any attack against the United States or our free world allies, will be contested and the aggressor will be the loser.

To be convincing, our Nation's military program must be based on reality. It cannot be mere talk or threat. It must be supported by flexible evidence of sufficient armed strength in being. To be effective, this armed strength must be balanced so that it is applicable to a variety of possible situations. Balance does not mean equal strength in Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. Balance means flexible, mobile, proportioned strength to deter or fight any type of armed conflict, from jungle or arctic warfare to atom or nonatom wars of any size.

The Marine Corps contributes to this balanced strength primarily through its amphibious capability and its readiness in being. To any potential enemy, the Marine Corps represents the immediate striking force he would encounter after the outbreak of war or the initial act of local aggression. To the extent that the Marine Corps is well trained, highly mobile, and always ready for action, it is an important part of our Nation's deterrent strength. We best serve our country and its citizens by preventing war, if by our readiness we can accomplish that end.

In the event deterrence fails, what type of war do we expect to have to fight? In the Marine Corps, we rate the all-out atomic war as only one form, and not necessarily the most likely course which war may take. This evaluation stems from sound reasoning. As atomic capabilities grow, it seems increasingly improbable that an aggressor would intentionally embark on the gamble of all-out atomic world war. So as long as we maintain adequate atomic retaliatory power the danger of a general war diminishes.

At the same time, however, it is becoming increasingly apparent that what may be a deterrent to general war is of much less value as a deterrent to other forms of aggression. The Communists, in their drive for world domination, have turned to another kind of struggle—the limited war. This is the kind of warfare which has confronted us and our allies in Korea, in Indochina, in Malaya, and in the Middle East. It is the war by proxy, the war by satellite, the war by subversion. It can be argued with logic the real war.

The Marine Corps has set itself the task of readiness for any kind of war, the general or the limited war.

If all-out war occurs, we see our fleet marine forces in the role of exploited troops, seizing the initiative and capitalizing upon the air victory which we must win during the first weeks of such a war. It may be, of course, that the enemy would surrender when he found he could no longer contest our mastery of the air. But we think it more likely that the end would not come until we had invaded his homeland, defeated his armies, and seized control of his economic and political centers of gravity.

In the more likely event of limited war, our role is even more immediate and direct. This type of disturbance must be dealt with promptly—before it precipitates the big war which no one can truly win.

I would call your attention to the fact that most of the critical areas where limited wars are about to start have a common characteristic—they are exposed to the sea. Thus sea power can be used effectively in the cessation and control of limited wars. This is a type of operation in which naval power—the Navy and Marine Corps together—has had extensive experience and significant success.

The man on the ground with a rifle and the warship in the harbor are tangible symbols of the power of the United States of America. But the threat of nuclear attack, like the high altitude bomber that backs it up, is impossible to see with the naked eye. It is like the electric chair; not like the policeman on the corner.

It is probably true to say that one H-bomb could kill more people in a millisecond than a marine landing force could kill in a year of combat. However, it is certainly true that a Marine landing force can do a lot of things that an H-bomb cannot do. An H-bomb, or even the threat of an H-bomb, cannot project our national policy ashore on foreign lands. An H-bomb cannot cover the evacuation of American citizens from a troubled area. An H-bomb cannot seize an advanced base, or defend it. An H-bomb cannot restore law and order, or bring about constructive changes in the political arrangements of an area vital to our national security. An H-bomb can only destroy.

So long as this country maintains forces that are capable of fighting—and winning—limited wars, it is much less likely that we will have to fight an all-out, hydrogen war. Our nation has such forces today.

The versatile striking forces of the Navy combining with the strategic mobility of the Fleet Marine Forces give our Nation a tremendous military advantage over any potential enemy. Let us keep it that way.

Finally, as we look toward the future, we do not expect to meet the conditions of tomorrow with the tactics, technique and equipment of yesterday, or even of today.

Marines will not again make landings of the type we made at Guadalcanal, Saipan, Iwo Jima, or Inchon. With the advent of nuclear warfare, time has run out for this type operation, with its large concentrations of vulnerable shipping and its intricate and time-consuming manuevers. Since the end of World War II, the Marines and the Navy have been working together to perfect a new doctrine for amphibious operations, a doctrine built round the helicopters and new weapons of great power.

The amphibious assaults of the future will be made by Marines in transport helicopters, taking off from fast, widely dispersed ship formations under the cover of supporting fires delivered by planes, guns, and missiles.

Besieging difficult beaches and heavily defended areas, the Marines will seize key objectives and then quickly spread out to consolidate a beachhead for further expansion. Such landings will have more speed and flexibility, and a greater shock effect than the amphibious operation we have known before.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion, I would like to express the Marine Corps' appreciation to the Veterans of Foreign Wars for your continued interest in all of our affairs. You have our very best wishes for success in your many worthwhile projects in the interest of our country.

As for our part, I assure you we are ready for anything the future may hold. In fulfilling our important military role, we are determined to uphold the high standards established by the Marines of the past. In doing so, I am confident we will always have the strong support of your splendid organization.

Donald J. Russell, Southern Pacific President, To Receive Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the able and distinguished president of the Southern Pacific Co., Donald J. Russell, has been selected for this year's National Defense Transportation Association award. He is the first railroad man to be so honored by the organization. The Southern Pacific Co. is of vital importance to the fourth district of Oregon where much lumber, fruit and other commodities rely principally on rail transportation to reach their markets.

The citizens of southwestern Oregon look to the Southern Pacific for improved freight and passenger service and especially to Mr. Russell. The company has made great strides under his leadership and we have every expectation that its performance will continue to improve.

Following is a complete item from the New York Times for Sunday, August 18, and an item which apeared in the Washington Evening Star's column Today in Business, by William A. Millen for Monday, August 19, telling about Mr. Russell's award:

[From the New York Times of August 18, 1957]

Donald J. Russell, president of the Southern Pacific Co., has been selected for this year's National Defense Transportation Association award. Mr. Russell is the first railroad man to be so honored by the organization.

This eighth in the series of annual awards will be formally presented at the association's annual dinner on November 21 during it 12th annual convention. The 4-day meeting opens in Washington on November 18.

The association annually honors the person who has made the most outstanding contribution in the preceding year to the solution of emergency transportation problems affecting national defense. The 1956 award was presented to Donald W. Douglas, chairman and president of the Douglas Aircraft Co., at Salt Lake City.

A spokesman for the association said Mr. Russell last year directed the establishment of a microwave railroad control installation between Dunsmuir and Black Butte, Calif., which will provide 100 percent reliability during all weather conditions in an area subject to 100-mile-an-hour winds and 10 feet of snow in winter.

The Denver-born railroad executive started with Southern Pacific in 1920 as timekeeper of a maintenance-of-way gang, shortly after completing his engineering studies at Stanford University. He now lives in San Francisco.

This year's convention and transportation forum has as its theme, The Shape of Things To Come in Transportation and Logistics. Presentations during the meeting by the Army, Navy, and Air Force will permit a look at equipment, operations and techniques included in the services' transportation and logistical planning for the next few years.

More than 60 prominent Government, military and civilian leaders of transporta-

tion will appear before the convention at various meetings and forums. These include Edmond H. Leavey, president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp.; Gordon Gray, director of Defense Mobilization; Carter L. Burgess, president of Trans World Airlines; John M. Franklin, president of United States Lines; James T. Pyle, Civil Aeronautics Administrator, and Clarence G. Morse, chairman of the Federal Maritime Board, along with top officers in the Armed Forces.

Clark Hungerford, president of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway, is president of the association.

[From the Washington Evening Star of August 19, 1957]

When the National Defense Transportation Association meets here at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, November 21, the president of the Southern Pacific Railroad Co., Donald J. Russell, will be specially honored.

This was announced today by the Defense Department, which said the formal presentation of the eighth annual award will be made to Mr. Russell at the association's annual dinner. It will be bestowed on the person who has made the most outstanding contribution in the preceding year to the solution of emergency transportation problems affecting national defense.

The Joint Transportation Committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff selected the winner of the award. The Defense Department said Mr. Russell has devoted his entire career to the expansion and improvement of American railroads for commerce and defense. He began work with the railroad as timekeeper for a maintenance-of-way gang in 1920.

Among his contributions, the department cited Mr. Russell's development of a common alternate railroad route around the congested city of Los Angeles; his work in clearing earthquake-damaged railroad tunnels when rail service on the San Joaquin route in California was interrupted and the present building of a rock causeway across Great Salt Lake, scheduled for completion in 1960, to allow full-speed operation of trains across the lake. He is a member of the business advisory council of the Commerce Department and a director of the Association of American Railroads.

The theme of this year's convention and transportation forum of the association to be held here is "The Shape of Things to Come in Transportation and Logistics."

More than 60 distinguished Government, military, and civilian transportation leaders will appear before the convention at various meetings and forums, officials said. These include: Director of Defense Mobilization Gordon Gray, General Services Administrator.

Billboards Are Winning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Waterville Sentinel of August 20, 1957:

BILLBOARDS ARE WINNING

Unless there is greater public pressure than has thus far been brought to bear, there may be no antibillboard legislation come out of the present session of the Congress.

At the present writing the philosophy expressed by the lobbyist for the billboard interests, former Senator Scott Lucas, seems to have the upper hand.

"This country was built on economics, not beauty," said Lucas, seemingly satisfied that this statement should settle the argument for once and for all.

It is a public-be-damned attitude which presumes that the expensive new highways the motorists will pay for through their taxes are being built, not for the motorist, but for any interest that can capitalize on them.

Certainly, economics is a vital factor in the country's growth, but Lucas' implication that his clients should have free rein because of it is a non sequitur.

The motorist is paying for the new highways. He ought to be entitled to an unobstructed view of the country's beauties as he travels over them. Maybe if enough motorists yell loudly enough to their Congressmen they may get some action. Thus far, the billboard lobby seems to have been yelling louder even though it is a small minority.

Address by His Excellency John J. Hearne, Ambassador of Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by Ambassador Hearne at College Misericordia, Dallas, Pa., at the commencement exercises of the college:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN J. HEARNE, S. C., LL.D., AMBASSADOR OF IRELAND, AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF COLLEGE MISERICORDIA, DALLAS, PA., ON MONDAY, MAY 27, 1957

Your excellency my lord bishop, right reverend monsignori, very reverend and reverend fathers, Mother Provincial, Sister Annunciata, my dear graduates, ladies, and gentlemen, I was greatly honored and very happy to receive your gracious and kind invitation many months ago, to be your guest on this occasion. I am honored again by the spontaneity and warmth of the welcome which you have accorded to me this evening at this exquisite academic ceremony in the presence of His Excellency and so distinguished and representative a gathering.

Ever since the time when, as a child, I first heard of, but scarcely understood, the legend of the glory of this land, I learned also of, and realized a little more, the renown of your many famous American colleges and universities. Irish scholars, of whom I was told, whose names were to me of fabulous fame, had come to lecture in these great centers of learning. Irish professors had come to join the faculties. And, ever since their foundation, students of Irish or other birth or forebears had flocked to their hallowed halls. So that, as a young man, I had long associated the story of your educational progress with the unfolding of the Irish phenomenon on this continent, and both with the greatness of America.

You will not marvel, therefore, at the feeling of happiness with which I crossed your portals this afternoon to enter into the inheritance of this place. For me, this is another experience of a great academic occasion which is a mark of the character and in earnest of the continuity of Irish-American friendship. For, the long and intimate friendship between our two countries is more clearly symbolized by our association today in this commencement than by any other circumstances surrounding or inspiring our entirely felicitous and never more fruitful diplomatic relations. Through all the vicissitudes of our separate but converging fortunes we have been bound to each other by many ties, but never more clearly or closely united than in the patrimony of a great intellectual tradition, classically founded and perennially reformed; always assailed, yet always secure; never unthreatened, yet forever enthroned.

Misericordia College has, since its establishment, been a custodian of that tradition in its integrity, and a citadel here in the State of Pennsylvania of the moral supremacy of its code. I am speaking, as you observe, of what has come, somewhat mistakenly, to be called Western civilization.

We are met at a time when that civilization, the greatest the world has known, or will ever know, has come upon its greatest crisis, and already, in one region of the world, its greatest catastrophe. We who are assembled in this commencement are the descendants and, in a special sense, representatives of Western European nations whose destinies meet, again and again, throughout the Christian centuries, and become inseparably interlinked, at crucial junctures in affairs, with the supreme cause of the supernatural destiny of all mankind.

Speaking for my own country, you will let me, in this address, recall to you that she stood sponsor at the birth of that France around which all Europe grew up and grew old. She held a lamp and was herself a light through all that long dark night which covered, yet concealed not, the final horrors of the reeling Roman scene, out of which broke at last upon her weary waiting eyes the splendor of the first bright morning of the Christian Western World. You recall how, in the end, when the cult of Christianity became a continental civilization, and Europe first became one, as she must become one again, it was the legend of Tours and its victor, and of Martin, the kinsman of Patrick, and of Columban of Luxeuil, which encircled the throne of Charlemagne.

That was in the early time. But it was ever likewise as the centuries rolled by, and the epoch was complete, in which Europe became the center of the world and the leader of world order. Irish statesmen stood in the councils, Irish envoys in the chancelleries of the new Europe. Irish prelates ruled in its metropolitan sees. Irish monks and missionaries began the ceaseless pilgrimage of the Irish, then from Calais to the Ukraine, which, one day, would be slung like the sash of a great sodality from shoulder to hip and hip to shoulder around the two hemispheres of the globe. Irish soldiers served in the armies of the Christian continent. Irish scholars studied in its libraries. And Irish doctors lectured or learned in the schools the fame of whose jurists "utriusque juris" made the doctorate of laws the crowning academic distinction in every university in the world today. Out of that gleaming and glorious Christendom has poured for 4 or 5 centuries in a ceaseless flood into the Americas that mighty tide of thoughts, traditions, and memories which now forever laps the shore of all the lands and breaks today about our feet in this commencement, in this storied center of American culture, at the heart of American life.

And, when the West moved west again, see how our people go on meeting the other peoples of the European family of nations, Italians or Spaniards or French at crossroads of destiny. You know the legend of Columbus kneeling at Holy Mass in Galway before the *Santa Maria* put to sea. You recall that

picture of Jacques Cartier walking the quay at St. Malo, arm in arm with the young kinsman of Silken Thomas, Earl of Kildare, before the one set sail on his prodigious voyage and the other returned to his fate in the Tower of London. There is, again, that glimpse of the great Jesuit Pilgrim Father St. Jean de Breboeuf at Rouen when the great O'Neill passed through the city on his way to Rome after the Gaelic Christian civilizations had gone down to seemingly permanent disaster at the Battle of Kinsale. And there is the coincidence of the saint's last journey of all across the sea to his martyrdom up there in Canada, as Michael O'Cleary, chief of the Four Masters, hurried from Louvain across the English Channel to save the Irish manuscripts from the most senseless holocaust of historical records the world had ever known.

Jean de Breboeuf and Isaac Jogues—the first priest in what is now the State of New York—stand at the end of the pagan, and near to the beginning of the Christian era in North America. The great Earl of Tyrone directed at Kinsale the last rearguard action in Western Europe to restore the unity of European society shattered by the 16th century schism. The Four Masters stand between the Jesuit martyrs and the exiled Irish prince at the turning point, rather than the turn—of the 17th century as the rescuers of the chronicle of old Ireland which was to inspire an Ireland one yet distant day to be born again, its spiritual tradition unbroken, its secular civilization inherited as a relic rather than a legacy, but no longer, alas, intact as a framework of national order. The agony of our people is stretched over the period of which I am speaking. But at the end their mission was again secure, and the Irish migrations which followed each other west across the ocean brought to this land the whole glorious inheritance amassed, century after century, by the sacrifice, sanctity, and genius of storied Christian nations, guarded by a noble Christian knighthood in shining armour from the flight of the Roman eagles to the flight of the Irish earls.

Your excellency, I have not woven these fantastic cross-threads that flash through the texture of history as an academic exercise. I have done so so that we may glimpse together the meeting of my people with other European peoples, and with your own, at crossroads of history, where the light catches, and transfigures them a moment before they shuffle down the crowded highroad, on which they mingle with the multitude, and, like the great apostles, seem to disappear. And I have done so secondly, and chiefly, because our meeting today takes place at another crossroad which is a milestone on the road of Irish-American destiny, and takes place, at the same time, at a crucial point in human affairs.

As you all know, the chief tragedy of modern political history has been the failure of free nations to make the framework of the state the shield of civil society. European nation after European nation had imperiled its freedom by forsaking the path of truth, honor, and virtue. It is the truth which makes us free. European nation after European nation had given up the practice of the faith upon which it was historically founded. They had deprived their public law of its final sanction, and the morality of their people of its final motive. It is the faith which makes us whole. But the code itself was not destroyed. The whole intellectual tradition survived, the tradition of objective truth, of objective beauty, and objective virtue or goodness, a sense of the issues of right and wrong, of justice and injustice, and a sense of standards in private and public behavior. Let me put it to the graduates of this great college in this way: The pattern of life which survived the vicissitudes I have been describing was the same as that which had united Europe for a thousand years, the Europe which had defeated the last depotisms of the Roman Empire, which had hurled back Hun and Goth and Vandal, and had contained the tide of Islam. It is the pattern of life which, woven into the fabric of new communities and new political systems, became the design for the two great democracies of North America. I must not presume, Your Excellency, to speak in the commencement on what that patrimony means at the present juncture to this country and to the world at large. This institution is, as I said at the beginning, a chief custodian of all that noble estate and domain.

But may I say one thing to the young graduates who are in the thoughts of us all at this Commencement, before whom, in this early summer, their lives are opening upon prospects of golden harvests brimming far horizons. May I remind them that the formation secured for them in this great centre of the highest education America or any other country today can offer was purchased at too heavy a price for any one who has received to lightly regard, or ever disregard it. The whole effect of that formation upon your career you will not understand or appreciate for years and years to come. It may be that, before you do so, the most terrible avalanche ever unleashed upon the civilization of which you are now graduates and citizens will break upon this hemisphere which is now the keeper of the conscience of the West and the guardian of the peace of the world. It will depend on you whether or not this country can weather the maelstrom. Be not believers merely but doers also. Let the excellence of your lives shine for all to see in the community in which you live, in your professional relations and your social surroundings. Be intellectually honest and intellectually humble. Teach your friends and neighbors, aye, and your enemies how to distinguish money from wealth, interference from influence, notoriety from fame, pride from self-respect, speed from progress, luxury from elegance, glamour from distinction, fashion from good taste, respectability from worthiness, I mean the spurious from the genuine, and the temporal from the eternal.

And this brings me, in a final word, to what seems to me to be the circumstance of your graduation today which has for your beloved country its greatest significance of all at this tremendous juncture in its affairs. The world solidarity of the internationalists can be achieved without removing or impairing national distinctions which have existed for so long, or the separate cultures which have enriched so many countries. I am deeply convinced of this, and of the mission to which in that connection this great land of yours is called. Can anyone doubt the providence which is shaping the destinies of your country today? For, out beyond the rough and ruthless interregnum through which we are now passing there stretches away into the future the gleaming prospect of the refulfillment of the American dream in farflung fields of your influence. Was there ever, my fathers and my sisters, in all history a mission field so vast? Was there ever a missionary people of past centuries so well prepared and so manifestly predestined as yours to sow the crop or reap the harvest? You do not, as did Portugal and Spain and France and Britain seek the conquest of other lands or the subjugation of other peoples to build or embellish an empire or to enrich or embroider a throne. You seek not political control or commercial supremacy or military domination. Your history shows no such colonial ambition. On the contrary, your armies have brought liberty to millions in bondage. Your ships of the sea and the air have brought life to the millions you have freed. Your statesmen stand for justice and freedom and peace in the council of the world. Freemen everywhere and men struggling to be free gaze upon you in admiration and speak your name in reverence and gratitude. I say this because you must never make any mistake as to the real attitude to this country of free peoples whom your charity has aided and uplifted and saved. Show to all the nations, slave if you can, and free if you will, the mighty Commonwealth you have made here in which men of all races and conditions and creeds can live together and work together in a brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of our Father who is in heaven. And wherever your destiny leads you never forget that the story of which I have been speaking today is woven forever into the legend on your shield. And should you also, in the providence which has led you thus far, be called upon—like so many of those nations whose protector and leader you have become—to endure for justice's sake, oh, never forget that there is not malice enough in the hand of evil in high places to destroy the image of our Creator in His masterwork or energy enough in the entire universe to blast the sign of our salvation, and of the salvation of all mankind out of American skies.

"Castles are sacked in war
And chieftains are scattered far—
But truth is a fixed star."

—*Eileen Aroon.*

A Thoughtful Suggestion for Increasing Consumption of Surplus Farm Commodities

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a constituent, Mr. Helmer Linder, of Oklee, Minn., has written me a very interesting suggestion for increased consumption of farm commodities. Under leave to extend my remarks I request permission to insert in the RECORD this thoughtful and provocative idea.

The letter follows:

OKLEE, MINN.,
August 18, 1957.

Congresswoman COYA KNUTSON.

DEAR COYA: This letter is inspired by an article I read in the May 1957 issue of Capper's Farmer. It was written by a woman correspondent who had traveled with her husband all over the country and ate in restaurants.

She told about the small portions being served to customers such as 2 small pats of butter, small servings of meat, not enough for a normal well-balanced diet, and small 6-ounce glasses of milk instead of 8 ounces. She told of one eating place who did it differently and really gave liberal portions, and how she and her husband enjoyed it. She also told of the general dissatisfaction of the restaurant eaters with these small portions and how she wouldn't dare to give such small portions to her family or guests in her home.

Now she said there are 200,000 eating places in the country serving 50 million meals a day conservatively, she cited the impact it would have on our farm-surplus problem if all restaurants could be induced to serve larger portions.

Now, how could this be brought about? Well, here's my 2-cent idea. You know how

certain eating places claim they are recommended by Duncan Hines. They lived up to a certain standard of cleanliness and when Duncan Hines came around he gave them permission to use his recommendation in their advertising.

I believe a similar idea could be used for getting restaurants to serve larger portions, for instance, a Commission under the Department of Agriculture could issue permits to an eating place who agreed to serve portions up to the Commission's standards subject to regular inspection by proper authorities, and these permits could be used in their advertising as long as they lived up to the standards set by the Commission, the idea being that such restaurants would get so much extra trade to compensate them for the extra costs.

Now this scheme shouldn't cost much in tax money, every farm organization ought to be for it, labor, who are the eaters should be for it. These products are the ones we produce in surplus at depressed prices, so, why not dish it out to hungry people, freely received, freely give.

If you think this idea has any merit, you had better read it in the May 1957 issue of Cappers Farmer, which I'm sure you can obtain a copy of. It's called "Who is chiseling?"

If you think it's all rot, don't hesitate to throw this in the waste basket, I know there are many angles which aren't apparent to us guys out in the sticks.

I get and enjoy your news letter, Capitol Chats, regularly. Thank you.

Your friend and supporter,

HELMER LINDER.

Freedom of Choice and the Consent of the Governed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial by Dr. James A. Chandler, 32d degree Knights Templar, which appeared in the July 1957 issue of the Masonic Monthly, published in Mobile, Ala., entitled "Freedom of Choice and the Consent of the Governed":

FREEDOM OF CHOICE AND THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED

(By Dr. James A. Chandler, 32d Degree Knights Templar)

"To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government." (The Declaration of Independence.)

God is the author of freedom. He created man in His own imagine and likeness. Man was made, as the Psalmist said, "a little less than God."

God gave freedom of choice to our first parents. It is that which differentiates man from the brute creation. God could not have made man, if He had made man less than a sovereign endowed with the awful powers of choice and its responsibilities.

Man deprived of freedom is like a caged eagle that looks with longing eyes to the heights of his native element. Pitifully, with utter defiance, he beats his wings against the bars of his imprisonment until they are all bleeding and sore.

In McGuffey's Reader, as we believe the best ever published, a story is told of a man who, while walking down the street, found a lad who had a caged bird for sale. The good man paid the price, and, to the utter amazement of the lad, opened the door of the cage and gave to the bird its freedom. That but feebly illustrates what Jesus came to do—to restore to man his freedom.

The freedom of man was proclaimed by patriarchs and prophets, and Jesus, the Son of God, was the embodiment of democratic principles. Said He, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." He definitely claimed that the Spirit of the Lord had anointed Him "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

The mother of James and John was very ambitious for her sons. Believing that the Christ had come to establish some form of a politico-religious organization among men, she asked that her two sons be given very prominent offices in His kingdom, the one upon His right and the other upon His left. When the other disciples heard of it, they were very angry. Jesus called them unto Himself and said, "You know that the rulers of the gentiles lord it over them and their great men lord it over them. But it shall not be so among you, but whoever would be great among you must be your servant * * *" servants of the people, not lords over them. That teaching is the foundation of our Republic. Our democracy derives its just powers from the consent of the governed through the exercise of their freedom of choice. That freedom was given to man in his creation. The Declaration of Independence recognizes man's liberty as an endowment from God and a self-evident truth. Being so, no power on earth, no tyrant, no government, no oligarchy, no decree can take that right away from man. It may be denied him, or he may be robbed of it, but it remains his inalienable right.

A lawyer once dreamed that all the democratic ideas of Jesus were stricken from his lawbooks, only to find them utterly meaningless. So we would find it today, if the teachings of Jesus, relative to those powers of government derived from the consent of the governed through the exercise of their freedom of choice, were expunged from our courts of law and jurisprudence.

Moreover, such eminent jurists as Blackstone and Storey, such masters of the rules of evidence as Starkey and Greenleaf, such legal geniuses as Chief Justice Marshall and Daniel Webster likely could not have attained the eminence that graced their profession but for their faith in the Christ and His democratic principles. And certainly there would have been no Washington, no Jefferson, no Franklin, no Madison, no Jackson, no Lincoln, nor the long line of notables that have made our country great but for their faith in those democratic principles that grew out of the teachings of Jesus.

We now have a Supreme Court that would strike down a way of life built upon freedom of choice, "a way of life that has been developed over a period of 160 years." If the integration decision of the Court is enforced, it will destroy our great public-school system.

That decision of the Supreme Court is a blow against the greatest democracy this world has ever known, because it is a blow against the basic law of God and all just government, freedom of choice.

Emerson says in his essay on Politics. "The form of government which prevails is the expression of what civilization exists in the population which permits it," and Plato says in his Republic, "Like man, like state; * * * states are made out of the human natures which are in them." There hangs the tale of this hour. We have a rule of men, not of laws. Our Constitution has not changed, but men have decayed, "while freedom weeps, wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps."

The Honorable Thomas Marshall, of Corpus Christi, Tex., a constitutional authority, very pertinently observes that "an uncontrolled Supreme Court is the road to tyranny." It seems that upon that road we have traveled far during the past 20 years. It is the plain duty of the Congress to give it a roadblock.

It should be increasingly apparent that the rights of the States and the people are being usurped by the Federal Government. Restrictions to the authority of the Federal Government, as set forth in the Constitution are being brazenly violated by those whose sworn duty it is to uphold and defend them.

Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Jackson, and a long line of national leaders have repeatedly warned the people against the consolidation of the functions of Government in Washington, D. C., particularly those rights reserved by the Constitution to the sovereign States and the people to govern their own internal affairs.

Interpretations of the Constitution by the greatest judicial minds this country has ever produced, such as John Marshall, Joseph D. Story, Samuel P. Chase, Roger Taney, Melvin W. Fuller, Edward Douglas White, William Howard Taft, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis D. Brandeis, Charles Evans Hughes, Harland Fiske Stone, whose decisions became legal precedents respected and lauded by all men, have been ruthlessly violated by a Court that esteemed more highly the opinions of a few Communist-tainted sociologists, if not soaked with communism, than they did the legal opinions of the greatest Justices that ever sat upon the bench of the Supreme Court.

It is a matter of record that "when the Court included such great Justices as Taft, Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone, it declared in *Gong Lum* v. *Rice* (275 U. S. 78), in an unanimous opinion, written by Chief Justice Taft, that segregation in public schools had been many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the State legislatures to settle without interference of the Federal courts under the Federal Constitution. The Court, speaking through Chief Justice Hughes, said in another case that the question could 'no longer be considered an open one' (235 U. S. 151)." (The Honorable James F. Byrnes, formerly Justice of the Supreme Court.) Can it be that the present Supreme Court has all the wisdom that all our former great Justices have lacked?

Yet, there are those who say that the integration decision of the Supreme Court is the law of the land, but our greatest constitutional lawyers, such as Dean Clarence Manion, Charles Wallace Collins, and others say in effect that that decision of the Court has not the slightest vestige of legal authority for its existence, that it is a plain violation of the law of the land. It is not the States that flout the law of the land, but the Court itself. And it does not require a legal mind to understand that fact, but only enough common sense to understand plain English. Certainly no decision that is based upon error, the perversion and antithesis of law, can be law that is worthy of the name.

Freedom of choice is the whole meaning of this moral universe. God made man like that. Freedom of choice being basic, such as the right to choose one's own company, the integration decision of the Supreme Court was and is the violation of the basic law of God and of human rights.

That law is basic in all government whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. Those who rebel against that law, or would force themselves, or be

forced by a court decree, into a society where they are not wanted, should feel free to migrate to some other land more in keeping with their desires. We cannot recommend Russia, because they would find that the Kremlin preaches social equality, nondiscrimination, integration, and brotherhood to all the world, but does not practice it among her own people, as these columns have previously shown and verified by the highest type of documentary evidence.

Freedom of choice, the basic law of God, is a two-way street. Common decency, respect for the feelings of others, the Christ-taught virtue of humility and deference, forbid intrusions. Fellowship and fellow feeling can exist only by mutual consent. Any court, civil or ecclesiastical, that ignores those primary truths, has no defense or justification in either religion or law, because a forced integration of Negroes upon white people, or of white people upon Negroes, in school relations, or other circles of society, violates the basic law of God and all just government.

In all the annals of history and its long line of cruelty and injustice, no such evil has ever been forced upon any people until May 17, 1954, by the Supreme Court. For long years, the Communists have been infiltrating various spheres of American life, and it seems that they have outsmarted many of our national leaders when they can be led to deliver tirades against communism while they at the same time do the works of communism. It seems that the Communists have done a magnificent job under the guise of religion and law.

If freedom of choice is the basic law of God and concomitant with all just government, could it be that we should obey God rather than the decisions of men, whose decisions are based not upon law or legal precedent but upon the opinions of Karl Marx, Karl Gunnar Myrdal, and a few other modern sociologists, better named Socialists, Marxists, or fellow travelers?

Our best legal minds declare that the Congress has no authority to intermeddle with the social customs or preferences of the people; that there is no law that gives to the Supreme Court, or to any Federal judge, the power to nullify the basic law given of God to man in his creation, or the laws of the States, conformable thereto, giving to the people freedom of choice in their social relations, without the intrusion of one upon the other.

But the present Supreme Court ignores the rights of white people and their children to choose their associates of the same color and kind, and the right of Negroes to choose their associates of the same color and kind. This is an evil under the sun, particularly so, when the vast majority of every race naturally prefer to associate with their own kind in both school and church, for the simple reason that their teachers and their ministers better understand their problems and their needs.

The integration decision of the Supreme Court was based on a strange thesis when it decided that the best way to promote what it considers the rights of one race is to rob another race of rights equally precious to it; namely, the right of the individual to freedom of choice, or the right to be let alone. That strange thesis is insulting to the intelligence of the southern people and an insupportable indictment of a whole people.

We predict that the time will come when, in this world or some other, the members of the Supreme Court will be repentant for their betrayal of the American people, together with all who have supported them in the rape of the Constitution of the United States. We predict that in time the decree of the Court on May 17, 1954, will be reversed by the popular demand of the people in all sections of the country, because that decision has no foundation in law, reason, nature, or God, and that for that reason the said decree of the Court will become blacker and more despised with the coming years.

A Great Injustice Will Be Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, on August 15 the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service favorably reported the bill S. 1740. Just how necessary and desirable this bill is was outlined most clearly in a column by John Cramer appearing in the Washington Daily News of August 20, 1957. Every Member of the House and Senate should read this statement which is here included and then proper action should follow promptly:

A GREAT INJUSTICE WILL BE DONE
(By John Cramer)

This is an open letter to Members of the House.

Before Congress adjourns, you probably will be given a chance to vote on a bill directing Civil Service Commission to take over and protect the life insurance of 90,000 Federal employees and former employees who are insured by nine big Federal worker beneficial associations.

Similar but not identical legislation has been before the House in the past.

There has been much misunderstanding about it.

Here are facts about it:

Fact No. 1: Unless the legislation wins House approval, a great injustice will be done to the 90,000. They will lose insurance policies on which they have paid premiums for years.

Fact No. 2: Many of the 90,000—certainly no less than 25 percent—are elderly retired people, who will have no possible way of replacing the insurance they lose.

Fact No. 3: This injustice will be solely and entirely the fault of the United States Government.

Why?

Because when the Government set up its own group life insurance program for Federal workers, it made it impossible for the beneficial association to continue in business. They can't sell insurance in competition with the Government program—because Government pays a third of the cost of the Government insurance.

Fact No. 4: The administration, when it first recommended the Government program, explicitely assured Congress that no injustice to beneficial association policyholders would result. As it turned out, this assurance was 100 percent wrong.

Fact No. 5: Government failure to take over association insurance not only would bring injustice—but also would constitute a very large breach of faith on the part of the Government.

Here is why:

For years, Government went out of its way to encourage the beneficial associations. It made Government office space in scores of cities available to them. It encouraged top career employees to become association officers. It permitted solicitation of new business and collection of premiums on Government time.

All this caused many employees to think the associations had Government endorsement. In a very real sense they did—even though it wasn't a matter of law or contract.

And now Government itself is destroying the associations.

Fact No. 6: Some 16 associations with 55,000 members, already have had their insurance taken over and guaranteed by the Government. Failure to take over the remaining 9 associations, with their 90,000 members, would be rankest discrimination.

Fact No. 7: The potential injustice to elderly retired Federal employees who are association policyholders clearly is greater than the potential injustice to those who are not retired.

But the potential injustice to those not retired is very large, too.

They stand to lose association insurance whose face value remains unchanged, regardless of their age. Their Government insurance in no way replaces it—because the face value of the Government insurance drops 75 percent in the first 3 years after the individual reaches 65.

Fact No. 8: There's no possible formula whereby Government could protect the insurance of elderly retired people—while declining to protect those not retired. Civil Service Commission once thought this was possible—and so informed Congress. Later it discovered there is absolutely no legal way to do it.

Fact No. 9: A Government guaranty of association insurance doesn't, in any sense, constitute a gift or bonanza. It merely protects the policyholder against loss which would not be threatened had the Government not set up its own program.

Fact No. 10: Association policyholders will pay the full, going premium if Government guarantees their insurance. Rates will be frozen at present levels. Government will not pay a third of the premium—as it does with its own insurance.

Fact No. 11: Not a single penny of appropriation would be required. The entire amount would come from the Government group insurance fund.

Fact No. 12: The total cost to the fund, till the last association policyholder died, would be $22 million by Civil Service Commission estimate.

Fact No. 13: Less than $7.5 million of this could be considered a charge against the Government or the taxpayers—because only a third of the money in the insurance fund is contributed by the Government. The remaining two-thirds comes from employee premiums.

The Big Change in Richard Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the September 3 issue of Look magazine carries an interesting article by Mr. Richard L. Wilson concerning Vice President RICHARD NIXON. The article points up the excellent leadership the Vice President is giving our country and describes how he has made the vice presidency a more important position than ever before.

The article follows:

THE BIG CHANGE IN RICHARD NIXON
(By Richard L. Wilson)

It is a good while now since Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON has been called "tricky Dicky." Cartoonists no longer picture him

poking his head out of the manhole of the sewers of politics. Few Washington observers, in fact belittle him any more.

NIXON has changed, and there has been a big change in the public and political attitude toward him. The changes are reflected in the public-opinion polls, in the attitude of reporters toward the Vice President, in the public reception he receives on his travels, in the respect generally accorded him by most of his fellow Republicans and even by some Democrats.

The image of NIXON that people now hold carries only the faintest shadow of his Red-hunting days. A prolonged attack on him in a recent book by Alger Hiss aroused virtually no response from circles which, a couple of years ago, would have been quick to strike.

NIXON's 1957 image in the Washington and national political communities is this:

He is regarded as the smartest politician in the Republican Party.

He is the prevailing favorite for the Republican presidential nomination in 1960, and any Democrat will find him hard to beat. (An Elmo Roper poll shows that as many as one-fourth of the people who say they actively disliked NIXON in 1952 have either softened toward him or have been won over completely.)

He is developing political principles and convictions as he grows in experience.

He applies these principles and convictions so that they serve him well. No Republican in this century, for instance, has made more progress with the Negro voter.

He has become a leading advocate of cooperation with, and aid for, foreign nations.

He has made a distinct turn to the left. When the choice has been between the Republican right and the Republican left, NIXON has sided with the Republican left.

Finally, he has matured as a man. He is more certain, less eager. He emerges as a candidate uncommonly wise in politics and statecraft.

NIXON's progress with the Negro voter shows his keen appreciation for the details of politics.

When most other Republicans wanted to avoid sharpening the issue in the South, NIXON made it razoredged. First, he selected Houston, Tex., as the place to recall that he was an honorary member of the NAACP. Then he decided not to shun the Reverend Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, as so many other Republicans were doing. He arranged to appear with the controversial preacher in the South. His purpose: to let all Republicans there see that the Vice President of the United States stands without political fear for the constitutional rights of Negroes.

NEGROES IN THE NEW HOUSE

The first social event at NIXON's new $70,000 home in the sheltered Wesley Heights district of Washington brought Negroes through his front door as guests. They were Negro editors, reporters, and officials who had accompanied him on his trip in March to Africa, where he represented the United States at the birth of the new Negro state of Ghana, formerly the British Gold Coast. He demonstrated a genuine interest in basic Negro problems. His unsolicited reward was page after page of pictures in Ebony, the widely read Negro magazine, showing him in sympathetic company with African and American Negroes.

The public record of NIXON's career as Vice President is largely confined to his trips abroad, to ceremonial activities and to his renomination and campaign for reelection. Inside the administration, his record involves conflict with influential members of the Eisenhower team and conservatives on the Republican National Committee.

He has been a lonely, harassed and sometimes heartsick man. He has been ready to quit and seek the riches and personal security his abilities could earn in private life. Instead, he is taking the big chance for the Presidency, and doing so openly and frankly as a trained political careerist and politician.

President Eisenhower, who has trained NIXON for greater responsibilities, thinks highly of him. The President's closest associates maintain that his fondness for NIXON has grown since the 1956 election and that the President now looks upon him as a favorite nephew who is living up to his early promise.

NIXON now is rising on his own momentum, but the President's blessing to his ambitions, while not essential to his success, certainly will not harm him. Eisenhower often talks with intimates about his successor, mentioning Harold E. Stassen, Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, and Robert Anderson, the new Treasury Secretary, as well as Nixon. But the more the President talks, the more his listeners tend to conclude that the man most likely to carry forward the Eisenhower program is NIXON.

Something new in NIXON's career is a more tolerant attitude toward him by many of the 1,000 Washington reporters, columnists and commentators. Among them have been the severest critics of his methods. It is too much to say that he is overwhelmingly popular with the press corps, but their respect for him has vastly increased.

Several other things have happened to Nixon. But the more the President talks, gratiated himself with the regular Republican organization in an impressive way. He has calmed the anxieties and doubts of not all, but many, Eisenhower Republicans. His views on world problems have broadened.

The Vice President also has developed a very tough political philosophy which he applies to himself as well as to others. He brought it to bear when the late Harold E. Talbott, an old-time regular Republican fund-raiser, was found careless of relationships between his business enterprises and his position as Secretary of the Air Force.

NIXON came down hard on Talbott personally after having advised the President to act promptly and conclusively in the case. The Vice President told Talbott that unless he or any other high official could hold public opinion on his side, he was expendable. Talbott later resigned, although not solely on NIXON's advice, of course.

Without support of public opinion NIXON also considers himself expendable, and thus he has been doing everything he properly can to win and hold a more favorable public judgment.

Since the 1952 flareback on the private fund to promote his own political fortunes, Nixon has developed puritanical sensitivity to the faintest hint of private gain from public office. He refuses fees for public speeches, though the late Alben Barkley, his predecessor, pocketed as high as $5,000 for a single appearance. And NIXON instantly dropped his old campaign manager, lawyer Murray Chotiner, after Chotiner took the cases of clients in difficulty over questionable dealings with the Federal Government.

Events at the San Francisco national convention, where NIXON displayed colossal political strength, have had a lasting impact on the Republican Party. But the Vice President is not without opposition—some of it quite determined.

The shadowy opposition from the Republican left, centering around Harold E. Stassen, still persists and can be found lingering among some elements of the White House staff. Concrete opposition also threatens from the right in the person of Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND. KNOWLAND shortly will decide on running for Governor of California in 1958. If NIXON and KNOWLAND should be pitted against each other in an open California primary in 1960, a split might result in the big California delegation. NIXON needs that delegation solid.

FLAWLESS EFFICIENCY IN ALL THINGS

If there is anything wrong with NIXON's present political position, it is that he gives the same impression of flawless efficiency as the twice-defeated Republican nominee, Thomas E. Dewey. His tours abroad have been so universally perfectionist and constructive as to be commonplace. His behavior in very trying situations as Vice President during the President's illness has been totally discreet.

He does not play games of any kind except for golf. (His scores are in the 80's.) He does not smoke, nor does he drink or eat much. (He hates to feel stuffed.) Neither does he dance, a Quaker attitude carried to such a point that he avoided dancing with the Duchess of Kent at Ghana independence ceremonies.

NIXON works endlessly from early morning until late at night. In Ghana, he honored a call for an uncomfortably early appointment with the Prime Minister by skipping breakfast.

It is this Dewey-like quality of apparently heartless efficiency that plagues NIXON. The most devastating criticism of him is that he lacks real heartfelt convictions and adjusts his views to political expediency.

NIXON's devotion to perfection, though, often pays off. This came through in Tunisia, after an allnight celebration by the populace preceding the first anniversary of Tunisian independence. A parade was called for 8 a. m., and NIXON accepted the Government's urgings literally—appearing in his seat exactly on the hour of 8. Most reviewing-stand seats were vacant; other diplomatic representatives knew that nothing ever happens on time in Tunis.

So NIXON and his wife, Pat, sat alone for nearly an hour in the early morning chill. They attracted an admiring crowd. "See how he respects us," said one impressed Tunisian. "He doesn't even offend Tunisia's climate by shivering."

NIXON cannot be taken separately from Pat as a political entity. This has been his choice, and she has gone along with it happily, though it strains her endurance and diminishes her life with their two daughters, Patricia, 11, and Julie, 9.

FIVE TIMES AROUND THE WORLD

No wife of a public official since Eleanor Roosevelt has worked so hard as she, but Pat is merely on view in politics and is mainly a companion, an official hostess, and an adornment. She has traveled the equivalent of five times around the world with him and has engaged in some of the most charmingly artless diplomatic conversations on record.

NIXON ignores illnesses in his work; Pat does not get sick at all, though she has grown thinner. NIXON traveled 20,000 miles on his African tour and barely missed a day running a fever from a cold, which he did not permit to interfere with a single appointment, dinner, or reception. The plain fact is that among the things NIXON has not yet learned is the art of relaxation.

The public image of NIXON as a goodwill traveler, as a stand-in for the President and as the busiest Vice President in history has obscured the dramatic development of his political character.

His movement away from the conservative wing of his party came slowly, but it preceded his election as Vice President. His parting with late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy is an important part of this story.

NIXON has kept this quiet until now, but he lectured McCarthy several times. One occasion was in 1950, when the Senator charged the Acheson State Department with keeping 80 or more known Communists on its payroll. Lacking proof for his charges, the Senator asked NIXON for advice. "Your mistake," NIXON told him, "is in calling these people Communists. You'd have been on sounder ground to say they are sympa-

thetic toward Communist points of view, are fellow travelers, or have Communist-front ties. Never make a charge unless you can back it up. Always understate your case."

NIXON, as Vice President, was later to try to guide McCarthy away from the Communist issue, telling him: "For your own good, you should devote yourself to other fields. You should not be known as a one-shot Senator."

Again NIXON devoted a long lunch to trying to reason with McCarthy at the time the Senator's feud with the Army had brought him to the point of self-destruction. "I urge you," NIXON told him, "to be more gracious toward (Army Secretary) Bob Stevens. * * * Don't let this thing force the President to break with you." The plea did not work, and McCarthy subsequently was condemned by the Senate.

On a question of principle, NIXON underwent one severe test that required him to oppose powerful forces in the Eisenhower administration. Congress opened in 1957 with two paramount issues. One was a proposal to change Senate rules to curb filibusters, a first step toward opening the way for civil-rights legislation. The other was the President's request for approval of his authority to use American troops to protect nations of the Middle East from Communist attack. The President wanted this voted quickly, for utmost peace-keeping effect. Administration leaders feared that a Senate fight over rules might unduly delay action on the Eisenhower doctrine.

NIXON was the key. Senate procedures required him to rule first on the proposed rules change. The fight then would center on his ruling. Senators KNOWLAND, STYLES BRIDGES of New Hampshire, and LEVERETT SALTONSTALL of Massachusetts, the GOP hierarchy, talked with NIXON and urged him not to rule at that time in favor of the filibuster curb. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles called to remind him of the urgency of the Middle East resolution. Everyone feared that a prolonged fight over NIXON's ruling would indirectly hamstring foreign policy at a critical time.

When NIXON asked the President for advice, he was told that he was on his own.

So the Vice President decided to rule, regardless of consequences, on the basis of his own conviction, that filibusters were wrong. The ruling did not stick. The Senate defeated the rules change, 55 to 38. The issue, however, was settled without undue delay in approving the Eisenhower doctrine.

NIXON had argued for years in high Republican circles in favor of full speed ahead on civil-rights legislation. Influential members of the Republican National Committee wished to soft-pedal the issue in 1956, hoping to avoid offending Eisenhower voters in the South.

NIXON insisted that such an attitude ran against the grain of Republican tradition and would not be acceptable to the voters. His views prevailed in the party platform, and he talked about it—in the South—during the campaign.

Recently, the Vice President told associates that he thought the biggest distinction between him and the President was that he, NIXON, would more often take emergency action on domestic matters. On most administrative questions, NIXON is less patient than the President.

He visited Central America in 1955 and decided that the Inter-American Highway was the biggest boondoggle of the last 20 years. At its snail's pace, construction would not be completed for 15 years. He came back and pushed through Congress $25 million a year for the next 3 years, aiming to finish the 50-year-old dream during the Eisenhower administration.

Sometimes NIXON gets ahead of himself. He urged Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson in 1954 quickly to support hog prices. Benson, sure of the soundness of his do-it-yourself economy, would not budge, even though low hog prices were politically bad for the administration.

Hog prices have risen since then, and NIXON grudgingly has admitted that he was probably wrong in pressuring Benson. But he still thinks it is in the national interest somehow to convince the Midwest farmers that they should regain their lost confidence in the GOP, even if the economics aren't 100 percent Benson-proof.

NIXON favors Federal aid for school construction, expansion of the Federal health program as a hedge against socialized medicine, and income-tax credits for parents to offset the costs of higher education. His biggest break with old Republican tradition, however, has been on foreign aid.

With congressional demands for economy at a peak, a high-level administration strategy meeting was consoled by the idea that foreign-aid costs probably were headed downward—once past the current period. NIXON nailed this as a glib assumption. He maintained the total of Government and private funds going into underdeveloped areas was surely going up.

Many millions of people in these countries, NIXON said, are determined that they will join the world's economic progress. If they can't get financial support from the United States they will get it from Russia, he said. They need funds from private investment, from grant aid, and from loans, he pointed out, and the country ought to be prepared for the prospect.

NIXON thus lined up with the most advanced thinkers among Republicans, leaving behind such stanch oldtime supporters as Senators WILLIAM E. JENNER of Indiana, GEORGE W. MALONE of Nevada, and JOHN W. BRICKER of Ohio. But he leaves the Republican left on China. He is dead set, under present conditions, against changes in policy looking toward admitting the Chinese Communist regime to the United Nations or extending diplomatic recognition to Peiping.

His experience in Government has led him to the conclusion that most administrators are empire builders. He recalls that when he sought a raise from his $3,600-a-year salary for writing OPA tire-rationing regulations (prior to his own naval service) during World War II, a superior told him he would have to build up a little staff before he could earn more money.

NIXON has told Government administrators that the whole system of promotions is haywire, and that officials who reduce their staffs ought to get promotions and merit awards. His world travels have convinced him that headquarters staffs can be cut to the bone, and thereby improved.

The years, then, are building up in NIXON a set of convictions he did not have 4 years ago. As he grows with these convictions, and becomes better known, voters will find a basis to judge his political readiness to go beyond his training stage—and into the White House.

Brownell Stand Called Ironical

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 21, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

BROWNELL STAND CALLED IRONICAL
(By Drew Pearson)

Here aresome ironies about the breast beating of the Justice Department for a tough civil-rights bill, a bill even tougher than that now urged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

Irony No. 1: Attorney General Brownell and the Justice Department have played ball for 4 years with Senator JAMES EASTLAND of Mississippi, bitterest opponent of civil rights. No judges, United States attorneys or United States marshals have been appointed in Mississippi without his O. K.

Irony No. 2: Attorney General Brownell gave private backstage encouragement last year to the move to oust the one Negro who is a member of the Republican National Committee, Perry Howard of Mississippi. Howard has been a national committeeman longer than anyone in history—33 years—a matter of pride to Negroes. Brownell encouraged the drive to oust him.

Irony No. 3. Brownell has been working to build up the Republican Party in the South through E. O. Spencer, owner of the Walthall Hotel in Jackson, Miss., in which the Mississippi White Citizens Council was first organized. The council has had an office in Room 203 of the hotel. Brownell usually entertains Spencer in his home when the Mississippian comes to Washington.

KEEPING ISSUE ALIVE

Irony No. 4. For four years the Justice Department dragged its feet on civil rights, thereby making it an issue in the 1956 presidential election. Today the Department is opposing the Senate bill, thereby keeping civil rights an issue in the 1958 congressional election.

Senator TOM HENNINGS, Missouri Democrat, whose great-grandfather was one of the biggest slave-holders in Georgia, developed some of the facts regarding this stalling in a withering cross-examination of Brownell last year.

"You have come up with no program during your 4 years, until April 1, I believe," HENNINGS challenged.

Brownell replied that he had worked on such civil rights as restaurant segregation, discrimination in the Armed Forces, and kindred measures.

"You know these were initiated in the preceding administration," HENNINGS was quick to point out.

"A great many of them, yes," Brownell admitted.

"We welcome your suggestion that there be a Commission on Civil Rights in the Department of Justice," HENNINGS continued. "At my request on March 22, 1955, this letter was addressed to you."

He then read Brownell a letter one year old asking for his views on legislation proposing a civil rights commission.

"There was no reply from you whatsoever over a year ago relating to the establishment of a commission or a division," HENNINGS pressed.

The Attorney General squirmed and sparred. He could give no adequate explanation. Real fact is that while civil rights was being pushed for 4 years by HENNINGS and Congressman CELLER in the House, they got no help from Brownell or from his department or from the Eisenhower administration.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President, Richard Nixon

Aiken, George D., *Vt.*	Carroll Arms
Allott, Gordon, *Colo.*	Cleveland House
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.*	6 Wesley Circle
Barrett, Frank A., *Wyo.*	The Woodner
Beall, J. Glenn, *Md.*	
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*	
Bible, Alan, *Nev.*	
Bricker, John W., *Ohio*	The Mayflower
Bridges, Styles, *N. H.*	
Bush, Prescott, *Conn.*	
Butler, John Marshall, *Md.*	
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va.*	The Shoreham
Capehart, Homer E., *Ind.*	The Westchester
Carlson, Frank, *Kans.*	Sheraton-Park
Carroll, John A., *Colo.*	
Case, Clifford P., *N. J.*	
Case, Francis, *S. Dak.*	4635 Mass. Ave.
Chavez, Dennis, *N. Mex.*	3327 Cleveland Ave.
Church, Frank, *Idaho*	
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa.*	
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky.*	
Cotton, Norris, *N. H.*	
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr.*	
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill.*	
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill.*	
Dworshak, Henry C., *Idaho*	
Eastland, James O., *Miss.*	5101 Macomb St.
Ellender, Allen J., *La.*	
Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., *N. C.*	
Flanders, Ralph E., *Vt.*	
Frear, J. Allen, Jr., *Del.*	
Fulbright, J. William, *Ark.*	
Goldwater, Barry M., *Ariz.*	
Gore, Albert, *Tenn.*	
Green, Theodore Francis, *R. I.*	University Club
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz.*	
Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., *Mo.*	
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.*	5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala.*	
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla.*	Sheraton-Park
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr.*	
Humphrey, Hubert H., *Minn.*	
Ives, Irving M., *N. Y.*	
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash.*	
Javits, Jacob K., *N. Y.*	
Jenner, William E., *Ind.*	
Johnson, Lyndon B., *Tex.*	
Johnston, Olin D., *S. C.*	
Kefauver, Estes, *Tenn.*	4929 Hillbrook Lane
Kennedy, John F., *Mass.*	
Kerr, Robert S., *Okla.*	
Knowland, William F., *Calif.*	
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif.*	
Langer, William, *N. Dak.*	2101 Conn. Ave.
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*	
Long, Russell B., *La.*	
McClellan, John L., *Ark.*	
McNamara, Pat, *Mich.*	
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.*	The Shoreham
Malone, George W., *Nev.*	The Mayflower
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont.*	
Martin, Edward, *Pa.*	
Martin, Thos. E., *Iowa*	4545 Conn. Ave.
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*	
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg.*	5020 Lowell St.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky.*	
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak.*	122 Schotts Court NE.
Murray, James E., *Mont.*	The Shoreham
Neely, Matthew M., *W. Va.*	
Neuberger, Richard L., *Oreg.*	
O'Mahoney, Joseph C., *Wyo.*	Sheraton-Park
Pastore, John O., *R. I.*	
Payne, Frederick G., *Maine*	
Potter, Charles E., *Mich.*	
Purtell, William A., *Conn.*	
Revercomb, Chapman, *W. Va.*	
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va.*	
Russell, Richard B., *Ga.*	
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass.*	2320 Tracy Pl.
Schoeppel, Andrew F., *Kans.*	
Scott, W. Kerr, *N. C.*	
Smathers, George A., *Fla.*	
Smith, H. Alexander, *N. J.*	Sheraton-Park
Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), *Maine.*	
Sparkman, John J., *Ala.*	4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss.*	
Symington, Stuart, *Mo.*	
Talmadge, Herman P., *Ga.*	
Thurmond, Strom, *S. C.*	
Thye, Edward J., *Minn.*	
Watkins, Arthur V., *Utah*	
Wiley, Alexander, *Wis.*	2122 Mass Ave.
Williams, John J., *Del.*	
Yarborough, Ralph W., *Tex.*	
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak.*	Quebec House So.

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Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

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Committee on Appropriations

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Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Monroney, Lausche, Clark, Capehart, Bricker, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs. Neely (chairman), Bible, Morse, Frear, Clark, Beall, Morton, Javits, ———.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Anderson, Douglas, Gore, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, Bennett, and Jenner.

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Committee on Government Operations

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Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

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Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray, Neely, Kennedy, McNamara, Morse, Thurmond, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Goldwater, Allott, and Cooper.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Monroney, Scott, Neuberger, Church, Clark, Yarborough, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Martin of Iowa, Morton, and Martin of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, Gore, McNamara, Neuberger, Scott, Carroll, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Kuchel, Cotton, Hruska, and Revercomb.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Hennings (chairman), Hayden, Green, Mansfield, Talmadge, Curtis, Cooper, Javits, and Case of New Jersey.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4862 Hutchins Place.
Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 4000 Cathedral Ave.
Mr. Justice Whittaker, of Missouri, The Supreme Court.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John T. Fey, 2931 Cathedral Ave.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Road.
Deputy Clerk—Richard J. Blanchard, 427 St. Lawrence Drive, Silver Spring, Md.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road.
Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd.
Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whittaker. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whittaker. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Development of Foreign Manufacturing Units by Wisconsin Companies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the other day in commenting on a related subject I stated that a man cannot live unto himself alone and that nations cannot live unto themselves alone. This statement is emphasized by the matter which I shall place in the RECORD today, showing how Wisconsin business is going abroad and businessmen are building industries, and so forth.

Mr. President, very shortly the mutual security appropriation bill will be coming up for action on the Senate floor.

Inevitably, at that time, we will be considering the subject, not only what the Federal Government can and cannot do abroad, but what private enterprise can do and should do in helping to increase the economic health of the free nations.

We of the Congress have long emphasized that it is far preferable to have American business invest private dollars abroad than it is to have Uncle Sam give out public dollars.

More and more American companies are setting up manufacturing operations throughout the world. More and more companies are licensing foreign companies to produce American products.

As a background to this trend, I send to the desk an article which appeared in an issue of the Milwaukee Journal earlier this year. It describes the experience of some of the leading companies of my State in developing foreign subsidiaries.

It is a frank statement of the reason for this trend and of how it has developed.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 24, 1957]

FOREIGN MANUFACTURING UNITS GAIN FAVOR WITH UNITED STATES FIRMS—DOLLAR SHORTAGE, IMPORT CURBS, LOWER COSTS ARE FACTORS IN INDUSTRY TREND—SUBSIDIARIES OR LICENSE DEALS FOUND BETTER THAN EXPORTS ALONE BY STATE COMPANIES

(By Emil Schneider)

"The company that fails to get into foreign manufacturing operations is going to be a dead duck so far as its overseas sales are concerned."

This statement of a Milwaukee industrialist points up a growing trend in American industry to set up manufacturing operations in other countries.

In the dozen years since the end of World War II, a substantial number of companies in an equally substantial variety of industries has gone into Canada, Mexico, and overseas with subsidiaries and licensing arrangements to supplement export operations.

The trek has reached many far away spots throughout the free world. American designed products are being manufactured in almost every European country, in Africa, the Middle East, India, Japan, Australia, and an increasing number of Latin American countries.

CANADA IS FIRST

Canada, largely because of its close proximity and its stability of government and economy, continues to be the No. 1 foreign location for United States firms.

Reasons behind the trend are several:

Shortage of American dollars to pay for imports from this country and other currency exchange problems.

Protectionist restrictions barring imports.

Raw material restrictions.

Cost differentials that price American made products out of competition with domestic products in foreign markets.

The importance of these factors differs between industries and different areas of the world. But the net result, according to foreign trade officials, boils down to the same thing: It has become increasingly difficult to open new foreign markets—and maintain existing ones—by export operations alone.

JOHNSON IS SCATTERED

The most extensive foreign manufacturing operations of a Wisconsin company are those of S. C. Johnson & Son, Inc., Racine, maker of waxes and cleaners for the home and factory.

The company has eight subsidiaries in Canada, Mexico, South America, Europe and Australia and currently is organizing a ninth in the Philippines. It also has 10 manufacturing distributors under licensing agreements. In addition, a good many of its 50 other distributors around the world perform partial manufacturing operations.

These operations form the bulk of the company's foreign business, a spokesman for the firm said. About half of the overseas production operations have been organized since the war. The first subsidiary was formed in 1920.

Another firm with widespread operations abroad is Parker Pen Co., Janesville. It has seven subsidiaries and seven licensees, most of them set up in the postwar period.

HEAVY INDUSTRIES PARTICIPATE

George Parker, assistant to the vice president in charge of foreign sales, said that overseas sales—exports and foreign operations combined—had grown from 40 percent of total sales in 1947 to about 50 percent today. The foreign operations, he added, have contributed significantly to this growth.

In the heavy industry field, the importance of foreign manufacturing operations is less pronounced, but it has been growing.

Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. has subsidiaries in Canada and England and more than a dozen licenses in Europe and the Far East. Koehring Co. has a Canadian subsidiary, eight licensees in Europe and Australia, and a combination license-part ownership arrangement in Japan. Harnischfeger Corp. has 8 licenses in 7 foreign countries around the world.

EXPLAINS THE REASON

Almost all of these are postwar operations. An official at Harnischfeger explained:

"It was a case of necessity if we wanted to hold our foreign markets. In Europe it was a severe dollar shortage and import restrictions that initially hurt our exports. Now the price differential is coming into more importance. The higher cost of manufacturing in this country, plus transportation and duty costs, make it difficult for exports to compete with European products. Produced over there, the products are more competitive.

"In the case of Brazil, import restrictions closed that market completely to exports, but a licensee operation within the country has reopened it. In the Far East we figured those markets also would eventually be closed to us unless we got in there on the ground floor."

HELPS LIFT RESISTANCE

Foreign manufacturing operations can help boost a company's export sales as well as supplement them, according to an official of Cutler-Hammer.

"We used to meet a certain amount of resistance in trying to sell our products in Australia before we went in there about 18 months ago with a licensing arrangement," this spokesman said. "Now, because we've given new work to a local manufacturer, we're finding there's a lot more interest in our products down there."

This problem of resistance to exports because of a philosophy of "buy locally manufactured products" is another reason, in addition to tariff barriers and dollar shortages, for setting up manufacturing operations abroad. Sometimes, the Cutler-Hammer official added, it is the basic reason.

Various factors, such as potential of the market, stability of the country involved, availability of a suitable manufacturer for a license agreement, determine the kind of foreign manufacturing operation to adopt. Sometimes it is a matter of personal preference.

LICENSING IS COMMON

"Generally speaking," one company official explained, "a subsidiary operation involves greater risk of capital. But if it's successful, it also offers a greater return on investment."

Several Wisconsin firms have only licensing arrangements in their foreign operations.

Milprint, Inc, Milwaukee packaging firm, has 22 licensees in Europe, Latin America, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt, Lebanon, and India. One of them, La Cellophane of Paris, is the inventor of cellophane, a product that Milprint uses extensively in production of printed packaging.

Lakeside Laboratories, Milwaukee ethical pharmaceutical firm, has more than 10 licensing arrangements, all set up within the last 2 years. The firm started in Europe, now has gone into South America and Japan. In looking for licensees, the company tries to find foreign drug producers that have products which could be marketed profitably in this country under a reciprocal agreement.

STICKS WITH SUBSIDIARIES

Cooper's, Inc., Kenosha, men's underwear manufacturer, has licensees in 15 foreign countries.

An example of a "subsidiary only" company is Square D Co., which has its big industrial controller division in Milwaukee. The firm has manufacturing subsidiaries in Canada and Mexico and a sales subsidiary in England.

A large number of Wisconsin firms have subsidiaries in Canada. Among the larger operations there are those of the State's two largest papermakers, Kimberly-Clark Corp., Neenah, and Marathon Corp., Menasha. Kimberly-Clark, stepping up its foreign operations, also has several facilities elsewhere around the world and is planning more.

American Motors, like the other auto producers, has a Canadian subsidiary for cars and an affiliation in England. Its Kelvinator division has manufacturing operations in 12 foreign countries.

Among other Milwaukee companies with subsidiaries or licensing arrangements for manufacture abroad are Allen-Bredley Co., Bucyrus-Erie Co., Johnson Service Co., Globe-Union, Inc., Chain Belt Co., and Evinrude Motors division.

Appointment of A. R. Jones as Member of TVA Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Sheridan (Wyo.) Press of Saturday, August 10, 1957, entitled "TVA Has Only the Truth To Fear."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TVA HAS ONLY TRUTH TO FEAR

The Nashville Tennessean it seems is carrying on an intensive campaign to block the confirmation of A. R. Jones, Deputy Director of the Budget, as a member of the Tennessee Valley Authority Board to which he was appointed by President Eisenhower.

Having personally known Mr. Jones for 25 years, during which time he served the State of Kansas in various capacities, and as a CPA, we're astounded by the one-sided nature of the evidence used by the Tennessean in its efforts to condemn the appointee. Not merely in is editorial, which was included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an attack on the said Mr. Jones, but in its series of articles which were republished in the Washington Post, it presented one-sided versions of what it describes as Jones' standpat conservatism and his alleged dislike of cooperatives and public power.

In our intimate knowledge of the Jones record since he first entered public like in Kansas as State accountant, it has been one of solid, sound business sense, absolute integrity on his own part and expected of his associates, assistants, and clients, and a perseverance for finding the facts and evidence that is matched only by his own ability for uncovering the truth.

A full study of Mr. Jones' biography as a public servant and as a certified public accountant, and a full report of his career will show that he is neither a conservative nor a liberal, but a middle-roader as far removed from prejudice as an honest man with convictions can be. The examples of outstanding public service deliberately omitted from the Tennessean's accounts are the jobs done by Mr. Jones in serving as the State's examiner in the prosecution of the Kansas bond scandal in 1933–34, the State tax and budget legislation which he helped to write in the same years, again in 1939 and the governmental reorganization plan which he worked out for the State in the past decade.

The Jones record as Deputy Director of the Budget, we know without the intimate personal knowledge we have of his other work, will inevitably fit into the same pattern of efficient, loyal, and able service, for he can give no other. And as for his performance on redtape, it has been directed toward simplification with good sense—the minimum possible while maintaining sufficient records.

Not only will this full investigation show that Mr. Jones is a man of rare integrity, courage, and thoroughness in public and in private, but also of remarkable ability as an accountant and businessman. His courage and integrity prevail in his dealings with those above him as well as in those under him. He is absolutely impartial and just with foe as well as friend.

It is astounding that the one most important authority used to condemn Mr. Jones by the Tennessean is one whose ability and integrity are so inferior to the appointee as to be unworthy to tie his shoe. Actually, that same authority is one who not too long ago was discredited as a public servant. Yet the Tennessean has used him as their foremost authority to launch their smear attack on A. R. Jones.

We can see no reason why friends of TVA should in any way fear or oppose Mr. Jones unless the facts about it are something to be feared or distrusted for those facts will be examined and uncovered honestly, faithfully, and the Authority expected to operate as efficiently and as well as is humanly possible. Mr. Jones will expect only the best of TVA as he has of himself and of all utilities, public and private.

Termination of Federal Supervision Over Klamath Indian Reservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, since passage of Public Law 587 in the 83d Congress to terminate Federal supervision of the Klamath Indian Tribe, much thought has been given to the social and economic problems involved in such action. Both in and out of Government, there is great concern over the potential dangers of hasty termination.

Many proposals have been advanced to overcome the probable difficulties. Since passage of legislation to extend to August 1960 the effective termination date, time is now available to work out revisions which have become obviously necessary. During the coming congressional recess, the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate plans to hold hearings in the vicinity of the Klamath Reservation so that the needed changes can be fully explored.

The need for changes in Public Law 587 was recently documented in a thoughtful series of articles by Mr. William Dean which appeared in the Eugene Register-Guard. Mr. Dean's articles emphasized that the difference in status of various members of the tribe made difficult the application of a termination plan which applied equally to individual tribal members. This phase of the termination problem deserves and requires further study. Some of the conclusions that could be drawn from Mr. Dean's study of the Klamath termination problem have been outlined in a recent editorial in the Eugene newspaper. I ask unanimous consent to have printed with my remarks in the Appendix the editorial entitled "Termination, an Individual Problem," which appeared in the Eugene Register-Guard, of Eugene, Oreg., on August 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TERMINATION, AN INDIVIDUAL PROBLEM

A different approach to the termination of Federal supervision over the Klamath Indian Reservation is needed. Termination was started 3 years ago with the idea that all 2,000 of the men, women and children who have a degree of blood relationship with the Klamath tribe are fully prepared to accept a position of personal responsibility in a non-Indian society.

This is not so.

Some of the Klamaths are ready. But certainly the majority, because of their limited experience in the outside world, are no more prepared than a high school freshman who is given $50,000 and told to go to England where he must make out on his own, far from everything to which he is accustomed.

These are the people who, like the high school freshman, are unprepared for the arbitrary termination contemplated in Public Law 587. That law sets August 1960, as the termination date for the Klamaths. It assumes that they are all at the same stage of social and economic development. It makes termination an irrevocable fact as of that date.

True, the law gives the Klamaths a choice of withdrawing from the tribe or remaining under a corporate entity or trust program. As a practical matter, however, this is thin frosting on the cake and no real choice.

The only actual choice available is the one that must be made by the non-Indians of this country who have set themselves up as supervisors, guardians and trustees of the Indian. And that choice is whether the Klamaths and the many thousands of other Indians under Federal supervision are to be dumped wholesale into a strange new life, or whether we will take the time and have the patience to work them into our world as each individual becomes prepared.

Such a choice must be made now. In fairness to the Indians and to the rest of us it can only be a decision to revamp the termination act completely.

Such a revision should cover many points of which these seem the most vital:

1. The resource—some 4¼ billion board feet of ponderosa pine timber and a limitless flow of water—must be converted into cash. As it is now planned by Public Law 587 this would lead to destruction. So far, the only alternative which would give the Indians a fair value on their property is Federal purchase at the appraised price. The lands then would be turned over to the Forest Service for administration. Such legislation already has been proposed by Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

2. The right of one-third of the tribe to its share of the tribal estate should be honored. There are the Klamath descendants

who already have terminated themselves by moving from the reservation. Individually, these persons are as well prepared to care for themselves as any of your other neighbors.

3. A test must be established to determine the competency of the remaining members of the tirbe. This must be a positive, definable—albeit arbitrary test. It could be based on a number of factors, but foremost among them should be the individual Indian's proved ability to support himself outside his income from the tribal estate. Such a test will be no more complicated nor subject to lawsuits than the procedure outlined in Public Law 587.

4. Finally, provision must be made to encourage the one-half to two-thirds of the tribe who cannot (or at least should not) pass the competency test to make themselves ready for the day when they will be allowed to withdraw. This is the most difficult problem. It would take a generation, or maybe two. But some progress along this line has been started in the program sponsored by the State Department of Education. Numerically, the effect has been slight but for some individuals the progress has been termendous. And termination is an individual, Indian by Indian, problem.

Another Unfair Report on Southern Voting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Another Unfair Report on Southern Voting," from the Williston (S. C.) Way of August 15, 1957. This excellent editorial refutes figures placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD from the Southern Regional Council which indicated discrimination against Negroes registering to vote in Calhoun and McCormick Counties in South Carolina.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER UNFAIR REPORT ON SOUTHERN VOTING

During recent years when the Communists have been trying to wreck this great Nation by developing a rift between the two races, one of the most unfair advantages taken of the South was the one-sidedness of news and supposedly factual articles appearing in the northern press and the national magazines.

Somehow, we weren't too surprised about these false and unfair reports and kind of took it in our stride, feeling that eventually we could crack this paper curtain and bring our side of the segregation issue out in the open and before the people of the Nation. And all during this time we never expected to see a southern organization being unfair to us.

However, last week the Southern Regional Council, an organization composed of members of both races and with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., published reports of a 1956 survey of Negro voter registration in 11 Southern States. In this report they charged that the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some South Carolina counties is quite evident.

It reported that in Calhoun County no Negroes are registered. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community."

The quote used by the council was attributed to an unnamed "field consultant."

J. B. Morris, of the Calhoun County Voter Registration Board, said about 50 Negroes are registered in the county. He said, "Nothing is done to discourage them from registering as long as they meet the requirements."

Another county charged in the survey with discriminations against Negro voters was McCormick. This brought a prompt denial from a board member of that county.

What we dislike is the publicity that has been given the survey and the fact that little, if any, publicity will be given the rebuttals by the board members so in many parts of the Nation the report will be considered as correct and another black mark will be made against the South—another black mark which is not deserved.

Soviet Penetration Into Syrian Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Syrian Pawn," published in the New York Times of August 22, 1957.

This editorial points up the great danger to the free world of the Communist base of operations in the Eastern Mediterranean, and concludes by saying:

The Russians appear to have made a clever move Syria, but the game is far from over.

What we do about the foreign-aid appropriations and our Middle East policy in the executive department will determine whether we win the game, even though we may have suffered a reverse in one inning.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SYRIAN PAWN

It is important to note that the deep Soviet penetration into Syrian affairs, now dramatically revealed, is not surprising. As Secretary of State Dulles put it on Tuesday, it "is not a wholly unexpected development." It fits smoothly into the whole pattern of events that began in September 1955, when President Nasser of Egypt made an arms deal with Czechoslovakia. From that day on, and for the first time in history, Russia became a power in the Middle East and Mediterranean. From that day the No. 1 problem for the United States in Middle Eastern affairs was not Colonel Nasser, nor even the Suez Canal; it was Moscow and its expanding power politics.

In this general framework Syria can only become a detail, although an important and dangerous one. If the Russians get an effective political and economic hold over Syria, with the Syrian forces armed and directed by Soviet technicians, they will have a base of operations on the Mediterranean itself.

However, they will not and could not have the same sort of control they exercise over a satellite whose boundaries are contiguous and whom they can overawe, as they did Czechoslovakia, or conquer, as they did Hungary, with force. Syria would have to be a willing satellite. Moreover, a hostile Turkey would lie between Syria and Russia. Syria's four neighbors—Iraq, Jordan, Israel, and Lebanon—are at present all anti-Communist and more or less prowestern. The possession of vast quantities of Soviet arms did not save Egypt from a humiliating defeat at the hands of Israel last year nor is a similar situation likely to save Syria if another conflict occurred.

Even Nasser's Egypt has shown signs in recent days of being disturbed by the extent to which Syria has moved into the Soviet orbit. Colonel Nasser likes to play with Russian fire but believes and hopes that he will not be burned. We may feel sure that this is a false hope, and in any event we know that Nasser is playing a dangerous and pernicious game from his own Egyptian viewpoint. However, he does not think so, and he has tried in clumsy and devious ways to avoid being caught in a Communist stranglehold. Therefore, it is presumed that he does not like to see Syria enmeshed to an extent he must consider unwise.

To complete the Arab picture, Saudi Arabia is anti-Communist. Yemen is now accepting arms and technicians from Russia, but is too insignificant to make them more than a nuisance against the British in Aden.

Finally, there is the picture within Syria itself. Politcally, Syria is notoriously unstable, and what the pro-Communists have done this week could be undone by the anti-Communists next week or next month. The conservative and rightist officers and their civilian supporters are not all in jail nor all crushed. Some are lying low and some are out of the country.

We have by no means heard the end of the Syrian story. Power in that country, which only achieved independence in 1945, has rested on military cliques and personalities. Assassinations and attempted assassinations dot the history of these last 12 years. Maj. Gen. Afif Bizri, the new army chief of staff, has reason to fear sudden death even though his apparent belief that the Americans are out to orphan his children is silly. The group that has now assumed power will have its troubles consolidating its position.

All things considered, there is ample reason for the Washington administration to play a cautious game. The situation does not yet warrant drastic action. It may take care of itself. It is legitimate diplomacy for the United States to encourage all the anti-Communist countries in the Middle East to use what pressure they can to restrain Syria. We are entitled to express our opinions. If any kind of action has to be taken it will be risky, and the longer it can be avoided the better.

Middle Eastern problems are deep, wide, complex, and delicate and we shall be struggling with them for a long time to come. They are bound to be complicated by what Secretary Dulles called the malicious and mischievous activities of the Soviet Union which, in reality, are natural and obvious moves in the game of power politics. The Russians appear to have made a clever move in Syria, but the game is far from over.

Jury Trials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very clear and forceful editorial appearing in the August 2 issue of the Baltimore Sun, Baltimore, Md., of just how the jury trial

amendment adopted by the Senate gives the judges in the courts complete authority in enforcing voting rights under the civil-rights bill without the intervention of a jury. The Sun, in this editorial, makes a clear distinction between civil and criminal contempt, and is a good answer to those who seek to confuse the issue by saying that under the Senate amendment voting rights could not be enforced.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JURY TRIALS

The House rejected a jury trial amendment to the civil-rights bill in June by 190 to 167. The Senate has now adopted an amendment on this subject by a vote of 51 to 42. Senator KNOWLAND says that this Senate vote probably means the civil-rights bill is dead for this session; his theory is that the House won't accept the Senate amendment and that the bill will remain in conference when the Senate adjourns.

True, the big industrial States such as New York, Michigan, and Illinois have big delegations in the House and these States oppose the jury trial amendment. Whether their opposition is insuperable is another question. In any event, the amendment represents an acceptable and even a desirable improvement in the bill. It does not deprive the bill of its teeth, as many Senators have claimed. On the contrary, there is in this measure an abundance of legal weapons with which to protect the right of Negroes in the South to vote.

This point becomes clear in any detailed consideration of what the jury trial amendment is. In the first place it modifies the provisions of the bill authorizing the Attorney General to go into court and ask for injunctions to forestall and forbid any interference with voting rights. The amendment says that in all cases of criminal contempt arising out of violations of such injunctions, the defendant may ask a jury trial.

The pivotal point in this business is the difference between civil and criminal contempt. This is a legal question to be discussed by laymen with some hesitation, but since it has been so extensively explained in the Senate debate a brief outline may be given here. It is based on an example offered by Senator KEFAUVER, coauthor of the jury trial amendment. Mr. KEFAUVER started with the hypothetical case of a registrar refusing to enroll a Negro citizen as a voter. The Attorney General asks an injunction from the proper Federal court. The judge brings the registrar into court with the complaining witness or witnesses. An injunction against the registrar is granted. He still does not register the Negro. His noncompliance causes him to be brought before the court on a contempt charge.

This is a civil-contempt matter, because the aim at this stage is not to punish the registrar but to get the citizen on the voting lists. The judge hears the evidence without a jury, and if it is convincing, he sends the registrar to jail. But, as the United States Supreme Court said in an important case, the registrar still has the key to his cell in his own pocket. He can unlock the prison door and obtain his freedom at any time by agreeing to do what the court ordered.

If he does so agree, he is free and the case is at an end. Suppose, however, he persists in his refusal until after the date on which the registration books close for the election. It is then too late to register the citizen, and the court must punish the registrar for flouting the injunction. He is haled before the judge on a new contempt charge and this time it is a criminal-contempt matter. A jury can be demanded under the amendment just adopted in the Senate.

As this example suggests, the general distinction is that where the purpose of a contempt hearing is to secure action or compliance with the injunction it is a civil matter. When it is too late for compliance to do any good, and the purpose is to punish a violation of the injunction, it is a criminal contempt. In the former case there is no right to a jury trial under the amendment. In the latter case such a right would be available.

This does not interpose any obstacle in the path of a court seeking to secure compliance with an injunction designed to prevent interference with voting rights. It only provides for jury trials after the right has been stubbornly and willfully denied in defiance of the injunction. Leaving aside all question as to whether southern juries will convict in cases of discrimination against Negro voters, this amendment leaves the Department of Justice and the courts ample power to enforce voting rights.

The Coup in Syria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald under the byline of Walter Lippmann. I think it is a very important article, because it ties in with the speech made by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] on the Aswan Dam some days ago and the speech made yesterday by the distinguished minority leader in rebuttal to the Senator's speech.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COUP IN SYRIA
(By Walter Lippmann)

Washington has been reacting calmly to the events in Syria, almost certainly because they have long been foreseeable, and are not a surprise. The events stem from the basic situation among the Arab nations in the Middle East: first that the great powers are rivals competing for their favor; and second, that there is rivalry among the Arab ruling classes, who are competing for the support of the great powers.

For these reasons, there has never been any chance that all the Arab countries would line up with us under some sort of pan-Arab Eisenhower doctrine. As we have been making our deals with one group of Arab countries, another group—as it happens Syria, Egypt, Yemen—have been making tentative deals with the Soviet Union.

We are involved in a complicated and tricky game of power politics, and we must expect to have losses as well as gains. We have had gains in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon. Now we have had a loss in Syria. The one thing that we can be fairly sure of is that the whole region is in flux, and that neither the gains, as in Jordan, nor the losses, as in Syria, can be counted on as permanent.

For while it may turn out to be the fact that the new military dictatorship in Syria is firmly under Soviet control, there is, I venture to think, bound to be a radical difference between a contiguous and a noncontiguous satellite—between one that can be reached over land by the Red army and one that can be reached only by sea and air. It was possible for the Red army to march into Hungary, to occupy it and to crush the rebellion. That would not be nearly so easy to do—what with the Baghdad allies being interposed—if there were a rebellion in Syria. For the Soviet Union it can be said that Egypt as well as Syria are rather in the nature of outposts than true satellites.

It is generally agreed, as the President said at his press conference Wednesday, that the coup in Syria does not call for any reaction under the Eisenhower doctrine. The Syrian coup is a successful intrigue in which the legal Government of Syria has acquiesced, at which it has probably connived. The basic principle of the Eisenhower doctrine is that we will intervene only at the request of a legitimate government, and in the case of Syria the legtitimate government is stridently hostile to the Eisenhower doctrine and to the United States.

The right course is the one that the administration appears to be taking—to leave the initiative to Syria's neighbors, allowing them to decide on the only action which is possible—whether the new Syrian Government should be put in quarantine. That is the limit of action. There can be no intrigue under the Eisenhower doctrine unles Syria first openly makes war on one or more of her neighbors, on Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, or Israel. Insofar as Syria is under Soviet influence, it will probably not be encouraged, in fact it will probably not be permitted, to do anything which could precipitate a general war.

In retrospect, it looks more and more as if Senator FULBRIGHT is right, and that our crucial mistake in the Middle East has been the abrupt rejection of the Aswan Dam. Not only did this touch off the calamitous series of events which began with Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal Co., but it also deprived the Western World of the chance to cooperate with Egypt in a great project which is of vital interest to the Egyptian people. The fact of our withdrawal, combined with the rude manner in which we withdrew, has excluded us from the chance to exercise a friendly influence. It has left the field open to the Soviet Union, and made it certain that Nasser's demogogy would be turned against us all over the Arab world.

Yet it is probably true that Nasser does not want, and will try his best to avoid, a complete entanglement with the Soviet orbit. The central idea of his foreign policy seems to be that he can profit most by keeping the Soviet Union and the West bidding against each other. To do that he must be independent enough to keep both sides guessing, which, we may suppose, is what he means when he talks about a positive neutrality.

Publisher of Chicago Defender Opposes Jury-Trial Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert a telegram received from John H. Sengstacke, publisher and editor of the Chicago Defender, one of the largest Negro newspapers in the country, stating his strong opposition to the jury-trial amendment in the civil-rights bill:

CHICAGO, ILL.

JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.,
Representative, Washington, D. C.:

Present civil-rights bill makes mockery of American citizenship at a time when the whole world is focusing attention on congressional disposition of a basic issue. The jury-trial amendment is incompatible with the intent and application of President Eisenhower's original legislative proposal. As a matter of simple justice the measure should be so strengthened as to restrain violations of its provisions. We believe you wield enough influence to press successfully for such a revision. We urge you to do so. There should be no compromise on that point. We will not be satisfied with half a loaf.

JOHN H. SENGSTACKE,
Publisher and Editor, the Chicago Defender.

Address by the Honorable James C. Davis, of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am glad to include a most able and timely address delivered by our distinguished colleague from Georgia, Representative JAMES C. DAVIS, before the Tennessee Federation of Constitutional Government, at Nashville, Tenn., on August 16, 1957. The addres is as follows:

SPEECH OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES C. DAVIS TO THE TENNESSEE FEDERATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, NASHVILLE, TENN., AUGUST 16, 1957

It is a privilege for me to accept the invitation to speak to this group of Tennesseans. You are striving to preserve a right which belongs to us, a possession which is precious to us, which is at this moment in great danger of destruction—namely, constitutional government. The Government in Washington is stretching its long arm into your State and community, through the Federal courts, to strike down State sovereignty, to destroy local self-government, to deprive you and your legally chosen school authorities of the power to operate your public schools as you have been operating them and as you want to continue to operate them. It proposes to substitute instead control by court orders and edicts fashioned upon a new philosophy which stalks through our land, and which we are told we must accept whether we like it or not.

It is demanded of us that we cast aside our beliefs, that we surrender our convictions, that we give up customs under which we were reared and to which we subscribe. Meek obedience is demanded. Resistance is threatened with dire consequences and penalties.

The situation, indeed, is critical; the times are perilous.

Why have we come suddenly face to face with this unbelievable situation? It stems from a wrongful and fraudulent usurpation of authority and power by the United States Supreme Court, a usurpation of power which amounts to tyranny.

In every section of America today earnest protests are being voiced against the arbitrary, dictatorial action of the Federal Supreme Court, and its wrongful usurpation of powers it does not possess. Americans have always been quick to recognize and to protest injustice in the courts. It is significant that when the Colonies revolted against the injustice and tyranny of George III, the Declaration of Independence complained of judges who were dependent on the will of the King alone for the tenure of their offices, the amount and payment of their salaries, and that the administration of justice was obstructed by the sovereign power. These acts of tyranny and oppression were intolerable then to a free and liberty-loving people just as similar acts are intolerable now.

We are facing today, I believe, the most critical period which America has faced since 1776, when that small group of men met in Philadelphia to choose between security and peace on the one hand, which could be purchased at the price of continued submission to tyrannical oppression, or revolution and war with the world's greatest power on the other hand. With the certain knowledge that years of misery and suffering lay ahead, that they would fight against heavy odds, and that defeat and death might be the portion of everyone who participated, they believed in their hearts that free government was worth the price they had to pay. They threw their all into the balance as they fought for it. Our Government of liberty, freedom, and opportunity today is the result of that choice and of the fight which they made.

Freedom was not just a topic of idle conversation with them. Integrity was more than a word in the dictionary. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, their associates, and their followers preached the doctrine that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God. They had the courage to practice what they preached.

When victory finally came to our forefathers they set up not a centralized government with unlimited powers, but a republic of sovereign States. And this was done for the purpose of guaranteeing local self-government to the citizen. They provided that the Federal Government should function as 3 coequal departments, each of the 3 to be separate from and independent of the others. The foundation of this free Government was a written Constitution. It was put in writing so that its lasting principles would not be subject to passing whims or fancies. They provided a specific way to amend the document, if changing times and conditions ever required it. All of us are familiar with that method of amending. Nothing less than a vote of two-thirds of the Congress to be ratified by three-fourths of the States will serve to change it. Without such concurrent action by those overwhelming majorities not a sentence or a word of the Constitution can legally be changed. Both those who wrote it and those who adopted that Constitution knew the need for reciprocal checks and balances in maintaining free government. George Washington, the Father of our Country, the greatest general, patriot, and statesman, knew that freedom and liberty would be preserved if these reciprocal checks and balances were maintained. He knew these checks and balances would be maintained if the Constitution were respected and followed, and if it were amended only in the manner provided by the instrument itself. Warning against any other method of change, he said in his farewell address on September 17, 1796:

"If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

Thomas Jefferson feared, as George Washington did, wrongful usurpation of power by the Supreme Court. Jefferson expressed himself far more vigorously on the subject than did Washington. On this subject Jefferson said:

"The judiciary of the United States is a subtle corps of sappers and miners constantly working underground to undermine the foundations of our confederated fabric. They are construing our Constitution from a coordination of general and special governments to a general and supreme one alone. * * *. Having found from experience that impeachment is an impractical thing, a mere scarecrow, they consider themselves secure for life; they skulk from responsibility to public opinion * * * an opinion is huddled up in a conclave, perhaps by a majority of one, delivered as if unanimous, and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates, by a crafty Chief Judge, who sophisticates the law to his mind, by the turn of his own reasoning."

Jefferson, that stanch believer in individual liberty, that fine advocate of States rights and local self-government said this about the provisions in the 10th amendment:

"I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid on this ground: that 'all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people.' To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Congress is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition."

Today our free Government is face to face with the danger of destruction which George Washington and Thomas Jefferson feared, and against which they warned us in the words I have just repeated. That Court, with a brazeness and boldness almost unbelievable is undertaking to amend the Constitution and make statutory law through so-called judicial decisions and court opinions. In the school segregation cases the Court has arrogated unto itself, first, the functions of Congress and the States to change the Constitution; second, the function of Congress to make enforcement law, and third, the functions of the Executive Department to carry out such enforcement. This is rank usurpation of authority the Court does not possess.

In the structure of our Government there is no fact more certain than this; the nine Justices of the Supreme Court cannot change our Constitution.

The Congress with its 531 Members of the House and Senate cannot change it.

The President of the United States, with all his power, cannot change it.

Neither one of these alone can amend the Constitution. All three together cannot amend it.

It can be changed only by an amendment voted for by two-thirds of the House and Senate, and by three-fourths of the sovereign States of the Union.

Any attempt to change our Constitution in any other manner is a fraud—a gross fraud which it is the duty of all patriotic citizens to expose and to prevent. Again I am reminded of the philosophy of Jefferson and Franklin, that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.

The principle involved here goes far beyond our right to operate our schools, although that in itself is a valued right, and a right we are not called upon to surrender merely because the Supreme Court undertakes to usurp power it does not possess.

The real issue is: Shall we permit the Supreme Court, one Department of Government, whose powers are defined and limited by the Constitution, to successfully assert the power to change that precious document,

by reading into it language it does not contain, and which those who wrote the Constitution and its amendments, never intended it should contain?

The question is, if changing conditions require a change in the Constitution, shall it be changed as the Constitution says, by drawing an amendment with definite and specific language which shall receive the people's overwhelming stamp of approval through a vote of two-thirds of the Congress, plus three-fourths of the States? This is the legal way.

Or, shall it be amended by the arbitrary act of nine men, to whom this authority has not been given, who are not elected, and who can in no sense of the word be said to represent the will and wishes of the people regarding amendments to the Constitution?

We have amended the Constitution 22 times in the past by following legal and regular procedure. The 22d amendment was proposed in 1947 and certified in 1951. What has happened that we no longer must submit amendments to the Congress for a two-thirds vote and to the States for a three-fourths vote?

We have not yet lost this right to have a voice in adopting amendments to the Constitution, or in rejecting them. But this Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, is a brazen effort to destroy this right.

Can the Court today strike down the accepted and declared meaning of the Constitution? Can it nullify a construction on the exact point involved, which has been followed and approved in dozens of instances, by the Supreme Court itself and courts of many other jurisdictions, and in doing so rely upon nothing but its own arbitrary will, to support the decision, and read into the Constitution language which is not there? If it can do this today, then it can tomorrow or next month strike down any other provision which does not conform to its sociological beliefs. While it may be Georgia or Tennessee which suffers today from such wrongful usurpation of authority, next year it may be Oregon, Maine, or Illinois.

While the subject today is schools, its next usurpation may involve taxes, or criminal law, or the right to own property. Once the precedent is established—once we have acknowledged the right of the Supreme Court to trifle with the Constitution, there is no limit to its possibilities.

Those of us who support local self-government and States rights have been slow to believe that we could lose these precious rights. We know now that we can lose them. We know now that if we are going to keep them we must arouse ourselves. We must throw off apathy and indifference.

The right to be segregated goes back for thousands of years before our Government was established. That right never was challenged until this present Supreme Court decided to make new law on the subject. Yet the Court is not a lawmaking body. Congress alone has the right to legislate and introduce new matter into the body of our law. Congress, in the proper exercise of its function, has time and time again refused to make new law on this subject. There is no question about the fact that Congress alone can change the law and that the Court cannot.

For the nine men who sit upon the Supreme Court to usurp these powers which do not belong to them, but which belong exclusively to Congress and to the States, is a monumental fraud which is shocking, outrageous, and reprehensible.

Such fraudulent conduct imposes no obligation upon the States to acquiesce, or upon the people to bow the neck to this new form of tyranny.

Let me say to you, as we counsel together, do not be concerned about what is said by the Communists, the pinkos, the radicals, the NAACP, the ADA, the one-worlders, and all that motley group of crackpots who are clamoring for desegregation and mongrelization. These groups of organized minorities are chanting a chorus that opposition to the fraudulent order of the Supreme Court is defiance of law. Of course that is not true. The decision of May 17, 1954, is not law. It is an attempt to make law where none existed before, by a nonlawmaking body. The defiance of law comes from the other side of this dispute. It is an arrogant defiance of law for the Supreme Court to usurp authority which it does not possess.

This claim that opposition to, and criticism of, the fraudulent Supreme Court decision is defiance of law is a sham. It is intended to draw attention away from the truth in this matter. That truth is that the Supreme Court is boldly and brazenly attempting to change the form of our Government.

A stock contention of the integrationists and mongrelizers is that a Court decision is the last word in the law, and must be accepted; that the Court's function is to expound the law.

As long as the Court sticks to the law its decisions will be accepted. When it flies in the face of the law, as the Court has done in this instance, it commits a wrong. It perpetrates a fraud upon the people. It commits as grievous a wrong as a tax collector commits when he demands more than just taxes from a taxpayer. It commits a wrong as grievous as a warden of a penitentiary commits who would seek to imprison a convict beyond the limits of his legal term. It commits as grievous a wrong as any other public official commits who seeks to assert authority which he does not possess, or to exceed the authority which he does possess. No right-thinking citizen can acquiesce in brazen usurpation of authority by any public official.

Free Americans are under no obligation whatever to permit any public official to take from them that which is theirs merely because that public official occupies a seat of authority, if he attempts either through ignorance or malfeasance to go beyond the bounds of that authority.

We owe allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. That instrument is the bedrock upon which our structure of government is built. It is our guaranty of liberty. But the allegiance we owe is to the Constitution itself, which was drafted by the Constitutional Convention and ratified by the sovereign States, and to such amendments thereto as have been legally proposed by two-thirds of the Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the States, and no one can dispute that solemn truth.

There are some who say that the Constitution means what the judges say it means. But that is not true. The Constitution itself proclaims its meaning. No court or judge possesses any authority to change the language or meaning of any phrase or word of the Constitution in the slightest degree. It is only when the wording of the Constitution is ambiguous or needs interpretation that the judicial department of the Government has authority to go into the question of what it means. And the judicial department never has had—it does not have now—authority to add anything new or take anything old from the instrument. That can only be done by amendment.

So the Constitution is not, as some would have us believe, what the judges say it is. It has no such unstable or uncertain meaning. The Constitution, and all of its amendments, is the compact of the sovereign States who consented to its operation. It is the document under which we live—which we understand, and which the courts have understood for years and generations. Its meaning has been proclaimed again and again. It is the document which every public official is sworn to uphold, and to which the loyalty of every public official is due. And let us never lose sight of this fact—that our loyalty is to the Constitution itself—not to a perverted opinion of nine men who happen for the moment to be occupying seats in the Supreme Court, and who seek because of that fact to change that true meaning, the established and accepted meaning, of our Constitution. That authority does not belong to these nine men. It belongs to two-thirds of the membership of Congress and to three-fourths of the States, joining in concurrent action.

The members of the Supreme Court have also sworn to uphold the Constitution. They owe the same loyalty to the Constitution that every other citizen does. The Constitution does not mean one thing yesterday, another thing today and something else tomorrow, and they have no right to so hold.

If the logic or reasoning employed by the Supreme Court in order to reach this decision is allowed to become standard practice; if the Constitution means one thing today and something entirely different tomorrow, then actually we have no Constitution at all.

And when anyone, whether he be President, legislator, or judge, deals with the Constitution unlawfully, it is the part of patriotism and in keeping with loyalty to the Constitution, to protest and oppose such unwarranted action. The preservation of our Government depends upon it. Our Government cannot survive in any different climate.

Now it is not only on the segregation issue that the Court is following this pattern of usurpation. In other fields also it is following a pattern of consistent and continuous usurpation of legislative functions—a pattern of stealthy erosion of the Constitution without resort to legal amendment as provided for in that document.

The segregation question is only a part of this pattern of usurpation.

In such recent decisions as the Steve Nelson and Slochower cases, the Court has rendered the States and our cities powerless to protect themselves against communism. On April 2, 1956, in the Steve Nelson case,[1] the Supreme Court said that the State of Pennsylvania cannot punish Communists for knowingly advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States. The flimsy excuse given by the Court was that Congress had passed a law on the subject and when the Federal Government occupies the field on this vital subject, no room is left for the States to act.

One week later on April 9, 1956, the same Court in the Slochower case[2] declared a section of the charter of the city of New York unconstitutional because it permitted the city to dismiss a teacher in a college operated by the city when the teacher refused to state whether or not he was a Communist.

In the Yates[3] case, the Smith Act was rendered useless. In this case, decided on June 17 of this year, the Supreme Court reversed 14 convictions of conspiracy (a) for advocating and teaching the duty and necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence, and (b) for organizing a society of persons who so advocated and taught—all with the intent of causing the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. In this decision, the Court was actually legislating by writing into the Smith Act the intent of Congress—an intent undreamed of by the Congress when passing the act.

Earlier, on April 30, 1956, in *Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board*,[4] the Supreme Court had rendered useless the Subversive Activities Control Act and nullified the action of the Subversive Activities Control Board in its efforts to require known Communists to register.

Footnotes at end of speech.

In the Jencks case,[5] the Court put shackles and handcuffs on the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the Mallory case,[6] by turning a self-confessed convicted rapist scot-free, the Court tied the hands of police, sheriffs, and law-enforcement agencies. In the cases of *Konigsberg* v. *the State Bar of California*[7] and *Schware* v. *the Board of Bar Examiners of New Mexico*,[8] the Court told State courts and bar associations that they cannot make their own regulations on admission to the bar; that they had no power to protect themselves against Communists; and that it is un-Constitutional to deny a Communist admission to the bar.

The Watkins[9] decision struck a mortal blow at effective machinery for exposing Communists through congressional inquiry. Under this newly declared philosophy, Communists may now thumb their noses at congressional and senatorial investigating committees. There are other similar decisions which time does not permit me to take up.

But I do not come tonight to discuss in detail these shocking and outrageous decisions which amount to the making of new laws to free Communists and criminals, to tie the hands of State legislatures, State courts, police officers, and congressional investigating committees. I shall talk about these in other times and at other places and in due time I shall join with what I believe will be a great majority of my colleagues in Congress to enact laws to correct the evils of this pattern of usurpation, and to reestablish the security of our people and of this country, both nationally and locally. I want to give you tonight, from firsthand knowledge, some of the evils which follow this philosophy of integrated schools; this Court-made law which is being pushed and promoted so vigorously by the power-usurping Supreme Court of the United States and the radicals of this country.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court made public its opinion in the school segregation cases. On June 18, 1953, in the case of *District of Columbia* v. *Thompson's Restaurant*, the Court had already made some more new laws to the effect that it was illegal in the District of Columbia for the owner of a restaurant to operate it on a segregated basis.

Although the Court in its May 17, 1954 opinion deferred any further action on the school cases until the October term, so as to give the legal representatives of the States an opportunity to present further argument, the radicals and the social equality advocates were champing at the bit and straining at the leash. They could not wait. Following a statement by the President of the United States that the Washington schools should serve as a model of integrated schools to be copied by the rest of the country, they proceeded full speed ahead to transform an orderly, effective school system into what later proved to be a veritable nightmare by ordering the schools to be integrated at the September term that year. On May 25, 1954, just 8 days after the Supreme Court ruling, the District of Columbia Board of Education, by a 6-to-3 vote, ordered the schools opened on an integrated basis in September.

Boundaries for each school were established with compulsory attendance of each pupil required at such school. A rule was made that records should not be kept or information given out on the basis of race.

If there is any place in the United States where integration could be expected to succeed, that place is Washington, D. C. For many years Washington has had no segregation in transportation or residence. For many years it has had Negro policemen on an unsegregated basis. For many years it has had Negro firemen and by official order the Fire Department was placed on an unsegregated basis in 1954. Since 1953, segregation has been unlawful in restaurants and hotels. Long before that, segregation was abolished in theaters, ball parks, motion pictures, and so forth. For many years there have been Negro judges, prosecutors, and court officials there.

Thousands of Negroes work on an unsegregated basis in all of the Government agencies in Washington. The Negro per capita income in the District of Columbia is higher than the white income in some areas of the Nation. All publicly owned swimming pools have been open to Negroes for years, as well as tennis courts, playgrounds, and parks.

All the public facilities of the Nation's Capital are, and have been, available to them for years, such as libraries and auditoriums. Here is the Nation's Capital, the people of the District of Columbia enjoy more cultural advantages than the people of any other city of America. The District of Columbia Negroes have had school facilities superior to most other school districts in the Nation. Washington has been spending $307.80 per child per year in its public-school system, as compared with $269.70 in Baltimore, $260.80 in Montgomery County, Md., adjoining Washington, $240.73 in Prince Georges County, Md., and as compared with $138.60 per pupil per year in Memphis, Tenn.

In June 1956, after 2 years' experience with integrated schools in the District of Columbia, the Legislative Committee on the District of Columbia in the House of Representatives created a subcommittee and ordered it to make an investigation of the public-school system in the District of Columbia. The subcommittee was strictly nonpartisan. It was composed of 6 members, 3 Democrats and 3 Republicans. I was named chairman of that subcommittee. For its counsel, the subcommittee selected, by unanimous vote, an able lawyer from your own State, Mr. William Gerber, of Memphis.

Those who had promoted the mixing of white and Negro children in schools uttered loud protests against this investigation. The radical organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held a mass meeting in Washington to protest it. They sent telegrams to President Eisenhower, to Presidential Candidate Adlai Stevenson, to Chairman Leonard Hall of the Republican National Committee, to Chairman Paul Butler of the Democratic National Committee, to Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, to Democratic Floor Leader John McCormack, to Republican Floor Leader Joe Martin, to Chairman John McMillan of the House District of Columbia Committee, and to each member of that committee, urging them to prevent the subcommittee from carrying out the function it was created to perform. The Washington Post, one of the most ardent advocates of mixing the races, began to carry editorials charging that the committee was stacked, that it was biased and prejudiced, and that its investigation would not result in a true picture of the school system. Frantic efforts were made to prevent the committee from beginning its work, and to prevent a continuance of the investigation after it began. In the 11 years I have served in Congress, I have never seen as much effort put forth to prevent a duly constituted committee of Congress from performing its work. When witnesses began to testify regarding the sordid facts and deplorable conditions of the schools, one of the Negro school board members issued a public statement containing a veiled threat to the effect that the school superintendent, Dr. Corning, "should reexamine the competency of some of the principals" who had testified at the hearings, and who, he said, had "made severe admissions of inadequacy." Our counsel and staff interviewed hundreds of teachers, principals, and school officials. Some of them were afraid to testify and told the staff they could not because they "had to live and eat."

Be it said to their credit, however, a majority of the witnesses, who were teachers, principals, or school officials, came voluntarily and testified. Not a subpena was issued by the committee to compel a single witness to appear, and witnesses consisted of both white and Negro teachers, and those who favored integration as well as those who did not.

In spite of all the roadblocks thrown in its path, the subcommittee made a thorough investigation and the hearings consisted of 512 printed pages of testimony.

We learned in this investigation that Negroes are moving into Washington in increasing numbers, and the white people are moving out. This exodus of white people from the District of Columbia began when the first steps of race mixing began in public housing and other fields. It increased as the agitation for integration increased. When the Supreme Court decision was rendered resulting in the integration of the schools, there was a marked and noticeable increase in the number of white people moving from Washington into Maryland and Virginia. This movement continues. Many formerly all-white areas have changed into all-colored areas. Many all-white schools have changed almost completely.

Twelve of the elementary schools which were all white in 1953 now have 92 percent Negro and 8 percent white pupils. Typical of the change is Wheatley Elementary School which was all white in 1953. In 1954, it had 589 white pupils and 139 Negro pupils. By 1956, the whites had dwindled to 24 and the colored had increased to 576.

Just a few years ago the school population in Washington was two-thirds white and one-third Negro, but the school census showed that in October 1956 white students were 32 percent of the school population and Negro students 68 percent. The rate of decline of white pupils is rapidly increasing year by year. In 1953 this rate of decline was 2.7 percent; in 1954, 7.8 percent; in 1955, 6.3, and in 1956, 10.4 percent. The percentage decline of white pupils from 1949 to 1956 was 28.6 percent. This trend of whites moving out of Washington and Negroes moving in, and the rate of changeover, justifies the prediction that in just a few years the District of Columbia will be a predominately Negro community.

Before integration white and Negro pupils had equal opportunity in the schools. The same amount of money was spent per pupil. A white teachers college and a colored teachers college were provided. Although there were about twice as many white pupils as Negro pupils, there were 60 white elementary schools and 61 colored elementary schools. There were 6 white senior high schools and 4 colored. The same equipment was provided for each and the same amount per pupil was spent.

Prior to integration, the integrationists claimed that the maintenance of 1 school system instead of 2 would mean substantial economy in operating expenses. Yet no economy has resulted. On the contrary operating costs have increased greatly. Information furnished me on August 12 this year by the District of Columbia school department, shows that operating expenses jumped from $26,700,000 in 1953 to $35,600,000 in 1957, with an estimate of $37½ million for 1958.

The committee had testimony that so much extra time is required for coaching Negro pupils that the teachers are unable to devote proper attention to the white pupils, who consequently suffer under this new system.

The Supreme Court and the NAACP have created strife and turmoil where no strife and turmoil existed before. Their joint action has increased tension between the races, and has caused hatred and hostility where before there was good will and harmony. This strife is chargeable to, and responsibil-

Footnotes at end of speech.

ity for it must rest with, the Court and the radical NAACP, which has been encouraged by the Court's action to stir up hostility between the races.

I have been talking to you about the Constitution and the legal phase of this question. I want to say something now about the human side, and the moral justification we have for insisting upon segregation.

Much false propaganda has been spread within recent years, and much effort has been made to brainwash the public with the utterly false doctrine that there is no difference between whites and blacks. It is time to look behind this brainwashing propaganda, and have a straight look at the facts.

There are obvious and well-known differences between whites and blacks which no amount of glossing over and covering up by subversive so-called anthopologists and pseudoscientists can hide.

Let's look at some facts from the record which have a direct bearing on the question of desirability or undesirability of integrated schools, aside from the legal aspect of the problem.

Among the many other reasons why the white people object to their children having this close association with Negro children are health, the Negroes' high crime rate, and disrespect for law, the lower mentality level, and the high rate of illegitimacy among Negroes.

It is well-known that the crime rate among Negroes far exceeds that of whites. This is true in Washington, D. C., although Negroes have every advantage they could ask for. The schools and colleges are open to them; also hotels, restaurants, theaters, parks, swimming pools, tennis courts. They buy property and live in any section they choose. The President and his appointed city commissioners apparently want to make a second Harlem out of Washington, and they boast that Washington is a model example of a nonsegregated city.

But Washington is noted for the great number of serious crimes committed in its limits. Its crimes of violence are more than twice those committed in Boston, a city of comparable size, more than twice those of Milwaukee, and nearly twice as many as New Orleans, La.

Negroes are responsible for this high crime rate. Crime statistics show that throughout the years the Negroes in Washington have committed the bulk of the crimes of violence, although until recently they have constituted about one-third of the population. In 1955, out of 11,072 crimes of violence, 9,056 were by Negroes. This is 82 percent of the total, and the percentage for the last 3 months of 1955 was 88 percent of the total.

Let's look at the District of Columbia health records. A report for the year 1955 made by the District of Columbia Department of Public Health of venereal diseases in children of school age and under, showed 834 Negro children, 17 years and under, treated for gonorrhea, as compared with 20 white children. Of the 834 Negro children, 10 were under 6 years of age. The total cases of gonorrhea of all ages, children and adults, for 1955 were Negro, 10,243, or 97.5 percent of the total; white, 271, or 2.5 percent.

These are repulsive statistics, but they show some of the impelling reasons for segregated schools, and what a tragedy it is for white children to have integration forced upon them.

From the standpoint of mentality, the Negroes have not been able to keep pace with the white children of the District of Columbia. This has resulted in lowering of educational standards.

The tragic consequences of throwing white and Negro children together in the public schools of Washington, D. C., were brought to light by the subcommittee investigation conducted by us of the integrated school system in the Nation's Capital which was supposed to be a model for the entire Nation to follow in setting up integrated schools.

One of the first steps taken when white and Negro children were thrown together in the Washington schools was the adoption of the rule which prohibits the keeping of records according to race. Failure to keep records by race prevents comparison of scholastic achievements, and mental capacity between white and Negro pupils.

The subcommittee was able, however, by careful and detailed investigation of the school records, to gather sufficient information to make comparisons in a number of schools of the scholastic achievements, mental capacity and intelligence quotient between the white and Negro students.

At the time of the hearings, there were still some schools in Washington which were nearly 100 percent colored; some still 100 percent white, and some nearly 100 percent white.

Accurate comparisons based upon recognized achievement tests, known as the Iowa achievement test, Stanford achievement tests, and I. Q. tests, showed that there was a very wide difference in scholastic achievement and mental ability between white and Negro pupils.

To illustrate, we found that in Cardoza High School, which had only 6 white pupils and 1,694 colored pupils, there were 512 pupils in the 10th grade; of the 512, 230 were able to read only from 4th grade to 7th grade level; more than 300 were able to work arithmetic only at 7th grade level or below, and 283 of the 512, which is 55 percent, were classified as being in a category which would never be able to achieve beyond the 6th grade level.

One teacher in Roosevelt High School, with a class about 75 percent colored, said she had more failures in 1 year on integrated teaching than she had in 10 years of teaching in a segregated school.

The assistant superintendent in charge of all senior high schools testified that in 4 high schools, having a total of 8 white students and 5,011 colored students, these 4 colored high schools, tested under the Iowa achievement test, rated or scored in the lowest 5 percent in the Nation of schools taking this test. He testified that in 3 high schools having a total of 3,030 white students and 99 colored, these 3 predominantly white schools, under the same test, rated or scored in the top 5 percent of the Nation.

In a group of 11 junior high schools with a total of 10,304 Negro students and only 205 whites, 2,991 were given a test on "reading and paragraph meaning"; 2,161 achieved at the level of sixth grade or lower. Of these, 676 were at fourth grade level and 385 at third grade level.

Testimony of many of the teachers showed that the Negro pupils, because of low achievement and mental ability, required so much time and attention that the white pupils had to be neglected, and failed to receive the time and attention they would have had otherwise.

All of these facts had been concealed behind an iron curtain in Washington. The NAACP and the other sponsors of integrated schools wanted desperately to keep the facts concealed, and they were concealed until our investigation brought them to light.

I have given you a few examples of testimony concerning scholastic achievement and mental ability of Negro pupils in the Washington schools. This testimony is typical of the bulk of testimony we took for 9 days from school officials, principals, and teachers.

We asked about personal relations between white and colored pupils both as to pupils of the same sex and pupils of the opposite sex.

Practically without exception, the testimony was that dances, plays, senior proms, picnics, and similar social functions were discontinued when the schools were integrated.

At Roosevelt High School, where white and colored were about equally divided, it was necessary to discounting girl cheerleaders and use only male cheerleaders because of remarks and incidents which occurred at the basketball games.

Negro girls were antagonistic to white girls, and did such things as stepping on their heels in the halls, sticking pins in them; a Negro girl will stand in the aisle and dare a white girl to pass her. A group of Negro girls will attack a white girl on the way home from school and inflict personal injuries upon her.

Similar personal antagonism exists between Negro boys and white boys. At McKinley High School a group of Negro boys attacked two white boys who had been circulating a petition opposing an integrated prom. They beat them and left one of the boys unconscious on the sidewalk. Fourteen stitches were required to sew the wounds inflicted inside this boy's mouth. His father brought him to the Capitol so that I could see the serious injuries he received.

There were numerous fights, beatings, stabbings, and so forth. The principal of McFarland Junior High School testified that, although it was never necessary to call for police assistance when operating segregated schools in the last year in his integrated school, he had to call for police assistance approximately 50 times to prevent fights and keep order.

Many of the witnesses testified as to obscene remarks, obscene literature, indecent proposals, indecent handling and indecent approaches of Negro boys to white girls.

The principal of Roosevelt High School testified that she had two cases of Negro boys approaching white girls in her school the same week she was testifying as a witness. She said she had this trouble last year and the year before, which was the entire period of integrated schools.

The former principal of Eastern High School swore that he retired last year because of ill health brought on by conditions resulting from integrating the schools. He stated it was necessary to require last year that all teachers leave their desks when the bells rang to keep order in the corridors.

He said he heard colored girls at times use language that was far worse than any he had ever heard, even in the Marine Corps.

He said that fighting, including several knifings, went on continuously—that such incidents became more or less commonplace following integration; that there were more thefts in his school in 2 years of integration than he had known in all his 30-odd years of experience before; that there were many sex problems following integration; that colored boys wrote notes to white girls giving their telephone numbers and asking for the girls' telephone numbers; that colored boys touched white girls in a suggestive manner when passing them in the halls, and made obscene remarks about them.

He stated that one white girl was surrounded by a group of colored students after leaving school one afternoon; that a colored boy put a knife to her back, forcing her down an alley and against a wall, and while they were debating making her take her clothes off, she broke away and ran home.

This principal stated that a dozen or more colored girl students became pregnant at his school during his last school year.

The principal of Jefferson Junior High School testified to 27 pregnancies in his school during last year, 2 white and 25 colored.

The number of pregnancies among the Negro girl pupils has created a serious problem in the high schools and junior high schools.

Mr. Howard West of the District of Columbia Department of Public Health testified thart in 1955 there were 996 illegitimate babies born to girls of school age in Washington—that is, ages 18 and under. Of these 926 were colored and 70 whites; 86 of them were born to girls under 15 years of age, 5 white and 81 colored.

There were 3,533 illegitimate births of all ages in Washington in 1955, of which 382 were white and 3,151 colored.

All white births in Washington in 1955 totaled 8,556, of which 382 were illegitimate. The illegitimate white births were approximately 4.4 percent. All colored births in Washington in 1955 totaled 11,404, of which 3,151 or 27 perecent were illegitimate.

He testified that it is a close estimate to say that 1 out of every 4 colored school children in the District of Columbia public schools is an illegitimate child, and this statement is based on the birth records in his department.

So, if you were the parent of a school-age daughter in Washington, D. C., and sent her to one of the model integrated schools, these are the surroundings and this is the atmosphere in which she would be educated and trained, and in which her life's philosophy would be formed.

We thought the testimony regarding illegitimate children before our committee was shocking almost beyond comprehension. However, it has grown much worse since this testimony was given. Illegitimate pregnancies have increased to such an alarming degree in the junior high schools of Washington that on June 21 Dr. John R. Pate, of the Southwest Health Cetner, made public a report on this disgraceful condition. In his report Dr. Pate said that Washington faces an "enormous moral and economic catastrophe," and that the District could no longer ignore the problem. His report was based on detailed records of children from 13 of the city's 23 junior high schools, who reported to the Southwest Health Center for confirmation of their pregnancies, in order to be excused from school. I have with me Dr. Pate's report, which consists of 25 mimeographed pages. I cannot begin to give you in the time allotted to me tonight but a small part of the shocking facts contained in this report, which for want of a better name was entitled "Junior Mothers."

Dr. Pate reported that a rise of over 1,000 percent in the number of pregnancies among this early teen-age group had occurred in comparison wtih the 1948–49 school year. He stated that in 1948–49 there were only seven illegitimate pregnancies in this junior high school group that came to the attention of the health center clinic.

In the first paragraph of his report he states that during the current school year there has been an alarming increase in the number of pregnant girls in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades of the junior high schools of Washington coming to the Southwest Health Center to have completed and properly signed physician's certificates of pupils inability to attend school. It gives the details of a number of these cases in his report. It is full of such cases as that of a girl 14 years of age, herself one of 6 illegitimate children, having the second child by the same 17-year-old boy. A typical case is that of a 14-year-old girl, 1 of 8 illegitimate children whose twin sister is also pregnant, both of them being on public assistance.

Dr. Pate says in the same paragraph that this problem has been increasing over the last 2 to 3 years (which is the period of integrated schools) more than was noted in several years prior to 1954. His report says:

"The fact is that during the current school year our records show an increase of approximately 1,000 percent in the number of illegitimate pregnancies as compared to the 1948–49 school year in this age group."

He also says that:

"In practically every school the report is not completely accurate, falling short of the total number of pregnancies for several reasons."

He also says:

"Further, many of these children being born out of wedlock are dependent solely upon public assistance funds for their support. This economic burden merely adds another complication to the emotional and moral one in the community."

He also says:

"On the question of public assistance to these children, it might be assumed that it will be the responsibility of the taxpayer for many years."

A shocking feature of this report is that the age of these school girls range from 11 to 15 years, one of them having become pregnant when she was 10 years old.

This report shows that in the elementary schools of a total of 8 such cases all were colored, in the junior high schools of a total of 129, 119 were colored, 10 white. In the high schools of a total of 44, 43 were colored and 1 white. In a total of 190 such cases throughout the school system 178 were colored and 12 white.

Dr. Pate says in his report regarding one of these mothers of illegitimates, that their support and hers is from funds provided by the Department of Welfare. He says, "she readily admits the more children she has, the more income she expects to receive from this course and does not anticipate changing her pattern of living." He says that this pattern is repeated time and time again.

Dr. Pate's report compares conditions in Washington with those in Baltimore, a city which integrated its public schools at the same time Washington did. He states that in Baltimore of the total illegitimate babies, 50 percent occur among girls 18 years of age and lower, and that in 1954, the first year of integration, 36 percent of the total number of live births among the nonwhite were illegitimate, which was an increase of 6 percent over 1953 figures. He said that there was no noticeable increase in illegitimacy among white teenagers in Baltimore during that same period.

One of the Washington cases was an eighth grade girl who was a close personal friend of another girl who had a baby. The "junior mother" kept showing pictures of her offspring to the eighth grade student, which created "a strong desire in the eighth grader to duplicate the feat of her friend. After having intercourse with a number of young males and not getting pregnant, she has developed a definite psychosis."

Another portion of the report states that in the early part of the 1956–57 school year one southwest Washington school reported that more than one-half of the children enrolled were illegitimate.

Getting back to our investigation, Mr. Howard West, of the District of Columbia Department of Health told the committee that in 1955 the total number of cases of venereal disease reported to the Department age 17 and under was 854. Of that number, 20 were whites, 7 male and 13 female; 834 were colored, 263 male and 571 female. There were 11 cases under 6 years of age, 1 white and 10 colored.

In the short time I have to talk to you tonight, I can only give you a few of the specific facts which our investigation has uncovered and brought out into the light. We held hearings for 9 days, and the testimony fills 512 printed pages.

The hearings show that instead of being a model integrated school system, the District of Columbia schools have been turned into a nightmare of chaos, indecency, lack of discipline, and inability to learn. It is causing white people to move out of Washington so rapidly that the school population which before integration was approximately two-thirds white and one-third colored, is now, according to the latest estimate, approximately 68 percent colored and 32 percent white, with the percentage of colored pupils constantly increasing and white pupils decreasing in a corresponding degree.

These are some of the many valid reasons why white people are justified in the position taken regarding segregation.

I have given you these facts about the situation in Washington because in the wake of the Supreme Court decision to integrate schools, the President declared that Washington would be an example of how good integration would be. The present sickening conditions of the Washington schools are mute testimony to this example.

Not only have mixed schools been a scholastic failure but as an experiment in human relations it has been a nightmare.

In December 1955, principals in high schools and junior high schools found it necessary to hold "shake-down" inspections of their students in compliance with numerous complaints that students were carrying knives.

Two cases of attempted assault by Negro boys on white girls were reported in 1 day at 1 junior high school. These cases involved language and action so vile and so sordid that it staggers the imagination.

We cannot afford to subject our children to such a malignant experiment. The same integrationists and mongrelizers have stated that they only want equal rights and opportunities for the Negro. Yet the radical NAACP has repeatedly declared that their ultimate goal is intermarriage and complete mongrelization of the American people. The fact that this is also the identical aim of the Communist Party of the United States is more than just coincidental. If they are successful in cramming this school decision down our throats, they will follow it with a decision invalidating our marriage laws, and that will be the end.

The time to end this judicial usurpation is now. The time to restore the Constitution to the people is now.

I have given you tonight, in brief, a picture of the deplorable situation in Washington. I have seen there the tragic results which come from the breakdown of segregation and substitution of an integrated public-school system.

This same thing can happen here and will happen to you if the people meekly accept wrongful usurpation of power, and a Supreme Court dictatorship, as they did in Washington.

It is not inevitable. It does not have to happen. The attitude that we cannot prevent it and that we must accept it is unworthy of a people with our heritage. There are many legal ways in which we can prevent such a catastrophe. The one thing which is needed is a determined attitude and a willingness to do whatever may be found necessary to preserve these precious rights.

I can say to you that we in Georgia are determined, and will not accept these fraudulent efforts to take from us our constitutional rights.

It need not happen here or elsewhere, and it will not happen, if we as free, liberty-loving Americans band together to retain our constitutional rights.

By organization at home, you can give inspiration to your public officials who must lead in this fight—to your governor, legislators, public-school officials, all those who must lead in this fight here at home, and to your Senators and Representatives in Washington. We must signify our determination to fight this battle to a successful conclusion. You have a most important

part to play. It is your individual struggle, and your neighbor's individual struggle. Let me urge you to accept your responsibility, and to do your part. Urge your neighbor to do his part. This is a time when it is true, as never before, that "united we stand, divided we fall." This is a fight which can be won, and I pray that it is the will of Almighty God that it will be won. But it will not be won by default.

Shakespeare said, "He is thrice armed who hath his quarrel just." Never was there any people with more just reason to prevail than we in this struggle.

Let us not lose sight of this truth in these critical times. Let us remember that the fight is ahead of us—not behind us.

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[1] *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson* (1956) 350 U. S. 497).

[2] *Slochower* v. *Board of Education* ((1956) 350 U. S. 551).

[3] *Yates* v. *U. S.* ((1957) 25 Law Week 4475 on the Smith Act (18 U. S. C. 2385)).

[4] ((1956), 351 U. S. 15.)

[5] Decided June 3, 1957 (*Jencks* v. U. S. (25 Law Week 4365)).

[6] Decided June 24, 1957 (*Mallory* v. *U. S.* (25 Law Week 4560)).

[7] Decided May 6, 1957 (*Konigsberg* v. *State Bar of Cal. and the Committee of Bar Examiners of the State Bar of Cal.* (25 Law Week 4281)).

[8] Decided May 6, 1957 (*Schware* v. *Board of Bar Examiners of New Mexico* (25 Law Week 4277)).

[9] Decided June 17, 1957. *Watkins* v. *U. S.* (25 Law Week 4510).

Europe Can Dream, Can't It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, some call Europe old, a cradle that nourished a grown America.

Others call it a parched battlefield that slakes its thirst on American blood.

So it has been. Europe, in this century, restive, incapable of solving its problems short of war.

Now, Europe dreams. It seems to turn to thinkers, doers, and to engineers outside of government for a more prosperous future.

Europe plans a verdant island in the Sahara, a seaway to the oilfields in south Algeria, a motor that will fly, a tunnel under the English Channel, and a sausage skin to haul oil hitched to an underwater vessel.

The New York Times tiptoes this Europe through a midsummer night's dream as follows:

MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAMS IN EUROPE

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, August 18.—Every now and then we are likely to forget that Europe, despite political agonies and economic worries, remains one of the most imaginative population centers in the world. Right now, beneath a surface of international problems beclouded by the A-bomb and Algeria, Europe is bubbling with ideas of how to make for itself a better life.

For example, a French group called Artemis is now investigating a scheme to create an artificial inland sea in northern Africa. The purpose would be to irrigate the desert, changing its climate, and to open a direct waterway to Tunisian iron and phosphate deposits and the new petroleum fields in south Algeria.

This, its sponsors calculate, could be accomplished for something like a quarter of a billion dollars. It would require a 91-mile-long maritime canal involving the removal of 6 times as much earth as was once taken from the Suez excavation.

Another consortium of French and British financiers and experts has begun study of a tunnel to connect France and the United Kingdom by road beneath the English Channel. This is an old idea; today it breathes new life.

Back in 1802 an audacious Frenchman, Camille Nathieu, first dreamed of such a submarine highway for carts and horses. For more than a century the insular British opposed it for strategic reasons. They didn't fancy the thought that enemy divisions might some day pop up beneath Dover's white cliffs.

But 5 years ago SHAPE headquarters, NATO's command post, blessed the project. And since the Suez Canal Co. was put out of business by Nasser it is looking around for ventures in which to invest its capital. Together with the Channel Tunnel Co., Ltd. of London and the French state railways it is surveying the advisability of an underwater route from Folkestone to Gris-Nez.

AN UNDERWATER TANKER

These are massive thoughts. On a smaller scale is a long roster of inventions being concocted in European laboratories. A Frenchman named Camille Rougeron has compiled a study of the practicability of transporting oil by submarine tankers. These would be streamlined to avoid frictional wave resistance, increasing speed, and reducing operational costs.

Two engineers at England's Cambridge University are developing a still more novel way of moving liquid fuel. This envisions construction of huge sausage skins of nylon or artificial rubber. These could be folded up and easily transported empty. Or they could be pumped full of petroleum and towed.

Similar calculations concerning what he calls plastic barges have been made by Ernst H. Doerpinghaus, of Hamburg, in West Germany. He estimates it would cost only $714,000 to construct 3 such envelopes and another $580,000 to build a 3,000-ton tug to pull them. They could carry as much oil as a 30,000-ton tanker costing $5 million—and at one-eighth the operating expenses. Or so says Herr Doerpinghaus.

France's aviation industry has again begun to demonstrate the vital originality that marked it for so long before the war. During the past 10 years it has developed 28 new types of military and 7 of civilian aircraft. The latter include the famous Caravelle twin-jet, soon to become Europe's most popular middle-range plane.

A FLYING ENGINE

The strangest device turned out by French aeronautical engineers is a thing—that is the only applicable word—called the flying atar. Atar is a powerful gas turbine engine with a 13,000-pound thrust. But a flying atar is nothing but that same motor, its fuel supply, plus an adventurous pilot who sits on it and simply takes off. It goes up, down, and sideways without visible means of support conceivable to the ordinary mind. A diplomat saw it at the last French aviation show. He remarked: "I have seen it, but I don't believe it."

Some of these projects sound like midsummer night's dreams and some of these devices sound like plain midsummer madness. But perhaps a few of them may help to change the nature of this century's second half and the world's way of living.

Europe has experienced revolutionary changes in power status and political organization. From Oman to Algeria its bigger nations desperately seek to hang on to the remaining imperial appanages that once sustained a greatness which has gone.

European statesmen are trying valiantly to begin a continental federation which would shed restrictive bonds of nationality. European politicians are attempting to build viable democracy from the wreckage left behind by Hitler. Grave difficulties—perhaps insuperable ones—remain in these administrative fields. But European thinkers, uninhibited by the trials of those who govern them, proceed once more along original and experimental paths. It is this persistent quest that has made of this continent so long a civilizing force.

Address by Maj. Gen. William Childs Westmoreland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the annual textile festival held at Mount Holly, N. C., each year is one of the outstanding occasions in our section of North Carolina. The junior chamber of commerce of that city always strives to get an outstanding speaker to deliver the principal address for the week of festivities.

On Saturday, August 17, 1957, Maj. Gen. William Childs Westmoreland, secretary of the General Staff, United States Army, delivered a magnificent address before a crowd of over 2,000 people assembled at Costner Field.

This brilliant and outstanding Army officer captivated the entire audience with the eloquence of his presentation and with his wonderful personality. He carried to our people the Army story in a manner which reflected credit upon the Army.

His address is of such excellence that, under unanimous consent, I ask it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM CHILDS WESTMORELAND, SECRETARY OF THE GENERAL STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY, AT THE ANNUAL TEXTILE FESTIVAL, MOUNT HOLLY, N. C., AUGUST 17, 1957

It is my pleasure to be back in this section of the country where I was born and raised, but where I unfortunately have not had the pleasure of living since I graduated from Spartanburg High School in 1931 and proceeded on a military career. I frequently look with pride on my early upbringing in our textile communities which have made such a great contribution to the economic life and strength of America, and which have played an essential role in providing for the needs of the armed services.

In the era in which we are living today, the leadership of the free world is, in large measure, the responsibility of our good country, the United States of America. To fulfill successfully this worldwide responsibility

requires the contributions of all segments of our way of life—the farms, factories, schools, churches, and our military services—each playing a vital role in weaving together the strong fabric of our national makeup. As you so well appreciate, one cannot make a bolt of cloth without a warp and a woof, nor can our democratic society prepare itself to meet the challenges of today and the future without the essential tying and blending together of all of its strongly constructed elements.

You here in Gaston County have a greater number of looms for the production of textile goods than any other county in the United States. This is, indeed, the heartland of the textile industry. It may be of interest to you to know that the organization which I represent, the Army, spent about $250 million last year for the purchase of textile goods. No doubt much of this material was manufactured in this area, in fact, some right here in Mount Holly. Your community can be justly proud of your contributions to the Armed Forces, just as you can be proud of our democratic form of government, the freedom that it provides us as citizens, and the great material benefits that our vast industrial complex provides for our comfort and well-being.

The many benefits of American citizenship which we look upon with great pride and satisfaction have not been developed overnight. Rather, they are the results of foresight, imagination, wisdom, and great industry on the part of our Founding Fathers who lived generations before us. Also, we cannot overlook the strong spiritual guidance that we inherited from them.

The plain truth is that for almost two centuries, Americans have been carrying forward the cherished traditions and ideals of those first settlers of our country who felt the whip of oppression. The Revolutionary War battlefield at nearby Kings Mountain stands as a symbol that our forefathers would give anything, even their lives, to protect the principles for which they stood. Since that time, it has been characteristic of Carolinians that, in war and in peace, they willingly share the burdens of meeting any threat that faces our country.

Today, our country is threatened by a great industrial power in the form of the Soviet Union. Since the October revolution in 1917, the Communists have had but one aim, world domination. Today, this is just as true as it ever was. They are trying to bring about the downfall of our free system of government and to superimpose their system, based upon the rule of the many by a chosen few. History has shown us that such a system results in less productivity and little or no freedom for the individual. They want to replace freedom with the harshest form of government in the world today, and they will use any of their devious means, all repulsive to Americans, to do it.

To insure that the Communists do not succeed in achieving their goal, we have found it necessary to create strong military defenses on the land, in the air, and on and under the sea. We have found it to our advantage to maintain military alliances in order to provide in advance adequate measures for our own security and to assist in strengthening the forces of our free world allies. This formidable military power is a costly one, but it is an essential price to pay if we are to maintain our freedom.

Frequently in peacetime, after the ravages of war have been forgotten, we Americans have looked upon our Armed Forces as an area in which great economies can be made. There has been a tendency to view a strong military posture as nonessential and let our Armed Forces suffer from neglect.

We have seen the unhappy results of unpreparedness in World Wars I and II and in Korea. In all of those wars, the necessary rapid build-up in strength was costly and extravagant—in dollars, in national resources, and by far the most important, in the unnecessary loss of the lives of our soldiers, sailors, and airmen. Nevertheless, thanks to the initiative and resourcefulness of the people of our country, we have successfully maintained the security of the United States and contributed greatly to the defense of the free world.

The question that I pose to you today is: Do we want to let this happen again? To ask the question in another way: In the light of tremendous advances in communications, transportation, and great increases in the destructive power of modern weapons, can we afford to follow our practices of the past?

My answer is an emphatic "No." Time and space factors have shrunk the oceans. The day of deliberate mobilization and unhurried training is past. We must have military forces ready on any day that the Communists should decide to force a war upon us.

In addition, we must have military forces that will provide us with security against any type of Communist threat. We cannot assume that any future war will conform to a particular form or pattern. In other words, we must design our military insurance so that it will protect us against all types of weapons and any form of aggression that the Communists are capable of using. We cannot assume that Communist aggression would have to begin with a surprise atomic attack upon the United States. Certainly we must have, and do have, a strong air atomic capability to insure the Communists that such an attack would bring immediate destruction to their homeland. But we must remember that since World War II the trend in warfare has been toward local aggressions, such as happened in Korea. Since 1945 there have been 15 limited wars, in 8 of which the Communists have been involved.

If our military preparations are not designed to resist limited aggression immediately, the Communists no doubt will take advantage of the situation and broaden their aggressive activities by making quick land grabs around the frontier of the free world. In such a way they could further their aim of world domination by biting off the free countries one by one and slowly nibble away the democratic nations of the world.

Since the Army has the conclusive capability of resisting aggression on the ground and physically controlling land areas, it is the Army which has been designed to move to any part of the earth in order to halt aggression and to defend and secure land areas. I think that you will be interested to know that the Army trains continually in order to perform this important role, and by so doing provides the military means to control effectively all types of aggression.

Now, what are the military means that the Army provides to control all types of aggression?

First, the Army has some 40 percent of its strength deployed overseas. I know that many of you have sons, relatives, or friends serving overseas with these forces; therefore, I would like to outline the important role that our soldiers in foreign countries play in preventing aggression.

In strategic areas overseas, as in Germany and Korea, our soldiers serve alongside our allies, physically blocking the enemy routes of aggression. These troops, United States and allied, provide visible evidence to the Communists that an attack will bring down immediately the armed might of our country and that of the rest of the free world. In addition, the presence of American soldiers, facing the Communists along the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, demonstrates to friend and foe alike our determination to keep the peace.

A second means that the Army provides to control aggression is the assistance it gives our allies in helping to develop their own military strength. I often feel that the benefits we are receiving from the military aid program are not fully understood. The Army, for example, is helping train some 200 allied divisions. These divisions provide military strength for internal stability and the means to check in varying degrees Communist subversion and local aggression.

Our troops in the United States, such as the 18th Airborne Corps, at nearby Fort Bragg, whose splendid band has been here with you today—provide another vital element of our Army designed to prevent aggression. These units in the United States can reinforce our troops overseas or our allies in an emergency as quickly as transport can be provided.

I do not want to leave you with the mistaken idea that the Army is not concerned with the possibility of Communist thermonuclear weapons being launched against our country by aircraft or missiles. The Army, with its air-defense units manning guided missiles is looking far into the future to provide the United States with the capability to shoot down anything that flies.

Many of our large cities and industrial complexes are now protected around the clock—24 hours each day—by Army missile units. The Army's Nike is one of the great products of American technology. Its capabilities are continuously increasing to provide more and more security against a thermonuclear attack. The citizens of this area may well be proud that one of our Nike manufacturing plants is located at Charlotte and contributes directly to the growing effectiveness of our air defense.

The soldiers of our active Army, at home and abroad, serve notice that our country will resist all types of Communist aggression. However, we in the Army are the first to realize that our country cannot afford to have in peacetime sufficient military strength to bring a war to a successful conclusion. Consequently, there is another vital element in our military forces—the National Guard and the Army Reserve.

We can be certain that before the Communists would embark on any military venture, they would weigh the strength and preparedness of our Reserve forces and the time it would take them to physically enter the battle. To insure that our Reserve forces are in fact ready for immediate action in the event of a national crisis, we must provide them with realistic and sufficient training in times of peace.

As a native son of this part of the country and as a professional soldier, I have always been proud of the contributions of our citizen soldiers. I know that my own pride in our guardsmen and reservists is characteristic of the feelings of all Carolinians. Our citizen soldiers today, in carrying forward the traditions established on the field of battle, must continue to receive all-out support and encouragement from every one of us so that they will successfully meet the challenges of the future.

I have outlined briefly the military means that the Army provides to help prevent aggression. However, our active Army, the National Guard, and the United States Army Reserve will never be any better than the quality of the men who compose them. Our country requires a continual flow of young men who measure up to increasingly higher standards and who willingly accept the challenging requirements of modern military forces.

To the young men and their fathers and mothers here today, I can speak of Army life based upon 21 years of service. I can assure you that service in the Army is a privilege. It is a clean and wholesome life that offers many advantages such as travel, education, and skilled technical training. Your Army of today is modernizing as rapidly as possible and provides unlimited opportunities to the quality young men of America. Most of all,

the soldier finds satisfaction in serving Uncle Sam.

Our Armed Forces, active and reserve, provide our great country with a type of insurance similar to that of your fire department here in Mount Holly. The fire department, an essential part of the community, strives to avoid fires by taking every possible measure within its means to prevent their outbreak. In addition, your firemen are alert and ready, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, to extinguish any fire that might break out and threaten your homes and your plants.

The Armed Forces I am representing here today provide the same type of insurance for our country. Our first efforts are designed to prevent war by deterring our enemies from launching an attack on our country or any other country in the free world by making it clear to them that aggression will not pay and will be promptly and thoroughly crushed. In so doing, we must be alert around the clock. Just as the fire department, your Armed Forces must be prepared to quell any conflict which does occur in spite of our best efforts to prevent war of any type.

We hope and pray that our efforts to deter war will be successful. This, you can be assured, is the primary aim of those of us in uniform.

Maurice H. Kirby, of Henderson, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article pertaining to Maurice H. Kirby, which was written by Francele H. Armstrong, and appeared in the August 18, 1957, issue of the Gleaner and Journal, of Henderson, Ky.

Maurice H. Kirby was born in Warren County, Ky., his forebears being outstanding citizens of hardy stock who were responsible, in large part, for carving the history of our county and paving the way for its future development. This leadership and ability has been handed down to Mr. Kirby. While attaining personal success, he has, at the same time, given unstintingly of his time and energy to civic projects affecting the welfare of his community. Any city would be the richer by virtue of having such a gentleman residing within its environs. His good judgment, character, and high levels of endeavor proclaim him to be a person whom all citizens would be proud to call friend.

The article is as follows:

NOW THAT MAURICE H. KIRBY'S G–J DIRECTOR, THE TRUTH CAN BE TOLD

Some months ago I was asked to do an article about Banker Maurice Helm Kirby which was subsequently used to introduce Editor Kirby to the members of his family who received copies of the genealogy which he prepared. During the interviews which preceded my writing of the article, I attempted to secure a promise from Maurice that I might have permission to write of him and his book when it was published.

But Maurice is the tricky one, and when the book came out he found one after another excuse to put me off.

However, I have finally backed him into a corner and extracted permission to do this article—the reason for his change of heart being my present claim upon him. Since July 1, 1957, Banker, Editor, Photographer Kirby has been Director Kirby—a new member of the Gleaner & Journal Publishing Co.'s board. Though Maurice claims to know nothing about newspapering, he knows enough about public relations to fill a Sunday paper. So we gained his consent to the directorship and at the same time I found a way to get the story of his life and book into print.

In reading over the materials of the article which is contained in the introductory pages of the genealogy, I've decided to run my original story as is. Unfortunately for the general public, the genealogy is not available at libraries, having been a limited edition publication copies of which went directly to members of the family.

FACTS ABOUT THE EDITOR

When Maurice Helm Kirby returned to his native State of Kentucky after some years away, a friend in Bowling Green said to him:

"Maurice, you are kin to almost everyone in Warren County."

Kirby, then 32, reflected on the statement. For the 16 previous years he had pursued the profession of banking. Now, he was at that point in life when a statement that pushed back the veils of the past aroused him to examine the facts that prompted it, and he began to ask questions. What he learned led him to interesting conclusions.

Throughout the early years of his life, his home at Smith Grove, a prosperous farming community between Bowling Green and Glasgow, had been a rendezvous, a veritable rallying point, for his immediate family, for relatives, neighbors, friends, and many strangers. Always, whether occasioned by his parents' hospitality or by their pleasure in ancestral reminiscence alone around the hearthstone at "Smoky Row," the names, lives, and experiences of his forebears had enlivened the subjects themselves in memory, and many a casual conversation. But his mind in those years had been too occupied with school work and subjects in text books.

When he had finished school at Smiths Grove, he started to work in his father's bank, at the very bottom. He had worked his way upward to the position of cashier and director in the Farmer's Bank, before going to Florida during boom times. At St. Petersburg he had assisted in the organization of one bank, then organized another which later became a branch of the First National Bank of St. Petersburg. He had served this institution, the First Security, as cashier, vice president and director.

A NEW GOAL

With his return to his home State, he became secretary and treasurer of the Bowling Green Trust Co., and assistant cashier of its parent institution, the Citizens National Bank. It was then that Robert Rodes, the bank's president, made the remark that was to set the young man on the road to a new and challenging goal.

"You are kin to almost everyone in Warren County," set Maurice Kirby to the task of assembling data on members of his family, present and past. The Kirby genealogy, now in print, is the culmination of 25 intervening years of devoted labor.

The task of assembling the story of eight generations of Kirbys has been monumental. It was complicated by the roving existence necessitated by Mr. Kirby's appointment as examiner for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. He and his wife, the former Martha Louise Richardson, of Smiths Grove, lived in 27 homes during the years of his service as a Federal bank examiner. It was a trail which led southward into Florida, then to Atlanta, and finally to New York City.

Each transfer meant moving the historical treasures to a new and different bank vault. As they accumulated through the years Kirby became more and more convinced that the inspiring and challenging facts about the Kirby ancestors must be made available to posterity.

It is not unusual to find that the demanding duties of banking, either as an examiner or as an executive, bring the four walls of the institution close about a person, shutting off the freshness of outside interests and activities. Such was not the case with Maurice Kirby. With the aid of a cousin, J. Quince Kirby, Sr., the materials began to take shape as deeds, wills, letters, and other recorded data added to the sum total of family knowledge.

Meanwhile Mr. Kirby's advancement in his vocation continued. He was at one time in charge of all bank examinations in Florida under the jurisdiction of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Later he was assistant supervising examiner of the fifth Federal Deposit Insurance district involving 722 insured banks of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Georgia. The success of these assignments finally led to headquarters in New York City, with the position of principal examiner.

The Kirbys were unhappy in their life on the eastern seaboard. One day there came a query from Louisville: "Will you take a position as executive vice president of a bank in one of Kentucky's finest cities?"

Mr. Kirby answered an unequivocal and enthusiastic "Yes."

That was 9 years ago. Those 9 years of his service, first as vice president of the fast-growing First National Bank, of Henderson, and then as president, have found the resourceful and nonconforming Banker Kirby moving into various types of pioneering activities. As if inspired by the godfather for whom he was named, he has made the name of Maurice Kirby synonymous with progress and enlightenment.

FOREBEAR A FOUNDER

The original Maurice Kirby, who came to this Ohio River town following the War Between the States, is credited with having founded the public school system of Henderson. His namesake will be credited by future generations not only with the editorship of the Kirby family history, but also with having introduced a new form of public relationship into local banking.

Mr. Kirby has extended his interests into the community through many local organizations. He is a member of the Henderson Rotary Club, has been its president, and is now a veep and a director, the Loyal Order of Moose, the First Presbyterian Church, the Henderson (Ky.) Lodge No. 206 BPO Elks, member of Henderson chapter of Jerusalem Lodge No. 9 Free and Accepted Masons, Henderson chapter No. 88 Royal Arch Masons, Henderson Commandery No. 14 Knights Templar, is also a Shriner, being a member of Rizpah Temple of Madisonville. He is a member of the Henderson Audubon Society, and is a Kentucky colonel.

Another organization in which he has been an ardent member for a number of years is a British society known as the Newcomen Society of England in North America. Broadly, this British society has as its purposes: to increase an appreciation of American-British traditions and ideals in the arts and sciences, especially in that bond of sympathy for the cultural and spiritual forces which are common to both countries;

and, secondly, to serve as another link in the intimately friendly relations existing between Great Britain and the United States of America.

His hobbies have brought him personal as well as business acquaintanceships. He is an avid camera fan, working with several types of equipment including a Bolex movie camera, a Rolleiflex, a Bell & Howell Turret camera, a Retina 2A, a Leica, 3F, a Polaroid, an Ikonta B, an Eastman 16mm Royal and a Revere Stereo. He has his own darkroom at his home, an interest which has coincided with his collection of photographs to illustrate the Kirby family genealogy.

He has other absorbing hobbies. He is a beekeeper who handles his own bees, eats his own homemade honey. He shares a hobby with his son in the model railway which they have built at the 12th and Elm Street residence. He assists his wife in collecting priceless antiques for the 100-year-old brick home, another hobby which ties into his genealogical interests.

He takes an active role in bankers' organizations, both State and national. He is now serving his fourth term as member of the Country Bank Operations Commission appointed by the American Bankers Association to improve operations in its 15,000 member country banks. Answering this challenge he prepared a booklet: Do's and Dont's for Bank Tellers which has already sold 50,000 copies. He is a director of the Kentucky Bankers Association, and was commended for a highly original ad in that group's trade magazine which emphasized Henderson's rich heritage in history. He is responsible for the founding of the Henderson County Savings Bank at Corydon, and is a director and its president.

The bank employees have found a new atmosphere in the First National Building, now remodeled, expanded and aid conditioned. There is a pleasant lounge in which they may relax, and music is piped to the three floors on which banking activities are carried on.

Although Mr. Kirby's brothers and sisters had splendid educational opportunities, he himself did not go to college. In later years, this has enhanced his appreciation of things educational. He takes great pride in the degrees held by his son, Maurice Helm Kirby, Jr., who graduated with honors in naval tactics, mechanical engineering and business administration, and is now assistant to the manager of the Bucyrus Erie companies in Evansville. The junior Kirbys have two children, Karen Kathleen and Maurice Helm III.

AN IDEAL

"I want these children, my nieces and nephews, and generations succeeding them, some of whom I have never seen, some whom I shall never see, to feel my interest in them through this genealogy which I am making available to them," he said as he discussed the history of the family.

"I feel that our ancestors have given up something upon which to build that is fundamentally American. I feel that reading of what our forebears endured, what they endeavored to do, to make this country free and prosperous, will make the present and coming generations better appreciate what they have inherited. It should inspire them to work, diligently and faithfully, as others have done, to preserve our democracy.

"I hope," continued this dedicated man, "that this work will be the marble shaft that will mark my resting place, and that through it future generations of Kirbys will read my epitaph as that of a man who loved his country and his family, and endeavored in his own way to preserve the priceless traditions of both."

Report of Airline Pilots Association on Problems Created by Liquor Consumption Aboard Aircraft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting letter including further testimony presented by the Airline Pilots Association addressed to the Honorable A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, in support of Senate bills 4 and 593, which would prohibit the serving of alcoholic beverages to passengers on aircraft in flight.

The letter follows:

AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., August 21, 1957.

Hon. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MONRONEY: We indicated to your committee during testimony in support of S. 4 and S. 593 that we would supply them with a report of incidents illustrative of the type of problem created by the consumption of intoxicating liquor by passengers aboard aircraft. Such a report is contained in this correspondence.

However, before listing such incidents, I would like to briefly reiterate a statement made in our testimony as to our viewpoint on such matters. We stated that there are some hazards that are so obvious that incidents, or worse, serious accidents are not necessary to establish them. We feel that the problems created by the consumption of intoxicating alcohol on aircraft fall in this category.

It should not be necessary for an intoxicated passenger to create a problem resulting in the destruction of an aircraft with the loss of scores of lives in the aircraft or on the ground to establish that a hazard exists.

As an example of the foregoing, we invite your attention to an accident which occurred to a Varig Constellation aircraft ditched at sea, Friday, August 16, 1957, during a three-engine ferry flight. The airline pilots have condemned the practice of taking off and ferrying 4-engine aircraft on 3 engines for many years and the airline pilots will not accept such flights.

Despite this, the Civil Aeronautics Administration and the Civil Aeronautics Board have refused to rescind the authority granted to air carriers to perform such flights and continues to permit them when the air carriers are able to find someone who will operate such trips. The pilots have contended that this is an obvious hazard and that it is only a matter of time before such an aircraft plunges into the ground killing the crew and, possibly, people on the ground.

The Varig accident of last Friday, if press reports are accurate, confirmed the pilots' view and justification for their refusal for many years to engage in what they considered an obviously hazardous practice. In out opinion, the service of alcohol to passengers under as inappropriate conditions as aboard an aircraft in flight under low oxygen pressure falls in the obvious hazard category requiring only common sense to recognize the hazard.

In our testimony, we referred to a number of situations where we felt that an intoxicated passenger created a hazard. We shall list incidents under each condition.

1. ATTEMPTS TO ENTER THE FLIGHT DECK AND INTERFERE WITH THE OPERATION OF THE AIRCRAFT BY THE CREW

(a) Northwest Airlines, Tokyo to Shemya, Alaska; received, Air Line Pilots Association, April 23, 1957: My flight, No. 10 of April 22, 1957, en route from Tokyo to Shemya, Alaska passenger boarded at Tokyo by the name of ———. Passenger ——— became very drunk and belligerent on the free whisky provided by Northwest Airlines on overseas flights. Kept trying to force his way into the cockpit. I was particularly busy at the time copying reanalysis and keeping track of other traffic. Copilot and purser attempted to quiet passenger ——— down and get him to return to his seat. He refused. I went aft shortly thereafter and attempted to get him seated diplomatically and without offending him. He wouldn't listen to reason and the situation was getting out of hand so I advised him if he didn't sit down, fasten his seat belt, and quit making a ——— out of himself and bothering other passengers that I would ———. Inasmuch as the top of his head was about level with my chin he sat down. I strapped him in. No further word heard from passenger ———.

(b) National; received, Air Line Pilots Association, March 8, 1956: I remember when a large man under the influence of liquor started to come up to the cockpit yelling that he was going to kill the captain because he was going to make an emergency landing in an open field instead of an airport. The only emergency was with him. We happened to have a sixth crew member on board who, with other male passengers, stopped him at the cockpit door. He put up such a struggle that they had to take his belt off and wrap it around his neck and tie him down. The captain got out of his seat and took his large flashlight, to use as a weapon I suppose and went back to help.

(c) Delta, New Orleans to Dallas; received, Air Line Pilots Association, September 30, 1955: On a Convair trip from New Orleans to Dallas one night and while on final approach to Alexandria Air Base, a short, well-inebriated man wandered into the cockpit and began to berate me for being "mandatorily angry with him and just what did I have against him anyhow?" A circle of the field was necessary while a hammerlock was applied to convince him that the captain was not mad at him and that he should return to his seat.

(d) London; received, Air Line Pilots Association, September 27, 1955: About 15 minutes after reaching cruising altitude, the cockpit door swung open and a lady rushed in and wanted to talk to me. She pushed by the engineer and sat down on the floor. The steward had seen her rush up to the cockpit and followed her to inform me of her inebriated condition. I returned her to the cabin and she sat down in a seat in the tourist compartment. I went back to the galley to find out where she belonged. In that length of time the tourist passengers were objecting to her presence. Hence, I removed her to her assigned first-class seat. The lady's seat mate was an unaccompanied child. I later found she had been offering him beer.

2. CREATION OF DISTURBANCES IN PASSENGER CABIN REQUIRING PILOTS TO LEAVE FLIGHT DECK

(a) American Airlines, Dallas to Idlewild; received, Airline Pilots Association April 11, 1957: A passenger, who had been drinking prior to boarding the flight became very obnoxious before and after being served cocktails, plus other sources: his own and taking

drinks from other passengers, insulting stewardesses, causing one to cry, and in general profanely disturbing the other passengers. Captain ——— had to talk to the drunken passenger three times, the last time he was actually put bodily back to his seat, because he refused to cooperate. Landing would have been made at Nashville if we were not overweight and the inconvenience so great. Police met the plane in New York and hauled the passenger, who had passed out, or faked it, away on a stretcher.

(b) American Airlines, Los Angeles; received, Airline Pilots Association March 26, 1957: Approximately 1½ years ago (1955) while being based in Los Angeles ——— were returning to Los Angeles via El Paso and San Diego; when just before reaching 20,000 feet out of Dallas, one of our stewardesses came to the cockpit and almost hysterically told us she had just been struck (slapped) by a big drunken man (passenger). ——— that I go back and check. I did, and before reaching the buffet area I noticed an obviously very drunk man approximately 50 years of age, 220 pounds, 6 feet 2 inches. He was so incoherently drunk I advised the stewardesses to stay completely clear of him and proceeded to coax him into a double empty seat in the rear of the ship. On the way back to the cockpit I was stopped by passenger and asked if I got his gun—they had observed he had a shoulder holster and also heard him boast of killing a man by the same name of ——— our stewardess and he told these passengers if anything happened to the crew not to worry, he could and would fly—with this additional information I returned to the cockpit and advised ——— there was a big drunk ——— back there and was reported armed and if he (captain) wanted any more checking done he would have to do it himself. After the captain checked further he sent the F/E back to sit in the empty seat by the drunk. It took three Texas troopers to remove him at El Paso—put him in jail overnight. (Later I was informed) he came out next day and returned by another flight to Dallas (sober).

(c) United Air Lines, Chicago-Los Angeles; received, Air Line Pilots Association, February 20, 1956: Approximately 2 hours after departure from Chicago, the flight engineer returned from a routine cabin inspection to report abnormal behavior on the part of a female passenger. He stated that she was screaming, babbling and otherwise creating a general annoyance. He relayed a request from the stewardess that I return to the cabin and speak to the passenger. I proceeded to the buffet area where the stewardess briefed me on the situation. The stewardess had spoken briefly with the passenger at boarding, at which time there was no suspicion of irrationality. Shortly after drinking a 4-ounce cocktail however, unusual behavior became evident. I walked back to the longe area which was occupied by 4 men and a female passenger 55 to 60 years of age. The woman was engaged in an incoherent rambling increasingly loud, which was distressing to all within ear shot. When she became conscious of my presence I was given to understand this much that she was ——— "going to show me how to fly this airplane." Consideration was given to an attempt to isolate this person, but with our passenger load this was impossible. With this survey of the situation I satisfied myself that there was no immediate safety problem, but spent some thought in determining my course of action should this passenger become completely unmanageable. I instructed the stewardess to give her a dramaine tablet in a cup of coffee, while I raised the cabin altitude to 8,000 feet. The possibility and impact of an unscheduled landing to deplane this passenger caused me considerable concern, concern which more logically should have been directed to the conduct of the flight rather than the conduct of the passenger. We were 10,000 pounds overweight for a landing and 400 miles from a terminal or familiar airport. This unpredictable passenger was more than a match for the two little coeds who were playing barmaid. At this point I was heartily damning the governmental agency which permitted a flying bar but did not require a 250 pound bartender to keep order.

(d) Colonial to LaGuardia Field; received, Air Line Pilot Association, November 3, 1955: After causing the stewardess considerable trouble I, as captain, was forced to leave my seat several times to control this character who had been drinking to excess before and after boarding the aircraft. Each time I would talk to him he would reply to my threats and instructions, "Yes, officer, I will behave" which lead me to believe he did not know he was talking to the captain. Probably thought I was a policeman. The man was accompanied by his wife who sat next to him but was unable to control him. Despite the fact that I had in mind freezing his eyeballs with CO_2 from a fire extinguisher he continued to walk up and down the aisles and I found out later was restrained by the stewardesses from entering the cockpit which could easily be done as the galley in our ships is forward and the door is seldom used. This was a night flight so I did not see him try to come into the cockpit or else I would have had to forceably eject him. To conclude, this character fell through a plate glass door in the immigration room at LaGuardia.

(e) American Airlines, LaGuardia to Dallas; received, Air Line Pilots Association, January 20, 1956: A party of 4 (2 couples) boarded in Washington. I took their coats and it was obvious that they had been drinking. During the flight they became increasingly noisy and used vulgar and indecent language much to the embarrassment of the other passengers. They could be heard throughout the plane which by then smelled like a brewery. One of the men in particular kept grabbing at us as we went by and propositioning us. We warned them to be quiet. While opening a champagne bottle it splashed on one of the men. I took his coat to hang up to dry and noticed he was carrying a gun under his belt. I said nothing to him but reported it to the captain who came back to the cabin and spoke to him. During the beverage service the gun was pointed at the other stewardess as the man asked for his coffee. We fed them lunch and they settled down. As these people deplaned at Dallas one of the women collapsed at the bottom of the ramp. We administered icepacks and ammonia. We notified the lead agent that one of the men had a gun. A wheelchair was ordered for the lady.

(f) National Airlines; received, Air Line Pilots Association, July 18, 1956; At Salisbury the stewardess called for assistance. She complained of a male passenger being drunk and unruly. I went back and he was standing in the center aisle, next to the buffet. He was having trouble standing and walking without falling on other passengers. I helped him back to his seat, and fastened his safety belt. I heard other passengers complaining about his activities.

(g) Delta; received, Air Line Pilots Association, September 17, 1955: Trip departed Dallas 1817, central standard time, and when out approximately 2 hours the stewardess advised me that one of our passengers wanted to see me. I was greeted by 5 people in the lounge that insisted on having more than 2 drinks served to them, at that time there were no dinners served to any of the passengers and some of them were very hungry and angry too. One of the passengers who did all the talking for the other 4 was a ——— and insisted that I go get the bottle and pour all of them a few drinks, in fact he said that ——— told him that he could have all the cocktails he wanted at any time. During the flight a passenger became argumentative with his seat mate who was a young sailor. During the course of this argument the man pulled a switch-blade knife and put it under the sailor's chin. I became alarmed and rushed up to the cockpit to inform the crew as to what was transpiring. The crew instructed me to lock the cockpit door and go back and engage the irate passenger in conversation. However, by the time I got back into the cabin someone had gotten the knife away from the passenger involved.

3. IN-FLIGHT EMERGENCIES REQUIRING UNSCHEDULED LANDINGS TO REMOVE INEBRIATED PASSENGERS WHO ARE HAZARDOUS OR CREATING DISTURBANCES

(a) Eastern Airlines, Salisbury to Norfolk; received, Air Line Pilots Association, April 20, 1957: Midway between Salisbury and Norfolk at 2:43 the stewardess came forward to advise me that she had a drunken passenger who was getting out of hand. He was using obscene, vile, and vulgar language, and was trying to pick a fight with the rest of the passengers. I advised this character in person that if he didn't sit down and behave that I would land at the nearest airport and have him put off. In a few minutes the stewardess came forward again and advised that our drunk was going to hit her because she had told me about him. We immediately reversed course with the aid of Norfolk radar and control and proceeded to Washington to have this drunk removed because I had no intention of going any further with him aboard. The weather at Washington was 600 overcast, 2½ miles with fog and rain. About 10 minutes out of Washington the stewardness rang again and called for help. This time I asked the engineer to go back and give her a hand as we were then making our instrument approach. I told him to stay back there with her but to make him sit down even if he had to sit on him to do it.

(b) American Airlines, Dallas to Idlewild; receiver, Air Line Pilots Association, April 11, 1957: A passenger, who had been drinking prior to boarding the flight, became very obnoxious before and after being served cocktails, plus other sources: his own and taking drinks from other passengers, insulting stewardesses, causing one to cry, and in general profanely disturbing the other passengers. Captain ——— had to talk to the drunken passenger three times, the last time he was actually put bodily back to his seat, because he refused to cooperate. Landing would have been made at Nashville if we were not overweight and the inconvenience so great. Police met the plane in New York and hauled the passenger who had passed out, or faked it, away on a stretcher.

(c) January 1956: While the other stewardess was attempting to open a bottle in the galley, the bottle exploded and flying glass cut her in the temple and about the arms. It was necessary to make an unscheduled stop in order to secure medical attention since the crew was unable to control the bleeding.

4. INEBRIATED PASSENGERS INADVERTENTLY ACTUATING OR DAMAGING EXITS OR PRESSURIZATION DEVICES IN FLIGHT

(a) St. Louis–Washington and Washington-St. Louis; received, Air Line Pilots Association, March 21, 1957: One day I heard one hostess ask the other if she thought "that passenger might sue the company." I inquired about the reason and was told that the night before on our flight into Washington, there was a group of passengers in the front compartment buying drinks and drinking from their own bottles (the hostesses provide set-ups). One of this group of jolly boys threw a partially filled bottle (a fifth, not a miniature) to or at one of his companions and the bottle hit another passenger (not one of the revelers). The hit passenger was naturally considerably annoyed. This could have been the start of a real brawl. Or the bottle (which is a con-

siderable missile) could have hit one of the windows.

(b) CAL Council No. 49; received, Air Line Pilots Association, March 26, 1957: On CAL trip 175 of March 16, 1957, we had an intoxicated passenger on board who was obnoxious to the hostess on several occasions and who in a mistaken attempt to get a drink of water, mistook the main cabin door handle of the DC–3 for a water tap and had grasped the handle of the door before he could be stopped by the hostess. Had he been successful in moving the handle, we would have lost him and the hostess.

(c) United Air Line; received, Air Line Pilots Association, February 22, 1956; Aboard United Air Lines trip 326 on May 29, 1953, we had a passenger who was drinking as some will on the sly. He was a large man and had too much (probably had a fairly good buzz on when he boarded). On final approach into Youngstown, Pa., he left his seat, came into the companion way and grabbed the main door lever and attempted to open the door which of course work in conjunction with the main steps. The hydraulic system is so designed to prevent this, but had his intentions been directed toward the cockpit we would have been placed in a most undesirable position. As it was we had a mechanical on landing and the left engine feathered coming out of reverse, due to wiring problems.

5. FIRE HAZARD FROM INEBRIATED PASSENGERS AND REFUSAL TO COMPLY WITH SAFETY REGULATIONS

(a) Delta, received September 30, 1955: A male passenger became extremely uncooperative as a result of overindulging in flight. He refused to fasten his seat belt and observe the no-smoking sign when approaching for a landing. I told him several times to extinguish his cigarette which he did, except that he relit another one as soon as I turned my back. Upon telling him to extinguish cigarettes for the third time, he did so by putting it out in the palm of my hand.

(b) American Airlines, Los Angeles to District of Columbia nonstop, received Air Line Pilots Association, August 15, 1957: As we taxied away from the Los Angeles ramp, the stewardess advised me that one intoxicated passenger refused to fasten his seat belt or to refrain from smoking. The flight engineer was sent back and received the same refusal, punctuated by obscene and abusive language. We returned to the ramp and had police officers remove the offending drunk. Departed 30 minutes later—forecast, thunderstorm—danger to passengers as well as nuisance to others and resulting cost of delay.

(c) Trans-World Airlines, Chicago to Los Angeles, received Air Line Pilots Association, November 2, 1955: There were 3 stewardesses aboard this plane. Early en route, there were 2 male passengers who were drinking heavily in the lounge, 1 of whom according to his drinking acquaintance, returned to his seat and "passed out." Approximately 2 hours later, the 2 men returned to the lounge, together with other men and again began drinking, this time standing in the passageway which blocked the passageway for all passengers attempting to get to the rest rooms. They continued to drink again until quite intoxicated, one of whom became boisterous, vulgar, and so forth. It became necessary for him to be placed in a seat secured with a seat belt. For the last 45 minutes to an hour of the trip the most intoxicated of the two had to be restrained, which made for a most unpleasant experience for other passengers.

(d) United Air Lines, received Air Line Pilots Association, February 23, 1956: Engines had just been started and the all clear salute received when the stewardess came forward to advise she could not get one of the passengers to sit down and fasten his seat belt. He insisted on going to the blue room. She had advised him that he could go as soon as the seat belt sign was turned off but not before then. The captain shut down the engines and went back to talk to the passenger. He found him barricaded in the blue room. When the captain told him to come out, he refused. Only after starting to take off the blue room hinges and summoning the airport policemen, could the drunken passenger be removed. Result: the flight was delayed 1 hour because of one drunken passenger.

(e) American Airlines, Los Angeles to Dallas received, Air Line Pilots Association, January 20, 1956: A party of 4 (2 couples) boarded in Washington. I took their coats and it was obvious that they had been drinking. During the flight they became increasingly noisy and used vulgar and indecent language much to the embarrassment of the other passengers. They could be heard throughout the plane which by then smelled like a brewery. One of the men in particular kept grabbing at us as we went by and propositioning us. We warned them to be quite. While opening a champagne bottle it splashed on one of the men. I took his coat to hang up to dry and noticed he was carrying a gun under his belt. I said nothing to him but reported it to the captain who same back to the cabin and spoke to him. During the beverage service the gun was pointed at the other stewardess as the man asked for his coffee. We fed them lunch and they settled down. As these people deplaned at Dallas one of the women collapsed at the bottom of the ramp. We administered ice packs and ammonia. We notified the lead agent that one of the men had a gun. A wheel chair was ordered for the lady.

6. SOCIAL AND MORAL PROBLEMS

(a) American Airlines, Chicago to San Francisco; received, Air Line Pilots Association, March 25, 1957: On American Airlines flight 41 which departed Chicago at 0158, March 20, one of the passengers who boarded the plane was under the influence of alcohol at the time he boarded the airplane. 'During the flight—nonstop Chicago to San Francisco, this passenger began abusing his wife physically to such an extent the stewardesses felt it was necessary to separate him from his wife and make them sit in different sections of the airplane. Some little time thereafter, this passenger slipped up to the front of the cabin to where he thought his wife was seated to give her a goodnight kiss. In his inebriated condition he leaned over and kissed the wife of another man. (The cabin was darkened as it was early morning.) The man whose wife he kissed happened to be awake and became very angry and almost started swinging at the offender but was dissuaded by the stewardess who had quickly followed to the front of the cabin. The woman who had been wrongly kissed was awakened from her sleep abruptly by this drunken stranger bending over her after having been thus kissed, and naturally was considerably offended and somewhat distraught. Only a very alert stewardess' action prevented this from becoming a more serious incident.

(b) American Airlines, Los Angeles to Dallas; received Air Line Pilots Association, January 20, 1956: A party of 4 (2 couples) boarded in Washington. I took their coats and it was obvious that they had been drinking. During the flight they became increasingly noisy and used vulgar and indecent language much to the embarrassment of the other passengers. They could be heard throughout the plane which by then smelled like a brewery. One of the men in particular kept grabbing at us as we went by and propositioning us. We warned them to be quiet. While opening a champagne bottle it splashed on one of the men. I took his coat to hang up to dry and noticed he was carrying a gun under his belt. I said nothing to him but reported it to the captain who came back to the cabin and spoke to him. During the beverage service the gun was pointed at the other stewardess as the man asked for his coffee. We fed them lunch and they settled down. As these people deplaned at Dallas one of the women collapsed at the bottom of the ramp. We administered ice packs and ammonia. We notified the lead agent that one of the men had a gun. A wheelchair was ordered for the lady.

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(d) Trans-World Airlines, Chicago to Los Angeles; received, Air Line Pilots Association, November 2, 1955: There were three stewardesses aboard this plane. Early en route, there were two male passengers who were drinking heavily in the lounge, one of whom, according to his drinking acquaintance, returned to his seat and passed out. Approximately 2 hours later, the 2 men returned to the lounge, together with 2 other men and again began drinking, this time standing in the passageway which blocked the passageway for all passengers attempting to get to the rest rooms. They continued to drink again until quite intoxicated, one of whom became boisterous, vulgar, and so forth. It became necessary for him to be placed in a seat secured with a seat belt. For the last 45 minutes to an hour of the trip the most intoxicated of the two had to be restrained, which made for a most unpleasant experience for other passengers.

(e) Pan American Airways, Honolulu-Los Angeles; received, Air Line Pilots Association, February 29, 1956: Female passenger, having too many drinks in the lounge of Boeing 377, after driving all other passengers from downstairs with vulgar and suggestive language, proceeded to disrobe and shout demands that purser satisfy her sexual desires.

(f) August 1, 1956: On a trip from Columbus, Ohio, to Los Angeles, I left early in the morning and was told that lunch would be served soon after leaving Chicago on the TWA's finest plane, the Super G. We were late in leaving Chicago and as soon as we were airborne, the two hostesses started to serve free liquor. It was amazing how juvenile many of the adults were in clamoring to get one drink after another. I have never seen two hostesses have to work so hard except for one other flight during a very violent storm. Several times I rang for a hostess for some service but found that they were not answering any calls. They continued to serve for approximately 2 hours which meant that it was 3:30 before we were served our luncheon. I was seated in the tail position of the plane where the seats are narrower than forward. The individual sitting next to me was taking full advantage of the free drinks and it was very unpleasant to have liquor spilled on me. Several men were constantly standing around the hostesses from where they were serving and becoming obnoxious. One of the hostesses who saw that I was not drinking told me that she thought she was going to quit because she was hired as an airline hostess and not as a barmaid. I now find myself avoiding, as much as possible, flights on which liquor is served as I do not care to go through this ordeal again.

(g) American Airlines; received, Air Line Pilots Association, July 18, 1955: A recent incident, where our flight was conducted under rather difficult conditions, a man who rides our flight often and is always a proper gentleman, proceeded to "hang one on" en-

drinks from other passengers, insulting stewardesses, causing one to cry, and in general profanely disturbing the other passengers. Captain ——— had to talk to the drunken passenger three times, the last time he was actually put bodily back to his seat, because he refused to cooperate. Landing would have been made at Nashville if we were not overweight and the inconvenience so great. Police met the plane in New York and hauled the passenger, who had passed out, or faked it, away on a stretcher.

(b) American Airlines, Los Angeles; received, Airline Pilots Association March 26, 1957: Approximately 1½ years ago (1955) while being based in Los Angeles ——— were returning to Los Angeles via El Paso and San Diego; when just before reaching 20,000 feet out of Dallas, one of our stewardesses came to the cockpit and almost hysterically told us she had just been struck (slapped) by a big drunken man (passenger). ——— that I go back and check. I did, and before reaching the buffet area I noticed an obviously very drunk man approximately 50 years of age, 220 pounds, 6 feet 2 inches. He was so incoherently drunk I advised the stewardesses to stay completely clear of him and proceeded to coax him into a double empty seat in the rear of the ship. On the way back to the cockpit I was stopped by passenger and asked if I got his gun—they had observed he had a shoulder holster and also heard him boast of killing a man by the same name of ——— our stewardess and he told these passengers if anything happened to the crew not to worry, he could and would fly—with this additional information I returned to the cockpit and advised ——— there was a big drunk ——— back there and was reported armed and if he (captain) wanted any more checking done he would have to do it himself. After the captain checked further he sent the F/E back to sit in the empty seat by the drunk. It took three Texas troopers to remove him at El Paso—put him in jail overnight. (Later I was informed) he came out next day and returned by another flight to Dallas (sober).

(c) United Air Lines, Chicago-Los Angeles; received, Air Line Pilots Association, February 20, 1956: Approximately 2 hours after departure from Chicago, the flight engineer returned from a routine cabin inspection to report abnormal behavior on the part of a female passenger. He stated that she was screaming, babbling and otherwise creating a general annoyance. He relayed a request from the stewardess that I return to the cabin and speak to the passenger. I proceeded to the buffet area where the stewardess briefed me on the situation. The stewardess had spoken briefly with the passenger at boarding, at which time there was no suspicion of irrationality. Shortly after drinking a 4-ounce cocktail however, unusual behavior became evident. I walked back to the longe area which was occupied by 4 men and a female passenger 55 to 60 years of age. The woman was engaged in an incoherent rambling increasingly loud, which was distressing to all within ear shot. When she became conscious of my presence I was given to understand this much that she was ——— "going to show me how to fly this airplane." Consideration was given to an attempt to isolate this person, but with our passenger load this was impossible. With this survey of the situation I satisfied myself that there was no immediate safety problem, but spent some thought in determining my course of action should this passenger become completely unmanageable. I instructed the stewardess to give her a dramaine tablet in a cup of coffee, while I raised the cabin altitude to 8,000 feet. The possibility and impact of an unscheduled landing to deplane this passenger caused me considerable concern, concern which more logically should have been directed to the conduct of the flight rather than the conduct of the passenger. We were 10,000 pounds overweight for a landing and 400 miles from a terminal or familiar airport. This unpredictable passenger was more than a match for the two little coeds who were playing barmaid. At this point I was heartily damning the governmental agency which permitted a flying bar but did not require a 250 pound bartender to keep order.

(d) Colonial to LaGuardia Field; received, Air Line Pilot Association, November 3, 1955: After causing the stewardess considerable trouble I, as captain, was forced to leave my seat several times to control this character who had been drinking to excess before and after boarding the aircraft. Each time I would talk to him he would reply to my threats and instructions, "Yes, officer, I will behave" which lead me to believe he did not know he was talking to the captain. Probably thought I was a policeman. The man was accompanied by his wife who sat next to him but was unable to control him. Despite the fact that I had in mind freezing his eyeballs with CO_2 from a fire extinguisher he continued to walk up and down the aisles and I found out later was restrained by the stewardesses from entering the cockpit which could easily be done as the galley in our ships is forward and the door is seldom used. This was a night flight so I did not see him try to come into the cockpit or else I would have had to forceably eject him. To conclude, this character fell through a plate glass door in the immigration room at LaGuardia.

(e) American Airlines, LaGuardia to Dallas; received, Air Line Pilots Association, January 20, 1956: A party of 4 (2 couples) boarded in Washington. I took their coats and it was obvious that they had been drinking. During the flight they became increasingly noisy and used vulgar and indecent language much to the embarrassment of the other passengers. They could be heard throughout the plane which by then smelled like a brewery. One of the men in particular kept grabbing at us as we went by and propositioning us. We warned them to be quiet. While opening a champagne bottle it splashed on one of the men. I took his coat to hang up to dry and noticed he was carrying a gun under his belt. I said nothing to him but reported it to the captain who came back to the cabin and spoke to him. During the beverage service the gun was pointed at the other stewardess as the man asked for his coffee. We fed them lunch and they settled down. As these people deplaned at Dallas one of the women collapsed at the bottom of the ramp. We administered icepacks and ammonia. We notified the lead agent that one of the men had a gun. A wheelchair was ordered for the lady.

(f) National Airlines; received, Air Line Pilots Association, July 18, 1956: At Salisbury the stewardess called for assistance. She complained of a male passenger being drunk and unruly. I went back and he was standing in the center aisle, next to the buffet. He was having trouble standing and walking without falling on other passengers. I helped him back to his seat, and fastened his safety belt. I heard other passengers complaining about his activities.

(g) Delta; received, Air Line Pilots Association, September 17, 1955: Trip departed Dallas 1817, central standard time, and when out approximately 2 hours the stewardess advised me that one of our passengers wanted to see me. I was greeted by 5 people in the lounge that insisted on having more than 2 drinks served to them, at that time there were no dinners served to any of the passengers and some of them were very hungry and angry too. One of the passengers who did all the talking for the other 4 was a ——— and insisted that I go get the bottle and pour all of them a few drinks, in fact he said that ——— told him that he could have all the cocktails he wanted at any time. During the flight a passenger became argumentative with his seat mate who was a young sailor. During the course of this argument the man pulled a switch-blade knife and put it under the sailor's chin. I became alarmed and rushed up to the cockpit to inform the crew as to what was transpiring. The crew instructed me to lock the cockpit door and go back and engage the irate passenger in conversation. However, by the time I got back into the cabin someone had gotten the knife away from the passenger involved.

3. IN-FLIGHT EMERGENCIES REQUIRING UNSCHEDULED LANDINGS TO REMOVE INEBRIATED PASSENGERS WHO ARE HAZARDOUS OR CREATING DISTURBANCES

(a) Eastern Airlines, Salisbury to Norfolk; received, Air Line Pilots Association, April 20, 1957: Midway between Salisbury and Norfolk at 2:43 the stewardess came forward to advise me that she had a drunken passenger who was getting out of hand. He was using obscene, vile, and vulgar language, and was trying to pick a fight with the rest of the passengers. I advised this character in person that if he didn't sit down and behave that I would land at the nearest airport and have him put off. In a few minutes the stewardess came forward again and advised that our drunk was going to hit her because she had told me about him. We immediately reversed course with the aid of Norfolk radar and control and proceeded to Washington to have this drunk removed because I had no intention of going any further with him aboard. The weather at Washington was 600 overcast, 2½ miles with fog and rain. About 10 minutes out of Washington the stewardness rang again and called for help. This time I asked the engineer to go back and give her a hand as we were then making our instrument approach. I told him to stay back there with her but to make him sit down even if he had to sit on him to do it.

(b) American Airlines, Dallas to Idlewild; receiver, Air Line Pilots Association, April 11, 1957: A passenger, who had been drinking prior to boarding the flight, became very obnoxious before and after being served cocktails, plus other sources: his own and taking drinks from other passengers, insulting stewardesses, causing one to cry, and in general profanely disturbing the other passengers. Captain ——— had to talk to the drunken passenger three times, the last time he was actually put bodily back to his seat, because he refused to cooperate. Landing would have been made at Nashville if we were not overweight and the inconvenience so great. Police met the plane in New York and hauled the passenger who had passed out, or faked it, away on a stretcher.

(c) January 1956: While the other stewardess was attempting to open a bottle in the galley, the bottle exploded and flying glass cut her in the temple and about the arms. It was necessary to make an unscheduled stop in order to secure medical attention since the crew was unable to control the bleeding.

4. INEBRIATED PASSENGERS INADVERTENTLY ACTUATING OR DAMAGING EXITS OR PRESSURIZATION DEVICES IN FLIGHT

(a) St. Louis–Washington and Washington-St. Louis; received, Air Line Pilots Association, March 21, 1957: One day I heard one hostess ask the other if she thought "that passenger might sue the company." I inquired about the reason and was told that the night before on our flight into Washington, there was a group of passengers in the front compartment buying drinks and drinking from their own bottles (the hostesses provide set-ups). One of this group of jolly boys threw a partially filled bottle (a fifth, not a miniature) to or at one of his companions and the bottle hit another passenger (not one of the revelers). The hit passenger was naturally considerably annoyed. This could have been the start of a real brawl. Or the bottle (which is a con-

siderable missile) could have hit one of the windows.

(b) CAL Council No. 49; received, Air Line Pilots Association, March 26, 1957: On CAL trip 175 of March 16, 1957, we had an intoxicated passenger on board who was obnoxious to the hostess on several occasions and who in a mistaken attempt to get a drink of water, mistook the main cabin door handle of the DC-3 for a water tap and had grasped the handle of the door before he could be stopped by the hostess. Had he been successful in moving the handle, we would have lost him and the hostess.

(c) United Air Line; received, Air Line Pilots Association, February 22, 1956; Aboard United Air Lines trip 326 on May 29, 1953, we had a passenger who was drinking as some will on the sly. He was a large man and had too much (probably had a fairly good buzz on when he boarded). On final approach into Youngstown, Pa., he left his seat, came into the companion way and grabbed the main door lever and attempted to open the door which of course work in conjunction with the main steps. The hydraulic system is so designed to prevent this, but had his intentions been directed toward the cockpit we would have been placed in a most undesirable position. As it was we had a mechanical on landing and the left engine feathered coming out of reverse, due to wiring problems.

5. FIRE HAZARD FROM INEBRIATED PASSENGERS AND REFUSAL TO COMPLY WITH SAFETY REGULATIONS

(a) Delta, received September 30, 1955: A male passenger became extremely uncooperative as a result of overindulging in flight. He refused to fasten his seat belt and observe the no-smoking sign when approaching for a landing. I told him several times to extinguish his cigarette which he did, except that he relit another one as soon as I turned my back. Upon telling him to extinguish cigarettes for the third time, he did so by putting it out in the palm of my hand.

(b) American Airlines, Los Angeles to District of Columbia nonstop, received Air Line Pilots Association, August 15, 1957: As we taxied away from the Los Angeles ramp, the stewardess advised me that one intoxicated passenger refused to fasten his seat belt or to refrain from smoking. The flight engineer was sent back and received the same refusal, punctuated by obscene and abusive language. We returned to the ramp and had police officers remove the offending drunk. Departed 30 minutes later—forecast, thunderstorm—danger to passengers as well as nuisance to others and resulting cost of delay.

(c) Trans-World Airlines, Chicago to Los Angeles, received Air Line Pilots Association, November 2, 1955: There were 3 stewardesses aboard this plane. Early en route, there were 2 male passengers who were drinking heavily in the lounge, 1 of whom according to his drinking acquaintance, returned to his seat and "passed out." Approximately 2 hours later, the 2 men returned to the lounge, together with other men and again began drinking, this time standing in the passageway which blocked the passageway for all passengers attempting to get to the rest rooms. They continued to drink again until quite intoxicated, one of whom became boisterous, vulgar, and so forth. It became necessary for him to be placed in a seat secured with a seat belt. For the last 45 minutes to an hour of the trip the most intoxicated of the two had to be restrained, which made for a most unpleasant experience for other passengers.

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(e) American Airlines, Los Angeles to Dallas received, Air Line Pilots Association, January 20, 1956: A party of 4 (2 couples) boarded in Washington. I took their coats and it was obvious that they had been drinking. During the flight they became increasingly noisy and used vulgar and indecent language much to the embarrassment of the other passengers. They could be heard throughout the plane which by then smelled like a brewery. One of the men in particular kept grabbing at us as we went by and propositioning us. We warned them to be quite. While opening a champagne bottle it splashed on one of the men. I took his coat to hang up to dry and noticed he was carrying a gun under his belt. I said nothing to him but reported it to the captain who came back to the cabin and spoke to him. During the beverage service the gun was pointed at the other stewardess as the man asked for his coffee. We fed them lunch and they settled down. As these people deplaned at Dallas one of the women collapsed at the bottom of the ramp. We administered ice packs and ammonia. We notified the lead agent that one of the men had a gun. A wheel chair was ordered for the lady.

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route. The stewardesses gave him water "chasers" as, at the time, he was not bothering anyone. A few hours at 8,500 feet and a few drinks later we had a drunk who behaved as many do. Mean, belligerent, and unmanageable, grabbing the stewardesses and yanking on their clothing. I asked him to refrain from drinking, but to no avail. This sort of thing has happened to me several times and I even had one passenger taken off the airplane, but this is not always possible.

(h) Trans World Airline; received, Air Line Pilots Association February 24, 1956: Last night, February 26, 1956, my flight arrived at Kansas City with a passenger who was very obviously drunk. The incoming hostesses reported him as being "obnoxious." During the ground period he was observed and was indeed obnoxious. A fist fight was narrowly averted and much uncalled for conversation emanated from the person in question. Aside from the fact that he was making the flight unpleasant for the rest of the passengers I adjudged him as a potential danger to have aboard in his condition. I requested that he be removed. This was done.

(i) Trans World Airline, Phoenix and Los Angeles; received, Air Lines Pilots Association March 24, 1956: Unbeknown to me a small dog in a box was placed in the forward cabin to accompany a passenger. Another passenger boarded who apparently was under the influence of alcohol and also occupied the forward section of the airplane. After the flight became airborne the dog began a long, loud, and continuous spell of barking which disturbed the passengers and crew, and particularly the drunken passenger, who became obnoxious and belligerent toward the hostesses and later the others of the crew. During the course of events the said passenger entered the galley and demanded a soft drink, which was given to him by one of the hostesses. This he immediately spilled on another passenger. Because of the loud barking of the dog the engineer opened the door between the flight deck and front pasesnger compartment and moved the dog pen to the doorway. By placing his hand on the dog pen he was able to quiet the loud barking for a short time. The intoxicated passenger took this opportunity to come to the cockpit door and proceded to lambast and disturb the engineer, as he had previously done to the hostesses and demanded the engineer open a window so he could throw the dog out of the airplane. One of the hostesses came forward and took the dog to the galley and the cockpit door was closed. A routine landing was made in Los Angeles. After the touchdown the engineer opened the door between the cockpit and cabin, whereupon I heard one of the hostesses plead for the passengers to keep their seats. A glance in the cabin and I discovered the intoxicated passenger standing in the galley disturbing the hostess, amid the loud barking of the dog. Since the passenger refused to be seated the aircraft was brought to a complete stop on the taxiway. The first officer dispatched to the cabin to seat the passenger. After the passenger was seated the airplane was taxied to the gate.

(j) National Airlines; received, Air Line Pilots Association, July 18, 1956: After landing at Idlewild, another passenger, a woman, was so drunk she had to be helped down from the airplane. It was necessary to have an agent help her down the steps or, otherwise, she would have fallen all the way down.

(k) Delta; received, Air Line Pilots Association, September 17, 1955: Trip departed Dallas 1817 central standard time, and when out approximately 2 hours the stewardess advised me that one of our passengers wanted to see me. I was greeted by 5 people in the lounge that insisted on having more than 2 drinks served to them. At that time there were no dinners served to any of the other passengers and some of them were very hungry and angry too. One of the passengers who did all the talking for the other four was a Mr. ——— and insisted that I go get the bottle and pour all of them a few drinks, in fact he said that ——— told him that he could have all the cocktails he wanted at any time.

During testimony on this subject, discussion was had on the question of whether certain incidents resulted from consumption of alcohol before or after boarding the aircraft. We believe that it is practically impossible to distinguish the source of intoxication when consumption is permitted on board the aircraft. The drinks served in flight when added to a reduced oxygen pressure and strange environment may be the final step in causing a normal, well-adjusted individual to become an uncontrollable hazard. Also, we believe that the condoning of alcohol consumption in flight has caused a deterioration in the enforcement of present regulations against boarding passengers under the influence of alcohol since it is hypocritical to deny transportation to an individual who has had a drink and promptly serve drinks to all passengers who are permitted on the flight.

Just as we believe that it should be unnecessary to permit serious accidents to occur before a readily recognized hazard is eliminated, we believe that it is impractical to refuse passage to people under the influence of alcohol and then promptly bring them under the influence in flight. It is impossible to determine when the last drink will turn a well-adjusted person into a menace and social problem, as pointed out in my testimony.

The practice of serving intoxicating beverages on domestic airlines is relatively new and still confined to a limited number of flights on eight airlines. However, the practice is spreading and competitive pressures are being created on carriers still refusing to adopt the practice. As the practice spreads, it is only reasonable to assume that the number of incidents will increase with the resultant increase in the potential hazard.

We appreciate the opportunity to submit this additional information.

Very truly yours,

C. N. Sayen.

A Word of Appreciation to Army Legislative Liaison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, as this first session of the 85th Congress draws to a close, it is only fitting and proper that we look about and thank those agencies and persons in the Government who have helped us discharge our obligations and responsibilities, as Members of Congress, to our individual constituents, to our districts, and to the Nation.

In the forefront of these alert and responsive people are the personnel of the Army legislation liaison, under the able leadership of Maj. Gen. J. H. "Mike" Michaelis and Col. Donald "Sandy" MacGrain. They have with them as fine a staff of intelligent and cooperative young men, as, I am sure, the Army can assemble. The results are self-evident. We, the Members of Congress, can call for Army liaison no matter what the situation and be assured of a correct, prompt, and courteous response. If we need an officer by our side to meet with visitors to our office, we can be sure they will be there and tide us over smoothly and smartly.

Many of my colleagues have expressed these same sentiments on many occasions.. I feel that they should be officially and properly reflected in the Record before we adjourn so that there will be some tangible evidence of our appreciation for Army liaison's fine work in behalf of us all.

AFL–CIO Steelworkers Hit Bigotry in Levittown, Disproving "Goon" Stereotype Which Senate Rackets Committee Is Developing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, district 7 of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL–CIO, has called on its membership in the Levittown area to conduct themselves like true Americans and not participate in any acts of bigotry in relation with the William A. Myers, Jr., family at the giant housing project.

The steelworkers are to be congratulated for their stand on this matter of basic Americanism.

I do not suppose the Nation's newspapers will take the trouble to tell this stirring story. They are too intent on creating the stereotype of labor "goons" and racketeers which the Senate Rackets Committee is contributing to by its presentation of one small fraction of the important story of organized labor in the United States.

Included herewith are articles from the Trentonian, and the Trenton Evening Times, Trenton, N. J., and the New York Times.

The articles follow:

[From the Trenton Evening Times of August 21, 1957]

STEELWORKERS HIT BIGOTRY IN LEVITTOWN

District 7 of the United Steelworkers of America called on its membership in the Levittown area to conduct themselves like true Americans and not participate in any acts of bigotry in relations to arrival of a Negro family in the community.

District 7 director, Hugh Carcella, of Philadelphia, issued a statement as a reminder and guidance for the many union members in and around the area. He said they should aid law-enforcement authorities in helping stop acts of bigotry and un-American demonstrations.

Principal parts of this statement follow:

"The policy of the United Steelworkers of America in respect to equal housing as well as equal job opportunity is well known. We, therefore, call upon our many members in the Levittown area not to participate in any un-American acts of bigotry, but to aid

and assist in stopping such actions against a family because they happen not to be white.

"The desire for a better home and a better way of life is truly American and the right of every American to seek to better himself and his family is a fundamental principle of our union.

"The continual efforts of the steelworkers union for better housing, better and more schools, higher wages, and better working conditions are predicated upon the principle of equal opportunity for all regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"INHERENT RIGHT

"This veteran, William Myers, Jr., and his family, have an inherent right to a better home, a right he has fought to protect, and a home he has worked and saved to buy, and as an American citizen he and his family are entitled to the full protection of the law.

"In this respect the steelworkers union commends Governor Leader on his quick and forthright position—likewise, the local authorities who acted promptly to forestall more serious violence."

[From the Trentonian of August 21, 1957]

NEW VIOLENCE FLARES IN LEVITTOWN

LEVITTOWN, August 20.—Police using nightsticks charged into a crowd of 250 to 350 persons tonight to break up an anti-Negro demonstration after a police sergeant was knocked unconscious by a large stone hurled from the crowd.

Sgt. Thomas R. Stewart was struck above the right ear by a piece of gravel the size of a baseball as he talked to a group of reporters near the home of Negro William Myers, Jr., whose purchase of the house in the previously all-white community brought on the week-long series of demonstrations.

Stewart was placed in an ambulance and taken to Lower Bucks County Hospital for treatment of a head cut and injuries to the ear. He was unconscious for 5 minutes.

About 50 other policemen on guard outside the home of the Negro family immediately swung into action. Wielding their nightsticks, the patrolmen charged into the crowds and sent the demonstrators scurrying for several blocks.

After dispersing the crowd, police began arresting anyone acting suspiciously or shouting remarks at the patrolmen. Two persons were arrested within a half hour on disorderly conduct charges.

Three persons were injured last night as club swinging State policemen dispersed the crowd of more than 350 persons, the seventh demonstration since last Tuesday when the Myers home was placed under police guard.

A token guard of 10 to 12 policemen was around the Myers ranch-type home today and reported things were quiet with no crowd. The force was reinforced to some 50 men tonight as the expected crowds began gathering.

Meanwhile, the United Steelworkers of America officially condemned the nightly demonstrations at the Myers home. In a statement to the union membership, Hugh Carcella, director of the USW's District 7, called on union members to "unite with the law enforcing bodies and the many good people in Levittown to help stop these acts of bigotry and un-American demonstrations against an American family."

He said the Myers family has "an inherent right to a better home, a right he (Myers) fought to protect, and a home he has worked and saved to buy."

[From the New York Times of August 22, 1957]

EMBATTLED HOMEOWNER WILLIAM A. MYERS, JR.

LEVITTOWN, PA., August 21.—William A. Myers, Jr., looked tired today, but insisted he was not discouraged. He is sure the nightly eruptions of violence will soon subside and he will be able to "sit down and talk this thing over with the neighbors." Mr. Myers, his wife Daisy, and their 3 small children are the first Negro family to move into this postwar development of 15,500 ranch-type dwellings. Their reception has consisted of mob violence—stone throwing and name calling. State troopers are assisting local police only in dispersing crowds of 200 to 400 that have been demonstrating every night near the Myers' home at the corner of Deepgreen and Daffodil Lanes.

The tumult took Mr. Myers by surprise. Before buying the $12,150, 3-bedroom house, he had talked with several of his neighbors-to-be in the Dogwood Hollow section. They were cordial, even warm.

"I knew all the reaction wouldn't be favorable," he said. "I expected some trouble, but I never thought it would be so bad."

Then he added: "I don't believe these demonstrations represent the true feelings of the people of Levittown."

DEVELOPED FRIENDSHIPS

The Myerses had outgrown a two-bedroom house in adjacent Bloomsdale Gardens. In that community, which is racially integrated, they lived 2½ years and developed warm attachments with their neighbors, white and Negro.

The Myerses are churchgoing people. In their former community, they were members of the Bristol Township Democratic organization and the Bloomsdale Gardens Civic Association. Mrs. Myers was active in the League of Women Voters.

Mr. Myers was born fifty-four years ago in York, Pa., where his parents still reside. He had completed a year at the Hampton Institute in Virgina when he was drafted in 1943. He served two and a half years in the Army Quartemaster Corps, including fifteen months overseas, and was discharged with the rank of staff sergeant.

He returned to Hampton where he was graduated in 1949. There he met his wife, who was doing advanced study. She is a graduate of Virginia Union College in Richmond and has done graduate work at New York University.

STUDIES ENGINEERING

Mr. Myers studied briefly at the New York Technical Institute in Washington. He needs two more semesters to get a degree in electrical engineering, and hopes to enroll soon at the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, he is earning "just under $5,000 a year" as a laboratory technician for the C. V. Hill Co. in nearby Trenton, N. J. The company manufactures large refrigerating units. Occasionally Mr. Myers supplements his income with part-time jobs. Not long ago he worked as a dish washer in a Howard Johnson's restaurant.

An athletically built 6-footer weighing 192 pounds, Mr. Myers played on the Hampton varsity basketball teams.

His daughter, Linda, is 1 month old. The boys, William 3d, 4, and Stephen, 3, are staying with their grandparents in York.

Editor's Letters by F. F. McNaughton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to insert the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th—the final—in the series of editorial letters written by my good friend, Mr. F. F. McNaughton, of the Pekin Daily Times, concerning Mr. and Mrs. McNaughton's recent trip to Russia. These last four editorial letters are in a general sense a summary of their objective excursion.

In concluding the series, Mr. McNaughton makes several timely observations on what might be done to increase our prestige and strengthen our position in the world. He suggests that the breaking down of Russia's Iron Curtain restrictions on the foreign travel of their own citizens would go a long way in removing those people from secrecy and terror and enable them to also compare objectively their system with democracy. I am sure we would all agree that this would undoubtedly be an excellent prescription for curing those minds now infected with communism.

It has been a privilege for me to introduce these remarks into the RECORD, and I, as well as Mr. McNaughton, have received numerous compliments, orally and written, both from my colleagues and individuals throughout the United States:

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 19, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

We come now to our conclusions about Russia.

Today we'll write about secrecy and terror; tomorrow about Peace or War?; Wednesday about What the Russians Have; and Thursday about what we should do.

It's to bad that after Intourist tries so hard to make guests happy, certain Russian officials have to act so "police state."

Not at the border.

They were fine to us—never opened a bag.

But the Russians seem to have a craving to hold one's passport. I wrote you from Finland about the American citizen who was lured to Russia during our depression. They lifted his passport and refused to return it for 9 years.

To have your passport taken (to be checked by police) is common in any country. Usually you get it right back.

Not so in Russia.

I kept pestering them for mine.

Answer: "Later today."

Then: "Tomorrow."

And my tickets.

It is standard practice to phone the airport and "confirm" your intention to be there for flying. It takes a minute. But with no phonebooks in Russia, I asked the woman at the "service desk" to phone the Russian airline.

She reached for my tickets.

I handed them to her.

She kept them.

"Well," I said, "please give me a receipt."

"We do not," she said.

So I called our guide into the room and showed her the tickets and made her a witness that this woman had taken my tickets, worth $1,000.

The woman was furious.

We finally got our passport and tickets back just in time to catch our plane.

We were leaving at midnight, and I cancelled a show so I could sit and wait for our tickets to be returned to me between 9 and 10 p. m.

And our mail.

I know there is mail here in Moscow for us—probably a dozen letters.

But they won't give it to us.

But this is true: The terror that we saw (and felt) here before is not here now. No longer do wives wonder if their husbands will return when they leave for work. No longer are a few shot now and then just to

keep everybody in terror. I think this is because the men at the top got tired of it and wanted some relief from terror for themselves.

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 20, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

PEACE OR WAR?

Last time we visited Russia we were greeted by the huge sign (written in four languages): Workers of the world, unite.

This time the word printed in huge letters and many languages is "Peace."

I imagine that most of you readers think Russian peace talk is all bluff.

Let me make a point.

In one of our Illinois papers on page 1 in black type was the headline: "Peace is parade theme."

People whom I know and who are friends of mine had chosen "peace" as the theme for every float and every unit in that Illinois town's parade. Future Farmers, Future Homemakers, 4–H groups, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Rural Youth, Little Leaguers—all were to march with banners and displays that called for peace.

Suppose every home in Russia had been permitted for that one day to do the forbidden thing, namely, read a newspaper from the outside. Suppose they had read that the youth of America were parading for peace.

What would they have thought?

They would have thought it was a big bluff. They think capitalists want war. They know that we have them surrounded with land airbases and floating airbases. I myself have seen this: Have seen our fleets and bombers that are ready to pounce upon Russia from all sides (and I'm thankful for it); but the Russians believe that that means we want war, and that someday we will start a war to destroy their way of life.

So they don't believe that our parade for peace is in earnest.

They think it is a lie.

And most of us think their talk of peace is a hoax.

But here is what I believe:

I believe that 99½ percent of Americans want peace. (The other one-half percent might be a few munition makers and some soulless workers who get big overtime in war.)

And I believe that 99 percent of Russians want peace with all their hearts. (The other 1 percent may be the party's hard core that want to see capitalism totally destroyed while they are still alive.)

Don't misunderstand me:

Russia's goal still is for the workingmen of the world to unite and rule the world—from Moscow. They are smart enough, however, to know that they are not ready for war yet. Now war would ruin them. Meanwhile (until the Hungary massacre) they were making vast steps toward winning all the world without war. Their brutal massacre of students and workingmen in Hungary set them back severely; so now they are trying to appease Communists everywhere, including in Russia.

But be sure of this: The Russian people want peace.

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 21, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

WHAT HAS RUSSIA GOT?

1. A vast, rich country dominating Europe and Asia. It is one-sixth of the earth's land, reaching from the Arctic to sunny Georgia.

2. Two hundred million patriotic people, much like Americans and immensely proud of the fact that under communism, in a brief time, they have jumped from a backward nation of ineffective and illiterate people to one of the two great and powerful nations of the earth. (However, speaking of population, I think Ceil's observation was accurate: Few babies, few pregnant women. Millions of men were killed in World War II. Nearly all women want to work. They have no church to tell them not to prevent the birth of children. The United States may be gaining on the U. S. S. R. in population.)

3. Dictatorship. 'Tis generally admitted that democracy is a most inefficient form of government because people vote, not for good of country but for their selfish selves. But a dictatorship (of one or a dozen) can plan only for the good of the country; can make decisions in an hour; can kill all good farmers in a week; can forbid its people to buy automobiles or lipstick; can half (or totally) starve its people while putting energy into making guns.

4. The lie. A people without religion and (shall we say) conscience, has no hesitation to tell any lie, or pull any trick to gain advantage.

5. The might of the world's second industrial power.

6. Skill in taking advantage of our boneheads. If we had pulled the boner they did in Hungary, they would have turned the hatred of the world against us in a devastating manner. But our side goofed the chance because Israel, France, and England pulled a bonehead of their own simultaneously, and Russia yelled 10 times more loudly about that than we did about Hungary. Among the uncommitted billion, the Soviet really takes us for a cleaning in the propaganda contest.

7. Vastly better understanding of the uncommitted billion. Poor people from the lands where that billion lives come to Russia in droves as visitors and they rejoice to see a people, so recently like them, climbing from far down the ladder to next to the top run—and reaching for the top rung. Russia has that billion cheering for the U. S. S. R.

8. Education.

9. The bomb.

[From the Pekin Daily Times of August 22, 1957]

THE EDITOR'S LETTER

(By McNaughton)

As we leave Russia, I ask: "What can America do to make American free enterprise more attractive to the uncommitted billion than Russian communism?" (For if they join the billion already under communism, we are lost.)

Let's suppose some bright students from countries where the uncommitted billion live, visit the United States.

1. They would be dismayed to find that bright young persons cannot get an education in America because they do not have money. I'm thinking of two in-laws of our children. One was meant to be a physician. The other would have made a brilliant scientist. Neither could afford schooling; so both are living dull lives, unhappy, and depriving America of their talents.

2. They would be aghast at the fact that color (most of the billion are colored) could keep millions of Americans in a second-class citizen status. "If that is America," they say, "we want nothing like it."

3. They would be frightened by the heartaches and poverty into which thousands—tens of thousands—of American families are thrown because of illness. I'm thinking of our "chicken lady." She and her husband have a few acres and made a meager living raising fowl and garden truck. Then he had a stroke. Now she is having to try to do all the work alone in addition to taking care of him, and paying his heavy doctor bills. Too, I'm thinking of Clara Bell. A proud Kentucky girl, she wed a good man and they were getting on fine. Then he got cancer—the slow kind. It involves constant trips to a city 56 miles away, and repeated operations. To keep the wolf away from the door, Clara Bell, a goodlooking and proud woman, scrubs and cleans for us. Small ailments? Sure, a family can take care of them. But the cost of devastating illness should be shared by us all.

4. We need more honest and especially more intelligent religion. Never will I forget what a brilliant monk told Ceil and me one Sunday on the banks of the Ganges. "Worship of the cow," he admitted, "is what we call priestcraft. Because, way back when, it was good for Indians to keep their cows no matter how near the owner seemed to starvation, the priests told the illiterate Indians that the cow was sacred. Thus the cows, which furnished the family's milk and furnished the power to tread the Persian wells and to plow the fields, were saved." But the day has now come when the Indians need to take a more intelligent look at their religion, and learn that cow manure is not for plastering walls and polishing floors—instead it is for putting on wheatfields. Young students visiting America would not be satisfied with some phases of our religion.

5. We need to show more respect to teachers; and to give more room and time for culture; and (above all in this paragraph) to put far less emphasis on money—and the furs and finery that money will buy. Nearly all the world joins the Communists in the criticism that Americans, as a breed, think nearly 99 percent of material things.

6. Most of the world that is not Communist is Socialist. Under communism the state owns nearly everything and no man may hire (exploit) another. Under socialism, the state owns postoffice, express company, telephone and telegraph, rail, ship, and airlines in varying degrees. Individuals own stores, farms, factories, clinics, etc. Our visiting guests from the uncommitted billion could not understand an America that would let individuals own coal, zinc, iron, copper mines; deep oil and gas pools; waterfalls; and other vastly rich natural resources that the Creator put there a million years ago for "all God's chillun."

And now, in my last sentence written from Russia, I do not want to lull us into any failure to solve the six shortcomings mentioned above; but I do wish a million of the Russians and Chinese and "the uncommitted billion" would come see America for themselves.

A Visit to the Dominican Republic, the Land Columbus Loved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from a week's visit to the Dominican Republic on the island of Hispaniola, in the Caribbean Sea.

Mrs. Long and I had a delightful visit to the Dominican Republic, where we attended the festivities in celebration of the inauguration of Gen. Hector Trujillo Molina as President. We returned from 6 days in the island Republic, filled with pleasant impressions of the graciousness of the people and the beauty of the country.

We were welcomed at the General Andrews Airport by Dr. Alvaro Logroño Batlle, Minister and Assistant Chief of

the Protocol Division; United States Ambassador Joseph S. Farland, Otto Vega, official in the President's chancery, and by Deputies Marino Caceres, Wenceslao Troncoso Sanchez, and Arturo Caventy, accompanied by their wives Isabel Troncoso de Caceras, Rosa de Troncoso, and Marisa Thomen de Calventy. We enjoyed our reservations at the Ambassador Hotel, and have only praise for its comforts and superb service.

At the inaugural parade, we were privileged to have a seat along with delegates from 42 other countries. The parade itself was colorful and entertaining. The generalissimo wore a cream-colored uniform with a dark blue cap and neckband, braided with gold. Major units in the parade were drawn from the army, navy, air force, and national guard. For 3 hours we watched the well-trained and equipped units display their precision marching, and the air force put on an outstanding performance with Vampire jets.

Ciudad Trujillo is a lovely place. It is extremely clean and is dotted with magnificently landscaped parks. Avenida George Washington, named for our own first President, extends for miles along the seacoast and is lined with tall graceful palms, making it one of the most beautiful drives in the world. The obelisk in its path is reminiscent of our own Washington Monument.

Mrs. Long and I visited stores and found that they were well stocked and people were shopping much as they do here in the United States. We also visited many offices and businesses.

Outside the city, it was our pleasure to view several of the nicely kept sugar plantations and fruit farms. We saw the people industriously at work in their fields and around the sugar refineries, which were preparing to be opened for the new season.

The climax of our visit came on Friday night at a dance at the national palace, honoring the generalissimo and his brother, the President. It was most inspiring to see how the people who assembled there loved their officers, and to see the high regard these officers have for the people.

Both the generalissimo and President Hector Trujillo remained until the dance was over—in fact, I am sure the generalissimo remained until 1:30 in the morning. It was really admirable to see the way in which he remained as friendly and gracious at the end of the dance as he had been at the beginning of the ceremonies, although he had had more than 6 days' strenuous activity, attending dances, receptions, reviewing the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Everyone with whom we had contact voted the officials of the Dominican Republic most gracious hosts. I would like to add my own and Mrs. Long's vote of thanks for the many Dominican kindnesses that made our visit to the land Columbus loved so memorable an occasion, and to extend our best wishes for the continued well-being and prosperity of the Dominican people under the skillful administration of President Trujillo.

I felt that my friends will be glad to have this report of my visit to the Dominican Republic.

Henceforth when I have occasion to speak about our great friend and ally, the Christian Dominican Republic, I can assure my colleagues that I will be able to speak with the authority gained from first-hand investigation—not from facts gained by hearsay, or even upon the advice of the experts on the Caribbean who are always available to me.

Surplus Disposal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, in the surplus-disposal program by the United States Department of Agriculture, the Marketing Service Food Distribution Division has been doing a first-rate job.

I have always felt that in the disposition of surplus agricultural commodities to our friends in foreign countries we should at all times be definitely certain that the surpluses reach the people in desperate need of food and wherever possible it should be distributed in such a way so those who receive it are informed in a positive way who is supplying or donating the food.

Of course the ideal way to distribute food to areas of the world suffering seriously for want of food supplies should be through charitable organizations with a properly developed method of distributing the food.

In these remarks I am placing in the RECORD I find a most encouraging sign of following out the ideas I have expressed for many years and I include the list of the agencies approved for participation in the foreign distribution of surplus commodities under the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended.

It is a wonderful thing to know we have these religious and semireligious organizations that are in a position to distribute food directly to the families in want throughout the world. Surplus farm commodities distributed in this manner, in my personal opinion, contributes greatly to the proper attitude that we wish the rank and file of the population in every area of the world to have toward our Republic. This is a positive way to "win friends and influence people." When friends are made through this source of distributing our farm surpluses they are friends indeed. The list is as follows:

AGENCIES APPROVED FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE FOREIGN DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS COMMODITIES UNDER SECTION 416 OF THE AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1949, AS AMENDED

American Friends of Austrian Children, Inc., 202 East 19th Street, ninth floor, New York, N. Y.[1]

American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.[1]

American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Inc., 1775 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc., 3 East 54th Street, New York, N. Y.[1]

American Korean Foundation, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y.[1]

American Middle East Relief, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

American Mission to Greeks, Inc., 233 West 42d Street, Post Office Box 423, New York, N. Y.[1]

American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C.[1]

Assemblies of God—Foreign Service Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

Catholic Relief Services—NCWC, 451 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

Christian Children's Fund, China Building, Richmond, Va.

Church World Service, Inc., 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

Congregational Christian Service Committee, 110 East 29th Street, New York, N. Y.

Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc. (CARE), 660 First Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

First Aid for Hungary, Inc., 6 East 65th Street, New York, N. Y.

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc., 352 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

Hadassah, Inc., 3 Thomas Circle, Washington, D. C.; 65 East 52d Street, New York, N. Y.[1]

International Rescue Committee, Inc., 62 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.[1]

Iran Foundation, Inc., 6807 Empire State Building, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

Lutheran World Relief, Inc., 50 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

Mennonite Central Committee, Inc., Akron, Pa.[1]

National Council of Young Israel, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Pestalozzi Foundation of America, Inc., 41 East 57th Street, New York, N. Y.

Romanian Welfare, Inc., 22 East 60th Street, New York, N. Y.[1]

Save the Children Federation, Inc., 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y.[1]

Tolstoy Foundation, Inc., 989 8th Avenue, New York, N. Y.[1]

Unitarian Service Committee, Inc., 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y.[1]

United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, Inc., 105 Grand Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.[1]

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Plaza, New York, N. Y.[1]

United Ukranian American Relief Committee, Inc., 866 North Seventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa.[1]

Volunteer Border Relief, Inc., Post Office Box 981, Harlingen, Tex.[1]

World Relief Commission of the National Association of Evangelicals, 12–19 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.[1]

Mr. Speaker, in addition to this very substantial list of organizations participating in our distribution of surplus products abroad, I include other information on the disposal of our surplus commodities at home:

DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS COMMODITIES

Food donations by the United States Department of Agriculture reached a record high in the fiscal year ended June 30, under an active Department effort to dispose of surpluses. A total of 2,818,400,000 pounds of food was donated during the year to recipients here and abroad through the direct distribution program conducted by USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service.

Distribution domestically was increased to 1,043 million pounds, up 32 percent over the total for fiscal year 1956. Foreign distribution rose to 1,775,400,000 pounds, an increase of 45 percent over the same period a year ago.

Footnote at end of speech.

Footnote at end of speech.

In this country, the biggest increases were made in distribution of surplus commodities for use in school lunch programs. A total of 426,300,000 pounds of food was distributed for this purpose during the year, an increase of 61 percent over the previous year. Distribution to institutions totaled 148,600,000 pounds, a gain of 14 percent. Distribution to needy persons in family units accounted for the largest quantity of food distributed domestically, with the total of 468,100,000 pounds up 18 percent over a year ago.

In addition to these uses, large quantities of surplus foods were used during the fiscal year in the relief of victims of natural disasters. Top priority on foods available for distribution is given to such use. For example, nearly 24 million pounds of food was distributed for immediate relief of last August's hurricane victims in Puerto Rico. Subsequently, Puerto Rico entered the continuing program of distribution to needy persons, to aid in long-term rehabilitation after completion of the emergency feeding. Large quantities of foods were also used in emergency feeding when spring floods, tornadoes, and hurricane struck Louisiana, Kentucky, and Virginia, driving persons from their homes and forcing them temporarily to rely on community feeding.

In addition, surplus foods were rushed to the aid of refugees from Hungary, following the October revolution. Thirty million pounds of food was made available to aid refugees in camps established in Austria. In addition, some 175,000 pounds of food was used to aid Hungarian refugees after they arrived in this country, in centers such as Camp Kilmer in New Jersey.

Foods donated under the direct distribution program are currently being used by over 12 million school children taking part in school-lunch programs, and about 1.4 million persons in charitable institutions. In addition, about 3 million needy persons in family units are currently receiving donated commodities.

Distribution of surplus commodities to schools and institutions is made in all 48 States, the District of Columbia and 5 Territories. A total of 39 States and Puerto Rico are currently taking part in distribution of surplus foods to needy persons, with 949 counties and 80 additional cities participating in those States.

The number of agencies taking part in the foreign donations program increased to 24 during the year, and the number of countries in which food was distributed to needy persons increased to 88. Distribution of surplus foods in these foreign countries is made by voluntary United States agencies, with commodities donated to them after provision has been made for the needs of all eligible recipients in this country.

In view of these statistics, it is clear that the Department of Agriculture has moved a tremendous quantity of surplus foods into consumption, foreign and domestic. In fact, the reduction of inventories through donations and other disposal programs has been so substantial for most items that eligible outlets could readily absorb larger quantities than are available on a continuing basis. For example, at one time the Commodity Credit Corporation held sufficient quantities of butter to permit donation to the school-lunch program, welfare and institutional distribution programs and to foreign outlets as well. Since January, stocks and acquisitions of butter by CCC have permitted distribution only to the school-lunch-program. Similarly in the case of salad oil and shortening, donation to foreign outlets had to be eliminated during the past fiscal year for lack of availability.

Donation of dry beans to foreign outlets also had to be stopped in the third and fourth quarters of fiscal 1957 and the quantities of nonfat dry milk for donation abroad had to be reduced for lack of adequate supplies in Government hands. At the present time, donations of rice for foreign relief are limited to broken kernal or brewer's rice.

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[1] Participating agencies as of July 1, 1956.

Two-Term Limitation on Presidents Called Basic to Eisenhower's Troubles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, a most thoughtful and thorough analysis of the problems which are besetting the present Eisenhower administration are set forth in an editorial by Mr. Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of yesterday, August 21 1957.

Pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting this excellent article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all who read the RECORD may have the benefit of it:

THINGS GENERALLY GOING AWRY: TWO-TERM LIMITATION ON PRESIDENTS CALLED BASIC TO EISENHOWER'S TROUBLES

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

President Eisenhower's disillusionment as he finds his influence with Congress dwindling and his authority in his party diminishing and things generally going awry has a simpler explanation than some of the analyses now being made.

It goes back to his own party before he joined it, back to the 80th Republican Congress, and to something his party put over out of spleen over the long reign of that man, Franklin D. Roosevelt. At that time voices were raised to point out how the Presidency would be weakened by a specific limitation to two terms. But Republicans, under the leadership of Representative JOE MARTIN of Massachusetts, then Speaker, now party House leader, jammed through that first Republican Congress in 16 years, and in less than 3 months, the 22d amendment to the Constitution fixing that limitation. Ratification was completed in less than 4 years—February 26, 1951.

It did not apply to Harry Truman who was President when it was submitted, but he stepped down anyhow.

It was left to President Eisenhower, to whom it first became applicable, to feel authority begin to slip away when he started his second term last January as members of his own party, as well as Democrats who had feared his hero standing with the people, stiffened their resistance. No longer need Democrats fear him, and from now on Republicans could concentrate on their own futures and ambitions. Politically he was through.

This was exemplified dramatically when his party leader in the Senate—Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California—took the first step in his own campaign for the 1960 Republican presidential nomination without even waiting for President Eisenhower to take the oath of office for his own second term. Senator KNOWLAND announced his retirement from the Senate at the end of his term, which was generally interpreted to mean that he would run for Governor of his State next year as a means of getting control of California's delegation to the 1960 Republican convention. This was a head start to try to beat out other aspirants for the 1960 nomination, including his fellow Californian, Vice President NIXON.

Before our eyes now, we can see the evidence of the disintegration of the President's power under the pressure of political interests of his party leaders. We need take only two examples much in the newspapers now.

Something, first, in which the President is vitally interested, an adequate foreign-aid appropriation. What happens? He finally had to call in the Democratic Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN, to make a personal plea to try to hold enough Democratic votes to make up for Republican defections.

Second, civil rights. The President, it is true, is interested in an adequate bill, though his interest was not deep enough to entice him to read the bill carefully until weeks after it started through Congress. But it is very obvious that it is because of their own personal political interests and the interest of the party that Republican leaders in the House and Senate made their stand for a better bill than the badly mutilated measure that came from the Senate, and not because of the President. It is clear that it is Attorney General Brownell, an experienced and skillful politician, and party leaders at the Capitol, including Vice President NIXON, who have been pushing the President to a more firm stand, rather than the other way around.

But the President's present dilemma is due to other influences beyond the debilitating effect of the two-term limitation.

His vacillation on major issues facing him since his second term began—budget, civil rights, school construction, among others—again spotlights that his unfamiliarity with domestic problems when he assumed the presidency, and his consequent lack of interest and of strong convictions about them, has persisted in its influence. There was, of course, no reason why in his entirely different career as a soldier he should be curious about them.

It is very apparent that he never has come to like his job as President to the point where he would buckle down to it with the joy and devotion of one who has grown up in politics and statecraft and loves it—and he had, of course, so much more to learn than have men who make it a life career and have an understanding that it is impossible to get in any other way. This shortcoming of the President is manifest to anyone who has watched, firsthand, other Presidents, and could have been forecast from the beginning.

In a way he is a victim. Shrewd leaders of the Republican Party, which had been out of power for 20 years, and powerful economic interests which support the party, saw that something new was needed to attract the public. The party could not go over with the people on its own. The ideal solution was at hand in a war hero, a household name, not previously identified with politics, if he only could be persuaded to lend himself to their plans. He could—few ever have been able to withstand such an invitation.

He became a front—and has remained that for many purposes. The big interests which sponsored him were unable to get everything they wanted in his first administration. They must win again. So, despite two illnesses that had incapacitated him for some time, they were able to persuade him to run again.

Now he has served his purpose.

We are witnessing a major tragedy in American politics.

The Give and Take of Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article and the tables it contains are of very special interest to all New Yorkers, but they should be of interest to many other States, as well. This information is furnished to us by the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc., of Albany, N. Y.

While we sit here in the House of Representatives, merrily appropriating money, we are apt to forget that this money comes out of the pockets of our constituents. Fortunately, they do not seem to appreciate this fact either.

It is time that we, and they, realize that many of our States are giving far more than they ever receive from the Federal Government and that it is now a severe tax handicap to be a citizen of some of the large and prosperous States:

THE LOSING GAME ON THE EVER-WIDENING GAP, FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PAYMENTS

New York State is losing more than $200 million a year in the "give and take" of Federal aid. Moreover, the trend is toward a still greater widening of the gap between what this State receives in Federal aid and what New Yorkers pay to support the Federal aid programs.

Every increase in Federal payments to the States and every new Federal grant-in-aid leaves New York financially worse off than it was before. Just in the period from 1950 to 1956, the addition of new aid programs and the growth of old ones increased the annual loss by more than $52 million.

Here's the story in a nutshell:

[In millions of dollars]

	Programs in effect, 1950	Expansions and additions, 1950-56	Programs in effect, 1956
Federal aid cost, New York	303.9	143.5	447.4
Federal aid given, New York	154.2	91.3	245.5
Loss	149.7	52.2	201.9

Tax foundation has estimated that New Yorkers had to shoulder 13.68 percent of the total Federal tax burden in 1950 and 13.33 percent in 1956. Our State, therefore, had to pay those percentages of the total cost of Federa-aid programs. During 1950, total Federal grant-in-aid payments for the continental United States amounted to $2,189.3 million, of which $303.9 million was paid in Federal taxes by New Yorkers. By 1956 the total had increased to $3,356.4 million and the cost to New York was $447.4 million.

BIGGER BUT NOT BETTER FOR NEW YORK

Federal grant-in-aid programs are being expanded all the time, both in dollar amount and in number of new undertakings.

The growth in existing programs and the addition of new programs gave New York State $91.3 million more in Federal aid in 1956 than in 1950. But New Yorkers had to pay $143.5 million more in Federal taxes to support those programs. The difference of $52.2 million further widened the gap between what Federal aid programs cost New Yorkers and what this State gets back in Federal aid.

The gap increased from $149.7 million in 1950 to the 1956 annual rate of loss of $201.9 million.

LESS AID, MORE MONEY

Now let's see what we could do with our savings if we did not have Federal-aid programs and the Federal taxes to support them.

First of all, New York could collect additional State taxes equal to all the Federal aid the State now receives and the total tax burden on the people of this State would still be reduced by more than $200 million a year.

Or that $200 million if collected by the State, would finance the State's capital construction program on a pay-as-you-go basis. Over the period of the next 6 years, that $200 million a year would total $1.2 billion. That sum would make it unnecessary for the State to borrow the authorized debt of $500 million for highways, $350 million for mental institutions, $30 million for grade crossing eliminations and the proposed $250 million for the State university.

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION

When the House of Representatives turned down this year's bill to provide Federal aid for school construction, they saved New York taxpayers $107 million. Under that bill New York would have received $93 million for school-building aid but the people of this State would have had to pay $200 million in Federal taxes for the program.

SUMMARY TABLE

The following table summarizes Federal aid to New York State and its local units of government in 1950 and 1956 as reported by the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, Report No. 442, United States Congress, June 1957:

Purpose	Fiscal year ended June 30— 1950	1956	Amount of increase or decrease	Percentage increase or decrease
Agricultural	$1,449,290	$2,167,913	$718,623	49.6
Surplus commodities	4,608,160	14,320,763	9,622,603	204.8
School lunch and school milk	4,445,541	9,198,106	4,752,565	106.9
Other school emergency grants	6,884	3,429,469	3,422,585	49,718.0
Vocational education	1,848,740	2,070,072	221,332	12.0
Colleges	223,837	217,934	−5,903	−2.6
Maritime school	45,045	74,770	29,725	66.0
Airports	2,470,758	933,959	−1,536,799	−62.2
Highways	31,631,185	51,478,275	19,847,090	62.7
Public health	6,061,652	7,595,282	1,533,630	25.3
Welfare	70,591,516	112,257,846	41,666,330	59.0
Wildlife	266,580	573,087	306,507	115.0
Unemployment Compensation and Employment Service Administration	27,826,009	31,751,422	3,925,413	14.1
Civil defense		2,021,745	2,021,745	
Housing	1,243,454	7,403,609	6,160,155	495.4
Veterans	1,854,181	37,061	−1,817,120	−97.3
Total	154,162,832	245,531,313	91,368,481	59.3

Although this aid may seem attractive, the fact is that the full amount and more, too, was taken out of New York State in the first place by Federal taxes. A joint Federal-State action committee of State governors and Federal officials this month announced a plan for reduction of Federal aid. The States would take over full responsibility for certain programs now costing the Federal Government about $500 million a year, and the Federal Government would relinquish certain taxes to the States. This is a proposal deserving the support of New York State taxpayers.

Widespread Support for Egg Crusade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the letters are still coming in to my office on the campaign for higher egg prices for farm women. One correspondent from Iowa says:

I could use a good number of items that I am neglecting—not luxuries, but necessities.

Another says:

I think the lack of egg funds has damaged the purchasing power of farm families more than anyone realizes but the farm people.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I have requested permission to insert these two letters together with an excellent coverage of the egg and poultry situation by the secretary of the Minnesota Poultry Hatchery Association, Mr. L. L. Bamgartner:

OSKALOOSA, IOWA, *August 12, 1957.*

MY DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: Congratulations on your fine article on the farm-egg situation which I read in the Des Moines Sunday Register.

We live on a farm about 60 miles east of Des Moines. The egg price here has been so terrible that many, many farm wives did not buy chicks this year.

You are so right when you say that when there is no egg money many household items are not purchased. I could use a good number of items that I am neglecting—not luxuries—but necessities.

Oftentimes I am asked why I don't go back to teaching as many of the girls are doing who had taught. But because of my three children I feel my place is in the home with them.

Two years ago when our Iowa Legislature passed the egg-grading law we were told that that would help the egg price, but it has been worse. I have sold many cases of lovely eggs the past months that scarcely averaged 20 cents per dozen while in the stores they were selling for almost 40 cents and in the larger cities on up to fifty-some cents.

We farm wives have a busy hard life. Not only do I have my family to cook for but many farmhands during the year, especially at harvesttime. With the cost of clothing for children so high it would sure be wonderful to have some profit from the eggs to help get some things they could really use.

I'm sure hoping your article is a step in the right direction.

Very sincerely,
Mrs. CARROLL L. BROWN.

WAVERLY, ILL., *August 15, 1957.*

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: I have read with much interest your crusade to do something about the egg prices for the farm women. My thanks to you for I think the lack of egg funds has damaged the purchasing power of farm families more than anyone realizes but the farm people. I hope you have success and you are in a position to be heard where we simply have to take what the poultry man gives us.

Very truly yours,

MRS. GEO. A. BROWN.

MINNESOTA POULTRY HATCHERY ASSOCIATION,
August 14, 1957.

MRS. COYA KNUTSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: I want to commend you most highly for the interest which you express in our Minnesota egg producers.

I am currently secretary of the Minnesota Poultry Hatchery Association and a director in the American Poultry and Hatchery Federation. I have been secretary of the Minnesota association for 21 years and have been in this business for 30 years and I am fully ware of the importance of poultry on our Minnesota family and diversified farms. I might add that I have devoted much time to doing everything possible to keep this poultry here on these farms.

I have done some writing and have expressed my views wherever and whenever possible when such matters were being considered. I originated the idea of prime hens in attempting to force the processors to grade these castoff hens from our egg production flocks, in view of the fact that most of them are of the highest quality poultry meat. My writings have appeared in quite a number of poultry magazines and papers throughout the United States and I believe it is beginning to bear some fruit.

We have many problems here and one of them is that the South, East and West commercial areas would like to produce all of the eggs and poultry and they are not very backward in pushing us out of the picture, if possible. It is regretable to learn that the loaning agencies right in the Department of Agriculture loan large sums of money to new poultrymen going into the business at a time when there is an overproduction.

Another problem is that our grain is going to the seaboard or Eastern and Southern States at a much lower rate than our processed poultry. Yesterday I called our depot agent and asked him what the tariff would be on shipping a carload of corn to New York City. He gave me a figure of 96½ cents per hundredweight, minimum car of 40,000 pounds.

Then, on a car of processed turkeys, 30,000 pounds minimum, the price would be $1.97 per pound. If it were less than 20,000 pounds, the rate would be $2,153 a hundredweight.

So you can see that they have quite an advantage on us from that standpoint. In other words, they can feed turkeys and chickens outside of New York City for just a fraction over what our feed and grain costs us right here in the Grain Belt.

As I understand it, the railroads claim they cannot raise that tariff in view of the fact that they are in competition with the boats on the Great Lakes.

I doesn't seem just right to me and I don't know what the answer is. I am not in a position to say whether or not it is a good thing for our farmers or not. However, it does not appeal to me as being in balance when grain gets to our competitive markets for about half of what it costs to ship the processed turkeys, eggs, or poultry products.

Again, I want to say that the efforts you are expending in the welfare of our poultry industry here in Minnesota is of tremendous importance to the economics of this State.

Very sincerely yours,

MINNESOTA POULTRY HATCHERY ASSOCIATION.
L. L. BAUMGARTNER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Webb Publishing Co. Marks 75th Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the St. Paul Pioneer Press on Sunday, August 18, 1957, which relates to one of the oldest companies, and one of the most outstanding and distinguished companies, in St. Paul, Minn.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM PRIVATE HOME TO CITY BLOCK—WEBB PUBLISHING MARKS 75TH YEAR

(By Carl Hennemann)

Good printing firms always seem to get bigger with the years.

Webb Publishing Co. was started on a dining room table in Fargo 75 years ago this month and now covers a full city block in St. Paul.

More than 300 power-driven presses and machines and 500 employees are able to turn out almost every kind of printed advertising wanted by American firms. Few printing plants turn out the printed word in so many different colors and sizes.

Webb publishes the time-honored rural magazine of the Midwest, The Farmer. Many persons think the company's biggest job has been to console, advise, entertain and encourage farmers through drought, depression, grasshopper plagues, wheat rust, and floods.

The Farmer has done that, but Webb also has built up a printing plant which can swiftly run off the Minneapolis telephone directory, which adds up to 25,000 manhours of work, 16 tons of ink, 55 carloads of paper. If piled in one heap, the directory would soar 14 miles into the sky.

Into the acres of whirring machines pour advertising jobs gathered up over the Nation by Webb's sales staff. Along with these jobs, the really big routines of every month include, by the most rigid schedule, the setting, proofreading, printing and mailing of Modern Medicine (cir. 160,000); The Catholic Digest (950,000 copies); and The Farmer (264,000). Formerly there was the Farmer's Wife, but it got so big (1,200,000) that Farm Journal in Philadelphia coveted its mailing list and bought it in 1939.

Edward A. Webb, born in India, son of a medical missionary dedicated himself to giving farmers in a new land the best information on methods which would make their farms pay.

His dining room table was his editorial sanctum. On it he and his wife addressed the magazine's labels. She stitched the first issues together on her sewing machine.

Circulation grew to 2,500. Mr. Webb decided he should get his message to a larger world. He moved to St. Paul in 1890. He was almost bogged out of business by the depression of 1893, but he worked so hard, day and night, that he weathered it. In that struggle he decided to put his equipment to use between issues of the Northwest Farmer, as his journal was first called. The Farmer and the firm's printing division have developed alongside each other.

Mr. Webb nursed his magazine's slowly growing circulation, first in 2 third-floor rooms on East Third, then in 5 second-floor rooms on Sibley. He finally took over half the ground floor of a building on the Athletic Club site. There he installed the first self-feeder press in the northwest.

In 1907, Webb Publishing Co. moved to its address at East 10th and now it fills a block bounded by that street, East 11th, Cedar, and Minnesota. The Farmer's Wife, published in Winona, was bought in 1903, when its circulation was 2,000. In 1929 Webb's bought the Farm, Stock, and Home, published in Minneapolis, and merged it with the Farmer.

Take a look into Webb's pressrooms today. There are 34 presses, 4 large rotaries to produce the magazines. The Hoe supermagazine 32-page, 2-colored rotary press is 63 feet long. There are two color machines, large single color equipment, offset presses, and many smaller units. In keeping modern, Webb's acquired plastic moulding equipment, a hydrocasting system, folding machines, gatherers and binders, a plate-curving machine, typing machine, and many other facilities.

In the last 5 years Webb's purchased a new square-back binder for Modern Medicine and the phone directories, and a new stitcher-trimmer for the Catholic Digest and the Farmer. The same department also acquired a new wrapping and mailing machine and a small sealing machine. The bindery installed a new six-station inserting and mailing machine, used principally by the Digest. The acquisition of new machines for the old is a continuous routine in printing firms that try to keep abreast of the American promotion field. At Webb's, there is always a machine going into the discard and a better one to take its place.

Aside from its machines, the ownership usually has building troubles. The firm was always planning ahead to take care of expansions when they came, but after plant expansions were carried out, the business expansion was always too big for the plant expansion.

Eight years ago, an 86- by 126-foot addition was constructed on East 11th for more presses and storage. Then came a face-lifting at the front along Cedar. After that the interior of the offices was redecorated. But the offices had multiplied by then. They had to be rearranged more efficiently and conveniently. Then a pressroom had to be relocated, the presses shifted and, finally, all pressrooms were converted into complete and compact units, each designed for certain types of production.

Up to a year ago, Webb's had a third section in its business setup, the Itasca Press, which published books. Mr. Webb had his heart set on farmers reading better books about farming. He also wanted farm schools and colleges to have these books. Later, Itasca added the books of Minnesota and Midwest authors, some of them fine literary products. A decline in Itasca's activities brought its end in July of 1956.

Webb's staff members have served as officers of many national organizations in the fields of agriculture, advertising and publishing. They also have gone on trade missions for the Federal Government and most of them have served in community and civic capacities.

Mr. Webb died in 1915. He had been a successful editor, businessman and leader. His advice to farmers over the years was sensible and sound and usually prophetic.

In the Farmer of September 1884, he wrote: "The main thing that the shrewd farmer in the Northwest will not be slow to discover is the important truth that they should promptly place themselves in a position not to depend entirely on one article of agriculture; not to pin their faith entirely on the wheat crop, but to add to their industries; to add stock, to pay attention to dairying, to poultry, and to all departments of farming."

But the shrewd farmer proved to be not so shrewd. Thousands of them went on as one-crop farmers until shifting markets, debts and bankruptcy proved the Farmer's advice was right. Diversified farming proved, after many years, to be the base of security for the Midwest, but it took most farming families more than one generation to take on the dairy cow, beef cattle, purebred swine and poultry, and to diversify crops.

The Webb operation passed into the hands of Mr. Webb's lieutenants when he died. Albert H. Harmon, an expert in the commercial printing field, and Horace C. Klein, Sr., advertising executive, headed the concern. Their sons, Reuel D. Harmon, now president, and Horace D. Klein, Jr., a vice president, secretary and board member, have been associated with them in a foursome for several decades. The elder Mr. Harmon died in 1949. The elder Mr. Klein, now 81, remains one of the active members of the staff and goes to work daily. He is chairman of the board. The 3 survivors of the foursome carry on with 2 other board members—Walfred E. Boberg, vice president, and Floyd C. Rupp, treasurer.

Opposition to Termination of Operations in Israel by Shell Oil Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and resolution sent to me by Mr. Aaron Riche, secretary, Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, Los Angeles, Calif., with regard to the termination of operations by the Shell Oil Co. in Israel. This is a matter of immediate importance and I believe my colleagues will find it of interest:

LOS ANGELES
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL,
Los Angeles, Calif., August 19, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
United States House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROOSEVELT: I have the honor to transmit for your information a copy of a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council at its regular meeting on Tuesday, August 13, 1957.

The Jewish Community Council is the coordinating body and spokesman for the Jewish community of the Los Angeles area, comprising nearly 500 Jewish organizations as institutional members of the council and representing a Jewish population of more than 400,000 in the Los Angeles area.

Sincerely,

AARON RICHE,
Secretary.

Whereas the Shell Oil Co. announced on July 23, 1957, that it would terminate its operations in Israel; and

Whereas this termination constitutes an economic blow to the State of Israel and was induced by pressure from governments of neighboring Arab countries; and

Whereas this demonstration of yielding to Arab demands for economic boycott of Israel has been deplored by leaders of all British political parties; and

Whereas this act by the Shell Oil Co. will merely increase Arab intransigence, strengthen the hand of Arab leaders who believe Israel can be destroyed through economic means, and may ultimately lead to a renewed conflagration in the Middle East with its disastrous results to the peace of the world: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council officially deplores the action of the Shell Oil Co. and urges it to reconsider its policy of yielding to the Arab economic boycott; and be it further

Resolved, That the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council express its deep concern to the officials of the Shell Oil Co., to the British Embassy, to the Secretary General of the United Nations, to the Secretary of State, to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and that this action be called to the attention of the more than 400 constituent member organizations of the Jewish Community Council representing over 400,000 members of the Jewish faith in the Los Angeles area.

AUGUST 13, 1957.

Is Industrial Use of Agricultural Products the Answer to Farm Surpluses?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to an article entitled "Is Industrial Use of Agricultural Products the Answer to Farm Surpluses?" written by former Representative Clifford R. Hope, who served for 30 years with great distinction and honor in the House of Representatives.

This article appeared in the High Plains Journal, issue of August 15, which is published at Dodge City, Kans., and is a farm publication for the Great Plains area.

Mr. Hope is a leading authority in the field of agriculture and is so recognized by all who are interested in this field.

In this article he stresses the need for a greatly expanded program of research for the processing of agricultural products for industrial use. Congress has for many years voted substantial sums of money for the control of our surplus farm products and I heartily endorse Mr. Hope's views as expressed in the article, that we should be spending many more millions for research for new fields of uses of farm products.

I commend this article to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IS INDUSTRIAL USE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS THE ANSWER TO SURPLUSES?

(By Clifford R. Hope)

The above is certainly not a new question. It has been asked many times since we became concerned about agricultural surpluses back in the 1920's. It has been the subject of much discussion. Over the years enthusiastic articles and speeches have been written about it. Congress has passed legislation on the subject; but in spite of all the talk and some activity, the net results have been discouraging.

The truth is, we have been going in the other direction. That is, in recent years industrial products have supplanted many agricultural products as raw materials in industry, and this has directly contributed to our present surpluses.

INDUSTRY OUTRESEARCHES AGRICULTURE

It looks as if industry has outresearched us. To illustrate: in recent years the natural fibers—cotton, wool, flax, and silk—have lost almost half of their former markets to synthetics like rayon, nylon, orlon, and a host of others. Detergents have replaced soap, made from tallow and grease, to the extent of two-thirds of our total household consumption. And in just the last 5 years, we have changed from a deficit in cattle hides to a surplus. The reason is easy to see when we learn that almost two-thirds of our shoes are made wholly or partly out of leather substitutes.

Congress has long been cognizant of this problem and has made efforts to deal with it. In the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 provision was made for the establishing of four regional research laboratories to work specifically on industrial uses for agricultural products. These laboratories have long since been established and are doing good work to the extent of their resources.

In 1946 Congress passed the Research and Marketing Act, and one of its important provisions authorized increased research in the utilization—including industrial utilization—of agricultural commodities, as well as research to develop new crops. Some work has been done on this program.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH COMMISSION

Last year Congress dealt with the matter again. In the Agricultural Act of 1956 there was a provision to set up a bipartisan commission on the increased industrial use of agricultural products, to consist of five members appointed by the President.

Ample funds were provided for the work of the Commission, and the President appointed five well qualified men, with J. Leroy Welch, of Omaha, as Chairman.

The Commission set up an able staff and brought together a group of consultants, together with 16 task force groups dealing with various aspects of the subject. The membership of these groups reads like a Who's Who in agriculture, science, and industry. The Commission worked diligently. On April 19 it filed an interim report, and a final report on June 5.

In this report the Commission takes a discouraging view of the idea that needs of an increasing population will absorb surpluses in the next few years. On that point it states: "While the anticipated continuing rise in population will present an impressive number of new mouths to feed each year, the momentum of improved agricultural techniques appears certain to outpace the population increase until at least 1965 and probably for a much longer period, again assuming that current relative prices prevail."

PROFITABLE INDUSTRIAL MARKETS

The Commission summed up the principal question before it as follows: Can the economy develop profitable industrial markets capable of absorbing enough of the existing farm production to minimize, possibly even to eliminate, the need for costly restrictions, supports, and surplus disposing operations?

The answer which the Commission came up with was "Yes, if—," and it went on to point out what must be done if such a program was to be successful. The summation on this point reads as follows:

"The first is a sufficiently sharp sense—lacking so far—of the importance, the possibilities, and the urgency of the industrial utilization approach to farm surplus problems.

"The second need is a greatly expanded program of fundamental and applied research—physical, chemical, biological, economic—to learn far more about the nature of agricultural raw materials and to determine what existing or new industrial products and processes might profitably use them. This work would not end in the laboratory; in promising cases it would go through the development stages of pilot-plant experiment and trial commercialization, which must precede full commercial use. The research and development program would mobilize the efforts of many scientific institutions—private, public, State, Federal, and perhaps even some in other countries; and in some cases the Government would share the cost of the research with private industries.

"The third need is to insure, through fellowships, scholarships, grants, and other means, that much more scientific talent is trained for and channeled into this neglected field of farm product research and development than it has engaged so far.

"The fourth need is to provide in certain cases, suitable financial incentives during a temporary trial or development period—for example, new products or processes that are expensive to launch or that seem less promising than alternative uses of risk capital, or that might lead to especially rapid disposal of surpluses

"The initial step in launching such a program is sound legislative action by Congress."

The Commission's final report embraces 135 pages, in addition to a 4-page summary. In the field of financing and administration, the Commission recommended that the amount now available for industrial utilization research in the Department of Agriculture be increased at least threefold. It also recommended that 15 percent of the annual gross receipts from the Customs revenues be alloted for the industrial utilization program. This would amount to bebetween seventy-five and one hundred million dollars per year.

The Commission made two alternative recommendations for the administration of the program. The first is the establishment of a five-member nonpartisan Agricultural Research and Industrial Board to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This Board would allocate funds, make contracts with research institutions, and direct and coordinate the program, but would not itself engage in research.

The second alternative is to place the responsibility for the program in the Department of Agriculture under a director with the title of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, appointed by the President, who would be in charge of research and education within the Department and would coordinate all agricultural research in the Federal Government.

Since the filing of the report, several bills have been introduced in Congress to carry out the first alternative. With adjournment so near, no action can be taken on the legislation at this session, but the bills will be before the Congress and the country for discussion during the congressional recess, and undoubtedly will be considered in the next session.

On May 10, 1957, the Research Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture held a hearing on the interim report of the Commission. The Department of Agriculture was represented at that hearing by Assistant Secretary Peterson and Dr. Shaw, Administrator of the Agricultural Research Service.

At this hearing it developed that the Department was not in entire accord with the recommendations of the Commission as to how the research should be handled. Its representatives indicated that while they felt there should be increased research in industrial uses, this should be handled as a part of the Department's present research activity.

AGRICULTURE SPENDS LESS FOR RESEARCH

It was brought out at this hearing and also in the Commission's report that industry was regularly expending $3 billion or 3 percent of its gross sales for intensive, systematic and continued research; and that in some industries, particularly in the petrochemical field, research expenditures were sometimes as much as 7 percent of the gross income.

In the case of agricultural commodities, total annual expenditures for research are approximately $375 million or about 1 percent of gross sales, $190 million of this is expended by State and Federal Government, of which only $18 million goes for research in the field of new uses.

Of course industry is spending additional sums on utilization, and very successfully. We have an example of that right in our own midst in the case of the Grain Products Company of Dodge City, where local businessmen took the initiative and the risk and spent their own money in working with scientists at Kansas State College in successfully developing new uses and markets for milo.

Certainly we should continue to welcome all possible cooperation of private industry in this type of research. However, I think everyone agrees that overall coordinated agricultural research must be carried on by the Government, or at least with Government supervision and funds, as recommended by the Commission. And it must be remembered that the Commission's plan calls for making full use of the resources of private industry.

Well, what does it all add up to? It is apparent, I think, that we would be overly optimistic if we accept the idea that miracles are likely to be performed or any great accomplishments take place soon. Research does not operate that way.

But for the long pull, I think there is much merit in the report. The most controversial thing about it is the plan of putting all agricultural research in the hands of a nonpartisan board or in the alternative—setting up a new administrative office in the Department to deal solely with research and education. The Department has raised questions which indicate its probable opposition to either of these plans in their entirety.

While recognizing the great achievements of the Department in production research, I have been disappointed in what it has accomplished in utilization research. Congress has been attempting to get more done along this line for 20 years, but Department officials dealing with research during this period have either lacked the imagination or inclination to take the bold steps or the leadership that is necessary if we are to make real progress in industrial uses.

What we need now is a new, fresh agency headed by men who believe there is pay dirt in utilization research and who can put vigor, enthusiasm and new ideas into such a program. There is much value also in having an agency to deal across the board with anyone who can help in such a program, whether a governmental or nongovernmental agency.

There will be plenty for the Department of Agriculture to do in such a program, but why not be able to go out and get the best that private, research can offer also.

I do not say that even this approach will get all the results we want. It may be that because of the cheapness of coal and petroleum and other sources of industrial alcohol and synthetic fibers, we can never use farm commodities in competition with them for industrial uses and still pay the farmer a decent price. But there are many other fields ready for exploration.

I shall not be satisfied, nor do I believe you will be, until we have made more diligent and effective efforts in this matter than in the past. The amount of money called for may be large, but all of our experience in the past has shown that in the overall, money spent for research is returned manyfold.

Reduction in Military Reserve Units

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I believe it would be a grave mistake for our country to reduce the size of our military Reserve units during this critical period of world affairs. The situation today demands that we keep not only a reasonable-sized Regular Establishment but also a large and strong combat-ready Reserve force. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the August 21, 1957, issue of the Evening Star which deals with this subject. I hope that the Members of the House and the Senate will give most serious consideration to this matter and provide ample funds to the Defense Department for the purpose of meeting all the needs of maintaining a reasonable-sized Regular Establishment backed up by a large and strong combat-ready Reserve force.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESERVES TO GET PENTAGON AX—PROTESTS RISE

(By John A. Giles)

Military reserve units are next on the list scheduled to feel the Pentagon's economy ax.

Plans for streamlining the units are being considered along with the proposal that the Regular Forces, already trimmed by 100,000, be reduced by more than 200,000 additionally, it was learned today.

W. H. Francis, Jr., Assistant Defense Secretary for Manpower, has written the Reserve Officers' Association that advances and improvements make it possible to effect reductions in manpower while still providing increased combat potential and that those concepts * * * will be applied to the reserve components as rapidly as possible.

However, he indicated that at least a part of the reason for trimming the Reserves was financial when he added:

"At the same time, the attendant savings dollars will contribute to the security of ur Nation's financial condition."

SAME OLD STORY RECALLED

Even though a final decision is not ex-ected before November, the proposal today rought angry blasts from two quarters.

Brig. Gen. deLesseps S. Morrison, ROA resident, asserted it was the same old tory of the Pentagon's treatment of Re-erves.

He said his outfit was concerned about he loss of millions of dollars of investment hich will occur when those returning from ctive duty go into inactive status. He said small appropriation would preserve this sset.

He proposed that 100,000 be added to the trength of the Reserves to soften the effect f the 100,000-man reduction ordered in he Regulars.

Mr. Francis said, however, that numeri-al strength * * * is not alone a satisfactory ndicator of military potential.

SCUTTLING OF 1955 PLAN FEARED

Chairman BROOKS of the House Armed ervices Reserves Subcommittee said he was pprehensive that the Defense Department ow proposed to scuttle the Reserve program aid down by Congress in 1955 and promised is group would hold hearings.

The Louisiana Democrat said it appears to im the Reserve program, which was coming long fine, had been deliberately slowed own and said he intended to write a letter f protest to Defense Secretary Wilson.

However, an authoritative source said Mr. Wilson and associates already are at work n a new Reserve program and that the goals robably will be modified downward in 1959 nd 1960, in keeping with the trend.

He also said it now appears likely the egular forces will be reduced by much more han the 200,000 Mr. Wilson mentioned as inimum planning figure.

CORRESPONDENCE RELEASED

The ROA also released correspondence be-ween General Morrison and Sherman dams, assistant to President Eisenhower.

Mr. Adams said Mr. Eisenhower has re-uested me to express his appreciation of our recent letter concerning the strength atio between standing and Reserve forces nd to assure you that he believes deeply in aintaining strong and Ready Reserve com-onents.

However, he added, that sheer numbers re important, but the degree of readiness, tate of training and such material factors s equipment and buildings likewise deter-ine reserve strength.

As a result of screening programs already arried out the Armed Forces have reduced he strength of their Ready Reserves to 2.9 illion, the maximum authorized by Con-ress.

Within this ceiling the goal is to attain a rill-pay strength of 1,050,000, which is 9,000 more than this year.

Youth Speaks on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from a young friend whose views on foreign aid are so refreshing that I would like to give my colleagues the pleasure that reading her letter gave me. Carolyn has the ability so wonderfully peculiar to youth to go to the heart of a problem, without the distractions of extenuating and modifying considerations that we see as we grow older. Her appreciation of the essence of economic aid has particular value to us when we consider that it will indeed be the Carolyns who will be the leaders of the next century:

DEAR CONGRESS: I may be only 13 years old and a little ignorant, but at least I'm not all fouled up in politics. At least I can make a good decision without thinking that election day is coming up. I know I don't know all the facts about "Ike's foreign aid policy" but all I can think of is people who need our help and all we can give them. I know that all the Congressmen wouldn't stop to think of politics if they saw a sick person in need of help. I know that they would help that person. Well then why not help the countries that need our support? Giving aid to other countries would benefit the United States and all free countries as well. Your argument is probably that the people of the United States don't want to spend their tax money on the helpless and poor. I really don't see how you can tell. There are about 160 million people in the United States and I don't think all those people can be selfish enough to keep the money they don't need one-fourth as much as the people in foreign countries. What happens in the 20th century will affect the 21st century very much. Since I am going to be a future leader in that century please just think awhile about Ike's plan.

Thanks a lot.

CAROLYN REESE,
Age 13, Future Leader of the 21st Century.

Are We Bleeding Ourselves White?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter received from Eugene W. Castle and the article which was written by him that appeared in the American Legion magazine:

NEW YORK, *July 1, 1957.*

Hon. MORGAN M. MOULDER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOULDER: There is enclosed copy of my article Are We Bleeding Ourselves White? which appeared in a recent issue of the American Legion magazine. The time has arrived for all Americans, both in and out of Government, to reappraise critically our foreign aid spending as a matter of our own self-interest.

The White House demands for foreign aid, recently endorsed by the Senate would, if adopted, hide foreign military aid from the Congress by incorporating it in the defense budget; provide for American duplicate economic aid by nearly a billion dollars under a system of so-called defense support; provide through our $750 million annual foreign food giveaway for American interference in the internal banking affairs of other countries; authorize the blank check for the President that the last Congress rejected—this time for $2 billion to be spent at the will of the Executive and his appointed global givers, without strings, and within a 3-year period.

From the year 1792 to 1950, our Government collected $406 billion in taxes.

From 1950 through 1956, our Government collected $433 billion in taxes.

For $406 billion in 158 years, we fought and won 6 wars.

For $433 billion in 7 years we fought 1 war in Korea without victory; we fought and are still fighting a cold war that we seem to be losing even in Formosa and, more recently, with our allies in Great Britain.

We cannot continue to support those who, if the chips were down, would not support us. We cannot buy allies and friends, but we could spend ourselves into bankruptcy and war. In that tragic event, there would be no foreign aid for Americans.

Sincerely,

EUGENE W. CASTLE.

ARE WE BLEEDING OURSELVES WHITE?

(By Eugene W. Castle)

Early in the century the United States established a policy which came to be known as dollar diplomacy. This meant the use of American diplomatic power to promote and safeguard our financial interests abroad, so Americans could invest in overseas enterprises without too much risk of having their money confiscated by foreign governments or politicos in need of funds.

Usually those foreign investments meant profits to the investors, sometimes handsome profits. However, the policy did not sit well with the liberals of that time. They decried the use of diplomatic and military pressure to insure investments, and dollar diplomacy was roundly denounced as a wicked form of meddling in the affairs of other countries.

Today we have a new kind of dollar diplomacy. It too involves the use of American money abroad, but nowadays we are dealing in billions, rather than millions. And, since the billions are public funds provided by American taxpayers, there is an amazing nonchalance in the way our bureaucrats ladle out our money to foreign potentates. Of course profit is not our motive. The fact that we have gained little or nothing from our giveaways is quite evident from the record.

In the past 10 years we have given $60 billion to foreign nations which is euphemistically referred to as foreign aid. The avowed purpose, of course, is to win their friendship, but the age-old truth that you can't buy friends is again demonstrated by results in this instance. Our billions have bought us mighty few friends, but they've built up a tremendous reservoir of resentment and even hatred against us. Further, our mammoth handouts have involved us in explosive situations around the world, hopelessly trapping us in the foreign entanglements that President Washington warned of many years ago.

Curiously, unlike the liberals of an earlier day, our current crop of heavy thinkers do not deplore this international kibitzing but want it stepped up. They demand even more billions for foreign governments and a greater use of American resources and technical assistance everywhere on earth. Further, they see nothing improper in employing American GI's to police these grandiose global projects, and in having American fighting men on hand to settle any big or little wars that might erupt because of our meddling in matters that are none of our business.

If these advocates of lavish foreign aid were down-at-the-heel crackpots the situation would not be so serious. Unfortunately, the advocates of greater financial intervention abroad are quite often people who

occupy prominent positions where they can and do exert tremendous influence. Among them are Nelson Rockefeller, Walter Reuther, Chester Bowles, Paul Hoffman, Harold Stassen, Milton Eisenhower, and Senator Jacob K. Javits. A brother of the Senator, Benjamin A. Javits, has set what is probably the loftiest aim for global spending. This Javits heads an outfit called World Development Corp., Inc. Appearing before a Senate committee in the spring of 1956, he startled the Senators with the following:

"We have to pick up the globe and ask ourselves how much capital investment it would take to develop the whole world to our own level. I estimate it will take $2 trillion to begin the job. It may take 10 to 15 years.

Mr. Javits didn't say that his estimated two trillions of dollars for global elevation would have to come from the American taxpayer, but you may be sure it wouldn't come from the French, the British, the Saudi Arabians, or the Russians.

The guiding principle of our foreign aid is that it is to frustrate the ambitions of the Soviet to take over the world. Now and then the Russians do show impatience at certain aspects of our lavish handouts, but probably no more than is shown by beneficiaries. By now the Politburo probably feels that the more of our substance we give away indiscriminately, the better off the Soviet will be.

Certainly the U. S. S. R. hasn't made out too badly to date. During World War II we gave the Soviet $12,000,000,000 of the $42,000,000,000 total. Following the war we invested $2,700,000,000 in a global relief project called UNRRA. Unfortunately, ex-Senator Herbert H. Lehman, the first administrator of UNRRA, allowed himself to be persuaded to distribute relief through the de facto Soviet-controlled governments in the conquered countries of Eastern Europe. This was a strategic victory for the Soviets, who were thus able to appear before their subject peoples as humanitarians while American taxpayers footed the bill.

Even today this sort of thing continues. Three years ago Congress passed a resolution requiring aid shipments to be so marked that those receiving them would know they came from the United States. This mark American campaign, as it was called, was to make it difficult for Communists to obliterate or change the marks to credit Soviet Russia as the donor. An Army packaging expert, John J. Shaughnessy, who tried to enforce this congressional ruling, was dismissed from his job. After his dismissal the New York Journal-American investigated shipments on the New York waterfront and found only a single instance where goods we were giving to Europeans were properly marked Made in the United States of America, as recommended by Congress.

Thus we continue to provide material which the Soviets can use to their benefit and to our detriment. But there are other reasons why the wily Russians have no serious objection to our foreign aid, and would probably be happy to see it continued on an even bigger scale. One reason was stated by Charles Sawyer, who served as Secretary of Commerce in President Truman's Cabinet. Mr. Sawyer had an important part in setting up the Marshall Plan and was at first an enthusiastic advocate of foreign aid. But a close second look changed his mind. He explains this as follows:

"Neither individuals nor nations are made friendly or even grateful by handouts. Those who are given money soon think it is owed to them. This assumption that the more money we give away the more good we accomplish is also wrong. It is wrong because the emotions which really influence people—pride, face-saving, age and customs, racial, religious and national enthusiasms or prejudices—are ignored."

The Soviets are also well aware that a vast giveaway program never satisfies everyone, and they exploit to the fullest the resulting dissatisfaction. For example, President Eisenhower has asked for a $200 million bank check to be spent in the Middle East. Does the President think he can spread this around in a way that will gain us good will in both Israel and the Arab countries? There's bound to be resentment, probably in both camps, and you may be sure the Russians will be around to take advantage of it.

Indeed, the Russians have us over a barrel. Our present foreign policy is based on foreign aid. We meet crises with only one remedy, money. Knowing this, the Red rulers can drain off our resources by the simple procedure of stirring up trouble in one place after another. From past experience they know that our handouts will do the Soviet Union little harm. As proof, consider just a few of the things that have been done so far in the name of foreign aid.

We gave more than a billion dollars to the shaky Government of Indochina before that country capitulated to the Reds. We gave Norway $300 million which was promptly applied to the reduction of Norway's internal debt. We gave Denmark $100 million which the Danes used in the same way. We are providing free airplane excursions for thousands of Arabs visiting their religious shrine at Mecca. We are paying all living expenses and tuition costs for the sons of hundreds of wealthy Persians attending American universities. In Portugal we have paid for a 6-lane highway 15 miles long connecting Lisbon with the gambling resort of Estoril. Our tax dollars have provided dress suits for Grecian undertakers, public baths for Egyptian camel-drivers, and even iceboxes for Eskimos.

I could go on for many pages listing the many silly things being bought by your tax dollars, but that will give you the general idea and will explain why our own debt remains higher per capita than the debt of any nation on earth.

The Russians do things differently. Being shrewd businessmen and employing the most advanced capitalistic methods, they gain the respect of their prospects by driving hard bargains. They give absolutely nothing away, and if the prospective buyer is a bit hard up for cash they advance it at a profitable interest rate. Using these tactics, their star salesmen Khrushchev and Bulganin have conducted whirlwind sales drives in India, Burma, China, Poland, and elsewhere. They've sold vast quantities of Russian goods, and they've sold themselves and the Soviet system in the process.

Everything has been done on a firm capitalistic basis. Nothing has been promised without a demand for a full price to be paid for future values to be received when, and if, the Soviet delivers the goods. For example in India, which has received a billion dollars' worth of free goods from the United States, the Russians agreed to furnish that country with ore-mining machinery only on condition that India would purchase, not get for nothing, a million tons of rolled ferrous metals. Even the widely heralded gift of a Soviet steel mill to Nehru was no handout. It was to be repaid by 12-year credits at 2½ percent interest. In Burma Khrushchev and Bulganin made a deal whereby the Soviet and its satellites were to get half the Burmese rice crop, and in return would help Burma expand its agriculture and industry. No free goods. In Afghanistan the Soviet's traveling salesmen offered $100 million to be used for the purchase of goods in the Soviet Union. However, unlike the openhanded Americans, the Russkys weren't giving the money, they were just lending it, at interest.

If you think the hard economic facts of life have a sobering effect on our great givers, you are greatly mistaken. Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, when he was attorney general of New York State, informed a group at Colgate University that the Eisenhower administration should invest $100 billion in a program of peaceful economic competition with the Communists. Paul Hoffman told a Pennsylvania audience that no less than $200 billion would be needed for foreign aid in the next 5 years. Labor Baron Walter Reuther has proposed that we give 2 percent of our gross product to foreign aid for the next 25 years. In round figures, Reuther's generosity would cost the American taxpayer, including the members of Reuther's union, $8 billion a year.

One of the foremost advocates of bigger and better handouts to foreign nations is a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, W. W. Rostow. This professor wants us to spend between two and three billions a year. His liberality with American tax money is set forth in a book written in collaboration with one Max F. Millikan. The tome tries to sell the idea that Americans should contribute between $2 billion and $3 billion a year for foreign aid. Showing how the claque operates to promote global spending, this book was reviewed in the New York Times by J. K. Galbraith. Professor Galbraith, who has held a number of Government jobs and is now teaching at Harvard, made this interesting observation in his laudatory review of the Rostow-Millikan book:

"All the while economic aid, for which our capacity is inherently vast, has been parceled out with great and seemingly increased reluctance."

Possibly the taxpayers who foot the bill for our global giveaways are reluctant, as the professor says, but certainly there has been no discernible reluctance on the part of our present administration or the two which preceded it. Witness the way this evil has grown.

The leftwing Americans for Democratic Action are of course all-out for bigger and better handouts to foreigners. This outfit, which exerts a strange influence in certain political quarters, has come up with a new yardstick for foreign aid. It maintains that American money should be given away on the basis of the ability of the recipient nations to use the money. No consideration should be given to United States budgetary considerations.

The United Nations, which gets so much money from the United States at present, is trying for more by means of a project called SUNFED. This means Special U. N. Fund for Economic Development, and to implement it an estimated $50 billion would be needed during the next decade. If we fall for this, it will mean that the United States will, as usual, be the biggest contributor, but the American people will have nothing to say about the spending of all these billions.

The worst of it is, these people have a pretty good chance of maintaining and increasing this irresponsible spending. As Senator JOHNSTON of South Carolina, put it: "The one-world theorists are firmly entrenched. It is now easier for a foreign government to contact and get assistance from Washington than it is for an American citizen."

Meanwhile, we are hard pressed at home to provide our own 170 million Americans with the things needed here. We are chronically short of hospitals, schools, roads, and modern housing. Our municipal services are in many cases run down. Research projects to improve health and lengthen life are forced to operate at a snail's pace.

The reason, of course, is because we don't have enough money for all these things. By the time the Federal Government takes its lion's share of the available tax money, the States and the municipal governments have little for improvements that are crying for attention. New and ingenious ways of taxing an already overtaxed public are constantly being studied and tried out. And to provide some of the necessary services, the American people are constantly being called on for voluntary contributions of time and money.

Only $5 billion, the cost of 1 year's foreign aid, would give an extra hundred dollars a year to every parent for every child in this country, and still leave a billion dollars over. It would set up a fund which would give $50 a week to every person over 65. It would build enough schools and hospitals and provide enough money for scientific research to win the war on the worst diseases ravaging mankind. It would provide 500,000 homes worth $10,000 apiece. Or it would make possible a tax cut which would mean real money to tens of millions of people in the moderate-income bracket.

The latter possibily is one that seems to frighten some of our politicians. Some of the politicos, eminently practical, want no tax cuts because such action would run counter to the axiom: "Tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect." Other politicians oppose tax cuts since they have been sold the idea that if taxes are cut inflation will result. Their theory is that if the money is not taken by Uncle Sam, people will spend it on things for themselves, and this will cause prices to rise. This in turn will force wages up, we will have inflation, and everything will go bust.

This view is as superficial and erroneous as it is pessimistic. At the present time labor is starting a new round of demands for higher wages. If the demands are granted, which is likely, prices will again be forced up. Thus we will have another upward movement of the inflationary cycle.

A most important reason for demands for higher wages is the fact that almost a third of every dollar that the wage earner gets is taken away from him in taxes. At the same time everything he buys costs a lot more than it should because of all the open and hidden taxes that are loaded on it. If politicians honestly want to combat inflation they can make a start by permitting the workingman to keep more of the dollar he earns, and by allowing him to get better value for his money by eliminating some of the taxes that are built into the things he has to buy. A start can be made toward an honest dollar and honest value for that dollar by cracking down at once on the activities of the people who seem to be intent on bleeding this Nation and its taxpayers white.

Unfortunately, this is not going to happen if we just sit and hope for it. That is perfectly obvious from the fact that it hasn't happened in spite of solemn campaign pledges to reduce spending and taxes. The next move, then, is up to you. Many Congressmen and Senators are committed to the reckless giveaway program described here. Most are either opposed to it or have not made up their minds. But all of them have one thing in common—a certain sensitivity to the wishes and demands of their constituents. If the wishes of the American people are made known to them in unmistakable fashion, not even all the concentrated pressure of the global givers will be able to pry additional billions out of the United States Treasury.

Indian Termination Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, from time to time we as Members of Congress receive correspondence relative to the American Indians and perhaps we may find it difficult to answer some of the questions posed to us. Perhaps this information will help in answering our correspondents. Many of us remember that in the 83d Congress we passed House Concurrent Resolution 108, which declared that:

Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship; and

Whereas the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is declared to be the sense of Congress that, at the earliest possible time, all of the Indian tribes and the individual members thereof located within the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all of the following-named Indian tribes and individual members thereof, should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from the disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians: The Flathead Tribe of Montana, the Klamath Tribe of Oregon, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, the Potawatomi Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and those members of the Chippewa Tribe who are on the Turtle Mount Reservation, N. Dak. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that, upon the release of such tribes and individual members thereof from such disabilities and limitations, all offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all other offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose primary purpose was to serve any Indian tribe or individual Indian freed from Federal supervision should be abolished. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior should examine all existing legislation dealing with such Indians and treaties between the Government of the United States and each such tribe, and report to Congress at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 1, 1954, his recommendations for such legislation as, in his judgment, may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.

During the 83d Congress a program of termination of Federal supervision over services especially provided for American Indians was undertaken and legislation was enacted which terminated this supervision over the following tribes: Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin; Klamath Tribe of Oregon, 60 small tribes, bands, groups or communities of western Oregon, Alabama-Coushatta Tribes of Texas, Unitah-Ouray Tribes of Utah, and four bands of Paiute of Utah. During the 84th Congress termination programs were authorized for three Oklahoma tribes—Ottawa, Peoria, and Wyandotte Tribes. A few days ago the House of Representatives passed a bill providing for the termination of Federal supervision of 14 California rancherias, bands, or groups. This bill, H. R. 2824, is pending in the Senate at the moment. In each of the above instances the legislation was introduced upon the request and with the consent of the respective tribal councils or organizations.

In keeping with our responsibility for American Indian legislation, I, as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Interior on August 1, 1957, asking for a report on the steps the Bureau of Indian Affairs is taking to implement House Concurrent Resolution 108, 83d Congress. I have received the following letter and synopses from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and I ask unanimous consent to have them inserted in the RECORD at this point.

It should be noted that no synopses are included with respect to the Menominee or Klamath Tribes inasmuch as legislation regarding these tribes has already been passed this session or is pending.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 19, 1957.

Hon. JAMES A. HALEY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HALEY: On August 7 we acknowledged your letter of August 1, in which you requested a report on the steps the Bureau of Indian Affairs is taking to implement House Concurrent Resolution 108, 83d Congress.

The 83d and 84th Congresses enacted 9 laws to terminate the special Federal trusteeship over the affairs of certain tribes, either directly as a mandate of House Concurrent Resolution 108 or upon recommendation of this Department as feasible and desirable in keeping with the intent of the resolution. We are enclosing synopses of the accomplishment of termination of the trusts in certain instances, and of the administrative activities to terminate the trusts where the action is still transitional pursuant to the terms of the laws.

With regard to the additional Indian jurisdictions listed in House Concurrent Resolution 108 for which the Department submitted legislative proposals to the Congress to terminate the trusteeship, but which the Congress has not enacted, we believe that in order to give your subcommittee a detailed up-to-date status report we will have to correspond with the tribes affected and our field agencies. We will report to you as soon as possible, but we frankly doubt that it can be accomplished prior to the adjournment of the current congressional session.

May we say that we feel that a summing-up will be beneficial to the Department, even as we hope it will aid the Congress. We hope to have available for the next session a report that will be mutually helpful.

Sincerely yours,

ROGER ERNST,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

WESTERN OREGON INDIANS OF OREGON, PUBLIC LAW 588, 83D CONGRESS (68 STAT. 724)

The act of August 13, 1954, supra, provides for the termination of Federal supervision over certain tribes and bands of Indians located in western Oregon, and their individual members.

This act applies to 60 tribes, bands, groups or communities of Indians. Final rolls were required only for the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community and the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians. The Siletz Tribes, with tribal holdings totaling 2,561 acres elected to have all the land sold and received proceeds of about $500,000. Of the 597 acres owned by the Grand Ronde Tribes, 253 acres were sold with the remaining 344 acres transferred to Harold Fuller, a Sheridan, Oregon attorney, who was designated as the trustee. A 37-acre tract of the so-called administrative reserve land formerly used by the Indian Bureau on the

Siletz Reservation was transferred at the request of the Indians to the City of Siletz and will be used as a park. Another tract of 6 acres located at Empire, Oregon was turned over to that community for use as a community center for both the Indians and non-Indians.

A proclamation announcing the removal of Federal supervision under the terms of this act was published in the Federal Register on August 18, 1956. However, it has been necessary for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to issue certain title documents for land sales transacted under the provisions of this act. The Bureau is likewise preparing a special roll involving a number of tribes terminated under this act for the distribution of a judgment awarded under the Act of August 30, 1954 (68 Stat. 979).

ALABAMA AND COUSHATTA TRIBES OF TEXAS, PUBLIC LAW 627, 83D CONGRESS (68 STAT. 768)

The act of August 23, 1954, supra, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to convey the lands (some 3,200 acres of forest and assigned homesites) held in trust by the United States for the Alabama and Coushatta Indians (approximately 450 members) to the State of Texas, to be held in trust by the State for the tribes and subject to the concurrence of a majority of the Indians to any proposal for disposition. The Secretary was also required to proclaim the cancellation of the indebtedness of the tribes to the United States (approximately $40,000), and to revoke the Federal corporate charter granted to the tribes pursuant to the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984). This termination of Federal trust legislation differed from the other five laws enacted by the 83d Congress in that the Alabama and Coushatta Indians continue to be eligible for admission to schools and hospitals maintained by the United States on the same terms that apply to Indians who are still beneficiaries of a Federal trust.

The Secretary, on June 23, 1955, proclaimed the land conveyance, debt cancellation, I. R. A. charter revocation, and all statutes of the United States which restrict Indians because of their status as Indians are no longer applicable to the Alabama and Coushatta Tribes of Texas. The proclamation had been held in abeyance for several months due to the fact that the Department had entered into a Johnson-O'Malley contract with the State for educational assistance for the fiscal year 1955 prior to the passage of the Termination Act in August 1954. In order to maintain faith in the contract, it was necessary to defer the transfer of the land trust until July 1, 1955. The Federal trust termination was made effective that day.

Since the Federal trust termination, Alabama and Coushatta Indians have continued courses in Federal Indian schools. In the first year after termination, only seven members found it necessary to call upon Indian hospitals for medical services, thus indicating self-reliance in all instances other than major illnesses, mostly of indigents. In a recent (March 5, 1957) summation of the Alabama and Coushatta status in Texas by the Office of the Attorney General in Austin, no untoward situation was revealed in the transition from Federal to State auspices.

THE UTE INDIANS OF THE UINTAH AND OURAY RESERVATION OF UTAH, PUBLIC LAW 671, 83D CONGRESS (68 STAT. 868)

The act of August 27, 1954 supra, provides for the partition and distribution of the assets of the Ute Indian Tribe, of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah, between the mixed-blood and full-blood members thereof, and for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the mixed-blood members of that tribe; provides for a development program for the full-blood members of the tribe; and for other purposes.

A final membership roll published April 5, 1956, shows a mixed-blood membership of 490 and a full-blood membership of 1,314. On this basis, the ratio for the division of assets was established as .728314 for the full-blood group and .2716186 for the mixed-blood group.

The mixed-blood group organized as the Affiliated Ute citizens of the State of Utah, and the plan to carry out the handling and distribution of their assets was approved November 2, 1956. The full-blood development plan involving a family plan and the development of reservation resources was approved December 14, 1956.

The division of assets is progressing satisfactorily, and to date the two groups have agreed to the division of tribal buildings, equipment, materials, supplies, credit activities, funds. Final approval action is in process on the division of range land. Only the timber lands and agricultural lands will then remain to be divided.

The act requires that the division be completed within 12 months unless an extension of time is granted administratively. Since it was not possible for the two groups to complete the division within the 12-month period, an extension was granted whereby such division is to be completed by December 4, 1957.

The handling and distribution plan of the mixed-bloods is being carried out very satisfactorily, and the development plan for the full-bloods is getting under way promisingly. The division of assets is being accomplished by mutual agreement between the two groups and their business-like efforts to accomplish the requirements of the act are very commendable.

The removal of Federal supervision over the property of the mixed-blood group and individual members thereof is to be accomplished by August 27, 1961.

THE PAIUTE INDIANS OF UTAH, PUBLIC LAW 762, 83D CONGRESS (68 STAT. 1099)

The act of September 1, 1954, supra, provides for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of certain tribes, bands, and colonies of Indians, in the State of Utah and individual members thereof. This act specifically refers to four small bands of Paiute Indians, namely, Indian Peaks with an enrollment of 26 members and tribal land holdings of 8,960 acres; Kanosh with an enrollment of 42 members and tribal land holdings of 5,919 acres; Koosharem with an enrollment of 34 members and tribal land holdings of 440 acres; and Shivwits with an enrollment of 130 members and tribal land holdings of 27,520 acres.

All tribal assets have been transferred to the Walker Bank & Trust Co., of Salt Lake City, Utah, which has been designated as the trustee. The trust agreement requires the trustee to sell all tribal holdings of the Indian Peaks Band, 400 acres of the Koosharem Band, and 26,688 acres of the Shivwits Band. The Kanosh Band divided its tribal lands among its members. Forty acres of the Koosharem tribal lands were deeded to two of its members as their share of tribal assets. Eight hundred and forty acres of the Shivwits tribal lands are being retained by the band as homesites for its members. All subsurface rights to all lands owned by the Indians of these four bands have been transferred to the trustee to be held for a period of 10 years.

A proclamation announcing the removal of Federal supervision over these four bands was published in the Federal Register by the Department of the Interior on March 1, 1957.

OTTAWA TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA, PUBLIC LAW 943, 84TH CONGRESS (70 STAT. 963)

The act of August 3, 1956, supra, provides for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Ottawa Tribe and of individual members thereof. By a resolution of February 18, 1956, the tribe had approved the bill subject to the addition of two provisions concerning final rolls and taxes.

The Ottawa Tribe originally lived in the Georgian Bay area of Canada. The Ottawa Reservation in Ottawa County, Okla., was established by treaty in 1867. In December 1954, its estimated enrollment was 600, of whom 290 lived on or near the reservation. Virtually all members could speak and read and write English. Land under administration of the Bureau consisted of 518 acres of allotted land. There was no tribal land.

The principal requirements of the act are: Transfer to each member unrestricted title to personal and real property held in trust, partition or sale of fractionated land at request of an owner, a special program of education and training for members who desire it, publication of final roll, and formal ending of Federal trust relationship within 3 years of date of act.

Because the proposed final roll prepared by the tribe was not acceptable, the Bureau will request the area director at Muskogee to prepare one. The tribal membership will then be determined through challenges and appeals based on that roll.

PEORIA TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA, PUBLIC LAW 921, 84TH CONGRESS (70 STAT. 937)

The act of August 2, 1956, supra, provided for termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Peoria Tribe and of the individual members thereof. By resolution of February 18, 1956, the tribe had approved the bill.

The Peorias, who lived originally in Illinois, were settled with four other tribes on the Peoria and Miami Reserve in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1867–68. In December 1954 their estimated enrollment was 466, of whom 180 lived on or near the reservation. All could speak and read and write English. There was no land under the administration of the Bureau as the trust period expired on the Peorias in 1915. With the exception of two Peoria-Quapaw children attending a Bureau-operated boarding school, the Bureau was in 1956 rendering no special services to the tribe.

The principal requirements of the act are: Preparation of a final roll, removal of all restrictions on land owned by members regardless of where the land is located, provision of a vocational training program for those members who may desire it, and a formal termination of Federal trusteeship of the tribe and its members within 3 years of the date of the act.

A proposed final roll of the Peoria Tribe was published in the Federal Register on May 9, 1957. Appeals are currently being received and decided upon by the Secretary.

WYANDOTTE TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA, PUBLIC LAW 887, 84TH CONGRESS (70 STAT. 893)

The act of August 1, 1956, supra, provided for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma and of individual members thereof. The tribe had approved the bill by resolution February 17, 1956.

The Wyandottes (known by the French as Hurons) moved from southern Canada, through Michigan and Ohio, to Kansas in the first half of the 19th century. They were declared United States citizens by treaty in 1855. However, their tribal organization was restored in 1867 and the Wyandotte Reservation was established in what is now Ottawa County, Okla. In 1956 the tribe had 984 members, of whom only 100 lived on

or near the reservation. They all could speak and read and write English. Reservation land totaled 2,050 acres of which 94 acres were tribal and the rest allotted.

The act's principal requirements are: preparation of a final roll of all persons claiming membership rights in the tribe or interests in its assets, division of pro rata shares of tribal property to such enrollees, and the removal of Federal restrictions on individually owned property. These are to be accomplished within 3 years of the date of this act.

A proposed final roll of the tribe was published in the Federal Register on April 5, 1957. Appeals are currently being received and decided by the Secretary.

The only major difficulty has arisen in connection with the act's provision that a public burying ground in Kansas City, Kans., which was reserved for the tribe by the 1855 treaty, may be sold for the benefit of the tribe. This occasioned much opposition in Kansas City where the cemetery is now used as a park. Legislation has been introduced in the 85th Congress which would direct the Secretary to investigate and report to the Congress on the merits of Federal establishment of the cemetery as a national monument. The Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma has indicated that it has no objection to such a project if the tribe is fairly compensated and the acquisition is accomplished within the time elements provided in the termination act.

National Communism Is Deceitful and Destructive—United States Playing a Dangerous Game With Tito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Constantine Brown, writing in the Evening Star for August 21, states that communism, in whatever form, cannot be trusted and there should be no compromise with its adherents. Mr. Brown stated that the Turkish Premier warned that Communists cannot be trusted and there should be no compromise with them. He expressed skepticism of the line Washington is drawing between national and international communism as evidenced by Titoism.

Mr. Brown's article follows:

TURKEY LOOKS AT REDS ON CYPRUS—PREMIER SAYS HE'LL INSIST ON PARTITION IF COMMUNISTS FORCE A CHANGE

ISTANBUL, TURKEY.—Premier Adnan Menderes is perfectly content for Cyprus to remain in British hands but will insist on partition of the island if pressures, which he regards as Soviet-inspired, force a change in its status.

Menderes feels that communism in whatever form cannot be trusted and no compromise with its adherents is possible. He is skeptical of the line Washington is drawing between national and international communism. He declares it is a deceitful, destructive force, whatever it is called.

As he spoke to this reporter about Cyprus, Menderes' broad smile faded away. "As you may have noticed during your stay here," he said, "we don't talk much about Cyprus, either in the press or in our present campaign speeches, because we have definitely made up our minds on this matter. We are not interested in Cyprus becoming a part of our Republic so long as it remains in British hands. But should international appeasement yield to the pressures of the extremists on the island, and also from the Greek Government which feels that it must play to their tune and force Britain to leave, we shall demand and insist on partition.

"We shall assemble the 120,000 Turks in the northern portion of the island and make it into a part and parcel of Turkey. The Greeks and other nations can do whatever they like with the rest, which contains some 800,000 Cypriotes."

Menderes left no doubt to this reporter that he meant every word he said.

Adnan Menderes is a jovial, dynamic politician who is pushing 60 but looks less than 40. His political opponents describe him as having dictatorial tendencies because he has managed to maintain himself in office for two terms and is now ready to "steal" a third. He is unquestionably astute. Having felt the pulse of the country he has decided to call a general election in October (and by law he has this privilege) instead of waiting for next May when it would normally be held.

Menderes' enormous capacity for work keeps him hopping from one end of Turkey to the other making speeches, and especially laying cornerstones for the numerous new factories and industries he has initiated in this country where inflation is rampant.

In his international relations he has been unflinchingly on the side of the United States in its tortuous struggle with international communism. But he is skeptical over the line Washington is drawing between national and international communism. "Communism is a deceitful, destructive force, whether you call it national or international," he declared. "We are against compromises with either. If you support and strengthen what you describe as 'national communism,' the day will come when it will become 'international' by siding with the U. S. S. R. at a critical moment for the free world."

This belief is more than understandable from the leader of a country which is directly under the Communist guns. Turkey has the U. S. S. R. on its eastern borders, Bulgaria on its western border, and now even its Mediterranean flank is in danger from the delicate Cyprus problem.

"It is only very recently that the Greeks have become Cyprus minded," he said. "At no time throughout the centuries has that island been a part of Greece. It was Turkish for some 400 years. We handed it over to British sovereignty nearly 80 years ago. We don't claim it. So long as the British flag is flying over it we are perfectly satisfied. But the extremists—a combination of Communist dupes and ultranationalists—have listened to the advice of those who want to keep the world in a turmoil and insist on making Cyprus a major international issue in the belief that Turkey cannot help but accept the dictates of its major allies. In this they are sadly mistaken. We proved our faith in the United Nations when a Turkish brigade was sent to the Korean battlefield. We still maintain that full contingent there.

"We have shown our full loyalty to the NATO and are its most important and useful advanced post at the U. S. S. R.'s underbelly. But we also are security minded and will not permit the security of our country eventually to become threatened by allowing the northern portion of Cyprus—a former Turkish island 60 miles off our coast—to fall into what someday may become enemy hands."

Tax-Reform Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to list a number of organizations that have indicated their support of my tax-reform plan, H. R. 6452. This list, Mr. Speaker, is not confined to organizations in my home State of Connecticut which I have the honor to represent as the Congressman at Large, and in that capacity, represent the largest constituency on the Republican side of this House, but the organizations, which have volunteered their endorsement to H. R. 6452 as their basis for individual and corporate relief from our present confiscatory taxes, are nationwide.

May I once again stress the fact, Mr. Speaker, that the largest beneficial effect of the provisions of my bill will fall to those taxpayers in the $6,000 bracket and under. The total relief to individuals will approximate $10.6 billion over the 5-year forward scheduling and approximately $4.2 billion relief to businesses.

The list is as follows:

Optimist Club, Springfield, Ill.

Michigan Manufacturers' Association, Detroit, Mich.

Associated Industries of Rhode Island, Inc., Providence, R. I.

Chamber of Commerce, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Connecticut Farmers' Cooperative Association, East Hartford, Conn.

Associated Industries of Kentucky, Louisville, Ky.

Manufacturers' Association of Lackawanna County, Scranton, Pa.

Manufacturers Association, Inc., Syracuse, N. Y.

Economic Club of Southwestern Michigan, St. Joseph, Mich.

Connecticut Petroleum Association, New Britain, Conn.

Scientific Apparatus Makers Association, Chicago, Ill.

Jersey City Chamber of Commerce, Jersey City, N. J.

Automotive Electric Association, Detroit, Mich.

Associated Industries of Oshkosh, Inc., Oshkosh, Wis.

Connecticut Motor Club, New Haven, Conn.

The Valve Manufacturers Association, New York, N. Y.

The Connecticut Chamber of Commerce, Inc., Hartford, Conn.

Coated and Processed Paper Association, Providence, R. I.

Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Chicago, Ill.

Manufacturers' Association of Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster, Pa.

Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc., Hartford, Conn.

Furniture Manufacturers Association, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Bangor Executives Club, Bangor, Maine.

National Tool and Die Manufacturers Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

Manufacturerers Association of Connecticut, Inc., West Hartford, Conn.

Manufacturers Association of Racine, Racine, Wis.
Americans for Tax Reduction, Rockford, Ill.
Screen Actors Guild (AFL–CIO), Hollywood, Calif.
Metal Treating Institute, New Rochelle, N. Y.
"99" Luncheon Club of Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif.
The Cotton Trade Journal, Memphis, Tenn.
Florida Taxpayers Association, Inc., Tampa, Fla.
Executives' Association, Long Beach, Calif.
Phoenix Association of Home Builders, Phoenix, Ariz.
Lumbermen's Industrial Relations Committee, Inc., Portland, Oreg.
Wyoming Taxpayers Association, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Investors League, Inc., New York, N. Y.
Chamber of Commerce of the Attleboros, Attleboro, Mass.
Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, Philadelphia, Pa.
Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce, Tampa, Fla.
Idaho State Chamber of Commerce, Boise, Idaho.
The Printing Industry of Connecticut, Inc., New Haven, Conn.
Westlake Lions Club, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lorain County Industrial Association, Elyria, Ohio.
Associated Industries of Alabama, Birmingham, Ala.
Texas Manufacturers Association, Houston, Tex.
Alton District Manufacturers' Association, Alton, Ill.
Kern County Property Owners Association, Bakersfield, Calif.
Manufacturers' Association of Berks County, Reading, Pa.
Defiance Chamber of Commerce, Defiance, Ohio.
Brookline Kiwanis Club of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc., Albany, N. Y.
Connecticut State Grange, Litchfield, Conn.
Vinyl Fabrics Institute, New York, N. Y.
New London County Rural Letter Carriers Association, Old Lyme, Conn.
Pontiac Manufacturers' Association, Pontiac, Mich.
The Mid-Hudson Industrial Association, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Associated Industries of Arkansas, Inc., Little Rock, Ark.
Newark Chamber of Commerce, Newark, N. Y.
Nevada Citizens Committee, Las Vegas, Nev.
Defiance Manufacturers' Association, Defiance, Ohio.
Middletown Chamber of Commerce, Middletown, N. Y.
Michigan Retailers' Association, Lansing, Mich.
Hagerstown Chamber of Commerce, Inc., Hagerstown, Md.
Salt Producers Association, Chicago, Ill.
Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, Tulsa, Okla.
Manufacturers Association of Hartford County, Hartford, Conn.
National Truck Tank and Trailer Tank Institute, Chicago, Ill.
The Associated Cooperage Industries of America, Inc., St. Louis, Mo.
The Naugatuck Valley Industrial Council, Inc., Waterbury, Conn.
Northeast Wisconsin Industrial Association, Manitowoc, Wis.
West Coast Lumbermen's Association, Portland, Oreg.
Hague Chamber of Commerce, Hague, N. Y.
Macon Chamber of Commerce, Macon, Ga.
Manufacturers' Association of Delaware County, Chester, Pa.
Central Virginia Industries, Inc., Lynchburg, Va.
Long Beach Chamber of Commerce, Long Beach, Calif.
Marshall Chamber of Commerce, Marshall, Ill.
Bangor Chamber of Commerce, Bangor, Maine.
Council of State Chambers of Commerce, Washington, D. C.
Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Richmond, Va.
Stamford-Greenwich Manufacturers Council, Stamford, Conn.
Gray Iron Founders' Society, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio.
High Point Chamber of Commerce, High Point, N. C.
Conference of American Small Business Organizations, Chicago, Ill.
Associated Industries of Maine, Augusta, Maine.
California Fish Canners Association, Inc., Terminal Island, Calif.
Bremerton Chamber of Commerce, Bremerton, Wash.
Suburban Management Council, Elmhurst, Ill.
Columbia Empire Industries, Inc., Associated Employers, Inc., San Antonio, Tex.
Optimist Club of Downey, Downey, Calif.
Greater Trenton Chamber of Commerce, Trenton, N. J.
Southern Farm Equipment Manufacturers, Inc., Montgomery County Chamber of Commerce, Montgomery, Ind.
Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, Fort Worth, Tex.
McAllen Chamber of Commerce, McAllen, Tex.
Altoona Chamber of Commerce, Altoona, Pa.
North Wichita Optimist Club, Wichita, Kans.
Graphic Arts Association of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.
Kiwanis Club of Baltimore City, Baltimore City, Mo.
Florida State Chamber of Commerce, Jacksonville, Fla.
Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce, Jacksonville, Fla.
Yakima Chamber of Commerce, Yakima, Wash.
Pacific Coast Paper Box Manufacturers Association, Los Angeles, Calif.
Hagerstown Manufacturers Association, Hagerstown, Md.
Columbia Manufacturers Association, Columbia, Pa.
West Branch Manufacturers Association, Williamsport, Pa.
Lancaster Chamber of Commerce, Lancaster, Pa.
Independent Business Executives Association, Chicago, Ill.
Manufacturers Association of York, York, Pa.
Midway Optimists Club of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.
Tulsa Retail Merchants Association, Tulsa, Okla.
Shreveport Chamber of Commerce, Shreveport, La.
Bossier City Chamber of Commerce, Bossier City, La.
Mississippi Manufacturers Association, Jackson, Miss.
Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, Montgomery, Ala.
Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, Birmingham, Ala.
Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Seattle, Wash.
Spokane Chamber of Commerce, Spokane, Wash.
Furniture Manufacturers Association of South California.
Southeast Los Angeles Press Association, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lawndale Chamber of Commerce, Lawndale, Calif.
Woburn Chamber of Commerce, Woburn, Mass.
Salisbury Chamber of Commerce, Salisbury, Mo.
New Bedford Chamber of Commerce, New Bedford, Mass.
Dallas Chamber of Commerce, Dallas, Tex.
Brockton Chamber of Commerce, Brockton, Mass.
Maine State Chamber of Commerce, Augusta, Maine.
Downtown Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Swissvale Chamber of Commerce, Swissvale, Pa.
Pittsfield Chamber of Commerce, Pittsfield, Mass.

An Oregon Editor Speaks Up Against Postal Rate Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, as you know I have vigorously opposed postal rate increases when I felt them unnecessary. Therefore, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Illinois Valley News of August 15, 1957, which clearly states the beliefs of a good many people. The Valley News is published in Cave Junction by Mr. James M. McDermott.

THE POSTAGE RATES

The House in Washington has passed and sent to the Senate a bill which would increase postage rates. We sincerely hope that the measure never sees the light of day in the Senate.

By order of the Postmaster General recently, all the rates which are fixed by regulation were boosted including the parcel post insurance.

The present measure, if it should become a law, would boost the first class letter rate from 3 to 4 cents, and the airmail rate from 6 to 7 cents.

The contention is that the Post Office Department does not have sufficient revenue to pay its costs of operation. If this is a fair contention, then what about the Department of Agriculture or the Department of Commerce? These agencies of the Government which provide services to the farm population and the industries, do not and never have paid their costs of operation. No one ever expected them to do so.

There is nothing wrong with the principle of Government charges for special services to individuals. Those who receive direct benefits may expect to pay something toward the cost—but in very few cases do they pay all the cost. Government fees for various individual services in almost all instances fall far short of doing this.

It is not reasonable to expect one department of the Government to "pay as you go", when others operate with huge deficits.

Hiking postal rates may mean nothing to some people and business organizations. The increased cost is absorbed and cannot even be detected in the profit and loss statement at the end of the month, or a year. It is however, a burden of increased costs to retired people, and others who are living on limited fixed incomes and students away from home for study. It is another step on the inflation ladder.

It is the very people who benefit the least from other Government services who will feel the burden of increased postal rates.

Greater Utilization of Forest Products Conserves Our Timber Supply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, on Monday I presented for the information of Members of Congress, part of a paper read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers by Mr. W. D. Hagenstein, of Portland, Oreg. Mr. Hagenstein is an expert on forestry management, and the subject of his remarks was conservation and management of our timber resources.

The second half of Mr. Hagenstein's remarks which I present now deals with the great strides being made by Northwest forest industries in utilizing slabs, edgings, and other materials formerly wasted.

New logging methods and equipment have also helped increase the Northwest timber supply. Until 1940 the bulk of the logs harvested were yarded and loaded by steam equipment and transported by railroad. Today, trucks are almost universally used for getting the logs down out of the woods, either directly to the mill, for reloading on railroads or dumping in the water for towing to the plants. Practically all logging is done by internal combustion engine machinery. Timber is no longer felled and bucked by hand, as thousands of power saws have made Northwest woods sound like any accessible lake on a Sunday afternoon with the pop-pop-pop of their outboardlike motors. No longer are roads built by steam shovels but are pioneered by Diesel shovels and bulldozers, earth moved in 10- to 20-yard tractor-drawn pans, rippers and rollers used for clearing and compacting, and motor graders for maintenance. As much as 2 to 3 railroad carloads of logs are hauled on single truck and trailer units.

In a region with heavy timber stands—300 to 500 tons per acre—large trees and logs, steep ground and a limited construction and logging season because of rain, snow, wind, and fire weather, the revolution in road building and logging equipment has helped overcome many engineering problems.

A major problem in the changeover from steam to internal combustion engines and from iron muscle to motor-driven saws has been maintenance. Gas and Diesel engines require a lot more monkey wrenching and spare parts than did the steam behemoths of yesteryear. Initial and maintenance costs of equipment must continually be improved for economic service in the logging woods.

Many innovations in logging equipment are appearing in the woods to handle the great variety of logging shows. Portable mast-type and tubular steel spars are used in the place of spar trees, particularly for logging small timber and for relogging and prelogging. Mobile loaders are commonplace and are so much easier to use than old conventional methods of rigging a loading boom on a tree or various crotch-line-spreader-bar loading assemblies. Many mobile loaders are used for yarding and loading where short yarding distances are possible.

Power saws have been continually improved by lighter weight and better engines, chains and bits. The main problem with power saws is their fire hazard. Safer operating practices are helping overcome this.

With the great buildup in the region's wood pulp, hard-soft-chip and particle board industries has come another adidtional timber supply through the use of lumber and plywood leftovers. For years, most pulp mills derived their raw material in the form of logs, generally the lower grades which were less desirable for lumber and plywood. The region's pulp and board mills are getting 42 percent of their raw material from slabs, edgings and trim and veneer clipings and peeler cores. The log scale equivalent of chips being used by the pulp and board mills is 1¼ billion board feet annually. This is free wood in the sense that it doesn't debit the region's timber inventory. Several years ago the writer predicted that in less than 20 years the pulp and board industries would be getting 75 percent of their wood from materials which other wood-using plants could not profitably convert.

The leftovers of a highly integrated wood-using industry which uses 200,000 tons of wood each day is staggering. The 1¼ billion board foot log scale equivalent now being recovered in the form of chips is only the beginning. There is still enough leftover wood at primary wood-using plants in the region to produce upwards of 1½ million tons of wood pulp per year. In some localities these leftovers are being used for boiler fuel for steam-generated electricity but much is still being disposed of as a nuisance at a cost.

Chips are worth an average of $15 per bone dry unit, which is approximately 2,400 pounds or one cord of wood delivered at the point of use. From 25 to 65 percent of the total delivered value is freight. This means that if a sawmill can ship chips on a $7 per unit freight rate, it has an approximate return of $16.00 per thousand board feet for the chips at its plant rather than spending $2.00 per thousand to dispose of them. And every thousand feet of chips recovered allows a thousand feet in a standing tree to increase its volume through growth.

Chips are hauled by truck, rail, barge and, in several instances, by conveyor to their point of use. Freight rates are the limiting consideration as to whether many sawmills and plywood plants can afford the capital investment of equipment necessary for chipping their leftovers.

Two significant demonstrations of the importance of chips to the wood-using industry is that the two newest kraft pulp mills in the region do not have wood rooms as they get all their raw materials as chips.

Another important development to increase chip supply was installation 5 years ago of a central chipping plant at Eugene, Oreg., by a pulp and paper company with a conversion plant at Longview, Wash., 160 miles away. Bark-free slabs, edgings, trim, and low-grade lumber and veneer clippings and peeler cores from nearby plants are chipped for rail shipment. The plant can handle 50,000 units of wood annually.

More recently another Columbia River pulp and paper company installed a barking and chipping plant near two of its tree farms to handle extremely small hemlock logs and broken chunks from thinning, prelogging, and relogging. Material is chipped which would be uneconomic to ship as logs. The plant has a capacity of 10 million board-feet annually and chips are blown directly into barges for shipment.

One discouraging development of the chip boom has been its effect upon intensive management of young forests by thinning. Thinning has been going on for a dozen years but has been a marginal operation at best because the region's big log industry with its big logging and manufacturing equipment is not yet geared generally to handle the relatively small logs which come from thinnings of 30- to 60-year-old forests. Light yarding equipment and reappearance of old Dobbin, air-tong loading and bundling of small pieces for transportation by truck, rail, and water, have facilitated thinning while the industry is studying its economics.

Another discouraging influence of the use of sawmill and plywood leftovers for chips is that many relogging shows at the outer radius of transportation from the pulp mills become uneconomic. Wood logs have been utilized for kraft pulp at an increasing rate during the past 5 years, but as chip supplies increased with some 200 primary manufacturing plants now producing them, the tendency has been to pass over relogging shows much beyond 40 to 50 miles haul.

This shows the influence of chips upon both the market for low-grade logs from relogging and high-grade material, in the form of very small, high-cost pieces, from thinning. Determination as to what intensity of relogging and thinning is possible is entirely one of economics.

The chip supply in many areas in time will level off as producing mills go out of business due to markets, timber supply or other considerations. When this occurs, it is the writer's belief that more intensive relogging will return and that thinning of young forests will increase by leaps and bounds. It is also the writer's opinion that portable barking and chipping equipment to be used in the woods for handling the smaller pieces harvested in thinning and in utilization of rough tops and large limbs from old-growth logging slash on more favorable topography will come about. The economics of timber supply should force this in the next 5 years. The heavy investments in pulp mills require relatively cheap wood. With timber prices on a relatively high plateau, pulp mills, with their requirement of small chips as raw material, offer the best promise of cleaning up the woods and greatly increasing the region's timber supply through the use of material down to a 2-inch top from thinning of tens of thousands of young forests each year.

The wood-using industries of the Douglas fir region are going through a rapid revolution of wood use and wood-converting methods. Large investments are being made in plants to utilize each kind and size of wood for the highest value product it will make. Forest management, through tree farming on private lands and under public policies on Government lands, is moving ahead rapidly to provide the wood-using industry with an assured and continuing supply of raw material. The importance of this to the economy of the Douglas fir region is apparent from the basic payroll of $700 million which can be pushed close to a billion dollars annually through further product refinement and greater realization of the tree-farming potential.

In these days of soft markets for forest products, many operators wonder about their future. To students of the forest economy of the Douglas fir region it is clear that there will be more integration of wood use which offers the best promise of diversification of industry for more jobs and payrolls. Whether this will come about depends largely on the Congress and the State legislatures which determine the general business climate taxation and other public policies. Temporary setbacks because of unsound policies are bound to occur, but in the long run the necessity of our increasing population for more jobs and more products will result in policies which will allow successful forest management and a permanent wood-using industry.

AFL-CIO Cooperation in Probe Merits Approval of the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Reading (Pa.) Times:

AFL–CIO COOPERATION IN PROBE MERITS APPROVAL OF THE PUBLIC

The McClellan Committee, officially known as the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, is now in the second phase of its work. The first phase uncovered the misuse of union funds by union officials. This second phase is disclosing how racketeers have squeezed into some unions, most of them small and some of them not even bona fide unions at all.

George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, was asked at an executive committee meeting of the AFL–CIO in Chicago the other day how he felt about the activities of the McClellan Committee thus far. Said Meany: "My attitude is that there should not be any change in our policy of cooperating with any committee that is turning up corruption. We shall cooperate legislatively and every other way but we will resist any attempt to fasten restrictive laws on labor as a whole because of the sins of a few."

Mr. Meany added his opinion that the committee has done "a good job as far as it went; exposing corruption is good for labor as well as anybody else. I don't think the things that have been exposed are things that people in the labor movement can be proud of."

In its simplest terms, this merely means that the great body of organized labor will continue to help the McClellan committee ferret out corruption but will not hold still for restrictive legislation which would shackle the free American trade union movement. If it is asked why the AFL or the CIO or both did not undertake the job the committee is now doing, the answer is simple. It could not have done so without committing suicide. For constitutionally, the AFL–CIO and each of these organizations singly, before the merger, was at best a loosely knit confederation which had slight authority, to investigate or to do anything else about member-unions which were suspected of wrong-doing. It lacked the authority of a Senate committee or a court to issue subpenas and its only ultimate weapon against proved wrongdoing was dismissal. Dismissal of subordinate national or international unions would have had no effect except to be divisive and divisiveness in labor unions merely means more labor strife. Thus, it remained up to the Congress to do the current investigating and the AFL–CIO showed its good faith by cooperating in a job it could not do itself.

Then what of Mr. Meany's promise to resist any attempt to place additional restrictions upon labor as a whole because of the misdeeds of a few unions? Well, it would depend upon the kind of restrictions Congress may want to place on labor after the McClellan committee record is complete. If it should be the mandatory publication of the accounting of union funds, operating and welfare, there should be no complaint at all from labor, for two reasons. Most national and international unions and, indeed, many local unions and central delegate bodies have laid their financial cards out on the table for a good many years, for anybody who is interested to examine.

If, on the other hand, proposals such as are now being heard—a Federal right-to-work law or the extension of antitrust laws to embrace labor unions as well as business and management—come out of the McClellan committee hearings, that, it seems to us, would be another story. For in our view the committee—thus far, at any rate—has adduced no testimony bearing upon the open shop or the closed shop or the need for drawing unions into the antitrust laws. And so far as we know, the committee has not set forth among its objectives an examination into the needs for such laws. Thus, if the committee should so far exceed its stated purpose, it would merely bring down upon it the anger and indignation of the majority of honest and conscientious unions which are now cooperating with it to the fullest extent.

Only time will tell, of course, what legislative recommendations will come from the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. We hope that those which do will come within the committee's stated scope and title.

The Case for Conciliation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert the following article from the Washington Post of August 21, 1957, entitled "The Case for Conciliation" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE CASE FOR CONCILIATION

House Republicans are being very foolish, we think, in falling in with the efforts of Representative HOWARD SMITH to prevent action on the civil-rights bill. There might be some transient political advantage, it is true, in insisting on a stricter bill and refusing to accept the Senate version (which, with the jury-trial amendment narrowed, could be passed without difficulty). But the issue of voting rights for all Americans ought to be beyond considerations of petty political gain. What the Republicans, including the President, must decide is whether they want to kill the chance of any progress because they can't get everything they want.

It is easy to sympathize with the disappointment of some Negro leaders over what they view as weaknesses and inadequacies in the Senate bill. The real question, however, is whether there is any reasonable prospect of obtaining a stronger bill that would actually secure the rights sought—a bill that would promote compliance. Minor adjustments are always possible, but the prospect for any major amendments is minimal. Such a move undoubtedly would be strangled by filibuster in this session of Congress; and in the next session the arduous process would have to be undertaken again with loss of the good will generated by the recent effort. Even if a stronger bill could be passed over southern protest, moreover, it would invite a search for evasion.

A very strong case exists, in our opinion, for acting now with a conciliatory bill. The great need in the South is to divert energies from defiance to compliance. The civil-rights bill, which concentrates on voting rights, points the way. The issue of voting rights does not arouse the same antagonism in parts of the South as the segregation-integration controversy. There is recognition among all but the extremist fringe that the denial of voting rights guaranteed by the Constitution is morally wrong. Thus there would be considerable pressure for compliance with the voting-rights bill—and we'll bet that the jury-trial provision in cases of criminal contempt would be very little used.

If this were the only step being taken in the field of civil rights it would not be enough. But the noisy reaction to the Supreme Court school-desegregation decision and such items of hard-core resistance as the disgraceful gerrymandering in Tuskegee have clouded some of the adjustments being made. A gradual approach to school desegregation is proceeding in many parts of the South, the most recent examples being in North Carolina. Desegregation on buses has taken place in several cities and there are indications that it will be carried out quietly elsewhere. Change is happening, more slowly in some areas than in others, but it is happening.

The trouble is that the rancor of the bitter-enders has all but silenced the voices of moderation. For that reason, especially, it seems to us that the conciliatory Senate bill has much to commend it. For it would give law-abiding southerners something they could afford to support and thereby would help restore respect for law. The exercise of voting rights would not automatically secure other rights (and, indeed, it might be some time before the franchise were more widely exercised); but the protection of voting rights would create a better climate for the exercise of other rights. It should, indeed, lead to a situation in which the Supreme Court decision seemed less of an ogre.

Certainly the approach of conciliation is more consistent with President Eisenhower's past attitude on racial matters than the hard and fast line Minority Leader MARTIN is taking. And as a practical matter the interest of the Republicans in civil rights would seem a bit cynical if they were to frustrate the chances of the only workable bill in sight.

Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur Could Ease the Taxpayers' Burden Himself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 7, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, at a recent meeting of stockholders of the Remington Rand Corp., Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur had some very curious things to say which provoked an outburst on the part of those in attendance which was widely reported in the newspapers. One of the stockholders, a woman of courage declared that she loved America, loved to pay taxes, and altogether considered herself very lucky to be an American. Indignant at the general's remarks, and filled with a fighting courage which outshone that of General MacArthur's, the lady put in words what will be remembered as the feelings of most Americans about our beloved country.

What provoked the outburst? These are the words of Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur which produced the spontaneous reaction by the stockholders:

Our Government has kept us in a perpetual state of fear—kept us in a continuous stampede of patriotic fervor—with the cry of grave national emergency. Always there has been some terrible evil at home or some monstrous foreign power that was going to gobble us up if we did not blindly rally behind it by furnishing the exorbitant funds demanded. Yet, in retrospect, these disasters seem never to have happened, seem never to have been quite real.

The Trentonian, Trenton, N. J., a leading newspaper of New Jersey, points out that the reason for the high taxes stems in part from the generous emoluments given General MacArthur. The Trentonian says:

We have been reminded that the complainant turned in his military uniform upon his return from the Pacific to accept a job as chairman of the board of a large industrial firm at a reported salary of $100,000 a year. In addition, it has been pointed out to us, General MacArthur receives $15,543.36 per year in various forms of emoluments from the Federal Government, plus an office in New York City staffed by a chief warrant officer and a master sergeant whose yearly salaries and allowances aggregate approximately $12,000.

Admittedly we're in no position to say whether the aforementioned Federal expenditures are excessive, nor would we stick our necks out and venture the opinion that the general is carrying the water on both shoulders.

It might be mentioned in passing, however, that one of MacArthur's former subordinates—Dwight D. Eisenhower by name—gave up all of his military emoluments when he turned in his uniform to accept a job at $75,000 per year.

It seems clear that Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur could save the American taxpayers—for whom he professed to speak—a very large sum by following President Eisenhower's example and giving up all of his emoluments and the special gifts bestowed upon him. It is certainly within the general's power to set an example now that he has called public attention to the special favors he has been receiving from the American taxpayers.

I shall await his decision in this important matter.

Included here is the Trentonian editorial to which I have just referred:

[From the Trentonian, Trenton, N. J., of August 21, 1957]

A Bit Confusing

Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur recently issued a blast to the effect that high taxes and excessive Government spending would bring about our ruination and result in the establishment of a social state. The Trentonian commented favorably on the distinguished general's statement at the time and still feels that there is more truth than poetry to his prediction.

On the other hand, we have been reminded that the complainant turned in his military uniform upon his return from the Pacific to accept a job as chairman of the board of a large industrial firm at a reported salary of $100,000 a year. In addition, it has been pointed out to us, General MacArthur receives $15,543.36 per year in various forms of emoluments from the Federal Government, plus an office in New York City staffed by a chief warrant officer and a master sergeant whose yearly salaries and allowances aggregate approximately $12,000.

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It might be mentioned in passing, however, that one of MacArthur's former subordinates—Dwight D. Eisenhower by name—gave up all of his military emoluments when he turned in his uniform to accept a job at $75,000 per year.

The fact that the firm with which General MacArthur is now associated does business extensively with the Federal Government is a factor which might also merit passing mention.

Eisenhower Doctrine in Trouble in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the sudden move by the Communists in Syria has precipitated a crisis in the Middle East. This is most unfortunate and calls for prompt action by our State Department and the President.

Mr. Speaker, this move by the Communists was undoubtedly made by subversive elements within Syria and it raises the question as to the effectiveness of the so-called Eisenhower doctrine in that area. While there has been no obvious military moves which would warrant military action on our part, the end result is the same. Once again the Communists have reached their objective without firing a shot or losing a soldier.

Under leave to extend by remarks, I am including an editorial that appeared in the Wall Street Journal on August 21:

Subversion in Syria

The United States is being urged to do something about the unpleasant developments in Syria. Well, what is there to do?

As a matter of fact the United States had hoped to prevent this sort of thing—the transformation of any Middle East state into a Soviet satellite. The Eisenhower doctrine is aimed mainly at direct military aggression sponsored by international communism, but it was thought that a by-product might be to thwart Soviet subversion as well. Thus Syria, for example, looking at the nearly $200 million of Eisenhower doctrine aid going to Middle East nations taking an anti-Communist stand, might see the practical virtue of doing likewise.

This hope has apparently proved vain. It may be premature to write off Syria completely—events can turn around suddenly in the Middle East—but for the time being it seems firmly in the Communist grip. Since no outside troops were involved in what amounted to a military coup within Syria, there is no basis for United States action under the Eisenhower doctrine.

The Soviets were nonetheless busy in Syria. They have been selling that government arms; more recently they offered economic and technical assistance. The place is full of Soviet "technicians" and "advisers" pretending to be helping the Syrians while in fact cooking their goose.

So some are saying that the United States should have beat the Soviets to the punch, selling the Syrians arms and giving them aid before the Soviets got so well entrenched. In other words, this country should have subverted the Syrian ruling clique first. We do not believe that subversion is a policy the United States can profitably adopt.

The fact is that there are limits to what the United States can do in the world. The moral basis of our society precludes our adopting Soviet tactics such as subversion. And foreign aid is a dubious and unreliable instrument of policy.

What the United States has been able to do is to prevent the outbreak of a major war; there are few places in the world the Communists can attack with impunity and they seem to know it very well. What the United States cannot do is buy up every nation in the world. Nor can it assume responsibility for every happening everywhere. The trouble is that the United States Government too often appears to be accepting responsibility for everything.

If the limitations of foreign policy were better understood, there would be less consternation and less clamoring for "action" in a case like that of Syria. The loss of Syria may be a temporary Soviet "victory." But if the United States were to start running its foreign policy on the basis of duplicity and cynical imperialism, that would be a far bigger Soviet victory.

Quitclaiming of Title to Barcelona Lighthouse Site, Portland, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, it is a source of great satisfaction to have H. R. 1678 pass the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, because this legislation will clear the title to six-tenths of an acre of land upon which stands a lighthouse that was abandoned by the Government in 1859. This abandoned and deserted lighthouse was sold in 1872 and later restored as a dwelling. It has been in the hands of a very prominent family, the Crandalls, for many years. Mr. G. Patterson Crandall and Mrs. Nellie B. Crandall, his wife, had every right to assume that they had full title not only to the lighthouse, which was purchased from the Government, but also the site of six-tenths of an acre on which it stood. It was only recently that the United States Government claimed any title to the land. There was little value in the property, both land and tower, because it sold for $102 in 1872. Whatever value has developed in the property is due to the improvements made in it by Mr. and Mrs. Crandall. I introduced a bill to clear this title, which bill has just passed the House of Representatives with a Senate amendment; the amendment having been placed upon the bill by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. This amendment requires, in order to clear the title to the six-tenths of 1 acre on which the lighthouse stands, according to the General Services Administration the payment of

the market value without the value of improvements to the property. The good faith of the Crandalls in believing they had the title to the real estate is indicated by the fact that they have paid the taxes on this real estate since 1910.

The Government has never spent 1 cent on this property for the last 100 years. I cannot help but feel the irony of requiring these people to pay the present fair market value to the Federal Government to clear the title when billions of dollars are appropriated and sent to every imaginable boondoggling project abroad.

I am gratified, however, that the title can be cleared by the enactment of this bill and its ultimate signature by the President of the United States.

Milwaukee Leads the Way to a Better Police Force Through Its Police Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Milwaukee has a national reputation for outstanding police work. A good police system, however, cannot rest on its laurels.

Many metropolitan areas, faced with increasing burdens for their police, will find the Milwaukee police aid program a useful way to recruit promising young men and help to share the heavy load borne by every metropolitan police force.

Mr. Richard Block, chairman of the Milwaukee Police and Fire Commission, some years ago saw the need for encouraging outstanding high school students to serve as police officers. He is generally credited with evolving the plan which works successfully in Milwaukee and is now being installed in other localities.

The following article by the chief of police for Milwaukee, Mr. Howard Johnson, explains how this police aid program works:

POLICE AID PROGRAM—MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT

(By Howard O. Johnson, chief of police)

The police aid program was primarily inaugurated so that this department would have available competent and efficient clerical help especially for night work. Twelve outstanding young men were recruited from local high schools and were appointed to the department as police aids July 1, 1952. They attended the Vocational High School for instruction in typing and shorthand for 4 hours per day, at the city's expense, and were assigned 4 hours each day in the various districts, offices, and bureaus of the department. In this manner they became acquainted with the administration of these various offices and bureaus. As soon as they became familiar with the functions of one bureau or office they were rotated to another bureau or office so that eventually each of these police aides will have worked in every bureau and office in the department.

For several years prior to this program this department had encountered difficulties in filling the positions of desk sergeants due to the unwillingness of regular patrol sergeants to accept desk positions at the same pay. Most of them preferred to remain assigned to outside work. Further, we had difficulties filling clerical positions on the night shifts in the various offices and bureaus. The salaries for the male help were inadequate and the female help could not be obtained due to the reluctance of accepting night employment.

As a result of this situation a police aid training program was set up with the cooperation of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners of the city of Milwaukee. Various principals of high schools in the city were informed that young men who wished to make law enforcement and police work their career could do so by including in their regular curriculum courses in shorthand, typing, and related subjects. In order to be eligible for this program these young men had to be 18 years of age, of excellent character and integrity, possessing further requirements as to height and weight and medical standards. Those who qualified would then be appointed to the Milwaukee Police Department as police aids (official title).

As aforestated, the first group of police aids was appointed on July 1, 1952. These young men have made excellent progress and on July 1, 1953, they were assigned to permanent duties, full time, in a clerical capacity in the various offices and bureaus of the department. They will function in such capacity until they reach the age of 22. If their services have been satisfactory up to that time then they will be appointed full-fledged patrolmen.

This system has provided the badly needed clerical help within the department especially on the night shifts and it will solve the clerical help problem for the future plus the fact that it will relieve police patrolmen from clerical duties for street patrol. It will also add to the efficiency of the department as these young men are highly skilled typists and stenographers whereas the average patrolman does not possess these skills.

These skills will be of particular value when these men are assigned to regular duties as patrolmen and especially so when conducting investigations and interviewing witnesses. With their knowledge of shorthand, these officers will be able to take down the statements of witnesses involved in accidents and in criminal investigations. This will be of great value and serve as a timesaver and in many instances it will eliminate ordering witnesses into the station for statements by a superior officer as is being done at the present time.

At the present time the common council of the city of Milwaukee has authorized 48 positions of police aides on this department. In addition to the first group, appointed July 1, 1952, we appointed 9 more police aides on July 10, 1953; 15 on July 6, 1954; 13 on July 5, 1955; 10 on July 12, 1956, and 18 on July 8, 1957. This last group is now going through the preliminary training period of attending school for 4 hours and working in the various offices and bureaus of the department for 4 hours each day. Our department numbers 1,843 persons at the present time and we can comfortably employ a total of 48 such police aides. We plan to continue this program at the rate of about 15 per year.

All the police aides are uniformed to the extent of wearing a regulation police department cell blue poplin shirt and black four-in-hand tie and blue trousers while on duty. They also wear a small numbered badge with the wording "Milwaukee Police Aid." By the uniform they are easily distinguished and cause an impression on the public.

This program is working out very satisfactorily. This is, of course, a slow process but the net results will be of great value to the department because the department will have a reservoir of men that are efficient in typing and shorthand plus the fact that all of these young men will gain a general knowledge of the fundamentals of police administration and procedures and techniques that are used in the various bureaus and offices throughout the department. They will do a better job when they become full-fledged police officers on the street because they understand the inner workings of the department. Further, they will be better material for promotional examinations and eventually will become competent and capable executives of the department. The most important factor in this case is that the department is obtaining the services of young men who have just completed their high-school education and who are interested in police work. These young men will not have been working in other fields of endeavor and will not have become accustomed to the environment of the job to the extent that they do not desire to leave it. These young men are indoctrinated with law-enforcement philosophy at an early age and as a result should develop into efficient police officers.

It is my firm belief that we in the Milwaukee Police Department are on the right track and that the police-aid program is a very valuable assets to every law-enforcement agency in the Nation. This police-aid program, as established in Milwaukee, will eventually improve the quality of our department and will to an extent solve our recruiting problem. As a result of this program the citizens of our community will have the benefit of better trained and more efficient police department.

Headline of the Year: Eisenhower Administration Is Not Against Big Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, one of the humor magazines regularly carries a department which it calls the Headline of the Week. This morning's Wall Street Journal carries a headline which is much too good, from the standpoint of its humorous content, to be classed as merely the headline of the week. Some of the Members will, I am sure, agree with me that it deserves the designation "Headline of the Year," or possibly the "Headline of the 4½ Years Following January 20, 1953."

The headline tops a news story on a speech by Victor R. Hansen who holds the position in the Eisenhower administration as chief trust buster. The headline is: "Antitrust Chief Hansen Denies Administration Is Against Big Business."

I think the Members will agree with me that this message from Mr. Hansen is most exhilarating, if not somewhat intoxicating. It had never been my impression that any notion had gotten abroad that the Eisenhower administration is against big business. Consequently, I had been overlooking the great need for denying such a notion, a need which Mr. Hansen has now squarely met. But perhaps I have not had my ear to the ground but, like Alice in Wonderland, have had my ear on the ceiling.

Now since we have all received the exhilarating news that the Eisenhower administration is not opposed to big business, then comes the question of what the Eisenhower administration is opposed to. I call the Members' attention to Mr. Hansen's answer. According to the Wall Street Journal account, Mr. Hansen, and I quote, "declared the Eisenhower administration opposes 'the misuse of the economic power which big business is able to wield.'"

That is a most interested statement. The present deadly and widespread misuse of big business power is driving small business people in all lines of trade to the wall and they have been pleading, for more than 3 years now, to have the situation corrected by the passage of the equality of opportunity bill, H. R. 11. This bill would strengthen the Robinson-Patman Act against price discrimination, and it would thus place a moderate check on an ancient and well-known form of big business' misuse of power. On each and every occasion that this legislation has been up for consideration in Congress, however, the Eisenhower administration has opposed it. The Department of Justice has opposed it, and the Eisenhower administration's chief trustbuster, Mr. Hansen, himself, has opposed it.

Interestingly enough, Mr. Hansen's speech of last Tuesday was delivered to a convention of the National Congress of Petroleum Retailers. This is an organization of small independent retail gasoline dealers who have been presenting Congress with their urgent and pleading request to pass the equality of opportunity bill.

There is no line of trade in which small business people have been more unmercifully crushed by big business' abuse of power than in the retail gasoline business. Retail gasoline dealers in all parts of the United States are continually the victims of price discrimination which is, as we know, the most deadly method by which big business can abuse its inherent power. During the last Congress, officials of the National Congress of Petroleum Retailers—the group which Mr. Hansen was addressing—presented to the Select Committee on Small Business studies showing that one-third of all the independent retail gasoline dealers in the United States go out of business each year, as a result of the major oil companies' price discriminations.

I am fully persuaded of the truth of the Wall Street Journal's headline—the Eisenhower Administration Is Not Against Big Business. The record does not, however, support the claim that the Eisenhower administration is opposed to big business' abuse of power.

I include here an article from the Wall Street Journal of August 21, 1957:

ANTITRUST CHIEF HANSEN DENIES ADMINISTRATION IS AGAINST BIG BUSINESS—HE TELLS PETROLEUM RETAILERS THAT EISENHOWER OPPOSES MISUSE OF ECONOMIC POWERS

CINCINNATI.—Antitrust Chief Victor R. Hansen declared the Eisenhower administration opposes the misuses of the economic power which big business is able to wield.

He denied, however, that the administration is against big business. He claimed the administration has pursued a middle-of-the-road enforcement program, attacking monopolization and restrictive practices as they arise and wherever they may be found.

Mr. Hansen told a meeting of the National Congress of Petroleum Retailers, Inc., that this even-handed policy of antitrust enforcement * * * is fair to all.

"We are not against big business," he asserted. "We are against the misuse of the economic power which big business is able to wield—the power to exclude others, the power ruthlessly to trample the shoots of competition growing from the fertile land of small business. Our goal is to promote a climate of free markets in which all business can prosper and grow."

GOAL CITED

The antitrust laws, he added, "seek to insure that competitive markets, not Government regulation, guide our economic growth. * * * Antitrust is Government action aimed at avoiding necessity for Government control."

Mr. Hansen said the antitrust laws prohibit any combination which tampers with the price structure, even though such a combination might have desirable aims. As an example, he cited the gasoline price wars which so frequently plague petroleum retailers.

"Without going into the rather mysterious origins of price wars," he told the retailers, "let us assume that one starts in your town. Successive reductions have brought the profits from sales of gasoline to next to nothing. Even with the cooperation of your supplier, you still cannot meet the price of the station around the corner.

"In desperation, some one points out that a price war is a battle that no one is winning. A meeting of your local association agrees that the only sensible course is for everyone to return his price to that prevailing before the price war started. Right at that moment * * * the antitrust laws may come into play."

INVESTIGATIONS CONTINUE

The antitrust chief said Government investigations of the oil industry continue unabated. In fact, he said, one-fourth of the antitrust division's legal staff is working on pending cases or new investigations in the petroleum industry.

One of these investigations already has gone before a Federal Grand Jury in Alexandria, Va. Mr. Hansen said he wasn't permitted to disclose details of this inquiry, but declared, "I can tell you that it is authorized to consider the pricing structure of the entire petroleum industry."

He reviewed the history of Government antitrust action in the petroleum industry and said of the 1911 case which broke up the old Sandard Oil empire, that had the Government not won that case, there would today be but one crude oil purchaser, one refiner, one wholesaler * * * and, for that matter, maybe only one retailer, Standard Oil, for whom you would all be working."

The Giveaway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I have received today a letter from Vice President George J. Burger, of the National Federation of Independent Business, which contains some very sound statements regarding a continuance of foreign aid.

In his letter Mr. Burger quotes a telegram sent on August 21 to members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and another telegram sent on August 19 to members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

These telegrams represent a poll of some 100,000 independent business and professional people and the consensus of opinion of this segment of small-business people.

I take pleasure in inserting Mr. Burger's letter as follows:

AUGUST 21, 1957.

Hon. JAMES C. DAVIS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: I think it can be said that the average man in the street and also coming from the grassroots the great majority are opposed to this continued foreign aid or the giveaway program.

Sure, after the termination of World War II, there was real justification, through the generosity of the American taxpayers, for our Government to assist many nations throughout the world as their economic conditions were in a deplorable state due to war activities. But, I believe there is a time to call a halt or for a real examination for curtailment.

The National Federation of Independent Business, we believe, has the largest individual membership, all voting members, of any business organization in the Nation and the federation membership, comprising independent business and professional men, has been repeatedly polled on continuance of foreign aid. Bear in mind, in presenting this subject matter to our nationwide membership, arguments for and arguments against were presented to the member and the member must then decide in his own mind what is best for the future of our Nation and for healthy conditions throughout the world.

In each instance, when this poll has been made, the vote disclosed that the great majority of our membership favored curtailment and, carrying out the expressed mandate of our members, we repeatedly appeared before the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees of the Congress and advised them accordingly.

We believe the recent action of the House on foreign aid is a step in the proper direction and it's our hope, in behalf of the American taxpayers and the people we represent, independent business, that the Senate will concur in the action of the House.

You will note the following telegram which was sent to all members of the Senate Appropriations Committee today:

"Prior to our appearances before Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees our membership comprising 100,000 were repeatedly polled on continuance of foreign aid. Results of these polls disclosed majority vote favored curtailment of foreign aid, and we so testified before committees.

"Present House action is a start for long overdue correction and we urge your support to House action which will give some long overdue relief to American taxpayers and small business."

Also note the following telegram which was sent on August 19 to all members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"In our repeated appearances before Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees of the Congress, carrying out the direct mandate vote of our nationwide member-

ship, all independent business and professional men, all voting members, no groups—the majority vote has been overwhelmingly in favor of curtailment of foreign aid.

"The ever increasing tax load, and the more serious aspect due to excessive Government spending of the ever increasing spiral of inflation in our domestic economy, if it continues may go a long way in destroying the future of our Nation's economy.

"Curtailment of foreign aid appropriations as voted by the House should be acceptable to the Senate and we trust the Senate will concur in the necessary cut of the appropriations made by the House of Representatives.

"Speaking for small business, will you make our views known on the floor of the Senate?"

With very high regards,

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

Do-Nothing Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, if the 1st session of the 85th Congress deserves this sobriquet, it can be construed to mean the public will be the principal beneficiary.

It is true that the main efforts of this session have been directed toward making appropriations for domestic activities, Defense Establishment, and various programs of aid to foreign nations. Aside from attention to civil rights, no other major legislation of far-reaching effect on the national economy has been approved. This is a good omen. Congress for many years has been besieged by minority groups seeking legislation designed to relieve or materially benefit their special problems, resulting in added administrative agencies and a maze of Government intrusion into the affairs of helpless citizens.

The immediate result has been big government, heavy taxation, overgrown budgets, and inflation, to say nothing of the tendency to encourage evasions and dishonesty on the part of many citizens.

The average citizen no longer enjoys the freedom to engage in any enterprise without first employing an attorney to explore the possibilities of defeat or failure through the application of some public law. The prohibitions imposed by laws enacted and presently on the statute books are contributing more and more to discourage initiative, not only individual, but corporate. There is just too much law interfering with the proverbial freedom of progressive minded individuals and groups who up to now have succeeded in making America the outstanding creative Nation of the world.

Reviewing our international relations during the past decade reveals less than satisfactory success in challenging Communist influence in many parts of the Old World. It approaches the point of alarm when we see the trends in areas of our own hemisphere, the Caribbean, Central and South America, becoming more and more tolerant to the guiles of communism. Congress and the administration should manifest more direct concern for the stabilization of governments in these areas where our influence offers more assurance of creating and maintaining democratic strength to oppose the Communist threat through our back doors. The Old World has been the seat of power struggle during all history and we see no visible reason to expect anything different in the future. It is not to be expected that in the usual course of human experience, Russian communism can succeed in holding so many divisive peoples under her yoke for long.

The spirit of national freedom initiated in our Declaration of Independence and frequently enunciated through all our international contacts, has become altogether too strong among the smaller free nations to permit foreign domination and mass enslavement.

American democracy can be the instrument through which Communist philosophy will cease to appeal to civilized people, provided we discard our fears of Russian strength, unite and solidify the forces of our continental neighbors, and return to a national policy of economy, thrift, less exorbitant taxation, and a sound dollar of consistent value. A strong America of determined people need entertain no fear of Old World supremacy.

The Dam That Never Was

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 5, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpt from an article written by Pat Munroe, which was printed in the August 15, 1957, issue of the Deseret News and Telegram, Salt Lake City, Utah:

THE DAM THAT NEVER WAS

The flow of Snake River waters through Hells Canyon the past decade has long been rivaled by the torrent of words pouring forth from Capitol Hill for and against a Federal dam.

Most Congressmen concede that any chance of a high dam ever being built passed some years ago. Yet each year, new statistics, arguments, and histrionics are carted out for the annual performance in the public against private power fight.

Next year the scene may change, with a move underfoot to outfit the aging issue as an Army engineers project. The extravagant claims and charges will probably be heard all over again, but with a special election year tang.

Yet it is unlikely that the debate will be able to match this season's show, which had all the elements of good melodrama.

On the Senate side, Senator WATKINS dryly laid down the Republican position while his Democratic colleagues ad libbed enough vivid metaphors to keep the press gallery typewriters rattling.

But the real show came in the House, where the dam's death scene was stalled for several weeks as Interior Committee Democrats used parliamentary tricks, quick exits, meeting boycotts, and protests over a lady's honor (Representative GRACIE PFOST, of Idaho) to extend the run.

When the final vote came, Representative JOHN SAYLOR, Republican, Pennsylvania, said the dam was extinct as the dodo. The liberal Washington Post ornithologically reported the dam was more like the phoenix—a legendary bird that rose from the ashes of its funeral pyre with renewed youth.

But the Post failed to add that the phoenix was also a myth—a purely fictitious bird.

Maybe it was a pretty good comparison after all.

Straight Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I have received a reprint of Tom Anderson's column "Straight Talk" in the September 1957 issue of Farm and Ranch magazine, Nashville, Tenn.

His column in the September issue of that magazine deals with the United States Supreme Court, which in recent years has been brazenly usurping legislative functions, and has gone far afield from its constitutional jurisdiction in its efforts to amend the Constitution and make new laws.

Mr. Anderson, as is the case with many thoughtful people all over our country, is concerned over these shocking and amazing decisions. He feels, as do hundreds of thousands of people from Maine to California, that this Court has justified the terms "Black Mondays" and "Red Mondays" as applied to its Monday decision days. Mr. Anderson, as so many other people are, is alarmed at the disastrous effects of these black Monday and red Monday decisions. He correctly says:

The Supreme Court members have forfeited their right to life tenure and should be made directly responsible to Congress and the people. Since the Court is making policies it should be accountable to somebody. The political justices are now accountable to no one but themselves.

Mr. Anderson's article should have thoughtful attention and consideration, and under unanimous consent granted, I insert the article as follows:

STRAIGHT TALK

(By Tom Anderson)

In ancient days the king could do no wrong. But this is 1957, and the Supreme Court can. The Supreme Court is not divine. God didn't create it. The people did.

The belief that the Supreme Court is a holy, final, supreme authority is a fairy story unsupported by facts, history, or the Constitution. The Constitution provides only that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress

may from time to time establish." Nothing is said about the number of courts or justices, nor their pay, duties, or limitations.

Let those who seem to feel that resistance to any decision of the Supreme Court is a polite form of treason remember Abraham Lincoln's challenge to the Court: "We propose so resisting it (the Dred Scott decision) as to have it reversed if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject." And Andrew Jackson cried, "The Supreme Court has handed down its decision: now let them enforce it." Alexander Hamilton wrote in the Federalist: "* * * the judiciary is, beyond comparison, the weakest of the three departments of power * * * though individual oppression may now and then proceed from the courts of justice, the general liberty of the people can never be endangered from that quarter: I mean so long as the judiciary remains truly distinct from both the legislative and the executive * * *."

MODERN COURTISM

But Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower all packed the Court with political lawyers who were sympathetic to the aims of their administrations and connived to have the Court do their will. What the great Hamilton saw as a threat to liberty, the union of the executive and judiciary, we are now up to our necks in.

For about 165 years the Supreme Court did what the Constitution told it to do: Said what the law is. The Warren court now makes, and unmakes, the law. In the field of civil rights and civil liberties dedicated left-wingers of the Supreme Court are remaking the Constitution and our lives. The Court is now the combined creature of New Dealism and Modern Republicanism, bent on changing our constitutional government into a centralized, all-powerful, socialist-labor welfare state.

QUIZ GAMES WHAT'S THE LAW TODAY?

Thousands of lawyers and judges throughout the Nation are fumbling their way through a maze of confusing and contradictory Supreme Court pronouncements based not on Constitution and precedent but on which way the social political winds are blowing. And based on which Justices' hearts are bleeding for what social reforms and which Justices have what chips on their black-robed shoulders.

The historic "Black Monday" segregation decision in 1954 was just the beginning. It has been followed by a series of lawmaking liberal decisions limiting the power of States and Congress.

Turning from Black Mondays to Red Mondays, the Supreme Court has just turned loose 5 of 14 convicted California Communists (the other 9 will get a new trial) but it won't turn loose the sovereign States of the South to run their own affairs as the majority of their citizens want them run. The Court has ruled that Government workers, unless they're in "sensitive" jobs, cannot be fired just because they're security risks. Thus "nonsensitive" Communists may rub elbows daily with Government employees whose jobs involve our very lives. The Court has virtually denied Congress its historic right to conduct investigations.

In the recent Steve Nelson case, the Supreme Court nullified sedition laws of 42 States and now permits the Federal Government alone to prosecute Communists for plotting the Government's violent overthrow. The Court has recently opened FBI files to criminals and Communists.

The supreme sociologists have declared in effect that communism is merely another political party deserving of the same protection as Democrats or Republicans. Thus our Supreme Court suggests that communism may not be subversive, after all, even though we're spending billions fighting it around the world. These rulings comprise the greatest Communist victory since America mistakenly saved Russia from Hitler. Come to think of it, have the Communists lost any cases before the present souped-up Court?

LET'S AMEND THE COURT

The Supreme Court office is granted for life, but only during good behavior. Thus Congress and the President have the power to curb or oust Supreme Court Judges. The Supreme Court members have forfeited their right to life tenure and should be made directly responsible to Congress and the people. Since the Court is making policies it should be accountable to somebody. The political Justices are now accountable to no one but themselves.

We the people have amended the Constitution 22 times. Let's amend the Supreme Court. Instead of Congress having to spend so much time correcting Court decisions, why not correct the Court? Amendments 11, 13, and 15 were adopted to overrule Court decisions. The Court needs curbing. Seems to me the best long-range plan to insure getting the best judges, not crusaders, on the Court might be to limit their selection to judges who've served at least 10 years on circuit courts of appeal. Thus we'd get men who've been dealing with legal problems instead of dealing with politicians. Men who are disassociated from politics and the local political scene. And even then, maybe Congress should have to confirm by a two-thirds majority instead of a simple majority. But most important, let's amend the Constitution to limit the term of each judge to, say, 9 years, with 1 new judge replacing, each year, the judge with the longest tenure: first on, first off.

What Is the Civil-Rights Bill and What Does It Mean to You?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Tom Anderson's column Straight Talk, a regular feature of Farm and Ranch magazine, from time to time presents some very sound views on current problems. In the August 1957 issue of that magazine he presents an analysis of the so-called civil-rights bill.

His sound views on this iniquitous and vicious bill are well worth reading, and under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert this article herewith:

STRAIGHT TALK

(By Tom Anderson)

What is the civil-rights bill, and what does it mean to you?

"Civil rights" means that if you're a Protestant who hires only Protestants, or a Jew who hires only Jews, or a Catholic who hires only Catholics, you can be prosecuted by the Federal Government. It means you could be forced to hire the same number of Swedes as you do Italians or be punished for discrimination against national origin.

It means if you run a dancing school you could be forced to hire a qualified Negro instructor or face possible subpena to appear before a United States district judge (they're appointed for life by the President) in a distant city at your own expense and prove yourself innocent. It means that if a school, park, public restroom (private homes and clubs are exempt, so far) is desegregated and you try to interfere or prevent it, you are subject to arrest and imprisonment for contempt of court. It means integration would be enforced by army bayonets and martial law.

Under the civil-rights bill the Attorney General of the United States could bring legal actions in your name whether you desired to go to court or not, and the Civil Rights Commission could summon you on 24 hours' notice from any part of the United States to any place it might designate to defend yourself against charges of which you were ignorant until you got the subpena.

CONFORM OR BE CARPETBAGGED

Under the civil-rights bill now proposed, the Justice Department could get a Federal court injunction against anyone who is "about" to take away another's civil rights or voting rights. If you defied the Government when it told you you had to hire a qualified Negro as your secretary, or as a salesman, or as a lifeguard at the swimming pool, you would be tried on criminal contempt charges without a jury. "Civil rights" means perhaps the beginning of the end of State government and individual freedom in America.

That eminent Socialist-turned-Democrat, Walter Reuther, says, "The problem of civil rights in the United States is an international issue * * * the key issue in the world."

We must pass civil-rights legislation, the Reuthers, Harrimans, and Kefauvers profess, to keep Russia from exploiting against us our archaic horse-and-buggy conceptions of constitutional law, trial by jury, and other freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Imagine. We must impress Russia, where the only people who vote are the 11 men in the Kremlin * * * where American soldiers with hands tied behind their backs, were tried by being machinegunned into a common grave. * * * Russia, which has butchered 20 million of its own citizens.

Or, are we trying to impress England, where aristocracy and colonialism still reign * * * or South American countries where military dictators reelect themselves without opposition with guns? Or, maybe it's the African cannibals, or the untouchables of India we're trying to impress?

The same liberals whose hearts bleed so profusely for minority groups are now trying to kill the right to filibuster, which is the right of unlimited debate unless two-thirds of the Senators vote to cut off debate. The two-thirds requirement is adequate safeguard against the abuse of free speech and is in itself a protection of the minority.

Few northerners, even the worst bleeding hearts, if they knew and understood deep-South areas where backward blacks outnumber whites in some areas 2 and 3 to 1, would favor integration and full voting privileges. As in backward colonial dependencies, a people has to earn equality. To thrust it on them is to guarantee chaos. The beleaguered, back-to-the-wall South is not defying the Constitution, but upholding it. The Supreme Court, not the South, is guilty. The Court is guilty of unlawful and unconstitutional judicial and prejudicial tyranny. The New Dealers, modern Republicans, and crusading Justices are forcing us down the road to a centralized Socialist-labor welfare State, in which individual States and individuals are under the heel of an all-powerful Federal autocracy.

LET ALL AMERICANS VOTE ON CIVIL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Under the civil-rights bill an enlarged army of Federal bureaucrats and FBI agents will march through Georgia laying waste to the southern way of life and leaving in their wake swarms of civil-rights carpetbaggers to intimidate the people and supplant local law with Federal law. Lower court justices, who hate to be reversed, are already being

intimidated. A civil rights law will be ignored, evaded, ridiculed and hijacked by the people no less than was the prohibition amendment, which was at least voted in (and out) by the people. All the American people should be allowed to vote on a civil-rights amendment to the Constitution.

No court can successfully ban and bury the historic customs and beliefs of a sovereign people. A law cannot be effectively enforced when it does not have the approval and support of a majority of the people.

The civil-rights bill denies fundamental rights guaranteed everyone by the Constitution: the right to own, manage, and enjoy property; the right of trial by jury; the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty; the right of appeal; and the rights guaranteed to the people and the States in the 9th and 10th amendments, limiting the Federal Government to the specific powers, except only those which the Constitution forbade the States to exercise.

FORCED EQUALITY IS CIVIL WRONG

We are chasing an illusion of equality under socialism instead of the reality of freedom under States rights and local self-government. Many have been deluded into a fuzzy morality which holds that equality and equal rights are the same thing. Forced equality contradicts the dream to excell; smothers individuality; restricts rights; removes freedoms; legislates mediocrity; waters down courage, thrift, self-reliance and initiative; and nurtures tyranny. Civil rights, like socialism, doesn't level up—it levels down. An all-powerful Federal Government is a mass denial of freedom.

This land of the free was conceived by our Founding Fathers to preserve the inequalities of its people by a minimum restriction of their liberties. But this land where anybody could be an eagle is being forced to become a land where everybody must become an oyster.

FTC Drops Case Against Giant Stores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the recent ruling by the Federal Trade Commission dismissing the complaint against one of the large chain stores of the country indicates that there are some fatal defects in existing statutes that need immediate attention.

These big retail chains have already succeeded in driving enough small merchants out of business so as to be in complete control of many retail outlets. Having attained that station in our economy, they are now striking out at and taking advantage of the consuming public.

In that connection, I direct our colleagues attention to the following item which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 15, 1957:

FTC DROPS CASE AGAINST GIANT STORES

The Federal Trade Commission ruled yesterday that Giant Food Shopping Center, Inc., prepares sausage and meat loaf and therefore is a packer and outside of FTC jurisdiction.

The ruling enabled Giant Stores to go from FTC to Agriculture Department jurisdiction. The FTC thus had to drop charges against Giant of inducing illegal promotional allowances.

FTC Examiner Frank Hier said "intellectual honesty" compelled him to rule that "if any part of a person's business is within the definition of 'packer' (under the Packers and Stockyards Act), no matter how small or insignificant, all of his activities are beyond regulation by the Commission."

It's not the "cutting up, slicing, grinding, trimming, and wrapping meat that makes Giant a packer but the grinding up meat, mixing it with spices (as), in the case of sausage, to make meat products," Hier said.

The Commission had charged Giant with demanding illegal favors from suppliers for promotion of an anniversary sale. Dropping the complaint reluctantly but firmly, the FTC warned that the decision might be reviewed.

Statement by Hon. John Lesinski, of Michigan, on Federal Aid to States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, some States continually complain about the Government making aid available to the States. However, these States never object to accepting all the money the Government will grant them. The State of Indiana is probably one of the best examples of the foregoing statement, and under these circumstances I thought a letter which Mr. Andrew Jacobs, Jr., wrote to the Honorable MIKE KIRWAN, was very illustrative of this fact. Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert the letter and its enclosures in the RECORD:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *August 14, 1957.*

Hon. MICHAEL KIRWAN,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KIRWAN: I hope you will not carry out your intentions to deprive Indiana of Federal aid, as reported by the enclosed Associated Press dispatch. It is true our Governor has condemned Federal aid, and so has our general assembly.

However, I think you, as a good Irishman, should appreciate any glimmer of GOP humor.

Almost in the same breath Governor Handley demanded Federal relief for Hoosier flood victims.

The enclosed facsimile pages from the official 1947 acts of our general assembly proves it was merely having its little joke. Note that chapter 377 condemning Federal aid is followed by chapter 378 demanding it, and this all occurred after chapter 178 had made full provision to grasp every Federal dollar in reach.

The index page indicates the several subjects upon which the general assembly prescribed acceptance of Federal aid.

You understand boys will be boys and things are somber enough in Indiana. Don't punish us because our GOP officials occasionally show a sense of humor.

Even if our GOP officials were not trying to be funny, let's be charitable. The dollar sign confuses them and their inconsistency, if not excusable, is at least understandable to men of good will, which we Democrats claim to be.

Governor Handley has a brilliant plan for stopping excessive Federal taxation; that is, to grab our money before Uncle Sam can get it. He has made some progress.

Sincerely,

ANDREW JACOBS, Jr.

[From the Indianapolis Star, August 14, 1957]

UNITED STATES AID FOR STATE RAPPED

WASHINGTON—A veteran Democratic Congressman said yesterday he will oppose appropriating money for new Federal public works projects in Indiana.

Representative KIRWAN (Democrat, Ohio), a ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee, told a reporter the reason for his stand is the Indiana Legislature's opposition to Federal aid to the States.

When told of KIRWAN's position, Representative BRAY (Republican, Indiana) said, "I believe MIKE KIRWAN is confused." He said Indiana Republicans do not oppose Federal grants in such fields as flood control and rivers and harbors projects, but do not want aid extended to new areas such as education.

But Representative DENTON Democrat, of Indiana, a member of the Appropriations Committee, said "KIRWAN does illustrate the ridiculousness" of Hoosier Republicans fighting Federal aid.

Both BRAY and DENTON argued Indiana is entitled to Federal aid in any event since its taxpayers contribute money for the grants.

Previously, KIRWAN had said he would oppose public works appropriations for Nebraska. The Nebraska Legislature this year adopted a resolution opposing Federal grants to the States.

"They passed the same kind of thing in Indiana several years ago," said KIRWAN. BRAY and DENTON said they knew of no such action.

Republican Gov. Harold W. Handley of Indiana repeatedly has attacked the system of Federal grants to the States.

KIRWAN indicated his stand would have no immediate applications.

"But some day," he added, "I will be sitting on a conference committee and if I can cast the vote that will kill a public works appropriation for Indiana, I will do it. I don't want to presume on their legislature."

KIRWAN was a member of a Senate-House conference committee that last week eliminated $25,000 in planning funds for the proposed Monroe Reservoir in Indiana. But the elimination was automatic because the appropriation had not been authorized by Congress.

"Indiana pays its proportion of the taxes in the country," BRAY said in criticizing KIRWAN'S position.

[From the Indianapolis Star of August 14, 1957]

BEGIN WITH A START

A committee of State governors and Federal aides is making some progress in an effort to draft an actual plan for transferring some functions from the Federal Government back to the States. The proposal to do so has been made by President Eisenhower.

There is no reason why it can't be done. All kinds of things which the Federal Government is now doing are things which States could do just as well or better. A great many of them are things which could be done by the communities, once control of them is restored to the States.

One vital need is to be practical in planning the first step. Functions should be chosen for transfer which the States can readily grasp and administer. The transfer plan, in short, must work.

Preliminary agreement has been reached on a list of items which meet this requirement. Included are school-lunch aid, disaster relief, vocational education, old-age as-

sistance on a need basis, and sewage waste treatment. These are things which could be transferred without any great disruption of services and without creating any great problems of administrative machinery for the States. They also are items in which consideration of need on a State basis is highly pertinent.

Another vital condition is that Federal taxes be lifted or cut in specific and accurate relation to the transfer of functions to State control. The actual cost to the Federal Government of each function, including administration and other overhead should be detailed. Tax changes to reduce Federal revenues by the same amounts should be made at the same time the functions are transferred.

Once the initial transfer is planned, it will be necessary for the people of each State to make sure that their own representatives in Congress understand the wisdom and importance of what is being done. Some will have to do some adjusting in thinking of themselves as representatives of a State.

The hardest task will be in conditioning both legislators and planners in Washington to the possibility that every State may not wish to continue every program over which the Federal Government relinquishes to State control.

There is the new sewage-treatment aid program, for instance. Indiana communities received grants totaling $996,00 in the year ending June 30 to help them build sewage-treatment plants. The cost of the projects involved totaled $3,662,954, the rest of the money coming from local sources. The projects receiving this aid represented about half of the sewage-treatment development in the State during the year, the total costing about $7 million. But spending for this purpose amounted to more than $20 million in Indiana in each of the 3 previous years, before the Federal program was set up. Indiana progress in this field under the stimulation of Federal aid has been about a third of what it was without Federal aid.

The important thing is to make a start in shifting responsibilities and functions from the Federal Government back to the States. The example needs to be set. The procedure needs to be worked out and used. Then it will be possible to select other functions for transfer. With each succeeding step the process will become easier and smoother. With each step the States will become stronger and more able to take the next step. With each step the Federal Government, relieved of a few more of its conglomeration of interests and activities, will become more able to function effectively in its proper field.

Equal Rights Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, on July 19 several Members spoke in favor of the equal-rights amendment. I regret that I was unable to participate in the discussion at that time and under leave to express my remarks would like to again reiterate my unqualified support for an equal-rights amendment.

One argument against the equal-rights amendment on which great stress is laid by opponents is that the passage of the amendment would cause endless confusion and litigation. Our whole history refutes such fear.

We have always believed that a bad law should be changed in the interest of freedom, liberty, and democracy. The equal-rights amendment to the Constitution would not be accomplished in a day, and every State would have time to amend her own laws before the amendment actually went into effect.

Of course there would be litigation, for every new law is subjected to litigation necessary to establish its constitutionality, interpretation, and application to our lives. Why should fear of changing laws prevent passage of the equal-rights amendment granting full citizenship to more than half our population?

I sincerely hope that Congress will recognize its responsibility and cause early passage of the equal-rights amendment.

Secretary Gates and the Corona Hospital Closing Hassle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, although I much regret the closing of Corona Naval Hospital, and favor installation of a naval hospital in the Long Beach-Los Angeles port area where many thousand service personnel and dependents urgently need it, I feel Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates has been subjected to unwarranted abuse in connection with the matter. Hostile and unfounded stories appeared in newspapers in the vicinity of Corona regarding an interview with the Secretary by a local group. These were transplanted wholesale into a nationally syndicated column. Subsequently columnist Bob Considine wrote a column in closer coincidence to Secretary Gates' statement of the facts as follows:

GATES' VERSION OF CORONA INCIDENT

(By Bob Considine)

NEW YORK, August 19.—"This is the first time I've ever been operated on without an anesthetic," Secretary of the Navy Tom Gates said to a friend in the wake of a recent snafu over the announced closing of a naval hospital.

Gates, one of the smartest, best-natured and courteous men on the Eisenhower team, was widely accused lately of being rude and arrogant to a delegation of Californians who converged on San Diego to discuss with him the scheduled closing of the 750-bed Corona Naval Hospital. It was charged he brushed them off with a handshake or two and disappeared "in the midst of a swarm of rear admirals."

SILENT SAUND

Actually, Gates says he was never told he was expected to meet with the group. Congressman DALIP SAUND, Democrat, of California, who later joined in roasting Gates for snubbing the group, was a guest aboard Gates' plane.

Not once during the flight from Washington and return did SAUND mention he had alerted his people about a meeting with the Secretary, according to Gates' story.

Gates had just undergone a press conference in which he explained why the hospital and many other drains on the Navy's appropriation dollar had to be lopped off, when—upon leaving for his next appointment—SAUND asked him to say hello to a group. There was still no mention of a meeting. Gates shook hands all around, posed for pictures, bid them a cordial farewell, and went on about his business.

"NOT AWARE"

He is quoted as saying he was not aware until the next day that after a talk with SAUND, the group had become embittered enough to issue blasts at the Secretary and threats of repercussions at the polls.

Teapot tempest? Perhaps, but it is a sample of the pain and ruffled political feelings that attend any shrinkage in Federal spending. The Secretaries of the several branches of the Armed Forces, for example, are the likeliest targets of any vote-conscious Congressman whose district has been affected by a cutback.

The Corona Naval Hospital is a peace casualty, and the area can no longer count on income from the hospital's doctors, nurses, and patients. The Navy says there will be no hardships, medically speaking. There are hospitals at San Diego and Pendleton, as well as at Long Beach.

The irony of the attacks on Gates and men like him is that Congress itself ordered the cuts which individuals in the Congress decry when the orders are carried out. A further irony is that quite frequently a Congressman who has beat his breast in righteous indignation over the shutdown of some profitable installation in his district will—having made his show in front of his constituents—call up the Secretary and say, "I know you had to do what you did."

OTHER CUTS

Gates tried to explain on the coast that he will effect savings in the Navy's investment in his home State, Pennsylvania, just as readily as anywhere else.

To protect the Navy's shrinking funds, and keep its hardware ahead of the enemy's, Gates recently lopped 18,000 civilians off the payroll and mothballed 60 more outmoded ships. For port merchants, the retirement of those ships were as if 60 full payrolls were lost.

So Gates gets rapped.

Shortly after a nationally syndicated columnist rapped him last week, Gates' Pentagon phone rang. Sherman Adams of the White House was on the phone.

"Welcome to the club," said the greatest punching bag of them all.

List of Offenses Triable Without a Jury in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the proposal requiring a jury trial in voting rights cases, the following table lists some of the offenses which may be prosecuted in the police court of the District of Columbia without a jury:

D. C. Code section	Nature of offense	Maximum penalty
2-130	Offenses connected with practice of the healing art, except for practicing medicine without a license.	$100 or 90 days.
2-409	Violation of laws with respect to registration of nurses.	$200 or imprisonment in workhouse for 60 days.
5-631	Violation of laws with respect to insanitary buildings.	$100 or 90 days (each day's violation a separate offense.)
6-119h	Violation of laws or regulations relating to quarantine.	$300 or 90 days or both.
6-304	Violations re reporting requirements for births.	$200 or 90 days or both.
6-508	Violation of garbage disposal laws	$100 or 60 days or both.
9-125	Offenses on Capitol grounds (no damage to public property exceeding $100).	Do.
22-1107	Unlawful assembly; profane and indecent language.	$250 or 90 days or both.
22-1112 (a)	Indecent exposure, not before minor	$300 or 90 days.
22-1115-6	Interferring with foreign diplomatic and consular offices, officers, property.	$100 or 60 days or both.
22-1120	Sale of tobacco to minors under 16	$10 or 20 days.
22-1121	Disorderly conduct (breach of peace)	$250 or 90 days or both.
22-1307	Wearing or using insignia of certain organizations by nonmember.	$20 or 30 days or both.
22-1406	Sale or concealment of property by conditional vendee with intent to defraud.	$100 or 90 days.
22-2701	Inviting for purpose of prostitution	$250 or 90 days or both.
22-3302, 3304	Vagrancy	$300 or 90 days or both.
22-3414	Use for advertising purposes or mutilation of flag.	$100 or 30 days or both.
22-3421	Sale of unwholesome food	$300 or 90 days.
25-128	Drinking alcoholic beverage on street park or parking lot, or in vehicle thereon, or in unlicensed public place, or during prohibited hours; being drunk in such places or at such times; being drunk and disturbing the peace of any person any time.	1st offense: $100, 30 days, or both. 2d offense: $200, 60 days, or both.
36-215	Employing minor in violation of child labor laws and regulations, or hindering their enforcement.	1st offense: $100, 30 days, or both per day. 2d offense: $200, 90 days, or both per day.
36-442	Violating provisions of chapter or regulations regarding industrial safety.	$300 or 90 days.
40-104	Violating provisions of chapter or regulations regarding registration of motor vehicles.	$300 or 30 days or both.
40-605 (d)	Operating vehicle faster than regulations permit.	$300 or 90 days.
40-609	Hit and run driving involving substantial property damage.	1st offense: $100, 30 days, or both. 2d offense: $300, 90 days, or both.
43-909	Destroying or interfering with any apparatus owned, operated by, or in charge of the Public Utilities Commission or its agents.	$100 or 30 days or both.
46-319 (a)	Knowingly falsifying or not disclosing a material fact to obtain or increase unemployment compensation payments to self or another.	$100 or 60 days or both, and repayment of amount illegally received.
46-319 (c)	Willful violation of provisions of chapter regarding unemployment compensation for which no penalty specified.	$200 or 60 days or both per day.
47-2207	Violating provisions of chapter regarding public auction permits.	$200 or 60 days or both.
47-2347	Violating provisions of chapter or regulations regarding general license law; failing to file information required therein.	$300 or 90 days.

The Communist Collectivist System Will Destroy the Individual

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there has come to my attention some interesting observations by a member of the Bavarian Landtag, Dr. Walter Becher, Secretary General of the Sudeten German Council. Dr. Becher cites interesting statements made by one Walter Wannenmacher, a Sudeten German journalist and economist, who after World War II was detained for 10 years at forced labor in Communist Czechoslovakia. Mr. Wannenmacher has written a book entitled "The Country of the Office-Desk Pyramids," published in 1956 after his release from the forced labor organization in Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Walter Becher sets forth his conclusions in an interesting and clear manner and I commend this material to the House Members.

The articles follows:

THE FAILURE OF THE COMMUNIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM

On these pages I want to leave aside the horrors of the Communist system, the secret police, the political persecution, the terror and the fear in which the slaves of Communist dictatorship are living, and which are the main characteristics of a Communist system. I merely want to discuss here one side of this criminal system—namely its economic side.

The Communist and collectivist economic system perverts all human sides of character. It is an unnatural, antinatural, antirational way of life. It is therefore no wonder that the Communist economy has failed in every State under Red rule (not only Poland, but all Communist states need Western help), and that misery and low-economic standard are inherent characteristics of communism.

Mr. Wannenmacher writes:

THE REASONS FOR FAILURE ARE INHERENT TO THE SYSTEM

"It would be an instructive task to divide, for the years 1938 and 1955, the number of produced units of goods by the number of existing office desks in any one of the factories in Czechoslovakia. The result would be that a much inferior output of production would fall to the share of each office desk.

"An office desk, if the same is placed protectively in front of you, is a good thing, a much better thing than a shovel. If you do not move this instrument, this sudorific instrument, not one kilogram of coal will get from the wagon to the pitheap. And it is merely this kilogram, thrown from the wagon and landing on the pitheap without, of course, rolling back on the tracks, for which you will be paid in the nationalized industries, owned by the people. The office desk, however, justly belongs to the desired achievements of a socialist production. You need not to move it. All you have to avoid is to fall asleep, if somebody may notice it. If only some piece of paper lies in front of you, you will have an alibi, and if you cover the same with numbers and letters, it means work—work without damage to heart and lungs, without a feeling of weariness in arms or legs, work, by which a man may support himself better than by using a shovel. Work, the meaning of which nobody will ask for, since every questioner would have to lose such an office-desk position himself. You are imbedded in the joint mass of the office-desk owners, who certainly plot among each other, but never to such a degree that the procreative instinct inherent to the office desks would be hindered or stopped, on the contrary, the true aim is to further this instinct by replacing one desk owner, removed by means of intrigues, by two new ones. If you have become a member of the working intelligentsia, the great number of those small lice troubling the workers has been increased by one. Well, you will think yourself, they do not notice it—considering these hundreds of thousands of small lice. The main thing is that there are no political objections to your person, that you make a bow to the ruling doctrine. Whoever intends to become a small louse, has to grow crooked at an early time.

"The manner in which mothers feed their babies with pablum is known to everybody: there is 1 spoon for father, 1 for mother, 1 for the little sister, and now 1 for the pussycat * * * A witty young man of the Skoda Works had to shovel out molding sands, many hundreds of shovels. In the manner mothers do it at home, the man whispered, rhythmically, the names of the profiteers of this his activity: 1 shovel for me, 1 for the confidant, 1 for me, 2 for my comrade the deputy director, 1 for me, 3 for the SNB (Corps of the National Security), 1 for me, 4 for the comrades in the ministry. It would have been a pleasure to send Karl Marx personally to him as auditor. No doubt that the man enormously exaggerated the percentage of profiteers' shovels to their total number, but he has nevertheless quoted so many of the typical profiteers that we are able to group them immediately; there is the group of office desks belonging to the field of action of police or public administration; there are the party as well as the field of action creating public opinion; there are the office desks belonging to the fields of economy, planning, production, transportation, financing, and distribution. In order to maintain all those sitting behind office desks, which were newly installed in the last 10 years, people have to devote part of their sweat for that purpose. Indeed, anyone who shovels has to move so many shovels a day as a tribute to the office-desk owners."

THE SECOND REASON FOR THE FAILURE IS THE INABILITY OF THE OFFICE DESK HOLDERS, ALSO INHERENT TO THE SYSTEM

But there is still another decisive quality inherent in this collectivist bureaucratic system of Communist economy. It is a fact that this bad, inferior, and irrational system is necessarily advocated and carried out by the inferior part of every nation concerned, by this nation's worst elements and individuals. Only these feel themselves comfortable in such a system, while all capable, intelligent, and decent men are being distanced, handicapped, and repelled by this system.

Miss Ira Wolffert, after having visited Communist Czechoslovakia, wrote in Esquire, January 1957:

"A society that is not designed to bring out the best of its members is valueless to those who live in it. But the Communist society now installed in Prague is designed to bring out the worst in its members."

This is true equally for the political system as well as for the economic system of communism. Mr. Wannenmacher states the same in his own words:

"This systematized economy needs hundreds of thousands of office desks, it alone needs an army of staff officers, each of whom should be a genius. Geniuses, however, are born in a limited number only, and the geniuses actually born are mostly caught in the different sieves of selecting systems before they are able to reach the decisive posts.

"Indeed, we may maintain: There is not one office desk imaginable to be missing. That surplus value rooting in the number of office desks is bound to system. Hardly lower, however, is the number of shovels which must be moved by the laborers to cover the damage caused by the people at the desks owing to their incapability. Is it unimaginable that this system could be borne by other people? * * * Therewith we reach the problem of selecting men. * * *

"Selection of men means to decide whom to give power over people and to what degree. As for capitalism, the customer determines the sum the contractor will earn. Who earns much, will get power over many people. He alone will be incapable for the task, he will have to give part of power to subordinates. These vassals of financial power the employer will select with regard to their individual capability to multiply the amount of money. This system finally results in a selection according to the abilities of the single person with regard to an increase of sale and reduction of costs. The books register the result of cleverness—it is easy to measure it. But there is no concrete measure for ability in the Socialist 'one-party state.' Behind the decision on the smallest amount of power to be imposed upon somebody, there is the question: What is he going to do with this power? Will he use it in such a way that he will cause as little harm to me as possible? Selection according to common profit, as demanded by the theory of the Marx-Leninism, is in distinct contrast to the actually practiced selection according to the harmlessness of the people in question. Common profit cannot be measured exactly—harmlessness, however, can be measured correctly. So it can be measured whether the person concerned has adopted himself to the necessary doctrines of the Marx-Leninism or not. If the man seems to be well informed concerning the valid political conceptions, his harmlessness as to his political line is rather probable. And this probability is still increased when receiving satisfactory results after investigating the man's past. * * *

"The most effective recommendation for the harmlessness of the candidate will be therefore his dependence on his sponsors as well as his talent not to become disagreeable to them. Being far too efficient, might be dangerous. The best chance for being selected in the Communist system have those people who distinguish themselves by servility, diligence, discipline, good behavior, and an unobjectionable past—that is the type of the untalented, servile career-hunter. One must be able to praise, with the same routine, Chrustchow today, as having praised Stalin yesterday.

"The routine is more important than the head. A skillful, sly routinist will keep his head on his shoulders, a 'full' head rolls more easily.

"In case the servile careerist will be admitted to the circle of profiteers, the better his conduct, the easier his advance will be. A man of conduct does not say the truth all the time, on the contrary * * *.

"Thus we discover that the selecting system of the Communist favors the career-hunter with blinkers. Nobody will expect to find among men of this type especially objective talents. * * * Due to the kind of selecting system the results cannot be different from what we find behind the office desks. * * *

"There is no confidant, no member of the industrial council, no functionary of the party, who has not become superior to another, appointed to this position. Nobody will reach this circle of profiteers, who has not been coopted. In this way the selected will remain between themselves, a 'private circle,' which demands that its rules be silently respected."

As for the rulers in the Communist system Mr. Wannenmacher says the following:

"The men commanding the top pushbuttons of the 'switchboard of power' excel the average by their intensive desire for predominance, vanity, courage (it is no bagatelle to balance yourself on the ladder's high rungs), and by their exquisite slyness."

They, in no case, excell by some actual talent or any creative abilities. Mr. Wannenmacher furthermore declares about the Communist type in general:

"It is a paranoid type. He pursues, because he feels himself pursued. His world of imagination is so loaded with enormous energies that he will not face facts which do not fit in it. * * * He is an artist of dialectical hairsplitting, he has sold himself to the ideology, because he is addicted to an inordinate desire for power; he will remain a demoniac all his lifelong. One has nothing to do but to look at the photographs of the men in question and you will find out that according to this diagnosis, it is easy to get on with these faces.

"Let us think of an assembly of such paranoid types, laying down guiding principles according to which people of similar type should live and act. These principles will not be drawn up according to facts but to 'jargon.' For, in cases in which the facts contradict the jargon, nobody will dare to expose himself in front of his enemies by putting his finger on this sore point, thus proving his ability for heresy. The people for whom these principles are valid, will do nothing for their part which could commit themselves in the eyes of their employers. They would, less than ever, acknowledge facts conflicting the 'jargon,' they would remain within the framework of the orders dictated and never move a finger out of their own initiative. Therewith, we have revealed the roots of the intellectual sterility in the East. Each initiative needs a permit of the competent 'profiteer.' Who does not think independently, cannot run great risk."

CONCLUSIONS

This is the Communist economic system in present Czechoslovakia as the Sudeten German journalist, economist, and author Walter Wannenmacher sees it. This system is common to all Communist states. It is only one part of the criminal Communist system, the other sides, the terror, the secret police, the proaganda and so forth are left aside on these pages as mentioned before.

The Communist economic system, the collectivist system is bad and inferior in itself, in the first place. Secondly, only inferior elements can work within this system, all able men are being handicapped by it. The inseparable sign of this system will be always: economic misery, and suppression of freedom.

All those who suffer under this Communist economic system are decent men: the workers, the able handicraftsmen, those, who understand business and organization, all gifted men, who in any normal human society are producers, organizers and leaders. With Communism, however, they, in reality, are all slaves of a dull and inhuman antinatural and collectivist system, which suppresses all good sides and ingenuity, and cultivates all bad sides of character, elevating bad men only.

The decent men are all inmates of one huge concentration camp, a forced labor camp, which, indeed, has along its boundary-lines barbed wire fences and machine gun towers in order to prevent escape, much alike to the forced labor camps, which, after all, are still numerous in the Communist countries. But not only the inmates of these camps—all inhabitants of a Communist State are slaves.

When the free world maintains business relations with Communist countries it receives goods, fabricated by slave laborers. No doubt, the Communist rulers can trade only because they force the people to work in misery. Thus any trade of the free west with Communist countries helps to uphold the slave-owner system of Communism. So does any economic aid given to Communist States, such as Yugoslavia or Poland.

As far as Czechoslovakio is concerned, the Communists know very well why they entirely expelled those 3.3 million Sudeten Germans and suppressed all Czechs and Slovaks of the parties of the center and the right. These people understood the perverseness of the Communist system and hated it. From the Communist standpoint they had to be removed.

In Czechoslovakia the Communists, after 1945, offered the possibility to work with them in the National Front regime to the Czech leftists only. These leftists, together with the Communist Party, installed the above pictured system and enabled the Communists to fully seize the power in 1948. Later on they were permitted to go to the West, where the majority of them keep leading positions in Radio Free Europe. Certainly the Free Europe Committee knows today, what the Communists in Czechoslovakia knew before, namely why it supports the leftists and National Fronters of Czechoslovakia, while suppressing and distancing all decent Czechs, Slovaks, and all Sudeten Germans.

In Radio Free Europe the National Front leftists, of course, preach their own economic policies—not too much different from the Communist ones—resolutely declaring that no return to the economic state of affairs prior to the Communist takeover is possible.

We fully disagree with these disastrous policies. We believe that propagators, coauthors and former profiteers of the system pictured above should not be supported by free men, and that not only the Sudeten Germans, but also the Czechs and Slovaks deserve to live once again in full political and economic freedom.

We believe that both support for a collectivist way of life in exile as well as trade with the Communists slave owners should be discontinued, and that the free world should embark in abolishing the Communist system and misery, and in bringing full genuine freedom to the slaves of communism.

Commentary on Supreme Court Decision in the Du Pont Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a reprint from Ed

Wimmer's column which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer.

The reprint follows:

FORTUNE ATTACK ANSWERED IN PUBLISHER'S OWN WORDS—GM CASE DEFENDED

The present trend to economic turncoatism showed up at its worst in a recent editorial in Fortune magazine, in which Supreme Court Justice William Brennan was accused of being antibig business, for his part in the Court's decision ordering a divorcement of General Motors from Du Pont control.

According to Fortune, Justice Brennan (who wrote the majority opinion) ignored 40 years of precedent and administrative experience—enunciating radical new concepts of antitrust theory—and placing virtually every big company under a cloud of suspicion.

Fortune wept over this decision coming at a time when the people seem to have accepted bigness as a source of efficiency, and solemnly pronounced that the Justice Department may now proceed against any big business without even bothering to prove monopoly or restraint under the Sherman Act.

No foundation whatsoever exists upon which any of these charges can be based, and I think that Fortune editors know it. They should know it, because even high-school students are aware that the Sherman Act was passed by Congress to prohibit the control of one corporation by another—wherever there is a tendency to substantially lessen competition. They know also, that the Congress tried to strengthen the purposes of the Sherman Act by passing the Clayton Act, Robinson-Patman Act, and other laws, and that all Justice Brennan and his associates on the Court were trying to do, was to uphold the law.

Furthermore, Fortune states that if the Court's decision is accepted as public policy, then the United States is placed in the position of equating bigness with badness, which is the reddest of red herrings now so widely used to associate needed economic reform with wild-eyed radicalism. Consider, please, the words of Mr. Henry Luce, himself, publisher of Fortune, who said in his own publication in 1933:

"If neither business nor Government makes any move whatsoever in breaking down business into smaller, more compact, more mobile units; if bigness is to remain the standard concept of the economy * * * we must prepare ourselves for a different order of things; an order in which the powers of Government are not limited; in which the right to risk and profit is not clear; and in which the making, the selling, and the buying of the biggest show on earth, are all mysteriously controlled from above."

Later, in 1944, John K. Jessup, chairman of the board of editors of Life, Time, and Fortune, said:

"Fifty years ago, all corporations were limited in their right to own other corporations. They can be limited again. A law providing for some form of Federal incorporation could change the whole course of corporate development. Such a law would be unwise if it reduced the size of business units below maximum efficiency, but many businesses are too big for their own good.

"No government can ever locate that point exactly for every industry, but ours can make a start. We can oppose unnecessary gigantism, and demand that corporations prove that they need to be as big as they are."

General Motors is the largest corporate combine in the world. Its sales may reach $12 billion this year. Assets over $8 billion. Net profits last year nearly $1 billion. It has 629,000 stockholders. Over 600,000 employees. Admits to more than 50,000 dependent suppliers. If closed down for any lengthy period by labor strife, this one company could spark a depression.

We believe that Henry Luce was thinking straight when he called upon big business to unwind—and we believe, with the Court, that General Motors is a corporate combine far too big for any other corporate combine to control.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The National Security Training Commission and Edgar G. Shelton, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the finest instruments of Government which has been created in recent years has been the National Security Training Commission. This body has been under the leadership of some of our ablest Americans, including Gen. David Sarnoff.

On June 30 of this year, the Commission wound up its work and voluntarily ended its operations. Mr. President, I may say that is an unusual thing for a Government commission to do.

I am proud of the Commission for many reasons. One is that its Director was Edgar G. Shelton, Jr., a young man from my State, who for a period of time was associated with me, as a member of my staff. He did an outstanding job, in keeping with the high standards he has set for himself all his life.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement summarizing the Commission's activities be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that Americans may have full knowledge of the faithful service the Commission has performed.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL SECURITY TRAINING COMMISSION

I wish to pay tribute to the National Security Training Commission, which on June 30 concluded its task, filed its final report with the Congress, and voluntarily closed its door. Seldom is it that a permanent Government agency voluntarily goes out of business when its task is completed. Few agencies have faced difficulties of the magnitude which faced this Commission—and few have achieved the degree of success the National Security Training Commission has achieved. I believe that this is due largely to the caliber of the men who served on the Commission over the years.

Some of the most outstanding Americans of our age have given freely of their time and effort—without compensation—to serve as members of this Commission.

The National Security Training Commission was created by the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 and came into being on June 19, 1951.

Under the chairmanship of the late Senator James W. Wadsworth in 1951–52 the Commission began its activity and submitted its first report. Under the acting chairmanship of the late well-known scientist, Dr. Karl T. Compton, the Commission was kept alive in 1952–53. The late Maj. Gen. Julius Ochs Adler, of the New York Times, who served as Chairman from 1953 to 1955 provided the leadership which led to 20th Century Minute-Men, the 1953 report to the President which became the basis for the Reserve Forces Act of 1955. The late Lt. Gen. Raymond S. MacLain, of Oklahoma, who was a member from 1951 until his death in 1954, was one of the great civilian soldiers of our time. My fellow Texan and statesman, William L. Clayton, who is well known to all of us, was a member from 1951 to 1953.

One of the most distinguished admirals in history, Thomas C. Kinkaid, served on the Commission from its beginning to its end. Warren H. Atherton, past national commander of the American Legion, served from 1953 to 1957. Albert J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, served from 1954 to 1957. In 1955 Gen. Walter Bedell Smith was appointed to the Commission and in 1955 one of the almost legendary figures of American industry, Gen. David Sarnoff, president of RCA, became the Commission's final Chairman.

With men such as these it is little wonder that the Commission accomplished great things when faced with many obstacles. It is due largely to this group that we today have an effective, growing, trained Reserve.

The Commission's task was born of the danger with which we were faced in 1950—unpreparedness. No nonveteran reserves were trained between World War II and June 1950. Then came the Korean war. Over 600,000 veterans of World War II were recalled to active duty in place of the men whom we had failed to train.

The conscience of America was shaken.

The UMTS Act was passed in 1951.

The NSTC was created. Its purpose was to help build a trained, nonveteran Reserve through the promotion of a 6-month Reserve training program.

The Commission, on October 29, 1951, submitted legislative recommendations to the Congress.

These recommendations were reported favorably by the two Armed Services Committees, but the House of Representatives recommitted the legislative proposal.

The Commission did not give up. On December 1, 1953, the members submitted to the President a report entitled "20th Century Minutemen," which became the basis for the Reserve Forces Act of 1955. From 1953 through 1955 the Commission was instrumental in developing the national Reserve plan, which after numerous and almost insurmountable executive and legislative problems became the Reserve Forces Act of 1955 on August 9, 1955.

The Reserve Forces Act of 1955 wrote into law the three basic objectives of the NSTC report of 1953. They were:

1. A 6-month Reserve training program.

2. The replacement of veterans in the Ready Reserve by trained nonveterans to the greatest extent possible under the requirements of the national security, thus permitting veterans to transfer to the Standby Reserve if they so desire.

3. Selective recall of the Standby Reserve in the event of emergency, to do away with the inequities which existed in the recall of veterans during the Korean war.

It should be noted that the Reserve Forces Act of 1955 did not require war veterans to participate involuntarily in the Ready Reserve. And, as of July 1 of this year about 700,000 Army veteran reservists have been transferred to the Standby Reserve. One of the main reasons this has been possible is the success of the voluntary 6-month Reserve training program.

The Reserve Act of 1955 did not give the authority to draft young men into the 6-month program even though the Commission and the Defense Department had requested such authority. The program was entirely voluntary.

In December 1955, Gen. David Sarnoff, newly appointed as Chairman of the Commission, decided that the American public must be told about the new Reserve program. He suggested that an entire week in the spring of 1956 be set aside for the purpose of an educational campaign through all public media such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines, and motion pictures. He secured the wholehearted cooperation of the radio-television industry.

The National Security Committee, a private citizens' group, sponsored what became known as Military Reserve Week, April 22–28, 1956.

Military Reserve Week set off the most intensive educational campaign on behalf of the Reserve in peacetime history. The campaign was supported by private organizations and the radio-television industry.

Over a period of only a few months there were 173 special radio programs broadcast at least 12,725 times; 19 special television programs shown at least 5,885 times—5 of which were seen and heard 14,200,000 times; radio spot announcements were broadcast locally at least 175,938 times. TV spot announcements were shown locally at least 50,744 times. Over 6,000 radio-TV spots were broadcast on the 3 networks or their affiliates and heard and seen 995,200,000 times. One hundred and fifty-six plugs by radio-TV stars on the 3 networks were heard and seen 928 million times. The public-service radio-TV time (not counting talent) used to plug the Reserve program was worth nearly $3 million.

This is to the everlasting credit of the Nation's free television-radio industry.

After Military Reserve Week the Reserve program began to grow.

Today the program is a success.

This is due in large measure to the continual educational program which was waged from the day the Reserve Forces Act of 1955 became law to the present time. The Armed Forces, the many private organizations, public-spirited individuals, the free radio-television industry, and the press deserve the Nation's thanks for their persistent and effective effort in helping to build a strong Reserve.

On February 5, 1957, the Commission reassessed its role and wrote to the President stating in part, "Now that the Reserve program is well underway, the members of this Commission feel that our mission has been accomplished. * * * We recommend, therefore, subject to your approval, that the Commission terminate its activities on June 30, 1957, and thus make a contribution, even though small, toward reducing the expenses of Government."

On March 25, the President, reluctantly accepted the Commission's proposal.

On June 30, the Commission closed its doors.

On July 15 the Congress received their final report.

Where does our Reserve stand today?

Before World War II, our entire military Reserve consisted of about 400,000 men, many of them inactive and untrained. To-

day we have some 2,500,000 ready reservists with nearly 1 million of them in active drill-pay status, plus some 700,000 standby reservists.

On June 30, 1950, just as the Korean war broke, the Army Reserve and Army National Guard in active drill-pay status numbered 384,000. Three years later, June 30, 1953, just prior to the Commission's report to the President they numbered only 373,000. Today they number 678,000, an all time high.

On June 30, 1954 over 78 percent of all reservists were veterans. In the Army Reserve alone 98 percent were veterans. Today this imbalance is being remedied by the tens of thousands of nonveteran 6-month trainees who are entering the Ready Reserve, permitting veterans to move to standby status.

In the first 6 months of this year, the Reserve components of the Armed Forces have grown more rapidly than in any comparable period in peacetime. Particularly gratifying was the upsurge of enlistments in the 6-month Reserve training program. In the spring of 1956 there were only about 600 enlistments per week. Then came Military Reserve Week. By June 1956 enlistments were up to about 1,000 per week. By April 1957, the rate had increased to more than 4,000 a week—equivalent to an annual rate of well over 200,000.

This is not the result of accident. The success which has become apparent during the last few months didn't just happen. It has taken an incredible amount of work over a period of 6 long years to accomplish this.

Full credit should go to all, both in and out of the Government, who have worked so hard on the program. Certainly, however, there would have been no 6-month Reserve training program without the Commission and its outstanding members.

Due to their efforts in creating our 20th Century Minutemen the Nation is more secure. With the ever growing strength furnished by our Reserve the chances of world peace will be improved.

The NSTC can well be proud of its contribution.

Inflation and What Congress Might Do About It—Statement by Roger M. Blough

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, during the course of the testimony of Mr. Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board, United States Steel Corp., before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] asked Mr. Blough as to some of his ideas in combating inflation.

Mr. Blough has submitted a prepared statement entitled "Inflation and What Congress Might Do About It." With the statement are two exhibits: First, excerpts from an address by Mr. George Meany, president AFL–CIO; and, second, a lead editorial from the Economist of July 20, 1957.

I believe that the Members of Congress would be very much interested in this material, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and exhibits were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INFLATION AND WHAT THE CONGRESS MIGHT DO ABOUT IT

(Statement by Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board, United States Steel Corp., before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D. C., August 1957)

Several times during this hearing, Senator O'MAHONEY has asked me for a personal opinion regarding what the Congress should do about inflation.

I cannot profess any great competence in many phases affecting this problem, although we are painfully familiar with some aspects of it. Nevertheless, if these hearings are going to have a constructive purpose it is evident that only at the level of inquiry suggested by Senator O'MAHONEY will that purpose be achieved. Accordingly, I here outline my thoughts.

The first and foremost contribution the members of Congress can make toward curtailing inflation is to understand it. This is not easy. Yet those responsible for passing or refraining from passing legislation—and in either case the responsibility is equally great—cannot carry out their individual responsibilities in the matter without a reasonably clear understanding of the problem. To this I quickly add that business, too, must, in turn, do all it can to understand the matter so that we may likewise carry out our respective responsibilities.

It is, of course, almost impossible in a short space of a few paragraphs to discuss the problem adequately; but nevertheless I will try to the best of my ability.

Economic forces are set in motion when an excessive supply of money or credit is seeking less than enough goods and services. At times, although not currently, a part of this excess supply of money may be caused by the Government spending more than its income. It is an oversimplification to say that the most direct remedy for this type of situation is for the supply of money or credit to be restricted, for the deficit spending to end and for the supply of goods and services to increase.

Deficit spending and balancing budgets is a political matter involving many complex aspects of taxation, national defense, national welfare and a host of other problems with respect to which observations of mine would be of little moment in the present situation.

Likewise, I believe that everyone in Congress is familiar with the efforts of the Federal Reserve Board with respect to the supply of money and credit, which is its special function.

On the other aspect of the matter, the supply of goods, I perhaps can throw some light.

It is common knowledge that what we as a Nation produce is all we have to divide among ourselves, money being the medium of exchange with which we make the division. As workers, what we can buy with our pay, rather than the number of dollars, is the crux of the matter.

We in steel can do something in the steel part of the general supply picture to increase the supply of steel. That our corporation and the steel industry has been doing. To do this requires savings from people who earn wages, savings from those who invest and receive dividends and interest, and savings in the form of income reinvested in the business by the corporation itself. For steelmaking requires many costly furnaces, machines of great size, raw material development at home and abroad, and many other extensive and expensive items of plant and equipment. Only from those savings can the great results which come from a fertile combination of men and machines be achieved. Only in this way can we increase the supply of goods and thus add to the total wealth of all of us.

We in management can do our part in the training of manpower, securing better equipment, and many other things, all of which will improve what is commonly called productivity. This is really little more than a short-hand way of referring to constant product improvement and constant cost reduction.

It is when we come to cost reduction that the shoe pinches. Because the largest costs of all which we must pay in the conduct of our business are employment costs, whether these costs relate directly to our employment cost or to our suppliers.

As we have demonstrated in the hearings by reference to our published figures, our corporation's employment costs per hour have increased at the annual rate of 8.1 percent on the average for the past 17 years. Our total costs have risen during the same period at the rate of 8.8 percent. The best we can indicate for the improvement in output or productivity is between 2 and 3 percent. (Incidentally, a widely accepted figure for annual improvement of productivity nationally is closer to 2 percent.)

Holding in abeyance for a moment the alternates which Congress may have in this situation, as a corporation we have in the main just two alternatives. The first is to reduce cost as rapidly and effectively as we can. Mr. Hood has indicated in his statement some of the things we are trying to do about this. We believe that we have had some success.

The second alternative for us is to increase prices. The consequences of not increasing prices within competitive limits has been shown in Mr. Tyson's statement.

We have done both these things in an attempt to overtake our rising costs. Our price increases have averaged 5.6 percent annually during this 17-year period. The difference between this and our cost increases has been made up with greater efficiency, primarily brought about by investment of savings. Putting it simply, our price increases have reflected primarily an inflation in our costs which we were unable to overcome with greater efficiency.

While the figures will differ, other American businesses are in much the same situation.

Now Congress clearly cannot correct this situation by legislating greater efficiency—by legislating a greater annual productivity. This is the job of each individual enterprise and can only be done individually.

But can Congress do anything about the wage-cost increase aspect of the matter? This, I believe, is a thorny problem which is not of easy solution.

I know that many believe that the greater the power of labor, and its control over costs, the more likely it is that there will be overreaching by labor of any productivity improvement. This, I think, is a matter for Congress to determine in its own way after hearing from all concerned.

To avoid, however, giving a disproportionate share of the total product of an industry or of the country to labor, one of two things must happen: The first is necessary price increases, which have the effect of converting the money gains of labor into lesser gains in real wages. This results in the real wage increases more nearly approximating productivity gains. If this is done, capital investment is less likely to be stifled and that investment, which is the only real source of improving the lot of everyone, including labor, will not dry up.

The other alternative is to lessen the control labor has over increasing costs.

What Congress can or wishes to do in this field is, of course, a serious political question of great import. Congress is now investigating various phases of labor and will, of course, be in the best position to weigh the relationship between the existing forms of labor organizations and the bargaining power thus obtained. Against this it will also be able to weigh the many reasons advanced by advocates of large labor organizations for such form. It is, as before noted, a complex political and practical problem, the solution of which I do not attempt to forecast.

But of this much I am confident. Congress cannot and should not attempt to solve the matter of wage pressures by enacting wage controls, whether or not accompanied by price controls. Such controls have accomplished relatively little even under the stress of national emergency and in my view would have no chance at all in peacetime. Nor would such controls be desirable in a vital, growing peacetime economy which must have flexibility both for labor and industry if that economy is to remain healthy.

Attempts to control wages or prices or both of them would be the surest way yet devised to inject the virus of degradation and decay into the greatest industrial economy on the face of the earth.

This is not to say, however, that reducing the degree of inflation is a hopeless task. There are a number of ways to work at the matter productively.

With the passing of the postwar period of shortages, it seems to me that natural pressures are beginning to make themselves felt in many segments of the economy and will constantly be more and more noticeable as a factor in slowing down general inflation.

In the light of this subtle change in our economic picture the monetary policy of restraint on money and credit now being pursued by the Federal Reserve Board may have a constantly growing effect. To what extent that policy should be followed is, I believe, a matter to which Congress has been giving much attention. I can suggest nothing to help the competent hands of those in charge of it.

Additional evidence of this pressure against inflation, even the wage-cost type, is the catching up of more and more industries from a supply point of view. In the presence of a greater understanding by employers and unions and employees of the inflation spiral—an understanding we are earnestly trying to achieve in our own situation—this fact should also have an increasingly beneficial effect.

A beneficial role which Congress can undertake is this. Although it is recognized that Congress has many political pressures upon it, nevertheless individual Members of Congress can consciously examine every proposal from this point of view: What effect will it have on the amount of savings and the investment of those savings in the sources of production from which comes our constantly improving output.

If a given measure will increase savings, it is almost sure to increase production and productivity. If it does so, it is bound to decrease inflationary tendencies and at the same time improve the standard of living for everyone. If the measure adopted by Congress hurts savings, it cannot possibly help in the struggle against inflation.

This constant look at savings is the most important contribution Congress can undertake, I believe, and it is a never-ending one affecting many of the measures which Congress is constantly making whether such measures relate to taxes, appropriations, or almost anything else.

A third, and I believe the most productive long-range measure which involves no legislation and in which each one of us can help, is this. Let us keep on trying the American way of telling the people and of having them understand. If they understand they will help, for after all they have the greatest stake. I believe that the people of this country have their own way of taking care of great national problems such as inflation. If they can understand it, the problem is half solved.

There are attached to this brief statement two other statements which are worthy of particular note. The first is a recent statement by Mr. George Meany, which recognizes the problem and I believe also at least portrays an attitude which if we all had it would help solve the matter.

The second is the lead editorial from the Economist of July 20, 1957, which more clearly than I can do it discusses inflation, its causes and possible solutions. It also shows that other countries have much the same problem as we do.

To sum it up, I believe that with increased productivity, greater production, more public understanding and with voluntary restraints on the part of all of us—employers, unions, consumers, and every important segment of our economy, the threat of inflation can, at the very least, be slowed down.

EXCERPT FROM ADDRESS BY GEOGRE MEANY, PRESIDENT, AFL–CIO, BEFORE THE CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, JULY 9, 1957

But let me point out to you that the real internal threat to our way of life lies perhaps in the subject mentioned a few moments ago by Mr. Block when he speaks of inflation, prices, wages. All of these things have to do with the maintenance of the American economy. And the real threat, the thing that the Russians have been looking fondly forward to for many years is the collapse of the free enterprise system. In fact, they have been preaching the idea to their students for many years that there must be a collapse in the American economy. Their thinking is based upon two apparent weaknesses in our economy. First, the constant danger of inflation followed by deflation. Secondly, the clashing interests of management and labor.

These two problems are closely inter related. In the very nature of the free enterprise system, production is geared to a basic incentive. On the one hand, capital and management want more; on the other hand, labor wants more. Both want more constantly. These desires are natural and healthy and possible of attainment if pursued with commonsense and intelligent self-restraint.

As the dynamic economy of ours keeps going, it keeps growing and greater rewards are available for those who contribute to the processes of production. But labor cannot make progress at the expense of the rest of the economy and business cannot make progress at the expense of the rest of the economy. Neither can take out more than they put in. Let me put it another way. Labor can't put the fellow out of business who fills the pay envelope and then still have a filled pay envelope. The employer cannot overprice the customer beyond the customer's means and still expect to have a customer. Both labor and management have a responsibility to each other, to the community and to the Nation as a whole. Only through the exercise of such responsibility can we avoid the pitfalls of inflation and eliminate some of the labor-management conflicts which have plagued us in the past.

[From the Economist of July 20, 1957]

NON POSSUMUS?

On Monday Mr. Thorneycroft hastened again to the microphone to explain what he did not mean by his warning words last week. There is, after all the flurry, no crisis; "Exports are rising, production is going up. There is a large volume of investment and a good outlook of a trade surplus with the rest of the world." All this is true. Why, then, did the Chancellor of the Exchequer decide to sound the alarm last week? There may well be doubts about the wisdom and the timing of the way he did it, but the answer is very simple. He was drawing attention, not to any present crisis, but to the continuing crisis of our times, the fall in the value of our money.

Inflation is like sin. Everybody is against it, but it goes on. The only remarkable thing about the present public fuss over inflation—stirred up as it has been by the recent rash of price rises—is that it has taken the public so long to get to this point of apprehension.

It is fair enough to ask the Chancellor, after his crying havoc last week, what he proposes to do to stop the rot; the Government, after all, controls not only the public purse but the supply of money in the public's pockets as well. It is, however, altogether unfair not to recognize that any effective remedies that Mr. Thorneycroft might now propose are likely to be wildly unpopular among large sections of the community, including some of his most vehement critics. There are, in fact, two questions to be asked about any proposal to halt the chronic propensity to inflation. The first—"What will do the trick?"—is economic. The second—"Can't it be done?"—is political.

The fall in the value of money is a simple fact, only too visible to every citizen and only too easy to grasp. The economist's explanation of how it comes about is more complicated and full of nice distinctions. Even so, its gist can be simply put. There are, broadly, two kinds of inflation. There is the inflation that is caused by "too much money chasing too few goods," that is, by excessive demands at existing prices for the goods and resources available; and there is the inflation caused when (above all) wage costs persistently and generally rise faster than output. In practice, of course, the distinction between "too much money" and "too much wages" as the cause of inflation cannot be pressed too far: in each case the consequence is a general rise in prices, either pulled up by excessive demands or pushed up by excessive costs; and the so-called cost inflation could not continue if there were not enough money about to enable the ever-higher wages and the ever-higher prices to be paid.

With the reservation, it is obviously useful, when looking for the appropriate remedies, to diagnose what variety of the inflationary infection has now to be treated. (One or the other has been with us, under all kinds of governments, almost continually since early in the Second World War.) There can be little argument about the guise in which the infection presents itself for treatment at this moment. It is cost inflation, and overwhelmingly the largest cause of it is the way in which the trade unions are exploiting the present strength of their bargaining position; the Chancellor's critics are, in effect, asking: What are you going to do about wages? It is not now, primarily, the pressure of total demand that sparks the present and prospective troubles. Two or three years ago it was different. Then it seemed evident that the leading cause of the inflation, with the consequent climb in prices, distortion of production, diversion of resources, delays in trade, deficit in oversea payments, and drain on the reserves, was excessive demand. And the Government set out to contain the demand inflation by making money dearer and scarcer. Some will say that the tight money policy has been disappointingly slow and partial in its effects—not surprisingly when the public sector of the economy is so large and, relatively, so undisciplined financially. But the fact is that the policy has succeeded in its main objective; to check the growth in demand and safeguard the balance of payments.

The volume of demand in Britain has not in fact increased at all, until now, in the last 2 years. But, in consequence, after rising by about 4 to 5 percent a year until mid-1955, industrial production has, until now, not increased—even though investment in the capacity to produce has grown all the time. This is the price that has been paid, and the argument for constraining demand still further, in order to hold back inflation, is not, on these facts at any rate, strong. Indeed, it is hard to believe that this country can either escape from its dilemmas or seize its modern technical opportunities by putting a permanent ceiling upon its output. It is practically, as well as theoretically, true that the only constructive way out of the impasse is by producing to the top of our bent. But the vital rider to this truism is that cost and prices shall not outstrip, as they are outstripping, our rate of production. Cost (or wage) inflation is plainly the present foe.

This is by no means yet out of bounds; but it is becoming, and will become, still more apparent. Last year, while industrial production did not rise at all, personal incomes rose by some 7 percent; and under the pressure of wage increases we look like having at least that degree of cost inflation this year. Moreover, Britain achieved last year what, in view of these wage increases, was a relative stability of prices (the cost of living has risen by only 3 percent in the past year, and 2 percent of this has come in the last two months.) The reason for this halt was that, with relatively slack demand for their products, industrialists have been absorbing some of the wage increases by a cut in their profit margins. They are not likely to go on doing this much longer. The Post Office, as well as other public and private bodies, seem inclined, in determining their inevitably higher charges, to discount the future, as well as the present, inflation in costs. The reason for this trend is that demand is already beginning to pick up. The seasonally adjusted index of industrial production was about 1½ percent higher in April than in January; and in the absence of fresh restraints in demand, industrial production by the end of the year might be expected to be running 4 to 5 percent higher than at the beginning. Even then demand would be no more than half way back to what should be, after recent investment, our full capacity to produce. But the brutal question must be: at what cost is expansion possible in terms of prices at home and, competitively, abroad.

What can the Government do about wages? The question, it should be repeated, is even more political than it is economic. It has to be put to public opinion, and particularly to the trade unions, at least as bluntly as to Mr. Thorneycroft and his colleagues. The choices, at any rate, can and should be stated. The first and most desirable—but on the present showing of, say, Mr. Cousins' utterances, the least likely—is the complete revolution of thought in the trade unions that would put production, earnings and the workers' real income before the unending, and unsatisfying, race for larger money wages. It is presumably in pursuit of the hope of influencing union members (not necessarily union leaders) toward this course that Mr. Thorneycroft and Mr. Macleod are still pressing the project for an impartial—and trusted—body to hand down the tablets of economic truth. They are right at any rate in assuming that, when the pinch of continued inflation at last does outweigh the meretricious gains of overfull employment and stuffed pay packets, it is the climate of public opinion that will be decisive.

The second choice, too, depends upon public opinion. It is to refuse wage demands where they should not be afforded, and first of all in those nationalized undertakings that are overmanned and in deficit—and where, in one way or another, the easy way out is to find the money and pass on the cost. It means being will, if need be, to stand up to strikes instead of buying them off. And the third and harshest choice, which goes to the heart of the economics of inflation, is to make it impossible, even at the cost of continuing to rein in the economy and at the risk of disproportionate unemployment, for employers, whether public or private, to find the money to meet extravagant claims and pass on their cost.

The Chancellor can justly ask which one or more of these remedies his critics, and his followers, want. Central control of wages is surely ruled out; and price control is no remedy at all. Both he and they know perfectly well where the real interests of every section of the community lie: in a high-producing and high-earning economy, unimpeded by inflation of any sort; in a steady increase of output and productivity, with earnings and profits, investment and (indispensably) savings, going up in, and not out of, step. The Government cannot escape the responsibility of leadership. But the remedy cannot simply be imposed. This country and its people face great opportunities. Those of every class and doctrine who will the end of ridding this country at last of the blight of inflation must themselves will the means. Or are we to say that we cannot help ourselves?

Need for Industrial Development in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by an outstanding and forward-looking citizen of my State, Mr. R. E. Dumas Milner, dealing with the need for industrial development in the South. Mr. Milner is a member of the executive committee of the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board. A young man of 40, he is one of our State's and the South's leading businessmen. I take this opportunity to commend Mr. Milner on his effort in behalf of the South and its industrial growth, efforts which are of great value to our Nation as well. This statement is sound, and is a challenge to our national thinking.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FAIR SHARE

(By R. E. Dumas Milner)

The expanding industrial potential of the South is not being fully realized today by the Government Federal procurement program. This is a situation which is not only harmful to the South itself but also damaging to the economy and welfare of our Nation. Whenever a major portion of our country's population and resources are not efficiently utilized, the country as a whole, its economic health and its ability to defend itself is weakened.

The Federal Government is the largest single customer for American business in our economy. It, therefore, plays a major role with respect to the welfare of American business. It is a role which has its effect on the living standards of our people. It is a role which the South must fully appreciate.

America's Southland is no longer a wasteland. In every State, county, and nearly every city new industries and businesses are springing up almost overnight. In Mississippi alone, nearly 10,000 new industrial jobs were created in 1956—a reflection of the progressive thinking of the State that is helping itself achieve a logical balance of industry and agriculture.

The South is responding to the needs of the 20th-century America. In order to promote increased industrialization, it is overhauling its educational system. The sharecropper is rapidly being replaced by the skilled machinist and technician. Those of us who live and work in the South are proud of the progress that we have made. We are fully persuaded that we are ready, willing, and immediately able to contribute to our national defense program as competently and as fully as any other area of our Nation.

It is, therefore, unfortunate that the South has to date not received its full and fair share of Government business. We do not in the slightest wish to place ourselves in the position of in any way minimizing the importance of other areas in this Nation but we do know that the lack of heavy industry in the South is holding the South back. We know, furthermore, that the Government defense contracts are vital to the development of such heavy industry. In this fiscal year it is expected that some $30 billion of defense contracts is being awarded by Uncle Sam. Only a minute part of this total is being awarded to southern business. We deserve our fair share and we are not getting it.

Growing industrialization in the South would not only assist the South and strengthen our national defenses, it will also accelerate unity in our country which would bode well for the future of America. Traditionally the strength of America lies in its solid middle class community. These are the people who make and consume the bulk of our Nation's goods. They are the ones who pay the most taxes, who do the most work and upon whom the living standards of an area rest. They are indeed the heart and backbone of America.

Without ever-increasing industrialization the South cannot provide the jobs and the incomes so necessary for the growth of the middle class. American large-scale industrialization is necessary for this growth.

The Federal Government must act so as to correct the present contractual imbalance which keeps the South from sharing fully in our country's development and prosperity. This is a national problem and merits the attention of all Americans whether they live in the North, East, South or West. It specifically calls for growing awareness and mobilization in the South itself.

The solution that I propose is the formation by Presidential appointment of a committee to coordinate the requirements of the Federal agencies with the industrial capacity of the Southern States. Such a committee composed of legislators and businessmen, should have the responsibility to advise Federal agencies of the proposed facilities and potentialities of each State. It should coordinate its activities with the State Development Boards of each State. In this way the Southern industries will get the backing and support that they need to contribute "the mostest and the fastest" to the economy of the country.

This is not a request for special privilege. This is not a request for Government subsidy. This is rather a request by the South for an intelligent, coordinated national plan to strengthen the South and thus strengthen the Nation.

Every Southern State has its own development board. Some are more effective than

others but all of them stress their ability and desire to use their own energies to strengthen themselves. What they need is an opportunity to share equally and fairly in Government contracts and in utilizing the advantages of Government programs. In my own State of Mississippi, the Agricultural and Industrial Board is working around the clock to attract new industries within its borders but many of these new industries cannot take advantage of the raw materials, the labor and the power facilities of the South until such time as the Federal Government itself realizes those potentialities and acts to make them a reality.

The South today is at a crossroad in its progress. With contractual equity it can continue to expand and produce industrial and consumer items for the use of America and the rest of the free world.

The Appointment of Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix an editorial from the Baltimore Sun, and to associate myself with the puzzlement of the professor who has tried to impress his students with ideas on the exacting qualifications for an ambassador outlined in a book on diplomacy by another Secrteary of State, John W. Foster, grandfather of John Foster Dulles, our present Secretary. And despite Secretary Dulles' recent disparagement of these qualifications, I find myself in closer agreement with his grandfather as I look at the serious problems the United States is facing all over the world.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun of August 14, 1957]

ON MAKING DIPLOMATS

Last week the Secretary of State, defending the recent appointment of a heavy Republican campaign contributor to an ambassadorial post, said:

"Now the question of the selection of any particular person depends primarily upon whether he has integrity of character, whether he has a sharp and quick intelligence and whether he is genuinely devoted to the public service. We believe that out of those three qualities can be made a competent and efficient ambassador."

Mr. Dulles was speaking at a press conference and so perhaps could not heed the maxim of François de Callières that the diplomat must resist the longing to speak out before he has thought out what he intends to say. That he didn't think it out fully in this case, is suggested by a recent letter to the New York Times from Dr. Hans J. Morgenthau, director of the University of Chicago's Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy.

Dr. Morgenthau observes that for 25 years "I have tried to impress upon my students how exacting the qualifications of an ambassador are" and how much knowledge and power of judgment an ambassador needs. To support his position, Doctor Morgenthau quoted from a book, "The Practice of Diplomacy," written by the Secretary's grandfather, John W. Foster, who had also served as a Secretary of State. Mr. Foster, he pointed out, had spoken of the baneful influence of political favoritism in making diplomatic appointments and had also quoted, approvingly, from a Senate report of 1868 to the effect that no man can pass from other pursuits directly into the higher grades of diplomatic and consular service and comprehend clearly the nature and scope of his duties. But, Doctor Morgenthau adds:

If I take Mr. Dulles seriously, the only thing I need to tell my students now is: "Boys, be of good character, intelligent and devoted to public duty." Class dismissed. Next time Mr. Dulles expatiates in general on what's needed to make an ambassador he will presumably see to it that the rug on which he stands has been firmly tacked down at all four corners.

The Cordiner Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, only 13 percent of the men in the Armed Forces with special technical skills are reenlisting. That is another way of saying that 87 percent of the men in the Armed Forces of the United States with special technical skills are not reenlisting. In 1955, 4,000 pilots left the Air Force. That represented a loss to the people of the United States of $480 million.

There is no comfort in these similar figures for the people of the United States. There is a great deal of comfort in these figures for the leaders of international communism. The Cordiner Committee calls the statistics shocking. So do I.

One of the excellent newspapers in the State of California, the San Diego Union, asks Congress to enact the recommendations of the Cordiner Committee. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Diego Union of August 20, 1957]

TIME, MONEY IS WAITING—ENACT THE CORDINER REPORT

Little time remains this session for Congress to remedy a chronic weakness in United States national defense.

Only 13 percent of the men with special technical skills are reenlisting. A special Committee, headed by Ralph J. C. Cordiner, who is president of General Electric Co., spent more than a year studying the military manpower problem.

Its findings established that unless skilled technicians are offered greater financial incentives in military service they will continue to be lured to civilian life and the greater incentives offered by private industry.

Mr. Cordiner calls the armed services' loss of manpower shocking. His committee was able to document a $5-billion-a-year loss to the country. The 4,000 pilots who left the service in the fiscal year 1955 represent a training loss of $480 million alone.

Waste of the taxpayers' money is serious enough, but by no means exhausts the dangers arising from the present system. Equally dangerous is the degree to which the attrition of specialists lowers United States combat readiness.

It is a dangerous fallacy to assume that advanced weapons alone will produce an adequate defense and deterrent to war. They can't, of course. Unless the armed services have officers and men trained to operate modern weapons, these highly complicated devices are useless.

The Cordiner Committee proposed a radical change in Armed Forces pay; it would alter the longevity system that this country took over from the British after the War of 1812.

The so-called Methuselah system, based on years of service and seniority, would be replaced by the establishment of "compensation systems that bear a direct relation to the effort of the individual * * * with compensation levels reasonably comparable to those paid people employed elsewhere in similar positions and occupations."

After initial opposition by the Bureau of the Budget, there is widespread support in the administration and in Congress for the Cordiner recommendations. Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, of Missouri, has introduced a bill embodying the Cordiner report. This bill was endorsed by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona, and is now known as the Symington-Goldwater bill. Companion legislation has been introduced in the House.

This country can't hope to maintain armies to equal the massed peasant armies of Russia and China. But we can have qualitative superiority. A proficiency pay system will provide this advantage.

Price Discrimination Continues in Absence of Enactment of H. R. 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in urging the Congress to enact H. R. 11, I have explained that its provisions would serve to prevent a variety of competitive inequities which prevail today due to the present language appearing in section 2 (b) of the Robinson-Patman amendment to the Clayton Act. In connection therewith my attention has been invited to a letter written by the owner of a Sunoco gasoline station located in Elizabethtown, Pa., which illustrates quite effectively the need for the proposed legislation.

In his letter the owner of the Elizabethtown Sunoco station explains that his business has dropped 25 percent because the Sunoco stations in Lancaster, Pa., 18 miles away, are offering gasoline to consumers at 3 cents a gallon below his cost but earn 4 cents a gallon profit in so doing. Of course, the explanation is quite simple because the Sun Oil Co. is requiring the Elizabethtown dealer to pay 7 cents per gallon more than the Lancaster dealers.

This letter of the Elizabethtown dealer is also noteworthy in that it points out that the Sun Oil Co. would grant the

same low price in Elizabethtown if the Elizabethtown dealer would surrender control of his own business to the Sun Oil Co. by becoming a consignment dealer.

Since this letter portrays so clearly the inequities and unfair burdens that must be borne by small business until H. R. 11 is enacted, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR MR. AND MRS. SUNOCO CUSTOMER: For some time now you have been asking me: "Reinhold, why don't you sell your gasoline as cheap as the dealers in Lancaster?"

I have been asking a similar question of my Sun Oil Co. salesman and district manager, namely: "Why can't I buy my gasoline as cheap as the dealers in Lancaster?"

As of this date I am paying 23.3 cents per gallon for my gasoline. (This includes 5-cent State tax and 3-cent Federal tax.) Sun dealers in Lancaster are retailing Sunoco gasoline for 19.9 cents per gallon. This looks as if they are selling at a loss of 3.4 cents per gallon. This, however, is not the case. Lancaster Sun dealers at the present are realizing a 4-cent-per-gallon profit, which means that they are paying only 15.9 cents per gallon. (Five-cent State and three-cent Federal tax.) If you take the price I am paying for gas, 23.3 minus 15.9 (Lancaster dealers' cost) equals a difference of 7.4 cents per gallon. Is it any wonder that you can buy Sun gas cheaper in Lancaster, in fact 3.4 cents per gallon cheaper than I can buy it from the company in quantities of 4,000 to 6,000 gallons at one time?

Printed below is a letter to Mr. C. A. Sparks, regional manager, Sun Oil Co., Philadelphia, Pa., trying to find out why and how a situation like this can exist:

ELIZABETHTOWN, PA., *August 12, 1957.*

Mr. A. C. SPARKS,
Regional Manager, Sun Oil Co.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Allow me to introduce myself. My name is Leroy F. Reinhold. I am a Sunoco dealer, located at 735 South Market Street, Elizabethtown, Pa., and operating under the name of Reinhold's Sunoco Service. I became associated with Sun Oil Co. in January 1946, when my brother Herman assumed operation of said station, and hired me as a helper. This job was on a part-time basis because I was attending college at the time. I continued working for my brother after I had completed my college course, which was in the summer of 1947. After working for Herman about a year, I was approached by the Sun Oil salesman about a station of my own. As things turned out, Herman took over a station in Harrisburg, and I became proprietor of Reinhold's Sunoco Service. I was very proud of this fact. I was a free and independent businessman.

It was at this time that I decided to follow the policies which I had seen brother Herman set forth and practice, namely:

1. Always sell quality products.
2. Be competitive.
3. Operate a clean station.
4. Give good customer service.
5. Employ top quality personnel.
6. Treat your employees fairly.

Mr. Sparks, I can say without any hesitation that I have followed this policy faithfully for the past 9 years, with but one exception—the past 2 years there have been periods of time when I have not been competitive with the price of gas that I've been posting.

It all started a little over 2 years ago when we had a situation arise in Lancaster, Pa., a distance of 18 miles from Elizabethtown, called a gas war. At the time of this gas war, I was realizing 4 cents on each gallon of gasoline that I sold. My price had been competitive and my business prospered. However, since dealers in Lancaster began selling gasoline cheaper than I, my gallonage started to drop. In fact, as much as 25 percent in 1 month. Naturally this situation alarmed me. I contacted my Sun Oil salesman and also had numerous talks with the Harrisburg district manager. Result, no help from Sun Oil Co. As a last resort, to hold my customers, I dropped my gas price and instead of making 4 cents per gallon, I found myself making only 2 and 2.5 cents per gallon.

You know Mr. Sparks, the thing that I couldn't understand 2 years ago and still can't understand today is that Lancaster dealers had been paying the same price for gasoline as I had been in Elizabethtown, but when the gas war started, they were underselling me by several cents a gallon, still making 4 cents per gallon profit. I couldn't meet their price even when I cut my margin to 2 and 2.5 cents per gallon. It was at this time I threw one policy out the window, namely: No. 2. Be competitive. I remained competitive on everything except gasoline. I found out that I couldn't be competitive on gas price when the company sold me gas at one price, and sold it cheaper to other dealers.

What a sorry mistake I made 2 years ago when I decided to change my policy of being competitive when Sun Oil Co. decided it could lower its gasoline price to Lancaster dealers and not to me. The situation we had 2 years ago is mild compared to the situation today.

Mr. Sparks, at the present time I pay 23.3 cents tax included for a gallon of gasoline. This same gas is being sold at the retail level at 19.9, 3.4 cents cheaper than I buy it. In other words the Sun Oil Co. is selling its gasoline 7.4 cents per gallon cheaper to Lancaster dealers than to me. I have asked the company repeatedly for a competitive buying price on the gasoline which I buy. At all times the Sun salesman and the district manager have offered me commission consignment. Your company representatives and I have discussed this plan at great length many times. You offer me help if I agree in turn to give up my right to own any gasoline.

As I see it, Mr. Sparks, you are asking me to sell to Sun Oil Co. my right as a free and independent businessman in exchange for some temporary relief.

Yes, Mr. Sparks, as the contract now reads, a dealer has the right to break it whenever he wishes. Show me one dealer that will break this contract when he knows that by so doing he will have to pay 23.3 cents instead of 15.9 cents per gallon. I have repeatedly asked my district manager for assurance that the minimum profit per gallon as listed in the contract would be guaranteed for perhaps a period of 1 year instead of 5 days. He can give me none. Some of the things which I fear with commission consignment are:

1. This temporary contract is a stepping stone for permanent commission consignment.

2. I am afraid that the minimum profit per gallon will be lowered at the company's discretion.

Mr. Sparks, I would like to have some answers to several questions which customers have been asking me.

1. What is a gas war?

2. What is a depressed area?

3. Who starts a gas war?

4. What caused the gas war in Lancaster, Pa.?

5. How many dealers in Lancaster County, Sunoco or competitive brands are paying 23.3 cents per gallon for gas?

6. Why must a Sunoco dealer sign a consignment contract before his price is lowered?

In all fairness to the company, I will arrange to have your reply to my letter also published in the local paper. I would appreciate that reply by August 19 for this reason.

Sincerely yours,

LEROY REINHOLD,
Reinhold's Sunoco Service.

Dispelling the Economic Fog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 13, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, it is estimated for the year 1957 that the total value and production of goods and services of the United States will reach an alltime high, of about $450 billion.

Since this great expansion of business, increased wealth and prosperity has made it possible to employ 67 million people at the highest wages on record, it would seem that the millions of men and women throughout the Nation who invest their capital in business enterprises, and the leaders of business as well, ought to be shown greater apprecation by the people generally, and by the Members of Congress, than has been shown in the last few years.

Mr. Speaker, I make this statement because groups and organizations have developed in our country which, through false publicity and propaganda, constantly try to deceive the people and prejudice them against business leaders—both large and small.

Those most active in making such acusations of exorbitant profits made by business are largely followers of the ADA political group, and in addition most of the so-called liberals and the Socialist-fringe crowd. They, and their organized groups, constantly quote the volumn of gross profits made by corporations, but they never tell the public about the small net profit remaining with which pay the stockholders and to continue the business that furnishes the employment—in fact the intent of this repeated propaganda and misstatements is to deceive the great bulk of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, may I illustrate my point by referring to the recent rise in the price of steel? The price of steel went up on August 3, 1956, when the United States Steel Corp., after holding out 34 days against a strike—at the loss of millions of dollars—finally had to agree to a 3-year labor contract, which would give their employees about 21 cents an hour wage increase each year. When August of this year came, steel had to raise its prices because of this 21 cents an hour increase in the cost of labor.

An investigation has recently been conducted in the other body by the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, which has had the United States Steel

officials before it, trying to determine why it was necessary to raise steel prices.

It seems obvious that any corporation, or an individual businessman, who had been forced to sign a contract to raise the wages of his employees 21 cents an hour each year, for 3 years, would most likely be compelled to raise the price of the product sold in order to remain in business.

Now, Mr. Speaker, to give some real facts: The records show that from 1940 through 1956, United States Steel's employment cost per employee-hour went up 250 percent while the materials they had to buy, all their taxes and other costs rose 315 percent. United States Steel's cost per employee-hour rose 284 percent over this period of time.

In contrast, United States Steel held down the price of finished steel mill products, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, to an increase of only 138 percent. The difference between the total cost and the increase in price was absorbed by United States Steel over the years through greater efficiency and operation, and at the expense of billions of dollars in modernization and improvement of its facilities, and partly, too, by lower profits.

Mr. Speaker, it might surprise you to learn that United States Steel Corp., emerging from the depression in 1940, made a profit of 9½ cents on each dollar of sales; that last year their profit on dollar sales was 8$\frac{7}{10}$ cents.

In 1956, United States Steel had left for reimbursement in the business 4$\frac{7}{10}$ cents of the sales dollar, and paid out 4 cents of each sales dollar in dividends.

Mr. Speaker, now the same propaganda has been put out about the enormous profits made by the International Harvester Corp., John Deere, and other concerns manufacturing farm implements.

Let me illustrate by quoting from International Harvester's annual report to stockholders in 1956:

Each dollar gross receipts of a total of $1,270,275,000 was distributed as follows:

For cost of materials, supplies, and other expenses, 56$\frac{9}{10}$ cents.

For wages, salaries, social-security taxes, and employee plans, 35½ cents.

For taxes, Federal, State, local (excludes social security), 3$\frac{8}{10}$ cents.

Dividends to shareholders, 2$\frac{9}{10}$ cents.

Retained for use in the business, 1$\frac{9}{10}$ cents.

Mr. Speaker, you will note that the dividends going to the shareholders who furnish the investment to keep this great production going, with hundreds of thousands of people employed, only received 2$\frac{9}{10}$ cents out of each dollar of receipts and, in addition to that, stockholders must pay Federal income taxes on dividends received.

You will further note that the company was able to hold out only 1$\frac{9}{10}$ cents, which they retained for use in the business for the coming year.

Mr. Speaker, about the same ratio applies to Allis-Chalmers, John Deere, and other manufacturers of farm equipment.

Now, the so-called liberals, leftwingers, and Socialist fringe, among the people and in the Congress, make the same charges about the exorbitant profits of General Motors.

Mr. Speaker, they never tell the people that all of the large corporations are taxed about 52 percent of their net earnings. They don't reveal that General Motors on a $10,910,000,000 gross business netted last year only 7¾ cents profit on each gross dollar of sale. They do not tell that 5¼ cents was paid out of these net profits to their over one-half million stockholders in dividends, who finance the corporation and make possible employment for over one-half million people.

Mr. Speaker, they do not tell the public that the General Motors Corp. out of that gross dollar of sales retained for facilities and working capital only 2½ cents of every sales dollar.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not speaking for business by reason of the fact that I own stock in these corporations; in fact I must confess I own no stock in any of them. I am making these statements because the private-enterprise system has helped to make this the most powerful Nation in the world, supplying the finest equipment in every line in the world, and furnishing employment for 67 million people who have the highest standard of living and the highest wages of any people in the world.

Mr. Speaker, in my humble way I am trying to shed the light of truth and justice on the businessmen of the Nation in the hope of giving such facts as will penetrate, and maybe partially dispel the fog of misrepresentation and the false statements that are directed against the business interests of our country.

Postal Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, in the August 1957 edition of Branch Nine News, National Association of Letter Carriers, there appeared a prayer offered by Rabbi Lewis N. Ginsburg, 1230 James Avenue North, Minneapolis, Minn. It illustrates the difficult problems encountered by our postal employees and their struggle to make such ends meet on their present inadequate salaries.

The prayer so beautifully expresses the plea of our postal workers that I should like to call it to the attention of the Members of the House. Therefore, I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Rabbi Ginsburg's prayer is as follows:

THE POSTAL WORKER'S PRAYER

Eternal Father, in their hour of need as in their hour of thanksgiving, in their hour of stress as in their hour of joy, men and women of faith turn unto Thee in prayer and entreaty. There is hope in their hearts, trust in their souls, for they are Thy children and Thou art a kindly Heavenly Father.

They are cognizant that prayer is not a sentiment or a theory, but rather a working instrument, which is to do certain things, just as a pen is to write, or scissors to cut.

We come to Thee in the early hours of the morning prior to embarking on the tasks of the day to beseech Thy guidance in our cause. We turn to Thee not with the audacity that would seek to make our will Thine, but in unassuming petition that merit, righteousness and justice be characteristic of our undertaking so that we may be worthy of walking humly at Thy side.

We are public servants, O Heavenly Father, serving our great country and our brethren. We take humble pride in our role. Grant us, we pray, Thee, the dedicated spirit to fulfill the honored tradition we represent—that naught will stay us from the swift completion of our appointed rounds.

We have felt the stress of economic pinch. Our bid for relief by legislation has seemingly been shunted aside. Leaders of our great land talk of closing the door upon us. Men may overlook us, but our Heavenly Father will not forget. Unto Him do we turn.

Make us aware, we beseech Thee, that even as we ask for an increase in our earnings, increased earnings are not an end in themselves. Let us not become victims of the vanities of life. Let us seek increased earnings only as a means of better serving our families and our fellow human beings—and thereby serving Thee.

If our cause be just, O Heavenly Father, then afford Thy great guidance to our lawmakers and to the President of these United States. If our endeavors culminate in success, grant that we may have the wisdom to come to Thee in thanksgiving even as we have come to Thee in petition.

If our cause lacks merit in Thy wise sight, grant us the moral courage to accept that decision and to be grateful unto Thee, even in an hour of disappointment, for having listened to our plea.

Above all, guide us, inspire us, enthuse us for our daily tasks. Make us dedicated servants unto our brethren—loyal children unto Thee.

We pray unto Thee as children of faith in our hour of need for we are aware that "more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." Amen.

Statistics Pertaining to Corn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statistics relating to corn:

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
COMMODITY STABILIZATION SERVICE,
GRAIN DIVISION,
Washington, D. C., August 16, 1957.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BECKWORTH: Enclosed please find copies of the 1956 corn data as computed for the 23 States then in the commercial corn area. You requested that information in letters of May 10 and May 21, 1957.

The data for rice and wheat for 1956 were submitted to you July 12, 1957.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE D. CALMBY,
Director.

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957

ALABAMA

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
2	Madison	3,119	44,975	2,097	2,621	14	672	840	70,200
	Marshall	4,703	51,851	2,328	2,910	11	495	619	77,900
3	De Kalb	5,900	70,112	3,077	3,846	12	522	652	103,000
	Jackson	4,136	58,736	2,616	3,270	14	632	790	87,600
	Commercial area	17,858	225,674	10,118	12,647	13	567	709	338,700

ARKANSAS

3	Clay	2,783	22,439	776	931	8	279	335	29,700
	Craighead	3,175	31,162	967	1,160	10	305	366	37,000
	Greene	2,850	25,290	892	1,070	9	313	376	34,900
	Commercial area	8,808	78,891	2,635	3,161	9	299	359	101,500

DELAWARE

	New Castle	869	22,596	2,013	2,617	26	2,316	3,011	29,400
	Kent	2,043	37,958	2,721	3,537	19	1,332	1,732	43,600
	Sussex	3,574	68,084	5,016	6,521	19	1,403	1,824	79,000
	Commercial area	6,486	128,638	9,750	12,675	20	1,503	1,954	152,000

ILLINOIS

1	Bureau	3,286	152,781	15,548	20,990	46	4,732	6,388	202,900
	Carroll	1,631	55,004	5,873	7,929	34	3,601	4,861	73,000
	Henry	3,241	142,218	14,217	19,193	44	4,387	5,922	192,900
	Jo Daviess	2,006	43,477	4,480	6,048	22	2,233	3,015	60,300
	Lee	2,667	126,592	13,698	18,492	47	5,136	6,934	171,700
	Mercer	1,908	82,139	7,514	10,144	43	3,938	5,316	109,400
	Ogle	2,881	110,766	12,134	16,381	38	4,212	5,686	154,000
	Putnam	558	22,161	2,085	2,815	40	3,737	5,045	29,100
	Rock Island	1,664	50,615	4,656	6,286	30	2,798	3,777	67,800
	Stephenson	2,594	70,281	7,553	10,197	27	2,912	3,931	94,700
	Whiteside	2,728	117,965	12,104	16,340	43	4,437	5,990	162,600
	Winnebago	1,855	62,637	6,563	8,860	34	3,538	4,776	90,200
	Total	27,019	1,036,636	106,425	143,675				1,408,700
3	Boone	1,191	42,298	4,735	6,392	36	3,976	5,368	60,600
	Cook	2,375	42,631	3,059	4,130	18	1,288	1,739	53,600
	De Kalb	2,381	120,485	12,950	17,482	51	5,439	7,343	163,000
	Du Page	1,207	31,064	2,587	3,492	26	2,143	2,893	39,100
	Grundy	1,536	75,363	6,008	8,111	49	3,911	5,280	93,700
	Kane	1,798	81,303	8,738	11,796	45	4,860	6,561	113,200
	Kendall	1,208	59,996	5,215	7,040	50	4,317	5,828	76,300
	Lake	1,302	31,261	2,879	3,887	24	2,211	2,985	43,300
	La Salle	4,591	204,131	18,519	25,001	44	4,034	5,446	256,600
	McHenry	2,469	80,883	8,106	10,943	33	3,283	4,432	122,800
	Will	3,221	121,187	8,692	11,734	38	2,699	3,644	149,300
	Total	23,279	890,602	81,488	110,008				1,172,400
4	Adams	3,102	72,854	5,510	7,438	24	1,776	2,398	92,300
	Brown	1,140	24,979	1,887	2,547	22	1,655	2,234	32,700
	Fulton	3,175	93,051	8,437	11,390	29	2,657	3,587	122,800
	Hancock	3,176	85,021	6,521	8,803	27	2,053	2,772	107,400
	Henderson	1,075	52,233	4,423	5,971	49	4,114	5,554	63,300
	Knox	2,698	100,179	9,341	12,610	37	3,462	4,674	128,600
	McDonough	2,540	83,146	7,881	10,639	33	3,103	4,189	111,300
	Schuyler	1,572	37,000	3,010	4,064	24	1,915	2,585	46,300
	Warren	1,913	86,184	8,292	11,194	45	4,335	5,852	114,100
	Total	20,391	634,647	55,302	74,656				819,400
4a	Bond	1,841	38,847	2,825	3,814	21	1,534	2,071	50,100
	Calhoun	1,049	19,184	1,527	2,061	18	1,456	1,966	26,200
	Cass	1,054	41,315	3,009	4,872	39	3,424	4,622	54,400
	Christian	2,848	103,557	8,677	11,714	36	3,047	4,113	118,100
	Greene	1,765	62,071	5,469	7,383	35	3,099	4,184	81,100
	Jersey	1,330	32,490	2,644	3,569	24	1,988	2,684	41,700
	Macoupin	3,370	91,124	7,916	10,687	27	2,349	3,171	121,100
	Madison	3,384	62,264	4,817	6,503	18	1,423	1,921	77,300
	Montgomery	2,988	80,364	7,031	9,492	27	2,353	3,177	107,500
	Morgan	2,129	71,158	5,774	7,795	33	2,699	3,644	87,000
	Pike	2,645	86,051	6,584	8,888	33	2,489	3,360	110,900
	Sangamon	3,249	120,811	9,719	13,121	37	2,991	4,038	140,000
	Scott	904	32,389	2,365	3,193	36	2,616	3,532	37,900
	Total	28,566	841,625	68,957	93,092				1,053,300
5	De Witt	1,609	66,240	5,801	7,831	41	3,605	4,867	75,600
	Logan	2,312	109,308	9,583	12,937	47	4,145	5,596	121,700
	McLean	4,629	230,956	20,135	27,182	50	4,350	5,872	262,400
	Macon	2,483	92,855	7,837	10,580	37	3,156	4,261	103,500
	Marshall	1,406	60,334	5,094	6,877	43	3,623	4,891	72,000
	Mason	1,527	69,081	5,426	7,325	45	3,553	4,797	78,900
	Menard	1,096	43,958	3,746	5,057	40	3,418	4,614	53,000
	Peoria	2,411	72,063	6,331	8,547	30	2,626	3,545	88,300
	Stark	1,083	51,111	5,111	6,900	47	4,719	6,371	67,500
	Tazewell	2,497	95,227	8,618	11,634	38	3,451	4,659	115,300
	Woodford	2,200	87,503	7,439	10,043	40	3,381	4,564	103,700
	Total	23,253	978,636	85,121,	114,913				1,141,900

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

ILLINOIS—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
6	Champaign	4,261	176,851	16,040	21,654	42	3,764	5,081	206,100
	Ford	1,834	90,174	7,190	9,706	49	3,920	5,292	103,100
	Iroquois	4,449	199,511	17,219	23,246	45	3,870	5,224	233,400
	Kankakee	2,671	118,506	10,122	13,665	44	3,790	5,116	151,700
	Livingston	4,478	199,632	16,677	22,514	45	3,724	5,027	229,200
	Piatt	1,507	73,130	6,854	9,253	49	4,548	6,140	80,700
	Vermilion	3,602	129,996	10,774	14,545	36	2,991	4,038	150,100
	Total	22,802	987,801	84,876	114,583				1,154,300
6a	Clark	2,565	49,726	4,017	5,423	19	1,566	2,114	66,100
	Clay	2,647	39,555	2,473	3,339	15	934	1,261	49,600
	Coles	2,517	75,811	6,092	8,224	30	2,420	3,267	87,300
	Crawford	2,419	43,797	3,155	4,259	18	1,304	1,760	55,600
	Cumberland	2,139	38,965	3,601	4,861	18	1,683	2,272	53,200
	Douglas	1,776	70,300	6,410	8,654	40	2,609	4,872	81,400
	Edgar	2,529	88,337	7,893	10,656	35	3,121	4,213	108,500
	Effingham	2,608	45,254	3,743	5,053	17	1,435	1,937	61,600
	Fayette	3,576	65,946	4,840	6,534	18	1,353	1,827	83,700
	Jasper	2,869	51,053	3,761	5,077	18	1,311	1,770	69,900
	Lawrence	1,784	41,275	2,936	3,964	23	1,646	2,222	57,800
	Marion	3,417	43,947	2,843	3,838	13	832	1,123	57,100
	Moultrie	1,561	54,232	4,464	6,026	35	2,860	3,861	61,400
	Richland	2,256	32,067	2,189	2,955	14	970	1,310	44,800
	Shelby	4,012	104,922	7,790	10,516	26	1,942	2,622	122,100
	Total	38,675	845,187	66,207	89,379				1,060,100
7	Alexander	681	15,737	909	1,227	23	1,335	1,802	22,600
	Clinton	2,214	43,075	2,627	3,546	19	1,187	1,602	52,600
	Jackson	2,133	38,752	2,659	3,590	18	1,247	1,683	56,600
	Johnson	1,112	14,603	705	952	13	634	856	18,800
	Monroe	1,730	33,005	2,661	3,592	19	1,538	2,076	44,700
	Perry	2,290	31,796	2,122	2,865	14	927	1,251	42,500
	Pulaski	998	14,650	914	1,234	15	916	1,237	21,200
	Randolph	2,555	48,520	2,947	3,978	19	1,153	1,557	62,700
	St. Clair	2,999	52,258	3,679	4,967	17	1,227	1,656	65,000
	Union	1,567	23,184	1,400	1,890	15	893	1,206	30,400
	Washington	2,386	33,598	2,212	2,986	14	927	1,251	41,900
	Williamson	2,347	20,777	1,054	1,423	9	449	606	25,000
	Total	23,012	369,955	23,889	32,250				484,000
9	Edwards	1,269	25,940	1,835	2,477	20	1,446	1,952	35,900
	Franklin	2,437	27,166	1,477	1,994	11	606	818	33,400
	Gallatin	1,135	39,724	2,782	3,756	35	2,451	3,309	51,400
	Hamilton	2,394	37,928	2,182	2,946	16	911	1,230	46,200
	Hardin	558	6,312	327	441	11	586	791	8,300
	Jefferson	3,950	47,237	2,700	3,496	12	656	886	59,900
	Massac	916	16,432	1,084	1,463	18	1,183	1,597	23,500
	Pope	825	11,065	750	1,012	14	909	1,227	17,000
	Saline	1,876	30,805	2,231	3,012	16	1,189	1,605	42,000
	Wabash	1,205	26,766	2,082	2,811	22	1,728	2,333	35,300
	Wayne	3,689	73,564	4,031	5,442	20	1,093	1,476	87,200
	White	2,212	69,601	5,036	6,799	32	2,277	3,074	94,900
	Total	22,466	412,540	26,407	35,649				535,000
	Commercial area	229,463	6,997,629	598,672	808,205	30	2,609	3,522	8,829,003

INDIANA

1	Benton	1,347	73,054	6,505	8,534	54	4,874	6,336	88,600
	Jasper	1,867	85,558	6,103	7,934	46	3,269	4,250	109,900
	Lake	1,679	52,098	4,027	5,235	31	2,398	3,117	65,100
	La Porte	2,358	67,177	5,567	7,263	28	2,360	3,080	87,800
	Newton	1,154	61,000	5,118	6,653	53	4,435	5,766	73,800
	Porter	1,908	46,814	3,798	4,937	25	1,906	2,595	61,900
	Pulaski	1,777	57,401	4,062	5,281	32	2,286	2,972	73,800
	Starke	1,785	40,503	2,953	3,839	23	1,654	2,150	53,100
	White	1,960	78,526	6,071	7,892	40	3,066	3,986	102,000
	Total	15,850	562,131	44,284	57,568				716,000
2	Carroll	1,845	52,632	4,916	6,391	29	2,664	3,463	74,600
	Cass	2,220	50,968	4,414	5,738	23	1,988	2,584	70,900
	Elkhart	2,896	41,342	3,595	4,674	14	1,241	1,613	58,800
	Fulton	2,003	46,663	4,218	5,483	23	2,106	2,738	66,600
	Kosciusko	3,347	63,532	5,403	7,024	19	1,614	2,098	88,600
	Marshall	2,683	53,523	4,565	5,934	20	1,701	2,211	74,100
	Miami	2,042	43,278	4,067	5,287	21	1,992	2,590	59,000
	St. Joseph	2,188	43,505	3,915	5,090	20	1,789	2,326	62,800
	Wabash	2,282	47,734	4,466	5,806	21	1,957	2,544	66,000
	Total	21,506	443,177	39,559	51,427				621,400
3	Adams	2,283	35,318	2,773	3,605	15	1,215	1,580	51,300
	Allen	3,833	60,569	5,224	6,791	16	1,363	1,772	82,200
	De Kalb	2,275	37,551	2,806	3,648	17	1,234	1,604	50,300
	Huntington	2,179	38,182	3,498	4,547	18	1,605	2,086	54,700
	Lagrange	1,939	33,229	2,847	3,701	17	1,468	1,908	45,400
	Noble	2,365	43,993	3,719	4,835	19	1,573	2,045	59,800
	Steuben	1,598	26,722	2,145	2,788	17	1,342	1,745	34,500
	Wells	2,667	41,753	3,261	4,239	16	1,223	1,590	57,400
	Whitley	2,112	35,643	3,098	4,027	17	1,467	1,907	50,900
	Total	21,251	352,960	29,371	38,181				486,500

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

INDIANA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
4	Clay	2,135	30,032	2,622	3,409	14	1,228	1,596	41,7
	Fountain	1,792	45,114	3,930	5,109	25	2,193	2,851	59,6
	Montgomery	2,297	61,876	5,414	7,038	27	2,357	3,064	86,1
	Owen	1,559	18,756	1,351	1,756	12	867	1,127	24,9
	Parke	1,858	37,785	3,534	4,594	20	1,902	2,473	53,0
	Putnam	2,317	44,012	3,579	4,653	19	1,545	2,008	59,3
	Tippecanoe	2,048	66,585	6,165	8,014	33	3,010	3,913	85,4
	Vermillion	1,115	27,808	2,388	3,104	25	2,142	2,785	37,5
	Vigo	2,418	37,063	2,637	3,428	15	1,091	1,418	50,2
	Warren	1,143	44,273	3,728	4,846	39	3,262	4,241	54,4
	Total	18,682	413,304	35,348	45,951				552,2
5	Bartholomew	1,640	39,470	3,139	4,081	24	1,914	2,488	52,9
	Boone	2,463	56,390	4,695	6,104	23	1,906	2,478	77,4
	Clinton	2,205	59,386	5,688	7,394	27	2,580	3,354	82,6
	Decatur	1,673	44,330	3,937	5,118	26	2,353	3,059	60,6
	Grant	2,363	42,905	4,035	5,246	18	1,708	2,220	58,7
	Hamilton	2,507	46,463	4,140	5,382	19	1,651	2,146	67,6
	Hancock	1,895	39,844	3,184	4,139	21	1,680	2,184	51,8
	Hendricks	2,319	47,266	4,103	5,334	20	1,769	2,300	64,2
	Howard	1,812	38,545	3,708	4,820	21	2,046	2,660	54,9
	Johnson	1,785	35,516	3,060	3,978	20	1,714	2,228	46,2
	Madison	2,903	51,522	4,198	5,457	18	1,446	1,880	68,6
	Marion	1,401	22,832	1,774	2,306	16	1,266	1,646	31,8
	Morgan	1,957	32,870	2,488	3,234	17	1,271	1,652	43,0
	Rush	1,840	63,152	6,514	8,468	34	3,540	4,602	88,1
	Shelby	2,445	58,277	4,176	5,429	24	1,708	2,220	79,0
	Tipton	1,625	36,479	3,366	4,376	22	2,071	2,692	46,1
	Total	32,830	715,247	62,205	80,866				928,2
6	Blackford	952	16,001	1,061	1,405	17	1,136	1,477	22,7
	Delaware	2,551	43,044	3,387	4,403	17	1,328	1,726	58,7
	Fayette	957	22,954	2,010	2,613	24	2,100	2,730	31,5
	Henry	2,417	49,241	4,320	5,616	20	1,787	2,323	68,0
	Jay	2,286	36,210	2,268	2,948	16	992	1,290	49,1
	Randolph	2,909	54,159	4,286	5,572	19	1,473	1,915	73,3
	Union	714	20,118	2,039	2,651	28	2,856	3,713	28,0
	Wayne	1,930	43,806	4,237	5,508	23	2,195	2,854	64,2
	Total	14,716	285,533	23,628	30,716				390,1
7	Daviess	2,260	48,096	4,187	5,443	21	1,853	2,409	61,8
	Dubois	1,756	31,003	3,208	4,170	18	1,827	2,375	46,6
	Gibson	2,521	60,525	5,255	6,832	24	2,084	2,709	86,0
	Greene	2,540	38,716	2,464	3,125	15	946	1,230	49,3
	Knox	2,132	71,966	5,022	6,529	34	2,356	3,063	86,0
	Martin	653	11,187	820	1,066	17	1,256	1,633	14,0
	Pike	1,219	21,228	1,687	2,193	17	1,384	1,799	21,2
	Posey	2,105	57,902	5,007	6,509	28	2,379	3,093	72,2
	Spencer	1,695	34,687	2,406	3,128	20	1,419	1,845	44,9
	Sullivan	2,511	47,715	3,498	4,547	19	1,393	1,811	60,4
	Vanderburgh	1,050	21,864	1,688	2,194	21	1,608	2,090	26,0
	Warrick	1,784	27,696	1,674	2,176	16	938	1,219	35,1
	Total	22,226	472,585	36,856	47,912				611,5
8	Floyd	881	5,329	456	593	6	518	673	7,1
	Harrison	2,392	20,515	1,753	2,279	9	733	953	26,4
	Jackson	2,391	40,196	2,759	3,587	17	1,154	1,500	54,9
	Lawrence	1,682	22,275	1,574	2,046	13	936	1,217	29,1
	Monroe	1,232	10,203	743	966	8	603	784	14,1
	Orange	1,270	16,699	1,482	1,927	13	1,167	1,517	20,4
	Perry	1,106	12,305	881	1,145	11	797	1,036	16,2
	Washington	2,141	31,332	2,458	3,195	15	1,148	1,492	44,2
	Total	13,095	158,854	12,106	15,738				219,6
9	Clark	1,675	20,391	1,705	2,216	12	1,018	1,323	29,6
	Dearborn	1,545	14,768	1,070	1,391	10	693	901	19,2
	Franklin	1,789	29,771	2,379	3,093	17	1,330	1,729	41,7
	Jefferson	1,802	18,312	1,498	1,947	10	831	1,080	25,3
	Jennings	1,669	24,565	1,506	1,958	15	902	1,173	32,6
	Ohio	451	4,743	291	378	11	645	838	5,4
	Ripley	2,601	30,603	2,311	3,004	12	889	1,156	41,2
	Scott	1,018	11,251	760	988	11	747	971	14,5
	Switzerland	1,063	7,728	592	770	7	557	724	10,8
	Total	13,613	162,132	12,112	15,745				220,6
	Commercial area	173,772	3,565,923	295,469	384,104	21	1,700	2,210	4,801,8

IOWA

1	Buena Vista	2,304	102,329	3,716	5,017	44	1,613	2,178	131,4
	Cherokee	2,011	92,565	1,822	2,460	46	906	1,223	124,5
	Clay	2,059	97,442	6,634	8,956	47	3,222	4,350	128,5
	Dickinson	1,295	64,454	4,192	5,659	50	3,237	4,370	76,3
	Emmett	1,425	70,954	5,636	7,609	50	3,963	5,377	88,2
	Lyon	2,101	102,738	5,927	8,001	49	2,821	3,808	140,8
	O'Brien	2,346	97,972	5,578	7,530	42	2,378	3,210	125,6
	Osceola	1,504	72,046	5,106	6,893	48	3,395	4,583	93,3
	Palo Alto	2,089	106,163	7,530	10,166	51	3,605	4,867	133,6
	Plymouth	3,097	150,486	1,610	2,174	49	520	702	202,6
	Pocahontas	2,345	108,971	4,346	5,867	46	1,853	2,502	126,6
	Sioux	3,228	141,915	7,143	9,643	44	2,213	2,988	188,7
	Total	25,794	1,208,035	59,240	79,975				1,561,8

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

IOWA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
2	Butler	2,394	96,550	7,477	10,094	40	3,123	4,216	134,700
	Cerro Gordo	2,259	100,026	8,638	11,661	44	3,824	5,162	135,000
	Floyd	2,065	83,899	7,820	10,557	41	3,787	5,112	115,600
	Franklin	2,260	109,549	8,180	11,043	48	3,619	4,886	148,900
	Hancock	2,199	105,011	8,353	11,277	48	3,799	5,129	133,300
	Humboldt	1,643	82,552	4,118	5,559	50	2,506	3,383	98,300
	Kossuth	3,624	178,039	13,457	18,167	49	3,713	5,013	217,800
	Mitchell	1,841	78,199	7,415	10,010	42	4,028	5,438	112,000
	Winnebago	1,768	72,580	6,466	8,729	41	3,657	4,937	93,300
	Worth	1,649	65,675	5,930	8,006	40	3,596	4,855	87,300
	Wright	2,117	109,050	7,122	9,615	52	3,364	4,541	135,400
	Total	23,819	1,081,130	84,976	114,718				1,411,600
3	Allamakee	2,098	43,322	4,233	5,715	21	2,018	2,724	60,600
	Black Hawk	2,248	85,700	7,741	10,450	38	3,444	4,649	122,300
	Bremer	2,080	61,675	5,647	7,623	30	2,715	3,665	87,200
	Buchanan	2,461	86,460	7,678	10,365	35	3,120	4,212	120,200
	Chickasaw	2,118	69,333	6,318	8,529	33	2,983	4,027	96,100
	Clayton	2,889	66,497	6,069	8,193	23	2,101	2,836	94,200
	Delaware	2,204	77,784	7,712	10,411	35	3,499	4,724	114,100
	Dubuque	2,166	59,292	5,918	7,989	27	2,732	3,688	87,700
	Fayette	3,096	91,008	8,704	11,750	29	2,811	3,795	129,200
	Howard	1,840	62,119	5,678	7,665	34	3,086	4,166	91,000
	Winneshiek	2,814	72,893	6,848	9,245	26	2,434	3,286	101,800
	Total	26,014	776,083	72,546	97,935				1,104,400
4	Audubon	1,798	65,958	4,065	5,488	37	2,261	3,052	94,500
	Calhoun	2,284	103,963	2,255	3,044	46	987	1,332	119,600
	Carroll	2,245	100,619	5,174	6,985	45	2,305	3,112	133,500
	Crawford	2,651	106,575	5,099	6,884	40	1,923	2,596	146,800
	Greene	2,280	108,081	6,309	8,517	47	2,767	3,735	135,900
	Guthrie	2,460	76,594	4,028	5,438	31	1,637	2,210	100,800
	Harrison	2,554	121,944	5,537	7,475	48	2,168	2,927	139,900
	Ida	1,553	71,184	832	1,123	46	536	724	97,400
	Monona	2,150	114,446	4,887	6,597	53	2,273	3,069	138,000
	Sac	2,162	100,201	1,844	2,489	46	853	1,152	133,000
	Shelby	2,276	101,460	5,908	7,976	45	2,596	3,505	130,800
	Woodbury	3,019	148,946	2,538	3,426	49	841	1,135	180,300
	Total	27,432	1,219,971	48,476	65,442				1,550,500
5	Boone	2,535	99,864	3,921	5,293	39	1,547	2,088	121,500
	Dallas	2,532	96,901	3,814	5,149	38	1,506	2,033	116,700
	Grundy	2,013	86,607	8,305	11,212	43	4,126	5,570	122,700
	Hamilton	2,403	111,506	6,773	9,144	46	2,819	3,806	145,600
	Hardin	2,284	100,247	7,265	9,808	44	3,181	4,294	126,800
	Jasper	2,919	104,426	5,614	7,579	36	1,923	2,596	143,100
	Marshall	2,362	91,770	6,755	9,119	39	2,860	3,861	122,600
	Polk	2,384	84,016	3,440	4,644	35	1,443	1,948	96,000
	Poweshiek	2,215	85,154	5,805	7,837	38	2,621	3,538	115,900
	Story	2,439	109,709	3,874	5,230	45	1,588	2,144	129,600
	Tama	2,974	102,157	9,838	13,281	34	3,308	4,466	144,200
	Webster	2,911	125,722	5,909	7,977	43	2,030	2,740	144,000
	Total	29,971	1,198,079	71,313	96,273				1,528,700
6	Benton	2,607	113,858	11,017	14,873	44	4,226	5,705	157,600
	Cedar	2,263	90,711	9,141	12,340	40	4,039	5,453	129,000
	Clinton	2,648	108,014	11,322	15,285	41	4,276	5,773	155,100
	Iowa	2,172	81,442	5,906	7,973	37	2,719	3,671	108,300
	Jackson	2,165	56,997	5,383	7,267	26	2,486	3,356	80,900
	Johnson	2,563	84,503	6,263	8,455	33	2,444	3,299	115,700
	Jones	2,123	74,359	7,646	10,322	35	3,602	4,863	107,400
	Linn	3,161	97,455	9,341	12,610	31	2,955	3,989	136,300
	Muscatine	1,805	61,127	3,630	4,900	34	2,011	2,715	80,800
	Scott	1,925	65,927	7,065	9,538	34	3,670	4,954	97,500
	Total	23,432	834,393	76,714	103,563				1,168,600
7	Adair	2,165	71,281	4,693	6,336	33	2,168	2,927	96,600
	Adams	1,487	51,195	3,548	4,790	34	2,386	3,221	70,900
	Cass	2,143	80,529	5,680	7,668	38	2,650	3,578	115,600
	Fremont	1,701	110,003	3,778	5,100	65	2,221	2,998	127,100
	Mills	1,499	84,658	3,616	4,882	56	2,412	3,256	102,200
	Montgomery	1,586	67,553	3,744	5,054	43	2,361	3,187	87,600
	Page	2,087	81,353	4,199	5,669	39	2,012	2,716	103,100
	Pottawattamie	3,323	164,062	7,757	10,472	49	2,334	3,151	205,400
	Taylor	1,975	58,827	3,942	5,322	30	1,996	2,695	82,900
	Total	17,966	769,461	40,957	55,293				991,400
8	Appanoose	1,796	33,450	1,795	2,423	19	999	1,349	40,000
	Clarke	1,342	37,992	1,978	2,670	28	1,474	1,990	49,100
	Decatur	1,641	41,676	2,214	2,989	25	1,349	1,821	51,300
	Lucas	1,452	34,209	2,054	2,773	24	1,415	1,910	44,700
	Madison	2,114	60,306	3,388	4,574	29	1,603	2,164	82,900
	Marion	2,307	68,198	2,956	3,991	30	1,281	1,729	88,000
	Monroe	1,422	31,411	1,976	2,668	22	1,390	1,876	40,700
	Ringgold	1,680	47,094	2,906	3,923	28	1,730	2,336	61,200
	Union	1,427	44,042	2,791	3,768	31	1,956	2,641	60,800
	Warren	2,329	64,195	3,428	4,628	28	1,472	1,987	83,800
	Wayne	1,757	47,113	2,719	3,671	27	1,548	2,090	60,900
	Total	19,267	509,685	28,205	38,078				663,400

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

IOWA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
9	Davis	1,556	32,534	1,744	2,354	21	1,121	1,513	42,100
	Des Moines	1,527	48,080	4,116	5,557	31	2,695	3,638	61,200
	Henry	1,833	56,466	4,177	5,639	31	2,279	3,077	72,600
	Jefferson	1,725	47,975	2,887	3,897	28	1,674	2,260	59,500
	Keokuk	2,351	75,737	4,529	6,114	32	1,926	2,600	100,100
	Lee	1,915	45,502	3,498	4,722	24	1,827	2,466	63,100
	Louisa	1,367	53,163	3,829	5,169	39	2,801	3,781	71,100
	Mahaska	2,463	81,963	4,492	6,064	33	1,824	2,462	107,700
	Van Buren	1,623	32,510	1,844	2,489	20	1,136	1,534	41,000
	Wapello	1,757	40,560	2,713	3,663	23	1,544	2,084	53,100
	Washington	2,192	82,122	5,423	7,321	37	2,474	3,340	114,000
	Total	20,309	596,612	39,252	52,980				785,500
	Commercial area	214,004	8,193,449	521,679	704,266	38	2,438	3,291	10,766,000

KANSAS

2	Clay	1,380	32,848	269	377	24	195	273	28,800
	Cloud	1,122	30,762	161	225	27	143	200	21,200
	Jewell	1,364	51,775	139	195	38	102	143	28,000
	Phillips	1,003	40,149	82	115	40	82	115	21,500
	Republic	1,810	64,545	520	728	36	287	402	47,500
	Smith	1,197	52,984	197	276	44	165	231	29,300
	Washington	2,277	64,277	329	461	28	144	202	61,000
	Total	10,153	337,340	1,607					233,300
3	Atchison	1,305	40,191	1,300	1,820	31	996	1,394	40,000
	Brown	1,900	76,596	917	1,284	40	483	676	95,400
	Doniphan	1,373	52,925	943	1,320	39	687	962	59,300
	Jackson	1,656	48,526	1,565	2,191	29	945	1,323	56,000
	Jefferson	1,525	44,892	1,960	2,744	29	1,285	1,799	56,000
	Leavenworth	1,446	29,655	1,386	1,940	21	959	1,343	32,800
	Marshall	2,236	92,777	670	938	41	300	420	96,300
	Nemaha	1,992	89,448	1,161	1,625	45	583	816	101,000
	Pottawatomie	1,346	39,607	924	1,294	29	686	960	40,300
	Riley	952	25,073	637	892	26	669	937	27,000
	Total	15,731	539,690	11,463					604,400
6	Anderson	1,214	23,039	724	1,014	19	596	834	23,500
	Douglas	1,427	29,788	1,088	1,523	21	762	1,067	30,000
	Franklin	1,667	31,103	988	1,383	19	593	830	26,300
	Johnson	1,399	28,165	840	1,176	20	600	840	24,500
	Miami	1,886	43,849	1,853	2,594	23	983	1,376	47,000
	Shawnee	1,227	34,426	1,235	1,729	28	1,007	1,410	40,000
	Total	8,820	190,370	6,728					191,000
	Commercial area	34,704	1,067,400	19,888	27,844	31	573	802	1,029,200

KENTUCKY

1	Ballard	1,197	20,670	1,183	1,538	17	988	1,284	28,900
	Calloway	2,411	25,304	1,189	1,546	10	493	641	28,300
	Carlisle	952	14,874	832	1,082	16	874	1,136	20,100
	Fulton	679	14,539	915	1,190	21	1,348	1,752	20,300
	Graves	3,749	51,393	2,720	3,536	14	726	944	64,400
	Hickman	1,070	19,767	1,102	1,433	18	1,030	1,339	24,700
	Livingston	949	18,247	865	1,124	19	911	1,184	20,900
	Lyon	811	12,255	554	720	15	683	888	13,000
	McCracken	1,207	11,642	594	772	10	492	640	14,000
	Trigg	1,086	24,150	1,135	1,476	22	1,046	1,360	26,000
	Total	14,110	212,841	11,089	14,417				261,900
2	Caldwell	1,239	18,088	942	1,225	15	760	988	20,900
	Christian	2,289	48,963	2,392	3,110	22	1,054	1,370	52,300
	Crittenden	1,109	17,490	820	1,066	16	739	961	21,500
	Daviess	2,615	48,034	2,807	3,649	18	1,073	1,395	55,000
	Hancock	898	10,959	635	826	12	707	919	12,900
	Henderson	1,679	57,050	3,442	4,475	34	2,050	2,665	68,000
	Hopkins	1,944	29,000	1,440	1,872	15	741	963	33,700
	Logan	2,653	42,725	1,892	2,460	16	713	927	43,300
	McLean	1,258	22,544	1,131	1,470	18	899	1,169	26,300
	Simpson	1,249	21,227	999	1,299	17	800	1,040	23,700
	Todd	1,357	27,792	1,440	1,872	20	1,061	1,379	30,300
	Union	891	32,526	2,214	2,878	37	2,485	3,230	41,400
	Webster	1,401	26,917	1,494	1,942	19	1,066	1,386	30,800
	Total	20,562	403,615	21,648	28,144				459,900
3	Allen	1,980	21,371	840	1,092	11	424	551	22,800
	Barren	3,250	36,238	1,677	2,180	11	516	671	39,300
	Breckinridge	1,986	24,437	1,100	1,430	12	554	720	25,200
	Bullitt	825	8,340	437	568	10	530	689	9,300
	Butler	1,894	23,265	975	1,268	13	515	670	25,200
	Edmonson	1,307	11,340	494	642	9	378	491	13,100
	Grayson	2,667	25,861	1,088	1,414	10	408	530	28,200
	Hardin	1,989	24,640	1,386	1,802	12	697	906	28,200
	Hart	2,271	18,626	868	1,128	8	382	497	19,600
	Jefferson	665	7,770	600	780	12	902	1,173	11,100
	Larue	1,363	16,359	961	1,249	12	705	916	18,400
	Marion	1,366	13,634	908	1,180	10	665	864	16,600

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

KENTUCKY—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
3	Meade	1,159	12,965	754	980	11	651	846	14,700
	Monroe	1,811	19,323	840	1,092	11	464	603	20,100
	Nelson	1,507	18,847	1,210	1,573	13	803	1,044	21,700
	Taylor	1,733	15,438	943	1,226	9	544	707	17,900
	Warren	2,735	36,342	1,672	2,174	13	611	794	38,300
	Total	30,508	334,196	16,753	21,778				366,700
4	Boone	1,993	8,795	552	718	4	277	360	11,600
	Carroll	522	4,582	294	382	9	563	732	5,600
	Oldham	586	7,554	539	701	13	920	1,196	9,900
	Trimble	679	4,439	324	421	7	477	620	6,000
	Total	3,780	25,370	1,709	2,222				33,100
5	Boyle	845	7,440	443	576	9	524	681	8,200
	Mason	905	7,910	580	754	9	641	833	9,600
	Shelby	1,527	15,046	1,128	1,466	10	739	961	18,300
	Spencer	682	7,626	572	744	11	839	1,091	9,800
	Washington	1,509	10,882	741	963	7	491	638	13,200
	Total	5,468	48,904	3,464	4,503				59,100
	Commercial area	74,428	1,024,926	54,663	71,064	14	734	954	1,180,600

MARYLAND

2	Carroll	2,604	25,908	2,310	3,118	10	887	1,197	34,300
	Cecil	893	14,246	1,426	1,925	16	1,597	2,156	21,100
	Frederick	2,145	25,510	2,207	2,979	12	1,029	1,389	34,200
	Kent	687	26,675	2,726	3,680	39	3,968	5,357	42,300
	Montgomery	814	12,287	1,101	1,486	15	1,353	1,827	17,600
	Queen Annes	847	30,710	3,052	4,120	36	3,603	4,864	47,400
	Washington	1,272	19,106	1,620	2,187	15	1,274	1,720	27,700
	Total	9,262	154,532	14,442					
9	Caroline	1,287	20,631	1,672	2,257	16	1,299	1,754	27,200
	Dorchester	863	17,751	1,447	1,953	21	1,677	2,264	23,200
	Somerset	521	8,075	489	660	15	939	1,268	10,100
	Talbot	792	22,932	2,043	2,758	29	2,580	3,483	33,300
	Wicomico	1,239	20,691	967	1,305	17	780	1,053	22,200
	Worcester	1,391	25,047	1,610	2,174	18	1,157	1,562	31,300
	Total	6,093	115,127	8,228	11,107				147,300
	Commercial area	15,355	269,659	22,670	30,602	18	1,476	1,993	371,900

MICHIGAN

5	Gratiot	3,018	43,029	2,918	3,793	14	967	1,257	57,400
	Isabella	2,106	24,515	1,649	2,144	12	783	1,018	35,800
	Mecosta	1,428	13,239	523	680	9	366	476	17,000
	Midland	1,193	11,448	679	883	10	569	740	17,900
	Montcalm	2,869	22,777	1,575	2,048	8	549	714	31,900
	Total	10,614	115,008	7,344	9,548				160,000
6	Saginaw	3,790	38,762	2,682	3,487	10	708	920	52,800
	Sanilac	3,864	35,734	2,363	3,072	9	612	796	54,500
	Tuscola	3,007	34,813	2,424	3,151	12	806	1,048	53,400
	Total	10,661	109,309	7,469	9,710				160,700
7	Allegan	3,670	38,501	2,957	3,844	10	806	1,048	62,500
	Berrien	2,658	23,533	1,647	2,141	9	620	806	36,700
	Cass	2,161	29,361	2,487	3,233	14	1,151	1,496	41,000
	Kalamazoo	2,134	29,675	2,133	2,773	14	1,000	1,300	40,600
	Kent	3,352	28,502	2,103	2,734	9	627	815	43,400
	Van Buren	3,056	28,853	1,894	2,462	9	620	806	42,500
	Total	17,031	178,425	13,221	17,187				266,700
8	Barry	2,374	23,847	1,849	2,404	10	779	1,013	35,900
	Branch	2,802	44,611	3,466	4,506	16	1,237	1,608	58,500
	Calhoun	3,012	42,090	3,692	4,800	14	1,226	1,594	62,400
	Clinton	2,863	42,356	3,400	4,420	15	1,188	1,544	65,200
	Eaton	3,155	40,603	3,289	4,276	13	1,042	1,355	61,400
	Hillsdale	3,745	49,622	3,853	5,009	13	1,029	1,338	71,500
	Ingham	2,619	37,427	3,195	4,154	14	1,220	1,586	57,700
	Ionia	2,682	37,087	2,970	3,861	14	1,107	1,439	55,000
	Jackson	2,624	34,157	2,885	3,750	13	1,099	1,429	49,300
	St. Joseph	2,249	38,215	2,973	3,865	17	1,322	1,719	53,400
	Shiawassee	2,764	32,179	2,350	3,055	12	850	1,105	47,700
	Total	30,889	422,194	33,922	44,100				618,000

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

MICHIGAN—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acreage planted (8)
9	Genesee	2,095	22,644	1,889	2,456	11	902	1,173	
	Lapeer	2,783	30,652	2,328	3,026	11	837	1,088	
	Lenawee	4,367	81,174	7,876	10,239	19	1,804	2,345	
	Livingston	2,039	25,027	1,609	2,092	12	789	1,026	
	Macomb	1,889	23,379	1,320	1,716	12	699	909	
	Monroe	3,704	52,933	5,505	7,156	14	1,486	1,932	
	Oakland	1,696	18,824	1,629	2,118	11	960	1,248	
	St. Clair	3,154	30,772	1,719	2,235	10	545	708	
	Washtenaw	2,741	42,358	3,877	5,040	15	1,414	1,838	
	Wayne	1,477	15,418	1,228	1,596	10	831	1,080	
	Total	25,945	343,181	28,980	37,674				
	Commercial area	95,140	1,168,117	90,936	118,219	12	956	1,243	

MINNESOTA

4	Big Stone	1,256	46,914	2,704	3,455	37	2,201	2,751	
	Chippewa	2,017	90,537	6,584	8,230	45	3,264	4,080	
	Douglas	2,377	38,306	2,369	2,961	16	997	1,246	
	Grant	1,444	40,796	2,067	2,584	28	1,431	1,789	
	Lac Qui Parle	2,396	105,970	7,296	9,120	44	3,045	3,806	
	Otter Tail	5,890	91,451	5,322	6,652	16	904	1,130	
	Pope	1,893	49,959	3,635	4,544	26	1,920	2,400	
	Stevens	1,427	65,080	3,599	4,499	46	2,522	3,152	
	Swift	2,192	91,521	6,048	7,560	42	2,759	3,449	
	Traverse	1,125	44,847	2,020	2,525	40	1,796	2,245	
	Wilkin	1,294	35,813	1,886	2,358	28	1,457	1,821	
	Yellow Medicine	2,518	121,668	8,607	10,759	48	3,418	4,272	
	Total	25,829	822,862	52,197	65,247				
5	Benton	1,506	26,517	1,656	2,070	18	1,100	1,375	
	Carver	1,938	37,644	3,968	4,960	19	2,047	2,559	
	Kandiyohi	2,700	93,986	7,068	8,835	35	2,618	3,272	
	McLeod	2,500	58,327	5,212	6,515	23	2,085	2,606	
	Meeker	2,602	60,316	5,532	6,915	27	2,126	2,658	
	Morrison	2,865	39,496	2,491	3,114	14	869	1,086	
	Renville	3,309	141,965	11,346	14,182	42	3,368	4,210	
	Scott	1,505	35,012	3,294	4,118	23	2,189	2,736	
	Sherburne	1,184	24,276	1,445	1,806	21	1,220	1,525	
	Sibley	2,322	72,794	6,362	9,152	31	2,740	3,425	
	Stearns	4,364	90,600	7,322	9,152	21	1,678	2,098	
	Todd	3,642	53,916	3,624	4,530	15	995	1,244	
	Wright	3,646	66,374	5,821	7,276	18	1,597	1,996	
	Total	34,143	810,223	65,141	81,425				
6	Anoka	833	12,858	1,150	1,438	15	1,381	1,726	
	Chisago	1,724	21,913	1,854	2,318	13	1,075	1,344	
	Hennepin	2,007	29,670	2,509	3,136	15	1,250	1,562	
	Washington	1,551	26,747	2,362	2,952	17	1,523	1,904	
	Total	6,115	91,188	7,875	9,844				
7	Cottonwood	2,319	100,352	7,604	9,505	43	3,279	4,099	
	Jackson	2,522	122,854	9,188	11,485	49	3,643	4,554	
	Lincoln	1,833	68,357	4,127	5,159	37	2,252	2,815	
	Lyon	2,165	120,884	8,530	10,662	56	3,940	4,925	
	Murray	2,467	114,212	7,568	9,460	46	3,068	3,835	
	Nobles	2,698	123,025	8,461	10,576	46	3,136	3,920	
	Pipestone	1,488	71,102	4,248	5,310	48	2,855	3,569	
	Redwood	3,151	146,451	10,733	13,416	46	3,406	4,258	
	Rock	1,524	79,706	5,014	6,268	52	3,290	4,112	
	Total	20,167	947,033	65,473	81,841				
8	Blue Earth	3,199	104,320	9,119	11,399	33	2,851	3,564	
	Brown	2,117	83,254	7,015	8,769	39	3,314	4,142	
	Faribault	2,627	111,671	10,025	12,531	43	3,816	4,770	
	Freeborn	2,965	98,748	9,561	11,951	33	3,203	4,004	
	Le Sueur	2,125	48,505	4,522	5,652	23	2,128	2,660	
	Martin	2,761	131,941	11,366	14,208	48	4,117	5,146	
	Nicollet	1,548	53,631	5,114	6,392	35	3,304	4,130	
	Rice	2,399	53,870	4,690	5,862	22	1,955	2,444	
	Steele	1,868	55,323	5,460	6,825	30	2,923	3,654	
	Waseca	1,761	57,468	5,258	6,572	33	2,986	3,732	
	Watonwan	1,609	72,414	6,149	7,686	45	3,822	4,778	
	Total	24,999	871,145	78,279	97,847				
9	Dakota	1,772	52,474	4,030	5,038	30	2,274	2,842	
	Dodge	1,801	51,474	4,772	5,965	29	2,650	3,312	
	Fillmore	3,162	78,134	7,596	9,495	25	2,402	3,002	
	Goodhue	2,899	55,714	5,327	6,659	19	1,838	2,298	
	Houston	1,771	32,241	3,172	3,965	18	1,791	2,239	
	Mower	2,706	99,916	8,840	11,050	37	3,267	4,084	
	Olmsted	2,388	67,475	6,304	7,880	28	2,640	3,300	
	Wabasha	1,618	36,088	3,465	4,331	22	2,142	2,678	
	Winona	1,863	37,497	3,322	4,152	20	1,783	2,229	
	Total	19,980	511,013	46,828	58,535				
	Commercial area	131,233	4,053,464	315,793	394,739	31	2,406	3,008	

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

MISSOURI

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
1	Andrew	2,061	46,643	2,190	2,956	23	1,063	1,435	60,600
	Atchison	1,540	103,513	5,011	6,765	67	3,254	4,393	128,200
	Buchanan	1,814	45,317	2,308	3,116	25	1,272	1,717	52,500
	Caldwell	1,669	33,901	1,618	2,184	20	969	1,308	41,400
	Clay	1,083	24,458	1,288	1,739	23	1,189	1,605	29,300
	Clinton	1,234	33,356	1,657	2,237	27	1,343	1,813	42,400
	Daviess	2,329	43,556	2,220	2,997	19	953	1,287	50,500
	De Kalb	1,659	37,968	1,894	2,557	23	1,142	1,542	48,200
	Gentry	1,861	41,573	2,062	2,784	22	1,108	1,496	55,300
	Harrison	2,543	49,118	2,752	3,715	19	1,082	1,461	62,800
	Holt	1,669	77,958	3,181	4,294	47	1,906	2,573	105,000
	Nodaway	3,184	95,192	6,591	8,898	30	2,070	2,794	133,500
	Platte	1,309	38,835	2,466	3,329	30	1,884	2,543	50,500
	Ray	2,251	52,872	3,129	4,224	23	1,390	1,876	61,600
	Worth	891	22,798	1,431	1,932	26	1,606	2,168	29,200
	Total	27,097	747,058	39,798	53,727				951,000
2	Adair	1,697	26,530	1,898	2,562	16	1,118	1,509	36,400
	Carroll	2,368	73,822	4,851	6,549	31	2,049	2,766	92,700
	Chariton	2,508	59,843	4,499	6,074	24	1,794	2,422	79,700
	Grundy	1,527	29,071	1,708	2,306	19	1,119	1,511	36,300
	Linn	1,743	36,048	2,528	3,413	21	1,450	1,958	47,400
	Livingston	1,819	36,859	2,577	3,479	20	1,417	1,913	47,400
	Macon	2,437	41,018	3,484	4,703	17	1,430	1,930	59,600
	Mercer	1,346	23,026	1,468	1,982	17	1,091	1,473	29,300
	Putnam	1,389	20,728	1,614	2,179	15	1,162	1,569	30,300
	Randolph	1,541	23,821	1,582	2,136	15	1,027	1,386	30,300
	Schuyler	868	12,902	759	1,025	15	855	1,154	15,200
	Sullivan	1,687	29,047	2,215	2,990	17	1,313	1,773	42,400
	Total	20,950	412,715	29,183	39,398				547,000
3	Audrain	2,005	59,511	3,473	4,689	30	1,732	2,338	67,500
	Clark	1,448	33,577	2,418	3,264	20	1,670	2,254	44,300
	Knox	1,370	32,670	2,452	3,310	24	1,790	2,416	43,300
	Lewis	1,511	34,125	2,333	3,150	23	1,544	2,084	45,300
	Marion	1,409	29,190	2,224	3,002	21	1,578	2,130	39,300
	Monroe	2,070	46,460	2,748	3,710	22	1,328	1,793	53,700
	Pike	1,927	50,694	4,168	5,627	26	2,163	2,920	67,600
	Ralls	1,476	35,416	2,229	3,009	24	1,510	2,038	43,300
	Scotland	1,442	26,833	2,165	2,923	19	1,501	2,026	36,400
	Shelby	1,539	34,193	2,229	3,009	22	1,448	1,955	43,300
	Total	16,197	382,669	26,439	35,693				484,000
4	Bates	2,740	53,697	2,453	3,312	20	895	1,208	59,500
	Cass	2,407	53,011	2,775	3,746	22	1,153	1,557	57,400
	Henry	2,471	45,018	2,282	3,081	18	924	1,247	50,500
	Jackson	1,911	34,618	1,724	2,327	18	902	1,218	34,300
	Johnson	2,717	48,953	2,454	3,313	18	903	1,219	55,500
	Lafayette	2,529	67,252	4,108	5,546	27	1,624	2,192	81,800
	St. Clair	1,732	29,271	1,217	1,643	17	703	949	30,300
	Vernon	2,788	50,406	2,028	2,738	18	727	981	50,500
	Total	19,295	382,226	19,041	25,706				419,800
5	Benton	1,338	21,345	1,045	1,411	16	781	1,054	25,200
	Boone	1,572	33,034	1,769	2,388	21	1,125	1,519	36,400
	Callaway	1,904	34,119	2,195	2,963	18	1,153	1,557	42,400
	Cole	1,124	16,165	993	1,341	14	883	1,192	19,200
	Cooper	1,664	43,229	2,612	3,526	26	1,570	2,120	49,400
	Howard	1,365	35,008	2,392	3,229	26	1,752	2,365	44,400
	Moniteau	1,446	24,958	1,229	1,659	17	850	1,148	28,200
	Pettis	2,160	51,691	2,741	3,700	24	1,269	1,713	57,500
	Saline	2,667	96,358	6,440	8,694	36	2,415	3,260	113,200
	Total	15,240	355,907	21,416	28,911				415,900
6	Franklin	2,612	33,669	2,016	2,722	13	772	1,042	41,500
	Jefferson	1,358	14,135	820	1,107	10	604	815	15,200
	Lincoln	2,041	44,579	3,418	4,614	22	1,675	2,261	59,800
	Montgomery	1,702	37,028	2,765	3,733	22	1,625	2,194	46,500
	Perry	1,601	24,526	1,679	2,267	15	1,049	1,416	32,300
	St. Charles	1,914	39,938	3,246	4,382	21	1,696	2,290	54,500
	Ste. Genevieve	1,022	16,618	1,082	1,461	16	1,059	1,430	22,200
	St. Louis	1,044	14,974	984	1,328	14	943	1,273	18,200
	Warren	1,113	20,506	1,421	1,918	18	1,277	1,724	26,300
	Total	14,407	245,973	17,431	23,532				316,500
8	Bollinger	1,545	21,028	956	1,291	14	619	836	24,200
	Wayne	882	11,019	518	699	12	587	792	13,100
	Total	2,427	32,047	1,474	1,990				37,300
9	Cape Girardeau	2,171	34,549	2,598	3,507	16	1,197	1,616	45,500
	Dunklin	2,727	30,581	1,902	2,568	11	697	941	39,400
	Mississippi	1,028	39,382	2,956	3,991	38	2,875	3,881	55,700
	New Madrid	1,956	39,586	2,638	3,561	20	1,349	1,821	53,600
	Scott	1,367	39,542	2,489	3,360	29	1,821	2,458	50,500
	Stoddard	3,625	64,134	3,683	4,972	18	1,016	1,372	74,800
	Total	12,874	247,774	16,266	21,959				319,500
	Commercial area	128,487	2,806,369	171,048	230,916	22	1,331	1,797	3,491,000

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

NEBRASKA

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acreage planted (8)
2	Boyd	744	41,906	470	658	56	632	885	
	Garfield	292	9,445	311	435	32	1,065	1,491	
	Holt	1,563	58,053	847	1,186	37	542	759	
	Total	2,599	109,404	1,628	2,279				
3	Antelope	2,163	115,798	2,064	2,890	54	954	1,336	
	Boone	1,774	102,769	1,035	1,449	58	583	816	
	Burt	1,679	98,272	2,614	3,660	59	1,557	2,180	
	Cedar	2,317	122,644	2,521	3,529	53	1,088	1,523	
	Cuming	2,000	107,421	1,530	2,142	54	765	1,071	
	Dakota	776	46,193	1,628	2,279	60	2,098	2,937	
	Dixon	1,448	83,374	2,617	3,664	58	1,807	2,530	
	Knox	2,510	120,371	2,130	2,982	48	849	1,189	
	Madison	2,170	102,764	1,321	1,849	47	609	853	
	Pierce	1,694	87,561	1,866	2,612	52	1,102	1,543	
	Stanton	1,344	70,604	774	1,084	53	576	806	
	Thurston	1,099	71,683	1,783	2,496	65	1,622	2,271	
	Wayne	1,616	83,932	1,769	2,477	52	1,095	1,533	
	Total	22,500	1,213,386	23,652	33,113				
5	Buffalo	2,140	127,555	4,532	6,345	60	2,118	2,965	
	Custer	2,703	153,461	2,170	3,038	57	803	1,124	
	Dawson	1,983	113,239	8,096	11,334	57	4,083	5,716	
	Greeley	890	54,126	603	844	61	678	949	
	Hall	1,401	85,305	5,072	7,101	61	3,620	5,068	
	Howard	1,339	60,124	728	1,019	45	544	762	
	Sherman	1,169	58,910	714	1,000	50	611	855	
	Valley	1,107	58,253	1,310	1,834	53	1,183	1,656	
	Total	12,732	710,973	23,225	32,515				
6	Butler	1,860	104,301	759	1,063	56	408	571	
	Cass	2,144	103,766	2,007	2,810	48	936	1,310	
	Colfax	1,365	72,311	700	980	53	513	718	
	Dodge	1,992	100,397	1,129	1,581	50	567	794	
	Douglas	1,326	53,935	813	1,138	41	613	858	
	Hamilton	1,578	95,559	4,161	5,825	61	2,637	3,692	
	Lancaster	2,988	127,334	1,497	2,096	43	501	701	
	Merrick	1,397	74,289	2,992	4,189	53	2,142	2,999	
	Nance	1,058	64,680	450	630	61	425	595	
	Platte	2,376	120,543	1,165	1,631	51	490	686	
	Polk	1,572	81,307	1,547	2,166	52	984	1,378	
	Sarpy	959	46,444	628	879	48	655	917	
	Saunders	2,965	148,144	1,512	2,117	50	510	714	
	Seward	1,959	97,316	1,085	1,519	50	554	776	
	Washington	1,472	69,364	2,255	3,157	47	1,532	2,145	
	York	2,127	114,091	3,121	4,369	54	1,467	2,054	
	Total	29,138	1,473,781	25,821	36,150				
7	Lincoln	1,328	83,005	2,711	3,795	63	2,041	2,857	
	Total	1,328	83,005	2,711	3,795				
8	Adams	1,401	65,647	1,798	2,517	47	1,283	1,796	
	Franklin	1,002	48,651	1,103	1,544	49	1,101	1,541	
	Furnas	1,053	62,534	999	1,399	59	949	1,329	
	Gosper	690	39,246	888	1,243	57	1,287	1,802	
	Harlan	890	45,994	845	1,183	52	949	1,329	
	Kearney	1,183	63,189	2,995	4,193	53	2,532	3,545	
	Phelps	1,137	74,419	3,638	5,093	65	3,200	4,480	
	Webster	1,180	57,983	593	830	49	503	704	
	Total	8,536	457,663	12,859	18,002				
9	Clay	1,450	75,390	2,358	3,301	52	1,626	2,276	
	Fillmore	1,693	86,482	2,178	3,049	51	1,286	1,800	
	Gage	2,634	120,109	812	1,137	46	308	431	
	Jefferson	1,410	57,404	340	476	41	241	337	
	Johnson	1,217	50,752	630	882	42	518	725	
	Nemaha	1,329	67,989	1,459	2,043	51	1,098	1,537	
	Nuckolls	1,258	68,983	1,071	1,499	55	851	1,191	
	Otoe	2,301	101,603	1,886	2,640	44	820	1,148	
	Pawnee	1,263	51,569	417	584	41	330	462	
	Richardson	1,925	86,698	1,078	1,509	45	560	784	
	Saline	2,172	76,137	1,070	1,498	35	493	690	
	Thayer	1,419	58,945	985	1,379	42	694	972	
	Total	20,071	902,061	14,284	19,997				
	Commercial area	96,994	4,950,273	104,180	145,851	51	1,074	1,504	

NEW JERSEY

2	Hunterdon	1,230	21,668	1,996	2,890	18	1,615	2,341	
	Somerset	383	7,368	576	835	19	1,504	2,180	
	Warren	715	14,376	1,473	2,136	20	2,060	2,987	
5	Burlington	675	17,550	1,300	1,885	26	1,926	2,793	
	Mercer	458	9,799	773	1,121	21	1,688	2,448	
8	Cumberland	498	6,580	493	715	13	990	1,436	
	Gloucester	574	5,526	452	655	10	787	1,141	
	Salem	757	17,015	1,274	1,847	22	1,683	2,440	
	Commercial area	5,290	99,902	8,327	12,074	19	1,574	2,282	

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

NORTH CAROLINA

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
3	Bertie	2,384	25,760	1,725	2,242	11	724	941	33,700
	Camden	684	12,407	986	1,282	18	1,442	1,875	16,100
	Chowan	798	10,593	674	876	13	845	1,098	13,500
	Currituck	772	11,201	1,048	1,362	15	1,358	1,765	16,200
	Edgecombe	1,692	39,790	2,209	2,872	24	1,306	1,698	46,900
	Gates	1,275	17,750	1,051	1,366	14	824	1,071	21,700
	Halifax	3,153	33,079	1,444	1,877	10	458	595	38,400
	Hertford	1,354	16,476	890	1,157	12	657	854	18,700
	Martin	1,740	24,055	1,450	1,885	14	833	1,083	29,200
	Nash	3,066	37,096	2,115	2,750	12	690	897	47,200
	Northampton	2,360	27,663	1,286	1,672	12	545	708	32,200
	Pasquotank	914	15,917	1,276	1,659	17	1,396	1,815	20,100
	Perquimans	976	16,003	1,339	1,741	16	1,372	1,784	20,900
	Tyrrell								
	Washington	854	8,807	620	806	10	726	944	11,600
	Total	22,022	296,507	18,113	23,547				366,400
6	Beaufort	3,076	32,084	2,094	2,722	10	681	885	39,200
	Carteret								
	Craven	1,884	20,274	970	1,261	11	515	670	23,600
	Greene	1,245	33,472	2,007	2,609	27	1,612	2,096	45,300
	Hyde								
	Johnston	6,134	69,325	3,534	4,594	11	576	749	86,500
	Jones	961	19,235	966	1,256	20	1,005	1,306	23,100
	Lenoir	2,002	44,587	2,392	3,110	22	1,195	1,554	55,300
	Pitt	2,769	59,072	3,234	4,204	21	1,168	1,518	70,500
	Wayne	3,267	60,867	3,154	4,100	19	965	1,254	76,500
	Wilson	2,218	36,738	1,890	2,457	17	852	1,108	42,200
	Total	23,556	375,654	20,241	26,313				462,200
9	Duplin	5,162	66,401	3,103	4,034	13	601	781	77,500
	Hoke								
	New Hanover								
	Onslow	1,909	21,246	996	1,295	11	522	679	26,100
	Pender								
	Robeson								
	Sampson	6,061	62,978	3,044	3,957	10	502	653	73,500
	Scotland								
	Wake	3,918	29,559	1,358	1,765	8	347	451	32,100
	Total	17,050	180,184	8,501	11,051				203,200
	Commercial area	62,628	852,345	46,855	60,911	14	748	972	1,037,800

NORTH DAKOTA

9	Richland	2,432	81,704	3,774	4,340	34	1,552	1,785	112,000
	Commercial area	2,432	81,704	3,774	4,340	34	1,552	1,785	112,000

OHIO

1	Allen	2,621	39,191	3,418	4,443	15	1,304	1,695	54,000
	Defiance	2,287	32,462	2,543	3,306	14	1,112	1,446	45,300
	Fulton	2,849	54,972	5,018	6,523	19	1,761	2,289	79,200
	Hancock	3,039	58,635	4,962	6,451	19	1,633	2,123	80,300
	Henry	2,930	48,259	4,134	5,374	16	1,411	1,834	66,000
	Lucas	2,009	20,157	1,755	2,282	10	874	1,136	30,200
	Paulding	1,920	34,012	2,643	3,436	18	1,377	1,790	48,100
	Putnam	2,925	50,562	4,041	5,253	17	1,382	1,797	66,400
	Van Wert	2,501	45,823	3,480	4,524	18	1,343	1,746	60,600
	Williams	2,518	40,447	3,153	4,099	16	1,252	1,628	58,400
	Wood	3,603	65,245	5,406	7,028	18	1,500	1,950	88,200
	Total	29,202	489,765	40,553	52,719				676,700
2	Ashland	2,184	25,047	1,660	2,158	11	760	988	33,400
	Crawford	2,274	42,230	2,970	3,861	19	1,306	1,698	54,700
	Erie	1,306	21,565	1,463	1,902	17	1,120	1,456	27,800
	Huron	2,570	38,301	2,770	3,601	15	1,078	1,401	51,900
	Lorain	2,215	20,067	1,573	2,045	9	710	923	32,300
	Ottawa	1,636	17,676	1,464	1,903	11	895	1,164	25,400
	Richland	2,617	28,346	1,712	2,226	11	654	850	35,900
	Sandusky	2,431	42,267	3,414	4,438	17	1,404	1,825	57,500
	Seneca	2,885	56,380	4,586	5,962	20	1,590	2,067	76,200
	Wyandot	1,940	40,241	2,961	3,849	21	1,526	1,984	51,700
	Total	22,058	332,120	24,573	31,945				446,800
3	Medina	2,301	20,714	1,275	1,658	9	554	720	30,100
	Stark	3,151	25,677	1,488	1,934	8	472	614	33,500
	Wayne	3,312	42,310	3,061	3,979	13	924	1,201	59,900
	Total	8,764	88,701	5,824	7,571				123,500
4	Auglaize	2,556	45,022	4,161	5,409	18	1,628	2,116	62,200
	Champaign	1,925	48,604	4,454	5,790	25	2,314	3,008	65,600
	Clark	1,821	42,766	3,815	4,960	23	2,093	2,724	58,000
	Darke	4,618	84,110	7,006	9,108	18	1,517	1,972	111,800
	Hardin	2,560	55,325	4,738	6,159	22	1,851	2,406	76,400
	Logan	2,219	42,955	3,380	4,394	19	1,523	1,980	57,400
	Mercer	2,880	50,834	4,715	6,130	18	1,637	2,128	73,300
	Miami	2,721	53,799	4,876	6,339	20	1,792	2,330	71,800
	Selby	2,346	45,749	3,850	5,005	20	1,641	2,133	62,100
	Total	23,646	469,164	40,995	53,294				638,600

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

OHIO—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acreage planted (8)
4 5	Delaware	2,520	39,978	3,131	4,070	16	1,242	1,615	
	Fairfield	2,538	46,012	3,920	5,096	18	1,545	2,008	
	Fayette	1,443	52,974	4,894	6,362	37	3,392	4,410	
	Franklin	1,946	38,309	3,074	3,996	20	1,580	2,054	
	Knox	2,508	34,632	2,580	3,354	14	1,029	1,338	
	Licking	2,982	43,444	3,124	4,061	15	1,048	1,362	
	Madison	1,379	54,827	4,614	5,998	40	3,346	4,350	
	Marion	1,844	44,130	3,751	4,876	24	2,034	2,644	
	Morrow	2,225	30,343	2,260	2,938	14	1,016	1,321	
	Pickaway	1,790	65,729	5,268	6,848	37	2,943	3,826	
	Ross	1,649	49,599	4,270	5,551	30	2,589	3,366	
	Union	2,068	42,783	3,841	4,993	21	1,857	2,414	
	Total	24,892	542,760	44,727	58,143				
6	Coshocton	1,946	21,234	1,314	1,708	11	675	878	
	Holmes	2,165	21,699	1,328	1,726	10	613	797	
	Tuscarawas	2,091	18,602	1,142	1,485	9	546	710	
	Total	6,202	61,535	3,784	4,919				
7	Butler	2,219	43,322	3,590	4,667	20	1,618	2,103	
	Clermont	2,350	27,480	1,892	2,460	12	805	1,046	
	Clinton	1,924	54,613	5,278	6,861	28	2,743	3,566	
	Greene	1,845	49,722	4,528	5,886	27	2,454	3,190	
	Hamilton	717	13,278	986	1,282	19	1,375	1,788	
	Montgomery	3,069	42,493	3,650	4,745	14	1,189	1,546	
	Preble	2,579	56,986	5,480	7,124	22	2,125	2,762	
	Warren	1,980	37,562	3,325	4,322	19	1,679	2,183	
	Total	16,683	325,456	28,729	37,347				
8	Adams	2,373	26,867	1,853	2,409	11	781	1,015	
	Brown	3,001	38,238	2,610	3,393	13	870	1,131	
	Highland	2,662	51,039	4,342	5,645	19	1,631	2,120	
	Jackson	1,066	7,440	633	823	7	594	772	
	Lawrence	840	4,103	340	442	5	405	526	
	Pike	1,029	15,683	1,139	1,481	15	1,107	1,439	
	Scioto	1,580	16,973	1,241	1,613	11	785	1,020	
	Total	12,551	160,343	12,158	15,806				
9	Hocking	871	7,992	690	897	9	792	1,030	
	Morgan	1,136	6,542	511	664	6	450	585	
	Muskingum	2,683	21,056	1,350	1,755	8	503	654	
	Perry	1,277	12,612	780	1,014	10	611	794	
	Vinton	776	4,547	360	468	6	464	603	
	Total	6,743	52,749	3,691	4,798				
	Commercial area	150,831	2,522,593	205,034	266,542	17	1,359	1,767	

PENNSYLVANIA

2	Clinton	593	6,233	335	486	11	565	819	
	Lycoming	1,918	19,786	1,178	1,708	10	614	890	
	Total	2,511	26,019	1,513	2,194				
5	Blair	767	8,355	710	1,030	11	926	1,343	
	Centre	1,337	19,065	1,214	1,760	14	908	1,317	
	Columbia	1,874	18,338	1,226	1,778	10	654	948	
	Dauphin	1,676	21,215	1,468	2,129	13	876	1,270	
	Huntingdon	1,413	13,806	1,005	1,457	10	711	1,031	
	Juniata	1,175	12,748	979	1,420	11	833	1,208	
	Mifflin	1,025	11,193	922	1,337	11	900	1,305	
	Montour	618	7,517	556	806	12	900	1,305	
	Northumberland	1,833	20,933	1,447	2,098	11	789	1,144	
	Perry	1,366	16,062	1,449	2,101	12	1,061	1,538	
	Snyder	1,381	13,778	1,071	1,553	10	776	1,125	
	Union	918	11,508	903	1,309	13	984	1,427	
	Total	15,383	174,518	12,950	18,778				
6	Carbon	506	3,372	230	334	7	455	660	
	Lehigh	1,533	21,195	1,702	2,468	14	1,110	1,610	
	Northampton	1,360	23,802	1,862	2,700	18	1,369	1,985	
	Schuylkill	1,566	12,264	852	1,235	8	544	789	
	Total	4,965	60,633	4,646	6,737				
8	Adams	2,420	33,769	2,374	3,442	14	981	1,422	
	Cumberland	2,185	37,291	2,378	3,448	17	1,088	1,578	
	Franklin	2,616	40,734	2,645	3,835	16	1,011	1,466	
	Fulton	1,036	9,066	593	860	9	572	829	
	York	5,836	69,081	4,997	7,246	12	856	1,241	
	Total	14,093	189,941	12,987	18,831				
9	Berks	3,775	48,935	3,210	4,654	13	850	1,232	
	Bucks	2,270	28,970	2,189	3,174	13	964	1,398	
	Chester	2,466	31,353	2,570	3,726	13	1,042	1,511	
	Lancaster	6,995	79,581	7,290	10,570	11	1,042	1,511	
	Lebanon	1,739	24,023	1,921	2,785	14	1,105	1,602	
	Montgomery	1,579	20,828	1,602	2,323	13	1,015	1,472	
	Total	18,824	233,690	18,782	27,232				
	Commercial area	55,776	684,801	50,878	73,772	12	912	1,322	

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

SOUTH DAKOTA

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
3	Clark	1,769	51,478	2,285	2,856	29	1,292	1,615	70,000
	Codington	1,159	28,558	1,297	1,621	25	1,119	1,399	39,000
	Day	1,562	31,765	1,431	1,789	20	916	1,145	44,100
	Deuel	1,458	41,522	2,121	2,651	28	1,455	1,819	53,500
	Grant	1,392	44,814	2,320	2,900	32	1,667	2,084	56,000
	Hamlin	1,297	42,034	2,236	2,795	32	1,724	2,155	58,100
	Roberts	2,157	63,584	3,154	3,942	29	1,462	1,828	78,000
5	Aurora	1,007	63,190	2,241	2,801	63	2,225	2,781	77,400
	Beadle	1,939	92,666	3,063	3,829	48	1,580	1,975	119,100
	Brule	981	75,350	2,177	2,721	77	2,219	2,774	94,000
	Jerauld	767	35,766	1,237	1,546	47	1,613	2,016	44,500
6	Brookings	2,284	98,049	4,740	5,925	43	2,075	2,594	121,500
	Davison	1,087	55,407	2,263	2,835	51	2,086	2,608	68,600
	Hanson	1,125	58,706	2,516	3,145	52	2,236	2,795	77,000
	Kingsbury	1,866	76,191	3,543	4,429	41	1,899	2,374	92,000
	Lake	1,637	79,476	4,100	5,125	49	2,505	3,131	102,600
	McCook	1,850	85,584	3,757	4,696	46	2,031	2,539	113,400
	Miner	1,367	60,180	2,193	2,741	44	1,604	2,005	75,000
	Minnehaha	2,707	125,233	7,082	8,852	46	2,616	3,270	169,000
	Moody	1,563	83,083	4,120	5,150	53	2,636	3,295	107,000
	Sanborn	1,066	58,510	2,161	2,701	55	2,027	2,534	71,500
8	Gregory	1,052	62,960	1,228	1,534	60	1,166	1,458	76,000
	Tripp	1,472	65,744	1,342	1,678	45	912	1,140	71,100
9	Bon Homme	1,832	84,108	2,068	2,585	46	1,129	1,411	113,000
	Charles Mix	2,607	136,895	2,963	3,704	53	1,137	1,421	178,000
	Clay	1,494	77,421	960	1,200	52	643	804	95,600
	Douglas	1,140	56,489	1,927	2,409	50	1,690	2,112	79,100
	Hutchinson	2,350	111,289	4,028	5,035	47	1,714	2,142	156,200
	Lincoln	2,094	101,972	3,555	4,444	49	1,698	2,122	140,200
	Turner	2,322	99,407	3,506	4,381	43	1,509	1,886	134,500
	Union	1,747	80,042	1,347	1,684	46	771	964	96,000
	Yankton	1,808	78,696	1,733	2,166	44	959	1,199	103,700
	Commercial area	51,958	2,306,169	84,699	105,870	44	1,630	2,038	2,974,100

TENNESSEE

1	Dyer	1,957	27,724	1,331	1,730	14	680	884	38,400
	Lauderdale	1,892	25,946	1,150	1,495	14	608	790	37,400
	Obion	2,407	41,120	2,133	2,773	17	886	1,152	55,500
	Tipton	2,348	23,872	957	1,244	10	408	530	33,700
2	Crockett	1,765	15,246	567	737	9	321	417	21,500
	Gibson	4,537	44,789	1,767	2,297	10	389	506	58,500
	Haywood	1,990	27,521	770	1,001	14	387	503	35,900
	Henry	2,591	29,533	1,092	1,420	11	421	547	38,000
	Weakley	4,063	49,865	2,077	2,700	12	511	664	68,500
3	Benton	1,201	13,042	442	575	11	368	478	15,800
	Cheatham	956	9,098	417	542	10	436	567	10,900
	Montgomery	1,779	26,679	1,069	1,390	15	601	781	29,100
	Robertson	2,333	30,797	1,270	1,651	13	544	707	33,700
	Stewart	957	14,871	584	759	16	610	793	17,000
5	Franklin	2,125	20,204	886	1,152	10	417	542	23,600
	Marion	594	7,305	302	393	12	508	660	8,600
	Commercial area	33,495	407,612	16,814	21,859	12	502	653	526,100

VIRGINIA

6	Accomac	1,123	9,368	399	559	8	355	497	7,150
	Charles City	237	3,194	225	315	13	949	1,329	4,000
	Northampton	423	4,199	184	258	10	435	609	3,100
9	Isle of Wight	1,340	21,863	1,406	1,968	16	1,049	1,469	25,150
	Nansemond	1,483	21,993	1,409	1,973	15	950	1,330	26,150
	Norfolk	552	13,515	811	1,135	24	1,469	2,057	15,950
	Princess Anne	531	10,306	652	913	19	1,228	1,719	12,350
	Southampton	1,829	34,305	1,994	2,792	19	1,090	1,526	39,200
	Surry	745	11,598	700	980	16	940	1,316	14,050
	Sussex	1,172	15,074	850	1,190	13	725	1,015	17,050
	Commercial area	9,435	145,415	8,630	12,083	15	915	1,281	164,150

WEST VIRGINIA

6	Berkeley	611	7,193	567	851	12	961	1,303	10,430
	Jefferson	534	11,124	827	1,199	21	1,549	2,246	15,140
	Commercial area	1,145	18,317	1,414	2,050	16	1,235	1,791	25,570

WISCONSIN

1	Polk	3,656	38,588	2,487	3,233	11	680	884	55,710
4	Buffalo	1,634	28,166	2,471	3,212	17	1,512	1,966	39,600
	Dunn	3,120	43,191	3,483	4,528	14	1,116	1,451	61,650
	Eau Claire	1,870	19,138	1,597	2,076	10	854	1,110	28,230
	Jackson	1,834	22,244	1,852	2,408	12	1,010	1,313	31,950
	La Crosse	1,445	21,611	1,987	2,557	15	1,361	1,769	30,050
	Monroe	2,825	28,746	2,720	3,536	10	963	1,252	41,620
	Pepin	818	12,097	1,010	1,313	15	1,235	1,606	17,600
	Pierce	2,636	39,781	3,307	4,299	15	1,255	1,632	57,500
	St. Croix	2,890	51,192	3,878	5,041	18	1,342	1,745	75,950
	Trempealeau	2,786	33,103	2,749	3,574	12	987	1,283	46,250

1956 all corn—Aug. 13, 1957—Continued

WISCONSIN—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total all corn production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of corn (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres planted (8)
5	Adams	1,155	14,483	907	1,179	13	785	1,020	
	Green Lake	1,259	27,946	2,630	3,419	22	2,089	2,716	
	Juneau	1,777	21,880	1,456	1,893	12	819	1,065	
	Marquette	1,171	18,980	1,446	1,880	16	1,235	1,606	
	Waushara	1,920	26,738	2,053	2,669	14	1,069	1,390	
	Fond du Lac	3,597	53,169	4,673	6,075	15	1,299	1,689	
	Winnebago	2,184	30,151	2,145	2,788	14	982	1,277	
7	Crawford	1,808	25,640	2,187	2,843	14	1,210	1,573	
	Grant	3,796	80,271	7,760	10,088	21	2,044	2,657	
	Iowa	2,373	45,324	4,301	5,591	19	1,812	2,356	
	Lafayette	2,247	58,155	5,362	6,971	26	2,386	3,102	
	Richland	2,277	26,386	2,423	3,150	12	1,064	1,383	
	Sauk	2,936	48,334	4,538	5,899	16	1,546	2,010	
	Vernon	3,593	33,626	2,918	3,793	9	812	1,056	
8	Columbia	2,853	65,214	6,225	8,092	23	2,183	2,837	
	Dane	5,532	119,797	11,399	14,819	22	2,061	2,679	
	Dodge	4,243	75,949	7,538	9,799	18	1,777	2,310	
	Green	2,269	50,062	4,928	6,406	22	2,172	2,824	
	Jefferson	3,062	82,406	4,981	6,475	17	1,627	2,115	
	Rock	3,378	92,124	8,649	11,244	27	2,560	3,328	
9	Kenosha	1,168	26,025	2,466	3,206	22	2,111	2,744	
	Milwaukee	512	5,869	409	524	11	787	1,023	
	Racine	1,801	34,143	3,352	4,358	19	1,861	2,419	
	Walworth	2,328	63,657	6,042	7,855	27	2,595	3,374	
	Waukesha	2,724	38,726	3,346	4,350	14	1,228	1,596	
	Commercial area	87,477	1,472,912	131,649	171,143	17	1,503	1,956	

"Punching Bag" Gates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Bob Considine which appeared in the New York Journal American, dated August 20, 1957:

"PUNCHING BAG" GATES

(By Bob Considine)

"This is the first time I've ever been operated on without an anesthetic," Secretary of the Navy Tom Gates said to a friend in the wake of a recent snafu over the announced closing of a naval hospital.

Gates, one of the smartest, best-natured, and courteous men on the Eisenhower team, was widely accused lately of being rude and arrogant to a delegation of Californians who converged on San Diego to discuss with him the scheduled closing December 31 of the 750-bed Corona (Calif.) Naval Hospital. It was charged that he brushed them off with a handshake or two and disappeared in the midst of a swarm of rear admirals.

Actually, Gates was never told he was expected to meet with the group. Congressman DALIP SAUND, who later joined in roasting Gates for snubbing the group, was a guest aboard Gates' plane. Not once during the 3,000-mile flight from Washington did SAUND mention that he had alerted his people about a meeting with the Secretary.

HOW IT HAPPENED

Gates had just undergone a press conference in which he explained why the hospital and many other drains on the Navy's appropriation dollar had to be lopped off, when—upon leaving for his next appointment—SAUND asked him to say hello to a group. There was still no mention of a meeting. Gates shook hands all around, posed for several pictures, bid them a cordial farewell, and went on about his business.

He was not aware until the next day that after a talk with SAUND, the group had become embittered enough to issue blasts at the Secretary and threats of repercussions at the polls.

When it was time for the Gates plane to start its flight back to Washington, SAUND and Mrs. Saund stepped aboard as if nothing had happened. SAUND has said there will be an "investigation" of the closing of the hospital.

Teapot tempest? Perhaps, but it is a sample of the pain and ruffled political feelings that attend any shrinkage in Federal spending. The Secretaries of the several branches of the Armed Forces, for example, are the likeliest targets of any vote-conscious Congressman whose district has been affected by a cutback.

The Corona Naval Hospital is a peace casualty, and the area can no longer count on income from the hospital's doctors, nurses and patients. The Navy says there will be no hardships, medically speaking. There are still hospitals at San Diego and Pendleton, as well as hospital ships at Long Beach.

CONGRESS ORDERED CUTS

The irony of the attacks on Gates and men like him is that Congress itself ordered the cuts which individuals in the Congress decry when the orders are carried out. A further irony is that quite frequently a Congressman who has beat his breast in righteous indignation over the shutdown of some profitable installation in his district will—having made his show in front of his constituents—call up the Secretary and say, "I know you had to do what you did."

Gates tried to explain on the coast that he will effect savings in the Navy's investment in his home State, Pennsylvania, just as readily as anywhere else. To protect the Navy's shrinking funds, and keep its hardware ahead of the enemy's, Gates recently lopped 18,000 civilians off the payroll and mothballed 60 more outmoded ships. For port merchants, the retirement of those ships were as if 60 full payrolls were lost.

So Gates gets rapped.

Shortly after a nationally syndicated columnist rapped him last week, Gates' Pentagon phone rang. Sherman Adams was on the phone.

"Welcome to the club," said the greatest punching bag of them all.

U. S. S. "Arizona" Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY O. TALLE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my vigorous support to H. R. 5809, a bill to authorize the construction of a U. S. S. *Arizona* memorial at Pearl Harbor, T. H. Such a shrine will serve as a lasting tribute to the 1,102 valiant men of the *Arizona* who lost their lives on that disastrous Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, and who are still entombed in that sunken ship.

Included in this group are five men from the Second Congressional District of Iowa which I have the honor to represent in the Congress and I would like to pay tribute to them at this time. They are Lawrence Donald Anderson, Waukon, Allamakee County; Karl Anthony Giesen, Decorah, Winneshiek County; Richard Henry Eulberg, Garnavillo, Clayton County; John William Lincoln, Norway, Benton County; and Robert Denzie Taylor, Sabula, Jackson County.

Having served in the Navy myself during World War I, I feel a special kinship for these brave Iowans who died so that America might live. This memorial will serve as a constant reminder to us all that liberty and freedom cannot be retained cheaply, but must be constantly guarded and, if necessary fought and even died for.

As approved by the House without opposition, H. R. 5809 provides:

That the Secretary of the Navy be authorized to cooperate with the Pacific War Memorial Commission of Hawaii in developing a design for a memorial and museum to be built at or near the site of the hulk of the U. S. S. *Arizona* in Pearl Harbor, T. H.

That the Secretary of the Navy may—

(1) Accept contributions for the construction of a memorial and museum to be located on the hulk of the U. S. S. *Arizona* or adjacent United States property in Pearl Harbor, T. H.;

(2) Authorize Navy activities to furnish material to the Pacific War Memorial Commission for use in national promotion of a public subscription campaign to raise funds for a U. S. S. *Arizona* memorial;

(3) Authorize Navy activities to assist in conceiving a design and in determining the construction cost for the memorial;

(4) Undertake construction of the memorial and museum when sufficient funds have been subscribed for completion of the structure; and

(5) Provide for maintenance of the memorial and museum when completed.

Mr. Speaker, as you are aware, this memorial will be paid for from contributions of private citizens and at no cost to the Federal Government. Despite the last-minute rush of business before adjournment, I hope the Senate will take time to act favorably on this memorial honoring the valiant men of the U. S. S. *Arizona*.

Flood Protection for the Communities in the Merrimack River Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Brig. Gen. Alden K. Sibley:

AUGUST 17, 1957.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: I greatly appreciate your telephone call of the 14th advising that the appropriation bill as passed by the Congress included funds for the Hopkinton-Everett project. It is only through continued and persistent efforts such as you have expended toward the furtherance of this project, that adequate flood protection can be provided for the communities in the Merrimack River Valley.

One of my engineers has discussed the studies of the Suasco Watershed Association with a representative of the State headquarters of the Soil Conservation Service. The studies on the Concord, Sudbury, and Assabet Rivers include consideration of ledge removal at Talbot Mills in Billerica and at Fordway Bar where route 3 crosses the Concord River. The studies also include investigation of impoundments at other locations in the watershed. It appears that the studies have not advanced to a point where conclusions or recommendations are available. The representatives of the Soil Conservation Service are aware of the possible downstream effects that might result from channel improvement at Billerica and assure us that their studies will give full consideration to any increase in flows on the lower Concord or Merrimack Rivers.

There is a close coordination between my staff and representatives of the Soil Conservation Service in this area which should insure a compatability of measures recommended by the two agencies.

ALDEN K. SIBLEY,
Brigadier General, United States Army, Division Engineer.

In Support of the Establishment of a Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission

SPEECH
OF
HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Joint Resolution 351, to establish a Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. Abraham Lincoln is one of the most typical of Americans, and it is certainly apropos that this Commission be established to plan an appropriate observance of the 150th anniversary of his birth.

Abraham Lincoln was, to use his own words, born in "the most humble walks of life" in a log cabin in Hardin County, Ky. In 1816 when he was 7, his family crossed the Ohio River into southern Indiana, following a newly blazed trail to their new home in Spencer County, in the district I have the honor to represent. There Lincoln spent most of his youth, and it was not until he was 21 that the family moved once again in the year 1830, to Macon County, Ill.

The formative period of Lincoln's life was, therefore, spent in Indiana. Life in this frontier area was hard. The family was poor, and the country but little developed. The first winter Lincoln and his family lived in a mere shelter of poles, brush, and leaves enclosed on three sides. When Lincoln's father got around to building a cabin, it had no floor.

In 1818, Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln died, unaware of the great destiny which awaited her son. The State of Indiana has established a State park where his mother is buried, in the midst of the rugged and beautiful country where Lincoln lived as a young man.

It is reported that Lincoln once said, "The Lord prefers common-looking people. That is the reason He makes so many of them." Much has been made of the fact that Lincoln was by origin a common sort of man. It is the nature of our system, that uncommon men such as Lincoln can rise above their surroundings and put the superior talents and superior ability with which they are endowed to use.

Life on the American frontier, it has been said, was an important formative influence in the development of our way of life. Where all find themselves in a condition of equality, where all face common difficulties, there, it is argued, a truly democratic spirit will prevail.

It is certain that Lincoln never lost the common touch acquired on the Indiana frontier. His formal education was meager. In Indiana he attended log schools, to which he had to walk long distances, for several years. In all, it is estimated, however, his attendance at school did not exceed 1 full year. His education was largely a matter of intellectual interest and application. His reading was largely in a few classics and in the miscellany of books which found its way to backwoods Indiana—the Bible, of course, Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, Aesop's Fables, Weem's Life of Washington, and a few others. His home might have been a rude frontier cabin—yet he did not lack contact with the great cultural traditions which have so strongly influenced the development of Western society and our own civilization.

The nearby Ohio River strongly attracted Lincoln. He operated a ferry over Anderson River at its mouth in Perry County, Ind., which county is also in the Eighth District. He also earned an occasional dollar by rowing passengers from the Indiana shore to passing steamers on the Ohio River. In 1828 he journeyed from Indiana down the Mississippi River into New Orleans. An early ambition was to become a steamboatman, but instead he stayed at home and worked on the family farm.

If life on the frontier was in many ways an enobling force, it was also for those who lived on it, as did Abraham Lincoln and his family, a time of great trial and challenge. The poverty and physical hardships of the frontier are often forgotten. It is well to remember that a man's greatness is measured not only in his accomplishments, but also in the moral and intellectual distance he has come. Lincoln's achievement was all the greater when we consider the great obstacles he overcame in achieving his place as one of the great leaders in our history and in the history of the world.

I am glad to speak in support of the establishment of a Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, which would do honor to this great man who spent the formative years of his life in the State of Indiana and in the Eighth District, which I represent.

Doom Song

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, the Democrats have taken up the sad refrain of ruin, despair, and desolation at a time when the United States is at the all-time peak of peace, full employment, and prosperity. They have joined those prophets of doom whose predictions have never come true, predictions such as the following:

In 1801 Wilberforce said:

I dare not marry—the future is so unsettled.

In 1806 Pitt said:

There is scarcely anything round us but ruin and despair.

In 1848 Lord Shaftesbury said:

Nothing can save the British Empire from shipwreck.

In 1849 Disraeli said:

In industry, commerce, and agriculture there is no hope.

In 1852 the dying Duke of Wellington said:

I thank God I shall be spared from seeing the consummation of ruin that is gathering about us.

In 1860 President Buchanan said:

Indeed all hope seems to have deserted the minds of men.

On May 13, 1904, in a speech he made in Birmingham, Joseph Chamberlain said:

The day of small nations has passed away; the day of empires has come.

The Maid of Orleans said:

Against stupidity the very gods themselves contend in vain.

The Commodity Credit Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD excerpts from a speech made by Mr. John H. MacMillan, Jr., chairman of Cargill, Inc., and an article published in the New York Times of August 3, 1957, entitled "United States Said To Rule the Grain Trade."

Mr. MacMillan is a Minneapolis grain merchant, and represents one of the great companies in the grain industry. Mr. MacMillan's thesis or complaint is that the Commodity Credit Corporation goes far beyond what is its duty and its right under its charter.

Mr. MacMillan complains that the Commodity Credit Corporation—and I believe his complaints are justified—frequently seeks to supplant private trade rather than to supplement it. I rise again in the Senate to say that the duty of the Department of Agriculture is not to socialize; the duty of the Department of Agriculture is not to supplant normal free trade operations. Its duty is to supplement and to support and to aid and to assist. When the Commodity Credit Corporation goes beyond that point, it goes beyond its charter and beyond the intent of Congress.

I call the attention of the Department of Agriculture to this speech by Mr. MacMillan, which I am placing in the Appendix of the RECORD. While I have not always agreed with Mr. MacMillan, and surely not always with his company, I must say that he points up a weakness in Government practices which need immediate correction.

There being no objection, the speech and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY JOHN H. MACMILLAN, JR., CHAIRMAN, CARGILL, INC., NORFOLK, VA., AUGUST 2, 1957

I would like to direct my remarks this morning to the thesis that Cargill is a great deal more than a grain dealer—and a great deal less than independent.

At the outset, Cargill was purely and simply a grain dealer. But that "outset" was nearly 100 years ago—in 1865. Within 10 years Cargill had started on its own unique course, as an innovator and creative handler of grains, with the invention by James F. Cargill of today's type of country elevator. In an effort to devise a less expensive, more efficient and larger volume means of handling grain, he built a tall wooden-cribbed structure capable of withstanding great pressure from the weight of the grain. This construction remains the basis for country elevators today, and for many terminal and subterminal elevators as well.

As early as this, with the construction of Cargill's first elevator, the company itself put aside some of its independence but it did so of its own choice, and it did so in favor of responsibility. For Cargill recognized then, as it does today in Norfolk, that ownership or operation in any particular area implies a responsibility to that area, and to the farmers, business people, and others who live there.

Today, in small towns throughout the farm belt, there are some 55 Cargill country elevators. At central locations and at port cities, the company has more than 50 terminal and subterminal elevators.

Our 20-million-bushel house in Chicago is one of the world's largest. We have large-scale export facilities at Albany, Portland, Seattle, Baton Rouge, San Francisco, Port Arthur, and now at Norfolk. And we have big-capacity terminal elevators at virtually every grain-handling center in the interior.

These physical holdings, plus the inland waterway fleets of Cargo Carriers, Inc., our transportation subsidiary, comprise the broad base of Cargill's grain procurement and handling operations. But side by side with this network are others, also of importance to the Nation's agriculture.

Nutrena Mills, Inc., Cargill's animal feed manufacturing subsidiary, is one of the Nation's leading formula feed makers, with 14 modern mills—the newest of which is in North Carolina—providing feed to farmers of 24 States. Cargill's vegetable oil division, with nine processing and extracting plants, is one of the country's largest producers of soybean and linseed oils and, at its San Francisco installation, is a major processor of coconut oil. Cargill is also an important factor in hybrid corn research and production, in molasses importation and distribution, and in other agricultural fields.

Five years ago Cargill embarked upon a multi-million-dollar expansion program of seaport facilities. Completion of our elevator here in Norfolk marks its full accomplishment.

That program, a cooperative effort by our company and some of the port authorities involved, was designed to provide greater efficiency and improved service to foreign and domestic markets, and to better implement the export of agricultural surplus commodities.

Our decision to carry out such large-scale expansion was based on our belief that expanded markets at home and abroad constitute a vital part of the answer to our Nation's agricultural surplus problem.

* * * * *

Our responsibility, as we see it, is to provide the most modern, most efficient and least costly handling, storing, merchandising, processing, and exporting of grain possible. To the extent that we succeed in this we will profit, and to the same extent the farmer and the ultimate consumer, the port city and the shipowner, the railroad and the trucker, all will profit.

But today we find it increasingly difficult to discharge our responsibility because of the burdens placed on us by various agencies of our own Government. Since grain export has now become important to many of you, I would like to explain some of these unnecessary bureaucratic restrictions.

I refer, in particular, to certain of our differences with the Commodity Credit Corporation.

You must understand that we do not criticize Government simply because it is Government, or CCC because it is CCC. On the contrary. We recognize that under the present crop-subsidy program there are created certain responsibilities which we cannot undertake. We cannot, for example, administer the crop loan itself, or generate within ourselves the large subsidy necessary to sell our produce in export at world market prices. These tasks are CCC's, and rightly so.

But we object, and strenuously, to CCC's taking unto itself any responsibility beyond its rightful area. For in our rightful area we are best qualified to do the job. No governmental organization can move grain, or store it, or clean it, or merchandise it, or perform any of a dozen other services upon it, more efficiently and cheaply than we. Our physical equipment, our personal training, and our long experience make this an irrefutable fact.

Our specific objections to CCC's present role are many.

Basically, the problem is that CCC has far overreached its original functions to the point that today it has virtually complete control over every aspect of the grain business. And in many areas it is in direct competition wtih private firms. This is despite Congress' directive that CCC use the private trade's facilities "to the maximum extent practicable."

If one considers all our areas of concern—that is, each one of the grains, feeds, oils, seeds, and various other commodities—our objections are so many as to take all day. So I will limit myself to four points, each one of considerable importance to our future here in Norfolk, and elsewhere.

Cargill feels, and most of the grain trade agrées, that a single uniform subsidy for wheat should replace CCC's present multi-subsidy system. Under the present system, as you may know, export is controlled and its direction altered by daily raising and lowering of separate subsidy rates at the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts.

In contrast, a single uniform subsidy—which would apply to all wheat at all coasts—would allow CCC to make adjustments to increase or decrease the total volume of wheat exports; but it would require that these adjustments be the same on all coasts. Thus, while the volume would be affected, the flow pattern of wheat would be determined by traditional supply-and-demand factors.

Such a system would make impossible a repetition of what has happened during the past year. Within that period, CCC so "tilted" the economic machinery as to cause enormous amounts of wheat to move off the Pacific coast, to the virtual exclusion of many ports along the Atlantic, including Norfolk. This "tilt" was so great as to result in the export of some 33 million bushels from the west coast to Europe—completely bypassing normal European supply ports on the Atlantic.

In place of this a uniform single subsidy would assure that, however much wheat makes up the total of exports, that wheat will flow in its normal directions, through its normal ports and to its normal customers. It is in the expectation of such a supply-and-demand situation that export facilities such as this one at Norfolk are built. It is only in the continued expectation of that situation that they can survive.

So much for the single subsidy. On three other objections to CCC policy, I will be very brief.

First, we feel that subsidy scrip—which is received by exporters from CCC to make up the difference between domestic and world prices—should be made redeemable in grain

immediately upon consummation of a foreign sale rather than upon actual export of the wheat in question. To do otherwise is to tie up stock that is rightfully ours, to reduce the chance of exporting that stock at all, and to unnecessarily encumber the efficiency of the total operation. If CCC requires assurance of actual exports this could be obtained in the form of a bond or letter of credit.

Second, Cargill believes that this scrip—now issued only for wheat—should be redeemable also in other surplus grains. Such a policy would recognize the economic fact that, whereas an export market might exist today for an original sale of wheat, such a market might not exist tomorrow for the sale of the wheat received in subsidy. It would also recognize that, while wheat is in surplus and must be exported with all promptness, other grains also in surplus must find their way to foreign markets by the most efficient and practical means.

Third, Cargill feels that exporters having scrip in hand should be allowed to redeem it wherever in the Nation surplus stocks are held, be it along a coast or at an interior location. Similarly, the sale for export of any Government-held grain—be it wheat or some other—should be made to the trade at storage locations in the interior.

What we see today is a vast network of Government functionaries duplicating and competing with private marketing and transportation firms whose skill, experience, and facilities have time and again proved their ability to do the most efficient job. And, as always, the taxpayers are footing the extra costs.

In these areas, I repeat, no one can do the job so well as the private grain trade. This is not surprising. For these areas are our specialty, our very reason for being. In short, they are our responsibility. And we will not rest until they are returned to us.

[From the New York Times of August 3, 1957]

UNITED STATES SAID TO RULE THE GRAIN TRADE—INDUSTRY LEADER DEPLORES CONTROL AT DEDICATION OF NORFOLK ELEVATOR

NORFOLK, VA., August 2.—The chairman of the board of Cargill, Inc., Minneapolis grain company, said today that the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corporation had "far over-reached its original function to the point where it exercised virtually complete control over every aspect of the grain business."

John H. MacMillan, Jr., spoke at a luncheon here in connection with the dedication of a 2,100,000-bushel grain elevator.

"The problem today," Mr. MacMillan told a group of business and Government leaders, "is that the Commodity Credit Corporation, merchandising arm of the Agriculture Department, has far overreached its original functions to the point where it exercises virtually complete control over every aspect of the grain business. In many areas, CCC is in direct competition with private firms."

FOUR UNITED STATES STEPS URGED

He recommended four steps for the Government in enabling the grain trade to resume the exercise of skill and efficiency in the surplus disposal program. They are:

1. A single subsidy for exporting wheat at all coasts in place of the multisubsidy system.

2. The subsidy, designed to adjust domestic prices to lower world markets, should be obtainable upon proof of foreign sale rather than upon actual export so that immediate markets could be found for grain received in subsidy.

3. The subsidy should be redeemable in other surplus grains as well as in wheat, as is now the case.

4. Subsidy grain should be redeemable in the interior rather than only at seaboard.

Mr. MacMillan said that taxpayers were bearing the cost of a Government network that competed with private concerns in the movement of grain to seaboard.

"I am a fourth-generation grain merchant," Mr. MacMillan told the luncheon group, "and those of us in the trade for a long time fail to see how these newcomers in the field, such as these bureaucrats, can hope to do as well as we."

He said this move had developed "despite Congress' directive that CCC use the private trade's facilities to the maximum extent practicable."

Mr. MacMillan said completion of the Norfolk elevator marked the "full accomplishment" of an expansion program started 5 years ago. He said Norfolk was chosen partly because of its location "ideally suited for an export base to European ports."

In Death of Ted Simmang Texas Lost a Good Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texas and the Nation lost a fine citizen last July 6, 1957. Mr. E. T. (Ted) Simmang, Jr., of Giddings, Tex., was accidentally killed on his farm near Giddings.

This courageous citizen, whose life included 2 years as a midshipman at the United States Naval Academy, and practice of law before the United States court at Tiensten, China, for 2 years, was devoted to good government in America.

Three times in the last 3 years, he managed our campaigns for Lee County, Tex., in our fight on the entrenched and corrupt Texas political machine. Ted Simmang loved his country, and sacrificed to help keep it a better land. He was dedicated to honest government.

Lee County and Texas will miss him. The Democratic Party will miss him. I have lost a trusted and true friend. The close-knit family which mourns him has the sympathy of all who knew Ted Simmang.

I ask unanimous consent that a tribute paid Mr. Simmang in the Giddings News, a leading Lee County, Tex., nawspaper on July 11, 1957, be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD with these remarks:

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRACTOR MISHAP FATAL TO LOCAL ATTORNEY

Citizens of the entire county were shocked and grieved to hear of the untimely death of Emil Theodore Simmang, Jr., known to all all of us as Ted.

Ted was on his farm about 8 miles northwest of Giddings, where his car became stuck in the sand about 5 o'clock Saturday afternoon, July 6. He got his tractor and was in the process of pulling his car out when the tractor turned over backward on him, crushing his chest and killing him instantly.

Ted was born on August 20, 1901, to Emil Theodore Simmang, Sr., and Matilda Simmang. He was educated in the public schools of Giddings and was appointed to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md., by the late J. P. Buchanan in 1917. He attended Marion Institute of Marion, Ala., for a year in preparation for taking his entrance examination at Annapolis, which he passed with a very high average.

He spent 2 years in Annapolis, Md., and was forced to resign his commission as a midshipman because of a lung infection which had materially impaired his health. He returned to Giddings and after partially regaining his health entered the law department of the University of Texas. On January 12, 1925, he was admitted to the practice of law in the State of Texas. Shortly thereafter he moved to Tientsin, China, where he was admitted to practice law in the United States Court of China on September 28, 1925. He remained in China for approximately 2 years, and because of the internal situation there, returned to Texas.

He opened a law office in Corpus Christi, where he practiced until about 1941. When he moved back to Giddings, engaging in the practice of law here at such time.

On the 25th day of August 1933, he was united in marriage with Miss Dorothy Harp, of Corpus Christi.

Surviving him, besides his wife, are his mother, Mr. Emil Theodore Simmang, Sr., his sisters, Mrs. Milton York, Mrs. Eileen Robertson, and Mrs. Dorothy Allert; his brothers, John S. Simmang and Q. W. Simmang, and several nieces and nephews.

Rev. H. L. McLerran conducted funeral services at the First Baptist Church on Monday afternoon, July 8, and he was buried in the City Cemetery. Pallbearers were Monroe Hannes, C. W. Fields, John W. Waythe, Ernest Mutschink, Otto Aschenbeck, and Thad Knittel.

Ted was always a friend of those in need, giving of his time and talent in order to protect the rights and property of those who sought his advice and council. It was immaterial to him whether or not they were able to pay for such services. At the time of his death, he was serving as city attorney of the city of Giddings.

Great Northern Railroad Recognition of Economic Value of Federal Power Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the incomparable value of water resources of the Pacific Northwest which have been tapped by massive Federal dams is receiving increased recognition by American industrial concerns. Falling water is one of the great assets of the Columbia Basin region. The Columbia provides low-cost power and an abundant flow to serve the needs of industry. The attractive uses to which this resource has been put through the construction of Federal dams has been used to beckon new business by one of the railroad networks serving this region—the Great Northern Railway.

I was pleased to note in a recent full-page advertisement of this progressive

railroad in the August 9, 1957, issue of U. S. News & World Report, the recognition given Federal dams on the Columbia as an advantage in the Northwest region. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a portion of the Great Northern Railway advertisement.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DON'T YOU PICK YOURSELF A DAM SITE?

If power or water is a vital ingredient in your manufacturing enterprise, why gamble with shortages or declining underground levels? Along Great Northern's transcontinental route, power and water are found in abundance. Read the roster of mammoth dams, on or near our line: Garrison, Fort Peck, Hungry Horse, Grand Coulee, Chief Joseph, Bonneville, McNary—and many more whose press has not been so large.

That's why, for the past 10 years, a new business has located along our route on an average of once a day.

Write E. N. Duncan, director, industrial and agricultural development, Great Northern Railway, St. Paul 1, Minn.

The Chief of Staff Concept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the Carlsbad Current-Argus of August 4, 1957, entitled "Chiefs of Staff."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHIEFS OF STAFF

"One of the most persistent issues of modern times is the controversy over defense organization at the seat of Government," writes Col. J. D. Hittle, United States Marine Corps, in the July issue of United States Naval Institution Proceedings.

"In essence the issue is a clearcut one and centers on the question of whether or not our Nation should discard the Joint Chiefs of Staff as the top military planning agency and replace it with the Prussian-German-type single chief of staff and supreme general staff system," he stated.

In 1947, Congress established the joint chiefs of staff system and specifically forbade adoption of the supreme general staff system. Ever since, efforts have been made to change the law and authorize the appointment of a single chief of staff.

As Colonel Hittle points out, there may be superficial attractions in this plan. And one danger, in his view, is that "It decieves because it offers what so many seek—an easy, simple solution to a very complicated problem."

For instance, the fact that in actual combat, troops require a single commander is used as an argument in support of the single chief of staff concept. But field commanders—no matter how high their rank or important their command—are not responsible for determining the Nation's basic strategy. They implement it.

"This," he writes, "points up the very fundamental difference between planning at the national and lower levels—planning at the seat of government originates the national strategy. Subordinate theater commanders carry out such strategy as it applies to their respective commands." Moreover, determination of the basic national strategy involves far more than military decisions alone. It is always influenced by many other diverse elements—political, industrial, economic. * * *

The great military successes of Frederick the Great are cited in favor of the single chief proposal. Frederick was a monarch whose authority was absolute, and who was supreme commander in war.

Hittle's theory is that Frederick operated under vastly different conditions of warfare. He had ground forces only, and faced none of the problems resulting from the need to coordinate ground, air and naval forces. At his greatest battle his army numbered but 36,000 men—about the size of two present-day divisions. As war became more and more complex, Colonel Hittle finds, the single chief of staff or single commander system failed to keep pace. He believes that the ultimate defeat of Napoleon, another supreme commander with absolute power, was due to that failure, and that the emporer did not comprehend sea power or naval problems.

"The JCS system assures full development of land, sea, and air warfare doctrines and material, because no one service can dominate another," Colonel Hittle states. "All are partners in national security. The single chief of staff permits 1-man and 1-service control of the armed forces and leads to stifling of progress and service initiative."

Some City Folks Don't Seem To Know the Cost and Work of Egg Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a recent letter from a farm woman tells the story about the city woman who asked the farm woman why she charged anything for eggs "cause all she had to do was go out and pick them up." Under leave to extend my remarks I request permission to insert in the RECORD this letter from a farm women in Danville, Ill., which includes her conclusion that "I guess that must be what the big men think, since we get so little for all our hard work—but have to pay so dearly for things we need":

DANVILLE, ILL., *August 19, 1957.*

DEAR MRS. KNUTSON: There was an article in our daily newspaper, the Commercial News, concerning your crusade for more egg money. I wish to commend you for it. We farm women do need more for our eggs. We get 22 cents per dozen for eggs but what can we buy at the grocery stores for 22 cents? I belong to a home bureau organization and enjoy it very much. One day one of the ladies was telling about a city woman who buys eggs from her, who asked why she charged anything, cause all she had to do was go out and pick them up. I guess that must be what the big men think, since we get so little for all our hard work—but have to pay so dearly for things we need.

Sincerely,

MRS. CARRIE INGALSBE.

Protect the Security of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I, for one, refuse to vote for adjournment of Congress until legislation is enacted to reverse the Supreme Court decision opening FBI files to Communists and other criminals in the Federal courts. The recent indictment of the Russian Colonel Abel, the boss of the Soviet espionage system in America, serves to dramatize once again the threat of Communist infiltration and internal subversion, and any further delay in plugging this hole opened in the dike of our national security may prove disastrous.

In conjunction with several other Members of Congress, I have introduced a bill (H. R. 8423) designed to reverse the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case. That decision, which decided that an accused Communist or other Federal-law breaker had the right to rummage through the FBI files to determine what evidence the prosecutor had against him, literally blew the lid off the law enforcement agencies of the Federal Government. Other Government departments charged by law with the protection of the security of America have been thrown into utter confusion by this calamitous decision. In effect, the decision gave to the accused criminal a right to conduct a fishing expedition through Government files—a right which is not enjoyed even by the elected representatives of the people.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover called for corrective legislation, and the bills which we have introduced have the approval of the Department of Justice. Under these bills, the defendant has the right to see only those documents signed by the prosecuting witness and relating directly to the subject matter about which the witness is testifying. Even these documents are subject to the prior scrutiny of the judge trying the case. The judge is given the power to determine the relevancy of the documents and to refuse to show them to the defendant if they contain any security data which, if disclosed, would jeopardize national security interests. Under the bill, all other documents in the possession of the United States are exempt from the subpena power.

The passage of this legislation would do much to restore stability to the criminal procedure of the Federal courts and to protect the vital interests of the Nation and its people. The Jencks decision was applauded by the Daily Worker, the Americans for Democratic Action, the Communist Party of the United States of America, and many other similar organizations and publications. They described it as "a great blow struck for individual liberty." Individual liberty is, of course, our most priceless American heritage. However, the phrase "individual liberty" has never been properly

defined to include unbridled freedom to thwart the criminal laws of the land. The Bill of Rights did not guarantee the right of one individual to trample upon the rights of his fellow citizens. It is the function of every well-ordered government to protect society against those few individuals who would misuse and abuse the individual freedom guaranteed to all men. Society cannot be protected if the lawbreaker is to be allowed unlimited access to the law-enforcer's files.

A Report on Hawaii, United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii recently was privileged to have among its visitors members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors who made a postconvention tour and met in Honolulu.

In the Rockford Morning Star of August 14 and 15, Mr. C. H. Jalmar Nelson wrote two articles about Hawaii. Mr. Nelson's observations conclusively demonstrate an incisive perception, broad understanding, and outstanding reporting.

I believe that his reports merit the consideration of every Member of Congress since they are as unbiased and as intelligent as I have had the pleasure to see. I, therefore, include them for printing in the RECORD.

The articles follow:

[From the Rockford Morning Star of August 14, 1957]

STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII?

(By Hal Nelson)

We used to think of Hawaii as a sort of semibarbaric paradise. It didn't particularly bother us that Hawaii's pleas for statehood were passed over by Congress year after year—since 1900, in fact. After all, Hawaii was a long way from Rockford.

But now that we've visited Hawaii—all four major islands, in fact—we feel differently. We feel that, maybe, we're cheating these half million people, who've been trying to become one of the United States for more than half a century.

There's nothing backward or barbaric about Hawaii. Honolulu is as modern a city as Chicago or Milwaukee or Rockford. The people of Hawaii have voted that they want to become a state. A state constitution has been drawn and approved. Three years ago, 116,000 people signed a huge petition seeking statehood.

Hawaii is a modern and progressive part of the United States. Its business exceeds a billion dollars a year.

We were surprised and pleased with the large number of modern churches, libraries, and schools we saw on the islands. Christianity came to the islands in 1820—and today there are more than 250 Christian churches on the island of Oahu (that's where Honolulu is located) alone. Virtually every faith is represented.

In every community we noted a modern library. We asked about this and were told that Hawaiians are eager for books.

Hawaii's public schools are rated among the best, with more than 38 percent of the territory's 1955–57 budget appropriated for schools.

And Hawaiian citizens—85 percent of the population are citizens—are proud of their right to vote. More than 85 percent of them go to the polls.

Why does Hawaii want statehood?

For half a century Hawaiians have fulfilled obligations of citizenship without enjoying all the privileges. They pay taxes like the rest of us and serve on battlefronts equally—and with great valor, by the way—but have no voice in tax or draft legislation.

Today, Hawaiians have a governor appointed by the President. They cannot vote for President; they cannot elect their governor, nor choose their judges.

Sponsors of statehood—they include all of Hawaii's leaders—believe that statehood would be an example before the world of American democracy in action; that it would bolster Hawaii's defense role in the Pacific; that it would make Hawaii a center where Pacific peoples could study American traditions.

They believe that Hawaii is a community of Americans who have proved that east and west can live and work together, in peace and war, under the flag of freedom.

And, after 3 weeks in Hawaii, we are personally very much inclined to agree.

[From the Rockford Morning Star of August 15, 1957]

SERPENT IN PARADISE

(By Hal Nelson)

Most Hawaiian residents expect Congress to grant Hawaii statehood within the next year.

The major bugaboo that has been raised against making Hawaii our 49th State is the charge that Hawaii is Communist dominated through the powerful International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. But that charge appears to have been pretty well dissipated.

Hawaiian statehood is being vigorously supported by Samuel Wilder King, a conservative Republican who was Governor of Hawaii until a few weeks ago; by William Quinn, the youthful lawyer named by President Eisenhower to succeed King; by Mayor Blaisdell, of Honolulu, a leading Republican vote getter; by Riley Allen, able, longtime editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin; by Lorrin P. Thurston, publisher of the Honolulu Advertiser; by many other civic and business and industrial leaders. We heard some of these people talk about statehood, and the case they presented was a plausible one.

Yet, strangely, we discovered that the very nearness of statehood is inducing a case of jitters among some residents. We heard people in varying walks of life say, "Certainly, I'm for statehood. But not now. We're not ready for it."

These folk seem to be afraid. Afraid of what? we asked.

The answer wasn't easy to get.

Hawaiians are proud that whatever their color or racial origin, they've learned to live together, work together, play together, and study together in Hawaii, which has proven for many to be a land of economic prosperity and social opportunity.

Now—if statehood is granted—Hawaiians for the first time would be able to elect their own governor. They've never had that right.

Faced with this prospect, there suddenly has come fear that they will not choose wisely.

It isn't a question of Republicans or Democrats. For the last 4 years, Hawaii has had a Republican governor. Before that, Hawaii had two Democratic governors. Pretty soon, a new Republican governor will be sworn in.

And it isn't fear of Communist domination. Nor union domination. Communists and their preachings are not popular.

Rather, it is a fear that the people of Hawaii, of many races and colors and creeds, will at the crucial moment forget everything they have learned over the years and vote by racial blocs in electing a governor.

We do not claim to have gained political astuteness through spending 3 weeks in Hawaii. But to us this fear seems an unreasoning one. Yet, an ambitious politician, determined to win at any price, could prove to be the serpent who'll destroy the paradise that is Hawaii.

Political Opinion Believed Swaying United States Appeals Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States are becoming more and more alarmed over the current trend on the part of the Supreme Court to decide cases, not on what the law is, but rather on what they think the law should be. The Court is overtly usurping the legislative prerogatives of the Congress, and is fast losing the confidence and respect of our people. I consider these actions by the Court to be the most dangerous assault ever made against our Constitution and our form of Government, and I believe that unless some curbs are placed on the Court by the Congress that we may live to see the day when this Nation will no longer enjoy a representative form of government.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I am including an article written by Maj. Frederick Sullens, appearing in the August 19, 1957, issue of the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News:

POLITICAL OPINION BELIEVED SWAYING UNITED STATES APPEALS COURTS—LONG-DRAWN-OUT GOLDSBY CASE IS CITED AS GLARING EXAMPLE

(By Frederick Sullens)

It has long been said, with much measure of truth, that the United States Supreme Court "follows the trend of political opinion," regardless of the law, and that seems to be the present-day trend in our Federal appellate courts.

Verification for this is found in some recent rulings of the United States District Court of Appeals at New Orleans, one being in the celebrated Southern Bell dynamiting case, wherein four persons were convicted of dynamiting property of the public utility during a strike of the Communication Workers of America in this city.

New trials were ordered for two of the defendants because the court allegedly permitted the confession of the dynamiters who had turned state's evidence to be used in bringing about the conviction of these two defendants—a decision as devoid of commonsense as the ruling of the United States Supreme Court that persons charged by the Federal Government with crime shall be given free access to the records of the De-

partment of Justice, including the files of the FBI.

That decision is even now being hailed by the Communists as a great victory and is the cause of much rejoicing among the Reds, both in the United States and Russia.

In the William Wetzel case, perhaps Mississippi's most prominent and procrastinating criminal prosecution now pending, it is being seriously contended that the noted desperado who cut the throat of another convict in the Parchman Penitentiary should not have been convicted because the evidence against him came from the lips of convicts.

Now comes another case showing how, if you happen to be a Communist, a Negro, or some desperate criminal, it is quite easy to escape the clutches of the law, no matter how deeply your hands may be dyed with blood, if you happen to have the backing of a lawyer skilled in the flimsy technicalities of the criminal law, or can command the influence of some radical organization to put up cash for the defense.

Latest glaring illustration of the law's interminable delays is the stay of execution granted by the United States District Court of Appeals at New Orleans to Robert Lee Goldsby, one of the most cold-blooded murderers who ever stained Mississippi soil with the blood of human beings—a delay based on the flimsy protense of Goldsby's self-appointed Negro lawyer that he had not been allowed sufficient time in which to prepare his brief, although he had actually had from the 11th of last February until this month in which to prepare his brief.

It is senseless delays of this character that cause growing disrespect for courts and laws thoughout the land and is in a goodly measure responsible for the waves of crime now sweeping the country. It is so easy to delay or defect justice if you have a lawyer with the know-how.

GOLDSBY'S COLD-BLOODED CRIME

Goldsby committed a cruel, cowardly, cold-blooded murder. On that point there is no doubt. Furthermore, it was committed on September 4, 1954—nearly 3 years ago. Goldsby should have long since paid his visit to the gas chamber.

The crime occurred at a filling station at the little town of Vaiden, in Carroll County. A carload of drunken Negroes from Chicago disembarked from their automobile at the station and immediately started a reign of terror. Robert Lee Goldsby, ringleader of the crowd, shot and wounded Bryan Helms, owner of the station and when Mrs. Helms rushed to the aid of her husband she was shot and killed.

At the following November term of court Goldsby was tried and convicted for the murder of Mrs. Helms and sentenced to death. It was a clear and conclusive case of guilt, with no extenuating circumstances. The sentence was affirmed by the Mississippi Supreme Court on March 16, 1955 and Goldsby sentenced to die on May 13 of that year.

DID THE NAACP INTERVENE?

When Goldsby was arraigned in the circuit court of Carroll county a shifty-eyed Negro attorney from Chicago appeared and introduced himself as Goldsby's counsel, saying he had been employed by some relative of Goldsby in Indiana, but there was a strong suspicion in the courtroom that he had been sent there by the NAACP in Chicago. This was on November 8, when Goldsby was arraigned, but when the case was called for trial on November 10 Leighton informed the court he had withdrawn from the case.

It seems that relatives of Goldsby in Vicksburg, feeling that the sense of a Negro lawyer for the defense would hurt rather than help his case, employed Mr. John Prewitt, a very able Vicksburg lawyer, as his counsel. These relatives frankly told Mr. Prewitt that they did not want a Negro lawyer to appear for the defense, that they had not employed him and did not desire him to take any part in the proceedings.

The record shows Leighton told Judge Rodgers he was withdrawing from the case. In order to make sure Goldsby would have plenty of counsel to defend him Judge Rodgers appointed Rupert Ringold, an able attorney at Winona, to assist with the defense.

The two attorneys were active and conscientious. They put up the best defense possible for Goldsby under the circumstances, and this statement is substantiated by the written record of the trial. They did not see fit to raise the flimsy contention that in the trial court no Negroes served on the grand jury that indicated Goldsby or served on the trial jury that tried and convicted Goldsby.. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Mississippi where these same attorneys filed elaborate briefs and orally argued the case. After the supreme court affirmed the conviction and sentence, these same attorneys filed a suggestion of error, which was overruled, at the conclusion of which, these attorneys concluded that they had exhausted all recourse in the courts. Moreover, they well know that their client was guilty beyond all possibility of doubt, and they had no funds with which to carry the case on appeal into the Federal courts.

NEGRO LAWYER REAPPEARS

On May 11, 1955, 2 days before the date fixed for Goldsby's execution the Negro lawyer Leighton again came into the case with a petition for appeal to the United States Supreme Court, which appeal was granted by the chief justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court, thereby staying the date of execution set for May 13, 1955.

On December 12, 1955, the Supreme Court of the United States denied Goldsby's petition for writ of certiorari, which is the same as denial of petition for appeal.

The Attorney General of Mississippi again filed a motion in the Supreme Court of Mississippi to set a new date for execution, which date was set by the Supreme Court of Mississippi for February 24, 1956.

On February 21, 1956, 3 days before the date fixed for execution Leighton filed a petition for writ of error coram nobis, a very unusual legal procedure, rarely resorted to in the courts.

In the filing of a petition for appeal to the supreme court it was alleged that the systematic exclusion of Negroes from grand jury panels and petit jury panels of the State of Mississippi was well known and that by virtue thereof Goldsby did not receive a fair and impartial trial, and was denied due process under the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

APPEAL AGAIN DENIED

In his petition for writ of error coram nobis he again alleged these same facts. His petition for coram nobis was denied by the Supreme Court of Mississippi on March 5, 1956, and petitioner again presented an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States and secured a stay of execution pending said appeal. Upon receipt of this appeal by the United States Supreme Court that Court directed the Attorney General of Mississippi by letter to file a response to petitioner's allegations and "particularly the issues of systematic exclusion from the grand and petit jury panels and the State's procedure for raising the question in a post-conviction proceeding."

Attorney General Joe Patterson, in compliance with this directive from the United States Supreme Court, filed an extensive brief in answer to this allegation, and on December 10, 1956, the United States Supreme Court denied Goldsby's petition for writ of certiorari. The Attorney General then filed another petition in the Supreme Court of Mississippi to set a new date for execution of the death penalty, which motion was sustained and February 12, 1957, set as the date for execution.

On January 26, 1957, Attorney General Patterson was advised of the filing of a petition for writ of habeas corpus in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Mississippi. This petition was heard by Judge Allen Cox, United States district judge at Oxford, on January 29, 1957. In this petition, Goldsby's attorney again alleged the "systematic exclusion of Negroes from grand and petit jury panels" in Carroll County, Miss.

RULING OF JUDGE

In passing on the case, Judge Cox stated:

"It appears from statement of counsel of both sides of this litigation and from the opinion of the Supreme Court of Mississippi, which has been read to me in full, that present counsel for petitioner was for a time employed in this case but for reasons satisfactory to him and to the kinspeople of the petitioner here he withdrew from the case. What may or may not have happened before that time I do not think is relevant here.

"Petitioner's own kin people employed for him a lawyer whom the Supreme Court of Mississippi designated as an intelligent and capable lawyer, and in addition the lower court appointed a lawyer whom the Mississippi Supreme Court says was a competent and able lawyer to defend him.

"They did not raise on the trial of this case the question sought to be raised here, and I do not think any man, white or colored, and color certainly should make no earthly difference in making that decision, has a right to accept a jury and take his chances before it and then later on say 'I was tried by a jury which was not a competent jury.' The question should have been raised by the counsel there. In my judgment, it is too late to raise it now."

NO SHOWING OF MERIT

Judge Cox denied a certificate of probable cause which amounted to a denial of appeal to the Federal circuit court of appeals. Leighton then went before Judge Borah, of the fifth circuit court of appeals seeking a stay of execution and a granting of appeal to that court.

In passing upon this petition Judge Borah, among other things, concluded his opinion by saying:

"Whereupon, and after a careful examination of the record and on the basis of the authorities, I have concluded that no meritorious showing has been made which would warrant the issuance of, either a certificate of probable cause or a stay of execution, and it is ordered that the petition be denied."

This matter came up while Attorney General Patterson was in Washington to appear before the Judiciary Committee against the civil-rights bill, and he was notified by telephone of the filing of this petition. He directed two of his assistants in Jackson to proceed immediately to New Orleans by plane in order to present the State's case before Judge Borah the following day.

CHIEF JUSTICE INTERFERES

On February 11, 1956, one day before the date for execution, Chief Justice Earl Warren, on an ex parte petition, entered an order as follows:

"Upon consideration of the application of counsel for the petitioner,

"It is ordered that the execution and enforcement of the sentence of death imposed upon petitioner by the Circuit Court of the Second Judicial District of Carroll County, Miss., be and the same is hereby, stayed until petitioner has had an opportunity to exhaust his Federal rights in this proceeding."

On the 13th day of August 1957, Tuesday of this week, this office received a notice that

a motion was being presented to the court of appeals for an order extending the time for filing the brief until September 16, 1957. It is interesting to note that the attorney, although he has had since February 11 of this year to file his brief, gave as his reason for requesting additional time that he was "engaged in preparing a reply brief in a case in the Supreme Court of Illinois," and that he was also "engaged in preparing a brief to the United States Supreme Court."

Attorney General Patterson, of course, opposed this motion, setting up the facts of the long drawnout history of this case, and pointing out that petitioner had had every opportunity to present his case available to him under the law. However, the circuit court of appeals saw fit to grant appellant's motion for extension of time to file his brief in the above case, stating: "An extension of time to and including September 16, 1957, has been granted appellant within which to file his brief, since the above case will not be called for a hearing until the month of December, or the early part of next year."

In extenuation of the action of the circuit court of appeals in granting an extension of time for filing a brief by the Negro Leighton it is probably safe to say that if the court had not done so Chief Justice Warren would have been again appealed to and the extension granted. Our Chief Justice dearly loves the colored folks.

Leighton seems to have plenty of money with which to prosecute appeals and journey to the circuit court of appeals in New Orleans and the United States Circuit Supreme Court in Washington. It is certain he is not being supplied with money by the Vicksburg relatives of the Negro murderer and thus far no trace has been found of that "relative in Indiana" who is allegedly putting up money for this costly game of making a sad joke of our courts.

Outstanding Atomic Research Work of Midwest Universities Research Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have previously commented, on several occasions, on the splendid research work which is being performed by the Midwest Universities Research Association, in preparing the preliminary plans for what will be the world's biggest atom-smasher.

I am glad to advise that the Wednesday, August 21, Wisconsin State Journal reported that a working model of the proposed Midwest Universities Research Association atom particle accelerator was actually put into operation at the end of last week, and that this working model worked on the very first try.

If all present plans proceed as expected, the giant Midwest Universities Research Association accelerator will be built at a site in the Madison area. The accelerator will provide around 30 billion electron volts in collision.

Naturally, it is difficult for a layman, such as my colleagues or myself, to appreciate the full significance of this project as physicists have described it.

Nevertheless, even a layman can understand that miracles of peactime application of nuclear energy for a wide variety of research purposes will become possible, once this accelerator is built.

I earnestly hope, therefore, that the Atomic Energy Commission will see its way clear toward providing full funds at the earliest possible date for completion of this work.

The Big Ten institutions, including the University of Wisconsin, which comprise Midwest Universities Research Association, should be given every possible encouragement.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article from the State Journal be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MURA GAINS IN ATOM-SMASHING ROLE

(By John Dutton)

A significant step forward in designing the world's biggest atom-smasher has been made by the MURA scientists in their laboratory on University Avenue.

A working model of the proposed MURA atomic particle accelerator was put into operation late last week. The Midwestern Universities Research Association (MURA) research headquarters are located in the old Nash garage, University Avenue at Allen Street.

MAJOR PROGRESS

The model—which embodies the new principle on which the MURA accelerator will be based—represents major progress toward the goal of designing the biggest and the best atomic accelerator in the world.

The MURA group has recommended to the Federal Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) that the giant accelerator be constructed at a proposed site in the Madison area. The AEC, however, has not yet decided whether the final machine will be built.

WORKS THE FIRST TIME

The model of the accelerator was unique—and highly successful—in that it worked the first time it was tried. Usually weeks and weeks of tinkering are necessary to get such models to work, MURA scientists said.

This model provides additional proof of the validity of Prof. Keith Symon's fixed-field alternating gradient theory on which the revolutionary accelerator design is based.

Professor Symon, of the University of Wisconsin physics department, will take over as technical director of the MURA research group September 1, the same time when Prof. Ragnar Rollefson, also of the Wisconsin physics department, assumes directorship of the group.

TO STUDY PROBLEMS

The model is not being used to smash atomic particles, Professor Symon explains, but to study problems of accelerator physics.

In this way the model is contributing not only to the design of the big accelerator, but also to basic knowledge about the problems of accelerating particles and holding them in a track with magnets.

The model uses curved spiral magnets to hold the speedy particles on course as they are accelerated.

NEAR SPEED OF LIGHT

The model uses a magnetic core to push the particle as it comes around the track, but the big accelerator will use radio-frequency pulses to get the protons being studied to move so fast that they approach the speed of light—186,300 miles a second.

MURA people will now start working on another, larger model which will test another idea. They hope to be able to accelerate two particles in opposite directions so that they can be made to collide at the peak of their velocity.

This way much greater energies can be obtained than by having one particle collide with a stationary target. And energy is what is needed.

MASS TO ENERGY

As Professor Symon put it, the the whole process depends on the modern principles that mass can be converted to energy, or energy converted to mass, and that speed represents energy.

Thus the fantastically fast particles represent great amounts of energy. When this energy is suddenly stopped, it must form mass.

And included in the possibilities that this mass can take are the subatomic particles which compose a proton. It is the structure of a proton that the scientists are attempting to study.

An atom is composed of a nucleus, which includes both positively charged protons and neutral-charged neutrons, and negatively charged electrons which orbit around the nucleus like the moon orbits around the earth.

SIMILAR SYSTEM

Recent studies have shown that the proton represents a somewhat similar system, with the major mass of the proton surrounded by a cloud of even smaller particles called mesons.

The giant MURA accelerator—expected to provide approximately 30 billion electron volts at collision—will form these tiny particles in such a way that they can be studied.

At present, MURA plans call for two huge accelerator tracks going in opposite directions. The particles will be taken from each track and collided together producing more energy than any other accelerator in the world can provide. It is possible, however, that the plans may be changed and one track with protons going in opposite directions—like in the model now being planned—may be built instead.

AEC MAN VIEWS

One of the first people to see the new model in operation was Dr. Willard F. Libby, Commissioner of the AEC who visited MURA on Saturday. He was here to review MURA progress.

The MURA group is composed of 15 midwestern universities, including the University of Wisconsin and all the Big 10 institutions.

The final accelerator—which will be for the use of physicists at these universities and will give them an advantage over other physicists in this country and the rest of the world—will cost many millions of dollars.

Since the final appropriation will have to be made by Congress itself, it is not known for sure that it will be built.

But the AEC has assured MURA of money to continue design work next year and to build the next model.

Madison may well end up the world's leading center of advanced atomic physics.

Old Dark Joseph

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my

remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper item:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 1, 1957]

OLD DARK JOSEPH

Sisyphus has a cinch compared with the task undertaken by the National Broadcasting Co. and the Columbia Broadcasting System. These two networks have decided to delete from the songs of Stephen Foster as rendered over their transmitters such words as "mammy," "darkie," and "black" (in relation to the color of skin, not of eyes, hair or other parts of the anatomy). The reasoning behind this editorial vandalism is, of course, entirely amiable and is designed, as we understand it, to avoid giving any offense to Negroes. It is pretty certain, however, to give a great deal of offense to adult human beings of all races who have sentimental associations with Kentucky or the Swanee ribber—er, that is to say, river—and who object, on principle, to any sort of doublethink or brainwashing. We suspect that CBS and NBC have let themselves in for a lot of static.

Consider, for instance, the anguished outcry that has already come from Fletcher Hodges, Jr., curator of the Stephen Foster Memorial at Pittsburgh. Slavery and the Civil War, he says, are inextinguishable facts of history and of the American past. "It is pointless," he said pointedly to the broadcasters, "to turn back the clock." We surmise, moreover, that Negro sensibilities sustain no injury from the affectionate and tender words with which the Foster songs evoke a bygone era. After all, the era was one concerning which only white Americans, not Negroes, need to feel ashamed.

How is Stephen Foster's idiom to be translated, in any case? There is a certain validity to "All de world am sad and weary, Eb'ry-where I roam, Oh! darkies, how my heart grows weary, Far from the old folks at home" which is unlikely to be retained by making it more grammatical. The ineradicable fact of the matter is that the old Kentucky home is quite as far away, in time if not in space, as Foster said it would be. And massa, together with everything he stood for, is just as deeply interred in the cold, cold ground as if he were referred to in the song as master or mister. The broadcasters could more constructively turn their attention, we think, to contriving some intelligible lyrics for Elvis Presley.

[From the Washington Evening Star of August 14, 1957]

RULINGS BY HIGH COURT ELATE REDS, PROBE TOLD

A New York policewoman told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee today the Communists are rejoicing over recent Supreme Court decisions.

Miss Stephanie Horvath testified at a hearing conducted by Senator JENNER, Republican of Indiana, on his bill to strip the Supreme Court of authority to hear appeals in various kinds of subversive cases. The subcommittee's approval of the bill was announced last week.

Miss Horvath said that in 1942 she joined the Communist Party as an undercover agent for the New York police department. She said she was expelled from the party in 1947 but still is assigned to keep abreast of its activities.

She testified that the Communist Party has been given a revitalizing shot in the arm by the Supreme Court's decision overturning the convictions of California Communist Party leaders and by other court rulings.

RED CONVICTIONS UPSET

The court on June 17 overturned the convictions of 14 California Communists who had been convicted of violating the Smith Act. Five were freed and 9 were ordered given new trials.

The court held that it is not a crime to preach abstractly the forcible overthrow of the Government, saying that those to whom the advocacy is addressed must be urged to do something, now or in the future, rather than merely to believe in something."

In support of her testimony, Miss Horvath quoted statements she said were made by John Gates, Eugene Dennis, and other Communist leaders at a meeting in Carnegie Hall in New York on July 24. She said she attended the meeting and quoted from notes she took.

SMITH ACT UNDER FIRE

She testified that a steady decline in Communist membership set in after the Smith Act conviction of 11 national Communist Party leaders. She said the No. 1 goal of the Communists has been the repeal or weakening of the Smith Act.

Miss Horvath also referred to two other Supreme Court decisions she said pleased the Reds. In one of them, the Court ruled that defendants in criminal cases are entitled to examine statements made by Government witnesses to the FBI or other investigative agencies.

In the other case the Court overturned a contempt of Congress conviction on the ground that congressional investigating committees must show the pertinency of their questioning.

Muscoda Has Lost Two of Its Finest Young Men; They Will Be Remembered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks I include a brief editorial from the June 7 Muscoda Progressive. I join the editor in his eulogy of these two fine citizens with both of whom I was intimately acquainted.

MUSCODA HAS LOST TWO OF ITS FINEST YOUNG MEN; THEY WILL BE REMEMBERED

Muscoda lost two of its most respected and promising young men last week, and this week the Progressive editor would like to attempt to put into words the thoughts which are in the minds of all Muscoda residents. No words can fill the heartbreaking void left by the deaths of Frank Drone and Dick Azim, but the Progressive editor knew and admired them both, and would like to express his feelings.

Frank Drone was a newcomer to Muscoda. His job here was to enforce the law, a duty not always greeted with friendliness and cooperation. But not only did Frank gain respect for his performance as police chief, but gained also the respect of all of us for his tireless efforts to see to it that our young people were given every opportunity to find enjoyable and constructive recreation.

Frank was devoted to his job. This devotion, however, was tempered with a very human consideration for his fellow man. He was lenient when leniency was deserved, and firm when firmness was warranted. He brought to our village a respect for the law which had been lacking before his arrival. His liaison with the village board was close and informative, and board members were surprised and pleased at the strikes taken during his 6-month tenure as police chief.

His cooperation with police officials in neighboring communities was gaining the recognition and appreciation of all of them.

Frank was definitely on his way up the ladder of success in his chosen field of endeavor, and only death could have stopped his climb.

We can only express our most sorrowful regret at the death of this young man, a man whose life was cut short when it was just beginning. We knew Frank and liked him. To his family we can only express our most sincere condolances and the reminder that they may have deep pride in the manner in which their husband, father, and son conducted himself during his life.

Young Richard Azim had yet to embark on the real road of life, but during his 16 years he had established a foundation which would have served him well had it been allowed to reach fruition.

Perhaps the most illustrative opinion of Dick was given by Frank Drone, who died with him. In speaking of the minor difficulties local teen-agers had been getting into a few months ago, Frank said, "There's one youngster nobody has to worry about. He's one of the best kids I know, and I can set my watch by the time he goes home each night. He's been brought up right."

Dick was brought up right, and his upbringing was characterized by the friendliness and affection he enjoyed from all who knew him, youngsters and adults alike.

He was quiet without being antisocial His quietness was the type which is usually found in those who find communion with the outdoors. In the woods and on the streams in the Muscoda area he found his greatest satisfaction. We have known youngsters like Dick in the past, who love to roam the woods and explore the streams, and we have seen them profit by their relationship with nature.

It is sad indeed, that so young a man with so great a lust for life and nature, should die. But Dick's parents and friends will always know that during his life he was a credit to them and to their way of life, which has always been one of strict adherence to the real basis of family life.

It is admirable when so young a man can leave behind him a message for those who remain, and Dick did just that. We can all hope that we can raise our children to be as well mannered, as well intentioned, as was Dick Azim.

Two of our youngest and finest citizens have died. They lived their short lives in credit to themselves and to their families, and for that they will not soon be forgotten.

Immigration Corrections Are Possible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, legislation which would provide minor corrections in existing immigration laws will come before this House early next week, I am told.

While these items are perhaps not as sweeping as many of us would prefer, they offer needed revisions which I believe this Congress should approve.

The bill offered by my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER] contains a section which would permit entry into this country of an unlimited number of orphans for a 2-year period. It con-

tains language which would permit these visas to be valid up to 3 years in the case of children adopted by United States citizens residing abroad temporarily on business or in the military or civilian services of the United States. This language does not appear in the Senate immigration bill which passed that body earlier this week. I believe it is desirable and should be retained.

H. R. 8123 contains other humanitarian sections. I urge its support.

For general information purposes I should like to include in the RECORD at this time an article which appeared in the August 22, 1957, edition of the Christian Science Monitor:

IMMIGRATION CHANGES—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON

(By Josephine Ripley)

There will be no major revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act this year as urged by the administration. Congress has made this clear in the bills which have emerged from committees on both sides of Capitol Hill.

These bills propose no change in the immigration quota formula; do nothing to adjust the status of Hungarian refugees paroled into the country and ineligible for citizenship under those conditions; nor do they set up machinery for regular parolee admissions in similar emergencies. But they do constitute some liberalization of present legislation, and will result in a limited increase in immigration.

The Senate bill is almost identical to the Walter bill. This is no accident, since nothing else, it is clear, would stand any chance of passage in the House.

The work put in by the Senate Judiciary Committee on the legislation, plus its general conformity to the House bill, indicates a serious intent on the part of the legislators to act on this matter before adjournment, if possible.

The legislation, as it stands, would permit entry into the United States of some 18,000 relatives of immigrants already here; allow for some 8,000 additional admissions a year by canceling the mortgages on quotas incurred under the old Displaced Persons Act; make available some 18,000 unused visa numbers which expired under the Refugee Relief Act; permit the unlimited immigration of orphans over a 2-year period.

The unused visas under the Refugee Relief Act would be reallocated under the Senate bill as follows; 2,500 to Germany; 1,600 for Dutch refugees; nearly 14,000 for refugees or escapees from Communist-dominated or Communist-occupied countries and refugees from racial, religious, or political persecution in Middle East nations; and finally 500 for refugees, mostly white Russians, in the Far East.

The provision for Middle East refugees is the only major departure from the House version.

Cancellation of the displaced persons mortgages does not increase the set immigration quota of the countries affected. But it does mean that instead of being allowed only half their normal quota until the mortgage is paid off, the country may revert to its full quota. Some countries with small quota allowances for admission to the United States have been mortgaged up to the year 2100.

Admission of orphans (under 14 years of age) is limited to those adopted by United States citizens, or who have assurance of adoption when they arrive. This takes care of the situation created by the adoption by American families living abroad of Korean and other orphans.

The highly publicized fingerprinting requirement, of which the Russians have made propaganda capital, would be revised somewhat, to get the United States off what has been a rather uncomfortable hook.

Such fingerprinting would be waived in the case of nonimmigrant aliens (visitors) if the foreign country concerned waives fingerprinting of United States nonimmigrant aliens. Fingerprinting of short-time visitors is more or less a gesture anyway, since the alien would be in and out of the country before the FBI had time to run through a fingerprint check.

This does not mean the elimination of all fingerprinting, however. Testimony before the Senate committee indicated that people from Communist countries have entered under false names. In such case a fingerprint check would be the only way to identify the real individual.

The proposed new legislation, amending the McCarran-Walter Act, would also give asylum to diplomats who for one reason or another—generally a revolt at home—are prevented from returning. Some 50 persons in this category would benefit from the provision.

Around 15,000 Ukrainians, mostly in the Chicago area, would come under a provision waiving charges for having falsified immigration documents for fear of being sent back to Communist-dominated countries or of political reprisals there.

There are various other provisions to eliminate snags in the current law and take care of special situations which now prompt the filing of hundreds of private bills.

The proposed legislation is far from the sweeping revisions sought by the administration, but it would remove many inequities and obviously constitute an improvement in the present law.

The Importance of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, by request, I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a thoughtful address on the vital importance of public education made by Mr. Tyler Fulcher, division superintendent of public schools of Amherst County, Va., on the occasion of the dedication of a new high school in that county.

ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS, AMHERST COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL

August 28, 1956 is a great day for the public-school system of Amherst County and of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

It is a day of dedication, a day in which Mrs. Shrader, chairman, has dedicated the Amherst County High School to the high principles for which it was built.

It is a day of appreciation, a day in which we adult citizens show our appreciation for our past privileges and opportunities by making the same and better available to the young people of the county.

It is a day of reaffirmation—a day in which we reaffirm our faith in our country, State, and county by providing better means for our youth to grow and develop into worthy and contributing members of society.

It is a day of thanks—a day in which we thank the Amherst County School Board and the Board of Supervisors for their leadership, and the people for their support.

It is a day in which we thank the State department of education for their guidance and cooperation in the realization of this objective.

It is a day in which we should pause to pay tribute to the memory of my predecessor in office—the late Mr. A. J. Camden, whose vision, industry, and efforts played an important part in the initiation of this great project.

It is a day of welcome—a day in which we welcome the Amherst County High School into the family of Amherst County public schools.

My part this evening is to extend this welcome.

Activity is an inherent urge of man. Throughout the ages, he has directed his energies to either constructive or destructive ends. The urge to build has over the years exceeded the urge to destroy. In the ancient city state of Athens, the youth upon entering into citizenship took the following oath: "Never to disgrace his holy arms, never to forsake his comrade in the ranks, * * * to leave his country, not in a worse, but in a better state than he found it."

Of course, in this great country of ours no oath is taken. It is our unwritten law that each generation should contribute to the advancement of our country, and thereby leave it a better place than they found it. Every united effort of the American people and every singular effort of each American citizen is presumed to be stamped with the stamp of progress. This concept of the American people led to victory over a vast wilderness and the establishment of the most prosperous, most powerful, and most respected country on earth.

Great, indeed, was and is this philosophy. We are debtors of the past, builders of the present, and contributors to the future. Many bonds connect and bind us to the past, present, and future, among those, perhaps the most fundamental is education or training.

The preservation of the achievements of the past is a necessity. The accumulation of knowledge, resulting from the mental and physical labors of many over periods reaching from the beginning of history to the present, has been recorded and preserved. A point of view to the contrary, and action accordingly, would require each generation to begin at the point of progress of the last preceding generation. Man would, as of now, be a cave or cliff dweller.

When man began to keep written records, civilization is said to have started. It was through written records and other such means, the knowledge and achievements of the peoples of all periods were preserved. The simple life of early times required little. The father taught his son, the mother, her daughter, and the chief, his tribesman. As the intelligence of man interacted with nature's surroundings, new things were learned, inventions and discoveries were made, and life began to assume a complicated aspect.

With the accumulation of knowledge and the growth of civilization, education of the youth became a concern not only of the home, the individuals, partnerships, and private corporations, but of the public. It was then, public school education entered history's story.

On the subject of public school education, many comments have been made, and among those, the following: "In a republic, education is indispensable. A republic without education is like a creature without imagination; a human being without a soul," Charles Sumner.

We who have chosen as our profession the training of the youth know that we deal with more intangible things than perhaps any other professional person.

At the end of the day we can only measure a small part of the results of our efforts, and at the end of our careers we may not be able to measure but a slightly larger portion. Quantitative measurements of achievement

have been skillfully devised in the form of standardized tests which objectively determine how successfully a portion of the instructional program has been taught. Immeasurables cannot be measured, attitudes and ideals are parts of the personality of the youth which do not lend themselves to mathematical formulas.

The trained mind, with knowledge and skills, understandings and wisdom, positive attitudes and high ideals are among our chief objectives. These are in the most part intangible and immeasurable, but of an enduring quality. In this connection, Daniel Webster once said this: "If we work on marble, it will perish; if, on brass, time will efface it; if we rear temples, they will crumble into dust; but if we work upon immortal minds, and imbue them with principles, with the just fear of God and love of our fellowmen, we engrave on those tablets something that will brighten to all eternity."

In every phase of life, in every area of human endeavor, skills and scientific knowledge are used. Consequently, because of all of our advancements, the needs are greater, and the call comes for more and more skills and scientific knowledge. One of the answers is public school education. Because of the advancements in industry, the needs are greater, and the call again comes for more and more skills and scientific knowledge, and again our chief answer is public-school education. The same is true in all other major divisions of work, and the same answer is forthcoming.

Amidst the crest of events for many years in our history, in peace and in war, and in the forefront of national emergencies, and, as a consequence, at Okinawa, at Iwo Jima, at the summit of Sarabachi, on D-day across the channel, and on the Siegfried line, in Berlin, public-school education was present. On the ocena waves, in the air, on land, and under the sea, public-school education was there. In the drafting of peace terms, in the periods of readjustment, and during the smooth flow of current events, public-school education is present. It is an integral part of our social structure and a powerful influence in the determination of events.

The bonds which unified our people as the world's greatest nation were in no small degree forged in our public schools. From Jamestown to 1956, of great Americans and of great American events, the story is told in our public schools. The underlying philosophy and basic principles of the actions of men and movements of history are taught in the public schools. The analysis of economic and social trends is a part of public school education. Yes, public school education stands as a beacon light, among others, in the preservation and enrichment of the American way of life.

It appears to be an innate characteristic of man to wish to secure for himself a place in the future, some type of terrestrial immortality. His best opportunity for this achievement is an acquaintance with and a knowledge of the past, a devotion to the challenge of the present, and an intense faith in the future. In public school education, he finds a key to this desire.

This evening the Amherst County High School joins a great heritage and assumes its proportionate responsibilities. We cannot foresee the history of this school, as it takes its place among other schools in Amherst County and in Virginia; it is yet to be written, but this we know—the school which is well organized, administered, and supervised in accordance with a sound philosophy, cooperatively developed and definite objectives clearly stated, characterized by good esprit d'corps; a school in which the child is the center of interest, and standards are a means to an end rather than an end in themselves; a school in which standards are high and failures few; a school in which the conflicting interests of some will be submerged in the common welfare of all; a school in which the child's achievements approximate his capacity to achieve, his ideals are high and 100 percent American; a school in which the child is trained to have the courage to meet the adversities of life and the skills and abilities to solve its problems; a school in which the democratic set of values are developed and lived as the basis of good American citizenship; a school which pulsates to the challenges of the time, conscious of the past, lives in the present, and prepares for the future; a school which realizes itself to be a dynamic part of the school system of Virginia and of America, and feels itself competent to equal or excel other units in fulfilling its responsibility as an institution of learning; a school which has given its pupils the know-how, the ability to do, the knowledge of when and how to do; a school in which loyalty, honesty, goodwill, fair play, and other such values are standards for action; a school which stands as evidence of a thrifty, intelligent, and industrious people, fully aware of its responsibility to the present and its obligations to posterity; a school whose doors are the gateways to learning, whose corridors are the avenues to wisdom, whose classrooms are the sources of knowledge, whose stairways are the paths to understanding, and whose walls are the symbols of stability, fortitude, and strength is imbued with hope and promise. This we accept as our school, a school in which the native capacities of the youth may be emancipated; the County of Amherst enriched; the State of Virginia benefitted; America strengthened, and in which the high principles of the Divine Creator may be practiced.

Investment Lending by Country Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in the July issue of Burroughs Clearing House, a publication for financial institutions, there appears an interesting and informative article entitled "In Mora, Minn.: Big Returns From Small Loans." This article is written by Mr. Frank P. Powers, president, Kanabec State Bank, Mora, Minn.

The author, Mr. Powers, is one of the leading citizens of the State of Minnesota. He is an independent banker of unusual talent and ability. He has made his bank a service institution for the people of his community. He has been willing to explore and try new banking practices.

The report on consumer credit on the part of an independent bank in a rural community demonstrates the role that the banking structure of the United States plays in our economic system.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN MORA, MINN.: BIG RETURNS FROM SMALL LOANS

(By Frank P. Powers)

What can installment lending mean to a country bank? It can become one of the most profitable activities in the earnings picture. It can be one of the greatest services a bank can provide the entire community. And, it can continually attract new customers to the bank. After 33 years of actively promoting installment financing in this small rural Minnesota town, the Kanabec State Bank has enjoyed all of these benefits; and we look for even more profitable years to come in the highly attractive installment credit field.

We have seen the farmers, the village, and our bank grow steadily from a type of progressiveness that other banks have regarded as too risky. To a degree, we have had to sell residents of our area on the advantages of installment buying and we have, in the past, been instrumental in promoting farm mechanization and property improvements. But there is real satisfaction in seeing surrounding farms successfully develop a diversified farming industry, in knowing that our merchants have used our financing services to build successful businesses, in knowing farmers and townspeople alike are enjoying modern automobiles and appliances, and, finally, in watching bank earnings climb. Installment lending has been largely responsible for the giant strides taken by the entire area's economy.

When we point to 33 years of experience in the installment loan field, we look back to a beginning period when this means of financing was all but unheard of in banking. While operating a bank in a tiny hamlet near Mora, we first became interested in handling the financing of new automobiles. After the money problems of 1921, the public was turning to a term basis of paying for new cars with the auto dealers selling the paper to the finance companies. In 1924, we convinced a few local dealers that our bank could serve their customers more economically and conveniently. We instituted the program by obtaining dealer guarantees on the loans, and by setting up dealer reserve accounts which we could control in the event of an emergency. (Finance companies later added this reserve account practice to their operations.) At the time, our bank's deposits stood at $140,000 in Quamba, a community of less than 100 people.

We were immediately impressed with the promptness of installment payments. Still unfamiliar with this type of financing, we nevertheless doubled our efforts to gain more new car contracts. In 3 years' time, our installment loans totaled $250,000.

Even our veteran bank examiner became appalled at the volume of loans we had built up under this "new and untried" means of financing. He questioned the credit rating of several of our borrowers, cautioned us against further lending, and predicted dire results from the risks we were taking. On his visit 6 months later, he was unmoved in his predictions, seeming to doubt that payments were being made regularly. Still another 6 months later he admitted his amazement over the apparent success of our program and for years expressed his wonderment over the activities that he first believed were somewhat less than sane, let alone sound. Neighboring banks, and, for that matter, banks throughout the country, were just as skeptical of our operations and for many years refused to recognize this profitable installment credit field.

We soon realized that floor-planning dealer inventories of new cars, while not always profitable, was an integral part of the plan to help the dealer. Used car inventories, a real problem if the dealer was unable to keep tradein allowances in his favor, and a greater problem if he was not equipped to move cars promptly, still remained as one of the more profitable aspects of installment financing. More used cars are sold on a time basis than are new models, offering the bank a greater volume of contracts, and con-

tacts with new customers, plus a higher rate of income.

In 1932, the bank was moved 7 miles to Mora, a town of 2,500 today. At the time, deposits stood at $317,000. A year earlier, auto dealers had suffered financial problems and we were particularly fortunate to have a good-sized volume of installment loans on the books at the time. Payments continued on a regular basis during this period when many country bankers could find little money to lend. The negligible number of loans that did go bad were covered by reserves.

When the Federal Housing Administration's National Housing Act was enacted in 1934, we were ready to qualify immediately for this type of financing. With a history of successful installment lending behind us, we welcomed this opportunity to fatten bank earnings while aiding our present and potential customers. I was named a liaison officer for the FHA in the State of Minnesota and spent considerable time discussing the advantages and opportunities of the newly-created Government guaranteed loans. Still I found the same apathy among country bankers who opposed installment lending and were unwilling to promote actively loans that they continued to believe represented a radical departure from conventional banking.

Unmoved by this skepticism, we publicized title I and II loans and approved loans for people with little credit rating. On title I loans during the first 12 years of the program's existence, our claims amounted to less than $200 on over $125,000 in paper. The people who were given loans on virtually no credit status are now loyal customers and many of them are substantial depositors.

Title II loans have been equally successful. Only one mortgage had to be foreclosed on $200,000 in loans during this initial 12-year period.

Again, promotion of FHA loans introduced many new customers to the bank. Opponents of the Government programs who find fault with the alleged redtape in the Government programs are, I believe, merely building a case for their stand against this method of financing. We have found the FHA administrators particularly cooperative. But more important, we have been able to assist many area residents through this program. So well received has been the FHA plan that our customers now insist on it.

In 1938, we expanded our installment loan activities to include the financing of home appliances and farm equipment. Again we were pleased to find that our judgment had been well-founded. In the first year of handling farm equipment paper, installment loans totaling $75,000 were handled without a single incidence of trouble.

The farming industry has provided an interesting aspect of consumer credit. When we first introduced loans on farm equipment, local farmers were hesitant to take advantage of the plan. This field of financing was considered extremely hazardous as farms were small and farmers themselves feared that they could not adjust their earnings to meet monthly or quarterly payments. They further predicted that the rocky, cut-over terrain represented too difficult a problem for good tractor operation and were convinced that horses were the best answer for working the soil. But, with other types of farm mechanization taking hold, the tractor was not to be ignored and farmers began turning to us through dealers for installment loans on the rugged, more efficient, iron horses.

The close of World War II brought a great deal of interest in heavy machinery for clearing land, moving houses and building roads. Willing to help with the financing arrangements for this more expensive equipment, we were restricted by State law to loans of 15 percent of the bank's fully paid-in capital and surplus to any one borrower. Through participation loan agreements with correspondent banks, we were able to obtain the necessary funds and still gain a modest profit.

The end of World War II was to bring still another opportunity to enlarge our loan portfolio. The Veterans Readustment Act, more popularly called the GI bill, was to prove a boon to those country bankers who were unafraid to think progressively and to do business with the so-called redtape administration. This program offered the small bank still further means to introduce its services to the community, and to aid in the economic development of the postwar building surge. Our own achievements in this field have been gratifying. From the start of service separations, we made it a practice to write to every returning serviceman, outlining our services and inviting him to discuss his future plans with us. Loans made to veterans have been liquidated satisfactorily to prove again the soundness of regular budget payments.

Our small bank made over $500,000 in GI loans with a single claim being processed on a $260 truck transaction.

Earlier, in 1942, we established the Kanabec Credit Co. to obtain additional funds for livestock and machinery loans to farmers. These loans were rediscounted through the Intermediate Credit Bank. Although our earnings on these loans were held to 3 percent, this program enabled us to provide some $250,000 to area residents.

A necessary part of any all-out endeavor to provide the greatest financial assistance to a community is a constant and effective advertising public-relations program. Since the early days of instalment lending, we have turned to newpaper advertising, display posters, billboards, and direct mail to promote our loan department. This, we believe, is quite a program for a country bank. Our officers are assigned to be present regularly at meetings of local commercial clubs, the Parent-Teachers Association, Farm Bureau, the Grange, cooperative creamery groups, etc. We have also promoted meetings between dealers selling building materials, farm equipment, and other durable goods.

There is no need for a separate department for instalment loans. They can easily be handled with other bank loans. Our loan department officers are authorized and urged to grant immediate approval to any loan that they believe is sound. They are also directed to reject promptly credit for borrowers who cannot meet our minimum requirements. Prudent guidance for those borrowers seen headed for financial trouble has made fast friends of these people and they, in most cases, have returned to the bank for further assistance when their credit picture has improved.

Installment loans, comprising one-third of our loan volume and 46 percent of loan income, now stand at $800,000 at the present time. True, we have experienced our share of risks, but careful attention to the borrower's potential and to collection methods have developed this activity into one of the most profitable of all our bank services. In the first 20 years of installment lending, our total paper of this type amounted to over $4 million. What were our losses? A fantastically low one-hundredth of 1 percent, or less than $400. We are happy to say that this nearly nonexistent loss percentage continues to the present day. But the good will that the program has fostered cannot be figured in dollars and cents. Neither can we accurately appraise the amount of new business that this program has brought to our bank. What we can estimate is the responsibility for a large part of the economic development of our farms, merchants and townspeople.

Our attempts to gain all of the available installment paper in the area have been successful. We now will finance any durable goods from heaters to hearing aids on a time payment basis. By handling all dealer paper and abiding by our responsibility to meet all of the financial needs of our area, we have established strong bonds between merchants and consumers alike. So important do we believe installment credit is to the life of the community that we reduce other loan volumes when it appears we are loaned up in the installment loan phase of our operations.

Hesitation on the part of many country bankers in the past to accept financing plans under the FHA, the GI bill and all installment credit in general is, I believe, just another example of their hesitancy to adjust to the principles of modern banking, principles that country bankers must meet to remain competitive and to become real servants to the communities in which they are located.

As to the future of installment lending, I am particularly optimistic. The great demands for durable consumer goods created by manufacturers through the various advertising mediums have set a mass market in operation. Over 30 years of installment financing experience has familiarized the public with the advantages of budget buying. New products gaining in popularity, such as pleasure boats and airplanes, only promise to make this market even larger in the future. Country banks can profit from the experience of others in this field and gain a great deal of business that is available with a little careful effort.

We are convinced of the high value of installment lending. Past history has proved conclusively that installment payments are as sound as utility payments. People seem best able to have the things they so desire through a realistically conceived budget payment plan. There is no reason to doubt that ever-increasing populations earning higher salaries and wages will continue to avail themselves of the many benefits of installment financing.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial is a recent issue of the Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Okla., deals with a phase of the civil-rights problem that has not received much attention in the long debate on this subject. I am sure it will be of interest to many who have considered this problem. I agree that it will require a lot more than laws to cure one of the weaknesses of our American citizenship—how to get more people to vote.

The article follows:

FOR LACK OF INTEREST

It is nothing strange that Congress should spend months trying to pass a law making it easier for a few million citizens to cast an unrestricted ballot. Most Congressmen think that every citizen who has reached the required legal age and who is otherwise qualified to exercise the suffrage privilege should be permitted to vote on election day without any restraint whatsoever.

But it is decidedly odd that while Congress is spending the entire summer trying to make it easier for perhaps 3 million citizens to cast their votes, there are perhaps 30 million citizens in the United States who,

while being perfectly free to vote, refuse to cast a ballot in any election. The number of American Negroes who are being deprived of the suffrage right cannot exceed 3 million, but the citizens who can vote and who will not vote, probably equal 30 million. The number of people who have the right to vote and refuse to exercise it must be 10 times as numerous as the number who would like to vote but are not permitted to do so.

Of course it is no one reason that keeps so many millions of Americans away from the polls on election day. Many of them are not interested in government. Many of them are disgusted with government. Many of them agree with the French that every time there is a political change things get worse. Then there are a great many who feel they are too busy on election day to take the time to vote.

Probably these millions of nonvoters do not appreciate the influence they could exercise if all of them should vote. Many things would be different if everybody voted. Admittedly things might not be any better if every citizen voted and possibly many things would be a great deal worse. But those 30 million nonvoters possess a tremendous power, and think of the good that would follow if all of them should vote and vote intelligently.

About a century ago an ambitious citizen of Massachusetts ran for governor in 16 successive elections, and finally he was elected governor by a majority of one vote. He owed his election to every single citizen of Massachusetts who voted for him on election day. Had two of his supporters stayed at home he would not have won his 16th bid for the governorship.

Just a few years ago a Republican nominee for governor of Oklahoma was defeated by something like a 17,000 majority. On that election day more than 17,000 Republicans in Oklahoma County alone failed to cast their ballots. If those 17,000 had gone to the polls the man elected probably would have been the Republican nominee.

But little attention is being paid to this many millioned army of nonvoters. Most of our citizens rarely think of them. But while these 30 million non-voters are almost never thought of, Congress spends an entire summer trying to make it easier or possible for 3 million voters to cast their ballots in our popular elections. Of course it is a deplorable thing for 3 million citizens to be deprived of the suffrage privilege, but the refusal of 10 times that many citizens to cast a vote is also important.

Editorial Comment on Alaska-Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, while again I do not agree with the reasons advanced for failure of previous Congresses to pass Alaskan and Hawaiian Statehood, continuing editorial comment through all sections of the country clearly shows that Statehood has the support of an overwhelming number of Americans in all sections of the country.

For the information of the Members of Congress, I include for printing in the RECORD several recent editorials from various parts of the country.

The editorials follow:

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of August 1, 1957]

A BETTER PROSPECT

The insular affairs committee of the United States Senate has unexpectedly and commendably put a new and better face on the issue of Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii by giving unanimous approval to the measures which would bring the two great territories on our Pacific frontier into the American family of States.

The action by the committee was unexpected, because there previously had been apparent agreement that the matter would go over to the next session of Congress.

It is commendable because procrastination on the statehood issue is without legitimate excuse or defense, and it shames rather than credits the Congress, and in a very real and grave sense it disgraces and endangers the Nation.

The Examiner, in association with other Hearst newspapers, believes the proposals of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii constitute one of the most necessary and urgent pieces of unfinished business before the Congress.

There have always been substantial majorities in both Houses favorable to the measures, and it has only been the failure to get the matter to a vote in both Houses in the same session that has prevented approval.

President Eisenhower, after some early indecision about the necessity and wisdom of statehood, now wholeheartedly supports the proposition.

Speaker Rayburn of the House of Representatives has given his assurance that it will have his approval in the future.

By giving new life to the issue now, without waiting until next year to do what needs doing at once, the Senate committee has reflected the overwhelming opinion of the American people that the ends of security, justice and prosperity will be best served with Alaska and Hawaii permanently in the American Union.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of July 29, 1957]

HAWAII SHOULD PRECEDE ALASKA

We are glad to note that former Senator George H. Bender, now special assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, is devoting his considerable talents to securing the admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood.

We are somewhat disturbed, however, to find that Bender is concentrating on Alaska as the 49th State-to-be, with Hawaii following later.

By every test of the qualifications for statehood, Hawaii has precedence over Alaska. The population of the islands is about three times as great as that of Alaska. The people of Hawaii pay far more in Federal taxes than the people of Alaska; in fact, their share of the Federal taxload is greater than that of some States. Moreover, Hawaii has been clamoring for statehood for more than 50 years. It voluntarily sought annexation to the United States on the assumption that statehood would be speedily granted.

Alaska has its claims to statehood, too, but they are far less impressive than those of Hawaii. But since both Territories want statehood, why not admit them to the Union at the same time?

The principal obstacle in the way of statehood for Hawaii is the fear that it might elect Members to the United States Senate who are not of Caucasian descent, the idea of which offends the sensibilities of some of our southern Senators. Admitting Alaska first would not remove this obstacle. It can be overcome only by admitting Hawaii first, on the understanding that Alaska would follow, or conferring statehood on both Territories in the same bill.

[From the Charlottesville (Va.) Progress of August 3, 1957]

HAWAII AND ALASKA

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska seems to be one of the things that Congress won't get around to acting on at the current session.

It's nevertheless of interest to note that Dr. George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion, in a recent survey, found public opinion in this country overwhelmingly in favor of statehood for both Territories.

As to Alaska, the vote was 71 percent in favor of admission to the Union to only 8 percent opposed. The remaining 21 percent of those to whom the questionnaire was put had no opinion.

Statehood for Hawaii receive a somewhat less top-heavy endorsement but still an emphatic one. The vote was 64 percent in favor to 14 percent opposed, with 22 percent having no opinion.

These Territories are part of the United States of America. It is plainly in our national interest that they never should be anything else. Their peoples have repeatedly voted for statehood. The platforms of both of our major political parties have repeatedly promised it to them. The recent Gallup survey was the latest in a series, extending back to 1946, in which public opinion in this country has been recorded as approving statehood for them.

In the light of this record, what's the trouble in Congress? The plain truth is that it's political and closely related to the balance of power in Congress, particularly in the Senate. Although Hawaii is normally Republican and Alaska is normally Democratic, so the admission of both would appear likely to have stand-off results politically, there's fear of an upset that might cost the Democrats their control or hurt the Republicans' chances of winning control. Beyond that, some of the big State senators think the small States already have too much power. They do not want more small States. And some of the southern Members are afraid that their difficulties on race questions would be increased if Hawaiians of oriental (largely Japanese) descent had representation in Congress.

The fact remains that the peoples of these Territories are Americans. They should not be kept in a semicolonial status.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times of August 3, 1957]

RIGHTS AND STATEHOOD

The Senate Interior Committee has unanimously approved a statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, but chances for the measure remain dim this session.

All kinds of reasons, some of them with the flimsiest arguments, have been advanced against the statehood bills in recent years. One fear seldom expressed publicly by some southerners in Congress is that statehood for Hawaii and Alaska would add more "civil-rights" votes in the Senate.

So the civil-rights bill is used as an albatross round the neck of one more needed and just piece of legislation. But statehood nevertheless gained ground with the Interior Committee's strong endorsement and, one of these days, may make it.

[From the Mansfield (Ohio) News-Journal of July 28, 1957]

HAWAII, ALASKA SNUBBED

Public opinion polls for years have listed a majority of citizens of the continental United States as favorably inclined toward the granting of statehood to Hawaii and Alaska, but Congress continues to look upon such proposals with a jaundiced eye. Washington observers regard the chances of fav-

orable action being taken at this session of Congress as zero.

If a poll taker asks an average American his views on a subject of this sort, chances are he hasn't done much (if any) serious thinking about it. Most Americans probably have an amiable feeling that Hawaii and Alaska are entitled to statehood, but they don't really care much either way.

In the case of polyglot Hawaii, there is considerable opposition from southern Senators, who are not prepared to welcome as a State a Territory where what they describe as "mixing of the races" goes further than anywhere else under the American flag.

Undoubtedly, the real key to the failure of Congress to abide by the wishes of the voters and admit the two Territories as States lies in the Senate. There, four more Senators would seriously jeopardize the power of the southern bloc which can always muster enough negative votes in the present total of 96 to wield a united influence far out of proportion to the area they represent.

Northern Republicans look askance at having any more Democratic Senators. The nonvoting delegates in the House of Representatives for both Alaska and Hawaii are Democrats. Both Territories have Republican governors and the Southern Democrats can easily envision four more GOP Senators along the statehood. So both northern and southern Senators band together to keep the status quo.

The spectacle is disgraceful and unfair to both Hawaii and Alaska, but nothing will happen until United States voters become aroused.

Career of Under Secretary of State Robert Daniel Murphy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, there appeared sometime ago in the publication known as the Ave Maria a splendid and informative article, entitled "Five-Star Ambassador," by Mr. Harry W. Flannery. Mr. Flannery has in a brief and well-documented article given us an insight into both the public and private life of a great public servant, the Under Secretary of State Robert Daniel Murphy.

Secretary Murphy epitomizes those qualities of public service which inspire others to dedicate their lives to the good and welfare of our great country. The career of Secretary Robert Daniel Murphy is an intimate closeup of the history of the past 25 years. He has been in the Foreign Service for approximately 40 years, serving in all of its many branches. No duty or responsibility too small or too large has escaped his attention. He has been described as "the most successful diplomat since Benjamin Franklin." Gen. Mark Clark once said of him:

His country's interests are always first in his mind. He is an honest, two-fisted, square-shooting American who has a keen grasp of military as well as political problems.

I have known Secretary Murphy for several years. His record of service to our country merits the commendation and respect of all.

I ask unanimous consent that the outstanding article by Mr. Harry W. Flannery, AFL–CIO radio and television coordinator and president of the Catholic Association for International Peace, entitled "Five-Star Ambassador," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIVE-STAR AMBASSADOR
(By Harry W. Flannery)

Bob Murphy thinks there's reason to be optimistic about the world situation, despite communists, Arabs, Israelis, restless satellite countries and a host of other problems.

And when Under Secretary of State Robert Daniel Murphy expresses hope and confidence about the international situation, the rest of us might well take heed. Speaking is a man who has been 40 years in the foreign service in all its branches—consular, diplomatic and administrative. He was even a secret agent. He has been in so many trouble spots that even John Foster Dulles can hardly land in a spot that may not be designated, "Murphy worked here."

One of Murphy's admiring colleagues calls him the most successful diplomat since Benjamin Franklin. President Eisenhower awarded him the Distinguished Service Medal and praised him as affable, friendly, extremely shrewd. Gen. Mark Clark, who was associated with Murphy in north Africa, Italy, Japan, and Korea, said, "His country's interests are always first in his mind. He is an honest, two-fisted, square-shooting American who has a keen grasp of military as well as political problems." The United States honored Murphy last year by making him one of the Nation's 4 career ambassadors, the diplomatic equivalent of a 5-star general.

For all his experience and honors, Bob Murphy is not a striped-pants type of diplomat. The hulking, slightly stoop-shouldered, 225-pound, 6-foot-4 Irish Catholic from Milwaukee lounged informally in a big leather chair in his State Department office as he chatted with me.

After preliminary pleasantries during which Bob Murphy's generous mouth expanded in hearty smiles, I began our interview with a general question. "How do you feel about world peace?" I asked.

The answer was direct. "Within the last year, there have been gains in stability and peaceful conditions in some world areas," he said. "This is especially true of Western Europe, certain Asiatic areas such as the SEATO countries and Japan, as well as Latin America and Africa. There are certainly elements of hope and confidence for the future and not the least of these is our own strength and prosperity, and that of our allies."

I noted Murphy's omission of the Near East from the hopefully peaceful areas, and made a mental note to return to that later. I asked first about Eastern Europe. "What will happen next among the Communist satellite countries?" I asked.

"Who can say?" Murphy replied, with a suggestion that there are too many unknown factors in that situation. "We do know," he went on, "that there is no apparent change in the ultimate objectives of the Russian Communists. They continue to aim at dominating the world. Their changes are tactical only. They adjust themselves to the necessities of a situation as they see it.

"Take Poland, for instance. Naturally the Soviet seeks to draw Poland back into the same kind of subservience that prevailed before the uprising there last fall, but the Russian leadership no doubt realizes that the discontent and volatility of the masses makes a return to the conditions during the Stalin period highly improbable. The present limited freedoms of the press and religion, among others, cannot be safely taken away suddenly."

Murphy talks about the Communists and their satellites from firsthand experiences. He had an important role in the Yugoslav-Italian dispute over Trieste. He was political advisor to the Allied Council in Berlin in the first days after the war, and in 1948–49, he served in the same capacity to the United States High Commission at Frankfurt.

Gen. Lucius Clay, who was in charge of the military government in the United States Zone at the time of the Berlin airlift, said that without Murphy's skilled negotiations with officials of a dozen governments, including our own, the airlife, the first united thrust against Russian aggression in Europe, might never have taken place. General Clark, referring to common experiences in Japan and Korea, said, "We were in complete agreement that the best way to do business with the Communists was with a big club."

"The developments in Hungary last October presented grave problems to the Kremlin," Murphy declared. "The Soviet rulers were faced with the choice of keeping faith with their own promises or of brutally maintaining their colonial empire. They chose the latter course.

"Have the events in Hungary resulted in a renewal of the Soviet hard policy? This question cannot be answered as yet with any certainty. There have been some straws in the wind. One is the threat of atomic retaliation against Great Britain, Norway, and Denmark. Another is the angry admonition issued to Sweden and to Finland on how they must behave if they are to avoid Soviet enmity. A third has been the denunciation by the Soviets and satellites of the theory that there are many roads to socialism.

"More and more we are being told that there is only one road, that there is no such thing as national communism, and that all communism must be under the great leadership of the Soviet Union. And finally, we have the increasingly repressive measures in Hungary and in all Soviet-ocupied countries. Yugoslavia, the father of national communism appears again to be on the verge of excommunication as a heretic."

Murphy returned to the situation in Poland, saying that Premier Gomulka was pursuing a delicate balancing act, made more difficult by an unfavorable economic situation.

"Did you ever think," he asked, musing, "what might have occurred if the uprising that took place in Hungary had been in Poland instead?"

I had not.

"That would have meant a large-scale revolt next door to East Germany," Murphy continued. "In the Eastern Zone, 17 million Germans are still held in unwilling bondage by the Soviet Army and a puppet regime manipulated from Moscow. The workers and students there are restless and dissatisfied. And," Murphy paused, "the insurrection might well have spread into East Germany. That would have provided a situation of the utmost gravity."

The words were in the vernacular of the diplomat, "a situation of the utmost gravity." Of course, I thought, if Soviet tanks and troops struck in East Germany, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, including the United States, would certainly be involved.

"Do you mean," I asked, "that we might have had world war III?"

The diplomat again spoke. "Wars develop in unexpected ways," he said. "There is no set pattern. With the Russian obsession regarding military security, it is doubtful that they will willingly release their hold on territories they now hold. I believe their objective remains the control of West Germany as well as the East. For them the Ruhr industries provide a powerful attraction." In other words, the Russians, once

they had entered East Germany might have been tempted to continue into the free West, I said to myself. I know that the Russians believe they got the worst of the deal when Germany was partitioned, and the success with which the free state has been developing its resources has made Kremlin mouths water.

I returned to the revolt against the Russians and communism in Hungary.

"Should the United States or the United Nations have intervened when that revolt occurred?" I asked.

"I presume you mean: intervened militarily," Murphy commented. I said that was what I meant. "It is not conceivable," he said, "that there could have been military intervention without the risk of provoking a world war."

He spoke from authority, and he was certainly definite. Like others, I had believed we should have been able to do more to aid the Hungarians in their plight. But Murphy's answer was so unhesitatingly firm that I no longer entertained regret about what I thought was our failure to fighting freemen.

"The inability of the United Nations to secure compliance with its urgent resolution to secure the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary is a source of deep disappointment among many peoples of the world," Murphy admitted. "The blame for this failure lies squarely at the door of the Soviet Union, which cruelly massacred thousands of Hungarians. Nevertheless, the United Nations has succeeded in focusing and maintaining the pressure of world opinion on these Soviet outrages. Its resolutions were a cogent reminder to all lovers of freedom of the callous threat which Soviet communism represents in the world today."

But what about the present? "Should we withdraw recognition from the Government of Hungary?" I asked.

Murphy did not think so. "There are many reasons for maintaining some form of representation in Budapest," he said. He noted that our representation was not in the same rank as previous to the Kadar accession. "Our minister is not in Budapest," said Murphy. "It happened that he had not yet presented his credentials when the new government came in. He has been called home, and we have a chargé d'affairs there."

Since economic aid to Poland is now a current problem in Washington, I asked about it.

"Would you say that our policy of aiding Yugoslavia paid off and that it helped bring about the uprisings in Poland and Hungary last year, in addition, of course, to the effect on these countries of the de-Stalinization policy?" I asked.

"I have no doubt of it," Murphy replied. "Yugoslavia was the one Communist country not dependent on Moscow, and it furnished an example for the Poles and the Hungarians. It was Marshal Tito's opposition to Hungarian Premier Matyas Rakosi, a Stalinist, you remember, that led to Rakosi's removal, and the rise of Imre Nagy."

The Secretary had already given generously of his time, but I still wanted to take up the Near East scene.

"Our main objective in that part of the world," Murphy said, "has always been to try to get the Arabs and Israelis to agree on a treaty of peace, and the terms of a basic settlement. We will continue such efforts within and without the United Nations.

"Our hope has been," he said, "to get Arab-Israeli agreement on individual issues, such as the water supply of the Jordan River, the refugees, and frontiers. We thought we had agreement on the technical level at one time on the Jordan, between Israel and Syria and Jordan, but area politics intervened."

Murphy suggested that it was vain to try to get agreements between Israel and the Arab States on all issues at once. The step-by-step process was more practical.

"The fighting last fall set us back," he remarked. "It aroused old and created new hatreds and made bitterness flare again. Emotions and hatred in the area have long been great."

I suggested that agreement between the Arabs and Israel would counteract much Russian influence in the area.

"It is obvious that if a basic settlement can be achieved, one of the main issues of Communist Russian exploitation will have been removed," Murphy agreed. "We will continue to work for peace as best we can. We cannot afford the luxury of discouragement."

Dusk was gathering outside the office windows as I took my leave. I remarked that I had last seen him when he addressed the John Carroll Society (of Catholic laymen) in Washington, after his return from Japan. "I would like to attend those breakfasts oftener," said Murphy, "but it was difficult to find time." The Secretary, an assistant told me on the way to the corridor, would work, as usual, several hours more that evening. He arrives in his fifth floor office in New State about the same time as his staff each morning (around 8:45), but he remains until 7:30 or 8 each evening.

Murphy, a man with big features and a receding hairline, was born 62 years ago in Milwaukee, an only child. His father, Francis Patrick Murphy, was a steamfitter. His mother, Catherine Louise Schmitz, was of German ancestry. Both were devout Catholics. Bob Murphy worked his way through Marquette University in Milwaukee. He fired a locomotive on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, ran a steamhammer in a roundhouse, and was a day laborer with the Allis-Chalmers Co. At Marquette, he boxed and played golf. In Washington, Murphy attended George Washington University Law School at night, worked days as a post office clerk.

Kept out of active service in World War I, because he had crushed a foot while working in a factory, Murphy went to the American Legation in Bern, Switzerland, as a code clerk in 1917. A few years later he was back in the United States, working with the Treasury Department. The young man had not yet decided on his career. In 1920, he and a friend, both law graduates, took an examination for the consular service. Murphy passed. His friend didn't. The friend stayed in Washington, practiced law, became a multimillionaire. Murphy went into the foreign service, and lived for many years on almost nothing. But he has no regrets.

"My life has been varied, and perhaps useful," he says.

After the war, Murphy was vice consul in Zurich, Switzerland, and later in the same year, 1921, he was assigned to Munich, largely because he could speak German. Adolf Hitler was just getting started. Two years after Murphy arrived in Munich, Hitler organized the famous Beer Hall Putsch that ended ingloriously with his imprisonment in Landsberg, where he wrote Mein Kampf.

"As a young American consul in Munich," Murphy relates, "I had the great honor of being a member of a consular corps that included a comparatively young monsignor named Pacelli. He was the dean of our corps during the early days of the Nazi Party organization. And, in the course of our duties, we sent reports back to our superiors about Hitler. Monsignor Pacelli and I agreed on our analysis of the situation. We decided that Hitler was too crazy to be dangerous."

Later, during World War II, when Murphy came to Rome, as a member of the Allied Council for Italy, he called on Pius XII.

"Do you remember, Your Holiness," Murphy asked, "the reports which we agreed to send about Hitler from Munich?"

"Now, Robert," said His Holiness, "be careful. Don't you mention papal infallibility. Remember I was only a monsignor then."

To follow Murphy's career step by step would take a book. His big break came as he was finishing his 16th year as consular officer in Paris in 1936. William C. Bullitt had just arrived in Paris as Ambassador to France. Bullitt, who was President Franklin Roosevelt's chief adviser on foreign affairs, was a shrewd judge of men. He had picked some of the most able members of our Foreign Service.

In Paris, Bullitt watched how Murphy handled himself. One case was that of Americans, fighting in the Spanish Civil War, who had surrendered their passports. The Russians had collected them from members of the Lincoln Brigade for the use of their agents. It was important to get the passports back, but the task was one of considerable difficulty. Nevertheless, Murphy was successful. He handled the task so well that Bullitt saw to it that Murphy got the No. 2 job in the Embassy. Bullitt, furthermore, was back in the United States for consultation, and Murphy was in charge, after the French defeat. Thus it came about that he was at Vichy when Roosevelt and Winston Churchill planned the invasion of North Africa.

It was in this operation that Murphy acted as a secret agent. He negotiated with French colonial rulers in north Africa, wandered through the native quarters and the French residential sections, learning at first hand of the attitude of the people toward the Germans and the allies. He made successful arrangements for the invasion with every important French official except General Nogues. He worked out the plans by which the allies were able to land practically unopposed.

Since the operation was so important and secret, the President bypassed the State Department and sent instructions directly to Murphy. On one occasion, Murphy flew to London from Washington, to confer with General Eisenhower and his staff at a small cottage outside the British capital. He arrived on this occasion, in uniform, as Lieutenant Colonel MacGowan. He was the man on shore, when General Clark arrived, just before the invasion, to check military preparations.

The conference with Clark and French representatives began in a small hut about 10 at night after Clark's arrival by submarine. It continued until 7 in the morning, when the local police became suspicious, and made a call. Clark and a commando with him were warned in time, and hid in the cellar. By the time the gendarmes entered, they found no one but an innocent Irish-American shooting dice with some Arab farmers.

The allied landing went well, except in the Murphy area. Before the landing, friendly French, acting on Murphy's advice, had seized strategic points. Murphy himself went to the villa of Admiral Darlan, the ranking French authority, to tell him of the landing and put him under arrest. However, the Americans landed at a different spot than planned. They were 13 hours behind schedule in reaching Algiers. By the time they had arrived, Darlan had turned the tables, regained the city, and arrested Murphy. Even after the final landing, Murphy was 6 more hours behind bars, arguing with an obstinate French guard.

The expedition, marking the first direct onslaught by American and Allied forces against the Germans, was one of the most spectacular successes of the war, but Murphy got little but abuse at the time. Newspapers and individuals in this country denounced him as a Vichyite, which in those days was next to being a Nazi. Many so-called liberals were no more understanding and complimentary when Murphy, operating in Germany, refused to propose that America

act like a vindictive and relentless conqueror. These were the days when Morgenthau was hailed for proposing that Germany be made a "goat pasture."

From north Africa, Murphy went on with the Allied forces, taking part in the secret negotiations which led to the Italian revolt against Mussolini, helping American commanders solve the political problems that involved not only Germany, but also Italy, Spain, Britain, France, and later, Japan and Korea. Finally, in 1956, Murphy was rewarded by being named a career ambassador. Since then he has worked on every important problem besetting the United States, including that of Suez.

Despite his busy career, Murphy married and raised a family. He met Mildred Claire Taylor, of Kansas City, when she was with the Red Cross in Bern, and married her in 1921, the year he went to Munich. They have three daughters, Catherine, 31; Rosemary, 28, born in Germany; and Mildred, 26, born in the United States.

Catherine lives with her parents in the Chevy Chase section of northwest Washington. Rosemary and Mildred have an apartment on 73d Street in New York.

Mildred is a reporter on the New York Times, and Rosemary is an actress. She did graduate work in the famous drama department of the Catholic University in Washington and played her first parts in postwar German films. Like her sisters, she speaks German and French well. She had a bit part in an American film, Berlin Express, toured in summer stock with Judith Anderson and Sylvia Sydney, and played in Washington and New York, recently with Judith Anderson in the Chalk Garden. Rosemary has done some television, mostly with the Robert Montgomery show.

Murphy raised his family the hard way, not only because he was shifted to many countries in many posts, but also because the United States does not pay its state servants according to their responsibilities. For 15 years, Murphy supported his growing family on a salary that did not exceed $4,000 a year. He gets $20,000 annually in his post as a career ambassador, an increase from the $14,800 paid career ministers. The New York Times, commenting on this, said that $20,000 is "little enough for the post and less than some other countries much poorer than the United States give to their top-ranking diplomats."

Murphy, as I mentioned, is now Deputy Under Secretary of State, the highest post that can be reached by a career man in the United States Department of State. Harold Macmillan, who was his counterpart in the north African and Italian operations, rose to be British Minister for Foreign Affairs and Premier, but there is nowhere else for Murphy to go here. There is no law or rule barring his further rise, but the United States has always chosen the Secretary of State and even the Assistant Secretary for political and not career reasons.

There are people in Washington who do not agree with this policy, but they are not very influential. They cannot see a Foreign Service post too high for a man who has served under 4 Republican and 2 Democratic Presidents, and a parade of Secretaries of State—Robert Daniel Murphy.

Mr. William M. Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, here in the closing hours of the session it is appropriate that we should pause long enough to pay honor to whom honor is due.

There is not a Member of the House who has not had occasion to thank Fishbait Miller, the Doorkeeper of the House, for innumerable services rendered above and beyond the call of duty. Half a dozen times this afternoon the conferees on one of the pending bills has been under obligations to him for information and service we could have secured from no other source. When all the learned doctors in the Library of Congress are unable to supply missing data—when all the efficient staffs of the committees of the House are unable to secure results—when the Federal departments downtown have been appealed to in vain—Fishbait will find it for you or will accomplish it for you, promptly, accurately, and efficiently. He is always at hand when needed. He is always on the job. Like the Keepers of Israel he neither slumbers nor sleeps.

Dirksen-Gwinn Amendment To Limit Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, there is a rapidly mounting tide of protest against our present Federal tax system, and something will have to be done about it before too long. It is already the subject of widespread discussion in daily and weekly newspapers, and in periodical publications. Life magazine had an editorial in its April 16, 1956, issue. Farm Journal, Reader's Digest are dealing effectively with the need for tax reform. T. Coleman Andrews, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in the American Weekly—with 11 millions of circulation—wrote a lead article: "Let's Abolish the Income Tax."

Representatives of both parties need, this summer, to be pledged to the support of the Dirksen-Gwinn amendment.

Passage of this amendment will provide capital and millions of jobs for oncoming youth and vastly increase the Nation's wealth production.

Following is a statement of Robert B. Dresser regarding Senate Joint Resolution 25 and House Joint Resolution 141 proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on incomes, inheritances, and gifts:

STATEMENT BY ROBERT B. DRESSER

PROVISIONS OF AMENDMENT

The provisions of this amendment (formerly known as the Reed-Dirksen amendment and now called the Dirksen-Gwinn amendment) may be summarized as follows:

(1) The amendment reserves to the States the exclusive power to impose estate and gift taxes.

(2) The amendment limits income taxes on both individuals and corporations to a maximum rate of 25 percent, but permits Congress, by a vote of three-fourths of the Members of each House, to exceed that rate at any time without limit. When the top rate exceeds 25 percent, however, it can be no more than 15 percentage points above the bottom rate. For example, if the bottom rate were 20 percent, the top rate could not exceed 35 percent. If the top rate does not exceed 25 percent, however, there is no restriction at all on the bottom rate. It could be as low as 1 percent, or one-half of 1 percent. The amendment does not require the rates on corporations and individuals to be the same.

This would make it in the interest of every taxpayer (1) to keep the top rate down to 25 percent (as compared with the present rate of 91 percent), and (2) to keep the bottom rate no higher than 10 percent (as compared with the present rate of 20 percent).

It should eventually be possible to get the bottom rate down to much less than 10 percent.

The proposed amendment is just as important for the small taxpayer as for the large.

This united self-interest of all taxpayers is relied on as a force that would keep the tax rates within reasonable bounds. As long ago as 1951 there were 66 million individual income taxpayers in the United States. There are more today. Their voting power is decisive.

The discussion of this subject involves three questions:

QUESTION 1: INCOMES, INHERITANCES, AND GIFTS BE CHANGED?

(1) Should our present system of taxing incomes, inheritances, and gifts be changed?

(2) If it is concluded that our present system of taxing incomes, inheritances and gifts should be changed, can an enduring change be effected without a constitutional amendment?

(3) If it is concluded that our present system of taxing incomes, inheritances and gifts should be changed and that this should be done by amending the Constitution, is the proposed amendment the right sort of an amendment?

I shall discuss these questions in their order.

A. First, as to income taxes: Our present Federal tax laws provide for a heavy, progressive income tax on individuals, running from a beginning rate of 20 percent on incomes of $2,000 and under to 91 percent on incomes of more than $200,000, and a 30 percent normal tax on the first $25,000 of corporate income, with a surtax of 22 percent on income over that amount.

We have in this country an economic system commonly called the private enterprise system, which is based on private capital and private ownership. This is the system under which this country has prospered beyond all others, and grown to greatness. For this system to operate successfully there must be a steady continuing supply of new capital—billions of dollars each year—to start new industries and to maintain and expand existing ones on which so many jobs depend; for over 90 percent of all work in American industry is done by machinery.

It takes, on the average, about $12,000 of investment in new plant and equipment to provide a job in industry for one worker. This capital comes principally from the savings of corporations and individuals. In the case of individuals, it comes mainly from those having the medium-sized and larger incomes. Excessive taxation lessens or destroys the incentive to produce, save and invest such capital in industry, and at the same time reduces the supply by the amount of the tax. The heavy progressive income tax strikes with particular force at this source of supply.

If the savings which constitute the source of capital supply are taken from the owners by taxation, the needed supply of capital

will be reduced or stopped, and our private enterprise system will fail. It would then become necessary for the government to supply the capital. This means government ownership and control, which is socialism.

Socialism defined—its effects

Socialism may be defined as government ownership or control of the means of production and distribution. Communism is an extreme form of socialism, with special emphasis on equality in the distribution of wealth. Both socialism and communism lead to absolute dictation by the government, complete regimentation of the people, the loss of their liberty, and a lower scale of living for all.

The extreme to which our present system of taxation goes in destroying incentive and capital accumulation has been dramatically brought to the attention of the public by the television program, the $64,000 Question.

It appears, for example, that in the case of a single person with a $4,000 income from other sources, a winning of $32,000 is taxed $15,400, leaving the winner $16,600. An additional $32,000 would be taxed $23,292, leaving the winner $8,708. For such a person to have and keep $64,000 after paying the income tax would require a prize of $448,711.

The result is that people hesitate to go beyond the $32,000 mark. Likewise persons hesitate to invest in business enterprises, and businessmen hesitate to embark on new ventures because of the loss involved in the event of failure and the confiscatory taxes levied in the event of success. The ultimate effect is certain to be disastrous.

Some significant figures

The following figures are important:

One-half of the total Federal revenue is provided by the tax on individual incomes. Only 3 percent of the total revenue (about $2 billion) is produced by the rates of this tax above 34 percent. Thirty-five percent is the highest rate that could be imposed (with the present beginning rate of 20 percent) under the Dirksen-Gwinn amendment.

The proposed increase of only $100 in the present $600 personal exemption and credit for dependents would result in a reduction of 7 million in the number of income-tax payers, and a revenue loss of $2½ billion.

A $20 income-tax cut for all taxpayers and dependents, proposed in a recent session of Congress, would have cost the Government a revenue loss of $2,300,000,000.

Eighty-four percent of the revenue from the individual income tax is produced by the beginning rate of 20 percent.

Experience of other countries

The experience of other countries, and most recently that of England, should be a warning to us to change our tax laws.

For many years England has had heavy graduated taxes on both incomes and inheritances. These taxes have so reduced the supply of capital that there has not been enough to provide her industries with the capital needed for modern machinery and equipment.

A British economist of international reputation, Prof. Lionel Robbins of the London School of Economics, recently writing in Lloyd's Bank Review, has this to say about the heavy progressive income tax in Great Britain:

"In the revolution of our time it is the tax machine which is the principal revolutionary agent. If I were asked to sum up in a word the salient charactertistic of this revolution, I should choose the word "collectivism" * * * the tendency to shift more and more the sources of initiative to the central government and its organs.

"I think it is about time that someone who is not deeply involved personally, having chosen a different way of life, should say bluntly that the higher reaches of our own (taxation) progression are quite indefensible save upon an avowedly confiscatory theory. So far as earned income is involved, they constitute a discrimination against enterprise and ability such as has never before existed for any long time in any large-scale civilized community. Certainly they are not dictated by any needs of revenue; the upper rates of surtax could be just canceled without creating any severe budgetary problem * * *.

"There is nothing particularly neutral in the operation of the present tax structure. Relentlessly, year by year, it is pushing us toward collectivism and propertyless uniformity."

B. Secondly, as to the estate and gift taxes: The Dirksen-Gwinn amendment also deprives Congress of the power to impose death and gift taxes and leaves these means of raising revenue exclusively to the States, where they belong and where competition among the States would tend to keep the rates within reasonable bounds.

Under existing laws the tax on the estates of decedents runs to a high of 77 percent, and the tax on gifts to 57.75 percent. These rates are manifestly confiscatory, and they have very harmful economic effects. They not only seriously impair the incentive to work, save and invest in productive enterprise, but they are extremely destructive of capital and, in the long run, will destroy the accumulations of capital that are so necessary for industrial activity and expansion, with the resulting beneficial effects on our economy.

Revenue from death and gift taxes small

Assuredly, the harm done to the economy by the present high rates of death and gift taxes is out of all proportion to the revenue produced, and cannot be justified by any argument based on fiscal needs. Even with the very high rates now in force, the revenue from these taxes is comparatively trivial. It is only about 1½ percent of the total budget—enough to pay the Government's expenses for about 5 days.

QUESTION 2: IF IT IS CONCLUDED THAT OUR PRESENT SYSTEM OF TAXING INCOMES, INHERITANCES AND GIFTS SHOULD BE CHANGED, CAN AN ENDURING CHANGE BE EFFECTED WITHOUT A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT?

Constitution filled with curbs

The Constitution is filled with curbs on the power of Congress which were placed there to protect the people's rights; such, for example, as freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures, and freedom from being deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. Excessive taxation would ultimately render many of these rights of little value. For example, what benefit would a citizen derive from the constitutional guaranty that he is not be deprived of his property without due process of law if his property is taken from him or rendered of little value to him by excessive taxation? The freedom of the individual, which is the highest prize of all, is not safe without a curb on the taxing power. Congress should no more have unlimited power over one's property than over his person; for, in the oft-quoted language of Chief Justice Marshall, "The power to tax involves the power to destroy."

It is worthy of note that the constitutions of 19 States contain curbs on the taxing power of their legislatures, and that in 4 of these States the curb relates to taxes on income.

Even if it should be possible to get a Congress to adopt the needed changes in our taxing system, there can be no assurance without a constitutional amendment that the changes would be permanent. A later Congress could overnight eliminate the changes.

QUESTION 3: IF IT IS CONCLUDED THAT OUR PRESENT SYSTEM OF TAXING INCOMES, INHERITANCES AND GIFTS SHOULD BE CHANGED, AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE BY AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION, IS THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT THE RIGHT SORT OF AN AMENDMENT?

At the outset let me correct certain erroneous impressions or inferences regarding the aims and purposes of the proposed amendment and its proponents.

(1) The purpose is not to compel a shift from the income tax to a sales tax, as has been asserted.

Revenue from income tax dependent on size of income as well as rate

The revenue from an income tax is dependent not only on the rate of the tax, but also on the size of the income on which the tax is imposed. Within reasonable limits, lower rates will in due course produce greater revenue than higher rates.

There are two reasons:

(1) The lower rates leave more income in the hands of the taxpayers. This income when invested produces more income, which in turn, when invested, produces still more income, and so on.

(2) The lower rates encourage greater work, greater savings, and greater production of wealth.

The result is to increase the national income on which the tax is imposed, so that with lower tax rates greater revenue will be produced. This is turn makes possible further reductions in rates. At the same time, the increase in the Nation's wealth benefits the people as a whole.

Accordingly any immediate loss in revenue through the elimination of the higher rates would undoubtedly be only temporary. Eventually the lower rates would produce greater revenue than the higher rates.

This view is supported by the actual experience of the Federal Government.

The principle involved is the same as that governing the operation of a successful business, namely, that within certain limits the greatest profits come from charging a low rather than a high price for goods sold. As high prices lessen the ability and incentive to buy, so high tax rates lessen the ability and incentive to work, save, and invest.

The immediate loss in revenue from the individual income tax and the estate and gift taxes occasioned by the adoption of the amendment would amount to only about $8 billion. The case of the corporation tax I shall deal with further on.

Should eliminate waste and competition with private business

Also by eliminating waste and extravagance the Federal budget could undoubtedly be cut by an amount substantially in excess of any immediate loss of revenue occasioned by the proposed amendment. The reports of the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government show how at least $7,500,000,000 could be saved each year through the elimination of waste, without involving any reduction in military strength, any item of useful public works, or any delivered Federal contribution to health, education, and welfare.

Furthermore, the Federal Government is heavily engaged in a great many industries competing with private enterprise. A report of a Subcommittee of the House on Government Operations in 1954 presents a staggering array of government businesses that feed on the tax moneys collected from their business competitors. These businesses cover almost all phases of American enterprise—manufacturing, transportation, services, insurance, credit, retailing, etc.

The Federal Government owns land equal to one-fourth of the area of the 48 States.

The American Progress Foundation, of Los Angeles, Calif., estimates that more than $50 billion is recoverable by selling the properties and facilities of the Federal corporations back to the American people, and that the annual savings in cost of Government would amount to many billions.

Load carried by excise taxes small

I do not wish to imply by anything I have said, however, that I consider the relatively small portion of the tax load carried by excise taxes a sound policy. Taxes on expenditures, i. e., excise or sales taxes, constitute a much more dependable source of revenue than taxes on income, for income fluctuates with the rise and decline of business in a much greater degree than spending.

(2) Another erroneous impression is that the proposed amendment seeks to control Government spending by the left-handed method of limiting a particular source of revenue.

The proposed amendment has nothing whatever to do with spending. This matter is the subject of another amendment known as the Bridges-Byrd-Curtis amendment, which is aimed at compelling the balancing of the Federal budget each year.

Except for the comparatively trivial amount raised by the Federal estate and gift taxes, the proposed amendment does not impair the Government's power to raise needed revenue during either war or peace. It merely limits the degree of income-tax rate progression, which is wholly without justification anyway. It does not prescribe the top rate that Congress may impose.

Effect of reduction of high individual rates

As I have above pointed out, a reduction in the higher bracket rates of the individual income tax would involve a comparatively small loss in revenue, a loss which would undoubtedly soon be made up by an increase in the income base on which the tax is levied. Both reason and our own past experience justify this conclusion.

Cut in corporate rates

A drastic cut in the corporate rates would be more costly, and it would take a longer time to repair the loss. For example, a cut of 7 percent in the top rate, so as to reduce it to 45 percent, just 15 percentage points above the beginning rate of 30 percent, would cost about $3 billion in revenue.

The fact that in the case of corporations the spread of 15 percentage points between the top and bottom rates permitted by the Dirksen-Gwinn amendment is less than the existing spread of 22 percentage points, constitutes no valid objection to the amendment, and, if the budget needs do not warrant it, should not require the lowering of the top rate merely to meet a desired or previously established level for the bottom rate. Instead, the bottom rate could be increased. Certainly as between a substantial reduction in individual income tax rates and a few points reduction in corporate rates, it would seem clear that the stockholders of the small corporations, who are the real parties in interest, would prefer the former. As I have already pointed out, however, the available economies in the budget should render this question academic.

Amendment will not shift tax burden to poor

Certain critics of the proposed amendment refer to it as a "millionaire's amendment," and assert that it will shift the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor, and make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Their criticism implies that the two groups are static—that the rich are always rich and the poor are always poor. Of course, this is not the fact. The poor of today are often the rich of tomorrow, and vice versa. No private or free enterprise system can survive which does not provide an adequate incentive to acquire wealth.

The proposed amendment will not shift the burden of taxation from "the rich to the poor." On the contrary, it will reduce the burden on those with the smaller incomes.

As I have already pointed out, the great bulk of the revenue from the individual income tax comes not from the taxpayers with the larger incomes, but from those with the smaller incomes. This is for the very simple reason that that is where the great bulk of the taxable income is. The only possible way to give relief to the small taxpayers is either (1) by reducing the need of revenue through cutting expenditures, or (2) by increasing revenue through a drastic reduction of the present confiscatory higher bracket rates so as to increase incentive and investment in productive enterprises, thereby increasing the national income, which constitutes the tax base, and as a result increasing the revenue.

Reducing high surtax rates not a discrimination in favor of rich

Reducing the high surtax rates is not a discrimination in favor of the rich, as some assert. It is rather the partial removal of an existing discrimination against the rich of a most extreme character, ranging from 20 percent to 91 percent. This will benefit not only those in the higher brackets, but the people as a whole, as I have pointed out.

Amendment endorsed by many organizations

The Dirksen-Gwinn amendment has been endorsed by a number of organizations, including (1) the American Bar Association, (2) the Committee for Constitutional Government, (3) the Western Tax Council, (4) the National Association of Manufacturers, (5) the American Legion, (6) the National Economic Council, (7) the American Taxpayers Association, (8) the Campaign for the 48 States, (9) We, the People, and (10) For America.

SUMMARY

By the way of summary, therefore, I submit that

(1) The heavy progressive rates of our present income, death, and gift taxes will eventually lead to Government ownership and control of all industry, which is socialism.

(2) The proposed amendment would largely eliminate the socialistic features of our tax system without impairing the Government's power to raise revenue, except by means of death and gift taxes. The revenue from these two sources is comparatively trivial.

(3) The initial loss from any changes in taxes required by the amendment would be substantially less than the savings recommended by the Hoover Commission.

(4) Moreover, such initial loss would soon be made up by the increase in revenue resulting from the lower rates.

(5) Our present system of taxation is dangerously weak in its extreme dependence on income taxes. A much larger proportion of our revenue should be raised by consumption taxes. This of itself would permit a substantial reduction in all income-tax rates.

In conclusion, therefore, I submit

(1) That the present system of taxing incomes, inheritances and gifts should be changed;

(2) That no enduring change can be effected without a constitutional amendment; and

(3) That the proposed Dirksen-Gwinn amendment is a sound and practical means of effecting the needed changes.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *August 1, 1957.*

Outmoded and Unwarranted Postal Subsidies—Principle of Subsidy-Limiting Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable comment concerning an amendment which I offered to H. R. 5836, the postal rate readjustment bill passed by the House on August 13. This amendment would limit the Post Office Department's loss on the mailings of any publisher to $100,000 during any one fiscal year. It was adopted by the House on a teller vote shortly before final passage of the postal rate bill.

American taxpayers are just beginning to realize the tremendous cost of these indirect and hidden mail subsidies to a handful of big publishers.

Mr. Speaker, in order to clarify the purpose of my amendment and to explain the basic principles and statistical data which prompted its introduction, I ask that my statement of August 20, 1957, presented to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee in support of my subsidy-limitation amendment, be included in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY HON. GEORGE M. RHODES, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 14TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, PRESENTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, UNITED STATES SENATE, AUGUST 20, 1957

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing here to express my views on H. R. 5836, the postal rate readjustment bill as passed by the House last week. Most of my testimony will deal specifically with the amendment which I offered on the House floor to limit the Post Office Department's loss on the mailing of any publisher to $100,000 during any one fiscal year. This amendment may be found in H. R. 5836, beginning at line 25 on page 4 and extending through line 3 on page 6 of the bill.

It was my pleasure to serve on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee for 8 years, beginning with the 81st Congress and continuing my service through the 84th Congress. I served on the conference committee which produced the last postal rate legislation enacted by the Congress on October 30, 1951 (Public Law 233, 82d Congress). Let me assure the committee that I am not appearing here as an expert on postal rate making, cost ascertainment, or any other phase of the Post Office Department's operations. I do feel, however, that the committee is entitled to share the information which I have compiled relating to the huge losses being incurred by the Department in the handling of publisher's second class mail. This committee is entitled to know the reasons behind my amendment, what it would do, why it is necessary as a principle in postal rate making, why it is administratively feasible, and why I feel that some type of subsidy-limiting amendment should be retained in any postal rate bill reported by this committee.

Mr. Chairman, I will not take the time of this committee to go into a detailed discus-

sion of the bill as reported by the House committee.

FIRST-CLASS MAIL PAYS ITS WAY

As to first-class mail, very briefly I will say that table 100 of the 1956 cost ascertainment report shows first class revenues which are $35.6 million in excess of allocated budgetary expenditures. Table 41 of this same report proves beyond any doubt that first-class mail at 3 cents an ounce is not being handled at a loss by the Department. All types of first-class mail brought into the Department an average revenue of 3.357 cents per piece or 7.22 cents per ounce.

Meanwhile, second-class magazines and periodicals brought in only 1.9 cents per piece or .16 cents per ounce. The 1956 deficit in handling this type of second class mail totaled $65 million.

COMMITTEE-RECOMMENDED SECOND-CLASS INCREASES INADEQUATE

The bill as reported by the House Committee would increase second-class revenues by about $33 million over a 4-year period, or about $8.25 million a year. The net effect would be to reduce the second-class deficit from $252 million to $244 million in the first year of the new rates and to $219 million after the four proposed annual increases. If we count on increased circulation and costs of handling, it may well be that the second-class deficit will not be reduced at all. In effect the committee bill would make more secure these subsidies which go to a handful of big publishers and hide them from the public by reducing the overall postal deficit at the expense of first-class-mail users.

Mr. Chairman, I could not in good conscience vote for an increase in first-class rates, when all of the statistical data shows that first-class mail is more than paying its own way.

POSTAL SUBSIDY LIMITATION NOT NEW IDEA

I supported the Holifield amendment on the House floor. It would have eliminated the 1-cent increase in letter postage. That amendment was defeated. My subsidy-limiting amendment was then adopted by the House. It places a limitation of $100,000 on the amount of subsidy to any user of second-class mail during any one fiscal year. My proposal was originally introduced in the 84th Congress (H. R. 10913). It was offered in the House Committee last year as an amendment to the 1956 postal rate increase bill. Again this year, I introduced the amendment in bill form as H. R. 8275. When approved by the House last week, Members were not voting for some unknown quantity. It had been before the House for well over a year, had been discussed in conversation, offered in Committee, and was finally adopted by the House as an amendment to H. R. 5836.

PUBLISHERS' MAIL DEFICIT

During fiscal 1956, postal revenues for magazines and periodicals were $30.6 million. Allocated budgetary expenditures were $95.4 million, a deficit of some $65 million. The deficit in carrying daily newspapers through the mail amounted to about $61 million. These two produce about half of the total second-class-mail deficit of $252 million.

Other miscellaneous categories of publisherf's second-class mail matter produce another $57 million of the deficit. These include publications with less than 5 percent advertising, newspapers other than dailies, and agricultural, business, professional and similar types of publications produced for profit. Thus, there is a deficit of some $183 million on all types of profit-motivated publications. As Deputy Postmaster General Stans pointed out last Friday, all of the other "exempt" categories of publisher's second-class mail would have produced only $3.1 million in additional revenue if these publications had paid regular rates of postage.

BIG MAGAZINE SUBSIDIES

Members of your committee have undoubtedly seen estimates of the losses incurred by the Department in the handling of a selected list of widely circulated popular magazines. They have been prepared by the Cost Ascertainment Branch, Bureau of Finance, of the Post Office Department and are presented in two different forms. Mr. Chairman, I ask that they be inserted as exhibits 1 and 2 at this point in the record:

EXHIBIT 1.—*Volume, revenues, and estimated handling costs of selected 2d class publications, based on 1 issue for the year 1956*

Publication	Weight (pounds)	Copies	Postage at present rates	Cost of handling	Excess of costs over postage	Estimated annual loss
Life	5,410,000	4,775,000	$144,000	$323,000	$179,000	$9,310,000
Saturday Evening Post	3,095,000	3,106,000	67,000	184,000	117,000	6,087,000
Reader's Digest	3,829,000	9,163,000	90,000	438,000	348,000	4,172,000
Ladies' Home Journal	5,835,000	3,706,000	128,000	287,000	159,000	1,917,000

NOTE.—In all cases costs were based on average cost factors computed for a subgroup of publications applied to volume data for each publication, and not on individual traffic studies and cost factors attributable to each specific publication.

Source: Post Office Department, Bureau of Finance, Division of Cost Analysis, Cost Ascertainment Branch.

EXHIBIT 2.—*U. S. Post Office Department estimated annual revenues and costs of selected leading magazines*

Publication	Revenue [1]	Cost [2]	Difference (cost minus revenue)
Life	$7,485,000	$16,979,000	$9,494,000
Saturday Evening Post	3,488,000	9,557,000	6,069,000
Reader's Digest	1,082,000	5,891,000	4,809,000
Look	1,534,000	5,016,000	3,482,000
Ladies' Home Journal	1,530,000	3,449,000	1,919,000
McCall's magazine	1,097,000	2,604,000	1,507,000
National Geographic	486,000	1,821,000	1,335,000
Good Housekeeping	881,000	2,175,000	1,294,000
Better Homes and Gardens	758,000	1,904,000	1,146,000
American Home magazine	623,000	1,753,000	1,130,000
Total	18,844,000	52,149,000	32,185,000

[1] In general, the revenue estimates are based on data from administrative records covering the mailings of all issues of these publications for the month of March 1956, extended to annual revenues on the basis of the number of issues per year. For Life magazine, revenue estimates were based on mailings of the first 3 issues in March. Revenue and cost estimates for Better Homes and Gardens and Saturday Evening Post are based on issues for the month of November 1954, and for Reader's Digest these estimates are based on the November 1955 issue.

[2] A complete cost analysis of the publications listed in this table would require detailed studies at all points of entry and of the large number of delivery offices. Such analysis would of course be very expensive and time consuming; therefore, the estimates have been developed as outlined below (above).

Source: Division of Cost Analysis, Bureau of Finance, U. S. Post Office Department. The column showing the difference between cost and revenue was computed by the Legislative Reference Service.

These figures have been quoted many times, so I will mention only a few and will not go into all the details. Two estimates of the Post Office Department loss in handling Life magazine were made during 1956. One was based on a single issue, the other based on 3 issues of March 1956. They show that Life magazine received a subsidy from the American taxpayers of somewhere between $9.3 and $9.5 million. Saturday Evening Post received a subsidy in the neighborhood of $6 million; Reader's Digest between $4 million-$5 million and so on. It is true that these estimates were not made on individual traffic studies of each magazine. They are estimates based on selected issues, averaged out for a year, and reinforced by cost ascertainment figures available to the Department. Mr. Stans, in reply to a question by Senator YARBOROUGH last Friday, indicated that these figures are accurate within 10 percent.

Moreover, during the recent hearings in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee (hearings, p. 854) Mr. Stans pointed out that in 1954 the Department conducted a specific cost study of the cost of handling an issue of the Reader's Digest from the beginning of the time it was put in the mail and going through all the operations for that publication and the results showed a figure very close to the estimate previously made by the Department, the same type of estimate shown in these tables just placed in the record.

LIFE MAGAZINE OPERATIONS

Some very revealing testimony was presented to the House committee last April with respect to Life magazine. This is, of course, published by Time, Inc., which also publishes Time magazine, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, House and Home, Architectural Forum, and various foreign editions of both Time and Life magazines.

Three of these publications are weeklies (Time, Life, Sports Illustrated) while the other three are monthlies (Fortune, Architectural Forum, House and Home). They have a combined circulation per issue totaling 8.75 million copies. Their total annual circulation is approximately 438 million copies, 86 percent of which are carried through the mails at a staggering loss to the American taxpayers.

Since Life is the largest circulation magazine of the group and also received the largest subsidy, according to the 1956 estimates of the Department, let us examine some of its characteristics in greater detail:

1. Circulation: In 1956 Life magazine had a weekly circulation of 5,714,310 copies. Of this total 4,800,000 copies or 84 percent were carried through the mails. This amounts to 249,600,000 copies of Life having a combined weight estimated at more than 280 million pounds, were distributed by postal carriers during the year.

2. Second class postal bill: For this service Life paid about $7.4 million during the year, about 2.9 cents per copy or 2.8 cents per pound. Approximately $144,000 was paid by life in postage per issue in 1956. The Department estimates that it costs the taxpayers about $323,000 per issue to handle and deliver Life to its subscribers, or a difference between revenue paid and costs incurred of about $179,000 per weekly issue. This resulted in a total annual loss to the Department of about $9.4 million just on Life magazine alone.

3. Subscription price versus newstand price: As was pointed out above, about 84 percent of the total Life circulation is on a mail subscription basis. In 1940 only 39

percent of Life's circulation was through the mails; by 1946, 56 percent was going through the mails. The figure has continued to rise each year until the current level of 84 percent has been reached. Newsstand sales of Life have shown a corresponding drop. In 1940, 61 percent of the circulation was newsstand sales; by 1946, this had dropped to 43 percent and now amounts to only 17 percent of total circulation.

In 1940 the newsstand price of Life was 10 cents; the subscription price per year was $4.50; by 1946, the individual copy sold for 15 cents and the subscription was $5.50 a year. In 1956 the single copy of Life sold on the newsstands for 20 cents and the subscription price was $6.75 a year. To buy the 52 issues of Life on a newsstand, it would cost $10.40. Special 3-year subscription rates offered periodically further reduce this latter subscription figure. While the single copy price doubled since 1940, the subscription rate has increased by only slightly more than 25 percent.

4. Advertising revenues: Printers Ink Annual Guide to Advertising for 1956 shows that Life had an advertising revenue of $137.4 million. This was 14.6 percent of the total magazine advertising revenues of $931 million for last year as reported by Advertising Age. For the year Life magazine carried approximately 3,700 pages of editorial matter and 4,400 pages of advertising, or about 54 percent advertising. In 1956 the cost of a full-page black-and-white ad in Life was $20,350. Beginning with the September 9, 1957, issue of Life, the cost for a four-color page ad will be $37,975.

The average weekly issue of Life produced $2,642,000 in advertising revenue alone. Added to this is the subscription revenue on 4.8 million copies per issue or $634,000, plus the newsstand revenue on another 900,000 copies or an estimated $117,000, we see that Life had a total revenue per issue of $3,393,000.

You will recall that Post Office Department estimates that Life only paid $144,000 in postage for a single issue in 1956 and the costs to the Department in handling the issue amounted to $323,000. Thus, if Life had paid its full share of the allocated costs, it still would have had a revenue per issue of $3,070,000, or $159.6 million for the year.

With the increased costs of advertising recently announced by most magazines this source of magazine revenue is expected to be even more profitable in the coming year.

5. Profit picture: Last Friday Deputy Postmaster General Stans told this committee: "Reports in the trade press predict another recordbreaking year in 1957 for both newspapers and magazines. In fact, some publishers are currently boasting of having attained profits unprecedented in the publishing industry."

Time, Inc., is high on the profit ladder in the publishing business. During the past 5 years (which incidentally includes the years when their second-class mail costs were increased by 10 percent a year for the years 1952, 1953, and 1954) the net profits after taxes of Time, Inc. increased from $7,750,000 in 1952 to $13,850,000 in 1956. This latter figure does not include the additional profits realized from the sale of $15 million worth of Houston Oil Co. stock held by Time, Inc.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to read an excerpt from a letter sent by Time, Inc. to its stockholders in January of this year which boasts of profits amounting to $6.75 per share as compared with $4.72 per share in 1955. The letter says that "it was of course profits derived principally from our magazines that made 1956 our best earning year. Time, Life, Fortune, and the international editions of Time all set new earning records." It goes on to say "we believe that the level of earnings attained by Life in 1956 has never been equaled by any other magazine in the history of publishing."

Actually, the letter to stockholders underestimated the extent of Time's profit. Final figures showed that the earnings on a share of stock in Time, Inc. (worth $70) was actually $7.10 during 1956.

Figures furnished the House committee by Time, Inc. reveal that second-class postage costs for all its publications amounted to only 4.8 percent of total publishing expenses during 1956. Based on the 1956 losses of $9.4 million incurred by the Post Office Department in handling Life, the loss would still be $8.3 million after the first year's rate increase provided for in H. R. 5836. This is assuming that postal costs were to remain fixed and circulation remained even. Both these assumptions are not likely to prove valid. As a publisher becomes more successful, as his circulation, advertising revenues, and profits increase, his mailing operations cost the Post Office more and the size of the subsidy received also increases.

OTHER MAGAZINES SUBSIDIZED

Mr. Chairman, the statistical data which I have presented with respect to Life magazine could also be generally applied to other large publishers in this same fashion. However, I will not take the time of the committee to do so. The Legislative Reference Service, at my request, furnished voluminous financial data on many other large publishing companies in addition to Time, Inc.

Permit me to just mention a few of the highlights with respect to other leading publishers. The Curtis Publishing Co., publishers of the Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, Holiday, and other magazines increased their profits after taxes from $4,404,000 in 1952 to $6,234,000 in 1956. The two Curtis publications listed in the post office estimate show a total of $8 million in annual subsidy.

McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., publishers of Business Week and 27 other small circulation business-trade magazines more than doubled its profits after taxes—$3,273,000 in 1952 to $7,871,000 in 1956. Its advertising revenues during this period are not available. Its earnings per share of common stock were $7.40 in 1952. It was split 2 for 1 in 1953, each share earning $4.03 and in 1956 its stock was again split 3 for 1, each share earning $2.98 during that year. Subsidy figures for McGraw-Hill publications are not listed in the post office estimate.

Mr. Chairman, financial data is not available from public sources on such big magazines as Look (which received an estimated subsidy of $3,482,000), Reader's Digest (whose subsidy totaled $4,809,000), based on November 1955 estimates of the Department. This magazine now has the largest circulation of any magazine in the United States—upward of 11 million copies per month. It paid an estimated $90,000 in postage for one issue and cost the Department $438,000 to handle, a subsidy of $348,000 per single issue. Incidentally, a single page four-color ad in Reader's Digest will cost $38,000 beginning next January 1.

No financial data is available for Confidential, Inc., publishers of Confidential, and Whisper magazines currently in the headlines because of libel suits. Confidential has a monthly circulation of 3,442,536 copies.

Data is also unavailable on other magazines such as Newsweek, U. S. News and World Report, American Home, TV Guide, and magazines such as True Confessions, My Romance, Secret Confessions, Startling Detective, Daring Romances, Revealing Romances, Modern Romances, and many other similar-type publications.

AMENDMENT ESTABLISHES FAIR PRINCIPLE

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of my amendment is not to penalize any publisher or to cut his profit margin. A small increased cost of individual publisher's subscription rates could easily offset their higher postal costs. The purpose of my amendment is simply to apply a principle in second-class publisher's mail rates that the annual revenue they pay to the Department for the service they receive should equal the costs to the Department to render that service, less $100,000. The popular magazines which incur such huge deficits in second-class mail do have some "public interest" value in the dissemination of news, helpful household information, political views, and other "educational" material. My amendment merely place a subsidy limitation on these values.

Low second-class mail rates, when originally established in 1879 were meant to provide the types of news services unavailable through any other public media. Today we have radio, television, motion pictures and other sources of more current news and information. Present zone rates, according to Mr. Stans, on the advertising portion of newspapers and magazines are actually less than they were in 1917. This is despite the fact that advertising revenue of magazines was practically nil in 1917, while today they are rapidly approaching the $1 billion mark for a single year.

The principle of limiting subsidies is not unique. Just last week the Congress enacted a law to curb subsidies to industries through the 5-year fast-tax writeoff device. Only recently a $3,000 limit was placed on acreage reserve payments and a $5,000 limit on conservation reserve payments to any farmer participating in the soil-bank program. Abuses in the operation of this program made it possible for a single corporate farmer to receive $209,000 a year for not planting crops. Congress reacted to this by placing a limitation on the payments. Last year in the Senate an amendment to the farm bill, limiting to $100,000 the amount of price-support loans to a single producer was adopted by a vote of 78–11. Is it not fair that this principle of limitation also be applied to big magazine publishers?

MAGAZINES ATTACK SUBSIDIES TO OTHERS

Mr. Chairman, it is interesting to pick up these subsidized publications and to read in them articles attacking subsidies going to other segments of our population. For example, a recent editorial in Life is entitled "King Cotton—the Royal Nonesuch." Let me read to the committee a portion of this editorial:

"If the (cotton) industry was put on a basis of free competition, and our prices left to find their own level * * * the (cotton) business would quickly thin down to efficient operators who could produce all the cotton really needed and at a profit."

Listen to this next part, Mr. Chairman:

"(Cotton subsidies for) the distressed small farmers—no longer makes sense. It keeps them at it when, if left to their own devices, they could go to town and work at a useful job."

The editorial continues:

"We have every sympathy for the marginal, high-cost little fellow who is inexorably being crowded out, but there is any depression to justify keeping him on a dole? There is no likelihood of agricultural shortages either. The longer the 92.7 percent of the rest of us taxpayers keep him there by giving him money to stay in business he can't possibly succeed at, the longer will the whole farm picture stay in a needless and senseless mess."

Thus in this editorial, Life magazine, which received a $9.4 million "dole" itself last year, presumes to prescribe a remedy for the cotton industry. The editorial concludes by saying:

"If enough Americans squawk, something will be done to stop this silly business."

Mr. Chairman, this might also be said of the huge subsidies going to Life magazine and other publications being carried through the mails at such tremendous losses to the American taxpayers.

Or take another example. The Reader's Digest has carried many "planted" articles expressing its views on political issues. One of these articles, entitled "The Biggest Con Game in Politics," written by former Governor Driscoll, of New Jersey, was reprinted and circulated throughout the country. It is a wholesale attack on Federal grants-in-aid programs, but did not mention Federal aid to magazine publishers.

Another more recent Reader's Digest article, written by William Hard, was entitled "Pacific Northwest Stands on Its Own Feet." It was a complete distortion of the issues involved in the fight for a high dam at Hells Canyon, timed to coincide with the consideration of this issue by the Congress. Senators MAGNUSON and JACKSON, and Congressman DON MAGNUSON of Washington effectively destroyed this piece of misleading political propaganda in a letter to the editor of the Reader's Digest, released to the press.

As Mr. A. L. Cole, business manager of the Reader's Digest, admitted during the recent House hearings (hearings, p. 422): "Nothing is published in the magazine that does not reflect their (the editors) views."

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT'S ATTITUDE

Mr. Chairman, I was disappointed at the cavalier manner in which the principle of my amendment was received by the Postmaster General and his deputy. I was under the impression that the official policy of the administration was to place the Department on a sound businesslike basis. They didn't even see fit to tell this committee the additional revenue which would be produced by the adoption of my subsidy-limitation amendment. I should think that if they are sincerely interested in reducing the second class publisher's deficit, they would at least estimate what it would bring in additional revenue.

Chairman, I trust that this committee will give serious thought to the data I have furnished. The objectives set forth by my amendment offer a fair and workable method of reducing the scandalous subsidies being handed over each year to a few magazine publishers.

When questioned about the amendment, Mr. Stans commented that it would be expensive and difficult but admitted that it would not be impossible to administer. Mr. Chairman, I submit that if there is the will to put a limitation on these subsidies it can be done without great difficulty or inconvenience to the Post Office Department.

AMENDMENT IS WORKABLE

This amendment was not drafted in a vacuum, Mr. Chairman. It was drafted by recognized experts on Post Office Department accounting and cost ascertainment procedures. I was assured well in advance of my introduction of the proposal in bill form and before offering it as an amendment to H. R. 5836 that it was feasible, workable, and capable of being administered. Otherwise, I would not have offered it.

I do not say that this amendment, as adopted by the House, is the only way in which the principle of limiting second class publisher's subsidies can be established. There is no sane reason why a beginning should not be made. This committee in its wisdom and its long experience in this field can undoubtedly put a limitation on these postal subsidies.

If the distinguished members of this committee agree with me in principle a limitation of these subsidies can be accomplished. For example, the circulation of a particular magazine or the amount of its subsidy could be the controlling factor in limiting the loss to a certain percentage of its annual cost of handling.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment is not unworkable. There may be some logic to arguments to amend the amount of the limitation, but how can anyone object to the principle involved? The American people are beginning to learn about postal subsidies. They want Congress to do something about it.

POWERFUL OPPOSITION

Any proposal of this kind will naturally draw fire from those who are the beneficiaries of this type of Federal aid. I am aware, as all of you gentlemen must be, of the great power, wealth and influence behind those seeking to kill this amendment. There is some question that the amendment may bring a lawsuit. There's always such a possibility, since even at present the Department's cost ascertainment system in allocating costs can be challenged by court action.

I contend, and I hope you gentlemen will agree, that if my amendment is right in principle, as Members of Congress, it is our duty to see that steps are taken for its application.

Opponents to my amendment will go so far as to claim that the post office actually makes a profit in handling some second-class matter. Mr. David W. Brumbaugh, vice president of Time, Inc., made the claim that the Post Office Department is actually handling Life magazine at a profit. He boldly attacks the basic principles of the cost ascertainment system of accounting. Deputy Postmaster General Stans prepared an analysis of Mr. Brumbaugh's allegations concerning the proper allocation of Department costs to Life magazine. It is dated April 25, 1957. It completely demolishes the case presented by Time, Inc. On the matter of possible lawsuits through the imposition of any limitation on second-class publisher's subsidies, I am willing to rest my case on the analysis prepared by Mr. Stans, which appears at pages 743–747 of the House hearings on H. R. 5836.

Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that publishers will pass on to subscribers the additional postage costs provided for in any postal-rate law. It is more fair to the general public to let those who want to subscribe to Life, Saturday Evening Post, Reader's Digest, or Confidential pay whatever the publishers of these magazines feel is necessary for them to continue their service and make a profit. It is far more equitable than to continue to tax the many millions of Americans who do not subscribe to these magazines.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and the committee for the courtesy you have shown me.

For Repeal of Estate and Gift Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill providing for the repeal of chapters 11 and 12 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the imposition of estate and gift taxes.

These taxes were first imposed in 1917 when we were in World War I and the revenues that year were but $6,076,575.26. Every bit of evidence indicates that the levies upon estates and gifts at that time were considered emergency measures which would be for the war period only.

Andrew Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury in 1921, in commenting on the adverse effects of estate taxes upon the economy, said:

The continuance in times of peace of the very high estate taxes imposed during the emergency of war should receive serious consideration. There are two chief objections to the present high rates, running as they do up to 25 percent of the net amount of the estate, which should be emphasized.

The first is that taxes at such rates, which seize upon and take away so much of the capital of the country, are fundamentally wrong. The Nation, just as the individual, should not use up its capital in payment of its ordinary expenses. The money which is taken by way of such taxes is, to a large extent, the capital which is in use and necessary in carrying on the business of the country, and just to the extent that the Government seizes upon and takes this capital for its own income its loss must be made good out of the thrift and savings of the people of the country.

In the second place there is the destructive effect upon values. If all the wealth of an estate consisted of money, the evil results of such taxes would be much less. But the wealth of estates does not consist of money, nor, in fact, in most cases of property readily convertible into money. An estate consisting principally of Government bonds or municipal securities is of less real value to the community than the estate that is invested in property in and line of productive industry giving useful employment to large numbers of people. And yet, the estate invested in tax-free securities would be much less affected by the tax than the estate invested in real estate, in manufacturing plants, in merchandising, in farming or in any line of productive industry.

Again when a man actively engaged in business dies, leaving an estate of considerable size, his family is called upon to provide not merely for the payment of the Federal estate tax, but, in many cases, an inheritance tax to the State in which he lived. There is also frequently a tax to be paid to the State where some part of the property is located, and often a tax must be paid upon the value of shares of stock to the State where the company is incorporated. So, there may be as many as four different taxes to be paid upon the same property. In addition there is usually a greater or less amount of indebtedness existing which must be met. These obligations can only be met by payment in money. The estate cannot take its property and simply divide it up, giving to the Nation, to the State, and to the creditors a proportionate share of the actual property. Those ultimately entitled to share in the distribution may take their portions in property, but, before that can be done, actual cash must be found for the payment of taxes and debts, and the larger these are in proportion to the amount of the estate, the more difficult the task becomes. * * * The extent of the shrinkage of values and the losses caused by the forced liquidation of many estates is not generally realized for the present high rates have been in existence but a short time, and their evil effects, which will naturally increase if these rates continue, are only gradually coming to be recognized. * * * A large part of the revenue now derived from the estate tax comes from the more moderate rates.

Mr. Speaker, that was the situation as outlined by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1921. Today the rates on both estate and gift taxes are far above what they were in 1921. In considering the whole picture it is generally agreed among tax experts that estate and gift taxation, can properly be left to the States. They are sorely pressed for revenue sources aside from those already practically monopolized by the Federal Government.

A check of the collections over the past 5 years from estate and gift taxes reveals that out of gross collections of more than $362 billion but $4,776,000,000 came from the levies upon estates and gifts. This amounts to less than 1½ percent on the average of total taxes collected.

They were as follows:

1952	$833,000,000
1953	891,000,000
1954	945,000,000
1955	936,000,000
1956	1,171,000,000
Total	4,776,000,000

This represents but a small amount which could be replaced by economies recommended by the Hoover Commission and still awaiting practial application to the operations of our Government.

Moral Armor for the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 12, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the graduates of the University of Tampa, Tampa, Fla., on June 6, 1956, were privileged to hear one of the most inspirational commencement addresses ever brought to my attention. It was made by a distinguished engineer and scientist, but the subject with which it dwelt was a stimulating and inspiring moment for those graduates presenting as it did the problem of the great faith we must have today—faith in ourselves and the religious tenets we, as people of free thought, have been taught throughout the years. There were many answers to the questions in the minds of these young people who face a world of great accomplishment and much bewilderment. I think that all Americans can gain inspiration and form a pattern for comfort and spiritual faith from this message. I am proud to ask inclusion in the RECORD of the commencement address delivered by David B. Steinman, internationally noted bridge engineer, scholar, scientist, and founder of the David B. Steinman Foundation for grants to education for research and student aid.

MORAL ARMOR FOR THE ATOMIC AGE

(Address by David B. Steinman)

On August 6, 1945, when the report of an atomic blast over Hiroshima was flashed around the globe, civilization was shaken to its utmost foundations. Individual reactions varied, from "I am scared to death," to "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." On the whole, the impact was sobering. Men realized that, in one brief moment, the history of the world had been changed. For better or for worse, the story of mankind had entered a new and fateful chapter.

Mortal man stands frightened among the appalling forces he has summoned from the unknown. The dust stirred up by the atomic blast gets into his eyes and obscures his vision; and, in the blinding flash of the explosion, the inner light that should guide him is momentarily obscured. Beholding the nuclear conflagration, man feels himself a child playing with matches—and he grows afraid.

We are living on the edge of an abyss. Any rash act can precipitate our own destruction. Fear of such calamity underlies all our acts and thoughts today.

In the present world crisis, we can at least strive to avoid mad actions and pray to be delivired from blind accidents. Through enlightened public opinion we can prevent those who govern us from lapsing into carelessness. We can see to it that firebrands do not come into power. We need alert yet sober leaders who can and will think their way through the problems that confront us, real statesmen who can judge wisely and act decisively. We can have such leaders if we refuse to settle for less.

Civilized man is feeling the strain. There is a weary feeling of having almost reached the ultimate in the Faustian bargain of man's mastery over nature; and of having glimpsed in atomic power more of mastery—and of death—than man is ready to face.

Perhaps the fear and the soul searching it induces are hopeful signs. Many more people now sense the need of divine guidance, of a moral compass to steer by, if only because they realize that a single blundering act may prove fatal to our civilization, if not to the continuance of the race of man.

The realization grows upon us that the spiritual ideal has ceased to be a luxury and has become an absolute necessity. Today, in a literal sense never before so apparent, the moral law has become the law of survival.

To us, human life is sacred and inviolable. To the Communists, the individual is a cipher, to be exterminated at the will of a cold-blooded autocrat; people are so much brick and mortar for the construction of a soulless utopia. They demolish a human community with as little feeling as if it were an anthill.

In our struggle for the heart of man, we must renew the faith; gain again the flaming emotion of Pitt and Cromwell; of Washington, Lincoln, and the great founders of the Republic; of St. Paul and all the great Christian martyrs who died for their religious beliefs. We must fire political doctrine and spiritual ideals with ardent belief, with the magic of passion; for our own sake and for the decency of mankind.

Daily we pray, "Thy kingdom come." Without a belief in the ultimate good, all we have held sacred becomes meaningless. Without this ringing faith we are lost.

There is no old world to go back to; a new one must be made, and there are tigers in the way. We must breed and nurture a robust vigor to resist the vicious assertion that a state is an autocratic entity with supreme rights; that it need have no morals or obligations, and that its members are creatures to do its soulless bidding regardless of their own instincts of human dignity and of kindliness.

We must cling to honor, to moral courage, to humanitarian ideals—to all the sanctities of life—and defend them, for these are the things our godless adversary would destroy.

There is a tendency to think of all these things in far too small units of time. Many are in panic because we have not solved the problems of the atomic age in the brief span of 10 years. A lifetime is only a second of eternity. All historic time is only a moment in the eternal plan. Mankind is barely emerging from the nursery. He stands bright eyed with new knowledge of his past and, for the first time, with the power and will to mold his own future. We must educate our youth so that they will be strong to resist evil and to fight for the things that endure. With resolute faith and courage, guided by their power for reason, their power for virtue, and the power of spiritual truth, they will make a braver new world.

St. Thomas Aquinas once said that there are only three really important endeavors in life: To have faith in the right things, to hope for the right things, to love the right things in life.

Our faith, hope, and love for the good, the true, and the beautiful find their expression in science, religion, and art. These are the three main pillars of civilization. For man's highest fulfillment, we must revere all three.

Religion, art, and science, representing the everlasting search for the good, the true, the beautiful, constitute a trinity of human aspiration. All three are but different aspects of the same reality, of the same feeling for the sublime, rooted in the supreme mystery of being.

It has been pointed out that there is a common and unifying element—what we identify instinctively as the divine spark—in a Raphael Madonna, a Beethoven symphony, a discovery by Copernicus, Newton, or Einstein. In each instance, inspiration was drawn from some common reservoir of spiritual vitality. In each there were moments of flashing intuition that call to mind the Burning Bush that spoke unto Moses. The experience of sudden inner illumination beyond mere intelligence, the inner light known to mystics, martyrs, and poets, is not unknown to creative scientists and inventors.

Art and religion are related. They flow from the same fount of inspiration in the human soul. We need only to think of the Psalms and the Prophets, or supreme examples of religious music and painting, to see their intimate relationship. And foremost thinkers among scientists and theologians are coming to recognize that science and religion also are closely related. As the horizons of science advance, many of its great leaders become more humble, not less; more reverent, not less.

The more deeply we delve into the heart of nature, the more awestruck we stand in the face of ineluctable mysteries. As the frontiers of science advance, the scientist, the poet, and the religious man meet on common ground—the common ground of the ultimate, the infinite, the eternal.

The man who discovered that electricity and magnetism are related, Hans Christian Oersted, once said, "The Universe is a manifestation of an Infinite Reason and the laws of Nature are the thoughts of God."

From Pythagoras and Euclid to Newton and Einstein, the mathematicians and scientists voyage on enchanted seas, to find new isles of wonder. In the microcosm of the atom and in the universal laws of celestial mechanics, they find the poetry of harmony and perfection. They unveil for man the simple and sublime unity of Creation. In the structure of the universe, they discover the divinest poetry—the grandeur of the infinite.

By godlike magic given to man, linking the infinitesimal to the infinite, the scientist penetrates the atom and he lassos the flying stars. And in the ordered beauty and unity of the cosmos, in its sublime and eternal design, he finds Divinity.

The age-old conflict between science and religion is being resolved. In the first flush of triumph in the laboratory, the scientists of a century ago allowed pride to get the better of them. Twentieth-century scientists, knowing more, are less dogmatic about spiritual matters and less idolatrous in their regard for the sovereignty of physical law. They are discovering that God's universe contains imponderables beyond the reach of test tubes, formulas, and slide rules.

Science is rooted in a moral order of reality it did not create. Where would science be without the passion for truth and its every-

day dedication? Where would it be without the self-denial and splendid integrity of its saints? Whence this spirit of consecration? Whence this passion and honor and devotion? The scientist is under obligation to a higher loyalty, to something regal in the universe which he did not create but must obey. This spirit comes from something greater than science, something in the soul of man.

Science would not have developed as it has in our Western civilization if it had not been for the Judeo-Christian faith which has steeped the minds of scientists with the sense of the worth and significance and eternal importance of human enterprise.

For centuries, scientists believed that matter and energy were distinct entities, mutually nonconvertible; that matter could neither be created nor destroyed. When Einstein set forth his famous conversion formula, he dared to turn his back on three centuries of scientific thinking. Had Einstein's formula remained on paper, the world would have been little impressed. But something did happen over Hiroshima. A city was destroyed because a small group of men were willing to proceed on the assumption that $E=Mc^2$, and now we know that matter and energy are convertible.

The matter which disintegrated first privately over the American desert and then publicly over Japan ceased to exist as matter. We can no longer say, "I am a materialist," now that we know that nothing is ultimately material. We can no longer deny creation. We can no longer insist that material things are more real or more enduring than the intangibles of life and spirit.

In today's world crisis, our only salvation lies in the soul of man. We stand at Armageddon, fighting the forces of godlessness. Man's higher intuitions and ideals have become the key to survival.

We find this ageless message in the Psalms:

"Except the Lord keep the city,
The watchman waketh but in vain."

In the present world situation, we must be constantly on the alert, without panic or hysteria. We must be resolutely prepared to meet aggression if it comes our way. We must maintain our military arms and our preparations for defense at a level of strength that will deter a would-be aggressor. As safeguards for our Nation, these measures are vital to our security.

But we must face the truth that, in the world of today, genuine protection is no longer to be found in material safeguards alone. We have learned that insularity is no protection. The oceans now provide no more immunity to attack than did the trenches and Maginot lines of a generation ago. Guided missiles are piercing the stratosphere; soon they will be able to deliver a cargo of destruction from any spot on this globe to any other.

In this day of fear, fatigue, and frustration, our only invulnerable armor is a genuine spiritual faith and the courage founded thereon.

Each good man has in himself a quiet place in which he lives, however seemingly torn by the turmoil and passions of the world. That is his citadel, which must be kept inviolate against assaults. That quiet place must be founded upon a rock, and the rock must be a belief, a belief in the existence of the ultimate good, and a willingness to put forth his strength against the ultimate evil.

Religion has always served us in this purpose. It is the earliest inspired perception of a higher power, an expression of man's intuitive kinship with the spiritually divine. At first, primitive man mad religion a shield aganst his ignorance of the strange and terrifying happenings by which he found himself surrounded. But now the dangers that confront us are born of man himself. As man first made religion a shield against his ignorance, he now needs, more than ever, religion as a shield against misuse of his knowledge.

Our obligation, even in selfish terms of survival, is not to find a coexistence with evil, but resolutely to oppose it and in the end to overcome it.

We have witnessed the Steam Age, the Atomic Age, the Electronic Age. But the basic moral values are ageless. They are the values distilled from man's total experience.

Precisely because we now have in our hands such immense natural forces capable of uprooting us, we need a sure anchorage in the soul. We need a renewed and revitalized emphasis on the enduring basic elements, such as truth and justice, loyalty and love.

Man must be awakened to the fact that, as never before, he is his brother's keeper. The human race must be made aware that reckless or unscrupulous conduct now amounts to race-suicide—that man's true progress and security are to be found in the principles of universal kindness and universal good will.

Science is coming close to providing a worldwide storehouse of plenty; but that will avail us nothing if the spirit is left starved and our moral armor is neglected.

The one outstanding lesson of the present crisis of the human race is that man must relearn humility, reverence, and spiritual faith. This is the thought I want to leave with you.

Today, both religion and science have vital roles to play. They must play them together in a concerted effort.

The final test of science is not whether its accomplishments add to our comfort, knowledge, and power, but whether it adds to our dignity as men, our perception and reverence for truth and beauty, and our faith in the ultimate good. This is a test science cannot pass alone and unaided. The major burden rests on religion—to show to all men the way to a richer, fuller spiritual life, keyed to eternal moral values.

Proposal To Broaden Widow's Benefits Under Railroad Retirement Act of 1937

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide that a widow who loses her widow's insurance benefits by remarriage may again be entitled to such benefits if her second husband dies within 1 year after their marriage.

Under the present provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act, a widow who remarries becomes ineligible for any monthly payments she may have received as the result of her first husband's death. Furthermore, if her second husband dies before they have been married 1 year, she is unable to collect any widow's benefits based on his income.

This bill, Mr. Speaker, would permit her to again collect the widow's insurance benefits she was receiving before her second marriage. In other words, it would restore the benefits she was receiving on the basis of her first husband.

This legislation probably would not be considered of major importance to anyone except the few unfortunate women who have twice become a widow and who, because of a quirk of fate, find themselves deprived of benefits to which they would have been entitled had tragedy not struck them a cruel double blow.

Both the House and the other body took favorable action on similar legislation last year, Mr. Speaker, when a bill was enacted amending our social security laws to allow a widow to claim benefits previously received in the event that her second husband dies within a year after their marriage.

I hope that the measure I have introduced today will receive the same considerate treatment early in the next session of the Congress.

American Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, in 1934, at the instance of Cordell Hull, then Secretary of State, the Congress passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act as an emergency. This was done in the hope of retrieving some of our losses in international exports resulting from competition with cheap-labor products produced in Japan, Germany, and other European nations, and trade restraints imposed by the enactment of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930. By this act the Congress surrendered its constitutional powers to regulate foreign trade and national economy through the adjustment of duties, imports, and excises to the Tariff Commisison, an agency of the Executive.

Under Mr. Hull's direction, several bilateral trade agreements were made, especially with nations that could export to us strategic materials we needed in our industrial activities. However, the anticipated upsurge in our foreign exports lagged until the second World War clouds began to shower America with orders for arms. The story of America's exports during and following the second World War is common knowledge.

When the rush began to subside, our expanded industrial machine and the international traders prevailed upon the President to liberalize tariff regulations in the hope of maintaining a more extensive export-import trade.

In response to this plea and under the authority of the act of 1934, the President proceeded to setup in 1947 the so-called GATT—General Agreements on Tariffs and Trades—and designated Geneva as its headquarters. This organization continues to function at Geneva and now numbers 34 foreign nations, and acts as a tariff-making body with each member nation having an equal voice. In short, trade tariffs and multilateral agreements are regulated in Geneva where we have 1 vote in 35.

The Congress has never officially recognized GATT, yet the President and his Tariff Commission have the full power to approve or reject specific tariff schedules adopted by this group. Under continual pressure from export-import groups, aided by international financial interests, the President and his Tariff Commission have whittled away our tariffs until we now have virtual free trade.

Under the theory that America must buy from free nations in order that they may secure dollars with which to buy from us, we have succeeded in greatly increasing our exports. In some respects, this policy has been nationally beneficial. This is especially true with heavy industry, agricultural machinery, and household appliances. In that these industries have found outlets for their productive capacity, they have materially augmented full employment for American labor. But while this is true, the American consumer market has been increasingly flooded with foreign-made goods produced abroad under low paid labor conditions that make it all but impossible for American producers to compete pricewise. Hence, reduced demands for American consumer goods has caused hundreds of our manufacturers to slow their output or close entirely, leaving thousands of our own labor force unemployed. This has brought about heavy loss both in plant investment and high standard American labor in industries such as textiles, livestock, mining, crockery, glass, precision instruments, machine tools, chemicals, and many others. Under existing tariff regulations, markets for these products are progressively dwindling as cheaper products produced abroad continue to flood the American market.

In approaching the value of foreign trade to the American economy, we must not forget the fact that it is a two-way street. Following the late World War, the great need abroad for durable goods to restore the productive economy of defeated nations made possible ready markets for the products of big industry which has continued to be subsidized to a great extent through our foreign-aid program. Now that foreign plant capacity has been fully restored, their ability to export begins to challenge American markets here at home as well as in our overseas trade areas.

Hence it becomes obvious that more attention must be directed toward protection of American producers of consumer goods against foreign competitors who, under existing trade and tariff regulations, are extended the freedom to usurp our home markets at the expense of American plant investment and the labor forces involved.

Incidents of injury to and casualties among American small industries and labor groups are becoming altogether too common to be pushed aside as inconsequential by an unsympathetic Tariff Commission.

America no longer enjoys its first rank as an exporting nation. We are facing new conditions under which the old-world-restored industrial competition is beginning to pinch.

The future well-being of the American economy demands that the Tariff Commission revise its schedules upward to prevent unlimited, competing, injurious imports and to respond more readily to pleas of injured American manufacturers when they are able to show just cause.

It is not conceivable that GATT or the proposed OTC, operating in faraway Geneva, can agree upon tariff rates that tend to be beneficial to American manufacturers.

Judging from past experience, injured American industrialists can expect no relief until the Congress recovers its constitutional authority to regulate trade and tariffs and proceeds to require the Tariff Commission to hew to a policy of adequate protection of American industry.

Consumer Borrowing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

CONSUMERS BORROWING $43 BILLION—INTEREST RATE NOW 6 PERCENT

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, as of August 15, 1957, the outstanding consumer credit nears the $43 billion mark and banks in many large cities are increasing their interest rates on loans to around 6 percent per annum.

As of June 30 the Department of Commerce reports outstanding consumer credits at $42,245,000,000. Based upon average increases for July and half of August over the past 10 years, the total as of August 15 is in all probability near to $43 billion.

Based upon the population in the continental United States of 167 million the consumer credit outstanding as of August 15 amounts to over $251 per capita or an average of $903.60 for an average family of 3.6 persons.

DEMAND FOR LOANS FROM BANKS INCREASES

The demand for loans from banks and lending institutions throughout the country has become so great that with a tightness of the money market the banks have seized upon the opportunity to advance interest rates. This fact is evidenced by a letter submitted to the Washington News Bulletin by a prominent Washington resident who had a small demand-collateral loan at one of the city's largest banks. The letter, in part, was as follows:

[Name of bank deleted]

AUGUST 15, 1957.

DEAR MR. ———: The general demand for loans throughout the country has continued to be very active. This has caused a further tightness of the money market, and undoubtedly you have noticed in the press the high rates which the United States Treasury was forced to pay on its recent refinancing. Naturally, this reflects in the interest rates which banks must now charge on commercial borrowings, as well as loans on collateral.

We, ourselves, continue to experience a tremendous demand for credit and, together with the other banks of the Nation, we find it necessary to adjust rates on all classes of loans.

We, therefore, are establishing a new rate of 6 percent on your demand collateral loan, now in the amount of ———, effective as of September 1, 1957.

Sincerely yours,

———,
Vice President and Manager.

Minnesota Is Making a Good Record in School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Minneapolis Star of August 13, 1957:

A GOOD RECORD

Except for some fast-growing suburbs and distressed districts, Minnesota is making excellent progress toward overcoming its shortage of public-school classrooms. The State can be proud of the record of its local districts in meeting this challenge.

In a recent report, Guy O. Tollerud, State director of school building planning and development, pointed out that new school buildings and additions completed in the 1956–57 fiscal year reached a new record value of $67,960,248. Below is the State's spending on units completed since 1950–51:

Fiscal year	Units completed	Total costs
1956–57	215	$67,960,248
1955–56	243	47,173,329
1954–55	231	65,976,138
1953–54	187	32,321,953
1952–53	126	16,282,427
1951–52	109	8,816,888
1950–51	116	7,484,862

New construction last year added 1,715 classrooms in the State, and the average for the last 4 years was 1,235 classrooms built each year. The schools still will need another 3,505 classrooms during the next 4 years, it is estimated, but that could be met by only 3 years of construction at the average rate of the last 4 years, or by only 2 years of building at last year's rate.

With plans already approved for 188 building projects next year, as compared with 136 last year and 166 in 1954–55, the conclusion seems inescapable that the shortage soon will be ended—for most districts in Minnesota.

Unfortunately, some districts still lack the resources to build rapidly enough to meet the growing demand. A district such as Bloomington, for example, relies largely on residential valuations for its tax base, and has little industry. It has built rapidly but hasn't been able to afford to build fast enough to avoid split shifts in its schools.

A district such as McGregor, District No. 4, Aitkin County, also needs additional facilities, but it, too, lacks local resources. It needs a $400,000 building to meet the growing school enrollment, but it can afford only a $275,000 bond issue. And it hasn't been able to market even that.

Congress recently voted down the program of Federal aid for school construction. The $7 million or $8 million a year that Minnesota would have received from the Federal program would have helped the needy dis-

tricts and perhaps would have speeded up construction in other districts, but that annual total still would have been much less than the money spent by Minnesota districts in any 1 of the last 4 years.

In the Nation as a whole, the critical shortage justifies Federal aid, in President Eisenhower's opinion. In Minnesota, however, the local districts are licking their own problem.

FTC Should Have Jurisdiction Over Unfair Trade Practices in the Meatpacking Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance, of which I have the honor to serve as chairman, has reported favorably on H. R. 5282, which would transfer jurisdiction over unfair trade practises in the meatpacking industry from the Department of Agriculture to the Federal Trade Commission.

Mr. Speaker, I am including an excellent editorial on this subject which appeared in the Washington Post this week. I am also including a letter which indicates that the independent business people of this country are strongly in favor of the enactment of this legislation.

The editorial and letter follow:

PACKERS AND THE FTC

The Senate will have an opportunity today to extend the area of effective policing against monopolistic practices. It is scheduled to consider a bill by Senators O'MAHONEY and WATKINS that would shift jurisdiction over unfair trade practices in the meatpacking industry from the Department of Agriculture to the Federal Trade Commission. Congress assigned this function to Agriculture when it passed the Packers and Stockyards Act in 1921 on the assumption that it would be more vigorously enforced by that Department. This was an illusion. In 36 years the Department has issued only 28 cease-and-desist orders under the act, many of them trivial. No order dealing with monopolistic or unfair trade practices by meatpackers has been issued during the last 19 years. Representative CELLER had a good deal of justification for calling this situation "a supervisory vacuum," despite recent moves to correct it.

The inability of Agriculture to cope with the problem is evident from the fact that its Trade Practices Section is staffed by only two marketing specialists and a stenographer. Probably more important is the fact that the Department relies upon the packers for an assortment of data that go into its reports. Its major interest lies in the regulation of the country's 375 livestock markets, 1,300 commission firms, and 2,000 livestock dealers. It has neither the specialists nor the experience for effective enforcement of the law against unfair trade practices.

Recently another powerful incentive to action on this measure has arisen. The law divesting the FTC of jurisdiction over packers is so sweeping that chain stores may now indulge in unfair trade practices without challenge from the FTC if they buy a packing plant or prepare meats for shipment in interstate commerce. If for no other reason than to arrest this spreading of immunity to antitrust regulation, the law should be promptly amended.

The O'Mahoney-Watkins bill would properly leave regulation of the stockyards in the Department of Agriculture. It would shift to the FTC only the kind of watchdog function it exercises against unfair trade practices in other industries. Indeed, the meatpacking industry, although it is the third largest in the United States, is the only group which effectively escapes such supervision. The meatpackers have no better claim to immunity from FTC supervision than any other food processors.

NATIONAL FEDERATION
OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
Washington, D. C., August 21, 1957.

Hon. PETER F. MACK, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN MACK: I note your splendid remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD made on the floor of the House August 19, pages 13900–13903.

The federation membership was polled on the subject matter, and favored the O'Mahoney-Watkins bill. The result of that poll was 75 percent for, 13 percent against, and 12 percent no vote.

This was a very constructive move and I am sure this action is long overdue to protect independent business in the meat and allied industries through the help of the Federal Trade Commission.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

Booker T. Washington Birthplace Shrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose herewith a letter from the Roanoke, Va., Times, of August 22, 1957, entitled "Booker T. Washington Birthplace Shrine," showing some new sidelights on the Shrine, in which I thought my colleagues would be interested.

The letter follows:

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE SHRINE

Your editorial of July 30 under the caption, "The Booker T. Washington National Shrine" was possibly of greater interest to me than to many of the thousands who read your fine paper. This is true for several reasons: first, perhaps, because I am the only living child of Booker T. Washington. It is gratifying to me that the American Government should so honor my father as to establish a national monument at his birthplace. It is further gratifying that an outstanding publication like yours should commend this action.

Secondly because it was I who in 1945 appealed to Mr. Sidney J. Phillips to save my father's birthplace when it was put up for sale at public auction. In response to my appeal he borrowed money, purchased the plantation, and organized "The Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial" to work toward the establishment of a national monument on the site.

Because the Government's recent action in establishing a national shrine at the birthplace of Booker T. Washington is the direct result of more than 12 years of conscientious effort on the part of Mr. Phillips and those associated with him in the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, and because this fact was not brought out in your editorial, I am prompted to express gratitude to him for the job he did in making the present generation of Americans conscious of my father's contribution to our national welfare.

For more than 12 years the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial sent out millions of pieces of literature in a national program having the objective "to perpetuate the ideals and teachings of Booker T. Washington." Booker T. Washington speakers from rostrums over the Nation sought to point out to leaders of every race and creed the value of applying Booker T. Washington's teachings to today's problems—particularly to race relationship as stressed in your editorial.

It was this same program of Mr. Phillips that persuaded the Congress to enact legislation which made possible the coinage of the Booker T. Washington and Carver-Washington half dollars. These coins served as messengers of good will that aroused American interest in my father's birthplace. So also did the issuance of the Booker T. Washington centennial stamp, the year-long good will building program conducted by the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, and many other national projects instituted and carried out in Mr. Phillips' efforts to channel the American mind toward the establishment of a national shrine to honor Booker T. Washington.

The little fluid in the test tube produced by Dr. Salk was, in itself far too small in volume to save millions of America's children from the dread disease of polio, but it was the key that opened national donors to the production of sufficient vaccine to save America's most precious possessions. Fulton's idea of our first steamboat might have been considered a colossal flop from a dollar-and-cents point of view—but it laid the way for a system of water transportation worth millions. In similar manner the work of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, under Mr. Phillips' guidance, did not actually produce a national monument to Booker T. Washington, but it impressed upon the hearts and minds of the American people the fact that such a shrine is definitely in keeping with the finest and best in American tradition and custom. And out of these impressions have come legislation that will establish the shrine for which Mr. Phillips and his associates worked so hard.

PORTIA WASHINGTON PITTMAN.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Reverse of Foreign Military Convictions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in the Gary, Indiana, Post Tribune reminds us that the reverse of the American soldiers' offenses on foreign soil has been handled without ceremony and publicity:

A FAIR EXCHANGE

In all the stir over the question who is to have jurisdiction over offenses committed by United States servicemen on foreign soil, there has been little thought given to the

reverse situation—foreign soldiers in trouble in America.

The record actually is sparse. Government officials point out that under present arrangements the total of foreign troops in this country does not go beyond 5,000 at any one time. We have a good many divisions overseas, some of them well concentrated.

Furthermore, it happens that the foreign soldiers on duty in America are a carefully selected group, usually men on special training missions and the like. Consequently the average of their behavior is high.

But the record does show a few instances of convictions in United States courts for traffic violations—one resulting in an 11-month jail sentence. And there have been some cases of passing bad checks and of black-market operations.

On the whole, slim as it is, the record suggests that this country regards offenses committed by foreign soldiers here—even minor matters—as the business of American courts.

Friendly nations acting as hosts to our men aren't asking anything more for themselves.

Radio Broadcast of Tris Coffin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday evening, August 21, Tris Coffin, noted political analyst and radio commentator, reported on an unusual development in our national life on his regular program carried on Station WWDC. Tris Coffin told the story of the remarkable career of Cyril Bath, one of the foremost and outstanding citizens of Cleveland.

Cyril Bath has invented a machine which many experts believe will lead to a new industrial revolution. This invention has a vital bearing to our national defense and offers many exciting possibilities for the American people.

At my request, Tris Coffin provided me with a copy of this unusual broadcast which I am inserting in the RECORD, under leave previously granted:

A few days ago, an extraordinary man came to town. He brought a plan to save Uncle Sam a billion dollars and modernize our defenses.

His name is Cyril Bath, and he is from Solon, Ohio. Bath is an inventive genius who says cheerfully about himself, "I'm just an old-fashioned mechanic. I feel the way about tools that some men do about violins."

After listening to Bath, I have a message for Neil McElroy, the new Secretary of Defense. If I were McElroy, I would bring Bath into my office and keep him there until I had pumped him dry of his unusual fountain of knowledge.

Cyril Bath has started a new industrial revolution, and you and I will hear about it in a few years in the radical designs of new model cars. Right now, he is showing the nations of the free world how to make jet planes and guided missiles cheaper, quicker than the Russians and their satellites. Unfortunately, the Air Force hasn't caught up with Bath's methods and jet-age thinking yet.

His invention is a huge steel giant called a radial draw former. It will take a strip of titanium, stretch it to a plastic state, like pull taffy, and mold it into shape—all in one operation. This machine can turn out 1,350 parts in an hour. One airplane manufacturer reports he can cut costs two-thirds by this supergadget. Others say production time can be cut in half, and that the finished piece is much tougher and able to stand up under the great stresses of supersonic speed.

This invention, and others like it, comes at a crucial time. Reports that drift out of the Pentagon show the United States is not keeping up with its lead in jet planes. Our costs are way too high, the time consumed is dangerously low, and the ability of the planes to stand up under heats of 600 degrees and speeds of 700 miles an hour is not assured. At the same time, Russia is producing some powerful new jet planes.

Our trouble, in part, is that we are still trying to manufacture modern planes with the old presses that stamped out the stream of wings for World War II, or, by machining parts by hand.

The Air Force has been relatively slow in shifting over to new techniques.

Bath is himself an interesting individual. He invented the first working model of the push-button elevator when he was a kid of 15 hanging around his uncle's factory in London.

He ran away from home the next year, because his mother and maiden sisters wanted him to be a missionary and he wanted to be an inventor. His hero was Eli Whitney whose cotton gin revolutionized the textile industry.

The boy spent 3 years in Canada, working in railway shops and tractor stations in the western wheat fields. Then, when he had saved enough money, he took a steamer across Lake Erie. His only possessions were a machinist's kit and a bicycle. His first night in the United States he slept under the Cleveland viaduct wrapped in gunnysacks to keep off the damp cold.

Several years later, he started his own machine shop in the bricked-up end of an arch below a railway bridge. He bought secondhand tools, working at night to recondition them. He sold them during the day.

The idea for the revolutionary system of molding metal came to him about 20 years ago. The manufacturer of a streamlined train of stainless steel brought him a tough problem. The metal would not bend, form, or cut in the presses. So the engineers came to Bath who had the reputation of being a wizard with metals.

He hammered and heated; he cut and forged. But the metal, instead of taking shape in presses, would leap back out like a watchspring or wrinkle up uselessly. One night reading his favorite poetry, the beautiful Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam he found the answer. It was in these lines:

"For I remember stopping by the way
To watch a potter thumping his wet clay."

Bath saw the potter's wheel shaping the clay as it turned. Couldn't metal be handled that way? He knew that when metal is stretched to a certain point, it becomes pliable. So, Bath sketched a machine. It had steel jaws to clutch and stretch a sheet or strip of metal. Then a die mounted on a rotating table shaped the strip. In 1946, the draw former did its first big job, making intricate, curved parts for a General Motors truck body of new design. Today, all of the big motormakers are using these Bath machines, and the engineers and designers are working on new models to utilize the huge device.

Bath came into the strange new world of Mach (or faster than sound) speeds during the Korean war. A General Electric engineer brought him sheets of the new metal, titanium, for jet-engine casings. It broke like glass in the conventional presses. The GE executive asked, "Can you do anything with this? But, be careful, it costs $28 a pound." It handled perfectly in the draw formers.

A little later, a west-coast manufacturer of jets taught Bath the value of weight in these planes. He said, "If you can save us 4 ounces on 1 part, we'll throw out all our old tools and get yours."

Today, every American jet-plane manufacturer and many NATO allies use Bath's invention. A great 100-ton machine has been ordered to produce the Golden Arrow jet airliner. This adaptation of the potter's wheel produces parts for guided missiles, atomic reactors, helicopters, trains, trucks, buses, cars, refrigerators, and dishwashers, as well.

His mother's ambition has not escaped Cyril Bath entirely. He is still a missionary. He wants to see America better prepared in its defense. He had a revealing experience with the Russians in 1938. This was the year Hitler seized Austria and Czechoslovakia, and Bath saw the war coming. He drew up plans for overhauling and repairing planes in the field, and offered them to our Government. One day 5 Russians walked into his shops outside of Cleveland.

"How soon can you equip five repair plants for us?" a Russian asked.

Bath said the machines needed more research and testing before he could guarantee them or the safety of the planes. The Russian replied, "That's all right. We have plenty of pilots. Let's get on with it."

Recalling this experience, he says, "A spirit of desperate earnestness motivated those people. It startled me then, and it scares me now. Let's get ahead with our job of building a strong defense."

This is why he was in Washington a few days ago.

Curtailment of Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter directed to President Eisenhower by the New England Export Club, Inc., Boston, Mass.:

NEW ENGLAND EXPORT CLUB, INC.,
GOVERNMENT LIAISON COMMITTEE,
Pawtucket, R. I., August 21, 1957.

Re curtailment of oil imports.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The New England Export Club is disturbed over your recent action in asking a voluntary cut in imports of oil to the east coast by 20 percent from the current rate.

First, this restriction will have an immediate and direct effect upon the exports of oil from Venezuela, which is strongly allied with us in her economy and international politics.

Second, this quota on oil imports is contrary to your frequently announced program of trade liberalization.

Third, with reference to the much abused argument of national defense, there is much to be said on the other side; namely, that the using up of our own oil reserves should be reduced rather than expanded.

Fourth, this further example of yielding to protectionist pressures in this country

will contribute to the weakening of our effectiveness in persuading other countries to reduce their protections against our products.

We urge you, Mr. President, to review this matter most carefully in order that you may determine that it is wise to remove these recently announced restrictions on the importation of oil.

Respectfully yours,

IRVING JAY FAIN,
Chairman.

Three Hundred and Twenty-Nine Billion Dollar Purchasing Power Lost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert an editorial from the Omaha, Nebr., World-Herald.

With this creeping inflation all about us, I feel it is time to make a considered study of what has happened to us and what may happen in the years ahead.

Nearly every day I drive past the Archives of the United States of America. To the left of a doorway I read these words, "What is past is prologue." To the right are the words, "Study the past." The thoughts are crystal clear.

I would suggest that each Member of the Congress read the World-Herald editorial which brings into ever sharper focus what has happened and what is happening to our money. Study of the past may well bring us a more clarified vision of the future, to enable us to steer the ship of state through safer passages.

The editorial follows:

[From the Omaha World-Herald of August 21, 1957]

MEASURE OF INFLATION

Everybody knows that inflation has a sharp bite and that no one can escape it, but economists have had some trouble in expressing the actual cost in dollars and cents.

The purchasing power of the dollar has dropped to little more than half of what it was a generation ago. But how to express it in terms people can understand? The Economists' National Committee on Economic Policy believes it has found a way.

In a recent study the committee noted that the money lost in bank deposits from 1921 through 1933 totaled less than $2 billion. The politicians made a great fuss about that loss, which did indeed hit people hard. Out of it grew the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and other measures to protect people from the failure of financial institutions.

But this was a trivial item compared with the losses the people have suffered from inflation and the declining purchasing power of the dollar since 1939. The Economists' National Committee totaled up the following items:

1. Average holdings of United States savings bonds. They declined more than $42 billion.

2. Time deposits in banks. These have lost more than $50 billion in purchasing power.

3. Savings and loan associations capital. Purchasing power here has dropped almost $14 billion.

4. Life insurance in force. Since 1940 purchasing power has dropped more than $203 billion.

5. Annuities in force, income of which is important to people in retirement. Purchasing power has shrunk more than $1 billion.

6. Social-security trust and unemployment funds. Purchasing power has declined almost $18 billion in 18 years.

These six categories represent most but not all of the savings of the American people. And in these six categories alone the drop in purchasing power amounts to more than $329 billion.

This is about 97 times the bank deposit loss in the depression and the years preceding. But it is a loss against which there can be no insurance, no remedy, so long as inflation continues. It is purchasing power down the drain, purchasing power stolen from the people's savings. Here is the real measure of inflation and by comparison it makes the bank losses of the depression seem almost insignificant.

Interstate Traffic in Firearms and Ammunition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 29, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, in the May 3 issue of the Federal Register, there appeared a notice of a proposed revision by the Internal Revenue Service concerning interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition. Normally, a 30-day period is granted for the submission of data, views, or arguments pertaining to the subject before the regulations are adopted. However, in this case the deluge of data, views, and arguments from many of the 14 million citizens who own hunting licenses, from the farmers and ranchers, from the sportsmen, and from the firearms and ammunition dealers was so great that it actually swamped the office of the Director of Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division. Adoption of the regulations was postponed, and the date of August 27 was fixed to hold a public hearing on the matter.

Mr. Speaker, the ire of the hunter, farmer, rancher, dealer, and sportsman was aroused, and all of the letters did not go to the Director. The following are three typical letters which I have received from my friends in Iowa who are very concerned, as I am, over the question.

BOONE, IOWA, *August 14, 1957.*

Hon. MERWIN COAD,
Member of Congress,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to be represented in opposition to the proposed revisions in the Federal firearms regulations.

"177.50. Identification of firearms."

This I am not totally opposed to; I do believe manufacturer's name and serial number should appear for reasons of identification.

But to put marks on all existing guns would very much lessen their value to collectors and be of no real value.

"177.51. Firearms records."

The proposed permanent records is pretty much useless with the usual trading of guns this would be difficult and would place a burden on dealers the very ones who make these items available for sportsmen and citizens to inspect and purchase, why put more burden on them, people are enough.

"177.52. Ammunition records."

This don't sound too good for if anything would result in dealers desiring not to handle ammunition this is it.

I fear this would discourage many dealers from handling ammunition rather than keep such monotonous and completely useless records.

It could result in making ammunition very difficult to purchase. Let's hope this isn't what was in mind.

"177.54. Over the counter sales to individuals."

This is covered fully enough in original form (interstate commerce in firearms and ammunition).

Each State has this covered fully enough by its own legislation. I believe this is sufficient, let it stay this way.

"177.55. Authority to examine records, etc."

I don't like the sound of this at all. It has a ring of similar action that has taken place in one form or another in other countries in the past and failed so miserably.

In a country where we speak of a government of the people, for the people, by the people, this sounds somewhat dictatorial—the idea of just walking in and examining books, papers, records.

I believe, as in the past, records of dealers could be available for inspection. I believe dealers should be requested to present such information when necessary but not in the manner in which this proposal sounds to me.

Wishing your complete support.

Thank you.

DAVID A. JONES.

O'BRIEN, SCHACHT, & COLLINS,
Fort Dodge, Iowa, August 15, 1957.

Representative MERWIN COAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE COAD: On May 3, 1957, the United States Treasury Department instituted a series of regulations which foretell a very black day for millions of citizens of America. The regulations to which I refer are found in the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, volume 22, No. 86, page 3153.

The regulations very definitely are a handicap to honest, law-abiding citizens and businessmen. They do not by any stretch of the imagination help catch criminals or serve as an anticrime measure.

In this series of regulations the Treasury Department has taken on itself functions of the Congress of the United States. They have taken over the lawmaking function of the Senate and House by their regulations. It is regulations of this type which lead to bureaucratic control of the country in place of the control of the country being in the hands of the citizens through their elected representatives in Congress.

The new law could eventually lead to more stringent regulations controlling firearms to the point where American citizens will lose their right to possess firearms. Ultimately this could lead to the situation which exists in many foreign countries, such as England, where similar gun laws have completely stopped legitimate traffic in firearms with-

but curbing crime or serving any useful purpose, but only serves to leave a defenseless citizenry.

I would greatly appreciate any assistance which you in your official capacity could give the 20 million sportsmen in this country of yours the consideration which they deserve and which is guaranteed to them in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN A. SCHACHT, M. D.

HUMBOLDT, IOWA, *July 3, 1957.*

Hon. MERWIN COAD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COAD: I urge you to please pick up a copy of the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, volume 22, No. 86, which contains a proposed set of Federal firearms regulations. These regulations concern a revision of the Federal Firearms Act passed in 1938 which controls interstate and foreign commerce in all firearms and handgun ammunition.

A part of these regulations now being considered would so cripple the population of the United States in time of war that the enemy would be able to locate every gun in the country simply by seizing a few records. These regulations actually propose that a detailed record of each gun sold be kept. This would mean the abolition of each person's right to protect himself.

Do something.

DICK LANE
(An unhappy citizen).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Both Houses cleared AEC and supplemental appropriations bills for President.

Senate considered bill on statements and reports of witnesses, reaching agreement to limit debate thereon, and passed numerous sundry bills.

See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 14340–14361

Bills Introduced: 11 bills and 2 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2841–2851; and S. Con. Res. 49–50.

Pages 14341–14342

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

Report of Select Committee on Small Business entitled "Government Procurement—1957" (S. Rept. 1111); (DAILY DIGEST of August 22, p. D815, inadvertently showed H. Con. Res. 215 as bearing S. Rept. 1111, whereas it actually was reported without written report);

H. R. 3028, providing relief for certain female members of the Air Force, with amendment (S. Rept. 1112);

S. 41, authorizing conveyance of certain lands in Tarrant and Wise Counties to Texas, with amendments (S. Rept. 1113);

H. R. 4144, to provide that the commanding general of the militia of D. C. shall hold rank of major general (S. Rept. 1114);

H. R. 896, to provide for the performance of heraldic services for the U. S. by the Quartermaster General (S. Rept. 1115); and

H. R. 6322, to delay dates for submission of plan for future control of property of Menominee Tribe, with amendment (S. Rept. 1116). Page 14341

Bills Referred: Numerous House-passed bills and House-passed resolutions were referred to appropriate committees. Pages 14339–14340, 14369

Bill Placed on Calendar: H. R. 8576, a private bill, was ordered placed on calendar. Page 14369

Indian Hospitals: Senate adopted conference report on H. R. 9023, relating to Indian hospitalization payments to Bernalillo County, N. Mex. Page 14355

Appropriation Bills Cleared for President: The following two appropriation bills were cleared for the President:

Supplemental: H. R. 9131, fiscal 1958 supplemental appropriations (by adoption of conference report and concurrence of Senate in House amendments to Senate amendments Nos. 6 (construction of an additional airport for D. C.), and 54 (providing additional funds for civil functions, Department of Army); and

Atomic Energy Commission: H. R. 9379, fiscal 1958 appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission (by adoption of conference report). Prior to this action, Senate had passed the bill with committee amendments.

Pages 14362, 14366–14368, 14375–14379

Bills Cleared for President: Two other bills were cleared for White House in the manner indicated:

Mineral land: S. 268, authorizing return by Army to owners of certain mineral interests in land acquired for flood-control purposes (concurrence in House amendments thereto); and

Air carrier loans: S. 2229, to provide for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers for purchase of aircraft and equipment (by adoption of conference report). Pages 14361, 14385–14386

Sundry Bills Passed: Senate took up and passed as indicated 20 sundry bills, as follows:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

Whitney Dam: H. R. 2580, to increase storage capacity of Whitney Dam and Reservoir;

School assistance: H. R. 8679, to provide a 1-year extension of programs of Federal assistance to schools in areas affected by Federal activities;

Virgin Islands: H. R. 8126, to amend section 16 (c) of the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands;

Alaska: H. R. 7864, relating to the establishment of public recreational facilities in Alaska;

Appendix

Address Intended To Have Been Delivered by Hon. Edward Martin of Pennsylvania at Civil Liberties Meeting of the Grand Lodge Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I had hoped to speak at the civil liberties meeting of the grand lodge convention, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in South Philadelphia, this afternoon, but work here in the Senate prevented.

The man in charge of this meeting is a very outstanding Pennsylvanian, the Honorable Hobson R. Reynolds, whose patriotism and leadership have been recognized over the years.

I ask unanimous consent that my proposed address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN OF PENNSYLVANIA, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT THE CIVIL LIBERTIES MEETING OF THE GRAND LODGE CONVENTION, IMPROVED BENEVOLENT AND PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD, IN THE SOUTH PHILADELPHIA HIGH SCHOOL, MONDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 26, 1957

I am highly honored by your invitation to address this important convention.

Your organization has grown great by loyal adherence to American ideals. Throughout its history the Improved Order of Elks has been a powerful influence in the moral and spiritual advancement of our Nation. Belief in Almighty God and loyalty to the flag are the fundamental principles of its doctrine.

You have attained a high place of honor and prestige because you practice and preach brotherhood, good will, tolerance, and helpfulness to the less fortunate. You serve America by your example of good citizenship, civic responsibility, and obedience to the laws of God and man.

I am happy to bid you welcome to this great and historic city of Philadelphia, the center of patriotic inspiration for every American. Here the Liberty Bell is enshrined in honored glory, the sacred symbol of liberty and independence.

To those of you who have come here from distant places, I would humbly offer a suggestion. Be sure to visit Independence Hall. Stand before the Liberty Bell and read its exalted message from the Old Testament:

"Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

I promise you it will be a most rewarding experience. It will renew and strengthen your faith in the true spirit of America.

Here is the birthplace of the United States of America, where the Founding Fathers pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" in adopting the Declaration of Independence. In this greatest document of freedom ever written they gave the world a new concept of human worth and dignity, based on the divine truths of the Holy Bible.

The courageous patriots who built the foundation of American freedom believed that each human being is created in the image and likeness of God. This belief was so eloquently expressed when they proclaimed:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Here, in the city of Philadelphia, the Constitution was adopted to safeguard the citizen in his freedom and to protect this God-given rights against tyranny and oppression by government.

The framers of the Constitution were the wisest men of their day.

They wanted a government operated for the moral, spiritual, and material advancement of all the people, not for the special benefit of any class or section. That means a government of the law and not of men. The American Constitution was planned to extend equal protection to every citizen, rich or poor, great or humble. That protection is one of the bulwarks of our national strength. It is not dependent upon the opinion of any individual or group, no matter how powerful.

Under that plan of government, in less than 200 years of freedom, the American people have transformed a savage wilderness into the greatest Nation the world has ever known.

Under that plan of government the Negro, in spite of difficulties and handicaps, has achieved greater progress in a shorter span of years than any people in all world history.

Your people have succeeded as educators, lawyers, physicians, and clergymen. You have achieved greatness in science, art, and music. You have won a place of increasing importance in business, insurance, and banking. You are represented by outstanding figures in diplomacy and government. As craftsmen and industrial workers you have contributed to the productive strength of our country in peace and war.

The Negroes of America have proven their loyalty and patriotism in every war in which our country has been engaged. From the first shots fired in the Revolution to the conflict in Korea they have given their lives to preserve the ideals of freedom. The loyalty of the Negro has never been questioned.

The great names of Negro achievement are known to all and are honored by every true American—Booker T. Washington, in education, George W. Carver, in science, Ralph J. Bunche in diplomacy and law, to mention a few.

But equal in importance, if less known to fame, are thousands of modest, hard-working, self-respecting Negro men and women who are serving their fellow men with outstanding ability and the highest integrity in many fields.

In every city and town, in every community, their example is an inspiration to their fellow citizens, regardless of color, creed or national origin.

It would serve no useful purpose to discuss at length the details of the legislative battle that has been waged in the Senate on the civil-rights issue.

I agree with the statement of President Eisenhower when he said:

"Rarely in our entire legislative history have so many extraneous issues been introduced into the debate in order to confuse both legislators and the public."

However, the basic principles stand out clear through the fog of confusion which some tried to create. These principles are the foundation of the American way of life, which cannot be fully realized until the blessings of America are open to every citizen who abides by her rules. I have repeatedly asserted my faith in Americanism which, in my opinion, is the right of everyone to enjoy the benefits and opportunities of this great country as long as he obeys its laws. I have always voted in accordance with that firm conviction and shall continue to do so.

The broad general purposes of civil-rights legislation should be:

1. To wipe out the political inequalities that exist because of racial differences.

2. To establish beyond all doubt that we have only one class of citizenship here in the United States.

3. That under our form of Government all citizens have equal rights and equal obligations.

4. That educational and economic opportunities should be shared equally, with no distinction as to color, creed, or national origin.

5. That no force, in or out of Government, can deprive any citizen of those rights which we hold to be of divine origin.

6. That the right to participate in government by the free exercise of the ballot is an inherent right of every law-abiding citizen because here in the United States we, the people, are the Government.

That seems to me to cover the legal aspects of the issue but the moral side embraces many more considerations.

You cannot legislate brotherhood, righteousness, tolerance, and good will into the hearts of men.

Those qualities must be created by a deeper understanding of man's relationship to God. They must be strengthened by adherence to the principles of religion.

Brotherhood springs from the heart. It is a quality that enobles the spirit. It does not thrive under compulsion but flourishes where freemen meet on common ground, equal in prestige and equal in dignity, and stand together for the common good.

The fundamental truths of human progress are everlasting and unchanging. They apply equally to all races of mankind. They are firmly established on the Golden Rule, the Sermon on the Mount, and the teachings of the Holy Bible.

The United States has been called by destiny to leadership for peace, justice, and freedom in the world.

To serve that noble cause we must set before the other nations an example of decency and righteousness.

To go forward in leadership we must first protect the rights and liberties of our own citizens.

Let us hope and pray that our land may be cleansed of bitterness, hate, and prejudice.

Then, we can stand together in fellowship and understanding, respecting the rights of each other, and reaching upward for the finer things of life that bring peace, harmony, and friendship.

Address by Gov. G. Mennen Williams to the Order of Ahepa Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, on August 21 the distinguished Governor of Michigan, the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, addressed the 31st national convention of the Order of Ahepa in St. Louis, Mo.

In his speech, Governor Williams dealt particularly with the problem of Cyprus and American foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN, ORDER OF AHEPA, 31ST NATIONAL CONVENTION BANQUET, ST. LOUIS, MO., AUGUST 21, 1957

Tonight we dine with the Ahepa family.

Truly, I am sorry that my wife, Nancy, could not be here tonight. She would feel perfectly at home at this convention as an active member of the Ahepa family. She is, as many of you know, an enthusiastic member of the Daughters of Penelope. She pays her dues, too, like all the rest of us.

Yes, I am proud to be identified as an Ahepan. This great fraternal organization serves, among other purposes, as a reminder and even a monument, to that eternal debt which the world owes to the Greeks of antiquity. You are the proud namesakes of a great spiritual and cultural legacy—a legacy that has been bequeathed to all mankind; a legacy that is more than a legacy, by the way, as Ypsilanti proved in the last century, and Mussolini and Stalin found out in this.

Today the world is locked in a great struggle—our concept of freedom versus that of totalitarianism. This is not really a new concept. It is but a modern phase of the same struggle which confronted ancient Greece. In that day, the leaders and intellectuals of glorious Greece brought forth, after their struggle, the same basic concepts of freedom which we fight to uphold in the world today. The God-given right of all peoples to be free was first proclaimed by Plato when he declared that men must be free to seek the truth, and that truth would make men free.

This immortal principle and the love of freedom and country sustained Leonidas at Thermopylae, as it fortified George Washington at Valley Forge. It has strengthened and inspired patriots and freedom lovers in every land and every age, not least of all our own.

In addition to today's problem of maintaining freedom throughout the world, we also confront the simultaneous problem of maintaining peace in a world technically equipped to destroy itself through atomic war. The United Nations is still our best hope for peace and survival. All Americans may well pay tribute to Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt who were the architects of the League of Nations and of the United Nations. Yes, Woodrow Wilson conceived the League of Nations and Franklin Delano Roosevelt the United Nations; but how many people know that the basic idea of a world organization for peace was originally conceived by the ancient Greeks who founded an institution called the Amphytionic Council? This was the first effort in the long history of mankind to resolve the differences between nations through a world organization. Socrates dramatized the moral idea behind this concept when he said: "I am a citizen, not of Athens nor of Greece alone—but of the entire world."

Today the triumph of the eternal principles of truth, freedom, and peace, depends upon the extent to which each and every one of us takes an active part in the affairs of our Government. Here again the Greeks had a word for it. Pericles' advice to the citizens of Athens was this: "A man who takes no part in public business was called by some a quiet man, but by Athenians he is called useless."

And, fellow Ahepans, there is modern truth in this ancient saying of Pericles. Where public business is not accepted as everybody's business, the public interest suffers—and everybody gets the business.

Ahepans, who are in the tradition of Pericles, know that to be a good citizen it is necessary to be aware of public issues and to be always concerned about the public business.

There is the issue, in our foreign policy, of our attitude toward Cyprus, and its relationship to the principle of self-determination. We have often avowed that principle in the past. Woodrow Wilson enunciated it just 40 years ago. It has been echoed by many other spokesmen for the high ideals of America. Yet our Government has been less than forthright in supporting this principle in regard to Cyprus.

Of course, American policy toward Cyprus must take into consideration the defense and security interests of the free world—and Great Britain is one of the bastions of the free world. So is Turkey. We must maintain our close relations with our ally, Britain, and with Turkey, too. But Greece is also our great and true ally. And a basic principle is involved in the Cyprus issue. We must use our influence to advance the principle of self-determination as far as Cyprus is concerned. The people of Cyprus must have a voice in the determination of their status. And we must support them in this, as we must support the principles of free world security, too. The two can be reconciled, and the interests of Britain and Turkey should be supported, but not at the expense of the freeedom of the people of Cyprus.

A solution must be found, and with the least possible delay. Each day of needless delay worsens the situation and plays into the hands of the enemies of all free peoples—and provides grist for the Communist mill. This is why I was happy 2 years ago to accept your invitation to become a member of your Justice for Cyprus Committee.

While I am talking about our foreign policy, I would like to comment upon a recent statement by Secretary of State Dulles before a congressional committee—a statement which illuminates some of the errors which, in my judgment, have characterized America's foreign policy in recent years.

Secretary Dulles told the Appropriations Committee, when asked whether our foreign aid policy was correctly designed to win friends for the United States, that the foreign policy of the United States is not designed to win friends for America, but rather to serve America's immediate interests.

Naturally I was shocked to read this statement. It reflects a fundamental misunderstanding of both the long-range and the short-range goals of the United States. We need friends in the world today. We cannot have too many of them. Our security depends upon it. Victory for the cause of freedom depends upon it.

The unity of the free world is synonymous with the security of the free world. There is no American interest which is inconsistent with the goal of getting and keeping friends.

To conduct American foreign policy, Secretary Dulles should understand this fundamental truth. If he did, it would result in a clarification of our policy toward Cyprus, and toward many other of the difficult problems which face us in the world today. His lack of understanding of this basic principle has resulted in our losing friends everywhere and in the policy of brag and bluster which has led us so often to the brink of disaster in recent years—the disaster of free world disunity.

Just as we must recognize the principle of the equality of citizens in our own country, we must recognize the principle of the equality of free peoples everywhere.

One of the historic climaxes in the development of American foreign policy—one of the great defeats suffered by the forces of totalitarianism—occurred just 10 years ago when President Harry S. Truman proclaimed the Truman doctrine and saved Greece and Turkey for the free world. When he proclaimed that the United States considered the security of Greece and of Turkey to be essential to American security—and implemented that proclamation with action, he stopped the Communist juggernaut dead in its tracks as it was sweeping across southern and eastern Europe. That was American foreign policy at its finest. That development in our foreign policy, plus the Marshall plan, saved Europe from communism and saved America from isolation and siege.

This is the kind of foreign policy which recognizes principle and friendship, which is true to the best traditions of America. I hope our policy will turn more in this direction in the days ahead—the direction of peace, security, justice, and freedom.

John Shaughnessy's Campaign To Mark Exports "Made in the United States of America"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the September 1, 1956, issue of the Tablet. The editorial which I ask to have printed in the RECORD comments on the efforts being made by John J. Shaughnessy, of Brooklyn, N. Y., to have our exports marked "Made in the United States of America."

Mr. Shaughnessy is a former civil-service employee of the Army Chemical Corps who is seriously fearful that his separation from Government employment rolls is due to his one-man campaign to implement the "Made in the United States of America" resolution.

THE DISCREDITED ARMY REPLY

The Catholic War Veterans, at its recent national convention in Manchester, N. H., became the latest in a long list of patriotic organizations, individuals and publications to support John J. Shaughnessy, the Brooklynite, whose campaign to have our exports marked "Made in the United States of America" was unanimously adopted by both Houses of Congress and almost as unanimously ignored by the executive branch. The backing by this large and respected organization points up the fact that, to the best of our knowledge, no one who has studied the case has supported the opposition stand by a small but powerful group in the Army.

Mr. Shaughnessy, a civil-service employee of the Army Chemical Corps, says that when he protested that the congressional resolution was being sabotaged by inaction, he was told that his activities were embarrassing to some unnamed higher-up and that he would have to shut up or seek employment elsewhere. He refused and has been seeking employment elsewhere since last September.

A number of patriots throughout the country have protested to the President, the Congress and the Army and received every type of reaction except positive action. Army officials requested an appointment to present its case here, which we granted, only to have them postpone and then cancel it. They put their defense in an impressive sounding form letter. On February 11, we printed Mr. Shaughnessy's point-by-point rebuttal, which seemed to indicate that they were either stupid or dishonest or both.

We then wrote to Hugh M. Milton, Assistant Secretary of the Army, and offered to print its side in the dispute. He referred the letter to Col. W. E. Maulsby, Jr., who replied "Inasmuch as you are already in possession of all the facts regarding Mr. Shaughnessy's case, there is nothing this office could add in the way of comment." He did not deny or correct a single word of Mr. Shaughnessy's charges. Nevertheless, the discredited form letter, on the stationery of the Secretary of the Army, is still being sent to inquirers.

The Army's officials maintain that (1) Mr. Shaughnessy has been offered another job, which he refused; (2) his position was 1 of 27 eliminated for economy reasons; (3) he has received and will continue to receive extraordinary and preferential consideration for available civil-service employment; and (4) he was not separated because of his "mark American" activities.

Here is Mr. Shaughnessy's rebuttal:

(1) Concerning his refusal to accept the other position: "The job offer was made nearly a month before I received my notice of separation; no indication of any kind whatsoever was made that my refusal would result in the termination of my other position; in fact, my immediate superior encouraged me not to make the change."

(2) Concerning the 27 positions allegedly eliminated: 9 were ungraded, that is, not civil-service classified positions, as many people were led to believe; 8 were paper positions, that is, unoccupied at the time they were eliminated; 5 employees were transferred or reassigned; that accounts for 22 of the 27. "Of the other 5, at least 4, to my knowledge, were separated," he says. "It is interesting to note that in a separate action at the same time, four other civilians were hired." The Army later announced that two of the positions were reinstated. It admitted that Mr. Shaughnessy's position was the only one in his branch that was eliminated. In addition, he asserts that 90 percent, if not all, of the other employees were interviewed before their jobs were eliminated. He, however, was fired without benefit of an interview.

(3) Concerning his receiving preferential consideration for available civil-service employment: when civil-service officials in New York attempted to find out if there were any jobs, for which he was qualified and to which he was entitled, being held by employees with less seniority, the Army refused to furnish the list. Mr. Shaughnessy adds that "items in the public press that the Army and other Government agenices are advertising for men in my job classification should be additional evidence of the doubletalk and chicanery to which I and citizens interested in my case have been subjected."

(4) Concerning his separation because of "mark American" activities: "My charge that I was told to stop my efforts or seek employment elsewhere was conveyed to the White House in a letter dated October 19, 1954; to then Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens in a letter dated November 11, 1954; and to Lt. Col. D. S. Purl of the Office of the Inspector General, Chemical Corps, in a conversation on or about December 13, 1954. "If any of these people thought I was lying, I could have been brought up on charges and dismissed. Indeed, they would have been obliged to take such action because of the effect of my charges on the morale of other employees and the reputation of the Army. But, as usual, they ignored my charges rather than face them."

If it comes down to a question of veracity between Mr. Shaughnessy and the Army officials, we mustn't overlook the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee study which agreed that our exports are not being properly marked and told the Army its testimony was in direct contradiction of the facts. Both independent surveys of the subject also back Mr. Shaughnessy.

The three most unfortunate results of this dispute are: (1) The father of 11 children, who has been charged with nothing except patriotism, is unemployed; (2) the "mark American" program, with its tremendous potential for international good will, is falling short of its mark; (3) in the minds of many citizens, the Army as a whole because of a few people at top level who speak for the Army as a whole, is under the shadow of guilt. For the sake of the reputation of all concerned—including the American people and the Congress—we urge Army officials to clear up this miserably unfair case.

Treatment of Past Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful editorial which was published in the Staples World, of Staples, Minn.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAST PRESIDENTS

Dwight D. Eisenhower has little more than 2 years remaining as President of the United States. He will then step down from the biggest office in the world.

President Eisenhower will retire, and divide his remaining years among his Gettysburg farm, golf and family. His wish will be to have nothing to say regarding the future executive affairs of the United States. He will undoubtedly be firm in not wishing to step on the toes of his successor.

Ike will then step into oblivion, after acquiring all the knowledge and experience of 8 years as President of the United States.

This country now has two former Presidents retired. From time to time we read a short paragraph about them and their very private lives.

Both Herbert Hoover and Harry Truman served their country in critical periods.

It seems a terrible waste for both these men to be at the helm of the Nation, and then a few years later suddenly be so far removed from the Government that were they to revisit the White House unannounced—their faces already forgotten by the domestic staff—they would risk arrest.

This country sadly neglects its living Presidents. They should not be allowed to retreat into the history books while still alive. Soldiers may fade away, but once the outgoing President shakes hands with the incoming executive on the rostrum after the inauguration, this Government has allowed itself to fall into the bad habit of allowing him to become nonexistent.

Their years of experience in handling top secrets, international negotiations, foreign affairs, internal matters, problems of both war and peace should not be rewarded with nonentity. What was learned is too valuable to be treated lightly and dismissed along with the man, only to be learned again through sweat, trial and error.

The country and the world can profit from the wisdom, experience and judgment of the former executives of free America.

They have earned a rest, but let the Congress bestow upon them a leisurely lifetime position with perhaps a pension. Let the Government recognize them as a voice to be heard for as long as they live. Let their views be invited—requested.

An office of some kind should be created for this country's retired Presidents.—I. S.

The Night Before America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Congress will not be in session on Columbus Day, but I know of no more fitting way to pay tribute to the valiant admiral of the ocean sea, the man who discovered the wonders of the New World, than to include in the RECORD at this time a stirring poem by Norma Farber entitled "The Night Before America."

This poem originally appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on Columbus Day of last year—October 12, 1956. The distinguished poetess, who in private life is the wife of one of America's most noted physicians, Dr. Sidney Farber, has captured the drama and epic grandeur of the moment in 1492 when the three little caravels, the *Nina* and *Pinta* and *Santa Maria*, stood off the tropical shores of San Salvador.

I ask unanimous consent that Norma Farber's poem, The Night Before America, from the Christian Science Monitor of October 12, 1956, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NIGHT BEFORE AMERICA

All the night they heard birds passing,
navigating air southwestward,

flying wing routes into darkness,
over the slack and strain of rigging,
over the faint hearts, over the night fears,
over the Admiral Don Cristóbal
pledged to land, island or mainland,
four weeks out of sight of tierra,
thirty days out of Canaries
into the predicate of westward
Indies, westward into the Indies,
goal of the keel, clue to the voyage,
purpose of helm, the sail's finale,
all through the darkness, toda la noche
sound of flyways flapping arrival,
fledging closer to coastal country
tremulous with immient landing,
inkling trees and branchy shadow,
shade-to-be for sailors listening,
chins uplifted, ears as wide as
night with listening, hearing passing
birds: oyeron pasar los pájaros
all that mariner night of noises
mingling into avian passage
pinion-tacking over the caravels.

All the night, the whole night-roundness
global as earth, the rotund planet,
birds and ships where heard in passage,
birds by ships, and ships by fishes
marveling under cloven waters
where the *Pinta* spattered the fathom,
narrow the *Nina* startled the dolphin,
longer *Maria* with more of footage
freshened the seas with silver issue.
All that night they sailed the roundness,
heard that roundness birdlike passing
all the curving night above them,
while they sought awry an orient,
found false orient and trued it,
roaded error into finding,
found Cathay amid Antilles,
found a verity of roundness,
founded earth, its right conformance,
found their west and steered upon it,
sailed within its arcing wholeness,
heard it roundly and completely
swelling up their ears with passage:
listening men become enlarged with
truth, for they had held it total
filling them.

Landing is logical
after ocean, is the passage
come to moment-haven, anchor
lowered after weeks of water
leaning westward meaning eastward,
landing a navigator shoreward,
furrowing earthward through Atlantic
under night-clandestine plumage
pointing ships to candid harbor,
out of watches terse with passage
where all night they listened deeply
learning landing like an answer
waiting on their sea of question,
seizing lineage of America,
taking hemisphere, a moorage
early in the breaking morning.

What is shore if not a passage,
firm conveyance to the interior,
farther trek to more of coastline,
into other surf and travel,
new Pacific, nameless landfalls
still equivocal for mapping?
What is westward if the world is
all around, within, without us,
over us and turning under us,
beckoning ships and men in transit
as the birds that seethe the darkness
flash and beacon us with alary
brightness by their fringing passage
toward the dawn-watch of discovery?

How the flight of bird-fine music
floats its silken passage over us,
sweetens us with tone and tidings,
smartens us for terra firma
after journeys salt-encrusted,
wind-abraded, longing-weakened.
How the land is loosed from ocean:
Asia same and seeming counter,
Africa envisioned backwards,
paradoxes sighted proudly,
continents by morning kindled,
seas released beyond their boundaries,
further lands, and further fathoms,
upward, outward, reaching roundward
where cartographers go lightly
guessing contour and conclusion.

And we passengers in transience
from familiar to invention
in a latter-day connaissance,
like Columbian explorers
latitudinal as orbits
keeping orderly their courses:
we who pass the night of coursing,
rafted through the nightfall crossing,
realize our long intention
by the breaching light of morning.
And we mark our seas and spaces,
note our heralds, how in passage
they confirm the distant passage
closing in for our acquaintance,
bringing firmament beside us:
intimate and boldly slated
sequence of our nightsome vagrance
ending now in glim and portent
as of birds that once were passing
over men from Palos harbor,
as of land beyond all ocean
all that night before America,
all the night they heard birds passing.

—*Norma Farber.*

Lindbergh's Role in World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article which was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 25, 1957. The title of this article is "Lindbergh's War II Role Is Revealed."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LINDBERGH'S WAR II ROLE IS REVEALED

Charles A. Lindbergh shot down at least one Japanese plane, was nearly shot down himself in another flight in the Pacific, and was instrumental in increasing the combat range of P–38's in World War II.

Gen. George C. Kenney, United States Air Force, retired, head of the Allied Air Forces in the Pacific under Gen. Douglas MacArthur, revealed these facts, some previously reported, in a copyrighted International News Service story.

General Kenney said that in the summer of 1944, Lindbergh appeared in Australia without authorization. He had only authorization from the Navy to make observations in the South Pacific for some aviation companies seeking to determine the efficiency in combat of single- and two-engined fighter planes. Legal status was obtained from General MacArthur and Lindbergh was asked by General Kenney to teach P–38 pilots to obtain more range from their planes.

RANGE INCREASED

Lindbergh flew with the P–38 squadrons for 6 weeks. "He preached and practiced his technique of economical operation of engines," Kenney said. The range was increased from 400 miles to 600 miles, and there was talk of the possibility of increasing the range to 800 miles, Kenney said.

Lindbergh shot down an enemy plane in August 1944 over the island of Ceram. Kenney had told him that in a matter of self-defense, he could fire. Lindbergh put in no claim for credit and the downed plane was never listed officially. The plane had appeared in front of Lindbergh's while he was observing a raid on a Japanese oil depot on the island.

That same month, a Japanese plane got behind Lindbergh's over the island of Babelthuap. Other planes in the flight shot down the tailing plane and several others.

Kenney said he told Lindbergh he should return home. "I owed him a debt of real gratitude for increasing the combat range of our fighter planes. * * * It was going to pay heavy dividends for the rest of the war, and I appreciated what he had done. But, I was getting worried for fear he would be shot down. If that happened, it would hurt the Air Force and it would certainly bring down a lot of criticism on MacArthur and me for permitting him to go out on such missions."

PLEDGED TO SILENCE

Lindbergh agreed to silence on his part in the war and has never broken it, Kenney said. Kenney himself has answered questions about Lindbergh's wartime activities with the words: "There is no official record of Lindbergh ever having flown a combat mission in the Southwest Pacific area."

Kenney said he sees no reason now to deny that "so far as I am concerned, Charles Augustus Lindbergh was one of the unsung heroes of World War II."

"I know that he shot down one Japanese plane over Ceram. I know that he nearly got shot down during a flight to Palau just before I sent him home. As far as I know, those are the only combats he ever got into, although there may have been others that the grapevine did not communicate to me. I didn't ask too many questions about it during the war and I haven't since," said Kenney.

In February 1954, President Eisenhower commissioned Lindbergh a brigadier general in the Air Force Reserve. It served as recognition of his service to the Air Force and his country over a 27-year period.

Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, commander of the Air Force in China during World War II, last month stated Lindbergh had shot down a plane and also had dropped bombs from a fighter plane on an enemy gun installation in the Pacific.

The Outstanding Reputation of the State of Wisconsin—No Hidden Taxes Increase the Cost of Doing Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in recent months the Nation has noted with sadness a series of scandals involving public officials in various States of the Union.

HANDS IN THE PUBLIC POCKET

Without in any way criticizing the States as a whole, the facts are that there have been a serious State insurance scandal in Texas; a highway commission scandal in Indiana; a State

uditing scandal in Illinois, and a series of other indications elsewhere that umerous public officials have had their ands inside the public pocket for all hey could get.

This fact came to mind the other day hen I read a column by Mr. John Wyngaard, State capitol correspondent for number of leading Wisconsin newspapers. He devoted the column to a ondition in contrast to the one I have ust mentioned—the outstanding reputation of the Badger State for the complete integrity of its State and municipal perations.

Throughout the country, there is none o dispute that, fortunately, the State f Wisconsin has been about as unmarred by scandals in public office as irtually any other State of the Union.

We, of Wisconsin, have a tradition for ntegrity in public office which we prize.

Our newspapers are particularly alert n helping to serve as civic consciences. The slightest infraction by a public servant is liable to end up on the front pages f Wisconsin dailies. And the slightest infraction will result in immediate disciplinary action and/or removal.

O HIDDEN TAX OF CORRUPTION IN WISCONSIN

Let me say that we, of Wisconsin, do not boast vainly or arrogantly about this spotless reputation. We are, however, humbly proud of it. And we do cite it n extending a hand of welcome to industries outside our own borders.

We advise them that if they want to establish factories within the Badger State, they are not going to have to pay under the table for various kinds of State or local licenses or permits.

They are not going to have to pay off official inspectors. They are not going o have to add a 5 or 10 percent hidden tax to grease the palms of greedy officials.

The fact of the matter is that in many cities and States across the country, private business has been so plagued by the payoff problem that it ups its costs by 5 or 10 percent simply to provide leeway for all the public officials who will come, palms outstretched for a payoff.

This alarming situation has been described in a whole series of newspaper and magazine exposés in all corners of the country.

But there is no such hidden tax in the State of Wisconsin. There is no such tradition that you have to pay off to anyone.

NEEDED: INCORRUPTIBLE CIVIL SERVICE

We, of the Badger State, are determined to maintain this tradition. And we earnestly hope that States which do not have the tradition of an incorruptible civil service will exert their best efforts to establish it.

I send to the desk the text of Mr. Wyngaard's column of August 23, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HONESTY OF WISCONSIN'S GOVERNMENT AMAZES LESS FORTUNATE NEIGHBORS

(By John Wyngaard)

MADISON.—The sales agent who came to Madison to get the big contract that was advertised by a State agency said meaningfully to the department head: "What do I do?"

"You sharpen your pencil and figure the lowest bid posisble," quietly replied the Administrator. The sales agent looked incredulous for a moment, then picked up his hat and left. His bid has not been received thus far, but he is now pretty sure that it will be accepted or rejected purely on the basis of its competition with others, and without any gifts to public officials, threats of political pressure, or the other devices employed in the more cynical political jurisdictions of the land.

At a time when there appear to be almost daily revelations around the country about betrayals of trust and bribery and thievery in public and quasi-public affairs, it may be refreshing for the people of Wisconsin to be reminded again that their own State government is operated according to ethical standards that sometimes bring gasps of amazement from politicians and journalists of other States.

CONTRASTS

There are as many sensitive agencies in the Wisconsin capital—and indeed in local governments—as there are in comparable jurisdictions elsewhere. State regulatory agencies have powers that involve millions of dollars of profit or loss in private enterprise. The State highway department is now entrusted with spending what would have brought gasps from the taxpayers a generation ago. The investment commission, the parole board, the governor's office, the industrial commission are daily making decisions profoundly important to the persons and organizations affected.

In other States there are periodical explosions of scandal. One of this State's immediate neighbors is notorious in that respect. In other States the auditor is a combination detective and prosecutor, a famous man as a consequence. In Wisconsin he works in virtual anonymity, although J. J. Keliher is as persistent and thorough an auditor of the State's financial dealings as probably can be had.

A free-wheeling operator recently called at the State department of public welfare to announce that he intended to represent a prison inmate interested in a parole. It was plain that he was accustomed to liberties in his native habitat in a neighboring State.

But in the Wisconsin capital he was promptly given his comeuppance. He departed and hasn't returned.

ASSET

To some persons it has a trite sound when the governor or a legislative committee declares that this State's habits of cleanliness in governmental affairs is an asset, in recruiting new business enterprise for example.

But it is true, nevertheless. In Wisconsin there are no hidden taxes, whatever may be the comparative rank of taxes on the record.

It is idle to dispute about the reasons for that distinction. They relate to many factors. It is important to recognize the fact and to resolve that it will be sustained.

Nomination of Maxwell H. Gluck To Be Ambassador to Ceylon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have just received from Miss Judy Norrell. Miss Norrell is in Madras, India, on a Government scholarship.

Miss Norrell was an outstanding student from my State, and I am sure she will represent our country in a creditable manner in India. She is the daughter of Representative and Mrs. NORRELL, of Monticello, Ark. I believe my colleagues will be interested in her comments.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MADRAS, INDIA, *August 21, 1597.*

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: I am writing to refer to you the enclosed clipping from the Madras Hindu newspaper concerning the appointment of Mr. Gluck. I'm sure that you have seen Mr. Lippmann's statement, but I thought you might be interested in knowing the coverage of the Gluck case in India, and more particularly in a paper like the Hindu.

I should like to congratulate you upon your stand on Mr. Gluck's appointment and assure you that this kind of appointment does very much injure our standing in this part of the world. I was questioned by many of the students as to how we could think of sending out a man to be our representative who so obviously lacked the background for the job. I would hope that the publicity surrounding the appointment of Mr. Gluck would point up the necessity for more careful consideration of our ambassadors, and that some good would come from this case.

For your information this case has been widely covered in all the Indian newspapers I have seen, and there has been a great deal of comment by the Indian press concerning the appointment of Mr. Gluck. I was very happy to see Mr. Lippmann's statement given the coverage it has been, because I think it will help our position to have represented some self-criticism.

I'm well settled now in Madras and am attending lectures in Indian philosophy at Madras University under Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan. I'm living at the women's hostel of the Madras Christian College, and finding the entire experience a challenge. India in reality is far different from my impressions of it from home, and each day I'm learning more about the complexity of this culture and the so-called Indian mind. I am very impressed by the need here for more work so far as relating the aims of the United States to India. The Russian publicity here is amazing, and I'm afraid that we have much to learn concerning the use of Voice of America, etc.

I should like to thank you for your efforts on my behalf prior to my leaving Washington. I have found since my arrival that there was a great deal of confusion about the notification of Fulbright grantees to India, and that my case was by no means the most irregular. I'm very grateful, however, that you were able to inquire for me and that the notification came through when it did.

I shall be eager to talk with you upon my return home about my reactions to India and impressions of this year. I think this will be one of the most worthwhile years of my life, and I am, indeed, of the opinion that international study is one of the most important things for any real education.

I am reminded of the quote you used from H. G. Welles when you spoke some years back at Ohio Wesleyan University commenting that civilization is a race between catastrophe and education. That seems more true to me today than ever.

I hope that Congress is about to adjourn and that you will be able to enjoy a restful summer. My best regards to Mrs. Fulbright, and again my thanks for your efforts on my behalf.

Sincerely yours,

JUDY NORRELL.

Unit of Measurement for Grains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Minnesota Farmer. The title of this article is "Bushel versus Hundredweight." This is an informative article, and therefore it will be of value to the readers of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSHEL VERSUS HUNDREDWEIGHT

The subject of bushel versus hundredweight as a unit of measurement for grains and other farm commodities has been discussed by farmers and debated by students of the grain trade for many years.

Within the past month the official United States Department of Agriculture answer to the question, without a definite conclusion, has come to our desk in the form of a marketing research bulletin. This bulletin contains 4,740 words, some of them very long technical words, but after studying the manuscript from beginning to end—the question, "should the trading unit be changed from the bushel to the hundredweight basis" remains unsolved.

The yearlong study was made and the report prepared by agricultural economists of the Marketing Research Division, Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture. Information was gathered from 3 national farm organizations, 3 grain exchanges, 5 financial institutions, 400 elevator operators, 300 feed and flour mills, 100 brokers and jobbers, 100 commission men, 50 grain processors, 40 State departments of agriculture, and all affected agencies in the United States Department of Agriculture.

Findings of these economists should be of interest to every farmer in Minnesota since the subject deals with the measurement of commodities produced on farms.

In summary, the following is a concentration of the 4,740-word report:

Probable effects of a shift from the bushel to the hundredweight measure in the grain industry would be that advantages and disadvantages would vary in degree depending upon the group concerned. The advantages would be permanent. Disadvantages would be more numerous but not insurmountable.

Principal advantages were found to be:

1. Conversion of quantities of grain from bushels to pounds and vice versa, now necessary in many cases, would be largely eliminated, with a probable serving in time and work and the possibility of a reduction of errors in such computations;

2. Comparisons by farmers and traders of prices and relative feeding values of grains would be facilitated by keeping the different grains on an equal-weight basis rather than on the basis of bushels that vary widely in weight.

Principal disadvantages were:

1. The required adjustment in habits of thinking in the grain trade, from the bushel unit to the hundredweight;

2. Changes in legislation that would be necessary;

3. Changes in forms and office procedures;

4. Revisions of historical data;

5. Changes in trading practices.

There was general agreement among the groups interviewed in this study that the disadvantages of the change, although they involve some statistical work, would prevail only during the transitional period and generally would disappear after the period of adjustment to the hundredweight basis. The problem of adjusting the thinking of those in the grain trade to the new basis was regarded as the most important one; but that difficulty would be offset at least in several segments of the trade, by the simplicity of making comparisons on a uniform basis.

Although there was no general agreement on the best time of year for the change to take effect, most groups contacted suggested that, if the shift in trading unit were made, wintertime or January 1 would be the preferred time. It was generally agreed that the intention to make the shift should be announced at least 1 year before its effective date. Some groups indicated that considerably more than a year might be needed to make some of the necessary preparations for the shift, particularly for the revision of legislation.

In regard to views obtained from representatives of farm organizations, the only major disadvantage that would be expected to relate directly to farmers would be the changes in patterns of thought that would be necessary. Farmers' experiences generally are based on the bushel unit. The change would necessitate their adjustment to an unfamiliar basis of reckoning. For some time rice, grain sorghums, dry beans, dry peas, and many seed crops have been traded on a hundredweight basis, and in several Western States all grains are traded in hundredweights.

Views as reported by farm organizations are:

American Farm Bureau Federation: Adopted a resolution December 1955 that "we favor adoption of the hundredweight as a uniform standard of measurement for grain."

National Grange: Adopted this resolution November 1956: "As the standard of measurement in both purchases and sales, we favor the use of the hundredweight or ton measurement instead of the bushel for all grains, feed, and seeds, and instead of the bale of hay."

National Farmers Union: "The proposed shift would be expected to lessen the possibility of errors through elimination of the many conversions needed at present. It also would facilitate comparisons between the feeding values and the price of various grains. For example, farmers must now compare the feeding value of oats at, say, 70 cents a bushel, with corn at $1.30 a bushel; while on a hundredweight basis the comparison would be $2.19 for oats with a $2.30 for corn."

The secretary of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives says: "At this time the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives recommends that a study be made in order that its members interested in the grain and feed trade may have before them the information necessary to give adequate consideration to the question."

There you have it—advantages and disadvantages if the trading unit should be changed from bushel to hundredweight. But the question still remains: Should the change be made?

Texas Rose Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of our Nation's most beautiful pageants is the Texas Rose Festival, held annually at Tyler, Tex. The setting for such festivities could not be more prudently chosen, for Tyler is the rose capital of the world and has long been known as the "rose garden of America." Each year, of the more than 30 million rose bushes sold throughout the Nation, over half of them come from the Tyler area. In 20 years, over 3 million visitors have flocked to the Texas Rose Festival at Tyler.

This year, during the period October 17, 18, 19, and 20, the 20th annual Texas Rose Festival will be held in Tyler.

Mr. President, I have a personal pride in this festival, for I was reared only a few miles from Tyler, and attended Tyler High School.

This spectacular display of flowers is something I wish each of my Senate colleagues could see, and I invite each and all of you, on behalf of the Texas Rose Festival Association, to visit this year's show.

In my opinion, the Tyler Rose Festival is the most beautiful exhibition of any type held in the great Southwest. I have been on three continents and I have never seen anything more beautiful than the rose fields of east Texas, in bloom, growing on white sand, and framed by green pine trees.

A small pamphlet has been prepared which will vouch for the splendor of the pageant and which provided information pertaining to this season's festival.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this material be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the pamphlet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREE MILLION VISITORS IN 20 YEARS

HERE'S WHAT OTHERS SAY

Saturday Evening Post: "If you can imagine 15 million rose bushes flowering madly for 6 months, snow-white roses, rich cream roses, yellow, coral-pink, and deep, deep red roses, you can understand why Tyler, Tex., is the center of the world's most amazing rose garden."

Adm. Robert B. Carney, Chief, United States Naval Operations: "The Texas Rose Festival is one of our Nation's great floral pageants, well worth seeing."

The Wall Street Journal: "Around Tyler, where two-thirds of the Nation's field-grown rose bushes are produced growers are giving the rose, universal symbol of beauty, the glamor treatment in the form of attractive packaging, lavish promotions, and floral festivals."

The New York Times: "Of all the rose bushes planted outdoors every year—and this is not less than 30 million—two-thirds are grown in the vicinity of Tyler, Tex. In the past 12 months, there were only 15 days when the Tyler Municipal Rose Garden (22 acres with 20,000 plants in 300 varieties) was out of bloom."

Texas Industry magazine: "Tyler's Municipal Rose Garden is one of the Nation's largest. The picturesque section around the city is covered with thousands of acres of blooming roses—a $7-million-a-year crop."

Gen. James H. Doolittle, United States Army: "The Texas Rose Festival is a floral spectacle never to be forgotten."

John Sherman Cooper, Ambassador to India: "The friendliness of Tyler and the beauty of the Texas Rose Festival deserves a visit."

Since the festival was started in tribute to the giant rose-growing industry, upwards of 150,000 persons have been thrilled each

ar by the gala activities and gorgeous ses. It is the combined effort of more than 00 people working for 12 months to make ch festival better than the one before.

The festival was begun in 1933 as an aborate tribute to the rose-growing indus- y and, except for an interim of 4 war years, has become an annual event of growing portance.

Gorgeous floats, spectacular regal corona- ns, mammoth rose show displays, queen's lls and fiestas have given the Texas Rose stival a place among the Nation's big three rose celebrations, alongside those at Port- nd, Oreg., and Pasadena, Calif.

More than half of some 30 million rose- shes sold annually throughout the Nation ve their beginnings in the productive hite sandy loam within a 50-mile radius Tyler.

Visitors are also thrilled by the breath- king view of Tyler's Municipal Rose Gar- en, one of the Nation's finest, with more an 24,000 bushes in over 300 varieties.

The festival is a gorgeous spectacle that ce seen can never be forgotten.

FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTS

Rose spectacular: A million gorgeous rose ooms are massed in a majestic multi-col- ed display which is open to all during the -day festival. Hundreds of varieties, gor- ous specimens, artistic niches.

Coronation: In a spectacular ceremony set gainst a background of Texas flowers, Her ajesty, Kay Howard, the Queen of the oses, will be crowned.

Rose parade: Two-mile-long procession of se-adorned floats bearing the rose queen d her court, a dreamland of feminine love- ness, a grand processional of bands, drill ams and celebrities, ending in a gorgeous ammoth display at Rose Stadium.

Fiesta night: An elaborate entertainment ith a nationally famous orchestra provid- g the musical backdrop. Rose Festival isitors will be treated to an open-aid show top-notch professionals in the amphi- heater at Rose Stadium.

Rose vesper service: The finest voices om the choirs of Tyler's churches joined a mighty chorus, and an inspiring speaker lected by the Tyler Ministerial Alliance at Tise Auditorium, College Campus.

Rose field tours: Scheduled sight-seeing aravans will give visitors a look at the vast cres of blooming roses that have made yler the Rose Garden of America.

Queen's tea: One of the social highlights f the festival will be held amidst the floral eauty of Rose Park where the queen and er family and the 1957 court will receive uests.

Queen's coronation ball: Presented by the rder of the Rose in honor of the queen nd her court with nationally famous or- hestra and entertainment.

Minnesota Firm Builds Balloons for Air Force Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, during the past week the press of the Nation has given considerable attention to the rec- ord balloon assent made by an Air Force officer, Maj. David Simons. Major Simons' 32-hour balloon flight which took him 19 miles above the earth, repre- sents another advance in the Air Force study of the upper atmosphere and its effects on man.

The balloon which carried Major Simons to his record balloon height and returned him safely to earth after 32 hours was designed and built by Winzen Research, of Bloomington, Minn. The success of this perilous research trip was largely due to the fine work which has been done by this Minnesota concern.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an account of this historic flight, published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune, August 20, 1957]

IN AIR FORCE PROJECT, DOCTOR RIDES BALLOON 19 MILES ABOVE STATE

(By Victor Cohn)

A flying doctor—dangling from a balloon 100,000 feet over the upper Midwest—became the first man in the world, Monday, to go that high and stay more than a moment.

Moving along at 15 or 16 miles an hour at the dead-quiet edge of outer space, Air Force Maj. David G. Simons was "feeling wonderful."

As night fell, his balloon looked like a new star in the sky. It was seen shining in the west even from Minneapolis, though at 9 p. m., he was south of Fergus Falls, Minn., and 160 miles away.

"The sky is a dark purplish black, a color I have not seen before, and can't really describe," came the report by radio as the 6-foot doctor peered through the tiny glass portholes of his 8-foot enclosed capsule.

"The temperature inside here is 64 degrees and very comfortable. I can see Lake Michigan through the clouds."

Ground crew men of Winzen Research, Inc., Bloomington, reported "everything going smoothly," and Simons "operating at peak efficiency, busy as a bee." He seemed well on the way to his goal: hanging in the stratosphere some 24 hours.

The lonely doctor was launched at 9:25 a. m., yesterday by the Winzen crew just outside Crosby, Minn. The launchsite was the M. A. Hanna Portsmouth open-pit iron mine—a below-ground site to gain calm to protect the thin plastic balloon.

At that point he had already been in his little aluminum prison 10½ hours. He was put in it in Minneapolis, Sunday night, to begin breathing its artificial atmosphere and eliminate nitrogen from his bloodstream.

With overrapid altitude changes, nitrogen can cause bubbles in the bloodstream and the deadly bends.

Then he was carried by truck to Crosby.

Once up, first he moved southeast, rising at a swift 1,200 feet a minute. Then he started to move west as he rose higher. Quickly his 280-foot long, 200-foot wide balloon was just a silver dot.

About 11:25 a. m. he reached approximately 100,000 feet, more than 19 miles up. He was then just about over the southeast corner of Mille Lacs Lake.

This was 4,000 feet higher than the 96,000 feet that Capt. Joseph W. Kittinger reached June 2 in a test flight for this Air Force project. Kittinger stayed there an hour and 50 minutes.

Air Force Capt. Ivan Kincheloe reached 126,000 feet for a few moments in an X–2 rocket plane last September.

But Major Simons—34 and cool as an ice cube—had to stay up far longer to achieve his objective, which is collecting knowledge.

Project Man High is intended to gather facts about high-up man and the high-up atmosphere to pave the way for regular high-altitude aviation.

Simons is chief of the space biology branch of the aero-medical field laboratory, Alamogordo, N. Mex.

A plane, two helicopters, a radio van and other vehicles followed his course last night. He hoped to come down sometime today in the vicinity of Miles City, Mont.

The Air Force pointed out that substantiation of his record would have to await check of his instruments.

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of August 21, 1957]

BALLOON LANDS IN SOUTH DAKOTA WITH NEW ALTITUDE RECORD

(By Victor Cohn)

FARGO, N. DAK.—After soaring more than 100,000 feet to a new altitude record for manned balloons, a dead-tired Maj. David G. Simons returned safely to earth Tuesday as living proof that man can survive conditions on the edge of space.

The 280-foot-long plastic balloon that lifted Simons at least 19 miles into the air, landed near Elm Lake on the North Dakota-South Dakota border about 30 miles due north of Aberdeen, S. Dak. It was aloft more than 32 hours.

The flight, which began at 9:22 a. m. Monday from a deep mine pit at Crosby, Minn., ended in an alfalfa field at 5:28 p. m. yesterday. An Air Force helicopter brought Simons here—too weary and spent by the 32-hour, almost sleepless flight to talk but a moment to reporters.

Col. John Stapp, Air Force chief of aeromedicine at the Alamogordo, N. Mex., research center and director of the record-breaking balloon flight, rode here with Simons.

"He's dead on his feet," Stapp said, "but he is in good physical condition except for a slight abrasion on his neck from his tight pressure suit."

Stapp said the flight answered some of the vital questions it was designed to probe—can man tolerate the airless reaches of the upper atmosphere?

"He was above 90,000 feet for 26 hours," Stapp said. "He proved the livability of a space cabin. Human performance in an environment equivalent to space is now known to be possible."

Stapp explained that instruments attached to Simons' body radioed information about his physical condition.

"He was above 99.6 percent of the earth's atmosphere for most of the trip,'" Stapp explained. "His heartbeat and respiration were normal all during the flight, except once, when the carbon dioxide level in the cabin got too high, but he corrected this quickly."

Upon reaching the Fargo Ariport, Simons washed and shaved, then phoned his wife, Libby, at Alamogordo. He said he had slept a little, in brief snatches, Monday night. He ate very little, although he had been sealed into the capsule since 11 p. m. Sunday for the purposes of acclimatization.

He was to be flown to Minneapolis last night to get the 36-hours sleep prescribed by Stapp.

The balloon had reached its record height within a few hours after takeoff. It had been thought it would descend near Billings, Mont., earlier yesterday, but unsettled weather conditions delayed the landing.

At about noon yesterday, Simons started dropping from the upper stratosphere. Around 3 p. m., a ground observer corps member at Ashley, N. Dak., spotted the glistening plastic balloon with binoculars during a routine sky watch.

Shortly thereafter, it became visible to the naked eye. Residents of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota within a 100-mile radius watched its descent.

At 5:02 p. m., Simons was heard on his radio, reporting rate of descent. He then asked in a tired, strained voice:

"I'm at 20,000. Otto, shall I drop ballast now, or just before landing?"

Otto Winzen, head of the Bloomington firm that made the balloon for the Air Force research project, told him to hold the ballast.

Winzen was with Stapp and other members of the ground party which had tracked the balloon's flight in two C47's, a helicopter, and a ground communications van.

At 3,200 feet, Simons said he was dropping ballast.

From the private plane in which I was riding, I could see the lead shot streaming from the gondola.

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of August 22, 1957]

LUCK AND SKILL SAVE DOCTOR ON BALLOON TRIP

(By Victor Cohn)

A new Lone Eagle told his story here Wednesday night.

Rested and laughing after his 32-hour balloon flight to the stratosphere, Maj. David E. Simons told a modest, restrained story of ton, used that word.

But the striking fact, it became clear last night, was that with less skill—and less luck—the flight might have ended in death.

No one at a news conference at headquarters of Winzen Research, Inc., in Bloomington, used that word.

But the fact that for some time he was in real danger nonetheless emerged about this air force doctor who ballooned 100,000 feet up from northern Minnesota Monday morning.

His enemy—his and his thin plastic balloon's—was a thunderstorm that began Monday night and continued over much of the area near him during the day Tuesday.

"I experienced some concern," was what the slim 34-year-old himself said on this subject last night.

However, Otto C. Winzen, the Bloomington balloon firm's head, reported:

"We had a very critical and very dangerous weather situation. A very severe thunderstorm came up which was entirely unexpected.

"This caused him to come down to 70,000 feet at night, for the cloud layer meant that his balloon sank lower and lower. It's the reflected heat from the ground that maintains a gas-filled balloon at altitude during the night.

"Then—and no one had ever heard of such a situation—the effects, some of the turbulence of the thunderstorm reached him at 70,000 feet. No one had ever heard of a thunderstorm reaching higher than 40,000 feet—this was always considered 'the top of the weather.'

"So we learned something new and very important, which is the purpose of research. But this gave us very great concern for Dave's safety."

Winzen, who advised Simons by voice radio all during the flight, went on to tell how the storm, and concern, continued into the day.

"It was necessary to keep Dave up," he said, "rather than letting him start his descent about 9 a. m., as expected. And he couldn't start down till 2 in the afternoon.

"He needed to make westerly headway to get ahead of the very severe weather situation."

B. D. (Duke) Gildenberg—Air Force meteorologist whom Winzen called one of the best in the country—told how, on the ground in the traveling Winzen van, he tried to work out a descent plan that would put Simons "a safe" 50 miles away from the nearest "weather."

"We had to settle at 20 miles," he said. "And that period was the period of real strain."

Col. John P. Stapp finally called it "that perilous descent."

Supt. Thomas J. Williams and Crater Lake National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, we of the State of Oregon are proud of our lone national park, for it is one of the great scenic wonders of the globe. This is the lake which lies within the extinct volcanic cone of Mount Mazama—Crater Lake National Park. The lake is 2,000 feet in depth.

One of my favorite writers about the American scene, William E. Bohn, has written for the New Leader of August 26, 1957, a gleaming tribute to the grandeur of Crater Lake and to Supt. Thomas J. Williams of the National Park Service, who exercises custody over the park, along with his associates. Mr. Bohn and his wife recently visited Crater Lake.

Crater Lake is located along the rim of the Cascade Range in southern Oregon. It may be reached via either Medford or Klamath Falls. It is one of the most incredibly blue lakes of the world, as Mr. Bohn emphasizes. Basaltic formations make evident its volcanic origins.

I believe that my colleagues will want to read of Oregon's No. 1 outdoor marvel—which also belongs to the entire United States, of course—and I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bohn's article, entitled "The Lake on Top of a Volcano," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LAKE ON TOP OF A VOLCANO

(By William E. Bohn)

Last week I wrote that California's Yosemite Valley is unlike any other place on earth. I may sound fickle this week when I proclaim that Oregon's Crater Lake is surpassingly beautiful and completely unique. There may be some body of water like it in some far place of Asia or Africa, but if there is I have never heard of it. The most exceptional thing about this lake is not that—6 miles wide and 2,000 feet deep—it lies on the top of a mountain completely cut off from outside water except for rain and snow. Its main distinction is not even the fact that it lies in the crater of an extinct volcano and is completely surrounded by lava cliffs rising from 500 to 2,000 feet above the water level. Its real distinction is its breathtaking beauty.

As I sit in my room in the lodge of Crater Lake National Park, I look down upon a surface of heavenly blue which all of the ladies in solid phalanx assembled have tried in vain to describe. They have called it delphinium blue, Maxfield Parrish blue, purple blue, Mediterranean blue—and finally have acknowledged their defeat by describing it as Crater Lake blue. The water immediately below me has a color which is so intense that it seems to be impregnated with some deep, deep dye. Farther off, toward the opposite shore, it turns to a lighter, gayer, more sky-like hue. All viewers of this waterscape agree that they have never seen anything distantly resembling it. It gives the onlooker a sense of infinite elevation, perhaps because this vision is beyond reach. The gazing beholder cannot swim in this water, cannot even touch it.

The average visitor says almost automatically that the inexpressible color is produced by reflection of the sky. In a sense, and to a certain extent, this is true. The real fact is said to be that the rays of the sun are separated by refraction from the unusually pure water much as they would be by a prismatic glass. And the blue shade being singled out and sent up from the surface of the lake, gives the effect of a deep blue body of water.

The untechnical, rough-and-ready way of explaining how a fine lake could come into existence on the top of a mountain is to say that the mountain blew its top and then the rain and the snow filled the resulting cavity with water. What actually happened is so complex and interesting that Howell Williams, professor of geology at the University of California, has published a detailed book on it. What especially fascinates me is his account of the great, jagged rim which hems in the sheet of water. The rocks which compose it are of different sorts and have come to rest at various angles. Basing their calculations on the positions of these masses and on the glacial scratches on their surfaces, the scientists can determine the height and shape of the original peak.

My interest right now is centered in another man named Williams, Thomas J. Williams, the superintendent of this exceptionally interesting park. He came from a dirty little mining town in the East and found the West big and clean and hospitable. In the National Park Service, he has had a chance to help preserve and expand the features of the country he loves. "The job has a romantic side," he said to me. "We are trying to make people better by giving them a feeling for a mountain or a range of mountains. We have the opportunity to live in an ideal environment and to preserve and improve it. I really feel ashamed to take my pay."

The first purpose of the Park Service, Superintendent Williams explained, is to preserve the beauties of these regions which have been set aside by Congress. The second is to provide enjoyment and recreation for millions of people who have paid for these areas and who own them. The third is to increase their intelligence painlessly while they are having fun. "These three purposes," Mr. Williams drawled as we sat before the great log fire in the camp lodge, "are not separate. Through education and appreciation you secure wise usage which results in preservation. You can't get anywhere by playing the policeman. Put over the idea that the parks belong to the people and they will help to defend them."

Crater Lake impressed me as being an especially lovely place to spend a vacation. Wild flowers cover the meadows and play an especially prominent part in the community life. On this mountaintop, the evening air is too cool for the campfire talks which are a leading feature of activity in other national parks. Instead, there are talks in the Sinnott Memorial, a fine stone structure halfway down the great rim. This place allows the speaker to point out the rocky features of his environment as he goes along. Then, every evening in the lobby of the lodge there is an informal talk on some feature of the region. The cheerful tone of the occasion is set by short and amusing programs given by young college people, who do a good deal of the work about the camp. There is about the whole project a feeling of hearty enjoyment as of people come together for a good time in their own home.

Herbert Hoover: Triumph of Integrity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the August 3 issue of Human Events:

HERBERT HOOVER: TRIUMPH OF INTEGRITY
(By Eugene Lyons)

Nearly a decade ago I wrote a short biography of Herbert Hover which I called Our Unknown ex-President. I was alluding, of course, to what seemed to me the tragic failure of the American people to comprehend the human being behind the masks.

The falsest and cruelest of these masks had been deliberately fabricated by partisan malice. For some 15 years hordes of propagandists labored zealously on the myth of a monster who caused a depression and then did nothing to alleviate its horrors. In utter contempt of fact and logic, they brainwashed the country—and especially the new generation that had little personal memory of Hoover's epic humanitarian achievements before he came to the White House—into accepting him as symbol of the very things he most abhorred: fascism, reaction, depression, complacency in the face of human suffering.

Another mask had been imposed by his own introverted nature, by his essential shyness and distaste for personal ballyhoo. Uniquely among political leaders, Hoover was compelled by his innermost character to build walls between his private and his public personalities. He succeeded in concealing, as I wrote at the time, the warm, whimsical and tender Hoover known to his intimates, the very human and deeply humane Quaker behind the solemn facade.

Unhappily, this native mask greatly facilitated the job of ungallant and dirty-minded little men in big places who were fashioning the grotesque myth. For one thing, had the people had a better understanding of the real man they would not so readily have surrendered their commonsense by accepting the propaganda hoax. For another, Hoover, was inhibited by his sensibilities from putting up a robust and effective self defense. He would not, indeed could not, descend to the level of demagogic mudgunning, and so left a clear field for mischievous vilification.

But even before my book came off the press its title began to lose some of its validity. Around 1947 it became evident that Hoover's long ordeal by abuse was drawing to an end. With the passing of the New Deal era more and more Americans were becoming ashamed of its self-righteous immorality and its zeal for smearing critics. And the public rehabilitation of our 31st President, once started, proceeded with dramatic swiftness.

The speed and completeness of the collapse of the ugly myth is a remarkable episode in our national history. Republican politicians who had long sought to disown Hoover were suddenly treating him as one of the party's important assets. Even the so-called liberal press turned deferential. Those who continued to distrust Hoover's views were awed by his moral stature. In the renewed esteem for the man, in the revived pride in his greatness, there was a strong element of plain remorse. The country recognized that in persecuting Hoover it had dishonored itself, and to this day the injustice visited upon him weighs on the national conscience.

It was naturally assumed, in the years of his eclipse, that Hoover was embittered. The assumption was false. He was saddened and profoundly hurt, but calm and tolerant. Upon the mudgunners he looked not in hatred but in pity. His humility is inborn. Quakerish, but too genuine to be alloyed with false modesty. In the midst of his ordeal he knew, with an engineer's knowledge of reality, that time inevitably would straighten out the record.

It was this that helped him to remain equable under the hail of insults. He stood where he had always stood, for it was not in him to make compromises. He did not catch up with the people—the people were streaming back to him shamefaced and penitent, after their hectic wanderings.

Fortunately for himself and his friends, the inevitable change came while he was still alive. Fortunately for the country, it came while his amazing abilities and energies were undiminished, so that he could carry out more great enterprises in benevolence and public service. The fact that popular admiration and affection for Hoover continue to grow attests, I think, the core of simple decency at the heart of America. His life adds up to a classic triumph of integrity.

The one thing that his partisans and detractors always agreed upon is that Hoover is no politician. The implication is not that he is deficient in sound political judgment, but that he lacks dexterity in selling himself and his policies to the crowd, in playing on mass emotion. There simply is not enough flexibility, not enough gift for cutting moral corners, in his makeup. Ideas to him are not externals to be adjusted to current fashions. The professionals in the political game could never feel at their ease with this stern amateur and his moral imperatives.

The cynical Charles Michelson, who had made Hoover-baiting his life's work for a fee, used to write abou the Hoover organization. He wasn't referring to a conventional political machine fueled by patronage and self-interests. Hoover could not have built such a machine if he had tried. Michelson was referring to groups of Hoover's dedicated friends, none of them politicians—"the small but efficient army * * * that still calls him Chief and is ready to mobilize at a word." Actually they mobilized without a word. Having come to know him intimately as his associates in public service, they remained forever after reserve officers in that extraordinary army disciplined only by love of one man and faith in his integrity.

Normally great men are less heoric to their intimates than to the public at large. Hoover is the supreme exception. Ten years ago I wrote that "Hoover has a multitude of enemies but no ex-friends." Nothing has happened since then to change this. Not one of the men and women who worked closely with him, through all the decades of his immense and varied activities, has ever turned against him. Their devotion to him comes close to adoration and has in it, too, an element of protectiveness, as if he needed to be shielded against the pettiness and connivings of lesser men.

Today, at 83, Hoover's public personality is warmer, less austere than in the past; but it is still separate from the private Hoover. The original mask, the one imposed by his own nature, has not been wholly removed. Myriad episodes in his career and qualities in his character that point up his nobility remain the esoteric inside knowledge of those who call him chief. Future generations no doubt will take fuller and more accurate measure of the man.

Already, however, the country senses the wholeness, the genuineness of Herbert Hoover. It sees in him, as in a mirror, the best in its own character and history. He has been the instrument of America's most humane and disinterested impulses in relation to the rest of mankind—a personification of charity joined with efficiency that is somehow peculiarly American.

There is nothing spurious, nothing petty, in the Hoover story. He has not lived, like most of his contemporaries, with an eye on opinion polls and intellectual fashions. His philosophy of life has not been an improvisation of expediency or a rationalization of self-interest, but has been wholly integral with the man.

Herbert Hoover is a great monolithic figure. Rarely has such a capacious intelligence as his been combined with such a great heart and robust spirit. In honoring him on his 83d birthday, August 10, we his countrymen honor ourselves. For his career is deep rooted in the American soil and integral with our national heritage.

Firearms Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement to be presented on August 27, tomorrow, to the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit of the Treasury Department, by Mr. George A. Carrico, of Chicago, Ill.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESENTATION BY GEORGE A. CARRICO IN OPPOSITION TO NEW REGULATIONS PROPOSED BY THE ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO TAX UNIT OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY, AUGUST 27, 1957

As president of the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association and the National Gun Alliance, it is my studied conclusion that I reflect the thinking and feelings of millions of Americans with respect to certain new regulations proposed by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit. These regulations, in part, are as follows:

"Paragraph 177.50, identification of firearms: Each licensed manufacturer and importer of a firearm shall identify it by stamping (impressing) or otherwise conspicuously placing or causing to be stamped, impressed, or placed thereon, in a manner not susceptible of being readily obliterated or altered, the name and location of the manufacturer or importer, and the serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm. * * *

"Paragraph 177.51, firearms records: Each licensed manufacturer or dealer shall maintain complete and adequate records reflecting the receipt (whether by manufacture, importation, acquisition from other licensees, or otherwise) and the disposition, at wholesale or retail, of all firearms (including firearms in an unassembled condition, but not including miscellaneous parts thereof) physically or constructively received or disposed of in the course of his business. * * *

"The records prescribed by this section shall be in permanent form, separate and distinct from records pertaining to other merchandise handled by the licensee, and shall be retained permanently on the business premises until discontinuance of business by the licensee. Where the business is discontinued and succeeded by a new li-

censee, the records will appropriately reflect such facts and will be delivered to the successor. Where discontinuance of the business is absolute, the records will appropriately reflect that fact and will be delivered to the Director for permanent retention. The records shall show and include:

"(a) A full and adequate description of each firearm, including (1) the manufacturer thereof; (2) the manufacturer's serial number stamped thereon; (3) the caliber or gage of the firearm; (4) the model and type of firearm; and

"(b) The name and address of each person from whom each firearm (if not the manufacturer's own product) was received together with the date of acquisition; and

"(c) The disposition made of each firearm including the name and address of the person to whom sold and the date of disposition.

"Paragraphs 177.52, ammunition records: Each manufacturer and dealer shall maintain, on the licensed premises, complete and adequate records reflecting the production or receipt and the disposition at wholesale or retail of all pistol or revolver ammunition. The ammunition shall be described as to manufacturer, type, caliber and quantity, and the identity of the persons from whom received and to whom sold must be shown.

"Paragraph 177.54, over the counter sales to individuals: Where disposition of firearms or ammunition is made by over the counter sale or distribution to individuals, the persons to whom the firearms or ammunition are sold, distributed, or delivered will be required to acknowledge receipt thereof in their own handwriting in the record prescribed by this subpart.

"Paragraph 177.55, authority to examine records, etc.: Any internal revenue officer designated by the Director shall have authority to examine the books, papers, and records kept by a licensee pursuant to the regulations in this part, and to examine his premises and stock, during regular business hours in the daytime. When such premises are open at night, such authorized officers may enter them while so open, in the performance of such authorized official duties."

First. The regulations are based on acts of the National Congress which in themselves are unconstitutional. In the hearings held in 1934 on the proposed National Firearms Act, the Attorney General of the United States admitted he was prohibited by constitutional safeguards from a direct approach on firearms control. He therefore proposed to use interstate commerce provisions, use of the mails avenues or the power of taxation. When confronted with a direct question by a member of the committee who asked how we escaped that provision in the Constitution, the Attorney General answered, "Oh, we do not attempt to escape it. We are dealing with another power; namely, the power of taxation and of regulation under the interstate commerce clause. You see, if we made a statute absolutely forbidding any human being to have a machinegun, you might say there is some constitutional question involved. But when you say, "We will tax the machinegun," and when you say that the absence of a license showing payment of the tax has been made indicates that a crime has been perpetrated, you are easily within the law. Here we have the Attorney General of the United States proposing the abrogation of constitutional safeguards by devious methods, means and routes that perhaps in themselves would be lawful until and unless they accomplished a purpose that in effect infringed or nullified constitutional rights. In one breath he admits that a law directly infringing on the "right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed" would be unconstitutional and in the next breath advocates using the taxing powers of the Government to deprive the people of this very same constitutional right. The taxing power was given the Federal Government for the sole purpose of raising money to defray the expense of Government and was not intended to be used to deprive, restrict, or infringe the constitutional rights of the people. It naturally follows, then, that the taxing power terminates where the specific constitutional right of the citizen begins and cannot legally be used to infringe or curtail the "right of the people to keep and bear arms."

Second. Each of the proposed new regulations add additional useless burdens to the citizen. They would entail the permanent preservation of millions, yes even billions of records, requiring untold man-hours of preparation and an infinite amount of space for permanent storage. To adequately check such records would require an army of thousands of additional governmental employees for that purpose alone. A monumental task which would aid no one but yet would be an additional burden on the already overburdened citizen and taxpayer.

Third. Yet first in importance is the deleterious effect each of these proposed regulations would have on the protection of the American home and the proper and adequate civilian defense of the Nation itself. A vast majority of reputable, law abiding citizens would resent the requirement of registration of the purchase or ownership of arms and ammunition to the point of denying themselves the privilege of ownership under those conditions. This feeling stems from the fact that most citizens of this country have learned of the result of registration of arms in other countries. How an invader upon entering a community sought, first, to secure the records of registered firearms and ammunition and immediately sent troops to collect and destroy them. Those refusing or unable to turn over such registered weapons or ammunition were summarily executed. Just a few days ago our newspapers carried the story of the execution of a priest in Hungary by invading forces for the terrible crime of having hidden a few arms so they (the invader) could not confiscate and destroy them. Our own troops, in the last great war, followed the same pattern, going immediately to the records, then to the individuals known to possess guns and immediately confiscating and destroying them.

Long before our invasion of the continent of Europe our armies dumped thousands of tons of makeshift arms stamped out on machines, each with four cartridges, behind the lines for the use of the workers in the underground in their efforts for liberation.

We must not do anything that will even remotely aid an invader in the subjugation and enslavement of our own citizens and loved ones.

There is no question about the possibility of our own cities and towns being bombed at any time. Our military experts have even calculated the cost of human life in the bombing of a city like Chicago as reaching into the hundreds of thousands in the first hour. The same military experts tell us that even the bombing of our cities and towns is not sufficient to subjugate and enslave us, but that the bombing would necessarily be followed by paratroopers, dropped from the sky, carrying machineguns and grenade to force that which was left of a decimated, torn and bleeding populace into their slave labor camps or, as has been done to hundreds of thousands over the last few years, deportation into distant lands to end their days in chains, filth, degradation and dishonor.

Why cannot we, who are so anxious to help and protect others, take a lesson from a page of their book? Why should we not profit by the costly experiences of others who have drunk deep of the pain, misery, and agony that has been the lot of those who through their own stupidity or carelessness have awakened to find the hand of a ruthless and sadistic invader ripping and tearing at their very vitals. Look for a moment at the predicament of an England, shorn of weapons in the hands of her citizens by the stupid restrictions of the antigun fanatics and subversives, the iron fist of an invader smashing at her door. Hear again her pitiful plea: "Send a gun to defend a British home. British civilians, faced with the threat of invasion, desperately need arms for the defense of their homes." How short can our memories be? These appeals appeared all over our country during the last great war. To whom can we turn at the last moment with such a plea after our citizens have been disarmed? The answer could be but the echo of our wailing cry.

On the 12th of August last I was honored by being present at the home of a friend in a city near my home town of Chicago. The gathering was for the purpose of honoring a grand lady, born to the nobility of a nation now behind the iron curtain. Honors were not being paid because of the guest's membership in the nobility, but rather because of her activities in the underground, the aid she had given to more than a hundred of our airmen to escape after being shot down behind the enemy lines. She, too, had lost everything, along with her people, to a nation who came in the guise of liberator but remains as a tryannical and ruthless invader. This noble lady told of the abject misery and hopeless condition of her people. A lady who was present asked, "Why don't they revolt and throw out the invader?" To which came the reply, "With what, our bare hands?" Don't, through thoughtless acts of little or no benefit today, place the citizenry of our own country in such a hopeless situation as this.

It is contended by the proponents of registration and restrictive measures that it is for the purpose of curbing the criminal. In fact, that was the sole purpose of the Congress in the enactment of the legislation in 1934, now known as the National Firearms Act. To quote a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, during the hearings that were held on the subject, "The man against whom we are trying to legislate is Dillinger and men of his type." That, then, was the intent of Congress. There was and is, no intention on the part of Congress, to restrict, hamper, curtail, or infringe the right of the law abiding and reputable citizens to keep and bear arms. Since such is the case, let us get down to a realistic approach to the problem which Congress originally wished to solve. Certainly no one can be so naive as to think that the criminal would put his own name and address on any register for the purchase or possession of a gun or ammunition. No, the criminal would use the weapon stolen from others. Two recent homicides committed in Chicago were perpetrated with guns stolen or forcibly taken from police officers. The records are replete with instances of crimes committed with stolen weapons. What, then, is the proper and effective method of eradication of the criminal use of firearms of any class, kind, or description? The answer can only be the enactment of legislation designed to penalize the criminal use of firearms, such as:

A mandatory penalty of 10 years in prison for any person possessing a firearm who has been convicted of a felonious crime of violence.

A mandatory penalty of 10 years for any person who purchases a firearm of any kind who has been convicted of a felonious crime of violence.

A mandatory penalty of 20 years imprisonment for any person who commits a crime of violence in the commission of which a firearm of any class, kind or description or any

imitation thereof is employed in any manner. Such penalty to be in addition to any penalty for the crime perpetrated.

That no right of parole or pardon attach to any such penalties for the illegal or criminal use of a firearm.

In contrast to this legislation to curb the criminal and penalize the criminal use of firearms, let us legislate to educate the reputable and law abiding citizen in the proper exercise of his constitutional rights to "Keep and bear arms."

Let us establish adequate range facilities of the latest and most modern design and safety in every city, town, county, State, and Territory under the flag of the United States of America.

Let us employ adequate and competent persons to operate such range facilities for the use of every reputable and law abiding citizen of the United States physically able to fire a firearm and who is not a member of any organization that has as any part of its program the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

Let us require, as one of the requisites of citizenship, that all reputable and law abiding citizens attend sufficient classes conducted by competent instructors to insure their complete knowledge of the safe, sane and effective handling of firearms, at the range, in the field and in the home.

The enactment of the above basic principles into law and the repeal of existing unconstitutional infringements on the rights of the people to keep and bear arms will result in the progressive lessening of the criminal use of firearms, the accident toll of firearms in the hands of those ignorant of their proper and safe use, and the reestablishment of a Nation of free men properly versed in the use of the weapons they possess, weapons that helped to make them free and will maintain this Nation and its people, under God, in freedom and liberty and make of us the envy of all the people of the earth.

Respectfully submitted.

GEO. A. CARRICO,
President, the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association, and President, of the National Gun Alliance.

Interstate Traffic in Firearms and Ammunition

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL J. KILDAY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

The SPEAKER. Under previous order, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] is recognized for 20 minutes.

(Mr. KILDAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, in the Federal Register of July 10, 1957, the Department of the Treasury published proposed regulations on the interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition, and at that time announced than on August 27 the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service of the Treasury Department would hold hearings with reference to those proposed regulations.

The regulations cover a number of subjects. Some of them are very desirable and should be adopted. A good many of those regulations already exist in either law or regulation and these constitute some revision or amendment thereto. However, there are a number of proposed regulations which should not be adopted. The National Rifle Association and practically all sportsmen in the United States who are informed of this proposal are in strong opposition to these specific portions of the proposed regulations. I shall enumerate them:

First. The proposal that each manufacturer or importer of a firearm shall identify it by stamping, in a manner not readily obliterated or altered, the name and location of the manufacturer or importer and the serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm.

Second. The proposal that dealers' records of importation, shipment, and disposal of firearms must be retained permanently on the premises until discontinuance of business by the licensee.

Third. The proposal that manufacturers and dealers maintain records reflecting the production or receipt and the disposition at wholesale or retail of all pistol and revolver ammunition; such ammunition to be described as to manufacturer, type, caliber, quantity, and the identity of the person from whom received and to whom sold.

Fourth. The proposal that a person purchasing a firearm or pistol or revolver ammunition in over-the-counter sale or distribution must acknowledge receipt thereof in his own handwriting in the prescribed dealer's records.

Fifth. The proposal that any Internal Revenue officer shall have authority to examine the books, papers, and records kept by a manufacturer or dealer, and to examine his premises and stock during regular business hours in the daytime or whenever such premises may be open at night.

Mr. Speaker, these constitute attempts at this time to institute a system of registration of firearms. For a period of more than 30 years various elements in the United States have attempted to pass legislation or secure administrative regulation for the registration of firearms.

The constitution guarantees to the people of this country the right to keep and bear arms. Registration of firearms is the first step of infringement of that right.

It is evident, or should be, to all that registration will be observed by the law abiding. The lawless will pay it no heed.

I take the position, as do others who oppose these regulations, that all laws with reference to the control, registration and what not of firearms must remain within the jurisdiction of the respective States. Disarming the law-abiding citizen is of no value. I point to the fact that the State of New York has the most stringent law on the possession of firearms of any State in the Union and even the casual reader of the daily press can see that even delinquent juveniles in the State of New York seem to have ready access to firearms and other weapons. For a period of 15 years, and up until 1941, bills had been pending here to provide for the registration of firearms. In 1941, while the Congress was engaged in a frenzied effort to prepare for a war which most of us knew was inevitable, there came before the Congress the bill (S. 1579) to authorize the President of the United States to requisition property required for the defense of the United States. When that Senate bill was being considered by the Committee on Military Affairs, of which I was a member at that time, I developed from Judge Patterson, the Under Secretary of War, that the language was intended to include, and did include, firearms and they were particularly interested in the question of shotguns. Judge Patterson at that time stated that they had already made their plans for registration of firearms and particularly of shotguns. In the Committee on Military Affairs, I offered an amendment to the Senate bill which read:

> That nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the requisition, or require the registration, of firearms possessed by any individual for his personal protection or safety (and the possession of which is not prohibited or the registration thereof required) nor shall this act in any manner impair or infringe the right of any individual to keep and bear arms.

When that bill passed the House, it contained the amendment which I had offered in committee. When it came back to the House from the other body in the conference report, my amendment had been eliminated from the bill and substituted in place thereof was a provision "that nothing in the act shall be construed to impair or infringe in any manner the right of any individual to keep and bear arms." In other words, the Senate had repeated the language of the Constitution. That conference report was considered in the House of Representatives on the 13th day of August 1941. Opposition was made to the conference report because it had eliminated the language of the amendment that I had placed in the bill to prevent the registration of firearms and the requisitioning of firearms. A motion to recommit the conference report was made here with instructions to include the House amendments, and upon a rollcall, the conference report was recommitted by a vote of 255 to 51, exactly 5 to 1. When the conference report came back to the House, it contained the almost identical language of the original House amendment. Thereupon that conference report was adopted. I want to point out that there have been other efforts to secure legislation or regulation for the registration of firearms. In 1947, the Department of Justice attempted to secure such a regulation. It is now clear that having failed in all of the previous attempts for a period of more than 30 years to secure legislation to require the registration of firearms of sportsmen, they are now attempting to acquire it by administrative action and I hope it will not be overlooked by the officer holding the hearings on the 27th day of August that the Congress of the United States even in the excitement and the frenzy of preparation for war by a vote of 5 to 1 rejected a provision which would have permitted exactly what is now attempted to be done by the Treasury Department by regulation.

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. IKARD. Like the distinguished gentleman from Texas, I have shared his great concern over the proposed regulations. It seems to me that as he has so ably pointed out and largely through his interest and others here in the House, the Congress has repeatedly indicated clearly that it was not the intention of any legislation that was considered or passed here that there would be any registration.

The proposed serial numbers that may be required under these regulations are certainly not in keeping with the intent of the law. As my distinguished colleague has so ably pointed out, this is simply an attempt to do by administrative procedure that which could not be done through normal legislative procedure. It seems to me that if these regulations were put into effect they would drastically hamper and penalize every sportsman and law-abiding citizen of this country, every dealer and every manufacturer of firearms. They would utterly fail to deter the criminal element. I congratulate my distinguished fellow Texan in calling this to the attention of the House.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman.

Since he has pointed out the serial-number question, I want to make it clear that approximately one-half the shotguns and two-thirds of all rifles manufactured in the United States are manufactured and sold without a serial number. With the antique weapons which might be transferred, it would be necessary that they be defaced in order to include such a serial number to comply with such regulation.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. I wish to thank the gentleman for bringing this matter up. I wish to associate myself with the splendid remarks the gentleman has made. I have received many communications from sportsmen, in opposition to this proposed regulation by the Department. If that regulation goes into effect, a farmer cannot buy a shotgun or a rifle for use on his farm without its being registered and he having to sign a receipt and giving information as to what he intends to use it for and the same with the ammunition which he buys for that gun.

Mr. KILDAY. The gentleman is exactly correct. Actually there would not be much objection on the part of the farmers, but for a period of 3 years there has been an attempt to get this registration provision. It was always rejected. We cannot expect them to come in with a straight-out registration which they actually want; but, to begin with they propose an apparently reasonable provision such as this. In other words, they are attempting to do indirectly what they cannot do directly by act of Congress.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Does not the gentleman feel that it is an attempt to place this regulation over our protest, and it will be the duty of the United States to pass legislation to prevent it?

Mr. KILDAY. Definitely. Congress will have to take action.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. PELLY. I think the gentleman has made a very splendid statement. I have a great many complaints from my constituents regarding the imposition of these unnecessary regulations. Out of his long background I think the gentleman has contributed a great deal, and I shall look forward to rereading his statement and passing it on to my constituents.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. DINGELL. I would like to associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Texas. I would like further to state to the gentleman and to this House that on the 27th of this month a number of bureaucrats in the Alcohol Tax Unit are going to get together and try to saddle the sportsmen and hunters of this country with regulations which may go a long way toward eliminating hunting and the possession of firearms by the people of this country under our Constitution, which confers on them the right to hold such firearms and such ammunition. I would like to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman in condemning the great load that this is going to place on the ammunition manufacturers, sporting goods dealers, hardware dealers across this country who handle firearms. It may well prevent these people from selling supplies.

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. BREEDING. I want also to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague from Texas. I, too, have received many letters of protest against this ruling from constituents. I have sent them down to the Department of Internal Revenue.

I hope that if this regulation is issued Congress will take some action to nullify it, because my people do not want to have to be registered to get guns to shoot rabbits, coyotes, and things like that.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. I wish to join my colleagues in expressing my appreciation to the gentleman from Texas for what he is doing and the fine statement he has made. It may be just a coincidence, but it happens that right now in Vandalia, Ohio, they are having their great annual shoot. It has been going on for a week, but today is the big day, and while I am here, my heart is out there.

I know that all those shooters are unalterably opposed to this regulation. They are opposed to it on the ground that it would practically make it impossible to continue their wonderful sport of trapshooting; and the regulation will serve no useful purpose when it is enacted. It would be more likely to help the criminal than the other fellow. The other fellow is the one who needs to be protected, yet he is not protected. I think, therefore, it would defeat its own purpose.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. LANHAM. I, too, Mr. Speaker, have received many protests against these proposed regulations. I trust that if they are issued that the gentleman from Texas and his committee will bring out legislation nullifying them.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. PILLION. I wish to associate myself with the gentleman from Texas in his remarks. I wonder if the gentleman can give us his opinion as to whether or not the Department presently has authority to enact these proposed regulations for the registration of firearms?

Mr. KILDAY. There are two laws involved; one is the National Firearms Act of 1934, the other is the Federal Firearms Act of 1938. The National Firearms Act is a tax act designed to eliminate the submachinegun, the sawed-off shotgun, and the traditional weapons of gangsters. The Federal Firearms Act has to do with regulations concerning the interstate transportation of firearms. This latter law applies to practically all firearms and ammunition.

These laws do grant to the Department power to make regulations for their enforcement. The provisions to which I have referred specifically are only a few of a number contained in the proposed regulations. In my opinion they are neither authorized, justified, nor desirable as regulations within the power delegated by the Congress to the Department to make regulations.

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield to the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Texas. I, too, represent an area of the West which is known for its hunting, its sport, and recreation, and also the hunting of game as a business, which is important to the people.

I have looked into the proposed regulations very carefully. It seems to me particularly that the regulations requiring the keeping of permanent records forever is a very stringent one, and that it would be particularly serious to both the makers and users of ammunition and firearms.

I congratulate the gentleman and agree with him.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield.

Mr. JENSEN. I, too, wish to associate myself with the position taken by the gentleman from Texas. I always appreciate the positions taken by the gentleman because in many matters in which we have been associated I have always found his opinion sound. Understandably I have a high regard for him, and I am glad to associate myself with him in the solution of this important matter.

Mr. KILDAY. It is needless for me to say that I appreciate the gentleman's remarks.

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. I, too, would like to associate myself with the very fine statement the gentleman has made and to congratulate him on his concise, forthright statement of the legislative history of this matter. I hope it will be of considerable benefit to the Members of the House and I trust that the Alcohol Tax Division of the Department of Internal Revenue will read it and consider it in the light in which it is offered.

Mr. KILDAY. I will make it available to them, I can assure the gentleman. The hearing officer will have it on the 27th.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. YOUNG. I would like to commend my colleague from Texas on the fine statement he has made and I should like to associate myself with him in this matter.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank my colleague.

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. COAD. I would like to associate myself with the remarks made by the gentleman from Texas. I may say that many thousands and thousands of sportsmen across the land are protesting this action taken by the Department in this proposed rule. I feel that as Members of the House, as Members of the Congress, it is our duty to point out to the administrative agency the inaccuracy of their action at this time.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BALDWIN. I would like to congratulate the gentleman for bringing up this subject at the present time and I hope the Department of Internal Revenue will give serious consideration to the remarks the gentleman from Texas has just made.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman.

As I have said, these proposed regulations are opposed by sportsmen. Their opposition is entitled to great weight. Show me a sportsman who loves guns and you have shown me a man I can trust and tie to. For you have shown me a man who loves God's great outdoors, his family, and his home. He is, inevitably, a man who has retained the pioneer spirit of the Americans who built this Nation and extended its frontiers from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Mr. Speaker, the registration of firearms is only the first step. If secured it will be followed by other infringements of the right to keep and bear arms until finally the right is gone. It is no shallow pretext. The right to keep and bear arms is a substantial and valuable right to a free people, and it should be preserved. Those portions of the proposed regulations which I have mentioned should not be adopted.

Annual Roundup at Pendleton, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, no rodeo is more justly famous than the celebrated roundup which is held each fall in the Oregon city of Pendleton. The roundup is traditional to Pendleton in particular and to the eastern Oregon region in general. Furthermore, Pendleton is a progressive community, with splendid schools, a keen spirit of civic pride, and with the ability to meet the difficult challenges of the future. Its nearby wheat and pea ranches are rich in production.

In the Reader's Digest for September 1957 an outstanding and colorful article about the Pendleton Roundup has been written under the title of "Out Where the Old West Lives On." Author of the article is Leverett G. Richards, an able reporter who serves on the staff of the Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg.

Because the annual Pendleton Roundup is soon to be held in the roundup arena on the outskirts of Pendleton, I ask unanimous consent that the article about this notable event by Leverett G. Richards be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUT WHERE THE OLD WEST LIVES ON

(By Leverett G. Richards)

(Condensed from the American Mercury)

There was a scuffling of boots on the barroom floor. The tinkling piano halted midtune, and the squeals of dancehall girls stilled. The sound of six-guns shattered the silence. Strapping Johnny Spain fell to the floor, his shoulder torn by hot lead.

But Johnny Spain was tough. He had just won the world's bucking-horse championship at Pendleton, Oreg. No gun battle was going to stop him from riding in the parade next day or from "setting them up" at the St. George's bar on Saturday night.

The month was September, the year 1910—the birth date of the now world-famous Pendleton Roundup. Spain later lost his right hand roping a longhorn steer—caught it in the daily as he looped his lariat around his saddle horn—but he came back year after year to ride one-handed in cowboy bucking-horse championships.

Spirit like that made the Pendleton Roundup, and the roundup made Pendleton.

Ther was no wilder town in all the Wild West than Pendleton at the turn of the century. This rough, tough cowtown of the old Oregon Trail was the sin and six-gun capital of the eastern Oregon cow country, and proud of it. Still a cowboy capital, surrounded by ranch country and Indian reservations, Pendleton today is known as a city of sun, fun, and civic virtue. Descendants of citizens who used to shoot on sight now belong to the same PTA and boast of their city's traffic safety and low crime rate. Storekeepers who used to gyp the wranglers for all they could get now give months of time and thousands of dollars to make this a model community.

The roundup played the leading role in this transformation. It is a national phenomenon, one of the top three rodeos in the country. It is also a community project, still run by the people who conceived and created it—the townspeople, Indian chiefs and cowboys. No paid executive bosses this big-time spread. The people of Pendleton, now 15,000 strong, do the whole job with their own hands, heads, and hearts.

This frontier spectacle was born of a revolt against the worst of the life of those early days. Feuding factions, tired of violence and civic strife that reached a climax in the city election of 1909, were shocked into burying the hatchet. Mellowed by a few rounds of red-eye, they decided to hold a civic blowout. The result was something bigger than themselves.

That first celebration in September 1910 was a rodeo simply because that was what came naturally. Ranchers from 100 miles around brought their best bucking horses, their orneriest calves and meanest steers. There was no lack of cowpunchers to rope and ride them. They held the rodeo on a gravel bar down by the river, the same spot used today. "The rocks just helped to hold down the dust," Finis Kirkpatrick, last year's president of the Roundup Association, recalls. "We did bruise up a few cowboys. But cowboys heal fast."

The turnout that first year was some 4,000, about the population of Pendleton at the time. The directors used the profits, plus $12,500 in donations, to build a grandstand and bleachers to accommodate 10,000. They then deeded it to the city.

The new grandstand barely took care of the crowd the next year, and in 1912 the roundup was overwhelmed by an army of excitement-eager spectators, some from as far away as New York and Chicago, that totaled 40,000. There were few hotel rooms, and the citizens threw open their homes to the visitors. Crowds have run from 30,000 to 50,000 ever since. Reservations often are made from 3 to 4 years in advance, and every year some of the overflow has to be accommodated in private homes in nearby towns—Umatilla, La Grande, and Walla Walla, Wash., 50 miles or more away.

"We woke up to find we had a bull by the horns," one oldtimer says, "and we've never been able to let go of it." Pendleton had its chance to let go in 1940, when the old wooden grandstand burned just a month before opening day. By morning a new grandstand had started to rise from the ashes. Donations flowed in, some $40,000 in a week, and a contractor offered to do the job without profit. The concrete was hardly dry when the big day came, but the show went on. It took World War II, with its restrictions on big gatherings and its demands on Pendleton as a troop-training center, to halt the show for 2 years, 1942 and 1943. But it was on again in 1944.

The fame of the Pendleton Roundup has spread around the world, primarily because it remains true to the old west. All mechanical contraptions are banned; only critters with 4 feet—or 2—can enter the arena or

join the westward ho parade along the old Oregon Trail, which once wound its way through the present-day roundup grounds to the ford on the lazy Umatilla River.

To see the sun rise over the rimrock when it's roundup time in Pendleton is to see the wild west of story and song born again. The smell of ham and sourdough hot cakes—the cowboy's breakfast provided by Veterans of Foreign Wars in a downtown park—scents the air. Wranglers shoe their horses in the middle of the street, which is roped off for the occasion. Packers throw diamond hitches on their pack mules. Cowboy bands, western singers, square dancers, medicine men, calliopes, and cowboy clowns perform among the crowds. Down on the riverbank near the roundup grounds the smoke of 200 campfires hangs hazily over the Indian village—where canvas and lodgepole-pine tepees point their heads gracefully like a range of mystic mountains against a grove of cottonwoods.

The roundup always starts on Wednesday of the second full week of September, and ends Saturday, and the show has changed little in 47 years. The bucking, riding, and roping events move faster. For there is a time limit now—10 seconds for bucking broncs and 8 seconds for bareback riders—whereas the cowboys originally rode until the judges were satisfied. The almost lost art of roping longhorn steers (forbidden by law in some States) is still practiced by the few remaining masters. The steers for this event are bought in Mexico, where they grow lean and mean enough to survive the snap of a rope which sometimes jerks them several feet in the air to land on their sides. The cowhand then has to dismount, run to the downed steer while his horse keeps the rope taut, and tie 3 of the critter's 4 feet together.

For 19 years the roundup featured a women's championship bucking contest, too. But Pendleton's rodeo is a little rougher than most, and after Bonnie McCarroll, one of Pendleton's prettiest cowgirls, was killed in 1929, women were forbidden to ride bucking horses here again. They still hold their own in the relay races, however, competing with the best of the men.

The Indians joined the show the second year of the roundup and have been a part of it ever since. They help swell the ranks of the grand mounted parade with which every rodeo opens, and during the half-time intermission they put on their tribal dances in a great circle before the grandstand while their ankutty tillicums—the old, old men—beat the big cowhide drum. Johnny Moses, who rode with Buffalo Bill, is chief drummer.

But the Indians really come into their glory each night when the pageant called Happy Canyon is presented—almost as compelling a thing to see as the roundup itself. A copyrighted show which cannot be duplicated anywhere, Happy Canyon (the name is that of an old dance hall) was originated in 1914 by Roy Raley, a young Pendleton attorney who comes as close as anyone to being the father of the roundup. Raley conceived the pageant as a reenactment of the days when the West was the Indian's happy hunting ground, of the coming of the white man and the war between the two, followed by peace and the lusty life of the frontier.

The Indians have forgotten who wrote the pageant. The story has become their story, and their actions become so real that they seem to live again the days when the red man owned this land and could kill the buffalo and the deer at will. (He still carries his fresh kill into camp on the opening night of each pageant; no one asks where he got it.)

No direction is necessary for the Indians. The songs are their ancient tribal songs, and they tell their own story. The Indians follow the song, dancing the savage war dance, the easy social dance, or the impassioned wedding dance as the beat of the drums and the chanting of the old men dictate. They learned the action as children, and now they teach it to their children. The pageant's story has literally become part of their tribal lore.

There was a time, when the West was a little wilder, when the climax to the Happy Canyon pageant was a runaway steer—a live, loco steer right off the range—turned loose on the main street of the town without warning. Strollers dived through the doors of the nearest bar, bank, or boardinghouse in dead earnest, while cowboys taunted the beast or bulldogged him afoot. Too many people were hurt in the excitement, however, and this form of Pendleton roulette has been consigned to the limbo of lost arts of the frontier.

Not one of the roundup's 18 directors has ever drawn a cent of compensation. They even have to pay for their seats at the show. That is one reason they have commanded the wholehearted cooperation of the community. "That way," explains E. N. "Pinky" Boylen, arena director for 20 years, "we never hesitate to ask anyone else to give anything we need." Their only compensation is a specially designed belt buckle—the DSC of the cow country—which admits them to the roundup grounds.

These directors, representing a united community, have changed the character of the city. Some of the first profits of the roundup, after purchase of the property and construction of the grandstand, went into beautification of the remaining 40 acres for a city park, including a natatorium built in 1916. The arena was turfed and lighted in 1952 to make it a year-round sports center for baseball, Scout camporees and other community events. The city schools lease the arena for $5,000 annually.

This year the last of the Wild West will be brought not to thousands but to millions. For the first time America can sit at home and see riding, roping and bulldogging by the world's top hands in the outdoor arena, unrehearsed, untamed and unpredictable, on live television.[1] The waddies will be doing their durndest not only for the TV cameras but for the purses. With the $12,500 being paid by General Mills to the Rodeo Cowboy Association for TV rights, Pendleton will offer the highest total purse ever put up for an outdoor rodeo.

The only concern of the hardworking volunteers whose labor of love perpetuates the Pendleton Roundup is: "What in the world are we going to do with all the folks that will be stampeding into town next roundup?"

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[1] CBS, September 14, 1957.

Monorail at the Texas State Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the State Fair at Dallas, Tex., has the distinction of displaying a suspended monorail train. This unique method of transportation will be available to the public for use and demonstration not only during the fair this fall, but will operate the year around for all the people who visit Dallas

The State Fair of Texas at Dallas is the largest State fair in the United States, and I am glad to report that it and Texas have been selected as a place to test and demonstrate this new method of transportation.

This monorail train at Dallas is the only monorail transportation in the North American Continent, except the United States Senate underground monorail highway that links the Senate Office Building with the National Capitol Building here in Washington, D. C., which we Senators use every day. The United States Senate and the State Fair of Texas now operate in Washington and Dallas, respectively, the only monorail transportation on the North American Continent.

The monorail cars here in Washington are patronized with zest, pleasure and appreciation by countless thousands of visitors to Washington and they are indispensable timesavers for Senators assistants, pages, and other Government officers and employees.

I believe the people visiting Dallas will enjoy this overhead suspension monorail transportation as much as visitors to Washington enjoy the Senate's own underground monorail railroad.

A most interesting story of the operations of monorail at the Dallas, Tex., State Fair was published in the Berkeley (Calif.) Daily Gazette on June 22, 1957, and I ask unanimous consent that this account be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MONORAIL AND OUR RAPID TRANSIT PROBLEMS—IT MAY BE ANSWER FOR TRAFFIC PLAGUE

(By J. R. "Kacy" Ward)

The San Francisco Bay area has one of the worst mass transportation problems in the entire country. There is no single system to link sprawling suburbia with the metropolitan downtown districts, and with the passing of the Key System trains East Bay interurban transit will depend entirely upon buses—a far cry from the speedy commuter train and subway service that flash in and out of Manhattan.

The infant Alameda-Contra Costa Transit District, still in its swaddling clothes, financially speaking, is taking its first tentative steps toward solving the transportation tangle in the East Bay. The newly authorized bay area transit district is years away from an acceptable operating system for the entire area.

Purchase of the Key System—if taken over as a tax-supported district operation—will not solve the East Bay's problems. It is not equipped to furnish the speedy, safe express service the voters anticipated in approving formation of the transit body; it does not even serve a large section of the area within confines of the district.

Some means of providing for a fast flow of passenger traffic between all parts of the East Bay and, eventually, all of the bay area must be found.

Is monorail the answer?

So far, slight attention has been given here to the feasibility of a fast single-rail system. However, it is catching the attention of engineers and traffic experts in other parts of the country.

A tour of many of the major metropolitan centers of the United States offers convincing proof that freeways are not the answer to mass movement of residents in congested areas, such as the bay area. The creeping,

crawling bumper-to-bumper snarls on broad multilane Los Angeles throughways during the commuter hours readily show the futility of attempting to provide sufficient roadway for individuals to drive their own cars to and from work. The era of the through-city freeway has already passed its peak; some means of speedy mass transit must be used unless the big cities are to smother in their own exhaust fumes.

Whether old-fashioned two- or third-rail train systems such as keep Manhattan alive, or monorail will provide the ultimate answer remains to be seen.

Murel Goodell, president of Monorail, Inc., of Houston, Tex., is convinced his product is the solution to rapid transit problems. It is out of the dream stage and actually being tested by the public.

After riding New York City's fast electrified interurban trains and fighting the terrifying 5 o'clock auto traffic congestion in Washington, D. C., and Miami, we made a special trip to Dallas to see what the only suspended monorail system in operation in this country has to offer.

We found what may be the opening to a new era in transportation history on the vast Texas State Fair grounds. A green and gray spaceshiplike car of fiberglass and steel that floats passengers along 1,600 feet of single rail, gliding noiselessly over the top of vehicular traffic 14 feet below.

Riding over traffic on sky hooks was interesting but hardly a thrill, for there is little or no sense of motion in the coach and it is virtually free of vibration. Whether the system—the inverted "J" metal pillars, the overhead single rail and the streamlined coach—is pleasing to the eye or unattractive depends upon individual esthetic tastes. To us it was too new and startling for immediate personal decision; much as, say, the first glance at the swept-wing appearance of some of the new automobiles. It was graceful and appealing, however, in comparison to the bulky structures that carry the noisy trains overhead in New York's Bronx and the solid, massive overhead concrete roadways that form the East Bay approaches to the San Francisco Bay Bridge.

So far, several hundred thousand Texans have paid to take 3-minute round trip rides on the Skyway, as the pilot line is called. Of more interest to Monorail, Inc., are the transit experts who have ridden the pilot line and feel it may be the answer to their traffic problems, for it is through them that monorail hopes to prove it is the successor to jammed highways, freeways, and other means of long distance commuter surface travel.

Just what can monorail do?

Its backers point out that electricity and gasoline engines revolutionized transportation so that cities grew—fed by autos, buses, trains, and trolley cars until they have become choked with traffic. They claim monorail can give cities new hope by providing a traffic-free, accident-free, worry-free route. Skyway, they assert, is designed so the coaches can travel singly, or in strings, tandem style; that with sufficient coaches one line can handle as much traffic as a 24-lane superhighway.

They do not claim monorail will mean the end of bus and trolley service. It is designed to integrate with other types of transit. To be used for express travel it will require feeder service.

But they do visualize it as relieving the pressure on other types of transit systems; creating a free flow of passenger traffic that would benefit downtown and suburban business, real estate development, industry, and the home owner. It isn't too fantastic to think of the Orinda-Lafayette area within 10 minutes travel time of downtown Berkeley, or of local residents being shuttled to and from San Francisco in 15 minutes.

The Dallas installation has a ground-level loading station at one end and at the other an elevated loading platform is suspended from a big parabolic archway. The coach runs on a single track which is supported by inverted J-shaped towers about 100 feet apart. The towers are approximately 30 feet high, so the bottom of the coach is 14 feet above ground level. It is pointed out monorail can parallel and cross deserts, rivers or valleys, can be used above expressways, over city streets, in open country and along railroad rights-of-way. It can travel underground, overhead, or on the ground.

The coach itself runs on eight pneumatic tires and employs a gyroscope balance, providing a noiseless, smooth ride. The control equipment and driver's compartment are above the track. Fifty-four feet long, 8 feet wide, 7 feet high inside, the coach weighs approximately 26,700 pounds. This is about 400 pounds per passenger, as compared to 2,500 pounds for a railroad car, 1,000 pounds for a bus.

Inside the coach is equipped with 55 modern plastic seats placed diagonally with respect to each other, allowing for more space for each passenger. It is considered the roomiest and most comfortable of any in use in mass transportation systems today.

While the Skyway coach is powered by two 305-horsepower engines, the firm's engineers say it can be adapted to diesels, gas turbines, or electric motors without difficulty. Brakes and operating equipment are easily accessible and repairs can be made quickly. Should one of the pneumatic tires blow out, auxiliary steel wheels instantly would take over.

Backers emphatically insist that monorail is safe. It has been safety inspected by the National Safety Council and been subjected to rigid safety inspection by engineers of the Aetna Insurance Co. The Skyway installation uses fundamentally the same principle as the monorail at Wuppertal, Germany, a line that has carried 900 million passengers since 1903 without a single fatal accident—a record never equalled in mass transportation.

Monorail is relatively cheap rapid transit in comparison with costs of other systems. It is estimated it can be built at $500,000 a mile, compared to several million dollars a mile for auto freeway and $7 million to $11 million per mile for subways.

Whether it develops as a satisfactory public utility is likely to be tested within a relatively short time. While some engineering and other problems are likely to develop, it is felt they can be met in actual experience.

Once the first commercial installation has been made, it is felt others will follow, if it can be proven financially and structurally satisfactory. Monorail, Inc., it is reported, has recently secured a firm commitment for long-term financing of installations.

While we were in Dallas last month to inspect the pilot installation, the firm was opening discussion with the city council of Orlando, Fla., offering to build the new type mass transportation system there at no cost to the city. It anticipates a line that would provide coach service up to 90 miles an hour, each coach carrying 80 to 144 passengers.

Robert E. Pierson, sales director of the firm, said it would need a franchise to operate and about 3 square feet of right-of-way every 125 feet on the group to sink its steel pylons into concrete footings. Citing the $500,000-a-mile cost figures, he said monorail in Orlando would make its own arrangements for financing.

President Goodell, of Monorail, Inc., is a former longtime resident of San Francisco and has followed the mass transportation discussion in this area for many years.

"It is our opinion," he says, "that the only way to correctly bring monorail to the bay area is to install a line—1, 2 or 3 miles maximum—where right-of-way and franchise to operate are immediately available without any long discussion, build and operate such a system for several months to show the people its merits.

"Having carried over 300,000 people in our own Houston and Dallas installations, we are beginning to learn the real problems of monorail, overcome these problems, and win the public's acceptance."

The Opportunity To Participate in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, recently in an address before the graduating class of 1957 at Newark Academy in Newark, N. J., the Honorable Edward K. Mills, Jr., Deputy Administrator of the General Services Administration, delivered an outstanding address to these young graduates on the subject of The Opportunity To Participate in Government. Mr. Mills is one of our distinguished New Jersey citizens, and he is rendering a fine public service in his work for the General Services Administration.

I ask unanimous consent that this noteworthy address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT

(Address by Hon. Edward K. Mills, Jr., Deputy Administrator, General Services Administration, before the graduating class of 1957 of Newark Academy)

I am honored to be here tonight to share with you this important moment in your lives.

I admire your generation which has had to adjust its life and thinking so drastically in the interest of its country. You have succeeded admirably in fitting into the cold war philosophy, or existence, which has been forced upon us for national survival. I take my hat off to you.

I have two nephews—not a great deal older than you—who recently graduated from college. One of them is a jet pilot in the Air Force—a husband—and the father of a 10 months old baby daughter. The other is an ensign in the Navy now on a destroyer somewhere in the trouble area in the Mediterranean. This interruption in their lives did not upset them—they took it in stride, without complaint—and when they are through with military service, they feel that they will be the better citizens for it. I admire them, and you, for accepting these present-day sacrifices with such understanding and good grace.

Strangely enough, I do not feel very remote from your generation—except perhaps in terms of years. The problems of your day and mine are still basically the same—getting a good education, finding a good job, earning a good living, having a successful career, marrying a fine woman, having a good home, rearing some fine children,

and perhaps leaving some small imprint of yourself on your country, or your community, or your friends and family. That's why in talking to you tonight, I do not feel any remoteness between us. I am going through the mill race at one end—and you are beginning at the other.

Let me tell you a story which I believe to be true. A prominent New Jerseyan of some years ago, Dwight Morrow—who was the father of Anne Morrow Lindbergh—was riding on a train to a strange town to deliver an important speech. Mr. Morrow was a man of great mental capacity and power of concentration, who sometimes became preoccupied or absent minded as a result of wrestling with some major problem, and as he rode on the train, he devoted his thoughts to what he was soon going to say in his address. Suddenly the conductor interrupted his concentration with a loud "Tickets, please" and Mr. Morrow, pulling out his wallet, hastily rummaged through it and his pockets. But nowhere could he find his ticket.

"That's all right, Mr. Morrow," said the conductor, understandingly, "it doesn't matter."

"The devil it doesn't matter," replied Mr. Morrow, "I don't know where I'm going."

Perhaps some of you already know where you are going. Perhaps you are driven by a deep urge to be a doctor, a teacher, or a minister—with all the financial sacrifices that those dedicated careers entail. Perhaps others of you plan to be businessmen or bankers or corporate executives—with all the hopes of wealth that those positions hold. Still others of you may have talents in the arts—for writing, music, or the theater—with all the financial hazards that such careers involve. They are all good and challenging ways of life, and you should strive to scale the heights of whichever career you choose.

But regardless of your chosen profession or means of livelihood, there is also an opportunity in all your lives for still another type of service. Most of you must necessarily go out for it like an extra-curricular pursuit—but let me emphasize that it is an opportunity, more than a duty. In Princeton it is called: Princeton in the Nation's Service. Woodrow Wilson coined the phrase, and it simply means those graduates of Princeton who serve their country by participation in its Government. Newark Academy also has its Government honor roll of graduates—men like Raymond Del Tufo, charter Commissioner for city of Newark and former United States attorney; W. P. Findley (Tommy) Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General to Herbert Brownell; Ferdinand Eberstadt, distinguished Government service during war; Joseph M. Byrne, Jr., former commissioner for city of Newark and member of Port of New York Authority; Charles W. Holton, mayor of Essex Falls for 30 years. Distinguished judges: Joseph E. Conlon, John O. Bigelow, Richard Hartshorne, and Arthur C. Dunn.

The country in which we live can only be as sound as the citizens who run it. Our Founding Father recognized this fact and made Government one of their chief concerns and primary interests. Their great talents, so liberally bestowed, gave us the framework within which we have lived and prospered for almost 200 years, and we of today must continue that tradition of participation in Government, lest by indifference and indolence we lose our heritage. Nothing is more important than that all of us—especially those of us with the benefit of fine educations such as yours—carry on the tradition of giving Government our firsthand attention.

Participation in government can run the gamut of endeavor from just plain voting to high elective office. Let us all subscribe to one small pledge tonight. When the responsibility of voting becomes yours, you will always vote—at every election—at least, once. When I ran for mayor of Morristown some years ago, I remember how hurt I was that some of my friends played golf on election day. "You don't need our vote—you're in," they said—but I wasn't quite so sure—and their indifference and complacency upset me. For the first time I realized what a vote really meant in personal terms—at least to the candidate concerned. Many important elections—like the famous Dewey defeat of 1948—have been lost by just such indifference, multiplied by a few hundred people in a few hundred towns.

I know you will exercise your voting privilege when the time comes—it is your primary source of strength in the affairs of your country. But, to use your vote wisely, you should continue, during the next few years, to acquaint yourselves with our governmental processes, with the predominant principles for which each party stands, with the records and political philosophies of the individual candidates, and with the current domestic and foreign issues which are in contest. Then, when the time comes to vote, your ballot will reflect an intelligent, sensible, unemotional point of view. You will personally feel better knowing where you stand politically and being willing and able to speak up intelligently and be counted as a responsible member of society.

As a contributing member to the American community, you will also undoubtedly serve on one or more civic boards or commissions. If you do, you will be participating in an important phase of government which can produce a great deal of satisfaction to you, and, at the same time, be of substantial benefit to your fellow citizens. Municipal and county planning boards for the orderly development of our communities—boards of education for a better public-school system, boards of health, and recreation, parking, and housing authorities—all need men of your caliber and training. No public service can more intimately affect your homes, your communities, and your children than these diversified and important local governmental bodies. The old expression of indifference "Let George do it" no longer makes community sense. Like our Founding Fathers, we had better do it ourselves if we want it to be done right.

There are two other types of Government service where opportunity abounds. One is the elective field—the field of public office. It is a field which, fortunately, attracts many outstanding and dedicated citizens such as H. Alexander Smith and Clifford Case who are serving the people of New Jersey with distinction in the United States Senate. We are fortunate to have men of such stature and devotion there.

Holding public office is a grueling and difficult assignment—one of the hardest I know—because you must learn to deal competently with many difficult problems and many varieties of people and motivation. But it is a job—whether in local, State, or Federal Government—which can bring a man close to full stature in a relatively short period of time and, in many cases, at a relatively young age. It is full of interest, and opportunity, and challenge. True, campaigning for elective office is a rugged struggle with tremendous demands on your time and vitality, but, if elected, you can benefit more people by intelligent, honest service than any other activity I know. For those with the temperament and dedication, there is no greater avenue of contribution to the well-being of our country.

The other type of government participation is the more secure, and less exhaustive, one of civil service in which you do not constantly run the risk of being thrown out of office at regular intervals by your constituents. These government career servants—protected by civil service—provide a much-needed continuity of knowledge and experience between, and during, the regimes of the two political parties. Without them, there would be dangerous lost motion and confusion in the stable administration and smooth flow of government. If your flare is not for the public rostrum, you might well consider the rewards and diversified opportunities of a career Government servant. A man like Livingston Merchant, formerly of Morristown, who left a Wall Street investment firm to become a career civil servant in the State Department, and was later appointed Ambassador to Canada, is a good example.

If, later in your lives, high appointive office is offered to you, be sure to accept it, regardless of the so-called sacrifices of government service. Actually, the sacrifices are small when weighed against the full measure of a meaningful and useful life. Certainly, Jerseyans like William J. Brennan, Jr., of the United States Supreme Court; Bernard M. Shanley, Secretary to the President; James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor; Donald A. Quarles, Deputy Secretary of the Department of Defense; Percival F. Brundage, Director of the Bureau of the Budget; and Percy Rappaport, Assistant Director of the Budget—certainly these men do not gauge their government careers in terms of sacrifice, or a dollars-and-cents equation. They have availed themselves, on a high level, of the opportunity to participate in government.

Government is basically a management operation—the largest in the world—and one of the challenges about it is the diversity of its activities and the magnitude of its responsibilities. As an example, and because I am familiar with it, let us take a little-known independent agency like the General Services Administration. It is composed of 27,000 people, representing 150 different skills and professions, conducting a multitude of important services for the other civilian agencies of Government. Except for the Department of Defense, it is the world's largest realtor, managing, and leasing some 5,500 pieces of property for the Government. It operates one of the world's largest supply systems. It is the world's largest purchaser of strategic and critical materials, with a stockpile for our national defense worth $7 billion. It serves as the Government's adviser on transportation and public-utilities matters. It is responsible for keeping the current records of the Government, as well as for the custody and protection of historical national documents, including the original Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. One cannot help but broaden and grow wiser by reason of such varied and stimulating Government experience. It is an opportunity which is difficult to measure.

If you do participate in government, you should live by certain standards which are generally higher than those in other walks of life.

You must be honest—honest to the point of bending over backward in your personal and official conduct. First of all, when you accept a Government appointive position you must avoid what is called a conflict of interest—a pitfall into which many a naive fellow falls and is destroyed. When I served as a young attorney with the Civil Aeronautics Board, I was engaged in legal work relating to the airmail compensation to be paid the airlines. If a favorable airmail rate was granted, it would inevitably affect the value of that company's stock. Even though I, in my lowly legal position, did not decide the rate, and even though I only owned a handful of airline shares, I sold them all. As a consequence, I lost twice as much money as I earned in 2 years of hard work. But I slept at night.

To be effective in government—or in any other walk of life, for that matter—you

must be able to make decisions—prompt decisions on difficult matters. It is surprising that many government officials and industry executives—unlike their wives—cannot make up their minds. They balk at a decision like a horse refusing a water jump and thereby destroy their effectiveness and stall their organizations. Many decisions in public office are difficult to make, and no matter how a problem is resolved, it will antagonize a lot of people. Be sure that your decision is sound, and legally and morally right—and then let the chips fall where they may. In that way, the decision of this year will not rise up to haunt you next year, or 5 years from now. You can live with it forever.

In reaching sound decisions in government or business, you should establish a formula from which you never deviate. First, you should assemble and marshal all the facts that even remotely bear on the problem. Study those facts, sleep with them, tear them apart. If you have preconceived notions on the question or the answers, cast them aside. If you have prejudices, or likes or dislikes, rule them out. Analyze all the facts—coldly and objectively—without passion or prejudice—and then make up your mind and stick to it. A year later, if a congressional committee or other investigating group comes after you, you won't curl up your toes and die of fright. You will be in a position to convince the committee that you were right, or, if they can't agree, at least that your motives were honorable and your reasoning was sound and valid.

To make it worthwhile to participate in government and to leave your small imprint, you must, of course, have a purpose. Surely, you do not want to be a high government official just to have a low license number or to be called in your old age Mr. Ambassador, Mr. Secretary, or Senator. You must want to have stood for something worthwhile and fought for it—be it civil rights, a balanced budget, lower taxes, or any other issue. You must want to have improved your government—be it municipal, State, or Federal. You must want to have made it better—more efficient—cheaper to run—more useful to the taxpayers. You must want to have opposed, and exposed, prejudice, stupidity, and false practices. You must want to have improved the social and economic lot of every citizen, regardless of his race, creed, or color.

Participation in government is not a bed of roses. You live in a glass house, and hence people will throw stones. If you are thin-skinned, you will be hurt by flying glass. Some few people will cast aspersions at you, or even want to destroy you, but that should not deter you. If you have lived by the public standards which I have mentioned, those people cannot long hurt you. Instinctively, public opinion will rally to your support and protect you from the false and unfounded.

The people in high Government positions today do not regard it as a sacrifice to serve their country. To be sure, they may be giving up some salary, some leisure, and some luxuries—but they regard it as a privilege to participate in Government. Just a few weeks ago when the very able and universally respected George Humphrey resigned as Secretary of the Treasury, he said that his years in the Government had been "the most wonderful experience of my life." And he called the relatively young Robert Anderson (then 46 years old) "the best young man I know to carry on the duties of Secretary of the Treasury." Continuity of high-caliber people in Government is essential, and it should be the purpose of the older generation to discover and develop young talent. That is one reason why I am talking to you on this subject tonight.

Only by the broad participation of people like you in public affairs can our representative form of government prosper and survive. As I have said, our Government and country can only be as good as those who run it. In the years ahead I urge you to avail yourselves of the opportunity to participate in public affairs—be they municipal, State, or Federal, or be it on a part-time, full-time, or occasional basis. By reason of your background, training, and education here at Newark Academy, you will have much to contribute to your country in the years ahead, and your life, in turn, will be the richer for the experience.

Congratulations on your graduation and good luck to all of you in the years to come.

Miss Patricia Allen, of Grants Pass, and American Friends Service Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, this summer 11 young people from my State have been engaged in service and work projects conducted under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee. In its August 19, 1957, issue the Oregonian, a daily newspaper published in Portland, Oreg., carried an article describing the experience of one of these volunteers—Miss Patricia Allen, of Grants Pass, Oreg.

Miss Allen, a sophomore at the University of Oregon, served during the summer at the American Friends Service Committee work camp at San Simon Atzitzintla, Mexico, where she assisted in inoculating and vaccinating Mexican children to better protect them from disease, supervised recreation, and helped instruct craft classes.

Because Miss Allen's comments so cogently indicate the beneficial objectives achieved through these summer programs—both for the student worker and those who are the recipients of their efforts—I ask unanimous consent that the Oregonian story of August 19 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON GIRL ACTIVE IN FRIENDS SERVICE—MEXICAN NATIVES WELCOME PROGRAM OF VACCINATION AGAINST SMALLPOX

(By Dora Morandi)

"We're continuing the vaccination program this afternoon," said Patricia "Pepper" Allen, seated in the doorway of a small adobe house. She and other volunteers from the American Friends Service committee work camp at San Simon Atzitzintla, Mexico, were resting briefly before plunging into another half day of hard work.

"This morning we vaccinated more than 150 boys and girls here in Tlacotepec under the direction of the local nurse and one of our group who is also a nurse," Patricia said.

"The village authorities have been most cooperative and helped us set up the 'clinic' in one room of the school. In this way we were able to bring the children directly from the classroom into the clinic. This afternoon we will continue the smallpox vaccinations of the adults."

The 18-year-old miss from Grants Pass, Oreg., pointed out the snow-capped outline of the volcano Ixtlaccihuatl. San Simon, about half a mile from Tlacotepec, in the state of Puebla east of Mexico City, is headquarters of the Friends Service committee work camp. It is an agricultural village with about 850 population located at the foothills of the volcano.

LAND PRODUCTIVE

Corn and other vegetables are abundant, for there is an abundant water supply, and the land is fertile.

Patricia Allen is 1 of 11 young people working out of the Oregon office of the American Friends Service committee this summer on service and work projects, according to Robert A. Carlson, program assistant.

Only one other Oregonian is serving overseas. Nancy Terrell, of McMinnville, is appointed to an American Friends Service committee work camp in Italy.

A sophomore at the University of Oregon, Patricia hopes to major in journalism. Though not a Friend, she feels that serving in the Friends work camp in Mexico will help her learn more about people and to develop an understanding and sympathy for people that will help her in her journalistic career.

"While inoculations and vacinations for smallpox, whooping cough and typhoid are a large part of our program," Patricia pointed out "we are also doing many other things."

During the morning, most of the girls including Patricia work with the children, either by assisting the Mexican schoolteachers in the classrooms or supervising recreation periods. Arts and crafts classes are held in the afternoon.

"I think even more popular than recreaiton periods or the crafts classes is our library hour," said Patricia. "We have a large selection of brightly colored children's books which boys and girls are permitted to take to their homes. For many of them this is an undreamed of joy. Some of them have never seen any books other than the few they use in their classrooms. We also have a story hour which draws crowds of children."

The eight boys in the work camp have been working with the villagers to help complete the new addition to the school, and also co-operating with a program of latrine building.

QUARTERS IN SCHOOL

"The villagers of San Simon have been wonderful to us," Patricia continued. "The second day we were here the president of the village invited us to his home for dinner—all 18 of us. Some of the young men of the village have come to our casa to serenade us, and we have also held joint songfests. I might add that we are in a very accessible spot—the school.

"The quarters the villagers were preparing for us were not ready when we were due to arrive, rather than ask us to come later or even next year, they fixed up a couple of rooms of the school for a girl's dormitory and a kitchen-dining room."

Before Patricia could add more, the church bells began to ring. It was the signal for the men and women of the village to gather at the clinic, and it was no more siesta for the American volunteers.

Opening United States Statements at 10th World Health Assembly Delivered by Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Chairman, United States Delegation, and Representative John E. Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the 10th World Health Assembly convened at Geneva, Switzerland, during the month of May 1957. It was a conference that brought together representatives from more than 80 nations. Great and lasting good resulted from the meeting together of this distinguished and outstanding group of men and women interested in promoting the health of the world.

It was a privilege for me to have the opportunity of attending this World Assembly as a congressional representative with the United States delegation, together with the Honorable JOHN E. FOGARTY. It is a pleasure to report that the United States delegation took a leading and important part in the deliberations of the assembly under the leadership of Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General of the United States, as chairman of the delegation.

I wish that every Member of Congress—indeed every citizen of the United States—could have had the close view of this great organization that I had. No one could come away from such an experience without a sense of deep satisfaction in what we Americans are doing through this organization to relieve misery and suffering among hundreds of millions of our fellowmen. And one could not help being astounded at how much is being accomplished with so little money. Hundreds and hundreds of important health projects are being carried out even in the remotest corners of the world under the stimulus and technical guidance of this organization. I know of no money that is being spent with greater effect than the small resources of the WHO. Truly, it is changing the world for the better, building a strong and more resourceful human race.

Mr. Speaker, in accordance with the unanimous consent granted, I hereby include as part of my remarks the statements delivered by Dr. Burney and Representative FOGARTY at the opening of the Assembly, as follows:

STATEMENT BY DR. LEROY E. BURNEY

Mr. President and distinguished delegates, it is a pleasure for me to come again to the World Health Assembly, the truly impressive annual meeting of the health leaders of the world. I had the opportunity to be a member of the United States delegation to the World Health Assembly in Mexico in 1955. I am now having the pleasant and rewarding experience of renewing many old friendships and of making new ones.

The World Health Assembly is a unique meeting, and uniquely important. President Eisenhower has, on several occasions, emphasized the great value of the work of the World Health Organization in lifting the burden of disease which still afflicts mankind. The President has pointed to the World Health Organization as one of the highly successful specialized agencies of the United Nations in which international cooperations has truly benefited mankind. We who are members of national health administrations in our own countries are necessarily concerned for much of the time with health programs and problems within our borders, yet we have all found that health is essentially international, perhaps one of the most international of all fields of human endeavor. To leave Washington, D. C., on one afternoon and to be in Geneva the next brings home in an immediate personal way the closeness of countries. Even more basically, we in the United States are grateful for the opportunity to cooperate with other countries to help raise the levels of health, including those of our own people and of all peoples. These annual World Health Assemblies demonstrate the serious wish of nations to pool the necessary resources for this purpose. In the World Health Organization we have, by working together, built an effective means for fighting for better health. The annual report which the director general has put before us is, as usual, an interesting and a most stimulating document. Perhaps this year it is more than usually instructive, reporting as it does the activities of the World Health Organization in the 10th year from the founding of the Interim Commission for WHO. It demonstrates that the Organization has become a successfully established institution. It can still mature, but it has thrived through the early years of trial and conclusively proved its worth as an agency for international cooperation in health. Its potentialities for helping to improve health levels further are great.

I am proud that our United States delegation to this Assembly includes two distinguished Members of the United States Congress. They have both shown great insight into health needs and programs in the United States. Likewise, they have played a leading part in the passage of the legislation which has enabled the United States to support the steady, orderly growth of this Organization. They come to this Assembly as good friends of WHO of long standing. At this time I am privileged to be able to call on one of these distinguished gentleman, Congressmen JOHN FOGARTY, a longtime friend and supporter of public health and medical research. Congressman FOGARTY will make a statement on behalf of the United States delegation.

The PRESIDENT. Thank you, Dr. Burney. May I call on Congressman FOGARTY? You have the floor, sir.

STATEMENT BY JOHN E. FOGARTY

Mr. President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful for Dr. Burney's kind words applying to Congressman WOLVERTON and myself. At the same time, I can claim no special virtue in being in favor of good health. We in the United States Congress are all in favor of better health for the people of our country and for all peoples. Our Congress has shown by its actions its realization that improving world health conditions is a basic part of building a more peaceful and stable world, the goal for which we all strive and pray.

We have watched with the greatest interest and satisfaction the steady growth of the World Health Organization. Its constructive work now reaches into every corner of the world. No international organization is doing more important work day in and day out. The growth of WHO has been continuous and orderly, in pace with the increasing experience and competence of its excellent staff. It is our feeling that its orderly growth should be continued. I feel that I can assure you quite confidently that the people of the United States and their representatives in Congress will continue to support orderly expansion of this great work. On the other hand, as one who believes deeply in the importance of your mission, I feel I should let you know that in my personal view there would be some real concern among my colleagues in the Congress of the United States if the Organization attempted to expand too rapidly, beyond its demonstrated ability to maintain high levels of accomplishment. Orderly growth provides for sound growth, and it is sound growth we all want in WHO.

Next year, 1958, will be the 10th anniversary of the coming-into-force of the Constitution of the 10th World Health Organization. With this in mind, the United States Congress last year on its own initiative prepared and adopted a joint resolution of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to read parts of this resolution. The Congress declared among other things, that "the year 1958 is considered particularly appropriate for holding the Assembly in the United States since that year will mark the decennial anniversary of the entry-into-force of the constitution of the World Health Organization, which was originally drawn up and signed in New York City"; and that "the Assembly will focus public attention in the United States on the important work of the World Health Organization as an integral part of the economic and social program of the United Nations and as a constructive work contributing to better international appreciation and world peace." The Congress therefore authorized an appropriation to enable the United States to invite the World Health Organization to hold the 11th World Health Assembly, in 1958, in the United States of America.

I am happy to inform you that this invitation has gone from our Secretary of State to your Director-General of WHO, and that the matter will therefore come before you for your consideration. The United States will be highly honored if it is decided to hold the 11th World Health Assembly in our country, and we shall do all we can to make the occasion an auspicious and most successful one.

Opening Statement by Dr. James R. Reuling at the Meeting of the Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly, May 13, 1957, at Geneva, Switzerland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the United States Delegation to the 10th World Health Assembly, held at Geneva, Switzerland, during the month of May 1957, was highly honored to have as a member Dr. James R. Reuling, a distinguished practitioner of medicine for many years in the State of New York, and now residing in the State of Florida.

Dr. Reuling by his friendly manner and wise counsel exerted a great influence among the delegates from the other

nations. His service as a United States delegate, representing the American Medical Association, was highly beneficial and helpful to his own delegation in the important part it took in the work of the Assembly, as well as in all the activities of the Assembly itself.

On May 13, 1957, Dr. Reuling delivered the opening United States statement to the Program and Budget Committee. As part of my remarks, I include a summary of his remarks as recorded in the minutes of the committee:

REMARKS BY DR. JAMES R. REULING ON MAY 13, 1957, IN PROGRAM AND BUDGET COMMITTEE, 10TH WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

Dr. Reuling (United States of America) expressed his personal pleasure at again taking part in the World Health Assembly and his delegation's appreciation of the progress achieved in 1956 as evidenced in the Director-General's annual report. He added that the Members of the United States Congress present at the Health Assembly were deeply concerned with WHO's work to improve world health. Particularly worthy of note were the Organization's assistance for the organization of local health services, especially in rural areas, and its activities to promote the expansion of laboratory services, especially in connection with the reduction of infant mortality, the control of leprosy and trachoma, and research on the vectors of bilharziasis. His delegation was also particularly interested in the work on malaria eradication, and proposed later to present a special report on that matter.

Darling Medal and Prize Awarded to Dr. Paul F. Russell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, at the seventh plenary meeting of the Tenth World Health Assembly, on May 13, 1957, at the Palace of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, an honor was paid to an outstanding and distinguished American doctor of medicine, of such magnitude that it should not be permitted to pass unnoticed. I refer to the awarding of the Darling medal and prize to Dr. Paul F. Russell in recognition of his great achievements in the control of malaria. No man has ever stood higher or been more generally recognized as a leader in this particular field of activity than Dr. Russell.

In accordance with the unanimous consent granted, I hereby include with pleasure and great pride the address delivered by the President of the World Health Assembly and the reply made by Dr. Russell, as follows:

PRESENTATION OF THE DARLING FOUNDATION MEDAL AND PRIZE

The PRESIDENT. The meeting is called to order.

The Assembly will recall that the Darling Foundation prize is awarded for outstanding achievements in the pathology, etiology, epidemiology, therapy, prophylaxis, or control of malaria. According to the regulations of the foundation, the Darling Foundation Committee is empowered to take the final decision with regard to the award of the medal and prize, and recommends to the Executive Board of the World Health Organization the mode of presentation of the said award.

This prize, established by the Darling Foundation, a foundation created by private subscriptions, is periodically granted not only to honor eminent malariologists who distinguished themselves particularly in their work, but also to honor the memory of Dr. Samuel Taylor Darling, a man who set up a tradition of continuing inquiry and research constantly focused on a single primary objective—the control of disease, particularly the control of malaria—and who was killed by accident during a study mission of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations.

The first award was given to Col. S. P. James in 1932; the second to Prof. H. N. Swellengrebel in 1937; the third to Prof. H. E. Shortt and Prof. P. C. C. Garnham in 1951; and the fourth award to Dr. G. Coatney and Prof. G. Macdonald in 1954.

This year, the Darling Foundation Committee decided that the medal and prize of the fifth award be presented to Dr. P. F. Russell. The executive board at its 19th session, in conformity with the regulations of the foundation, concurred that the presentation be given a most solemn character before an audience of worldwide importance, and requested the Director General to arrange for presentation of the medal and prize by the president of the 10th assembly during the plenary session of that assembly.

Today is a particularly appropriate day for the presentation of an award connected with work in the field of malaria, for 100 years ago today was born the man who later became known to us as Sir Ronald Ross, who, as the Director General recalled in his introductory statement, first saw and recognized, in August 1897, zygotes in the stomach walls of a mosquito, and who thereafter first demonstrated the cycle of avian malaria, from which was deduced a similar cycle in human malaria, a deduction very soon proved by the Italian workers Grassi, Bastianelli, and Bignami.

On this most fitting occasion the award is being made to one who is renowned for his outstanding achievements in the control of malaria, and, indeed, for his contributions to the whole subject of malariology and who, it is particularly interesting to note, drew his inspiration directly from Dr. S. T. Darling, working as his assistant at the Leesburg Field Laboratory, Ga., shortly after joining the Rockefeller Foundation in 1923.

Dr. Paul F. Russell, born in 1894, is an American citizen. He holds the bachelor of arts degree of Boston University, the doctor of medicine degree of Cornell University, and the master of public health degree of Harvard University. He joined the Rockefeller Foundation in 1923, and has been associated with the health work of that foundation ever since, particularly in the field of malaria. Most of his working life has been spent outside his native land, for he was assigned to Malaya from 1925 to 1928, to the Philippines from 1929 to 1934, to India from 1934 to 1942, to Venezuela from 1946 to 1947, to Rome from 1950 to 1952, and to Paris from 1952 to 1953, while from 1942 to 1946 he served with the United States Army overseas, and in 1954 and 1955 he was loaned to the World Health Organization, acting as special consultant here in Geneva and visiting a number of countries in Asia and the Middle East.

Dr. Russell has made outstanding contributions to the epidemiology and control of malaria. His brilliant studies in connection with malaria transmitted by Anopheles culicifacies in South India constituted one of the earliest demonstrations of the possibility of controlling malaria through insecticidal attack on the adult vector, paving the way to the similar use of residual insecticides—a technique which, as we all know, is the mainstay of modern malaria eradication programs.

Dr. Russell is the author or co-author of a number of books on malaria and of a long list of scientific papers. The title of his latest book, "Man's Mastery of Malaria," excellently epitomizes the philosophy of which Dr. Russell has been so strong a protagonist, a philosophy which guides also this organization in its work of mastering the problem of malaria in the world.

Dr. Russell has been closely associated with the World Health Organization since its inception, and as a member of the Expert Advisory Panel on Malaria, has served on the Expert Committee on Malaria on five occasions. In addition, on several occasions the organization has greatly benefited from the advice of Dr. Russell when he agreed to serve as a consultant to the organization.

Dr. Russell, it is with pleasure that I present you with this medal and prize of the Darling Foundation. Please accept my personal congratulations. [Applause.]

Dr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, standing here before this notable assembly on this occasion, I find my emotions a mixture of pride, humility and reminiscence. I am proud to have been recommended for this honor by an expert committee of outstanding malariologists, and I am very proud indeed to receive it from you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Darling Foundation and in the presence of this assembly. No other organization in all history has had a greater world-wide influence toward the eradication of a major disease than has the World Health Organization in respect of malaria during the past few years. This organization has been the activating catalyst and motivating mainspring, the international demonstrator and coordinator, in the development of a global assault on malaria. I have no doubt that WHO will continue to apply increasing power to the attack until this plague has been vanquished.

I also feel humble at this time, first because of my debt to a great many collaborators over the years and in many countries; and secondly, because my own acquaintance with current malariology makes clear to me that this award might so properly have gone to any one of several colleagues who have contributed notably to the subject in recent years.

But even stronger than these feelings of pride and of humility, there is this morning a flood of reminiscence stemming back a third of a century to the time when I had intimate personal and professional association with Samuel Taylor Darling, whom we honor today. In October 1923 I was sent to Leesburg, Ga., for a routine 2-week training course at the Rockefeller Foundation's Malaria Field Station, of which Darling was the director. But such was Darling's magnetism, and so thoroughly and quickly did he stir in me a desire to specialize in malariology, that I stayed at his side for 15 months as a student-assistant. Darling's influence was irresistible and to this very day malaria has attracted me more strongly than any other aspect of medicine. Of Darling, uniquely among all of my teachers, I can say most sincerely in the words of the oath of Hippocrates, "I shall look upon him who shall have taught me this art even as on mine own parents."

Darling had a robust personality, a pertinacious curiosity, abounding energy and a wealth of wisdom. He had a notable record in the Panama Canal Zone as pathologist under General Gorgas. There, as Darling several times related to me, he met Ronald Ross, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth we note today. These two Titans had great respect for each other.

After Panama, Darling joined the staff of the Rockefeller Foundation, and brilliantly carried out studies in Malaya, Java, Fiji, Brazil and the United States. His tragic death occurred in the hills above Beirut on May 20, 1925, while he was on a tour for the Malaria Commission of the Health Organization of the League of Nations.

The great lesson consistently expounded by Darling was that in public health activities, concomitant field and laboratory research is essential to sound practice. Darling would have given hearty endorsement to the emphasis placed on this subject by Professor Parisot in his notable address last week, and to the words of your very practical and distinguished Director General in his review of the work of WHO in 1956, where Dr. Candau states that research is "the real backbone of the various activities through which the Organization is striving to promote world health." As regards malaria, I believe that without noncomitant fundamental investigations, worldwide eradication would not be possible. It is indeed fortunate that this principle, so tenaciously held by Darling, has been accepted, and that WHO is today stimulating, coodinating and assisting malaria studies throughout the world.

Finally, Mr. President, I have great pleasure in accepting this Darling Foundation medal and prize that commemorates a famous research malariologist, a superb teacher and a close friend. Thank you. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT. Thank you, Dr. Russell.

Statement by L. Wyatt, Division of the United States Public Health Service, on Behalf of the United States Delegation in the Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly, May 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the United States Public Health Service has at all times taken a very great interest in the activities of the National Committee on Vital and Health Statistics.

As part of my remarks, I wish to include statements made by Mr. L. Wyatt, of the Division of International Health, Bureau of State Services, of the United States Public Health Service, at meetings of the Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly, on May 14 and May 18, 1957, at Geneva, Switzerland, as follows:

STATEMENT BY UNITED STATES DELEGATION ON SECTION OF DIRECTOR GENERAL'S REPORT FOR 1956, RELATING TO HEALTH STATISTICS, GIVEN BY MR. WYATT IN PROGRAM AND BUDGET COMMITTEE, 10TH WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY, MAY 14, 1957

Mr. Chairman, the United States delegation has had a continuing interest in the activities of the national committees on vital and health statistics. The United States delegation reaffirms its support for national committees because of their value and their potentials in achieving technical developments in national and international statistics on health.

The United States national committee on vital and health statistics laid the groundwork for the national health survey, which goes into the field this month to collect, on a continuing basis, information on the health of the American people. Health surveys have been made by our colleagues in other countries, notably in Canada, Denmark, England, and Japan. However, many of the techniques of conducting health surveys are still in the experimental stage. The United States is keenly interested in the systematic interchange of experience and views on methods and procedures in the conduct of health surveys.

The United States delegation notes in the 1956 report of the Director General that the WHO Expert Committee on Health Statistics met last December to discuss problems in modbidity statistics. The United States delegation concurs in the conclusion of the expert committee that it is premature to make any extensive series of recommendations for international adoption. However, Mr. Chairman, the United States delegation hopes that WHO will increase its emphasis on the necessary services for the exchange of technical information in the development of health statistics, and give increased attention to laying the groundwork for future international standards in the field of morbidity statistics. We also note with satisfaction the provision in the program for a handbook on principles for a health statistics system complementing the United Nations handbook, Principles for a Vital Statistics System. This handbook can provide an excellent basis for discussion and should prove valuable to all countries in improving their statistical services.

We likewise note with satisfaction the contribution of the Expert Committees on Health Statistics. The contributions in the field of classification of diseases and causes of death have been particularly outstanding. The international adoption of the disease classification and other definitions will do much toward promoting the comparability of health statistics which is so essential in the assessment of health conditions. However, in addition to specific technical questions, these committees might consider also the means to accelerate all the varied aspects of the program of national and international development of health statistics.

The Director General's report for 1956 points out the difficulties in evaluating health conditions in various parts of the world because of the inadequacy of national statistics. These inadequacies arise from social and administrative problems, as well as from technical considerations. International standards constitute important goals for many countries, but there are also numerous procedural problems involved in establishing sound systems of vital and health statistics which will fit the varied social and administrative frameworks of different countries. The World Health Organization can be of invaluable assistance by developing, in cooperation with member nations, a broad, integrated, and positive program based on an appraisal and synthesis of national, technical, and administrative methods, on the analysis and interchange of national experience, and on the further development of international standards in health statistics.

In order to determine the ways and means of achieving a balanced program of this type within the operating framework of WHO, the United States delegation recommends that this question be considered by the Director General and the Executive Board, and will submit a formal resolution to that effect during this Committee's consideration of the proposed program and budget for 1958. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY UNITED STATES DELEGATION INTRODUCING RESOLUTION ON HEALTH STATISTICS GIVEN BY MR. WYATT IN PROGRAM AND BUDGET COMMITTEE, 10TH WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY, MAY 18, 1957

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the United States delegation, I should like to thank the Assistant Director General for Central Technical Services for his clear forecast of activities in that field planned for 1958. We are particularly pleased to hear of the proposed work on the international comparability of morbidity statistics, the proposed seminar to be held in southeast Asia, and the consideration which will be given to epidemiological methodology. We are also glad to learn of the continued progress being made in the International Pharmacopoeia, since we understand that the recommended specifications have already proved useful to many countries.

During the discussion in this Committee of the Director General's report for 1956, the United States delegation joined with several other delegations, notably those of the United Kingdom and Canada, in making a few brief remarks about the activities of WHO in health and vital statistics. The gist of these remarks was in appreciation of what WHO has already accomplished in this field, and a hope that the activities of WHO in this field might be able in the future to take on a broader scope. During that discussion, we stated that we would introduce a resolution on the subject during this Committee's consideration of the future program of WHO.

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If I may add one more comment, Mr. Chairman, we believe it would be helpful if the Director General could include in his study a consideration of the feasibility of making a greater use of specialized subcommittees of the Expert Committee on Health Statistics in the initial stage of preparation of definitions, recommendations, and suggestions, and also greater use of consultation with specialized experts in the various countries. The field of health and vital statistics has so many specialized phases that such a broadening of the procedures might considerably strengthen the WHO activities in promoting international standards or uniform practices.

Training Activities of World Health Organization as Presented to Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly, Geneva, Switzerland, by Dr. Ernest L. Stebbins on May 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the 10th World Health Assembly, held at Geneva, Switzerland, had many and varied activities relating to the work of the organization. The United States was fortunate to have a delegation of individuals each of whom was outstanding and highly respected in his respective line of endeavor. The delegation was particularly fortunate to have as a member, Dr. Ernest L. Stebbins, director, School of Hygiene and Public Health of

the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Stebbins is a man who is known throughout the world for the work he has done in the school of which he is director. It was surprising, as well as pleasing, to realize that many of the delegates from other nations throughout the world had attended the Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include as part of my remarks, in accordance with the unanimous consent granted, a copy of the recorded minutes of the Program and Budget Committee of the 10th World Health Assembly, held on May 14, 1957, relating to the remarks of Dr. Stebbins to the committee. The recorded minutes read as follows:

MINUTES OF PROGRAM AND BUDGET COMMITTEE, MAY 14, 1957

Dr. Stebbins (United States of America) wished to commend the Director-General and his staff for the important and far-reaching program of education and training so effectively carried out during the past years. It was becoming increasingly apparent that the organization's objectives could be attained only if there was a significant increase in training activities. The magnitude of the task was such that no single organization could be expected to meet all training requirements. He was therefore glad that emphasis was being placed on training teachers and supporting existing training schools as well as on establishing new schools in various parts of the world. He regretted that no statistical analysis of WHO's fellowship program had been included in the report. He welcomed the efforts being made to encourage and expand training facilities within the regions where the need for training was greatest; that development had many advantages, among which were the facts that it saved money and insured that the training was more practical. The development of faculty exchange programs, such as those in operation in the western Pacific and southeast Asia regions, seemed to provide a most effective means of strengthening local educational institutions.

There were some health disciplines which were of particular importance for solving the health problems of underdeveloped countries. Of those problems the most urgent were the need for trained engineers and sanitarians, of whom there was an acute shortage. Even more significant was the difficulty of providing qualified counterpart personnel in most of the countries where sanitation problems required urgent action. To solve that difficulty new national or regional education facilities must be provided. Perhaps as a first step an analytical catalog might be made of the training schools at present in existence.

There was also a great shortage of public-health nurses. The effectiveness of public-health programs depended largely on the maintenance of contact between the family in the home and the public health nurse (that was particularly true of rural areas). Too frequently the importance of the nurse to overall health programs was overlooked. It was necessary to provide greater encouragement and support for public-health nursing education in a large part of the world.

It should not be forgotten that public-health work was teamwork and that the educational program should be arranged accordingly. Emphasis should be placed on the need for making a multidiscipline approach to health problems. And in general, WHO should grant greater priority to education and training.

Remarks by Dr. Lester W. Burkett on May 18, 1957, in the Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the United States delegation to the 10th World Health Assembly was privileged to have as a member the distinguished dean of the Dental School of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Lester W. Burkett.

Dr. Burkett was active in the work of the Assembly and contributed greatly to its success. On May 18, 1957, he expressed some thoughts in a meeting of the program and budget committee that made a most favorable impression. The minutes of the committee record the views presented to the committee by Dr. Burkett, as follows:

MINUTES OF COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM AND BUDGET, MAY 18, 1957

Dr. Burkett (United States of America) endorsed the statements of the previous speakers on the need for more detailed statistical information on the question of cancer. However, he wished to speak on a different, though in some ways related, problem.

A number of delegations to the Health Assembly had in the past stressed the need for greater emphasis on dental health. The problem of dental diseases existed in all countries regardless of the level of development of public health services and also to some extent of the standard of living. Though the effects of diseases of the teeth and their supporting structures were rarely evident in mortality tables, they represented an aggravating and complicating factor in a variety of morbid conditions.

Dental health activities deserving serious consideration included epidemiological studies, preventive programs, and educational programs at all levels. The fullest use should be made of the established preventive measures now available. Emphasis on treatment should be confined essentially to cases where diseases of the teeth and jaw represented the limiting factor in rendering effective general health care. In that connection he must emphasize that good general health was impossible unless all the organs of the body were healthy, and the state of oral health was often quite disregarded. Dental health activities should be implemented as an integrated part of the general public health program. The organization should seriously consider appointing a full-time dental health officer to the staff of each of the regional offices in addition to using the services of dental consultants and expert committees on specific dental health problems.

Remarks by Dr. Eugene P. Campbell on May 20, 1957, at a Meeting of the Program and Budget Committee, of the 10th World Health Assembly on the Subject of United States Interest in Malaria Eradication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most active members of the United States delegation attending the 10th World Health Assembly was Dr. Eugene P. Campbell, Deputy Chief, Public Health Division, International Cooperation Administration.

Dr. Campbell brought to the Assembly a wide experience that enabled him to be not only exceedingly helpful but also influential in the decisions of the assembly.

On May 20, 1957, Dr. Campbell addressed the program and budget committee of the Assembly on the subject of the United States interest in malaria eradication. The remarks of Dr. Campbell were of great importance and, consequently, received the serious consideration of the delegates. Because of their importance and the general approval accorded them, it is my desire to include them as a part of my remarks under the leave granted to me. They are as follows:

REMARKS OF DR. EUGENE P. CAMPBELL ON MAY 20, 1957, IN THE PROGRAM AND BUDGET COMMITTEE OF THE 10TH WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY ON THE SUBJECT, UNITED STATES INTEREST IN MALARIA ERADICATION

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the United States delegation was prepared to make a statement concerning malaria eradication which contained a number of questions requiring clarification. In a report issued during the past few days entitled "Malaria Eradication: Report on Implementation of Resolutions WHA 8.30 and WHA 9.61, Documents A10/P&B/11," many of these questions have been answered.

We note with satisfaction the reports by other delegates on malaria eradication such, for example, as those from Venezuela, Thailand, Vietnam, Ceylon, India, Philippines, Guatemala, Liberia, Iran, Indonesia, and many others. No one could have attended these various sessions without gaining the impression that malaria eradication as an activity in WHO and in the various countries is of very great interest to everyone. The possibilities and prospects of malaria eradication have captured the enthusiastic support and interest of our profession and of people around the world.

Mr. Chairman, turning directly to the subject of this agenda item, we should like to accent the remarks of Dr. Paul Russell, when he stated in his speech of acceptance of the Darling Foundation medal and prize, "No other organization in all history has had a greater worldwide influence toward the eradication of a major disease than has the World

Health Organization in respect to malaria during the past few years. This organization has been the activating catalyst, and motivating mainspring, the international demonstrator and coordinator, in the development of a global assault on malaria."

In the Director General's report referred to above, one can see with great satisfaction some of the efforts of WHO in the field of technical support and advice to member nations. Several teams of experts have made surveys in important areas. The promotion of international coordination has been advanced by subregional, regional, and interregional meetings like the one held in Athens. The training of personnel at all levels has been good but the needs already demand a vastly speeded up program. The exchange of epidemiologic information is gaining momentum.

With regard to basic research, the remarks by the Director General in the introduction to his report are very important, but, since he has touched on this matter at one of the previous sessions of this committee and stressed the funding limitations of the WHO, we would like to see a statement of policy with regard to research in the field of malaria.

Many of us feel that the greatest obstacle to the success of this global project will be our inability to outwit the wily mosquito and our inertia in keeping up with the mutative processes both in the mosquito and in the plasmodia of human malaria. Research is costly; it requires, on occasion, great sacrifices; it cannot be carried out in an assembly-line fashion. For these and other reasons, we believe a comprehensive statement of policy is of utmost importance. We believe, also, that a system of research intelligence would do much to promote and stimulate useful research by organizations and individuals outside the international field.

The Director General has reported that the success of the malaria eradication special account has not been sufficient to be of substantial help. It should be noted, however, that the figure given us last week is nearly twice that of a month ago. One is encouraged to think that a year and a half is a short time in the budgeting cycle of most countries and it might be that some improvement can be expected in the near future.

Whatever the factors are that cause the special account to be ineffective, we believe some good suggestions will come from the delegations to this Assembly. It should be pointed out that there exist specialists in the art of collecting funds who might be contacted to provide consultation on this matter.

During the first plenary session of this Assembly, Dr. Almeida, representing the UNICEF, gave an informative account of the activities of this organization. In one place he indicated that it had been determined that UNICEF would make substantial contributions to malaria eradication through 1959. These contributions to be in the order of magnitude of $9 million a year as a maximum figure. He gave the impression that the bilateral programs are contributing many times this sum for this purpose.

Several delegates have asked me to clarify this point and since I have had the good fortune to work for the bilateral cooperative programs since their inception in 1942, I feel that it would be helpful to give a short account of what ICA and its predecessor agencies (point 4, ECA, IIAA) have done in the antimalaria campaign.

From 1942 to 1950 the bilateral programs jointly carried on intensive and extensive antimalaria activities in the western hemisphere and in Greece and Turkey. With the introduction of the point 4 concept United States bilateral activities were extended to many countries in the eastern Mediterranean, south Asia and western Pacific areas. At the same time many of the bilateral malaria programs in the western hemisphere were being carried on solely by the host governments.

At the present time the United States is cooperating in antimalaria programs in 20 of its 42 bilateral health programs, with the United States spending in 1956 $12 million on this work. The national governments of these 20 countries are spending much larger amounts, of course. The United States contribution to these bilateral programs has been used for employing experts, the purchase of materials and supplies, training of personnel and some research.

During the past 3 months the United States through the ICA made a grant of $1.5 million to the PASO's special malaria fund and we have been informed by Dr. Soper and the delegates from Venezuela and the Dominican Republic that their governments have also made substantial contributions to this same special fund.

I have often been asked the following question by my United States colleagues: Since the United States of America has no more malaria, why do we have such an expensive interest in the problem?

It is not necessary to inform the delegates at this Assembly of the many and serious malaria epidemics that have blackened our history in the United States of America. It will suffice to say that during the 1930's and 1940's the United States Government, in concert with the governments of the various States, came to a full recognition of the fact that malaria was causing a drain upon our economy in sickness, deaths, and loss of productive capacity of about $500 million a year. The knowledge of this tremendous cost was made known to us through the persistent and untiring efforts of Dr. Louis Williams, of the United States Public Health Service. It was largely through his efforts that we carried out from 1942 through 1946 a big push to rid ourselves of this costly scourge. Today, we can say that for a decade we have been free from malaria which fact represents a yearly gain in our own economy of at least $500 million a year. Thus, having demonstrated to ourselves the economic and social benefits of such an effort, we have been willing to use some of our savings to assist others toward this same end.

This tangible economic value of malaria eradication has been studied by experts in many countries such as the Philippines, India, Afghanistan, Brazil, Venezuela, El Salvador, Ceylon, and many others. Through Dr. Pampana we have learned of many of these studies, all telling the same story of improvement in the local economy following the eradication of malaria.

This leads me to my final point, which is that through detailed studies by UNICEF, the International Development Advisory Board, the World Health Organization, and others, the overall cost of eradication is considered to be in the order of magnitude of $500 million to $750 million for a 5-year period. This represents a very large amount of money, but more than the money, such a project will require teamwork, cooperation, sacrifice, and collaboration beyond that which exists at this time between the governments in countries with malaria, the governments in countries with no malaria, international and other intergovernmental organizations.

We in this delegation believe that this project is technically, administratively, and financially possible. "To succeed, however, the various technical, administrative, and financial resources must be coordinated into an organic whole," to borrow a phrase from Dr. Evang. We believe that with the leadership already demonstrated by WHO, it will be possible to achieve success.

We hope that the impressive studies of the economic value of malaria eradication over malaria control will stimulate countries to increase their internal expenditures to allow for conversion of control programs to eradication. In several countries this will be very difficult not only for financial reasons but for technical reasons as well. It is possible that a modified program such as has been proposed by Dr. Pampana for some areas may ease this problem.

It seems inappropriate to recite before this group the vastness of the malaria problem, or discuss at length the peculiar problems which exist in certain areas such as Africa. Furthermore, it would not seem profitable to go over again the long arguments about control versus eradication, physiologic versus behavioral resistance, the place of therapeutic agents in eradication and dozens of other matters. I believe that for the limited time we have at hand it is most important to discuss the ways and means of creating the organic and secure bonds between the various elements of this complex project such as, for example, the coordination between the major international and inter-governmental organizations—the WHO, UNICEF, UNTA, ICA, and others. Regionalization of efforts will assist with the problems of political boundaries so that each country can do its share towards preventing the spread from one country to another. Certain types of meetings held by Dr. Soper in the Americas and by Dr. Mann in South Asia seem to have been particularly helpful in relation to these aspects. The Athens meeting was particularly fruitful in helping us all to more clearly define our problems. Again, we note there is demonstrated leadership along these lines and we are proud to follow it.

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the coming decade presents a golden moment in our profession. At no time in history has such an opportunity been presented to us and we are proud to be identified with this great undertaking.

We may, however, be dealing with a phenomenon like that of a comet whose trajectory brings it close to the earth for a short time and, unless we take the opportunity to study its nature at that short time, we may never again have the chance.

So it might happen with malaria eradication, because of resistance or some other unforeseen obstacle, we might lose our chance unless we strike now.

We, as the United States delegation, wish to affirm to all that we believe malaria eradication is technically, administratively, and financially feasible. We also hope and aspire to interpret this project to our Government so it will continue and, if possible, increase our support for this great undertaking.

Remarks of Dr. H. van Zile Hyde on May 22, 1957, at a Meeting of the Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly on the Subject, United States Interest in Malaria Eradication

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, during the entire session of the 10th World Health Assembly held at Geneva,

Switzerland, during the month of May 1957, Dr. H. van Zile Hyde was extremely active in the work of the Assembly and its committees. On May 22, 1957, he announced to the Committee on Program and Budget evidence of United States interest in malaria eradication. His remarks while brief were nevertheless highly important to the work of the Assembly and encouraging to the representatives of other nations in attendance.

I wish to include his statement as part of my remarks. It is as follows:

Mr. Chairman; the United States delegation wishes to transmit to this committee some information which has just been made available. In accordance with the procedures normally followed by the United States Government, the President of the United States yesterday transmitted a message to the United States Congress setting forth the general nature of the requests for funds he will be making in respect of the following year. The committee will be interested to learn that the President has made a special reference to malaria eradication. I will read the passage in his message:

"Malaria is today the world's foremost health problem. Each year it attacks 200 million people, bringing death to 2 million and causing enormous suffering and economic loss in many areas. Today it is practicable to end this scourge in large areas of the world. I propose that the United States join with other nations and organizations which are already spending over $50 million a year on antimalaria activities. In 5 years activities are expected to eradicate this disease."

If the President of the United States is successful in his request for funds, it is to be hoped that the United States will as a result be able to make an additional contribution to WHO and to PASO for malaria eradication, as well as to intensify its activities in that field under bilateral programs. As the previous speaker has stated, it is to be hoped that WHO will assume the leadership of such coordinated work for malaria eradication.

Remarks of Blucher Poole on May 21, 1957, in the Meeting of the Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly, at Geneva, Switzerland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, there is no subject more important nor more generally discussed than peaceful uses of atomic energy. I wish to include as part of my remarks, under the leave granted, the address delivered by Mr. Blucher Poole, chief, bureau of environmental sanitation, State Board of Health of Indiana, on May 21, 1957, at a meeting of the Program and Budget Committee, 10th World Health Assembly. The address delivered is as follows:

REMARKS OF BLUCHER POOLE: PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Mr. Chairman, the delegation of the United States of America notes with satisfaction the Director General's report of the activities of the World Health Organization in connection with the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We are pleased that the WHO has taken the lead in developing a program in the health aspects of atomic energy. Likewise, the program outlined for 1958 appears to be realistic and in accord with WHO's responsibilities.

The World Health Organization has an important role to play in the health aspects of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The activities by which it can discharge its responsibilities to governments include the following:

1. Assistance to national health services in the development of competences in this field through the training of specialists, and public health administrators, as well as the medical users of radioistopes.

2. The collection and dissemination of information on the medical use of radioisotopes, and the dissemination of standards of radiation protection.

3. Technical assistance and consultation on the health problems resulting from operation of reactors and radioactive waste disposal.

4. Stimulation and coordination of medical research.

We also support close cooperation including, in due course, the development of an agreement, between the World Health Organization and the International Atomic Energy Agency when it is established. We hope that any such cooperation and agreement will fully recognize the responsibility of the World Health Organization, as outlined above. The WHO should carry out those functions in which it has special competence and effectiveness and there should be particular efforts to avoid duplication in this field in which there is such a limited number of internationally qualified experts.

It is recognized that the International Atomic Energy Agency will become the natural focus for international activity in the field of atomic energy. Other specialized agencies also have certain areas of interest in the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. However, it must also be recognized that the health administrator for decades has been responsible for monitoring the use of X-radiation before the new sources of radiation were available.

As the industrial use of atomic energy expands, and as the use of sources of radiation for diagnostic and treatment purposes increases, the public will look to the authorities traditionally concerned with the protection of health for advice on measures of safety and protection. At present not all health authorities have individuals capable of advising on these matters. Since the World Health Organization has the inescapable responsibility for programs designed to strengthen health administration, its efforts in this field should be aimed primarily at assisting ministries in developing competences in environmental sanitation, disposal of radioactive wastes, the long-range effects of radiation, and the control of medical uses of radiation sources.

In view of its affiliation with the International Commissions on Radiological Protection, and Radiological Units, the WHO is in a good position to advise governments on the establishment of standards of protection. The close link of the WHO, through its regional organizations, to the responsible health authorities of the world places it in a preeminent position for the dissemination of information involving the health aspects of the development of atomic energy. In addition, through its affiliated nongovernmental organizations, it has a direct channel to the physicians, sanitary engineers, and other health groups who will be responsible for the health aspects of atomic energy throughout the world.

Again, let me say that we are gratified that the WHO is recognizing its responsibilities in this field.

Remarks by Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Chairman, United States Delegation in Committee on Administration, Finance, and Legal Matters, May 23, 1957, Extending The United States Invitation To Hold 11th World Health Assembly in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I have been greatly impressed with the importance of the splendid results that have been achieved by the World Health Organization since its inauguration 10 years ago.

I believe it would be a great honor to have the 11th World Health Assembly meet in the United States. I therefore desire to include as part of my remarks the invitation extended by Dr. Burney, Surgeon General of the United States to hold the next assembly in the United States. It was as follows:

REMARKS OF DR. BURNEY EXTENDING INVITATION TO WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY TO MEET NEXT YEAR, 1958, IN THE UNITED STATES

Dr. Burney (United States of America) said that the United States delegation had very great pleasure in reiterating the invitation of the United States Government for the holding of the 11th World Health Assembly in their country. Members of the Health Assembly would all be aware of the invitation and would recall the remarks on it made by a Member of the United States Congress at the fourth plenary meeting. We would therefore only remind the committee that the invitation had been extended and assure the committee that the United States Government would do its utmost to ensure that the assembly and the special anniversary session would be both successful and very pleasant. The invitation also included the meeting of the executive board immediately after the 11th World Health Assembly.

He added that, if the invitation were accepted, the United States Government would enter into appropriate arrangements with the organization, giving assurance that the United States Government stood prepared, in accordancec with pertinent legislation, to bear the additional cost involved in holding the Assembly away from headquarters, and that the United States would place at the disposal of the Organization all necessary facilities for the work of those meetings. WHO enjoyed the benefits of the International Organizations Immunities Act which was adopted by the United States Congress in 1948. The provisions of that act, together with other relevant United States legislative and executive measures, were ample to permit the successful conduct of the 11th Health Assembly and the other meetings. No further arrangements between WHO and the United States Government appeared to be necessary with respect to the status, privileges, immunities, and exemptions of persons attending those meetings.

The United States Government would consider it a great honor to be the host of the 11th World Health Assembly. It was its intention to make the visit pleasant and successful and it would work in the closest collaboration with the officers of WHO in making all necessary arrangements.

Remarks of Congressman Wolverton, Broadcast From Geneva, Switzerland, on May 17, 1957, on United Nations Radio on the Subject of the World Health Organization and International Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as I have previously expressed, it was a great privilege for me to attend the sessions of the 10th World Health Assembly, held during the month of May 1957 at Geneva, Switzerland.

During my attendance at the sessions of the Assembly I was struck with the sincerity that pervaded the entire Assembly. The representatives from the several countries talked and acted like men dedicated to a high calling. Their evident sincerity was contagious. I felt that as I listened to the expression of views and the definite objectives sought to be attained, that health and the work done to bring its blessings to mankind throughout the world could well be a connecting link to bind the nations of the world together in a common endeavor for peace.

Because of these views, I considered it an honor to be invited to broadcast an address over the United Nations Radio, at Geneva, Switzerland, on May 17, 1957, on the subject of the World Health Organization and international understanding. It was as follows:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, MEMBER, UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO 10TH WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY, ON UNITED NATIONS RADIO, MAY 17, 1957, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

This World Health Assembly has impressed me forcefully. My foremost impression is of the atmosphere which exists of warm goodwill and friendship among the delegates. It is clear that health is a common denominator which brings all people together. Eighty member countries of the World Health Organization have sent delegations consisting of physicians, administrators, public health experts, and others to this assembly. Despite their highly varied national and political backgrounds, these delegates speak the same language on health matters. They all share a determination to work through WHO to help all countries improve the health of their people.

They know that health is truly international, that disease knows no frontiers, that for half of mankind poor health is still the normal condition of life, that so long as major diseases exist anywhere they are a threat to people everywhere.

I have stressed this aspect of WHO, that it provides a means through which the Governments and people of nearly all countries work together on a constructive and friendly basis with the common aim of better health. The splendid work of WHO is not nearly as well known as it should be, and in particular, this aspect of it—that here in this organization there is a very large measure of international understanding. Over the years I am convinced that this characteristic of WHO will contribute to the building in other fields also of the more peaceful and better relations between countries which are essential for our survival.

The health programs of the World Health Organization also deserve to be much better known. I do not believe that any international organization is accomplishing more for the welfare of mankind in relation to the funds which it expends. Characteristic of the farsighted leadership which WHO exercises on health programs throughout the world is the present drive to eradicate malaria from the world. Two hundred million people a year still suffer from malaria—more than the total population of the United States. Working through WHO, and with stimulation and technical guidance from WHO, many countries are now working together to wipe out malaria. Since mosquitoes and airplanes cross frontiers, this must be done on an international basis. WHO is able to provide the necessary coordination of plans. I am very happy that the International Cooperation Administration of the United States is cooperating fully with WHO in this drive to remove malaria for good.

The fight against malaria and other infectious diseases is, of course, only one phase of the wide-ranging WHO activities for better health. By sending health experts to aid countries to build health programs, and by providing fellowships, WHO is helping to lower the number of deaths among infants and small children, which have been appallingly high in many parts of the world. The organization is helping to improve the health of mothers, of the working population and of older people. The activities of the World Health Organization are almost universal in geographical scope and respond to a universal human need. In the Constitution of WHO the nations have declared that all peoples have the right to the highest possible level of health. WHO is helping them to achieve this rightful condition and in so doing it is bringing mankind closer together.

GENEVA, *May 17, 1957.*

Supplemental Report of Congressman Charles A. Wolverton Relating to Proceedings of 10th World Health Assembly, Geneva, Switzerland, and With Reference to Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General, and Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, Chief, Division of International Health, United States Public Health Service, and Members of the United States Delegation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as a congressional representative attending the 10th World Health Assembly, held at Geneva, Switzerland, I wish to attest to the splendid and effectual work that was done by the United States delegation as a group and individually. They were collectively and individually a credit to our Nation. And one of the most gratifying experiences that I enjoyed was to realize the wide influence the members of the delegation exerted in the many activities of the Assembly, including the work of the committees.

In the success that attended their efforts each member of the delegation played a part—and important part. Dr. Burney, Surgeon General of the United States served as chairman of the United States delegation; and Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, Chief, Division of International Health, United States Public Health Service, was a tower of strength because of his long years of service in the work of the World Health Organization and the numerous friends he had made over a period of years from every country represented in the Assembly. These two men led the delegation with rare ability and great skill at all times.

The members of the delegation were as follows:

DELEGATION OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO 10TH WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

CHIEF DELEGATE

Dr. L. E. Burney, Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

DELEGATES

Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, Chief, Division of International Health Bureau of State Services, United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. J. R. Reuling, American Medical Association.

ALTERNATES

Mr. H. B. Calderwood, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State.

Dr. A. C. McGuinness, special assistant for Health and Medical Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

CONGRESSIONAL ADVISORS

Mr. J. E. FOGARTY, House of Representatives, United States Congress.

Mr. C. A. WOLVERTON, House of Representatives, United States Congress.

ADVISERS

Dr. L. W. Burket, dean, Dental School, University of Pennsylvania.

Col. R. L. Callison, Office of Surgeon General, Department of the Army.

Dr. E. P. Campbell, Deputy Chief, Public Health Division, International Cooperation Administration.

Dr. E. L. Crosby, director, American Hospital Association.

Dr. R. K. C. Lee, president, board of health, Honolulu, T. H.

Mrs. V. R. Pinanski, consultant to the National Advisory Neurological Diseases and Blindness Council, National Institutes of Health, United States Public Health Service.

Mr. B. A. Poole, chief, bureau of environmental sanitation, State Board of Health, Indianapolis, Ind.

Mr. D. H. Popper, acting United States representative to International Organizations, United States resident delegation and Consulate General, Geneva.

Dr. E. L. Stebbins, director, School of Hygiene and Public Health, the Johns Hopkins University.

Mr. R. Olaf Waring, Office of International Administration, Department of State.

Mr. L. Wyatt, Division of International Health, Bureau of State Services, United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. F. D. Yoder, president, Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Resources of the State of Wyoming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KEITH THOMSON
OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, on many occasions, particularly when we were considering the upper Colorado River projects legislation, I have had occasion to point out the valuable resources of the State of Wyoming, which it is my privilege to represent in the Congress, that can and should be made available to the people of the Nation through development. In this regard I was very pleased to note an editorial that recently appeared in the Rocky Mountain News of Denver, Colo. I was also pleased that it recognized the abilities and the contributions of Wyoming's fine Governor, Milward L. Simpson. Because this editorial calls attention to the opportunities in Wyoming, and the contribution that it can make to the economy of the Nation as a whole as a supplier of much needed resources and raw materials, I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues in the House to the editorial which follows:

(By Jack Foster)

CHEYENNE, July 27.—A young man asked Gov. Milward Simpson where he should go to establish himself professionally when he had finished college.

"Stay right here," the quick spoken Simpson replied, "Your future lies where you were born. The bluebird has settled in Wyoming."

Governor Simpson believes implicitly that the bluebird of happiness and achievement has, indeed, come to stay in the State of which he is a third generation citizen.

In his simple office in Wyoming's capitol, Governor Simpson looked through a large blue-tinted window on grounds teeming with visitors attracted by Frontier Days, and said: "Wyoming is on the eve of the greatest industrial development in her history. Our State is a storehouse of immeasurable natural resources. Capital is coming from many places to develop these riches."

TACONITE

As an example, Governor Simpson cited taconite. This tough material is a form of iron that until recently could not be processed satisfactorily. In Wyoming's Fremont County there are vast deposits that are of proven 35-year duration.

Carloads of taconite have been sent to Duluth where processing has produced an excellent form of steel. Said Governor Simpson: "Geneva Steel, a Utah subsidiary of U. S. Steel, as you know, will make a final decision by January 1 as to whether to go ahead with full-fledged operation."

He talked as if he had little doubt that the answer would be "Yes."

"But this is just one of the industrial milestones that lie ahead of us," Governor Simpson continued. "Our natural resources have scarcely been touched, and their eventual wealth has hardly been measured."

HIGHLIGHTS

He listed these other industrial highlights shining in Wyoming's future:

Soda ash deposits. The Intermountain Chemical Co. already has $100 million in Southwestern Wyoming, and its soda ash development is steadily increasing.

Iron ore deposits. The State has unbelievably large deposits. Samples from Iron Mountain have been sent to the Krupp works in Germany for experimentation. Results of the tests are very good.

Uranium. Two mills—Western Nuclear and Lucky Mc—already are in operation, and two more in all likelihood will be built.

Oil shale. Wyoming's deposits are comparable with these in Colorado. If shale oil ever becomes a commercial certainly enormous quantities of this processed oil will begin to flow along with natural petroleum from Wyoming.

Power. Pacific Light & Power Co., Southwest Utilities, and Utah Light & Power Co. all have indicated they would establish a grid tieup if they can count on a return flow of power. This, Governor Simpson believes, will be worked out.

DIVERSIFIED

"I could go on like this, citing one prospect after another," Governor Simpson continued. "I could cite developments such as the Reynolds Aluminum Co. in the Big Horn Basin which I believe will be duplicated over and over again in Wyoming's future.

"The industrial bluebird is here all right. Our economy, which has been based primarily on cattle and sheep raising, will be expanded and diversified.

"We saw this coming. And we have prepared for it. We are ready, for example, for the Government's great road program. We already had our own interhighway program established. We were not left behind."

Governor Simpson is now in his third year as Republican chief executive. A son of an old Wyoming family, a great athlete at the University of Wyoming, a distinguished lawyer and cattleman, Mil Simpson was one of the State's best known citizens before he ran for top political office.

He has proved to be one of the smartest and toughest executives that the State has ever had.

He pushed through the legislature a sweeping reorganization bill that consolidated 28 vagrant money-spending agencies into 1 department at a savings of millions to the taxpayers. He looks out upon a State that has no financial crisis and a low mill levy.

MEDIATOR

Yet, despite the toughness of his administration, Mil Simpson is a man who spends much time in meditation and examination of himself.

Every morning he reads a page from a series of thoughts published by Unity.

In the drawer of his desk he has a clipping that reminds him: "I perform my tasks this day with a light and easy touch * * * I do what is before me with steady quietness * * *."

And on the top of his desk is a framed prayer, "Good morning, God," and nearby is a copy of the Book of Common Prayer.

Gov. Milward Simpson seems always to be at ease with himself—and with his job.

Will he run for Governor again in 1958? Answers Governor Simpson:

"I have not made up my mind. I will run for office again only if I am convinced that there are jobs left undone that I must finish."

His many supporters believe that there will be a lot of such jobs.

A Report to the Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, today I want to make a brief report to the farmers discussing important legislation considered in this session which affects agriculture.

There has been so much discussion over the Federal budget. I feel what we have done in reducing it will be of interest to the farmers.

BUDGET REDUCED

Some will claim greater reductions and some may claim less; however, as nearly as I can determine, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, it appears that the Congress, with the help of the President from the latest estimate, has reduced the budget request by about $3.5 billion, in real cuts that can and will be sustained.

Budget cutting is not new to me, as I have been voting to reduce Federal budgets for the past 15 years. I helped to cut the last Truman budget of $78 billion several billions, which he said could not be reduced.

Politics should have no consideration in trying to reduce cost of Government. I have made my greatest effort to reduce the present budget request of $71.8 billion in this session.

As the ranking Republican member of the Independent Offices Subcommittee on Appropriations, I helped to reduce the budget of 18 agencies of Government coming before us by $537,993,300—the largest reduction of those agencies ever made by this committee.

On another subcommittee on which I served, we reduced that budget by $272,556,860—making a total reduction in my two subcommittees of $810½ million. In addition, I helped reduce every budget that came before us.

There has been so much criticism of what the press terms "The President's Budget." I believe we should admit that those who are largely responsible for the present budget are the Members of Congress who pass the laws, and they generally pass them under pressure from the people.

DEMOCRATS CONTROL CONGRESS

In dicussing the budget, we must keep in mind that President Eisenhower has had a majority of his own party in the Congress only the first 2 years; that the Democratic Party has controlled Congress by a majority of over 30 in the House, and a majority in the Senate throughout 1955, 1956, 1957.

We must realize that more laws mean more Federal employees, more office space, more equipment, more supplies, more salaries, larger pension funds and more benefits, which add up to bigger budgets and higher taxes. In fact, no money can be spent by the President un-

less it is appropriated or authorized by Congress.

SPENDERS WHO BUILT UP BUREAUCRACY NOW SHOUT ECONOMY

Since the budget of $71.8 billion is about $2.4 billion more than the $69.4 billion spent last year to operate the Government, the people became concerned about this sharp increase in the cost of Government. I think the people should have the facts as to where the responsibility lies for the $2.4 billion increase in Government expense.

Unfortunately, there is a large group in Congress that for years has been liberal in spending the taxpayers' money, which has helped to expand and build up the present bureaucracy and cost of Government—largely resulting in this big budget.

These same spenders are now branding it as "the Eisenhower budget." The people should know that in many instances these Members in the last two Congresses have passed new laws which greatly added to the cost of Government, and passed them over the opposition of the President—which expense is reflected in the $71.8 billion budget. Yet, they shout about economy in Government.

A FEW OF MANY INSTANCES WHERE BUDGET WAS INCREASED ABOVE THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST

First. Last year Senate Democratic leaders insisted upon increasing the Air Force budget over $900,000,000. Secretary of Defense Wilson and other officials opposed it. Nevertheless, they increased the budget by that amount.

Second. That same Congress, with a heavy Democratic vote, passed a flood-insurance indemnity bill, which put the Government into the flood-insurance business obligating the Government to insure risks along the rivers and streams that regular insurance agencies would not insure, which could have cost the Government $5 billion. To get this program started, they asked for $50 million in this session.

As the ranking Member of a Subcommittee on Appropriations, I, along with others refused to approve the $50 million, and we were sustained by a House vote.

The legislation went to the Senate where this amount, $50 million, was written in, and came back to the House on a Conference Committee vote. We beat it again, saving $50 million, and I think we have killed the 10-year program in this legislation, which would ultimately cost $500 million plus insurance risks that could run to $5 billion.

Third. Last year, the same Democratic-controlled Congress, by a heavy vote of that body, over the opposition of myself and others, voted to spend $500 million in 10 years—in giveaway—to help communities build sewage-disposal plants.

I led the fight to help cut out the $50 million in this budget required to put the program into effect. We were defeated, as the record will shaw, by a heavy Democrat majority while a majority of Republicans voted against it.

Fourth. The Congress, last year, by amending the Social Security Act increased the Government's part of participation by $108 million above the President's recommendation.

Fifth. Last year, the Congress added appropriations for more than 50 new reinstated flood-control projects, which involved direct and future expenditures in excess of $700 million. This figure would have been over $1 billion had the President not vetoed H. R. 12080, another flood-control bill which saved the taxpayers, by his veto, $530 million.

I point out these few of many instances where the budget was increased over the President's requests by over $2 billion.

ONE BILLION IN PUBLIC HOUSING PASSED OVER PRESIDENT'S OBJECTION

The following table will show where over $1 billion should have been saved by the Congress in housing authorizations when legislation was passed in this session:

The President requested $975 million.

The House bill increased it to $2,475,000,000.

The Senate bill reduced it to $1,350,000,000.

The House and Senate report of the conferees authorized $1,990,000,000 which is $1,015,000,000 more than the President requested.

I made an earnest fight to reduce these expenditures when the bill was before the House. It would have been greatly reduced had it not been for the opposition of the Democratic majority in the House and Senate. Members of this same party over the years in supporting this legislation have wasted billions of the people's tax money.

Fortunately, outside of such instances to which I have referred, I am glad to say we have had the support of many of the Democrats in this session in reducing appropriations.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Monday, June 3, 1957, contains a speech in which I pointed out that millions, yes, billions, have been and were still being given away in grants of tax money collected from all of the people which was taken out of the Treasury under the urban renewal and public housing bill for the purpose of rebuilding the large cities.

I showed that there had been allocated to New York City $92 million; to Chicago, $74 million; Philadelphia, $54 million; and large amounts to many cities throughout the Nation; that there was being allocated in the bill before the House a total of $1¼ billion in grant money, or gifts, to do a facelifting job, so to speak, improving large cities at the expense of every taxpayer in every congressional district in the United States. Of course, I voted against the bill.

REA INTEREST RATES

On May 14 I spoke against an amendment which would raise REA loan interest rates.

I will quote a couple of paragraphs of my talk:

The REA is organized by farmers at the grassroots, who put in millions of dollars worth of extra time without any cost. They have managed this great organization so well there are only 3 or 4 small cooperatives that are in financial trouble.

May I say further the Treasury has had a cushion for the last 2 or 3 years of about $40 million in total paid by the cooperatives in advance of the due date which the Government has been able to use.

The REA at 2 percent interest with the low money rates of the past years, and with their advance payments, has made the Government a profit even at the present 2 percent rate. The best financial brains in this country say we cannot increase these rates as provided in this amendment without destroying the financial structure and the services of REA in the future.

We defeated the amendment.

REA LOANS

For REA light and power, we approved budget estimate of $179 million for REA loans, and $60 million for telephone loans in addition to the $200 million loan authorization contained in the Second Deficiency Appropriations Act of 1957.

OTHER FARM LEGISLATION

I supported the soil-bank legislation, and when the bill came before the House to carry out the mandate of the farmers' vote for increased corn acreage, I supported the legislation.

May I quote a paragraph or two from my remarks on March 14, appearing on page 3180 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

We can give the farmers in the Harrison bill, which has been endorsed by the Farm Bureau Federation of 1,500,000 farmers, and by the Illinois Agricultural Association of my State with 200,000 members, what they voted for. The passage of this bill will make an effective attack to reduce surpluses that have been depressing all phases of agriculture. It, I repeat, will give the farmers either plan they voted for in the corn referendum last December.

This legislation was defeated by the representatives of the cotton farmers and the wheat farmers led by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY], chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], vice chairman of that committee—both Democrats.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

We provided $100 million in cash payment to the school lunch program, and for the use of farm commodities in the amount of $185 million—making a total contribution of about $285 million.

PUBLIC LAW 480

We extended Public Law 480 which has been so effective in helping to reduce surpluses and to increase our farm exports to the highest volume in our history without which the economic condition of the farmers would be much worse than they are today.

SOIL CONSERVATION

We provided ample appropriations for the small watershed conservation program, and for every phase of soil conservation including $250 million for the ASC programs.

We increased appropriations for the eradication of brucellosis—great progress is being made against this disease nationwide.

H. R. 7244

We defeated House Resolution 7244, a bill to check-off a certain amount from the proceeds of sales of livestock. This bill was opposed by the American Farm

reau and the Illinois Agricultural sociation. I spoke against the bill d took an active part in bringing about defeat.

FEDERAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

I spoke in opposition to the Federal hool construction bill which was also posed by the Illinois Agricultural Asso- ation, and helped to bring about its de- at.

FARM PRICES

The drop in farm prices which began 1948 was stopped in December 1955. nce then, prices have gradually gone 7 percent. Figures for the first 5 nths indicate the income of farmers Illinois for 1957 will be $200 million ater than in 1956.

Current cattle prices from $20 to $27 as mpared with $17 to $23 last year; hog ices from $18 to $21 as compared to 5 or $16 last year help to increase the oss and net farm income.

The regaining of our farm export ade—now the highest in the history of e Nation—is a stimulating factor in lding up farm commodity prices.

I regret the farmers have not received eir full share of the unprecedented osperity during the past 4 years largely e to the tremendous accumulation of rpluses that depressed all farm prices.

I believe that the passage of Public w 480 and other legislation, and our nstant efforts to remove farm surpluses fer a more optimistic future for the rmers.

ALANCED BUDGETS, NATIONAL DEBT REDUCED, TAXES CUT

Deficit financing has been stopped. hree budgets will be balanced in suc- ession for the first time in 25 years.

A $3.8 billion reduction in the public ebt was made during fiscal years 1956 nd 1957. We will balance the budget gain next year, with a substantial sur- lus to be applied to either a tax reduc- ion, or another payment on the public ebt.

These balanced budgets and public- ebt reductions came about after a Re- ublican Congress in 1953 voted tax re- uctions which have saved American tax- ayers in 4 years $29.6 billion. Not one ax reduction by the Federal Govern- ent has been restored. If taxes are igher, it is the result of higher State nd local rates. Cuts of about $800 mil- ion per year were made in Federal excise axes.

You cannot put a price on freedom. To odernize and build our strongest mili- ary power for peace in our history has equired billions of dollars which are eflected in this budget. We all appre- iate that we have had peace since Presi- ent Eisenhower ended the Korean war.

Our diplomacy and military force have ept Russia from starting another war. We must keep the pressure on her be- ause with the cooperation of the free ations of the world which contain our irbases surrounding her, she is being orced constantly toward world peace. Nothing is of greater importance to the American people.

To Protect the Files of the FBI and Other Government Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I insert editorials from all over the Nation emphasizing the need to enact legislation to protect the files of the FBI and other Government agencies:

[From the Washington Daily News of August 12, 1957]

SPIES AND TRAITORS

The death chamber is the logical end for the career of Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel of the Soviet intelligence service. His life is forfeit through the fortunes of the cold war which placed him in a foreign land as a spy. Rigid enforcement of extreme penalties is necessary to discourage espionage, the purpose of which is the military destruction of the United States.

But, however evil his purpose, Colonel Abel is in a class apart from other Soviet spies with whom we have had to deal since the end of the last war. A great many of these have been American citizens, hence traitors as well as spies.

Colonel Abel has at least been loyal, in his own twisted way, to the imperialistic plot of his Kremlin masters. There is no element of even such degraded loyalty in those who would betray their own country and their own kind for a few pieces of silver.

The search for these traitors has been impeded by the fifth amendment takers. Their prosecution has been handicapped by recent Supreme Court decisions, notably in the Jencks case opening up raw FBI files to inspection by defense counsel. Under this decision there is even some question whether Abel can be effectively prosecuted.

A bill to protect the FBI files, by Representative KENNETH B. KEATING, of New York, was approved by the House Judiciary Committee several weeks ago but has stalled, apparently by the civil-rights bill debates. New arrests of both spies and traitors should alert Congress to the pressing necessity for action on this bill.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of June 5, 1957]

A BLOW AT THE FBI

The Supreme Court, in the Jencks case, has laid down a new rule of law with a lot of startling ramifications.

The charge against Clinton E. Jencks, a former official in the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, an outfit long ago expelled from organized labor as Communist dominated, was that he filed a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board. Jencks was convicted and got a 5-year sentence, but the defense contended that the Federal Bureau of Investigaiton should have been compelled to submit informers' reports in order that Jencks might compare this secret information with the trial testimony of the aforesaid informers.

This argument has been upheld by the Supreme Court, which ordered a new trial. But the disturbing part is that Justice Brennan's majority opinion, in which four of the Court brethren concurred, strikes down the principle that FBI records are confidential and inviolate. Hereafter the Government must either allow the accused to inspect relevant files or let the case go hang. "The burden," says Justice Brennan, "is the Government's, not to be shifted to the trial judge, to decide whether the public prejudice of allowing the crime to go unpunished is greater than that attendant upon the possible disclosure of state secrets and other confidential information in the Government's possession."

Of course there can be no quarreling with the thesis that the Government, even though it is the prosecutor, is rigorously obliged to see that justice is done in criminal cases. Therefore the longstanding rule has been that it is up to the trial judge to determine whether the defendants shall be allowed to examine relevant reports. It should be noted that this was the thinking of Justices Burton and Frankfurter in sending the Jencks case back. But this is quite different from the Brennan decision that FBI files dealing with the subject matter of a trial must be produced for the defense's benefit unless the Government prefers to have the action dismissed.

The point, as the dissenting Justice Clark explains in extensive quotation from Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, is that the FBI materials are both wheat and chaff. They are investigative notes, unevaluated and certainly subject to gross misinterpretation if haphazardly disclosed. In fact, the whole structure of the FBI and its strength and stature depend upon its completely confidential character. Yet the Supreme Court is in effect destroying the essence of the FBI. As Justice Clark says, "those intelligence agencies of our Government engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop, for the Court has opened their files to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets."

With all due respect for the Supreme Court majority, it is hard to see where the public interest is served by crippling the FBI in its effective watch. There is clearly a repair job for Congress to do, and the sooner the better.

[From the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier of June 5, 1957]

COURT RULE HAMPERS FBI LAW ENFORCEMENT

The United States Supreme Court this week handed down a decision which will gravely hamper the effectiveness of the FBI and, presumably, other law-enforcement agencies. It ruled that the defense in a criminal case must be allowed to examine the secret and confidential files of the FBI bearing on the case.

Any law-enforcement agency obtains some of its information about law violations from informers who often have valid reasons for keeping their indentities secret. If there is a chance that their names will be disclosed, they simply will not come forward with the information.

No defendant can be convicted unless sufficient evidence is presented in open court. The source of the original tip has no bearing on the guilt or innocence of the accused.

[From the Pawtucket (R. I.) Times of June 6, 1957]

CONGRESS AND THE FBI FILES

The Supreme Court decision which denies the inviolability of the files of the FBI places on Congress a new duty. The task of restoring a greater degree of secrecy to the data of the investigative agency is one that should not be long delayed.

The Supreme Court ruled the FBI should have been compelled to submit informers'

reports to permit defense counsel to compare the secret information with the trial testimony of the informers. Under that ruling the FBI must submit its relevant records to inspection or the Department of Justice must drop the case.

The relevant records may not be entirely relevant. Dossiers in the FBI files are not always as clear cut as some Justices assumed. The files of an individual contain everything Federal agents gather. Some of the information is false. Some of it is true, for agents accept rumor and gossip in the full knowledge that it is rumor or gossip. Much of this information is not considered evidence because of the great margin of error. Therefore the desirability of keeping such information secret.

The right of the accused citizen to have complete justice may, in the opinion of the Supreme Court, transcend the security of the FBI files. The right of the citizen to prove his innocence by all available data is ordained, even if that includes the right to show by the FBI files that in one instance the witness told one story and contradicted himself in another instance.

Rather than permit civilian lawyers to embark on a fishing expedition in the FBI files, rules should be promulgated to grant to defense counsel only the right to ask and obtain specific confidential information in the Government's possession.

Unless Congress establishes particular rules on the availability of FBI data injustice can be visited upon all the citizens, while the accused individual receives a protection to which he is not entitled.

The question is this: Is the public interest served by crippling the FBI? The answer to that must be given by Congress, in view of the new Supreme Court ruling.

[From the Nashville Banner of June 6, 1957]

THERE ARE SECRETS TO KEEP

Extreme interpeetation of the Supreme Court decree, opening FBI files and similar secret data having to do with criminal cases—notably the prosecution of suspected subversives—could handicap a detail of law enforcement addressed directly to internal security.

The machinery of law functions with meticulous regard for the rights of the accused; and that is as it should be, a proper concern for justice. Star chamber proceedings, or convictions without trial, or judicial farces, are operations practiced in the totalitarian lands; not in America.

Rights have been maintained in this particular, no less uniformly, when the characters on trial were part of a conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence.

There are secret data bearing on security considerations deemed too important to subject to general inspection—or to the scrutiny of suspects who could tip off confederates on specific measures of counter-espionage. There are varieties of crime and degrees of crime, and none could say that in the defense of the Nation from treasonable conspiracy the law can marshal too many legal weapons.

The FBI has been a major asset in perfecting these cases. It has operated well within statute.

The sharp dissent of Justice Tom Clark from this majority court decision was eloquently expressed of national concern: Law enforcement agencies, he said might as well go out of business, if criminals are given a Roman holiday of rummaging through national secrets.

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of June 13, 1957]

A SAFEGUARD NEEDED

It was the Federal Bureau of Investigation that assembled documented evidence supporting the charge that the Communist Party teaches and advocates the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Neecssarily a lot of the facts adding up to that confirmatory conclusion are in its files. The Communist Party has disputed the facts stated, but the denial does not change them.

The Communist vehicle is a conspiratorial agency, a creature of Soviet Russia, secret in most of its activities—refusing to disclose its own records, even of membership, and relying on the fifth amendment many times to conceal pertinent facts concerning its membership and manipulations.

Where would internal security be just now if the FBI had not operated as it did to compile this evidence?

The Supreme Court has ruled in effect that in certain circumstances the confidential files of the Government must be opened to persons charged with crimes. What is the stopping point of that? What does it do to kindred intelligence units?

It is time for the Congress to be asking itself some of these questions—for Congress is the legislative agency.

America can afford no backward steps weakening law enforcement in a field of operations so essential to national security.

Congress can spell out some needed safeguards not subject to erosion by interpretation.

Settling Our Own Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, participated in a television program on last Monday in the course of which he was asked for his opinion regarding the disturbance which has been in progress for some days at Levittown, Pa. Mr. WILLIAM's response was characteristic of his usual statesmanlike conduct of congressional affairs. The Vicksburg (Miss.) Post on August 21 carried an editorial which appropriately compliments Congressman WILLIAMS. I insert the editorial herewith:

SETTLING OUR PROBLEMS

We were quite proud of Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS when, in response to a question put to him on a television program Monday night about the situation in Levittown, Pa., he replied, he felt that was the business of the people of Levittown and of Pennsylvania, and he would not presume to advise them as to their proper procedure. He added he felt that was their problem to work out in their own manner, and he firmly believed the same attitude should be displayed toward the people of the South—to be left to settle their own problems.

It is particularly odd that so many people throughout the length and breadth of America, have become authorities on the Southern problem. Of course, the greatest segment of the population so intensely interested in helping us solve our problem, really are trying to impose their own will upon us, without even the slightest knowledge of what our problem is. Mainly, such people come under the general classification of politicians, but they have ranted and raved enough to completely convince a good many other people, who, though sincere, still are completely ignorant of the facts.

Congressman WILLIAMS is one of a stur body of southerners who will fight to u last ditch for the preservation of that a important civil right—the right of States t handle their own affairs without interfe ence from the Federal Government. Th Constitution guarantees that. The civ rights advocates deny it. A great play coul be made in the South over the Levittow situation, but frankly the general attitud is one of regret that such a situation ha come to pass, and certainly the good peopl of the South are opposed at all times to an type of violence. We feel, as Mr. WILLIAM so eloquently stated, that theirs is a prob lem to be solved without outside help, jus as our own problems must be solved withi our own communities and States, and w do not need the outside help to solve them

Civil-rights bills to the contrary notwith standing, the only American way to solve problem is to be left alone with it, and the it can be settled to the mutual benefit o all. Levittown only emphasizes the fact tha the problem is not confined to the South

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Ambassador Walter Christian Ploeser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, it is mos gratifying when we learn that a former distinguished Member of the greates parliamentary body on earth, has been selected to represent this Nation in one of our most important diplomatic posts Recently, the President appointed and the Senate confirmed Walter C. Ploeser Ambassador to one of our great South American neighboring countries, Paraguay. Mr. Speaker, in that vast embrace of neighborly and friendly country to the south of us known as South America we have many friends whose loyalty cordial and deep-seated friendship with this Nation extend over a long period of a great number of years. Since the inception of the Monroe Doctrine and the implementation of that great policy enunciated by the late and distinguished Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, known as the good neighbor policy, we have found the value of the friendship of our southern neighbors. One of the greatest amongst the peoples of South America are those of Paraguay. Mr. Ploeser is a peculiarly well fitted and a natural selection to represent this Nation in Paraguay.

His qualifications are many and varied. He served with distinction in our branch of the Congress where he was one of the most influential and well-informed members of that great Committee on Appropriations. Having had a rich background in business, extending over a period of well over 30 years, Mr. Ploeser, at the age of 50, has lived a life replete with civic, political, and business activity. A distinguished Mason, a distinguished leader in the field of insurance and a man who has risen to the very pinnacle in his chosen profession, Walter Ploeser now enters the diplomatic field knowing the vicissi-

tudes of almost every walk of civic, political, and economic life.

While it is unusual for a Democrat to praise a Republican, Mr. Speaker, we are all Americans; Mr. Ploeser is as ardently devoted to the philosophy of the Republican Party as I am to the constitutional Democratic Party; being a Southerner and from that conservative and great city of Charleston, S. C., I have much in common with the conservative outlook of Mr. Ploeser. This has made him and me, and many of us in Congress, unconscious and natural believers in much and the same basic philosophies. Mr. Ploeser goes to South America eager and virile and at the peak of his physical and mental development. As a distinguished public speaker, he is qualified to defend and enunciate the policy laid down by our great Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I look for a magnificent performance in the diplomatic field by Walter Ploeser. He will, in the finest traditions of this Nation, speak for us in the councils of that great Republic to which he is sent. We will earn friends by his cordial and genial approach to the problems which will confront him; he will endear himself to all South Americans whose traditional background is that of friendliness. He will implement and strengthen the philosophy of the good neighbor policy, and when his job will have been completed, he will return to this Nation leaving behind him in South America legions of friends and compiling a record in the State Department which, I confidently predict, will be equal to that of any who have gone before him to any council any place on earth.

Mr. Speaker, as a Democrat and as an American, I congratulate President Eisenhower on the selection of this distinguished young American. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate America for producing a man of his caliber and of his character. Mr. Speaker I pride myself in having served in the Congress with Walter Ploeser and I wish him, along with many of my other colleagues, well in this assignment. I know that he will fulfill any expectation we have of him in this important and critical position during this difficult period in our Nation's fight for survival when we are called upon to lead the world and defend democracy everywhere on earth. Mr. Speaker, South America is one of the most important places in the universe to defend democracy. Walter Ploeser will fulfill his responsibility.

Industrial Development in Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, at the governors' conference recently President Eisenhower emphasized the great need for the individual State governments to assume major social and economic responsibilities rather than making constand demands upon the Federal Government. An important part of this administration's program is to return to the States and local communities duties and responsibilities rightfully theirs under our system of Government.

In this connection I take pride in calling your attention to the program for industrial development being carried on in my home State of Illinois. Local groups, such as chambers of commerce, industrial councils, and various civic organizations, have assumed the initiative for local improvements and progress as a coordinated effort, free from Federal aid or assistance.

Through a national advertising program, made possible by a pooling of their financial resources and help of the Illinois State Division of Industrial Planning and Development, the industrial leaders learn of possible site locations for plants and new business opportunities. James H. Stupka, of Kankakee, Ill., a personal friend of mine of long standing and a prominent leader in Illinois, heads up this program. He is the man who developed this idea of a coordinate advertising program for those communities who want to help themselves. He has put into effect a program of teamwork between the State and local governments.

I believe that Mr. Stupka and his board of outstanding civic leaders deserve a great deal of credit and real commendation for what they have undertaken, entirely without pay, and for what they have accomplished. I also believe those communities who have been participating in this program, and not looking to the State or to the Federal Government to do the job for them, deserve commendation. They are Murphysboro, Pinckneyville, DuQuoin, Benton, West Frankfort, Zeigler, Mount Vernon, Kankakee, Savanna, Galesburg, Hillsboro, Monmouth, Gibson City, Belleville, Canton, Beardstown, Rantoul, Carterville, and Chicago. These are communities worth visiting. You will see for yourself the spirit of self-reliance and all that is being accomplished in this coordinate effort for self-improvement.

A Resolution To Amend the Constitution With Respect to the Power of Treaies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a joint resolution to amend the Constitution with respect to the power of treaties. This resolution is House Joint Resolution 375, and it reads as follows:

ARTICLE —

SECTION 1. Clause 2 of article VI of the Constitution is amended to read as follows:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; except that no treaty shall have greater effect within the United States than if it were a law of the United States, and any international agreement, other than a treaty, shall have effect within the United States only to the extent provided by a law of the United States."

I want the RECORD to show the reason for proposing this text, and to contain a brief explanation of its terms.

The adoption of this amendment is vitally necessary to the preservation of the constitutional rights of every American citizen. It has long been evident that some amendment to curb the power of treaties is needed.

At the same time it is necessary to act responsibly. The baby ought not to be thrown out with the bath water. It is not the statesmanlike thing to insist that because international agreements can be abused they ought to be narrowly restricted or be abolished altogether.

I have sought rather to propose an amendment to the Constitution which will redefine and limit the power of treaties, as opposed to the treatymaking power. House Joint Resolution 375 cuts down and limits the power of treaties only to the extent that if an appropriately negotiated treaty or executive agreement is ever found to conflict with a constitutional right of an American, the treaty must give way.

The treatymaking power is, on the other hand, not affected. All the capability for good inherent in these forms of international compact has been retained. Neither the representatives of the President in negotiating an agreement nor the Senate in ratifying need fear that the scope of matters subject to adjustment by such means has been limited. On the contrary, they can be assured that no unintended application of their efforts can operate to deprive an American of his rights.

In addition, this amendment to the Constitution will, for the first time, give formal recognition in that document to the executive agreement.

The sixth article of the Constitution sets up three classes of legal mandates which shall be the "supreme law of the land": the Constitution itself, laws made "in pursuance of" the Constitution, and treaties made "under the authority of" the United States.

It will be seen that if a conflict should arise between the Constitution and a law, the mandate of the Constitution must prevail, for only laws made "in pursuance of" the Constitution are the supreme law of the land. The Supreme Court has so held from the beginning of the last century.

But this is not so in the case of treaties. A treaty need only be made by the President and Senate to be the supreme law of the land. Which is to prevail when it is repugnant to the Constitution? Three times in this century—

in the Holland, Pink, and Girard cases—the Supreme Court has ruled, in effect, that the treaty is supreme over the Constitution.

My amendment will check this damaging interpretation. Since it is already established that a law is subrodinate to the Constitution, a treaty cannot be superior to the Constitution if it has no greater effect than if it were a law.

The effect of this statement is limited to "within the United States" because there are matters outside that limit with which a law would not be able to deal, while a treaty can. To tie the effect of a treaty to that of a law outside the United States might seriously impair the function of one of our instruments of foreign policy, and such a result would be far from my purpose of improving the protection given this country and its citizens.

It would be impossible to achieve the result of subordinating treaties to the Constitution by adding a clause requiring them to be made "in pursuance of" the Constitution, because, as appears from Justice Holmes' opinion in the Holland case, a treaty made by the President and the Senate is now made "in pursuance of" the Constitution.

It might make matters worse to attempt to overcome this difficulty by deleting the existing phrase "under the authority of the United States" and adding a pursuance clause. The courts might still decide no change had been made except to cast doubt on the continuing validity of treaties made before the Constitution was adopted.

The second part of my amendment to article VI of the Constitution is intended to limit the effect of executive agreements. These agreements, which are made by the President or one of his subordinates with a foreign power, are not mentioned in the Constitution. However the Supreme Court has decided that they, too, are "the supreme law of the land," and can be mandates superior to the Constitution itself.

Whether or not an executive agreement is secretly made, and whether or not its provisions are good, I am convinced that one-man law has no place in America. If the provisions of an executive agreement should be effective legal mandates within the United States, they should be made so because they are embodied in a treaty or in a law.

To make that necessarily so is the purpose of the second clause of my amendment.

Let me also point out that this clause will not curb the effect of executive agreements abroad. The power of the President to carry on the legitimate foreign affairs of this country will, as it should, remain unabridged.

It is not necessary to have an additional clause requiring the provisions of an executive agreement to conform to the Constitution, because they will have effect in the United States only insofar as enacted into law—and a law must be made in pursuance of the Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, this amendment speaks in simple words to answer a great need. It will not hobble executive power in the exercise of its legitimate responsibilities in the conduct of our Nation's foreign affairs, but it will assure to our citizens those cherished safeguards of the Constitution which are now in jeopardy. I earnestly solicit support for House Joint Resolution 375.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter which I released today:

K-E-E-N-O-T-E-S

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE, of West Virginia)

The Washington newspapers reported the incident this past week of three teen-age boys living in this area who deliberately set fire to a friendly dog. The animal, a valuable boxer belonging to a neighbor, had incurred the youngsters' displeasure because, allegedly "it followed them around and broke some shrubbery." So they coated its back with a paint solvent and set it afire.

The incident—even if it were an isolated one—would be alarming enough as an example of juvenile sadism and savagery loose in a civilized society, but it is not isolated. If memory serves me correctly, a similar occurrence was reported as having happened in the area of Charleston, W. Va., within recent months. Wanton cruelty of this nature is but a step away from the kind of depravity that led to the Richard Nathan-Leopold Loeb crime which rocked the Nation a generation or so ago. The next victim of these young sadists—or some others—may not be a hapless dumb brute—but a helpless child.

What is happening in our present-day society to produce the juvenile criminals and delinquents whose hardened crimes are reported daily in the press throughout the Nation? In New York City an entire neighborhood is terrorized by gangs of young hoodlums whose criminal records include armed robbery, mayhem, rape, and murder. In other metropolitan areas, the same pattern is repeated, while in smaller communities one hears of patricide, kidnappings, holdups on the open road, vandalism, and violence.

This is not, believe me, an indictment of modern youth. To offset the grim picture of juvenile delinquency in America, we have such child wonders as the young physicists, atomic scientists, and financial wizards as have recently electrified TV audiences from coast to coast. We have innumerable fine youth organizations—the 4–H Clubs, the Boy Scouts and the Campfire Girls, the Future Farmers of America, the Boys Clubs of America, and others too numerous to mention. In fact, throughout the Nation, we have a preponderance of fine, upstanding young Americans eagerly knocking on the doors of our schools and colleges and preparing themselves for their future responsibilities as homemakers, earners, and good citizens of the United States.

But we also have persistent and serious juvenile delinquency over which PTA's, law-enforcement bodies and Congress itself have been deeply concerned during the past few years. To cope with the problem, juvenile courts have been established at the local level, and nationally, Congress set up a Special Committee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. Still the rolls of youthful lawbreakers grow longer. Reform schools and receiving homes for teen-agers and even younger children awaiting trial or sentence, are filled and overflowing.

Where have we failed these children?

Poverty, deprivation and slums are, of course, fertile breeding beds of crime. But many of our youthful criminals come from better than average homes. The three boys, 14, 15, and 16 years old, who committed the atrocity upon the unfortunate boxer—who, incidentally, is reported to be recovering from his wounds—reside in a prosperous suburban community just outside of Washington. What is wrong then with their families, their schools, their community, that they could commit an act of such deliberate cruelty with no other qualms, presumably, than the fear of being caught?

To find the answers to these questions, we must, I feel, examine our own consciences. What kinds of example have we set for them? What moral standards do we uphold, what ideals do we cherish and strive to achieve? What sort of world have we created for them to live in and do we live in it ourselves in accordance with the precepts that we preach?

The mirror, I am sorry to say, does not reflect back a very flattering image of today's adult world.

Every school, every classroom in the Washington area is hopelessly overcrowded. But the school aid bill was defeated by petty, partisan politics. There is a critical teacher shortage, but the teaching profession attracts fewer followers each year because we refuse to pay our teachers an adequate living wage—much less what they are worth.

Still thinking of that tortured dog, how humane have we grown-ups shown ourselves to be? Not very, I fear. After years of trying, animal protective leagues have finally pressured a House committee to report out a bill, H. R. 8308, providing for the humane slaughter of the animals that feed the Nation's dinner tables. The bill is now before the Rules Committee awaiting the granting of a rule before it can be acted upon by the House. In these closing days of the session, it has only a slim change of passage.

Last year 40,000 human beings were killed in car accidents in the United States. Yet the automobile industry continues to turn out faster and faster cars—practically anyone can possess something on wheels so long as he can keep up the payments to the finance companies—teen-agers dash about the roads in hot rods, jeopardizing the lives and limbs of citizens—and the sale of intoxicants, tranquilizers and drug stimulants steadily rises.

When the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in World War II, a gasp of dismay and moral indignation went up from the American people. Even though we realized that it would shorten the war and save precious American lives, we still had moral scruples over using this horrible weapon against defenseless civilians. Today, we casually debate whether radioactive fallout will cause sterility and deformity in future generations and gamble the future happiness of our children in the mad race to develop still more hideous weapons of destruction.

And then there is the foreign-aid program and our relations with other peoples of the world. At the close of World War II, first UNRRA and then the Marshall plan came into existence to help friend and conquered foe, alike, to recover from the devastation of the conflict. Incidental to our warmhearted desire to save starving children, to resettle displaced peoples, to repair the havoc and ruin, to comfort and solace war-torn lives, was the thought of our own security and of halting the spread of communism.

True to our traditions as a great and generous people, we won friends because we cared first about human beings. We became

world leaders—not because of our power—but because of our kindness. When on March 12, 1947, President Truman went before a joint session of Congress to ask for a military and economic aid program to preserve the independence of Turkey and Greece, the sum he requested was $400 million. It was not how much we gave, but how we gave it.

Today, foreign aid has become solely a tool of our diplomats and the State Department. The justification for the billions of dollars requested for military and foreign aid in this fiscal year is that any reduction in the amounts of money requested would be dangerously eroding to our own security policies—to our own interests.

Perhaps so. But Americans, who are openhanded when their hearts are appealed to, can become mighty tightfisted when they think they are buying something. We are more than willing to help people—not to buy them.

It is, I feel, because of this change of attitude in our foreign policies and in our foreign relations—it is because our selfish interests are being stressed—that we have lost our moral influence and friends abroad and dimmed the idealism and altruism which have heretofore always characterized us as a nation. In their place we have substituted cynicism, skepticism, and pursuit of the almighty dollar.

If some of our children are misled into following in our own footsteps, the best way to set them back in the paths of righteousness is by first mending our own ways.

Personnel Management as a Service to Agency Operations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Personnel Management as a Service to Agency Operations" by William G. Torpey, which appeared in the June issue of Social Science.

Dr. Torpey is well known for his knowledge of Government personnel matters, and I ask that Senators pay particular attention to the part headed "Role of Legislative and Top Executive Officials."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT AS A SERVICE TO AGENCY OPERATIONS

(By William G. Torpey)[1]

The concept of personnel management as a service to Government agency operations means that a personnel organization exists to give direct and positive assistance to the fulfillment of the mission of the Government agency. Emphasis on this concept reflects a development in personnel administration which is being accelerated during the last half of the 20th century. The concept is in sharp contrast to the 19th century philosophy of personnel administration which, in a negative way, sought to impose strict controls upon agency operations in an effort to keep the rascals out.

EXERCISE OF DISCRETION

Today, a fundamental measure of the effectiveness of a personnel office is the degree to which the execution of individual personnel functions on the part of the personnel office helps the rank and file supervisors to carry out their line tasks.

In some phases of personnel management there is much discretion to be exercised by personnel officials and in such instances it may be a relatively simple task for the personnel office to render a service to supervisors. Thus, with the latitude normally provided with respect to the training function, a training program may be readily carried out to the real benefit of the agency. The general lack of legal controls with respect to the training function and the resultant broad opportunity afforded line and staff officials to create and administer worthwhile training programs are conditions which facilitate the service concept.

In certain other phases of personnel management, however, legislative and/or higher executive authority is imposed upon personnel officials in such a restrictive fashion that little or no chance is provided for the personnel official to supplement basic authority and to provide needed service to the line. Hence, pay regulations are often grounded in a legislative mandate so inflexible that the personnel official's role in individual cases may be merely one of carrying out details precisely as contained in the legislation.

It is apparent that the challenge confronting the personnel official who strives to inculcate in his staff the service concept varies in difficulty, not only because of the nature of the particular personnal function involved, but also because of the legal framework upon which the function is based.

ROLE OF LEGISLATIVE AND TOP EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS

Legislative and top executive officials of a jurisdiction must play an active role in the field of public personnel management if the service concept is to become fully effective in Government personnel offices. For example, with respect to professional personnel in the Federal Government, there is now a drastic need for additional pay as well as for improved fringe benefits if the Federal Government is to attract and retain a fair share of the relatively inadequate national supply of scientists and engineers. Surveys indicate that industry, in comparison with government, is offering more for comparable scientific and engineering skills, not only in terms of money but also in terms of fringe benefits.

Many government personnel officials are unable to render the service which they aspire to give in the recruitment area because of the force of competitive factors at work in the Nation's employment market. Various legislative members and administrative officials are giving serious consideration to the problem of salary increases for public personnel; other pending measures would, if adopted, provide for a health insurance program and increase other fringe benefits. Government personnel officials believe the need for positive legislation on these points is urgent. Until such problems are resolved, personnel officials will be seriously handicapped in their efforts to render maximum service to line supervisors.

My experience and observations are that members of the legislature and top executive officials are anxious to assist in the execution of public personnel management. However, they often have insufficient information upon which to base their decisions affecting personnel management. Frankly, I believe key officials in our legislative and executive branches of government are not always provided with sufficient data upon which to base their judgments in the field of personnel administration. Part of the responsibility to provide meaningful information rests squarely upon personnel officials.

Under the concept of personnel management as a service to line operations, personnel officials may be required to take the initiative to reflect the basic personnel needs of their organization, through appropriate channels, to appropriate legislative and higher executive authority. The exercise of such initiative may be necessary to promote positive personnel practices as well as to seek or modify or eliminate outmoded personnel rules.

HUMAN RELATIONS APPROACH

In the field of human relations, personnel officials, in my opinion, can and should render much greater assistance to agency supervisors. By the human relations approach I mean the practice of applying psychology principles of group behavior to employees in a work situation. An effective human relations program constitutes one of the most practical methods by which a personnel office may promote the service concept.[2] Usually, special legislative or top executive action is not necessary in order for personnel officials to act to improve their human relations programs. As a matter of fact, it appears, unfortunately, that some personnel officials give very little, if any, consideration to the human relations aspect of personnel management. Without sharp focus on the human aspects of rules and regulations, it is difficult to visualize a personnel program which can realistically aid agency operations.

Personnel officials, too, have a responsibility for continuous orientation of their staffs in the service concept. Such orientation should embrace, among other items, not only the use of illustrations from individuals cases occurring in a personnel office but also emphasis on fundamental principles related to the role of personnel management in the administrative process. The fact that, like other offices, personnel offices are subject to frequent turnover points up the necessity for periodic action in this respect. Each employee of a personnel office must have an honest appreciation of the service concept if the total personnel program is to be effective.

NEED FOR SERVICE CONCEPT

Personnel offices are in a vital position to contribute to the success (or failure) of their agencies. In addition to such factors as a systematic plan for personnel files and records, a set of progressive rules and regulations, and attractive physical aspects of a personnel office there is the need, on the part of the personnel office, for the sincere adoption of the concept of service to line operations. The service concept is not new, but personnel operations of public personnel offices often seem to be carried out without recognition of its import. Without this concept, the personnel office loses the basis for its existence.

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[1] Dr. Torpey, formerly personnel officer of the Naval Research Laboratory, Washington, D. C., is currently consultant to the President's Committee on Scientists and Engineers. He is also a part-time faculty member in the School of Government of George Washington University.

[2] For amplification, see William G. Torpey, Public Personnel Management, ch. 1.

Footnotes at end of speech.

A Last Salute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Ontario-Upland (Calif.) Daily Report of Friday, May 3, 1957:

A LAST SALUTE

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's unexpected death at Bethesda Naval Hospital marked far more than merely the end of a stormy and colorful political career. It was the death of the man that Communists both here and abroad had come to fear and hate more than any other elected official. Death yesterday closed the last chapter in the life story of a man whose drive, determination, and action put the fear of God into the hearts of Communists everywhere as only a handful of men have ever been able to do.

One Washington correspondent wrote that "the ex-marine and uncompromising Red hunter died at age 47, before the voters of Wisconsin—much less the perspective of history—could pass judgment on his spectacular and stormy Senate career." Curiously enough, Joseph McCarthy's place in American history never will depend upon what the voters of Wisconsin, or any other normal Americans, might have thought of his actions and objectives.

What spelled out Joseph McCarthy's importance as a major figure in this era's history was what the leaders of world communism thought of him. They feared him as they now fear only one living man, Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI. Proof of this appeared in the New York Daily Worker, official Communist Party organ, on August 25, 1954, at the height of the concerted worldwide drive by the Communist organization to get McCarthy. There the Reds' two arch enemies appeared in a Daily Worker cartoon—both looking like thugs, of course—as part of the all-out push for Senate censure of the Wisconsin Senator which the Communists finally got later that year.

Day after day, week after week Communist publications, such as the Daily Worker, whipped up the party's members, fellow travelers and dupes in a frenzy of hatred for this man who threatened to wreck the whole Communist conspiracy in America. Nobody who ever saw copies of the Daily Worker, or its West Coast counterpart, the People's World, during that period ever would be likely to forget the frothing front page attacks upon this man, or the Communists' wild appeals to everyone who ever had a soft spot for communism or socialism to do everything in his power to mobilize a crushing counterattack against the Senator. Those headlines in the Daily Worker and the People's World answered in full the question of whether Senator McCarthy's anti-Red activities were really valid, effective and actually important. They were a source of moral fear throughout the Communist world.

Hard, ruthless and devasting, Joe McCarthy dealt the Communists sledge hammer blows in a language and a manner they understood clearly and feared accordingly. Senator McCarthy knew them for what they were and pointed them out openly, fearlessly and relentlessly. As early as May 4, 1950, the national secretary of the Communist Party sent an urgent message to all Communist Party members through the Daily Worker: "I urge all Communist Party members, and all antifascists, to yield second place to none in the fight to rid our country of the fascist poison of McCarthyism." Communists were the first to understand what a deadly threat this Wisconsin Senator was to Communists and their plans.

Four years later, on March 17, 1954, this "get McCarthy" program was nearing its climax. In a byline article in the New York Daily Worker, none other than William Z. Foster, longtime United States Communist Party chairman, declared: "McCarthy will have many other powerful supporters. But the President and his Wall Street backers should not be allowed to get away with this * * * McCarthy must be driven out of American public life completely. That would be an appetizer to a real head-on attack upon the main body of the threatening Fascist movement in this country." Anyone even moderately familiar with Communist lingo knows to substitute the term "anti-Communist" for that word "Fascist" in any Communist writing. Appetizer indeed.

Significantly, the United States Communists admitted in the party's theoretical monthly magazine, Political Affairs, that "an organic part of the fight against McCarthyism is the fight to defend the Communists now being indicted and tried under the Smith, McCarran, and sedition laws." In short, it was a fight to the death so far as the Communists in America were concerned and they used every weapon they could lay their hands on to kill off the Senator from Wisconsin. Yet only a few Americans, sitting comfortably and seemingly secure in their pleasant homes, seemed to understand that fact. Senator McCarthy understood it, however, and in consequence refused to modify or slack off in his relentless anti-Communist drive.

Ultimately, of course, pro-Communists aided by an astounding number of unwitting dupes, finally broke Senator McCarthy's political power as a leader in the anti-Communist war. Such was the vilification heaped upon him by both the knowing and the unknowing in saving the Communist Party from disaster that even historians will be misled on the sort of man he really was and the fervor that motivated his actions.

As Edmund Burke, the great British statesman, said in his eulogy of a public figure in another era comparable with Joseph McCarthy: "He well knows that snares are spread about his path, from personal animosity * * * and possibly from popular delusion. But he has put to hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his * * * popularity. * * * He is traduced and abused for his supposed motives. He will remember that obloquy is a necessary ingredient in the composition of all true glory; he will remember * * * that calumny and abuse are essential parts of triumph."

Although many of them will never realize it now, Senator McCarthy deserves a last salute from every American who, as did Joseph McCarthy, has placed his country and its welfare above all else.

Italy's Comeback Started Under Marshall Plan Initiated by President Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an excerpt of an article written by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on August 26, 1957:

Unlike Maxwell Gluck, the much publicized political ambassador to Ceylon, James D. Zellerbach, Ike's new Ambassador to Italy, knows a whale of a lot about the country to which he is appointed. Zellerbach contributes to the Republican Party, but he also spent several years in Italy, appointed by Truman to administer the Marshall plan. He knows Italy intimately, has a genuine affection for its people.

Home on leave at his own expense, Ambassador Zellerbach paid tribute to the old pro-democrat leaders of Italy, including the late Premier de Gasperi, for starting Italy's comeback.

"It started under the Marshall plan," he explained. "At the time I left Italy there were over 120 'bonification' plans which provided for erosion control, irrigation, reforestation, and housing. I have recently visited some of the projects that we started when we were there with the Marshall plan, and they have done great things for Italy."

We Must Clarify the Situation Created by the Jencks Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include several excellent editorials from newspapers dealing with the importance of early action on the bill to protect the files of the FBI and other investigative agencies. It is essential that action be taken on this legislation before adjournment. If that is not done, scores of criminals and enemies of the country will go scot free before January when we reconvene:

[From the Schenectady (N. Y.) Union Star of August 15, 1957]

FBI FILE INSPECTION CLARIFICATION A MUST

Shortly after the Supreme Court decisions in which individual rights were so strongly stressed as to rouse a fear in some quarters that protecting ourselves against subversion might be jeopardized, this newspaper commented that if the Court had swung too far in guarding such rights, public opinion and Congress could rectify that overzealousness. The arrest of an alleged Russian master spy has given urgency for such correction, since there is a possibility that rather than open FBI files the case might not be prosecuted and the spy merely deported.

Two bills are before Congress restricting the opening of FBI files. A House bill, introduced by Representative WALTERS, Pennsylvania Democrat, was feared so strong as to be unconstitutional, and Congressman KEATING, Rochester Republican, offered an amendment leaving to judges decision on what in the files is relevant to fair defense. In the Senate, Senator O'MAHONEY, Wyoming Democrat, sponsored a somewhat more liberal bill, but one he hopes would prevent fishing expeditions into FBI reports.

What has been going on is uncertain interpretation of the Court's ruling. Clarifying that is what is really before Congress. Tempered opinion seems to be building up for the moderate Keating amendment. At any rate

ion should be taken before adjournment, eduled for late this month.

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om the Jamestown (N. Y.) Post-Journal of August 16, 1957]

HOOVER WARNS CONGRESS

Press association dispatches from Washing- indicate Congress may adjourn without ing action on a bill to limit the access a endant may have to secret files of the FBI taining information against him. It is redible that the Senate and House would in their duty to overcome as far as may legally possible the unfortuante and wide- criticized decision of the Supreme Court, nded down under the leadership of the ra liberal Chief Justice Earl Warren. It o exaggeration to state that never in the tory of the Nation's highest tribunal has a ing been so sharply criticized by lawyers, men, and the press.

J. Edgar Hoover, the brilliant and dedicated der of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, s just pointed out how extremely urgent is need of corrective legislation. In a let- to former Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, publican leader of the House of Repre- tatives, Mr. Hoover has disclosed that al- dy the Department of Justice had had to n loose on society persons charged with deral offenses rather than open FBI files. reover, informants have already stopped ing information that the agency needs in rying out its investigation of Communist bversion and other major crimes.

In his communication to Mr. MARTIN about e pending corrective legislation, Mr. Hoover ote: "The need is urgent, I can assure u. Its enactment is vital to the future ility of the FBI to carry out its internal curity and law-enforcement responsibili- s."

"Already," Mr. Hoover revealed, "we have d the revolting experience of witnessing rsons charged with violations of Federal w turned loose when the Government was ed with the dilemma of either disclosing e contents of its investigative reports or ndoning a prosecution. This situation uld have been avoided had it been possible present records and documents to the urt for a private inspection to safeguard e rights of the defendant as is provided the legisaltion presently before Congress." Adjournment is not so pressing that Con- ss should refuse to take what time may be quired for protecting FBI files vital to the tional security. The committee on com- nism of the American Bar Association in recent call upon Congress to pass leg- ation safeguarding FBI files, properly ressed the fact that "it is traditional and ht that our courts are zealous in pro- cting individual rights," but it also em- asizes that "it is equally necessary that e executive and legisaltive branches take fective action to gird our country against mmunist infiltration and aggression."

And significantly the committee of dis- guished lawyers sounded a warning that forts of the Government to combat Com- nist infiltration may be endangered "if e courts lean too far backward in the intenance of theoretical civil rights."

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rom the Long Beach (Calif.) Independent Press-Telegram of August 15, 1957]

FBI FEELS EFFECT OF COURT RULING

On June 3 the United States Supreme urt handed down a ruling that the Gov- nment must produce, for inspection by e defense, any secret reports to the FBI ade by prosecution witnesses.

This was tantamount to telling the Gov- nment it must reveal its sources or give up e case.

The Court decision has had its effect with- t delay, as noted by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a recent letter to Representative MARTIN, the House minority leader.

"The fact that prior to June 3, 1957, informed people knew that our files were inviolate had been a powerful factor in our ability to secure information. Since the Jencks decision, however, we have faced one obstacle after another. We have experienced instance after instance where sources of information have been closed to our agents because of the fear that the confidence we could once guarantee could no longer be assured. We have also experienced a reluctance on the part of numerous citizens to cooperate as freely as they once did."

As Justice Tom C. Clark said in his dissenting opinion on the Jencks case, the intelligence agencies engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop if Congress fails to plug up the loopholes created by the majority opinion of the Court.

Perhaps the letter from Mr. Hoover will help dramatize to Congress the urgency of such legislation. A bill has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee. Unless floor action is taken within the next few days, hope for a remedial law will be suspended until the next session.

This is one piece of legislation Congress can ill afford to brush aside in the final big rush to clear the decks before adjournment. It involves the Nation's security.

[From the New Haven (Conn.) Register of August 16, 1957]

SAFEGUARDING THE FBI

Few Americans are delighted at the prospect of Federal Bureau of Investigation files being thrown open for inspection by defendants in subversion cases.

The Supreme Court of the United States recently decided, nevertheless, that such defendants should enjoy access to FBI files—evidently thinking more of individual rights in such cases than of the entire Nation's right to security.

The harm that could be wrought if Communists or their fellow travelers were allowed to learn the identities of FBI informers can be readily imagined.

Those files have been closely guarded—necessarily and properly—in the past, because the Bureau by the very nature of its work must and does rely on information by persons who are required to do much of their work in secret.

Congress should not adjourn, therefore, without enacting legislation to safeguard FBI files from exposure to Communists—or anyone else.

One spur to congressional action on this vital measure, one would suppose, would be speculation that the Government might even prefer to drop its case against the alleged Russian spy, Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, rather than allow the defense to see the relevant files.

Congress needs to pass such a safeguard measure if for no better reason than to demonstrate its continuing support for FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Mr. Hoover, in his annual report of July 28, reminded Congress and the country that "the very basis of our success is the FBI's assurance to this country's citizens that the information they give will be maintained in the strictest confidence in our files."

We applaud that statement.

But the applause one hears for the Supreme Court's ruling that America's enemies should be privileged to pore over the FBI's confidential material is faint indeed.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant of August 13, 1957]

THE FBI AND THE ABEL CASE

The case of Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, a Soviet master spy, brings sharply in focus the present status of the FBI as a consequence of the recent Supreme Court ruling. It is believed by many that the trial of this case will show a direct line from Colonel Abel to the Soviet. But under the ruling of the Supreme Court the FBI may have to open its files to defense counsel revealing valuable sources of information.

The Justice Department has already withdrawn prosecution in a half dozen cases since the decision in the Jencks case and others have been dismissed by the court because of the reluctance of the FBI to produce their records. Thus an intolerable situation will, in the important Abel case, become disastrous unless Congress moves to correct the situation.

Traditionally the law of the Anglo-Saxon countries has tried to achieve a nice balance between individual rights and the group security. But it is fundamental to all law that every government has a right to secure its own well-being by legislation that protects against its enemies. Thus, while the Supreme Court interprets the law, Congress makes it. And Congress has the right to pass any law that does not contravene the basic law of the Constitution.

There is a reasonable middle ground that will protect the defendant's rights and that will also protect against what Justice Clark described as "A Roman holiday of rummaging" through the files of the FBI. The Abel case proves that the FBI can never relax its vigilance. That organization is the front-line protection against spies and saboteurs. The reality of that danger will be demonstrated in the trial of Colonel Abel. Meanwhile the least the country can do is to back up the FBI by appropriate legislation permitting the trial justice to rule on the admissibility in evidence of FBI file material.

[From the Stamford (Conn.) Advocate of August 14, 1957]

SECURITY FIRST

The civil-rights bill has run into difficulty in the House. This delay may have an unfortunate effect on the security of the Nation unless public opinion is aroused. In a decision concerning a man named Jencks, the Supreme Court made a new bit of law which has destroyed the effectiveness of the FBI. While fuzzy-minded liberals laud the decision which opens the files of the security agency to the Communist Party as a victory for the individual the safety of the Nation is endangered.

The courts have, as a result of this decision, ordered the FBI and other Federal agencies to provide full investigative reports to defense counsel even before trial starts. This has now raised doubt whether the Government can successfully prosecute such a master spy as Rudolph Abel. J. Edgar Hoover has appealed to Representative JOSEPH MARTIN to pass legislation protecting FBI files from Communist raids.

His reason is twofold. First, as a law agent, Mr. Hoover naturally finds it revolting to see persons he knows to be guilty of crime go free because of this decision. But the second reason is more important. Before the Jencks decision the FBI files were known to be inviolate. It was possible for FBI agents to get information from some persons because these persons knew that their confidence would be respected. Now, whole lines of communication have been cut off between the FBI and criminal groups because agents can no longer guarantee that confidence will be kept. There is a reluctance on the part of citizens to cooperate freely. In the case of the Communist conspiracy it is impossible to get the unsupported hints which in the past have led to valuable discoveries.

It would be well to point out that the recent decisions of the Supreme Court have made it difficult, if not impossible, for congressional investigations to successfully fight

the Communist menace. The first amendment has been added to the fifth as an escape for those who would hide the extent of their past treasons. State law bodies have been prevented from protecting the public against the Communist conspiracy. This left only the FBI to protect the Nation. The Jencks case has made it almost impossible for the FBI to operate. The victory for the Communist is almost complete.

The Congress can clarify the court decision so as to enable the Nation to protect itself. Mr. Hoover says "passage of this bill is absolutely essential if we are to prevent sabotage of our national security." Mr. Hoover has not in the past been an alarmist. Our Congressmen will fail in their duty if they for any reason fail to pass this bill before Congress goes on its summer vacation.

Hon. Harry L. Gandy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Gate City—Rapid City, S. Dak.—Guide on the life and service of the Honorable Harry L. Gandy, a former Representative of the Second Congressional District of South Dakota.

Many of my colleagues are acquainted with the editor and publisher of the Gate City Guide, the Honorable Theodore—Dates—B. Werner, who himself served as a Member of Congress from the Second Congressional District of South Dakota for two terms.

It was my privilege to pay tribute on the floor of this House to the Honorable Harry L. Gandy on the day that funeral services were held for him, and it is now my privilege to pay tribute to another former colleague and the fine service he rendered to western South Dakota during his days in Congress, the Honorable Theodore B. Werner, whose editorial on the life of Harry L. Gandy is as follows:

HON. HARRY L. GANDY

Older residents throughout the western part of South Dakota were grieved at the news of the death of former Congressman H. L. Gandy in California on Thursday, August 15, 2 days after he celebrated his 76th birthday. He had been in ill health for some months, suffering from a diabetic condition, but the cause of death was a heart attack.

Harry Gandy came to Rapid City from Indiana in 1907 and engaged in newspaper work. He followed this for 2 years, establishing himself in the weekly newspaper field at Wasta where he published the Gazette. He was active in politics and in 1910 was elected to the State Senate from this county, defeating a Republican wheelhorse and a strongly entrenched Republican machine. He made an enviable record in the State Senate and his party drafted him to be its candidate for Congress in the newly established third district. He made a hard campaign and lost by a small margin, greatly reducing the GOP majority.

He again was a candidate in 1914 and in this campaign he was successful, defeating Judge Wm. G. Rice, of Deadwood, by a handsome majority. He took his seat in Congress in March 1915. It was not long before Congressman Gandy's services were recognized throughout the district. No homesteader who wrote the new Congressman failed to get a sympathetic hearing and as a result he was twice reelected, in 1916 and 1918, serving during the trying period of the First World War.

In 1920 he was defeated by a small vote in spite of his party's unpopularity due to the war which had ended in victory, but left many of our fine citizens still imbued with deep sympathies with the fatherland.

After his services as Congressman ended Mr. Gandy served in positions of high responsibilities in national scope, which prevented his return to Rapid City. He kept his legal residence here and never lost a personal interest in western South Dakota.

During his 25 years of actual residence in this area he left his impress. In public service he gave a full measure of devotion. He learned the art of politics on the knee of such illustrious Democrats and statesmen as Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President in the Woodrow Wilson reign, and held true to the ideals of Grover Cleveland that "a public office is a public trust." Gandy was a servant of the people and as such he functioned in every public office he was honored to hold. There was none of the bureaucrat in his makeup * * * he was ever mindful of his duty and responsibilities to the people. That is what made him a fine public official.

He was appointed a member of the Custer State park board by Gov. Tom Berry and served during the rebuilding and development of the Sylvan Lake resort in Custer State Park. Mr. Gandy spent much of his time from 1932 to 1936 in South Dakota, and here in Rapid City he maintained his home and residence. Only a few years back he sold his residential property on South Street, which for many years was the Gandy home. His tenure of office as park board member ended with the election of a Republican governor.

Harry Gandy was a man of ability and resource. He was of the old school in thought—he worked himself up the hard way. Nothing came easy, but he always contended that what was worthwhile was worth working for. He was a hard worker—he could and did carry a heavy load of work.

Today we could almost refer to him as an old-timer. The younger generation is quite unfamiliar with the vicissitudes of the homesteader of the early 1900's; of their troubles with the Federal land investigators and of their need, too, for a real friend. Every harassed homesteader in trouble had a friend in Congressman Gandy. He was at their side when they needed help to fight the big bad Government (or rather the bureacrats of those days—only they were not called that then).

Today his earthly remains are being lowered into the soil of Mountain View Cemetery where the gentle breezes will forever sing a requiem for him and his friends of yesteryear whom he now joins. His work ended, and his last wish carried out, let there be peace and rest for one who in past years worked so faithfully and hard for others.

Harry Gandy may have been a statesman, a fine administrator, and a keen business executive, but to one who has been a friend of more than a half century he will always be "a printer," one of the old school, of the Fourth Estate—when this was more than just a name or a title. As we dip our pen once again to record the passing of one of the faithful we are of heavy heart. It is not without sorrow that we affix "30" to this column on Harry L. Gandy.

For now, it is farewell.

Heavy Damage From Floods on Red Riv

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. M Speaker, this year has witnessed one the most devastating floods the Re River Valley has ever had. The flo waters reached the Louisiana portion the Red River in tremendous volume a spread out over the countryside. O people fought for their lives and the property to hold back the damagi effects of these waters coming down t Red from its upper reaches. The anom alous situation presented is that mo of the water which choked up the Re River from the Arkansas line to t mouth came from areas far north an west of Louisiana. It was water fro Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, an Arkansas which was seeking its wa down to the Gulf of Mexico. We L Louisiana had to contend with this si uation.

Since the floodwaters have receded the State of Louisiana advises me tha it has made a survey of the damage don to the banks and levees of Red River i Louisiana. The total amount of mone required to repair the banks and leve of the damage done during this flood i Louisiana is $1,610,500. The Honorabl Lorris Wimberly, State director of publi works has headed the State group whic has made the extensive study. While know that Director Wimberly has don his best to be accurate in his estimates o the needed bank stabilization work, I be lieve he is very conservative in his figur and I am presenting the original letter o August 20, 1957, from Director Wimber to our two Senators, to my colleague Congressman LONG, and to myself, tha the Congress may be aware of the tre mendous amount of destruction i Louisiana because of the floods of thi current year.

I also am taking this opportunity o presenting herewith a copy of the lette of August 20, 1957, from the State o Louisiana by Lorris Wimberly, director of public welfare, the original of whic was addressed to Col. William H. Lewi district engineer, New Orleans, La., out lining in detail the damage done and the cost of repairing the damages for bank stabilization in Louisiana. I am asking that this document also be extended in the RECORD that this Congress may know the heavy burden which Louisiana bears in channeling the floodwaters from other areas through our State on their way to the Gulf of Mexico.

Of course, it is too late in the year to include appropriations of this sort in a flood control appropriation bill. I trust, however, that all of the members of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives and the Senate will read these two documents carefully and having read them, I am sure they will be responsive when requests come fo

propriations to repair this damage er the first of the year. These docu- nts are as follows:

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,
Baton Rouge, August 20, 1957.

n. ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
n. RUSSELL B. LONG,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

n. OVERTON BROOKS,
n. GEORGE S. LONG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATORS ELLENDER AND LONG, AND NGRESSMEN BROOKS AND LONG: During y and June of this year Louisiana suf- ed from not one but two devastating ds on Red River. Because of their long ation these floods caused serious and ex- sive damage to the bank protection ks along Red River. As soon as the ers receded and it was possible to make tailed inspection, the department of blic works made a survey of the cost of airing, replacing, and extending existing k protection works and the cost of the essary extensions to protect bank sta- ation works now in place. The total ount of money required would be 10,500.

these funds are not made available it mean not only the loss of large sums money already expended on bank pro- tion works, but the loss of valuable farm ds and improvements along the river as ll.

ttached is a copy of a letter to Col. lliam H. Lewis, district engineer, New leans District, Corps of Engineers, United tes Army, outlining this situation and ing the repairs, replacements, and exten- s that are needed together with their esti- ted costs. Knowing of your keen inter- in the welfare and continued develop- nt of the Red River Valley we are nishing the pertinent data on this sit- ion and requesting that you do every- ng possible to see that the funds required made available. If there is anything t this department can do to assist you your efforts we will only be too glad to so.

The department of public works appre- tes your continued interest in the flood ntrol, bank stabilization and navigation grams of our State.

Sincerely,

LORRIS M. WIMBERLY,
Director.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,
Baton Rouge, August 20, 1957.

. WILLIAM H. LEWIS,
District Engineer, New Orleans Dis- trict, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, New Orleans, La.

DEAR COLONEL LEWIS: Since 1945 the Corps Engineers has made great progress in the k protection program on Red River from Louisiana-Arkansas line to Moncla, La. e money expended on bank protection rks has paid great dividends in prevent- the loss of valuable farmlands and in protection of highways, railroads, and uable improvements which border the er.

During April, May, and June of this year uisiana suffered not 1 but 2 major floods Red River. This situation caused its nks to be subjected to caving stages, not y during the periods of the two major ods, but also during the time required to pty the Denison and Texarkana Reser- rs—or a total of 117 days. These high ges resulted in extensive damage to the tments and dike systems, and serious ving both above and below existing bank- tection works.

It is imperative that the damage to the existing bank-protection works be repaired promptly and that the necessary upstream and downstream extensions be installed to protect the present channel stabilization works. If this work is not done a greater part of the progress which has been made on this very effective bank-protection program will be lost.

The levee boards along Red River are making every effort to repair and correct minor damages to the bank stabilization work but are not financially able to furnish the funds necessary to repair the tremendous damages caused by this flood.

Mr. D. V. Cresap, district engineer for the department of public works, has made a careful inspection of all of the bank-protection installations along Red River and has prepared the following cost estimate of the necessary emergency repair work.

Estimates of costs for repairing, replacing, or extending dikes and standard board revetment from Arkansas-Louisiana State line to Boyce, La.

1. Uni, pile dikes, Caddo Parish	$46,700
2. Cash Bend, standard board revetment, Caddo Parish	14,400
3. Brownlee Bend, standard board revetment, Bossier Parish	9,000
4. Twelve Mile Bayou Bend, standard board revetment, Caddo Parish	36,000
5. Twelve Mile Bayou Bend, pile dikes, Caddo Parish	161,300
6. Honore Bend, pile dikes, Bossier Parish	9,900
7. Douglas Island Bend, pile dikes, Caddo Parish	155,400
8. Eagle Bend, standard board revetment, Caddo Parish	162,000
9. Curtis Bend, standard board revement, Bossier Parish	43,000
10. Lucas Bend, standard board revetment, Caddo Parish	129,900
11. Lucas Bend, pile dikes, Caddo Parish	32,600
12. Gahagan Bend, pile dikes, Red River Parish	2,100
13. Armistead, standard board revetment, Red River Parish	118,200
14. Hanna, pile dikes, Red River Parish	85,000
15. Colfax, pile dikes, Grant Parish	85,700
16. McNeely Bend, standard board revetment, Grant Parish	15,000
Total	1,106,200

Estimate of cost for repairing, replacing, or extending dikes and standard board revetment from Boyce to Moncla, La.

1. Boyce, pile dikes, Rapides Parish	$20,400
2. Bertrand, pile dikes, Rapides Parish	4,300
3. Hudson, standard board revetment, Rapides Parish	20,500
4. Roxanna Bend, standard board revetment, Rapides Parish	29,600
5. Richardson Point, pile dikes, Rapides Parish	52,500
6. Echo, pile dikes, Rapides Parish	52,200
7. Cologne Bend, pile dikes, Rapides Parish	112,500
8. Egg Bend, pile dikes, Avoyelles Parish	40,400
9. Bringol, pile dikes, Avoyelles Parish	29,900
10. Choctaw, pile dikes, Avoyelles Parish	68,900
11. Hudson, standard board revetment, Avoyelles Parish	20,500
12. Roxana, standard board revetment, Avoyelles Parish	29,600
13. Ryland, standard board revetment, Avoyelles Parish	23,000
Total	504,300

We have just learned that $750,000 will be made available for bank-protection works on Red River in fiscal year 1958. This amount of money is not sufficient to pursue the ordinary program of bank-protection work properly to say nothing of repairing the damages of the 1957 flood. We, therefore, urge that the Chief of Engineers be requested to make available from emergency funds $1,500,000 in order that the existing bank-protection works may be repaired and that the necessary protection upstream and downstream extensions can be installed.

We wish to compliment the Corps of Engineers on the effectiveness of the bank-protection works which have been constructed on Red River and urge that every effort be made to protect the invaluable progress which has been made in this program.

Yours very truly,

LORRIS M. WIMBERLY,
Director.

Proceedings Against Frank Grumman

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, the witness under consideration, Frank Grumman, is a radio operator trained in the various codes used in the transmission of messages. Mr. Grumman having been identified by another witness at the hearing as having been a member of the Communist Party, was questioned regarding his Communist Party membership, the presence of Communists in the American Communications Association, and the vital communications industry of the Nation.

The witness did not invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment, but instead refused to answer questions on the basis of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Watkins case. That has already been explained.

The Supreme Court in the Watkins case held that exposure for the sake of exposure is wrong. We all, of course, accept that statement. The Supreme Court, however, I am quite sure, did not mean to hold, or I hope they did not mean to hold, that if in the course of the work of a committee properly constituted and having a legislative purpose and conducting hearings consistent with that legislative purpose, exposure should result incidentally, I say I hope the Supreme Court did not mean to say that the committee must cease functioning.

Unfortunately, however, the decision was an open invitation for witnesses to say, and they are now practically all saying to us in effect: "Well, the Supreme Court said exposure for the sake of exposure is wrong. We say you mean to expose us; therefore, we refuse to answer, period."

That is the trend of some of these witnesses now on the basis of that decision.

Likewise, the Supreme Court said in that case that, of course, a congressional committee must have a legislative purpose. I am quite sure the Supreme Court did not mean to say that, having a legislative purpose, the committee cannot conduct hearings and ask pertinent questions.

Unfortunately again, however, on the basis of that decision these witnesses are interpreting it and twisting it into telling us the Supreme Court said: "You must have a legislative purpose. We maintain you have no legislative purpose; and, therefore, we refuse to answer."

That is the basis of this particular privileged motion seeking contempt proceedings against this witness, Mr. Grumman.

Legislative purpose was spelled out to him. We made every effort to comply with the ritual of the Supreme Court in the Watkins case.

I submit in this instance as in the other case just considered the motion for the contempt citation should be adopted.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALTER. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WILLIS. The bill in connection with correction of the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case was offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania and reported out of a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of which I happen to be chairman.

I not only express the hope but the expectation that action will be taken on that bill this year, certainly under suspension of the rules if in no other way.

Senator Yarborough Demands End to Bungling, Resignation of Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I feel sure that many Members of the House have seen or heard news reports of the stirring address delivered by our colleague Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, of Texas, before the convention of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York City on August 22.

In his speech Senator YARBOROUGH summarized the accomplishments of the 1st session of the 85th Congress for all the people of our country on the one hand, and in calling for the resignation of Secretary of State Dulles he outlined in bold detail the bungling of the administration's foreign policy on the other.

I have received reports that the press in the free world around the globe has praised Senator YARBOROUGH'S ringing declaration of friendship for our allies who are fighting the growing influence of communism and to make his comments available for every Member of Congress, under unanimous consent I include his address in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address follows:

TEXT OF AN ADDRESS BY SENATOR RALPH YARBOROUGH AT NEW YORK CITY TO THE CONVENTION OF AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS OF NEW YORK CITY, AT HOTEL PICADILLY, AUGUST 22, 1957

Mr. President, fellow Democrats, fellow Americans, I want to thank you for your kind words. Your generosity of words is exceeded only by your generosity in deeds, in inviting me to speak here tonight.

Returning to New York is always a thrill.

I well remember my first trip here 38 years ago, when, as a cadet at West Point, we came down the Hudson on a cold, gray November Saturday to tangle with the Navy at the Polo Grounds in the annual Army-Navy game. And twice in my life, I have been thrilled by seeing the Staue of Liberty from the deck of an incoming ship, once in my teens as I worked my way back from Europe on a cattle boat, and again at the end of the great crusade for liberty in World War II, when the Infantry division in which I served came up the harbor for redeployment to the Pacific before the A-bomb had ended the war. And in those and all other trips when I have been back here, New York is always an inspiration. It always has a quality of the sameness and yet it is never the same. It is always different. These changing moods of the leading city in the history of mankind inspire the visitor whether he come in winter's cold or the heat of summer.

This is my first time to talk with a group in New York City since I became a United States Senator 110 days ago. But the short 110 days that I've served in the Senate is plenty of time to learn that things are not always what they seem, and that many really significant acts are too unspectacular to attract much attention at the moment.

Much has been written in the press of the budget cuts. Little has been written of the increased appropriations for things that really touch the greatest of human needs.

On coming to the Senate, I reflected on the many avenues of service open to a Senator and I wondered what I should devote most of my time to. The lessons of a third-grade geography class came back to me. My teacher taught us that the three basic needs of mankind were food, clothing, and shelter. Modern man has added a fourth need: health; so I decided I would devote most of my time to those measures dealing with the need of man for food, clothing, shelter, and health.

On the health problem, we have made progress in this session of Congress. The Democratic Party is the party with a heart. We voted nearly $200 million for research, which we hope will help find a cure for six diseases—cancer, heart disease, arthritis, mental disease, allergy and neurology, and blindness. We increased the cancer research appropriation from $48 million in 1956 to $56 million in 1957, an increase of 16 percent. Similiarly, we increased the appropriations for heart disease, mental health, arthritis, allergy and neurology, and blindness studies.

And in the fields of dental research, public health, research in tuberculosis, and other communicable diseases, we have voted substantially higher appropriations than for last year.

In the enforcement of the pure food and drug law, we voted an increase of 37 percent in funds for enforcement over the 1956 appropriation. This will allow the employment of 162 additional personnel, 115 of them as field inspectors to help stop the adulteration and pollution of food.

For food and clothing needs, we have voted a 10-percent increase in disabled veterans pensions. We are working on pension increases for retired Government personnel and retired railway workers. And I have voted for and helped bring out of the subcommittee and the full committee the bills for an increase in the postal workers' pay and in the Federal classified employees' pay. Those bills for pay increases are pending on the floor of the Senate. We Democrats are working hard for their passage.

We have done something about housing, too. The Housing Act of 1957 lowers the downpayment on FHA Government-insured loans so that people in the modest-income brackets can build or buy a $10,000 home with a $300 downpayment and they can build or buy a $12,000 home with $600 downpayment, and so on up the scale.

Unfortunately, the administration has crippled the efforts of Congress by raising the interest rates on FHA loans after Congress had passed the bill. And the Housing Act of 1957 had other provisions, too. It carried provisions for urban renewal or slum clearance and I voted for expanded Federal participation in these programs. We Democrats fought for liberalized urban renewal or slum clearance, but the Republicans voted liberalization down. Urban renewal is included in the bill, but not in the higher percentage we Democrats sought. I voted, also, for the Gore amendment to increase the amount of the Federal National Mortgage Association secondary mortgage mon for home loans. We Democrats worked ha in the past and will continue to work these necessary measures; for better hom better pay, better health. These are goals of the new democracy.

I believe more gains are ahead on domestic front. After 4 years of high int est rates and hard-money policy, at last S retary of Treasury Humphrey has return to private industry to see whether he make money faster there than he did Secretary of the Treasury. While in Government, his holdings increased in val threefold.

You have probably heard the new so I Lost My Head Over John Foster Dull What is needed now is a song for the farm entitled "I Lost My Shirt Under Ezra T Benson," and one for the small-busine man called I Lost My Shoes to George Humphrey

Humphrey is gone and we hope that M Benson and Mr. Dulles are going, going.

The Democrats in Congress are worki for improvement, but there are many fie where our influence is being thwarte Such a field is in the conduct of forei policy.

In this field, we Democrats have acted wi restraint and with responsibility, somethi I am sure the Republicans find it diffic to understand.

Last December, the Democrats in the Se ate gave thought to a complete and searc ing investigation of the bungling in t Middle East. However, after some reflecti the Democrats decided not to conduct th investigation. We decided to give Mr. Dull an opportunity.

We tried to bury the past in the hope restoring vigor to the westeran alliance.

Unfortunately, the State Department, its conduct of affairs, not only failed to store vigor; it permitted, and even uncon sciously aided, the erosion of good will wi our neighbors. Alliances, unless they evol and grow stronger, tend to drift to dissolu tion.

Today, our relations with our natural a traditional ally, Britain, are distant and fo mal. We have lost North Vietnam to th Communists. India is a neutral at be Egypt is playing footsie with the Soviets.

France, which has been unable to achie a strong and stable government, has show distrust of American policy. Germany still divided. Yugoslavia shows signs drifting back into the Soviet sphere.

Failure of the Dulles policy to develop cr ative and determined leadership has pe mitted the initiative to pass to the forces iniquity. This abdication, as one British observed, produced inertia, muddle, mi understanding, and disorientation. My di tinguished Democratic colleague, Senat FULBRIGHT, has stated that not since the tur of the century have our relations with th other people of the free world been so strained.

John Foster Dulles, the cocksure rath than the humble, the clever but not wis Secretary of State, has been at the hel during this period. His irregular policy, indeed it can be called that, has been mark with recklessness, forced withdrawals, sua boastfulness, and short-term compromises.

Let's take a brief look at Mr. Dulles' re ord:

He told Europeans that unless they ea acted the European Defense Communit Congress might abandon foreign aid. H thereby seemed to use our money as a wea on against our allies.

He told the Germans the defeat of Ad nauer by voters would be disastrous, there adding to the impression that the Unite States unblushingly interferes in the inte nal politics of other nations.

He suggested revision of our pro-Italia Trieste policy, thereby angering Italy with out appreciably pleasing Yugoslavia.

He canceled aid to Israel and then, after a visit from a Republican candidate for mayor of New York City, reinstated it, thereby appearing to tie United States policy to the needs of local politics.

He called the city of Goa a province, thereby siding with the Portuguese and colonialists and deeply angering India's 400 million proud people. By denying them union with their own people, he denied us their friendship.

He gave Egypt's General Naguib a silver pistol from President Eisenhower, the fatal symbolism of which could not be missed by every other nation in the world.

In Karachi he spoke of the need for building up local forces to resist aggression, thereby antagonizing India.

In New Delhi he guaranteed that India would find the United States on India's side if Pakistan attacked, thereby antagonizing Pakistan.

He led such a fantastic, zigzag course in the tragic Aswan Dam policy that he permitted Russia to walk through to the Suez Canal.

He invented the Baghdad Treaty presumably to frustrate Russian intervention. But instead of including Afghanistan, already allied with Iran, Iraq, and Turkey in the ineffective Saadabab Pact, we chose Pakistan. This irked India as well as Afghanistan, encouraging both to neutralism.

He allowed a situation to develop in the Egyptian crisis that caused Britain and France, our oldest and best friends, to act secretly and desperately.

He lined up with Communist Russia in the United Nations in condemning our oldest friends and demanding they withdraw their troops from Egypt to save a dictator's neck.

He did not, however, see fit to demand and insist that Russian troops withdraw from Hungary and be replaced by U. N. forces to conduct a free election.

He and President Eisenhower handed over the initiative of power threats to Moscow by telling Bulganin at the Geneva Big Four summit conference: "I believe Russia wants peace as sincerely as we do." This certificate of good conduct was beyond estimate of value to Moscow. At this conference, America and the Soviets reached a mutual recognition that atomic war was not to be a solution of our differences. Moscow, however, was prepared to risk the gamble of smaller wars, and we were not.

From Geneva in July until Geneva in October 1956, while we basked in bland phrases of coexistence, the Soviets took this certificate of good conduct and went to town. When the Big Four gathered in October, the Soviets had:

First, established diplomatic relations with West Germany so as to negotiate directly with Bonn instead of through Washington.

Second, launched a new so-called peace offensive to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Third, made an arms deal with Egypt.

Thus, at the second meeting, NATO was weaker, a Russian ambassador was on the Rhine and Russian technicians were on the Nile.

We could go on and on with this rollcall of bungling. But Americans—and unfortunately Russians too—are well aware of these failures. My friends, this is not policy. This is a course of stupidity—dynamic, massive, instant, and agonizing stupidity. In recent days we have witnessed the latest blunder.

Here, mind you, is what Mr. Dulles, this world figure, the symbol of American foreign policy, said recently:

"Not for 1 minute do I think the purpose of the State Department is to make friends. The purpose of the State Department is to look out for the interests of the United States. Whether we make friends, I do not care."

Is it any wonder that already the nations that do not like us are screaming these words around the world?

It is a good thing for Mr. Dulles' personal feelings that he does not care whether he makes friends. Because in the entire period since he has been Secretary of State he has not made one friend in all this world.

Joseph Alsop, writing from Paris the other day, said Mr. Dulles is now the most disliked man in Europe since Joseph Stalin.

I want to give this message to the other nations of the world tonight:

Mr. Dulles does not represent the attitude of the American people. We say this to our friends around the world. The people of America certainly do care about your friendship.

We Americans do not try to buy the friendship of people with money, with gifts, or loans. Such precious things of the spirit as friendship, are not commodities for sale, vended like loaves of bread in the market place.

The Book of Books teaches that of faith, hope, and charity, the greatest is charity. But the gift without the giver is bare and foreign aid without a true spirit of friendship is no aid at all.

We need friends and we want friends in all of the four corners of the earth. I believe that the future of the human race on this planet lies not in belligerency, not in combat, not in mutual misunderstanding and hatred, but in friendship between all peoples.

I think that we should cultivate friendship abroad with all the peoples who are friendly with us and with some who are not too friendly. Courtesy is its own reward and friendship begets friendship. Fair treatment may bring fair treatment in return, but a cold, heartless, unfriendly treatment is certain to breed resentment in any portion of the world.

As the Proverbs say, "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall."

The latest manifestation of the utter collapse of the Dulles' policy is Syria. The effects of this coup in Syria are tragic. The devilishly clever Communist policy of selling low-cost weapons to nations astride petroleum delivery routes—Egypt which controls cheap waterborne transit and Syria which controls overland pipelines—has completely outwitted Mr. Dulles.

Last Sunday, America received the word that the Communists have taken over the Syrian Army, which is the principal power in that Arab State.

It will be interesting to see how Life and the other Republican news magazines translate this crushing defeat into another smashing victory for Mr. Dulles' bold brand of diplomacy.

Syria's alliance with the Reds means the Communists now outflank Turkey and the Baghdad Pact.

Jordan is further endangered.

The oil supplies for the Western European defense are jeopardized.

The entire Middle East is in peril of falling to the Communists.

We Democrats have been gentle in our criticism of the foreign policy. Although we have been locked out of policy decisions by the Dulles refusal to reinstate bipartisan foreign policy, the Democrats have tried to cooperate where possible.

But with Syria's tragic fall, we have no choice but to call for the only reasonable step. America cannot afford to lose her friends across the world. America cannot afford the disintegration of NATO. America cannot afford loud but hollow bluffs followed by timid backdowns. America, my friends, cannot afford John Foster Dulles.

I demand, for the sake of the Nation and mankind, that Mr. Dulles resign.

We do not question, as the Republicans did, the loyalty or the desire for peace of a Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles is loyal but he is a bungler. He wants peace, but does not have a policy to achieve it. He is, in short, a tragic failure as Secretary of State.

We recall with sadness his empty and cynical campaign phrases. He would roll back the Iron Curtain. He would liberate the captive peoples. He would unleash Chiang Kai-shek; he would seize the initiative; he would agonizingly reappraise; he would instantly retaliate; he would have a dynamic, as opposed to static, policy.

The heroes of Hungary, crushed in blood, are mute testimony to the emptiness of Dulles' cynical, vote-getting boasts about liberating the captive peoples. Mr. Dulles insulted Israel and dissolved the grand alliance.

Mr. Dulles' timid, tiptoeing, retreating actions have proved the hollowness of every other slogan he has used.

The Communist menace is greater than ever today. The times call for greatness, not slogans.

We must get rid of this symbol of defeat, frustration, boastfulness, selfishness, and exasperation.

There stands here in New York Harbor the greatest beacon light to liberty in all this earth. The Statue of Liberty is a gift from the people of France to the people of the United States. We have fought four wars with the French people as our allies; our Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and both World Wars. Does this ancient friendship mean nothing? Does the comradeship of Lafayette and Washington mean nothing? Do the French fleet and two French armies at Yorktown mean nothing? Do all the American boys sleeping on French soil mean nothing? No, Mr. Dulles, your formula of the unimportance of friendship is not the American formula. It is repugnant to our way of life. We are a friendly, gregarious people, liking each other and other people, and wanting them to like us in return.

We are a people of action, not vainglorious, not a boastful, arrogant people. The one word that characterizes an American above any other single word is "friendliness." Mr. Dulles' declaration would destroy our national character. We are not a sullen, surly, angry, unfriendly people.

Let us, then, extend anew the hand of genuine friendship and affection to all our old friends and allies, and to all our new friends, too. Let us make friendship the keystone of our foreign policy, as it is now of our national character.

Mr. Dulles is out of step with America; he must step out. Under new leadership, we will make American good will our frontline of defense. We will so treat our neighbors as to cause all the free world to glow again with the old warmth; we will make American kindness and friendship the true mark of The New Democracy. In that faith let us face the future unafraid. With love and hope and friendship in our hearts, the future is America's.

Protect the FBI Files

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ALLEN SMITH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

PROTECT FBI FILES

With the decision of the Supreme Court in the Jencks case, law enforcement by the FBI has been seriously hampered.

It will be remembered that the Jencks decision involved the conviction of Clinton E. Jencks, New Mexico labor leader, for filing a false non-Communist oath. Its effect was that when a witness testifies regarding any material contained in FBI reports, these reports must be supplied to the defendant.

This means that FBI files could be thrown open at any and all times. This can bring about a dangerous situation and seriously hamper law enforcement.

As FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has pointed out, these files contain a medley of information. The file is filed as information is gathered. Some of the material is erroneous, some spite talk. When the information is evaluated, the immaterial is kept buried.

There is no question but that the Supreme Court interpreted existing laws regarding trial of cases in their true meaning.

Here's where Congress comes in. There is now a bill before the House introduced by Representative KENNETH KEATING, Republican, of New York, which has been approved by the Judiciary Committee. This bill would permit the judge in each case to determine what FBI information should be disclosed to the defendant in the interest of justice.

It is to be hoped that Congress will give this bill its close attention. Failure now to remedy the FBI's predicament could become serious, in both the protection of the people of this country and for the protectors.

Closing Days of the Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, a good many years ago the Government built a dam on the Little Kanawha River in West Virginia, which was equipped with locks for river navigation. The navigation came to an end and the dam deteriorated. The Government decided to abandon it, but the people of that area found that it raised their water level and sought to have it fixed up for water and recreation. The Army Engineers thought the dam could be cleaned out for $50,000 and the committee having the bill in charge favored the plan of the local people to make use of a dam that was already there, and recommended an appropriation of $112,000. The bill was debated here yesterday afternoon and the only opposition to it was that the time had arrived for the Government to economize. A heated debate continued until finally a motion was made to recommit it. The economy-minded Members made this motion, but the majority said "No." Looking around, I found these present economizers on $112,000 for local people to be the same Members who voted over $3 billion for foreign aid. This looked a trifle inconsistent to me, as it did to the others who saved the project.

You can see what Congress is busying itself with these days, waiting for a chance to take a final vote on the civil-rights bill. I do not know how long this seesaw battle on civil rights is going to keep on, but one thing certain is that I am not going to sit around here till Christmas, waiting for HOWARD SMITH, of Virginia, to call a meeting of the Rules Committee. The sentiment of the people is unsettled on the side of the workers for the bill, but there is not an unsettled condition among those who oppose it. Some of the proponents say that any bill would be better than no bill, while many of the Negro organizations want a bill with teeth in it, or no bill at all.

We are merely dangling on a string attached to the civil-rights bill. For example, today, Wednesday, there will be no voting—nothing in sight for tomorrow or Friday, and probably nothing before Monday. After Monday, it looks like another week of waiting, the same as this week. One of these days I am going to adjourn Congress as far as I am concerned, and beat it for home. I should have done that 2 weeks ago—but did not realize it was possible to waste the time of Congress for weeks, on political jockeying for the elections in 1958. Many bills are stuck in the Rules Committee, and they are important, but the committee refuses to act, or even meet, for fear that the civil-rights bill might be voted out on the floor. The Congress is supposed to be a deliberating body, but just now it appears to be a deliberate body, refusing to move either way on the civil-rights bill.

U. S. S. "Ranger" West Coast Home Port: Why Not Long Beach?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, hitting the nail on the head again, columnist Virginia Kelly has posed some cogent reasons why the U. S. S. *Ranger* should be home-ported at Long Beach, Calif. Destined for Pacific Fleet duty next summer following her shakedown, the giant new aircraft carrier will carry the flag in troubled spots in the Pacific area. Consideration of the advantages to her crew and their families should be given in selecting the ship's west-coast home port. In this regard, Long Beach should stand at the top of the selection list.

The Kelly column discussing the *Ranger* is as follows:

FLYING, LIVING CONDITIONS MAKE LONG BEACH LOGICAL PORT FOR DRYDOCKING "RANGER"

Although the Secretary of the Navy has announced that the new *Forrestal* class carrier, *Ranger*, will go to the Pacific Fleet in the summer of 1958, no announcement has been made as to her home port or which west-coast cities she will visit.

Some in Washington have assumed that the *Ranger* will go to San Francisco because of the drydocking there.

It may not be nationally known but Long Beach has as satisfactory dry-docking facilities for *Forrestal* class carriers as are now in existence on the west coast. Both Long Beach and San Francisco have drydocks that are 8 feet wider than the largest drydock in Bremerton. It should be emphasized that there are no west coast drydocks that could take the *Ranger* in a badly damaged condition.

Long Beach has better operational and flying conditions than San Francisco. Long Beach offers better living conditions to Navy families than San Francisco.

Many hope that Long Beach city officials will formally invite the *Ranger* to Long Beach and that the request will be carefully weighed by the Navy Secretary, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the commander in chief Pacific.

Trying to get information on the crucial drydocking situation, this reporter again experienced an interesting and amusing example of what is and is not classified. Terming the matter "sensitive," the Navy would give only minimal information.

Only a few days ago, however, the military construction hearings before the Sheppard subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee were made public. A meticulous reading gives much information:

For example, the two Bremerton drydocks capable of receiving the *Ranger* in undamaged condition would have only 1 foot inches clearance. The Long Beach and San Francisco drydocks are 8 feet wider.

Representative SHEPPARD, Democrat, of California, asked why the Navy proposes to spend $38 million for a new drydock in Bremerton instead of in San Francisco when many factors are considered including congested conditions and harbor entrance.

Capt. John Ailes (recently selected for rear admiral) replied that the CNO had decided that 2 new drydocks for the *Forrestal* class carriers on the west coast and 1 on the east coast were needed. First priority was given to Bremerton, said Captain Ailes, because "we thought we should fix up the worst one first."

H. Earl Cook, Chairman, FDIC, To Retire September 6

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, H. Earl Cook, Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, has announced that he is retiring at the end of his present term on September 6 of this year.

Mr. Cook brought to this position a lifetime of experience. Originally a banker in Bucyrus, Ohio, he was at one time president of the Ohio Bankers Association. He later served as superintendent of the Department of Banks of Ohio under governors of both political parties.

On April 10, 1947, he was appointed by President Truman to be a Director of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and on May 9, 1953, President Eisenhower designated him as Chairman of the Board.

This bipartisan demand for his services was, of course, a recognition of merit and ability. As Mr. Cook leaves his present position, I wish to pay tribute to the outstanding service he has contributed to his State and Nation. The Eighth Congressional District of Ohio, which I have the honor to represent, is justly proud of Earl Cook as one of its native sons who rose to national promi-

nence as a distinguished public servant. I know I speak for all of his many friends who wish him well.

Tomorrow's Airplanes and Your Airports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address entitled "Tomorrow's Airplanes and Your Airports," by Donald W. Douglas, president-board chairman, Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc., Santa Monica, Calif., before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Calif., July 12, 1957:

It is a rare privilege indeed for me to be invited to address so distinguished a group as the American Society of Newspaper Editors. There is the added opportunity, which I deeply appreciate, of being able to speak through you to millions of newspaper readers throughout America. For I know that if there is any merit or message in what I have to say today, my thoughts in due time will be transmitted to your readers. This may be accomplished directly in the news columns, in editorial comment or as background information which may help you determine editorial policy or news play. I have the greatest respect for the integrity of the American press and for its ability to maintain a free flow of information and opinion. Given this, the people can make their own decisions as to the proper course of action in any given situation. This applies to issues which may arise in the world of aviation just as it does to other spheres of our national interests and activity.

The press has been generous to aviation and deserves much of the credit for the tremendous progress we have made in the air since the early days of this century. I can think of only one dereliction and I bring it up today only by way of contrast. An event of considerable importance to aviation occurred one December day in 1903 on the bleak sands at Kitty Hawk in North Carolina. But for days after this event readers of most newspapers were oblivious of the fact that the long-sought goal of powered flight had been attained. Most editors either hadn't heard about it, didn't believe it, or failed to understand its significance. It is true that the residents of Dayton were at least informed by the local newspaper that the Wright boys were going to be home for Christmas after completing their experiments at Kitty Hawk. It has been recorded that one of the first scientific accounts of the flights appeared in a magazine called Gleanings in Bee Culture. Perhaps the Wright brothers could have used a public-relations man.

I mention this historic oversight only for emphasis. It probably is the last time on record that the American press ever failed to give a significant aviation event its just due. The diligent coverage and consistent support of the American press have made it aviation's most powerful champion. And now, in asking me to discuss "Tomorrow's Airplanes and Your Airports," you have demonstrated once again your awareness of the trends, accomplishments and problems in our industry. It is typical that you should want to be fully informed well ahead of time about developments which will profoundly affect the cities you serve.

Before we peer into the future at tomorrow's airplanes and airports, let us take a brief look at the status of commercial aviation as we have known it up until now. There is no need to hark back this time to the days of the Wright brothers. Air transportation as we know it today is a comparatively recent development, even though it is the direct outgrowth of pioneering effort by many people through many decades. In some of these efforts I have been privileged to play a part, and must necessarily draw upon some of my own experiences and those of my company in this discussion. Therefore, I hope you will be forebearing if from time to time the name of Douglas unavoidably pops up in my remarks. Perhaps you will be charitable and put it down not so much to vanity or salesmanship as to the fact that this happens to be the company with which I am best acquainted. Of course there is no escaping the fact—and being only human I am proud of it—that slightly more than 50 percent of all the aircraft operated by airlines throughout the world are Douglas-built. Our views and conclusions, therefore, have a broad basis of experience and information.

Our first significant entry into the transport field dates from August 2, 1932. Many aviation historians regard the events set in motion on that date as marking the real beginnings of practical air transportation. That was the day on which my friend Jack Frye, then vice-president in charge of operations for Transcontinental and Western Air, happened to write me a letter. He wanted to know if we would be interested in building a new type of airline transport for the newly developing transcontinental routes. We were interested and we did build one. It was the DC–1, first of the Douglas Commercial series.

This was followed immediately by the DC–2 and then the DC–3. Including military versions, we ultimately built more than 11,000 DC–3's. Thousands of them are still in service. Over the years people all over the world have told us that without question the DC–3 is the best known and most beloved of all airplanes. In giving our company the exceptional service award, the Air Force said the DC–3 ranks as "the best single airplane ever built."

The thing about all this that is pertinent to my talk today is the fact that the DC–3 largely shaped one of the three important periods of air transportation growth. Since the DC–3 at one time carried 90 percent of the world's passenger traffic, airline route patterns were developed between 1933 and 1941 to conform to the capabilities of this airplane. Traffic during this period expanded by a factor of 5—from 406 million to over 2 billion passenger-miles.

The next significant period came during the war. The 4-engined DC–4 made overwater flights a routine experience for thousands of operational crews and passengers. New routes were established everywhere because a new airplane made them feasible. This is a pattern that keeps recurring, and will do so in the future.

The third important period, from the end of the war to the present, was made possible by the manufacture of greatly improved, pressurized 300-mile-per-hour airplanes such as the DC–6 series and the Constellation. In the last 3½ years cruising speeds have been stepped up to 365 miles per hour in our DC–7 and DC–7C series of aircraft. These postwar land-based planes have enabled the airlines to establish a worldwide network of commercial trunk routes for efficient overland and overwater operations.

As a result, world air traffic has increased from 9½ billion passenger-miles in 1946 to more than 40 billion today. And the end is not yet in sight, as I shall tell you a little later. Before going further, however, let us examine some of the factors which have brought about this amazing growth in air travel. I think you will find that most of them are linked to the performance characteristics and other features of the airplanes themselves, together with ground facilities necessary to their operation. This is an extremely important point to keep in mind in the light of the revolution in airline equipment which the various types of jet aircraft will bring to pass in the next 2 or 3 years.

The advantage of speed, of course, is one of the most obvious reasons for the remarkable increase in travel by air. But it is far from being the only one. Economy is another important factor. Even though the value of the dollar today is a little less than half that of 1934, airline fare actually had declined from 5.9 cents per mile to 5.3 cents. If dollar values were equal, the fare today would be 2.6 cents per mile as compared to 5.9 in 1934.

Any of you who traveled by air before the war should be well aware of the advances in another aspect, that of comfort. Pressurized cabins now make it possible for you to fly at high altitudes where gust frequency, or bumpiness, is greatly reduced or completely eliminated. There is air conditioning, room to move around, and a reduction in the noise level, among numerous other refinements.

Reliability has been vastly improved. Now you can make appointments dependent upon arrival by air and expect to keep them. The old slogan, "If you've time to spare, go by air," no longer applies. Ranges have been extended greatly so that nonstop flights across both continents and oceans have become routine. Since introduction of the DC–7 in 1953, nonstop flights in either direction between the Pacific coast and New York have played their part in stepping up airline traffic. The DC–7C has performed the same function across the North Atlantic in providing nonstop service in both directions between New York and major cities of Europe beginning a little over a year ago. The Lockheed 1649–H, now going into service, also is capable of similar long-range overwater flights. A few weeks ago a DC–7C delivery flight carried a group of notables and extra crews from Long Beach, Calif., to Paris nonstop for a journey of more than 6,000 miles, arriving on a prearranged schedule in time for a preview of the "Spirit of St. Louis" motion picture in a Paris theater.

In addition to range, we have seen a great improvement in what we may call the factor of destination. Now the passenger can schedule a trip to any section of our country or to any country of the free world and plan to get there by air.

All of this has been accomplished in a little more than 20 years principally by a process of evolution in which reciprocating engines of the same basic type, with periodic improvements, have been used.

Now we are about to take the big leap into an entirely different type of propulsion. Let me point out one way to grasp the significance of the change to jet-propelled aircraft. In the 20-year period between the DC–3 and the DC–7, which I have been discussing, cruising speeds were gradually increased in the amount of about 200 miles per hour. The DC–8 jet transport, which will begin its test flights next year, in one step will accomplish the same speed gain which took us 20 years to achieve previously. It will cruise at 550 miles per hour and will be capable of top speeds approaching 600 miles per hour. Transcontinental trips will require 4½ hours. Gains in comfort and quietness fully comparable to the advances in speed also will be accomplished.

What effect then will jet aircraft have in generating new airline traffic? This obvious-

ly will be an important consideration in determining the requirements for future airport facilities. First of all, we must bear in mind that even during the balance of this decade, before the jets go into wide use, there will be substantial increases in passenger traffic. We anticipate that by 1960 air travel will increase from the present worldwide figure of somewhat more than 40 billion passenger-miles to a total of 60 billion. In 1970, after a decade of jet operation, world passenger traffic should increase to a total of at least 90 billion passenger-miles. We believe this estimate to be well on the conservative side since no attempt is made to project any increase in the rate of growth during this decade. Even so, what I am saying boils down to the fact that traffic will double at the very least in a little more than 10 years.

My discussion so far has dealt only with passenger traffic. I have pointed out how the new type powerplants have made possible the increased speed, dependability, and economy so essential to the growth of air travel. I also want to emphasize that these same engine developments, both turbojet and turboprop, offer great new opportunities in the field of commercial air cargo.

Turboprop airplanes now in existence as well as those which may easily be flying late next year can carry products never before dreamed to be within the capability of aircraft. They can do this at much greater speeds and at an actual saving of 40 percent in direct operating costs.

These airplanes can help us achieve the goal of freer and more expanded world trade which President Eisenhower recently advocated.

Flying freighters of this type promise to change our whole concept of domestic and international trade. They will be the means of establishing a new, more healthy business relationship with our friends all over the world. In this way we can help those countries which the President spoke of as "having a hard time making a living."

Furthermore, and in line with our subject today, these new aircraft will present no new problems where ground facilities are concerned.

In discussing airport facilities, we must remember that they are actually as much a part of this expanded passenger and cargo traffic which we anticipate as are the new airplanes themselves.

The interrelation of many factors in governing the progress of air travel has been well described by Lt. Gen. Joe Smith, who had much experience in this field as commander of the Military Air Transport Service. General Smith said this:

"In the satisfaction and enthusiasm of developing new and revolutionary aircraft, we all too often lose sight of one very major point. Air transportation depends upon more than just transport aircraft. Air transportation depends upon an integrated air transportation system composed of aircraft, personnel, airfields, weather forecasting, communicatons, navigation facilities, ground handling, air traffic control facilities, logistic support, maintenance standards and procedure, rules and regulations and, above all, good judgment. The whole system must develop and grow with the aircraft. The potentiality of an aircraft out of phase with the rest of the system is never fully realized."

Perhaps no one in our company ever expressed this thought quite as succinctly as General Smith but you can be sure that we have been aware of this interrelationship for many years. And I am sure we are not unique in the industry in that respect. In other words, airplanes are not designed by dreamers in ivory towers. At all times we must and do take into consideration the environment in which the aircraft must operate. The jet airplane must be capable of an orderly integration into existing airport facilities or those already in process of planning and development. I am convinced there has been an undue amount of concern about our readiness for the jet age. Continuing improvement of our airports is a matter of national policy which usually receives strong support at the community level, and which, in general, is proceeding very well. It is erroneous to say that we must initiate a crash program in order to beat some arbitrary deadline associated with the advent of jet aircraft. I think generally it is correct to say that the cities which are scheduled to have jet service initially will be ready when the time comes. Extension to other cities will come in a gradual and orderly manner.

If you think I am unduly optimistic about this, I would like to cite the recently expressed opinion of James T. Pyle, CAA Administrator, a man who is very much concerned with this matter. Speaking to the jet age airport conference of the American Society of Engineers, Mr. Pyle listed some of the more pressing problems facing the Civil Aeronautics Administration. He then said:

"Because I feel that we have a reasonably good national system of airports and have been enjoying the benefits of a program of Federal aid for many years, I would place airports as the final problem of the jet age."

It is significant that he listed the CAA's primary problems as those of meeting the existing and long-range needs of air traffic control. I think all of us in the industry, or associated with it, are conscious of the need for improvement in this area. Many of you have commented on it editorially in recent months. I am confident of our ability to solve this airspace problem, just as we have solved other technical problems in the past, but it must be attacked promptly and vigorously on a national and international scale. The publications you direct can and undoubtedly will do a good job on this.

In discussing airport requirements, I realize that you gentlemen would like for me to get down to specifics. You would like to take something back with you of a concrete nature which could be applied to your own community. There are so many variables involved, however, that no such blanket approach is possible. Each airport must be studied individually and appropriate action taken from the points of view of the airline operator, the airport management, and the traveling public.

A few general principles can be expressed, however, which might be of value to you. Runway lengths are a subject of frequent concern because of the cost of acquiring additional land, if, indeed, there is only available at all in many cities. It should be remembered in this connection that the most critical factor where long ranges are involved is the takeoff requirement because the airplane is heavily loaded with fuel at this point. The amount of fuel carried is determined by the length of the flight. This in turn is governed by the volume of traffic, which, in turn, depends upon population.

Therefore, nonstop transcontinental and intercontinental flights originate at major terminals, most of which already have adequate runways. Intermediate point airports, where flights of shorter lengths originate, also are presently equipped to handle DC–8's with the lighter fuel requirement.

In general, airports with 7,000- to 9,000-foot runways can expect to handle the DC–8 adequately. The higher limit of this bracket will be needed only in cities where the longest flights originate. These cities already have or soon will have runways of this length, or greater.

Extreme lengths, you may have heard mentioned, ranging up to 13,000 or 14,000 feet are required only where there is a combination of maximum range, high airport elevation and high temperature. No cities in the United States combine high elevation with high temperature such as we find in places like Johannesburg or Mexico City.

One point to keep in mind about the big jet transports, both the DC–8 and the Boeing, 707 is that they will be used initially only over routes that generate a large volume of traffic. The DC–8 for example, will carry anywhere from 118 to 179 persons depending on its seating arrangement. A high load factor will be sought to justify the large investment which each jet aircraft represents. This brings me to another phase of the airport situation.

Economic opeartion of the big jets will require that ground time be kept to a minimum. Therefore, there will be a definite need for improved aircraft servicing and passenger handling facilities at our major airports if maximum utilization of the airplanes is to be achieved. Some of these requirements can be met by the airline operators themselves. In other cases changes in fixed installations probably will be necessary. Some refinements can come later after the jets are in operation.

Studies conducted by the Douglas company indicate that a complete turn-around of the DC–8 can be accomplished in 30 minutes. This survey covered operational practices at several airports. It was followed by experimental tests in the airplane mockup constructed at our Santa Monica plant. The servicing operation has been expedited by the inclusion in our jet transport of 2 passenger doors, 2 buffet service doors, 4 cargo compartment doors and underwing pressure refueling. Fueling may be accomplished through 4 connections at the rate of 1,500 gallons per minute.

To provide all this simultaneous servicing, however, would require 19 pieces of mobile equipment, our survey showed. This has been a problem even with current aircraft. The cost of the equipment and the space it occupies are steadily mounting. Damage as the result of collision with such equipment has reached the sum of $1 million annually in the case of one airline. Obviously, extreme caution will be a necessity.

Some of this mobile equipment has been eliminated at new airports by such fixed installations as fueling hydrants, ground electrical power supply and air conditioning. A further major reduction can be made by providing a water supply, sewage lines for servicing lavatories and an air source for pneumatic power to start the jet engines.

Our studies show that new airport facilities could include one feature that I am sure passengers would welcome. The door at the forward end of the cabin in the new airplanes will make it possible to keep the passengers out of the weather if airport designers take advantage of this feature. A nose dock, which incidentally could be added to existing structures, will make it possible for passengers to walk directly into the terminal at door level, without passenger stairs. We believe unloading at the same level can be accomplished as quickly through 1 door as it can through 2 when stairs are required. Another welcome feature of such installations will be a conveyor which will carry luggage to the claim area before the passengers arrive there.

Taxiing in to the passenger ramp is simplified in the case of the DC–8 by having the aft wheels of the bogie landing gear castered. This means that in a 180° turn the wing tip will swing on a radius of about 90 feet. This is only a little more than the 81-foot requirement for the DC–7C.

Landing gear design also takes care of any possible problems associated with the weight of a fully loaded jet airplane, which will be twice as great as that of the largest current transports. In the case of the DC–8, there are four main wheels on each side and a dual nose wheel. The use of so many wheels has the effect of reducing runway bearing pressures per square inch to a level comparable to or less than those of present

aircraft. In other words, there need be no change in runway thickness requirements. At comparable range-weight values the DC-8 actually requires less runway strength than the DC-7C.

Some concern has been expressed that jet aircraft will not be able to take their place in the holding and landing traffic control patterns. Such fears are unfounded because in this respect, also, environment factors have been taken into consideration in the design of the airplane. The fuel capacity is such that the jets can join the parade of other aircraft. Despite the high cruising speeds of these airplanes, wing and flap design make it possible to reduce holding and landing speeds to conform to those of present-day aircraft.

Another feature of the jets is the use of thrust reverser installations. These will be used on jet aircraft to reduce landing roll but we have not included their effect in establishing runway requirements. This provides an added margin of safety. For example, with 40 percent reverse thrust on 4 engines and no braking, the DC-8 can be stopped in a 4,450-foot ground run at maximum landing weight of 190,500 pounds. This is at sea level and with zero wind conditions.

Any discussion of jet aircraft inevitably leads to the subject of external noise, which may well be the greatest problem we have to face. There are two types of noise associated with jet engines. One is the high-pitched whine of the compressor, coming from the nose of the engine, which is heard only in taxiing operations. The other is the roar of the exhaust, most noticeable during the takeoff run. One noise which happily is not associated with commercial jet aircraft is the roar of the afterburner used on military jets. I am convinced that most of the alarm in the public mind over jet aircraft noise is related to these military aircraft. Few people in this country have heard the sound of a commercial jet transport and no one, except those concerned with the development, has heard jet engines with sound-suppression devices.

When the jet aircraft go into operation, they very definitely will have sound suppressors. This problem of noise is being given high priority by Douglas and Boeing; the engine manufacturers, Pratt & Whitney and Rolls-Royce, and many other manufacturers and Government research agencies.

I can assure you substantial progress already has been made. Our test program, and those of others, have been advancing on schedule—and I am confident that the sound will be reduced to a level acceptable to the public by the time the jets go into operation.

In summary, I would like to say that the technical problems associated with the operation of jet aircraft, while not to be minimized, can and will be surmounted. Many of the fears that have been expressed are based on invalid assumptions, as I have tried to point out. The problems that do exist are being vigorously attacked by many companies and many agencies. I am sure that with faith and patience we shall achieve success in solving them.

Far overshadowing the problems, in my opinion, are the tremendous gains which the jet age of commercial aircraft will bring to the world. The swift movement of people throughout our country and to all parts of the globe are important in themselves. But this in fact is only a means toward an end. That end is a new era of international understanding and world peace, which may very well receive tremendous impetus from the increasing mobility we are about to experience and pass on to the world. At least those of us in the business of manufacturing aircraft can fervently hope that at long last the full potential of the airplane as an agency of peace and progress, instead of war and destruction will be realized.

The American press can play a deciding role in making this dream a reality.

Seminoles Adopt a Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, for some years the Seminole Indians of Florida have been at odds with the United States. Although relatively few in numbers, approximately 825, they have been separated into four groups; those living on each of the three reservations, Brighton, Big Cypress, and Dania, and those living along the Tamiami Trail west of Miami. Not only have they had troubles with the Federal Government but among themselves as well.

Within the past 3 years, however, positive steps have been taken by the Indians, the State of Florida, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to iron out their differences and to draft a constitution and organize a business corporation. At an election held on August 22, 1957, both proposals were passed by overwhelming majorities. It is interesting to note that as expected, the Tamiami Trail group, which has appealed directly to the President of the United States for recognition and threatened to take their case to the United Nations, boycotted the election.

I am pleased to report the outcome of the election and believe that the Seminole problem in Florida is on its way to solution.

I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following report on the Seminole election which appeared in the Washington Evening Star for August 22, 1957:

FLORIDA SEMINOLES VOTE THEIR OWN CONSTITUTION

DANIA, FLA., August 22.—Florida's reservation Seminoles have ordained and established a tribal constitution which will bring a new formality to their system of government.

Complete with preamble and couched in legal terminology, the constitution was approved, 223 to 5, yesterday. Most of the ballots were cast by reservation dwellers. Eligible to vote were 448 Indians.

The so-called Tamiami Trail Indians, the largest group of off-reservation Seminoles, boycotted the election. They recently won State approval for a constitution of their own.

Only 22 ballots—17 of them absentee votes which are yet to be counted—were cast by Indians living off the reservations. All five of those which were tabulated favored the constitution.

A separate vote, with only reservation Indians eligible to cast ballots, was held on the question of whether to set up a business corporation to represent the tribesmen. The plan was approved, 218 to 5. The corporation will be known as the Seminols Tribe of Florida, Inc.

Oldsters among the voters showed up at polling places garbed in the traditional Seminole costume made of hundreds of tiny pieces of brightly colored material painstakingly stitched together. The younger Indians wore ordinary attire.

The new constitution provides for election of an 8-member tribal council within 30 days. Council elections will be held every 2 years. Everyone who has reached 18 will be eligible to vote in future ballotings.

Yesterday's election was limited to those 21 and over.

Protect the Files of the FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I insert editorial comment from various papers all over the country endorsing legislation to protect the files of the FBI:

[From the New York Daily News of August 21, 1957]

MAKE IT A MUST

It is 6 weeks since the House Judiciary Committee O.K.'d the bill by Representative KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican, of New York, to reverse the Earl Warren Supreme Court's decision opening Federal Bureau of Investigation files to defendants in subversive and other criminal cases.

Since then, Congress has done nothing about the bill. Representative KEATING is shouting that the measure should be passed at this session—which is almost over.

We'll second Keating's motion that the bill, or something much like it, be made a must.

If Congress bypasses it, the Government will continue partially paralyzed in its fight against the criminal Communist conspiracy, and the FBI will find it more and more difficult to get possible informants to tell what they know about traitors.

You'd think the above-mentioned Boris Morros' revelations concerning big Russian spy networks in this country would alone be enough to spur Congress to act.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of June 5, 1957]

PROTECTION WITHDRAWN

While the Supreme Court's decision divorcing Du Pont and General Motors Monday gained the biggest headlines, the tribunal's ruling on the use of secret FBI reports may have a far more lasting—and more adverse—effect. The Court agreed, 7 to 1, that the defense may demand confidential FBI reports made by informers whom the Government uses as witnesses in criminal proceedings.

It presented the opinion in ordering a new trial for a labor leader convicted of filing a false non-Communist affidavit. The notorious turnabout witness, Harvey Matusow, was one of the FBI informers against the defendant.

The idea of informing is repugnant to a great many people who can see little reason for the Government affording protection to informers. However, informers are of great value to law enforcement, particularly in so delicate and complex a field as the battle against communism. The full revelation of the informer's methods in his secret reports, made public in criminal trials, would seriously weaken his value to the FBI. It appears inevitable that it also would make in-

forming too dangerous a practice to sustain, with the result that law enforcement officers would be deprived of a great deal of inside information previously available to them. Informers well might become reluctant witnesses, hence, hostile witnesses, instead of cooperators in Government prosecutions.

It is well not to take the implicit threat of reprisals against informers too lightly. The Government's case against the perpetrators of the attack which blinded Victor Riesel collapsed because prosecution witnesses refused to present their testimony, presumably through fear of the consequences to themselves.

[From the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star of June 5, 1957]

OPENING THE FBI FILES

Justice Clark says that the Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case means that "those intelligence agencies of our Government engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop for the Court has opened their files to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets."

This, perhaps, is an extreme view. It seems clear, however, that the Court has gone much further than it needed to go if its purpose was merely to insure justice for criminal defendants.

Jencks, an official of a left-wing union, was convicted of perjury in filing an affidavit that he was not a Communist. At the trial, the prosecution relied largely on the testimony of two FBI undercover agents, one of whom has since been discredited. These agents had submitted reports to the FBI, and the lawyers for Jencks asked the trial judge to examine the statements to determine whether there was any material conflict between them and the testimony given by the agents at the trial. The judge refused on the ground that there had been no showing of inconsistency.

The Supreme Court might have ruled that the trial judge should have examined the reports and, if material inconsistencies were found, permitted the defendant to use them in attempting to impeach the testimony of the agents. This would have protected the FBI files from indiscriminate disclosure and, at the same time, would have adequately safeguarded the right of the defendant to a fair trial, assuming that our trial judges are to be trusted.

But the Court went much further. Apparently reversing one of its own 1942 rulings, it held that the trial judge should have permitted the defendant to examine the documents in the FBI file and that then, and only then, could the judge determine whether any material in the documents could be used by the defense. In other words, this ruling opens the files to a criminal, or a Communist, even though there may be nothing in them that he can use in his own defense. We do not know what constructive purpose this serves. It could compromise the FBI files without serving the ends of justice in any way. Why not let the judge examine the documents in the first instance, and decide whether there is anything in them which the defense should be permitted to use? He will have to decide this in the end, anyway.

The best that can be said for this decision is that it is ambiguous. There is language in it which indicates that the ruling should be narrowly applied. And there is other language which indicates that it should be broadly applied. Its meaning needs to be clarified, and Congress should clarify it if the Court will not.

[From the Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette of June 10, 1957]

PROTECTING THE FBI FILES

In protecting the rights of the individual, perhaps its highest function, the United States Supreme Court has at times seemed to be leaning over backward. It unquestionably did so in ordering a retrial of Clinton E. Jencks, a former official of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, an outfit long ago expelled by organized labor as Communist-dominated. In fact, it toppled over and, in falling, may have done serious damage to the FBI, an organization that rightly stands at the very peak in popular esteem.

What the Court did was to strike down the long-established principle that the FBI files must always be held confidential and inviolate. It ruled that FBI secret documents related to the actual testimony of Government witnesses in the Jencks case should have been opened up for inspection by the defense. The prisoner's rights, the Justices affirmed, were infringed by the inability of his counsel to compare the Government's evidence with the witnesses' confidential reports to the FBI.

Under the time-honored practice tossed out by the Court, it was up to the trial judge to determine whether the public interest would be better served by letting a crime go unpunished than by the disclosure of state secrets and other confidential information in the Government files. Yet the whole structure of the FBI and its strength and stature in the eyes of the general public depended on its completely confidential character, and until the Court handed down its decision that view, so stoutly defended by J. Edgar Hoover, seemed to have acquired the status of an unwritten law. Now, unless Congress changes the Court's stand, as it has the constitutional power to do, the Government will have to permit defense inspection of its files, or "let the case go hang."

Supreme Court Justice Clark who, as a former United States Attorney General, understands the scrupulous care the FBI takes never to infringe the civil rights of any citizen, felt so strongly about this point that in his vigorously worded dissenting opinion he declared our "law-enforcement agencies may as well close up shop, for the Court's decision has opened their files to criminals and thus afforded them a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets."

Instead of closing up shop, however, the FBI and its congressional supporters lost no time in beginning a study "to see just how big a hole the Court had poked in the wall guarding the FBI files." Like them, we do not see where the public interest can possibly be served by hamstringing the FBI. Their purpose is to draft proposed amendments which would reverse the Court's opinion and restore the traditional safeguards around the investigators' confidential reports. Clearly Congress in this matter faces a major repair job, one that will close, permanently, that breach in the FBI's protective barrier.

[From the Washington (D. C.) Daily News of June 11, 1957]

PROTECT FBI FILES

The time is short, the issue vital, and therefore, it seems to us, Congress should move quickly to find out just how the United States Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case must be applied, or overruled by a new law.

This is the case in which the High Court appears to have ruled that under certain circumstances the Government's confidential FBI files shall be opened to persons charged with crime and to the public generally. The alternative apparently is for the Government to drop its prosecutions.

Protection of the confidential files of Government intelligence agencies is, in our view, basic.

Reports of confusion among Federal district attorneys about the effect of the decision are numerous.

Associate Justice Tom Clark of the Supreme Court said that the intelligence agencies of the Government might as well "close up shop" if the Court's decision stands. He said it would permit criminals to rummage through confidential information "as well as vital national secrets."

The trial judge in the case, Ewing Thomason of El Paso, has said the ruling is the "greatest comfort to guilty defendants in many a year. * * * I am in agreement with Justice Tom Clark."

The Justice Department is making a major study of the effects of the decision. But Congress should start its own inquiry with immediate hearings.

Congress should not await the Justice Department's findings.

Congress makes the laws.

In this case, it seems to us, it better make a law quick, or find convincing evidence that the Supreme Court's ruling is not as dangerous as Justice Clark says it is.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Dispatch of August 16, 1957]

HANDICAP FOR THE FBI

The Supreme Court's ruling on the right of a defendant in Federal cases to see certain confidential Government files had aroused a great deal of concern among United States prosecutors, FBI men, and others even before the arrest of Rudolf Abel, charged with directing Soviet espionage activities in this country. This development has made the Jencks case ruling an issue of even more pressing importance, with some observers openly speculating that the FBI may drop its spy charges against Abel if there is a risk of exposing its secret files.

Admittedly, there is still a great deal of confusion over how far the principle laid down in the case of Clinton E. Jencks (New Mexico labor leader charged with filing a false non-Communist affidavit) can be extended. In that instance, the high court specifically ruled that the FBI had to produce reports that formed the basis of Government witnesses' testimony.

The FBI, which has long considered it vital to keep such reports entirely secret, would, therefore, be required (according to some interpretations) to permit a good deal of indiscriminate exposure of sources and methods of operations. According to others, the opening of files would extend only to matters directly involving the right of the accused to defend himself. In either case, it seems likely that, rather than impair its operations, the FBI would be tempted to withhold prosecution or go to court under a handicap. And, of course, one of the great dangers is that defendants will exploit this reluctance by demanding files the FBI doesn't wish to release.

In the case of a man such as Colonel Abel of the Soviet intelligence service, it would be tragic indeed if he should be able to reduce the future effectiveness of the FBI or should escape punishment merely because of the possibility that he may demand critical secret reports.

This danger has led House Republican Leader MARTIN to demand that Congress do something to soften the impact of the Court ruling, before the lawmakers adjourn. One

of the most promising of the proposals for meeting the new problem is a bill to give judges the right to screen the raw files demanded by a defendant, thus preventing the disclosure of confidential information and FBI techniques. Certainly there is now a great deal of urgency n providing this or some similar shield for the agency charged with protecting the country against subversion.

The Santa Monica Sheltered Workshop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most difficult things in the world to whip is personal discouragement. The conflict is compounded when one suffers a physical handicap which militates against regular employment and takes from one the self-respect which flows from independence. It is a simple matter for one so afflicted to give up the struggle and become a willing victim of what appears to be the inevitability of life's unthinking forces. In such cases, the name of the depressed and unhappy human shows up on the rolls of those receiving public assistance in one form or another. All incentive is lost, as is all desire to seek and achieve the sense of well-being attaching to honest reward for honest labor.

Santa Monica is a booming California city. During the past decade, it has shared in the phenomenal growth which is adding a new permanent resident for California every 55 seconds. Together with its stories of growth, industrial progress, high employment, and general well-being, there were, and are, many good people who for one reason or another found themselves unable to keep the pace required by modern technology and the demands of business and industry. These were the handicapped—those in wheelchairs, in braces, missing one or more members, the blind, the halt. But, one thing they shared in common was the desire to be self-supporting. They wanted an opportunity to learn and to put their sound intelligences to constructive purposes. They desired deeply to work and to have the quality of their workmanship known and appreciated. Mostly, they had no skills, but in depriving these citizens of sight, or hearing, or a limb, nature had followed the immutable law of compensation. For everything taken from each, something new had been added. The blind developed a deftness of fingers and a keener hearing. The eyes of the deaf were as good, or better, than average. Twisted fingers could be made to perform a useful function, and wheelchairs proved no obstacle to perfect workmanship when the occupant brought determination to the job at hand.

And, out of a welter of disability was born the Santa Monica Sheltered Workshop. In spite of doubts, hardships, heartaches, and financial droughts, a few men and women of vision and determination embarked upon what has become a model operation in vocational rehabilitation. What started as a hesitant venture in 1951, has turned out to be, in 1957, a success in every way. Nor, has the success been limited to those who initiated the sheltered workshop, nor to those who have found a new life because of its activities.

The handicapped who comprise the working force of the workshop have demonstrated that physical drawbacks can be overcome. Those who ventured timidly through the office door of the original shack, stayed to gain not only knowledge, but comradeship, confidence, and a new spirit. They defeated not only their own problem, but became, in turn, part of the answer to those who have followed them. The pay check became a reality to many who could previously have hoped for nothing but a meager subsistence check, labeled "Department of Charities, County of Los Angeles."

Out of day-to-day association with others equally handicapped, came a new sense of belonging, a new spirit, a new challenge, and for many, a new life.

The contractors and subcontractors who utilize the skills of the Sheltered Workshop have saved on capital investments. Wrapping, mailing, shipping, addressing, and assembly of complex electronic devices in the shop have saved valuable plant floor space for more urgent needs. Taxes, labor turnover, supervision, have all benefited by the presence in the community of a work force willing and able to tackle any job, no matter how big or small, on an instant's notice. To this time, the Sheltered Workshop has performed work for a long list of industrial and business organizations, including Acme Press; Aircraft Valve Manufacturing Co.; Air Transport Manufacturing Co.; Albin Enterprises; American Sample Co.; Athearn, I. R. Co.; Bay Cities Engineering Co.; Betwill Co.; Boulevard Camera Shop; Braunson Electronics, Inc.; Burton, John Originals, Inc.; Carruthers & Fernandez, Inc.; Celco Corp.; Consolidated Precision Products; Dixon Ceramics; Douglas Aircraft Co.; Ed's Micro Service; Evans Supply Co.; Fisher, John Lumber Co.; Forrest Stationers; Frantz Industries; Ferro Cast Corp.; Heinley Mastercraft Products; Henshey Co.; Highland Engineering Co.; H M Chemical Co., Ltd.; Jellins Co.; J. W. Robinson Co.; Kaye & Miller Machine Co.; Lear, Inc.; Magna Books, Inc.; Masters Printing & Stationery Co.; Michael's Car Washer; Midway Stamping & Die Works; Mission Packing Co.; Monarch Die Casting Corp.; M R M Enamelers; North American Aviation, Inc.; North American Piston Co.; Pacific Business Forms; Pastorius, F. R. & Co.; Pacific Jewelry Manufacturing; Propulsion Research Corp.; R & E Engineering Co.; Reynolds Industries; Riker Laboratories, Inc.; Sanford Aircraft, Inc.; Santa Monica Products Co.; Santasox; Scott & Scott; Seeco Tool Co., Inc.; Semco Research, Inc.; Seward & Flood Printing Co.; Shamban Co.; Standard Paper Box Corp.; Statham Laboratories; Summers Gyroscope Co.; Swissomatic Products; Tapoo Hawes Originals; Transco Products, Inc.; United Products Manufacturing Co.; United States Plywood Corp.; Universal Tool Co.; Wefco Manufacturing Co.; Weaning Cup Corp.; and Wolfe, Franklin C. Co., Inc.

Santa Monica and southern California are justly proud of the Sheltered Workshop. It has become much more than an adventure in sociology and rehabilitation. It has become a demonstrated and living fact that where there is vision, understanding, and cooperation lives of the physically handicapped can be turned into lives of useful productivity, marked by self respect and ingenuity. Much of the credit for the success of the workshop must go to Mr. J. E. Anthony, the general manager, whose determination, initiative, and faith made a transient dream into a living reality. His dedication has changed the course of lives, previously marked by frustration and desolation. Today, the witnesses to his personal enthusiasm are those whose deft hands spin a portion of the gigantic web of American industry. Joe Anthony combined idealism with practical reality, and out of this cloth was cut the pattern for the Sheltered Workshop. Standing behind Mr. Anthony have been many of the farsighted citizens of the community who have brought to the undertaking technological knowledge, sound business management, and public relations and advertising skills. The Sheltered Workshop represents a classic refutation of human hopelessness, and it constitutes a challenge to all who would achieve an independence of mind and body. It is a program which could and should be expanded throughout the Nation to the end that many hundreds of thousands of handicapped citizens might achieve the measure of economic independence so necessary to the enjoyment of the blessings of citizenship in a free land.

It is a privilege, Mr. Speaker, to be able to pay tribute to the Santa Monica Bay Sheltered Workshop for the great job being done, and to pay a personal word of tribute to the handicapped who constitute the work force. I have visited the workshop, and look forward to doing so again within the very near future. I share the pride of the people I represent in this unique and worthwhile undertaking.

Battleship "Arizona" Memorial

SPEECH
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, every morning the American flag is raised over a rusting bit of metal in Pearl Harbor—the only visible remains of the U. S. S. *Arizona*, the famed battleship named for my State, sunk in the surprise attack which plunged our country into World War II.

The story of the Navy's daily tribute to the battleship and its brave crew which

died that day nearly 16 years ago is well known. To the Navy, the *Arizona* remains a commissioned ship of the fleet, with most of its crew—1,102 officers and men—still aboard.

Now the House has acted to authorize construction of a more permanent memorial to honor these men and the others who died in the Pacific war by passage of H. R. 5809, introduced by the Delegate from Hawaii [Mr. BURNS]. I believe he is to be commended for his efforts on this matter, and I was pleased to join him as a cosponsor.

Among the approximately 1,200 who perished aboard the *Arizona* were 7 from my own State. They were George Allan Bertie, Jr., and George Sanford Hollowell, of Phoenix; Louis Edward Cremeens, of Yuma; James William Horrocks, of Nogales; James Joseph Murphy, of Bisbee; Harvey Leroy Skeen, of Miami; and James Randolph Van Horn, of Tucson.

The words of Admiral Radford, spoken when the daily flag-raising ceremony was instituted, apply equally well, I think, to efforts to establish this memorial:

I am sure the *Arizona's* crew will know and appreciate what we are doing. May God make His face shine upon them and grant them peace.

Opening FBI Files

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I insert additional editorial comment pointing up the need for legislation to soften the effects of the Jencks decision: –

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin of June 5, 1957]

OPENING FBI FILES

In its defense of individual rights the Supreme Court has denied to the FBI the privilege of keeping secret all its reports from undercover agents. The Court does not compel the Government to open its files to inspection. But when these reports are made the basis of prosecution in court the defendant has a right to have a look at them.

In the case of Jencks, a labor leader was charged with falsely swearing he was not a Communist. He had to take a non-Communist oath under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley law. Two undercover agents of the FBI, Ford and Matusow, gave information that they knew Jencks was a Communist at the time he swore he was not.

The majority of the Supreme Court may have been influenced by the later confession of Matusow that he lied in a number of his undercover reports. At any rate, the Supreme Court decided that the defense had a right to check on the statements made by the agents or with the known facts.

The dissent of Justice Clark and the separate opinions of Justices Burton and Harlan show how difficult it is to draw a line which shall give protection to the defendant and not cripple the Government. The United States must defend itself against a Red conspiracy while preserving the tradition of justice to the individual.

[From the Albuquerque (N. Mex.) Journal of June 7, 1957]

BLOW TO ENFORCEMENT

Law enforcers are gravely concerned over the United States Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case which under certain circumstances opens FBI files in subversion and other criminal cases.

Congressmen and Government officials see the decision as resulting in a complete breakdown of our entire internal security. Legislation to prevent such FBI disclosures has been introduced.

Narcotics Commissioner Anslinger sadly declares the Supreme Court has struck a fatal body blow against the prosecution of dope peddlers. He said the sensational ruling will automatically dry up 85 percent of his sources in narcotics cases.

It's the tipster who gives the FBI much of its information in criminal and subversive cases. If the names of tipsters are to be made public the source of underground information will evaporate.

One official in the United States Justice Department said the decision would make a complete shambles of law enforcement in America.

If the High Court's ruling is as far reaching as all these officials claim, any remedial legislation should be rushed with all speed.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution of June 12, 1957]

COURT RULING SNARLS JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

Refusal by United States district attorney, James Dorsey, of Atlanta, to open his files to defense attorneys in two criminal cases this week brings home the effect of the recent United States Supreme Court ruling that the Federal Government must make such files available to defendants.

In both instances, cases against the defendants had to be dismissed.

Mr. Dorsey's reasons, of course, are understandable. His files on the cases were assembled from confidential sources and to reveal those sources as well as the information to anybody would be a violation of confidences. Making such files available would destroy the investigative machinery of the FBI and the Federal court system.

We cannot pass judgment upon the legal thinking through which the Supreme Court arrived at its decision. But it is quite obvious that its effect will be to snarl the course of justice—unless other measures are taken—for a long time to come.

In his dissenting opinion to the ruling, Justice Clark warned that it opened FBI files "to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets. It opens up a veritable Pandora's box of troubles."

FBI Director Hoover consistently has opposed opening his agency's "raw files." He expressed it as follows to a Senate subcommittee in 1950:

"FBI reports set forth all details secured from a witness. If these were disclosed, they could become subject to misrepresentation, they could be quoted out of context, or they could be used to thwart truth, distort half-truths, and misrepresent facts.

"The raw material, the allegations, the details of associations and compilation of information in FBI files must be considered as a whole. They are of value to an investigator in the discharge of his duty.

"These files were never intended to be used in any other manner and the public interest would not be served by the disclosure of their contents."

If the Court ruling stands, it is difficult to see how it will be possible to maintain internal security, combat enemy agents, or control interstate criminals and mobs.

District Attorney Dorsey's action may help precipitate moves to clear up this situation. Otherwise, Federal court procedures are headed for chaos.

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun of June 15, 1957]

REDS IN THE FILES

Comes now the Communist Party, using the United States Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case as the basis for a demand that it be permitted to rummage through FBI files.

That is exactly what Associate Justice Tom Clark warned against in his forthright dissent to the Court's majority opinion. He said that, if the ruling stands, Government intelligence agencies might as well close up shop.

The district judge who originally tried the case said the decision is the "greatest comfort to guilty defendants in many a year."

So, we repeat:

The Justice Department should move immediately to find a way out of this dilemma.

Congress should start immediately its own inquiry into the effect of the decision which apparently will force the Government to open up its secret files or drop prosecutions.

Congress—with Justice Department help, we hope—should make a law, and quick, to protect FBI files from the Reds.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of August 12, 1957]

THE MORAL OF THE ABEL CASE

The case of Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel points a moral for Congress and the American people.

This may well be one of the most important trials for alleged espionage that has ever come before an American court. Colonel Abel is charged with being a high officer in the Soviet secret police. If the charges are sustained, he would constitute a direct link between the Kremlin and spying within the United States.

But he comes before the bar at a time when the law concerning the relations between the investigative methods and material of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the presentation of Government cases in which the FBI is in any way involved is in a state of great confusion. The suggestion has even been made that the case might have to be dropped, in preference to the disclosure of the means whereby Colonel Abel was tracked down and such additional information as the court might call upon this FBI to disclose.

Matters may never come to this pass in this particular case. But they have done so in other Government prosecutions. At least six have been abandoned by the Justice Department since the Supreme Court ruling on the Jencks case on June 3; others have been dismissed by the courts because of the Government's reluctance to produce FBI reports and one FBI agent has been fined $1,000 for taking the same attitude.

It is fair to say that no one can predict with any accuracy precisely how a trial judge will interpret the majority opinion in the Jencks case. Some have continued to follow the old practice of studying the files in secret and allowing those distinctly relevant to the defense to be produced in court. Others have taken Justice Brennan's words, in the majority opinion, very literally: "The burden is the Government's, not to be shifted to the trial judge, to decide whether the public prejudice of allowing the crime to go unpunished is greater than that attendant upon the possible disclosure of state secrets and other confidential information in the Government's possession."

A broad interpretation of this phrase could lead, as Justice Clark predicted in his dissent, to "a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets."

In matters like the Abel case, concerning top-level espionage, such rummaging could be disastrous.

The Supreme Court states what the law is. Congress writes the law, and can only be overruled when in conflict with the Constitu-

tion. Congress, therefore, has the power and the obligation to clarify the law under which the FBI and the courts operate. Measures to do so have been drawn up and approved by the Judiciary Committees of both House and Senate.

Representative CELLER, Democrat and chairman of the House committee, requested the Rules Committee, nearly a month ago, to bring the bill to the floor. Now, however, with the whole question at crisis point, he has said: "I'm not withdrawing that request, but I'm not pushing it. I think it's well to delay in this matter, let the rust settle on Supreme Court decisions."

Fortunately, a number of his Republican colleagues do not propose to let the settling dust befog the Abel case. They are pressing for urgent action; Representative KEATING, the author of the House bill to allow judges to rule on the admissibility of FBI files, has said: "I can think of no legislation in Congress where the need is more urgent." Minority Leader JOSEPH MARTIN said: "The Democratic leadership determines what legislation we shall consider. They and they only, will be held responsible if this vital legislation is not passed."

[From the New Britain (Conn.) Herald of August 17, 1957]

PROTECTING FBI RECORDS

It is now believed that Congress will adjourn without doing anything about the bill to bar access to FBI private files.—James Marlow, AP's news analyst, voices the thought that the small amount of opposition to the bill will be enough to squelch action in the present session.

This would be a near-tragic thing. It would mean dozens of "live" cases must either be dropped by the Justice Department, or that lawyers for suspect Communists and all others involved in prosecution on the basis of FBI evidence, can pour over the FBI secret files.

The Supreme Court paved the way for this alternative choice through its now famous Jencks case ruling. Since the court ruled that a defendant must, under all circumstances, know the evidence of his accusers, the Government has had to drop at least half a dozen cases, rather than give access to FBI files.

Prosecution of the Russian spy, Col. Rudolf Abel, might hinge on whether Congress takes action on a new bill.

Indeed, the case involving John Franks, former New Britain athlete, could conceivably depend on what Congress does concerning this bill.

As difficult as it will be for Congress, with adjournment in sight, every effort should be made to seal up this immense loophole in our judicial system.

[From the Fall River (Mass.) Herald News of August 17, 1957]

CONGRESS DEMONSTRATES CONFIDENCE IN FBI CHIEF HOOVER

The prestige of J. Edgar Hoover is being demonstrated in dramatic fashion as Congress, on the verge of its rush toward adjournment, pauses to ram through a bill to "protect" files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation from exposure to Communists and other groups.

The already bright prospect for passage of the measure was enhanced considerably by speculation that the Government might prefer to drop its case against Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, alleged Soviet spy, rather than allow the defense to see relevant files. Speedy House passage was expected to follow Senate approval.

The problem of safeguarding FBI files has been aggravated by the Supreme Court seven-to-one decision in the Jencks case. The Court ruled, June 3, that Jencks, a labor union official convicted of falsely signing an affidavit that he was not a member of the Communist Party in 1950, was entitled to an order directing the Government to produce for inspection all reports touching on events and activities to which two paid Government witnesses had testified.

Because of the ruling, the Justice Department has said it has been forced to drop certain cases. In his annual report on July 28, Hoover said: "The very basis of our success is the FBI's assurance to this country's citizens that the information they give will be maintained in the strictest confidence in our files."

An administration bill to safeguard the FBI files was reported unanimously by the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 1. The House Judiciary Committee reported a stronger bill on July 5. The revised measure, as it neared Senate passage, required that disclosure of relevant files be made only "after a witness called by the United States has testified on direct examination."

Minority Leader JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., has predicted easy passage of the bill because of "strong bipartisan support of the FBI."

This is good news.

Governor Muñoz-Marín, of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, during last week several members of the House took occasion to mention the name of Gov. Muñoz-Marín, of Puerto Rico. In several of the comments it was suggested that Governor Muñoz might be playing fast and loose with Communist agents and revolutionary provocateurs in his official capacity. These comments appear to me to be most unfortunate and not at all in keeping with the actual record of achievement in Puerto Rico which must be credited, in large part, to Governor Muñoz.

Perhaps no Latin leader in the Western Hemisphere has demonstrated a greater understanding of the value of free enterprise and personal initiative than has the Governor of Puerto Rico. In an effort to raise the standard of living of the island's people, he has embarked upon a program marked with vision and determination. Incentives have been offered to investors, taxes have been waived or greatly reduced for foreign capital, and because of these things, new industries and businesses have sought out Puerto Rico as the site for new manufacturing and processing facilities.

Communism wants no part of the American system of free initiative, and no Communist could ever approve what Governor Muñoz is doing. Puerto Rico is literally the "show case for freedom of action" in the Caribbean area, and upon its progress the eyes of all Latin America are centered. What happens in Puerto Rico is not only of importance to its own residents, but to millions of United States citizens here on the mainland. Our own stake in the success of Governor Muñoz' program is no small one. If it succeeds it will demonstrate to reluctant Latin Republics that foreign investment is a good thing for all concerned. If it fails, it will only reinforce the nationalist premises that capital investment is a bad thing—per se.

Governor Muñoz is a political liberal—I am a political conservative. But he and I have a joint stake and a common birthright in human freedom. The gentleman from California is engaged in a day-to-day and face-to-face struggle with the forces of communism as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Governor of Puerto Rico is also waging the same fight on a different front, and with different techniques and tactics. His task is not an easy one, and it is made even more complex when charges of a loose nature are made on the floor of the Congress of the United States.

I have met with the Governor of Puerto Rico on many occasions, both at Forteleza and here in the United States. We have discussed programs and projects of mutual interest and concern. In company with the Governor I have visited housing projects, new factories, and have seen him among the people he governs discussing their problems with them in their homes and in their fields. I have disagreed frankly and, on occasion, vehemently, in friendly debate, but I can report that in no instance did I discern in Governor Muñoz any predilection to any form of government save that which encompasses and protects the people he has the honor to govern. To infer that this honorable and able administrator would betray the sacred trust that is his, or knowingly confer with the enemies of the United States, is to level a charge that cannot be borne out on the record.

I have never discussed the political makeup of other Latin Republics with Governor Muñoz, and I have no way of knowing in what quarter lie his sympathies in the present loud controversy over certain governments and personalities in the Western Hemisphere. But I will say that his administration of the high office he holds has been marked by judicial conduct and fair play.

If foreign policy amateurs will permit the conduct of foreign policy to be conducted in what appears to be the best interests of the United States and by men trained to the job we may expect to see continued improvement in political, economic, and social affairs throughout our hemisphere. By the same token, no good service is being rendered by those who sow the seeds of violence, misunderstanding, and bitterness.

Judy Letson of Bessemer, Ala., Named "Miss National Junior Achiever"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, practicing the motto, Learning by Do-

ing, high-school youngsters today are receiving practical business training through the nationwide junior achievement program. This worthwhile organization has as its objective to engender the characteristic American freedom, incentive and opportunity which private enterprise and private ownership offers.

It is with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I take this occasion to salute the outstanding young lady who has just been chosen Miss National Junior Achiever. She is Miss Judy Letson, a vivacious and energetic young citizen of my district. I am very happy to join with her townspeople in Bessemer and throughout Jefferson County, Ala., in paying tribute to Miss Letson on receiving this national honor.

She was winner of the county contest and in March she was chosen as Miss SOJAC at the southern junior achievers conference in New Orleans, La. Miss Letson is a member of the E-Pip-Su Co., a junior achievement project sponsored by the United States Pipe and Foundry Co. at Bessemer, Ala. Junior achievement work has already paid off for her, as it will some day for all its deserving participants.

Miss Letson has eagerly learned the fundamentals of business although she does not plan to be a businesswoman. She hopes to become an actress and with her brunette beauty she is bound to go far toward achieving her goal Last December she was queen merry Christmas at the annual Bessemer Christmas carnival and she will be head majorette this fall at Bessemer High School, where she is in her senior year. She is the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. J. W. Leston of Bessemer. Her father is superintendent of Bessemer schools. Her parents, I am sure, must be extremely proud of her, as all of us are.

Federal Grants to States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I wonder how many folks realize that Federal grants to States and Federal-aid payments to individuals total $56,237,000 in Nebraska and more than $5 billion for the Nation as a whole? Those amounts are for the fiscal year 1956.

I want to sound this warning: Federal grants-in-aid may be threatening the strength of the States.

Here is a statement from a prominent educator:

> If present trends in Federal-State relations continue for another quarter century, the States may be left hollow shells, operating primarily as the field districts of Federal departments and dependent upon the Federal Treasury for their support.

Then consider this statement by Senator KNOWLAND, of California:

> I have never seen the Federal Government contribute money without wanting to exercise control.

I wonder if you realize that since 1947 Federal aid to States has reached the amazing total of $35 billion.

Nebraska has received Federal funds in 65 of the 95 programs available to States and Territories. Last year many more new welfare programs were suggested by the President but got nowhere in Congress. They will be suggested again and again. Some of them may be adopted.

I believe it is time that we sat down and took stock. Where are we traveling?

I warn you we are on a course that leads to the main track of socialism and we had better do something about it.

I believe that most of you are acquainted with my philosophy. It is my firm conviction that the Federal Government should not do for the people what the people can do for themselves. I further believe that when there is a worthy and needed cause, that the Federal Government should step in and provide the funds.

In this group I would place irrigation and reclamation districts, power projects, flood control and other worthy units. Private money is usually not available to construct such projects and the Federal Government, in effect, loans the money. The Treasury gets that money back. That is not an expense. It is an investment in America.

Grants-in-aid projects are something else. They are direct grants from the Federal Treasury. They have no relation to reclamation and similar projects which are in an entirely different category.

Now I agree that many of the grants-in-aid programs we have in Nebraska are highly worthy. They are needed. Many of them do untold good and I am not speaking against them. We must keep most of them through either Federal or State funds.

What I am doing is urging you to take another look to see if these programs cannot be done better on the State and local level than on the Federal level.

The cause of my worry is the mounting billions of dollars which the Federal Government collects from the American taxpayer and then doles back to the States and communities in the form of aid. Too many States and too many people are running to the Government for help.

Now let us take a typical year for which I have some figures, July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954. Federal-tax collections including social security amounted to $411,706,000 in Nebraska. Federal payments back to Nebraska totaled $98,919,000. In other words, for every dollar that came back to Nebraska we paid for with $4.16.

Naturally, most of the tax goes for our defense and other operations of Government but we more than paid the Government for that $56 million we got back in grants.

Some people seem to have the idea that a grant from the Government is free money. My friends, there is no such thing as free money. The Federal Treasury gets its money from you—whether by taxes or borrowing. The taxpayer pays the bill.

It is only commonsense to assume that part of each dollar you send to Washington is lost along the way to, in, and from the Nation's capital. Administration costs money.

Now I pose this question: "Would it not be better to tax our people on the local level and administer our own programs than depend on the Federal Government when we know full well that it is going to cost more money if the money is routed through Washington?"

More taxes? Certainly not. If grants to the States can be reduced the Federal income tax can be reduced. Perhaps a rebate of 10 to 20 percent to the States would serve the purpose.

Now, I am not saying that the States should forthwith refuse Federal grants in aid. I am merely suggesting the time has come to think the matter over at greater length and determine which grants can be assumed by the States and which should remain in the province of the Federal Government.

As the years pass, more and more suggestions for Federal aid will be advanced. In this session we had to take up the issue of Federal aid to education through construction of schools. The bill was barely defeated or we would have been saddled with a new $2 billion idea. I voted against this bill because I do not believe the Federal Government should be building schools. That is in the province of the communities and the States. Schools should be built, maintained, and operated at the local level under State standards.

NEBRASKA GRANTS

Now let us examine some of the grants in aid programs in Nebraska—many of them laudable. Here are a few of them:

Agriculture experiment stations	$405,535
Cooperative agricultural extension	711,389
School lunch program	631,867
Special school milk program	303,088
Federal airport program	129,541
Roads	16,717,110

Then we have numerous other grants to States and communities—hospital construction, public assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, and many others that bring the total in this bracket to $34,742,311.

Then there are the Federal aid payments to individuals in health, training, awards, benefits to veterans and others for a subtotal of $21,495,580. The grant total, I repeat, is $56,237,891 for Nebraska.

Back in 1920 the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury carried 13 appropriation accounts from which payments were made for grants to or within States. In 1930 there were 25; in 1940 there were 44; in 1950 there were 36; last year there were 59 with grants in 95 fields, some closely allied, of course.

Through the years these programs have grown. It is a common statement on Capitol Hill that once a program starts, it is very difficult if not impossible to stop.

I hope you will always bear in mind this statement of former Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey: "The people must come to understand that any program, if financed by Washington, can

only be paid for by local tax money going to Washington, where some is used up for Washington overhead expense and what is left goes back to the local community which provided some or all of the money in the first place."

I repeat, there is no such thing as free money.

Now what are the principal dangers of Federal grants?

Let me repeat the words of Senator KNOWLAND, "I have never seen the Federal Government contribute money without wanting to exercise control."

It does tend to centralize control of State and local situations in Washington.

It fosters the growth of larger and larger bureaucracy and its attendant problems of bigness.

It stifles initiative at the State and local level.

Now I am not suggesting any immediate and overall cure. I am suggesting some intense study of the problem. I am suggesting we forgo further new programs until we get the problem settled. I am suggesting that we make a new evaluation.

I am not opposed to our present fine grants-in-aid programs in Nebraska. I am only asking if we are depending too much on the Federal Government, with a resultant expense that is higher in cost than if we did the job ourselves.

The governors' conference, of which Nebraska's Gov. Victor Anderson is a member, has brought up this subject. I trust it will be given diligent attention with a view to greater economy to the State and Nation.

Nebraska was molded by men and women who carved an empire out of the prairies, people of vision who wanted independence. We built a pay-as-you-go philosophy with no bonded indebtedness.

I believe the people of Nebraska today want that same independence, that they do not want to go too far down the path toward socialism.

[From 1956 Report of the Secretary of the Treasury]

PART A—GRANTS TO STATES AND LOCAL UNITS—NEBRASKA

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

1. Agricultural experiment stations, regular grants, $405,535.

2. Cooperative agricultural extension work, regular grants, $711,383.

3. School lunch program, regular grants, $631,867.

4. National forests fund, shared revenues, $11,413.

5. Submarginal land program, payment to counties, shared revenues, $4,482.

6. Cooperative projects in marketing, $5,465.

7. State and private forestry cooperation, etc., $1,304.

8. Commodity Credit Corporation, value of commodities donated, $359,669.

9. Special school milk program, $303,088.

10. Removal of surplus agricultural commodities, value of commodities distributed within States, $570,811.

11. Disaster loans, etc. (payments to assist States in furnishing hay in drought stricken areas), emergency grants, none.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION

12. Civil Aeronautics Administration—Federal airport porgram—regular grants, $129,541.

13. Bureau of Public Roads, highway construction—regular grants, $16,717,118.

14. Bureau of Public Roads, highway construction—emergency grants, none.

15. Maritime activities, State marine schools, regular grants, none.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

16. Army, lease of flood control lands, shared revenue, $35,466.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—OFFICE OF EDUCATION

17. Colleges for agriculture and mechanic arts, regular grants, $83,222.

18. Cooperative vocational education, regular grants, $379,037.

19. School construction and survey, emergency funds, $531,019.

20. Maintenance and operation of schools, emergency grants, $961,527.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

21. Venereal disease control, regular grants, $5,255.

22. Tuberculosis control, regular grants, $24,589.

23. General health assistance, regular grants, $95,588.

24. General health assistance (poliomyelitis), emergency funds, $26,760.

25. Mental health activities, regular grants, $22,233.

26. Cancer control, regular grants, $16,352.

27. Heart disease control, regular grants, $13,484.

28. Poliomyelitis vaccination program, emergency grants, $111,687.

29. Hospital construction and survey and planning, regular grants, $748,393.

30. Construction of community facilities, emergency grants, none.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION—GRANTS TO STATES FOR MATERNAL AND CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

31. Maternal and child health services, regular grants, $99,153.

32. Services for crippled children, regular grants, $130,614.

33. Child welfare services, regular grants, $51,200.

GRANTS TO STATES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

34. Old age assistance, regular grants, $6,813,864.

35. Aid to dependent children, regular grants, $1,980,960.

36. Aid to permanently and totally disabled, regular grants, $297,123.

37. Aid to the blind, $340,318.

38. American Printing House for the Blind, regular grants, $1,494.

39. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, regular grants, $284,378.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

40. Federal Aid, Wildlife Restoration, Fish and Wildlife Service, regular grants, $194,378.

41. Payments from receipts under Migratory Bird Conservation Act and Alaska game law, shared revenues, $33,308.

42. Payments from receipts under Mineral Leasing Act, shared revenues, $5,025.

43. Payments under certain special funds, shared revenues, $4,120.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

44. Unemployment Compensation and Employment Services Administration, regular grants, $1,117,431.

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION

45. Federal contributions, emergency grants, $35,100.

46. Disaster relief, emergency grants, none.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

47. Payments to States under Federal Power Act, shared revenues, none.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY—OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

48. Defense community facilities and services, emergency grants, none.

49. Urban renewal fund, regular grants, none.

50. Urban planning assistance, regular grants, none.

51. Disaster relief, emergency grants, none.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

52. Annual contributions, regular grants, $329,006.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

53. State and Territorial homes for disabled soldiers and sailors, regular grants, $77,046.

54. Supervision of on-the-job training, regular grants, $41,505.

55. Total grant payments, part A, $34,742,311.

PART B—FEDERAL AID PAYMENTS TO INDIVIDUALS, ETC., WITHIN THE STATES, OTHER THAN DIRECT GRANTS AND LOANS

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

56. Agricultural conservation program, $5,411,517.

57. Administration of Sugar Act program, $1,636,762.

58. Commodity Credit Corporation (value of dealers' certificates issued incident to supplying feed to farmers in drought-stricken areas), emergency, none.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

59. Bureau of Public Roads, forest highdays, none.

60. State marine schools (subsistence of cadets), none.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

61. Air Force, National Guard, $639,328.

62. Army, National Guard, $3,208,628.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

Research grants

63. National Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases Institute, none.

64. National Neurological Diseases and Blindness Institute, $36,346.

65. National Cancer Institute, $9,800.

66. National Institute of Dental Research, none.

67. National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Disease, $24,518.

68. National Heart Iistitute, $39,791.

69. National Institute of Mental Health, none.

70. Division of Research grants, $30,568.

Health, Education, and Welfare traineeship awards

71. National Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases Institute, none.

72. National Neurological Diseases and Blindness Institute, none.

73. National Cancer Institute, none.

74. National Heart Institute, none.

75. National Mental Health Institute, $36,800.

Training grants

76. National Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases Institute, none.

77. National Neurological Diseases and Blindness Institute, none.

78. National Cancer Institute, $47,496.

79. National Heart Institute, $50,000.

80. National Mental Health Institute, $66,509.

Field investigations

81. National Cancer Institute, none.

Fellowship awards

82. National Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases Institute, none.

83. National Neurological Diseases and Blindness Institute, none.

84. National Cancer Institute, $7,416.

85. National Dental Institute, $1,728.

86. National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, none.

87. National Heart Institute, $10,422.

88. National Mental Health Institute, none.

89. Division of Research grants, none.

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, HEW

90. Training and trusteeships, none.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

91. Unemployment compensation for veterans, $533,506.

92. Unemployment compensation for Federal employees, $393,845.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

93. Research grants awarded, $53,085.

94. Fellowship awards, $24,283.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

95. Automobiles, etc., for disabled veterans, $17,579.

96. Readjustment benefits (Public Law 346, June 22, 1944) and vocational rehabilitation (Public Law 16, March 24, 1943), $9,215,543.

Total payments within States (part B)	$21,495,580
Total grant payments (part A)	34,742,311
Grand total (parts A and B)	56,237,891

The Birmingham News' Ace Political Reporter, Hugh W. Sparrow, Honored for His Meritorious Service to Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the newspaper byline of Hugh W. Sparrow has been a familiar one indeed to the readers of the Birmingham (Ala.) News for approximately 35 years. Mr. Sparrow's byline has appeared over some of Alabama's biggest news stories, and he is today regarded as the dean of political reporters in my State.

Last week in Montgomery, where the Alabama Legislature is now in session, Mr. Sparrow was honored at a surprise luncheon. On hand were numerous State legislators, Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick, Attorney General John Patterson, Alabama Supreme Court Justice J. Ed Livingston, and many fellow newspapermen, including Mr. Charles A. Fell, editor in chief of the Birmingham News.

They all paid tribute to Mr. Sparrow's courageous and honest reporting and to his dedication to the cause of good government. He was presented a scroll and loving cup, and showered with congratulatory messages. It was a fitting tribute to a fearless reporter who has spent the major portion of his life safeguarding the public's interest. As the faithful watchdog of Alabama's governmental system, Mr. Sparrow has earned the respect and confidence of the people as few elected officials ever have.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert the following article on Mr. Sparrow's surprise luncheon as it appeared in the Birmingham News of August 21, 1957:

NEWS' POLITICAL ACE TAKES A BOW—CRUSADING HUGH SPARROW HONORED FOR MERITORIOUS WORK IN JOURNALISM

(By Trudy Cargile)

MONTGOMERY, ALA., August 21.—Tables turned on News Reporter Hugh Sparrow yesterday.

Our ace political writer who has long covered sessions of the legislature was the somewhat surprised recipient of a luncheon in his honor arranged by members of the present legislature and friends he has won through his long years of news coverage.

Some 60 persons, including representatives from every senatorial district in Alabama, several of the State's higher officers, and members of his own profession were on hand to pay tribute to Sparrow for his meritorious service to journalism.

Like every other member of his profession, said R. F. Hudson, Jr., publisher of the Montgomery Advertiser, Sparrow has worked with the knowledge that often even friends must be hurt with the truth in reporting the facts.

Even most of those politicians present, he added, had probably cursed Sparrow's name at times while cursing themselves for becoming the object of unpleasant publicity at his hands.

"But in behalf of all us 'lying newspapers,' we all salute an honest one," he concluded.

More long-stemmed roses of the thornless variety were in store for Sparrow when Senator Albert Boutwell, of Jefferson, drew attention to his work over the years.

It was Sparrow's accurate expose of prison conditions that led to the abolishing of the lash, Boutwell pointed out in mentioning some of the reporters more outstanding achievements in the news profession.

The grandson of a Presbyterian minister, Sparrow was born in Birmingham where his father, John Sparrow, was one of the founders of the Birmingham Ledger and the Sparrow Advertising Agency.

Sparrow joined his father in newspaper work after attending Howard College. He came to the Birmingham News in 1921 and has remained in Birmingham except for a brief interval when he worked in Louisville, Ky.

In Birmingham he worked as rewrite man, on special assignments and as a feature writer and as a reporter on courthouse, Federal court, and police beats.

In 1951, two Alabama newspapers nominated Sparrow for a Pulitzer Award after his exposes of prison conditions in this State. He won the Big Story Award for a television play, based on the murder of Jake Prescott.

Boutwell described Sparrow as a reporter loyal to the paper and the people.

A scroll, presented by Wallace D. Malone, former legislator and chairman of the board of directors of the First National Bank in Dothan, read:

"Mr. Sparrow, the undersigned know that we represent the views of many thousands of people in our State when we commend you as a news reporter, for your integrity, your everlasting perseverance, your objectivity and your outstanding courage in the pursuit of your profession. You have thus been a power for good government in Alabama. We place you in the front rank of newspapermen in our State who have similar characteristics."

The scroll further commended Sparrow for his "clean mind, temperate habits, and high character as a man."

It was signed by those present at the luncheon.

As an added token of appreciation and commendation, Malone presented a loving cup to Sparrow from his friends and admirers.

In addition to the large number of senators and former legislators present were Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick, Atty. Gen. John Patterson, and Alabama Supreme Court Justice J. Ed. Livingston.

Congratulatory messages in accord with the honor came from W. A. Malone, Athens; Frank P. Samford, Birmingham; Cecil Ward, Scottsboro; Alyce Billings Walker, Birmingham; R. H. Carr, Jasper; John Temple Graves, Birmingham; Hugh Morrow, Birmingham; Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones, Montgomery, and W. Cooper Green, Birmingham.

Destructive Forest Fires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, each year millions of dollars' worth of public property goes up in smoke as forest fires take their toll.

Last year another 6½ million acres of United States woodland were gutted by fire. Assuming the timber on each acre was worth $40, the out-of-pocket loss was some $264 million.

In Alaska, forest fires burn an average of 1 million acres of public domain each year. Here are two clippings from recent issues of an Alaskan newspaper telling of immensely destructive fires:

SMOKE CLOUDS STOP FAIRBANKS FLIGHTS

FAIRBANKS.—Thick clouds of smoke rolled into this central Alaska city by 25-mile-an-hour westerly winds, covered Fairbanks today and yesterday.

The smoke shut down all flights in and out of the city.

There was a ceiling of only 200 feet at the International Airport yesterday and visibility of only one-eighth of a mile at one time.

The Weather Bureau said smoke from the forest fires in the middle Yukon and Kuskokwin areas will continue with no relief until this afternoon.

Unless the wind changes, all flights will be canceled until then.

Juneau was on the fringe of the smoke haze traveling aloft on prevailing northwesterly winds this morning, the local Weather Bureau office reported.

Weather Bureau officials said the smoke haze was clearly visible from the Juneau Airport station in the clear skies of early morning hours. Its density permitted a direct look at the sun.

Airline pilots flying north from Ketchikan this morning reported the smoke haze clearly visible north from Juneau.

The Weather Bureau reports the smoke has traveled as far as Watson Lake, Yukon Territory, on the Alaska Highway route. It extends over the entire eastern half of interior Alaska and down the Alaska Highway. In the interior the smoke extends north to Bettles and Fort Yukon, west to Galena and Aniak and south to Anchorage and follows the coastal range to just north of Juneau.

FIRE NEAR GALENA BURNS OVER 1½ MILLION ACRES

ANCHORAGE.—A 1,600,000-acre fire has been discovered near Galena, Alaska, about 450 miles northwest of Anchorage.

The fire, 85 miles long and about 30 miles wide, was discovered last week when thick smoke shrouding the area had lifted.

The clearing weather also uncovered other fires. Largest of them is a 700,000-acre fire near the mining community of Flat, about 350 miles northwest of Anchorage.

Numerous other large fires in the Territory continue to burn unchecked.

Mr. Speaker, huge as it is, the cash value of the timber burned is only a minor part of the loss to forest fires.

These forests protect our watersheds when a shortage of water already limits the growth and development of many communities. When these forests go, so does the watershed. And a forest fire does incalculable damage to soil, mining, grazing, recreation, fish, and wildlife.

These fires bring forest management to a standstill. Overnight there must be a shift from a long-term plan of harvesting of mature timber to immediate salvage logging. This upsets economic balances all the way from nurseryman to logger to consumer.

Fires are largely responsible for the lack of reproduction on the 73 million acres of United States forest land now poorly stocked. Fires often create conditions which lead to a build-up of insect or disease epidemics. And often, worthless species of trees replace desirable ones following fire.

The senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], and I have introduced companion bills to expand the Forest Service's research program for prevention and control of these forest fires. We would authorize a comprehensive forest-fire-research program and establish three regional laboratories. Such an investment would result in more effective fire control with material savings in fire-fighting costs.

Firearms Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution of the Michigan United Conservation Clubs opposing the proposed Internal Revenue Service amendments and revisions to sections 177.50, 177.51, 177.52, 177.54, and 177.55 dealing with firearms.

As proposed, these regulations strike a blow at the constitutional right of law-abiding citizens to use and own firearms as well as at the right of reputable firearm dealers to sell firearms and ammunition to the law-abiding public free from harassment and bureaucratic redtape. The Michigan United Conservation Clubs, along with other sportsmen's organizations, in the resolution asserts its complete and unbending opposition to the proposed regulations.

I hope all Members of the House will make themselves familiar with the danger inherent in these sections and that they will take whatever steps they feel proper to help sportsmen and gun dealers to oppose them.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF MICHIGAN UNITED CONSERVATION CLUBS

Whereas the Internal Revenue Service proposes amendments and revisions on sections 177.50, identification of firearms; 177.51, firearms records; 177.52, ammunition records; 177.54, over-the-counter sales to individuals; 177.55, authority to examine records, etc.; and

Whereas the Internal Revenue Service will conduct a hearing on these proposals on August 27, 1957, in room 3313, Internal Revenue Building, Washington, D. C., where all who wish may be heard; and

Whereas we maintain that these proposals are contrary to the present reasonable use of firearms and that they are an invasion of our constitutional rights: Be it

Resolved, That the board of directors of Michigan United Conservation Clubs, assembled in regular official meeting on the 10th day of August 1957, representing approximately 60,000 members, and, by past repeated expressions and protest on similar proposed restrictions, do assume to represent the public interest and the thought of the public in Michigan on this subject, we emphatically protest any such amendments and strongly oppose same, and that copies of this action and expression by this board be airmailed to the Director of Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service; to our representatives in Washington looking after such—the National Wildlife Federation; to the National Rifle Association; to Michigan Senators; and all Michigan Members of Congress.

Unanimously approved.

HARRY R. GAINES,
Secretary-Manager.

Legislation for Blinded Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and other distinguished colleagues, last Thursday I introduced a bill that would provide a Federal grant of $500,000 annually to the Blinded Veterans Association, Inc. This outstanding organization, founded in Avon, Conn., at the end of World War II, has done and is doing a magnificent job of rehabilitating veterans who lost their eyesight while serving our Nation in the Armed Forces during World War II and during the Korean war.

The Blinded Veterans Association encourages and assists blinded veterans in taking special adjustment training at the Veterans' Administration Hospital at Hines, Ill.; it assists blinded veterans in finding employment and accepting vocational training; and encourages them to participate in community activities. These are only several of the important functions of this splendid organization that is helping blinded veterans to become economically self-sufficient and readjusted to our society.

Mr. Speaker, the Blinded Veterans Association has well demonstrated its effectiveness and I am convinced that with additional funds the organization could make even greater achievements in its good crusade to improve conditions for those who gave their eyesight for our Nation.

Therefore, I earnestly solicit the cooperation and wholehearted support of this entire body in passage of the measure that I introduced last Thursday that is designed ultimately to enhance the economic and solicial welfare of those who lost their eyesight while serving in the Armed Forces of this Nation.

The Late Dr. Joseph B. Cavallaro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, New York suffered a great loss on Thursday, August 22, 1957, with the untimely death of one of my most distinguished constituents.

Dr. Joseph B. Cavallaro was a long-time intimate friend of mine.

He typified everything that we mean when we talk of a good American. He was kind, generous, scholarly and intelligent. He was devoutly religious, with the utmost respect for all religion. He was a good lawyer and an excellent public servant. His fine patriotism is best evidenced by the full performance of his civic responsibilities. Every decent and worthwhile community endeavor found him among its sponsors.

The entire Brooklyn congressional delegation joins me in extending to his family our heartfelt sympathy.

The following article, which appeared in the New York Times of August 23, 1957, is an indication of the esteem in which we all held our dear departed friend:

JOSEPH B. CAVALLARO DIES AT 53—LED BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION—BROOKLYN LAWYER, PROMINENT CATHOLIC LAYMAN, FAVORED CURB ON RED TEACHERS

Joseph B. Cavallaro, chairman of the board of higher education, died of a cerebral hemorrhage yesterday at Queens General Hospital, Jamaica, after a month's illness. His age was 53. He resided at 2260 Benson Avenue, Brooklyn.

Mr. Cavallaro, a prominent Roman Catholic layman, was active for many years in Democratic Party affairs as well as in civic and charitable works. A practicing lawyer, he was appointed a member of the board of higher education in 1946 by former Mayor William O'Dwyer. In 1955 Mayor Wagner reappointed him for a second 9-year term.

An outspoken advocate of congressional investigations into communism in the schools, Mr. Cavallaro was elected in 1953 to a 1-year term as chairman of the board of higher education. He was reelected in each succeeding year, winning his fifth term last May 20.

The board, which consists of 21 nonsalaried members and 1 ex-officio member (the president of the board of education), is the governing body of the five city-owned colleges.

After his election by his fellow board members to his first term as chairman, Mr. Cavallaro praised the work of congressional committees that were investigating Communist activities and said that he favored strong measures in dealing with Communist teachers. He told an interviewer that he would welcome the assignment of an assistant corporation counsel to help the board investigate communism in the municipal colleges.

ISSUED REPORT ON REDS

Last June 16, Mr. Cavallaro issued a report on the board's 4-year investigation of Communist influence in the city colleges. Among his disclosures were that four faculty members had been discharged after departmental trials, 22 employees had resigned or retired as a result of the inquiry, and 14 others had been dismissed for refusing to answer questions.

Mr. Cavallaro, who in 1949 was appointed by Pope Pius XII as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, frequently spoke in favor of religion as part of a well-rounded education. Three years ago he told a Knights of Columbus communion breakfast:

"The American doctrine of the separation of church and state does not mean the separation of state and religion. If we are to plan wisely for the future, we must create in the minds of our youth a better understanding of what religion means and increase their contacts with it. We cannot hope to preserve our democratic tradition without the religious foundation upon which it rests."

Mr. Cavallaro was born in Brooklyn on November 27, 1903. He received a public school education and, after taking a prelaw course at City College, graduated in 1926 from Fordham University's Law School. The next year he received a master of arts degree in law at the Brooklyn Law School of St. Lawrence University In 1951, St. John's University conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

The board chairman was a member of the Brooklyn law firm of Wingate & Cullen, which he joined in 1922 as a law clerk.

At the close of the regular meeting of the board of estimate last night, Mayor Wagner announced that the board would adjourn in memory of Mr. Cavallaro. The mayor praised him and credited him for "our great college system."

The board of education, at its regular meeting in Brooklyn yesterday, observed a minute of silence in Mr. Cavallaro's memory.

On behalf of the board of higher education, Mrs. Ella S. Streator, chairman of its executive board, issued a statement in memory of its chairman. She said:

"It was with great gratification that he saw the opening of the Staten Island Community College in the fall of 1956 and the approval of the Bronx Community College to be opened a year from now. The establishment of the office of chancellor [of the city colleges] was something for which he had worked diligently since becoming chairman. We shall miss him as a friend, as a colleague, and as a devoted public servant."

Other tributes came from Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of City College; Dr. Charles H. Tuttle, senior member of the board of higher education in point of service and chairman of the administrative committee for City College, and John Cashmore, borough president of Brooklyn.

ACTIVE IN WORK FOR BLIND

Mr. Cavallaro took a deep interest in helping the sightless. He was a trustee of the industrial home for the blind in Brooklyn, and for 10 years was chairman of the Vincentian service to the blind for the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

A trustee of the St, Athanasius Roman Catholic Church, the Italian Board of Guardians and the Brooklyn Catholic Charities, Mr. Cavallaro was a member of the New York Brooklyn Bar Associations and the Brooklyn Red Cross and cancer committees. He had served as Brooklyn cochairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

He was a member of the United Regular Democratic Organization, 16th Assembly District, Kings County. In World War II he was appeal agent for local draft board 138.

Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Linda Parmegiani Cavallaro; a daughter, Mrs. Loretta Rusk; 4 sons, Joseph Jr., Richard, John, and Peter; 2 brothers, Anthony and Albert; 3 sisters, Mrs. Maria Cambria, Mrs. Nancy Brandi, and Mrs. Rose Maccario, and a grandson.

The American Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article by Attorney Charles S. Rhyne, president of the American Bar Association, entitled "The American Bar Association—Past, Present, and Future," that appeared in the August edition of the Federal Bar News.

The article follows:

THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

(By Charles S. Rhyne)

On August 21, 1878, a group of lawyers met in the pleasant resort environment of Saratoga Springs, N. Y., for the purpose of considering the feasibility and expediency of establishing an American Bar Association. The 100 or so persons who met at Saratoga Springs 80 years ago constituted the first annual meeting of an organization which has since become the authentic national voice of the American legal profession through representation in its house of delegates of State, local, and other associations of lawyers, including the Federal Bar Association.

PURPOSES OF FOUNDERS

At its founding the purposes of the American Bar Association were declared in its constitution to be: (1) to advance the science of jurisprudence; (2) to promote the administration of justice; (3) to promote uniformity of State legislation; (4) to uphold the honor of the profession; and (5) to encourage cordial intercourse among the members of the American bar. In 1936 a sixth objective was added: "to correlate the activities of the bar organizations of the respective States on a representative basis in the interest of the legal profession and of the public throughout the United States." The association's constitution has changed in several respects since 1878 in order to accommodate new developments and in order to recognize the growing emphasis upon service to the public. But it is still implicit in the association's organization and activities that it exists to serve the general purposes announced at its founding in 1878.

The directing and supervisory body of the American Bar Association is its house of delegates, founded in 1936. The house of delegates is much more, however, than the legislative and policymaking body of an organization. It is so constituted as to be entitled to speak for the entire legal profession in our country. There are 236 members of the house of delegates, and they come from 17 different classes of membership. The 107 delegates from State and local bar associations constitute by far the largest single unit in the house, larger even than the 58 State delegates, representing each of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. Other delegates represent ABA sections and other organizations of jurists and lawyers with specialized interests. The 236 members of the ABA's house of delegates represents mor than 200,000 American lawyers.

THREE PERIODS IN HISTORY

Historians of the ABA have customarily divided the association's history into three periods, the first of which began at Saratoga Springs in 1878 and ended 25 years later. The second era, from 1902 to 1936 was a period of growth marked by a tremendous increase in membership and activities. The third period began with the revision of the association's constitution and the establishment of the house of delegates in 1936; it was an era of federation and increasing coordination with State and local bar associations, and it produced the operating procedures and policies still in use.

FOURTH PERIOD—ERA OF PUBLIC SERVICE

The ABA is now in the fourth distinct period of its history. This is the era of public service which began in 1951 when the house of delegates adopted six long-range objectives for the legal profession: (1) The preservation of representative government in the United States through a program of public education and understanding of the privileges and responsibilities of American citizenship; (2) the promotion and establishment within the legal profession of organized facilities for the furnishing of legal services to all citizens at a cost within their means; (3) the improvement of the administration of justice through the selection of qualified judges and adherence to effective standards of judicial administration and administrative procedure; (4) the maintenance of high standards of legal education and professional conduct to the end that only those properly qualified so to do shall undertake to perform legal service; (5) the promotion of peace through the development of a system of international law consistent with the rights and liberties of American citizens under the Constitution of the United States; (6) the coordination and correlation of the activities of the entire organized bar of the United States.

The American Bar Association is today better equipped and organized than ever before to take effective action to further its objectives of public service. That gigantic undertaking known as the survey of the legal profession has been completed, and more than 175 separate reports have been issued covering all phases of our profession. The survey tells us what we have done and are doing and provides a basis for future action. A great new American bar center has been opened in Chicago to house a staff which can carry out the tremendous functions of the American Bar Association as now organized for service to the public and to the profession. An American Bar Research Foundation is now located there to do the research work which will give proper background and direction to effective work by the organized bar on its manifold programs. We have the American bar endowment to receive and channel funds for projects appropriate to the organized bar. The ABA's law-student program now includes more than 35,000 students from all parts of the United States. Most significant of all, the ABA now has the greatest membership in its history, 88,000. We hope the day is not far off when all of the 240,000 lawyers in the United States will be members of the ABA. That is our ultimate membership goal. Any lawyer who is a member in good standing of the bar of his State or Territory is eligible for ABA membership. There are no restrictions of race, color, or creed.

The American Bar Association is proud of its past contributions to the profession and to the public at large. It is proud, for example, to have formulated and promulgated the now universally recognized Canons of Legal Ethics, proud to have been the leader in the establishment and maint-

ance of high standards of legal education, roud of its part in the enactment of the ederal Administrative Procedure Act, and roud of the many things it has achieved in operation with other organizations includ- g the Federal Bar Association. But no mplete list of achievements will be at- mpted here; as they are well known to the embers of the Federal Bar Association. he ABA looks forward to even greater op- rtunities for service in the future and rnestly solicits the aid, ideas, cooperation, d membership of every member of the ederal Bar Association.

The American Bar Association has unched a tremendous program aimed at levating the status of the Government law- er. We are fighting for broad improve- ents in the entire legal service of the ederal Government. The organized legal rofession has been slow to recognize its ain duty in this field. But we now have ccepted that duty and intend to meet it by ghting for increased prestige for the Gov- rnment lawyer and for salaries commen- urate with the important duties he per- rms. We are also concerned about the ay discrimination against lawyers in the ilitary service, and we hope to persuade ongress to end it at an early date.

These efforts we are making to enhance he status and increase the pay of the lawyer n Government are not motivated by selfish otives—although such motives are quite gitimate. Our interest is broader, and xtends to the public at large. We believe hat one of the most vital interests of the ublic at large is to have a strong legal rofession in our country. We know that or the legal profession to continue to ful- ll its historic role as the protector of indi- idual rights it must jealously guard its ignity and prestige and—let us not be too odest to state it—be willing to insist that s members be rewarded financially as be- its their profession's important status in ur society. For I do strongly believe that n a strong legal profession lies the liberty f the people of the United States and in he liberty of the people of the United States es the hope of the world. In matters of iberty Government lawyers are on the firing ine more than any other group of our pro- essions. They must have prestige, stand- g, and capacity to do their job. This is he aim of the American Bar Association's rogram.

Statement of Congressman Harlan F. Hagen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I submit or consideration of the membership the tatement which I will deliver tomorrow t an Internal Revenue Service hearing evoted to proposed new Service regula- ions dealing with firearms and ammu- ition sales.

The statement follows:

TATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN HARLAN F. HAGEN CONCERNING PROPOSED REVISION OF INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE REGULATIONS DEALING WITH INTERSTATE TRAFFIC IN FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION

My name is HARLAN F. HAGEN. I am United tates Congressman from the 14th District f California. I wish to voice objections to ertain sections of the proposed revision of the Federal Firearms Act regulations which are the subject of this hearing.

Specifically, these sections are:

1. Section 177.50, identification of firearms,
2. Section 177.51, firearms records.
3. Section 177.52, ammunition records.
4. Section 177.54, over-the-counter sales to individuals.
5. Section 177.55, authority to examine records.

At the outset, let me say that I do not believe that the Congress intended a law designed to assist police authorities in the general recording of traffic in firearms to be twisted into an instrument to harass legitimate traffic and discourage the private ownership and use of firearms. The philosophy of the police state control evident in these proposed revisions of regulations is nowhere supported in the legislative history of the Federal Firearms Act, or the National Firearms Act; to the contrary, Congress has, through the establishment of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, consistently encouraged the private ownership and use of individual firearms and has appropriated millions of dollars toward this end over the last 40 years. I believe that it would be much more in keeping with the overall legislative intent of Congress if regulations were designed to encourage the lawful ownership of firearms rather than to place such extensive control upon their ownership and use as to discourage the average citizen from so doing.

With regard to specific objections to certain sections of the proposals, I wish to comment as follows:

SECTION 177.50, IDENTIFICATION OF FIREARMS

I believe that representatives of the domestic firearms industry and firearms importers have or will testify at this hearing that a large proportion, possibly as high as 30 percent, of firearms presently being manufactured do not carry serial numbers. This condition has existed ever since the manufacture of firearms began centuries ago, and even discounting, for the purpose of this discussion, those weapons which are obsolete or antiques, it is obvious that vast quantities of these firearms are presently in channels of trade or owned by individuals and have no serial numbers and which, if this regulation is adopted, could not be transported in interstate commerce. The intent of the Federal Firearms Act was to attach a penalty to the possession of a firearm from which the original manufacturer's serial number, when such existed, had been removed, altered, or obliterated, obviously for purpose of concealment of unsavory history pertaining to that individual weapon. Congress did not then and does not now intend that every firearm shall be serially numbered regardless of origin or condition.

SECTION 177.51, FIREARMS RECORDS

The proposal that dealers maintain permanent records is completely unrealistic from the standpoint of the taxpayer and the Government. Past regulations have required maintenance of regulations for 6 years, which is more than ample for any reasonable administration of the provisions of the Federal Firearms Act. Maintenance of records in perpetuity would result in enormous expense to serve no practical purpose.

SECTION 177.52, AMMUNITION RECORDS

This section proposes to record the sale of every round of pistol and revolver ammunition sold in the United States and would require evidence of the identity of the person to whom it is sold. The objectives to be aimed for the promulgation of such a regulation leave me completely mystified. Thousands upon thousands of small local hardware and general stores stock and sell such ammunition but only in intrastate trade. They are not subject to the provisions of the Federal Firearms Act and not required to be licensed; in addition, the Federal Government itself sells to members of rifle clubs and to rifle clubs, thousands of rounds of pistol ammunition from Government arsenals on which no record is kept as to the identity of the person finally receiving the ammunition.

SECTION 177.54, OVER-THE-COUNTER SALES TO INDIVIDUALS

This section is obviously designed with the philosophy of the police state in mind. It proposes to register the ownership of firearms, a concept that the Congress refused to incorporate in the National Firearms Act and in the Federal Firearms Act despite the urgings of the then Attorney General. This provision seeks to do by regulation what the Congress has refused to do by legislation.

Two further objections are: (1) That the law and the regulations are silent as to the fate of the millions of firearms presently owned, and (2) that it exceeds the interstate power of Congress because such transactions are wholly local in nature and if subject to regulation are subject to regulation by the State, not by the Federal Congress.

SECTION 177.55, AUTHORITY TO EXAMINE RECORDS

This section provides for the inspection of premises and stock, in addition to inspection of records. There is no objection to inspection of records at any reasonable time but inspection of premises and stock is another matter which should be done only under the authority of a search warrant issued for proper cause. There was and is no history of abuse by dealers or manufacturers which would make necessary such authority.

I hope that at the conclusion of these hearings the Internal Revenue Service will take under advisement the possibility of forming better contacts with the firearms industry and the public so that these pitfalls in proposed regulations may be avoided and the necessity for hearings such as these eliminated.

Speaking for myself, I have received a considerable volume of mail on this subject, and to my knowledge so have many other Members of Congress. I am confident this would have been avoided if those affected had been able to point out on an informal basis the expected difficulties.

There is nothing more provocative of spontaneous public wrath than interference with the constitutional right of our citizens to keep and bear arms. This reservoir of support for protection of a valuable right is not surprising.

An estimated 10 million persons in the United States keep and use firearms for peaceable purposes or for justified self-protection. In my State of California there are over a million hunters and fishermen. Most of them use and own firearms. It is estimated that persons engaged in wholesome target shooting alone spend over $800 million for that purpose.

It should be noted that in the face of this widespread usage of firearms by law-abiding citizens very few injuries are received therefrom. For example, in terms of per capita usage and injury, the automobile is a much more dangerous weapon.

Regulations such as those proposed seek their main justification in the desire to prevent and detect criminal use; however such regulations are quite ineffective for that purpose and have the disadvantage of burdening the rights of legitimate users and have their chief impact against such legitimate users. New York State has a rigorous law which, according to my understanding, bans the use of pistol-type weapons by all citizens. Yet New York has a high crime rate involving such weapons. On the other hand Switzerland requires every able-bodied citizen to own and maintain a firearm. Switzerland stands first among the nations in lack of incidents of crime. There may be other reasons entering into the comparative crime rates of New York State and Switzerland but this comparison certainly demon-

strates that there is no provable connection between the private ownership of firearms and the occurrence of crime.

I would respectfully request that the proposed new regulations be abandoned forthwith.

Minor Public Servants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial by Dr. Irving J. Sands, chairman of the Medical Society of the County of Kings and Academy of Medicine of Brooklyn. Dr. Sands' article appeared in the August 1957 issue of the Bulletin of the Medical Society, County of Kings:

MINOR PUBLIC SERVANTS

In discussing the position of medicine in England today one receives different comments and views from various people. Even doctors differ as to what actually has taken place in the practice of medicine. One physician said that while personally it was a catastrophe to him, the socialization of medicine in England is likened to the Magna Carta, the greatest thing that has happened to the English people.

On the other hand other doctors have described socialized medicine in most disparaging terms. Doctors may be transferred from one location to another by a bureaucrat attached to a special branch of the government dealing with the practice of medicine. Several doctors have complained that they see from 60 to 70 patients a day and naturally one can hardly expect efficient medical service given to any of these patients. As you walk through the wards and rooms of most hospitals the interns and residents are foreigners rather than native English because the average young Englishman does not wish to practice medicine in England. Many younger doctors openly express a hope to emigrate someday to Canada, Australia, or preferably to the United States, or to any other place where they may practice medicine according to the old principles of free and independent men guided by ethical principles and inspired by their love of fellow beings. Most of the doctors with whom I spoke in England complained that there has been a definite decline in the enthusiasm for the practice of medicine and a diminution in their personal initiative. As one doctor aptly describes his practice of medicine, "Well, I just have a job to do and I do it to the best of my ability." They all agreed that the English medical profession was not prepared for socialized medicine and when the late Mr. Bevan put it over, it was without consultation with the duly-elected representatives of the medical profession. Now doctors are regarded as minor public servants. The type of medicine practiced in England is something which cannot be described in a few words but there is a great difference in the quality of medical practice of today and of 25 years ago.

Of course there are a few doctors in England who are quite enthusiastic about socialized medicine. However, as described by one Englishman, these are the men who could have hardly achieved any success in private practice but now have an assured income, a vacation with pay, and a pension and who never had it so good. Of course there are a few doctors who are impractical idealists and who for some reason or another believe in socialism and socialization.

We who are privileged to practice our profession as free men, unhampered by bureaucratic restrictions, unlimited in our opportunities to advance the frontiers of medicine and to practice scientific and ethical medicine should not ignore history. We should learn and take a lesson from what has happened to our colleagues even in a freedom-loving country as England. We must not take things for granted in that nothing will interfere with our methods of pursuing our professional calling for there are many sinister influences working against the welfare of doctors and against the best medical practices. There are many groups who would socialize our profession and who would be very happy to reduce the position of medical men to minor public servants. There are many who regard medical practice as a mere commodity to be sold for a profit to the lowest bidder. They are not interested in medicine, in doctors, or in sick people. They are only interested in gaining power and votes. They look upon doctors as easy marks who can be forced to accept anything that powerful people may impose upon them. Some of them call the medical profession a trust and in the next breath they laugh at the lack of unity and organization of doctors.

Our strength is in direct proportion to the interest shown by individual members in their local, State, and national medical societies. We are primarily entitled to elect our own leadership by secret ballot. Every man not only has the privilege but an obligation to vote. It is extremely discouraging when a medical society of 3,450 members must hide the fact that only 152 members came out to vote in the last county medical society election. Why such a small number? What keeps so many away from the polls? It would be well if we could get a frank expression from the members regarding this situation and not such comments as "who cares?" There is danger ahead for all of us. Our smug complacency is slowly but surely leading to the strangulation of free medical practice and if this is permitted to continue, we shall soon join our British colleagues in being just minor public servants.

More Taxes for a Free Seaway?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, when Ferdinand de Lesseps undertook to build a canal in Panama, disease among the workers was one of the principal reasons for the project's failure. From this experience, the Commission appointed by the United States to dig a ditch across the isthmus some time later spent the first 3 years in disease control, surveys, and development of construction facilities. The eradication of malaria and yellow fever was a notable achievement, for without it that link between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans could not possibly have become a reality so soon.

Like de Lesseps, the supporters of the St. Lawrence seaway were permitted to undertake construction without first resolving the practical problems submerged under reams of theories. There were obvious signs of economic reefs in the St. Lawrence project, yet the myopia which has become so common on Capitol Hill, as well as in the downtown region of Washington, resulted in almost complete disregard of these warnings. More than anything else, however, spending fever was the factor eventually responsible for equipping the St. Lawrence expedition with the necessary funds to set out on its fogbound mission.

When I hear the latest stories of the fiscal difficulties of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, I cannot help but think of a little pamphlet that was distributed to Members of Congress shortly before the seaway bill was passed in 1954. In listing reasons why there could be no justification for spending tax money to build the seaway, the pamphlet presented a series of questions and answers, two of which went something like this:

Question: What is the estimated original cost of the seaway?

Answer: One hundred and five million dollars.

Question: How much more would subsequent harbor improvements and channeling cost?

Answer: Hundreds of millions of dollars more of Americans tax money would have to be appropriated in an attempt to justify the initial expenditure.

It was slightly more than 2 years after the $105 million was made available that the misgivings of us who opposed the project began to be echoed by the enthusiasts—except that by this time so much money had already been invested that it appeared safe to begin the cry for additional funds. Now the latest intelligence from the vicinity of the dredging operations is that costs are going to run some 30 percent higher than originally estimated. The seaway people are again looking to Washington for financial assistance.

I have looked into the St. Lawrence file, and I have come up with testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by Mr. F. F. Estes, who identified himself as traffic manager of the National Coal Association, when he testified in February 1952. Here is an excerpt from that statement:

There are those who will say, "But this will not cost us anything; it will pay for itself through the collection of tolls." That is a very pretty statement but certainly no one is so naive as to believe it. Government projects just don't turn out that way.

What Mr. Estes said 5 years ago will soon be confirmed if those he was criticizing at the time have anything to say about it now. As explained by the Philadelphia Inquirer editorial of Sunday, August 11, which I wish to insert in the RECORD, there is a move afoot to dispense with tolls althogether and turn over to Uncle Sam all the bills, notes, and expenses that we were told would be liquidated by the Seaway Corp.

The Inquirer points out that Delaware Valley would, under this move, be required to pay taxes for a project to deprive that area of Pennsylvania of trade and business that it should logically have. I remind the Congress that railroads leading from Delaware Valley will also suffer serious business losses if and when the St. Lawrence project is com-

pleted. Another victim of this tax-supported venture will be the coal industry, not only through loss of utility markets that will come with the power generating phases of the St. Lawrence project, but also from an influx of foreign residual oil that tankers will move down the St. Lawrence and into Great Lakes ports.

Mr. Speaker, although I vigorously opposed the St. Lawrence project on the ground that the United States Government could not afford to underwrite it, and for assorted other reasons which seemed to make the proposed seaway impractical, I no longer resisted it once authorization became law.

If there's another world, he lives in bliss;
If there is none, he made the best of this.

Following this suggestion of Robert Burns, I strongly favor making the best of the St. Lawrence facilities when they are completed. Western Pennsylvania should utilize to the fullest whatever advantage the seaway may offer. Railroads will carry vast tonnages of freight to and from the docks along Lake Erie. Meanwhile highways need to be constructed from Erie south into industrial and marketing centers of western Pennsylvania, as well as eastward across the mountains. There will unquestionably be great volumes of new business generated through the opening of the seaway.

Nevertheless, the Government's investment of $105 million in the seaway is not an incontrovertible reason for us to go ahead with the project at any cost. I do not contend that further appropriations would necessarily mean sending good money after bad, but I do believe that Congress is going to have to give a long look at this matter before another dollar is made available. If, as the New Jersey Taxpayers Association and the Philadelphia Inquirer fear, revenue for the seaway is expected to come from Washington instead of from shippers, then we should begin asking questions.

Before investing any more of the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars into this venture, Congress must reappraise the whole project. We need to find out why sponsors said that it could be done with the money appropriated in 1954. Despite our admonition against undertaking a job that seems certain to be more expensive than advertised, supporters of the St. Lawrence insisted that the $105 million which Congress appropriated would be sufficient to launch it onto a self-sustaining and prosperous career. We need to know how those people could be so wrong. If the St. Lawrence Development Corporation is dependent upon this type of advice for its future programing, this information must be available. Congress, by authorizing construction, opened another socialistic business. The architect and builder have already admitted their miscalculations. Now the operator, even before the store is finished, has decided that it can never be a paying proposition. Perhaps a new proprietor would help matters. In any case, the people who are putting up the wherewithal for the building should at least find out how much further into their pockets they will be expected to go in the years ahead.

The Philadelphia Inquirer editorial follows:

MORE TAXES—FOR A FREE SEAWAY?

It looks as if one more chunk out of the wage earner's pay envelope is to be taken—this time to foot the bill for running the St. Lawrence seaway.

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association sounds a strong warning that a movement is underway to shift the cost of building and maintaining the seaway from the shippers who will use it, to the Nation's taxpayers generally.

This issue will come to the fore on September 9, in Washington, when a hearing will be held on fixing seaway tolls. When the seaway was first authorized its backers were eager for a bill which stipulated that tolls should be levied high enough to make the seaway pay for itself. Now they have changed their mind.

As the Inquirer predicted from the start, the cost of building the seaway has turned out to be much higher than originally expected (not including the extra costs of deepening shipping channels in the Great Lakes). Seaway backers now fear that the higher costs will necessitate higher tolls, and that some shippers may balk at paying them.

So, says the Detroit News, "the best case is for toll-free operation." The Cleveland Plain Dealer says "if this means a partial Government subsidy, what of it? There might also be a moratorium on tolls for the first few years." It brushes aside any so-called moral obligation to make the seaway self-liquidating. Dr. N. R. Danellian, president of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, which promoted the seaway, admits it will not pay for itself, and will have to be operated with a deficit. And Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK, of Minnesota, says he has been against charging tolls from the very beginning.

So it goes. Any promise was good enough to get Uncle Sam so deep in the seaway he couldn't pull out. But now one forecast after another collapses in the face of reality. The original cost was a mythical figure. The original promise that the seaway would pay its way is now just something to be scrapped.

All this is of direct interest to citizens of Delaware Valley, United States of America. For they now stand not only to see their river traffic diverted to a socialistic enterprise, the seaway; they also stand to be taxed to keep that enterprise going.

In other words, it is proposed to tax Delaware Valley for a project which is aimed to take away its trade. That's pretty hard to beat.

How Big Is the Columbia River?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent article appearing in the Pacific Northwest Public Power Bulletin gives some indication of why we who represent the Pacific Northwest are enthusiastic over the potentialities for future development of the Columbia River and its tributaries. The author of this excellent article, Mr. Gus Norwood, is one of the foremost authorities on power development in the Nation. He is to be commended, not only for this fine article, but also for the highly important work which he and the organization he serves as executive vice president has carried on for many years.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend this article to my colleague and ask that it be printed in the RECORD:

HOW BIG IS THE COLUMBIA RIVER?

(Summary of talk before engineering and operations section of Northwest Public Power Association, Wenatchee, May 10)

The greatest challenge facing Pacific Northwest engineers is how to make the best and fullest use of our rivers.

The prophets of gloom and doom are saying we are already half done on the Columbia. Others are asking, "With atomic energy just around the corner, couldn't we keep the tributaries of the Columbia River as primitive areas?"

How big is the Columbia? What is the river worth?

My purpose tonight is to suggest that the Columbia River is worth a lot more than we have thus far been led to believe. Possibly not in our lifetime but someday the Columbia may have 50 million kilowatts of installed capacity.

RIVER OF THREE DIMENSIONS

It may be helpful to think of the Columbia River as a cube which is expanding in all three dimensions as we improve our concepts and techniques of river-basin development.

The three dimensions or factors which concern us are firstly, the amount of power, secondly, the value of power, and thirdly, the financial feasibility. As these three dimensions expand, the cube will grow and thereby we and our children will benefit through the best and fullest development of the Columbia River.

FINANCIAL FEASIBILITY

Many a beautifully bound project report for a hydroelectric dam is gathering dust on a bookshelf because it could not meet an unreasonable feasibility test.

One such test which will affect the long-range development of the Columbia is the artificial and unrealistic assumption that the useful service life of a dam is only 50 years. This well-known ground rule has gone unchallenged until recently.

However, when the Army began to review the 308 report last fall there was included a study of a combination hydrothermal system. It was furthermore assumed that the useful service life of steam plants would be 35 years and the life of dams would be 50 years. The Northwest Public Power Association protested and urged 150 years for service life of dams.

The benefit-cost ratio of most dams doubles when 150-year service life is used, and in the case of flood-control projects may even triple. The effect of the longer life assumption will be to bring into the range of feasibility many otherwise marginal projects. Also in determining optimum dam height as at Hungry Horse Dam, the longer service life would permit the greater height or the larger reservoir.

China has a 4,000-year-old dam. Peru has one 2,000 years old. Hydraulics manuals often give 500 years or indefinite life for dams. TVA uses 100 years for depreciation purposes. Bulletin "F" of the Bureau of Internal Revenue permits 150-year service life for dams, waterways, and reservoirs. Recently the Bureau of Reclamation adopted a 150-year depreciation period for Hungry Horse Dam. As our experience with dams grows, undoubtedly the 150-year period will win acceptance.

In studying the question of how big is the Columbia River, we will find that using the 150-year service life greatly expands our range of financial feasibility. This dimension of our cube will double.

THE VALUE OF PEAKING POWER

The cube's second dimension involves the value of the kilowatt-hour. As a rough rule, if dump power is 2 mills per kilowatt-hour, then firm power is worth 4 mills and peaking 8 mills.

The same kilowatt-hour which in a young hydro system sold as dump power, may at a later stage of development, perhaps due to upstream storage, be sold as firm. Then as atomic plants come in to carry the base load, the hydro kilowatt-hour graduates to the status of valuable peaking power.

When TVA steam plants operate at over 98 percent load factor, the hydrosystem serves to carry the peaks. Hoover Dam and many others illustrate how hydro can be used in the Pacific Northwest when atomic plants assume the base load in 20 or 30 years.

As the value of hydro rises due to the assumption of peaking duty, the second dimension of the cube expands and again the cube grows and makes possible a bigger Columbia River power system.

MORE HYDROPOWER

The cube's third dimension involves the amount of power. With the more liberal feasibility test of 150-year service life and with the growing value of power, more and more projects can be built. Upstream storage, pumped storage, overlap, pondage, diversions and more and more peaking generators will operate to squeeze the last kilowatt-hour from the river.

The three factors may now be applied to the available statistics. According to FPC publication P–26 the status of the Columbia River as of January 1, 1953, was as follows:

	Power developed	Undeveloped	Total
Capacity (million kilowatts)	3.95	30.22	34.17
Average annual energy (billion kilowatt-hours)	29.23	139.01	168.24
Energy as average kilowatts (million kilowatts)	3.34	15.88	19.21
Load factor (percent)	84.5	52.2	56.2

The Columbia's average energy capability of 19,210,000 kilowatts might reasonably be rounded off at 20 million kilowatts. With this as a base the installed capacity which would be permissible at various load factors is as follows:

Load factor:	*Installation kilowatts*
100 percent	20,000,000
50 percent	40,000,000
40 percent	50,000,000
35 percent	57,143,000
30 percent	66,666,666
25 percent	80,000,000

General Itschner recently testified that the potential of the Columbia was as follows:

	Average kilowatts	*Peak kilowatts*
Maximum potential	19,000,000	45,000,000
Practical limit	12,500,000	28,000,000

He cited Chief Joseph and The Dalles as dams where future peaking generators would be installed.

He might have mentioned Ice Harbor as a sign toward future thinking on river development. Last year Ice Harbor Dam plans were suddenly changed from four 65,000-kilowatt to six 90,000-kilowatt units. Overnight the installed capacity was doubled from 260,000 to 540,000 kilowatts. Someday the Bonneville Dam may have a second powerhouse. Grand Coulee may have a third or even a fourth powerhouse and might even have a 43-foot extension on the dam to create added storage.

As power needs increase, as our planning technology improves and as we use the Columbia for peaking power on top of an atomic energy base load system, we should find ourselves approaching and possibly exceeding a 50-million-kilowatt generator installation on the Columbia River.

What the Closing of Corona Naval Hospital Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Earl Macki is a retired chief warrant officer in the Navy. His daughter is married to a first-class petty officer. Macki served 30 years to earn his retirement, and during most of it Lydia, his wife, was either at his side, or waiting for his return from sea. She is a "Navy wife" in the truest sense of the phrase. She is typical of the thousands upon thousands of Navy wives whose courage, devotion, and sacrifice help their men defend our country. The Navy wife is as much a factor in the greatness of the Navy as the Navy man himself. Therefore, what she has to say should be as important to the officials charged with ultimate responsibility for the efficiency of the service as words from any other source.

That is why I asked that a recent letter to the editor printed in the Long Beach Independent from Mrs. Macki be reprinted here. Within the vast necessity to manage a great branch of the United States military service, there is little time to savor thoughts such as hers. She would be very unlikely to be called upon to testify before a congressional committee on her subject, nor would she be likely to be able to discuss it in a conference with the Secretary of the Navy or any of his capable assistants. However, they may read of her views here, and they reflect something of great importance to the efficiency of the service.

They deal with the critical naval hospital shortage in the Long Beach-Los Angeles port area, which homeports one-seventh of the United States fleet. Understandable as may be the reasons for the current closing of the Corona Naval Hospital, just as understandable are reasons for plans for a replacement hospital, actually in the port area, and not 40 miles remote from it, as was Corona. I have forwarded to the Navy Department an offer by the city of Long Beach to set aside, reserve, and convey to the Navy, without cost, a suitable site for such a future hospital. I have asked only that the Navy Department confer with city officials and indicate their preference as to sites which are available. It is most sincerely hoped that the Department will make this small move, at no budgetary cost, toward ultimate solution of the problem eloquently set forth by Mrs. Macki, as follows:

WHAT HOSPITAL CLOSING MEANS

EDITOR, INDEPENDENT:

"By closing the Corona Naval Hospital," as stated by Virginia Kelly in the Press-Telegram Sunday July 14, "the Navy expects to save $890,000 gross in the first year, more later."

By not closing the Corona Naval Hospital, the Navy might be expected to save thousands of lives—those of dependents of active military personnel, widows, orphans of military personnel, retired Navy men and their dependents in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area. This facet of the economy drive should bear some thought, it would seem.

All Navy dependents in this area at present are familiar with the crowded conditions in the Navy clinics. They know what can be done and what cannot be done because of the shortage of medical personnel and equipment. The "will to do" is there, all right but without working equipment and trained people to staff the clinics, it is impossible to keep up with the growth of our medical needs in the Navy dependents department. The Navy has outgrown its medical facilities. In most cases, the dependents accept uncomplainingly, the denial of medical privileges that they have been led to believe were theirs, the denial stemming from inadequate Navy medical facilities. In many cases, desperate need of medical care has resulted in severe hardship financially for Navy personnel having to go unprepared into civilian hospitals.

The "bright spot" in the set-up, however, as Virginia Kelly notes in her article of July 14, "is that all active service personnel dependents may seek civilian medical care under the part-payment provisions of the dependents medical care legislation."

Recently, in my daughter's family, there was the necessity to invoke the aid of Medicaire, the dependents' medical-care program. However, that was not done until every other effort to obtain the necessary surgery through a Navy hospital was exhausted. On the salary of a first class petty officer with a family of six to care for, the part-payment provision in itself was almost a preventive factor to filling this urgent need for surgery. The patient was my 7-year-old grandson. Where to get the part-payment money?

It was borrowed finally but when it is repaid, some necessity to the lives of this family will just simply be lost since the funds had to go elsewhere. The fact is that not many of the enlisted personnel have an available $25 on hand after the cost of living in this day and time has been deducted.

The original intention to set up Medicaire in the beginning denoted a great program to provide medical benefits to Navy personnel and it is indicative of the serious effort by the Navy to care for its own. The idea of the Medicare program deserves much commandation and certainly must have been hailed by Navy personnel as going forward in true Navy tradition to try to find the answers to the vital medical problem.

However, as the article in the Press-Telegram concluded, "The issue is: that Long Beach needs a Navy hospital and that the Navy must be made to understand this."

It is time now for all Navy dependents, widows and orphans of Navy personnel, retired personnel and their dependents to express themselves on the critical situation that can develop if the Corona Naval Hospital is shut down. Long Beach does desperately need a naval hospital and until one is built, Corona Naval Hospital should remain open to save lives, not dollars, right now.

Representative CRAIG HOSMER in Washington, D. C., is to be commended for the stand

he is taking for us of the Navy and it is only fair that we support him with letters and information in this emergency, giving him our full backing.

Councilman John Baker, of Long Beach, is another faithful friend of the Navy people and he deserves our sincere support for his efforts in our behalf.

We have a wonderful Nation to live in, our Navy helped make it that way and we honor our Navy and cherish its traditions deep in our hearts. The Navy could never make a greater contribution to its personnel and their families or to southern California than by erecting a fine naval hospital in Long Beach and if by all working together harmoniously, it certainly can be an achievement in dedication to the American way of living.

Mrs. EARL MACKI.

LONG BEACH.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Appendix

Water Supply Is Common Problem in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a problem that is common to all Texas is that of adequate development of the State's water resources. This is a fact that has come to be generally recognized, and that recognition has led to a determination to attack the problem on a statewide scale.

As the Beaumont Journal pointed out recently in a thoughtful editorial on the subject:

In a time when States as well as cities compete for new and existing industry, Texas can't afford to lag behind other States.

I ask unanimous consent that the Journal editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Beaumont (Tex.) Journal of July 19, 1957]

WATER SUPPLY IS COMMON PROBLEM IN TEXAS

As a group of Beaumonters reports, on returning from a tour of Texas, Beaumont has many problems in common with other cities throughout the State.

One of these common problems, and by no means the least, is the lack of an adequate supply of water for future growth and development. This is a problem that plagues not only the industrialized urban centers but also the vast rural areas where the production of food, clothing, and fibers contribute so much to the State's economy.

It is this common problem, and a solution for it, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON has in mind when he urges the Federal Government to produce a master plan by next April which will assure Texas all the water it needs. He has asked the heads of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to order complete integration of a comprehensive water program from Washington to the local water districts in Texas. He wants a plan that will bolster demands for Federal funds to build the projects necessary for impounding the needed supplies of water.

It is assumed, of course, that such a plan would include continued Federal assistance in completing McGee Bend Dam, the multipurpose project already approved by Congress. This dam on the Angelina River will, when completed, serve the water needs of this section of southeast Texas. Additionally, it will spark new industry and increased agricultural production.

While our immediate concern is to secure an abundance of water for this section and thus solve this serious problem, we also share the broader concern of Senator JOHNSON and laud his efforts to obtain adequate supplies for the entire State. If Texas is, as he says, 25 years behind other Western States in dealing effectively with its water problems, then it is time proper steps were taken to correct this condition. In a time when States as well as cities compete for existing and new industry, Texas can't afford to lag behind other States.

Gov. Price Daniel has pledged his best efforts to solve the State's water problems on a State level. It is good that he has the backing of Senator JOHNSON and others in Washington—the fountainhead of so much of the necessary funds for building the projects to impound the water.

An Issue That Must Be Faced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "An Issue That Must Be Faced Soon." The editorial was published in the Farmers Union Herald of August 5. It relates to a resolution which it was my privilege, with four of my colleagues, to sponsor, calling for a family-farm food and fiber policy. The resolution is still pending in committee. I hope that before the conclusion of the 85th Congress the Senate will adopt the resolution as a guide for legislative enactments in the economic field.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ISSUE THAT MUST BE FACED SOON

Within the last week there have been reports from Washington that Congress, or the Senate at least, may take a close look at national farm policy before adjourning.

The look may come, it is reported, when a resolution calling for a family-farm food and fiber policy is brought onto the floor of the Senate.

The resolution was offered by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY and four of his associates last January. It has lain dormant while the prospect of farm legislation has faded away.

The Humphrey resolution would commit the Congress to a national policy which would be the basis for future legislation. If passed, in its present form, it would commit Congress to a family-farm pattern.

The resolution calls for encouragement of an agriculture based on ownership and management of the land by family units and the discouragement of industrial-type farms.

It is significant that, since the introduction of the resolution, two agricultural research professors, reporting for the National Planning Association, have called for a recognition in national policy of "the crucial importance of family farming—in a democratic society."

Marshall Harris, of Iowa State University, and Robert Rohwer, formerly of Oklahoma A. and M., in their report, state that the family farm "represents the most desirable form of organization for American agriculture."

They find that this is true not only in economic performance but also in equality of opportunity and social values.

The outstanding virtues of this class of farms, they point out, are "a secure and stable way of life, strong community institutions, conservation of land, other natural resources, and a strong emphasis on preserving the basic freedoms."

Harris and Rohwer would strengthen the family farm by "raising the productivity of and levels of living of low-income farms, discouraging the trend toward increased large-scale farming and establishing a clearly defined public policy to improve family farming as a way of life."

To accomplish these results they would:

Give preference to family farmers whenever private enterprise uses publicly owned land.

Reduce and eventually eliminate the importation of foreigners who compete with American farm laborers and operators and are paid low wage rates, thus depressing farm wages and prices.

Encourage agricultural workers, particularly migrants, to organize and protect their rights fully.

Withhold publicly sponsored credit from large-scale enterprises, extending tax preference to family-type units and discourage ownership of farm land by nonfarmers.

The Harris-Rohwer report has received endorsement not only by the Farmers Union but also by the Grange and the Farm Bureau. At least representatives of the latter organization have signed the report.

The Humphrey resolution calls for a so-called bill of rights for the family farmer. It calls for:

The right to full equality of economic opportunity.

The right to improved standards of rural living.

The right of reasonable protection against natural hazards.

The right to extend agricultural free enterprise, through cooperative action.

The right to public cooperation and assistance in saving the soil.

The right to preserve the social and human values of family farming.

The right to a democratic voice in his own farm program.

The right to benefits of an expanding world trade.

The right to a long-range program of food storage to encourage abundance.

The right of assurance—that land reclamation development will result in establishment of new family farms—not factories in the field.

If the Humphrey resolution actually gets to the floor of the Senate, as Washington reports seem to indicate it will, the real issue in American agriculture will have to be faced by that august body.

That issue is: What kind of a national agriculture do the American people really want?

The issue must be faced sooner or later. The people living on the land; indeed, the people living in the rural towns and villages and even in our big cities cannot go on for-

ever dependent on an agriculture subject to whims and fancies of both nature and men.

If the American people can agree that the family farm is worth preserving as the basic pattern of our agriculture—then the first step will have been taken toward solving our farm problems.

For Liberty of People To Bear Arms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Alcohol and Tobacco Division of the Internal Revenue Department is holding a hearing today on its proposals for a registration law requiring all manufacturers and dealers in firearms to keep a record of all sales of firearms, and another proposed regulation, proposing to require every person who buys a gun or any ammunition to sign a receipt for it.

Mr. President, I regard this proposed regulation as unnecessary, burdensome, and unduly restrictive of the rights of the American people. I oppose it, and presented a statement at the hearing today in the Department of Commerce Auditorium before the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

These proposed regulations would require all dealers to maintain a permanent record of all firearms received and disposed of, and would require every person who buys a gun or a box of shells to sign a receipt therefor. In my opinion these are unnecessarily burdensome restrictions on our people.

The people of Texas generally are accustomed to use firearms. This proposed law would require every farm boy to register his gun and have a receipt for every shell or cartridge bought if he wanted to hunt a buck, turkey, squirrel, dove, quail, or rabbit, or shoot a rattlesnake or wildcat. The rural homeowner would need a Federal receipt to protect his chicken farm from a chicken hawk or from a rabid fox.

Our people are a loyal people. They can be trusted by the Government. Who is afraid of the people? This regulation smacks of a police state. It would be more reasonable to require a permit to go swimming in navigable waters than to require a shotgun and shell permit to hunt rabbits, because the swimming is more dangerous than the hunting.

The oldest shooting club in the United States is at New Braunfels, Texas. The familiarity of our people with firearms has been a strong factor in the ability of our citizen soldiers to prepare speedily for battle in time of war. A nation of outdoorsmen is a healthy, vigorous nation. These restrictive and burdonsome regulations would make it more expensive to keep and use guns and rifles. They would lessen the zeal of our people for outdoor sports in time of peace and effective military service in time of war.

These regulations put bureaucracy in every gun closet in every home in America, and if adopted, would end the ancient concept that "every man's home is his castle," because it would invade the right to defend that home.

I hope that this regulation is defeated. The taxpayers do not need a new burden to hire a new group of agents to keep count of all the shotguns and rifles and shells purchased for every home in America.

Moralizing About Colonialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Providence Journal of Monday, August 26, entitled "Our Moralizing About Colonialism Should Give Way to Frank Talk."

This article, written by Barry Brown, should be of interest to all who give consideration to international affairs.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR MORALIZING ABOUT COLONIALISM SHOULD GIVE WAY TO FRANK TALK

(By Barry Brown)

The so-called colonial problem in American foreign policy is inherently insoluble. We will do well to recognize this fact, and to consider what we can do about it, before the issue arises again in the dramatic form of the Algerian case at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Notice has already been served that this last and most irreconcilable conflict between France and her north African territories will reappear at the U. N. meeting. "Some think the international organization could modify the Algerian problem," French Foreign Minister Pineau warned the other day. "I must say that, while France is prepared to set forth the problem, it never will accept orders."

WE CAN'T SATISFY ALL

In the debate and the deadlock thus promised, the United States will naturally have to take a stand, and that stand cannot possibly satisfy both the French and the Algerians, or—more importantly—both our principal NATO allies and the vast array of Arab, Asian, African, and Latin American states who identify their interests with the aspirations of all dependent people everywhere. Thus the United States faces anew, in this expanded and intensified form, the same dilemma Cordell Hull described in his Memoirs of the World War II period:

"Our prime difficulty generally with regard to Asiatic colonial possessions, of course, was to induce the colonial powers—principally Britain, France, and the Netherlands—to adopt our ideas with regard to dependent peoples. * * * But we could not press them too far with regard to the Southwest Pacific in view of the fact that we were seeking the closest possible cooperation with them in Europe. We could not alienate them in the Orient and expect to work with them in Europe."

Since the first objective of our foreign policy must always be the security of European or western or Christian civilization, of which the American way of life is a part, we are obviously still "seeking the closest possible cooperation" with the nations of Western Europe. At the same time, "our ideas with regard to dependent peoples" inevitably continue to follow the Wilsonian tradition of national self-determination, largely out of an instinctive attachment to anticolonial movements resulting from our own colonial origins. Meanwhile, both horns of the dilemma have been sharpened, on the one hand by the formalization of our permanent European ties in the NATO alliance, on the other by the development of the U. N. system of "debating diplomacy" and the emergence of a number of new national states on the world scene.

If there is no real way out of this dilemma, perhaps we can ease our position somewhat by a new sort of frankness in explaining it during the debate on Algeria and all the other colonial issues bound to arise at the General Assembly meeting next month.

As to our European commitments, we cannot and need not try to conceal our deep and lasting identifications with like-minded nations of the West. Culturally, historically and psychologically, we are part of Europe. Strategically and politically, the United States has always had a vital interest, historically paralleling that of Great Britain and now coinciding with that of all the other nations of Western Europe, in preventing any European power from gaining hegemony over the continent. The dependent peoples themselves will never permit us to deny our identification with Europe, even if we should be unwise enough to try to escape from reality, no matter how vehemently we may assert our ideological anticolonialism.

RISING EXPECTATIONS

The best we can hope to do, therefore, is to try to convince both the Europeans and the Asians and Africans that our inevitable concern with the interests of our NATO allies does not involve our commitment to shore up their empires indefinitely. It may help us in this explanation to talk about the principle of national self-determination more as a concrete political force than as an abstract moral postulate. For many of our European friends, deeply as they may resent American moralizing about their imperialism, nevertheless recognize realistically that their crumbling empires simply cannot stand against the revolution of rising expectations that is sweeping the areas of the world formerly in a colonial status.

The trouble with treating national self-determination as a universal moral principle is that it has no inherent limits. Pushed to its logical extreme, it becomes a principle of disintegration and disorder and a device for the creation of new empires, rather than a response to the twin aspirations exalted by western liberalism—that of a people to be free of foreign domination, and that of the individual to join the nation of his choice. When we persist in urging our own conception of nationalism as an eternal verity, without regard for political consequences, we disarm ourselves morally and intellectually before our enemies.

INSTRUMENT OF ANARCHY

Hitler used nationalism in just this way, as an instrument of anarchy and oppression, when he first used the Sudeten Germans to destroy Czechoslovakia and then used the German minority in Poland to launch World War II. The Russians are doing the same thing, although the effects of their new imperialism are largely concealed from the champions of anticolonialism by considerations of race and by the curious phenomenon called the salt-water fallacy. There seems to be a feeling among many Asians and Africans that imperialism is not involved in the domination of one white people by another, or when the nation dominated is not separated from the imperial power by an ocean.

These are points we have made and can continue to make in U. N. debates on colonial issues, with Hungary and perhaps soon Syria as exhibits A and B. But beyond this, perhaps we can make clear that our adherence to the Wilsonian doctrine of national self-determination is a matter of political judgment, more than of indiscriminate moralizing. We can emphasize that the principle should be applied to each people demanding national independence on the merits of their specific case, with due regard for questions of timing and orderliness in the process of evolution. Perhaps we can even urge that U. N. members insisting upon immediate independence for peoples who are not really capable of creating a politically and economically viable community should bear some responsibility, financial and otherwise, for the survival of the newborn states.

A POLITICAL FORCE

In short, by understanding nationalism as a political force and national self-determination as a concrete political goal, we can try to persuade the European powers that it is really in their interests to follow a policy of liberation, as the British have done. Similarly, we can try to convince the dependent peoples that it is not necessarily in their interest to make immediate independence an end in itself, at the risk of balkanizing Asia and Africa and leaving them vulnerable to an inevitable new order of empire. In the process, we can say that the differences we are bound to have with both sides on such issues should not outweigh or outlast our common interests.

An effort at frankness on the colonial problem might admittedly make us no more popular with either the Europeans or the Asians and Africans than an attempt at evasion, but it might command more respect. Similarly, there is no assurance that such a shift in the American attitude would contribute much to solution of the concrete and complex problems between France and Algeria. Yet, if we can get away from the idea that national independence is an absolute and self-sufficient moral principle and come to regard it as a political principle that needs to be fitted within a framework of power and interests, we may at least avoid the confusion of seeming to applaud the destruction of western interests in the name of philosophical consistency.

A Psalm for Lawyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a psalm for lawyers, written by Mr. Louis Lande, a prominent and distinguished member of the New York bar. It might also well be applied to legislators, and in the last, busy days of the session it makes good pause for reflective reading. Mr. Lande is a patriarch of the New York bar of which he has been a member for 57 years. He is a member of the class of 1900 of New York University, my own alma mater. Over the years, he has counseled, guided, and inspired many young attorneys.

More recently, Mr. Lande has served as an attorney in the Maritime Administration here in Washington. He will retire at the end of this month after 15 years of distinguished service in the Federal Government.

There being no objection, the psalm was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIFTEENTH PSALM REVISED FOR LAWYERS

(By Louis Lande)

Who shall stand in the high courts of the law?
Who shall receive its highest honors?
He who dealeth righteously and whose aim is justice and mercy.
Who doth not belittle its ministers,
Nor envy his associates.
Who doth not gloat over his victories,
Nor rejoiceth over his adversary's defeat;
And to whom the errant are to be pitied and corrected.
He that worketh for the people's good without profit to himself,
And who honors his brethren for their good works
He shall be worthy to sit in the high places of the law,
And receive the esteem of his fellow men.

Movement by the Young Away From Rural Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, an outstanding weekly newspaper in Texas, the Nocona News, recently took note editorially of the alarming movement away from the rural areas, and expressed concern that a very large percentage of high-school graduates are not interested in farming as an occupation.

The News put its editorial finger squarely on one reason for this by pointing out that these youngsters know the farmer today is not getting his fair share of the consumer dollar.

I ask unanimous consent that this thought-provoking editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHALLENGE TO FARMING AND SMALL TOWNS

Farming and small towns like Nocona stand challenged by a recent survey reported in the current issue of Texas Agricultural Progress. The survey shows that there is a definite apathy among young people to become farmers and as definite a belief that their futures are not in their home towns, however much they would like to remain in those towns.

Out of 234 high-school graduates of this year, the survey shows only 25 said or indicated that they would rather own a farm than hold a job in town. And 15 of those 25 said that they would not want to farm unless they could begin with the right setup. This leaves only 10 out of 234 who are definitely interested in farming. The 15 who would consider farming under the right setup reflect a radical departure from the pioneering spirit of many hundreds of farmers who, with little more than a hand plow, a horse and a cow, started such counties as Montague and thousands of others. Naturally, no one today wants any part of yesterday's farming hardships. On the other hand, unless blessed with riches, no young man can expect to start out with what others have acquired over a period of years.

American economics also stand challenged by the revealing apathy of young people to farm. They know better than any one, except their parents, how hard farmers work against such tremendous odds as wind, hail, droughts, too much rain, frosts and burning sunshine. They know, too, that the farmer is not getting his just share of the consumer dollar. During the latter part of last year, the farmer was getting only 40 cents of this dollar, and this figure fell to 38 cents last February. The farmer is getting only 15 cents of that dollar for his tomatoes, peas and beans. When Mrs. Farmer goes to a store she is required to pay retail prices far from commensurate for products raised on the farm.

Commenting of jobs at home instead of leaving home, most of the students said, in effect: "I'd rather stay here than any place on earth if work were available, but we just don't have it here. My town has everything I like except the opportunity to work." This situation is not new for small towns. Nocona is indeed an exception with three major leather goods factories. Most small towns have only one major industry, if any.

The urge of 20-year-olds to strike out in a big city is as natural as daylight following dark. The day comes, however, when many become disgusted with the coldness and artificiality of the big city, where it takes 2 hours to drive to work and 3 to drive back during the evening rush. They find that their friends back home are their best friends and, unless they become great successes in a financial way, they eventually learn that it would have been better to have stayed at home for $50 a week than to have gone to a big city for $65. The old saying that "It is better to be a big fish in a little pond than a little fish in a big pond" is very applicable.

Their names have never become nationally known, but millions of the best businessmen in America have been and still are small-town merchants and other businessmen. They and our farmers are keeping rural America alive and without rural America there would be no America. The comparative few who come to wield great power in certain industries are not nearly as powerful nor as influential as the combined force of America's farmers and America's smalltown businessmen.

The Gallant 32d Division of the Wisconsin National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been pleased to note in the press reports of my State that the National Guard hopes to start building additional armories in some 16 Wisconsin cities during the next 2 years.

The announcement of the plan has come from the distinguished adjutant general of my State, Maj. Gen. Ralph J. Olson. The construction will be based upon Federal-State matching of funds with the various cities to provide the land.

Each armory unit will contain facilities needed to train one company or battery of the famed 32d Division of the Wisconsin National Guard. The units will vary, each accommodating between 140 and 170 men.

The announcement of the armory plan came in connection with a conference of the Wisconsin National Guard Association. Maj. Gen. Fritz Breidster, commander of the 32d, told the assembled officers that the division's traditional infantry regiments, artillery battalions, and antiaircraft units are to be transformed in accordance with the new plans for the atomic organization of the division.

Much as Wisconsin will regret seeing many hallowed units of the 32d fade into history, my State is determined that the 32d shall continue to rank with the very best National Guard divisions of the Nation, ready to meet every emergency of the atomic age.

The 32d is part and parcel of the history of my State. It has some 114 units in 78 Wisconsin cities. Its former commander, Maj. Gen. Jim Dan Hill, has been urged by many to be president of the National Guard Association of the United States.

The officers of the Wisconsin National Guard Association, as newly elected, are:

Maj. William P. Robinson, Middleton, Dane County, president.

Lt. Col. Carlisle P. Runge, Madison, vice president.

Lt. Col. Malvin P. Wang, Camp Douglas, treasurer, incumbent.

Lt. Col. Donald G. Raiche, Neenah, secretary.

In order that my colleagues may be familiar with the great record for gallantry of this division since its creation in 1917, I send to the desk the text of a Milwaukee Journal historical writeup describing the Red Arrow Division's achievements in two world wars. I ask unanimous consent that this brief history of a division which saw more action in World War II than any United States division in any war—a division which takes the deepest of pride in its pre-eminence in the National Guard of our country—be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of July 14, 1957]

THE GALLANT 32D DIVISION—TWO BOOKS TELL BATTLES OF FAMOUS WISCONSIN-MICHIGAN COMBAT UNIT DURING WORLD WARS—IN ACTION 15,696 HOURS AGAINST JAPS

(By Christopher Matthew)

Near the village of San Nicolas in central Luzon, Philippine Islands, a barred red arrow in solid concrete rises from the top of a memorial shaft to point against the sky. Officers and men of the 32d Infantry Division erected it there in memory of their gallant comrades who were killed along the Villa Verde Trail in one of the last campaigns of World War II.

As the crow flies, the distance from one end of the trail to the other—from San Nicolas to Santa Fe—is only 15 miles. By twisting, treacherous mountain road it is 50. For the GI's of the Red Arrow Division it was a hell through a maze of booby traps and enemy bunkers manned by kamikazes under the overall command of Tomoyuki Yamashita, ablest of the Japanese generals. It took the 32d 5 months—from January to May 1945—to cover the distance. Two-thirds of its 10,000 men were casualties; 1,000 fell in action.

Having opened the road into the heart of enemy held territory for other units, the battered Red Arrow was given a month's rest, then called back to mop up central Luzon, a task that lasted for several weeks after atomic bombs had knocked out Japan.

FIGHTERS BEST, SAID GENERAL YAMASHITA

Isolated Japanese units in the hills of Luzon hadn't heard that the war was over, and probably wouldn't have believed it if they had. Even General Yamashita had received no official order to surrender. In a polite series of communications he assured American commanders that he was waiting anxiously for instructions. He finally surrendered on September 5 to the unit that he later praised as having the best fighters he had faced in the whole war—none other than the 32d.

Among United States infantry divisions the 32d is in many respects unique. It fought from beginning to end in both World Wars and chalked up a remarkable number of firsts. Two recent volumes recount its exploits. The first, a comprehensive, illustrated history. The 32d Infantry Division, by H. W. Blakesley, is published by the historical commission of Wisconsin; the second, the story of the Buna campaign, Victory in Papua, by Samuel Milner, is published by the office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army.

GENERAL PERSHING LAUDED DIVISION

Created in 1917 from National Guard regiments of Wisconsin and Michigan—some of which had histories going back to volunteer militia days—the unit was originally known as the Red Circle Division. In France it picked up the nicknames "Les Terribles" and "The Iron Jaws." Even Gen. John Pershing, who was not given to careless eulogies of his troops, especially if they were National Guard units, later wrote: "Unstinted praise must be given to the 32d."

After the armistice, the Red Circle Division changed its emblem to the red arrow because as their commander, William G. Haan, said: "We pierced every line the Boche put before us."

In 1940 the Red Arrow was among the first of the 18 National Guard units to be ordered into Federal service. It received its training at Camp Livingston, La.

Selected soon after Pearl Harbor for shipment to northern Ireland, the division was moved from Camp Livingston to Fort Devens, Mass. Then a sudden change in plans in the War Department took it to Australia under command of Maj. Gen. Edwin F. Harding. Augmented by 3,000 draftees, it arrived in May 1942, 2 months after Gen. Douglas MacArthur, commander of the newly established southwest Pacific theater, had arrived from the Philippines.

The military problem at the moment was to halt the Japanese thrust across the isthmus of Papua, the long tail of New Guinea, the island that looks like a dinosaur on the map. The Japanese held the northern coast of the island and had sent a detachment across the formidable Owen Stanley Mountains to capture the south. The Australians still held on to Port Moresby on the southern coast.

General MacArthur planned a counterattack, picking the infantry forces of the Australian 7th and the American 32d for the operation. The initial plan was to send our division north across the mountains. One battalion actually made the grueling march. After 42 days of climbing, scrambling, clawing, and suffering from fever and dysentery, they emerged like ghostly shadows. The rest of the troops were flown north to points near Jap held Buna.

The top brass was so sure that Buna could be taken easily that it detached one whole regiment from General Harding's command and added it to the Australians, who were to attack from the west, while our forces attacked from the east. The pincers movement began about the middle of November, 1942.

Almost at once hard luck dogged the project. Some 6,000 Japanese were still strongly entrenched at Buna. Nipponese planes sank 7 out of 8 small transports containing food, medicines, ammunitions, and men. Seasonal rains came early and turned this godforsaken place on the inhospitable northern coast of New Guinea into the ultimate nightmare country. Companies came down with dengue fever and malaria. At one time, over half the men were running temperatures.

"TAKE BUNA OR DIE"

The air forces tried to fly in or drop in supplies, but much of this precious freight was irrevocably lost, smashing to bits on striking the ground or else falling not on designated targets but deep in the jungle or on inaccessible mountain slopes. Flyers trying to strafe Japanese positions often hit our own. General Harding sent desperate calls for the return of his regiment, for supplies and ammunition. The MacArthur answer from Moresby was to take Buna or die.

After 2 weeks of fighting, the sick, hungry, weary troops had made no advance. They were, as E. J. Kahn, Jr., one of the draftees assigned to the outfit, writes, "treading water—in some cases, literally, where they were trying to advance through neck deep swamps." There were countless acts of heroism but also failures among leaders and men.

A remark by the Australian commander in chief that the men of the 32d were inferior fighters reached MacArthur at Port Moresby and sent him into a towering rage. Summoning Gen. Robert L. Eichelberger from Australia, he told him to "relieve Harding and his subordinate commanders or I will relieve them myself, and you, too." Eichelberger did remove Harding—many still think precipitously—on the ground that he had not been sufficiently stern in weeding out subordinates. Eichelberger had better luck than Harding in wangling tanks, artillery, and the extra regiment from various headquarters above him. Even so, it took him 4 weeks to capture Buna.

THOUSANDS WERE AWARDED DECORATIONS

His appraisal of the Red Arrow men at the end of the campaign differed markedly from what he thought of them when he first assumed command. He later wrote:

"The 32d which 'failed' at Buna was the same 32d that won the city. Any historian will be hard put to discover in this war a division which earned, and deserved, so many citations and decorations for individual bravery."

Two Wisconsin soldiers—1st Sgt. Elmer J. Burr, Menasha, and Sgt. Kenneth E. Gruennert, Jefferson—won the Medal of Honor, posthumously. Nine more men won this highest of honors in the next 2 years, all but 2 posthumously. Some 3,000 others were awarded other decorations, not counting 11,500 Purple Hearts.

During the next 2 years the Red Arrow was chosen to spearhead five other operations on the road back—Saidor, Aitape, Morotai, Leyte, and Luzon. In all, it saw 15,696 hours of action, more than any United States division in any war.

After a brief period with the army of occupation, it was inactivated in February 1946 in Japan. Within 10 months, on November 8, 1946, it was reorganized as a National Guard unit. The Red Arrow was again an active division.

Revere (Mass.) Journal a Popular Weekly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the Revere Journal has served the people of Revere, Mass., for 76 years. Its future is assured.

This is all the more remarkable because we associate weekly newspapers with rural areas. The Revere Journal, however, is the newspaper for the city of Revere which is part of the metropolitan area of greater Boston.

The Journal may not be big, but its neighborly coverage of the news has won a personal following whose loyalty and confidence is reflected in the opening lines of a conversation you frequently hear in Revere that begins this way: "The Journal says."

Many honors have come to this hardy little newspaper through the years. The latest is the news that, of the 550 weekly newspapers published in the United States, the Revere Journal ranks among the top 100, in terms of circulation.

Eight thousand four hundred regular subscribers depend upon the Journal to know what's going on.

Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I ask the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to recognize the standing of this fine weekly by printing the attached article from the August 22 issue of the Revere Journal:

WIDELY READ NEWSPAPER—JOURNAL AMONG TOP 100 WEEKLIES IN UNITED STATES ON CIRCULATION LIST

The Revere Journal has been listed among the 100 top circulation weekly newspapers published in cities and towns of under 50,000 population in the 1957 Directory of Weekly Newspaper Representatives, Inc., according to the American Press, a magazine published about hometown newspapers.

The magazine's analysis shows that there are a total of 550 weekly, semiweekly and triweekly newspapers with a circulation of 5,000 or more throughout the United States listed in the directory.

The magazine listed the Revere Journal in 94th place in the top 100 newspapers, stating that the Journal has a net paid circulation of 8,300 copies weekly.

According to the listing, the Journal was only 95 copies away from the 90th position on the list, with the four papers listed in between having a circulation from 8,300, the Revere Journal's figure, and 8,395 listed for the Blue Island, Ill., Sun Standard, which holds the 90th place.

The figures listed in the directory were based on paid circulation figures for 1956. Edward A. Waldman, circulation manager of the Revere Journal, said that the figures listed for the Journal are accurate but during the months in 1957, the newspaper's circulation has increased to an average of 8,400. He said that the new figures will be reflected in the 1958 directory.

The American Press, in its analysis, stated that of the 550 newspapers listed in the directory, 376 are published in communities of under 50,000 population and that 174 are published in larger cities.

In the 100 top circulation weeklies, only one Massachusetts newspaper besides the Revere Journal is listed. It is the Arlington News with a circulation of 8,650.

Not Guilty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Star dated Monday, August 26, 1957:

NOT GUILTY

Harry Truman, in our opinion, has done as much as any man, and a great deal more than most, to prod America into assuming its responsibilities as the leader of the free world. The move to support Greece and Turkey, the Marshall plan, the decision to fight in Korea, the creation of NATO—all of these called for courage and leadership, and they are enduring marks to the credit of the former President.

It is the more disappointing, therefore, to find Mr. Truman now joining in the chorus of those who would indict the people for failures which really were the fault, not of the people, but of their political leaders.

Writing in Sunday's Star, Mr. Truman, referring to the Korean war, said this: "In unison with the United Nations we acted—and we acted swiftly, and at that we were almost too late. Our people, eager to return to the ways of peace, and wanting quick demobilization, had brought about a sharp reduction of our military strength."

To this charge the people may well plead not guilty. For while it is true that there was strong popular demand to bring the boys home when World War II ended in 1945, this is not the reason why we were so weak, so dangerously unprepared to fight even a "police action," in 1950. For this, the primary responsibility rests on Mr. Truman and his Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson.

In 1949, just before the Korean war broke, it was Mr. Truman, not the people, who was insisting that a defense budget of $13 billion was all our economy could stand. When Congress appropriated some $615 million in excess of the budget request for the Air Force that year it was Mr. Truman, not the people, who ordered the money impounded and decreed that it must not be spent. When the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in 1948, urged an expanded military program which called for some $9 billion in additional money, it was Mr. Truman, not the people, who vetoed the proposal. And when Defense Secretary Johnson was assuring anyone who would listen that his economies were cutting out the fat, but not the muscle, from the Military Establishment, how were the people to know that he was a sadly mistaken man?

Mr. Truman's remarks in the main were aimed at the situation which prevails today. He said he hoped that "all of us" have learned from our Korean experience, that this (1957) is no time "to fool" with our defense requirements, and that we should not let ourselves become "economy mad" with respect to national defense.

As far as the people are concerned, however, 1957 is like 1949. They do not know now, as they did not know then, whether the cutbacks in defense spending are wise or unwise. They cannot possibly know. They have to assume in 1957, as they assumed in 1949, that their political leaders have made their calculations carefully and correctly, and that they know what they are doing. If it turns out otherwise, if today's economies lead to another Korea, we trust that the reaction of those who are really responsible will not be to blame the people.

Squadron's Wings Folded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the 74th Air Rescue Squadron in Alaska is being deactivated after a long period of service in the highest tradition of the Air Force. It would be impossible in many pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to detail the rescues which have been accomplished by the officers and men of that squadron. In wilderness areas, and oftentimes under the most severe climatic conditions, those of the 74th Air Rescue Squadron have risked their lives to save others.

An evaluation of the Air Rescue Squadron has been made in a letter written to me by Mr. John Vincent, of Orlando, Fla. Mr. Vincent has had personal knowledge of the quality and caliber of the work of the officers and men of this detachment. I take great pleasure presenting here a letter written to me about this by Mr. Vincent including an editorial from the Fairbanks, Alaska, News-Miner:

I am taking the liberty to send you, quoted en toto, an editorial from the Fairbanks News-Miner of July 11, 1957. It was sent to me by an expert on Arctic lore, Mr. E. W. "Scotty" Heter, with whom I did some survival work in the Territory during the winter of 1956.

The quotation follows:

"This week we saw a good, though by no means an unusual, example of the work which has been performed in this part of the world ably by the 74th Air Rescue Squadron.

"This unit, which is based at Ladd Air Force Base, has picked up countless military and civilian fliers and passengers out of the wilderness and brought them safely home.

"If our experience in the air age has taught us anything, it is the old chestnut that what goes up must come down. When an aircraft comes down in the wilds of interior Alaska, the occupants are lost indeed without a ready group like the 74th, which is ever on the alert.

"Under the conditions which prevailed when an Air Force F-89 jet plane became unmanageable in the air on Tuesday, no search for rescue would have been possible by other means than helicopter. Overcast made planes useless. The downed men might have spent many days in the wilderness had it not been for the tireless helicopters of the 74th.

"Had it been a pair of civilians instead of 2 airmen who were down, the 74th Air Rescue Squadron would have responded just as promptly. This has been demonstrated often in the past.

"These words of appreciation are written in the light of an announcement from the Alaskan Command that the 74th Air Rescue Squadron is being deactivated in the fall. We do not know the military or other considerations which led to that announced decision. But we would certainly urge that they be reviewed.

"We really don't know what we'd do here in interior Alaska without the 74th's efficient 'copters."

Few people outside the Territory can realize the vital role played by the men of the ARS and the high regard in which they are held by Alaskans. Few can know the tremendous communal effort that goes into saving the life of a lost hunter, an overdue

bush pilot, an injured Eskimo, unless they've actually seen it firsthand. It is difficult for outsiders to believe that men will leave their jobs and the comfort of their homes to go out and search for a stranger in distress. In the vastness of the Territory and, especially, under the terrible rigors of the Arctic winters, it is a fact that these selfless, cooperative efforts would often fail were it not for the expert guidance of the Air Force's professional rescue men in the squadron at Fairbanks and the other one down at Anchorage. I would suggest that nowhere in the world would the loss of an air rescue squadron be of such vital importance to American citizens.

Insurance Protection of American Families, Businesses, and Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, may I call to the attention of the House an event of truly historic significance which will take place in our sister Commonwealth of Kentucky on Wednesday, September 4, 1957.

It was in the thriving frontier town of Lexington, Ky., in the year 1807, that the American Agency System of bringing insurance protection to America's families, businesses, and institutions was begun. This great system was born when Thomas Wallace, a prominent merchant of Lexington, was appointed an agent of Insurance Company of North America, of Philadelphia, Pa.

Thus, a free people, with initiative and enterprise, created a system of providing for their own security through independent local businessmen. The merit of the plan was such that it spread throughout America, enabling the Nation to grow and prosper.

The Commonwealth of Kentucky and Insurance Company of North America share many historical links. Kentucky became a Commonwealth in the year 1792, the same year in which the Insurance Company of North America was founded. The company was organized in Philadelphia in Independence Hall in the very same room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed just 16 years before.

Mr. John A. Diemand, the president of this 165-year-old insurance organization, which is well and favorably known throughout the world, will participate with leaders in Kentucky life in suitably marking the occasion. I append herewith the remarks of Mr. Diemand, in commemorating an event of great interest to the insurance world and to all who benefit from the strength and stability of our great American insurance companies.

REMARKS BY JOHN A. DIEMAND, LEXINGTON, KY., SEPTEMBER 4, 1957

In celebrating the sesquicentennial of the American agency system of insurance selling, we focus our thoughts on the vital core of one of the Nation's most important businesses.

Twelve years ago, the Highest Court in the land had this to say: "The modern insurance business holds a commanding position in the trade and commerce of our Nation. * * * Perhaps no modern enterprise directly affects so many in all walks of life. Insurance touches the home, the family, and the occupation of almost every person in the United States." Today, after the great new growth stimulated by liberalized multiple-line legislation and an expanding economy, these same things can be said with even greater emphasis.

To achieve such preeminence has been an extraordinary feat. It has been possible only through the remarkable efforts of unusual people in a unique system. We do well to consider and honor that system, and those who have made it succeed.

In its origin, the American agency system was devised by the early fire companies as a means of keeping pace with the westward march of empire, while retaining the heart of their affairs in the cities of their origin. If this could be done, a twofold gain would result: their financial strength would rise through an inflow of new premiums, and their vulnerability to catastrophe would be lessened by a greater spread of risk.

This was straight and sound thinking, but there were those who had their doubts. Some shortsighted cynics asked, "Can we trust agents in far places, not to sell us out to policyholders?" Those who answered "Yes" prevailed, and the American agency system was born.

As we now see, seldom has greater good faith produced better works. On the other hand, of the companies who did not adopt the system, few survive today. They paid the price of extinction when conflagrations struck the cities where they kept their liabilities concentrated in risks they could watch.

The simple fact is that the founders of the American agency system understood the true essence of insurance. Those who rejected the system did not.

The solid core and sound foundation of all insurance is utmost good faith among the parties. This is not a pious motto but a hard business fact. If a man buys a car, he drives it around the block first, but he cannot test his fire policy with a trial blaze in his home. If he buys a suit, he may try it on first, but both an insurance policyholder and his insurance company hope he will never have occasion to try out the effectiveness of his policy.

The proper role of the insurance agent is entirely in keeping with this philosophy. His work is in the nature of a public trust. His is the delicate task of dividing fairly his loyalty between the companies which appoint him and the customers whom he counsels. To him, as both original underwriter and salesman these companies entrust their fortunes and good name. To him the public entrust their needs for insurance protection. The agent's power of economic good and evil is great in both directions.

To discharge well this twofold trust requires a high degree of wisdom and skill. Above all it requires steadfast integrity. Of all of these traits the American agency system has had and shown an abundance.

It is for this that we honor the system, and those who have made it great. To make our celebration more than a passing gesture, let us pledge performance in keeping up their proven practices. In this performance, let us continue the utmost good faith which they have shown.

Let us take these principles as our guide:

1. The public's interest is our first concern.

2. The security and well-being of the insurance industry will be in direct proportion to the efficiency of its service to the insuring public, and the best guaranty of a brilliant future will be secured by providing the best possible coverages on the simplest possible forms and at the fairest possible rates.

3. To these ends there must be laws and practices encouraging initiative in the public interest.

Let us insist on action in accordance with these principles, and let us guarantee it with the full power of the American agency system.

Coal and the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. PAT JENNINGS
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, a special Coal Research Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has concluded a 15-month study of the problems facing the Nation's coal industry. This subcommittee was established in the 84th Congress and has now made a preliminary announcement of its findings and recommendations. I understand the complete report will be available in the near future.

Virginia is one of the Nation's coal-producing States; 1956 production amounted to 26,004,732 tons, the major portion of it coming from counties in the Ninth Congressional District. We are, therefore, very interested in the subcommittee's investigation and recommendations.

I would like to commend the subcommittee members for their diligence in conducting a thorough study of the coal industry and its place in the Nation's econoy. Our colleague, Congressman ED EDMONDSON, has been an interested and able chairman of the subcommittee.

When the complete report is published, I intend to consider its recommendations and, after discussing the report with coal industry leaders, introduce legislation to carry out these recommendations. I hope that sympathetic consideration will be given this legislation by the Congress next session.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Bristol Herald-Courier of August 25, 1957, entitled "Coal and the Future." This editorial pertains to the subcommittee's activity and forthcoming legislation.

COAL AND THE FUTURE

Few pieces of legislation have ever held a more specific significance for southwest Virginia than one which probably will be introduced in Congress next week.

This measure, the fruit of a 15-month study by a special subcommittee, calls for the establishment of a new Government commission to coordinate research into new ways of using coal.

Perhaps more important, the subcommittee recommends that the Commission be provided with a $2 million appropriation—a sum which it can use to conduct research of its own or to provide aid to private research agencies.

Coal, of course, is more than holding its own as a fuel. After the "recession" of just

a few years ago, it stands today as a stronger-than-ever facet of our national economy.

But the uses to which coal can be put are virtually limitless. Many of those uses already have been uncovered; research will broaden the field as it removes the cloak which thus far has shrouded the great potential of this fossil fuel.

Congress probably will not act on the subcommittee's recommendation during this present session. But we have every reason to assume that some action will be forthcoming in 1958.

Those of us who live in the mountain empire are trusting that Congress will approach the matter in positive fashion, creating the commission and providing the necessary appropriation.

We know the results of the recommended research will further strengthen the position of coal in the nuclear era and that this, in turn, will enhance the economy of the Nation as we move through the second half of the 20th century.

Coal has had a great past; it has an even greater future.

Only shortsightedness can prevent the fulfillment of that future.

Safety in the Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger of August 22, 1957:

SAFETY IN THE AIR

The survival rate in major air disasters continues to be shockingly low. In a recent tragedy in Canada, a Maritime Central Airways plane crashed with 79 persons aboard and there were no survivors. The airliner was one transporting veterans and their families from England to Scotland and had crossed the Atlantic Ocean safely, only to meet its fate in the form of a local thunderstorm.

While the passenger fatality rate, per mile flown, has been declining in recent years the number of persons killed in crashes and the fact that so many crashes result in death to all occupants of huge airliners is becoming a major Government concern.

Modern airliners do not carry parachutes for occupants and most of them do not seat their passengers backward, which gives them the greatest possible chance of survival in a crash. Moreover, it seems certain that some aircraft are operated under highly questionable weather conditions, in both this and other countries, and that no adequate safeguards are available to passengers in this regard.

As airline traffic increases and the number of passenger airliners in the skies multiplies enormously in the next few years, the situation will become more acute. It seems that the problem would be an appropriate one for a special Presidential commission to tackle, in the hope of finding some way to prevent fire, which so often overtakes passenger aircraft when they crash, and to prevent commercial air travel in questionable weather, or with questionable facilities.

When new and larger airliners go into operation next year, carrying greater numbers of passengers, it seems it will only be a question of time before two of these giants collide and burn. Such an air crash would mean death for several hundred people. A special study or investigative group may be able to make some progress in avoiding such a grim eventuality.

This Administration Likes Labor Votes but Not Labor—United States Army Officials Charged With Antilabor Activities in New Jersey by Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL-CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, Charles Kovacs, president of the Central Jersey Industrial Union Council, CIO, and Thomas J. Dunn, president of the Central Labor Union, AFL, accused Michael A. Zielinski Co., of Brunswick Avenue, Trenton, N. J., of strikebreaking, unfair labor practices, and failure to recognize a union.

Since March 23, 1957, the employees of Michael A. Zielinski, the majority of them members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America AFL–CIO have been on strike, which was called when the company arbitrarily fired Mrs. Connie Marino, the union shop chairlady and nine other workers. Since that date the company has not bargained in good faith even though many meetings were held. They would not recognize the union and refused many offers of mediation, including the office of mayor.

The National Labor Relations Board has received from the union unfair labor charges saying the company is guilty of unfair labor practices, is interfering with the rights of workers to join a union of its own choosing. Rather than negotiate a collective bargaining agreement with the union, the company, in cooperation with the Southern Athletic Co., of Knoxville, Tenn., subcontracted their work, throwing approximately 100 workers out of jobs. This arrogant position of the company indicates their utter disregard for their employees.

The union officials further charged that the United States military procurement officials were pursuing a strikebreaking policy in assisting in this subcontract.

Leonard Amato and Joseph Aletti, local international representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL–CIO, said, "Our union will not give up this fight. We intend to continue this strike. We have 1,500 union members in the Trenton area, who have enjoyed many years of labor peace with management, and the position of Michael A. Zielinski Co., owned by local citizens, in relations to their employees is a community disgrace."

I include here a day letter issued by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL–CIO, under date of August 21, 1957, and the text of a letter sent to Maj. Gen. Webster Anderson, executive director of the Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency, Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot, by Jacob S. Potofsky, general president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The letters follow:

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL–CIO,
Asbury Park, N. J., August 21.

United States military procurement officials were charged today by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL–CIO, with pursuing a strikebreaking policy in making awards for clothing the Armed Forces.

At a meeting here of the Amalgamated General Executive Board at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel, Jacob S. Potofsky, union president, made public the union's latest protest against actions of the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot in favoring firms guilty of violating the Federal labor laws and other delinquencies.

In a blistering communication to Maj. Gen. Webster Anderson at the Philadelphia depot, Mr. Potofsky charged that the Army, in effect, is destroying the jobs of 100 workers employed by the Michael A. Zielinski Co., of Trenton, N. J., by permitting the firm, on strike for more than 4 months, to use the facilities of the Southern Athletic Co., of Knoxville, Tenn., a repeated law violator itself.

Only last week the Southern Athletic Co. was cited by the House Government Operations Committee with repeated delinquencies in performing Government contracts. A few months earlier, Robert Tripp Ross resigned as Assistant Secretary of Defense following charges of conflict of interest, his wife and brother-in-law heading the Wynn Enterprises, with which Southern Athletic is affiliated.

The committee found that the military procurement agencies had loaded down firms with new contracts despite repeated delinquencies. Since Ross' resignation the Wynn Enterprises have obtained $2 million worth of Air Force contracts.

In his protest to General Anderson, Mr. Potofsky pointed out that the Zielinski firm, after it had obtained a contract for $522,600 from military procurement officials to produce 134,000 pairs of men's cotton trousers, discharged 10 workers for seeking union representation, a right guaranteed them under the National Labor Relations Act.

The union, Mr. Potofsky said, advised the Army authorities of the firm's violation of workers' rights, and of the subsequent strike. The military procurement officials, nevertheless, Mr. Potofsky charged, permitted the Zielinski firm to shift its production to the Southern Athletic facilities at Knoxville.

The House Government Operations Committee charged only last week that as many as five Wynn enterprises entered bids on a single procurement, offering different unit prices for the same items; that awards were made to more than one Wynn company at different prices for the same items; that a low-bidding Wynn company had lost to a higher-bidding Wynn company for the same items; that awards of contracts were made to Wynn companies that had no manufacturing facilities; that Wynn companies were loaded down with new contracts although they had defaulted on deliveries of materials under previous orders.

"The picture which emerges is a shocking one," Mr. Potofsky wrote to General Anderson. "The Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency had known all along there is a labor dispute at Michael A. Zielinski Co. It had been informed that Zielinski's workers were engaged in a lawful strike to secure

the right to join and be represented by a union of their own choosing.

"By approving a substitute place of performance for a recalcitrant employer in a labor dispute, the agency has taken sides in the dispute, lining up with the employer against his workers. In plain terms, the Military Supply Agency has embarked on a policy tantamount to strikebreaking.

"There seems to be some deep-seated determination to reward law violators and strikebreakers. Otherwise how explain such indefensible and outrageous conduct as promoting a partnership between an employer determined to deprive his workers of the right to organize, and another employer who has become notorious for his contempt for the law.

"The problem is not one of narrow and technical legalisms. Strikebreaking by a Government agency is destructive of free collective bargaining and a threat to basic rights long guaranteed to every American worker. It is repugnant to public policy and contrary to the fundamental principles of our free society.

"On behalf of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, I strongly urge the Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency to cease its strikebreaking activity by withdrawing the use of a substitute place of performance by Michael A. Zielinski Co."

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL–CIO,
August 19, 1957.

Maj. Gen. WEBSTER ANDERSON,
Executive Director, Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency, Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot, United States Quartermaster Depot, United States Army, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR GENERAL ANDERSON: Since writing to you last Friday to accept your invitation to luncheon, I have learned that the Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency has undertaken to interfere with the efforts of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to bargain collectively on behalf of the employees of Michael A. Zielinski Company of Trenton, N. J. The facts are as follows:

(1) While this firm was working on a contract, under invitation QM36–030–57 NEG–23, for 134,000 pairs of men's cotton trousers in the value of $552,600, Mr. Zielinski discharged some 10 workers for exercising the rights guaranteed them under the National Labor Relations Act. As a result, Mr. Zielinski's workers have been on strike for over 4 months.

(2) During this period, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, representing a majority of Mr. Zielinski's workers, has met with him on numerous occasions in an effort to negotiate both the reinstatement of the discharged workers and the terms and conditions of a collective bargaining agreement. When Mr. Zielinski refused to reinstate these employees and to bargain in good faith, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers filed unfair labor practice charges against the company with the National Labor Relations Board.

(3) In mid-July, Mr. Zielinski informed us that there would be no use meeting inasmuch as his contract had been canceled. At a meeting in Philadelphia with representatives of the Military Supply Agency, our representatives were informed that termination for cause was in fact being contemplated, but such termination would not take place if agreement could be reached shortly. As a result, representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers redoubled their efforts to obtain a fair settlement.

(4) Thereafter, our attorney kept your legal counsel informed of developments, including Zielinski's sudden reluctance to meet with the union. In a conversation with our attorney on July 24, Mr. Zielinski explained that he wanted to postpone meeting with us because "something else was cooking with the contracting officer." That same day our attorney reported this conversation with Mr. Zielinski to your legal counsel and was informed that a letter of termination had been prepared which would go out on Friday, July 26, if we did not report to him that a meeting had been arranged.

(5) On July 26 our attorney reported to your legal counsel that a meeting could not be arranged, and was told that the letter of termination was being held pending receipt of a proposal from Zielinski. Thereafter our attorney made repeated efforts to obtain further reports on developments and was told by your legal counsel that no decision had yet been made.

(6) On August 13 a letter dated August 9, 1957, was received by our attorney signed by a Capt. James M. Murphy, Successor Contracting Officer, stating the following:

"Please be advised that this matter has been disposed of by the Government's approving the use of a substitute place of performance by Michael A. Zielinski Co."

(7) Our attorney was subsequently informed by your legal counsel that the substitute place of performance was the plant of the Southern Athletic Co., in Knoxville, Tenn.

The picture which emerges from the foregoing is a shocking one. The Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency has known all along that there is a labor dispute at Michael A. Zielinski Co. It was informed that Zielinski's workers were engaged in a lawful strike to secure the right to join and be represented by a union of their own choosing. By approving a substitute place of performance for a recalcitrant employer in a labor dispute, the Agency has taken sides in the dispute, lining up with employer against his workers. In plain terms, the Military Supply Agency has embarked on a policy tantamount to strikebreaking. It is in effect destroying the jobs of close to 100 workers in Trenton, N. J., while it once again rewards Southern Athletic Co., the persistent violator of the law which has just been cited by a congressional committee for its record of delinquencies in the performance of Government contracts. There seems to be some deep-seated determination to reward law violators and strikebreakers. Otherwise how explain such indefensible and outrageous conduct as promoting a partnership between an employer determined to deprive his workers of the right to organize, and another employer who has become notorious for his contempt for the law.

The problem is not one of narrow and technical legalisms. Strikebreaking by a Government agency is destructive of free collective bargaining and a threat to basic rights long guaranteed to every American worker. It is repugnant to public policy and contrary to the fundamental principles of our free society.

On behalf of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, I strongly urge the Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency to cease its strikebreaking activity by withdrawing the use of a substitute place of performance by Michael A. Zielinski Co.

Sincerely yours,

JACOB S. POTOFSKY,
General President.

Viva and Ole—Capehart's a Real Hero in Paraguay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, a Hoosier Senator is contributing in very large measure to the effort to build international understanding and good will. This is particularly true with respect to our Latin American neighbors. Recently, Senator CAPEHART visited Paraguay, and the following article from the Indianapolis Times, which I insert with unanimous consent, illustrates the esteem in which he is held among our neighbors to the south:

VIVA AND OLE—CAPEHART'S A REAL HERO IN PARAGUAY

(By Edward Tomlinson)

ASUNCIÓN, PARAGUAY, August 20.—A Hoosier lawmaker landed here Sunday afternoon and took over the capital of Paraguay for 24 hours. Republican Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART, of Indiana, was invited to this South American Republic to receive its highest honors.

In 34 years of experience as a reporter of events in this part of the world, I have seldom seen a Yankee official receive such a spontaneous and wholehearted welcome in any of the countries south of the border.

The government of President Alfredo Stroessner, the Paraguayan Congress and the municipal authorities of Asuncion vied with one another to pay him homage. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Sapena Pastor, conferred upon him the little South American nation's highest decoration, the Grand Order of Merit.

Congress met in extraordinary session and made him an honorary member. The city dedicated and named a boulevard the Avenida HOMER E. CAPEHART.

From the moment the special plane, which brought the Senator and his party from Buenos Aires, landed at the brandnew airport, built with a loan from the Export-Import Bank, he was treated as a national hero.

Practically every daylight hour during his stay he either listened to or replied to speeches of welcome and praise. A regiment of the army with two bands was lined up at the airport. Cabinet officials, members of Congress, generals, and leading citizens formed a welcoming committee.

The party was whisked directly to the Presidential palace for the decoration ceremony. Later at a state dinner, attended by the government and diplomatic corps, hospitality and enthusiasm burst all bounds.

Native musicians and composers performed the colorful music of the country. Officials and their wives joined in the lively Paraguayan folk dances. Eventually, when the orchestra struck up Banks of the Wabash, the Senator rose and sang it lustily, and the assemblage leaped to its feet, applauding wildly and shouting, "Viva CAPEE-HART, Viva CAPEE-HART."

At 7:30 a. m. Monday a detachment and band from the navy lined up in front of the National Pantheon or Hall of the Heroes where Paraguay's honored dead are buried. The Senator and his son, Thomas C. Cape-

hart, who is traveling with him, placed a huge wreath in front of the chapel altar. At 8 o'clock, President Stroessner received the party at Government House and then personally drove the Senator to the ceremony dedicating the avenida.

Following the speeches, the entire party visited the Colegio Internacional, a coeducational high school, conducted under auspices of the Disciples of Christ, or the Christian Church, headquarters of which is in Indianapolis.

This is the school to which practically all the leading families and officials of the country send their children. Several of the cabinet ministers, alumni of the institution, proudly went along to assure the Hoosier that his fellow citizens were contributing to the educational and cultural advancement as well as the economic development of their country.

In fact, the Senator was invited to Paraguay in order that the heads of the government and the people could express their personal appreciation to him and to the United States for the assistance and aid the little republic has received from us.

In 1954, Senator CAPEHART had visited South America as head of a congressional committee to study various projects being financed by the Export-Import Bank and other Government agencies. He found that a Paraguayan request for a loan to construct the first water-supply system in Asuncion had been turned down by the World Bank. The Senator urged the United States Export-Import Bank to take a look into the possibilities of assisting the little country on this and several other much-needed public works.

The government and the people were so grateful that today the name CAPEHART is almost as well known throughout Paraguay as it is in Indiana.

Speakers made it plain that Paraguay does not want gifts, but legitimate assistance in the form of loans and credits to be paid back with interest. They also wanted the Senator to assure the American people that Paraguay is on the side of the United States in the fight against communism.

Congressman John Fogarty Wages the Good Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, just this morning while reading through the most recent issue of the American Federalist, the official magazine of the AFL–CIO, I came across a most interesting, instructive, and commendatory article about our colleague, the gentleman from Rhode Island's Second Congressional District, JOHN E. FOGARTY. Congressman FOGARTY is one of the most highly respected and truly effective Members of this body. Most of us take personal delight following his lead in one of the most difficult tasks performed by any Member of Congress. It is pleasing to note that others also have a high regard for his services and are desirous of letting him know of their kindly feelings as he effectively discharges his responsibilities to his constituents at home and his follow citizens throughout the Nation. I include this article in today's RECORD:

CONGRESSMAN JOHN FOGARTY WAGES THE GOOD FIGHT

(By Fred Ross)

People are fond of JOHN E. FOGARTY, Congressman from Rhode Island. People like him—and he likes people.

The lawmaker is a fine-looking man of 44 who comes from Harmony, a little town near Providence. He seems to know almost everybody in the entire State. He is warmly greeted wherever he goes.

One of Congressman FOGARTY's old friends told this reporter:

"JOHN hasn't changed a bit. His friends counted on him when he was a boy in school. They still depend on him. And he never fails them."

Congressman FOGARTY's record in Washington shows his regard for people and his sympathetic understanding of their needs. He wants to help people—and he has proceeded on the theory that he can help them most effectively by fighting for the right kind of legislation.

A Member of the House of Representatives since 1941, Mr. FOGARTY takes his job very seriously. More than a decade ago—during the 79th Congress—he was named to the Appropriations Subcommittee handling labor, education, health, and welfare matters. He is now the chairman of this important subcommittee.

Congressman FOGARTY has made himself an expert on the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These are the departments which are the concern of his subcommittee.

His expert knowledge of the operations of both of these departments has been demonstrated on many occasions—but never more impressively than in the current session of Congress. Congressman FOGARTY was magnificently effective in blocking the efforts of certain lawmakers determined to use the meat ax on the appropriations for the two departments.

During the debate one Congressman saw fit to make a slighting reference to Mr. FOGARTY as a former bricklayer.

For a decade prior to his first election to the House, JOHN FOGARTY was a bricklayer. He is very proud of that fact. He is proud that he was president of local 1 in Providence for 4 years. And it is with profound pride that he still carries his union card.

Congressman FOGARTY, a Democrat, heard the remark which was intended to be disparaging. Unruffled, and with simple dignity, he replied that he was very proud of having been a workingman.

It was Republican Congressman CHARLES WOLVERTON from New Jersey who took the floor to back Mr. FOGARTY and demolish the slighting remark.

"The gentleman from Rhode Island, as chairman of his great committee," said Mr. WOLVERTON, "has presented a clear and lucid picture of the health needs of the Nation, what has been accomplished and what is planned for the future."

And Congressman WOLVERTON concluded his tribute by saying:

"Let's get more bricklayers in the House."

Primarily through the efforts of Congressman FOGARTY, the National Institutes of Health at Bethesda, Md.—part of the United States Public Health Service—have grown into a large research organization. The Institutes conduct programs which will lead, it is hoped, to the ultimate conquest of cancer, heart disease, mental illness, and other ailments.

When JOHN FOGARTY first became a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee in 1946, the total National Institutes of Health appropriation was just $3,500,000. To Congressman FOGARTY goes the credit of obtaining passage of an appropriation bill for NIH of $22 million for fiscal 1958.

In recognition of his outstanding leadership in the health field, President Eisenhower named him several months ago as a congressional adviser to the United States delegation at the 10th World Health Assembly in Geneva, Switzerland.

JOHN FOGARTY's efforts have not been confined to the health and labor fields. Just recently he testified against a natural gas bill that would be detrimental to the consumers.

"I have been unable to learn," he said, "of a single natural gas producer who has suffered from appropriate regulation which the Federal Power Commission is authorized to administer under the present provisions of the Natural Gas Act.

"Raising costs of natural gas would take additional tolls from the consuming public and add them to the rich profits already enjoyed by an industry which we favor with special tax treatment designed to offset the special risks which are inherent in their operations."

The Congressman also took the floor of the House recently to fight for Federal flood insurance.

"As things stand today," he said, "your constituents and mine cannot buy flood insurance. Private companies won't sell them any, and until we get the Government program going they cannot buy Federal flood insurance."

Congressman FOGARTY's fight for adequate appropriations for vital activities of the Federal Government has earned him the praise of the labor movement.

"You have brought great credit not only to yourself but to Congress and the labor movement of which you are a proud member," AFL–CIO President George Meany wrote the Rhode Islander last spring.

"I predict that for many years people will be quoting your clear answer to Congressman EMMET F. BYRNE, Republican, of Illinois, when he tried to slight you by referring to your former occupation. Your proud statement in defense of anyone who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow will stand as an eloquent tribute to you.

"We are all aware of the tremendous odds against which you were working. The failure of any of the Republican leaders to come to the defense of the administration's own budget made your task almost impossible. Yet you managed to prevent some of the worst slashes.

"It is another indication of the advantages of the democratic system that when you forced your colleagues to stand up and be counted, they reversed themselves and voted with you to prevent some of the cuts.

"On behalf of the 15 million members of the AFL–CIO—the bricklayers and the barbers and the butchers and all the others—I extend to you fraternal greetings and appreciation."

Another leader of labor who wrote to Congressman FOGARTY was International President Harry C. Bates of the bricklayers. In his letter to the fighting Rhode Island legislator, Mr. Bates said:

"I have had occasion to read excerpts from the House RECORD of April 2, 1957, in which Congressman BYRNE of Illinois remarked on your station in life as a bricklayer and your intelligent reply to his remarks. I feel confident that the distinguished Members of the House of Representatives were not at all impressed with the remarks uttered by Congressman BYRNE.

"JOHN, I have often told you of my feelings for you, and I should like to take this occasion to again express them for the record. For my colleagues on the executive board of this international union, for myself, and for the thousands of our members in America, I want to make known to you

our sincere and heartfelt appreciation for the credit you have brought to yourself and our organization, both in your capacity as a bricklayer and a distinguished Member of Congress.

"The record you have compiled during your many years as a Congressman is one that has endeared you to the hearts of the workers of this country. Your sound judgment in carrying on the fight to retain certain funds for the proper functioning of several departments has likewise won for you the admiration and the undying gratitude of untold numbers of people in all walks of life."

Mr. FOGARTY's voting record shows that he has earned these words of praise. He has consistently voted to protect and advance the well-being of the Nation's plain people. He was one of those who voted to uphold President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947.

He was among those on the right side in the successful effort to recommit the Wood bill, which would have worsened the Taft-Hartley Act.

In 1952 he voted to ask President Truman to refuse to use a Taft-Hartley injunction against the striking steelworkers.

The bricklayer from Rhode Island has always given his support to the postal workers in their efforts to obtain wage increases.

He cast his vote against the amendment removing 1 million people, previously covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, from minimum wage coverage.

And he continues to fight the good fight for the labor movement. In the rarified atmosphere of Washington, he has remained a good trade unionist. He has not forgotten that he is a dues-paying member of the bricklayers, as was his late father, and as is his older brother, William.

The Providence bricklayers fondly remember him as a fine union member and leader. Only 23 when first elected president of his local, he was the youngest man ever to have held the post.

Henry Dodd, business agent of the local, told why he was chosen for 4 successive years to lead the organized bricklayers.

Mr. Dodd said that the members recognized him as a good, smart, live young fellow. He added that he was a good speaker, a good mechanic, and a good leader. The business agent also remembered that John Fogarty was always trying to get jobs for the older members, and he succeeded in many cases.

Although the Congressman from Rhode Island maintains that his years in the local presidency were uneventful, Mr. Dodd takes a different view. John Fogarty carried the ball for the bricklayers in negotiations with the employers. He was an effective negotiator, winning substantial pay increases for his members.

The future lawmaker was only 17 when he started his apprenticeship as a bricklayer. While following his trade, he also attended Providence College. In 1946 that institution awarded him a honorary doctor of political science degree.

Congressman FOGARTY is worried about the pockets of unemployment and distress which exist in New England and other parts of the Nation. In his own State of Rhode Island, thousands are jobless because of the closing of textile mills and a depressed condition in the jewelry industry.

Recently the State Department of Employment Security estimated that 31,200 were unemployed in a work force of 360,000, or 8.8 percent.

JOHN FOGARTY's grasp of the problems of people and his desire to help them have led him to initiate a two-pronged attack on unemployment problems.

He has introduced a bill to create a Federal agency to assist areas having chronic unemployment problems. It is a companion bill to one sponsored by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois.

Virtually identical bills were aired for months at Capitol Hill and field hearings last year. At the same time the Senate passed the Douglas bill by a healthy margin, but the House, eager to adjourn for the summer, failed to act.

JOHN FOGARTY is not waiting for Congress to act, although he hopes to see the needed legislation enacted. He is using the facilities at hand in an effort to put more people to work in Rhode Island.

As a result of his planning, representatives of several Federal agencies met recently at Woonsocket with civic, labor, and business leaders and State government representatives.

JOHN FOGARTY's abiding love for humanity was shown in a speech at a recent New York luncheon.

He told of the great progress made through medical research in eliminating human ailments in the past 10 years. He told of drugs that have been developed to curb tuberculosis, blindness in prematurely born babies, heart disease, mental illness, polio and other maladies.

"I am greatly encouraged by these milestones in medical progress," said Mr. FOGARTY. "But the most impressive and, to me, the most important accomplishment of the past 10 years is that during that period, as a result of these medical discoveries, 5 years of life have been added to the span of every man, woman and child in America. "That, to me, is the most vivid and graphic way we can sum up the progress we have made in the decade. A child born today can expect to live 5 years longer than a child born 10 years ago.

"This medical miracle has more meaning to me than the invention of the telephone or the radio or the automobile or the airplane. For while each of these inventions was historic and had far-reaching effects on our way of living, they touched only the periphery of our lives, while here is something that affects directly and clearly the most fundamental and precious possession we have—life itself."

The lawmaker from Rhode Island maintains his deep devotion for organized labor and its principles. He has no use for free riders who are perfectly willing to accept the better wages and better working conditions which are won by trade unions but who refuse to join up. When he was a working bricklayer, he regarded free riding as unfair. And he still feels that way.

He believes firmly that it is sensible and proper for governmental employees to belong to unions. A few days ago, at a meeting in Washington marking the 25th anniversary of two lodges of the American Federation of Government Employees, he remarked:

"The only way you get a raise is to have an organization speak for you. In Government service, the same as anywhere else, you need organization."

The Congressman said that Federal employees who belong to unions should take pride in their membership, just as he is proud of belonging to the bricklayers. Like other toilers, Government workers can gain increased security as well as higher pay through organization, he declared.

Mrs. Fogarty, a former school teacher, was Miss Louise Rohland, of Rehoboth, Mass. The Fogartys have a 10-year-old daughter, Mary.

Congressman FOGARTY has been doing a splendid job for the welfare of the American people for a number of years. It is gratifying that such an outstanding legislator comes from the ranks of our own labor movement.

Address of Hon. Melvin Price, Democrat, of Illinois, Member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the House Committee on Armed Services, at the Jefferson-Jackson Day Banquet Held by the Scioto County, Ohio, Democratic Central-Executive Committee in Portsmouth, Ohio, May 25, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. POLK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, some time back, Hon. MELVIN PRICE delivered a very thought provoking and constructive address at the Jefferson-Jackson Day banquet in Portsmouth, Ohio. His statements and observations are of such importance that I want the Members of the House of Representatives to have the opportunity of reading his message on this occasion.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Democratic Party, it seems to me a good thing for us to be celebrating the Jefferson-Jackson era together. I think the party of Jefferson and Jackson, the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, has a very good chance to win the Congress again next year and to regain the White House in 1960.

We must not minimize the difficulties of the 3½ years ahead. As good Americans we must recognize that we live in a world of danger, that Soviet aggression is a factor we cannot ignore, that we must pay the price of security and freedom.

It is still fair to point out that it is we Democrats who have forced the Eisenhower administration to recognize the facts of modern life and to spend the necessary money to be sure that we have enough muscle in our Armed Forces to defend our way of life.

Some remarkable things have happened to the Eisenhower "Great Crusade" in the six months since the President was re-elected on promises and pledges which most of his own party did not believe in.

We have had the spectacle of a $72 billion budget which the President's own Secretary of the Treasury violently attacked.

We have had the spectacle of the President saying that the budget could not possibly be cut as much as $2 billion—and the President himself then sending a letter to Speaker SAM RAYBURN saying that he had discovered, after all, that budget reductions of $1.8 billion were tolerable.

The Republicans' one authentic so-called egghead, Mr. Arthur Larson, has a habit of calling us Democrats a "divided" party.

What in the world does he think of his own Republican Party?

Larson's personally proposed budget for the United States Information Agency was slashed sharply because he couldn't find any words, despite his brains, to defend it properly. He got precious little support from his own Republicans.

The senior Senator of the Republicans, Senator BRIDGES of New Hampshire, wants Eisenhower's budget cut by $5 billion.

The GOP official floor leader, Senator KNOWLAND of California, is withdrawing from Congress at the conclusion of his present term because apparently he can't endure Mr. Eisenhower's "modern Republicanism."

It is commonly believed that Senator KNOWLAND, for whose personal integrity every Member of Congress has respect, intends to run next year for the governorship of California. He wants to re-establish a base, apparently, from which to challenge Eisenhower's "modern Republicanism."

Our Republican friends are split so sharply, so fundamentally, that not more than a third or a fourth of the Republican Members of Congress can be counted as Eisenhower people.

We Democrats have our differences. These differences are sometimes earnest and are warmly argued.

But the differences haven't kept us from mapping out and enacting all the legislative and social progress in our democracy for the past quarter of a century.

Let's ignore for a moment the historic contributions of the early New Deal, the depression era, when the country was paralyzed by the excesses and abuses of Wall Street control and the refusal of Herbert Hoover to use Federal power to meet the needs of the people.

Let's talk about recent history.

The first Republican Congress in 18 years—the 80th Congress—passed the Taft-Hartley Act and a few other laws intended to repeal or modify the New Deal.

The country got tired of that very quickly and elected the Democratic 81st Congress that raised the minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour—and did something to help the farmers, too.

We got another Republican Congress in 1952—the 83d Congress—and a tax bill was adopted that gave most of the tax relief to corporations and large personal taxpayers.

There wasn't any social reform, though. There was no school-aid bill, no social security change of major importance that plowed new ground.

Under the leadership of Eisenhower—the Eisenhower who called himself, at that moment, a dynamic conservative or a moderate progressive or a middle-of-the-roader—we got, instead, the Dixon-Yates scheme to torpedo the Tennessee Valley Authority and inject politics in the Atomic Energy Commission.

We got farmers sold down the river. We got drought districts denied Federal assistance except in belated and stingy amounts. We got the late Martin P. Durkin resigning, angrily, from the President's Cabinet because he thought he had been sold down the river on Taft-Hartley law changes.

The proposed Hells Canyon high dam on the Snake River in the northwest was sold down the river by Sherman Adams in the White House—and Democrats have been winning congressional and local elections in the northwest ever since.

The country got tired of the Republicans again.

It takes the country only about 2 years to get tired of Republican control of Congress, no matter how befuddled the voters may be by the legend and fame of a general.

In 1954 the people elected a Democratic Congress again—and once again we got progress.

The Democratic Congress checked the plans of Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson to push farm price supports lower and lower.

The Democratic Congress pushed through a minimum wage bill of $1 an hour—although Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor, Mr. Mitchell, pretended that anything more than 90 cents might prove terribly inflationary and harmful to the economy.

It was not until this year—a full 18 months after we Democrats insisted on $1 an hour—that Secretary Mitchell acknowledged that $1, instead of 90 cents, had not produced unemployment and business bankruptcies and all the other horrid things he worried about in 1955.

The Democratic Congress elected in 1954 pushed through basic Social Security Act changes granting benefits to women workers and widows at age 62 instead of age 65.

It pushed through disability benefits at age 50, giving a disabled worker the right to start collecting insurance for himself and his family at that age instead of forcing the family on charity by a rigid rule that nothing could ever be paid before age 65.

President Eisenhower, the self-proclaimed "modern Republican," wasn't in favor of these changes in 1955 and 1956. He signed the Democratic bills because he didn't dare veto them.

And finally last year, when he was running for reelection, he decided to join us—since he couldn't lick us.

He became "modern." His Republican party was perfectly willing to pretend to be modern in order to capitalize again upon the personal popularity of its general.

But his Republican Party didn't really mean it. Once the President was reelected, and all the coattail riders were taken care of, the Republicans began to do what came naturally.

Senator BRIDGES spoke with contempt of "modern Republicanism." Senator KNOWLAND, Mr. Eisenhower's Senate leader, came out against the school-aid bill. JOE MARTIN, the voice of the Republicans in the House, became absolutely certain that Eisenhower's budget could be cut—and cut sharply.

I say to you solemnly, the President today does not lead his own party.

The President cannot count on his own party for support of the programs he says are significant and even vital.

Do you know why the school-aid bill failed last year? It is because about 75 Republicans first voted to load down the bill with amendments, and then voted against it.

Do you know why a civil-rights bill failed last year? It is because the Republicans in the House delayed the bill until the last week of the session, when there wasn't time for the Senate to act.

Do you know why civil-rights legislation has been delayed this year? It is because Republicans in key committees of the House and Senate refused to attend sessions and vote to expedite a civil-rights bill.

If all the Republicans on the House Rules Committee and Senate Judiciary Committee claiming to favor civil-rights laws actually attended and voted that way, the fight would already be over.

The only rollcall votes in the House of Representatives on appropriation bills this year came on the bill to finance the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Let us see what the record shows.

The bill was handled on the floor by Representative JOHN FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, a Democrat. FOGARTY'S subcommittee had made some careful reductions in the money the two departments asked, but it cut carefully rather than with a meat ax. This didn't satisfy Eisenhower's Republicans.

An amendment was filed to slash an additional $204,000 from the Labor Departments' Office of Solicitor. This is an important job, because the Solicitor makes the investigations necessary for minimum-wage decisions on Government contracts under the Walsh-Healey and Davis-Bacon laws. To protect workers from chiseling contractors on Government work, the Solicitor must have enough money to do his job.

The Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, is a Republican—but Republicans in the House voted 153 to 42 to cut down his Solicitor's operations. Democrats voted 129 to 88 against the reduction.

Another Republican amendment proposed a slash of $136,000 from the Labor Department bureau protecting the reemployment rights of veterans. Republicans in the House voted 107 to 88 in favor of the slash. Democrats voted 118 to 30 against it.

An amendment was filed to cut $346,000 from funds for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This Bureau gathers and publishes statistics of employment, labor disputes, and the cost of living. Its Consumer Price Index is of vital importance because the wages of millions of workers are tied to the index and go up or down as it rises or falls.

Secretary Mitchell, a Republican, begged Congress not to impose the cut, but Republicans in the House voted 134 to 62 in favor of the reduction, while Democrats voted 139 to 83 against it.

All of us in Congress are mindful of the need for economy and careful spending. But when it is a matter of a few hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Department of Labor—the smallest department of Government—it is not true economy to knock out vital functions.

The President can get Democrats to understand this. He can't get his nonmodern Republicans to understand it.

The manner in which the Republicans have dealt with the public power issue is a failure of President Eisenhower personally.

He plays golf with so many private-utility executives that he believes they are telling him the solemn truth when all they are feeding him is private-utility propaganda.

So he calls the Tennessee Valley Authority "creepng socialism" and he sells out the proposed big Federal dam in Hells Canyon. He refuses to support the Gore-Holifield bill to let the Government itself build atomic reactors for industrial electricity—although he is perfectly willing to sign bills giving the private-utility industry subsidies for building reactors based on the people's investment of billions in atomic energy.

He was stopped cold in the Dixon-Yates raid on the TVA, and I predict he will eventually be stopped cold in the raid of a private utility on the Hells Canyon site.

I am even hopeful that if we can get a few more Democrats in Congress next session—or maybe this session—we can at last pass the Gore-Holifield bill for Government-built reactors and begin the process of bringing the blessings of peacetime uses of atomic energy to all our people.

It is a terribly dangerous thing for this country to sit idle, siphoning money to private industry in the atomic field, while both Great Britain and the Soviet Union surpass us in the development of industrial reactors. Yet, I tell you this is exactly what is happening—and that this kind of program is the only Eisenhower type of program that his own Republicans will support.

Take a look at the Eisenhower record on Federal aid to the schools. He was totally against it in 1953 and 1954. In 1955 he grudgingly came up with a proposal for $225 million in Federal funds spread across 3 years. Finally—last year—he proposed $1.225 billion in 5 years. And when his own Republicans killed that program, he blamed the Democrats.

I suggest to you, in all seriousness, that in 20 years of frustrated defeat in the New Deal-Fair Deal era the so-called modern Republican Party became incapable of governing our country.

It became so accustomed to blind opposition that it cannot recover the habit of affirmation, of constructive action.

I do not question the integrity or patriotism of our opposition—as the questioned and slurred ours. There is a genuine possibility, however, that the Republican Party has been made obsolete by history.

Republicans came reluctantly to the acceptance of the necessity of internationalism, the necessity of acting as if we know we

live in a world of peril, and that we need allies.

They came reluctantly or never at all to acceptance of the social responsibilities of government. What have they contributed, really, in what is now nearly 25 long years? Nothing in the domestic field except a grudging concession that they will tolerate what they are compelled to tolerate.

They twice elect a President, with a shining name, and the bloom is scarcely off his second election before they hasten to repudiate him.

The President himself belatedly acknowledges that the Democrats were right all along—on the budget, on foreign policy, on domestic policy—and his horrified Republicans in Congress refuse to make the compromises necessary to survival.

There is no head, no tail, no backbone in the executive leadership of this administration—and the members of the general's own party in Congress are striving with each other for ways to denounce him.

Mr. Eisenhower's press secretary, James C. Hagerty, has been suggesting that lots of other Presidents took more time away from the job than Ike himself.

I may suggest, in turn, that when Roosevelt and Truman were in the White House, nobody ever doubted who was the country's Chief Executive, in or out of Washington.

The history of the past quarter century proves that with a bold and brave President in the White House, a Democratic President who understands and accepts his job, the country can make progress.

It can make progress providing the people give that President enough Democratic Members of the House and Senate to overbalance the inevitable individual defections on some issues.

It isn't enough to give the President a Democratic margin of maybe 20 in the House and of only 2 in the Senate.

Give us 20 more Democrats in the House and half a dozen more Democrats in the Senate—and the country can look forward again to progress that will keep us up with history.

We'll be able to pass the good programs that Eisenhower requests in his last 2 years and to force through some other good programs that he doesn't request.

This is the task of our party in the year and a half leading to the November 1958 congressional elections. Let's elect some more Democrats—and then in 1960 we will elect a Democratic President to lead the country.

It May Be Worth It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal said pro and con about the visit of certain American youth to Moscow and Communist China. One of the most succinct, constructive, and understanding editorials of this situation that have come to my attention appeared in the Daily Sentinel, of Grand Junction, Colo., under date of August 23, 1957. With the feeling that the editorial would be of value to all of my colleagues I am pleased to insert it following these brief remarks:

IT MAY BE WORTH IT

Without condoning the students' defiance of the State Department rulings when they went into Red China we cannot agree with Secretary Dulles that they are tools in the hands of the Communists. Their appearances in Moscow, where some of them defied Soviet rules and many took the opportunity to defend the United States before Soviet students, belies their being tools—they sound like individualists.

Undoubtedly there were some Communist sympathizers in the group, but the chance to visit Moscow at the cost of $2 a day was attractive to any youngster with curiosity or spirit who could go to Russia and see for himself, and, perhaps, spread some American doctrine while he was at it.

Those may have been among the reasons for going to Red China. Certainly the State Department's blind policy of curtaining off the land where one-third of the world's population lives has not done much to enlighten us on actual conditions there. It is definitely a strong weapon for Communist propagandists.

If it is possible for American college students to be seduced from democracy to communism in a brief sightseeing tour through China then they were not very well grounded in democracy in the first place. If they, like their president, find it hard to defend democracy, then perhaps they are not the best sort of ambassadors to send to a communistic country. If they are curious and outspoken they will find contrasts which will disillusion them and make statements which may disillusion some Communists.

They were wrong, of course, in disobeying their Government, but that doesn't mean that the Government was right. We find a parallel here between their disobedience and that of the soldier who refused the "white sidewall" haircut. He was wrong in disobeying orders, but the ensuing row uncovered a lot of idiocy in Army rulings and cleaned up some conditions which needed cleaning up. If the students manage to find out something about Red China and to spread a little American doctrine (their clothing, their freedom to travel alone, will do that); if they also focus attention on the idiotic ruling which denies any American right to travel in China and thereby gives the communistic propagandists a real weapon, then the punishment they suffer on return may be worth it. We don't look for any of them to defect and remain in China nor for many of them to come home preaching the advantages of communistic government. They may do so, but they sound too much like individualists to us.

Why Repeal the Income Tax?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here an article issued by the Organization To Repeal Federal Income Taxes, Inc., which I wish to commend to the attention of my colleagues:

If our personal freedom and national liberty are to be maintained then action must be taken to repeal the one law that nullifies the Bill of Rights—the 16th amendment. This amendment authorizes the Federal Government to assess any degree of taxation upon us that it may desire. By this seizure of our wealth we become pawns of the Government and a subject, rather than a citizen. The 16th amendment states: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

Why has the United States a national debt of about $275 billion? The answer to this is that without the 16th amendment this would have been impossible, for the Government would have to live within its means as it did for 124 years during which time we were the richest nation in the world and the only free people in the world. Today we are the poorest nation in the world and we have lost our freedom for we are no longer entitled to the fruits of our labors.

The Federal income tax is an immoral law breeding dishonesty in government and in the citizen. It is contradictory to the bill of rights and nullifies the 4th, 5th, and 10th amendments. The Federal income tax is a confiscatory law and each year is progressively seizes more of your property and earnings.

Repeal means that every payday you will take home all the tax money that is now withheld from your wages;

Repeal means that, in fact, your immediate earning power will be increased by the amount that is now withheld from your wages;

Repeal means that your future earning power will not be limited by the fear of higher brackets and higher deductions that are, in direct effect, taxes placed upon you to curb your initiative and your desire for self-advancement;

Repeal means that your employer will be enabled to establish a broadened program for systematic reinvestment of earned income back into his business to guarantee progressive expansion and proper maintenance of the machinery and equipment upon which your job and your future economic welfare depend;

Repeal means the end of excessive Federal taxation; which means the killing of inflation without undermining government, education, or industry;

Repeal means more efficient government by competent government employees at higher take-home pay at less cost to the taxpayer;

Repeal means returning the duty of self-government to the States.

Repeal means restoring individual dignity and personal liberty to every American citizen.

The American citizen has been deprived of his rights of freedom guaranteed by article IV of the Bill of Rights:

He is no longer secure in his person, his home, in his papers and effects against the unreasonable searches and seizures of the Collector of Internal Revenue and his agents; he is required by the enforcement laws of the 16th amendment to keep records of his personal and business financial transactions upon which he may be prosecuted and imprisoned.

The American citizen has been deprived of his rights of freedom guaranteed by article V of the Bill of Rights.

He is held to answer for his every financial transactions; regardless of the amount, source, purpose or legality of such transactions; he is subject not only to double jeopardy arising from his year-to-year reports on his financial transactions, but he is also forced to testify against himself, his wife and his family in his written and sworn reports of income to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

He is deprived of utilizing his free choice of individual initiative in working for the betterment of himself and for the general welfare of the Union.

The free and equal rights of American citizens have been abridged; classes of American citizens, graded by income level, have been established and each class is taxed, not according to the individual citizen's equal obligation to Government but according to the citizen's individual initiative and

individual productive ability. The progressive system of graduated income taxes against earned income penalizes the ambitions, the initiative, and the personal advancement of each citizen.

Annual taxes are withheld from individual citizen's wages from payday to payday without consent or individual authorization; other citizens are forced, against their free will, to make detailed reports, inform upon and collect income taxes from their employees under criminal codes that allow neither compensation nor reimbursement for costs of collection, keeping the records and transferral of moneys collected. Nor is the employer-collector allowed a legal margin between honest error or business failure and criminal intent.

The American citizen has been deprived of his rights of freedom guaranteed by article VI of the Bill of Rights:

Upon suspicion only, the Collector of Internal Revenue or his agents may file liens for seizure of the citizen's bank accounts, his papers and his property; such liens are published in the public press without the citizen's prior knowledge or defense; the citizen is subjected to unjust and extralegal hearings in kangaroo courts presided over by deputies of the Collector of Internal Revenue and forced to furnish evidence against himself that can be used in his prosecution in open court.

The American citizen has been deprived of his rights of freedom guaranteed by article VII of the Bill of Rights:

In all matters of time of payment, amount of payment, and method of payment, the citizen is subjected to the flexible rulings of the Collector of Internal Revenue; as is assessed unjust and unreasonable fines in the guise of interest and penalty, and he is still held under the threat of criminal prosecution. The rules of common law have been superseded by the codes of the 16th amendment.

The American citizen has been deprived of his rights of freedom guaranteed by article VIII of the Bill of Rights:

Excessive fines have been imposed; cruel and unusual punishment has been inflicted upon citizens who have been convicted of lateness in making income-tax payments; inability to make income-tax payments and failure, for any reason, of fulfilling orders of courts in making income-tax payments.

Did you know that your income-tax dollars helped finance such projects as highways for Communist Yugoslavia, homes for Turkish miners, a model city for Communist-sympathizer Nehru, of India, and allowed Great Britain to reduce its personal income tax?

This unconstitutional use of your tax dollars is called foreign aid. For such purposes the United States Government in 1954 spent $4.5 billion; for tax-supported, Government-operated businesses, the expenditure in 1954 was $28 billion; a total illegal and unconstitutional spending of our hard-earned tax dollars of $32.5 billion. At the same time the Government collected in personal income taxes from individual wage earners an amount of $33 billion.

Therefore, if we cut out aid to Communist-Socialist countries, whose aim is to destroy America, and if we get Government out of private enterprise there would be no need for personal income tax.

The fact remains we progressed to a great, prosperous nation before 1913 when the 16th amendment was enacted. That was 124 years and the bite was small. It is constantly greater.

The 18th amendment was repealed because it infringed the rights of just some of the people; this 16th amendment must be repealed, as it infringes the rights of all the people.

Happy Is Our Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a most interesting and informative brochure from the board of economic development in Happy, Tex. It is, I believe, notable that this thriving and industrious community in the great Panhandle of Texas is exercising vision and foresightedness in projecting the many attributes of their most attractive city. The title of the brochure is "Happy Is Our Home," and from my knowledge of the populace of this community, I consider it most apropos. Under unanimous consent, I insert herein a few of the many pertinent and enlightening facts from this publication:

HAPPY IS OUR HOME

Our history: Even before the white man came to this area, it was known as Happy Hunting Ground by the Indians who roamed the plains. Later, during the cattle drives, cowboys named it Happy Draw because it was a source of grass and water for their stock. As the town was located on this draw, the original settlers chose this name for their new home. Settlement began in the 1880's and Happy was incorporated in 1925.

Location: Happy is ideally located for those who appreciate the freedom and elbow room of a small town and still can be only minutes away from the larger shopping centers. State and Federal highways radiate in 3 directions, 2 of them being 4-lane expressways. Happy is situated in the heart of the Panhandle-Plains area of Texas, an area comparatively young in history, rich in resources and unlimited room for growth and progress.

Business opportunities: Happy, besides being in every way a fine town in which to live and raise a family, is also an excellent place to bring up a business. Here are some of the opportunities Happy offers to business and industry: a stable farm income from well irrigated land. Happy has an ample underground water supply for domestic and industrial users. Excellent transportation and freight service. Happy is connected north and south by U. S. Highway 87, a four-lane expressway giving easy access to Amarillo north and Lubbock south. East and west Texas Highway 1087. The Santa Fe railroad connects Happy with all the United States for dependable passenger and freight service. Happy is also serviced by bus and truck lines with overnight service to Fort Worth and Dallas, and connections with all regional cities. Happy is serviced by the Southwestern Public Service Co., Pioneer Natural Gas Co., and the General Telephone Co. Happy offers plenty of space for industrial and housing development, having no State income tax or sales tax and low property taxes. City taxes are only $1.40 per $100 on 33⅓ percent valuation and school taxes $1.50 per $100 on 37½ percent valuation.

Our climate: 3,660 feet above sea level, with humidity averaging approximately 58 percent and prevailing southwesterly breezes make for ideal living conditons. The nights are always cool and the days never oppressively hot or humid. Rare is the day when the sun doesn't shine. Average temperature is 56.6, with an average minimum of 43 and a maximum of 71. The average annual rainfall is 21.12 inches.

"Happy is our home" is more than just a catch phrase. It has real meaning to hundreds of citizens who prefer to live and work in this community—a community that has never been beset by the perils of boom or bust, but over the years has enjoyed a steady, wholesome growth based principally on agricultural economy.

In the heart of the last great business frontier, the great Southwest, Happy, Tex., is ideally located for both business and personal development. We believe you will profit by investing your efforts and resources in the fresh, opportunity-laden atmosphere of Happy, Tex. We urge you to investigate the opportunities available and you will join us in saying "Happy is our home."

Misunderstood America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an editorial from the Kendallville News-Sun entitled "Misunderstood America." It gives us much reason for reflection upon our relations with other nations of the world and points out our obligations in that respect.

The editorial follows:

MISUNDERSTOOD AMERICA

It is not a new story that America is misunderstood and disliked in some parts of the globe. But it is always somewhat disheartening to learn what limits these attitudes go in certain countries.

Recently the National Broadcasting Co. presented a filmed television program called "As Others See Us," drawing on interviews with ordinary citizens in many lands around the world.

Opinions about America, often strikingly negative, ranged all over the lot. Most astonishing were those in India.

Though India is notorious for hostile attitudes toward America, few can fail to be shocked at the extremes of views revealed.

According to NBC Reporter Joe Michaels many Indians are firmly convinced that the widespread outbreaks of so-called Asiatic influenza are the result of American H-bomb experiments.

Such a distortion obviously is the work of the Communist propagandists in Asia. To us it is utterly fantastic. But we cannot laugh off the fact that many people accept the story as true.

Naturally such belief reflects ignorance—both of the scientific aspects of the H-bomb experiments and of American attitudes. But, unhappily, it also shows a far too great readiness on the part of the Indians to believe the worst of the United States.

We can never be complacent about such disfavor. It is well for us to be constantly reexamining not only our policies but our official and general behavior toward the countries we deal with.

But in India's case there is reason to believe that the official attitudes outspokenly expressed by Prime Minister Nehru, Krishna Menon, and other leaders have tended to foster intense dislikes of us rather than to encourage real understanding of this country.

For all its shortcomings, America is not the evil place many Indians make it out to

be. On the contrary, it is still the world's greatest citadel of freedom, with vast material and spiritual accomplishment to show the world as the fruits of that liberty.

It is not only our job but the task of responsible Indian leaders as well to see that the citizens of that populous country gain a true portrait of the nation which more than any other, demonstrates the promise and the fulfillment of freedom.

Federal Grants-in-Aid to South Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have just received some illuminating facts with regard to Federal grant-in-aid programs in South Dakota. These figures illustrate what is happening in these grant-in-aid programs when a small State like South Dakota receives $36,408,176 in so-called grants from the Federal Treasury.

This grant-in-aid program is one of the most alarming growths of Federal bureaucracy. The movement has grown from $1½ billion in 1947 to an estimated $5 billion in fiscal 1958. We need only to examine how bureaus grow through such grants to see that there will be no stopping of this trend of Washington-controlled government if many of the programs are not handed to the States.

At the governors' conference in Williamsburg, Va., the latter part of June, President Eisenhower told the Governors of the States that the trend toward centralized Government is not only continuing but accelerating. He said:

> If States' failure to meet pressing public need has created the opportunity, developed the excuse, and fed the temptation for the National Government to poach on the State preserves, year by year responding to transient popular demands, the Congress has increased Federal functions.

President Eisenhower suggested at that meeting the creation of a Federal-State task force which would develop adjustments in our tax structure to the end that the States would keep a greater share of tax revenue. It would determine what functions now being performed by the Federal Government can be taken over by the States, and it would establish responsibility for problems which might arise in the future.

I want to say at this point, Mr. Speaker, that I wholeheartedly endorse the suggestion of the President. I think the time has come when we must take a sharp look at this whole grant-in-aid problem.

The last session of Congress added 13 new grant-in-aid programs to the statute books. Several more have been added this session. I would emphasize that most of these funds finance good programs, but the question is not one of merit but what is the most effective means of carrying out needed programs under our constitutional form of government.

It is not the spending which should worry us so much as the effect of this spending, for as the Federal Government takes over these functions which rightly belong to the States, cities, and counties, control moves away from the people into the hands of bureaucrats in Washington who are actually responsible to no one. This is the thing which should give us great concern because it robs us of the concept of government upon which this Nation was founded.

It is, Mr. Speaker, for that reason that I wish to insert in the RECORD at this point a list of 61 of the 95 programs available to the States and Territories of which South Dakota received payments last year.

The list is as follows:

Direct Federal grants-in-aid to South Dakota, fiscal year 1956

Agricultural experimental stations	$316,699
Cooperative agricultural extension work	515,756
School-lunch program	375,049
National forests fund	78,778
Submarginal land program	33,091
Cooperative projects—marketing	15,263
State and private forestry cooperation	33,094
Commodity Credit Corporation	439,708
Special school milk program	209,192
Removal of surplus agricultural commodities	695,739
Civil Aeronautics Administration—Federal airport program	41,388
Bureau of Public Roads—highway construction	8,566,426
Army—lease of flood-control lands	36,279
Agricultural, mechanical college grants	76,511
Cooperative vocational education	253,114
School construction and survey, emergency	587,185
Maintenance, operation of schools, emergency	828,144
Venereal-disease control	−1,200
Tuberculosis control	14,750
General health assistance	63,759
Polio emergency grants	15,000
Mental health activities	19,419
Cancer control	14,830
Heart disease control	13,399
Polio vaccine program	206,769
Hospital construction, survey, planning	177,945
Maternal and child health services	86,095
Crippled children services	106,326
Child welfare services	70,587
Old-age assistance	3,823,562
Aid to dependent children	1,882,459
Aid to permanently, totally disabled	309,757
Aid to the blind	76,939
Printing for the blind	1,369
Vocational rehabilitation	146,318
Wildlife restoration	401,836
Migratory bird conservation	1,953
Mineral leasing payments	96,929
Special funds payments (Interior)	8,800
Unemployment compensation, employment service	573,810
Civil defense—emergency grants	23,672
Homes for disabled soldiers, sailors	78,632
VA on-the-job training, supervision	40,918
Total grant payments (43 programs) direct	21,358,449

Federal-aid payments other than direct grants and loans, fiscal 1956

Agricultural conservation program	$4,732,035
Agricultural conservation program	147,214
Public roads, forest highways	223,921
National Guard, Air Force	1,402,762
National Guard, Army	2,669,468
National Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases Institute, research	25,415
National Cancer Institute, research	4,850
National Institute Allergy, Infectious Diseases, research	13,922
National Institute of Mental Health, research	10,587
Division Research Grants	4,570
National Cancer Institute, training	5,000
National Cancer Institute, fellowships	2,592
Unemployment compensation, veterans	507,145
Unemployment compensation, Federal employees	92,575
National Science Foundation, research	19,134
National Science Foundation, fellowships	6,180
Automobiles for disabled veterans	14,400
VA readjustment benefits and vocational rehabilitation	5,167,948
Total payments (18 programs)	15,049,727
Total grants-in-aid to South Dakota (61 programs)	36,408,176

Commencement Address Delivered by Representative Albert Thomas, of Texas, at Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogdoches, Tex., August 22, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert a commencement address made by my colleague, ALBERT THOMAS, to the graduates of the Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogdoches, Tex., August 22, 1957:

THE IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING OPEN LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SOCIETY AND SCIENCE

Many of you have been the captured audiences of commencement speakers on other occasions, and some of you are now seated here for your first college commencement address. I sympathize with your entrapped dilemma because I have been caught in it myself. I recall some few years ago when I attended my own commencement exercises, the distinguished speaker's subject was Einstein's Theory of Relativity. He labored for some 30 to 40 minutes making one of the most scholarly speeches I have ever heard. But, when he finished, I had a small idea that he didn't know too much about his subject and, as far as I was concerned, I knew noth-

ing about the subject before or after the speech.

Let me exhort you, as you move away from this happy and tranquil campus into a comparatively unhappy world of tranquilizers, to do all you can to improve the channels of communication between society and science.

I respectfully suggest that one of the big reasons why you have progressed thus far in acquiring knowledge is because it was conveyed to you simply, imaginatively, and clearly, and you did some digging, too. Lest you too quickly judge that observation a platitude, I cordially invite you to spend a few hours with me in my office in Washington trying to dig out the meaning of letters, official documents, and statements, from and by responsible officers of Government, and some from my good voters. Nor can I escape from my own charge—maybe you would appreciate more clarity now.

Understanding precedes learning. If we don't understand what is written or said, we don't begin to learn, do we? For example, here in Stephen F. Austin earlier this summer was concluded a 6 weeks' institute in the natural sciences for secondary-school teachers designed to help increase the numbers of scientists through improved science teaching. The significant phrase there is "through improved science teaching." Science teachers today face tremendous tasks in keeping up with the furious pace set by advances in science. In order to help them understand these new advances in science, including nuclear physics, the National Science Foundation undertook a small program 4 years ago to enable high-school teachers, without cost to them, to return to college during the summer and study under scientists trained in the subject matter. The American Association for the Advancement of Science called it "one of the most significant developments in teacher education in the past 20 years."

I know something about the program because, as an independent agency of the United States Government, the National Science Foundation appears before the Appropriations Subcommittee, which I am privileged to head, to defend its budget proposals. I considered it to be one of the finest programs developed by the Foundation because it reaches the heart of the problem—the motivation of young men and women toward careers in science. From an early beginning of two summer institutes in 1953, the project has grown until during this summer there were 96 institutes supported by the Foundation in all parts of the Nation. Naturally, I was delighted that the Stephen F. Austin State College, whose genial, able, and distinguished president, Dr. Paul Boynton, is my friend, was chosen one of the institutions qualified to help carry forward this important job. Your record is excellent.

The job is indeed important. Our principal competitor for the minds and hearts of men is the Soviet Union. Since World War II, the Soviets have so far progressed in training scientists and engineers that one of our foremost physicists has stated that he believes the United States has already been surpassed in the race for numbers of graduates in the sciences and that it is now too late for us to catch up in the near future.

My doubt arises when I consider kinds of graduates. We cherish the freedom we enjoy to pursue careers of our own choosing.

No such freedom exists in Russia where careers are selected for Soviet youth by the State. We may have been surpassed in quantity during the last 5-year period, but I seriously question whether we have been outrun in quality, or total numbers. I recognize that this may be myopic rationalization, but so long as we are able to convey facts clearly to our young people about the danger of Russia outstripping us in scientific manpower, I am confident your students will, in adequate numbers, choose careers which will sustain our economy and our defense. Having chosen careers by their own designation, our youth will be more productive than youth coerced into directed careers.

The problem may be resolved by keeping open our lines of communication. Let us underscore to our youth the opportunities presented to them by our sturdy economy. Let us not build our Nation on fear. Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, expressed the point of view I wish to emphasize. Dr. Killian said, and I quote:

"The last thing we should do is to engage in an academic numbers race with the Russians. We need, instead, to concentrate on those qualitative aims which will keep our science and engineering always ahead. * * * This policy and objective, if followed, will require us to set quality and creativeness at the highest achievable level."

How does one go about setting quality and creativeness at the highest achievable level? Certainly not through coercion. It seems to me, achievement of quality and creativeness is attained through the inspiration which arises from the kind of rapport which exists between the good teacher and his student. Teacher-student harmony is keyed to clear communication which supports understanding which, in turn, fans the flame of inspiration. In this connection, I am convinced, we who have chosen careers in the social sciences—as lawyer, writers, teachers, artists, have much to give to our fellow men who have chosen careers in the natural sciences—engineers, mathematicians, physicists, chemists, others.

The scientist and engineer are frequently not good communicators. Would you agree, then, that we, who are supposed to be good communicators, ought to help them? If science is, as I believe it is, no less a part of our culture than law, literature, and art, each of us is mutually obligated to understand the other. For example, would it not be possible for you, as teachers of English, history, or geography to develop course content, which pointed up the significance of scientific advances as you prepare your curricula? Similarly, is it not possible for the mathematics teacher to underscore the importance of his subject matter as a factor in music—yes, even in history? I think there is vast room for a constructive interchanges of knowledges here, and I am persuaded that such interchange is quite necessary in order for society to catch up with science.

I am not quite sure that I have said that just right. Who's catching up with whom? Should society catch up with science, or science with society? In a large sense, both concepts are wrong. Science and society are not mutually exclusive—science is as much a part of society as literature. Science itself is much concerned with this problem. The American Association for the Advancement of Science last winter stated that "in marked contrast to other associations, scientific societies seldom consider the social and economic position of their group." In all fairness, I think the Triple-A S could as well have stated that "in marked contrast with older civilizations, United States society has not seriously enough considered the place of science and teachers within itself or within its economy."

To train more teachers and scientists we must first elevate the teacher to that high position of leadership and prominence in the community that he or she so richly deserves. And we must pay them in accordance with that high position. One good way to expedite the training of teachers and scientists is to put a premium pay on both professions. Premium pay is long overdue and will be helpful.

I have worked very closely over the past years with several scientific organizations of the United States Government in handling their finances. In doing so, I have come to know many men of science. These men do not wear long white coats, nor do they have long beards or long hair. They are long on brains, however, but as they themselves point out, they are short on the know-how of public affairs. Their business is too important, however, for you or me to be indifferent about their status in our society. Society and science have a long road to travel before they meet in complete understanding, and I'm reasonably sure that science has already traveled more than half the distance to set up the meeting. Society must be willing now to travel the rest of the way.

Most of you, I believe, are, or soon will be, teachers. Whether you teach the sciences or the arts, there is not a more worthwhile, more rewarding job in the world. To an extent possibly greater than any other group, you can do more to help young people understand the importance of the role of science in our society. In the final analysis, you teachers must do it. We in Washington can help by directing the resources of Government into constructive uses, but we have no business whatsoever in directing you or your schools.

The world in which you are to venture is as new and strange to my generation as to yours. Perhaps you are better equipped to meet it than we older ones. My generation has been forced to change as the times in which we lived, changed. Your education has been tailored to meet the new conditions. In spite of that apparent advantage, which you may have, your generation faces a terrible dilemma. It is how can you exist with an incompatible system of government such as Russia and her satellites have, without succumbing to it or becoming engaged in an all-out war, from which there could easily be no survival. The answer is to stay ahead of Russia in the arts and sciences. In my judgment, Russia today is behind us in total numbers and quality of engineers, teachers, and scientists. But if she continues to produce in numbers for the next 10 years what she is doing today; and we do not step up our production, then Russia will be ahead of us. The day she outstrips us in number and quality of professions is the day we become a second-rate power to Russia.

Let me leave this last thought with you. It is your duty, as college graduates, to see to it that Russia never surpasses this country in the annual training of engineers, teachers, and scientists. As you pass through these portals of learning, see to it that others take your place.

I wish Godspeed to each of you as you leave this friendly, pine-scented campus and move into a troubled world which, in my judgment, will be less troubled if you do what you can to keep open channels of communication between society and science.

Wabash Valley Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Wabash River Basin, lying in Illinois and Indiana, has a great future, as is evidenced by the formation of the Wabash Valley Association. This nonprofit organization, formed to promote the prosperity, welfare, and development of the Wabash River area, came into existence August 12 at Mount Car-

mel, Ill., where more than a dozen mayors of cities and representatives of chambers of commerce and civic organizations from three dozen cities in Illinois and Indiana voted unanimously to form this association.

Mr. Speaker, I am including an excellent article on this subject which was published in the Robinson Daily News, which sets forth in detail the background and objectives of this association, and I predict that it will do useful work for the benefit not only of the Wabash Valley but for the country as a whole.

The article follows:

[From the Robinson (Ill.) Daily News of August 13, 1957]

FORM WABASH VALLEY ASSOCIATION TO SEEK IMPROVEMENT OF RIVER, PROMOTE PROSPERITY OF REGION—UNIVERSITIES OF ILLINOIS, INDIANA, AND PURDUE PREDICT BRIGHT FUTURE WITH OPENING OF ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY

Three great State universities are now at work jointly on surveys aimed at improving the Wabash River Basin in Illinois and Indiana.

Control of the floods which now devastate thousands of acres of fertile farmland, canalization of the river to permit navigation and industrial development and improvement of recreational facilities are among the possibilities.

The Wabash Valley Association, a nonprofit corporation to support this work, and to promote the prosperity, welfare, and development of the Wabash River area, was voted into existence Monday night in a meeting at Mount Carmel.

More than a dozen mayors of cities and representatives of chambers of commerce and civic organizations from three dozen cities in Illinois and Indiana attended the meeting and voted unanimously for formation of the permanent organization.

The recently organized Crawford County Chamber of Commerce, which in its first meeting endorsed the Wabash River project, and the chambers of Robinson, Palestine, and Hutsonville, were among those having representatives at the meeting.

Prof. Joseph A. Russell, head of the department of geography at the University of Illinois, headed a panel of university experts who reported on a joint arrangement between the University of Illinois, Indiana University, and Purdue University to conduct the surveys and make recommendations for development on the basis of their findings.

Professor Russell told his large audience that the Wabash River Valley lies in an American heartland area destined to have enormous development in industry, agriculture, and population in the next few years.

"You are living in an area unique in the world, and in my study of geography I know of none other which has such a good combination of needed water supplies, farmland, climate, natural resources, transportation, and recreational possibilities to support large population in plenty," he said.

"You are in an area destined for development, whether you like it or not, and many parts of this area will gain great new prosperity which will be sparked by the opening of the St. Lawrence Waterway, now only 2 years distant," he said.

"This area development cannot be prevented, but it can be directed.

"First step is to find out what you have and what problems confront you.

"You know that there are large natural resources in the area and our preliminary surveys from material which the three cooperating universities now have will make it apparent how large they are, and where they are, and how present transportation facilities and shipping rates affect industry.

"You know that the Wabash and its tributaries are destroying thousands of acres of crops in the periodic floods of the region.

"You need to be able to show that control of those floods will mean enough additional national prosperity to justify the measures necessary for their control.

"For instance, a study by Purdue University a short time ago showed that the roads of Indiana alone suffered $4-million damage from every flood, not even considering farm losses.

"You need a survey of present industry and possible future industrial development to see if canalization of the river is justified economically, as many believe.

"Your proposed organization of the Wabash River Association is needed to back this work, get the people of every community in the area informed, and to go on to obtain action," Professor Russell concluded.

Prof. Louis Wetmore, head of the bureau of community planning at the University of Indiana, and Prof. Philip Lewis, who is a native of Lawrenceville, and two research assistants, William Lamont and Armin Ludwig, completed the interim report for the three universities, showing numerous charts and slides on the Wabash Valley resources and physical appearance.

The Wabash River development project is considered so important to the welfare of Illinois that the University of Illinois has appropriated $8,000 to help with its portion of the work.

Only local contributions to the survey to date have been contributions of a total of $500 in equal shares from the cities of Mount Carmel, Lawrenceville, Vincennes, and Terre Haute.

The Wabash River Association will have as members all interested individuals and organizations in the area. Individual memberships will cost $10 a year; organization membership, $50 a year.

It will be governed by a board of directors to be chosen in equal numbers from Illinois and Indiana.

President was the man who called the meeting, J. Roy Dee, mayor of Mount Carmel, who started work on the Wabash River project about 3 years ago and has been responsible for getting the universities interested and the work underway.

He introduced many of the mayors and other representatives of communities and organizations present and predicted that the association, with joint Illinois and Indiana membership and the technical assistance of the three universities, could do much for the future of the Wabash Valley.

Mayor Dee, who has not only been the originator and mainspring of the present effort to get general cooperation on Wabash River problems, but who has done much of the early financing at his own expense, said that he hoped that there would soon be a county organization in every Illinois and Indiana community in the Wabash Valley to back the movement and to make Washington aware of the importance of the river.

Both the Illinois and Indiana Legislatures have passed resolutions asking the attention of Congress in their last sessions. Several State senators and representatives were present at the meeting to show their interest, including State Representative Ray Koehler, of Grayville, who introduced the measure supporting the work in the Illinois Legislature, and State Senators Paul Broyles, of Mount Vernon, and Hershel Green, of West York.

Guy McGaughey, Jr., Mount Carmel and Lawrenceville attorney, reported on a planning committee meeting in Terre Haute, which offered a set of bylaws to govern the association, founded on the highly successful Mississippi Valley Association.

Kent Lewis, representing the Crawford County Chamber of Commerce, by appointment of Otto Poehler, president of that organization, moved the adoption of the bylaws and the formation of the permanent organization, saying that since the Crawford County Chamber of Commerce had already endorsed the project he felt confident that the people of this area would approve.

Among other Crawford County people attending the meeting were representatives of the Chamber of Commerce of Palestine, Jim Goodwine and Earl Allen; Chamber of Commerce of Hutsonville, Ped Huffman, Art Warnke, and John Kelly; Robinson Chamber of Commerce, Perry Graves, Jr., and Game Warden Glen Tilton, and factory inspector George Brubaker, of Robinson.

There is a possibility of a meeting of representatives of various organizations of 3 or 4 surrounding counties being held in Robinson in the near future to hear reports from the universities and plan organization of local committees.

Cocktails Aloft Senseless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Evening Tribune, Lawrence, Mass., on August 23, 1957:

COCKTAILS ALOFT SENSELESS

The Air Line Pilots Association notified Congress this week that at least 23 airliners have been seriously endangered by inebriated passengers in the past 2 years. The charge was emphasized in a report filed with the Senate Transportation Subcommittee considering legislation to halt the serving or consuming of liquor on commercial flights.

We agree with the association that it should not be necessary to wait until an intoxicated passenger causes a fatal accident before stringent action is taken.

Two years ago Wednesday, Congressman THOMAS J. LANE warned that unless the airlines cooperated by discontinuing this practice, or the Civil Aeronautics Board took action, he would introduce a bill making it a Federal offense to serve alcohol in the air. That warning has been disregarded, he told the committee last week.

The evidence presented in support of such a move is glaring. Four instances of drunken passengers forcing their way into the cockpit. Eight cases of inebriates creating such disturbances aboard that flight crew members had to leave their cockpit duties to subdue them. Three instances of unscheduled emergency landings to remove intoxicated passengers whose behavior was threatening a plane's safety. Three cases of intoxicated passengers damaging windows, doors, or pressurization devices in flight. Five instances of drunken passengers creating fire hazards in flight.

And how about this one? The report mentioned three instances where intoxicated passengers were carrying guns. One of them pointed a gun at a stewardess when he asked her for coffee.

Commercial plane passengers have every right to expect every conceivable medium of safety. Inebriates certainly do not come under this heading. The owners and operators of these lines have to take every precaution to see that their equipment and personnel are constantly in top order.

An unruly inebriate jeopardizing the safety of dozens of other human beings a couple of miles above good old terra firma can be as dangerous as a fox in a hencoop.

A flight crew with an assignment to carry out. A passenger list of individuals with a smooth trip and happy landing attitude. An inebriate starts to get boisterous. What an appalling situation!

Ex-Prisoners of War Oppose Return of Enemy Assets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, my Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance recently scheduled hearings on the administration of the alien property bill and related bills.

Although we were not able to continue our hearings due to the lack of cooperation on the part of the administration, we have received many comments from organizations and individuals throughout the country. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a letter I received from the American Ex-Prisoners of War, Inc.—the legislative officer of such—and copies of resolutions which were passed at their 10th annual convention.

The letter and resolutions follow:

AMERICAN EX-PRISONERS OF WAR, INC.,
Tuscaloosa, Ala., August 12, 1957.

Hon. PETER F. MACK, Jr.,
House Office Building, Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed you will find copies of 2 resolutions unanimously passed at the 10th Annual Convention of American Ex-Prisoners of War.

Our organization is gravely concerned about the possible return of enemy assets to their former owners. It is the considered opinion of our organization that these funds should be utilized for medical research for the proper diagnosis and treatment of the various prisoner-of-war diseases.

We hope that your committee will give these measures just and sincere consideration, and refuse the return of enemy assets.

Thanking you for your consideration of this matter, I am,

Sincerely yours,
JAMES S. BROWNING,
Legislative Officer,
American Ex-Prisoners of War.

RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY AT THE 10TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN EX-PRISONERS OF WAR, BIRMINGHAM, ALA., JUNE 5, 1957

Whereas the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, states that no property or interest therein of Germany, Japan, or any national of either such country vested in or transferred to any officer or agency of the Government at any time after December 17, 1941, pursuant to the provisions of this act, shall be returned to the former owners thereof or their successors in interest, and the United States shall not pay compensation for any such property or interest therein. The net proceeds remaining upon completion of administration, liquidation, and disposition pursuant to the provisions of this act of any such property or interest therein shall be covered into the Treasury at the earliest practicable date; and

Whereas it is estimated that there is over $600 million in the war claims fund under the custody of the Office of Alien Property, Department of Justice; and

Whereas the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, was specifically set up to provide benefits for injury, disability, death, or enemy detention of American prisoners of war: Be it, therefore,

Resolved, That the National Organization of American Ex-Prisoners of War go on record at their 10th annual convention as favoring that these funds be utilized to establish a research program to make a complete medical study of the effects of malnutrition and other hardships on the mortality and morbidity of former United States prisoners of war and civilian internees pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 744 of the 83d Congress that authorize such a study.

RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY AT THE 10TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN EX-PRISONERS OF WAR, BIRMINGHAM, ALA., JUNE 1957

Whereas section 39, added to the Trading With the Enemy Act by section 12 of the War Claims Act, provides, in substance, that no property or interest therein of Germany, Japan, or any national of either such country vested in or transferred to the United States pursuant to the Trading With the Enemy Act shall be returned to former owners or their successors in interest, but that the net proceeds remaining upon the completion of administration, liquidation, and disposition shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States; and

Whereas the War Claims Act specifically provides that these funds be used to provide benefits for injury, disability, death, or enemy detention of American prisoners of war; and

Whereas the proposed legislation, S. 600, in the current session of Congress, would, if passed, return these frozen enemy assets to their former owners: Be it, therefore,

Resolved, That the National Organization of American Ex-Prisoners of War at their 10th annual convention go on record as being completely opposed to the passage of S. 600, or any other legislation that would return frozen enemy assets to their former owners.

Labor and the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very enlightening article by J. Albert Woll, AFL–CIO general counsel, which appeared in the September 1957 issue of the AFL–CIO American Federationist.

The article follows:

LABOR AND THE SUPREME COURT
(By J. Albert Woll)

In a year in which the United States Supreme Court devoted an unusually large portion of its time to deciding labor cases, perhaps the most interesting, significant, and somewhat contradictory development is that the role of the States in the labor-relations field has been both enlarged and at the same time diminished.

State power has been enhanced by the Court's holding that the Constitution does not prevent a State from enjoining peaceful organizational picketing that violates a State law against coercing an employer to interfere with his employees' right to join or to refuse to join a union.

State power has been lessened by the Court's ruling that the refusal of the National Labor Relations Board to act in matters within its jurisdiction does not give the State courts or agencies authority to intrude.

In Teamster, Local 695 versus Vogt, the exercise of State power, outside the area of interstate activity embraced by the Taft-Hartley Act, was sustained and enlarged by the ruling that a State may lawfully enjoin picketing where the picketing is for a purpose declared unlawful by the State.

The case arose in Wisconsin and involved the picketing of a small gravel pit by a teamster local. The picketing occurred after the union unsuccessfully had tried to induce the employees to join its ranks.

The Wisconsin Supreme Court found that the picketing violated the State's Employment Peace Act because the purpose of the picketing was to coerce the employer to interfere with his employees in their right to join or refuse to join the union, a purpose declared unlawful by that act. In affirming the injunction granted against the picketing, the court held that there is a broad field in which a State, in enforcing some public policy, expressed by its legislature or its courts, may constitutionally enjoin peaceful picketing directed at preventing fulfillment of that policy.

While the supreme court was careful to note in its decision that it continues to adhere to the view expressed in earlier decisions that a blanket ban on picketing would be unconstitutional, it seems almost impossible to ascertain the area in which this view would be applicable or the State actions regarding picketing which would be proscribed.

As the dissenting opinion of Justice Douglas, in which Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black joined, pointed out, the Supreme Court in 1940, in *Thornhill* v. *Alabama*, set aside a State ban on picketing because "the dissemination of information concerning the facts of a labor dispute must be regarded as within that area of free discussion that is guaranteed by the Constitution."

Retreat from this broad protective principle began, according to the dissenters, in *Teamsters Union* v. *Hanke*, when four member of the Supreme Court "announced that all picketing could be prohibited if a State court decided that that picketing violated the State's public policy."

And the retreat became a rout in *Plumbers Union* v. *Graham*, in which it was decided that it was only the purpose which was relevant, a decision under which, in the dissenters' view, "the State court's characterization of the picketers' purpose had been made well nigh conclusive."

"Today the Court signs the formal surrender," Justice Douglas said. Under the Vogt decision, in his opinion, "State courts and State legislatures are free to decide whether to permit or suppress any particular picket line for any reason other than a blanket policy against all picketing."

Fortunately, the Vogt decision is inapplicable to a situation in which activities affecting interstate commerce are involved, for within the ambit of peaceful picketing affecting interstate commerce, the Garner case, decided by the Supreme Court in December of 1953, effectively forbids State action.

Generally speaking, the States may not intrude in this area except where the picketing involves violence or breach of the public peace or other types of coercive conduct

coming within the exceptions to the Garner holding.

State power in this area remains as the exception to the preemption doctrine. Under this doctrine, in the words of the Supreme Court in the Garner case, "controlling and therefore superseding Federal power cannot be curtailed by the State even though the ground of intervention be different from that on which Federal supremacy has been exercised."

Apparently, the Supreme Court is not going to permit expansion of this exception to include the banning of concerted activity which may offend some public policy of a State.

The Court's refusal to expand the exception is evident from its decisions in *Pocatello Building Trades Council* v. *Elle* and *Retail Clerks Local 560* v. *Newberry*, in which cases the court relied upon its earlier decision in *Weber* v. *Anheuser-Busch*. In the Weber case it had been held that concerted activity either protected by section 7 or prohibited by section 8 of Taft-Hartley could not be regulated by a State under its own restraint of trade laws. In short, the State was precluded by Federal law from acting.

In the Pocatello case, the Building Trades Council had been enjoined from carrying on concerted activity under the Idaho Secondary Boycott Act. Reversing the Supreme Court of Idaho, the United States Supreme Court relied upon the principle announced in the Garner and Weber cases that the area which has been committed to the National Labor Relations Board under the Taft-Hartley Act cannot be infringed upon by the States under obscure State laws which announce a public policy of the state.

And under the same theory the High Court in the Newberry case, informed the Idaho Supreme Court that it erred in upholding an injunction against stranger recognition picketing of an employer involved in interstate business.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Vogt case upholding the injunction against organizational picketing and its rulings in the Pocatello and Newberry cases upsetting similar injunctions underscore the importance of the Court's earlier decision in 1953 in the Garner case and its related holdings this past session on Federal preemption in the labor-relations field.

One would have thought that as a result of the Garner and Weber decisions the number of injunctions issued by State courts against union activity, falling within the framework of the Taft-Hartley Act, would have materially lessened. This hardly appears to have been the case, in view of the fact that the Court found it necessary to render no less than seven decisions reaffirming or strengthening the principle enunciated in Garner and Weber.

Many State court injunctions have reflected a grab for power on the part of the States because of the existence of a so-called no-man's land between the authority of the National Labor Relations Board, as it exists under the Taft-Hartley Act, and the authority of the Board as it is exercised under the Board's policy of declining to assert its full statutory authority.

Although the Supreme Court in its Garner and Weber decisions has held that, where conduct falls within exclusive Federal jurisdiction, a State cannot intrude, the failure of the Labor Board to assert its full jurisdiction encouraged some States to enter the no-man's land to fill the breach, on the theory that parties to the dispute should have a court or agency available to decide the issues involved.

The Supreme Court struck down this misconceived notion of State authority in its decision in the related cases of *Guss* v. *Utah Board, Meat Cutters* v. *Fairlawn Meats, Inc.*, and *Building Trades Council* v. *Garmon*. In these cases the States of Utah, Ohio, and California entered the no-man's land and adjudicated labor disputes either after the National Labor Relations Board had declined to act under its jurisdictional policy or after a State determination that the dispute did not affect interstate commerce.

By their actions the States directly posed this question for the Supreme Court to decide: Did Congress, by vesting jurisdiction over labor disputes affecting interstate commerce in the National Labor Relations Board, completely remove State power to treat with such disputes even in those situations where the Board has declined or would decline to exercise jurisdiction but has not ceded jurisdiction to the State pursuant to section 10 (a) of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Section 10 (a) empowers the Board to cede jurisdiction to a State agency where the State's labor law and the interpretation given to it are not inconsistent with the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Supreme Court held that a State may act in a labor dispute within the statutory jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board only where the Board has ceded jurisdiction under section 10 (a). The Court was fully aware that its decision confirmed the existence of a no-man's land in which neither a State has the authority to act nor the Federal Government the inclination to regulate. But, according to the Court, this was a situation which Congress could change by legislation or the Labor Board could remedy by reasserting its jurisdiction and by ceding jurisdiction under section 10 (a) wherever possible.

This decision, together with the Court's earlier decisions in the Garner and Weber cases, should limit to a great degree State intrusion in labor disputes which affect interstate commerce. In assessing the impact of this limitation on State power, however, it should be remembered that there are some areas in which State intervention is permitted, as, for example, the prevention of violent conduct or mass picketing.

While the cases just discussed relating to State power are believed to be of special interest and significance, a number of other recent decisions important to labor merit attention.

In the companion cases of *General Electric Co.* v. *United Electrical Workers, Goodall-Sanford* v. *Textile Workers*, and *Textile Workers* v. *Lincoln Mills of Alabama*, it was held that section 301 of the Taft-Hartley Act empowers Federal courts to compel specific performance of arbitration clauses contained in collective bargaining agreements and furnishes a body of substantive law for the courts to apply in such cases.

Section 301 provides, in part, that suits for violation of contracts between an employer and a labor organization representing employees in an industry affecting commerce may be brought in Federal district courts without respect to the amount involved or without regard to the citizenship of the parties.

The majority of the Supreme Court reasoned that the agreement to arbitrate grievance disputes is the quid pro quo for an agreement not to strike and that, viewed in this light, section 301 does more than confer jurisdiction in the Federal district courts over unions. Rather, it "expresses a Federal policy that Federal courts should enforce these agreements on behalf of or against labor organizations and that industrial peace can be best obtained only in that way."

A number of other difficult and perplexing questions concerning the application and interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act were also presented to the highest tribunal.

Can the National Labor Relations Board deprive a union of its rights under the act when it finds that a non-Communist affidavit filed by an officer is false? The Court answered this question in the negative in *Leedom* v. *International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers* and in *Amalgamated Meat Cutters* v. *National Labor Relations Board*, stating that the proper action is to pursue, in a criminal proceeding for perjury, the individual who made the false statement.

In *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Truck Drivers Local 449*, the Court was asked to review the question of whether nonstruck members of a multiemployer bargaining association committed an unfair labor practice when, at contract time, they temporarily locked out their employees as a defense against a strike against one of the employers in the association.

The National Labor Relations Board had held that it was not an unfair practice by the employers. The Second Circuit Court of Appeals disagreed with the Board, holding that it was. The Supreme Court agreed with the Board.

The High Court's theory in deciding this case was that Congress in Taft-Hartley had sanctioned multi-employer bargaining as well as protecting the rights of employees to strike in support of their demands; that the strike in this case against only one of the employers threatened disintegration of the multi-employer bargaining arrangement and this justified the employer's temporary lockout as a defense to the union's purported divide and conquer stratagem.

The Supreme Court made it clear, however, that its holding provided no sanction for lockouts generally, and the Court specifically stated that its holding was limited to the particular circumstances of the case before it. It carefully pointed out that it was not concerned with cases in which lockouts were utilized to frustrate organization, to destroy or subvert bargaining representation or to avoid the duty to bargain.

During its last term the court was also requested to determine whether a union could lawfully strike in support of contract-reopening demands after expiration of the 60-day cooling off period but before terminal date of the contract. The answer was found in a practical interpretation of section 8 (d) of the Taft-Hartley Act based upon an analysis of the legislative history of that section. (Section 8 (d) provides that a contract continues in full force and effect, without resort to strike or lockout, for a period of 60 days after notice is given or until the expiration of the contract, whichever occurs later.)

In National Labor Relations Board versus Lion Oil Co., the court held that the term "expiration date," embodied in section 8 (d), "has a twofold meaning; it connotes not only the terminal date of a bargaining contract but also an agreed date in the course of its existence when the parties can effect changes in its provisions."

Fortunately, this line of reasoning differed from that of the court of appeals, which had upheld the employer's contentions that the strike had ocurred at a time when it was not lawful, and therefore the strikers had lost their status as employes under the act.

Of real significance to labor is the court's decision in the case of the Office Employees versus National Labor Relations Board, in which the court was asked to settle the status of a union as an employer.

Unfair labor charges had been filed by the Office Employees Union against an Oregon component of the Teamsters Union. The Board dismissed the action on the ground that the Oregon Teamsters fell within the jurisdictional yardstick applied to other types of nonprofit organizations and therefore the Board refused to assert jurisdiction.

By this action, the Supreme Court held, the Board had "engrafted a blanket exemption upon the act for all labor unions as employers," beyond the intent of Congress, and

the Board had thus acted arbitrarily and beyond its power.

During its past term the Supreme Court was presented the opportunity to rule on the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act which forbids labor organizations to make contributions or expenditures in connection with elections to Federal office. This opportunity, however, was postponed despite the objections of three Justices who, through Justice Douglas, lambasted the Corrupt Practices Act ban as "a broadside assault on the freedom of political expression guaranteed by the first amendment."

Confining itself strictly to the allegations of an indictment involved in the case of *United States* v. *UAW*, which had been dismissed in the Federal district court as not charging a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act, the Supreme Court upheld the indictment, concluding that it was a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act for a labor organization to use its general funds to finance television broadcasts supporting candidates for Congress, as charged in the indictment.

This decision means that the case is now to be tried in the Federal district court and, if a conviction results, the Supreme Court at some future date again will be called upon to decide the grave constitutional questions it has so far sidestepped.

During the Court term just ended, the Supreme Court had a heavier labor caseload than in any past term since the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act. Of the more than 100 cases presented to the Court for review, involving issues of importance and significance to labor, the Court decided 21 cases in which written opinions were filed and 10 cases in which they were not.

Such sumptuous legal fare, of course, requires a period of digestion before the full import and implications of these decisions can be completely appreciated. The cases briefly discussed in this article indicate the vast scope of the Court's work on labor matters this past term and the highlights as they appear to me on initial reflection.

While digestion may be more important than ingestion in terms of the long-range significance of these decisions, they are guideposts in the never-ending process of judicial interpretation which shed some light on the road labor is now traveling.

New Federal Prison Is Urgently Needed To Keep Overcrowding of Dangerous Criminals From Reaching the Explosive Stage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Congress has seen fit to refuse an appropriation this year for construction of a new maximum-security prison in the Midwest. It was another victim of the economy ax. This institution is urgently needed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons to keep overcrowding of the most dangerous criminals from reaching the explosive stage. I am confident, therefore, that Congress soon will provide money for its construction, perhaps in the next session.

With this in mind, I would like to acquaint the House with a strange paradox that has come to my attention in connection with an area that has been proposed as a site for the new prison. The businessmen of Taylorville, in the 21st Congressional District of Illinois, have taken an option on a tract of land which they have offered to donate free to the Government as a site for the prison. Taylorville is the seat of Christian County.

The paradox to which I referred is that Christian County is Illinois' leading coal-producing county but at the same time is an area of considerable unemployment, largely as a result of mine shutdowns.

The first three paragraphs of this news story in the Illinois State Journal of Saturday, June 15, tell the story:

Christian County remained far out in front during May as the top coal-producing county, according to a report yesterday by Ben H. Schull, State directors of mines and minerals.

Christian's 2 mines, with 1,269 workers, produced 589,886 tons.

In second place was Williamson County where 25 mines and 15,575 miners turned out 460,212 tons.

So in this age of rapidly increasing mechanization we have a case where 29 percent more coal is produced by one-twelfth as many miners.

What has this situation done to the economy of Christian County?

A survey, made at my request, showed that of a total Christian County labor force of 13,600, 6 percent were unemployed in April 1957. During that month, too, Christian County led the State in coal production.

With this number of unemployed, Christian County would be eligible for Federal classification as an area of substantial labor surplus if it were not for one purely arbitrary factor. In order to be considered for such a classification an area must have a total labor force of at least 15,000. Christian County's labor force is 13,600, according to the April survey made by the Illinois Division of Placement and Unemployment Compensation in pursuance to a request made by me through the Bureau of Employment Security of the United States Department of Labor.

The proportion of unemployed in Christian County would be much higher than 6 percent if it were not for the fact that hundreds of men thrown out of work by coal mine shutdowns have found employment at industrial plants in Springfield and Decatur.

These jobs have two serious disadvantages. First, Taylorville is 29 miles from Decatur and 27 miles from Springfield. Commuting to these cities imposes a personal hardship and an additional expense on the Christian County worker. Second, skilled coal miners who have taken anything they could get to do at the Springfield and Decatur plants are the first to be laid off in slack production seasons because they lack seniority.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is said to be enjoying a period of unparalelled prosperity. Yet 6 percent of the workers of Christian County, Ill., are without jobs and many others are forced to commute long distances to earn an income. The coal industry is booming, but many miners are without jobs in the largest coal-producing county of Illinois. This is the paradox that I want to bring to the attention of the House.

Remember, Mr. President?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALTON LENNON
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD a timely and challenging editorial by Mr. L. C. Gifford, of the Hickory Daily Record of August 24, 1957. The leading women's organizations of our country are actively promoting support for House Joint Resolution 127, proposing a constitutional amendment to guarantee equality of rights to women and now pending in the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Gifford forcefully reminds us of campaign promises on the subject and the lack of action thereafter to insure equal rights for women.

The editorial follows:

[From the Hickory (N. C.) Daily Record of August 24, 1957]

REMEMBER, MR. PRESIDENT?

During these days when the subject of civil rights is so much on everybody's tongue and in everybody's mind, the Record is moved to repeat the question which Mrs. May Craig, of the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald, and usually of the TV panel, Meet the Press, posed for President Eisenhower at a recent news conference. Mrs. Craig's question was:

"Sir, you have been, and others have been, very active in trying to wipe out discriminations which are based on race, creed, religion, and color. Why have you not been as active in trying to wipe out discrimination based on sex; namely, the equal-rights amendment?"

The Press at this point indicated "laughter." However, we are not inclined to laugh, either at the question or at the President's reply, which was:

"Well, it's hard for a mere man to believe that woman doesn't have equal rights. [More laughter.] But, actually, this is the first time that this has come to my specific attention now since, oh, I think a year or so. And really, I just can't answer your question this morning.

"I do know that in certain States there are, and probably in all, that there are some things where women do not yet have what they believe to be at least their full rights and I am in favor of it. I just probably haven't been active enough in doing something about it."

Mrs. CRAIG. "Will you?"

The PRESIDENT. "I will take a look at it." [More laughter.]

There are millions of women who see nothing funny about either the question or the answer—they are in dead earnest in their efforts to achieve equality of rights under law. These women are the women who voted for Mr. Eisehower—the women who, according to the election analysts, placed him in the White House. They are friends and members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Woman's Party, women of other organizations, and women of no organization who have struggled under inequitable conditions and practices in competition with men. These women know the President is not as uninformed on the subject of the equal rights amendment as his

reply to Mrs. Craig would indicate. He must be somewhat acquainted with the platform adopted by his party at the San Francisco Convention in August, 1956, which reads in part as follows:

"We recommend to the Congress the submission of a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for men and women.

"The Eisenhower administration will continue to fight for dynamic and progressive programs which, among other things, will through assistance to the States, employees and employers:

"Assure equal pay for equal work regardless of sex;

"Continue to fight for the elimination of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry or sex."

The President remembered his party's platform on October 25, 1956, in a major campaign speech at Madison Square Garden, when he said:

"We seek—first—the assuring or justice and dignity in our society.

"How do we propose to seek it?

"We shall seek, as we promised in our platform, to assure women everywhere in our land equality of rights.

"My friends, all this is the work that all of us—you, your Congress, and your President—must and shall advance in the next 4 years."

Also, the President's memory was still functioning on January 16, 1957. In his message to Congress on that date, speaking of his legislative program, he asserted:

"The platforms of both major parties have advocated an amendment to the Constitution to insure equal rights for women. I believe that the Congress should make certain that women are not denied equal rights with men."

The months have rolled by and again it is August. There is no convention scheduled and Mr. Eisenhower has forgotten his party's platform of yesteryear—forgotten his high purpose to assure justice and dignity to the women of the Nation. He only vaguely recalls having heard something on the subject a year or so ago. But the women who work in the Federal civil service under discriminatory regulations and the women who cannot work at all on account of the discrimination placed upon them through the omission of sex from the contract clause governing the spending of about $40 billion, as reported by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, remember. And the women who crossed party lines to vote for Mr. Eisenhower at the last election on account of his bright promises, also remember.

Sir, will you remember again when we march to the polls in 1958 and in 1960? Or will you take a look at it now, Mr. President?

The Network Censors and NAACP Have Many More Songs To Mangle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I commend the attention of the House this splendid editorial appearing in the August 7 edition of the Anderson, (S. C.) Independent. This editorial ably takes to task the major networks for their shocking and unwarranted censorship of the songs of that great American, Stephen C. Foster.

The Network Censors and NAACP Have Many More Songs To Mangle

The Nation's three big radio and TV networks continue to make their own new rules concerning what people shall hear and see.

In the process they are rewriting American folk songs and American history and are, in the view of Representative BRYAN DORN, among others, giving us a dose of Hitler-Stalin totalitarian censorship in this respect.

It has been decreed by the network moguls that the word "darkies" shall not be used in renditions of Suwanee River and My Old Kentucky Home.

Since this action was taken on behalf of the NAACP, it follows that other racial groups, professional organizations, regional committees, and all the many assorted pressure groups should get into the act.

Why stop with changing the wording and meaning of two songs? Why not apply the same measure to any number of other favorite American songs?

Examples of defeatist, subversive, and discriminatory songs could be found almost without number.

EXAMPLE NO. 1

"Daisy, Daisy,
Give me your answer, do!
I'm half crazy,
All for the love of you!
It won't be a stylish marriage,
I can't afford a carriage,
But you'll look sweet
On the seat
Of a bicycle built for two!"

"I can't afford a carriage," says he. The Association of Automobile Finance Companies should raise violent objections. Anybody who can sign his name these days can get under the wheel of an eight-cylinder carriage. And what about that "bicycle built for two"? What are they trying to do, wreck the bicycle market? Whassa matter with bicycles built for one?

EXAMPLE NO. 2

"'Leven cent cotton, forty cent meat,[1]
How in the world can a poor man eat?[2]
Mule's in the barn, the crop's laid by.[3]
The cup's plumb empty and the cow's gone dry,
Well water's low, nearly out of sight,
Can't take a bath on a Saturday night.
No use talkin', any man's beat,
With 'leven cent cotton and forty cent meat."

[1] An economic fallacy. Cotton is 32 cents and meat is $1.50.

[2] A subversive dig at the Republican administration. Should be held in contempt of Ezra Benson.

[3] Mules yet. Obviously discrimination against the tractor manufacturers.

EXAMPLE NO. 3

"I hate to see de ev'nin' sun go down,
Hate to see de ev'nin' sun go down.[1]
Cause my bady, he done lef' dis town."

[1] The National Association of Electric Light Companies must raise objection. The word "hate" must be changed to "love" so next line may read, "Cause 'lectricity done light my town."

EXAMPLE NO. 4

From the Bonnie Blue Flag:

"As long as the old Union was faithful to her trust,
Like friends and like brothers, kind were we and just;
But now when northern treachery attempts our rights to mar,
We hoist the Bonnie Blue Flag, that bears a single star."

Comment of Network Vice President E. Z. Trailingwire: "Definitely communistic. Lips that voice such treachery shall move before no mike of mine."

EXAMPLE NO. 5

"There's a church in the valley by the wildwood,
No lovelier place in the dale;
No spot is so dear to my childhood
As the little brown church in the vale."

Obviously the word "brown" must be offensive to the NAACP. Must be changed to "green," since nobody this side of Venus has green skin.

EXAMPLE NO. 6

From The Old Oaken Bucket:

"The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-covered bucket that hung in the well."

"Moss-covered bucket" must go. Here we are spending billions of dollars overseas trying to teach Hottentots to boil the typhoid out of water and to clean their toenails—and some subversive comes up with this! If sung, must be referred to as "antiseptic bucket."

EXAMPLE NO. 7

"They say we are aged and gray, Maggie,
As spray by the white breakers flung;
But to me you're fair as you were, Maggie,
When you and I were young."

It's evident the guy can't see, and this is a reflection on the United States Association of Spectacle and Eyeglass Vendors.

Another part of this song says:

"Let us sing of the days that are gone, Maggie,
When you and I were young."

But definitely this must be changed to conform with today's conditions or else there'll be a kick from the social security people. Substitute word "here" for "gone," and words "senior citizen" for "young." It doesn't rhyme? Neither does modern verse.

EXAMPLE NO. 8

From Little Brown Jug:

"My wife and I lived all alone,
In a little log hut we called our own;[1]
She loved gin and I loved rum,[2]
I tell you we had lots of fun.
Ha! Ha! Ha! You and me,
Little brown jug don't I love thee!"[3]

[1] Log huts are for Rooshian passants. Make ours big FHA house and put emphasis, with sarcasm, on "called."

[2] The whisky people don't like—and neither do the temperance folks. Change to "She loved cola and I loved water."

[3] That word "brown" has got to go.

EXAMPLE NO. 9

"Oh, dem golden slippers! Oh, dem golden slippers!
Golden slippers, I'm gwine ter wear, because dey look so neat."

Comment of Verbose J. Trindux, network vice president in charge of song washing: "The Amalgamated Union of Leather Shoemakers objects. Golden shoes, indeed. Who's got the key to Fort Knox? Besides, why the Brooklyn dialect? Trynna ruin our rating in Flatbush?"

EXAMPLE NO. 10

"Darling, I am growing old;
Silver threads among the gold
Shine upon my brow today;
Life is fading fast away."

Nix. Offensive to a whole boodle of sponsors, including Pep-Perso-Forty Co., Old Rejuvenator, Inc.; National Society of Gonad Gland Physicians, etc. Also a direct slam at the Fountain of Youth, inviting protests from Floridians already sore over not being able to hear word "darkies" in Suwanee River.

EXAMPLE NO. 11

"Yankee Doodle, keep it up,
Yankee Doodle dandy,
Mind the music and the step,
And with the girls be handy."[1]

[1] With the what be what? The vereo idea.

And, in conclusion, that part of the national anthem referring to the "rocket's red glare" obviously is something slipped in by the Commies. Change to "clean," like in clean H-bomb.

The Spending Trend in Federal Government Must Be Controlled and Tax Relief Accomplished on a Fair Basis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 9415, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for scheduled personal and corporate income tax reductions and for other purposes. After long consideration of various tax-relief proposals, I have come to the conclusion that H. R. 6452, a bill introduced by Mr. SADLAK of Connecticut, comes closest to a fair and equitable method of providing realistic and greatly needed tax relief, with particular reference to those persons on whom the tax impact has fallen with exceptional heaviness.

Since the House Ways and Means Committee has provided for hearings during the first week in January on certain tax revision proposals, I am requesting that my bill be heard at the time of the SADLAK proposal. It is my hope that those who are interested in bringing about some relief from the hardships of Federal taxation will support these proposals and that the Ways and Means Committee will include these provisions in an overall tax relief bill next year. Of course, to have tax relief we have got to balance the budget and reduce Federal expenditures. A substantial start has been made in this regard, but much more will have to be done in the second session of the 85th Congress, if we are to have a fair tax relief bill.

The time has come to enact a realistic program of forward scheduling of tax reductions for all income taxpayers, individual and corporate. I am convinced that achievement of a moderate schedule of income tax rates is necessary to the continued vitality and growth of our Nation's economy, and to the maximum advances in the standard of living of all our citizens.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of my colleagues to the bill I have introduced today, H. R. 9415, which schedules annual reductions of individual income-tax rates in each bracket, and of the corporate income tax over a period of 5 years, beginning January 1, 1958. These reductions can be granted to our citizens out of the increased revenues resulting from normal economic growth without increasing any other taxes. However, this can only be done if Government spending is brought under control. I believe that my bill would serve to restrain ever-increasing Government spending so that Americans can look forward to regularly scheduled tax reductions. H. R. 9415 further provides adequate safeguards, in the form of postponement procedures, to assure that none of the scheduled tax reductions will result in a return to deficit financing. In fact, if the economy continues to grow over the period when the reductions are scheduled as it has in recent years, there should also be sufficient growth in total revenue to provide for regular retirement of a portion of the national debt.

The legislation provides for coordinated reductions in all the progressive rates of individual tax, with the first bracket rate being reduced from 20 to 15 percent. The top rates of tax would be brought down to 42 percent, the individual tax from its present top of 91 percent, and the corporate tax from its present top of 52 percent. Specific examples of individual tax rate reductions, over the 5 years, follow: $4,000–$6,000 bracket, from 26 to 17 percent; $8,000–$10,000 bracket, from 34 to 19 percent; $12,000–$14,000 bracket, from 43 to 21 percent; $16,000–$18,000 bracket, from 50 to 23 percent; and $20,000–$22,000 bracket, from 56 to 25 percent. Appendix A shows the new individual rates for each year as proposed under my bill. Appendix B provides a means by which individual taxpayers can compute their tax liability at the end of the rate reduction period, as compared to their current tax liability. Appendix C illustrates for corporate taxpayers how the present normal tax would be reduced from 30 percent to 22 percent, and the surtax from 22 to 20 percent.

This legislation is primarily designed to moderate the tax impact on individuals and on small and growing business, and to elimite the tax barrier to starting new businesses. The problem is entirely a matter of rates. Both as regards unincorporated businesses, which approximate 84 percent of the over 4 million business units in the country and the owners of incorporated small business, the major tax impediment is the system of steeply graduated rates of individual tax—the rates which begin with 22 percent on taxable income between $2,000 and $4,000, increase rapidly to a rate of 50 percent on taxable income between $16,000 and $18,000 and go on up to a top rate of 91 percent. The incorporated firms have the additional problem of the corporate tax, especially the combined top rate of 52 percent which applies to income over $25,000. None of the special devices previously suggested for aiding small business effectively deal with the real source of the problem. Any and all of them would set up new inequities and discriminations within the tax laws. Many of them would add greatly to the complexity of the laws. By contrast, a moderate scale of individual and corporate rates would solve the problem with fairness and equity for all. Especially, the 1 percentage-point difference between each rate bracket from 15 percent at the bottom to 34 percent at the $80,000–$90,000 bracket, and 2 percentage points thereafter would insure a minimum tax impediment to the beginning of small business and growth of all business.

Estimated individual tax savings under my bill, based on 1956 income levels, would be $10.6 billion, as shown in Appendix D. Nearly 60 percent of the total savings would fall in the taxable income brackets up to $6,000. 79 percent of the savings would come in the taxable brackets up through $16,000 to $18,000, where the 50-percent rate applies. Only 6.3 percent of the savings would accrue to the brackets above $50,000. Thus, the benefits of this legislation are heavily centered in the first bracket and the lower progressive brackets of the individual income tax.

The relatively small savings total in the brackets above $50,000 makes clear that revenue considerations are no barrier to the scheduled reductions in the higher rates. I have proceeded on the dual premise that, first, under a reformed rate structure there is no reason why an unincorporated business or other individual taxpayer should pay a higher top rate of tax than a corporate taxpayer and, second, the lower the top rate of individual tax the greater will be the protection for all middle bracket taxpayers. Proof of the latter point is found in other proposals for reducing the progressive rates which always link higher rates at the top with higher rates in the middle brackets. I cannot too strongly stress the point that concern for small-business and other middle-bracket taxpayers cannot be fully translated into a reasonable rate structure without a consistent contraction of the rates all up and down the line.

As to corporations, it is estimated that the total corporate-tax savings, based on 1956 income levels, would be about $4.2 billion.

Assuming continuance of prosperity and economic growth, it is reasonable to expect that the scheduled reductions would be fully realized without net revenue loss to the Federal Government, probably with some net gain. For example, under existing tax rates, budget revenues of the Federal Government have grown from $59.4 billion in fiscal year 1955 to an estimated $70.6 billion in fiscal year 1957, or a net gain of more than $11 billion. Some of this gain reflects the impact of inflation on revenues, but the major part of it has resulted from economic growth itself.

Based on 1956 income levels, it would take annual revenue growth of only about $3 billion a year to accomplish the scheduled rate reductions without net revenue loss to the Treasury. If the economy grows in step with the recent historic average, the revenue growth should average up to $4 billion a year without inflation. Moreover, less than one-half of the annual revenue effect of the individual tax cuts and none of the revenue effect of the corporate tax cut would be reflected in fiscal year 1958.

Mr. Speaker, my decision to introduce this bill at this time comes from study of two conflicting trends. On the one hand, there are strong pressures within and without the Government for spending the revenue increase resulting from economic growth instead of applying it to tax reduction. On the other hand, there is among our citizens and businesses a dangerous and growing dissatisfaction with the income tax rate structure as it now stands, most evident as regards the tax impact on new and small business, self-employed professional people, and the whole range of middle income families.

COUNTERING THE SPENDING TREND

By the nature of basic policy legislation, and of spending authorizations, commitments for Federal spending on many programs extend a number of years ahead. Thus, the introduction of new spending programs, and the enactment of new spending authorizations for old programs, have the effect of usurping tax reduction opportunities which otherwise would occur out of revenue growth over a period of years.

The primary purpose of forward scheduling of income-tax reduction is to set up competition for tax reduction in a potential amount which has significance for all income-tax payers, as against using revenue growth to expand old and undertake new Government spending programs.

Existing procedures result in a one-sided budget operation. Each year, there is thorough inquiry into Government expenditures, first by the Budget Bureau, then by the House Appropriations Committee, and finally by the Senate Appropriations Committee. There has been no such annual inquiry as regard the tax or revenue side of the budget.

In fact, there has been no general inquiry specifically directed to the excessiveness of income-tax rates by either the Ways and Means Committee or the Senate Finance Committee, since 1948, 9 years ago. Because of circumstances, beyond their control, these tax-writing committees have not been able to provide a continuing forum in which taxpayers, individually or through their representatives and voluntary organizations, could reflect their views or choices as to the advantages to be derived from a moderate and reasonable scale of rates, as compared to increased Federal spending on any and all programs.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means I find this situation increasingly uncomfortable. During periods of war and readjustment, it was understandable that the committee should be looked upon essentially as the initiating body for tax collection. However, in my view it is now time for the committee to become the motivating force for tax saving.

Accordingly, the effect of my bill is to call upon the Ways and Means Committee to adopt a related role in budget making, that of a jealous guardian of taxpayer rights and interests. It is my conviction that this role can be best performed by the forward scheduling of tax reductions. Only in this way can there be equal competition as against the forward commitments for Federal spending.

Should essential needs arise for programs of increased spending, then tax reduction over 5 years of the amount scheduled could result in a return to deficit financing, except for the effective safeguards in the legislation.

POSTPONEMENT PROCEDURES

These legislative safeguards are in the form of postponement procedures whereby the scheduled rate reductions could be spread out to a maximum of 9 years without change in the basic law. The legislation places the initiative for postponement in the hands of the President, but a balance has been struck in the burden and exercise of postponement authority for final decision as between the Congress and the executive branch.

While the postponement procedures may be applied separately as between corporate and individual reductions every postponement of an individual tax rate cut must be accompanied by a postponement of a corporate tax cut. The only limitation on this "linkage" is where the result would be to postpone a corporation reduction for more than 1 year.

The bill further provides that each scheduled reduction in either the individual or corporate tax may be postponed for only 1 year with the schedule of subsequent reductions also being moved ahead 1 year. Thus, it is possible to phase these reductions over a maximum period of 9 years without new enabling legislation, should budget conditions require full resort to the postponement procedures.

Specifically, the President is empowered to make, by November 15, a postponement from January 1 to July 1 of an individual tax cut which, if permitted to go into effect as scheduled, would cause an imbalance in the Federal budget for the current fiscal year. This postponement would be accomplished by a postponement of the scheduled corporate tax cut from January 1 to July 1. However, if the President has not, by November 15, postponed a corporate tax cut because he did not postpone a cut in the individual tax, he would be empowered to review the scheduled corporate tax cut in relation to the prospective budget situation for the following fiscal year. If such review indicates that the scheduled reduction would cause an unbalanced budget in such following fiscal year, then he would postpone the scheduled corporate reduction from January 1 to July 1.

The legislation also provides that the President would in his annual budget message recommend to the Congress whether any postponed rate reduction should become effective on July 1, or whether such reduction should be further postponed to January 1 next. This procedure is designed to provide the Ways and Means Committee, the Senate Finance Committee, and the Congress as a whole, the opportunity to review the revenue needs in light of the budget situation, whenever the President recommends postponement of a scheduled January 1 reduction.

Acting on the basis of such review, the Congress may, by means of a joint resolution which has become law before May 15, make finally effective, as of July 1, any scheduled reduction in individual and corporate tax cuts which had by Presidential action first been postponed from January 1 to July 1, or further postpone such cuts until January 1. This action may include a further postponement of a corporate tax cut to January 1, while making an individual tax cut finally effective as of July 1. In the event the Congress has not so acted under these alternatives then the President may again act. By May 15 he may further postpone a corporate reduction or corporate and individual reductions until January 1, but this authority is limited to previously deferred reductions and may be invoked only if the July 1 scheduled cuts would cause budget imbalance in the coming fiscal year.

In the event of postponement until January 1, either by joint resolution or in its absence by action of the President, the schedule of subsequent reductions is moved ahead 1 year, but with the limitation that each reduction may be put off only 1 year by use of the postponement procedures. This means that the first scheduled reductions could not be put off more than 1 year and that subsequent reductions must come within 2 years of each other.

The Presidential postponement authority may be questioned as a delegation of the tax-levying responsibility to the executive branch of the Government. Such, however, would not be the result, as the President would have no authority to increase taxes, or to change any scheduled reduction after the effective dates set forth.

In fact, the present procedure—or lack of it—actually makes available to the executive branch increased taxation—the revenue growth—without having to recommend increased levies. Under the procedures in my bill, in the event of a postponement of a scheduled tax cut, the Executive would only be reimposing for a 6-month period that which, in the absence of the legislation, would exist for an indefinite period. Thereafter, the Congress would have adequate opportunity to decide whether the reduction should be postponed a further 6 months. If the Congress did not act, the presumption would be that it intended at that time to let the President make the next decision, based on the statutory factors.

THE CASE FOR INCOME-TAX RATE REFORM

The growing dissatisfaction with the income-tax rate structure goes much deeper than normal taxpayer irritation with a heavy tax load. It reflects a growing recognition that there is something fundamentally wrong with a tax structure which penalizes hard work, risk-taking, and achievement.

The basic source of the complaint is the steeply graduated rates, which start after only $2,000 of taxable income, reach 30 percent at the $6,000 to $8,000 bracket, 50 percent at the $16,000 to $18,000 bracket, and go on up to a top rate of 91 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to emphasize to my colleagues in the House that the

present rates increase with particular severity over the range of income received by such important elements of our society as small-business men, professional people, and farmers, salesmen, technicians, supervisors, and skilled craftsmen. If such individuals by their own enterprise and hard work advance their income, they find that the Government lets them keep only a rapidly declining proportion of it.

There can be no doubt that both the present high combined corporate-tax rate and the steeply progressive individual rates are serving to prevent an adequate flow of investment funds, and especially venture capital, into new and expanding business. In fact, it may be stated flatly that this Nation has a severe shortage of new capital, and especially venture capital, because the tax laws are designed to produce such a shortage. The extremely severe rates in the middle and higher income brackets are an especially limiting factor on the accumulation of new capital for investment in new and growing enterprises.

When this situation is considered in relation to the needs of a rapidly growing population, and millions of new workers coming into the labor force, it becomes clear that the time has come to bring an orderly plant for reducing the rates which discourage individual effort, prohibit adequate savings, and threaten the industrial vitality and supremacy of our Nation. Even under a fair and moderate rate structure, our economy may be hard pressed to generate all the savings needed to meet all opportunities to advance production and living standards without inflation.

To narrow the range of rate graduation, it is necessary that relatively more relief, percentagewise, be given to the graduated part of the rates than to the basic rate. The rates above the basic rate of 20 percent are the graduated part. These range from 2 percent in the $2,000 to $4,000 taxable income bracket, to 71 percent at the top, all on top of the basic rate of 20 percent. Note, however, this graduated part is of least importance from a revenue-producing standpoint. The graduated part of the rate structure actually provides only about 17 percent of the revenue derived from the individual tax, or about $5.5 billion out of about $33 billion. The remainder, or 83 percent, comes from the basic rate of 20 percent paid on all taxable income. Thus, the higher percentage reductions in the rate ranges above 20 percent will have considerably less revenue effect than the smaller percentage reduction applying to the first bracket rate.

My bill provides a focal point for the expression of taxpayer interest in using revenue growth to reduce excessive income tax rates instead of to support increased Government spending. I feel certain that many taxpayers, both individually and through various groups to which they belong, will express their views on this legislation to their representatives in Government. I will urge the Ways and Means Committee to schedule hearings at the earliest possible moment. It is my hope that this legislation will be enacted well before the end of the current session of the Congress.

As a final point, I urge taxpayers to relate the advantages to themselves and to their businesses of achieving the moderate scale of tax rates at the end of 5 years, as set out in appendixes B and C, as against postponing or perhaps even foregoing ultimate achievement of such rates to accommodate higher Federal spending on any and all programs. We cannot have both the tax reductions and the spending. It is up to the taxpayers to make a choice and, Mr. Speaker, I believe that as elected Representatives of the people we already know with certainty what that choice will be—tax reduction.

APPENDIX A

Individual tax rates

Taxable income bracket [1]	Present rates	Jan. 1, 1958	Jan. 1, 1959	Jan. 1, 1960	Jan. 1, 1961	Jan. 1, 1962	Taxable income bracket [1]	Present rates	Jan. 1, 1958	Jan. 1, 1959	Jan. 1, 1960	Jan. 1, 1961	Jan. 1, 1962
$0 to $2,000	20	19.0	18.0	17.0	16.0	15	$26,000 to $32,000	62	55.0	48.0	41.0	34.0	27
$2,000 to $4,000	22	20.5	19.5	18.5	17.5	16	$32,000 to $38,000	65	58.0	51.0	43.0	36.0	28
$4,000 to $6,000	26	24.5	23.0	21.5	20.0	17	$38,000 to $44,000	69	61.0	53.0	45.0	37.0	29
$6,000 to $8,000	30	28.0	26.0	24.0	21.0	18	$44,000 to $50,000	72	64.0	56.0	47.0	38.0	30
$8,000 to $10,000	34	31.0	28.0	25.0	22.0	19	$50,000 to $60,000	75	66.0	57.0	48.0	39.0	31
$10,000 to $12,000	38	35.0	32.0	28.0	24.0	20	$60,000 to $70,000	78	69.0	60.0	51.0	40.0	32
$12,000 to $14,000	43	39.0	35.0	31.0	26.0	21	$70,000 to $80,000	81	71.0	62.0	52.0	41.0	33
$14,000 to $16,000	47	42.0	37.0	32.0	27.0	22	$80,000 to $90,000	84	74.0	64.0	54.0	44.0	34
$16,000 to $18,000	50	45.0	40.0	35.0	29.0	23	$90,000 to $100,000	87	76.0	66.0	56.0	46.0	36
$18,000 to $20,000	53	48.0	42.0	36.0	30.0	24	$100,000 to $150,000	89	78.0	68.0	58.0	48.0	38
$20,000 to $22,000	56	50.0	44.0	38.0	32.0	25	$150,000 to $200,000	90	80.0	70.0	60.0	50.0	40
$22,000 to $26,000	59	53.0	47.0	40.0	33.0	26	$200,000 and over	91	82.0	72.0	62.0	52.0	42

[1] After deductions and exemptions.

APPENDIX B

Tax computation tables, individuals

If the taxable income [1] is—	The tax	
	Is: Present law	Will be: Year 1962
Not over $2,000	20 percent of the taxable income	15 percent of the taxable income.
Over $2,000 but not over $4,000	$400, plus 22 percent of excess over $2,000	$300, plus 16 percent of excess over $2,000.
Over $4,000 but not over $6,000	$840, plus 26 percent of excess over $4,000	$620, plus 17 percent of excess over $4,000.
Over $6,000 but not over $8,000	$1,360, plus 30 percent of excess over $6,000	$960, plus 18 percent of excess over $6,000.
Over $8,000 but not over $10,000	$1,960, plus 34 percent of excess over $8,000	$1,320, plus 19 percent of excess over $8,000.
Over $10,000 but not over $12,000	$2,640, plus 38 percent of excess over $10,000	$1,700, plus 20 percent of excess over $10,000.
Over $12,000 but not over $14,000	$3,400, plus 43 percent of excess over $12,000	$2,100, plus 21 percent of excess over $12,000.
Over $14,000 but not over $16,000	$4,260, plus 47 percent of excess over $14,000	$2,520, plus 22 percent of excess over $14,000.
Over $16,000 but not over $18,000	$5,200, plus 50 percent of excess over $16,000	$2,960, plus 23 percent of excess over $16,000.
Over $18,000 but not over $20,000	$6,200, plus 53 percent of excess over $18,000	$3,420, plus 24 percent of excess over $18,000.
Over $20,000 but not over $22,000	$7,260, plus 56 percent of excess over $20,000	$3,900, plus 25 percent of excess over $20,000.
Over $22,000 but not over $26,000	$8,380, plus 59 percent of excess over $22,000	$4,400, plus 26 percent of excess over $22,000.
Over $26,000 but not over $32,000	$10,740, plus 62 percent of excess over $26,000	$5,440, plus 27 percent of excess over $26,000.
Over $32,000 but not over $38,000	$14,460, plus 65 percent of excess over $32,000	$7,060, plus 28 percent of excess over $32,000.
Over $38,000 but not over $44,000	$18,360, plus 69 percent of excess over $38,000	$8,740, plus 29 percent of excess over $38,000.
Over $44,000 but not over $50,000	$22,500, plus 72 percent of excess over $44,000	$10,480, plus 30 percent of excess over $44,000.
Over $50,000 but not over $60,000	$26,820, plus 75 percent of excess over $50,000	$12,280, plus 31 percent of excess over $50,000.
Over $60,000 but not over $70,000	$34,320, plus 78 percent of excess over $60,000	$15,380, plus 32 percent of excess over $60,000.
Over $70,000 but not over $80,000	$42,120, plus 81 percent of excess over $70,000	$18,580, plus 33 percent of excess over $70,000.
Over $80,000 but not over $90,000	$50,220, plus 84 percent of excess over $80,000	$21,880, plus 34 percent of excess over $80,000.
Over $90,000 but not over $100,000	$58,620, plus 87 percent of excess over $90,000	$25,280, plus 36 percent of excess over $90,000.
Over $100,000 but not over $150,000	$67,320, plus 89 percent of excess over $100,000	$28,880, plus 38 percent of excess over $100,000.
Over $150,000 but not over $220,000	$111,820, plus 90 percent of excess over $150,000	$47,880, plus 40 percent of excess over $150,000.
Over $200,000	$156,820, plus 91 percent of excess over $200,000	$67,880, plus 42 percent of excess over $200,000.

[1] After deductions and exemptions.

APPENDIX C

Corporate tax rates

	Present	Jan. 1, 1958	Jan. 1, 1959	Jan. 1, 1960	Jan. 1, 1961	Jan. 1, 1962
Normal tax [1]	30	28	26	24	23	22
Surtax [2]	22	22	22	22	21	20
Combined tax rate [2]	52	50	48	46	44	42

[1] On all net income.
[2] On net income exceeding $25,000.

APPENDIX D

Tax savings by taxable income [1] brackets, based on 1956 income levels

Taxable income [1] brackets	Taxable income	Present rates	New rates—end of 5 years	Tax savings
	Millions			*Millions*
$0 to $2,000	$95,121	20	15	$4,756
$2,000 to $4,000	15,967	22	16	957
$4,000 to $6,000	6,590	26	17	593
$6,000 to $8,000	4,090	30	18	491
$8,000 to $10,000	2,826	34	19	424
$10,000 to $12,000	1,984	38	20	357
$12,000 to $14,000	1,563	43	21	345
$14,000 to $16,000	1,074	47	22	269
$16,000 to $18,000	842	50	23	227
$18,000 to $20,000	720	53	24	209
$20,000 to $22,000	571	56	25	177
$22,000 to $26,000	924	59	26	306
$26,000 to $32,000	910	62	27	318
$32,000 to $38,000	584	65	28	215
$38,000 to $44,000	421	69	29	168
$44,000 to $50,000	312	72	30	130
$50,000 to $60,000	299	75	31	131
$60,000 to $70,000	203	78	32	94
$70,000 to $80,000	149	81	33	72
$80,000 to $90,000	109	84	34	55
$90,000 to $100,000	82	87	36	41
$100,000 to $150,000	217	89	38	111
$150,000 to $200,000	95	90	40	48
$200,000 and over	231	91	42	113
Total	135,887			10,607

[1] After deductions and exemptions.

Tax savings by net income bracket groups

Bracket	Tax savings	Percent of total
	Millions	
$0 to $6,000	$6,306	59.5
$0 to $18,000	8,419	79.4
$50,000 and over	665	6.3

The Proposed Federal Firearms Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the American Rifleman of August 1957. It appears that those who oppose possession of firearms by lawful and law-abiding American citizens are about to strike another blow against the hunters, gun collectors, trap shooters, skeet shooters, farmers, and gun owners of this country.

As usual they are doing it under guise of regulations issued by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service.

It seems that as often as this question has been presented to Congress it has been resoundingly defeated on the floor of the House and the Senate, but the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division keeps on presenting regulations of this kind, apparently in the expectation that the citizens of this country will lay down supinely or will sleep on their rights. Proposed regulations 177.50, 177.51, 177.52, 177.54, and 177.55 supposedly issued under the authority conferred on that branch of the Government by the National Firearms Act and Federal Firearms Act go far beyond the power granted to that Agency. I hope that the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service will realize the main purpose of these regulations and will withdraw them gracefully.

This is a question which affects every hunter, fisherman, sportsman, target shooter, collector of firearms or citizen who merely desires to possess a firearm to protect his own home.

The article follows:

[From the American Rifleman of August 1957]

THE PROPOSED FEDERAL FIREARMS REGULATIONS—IMPORTANT HEARING SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST 27

The Internal Revenue Service of the Department of the Treasury has formally announced that a public hearing will be held on August 27, 1957, at 10 a. m., in room 3313, Internal Revenue Building, Washington, D. C. At that time and place all interested parties will be afforded opportunity to be heard, in person or by an authorized representative, with reference to a proposal to amend and reissue regulations relating to interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition. Written data, views, or arguments relevant to the proposed regulations may be submitted in duplicate for incorporation in the record of hearing (1) by mailing the same to the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington 25, D. C., provided that they are received prior to the termination of the hearing, or (2) by presenting the same at the said hearing. Material relating to each section of the proposed regulations must be submitted separately and must bear the number of the section to which it relates.

Those sections of the proposed regulations to which the National Rifle Association has already filed formal protest and to which the NRA will object at the public hearing, were discussed in detail in the article beginning on page 22 of the July American Rifleman. (If you do not have this article, a reprint is available without charge on request.) In order that you may have the section number, there is reproduced below the exact language of the five sections of the proposed regulations that appear to be principally objectionable.

"SEC. 177.50 Identification of firearms: Each licensed manufacturer and importer of a firearm shall identify it by stamping (impressing), or otherwise conspicuously placing or causing to be stamped (impressed) or placed thereon, in a manner not susceptible of being readily obliterated or altered, the name and location of the manufacturer or importer, and the serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm. However, where imported firearms are identified by the foreign manufacturer in a manner prescribed in the foregoing sentence, additional stamping will not be required if the information prescribed by this section appears. None of such information may be omitted except with the approval of the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington 25, D. C.

"SEC. 177.51 Firearms records: Each licensed manufacturer or dealer shall maintain complete and adequate records reflecting the receipt (whether by manufacture, importation, acquisition from other licensees, or otherwise), and the disposition, at wholesale or retail, of all firearms (including firearms in an unassembled condition, but not including miscellaneous parts thereof) physically or constructively received or disposed of in the course of his business. Entries in such records shall be posted at the time of each transaction, or in each instance not later than the close of business on the day next succeeding the day on which the transaction occurs. The records prescribed by this section shall be in permanent form, separate and distinct from records pertaining to other merchandise handled by the licensee, and shall be retained permanently on the business premises until discontinuance of business by the licensee. Where the business is discontinued and succeeded by a new licensee, the records will appropriately reflect such facts and will be delivered to the successor. Where discontinuance of the business is absolute, the records will appropriately reflect that fact and will be delivered to the Director for permanent retention. The records shall show and include:

"(a) A full and adequate description of each firearm, including (1) the manufacturer thereof; (2) the manufacturer's serial number stamped thereon; (3) the caliber or gage of the firearm; (4) the model and type of firearms; and

"(b) The name and address of each person from whom each firearm (if not the manufacturer's own product) was received together with the date of acquisition; and

"(c) The disposition made of each firearm including the name and address of the person to whom sold and the date of disposition."

The prescribed format for the firearms record is as follows:

A B C FIREARMS COMPANY, 123 FOURTH STREET, BALTIMORE, MD.

Manufacturer of Firearms—Federal Firearms Act License No. 52-1

Description of firearm					Receipt		Disposition	
Manufacturer	Serial No.	Caliber or gauge	Model	Type	Date	From whom (name and address or FFA license No.)	Date	To whom (name and address or FFA license No.)

Prescribed format for firearms record

"SEC. 177.52. Ammunition records. Each manufacturer and dealer shall maintain, on the licensed premises, complete and adequate records reflecting the production or receipt and the disposition at wholesale or retail of all pistol or revolver ammunition. The ammunition shall be described as to manufacturer, type, caliber and quantity, and the identity of the persons from whom received and to whom sold must be shown.

"SEC. 177.54 Over the counter sales to individuals: Where disposition of firearms or ammunition is made by over-the-counter sale or distribution to individuals, the persons to whom the firearms or ammunition are sold, distributed, or delivered will be required to acknowledge receipt thereof in their own handwriting in the record prescribed by this subpart.

"SEC. 177.55. Authority to examine records, etc. Any internal revenue officer designated by the Director shall have authority to examine the books, papers, and records kept by a licensee pursuant to the regulations in this part, and to examine his premises and stock, during regular business hours in the daytime. When such premises are open at night, such authorized officers may enter them while so open, in the performance of such authorized official duties."

Many NRA members and others, including Members of Congress, have already protested these proposed revisions in the administrative regulations for the enforcement of the Federal Firearms Act. It is the volume of protests already received that has been responsible for the establishment of this public hearing. Efforts must be redoubled to make absolutely certain that the interests and wishes of the law-abiding, gun-owning citizens of the United States are made known to the Internal Revenue Service.

Do these things: (1) If you can possibly do so, plan to attend the public hearing in Washington, D. C., on August 27 (Tuesday) in person. You will not be required to make a speech, but it is essential that the greatest possible showing of opposition be made.

(2) If you cannot attend the hearing, read carefully the article dealing with the proposed regulations in the July American Rifleman; submit a written statement even though you may have already done so. Submit your statement in duplicate for incorporation in the record of hearing and do not be dissuaded by the redtape imposed by Federal regulations. Note that material relating to each section must be submitted separately and must bear the number of the section to which it relates. Mail your statement so that it will be received by August 27, 1957.

(3) Wherever possible submit written statements in the name of rifle clubs, state associations, fish and game clubs, veterans', fraternal, and patriotic organizations, etc.

(4) Urge your United States Congressman or Senator to support you in your position relative to these proposed Federal regulations.

Whether by design or not, the public hearing on August 27 will in all probability come after the United States Congress has adjourned. Few, if any, Congressmen or Senators will be in Washington and able to attend the hearing in person. However, they can file written statements and such statements will be most effective.

This is a vital question to every individual who believes in the right of American citizens to possess personal firearms for lawful purposes, free from arbitrary and unnecessary governmental control. The issue here is of far greater importance than the merit or lack of merit of any of the proposed regulations. The issue is whether under the guise of executive department regulation our rights in the private ownership of firearms can be strangled little by little without legislative action of any kind. Do not leave this for someone else to do. This is your battle.

The Middle East Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, notwithstanding the promulgation of the Eisenhower doctrine, the Middle East remains the center of much unrest which again could bring the world to the brink of war. The United States has tried very hard to convince the leaders in the Arab countries that playing the Soviet game will turn out to the detriment of their peoples and create the danger of Communist dictatorships in their countries.

The more the United States tried to appease some of these Arab leaders, the more they turned against us and the Western World. Poisonous propaganda, emanating from Syria and the Egyptian Government-controlled radio in Cairo, against Christianity and the Western World, continues unabated.

Many of the Arab leaders in these countries, who were pro-Nazi and against the West during the last war, refuse to see where the real interests of their peoples lie and continue to show their basic hatred toward the West, inciting their peoples while forgetting that they may reach a point of no return where they could no longer control the passions and the hatred they instill into their peoples.

As an example of this mentality, let me quote what the editor of the leading Syrian daily newspaper Al Manar wrote a few months ago:

One should not forget that, in contrast to Europe, Hitler occupied an honored place in the Arab world. His name awakened in Arab hearts feelings of love and enthusiasm. * * *

The Arab world should be congratulated in producing in its midst this Hitler who has shaken the world from end to end. * * *

English and French journalists are mistaken if they think that by calling Nasser Hitler they are hurting us. On the contrary, his name makes us proud. Long live Hitler, the Nazi who struck at the heart of our enemies. Long live the Hitler of the Arab world who has opened the gates to victory and eternity for his people.

The magazine Prevent World War III, published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, has just published an interesting article on this subject, entitled "Will the U. N. Solve This Problem?"

Mr. Preisdent, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL THE U. N. SOLVE THIS PROBLEM?

The situation in the Middle East continues to be fraught with grave dangers to world peace. Unless positive and effective action is taken to thwart those forces which wilfully keep tensions alive and to solve the burning issues in that area, mankind may be faced with the awful specter of world war III.

In the society's statement "The U. N. and the Middle East Crisis" (November 1956) the observation was made that "for years it has been politically expedient for statesmen to pretend there was peace in this vital area." The U. N. itself became the main vehicle through which the real situation was concealed. Consequently, the U. N. Charter, as it applied to the Middle East, was a virtual dead letter.

When Britain, France and Israel embarked on military operations against Egypt, the U. N. was quick to condemn them. In retrospect, it is now clear that whatever one may have thought about their motives, they focussed world attention on a festering sore which had been eating away at the prestige and usefulness of the United Nations.

For the first time since the State of Israel was born, fundamental elements making for conflict in the Middle East, are spotlighted. The "pure and simple aggression" which originally described the military action, has lost much of its weight as the history of Nasser's endless provocations and lawless deeds were catalogued before the bar of world public opinion. Viewed in this light, the conflict with Egypt can now be traced directly to the insatiable ambitions of the Cairo "strong man."

It was mainly through the deceit of the dictator and his agents that the legitimate aspirations of the Arab peoples were turned into an irrational force of hate and enmity. The ceaseless harrassing of Israel marked by cold-blooded physical violence and economic attrition was the microcosm of the larger conflict between Nasser and the West. If Israel could be forced to bend the knee, the whole Middle East would fall into Nasser's lap, leading to economic strangulation of our most reliable allies in Western Europe. This was Nasser's calculation. If it had been realized, United States security would have been placed in the greatest jeopardy since Hitler's planned invasion of the British Isles.

Nasser, of course, did not possess the wherewithal to challenge the West without concrete help from outside sources. Though a self-proclaimed anti-Communist, the mutual advantages gained by Hitler and Stalin in their 1939 pact, could hardly be ignored by Nasser and his top German advisers. Thus, the "mariage de convenance" between Nasser and Khrushchev was a logical and essential ingredient in the successful development of his plans.

All of the hidden ramifications of Nasser's conspiracy were disclosed by the short-lived military campaign. They constituted nothing less than a major threat to world peace and security. Yet, the initial reaction of United States policymakers toward the conflict was essentially the continuation of the old line. This position proved to be decisive during the deliberations of the United Nations in November 1956. As in the past, the U. N. devoted its efforts to the surface manifestations while glossing over the basic issues which had turned the Middle East into a caldron of strife and unrest. However, the force of events and the growing awareness of millions throughout the world who may have been blinded by Nasser's cunning propaganda, began to make their impression. Today, our policymakers are beginning to "understand" that the real issues in the Middle East crisis can no longer be swept under the rug.

What are some of the major problems which block progress toward peace in the Middle East?

Nasser's policy of belligerency toward Israel: The denial of Israel's sovereign rights through unlawful economic blockade and acts of physical terror and attack run counter to the U. N. Charter and violate resolutions adopted by the Security Council. In terms of its own security, the West can no longer sit by and accept as a matter of course Nasser's defiance on this question. In this connection, a hopeful sign is the President's view that "free and innocent passage" in the Gulf of Aqaba is in accord-

ance with international law. As a logical sequence to the President's position, support of all nations' rights of passage through the Suez Canal, including Israel, must be unequivocal.

The problem of the Arab refugees: For a number of years Arab propaganda has endeavored to discredit Israel as responsible for the miserable conditions of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Yet, it is a matter of historical record that the Israeli Government has time and again offered to work out an equitable agreement with the Arab states so as to alleviate the hardships of these unfortunate people. It is also a matter of record that the Arab leadership, egged on particularly by Nasser, has rejected such overtures for negotiations. The reason is not hard to find. The Arab leadership looks upon these refugees as pawns whose plight is to be exploited for ulterior motives.

The refugee problem would have never developed in its present sharp form, had not the Arab leaders made war on Israel in the first place, and having done so, induced the Arabs living in Israeli territory to leave. That the Arabs continue to stall on the question of providing a just solution is indicated by reports of U. N. officials.

Fortunately, public opinion is getting to know these facts and this is reflected in new efforts by the United Nations as well as by our own representatives at the U. N. to solve this problem in a concrete and just manner for all concerned.

The continuation of hate-inciting propaganda: In the No. 49 issue (Winter-Spring 1957) of Prevent World War III the society noted that Arab propaganda against the West and Israel was a fundamental impediment to the establishment of normal conditions in the Middle East. "Those leaders who purvey poisonous propaganda help to create a climate of blind hatred which may prove to be uncontrollable among peoples who are kept ignorant as to the real state of affairs. As a result, a change from a policy of hostility to one of peace and mutual accommodation becomes virtually impossible, even when the long-term interests of the country concerned require it. When a people are infected by artificially whipped-up hatred, those who are responsible for this state of mind become prisoners of it. They are no longer able to act in a statesmanlike manner, which is imperative if the country's welfare is to be safeguarded."

In this connection, it is interesting to note that anti-American propaganda emanating from Egypt predates the decision of our Government to withhold financial support for the Aswan Dam project. Many people have been under the impression that the Nasser regime began to talk tough after that episode. The facts show that this is not the case. For example, the Cairo radio (October 11, 1955) denounced the mutual security program as a weapon by which the United States hoped to penetrate the Middle East. On October 14, 1955, the Cairo radio proclaimed: "Justice and logic require that we now defend Russia and attack America, which has shown falsehood, deceit, and ill will."

The outpourings of poisonous propaganda against the United States, the West, and Israel continue unabated, particularly from Egypt and Syria. We cite below a sampling of this propaganda which dominates the newspapers and airways of these countries:

"It is being said that we peoples of the colonies should support Christianity and fight for the democracy of the western states, threatened with being uprooted. 'Are not these things the cause of the oppression and servility afflicting us?'

"But which states are detonating atomic and hydrogen bombs? The Christian western states, which are appealing to us to help them preserve their civilization. Whose civilization is responsible for discrimination among people because of color? The civilization of the western states, 'These western states whose Christian religion eulogizes fraternal love and equality of human beings, are foremost in destroying the lives of their fellow men in Japan, Kenya, Algeria, Port Said, Malaya, South Africa, and elsewhere. The same states were responsible for the Jews seizing the property and homeland of the people of Palestine.'" (Cairo radio, June 9, 1957.)

"'The former Jordanian Government which was toppled by the American imperialist with the help of the palace and its plotting group was loyal to these agreements.'

"The imperialists and their foster child Israel received these agreements calling for cooperation with hatred and anger. They continued working with their agents in Jordan, as they still work with their agents in Syria, until they were successful in temporarily altering the situation in Jordan. They destroyed the agreements of honor and glory, violated the principles of Arab policy, maltreated the people, and filled the prisons with thousands of detainees including officers, soldiers, and citizens." (Syrian newspaper An-Nasir quoted by the Cairo radio, June 14, 1957.)

"Only a few million dollars have thrown a national government in Jordan out of office. Only a few million emboldened the Lebanese Premier and Foreign Minister. A few millions convinced Nuri as-Said to relinquish power after he had spread terrorism in every inch of Iraq to prepare the way for his masters for a new alliance.

"But do these leaders, these governments, and their supporters at least know what they are worth in the eyes of America? Did they ever consider how much Israel is receiving compared with what they take themselves, and what Israel is paying? They content themselves with the crumbs while Israel is receiving billions. They sacrifice their interests and the future of their countries. They sacrifice even their very existence and expose themselves to the wrath of their peoples, while Israel pays nothing unless realization of its aims happens to result in a disadvantage to it." (Egyptian newspaper Ash-Shab, June 17, 1957.)

The warlike character of this propaganda is obvious. "It goes beyond the normal practices of exhortation to patriotism as it whips the mind of the people into a state of blind hatred" (the U. N. and the Middle East Crisis). It creates a war psychosis.

Peace in the Middle East cannot be built in the path of this hurricane of hate. Therefore, it should be a cardinal task of western statesmanship to work for the curbing of this propaganda.

Though the Middle East situation is in a state of flux at the present time, there are signs that Nasser's game is beginning to lose its effectiveness. Even those Arab States which have provided an important base for Nasser's operations, are shying away from his domineering and grasping tactics. It is certain that Nasser will try by all means to prevent the disintegration of his Pan-Arabic scheme and, therefore, one must anticipate that he will resort to desperate measures. The appearance of contingents of the Russian Navy in Middle Eastern waters and the delivery of Russian submarines to Cairo must be viewed in this light. New provocations against the State of Israel which has tirelessly sought a peaceful settlement, may be employed by Nasser so as to bolster his prestige.

Whatever Nasser's plans, however, they will fail if the United States acts with determination. In concert with our western allies, our Government should insist that the United Nations grapples once and for all with the fundamental issues involved in the crisis.

The society is under no illusions with regard to the complexity and difficulties attending the situation in the Middle East. Yet, we are confident that the United Nations with the active support of the United States and all freedom-loving countries can achieve positive results. In this connection we advocate the adoption of a program resting on the following principles:

1. Unity of action in the Middle East with France and England;

2. Protection of the sovereignty of all Middle Eastern States, as envisioned by the Eisenhower Doctrine.

3. A fundamental Israel-Arab settlement of outstanding differences through peaceful negotiations;

4. Insistence that all hate-inciting propaganda in the Middle East against the West cease and that Arab leaders publicly recognize the rights of the Israeli people to live a normal economic life with all of her neighbors;

5. A U. N. program to help the distressed Arab refugees and to contribute to the development of the resources of all the Middle Eastern countries.

If the actions of the United States are based on these principles of justice, we shall have safeguarded our own interests while at the same time, given new faith and confidence in the United Nations as man's best hope for world peace.

Korea's Distinguished Ambassador to the United States Tells Europe What the Free World Must Do To Be Saved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address given by Dr. You Chan Yang, Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States, before the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, London, England, on June 13, 1957. Dr. Yang has recently returned from a tour through Europe to express Korean appreciation to those countries which sent troops to Korea to help repel the Communist aggression 7 years ago. In the process, Dr. Yang has given eloquent and persuasive witness to the soundness of American policies of steadfast resistance to any further expansion of Communist power, prestige, or influence in Asia—whether by force or by the seductive coexistence trick. The address follows:

CAN WORLD FREEDOM AND STABILITY BE RESTORED?

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, honored guests, I consider it a distinct privilege to be asked to speak before the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It is an honor to my country, the Republic of Korea, and to me, its representative, to have this rare opportunity to meet with this distinguished group.

The very name of your organization implies that you are interested in the affairs of the entire world, the problems and aims of the countries therein, and their relationships in the family of nations.

Therefore, with this in mind, I wish to state that I come before you as a true friend, and I know that you will wish me to speak frankly and sincerely, because, otherwise, there would be no point in talking at all.

First, I wish to tell you that I have come to England at the request of my President, Dr. Syngman Rhee, to express the heartfelt gratitude of the Republic of Korea for the assistance rendered by the Government of England when we were invaded by cruel Communist hordes, during the darkest period of our history. We shall never forget that you sent forth your sons to battle against the enemy. You can be justly proud of them for they fought bravely beside ours, and particularly distinguished themselves on Hill 355. We Koreans will always remember that you recognized our desperate circumstances, and you came halfway around the world to come to our aid. May I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to those of you whose sons still lie in Korea, on foreign soil, because they paid the supreme sacrifice so that my people might remain free.

We are living today at a time when science has made such rapid progress that no longer can any nation isolate itself from the rest of the world. The speed of present-day communications and transportation makes everyone next-door neighbors. Therefore, what affects one nation, has a direct influence on all the others. This is an irrefutable fact. As a result, the destinies of all countries are affected by the fate of even just one of their neighbors.

If all countries are at peace, have a healthy respect for each other's rights, and enjoy a cultural and economic interchange, you have a happy world community. On the other hand, if, in some corner of the world, just one member decides to annex his neighbor and make him subject to his will, no other country is safe from the same fate so long as the aggressor is allowed to continue his evil way unhindered. If so, international relationships become strained, tension mounts, economies of nations waver, and cultural development flags.

My friends, such is the case today. There is an evil element now rampant in our midst that is destroying the peace of the world and undermining the relationships of the friendly nations. That element—the most insidious force which besets our present civilization—is communism.

Let us look at the facts. We presently have a Communist country which has overrun its neighbors, oppressed the people, and is constantly curling its greedy tentacles around new territory. Unhindered, communism has been allowed to trample under several peoples. Do you think for one moment that you are safe from the same plight? We have sat idly by, and watched country after country being swallowed up by a voracious monster.

When we, in the Republic of Korea, were invaded—an invasion that was Communist-inspired, Communist-equipped, and Communist-directed—we fought back with every fiber of our being. Unarmed, we were overwhelmed by superior forces which possessed the latest armaments, and had it not been for your help and that of other member states of the United Nations, the Republic of Korea would not exist today. As it is, only half of my country is free. At great cost the Communist invasion was beaten back. We suffered 2 million casualties and the virtual destruction of our resources. However, during the past several years, with generous aid from our friends and sacrificial efforts by our own people, the damage has been largely reconstructed. Gradually our long-range stability is being insured.

What Korea means for Europe is that a nation very much like your own has been implanted as an unshakable bulwark to stem the communization of the entire vast area of the Far East—which includes more than half of the population and territory of the entire world. We stand there surrounded by enemies, like an embattled fortress on a dangerous frontier. With your help we shall continue to stand—and thereby hold in check the Communist program of world domination.

Naturally, the Communists have beset us not only with arms but also with their twin weapon of propaganda. They have done their best to undermine global confidence in our leadership and in our democratic program. Their psychological warfare against us has followed two major lines: (1) that our government is not really democratic; and (2) that our approach to international problems is warlike, and, therefore, disruptive of world peace. In answer to those two challenges, I have come to bring you some sober and solid facts.

The establishment of genuine democracy in Korea has not been easy. It has been tremendously difficult, because of internal conditions and external pressures. I shall indicate briefly both the nature of the problems and the ways in which we have solved them.

Internally, Korea was left in a tragic condition by 35 years of Japanese exploitat'on and by the subsequent artificial division of our nation. When Japan was driven out in 1945, 80 percent of our people were illiterate. Our entire economy was wrecked, for it had been skillfully and purposely subordinated to the will of Japan. Our people were without experience in management—political or industrial—for the Japanese had held us in complete subjection. Under the Japanese, our land tenure system had become one of centralized landlordism. When we assumed our own government in southern Korea, our factory and agricultural productiveness was far insufficient for our needs. And our problem was compounded by the sad mistake of the 38th parallel division—which separated our agricultural south and the industrial, mineral and coal-rich, and hydroelectric resources of the north.

We did, however, have great resources. Chief among them was the fierce national patriotism and high abilities of our own people. Secondly, we were generously befriended by the United States and other western nations, which granted us financial, economic, and technical aid. Without those two resources, we could not have survived. But in addition to them we had yet another which was 'ndispensably essential—a great and inspired leadership, provided by one of the most remarkable men of the 20th century, our president, Dr. Syngman Rhee.

Now, let us see in quick review what has been accomplished.

One of our first achievements as a government was the enactment of a program of land reform, which turned over to tenant farmers all the farmlands in southern Korea—with the exception of some 10 percent owned by religious organizations and missionary groups.

Secondly, we started the enormous job of creating a literate, educated nation. We had to build schools, train teachers, and both write and publish textbooks. But today, despite the obstacles, we have achieved what I think is a near miracle. At the present time, more than 91 percent of all children aged 6 to 11 are in school. We have some 50 collegiate grade institutions with an enrollment of over 80,000 students. Illiteracy has been reduced to less than 10 percent of the total population. And thousands of our students are now engaged in advanced study abroad.

Politically, we have extended the free ballot to all over 21, women as well as men. Our 4 national and many local elections have resulted in balloting by an average of 85 percent of all who are eligible. Our political freedom is attested to by the considerable political controversy in our 90 newspapers. Gradually our politics have evolved a stable party system, consisting of two major parties, the Democratic and the Liberal parties. Quite dramatically our political freedom was emphasized in the elections of 1956, when Dr. Syngman Rhee was reelected President, together with a vice president from the opposition party. Our legislative assembly has always demonstrated considerable independence from the executive branch. Like all democracies, we sometimes complain about the lack of calm and unity in our domestic concerns. But we value freedom sufficiently to pay this price.

It was for freedom that 8 million of my countrymen have fled from the north to the Republic of Korea. They are still coming, and, although our housing problem is extremely acute, they are taken in and sheltered.

It was for freedom that the Hungarians revolted, as they did recently in a desperate attempt to break the bonds of unendurable oppression. It was, in brief, man's perpetual struggle against despotism. They preferred to die rather than live in subservient obedience to an inhuman master. From our own personal experience with Communist tyranny, we could sympathize with the Hungarians, for we knew only too well how they felt. That is why we were one of the first countries to send relief goods to them in their struggle for liberty.

Likewise, the Poles have made attempts to liberate themselves from an intolerable situation. Recently in Chungking, Red China, there was a tremendous labor uprising against the Communist regime. There is great unrest and turbulence due to lack of food, ill treatment, and loss of freedom. I am sure the people of East Germany, of Vietnam and of others are not satisfied with the division of their countries.

Did you know that in the north of my country, the Communists this very moment are amassing incredible amounts of war material and storing it underground? At the end of the Armistice which was signed in Korea on July 27, 1953 the Communists did not have one single plane. Today they have 770 planes, of which 518 are jet fighters and 99 are jet bombers. There were no airstrips. Now they have 40. Communist armed forces personnel in North Korea has increased 62 percent; their naval strength by over 300 percent. You cannot tell me that all that building—which, by the way, is in flagrant violation of the Armistice agreement, to which they affixed their signature—you cannot tell me that this buildup is for commercial purposes. I tell you they mean war. On the other hand, we and the United Nations Command have scrupulously abided by the conditions of the truce.

The Communists are very clever. They foment crises in one part of the world so that their vast military preparations to attack in another part will not be noticeable. While your attention is focused on the Middle East, they are getting ready to pounce on us in Asia. Lenin long ago made the statement that the "road to Paris lay through Peiping." He further said that they would then take Europe after Asia fell; then after Europe the United States would drop into their laps like a ripe plum.

If the Republic of Korea falls, Japan is untenable. If the Communist gang gets control of all the vast teeming millions of manpower in Asia, no combination of military might on the face of the earth could withstand such a tide. Need I point out to you that, after us, you would be next, and if we fall, there is no hope for you.

Now in view of the foregoing relative to Communist activities, a decision has been made to relax trade restrictions with Red China, North Korea, and other Communist puppet regimes—in other words, there will be negotiations with a foe whose hands are still

red with the blood of your countrymen whom they have so cruelly butchered.

Let me give you my reasons why I am dismayed at this policy, and why I think it will be unsuccessful:

1. Soviet Russia has been supplying the finished product to Red China such as military and technical equipment as well as consumer goods. This has been a drain on the resources of Russia. By a relaxation of trade restrictions, thereby building up Red China's industrial potential Russia will no longer have this responsibility and can concentrate on her own needs and will sell her products to other markets.

2. Some people think that by trading with Red China they are going to wean her away from Russia and Russian influence, thus weakening Russia's position, but to our way of thinking, instead of weakening communist power you are going to increase it by building up another communist satellite. A Communist—whether Chinese, Russian, English, or Korean—is one and the same thing. The Communists stick together, right or wrong, and form a solid bloc of resistance which has been definitely proved in international gatherings where the free world has varied opinions, but the Communists have only one.

3. With the responsibility of China off her back, Russia will be able to supply at a profit armaments to other countries very anxious to get hold of them and this would be detrimental to the entire world.

4. Also, with the industrialization of China and with the millions of Chinese slave laborers she can produce tremendous amounts of consumer goods which will be dumped on the markets of the world at fantastically cheap prices, and destroy free enterprise in the free world. In this way, you will be ultimately ruining your own business, for you cannot compete with them as they have 600 million Chinese to draw from for slave labor.

5. From a moral and humane standpoint, are you willing to let it be said your brave British boys died in vain in Korea—those who died for the cause of liberty, freedom, and justice?

6. How can there by a healthy business relationship with a State that has been branded as an aggresor by that august body for international peace, the United Nations, especially an aggressor that defies United Nations disapproval and remains in my country, occupying it illegally?

Further, it is my understanding that Malaya will be given its independence in August of this year; also, I hear that Singapore may become independent a little later. In this connection, it is hoped that, if these areas are to become independent, they will not fall under the influence of Communist China and become Chinese citizens instead of Malayan citizens. They should remain within the Commonwealth so that more millions will not be subjected to the Communist Chinese yoke. Great Britain is to be commended for relinquishing those areas as colonies, and giving them their independence, but at the same time it would be tragic if the tremendous manpower and wealth of raw material they possess should be made available to Red China.

The Communists have proved time after time that neither their spoken word nor their written word can be trusted. They would be as perfidious in trade negotiations as they are in international relationships. By trading with Red China, North Korea, and other Communist bloc countries they will now have access to vital commodities that will eventually be used against the free world.

Therefore, we are very much worried about the present conference on disarmament which is being held here in London. We would be the first country to welcome disarmament, if we could rely on the Communists to do likewise; judging from past experience we definitely know that they will not abide by any agreement they sign. It will only tie the hands of the countries of the free world behind their backs while the Communists will become a superior power and enslave us all.

That, my dear friends, is the way we look at it. We foresee only heartbreak, disillusionment and disaster.

Now, you probably want to ask me what suggestions I have as to the road we should take. I firmly believe that our only salvation—yours and ours—lies in international cooperation of the free world through cultural and economic exchanges. By a continued, all-out embargo, we could bring any country to its knees economically in a short time, but weakly the free world gives in to pressures brought about by some of their unpatriotic businessmen who are after only money. And so it goes on and on until a country allows itself to be badgered into a policy of which it really at heart does not approve.

Other nations of the free world may not trade so extensively with England as heretofore in certain commodities now that they know there is the possibility that they may be used to manufacture goods whose ultimate destination is Red China. Those persons who hope to benefit by a relaxation of the trade embargo for the sake of a few extra pounds will find themselves with many less pounds in the long run. They also will see themselves in the unenviable position of being the perpetrators of a grievous crime: the possible destruction of the free world.

We do not believe the Communists are going to become reasonable and decent in their international behavior simply of their own free will. We do believe that pressure will have to be brought against them—far more so than has yet been done. For that reason, we continue to oppose the admission of Red China to the United Nations—at least until it clears itself of aggression by voluntarily withdrawing from North Korea. We believe an even more stringent economic blockade against the Communist countries might produce results. And we think the United Nations must be converted into an effective agency for enforcing justice in international affairs. This need is evidenced not only in Korea but also in other areas much closer to your own immediate concerns.

What does the future hold for Korea and for the world? I wish I knew. Of one thing, however, I am certain: our problems are not going to disappear simply because we find them disagreeable. In all history, freedom and democracy have been won by peoples who believed in them so deeply that they would die rather than surrender those rights. When we confront an ambitious totalitarian aggressor, we cannot merely wish him into agreeable behavior. We cannot assuage his imperialism by pretending it does not exist—which I fear is the method of those nations that describe themselves as "neutralist." We cannot achieve the millenium of perfect peace simply by crying out that this is what we desire.

Europe, like Asia, has a long history of dealing with military adventurers. You learned at Munich that compromise, concession, and retreat are not effective means of dealing with them. I believe the history of the past 12 or 15 years shows that this is not the way to deal with the aggression of the Communists.

What, then, do we need? It seems to me that our primary needs are for firmness and unity. We, who are still free, must stick together at all costs—and we must stand firmly for justice in international affairs, even when it hurts. We dare not afford the luxury of a foreign policy which refuses to take risks—for retreat in the face of threats is the certain pathway to inevitable defeat.

I hope you will forgive me for being blunt today, but I cannot urge too strongly that we take bold measures with the problems we face. We must fiercely resolve to remain steadfast even when buffeted by the protests of the weak who live only for the moment and take no thought of the future.

As the representative of the Republic of Korea, I come to you from a people of courage and of firm conviction that democracy and freedom are essential. I come to you to hold out a hand of fellowship between the democracy of the East and that of the West. So long as that tie remains strong, we cannot be defeated. Eventually, our faith will prevail, and freedom and stability will be restored to the world. That is our aim, and I am confident it is also yours.

Postal Rate Debate Goes to Foundations of the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Pageland Journal of August 22, 1957:

POSTAL RATE DEBATE GOES TO FOUNDATIONS OF THE REPUBLIC

A significant public debate is being held in Congress on the subject of mail rates and the budget of the Post Office Department. At issue are increases in mail rates, and whether the raises should be placed on first-class mail, letters, and other sealed material, or second-class mail, which includes publications with editorial or news content such as newspapers and magazines, and third-class mail, which is unsealed, bulk mail, often not addressed to individuals, but to boxholders and generally is advertising in one form or another.

According to records, kept and made public by the Post Office Department, first-class mail just about pays its own way. Second-class mail, devised as a means of subsidizing the spread of public information in the infancy of the Nation and maintained as a device to spur greater interest in public matters, among other things, costs the Department a great deal more to handle than its revenue amounts to. Such huge publications as Life magazine, a large, heavy book mailed weekly as preferential second-class matter to millions of readers at a cost annually of millions of dollars, and the small weekly newspaper, which involves a total mailing cost of $100 more or less a year, are lumped in the same class. Third-class mail, which receives least attention and is subject to numerous cost-cutting rules while in the mails, is an overall loss class, the records indicate, but the difference is not significant. It boils down, then, to second-class mail. Should the subsidy be continued at the expense of other users of postal service, or should it be placed on a break-even or profitable basis?

It was brought out in debate recently that Life and National Geographic, two mass circulated magazines, got more than $60 million in 1955 in services in excess of what they paid for. This sounds absurd. Non-readers, in effect, help to pay for a reader's magazine. These large, money-making publishing companies are fully capable of paying the costs of distribution of their product, and therefore why shouldn't they.

They are in the same class with the publi-
ations at the other end of the line, the low-
rculation nondaily papers (most daily cir-
lation is by direct delivery rather than
rough the mails), some of them noncom-
ercial such as religious and educational pa-
rs. Take as an example a weekly with a
rculation of 5,000, which is large as week-
es go. A paper of this size might make a
rofit of $5,000 a year. If the publication
ere mailed at say first class rates, mailing
st would be $150 a week or $7,500 a year.
second-class rates, costs would be nearer
50 a year. The paper would lose money
d could not be published. Literally hun-
eds of community publications fall into
is category.

Of course, there could be compromises be-
ween the present low second-class mailing
tes and the first-class rates cited, but the
nswer seems to be elsewhere, for a business
at operates on so small a margin cannot
and many cost increases, even light ones,
d continue to operate. Perhaps the solu-
on lies in application of the old tax rule
hich says something like tax those who
ve, for the benefit of those who have not.
he mass circulation magazines could afford
carry a fairer share of the Post Office De-
rtment's expenses, because profitwise, cir-
lationwise, and in other respects they are
a different category than the small news-
per. If the lawmakers would consider
reating a new class of mail, or of dividing
he present second-class category into groups
sed on distance, weight, and dollar volume,
d especially on preferential treatment,
hich gives the high-powered magazines
hat amounts to first-class service at sec-
nd-class rates, the load could be better car-
ed by the publication industry as a whole
ith a lessening of the Government's losses.

Underlying the whole debate, however, is
more basic problem into which it is im-
ossible to go in space available. The Post
ffice Department was designed originally as
Government service department, not as a
ommercial enterprise. No one expects the
epartment of Agriculture to show a profit
n an experiment station, for instance. A
ederal judge is not required to collect more
nes than his salary and court expenses
mount to. The Congress should make up
s mind whether it wants to continue the
ostal service as a service, or whether it
ants to make money out of it. Once that
atter is clearly determined, the problem is
ell along toward solution.

Nasser's Expendables

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, events
n the Middle East again have taken an
nfavorable turn. The switch to the
eft in Syria, where known pro-Com-
unists have seized control of the army,
s one more example of how subversion
hich thrives upon hatred can take hold
f a government, to the detriment of the
eople.

It is obvious that Egypt's Nasser, close
lly of Syria, has been behind this sub-
ersion, just as he was helping the pro-
oviet government in Jordan a few
onths ago, before it was ousted by the
ing of Jordan.

Nasser's dream to become the undis-
uted ruler of an all-Arab empire, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean toward Pakistan in central Asia, can only come nearer to realization if he first succeeds in putting his own henchmen into power in those various Arab countries.

In this connection, I have read a very interesting exposé entitled "Nasser's Expendables." This article appeared in issue No. 50 of Prevent World War III, the magazine published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization, 515 Madison Avenue, New York.

Mr. President, I am advised by the Public Printer that this article is estimated to make 2¾ pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at a cost of $211.75. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NASSER'S EXPENDABLES

It seems that modern dictatorships, by their very nature, thrive at the expense of their strongest supporters. Both Hitler and Stalin turned their friends and allies—domestic and foreign—into obedient satellites. When this was achieved, they liquidated the leaders who had helped them, and replaced them with their own henchmen. Those who remember the prewar Hitler and Stalin period, will also recall how these dictators cooperated with the various kings of the Balkan countries only to undermine their positions and oust them at the opportune moment.

THE EXPENDABLES

Egypt's strong man, Gamal Abdul Nasser, is filled with the same gratitude toward the Arab Kings. They are pawns—his expendables. Yet, Nasser would have never reached the position he now enjoys without the concrete help and financial support of the Arab Kings.

If the Kings ignored the fate which befell a number of European rulers, one would expect them to sit up and take notice when one of their own, former King Farouk, was sacked by the Egyptian dictator. However, this did not happen. Instead, they heaped praise on the bright young man. There appeared to be no doubt in their minds that Nasser's sole ambition was to revive the ancient glories of Islam. After all, it was he who outlined the grand design which made such a marked impression on the Kings.

"When I consider the 80 million Muslims in Indonesia, and the 50 million in China, and the millions in Malaya, Siam, and Burma, and the nearly 100 million in Pakistan, and the more than 100 million in the Middle East, and the 50 million in the Soviet Union, together with the other millions in far-flung parts of the world—when I consider these hundreds of millions united by a single creed, I emerge with a sense of the tremendous possibilities which we might realize through the cooperation of all these Muslims, a cooperation going not beyond the bounds of their natural loyalty to their own countries, but nonetheless enabling them and their brothers in faith to wield power wisely and without limits." (Egypt's Liberation by Premier Gamal Abdul Nasser, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., p. 113.)

Whatever aspirations the Arab kings may have had with regard to this project, it goes without saying that Nasser had no intentions of taking a back seat. Possessed with the Fuehrer complex, he wrote: "And now I go back to that wandering mission in search of a hero to play it. Here is the role. Here are the lines, and here is the stage. We alone, by virtue of our place, can perform the role" (ibid., p. 114). In Nasser's self-appointed role supporting actors are superfluous. This holds especially true for the kings who are logically regarded by Nasser as a barrier to his insatiable ambitions.

Discussing one of the chief elements which allegedly prevented the Arabs from destroying Israel in 1947–48, Nasser writes, "* * * then, each in its own internal affairs encountered the same factors, the same ruling forces that had brought about their defeat, and forced them to bow their heads in humiliation and shame" (p. 95).

Therefore, it is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Arab kings are regarded by Nasser as an intolerable stumbling block. It is they who must submit completely to his will. But submission is only a temporary respite. They will live on his sufferance until the day that he prepares his assassins for the coup de grace.

Former French Premier Mollet referred to Nasser's book as the new Mein Kampf wherein an oriental Hitler lays bare his boldest dreams. The French statesman was not playing on words. Nasser's book shows all the earmarks of German geopolitical theory and even terminology. Nasser writes about the allegedly outdated concept of political boundaries and national states (p. 84) and stresses the need for living space (p. 85). In developing his thesis he delineates the three "circles": Arab, Islamic, and African. Nasser tells us that they are tangent to each other through the center which is Egypt. To hold the three circles firmly and to wield them as a gigantic geopolitical unit which can, if it wills, strangulate the world, is Egypt's holy mission since no one else is qualified to play it (p. 88).

KING HUSSEIN VERSUS NASSER

The crisis that shook Jordan in the spring of this year has its roots in Nasser's dreams. Like Hitler, the Egyptian dictator operates according to plan. When Hitler marched into the Rhineland, some people thought that this was merely the act of a German patriot asserting the God-given rights of his people. If those trusting souls had seriously studied Mein Kampf they would have recognized that Hitler's move was but a preparatory step toward wider pickings.

Nasser's seizure of Suez was also praised by many people as the expression of a legitimate national aspiration. A careful examination of Nasser's writings shows that the grab was not the work of an Egyptian patriot but the initial thrust of a man who desires nothing less than to be the lord and master of the whole Islamic world and its resources. It was a move to prepare the groundwork for the Jordan "Anschluss" with Syria and Egypt—the nucleus for the Arab "circle."

That Nasser and his strategists were working day and night toward this goal was hardly a secret. Yet, the king of Jordan, entranced by the thought of becoming a "big" king, seemed oblivious to the facts of life.

Nasser had carefully prepared the attack. The governmental apparatus in Jordan was honeycombed with his agents and stooges. However, it seems that the rather crude methods of Nasser began to tell on the king. Toward the beginning of the crisis Hussein found his tongue. He warned his then Prime Minister Suleiman Nabulsi that the Communist danger had grown. There were individuals, he declared, "who feign loyalty to Arab nationalism, indulge in hullabaloo, prevarication, falsehood, and heroics, thereby seeking to conceal their evil designs against Arab nationalism and the fact that they cooperate with our enemies in misleading the masses and exploiting the people."

Nabulsi contemptuously ignored Hussein for he knew that the king had become more and more isolated since the British had been ousted in March 1956. At that time Hussein was hailed as a great patriot. Actually, the riots and demonstrations resulting in the

removal of the British General Glubb as the Chief of the Arab Legion, had been engineered by Egyptian agents together with an assortment of pro-Communists and Nasserites who had infiltrated Jordan's Government. Hussein's difficulties were compounded by the fact that by losing the British subsidy of 30 million pounds annually, he had placed himself at the mercy of Nasser who had solemnly pledged that Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia would make up a great part of the deficit.

While the noose around Hussein's neck was drawn more tightly, Prime Minister Nabulsi, an ardent devotee to the Nasser cause, was already speaking of the end of Jordan. On one occasion he proclaimed flatly, "Jordan's destiny is to disappear." Another time he said, "Jordan cannot live alone. Our intentions were from the beginning to work for Arab unity. The first step is a sort of federation and the first phase of federation is to have it between Syria and Jordan * * *. Practical negotiations are now making progress * * *. There is no longer any doubt that federation is coming."

Nabulsi's words were translated into the demonstrations and riots in April which threatened to overthrow King Hussein. The London Economist (April 27, 1957) reported how the rioters carried the flags of Jordan, Syria, and Egypt. Nasser's picture was most prominent. The main slogan of the mobs was, "Federal Union With Syria and Egypt!" It was these initial demonstrations which broke Nasser's spell over Hussein. By the end of April the King, with great courage smashed the conspiracy and the Nasserites fled or were imprisoned.

PROVOCATION THROUGH PROPAGANDA

At the beginning of the crisis Nasser was confident of success. Although he regarded Hussein as "an emotional irresponsible playboy" (New York Times, April 28, 1957), he was sure that his loyal followers in Jordan would keep the King in line. Egyptian propaganda reflected the carefulness with which Nasser played his cards during those dramatic days. On April 18, 1957, the Cairo radio reported a commentary from the Syrian newspaper Barada: "The battle is now tense in Jordan between the forces of imperialism and reaction and the forces of patriotism, and the Jordanian people who are renowned for their gallantry and strength in defense." The radio also referred to another Syrian newspaper, An-Nasr which said that Hussein should seek the advice of his Arab "friends," that is King Saud and Presidents Al-Quwwatli (Syria) and Nasser. The paper declared that they were the true "trustees" of Jordan and that they were dedicated to helping Hussein achieve complete freedom. "We do not believe that King Hussein's opinion is different from that of the three leaders or that his means are different from ours."

Nasser's propagandists were trying to give Hussein the benefit of the doubt. With a condescending air they portrayed him as the innocent victim of an "alien imperialistic conspiracy." The Cairo radio (April 22, 1957) pretended to weep over Hussein's plight and charged that the ousting of Nabulsi and a couple of pro-Nasser generals was really the work of the "imperialists." Yet, even in this broadcast there was already a faint hint that perhaps Hussein himself was no longer willing to toe the mark: "Is it possible by these torturous means, devoid of honor, sincerity, straightforwardness, and respect for the will of the people, to succeed or divert a people from their aims and objectives?" Hussein's name was not mentioned but this ominous warning was made: "Those who planned the plot, who participated in it, and those who supported it, will relent sooner than they imagine * * *."

Thus, Nasser's propagandists shifted to a bolder line as it became apparent that Hussein was getting out of hand. On April 23, the Egyptian radio denounced what it called the conspiracy against Jordan. It named the heroes of Jordan's independence; i. e., Generals Nuwwar, Huyari, and former Prime Minister Nabulsi. Since it was the King who had eliminated this trio from positions of power, the Egyptian propaganda guns were inevitably shifting their sights on the King himself. This was the meaning of the Egyptian radio broadcast on the following day which termed the strife in Jordan "the struggle of Arabdom." The broadcaster affirmed that the Arab nation was in the midst of the battle in Jordan and that Jordan will triumph in the same way the Arab nation has triumphed.

As the plot against Hussein unfolded with all its ramifications, the King finally took to the radio on April 25, 1957. Though he castigated Israel, he also leveled a sharp attack against his Egyptian friends: "I had to believe that the slightest duties of cordiality and gratitude would have required our brethren in Egypt to cease at least inciting the people through the press and radio by attacking my person—I who had sworn my blood for the sake of dear Egypt at the time of its catastrophe—and to cease fabricating statements and falsifying utterances in an attempt to plot out the conspiracy against the throne—the plot which is being investigated by a reliable group headed by a higher ministerial committee, the plot which is confirmed and upheld by the fleeing of certain conspiring officers for fear of being uncovered.

"I was patient for a long time regarding the mistakes of these Egyptian tongues and pens which attacked and defamed us, which attempted to incite certain of our people against us, and destroy the true situation in our country, and which released lies, rumors, and propaganda. We were patient and will remain patient, suppressing rage and forgiving (them?) in fulfillment of our promise to Egypt and in maintaining our solidarity, fraternity, Arabdom, and unity. We had hoped that this misleading propaganda would not flare up, spread, and become brutal in a way which has become difficult for our Arab dignity and prestige, and our national heritage to tolerate injustice and wrong."

On April 27, the Egyptian radio toned down—apparently stung by Hussein's accusations. Once again Cairo pretended to shed tears about the dangers to Jordan's independence and security. "O Arabs," an Egyptian radio commentator declared. "Who is Jordan? Jordan is your country and mine. Jordan is our country, my brother. Jordan is the country of all the Arabs. The independence of Jordan is my independence and yours, my brother. The independence of Jordan is our independence; it is the independence of all Arabs. The security of Jordan is your security and mine, my brother. The security of Jordan is the security of all the Arabs."

The new approach emphasized that Egypt had not been interfering in Jordan but was only naturally solicitous for her welfare. "We of the voice of the Arabs," the Cairo radio said, "have no right to speak in the name of Jordan. Jordan has its own nationalism."

In this connection it will be recalled that on April 18, the Egyptian radio had named Nasser as one of the trustees of Jordan's fate, but Hussein's surprising show of defiance obliged the Egyptian propagandists to disclaim any thought of intervention. However, the change was of short duration for on May 4, the Cairo radio once again began to employ threats and innuendoes: "Those who concocted the Jordanian plot did not take into consideration the fact that the day will come when the plotters will be disgraced, when everything will be exposed before the eyes of world public opinion, and when the mask will be taken off the faces of those who plotted and committed crime without heeding the lessons of history. Truth can never be suppressed, and crime will never pay." The following day (May 5, 1957), the Cairo radio sought to discredit Hussein's policies: "The Jordanian budget which the present Government will submit cannot be described as a budget of an Arab State proceeding in the caravan of liberation. It is a novel budget, the main item of which is American aid given to this Arab country as a reward for those who hatched the imperialist plot and for the bold measures they took against the free and struggling people."

On May 8, it became clear even to Egyptians that the King was winning out. The Cairo radio was incensed and railed against the imperialists and their stooges. As if it were warning Hussein directly, the radio quoted Nasser: "We shall antagonize those who antagonize us and we shall be peaceful to those who are peaceful to us."

The Egyptian Home Service, broadcasting on May 10, deplored that Jordan "by virtue of the plots of imperialism and its lackeys has been transformed into a state about which the imperialists deem it their right to speak with malice * * *." It charged that Jordan's status had changed "after it permitted the supporters of reaction and imperialism to raise their hands and stand in the way of the people's will." The broadcast concluded with the warning that the people would yet emerge victorious for the sake of the whole liberated Arab world.

EXPOSING NASSER

However, by this time the Jordanian propaganda machine had largely outgrown its fears and inhibitions and struck back. It noted that at one time the Egyptians would praise Arab leaders when they did the bidding of Cairo and would denounce them when they strayed from Nasser's camp. The broadcast referred to the stand taken by the Egyptian press on the crisis in Jordan. It charged that the Egyptian papers relied on information of traitors to Jordan and accused Egypt of having lied about the true conditions obtaining in the capital of Jordan. The broadcast noted that when General Hyari first accepted the post chief of staff under Hussein, the Egyptian press smeared him as an "imperialist stooge." On the other hand, when he fled to Damascus the same paper praised him.

The Jordanian radio commentator, understating the case, noted that this kind of propaganda based on false reports and provocation, "harms relations between Egypt and the other Arab States." In conclusion the commentator said: "We request that the Egyptian Government and the Ministry of Guidance in Egypt reimpose supervision on the Egyptian press and the Voice of the Arabs broadcast so as to avoid in the future any misunderstanding between sister Egypt and any other Arab State." As was to be expected Cairo, by this time, arrogantly ignored Jordan's rather mild protest of interference.

This forced Hussein's hand and on May 11 the Jordanian newspaper Al-Urban broke wide open the conspiracy hatched by Nasser and his cohorts. It was a plot, the newspaper declared, which not only involved the overthrow of King Hussein but also the thrones of the Kingdoms of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Libya. The newspaper named names of key Egyptian agents and also revealed the identity of certain representatives from the various Soviet embassies in the Middle East. The people of Jordan were told the pertinent facts concerning the nefarious role of Egyptian representatives in Jordan. King Hussein was their target and one of the leading organizers of the plot against the King was the Egyptian Military Attaché Fuad Hilal. Together with the Egyptian consul general in Jerusalem he was expelled from Jordan. The expulsion deepened the rift between Jordan and Egypt and showed that

e King had become disenchanted with sser's pan-Arabic schemes.

In recounting the zigs and zags of the gyptian propaganda line during the crisis e thing becomes clear, that is, Nasser ove with all his might to control the nts in that country so that his dream absorbing Jordan would be fully realized. was a cat and mouse game—first pretend- to be concerned about Hussein's diffi- ties—pretending that Egypt had no de- to interfere but on the contrary wished ssein well. When Hussein sought to clean the nest of Nasserites the Cairo radio gan to squeal like a stuck pig, yet even en direct attacks against the King were lded. However, the logic of events in rdan could no longer contain the feeling outrage which grew in the breasts of sser and his coconspirators. They threat- ed Hussein and even now seek in every ssible way to turn his people against him. The Jordan story has had a profound ef- t on recent developments in the Middle st. Like a flash of lightning it cleared the heavy atmosphere of confusion and sion made impenetrable by the cunning opaganda and bold activities of Nasser and s henchmen.

KING SAUD AGAINST NASSER

The crisis in Jordan would have never ched such grave dimensions, had it not en for the fact that Nasser not only re- ved help from the minions of Moscow but o from King Saud of Saudi Arabia. Saud, , had sat at the feet of the bright young n from Cairo. Nasser fascinated him and doubtedly the King dreamed about the day en the whole Moslem world would lay strate before his throne. It was there- e relatively easy for King Saud to pro- e millions of dollars for the terrorists d propagandists who flooded the Arab rld under the direction of Nasser and his i advisers. It was Saud's money received m the royalties paid by American oil com- nies, that subsidized the activities of Nas- 's men in Jordan.

Events in Jordan shocked King Saud and e confidence which he reposed in Nasser gan to wane. Indeed, it has been reported at after Nasser blocked the Suez Canal ereby cutting off much of Saudi Arabia's revenues, the King began to wonder ere Nasser's program would lead to. King ud received his answer in relative short der. According to reliable reports, the ng discovered that the Egyptian military aché in his capital had organized and anced a terrorist band whose ultimate get was the King himself. Saud's secu- y police arrested the plotters who were med with guns, grenades, and explosives. e men admitted planning the King's as- ination and implicated Col. Ali Kha- aba, Egypt's military attaché. According Time magazine (May 13, 1957), the King s outraged and expelled a number of yptians and ex-Palestinians. "He then cked Hussein to the limit."

Nasser was dumbstruck. The idea that might lose Saud's subsidies made him perate. According to Joseph Alsop (New rk Herald Tribune, May 6, 1957), top Nas- representatives sought out King Saud in very shadow of the sacred Kaaba in cca. One Egyptian member of the delega- n swore that Nasser was innocent as a wborn babe. Nasser did not deny that plot existed but disavowed personal re- nsibility. By this time even Saud seems have reached the point of understanding at he might suffer the fate of other lead- s, including King Michael of Rumania d Jan Mazaryk of Czechoslovakia. Re- rts in the press now tell us that Saud has finite second thoughts with respect to sser's dream world. Saud who financed sser in Jordan hoping that he would be hly rewarded for the money; Saud who had helped Nasser in spreading terror throughout the Middle East; Saud who paid for the riots against the King of Iraq, was sobering up at last.

NASSER REACHES FOR IRAQ

The Government of Jordan had accused Nasser of fomenting rebellion against other thrones in the Middle East. These facts have been published in the West last year. The noted British correspondent Sefton Delmer reported to the London Daily Express (January 23, 1956) that the King of Iraq had proceeded to purge his army, having learned that Nasser had infiltrated "the officer corps with the aim of overthrowing Iraq's anti-Soviet Premier Nuri, forcing the abdication of the King and establishing the same kind of military dictatorship in Iraq as in Egypt."

As in Jordan and Saudi Arabia the Egyptians worked through their military attaché, Col. Mahmoud Gamel Al Hinawi, Cairo's military attaché at Baghdad, was responsible for the operation. Only the quick and resolute action of the Iraqui Government uncovered the plot which resulted in the arrest of Colonel Hinawi's number one agent, the German-trained Egyptian Commando Officer Capt. Mohamed Ali Issa. Commenting on the plot, Delmer wrote: "Yes, it is a strange world when ultrarich princes of Saudi Arabia distribute dollars they have received from American oil companies to Communist agents in order that the Communists may spread chaos and anarchy in the neighbor country."

UNDERMINING LIBYA

The King of Libya has also found his friend Nasser a bit difficult. Nasser's agents are omnipresent in Libya—as they are in other countries of that area. The London Economist (April 13, 1957) noted that many of the townspeople in Libya and especially the youth "feel the attraction of the Pan-Arab ideas and methods of which Colonel Nasser has made himself the exponent."

Nasser, of course, has fully exploited these pan-Arab sentiments and his agents have distributed tons of propaganda material throughout the country. The propaganda has been markedly effective to the extent that "humble Cyrenaican parents can be seen urging their children to lisp the name of Gamal Abdul Nasser as they gaze at portraits of the Egyptian leader in the windows." Nevertheless, King Idris has also become uneasy. The Egyptian military attaché in that country, Ishmail Sadek, organized a so-called "Front for the Struggle of the Libyan People." Ignoring the fact that he was but a guest of Libya, he publicly accused the Government of King Idris of being "the servant of imperialism." He backed up his charge by smuggling in at least 28 cases of automatic arms which were hidden in the Egyptian Embassy for future distribution at the appropriate time. The activities of Sadek impelled King Idris to take a stand. The government sent him out of the country along with a number of teachers supplied by the Egyptian Government to instruct young Libyans.

NASSER IS "PRO-NASSER"

Perhaps some people who like to indulge in historical analogies might want to depict Nasser as Egypt's Thomas Jefferson resolutely opposed to monarchy. However, such comparisons are preposterous and misleading. It is a known fact, for example, that Moscow, too, has disposed of kings but who would want to compare Stalin with Thomas Jefferson? Prorepublicanism has no part in Nasser's philosophy. The Lebanese Government which is a genuine republic, can testify to that. The Egyptian dictator, under the guise of fighting imperialism, has been busily at work trying to undermine Lebanon and its republican institutions.

The Lebanese Government has already exposed this conspiracy hatched by the Egyptian Ambassador Abdel Hamid Ghalib. The Ambassador has had large funds at his disposal to interfere in the political life of Lebanon. Joseph Alsop, reporting in the New York Herald Tribune (May 20 and May 22, 1957), states that the Egyptian Embassy in Beirut is the chief political headquarters for the pro-Egyptian forces. These elements have tried to create turmoil and civil war during the recent elections, but the Lebanese leaders who apparently have been wise to Nasser's designs for a much longer time than the Arab kings, have successfully smashed the plot.

THE EDUCATION ANGLE

Nasser's drive to subvert the regimes of the Arab kings not only involves terror, assassination, and civil war, it also includes a carefully laid out program to win over Arab youth. The London Economist (April 27, 1957) devoted an informative article on this subject under the title "Egypt's Empire Builders." Realizing the growing urge on the part of the Arab youth to gain literacy and taking advantage of the fact that in most Arab countries there are few native-born teachers who are equipped to meet the educational needs of the people, Nasser has developed a corps of teachers throughout the Arab world. While the standard and quality of Egyptian pedagogy may be inferior to that of Western standards, it is still high by the standards of the Middle East. "In each oil-bearing country, therefore, the protagonist of a greater Arab nation under Egyptian management has an instrument ready to hand—the schoolmaster for the new school, not to mention the inspector for the schools systems as a whole." Even in the tiny sheikdom of Kuwait the number of Egyptian teachers is more than double that of native teachers.

While not all of the Egyptian teachers in the various Arab countries are pro-Nasser, the London Economist notes that everywhere they are interspersed "with members of Egypt's cultural mission—men and women glib with patter from Cairo's Ministry of National Guidance and capable ('like the one rotten mano in a basket,' as an Iraqui put it) of injecting into a whole school the tincture of disloyalty to the local ruler or government." From time to time some of these teachers are dismissed for becoming too enthusiastic over Nasser and for paying little heed to their duties as teachers. As noted in the case of Libya, a number of the 600 Egyptian teachers in that country were deported. The same holds true for Iraq where groups of teachers have been dismissed although there are still about 500 of of them in the country.

The Economist observes that even when the more ardent Nasserites among the teachers are removed, there are still jobs in other Middle East countries. A point that at once strikes anyone who scrutinizes the efficient work they are doing, is their proprietary behavior. "We are doing this and that. We intend to run a university here." Who is we? Egypt's greater Arab nation, not the Kuwaitis. Wherever they go, these Egyptian teachers who are subsidized by Cairo, faithfully spread the gospel preached by the bright young man. Hitler saw the value of this kind of operation and suceeded in establishing powerful fifth columns in many countries abroad as an adjunct to his military plans.

The amazing influence that Nasser's teachers exert throughout the Arabic world, prompts the Economist to ask the "$64,000 question"; "How far is a ruler such as King Saud, or the sheik of Kuwait, aware of the anomaly whereby he is paying Egyptians to teach the next generation of his subjects that thrones and hereditary rule are out of date, that the western race that has created the wealth that produces superb classrooms and self-wiping blackboards, is fit only to

be booed, and that a role of importance for the Arabs hangs on creating a greater Arab nation run in subservience to Cairo?" To what extent the question can be answered, only the future will tell. If the rate of present developments continues, the kings may have to give their answer sooner than they expect.

"TO THE BITTER END"

Nasser's role in Jordan has helped to dispel many illusions. The kings are no longer as comfortable as they were when Nasser first came to them. His initial failure in Jordan was in no small part due to the support that Hussein received from the Kings of Saudi Arabia and Iraq. This cold fact must have made a profound impression on the Egyptian dictator and may induce him to take more drastic measures.

Will the Kings be prepared for the coming counter attack? Nasser's next move may be camouflaged by the smokescreen of a new drive on Israel. The "bright young man" has been adept in employing the bogey of Israel as a means of whipping recalcitrants back in line. Will the Kings dare to penetrate the anti-Israel fog which has already led them to the brink of self-destruction?

There is no doubt that the struggle betwen Nasser and the Arab Kings will continue to the bitter end. Nasser will never give up his dream to rule the Arab world and only the Kings stand in his way. If the Egyptian dictator is to succeed, he must eliminate them.

Civil Rights

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, months ago in my report to my constituents in the Second District of Illinois I said:

"The civil-rights bill will reach the floor of the House within the next fortnight, and I believe is certain to pass without crippling amendments. Contrary to the fears of some I look for the bill to clear the hurdles in the Senate without filibuster."

That was at a time when the defeatist attitude was pretty general and a filibuster regarded as inevitable. I am glad that I did not mislead my constituents in my prediction by accepting this attitude. Yesterday is not today, and always we go forward, too slowly perhaps, but always forward.

The so-called compromise bill leaves very much to be desired. It is a frail little craft, with seams in the hull that leak, to attempt to navigate the sea of prejudice and discrimination in the search for the promise land of an America of real equality in the exercise of the rights dear to all men.

But, Mr. Speaker, it will make the voyage in safety and its landing will be on the shores of that America of real equality for all men and women. But ours is the continuing, tireless, unrelenting job of standing by as the sailors, to mend the seams in the hull with strengthening amendments beginning as soon as we convene for the second session. To that, Mr. Speaker, we are dedicated. And now that the start has been made, feeble though it may be, we shall push the harder for the prompt enactment of civil-rights legislation with teeth protecting all the people of the United States in the exercise of their rights as Americans to live in the society of their fellow Americans on a plane of equality and without discrimination of any nature based on the circumstances of race, religion or station.

We have come a long way. We still have far to go. But always we go forward, and just ahead is waiting us the sunshine of brotherhood, if our faith and our courage remain strong.

The Immigration Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Jewish Times, of Massachusetts, and an editorial from the Pilot, the archdiocesan paper of Boston, regarding Senate bill 2792, the immigration bill.

In addition, I ask that there be printed in the Appendix an explanation of Senate bill 2792.

There being no objection, the editorials and the explanation were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Jewish Times]

NEW IMMIGRATION BILL

Some cracks of light were cast on the shadows of our immigration policy last night with the favorable action by the Senate on Massachusetts Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY'S immigration bill. This bill, which is said also to have the support of Chairman FRANCIS E. WALTER, of the House Immigration Subcommittee, would aid in the reunion of families, lift mortgages on quotas, and grant authority to admit orphans adopted by United States citizens.

Most important, the Senate finally has acted on that portion of the Kennedy bill which proposed the admission of Egyptian Jews and other beleaguered refugees through utilization of 14,000 of the unused visas provided under the Watkins Refugee Relief Act of 1953. Certainly the Egyptian Jewish refugees were as much victims of totalitarianism as those from Hungary and deserve such favorable treatment.

The piecemeal action contained in this legislative measure again highlights the crying need for a complete overhaul of our immigration system, which this newspaper has so continuously and consistently urged. Aside from the aspects of fair administrative procedure in the immigration mechanism, the vile national origins quota, the dynamic growth of this Nation's population, and the disappearance of physical frontiers calls for new attention to the philosophy governing immigration policy. Bills such as the one under discussion deserve passage because they correct bad situations, but their very minimum nature whets the appetite for some overall action in the field of immigration.

[From the Pilot, Boston, Mass.]

S. 2792

This week, at long last, an immigration bill was allowed to pass in the Senate, and it will now go to the House for further action. Senator KENNEDY, through very unpromising days, continued to press for some effective legislation and although this new bill (S. 2792) is not all that he wanted, it is probably the very best that could be had at the present. The reallocation of basic quotas had to be abandoned, and the regularization of parolees was also dropped from the legislation. This last item remains a blot on our generous gesture toward the fighting Hungarians last year and and should be attended to without delay.

We must, however, in these matters count our blessings, and in this case blessings won by diligence and insistence on the part of the junior Senator. Between the civil-rights fracas and the foreign-aid confusion it seemed for a while that there would be no immigration bill at all this session. The Senator's bill, among other provisions, will permit entrance of from sixty to seventy thousand people on "the family reunion" basis, by which near relatives are given preference through the allocation of special quotas in their regard. At the same time, every heart will warm to the provision which will allow an unlimited number of children under 14 to come to America if adopted by United States citizens. Besides this, the unused quotas from the Refugee Relief Act, which may run as high as 18,000 (though estimates vary), will be redistributed. These three items alone should encourage those who have labored so hard to bring charity and justice into our present legislation.

The struggle is far from over yet, all the same. It is just possible that some elements unfriendly to the philosophy of charity represented in this bill will aim at giving it trouble in the House. There are many champions in that body who can rise to its defense and we feel certain that the representatives from this area, now, as in the past, will be heard. The bill should be passed, and we are confident that it will be acted upon favorably at once.

ANALYSIS OF KENNEDY IMMIGRATION BILL, S. 2792

Section 1: Under existing law some children are unable to accompany their parents because it is not clear that the term "stepchild" includes illegitimate children. The section clarifies existing law.

Section 2: Amplifies the definition of "child" as contained in the basic statute so as to include illegitimate children and children adopted while under the age of 14.

Section 3: Makes clear that spouses and children of aliens admitted to the United States under the skilled workmen provisions of the law shall be entitled to first preference, thereby allowing families to be reunited.

Section 4: Allows an unlimited number of orphans adopted by United States citizens to enter the United States during next 2 years. It is estimated that approximately 5,000 orphans will be ready to come to the United States within the 2-year period.

Section 5: Vests the Attorney General with discretionary authority to admit the spouse, child or parent of a citizen or an alien already in the United States, notwithstanding the fact that the relative may have committed some offense which is a bar to entry into the United States.

Section 6: This section would permit the Attorney General to authorize a visa for, and to admit to the United States, under such controls as he deemed necessary, the spouses, parents, and children of United States citizens or of lawfully resident aliens, notwithstanding the fact that such relative

s afflicted with tuberculosis. This is another measure primarily designed to alleviate hardship and to prevent the unnecessary separation of families.

Section 7: Forgives certain aliens misrepresentations which they made in connection with their applications for immigration. Most of these persons made these misrepresentations in order to avoid forcible repatriation by the Communists to countries behind the iron curtain.

Section 8: This section would grant discretionary authority to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General to waive the requirement of fingerprinting on a reciprocal basis, for aliens coming to the United States on a temporary basis.

Section 9: This section grants the Attorney General discretionary authority to adjust the status of certain skilled specialists who are in the United States temporarily but whose services have been deemed to be urgently needed in the United States. Spouses and children of those aliens would also be granted nonquota immigrant status. This section applies only to foreign skilled specialists who are in the United States on July 1, 1957.

Section 10: This section cancels the mortgages imposed on the quotas of certain countries pursuant to the Displaced Persons Act and other legislation. It is estimated that the lifting of these mortgages will result in approximately 8,000 quota numbers being made available each year, particularly in countries such as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and others whose quotas were heavily mortgaged.

Section 11: Section 323 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, relating to the naturalization of children adopted by citizens of the United States would be amended by this section so as to authorize the naturalization of children adopted by United States citizens in those cases in which the parent is stationed abroad in the Armed Forces or in the employment of the United States Government, or of an American firm or international organization when it is intended that the child reside abroad with the parent until the parent's employment is terminated.

Section 12: This section would permit persons who are in the first, second, or third preference categories and who have made application to the Attorney General before July 1, 1957, to enter the United States immediately. This section would permit the reunion of members of families who have been separated by the workings of the Refugee Relief Act and other laws and would permit the admission of about 33,000 aliens including 20,000 Italians and 3,500 Greeks.

Section 13: This section would permit a limited number of Government officials and their immediate families who have come to the United States in a diplomatic status to have their immigration status adjusted at the discretion of the Attorney General when such an adjustment is in the best interest of the United States. This provision is designed to enable diplomatic and other officials of Communist governments who have defected to remain in the United States as permanent residents.

Section 14: A technical provision making certain definitions contained in the Immigration Act applicable to the Kennedy bill, S. 2792.

Section 15: Provides that approximately 18,000 nonquota visas which were authorized under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 but which remained unused when that act expired in December of 1956 would be available to bona fide refugee-escapees who have fled because of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion. These nonquota visas would be available for refugees throughout the world, including refugees from Egypt and north Africa, those located in Spain, the NATO countries, Austria, and the Far East. Under this provision Egyptian refugees from Egypt and Hungarian refugees who are in Western Europe could enter the United States.

Section 16: Provides that a short period of overseas residence by a child admitted for permanent residence shall not constitute a break in United States residence for purposes of naturalization.

Statement of Congressman Cecil R. King in Opposition to Certain Proposed Revisions of Internal Revenue Service Regulations Relating to Interstate Traffic in Firearms and Ammunition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, today a public hearing is being held by the Director of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service in Washington, D. C., on the proposal to amend and reissue regulations relating to interstate traffic in firearms and ammunition.

A number of the proposed regulations have been considered by the Congress and intentionally excluded from the Federal Firearms Act. Should any such regulations be deemed worthy of consideration, they should be properly presented to the Congress for possible inclusion in legislation, rather than being promulgated as administrative regulations of doubtful validity.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit my views in opposition to these proposed revisions:

The Federal Register for May 3, 1957, and for July 10, 1957, published notice of proposed revisions in the Internal Revenue Service Regulations pertaining to the enforcement of the Federal Firearms Act. In neither publication did there appear any general statement of the basis and purpose for the new regulations being proposed as is provided for in the Administrative Procedure Act, title 5, United States Code, section 1003 (b). In the absence of such statement of basis and purpose, certain of the new proposals would appear to be unnecessary, unduly restrictive and improper. Sections 177.50, 177.51, 177.52, 177.54, and 177.55 have received widespread public opposition. In view of this opposition, I believe that the Internal Revenue Service should carefully review its position. My own views on the sections in question are as follows:

I. IDENTIFICATION OF FIREARMS SECTION 177.50

Each manufacturer and importer of a firearm shall identify it by stamping (impressing), or otherwise conspicuously placing or causing to be stamped (impressed) or placed thereon, in a manner not susceptible of being readily obliterated or altered, the name and location of the manufacturer or importer, and the serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm. However, where imported firearms are identified by the foreign manufacturer in a manner prescribed in the foregoing sentence, additional stamping will not be required if the information prescribed by this section appears. None of such information may be omitted except with the approval of the director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington 25, D. C.

From the time of the enactment of the Federal Firearms Act to the present, it has not been the practice of manufacturers to impress serial numbers of every firearm manufactured. In fact, a majority of all firearms are and have been manufactured without serial numbers and without some or all of the information called for by this section. The law provides that it shall be unlawful to transport or receive in interstate or foreign commerce a firearm from which the manufacturer's serial number has been removed, obliterated, or altered, and the possession of any such firearm shall be presumptive evidence that such firearm was transported or received in interstate commerce in violation of the law. Thus, it was clearly the intent of Congress that a penalty should attach to the possession of a firearm from which the manufacturer's serial number had been removed, obliterated, or altered. Congress did not attach this penalty to the possession of a firearm which had been manufactured without a serial number nor did Congress require, in the law, that serial numbers be impressed on all firearms manufactured. The failure of Congress to include such a requirement in the Federal Firearms Act, especially in view of the prevailing business practice, seems conclusive that Congress did not intend to require every firearm to have a serial number or to carry the additional information which would be required by section 177.50 of the proposed regulations.

In my opinion, the provisions of the statute are plain and unambiguous and the Internal Revenue Service does not have the authority to extend or to amend the provisions of the statute by regulation.

In *Koshland* v. *Helvering* (298 U. S. 441, 80 L. Ed. 1268), the Supreme Court discussed an administrator's power to issue regulations in the following language:

> Where the act uses ambiguous terms, or is of doubtful construction, a clarifying regulation or one indicating the method of its application to specific cases not not only is permissible but is to be given great weight by the courts. And the same principle governs where the statute merely expresses a general rule and invests the Secretary of the Treasury with authority to promulgate regulations appropriate to its enforcement. But where, as in this case, the provisions of the act are unambiguous, and its directions specific, there is no power to amend it by regulations.

The Federal Firearms Act is plain and unambiguous; it needs no clarification in this respect. The proposed regulation actually extends the coverage of the act and is therefore not a proper regulation.

II. FIREARMS RECORDS (SEC. 177.51)

This proposed section contains three objectionable requirements which will be discussed separately. It provides:

Each licensed manufacturer or dealer shall maintain complete and adequate records re-

flecting the receipt (whether by manufacture, importation, acquisition from other licensees, or otherwise), and the disposition, at wholesale or retail, of all firearms (including firearms in an unassembled condition, but not including miscellaneous parts thereof) physically or constructively received or disposed of in the course of his business. Entries in such records shall be posted at the time of each transaction, or in each instance not later than the close of business on the day next succeeding the day on which the transaction occurs. The records prescribed by this subpart shall be in permanent form, separate and distinct from records pertaining to other merchandise handled by the licensee, and shall be retained permanently on the business premises until discontinuance of business by the licensee.

The Federal Firearms Act provides:

Licensed dealers shall maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

The term "permanent records" as used in the act, was obviously used to mean records in permanent form as contrasted with temporary records such as sales slips. The language "permanent records" cannot logically be construed to mean permanent records permanently retained as this section of the proposed regulations would require. That this was clearly the intent of Congress in the matter is borne out by past administrative regulations which have required the retention of dealers' records in permanent form for at least 6 years. There can be no question that dealers' records should be retained so long as they may be needed and useful in carrying out the provisions of the act. However, the statute of limitations applicable to offenses defined in the Federal Firearms Act is 5 years. It is difficult to see how the dealers' records would be of value in carrying out the provisions of the Federal Firearms Act after the 5-year statute of limitations. This proposed regulation would make each dealer and each manufacturer a permanent public archives. Such a requirement is unrealistic and unreasonable.

Equally objectionable is the provision in section 177.51—and this applies equally to section 177.52—that manufacturers are required to keep and retain such records. The statute requires only dealers to maintain records and the application of the statute to dealers was obviously deliberate. In the bill, S. 3, 74th Congress, which was amended and became the Federal Firearms Act, the following language was contained in section 3 (d):

Licensed "manufacturers" and dealers shall maintain such permanent records of "manufacture," importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of Commerce shall prescribe.

The quoted language was omitted in the bill as enacted. Thus Congress did not intend to require manufacturers to maintain records and the proposed regulation, being contrary to the will of Congress, should not be adopted.

Also objectionable under section 177.51 is the requirement that records of receipt of firearms and ammunition be maintained. The statute requires the keeping of records of "importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition." Regulations necessary to carry out this provision would be proper. Section 177.51, however, goes beyond this and requires the maintenance of records not required by Congress. Clearly, neither production nor receipt are included in the statute, the language of which is plain and unambiguous.

III. AMMUNITION RECORDS (SEC. 177.52)

Section 177.52 provides:

Each manufacturer and dealer shall maintain, on the licensed premises, complete and adequate records reflecting the production or receipt and the disposition at wholesale or retail of all pistol or revolver ammunition. The ammunition shall be described as to manufacturer, type, caliber, and quantity and the identity of the persons from whom received and to whom sold must be shown.

Objections to the inclusion of "manufacturer" in the above regulation and objections to the application of the regulation to the "production or receipt" of pistol or revolver ammunition have been covered under section 177.51 and are equally applicable to section 177.52. It is my opinion that this proposed regulation will place an intolerable burden on manufacturers and dealers. That such records will be required to be kept forever compounds its unreasonableness. An infinitesimal fraction of all pistol and revolver ammunition produced and sold is used illegally. The doubtful value of the regulation is far exceeded by the tremendous burden which would be imposed upon thousands of honorable and legitimate businessmen throughout the Nation. As an indication of the doubtful value of this regulation, I would point out the fact that it is commonly accepted business practice for small-arms ammunition to be handled by thousands upon thousands of very small local hardware and general dry-goods merchandisers. Many of these neither ship nor receive firearms or ammunition in interstate commerce but deal entirely with jobbers within their own State. It is conservatively estimated that as many as 50,000 such small rural dealers may not be licensed under the Federal Firearms Act and would not be subject to its controls.

IV. OVER-THE-COUNTER SALES TO INDIVIDUALS (SECTION 177.54)

Section 177.54 provides:

Where disposition of firearms or ammunition is made by over-the-counter sale or distribution to individuals, the persons to whom the firearms or ammunition are sold, distributed or delivered will be required to acknowledge receipt thereof in their own handwriting in the record prescribed by this subpart.

This provision runs counter to the purpose of the act as reflected in its legislative history. Stripped of its veil, it is nothing more nor less than a requirement of registration of persons who purchase firearms or ammunition. Congress refused to incorporate such a provision in the National Firearms Act and in the Federal Firearms Act. During the hearings on S. 3, April 16, 1935, the then Assistant Attorney General Keenan wanted a more drastic bill in which such a provision as this would be a feature. Congress did not include such a provision and the hearings make it clear that had such a feature been included the bill would not have passed. The Commissioner will clearly have exceeded his authority if he adopts this proposed regulation in light of the congressional history of this act.

A further objection is the fact that the proposed regulation transcends the act and the power of Congress in that interstate transportation has ended when the original package containing the firearm or ammunition has been opened to make a sale to a consumer. Thus, when an individual makes a purchase in a local sporting goods store the entire transaction, including the seller's and purchaser's activities, is wholly local in nature and not subject to the commerce power of Congress.

Numerous court decisions differentiating between interstate and intrastate commerce make it clear that the proposed regulation is an attempt to control a sphere of local activity which is immune from Federal control. If the Federal Firearms Act is and can be extended into this field it should be done by Congress and not by an administrative ruling by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

V. AUTHORITY TO EXAMINE RECORDS (SEC. 177.55)

Section 177.55 provides:

Any internal revenue officer designated by the Director shall have authority to examine the books, papers and records kept by a licensee pursuant to the regulations in this part, and to examine his premises and stock, during regular business hours in the daytime. When such premises are open at night, such authorized officers may enter them while so open in the performance of such authorized official duties.

There is no objection to the portion of this section which provides for the inspection of records kept pursuant to the act. However, that portion of the section which authorizes internal revenue agents to inspect premises and stock without a search warrant is illegal and unreasonable.

To enforce a statute which requires the maintenance of records of importation, shipment, and disposal of firearms, it would seem reasonable to provide by regulation for the inspection of such records. Only by extending the statute to require records of manufacture, production, and receipt could there be any purpose or any need for free inspection of a businessman's premises and stock. The history of the enforcement of this act indicates no necessity for such a regulation. Congress was not trying to correct abuses by dealers and/or manufacturers. Congress was interested solely in the criminal element in our society. The provisions of section 177.55, if adopted, will depart from the congressional purpose in this regard and will subject legitimate businessmen to searches without a warrant. If such is to be the law the responsibility of skirting the fourth amendment should lie with Congress and not with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

Facts on the Republican Post Office Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], placed in the RECORD August 1, 1957, what he chose to call the Post Office Record Republicans will not be reporting.

In reviewing what he portrays to be the Republican record on postal affairs I find the presentation of these six items, which the gentleman from Oklahoma facetiously calls accomplishments, are riddled with misinformation.

Personally I would have no hesitancy in presenting the facts on these items to the people of my district. I believe the people are entitled to facts and not distortions.

I am happy to present the facts with respect to the operation of the postal service under the Republican administration and to answer item by item the presentation that was made in the RECORD.

Item 1:

Unmentioned accomplishment No. 1 is the fact that Mr. Summerfield not only failed to live within his legal budget, but made unnecessary terminations of mail service to the people in order to blackjack additional funds out of the Appropriations Committee. Never before have we had the spectacle of rural mail carriers reporting in for work and being ordered to sit around the post office and not do their job—and no amount of bright new paint will gloss over the fact that this administration is the first in history to stop delivering the mail to the people in any kind of emergency.

EFFICIENT OPERATION SAVES TAXPAYERS MONEY

Answer: The Postmaster General has never failed to live within his legal budget. During the first 3 years of the present administration the Department returned the following sums to the Treasury:

	Million
Fiscal year 1953	$83.6
Fiscal year 1954	108.7
Fiscal year 1955	43.0

In fiscal 1956, because of the unprecedented growth in residential areas it was necessary for the Department to obtain a supplemental appropriation to provide additional city delivery service not anticipated in the original budget. This supplemental appropriation was obtained toward the close of the year and after the appropriation for the next year—1957—had been passed. It was thus apparent at the start of the 1957 fiscal year that additional funds would be required for that year for the same reason.

The Department endeavored to obtain a supplemental appropriation in July 1956 by an amendment to a supplemental appropriation bill at that time before the Senate Appropriations Committee. The Department was advised that it should defer its request until the next session of Congress, which it did.

In January 1957 the House Appropriations Committee was advised that the Department would require additional funds for 1957. By then it was apparent that a supplemental appropriation would be needed, not only because of the growth in the city delivery service but also because of a general increase in the volume of mail and increase in cost due to recently enacted salary legislation. Request for such funds was formally transmitted to the Congress in March 1957.

Since by the start of the fourth apportionment period, April 6, 1957, Congress had not passed the supplemental appropriation requested, it was necessary for the Department to curtail postal services to a limited extent to avoid violation of the antideficiency statute. These services were immediately restored when sufficient funds to complete the year were obtained.

One of the curtailments that would have the least adverse effect on the public was the elimination of Saturday delivery of mail and the closing of post offices on Saturday. In the rural areas this saved the travel expense of the rural carriers but effected no saving of their salary because they were paid on a 6-day-week basis. In order to make the maximum use of their time on that Saturday, they were required to report to their local post office where they worked sorting mail and performing other duties to the extent possible.

It was with the greatest reluctance that the Department made these temporary curtailments of service but it had no other alternative under the law.

Item 2:

Republican accomplishment No. 2 is the fact they have shut down many post offices in smaller communities across the country, thereby depriving residents of these small towns of many postal services.

BETTER SERVICE AT A SAVING

Answer: Post offices have been discontinued where as good or better service can be provided by rural carrier, star route carrier, city delivery service, rural station, contract station or classified station and at the same time result in a material savings for the taxpayer.

When many of these offices were established they were the only means of delivery of mail to patrons. With better roads and the establishment of rural delivery most of those patrons chose to have mail delivered by rural carrier, who also collects mail, sells stamps and money orders. The function of such offices as a means of service to patrons thereby diminished. When railroads were supplanted by star route as a means of supply, such offices also lost their function as a source of distribution of mail to other offices.

In other areas larger cities have expanded and extended city delivery service contiguous to the area served by these small post offices. Such small offices themselves did not meet the requirement for city delivery service and the only means of according city delivery service to these patrons is through consolidation of the post offices.

Item 3:

They have recommended the termination of the postal savings system which has been of great service to millions of Americans, which would compel those citizens to place their savings in private banks, or in a sock at home where no bank is available.

IN LINE WITH HOOVER COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION

Answer: The Comptroller General of the United States, in his reports to the Congress on the audits of the Postal Savings System since 1951, has consistently recommended that the Congress should give consideration to the question of whether, under present conditions, there is need for the Postal Savings System, stating that by and large the main purpose and justification of the system are no longer applicable. In May 1955 the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, the Hoover Commission, in its report to Congress on business enterprises in Government, recommended that after some reasonable period no further postal savings deposits be received and that depositors be given an opportunity, during a period not to exceed 5 years, to place their savings in United States savings bonds or other amply secured, guaranteed bank, and savings and loan deposits.

The original purpose of the Postal Savings Act of 1910 was to provide depositors a place for depositing savings at interest with the security of the Government for repayment thereof. Its main purpose has been superseded by the availability of United States savings bonds and the ample security of guaranteed bank and savings and loan deposits up to $10,000. It is evident that the public is finding adequate security for its savings in other than postal savings. This conclusion is based on the fact that the amount on deposit in the Postal Savings System has dropped from $3.4 billion in 1947 to $1.5 billion in 1957, and continues to decline.

It is believed that the discontinuance of the Postal Savings System will not work a hardship on those who now have deposits, or discourage thrift, because 98 percent of the deposits are made at first- and second-class post offices where banks or savings institutions are located or are readily available by mail. For outlying communities, banking facilities are usually available at the point where the other business of the community is transacted.

Item 4:

They have forced the removal or resignation of thousands of postmasters whose only sin was being appointed by a Democratic administration.

FRAUDULENT PRACTICES BRING FIRINGS, NATURALLY

Answer: Actually, only 824 postmasters have been removed during the period January 20, 1953, to July 31, 1957. Of these, 441 were removed for embezzlement and fraudulent practices, 241 for inefficiency and generally unsatisfactory operations, 80 for failure to perform appropriate duties or devote the required amount of time to duty, and 52 for unbecoming conduct. Removals are effected only after formal charges are preferred in accordance with civil-service rules and all removal actions are subject

to review by the Civil Service Commission.

Item 5:

They have used up millions of buckets of red, white, and blue paint in a costly redecoration program which is strangely inconsistent with their repeated talk about economy.

WHY DO DEMOCRATS OPPOSE THIS SAFETY MOVE?

Answer: The so-called "red, white, and blue" paint program involving mail boxes and trucks was undertaken by the Department after a most careful study of all pertinent factors.

In regard to motor vehicles we faced at the outset the fact that the fleet was badly in need of a planned rehabilitation and maintenance program. The olive green color of vehicles presented a drab, unattractive appearance. Truck waxing had been ordered stopped in the fall of 1952. There was no planned truck repainting program. Equipment was deteriorating rapidly. The accident record of the truck fleet was deplorable. In the latter part of 1953 we began studies to determine the answers to these problems.

Our first problem was to reconsider the color of paint to be used in a formalized repainting program. Safety considerations and comfort of employees dictated that the top and upper part of the vehicle be of a light color. It was proved that white cabs and bodies substantially reduced interior heat in hot weather and tests showed that such cabs were 8 to 11 degrees cooler in hot weather than drab colors. Safety considerations suggested a high visibility material and the familiar red reflecting sensitized tape now in wide use by owners of motor vehicles was selected because of its greatly improved nighttime visibility. A dark blue for the lower portion of the vehicle seemed a logical final step, just as the older vehicles were all in three colors of green and cream, with black on fenders.

Application of the new color scheme was inaugurated at the beginning of 1955 only as repainting of an individual vehicle is required. This program will cover a period of several years before completion, at a cost that compares favorably with the old cost.

Results achieved from the vehicle paint program may be summarized as follows:

(a) Shop time required for a complete vehicle turn-around for repainting has been appreciably reduced.

(b) We have a vehicle which affords our employees greater comfort. Cabs are cooler in hot weather. Employee morale and pride in the equipment has improved.

(c) We have a color scheme and quality of enamel which stands up longer, maintains its luster, and does not show road dust so readily.

(d) We have changed from a camouflage color to a high visibility color scheme more easily seen both day and night. This has been a major factor in our accident prevention program. The accident rate—day and night—of the white, red, and blue vehicle is substantially lower than the rate of vehicles painted olive drab. As a matter of fact, it is one-third of previous accident rates.

In regard to the mail-box program the Department for years has received complaints from the public about the street corner collection boxes. People have confused them with relay or storage boxes used exclusively by postal employees and some have actually put their letters in city trash boxes where shape and color were similar to the collection boxes located on street corners. Others complained that the mailboxes could not be found. All of these complaints stemmed from the camouflage color of the old boxes. For repainting as needed, we required a color that was (a) easily identifiable, different from any other public receptacles; (b) representative of the United States mail and the national services of the Department; (c) consistent and compatible with other postal markings; (d) of lowest possible original cost; and (e) low in maintenance cost.

The present colors were selected and became standard in August 1955, matching the truck fleet. The lack of cost figures in former years precludes a comparison but we have made every effort to keep cost to the minimum required for proper maintenance.

The new box colors show public acceptance as it is now easier to find and identify the mailboxes. The new attractive easy-to-find color scheme has received widespread commendation from postal patrons.

Item 6:

They have talked and boasted for 3 years about their great new lease-purchase program to build new post offices, and wound up after 3 full years with a start on one small post office under this program.

LEASE-PURCHASE PROGRAM FILLS BUILDING NEED

Answer: The lease-purchase program originated with the Congress and not the Post Office Department. Lease-purchase legislation was originally passed by the 82d Congress only to be vetoed by the President.

Lease-purchase was not intended to be a substitute for a public works building program nor a huge construction project. It is designed as a highly selective technique to use moneys which would have to be spent for rent anyway, as purchase moneys over the period of the lease.

The building construction needs of the Department are being satisfactorily and economically met under a commercial leasing program. Since January 1953 over 1,700 newly constructed buildings have been acquired under such leasing agreements. Leasing with various terms of occupancy provides the needed flexibility for the Department to meet the problems of urban growth and population shifts.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from an article by Elmer T. Peterson in the Daily Oklahoman of May 15, 1957:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Ladies and gentlemen, hold onto your hats. You ain't seen nothin' yet. • • • The NEA has vociferously declared that Federal aid for public schools will not mean Federal control.

• • • • •

Theodore Brameld, professor of educational philosophy at New York University, has just published a book called "Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education," and his views will probably startle you.

There is not room in this column to print quotations in volume, so page numbers will be given, to make sure that no reckless accusations appear herein.

Federal Education Authority, analogous to TVA but on a larger scale (p. 300). This would be supported by Federal taxation, "supplemented by local resources." It would offer free universal education. It would "gear curriculums, teaching, guidance, and administration to the purposes of the economy of abundance, political order, scientific society, and esthetic patterns." It would "bring newspapers, radio chains, and other instruments of public enlightenment into direct cooperation with education and under similar controls."

International authority (IEA) for education, financial aid (furnished of course, mainly by the United States as under UNESCO) "to schools of all countries" (p. 303).

Religion to be considered a part of education, and therefore under the same authority (p. 307).

• • • • •

Brameld says the United States should spend (p. 295) at least 35 billion dollars on education, nationally and internationally, during the next quarter-century • • •. "Moreover, not less than half of this should come from the Federal Treasury."

• • • • •

On pages 321–322 Brameld clearly advocates permitting the employment of teachers who teach communism, on the theory that communism is only one more political theory. That contention, of course, is a familiar one on the Communist front.

• • • • •

Brameld, author of the book in question, is a member of NEA. Whether his views are specifically endorsed by the most influential leaders of NEA is not the point. The real point is that they have not repudiated them or the ones quoted last year. The general public is entitled to know just how they stand.

Stalemate in the Disarmament Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent column by Mr. Walter Lippmann. This article poses with exceptional clarity the changes which are taking place in the world situation and which demand our close attention. As a Nation we have been so absorbed in the overriding challenge of the Soviet Union that we have neglected many of the new forces in world power and have been slow to de-

tect many points of erosion in western strength.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of August 17, 1957]

THE STALEMATE

(By Walter Lippmann)

There is increasing evidence, it seems to me, that the stalemate in the cold war has become so deep that neither side has much hope or much fear that it will soon be broken. The ritual of proposals, offers, demands, and declarations goes on. But there is little pretense that they are serious in the sense that they are steps in a genuine negotiation. What we are now saying to the Russians and what they are now saying to us about Germany, China, the Middle East, and disarmament is said without any expectation that it may lead to an agreement.

We are talking to the West Germans and the Russians are talking to the East Germans. Each of us is laying down terms which presuppose that the other side has made an unconditional surrender. On disarmament we would like the Russians to give up their great advantage—their capacity to conceal their intentions and to spring a surprise. The Russians would like us to give up our great advantage, which is that we have bases within striking distance of the heart of the Soviet Union.

These are some of the marks of the stalemate. For the time being, the balance of power is such that there is no prospect of a general war, and there is no compulsion to settle the issues. The real concern of both coalitions—of the NATO powers and of the Warsaw powers—is inside their own spheres of interest and influence. Khrushchev is making a determined effort to hold the satellite empire in line. We are greatly concerned at the turmoil and the hostility in the Arab lands on our side of the Iron Curtain.

Since change is in the nature of things, we know that this stalemate will not persist forever. The overriding question is how the stalemate may come to an end.

There are two main possibilities. One is by what is known as a technological breakthrough which would give one side or the other undoubted military superiority. The other is by that erosion and dissolution of alliances and allegiances which is going on within the two coalitions. There is erosion in Eastern Europe, which is obviously a great worry to the Kremlin. There is erosion in French North Africa, in the British Middle East, and in the American sphere of interest from Formosa and Okinawa to Japan.

On the whole, the probabilities seem to be that if the stalemate dissolves, it will be because of the great political changes that are taking place within the two coalitions. It is not, of course, for a layman to say that there will not be a decisive technological break-through that will radically alter the military balance of power. But a layman can say that foreign policy cannot be founded on the possibility that something, which is not happening, could conceivably happen someday nevertheless.

Moreover, the new invention would have to be a very big one—say, some easily produced device, unknown and unavailable to the other side, which would be an almost perfect defense against bombers and missiles. For the stalemate will almost certainly not be broken as long as both sides have the power to inflict terrible and crippling blows on each other.

The history of invention shows, it seems to me, that where there is such an intense competition as between the Soviet Union and ourselves, where the best brains from all over the world are mobilized on the problem, where such great resources are available, the chances are very small that there will be a new invention which, if it is decisive, is also unique.

It is more probable, then, that when the stalemate dissolves it will be because of political developments in Germany, in Eastern Europe, in North Africa and the Middle East, in China and in Japan. The one thing that can be said of all these problem areas, or these unsettled lands, is that the influence of the great powers is declining.

It has been declining ever since the Second World War. The Soviet sphere of influence is big. But it is not so big as it threatened to be a few years ago—as witness the resistance of Eastern Europe and the approach of China to a position of equality. Our own sphere of influence is also big. But the days are past when it could be supposed in Washington that there should be no neutrals, that every nation not under direct Communist domination was in duty bound to sign up with us.

As power declines, the problems of diplomacy become more difficult, requiring more knowledge, more insight, more sympathy, and more delicacy. That is one reason why it is worse today than it used to be to send out to the embassies the well meaning but the ignorant.

Michigan Publisher Shows How Federal Aid Hurts More Than It Helps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, some of our most sound philosophy has come from the editorial pages of our Nation's smalltown newspapers. These men are out at the grassroots away from pressures and away from the rush and the din. They can sit down and quietly meditate on the problems of the day and they usually come up with some very sound observations.

Such an instance has just come to my attention in a weekly newspaper in my congressional district. An editorial in the August 14 edition of the Arenac County Independent, published at Standish, Mich., pretty well points up the case against Federal aid. Editor Perlberg shows the inequities that existed in connection with a project involving a number of Michigan communities. When sprawling Federal bureaucracy attempts to run local affairs and dole out a handful of funds here, two handfuls there and a bagful somewhere else someone is bound to get hurt. And it is the taxpayer in every instance, who gets hurt, because it costs more to run affairs from Washington than it does at the local level.

The editorial follows:

FEDERAL AID HURTS MORE THAN IT HELPS

Standish people can see the inequities of Federal aid projects as easily as anyone we can imagine.

A story in The Independent this week shows how Standish lost around $1,000 a day for 45 days in the spring of 1956 by starting the new sewage disposal plant too early.

Federal aid came into the picture on July 1, 1956. Standish finally awarded an often delayed contract about May 15. Had the city waited another 45 days around $45,000 could have been obtained in much-needed assistance.

The bill was passed long after July 1 but the Government picked that date on which assistance would be given. Some were lucky. Some weren't. But everyone pays toward the few who got assistance.

A report last week showed how ridiculous these aid programs are. Lapeer is chuckling this week over an $80,000 grant in Federal aid toward a new plant and interceptor sewer system. Lapeer has waited a little longer to let a contract, so became eligible.

But the Lapeer plant costs only about $100 per census person to build because the city is larger than Standish and has a bigger tax base per census person.

Standish is paying around $200 per census person for its plant but can get no Federal aid.

Imlay City, a small community near Lapeer, will apparently get nothing simply because some bureucrat decided they weren't entitled to it. Even people in Lapeer think the setup is crazy but aren't about to turn down $80,000. They'll be gyped out of a similar grant some other time through equally ridiculous aid programs.

The complaint is not that Standish or Pinconning, West Branch or East Tawas didn't get the money. The point is that Federal aid is never fair. Those who do their best on their own get left out. Those who hold off or are forced into situations later on, get handouts.

Standish and the other communities who started before July 1, 1956, will be able to build and finance their own plants. So would Lapeer and all the others coming along later if the Federal Government had stayed out of the picture.

School building is the same. The continued hope for Federal handouts is keeping many communities who could well afford it wait awhile in hopes of some free money. If Federal aid was cast aside on local projects once and for all we'd no doubt see the classroom shortage dwindle sharply in a year or two.

Standish people have a good picture of what can happen. We hope they, and others in the area, remember this instance the next time they start encouraging a Congressman to go along with some new scheme for Federal aid on local projects.

Statement of Principles of Americans for Democratic Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Statement of Principles of Americans for Democratic Action, adopted at ADA's 10th annual convention in Washington, D. C., in March 1957. At the first ADA convention a statement of principles was adopted and it served the organization for a decade. In adopting the statement of principles at the 1957 convention, the organization set forth goals to which liberal Americans aspire.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Americans for Democratic Action is an organization of liberals, banded together to work for freedom, justice, and peace.

Liberalism, as we see it, is a demanding faith. It rests neither on a set of dogmas nor on a blueprint, but is rather a spirit which each generation of liberals must learn to apply to the needs of its own time. The spirit itself is unchanging—a deep belief in the dignity of man and an awareness of human frailty, a faith in human reason and in the power of free inquiry, a high sense of individual responsibility for oneself and one's neighbor, a conviction that the best society enables the greatest number of its members freely to develop their potentialities.

The goals of liberalism are affirmative. In our Nation, we seek the fulfillment of the free individual in a just and responsible society. Abroad, we look toward a world where all people may share the freedom, abundance, and opportunity which lie within the reach of mankind—a world marked by cooperation, by mutual respect, and by peace.

The greatest threat to the spirit of liberalism in our time has been totalitarianism—the arbitrary use of political power which annuls the individual in the interests of a police state. Communism is presently the most dangerous form of totalitarianism, all the more so because it masks its purposes under slogans and programs which deceive millions desperately seeking improvement and change. ADA rejects totalitarianism in any form, whether Communist or fascist. Friends and apologists of totalitarianism have no place in our organization.

Within a free society, we affirm the values we share in common with conservatives—in particular, the belief in constitutional processes and in the rule of law. We welcome continued debate with conservatives as exemplifying the process by which a responsible democracy achieves social change. But we reject conservatism in the field of policy, particularly where, in the interests of preserving the status quo, it prevents responsible social action. We equally reject complacency, whether in the form of self-righteous conservatism or of doctrinaire liberalism. In particular, we assert that our Nation and the world cannot achieve the goals for which all mankind cries out without thought, planning, and decisions. And we believe that only liberalism has the energy and the will to provide the leadership our times require.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Our goal in foreign policy should be to seek world peace by relating the tremendous power of this nation responsibly to the preservation and enlargement of the liberties of the peoples of the world.

World peace requires active sympathy and support for democratic forces everywhere and an implacable resistance to totalitarianism in all its forms.

World peace requires, no less, a sober readiness to negotiate differences with those who oppose us, where negotiation does not jeopardize basic principles. General war has become an intolerable option in the nuclear age. The obligation rests all the more on the United States to offer concrete and realistic proposals which will unite the free peoples, help those not free to gain their freedom, and lay the foundation for lasting peace.

Support of the principles of the United Nations Charter should be the cornerstone of our foreign policy. But that support does not in itself constitute a foreign policy. We must make full use of the U. N. to weld, as rapidly as possible, a community of effort for collective actions broad enough to encompass the ideals and hopes, and allay the fears, of the free peoples.

Aggression, tyranny, misery, and racial discrimination anywhere are enemies of peace everywhere; and it must be our steady purpose to work with other peoples in their effort to enlarge opportunity and achieve justice. The need for such action is greatest of all in those parts of the world now awakening from centuries of oppression and squalor, and seeking to make up for lost time in raising their social and economic standards and attaining national independence.

We cannot long survive as an island of plenty in an increasingly turbulent sea of misery. We want to play our full part in a sustained and substantial cooperative effort to raise living standards in the underdeveloped nations of the world, and thereby reduce the ominous gap between the living standards there and in the United States. We favor more thoroughgoing cooperation to expand international trade, to banish the specter of depression, and to prevent the menace of inflation.

As a nation, and through the U. N., we must help prepare a thoroughgoing step-by-step system of disarmament, both in conventional and in nucelar weapons, coupled with provisions for inspection and safeguards against evasion. Until such a system has been accepted, our responsibility to freemen everywhere requires that we maintain a defense force sufficient to deter aggression, whether limited or global. The weakening of our defenses or the abandonment of our willingness to fight for our principles would constitute a betrayal of freedom in a world where tyranny still threatens war.

History has thrust world responsibility on our country. We must respond to this challenge with the imagination required by a changing world. We must understand that, in the end, we are dealing with people—with their diverse characters, their individual aspirations and their legitimate hopes. To touch their minds and hearts, we must recognize that moral and social policies and attitudes are as essential as military strength.

Because foreign policy in reality is the face a nation wears to the world, we emphasize above all that we can work fruitfully with the people of the world only as we remain faithful, at home as well as abroad, to our own highest ideals of freedom, of equal opportunity and of social justice.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The national program of ADA is directed toward a society in which each individual enjoys the highest degree of liberty, opportunity, and security compatible with the liberty, opportunty, and security of his fellows.

By liberty we mean the full assurance and exercise of those traditional rights that are embodied in our Constitution: equality before the law, and freedom to speak, write, worship, vote, and assemble in accordance with the individual conscience and without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, or economic status. These are rights which never go for long without challenge and which are not preserved without tireless and constant rededication.

Believing that any denial of equal rights is indefensible, we support legislation and administrative action on all levels of Government to make secure the life, person, and property of every individual against violence and intimidation; and to eliminate segregation and other forms of discrimination in employment, housing, education, transportation, suffrage, and all other aspects of public and community life. We favor a more liberal and more generous immigration policy, which treats equally people of all nationalities. We oppose the usurpation by congressional committees or executive agencies of the judicial function at the expense of individual rights and liberties. The power of investigation must not be abused in the name of security.

By opportunity we mean the right of all Americans to participate and share equitably in the benefits of an expanding economy in a free society. This imposes on the Government the obligation to manage its taxing and spending and its control over money and credit in such ways as to maintain vigorous and steady economic growth and maximum employment.

Government has the further obligation to foster a fair and just economy, by apportioning taxes according to ability to pay, using its powers to correct inequities; to help farmers and farm laborers to obtain an adequate income; to assure workers the right to organize democratically and bargain collectively; to provide competitive business a fair opportunity for growth and profit, free from monopolistic barriers and constraints; and to regulate those large-scale industries which are natural monopolies.

To make opportunity real for all Americans, our society must assure to every child a good education and a chance to grow up in health and decency.

Wise and provident use of the resources of our lands and waters, for the benefit of all the people, is the responsibility of the people acting through their governments. The great investments in atomic energy and the great possibilities for its constructive uses belong to all the people, and public control is necessary to insure that it is developed for their benefit. The miraculous and far-reaching advances in all fields of science must be put to the service of all the people—in production, in medicine, in education, in communication.

By security we mean the social and economic guaranties to assure at least a minimum American standard of living for all members of our population, especially the most defenseless—the children, the aging, the sick, the indigent. To this end, we favor the steady improvement of our systems of social insurance and other social and economic measures looking toward the elimination of poverty. Where local and private initiative and resources are not sufficient, the national government must initiate programs, including Federal contributions where necessary, for education, health, and housing, to which the people of the world's richest Nation are entitled. The decay and disorganization of American cities calls for action at all levels of government to restore the creative values of urban living.

ADA is a political organization dedicated to the furtherance of these basic principles. Although it is neither a political party nor a part of a political party, it endorses and works actively for candidates for public office. Its organizational purpose is to stimulate thought and action in the service of the American liberal tradition.

We place our faith in the wisdom and courage of a free people.

Postal Rate Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, Mr. George Brady, managing editor of the Boston Record American, made a statement before the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on the subject of postal rates. The statement represents the viewpont of a publisher of

a large metropolitan daily newspaper, and merits the consideration of the Senate. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have his statement printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

My name is George Brady. I am assistant to the general manager of the Hearst newspapers. I am appearing on behalf of Mr. H. G. Kern, general manager of the Hearst newspapers. Mr. Kern regrets his inability to be present but our newspapers in Boston and Detroit are shut down by strikes and he is devoting all his time to efforts to resume publication. This statement was prepared by Mr. Kern and I am authorized by him to appear for him here today, and to speak for all of the Hearst papers. These papers are: The Albany Times-Union, the Baltimore News-Post and Sunday American, the Boston Record-American and Sunday Advertiser, the Detroit Times, the Los Angeles Examiner, the Los Angeles Herald-Express, the Milwaukee Sentinel, the New York Journal-American, the New York Mirror, the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, the San Antonio Light, the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, the San Francisco Examiner, and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

First, we should like to thank you for the opportunity to be heard on the vital matter of postal rates. We realize that this subcommittee has undertaken a very big job, and that through no fault of yours the job had to be begun very late in the congressional session. The House of Representatives took 7½ months on this question. Now, in a couple of weeks, you are asked to expedite this bill through to passage. Furthermore, the bill before you is by no means the same bill which was introduced early this year. The current bill is far more drastic than the original version. Adoption by the House of the Rhodes amendment relating to publications has greatly complicated the problem you face. There were no hearings on the Rhodes amendment in the House and, in fact, it was adopted on the House floor under circumstances which prevented full debate.

There are not very many advocates of this legislation. Some of them take the extreme position that there is something sinister about those of us who oppose this legislation and insist on our right to come here and tell you so. This is a bill which would force a lot of people to pay a lot more money for a service they obtain from the Government. For more than three-quarters of a century, this service has been provided at low cost as a matter of Government policy. Now it is proposed that this policy be reversed—and, gentlemen, this bill would reverse the historic policy, for this is not just another rate-increase bill. We of the Hearst newspapers have always believed in the right of petition. Coming to our duly elected representatives and stating our views seems to us to be the American way. We are glad that your committee agrees with us and is giving those of us who are affected an opportunity to tell you our story.

Reports to the effect that most newspapers support this legislation have been spread far and wide. It is partly to refute this misunderstanding that the Hearst newspapers feel it important for them to be represented here today. It has been claimed that not many newspapers are against this bill, and yet the fact is that every national, regional, and State newspaper association is opposed to this bill. Many of them have been, or will be, or at least want to be, represented at these hearings. Others would have been had it not been for the problems of time and distance.

Hearst newspapers pay over $400,000 a year in second-class postage. Of course, some papers use the mails for delivery purposes far more than others. One Hearst paper, the Milwaukee Sentinel, has about 10 percent of its circulation in the mail. On the other hand, some of our evening papers have only a fraction of 1 percent of their circulation by mail. In the Hearst group, there are 7 morning papers, 8 evening papers, and 12 Sunday papers. Mail rates are primarily the concern of morning papers. This is true for two reasons. One is that early editions of morning papers are published the night before date of issue, thus making possible delivery by mail on the date of issue. The other is that train schedules, and mail delivery schedules, normally make it impossible for even the first edition of an evening paper to be delivered to a mail subscriber on the date of issue. If you will remember that second-class rates are primarily a morning newspaper problem, you will be able to understand why some afternoon papers are indifferent on the rate question.

The dwindling number of daily newspapers is a source of concern to the Congress as well as to those of us in the publishing industry. I am sure you can all recall several instances of old and respected journals which disappeared for economic reasons. Generally speaking, newspaper publishing is not a very prosperous trade under today's conditions. An effort to persuade you to the contrary was made before this subcommittee by the Deputy Postmaster General in his testimony on August 16. He said that "Newspapers have experienced unprecedented levels of business." He also said that newspaper advertising revenues increased more than 6 percent in 1956 over the previous year and that trade press reports predict another record-breaking year in 1957.

Unfortunately, the Deputy Postmaster General spoke of advertising revenue, not profits. I regret to say that Hearst Consolidated Publications, which include all but 5 of the Hearst newspapers, not only has not increased its profits but has suffered a considerable loss in the first 6 months of 1957. You may be sure the current strikes will not improve the picture when figures for the complete year are available. Here are the figures: In the first 6 months of 1957, Hearst Consolidated Publications had a net income of $714,400, a decrease from $1,072,800 profit of the first 6 months of the previous year. Comparing net income with total sales volume, the percentage retained was about seven-tenths of 1 percent. Does this look like the record-breaking year of which Mr. Stans spoke?

Incidentally, none of our papers enjoys a local monopoly, for we have competition in all of the 11 cities in which we operate. Indeed, in 5 of these cities Hearst papers supply all the competition there is. The Post Office has a monopoly; we have none.

The Hearst newspapers willingly concede that none of our papers would be forced out of business by a postal rate increase. We could be hurt, and hurt badly, but not destroyed. The reason is we simply would not pay excessively high rates. Unlike many groups of mail users, there are alternatives to mail delivery for newspapers. We might drop mail subscriptions entirely, we might use truck and carrier delivery to an even greater degree than at present, or we might discover some new means of distribution. It would be a disservice to the rural population if we were forced to stop supplying newspapers to farm people, but excessive mail rates and lack of suitable alternatives might force us to take that step.

Because the Post Office revenue estimates assume there will be no decline in mail volume at steeply increased rates, you should be interested in second-class mail expenditures by our papers before and after the last rate increase. You will recall that second-class rates were raised 10 percent per year in 1952, 1953, and 1954. So-mail rates charged our papers were 30 percent higher in 1955 than in 1951. But Hearst papers paid the Post Office only 11 percent more in second-class postage in 1955 than in 1951. Six of our 15 papers actually paid less in 1955 than in 1951, despite the higher rate. Why was this true? We reduced the number of mail copies because we found cheaper and better methods outside the mails. In other words, the last 30 percent hike was more than the traffic would bear, as far as we were concerned. You may be sure the 60 percent increase in second-class rates provided by the bill before you would have an even greater effect in driving our papers from the mails, which would not help the financial position of the Post Office.

You may ask why we are here if the Hearst newspapers will abandon the mails where possible as an alternative to paying higher second-class rates. The answer is that even though a newspaper's mail circulation be small, it is important for several reasons. One is that we think our papers perform a valuable service and we want as many people as possible to avail themselves of that service. Another is that certain people within the circulation area of most newspapers cannot be reached at low cost in any other way. Newspapers must also consider that today's farm may be tomorrow's suburb. Rural subscribers may soon become suburban readers, and important to our advertisers. Then there are the members of the Armed Forces, and the boys and girls away from home at college. We think it is part of our job to enable them to keep up with what is going on back home, and at low cost.

The position of the Hearst newpapers is that this is a bad bill and it should be defeated, not compromised. If there were more time, there are a number of constructive things this subcommittee might do, especially in drafting a sensible declaration of congressional policy which would set forth the ground rules under which postal rates would be set. The Senate Post Office Committee made a good start in that direction when an advisory council issued what is commonly known as the Carlson report, and a second advisory group added further guidance with its report this year. Unfortunately, the effort in this direction contained in title II of the bill before you is a hodgepodge which will do more harm than good. There are some fine passages in title II but as a whole it falls far short of what is needed. Among other things, it would give statutory endorsement to the cost-ascertainment system, which is the real root of all the dissension over postal rate policy. The Hearst newspapers do not quarrel with the mathematics of cost ascertainment, but we do object to the misuse made by Post Office Department officials of figures obtained from cost ascertainment. It is cost ascertainment which leads to the smear charges that the press is subsidized by over $250 million a year, although it is now revealed that the post office has another bookkeeping system which shows only about a $100 million loss on second class. We submit that the public interest would best be served if the Congress ordered the post office to revise the cost-ascertainment system so it can never be misused again. Of course, the post office will never willingly discard cost ascertainment. It would do so only when forced to by Congress. Why? Because the post office can jack up fourth-class rates every year or so, by simply petitioning the Post Office Department and showing through cost ascertainment that this class is not paying its way as required by a law.

The Hearst newspapers would like to see an end to the almost annual fights over mail rates, but see no prospect of that as long as the management of the post office takes the position it is running a business and not a service worth what it costs. It seems that repeated failure to gain congressional approval of rate-jacking efforts is the only hope for a different brand of thinking by postal officials

who are so business minded that the notion that the postal system is a service to the public, which ought to be supported by general revenues, is abhorrent to them. This bill would revolutionize postal policy and turn a service worth its cost into an alleged business, required by law to pay its way.

We are confident that you members of this fine subcommittee will see the injustices and inequities in this bill and accordingly reject it.

His Wishes in Reverse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include a letter as follows:

ONAWA, IOWA, *August 8, 1957.*

Representative JENSEN.

DEAR SIR: Psychiatrists tell us it's healthy to "blow off" steam. My health is fine, but I want to keep it that way—so will you pardon a little "blow" from me now. I have always appreciated your efforts for good and wise government—so I thought I'd write you, Senator HICKENLOOPER, and Senator MARTIN duplicate letters. I'm 60 years old and Plato says that is the age when one should be interested in Government and do something about it. So here's my contribution.

If I were a dyed-in-the-Red pro-Soviet Communist I'd work hard at the following program:

1. Encourage the United States to use up all its national resources—coal, oil, minerals, soil fertility, wood, and so forth—by expanding production, even if the consumers couldn't begin to need or use up the finished products.

2. Encourage management to expand plants so they are all forced into competitive high production. As a result their salesmen are run ragged selling anybody the latest models of anything on nothing but credit.

3. Through union demands, force management to pay legally guaranteed high wages and benefits with no regard to the need or profit of the product, even if these demands bankrupt the company or force it to move outside the United States where labor demands are less mandatory.

4. Create an era of freedom for everyone, freedom for youth to be educated, lunched, recreated, and entertained at public expense with no aid expected from youth in return; freedom for work-age men to be supported by unemployment insurance; freedom to vote heavy expenditures even by nontaxpayers; freedom for all over 62 to be supported even though they've never done a productive act—financially productive, not biologically.

5. Stimulate all freedom-loving citizens to feel expansive about their superiority, encourage them to want to share this wealth, by granting huge sume of money to Saudi Arabia headed by the wealthiest man in the world; to India, who helps pay a spiritual leader his weight in gold to operate racing stables in Europe; loans to England, whose aristocracy bets on the horses run by these stables; loans to France, who supports a foreign legion; then grants to correct the wretchedness colonialism causes; draining away capital until our currency is below the value of Canada's.

6. Before a voting taxpayer wakes up to the fact he's lost his freedom of choice, his time for reflection and enjoyment of nature—some men by draft, which frequently disillusions them coldly and permanently at a most idealistic age—then by deductions of pay which withholds their financial security until they're too old to care; before the taxpayer can guarantee a safe law-abiding neighborhood to raise a family, a mentally stimulating school to educate his young, calm and peaceful pleasure for the family to contemplate God in all His goodness. I would eliminate all immigration bars and open all the gates of this "created-by-law, propped-up-by-debt garden of Eden" to all the ne'er-do-wells of the world, who just by being human feel they must be entitled to these hard-fought-for and hard-earned freedoms. The legal guarantees of these freedoms frequently exempt the receiver from any financial responsibility which pays for them. I would force the taxpayer into all the missionary work I could—whether he could afford it or not. I'd keep him blind to the fact that when freedom hands out hard cash the cheerful giver is popular, but can be scorned when his supply of gifts runs out.

7. When the United States taxpayer began to believe that fighting the inevitable was useless, that the ne'er-do-wells seemed to be enjoying all the good things of life, I'd congratulate the Soviet dictatorship on winning the cold war.

Sincerely for good government,
FRANCES GINGLES.

ONAWA, IOWA.

Real Reasons Behind the Recent Kremlin Purges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following penetrating analysis and evaluation of the recent Kremlin purges. The author, Mr. U. N. Rudin, is president of International Research on Communist Techniques, Inc., an organization of Russian patriots who endlessly fight the evil that has enslaved their motherland. For years they have proved uncannily correct in their diagnosis and evaluations of Communist manueverings, in a publication called "Behind the Communist Line—B. C. I."

Unfortunately, most western statesmen and writers have ignored the advice of these real experts, and instead have naively assumed that Communists in any situation act as normal partiots would—namely, in terms of national interests. Mr. Rudin preaches incessantly the simple basic fact that Communists are not and cannot have interests as patriotic Russians or Chinese or Frenchmen or Americans. They are and, until they renounce communism, must be international conspirators, rejecting utterly the normal and predictable behavior of national patriots. The analysis follows:

WHAT ARE THE REAL REASONS AND CONSEQUNCES OF THE SPLIT IN THE KREMLIN?

(By V. N. Rudin)

All signposts have pointed toward the current climatic and fatal split in the headquarters of the world Communist conspiracy. But in our high-speed civilization such signposts are too frequently unheeded, and news of the recent purge of Communist Party leaders exploded on July 4, with a shock to many international observers, who are still chewing on the bone of speculation. Factual reports and analyses of surface effects in the Communist Party have been adequately presented in the press of the free world, so there is no need to review these here.

However, behind the Khrushchev victory in purging such prominent figures as Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, and less irrevocably Shepilov, lie basic reasons. This event holds enormous consequences for the future of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the Soviet system, and the entire Communist world.

NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST REGIME MADE THIS SPLIT INEVITABLE

A split within the top leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is desperately holding onto its world Communist Party leadership, was an inevitable result of the status of the Communist regime at the death of Stalin. It was a headless pyramid. The structure of the regime was designed for a dictator—but there was no single successor to Stalin. Without this head, the pyramidal Soviet system has proceeded logically and inevitably toward disintegration. (Behind the Communist line special report, September 1955 et seq.)

The struggle among the collective leaders, or among groups within the Presidium, began immediately after Stalin's death. The liquidation of Beria on July 10, 1953, the forced abdication of Malenkov on February 8, 1955, the fall of Molotov which began in October 1955 and was followed by his resignation on June 2, 1956—all were mere stepping stones leading toward the spectacular climax of July 1957. The internal struggle during the 20th Communist Party Congress (behind the Communist line, February to April 1956), which did not become apparent to the West until much later, actually began the alinement of forces that have recently come into open conflict.

BASIC DIFFERENCES IN TACTICS AND THEORY MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN PERSONAL POWER

The fight among Soviet leaders and factions cannot be evaluated on a basis similar to that among conflicting groups in a normal democratic state, nor even among Latin American power groups. Although it is a struggle for power, the personal aspect is the least significant.

It must be realized that all factions of the Soviet leadership are aware of the present vulnerability of the Soviet system itself—and of the fact that their own survival depends upon survival of the system. Therefore the primary concern of all the "collective leaders" since the death of Stalin has been to save the Communist system—and thus themselves. Their prime motivation is the fear of internal revolution. The East German Revolt of June 1953 and the first open revolts in the Soviet concentration camps in June-Oct. 1953 sounded an alarm that has been dinning the ears of top Soviet leaders ever since.

The basic cause of conflict in the Kremlin, therefore, is the difference of opinion among the various factions as to the tactics necessary to save the Communist system.

Out of the many accusations heaped on the Molotov faction, we can crystallize the following as the essence of the current situation:

"They (the Molotov group) set themselves the goal of returning the party to the false methods of leadership which were condemned by the 20th Communist Party Congress."

In these few words the Central Committee confirmed the acceptance of the tactics advocated by the Kruschev faction. In brief, these are:

The Communist regime of the U. S. S. R. can no longer govern the people according to the so-called Stalinist methods (actually the methods of the Communist system itself), because this would lead to imminent or immediate revolution. Therefore, there must be a change in tactics, allowing for some concessions to the demands of the people.

This more flexible policy, proposed by one Stalinist faction headed by Kruschev at the 20th Communist Party Congress, was opposed by another Stalinist faction headed by Molotov.

By a similar process of logic, motivated by the same desire to save the system and the same sincere devotion to the goal of international communism, the Molotov faction believed that any relaxation of iron-grip tactics would bring about the same internal revolutionary upheaval. This conviction was strengthened by subsequent events in Poland and Hungary, which Molotov considered a direct result of Khrushchev's policy of relaxation and denunciation of Stalin. The Molotov group therefore urged a retraction of the small liberties that the regime was forced grudgingly to give the people after the 20th Communist Party Congress. This has proved impossible, especially among the Soviet intelligentsia.

It is not my place to discuss which tactics, from the standpoint of Communist tyrants, are preferable. Neither policy can halt the historically and politically inevitable and imminent defeat of the Communist regime by the enslaved peoples.

In the meantime, the tyrants argue. The second cause of the Kremlin conflict arises from the Marxist-Communist principle that expedient tactics must be supported by a theoretical ideological background.

The lineup of forces in this phase of the struggle was defined by the end of February 1957. On February 27, Mao Tse-tung delivered the key speech at the Chinese Communist Party Congress, delineating the ideological theory which gave de facto support to Khrushchev's tactics. At variance with basic Marxist theory, Mao stated that there can be and are contradictions between the governing Communist elite and the non-Communist masses. He confirmed Khrushchev's premise that the Communist Party must satisfy demands of the people, or else the differences between the party and the people will intensify toward the final point of open popular revolt against the regime—citing the Hungarian revolution as an example. Mao also supported Khrushchev's line of "many roads toward socialism" by stating that the "road to socialism" (i. e., communism) must take into account national characteristics.

The close resemblance in content and terminology of Mao's speech to Khrushchev's utterances of the preceding year point up the obvious coordination between the two, which was no doubt established at the time of Khrushchev's and Bulganin's trip to Red China in 1955. Mao was the first to send a congratulatory telegram to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee on its July victory over the Molotov group.

It is significant that Mao's speech was not published in Pravda until June 19, when Khrushchev's support was sufficiently strong to meet openly the challenge of the Molotov faction.

This challenge, indicative of a strengthening of forces, appeared in February almost simultaneously with the delivery of Mao's speech in Red China. Issue No. 3, 1957, of the influential party magazine, Kommunist, carried an unsigned editorial, which ably defended the classical Marxist-Communist theory of a centralized and uniform Communist empire. The anonymous author was Shepilov.

GROWTH OF INTERPARTY FACTIONS AND DILUTION OF CENTRAL POWER

The alinement of Khrushchev's bright young man, Shepilov, with the Molotov faction has caused much speculation. I believe that the explanation lies in a genuine change of conviction on Shepilov's part in regard to policy.

Appointed by Khrushchev to replace Molotov as Foreign Minister after the latter's forced resignation, Shepilov fell heir to a Ministry of Foreign Affairs that had been ably built up by Molotov during the past 20 years. He was surrounded by a staff of experts who had been selected and trained by Molotov to implement his policies. Molotov's own "iron logic," plus the daily influence of his unpurged staff, in my opinion, finally convinced Shepilov that Molotov's policies offered the best chance for survival of the Communist system.

Kaganovich, long considered the power behind the throne, in the Communist hierarchy, became a powerful ally of Molotov also on the basis of conviction.

The struggle for personal power, which holds third place as a cause of the Kremlin split, influenced Malenkov to aline himself with Molotov and Kaganovich against Khrushchev and Bulganin, in an ill-fated effort to recuperate his position. He is now being shipped out by the same route as Trotsky.

The personal power motive also temporarily alined the third major faction, Mikoyan and Suslov, on the side of Khrushchev and Bulganin—but this is by no means a permanent alliance. Just after the purge announcement, Mikoyan was conspicuously absent from several important functions. Recently he has been conspicuously present—an indication of the mounting pressure of the Mikoyan faction on Khrushchev, which first became evident during the 20th Communist Party Congress (Behind the Communist Line, March and April 1956).

A special role is being played by Marshal Zhukov. Being a good Communist but not an experienced "aparatchik" (apparatus man), and remembering very well his own earlier purge by so-called Stalinist methods, Zhukov has behaved as a regular party member of the Central Committee, staying with the new tactics of Khrushchev. Rewarded by becoming the first military man to be elevated to membership in the Presidium, Zhukov might be said to have been motivated by desire for personal power.

The Presidium, however, has emerged from the current conflict with less power than before. Being too weak to win within this top closed circle, Khruschev had no alternative but to break the established rules of Communist dictatorship by transferring the power of the highest policy decision into the hands of the Central Committee. It was not Communist Party Secretary Nikita Khruschev and Premier Nikolai Bulganin, nor the top men of the Communist Party and Soviet Government in the Presidium, but the 318 members and alternates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who conducted the official purge.

It will now be extremely difficult—and I believe impossible—to retract this controlling power from the Central Committee and return it to the Presidium.

This means that Khruschev and his faction, although they are now in the saddle, have a much weaker grip on their own party than before the recent split. Indicative of the new trend is the fact that Khruschev's speeches in Prague, printed in the Western press, were censored by someone before publication in the Soviet press—in all probability by the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Although the entire membership of the Central Committee will work together to retain the Central Committee's new power, different groups within this large body will also seek to strengthen themselves. Characteristics of these various factions are already noticeable, and will be discussed in a later report.

As each faction tends to enlarge its circle of support, the central power becomes diluted. This has already happened in the Presidium, which was the only governing body after the death of Stalin. At that time the Presidium consisted of 10 regular members and 4 alternates, a total of 14. After the 20th Communist Party Congress, it was enlarged to 11 regular members and 7 alternates, or a total of 18. Since the recent purge, the Presidium has been increased to 15 regular members and 9 alternates, for a total of 24, and has actually relinquished its controlling power to the Central Committee composed of 318 members and alternates.

The result of this process can only be the continued dilution of power and inevitable disintegration within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself. In an effort to stabilize itself, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government (which are one and the same), will be forced to make more and more concessions to the demands of the peoples of Russia. A major concession was announced the next day after the purge—to abolish as of January 1, 1958 the compulsory delivery to the state of assigned quotas of farm, dairy and meat products from the peasants' own small "backyard" plots of land. The fight for these individual plots has been a bitter one between the farmers and the regime, and this concession marks a significant victory for the peasants.

The present Communist rulers of Russia are in the position of being "damned if they do and damned if they don't." With their power and control continually weakening, they must compromise with the people in an attempt to avert revolution—and yet the very concessions that they make produce new and greater demands on the part of the people, and hasten the disintegration of the Communist system.

EFFECTS OF THE KREMLIN SPLIT

With a few notable exceptions, immediate reaction in the free world fell for the Soviet propaganda line—that the victory of Khrushchev means victory of the anti-Stalin faction, and that this should at once bring about a relaxation of tensions on the international scene.

Disillusionment has come with (we hope) convincing swiftness.

For example, on July 5, Mr. Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the German Socialist Party (SPD), told the Socialist Congress in Vienna triumphantly that now Khrushchev would probably agree to free elections and the unification of Germany. But Mr. Krushchev quickly destroyed this rosy dream in a speech in Prague, by stating that no change in the matter of German unification could be expected.

The subsequent statement of the Soviet Government, via Premier Bulganin's letter to British Prime Minister Macmillan, blasted the hopes of those coexistencers who naively look for a speedy agreement with the U. S. S. R. on disarmament.

Other hopes are being raised in regard to Marshal Zhukov. To oversimplify the prevalent analysis, Zhukov is presented as having the entire Soviet Army behind him as a full supporting cast for playing the possible role of a Bonaparte.

In my opinion, these hopes are, at least for the present, premature.

True enough that Zhukov is the first military man to sit on the Presidium. But it must be remembered that in climbing higher

on the party ladder, Zhukov (or anyone else) is coming more and more into the grip of Communist control. It is also true that Marshal Zhukov's name still rates high within the army as a hero of World War II. But Zhukov himself has clearly declared his alliance with the Communist Party. This will by no means increase his popularity with the Russian people, nor among the armed forces which are, after all, composed of the people.

The regime's fear of the growing power of the people is evidenced by the immediate launching of a widespread and intensive campaign to "sell" the new scapegoats to the people. Organized by the central committee through Communist Party members in factories, universities, collective farms, etc., this campaign heaps the blame for all the evils of the Communist system onto the so-called antiparty group.

But already having failed to digest such fat scapegoats as Stalin and Beria, the people can scarcely be expected to swallow the second echelon of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Shepilov. Quite logically and naturally, they look upon the current Communist bosses as the third echelon of the same brand of tyrants.

A good example of the popular attitude is the question put by a kolkhoz farmer to the Communist chairman at a recent rally: "If what you say is true, why were not such people thrown out long ago?"

The official discrediting of the top exponents of the Communist system has, of course, officially discredited the system itself. The people can now openly denounce the fallen tyrants while mentally denouncing those who uneasily hold the reins of a disintegrating empire.

Conditions in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Poland as a Magnet," published in the Washington Post on August 26, which suggests that a reappraisal of our policies toward Poland is necessary.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLAND AS A MAGNET

Senator KENNEDY has helped to illuminate a gap in foreign policy in an important new speech on American relations with Poland. Critics may be tempted to view this additional expression, following his controversial speech on Algeria, as evidence of Mr. KENNEDY's aspirations to higher office. The fact remains that it takes courage for a politician to talk constructively of practical means to strengthen the independence of Communist states emerging from Soviet domination.

Basically Mr. KENNEDY believes that the American loan to Poland was too little and too late, in terms both of Poland's real economic needs and of the lofty American promises of American help to satellites that manage to obtain more freedom. He has introduced legislation to broaden the Battle, Surplus Disposal and Mutual Security Acts so as to permit a needed flexibility in dealing with intermediate status governments struggling to maintain national sovereignty.

Beyond this he proposes more people-to-people contacts, including the furnishing of books; expansion of trade, including permission for Polish ships to dock at United States ports and possible sponsorship of a housing project in Warsaw; technical assistance; and relief to Polish repatriates from Russia. He recognizes the importance of Poland's position in a German settlement, and he adds the useful suggestion made earlier by others that a permanent United Nations Peace Observation Commission be created to fly immediately to any country such as Hungary menaced by foreign intervention. He might well have asked further that the Polish Government, for its part, end its recalcitrance over the arrangements for private American aid.

Despite its inadequacies, the loan agreement with Poland was a major triumph by Deputy Under Secretary of State Dillon in view of all the technical difficulties. Mr. KENNEDY is unfair to the administration on the matter of fundamental understanding, though he is justified in criticizing the phoniness of the old liberation appeal. Likewise, although he shows awareness of the risks in Poland, he may overestimate the ability of the Gomulka government to continue on the tightrope in view of the contradictions that have arisen in a free Communist state.

Nevertheless, the enlightened attitude Mr. KENNEDY takes on American policy toward changing satellites—a problem which the country may face again elsewhere—is one that commends itself to his colleagues and to the administration. Certainly he is right in directing thinking to the "shades of gray between * * * [the] blacks and whites"—to the "nations such as Poland that may not yet be * * * in a position to be truly friendly, but which are at least beginning to move out from Soviet domination and control."

Proposed Federal Firearms Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the July 1957 issue of the American Rifleman, entitled "The Proposed Federal Firearms Regulations."

These regulations as proposed appeared in the Federal Register on May 3, 1957. I refer specifically to the proposed regulations 177.50, 177.51, 177.52, 177.54, and 177.55. These regulations are merely a thinly disguised attempt to deprive American citizens of their right to own and possess firearms, and the right of law-abiding dealers and manufacturers to sell lawful firearms and ammunitions for possession by citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. These proposed regulations are vicious and go far beyond the intent of the original law.

The person who proposed them and those who are pushing them are open to the most serious criticism, and their maladministration of the Federal Firearms Act and the National Firearms Act should certainly be looked into by the appropriate committee of this Congress.

I hope every Member of this Congress will read the article and will do what he can to help strike down these vicious regulations.

The editorial follows:

VITAL READING FOR EVERY GUN OWNER—THE PROPOSED FEDERAL FIREARMS REGULATIONS

The Federal Register of May 3, 1957 (vol. 22, No. 86), published a proposed set of Treasury regulations which materially and vitally amend the Federal Firearms Act—all done by administrative action in a Washington Government bureau. No notice of the proposed regulations had been received by NRA until, as is required by law, the proposals were published in the Federal Register.

It is the practice at NRA headquarters for the legislative service to review the Federal Register. The issue for May 3, 1957, reached us on May 10. The revisions proposed in the regulations had been carefully studied by May 12, and on May 15 an NRA Legislative Bulletin went to all firearms manufacturers and to leading firearms dealers. At the request of the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp. (Winchester-Western) 37,000 copies of the NRA Legislative Bulletin were prepared at their expense and mailed by them with a covering letter to their largest dealer list. The Remington Arms Co. responded with a prompt newsletter of their own as did several other manufacturers and important firearms dealer groups. The NRA immediately prepared a news release which went to 1,000 leading daily newspapers and received wide press coverage.

By May 15, the June issue of the American Rifleman was already in type. However, it was possible to alter page 27 (What the Lawmakers Are Doing), and include a box announcing the principal proposed changes in the regulations.

THE LAWS BEING CHANGED

To fully appreciate the import of the proposed changes in the regulations it is necessary to have in mind the basic provisions of the Federal Firearms Act, which was enacted by the 75th Congress in 1938 to control interstate and foreign commerce in all firearms and in pistol and revolver ammunition. Much confusion exists in the minds of some shooters between the provisions of the Federal Firearms Act of 1938 and the National Firearms Act of 1934. The National Firearms Act is unrelated and is, in fact, a taxing act aimed at controlling weapons such as machineguns, sawed-off shotguns, and others of similar nature. The Federal Firearms Act was enacted under the authority of the Federal Government to control interstate commerce. It applies to all firearms of every type whatsoever (including rifles and shotguns) and to pistol or revolver ammunition. The act does not cover .22 caliber rimfire ammunition, shotgun shells, or ammunition suitable for use only in rifles.

The basic provisions of the Federal Firearms Act are these:

1. A person or firm engaged in the manufacture or importation of firearms or ammunition for purposes of sale is required to be licensed by the Treasury Department.

2. A person engaged in the business of selling firearms or ammunition or components thereof, or a person engaged in the business of repairing firearms, is required to be similarly licensed.

3. It is unlawful to ship or otherwise transport in interstate or foreign commerce any firearm or ammunition to any person known to be under indictment or to have been convicted of a crime of violence or to be a fugitive from justice.

4. It is unlawful to ship or otherwise transport in interstate or foreign commerce any stolen firearm or ammunition.

5. It is unlawful to ship or otherwise transport, or knowingly receive in interstate

or foreign commerce, any firearm from which the manufacturer's serial number has been removed, obliterated, or altered.

6. It is unlawful for any licensed manufacturer or licensed dealer to ship or otherwise transport any firearm in interstate or foreign commerce to a person in any State the laws of which require that a license be obtained for the purchase of such firearm, unless such license is exhibited to such manufacturer or dealer by the prospective purchaser.

7. Licensed dealers must maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

8. The Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of the law.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE ACT

When the Federal Firearms Act was first considered by Congress it was intended that the law be enforced by the Department of Commerce since the law derived its authority from the power of the Federal Congress to legislate with respect to interstate commerce. However, at the time of the enactment of the Federal Firearms Act, the National Firearms Act had been in effect for several years. Its enforcement had been left under the Treasury Department and, since the Treasury Department had a law-enforcement branch, it was decided that they should also enforce the Federal Firearms Act. Both the Federal Firearms Act and the National Firearms Act are enforced by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Treasury Department. The writing of rules and regulations under the Federal Firearms Act has been delegated to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue subject to review by the Secretary of the Treasury.

It is fully established that Federal agencies have the authority, where so prescribed, to issue rules and regulations which are reasonable and necessary for the enforcement of Federal laws with which they are charged. However, in addition to being reasonable and necessary, such regulations must lie within the framework of the law. The great danger inherent in this rule-making power is the tendency for Federal bureaus, in establishing rules and regulations, to go beyond the language and the intent of the law. In such a case they actually usurp the legislative function of Congress and very effectively rewrite the law without in any way considering the Congress or the people whom the Congress represent.

CHANGES GO BEYOND INTENT OF LAW

In the case of the present proposed revision of the Internal Revenue Service regulations under the Federal Firearms Act, it is the belief of the National Rifle Association that some of the proposals are both unreasonable and unnecessary on their own merit. Far more important is the certainty that some of the proposals, regardless of their merit, are not supported by either the language or the intent of the Federal Firearms Act and are, therefore, not within the rule-making authority of the Internal Revenue Service. No greater danger could exist, so far as the gun-owning sportsmen of America are concerned, than the danger inherent in the unrestrained power of a Government bureau which can, without respect to the will of the people, write regulations which have all the force and effect of Federal law.

Many provisions of the proposed regulations reflect this paralyzing tendency of administrative regulation to grow ever more restrictive.

The principal proposals which the National Rifle Association has vigorously protested are these:

1. The proposal that each manufacturer or importer of a firearm shall identify it by stamping, in a manner not readily obliterated or altered, the name and location of the manufacturer or importer and the serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm.

At the time of the enactment of the Federal Firearms Act, and at all times since, there have been many sporting-type firearms, shotguns, rifles, and particularly less expensive .22 caliber rifles, which it has not been the custom of the manufacturers to provide with serial numbers. Well over 1 million rifles and shotguns of all types were manufactured in the United States in 1954. According to the best available estimate, approximately one-half of all shotguns and two-thirds of all rifles currently manufactured in the United States are manufactured and sold without serial numbers. Since this has always been true, it would appear that Congress would have provided in the law that all rifles and shotguns be marked by the manufacturer with a serial number, with the name and location of the manufacturer or importer, and with the caliber and model of the firearm, if such was indeed the intent of Congress. Manufacturers of firearms will be put to a very considerable additional expense to comply with the proposed regulations. Should this regulation be put into effect, a question will immediately arise as to the status of the thousands of rifles and shotguns now in dealers' stocks and in private hands which either do not carry a serial number of which do not carry some or all of the information required by the proposed regulation. In addition to added costs to manufacturers, which must inevitably be passed on to the ultimate consumer, a great hardship will be imposed on importers, particularly importers of obsolete weapons, should this proposed regulation be applied to them. Obviously, the stamping or otherwise impressing of a number or a mark of any kind upon an obsolete weapon materially reduces its market value and its value as a collector's item.

2. The proposal that dealers' records of importation, shipment, and disposal of firearms must be retained permanently on the premises until discontinuance of business by the licensee.

While it is true that the Federal Firearms Act requires dealers to maintain permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition, the language "permanent records" does not necessarily imply that such records must be retained in absolute perpetuity. For many years the regulations have required that records be retained by licensed dealers for a period of 6 years. The proposed revision to require the retention of records permanently on the premises would seem to impose an unnecessary and unduly severe hardship on licensed dealers by creating a record-storage problem of some magnitude. The very concept of dealers' records kept in perpetuity seems unreasonable on its face, since it is apparent that such dealers' records must lose all value to anyone once they have attained some reasonable age.

3. The proposal that manufacturers and dealers maintain records reflecting the production or receipt and the disposition at wholesale or retail of all pistol and revolver ammunition; such ammunition to be described as to manufacturer, type caliber, quantity, and the identity of the person from whom received and to whom sold.

This appears to be a completely useless requirement and an intolerable burden upon manufacturers and upon retail dealers in pistol ammunition. Well over 35 million rounds of center-fire pistol and revolved ammunition are purchased and used in the United States for lawful training and recreational purposes each year. By comparison, the number of rounds of center-fire pistol ammunition employed for any unlawful purpose must be utterly insignificant. Such recordkeeping, imposed upon retail dealers, can have no practical result other than to discourage from commerce in pistol and revolver ammunition the reputable dealer who will observe the regulation. It appears absurd that a criminal or potential criminal would be in the least inhibited by such a regulation or that the enforcement of the Federal Firearms Act would be in any way enhanced. This is particularly true in view of the fact that such a regulation could be so easily circumvented by bootlegging, theft, or purchase through black-market channels.

4. The proposal that a person purchasing a firearm or pistol or revolver ammunition in over-the-conuter sale or distribution must acknowledge receipt thereof in his own handwriting in the prescribed dealer's records.

The Federal Firearms Act regulates interstate commerce in firearms and ammunition. It provides for the Federal licensing of manufacturers and dealers and it sets forth limitations on the transporting, shipping, or receiving of firearms or pistol ammunition in interstate or foreign commerce. The basic law does not presume to set forth restrictions or requirements applicable to individuals who purchase firearms or handgun ammunition in a retail, over-the-counter transaction. Such a requirement, binding upon an individual doing business entirely within a State, would plainly be within the prerogative of a State legislature and not within the province of a Federal statute. The Treasury Department has no authority under the Federal Firearms Act to impose by regulation, requirements binding upon individuals doing business within the various States, requirements which the United States Congress did not write into the Federal Firearms Act and which the Congress probably could not properly have written into the act.

5. The proposal that any Internal Revenue officer shall have authority to examine the books, papers, and records kept by a manufacturer or dealer, and to examine his premises and stock during regular business hours in the daytime or whenever such premises may be open at night.

This proposed regulation would appear to depend for authority on that provision of the Federal Firearms Act which requires licensed dealers to maintain permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition. To enforce the maintenance of records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition, it would appear reasonable that, as in the past, dealers' records should be available for inspection during normal business hours by Federal enforcement agents in the performance of their official duties. It would appear, however, to be unreasonable and highly improper that both dealers and manufacturers should be denied, by administrative regulation, their constitutional safeguard against unreasonable search of their stocks and places of business. Nor does the authority of agents of the Internal Revenue Service to search the premises and the stock of the manufacturer or dealer appear to be a reasonable or necessary regulation to carry out the provision of a law which requires only that dealers maintain records of importation, shipment, and disposal of firearms and pistol ammunition.

Concurrently with the publishing of the proposed revisions of the regulations in the Federal Register, it was stated that consideration would be given to any data, views, or arguments pertaining to the proposals which were submitted in writing in duplicate to the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington, D. C., prior to June 3, 1957. The National Rifle Association protest was filed as prescribed. In our protest we said in part:

"The National Rifle Association of America is of the opinion that the regulations enumerated above are unreasonable, unnecessary, and improper under the provisions of the Federal Firearms Act. They represent an extension of the authority of the Internal

Revenue Service not granted by the Federal Firearms Act and not intended by the Congress in the enactment of the Federal Firearms Act. The adoption of these regulations will result in an unwarranted hardship and burden upon manufacturers and importers of rifles, shotguns, and pistols and of pistol ammunition; they will impose an intolerable burden of recordkeeping upon licensed firearms dealers, and they will tend to discourage legitimate commerce in firearms and in pistol and revolver ammunition by manufacturer, dealer, and consumer alike."

As a result of the publicity given the proposed revisions by the National Rifle Association and others, many protests have been filed with the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service. Also, very gratifyingly, many protests have been registered with Members of the Congress in Washington. At press time no announcement had been made by the Internal Revenue Service with respect to the proposed regulations. It is known that all protests must be evaluated and this presumably could be a time-consuming operation. The National Rifle Association has been informed by the Internal Revenue Service that the regulations will not be made effective without prior consultation with the National Rifle Association, and presumably with other interested individuals and organizations.

Because the June issue of the American Rifleman did not reach many NRA members until after the June 3 deadline for protests to the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, it is probable that many members who would have liked to be heard on the subject of the proposed regulations were denied that opportunity. It is now, of course, too late for protests to the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, to be effective. Also, it is too early to tell whether the protests already filed will be persuasive or successful. One avenue of approach is always open to any interested American citizen and that is through his own United States Congressman or Senator. Here, with our elected representatives, is the ultimate safeguard of our liberties. No one other than the Federal Congress should be more concerned with preserving the legislative prerogatives of Congress and with keeping within reasonable bounds the power of Government bureaus to rule by regulation.

Who Is To Blame for Discrimination at Dhahran?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Dr. Edward B. Glick, which appeared in the August 19, 1957, issue of Congress Weekly. Dr. Glick is author of Latin America and the Palestine Problem:

DISCRIMINATION AT DHAHRAN
(By Edward B. Glick)

One of this country's leading experts on the Middle East, Prof. George Lenczowski, concluded a recent book by asking "whether the American ideals of democracy and self-determination have not too often been subordinated to expediency, thus robbing American policy of the moral advantage that it once possessed and that it might well try to regain in the present revolutionary era in the nonwestern world." Perhaps there is no better example of the subordination of the ideals of democracy to the demands of expediency than the discriminatory situation at the American-leased airfields at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, where American Christians are restricted in the practice of their religion and American Jews are excluded both from the base and the country.

The United States obtained permission to build, maintain, and use the Dhahran airfield, located on the western shore of the Persian Gulf not far from the headquarters of the Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco), in 1945. Continually extended for brief periods of time, the lease was renewed in 1951 for 5 years and again in April of this year for an additional 5 years. Despite the fact that we have in the last decade spent some $50 million in construction alone, all new "installations and construction" as well as all "fixed properties" at Dhahran belong to Saudi Arabia.

The 1951 agreement, the basic document governing our rights and obligations at Dhahran, stipulates that American military and civilian aircraft may land, take off, refuel, and make use of the technical services of the airport. In return, the United States, besides building and maintaining the facilities, provides the weather information, radio communications, air rescue, and aircraft operations services not only for her own military planes, but also for all civilian aircraft which the Saudi Arabian Government authorizes to use the Dhahran airfield. Under the terms of the 1957 renewal, our Government has further agreed to supply Saudi Arabia with $50 million worth of military equipment, to construct new facilities at the base, to institute a training program for the Saudi Arabian Air Force, to augment its present advisory program for the Saudi Arabian Army, to train naval personnel for the desert kingdom, and to help in the expansion of the port of Damman.

Certainly no one, least of all a civilian unconnected with the Defense Establishment or the Government, can presume to challenge all of the purely military considerations responsible for America's acquisition of the Dhahran airfield. However, what can be questioned and what the State and Defense Departments have still not satisfactorily justified, is the atmosphere of bias associated with the base from our very first connection with it. Among the clauses of the 1951 agreement are provisions requiring the United States mission to submit a detailed list of the names and identity of its members and employees so that there will not be included individuals objectionable to the Saudi Arabian Government. If the mission is requested by the Saudi Arabs to send out or replace any of its personnel, it must do so promptly. Furthermore, all civilian contracting firms and their workers must likewise not be unacceptable to the Saudi Arabian Government. Last, the American mission, its personnel, and its employees must in their social activities (which apparently includes their religious affiliations and observances) take into account the local customs and laws in effect in Saudi Arabia.

The practical effect of these provisions is that American Jewish military personnel, regardless of their qualifications or the need for their services, are never posted to Saudi Arabia—nor are American Jews permitted to be employed by Aramco or any other private American firm—and Christian Americans may not publicly practice or display the symbols and insignia of their religion. United States chaplains at Dhahran do not wear the cross on their lapels and must conduct religious services in buildings which do not have the outward appearance of a church. Furthermore, to avoid incidents, Catholic priests find it necessary to perform their religious functions without wearing their customary clerical garb.

The State Department has sought to explain the discriminatory exclusion of American Jewish servicemen by invoking the canons of international usage. For example, a May 22, 1956, official statement by the Department's Public Services Division notes inter alia: "International law and practice recognize the fundamental right of a sovwhat conditions aliens may enter its territory." And in an obvious attempt to shift the onus entirely to Saudia Arabia, the statement also says: "The United States has made no agreement concerning the assignment of military personnel of the Jewish faith to Saudi Arabia, although the assignment of such persons is presently prohibited by Saudi Arabian visa regulations."

Inasmuch as the 1951 agreement was concluded during the Truman administration, Mr. Truman's interpretation of its restrictive provisions should be considered the most authoritative and presumably ought to be binding upon the State Department. The former President has explained that the agreement was "not intended to bar American Jews or any other Americans" and that Saudi Arabia has the right to exclude persons from Dhahran only "on an individual and not on a race or creed basis." In other words, while our Government may uphold King Saud's right to bar objectionable individual Americans, it is contrary to our whole tradition and to the agreement to support him in the exclusion of a whole group of American citizens because of their religion.

Yet the apparent complacency of the United States in the face of Saudi Arabian discrimination against Americans has not gone unchallenged. On July 26, 1956, the United States Senate unanimously adopted a resolution which specifically stresses the "primary principle of our Nation that there shall be no distinction among United States citizens based on their individual religious affiliations * * * [and that] any attempt by foreign nations to create such distinctions * * * generally is inconsistent with our principles." At their presidential-nominating conventions of last summer, the Republicans as well as the Democrats adopted platform planks opposing foreign discrimination against Americans such as now exists in Saudi Arabia. Last fall, both the President's Committee on Government Contracts and the President's Committee on Govenrnment Employment Policy asked the Departments of State and Defense to secure an end to the discriminatory practices involving Americans in Saudi Arabia.

Despite the Senate resolution and the actions of leading public and private individuals, the State Department renegotiated the Dhahran agreement last April without obtaining any changes in the matter of discrimination. When asked about this at a news conference on April 23, 1957, Mr. Dulles intimated that King Saud was unreceptive because of the refusal of Mayor Wagner of New York to extend official courtesies to the visiting Saudi Arabian monarch.

It has been argued, quite effectively, that any serious attempt by the United States to press Saudi Arabia on this question might result in the cancellation of Aramco's concession to exploit Saudi Arabia's oil if not the loss of the right of the United States Government to make use of the Dhahran airfield. Recently, an even more persuasive note has been added. Pressure upon Saud, it is said, would upset America's policy of trying to woo Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries away from the Soviet-Egyptian-Syrian orbit. Just how much validity do these arguments have?

No one can realistically ignore the relationship between the Dhahran installations and Saudi Arabia's position as one of the world's leading repositories of petroleum.

Undoubtedly the existence of oil in Saudi Arabia, as well as Aramco's special position there, greatly influenced the decision of the United States to acquire leasing rights at Dhahran and to accommodate herself to the prejudices and idiosyncracies of Saudi Arabia. But in so doing the government has apparently failed to appreciate that the petroleum possessing states of the Middle East are at least as dependent upon us and our goodwill as we are upon them. In the words of Benjamin Schwadran, author of The Middle East, Oil and the Great Powers, "the Arab oil producing countries are much more desperately in need of the income the West can give them for their oil and of the latter's ability to transport, use and market it than the West, as a whole, is in need of Middle East oil." In 1955 Saudi Arabia received more than a quarter of a billion dollars, or approximately 71 percent of her governmental budget, in payments from the Arabian American Oil Co. It is, consequently, exceedingly difficult to conceive that she would interfere with the Aramco concession—or with our airbase—if the United States were to insist upon nondiscriminatory treatment of our citizens.

If past experience offers any indication of future action, it is worth recalling that neither after America's support of the partition of Palestine nor after our diplomatic recognition of Israel did Saudi Arabia stop the flow of oil to the West. In fact, on February 27, 1948, a correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune reported from Dhahran that despite Arab bitterness against America for favoring the creation of the Jewish State, the late King Saud, father of the present ruler, had assured Aramco that its oil concession would not be taken away. Nor, it must be remembered, did Saudi Arabia, unlike some of her neighbors, interrupt for even a moment the export of petroleum during the recent crisis over the Sinai Peninsula and the Suez Canal. If she did not take so drastic a step in these situations, which clearly benefited Israel, it seems highly unlikely that Saudi Arabia would oust either Aramco or the United States Air Force or abruptly change her attitude toward Egypt solely because we demanded that the rights of all American citizens be respected, a circumstance which involves not Israel but only the relations between the United States and Saudi Arabia.

Unquestionably, Dhahran is of importance to the United States. It is of equal if not greater value to Saudi Arabia, a fact often overlooked. But must the price for it be the curtailment of the rights of a group of Americans? Further, is the airfield so vital that principle must capitulate to expediency?

Thomas K. Finletter, Secretary of the Air Force in 1951, when the principal Dhahran agreement was signed, stated the issue well in his foreword to the pamphlet on the Dhahran airfield recently published by the American Jewish Congress. Said Mr. Finletter:

"There has been much unfounded talk about the vital necessity of the Dhahran airfield to the interests of the United States. I think I am reasonably aware of the importance of the base structure of our Air Force and I cannot agree with the idea that any one base such as Dhahran is vital. I happen to believe that our base structure should be strengthened well beyond its present state but there are many places other than Dhahran where a substitute base for Dhahran and the additional bases which are needed could be located. I do not believe that the need for the Dhahran Airbase in any way requires us to sacrifice the principles in which the American people believe. I think, in short, that the value of the Dhahran base is relatively small and that it can be replaced, but that the value of the principle involved is high and cannot be replaced."

And the principle involved, without which this country will never regain the moral advantage it once possessed in its conduct of foreign affairs, is that there can be no distinctions made or tolerated among Americans because of their religion, race, or creed.

People, Politics, and Principles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to include an article which appears in the August 10 issue of America, entitled "Men, Myths, and Politics," by Edward Anthony Connell. Mr. Connell is a prominent citizen of Stamford, Conn.

His observations on politics, principles, and politicians are most interesting, and I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

MEN, MYTHS, AND POLITICS

(By Edward Anthony Connell)

To the average citizen politics is a confusing and mystifying sort of melodrama in which all is pretense, vacillaton, and insincerity. Politicians are regarded as a two-faced and shifty group who are completely incompetent in the legitimate pursuits of life and take to politics as a frantic last resort.

Most serious is the popular notion that politics is a chaotic affair without rules or codes or standards: a pseudoprofession which exists without reason or justification, a sort of parasitic growth on the organism of government. There is a constant effort to do away with politics; to remove it from government as a surgeon would remove a malignant growth from the body.

But politics is actually the heart or the spirit, the élan vital of government rather than a superfluous and corroding growth. In another sense, government is a structure or famework and becomes responsive only when human beings begin to use it: to make decisions, to apply rules, to interpret statutes and regulations, to approve some requests and to deny others.

In brief, politics is enormously concerned with judgments and interpretations and the immediate application of the rules of government. The American people, perhaps more than any citizenry on earth, have clung to a theory of government that in many respects is totally unlike that held on any substantial scale in any other nation in the modern world. Our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution are far more than statements of governmental mechanics. They both are shot through with the language of the spirit and heavy with the implications of free will and choice.

Our nation of multitudinous groups and associations has produced hundreds of thousands of constitutions and sets of by-laws, from those of the American Institute of Architects to the recent lengthy and complex set of rules drawn up by the Springdale Civic Improvement Association. Yet strangely enough we lean over backward to make these codes cold and spiritless so that we may boast about our rule books being "free from politics."

In short, we have an almost childish belief that we should have amongst us a breed of supermen who will spell out by their actions and decisions in public life the high promise of the magnificent phraseology of our Founding Fathers. Because we believe that only men of enormous goodness could have written the great basic documents of the 18th century, we have searched vainly over the years for men of equal goodness to match them. We have petulantly branded as politicians men of great intellectual stature and patriotism, sensitive to right and wrong, whose only weakness lay in being tainted with original sin and thereby falling short of the popular concept of the man in public life.

MEN LIKE ANGELS?

We have not measured our politicians with the same yardstick we use for our business leaders, our sports heroes, our TV entertainers and our educators and social workers. We have, for instance, come to accept as normal the idea that a politician must be completely devoid of self-interest; and we are perturbed when fe learn that Mayor Zilch or Senator Sniffles owns stock in General Motors or Lukens Steel or risks an occasional $2 on the daily double.

Bertrand Russell said in a recent analysis of communism: "My objections to Marx are of two sorts: one, that he was muddleheaded; and the other, that his thinking was almost entirely inspired by hatred" (Look magazine, April 30, 1957).

The hatred of which Lord Russell wrote has many manifestations, but important among them is the hatred of the modern unrealist for the teaching that sin is universal and stains all men. The unrealist attempts therefore to create the portrait of a governing class that shows him and his associates holding aloft the phony banner of sinlessness.

Communism found a fertile ground in which to sow its seed, not only because the modern industrial system had brought about much material suffering, but also because so many people in the modern world had come to believe that the homegrown politicians they knew were interlopers and men of little faith who should be replaced at the polls, or through violent revolution if necessary, by dedicated people waiting in the wings whose hearts were completely pure inasmuch as original sin had never even touched them.

To say that "Government ought to do something about it" is not only normal but at times necessary. This is so because only the state, in the final analysis, can set new ground rules and ban the economic spitball and the industrial gouging and clipping. Perhaps more than any leader of our time Franklin Delano Roosevelt detected accurately and classified correctly the rule-violations of the 20th-century social scene. And the FDR grip remained firm and unwavering for nearly 2 decades chiefly because he was the first to see and describe and condemn the butting and the fouling that had become widespread in the uneven contest between the haves and the have-nots. But even a Roosevelt could not pull out of a hat the inexorable impartial referees and umpires who could enforce the new rules. So the T. Lamar Caudles and the six-percenters swarmed in, because men are not gods.

Perhaps it is a good thing in the long run that we have built up the tradition that the average politician is someone to be temporarily tolerated. Perhaps it is salutary that we look longingly toward the distant hills for the Lochinvar or Sir Launcelot who will pave our city streets without giving kickbacks to contractors and administer our public schools without making demeaning concessions to the head of the PTA. It is well to remind ourselves from time to time that the Christian ethic does set a high standard of conduct for men in public life. The fact

that men often fall short of the standard doesn't mean that it isn't there.

The politician in our midst will always be a person to watch with a jaundiced eye so long as we believe even slightly in the Marxian mystique of the state as the only well-spring of infused virtue. Marx did not admit that the state is the combined efforts of human beings to propagate order and justice within the limitations of human weakness. Marx taught the theory of the inherent rectitude of the state and the rub-off theory: i. e., that contact with the state of assimilation by the state will transform those assimiliated into men without sin or passion.

The politician is frequently a man who tries desperately to sublimate many of his personal interests (and frequently succeeds) and is rejected because he cannot sublimate them all. Yet the average American has not become acutely aware of this fact. We go on hoping; we reread our Ralph Waldo Emerson and peer into the darkness for signs of the arrival of the shining substitute for the politician. And, in the meantime, our politicians go about their appointed rounds with good sense and unrecognized wisdom making possible the care of the indigent, the spraying of trees in city streets, and the protection of the screwball theorist against midnight arrest and beating with a rubber hose.

Iraq Celebrates 25th Anniversary of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of independence of one of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly relations with the United States.

Congress will not be in session when Iraq celebrates her 25th anniversary of independence on October 3, 1957, hence, I wish to take this opportunity today to salute the people of Iraq, His Majesty King Faisal, and His Excellency Moussa Al-Shabandar, Ambassador of Iraq, in honor of this occasion.

On October 3, 1932, Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations as a full-fledged and sovereign member. Thus began her life as a new independent nation. Although small in population, Iraq has become one of the leading states of the Arab world. Since independence, the people of Iraq have continually devoted considerable efforts in the complex area of economic development with a view toward bettering conditions and raising living standards.

Iraq has been genuinely concerned with the Communist threat and seeks United States assistance to strengthen its defenses. Recent events have tested the stability of the Iraqi Government, but its anti-Communist stand and friendship with the United States have not been impaired.

As one who deeply believes in freedom, democracy, and the importance of achieving a better understanding among all nations, I want to take this opportunity to wish Iraq every success as she embarks upon a new year of independence.

Congressman McGregor Concerned Over Inflation—But Hasn't Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Ashland Times Gazette, under date of August 14, 1957.

We had an informal meeting, as the editorial will describe, and I think it was mutually agreed that inflation was one of the dangerous problems facing us today.

I submit the editorial for your consideration.

CONGRESSMAN MCGREGOR CONCERNED OVER INFLATION—BUT HASN'T ANSWER

Congressman J. HARRY MCGREGOR was in Ashland Monday and Tuesday, meeting and talking with constituents.

His vists are always beneficial to him, he says, in determining the wishes and feelings of the people of his district, Ohio's 17th Congressional.

While talking with the members of the National Affairs Committee of the Ashland Chamber of Commerce Monday, MCGREGOR expressed a thought with which most people will agree.

He said he was certain that the greatest problem facing the United States today is not communism, but the threat of inflation to our economy and our well-being.

"Creeping inflation is by far our most serious problem," he said. "It will destroy us far more quickly than communism, a thing we can be aware of and fight openly. Inflation is a different battle. It can't be won in Washington or in the Halls of Congress. It has to be beaten at home."

MCGREGOR went on to say that the American people, unfortunately, are the greatest "wanters" in the world today—or in world history, for that matter.

"The time is coming," he said, "when we have got to be satisfied with what we can afford instead of what we want."

The Congressman pointed out the terrific increases in prices of weapons used in national defense. In a matter of only 4 or 5 years the costs of weapons have more than doubled and the price is up 3 and 4 times what it was in World War II.

"Yet we can't economize on defense, for the moment we do we are in trouble. And you can't explain defense economy to the people whose sons and daughters are called upon to serve our country overseas and face the possibilities of actual warfare. We have got to have the best and the latest—and that costs and costs."

MCGREGOR agreed with a statement by a local manufacturer that one of the most serious causes of inflation today is the big industries who refuse to say no to union demands for higher and higher wages.

He agreed that the plight of small industries in the face of giving in by the big fellows is almost hopeless.

Yet he saw no immediate solution to the spiral upward. He said it is impossible to tell industires how much they can pay and it is impossible to tell unions how much they can ask for.

One Ashlander said the only answer was the law of supply and demand and the power of the consumer.

The problem—not a simple one—was left at that.

But Ashland's chamber people did learn some things from Congressman MCGREGOR. They learned that the task of being a Congressman isn't an easy one and it isn't always a happy one.

MCGREGOR said he was under fire from Shelby Depot employees for blocking an appropriation of $1,900,000 for the depot because the Pentagon refused to inform him what the money was for. His effort to find out met with replies that the information was classified and he couldn't—and hasn't yet—been able to ascertain what the funds were needed for.

But he blocked the appropriation—and it will stay blocked until he can justify the expenditure, he says.

Such moves—creditable as they seem to people not directly interested—make enemies among those directly concerned.

Such is the life of a Congressman.

The Better Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, during recent weeks, I have listened with interest when some of colleagues here in the House have attacked the President for the manner in which he has supported or failed to support various legislative programs before the Congress. They have dwelled particularly on his failure to either pressurize or not pressurize the Members into voting for any one of these programs, a system, which if practiced, could do violence to our form of Government and the constitutional basis of three coequal branches of our Government. It has been my personal feeling that most of these speeches lambasting the President have been motivated by political demagoguery and to cover up for the legislative shortcomings of the 85th Congress.

My views are now reinforced by an excellent editorial appearing in the Wheeling Intelligencer on August 24, 1957, entitled "The Better Way," which places in proper perspective the role of the President and his relationship with the Congress. I commend this editorial to my colleagues, because it clearly delineates what our Founding Fathers had in mind when writing the Constitution to provide for the separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of Government:

THE BETTER WAY

The widespread disposition to blame Mr. Eisenhower for such lack of success as his program has encountered in Congress is an evidence of the degree to which we have accepted distortion of the presidential office.

During the course of a recent press conference, the President voiced disappoini-

ment at the refusal of Congress to go along with many of his recommendations. That is only natural. Mr. Eisenhower believed in his proposals or he would not have made them. What isn't natural is that people would lay the responsibility for this at the President's own door because he didn't take a club to Congress and drive his program through.

An analysis of the Congress-White House relationship by the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette is typical. Acknowledging the polical complexion of Congress and the enforced retirement of the President at the conclusion of this term as factors in the situation, the Pittsburgh daily says, nevertheless:

"While these political difficulties have undoubtedly contributed to the President's troubles they are not, it seems to us, the key factor in his defeats. The hard truth is, we fear, that he simply hasn't exerted political leadership of the sort that has characterized some of his predecessors, say, for example, the two Roosevelts."

Cited as examples of Presidential weakness are his "wavering" on the budget in the face of congressional and public criticism and his "faltering performance over the school bill."

Is it a sign of weakness or strength of character to acknowledge and conform to something so spontaneous and overwhelming as public rejection of a spending policy? As for the school bill, it is difficult to see what more the President could have done. In the eyes of opponents he did entirely too much.

What seems to be overlooked are two basic facts—

First, that a President's belief in and support of a project or a program doesn't necessarily make it good. He could be wrong as this newspaper believes he was, for example, in respect both to the budget and the school-aid bill.

Second, it is the responsibility of Congress, not the President, to levy taxes, appropriate money, enact law. So when the President has made a recommendation and given his reasons for it he has done all that he should do or with propriety can do. By what line of reasoning can we justify the imposition of an Executive's will on the Congress, or the surrender of Congress to his views because they are the President's, or because he is in position to exert political pressure?

There may be those who long for the days of Franklin Roosevelt and his rubberstamp Congress. There are others who trace most of the current governmental ills with which we are wrestling to that period and its influence on American life. For its part, the Intelligencer hopes the time never returns when Congress will be a mere puppet of the President. Mr. Eisenhower, it feels, has chosen the better way.

Word Does Get Around

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the August 26, 1957, issue of the New Republic, makes most interesting reading, proving again you cannot fool all of the people all of the time:

END OF AN AFFAIR

The Nation's love affair with Eisenhower is definitely cooling but only after an interval that amazed observers and that probably set a record of its kind. Eisenhower did practically nothing for 4 years and that, it turned out, was exactly what the country wanted. Now a posthoneymoon boredom is visible and disillusionment finds voice. The implicit administration premise was that doing nothing in a spiritual manner would solve all problems; it hasn't worked and problems are becoming urgent.

The second term, you remember, began with Suez. Frightened voters in November turned to Eisenhower to save them in a crisis which he had denied existed. Who knows? A more straightforward Secretary of State might have kept France and Britain in line. As it happened a debacle followed; Russia planted itself firmly in the Mideast power struggle—a spot she had sought to occupy for centuries. Eisenhower met the problem by cutting off press conferences for 10 weeks and 2 days.

The President faced 3 handicaps after the election: a Democratic Congress, a lame-duck status under the 22d amendment, and a diminution of his value to the conservative coalition to which he had given 2 enormous victories but which now needed to glamorize somebody else. Yet, we believe, these were not the controlling factors in what happened. In the aging administration the President himself showed an inexplicable lassitude and vacillation and an increasing retreat to the links.

Consider four points. After being on all sides of the budget the President finally took a position contrary to Secretary Humphrey who, after a decent interval, retired. Again, Eisenhower publicly snubbed Defense Secretary Wilson for the latter's strictures on the National Guard (to Mrs. Wilson's irritation) and, whether by coincidence or not, Wilson also has retired. Again, Secretary Folsom tried heroically to get through a school bill—Eisenhower failed to support him. And finally, Eisenhower publicly revealed doubt and disagreement over Brownell's civil-rights bill ("I was reading part of that bill this morning and I—there were certain phrases I don't completely understand.") Here is a record of mixed signals in four different instances. Now the Cabinet has lost its two strongest members.

"I NEVER HEARD THAT"

This is the time for all good columnists to writes estimates of the past legislative session. But for this reporter two minor, almost casual, comments by Eisenhower will be chiefly remembered. One was the astonishing reply made to a reporter after the school bill defeat by five votes. In a final desperate effort to get the bill through the House, Democrats swallowed their pride and agreed to accept the Eisenhower measure in toto. But no word came from the White House and the bill perished. What we remember is the President's candid revelation that he was unaware of the Democrats' switch. "I never heard that, Mr. Folliard," he told stunned reporters. "If that is true, why you are telling me something I never heard."

The second phrase was in a letter on the natural-gas bill. After the veto of last year, you recall, Eisenhower proposed two amendments to the bill in the consumers' interest this year. But when the test came, the President hastily abandoned the amendments in a phrase that sticks to our memory; they (the amendments), he wrote the House chairman, "do not represent my fixed conclusions." How fixed are any of this administration's conclusions?

The story of the weekly press conferences is revealing, too. They are the President's vehicle for expounding views, molding opinion, speaking directly to the Nation. But the President called off his July 24 press conference just before the climactic House vote on the school bill. He thereby ducked the inevitable press questions on his position. He avoided the fray. Again, he called off his press conference just before the Senate started the voting that culminated in ripping section III out of the civil-rights bill. And reporters were not surprised last week when Eisenhower dropped his regular press conference a third time—the final stage of decision had been reached in the rival Senate-House versions of civil rights. Eisenhower avoided taking a position.

ONE PIECE OF PAPER

Endless reiteration is fruitless and we try to avoid it. A critical reporter always runs the danger of becoming a common scold. We think we have made our point. Eisenhower carried no fervor over from his great election victory. As press protection is withdrawn, as NIXON begins privately to criticize his Chief, as the honeymoon sags, Eisenhower goes more to the Burning Tree Club. On some things the President feels strongly and knows his own mind and is willing to make a fight. But on nasty, complicated questions that do not lend themselves easily to staff condensation on a single piece of paper, Eisenhower finds difficulty.

Letter From the National Rifle Association of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the bureaucrats in the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division have proposed regulations which strike directly at every sportsman and hunter in this country. I am referring to sections 177.50, 177.51, 177.52, 177.54, and 177.55 which appeared in the Federal Register of May 3, 1957. Those proposed regulations, on which a hearing is being held today, August 27, 1957, far exceed the authority of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service and are aimed not at the protection of law-abiding people or at hindering a commission of crime, but rather at hindering the law-abiding citizen in the purchase of firearms and ammunition for sports and protection of home. Pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from the National Rifle Association of America signed by Mr. Floyd L. Parks, executive director, condemning these regulations.

I hope every Member of this House will read this criticism of these vicious regulations and will lend their individual and collective authority and prestige to the defeat of these unsound, bureaucratic and senseless regulations.

The letter follows:

NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., May 31, 1957.

Mr. DWIGHT AVIS,
Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. AVIS: Our attention has been called to the Federal Register for May 3, 1957, which carries a proposed revision of the Internal Revenue Service regulations relative to the movement in interstate commerce of all firearms and of pistol and revolver ammunition.

The Federal Firearms Act provides, in section 907, that the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe such rules and regulations as

he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of the law. This authority of the Secretary of the Treasury is, we understand, delegated to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. It is understood that Federal agencies have the authority, where so prescribed, to issue rules and regulations which are reasonable and necessary for the enforcement of Federal laws with which they are charged. However, in addition to being reasonable and necessary such regulations must lie within the framework of the law. It is the belief of the National Rifle Association of America that some of the proposed regulations are neither reasonable nor necessary. Likewise, it is our belief that some of the regulations are not supported by either the language or the intent of the Federal Firearms Act and that they are therefore not within the authority of the Internal Revenue Service.

1. Section 177.50, which appears on page 3155 of the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, provides that each manufacturer or importer of a firearm shall identify it by stamping in a manner not readily obliterated or altered the name and location of the manufacturer or importer and the serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm. On this subject the Federal Firearms Act states, in section 902, paragraph (1), that: "It shall be unlawful for any person to transport, ship, or knowingly receive in interstate or foreign commerce any firearm from which the manufacturer's serial number has been removed, obliterated, or altered." At the time of the enactment of the Federal Firearms Act, and at all times since, there have been many sporting-type firearms, shotguns, rifles, and particularly less expensive .22-caliber rifles, which it has not been the practice of the manufacturers to provide with serial numbers. According to the Census of Manufacturers for 1954, over 1 million rifles and shotguns of all types were manufactured in the United States in 1954. To the best of our knowledge, approximately one-half of all shotguns and two-thirds of all rifles currently manufactured in the United States are manufactured and sold without serial numbers. Since this has always been more or less the case, it would appear that Congress would have provided in the law that all rifles, shotguns, etc., be marked with a serial number by the manufacturer and with the name and location of the manufacturer or importer and with the caliber and model of the firearm, if such was indeed the intent of Congress. Manufacturers of firearms will be put to a very considerable additional expense to comply with the proposed regulation. Should this regulation be put into effect, a question will immediately be raised as to the status of the thousands of rifles and shotguns now in dealers' stocks and in private hands which either do not carry serial numbers or which do not carry some or all of the information required by the proposed regulation. In addition to added costs to manufacturers, which must inevitably be passed on to the ultimate consumer, a great hardship will be imposed on importers, particularly importers of obsolete weapons, should this proposed regulation be applied to them. The stamping or otherwise impressing of a number or mark of any kind upon an obsolete weapon materially reduces its market value and its value as a collector's item or museum piece.

2. Section 177.51 on pages 3155 and 3156 of the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, provides that manufacturers' and dealers' records of receipt and disposal of firearms must be retained permanently on the premises until discontinuance of the business by the licensee. Section 903, paragraph (d) of the Federal Firearms Act provides that: "Licensed dealers shall maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe." Whether by the language "permanent records" the law implies that such records must be retained in perpetuity is not known. For many years the regulations have required that records be retained by licensed dealers for a period of 6 years. The proposed revision to require the retention of records permanently on the premises would seem to impose an unnecessary and unduly severe hardship on licensed dealers by creating a record-storage problem of some magnitude. The very concept of dealers' records retained in perpetuity seems unreasonable on its face, since it is apparent that such dealers' records must lose all value and interest to anyone once they have attained some reasonable age.

This same section of the regulations requires records of receipt and disposal of firearms by both licensed manufacturers and licensed dealers. Section 903, paragraph (d) of the Federal Firearms Act provides for the maintenance of records only by licensed dealers. The act does not require the maintenance of records by manufacturers. This requirement is apparently imposed by regulation. In this connection, a review of the hearings before the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate, 74th Congress, April 16, 1935, reveals that the bill, S. 3, which later became the Federal Firearms Act, at the time of the hearing contained a provision which read: Section 3 (d), "Licensed manufacturers and dealers shall maintain such permanent records of manufacture, importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of Commerce shall prescribe." When this bill came up for hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, 75th Congress, on June 22, 1937, the reference to licensed manufacturers and to manufacturers' records had been deleted from the bill. In the form in which the bill was enacted into law section 3 (d) read: "Licensed dealers shall maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of Commerce shall prescribe." It would appear beyond question that by striking from the bill any reference to licensed manufacturers or to records of the manufacture of firearms and ammunition it was clearly the intent of Congress that they not be covered under the act.

Again, with respect to this same section in the proposed regulations, section 903, paragraph (d) of the Federal Firearms Act requires licensed dealers to maintain permanent records of "importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition." The proposed regulations as they appear in section 177.51 and in the succeeding section 177.52 as published in the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, would require in addition the maintenance of records by licensed manufacturers and dealers of the production and receipt of firearms and pistol and revolver ammunition. It is the position of the National Rifle Association that had the law intended dealers to maintain records of the production and receipt of firearms and pistol or revolver ammunition, this language would have appeared in the law. In support of our position it is pointed out that there are provisions elsewhere in the Federal Firearms Act where it is provided, for example, that a manufacturer or dealer must be licensed in order to receive firearms or ammunition in interstate or foreign commerce. Language with respect to the receipt of firearms and ammunition is found frequently in the act but is significantly absent from that section of the act which requires licensed dealers to maintain records specifically of "importation, shipment, and other disposal."

3. Section 177.52 on page 3156 of the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, provides for the maintenance by manufacturers and dealers of records reflecting the production or receipt and the disposition at wholesale or retail of all pistol and revolver ammunition. Such ammunition to be described as to manufacture, type, caliber, quantity, and the identity of the person from whom received and to whom sold. The National Rifle Association strongly protests the imposition of such a useless and intolerable burden upon retail dealers in pistol ammunition. Well over 25 million rounds of center-fire pistol and revolver ammunition are purchased and used in the United States for lawful training and recreational purposes each year. By comparison, the number of rounds of ammunition employed for any unlawful purpose must be insignificant. Such recordkeeping, if imposed upon retail dealers, can have no practical result other than to discourage from commerce in pistol and revolver ammunition the reputable dealer who will observe the regulation. It appears absurd to this association that a criminal or potential criminal would be in the least inhibited by such a regulation when it could be so easily circumvented by bootlegging, theft, or purchase through blackmarket channels.

4. Section 177.54 on page 3156 of the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, provides that a person purchasing a firearm or handgun ammunition in over-the-counter sales must acknowledge receipt thereof in his own handwriting in the prescribed dealer's records. The Federal Firearms Act regulates interstate commerce in firearms and in pistol and revolver ammunition. It provides for the Federal licensing of manufacturers and dealers in firearms and pistol or revolver ammunition and it sets forth limitations on the transporting, shipping, or receiving of firearms or pistol ammunition in interstate or foreign commerce. The act does not presume to set forth restrictions or requirements applicable to individuals who purchase firearms or handgun ammunition in a retail, over-the-counter transaction. Such a requirement, binding upon an individual doing business entirely within a State, would, plainly in our opinion, be within the prerogative of a State legislature and not within the province of a Federal statute. We believe that the Department of the Treasury has no authority to impose by regulation, requirements which the Federal Congress did not write into the law and could not properly have written into the law.

5. Section 177.55, on page 3156 of the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, provides that any Internal Revenue officer designated by the Director shall have authority to examine the books, papers, and records kept by a licensee pursuant to the regulations, and to examine his premises and stock during regular business hours in the daytime or whenever such premises may be open at night. This regulation would appear to depend for authority on that provision of the Federal Firearms Act which requires licensed dealers to maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe. To enforce the maintenance of records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition, it would appear reasonable that dealers' records should be available for inspection during normal business hours, by Federal enforcement agents in the performance of their official duties. It appears however to this Association to be unreasonable and highly improper that both dealers and manufacturers should be denied, by administrative regulation, their constitutional safeguards against unreasonable search of their stocks and places of business. Nor does the authority of agents of the Internal Revenue Service to search the premises and the stock of a manufacturer or a dealer, appear

to be a reasonable or necessary regulation to carry out the provision of a law which requires the maintenance of records of importation, shipment, and disposal of firearms and pistol ammunition.

The National Rifle Association of America is of the opinion that the regulations enumerated above are unreasonable, unnecessary, and improper under the provisions of the Federal Firearms Act. They represent an extension of the authority of the Internal Revenue Service not granted by the Federal Firearms Act and not intended by the Federal Congress in the enactment of the Federal Firearms Act. The adoption of these regulations will result in an unwarranted hardship and burden upon manufacturers and importers of rifles, shotguns, and pistols and of pistol ammunition; they will impose an intolerable burden of recordkeeping upon licensed firearms dealers and they will tend to discourage legitimate commerce in firearms and pistol and revolver ammunition by manufacturer, dealer, and consumer alike.

It is respectfully urged that the proposed regulations enumerated above not be adopted and that a hearing be scheduled at whch all interested parties may have an opportunity to be heard relative to these proposed regulations.

Sincerely,

FLOYD L. PARKS,
Lieutenant General, United States Army (Retired), Executive Director, National Rifle Association of America.

Turkey Celebrates 34th Anniversary of the Declaration of the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of one of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly relations with the United States.

Inasmuch as the Congress will not be in session at the time of the event, I wish to take this opportunity to send greetings to the people of Turkey, President Jelal Bayar, and His Excellency Suat Hayri Urguplu, Ambassador of Turkey, on the occasion of the celebration of the 34th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Turkey, October 29, 1957.

Turkey has enjoyed uninterrupted independence since the formation of the Ottoman Empire in 1299. Republic Day stands for the Turkish people for what an independence day stands for any free nation. It is a day consecrated to celebrations in remembrance and confirmation of the principles of the Ataturk revolution, which made the continuation of the independence of Turkey possible and on which the existence, freedom and way of life of modern Turkey is based.

Modern Turkey dates from October 29, 1923, when it formally became a republic with Mustafa Kemal as its first president. The creation of the new Republic marked the birth of the new Turkey.

Seldom in history has any nation gone so far so fast as has modern Turkey since May 19, 1919. That was the day when Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was renamed Ataturk—father of the Turks—by a grateful people for his leadership, landed at Samsun on the Black Sea and plunged into the task of transforming a series of medieval communities into a new country. No one can fail to admire the courage with which this country has tackled its huge tasks. Turkey, under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, set out to be a modern nation and became a healthy republic with amazing vitality. In 1924, the office of Caliphate and the rule of religious courts were abolished. The charter of the new republic was a constitution and a bill of rights similar to that of the United States with the same concept of individual liberty and law. Almost overnight a social revolution, bloodless, and with an unprecedented speed, ushered in a new way of life in Turkey. All Ottoman titles, such as pasha, bey, and effendi, were abolished. The wearing of a fez, which denoted allegiance to the old Ottoman empire, the laws requiring women to veil their faces, and the oriental splendor were all things of the past. The modernization of Turkey, which was the goal of Kemal Ataturk, has been continued by Ismet Inonu, who followed Ataturk in the presidency, and by Mahmut Jelal Bayar, the current president, through the adoption of many other far-reaching reforms along Western lines.

During these past few years a rapid, overall harmonious growth has characterized the Turkish scene. This development has been secured by means of concerted policies directed toward utilizing the natural resources of the country, expanding the industrial potential and introducing new incentives for breaking inertia.

The greatest of all the resources of modern Turkey is the spirit of her people. They are determined that nothing shall stop them from getting ahead. The courage and optimism with which they are attacking their new task are infectious. Much that they are undertaking is new to them, and although they learn modern techniques quickly, they urgently need more people trained in the essential skills of an industrial society.

Ever since its inception, the new Turkish State has been based on democratic foundations. The clause in the Turkish constitution which affirmed that "Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the Nation" became the factor which guided Turkey's entire administrative machinery. Later, the principles of the Turkish State, confirming as they did that Turkey is Republican, populist and secular, emphasized even more clearly the truly democratic character of the young republic. Turkey is going through a period of rapid expansion. Like every growth, this has its pains, and history teaches us that it is natural that it should be so. But, in recent months some observers of the Turkish scene have taken these symptoms as the substance of Turkish life—forgetting the truth expressed in the old Turkish proverb, "Falling blossoms indicate ripening fruit."

Turkey is virtually a bridge between East and West both geographically and culturally. The Dardenelles and the Bosporus are the Soviet Union's only outlets to the Mediterranean. Possession of Istanbul and the Straits would enable an aggressive power to use Turkey as a base to control the eastern Mediterranean and make air attacks on shipping there and all along the sea lanes which pass through the Suez Canal. Turkey's strategic importance is, therefore, fully recognized by all major powers. The United States has a high stake in Turkey, not only in terms of military and economic investment, but also in terms of good will and friendship. Turkey is one of America's strongest and most reliable friends, a bulwark against Soviet expansion.

Turkish loyalties are true and intense. Above all, they believe in the future of their country and not in a narrow nationalistic sense, for the Turkey of the future will serve the welfare of the entire world through her strength and the wisdom of her leaders.

Japan on Our Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

JAPAN ON OUR SIDE

Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi of Japan has written in an exclusive article for the American Weekly, published with the Sun-Telegraph, that his country has taken its place permanently among the free nations, with total rejection of Communism as an alternative to complete sovereignty.

This has been accomplished in the face of one of the most intensive campaigns of Communist infiltration in the entire Orient. Japan has been continuously the target of Communist propaganda ever since the end of the Pacific war, but the full measure of its resistance is indicated by the assurance Mr. Kishi gives now of Japanese aspiration to human dignity.

Dispelling whatever doubts the free world may have had about the matter, this is the welcome appraisal of the Japanese position as Mr. Kishi presented it to the readers of the American Weekly:

"Japan will never go Communist, or neutralist.

"We will always be on the side of the free nations."

The emergence of Japan from total defeat in the Pacific war as an instrument for universal peace and security is the happy climax to a long story. It attests above all the essential justice and intelligence and humanity of the American program of occupation and administration, under the leadership of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

From the beginning of the Japanese occupation, General MacArthur envisaged a responsible and constructive place for Japan in the family of free nations. He knew the capacities and potentialities of the Japanese people for contributions to the prosperity and progress of the civilized world. He refused to treat Japan as a conquered nation, and for almost the first time in history the helping hand of the victor was substituted for vengeance and reprisal.

The enormous dividends of this humanitarian and sensible American policy are attested by Mr. Kishi's thoughtful article in the American Weekly, an invaluable contribution to American understanding of the problems of rehabilitation after a great war.

Brooklyn Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 1, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, "Brooklyn Progress" is the title of the latest annual report issued by its distinguished borough president, the Honorable John Cashmore. We are indeed fortunate to have as our first citizen so able and efficient a public servant.

The greatest tribute we can pay him is for all political parties to renominate him and again make him our unanimous choice for reelection, as now appears certain.

However, I started, Mr. Speaker, not to talk about him but about his report. From 1834, when Brooklyn became a city, until it became a part of the Greater City of New York in 1898, such reports were issued annually. Thereafter, Brooklyn's borough presidents filed such annual reports pursuant to charter requirements.

Permit me, Mr. Speaker, with justifiable pride, to quote from the current report, as follows:

(1) Employees in Brooklyn industries earn more than $860,000,000 a year.

(2) Brooklyn has more industrial plants than any one of 39 States.

(3) Brooklyn produces a wider variety of manufactured products than any city in the world.

(4) Brooklyn manufactures enough wearing apparel each year to clothe the entire population of Texas.

(5) Forty of the 500 largest United States industrial corporations have main offices, plants, or subsidiaries in Brooklyn.

(6) The Navy's most powerful aircraft carrier, U. S. S. *Saratoga*, was built in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Another huge carrier, U. S. S. *Independence*, is now being built at the navy yard and construction of still another carrier, U. S. S. *Constellation*, will be started there in 1957.

(7) Brooklyn has the most highly developed waterfront loading and unloading facilities in the world.

The Brooklyn waterfront which handles approximatley $4 billion of foreign and domestic commerce a year has become the scene of the largest marine terminal redevelopment program in the entire history of the Port of New York. This is the Port of New York Authority's $85 million master plan for the complete modernization of the Brooklyn waterfront in the entire area south of Brooklyn Bridge to and including Atlantic Basin.

Twenty-five of the original 26 obsolete piers are being replaced with 10 wide, single-story, steel and concrete structures. One existing pier in Atlantic Basin will be completely rehabilitated.

When the port authority's redevelopment program is completed the new piers will furnish some 2 million square feet of shedded pier area or about one-third more than was formerly available. Twenty-five efficient vessel berths will replace 44 inadequate berths.

Meanwhile, the city of New York, acting through the department of marine and aviation, has been preparing and advancing a $21,600,000 program which provides for further extensive Brooklyn waterfront improvements.

For example, preliminary plans have been completed by consulting engineers for an $11 million new shipping terminal at the foot of 39th Street. Preliminary plans are in progress for the proposed new pier 20 at the foot of Atlantic Avenue. This represents a total estimated cost of $6,055,000.

Preliminary plans have been completed by consultants and construction plans are in progress for a new $1 million wharf terminal at the foot of 29th Street. Preliminary plans also are being made to rebuild the pier at the foot of 35th Street which was destroyed by fire. Demolition and salvage operations have been completed. The rebuilding of this pier represents a total estimated cost of $3 million.

In 1956 construction of a new transit shed at the foot of 36th Street was completed at a total estimated cost of $600,000.

These waterfront improvements will have the effect of strengthening Brooklyn's preeminent position as the crossroads of the world's transportation.

Brooklyn waterfront facilities are used for more than 60 percent of the total export-import cargo which is handled in New York City.

The Port of New York Authority has stated that 500,000 persons in Brooklyn earn their livelihood, either directly or indirectly, through the operation of Brooklyn's transportation services. This includes the handling of commerce or in the servicing or supplying of agencies or facilities that are engaged in its handling. The estimates of the buying power generated by Brooklynites engaged in these transportation services amounted to about $800 million in 1956. This total is expected to become even larger in the next 10 years.

A large part of the area where the Port Authority's waterfront redevelopment program is now in progress is in close proximity to and is served by the Brooklyn-Queens Connecting Highway. Planned and built by the Borough President's office, this highway is used by commercial vehicles as well as passenger cars and is now open to traffic between Brooklyn Bridge and Hamilton Avenue.

While practically all segments of Brooklyn industry have thus continued their growth and expansion, it is true that manufacturing plants do occasionally move to other areas. Experience has shown, however, in practically every such instance, that some other business which is expanding its facilities takes over the vacated property or that such property is sub-divided to provide space for other diversified occupancies.

It is true likewise that manufacturing concerns which leave Brooklyn to locate elsewhere have found it to be their advantage to return to the borough.

Our great borough president, John Cashmore, who is always on the job, is in large measure responsible for Brooklyn progress. The Brooklyn congressional delegation will continue to cooperate with him to the fullest degree.

More Power to Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an announcement that should be of great interest to them as Members of the Congress.

In recent months there has been a great outcry by certain Members of the House and the other body that the Pacific Northwest was being sold down the river, in this case the Columbia and its tributaries, by Congress not reaching down into the sock and appropriating vast sums for grandiose dam building at the last undeveloped power site in the Northwest.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fact that while these power politicos were noisily generating confusion and bluster, a group called the Puget Sound Utilities Council was quietly and firmly going ahead with plans to give the Northwest all the power it needs through its own efforts and through partnership with the Federal Government in sound, solid, feasible, economically reasonable projects throughout the Northwest.

But this group is not going to come running to Washington, hat in hand, to demand a governmental subsidy for all its power development. This group is going to spend $1 billion of its own money during the next 12 years in developing hydroelectric power from sites that the blockaders, the Federal-or-nothing powermongers, have claimed do not exist. Engineers hired by this group, which is composed of private, municipal, and public utility district power organizations, have shown that there are several good sites with power potentials that can be developed at costs that will not require a huge raid on the public treasury. The Federal Government will be called on to augment this expenditure, as the Federal Government has an interest and a role in the development of our water resources. However, the generating facilities created through the efforts of this group will have $1 billion of its money invested, and industrial development and the continued low power rates which accompany an abundant supply will continue throughout the Northwest.

I recently entered in the RECORD an article by William Hard who wrote it for the Reader's Digest. This article described the work of the Puget Sound Utilities Council in laudatory terms. After this article appeared, the gloom-and-doom brigade immediately denounced it as looking at the picture through rose-colored glasses ,and again repeated their doleful predictions that unless the Government took over the burden of providing power for the Northwest exclusively, things would go to rack and ruin within a decade.

I am proud that the Snohomish County Public Utility District, which

serves my home Snohomish County, is a member of this council, a group that has put aside the senseless wrangling over ideology concerning power generation, and has embarked on a bold, imaginative, hard-thought-out program to provide the crackling of kilowatts on the power lines of the Northwest, rather than the powerless bugling of laments and threats, the foot stomping and hand wringing which has characterized much of the attitude of those who have chosen to make power a political device rather than what it was intended, a source of constructive energy.

Herewith is the text of an Associated Press story concerning the announcement by the Puget Sound Utilities Council:

BILLION DOLLARS FOR NW POWER FORECAST

SEATTLE.—An outlay of $1 billion for more power during the next 12 years was forecast Tuesday by the Puget Sound Utilities Council.

A report by the council said the money would be spent by its members to assure enough energy to meet the growing domestic and industrial needs of the Puget Sound-Cascade Mountain area.

The council, organized 3 years ago for joint planning, is made up of Seattle and Tacoma City Light, Puget Sound Power & Light Co., and the Snohomish and Chelan County Public Utilities Districts.

Lebanon Celebrates Its 14th Anniversary of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of 1 of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African conference on friendly relations with the United States.

Inasmuch as the Congress will not be in session at the time of the event, I wish to take this opportunity to extend my sincere felicitations to the people of Lebanon, President Camille Chamoun, and His Excellency Victor A. Khouri, Ambassador of Lebanon, on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the independence of Lebanon, November 22, 1957.

Lebanon, which gave to civilization the alphabet, navigation, glass manufacturing, and the first stone building in the world, is one of the smallest modern states—little more than half the size of New Jersey—and yet one of the richest in beauty and picturesque sceneries.

Though the Lebanese population is Arab, she is the only Middle Eastern country that is officially Christian. Lebanon became the Christian center of the Middle East in the late 19th century. Christians were being massacred in the Druse Mountains and around Damascus. France sent a squadron of warships to Beirut, and the Christians flocked down to the coast for protection. When their independence was recognized in 1943, the Lebanese made an agreement among themselves to insure protection of the rights of all religious communities.

After having heroically opposed in different epochs numerous invasions, the Lebanese still stand firm for their freedom and independence. With varying fortunes they maintained a high spirit of liberty. Grave crises have arisen to plague the new government, but these occasions of friction have had the effect of strengthening rather than weakening Lebanon's independence. Lebanon wants above all to be left in peace to attend to her own affairs. Foreign Minister Charles Malik has made it clear that on one hand Lebanon is an Arab country prepared to help defend the rights of all Arabs, but on the other she is a sovereign state defending her own interests and following her own conscience, not willing to obey blindly the dictates of other Arab states any more than those of the West. Lebanon has taken the lead in welcoming President Eisenhower's proposal for economic aid and military support to Middle Eastern states.

Firmness Has Not Yet Led to War or Defeat: Softness Has—and May

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

In 1952 Republicans campaigned by charging Democrats with being—or having been—soft on domestic Communists. And it is likely that impartial historians will to some extent bear them out.

It begins to look as if Democrats in 1960 can, if they choose, accuse Republicans of being soft on foreign Communist regimes, both Soviet and national brands.

Many Republicans, who consider themselves anti-Communist par excellence, will indignantly deny this charge. Are they not zealous in arresting Soviet spies? Do not their leaders denounce Communist outrages regularly in the most violent terms? Are they not feverishly helping weak non-Communist regimes to remain free? Have they not perfected the original Democratic chain of anti-Communist alliances?

They are; they have done these things. All of them are good. But that will not refute the charge. For the heart of communism is not at United States party headquarters on West 16th Street, New York, but in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Emotion in politics is no substitute for energy. Strengthening India and Jordan amount to little if at the same time one supports Tito's Yugoslavia and Gomulka's Poland.

And military alliances serve little purpose if the alliance leader is at the same time seeking peace by concessions to the enemy and cutting down military strength at home.

CONFLICTING AIMS

Here is the crucial weakness of our Government's position (which, to tell the truth, is that all of western governments—except Adenauer's Germany—and of any number of American citizens). They all dislike communism and Communist regimes. They would like to destroy them. But they also want peace and an end to terrific defense spending.

They cannot wholeheartedly pursue a policy of destroying communism and at the same time seek peace with Moscow and economy in armaments. For peace and communism of the Soviet type are incompatible. Until communism is destroyed or pushed back into the country of its origin, the world will never have peace.

This conclusion is, however, much too unpleasant for spoiled modern peoples (and governments) to swallow. Therefore, their perplexed leaders find themselves in the dilemma of making peace with an enemy they know they should destroy—and doing neither. Never in man's long history has a halfhearted government (or team) stood up successfully against one with a single aim that insists on playing to win.

SOURCE OF DEFEATS

Here is the source of the West's frustration and diplomatic defeats.

Senator FULBRIGHT, like a good partisan Democrat, may blame the Mideast situation on something as simple as Secretary Dulles' decision not to build the Aswan Dam for Egypt. Actually, it is due to something far deeper—the conviction among politically naive and self-assertive peoples that the West may be flouted (as at Sues) and the U. S. S. R. may not be—see Hungary.

It is due to the American administration's almost pathetic patience in dealing with the Kremlin—in its wistful insistence on disarmament talks in the teeth of Soviet insolence; in its fear of doing anything serious about Hungary (already we hear pleas against using the U. N. report on Hungary to condemn that butchery lest we increase tensions); in such a ludicrous matter as the administration's apparent reluctance to use Milovan Djilas' stern repudiation of all communism for propaganda in Yugoslavia lest it offend Tito and weaken national Communist regimes.

Therefore, American and other Western statesmen go from one pious (but unfounded) hope to another: that Tito will lead the satellites out of Soviet control; that Stalin's death weakened the Soviets; that the Soviet regime is decaying; that Red China can be split off from Red Russia; that the Kremlin really wants some form of disarmament acceptable to the West, etc.—anything but the sickening probability that either the West must outarm communism or that communism will destroy the West.

All of this adds up to a policy of being tough in words but soft in deeds against foreign Communist regimes.

Insurance Against War Is an Important Item

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me today for the extension of my remarks in the Appendix in the RECORD, I would like to point out that the foreign-aid bill as proposed by the administration is an insurance policy against war and the spreading of com-

munistic activities within the borders of our friendly allies.

As such, it is an important item in the Federal budget.

An attempt was made to restore a major part of the cut. However, it was defeated in the House—I voted in support of the amendment. I am hopeful that the Senate and the conferees will restore the money needed to do a proper job. In this respect, I am calling to your attention a splendid editorial which was published in the San Francisco Examiner last Friday, September 23, 1957. It follows:

MEN WHO KNOW

From men who are in a better position than most of us to know the needs of the Nation's security there came Monday convincing reasons for restoring all or most of the $862 million the House slashed from the administration's foreign-aid request.

They were Secretary Dulles, Admiral Radford, who retired last week as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; his successor, General Twining, and retiring Foreign Aid Administrator Hollister. Their remarks corroborated a point we made editorially a couple of days ago, that foreign aid is a misleading and inaccurate term. A better one would be bargain-rate security.

Admiral Radford drove to the crux of it when he said the alternatives to restoring the meat-axed funds would be "a major mobilization on our part" or retreat to the "Fortress America" concept.

Mobilization, he told the Senate Appropriations Committee, would mean "nearly every ablebodied young man of military age" would serve overseas for several years in place of troops of friendly foreign nations we have been supporting. "Fortress America" is an "entirely negative" concept, he said, and would lead to "an ultimate and violent showdown with international communism." In either case the cost to taxpayers would be staggering.

Mr. Dulles warned that the cuts made by the House "were so deep as to challenge and impair our basic defense policy." General Twining and Mr. Hollister spoke with similar forcefulness.

We recommend to Members of Congress the reaction to this testimony of Senator Pastore, Rhode Island Democrat. "When the security of the Nation is involved, I resolve doubts in favor of the opinion of the experts."

Sport Fish Restoration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with sincere pleasure that I announce today the publication of the first 5-year report of sport fish restoration under the Dingell-Johnson Federal-aid program administered by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

That bill was coauthored by my late father, the Honorable John D. Dingell, of Michigan, and by the distinguished Senator from Colorado, the Honorable Edwin C. Johnson. They were good friends and good conservationists, and history is now vindicating the vision which they had in sponsoring the Dingell-Johnson Act. They had the courage to push that bill through Congress even after a veto by their good friend, President Harry Truman, when possibility of passage seemed very black, indeed.

To say that this bill has worked well is an understatement. In America we are blessed with a growing population. Each day we dump more pollution into our waters. We are increasing the use of water in home, factory, and farm, at a tremendous pace. All this has a terrific negative impact on fish and fishing.

This act has literally been the salvation of our sports-fishing resource. It has made available to the States money from fishing-tackle excises, a source not normally available to them, on a matching fund basis, which has been used for stream, lake, and fish habitat improvement; for stocking and rough fish eradication; for research; and myriad other things to improve our fishing.

My friend, Richard H. Stroud, executive vice president of the Sport Fishing Institute, has honored Chairman HERBERT BONNER, House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and me because of my dad's coauthorship of the Dingell-Johnson Act, by presenting us first copies of the 28-page report which was printed, at no cost to the Government, by the Sport Fishing Institute.

This attractive booklet illustrates well the significance of the Dingell-Johnson program to the various States.

I wish to call attention to some pertinent excerpts from this worthy publication:

Following World War II there was a tremendous upsurge of interest in fishing. The Nation's sport-fishing facilities were overtaxed. Fish-management programs were inadequate to meet the new demands.

New measures were needed. One of the most effective was the cooperative Federal-aid-in-fish-restoration program which began when Congress passed the Dingell-Johnson Act in 1950.

Anglers provide the program funds by payment of the 10-percent Federal excise tax on fishing tackle and through their purchase of State fishing licenses and permits. The general taxpayer does not contribute—unless he is also an angler.

The States and Territories select the projects, do the restoration work, and manage the completed projects. A State provides from its own funds at least $1 of every $4 spent. Federal funds are allocated to the States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam by a formula based on the number of anglers, and land and water areas.

The Federal Government sees to it that projects conform to the law and are substantial in character and design, inspects the work, and audits the financial records. Fish restoration includes fisheries research, purchase or lease of lands or waters, improvement in environment, activities, and law enforcement, even though they are essential elements of State conservation programs.

The basic difficulty in fish restoration is that:

1. More people, more time for play, easier travel, means one thing—more people will be going fishing.

2. The demand for water exceeds the supply over much of the country. America faces a water crisis.

Intensified use of water resources means less water per person—for drinking, farming, or fishing.

The problem we face is:

How to get the most sport-fishing under these conditions, or, indeed, how we are to maintain any sport-fishing at all under such adverse pressures.

This report recommends the following solution to this problem:

1. Fishermen must put more emphasis on the fun of fishing than on filling the creel.

2. Our sport fisheries must be managed with knowledge from scientific research; guesswork won't do.

3. Our potential fishing waters (freshwater and marine) must be managed and developed for greatest usefulness. The solution is in the hands of the American angler. He must insist on and support programs keyed to modern needs.

Communist Strategy Is Plain—and Succeeding: (1) Consolidate China, (2) Take Over India, (3) Divide Europe, (4) Keep the Pot Boiling in Africa, (5) Isolate America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, little by little and piece by piece truth eventually comes out. The Communist-engineered deception of the United States Government and people regarding Nationalist China through the years 1943 to 1950 was one of the most brilliantly successful operations in mass psychology in all history—and one of the most disastrous. Because Americans did not understand their own faith and the nature of the forces of freedom and of Communist enslavement in China, they could be taken in by the Communist propagandists—and their unwitting advocates—who did understand their faith, and believed in it.

One American who witnessed it firsthand for 7 years in China was Leonard B. Allen, a wartime correspondent for International News Service and Voice of China commentator in Chungking. Mr. Allen sees clearly our own responsibility for the almost hopeless treadmill in which we now find ourselves running. We got into it because of ideological and moral confusion. We will be able to end it when we gain ideological and moral clarity—and dedication. Mr. Allen's article from a moral rearmament publication follows:

AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY IN CHINA

(By Leonard B. Allen)

Recently an Indian Communist leader described the current world strategy of international communism. It is a five-point program, beginning with China: (1) Consolidate China, (2) take over India, (3) divide Europe, (4) keep the pot boiling in Africa, (5) isolate America.

I was in Canton just before Chiang Kai-shek's government abandoned their last hold on the mainland to the Communists in 1949. Street barricades of sharply pointed logs were being erected. Nationalist currency,

quoted at 36 million yuan to 1 United States dollar, drifted down the streets in the wind like autumn leaves. The American State Department, bewildered by the failure of our dollars and bullets to save China, had just published a white paper—over a thousand pages of finger-pointing blame leveled at Chiang's government.

Twenty years of Communist strategy had now succeeded in driving Chiang from the mainland. Without any answering ideology, the Americans decided to let the dust settle.

YEARS OF CONFUSION

We finally left Canton—a Reuters correspondent and I—aboard a blacked-out British ship at night, with decks lined waist high with sandbags for the trip down the Communist-infiltrated shores of the Pearl River to Hong Kong.

Over a period of 7 years prior to Chiang's withdrawal to Taiwan I witnessed the effect in China of America's ideological confusion—first in Chungking, later in Nanking. In Chungking from 1942 to 1944, living with journalists from East and West at the Press Hostel, I saw the beginnings of the concerted Communist attack on Chiang's regime through the world press.

"The best job we can do now," I heard a European Communist, who now edits a paper in Peking, tell another correspondent who later wrote one of the leading books against Chiang, "is detructive criticism." Many others took this cue. From 1943 on, Chiang, who had been a great hero of the free world, especially in America, was blackguarded in the world press. America was confused. Many other countries abandoned Chiang and courted Mao Tse-tung.

BLIND AMERICAN

The result of that world press attack lasts till today. People who understand the cost of a divided Germany, a divided Korea, and a divided Indochina, fail to see the cost of a divided China. And they fail to understand that Free China is the only divided nation to be represented in the United Nations, which makes her a prime target of Communist diplomatic strategy.

As an American I was blind to the ideological implications of what I saw in Chungking 15 years ago. Like our Government, we Americans had our eyes glued on immediate objectives—the winning of the war, getting back home, reestablishing Chiang's government in Nanking. But the people with an ideology, living right alongside of us, were working night and day to confuse the free world, and to take over China as a master stroke in a global strategy.

The root of our ideological blindness I now see is moral. Until I accepted absolute moral standards in my life, I did not understand the ideological struggle in the world. You cannot live crooked and think straight.

ON THE REAL POINT

A Chinese student, after several years in an American university, put his finger on the real point. He said, "You Americans have taught us technological know-how, but not ideological know-why."

Russia did not make that mistake. In 1925, a year before Chiang Kai-sek emerged from Canton to lead the northern expedition that unified China, the Communists established in Moscow the Sun Yat-sen University to train Chinese youth in Marxist ideology and revolutionary techniques. An American journalist who visited this university in Moscow in 1926 was told by its president, Karl Radek: "In 20 years these Chinese students will be ruling China." Radek missed his calculations by just 3 years. China fell in 1949.

Until America learns to live and give a superior ideology we shall go on being outthought and outmaneuvered, as in China.

The Timely and the Timeless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Harold C. Case, President of Boston University, recently delivered a challenging commencement address at the University's annual summer commencement exercises, in Boston's Symphony Hall. President Case's address was entitled "The Timely and the Timeless."

This splendid address has an unusual inspirational message for youth and should be given the widest possible circulation. President Case's remarks are the product of many years of educational experience and practical wisdom. Because of the sound and basic philosophy embodied in his speech and because of my very high regard for President Case, I am delighted to have this opportunity to share his address with Members of Congress and the general public.

President Case's able address is as follows:

In the current issue of Harper's Magazine, John Fischer writes in the section "The Editor's Chair" about an innocent sounding, but dreadful book published recently in England with the bland title, Uncommon People. Its author, Paul Bloomfield, discusses an apparently harmless individual, George Villiers, who lived 350 years ago in England, and his descendants who have lived during the three and one-half intervening centuries.

It sounds like a tedious genealogy. Actually, it is a modern heresy. This is the Century of the Common Man—let no one make a mistake about it. And yet, John Fischer is talking about "uncommon" men and women too.

George Villiers was an undistinguished farmer who lived through the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, in comfortable obscurity. Yet his record, especially as expressed in the exploits and outstanding leadership of his descendants, marks him as one of the greatest men of all time.

The members of his line have been running England much of the time during the past 300 years. Sir Winston Churchill and Queen Elizabeth II are numbered among them. But so is the Duke of Marlborough, as well as two noted Pitts. The writer says that they collect honors the way a blue serge suit collects lint, so that even to American ears a list of their names sounds like a roll call of chieftains—Salisbury, Cecil, Stanley, Berwick, Manchester, Athol, Hamilton, Stanhope, Cavendish, and so on.

But in intellectual affairs, the family tree boasts Bertrand Russell in philosophy, Henry Fielding in fiction, Quakers, abolitionists, industrialists, novelists.

Altogether the clans add up to a tiny fraction of the English population, yet they have been responsible for a very large portion of British civilization.

Five characteristics show up time after time, in generation after generation of George Villiers' children.

These, I think, are certain qualities that are required for unusual effectiveness for uncommon people in any nation and in every generation.

These aptitudes, if present in sufficient quality in even a relatively small percentage of the population, will determine the quality of its culture, the nature of its government, the character of its artistic life, is survival, and its civilizing influence.

Such an idea may seem to be archaic, or even subversive, in mid-20th century America. We have become dedicated to the common man. We spend our money and energy cherishing the mediocre. We coerce the exceptional into conformity. We guarantee the ordinary worker a job, or if he is out of work, a compensation, or if he is ill, hospitalization, or if he dies, a decent burial. We organize our public schools to be challenging to the average and boring to the unusually bright child. "Social" promotions in public schools are popular when academic promotions are impossible.

For such a long time we have been reiterating the worth of the common man that we have unconsciously come to doubt whether there is anyone else, or, if so, whether the genius is not more odd than important.

We discourage distinction among the professions and major on low pay for teachers and public servants. So an educator gets 5 percent of the salary of a top TV comedian, and even a United States Senator must be satisfied with one-tenth of the pay of a top-ranked movie star.

It is a miracle that, in the face of such resistance, outstanding people in large numbers are involved in the lower-paying professions—and indeed that they are the persons who shape the trends in the Nation. In spite of all of our opposition, many of them manage to be uncommon.

There is a deadly contemporary aspect about being mediocre. But there is historical and social timelessness to becoming uncommon—outstanding, extraordinary, an authority. This is true today. And the vast shortage of people in the most demanding phases of leadership illustrates the dearth of uncommon people, and the crucial need for more of them.

What are the recurring characteristics in the descendants of George Villiers and in the children and grandchildren of every family in which greatness emerges?

Sandburg, (in The People, Yes, p. 284) says,

"Between the finite limitations of the five senses and the endless yearnings of man for the beyond the people hold to the humdrum bidding of work and food while reaching out when it comes their way for lights beyond the prison of the five senses, for keepsakes lasting beyond any hunger or death."

This is actually how people are—reaching out for the uncommon, striving for the timeless, trying to perform as none has ever done before them, to enter into the procession of the great, from whose influence the humanizing and enduring values of life have become enticing and possible and contemporary.

We see these people—reaching every day. Quite recently I passed a one-room house occupied by a man who works in the woods, cutting and trimming trees, for a lumber company. He has built that little house, and its first room is the promise of another to come. He has painted it gleaming white and has put a homemade picket fence in front of it, along a country road. It was about noontime on a Sunday when I passed his house. He was siting in front of it on an antique pine chair. He was wearing a white shirt open at the neck and he was accompanying himself with a tiny accordion as he sang quaint folk songs. In him, I saw this outreach for the timeless.

Can these characteristics, a hundred of them in a million people, become the new habit patterns—the love of the ultimate and

the disciplined effort now in behalf of that far goal? I think so.

In 1928, Margaret Mead, a young anthropologist, went to Manus Island, a 600-square-mile patch of rock and jungle, off the northeastern corner of New Guinea. She found the Manus divided geographically and culturally into three groups: the boat people living in villages built on piles off the shore of the main island; the island bush people; and the inhabitants of the smaller islands. The Manus, having no source of raw materials except the sea, fished. They traded their surplus with the island dwellers, obtaining vegetables, clay for pottery, and virtually all other material possessions. They were modern primitives, with a strict cultural system.

In 1953, Dr. Margaret Mead returned to the Manus. She found that in 25 years, these people had passed from the Neolithic to the Atomic Age, without the intervening cultural steps which cost our ancestors 5,000 years of progress. Moreover, she found that the Manus had made this transition successfully.

They have moved to the shore, where they have built new villages; they have developed democratic self-government; have become literate. They have outlook, codes, morals, and are moving into our modern age. As a result of her two studies of these people in transition from a prescientific to this modern scientific era, Dr. Mead has concluded that culture is transmitted from adult to adult, without regard for the nature of early training.

Margaret Mead has projected a new set of principles of culture change, capable of global application. She has deemphasized the Dewey idea that children's upbringing determines their cultural behavior as adults. She has become convinced that there is hope for greatness among normal adults anywhere—given the insights, the impulses, and the disciplines.

What, then, are the five uncommon characteristics to be cherished and nurtured and bred for the sake of the timeless in the midst of the timely?

1. Intelligence: No premium can be placed upon stupidity in our modern life. Sharp discernment, real capacity for learning, and the insistence that the future needs for intellectually competent persons will be so numerous as to make it imperative for unusual capacity to mate with unusual capacity—to produce uncommon children.

2. The ability to take it, whatever "it" may mean. Over the entrance to every life is the sign, "Danger." The common person shrinks from it and retreats to safety. The uncommon person knows that every situation wears a veiled outcome. There are no advance guaranties. We must strive before we know the outcome. So, we must ask, "What ends are worth what risk?" Having decided that question, we are obligated to take the risk boldly.

Every injustice, prejudice and dogmatism thrives because a few zealots, joined by some insecure persons who go along and by many timid followers, form a crusade.

Every demagog depends on active support from malcontents who will welcome a scapegoat as an excuse for their own failure.

Any evil policy or behavior can gain strength only if the large timid group, by its silence, gives consent, or at least gives support by apologetic rationalization.

The cumulative result of ignorance, lack of concern, and playing it safe is an antidemocratic movement.

The extraordinary people exhibit heights of courage, idealism, and sacrifice, likely to summon the timid to heroism, and so to the support of the best interests of mankind.

Poise, by which we mean physical control, mental balance, and spiritual discipline, is the ingredient of life out of which the leader emerges.

3. Energy: Uncommon people work, make love, strive, play, speak, and pray harder than ordinary mortals. Their sheer vitality often carries the day. They move over and beyond passive resistance or indolence; and, by the power of their mental and spiritual energy, they win the argument.

The members of the Boston University football team used to say that having Harry Agganis on the field when they were playing a game was not only like having a coach at their side, but like having unique strength added to their physical power. He knew no fear or tension, even under the most disastrous circumstances of intercollegiate football, and by his consistent spirit he energized the others.

This is true of greatness everywhere—it is an energy-giving element.

4. Charm: Many a cause is won by the ability to put it into a setting in which the obvious choice is the right one. My father used to say to me, "Never needlessly multiply the points of an antagonism." There will be opposition—make it a minimum by winning to the cause in which you are investing your life, all who can understand it, believe in it, and support it.

I think of the old article in the Boston Transcript which attacked an individual. The man was furious and went to President Eliot of Harvard, asking what to do about it. Dr. Eliot replied, "My dear fellow, I advise you to do nothing. Half of the people in Boston do not take the Transcript. Half of the people who subscribe to it do not read it. Half of the readers did not see this article. Half of those who read the article did not understand it. Half of the people who understood it did not believe it. And, as for the others, they really do not matter."

A quality of charm is an asset in uncommon—timeless—living.

5. Responsibility: There is an undeviating sense of duty among the uncommon people. They are never detoured, detracted, removed from the scene, and they get their way.

The legend of the Dutch boy with his finger in the hole in the dike is appropriate to this theme. Lesser persons would have run away to play. But all of the people were dependent upon that responsible lad.

I knew the man who rescued the little girl, Cathy, from a well in San Gabriel, Calif. He was a robust workman, ordinary in any way you could discern. He learned about Cathy, and he knew the quality of that soil and underground tunneling. It did not seem queer to him that he volunteered to risk his life on the chance that his knowledge would bring a result no one else could achieve. When he reached her—and she was alive—and he signaled to the crowd at the top, it did not occur to him that he would become a national hero. He was merely a responsible father doing for that little girl whatever he hoped some other father would do for his child, if the need should ever arise.

May I leave you graduates with this message today. You are the minority—the uncommon, the disciplined, the intelligent, charming, determined, responsible people.

Build the timely into the timeless. It will be a good lifetime for you if you will do that.

Communists in Power in a Province in India Follow the Same Pattern as in China—Why Did Anyone Expect Anything Different?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Minneapolis Tribune of August 6, 1957. It records the tiresome repetition of what Communists always do wherever and however they get into power—regardless of their glowing promises. Central China in the twenties; north China in the thirties; all China in the forties; now India and Syria. When will their intended victims learn—especially those in America?

The editorial follows:

BAD NEWS FROM KERALA

The news from Kerala continues to be a matter of concern to the free world. Kerala, it will be recalled, is the Indian state in which the Communists won control in the elections earlier this year.

The Communist government there is now sponsoring an education bill that may lead to regimentation of education and liquidation of hundreds of privately managed Christian missionary schools, according to a dispatch to the New York Times.

The most objectionable provision, according to the dispatch, relates to the appointment of teachers. Under the bill, the private management of the mission schools no longer would be able to recruit its own teaching staff. Instead, it would be required to appoint teachers from a panel prepared by local educational committees which no doubt would be dominated by Communists.

Indian antipathy to privately managed mission schools may be explained perhaps by the strong nationalistic desire for India to be independent of the West in all things. But the legislation proposed is of such a nature as to recall the ouster of mission schools and missionaries from China after the Communists took over.

Indeed, one observer recently found remarkable resemblance in Kerala to what went on among the Chinese Communists in their Yenan base during the Sino-Japanese War. In Yenan, the Chinese Communists played down communism, played up socialism, and pretended to be simple agrarian reformers. At the same time, the Chinese Reds spread their influence from Yenan across China.

In Kerala, the Communists appear to be trying to follow the same course. They are taking a moderate line, talking in terms of socialism rather than communism, trying to establish themselves as good Indians who want to improve the lot of the people.

Before the Indian elections, the Indian Institute of Public Opinion took a nationwide poll. In Kerala the poll showed that the Communists had great strength among the younger voters from 21 to 35, among the lowest income group, among the illiterate and

poorly educated, and among the working classes.

These groups constitute a formidable base upon which the Communists may be able to build, not only in Kerala but in other areas of India. In view of the parallels between the Communists' performance in China and their plans in Kerala to date, the world will watch with great interest—and considerable apprehension—the future happenings in the Communist state of Kerala.

For a Last Ditch Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch of Sunday, August 25, 1957, advocating a fight to the last ditch against this so-called civil rights plan. I approve of the views expressed in this editorial, which is as follows:

FOR A LAST DITCH FIGHT

The so-called "compromise" on the jury trial amendment to the civil-rights bill is a sell-out of the principle on which the amendment was based. In a frantic desire to cater to the Negro vote, and to adjourn as soon as possible, leaders of both Houses of Congress have made this deal.

If it was important some weeks ago to guarantee a jury trial in certain cases, in order to uphold a right written into the Constiution of the United States, it is important today. Weasel words describing this sabotaging of a basic principle as "constructive and fair" (Senator KNOWLAND) and as a "forward, progressive step" (Representative JOE MARTIN) are so much tripe.

Speaker SAM RAYBURN was at least honest enough not to indulge in this nonsense. A practical politician, who knows how badly the Democrats will need Negro votes in coming elections, he said merely "I am willing to support that amendment."

Several aspirants for the presidency are involved in this business, and they have a weather eye cocked on votes for 1960. Senator LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, who is badly bitten by the presidential bug, says he is pleased that the bill will be passed next week." Senator KNOWLAND is an obvious aspirant also, and Vice President NIXON, his chief rival in the GOP, has been pushing behind the scenes for maximum concessions to the colored voting bloc.

This deal should be fought with every legitimate weapon at the South's command. Under the terms of the so-called compromise, jury trials will be almost eliminated. Senator RUSSELL of Georgia says of the compromise:

"It will deny the right of a jury trial to many citizens charged with criminal contempt who now enjoy that right under existing law. The new policy of blanket injunctions adopted by some Federal judges will cause many innocent people to suffer severe punishment with out being able to submit proof of their innocence to a jury."

Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia, declared rightly that the comprise is not at all satisfactory to the southern Members," and that the plan allows a man to be tried twice at his own expense. He said "I can stay here till October, if necessary, to defeat this."

That is the proper spirit. A principle is a principle, and if a majority of Congress is willing to sell a principle down the river for the sake of votes, then the minority can, and should, resort to its last, desperate expedient of a filibuster, the same expedient that a lot of the liberals have resorted to in the past when they felt it to be necessary.

It is possible that some of those Senators and Congressmen from the North and West who stood out so valiantly, on principle, for the jury-trial amendment before it was emasculated, will raise their voices effectively again, and stop this piece of political jobbery.

It is necessary to appeal to the consciences of those who voted for the original jury-trial amendment. If they turn deaf ears, nothing will be left but a filibuster.

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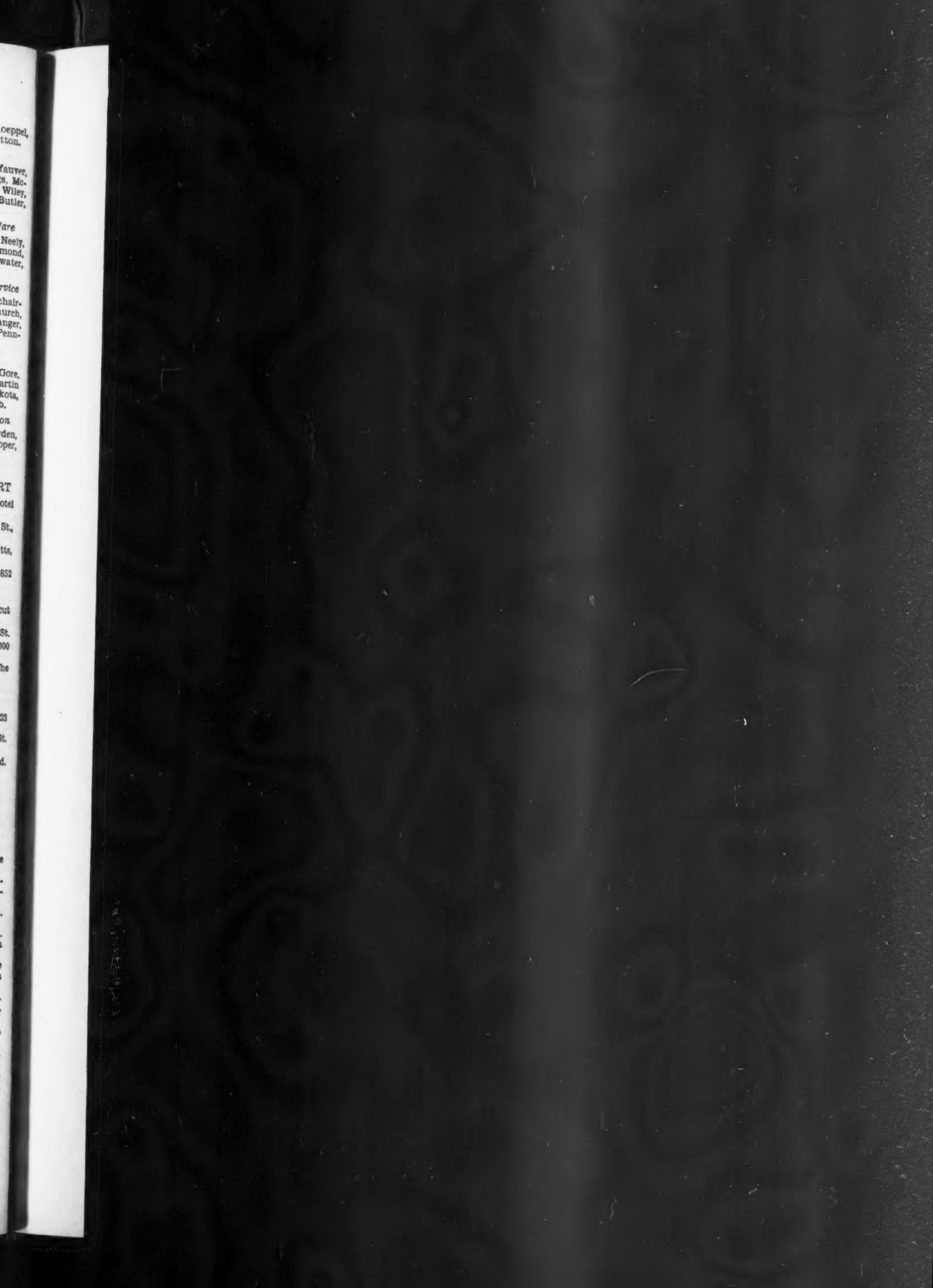

APPENDIX
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Appendix

Texas Co-op Leader Condemns Proposed Higher Interest Rates on REA Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a Texas co-op leader, Mr. R. M. Korth, president of the board of directors of the Karnes Electric Cooperative, recently voiced strong condemnation of the proposal to increase interest rates charged by the Rural Electrification Administration.

Such an increase, Mr. Korth said, would be completely unfair to farmers.

I ask unanimous consent that a report of Mr. Korth's address, published in the July issue of the publication Texas Co-op Power, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The proposal to increase REA interest rates was strongly condemned by the president of the board of directors of the Karnes Electric Co-Op at the annual meeting June 13.

R. M. Korth told a large crowd at the Poss Johnson football field in Karnes City that the proposal is completely unfair to farmers.

"Farmers' incomes in recent years have decreased 27½ percent," he said. "Yet the administration in Washington is proposing to raise the interest on REA loans from 2 to 3½ percent. That's a 75 percent increase the farmer will be expected to pay out of his reduced income.

"At the same time," Mr. Korth added, "the United States has just completed arrangements for a loan of $4.4 billion to Great Britain. This loan is at 2 percent interest and is to be paid back in the year 2000."

Mr. Korth then demanded, "Are we less important than the British?"

He noted also that REA now has a large profit on its loans to date. He urged the members to let their Congressmen know how they feel.

"We can voice our opinions on a 2-cent post card," he said. "And we'd better start telling our Congressmen how we feel."

He pointed out that the profit utilities have millions of dollars to spend for propaganda and for the expenses of lobbyists.

"They call the co-ops subsidized. They tell the taxpayers the co-ops are costing them money. These charges aren't true and they know they aren't," he declared.

Mr. Korth also charged that the profit utilities in Texas alone have been given by the Government, in the form of fast tax writeoffs, more than has been lent to co-ops in the entire program.

"In self-defense we must combat these false accusations," he declared.

Oregon Highway Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Committee on Public Works, I am particularly conscious of the need for effective and honest State highway bodies. In my capacity on the Roads and Highways Subcommittee, I already have seen a situation in certain States where a lack of integrity and official responsibility has retarded the interstate highway program which we have authorized.

Fortunately, my own State of Oregon for many years has been near the forefront of our country nationally with respect to outstanding achievement in the construction and operation of highways. This has been due to men of honor and great capacity for public service. On August 13, 1957, the East Oregonian of Pendleton, Oreg., published an editorial giving credit to these individuals in Oregon's recent history. The title of the editorial is "Oregon's Proud Record." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON'S PROUD RECORD

Because the opportunities for wrongdoing are rather immense, Oregonians can be proud of the fact that their State highway commissions never have been tainted by corruption. Some sordid cases of highway commission corruption have been recorded in several of the 48 States.

The list of men who have served as Oregon highway commissioners since the commission was created in 1918 readily reveals why the State's highway business has a clean bill of health. Oregon's governors have weighed their selections carefully and they have been able to induce capable citizens to serve.

Here is the list: E. J. Adams, Eugene lawyer and contractor; W. L. Thompson, Pendleton banker and rancher; Simeon Benson, Portland lumberman; R. A. Booth, Eugene lumberman; J. N. Burgess, Pendleton rancher and businessman; E. E. Kiddle, Island City flour mill owner; J. B. Yeon, Portland industrialist; W. B. Barratt, Heppner rancher; William Duby, Baker rancher; H. B. Van Duzer, Portland lumberman; W. H. Malone, Corvallis businessman; C. E. Gates, Medford businessman; Robert W. Saywer, Bend publisher; M. A. Lynch, Redmond businessman; Charles K. Spaulding, Salem lumberman; William Hanley, Burns rancher; J. C. Ainsworth, Portland banker; Leslie M. Scott, Portland publisher; Carl Washburne, Eugene merchant; E. B. Aldrich, Pendleton editor; F. L. TouVelle, Jacksonville rancher; Henry F. Cabell, Portland banker; Huron Clough, Canyonville rancher; Herman Oliver, John Day, rancher; Merle Chessman, Astoria publisher; T. H. Banfield, Portland industrialist; Arthur Schaupp, Klamath Falls lawyer; and Ben Chandler, Coos Bay banker.

Present members of the commission are Charles Reynolds, La Grande businessman; Milo McIver, Portland businessman; and Robert Chessman, Astoria publisher.

This Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal editorial discusses some of the possibilities in the realm of highway commission corruption:

"Sixty-five million dollars is a lot of money. That is how much the Federal Government allocated to Wisconsin last week for highway construction for the year beginning July 1, 1958.

"Three hundred and eighty-one million dollars is even more money. That is the amount of the State highway budget for the next 2 years. It includes Federal allocations.

"In the history of the State, no official nor official body has ever had the responsibility of spending so much money in such a short time. And this kind of spending is going to continue for more than a decade, with the Federal Government pouring out many millions to States to speed construction of 41,000 miles of new interstate roads.

"Such spending is going to result in tremendous changes in the landscape. It is going to influence the economy of the State, aggravate urban and rural woes, stir new problems, and affect the lives of all of us.

"It is also going to tempt the corrupt and invite extravagance and waste. Big highway spending always has.

"Two current examples are at hand. A Pennsylvania jury has just convicted five men, including a former chairman of the turnpike commission, of trying to defraud the commission of nearly $20 million. The case involved a contract to fill abandoned coal mines that lay beneath a turnpike route.

"Three former Indiana highway officials, including a commission chairman, have been indicted in connection with a land acquisition program alleged to be honeycombed with fraud.

"Wisconsin has never experienced a major highway scandal. So far as press and public know, State highway commissioners have been honest and have not knowingly condoned waste of highway funds or cheating by contractors.

"This State's headache has been a system which fostered inefficiency and loss of integrity by turning over too much money and responsibility to counties. Efficiency and integrity at the county level have not been uniformly high by any means.

"The fact that the past record is good, on the whole, is no guarantee of future virtue. More than a billion dollars will flow from Federal and State treasuries in the next decade to Wisconsin property owners, contractors, equipment salesmen, and construction crews. Eager crooks will certainly be trying to get hands on some of this sugar.

"It would be a reassuring thing if closer surveillance were established over this vast highway expenditure program by State officialdom, the press, and John Taxpayer."

Opposition to the Proposal To Change From the Bushel to the Hundredweight as a Unit of Measure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Mr. P. E. Paquette, president of the Minneapolis Terminal Elevator Association, and an enclosed editorial, both being in opposition to the proposal to change from the bushel to the hundredweight as a unit of measure.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MINNEAPOLIS TERMINAL
ELEVATOR ASSOCIATION,
Minneapolis, Minn., August 23, 1957.

The Honorable WILLIAM LANGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LANGER: In addition to the information we have recently sent you regarding the "bushel versus hundredweight" problem, we are attaching a copy of an editorial recently published by the Northwestern Miller. We believe this will be valuable additional material against the proposed change.

Practically all the grain trade, as well as many millers and other related industries, seem to be opposed to this change and we believe the Commodity Stabilization Service would not be justified in adopting the new procedure without much further study and consultation with the trade groups.

Sincerely yours,

P. E. PAQUETTE,
President.

[From the Northwestern Miller of August 13, 1957]

BUSHEL VERSUS HUNDREDWEIGHT

Members of the feed trade have been vociferous in putting forward a plea for a switch from the bushel to the hundredweight as a unit of measure. Such was the steamroller effect of their demands—Hundredweight in 1958 was the slogan adopted—that for a time it looked as though no one was going to bring forward any strong objections. Grain and flour traders stood aloof and made few comments on the matter.

Only in the past few months has any degree of opposition become apparent. That opposition is now coming from authoritative quarters, particularly a strong statement from the Terminal Elevator Grain Merchants Association. That statement was so important that the American Feed Manufacturers Association was compelled to make counterarguments. The AFMA case appears in the news columns of this issue.

The reported intention of Walter C. Berger, administrator of the Commodity Stabilization Service, to make the switch effective July 1, 1958, may have been governed in part by the paucity of the early opposition. Only now is it being brought home that there is strong disfavor for the plan in grain and flour circles. True, there does appear to be a split on the issue. Some feel it is not worth making a big fight of the matter; others are expressing a vehemence equaled only by AFMA in propounding the proposal.

The decision to switch will be a wholly administrative one. The decision does not need the approval of the board of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Administrative decisions often lend themselves to being classed as arrogant and arbitrary. Mr. Berger undoubtedly will never let his organization be placed in line to collect that accusation. That is why more thought must be given to the subject before an irrevocable decision is made.

The opposition is making itself heard. The three major exchanges of Kansas City, Chicago, and Minneapolis have voted against the switch. Futures traders, terminal elevator operators, and commission men are opposed with varying degrees of violence. This is disagreement to be reckoned with; the views of people who make their living handling grain cannot be dismissed lightly.

Perhaps overlooked has been the fact that state grain laws require the issuance of warehouse credit certificates on a bushel basis. Those laws would need amendment. And it's common knowledge just how confusing an issue can become when State legislation is involved. That's just one of the problems.

The feed business is an important segment of the American trading picture. But there are other segments and they do not bow in any way to the omnipotence of the feed men. Mr. Berger has been subjected to some heavy pressure. The plan runs contrary to the best interests of important parts of the grain trade. The matter should be reappraised.

Former Senator Wilton E. Hall, of South Carolina, and Scholarships to Anderson College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I have a copy of the summer edition of Dixie Business in which appears an article about former United States Senator from South Carolina, Wilton E. Hall, who is now publisher of the Anderson Independent, Anderson, S. C. This article reports that Senator Hall has given more than 150 scholarships to students in order that they may attend Anderson College, Anderson, S. C.

Needless to say, the people of my State are grateful to the generosity of Senator Hall for his contribution to our future leaders of our Nation. At this time there are 11 students at Anderson College on scholarships given by Senator Hall. These young men and women are Miss Dotty Clamp, Miss Gloria Jones, and Miss Jane Martin, all of Anderson, S. C.; Miss Joyce Pollard Clark, of Starr, S. C.; Billy John Moorhead, Hartwell, Ga.; Miss Marianne Givens, of Anderson, S. C.; Miss Eloise Broadwell, of Pendleton, S. C.; Miss Peggy Harris, of Anderson, S. C.; Miss Dianne Ragsdale, of Williamston, S. C.; Miss Gail Teasley, of Anderson, S. C.; and Miss Rose Ann Compton, of Anderson, S. C. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OVER 150 SCHOLARSHIPS TO ANDERSON COLLEGE GIVEN BY ANDERSON PUBLISHER

(By Antoinette Jones)

Families who know the pangs—both of the pocketbook as well as of the heart—when members of the family are sent through college, should ponder the case of a man who, to date, has provided more than 150 students with scholarships to Anderson College.

Such a record belongs to Wilton E. Hall, publisher of the Anderson Independent and Daily Mail and owner of WAIM radio and TV.

Many of the students have attended 2 years, receiving degrees or diplomas from the 2-year college; others have attended 1 year receiving the commercial certificate or 1 year of liberal arts to help them in their search for a better and more well-rounded life.

From the over 150-member family group of Hall scholarships have come many who are today distinguishing themselves in work of all kinds, as homemakers and civic leaders. Among them are teachers, ministers, secretaries, churchworkers, students, officers in the armed services; members of the newspaper, radio, and television professions—in almost every field there is a representative from those who have been awarded Hall scholarships to Anderson College.

It would be impossible to mention each of the students who received these scholarships, but the group counts among its members one (Miss Violet Medlin) who is private secretary to Rev. J. L. Sullivan, executive secretary of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. From one of the earliest groups, there is a major (Charles Hall) in the armed services, now in Europe; another who teaches in the local high school (Eugene Abrams). The production manager of a newspaper in Winchester, Va. (Rufus Josey) received his early education at Anderson College on a Hall scholarship, as did his wife (Ann Elizabeth Earle).

Currently heading the Anderson College Alumni Association as president is another who was awarded a Hall scholarship, Mrs. Evelyn Mahaffey Welborn; one who received her early musical training at Anderson College through a Hall scholarship is now back home as a member of the college music department faculty, Jimmie Ruth Erskine.

Thanks to the start given to them by the scholarship, there is now a public school teacher in Florida, James Aderhold; a member of the high school faculty and outstanding civic leader in Swainsboro, Ga., W. W. Gambrell; a home demonstration agent and teacher of home economics at Fort Mill, S. C., Ford Moore Griffin; an outstanding minister's wife, active in the work of her husband's church in the State, Sybil Moore Ray; secretaries and other personnel in local banks, Beatrice Clamp, Emilie Chamblee; and other businesses, Doris Willingham, Marian Findley Smith, and others.

There is also in the group the owner of a photography studio, James Nash; a member of the advertising staff of an Athens, Ga., radio station, and a student at the University of Georgia Department of Journalism, Joann Rice; a ministerial student, Don Hubbard; and countless others. Many are doing invaluable, yet unpublicized work as civic leaders, ministers' wives, and community workers.

Over a period of some 25 years, the number of Hall scholarships has averaged slightly over 6 per year, with the number totaling 8 to 10 for many years. The 1956–57 current group, largest number yet to receive the Hall scholarship, totals 11.

Among them is the business manager of the school yearbook, the Columns; a talented music major who accompanies for the college choir and for numerous other college events and groups; members of the student newspaper staff, and of the college players; one who works for a newspaper and radio station during his time off from classes; and the associate editor of the college yearbook.

Records and letters from holders of these Hall scholarships show that many, who are now serving their communities in so many ways as valuable citizens, would not have had opportunity for further education had it not been for these scholarships. Many did not seek them, but had them offered to them.

One of the recent graduates who is now serving in the Armed Forces in Germany whose letter is typical of many received by the college, writes:

"My years at Anderson College have enabled me to appreciate, and to take advantage of, the many opportunities offered me now, and with my coming trip through France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and England, I will have seen all the major countries of Europe" (Eugene Smith).

OTHER LETTERS

"I, as one of the recipients of the Hall scholarships, would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Hall for the opportunity he gave me to attend Anderson College. Daily I see the benefits I gained from my 2 years at Anderson College and I am very grateful to Mr. Hall for making the opportunity possible" (Emily Chamblee).

"Mr. Wilton E. Hall's scholarship made it possible for me to attend Anderson College, and I shall always be grateful to him. My husband is pastor of Baptist Church and we are, of course, engaged in full time Christian service" (Mary Elizabeth Marett Lord).

"Learning of my plans to attend Anderson College, Mr. Wilton Hall offered me a scholarship for which I am most grateful. I have learned to appreciate him as a real true friend, and one who is interested in helping to develop the fine type of manhood and womanhood that is needed for the leaders of tomorrow. It would be impossible for me to tell all of the benefits, both now and in the future, that my contacts with the fine teachers and students of Anderson College during my 2 years there will have for me" (Marshal Watt).

Resolution of the Committee for Hungarian Liberation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the the Appendix of the RECORD a letter, with enclosed resolution, which I have received from the Committee for Hungarian Liberation.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed the RECORD, as follows:

COMMITTEE FOR HUNGARIAN LIBERATION, INC.,
Cleveland, Ohio, July 1957.

The Honorable WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: We are enclosing a resolution brought at our public meeting and are respectfully asking you to promote same and to help to restore the freedom and independence of the Hungarian people.

Very truly yours,
Gen. JULIUS KOVACS,
Chairman of the Meeting.

Although the free western world enthusiastically received and helped the refugee freedom fighters, they did not defend the Hungarian people from the Soviet Union's revengeful attack, and to this day, the free West stands idly by, as the executions, persecutions, imprisonments, and genocide continue without any letup.

For 6 months now, before the eyes of the peoples of the free world, their governments and the United Nations, Soviet Russia continues its murderous attack against the most elementary human rights and the Hungarian people.

This delay has cost the lives of thousands of Hungarian heroes and martyrs. Further delay will cause history to condemn the peoples of the free world, their government, and the United Nations for their inaction.

In the name of all the enslaved peoples, we ask you, who have done so much for the Hungarian people, to use every means at your disposal to expedite a special meeting of the General Assembly, so that the report of the United Nations' Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary may be brought before the world tribunal and some effective measures may be taken to help the Hungarian people.

The free world must not darken with idle silence the last rays of hope for freedom of the Hungarian people and of the enslaved nations.

Subscribed to by the following organizations present at the public meeting held on July 7, 1957, at Cleveland, Ohio:

American Hungarian Federation, Cleveland branch No. 1
American Society of Trans-Danubian Hungarians.
Catholic Hungarian Sunday.
Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans, Cleveland group.
Committee for Hungarian Liberation, Inc.
Committee of Hungarian Press in Cleveland.
Committee of Transylvania.
Committee of Western Hungary.
Council for Liberation of Southern Hungary.
Hungarian Athletic Club of Cleveland.
Hungarian Business and Tradesmen's Club.
Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation, Cleveland group.
The Hungarian Self-Assistance and Cultural Society.
Hungarian Youth.
Magyar Society for Self-Culture.
Mindszenty's people.
National Committee of Hungarians of Czechoslovakia.
Piarist Alumni Association, Cleveland group.
St. Stephen's Dramatic Club.
Student Action Committee for Free Hungary.
Sub-Carpatho-Ruthenian Liberation Movement.
Technical and Scientific Association of Cleveland.
Transylvanian Hungarian Society.
West Side Hungarian Reformed Church.

Gen. JULIUS KOVACS,
Chairman of the Meeting, Vice President of the Committee for Hungarian Liberation, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio.

Hon. Samuel K. McConnell, Jr.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the Chinese have an apt saying that goes something like this: "With clothing, the new is best; with friends, the old are best." That is true of our experience here in the House of Representatives. New Members are constantly coming and we welcome them. But it is hard to lose the old—those who have been tested and tried and proved true. Some Members flash across the sky like a meteor but are soon gone. But some leave a permanent imprint on the Congress as well as on us who have been privileged to come to know them well. With friends the old are indeed best; and we hate to see SAM MCCONNELL leave us.

He has in an unusual degree the qualities that we most admire in others and wish for ourselves. First, a good mind. Whenever he gets up to speak on any issue, he knows what he is talking about and he explains it clearly. He has done his homework. He knows the fine print as well as the big print, and we can always count on what he says. It illuminates.

Second, a warm heart. He not only knows, but he cares about the needs of human beings and the well-being of our country.

Third, undergirding everything, he is a man of sterling character—unimpeachable and impressive.

It is a great loss, not only to us as his old friends but to our country, for him to leave this body. But it is an equally great gain to the work for the handicapped and the crippled youth of our entire country—now and in the years ahead. We wish SAM MCCONNELL Godspeed in this his new mission and we hope his work will bring him back to Washington and to the House of Representatives frequently.

Texas Electric Cooperative Commends REA Administrator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the board of directors of the De Witt County Electric Cooperative, Cuero, Tex., recently adopted a resolution commending the REA Administrator and asking that he retain full authority to administrator the rural electrification program.

The text of the resolution is contained in a letter I have received from Mr. Fain McDougal, manager of the De Witt County Electric Cooperative. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DE WITT COUNTY ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE, INC.,
Cuero, Tex., August 23, 1957.

Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The board of directors of this cooperative have been very much con-

cerned with the recent encroachment upon the duties of the REA Administrator David Hamil by the Secretary of Agriculture, and in their last board meeting made the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, The board of directors of the De Witt County Electric Cooperative, Inc. hereby commend REA Administrator David Hamil for the fine manner in which he has endeavored to carry out the duties of his office; be it further

"Resolved, The board wishes to call to the attention of Senators JOHNSON and YARBOROUGH and Congressman YOUNG the need for such fine administrative leaders as Mr. Hamil and, therefore, urge that they assist in seeing that the duties as originally outlined for the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration are not destroyed and that Administrator Hamil retains full authority to administer the rural electrification program."

The directors and all members of the cooperative are vitally interested in the operation of a sound program by the Rural Electrification Administration and wish to call upon you to do everything in your power to see that the program is not curtailed by other interest. Please keep the REA program strong and in good hands.

Very truly yours,

FAIN MCDOUGAL,
Manager.

Refrigerator Deaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, during the 84th Congress, there was enacted into law legislation which I introduced to require the installation of safety devices on household refrigerators shipped in interstate commerce, so as to enable a trapped individual to open the door from the inside.

This legislation is now being implemented. The Bureau of Standards recently issued criteria for use in the manufacture of new refrigerators. However, there are many old refrigerators and iceboxes, either in use or discarded, which remain potential deathtraps.

This fact is pointed up in an editorial appearing in the Selma (Ala.) Times-Journal on August 25. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial:

REFRIGERATORS STILL DEATHTRAPS

Although a great deal of progress has been achieved in reducing the toll of child deaths in abandoned refrigerators, which seem to have deadly fascination for playing youngsters, from time to time we are reminded that this menace still has not been eliminated.

The latest demonstration comes from Midland, Tex., where two young girls were found dead in an abandoned icebox, hours after they disappeared while playing. The tots were discovered huddled side by side in a discarded refrigerator of the type which unlocks only from the outside.

Largely through the efforts of Alabama's Fourth District Congressman KENNETH ROBERTS, such refrigerators are on the way out because of Federal requirements of inside latches for all iceboxes shipped in interstate commerce.

But there are uncounted thousands of iceboxes which do not meet this requirement still in service, and eventually they will be junked. Unless continuing care is taken, many of these refrigerators will be left in places where inquisitive children can explore them, thus opening the way to new suffocation tragedies.

This makes it mandatory that all our citizenry should be alert to safe abandonment of refrigerators until all unsafe types have been replaced by models complying with provisions advocated by Representative ROBERTS.

Proposed Visit of American Newsmen to China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD an informative and thoughtful column from the Oregon Statesman, of Salem, Oreg., of August 23, 1957, entitled "It Seems To Me." This column, which deals with our policy regarding the exchange of newspaper correspondents between Red China and the United States, has been written by one of Oregon's most outstanding journalists, former Gov. Charles A. Sprague. In addition to his service as chief executive of our State, ex-Governor Sprague has been an alternate delegate of our country to the United Nations, and the winner of many awards for conspicuous achievement in the field of publishing and editing.

I endorse the views of former Gov. Charles A. Sprague with respect to the wisdom of permitting our newspaper correspondents to report to us about the activities and problems of the one-half billion Chinese people who live on the continent of Asia.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT SEEMS TO ME

(By Charles A. Sprague)

Secretary of State Dulles has capitulated, in large degree, to the demands of the American press for permission to "cover" Red China. He has decided to issue visas to 24 representatives of news agencies. This is on a 6-month experimental basis. Presumably if nothing untoward happens the time will be extended. Included in the list is the Associated Press, of which the Statesman is a member, also other press associations, newspapers such as the New York Times, news magazines and broadcasting networks. Of these 12 were represented in China before the Red revolution.

The press services had insisted on full freedom, with no limitation on the number or representation, and were averse to the 6-month time limit. The number has been greatly increased from the half dozen first proposed by Mr. Dulles, and probably includes all who want full-time representation in China. It would be better, however, if provision were made to allow other professional journalists to visit China on special assignment.

China was first to move to sunder the Bamboo Curtain by inviting a dozen United States journalists. The State Department at that time refused to issue passports. In the interval the Department made some retreat, and now Mr. Dulles has made a virtual capitulation. At the same time he announces no reporters from Red China will be allowed to visit this country. Also, it is not clear whether China will renew its invitation to United States journalists or what number it is ready to admit.

Access to information is what the American press has been demanding on all news fronts. It is ready and willing to send reporters to Red China if they will be permitted to observe and report without molestation. Mr. Dulles warns that such correspondents face "abnormal personal risks," having in mind no doubt the hardships and cruelties suffered by other Americans who were held captive in China following the overthrow of the Nationalist regime. With any sign of such treatment press agencies would undoubtedly withdraw their representatives.

Mr. Dulles explains the withdrawal of his original complete ban on "new factors" that have come into the picture. The most significant factors have been the resolute opposition of the news gathering agencies to the original ban and to his narrow limitation in the second place. The 24 now allowed is adequate for the present, probably not all of them will want to maintain permanent bureaus in Red China. But provision should still be made for the entry of observers on single missions.

Admission of professional reporters is a different matter from approving the jaunt of the 41 American youth to Peiping. This savored of a personal defy of their Government, a combination of taking a dare and satisfying their curiosity.

In view of Washington's position that a quasi-state of war exists with Red China, its refusal to admit reporters from Red China is understandable though the actuality is rather fictitious. Is the United States determined to preserve the "quasi" the same as Egypt with relation to Israel? Is our Government so tied to the rump China on Formosa that it cannot bargain for ending the "quasi"?

The concession respecting United States correspondents in China marks a little "give" in the previous position of the State Department. If it can be followed with constructive bargaining to restore normal or even formal relations with the half billion Chinese on the Asian continent it would be helpful; but such bargaining will call for concessions by Red China as well.

Wheat Statistics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOBY MORRIS
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statistics furnished by the United States Department of Agriculture relating to wheat:

1956 wheat—June 1957

ARKANSAS

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
1	Benton	532	1,528	142	270	3	267	507	6,960
	Boone	59	223	7	13	4	119	226	590
	Carroll	55	216	6	11	4	109	207	400
	Madison	89	337	12	23	4	135	256	880
	Newton	3	3	(1)		1			50
	Washington	255	755	27	51	3	106	201	1,640
	Total	993	3,062	194	368				10,520
2	Baxter	41	151	4	8	4	98	186	320
	Cleburne	11	46	1	2	4	91	173	130
	Fulton	27	146	2	4	5	74	141	170
	Izard	4	17	1	2	4	250	475	80
	Marion	14	66	1	2	5	71	135	130
	Searcy	59	239	5	10	4	85	162	300
	Sharp	43	110	5	10	3	116	220	490
	Stone	66	280	5	10	4	76	144	380
	Van Buren	14	4	1	2		71	135	150
	Total	279	1,059	25	50				2,240
3	Clay	722	1,994	297	564	3	411	781	17,500
	Craighead	69	173	12	23	3	174	331	1,070
	Greene	151	323	26	49	2	172	327	2,000
	Independence	377	3,934	150	285	10	398	756	6,450
	Jackson	125	1,161	55	104	9	440	836	3,900
	Lawrence	211	490	51	97	2	242	460	3,480
	Mississippi	436	10,393	394	749	24	904	1,718	11,700
	Poinsett	152	1,029	52	99	7	342	650	2,300
	Randolph	259	583	63	120	2	243	462	5,300
	White	115	196	39	74	2	339	644	2,100
	Total	2,617	20,285	1,139	2,161				55,890
4	Crawford	175	1,775	105	200	10	600	1,140	3,430
	Franklin	42	241	19	36	6	452	859	780
	Johnson	108	777	44	84	7	407	773	2,010
	Logan	126	1,289	43	82	10	341	648	2,540
	Polk	6	22	(1)		4			30
	Pope	154	1,169	43	82	8	279	530	2,000
	Scott			1	2				80
	Sebastian	59	435	16	30	7	271	515	770
	Yell	114	389	48	91	3	421	800	2,230
	Total	784	6,097	319	601				13,870
5	Conway	143	1,393	75	142	10	524	996	3,220
	Faulkner	44	239	11	21	5	250	475	640
	Garland	7	23	1	2	3	143	272	50
	Grant	1	2	(1)		2			40
	Hot Spring	11	27	1	2	2	91	173	60
	Perry	55	241	15	28	4	273	519	800
	Pulaski	116	2,823	87	165	24	750	1,425	3,630
	Saline	2	6	(1)		3			20
	Total	379	4,754	190	360				8,460
6	Arkansas	72	958	23	44	13	319	606	900
	Crittenden	366	5,581	209	397	15	571	1,085	6,490
	Cross	198	1,545	150	285	8	758	1,440	5,000
	Lee	36	1,302	53	101	36	1,472	2,797	1,900
	Lonoke	43	339	19	36	9	442	840	1,070
	Monroe	26	63	7	13	2	269	511	420
	Phillips	57	1,020	87	165	18	1,526	2,899	3,550
	Prairie	54	451	15	28	8	278	528	730
	St. Francis	193	3,135	166	315	16	860	1,634	5,900
	Woodruff	105	1,433	74	141	14	705	1,340	3,890
	Total	1,150	15,827	803	1,525				29,910
7	Hempstead	1	5	(1)		5			40
	Lafayette	3	1	(1)					140
	Little River			1	2				100
	Miller			1	2				310
	Montgomery	9	52	1	2	6	111	211	80
	Pike								30
	Sevier	1	0						30
	Total	14	58	3	6		111	211	730
8	Clark			(1)					20
	Cleveland	1	1			1			20
	Columbia	1	0						30
	Dallas		1						20
	Nevada								40
	Ouachita			(1)					50
	Union								
	Total	2	2	(1)					180
9	Ashley	6	32	1	2	5	167	317	80
	Chicot	61	367	35	66	6	574	1,091	1,790
	Desha	12	378	16	30	32	1,333	2,533	590
	Drew	4	0	1	2		250	475	150
	Jefferson	14	82	8	15	6	571	1,085	460
	Lincoln	4	97	2	4	24	500	950	130
	Total	101	956	63	119			6,451	3,200
	State total	6,319	52,100	2,736	5,199	8	433	823	125,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

CALIFORNIA

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
1	Humboldt			3	6				100
	Mendocino	37	997	14	28	27	378	756	750
	Total	37	997	17	34				850
2	Shasta	73	2,631	12	24	36	164	328	1,100
	Siskiyou	380	21,369	355	710	56	934	1,868	21,400
	Trinity			2	4				100
	Total	453	24,000	369	738				22,600
3	Lassen	155	8,298	78	150	54	503	1,006	6,500
	Modoc	404	16,368	366	732	41	906	1,812	18,700
	Plumas	26	944	6	12	36	231	462	300
	Total	585	25,610	450	900				25,500
4	Alameda	55	2,047	16	32	37	291	582	800
	Contra Costa	82	1,964	24	48	24	293	586	900
	Lake	39	429	5	10	11	128	256	300
	Marin	2	331	9	18	166	4,500	9,000	370
	Monterey	146	20,075	316	632	138	2,164	4,328	19,050
	Napa	99	1,982	45	90	20	455	910	1,400
	San Benito	74	2,363	20	40	32	270	540	1,300
	San Francisco								
	San Luis Obispo	306	89,077	1,553	3,106	291	5,075	10,150	87,600
	San Mateo	8	72	1	2	9	125	250	50
	Santa Clara	6	187	2	4	31	333	666	100
	Santa Cruz	1	6			6			
	Sonoma	15	734	8	16	49	533	1,066	400
	Total	833	119,287	1,999	3,998				112,250
5	Butte	99	9,041	176	352	91	1,778	3,556	7,750
	Colusa	70	7,163	135	270	102	1,929	3,858	5,500
	Glenn	72	4,374	71	142	61	986	1,972	3,300
	Sacramento	255	17,943	558	1,116	70	2,188	4,376	15,800
	Solano	150	12,695	378	756	85	2,520	5,040	10,700
	Sutter	209	19,130	511	1,022	92	2,445	4,890	15,300
	Tehama	47	2,306	30	60	49	638	1,276	1,950
	Yolo	124	11,212	343	686	90	2,766	5,532	10,200
	Yuba	28	1,366	12	24	49	429	858	650
	Total	1,054	85,230	2,214	4,428				11,150
5a	Fresno	168	16,387	532	1,064	98	3,167	6,334	13,800
	Kern	224	43,971	635	1,270	196	2,835	5,670	40,700
	Kings	10	966	25	50	97	2,500	5,000	1,050
	Madera	49	10,817	147	294	221	3,000	6,000	10,000
	Merced	53	3,882	94	188	73	1,774	3,548	3,600
	San Joaquin	174	9,428	146	292	54	839	1,678	8,250
	Stanislaus	18	701	10	20	39	556	1,112	400
	Tulare	194	29,866	543	1,085	154	2,799	5,598	29,400
	Total	890	116,020	2,132	4,264				107,200
6	Alpine	4	17	2	4	4	500	1,000	50
	Amador	18	264	7	14	15	389	778	300
	Calaveras	1	40	1	2	40	1,000	2,000	50
	Eldorado	2	3			2			
	Inyo	8	26	1	2	3	125	250	50
	Mariposa	6	98	6	12	16	1,000	2,000	200
	Mono	6	18	1	2	3	167	334	50
	Placer	75	11,416	214	428	152	2,853	5,706	11,100
	Sierra	13	416	3	6	32	231	462	150
	Tuolumne	2	50	1	2	25	500	1,000	50
	Total	135	12,348	236	472				12,000
8	Imperial	80	2,076	86	172	23	966	1,932	1,650
	Los Angeles	195	27,515	266	532	141	1,364	2,728	23,200
	Orange	8	518	13	26	65	1,625	3,250	650
	Riverside	207	19,937	277	554	96	1,338	2,676	17,700
	San Bernardino	16	247	4	8	15	250	500	150
	San Diego	68	1,232	10	20	18	147	294	450
	Santa Barbara	112	10,181	170	340	91	1,518	3,036	8,150
	Ventura	28	1,044	10	20	37	357	714	500
	Total	723	62,750	836	1,672				52,450
	State total	4,710	446,222	8,253	16,506	95	1,752	3,504	404,000

COLORADO

1	Chaffee	24	243	11	21	7	324	616	480
	Eagle	52	443	16	30	5	195	370	390
	Grand	27	1,158	24	46	43	889	1,689	1,920
	Jackson	6	760	10	19	127	1,667	3,167	1,010
	Moffat	246	31,842	661	1,256	129	2,687	5,105	39,760
	Pitkin	39	196	9	17	5	231	439	480
	Rio Blanco	105	6,136	102	194	58	971	1,845	5,720
	Routt	212	23,711	513	975	112	2,420	4,598	22,130
	Teller	2	18			9			
	Total	753	64,507	1,346	2,558				71,990

1958 wheat—June 1957—Continued

COLORADO—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
2	Boulder	337	11,040	147	279	33	436	828	17,350
	Jefferson	163	8,825	167	317	54	1,025	1,948	13,050
	Larimer	432	21,349	424	806	49	981	1,864	39,500
	Logan	1,066	138,069	2,280	4,332	130	2,139	4,064	164,520
	Morgan	846	55,198	530	1,007	65	626	1,189	71,170
	Sedgwick	377	64,225	1,731	3,289	170	4,592	8,725	79,230
	Weld	1,483	184,369	1,630	3,097	124	1,099	2,088	210,920
	Total	4,704	483,075	6,909	13,127				595,740
6	Adams	720	132,255	1,099	2,088	184	1,526	2,899	170,390
	Arapahoe	351	58,252	400	760	166	1,140	2,166	76,110
	Cheyenne	449	141,953	27	51	316	60	114	183,020
	Douglas	211	12,123	133	253	57	630	1,197	10,840
	Elbert	617	66,299	422	802	107	684	1,300	71,430
	El Paso	273	16,305	44	84	60	161	306	12,290
	Kiowa	549	227,402	62	118	414	113	215	258,690
	Kit Carson	1,082	235,101	192	365	217	177	336	316,760
	Lincoln	541	135,501	596	1,132	250	1,102	2,094	198,570
	Phillips	581	106,962	2,230	4,237	184	3,838	7,292	114,960
	Washington	1,139	234,809	1,945	3,696	206	1,708	3,245	338,990
	Yuma	940	138,882	856	1,626	148	911	1,731	171,120
	Total	7,453	1,505,844	8,006	15,212				1,923,170
7	Archuleta	140	1,939	36	68	14	257	488	2,090
	Delta	335	1,270	28	53	4	84	160	1,030
	Dolores	222	28,245	138	262	127	622	1,182	30,380
	Garfield	402	5,119	102	194	13	254	483	9,530
	La Plata	546	18,637	290	551	34	531	1,009	19,160
	Mesa	246	1,612	52	99	7	211	401	2,380
	Montezuma	449	18,777	217	412	42	483	918	18,440
	Montrose	639	5,238	136	258	8	213	405	6,550
	Ouray	55	788	11	21	14	200	380	670
	San Miguel	43	1,031	45	86	24	1,047	1,989	3,550
	Total	3,077	82,656	1,055	2,004				93,780
8	Alamosa	82	941	23	44	11	280	532	1,240
	Conejos	241	1,976	24	46	8	100	190	1,150
	Costilla	202	1,166	21	40	6	104	198	870
	Rio Grande	172	3,229	93	177	19	541	1,028	4,680
	Saguache	41	732	20	38	18	488	927	1,110
	Total	738	8,044	181	345				9,050
9	Baca	937	276,369	606	1,151	295	647	1,229	302,400
	Bent	383	35,464	77	146	93	201	382	17,120
	Crowley	48	11,110	14	27	231	292	555	10,930
	Custer	27	379	30	57	14	1,111	2,111	2,860
	Fremont	40	529	21	40	13	525	998	1,960
	Huerfano	59	5,678	23	44	96	390	741	4,610
	Las Animas	177	21,072	64	122	119	362	688	19,440
	Otero	160	2,075	66	125	13	413	785	2,710
	Prowers	932	168,564	288	547	181	309	587	170,530
	Pueblo	165	15,799	156	296	96	945	1,796	14,710
	Total	2,928	537,039	1,345	2,555				547,270
	State total	19,653	2,681,165	18,842	35,801	136	959	1,822	3,241,000
	DELAWARE								
	Kent	844	15,367	400	800	18	474	948	13,000
	New Castle	560	12,924	385	770	23	688	1,376	11,400
	Sussex	568	7,236	176	352	13	310	620	6,600
	Total	1,972	35,527	961	1,922	18	487	974	31,000
	GEORGIA								
1	Bartow	270	1,896	47	94	7	174	348	2,210
	Catoosa	48	350	4	8	7	83	166	180
	Chattooga	50	170	3	6	3	60	120	170
	Dade	29	106	1	2	4	34	68	50
	Floyd	97	699	7	14	7	72	144	370
	Gordon	112	511	10	20	5	89	178	500
	Murray	101	959	21	42	9	208	416	1,020
	Paulding	61	244	3	6	4	49	98	170
	Polk	192	991	13	26	5	68	136	710
	Walker	115	769	10	20	7	87	174	480
	Whitfield	204	1,098	16	32	5	78	156	840
	Total	1,279	7,793	135	270				6,700
2	Barrow	324	1,159	16	32	4	49	98	830
	Cherokee	88	173	3	6	2	34	68	160
	Clarke	215	1,801	35	70	8	163	326	1,590
	Cobb	75	204	2	4	3	27	54	130
	Dawson	76	217	4	8	3	53	106	210
	De Kalb	58	229	2	4	4	34	68	90
	Fannin	7	19	1	2	3	143	286	30
	Forsyth	199	469	8	16	2	40	80	470

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

GEORGIA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
2	Fulton	181	431	7	14	2	30	78	310
	Gilmer	11	27	(1)		2			10
	Gwinnett	390	1,710	21	42	4	54	108	1,030
	Hall	281	737	12	24	3	43	86	630
	Jackson	587	2,851	70	140	5	119	238	3,300
	Lumpkin	26	52	1	2	2	38	76	50
	Oconee	438	2,508	61	122	6	139	278	2,840
	Pickens	43	124	2	4	3	47	94	90
	Towns	81	148	1	2	2	12	24	60
	Union	84	248	4	8	3	48	96	180
	Walton	596	1,932	41	82	3	69	138	1,930
	White	42	73	1	2	2	24	48	60
	Total	3,802	15,112	292	584				14,000
3	Banks	308	950	27	54	3	88	176	1,370
	Elbert	772	2,472	71	142	3	92	184	3,260
	Franklin	998	3,482	102	204	3	102	204	4,650
	Habersham	77	139	4	8	2	52	104	190
	Hart	1,156	4,461	173	346	4	150	300	7,840
	Lincoln	113	335	6	12	3	53	106	320
	Madison	1,264	7,565	192	384	6	152	304	9,550
	Oglethorpe	706	5,124	91	182	7	129	258	4,880
	Rabun	16	30	(1)		2			10
	Stephens	183	378	8	16	2	44	88	510
	Wilkes	309	764	14	28	2	45	90	820
	Total	5,902	25,700	688	1,376				33,400
4	Carroll	288	919	18	36	3	62	124	790
	Clayton	95	264	6	12	3	63	126	360
	Coweta	130	320	4	8	2	31	62	230
	Douglas	91	199	4	8	2	44	88	200
	Fayette	129	466	11	22	4	85	170	550
	Haralson	60	251	4	8	4	67	134	300
	Harris	31	172	2	4	6	65	130	120
	Heard	86	470	11	22	5	128	256	510
	Henry	353	1,707	32	64	5	91	182	1,540
	Lamar	155	470	13	26	3	84	168	630
	Macon	130	1,956	48	96	15	369	138	2,040
	Marion	20	204	3	6	10	150	300	150
	Meriwether	100	746	7	14	7	70	140	320
	Muscogee	1							
	Pike	129	951	26	52	7	202	404	1,140
	Schley	35	222	7	14	6	200	400	350
	Spalding	147	1,141	27	54	8	184	368	1,170
	Talbot	18	155	3	6	9	167	334	110
	Taylor	36	242	3	6	7	83	166	130
	Troup	22	76	1	2	3	45	90	40
	Upson	53	351	10	20	7	189	378	420
	Total	2,109	11,282	240	480				11,000
5	Baldwin	11	61	1	2	6	91	182	40
	Bibb	37	611	12	24	17	324	648	560
	Bleckley	29	386	7	14	13	241	482	380
	Butts	193	988	21	42	5	109	218	1,000
	Crawford	48	1,084	20	40	23	417	834	860
	Dodge	15	134	4	8	9	267	534	220
	Greene	151	413	8	16	3	53	106	470
	Hancock	121	306	7	14	3	58	116	410
	Houston	212	4,297	123	246	20	580	1,160	5,120
	Jasper	132	555	8	16	4	61	122	390
	Johnson	58	609	11	22	11	190	380	700
	Jones	25	103	1	2	4	40	80	80
	Laurens	176	1,609	46	92	9	261	522	2,110
	Monroe	67	266	5	10	4	75	150	270
	Montgomery	5	57	(1)		11			20
	Morgan	251	870	19	38	3	76	152	960
	Newton	141	550	9	18	4	64	128	460
	Peach	96	2,095	43	86	22	448	896	1,920
	Pulaski	57	539	18	36	9	316	632	810
	Putnam	55	150	4	8	3	73	146	200
	Rockdale	121	328	4	8	3	33	66	220
	Taliaferro	97	167	3	6	2	31	62	190
	Treutlen	12	56	1	2	5	83	166	50
	Twiggs	6	89	2	4	15	333	666	90
	Washington	218	3,321	71	142	15	326	652	3,350
	Wheeler	54	790	11	22	15	204	408	690
	Wilkinson	19	120	5	10	6	263	526	230
	Total	2,407	20,554	464	928				21,800
6	Bulloch	43	168	7	14	4	163	326	280
	Burke	146	1,087	23	46	7	158	316	1,260
	Candler	5	49	1	2	10	200	400	50
	Columbia	3	232	4	8	77	1,333	2,666	250
	Effingham	8	26	1	2	3	125	250	70
	Emanuel	51	723	7	14	14	137	274	390
	Glascock	87	423	12	24	5	138	276	640
	Jefferson	634	8,939	226	452	14	356	712	10,360
	Jenkins	43	296	4	8	7	93	186	210
	McDuffie	70	262	6	12	4	86	172	320
	Richmond	84	725	10	20	9	119	238	520
	Screven	35	309	5	10	9	143	286	220
	Warren	141	1,400	28	56	10	199	398	1,230
	Total	1,350	14,639	334	668				15,800

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

GEORGIA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
7	Baker	4	117	4	8	29	1,000	2,000	200
	Calhoun	18	151	2	4	8	111	222	90
	Clay	23	111	3	6	5	130	260	150
	Decatur			(1)					20
	Dougherty	38	660	15	30	17	395	790	670
	Early	129	749	31	62	6	240	480	1,370
	Grady	11	5	13	26	(2)	1,182	2,364	610
	Lee	29	453	7	14	16	241	482	350
	Miller	30	53	7	14	2	233	466	370
	Mitchell	1	14	1	2	14	1,000	2,000	30
	Quitman	6	1	1	2	(2)	167	334	40
	Randolph	37	299	6	12	8	162	324	340
	Seminole	23	125	12	24	5	522	1,044	540
	Stewart	19	68	2	4	4	105	210	80
	Sumter	193	2,384	46	92	12	238	476	2,220
	Terrell	75	341	5	10	5	67	134	240
	Thomas	6	51	4	8	9	667	1,334	230
	Webster	13	93	1	2	7	77	154	50
	Total	655	5,675	160	320				7,600
8	Atkinson	1	1			1			
	Ben Hill	9	29	1	2	3	111	222	60
	Berrien	1	4	(1)		4			10
	Brooks	4	8	1	2	2	250	500	50
	Coffee	17	91	2	4	5	118	236	80
	Colquitt	4	8	1	2	2	250	500	40
	Crisp	65	306	22	44	4	324	648	960
	Dooly	231	1,815	69	138	8	299	598	3,130
	Irwin	0	0	1	2				30
	Jeff Davis			(1)					10
	Lowndes	5	21	1	2	4	200	400	40
	Telfair	15	73	(1)		5			20
	Tift	8	21	1	2	3	125	250	60
	Turner	23	80	8	16	3	348	696	380
	Wilcox	27	266	7	14	10	259	518	370
	Worth	16	3	5	10	(2)	312	624	260
	Total	429	2,728	119	238				5,500
9	Appling	5	34	1	2	7	200	400	30
	Brantley			(1)					20
	Bryan	2	14			7			
	Evans	9	47	1	2	5	111	222	50
	Pierce	1	0			0			
	Tattnall	4	39	1	2	10	250	500	40
	Toombs	15	94	1	2	6	67	134	60
	Total	36	228	4	8				200
	State total	17,969	103,711	2,436	4,872		136	272	116,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels. [2] Less than 1 acre.

IDAHO

1	Benewah	253	19,141	627	1,110	76	2,478	4,386	18,900
	Bonner	291	1,926	38	67	7	131	232	2,000
	Boundary	165	10,850	140	248	66	848	1,501	6,700
	Clearwater	238	7,363	260	460	31	1,092	1,933	7,500
	Idaho	761	57,241	1,902	3,367	75	2,499	4,423	59,900
	Kootenai	498	23,012	672	1,189	46	1,349	2,388	23,400
	Latah	1,022	62,815	2,215	3,921	61	2,167	3,836	62,900
	Lewis	369	38,527	1,309	2,317	104	3,547	6,278	38,100
	Nez Perce	573	60,571	2,445	4,328	106	4,267	7,553	61,600
	Total	4,170	281,446	9,608	17,007				281,000
7	Ada	945	5,838	419	742	6	443	784	8,500
	Adams	103	1,066	37	65	10	359	635	1,400
	Boise	62	512	22	39	8	355	628	800
	Canyon	2,376	16,089	1,753	3,103	7	738	1,306	29,000
	Elmore	218	7,445	218	386	34	1,000	1,770	7,200
	Gem	280	2,336	127	225	8	454	804	2,800
	Owyhee	803	5,023	344	609	10	684	1,211	5,600
	Payette	726	4,861	232	411	7	320	566	5,400
	Valley	71	626	10	18	9	141	250	400
	Washington	585	18,011	539	954	31	921	1,630	17,900
	Total	5,869	61,807	3,701	6,552				79,000
8	Blaine	268	7,351	278	492	27	1,037	1,835	7,700
	Camas	133	32,338	547	968	243	4,113	7,280	31,700
	Cassia	1,177	60,708	1,982	3,508	52	1,684	2,981	62,900
	Gooding	843	6,859	558	988	8	662	1,172	11,000
	Jerome	1,047	12,169	872	1,543	12	833	1,474	15,700
	Lincoln	416	9,045	374	663	22	899	1,591	8,400
	Minidoka	1,116	19,882	1,160	2,053	18	1,039	1,839	25,200
	Twin Falls	2,074	31,757	2,003	3,545	15	966	1,710	36,400
	Total	7,074	180,109	7,774	13,759				199,000
9	Bannock	789	49,932	1,395	2,469	63	1,768	3,129	57,400
	Bear Lake	487	22,434	454	804	46	932	1,650	23,200
	Bingham	2,315	51,394	1,843	3,262	22	796	1,409	53,900
	Bonneville	1,447	90,508	2,918	5,165	63	2,017	3,570	108,700
	Butte	236	9,443	201	356	40	852	1,508	9,000
	Caribou	521	49,255	1,133	2,005	95	2,175	3,850	49,300

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

IDAHO—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Vule of wheast (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
9	Clark	52	5,724	89	158	110	1,712	3,030	5,500
	Custer	157	1,919	93	165	12	592	1,048	2,200
	Franklin	852	34,829	1,021	1,807	41	1,198	2,120	35,900
	Fremont	702	47,640	1,369	2,423	68	1,950	3,452	48,800
	Jefferson	1,236	28,613	1,165	2,062	23	943	1,669	29,200
	Lemhi	243	1,400	69	122	6	284	503	1,600
	Madison	845	48,603	1,764	3,122	58	2,088	3,696	60,900
	Oneida	567	68,539	1,663	2,944	121	2,933	5,191	71,500
	Power	390	93,402	2,071	3,666	239	5,310	9,399	107,700
	Teton	356	28,464	649	1,749	80	1,823	3,227	29,200
	Total	11,195	632,099	17,897	31,679				694,000
	State total	28,308	1,155,461	38,980	68,997	41	1,377	2,437	1,253,000

ILLINOIS

1	Bureau	175	1,879	63	123	11	360	702	1,900
	Carroll	36	307	10	20	9	278	542	300
	Henry	99	751	25	49	8	253	493	800
	Jo Daviess	22	76			3			
	Lee	210	2,848	98	191	14	467	911	2,900
	Mercer	80	1,589	30	58	20	375	731	1,100
	Ogle	139	976	39	76	7	281	548	1,200
	Putnam	154	1,390	51	99	9	331	645	1,500
	Rock Island	62	836	20	39	13	323	630	700
	Stephenson	43	226	3	6	5	70	136	100
	Whiteside	284	4,089	109	213	14	384	749	3,300
	Winnebago	138	955	51	99	7	370	722	1,000
	Total	1,442	15,922	499	973				15,400
3	Boone	57	290	17	33	5	298	581	500
	Cook	343	1,709	129	252	5	376	733	3,700
	De Kalb	56	502	34	66	9	607	1,184	900
	Du Page	381	2,932	125	244	8	328	640	3,300
	Grundy	67	748	14	27	11	209	408	400
	Kane	179	1,730	83	162	10	464	905	2,200
	Kendall	96	962	25	49	10	260	507	700
	Lake	317	3,229	125	244	10	394	768	3,800
	La Salle	219	2,181	75	146	10	342	667	2,100
	McHenry	162	1,344	63	123	8	389	759	1,800
	Will	578	6,737	236	460	12	408	796	6,400
	Total	2,455	22,374	926	1,806				25,800
4	Adams	2,624	32,818	1,253	2,443	13	478	932	38,300
	Brown	765	6,036	277	540	8	362	706	9,000
	Fulton	1,601	15,418	574	1,119	10	359	700	18,100
	Hancock	2,259	22,141	846	1,650	10	375	731	29,400
	Henderson	249	4,175	116	226	17	466	909	3,900
	Knox	343	2,948	84	164	9	245	478	2,500
	McDonough	1,183	10,775	432	842	9	365	712	12,800
	Schuyler	1,274	13,983	687	1,340	11	539	1,051	19,800
	Warren	111	1,238	30	58	11	270	526	1,000
	Total	10,409	109,532	4,299	8,382				134,800
4a	Bond	1,466	15,629	740	1,443	11	505	985	19,500
	Calhoun	497	4,188	165	322	8	332	647	5,500
	Cass	885	18,096	736	1,435	20	832	1,622	18,900
	Christian	2,469	44,792	2,105	4,105	18	853	1,663	47,900
	Greene	1,308	21,566	1,024	1,997	16	783	1,527	23,300
	Jersey	1,099	17,505	707	1,379	16	643	1,254	17,700
	Macoupin	3,023	39,666	2,127	4,148	13	704	1,373	48,400
	Madison	3,165	52,819	2,042	3,982	17	645	1,258	53,800
	Montgomery	2,649	37,401	1,876	3,658	14	708	1,381	42,700
	Morgan	1,712	27,404	1,266	2,469	16	739	1,441	28,800
	Pike	1,551	21,944	804	1,568	14	518	1,010	23,000
	Sangamon	2,336	37,154	1,749	3,411	16	749	1,461	39,800
	Scott	726	13,722	565	1,102	19	778	1,517	15,300
	Total	22,886	351,886	15,906	31,019				384,400
5	De Witt	444	5,402	186	363	12	419	817	5,000
	Logan	1,239	19,715	834	1,626	16	673	1,312	21,300
	McLean	323	3,684	148	289	11	458	893	3,700
	Macon	1,397	18,461	905	1,765	13	648	1,264	20,500
	Marshall	257	2,616	94	183	10	366	714	2,600
	Mason	1,280	31,369	1,114	2,172	25	870	1,696	31,700
	Menard	814	14,630	634	1,236	18	779	1,519	15,400
	Peoria	913	8,426	341	665	9	373	727	10,300
	Stark	51	522	21	41	10	412	803	600
	Tazewell	1,311	18,114	660	1,287	14	503	981	18,800
	Woodford	321	2,503	96	187	8	299	583	3,000
	Total	8,350	125,532	5,033	9,814				132,900
6	Champaign	1,963	26,565	1,296	2,527	14	660	1,287	32,100
	Ford	66	486	31	60	7	470	916	800
	Iroquois	776	11,482	480	936	15	619	1,207	11,900
	Kankakee	477	6,662	287	560	14	602	1,174	7,300
	Livingston	91	782	28	55	9	308	601	800
	Piatt	953	14,341	638	1,244	15	669	1,305	16,200
	Vermilion	2,389	36,718	1,586	3,093	15	664	1,295	41,30
	Total	6,715	97,036	4,346	8,475				110,400

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

ILLINOIS—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
6a	Clark	1,969	22,067	799	1,558	11	406	792	25,700
	Clay	1,656	9,639	619	1,207	6	374	729	19,900
	Coles	1,867	21,550	934	1,821	12	500	975	26,600
	Crawford	1,699	14,705	535	1,043	9	315	614	13,400
	Cumberland	1,641	12,223	649	1,266	7	395	770	18,500
	Douglas	1,106	16,508	851	1,659	15	769	1,500	19,300
	Edgar	1,746	24,270	1,007	1,964	14	577	1,125	27,900
	Effingham	2,055	16,844	825	1,609	8	401	782	23,500
	Fayette	2,607	20,434	1,130	2,204	8	433	844	32,200
	Jasper	2,456	19,091	842	1,642	8	343	669	27,100
	Lawrence	1,172	17,561	713	1,390	15	608	1,186	20,900
	Marion	2,336	15,523	940	1,833	7	402	784	28,400
	Moultrie	1,109	14,462	657	1,281	13	592	1,154	16,800
	Richland	1,417	10,223	425	829	7	300	585	14,600
	Shelby	2,060	29,955	1,448	2,824	15	703	1,371	40,100
	Total	26,896	265,055	12,374	24,130				359,900
7	Alexander	272	4,015	146	285	15	537	1,047	5,000
	Clinton	1,914	31,674	1,362	2,656	17	712	1,388	34,700
	Jackson	1,266	16,305	628	1,225	13	496	967	19,500
	Johnson	315	1,635	57	111	5	181	353	2,100
	Monroe	1,548	34,108	1,228	2,395	22	793	1,546	33,900
	Perry	1,663	16,289	683	1,332	10	411	801	21,200
	Pulaski	377	3,352	121	236	9	321	626	4,300
	Randolph	2,175	31,955	1,194	2,328	15	549	1,071	34,900
	St. Clair	3,242	57,151	2,538	4,949	18	783	1,527	61,500
	Union	578	5,948	229	447	10	396	772	6,900
	Washington	2,352	49,669	2,141	4,175	21	910	1,774	51,900
	Williamson	850	4,584	178	347	5	209	408	5,200
	Total	16,552	256,685	10,505	20,486				281,100
9	Edwards	954	11,020	403	786	12	422	823	12,900
	Franklin	1,731	15,095	644	1,256	9	372	725	19,400
	Gallatin	462	6,900	238	464	15	515	1,004	7,400
	Hamilton	1,424	9,760	481	938	7	338	659	15,400
	Hardin	31	127	7	14	4	226	441	200
	Jefferson	2,044	15,040	945	1,843	7	462	901	24,700
	Massac	404	3,004	121	236	7	300	585	4,000
	Pope	270	1,615	71	138	6	263	513	2,200
	Saline	1,128	11,204	478	932	10	424	827	12,500
	Wabash	1,023	13,662	518	1,010	13	506	987	13,900
	Wayne	2,021	12,167	815	1,589	6	403	786	23,800
	White	1,284	21,472	887	1,730	17	691	1,347	26,700
	Total	12,776	121,066	5,608	10,936				163,100
	State total	108,481	1,365,090	59,496	116,021	13	548	1,069	1,608,000

INDIANA

1	Benton	711	11,275	499	973	16	702	1,369	12,700
	Jasper	798	14,418	525	1,024	18	658	1,283	16,000
	Lake	860	10,911	401	782	13	466	909	11,400
	La Porte	1,741	28,762	1,036	2,020	17	595	1,160	31,100
	Newton	460	8,879	346	675	19	752	1,466	8,800
	Porter	1,403	17,446	658	1,283	12	469	915	19,000
	Pulaski	1,126	14,000	512	998	12	455	887	15,300
	Starke	783	9,144	294	573	12	375	731	9,500
	White	1,030	12,730	525	1,024	12	510	994	14,700
	Total	8,912	127,565	4,796	9,352				138,500
2	Carroll	1,050	12,441	492	959	12	469	915	15,200
	Cass	1,158	11,688	443	864	10	383	747	13,500
	Elkhart	2,035	19,393	588	1,147	10	289	564	19,900
	Fulton	1,122	10,906	371	723	10	331	645	13,000
	Kosciusko	2,148	19,027	652	1,271	9	304	593	21,400
	Marshall	1,634	15,819	559	1,090	10	342	667	16,800
	Miami	1,159	11,263	406	792	10	350	682	12,900
	St. Joseph	1,661	20,010	664	1,295	12	400	780	21,600
	Wabash	1,512	15,372	553	1,078	10	366	714	17,700
	Total	13,479	135,919	4,728	9,219				152,000
3	Adams	1,873	13,584	459	895	7	245	478	16,600
	Allen	3,220	28,104	961	1,874	9	298	581	33,100
	De Kalb	1,916	18,827	494	963	10	258	503	19,300
	Huntington	1,480	12,212	357	696	8	241	470	12,600
	Lagrange	1,479	16,006	574	1,119	11	388	757	16,900
	Noble	1,605	15,429	532	1,037	10	331	645	16,600
	Steuben	1,130	10,507	378	737	9	335	653	11,700
	Wells	1,639	12,104	414	807	7	253	493	14,300
	Whitley	1,501	12,385	408	796	8	272	530	13,700
	Total	15,843	139,158	4,577	8,924				154,800
4	Clay	1,466	14,735	378	737	10	258	503	16,400
	Fountain	1,262	15,984	645	1,258	13	511	996	18,100
	Montgomery	1,301	16,164	611	1,191	12	470	916	18,300
	Owen	631	3,747	92	179	6	146	285	4,400
	Parke	1,145	13,100	461	899	11	403	786	14,100
	Putnam	909	9,071	301	587	10	331	645	9,600
	Tippecanoe	1,457	20,067	870	1,696	14	597	1,164	22,100
	Vermillion	680	9,080	367	716	13	540	1,053	10,600
	Vigo	863	12,196	388	757	14	450	787	13,400
	Warren	769	12,680	535	1,043	16	696	1,357	14,100
	Total	10,483	126,824	4,648	9,036				141,100

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

INDIANA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
5	Bartholomew	1,338	21,481	496	967	16	371	723	20,000
	Boone	990	8,701	310	604	9	313	610	10,400
	Clinton	1,395	16,855	722	1,408	12	518	1,010	20,000
	Decatur	1,355	25,957	525	1,024	19	387	755	23,800
	Grant	1,444	11,334	407	794	8	282	550	12,200
	Hamilton	1,312	11,157	389	759	9	296	577	12,400
	Hancock	1,006	11,000	286	558	11	284	554	10,600
	Hendricks	1,121	10,409	326	636	9	291	567	11,100
	Howard	1,155	10,866	470	916	9	407	794	13,300
	Johnson	1,054	13,368	392	764	13	372	725	14,600
	Madison	1,506	14,542	529	1,032	10	351	684	16,700
	Marion	784	7,413	181	353	9	231	450	6,600
	Morgan	754	8,040	200	390	11	265	517	7,900
	Rush	1,335	24,422	476	928	18	357	696	22,500
	Shelby	1,510	21,514	419	817	14	277	540	19,800
	Tipton	899	9,105	420	819	10	467	911	11,900
	Total	18,958	226,224	6,548	12,769				233,800
6	Blackford	388	3,297	67	131	8	173	337	2,900
	Delaware	1,343	12,261	331	645	9	246	480	11,300
	Fayette	600	10,250	189	369	17	315	614	9,800
	Henry	1,128	11,739	306	597	10	271	528	12,300
	Jay	1,311	11,705	310	604	9	236	460	9,600
	Randolph	1,517	16,140	254	495	11	167	326	11,200
	Union	532	10,668	237	462	20	445	868	10,100
	Wayne	1,107	16,108	302	589	15	273	532	14,500
	Total	7,926	92,168	1,996	3,892				81,700
7	Daviess	1,539	18,650	715	1,394	12	465	907	19,400
	Dubois	1,255	13,796	315	614	11	251	489	12,200
	Gibson	1,605	21,380	855	1,667	13	533	1,039	23,600
	Greene	1,089	10,104	290	566	9	266	519	11,200
	Knox	1,675	31,349	1,185	2,311	19	707	1,379	32,800
	Martin	261	2,199	47	92	8	180	351	1,800
	Pike	733	7,425	214	417	10	292	569	7,300
	Posey	1,597	23,434	762	1,486	15	477	930	24,600
	Spencer	1,296	13,185	351	684	10	271	528	13,300
	Sullivan	1,333	17,538	639	1,246	13	479	934	19,500
	Vanderburgh	888	10,998	351	684	12	395	770	11,300
	Warrick	968	8,846	360	702	9	372	725	10,000
	Total	14,239	178,304	6,084	11,863				187,000
8	Brown	83	343	6	12	4	72	140	300
	Crawford	440	2,586	44	86	6	100	195	1,800
	Floyd	375	1,862	46	90	5	123	240	1,900
	Harrison	1,158	7,771	171	333	7	148	289	6,600
	Jackson	1,523	16,629	347	681	11	229	447	15,200
	Lawrence	465	3,073	972	140	7	155	302	2,800
	Monroe	288	1,264	29	57	4	101	197	1,000
	Orange	430	3,921	76	148	9	177	345	3,200
	Perry	609	5,022	98	191	8	161	314	4,100
	Washington	1,174	9,876	203	396	8	173	337	7,700
	Total	6,545	52,347	1,094	2,134				44,600
9	Clark	747	7,027	122	238	9	163	318	5,600
	Dearborn	917	6,537	94	183	7	103	201	4,400
	Franklin	995	15,219	234	456	15	235	458	11,900
	Jefferson	864	6,730	116	226	8	134	261	4,600
	Jennings	975	8,984	144	281	9	148	289	6,700
	Ohio	204	1,198	19	37	6	93	181	900
	Ripley	1,903	17,166	260	507	9	137	267	13,200
	Scott	592	4,087	58	113	7	98	191	2,400
	Switzerland	527	3,042	62	121	6	118	230	2,800
	Total	7,724	69,990	1,109	2,162				52,500
	State total	104,109	1,148,499	35,580	69,378	11	342	667	1,186,000

IOWA

1	Buena Vista			1	2				40
	Cherokee			(1)					10
	Clay			(1)					20
	Dickinson			(1)					20
	Emmet			3	6				150
	Lyon	3	58	1	2	19	333	666	60
	O'Brien			1	2				40
	Osceola			1	2				60
	Palo Alto	1	15	1	2	15	1,000	2,000	70
	Plymouth	57	994	6	12	17	105	210	780
	Pocahontas	4	0	1	2		250	500	70
	Sioux	7	26	(1)		4			40
	Total	72	1,093	15	30				1,360
2	Butler			(1)					10
	Cerro Gordo	5	70	1	2	14	200	400	100
	Floyd	3	8	3	6	3	1,000	2,000	190
	Franklin			(1)					30
	Hancock	4	30	(1)		8			20
	Humboldt	4	0	(1)					20

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

IOWA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
2	Kossuth			(1)					30
	Mitchell			2	4				100
	Winnebago			1	2				60
	Worth	1	6	3	6	6	3,000	6,000	150
	Wright			1	2				30
	Total	17	114	11	22				740
3	Allamakee	3	18	4	8	6	1,333	2,666	160
	Black Hawk	7	51	1	2	7	143	286	100
	Bremer	9	0	(1)					10
	Buchanan	9	82	4	8	9	444	888	210
	Chickasaw			(1)					30
	Clayton	3	10	1	2	3	333	666	60
	Delaware			2	4				100
	Dubuque	13	85	1	2	7	77	154	70
	Fayette			2	4				100
	Howard			3	6				130
	Winneshiek			4	8				230
	Total	44	246	22	44				1,200
4	Audubon	19	108	1	2	6	53	106	80
	Calhoun	3	0	4	8		1,333	2,666	180
	Carroll	6	47	5	10	8	833	1,666	350
	Crawford	32	497	5	10	16	156	312	600
	Greene	6	23	1	2	4	167	334	130
	Guthrie	58	703	10	20	12	172	344	500
	Harrison	475	15,870	280	560	33	589	1,178	15,600
	Ida	3	16	(1)		5			40
	Monona	530	18,142	162	324	34	306	612	14,700
	Sac	1	0	(1)					30
	Shelby	31	268	3	6	9	97	194	190
	Woodbury	227	7,894	38	76	35	167	334	6,300
	Total	1,391	43,568	509	1,018				38,700
5	Boone	4	12	(1)		3			40
	Dallas	64	898	5	10	14	78	156	580
	Grundy			(1)					30
	Hamilton	8	26	1	2	3	125	250	40
	Hardin			(1)					50
	Jasper	74	1,243	18	36	17	243	486	900
	Marshall	11	119	2	4	11	182	364	120
	Polk	150	3,256	43	86	22	287	574	1,920
	Poweshiek	9	33	1	2	4	111	222	60
	Story	14	213	2	4	15	143	286	100
	Tama	8	87	2	4	11	250	500	100
	Webster			1	2				60
	Total	342	5,887	75	150				4,000
6	Benton	27	224	5	10	8	185	370	350
	Cedar	7	110	2	4	16	286	572	100
	Clinton	17	144	2	4	8	118	236	100
	Iowa	7	158	2	4	23	286	572	160
	Jackson	4	30	(1)		8			20
	Johnson	18	200	2	4	11	111	222	140
	Jones	3	31	1	2	10	333	666	180
	Linn	9	146	2	4	16	222	444	140
	Muscatine	72	962	13	26	13	181	362	1,000
	Scott	51	597	6	12	12	118	236	310
	Total	215	2,602	35	70				2,500
7	Adair	48	517	4	8	11	83	166	260
	Adams	157	2,068	30	60	13	191	382	3,200
	Cass	141	1,901	24	48	13	170	340	1,820
	Fremont	363	10,489	239	478	29	658	1,316	12,170
	Mills	321	9,486	151	302	30	470	940	11,160
	Montgomery	256	4,134	79	158	16	309	618	4,920
	Page	697	7,544	133	266	11	191	382	9,200
	Pottawattamie, E. & W	290	7,341	109	218	25	376	752	6,700
	Taylor	328	3,892	55	110	12	168	336	6,070
	Total	2,601	47,372	824	1,648				55,500
8	Appanoose	97	682	11	22	7	113	226	1,200
	Clarke	44	256	4	8	6	91	182	450
	Decatur	75	657	15	30	9	200	400	1,000
	Lucas	103	945	16	32	9	155	310	1,180
	Madison	145	1,996	20	40	14	138	276	1,850
	Marion	146	1,320	20	40	9	137	274	1,140
	Monroe	73	1,016	13	26	14	178	356	930
	Ringgold	168	1,826	30	60	11	179	358	2,730
	Union	69	458	6	12	8	100	200	560
	Warren	272	4,165	83	166	15	305	610	3,600
	Wayne	55	465	5	10	8	91	182	300
	Total	1,238	13,786	223	446				15,000
9	Davis	145	1,706	35	70	12	241	482	2,150
	Des Moines	292	3,687	81	174	13	298	596	4,150
	Henry	156	1,574	24	48	10	154	308	1,430
	Jefferson	165	1,368	28	56	8	170	340	1,460
	Keokuk	43	246	4	8	6	93	186	300
	Lee	757	6,208	199	398	8	263	526	9,250
	Louisa	115	1,631	28	56	14	243	486	1,250
	Mahaska	73	905	9	18	12	123	246	650

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

IOWA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
9	Van Buren	413	2,642	62	124	6	150	300	3,750
	Wapello	177	1,974	39	78	11	220	440	2,040
	Washington	55	443	11	22	8	200	400	570
	Total	2,391	22,384	526	1,052				27,000
	State total	8,311	137,052	2,240	4,480	16	270	540	146,000

KANSAS

1	Cheyenne	776	116,049	872	1,744	150	1,124	2,248	146,000
	Decatur	864	100,614	1,096	2,192	116	1,269	2,538	105,000
	Graham	738	119,398	1,311	2,622	162	1,776	3,552	120,000
	Norton	912	84,165	1,451	2,902	92	1,591	3,182	92,000
	Rawlins	818	126,921	943	1,886	155	1,153	2,306	140,000
	Sheridan	795	120,492	1,100	2,200	152	1,384	2,768	122,000
	Sherman	651	153,363	246	492	236	378	756	179,000
	Thomas	759	193,152	1,307	2,614	254	1,722	3,444	206,000
	Total	6,313	1,014,154	8,326	16,652				1,110,000
4	Gove	668	115,845	906	1,812	173	1,356	2,712	117,000
	Greeley	403	141,982	130	260	352	323	646	154,000
	Lane	448	115,519	1,487	2,974	258	3,319	6,638	120,000
	Logan	529	114,757	623	1,246	217	1,178	2,356	118,000
	Ness	1,007	194,003	1,868	3,736	193	1,855	3,710	192,000
	Scott	483	119,792	1,100	2,200	248	2,277	4,554	125,000
	Trego	793	128,830	1,416	2,832	162	1,786	3,572	128,000
	Wallace	381	82,685	130	260	217	341	682	92,000
	Wichita	431	112,119	467	934	260	1,084	2,168	124,000
	Total	5,143	1,125,532	8,127	16,254				1,170,000
7	Clark	458	101,824	856	1,712	222	1,869	3,738	103,000
	Finney	837	191,424	2,035	4,070	229	2,431	4,862	182,000
	Ford	1,221	267,916	2,461	4,922	219	2,016	4,032	271,000
	Grant	302	89,854	743	1,486	298	2,460	4,920	86,000
	Gray	797	207,464	1,749	3,498	260	2,194	4,388	212,000
	Hamilton	432	143,529	257	514	332	595	1,190	143,000
	Haskell	413	146,680	1,325	2,650	355	3,208	6,416	149,000
	Hodgeman	688	153,103	1,028	2,056	223	1,494	2,988	151,000
	Kearny	412	104,684	484	968	254	1,175	2,350	104,000
	Meade	671	159,034	976	1,952	237	1,455	2,910	157,000
	Morton	309	85,595	312	624	277	1,010	2,020	89,000
	Seward	397	104,248	1,009	2,018	263	2,542	5,084	101,000
	Stanton	307	127,383	892	1,784	415	2,906	5,812	142,000
	Stevens	401	101,264	682	1,364	253	1,701	3,402	98,000
	Total	7,645	1,984,002	14,809	29,618				1,968,000
2	Clay	1,374	92,952	1,786	3,572	68	1,300	2,600	99,000
	Cloud	1,358	119,043	1,378	2,756	88	1,015	2,030	122,000
	Jewell	1,640	114,786	1,154	2,308	70	704	1,408	121,000
	Mitchell	1,211	170,515	1,555	3,110	141	1,284	2,568	175,000
	Osborne	1,112	138,234	995	1,990	124	895	1,790	137,000
	Ottawa	988	117,354	2,384	4,768	119	2,413	4,826	123,000
	Phillips	1,095	92,841	1,098	2,196	85	1,003	2,006	94,000
	Republic	1,850	87,722	1,117	2,234	47	604	1,208	90,000
	Rooks	943	137,456	1,716	3,432	146	1,820	3,640	135,000
	Smith	1,252	105,017	1,170	2,340	85	935	1,870	106,000
	Washington	2,172	84,247	1,309	2,618	39	603	1,206	89,000
	Total	14,995	1,261,167	15,662	31,324				1,291,000
5	Barton	1,562	234,558	3,195	6,390	150	2,045	4,090	234,000
	Dickinson	1,882	140,453	2,826	5,652	75	1,502	3,004	143,000
	Ellis	1,050	150,308	1,529	3,058	143	1,456	2,912	148,000
	Ellsworth	872	113,958	1,736	3,472	131	1,991	3,982	117,000
	Lincoln	1,061	115,299	1,302	2,604	109	1,227	2,454	117,000
	McPherson	2,402	198,281	3,900	7,800	83	1,624	3,248	206,000
	Marion	2,122	118,322	2,463	4,926	56	1,161	2,322	121,000
	Rice	1,205	160,018	2,479	4,958	133	2,057	4,114	164,000
	Rush	1,080	182,275	1,717	3,434	169	1,590	3,180	181,000
	Russell	1,055	147,401	1,463	2,926	140	1,387	2,774	143,000
	Saline	1,251	125,898	2,550	5,100	101	2,038	4,076	126,000
	Total	15,542	1,686,771	25,160	50,320				1,700,000
8	Barber	805	119,309	1,459	2,918	148	1,812	3,624	124,000
	Comanche	379	99,772	629	1,258	263	1,660	3,320	102,000
	Edwards	678	148,436	1,503	3,006	219	2,217	4,434	149,000
	Harper	1,241	190,504	3,067	6,134	154	2,471	4,942	191,000
	Harvey	1,336	99,777	2,307	4,614	75	1,727	3,454	107,000
	Kingman	1,337	165,883	2,560	5,120	124	1,915	3,830	170,000
	Kiowa	570	116,963	1,537	3,074	205	2,696	5,392	116,000
	Pawnee	986	200,782	1,539	3,078	204	1,561	3,122	201,000
	Pratt	975	169,451	2,367	4,734	174	2,425	4,856	171,000
	Reno	2,744	276,331	4,797	9,594	101	1,748	3,496	276,000
	Sedgwick	2,217	186,466	3,843	7,686	84	1,733	3,466	187,000
	Stafford	1,090	164,417	2,197	4,394	151	2,016	4,032	170,000
	Sumner	2,318	293,626	5,479	10,958	127	2,364	4,728	296,000
	Total	16,676	2,231,717	33,284	66,568				2,260,000
3	Atchison	1,067	26,774	921	1,842	25	863	1,726	29,000
	Brown	1,447	36,969	1,027	2,054	26	710	1,420	38,000
	Doniphan	615	12,988	455	910	21	740	1,480	16,000
	Jackson	1,185	33,203	1,056	2,112	28	891	1,782	35,500

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

KANSAS—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
3	Jefferson	1,166	30,422	1,129	2,258	26	968	1,936	34,500
	Leavenworth	1,009	20,675	823	1,646	20	816	1,632	25,000
	Marshall	1,999	74,737	1,128	2,256	37	564	1,128	77,000
	Nemaha	1,443	30,563	743	1,486	21	515	1,030	34,000
	Pottawatomie	1,188	35,908	976	1,952	30	822	1,644	37,500
	Riley	972	31,502	699	1,398	32	719	1,438	34,000
	Wyandotte	150	2,552	122	244	17	813	1,626	3,500
	Total	12,241	336,293	9,079	18,158				364,000
6	Anderson	1,217	25,009	1,022	2,044	21	840	1,680	29,500
	Chase	478	17,603	694	1,188	37	1,243	2,486	19,000
	Coffey	1,315	24,201	1,154	2,308	18	878	1,756	31,500
	Douglas	1,266	28,440	1,144	2,288	22	904	1,808	33,000
	Franklin	1,339	22,889	1,057	2,114	17	789	1,578	30,000
	Geary	564	27,565	737	1,474	49	1,307	2,614	28,500
	Johnson	1,009	22,257	943	1,886	22	935	1,870	26,000
	Linn	1,393	21,066	798	1,596	15	573	1,146	31,000
	Lyon	1,517	31,971	1,410	2,820	21	929	1,858	37,500
	Miami	1,790	23,401	1,062	2,124	13	593	1,186	33,500
	Morris	946	41,086	989	1,978	43	1,043	2,086	42,500
	Osage	1,400	23,801	1,151	2,302	17	822	1,644	32,000
	Shawnee	1,194	33,622	1,230	2,460	28	1,030	2,060	37,000
	Wabaunsee	902	26,114	790	1,580	26	796	1,592	27,000
	Total	16,422	369,025	14,081	28,162				438,000
9	Allen	1,209	22,439	1,003	2,006	19	830	1,660	30,500
	Bourbon	1,436	16,382	708	1,416	11	493	986	27,000
	Butler	1,669	60,388	1,368	2,736	36	820	1,640	63,500
	Chautauqua	578	11,772	428	856	20	740	1,480	14,500
	Cherokee	1,490	57,231	1,394	2,788	38	936	1,872	62,000
	Cowley	1,772	97,379	2,116	4,232	55	1,194	2,388	100,500
	Crawford	1,442	31,182	914	1,828	22	634	1,268	38,500
	Elk	695	10,841	434	868	16	624	1,248	16,000
	Greenwood	892	17,747	689	1,378	20	772	1,544	22,000
	Labette	1,645	54,188	1,602	3,204	33	974	1,948	59,500
	Montgomery	1,442	40,386	1,233	2,466	28	855	1,710	46,500
	Neosho	1,543	38,769	1,295	2,590	25	839	1,678	44,000
	Wilson	1,205	41,677	1,102	2,204	35	915	1,830	44,500
	Woodson	715	13,323	468	936	19	655	1,310	17,000
	Total	17,733	513,704	14,754	29,508				586,000
	State total	112,710	10,522,365	143,282	286,564	93	1,271	2,542	10,907,000

KENTUCKY

1	Ballard	124	897	42	84	7	339	678	1,600
	Calloway	863	3,995	140	280	5	162	324	5,000
	Carlisle	124	409	28	56	3	226	452	1,050
	Fulton	285	2,575	85	170	9	298	596	2,800
	Graves	658	3,908	121	242	6	184	368	4,400
	Hickman	417	3,484	109	218	8	261	522	3,700
	Livingston	78	745	15	30	10	192	384	800
	Lyon	51	900	25	50	18	490	980	950
	McCracken	115	518	30	60	5	261	522	1,100
	Marshall	222	1,304	37	74	6	167	334	1,500
	Trigg	323	5,543	154	308	17	477	954	5,400
	Total	3,260	24,278	786	1,572				28,100
2	Caldwell	166	1,611	43	86	10	259	518	1,550
	Christian	812	16,741	448	896	21	552	1,104	16,000
	Crittenden	123	1,234	40	80	10	325	650	1,500
	Daviess	517	5,269	195	390	10	377	754	6,200
	Hancock	141	1,176	36	72	8	255	510	1,250
	Henderson	265	3,987	122	244	15	460	920	3,700
	Hopkins	485	3,807	102	204	8	210	420	4,100
	Logan	990	14,520	442	884	15	446	892	13,800
	McLean	362	2,310	64	128	6	177	354	2,450
	Muhlenberg	393	2,973	86	172	8	219	438	3,300
	Ohio	220	1,304	29	58	6	132	264	1,100
	Simpson	895	10,704	340	680	12	380	760	10,800
	Todd	604	9,579	282	564	16	467	934	9,100
	Union	404	7,148	211	422	18	522	1,044	6,200
	Webster	406	4,534	125	250	11	308	616	4,250
	Total	6,783	86,897	2,565	5,130				85,300
3	Adair	245	1,468	29	58	6	118	236	1,300
	Allen	370	1,871	48	96	5	130	260	2,200
	Barren	332	1,753	47	94	5	142	284	2,100
	Breckinridge	560	4,806	105	210	9	188	376	4,100
	Bullitt	144	1,492	31	62	10	215	430	1,300
	Butler	142	674	15	30	5	106	212	800
	Casey	203	705	14	28	3	69	138	650
	Clinton	154	987	18	36	6	117	234	800
	Cumberland	44	136	3	6	3	68	136	150
	Edmonson	100	470	12	24	5	120	240	600
	Grayson	423	2,855	72	144	7	170	340	3,200
	Green	192	1,338	30	60	7	156	312	1,400
	Hardin	412	3,561	85	170	9	206	412	3,700
	Hart	36	295	7	14	8	194	388	350
	Jefferson	235	2,379	52	104	10	221	442	2,000
	Larue	212	1,674	38	76	8	179	358	1,600
	Marion	274	1,600	29	58	6	106	212	1,200
	Meade	269	3,435	77	154	13	286	572	3,200

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

KENTUCKY—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
3	Metcalfe	92	696	8	16	8	87	174	
	Monroe	243	1,325	22	44	5	91	182	
	Nelson	386	3,454	77	154	9	199	398	
	Russell	125	448	10	20	4	80	160	
	Taylor	432	3,535	68	136	8	157	314	
	Warren	309	3,188	101	202	10	327	654	
	Total	5,934	44,148	998	1,996				
4	Boone	123	1,128	23	46	9	187	374	
	Bracken	358	1,257	26	52	4	73	146	
	Campbell	233	799	16	32	3	69	138	
	Carroll	45	323	10	20	7	222	444	
	Gallatin	87	312	6	12	4	69	138	
	Grant	155	566	14	28	4	90	180	
	Henry	137	1,288	28	56	9	204	408	
	Kenton	60	291	6	12	5	100	200	
	Oldham	196	1,928	41	82	10	209	418	
	Owen	98	375	9	18	4	92	184	
	Pendleton	282	1,196	18	36	4	64	128	
	Trimble	174	1,272	34	68	7	195	390	
	Total	1,948	10,735	231	462				
5	Anderson	64	393	10	20	6	156	312	
	Bath	148	1,500	22	44	10	149	298	
	Bourbon	518	4,993	97	194	10	187	374	
	Boyle	170	2,258	45	90	13	265	530	
	Clark	96	675	20	40	7	208	416	
	Fayette	192	1,991	38	76	10	198	396	
	Fleming	283	1,472	32	64	5	113	226	
	Franklin	86	519	12	24	6	140	280	
	Garrard	165	1,359	22	44	8	133	266	
	Harrison	485	2,879	53	106	6	109	218	
	Jessamine	160	1,098	21	42	7	131	262	
	Lincoln	335	2,021	29	58	6	87	174	
	Madison	85	626	14	28	7	165	330	
	Mason	453	4,322	68	136	10	150	300	
	Mercer	148	2,164	47	94	15	318	636	
	Montgomery	106	841	16	32	8	151	302	
	Nicholas	247	1,289	27	54	5	109	218	
	Robertson	237	491	8	16	2	34	68	
	Scott	178	2,335	47	94	13	264	528	
	Shelby	425	3,722	74	148	9	174	348	
	Spencer	121	801	18	36	7	149	298	
	Washington	297	1,893	41	82	6	138	276	
	Woodford	218	2,672	42	84	12	193	386	
	Total	5,217	42,314	803	1,606				
6	Boyd	10	43	1	2	4	100	200	
	Carter	6	126	2	4	21	333	666	
	Clay			1	2				
	Estill	2	20			10			
	Greenup	28	165	4	8	6	143	286	
	Jackson	32	100	2	4	3	63	126	
	Knox	7	49	1	2	7	143	286	
	Laurel	13	78	4	8	6	308	616	
	Lee	5	12			2			
	Lewis	98	620	12	24	6	122	244	
	Magoffin	1	3			3			
	Morgan	5	25	1	2	5	200	400	
	Powell	3	62	2	4	21	667	1,334	
	Pulaski	404	1,701	39	78	4	97	194	
	Rockcastle	39	257	4	8	7	103	206	
	Rowan	29	145	2	4	5	69	138	
	Wayne	169	1,205	27	54	7	160	320	
	Whitley	5	5			1			
	Wolfe	3	46	1	2	15	333	666	
	Total	859	4,662	103	206				
	State total	24,001	213,034	5,486	10,972	9	229	458	

MARYLAND

1	Allegany	211	1,231	21	41	6	100	195	
	Garrett	606	1,772	58	113	3	96	187	
	Total	817	3,003	79	154				
2	Baltimore	710	6,854	189	369	10	266	519	
	Carroll	2,021	19,575	456	889	10	226	441	
	Cecil	578	8,700	252	491	15	436	850	
	Frederick	2,000	23,294	521	1,016	12	260	507	
	Harford	636	4,552	150	292	7	236	460	
	Howard	435	5,695	146	285	13	336	655	
	Kent	453	12,548	331	645	28	731	1,425	
	Montgomery	616	8,254	255	497	15	414	807	
	Queen Annes	636	15,039	466	909	28	733	1,429	
	Washington	1,138	16,615	385	751	15	338	660	
	Total	9,223	125,126	3,151	6,144				

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

MARYLAND—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
8	Anne Arundel	212	1,924	24	47	9	113	220	1,300
	Calvert	118	908	26	51	8	220	429	1,300
	Charles	468	4,255	88	172	9	188	367	4,400
	Prince Georges	330	3,026	71	138	9	215	419	3,700
	St. Marys	372	5,453	130	254	15	349	681	5,900
	Total	1,500	15,566	339	662				16,600
9	Caroline	765	12,315	340	663	16	444	866	11,300
	Dorchester	612	11,095	319	622	18	521	1,016	10,600
	Somerset	97	779	14	27	8	144	281	500
	Talbot	660	16,328	444	866	25	673	1,312	14,800
	Wicomico	78	619	14	27	8	179	349	600
	Worcester	124	1,507	30	58	12	242	472	1,100
	Total	2,336	42,643	1,161	2,263				38,900
	State, total	13,876	186,338	4,730	9,223	13	341	665	172,000

MICHIGAN

1	Alger	3	8	1	2	3	333	666	40
	Baraga	8	13	1	2	2	125	250	30
	Chippewa	144	531	9	18	4	62	124	550
	Delta	31	142	4	8	5	129	258	180
	Dickinson			1	2				30
	Gogebic			(1)					10
	Houghton	17	39	2	4	2	118	236	110
	Iron			(1)					20
	Luce	16	37	(1)		2			30
	Mackinac	22	50	2	4	2	91	182	140
	Marquette			(1)					20
	Menominee	135	316	12	24	2	89	178	380
	Ontonagon	31	70	2	4	2	65	130	100
	Schoolcraft	24	48	1	2	2	42	84	60
	Total	431	1,254	35	70				1,700
2	Antrim	195	734	22	44	4	113	226	1,000
	Benzie	56	250	4	8	4	71	142	200
	Charlevoix	228	1,237	31	62	5	136	272	1,300
	Emmet	138	719	18	36	5	130	260	800
	Grand Traverse	309	1,777	46	92	6	149	298	2,000
	Kalkaska	66	265	7	14	4	106	212	400
	Leelanau	257	906	23	46	4	89	178	1,000
	Manistee	211	848	25	50	4	118	236	1,200
	Missaukee	332	1,734	66	132	5	199	398	2,400
	Wexford	184	729	23	46	4	125	250	1,000
	Total	1,976	9,199	265	530				11,300
3	Alcona	410	1,836	82	164	4	200	400	2,700
	Alpena	730	4,616	173	346	6	237	474	6,300
	Cheboygan	195	880	29	58	5	149	298	1,200
	Crawford	4							
	Iosco	328	1,462	57	114	4	174	348	2,200
	Montmorency	172	1,090	43	86	6	250	500	1,700
	Ogemaw	378	1,677	78	156	4	206	412	2,700
	Oscoda	34	92	4	8	3	118	236	200
	Otsego	68	260	9	18	4	132	264	400
	Presque Isle	503	3,191	106	212	5	179	358	4,500
	Roscommon	13	60	2	4	5	154	308	100
	Total	2,925	15,164	583	1,166				22,000
4	Lake	129	590	18	36	5	140	280	900
	Mason	706	5,031	155	310	7	220	440	5,300
	Muskegon	583	4,041	128	256	7	220	440	5,100
	Newaygo	1,057	5,131	207	414	5	196	392	7,100
	Oceana	674	3,152	133	266	5	197	394	4,600
	Total	3,149	17,945	641	1,282				23,000
5	Clare	400	2,329	88	176	6	219	438	3,000
	Gladwin	542	3,227	146	292	6	269	538	5,000
	Gratiot	2,839	27,545	1,025	2,050	10	361	722	32,000
	Isabella	1,796	16,549	581	1,162	9	323	646	19,000
	Mecosta	976	5,267	190	380	5	195	390	7,000
	Midland	999	7,739	316	632	8	316	632	10,000
	Montcalm	2,455	17,253	628	1,256	7	256	512	22,000
	Osceola	596	3,202	98	196	5	164	328	4,000
	Total	10,605	83,111	3,072	6,144				102,000
6	Arenac	669	3,942	135	270	6	202	404	5,000
	Bay	2,291	18,444	685	1,370	8	299	598	21,000
	Huron	4,176	49,724	1,771	3,542	12	424	848	56,000
	Saginaw	4,050	40,816	1,515	3,030	10	374	748	45,000
	Sanilac	4,698	49,710	1,644	3,288	11	350	700	52,000
	Tuscola	3,512	43,238	1,689	3,378	12	481	962	46,000
	Total	19,396	205,874	7,439	14,878				225,000
7	Allegan	3,012	22,224	688	1,376	7	228	456	25,000
	Berrien	1,807	12,749	474	948	7	262	524	15,000
	Cass	1,600	15,124	445	890	9	278	556	15,000
	Kalamazoo	1,735	23,211	705	1,410	13	406	812	22,000
	Kent	2,488	17,247	613	1,226	7	246	492	22,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

MICHIGAN—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
7	Ottawa	2,310	16,388	557	1,114	7	241	482	20,000
	Van Buren	1,645	11,552	324	648	7	197	394	12,000
	Total	14,597	118,495	3,806	7,612				131,000
8	Barry	2,067	19,610	573	1,146	9	277	554	20,000
	Branch	2,347	21,851	655	1,310	9	279	558	22,000
	Calhoun	2,703	28,165	831	1,662	10	307	614	28,000
	Clinton	2,796	31,796	964	1,928	11	345	690	34,000
	Eaton	2,963	30,339	979	1,958	10	330	660	32,000
	Hillsdale	2,941	22,918	689	1,378	8	234	468	25,000
	Ingham	2,257	23,359	705	1,410	10	312	624	24,000
	Ionia	2,398	29,020	887	1,774	12	370	740	30,000
	Jackson	2,352	19,293	496	992	8	211	422	18,000
	St. Joseph	1,810	21,716	647	1,294	12	357	714	21,000
	Shiawassee	2,947	31,952	917	1,834	11	311	622	31,000
	Total	27,581	280,019	8,343	16,686				285,000
9	Genesee	2,703	23,943	799	1,598	9	286	572	27,000
	Lapeer	2,805	20,681	790	1,580	7	282	564	25,000
	Lenawee	3,883	41,116	1,355	2,710	11	349	698	44,000
	Livingston	1,845	19,234	516	1,032	10	280	560	18,000
	Macomb	2,113	15,450	416	832	7	197	394	16,000
	Monroe	3,412	31,583	1,013	2,026	9	297	594	34,000
	Oakland	1,300	11,625	371	742	9	285	570	13,000
	St. Clair	3,426	27,121	851	1,702	8	248	496	30,000
	Washtenaw	2,587	25,722	774	1,548	10	299	598	27,000
	Wayne	1,294	7,912	220	440	6	170	340	8,000
	Total	25,460	224,387	7,105	14,210				242,000
	State total	106,120	955,448	31,289	62,578	9	295	590	1,043,000

MINNESOTA

1	Becker	1,105	15,380	379	796	14	343	720	15,500
	Clay	1,918	70,866	1,638	3,440	37	854	1,793	72,750
	Clearwater	385	3,476	67	141	9	174	365	3,550
	Kittson	1,082	84,635	2,103	4,416	80	1,980	4,158	93,970
	Mahnomen	629	10,832	205	430	17	326	685	10,860
	Marshall	1,872	93,894	2,570	5,397	50	1,373	2,883	102,100
	Norman	1,700	45,519	1,057	2,220	27	622	1,306	47,600
	Pennington	649	9,240	183	384	14	282	592	8,860
	Polk	3,202	127,728	3,563	7,482	40	1,113	2,337	139,700
	Red Lake	505	8,570	168	353	17	333	699	8,470
	Roseau	1,551	25,463	493	1,035	16	318	668	20,800
	Total	14,578	495,603	12,426	26,094				522,160
2	Beltrami	248	1,421	16	34	6	65	136	840
	Cass	27	109	2	4	4	74	155	90
	Hubbard	77	975	5	10	13	65	136	380
	Itasca	97	318	4	8	3	41	86	190
	Koochiching	179	1,218	12	25	7	67	141	710
	Lake of the Woods	306	3,809	63	132	12	206	433	3,600
	Total	934	7,850	102	213				5,810
3	St. Louis	74	246	5	10	3	68	143	230
	Total	74	246	5	10				230
4	Bigstone	632	10,734	208	437	17	329	691	10,160
	Chippewa	174	1,188	43	90	7	247	519	2,010
	Douglas	814	6,498	103	216	8	127	267	4,830
	Grant	536	6,429	190	399	12	354	743	8,620
	Lac Qui Parle	501	4,676	123	258	9	246	517	7,870
	Otter Tail	2,408	28,003	514	1,079	12	213	447	24,350
	Pope	506	4,886	61	128	10	121	254	3,930
	Stevens	505	6,302	156	328	12	309	649	7,920
	Swift	393	3,946	76	160	10	193	405	3,640
	Traverse	781	20,004	408	857	26	522	1,096	19,130
	Wilkin	1,364	50,278	1,107	2,325	37	812	1,705	50,000
	Yellow Medicine	428	3,742	83	174	9	194	407	5,530
	Total	9,042	146,686	3,072	6,451				147,990
5	Benton	57	337	2	4	6	35	74	120
	Carver	254	1,105	17	36	4	67	141	680
	Kandiyohi	227	1,580	19	40	7	84	176	1,280
	McLeod	655	3,478	80	168	5	122	256	3,340
	Meeker	521	3,039	36	76	6	69	145	2,030
	Morrison	322	1,351	8	17	4	25	52	470
	Renville	521	3,905	165	346	7	317	666	8,100
	Scott	353	2,017	49	103	6	139	292	2,210
	Sherburne	133	955	8	17	7	60	126	450
	Sibley	733	4,473	104	218	6	142	298	4,720
	Stearns	764	4,135	34	71	5	45	94	2,010
	Todd	385	1,720	9	19	4	23	48	580
	Wadena	81	621	3	6	8	37	78	170
	Wright	529	2,804	46	97	5	87	183	2,100
	Total	5,535	31,520	580	1,218				28,260

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

MINNESOTA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
6	Aitkin	53	271	4	8	5	75	158	230
	Anoka	48	213	4	8	4	83	174	260
	Carlton	11	13	1	2	1	91	191	30
	Chisago	62	229	3	6	4	48	101	190
	Crow Wing	19	110	1	2	6	53	111	80
	Hennepin	57	417	5	10	7	88	185	230
	Isanti	227	1,142	10	21	5	44	92	510
	Kanabec	22	73	2	4	3	91	191	100
	Mille Lacs	30	341	6	13	11	200	420	220
	Pine	19	163	1	2	9	53	111	90
	Ramsey	5	14	1	2	3	200	420	30
	Washington	88	786	20	42	9	227	477	870
	Total	641	3,772	56	120				2,840
7	Cottonwood	55	407	45	94	7	818	1,718	2,380
	Jackson	37	77	11	23	2	297	624	570
	Lincoln	268	2,268	16	34	8	60	126	1,050
	Lyon	280	2,130	20	42	8	71	149	1,530
	Murray	23	97	9	19	4	391	821	510
	Nobles	12	60	2	4	5	167	351	130
	Pipestone	13	44	2	4	3	154	323	140
	Redwood	338	1,972	59	124	6	175	368	3,260
	Rock	3	13	1	2	4	333	699	90
	Total	1,029	7,068	165	346				9,660
8	Blue Earth	506	3,581	95	200	7	188	395	4,970
	Brown	134	655	30	63	5	224	470	1,810
	Faribault	69	573	44	92	8	638	1,340	1,690
	Freeborn	73	448	17	36	6	233	489	680
	Le Sueur	645	4,409	123	258	7	191	401	6,050
	Martin	25	157	4	8	6	160	336	150
	Nicollet	280	1,784	48	101	6	171	359	2,710
	Rice	388	2,161	35	74	6	90	189	1,720
	Steele	51	251	13	27	5	255	536	510
	Waseca	183	1,246	96	202	7	525	1,102	3,900
	Watonwan	36	182	11	23	5	306	643	690
	Total	2,390	15,447	516	1,084				24,880
9	Dakota	440	5,802	111	233	13	252	529	4,630
	Dodge	53	285	12	25	5	226	475	480
	Fillmore	90	310	6	13	3	67	141	270
	Goodhue	783	4,809	95	200	6	121	254	4,490
	Houston	76	241	4	8	3	53	111	200
	Mower	77	444	7	15	6	91	191	270
	Olmsted	117	849	22	46	7	188	395	870
	Wabasha	162	1,128	26	55	7	160	336	1,400
	Winona	119	652	11	23	5	92	193	560
	Total	1,917	14,520	294	618				13,170
	State total	36,140	722,712	17,218	36,154	20	476	1,000	755,000

MISSOURI

1	Andrew	1,023	6,844	388	757	7	379	739	16,200
	Atchison	351	10,989	254	495	31	724	1,412	12,200
	Buchanan	933	17,828	767	1,496	19	822	1,603	23,600
	Caldwell	1,193	9,303	632	1,232	8	530	1,034	18,900
	Clay	546	7,892	421	821	14	771	1,503	12,600
	Clinton	718	7,370	362	706	10	504	983	11,200
	Daviess	1,684	13,982	687	1,340	8	408	796	27,400
	De Kalb	1,067	8,821	453	883	8	425	829	16,800
	Gentry	1,087	8,589	435	848	8	400	780	19,000
	Harrison	1,253	8,516	403	786	7	322	628	21,600
	Holt	617	15,407	357	696	25	579	1,129	18,100
	Nodaway	1,032	10,242	265	517	10	257	501	16,100
	Platte	957	24,864	1,069	2,085	26	1,117	2,178	29,400
	Ray	1,453	19,037	1,011	1,971	13	696	1,357	29,900
	Worth	432	3,642	125	244	8	289	564	7,000
	Total	14,346	173,326	7,629	14,877				280,000
2	Adair	584	5,032	262	511	9	449	876	9,300
	Carroll	1,900	33,427	1,344	2,621	18	707	1,379	43,900
	Chariton	1,858	21,919	975	1,901	12	525	1,024	32,600
	Grundy	706	4,056	199	388	6	282	550	11,200
	Linn	951	6,552	447	872	7	470	916	15,300
	Livingston	1,298	11,277	612	1,193	9	471	918	23,000
	Macon	1,168	8,169	445	868	7	381	743	18,100
	Mercer	453	3,326	118	230	7	260	507	7,200
	Putnam	192	942	44	86	5	229	447	2,400
	Randolph	1,006	8,753	392	764	9	390	760	15,800
	Schuyler	222	1,353	52	101	6	234	456	2,400
	Sullivan	451	2,519	195	380	6	432	842	7,800
	Total	10,789	107,325	5,085	9,915				189,000
3	Audrain	1,424	16,128	893	1,741	11	627	1,223	26,300
	Clark	906	8,996	278	542	10	307	599	13,400
	Knox	776	8,552	236	460	11	304	593	13,400
	Lewis	1,133	16,695	484	944	15	427	833	19,300
	Marion	1,060	15,787	571	1,113	15	539	1,051	19,500
	Monroe	1,428	15,663	617	1,203	11	432	842	23,300
	Pike	1,220	14,724	621	1,211	12	509	993	20,500

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

MISSOURI—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
3	Ralls	949	11,340	451	879	12	475	926	16,100
	Scotland	607	4,407	157	306	7	259	505	7,900
	Shelby	957	14,883	530	1,034	16	554	1,080	21,300
	Total	10,460	127,175	4,838	9,433				181,000
4	Bates	2,244	24,300	999	1,948	11	445	868	41,200
	Cass	1,702	14,028	993	1,936	8	583	1,137	30,400
	Cedar	1,191	9,461	422	823	8	354	690	20,900
	Henry	1,975	15,575	751	1,464	8	380	741	31,600
	Jackson	1,015	10,942	690	1,346	11	680	1,326	22,500
	Johnson	1,324	12,404	887	1,730	9	670	1,306	27,100
	Lafayette	1,979	21,292	1,166	2,274	11	589	1,149	31,200
	St. Clair	1,373	13,696	512	998	10	373	727	24,300
	Vernon	2,285	27,505	1,016	1,981	12	445	868	46,800
	Total	15,088	149,203	7,436	14,500				276,000
5	Benton	943	7,648	288	562	8	305	595	14,700
	Boone	1,285	10,774	424	827	8	330	644	18,600
	Callaway	1,191	12,027	516	1,006	10	433	844	20,200
	Camden	222	797	80	156	4	360	702	4,000
	Cole	975	9,177	304	593	9	312	608	13,500
	Cooper	1,360	16,152	651	1,269	12	479	934	22,800
	Dallas	721	2,494	182	355	3	252	491	11,500
	Hickory	632	2,960	180	351	5	285	556	10,500
	Howard	796	12,405	394	768	16	495	965	16,200
	Laclede	936	3,623	261	509	4	279	544	15,000
	Maries	783	5,102	181	353	7	231	450	8,700
	Miller	891	5,545	293	571	6	329	642	11,900
	Moniteau	1,079	9,232	379	739	9	351	684	16,900
	Morgan	810	6,490	235	458	8	290	566	12,600
	Osage	995	10,378	327	638	10	329	642	12,900
	Pettis	1,654	17,704	702	1,369	11	424	827	26,500
	Phelps	607	3,602	144	281	6	237	462	5,800
	Polk	1,487	9,049	490	956	6	330	644	24,800
	Pulaski	253	1,049	60	117	4	237	462	3,900
	Saline	1,861	27,076	992	1,934	15	533	1,039	34,900
	Total	19,481	173,284	7,083	13,812				306,000
6	Crawford	359	2,284	75	146	6	209	408	3,300
	Franklin	1,897	18,866	691	1,347	10	364	710	22,600
	Gasconade	1,112	11,872	394	768	11	354	690	12,900
	Jefferson	640	5,335	175	341	8	273	532	7,400
	Lincoln	1,471	18,881	739	1,441	13	502	979	24,900
	Montgomery	1,337	14,382	683	1,332	11	511	996	20,400
	Perry	1,080	15,389	472	920	14	437	852	16,900
	St. Charles	1,759	34,442	1,229	2,397	20	699	1,363	36,600
	St. Francois	331	2,592	94	183	8	284	554	3,300
	Ste. Genevieve	564	4,780	175	341	8	310	604	5,700
	St. Louis	1,382	17,776	567	1,106	13	410	800	20,000
	Warren	947	14,085	482	940	15	509	993	15,800
	Washington	179	1,321	54	105	7	302	589	2,200
	Total	13,058	162,605	5,830	11,367				192,000
7	Barry	1,020	5,418	210	410	5	206	402	10,900
	Barton	1,974	34,584	995	1,940	18	504	983	44,700
	Christian	1,023	3,121	270	526	3	264	515	11,400
	Dade	1,257	17,974	713	1,390	14	567	1,106	27,900
	Greene	1,757	7,079	545	1,063	4	310	604	25,900
	Jasper	2,154	35,411	1,113	2,170	16	517	1,008	45,900
	Lawrence	2,013	16,096	737	1,437	8	366	714	30,400
	McDonald	406	2,618	109	213	6	268	523	5,800
	Newton	1,419	15,148	615	1,199	11	433	844	25,000
	Stone	289	625	81	158	2	280	546	3,100
	Total	13,312	138,074	5,388	10,506				231,000
8	Bollinger	861	5,975	104	203	7	121	236	6,900
	Carter	108	254	13	25	2	120	234	800
	Dent	484	1,797	53	103	4	110	214	3,900
	Douglas	468	1,663	72	140	4	154	300	5,700
	Howell	662	2,108	78	152	3	118	230	6,000
	Iron	124	643	8	16	5	65	127	600
	Madison	295	1,713	41	80	6	139	271	2,800
	Oregon	358	1,342	46	90	4	128	250	3,000
	Ozark	265	1,030	37	72	4	140	273	2,700
	Reynolds	193	555	18	35	3	93	181	1,400
	Ripley	473	1,553	51	99	3	108	211	4,500
	Shannon	272	599	28	55	2	103	201	2,600
	Taney	38	123	5	10	3	132	257	400
	Texas	1,157	5,769	256	499	5	221	431	14,400
	Wayne	285	1,276	40	78	4	140	273	2,900
	Webster	1,281	3,094	223	435	2	174	339	16,500
	Wright	765	1,697	153	298	2	200	390	9,300
	Total	8,089	31,191	1,226	2,390				85,000
9	Butler	1,396	3,906	781	1,523	3	562	1,096	21,200
	Cape Girardeau	1,478	13,789	622	1,213	9	421	821	16,100
	Dunklin	787	3,148	606	1,186	4	773	1,507	17,400
	Mississippi	564	12,365	528	1,030	22	936	1,825	16,000
	New Madrid	856	14,961	755	1,472	17	882	1,720	21,600
	Pemiscot	95	1,439	70	136	15	74	144	1,600
	Scott	976	18,652	548	1,069	19	561	1,094	20,600
	Stoddard	2,138	22,119	1,373	2,677	10	642	1,252	40,500
	Total	8,284	90,409	5,285	10,306				155,000
	State total	112,907	1,151,992	49,800	97,106	1,065	441	860	1,895,000

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

MONTANA

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
1	Deerlodge	20	967	28	53	48	1,400	2,646	1,100
	Flathead	816	25,027	859	1,624	31	1,053	1,990	28,200
	Granite	55	1,285	21	40	23	382	722	1,000
	Lake	719	20,102	487	920	28	677	1,280	22,200
	Lincoln	73	829	19	36	11	260	491	1,100
	Mineral	39	909	21	40	23	538	1,017	900
	Missoula	229	8,546	225	425	37	983	1,858	7,800
	Powell	102	5,222	94	178	51	922	1,743	5,100
	Ravalli	441	7,148	249	471	16	565	1,068	7,900
	Sanders	240	7,014	181	342	29	754	1,425	8,300
	Total	2,734	77,049	2,184	4,129				83,600
2	Blaine	610	80,783	2,274	4,298	132	3,728	7,046	114,200
	Chouteau	1,165	341,090	8,692	16,428	293	7,461	14,101	423,900
	Glacier	252	47,843	2,045	3,865	190	8,115	15,337	71,400
	Hill	979	301,256	9,205	17,397	308	9,402	17,770	412,900
	Liberty	339	160,047	6,778	12,810	472	19,994	37,780	258,000
	Phillips	646	87,425	1,651	3,120	135	2,556	4,831	118,300
	Pondera	644	144,807	5,939	11,225	225	9,222	17,430	211,100
	Teton	902	155,097	4,897	9,255	172	5,429	10,261	193,000
	Toole	483	146,748	6,270	11,850	304	12,981	24,534	222,600
	Total	6,020	1,465,696	47,751	90,248				2,025,400
3	Daniels	706	186,797	2,578	4,872	265	3,652	6,902	235,000
	Dawson	702	129,352	1,913	2,482	184	1,870	3,534	170,300
	Garfield	280	40,626	281	531	145	1,004	1,898	43,500
	McCone	677	161,986	2,045	3,865	239	3,021	5,710	234,800
	Richland	925	134,806	1,572	2,971	146	1,699	3,211	172,500
	Roosevelt	1,041	255,046	3,037	5,740	245	2,917	5,513	332,500
	Sheridan	1,057	207,360	3,138	5,931	196	2,969	5,611	257,200
	Valley	1,134	225,291	4,444	8,399	199	3,919	7,407	319,100
	Total	6,522	1,341,264	18,408	34,791				1,764,900
5	Broadwater	188	25,215	588	1,111	134	3,128	5,912	33,100
	Cascade	895	124,974	3,136	5,927	140	3,504	6,623	150,700
	Fergus	992	153,187	2,536	4,793	154	2,556	4,831	175,500
	Golden Valley	161	19,320	329	622	120	2,043	3,861	20,100
	Judith Basin	436	89,530	1,095	2,070	185	2,511	4,746	92,200
	Lewis and Clark	196	14,459	338	639	74	1,724	3,258	15,800
	Meagher	38	3,770	46	87	99	1,211	2,289	3,700
	Musselshell	179	16,919	280	529	95	1,564	2,956	18,000
	Petroleum	98	6,684	75	142	68	765	1,446	6,600
	Wheatland	116	9,432	132	249	81	1,138	2,151	10,200
	Total	3,299	454,490	8,555	16,169				525,900
7	Beaverhead	74	9,485	289	546	128	3,905	7,380	12,800
	Gallatin	803	63,769	1,608	3,039	79	2,002	3,784	69,400
	Jefferson	108	9,346	162	306	87	1,500	2,835	9,300
	Madison	272	11,473	186	352	42	684	1,293	11,800
	Silver Bow	7	63	3	6	9	429	811	200
	Total	1,264	94,136	2,248	4,249				103,500
8	Big Horn	537	66,343	1,537	2,905	124	2,862	5,409	72,800
	Carbon	718	29,942	694	1,312	42	967	1,828	31,500
	Park	302	22,902	458	866	76	1,517	2,867	25,200
	Stillwater	451	57,755	1,131	2,138	128	2,508	4,740	64,900
	Sweet Grass	189	11,292	137	259	60	725	1,370	11,300
	Treasure	114	5,831	99	187	51	868	1,641	5,700
	Yellowstone	1,068	81,890	1,894	3,580	77	1,773	3,351	93,900
	Total	3,379	275,955	5,950	11,247				305,300
9	Carter	245	26,888	175	331	110	714	1,349	28,100
	Custer	253	20,469	182	344	81	719	1,359	23,600
	Fallon	397	82,966	399	754	209	1,005	1,899	96,500
	Powder River	290	28,509	355	671	98	1,224	2,313	29,600
	Prairie	218	36,261	216	408	166	991	1,873	43,300
	Rosebud	293	23,947	344	650	82	1,174	2,219	27,700
	Wibaux	319	52,470	216	408	169	677	1,280	66,600
	Total	2,015	271,510	1,887	3,566				315,400
	State total	25,233	3,980,100	86,983	164,399	6,515	3,447	6,515	5,124,000

NEBRASKA

1	Banner	307	55,908	2,207	4,414	182	7,189	14,378	77,490
	Box Butte	695	97,131	2,355	4,710	140	3,388	6,776	114,290
	Cheyenne	1,191	163,166	4,954	9,908	137	4,160	8,320	234,110
	Dawes	584	43,026	1,126	2,252	74	1,928	3,856	55,570
	Deuel	531	68,713	2,489	4,978	129	4,687	9,374	89,150
	Garden	472	43,171	1,317	2,634	91	2,790	5,580	57,960
	Kimball	854	134,912	3,678	7,356	158	4,307	8,614	177,030
	Morrill	354	35,847	678	1,356	101	1,915	3,830	38,810
	Scotts Bluff	326	17,009	510	1,020	52	1,564	3,128	18,320
	Sheridan	587	54,377	1,154	2,308	93	1,966	3,932	65,130
	Sioux	217	8,645	163	326	40	751	1,502	9,900
	Total	6,118	721,905	20,631	41,262				937,760

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

NEBRASKA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
2	Arthur	3	0	[1]			0		
	Blaine	1	1			1			
	Boyd	99	2,256	9	18	22	91	182	1,04
	Brown	78	2,433	16	32	31	205	410	1,60
	Cherry	34	1,437	13	26	42	382	764	1,51
	Garfield	12	188	3	6	16	250	500	22
	Grant								
	Holt	287	7,385	75	150	26	261	522	5,59
	Hooker	1	14			14			
	Keyapaha	27	1,208	11	22	45	407	814	1,09
	Logan	126	6,663	101	202	53	802	1,604	6,96
	Loup	21	374	3	6	18	143	286	20
	McPherson	6	64	1	2	11	167	334	6
	Rock	8	78	[1]		10	0		2
	Thomas								
	Wheeler	23	167	[1]		7			8
	Total	726	22,268	232	464				18,48
3	Antelope	543	7,212	52	104	13	96	192	4,69
	Boone	724	11,904	51	102	16	69	138	7,46
	Burt	320	8,744	154	308	27	481	962	8,08
	Cedar	47	387	5	10	8	106	212	37
	Cuming	198	1,632	20	40	8	101	202	1,42
	Dakota	20	297	3	6	15	150	300	21
	Dixon	29	249	1	2	9	34	68	4
	Knox	222	3,766	31	62	17	140	280	2,52
	Madison	550	6,278	23	46	11	42	84	3,33
	Pierce	279	2,429	18	36	9	65	130	1,42
	Stanton	128	1,676	15	30	13	117	234	1,49
	Thurston	33	487	8	16	15	242	484	56
	Wayne	35	406	4	8	12	114	228	23
	Total	3,138	45,467	385	770				31,86
5	Buffalo	1,281	41,654	612	1,224	33	478	956	42,58
	Custer	1,353	48,619	761	1,522	36	562	1,124	52,56
	Dawson	482	20,937	329	658	43	683	1,366	22,72
	Greeley	398	10,352	96	192	26	241	482	8,66
	Hall	840	33,131	456	912	39	543	1,086	31,46
	Howard	1,052	24,162	331	662	23	315	630	26,57
	Sherman	695	14,547	125	250	21	180	360	15,09
	Valley	564	15,881	174	348	28	309	618	15,92
	Total	6,665	209,283	2,884	5,768				215,49
6	Butler	1,711	46,956	783	1,566	27	458	916	49,66
	Cass	1,461	26,547	596	1,192	18	408	816	31,96
	Colfax	776	18,889	263	526	24	339	678	20,10
	Dodge	1,149	25,401	525	1,050	22	457	914	27,56
	Douglas	223	2,592	73	146	12	327	654	4,11
	Hamilton	1,452	61,418	1,039	2,078	42	716	1,432	59,18
	Lancaster	2,655	67,820	1,342	2,684	26	505	1,010	72,44
	Merrick	1,013	24,082	345	690	24	341	682	24,93
	Nance	889	20,894	275	550	24	309	618	20,49
	Platte	1,289	20,844	311	622	16	241	482	22,38
	Polk	1,437	35,887	528	1,056	25	367	734	37,52
	Sarpy	282	4,032	109	6,218	14	387	774	6,19
	Saunders	2,165	32,115	799	1,598	15	369	738	41,13
	Seward	1,878	56,065	1,129	2,258	30	601	1,202	60,10
	Washington	444	8,318	181	362	19	408	816	9,26
	York	1,938	53,145	1,001	2,002	27	517	1,034	53,68
	Total	20,762	505,005	9,299	18,598	24			540,26
7	Chase	578	74,196	1,354	2,708	128	2,343	4,686	95,49
	Dundy	363	31,168	376	752	86	1,036	2,072	35,28
	Frontier	825	55,789	1,035	2,070	68	1,255	2,510	60,63
	Hayes	426	43,544	529	1,058	102	1,242	2,484	47,26
	Hitchcock	654	71,820	664	1,328	110	1,015	2,030	76,36
	Keith	467	72,247	1,828	3,656	155	3,914	7,828	81,75
	Lincoln	713	57,268	1,004	2,008	80	1,408	2,816	58,21
	Perkins	1,033	137,544	3,414	6,828	133	3,305	6,610	166,78
	Redwillow	745	66,093	948	1,896	89	1,272	2,544	72,75
	Total	5,804	609,669	11,152	22,304				694,05
8	Adams	1,407	86,598	1,550	3,100	62	1,102	2,204	86,23
	Franklin	874	42,890	843	1,686	49	965	1,930	44,05
	Furnas	955	61,520	976	1,952	64	1,022	2,044	68,15
	Gosper	642	31,423	634	1,268	49	988	1,976	31,45
	Harlan	877	53,267	957	1,914	61	1,091	2,182	56,71
	Kearney	1,082	68,816	1,324	2,648	64	1,224	2,448	68,58
	Phelps	928	56,274	1,099	2,198	61	1,184	2,368	55,93
	Webster	1,009	40,279	533	1,066	40	529	1,058	41,91
	Total	7,773	441,067	7,916	15,832				452,41
	Clay	1,477	83,960	1,483	2,966	57	1,004	2,008	84,16
	Fillmore	1,604	84,369	1,596	3,192	50	942	1,884	87,35
	Gage	2,492	70,184	1,093	2,186	32	439	878	82,22
	Jefferson	1,370	59,572	616	1,232	48	450	900	61,38
	Johnson	1,070	24,512	516	1,032	29	482	964	27,15
	Nemaha	926	24,335	538	1,076	26	581	1,162	26,36
	Nuckolls	1,197	46,930	661	1,322	39	552	1,104	48,78
	Otoe	1,897	37,381	777	1,554	20	410	820	42,05
	Pawnee	916	16,414	383	766	18	418	836	18,75
	Richardson	1,296	26,781	604	1,208	21	466	932	30,57
	Saline	2,176	75,975	1,258	2,516	35	578	1,156	78,49
	Thayer	1,421	71,437	1,020	2,040	50	718	1,436	71,27
	Total	17,932	630,850	10,545	21,090				658,78
	State, total	68,918	3,185,514	63,044	126,088	46	915	1,830	3,549,08

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

NEW JERSEY

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
2	Bergen	2	8	(1)		4			10
	Essex	1	22	1	2	22	1,000	2,050	20
	Hunterdon	1,108	9,538	238	488	9	215	441	8,800
	Morris	133	770	22	45	6	165	338	800
	Passaic	1	0	1	2		1,000	2,050	20
	Somerset	421	4,957	117	240	12	278	570	4,500
	Sussex	55	322	12	25	6	218	447	400
	Union	6	31	1	2	5	167	342	50
	Warren	336	3,150	78	160	9	232	476	2,700
	Total	2,063	18,798	470	964				17,300
5	Burlington	387	3,594	104	213	9	269	551	3,700
	Mercer	461	9,622	282	578	21	612	1,255	9,100
	Middlesex	364	6,506	183	375	18	503	1,031	5,900
	Monmouth	648	10,175	298	611	16	460	943	9,600
	Ocean	29	242	8	16	8	276	566	300
	Total	1,899	30,139	875	1,793				28,600
8	Atlantic	3	0	(1)					30
	Camden	49	558	9	18	11	184	377	380
	Cape May	5	168	2	4	34	400	820	90
	Cumberland	158	955	39	80	6	247	506	1,500
	Gloucester	129	603	28	47	5	178	365	1,000
	Salem	392	3,014	90	184	8	230	472	3,100
	Total	736	5,298	163	333				6,100
	State, total	4,688	54,235	1,508	3,090	12	322	660	52,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

NEW MEXICO

1	Bernalillo	79	1,440	10	19	18	127	240	900
	McKinley	31	316	5	9	10	161	304	300
	Rio Arriba	241	8,461	55	104	35	228	431	8,300
	Sandoval	156	1,112	11	21	7	71	134	900
	San Juan	167	832	14	26	5	84	159	800
	Santa Fe	92	4,478	7	13	49	76	144	4,500
	Taos	463	1,799	14	26	4	30	57	1,200
	Valencia	468	4,203	34	64	9	73	138	3,700
	Total	1,697	22,641	150	282				18,600
3	Colfax	148	9,931	37	70	67	250	472	6,700
	Curry	850	193,160	524	990	227	616	1,164	217,000
	De Baca	22	388	8	15	18	364	688	300
	Guadalupe	6	225			38			
	Harding	134	23,758	13	25	177	97	183	23,000
	Mora	66	1,804	11	21	27	167	316	1,500
	Quay	545	118,848	120	227	218	220	416	122,000
	Roosevelt	464	52,422	150	284	113	323	610	59,000
	San Miguel	47	1,490	10	19	32	213	403	1,000
	Torrance	203	23,241	31	59	114	153	289	10,000
	Union	108	9,621	14	26	89	130	246	6,000
	Total	2,593	434,888	918	1,736				446,500
7	Catron	24	351	2	4	15	83	157	100
	Grant	18	161	3	6	9	167	316	100
	Hidalgo	5	15			3			
	Sierra	35	83	3	6	2	86	163	100
	Socorro	30	3,736	10	19	125	333	629	1,500
	Total	112	4,346	18	35				1,800
9	Chaves	10	689	7	13	69	700	1,323	400
	Eddy	5	25	3	6	5	600	1,134	100
	Lea	3	1,035	4	8	345	1,333	2,519	300
	Lincoln	7	281	4	8	40	571	1,079	200
	Otero	18	111	3	6	6	167	316	100
	Total	43	2,141	21	21				1,100
	State, total	4,445	464,016	1,107	2,094	104	249	471	468,000

NEW YORK

2	Jefferson	781	2,706	55	110	3	70	140	2,900
	Lewis	24	53	6	12	2	250	500	200
	St. Lawrence	53	198	10	20	4	189	378	400
	Total	858	2,957	71	142				3,500
3	Clinton	8	30			4			
	Essex	83	471	7	14	6	84	168	300
	Franklin	4	5			1			
	Warren	2	0			0			
	Total	97	506	7	14				300

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

NEW YORK—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
4	Erie	1,974	11,574	370	740	6	187	374	13,200
	Genesee	1,652	21,798	700	1,400	13	424	848	21,200
	Livingston	1,684	26,900	828	1,656	16	492	984	25,100
	Monroe	2,170	27,223	759	1,518	13	350	700	24,500
	Niagara	2,359	20,431	615	1,230	9	261	522	21,200
	Ontario	2,189	26,513	862	1,724	12	394	788	26,600
	Orleans	1,483	16,668	495	990	11	334	668	16,500
	Seneca	1,031	16,127	523	1,046	16	507	1,014	15,400
	Wayne	2,318	15,273	490	980	7	211	432	17,500
	Wyoming	1,368	11,526	357	714	8	261	522	11,900
	Yates	1,017	12,125	439	878	12	432	864	12,900
	Total	19,245	206,158	6,438	12,876				206,000
5	Cayuga	2,197	19,916	777	1,554	9	354	708	22,200
	Chenango	159	786	26	52	5	164	328	800
	Cortland	170	704	23	46	4	135	270	800
	Herkimer	198	960	22	44	5	111	222	800
	Madison	408	2,687	94	188	7	230	460	2,700
	Oneida	417	2,179	77	154	5	185	370	2,400
	Onondaga	1,658	9,537	366	732	6	221	442	11,100
	Oswego	603	2,418	78	156	4	129	258	2,800
	Otsego	143	603	28	56	4	196	392	900
	Total	5,953	39,790	1,491	2,982				44,500
6	Albany	316	1,885	34	68	6	108	216	1,200
	Fulton	72	194	5	10	3	69	138	200
	Montgomery	357	1,973	49	98	6	137	274	1,800
	Rensselaer	343	1,578	41	82	5	120	240	1,400
	Saratoga	286	1,034	33	66	4	115	230	1,000
	Schenectady	97	379	10	20	4	103	206	300
	Schoharie	333	1,808	43	86	5	129	258	1,500
	Washington	161	702	21	42	4	130	260	700
	Total	1,965	9,553	236	472				8,100
7	Allegany	762	3,858	118	236	5	155	310	4,200
	Cattaraugus	387	1,496	51	102	4	132	264	1,700
	Chautauqua	996	2,967	80	160	3	80	160	3,200
	Steuben	2,208	13,175	444	888	6	201	402	15,200
	Total	4,353	21,496	693	1,386				24,300
8	Broome	73	219	10	20	3	137	274	300
	Chemung	418	2,185	65	130	5	156	312	2,400
	Schuyler	719	5,471	144	288	8	200	400	5,600
	Tioga	507	1,986	45	90	4	89	178	1,600
	Tompkins	896	6,556	226	452	7	252	504	7,300
	Total	2,613	16,417	490	980				17,300
9	Columbia	327	2,408	30	60	7	92	184	1,100
	Delaware	16	103	3	6	6	188	376	100
	Dutchess	150	790	21	42	5	140	280	700
	Greene	206	1,499	23	46	7	112	224	900
	Orange	93	341	6	12	4	65	130	200
	Putnam	1	2			1			
	Rockland	2	21			10			
	Sullivan	11	32	3	6	3	273	546	100
	Ulster	171	1,355	24	48	8	140	280	800
	Westchester	5	57			11			
	Total	982	6,608	110	220				3,900
9A	Nassau	7	296	5	10	42	714	1,428	200
	New York City								
	Suffolk	269	1,635	69	138	6	257	514	2,000
	Total	276	1,931	74	148				2,200
	State total	36,342	305,416	9,610	19,220	8	264	528	310,000

NORTH CAROLINA

1. MOUNTAIN

1	Alleghany	102	173	7	14	2	69	135	270
	Ashe	24	47	6	12	2	250	488	100
	Avery	15	7	1	2		67	131	60
	Caldwell	431	1,615	52	101	4	121	236	2,180
	Surry	623	1,809	85	166	3	136	265	3,100
	Watauga	80	84	4	8	1	50	98	140
	Wilkes	585	2,331	122	238	4	209	408	4,320
	Yadkin	1,449	4,800	228	445	3	157	306	7,950
	Total, northern mountain (northwest)	3,309	10,866	505	986				18,200
4	Buncombe	164	414	7	14	3	43	84	280
	Burke	709	2,525	73	142	4	103	201	2,630
	Cherokee	20	50	2	4	2	100	195	90
	Clay	36	96	2	4	3	56	109	110
	Graham			(1)					10
	Haywood	21	69	3	6	3	143	279	110
	Henderson	89	149	13	25	2	146	285	550
	Jackson	7	20	1	2	3	143	279	30

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

NORTH CAROLINA—Continued

1. MOUNTAIN—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
4	McDowell	185	763	19	37	4	103	201	900
	Macon	51	94	2	4	2	39	76	110
	Madison	144	289	8	16	2	56	109	350
	Mitchell	3	0	(1)					10
	Polk	261	667	31	60	3	119	232	1,100
	Rutherford	1,415	4,350	145	283	3	102	199	5,950
	Swain	1	2			2			
	Transylvania	10	31	3	6	3	300	585	100
	Yancey	5	3	(1)		1			10
	Total western mountain (west)	3,121	9,522	309	603				12,430
2	Alamance	1,245	6,992	196	382	6	157	306	7,970
	Caswell	1,278	5,206	178	347	4	139	271	7,170
	Durham	368	1,180	36	70	3	98	191	1,640
	Forsyth	1,104	4,381	140	273	4	127	248	5,530
	Franklin	665	2,879	96	187	4	144	281	4,180
	Granville	704	2,057	68	133	3	97	189	2,700
	Guilford	1,887	8,360	280	546	4	148	289	11,450
	Orange	625	2,887	117	228	5	187	365	4,380
	Person	1,114	3,942	139	271	4	125	244	5,700
	Rockingham	1,546	5,303	232	452	3	150	292	9,160
	Stokes	571	2,073	63	123	4	110	214	2,740
	Vance	547	1,383	69	135	3	126	246	2,700
	Warren	1,101	3,365	85	166	3	77	150	3,6.0
	Total, northern Piedmont (north)	12,755	50,008	1,699	3,313				69,000
5	Alexander	926	3,877	88	172	4	95	185	3,580
	Catawba	2,266	11,862	407	794	5	180	351	14,420
	Chatham	1,186	5,243	141	275	4	119	232	5,770
	Davidson	2,137	9,252	285	556	4	133	259	10,440
	Davie	825	3,961	112	218	5	136	265	4,480
	Iredell	2,574	15,216	458	893	6	178	347	17,700
	Lee	556	1,835	67	131	3	121	236	2,400
	Randolph	2,290	10,029	278	542	4	121	236	10,940
	Rowan	2,431	15,174	450	878	6	185	361	17,100
	Wake	1,158	4,781	177	345	4	153	298	6,170
	Total, central Piedmont (central)	16,349	81,230	2,463	4,804				93,000
8	Anson	914	6,368	144	281	7	158	308	6,560
	Cabarrus	921	8,203	198	386	9	215	419	8,450
	Cleveland	2,363	10,827	396	772	5	168	328	15,900
	Gaston	1,046	6,378	179	349	6	171	333	7,462
	Lincoln	1,796	9,805	341	665	5	190	370	12,950
	Mecklenburg	938	6,358	137	267	7	146	285	5,970
	Montgomery	507	2,613	57	111	5	112	218	2,980
	Moore	1,033	3,906	132	257	4	128	250	5,870
	Richmond	454	3,560	74	144	8	163	318	3,980
	Stanly	2,375	15,837	343	669	7	144	281	16,300
	Union	2,238	12,732	300	585	6	134	261	12,280
	Total Southern Piedmont (south)	14,584	86,587	2,301	4,486				98,700

2. COASTAL

3	Bertie	8	21	2	4	3	250	488	70
	Camden	20	79	7	14	4	350	682	200
	Chowan	14	72	5	10	5	357	696	200
	Currituck	20	76	4	8	4	200	390	150
	Dare		4						
	Edgecombe	148	869	100	195	6	676	1,318	2,970
	Gates	34	95	16	31	3	471	918	500
	Halifax	261	1,704	53	103	7	203	396	2,200
	Hertford	28	66	4	8	2	143	279	200
	Martin	17	113	7	14	7	412	803	290
	Nash	579	2,341	131	255	4	226	441	4,280
	Northampton	238	844	27	53	4	113	220	1,240
	Pasquotank	60	110	38	74	2	633	1,234	1,000
	Perquimans	27	135	18	35	5	667	1,301	500
	Tyrrell	54	198	11	21	4	204	398	400
	Washington	34	241	9	18	7	265	517	350
	Total, northern coastal (northeast)	1,542	6,908	432	843				14,550
6	Beaufort	57	367	21	41	6	368	718	800
	Carteret	33	84	5	10	3	152	296	180
	Craven	92	375	19	37	4	207	404	750
	Greene	72	306	15	29	4	208	406	550
	Hyde	17	76	3	6	4	176	343	110
	Johnston	1,306	3,185	177	345	2	136	265	6,070
	Jones	24	178	5	10	7	208	408	180
	Lenoir	92	885	47	92	10	511	996	1,580
	Pamlico	52	257	17	33	5	327	638	550
	Pitt	163	598	26	51	4	160	312	900
	Wayne	471	2,150	93	181	5	197	384	3,280
	Wilson	509	1,610	78	152	3	153	298	2,400
	Total, central coastal (east)	2,888	10,071	506	987				17,350

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

NORTH CAROLINA—Continued

2. COASTAL—continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
9	Bladen	420	1,066	44	86	3	105	205	1,800
	Brunswick	47	219	11	21	5	234	456	500
	Columbus	367	870	45	88	2	123	240	1,600
	Cumberland	923	5,225	164	320	6	178	347	6,750
	Duplin	210	1,074	76	148	5	362	706	2,450
	Harnett	1,079	4,217	176	343	4	163	318	6,220
	Hoke	434	2,483	80	156	6	184	359	3,780
	New Hanover	14	50	2	4	4	143	279	90
	Onslow	54	85	9	18	2	167	326	350
	Pender	133	279	37	72	2	278	542	1,500
	Robeson	1,166	4,602	178	347	4	153	298	6,900
	Sampson	815	2,566	163	318	3	200	390	5,400
	Scotland	234	1,351	31	60	6	132	257	1,460
	Total, southern coastal (southeast)	5,896	24,087	1,016	1,981				38,800
	State total	60,444	279,339	9,231	18,003	5	153	298	362,000
	NORTH DAKOTA								
1	Burke	1,157	133,041	2,380	4,950	115	2,057	4,279	127,200
	Divide	1,143	177,057	2,468	5,133	155	2,159	4,491	167,000
	Mountrail	1,986	210,060	3,753	7,806	106	1,890	3,931	214,600
	Renville	1,080	125,692	2,661	5,535	116	2,464	5,125	125,200
	Ward	2,586	253,717	5,412	11,257	98	2,093	4,353	258,600
	Williams	1,806	264,431	3,598	7,484	146	1,992	4,143	276,500
	Total	9,758	1,163,998	20,272	42,165				1,169,100
2	Benson	1,564	180,889	3,717	7,731	116	2,377	4,944	207,500
	Bottineau	2,245	239,191	4,947	10,290	107	2,204	4,584	253,000
	McHenry	2,069	188,993	2,847	5,922	91	1,376	2,862	185,300
	Pierce	1,139	145,736	2,338	4,863	128	2,053	4,270	154,500
	Rolette	1,026	97,900	2,082	4,331	95	2,029	4,220	131,500
	Total	8,043	852,709	15,931	33,137				931,800
3	Cavalier	1,909	196,107	5,016	10,433	103	2,628	5,466	265,500
	Grand Forks	2,023	171,980	4,696	9,768	85	2,321	4,828	193,400
	Nelson	1,526	110,042	2,178	4,530	72	1,427	2,968	128,700
	Pembina	1,595	161,438	4,189	8,713	101	2,626	5,462	172,600
	Ramsey	1,524	182,332	3,921	8,156	120	2,573	5,342	220,000
	Towner	1,033	169,656	4,174	8,682	164	4,041	8,405	222,000
	Walsh	2,190	174,524	4,819	10,024	80	2,200	4,576	207,500
	Total	11,800	1,166,079	28,993	60,306				1,409,700
4	Dunn	1,167	123,024	1,021	2,124	105	875	1,820	120,900
	McKenzie	1,289	152,078	1,640	3,411	118	1,272	2,646	165,500
	McLean	2,158	267,479	4,331	9,008	124	2,007	4,175	271,300
	Mercer	963	96,300	1,495	3,108	100	1,551	3,226	95,100
	Oliver	649	55,161	842	1,751	85	1,297	2,698	53,100
	Total	6,226	694,042	9,328	19,402				705,900
5	Eddy	637	54,211	1,068	2,221	85	1,677	3,488	69,300
	Foster	644	65,871	1,249	2,598	102	1,939	4,033	68,600
	Kidder	923	77,660	1,129	2,348	84	1,223	2,544	76,000
	Sheridan	991	110,559	1,578	3,282	112	1,592	3,311	104,500
	Stutsman	2,069	245,817	4,310	8,965	119	2,083	4,333	244,200
	Wells	1,558	168,135	3,252	6,764	108	2,087	4,341	180,600
	Total	6,822	722,253	12,586	26,178				743,200
6	Barnes	2,227	181,876	3,296	6,856	82	1,480	3,078	189,200
	Cass	2,948	190,998	4,311	8,967	65	1,462	3,041	191,200
	Griggs	914	66,036	1,326	2,758	72	1,451	3,018	69,600
	Steele	966	76,672	1,756	3,652	79	1,818	3,781	81,100
	Traill	1,401	98,629	2,585	5,377	70	1,845	3,838	102,100
	Total	8,456	614,211	13,274	27,610				633,200
7	Adams	639	145,722	640	1,331	228	1,002	2,084	142,500
	Billings	355	36,309	85	177	102	239	497	36,200
	Bowman	666	120,409	110	229	181	165	343	122,500
	Golden Valley	453	75,085	210	437	166	464	965	81,700
	Hettinger	989	193,537	1,290	2,683	196	1,304	2,712	189,700
	Slope	532	99,661	225	468	187	423	880	93,900
	Stark	1,205	156,871	1,055	2,194	130	976	1,822	159,200
	Total	4,839	827,594	3,615	7,519				825,700
8	Burleigh	1,276	100,752	1,441	2,997	79	1,129	2,348	92,100
	Emmons	1,284	133,530	1,785	3,713	104	1,390	2,891	123,100
	Grant	1,065	132,566	1,016	2,113	124	954	1,984	127,000
	Morton	1,566	158,306	1,948	4,052	101	1,244	2,588	153,000
	Sioux	391	42,898	292	607	110	747	1,554	40,400
	Total	5,582	568,052	6,482	13,482				535,600
9	Dickey	1,184	69,110	566	1,177	58	478	994	69,000
	La Moure	1,616	131,466	1,742	3,623	81	1,078	2,242	129,200
	Logan	956	100,711	1,359	2,827	105	1,422	2,958	95,600
	McIntosh	1,121	112,188	1,276	2,654	100	1,138	2,367	105,800
	Ranson	1,165	65,286	655	1,362	56	562	1,169	55,200
	Richland	2,269	82,905	1,087	2,261	37	479	996	74,000
	Sargent	1,131	79,694	592	1,231	63	523	1,088	75,000
	Total	9,442	632,360	7,277	15,135				603,800
	State total	70,968	7,241,298	117,758	244,934	102	1,659	3,451	7,558,000

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

OHIO

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
1	Allen	2,361	21,786	705	1,410	9	299	598	23,100
	Defiance	2,306	25,495	750	1,500	11	325	650	26,800
	Fulton	2,578	25,045	958	1,916	10	372	744	28,600
	Hancock	2,899	37,169	1,218	2,436	13	420	840	39,300
	Henry	2,778	31,671	1,107	2,214	11	398	796	35,700
	Lucas	1,554	13,280	474	948	9	305	610	14,800
	Paulding	1,937	25,826	729	1,458	13	376	752	26,500
	Putnam	2,926	36,948	1,146	2,202	13	392	784	39,500
	Van Wert	2,367	24,773	869	1,738	10	367	734	27,600
	Williams	2,416	25,079	772	1,544	10	320	640	27,100
	Wood	3,736	48,749	1,661	3,322	13	445	890	51,900
	Total	27,858	315,791	10,389	20,778				340,900
2	Ashland	2,095	19,631	580	1,160	9	277	554	21,900
	Crawford	2,128	24,331	728	1,456	11	342	684	26,000
	Erie	1,881	14,142	442	884	8	235	470	14,500
	Huron	2,392	27,527	841	1,682	12	352	704	29,000
	Lorain	2,284	15,262	394	788	7	173	346	16,400
	Ottawa	1,821	16,528	448	896	9	246	492	16,900
	Richland	2,409	21,945	565	1,130	9	229	458	22,600
	Sandusky	2,340	27,744	822	1,644	12	351	702	27,400
	Seneca	2,890	40,844	1,151	2,302	14	398	796	41,100
	Wyandot	1,879	27,496	830	1,660	15	442	884	27,200
	Total	22,179	235,450	6,801	13,602				243,000
3	Ashtabula	2,755	13,172	248	496	5	90	180	12,400
	Columbiana	2,486	13,284	385	770	5	155	310	15,100
	Cuyahoga	288	1,450	27	54	5	94	188	1,100
	Geauga	1,322	5,210	112	224	4	85	170	5,100
	Lake	582	2,146	44	88	4	76	152	2,000
	Mahoning	1,843	10,052	284	568	5	154	308	12,100
	Medina	2,415	15,728	394	788	7	163	326	16,400
	Portage	2,311	12,006	283	566	5	122	244	12,300
	Stark	3,095	20,906	608	1,216	7	196	392	23,400
	Summit	1,006	5,204	140	280	5	139	278	5,600
	Trumbull	1,989	9,365	202	404	5	102	204	9,600
	Wayne	3,285	34,341	865	1,730	10	263	562	34,600
	Total	23,377	142,864	3,592	7,184				149,700
4	Auglaize	2,238	22,805	544	1,088	10	243	486	19,100
	Champaign	1,827	23,030	575	1,150	15	377	754	20,900
	Clark	1,417	21,886	515	1,030	15	363	726	19,800
	Darke	3,666	33,172	684	1,368	9	192	384	27,900
	Hardin	2,105	23,564	687	1,374	11	326	652	22,900
	Logan	1,751	18,583	448	896	11	256	512	16,900
	Mercer	2,612	25,104	655	1,310	10	251	502	23,400
	Miami	2,250	27,606	639	1,278	12	284	568	24,100
	Shelby	2,064	22,570	462	924	11	224	448	18,100
	Total	19,530	218,320	5,209	10,418				193,100
5	Delaware	1,924	18,536	443	886	10	230	460	18,100
	Fairfield	2,285	31,908	744	1,488	14	326	652	31,000
	Fayette	1,282	31,916	668	1,336	25	521	1,042	29,700
	Franklin	1,845	24,254	597	1,194	13	324	648	23,400
	Knox	2,305	23,859	502	1,004	10	218	436	23,900
	Licking	2,615	26,446	531	1,062	10	203	406	25,300
	Madison	1,352	30,135	681	1,362	22	504	1,008	27,800
	Marion	1,508	19,864	604	1,208	13	401	802	19,800
	Morrow	1,895	16,431	375	750	9	198	396	16,300
	Pickaway	1,668	42,698	875	1,750	26	525	1,050	40,700
	Ross	1,311	30,462	590	1,180	23	450	900	28,100
	Union	1,767	20,331	516	1,032	12	292	584	19,100
	Total	21,757	318,840	7,126	14,252				303,200
6	Belmont	1,237	4,490	106	212	4	86	172	4,000
	Carroll	1,458	7,598	203	406	5	139	278	7,800
	Coshocton	1,681	12,473	297	594	7	177	354	12,900
	Harrison	690	3,314	71	142	5	102	204	2,800
	Holmes	2,067	17,714	482	964	9	233	466	19,300
	Jefferson	834	3,775	103	206	5	124	248	3,900
	Tuscarawas	2,055	13,119	313	626	6	152	304	13,600
	Total	10,031	62,483	1,575	3,150				64,300
7	Butler	1,405	19,037	273	546	14	194	388	13,300
	Clermont	1,167	9,344	86	172	8	74	148	4,200
	Clinton	1,618	30,294	554	1,108	19	342	684	25,200
	Greene	1,591	27,071	585	1,170	17	368	736	24,900
	Hamilton	382	3,781	46	92	10	120	240	2,000
	Montgomery	2,483	21,421	422	844	9	170	340	19,200
	Preble	1,804	25,909	502	1,004	14	278	556	22,300
	Warren	1,605	18,767	269	538	12	168	336	13,100
	Total	12,055	155,624	2,737	5,474				124,200
8	Adams	1,378	12,384	220	440	9	160	320	11,600
	Brown	1,802	15,838	178	356	9	99	198	9,900
	Gallia	478	2,287	38	76	5	79	158	1,800
	Highland	2,235	30,597	558	1,116	14	250	500	27,200
	Jackson	458	2,789	42	84	6	92	184	1,900
	Lawrence	118	741	10	20	6	85	170	500
	Pike	433	4,906	76	152	11	176	352	3,600
	Scioto	628	4,346	68	136	7	108	216	3,100
	Total	7,530	73,888	1,190	2,380				59,600

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

OHIO—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
9	Athens	413	2,002	34	68	5	82	164	1,400
	Guernsey	1,043	4,809	103	206	5	99	198	4,800
	Hocking	617	4,259	72	144	7	117	234	3,700
	Meigs	689	2,831	44	88	4	64	128	2,200
	Monroe	900	2,491	55	110	3	61	122	2,200
	Morgan	765	3,097	78	156	4	102	204	3,400
	Muskingum	1,764	10,568	260	520	6	147	294	11,800
	Noble	563	1,639	33	66	3	59	118	1,400
	Perry	1,180	9,959	252	504	8	214	428	11,200
	Vinton	296	1,557	25	50	5	84	168	1,200
	Washington	1,018	4,849	101	202	5	99	198	4,700
	Total	9,248	48,061	1,057	2,114				48,000
	State total	153,565	1,569,321	39,676	79,352	10	258	516	1,526,000
	OKLAHOMA								
1	Beaver	2,025	266,800	713	1,426	132	352	704	245,000
	Cimarron	1,184	186,448	48	96	157	41	82	177,000
	Ellis	1,268	120,642	663	1,326	95	523	1,046	114,000
	Harper	1,057	131,609	542	1,084	125	513	1,026	137,000
	Texas	2,551	388,464	984	1,968	152	386	772	380,000
	Total	8,085	1,093,963	2,950	5,900				1,053,000
2	Alfalfa	2,262	219,296	3,765	7,530	97	1,664	3,328	242,000
	Garfield	3,413	272,932	5,087	10,174	80	1,490	2,980	285,000
	Grant	2,901	270,871	4,420	8,840	93	1,524	3,048	283,000
	Kay	2,733	185,355	4,098	8,196	68	1,499	2,998	188,000
	Major	1,893	139,196	1,972	3,944	74	1,042	2,084	143,000
	Noble	1,830	107,805	2,164	4,328	59	1,183	2,366	109,000
	Woods	1,732	178,372	1,970	3,940	103	1,137	2,274	184,500
	Woodward	1,263	105,600	622	1,244	84	492	984	97,500
	Total	18,027	1,479,427	24,098	48,196				1,532,000
3	Craig	1,292	14,221	653	1,306	11	505	1,010	25,500
	Delaware	56	5,926	268	536	106	4,786	9,572	10,500
	Mayes	674	6,827	327	654	10	485	970	14,000
	Nowata	664	8,985	313	626	14	471	942	13,300
	Osage	756	22,991	601	1,202	30	795	1,590	26,400
	Ottawa	1,156	20,268	679	1,358	18	587	1,174	28,000
	Pawnee	873	15,701	337	674	18	386	772	18,700
	Rogers	698	8,895	300	600	13	430	860	13,000
	Tulsa	403	5,654	195	390	14	484	968	8,700
	Wagoner	700	9,662	354	708	14	506	1,012	16,000
	Washington	324	5,072	177	354	16	546	1,092	6,900
	Total	7,596	124,202	4,204	8,408				181,000
4	Beckham	978	46,246	457	914	47	467	934	46,000
	Blaine	2,155	157,334	2,448	4,896	73	1,136	2,272	157,000
	Custer	2,141	167,384	2,587	5,174	78	1,208	2,416	165,000
	Dewey	1,447	115,218	1,488	2,976	80	1,028	2,056	110,000
	Roger Mills	832	52,860	324	648	64	389	778	44,000
	Washita	2,349	162,480	2,619	5,238	69	1,115	2,230	164,000
	Total	9,902	701,522	9,923	19,846				686,000
5	Canadian	2,241	137,917	3,012	6,024	62	1,344	2,688	140,000
	Cleveland	602	8,702	221	442	14	367	734	10,500
	Creek	124	1,350	42	84	11	339	678	2,500
	Grady	1,486	46,906	1,132	2,264	32	762	1,524	51,300
	Kingfisher	2,519	207,891	3,497	6,994	83	1,388	2,776	211,000
	Lincoln	838	8,862	212	424	11	253	506	11,300
	Logan	1,649	70,209	1,262	2,524	43	765	1,530	71,000
	McClain	664	8,846	255	510	13	384	768	12,000
	Okfuskee	125	1,452	31	62	12	248	496	1,800
	Oklahoma	835	22,434	549	1,098	27	657	1,314	25,400
	Payne	1,133	18,946	349	698	17	308	616	22,000
	Pottawatomie	705	9,152	214	428	13	304	608	12,600
	Seminole	73	1,124	26	52	15	356	712	1,600
	Total	12,994	543,791	10,802	21,604				573,000
6	Adair	125	511	22	44	4	176	352	1,400
	Cherokee	186	651	51	102	4	274	548	2,900
	Haskell	78	1,467	48	96	18	615	1,230	2,500
	Hughes	58	508	10	20	9	172	344	600
	McIntosh	171	1,051	72	144	6	421	842	3,500
	Muskogee	686	7,443	261	522	11	380	760	14,200
	Okmulgee	90	499	30	60	6	333	666	1,800
	Pittsburgh	100	1,324	23	46	13	230	460	1,600
	Sequoyah	248	4,576	107	214	18	431	862	6,500
	Total	1,742	17,960	624	1,248				35,000
7	Caddo	2,146	87,432	1,898	3,796	41	884	1,768	91,000
	Comanche	1,239	55,521	772	1,544	45	623	1,246	55,000
	Cotton	1,472	101,558	1,637	3,274	69	1,112	2,224	102,000
	Greer	903	64,357	646	1,292	71	715	1,430	64,000
	Harmon	708	59,803	588	1,176	84	831	1,662	61,000
	Jackson	1,647	131,992	2,306	4,612	80	1,400	2,800	134,000
	Kiowa	2,293	188,406	2,789	5,578	82	1,216	2,432	190,000
	Tillman	2,033	165,851	3,164	6,328	82	1,556	3,112	168,000
	Total	12,441	854,920	13,800	27,600				865,000

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

OKLAHOMA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
8	Atoka	16	123	1	2	8	62	124	100
	Bryan	210	3,576	62	124	17	295	590	4,800
	Carter	32	585	10	20	18	312	624	600
	Coal	33	235	8	16	7	242	484	500
	Garvin	615	6,166	160	320	10	260	520	8,700
	Jefferson	395	6,910	98	196	17	248	496	7,600
	Johnston	42	437	9	18	10	214	428	500
	Love	43	424	10	20	10	233	466	700
	Marshall	53	842	12	24	16	226	452	700
	Murray	93	1,963	37	74	21	398	796	2,000
	Pontotoc	56	665	13	26	12	232	464	800
	Stephens	608	13,268	222	444	22	365	730	14,200
	Total	2,196	35,194	642	1,284				41,200
9	Choctaw	31	268	6	12	9	194	388	300
	Le Flore	206	3,764	119	238	18	578	1,156	5,460
	McCurtain			(1)					20
	Pushmataha			(1)					20
	Total	237	4,032	125	250				5,800
	State total	73,220	4,855,011	67,168	134,336	66	917	1,834	4,972,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

OREGON

1	Benton	331	5,291	162	324	16	489	978	5,100
	Clackamas	717	7,286	338	676	10	471	942	9,750
	Columbia	48	246	12	24	5	250	500	300
	Lane	401	4,718	186	372	12	464	928	6,950
	Linn	788	8,895	332	664	11	421	842	10,750
	Marion	1,423	16,331	679	1,358	11	477	954	18,950
	Multnomah	45	450	13	26	10	289	578	400
	Polk	686	12,357	451	902	18	657	1,314	13,250
	Washington	1,200	13,655	637	1,274	11	531	1,062	17,200
	Yamhill	967	15,726	566	1,132	16	585	1,170	16,900
	Total	6,606	84,955	3,376	6,752				99,550
	Gilliam	220	87,210	2,391	4,782	396	10,868	21,736	87,100
	Morrow	265	116,666	3,307	6,614	446	12,479	24,958	118,900
	Sherman	425	91,324	2,967	5,934	215	6,981	13,962	91,700
	Wasco	445	62,919	1,514	3,028	141	3,402	6,804	63,600
	Total	1,355	358,119	10,179	20,358				361,300
3	Baker	383	15,019	470	940	39	1,227	2,454	14,400
	Umatilla	743	198,217	6,770	13,540	267	9,112	18,224	202,300
	Union	685	40,503	1,454	2,908	59	2,123	4,246	41,400
	Wallowa	422	24,401	649	1,298	58	1,538	3,076	23,400
	Total	2,233	278,230	9,343	18,686				281,500
7	Douglas	122	1,009	37	74	9	303	606	1,550
	Jackson	175	1,660	39	78	9	223	446	1,250
	Josephine	18	139			8			
	Total	315	2,798	76	152				2,800
8	Crook	118	3,197	147	294	27	1,246	4,984	3,700
	Deschutes	265	1,448	99	198	5	374	748	2,350
	Grant	84	2,088	40	80	25	476	952	2,100
	Harney	88	2,766	42	84	31	477	954	2,200
	Jefferson	528	27,991	914	1,828	53	1,731	3,462	27,300
	Klamath	445	10,856	259	518	24	582	1,164	10,750
	Lake	256	16,667	324	648	65	1,266	3,532	14,550
	Malheur	1,329	14,739	680	1,360	11	512	1,024	14,150
	Wheeler	96	6,251	128	256	65	1,333	2,666	5,750
	Total	3,209	86,003	2,633	5,266				82,850
	State total	13,718	810,105	25,607	51,214	59	1,867	3,734	828,000

PENNSYLVANIA

1	Crawford	2,377	9,665	175	341	4	74	144	8,400
	Erie	1,332	8,745	204	398	7	153	298	8,700
	Forest	79	301	4	8	4	51	99	220
	Mercer	2,364	10,233	251	489	4	106	207	11,000
	Venango	873	3,146	92	179	4	105	205	3,700
	Warren	311	1,190	21	41	4	68	133	980
	Total	7,336	33,280	747	1,456				33,000
2	Bradford	1,162	3,547	72	140	3	62	121	3,000
	Cameron	9	22	1	2	2	111	216	30
	Clinton	552	4,381	116	226	8	210	410	4,200
	Elk	141	338	7	14	2	50	98	340
	Lycoming	1,705	12,240	321	626	7	188	367	12,100
	McKean	73	154	3	6	2	41	80	120
	Potter	153	698	27	53	5	176	343	1,030
	Sullivan	154	334	6	12	2	39	76	280
	Tioga	687	2,246	34	66	3	49	96	1,700
	Total	4,636	23,960	587	1,145				22,800

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
3	Lackawanna	70	149	3	6	2	43	84	130
	Susquehanna	126	410	6	12	3	48	94	270
	Wayne	25	66	2	4	3	80	156	70
	Wyoming	272	1,022	16	31	4	59	115	730
	Total	493	1,647	27	53				1,200
4	Armstrong	1,612	9,091	212	413	6	132	257	9,300
	Beaver	1,121	4,619	108	211	4	96	187	4,600
	Butler	2,538	11,424	278	542	5	110	214	12,000
	Clarion	1,561	8,797	189	369	6	121	236	9,100
	Indiana	2,145	10,657	229	447	5	107	209	10,700
	Jefferson	1,295	5,462	139	271	4	107	209	6,100
	Lawrence	1,347	8,216	217	423	6	161	314	9,200
	Total	11,619	58,266	1,372	2,676				61,000
5	Blair	750	6,017	176	343	8	235	458	6,100
	Cambria	1,191	5,173	138	269	4	116	226	5,700
	Centre	1,347	15,790	440	858	12	327	638	15,900
	Clearfield	946	3,236	78	152	3	82	160	3,100
	Columbia	1,782	15,596	408	796	9	229	447	15,800
	Dauphin	1,423	12,258	249	486	9	175	341	10,000
	Huntingdon	1,211	8,874	261	509	7	216	421	9,000
	Juniata	1,063	8,768	235	458	8	221	431	8,800
	Mifflin	849	7,743	231	450	9	272	530	7,900
	Montour	612	6,336	167	326	10	273	532	6,700
	Northumberland	1,702	15,370	367	716	9	216	421	14,300
	Perry	1,296	12,347	309	603	10	238	464	11,200
	Snyder	1,294	10,685	284	554	8	219	427	11,000
	Union	836	8,763	234	456	10	280	546	8,500
	Total	16,302	136,956	3,577	6,976				134,000
6	Carbon	437	2,847	74	144	7	169	330	3,000
	Lehigh	1,352	14,462	367	716	11	271	528	13,600
	Luzerne	688	4,172	103	201	6	150	292	4,200
	Monroe	331	2,428	57	111	7	172	335	2,200
	Northampton	1,184	9,583	281	548	8	237	462	9,900
	Pike	6	51	2	4	8	333	649	100
	Schuylkill	1,548	10,083	230	449	7	149	291	10,000
	Total	5,546	43,626	1,114	2,172				43,000
7	Allegheny	632	3,315	70	136	5	111	216	2,900
	Fayette	1,069	4,599	112	218	4	105	205	4,000
	Greene	561	1,634	31	60	3	55	107	1,400
	Somerset	1,310	6,421	167	326	5	127	248	6,500
	Washington	1,892	7,338	143	279	4	76	148	6,000
	Westmoreland	2,369	12,216	277	540	5	117	228	11,200
	Total	7,833	35,523	800	1,559				32,000
8	Adams	2,006	19,209	367	716	10	183	357	13,400
	Bedford	1,866	10,601	325	634	6	174	339	10,900
	Cumberland	1,803	22,344	574	1,119	12	318	620	19,000
	Franklin	2,285	31,146	681	1,328	14	298	581	25,600
	Fulton	960	7,763	168	328	8	175	341	7,000
	York	4,986	45,008	1,278	2,492	9	256	499	41,100
	Total	13,906	136,071	3,393	6,617				117,000
9	Berks	3,105	29,478	715	1,394	9	230	448	27,500
	Bucks	2,013	17,126	422	823	9	210	410	16,500
	Chester	2,062	14,194	450	878	7	218	425	13,900
	Delaware	64	533	17	33	8	266	519	500
	Lancaster	6,238	51,309	1,733	3,379	8	278	542	53,000
	Lebanon	1,465	13,023	356	694	9	243	474	12,000
	Montgomery	1,465	12,051	263	513	8	180	351	9,400
	Philadelphia	29	345	6	12	12	207	404	200
	Total	16,441	138,059	3,962	7,726				133,000
	State total	84,112	607,388	15,579	30,380	7	185	361	577,000

SOUTH CAROLINA

1	Anderson	2,933	18,587	482	940	6	164	320	21,150
	Cherokee	988	4,543	140	273	5	142	277	6,400
	Greenville	2,155	7,744	182	355	4	84	164	7,500
	Laurens	1,172	7,374	199	388	6	170	332	8,200
	Oconee	987	3,903	127	248	4	129	252	5,550
	Pickens	1,097	3,547	97	189	3	88	172	4,750
	Spartanburg	2,868	13,508	350	682	5	122	238	15,700
	Union	440	1,587	35	68	4	80	156	1,750
	Total	12,640	60,793	1,612	3,143				71,000
2	Chester	414	1,591	49	96	4	118	230	2,050
	Fairfield	285	612	22	43	2	77	150	950
	Kershaw	422	1,885	45	88	4	107	209	2,150
	Lancaster	362	1,564	38	74	4	105	205	1,500
	York	802	3,381	102	199	4	127	248	4,350
	Total	2,285	9,033	256	500				11,000

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

SOUTH CAROLINA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
3	Chesterfield	540	1,511	70	136	5	130	254	3,250
	Darlington	1,251	5,140	207	404	4	165	322	8,750
	Dillon	339	1,192	49	96	4	145	283	2,100
	Florence	1,161	3,379	92	179	3	79	154	3,600
	Georgetown	41	70	3	6	2	73	142	120
	Horry	357	372	32	62	1	90	176	1,250
	Marion	308	352	18	35	1	58	113	730
	Marlboro	228	1,459	45	88	6	197	384	2,100
	Williamsburg	336	508	29	57	2	86	168	1,100
	Total	4,561	15,073	545	1,063				23,000
4	Abbeville	944	4,399	121	236	5	128	250	6,050
	Aiken	713	3,457	126	246	5	177	345	6,050
	Edgefield	528	2,011	68	133	4	129	252	3,400
	Greenwood	512	2,372	62	121	5	121	236	2,550
	McCormick	174	513	18	35	3	103	201	700
	Newberry	927	3,855	98	191	4	106	207	4,500
	Saluda	834	2,759	82	160	3	98	191	3,750
	Total	4,632	19,366	575	1,122				27,000
5	Calhoun	484	5,005	154	300	10	318	620	7,050
	Clarendon	449	1,284	32	62	3	71	138	1,450
	Lee	711	2,530	153	298	4	215	419	5,950
	Lexington	799	2,309	73	142	3	91	177	3,600
	Orangeburg	1,111	3,398	144	281	3	130	254	6,900
	Richland	453	3,265	82	160	7	181	353	4,000
	Sumter	1,087	3,404	161	314	3	148	289	7,050
	Total	5,094	21,195	799	1,557				36,000
8	Allendale	161	2,093	71	138	13	441	860	3,200
	Bamberg	283	1,372	38	74	5	134	261	1,950
	Barnwell	199	1,425	43	84	7	216	421	1,950
	Berkeley	37	130	4	8	4	108	211	200
	Charleston	4	116	1	2	29	250	488	60
	Colleton	52	308	13	25	6	250	488	550
	Dorchester	44	132	7	14	3	159	310	300
	Hampton	169	1,191	63	123	7	373	727	2,750
	Jasper	15	14	1	2	1	67	131	40
	Total	964	6,781	241	470				11,000
	State total	30,176	132,241	4,028	7,855	4	133	259	179,000

SOUTH DAKOTA

1	Butte	373	16,306	67	136	44	180	365	11,400
	Corson	1,078	113,943	607	1,232	106	563	1,143	120,490
	Dewey	518	58,069	148	300	112	286	581	60,500
	Hardin	386	40,574	164	333	105	425	863	40,600
	Perkins	1,086	136,778	507	1,029	126	467	948	137,200
	Ziebach	322	35,054	90	183	109	280	568	36,700
	Total	3,763	400,724	1,583					406,890
2	Brown	2,728	182,195	1,033	2,097	67	379	769	189,200
	Campbell	946	85,692	621	1,261	91	656	1,332	88,200
	Edmunds	1,613	121,387	495	1,005	75	307	623	123,000
	Faulk	914	78,881	299	607	86	327	664	79,600
	McPherson	1,602	96,141	674	1,368	60	421	855	99,700
	Potter	779	90,351	411	834	116	528	1,072	87,900
	Spink	2,645	233,465	1,295	2,629	88	490	995	235,600
	Walworth	818	85,587	758	1,539	105	927	1,882	86,290
	Total	12,045	973,699	5,586					989,490
3	Clark	1,696	65,441	602	1,222	39	355	721	59,700
	Codington	1,032	30,999	391	794	30	379	769	27,600
	Day	2,028	76,292	718	1,458	38	354	719	77,400
	Deuel	277	2,113	25	51	8	98	183	1,770
	Grant	793	15,081	188	382	19	237	481	12,380
	Hamlin	461	7,081	93	189	15	202	410	6,300
	Marshall	1,198	54,014	523	1,062	45	437	887	53,500
	Roberts	1,727	52,225	644	1,307	30	373	757	45,900
	Total	9,212	30,336	3,184					284,550
4	Haakon	351	34,315	207	420	98	590	1,198	39,000
	Jackson	145	14,331	96	195	99	662	1,344	15,600
	Lawrence	176	5,666	45	91	32	256	520	6,040
	Meade	738	57,431	311	631	78	421	855	56,700
	Pennington	435	45,847	204	414	105	469	952	50,100
	Stanley	200	26,810	150	304	134	750	1,522	28,400
	Total	2,045	184,400	1,013					195,840
5	Aurora	324	13,309	27	55	41	83	168	13,600
	Beadle	1,617	79,503	192	390	49	119	242	81,900
	Brule	281	12,820	60	122	46	214	434	13,700
	Buffalo	64	4,898	14	28	77	219	445	5,080
	Hand	1,180	68,809	200	406	58	169	343	66,500
	Hughes	400	44,454	110	223	111	275	558	47,200
	Hyde	313	20,775	51	104	66	163	331	19,700
	Jerauld	631	21,584	40	81	34	63	128	19,900
	Sully	800	100,812	236	479	126	295	599	103,900
	Total	5,610	366,964	930					371,480

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

SOUTH DAKOTA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
6	Brookings	271	1,907	30	61	7	111	225	2,140
	Davison	76	1,927	6	12	25	79	160	1,710
	Hanson	76	1,093	5	10	14	66	134	1,270
	Kingsbury	726	27,043	261	530	37	360	731	30,300
	Lake	87	850	8	16	10	92	187	780
	McCook	127	1,632	6	12	13	47	95	940
	Miner	336	6,167	23	47	18	68	138	4,360
	Minnehaha	31	212	1	2	7	32	65	140
	Moody	20	290	2	4	14	100	203	260
	Sanborn	245	5,073	14	28	21	57	116	3,700
	Total	1,995	46,194	356					45,600
7	Bennett	325	48,107	923	1,874	148	2,840	5,765	48,800
	Custer	128	4,434	31	63	35	242	491	3,900
	Fall River	296	16,604	227	461	56	767	1,557	15,100
	Shannon	113	20,287	405	822	180	3,584	7,276	22,000
	Washabaugh	142	14,765	165	335	104	1,162	2,359	14,770
	Total	1,004	104,197	1,751					104,570
8	Gregory	465	16,629	135	274	36	290	589	15,200
	Jones	339	48,358	266	540	143	785	1,594	54,100
	Lyman	546	87,232	390	792	160	714	1,449	97,300
	Mellette	271	27,641	209	424	102	771	1,565	31,800
	Todd	157	10,410	82	166	66	522	1,060	9,500
	Tripp	908	76,542	721	1,464	84	794	1,612	78,900
	Total	2,686	266,812	1,803					286,800
9	Bon Homme	308	3,308	13	26	11	42	85	1,880
	Charles Mix	1,067	30,032	180	365	28	169	343	26,600
	Clay	255	5,076	21	43	20	82	166	3,140
	Douglas	153	4,488	27	55	29	176	357	3,800
	Hutchinson	409	7,075	24	49	17	59	120	4,970
	Lincoln	18	125	7	14	7	389	790	850
	Turner	115	886	3	6	8	26	53	600
	Union	310	9,598	46	93	31	148	300	8,080
	Yankton	155	2,435	10	20	16	65	132	1,860
	Total	2,790	63,023	331					51,780
	State, total	41,150	2,709,349	16,537	33,570	66	402	816	2,737,000

TENNESSEE

1	Dyer	149	1,149	73	146	8	490	980	2,700
	Lake	4	0	11	22		2,750	5,500	350
	Lauderdale	29	135	8	16	5	276	552	330
	Obion	670	5,018	178	356	7	266	532	7,000
	Shelby	37	313	11	22	8	297	594	450
	Tipton	87	493	29	58	6	333	666	1,100
	Total	976	7,108	310	620				11,930
2	Carroll	199	791	35	70	4	176	352	1,600
	Chester	26	72	5	10	3	192	384	200
	Crockett	46	131	6	12	3	130	260	300
	Fayette	2	30	2	4	15	1,000	2,000	90
	Gibson	302	1,156	31	62	4	103	206	1,650
	Hardeman	19	157	4	8	8	211	422	180
	Haywood	56	191	9	18	3	161	322	400
	Henderson	11	29	2	4	3	182	364	80
	Henry	492	1,852	78	156	4	159	318	3,300
	McNairy	11	18	1	2	2	91	182	50
	Madison	74	255	5	10	3	68	136	250
	Weakley	748	2,276	150	260	3	174	348	5,900
	Total	1,986	6,958	308	616				14,000
3	Benton	213	563	23	46	3	108	216	1,200
	Cheatham	436	1,988	48	96	5	110	220	1,900
	Decatur	23	94	2	4	4	87	174	100
	Dickson	311	1,445	30	60	5	96	192	1,600
	Hardin	112	592	19	38	5	170	340	1,050
	Hickman	107	653	15	30	6	140	280	800
	Houston	81	365	15	30	5	185	370	650
	Humphreys	213	1,100	26	52	5	122	244	1,400
	Lawrence	725	4,838	124	248	7	171	342	5,900
	Lewis	39	158	2	4	4	51	102	150
	Montgomery	520	6,280	159	318	12	306	612	6,000
	Perry	72	260	5	10	4	69	138	350
	Robertson	1,796	19,713	513	1,026	11	286	572	19,000
	Stewart	149	480	15	30	3	101	202	700
	Wayne	149	478	14	28	3	94	188	850
	Total	4,946	39,007	1,010	2,020				41,650
4	Bedford	815	5,697	131	262	7	161	322	7,100
	Cannon	94	603	12	24	6	128	256	650
	Clay	133	783	13	26	6	98	196	700
	Davidson	184	1,562	22	44	8	120	240	1,000
	De Kalb	184	1,275	20	40	7	109	218	1,150
	Giles	419	3,921	68	136	9	162	324	3,600
	Jackson	85	302	5	10	4	59	116	350
	Lincoln	590	4,552	89	178	8	151	302	4,600
	Macon	284	1,060	23	46	4	81	162	1,200
	Marshall	575	3,797	80	160	7	139	278	4,200
	Maury	643	9,229	200	400	14	311	623	8,900

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

TENNESSEE—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
4	Moore	71	413	9	18	6	127	254	450
	Rutherford	472	4,297	88	176	9	186	372	4,200
	Smith	137	751	11	22	5	80	160	700
	Sumner	804	4,908	97	194	6	121	242	4,500
	Trousdale	49	361	7	14	7	143	286	400
	Williamson	386	6,702	123	246	17	319	638	6,000
	Wilson	332	2,294	36	72	7	108	216	2,000
	Total	6,257	52,507	1,034	2,068				51,700
5	Bledsoe	96	815	13	26	8	135	270	700
	Coffee	529	3,324	66	132	6	125	250	3,250
	Cumberland	87	324	4	8	4	46	92	200
	Fentress	147	761	7	14	5	48	96	400
	Franklin	855	6,417	175	350	8	205	410	7,000
	Grundy	97	643	14	28	7	144	288	550
	Marion	99	479	10	20	5	101	202	500
	Morgan	77	284	5	10	4	65	130	220
	Overton	418	1,801	31	62	4	74	148	1,450
	Pickett	181	776	11	22	4	61	122	550
	Putnam	321	1,363	29	58	4	90	180	1,400
	Sequatchie	35	256	5	10	7	143	286	250
	Van Buren	39	199	3	6	5	77	154	150
	Warren	427	2,561	53	106	6	124	248	2,500
	White	326	1,952	36	72	6	110	220	1,600
	Total	3,734	21,955	462	924				20,720
6	Anderson	58	130	4	8	2	69	138	150
	Blount	687	4,032	79	158	6	115	230	3,300
	Bradley	239	1,154	21	42	5	88	176	1,100
	Campbell	100	462	4	8	5	40	80	200
	Carter	188	560	10	20	3	53	106	400
	Claiborne	1,021	3,894	71	142	4	70	140	3,300
	Cocke	452	2,380	46	92	5	102	204	2,100
	Grainger	516	2,187	54	108	4	105	210	2,300
	Greene	1,973	8,499	216	432	4	109	218	9,600
	Hamblen	591	3,912	112	224	7	190	380	4,300
	Hamilton	97	522	14	28	5	144	288	650
	Hancock	392	1,312	22	44	3	56	112	1,000
	Hawkins	1,178	5,804	122	244	5	104	208	5,200
	Jefferson	860	5,805	150	300	7	174	348	6,000
	Johnson	346	853	16	32	2	46	92	700
	Knox	358	1,734	32	64	5	89	178	1,400
	Loudon	489	3,241	49	98	7	100	200	2,400
	McMinn	409	1,765	30	60	4	73	146	1,500
	Meigs	193	1,033	22	44	5	114	228	1,100
	Monroe	632	3,929	78	156	6	123	246	3,700
	Polk	118	677	11	22	6	93	186	550
	Rhea	162	905	18	36	6	111	222	1,000
	Roane	184	960	14	28	5	76	152	750
	Sevier	600	3,608	81	162	6	135	270	3,600
	Sullivan	738	3,216	79	158	4	107	214	3,300
	Unicoi	47	132	2	4	3	43	86	100
	Union	202	591	8	16	3	40	80	400
	Washington	1,173	4,736	123	246	4	105	210	4,900
	Total	14,002	68,033	1,488	2,976				65,000
	State total	31,901	195,562	4,612	9,224	6	145	290	205,000
	TEXAS								
1-N	Armstrong	444	89,236	216	421	201	486	948	80,000
	Briscoe	408	54,613	360	702	134	882	1,720	51,000
	Carson	630	153,056	365	712	243	579	1,129	140,000
	Castro	861	108,995	1,080	2,106	127	1,254	2,445	96,000
	Dallam	298	71,928	55	107	241	185	361	64,000
	Deaf Smith	1,099	220,283	1,638	3,194	200	1,490	2,906	243,000
	Floyd	1,128	138,753	1,562	3,046	123	1,385	2,701	133,000
	Gray	587	92,186	372	725	157	634	1,236	86,000
	Hale	1,087	64,045	801	1,562	59	737	1,437	53,000
	Hansford	659	227,130	792	1,544	345	1,202	2,344	237,000
	Hartley	272	85,060	67	131	313	246	480	82,000
	Hemphill	274	38,299	148	289	140	540	1,053	35,000
	Hutchinson	189	67,650	72	140	358	381	743	65,000
	Lipscomb	544	115,826	515	1,004	213	947	1,847	110,000
	Moore	412	141,492	184	359	343	447	872	138,000
	Ochiltree	809	246,737	935	1,823	305	1,156	2,254	231,000
	Oldham	248	61,374	176	343	247	710	1,384	63,000
	Parmer	979	109,105	1,240	2,418	111	1,267	2,471	99,000
	Potter	173	33,929	143	279	196	827	1,613	35,000
	Randall	806	141,722	858	1,673	176	1,065	2,077	135,000
	Roberts	132	30,457	141	275	231	1,068	2,083	27,000
	Sherman	521	185,736	225	439	356	432	842	197,000
	Swisher	1,062	125,185	1,205	2,350	118	1,135	2,213	115,000
	Total	13,622	2,602,797	13,150	25,642				2,515,000
1-S	Bailey	384	16,633	141	275	43	367	716	11,600
	Cochran	53	2,310	7	14	44	132	257	2,800
	Crosby	659	38,372	343	669	58	520	1,014	36,200
	Dawson	227	2,184	(1)		10			500
	Gaines	65	2,043	1	2	31	15	29	1,110
	Glasscock	17	454	(1)		27			100
	Hockley	67	917	(1)		14			420
	Howard	100	2,952	1	2	30	10	20	1,800
	Lamb	213	5,990	77	150	28	362	706	4,200
	Lubbock	315	5,232	49	96	17	156	304	3,200

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

TEXAS—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
1-S	Lynn	355	3,235	6	12	9	17	33	1,050
	Martin	34	196	(1)		6			100
	Midland	3	19			6			
1	Terry	290	14,633	52	101	50	179	349	8,320
	Yoakum	50	2,389	1	2	48	20	39	1,700
	Total	2,832	97,559	678	1,323				73,100
2-N	Borden	59	2,054	2	4	35	34	66	1,100
	Childress	671	46,806	182	355	70	271	528	46,000
	Collingsworth	458	26,574	127	248	58	277	540	22,300
	Cottle	339	27,406	118	230	81	348	679	27,000
	Dickens	471	23,615	44	86	50	93	181	19,800
	Donley	282	19,004	22	43	67	78	152	13,300
	Foard	484	68,940	702	1,369	142	1,450	2,828	73,000
	Garza	137	2,115	2	4	15	15	29	1,300
	Hall	377	16,585	39	76	44	103	201	10,400
	Hardeman	774	89,102	942	1,837	115	1,217	2,373	92,000
	Kent	152	5,909	16	31	39	105	205	5,600
	King	60	5,095	21	41	85	350	682	5,800
	Motley	237	11,810	31	60	50	131	255	10,200
	Wheeler	357	24,692	94	183	69	263	513	19,200
	Wichita	682	61,086	1,026	2,001	90	1,504	2,933	62,000
	Wilbarger	1,067	86,755	1,303	2,541	81	1,221	2,381	91,000
	Total	6,607	517,548	4,671	9,109				500,000
2-S	Baylor	717	66,383	678	1,322	93	946	1,845	68,000
	Coleman	566	23,957	54	105	28	62	121	17,100
	Fisher	590	29,557	69	135	50	117	228	29,000
	Haskell	882	54,088	246	480	61	279	544	55,000
	Jones	1,389	58,323	188	367	42	135	263	57,000
	Knox	633	52,035	367	716	82	580	1,131	55,000
	Mitchell	381	8,376	3	6	22	8	16	2,700
	Nolan	488	16,490	16	31	34	33	64	11,100
	Runnels	937	38,097	111	216	41	118	230	28,000
	Scurry	417	12,727	14	27	31	34	66	8,100
	Stonewall	313	22,478	71	138	72	227	443	21,000
	Taylor	1,364	64,459	178	347	47	130	254	60,000
	Total	8,977	446,970	1,995	3,890				412,000
3	Archer	440	31,716	324	632	72	736	1,435	31,000
	Brown	648	16,651	42	82	26	65	127	12,600
	Callahan	557	19,942	55	107	36	99	193	18,400
	Clay	544	31,438	344	671	58	632	1,232	32,000
	Comanche	138	1,776	10	20	13	72	140	2,100
	Eastland	339	5,703	18	35	17	53	103	5,300
	Erath	129	1,459	8	16	11	62	121	1,300
	Hood	22	176	1	2	8	45	88	100
	Jack	188	3,887	29	57	21	154	300	3,600
	Mills	155	2,467	5	10	16	32	62	2,200
	Montague	188	2,580	31	60	14	165	322	2,900
	Palo Pinto	164	2,939	15	29	18	91	177	3,400
	Parker	44	591	2	4	13	45	88	500
	Shackelford	337	16,919	44	86	50	131	255	16,600
	Somervell	6	50	1	2	8	167	326	100
	Stephens	382	12,578	42	82	33	110	214	13,000
	Throckmorton	461	31,523	142	277	68	308	601	31,000
	Wise	173	4,825	60	117	28	347	677	4,900
	Young	841	48,960	490	956	58	583	1,137	51,000
	Total	5,756	236,180	1,663	3,245	41	289	564	232,000
4	Bell	426	5,648	48	94	13	113	220	5,300
	Bosque	319	3,851	27	53	12	85	166	3,100
	Collin	2,034	40,984	801	1,562	20	394	768	49,000
	Cooke	787	24,353	414	807	31	526	1,026	25,700
	Coryell	478	8,773	74	144	18	155	302	9,520
	Dallas	976	22,901	336	655	23	344	671	24,000
	Delta	138	1,042	23	45	8	167	326	1,350
	Denton	1,207	34,301	611	1,191	28	506	987	35,000
	Ellis	712	9,600	174	339	13	244	476	12,100
	Falls	34	215	4	8	6	118	230	400
	Fannin	993	9,780	300	585	10	302	589	17,200
	Grayson	1,926	43,022	800	1,560	22	415	809	50,000
	Hamilton	338	4,562	31	60	13	92	179	3,900
	Hill	163	1,614	28	55	10	172	335	2,900
	Hunt	335	2,290	121	236	7	361	704	8,300
	Johnson	139	1,530	27	53	11	194	378	2,600
	Kaufman	120	1,082	40	78	9	333	649	2,600
	Lamar	226	2,437	78	152	11	345	673	4,100
	Limestone	3	36	1	2	12	333	649	80
	McLennan	308	6,120	64	125	20	208	406	7,100
	Milam	12	123	5	10	10	417	813	500
	Navarro	20	327	5	10	16	250	488	400
	Rockwall	305	2,699	90	176	9	295	575	6,100
	Tarrant	149	2,464	43	84	17	289	564	3,100
	Williamson	88	1,422	6	12	16	68	133	600
	Total	12,236	231,176	4,151	8,096				276,950
5-N	Anderson			(1)					20
	Bowie	4	183	1	2	46	250	488	120
	Cherokee								10
	Henderson	2	9	1	2	4	500	975	70
	Hopkins	3	14	(1)		5			40

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

TEXAS—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
5-N	Houston	1	8	(1)		8			20
	Rains	1	13	(1)		13			20
	Red River	30	440	3	6	15	100	195	400
	Titus	3	14			5			
	Van Zandt	15	113	3	6	8	200	390	400
	Wood			(1)					30
	Total	59	794	8	16				1,130
5-S	Brazos	1	10	(1)		10			10
	Waller	3	41	(1)		14			20
	Total	4	51						30
6	Culberson	4	86			22			
	Hudspeth	1	28			28			
	Pecos	1	4			4			
	Presidio	2	23	(1)		12			10
	Reeves	1	26			26			
	Total	9	167						10
7	Bandera	10	62			6			10
	Blanco	59	563	1	2	10	17	33	420
	Burnet	101	1,277	3	6	13	30	58	1,010
	Coke	59	2,013	1	2	34	17	33	1,130
	Concho	331	24,455	25	49	74	76	148	14,850
	Edwards	1	13			13			
	Gillespie	414	6,297	10	20	15	24	47	5,330
	Irion	5	53			11			10
	Kendall	180	1,935	2	4	11	11	21	1,590
	Kerr	117	1,570	1	2	13	9	18	1,170
	Kimble	37	344			9			
	Lampasas	123	1,627	8	16	13	65	127	2,080
	Llano	12	155			13			
	McCulloch	373	13,877	11	21	37	29	57	8,250
	Mason	5	69			14			10
	Menard	41	1,078	(1)		26			440
	San Saba	103	2,212	1	2	21	10	20	1,020
	Schleicher	30	690	(1)		23			100
	Sterling	4	336			84			
	Tom Green	76	2,213	(1)		29			480
	Uvalde	13	288	(1)		22			150
	Total	2,094	61,127	63	124				38,050
8-N	Austin	2	6	(1)		3			10
	Bastrop	2	18	(1)		9			20
	Bee	3	19	(1)		6			10
	Bexar	90	1,596	2	4	18	22	43	1,090
	Caldwell	4	19	(1)		5			10
	Comal	56	394	(1)		7			170
	DeWitt	1	5			5			
	Gonzales	2	25			12			
	Guadalupe	49	382	1	2	8	20	39	200
	Hays	10	76	(1)		8			20
	Karnes	57	314	(1)		6			160
	Medina	26	325	1	2	13	38	74	250
	Travis	11	118			11			10
	Wilson	20	264	(1)		13			70
	Total	333	3,561	4	8				2,020
9	Harris	2	8	(1)		4			10
	Jackson	13	248	1	2	19	77	150	220
	Victoria	2	11			6			
	Wharton	5	70	1	2	14	200	390	160
	Total	22	337	2	4				390
10-N	Atascosa	26	300	(1)		12			100
	Live Oak	18	146			8			20
	Maverick	5	144			29			
	Zavala	14	146	1	2	10	71	138	100
	Total	63	736	1	2				220
	State total	52,614	4,199,003	26,386	51,459	80	502	979	4,050,000

UTAH

1	Box Elder	1,236	97,032	2,273	4,046	79	1,839	3,273	120,320
	Cache	1,449	33,085	1,281	2,280	23	884	1,574	52,200
	Davis	625	3,819	180	320	6	288	513	4,120
	Morgan	165	2,151	64	114	13	388	691	2,570
	Rich	92	3,598	65	116	39	707	1,258	3,510
	Salt Lake	1,072	19,223	618	1,100	18	576	1,025	24,420
	Tooele	123	6,978	82	146	57	667	1,187	4,910
	Weber	703	2,797	146	260	4	208	370	3,550
	Total	5,465	168,683	4,709	8,382				215,600
5	Juab	287	20,519	335	596	71	1,167	2,077	22,370
	Millard	660	28,329	519	924	43	786	1,399	31,950
	Sanpete	888	12,031	280	498	14	315	561	11,480
	Sevier	446	2,935	120	214	7	269	479	3,060
	Utah	1,450	17,791	585	1,041	12	403	717	21,040
	Total	3,731	81,605	1,839	3,273				89,900

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

UTAH—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
6	Carbon	231	1,483	45	80	6	195	347	1,720
	Daggett	14	37	1	2	3	71	126	50
	Duchesne	534	2,674	70	125	5	131	233	2,870
	Emery	478	2,955	98	174	6	205	365	3,880
	Grand	13	390	6	11	30	462	822	330
	San Juan	272	30,960	135	240	114	496	883	30,840
	Summit	151	1,199	28	50	8	185	329	1,340
	Uintah	432	3,431	84	150	8	194	345	3,900
	Wasatch	106	223	15	27	2	142	253	330
	Total	2,231	43,352	482	859				45,300
7	Beaver	84	1,912	42	75	23	500	890	1,670
	Garfield	68	1,325	5	9	19	74	132	220
	Iron	243	6,375	83	148	26	342	609	6,290
	Kane	78	1,160	5	9	15	64	114	360
	Piute	33	167	6	11	5	182	324	220
	Washington	165	6,745	98	174	41	594	1,057	8,190
	Wayne	78	278	6	11	4	77	137	230
	Total	749	17,962	245	437				17,200
	State total	12,176	311,602	7,275	12,951	26	597	1,063	368,000

VIRGINIA

2	Clarke	241	3,590	81	162	15	336	672	3,000
	Culpeper	300	2,258	53	106	8	177	354	2,000
	Fairfax	181	1,574	32	64	9	177	354	1,300
	Fauquier	591	5,943	117	234	10	198	396	4,700
	Frederick	623	4,557	87	174	7	140	280	4,000
	Loudoun	679	9,309	234	468	14	345	690	8,200
	Madison	336	2,311	54	108	7	161	322	2,000
	Page	501	3,731	86	172	7	172	344	3,400
	Prince William	310	2,251	53	106	7	171	342	1,800
	Rappahannock	100	913	20	40	9	200	400	800
	Rockingham	1,493	11,288	242	484	8	162	324	9,600
	Shenandoah	965	5,553	148	296	6	153	306	5,500
	Stafford	174	1,227	32	64	7	184	368	1,300
	Warren	202	1,755	36	72	9	178	356	1,400
	Total	6,696	56,260	1,275	2,550				49,000
4	Alleghany	50	159	3	6	3	60	120	120
	Augusta	1,202	10,892	269	538	9	224	448	9,900
	Bath	65	373	11	22	6	169	338	520
	Botetourt	315	1,626	40	80	5	127	254	1,530
	Craig	201	558	16	32	3	80	160	600
	Highland	121	290	6	12	2	50	100	250
	Roanoke	186	1,290	26	52	7	140	280	950
	Rockbridge	483	3,662	75	150	8	155	310	2,900
	Total	2,623	18,850	446	892				16,800
5	Albemarle	317	1,683	49	98	5	155	310	1,700
	Amelia	844	4,858	154	308	6	182	364	5,800
	Amherst	329	1,725	38	76	5	116	232	1,650
	Appamattox	809	5,099	155	310	6	192	384	6,100
	Bedford	1,034	5,697	163	326	6	158	316	6,400
	Buckingham	938	4,598	129	258	5	138	276	4,950
	Campbell	1,088	6,841	206	412	6	189	378	8,100
	Caroline	540	4,930	146	292	9	270	540	5,400
	Chesterfield	261	1,252	35	70	5	134	268	1,400
	Cumberland	701	3,144	91	182	4	130	260	3,500
	Fluvanna	471	1,731	44	88	4	93	186	1,700
	Goochland	445	1,883	57	114	4	128	256	2,200
	Greene	225	1,312	34	68	6	151	302	1,350
	Hanover	909	6,101	174	348	7	191	382	6,700
	Henrico	259	1,395	58	116	5	224	448	1,900
	Louisa	800	3,801	107	214	5	134	268	3,950
	Nelson	265	1,458	33	66	6	125	250	1,400
	Orange	403	2,534	63	126	6	156	312	2,200
	Powhatan	267	1,223	34	68	5	127	254	1,300
	Prince Edward	856	4,993	171	342	6	200	400	6,000
	Spotsylvania	414	1,946	62	124	5	150	300	2,400
	Total	12,175	68,204	2,003	4,006				76,100
6	Accomac	46	511	13	26	11	283	566	400
	Charles City	133	2,509	84	168	19	632	1,264	2,400
	Elizabeth City	27	96			4			
	Essex	480	5,509	165	330	11	344	688	5,900
	Gloucester	156	698	16	32	4	103	206	600
	James City	61	770	20	40	13	328	656	600
	King and Queen	410	2,528	76	152	6	185	370	2,800
	King George	241	2,293	75	150	10	311	622	2,300
	King William	218	2,306	66	132	11	303	606	2,100
	Lancaster	222	998	27	54	4	122	244	1,000
	Mathews	121	255	10	20	2	83	166	330
	Middlesex	301	1,386	50	100	5	166	332	1,600
	New Kent	97	1,262	34	68	13	351	702	1,150
	Northampton	18	121	3	6	7	167	334	130
	Northumberland	452	3,289	114	228	7	252	504	3,300
	Richmond	462	3,759	129	258	8	279	558	3,900
	Warwick	5	8			2			
	Westmoreland	594	5,682	200	400	10	337	674	5,700
	York	44	196	5	10	4	114	228	200
	Total	4,088	34,176	1,087	2,174				34,400

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

VIRGINIA—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
7	Bland	302	1,138	30	60	4	99	198	1,300
	Buchanan	10	14	(1)		1			10
	Carroll	416	760	26	52	2	62	124	1,150
	Dickenson	3							
	Floyd	664	1,604	40	80	2	60	120	1,550
	Giles	162	516	12	24	3	74	148	550
	Grayson	241	600	13	26	2	54	108	570
	Lee	627	2,047	32	64	3	51	102	1,500
	Montgomery	337	1,301	40	80	4	119	238	1,600
	Pulaski	235	1,219	25	50	5	106	212	1,050
	Russell	499	2,344	40	80	5	80	160	1,600
	Scott	771	1,983	43	86	3	56	112	1,900
	Smyth	468	1,942	42	84	4	90	180	1,600
	Tazewell	254	1,786	29	58	7	114	228	1,300
	Washington	1,139	5,008	111	222	4	97	194	4,200
	Wise	11	29	(1)		3			20
	Wythe	737	3,915	81	162	5	110	220	3,600
	Total	6,876	26,266	564	1,128				23,500
8	Charlotte	917	4,141	149	298	5	162	324	5,400
	Franklin	1,076	4,606	149	298	4	138	276	5,700
	Halifax	1,833	7,164	312	624	4	170	340	11,200
	Henry	188	1,011	24	48	5	128	256	1,100
	Lunenburg	707	2,342	92	184	3	130	260	3,400
	Nottoway	506	1,948	68	136	4	134	268	2,450
	Patrick	167	424	13	26	3	78	156	550
	Pittsylvania	2,449	12,657	483	966	5	197	394	17,500
	Total	7,843	34,293	1,290	2,580				47,300
9	Brunswick	1,102	3,151	100	200	3	91	182	3,700
	Dinwiddie	554	2,079	75	150	4	135	270	2,700
	Greensville	74	184	5	10	2	68	136	250
	Isle of Wight	27	52	2	4	2	74	148	100
	Mecklenburg	1,481	5,394	223	446	4	151	302	8,100
	Nansemond	44	322	11	22	7	250	500	400
	Norfolk	130	1,580	40	80	12	308	616	1,300
	Prince George	188	1,488	38	76	8	202	404	1,450
	Princess Anne	108	1,243	33	66	12	306	612	1,150
	Southampton	42	391	15	30	9	357	714	620
	Surry	71	391	11	22	6	155	310	430
	Sussex	103	571	18	36	6	175	350	700
	Total	3,924	16,846	571	1,142				20,900
	State total	44,225	254,895	7,236	14,472	6	164	328	268,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

WASHINGTON

1	Clallam	21	126	2	4	6	95	185	60
	Clark	117	520	14	27	4	120	234	610
	Cowlitz	13	66	(1)		5			10
	Grays Harbor	25	172	1	2	7	40	78	50
	Island	73	1,200	33	64	16	452	881	800
	Jefferson	4	67	2	4	17	500	975	60
	King	0	0						100
	Lewis	309	3,746	93	181	9	293	454	2,740
	Mason	4	6			2			
	Pierce	9	43	1	2	5	111	216	20
	San Juan	51	314	3	6	6	59	115	100
	Skagit	157	1,263	8	16	8	51	99	430
	Skamania	0	0	(1)					10
	Snohomish	29	197	8	16	7	276	538	280
	Thurston	71	687	6	12	10	85	166	290
	Whatcom	69	377	14	27	5	203	396	380
	Total	1,042	8,784	185	361				5,900
2	Benton	375	99,415	2,270	4,426	265	6,053	11,803	128,000
	Chelan	120	4,546	76	148	38	633	1,234	4,280
	Kittitas	499	8,662	356	694	17	713	1,390	8,020
	Klickitat	351	53,747	1,161	2,264	153	3,308	6,451	54,800
	Okanogan	323	26,523	497	969	82	1,539	3,001	25,500
	Yakima	1,079	22,337	1,133	2,209	21	1,050	2,048	27,500
	Total	2,747	215,230	5,493	10,710				248,100
3	Ferry	174	4,349	88	172	25	506	987	3,700
	Pend Oreille	71	955	9	18	13	127	248	300
	Spokane	1,698	107,578	3,189	6,219	63	1,878	3,662	106,800
	Stevens	913	18,267	544	1,061	20	596	1,162	17,100
	Total	2,856	131,149	3,830	7,470				127,900
4	Adams	969	269,649	6,326	12,336	278	6,528	12,730	287,200
	Douglas	565	169,397	3,811	7,431	300	6,745	13,153	174,600
	Franklin	477	101,513	2,522	4,918	213	5,287	10,310	106,700
	Grant	1,058	127,020	4,120	8,034	120	3,894	7,593	135,200
	Lincoln	990	279,453	8,415	16,409	282	8,500	16,575	286,300
	Total	4,059	947,032	25,194	49,128				990,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
9	Asotin	146	26,927	797	1,554	184	5,459	10,645	26,300
	Columbia	299	68,659	2,149	4,191	230	7,187	14,015	68,200
	Garfield	289	66,969	2,545	4,963	232	8,806	17,172	66,700
	Walla Walla	673	173,066	7,009	13,668	257	10,415	20,309	176,100
	Whitman	1,754	343,677	12,624	24,617	196	7,197	14,034	340,000
	Total	3,161	679,298	25,124	48,993				677,300
	State total	13,865	1,961,493	59,826	116,662	143	4,315	8,414	2,049,200

WEST VIRGINIA

2	Barbour	152	253	7	14	2	46	90	350
	Brooke	71	383	9	18	5	127	248	310
	Doddridge	2	2	(1)		1			20
	Hancock	95	387	9	18	4	95	185	360
	Harrison	7	33	2	4	5	286	558	80
	Lewis	9	26	1	2	3	111	216	60
	Marion	11	31	2	4	3	182	355	100
	Marshall	246	704	13	25	3	53	103	610
	Monongalia	57	164	6	12	3	105	205	220
	Ohio	101	353	13	25	3	129	252	530
	Pleasants	2	24	1	2	12	500	975	20
	Preston	387	1,335	37	72	3	96	187	1,580
	Ritchie	11	24	1	2	2	91	177	50
	Taylor	8	61	1	2	8	125	244	70
	Tyler	16	81	2	4	5	125	244	80
	Upshur	46	159	4	8	3	71	138	170
	Wetzel	20	50	2	4	2	100	195	90
	Wood	166	795	11	21	5	66	129	500
	Total	1,417	4,865	121					5,200
4	Boone			(1)					20
	Braxton	4	6	1	2	2	250	488	30
	Cabell	44	184	3	6	4	68	133	170
	Calhoun			(1)					20
	Clay			(1)					10
	Fayette	48	114	2	4	2	42	82	80
	Gilmer	1	1	(1)		1			20
	Jackson	71	206	9	18	4	127	248	410
	Kanawha	1	1	1	2	1	1,000	1,950	40
	Lincoln	11	21	(1)		2			20
	Mason	292	2,036	43	84	7	147	287	1,820
	McDowell			(1)					10
	Mercer	133	452	12	23	3	90	176	540
	Nicholas	132	376	9	18	3	68	133	380
	Putnam	120	543	7	14	5	58	113	360
	Raleigh	15	92	2	4	6	133	259	100
	Roane	5	24	3	6	5	600	1,170	150
	Wayne	12	84	2	4	7	167	326	110
	Webster	5	7	(1)		1			20
	Wirt	31	117	2	4	4	65	127	70
	Wyoming			(1)					20
	Total	925	4,364	96					4,400
6	Berkeley	387	4,286	86	168	11	222	433	3,910
	Grant	292	1,420	33	64	5	113	220	1,400
	Greenbrier	603	2,373	87	170	4	144	281	3,420
	Hampshire	475	2,073	58	113	4	122	238	2,190
	Hardy	361	2,211	54	105	6	150	292	2,100
	Jefferson	383	8,962	159	310	23	415	809	6,830
	Mineral	206	837	17	33	4	83	162	750
	Monroe	750	3,122	95	185	4	127	248	3,530
	Morgan	299	1,610	37	72	5	124	242	1,810
	Pendleton	559	2,215	63	123	4	113	220	2,550
	Pocahontas	149	517	17	33	3	114	222	650
	Randolph	57	267	8	16	5	140	273	300
	Summers	102	398	22	43	4	216	421	890
	Tucker	27	43	2	4	2	74	144	70
	Total	4,650	30,334	738					30,400
	State total	6,992	39,563	959	1,865	6	137	267	40,000

WISCONSIN

1	Barron	89	159	2	4	3	34	65	90
	Bayfield	112	211	5	10	2	45	86	270
	Burnett	35	97	1	2	3	29	56	70
	Chippewa	55	126	2	4	2	36	69	90
	Douglas	73	157	2	4	2	27	52	110
	Polk	107	276	4	8	3	37	71	250
	Rusk	10	30	(1)		4			20
	Sawyer	1	8	(1)		8			20
	Washburn	15	87	2	4	6	133	255	120
	Total	467	1,160	18	36				1,040

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

WISCONSIN—Continued

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
2	Ashland	29	24	1	2	1	34	65	30
	Clark	213	289	5	10	1	23	44	200
	Iron	9	8	(1)		1			20
	Lincoln	56	84	3	6	2	54	104	150
	Marathon	465	627	23	44	1	49	94	1,030
	Oneida	14	98	3	6	7	214	411	180
	Price	20	17	1	2	1	50	96	60
	Taylor	56	80	1	2	1	18	35	60
	Vilas	5	4	(1)		1			20
	Total	867	1,231	37	72				1,750
3	Florence	20	14	1	2	1	50	96	60
	Forest	33	59	1	2	2	30	58	70
	Langlade	125	351	9	17	3	72	138	360
	Marinette	170	282	9	17	2	53	102	400
	Oconto	237	356	20	38	2	84	161	760
	Shawano	239	375	12	23	2	50	96	480
	Total	824	1,437	52	99				2,130
4	Buffalo	225	579	16	31	3	71	136	750
	Dunn	109	279	5	10	3	46	88	260
	Eau Claire	115	303	4	8	3	35	67	200
	Jackson	194	410	7	13	2	36	69	340
	La Crosse	107	335	5	10	3	47	90	250
	Monroe	168	153	5	10	1	30	58	220
	Pepin	254	822	22	42	3	87	167	1,050
	Pierce	473	2,013	48	92	4	101	194	2,270
	St. Croix	173	628	15	29	4	87	167	800
	Trempealeau	334	579	12	23	2	36	69	580
	Total	2,152	6,101	139	268				6,720
5	Adams	121	286	4	8	2	33	63	230
	Green Lake	253	696	16	31	3	63	121	700
	Juneau	111	231	5	10	2	45	86	220
	Marquette	262	589	17	33	2	65	125	750
	Portage	137	545	16	31	4	117	225	760
	Waupaca	115	217	6	12	2	52	100	290
	Waushara	140	497	13	25	4	93	179	600
	Wood	94	98	5	10	1	53	102	230
	Total	1,233	3,159	82	160				3,780
6	Brown	125	246	21	40	2	168	323	750
	Calumet	274	523	30	58	2	109	209	990
	Door	473	1,064	65	125	2	137	263	2,440
	Fond du Lac	364	638	24	46	2	66	127	770
	Kewaunee	430	760	53	102	2	121	232	1,870
	Manitowoc	425	727	31	60	2	73	140	1,140
	Outagamie	153	326	17	33	2	111	213	580
	Sheboygan	265	568	26	69	2	136	261	1,150
	Winnebago	288	579	25	48	2	87	167	830
	Total	2,806	5,431	302	581				10,520
7	Crawford	111	144	3	6	1	27	52	120
	Grant	195	339	13	25	2	67	129	500
	Iowa	108	345	10	19	2	60	115	390
	Lafayette	90	147	5	10	2	56	108	200
	Richland	89	174	4	8	2	45	86	140
	Sauk	552	1,566	37	71	3	67	129	1,600
	Vernon	78	115	6	12	1	77	148	220
	Total	1,283	2,830	78	151				3,170
8	Columbia	573	1,748	51	98	3	89	171	2,020
	Dane	556	1,352	50	96	2	90	173	1,880
	Dodge	763	1,424	45	86	2	59	113	1,540
	Green	93	207	4	8	2	43	83	140
	Jefferson	415	864	26	54	2	67	129	970
	Rock	328	1,579	61	117	5	186	357	2,370
	Total	2,728	7,174	239	459				8,940
9	Kenosha	328	1,397	68	131	4	207	397	2,120
	Milwaukee	258	1,279	28	54	5	109	209	970
	Ozaukee	329	943	49	94	3	149	286	1,590
	Racine	731	3,801	193	371	5	264	507	6,180
	Walworth	180	871	53	102	5	294	564	1,730
	Washington	586	1,234	59	113	2	101	194	1,930
	Waukesha	647	1,510	43	83	2	66	127	1,430
	Total	3,060	11,035	493	948				15,950
	State total	15,419	39,558	1,440	2,774	3	93	179	54,000

[1] Less than 500 bushels.

1956 wheat—June 1957—Continued

WYOMING

District	County	Number of farms with allotments (1)	Total acreage allotted (2)	Total wheat production (thousands of bushels) (3)	Value of wheat (thousands of dollars) (4)	Average acreage per allotment (5)	Average production per allotment (bushels) (6)	Average value per allotment (dollars) (7)	Total estimated acres seeded (8)
1	Big Horn	216	1,752	30	57	8	139	263	1,100
	Fremont	389	3,697	57	108	10	147	278	1,800
	Hot Springs	45	267	3	6	6	67	127	100
	Park	446	3,042	74	140	7	166	314	2,000
	Washakie	65	236	4	8	4	62	117	100
	Total	1,161	8,994	168	319				5,100
2	Campbell	354	31,461	319	603	89	901	1,703	28,800
	Crook	430	27,146	328	620	63	763	1,442	26,900
	Johnson	143	6,127	40	76	43	280	529	4,400
	Sheridan	375	13,370	240	454	36	640	1,210	11,700
	Weston	158	8,921	150	284	56	949	1,794	8,400
	Total	1,460	87,025	1,077	2,037				79,300
3	Lincoln	98	4,098	54	102	42	551	1,041	3,600
	Sublette	2	8	(1)		4			20
	Teton	33	630	18	34	19	545	1,030	630
	Uinta	37	178	2	4	5	54	102	80
	Total	170	4,920	74	140				4,330
4	Albany	4	765	1	2	191	250	472	120
	Carbon	41	11,722	82	155	286	2,000	3,780	9,600
	Natrona	30	326	2	4	11	67	127	140
	Sweetwater	12	28	(1)		2			10
	Total	87	12,841	85	161				9,870
5	Converse	105	6,268	85	161	60	810	1,531	6,700
	Goshen	432	60,158	1,112	2,102	139	2,574	4,865	73,800
	Laramie	503	71,414	1,786	3,376	142	3,551	6,711	104,300
	Niobrara	126	9,543	105	198	76	833	1,574	9,200
	Platte	323	40,534	609	1,151	125	1,885	3,563	51,400
	Total	1,489	187,917	3,697	6,988				245,400
	State total	4,367	301,697	5,101	9,645	69	1,168	2,208	344,000

1 Less than 500 bushels.

Why Farmers Are in Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the present situation in agriculture has far-reaching effects in the great rural areas of America and no one knows it better than the smalltown businessman. An editorial reprinted by the Askov American of Askov, Minn., puts the problem in the language of Main Street. It was written by Gordon Spielman, editor of the Triumph-Monterey Progress, published in Martin County, Minn., and is worthy of consideration by Members of the House. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that it appear at this point in the RECORD:

There has been a lot written and more said about the farm problem. There are arguments about parity and support, about free market versus fixed prices, about acreage allotments and controls, to a point that the average person shakes his head and wonders what it is all about.

Stripped of all the fancy talk of the farm economists, the farmers are in trouble simply because since 1952 they have been taking a big pay cut. While the price of everything has been steadily going up, the price of farm products has been going down.

For example, in 1952 a farmer had to sell 951 bushels of wheat at $2.06 to buy a tractor at $1,960. Today the same farmer would have to sell 1,130 bushels of wheat at $1.91 to buy the same tractor at $2,160.

In 1952, the farmer could sell 147 bushels of corn at $1.73 to buy a 2-bottom plow at $255. Today, it takes him 214 bushels of corn at $1.22 to buy the same plow at $262. In 1952, it took 56 hundredweight of cattle at an average of $26.20 to buy a combine worth $1,490. This year, with the average price of cattle at $17.70, it took 89 hundredweight to buy the same combine at $1,590.

Back in 1952, before Ike, Benson and the new look in agriculture, it took 447 hundredweight of milk at $4.38 to buy a 2-ton truck then worth $1,960; now it takes 744 hundredweight of milk at $3.84 to buy the same truck at $2,860. And yes, ladies, in 1952 it took 390 dozen eggs at 34 cents to buy a washing machine worth $132. Now it takes 562 dozen eggs at less than 25 cents to buy the same washer, now selling for $140.

Similar stories may be told about chickens, rye and other farm products.

Simply told, it means that while almost every other section of our population has been getting more for what they produce, the farmer has been getting less. And that hurts. It hurts not only the farmer and his family, but all of us on Main Street who depend on the farmers' ability to buy for our own living.

Thus the question becomes not one of philosophy, or of political ideology, but simply one of how are we going to get the farmer back in line with the rest of the Nation's economy before the balance becomes upset and, Humpty-Dumpty-like, we all fall. Obviously either of two things can be done. We can raise the prices received by farmers until they are in line with other prices, or we can lower the prices on all commodities to the same levels as those received by the farmers for their products.

We prefer to believe that it would be easier to raise the prices received by the farmers.

Election of Ted Budzinski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, at their recent convention in Milwaukee, selected Mr. Ted Budzinski, first vice commander of Astoria, L. I., Post No. 1 of the Catholic War Veterans, as the outstanding promoter of Americanism in this most important, nationwide organization. I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the citation accompanying this award to Mr. Budzinski.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To Ted Budzinski, first vice commander and Americanism chairman of the mother post of the Catholic War Veterans of the

United States of America, Astoria No. 1: For having given outstanding service in the performance of his duties; for having demonstrated beyond any questions an untiring and continuing ability to produce all manner of lawful actions promoting and fostering a greater America under God; for his boundless energy, as evidenced by his voluminous writings, correspondence, and speech preparation which all have been accomplished in the name of the CWV; for having deeply probed and reacted in a true forthright American and Catholic manner into all anti-American areas; this first annual Senator Joe McCarthy gold medal Americanism award is presented."

The Ryukyus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letters which I have just received from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, President of Nationalist China, and the Honorable Syngman Rhee, President of the Republic of Korea:

THE PRESIDENT OF
REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
Taipei, Taiwan, August 24, 1957.

The Honorable CARROLL D. KEARNS,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEARNS: This is to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of August 5, 1957.

Your deep concern over various aspects of the situation here is sincerely appreciated. I am particularly thankful for your good report before the House of Representatives on Taiwan.

Regarding my book, I am glad to learn that you think it offers some points for consideration in this stage of international developments. I feel very strongly that the free world is courting disaster if it continues to toy with the idea of having peaceful coexistence with international communism.

Thank you very much for speaking of me in such glowing terms. I am fully aware of the fact that I have yet to discharge my responsibility to my people, and I shall need every bit of help good friends like you can give me.

Madam Chiang joins me in sending you our best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

KYUNG MU DAI, SEOUL,
August 13, 1957.

The Honorable CARROLL D. KEARNS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KEARNS: A few days ago I had the pleasure of reading a newspaper report about a speech which you made in the House of Representatives after your recent trip to the Far East in which you said that the United States must keep Okinawa far into the foreseeable future.

I know I speak for all Koreans and other free people in Asia when I thank you for the encouragement your words have brought to all of us who recognize the grave dangers inherent in Japan's agitation for the return of this strategic island.

We are deeply concerned when President Eisenhower, following the Japanese Prime Minister's recent visit to America, declared America's future expectation to return the Ryukyus to Japan when the threat of Communist aggression had subsided enough to permit it.

Ryukyu, like Korea, was an independent island kingdom until Japan took it by force of arms and exploited it to extreme poverty. Few people realize it was the refusal of a Ryukyuan king to give military assistance to Japan against Korea toward the end of the sixteenth century that led to the Japanese invasion and consequent domination of the Islands. After their liberation by the United States in 1945, the Ryukyuan people had every reason to hope for the restoration of their freedom and independence.

Rather than taking the position that the Ryukyus should be returned to Japan's dominating control, which would be a bitter disappointment to a countless number of free Asians and a major step toward realization of Japan's aggressively resurgent dream of expansion, the United States should reaffirm her position as a stanch defender of self-determination and the right of all individuals to be free.

I sincerely appreciate the stand which you have taken on this important issue, and wish you every success.

Sincerely,

SYNGMAN RHEE.

Daily Radio Roundup of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Daily Radio Roundup of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, of St. Paul, Minn., for August 22 and 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the broadcasts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 22, 1957

We would like to read for you two communications received here at the GTA office. The first is a United Press teletype report received this morning. It says, "(Washington) The cost of living rose to an alltime high in July. The Bureau of Labor Statistics said it was the 11th straight month of increases, mostly caused by rising food prices." The second is a letter from Mr. William Larson of Page, N. Dak., to M. W. Thatcher, general manager of GTA, in which he says, "We listen to the GTA radio broadcast every day. Isn't there someone who can tell consumers that people are paying for all this packaging and processing of food, making for these high prices?"

Now, obviously, Mr. Larson is sick and tired of hearing farmers blamed for rising food prices and the high cost of living, when he knows it is not true because his farm prices have gone way down instead of way up. We've told the story many times—the true story—on this GTA radio program. But the GTA network of 12 radio stations is only a squeak in the thundering communications machinery which right now is spreading far and wide the Government's report that we read to you off the United Press wire.

Yet there is another Government report that tells the true facts—facts that the news services and newspapers and TV and radio stations are neglecting to give to the public. This report is buried in a USDA publication called The Marketing and Transportation Situation. Here is one significant paragraph from the report:

"Retail prices of farm-produced food products were about 3 percent higher in the second quarter of this year than in the same period of 1956. A 6-percent increase in marketing charges accounted for the higher retail prices, as prices received by farmers averaged about the same as last year."

In other words, the big factor in pushing up the cost of living is not the price of raw material from the farms, but the cost of services. Consumers, whether they realize it or not, are paying a pretty price for pretty packages and tantalizing sales promotions. It's all part of the big race to catch the housewife's eye as she trundles her cart up and down the supermarket aisles. Just to get people into the stores, the big markets are giving away everything from suckers for the kids to lottery tickets on new Cadillacs, and the consumer pays for it all.

All of which explains a situation, but does not answer the farmers' problem of getting better prices and income. That's a problem which must be solved in Washington through legislation; by the farmers themselves, through stronger organization; and by cooperatives like your GTA, where neighbor joins neighbor to build marketing power.

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 23, 1957

We all like to sit back and relax once in a while—and most of us do—but unfortunately that isn't the way we get jobs done. That is particularly true today for family farmers who are in an economic struggle for survival. But even though farmers know that something should be done, they are hard-pressed to know just what it is.

The latest issue of the GTA Digest, which is coming off the press today and will be in the mails tomorrow, gives farmers a lead on the right course to take. The Digest, which circulates to some 35,000 farm co-op and community leaders in the upper Midwest, has this to say: "When farmers organize, jobs get done and problems get solved. More and more farmers are becoming convinced that they can best tackle the present farm problem through stronger organization at home and in Washington."

The Digest cites what farmers have done at home through their cooperatives as "one of the great national achievements. The co-op grain elevator has become the dominant symbol of what farmers can accomplish by working together." Although the administration in Washington has waged a 6-year campaign against farm price supports, resulting in lower and lower farm prices and a generally weak farm economy, it is encouraging to see that farmers are helping to combat this by building their cooperatives stronger.

Just to cite a couple of examples—the Farmers Union Elevator at Harvey, N. Dak., has completed a new 100,000-bushel annex boosting its total capacity to 205,000 bushels. That means, of course, that the farmers will have more efficient handling of their grain crops and will be able to store more grain until market prices are more favorable.

But these farm co-ops don't concentrate entirely on storage space. Up at Climax, Minn., for example, the Grain Cooperative Association has put into operation a new $30,000 seed plant. That means assurance for farmers of the area—that the seed they put into the ground will be the finest available.

These are not isolated examples. All through the farm areas of the Nation cooperatives are expanding and improving their facilities, because the farmers who won them

demand it. Slowly but surely co-op farmers are closing their ranks, organizing better, to combat the cost-price squeeze which has its roots in Washington. They are working toward the day when they will be organized as industry and labor are organized and can lay claim to a fair share of the national income.

Helping farmers toward that goal is the great regional grain marketing cooperative they have built—the sponsor of this program. Join them by marketing your grain GTA, the co-op way.

Opposition to the Selling of Merchandise on Sundays and National Holidays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Mr. Arthur L. Quinn, counselor at law, Washington, D. C., addressed to the publishers of the Washington newspapers. In the letter, Mr. Quinn protests against the widespread Sunday merchandising and selling of all types of goods on Sundays and on our great national holidays. I think the letter will be of interest to those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 13, 1957.*

To the Owners, Publishers, and Editors, the Evening and Sunday Star, the Washington Post and Times-Herald, and the Washington Daily News.

GENTLEMEN: As one who has reached the age of 50 plus 7, native born, spending about two decades of my life in my native New Hampshire and the balance of my years here in Washington, I believe there is need for reflection, serious reflection, which causes me great concern, and which, likewise, should cause you concern. I refer to the decay that has set in among our citizenry in moral, religious, and patriotic values. Sundays and holiday; nationally proclaimed holidays, have always meant a great deal to me. From my earliest days, I was trained and taught that Sundays and public holidays called for respect to God and country.

Look at what has happened in the last decade. Sundays are being bargained into just another day for business as usual. First, they tried it out on the fringe line of our city and apparently noting no resentment thereto, they, impudent and disrespectful merchants, or hucksters if you please, splash their message and huckster their wares in the very heart of the city. Through glaring 2-page ads, they entice, persuade, and blatantly cajole the gentry to join the marathon, 24- or 48-hour marathons, for so-called Sunday bargains on used floor samples, slightly defective merchandise, etc., etc., used cars, appliances, etc., etc.

What of the American holidays—Washington's Birthday, Independence Day, Memorial Day, Thanksgiving? All have degenerated into carnivals of bargain (junk) clearance sorties.

How can religious and patriotic values be imparted to the youngsters of today under such flagrant and bold disrespect of the significance of the day?

Why am I addressing you jointly? Because, you, together, can do more than any law that inevitably will be forthcoming from Congress. You can take the step that will help, beyond all doubt, to eliminate the evil. How? By jointly refusing to take copy for ads that invite violation of the significance of the sabbath and publicly proclaimed holidays set aside to pay respect to God and homage to country.

What about the loss in revenues? The merchandise will be there the other 6 days of the week, as it is with reputable stores, for the hawkers to sell and for you to advertise. Righteous competition, fair competition, will make up any feared losses.

Surely, the medium you own and control owes something to the community besides the taxes you pay and the employment you afford. You have a great moral duty to help preserve the religious and patriotic values of our community—our Nation.

I am not a shareholder in any of your enterprises but I am a shareholder in the community that makes up the District of Columbia. I value that investment. You should, too.

Do not wait for the legislative cure to this fast-growing evil of total disregard and disrespect for God, our institutions, our country.

Lead the way. The door is wide open to you.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR L. QUINN.

Campaign Against Certain Latin American Republics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times on Thursday, August 22, calls our attention to another interesting chapter in the unprecedented campaign of the gentleman from Oregon against the sovereign governments of certain allied Latin American Republics. The gentleman's latest exploit entailed his unusual appearance before a Federal grand jury in Washington. This particular grand jury was impaneled on December 27, 1956, and is reportedly investigating the disappearance of Dr. Jesus de Galindez and Gerald Murphy. One would gather from reading the Times that this story was published as a result of a press release from the gentleman's own office in the House of Representatives. There can be no doubt that the gentleman's espousal of the revolutionary cause of certain Latin American exiles has brought him publicity not usually attendant to the office of a freshman Congressman. The fact that he was asked to appear on the Meet the Press program is indicative of the attention his activities have aroused. While there are very few, if any, of us who do not enjoy the favors of press coverage of our activities, there should be some restraints on the methods of procuring public recognition.

The grand jury is an institution basic to the fundamentals of Anglo-American jurisprudence. It was originally conceived and continues to be regarded as the only practical method by which a free society could bring to justice its enemies. In proceedings before the grand jury one is not protected by the normal safeguards of justice such as are available in open court. The availability of such safeguards would necessarily hamper and probably completely thwart the scope of investigation of the grand jury. Substituted for these basic safeguards is the historical secrecy of grand jury proceedings. Without such confidence, names and reputations of many innocent persons would be destroyed. The grand jury is one of those inviolate institutions of American justice which has gained the admiration and respect of peoples throughout the world. It is for this reason that I am amazed to see a Member of this body utilizing a Federal grand jury as a vehicle for promoting his own political well-being. What other reason could the gentleman have for making public statements from his office in the House of Representatives to the effect that he had made an hour appearance before this jury?

Not only did the gentleman announce that he had made such an appearance, but according to the New York Times, he volunteered the contents of some of his testimony. According to his press release, the gentleman from Oregon made two specific suggestions. One was that the grand jury indict Trujillo himself, and the other was that the grand jury call the Dominican Ambassador to the United States as a witness. The fact that the gentleman made public these suggestions is not nearly as amazing as the fact that he, a lawyer, seriously made such proposals to a Federal grand jury. Aside from the propriety of a Member of this body suggesting American legal action against the sovereign of an allied country and its duly accredited representative to the United States, the gentleman as a graduate lawyer must be aware of the traditional rules of international law in this regard.

In 1812 the great Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, who more than any other jurist was responsible for the development of American law, had occasion to address himself to the subject of American regard for the sovereign rights of other nations. Chief Justice Marshall made the following wise and prudent comments:

> One sovereign being in no respect amenable to another; and being bound by obligations of the highest not to degrade the dignity of his nation, by placing himself or its sovereign rights within the jurisdiction of another, can be supposed to enter a foreign territory only under an express license, or in the confidence that the immunities belonging to his independent sovereign station, though not expressly stipulated, are reserved by implication, and will be extended to him.
>
> * * * A foreign sovereign is not understood as intending to subject himself to a jurisdiction incompatible with his dignity, and the dignity of his nation.
>
> The assent of the sovereign to the very important and extensive exemptions from territorial jurisdiction which are admitted to attach to foreign ministers, is implied from the considerations that, without such exemption, every sovereign would hazard his

own dignity by employing a public minister abroad. His minister would owe temporary and local allegiance to a foreign prince, and would be less competent to the objects of his mission. A sovereign committing the interests of his nation with a foreign power, to the care of a person whom he has selected for that purpose, cannot intend to subject his minister in any degree to that power; and, therefore, a consent to receive him, implies a consent that he shall possess those privileges which his principal intended he should retain—privileges which are essential to the dignity of his sovereign, and to the duties he is bound to perform.

Throughout our history, learned justices and statesmen and private citizens have restated in words far more meaningful than mine, the absolute precept of equality of sovereigns and the inviolability of their actions to the jurisdiction and judgment of the courts of other lands. The principle that the conduct of one independent government cannot be questioned in the courts of another rests upon the highest considerations of international comity and expediency. As Mr. Justice Clarke of the Supreme Court said in 1917, to do otherwise would "imperil the amicable relations between governments and vex the peace of nations." The very fact that an American grand jury, under principles of American and international law, has no jurisdiction over Generalissimo Trujillo or Ambassador De Moya makes more reprehensible the suggestions of the gentleman from Oregon. Since there could be no such indictment or summons process issue from this grand jury, the gentleman's suggestions can only serve the purpose of prejudicing grand-jury deliberations and promoting the gentleman's own political ambitions.

I cannot understand why the gentleman from Oregon was called to testify before this grand jury and thus allow him to use this sacrosanct institution as a political sounding board. The gentleman's anti-Dominican campaign has no place in grand-jury deliberations. From his previous statements both on the floor and to the press, the gentleman has not indicated knowledge of any concrete evidence which could be of benefit to this grand jury.

I trust that in the future, the grand jury will exercise more restraint in calling witnesses and confine itself to the detection and prosecution of citizens and residents who may be guilty of some violation of law. An intrusion into the delicate field of international relations by a Federal grand jury is unprecedented.

TVA Launched America's Present Electrical Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting and factual article entitled "TVA Launched America's Present Electrical Age," written by Ray Tucker, and published in a recent issue of the Savannah Morning News, of Savannah, Ga. It relates the part which the Tennessee Valley Authority has played in leading in the extension of the use of electrical power, and in reducing the rates charged for electricity.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Savannah (Ga.) Morning News of August 25, 1957]

TVA LAUNCHED AMERICA'S PRESENT ELECTRICAL AGE

(By Ray Tucker)

Despite expiring arguments over the question of Government competition with the private utilities, today's electrical age really began with Franklin D. Roosevelt's inauguration of the Tennessee Valley Authority experiment, which started operations in 1940.

A review of the 17-year results of his yardstick threat, which has special timeliness now because the private versus public power controversy on Capitol Hill has virtually ended, shows enormous benefits for millions of old and new consumers, and for the private utility industry. The fierce battle has wound up in a draw that seems generally satisfactory, despite grumbling by extremists on both sides.

Other factors, of course, have contributed to this miraculous development. Vast new sources of electricity were needed for World War II, which could have been lost without their contribution. There has been a tremendous increase in population and unparalleled industrial growth. Every home has gone electrical from kitchen gadgets to radio and television sets in the living room.

Much more energy from coal. The private industry, frightened and inspired by the yardstick competition, fought for survival by innovations and improvements which brought down the price of electricity. It gets 3 times more energy from a ton of coal than it did 17 years ago. It rid itself of speculators like Sam Insull and substituted for him a Wendell Willkie.

The statistics tell the story. In 1940, when TVA made its timid entry into the power field, the total consumption of electricity was only 160 billion kilowatt-hours. Today, it is 500 billion. Few farms were then electrified, mainly the great corporation holdings. Today, more than 90 percent of rural homes and farms are so equipped.

Electrical costs lowered. Mass production and consumption have lowered electrical costs. In 1940, the average price for a kilowatt-hour was 3.34 cents, as against 2.59 cents in 1956.

Based on an annual total consumption of 500 billion kilowatt-hours, this drop of 1.25 cents indicates an annual saving of more than $6 billion in the Nation's electricity bill. It should go even lower as air-conditioning in homes and factories, especially in the South, becomes even more general than it has since World War II.

The average annual bill in 1940 was $36.56 for nonfarm consumers, as against about $78 today. In view of the cut in unit costs, the increase here reflects the greater use of electricity by both urban, farm, and industrial users. There are almost as many television and radio sets and electrical appliances in the wide open spaces as there are among city dwellers.

Private utilities in sound shape. Oddly enough, in view of its original fears and fights over FDR's "invasion" of their field with the "TVA experiment," as well as the construction of Bonneville and Grand Coulee systems in the Northwest, the private utilities were never in sounder shape.

Their profits and dividends have not suffered. The executives and managers are now known as enterprising operators. They are giving better service. Privately, the more enlightened utilitarians admit that they needed the 1940–TVA "shot in the arm."

They have survived the New Deal threat. Now, and it is their chief concern, they aim and hope to prevent Uncle Sam from taking over the field of atomic power, even though that source of electricity will not become generally available for another generation.

The Port of Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, the port of Detroit, Mich., has always been an important shipping center for domestic and North American commerce. As the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway approaches, and the Great Lakes become the fourth sea coast of the United States, it will be increasingly important in foreign trade.

Gerald Warren, secretary of the St. Lawrence seaway committee, recently summed up some of Detroit's significance as a port in the weekly publication, the Detroiter, and I ask unanimous consent to have his article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD along with a traffic analysis which has also been supplied.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DETROIT, TAKE PRIDE IN YOUR PORT

No port publication would be complete without directing attention to the pride we hometown folks should take in our port. The coming of the St. Lawrence seaway and the attendant excitement caused great ridicule to be cast on local port activity. In the 3 years since the seaway legislation passed it has been the rule for just about everybody in the Great Lakes to tell the other fellow how best to prepare for the opening of the modernized waterway in 1959.

Much of the talk didn't make sense to the shipper and during the excitement that important fellow remained serenely silent. It did reach a point, however, where some were sure Detroit would never recover from the severe complex developed over reports on the sorry shape of our port. Today it appears that the situation has settled considerably and that all concerned are working toward a common goal of planning realistically for tomorrow's port needs.

Detroit can and should be proud of its port. Last year our port handled 27 million tons of cargo. Iron ore, coal, steel, limestone, and chemicals made up the bulk of the port's domestic business. On a tonnage basis our port outranked the ocean ports of Los Angeles, Boston, or Mobile. Unofficial figures indicate that we rank with the top dozen ports in the Nation in size.

The Detroit River is the busiest waterway in the world. It has unlimited favorable navigation characteristics—no harbors to be dredged or low-level bridges to hamper traffic—and a natural accessibility enjoyed by few ports in the world. These attributes of a natural port put us far and away ahead of our other lake competitors who must go

to Washington for funds to get their harbors in shape.

HEAVY-LIFT CARGOES HANDLED EASILY AT THE PORT OF DETROIT

The port of Detroit is equipped to handle the heaviest cargoes shippers can send by water. A giant 100-ton shear leg crane is available at our port to handle the very heaviest single-lift loads that can be hoisted aboard an ocean vessel. Great Lakes Engineering Works is probably the best equipped firm on the Great Lakes to give service to shippers that have especially heavy and difficult cargoes to handle.

Last year, for example, Ford Motor Co. wanted to send heavy machinery to its Bremen, Germany, plant. In most lake port cities, cargo of this type would have had to be sent to the east coast for shipment to Europe. Not so at the busy port of Detroit. Loads were hoisted aboard in excess of 85 tons. Ford reported a substantial saving and at the same time got unexcelled service at the port of Detroit.

McLouth Steel Corp. wanted to send a steel mill to Spain. In a run-of-the-mill Great Lakes port this would be an impossibility. Not so at the dynamic port of Detroit. Several 70-ton loads were lifted aboard the ocean vessel sitting in the deep water at the dock on the Detroit River, and with no more effort than is exerted on any busy workday this job was done in short order.

LARGEST LAKE FREIGHTER TO BE BUILT AT DETROIT

A true story of our port couldn't be told if we didn't also note that the Great Lakes Engineering Works is presently building the largest boat (yes, boat, that's what they're called on the Great Lakes) ever to be built on the Great Lakes. Work was started on the 730-foot boat last year and it is scheduled for completion in July of 1958. The vessel will cost in excess of $8 million. The vessel is owned by the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., and when finished will be operated by Columbia Transportation Co.

It is reasonable to expect that Great Lakes shipyards will find an increasing number of orders on their desks for the more modern and efficient bulk lake carrier. The Great Lakes fleet is, for the most part, outdated and with the deepened connecting channels, the race will be on among the lake carriers to modernize their fleets. All in all, this spells happy days for the Great Lakes shipbuilding industry. Other major companies on the Great Lakes are Defoe Shipbuilding Co., Bay City, Mich.; Manitowac Shipbuilding, Inc., Manitowac, Wis.; and American Shipbuilding Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

PORT TERMINALS ANXIOUSLY AWAIT MORE OCEAN BUSINESS

Along with the staff at the Port of Detroit Commission and the steamship agents whose job it is to see that shippers use the port of Detroit, the port terminal operators in Detroit are doing their level best to see that the shipper gets the best possible service at our port. Their record to date has been noteworthy. Shippers have high praise for the capable and efficient manner in which their shipments are handled at the port of Detroit. Ship captains are especially pleased with the speedy and efficient equipment available to help cut down in-port time at Detroit.

In 1956, the Detroit Harbor Terminals, Inc., was worked to slightly over 20 percent of capacity. There were 51 days during the shipping season in which there were no ships at the docks of the terminal, and on another 58 days there was only 1 ship per day that discharged cargo. The terminal operator is exceedingly anxious that the shipping season of 1957 will see more production of cargo over his docks. Effective trade development programs are being pursued to produce this new business.

Much the same story can be told for Detroit's other terminals that handle foreign cargo. The Detroit Marine Terminal has specialized in cost-saving cargo-handling techniques which have gotten wide attention. Simply stated, the terminal operator does everything he can to avoid putting the shippers' cargo in the transit shed. Every effort is made to short circuit the usual ship-to-dock, dock-to-transit shed, and shed-to-truck cycle. The streamlined system in use at the Detroit Marine Terminal cuts out these steps by use of stop-watch timing which starts before the ship arrives in port, from the ship to truck or rail car. This close attention to cargo control saves the shipper money.

DETROIT SECOND IN FOREIGN TONNAGE ON THE GREAT LAKES

The port of Detroit has held second place in foreign overseas business since this business started to blossom forth shortly after the end of World War II. Every indication points to the fact that our port is going to stay in the forefront of the race between port cities for cargoes in and out of the industrial heartland of the United States. Year in and year out, our port has handled more foreign business than Milwaukee, Duluth, Toledo, Buffalo, or Cleveland. This calls to mind a rather amusing incident that happened last year when Milwaukee's port director was paid to come to town and tell us how inadequate we were. Luckily our folks didn't put much stock in what was said at that time and our port business still continues to soar above that of Milwaukee.

POLITICIANS KEEP STEADY KEEL

Our local political leaders have been blessed with wisdom to meet the needs of our port. The Wayne County Board of Supervisors has repeatedly refused to be rushed or pressured into ill-conceived port schemes or programs. That body which has the responsibility of raising the money for our port development program has buttressed itself with the best know-how available in getting all information in before making decisions that could conceivably waste millions of the taxpayers' money.

The port commission itself has cast off that idle dream of governmental autonomy and has at last taken its proper role as an agency of Wayne County. As a result, the commission is getting the kind of support from the supervisors that is needed to build for our future port needs. The commission's program for development on the riverfront near West Jefferson and West Grand Boulevard will get the most serious consideration when presented to the supervisors in the near future.

Traffic analysis, ports of Milwaukee and Detroit, 1952–55

Year	Port	Total traffic	Total overseas	Total Canadian	Total lakewise
1952	Milwaukee	5,704,003	19,052	331,278	5,314,338
	Detroit	22,440,231	43,685	718,564	21,051,793
1953	Milwaukee	5,742,348	35,341	460,550	5,234,249
	Detroit	25,463,140	155,584	627,146	23,838,727
1954	Milwaukee	5,462,529	40,812	358,859	5,055,302
	Detroit	21,211,941	59,528	819,272	19,588,902
1955	Milwaukee	6,201,842	65,989	352,266	5,761,319
	Detroit	26,497,792	90,286	1,077,615	24,681,017

Source: Annual Report, Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, U. S. A., Pt. 3: Waterways and Harbors, Great Lakes. Latest official figures available.
Breakdown of traffic excludes coastwise, internal, intraport, and local figures.
JULY 10, 1957.

"Safe" Radiation Seen Lower Than Estimated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "'Safe' Radiation Seen Lower Than Estimated," published in the Washington Post of August 27, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"SAFE" RADIATION SEEN LOWER THAN ESTIMATED

PALO ALTO, CALIF., August 26.—A noted Baltimore biologist warned today that scientists may have to drastically lower the present estimated danger level beyond which radiation can cause disease or threaten the health of the unborn.

The warning was contained in a paper delivered by Dr. Michael A. Bender of Johns Hopkins University before the 5-day convention of the American Institute of Biological Sciences.

Bender reported on experiments in which normal human cells were given radiation doses for the first time and their effects measured. The experiments, he declared, indicated that the maximum permissible dose set by the National Academy of Sciences for the Nation's population may be too high.

He warned: "If the rates of this and other types of radiation induced damage to human tissues are found to be correspondingly high in further experiments, a sharp revision will have to be made in our estimates of 'safe' doses of radiation."

In a report last year the National Academy of Sciences listed 10 roentgens as the maximum permissible average radiation dose to human reproductive organs for persons up to the age of 30.

The report said this dosage would probably cause considerably less damage than twice the amount of so-called "background" radiation received from nature.

However, Bender asserted that his experiments indicate that the dose required to double the spontaneous breakage rate (of cells) is less than 10 roentgens.

He added that the breakage rate of the cells in his study is much higher than which has been generally assumed to occur for such low doses. In fact, the present experiments taken by themselves, lend great weight to the belief of many geneticists that there is no safe dose of radiation.

Bender's research is being financially sponsored by the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Institutes of Health in Washington.

An Engineer Versus War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there is an article in the September issue of the American Engineer entitled "An Engineer Versus War," which is a challenging and stimulating analysis of some of the problems facing mankind in the quest for peace. Mr. Kurtz, the author, I think has done a very thoughtful and worthwhile job which deserves reading by every Senator.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ENGINEER VERSUS WAR
(By Howard G. Kurtz, Jr.)

As an engineer approaches the phenomenon of war, his analysis of the problem is in two stages: (1) He attempts to list all possible causes suggested from all sources, and (2) he further analyzes these causes in search for tangible factors which are subject to engineering study and development.

Before proceeding further, the engineer would admit several prejudices, subject to later confirmation.

1. If there really are as many different causes of war as have been suggested from the many different academic approaches, the problems would be hopeless.

2. Since the observable aspects of war are so similar in every case where the phenomenon occurs, it would be assumed that it must be brought about by the same dynamics each time * * * and not by some different cause each time. All wars basically are similar in the same way that all frontal thunderstorms are similar * * * and brought about by similar dynamics * * * although each storm may vary in minor detail, severity, duration, location, and rainfall.

3. While all the causes of war suggested may have validity, it can be suspected that there is a single dynamic common to them all which is the strategic factor for which we are searching. It must be a dynamic which meets two requirements:

1. It must be present in every case where war between nations occurred; and

2. War could not occur if the factor is absent.

It is just such a critical tangible factor which has been isolated.

The critical or strategic factor in the phenomenon of war makes possible rational evaluation of all the different causes suggested by the scientists. Each such cause has a provable relationship to war only to the extent that it contains the critical factor we shall isolate.

It would be necessary to try to check each suggested cause against every war in history to find one that is present in every case where the phenomenon occurs. One great difficulty in the way of such an engineering analysis is the resistance against giving up superstitions, phantoms, and beliefs which one wants to continue to cling to. Here are two examples:

"All evil in the world today is caused by wicked men who do not believe in a Supreme Being and who claim to believe only in material values."

In many different ways, this theme is repeated constantly to religious people as the explanation of the cause of the oncoming war. And yet there is no observable evidence in history that spiritual or philosophic beliefs are the strategic factor in war, despite historians trying to prove otherwise.

Example: The American people are a Christian people. And yet every war that the American people have fought has been against similarly Christian people—against Christian Englishmen, against Christian Spaniards, against Christian Mexicans, and Christian Germans twice in one generation—in present times.

"All evil in the world today is caused by the fact that the national government owns the automobile factories in the Soviet Union, while private corporations own the automobile factories in America."

In countless variations this theme is hammered into the minds of the American people through billions of dollars' worth of national advertising, pronouncements by business associations, political speeches, ghost-written feature articles and other means of molding public opinion. (The constant repetition of the theme in an effort to sell the public is quite parallel to the similar efforts in the U. S. S. R. to sell the Russian people on the idea that the war is being brought about because of the American beliefs in "capitalism.")

This thesis is devoid of support from any objective analysis of the phenomenon of war.

Example: America is mobilizing for possible large-scale war in 1957 with observable patterns almost identical to American mobilization in 1941.

But within this short period America has mobilized against two radically different national political economies.

In 1941, Americans were mobilizing for defense against a threatening Germany which encased "capitalism" so similar to American capitalism that some American citizens had invested more than $500 million in the German industries which manufactured Hitler's military might.

But in 1957 Americans are mobilizing against a threatening Soviet Union which encases "communism" radically different from American political beliefs.

The American people can observe from their own recent personal experiences that the kind of politics encased in a nation threatening to America, is of no controlling interest. When threatened, the American people can be mobilized to fight against a country professing beliefs in capitalism, or communism, or any other kind of ism. When threatened, the American people can be mobilized to fight against the threatening nation with utter disregard for the current peculiarities of the political faiths of the opposing people.

From a list of all wars between nations since nations were formed, one critical factor would be found to be present each time the phenomenon occurred.

That critical factor is national military power.

This conclusion is so blunt, and so obvious, that one's first reactions are to feel that it is frivolous.

But it can be proven to be a valid and important conclusion.

Is national military power the strategic factor in the phenomenon of war between nations?

The conclusions of the writer are twofold:

I. National military power is the single, strategic, tangible factor in the phenomenon of war. If national military power had been absent, none of the wars between nations would have occurred. But with national military power present, and controlled by individual nations, the patterns of war generate, endlessly, with the dynamics of a new war emerging immediately after the grim conclusion of each last war. These patterns are predictable to an important degree, and will be sketched later in greater detail. National military power is the critical factor which makes the phenomenon predictable, in an engineering sense. It is the concrete factor which can be found in all of the academic causes of war when there is some real correlation between the cause and war.

Strange, exotic spiritual or philosophic beliefs may be subjects for academic study, but they are not a cause of war until they are encased in a foreign nation which has become a military threat. Differences in economic ritual are subjects for endless scholarly analysis, but they are not a cause of war until they become encased in a foreign nation which has become a military target.

II. The human dynamic aroused by a threatening national military power is in a realm beyond the jurisdiction of the conscious mind, in which people intentionally are taught different theological, philosophic, or political beliefs, and beyond the conscious identifications of race, color, and nationality which tend to erect barriers between people. This human dynamic is anxiety. Anxiety is a complex, instinctive, automatic, compulsive human reaction to potential danger under certain conditions. These conditions are met when a person's existence appears to be threatened, and when normal reactions to such danger are thwarted and frustrated. Under certain specific environmental conditions, anxiety generates, and human judgments, attitudes, and actions become predictable.

It is here that the research into the dynamics of war tends to coincide with the writer's 20 years of work and study of the controls which anxiety exerts over public judgments, attitudes, and actions among people of all races, colors, creeds, and nationalities. It has been study of passenger reactions in flight on air transport planes along the world's airways.

There is increasing evidence that this work can be verified and agreed to by people of all differing faiths and beliefs. People of all races, colors, creeds, and nationalities tend to have judgments, attitudes, and observable actions similar to people of all races, colors, creeds, and nationalities when they are placed in the same environment which arouses anxiety. Judgments, attitudes, and behavior are predictable under these conditions.

These are observations in the changing environment of potential hazard which precedes a war and the changing behavior patterns of people in this changing environment.

During the prolonged period of observation, it is assumed that there is an increasing threat to this Nation under the observation from an expanding foreign national military power.

As potential danger intensifies, both normal fear-reactions are frustrated and thwarted in the citizens of this nation; (1) escape is impossible or impracticable and (2) it is equally impossible for the individual citizen to remove the threat or control of his own destiny. The citizens are in a situation similar to passengers in an airplane, in flight, when something has happened to arouse apprehension.

It is possible to observe important changes in the behavior of the citizens as anxiety is intensified.

In contrast to the observed behavior of these same citizens at some other time when no hint or threat of war exists, there are noticeable changes in general behavior over a period of years as the potential threat from a foreign military power is increasing. Many pages could be filled with these observable behavior changes.

But defensive expansion is the over-all label which tends to identify all observable behavior of the people in a nation existing under increasing threat from a foreign military power.

But why is the foreign military power expanding its threat to the nation being observed? Why is it aggressive?

This leads to the observable patterns of the generation of war. As 2 electric fields interact upon each other, in an engineering laboratory, when 2 magnets are brought into a critical relationship to each other * * * so here is a new dynamic when 2 powerful national military powers emerge in a special relationship to each other.

The phenomenon we have been observing is in two parts where (1) the national military power of one nation (2) creates an environment in a second nation which intensified anxiety and apprehension in this second nation.

A new dynamic emerges when this second nation's national military power creates a similar environment of anxiety and apprehension in the first nation.

The national military power of each nation generates anxiety among the citizens of the other nation.

After each war, this dynamic environment in which war can generate becomes available again between the two most powerful concentrations of military forces which are within mutual range of each other's capacities for decisive destruction. War between these two nations becomes a live potential.

The matter of range is important. The dynamic interactions of war do not generate between military powers which are beyond the range of each other's capacity to do harm. Wars do not emerge in history between nations which could not hurt each other.

The polarity of two dominant concentrations of national military power is important. These dynamic patterns do not generate between a dominantly powerful nation and a weak neighbor. Although the defensive expansion of the larger nation may overpower the weak neighbor economically, diplomatically, or even militarily, the dynamic forces of major war generate only when the defensive expansion patterns of two powerful military nations come into overlapping conflict.

In modern times each nation's military department has a planning agency. This agency has the responsibility to scan the military horizon, constantly, to detect the foreign military power which is becoming the most dangerous potential threat. As this potential enemy is brought into focus, all national foreign policy becomes conditioned toward defensive expansion against this potential enemy.

The foreign policy of each of the two major powers within mutual range, thus, begins to focus upon the potential hazard of the other national military power.

Potential threat is all that is required to spark the dynamics of anxiety behavior.

The dynamic interactions of war can generate as they have in recent years between the United States and the U. S. S. R., without either nation's soldiers having killed any citizens in the other country, by military command. It is the increasing potential danger which sparks the national anxiety behavior.

This whole build-up is a continuing change in the specific environment in which the citizens of a nation exist. The environment becomes increasingly charged with potential danger. Human beings react differently when placed in situations of deep apprehension.

Aroused and intense public anxiety is the vital ingredient required before any nation full of people can be manipulated into going into war. Public anxiety is the secret weapon which motivates people toward the sacrifices, sufferings, and disaster of war. Unless public anxiety can be sustained at a high pitch no small clot of political leaders can push a people into war. No matter how compulsively an international Communist may dream of increased personal power in foreign lands * * * no matter how compulsively a colonial baron may dream of increased personal power abroad * * * no matter how compulsively an international capitalist may dream of owning all of the oil in the world * * * these dreams are empty personal crises unless they are supported by a well-armed people driven involuntarily by intensive anxiety into fighting a defensive war against an evil enemy.

To the people on each side of the buildup for war, the opposing people are portrayed as being "aggressive," "immoral," and "evil," while identical behavior on one's own side must always be explained as being "defensive," "moral," and "good."

The national military power of each side provides the essential environment of potential danger to the people of the opposing side. If national military power did not exist, it would be impossible to create this environment of potential danger on a reciprocal basis which is a prerequisite for war between nations.

But as long as individual nations are allowed to control individual national military forces, wars will continue to generate endlessly in roughly predictable patterns. National military power is the strategic factor. It can be controlled.

The above reciprocating environments of anxiety can be observed in relation to wars throughout modern history, at least.

Only one basic change now is noticeable. The new dimension of airpower has increased the range of fear and anxiety from foreign military power to its near global limits.

The area of the world involved in a single war used to be limited by the basic range of military power.

Other nations become involved in a war only when they come within range of potential disaster, to arouse their national fears and anxieties.

Airpower, today, has brought the United States and the U. S. S. R. into a new closeness which never has existed before in history. Today each of these two dominant military powers remaining after the last war is within immediate range of the other's capacities to drop crippling atomic and hydrogen and more terrible bombs. Intense American public apprehension is pegged to the potential threat of Soviet military power, and intense Soviet public apprehension is pegged to the potential threat of American military power.

If each nation simultaneously could be deprived of the control of national military power, this whole phenomenon of war would disappear like the disappearance of an electric field when the electricity is turned off.

But as long as each nation is allowed to continue to control national military force, the back-and-forth, back-and-forth increasing regeneration of anxiety will continue to build up explosive human motivations until war comes as a release from tension and frustration.

Beliefs in materialism or particular religions are not critical, or even important factors in the generation of war. Beliefs in peculiar national political systems are not strategic or even important factors in this buildup for the most awful war civilization will ever have seen. These are merely the themes of the speechwriters, exhorters, manipulators, politicians, circulation builders, editorial writers and historians who try to explain their predicaments in terms of superstitions and fantasies of imagination.

The critical factor in the phenomenon of war is tangible, real, concrete, and observable.

It is national military power. It has been conceived by scientists, designed by engineers and mobilized by people on both sides who are afraid. Once the deadly dynamics of war have built up between two nations, it then would be suicidal if one nation suddenly disarmed or decreased its military power. It would be overrun by force of the pentup fears and anxieties of the opposing people.

Today's critical situation might be visualized by watching two armed men on the opposite sides of any war. Each has raised his loaded gun to firing position, cocked it, aimed it at the other's heart and placed his finger on the trigger. Each man is of a different faith, each has a different patriotic loyalty, each is deeply convinced that the other is about to kill him and is now willing to die in self-defense. Although starting from different conscious loyalties and ideals and identifications the universal controls of anxiety have taken command of the behavior of both men to the point where they are doing exactly the same things, in exactly the same way, with exactly the same motivations. Fear and anxiety are common ground which tend to make people of all races, colors, creeds, and nationalities react with identical actions regarding the thing which has aroused the anxiety.

The crucial question of this age is whether it is possible to enter this tense picture and take away the guns from these two men.

If this is possible, we will have taken action in the physical world, by removing the guns.

We will have changed the psychological atmosphere by removing the explosive charge of anxiety which had been built up between the two men.

We will not have intruded into the realm of spiritual or philosophic contentions, nor into the realm of national loyalty and patriotism.

Each man can continue to be unequivocally patriotic and loyal to his country. It is not necessary to kill foreigners to be patriotic, if one's own nation is not threatened.

Each man can continue to worship as he choses. It is not necessary to kill in order to believe.

By removing the guns, we will not have trespassed into the realm of each person's patriotisms and beliefs.

When national military power is recognized as the strategic factor in the phenomenon of war, it becomes possible to evaluate actions and policies aimed at averting war.

The League of Nations failed to prevent the buildup for war because it failed to control the strategic factor of national military power. The United Nations has failed to prevent the buildup toward an even more dreadful war because it failed to control the strategic factor of national military power.

All efforts will fail to prevent the buildup for war until a worldwide safety organization is brought into being which has a monopoly control of military power and can prevent any nation or group of nations from waging war, or threatening to wage war, against any other people.

During the period of growth, before all nations in the world belonged to this safety organization, it will have two primary missions (1) to prevent war between any member nations or areas and (2) to defend all member areas from any threat from outside powers.

Checks and balances of multinational political control will have to be worked out to guarantee that this worldwide safety organization will not, itself, become an instrument of tyranny or oppression.

The impact of science on society today is to raise the question whether or not it is possible to create from the U. N. such a worldwide safety organization which can prevent war. It is a practical question of large scale organization.

The question of this age is whether large scale multinational collective strength can be created in a worldwide safety organization committed to the mission of preventing

war. This will mean the elimination of individual national freedom to threaten war unilaterally.

Safety is a universal objective.

Testimony of Paul Sayres Before Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, June 26, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in June of this year the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry held hearings on the policies and operations of Public Law 480, 83d Congress. This is a vital law providing for the disposal abroad of our surplus agricultural commodities. As such it is a key to our foreign policy. One of the witnesses at the hearings was a distinguished and successful New York businessman, Mr. Paul Sayres, president of the Paul Sayres Co., engaged for the last 28 years in food distribution in New York City.

He appeared on June 26, and I considered his testimony to be most interesting and important.

Mr. Sayres plans to go to India in behalf of himself and a committee of the food distribution industry. I have asked Mr. Sayres to report to me his observations and recommendations. This trip is in the national interest, but it is being financed completely by Mr. Sayres. I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Sayres' testimony printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TESTIMONY OF PAUL SAYRES BEFORE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, JUNE 26, 1957

Mr. SAYRES. Senator HUMPHREY, Senator MUNDT, and members of the committee, my name is Paul Sayres, of Paul Sayres Co., presently engaged for the last 28 years in food distribution in New York City.

It is with deep feeling and a sense of urgency that I am here today to discuss with you the workings of Public Law 480 and to explore the various avenues by which disposal abroad of our surplus agricultural commodities in food, under this law, can be most effectively accomplished and best utilized to advance the interests of the United States in world stability and harmony.

I should first like to commend you purposeful gentlemen, and you, Senator HUMPHREY, for conducting this hearing and bringing into proper perspective the great importance of this subject, and the international implications involved to our Nation.

There has been a great deal of debate here only recently on the subject of foreign aid, with the pros and cons of to what extent we should help friendly nations, capturing headlines throughout the country as well as the fervor of Congress.

It is not my intention to get into this debate on foreign aid. Today, we are discussing surpluses, honest surpluses of the most essential commodity relevant to man—food. Surpluses that do not do one any good by being surplus. Surpluses that are an economic liability at home, but which put to the proper use in effectively organized disposal programs to needy friends abroad can be translated into not only an economic boon, but a social-ideological one as well. That the use of our surpluses in such a manner may also be classified as a form of foreign aid is incidental.

My primary purpose today is to express my views and those of many others of this country's food industry on what we feel has been largely overlooked by our Government in its pursuit of good will through foreign aid under Public Law 480.

In the final analysis, the problem evolves into three separate segments: how we can do a more effective job; how foreign nations can best utilize their food supplies; and how we can dramatize our humanitarian efforts in keeping with our dignity as a great Nation.

In these endeavors our country is performing in a manner akin to any company with an item to sell, but we are selling ideas and good will in a market where the world's future is at stake. Any good salesman sees to it that his client makes the most effective use of the purchased item. It is our obligation to ourselves as well as to these nations to help them achieve the maximum benefits from the foodstuffs we provide to them. This calls for much greater application of food-distribution assistance.

It is for these reasons that I feel most strongly that Public Law 480 is in need of guidance from this country's food industry; guidance and cooperation completely disassociated from politics. I think that no one here will disagree that people working successfully in our food industry, day in and day out, are well qualified to help their Government.

You might not be aware of this, but the food industry of the United States, as such, is by far the largest industry in dollar volume in the world.

In food distribution, as in many other fields, the United States possesses the most advanced methods and techniques and it must be a part of the machinery of Public Law 480 to help other countries achieve for themselves more efficient food distribution.

Senator HUMPHREY. Does the Government make available funds to the food industry, or have any programs with your industry for the advancement of food distribution? I ask that question because you know the Government does make available to some of the commodity groups funds for the development of markets.

Mr. SAYRES. But I do not believe as far as distribution of foods, which is the thing that I am covering here, that any funds have been available. If they have been, I do not know of them.

Senator HUMPHREY. Has there been any encouragement to you?

Mr. SAYRES. None that I know of.

Senator HUMPHREY. We will talk about this as we go along.

Mr. SAYRES. India, with a population more than double that of the United States, is a country moving steadily to greater prominence on the international scene. Occupying a key geographic position in the Asias, India, as a country of great potential and important meaning to the free world, is one specific area where we can be of particularly meritorius service.

I propose that to upgrade the food distribution machinery of Public Law 480 we utilize the services of a food industry committee, composed of 4 or 5 leading representatives of our food industry—manufacturers, brokers, wholesalers, retailers.

I have discussed this solution with a member of top level authorities in our food industry and find them not only receptive but enthusiastic. In fact, I have available right now the men to make up such a committee, a Committee on Food Distribution Assistance for India. Others, naturally, can be set up for other countries.

My colleagues and I feel so strongly about such a program that we want to do something on our own as a contribution of the food industry to the people and the governments of our own country and those of friendly nations. I am now in the process of formalizing plans to go to India, with the encouragement of others of the food industry.

Whether our committee is successful or not will depend on our getting the full cooperation of the pertinent government agencies. Problems cannot be solved properly unless they are fully understood, and the only way to understand them is to see them and evaluate them at first hand.

I am sure you understand that unless we get that cooperation it will be very difficult to succeed.

Such committees would function by studying the food distribution system of the country involved, speaking with representatives of government and industry of those countries and then attempting to draw up specific techniques for improving the flow of foodstuffs in these countries in a workable plan that will promote the maximum from our shipments under Public Law 480 and that takes into consideration the social, national and religious makeup of that country.

It may be advisable to establish small field offices in these countries to work with the food industry there. This would be another matter for study.

I understand this is possible under Public Law 480. Such offices not only could provide a continuing flow of information and suggestions, but also would prove invaluable as a public information branch for this country, helping friendly peoples to efficiently utilize their food supplies, suggesting spoilage control and preservation techniques, practical and economic recipes, packaging and marketing data and so forth.

If we are to spend our money and resources, it is our duty to our people and to the world to spend wisely and properly to achieve the utmost value. We have before us an inspired opportunity to use American ingenuity and know-how to foster good will and to dramatize the overwhelming advantages of the democratic way over the forces of tyranny. Guns cannot mold man's ideas. But people, decently fed, can stand up and do things for themselves and are not apt to be swayed by false doctrines and ideologies.

In our surpluses, Public Law 480, and with experienced industry men, we have the three essential tools to convert a liability at home into an immeasurable asset in the interests of our democratic principles and world stability.

So let's do the job right.

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Sayres, first of all I want to personally congratulate you on your fine statement and to congratulate the industry that you so ably and capably represent. Also, it is heartening and very encouraging to have a man like yourself come before a committee of Congress and indicate to us a specific plan, as well as your willingness to undertake some effort to forward this plan.

As I understand it you are planning on going to India?

Mr. SAYRES. That is right.

Senator HUMPHREY. And as I understand it you are planning on going on your own resources, there is no government trip or anything like that?

Mr. SAYRES. That is right.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well again, I want to wish you a very pleasant trip, but also an informative one. In your testimony you say, "My colleagues and I feel so strongly about such a program that we want to do something on our own as a contribution of the food industry to the people and the

Government of our own country, and those friendly nations."

For that I commend you and congratulate you on your patriotic service. Then you say, "I am now in the process of formalizing plans to go to India, with the encouragement of other of the food industry. Whether our committee"—quoting now again from your statement—"is successful or will not depend on our getting the full cooperation of the pertinent governmental agencies." Do you mean the full cooperation of our United States Government agencies?

Mr. SAYRES. Both of the United States Government agencies and the Indian counterparts.

Senator HUMPHREY. I see.

Mr. SAYRES. I mean, I feel that we just cannot get the information that we need in order to get a proper plan that will really be worthwhile and workable, unless we are able to see the thing firsthand and know what we are contending with.

Senator HUMPHREY. So you would like to be able to visit with the man or woman who is in charge of, let us say, the food ministry or the agricultural ministry, people in the Government?

Mr. SAYRES. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY. Of India?

Mr. SAYRES. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY. As well as our own people prior to your leaving?

Mr. SAYRES. That is right, and also while I am there.

Senator HUMPHREY. And visit our own people in the Embassy and the ICA and others while you are there?

Mr. SAYRES. Yes, for assistance to the point where we can actually find out what we need to know if we are going to do the job.

Senator HUMPHREY. There is no reason that should not be forthcoming. I will be more than happy, as one individual and the presiding officer of this subcommittee to send a letter to our Ambassador asking that he give you all possible cooperation. And this will, of course, extend all the way through our United States mission in India. The same thing can be done, I suggest, with the Indian Ambassador in Washington, who would be a good contact for you before you leave—Ambassador Mehta, he is a fine man, a businessman from India, a good friend of mine personally, and an able and extremely capable representative of his country.

I would suggest that you meet with him before you go.

Mr. SAYRES. I would be very happy to do so.

Senator HUMPHREY. We will be very happy to make any arrangements if you need them, since you are going to go, and I wish I was going with you——

Mr. SAYRES. Come along——

Senator HUMPHREY. I guess I better stay home for a while. While you are there, and you are going to make this study, I wish you would share with us your views and observations when you come back. I do not have any powers of appointment but I would like to have you bring to my attention on your return whatever observations you have and conclusions, to act as a sort of reporter for me. Can you do that?

Mr. SAYRES. I will be very happy to do that.

Senator HUMPHREY. Since I cannot take the trip I will let you do all the work.

Mr. SAYRES. I will be very happy to do that, and I am sure you are going to be of great assistance in seeing that something is done about this if we bring back the correct data.

Senator HUMPHREY. I would like to review what you have in mind and what your findings are when you return. We will cooperate with getting the necessary introductions. Is that all right?

Mr. SAYRES. That is wonderful.

Senator HUMPHREY. And you can go with the blessings—if they mean anything—you have my blessings, but I suggest you get somebody else's too.

Mr. SAYRES. I think I will need them.

Senator HUMPHREY. I think that is just wonderful. I am very pleased with your statement. Thank you for coming down. I understand you have to catch an airplane. I hope I have not kept you too long.

Mr. SAYRES. We will have just time to get it. Thank you very much.

Senator HUMPHREY. Good luck to you and have a nice trip.

Mr. SAYRES. Thank you.

Ronne at Earth's Loneliest Outpost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Thomas R. Henry concerning Capt. Finn Ronne, United States Naval Reserve, who is presently stationed at what Henry terms the "earth's loneliest outpost," the southern border of the Weddell Sea area.

This article is a splendid tribute to a remarkable man who has dedicated his life to the exploration of the Antarctic for scientific purposes. Senators will be interested to learn that the interest of Captain Ronne in the Antarctic is almost hereditary, for his father had journeyed to the Antarctic under Amundsen and Admiral Byrd.

I commend this article to the Senate's attention, and I know that Senators will be interested in reading it, in view of our participation this year in the International Geophysical Year.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RONNE AT EARTH'S LONELIEST OUTPOST

(By Thomas R. Henry)

Recently a messenger from Red Cross headquarters delivered a radiogram:

"Warm greetings to you from southern border of Weddell Sea, Edith Ronne Land. Here 38 men now passing darkest winter night with me and looking forward to return latter part of August. All well. Best wishes to you.

"FINN RONNE."

Capt. Finn Ronne, United States Navy, is in command of 38 Americans at the remotest and loneliest outpost on earth.

Their camp now is established near the southern end of the Weddell Sea in Antarctica.

Its commander is a true son of the polar regions. His father was an Arctic explorer, a ski expert, a dog team driver, skilled in handling open boats in the world's roughest seas.

Finn Ronne was 9 years old when word was flashed to his home in Horten, Norway, that his hero Amundsen, accompanied by his father, had planted the flag of Norway on the bottom of the earth. Martin Ronne expected his son to follow in his footsteps.

In the black tent set up by Amundsen at the pole a message was left for the boy. Martin Ronne was confident that Finn would pick it up someday. This was, of course, a futile hope. In nearly a half century the tent and all it contained have sunk fathoms deep in the ice.

FATHER AIDED BYRD

When Adm. Richard E. Byrd was planning his first Antarctic expedition in 1929, Martin Ronne's advice and experience proved of inestimable value. The admiral wrote later that he considered the Norwegian one of the greatest men I have ever known.

At the time Admiral Byrd was planning his second expedition Martin Ronne was to have been his righthand man. At the age of 71 the grizzled hero of the Arctic and Antarctic died suddenly in Norway. A few days later Finn received a radio message from the admiral:

"If you are half the man your father is, I want you on my next expedition," Admiral Byrd radioed.

That message started Finn Ronne on the realization of dreams of his lifetime.

Some of the most daring explorers and navigators of all time for more than a century have struggled in vain to reach the coast where Captain Ronne's party now is.

The 38 American scientists and sailors mentioned in the radiogram have slashed and crashed their way through monster-infested solid wheat seas to the 250-foot-high walls of blue ice with which this Ultima Thule of the 20th century faces the rest of the world. Edith Ronne Land, northeastern corner of the Antarctic Continent bordering the Weddell Sea, hitherto has proved unreachable.

The unexplored country now bears—with the approval of the United States Board on Geographic Name—the name of Captain Ronne's wife, one of the two women who has ever stepped on the Antarctic Continent.

Expedition after expedition came to grief in efforts to reach the ghostly Edith Ronne Land. The British mariner James Weddell, first to enter the berg-filled seas which bear his name in 1823, failed. The German Filchner, for whom is named the great and hitherto supposedly impenetrable ice shelf which extends outward from the coast, failed. So did the Scotch explorer, Bruce, and the Swede, Nordenskjold. Sir Ernest Shackleton, whom many consider the greatest of all Antarctic explorers, disastrously failed.

One morning just after plans for the present expedition had been announced, a messenger boy rang Captain Ronne's doorbell in Washington and handed him a cablegram which seemed like a message from the dead. It was from Zurich, where the 85-year-old Capt. Wilhelm Filchner now is living in close retirement. "Good luck," the message said.

RAIN OF ICE CAKES

The obvious reason why all these heroic figures of antarctic exploration failed to reach the coast of Edith Ronne Land is that it is probably the most difficult place to reach on the face of the earth. A strong coastwise current sweeps in large quantities of pack ice through which it is almost impossible to navigate.

But Captain Ronne has flown over some of the country, observing that the Filchner Shelf appears to front, at least for considerable stretches, on a narrow strip of open water.

The major problem was to reach this open water and then skirt the shelf until a landing place suitable for getting provisions ashore and setting up a camp was found. This required slashing through about 1,500 miles of a white desert of ice, from 10 to 30 feet thick, by 2 Navy ships—the icebreaker *Staten Island* and the cargo ship *Wyandotte*—by a round-about route which had been partially surveyed.

The vast interior of Edith Ronne Land will be explored on the ground with dog teams and motor sledges.

The major objectives of the Edith Ronne Land party are scientific observations of the

sort prescribed in the International Geophysical Year program—observations of the winds sweeping northward from the pole, of the stratosphere which here dips low over the earth, of the movements of the mighty ice rivers into the sea, and of a hundred other natural phenomena.

Tight Money Policy Hurting Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Fall River Canning Co., of Fall River, Wis.:

FALL RIVER CANNING CO.,
Fall River, Wis., August 22, 1957.

Hon. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MEMBER OF CONGRESS: We are ordinarily reluctant to write our representatives in Congress because we know they receive letters in great volume containing biased requests for favors and special considerations. It is only human for the recipients to consider these requests rather light heartedly.

Ever since President Eisenhower assumed the presidency, however, it has become increasingly apparent that his administration is dedicated to the interests of big business. It should not be necessary for me to document the facts supporting this conclusion; they are pretty much common knowledge to all interested citizens.

I was prompted to direct this letter to you after receiving in this mornings' mail notification from our banks that our interest rates on funds borrowed against warehouse receipts would be increased one-half of 1 percent. The age-old explanation was given that the Federal Reserve Banks had raised the rediscount rate the same amount. For your information our interest rates in September of 1950 were 3½ percent. Prior to that time they were still lower.

The policies of the administration to curb inflation may be theoretically correct in a degree. However, the record would seem to indicate that their policies are enriching the coffers of the money lenders at the expense of small business and individuals.

You must remember that the canning industry has problems closely akin to those of agriculture. This is true because we have no control over weather conditions which greatly affect yields and production. For example, this year the acreage of peas for canning was reduced by 4 percent. However, ideal weather conditions throughout the country have given us a national pack of 37 million cases as against 33 million last year, or an increase of 12 percent. The point is this: unlike other industries who regualte their production to correlate supply with demand, we have very little control over these factors. Consequently when we are confronted with increased costs and overproduction we are unable to pass along the increased costs as other industries do, especially those industries where competition has been almost eliminated.

If the sole result of the hard-money policy was that our interest rate was 5½ percent, the situation would not be too burdensome. However, what are the large banks doing? They are insisting that each borrower carry compensating balances based on 20 percent of their total borrowings. It does not take a mathematician to conclude that the effective rate of interest is considerably more than the quoted rate. You may ask "Well, isn't big business subject to identical demands?" True, but big business usually has adequate working capital because of their inherent competitive advantages which means that their bank balances have been consistently above requirements; consequently they are not meeting the demands required of small business.

The fallacy in catering to the whims and wishes of big business is this: Because of very limited competition they merely add and pass on to the consumer increased costs. The highly competitive industry, unable to do likewise must either reduce its costs or face obliteration. The desire to limit competition has even been inculcated into the Big Four of the canning industry. Their goal, although not openly declared, is to drive out the independent canner, after which they will be able to charge whatever the market will bear.

In conclusion, I am objecting very strenuously to the hard-money policy as it affects small business. In addition, if this country is to remain with any semblance of small business as a part of the economy, our representatives in Government had better familiarize themselves with some of the more basic problems. Unless some very serious thought and applicable remedial action is taken, we will all be subject to the wishes of a very, very small minority.

Very truly yours,

W. W. EVANS.

Safety Award Forum Is Scheduled by Safety First Club of Maryland for March 10, 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, this morning I received in the mail a clipping from the Baltimore Beacon for September 1957 telling of the plans being scheduled by the Safety First Club of Maryland. The article not only reviews some of its past projects, but sets forth its presently scheduled plans, among them being a safety award forum for March 10, 1958, wherein recognition will be given to persons who have made contributions to safety on our highways. The club is planning the formation of a community safety council to coordinate the efforts of the various organizations and firms in the carrying on of its safety program.

Mr. Speaker, the article goes on to say that "Safety is everybody's business." How I wish that it might be possible to instill this thought in the consciousness of every man and woman, boy and girl who lays hand on the steering wheel of an automobile, truck, or other automotive vehicle, releases the brake, and steps on the gas, that each one of them is a part of that group called everybody, and that it is highly essential for them to operate that vehicle with utmost care that they may not snuff out either their own lives or the lives of innocent victims.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SAFETY FIRST CLUB OF MARYLAND REVIEWS ITS ACTIVITIES

The Safety First Club of Maryland, a nonprofit organization dedicated to traffic safety, was organized on February 13, 1956, in Baltimore, with the premise that safety is everybody's business.

The organization believes that traffic supervision and control belong in the sphere of duly-constituted experts and authorities; but, nevertheless, such groups as the Safety First Club of Maryland can render services through a planned and consistent educational safety program aimed at helping to reduce the tragic traffic toll.

Among its various activities the Safety First Club of Maryland, under the leadership of J. O. Shuger, president:

1. Sponsored in March 1957 a banquet at which Wheelmaster awards were presented to Charles Adler, Jr., noted inventor, and Henry A. Barnes, Commissioner of Transit and Traffic of Baltimore City, in recognition of their eminent contributions in the field of safety.

2. Is launching a series of safety forums, in branches of Enoch Pratt Free Library, to familiarize the public at large with the seriousness of the traffic problem.

3. Has enlisted the cooperation of outstanding safety leaders to serve as members of its advisory board and provide guidance in its program.

4. Has scheduled a safety award forum, for March 10, 1958, at which recognition will be given to personalities who had made contributions in the field of safety, during the past 12 months.

5. Includes on its board leaders in the business, industrial, and professional spheres in Baltimore City.

6. Is planning the formation of a community safety council to enlist the efforts of various organizations and firms in the furtherance of the traffic program.

Rewarding Careers for Engineers and Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled, Parallel Progression—Careers for Non-Supervisory Engineers and Scientists, by Robert D. McMarlin.

This article points out that many scientists and engineers have been led to leave their creative work to get into supervisory or administrative positions. It will interest Senators to learn what is being done about retaining these trained men in their professional fields.

The author is acting executive officer of the Engineer Research and Development Laboratories, Fort Belvoir, Va. The Engineer Research and Development Laboratories is the principal research establishment of the Corps of

Engineers, United States Army. A career Army employee, Mr. McMarlin, has served as Civilian Personnel Officer of the Research Laboratories, and the Engineer Center, Fort Belvoir. Earlier he was Director of Civilian Personnel for the Military District of Washington.

I commend the article to the attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PARALLEL PROGRESSION—CAREERS FOR NONSUPERVISORY ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

(By Robert D. McMarlin)

The nationwide shortage of technical personnel makes maximum utilization of engineering and scientific talent of vital importance to national defense and industrial progress. One method of achieving this utilization, by establishing a nonsupervisory career plan for engineers and scientists is, however, being neglected by Government and industry alike. By and large advancement in technical fields seems to depend mainly on increased managerial duties.

Despite the fact that civil-service regulations make it possible for a Government agency to employ professional personnel in high-level positions without supervisory responsibilities, the belief seems to persist that advancement in the higher grade levels must always be preceded by increased supervisory responsibilities. No known Federal establishment has developed a specific nonsupervisory career plan, while few, if any, private concerns have devised a pay plan to include a nonsupervisory career ladder.

PRACTICE IN THE BRITISH SYSTEM

In exploring the work done on this subject, the recent paper by Edward McCrensky on scientists in the British civil service was examined with interest.[1] It contains several references to a nonsupervisory ladder. It appears that in the British civil service certain high-level positions are set aside and made available to creative scientists engaged in individual research.

Mr. McCrensky's paper states that a panel of senior scientists annually appraises every employee to determine professional development, progress, and decides upon promotion; also that selection for promotion in the British scientific civil service is in recognition of employee accomplishment, personal development, and future potential. Although a change in responsibility is theoretically unnecessary for a promotion, greater work responsibility usually accompanies the action.

This subject was also discussed with two British scientific officers visiting this country. They indicated that a few individuals, possibly five each year, are assigned to such nonsupervisory positions, and that the scientific eminence of the individual is the principal consideration for such assignments. A total of about 20 persons currently occupy such high-level nonsupervisory positions.

REVIEW OF PLANS IN BUSINESS

The American Management Association was contacted for names of firms that have developed nonsupervisory career plans. AMA was aware of widespread interest on the subject but had no material on it. It provided, however, the names of three internationally known firms believed to have developed a plan.

Only one had actually done any work on the subject. This firm, employing 1,900 persons, about half of whom are scientists, has established a nonsupervisory ladder with 2 levels as a part of their pay plan, but only 7 nonsupervisory positions exist in the entire company. The firm has no committee for reviewing professional competence, this function being performed by the appropriate supervisory level. It does, however, have a very explicit statement of qualifications for all positions, with heavy emphasis placed on education.

Another firm supplied this rather interesting information:

"We have discussed your inquiry with our research department, and although they are familiar, in a general way, with the procedure (a parallel progression plan) you describe, they have had no experience with it. They state that this matter is frequently discussed among research people and that it is a highly controversial subject."

One of the firms mentioned a pitfall in the use of a nonsupervisory ladder—specifically that great care must be used to prevent it from becoming a dumping ground for weak supervisors.

REVIEW OF FEDERAL AGENCY PLANS

Five nationally known Federal research establishments, all located in the Washington area, were contacted. None has a specific nonsupervisory career plan. All, however, acknowledged that under the Federal classification plan, high level nonsupervisory scientific positions may be established. In fact, all have established a small number with each such position based on a need by a particular program or project for the talents of an individual possessing extensive knowledge of a narrow specialty. One has a well-developed plan that includes use of a top-level committee to review all promotions to GS–12 and above. The committee explores several factors in considering all promotions including background of candidate; organization and personal responsibility, including leadership; productivity; professional growth; and prime movers (potential).

In a pioneering effort to provide engineers and scientists a means of progression parallel to those in supervisory positions, the Engineer Research and Development Laboratories (ERDL) have instituted a career plan that will enable professional employees with talent to attain positions of eminence without the necessity of supervisory responsibilities.

ERDL PLAN

Under the ERDL plan the nonsupervisory career ladder for engineers and scientists will normally begin at the GS–13 ($8,990–$10,065) civil service classification grade level. Persons employed at grades GS–5 ($4,480) through GS–12 ($7,570–$8,645) will follow the same promotion path. They may, subsequently, under the criteria outlined below, advance either in the supervisory or nonsupervisory career ladder.

The purpose of the nonsupervisory career ladder is twofold. It provides first a career plan for the progression of certain persons who have materially advanced in their professions to the point where they are recognized as specialists, but who may not possess an aptitude for or interest in supervisory positions. Secondly, it provides a means of bringing into the laboratories specialized knowledge and specialized training needed for one or more projects or programs.

ESTABLISHING JOB VALUE

The mission or overall program of the laboratories is regarded as comprising four program organization levels, with those in charge at each level known as program heads. Program levels are identified, for convenience, as follows: First level, the engineer research and development laboratories as a whole; second level, department (the laboratories have six technical departments covering topographic, electrical, mechanical, civil, and military engineering, and technical services); third level, branch (the number of branches varies with each department); fourth level, section (the number of sections varies with each branch).

It is assumed that the grade level assigned the head of a program organization is a significant reflection of the relative value of a given program in terms of scope and breadth of responsibility, complexity, and relative value to the total mission of the laboratories. Accordingly, the grade level assigned to the head of a program organization will be a significant factor in the assignment of a grade level to a given position in the nonsupervisory career ladder.

The grade of the position, except as outlined below, will not normally exceed that of the program head to whom the scientist is assigned for his principal duty, but may be lower. In all cases, the grade level will be based on a comparison of the scope and complexity of the work assigned to the scientist with provisions of the civil-service class specifications for such work.

If the work of a nonsupervisory engineer or scientist extends beyond that of the program organization to which he is assigned to include work on other programs, his grade may be higher than that of the program head. Where the employee performs such extraorganizational work, a determination will be made of the level of work performed outside the assigned organization. If the level of work performed is the same or lower, no special credit will be granted. If it is higher than that of the program to which he is primarily assigned, however, the grade of the employee will be established as the higher grade, provided the work in the other program is regularly assigned and consumes an average of at least 15 percent of the employee's time.

From time to time, a program head may have a need for the extraordinary knowledge of a national or international authority with an extremely narrow specialization. In such case, evaluation of tasks to be performed will be in terms of complexity of work assigned and total importance to the program of ERDL. Where such talent is needed at the first program level, it will be assigned organizationally to that level. Where such talent is needed at, or below, the second program level, it will be assigned to the second program level.

It is felt that a person who advances in his profession to the point where he is considered an outstanding specialist, but who may not possess aptitude for or interest in command positions will gravitate toward this nonsupervisory career ladder. Inasmuch as persons selected and assigned these positions will be regarded by their associates and contemporaries as high-prestige individuals, every effort will be made to guard against selections that will tend to lower the prestige of the plan, for example, selection of a person mainly because he cannot adjust to the typical pyramidal supervisory structure or who fails as a supervisor.

REQUIREMENTS

Candidates recruited both externally and internally must meet certain minimum requirements for entrance into the nonsupervisory career ladder, and for promotion within that ladder.

An applicant must meet established United States Civil Service Commission minimum qualifications required for the field of work and grade level at which he is to be employed, plus certain supplemental requirements in educaton, experience and professional stature.

A master's degree is required for the initial level nonsupervisory position and doctorates for the remainder, although these may be waived for an outstanding candidate with equivalent experience. Professional stature is judged by the extent to which the candidate is recognized by authorities in his field, as well by several other

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Footnote at end of speech.

factors. These include his participation in professional society activities, his publications, his awards, his consultant work for industry, Government and educational institutions, and the professional standing of individuals and agencies with whom he has been associated.

A professional review committee will consider candidates for entry into and promotion within the nonsupervisory career ladder. Headed by the laboratories' technical director as chairman, it will include two ERDL department chiefs, 2 members representing the appropriate discipline from outside the laboratories, and the ERDL director of research and the civilian personnel officer, as advisers without vote.

The head of a program organization desiring the employment of a specialist under this plan will prepare a request in two parts. Part I outlining the basis of need will be transmitted through the director of the laboratories for approval of establishment of the position, to the civilian personnel officer for action. Upon recruitment of a candidate, part II detailing the candidates qualifications in education, experience, and professional background will be submitted to the professional review committee for consideration. The committee's findings will then be submitted to the laboratories' director for decision.

Although no concrete evidence of its impact is available at this stage, it is hoped that the nonsupervisory career plan will result not only in better utilization of engineers and scientists at the laboratories, but may also encourage others in Government and industry to provide similar plans.

[1] Edward McCrensky, "Scientists in the British Civil Service," Science, September 28, 1956, vol. 124, No. 3222.

The Chinese Reds Zig-Zag on Reporters—As on Everything Else Where They Believe They Can Make Propaganda or Diplomatic Gains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. David Lawrence from the Washington Star of August 27:

RED CHINA FLIP-FLOPS ON REPORTERS

What's the matter with the government of Red China anyway? Hasn't it read about how the American Constitution—as was argued in the recent debate here—guarantees the right of American newsmen to gather information freely anywhere in the world, even when a quasi-state of war exists? By what right does the Peiping government now say it will not allow American newsmen to enter Red China unless Communist newsmen are admitted to the United States? Doesn't the Red China regime know that governments aren't supposed to put any conditions whatsoever on the "right to travel" by Americans and that the American Civil Liberties Union has said so?

But maybe the Red Chinese officials do have a sense of shrewdness, if not a sense of humor. For they know now that, by continuing their organized blackmail, they may gain converts for their objective—formal diplomatic recognition of the Peiping Government. They are counting perhaps on some of the so-called "liberal" Democrats in Congress to put partisanship above everything else as the cause of Red China is openly championed.

Already, for instance, some Democratic Senators are declaring that Red China's demand that her newsmen be allowed to enter America should be granted. They say this even though the State Department pointed out a week ago that, while relaxing its rule about withholding passports to American newsmen, it didn't intend to engage in any reciprocal arrangement whereby Red China's newsmen could come to the United States. For the Red Chinese journalists, the Department says, are a part of the Peiping Government, and to admit any governmental personnel is the same thing as admitting the staff of an embassy—it all amounts to diplomatic recognition.

One of the reasons the State Department is so strongly opposed to recognition of Red China is that it could bring on a third world war. Extension of recognition now would force the issue as between the armies on Formosa and on the mainland, and could lead to an attempted invasion by the Chinese Nationalists out of sheer desperation. It could dishearten the Philippine Government and the South Koreans, too, who have sacrificed so much in their fight against communism.

But the Peiping Government evidently is counting on some highly influential Democrats in Congress to take up the case for the admission of Red Chinese newsmen, believing that these Democrats will do almost anything to embarrass their own Government. The Red Chinese, however, are mistaken about the Democratic Party as a whole. While a handful of Democrats favor the idea of letting Communist newsmen into America and would yield to the blackmail tactics of Peiping, the majority will not.

The argument is made by some Democratic Senators that Soviet newsmen have been allowed to enter the United States, but it so happens that there are diplomatic relations between Washington and Moscow. So the cases are not parallel. Also, a year ago Peiping invited 15 American newsmen to come into Red China and did not request a reciprocal exchange.

What Red China from the beginning has been playing is a propaganda game—to endeavor to use American newsmen as the tool of its own foreign policy in order to gain diplomatic recognition from the United States and a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Actually, Red China has never been too much interested in admitting American newsmen from the standpoint of getting news attention to what's going on there. Many newsmen of Britain, Canada, and other countries have been stationed in Peiping for some time and, if they had been permitted to learn anything worth while in the way of news and had transmitted it to the outer world, the information would have been promptly reprinted in the American press.

So the controversy from the Peiping end is a phony, and the Red Chinese have been trying to add fuel to the flames of partisanship in America. There was a time when all Americans—Democrats and Republicans—were united in the Korean war against the common enemy—Red China—but evidently the sacrifices of the 142,000 American casualties now are virtually forgotten as many so-called liberals here and abroad seem willing to reward the aggressor. They would today extend to the Peiping government all the "courtesies" it demands, notwithstanding the fact that six Americans are not getting the "courtesy" of freedom but are still languishing in the jails of Red China on trumped-up charges.

The partisans on Capitol Hill probably will find a way in the end to blame it all on John Foster Dulles—who happens to be the staunchest fighter against communism America has ever had in the office of Secretary of State. He, however, has the laugh on his critics today as they read that it isn't Dulles, but Red China's government, which has the real say as to whether there will be "freedom to gather information" in Red China.

It still is sound doctrine to "quarantine the aggressor," as the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt heroically proclaimed in 1937—only to be met with the sneers of those who shortsightedly insisted that "you can do business with Hitler."

Visit to Dayton, Oreg., by Mrs. Anna Hedgeman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Visitor to Dayton," written by Betty A. Dietz, and published in the Dayton News of August 16, 1957, dealing with the visit to Dayton, Oreg., of Mrs. Anna Hedgeman, assistant to the mayor of New York.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VISITORS TO DAYTON—LEISURE'S SCARCE COMMODITY FOR NEW YORK MAYOR'S ASSISTANT

(By Betty A. Dietz)

Being a member of Mayor Robert Wagner's cabinet in New York City is pretty much a 24-hour a day job, says Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, only woman in the group.

"Some of that is my own disposition but the job keeps you on your toes," she admits. Most of her evenings find her speechmaking and weekends she curls up with a briefcase full of work involving many of the 8 million people in New York.

For a number of years assistant to the Federal Security Administrator, Mrs. Hedgeman says the main difference between Federal and city posts is that in the one she dealt with officials and now she works with the people.

"New Yorkers, surprisingly enough," she explains, "take their problems to city hall when they can't adjust them elsewhere. They take their city government seriously and they flock to open meetings," she says admiringly.

Mrs. Hedgeman, a handsome graying woman with a lively sense of humor, is in Dayton this weekend to be principal speaker at the National Association of College Women's dinner Saturday at the Miami Hotel. The organization's 34th annual convention got underway here Thursday night. While in Dayton, Mrs. Hedgeman is the guest of her niece, Mrs. Paul Harris, of Mt. Clair Avenue.

"Today, when the individual has lost so much of his importance, it's doubly important for officialdom to give him attention," Mrs. Hedgeman says. "I see anyone, with or without an appointment. They may have spent their last nickels to get there."

As liaison officer for the welfare department, United Nations, libraries and museums, air pollution control, personnel and purchase departments, she finds herself hopping about the city, speaking one day to a Jewish group, another time in Chinatown or shepherding a Danish city councilman around the town.

A better than usual grasp of language would come in handy in her job, Mrs. Hedgeman admits, "but I'm stupid about things like that." She says she's forgotten most of the German and French she once knew.

"Would have helped a lot last year when I was in Germany and the Middle East," she says ruefully. On leave for 6 weeks, she went with the American Christian committee to Palestine and the Middle East and to Europe for the United Seamen's Service, for which she is secretary of the board of trustees.

Most of the officials in other countries have got over the shock of seeing women in important positions but "I'm quite sure the rank and file were shaking their heads about those 'strange Americans'", she says with a quick grin. "I'm glad we couldn't always understand what they were saying."

The present controversial civil rights bill just passed by the Senate finds Mrs. Hedgeman opposed.

"I know that many liberals believe that it is wise to accept this bill since it is the first one. This may be important but our world relationships and our jury system are more important. No less a constitutional authority than Senator WAYNE MORSE has indicated clearly that this is no time for piecemeal approach to the democratic rights of any citizen.

"This is a weak bill which undermines our judicial system and says to the world that part of the population is not fully recognized in our culture. This is, of course, unfair to the Negro. It is in addition tragic for America and her world relations."

Mrs. Hedgeman's hectic schedule leaves her little time for relaxation but she did take time to see her niece, Ellen Holly, make her Broadway debut in Too Late the Phalarope.

"I'm a frustrated actress. We didn't mention the theater in my family, except to my mother who studied with Richard Harrison of Green Pastures fame."

But life itself is full of drama and Mrs. Hedgeman is making the most of her present vitally important role.

Cement Versus Asphalt in Highway Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD a letter from the Bureau of Public Roads which discusses the construction of highways with two competitive materials: asphaltic concrete and portland cement.

I requested that information from the Bureau of Public Roads after receiving a letter from the Asphalt Institute which claimed that $3 billion could be saved by paving the Interstate System with asphalt. I have been serving on the Subcommittee on Public Roads for 7 years now and during that period I have always felt that we should investigate every possibility of constructing highways as economically as possible.

We were greatly interested to learn that the Bureau feels that the annual maintenance costs between portland cement and asphalt is reasonably close and that there is no available conclusive evidence that one is better than the other under designs appropriate to climatic and service conditions.

In the selection of materials the Bureau notes that consideration must be given to climatic conditions, subgrade soil, availability and suitability of materials, character of traffic and other factors. The Bureau observes that excellent surfaces may be constructed by either bituminous concrete or portland cement concrete and that there is considerable advantage in having the two materials in active competition with one another.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS,
Washington, D. C., July 15, 1957.

Hon. FRANCIS CASE,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CASE: Your letter of June 12, 1957, with an enclosed letter of June 4 to you and a brochure on highway construction from the Asphalt Institute, has been read with interest.

We are aware of the concentrated efforts being made by advocates for the uses of various types of construction, construction materials and construction equipment, in competition with others, and claims made of advantages or cost savings, one over the other. This is to be expected as a result of the exercise of free enterprise.

The subject submission concerns itself principally with comparisons between asphaltic concrete and portland cement concrete pavements. Excellent surfaces may be constructed of either bituminous concrete, or portland cement concrete, and there is considerable value in having the two types actively in competition.

In either case it is highly important that consideration be given to climatic conditions, subgrade soil, availability and suitability of materials, character of traffic, and other contributing factors in determining the type or types considered by engineering judgment to be the best suited to the given conditions with resultant overall economy.

As highway work is regularly awarded to contract only after public advertisement and competitive bidding, the ranges of bids received serve as a fair measure of the cost variations whether the bid invitation is on a selected type or on alternate types. These bid cost variations often represent greater difference than cost advantage differences claimed by the advocates of either type of pavement.

The actual service lives of bituminous and portland cement pavements are not the same nationwide, nor are the maintenance costs the same nationally. The true measure of cost is the annual cost arrived at by dividing the first cost plus maintenance cost by the number of years that the pavement provides a satisfactory road surface. There is considerable difference of opinion between proponents of the two types of pavements as to which has the lower annual cost because of differences in the method of calculating these costs. In general, it may be said that under comparable service conditions, and with comparable designs, the annual costs of the two types are reasonably close. We do not have available conclusive evidence that would justify taking any other position than this on a question which has long been of interest and concern to engineers.

We are not unmindful of the responsibility of public officials entrusted with the improvement of our highway system, to exercise every equitable means toward realising the utmost economy in that accomplishment.

This Bureau's policy has been one of neutrality on pavement types, bridge types, and various other competing types of highway construction, accepting either one or another when of comparable design, but reserving this right to require adequate design of the type or types chosen, and that where comparable types are bid in competition, the award be made to the lowest bidder.

The asphalt industry has given us assurance that it now has, and will continue to provide, ample capacity to supply the types of bituminous products currently in demand and as anticipated to meet future demands for accomplishment of a long-range highway program. Assurances have been given similarly by other producers of materials required for highway construction.

We are convinced that continued use of competitive construction types, construction materials, construction equipment, and construction bidding will result in the most economic accomplishment of the long-range highway program and utilize the highway dollars provided in the best public interest.

We are returning Mr. Buchanan's letter and the accompanying brochure, as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

C. D. CURTISS,
Commissioner of Public Roads.

Federal-State Relationships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, this fall, the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, in which I am a Member, chaired by the very capable gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN] will hold a series of hearings throughout the United States dealing with the very important subject of Federal, State, and local relationships.

The Federal Government has come to play a role of increasing significance in relation to the affairs of the States, the municipalities, and the individual citizens themselves. One of the most important aspects of the involvement of the Federal Government at the State level has been the grants-in-aid programs. Many of these programs have performed a very useful and clearly defined function. Over a period of time, however, two significant trends have developed which deserve careful consideration. First is an increasing attitude on the part of many of the States that they must depend more and more upon the Federal Government for the solution of their problems which can only lead eventually to a lack of initiative at the State and local level.

In the second place, a certain amount of confusion has developed on the part of

not only the people but their elected Representatives as to what areas properly lie within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, the State or the Municipality.

It is my hope that the message of the President at the recent Governors Conference, the Kestnbaum Report and the coming investigation by the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee will serve to clarify the areas of responsibility which accrue to the Federal Government, the State governments as well as their units and subdivisions.

I submit at this time for the RECORD a study of the Federal grants-in-aid to the State of Connecticut, its units and its individuals. I believe that these figures will be of help to the officials of the State and the municipalities who may wish to express their views on this important subject before the hearings which will be held in Boston and Hartford, Conn.

Federal grants-in-aid to State of Connecticut, local units, and payments to individuals, 1956

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE	
1. Agricultural experiment stations	$285,044
2. Cooperative agricultural extension work	230,217
3. State and private forestry cooperation (forest-fire cooperation)	60,127
4. Agricultural conservation program	461,963
5. School-lunch program	707,048
6. Special school-milk program	442,510
7 Cooperative projects in marketing	18,901
8. Removal of surplus agricultural commodities	951,595
9. Donation of agricultural commodities through Commodity Credit Corporation	685,068
10. Commodity Credit Corporation value of dealers' certificates issued incident to supplying feed to farmers in drought-stricken areas	107,383
Total	3,949,856
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE	
1. Civil Aeronautics Administration Federal airport programs	31,482
2. Bureau of Public Roads, regular grants	3,604,116
Total	3,635,598
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE	
1. Army National Guard	3,119,564
2. Air Force National Guard	1,780,038
3. Lease of flood-control lands, Army	465
Total	4,900,067
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE	
1. Colleges for agriculture and mechanic arts	90,023
2. Cooperative vocational education and rehabilitation	315,367
3. Education of the blind, American Printing House for the Blind	3,392
4. Old-age assistance	7,504,080
5. Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	1,115,854
6. Aid to dependent children	4,133,307
7. Aid to the blind	163,434
8. Maternal and child health services	144,763
9. Services for crippled children	$211,583
10. Child-welfare services	68,449
11. Venereal disease control	2,414
12. Tuberculosis control	48,759
13. General health assistance	92,646
14. General health assistance, poliomyelitis, emergency grants	25,920
15. Poliomyelitis vaccination program, emergency grants	346,065
16. Mental health activities, regular grants	35,671
17. Heart disease control, regular grants	16,331
18. Hospital survey, planning and construction	111,646
19. Cancer control, regular grants	27,694
20. National Heart Institute activities	160,769
21. National Cancer Institute activities	370,872
22. National Mental Health Institute activities	535,275
23. National Arthritis and Metabolic Disease Institute activities	161,256
24. National Neurological Diseases and Blindness Institute activities	99,277
25. National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases	36,173
26. Division of Research Grants and Fellowships	149,645
27. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation	440,459
28. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation training and traineeships	7,547
29. Maintenance and operation of schools	1,196,544
30. School construction and survey	1,413,804
Total	19,029,019
HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY	
1. Annual contributions, Public Housing Authority	1,862,987
2. Urban planning assistance, regular grants	44,079
3. Urban renewal fund (slum clearance and urban redevelopment)	70,003
Total	1,977,069
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	
1. Wildlife restoration	92,185
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR	
1. Unemployment Compensation and Employment Service Administration	3,526,827
2. Unemployment compensation for veterans	343,785
3. Unemployment compensation for Federal employees	151,875
Total	4,022,487
VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION	
1. Homes for disabled soldiers and sailors	520,674
2. Supervision of on-the-job training	27,249
3. Readjustment benefits and vocational rehabilitation	7,884,436
4. Automobiles for disabled veterans	20,783
Total	8,453,142
FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION	
1. Federal contributions, emergency grants	$195,774
2. Disaster relief, emergency grants	126,404
Total	322,178
NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION	
1. Research grants	415,053
2. Fellowship awards	62,536
Total	477,589
Total grants-in-aid	46,859,190

The New Soviet Strategy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial from the New York Times of August 26, 1957 concerning the new Soviet strategy. With the emphasis switching from military force to world opinion in international relations, the Soviets have adopted a more insidious strategy to achieve their objectives. The editorial sums up the situation succinctly.

THE NEW SOVIET STRATEGY

The current events in Syria, which have thrown the Middle East into new turmoil, dramatize to a greater degree than any other recent developments both the nature and the danger of the new and world-wide Soviet strategy masterminded by Party Chief Khrushchev.

Due to the deterrent effect of the hydrogen bomb, which threatens annihilation to both sides, this strategy no longer courts armed warfare, such as Stalin promoted in Korea and Indochina, to advance the Soviet goal of world domination. The Soviets by no means renounce their military might; as shown by their tortuous course in the disarmament talks, they are doing everything to maintain and even enhance it relative to the West. Nor do they hesitate to throw it into the balance in crushing revolts against their domination where it has already been established, as in Hungary. But the primary purpose for which they now employ it is to wage war by means short of a hot war—to back up their new strategy, and above all to discourage the West from interfering with it.

These means, which are not new but are at the present the principal Soviet weapons, are political, economic, and ideological penetration and subversion backed by military and economic aid, by infiltration of the political, economic, and social organizations of other countries, by the exploitation of international and domestic differences and personal ambitions, by plots against established governments involving even assassination, by coups d'etat, and where opportunity offers itself even by little proxy wars and proxy revolts serving Soviet ends. These are the methods of the peaceful competition proclaimed by Mr. Khrushchev, and they are not without success.

Virtually all these factors are at work in Syria. There Soviet promises of military and economic aid, coupled with exploitation

of both Arab resentment against Israel and the West and of the personal ambitions of a small military clique, led to a virtually military coup d'etat which threatens to make Syria a Soviet satellite. The Soviet press already brackets Syria with Czechoslovakia, which the Soviets took over by analogous means. Since a Soviet base in Syria would permit Moscow to leapfrog the northern tier of Western defense, the menace to the whole Middle East is self-evident.

But the Syrian development is only a logical consequence of the prior events in Egypt. For it was President Nasser who, in his ambition to build a pan-Arabic and ultimately pan-Islamic empire, permitted the Soviets to bait him with Soviet arms into building the antiwestern Moscow-Damascus-Cairo axis that led to the seizure of the Suez Canal, the British-French-Israeli military intervention, the Egyptian-Syrian-Communist plot against Jordan, the little anti-British war in Oman and the intensified Arab support for the anti-French revolt in Algeria. The Syrian partner of the axis now goes even further than Nasser might like.

However, the same Soviet penetration is becoming evident throughout Asia. It is evident in Indonesia, where President Sukarno has been persuaded to abandon western-style democracy and where the Communists have just won an election triumph; in India, where the Communists have captured a state government, and also in Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Singapore, where Communist activity is rising. It is evident even in the Americas, where Communists assassinated the President of Guatemala and where pro-Communists won an election victory in British Guiana.

This new Soviet strategy is all the more dangerous because it works primarily through local agents, partners or dupes who all too often are able to conceal their activities under a cloak of seeming legality or local concern leading to the claim that the Soviet penetration is a purely domestic affair of the countries concerned. This renders it difficult for the West to cope with it, despite NATO, METO, SEATO, and the Eisenhower doctrine, which are primarily aimed at external aggression. But cope with it we must, for otherwise more parts of the free world could slide behind the Iron Curtain, and we could lose the peaceful competition by default.

Computers Help Management Cut Clerical Loads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the New York Journal of Commerce periodically invites outstanding business leaders to write bylined articles pertaining to business problems or their solutions. One of these recently was written by Walter W. Finke, president of the Datamatic Corp., a subsidiary of Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co., which produces large electronic data-processing systems along with its many other electronic and related devices. Mr. Finke, himself, was formerly secretary of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Finke's informative and understandable article shows the important role these computer devices now play in our economy, and emphasizes the even bigger job they will have in the future as the economy expands. His article stresses the fact that, far from being an expensive drain on a company's pocketbook, a large data-processing system can help the firm balance its production worker-office employee ratio, thereby holding down office overhead costs.

This is but another example of the way in which Minneapolis-Honeywell has pioneered in this field. Steps which boost actual income from each man-hour of production hold the key to an increasingly greater gross national product, and therefore to a better standard of living for our people.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Finke's article from the Journal of Commerce of Wednesday, August 14, 1957, follows:

AS BUSINESS LEADERS SEE IT—COMPUTERS HELP MANAGEMENT CUT CLERICAL LOAD

(By Walter W. Finke)

Large-scale electronic, data-processing machines are going to flatten the rising ratio of paper workers to production forces, and thus solve a problem of increasing gravity for major industries.

Changing over a company's accounting to use electronic data processing has been described as learning another language. It goes further than that. The innovators who switch from machine-aided manual accounting to the electronic kind enter another world. The shift isn't worth making unless all the data can be moved out of the world of touch and sight in which one lives, and into the world of magnetic impulses in which the electronic data-processing system functions.

Naturally, people must be able to reach into the electronic world from time to time and draw out data in a form they can absorb. Information, generally set into this system via punched cards or tape, is converted to magnetic signals and electronically sorted to punched-tape files. Here it is stored for immediate or later use. Ideally, all of this should be then used with a system that has the ability to file, withdraw, and read information in the magnetic files at speeds that equal the rapidity with which the internal electronic section can accept and handle it. It is such problems as these that account for the half-million-dollar studies I have mentioned.

These feasibility studies take a year or more. When the data-processing system has been chosen and purchased, there's another 2 years of programing—that's the word we have given for this transfer and retransfer from the world of people to the world of magnetic impulse—before the full benefit of the change can be obtained.

Why is this worthwhile, this vast expenditure of time and money? It's worthwhile, for any business whose size and complexity require a large enough amount of figure work, because it's cheaper and, to repeat, simpler.

Time was, in the constant trend of this country's economy from an agricultural to an industrial basis, that the clerical and shop forces grew at about the same rate. In the decade since the war the clerical-worker curve has been shooting up at a rate several times that of all industrial workers. Some of this is not only necessary but natural. We make more complicated machines. Industries have grown so huge that their operations can no longer be kept under any man's hat, no matter how capacious. Statistics have replaced inspiration as the source of many decisions.

A whole new science of management has arisen in the last generation, which uses statistics in place of the flights "by the seat of the pants" that marked the industrial geniuses of a generation ago. Rightly or wrongly, we have chosen to do a lot of things communally that we used to do more or less individually. All this makes for bookkeeping.

The large-scale electronic data-processing system will relegate this bookkeeping into the corner the bookkeeper used to occupy in more primitive days. It will be a bigger corner because the business itself is bigger, but it will be a great saver of time, salaries, and space from the present system of proliferating human workers manipulating comparatively small machines.

Forty thousand dollars a month for a data-processing machine, which must then be groomed and tended by a staff costing another two or three thousand, sounds like a lot of money. But the pay of 300 or 400 minor clerical employees, plus the headache of supervising them and replacing them as they grow tired of their modestly paid jobs or bored with repetitious routine, is a lot more money when everything is taken into consideration.

The Do It Yourself Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, after many years of searching for a cure-all farm program dictated from Washington, D. C., and paid for by all our taxpayers, the farmers, especially our grain and livestock farmers, find their economy in a disturbing, unstable condition. Never do they know just what to expect from one crop year to the next. Always the question those farmers ask, is what kind of a farm program will we get next year? Will we get higher or lower supports. Will the Soil Bank Act be extended? Or will the whole Federal farm program be scuttled? It is no wonder they are asking those questions. You and I would be asking those same questions if we were in their shoes. The only honest answer must be that only time will tell.

There was a day, and not so long ago, when the Members of Congress from agricultural States held the balance of power in Congress when legislation beneficial to all our farmers was at stake, but the exit from the farms to the cities has considerably weakened that power. Then, too, the southern farm bloc, who are in control of farm legislation in Congress, are not concerned about the grain and livestock farmers of the Middle West. Add to that the Members of Congress in both parties from the large consuming centers who want cheap food and feed for the people they represent. They constantly complain about farm subsidies, and say their people just don't like to pay taxes to subsidize our farmers while at the same time their cost of living is constantly going up. We keep explaining to them that the farmers receive only about 40 cents of the dollar they pay for food. Yes, the time may come when the whole Federal farm program might be scuttled, and that time may come sooner than we think. So we

best play safe and start now to put into effect a supplemental farm program which does not depend on acts of Congress or anyone else, except being up to those who live in the breadbasket of America.

Now, of course, the question will be asked, by what magic can that be accomplished? The answer is by no magic means, but simply by doing that which should have been done long years ago. Is it any wonder that we have great surpluses of grain? Listen to this. Before the advent of the auto, truck, and tractor, our horses and mules ate the crops produced on 43 million acres of our land. Since that time per-acre production has increased by leaps and bounds, adding to our price-depressing surpluses, except in time of war when we were not only feeding ourselves, but also many of our allies to a very great degree; and that was accomplished even though over 3 million young farmers were serving in the Armed Forces all over the wide world. Produce, produce, produce, was the order from Washington to our farmers, and they did produce, and are still producing to the end, may I say, and the records will prove my statement, that the American people are today spending less than 26 percent of their income for food; while the rest of the people of this world are spending an average of over 65 percent of their income for food.

Now getting back to the problem of the hour. I said we best start now to put another or supplemental farm program, so to speak, into effect, because of the situation I have explained. I am sure that everyone who has studied the problems of our livestock and grain farmers of the Middle West is well aware that we must find more new uses for grain in order to stabilize grain prices, and which in turn will stabilize livestock prices all at a higher level, so that the farmers' dollar will be worth 100 cents at the counter.

Mr. Speaker, as you know, Senator KARL MUNDT of South Dakota and I introduced a bill in the 1956 and 1957 sessions of Congress, which provided that all motor fuel shall contain at least 5 percent blend of agricultural alcohol—agrol—made from grains which are declared in surplus by the Commodity Credit Corporation, but it seems a majority of the members of the Agriculture Committees of Congress, most of whom are from the oil-producing Southern States, are not at all interested in our bill. One of them was at least honest enough to say he would have to oppose our bill because a lot of oil was produced in his State. So Senator MUNDT and I and others have come to the definite conclusion that there is an effective solution to the problems, and that is "Do it yourself, Mr. Midwest Farmer."

Here is the plan in a nutshell. Feed our surplus grain in liquid form to the Iron Horse, just as we used to feed it in the raw to our horses and mules. Now of course that is not a new idea; nonetheless, it is more necessary now than ever before that we carry the idea through to reality. After much thought this is what we suggest.

Form an organization; call it "The Do It Yourself Farm Association" or any other appropriate title. Membership to include farmers, businessmen, and everybody who will sign a pledge to buy, say, at least 1 barrel—50 gallons—of undiluted grain alcohol, or 250 gallons of gasoline which contained at least 5 percent grain alcohol, from a local gasoline station, or direct from the organization representative located in each respective trade territory, in the event no dealer in that territory cooperated in the program—that pledge to constitute his or her membership dues in the organization, except for a small voluntary contribution to defray necessary expenses for stationery, stamps, and a limited amount for secretarial hire to distribute membership blanks and so forth.

We are now told that grain alcohol produced from corn, for example, costing the refinery $1.50 per bushel can be sold to the consumer for about $1 per gallon retail, and that the added miles per gallon from gasoline mixed with grain alcohol will almost, if not fully, offset the cost of the alcohol, to say nothing about a smoother running motor. What is true of corn is almost equally true of wheat, especially soft, low-grade spring wheat. Also we are told that a bushel of low-grade corn contains almost as much alcohol as the higher grades. Each will make about 2½ gallons to the bushel. Now, of course, you are asking yourself, Where will this alcohol be made? There were a number of grain alcohol distilling plants built during the war years in the Grain Belt that are now standing idle or almost idle. One such plant is in Omaha, Nebr., and another at Davenport, Iowa, which would go into production as soon as sufficient orders were received, and certainly large and small distilling plants would spring up all over the Grain Belt as soon as the demand justified the investment. Hence, a new great industry would be in the making, giving employment to townfolks and to many farmers who have extra time off the farm. Some may say such a program would take a long time in bringing the desired results, and our answer is to the contrary, for the very simple reason that even though it would take possibly 2 years to get into full distillation production, the general knowledge that the price depressing surpluses were being gradually reduced to the level of the ever-normal granary would almost immediately have good and great effect on the market for both grain and livestock.

Mr. Speaker, may I say again that the time has come when the Midwest grain and livestock farmer should waste no time in putting this program into effect for the very reasons Senator MUNDT and I and others so humbly and sincerely recommend. God helps those who help themselves. We Americans dare never forget that admonition.

Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for 9 years the country has benefited by the presence in the Senate of one of the century's greatest liberals, the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois, PAUL H. DOUGLAS. Senator DOUGLAS has continually championed sound economy in Government, bringing his vast knowledge and understanding of economics to bear in determining where Government spending could best be cut to eliminate needless squandering of public funds.

Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to include in my remarks a column by William V. Shannon, from the New York Post of August 25, which points out very clearly the vital role Senator DOUGLAS is playing in the effort to keep the national economy operating on a sound basis.

Mr. Shannon's column is as follows:

PROPHET IN THE DESERT
(By William V. Shannon)

In his 9 years in the Senate, PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, has fought a lonesome struggle to restore thrift to the hierarchy of liberal values.

Before the 1930's, economy in Government was identified with liberalism. It was usually the liberals who fought on behalf of the taxpayer and the consumer against subsidies, high tariffs, useless public works ("the pork barrel"), railroad-land grants and other raids on the Treasury.

All this changed during the severe deflation of the thirties, when any kind of Federal spending had at least the virtue of getting money back into circulation. Moreover, conservatives, by unwisely opposing social reforms on the fake issue of their financial cost, made liberals cynical. By 1940, anyone who raised the cry of "Government economy" was automatically suspected of having some reactionary ulterior motive.

Big spending, like big Government, is not intrinsically desirable or liberal. There is an important distinction between providing essential social services plus Federal spending on public works in times of depression to correct the business cycle and spending, year in and year out, for its own sake. PAUL DOUGLAS is a St. John the Baptist preaching this truth to the liberals in the desert.

He has morality on his side. Military bureaucrats squandering Government funds raised from the payroll deductions of us all are just as morally irresponsible in playing with other people's money, to borrow Brandeis' phrase, as were the oldtime bankers who misused stockholders' money.

He also has history on his side. Although the liberals dropped Government economy clear out of their values in the thirties, the New Deal was in practice, if not in the propaganda of the Liberty League, a thrifty operation. No businessman in this administration has surpassed Henry Morgenthau as a pennypincher or equalled Harold Ickes' zeal for cutting costs. It is one of the most honorable, though least remembered, achievements of the Roosevelt administration that in 12 years it never had a major scandal of either graft or waste.

Notwithstanding morality or history, DOUGLAS has not yet made economy fashionable in the Democratic Party or in the liberal community. Twice this summer he has made economizing forays and twice met humiliating defeat. On July 1, he tried to cut $1,058 million from the military budget. He pointed out that the military services have billions tied up in unnecessary huge inventories.

Nine out of 10 defense contracts are open invitations to waste and expense padding because they are let by negotiation rather than competitive bidding. The services engage in numerous expensive sidelines such as the Military Air Transport Service (MATS) which cost $560 million last year. DOUGLAS read off a stupefyingly long list of recreation and morale projects such as swimming pools, bowling alleys, golf pro shops, and athletic fields which the services build.

His amendment still lost, 65 to 7.

On August 8, DOUGLAS analyzed the $900 million rivers and harbors bill. Nearly one-fourth of the projects, he observed, had no probable economic justification. Sensing the mood of his colleagues, DOUGLAS did not offer an amendment to cut them but when the measure passed, 85 to 1, he cast the only dissenting vote.

There are several interesting aspects to this pair of episodes. The economy bloc is pure phantom. Senator BYRD, for example, was not on hand for either vote. The traditional conservatives exploit economy only to defeat programs they oppose, such as foreign aid.

Second, ex-Secretary Humphrey was partially correct in his essential thesis. He argued the budget would not be stabilized until the administration and Congress cut some programs and killed others outright. The issue is one not only of operating economies but also of social priorities. The Nation must choose among the competing claims of the highway program, school aid, farm subsidies, urban housing, and rivers and harbors projects.

DOUGLAS would have deferred much of the roadbuilding and harbor-deepening in favor of schools and housing. The administration and the bipartisan conservative majority in Congress have made the opposite choice.

Finally, DOUGLAS' defeats disclose a curious obtuseness in both LYNDON JOHNSON and the liberals. A public opinion poll would undoubtedly show DOUGLAS one the the Senate Democrats most highly regarded in the country. His reputation is one of the party's important intangible assets.

JOHNSON, however, has alienated himself from DOUGLAS much as Harry Truman did and for the same motives—personal pique and political regularity The 85-to-1 vote, for example, was not necessary. It was a calculated gesture to dramatize DOUGLAS' isolation.

With the cold war likely to continue, creeping inflation may be the "gut issue," the equivalent to the depression, which Democrats have been seeking. If so, rigid economy geared to social priorities is more likely to prove attractive than, say, cheap money. Both wings of the Democratic Party have failed to see the problem in these terms. When they do, DOUGLAS may come in from the desert a prophet with honor.

Battleship "Arizona" Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, 21 Oregon men lost their lives when the famed battleship U. S. S. *Arizona* was sunk in a surprise aerial attack at Pearl Harbor, Honolulu, T. H., December 7, 1941.

The work of many men and women to honor the 1,102 Navy men who were entombed on the *Arizona* culminated in the House last week when H. R. 5809 was approved. I understand this legislation offered by Delegate JOHN BURNS, our able colleague from Hawaii, may come before the Senate today.

This December 7 a campaign is to open to raise funds for the erection and maintenance of a shrine at the site of the battleship itself. It is befitting, I believe, to note that the Navy pays daily tribute to the brave men of the *Arizona*.

The Oregonians who will be honored are: Myrle Clarence Davis, Albany; Frank George Brown, Baker; Glendale Rex Young, Coburg; Joel Bemen Cowden and Victor Lawrence Jeans, both of Eugene; William Howard Brown, Forest Grove; Harley Wade Craft, Hoskins; James Pickens Anderson, Jr., Jordan Valley; Filomeno Santos, Medford; Ralph LeRoy Wallace, Monroe; William Robert Anderberg, Donald William Anderson, William Joseph Curry, Arland Earl Price, John James Robinson, Donald Vern Westin and Everett Norris Wick, all of Portland; Robert Lee Allen of Roseburg; Verrel Roy Heater, Sherwood; Carroll Glae Greenfield, Silverton; and Darrell Robert Howe, Sweet Home.

Seven of these young men came from my district.

A college friend of mine also went down with the ship.

It is my hope that this memorial may fulfill the longing of so many, throughout so much of the free world, for a permanent, living shrine that will dignify man's sacrifice for his fellow men of the future. The proposed U. S. S. *Arizona* Memorial would be a part of the Pacific Memorial System, whose theme is, Out of an Honored Past—Toward a Better Tomorrow.

And, to further that goal I was proud to join my colleague from Hawaii and Congressmen J. CARLTON LOSER, Tennessee; STEWART UDALL, Arizona; and JOHN J. RHODES, Arizona, in cosponsoring legislation which would provide for the memorial.

Lead and Zinc Tariff Bill and the Escape Clause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENDERSON LANHAM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly interested in the disposition of the lead and zinc tariff bill. It came before the Committee on Ways and Means from which it never emerged even though it was supported by both the Department of the Interior and the State Department.

From the experience with this bill it has become clear that we have done a full circle under the trade agreements program.

The Congress in 1934 delegated authority to the President to make trade agreements. This was an indication that the Congress itself no longer wished to write the tariff itself.

Seventeen years of trade-agreement making by the Executive had by 1951 convinced the Congress that it was desirable to tighten the reins on the delegated authority. It had become clear that the State Department, which actually negotiated the trade agreements was not a very zealous guardian of the interests of American industry, labor, and farmers but was inclined to cut tariffs without making sure that its ready wielding of the knife would not cripple some of our industries.

In 1951 Congress accordingly adopted the escape-clause amendment to the Trade Agreements Act. The purpose was to provide injured industries with a remedy. Should serious injury occur or be threatened to an industry it could go to the Tariff Commission and apply for relief in the form of a higher duty, that is, a restoration of the duty cut that had previously been made by the State Department in a trade agreement.

This sounded good, and should have made it possible to live with the trade agreements program. The trouble was that the Tariff Commission was not given the final word under the escape clause. It could only recommend action to the President.

After some 50 cases were processed in the 5 or 6 years of the escape clause's existence it became apparent that the law was returning an extremely low yield. The President rejected most of the Tariff Commission's recommendations, including a half-dozen unanimous decisions. Industry naturally became discouraged.

Among these was the lead and zinc industry which went before the Tariff Commission in 1953 under the escape clause. The Commission rendered a unanimous decision recommending an increase in the tariff. In 1954 the President rejected the decision.

In 1957 the industry, still facing great difficulty with import competition, decided to go to Congress rather than the escape-clause route. The Ways and Means Committee, however, pointed out that the President already had adequate authority to provide relief to the industry. That left the lead and zinc industry with no place to go other than back to the Tariff Commission.

This provides a very clear example of what may be expected in the future if the remedies provided by law fail to provide the relief that could reasonably be expected from the pertinent legislation. Other industries such as textiles, plywood, tuna, and so forth, are finding themselves in the same position as the lead and zinc industry. They do not look kindly on the executive veto that prevents a reasonable remedy from being carried out.

They know that in the last analysis recourse to Congress is their only hope so long as the executive obstinacy persists, as it has now done for six years. I do not quarrel with the action of the Ways and Means Committee. I think it simply brings to a head something that has been evident for some time.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter that appeared in the Washington Post on this subject, written by O. R. Strackbein.

OTHER WAYS TO HELP

You are to be congratulated for printing the letter from Senator WATKINS of Utah in your issue of Aug. 19 under the heading "Worse Than It Sounds." The Watkins letter was in reply to your editorial of the same title, devoted to the proposed tariff on lead and zinc that is before Congress.

Senator WATKINS' letter brings some much-needed commonsense and down-to-earth facts to bear on the lead and zinc tariff question. It is in strong contrast to the undiluted sensationalism of Drew Pearson and the tortuous cartoonery of Herblock on the subject—albeit, quite naturally, not as interesting.

Your own editorial in reply to Senator WATKINS under the title, "Other Ways To Help," is also helpful in bringing to light the real issues.

You urge the lead and zinc industry to go back to the Tariff Commission under the escape clause for a remedy. You overlook the fact that not only this industry was before the Commission in 1954 and obtained a unanimous recommendation to the President only to be turned down but that this experience has been the usual one and not the exception—to the extent that the escape clause has become worse than useless.

That is exactly why the lead and zinc industry went to Congress and that is exactly why more and more other industries are going and will go to Congress.

The President as advised by the State Department has choked off the channel of relief provided by Congress. This is what has built the pressure that you bewail. The primary responsibility for the regulation of foreign trade is on Congress, put there by the Constitution.

Congress delegated some of this authority to the Executive but the latter has ignored the clear intent of Congress. What should Congress then do? What should the industries do when they find their remedy at law smothered by the Executive?

You say we should perhaps give production bonuses to the lead and zinc industry. That route has already been traveled its full length through the stockpile. In any case, if the industry were helped thus to produce and sell its products, would that not result as effectively in choking down imports as would a higher tariff? And would that hurt Canada, Mexico, and Peru any less?

The best way to meet this situation would be through a combination of tariff and quota under which an appropriate sharing of the market between imports and domestic producers could be worked out. Or would that be too sensible and not sensational enough for Messrs. Pearson and Herblock?

O. R. STRACKBEIN,
Chairman, Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy.
WASHINGTON.

North Awakening to Race Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, the Columbus Enquirer, one of Georgia's best daily newspapers, published at Columbus, Ga., on August 25, 1957, page M–2, carried an editorial written by Hon. W. C. Tucker, editor, entitled "North Awakening to Race Problem."

This editorial is so intelligently written and states cold facts so logically that I think the Members of Congress and the public will find it to be of great interest. The editorial is as follows:

NORTH AWAKENING TO RACE PROBLEM

Recent headlines signal a strange turn in the current racial struggle which is enveloping the entire Nation.

The headlines, the surveys, the articles—most of them in the northern press—are beginning to tell a story that heretofore had been largely kept from a great many Americans. It is the story of some of the real problems that face the Negro race in America.

In the past few years Negroes have attained a whole new parcel of rights, privileges, and responsibilities. But these things have not been gained without a loss—and the loss which is becoming more apparent each day is the loss of blind sympathy on the part of most of the white population of Northern and Western States.

This is only right and as it should be. The intelligent Negro realizes that with the gain of responsibilities there is the accompanying necessity of being held responsible.

If the Negro is to escape the burden of second class citizenship, he must be prepared to accept the new burden of first-class citizenship.

For nearly a century the Negro race has struck the chord of sympathy in the hearts of most Americans outside the South. They have been all too ready to conjure up a vision of Uncle Tom's Cabin and the cruel slavemasters. This clinging cloak of protection has been used to mask faults, disguise real problems, and actually delay the day when many Negroes—both in the South and North—could stand on their own two feet and accept responsibility for their actions without having a northern politician or the NAACP as a go-between.

The northern press has perhaps been the worst offender of keeping facts about the racial problem from a great majority of the population.

But now there are encouraging signs that the press of the North is taking the lead in coupling privilege with responsibility.

Items:

1. The decision of the jury in the James Hoffa case has been roundly condemned by staunch liberals who have not hesitated in calling a spade a spade and clearly indicating that they think the eight Negroes on the jury were influenced by the fact that Joe Louis was a friend of Hoffa.

2. Negro leaders in both Kansas City and Philadelphia have pointed out that their race commits a high percentage of the crimes in those cities. These leaders—definitely not members of the NAACP—have urged their people to clean up their own linen. These Negro leaders have spoken out when white politicians in the same cities and with the same facts have hesitated because they feared the consequences of being honest with the racial problem.

3. Time magazine—a longtime exponent of Negro rights—seems to be opening its other eye these days and at least recording facts on both sides of the ledger. For instance it recently ran a photo of a New York teen-age gang of killers. Most of them were Negroes. This type of picture probably would have been suppressed earlier.

4. U. S. News & World Report, a widely respected journal of information, has compiled several articles which clearly show the problems that integration is causing in the North and the problems that it would cause in the South.

There are many Negroes—and whites also—who seem to think integration is the answer to all difficulties. Their eyes are completely shut to other solutions or to the problems which integration brings.

Actually the North has not truly had integration as yet, but with the continuing migration of Negroes to the North, integration of a sort may follow. And then the North will have to sit down and get all the facts in the light and out of the darkness which has cloaked them for so many years.

The South will be watching with sympathy and understanding—and hope.

For the real race problem has finally moved north and we shall see how the many wise men there who have been so helpful in solving our problems will be able to solve their own.

Mr. Speaker, the North is beginning to understand that the NAACP not only demands equal rights, but rights far above any that anyone else has or should have; further, they are beginning to understand that the NAACP is always demanding privileges for a group which does not assume any responsibility of citizenship whatever, and that the NAACP evidently does not understand that the Negro race should assume any responsibility.

The South has suffered much and suffered long because of abuses of the northern press which did not understand and could never understand until it saw the picture as it was. The South was not surprised at all about the verdict in the Hoffa case, with 8 Negroes on the jury and with Joe Louis appearing in the courtroom, and in the presence of the predominantly Negro jury annointing Hoffa with the blessings of the NAACP, the Red Rooser's Club, the Autherine Lucy, and the Martha Martin Luther King brigades.

I submit to my northern friends the fact that they have seen nothing yet if the Senate passes the present civil-rights bill, which contains among other things a provision which will place in the jury boxes of all of our Federal courts every Negro 21 years of age, or over, who has not been convicted of a felony and has not been restored to his rights by a pardon, if that Negro can read, write, speak and understand the English language. The North will have no one to blame except themselves because the northern membership in the Congress voted overwhelmingly for this legislation in the House of Representatives.

Progress of the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, the steady progress of the Dominican Republic is good news for the people of the United States of America. Excellent, low-cost housing for workers in our good neighbor republic is one result of sound order and beneficient leadership under the direction of Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, LL.D., who has devoted himself, his talents, and his undeniable genius to the welfare of his fellow citizens and the defense of the Western Hemisphere. No doubt, this was one reason why the Miami Herald could report that "the Dominican Republic is one of the hemisphere's new boomlands." This report went on to relate that "nations of the Western Hemisphere should take note of what is happening here economically." Splendid highways, new schools, irrigation works, hospitals, clinics, and modern equipment in the new University City, site of the historic University of Santo Domingo, are among the effects of peace and prosperity in the Dominican Republic.

It is well known, as my dear friend Dr. Joseph F. Thorning has emphasized, that Generalissimo Trujillo is the most conscientious, active, and successful worker in the country that he has guided to new heights. He travels to every region of the Dominican Republic, eager to develop all possible resources and to take a personal interest in the education of the youth. Part of the inspiring story is told in the following dispatch from the Herald:

DOMINICANS OFFER REAL CONCESSIONS FOR NEW INDUSTRY

(By Pat Murphy)

CIUDAD TRUJILLO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—Nations of the Western Hemisphere should take note of what's happening here economically.

By all standards, the Dominican Republic is one of the hemisphere's new boomlands, its arms open to foreign dollars to tap unexploited industrial, mineral, and tourist bonanzas.

And if that's not enough, the Government will make the investment climate more attractive with 10-year tax exemptions on outside capital, or build a facility for lease.

Moreover, the Dominican's obviously strong-arm politics apparently aren't a scarecrow to corporations whose conscience more often is guided by cold-blooded profit.

Only this week, the Commerce and Industry Minister's office revealed the plans of William D. Pawley, former American Ambassador to Brazil and Peru, who is heading a whopping big deal here.

As president of La Minera y Beneficiardo Dominicana, a subsidiary of the Canadian firm of Falconbridge Nickel Mines, Ltd., Pawley is looking for a trove of untapped nickel and oil.

The Government said Pawley's group now is spending a million dollars for exploration, but is confident of hitting veins and has tentatively committed a $60-million investment here.

Such a venture, the Government said, may produce an oil boom bigger than Cuba's, and only short of Venezuela's. It means thousands of jobs in the next few years.

Pawley, who also owns Miami Transit and Miami Beach Railway bus company, was here with his brother Ed for a few days, but then returned to the United States.

Aluminum Company of America, Arthur Vining Davis' huge firm, is digging bauxite—base for aluminum production—by the shipload.

Unlike its bordering neighbor Haiti, a nation weakened by twin evils of poverty and politics and economically anemic, the Dominican Republic doesn't need outside help to exist.

Its treasury is overflowing. Multimillion dollar public works and housing programs are planting modern new subdivisions, new bridges and airports all over the 19,000-square-mile nation. Sugar, tobacco and cocoa crops are heavily productive.

It doesn't owe a cent to anybody.

With the flick of a few millions, the Government tossed up the $32-million International Peace Fair, a majestic ultramodern vista of glass-sided structures used for 2 months to attract tourists.

Then the fair became new government office buildings, a sight to behold.

In the same span of time, the government tossed off another 25 million or more for the El Ambajador, La Paz, and Jaragua Hotels, then leased them.

Essentially government operated, the country's sugar, cocoa, coffee and tobacco is bringing in millions from the world market.

But to supplement what the government doesn't or won't do, private capital is being courted to industralize the nation and boost employment (which is good anyway) and dig into the fertile soil which could yield more than agriculture.

New Passenger Liner for the Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House of Representatives are aware that their colleagues from the San Francisco Bay area are deeply concerned with maintaining the vigor and effectiveness of the American merchant marine, including shipbuilding and all of the many supporting activities in the American economy. We are vitally interested in making sure that the American-flag shipping companies operating in the Pacific Ocean remain strong and competitive so that the employment and purchasing which they generate shall continue as a major source of business activity in the many west coast communities. To maintain the level of merchant marine activity, it is absolutely essential that the American-flag vessels be replaced as they reach obsolescence.

It has been a matter of great satisfaction to all of us in the San Francisco Bay area that the American-flag steamship companies engaged in foreign trade which are headquartered in our area have all begun to replace their vessels with modern ships. These replacement programs are proceeding satisfactorily as as far as freight ships are concerned. However, we are now faced with the need for construction of a large, modern, fast passenger liner for the essential trade route from California to the Orient. By terms of its contract with the Maritime Administration for this route, the American President Lines is required to build such a vessel during 1958.

The needs of foreign commerce and defense on this trade route justify a vessel of approximately 26 knots with a capacity for 1,400 passengers. In order to facilitate this program, I have joined with Congressman Bow in introducing yesterday a bill authorizing construction of such a vessel by the United States and its sale to the American President Lines under the terms of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which act of Congress has been an outstanding success over a period of more than 20 years in dealing with a complicated but vital section of our national policy.

Safety-First Club of Maryland Sponsors Safety Forum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, I am always greatly pleased when I read or hear that some group or even individual has taken some concrete action in the direction of helping to bring about an improvement in the traffic-safety situation. In this connection, I was very much pleased this morning to read in the Baltimore Beacon for August 1957 an article telling about a safety forum which the Safety-First Club of Maryland will sponsor on September 30 beginning at 8:30 p. m. Action is the thing it will take to get things going in the direction of greater safety on the Nation's highways, and under unanimous consent I insert this article from the Baltimore Beacon in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BARNES, INSPECTOR SCHMIDT, MAJOR WEBER, JUDGE CARDIN TO APPEAR AT SAFETY FORUM

A number of traffic experts will take part in the safety forum that the Safety First Club of Maryland will sponsor on September 30, beginning 8:30 p. m. at Pimlico Branch No. 21 of Enoch Pratt Free Library, Park Heights and Garrison Avenues.

The theme of the evening will be: The Department of Traffic Engineering, Baltimore Police and State Police View the Traffic Problem.

The panelists will include Henry A. Barnes, traffic director, of Baltimore City, Inspector Bernard J. Schmidt, of the Baltimore Police Department, and Maj. W. H. Weber, executive officer of the Maryland State Police. Judge Meyer M. Cardin, chief magistrate of the traffic court, will serve as the moderator.

J. O. Shuger, president of the Safety First Club, announces that additional forums will follow on November 20, at Forest Park Branch No. 14; January 13 at Keyworth

Avenue Branch No. 16; and March 10, at Walbrook Branch No. 8.

William Goodman, civic leader and Safety First Club board member, is general chairman of the arrangements committee. Also serving are Edgar P. Silver, chairman of the motor vehicle committee of the House of Delegates; Magistrate Samuel J. Gaboff, and Joseph Zimmerman. Various local organizations are being invited to send official representatives to these safety forums.

One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Agency System of Insurance Selling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, on September 4 next in Lexington, Ky., a program observing and commemorating the 150th anniversary of the founding of the American Agency System of insurance selling will be held. It is most interesting to recall that on October 6, 1807, Alexander Henry, a director of the Insurance Company of North America, urged his fellow board members to broaden their sphere of business operation and as he put it make a determined "march to the frontier."

As a result of this pioneering spirit, there was established an agency in Lexington, Ky.—the first agent being Mr. Thomas Wallace, a prominent merchant of the area.

The status of the pioneer agent was very different from that of today's independent insurance agent. The activities of early agents were restricted largely to soliciting business and surveying property with all final and binding decisions being made by the head office of the company, and in the early days the agent's remuneration was small and unstable. As the American Agency System developed the agent's duties and responsibilities were enlarged and his remuneration was placed on a percentage basis. In the 1850's the insurance agent received the authority to issue policies and became not merely a solicitor but a true agent of the company.

In 1957, as the 150th anniversary of the American Agency System is celebrated, the independent local insurance agent occupies a place of major importance not only in the insurance industry but in the Nation's free enterprise system.

To permanently commemorate this historic event a memorial plaque is to be dedicated during the celebration activities of this 150th anniversary. The inscription thereon is most fitting and proper:

Here in the thriving frontier town of Lexington, Ky., in 1807, the American Agency System of bringing insurance protection to America's families, businesses and institutions was begun when Thomas Wallace, prominent merchant, was appointed an agent of Insurance Company of North America.

Thus, a free people, with initiative and enterprise, created a system of providing for their own security through independent local businessmen that spread throughout America, enabling the Nation to grow and prosper.

The vision and foresight evidenced so many years ago is truly characteristic of the American people.

It affords me real pleasure to extend my sincere congratulations to the Insurance Company of North America Companies and to all insurance companies upon this particular occasion. They are to be commended for the manner in which they have maintained the progressiveness, the boldness, and the vigor upon which Alexander Henry's vision and foresight was grounded.

I personally extend my sincere congratulations and good wishes.

Statement on United States Mutual Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the statement on the United States mutual security program by Peter Muller Munk. Peter Muller Munk heads the Peter Muller Munk Associates of 725 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., an outstanding and progressive firm in the Pittsburgh area.

Peter Muller Munk is an outstanding American industrial designer, who with his associates, has been working on problems of industrial management in the current United States Mutual Security program.

Since the views of such an experienced and competent man, who speaks with the knowledge of his field from a business and practical point of view, are worth close examination, I believe that the American people will enjoy reading with me this fine statement.

I am including this statement by unanimous consent of the House of Representatives.

STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES MUTUAL AID PROGRAM

As an American industrial designer who has frequent occasion to work in remote, nontourist areas of the world under assignment from our Government, I am continually shocked by reaction at home.

Instead of receiving comments of recognition and gratitude from neighbors and lawmakers, I find myself in the midst of controversy on the very value of these labors and, frequently, sacrifices.

Certainly no member of industrial management in this country is subjected to a review of his accomplishments, when such accomplishmen'ts show overwhelmingly profitable returns on an investment. Yet there are few industries who can equal the return to world peace, to market development and to American prosperity as achieved by the members of our United States mutual aid program.

Thus, at this time to permit further reductions and limitations in the President's recommendations for an effective long range mutual security program, with proper emphasis on economic development of free nations and underdeveloped areas, is to commit a great disservice to our country.

Perhaps we have all become too accustomed to intensive advertising and promotion programs to be able to evaluate the little publicized, unglamourized efforts of our economic and technical ambassadors.

As an industrial designer with long and intimate contacts with all sections of American industry, and with first-hand experience in the fields of foreign economic projects, I believe two factors stand out which deserve continued emphasis.

1. In the representatives of our International Cooperation Administration, the American people have as devoted and unselfish a group of public servants as exist anywhere. With often very modest means and frequently under physical and economic hardship to themselves and to their families, the administrators, planners and technicians of ICA are bringing hope for economic security to millions of people on the verge of despair and political cynicism. Market development, domestic prosperity, and a grasp of American methods, integrity, and tolerance are being disseminated at very modest cost to us.

2. Under contractual conditions which give the American taxpayer every protection, private industries and contractors to ICA are performing miracles of ingenuity. In cooperation with foreign governments and industry, technical goals are being achieved and productivity is being increased which will remain an everlasting tribute to American pioneering and efficiency. Despite the little comment made about these projects, we should still be aware of their effectiveness, and of the need for redoubled effort where such need is greatest.

I feel that these branch managers of the United States' interests abroad are entitled to, and should, receive support from their home office.

Unfortunately, there is no quick-acting antibiotic for poverty and for primitive methods of production and manufacturing. The cure here requires long-range planning and implementation. It requires patience, tolerance, and, above all, hard work.

It is often worse to begin with too little than not to start at all. We must measure the risks of our investment in money, in men and in goods. Once we understand this risk to our own United States security and the prestige of our free enterprise system, then we must make the necessary commitments to insure success.

To do less would be as unwise as it would be unpatriotic.

Hon. Sam McConnell

SPEECH
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, it was indeed grand to hear the fine tributes paid by previous speakers to our good friend and colleague Congressman SAMUEL MCCONNELL.

As one of the senior members of the Pennsylvania delegation in the House of Representatives, and as chairman of the Republican delegation, I want the membership of the House and the people of the country to know that we appreciate the wonderful statements made about SAM, regardless of partisanship.

To me, personally, it was with a touch of sorrow that we are to lose in this Congress a man of SAM MCCONNELL'S character and ability. His service here has been outstanding and he has been a credit to his district, State, and Nation.

SAM MCCONNELL'S background from his birth reflects the kind of person he is. Born in Eddystone, Pa., he is the son of a Methodist minister. He has been interested all his life in boy's work, particularly in settlement house and community centers. In his senior year at the University of Pennsylvania he was chief counselor for boys.

SAM is interested in Boy Scout work, and the great movement it is in building the future citizens of our Nation. He was a scoutmaster for 8 years, and sent 6 boys—Eagle Scouts—to the International Jamboree in London.

As chairman of the second war loan drive in lower Merion Township, Montgomery County, Pa., he obtained $9 million when their quota only called for $3 million.

Mr. MCCONNELL was elected to the United States House of Representatives in December 1943 at a special election to fill the vacancy due to the untimely death of the beloved Congressman William Ditter. He has been reelected to all succeeding Congresses.

We all are aware of the fine work SAM has done as a member of the Education and Labor Committee of the House. As the ranking Republican member of that committee he was its chairman in the 83d Congress and has handled all education and labor debates for his party in the House since 1949. As such he has been eminently fair to all sides in any debate and therefore enjoyed the confidence of employer, employee, and the public.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on and on relating the fine attributes of SAM MCCONNELL and we are pleased and happy to know that he is to give of his future life to another position of great and humane importance—that of directing the work of the National Association for Cerebral Palsy.

While SAM will be severing his official duties on September 1, we all sincerely hope that his trips to the Capitol will be frequent and that as the occasions arise we will all have the benefit of his counsel, association, and continued friendship.

May SAM MCCONNELL'S future work meet with outstanding success as it has done in the past, and that he will continue to find satisfaction in a job well done for the public and the America he loves so well.

Hon. Sam McConnell

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, SAM MCCONNELL and I came to Congress at the same time and a friendship developed between us from the start. I have rarely met anyone with such a congenial spirit, delightfully accompanied by a gentle wit and a great sense of responsibility. His colleagues soon found out that he was a man of great ability who took his job seriously and, as the years went by and he attained the responsibilities of leadership, he always conducted himself with fairness and courtesy. When SAM MCCONNELL addressed the House you knew that he was well versed in his subject and he never resorted to demagoguery or blatant oratory. He will be missed in many ways but I am sure the decision he has reached to accept the position of executive director of the United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc., was only done after most careful consideration. There is no doubt that this trustworthy and wholesomehearted American citizen will do well in whatver position he may fill and he carries with it the sincere and wholehearted best wishes of the many friends that he has made in the Congress.

The President and the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the information of the membership a lead editorial from the August 27, 1957, issue of the Los Angeles Times, entitled "The President and the Congress." This editorial is significant because it represents one editor's position on the question of the reason why certain legislative proposals have failed in spite of the fact that they presumably have had the support of the President. I wish to make it clear that I do not agree with all of the statements in the editorial but I feel that they are significant because they represent the thinking of a newspaper which can be described as the bellwether of Republican thought in California.

The editorial reads as follows:

THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON had a steak breakfast with the President yesterday and it was the most expensive breakfast the taxpayers have ever paid for. Mr. Johnson came away from it to pass the word to the boys to give back some of the foreign-aid money they had taken away from Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles. The Senators promptly gave back half a billion; so the administration will have more than 3 billion to give away this year—about 85 percent of what the President asked for instead of the 70 percent the Congress until yesterday was planning to give him.

Of such is congressional economy. A measly 15 percent reduction is made on an item which should have gone at a closing-out price.

ADVICE TO PRESIDENT

But let's be as optimistic as we can about this breakfast transaction. What was said over the White House steaks may never be known, but if Senator JOHNSON was as realistic as his leadership in the Senate presupposes him to be, he might have told the President something like this:

"It is in fact a little late, Mr. President, to upset your foreign-aid plans for the year, and I'll see what I can do to help you. But may I suggest, Mr. President, that this probably will be the last time. The temper of the country and of the Congress has turned against giveaway. They can't see that it has accomplished what you and others said it would do; we have fewer foreign friends, and Soviet-Chinese communism is further out of bounds than it ever was.

"Moreover, there is much information on mismanagement and misspending. So, as I said, you'd better think of this as the last year of the big money. When the Congress comes back for the next session, in an election year, the Members are not going to spend so freely. Maybe, Mr. President, you and Mr. Dulles ought to think up a foreign policy which doesn't entail a gift for everybody we do business with. Maybe we could just send the clients greeting cards every now and then."

MORE THAN EXPECTED

It is not good form to imagine remarks of the President of the United States, so let us adjourn the breakfast. Mr. Eisenhower got more than he had a right to expect, and the reason may be that he talked to Senator JOHNSON with more conviction than he usually brings to the support of his program.

Last week the President complained that Congress hadn't done right by his several major proposals, and in truth it hadn't passed some of them. And on the surface this was puzzling. Mr. Eisenhower has few enemies in the Congress or anywhere else; the honorable Members were not out to do him an ill turn wherever possible as they sometimes were in the time of his predecessor. What could the matter be?

The matter was that the President did not present the major items of his program with great conviction—such conviction as he seems to have revealed to Senator JOHNSON in the single instance of foreign aid. A Member of Congress could very easily get the idea that the President was merely acting as front man for others. There is much evidence that some of the proposals he presented to Congress came up to him ready-made from his staff, rather than from him to his staff for processing and then back to him and then to Congress.

For example, it was obvious when the Senate debate began that Mr. Eisenhower did not know what was in the civil-rights bill that was passed to him by Attorney General Brownell. Or that he was aware the school-aid bill he spoke for was based on misrepresentation, including fraudulent statistics, and violated the doctrine of States' responsibility in which he genuinely believes.

WARY OF COUNSELORS

When Congress divined that the President was being used by the shadowy council of advisers without portfolio who are forever plucking at his sleeve, the leading Members refused to take his proposals very seriously. On the other hand, in the few instances in which his knowledge and desires were not in doubt he got cooperation from the legislative branch. For example, he had no difficulty in getting consent to our entering the International Atomic Energy Organization, which may turn out to be the most significant piece of business of his administration.

When the record of the first session of this Congress is studied, these points should be borne in mind. The Congress, it is true, did not do a great deal. It held the line and prepared the ground for a future assault on the Federal budget. And when the President, moved by deep-seated conviction, wanted something, it was always willing to go more than halfway—85 percent of the way, or all the way sometimes. Even in the

case of civil rights, the Congress finally gave him (or soon will) what he at last decided was in his mind: a guaranty of the southern Negroes' right to vote.

Suggestion of Peter Schellin for the Adoption of a World Reform Calendar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include a letter from Peter Schellin, of 3335 North Bartlett Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis., on the world reform calendar. I know that Members will be interested in reading about the calendar.

The letter follows:

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *August 25, 1957.*
The Honorable HENRY S. REUSS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE REUSS: I am 15 years old. I attend Riverside High School. Last semester my history class made a study of the calendar, and ever since then I have wanted to write to you. * * *

I have recently read a book on the subject called Of Time and the Calendar, by Elisabeth Achelis, from which I would like to quote:

"The world calendar is solar wherein everything fits, everything agrees, everything is stable. * * *

"The revised 12-month calendar accepts the perpetual feature of * * * the year as of 364 days, wherein the 52 weeks (each of 7 days) fit within the year.

"The 365th day or the one-seventh of a week, that indispensable fraction, is placed at the end of December as a day set apart between 2 weeks whereby the familiar order of the week is not interrupted. This last day of the year has the name Worldsday and the specific date December W, which corresponds to December 31. It belongs to the annual sequence of days—Saturday, Worldsday that is followed by Sunday, the first day of each new year. By this method every outgoing year is securely sealed with the new Worldsday holiday and the year becomes a finished time period.

"The 366th day in leap years is likewise placed between 2 weeks in the midyear after Saturday, June 30, and before Sunday, July 1. Its name is Leapyear Day and its date is June W or June 31. In this manner the new Worldsday (365th day) every year and the new Leapyear Day (366th) every 4 years keep the calendar equalized, balanced, and perpetual. These new stabilizing days are unique in the calendar in being universally observed as world holidays.

"The dates which call for change are 3—March 31, May 31, and August 31—replaced by 3 new ones—February 29 and 30 and April 31. This will call for a minor adjustment of days which were observed on the vanishing dates. Birthdays will now be observed on the day before, on the 30th of the month, the method used by leap-year children ever since 1236—over 718 years ago. * * *

"Calendar reformers have solved their problem by withholding the 365th day, whereby the year has 364 days, a number easily divisible into equal quarter years of 91 days each and equal half years of 182 days each. With this satisfactory solution, the 365th day is returned to the calendar and placed at the end of the fourth or last quarter of the year as the new Worldsday.

"The world calendar is a mathematical masterpiece. It deals as successfully with the arbitrary numbers 7 and 13 as with the easy numbers 2, 3, 4, 6, and 12.

"The foursquare principle is particularly unique to our planet, Earth, which is influenced by the 4 seasons, the 4 winds, the 4 cardinal points of the compass and the 4 elements—fire, water, air, and earth. Every individual, too, functions on the 4 basic planes of life; namely, spirit, soul, mind, and body.

"The ideal of the square is far more significant and important than is generally recognized. The American form of government is based on the principle of the square—the executive, the legislative, the judicial, and the citizenry—each respected in its own right.

"The business world presents the same picture. It takes the cooperation of four groups—management, production, distribution, and consumer—to make a profitable business.

"In the educational field the grammar and high schools, college and university complete the pursuit of learning. And interestingly enough, simple arithmetic has its four distinct processes—addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division.

"There are also four definite measurements—length, height, breadth, and thickness—and (the late) Dr. Albert Einstein has taught us to think in terms of four dimensions instead of three.

"Reverting to the previously described temperamental calendar family with which we are burdened today, we now learn to our relief that with a few important rearrangements it has become a harmonious calendar family wherein all the various members have each their rightful place."

I feel that for a world that my generation will soon lead, the World Reform Calendar would be a great improvement.

Yours truly,

PETER SHELLIN.

Look Magazine Pays Tribute to ICEM—A Fine Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, Look magazine recently paid well-merited tribute to one of the most effective international organizations now in operation, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

As an American delegate to ICEM conferences, I have had an opportunity to observe at first hand the noble humanitarian work done by this organization, and the efficient way it goes about its business. It is doing a magnificent job of aiding the world's homeless and oppressed, and deserves the commendation of all of us.

Under leave previously granted, I insert an excerpt from the Look editorial at this point in the RECORD:

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

ICEM is an organization with a mountain-sized aim: to restore the population balance between the overcrowded nations of Europe and undermanned nations elsewhere through orderly migration. During its 5-year history, it has facilitated the movement of some 750,000 emigrants and refugees. Most have traveled from jammed countries like Greece and Italy to long-awaited jobs in Latin America, Australia, or Africa. Since last year's Hungarian uprising, the ICEM identification tag has become a "passport" for 150,000 escapees seeking new lives in 36 different countries. Of these, ICEM helped 34,325 resettle in the United States. However, with the expiration of the Refugee Relief Act recently, some 29,000 are still in Austria awaiting resettlement—new recruits to the ranks of the unwanted that crowd refugee camps in many parts of Europe.

The committee works in behalf of 27 member nations through 15 field offices. Its job is to help preselect, process, document, and embark migrants as well as welcome them at their destinations. ICEM's interest does not cease with the surrender of a migrant to the care of a local welfare agency.

Government Controls and Subsidies in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Independent Farmers of Ohio are self-reliant people who oppose Government controls and subsidies in agriculture and big government in general. I have had the pleasure of meeting with them on several occasions, and I include with my remarks today a letter from Mrs. Clarence Uhl, secretary, relating an incident illustrative of their ability to solve their own problems.

The letter follows:

AUGUST 25, 1957.

Hon. FRANK T. BOW,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BOW: You remember where you met Independent Farmers at Merlin Simpkins' south of Orrville. Well about a month ago his new barn burned to the ground with 40 tons of hay, a cow that had just given birth to twin heifers, the boys' 4-H Club calves, their riding horse, new milking parlor, etc. All went up in flames before the wife could get the men summoned from the fields. The thing I wanted to tell you is that Independent Farmers of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan are meeting this Thursday to put him up a new and bigger barn. The new one will be in two wings, one 30 x 60 feet and the other wing a pole barn 71 x 91 feet. We expect to have it all under roof and painted by Thursday evening. We know it would be likely impossible for you to attend but you are invited. There will be a covered dish dinner. You might want to mention it to Congress for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that Independent Farmers do believe in cooperating to solve their own problems. We believe in farming the land instead of farming the Government Treasury, but do appreciate such things as Government research which will make it possible to have this pole barn construction and the whole barn built so that it is efficient and laborsaving. It will house 50 dairy cows, 2,000 bales of straw and the necessary hay and feed to feed them. Merlin Simp-

kins as you know is a young man and is chairman of our local county chapter of Independent Farmers of Ohio, Inc. It may come to your mind the difference between Independent Farmers and other farm groups. You will notice that because we are independent we have the initiative to solve our own problems of the local level and do not want to be included in social security and other giveaway schemes which only rob us of our independence and the joys which come from helping each other. We try to maintain the original American dream where independent farmers working together to solve our own problems can do anything.

Yours very truly,

MRS. CLARENCE UHL,
Secretary, Independent Farmers.

Communist Propaganda Broadcasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, whenever we read what Communists are peddling in their propaganda broadcasts in the Middle East, in Asia, and in Africa we wonder how some people can be deceived by their obvious falsehoods and prevarications. Communist propaganda presents us as an imperialist country and yet there is not 1 inch of ground under our flag where the people do not enjoy real freedom. We have no satellites such as Poland with its Poznan riots, no Hungarys where the people are murdered because they want liberty. We are pictured as aggressors and yet we sacrifice the flower of our youth and our resources to help maintain the peace and security of the world. Soviet Russia makes all sorts of promises to help other nations and the world knows Russian performance is conspicuous by its absence.

It is not for us, Mr. Speaker, to speak of our economic aid to Europe, of our help to Greece and Turkey, of our intervention in Korea, of our aid to other peoples all over the world, assistance that has made it possible for them to maintain their sovereignty and integrity as independent nations against the encroachments of communism. But I believe it is not out of place to speak before we adjourn this session of Congress of how we do not forget our friends, of our gratitude to those who have shown their loyalty to the ideals of democracy which we cherish and uphold.

I wish to refer particularly to the Philippines. Here is a country that is linked with us by the closest ties of friendship. When the war broke out in the Pacific, when we were going from disaster to disaster, the Filipino people stood by us and fought for us. That loyalty we cannot forget. When we intervened in Korea, the first Asian nation to send its troops to fight side by side with our own was the Philippines. This is loyalty without price. In our fight against communism, the one nation in Asia that has cast its lot unreservedly with us is the Philippines. Nor can we forget the voice of General Romulo speaking always on the side of the United States before the United Nations. It is an understatement to say that his words in the United Nations have been the best answer for the propaganda mouthed by the Soviet Union and its stooges in the battle for men's minds in Asia and the world. Here is loyalty of the highest order.

After the war, the Congress enacted the Philippine Rehabilitation Act and we helped the Filipinos to reconstruct their public buildings, roads, and bridges and we paid individual war-damage claims which we did not do for our own countrymen after the Civil War. We extended the Philippine Trade Act when General Romulo came to Washington as President Magsaysay's special and personal envoy, and the same act was amended in accordance with the wishes of the Filipino people. A long history of mutual fidelity and trust was maintained unimpaired.

In this session of Congress we have shown our Filipino friends that we are a grateful people. When their able and distinguished Ambassador, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, one of America's real friends in this troubled world, presented to us through the State Department the Philippine plea for the removal of the 3-cent processing tax on coconut oil, when he convinced us of the justice of his cause, this Congress removed the tax knowing that it will mean a loss to our Treasury of some $15 million a year.

Efforts to exclude Philippine plywood from the American market were defeated as well as the attempt to exclude Filipino laborers in Guam from the advantages of the minimum-wage law. The Philippine Scouts legislation was approved as well as the aid for Philippine war orphans. This Congress has exerted its utmost to show that we do not forget and that we appreciate deeply the loyalty of our Filipino allies and friends. We have confidence in the present administration in the Philippines and we have the highest regard for General Romulo, the incumbent Philippine Ambassador to the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following article by Mr. Oland D. Russell, one of America's leading correspondents, which was published by the Scripps-Howard newspapers on August 23, 1957, and which describes how this session of Congress treated the Philippines:

(By Oland D. Russell)

WASHINGTON, August 23.—The late Vice President Barkley used to say: "When Churchill or Romulo come to town, we'd better double the guard at Fort Knox."

Philippines Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo put an emphatic point to that axiom this week when the House completed legislation on a bill that will mean $15 million a year to the Philippines, and that much less in revenue to us.

It removed the United States 3-cents-a-pound processing tax on coconut oil. The Philippines have been battling for 23 years to get this tax withdrawn from an old tariff law.

It was laid on in the first place with the support of the dairy and butter lobby, fighting oleomargarine. Twenty years ago the Scripps-Howard newspapers fought long and hard for removal of this tax.

A more immediate benefit to housewives will be the greater use of coconut oil in soaps, which will improve their lathering qualities.

In a little noticed move on Wednesday the House, without rollcall, completed action on a Senate bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930. The amendment, among other things, suspended through June 30, 1960, the tax on processing coconut oil. The House concurred with the Senate amendment and sent the bill to the White House.

The action is of vital importance to the Philippines economy and will benefit the livelihood of 8 million Filipinos who depend on the coconut-growing industry.

It was due to the persistent efforts of General Romulo that this was accomplished. In order to get favorable action he had to overcome initial objections and gain the support of a half dozen influential American interests. These included the American Farm Bureau, the National Cattlemen's Association, the National Grange, and the Western Meat Packers Association, and soap manufacturers.

In addition, he conferred repeatedly with the leadership in both Senate and House and the committees concerned. He was seen so often on Capitol Hill in the past few weeks, one Congressman twitted him: "Are you a Member of Congress or an Ambassador?" Both the State and Agriculture Departments approved the bill and in the end it was attached to a measure providing for the free importation of certain tanning extracts.

Ambassador Romulo today attributed his success to the real friendship Congress has for America's true friends and allies. The present Congress, he said, may be in a mood for strictest economy, "but I am happy to say that it has been kindly and generously disposed toward the Philippines, a country which has shown its loyalty to the democratic way and has proved a stanch ally in Asia. It shows confidence in the present administration."

Originally the tax proceeds were turned over to the Philippines Commonwealth Government but when the country gained its independence, this source of revenue was lost.

The coconut oil fight is not the only successful campaign General Romulo has waged in his country's behalf during this Congress' session. He fought an attempt to exclude Philippine plywood from the United States, and he succeeded in getting Filipino laborers working for the Navy on Guam to be included in the United States minimum-wage law.

He has also seen the enactment—in this economy-minded Congress—of several bills benefiting Filipino army veterans, one of them granting back pay and allowances to the old Philippine Scouts. Another grants aid in education to some 3,600 Filipino war orphans.

As a prewar elected but nonvoting Philippines delegate to Congress he still retains floor privileges. More important is his loyal war record as aide to General MacArthur which is highly admired in Congress. With this advantageous position, it is safe to say no other Ambassador to Washington has been so close to the legislative processes here. In addition to his ambassadorial duties, he is also his country's delegate to the United Nations Security Council.

Rome Burned While Nero Fiddled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Rome burned while Nero fiddled. Our world may be disintegrating while Dulles flies.

I was not there; but I imagine the following article from the Christian Science Monitor of August 27, 1957, tells all the top secret facts of life that State Department representatives have been unable to tell the House Foreign Affairs Committee:

STATE OF THE NATIONS—PROPORTIONS OF THE DANGER

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

Roughly speaking, two-thirds of the oil consumed in Western Europe comes either through the Suez Canal or by the pipeline through Syria from the Mosul fields in Iraq.

It would be a gross exaggeration to say that Moscow today controls the flow of that oil upon which all Western Europe depends heavily both for its economic welfare and for its military operations.

But it is not an exaggeration to say that Moscow's current operations throughout the Middle East bear the external earmarks of a fairly consistent and fairly well advanced reach for the handle which could turn off the flow of that oil.

This does not mean that in event of a major war the armed forces of the West would be brought to a standstill by lack of oil. Under modern military conditions it is almost certain that Middle East oil would be unusable to either side anyway. The West would almost certainly have to depend on Western Hemisphere oil regardless of what happened in the Middle East in the meantime.

It does mean that if the trend is unchecked the time will come, and fairly soon perhaps, when a large part of the daily supply of Europe's oil will be available only by grace of Moscow. One of the visible consequences could be an end to the British and Dutch oil-dispensing business, a major support of the economies of both of those countries.

There are more disturbing overtones to all that is going on in the Middle East.

Last week a Soviet cruiser and destroyer passed through the English Channel. They ran blacked out at night—a curious business. They were checked by radar. They passed through the Strait of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean.

This week another Soviet cruiser-destroyer team made the same blacked-out voyage.

Since the Suez crisis of last autumn about 80 shiploads of Soviet arms and ammunition have arrived in Egypt and a similar number of shiploads in Syria.

Of course, the arms shipped to Egypt and Syria are largely obsolete. And a few Soviet cruisers, destroyers, and submarines are no match for the United States Sixth Fleet.

Still, we are dealing with a double Soviet operation which looks increasingly unpleasant. There is the fact of extensive Soviet influence in both Egypt and Syria. There is the twin fact of this revival of Soviet naval activity in the Mediterranean.

Add to this a third factor, probably the most dangerous of all. President Nasser of Egypt has launched what amounts to a popular and fairly powerful revolutionary movement. It has little more philosophic content than the movement started by Perón in Argentina.

It's pretty thin stuff by comparison with the great revolutionary movements of the last century. But for the Middle East it's the first such movement to get underway. To people who lived untouched by the French Revolution, socialism, communism, and fascism, it has novelty and appeal. It could sweep far and fast if it ever started spreading.

For the moment, at least, Moscow is riding and exploiting this movement which has its base in Egypt. It has spread to Syria. The immediate problem confronting Western diplomats is not how to reverse what has happened in Syria, but how to keep it from spreading.

There is no visible, available means for reversing the events in Syria. The 6th Fleet can't go to the rescue of a President Kuwatly who doesn't ask to be rescued. Syria is self-sustaining in foodstuffs. Soviet arms could, in theory, be kept out by a blockade, but a blockade is an act of war, and United States policy is currently, and heavily, restrained by Washington's own insistence of last year that force must not be employed in the Middle East.

The immediate problem is how to prevent what is happening in Syria from spreading to the other Arab States. The idea of a "quarantine" is not for the purpose of stamping out what has happened in Syria. It is to prevent what happened in Syria from spreading into Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia.

The West is definitely on the defensive in the Middle East. It is defending a cluster of Arab kingdoms of not too modern a vintage against a popular revolutionary movement which Moscow is abetting with arms, agents, and a show of sea power in the Mediterranean.

Even a successful quarantine leaves two-thirds of Europe's oil supply flowing through Egypt and Syria, the two Arab countries where Soviet activity is highest and Soviet control the most advanced.

It is not a happy picture for the West.

Time To Close the Communists' Escape Door

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, 13 alleged Communists have now been given a new lease on freedom as a result of lower Federal court decisions this past week based on the Supreme Court's Yates decision. Had my amendment to the Smith Act—H. R. 8867—been in effect when indictments against the 13 were brought, they would not have been given this extra chance to go free. It is high time we changed to red this green light to freedom for the Reds.

The Supreme Court stated in the Yates decision last June that the term "organize" in the Smith Act refers only to the organization of the Communist Party in this country in 1945, and that charges of conspiracy to organize brought more than 3 years after that, were invalid, due to the running of the statute of limitations.

Two startling instances last week focus attention on the need to clarify the terms of the Smith Act.

In United States against Russo, now pending before the district court in Boston, the Government has now been forced to drop the "organize" part of its count against 5 of the 6 defendants, and has been forced to proceed solely on the allegation of their conspiracy to "teach and advocate" violent overthrow of the Government. The sixth original defendant, Geoffrey Warner White, an alleged Communist leader and organizer, has been set free because the "organize" count against him has had to be dropped.

In a Denver case, the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals has reversed the conviction and ordered a new trial for seven convicted Communists, by ruling that the Government's "organize" charge was invalid under the Supreme Court's Yates ruling. I was this week informed by the Justice Department that they are considering whether the case can be retried under the "advocacy" count alone.

On July 23 of this year I introduced legislation (H. R. 8867) to restate the original intention of Congress by including within the meaning of the term "organize" the continuing organizational activities of the Communist Party. Under terms of my proposal, the needed broad interpretation of this vital word would include the recruiting of new members, the forming of new units, and the regrouping or expansion of existing units.

Although, unfortunately, my proposal can have no retroactive effect on cases already brought by the Government, its enactment would give the Justice Department the latitude it will so sorely need in framing future cases against subversive elements.

As it is now, the Department is like a boxer operating with only one arm in its fight against Communists, because it can only bring one of the two counts it normally uses in prosecuting subversives. As we have seen so clearly this past week, the result can be that some alleged Reds will go scot free if the "organize" charge cannot be effectively brought, and the case against others will be greatly weakened.

Although it is understandable why Congress, snowed under with other pressing legislative matters at the end of a session, has not yet acted on my proposal, I believe it should at least be a first order of business when we reconvene in January.

Until we clarify the meaning of the Smith Act and give it the broad meaning originally envisaged by Congress, the Government will be hindered in its efforts to combat those who would destroy us.

The Need for Young Physicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, we Americans pride ourselves in the great

medical advances that have been made in the past generation, but if there is no one to prescribe and administer the medications, our advances mean little. One of the fears in every household is that of not being able to contact a doctor in time of need. Small communities in southeastern Ohio face just this problem.

As the older physicians leave the scene, there are no new ones to take over the practice. The trend to specialization, the migration of medical practitioners to the cities, and many other factors have all contributed to the shortage of country doctors today.

In my own district, such a situation has arisen and is repeated often throughout the country in many communities. When this happens, there is cause for general concern in the community which must then set about to meet this problem as best it can. The medical profession is helpful, of course. Yet, it must be recognized that medical services for rural areas are often most unfortunately neglected.

The problem in the community of Batesville, in Noble County, Ohio, illustrates this situation. The need for a physician has been called to my attention and the difficulties the community has encountered in its search to find a replacement for its former physician who died recently. Unfortunately, this search has not met with success to date. What this fine village is experiencing may be multiplied many times throughout the country.

The Honorable Samuel K. McConnell, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday when so many of our colleagues took the occasion to heap well-deserved praise upon our distinguished colleague and fellow Pennsylvanian, SAM MCCONNELL, most of us who are members of his delegation withheld our tribute for fear of overdoing the demonstration.

Let it not be said, however, that we are unappreciative of the prestige his exemplary conduct as a Member of this body has brought to our delegation and to the Keystone State. Rather let it be understood that we have already conveyed to our distinguished associate the affectionate regard and deep appreciation in which we have always held him.

Many of the attainments of this experienced legislator are those enjoyed by a majority of the Members of this House to a more or less high degree; namely, honesty, integrity, dedication to duty, and an undeviating patriotism. SAM, however, possesses the one quality not too frequently in evidence here and that quality is humility, a humility that prevented him from carrying into debate that acrimony, which in so many cases has left wounds slow to heal, and which left him calm and smiling at the end of a legislative bout regardless of whether he lost or won.

All of us are loath to see SAM leave the Congress and yet we know that his decision has been based solely on his conviction that a wider field has been opened to him. As one who by his day-to-day conduct has evidenced an abiding love and respect for his fellowmen we know that he will take to his new field of endeavor the highest of humanitarian concept and that our loss will be more than offset by the contribution he will make in the never-ending battle against cerebral palsy.

We are all mighty fond of you, SAM, and we shall never forget your many kindnesses and the leveling influence your presence has had upon us. Our hearts' desire centers in your future success and in the hope that you will never forget these friends who will continue to make prideful reference to the rewarding years of association with you.

Federal Employees Invention Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which has jurisdiction over patents I have introduced, by request, legislation intended to secure the rights of Federal employees in inventions which they make while in the employ of the Government of the United States. The purpose of this legislation is twofold. First, it secures patent rights for the employee-inventor, and second, it protects the Government, under certain circumstances, in its free use of those inventions if it desires to use them.

This legislation was prepared by Capt. Marcus B. Finnegan and Richard W. Pogue, and is the result of their research, which is embodied in a legal article entitled "Federal Employee Invention Rights—Time To Legislate"—volume 55, Michigan Law Review, page 903, 1957. In their work they had the help and criticism of the Commissioner of Patents, and the Chief of the Patents Division of the Judge Advocate General, Department of the Army, and the Director of the Patents Legal Division of the Office of Naval Research.

Federal employee invention rights are presently covered by Executive Order 10096, and a literal interpretation of that order requires the Government to take full title from an employee-inventor when his invention is made or developed during working hours or with some contribution by the Government. Such a rule tends to discourage incentive in employees. Government agencies, fortunately, have been administering this rule liberally, so that present practice in the departments permits the employee to have commercial rights in his invention, with royalty-free license in the Government except when the employee is specifically hired to do research and development.

The instant legislation sets up standards to guide Government agencies in dealing equitably with this problem, giving to employees either outright title or commercial rights to the invention, with a royalty-free license to the Government. Where an employee is specifically hired or assigned to duty to make the invention, the Government would, of course, keep full title to the invention.

In introducing this legislation, by request, I hope that wide distribution will be made of the bill so that interested parties may study the measure and submit comments to the Congress.

The Anti-Co-op Campaign Loses Two Big Supporters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the two news service articles speak for themselves and therefore, without comment, I ask permission to insert the reports of August 23, 1957, describing two significant withdrawals from NTEA's anti-co-op campaign:

PICKLE PACKER PULLS SUPPORT FROM ANTI-CO-OP PETITION

OCONTO, WIS. (CNS).—Another businessman has said he doesn't want to be associated with any petition to penalize co-ops through taxation.

L. H. Bond, a director of National Pickle Packers Association and local food processor, has written J. K. Kyle, Wisconsin Association of Cooperatives secretary. Bond says, "I am informed that my name appeared on a document opposing co-ops. I would appreciate your rescinding my name therefrom, and this is your authority to do so."

In June the pickle packers' secretary, W. R. Moore, wrote Congressman JERE COOPER, Democrat, Tennessee, that he wanted immediate hearings to change the tax laws as they affect co-ops. He said he did so in behalf of his members, who pack three-fourths of the Nation's pickles. Evidently Moore's position was never cleared, even with the association's directors.—D. W. A.

BIG DAIRY FIRM DISAVOWS ANTI-CO-OP SUPPORT

PALO ALTO, CALIF. (CNS).—The Borden Co., one of the Nation's largest dairy firms, has urged the Dairy Institute of California to withdraw its support to the anti-co-op drive.

After learning that the State Dairy Institute's letterhead was used in the NTEA attempt to confuse Congress about cooperatives and taxes, G. L. Spencer, general manager of Consumers Cooperative Society here, asked the Borden Co., an institute member, if it "condoned and gave support to this malicious effort." Borden is a supplier of the Palo Alto co-op's stores.

A Borden executive assured Spencer that the company had not approved the institute action and would urge the institute to rescind it.

Departmental Hypocrisy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, less than 3 months ago certain individuals in the executive department were carrying on a campaign of innuendo against Sp3c. William S. Girard, in order to divert public attention from the decision to surrender him to Japanese justice. Even though Girard's commanding officer had certified that the incident which has subjected him to criminal charges by the Japanese occurred while Girard was on duty, and 4 superior officers in successive reviews all confirmed this certificate, and the Government in 2 courts conceded he was on duty yet the General Counsel of the Defense Department by public announcement and by affidavit sought to negate all these certificates and admissions. General Counsel Dechert's affidavit, which the Solicitor General offered in a sealed envelope to the Supreme Court in a last-ditch effort to influence its decision, contained a recitation of hearsay testimony as to the occurrence involving Girard and practically tried and convicted him without a hearing.

With this record of public condemnation behind it, the Defense Department now sends the Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Army, Brig. Gen. Charles Decker, to Japan to advise Girard, according to news reports. It is to be hoped that his advice to Girard will be better and more to the interest of the constitutional rights of American servicemen, than the advice given to our representative on the joint committee to turn Girard over to a foreign court and deprive him of his constitutional protection.

I note that two staff members from Senate offices are also in Japan attending this trial. If these gentlemen stay through the scheduled sessions to the end, they will have a nice long vacation in Japan, for after the opening session on Monday, the court recessed the trial to September 6, when it will inspect the scene of the accident. Originally four sessions were announced for September and another in October, but it is now intimated that final decision may not be announced until late October or November. If these men do not observe every session, what will they have learned?

The protocol amending article XVII of the administrative agreement with Japan provides that a United States serviceman, prosecuted by Japan, shall be entitled to a prompt and speedy trial. The record shows that no American has ever had the benefit of this provision and that our authorities apparently have never objected to the breaking of this agreement. In keeping with the policy of lauding foreign justice as against our system of law, this and other violations of the agreement have been condoned. In fact, in eagerness to excuse the failure of the Japanese in one case to advise an accused of the charges against him before the opening of his trial, a zealous JAG officer said that this violation was excused by another violation. The trial was so long drawn out that the accused still had time to prepare his defense after opening day.

This Is Not Campaign Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, American political history indicates that campaign time is not the time to try to talk sense to our electorate.

With no election in the offing and no one subject to the accusation of stirring up fears for the sake of political gain, we should carefully reappraise the matter of hydrogen and atomic bomb testing.

It is with that in mind, that I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following item that appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of August 26, 1957:

DANGER BY 1970?—FALLOUT ISSUE SHARPENED
(By Robert C. Cowen)

The controversy over the safety of atomic weapons tests has been sharpened by three different expert reports which, taken together, have significantly raised previous estimates of the danger from the radioactive fallout produced by those tests.

These reports, which have appeared almost simultaneously, come from the Johns Hopkins University, a press conference called at a biologists meeting in California, and from the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

They say respectively that the safe limit for radiation exposure set a year ago by the National Academy of Science is too high; that the radioactivity from fallout may exceed a dangerous level by 1970 if present rates of weapons testing are continued; and that there is no such thing as a "clean" bomb.

ASSURANCES QUERIED

Stated bluntly, these conclusions seem stark indeed. They need to be put into perspective where they are softened somewhat by the uncertainties, reservations, and qualifications by which they are hedged.

Nevertheless, they call into serious question the official assurances of the United States Atomic Energy Commission that the atomic tests are, and will continue to be, no significant danger to mankind.

Thus the statement issued by the congressional joint committee said in part:

"Pending a resolution of the differences and uncertainties it would appear that the consequencies of further testing over the next generations at the level of the past 5 years could constitute a hazard to the world's population. If the level of future testing rises, then the hazard could be greater and arrive sonner."

ESTIMATES TENTATIVE

This statement was issued as a 6,000-word advance summary of the report on hearings the committee held last June on the question of the extent and hazard of radioactive fallout.

The differences and uncertainties to which the committee refers come from the fact that natural scientists do not yet have a satisfactory quantitive understanding of the biological effects of atomic radiations.

Thus they cannot give positive estimates of the exact degree of fallout hazard nor can they fix an absolute level below which radiation from fallout can be considered safe on a worldwide basis.

But despite the uncertainties and differences of expert opinion, biologists can set a range of radiation levels that, to the best of present knowledge, would be the maximum considered safe for the world.

In the past, the Atomic Energy Commission has given assurance that fallout from atomic tests was well within this safe range. The tenor of the congressional report is that we may be much closer to the upper limit of that range than has been admitted.

"CLEAN" BOMB DENIED

What is more, the report notes that "there is no such thing as an absolutely 'clean' weapon," although fallout can be greatly reduced from that of present bombs. This casts doubt on the hopes raised during the hearings that clean bombs could be made which would eliminate the fallout problem by removing the fallout itself.

Meanwhile, at Palo Alto, Calif., a group of biologists warned that radioactive fallout may exceed safe limits by 1970 at the present rate of testing. Led by Dr. H. Bentley Glass of the Johns Hopkins University, the press conference was held during a meeting of the American Institute of Biological Science.

Dr. Glass estimated that fallout from British, United States, and Soviet tests now is spreading 10 million tons of radioactive material over the world every year. This is a higher rate than has been estimated before.

RADIATION LEVEL HIT

Dr. Curtis L. Newcombe further explained that it is calculated that some 50 million tons of fallout material have been released so far. When the figure reaches 70 million tons, he said, a dangerous worldwide level may be reached. In some regions, a dangerous level may have been reached already, he added.

Further emphasis was given to this warning by a report released at Baltimore by Dr. Michael A. Bender, a colleague of Dr. Glass at Johns Hopkins. Dr. Bender referred to a radiation level set a year ago by the National Academy of Sciences at the safe, average, accumulated exposure allowable for human reproductive organs over a 30-year period.

This figure was 10 roentgens. It was thought to be only a fraction of what would really be a dangerous dosage. Dr. Bender said that laboratory experiments now indicate that this figure actually is too large, perhaps two to three times too large.

The 10 roentgens "safe" level was part of a report that President Eisenhower has called the official reference for the administration on the effects of radiation. Dr. Bender's report shows how seriously that reference now is being questioned.

German Recovery—And Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the Western Powers are confronted with the serious and extreme dilemma of Europe.

There is not a single European power that can cope with the Soviet empire. However, in combination, the European powers are more than a match for Russia. These European powers are endeavoring now, under the tutelage of the United States, to weld themselves into a combination, witness Euratom, the common European market, called Euromarket, and the Coal and Iron Community. All this constitutes a decided push toward European unity. Indeed, properly combined, these European powers have a greater population, a greater developed industrial capacity, and much higher technical skill than the Russians. If these European nations are divided and unable to take common action, they can, indeed, be cut to pieces.

No chain is stronger than its weakest link. We must strive to make every one of these European nations strong—the stronger the better. We must, in particular, make Germany strong, despite the fact that she has been our erstwhile enemy.

Germany occupies a most strategic position in Europe. We cannot afford, for our own protection, to leave any stone unturned to make Germany the strongest bastion of the Western Powers.

If a third war should come upon us, no one can foretell the result. The period that would follow would be horrendous and terrible. In all likelihood, the Communist empire would fall apart. Most empires built, in turn, by revolution collapse when involved in a general war. Napoleon discovered this, to his sorrow; so did Hitler. Such a war would be Russia against the world. Russia would lose. But would Europe be saved? That is far from certain.

This dilemma of Europe is also the dilemma of the United States. If Russia would win and Western Europe were to fall permanently under Russian sway, says A. A. Berle, Jr., in his Tides of Crisis, "the United States would be a lonely country, indeed."

What can we do to make Germany stronger? Must we not see to it that those personalities like Conrad Adenauer remain in power? He has been in part the mastermind of the miracle of German recovery. There are evidences on all sides of the remarkable economic advance of the Federal Republic. After the war the German economy presented a picture of absolute chaos. Its currency was unstable, its cities were in ruins; 500 million cubic yards of rubble had to be removed; railroad and motor traffic had shrunk to a mere fraction of former volume; the German merchant marine no longer existed; and every day found thousands of refugees pouring into Western Germany from pre-Hitler German territories in the east. The dismantling of the industrial plants for reparations had further reduced the productive capacity. There was a dreadful breakdown in all moral standards.

But a combination of intelligent economic planning, with the determination of all citizens to work with might and main, has brought about the great miracle of German recovery. Not only to Conrad Adenauer, the Chancellor, but to the Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard, belongs much of the credit for bringing Germany out of financial and economic confusion and chaos into financial and economic strength and stability.

There is an interesting article about this recovery by Hans Otto Wesemann in the Atlantic Monthly of March 1957, and I herewith submit a paragraph therefrom:

> Hundreds of thousands of Germans have justified this faith in their initiative, each in his own fashion. Most impressive of all, perhaps, were the accomplishments of those who fled across the "green border" from the Soviet zone of occupation, bringing with them nothing but a few plans or drawings, and the knowledge of how to build up a business. Here and there they found a town or village which was willing to place idle land or a heap of ruins at their disposal, and perhaps aided them to start anew by extending credit to them. They traveled on freight trains or bicycles all over the country, digging up machinery here and there, starting up production on the most modest basis, then plowing their profits back into expansion. The apparent mystery of this development is clarified by an incident that took place in the British sector of Berlin, where shortly after the end of the war a Soviet officer had directed the total dismantling of a world-famous electronics plant. A few years later he visited the same plant, to find thousands of workers employed at thousands of machines. "We made a mistake," he commented. "We should not have removed the machines, but the people." (It should be kept in mind, of course, that after 1949 the Western Powers reversed their position on restricting German industry and began to encourage the expansion of production.)

Recently, the three major Western Powers and West Germany issued the now famous Berlin Declaration. Here are the principal points of the declaration: First, a European settlement depends on the free election of a new all-German government. Second, the West has never required as a condition of reunification that a reunited Germany join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. If the German people should choose NATO, the West would offer assurances to the Soviet Union. Third, initial steps in the field of disarmament should lead to a comprehensive agreement which presupposes a prior solution of the problems of unification. The West does not intend to enter into any agreement on disarmament which would prejudice the reunification of Germany.

This declaration was timed as a means of helping Chancellor Adenauer and his colleagues in the elections to be held this coming month. I think it will have a good effect on the elections and Adenauer will be reelected. The opposition is headed by Erich Ollenhauer, chairman of the Social Democrats. Lacking issues of a domestic nature, Ollenhauer has seized upon this Berlin declaration and has called it disappointing. Ollenhauer believes that this declaration has hurt the German chances of unification of East and West Germany. Ollenhauer and the Social Democrats are certain that unity can be achieved only if the Bonn government withdraws from the western alliance and the Bonn government negotiates independently with Moscow. Thus, our ace in the hole is Adenauer, and certainly not Ollenhauer. Small wonder, therefore, that as another boost to Adenauer the State Department recently stated that the Eisenhower administration currently had in mind an approach rather than a concrete plan for disposing of enemy assets seized in World War II.

President Eisenhower has issued a White House statement promising eventually a solution of the problem of alien enemy assets. He assured Adenauer and the world, in fact, that the solution would be in accordance with the principles governing the comity of nations. The administration stated that its aim was to restore "the historic American policy of maintaining the sanctity of private property, even in wartime."

If all this is true the many conflicting legal and practical issues which have bedeviled the problem for more than a score of years will be reconciled. This problem involves the fate of nearly $600 million worth of assets, primarily German, but in part Japanese. These assets were seized by the American Government during the war. There is also involved American counterclaims for war damages. There is likewise involved the international agreements under which the Allied Nations, including the United States, pledged themselves to retain the seized assets in lieu of reparations, while the German government undertook to compensate its nationals for such assets Theses agreements have complicated the problem these many years.

The administration proposes to complete the sale of the seized properties which are expected to bring some $541 million for the German assets and some $54 million for the Japanese assets. The administration and President Eisenhower have promised to pay in full all legitimate American war claims. This, of course, the administration assumes will remove one argument for holding on further to the assets. Thereafter, as previously agreed upon, German and Japanese individuals will receive up to $10,000 in compensation; the balance of the assets will be prorated among the remaining owners, both individuals and corporations.

The New York Times in an editorial emphasized these observations and applauded the pledges of the administration.

The solution suggested is in line with the settlement of the problem made with Italy concerning seized Italian assets. This settlement was made in 1947.

According to administration sources, this action, when consummated, might well be deemed an act of grace. The

administration apparently hopes, also, that this pledge will have a desirable effect upon the electorate in West Germany and will give to Adenauer's candidacy a genuine lilt and lift. Undoubtedly President Eisenhower promised Chancellor Adenauer a declaration of this sort when the Chancellor recently visited the White House.

It is interesting to note that in the past, particularly under Chancellor Bismarck, the German political and military strategists claimed that the cornerstone of Germany's foreign policy should be "a reinsurance treaty" with Russia. Now the political strategists of West Germany under Chancellor Adenauer believe that the linchpin of the Federal Republic's strength is "a reinsurance treaty" with NATO and the western allies. I believe by the end of the year the Federal Republic will have become the most important continental member of NATO. West Germany is bound to dominate the "Little Europe" of the Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, and the Euromarket. West Germany will be able to exert a great influence on United States policy. If developed and used properly, Germany's great miracle of recovery, with a remarkable Adenauer victory, could be used by the United States and the western allies to deal with and cut down the truculence of Russia.

Mr. Khrushchev, wise and foxy, knows of the strength in Adenauer and timed his recent visit to East Germany in an all-out effort to defeat Adenauer in the forthcoming German elections. It is part of the Soviet campaign to wreck the North Atlantic Alliance. Fortunately, his loudly hailed demonstrations of so-called indestructible Soviet and East German friendship were deemed a flop. Surrounded by steel-helmeted members of the East German Red Army—creation of the Soviets—Khrushchev denounced both Chancellor Adenauer and the United States for rearming West Germany. The language of his attack against us was most vitriolic. He sounded off in a way to help, indirectly, the opponents of Adenauer, namely, those led by Ollenhauer. That visit of Khrushchev to East Berlin and East Germany is clearest justification of our more than friendly attitude toward Adenauer and our rooting for him for reelection.

It may be that this kind of intervention in the politics of another country is very new to us. We get a little embarrassed when we are reminded of it. But we are now a world power and it is essential for us to express keen interest in certain elections. Frankly, we have been known to favor Latin American claimants for offices for many years. Such intervention, therefore, is not entirely unprecedented. Frankly, it would be insane not to offset and counterbalance the effects of Khrushchev's visit to East Berlin.

The Adenauer story is like a romance. It is the country hicktown boy who made good. He first saw Paris and Rome and Washington when he was 75 years old. For 70 years his was the life of mediocrity in and around Cologne. He was its town councilor. He arose to lord mayor and remained such 16 years. The Nazis deposed him. He remained in the political background during the Hitler regime, was twice arrested by his hoodlums and twice set free.

In 1945 American occupation forces rediscovered him and again set him up as lord mayor of Cologne.

He became chairman of the biggest branch of the Christian Democratic Union and in September 1949 he formed the first government with a majority of two votes in the Bundestag. He has been Chancellor ever since.

His has been a consistent policy of reconciliation with the West.

As was stated by Terence Prittee recently:

> He preserved in the face of the occupiers of his country a dignity that was virtually unique, thus marking himself out as the best man to deal with them on behalf of his fellow Germans. In them he inspired confidence alike by his refusal to complain about material discomforts and by his steely insistence on getting on with the tasks of political organization. Work and responsibility were making him into a younger, healthier man.
>
> He was given a unique chance by the cold war. This put him on the path which the Western Powers were bound to tread—that of consolidating a Western Germany of 50 million people politically, economically, and spiritually and incorporating it in a Western defense system and in a Europe in process of unification. The milestones along this path have been the Petersberg agreement (for converting the Allied Military Government into a High Commission which administered under the terms of the Occupation Statute), the entry of West Germany into the Coal and Steel Community and the Council of Europe, the Bonn and Paris agreements which conferred sovereignty and the right to rearm, and German entry into NATO and WEU.

An exasperated comment of a political opponent of Chancellor Adenauer as "Der Alte's" seeming indestructibility was, "at his age men never die."

Now at 81 he campaigns like one at 41. He dominates the present campaign with his amazing personality, whistlestopping with a 30-man party in a special campaign train—not unlike the Eisenhower or Stevenson technique—the candidate Adenauer warned that his rivals would weaken ties with the United States and the West so that we Germans would cease to exist as a free people.

Also I have naught but praise for the efforts afoot to reestablish diplomatic relations between West Germany and Israel. I understand that the Chancellor is sympathetic to this idea and desires to further relations of peace and accord with Israel.

The Premier of Israel David Ben-Gurion is desirous of such a proposal being fulfilled. He recently said in the Israel Parliament that the Germany of today is not the same country as that of the Nazi regime. He pointed out that despite the skeptics, Bonn had scrupulously observed its reparations agreements both with respect to Israel and to the Jews in general. Germany is fulfilling an important role in a united Europe, he pointed out, and Israel must look forward to establishing relations with that entire region, particularly since the Jewish State is planning to embark on gigantic projects which are well beyond the strength of Israel and world Jewry alone.

Indeed we do well to support "Der Alte."

American Bar Association Endorses Arbitration Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, it is highly gratifying to advise the Members of the House of Representatives that most favorable action on the arbitration bill, H. R. 7577, which I introduced, has been taken by the American Bar Association. This nationwide organization of lawyers at its recent meeting gave attention to the provisions of my bill upon the convening of the house of delegates, the policymaking body of the American bar.

Previously the association's committee on arbitration and maritime law had given thorough study to the provisions of H. R. 7577 and had recommended favorable action. The board of governors of the association thereupon approved the recommendation after which the bill was placed on the agenda of the house of delegates. Upon it being reached, the recommendation was unanimously adopted and favorable action urged by the Congress of the United States.

I submit this information for the benefit of my fellow Members in the hope that before the next session they will take occasion to study the provisions of this bill and will subsequently give their support to it.

The statement concerning the action to which I have referred has been published in the American Bar News, volume 2, No. 8, August 15, 1957, page 3, as follows:

SUMMARY OF HOUSE OF DELEGATES ACTIONS IN NEW YORK

> Maritime arbitration: Upon board of governors recommendation, the house adopted a resolution by the standing committee on admiralty and maritime law calling for ABA approval of H. R. 7577, or a similar bill. The measure would remedy present jurisdictional and procedural defects in the United States Arbitration Act. The main provisions of the pending bill seek to give statutory force to judicially recognized standards governing the selection and conduct of arbitrators, to make the statute of limitations applicable in arbitration proceedings, and to provide a means of correcting errors of law in awards in maritime arbitrations.

Proxmire Winner in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, following the news of the election on yesterday in Wisconsin, I ask unanimous consent that there be reproduced in the appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. Godfrey Sperling, Jr., of the Christian Science

Monitor, dated August 19, last. Mr. Sperling, with considerable accuracy, analyzed the situation in Wisconsin and paid a fine tribute to the senior Senator from Tennessee, Senator KEFAUVER, who campaigned in his behalf. I believe the article of current interest and should be reproduced in the RECORD.

Mr. Sperling's article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of August 19, 1957]

"BATTER UP" IN WISCONSIN

(By Godfrey Sperling, Jr.)

MILWAUKEE.—A letter to the editor in the Milwaukee Journal queries in a meaningful vein: "Is it too late to persuade Kohler and PROXMIRE to withdraw in favor of Red Schoendienst?"

The Senate race seems almost forgotten as the Braves lead the pack. And into this climate of baseball hysteria, which complacent easterners who are losing their ball clubs could hardly believe, steps a clean-up hitter in his own rights: Senator ESTES KEFAUVER (Democrat) of Tennessee.

Senator KEFAUVER's influence with the voters here is such that to many Democrats he is "our Democratic Senator." He can go into Racine and in each instance tell the people how glad he is to come to "Raisin." And this normally unforgivable political faux pas decreases his popularity not a perceptible bit. He can mouth near-nothings as he moves among the Wisconsin crowds, yet he evokes goodwill wherever he goes.

"Could it be," the question is being asked here, "could it be that ESTES's popularity will rub off onto PROXMIRE?"

Underdog BILL PROXMIRE, of course, needs all the outside help he can muster if he is to defeat former Gov. Walter J. Kohler in the August 27 race for the senatorial seat formerly held by Joseph R. McCarthy. Gov. Mennen G. Williams came in from Michigan for a day of campaigning here. And Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY (Democrat) of Massachusetts will be in for a day this week.

KEFAUVER TOURS

Slugger KEFAUVER's batting average in Wisconsin hardly needs a recap. In 1952 he won by a landslide over two favorite sons who were pledged to President Truman in the presidential primary. In 1956 no opponent, including Adlai Stevenson, had the indiscretion to challenge ESTES in his second home State.

And, until the big city votes started to pour in, Senator KEFAUVER was splitting 50–50 with President Eisenhower in the votes cast in the 1956 presidential primary. This, of course, was not a direct contest. And, normally, a great many more people vote Republican in this State than Democrat. So even the 44-percent slice of the vote, which eventually went to Senator KEFAUVER, looked quite impressive. And his even greater hold on the farm vote once again showed how strong the Senator is in the rural areas of the Midwest.

Senator KEFAUVER now has come in for a 3-day tour, a banquet, and TV appearance in Milwaukee on the first night, a speech and handshaking at Watertown, Milwaukee, and Sheboygan the next day and evening, and a sweep into Westby and Eau Claire on the final day.

What can Senator KEFAUVER do in 3 days? The possible political impact can be sensed from counting the Senator's previous visits to Wisconsin. Prior to 1952 he was in for a Jefferson-Jackson banquet in 1951. Then he was here 4 days in 1952; in 1953 it was 3 days; 1954, none; 1955, one and a half days; and 1956, 6 days.

POLL SCRUTINIZED

Thus, it might be said that ESTES has built his political fortress here in less than 20 days.

So in 3 fast-moving days of handshaking here it is conceivable that the Tennessean could give PROXMIRE a sizable boost.

This, of course, is predicated on the unprovable assumption that political popularity is transferable. Swinger PROXMIRE, who has gone to bat 3 times now in this State without a hit (3 gubernatorial defeats in a row), naturally can only hope that ESTES somehow will be able to reach across and add some batting power to the PROXMIRE cause.

When questioned on his presidential ambitions, Senator KEFAUVER said he had to focus his efforts on his own 1960 Senate race this time. But he would not rule out the possibility of entering the presidential primaries that year. He had noted the Gallup poll which showed him leading all Democratic candidates in popularity. He said it was very interesting.

The Gallup poll showed a margin for Senator KEFAUVER of 6 percent over Senator KENNEDY, 21 percent over Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Texas, 23 percent over Gov. Frank G. Clement of Tennessee, 24 percent over Senator STUART SYMINGTON of Missouri, and Senator H. HUMPHREY, 25 percent over Governor Williams, and 27 percent over Gov. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine.

But what the Galup poll did not show was the even greater margin that Senator KEFAUVER probably holds over the others in the farm States. Senator KEFAUVER is undefeated in the Midwest primaries he has entered. No one will forget his upset victory over Mr. Stevenson in Minnesota. And, despite a waning popularity in his home State of Tennessee which showed up in the presidential election, Senator KEFAUVER materially strengthened the Democratic ticket in the Midwest farm States.

FORMIDABLE FOE

The slogan to prospective challengers should be, "Remember Minnesota." A rising presidential aspirant could wreck his entire political future in a battle with Senator KEFAUVER on ESTES' chosen home ground.

With election apathy plus baseball madness holding the stage here, Slugger KEFAUVER (who can draw crowds despite this general political inattention) may be able to do the job expected of him. Meanwhile, Mr. PROXMIRE continues his campaigning stint that has gone on almost continuously since 1952. This time, despite forecasts to the contrary, he's hoping that somehow he will get on base.

The Real Story of Oregon Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the real story of Oregon labor has always been one of public service. Union members in my home State have long demonstrated their willingness to cooperate in all community endeavors.

Just one more example of the community spirit of Oregon unions was their participation in the highly successful building bee for the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. I think Oregon unions are to be congratulated for their participation in this event and for their other noteworthy community projects. I ask that an article appearing in the August 23 edition of the Oregon Labor Press, which describes the participation of Oregon unions in the building bee as well as some of their other community activities, be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

PARDON US WHILE WE BRAG ABOUT THE UNIONS OF OREGON

"Take a look. Now you can see what the unions of Oregon are really like!"

This was the comment of an observer at last Saturday's fabulously successful building bee for the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. More than 200 union bricklayers and 60 hodcarriers laid over 100,000 units of masonry to raise the walls of the new museum in a single day. Value of the time and skill they donated was more than $50,000—not to mention the free services of union meatcutters, butchers, cannery workers, and musicians who provided food and entertainment for the 11-hour masonry marathon. (Other unions, incidentally, have contributed more than $5,000 in cash to the OMSI project.)

It was a spectacular example of generous public service by unions and their members. And because it was spectacular, the building bee received full coverage in the daily press, television, and radio. One of the papers quoted a spectator's remark that "this is the real story of Portland labor."

And that is the point of this editorial. The real story of organized labor in Portland and Oregon is public service.

In the normal course of events, labor seeks no special credit or publicity for its consistent, year-around program of public service. But the headlines lately have been black with the sins of a few New York goons who call themselves labor leaders. Perhaps some innocent people are getting the idea that they're typical. So forgive us if we brag a bit about the unions of Oregon:

Community services: Oregon unions have given strong support to their local United Funds, Community Chests, and public-service agencies. And now this support is expanded by the creation of local AFL–CIO community service committees whose purpose is to serve each community in a great variety of practical ways.

Scholarships: The Oregon State Labor Council's annual college scholarship program, now in its 11th year, has given a total of 36 scholarships of $500 each and 34 lesser scholarships to Oregon high school seniors.

YWCA: Oregon unions raised $16,000 for the new YWCA building in Portland.

Youth activities: No one has ever attempted to count the amount of time and money given by Oregon unions to the PAL Club, to junior baseball and bowling teams, to the Boy and Girl Scouts and to summer camps for youngsters.

Public service: Oregon is probably unique in the number of union members who serve their State and local governments as unpaid members of State commissions, school boards, city councils, port commissions, civil-service commissions, and various county and civic boards and committees. Many, too, are leaders in their local community clubs, PTA's, church, lodge, and service groups.

Help for individuals: Just 3 weeks ago, 400 members of Machinists Local No. 63 worked overtime at the Iron Fireman plant and gave their paychecks (totaling about $5,000) to a fellow member who had lost his children and his home in a tragic fire.

Last March, building tradesmen volunteered a Saturday's work to add a new room to the home of a polio victim.

Last month, machinists of the Portland area provided a guide dog for a sightless student who will enter Lewis and Clark College this fall.

Health and safety: The contributions of Oregon unions to public health and safety are, literally, too numerous to be listed here. Especially notable are the job safety program of Portland building trades unions and

the traffic safety campaign sponsored by the Oregon State Labor Council during the Christmas-New Year holiday season last year.

Good citizenship: Through their register-and-vote campaigns, the unions of Oregon have emphasized their strong belief that good citizenship is a prime requisite of good unionism. And through their legislative representatives at Salem, they have worked for legislation to benefit the State and its citizens as a whole—not just for laws to benefit unions alone. (What other group of lobbyists can make this claim?)

With these few examples, we have barely scratched the surface in describing the service of Oregon unions to their State and community. What we're trying to say is very simple:

This is the real story of Oregon labor.

FTC Action Against Chainstores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on August 22, 1957, the Appendix of the RECORD carried my remarks of August 15, 1957, with reference to the Federal Trade Commission proceeding against the Giant Stores. In those comments I erroneously referred to the fact that the complaint against that company had been dismissed by the FTC. I should have said that the hearing examiner had recommended that the complaint be dismissed, and that the matter is awaiting final decision by the Commission.

I certainly hope that the Commission will overrule the examiner and refuse to dismiss the proceeding.

In my opinion, it is being hypertechnical to pretend that because a retail merchant, big or small, engages in a minuscule operation of meat preparation, it can thereby avoid regulation by the FTC. Such a decision flies in the face of all logic and reason as well as the clear congressional intent as expressed in the law.

In this case, the hearing examiner recommends that the proceeding be dismissed on the ground that only the Department of Agriculture has jurisdiction over this retail outlet. With an operation running into millions and millions of dollars through some 36 supermarkets, and with the finding that the percentage of meat preparation is minuscule, the examiner nevertheless says that because of that meat preparation operation, the Federal Trade Commission has no jurisdiction and the company has subjected itself only to regulation under the Packers Act. If that is the law, then General Motors, or any other big company, need only put in a thousand-dollar operation for the preparation of meat and the Federal Trade Commission will lose jurisdiction over it.

I cannot believe that the law is entitled to any such ridiculous interpretation, but, if it is, we had better change the law and do it quickly.

If the law is subject to any such absurd interpretation, the FTC should be the first to recommend to the Congress that the law be corrected.

Highlights of the Liberation of the Soviet-Enslaved Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am enclosing an article of mine that appeared in the June 1957 issue of the magazine Lithuanian Days.

The article follows:

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LIBERATION OF THE SOVIET-ENSLAVED NATIONS

(By HUGH SCOTT, Representative from Pennsylvania)

After the presidential and congressional elections last fall, it became known from election results in the predominantly American-Lithuanian-inhabited polling districts that the Republican nominee for the high offices of the President and Vice President, as well as for both Houses of the Congress, had received overwhelming support there.

Draugas, commenting on election results, observed that the Republicans ought to be deeply satisfied with the way the American-Lithuanians had voted in the Chicago, the largest American-Lithuanian settlement in the United States, because as Chicago goes, so goes all country.

Time magazine did not fail either to note the pro-Republican trend in what it called Little Lithuania; namely, the American-Lithuanian-inhabited wards in Chicago.

If this is so, our Lithuanian voters must have approved wholeheartedly of the 1956 Republican platform adopted in San Francisco last summer and serving as a guide for the President, the Vice President, the Senators, and the Congressmen.

Let us briefly recall its highlights, as far as it has to do with the liberation of the Soviet-enslaved nations. It is self-understood, of course, that the Lithuanian problem is identical with the Latvian and with the Estonian problem. Solutions must develop in the same manner and at the same time.

"We rededicate ourselves to the pursuit of a just peace and the defense of human liberty and national independence," the platform reads. "We shall continue to seek * * * the liberation of the satellite states—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia, and other once-free countries now behind the Iron Curtain. The Republican Party stands firmly with the peoples of those countries in their just quest for freedom. We are confident that our peaceful purposes, resolutely pursued, will finally restore national independence to oppressed peoples and nations."

And with obvious reference to the uprisings in East Germany in 1955 and Poland in 1956, the platform goes on: "For the first time, we see positive evidence that forces of freedom and liberation will inevitably prevail if the free nations maintain their strength, unity, and resolution."

Hardly were these words spelled out when the revolt broke out in Hungary and shook the Soviet Empire to its very depths. Although the revolt was mercilessly crushed by a ruthless Soviet military machine, it is as sure as that the day follows the night that there will be more spontaneous revolts which in the unfolding of history will ultimately bring freedom to all the captive peoples, including the Lithuanians, the Latvians, and the Estonians.

In drafting the above liberation principles as a constituent part of the 1956 platform, the executive committee of the Republican National Committee, of which this writer was a member at that time (and still is), was guided by what President Eisenhower had said in Cincinnati, on September 22, 1953:

"These principles demand that we use every political, every economic, every psychological tactic to see that the liberating spirit, in the nations conquered by communism, shall never perish. Thus, we shall help each captive nation to maintain an outward strain against the Moscow bond. The lands closed in behind the Iron Curtain will seethe with discontent; their peoples, not servants under the Soviet master, but ardent patriots yearning to be free again. Nothing is so damaging to a tyrant's war machine as the steadfast spirit of an unhappy people."

There was another more recent statement by President Eisenhower confirming his views expressed in 1953, on which the executive committee of the Republican National Committee relied in drafting the 1956 platform.

"The free world," President Eisenhower said in a message to the American Friends of Captive Nations rally held in New York on May 1956, "has not been reconciled to the fate of captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain. We shall keep these wrongs and injustices at the forefront of human consciousness until they are corrected."

This message was one of the reasons why the 1956 platform did not refer at all to any Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Republics; it spoke of Soviet satellites, a term loosely applied to independent states which closely follow their master's dictates. Such is the case with Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and other European states in the Soviet orbit.

There were many more similar pronouncements made by various influential persons and organizations which the executive committee of the Republican National Committee took into serious consideration while drafting the 1956 platform.

The statement and the accompanying resolution which I submitted for the American Friends of Captive Nations to the Republican platform committee deserves special attention. The reasons are twofold:

Firstly, there was contained a program of certain concrete steps toward the liberation of the captive peoples; secondly, the membership of the American Friends of Captive Nations is distinguished and well represents a cross section of American public opinion. As an illustration, its members include Senators MUNDT, DOUGLAS, and KENNEDY. Senator KNOWLAND likewise approved the statement and the resolution submitted in San Francisco and addressed the rally in New York: Representatives Anfuso, Bentley, Dodd, Judd, Murray, McCarthy, Poling, St. George, Tumulty, and myself; the president of the International Rescue Committee Angier Biddle Duke, and a host of renowned professors, writers, journalists, and leaders in religious and civic life. The Reverend Monsignor Balkunas represented the fine American-Lithuanian organization.

The general interest in AFCN activities was well attested to by the fact that its rally in New York was sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Catholic War Veterans, the Jewish War Veterans, and leading organizations of American citizens from the captive nations. President Eisenhower, Vice President NIXON, and many more political leaders sent their encouraging message.

True to its purpose of coordinating the efforts aimed at the information of the American people concerning the tragic plight of the Communist-enslaved nations and of suggesting concrete measures to achieve this purpose, the AFCN's statement and resolution boiled down to the following: (1) To declare our solidarity with the captive nations; (2) to make their liberation the first and major subject on the agenda of any negotiations with the Soviets; (3) to refuse to relax trade restrictions, or to accept the so-called cultural delegations or to agree to any security pacts, until freedom has been accorded to the enslaved peoples.

Today, as in San Francisco at the Republican convention, I fully subscribe to the foregoing suggestions. I firmly believe that mere statements of our desire to see the captive nations liberated is not enough. We must prove that this is our foremost goal through a dynamic foreign policy. Liberation of captive nations must not be forgotten for a moment, in all of our negotiations with the Soviets. It is certain that the rulers of the Kremlin never lose sight of their objectives.

Perhaps we may, someday, agree upon a demilitarized zone in Europe, but we must never agree to it if the Baltic States are included in the demilitarized zone and are not afforded an opportunity to hold free elections and to decide for themselves their own way of life.

It would be unrealistic to assume that the United States will or should declare war in pursuance of its policies of liberation. Any future thermonuclear war would be so terrible and would cause so many millions of deaths among all nations and particularly in the immediate area of combat actions that the question justly arises whether there would be anyone left to liberate after the victorious freedom forces took possession of the territory to be liberated. So the thermonuclear way is not the way to liberation.

Hence, we are forced to seek liberation by peaceful means only. We can, however, widen the area of freedom by refusing to recognize the finality of the present territorial arrangement in Europe. This is not an empty dream. Poland seems to have won peacefully at least a degree of limited freedom; perhaps she will be able to maintain it. Hungary had to resort to a revolt, and for a brief period of time she managed to get complete freedom. Another spark may start a new revolt somewhere, and possibly with greater and lasting success. There is a great ferment and the Soviet can never rest easy where its suppression continues.

Above all we must never bargain with the Soviets for the price of freedom of the Baltic peoples and of all the captive peoples of the Soviet regime. We must keep on hammering, through our communication outlets upon the idea of eventual liberation. We must, however, be careful not to incite to premature uprisings. We must wait: no dictatorship in history has been permanent. They breed the germs of their own ultimate disintegration.

The present administration has shown by its deeds that it had not abandoned the liberation principles embodied in the 1956 Republican platform. It has furnished sufficient proofs that it does not share the views of those pessimists who believe that there is a finality, for better or for worse, about what has now occurred in Eastern Europe. (Former United States Ambassador to Moscow George F. Kennan). The United States representatives to the U. N. have been constantly on the alert for a good chance to remind the delegates of other states, including the Soviet Union, about the plight of the Baltic Nations.

As for both Houses of Congress, their unwavering attitude was clearly demonstrated on the occasion of Lithuanian Independence Day this year. Never before have so many Senators and Representatives taken the floor to denounce the enslavement to Lithuania and express hopes that the day of her liberation will not be far away. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 14, 1957, is an eloquent testimony to this effect.

The executive committee of the Republican National Committee has already begun discussing the strategy for the 1958 congressional and gubernatorial elections. It is a sure bet that the Republican candidates will express themselves next year with greater vigor than ever before in favor of liberation policies as stated in the 1956 Republican platform. We do not share the pessimistic spirit of surrender of many in the party of opposition, whose regrettable policies failed in the time of their testing.

Federal Funds for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, Alabama, along with most other States, is faced with great need in the field of education. The need is for classrooms, for more highly trained teachers, for libraries, laboratories, and athletic facilities.

I believe Alabama has the raw materials to undergird a prosperous economy. She needs an elevation in education to aid economic growth.

Present high Federal taxes make it difficult for Alabama to finance proper school construction, teachers' salaries, and other monetary educational needs from within the State. Realizing this, the House of Representatives of Alabama adopted the following resolution to aid States in developing and maintaining adequate educational standards. The Alabama Senate followed the House by adopting the resolution on June 28, 1957. The resolution was approved by Governor Folsom on August 2, 1957. I feel sure this resolution will be of interest to other States also.

House Joint Resolution 8

Whereas the present maximum Federal tax rates on both individual and corporate incomes are extremely high; and

Whereas this Federal tax burden has, in many instances, become so great as to prevent adequate taxation on the part of the States and other local governments sufficient to enable the various States to properly finance and support the public schools; and

Whereas the education of the young people of this country is one of the gravest responsibilities and one of the most important functions of government; and

Whereas the various States are desperately in need of additional funds if adequate educational standards are to be developed and maintained in the public schools, and thereby insure to the children of this great country the proper education to which they are entitled: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislature of Alabama (both houses thereof concurring)—

(1) That the Congress of United States is hereby memorialized to enact legislation providing for the payment to each State of 1 percent of the Federal income-tax payments collected by the district director of internal revenue from such State, such sum to be paid by the district collector of internal revenue into the general treasury of the respective States to be appropriated by the legislatures of the respective States for the general welfare and benefit of the people of said States.

(2) That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the various State superintendents of education, asking them to encourage similar action in their States.

(3) That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to each member of the Alabama delegation to Congress.

United States Handouts Disastrous, British Are Told

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the City Press, a London weekly newspaper, reports that American handouts have proved disastrous for Britain. It urges an end to American handouts.

This report bears a London dateline of August 23 and the news article appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES HANDOUTS DISASTROUS, BRITISH TOLD—DOLLARS HIDE NATION'S FAILURES, PAPER SAYS

LONDON, August 23.—American foreign aid has proved disastrous for Britain and the world, the City Press, a London weekly newspaper, said today. It urged an end to American handouts.

The conservative weekly, which circulates mainly through London's financial district, said:

"Ever since the end of the war, American governments have been pouring dollars into our country to shore up the British economy. And all the time our economy has grown weaker.

FAILURES OBSCURED

"Our foolish political leaders have taken the country far down the road to socialism with nationalization and cradle-to-the-grave social services and the people cannot see the appalling failures of those schemes because American dollars have been propping us up."

The City Press said Britons would never get a clear look at the country's economic and social weaknesses "until American dollars cease to make unworkable systems look as though they are working."

Calling for the cessation of handouts, the weekly concluded:

"We beg our American friends to stop it. They are misusing their own taxpayers' money. They are not helping us. They are not helping the world."

A LONE VOICE

The City Press is alone in its antiaid stand. Most newspapers here lament Congress' efforts to cut aid spending.

The Tory Yorkshire Post said:

"For every American dollar given in aid to the allies of the United States, those allies now spend $5½ on defense themselves. To emphasize this is in no way to lose sight of the enormous generosity the warm-hearted American people have shown.

"These figures are used in Washington to encourage the practical and economic minds in the House of Representatives to pass the authorizing bill without any cuts. We trust that they will also inspire a sympathetic attitude toward allies in pursuit of their

legitimate interests—especially in the Middle East.

"CAN'T BE WHITTLED

"Congress will be wise to recognize that foreign aid cannot safely be whittled down in present circumstances."

The liberal Manchester Guardian said gloomily:

"President Eisenhower will have to have a lot more Congressmen to breakfast if he is to save his foreign-aid program from cuts which he thinks jeopardize American security.

"Sending in Mr. Dulles, Admiral Radford, and General Twining to speak words of foreboding to the Senate Appropriations Committee will probably not be enough. It is even doubtful whether the President himself can save his bill by a direct approach to the leaders of both parties in Congress."

Congress Should Not Adjourn Until the Pay Increase Bills for Postal and Federal Employees Have Been Finally Acted Upon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the drive for adjournment of Congress is on in full force. It is regrettable to realize that in all probability the adjournment at this time will leave the postal pay bill and the classified employee pay bill in the hands of the President without final action by Congress if the President vetoes the bills.

It is generally understood that the President will veto both bills. This in the ordinary course of events will come after Congress has adjourned and gone home. Thus, without Congress in session to pass on the vetoes it leaves them in force and effect, and the legislation is dead.

It is particularly regrettable because both bills were passed by overwhelming majorities in both Houses of Congress in both instances. There were very few votes against either of the bills. It could be truthfully said that both of them were passed almost unanimously.

It is right and just that Federal employees in the postal service and other agencies of government should receive the benefit of these increase pay bills to enable them to meet the high cost of living. Workers in industrial and commercial enterprises have in many instances received by means of negotiation or even by strikes, in some cases, the increase they were entitled to have. We have also recently seen the wages or salaries of employees in the State, county, or municipal offices increased. This has been necessary. Why, then, should faithful Government employees be denied the increase they are in justice entitled to have?

When the necessary increase pay bills were passed, especially by such large majorities in both the House and Senate, it is not right for Congress now to deny the increases provided by an adjournment and thereby make effective a "pocket veto."

Of course, if the President signs the bills it would not be necessary for Congress to be in session as the bills would then become law, but in case the President does not sign the bills, then in my opinion the Congress should be in session to act on the vetoes, and by the votes of the Members either sustain the veto or pass the bills over the vetoes. It is not fair nor just that Congress should run away from its responsibility in this matter.

I am opposed to adjournment until this important piece of business has been decided, as it should be by the Congress, if and in the event Presidential vetoes should make such necessary.

Civil Rights

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this resolution. A vote for this resolution is a vote for the so-called civil-rights bill, H. R. 6127, with the Senate amendments, and with the amendments provided for in this resolution.

The proposal contained in House Resolution 410 is one of the most unusual and extraordinary legislative actions I have seen or heard of. These proposals are completely new. The proposed amendment in lieu of Senate amendment No. 15 was not contained in the bill as originally introduced, or in any amendment which was offered to the bill in the House or in the Senate. It is one of the most drastic proposals made during the entire progress of this legislation. It would take away a valuable and precious right which every American citizen now possesses. Its provisions have not been discussed before any committee or subcommittee, and cannot be discussed in any detail in the 1 hour which is allotted for argument for this entire resolution.

It is regrettable and deplorable that Members of this great legislative body would be stampeded by political pressure into railroading any kind of legislation through in this fashion. It is deplorable that any Member would so far lose sight of fundamental rights and privileges and of constitutional government as to support such a legislative monstrosity, such a radical departure from orderly, sound, legal procedure as this resolution embodies.

I agree with the statement of David Lawrence in his newspaper column of yesterday in the Washington Evening Star, in which he said that this week is a week of infamy in the United States Congress. As I contemplate the events taking place on the floor of this House today I am reminded of the statement I once heard made by my dear departed friend, the late Honorable Eugene Cox, Representative from the Second Congressional District of Georgia, when he said:

I would not do to go to Heaven what some people do to get elected to Congress.

The Battle for Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, we in the Pacific Northwest have long been aware of our great water resource heritage. That awareness has prompted us to consistently fight for the fullest and most comprehensive development of this God-given heritage. We have been blessed with an abundance of water but we have always realized that what may be an abundance now could very well be a shortage in the foreseeable future.

An article which appeared in the Washington Star on August 25, 1957, contains a good summation of some important facts concerning our water supply and the possibility that we will be faced with a water shortage in the near future. I think it of great importance that we all fully realize the dangers inherent in this approaching shortage and consequently I ask that this article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

THE BATTLE FOR WATER—NEXT CYCLE MAY BE ROUGH

(By Phil Yeager)

Ours may be the last American generation to know the blessings of abundant water. No one is going thirsty during the current dry summer along the eastern seaboard, but there is no guarantee people won't go thirsty in the next dry decade unless radical new techniques of fresh water acquisition are developed and much greater storage facilities devised.

It doesn't require mathematical genius to see why.

Right now the United States is thought to be consuming fresh water at the rate of 200 billion gallons per day for all purposes—industry, irrigation, and personal. Hydrologists say that if current trends in population growth and water needs are projected ahead to 1975 the water consumption level will reach about 400 billion gallons a day.

There are three big reasons for the rapid acceleration: More people, more industry, greater water demands by both.

In 1900 municipal water used by or on behalf of residents averaged less than 95 gallons per person per day. By 1950 it was 198 gallons. If the same ratio of increase is maintained, by 1975 the per capita use should be around 175 gallons for the Nation's estimated 228 million population—or 40 billion gallons per day.

Since this water would account for only 10 percent of total fresh water used by that time, it is clear that agriculture and industry are the real gluttons—and that their appetites are growing rapidly.

SUPPLY IS CONSTANT

Whatever the cause of increased consumption, the supply stays constant.

On the basis of records kept over a 62-year period, the United States experiences an average daily precipitation runoff of about 820 billion gallons. While this is more than double the expected water consumption rate by 1975, present storage facilities such as dams and reservoirs are capable of capturing only about 20 percent of the runoff.

Standing alone these figures give a distorted view of the true picture, for much of the daily runoff which is not stored is nevertheless used. Moreover, runoff represents only about a fifth of the total precipitation, and a good deal of the additional rain or snow eventually finds its way back to underground water tables.

However, since (1) between 75 and 90 percent of all fresh water used in the Nation does come from runoff; (2) it will never be possible to capture or use a large percentage of the total runoff, and (3) underground water is being consumed faster than it is being restored—the figures do show how rapidly we are reaching a critical point in the ratio of water consumed to water available.

Chances seem good that the country will get through the present dry period without too much economic upheaval.

But note the long-range weather predictions.

In recent years there has been a tendency to relate weather cycles to solar radiation in general and sunspot activity in particular.

The sunspot cycle, which may run as short as 7 years or as long as 17, averages about 11.3 years. This parallels the length of time our wet and dry weather cycles seem to run. Thus United States weather during the 1920's was considerably wetter than average. In the 1930's it was quite dry and produced the dust bowls of the Great Plains. In the 1940's it was again very wet.

"The present period," say the experts, "presumably 1952–62, is running very dry in accordance with this large-scale cycle."

Experienced meteorologists and climatologists have reservations about various aspects of the sunspot theory, but they do not deny there are certain rhythmic variations in the amount of continental rainfall.

TROUBLE IN '73?

Assuming the cycles continue in the pattern they have been following, the next set of dry years should be starting just about the time fresh-water consumption begins to double the current rate, i. e., around 1973.

Apparently the dry cycles of the 1900's have been, so far, a little less dry than they were in the 1800's. The wet cycles have been slightly wetter. But this trend, which is by no means great enough to offset increasing water use, may not continue. In any case, it is possible that the dry cycle of the 1970's will produce as much as 10 percent less than normal rainfall.

For those times, and under the circumstances, the resulting shortages are likely to be far more serious than those of today. And today's are bad enough.

Last year, for example, the Associated Press conducted a nationwide survey of cities and States with water problems brought on by the present dry cycle. "Countless communities all over the country," it disclosed, "are suddenly discovering their water facilities just won't do the job any more. * * * During the 1953 drought only three States in the entire Nation, Idaho, Mississippi, and Rhode Island, reported no water shortage problems."

Compounding the difficulty of securing enough initial fresh water are such increasing complications as pollution, the invasion of fresh water tables by salt water, erosion, and the like.

THE COST WILL RISE

This is not to suggest a totally bleak outlook. Water problems in the future will doubtless be solved. But they seem unlikely to be solved without a great deal more effort.

Many experts believe that by the time the next dry-weather cycle comes around it will be impossible to handle national water needs unless there have been advances in four basic directions: Stabilization of underground water, regulation and storage of runoff water, conversion of salt water to fresh, and weather modification and control.

Even if the water problems of that day are dispelled by greater storage and new techniques, it is not likely that water will ever again be as cheap as it is today. Today's youngsters, whose parents are generally paying from 20 cents to 40 cents per 1,000 gallons for water, may by 1957 be paying $2 or $3 for the same amount.

Charity and Security—American Taxpayers Oppose Permanent Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial that appeared in the Wall Street Journal yesterday on the subject of American foreign aid.

CHARITY AND SECURITY

Two broad arguments are commonly used to defend the present foreign-aid program—one ethical, the other practical.

Th ethical approach is that, as a matter of simple charity, the richest Nation in the world ought to help less fortunate ones. Senator PAUL DOUGLAS developed this theme in a recent magazine article; Christ, he observed, was the great do-gooder of all time.

The United States is not, we think, deficient in Christian charity. In both private and public ways it is constantly helping other peoples when they are confronted with emergencies, famine in India or taking in refugees from Hungary. It has even helped potential enemies in distress, sending food behind the Iron Curtain.

Basic differences exist, however, between this kind of charity and the Government's foreign aid program. The official program provides money and materials to governments, and only indirectly if at all to the people who could best use it.

Governments are usualy cynical; in the underdeveloped lands particularly they are often corrupt. Also they frequently have grandiose and uneconomic schemes for using the help, so that it may turn out to be a detriment. It may encourage the receiving government's vices, including sloth, instead of its virtues. Moreover, the official American Government program is now presented as permanent; it is not to meet disasters but to go on and on, regardless of need, regardless of waste and other harmful effects.

The concept of Christian charity has to be given a painful wrench to make it cover these activities. In contrast, the practical defense of foreign aid seems on the surface more plausible.

Certainly it can be argued that, in the kind of world we live in, allies are desirable—providing they are self-reliant, strongly anti-Communist allies that would not fail us in a showdown. And coldly calculated aid is an ancient instrument of diplomacy. But it does not follow at all that permanent foreign aid is required in order to have useful allies.

Admiral Radford the other day offered the country grim alternatives if foreign aid is substantially curtailed: Either we would have to expand our own Armed Forces greatly, with nearly every able-bodied man of military age spending several years in service abroad or we would have to withdraw into a Fortress America.

This newspaper does not accept the validity of these alternatives. There is another one, and the only correct one. That is that our allies, in their own self-interest, make the necessary contribution to the joint defense out of their own resources. If they are economically incapable of making a sufficient effort, then their military value is diminished in any case. If they are unwilling to do so, then their reliability as anti-Communist allies must be gravely questioned.

Secretary of State Dulles came close to raising just that question when he said that, in the absence of permanent foreign aid, the free world may no longer be prepared to follow the leadership of the United States and the whole security structure may be endangered. If that is so—if our allies will not be allies unless bribed forever—then the whole vast and costly program designed to make them strong and determined has been a colossal flop.

We hope the people of this country will always respond generously when human beings elsewhere are faced with emergencies or disasters. We hope this country will always use its diplomacy to advance the national interest—including the use of money in special circumstances that clearly call for that.

But a permanent Government program of indiscriminate aid neither reflects charity nor can it guarantee security.

A John Jay Museum for the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, a telling editorial in today's New York Times, one of the greatest newspapers in the history of mankind, warrants the attention of every American who loves his country and who wants to preserve for posterity the historic evidence of exemplary living and high virtue among the Founding Fathers.

In Westchester County, N. Y., is located an inspirational shrine—the estate of the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay. There is, at this time, the danger that this historic relic of American independence will be lost forever, unless the county, the State, the Nation, or some patriotic group, agrees to purchase the shrine.

How tragic, Mr. President, would be the loss to the American people if the home of this great American, and the priceless documents which are there for exhibition, are not preserved as an inspiration for future generations. I would like to endorse this editorial. This shrine should be established as a national museum. Certainly we owe no less to the memory of this gallant leader of American freedom, and to his good works which survive him. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the New York

Times of August 28, 1957, be printed with these remarks in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A. JOHN JAY SHRINE?

Westchester spent $1,100,000 recently to acquire and redevelop for public use the Dunwoodie Golf Course in Yonkers. But the county has decided not to spend $136,000 to buy the John Jay shrine on Route 22 north of Bedford Village.

The swift action in saving the golf course from conversion into a crowded real estate development is laudable. But what of John Jay, first Chief Justice of the United States, holder of other high offices, and a great emotional balance wheel in the disputes among the founders of the Nation? Jay lived at Bedford House many years and left there bundles of his correspondence with George Washington and other early leaders. Westchester would acquire some of the letters, mementos, furniture, antiques, costumes, paintings and other contents of the house for the $136,000. The historical society is eager to operate the mansion as a museum. The park commission is willing to maintain the 30 acres that go with the house.

The Westchester Board of Supervisors thought well enough of the purchase earlier this year to pay $1,000, by unanimous vote, for an option. Then, after political huddles of the majority party, the option was dropped. Westchester should reconsider this opportunity before this valuable fragment of American history—plus a park—is lost. As the population increases, the preservation of the Jay shrine could be at least as worthy as the saving of a golf course.

Salute to the U. S. S. "Iowa"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY O. TALLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the Department of the Navy announced that the great battleship U. S. S. *Iowa* was to be decommissioned. Immediately I felt that special recognition of its gallant service to our country should be shown. Accordingly, as chairman of the Iowa delegation in the House of Representatives, I proceeded, with the approval of my State delegation in the Congress, to make arrangements with the United States Navy for our group to be received aboard the U. S. S. *Iowa* for the purpose of paying her appropriate honor. I thereupon had a parchment scroll prepared which was signed by every Member from Iowa now serving in the Congress.

Consequently on last Saturday, August 24, I, together with some of my colleagues and other interested persons from Iowa, had the honor and privilege of visiting the battleship, U. S. S. *Iowa*, now stationed at Norfolk, Va., but scheduled to be retired from active service later this year. It was an experience I wish every Member of this body might have shared.

I was especially impressed with the high caliber of the men we met aboard the *Iowa*, particularly her skipper, Capt. F. Julian Beton, and her executive officer, Comdr. T. C. "Ted" Siegmund. They are a genuine credit to the United States Navy and to the *Iowa*.

I was also immensely pleased to meet 22 young men from the State of Iowa who are presently serving aboard the ship and who I feel are a great credit to their State. They are:

E. A. Schoenfelder, CWO, from Marengo; Fred W. Adams, PN3, Elliott; Richard T. Anderson, FN, Creston; Edgar L. Beebe, EMP3, Des Moines; Glen G. Butler, ETRSN, soldier; Charles W. DeCook, IC3, Wadena; T. A. Ditsworth, FN, Humboldt; Charles E. Dorl, BT3, Clarinda; R. O. Eick, SN, Waverly; Larry K. Gahring, EM3, Belle Plaine; C. B. Heithoff, TD3, Reinbeck; Richard C. Holts, BM1, Boone; Donald W. Leith, SA, Waterloo; Gary O. Marlin, FN, Creston; T. G. McAllister, SN, Cascade; Leroy A. Nelson, ETRSN, Webster; Quinn R. O'Brien, EM3, Council Bluffs; Charles E. Otto, EM3, Clinton; Clarence W. Moyers, SN, Burlington; Adar P. Reid, CS2, Wilton Junction; R. E. Richey, SN, Council Bluffs; and Larry B. Thomassen, EMFN, Leighton.

As part of the Saturday ceremonies aboard the ship, Mr. Speaker, it was my proud privilege to present to Captain Becton a scroll signed by every Member of the Iowa congressional delegation. The parchment scroll will be made a part of the permanent archives of the U. S. S. *Iowa* and reads as follows:

On the approaching retirement of the great battleship U. S. S. *Iowa* (BB 61) the undersigned Members of the Iowa delegation in the Congress of the United States express their appreciation to that magnificent fighting ship and those who have served in her for bearing with honor, dignity, and courage the name of our sovereign State.

Mr. Speaker, the U. S. S. *Iowa*, one of the famous battleships of the Navy, will be decommissioned at the Philadelphia Navy Yard beginning October 14, 1957. It seems particularly appropriate at this time to review briefly the history of this mighty vessel.

The U. S. S. *Iowa* which we visited at Norfolk is the fourth Navy ship designated as the *Iowa*. The first, a 3,200-ton vessel, was commissioned in 1864 and was stricken from the Navy Register 18 years later. The second was an 11,346-ton ship which performed blockade duty off Cuba and fired the first shot at Santiago Bay during the Spanish-American War. The third *Iowa*, a battleship planned to be almost as large as the present one, was canceled in the midst of construction in accordance with the Washington treaty which limited naval armament.

It should be noted, Mr. Speaker, that the ship's silver service, which is now on display in the captain's cabin, was purchased by an appropriation of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa and presented to the second *Iowa* on June 19, 1897. In making the presentation, C. G. McCarthy, State auditor of Iowa, said in part:

While we hope that our Navy shall never turn from the face of any enemy, may we not indulge the larger hope * * * that the *Iowa* * * * shall somehow find a place as a messenger of peace rather than of war * * * be herald of human progress rather than foeman to international strife.

However desirable this wish was, it was not destined to be fulfilled. Less than a year later, the Cuban situation and the sinking of the *Maine* brought on the Spanish-American War. The *Iowa* was stationed outside the harbor of Santiago, Cuba, where the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had taken refuge. On the morning of Sunday, July 3, 1898, the *Iowa*, which lay opposite the mouth of Santiago Harbor, fired a shot from a small gun and raised the signal: "The enemy is attempting to escape."

In the fierce fighting that followed, the *Iowa* crippled the *Maria Teresa*, sank two Spanish destroyers, and then with her sister battleships crushed the *Oquendo* and the *Vizcaya*. The Spanish captain of the sinking *Vizcaya* surrendered to Capt. Robley D. Evans aboard the *Iowa*. Later Admiral Cevera and his staff were transferred to this gallant namesake of the Hawkeye State.

During World War I, the *Iowa* served as a training ship and guarded the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. She was used as a target for naval gunfire after World War I, and was later sunk as other assembled vessels honored her with a 21-gun salute.

The present *Iowa* was commissioned on Washington's Birthday, 1943, the first of four called the *Iowa* class. She is one of the world's largest, fastest, and most powerful battleships. Builders, working day and night during the war, took 3 years to construct her at a cost of $110 million. Today her replacement cost is estimated at well over $200 million.

The *Iowa* displaces nearly 60,000 tons, is 887 feet long, and measures 108 feet across her beam. The length is 13 feet shorter than 3 football fields laid end to end. The highest point of her superstructure towers 185 feet above her keel; 150 feet above the waterline are 13 separate deck levels whose combined height is equivalent to the height of a 17-story building.

The engineering plant and auxiliary machinery drive the ship at speeds in excess of 30 knots. The main plant is capable of developing 212,000 horsepower; the electrical generators could supply electricity to a city of 20,000 inhabitants.

The engineering force must maintain more than 900 electrical motors, 5,300 lighting fixtures, 250 miles of electrical cable, and more than 1,300 telephones. The distilling plant can make more than 100,000 gallons of fresh water from the sea every day; the capacity of her fuel oil tanks is more than 2½ million gallons.

In wartime, the *Iowa* carries nearly 3,000 men who consume 7 tons of food a day. In the huge storerooms, 100 tons of fresh fruits and vegetables, 650 tons of dry stores, and 84 tons of fresh meats can be stored. This is a total supply of 834 tons of foods, a quantity sufficient to last 119 days.

A floating city, the ship has a soda fountain, barber shop, cobbler shop, laundry, tailor shop, printshop, hospital, seven dining halls, library, photographic

laboratory, dental office, dispensary, and bakery.

Her armament consists of nine 16-inch guns that can hurl 25 tons of projectile a minute at a distance of 23 miles. The *Iowa* also has 20 5-inch dual purpose guns and numerous 40-millimeter rapid fire machineguns. She is heavily armored and is able to withstand extremely heavy punishment.

Mr. Speaker, the record of the *Iowa* during World War II is one to be proud of. Briefly, her war service was as follows:

August 27, 1943, departed Boston for Argentia, Newfoundland.

November 12, 1943, carried President Roosevelt to and from the Cairo-Teheran Conference.

January 20–February 2, 1944, member of the supported force for air strikes against Eniwetok Atoll (Marshall Islands) including Kwajalein Atoll, January 29, 1944.

February 16–17, 1944, participated in strike against Truk Atoll. Engaged in sweep around Truk resulting in destruction of 1 destroyer, 1 minelayer, and 1 subchaser of the enemy.

February 22–23, 1944, member striking force on Tinian Island.

March 18, 1944, participated in bombardment of Mille Atoll—Marshall Islands.

March 30, 1944–April 1, 1944, member support force for air strikes against Palau Woleai—Caroline Islands.

April 21–24, 1944, member support force air strike against Hollandia–Wake, New Guinea.

April 29–30, 1944, member support force air strike against Truk Atoll—Caroline Islands.

May 1, 1944, participated in bombardment of Saipan and Tinian, first battle of the Philippine Sea.

September 1944, member support force, air strikes against Philippines and Palaus, as a unit of Fleet Adm. William F. Halsey's 3d Fleet.

October 12, 1944, light units of the force sank an enemy cruiser in the San Bernardiho Straits.

October 25, 1944, Second Battle of Philippine Sea in San Bernardino Straits.

November 1944, member support force for air strikes on Leyte and Luzon.

April, May 1945, operated around Okinawa and Ryukyus.

May 28–June 14, 1945, operated with 3d Fleet, member support force for Okinawa operation and air strike against Kyushu.

July 10, 1945, participated in bombardment of Muroran, Hokkaido, Japan.

July 17, 1945, participated in bombardment of Kitachi, Honshu, Japan.

July 28, 1945, member support force for air strikes against Japanese fleet remnants at Kure, Japan.

August 15, 1945, cessation of hostilities.

Mr. Speaker, in the spring of 1949, the *Iowa* was retired from the active fleet and laid away amidst a silent company of dormant, mothballed ships in San Francisco Bay.

Three years later she was back in action in Korea. During her tour in the Far East as flagship for the commander of the 7th Fleet, the *Iowa* fired more than double the amount fired during her World War II service, 4,500 rounds of 16-inch ammunition.

Returning to the Atlantic Fleet after an overhaul in November 1952 the *Iowa* conducted training exercises for her crew. She took part in the NATO exercise, "Operation Mariner," in 1953, and trained midshipmen during the summer months. Returning to the Norfolk area until November 1, 1954, she sailed to take part in the largest postwar exercise in the Atlantic, known as Lantflex 1–55.

Earning a "well done" from the commander of the 6th Fleet, the *Iowa* served a 3-month tour of duty in the Mediterranean from January until April. After embarking 600 midshipmen, she sailed in June for ports in Spain, England, and Cuba, continuously conducting drills and exercises for the middies, returning in August. She later conducted other midshipmen cruises.

Next month, the *Iowa* will participate in "Operation Strikeback," part of a joint NATO exercise, which will terminate her active service.

During the past 14 years, the *Iowa* has earned numerous battle stars, presidential citations, and other awards. I would like to cite a few of them here.

The U. S. S. *Iowa* (BB–61) earned the following battle stars:

Asiatic-Pacific Area Service Ribbon.

One star, Marshall Island operation: Occupation of Kwajalein and Majuro Atoll, January 29–February 8, 1944; Mille Atoll, March 18, 1944.

One star, Asiatic-Pacific raids: Truk attack, February 16–17, 1944; Marianas attack, February 21–22, 1944; Palau, Yap, Ulithi, Woleai raid, March 30–April 1, 1944; Truk, Satawan, Ponape raid, April 29–May 1, 1944.

One star, Marianas operation: Capture and occupation of Saipan, June 11–24, 1944; Battle of the Philippine Sea, June 19–20, 1944; capture and occupation of Guam, July 12–August 15, 1944; Palau, Yap, Ulithi raid, July 25–27, 1944.

One star, western Caroline Islands operation: Capture and occupation of southern Palau Islands, September 6–October 14, 1944; assaults on the Philippine Islands, September 9–24, 1944.

One star, Leyte operation: Battle of Surigao Strait, October 24–26, 1944; 3d Fleet supporting operations, Okinawa attack, October 10, 1944; northern Luzon and Formosa attacks, October 13–14, 1944; Luzon attacks, October 15, 17–19, November 5–6, 19–25, December 14–16, 1944; Visayas attacks, October 21, 1944.

One star, Okinawa Gunto operation: 5th and 3d Fleets raids in support of Okinawa Gunto, operation, April 24–June 11, 1945.

One star, 3d Fleet operations against Japan, July 10–August 15, 1945.

One star, Tinian capture and occupation, July 20–August 10, 1944.

One star, Hollandia operation, Aitape Humboldt Bay-Tanahmerah Bay, April 21–24, 1944.

China Service Medal, extended, September 2–24, 1945, January 26, March 25, 1946.

Navy Occupation Service Medal with "A" clasp, March 23–August 6, 1951; May 4–November 21, 1952.

United Nations and Korean Service Medal, March 30–October 10, 1952.

One star, second Korean winter, April 5–30, 1952.

One star, Korean Defense, summer-fall 1952, May 1–October 17, 1952.

Korean Presidential Unit Citation, March 31–October 19, 1952.

Philippine Republic Presidential Unit Citation, October 10, 13–15, 17–26, 1944; November 5–6, 19–25, 1944; December 14–16, 1944.

Mr. Speaker, this is the remarkable record of an illustrious fighting ship. Since the U. S. S. *Iowa* will be retired shortly from the active fleet, I consider it especially appropriate to call attention at this time to her great service to the United States. I only regret that this ship, which proudly carries the name of the Hawkeye State, will be missing in the future from among the vessels of the Navy's active fleet.

The House Versus the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, several days ago I noticed in the New York Herald Tribune an excellent article by Hon. EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, entitled "The House Versus the Senate." The article was written in such scholarly style I thought it ought to be in the RECORD where all Senators and Representatives and others could read it. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HOUSE VERSUS THE SENATE

(By EUGENE J. MCCARTHY)

(Representative MCCARTHY, a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, is a Democrat from Minnesota.)

It seems to be fashionable these days to criticize the House of Representatives, the greatest forum of the people in our Federal Government. Sniping and carping at the operation of the House has been growing over the last few years. The House has been compared unfavorably with the Senate as a place of achievement.

Is this criticism valid? How badly are improvements needed? How does the House really compare with the Senate in terms of accomplishment, of casting light on great national problems, of providing legislative cures?

The effectiveness of the House of Representatives, its organization, its procedures and its relationships to the Senate and to the executive branch of the Government—all of these are important questions that deserve studious, objective, and serious attention.

In the 167 years since the adoption of the Constitution there have been many changes

in the Government of the United States, but certainly one of the most significant of these changes has been that of the shift in the power of relationship of the House of Representatives and the Senate. While upper or second legislative bodies in other countries have declined in importance, some disappearing altogether and others surviving as little more than symbols, the Senate of the United States has grown in power and in authority.

The first great impetus to an increase in Senate power arose out of the controversy leading up to the Civil War. After the war the Senate assumed more and more initiative in the introduction of legislation and became bolder in insisting on Senate modifications of legislation.

As governmental activities have expanded, the power of the Senate to confirm appointments both in the judiciary and in the executive offices has become increasingly important.

Similarly in the area of foreign affairs the Senate's power has increased as foreign policy has become more significant in our national life.

Along with the advantages derived from these historical changes, the Senate has had the help of a number of institutional advantages. The 6-year term in the Senate, plus the experience of its Members, and its continuity as a body, give it a stability and strength lacking in the House of Representatives. On a purely arithmetical basis, a Senator's vote on a legislative proposal is worth approximately four times that of a vote of a House Member. Senate rules and practices regarding committee assignments multiply this power. House Members are permitted to serve on only one major committee—Senators may serve on more than one. House committees usually have from 2 to 3 times as many members as do Senate committees. The importance of a single vote in a Senate committee of 15 is really worth more than twice that of a single vote in a House committee of 30 members.

The House, as critics have said, has limited its effectiveness somewhat by its own rules. Great debates today are the Senate debates. Debate in the House was effectively limited by rules changes brought about under Speaker Tom Reed in the last decade of the 19th century. These changes did prevent obstruction and delay in the general legislative process, but at the same time practically destroyed effective House debates. As a result, public interest, at least as reflected in the press, is generally concentrated not on what is said in House debate, but rather on the outcome of the vote.

The important consideration is not the feelings of House Members, but rather that of the consequences for the country of the predominance of the Senate. The fact that the Senate generally proposes to spend more money than does the House, or that it has gained power while the House has been losing it, need not in itself be disturbing. If the Senate is a truly representative body, and it is operating effectively and responsibly as the dominant body, it should perhaps be allowed to continue in its position of power. If, on the other hand, the Senate is not truly representative, if it is not as effective or fully responsible as it should be, there is reason for concern. If a case can be made for the system of legislative checks and balances, with the Senate acting principally as a check on the House of Representatives, if it is desirable to have some specialization and differentiation of function between the House and the Senate, then the problem of distribution of power is a matter of concern to the citizens of the United States.

Obviously the Senate is not as representative as is the House. Although there is need for more even apportionment of congressional districts, representation in the House of Representatives is still much closer to popular representation than it is in the Senate, where the millions of citizens of the State of New York and the fewer than 200,000 citizens of the State of Nevada are equally represented by two Senators. The House remains more truly the people's branch of the Government. Moreover, since all House Members are elected every 2 years, membership in that body more accurately reflects changes in popular opinion and judgment than does membership in the Senate, in which in every term of Congress some two-thirds of the Members have been carried over from previous elections.

The increase in the power of the Senate has disturbed the system of checks and balances, which was reasonably conceived, and has tended to destroy differentiation of function between the House and Senate. There is evidence that the Senate is trying to do too many things to do all effectively—to formulate and review foreign policy, to check on the Executive appointments, both before and after they are made, to check on the administration continuously, to cover the whole field of legislation, and to look after the needs of a statewide constituency.

The consequences of the seniority system are much more serious in the Senate than they are in the House, where larger membership makes control by committee chairmen more difficult, and where respect for the office and jurisdiction of the chairmen is not as great as it is in the Senate. Senators are generally responsive to all, or nearly all, local and special interests of their States. House Members are directly responsive only to those in their respective districts.

A strong President providing leadership to the country and strengthening the House of Representatives, can stand against the Senate. To do so, however, the President usually must have dramatic issues and critical conditions, as in the case of war or domestic disturbance comparable to the great depression.

The principal defense of the House against the loss of its power to the Senate has been, in recent years, the strength of its leadership. A man like Speaker SAM RAYBURN, backed by committee chairmen and members of the House, has successfully stood against the Senate, but, as a matter of fact, strong House leadership has consistently been more successful in opposition to Executive proposals than it has been to those of the Senate. What is needed is an institutional strengthening of the House of Representatives—the reestablishment of the House of Representatives as the predominant governmental body.

The House should assert itself in competition with the Senate in the field of general legislation, but more particularly when questions of revenue and of appropriations are in dispute. The House should insist that it be given more voice in foreign affairs. The Senate should be encouraged to give special attention to Government service and to assume the responsibility for the effective and efficient administration of Government affairs, and for the quality and conduct of both civil service and appointed personnel.

House rules should be changed in order to allow House Members to sit on more than one major committee and to allow more liberal debate, with the possibility of great debates again in the House of Representatives. House Members, too, should become more active in national party activities and should insist on their greater recognition in national conventions.

There is need for better organization in the House of Representatives; for greater party cohesion and party responsibility; for more unity, integrity, and function of the House; and for a greater will on the part of its Members to stand as a body, on a bipartisan basis when necessary, against either the Senate or the executive branch of Government.

If the House is to "decidedly predominate," as James Madison stated that it should at the time of the drafting of the Constitution, these are the changes that are needed rather than superficial changes such as modification of the seniority system and the rather empty suggestions of greater individual determination, responsibility, and attention to duty as suggested by some critics.

Texans Opposed to Gun and Shell Registration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, yesterday I submitted to the hearing of the Alcohol and Tobacco Division of the Internal Revenue Department my reasons for opposing regulations that would require records of all rifles, shotguns, other guns, and ammunition sold in this country.

The people of Texas are opposed to this proposal, and I want to give Congress the benefit of some of the letters that have been written by readers of the Houston Press, one of my State's largest newspapers.

Their letters show how the people feel about this proposed regulation.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD these letters from readers of the Houston Press for Monday, August 26, 1957.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESS READERS DISCUSS GUN LAWS, WHAT TO DO ABOUT "MURDERTOWN" TAG

SAYS WE'RE IN DANGER OF LOSING RIGHT TO OWN FIREARMS

EDITOR, THE PRESS:

It is noted with great satisfaction by myself, and certainly the thousands of other citizens, who have a stake in the matter of legislation to take away the rights of our citizens to own firearms including pistols, that the Houston Press is giving space to we who differ in our ideas on such legislation.

Firearms are probably more necessary for the protection of our present generation than were any and all generations who have fought for freedom since the day the new world was colonized by oppressed and distressed people from the old and decadent European monarchies.

Important equipment

It is certainly true that the most important equipment of our forefathers who founded and settled this country were the old deer rifle and the pistol. Both of these arms have been greatly improved, of course, since the days of the musket and the cap and ball pistol. Its purpose remains exactly the same.

We think with awe and reverence of our frontiersmen, always outnumbered, standing undaunted against the raids of the redmen with only the deer rifle and the pistol to pro-

tect his wife, his children, and his own life and property.

Is greater danger

However, we are in far greater danger today, one that means more than the loss of life. It will mean the loss of our liberty and our precious freedom which our forbears with these very same rifles and pistols won for us. So let us forthrightly condemn any movement from whatever source that would restrict in even a small degree our traditional right to buy and use firearms.

Again thanking our Houston Press for its fairness in presenting all sides of the vital questions which confront us, I am,

Very truly yours,

ALSTON T. DAVIS.

HOUSTON, TEX.

WHY NOT ABOLISH THE CAR, TOO?—ITS DEATH TOLL OUTDOES THE PISTOL

EDITOR, THE PRESS:

The Press is due my thanks, as well as the thanks of thousands of other citizens, who crave a little space to discuss the pistol and gun legislation that some misguided persons and groups are trying to get passed.

Typical of the misleading, erroneous and oftentimes malicious ideas is the August 21 letter of Mr. Holland in your mail bag.

1. He says, "A new home appliance has taken Houston by storm. Every home needs a pistol, rifle, or shotgun, it seems." These are certainly not new, and these are not appliances. These have been, since our forefathers came to Texas, our best and most valued protection and means of livelihood.

2. These have certainly been kept under the same roof with our children, and because of the protection so afforded our children grew to manhood and useful lives.

3. For the information of Mr. Holland, there are now in Houston homes of all classes of citizens thousands of loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols where children are never injured by such arms. It takes only a little care in keeping these above the reach of toddlers. Doesn't Mr. Holland know that most Texas boys are in the meadows and woods with their rifles, most of them by the time they are 10 or 12 years old? These are our boys who, when called to the colors, need little training to step into the front lines.

4. Houston's great majority of citizens are neither nutty nor vicious, but they would be if they listened to the likes of people like Mr. Holland, who seek to have our citizens disarmed and helpless before the criminals, hoodlums, etc., who frequent the dives.

5. Every year there is a small percentage of people killed in hunting accidents, but just consider the great numbers killed yearly in traffic. Why doesn't Mr. Holland scream for the abolition of the auto? Why doesn't he want to tear down the skyscrapers, legislate out the elevators, and do away with gas stoves and heaters, etc? All of these take a far greater toll of life than do pistols in any year.

Thanks again to the Press for giving us a chance to express our side of this question, and to public officials like Dave Thompson who have the courage to admit that ours is the fault for lack of proper enforcement.

ALFRED L. SCHULZE.

TO DISARM THE CRIMINALS IS A PIPEDREAM

EDITOR, THE PRESS:

It is strange that so many well-meaning people cannot learn anything from the experiences of others. To them the lessons of history are wasted.

The idea of disarming the criminals is just a pipedream. All that can be done along that line is to disarm the law-abiding citizens. He is the only one who obeys the gun laws.

If more killings took place, they would at least be killing each other.

J. E. JOHNSON.

CONROE.

OPPOSES DISARMING LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS

EDITOR, THE PRESS:

Having followed with great interest the letters and artices on buying, selling, and the carrying of pistols appearing in your paper and the calling on the board of inquiry by Judge Thompson and the comments and recommendations of other officials, I am writing as follows:

The writer is just as opposed to our high murder rate and misuse of pistols as any other citizen but as a former Army officer, police officer, and president of one of our Houston Gun Clubs and a member of the National Rifle Association of America, we are opposed to antigun laws of any kind that require registration of firearms or are aimed at the disarming of law-abiding citizens.

Have adequate laws

As Judge Thompson says, we have adequate laws if they are enforced and enforcement by our law officers and convictions by our judges and juries when guns are used illegally will cut down on our crimes of violence.

However, we all seem to overlook the idea-of-intent when a pistol is used in the commission of a crime and want to blame the gun which is harmless unless someone uses it. When a person intends to commit a crime, kill another person, commit a holdup, or commit some other crime, if he does not have a gun handy, he will use a knife, club, hammer, baseball bat, automobile, or anything else which becomes a deadly weapon when used as such.

And one thing to remember is that guns in the hands of law-abiding citizens and officers have prevented far more crimes of violence, assaults, robberies, and so forth, than have been used in the commission of crimes.

Thousands of clubs

There are thousands of gun clubs in this country whose members use pistols, rifles, and shotguns in target practice and we have a national board for the promotion of rifle and pistol practice.

In addition we have millions of sportsmen who hunt and fish and use pistols and hunting knives when hunting or fishing as sidearms for shooting small game, large fish when caught, snakes, and so forth.

Several States have laws authorizing the use of these arms by licensed hunters and fishermen. Then there are millions of law-abiding citizens who would like to have pistols or firearms around the house, and who never use them but like to have them at home for protection. Yet, we have a few fanatics and well meaning but misguided people who would penalize all of these people for what about 3 percent of our population does.

In closing let me also say that I believe two of our Houston papers have done more to advertise our great city as the murder capital of the world than all of the other papers and magazines put together.

E. D. ANDERSON.

The Fund for the Republic Studies a Free Society—Maj. Joseph R. Parten

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Maj. J. R. Parten, of Houston, Tex., is a leading citizen not only of Texas but of America. Major Parten served with the Field Artillery overseas in World War I, served with distinction on the Board of Regents of the University of Texas, and rendered outstanding service to the Nation as Director of the Transportation Division of the Petroleum Administration for War during World War II. He served as director of the Federal Reserve Bank at Dallas from 1944 to 1956, and, in the international field, served as a United States member on the Reparations Commission at Potsdam and Moscow in 1945. Major Parten is a very successful businessman and is now president and general manager of Woodley Petroleum Co. J. R. Parten has served his State and Nation with great ability and distinction.

I am proud that he is my good friend. For more than a quarter of a century he has stood for educational progress, honest government, and integrity in office in Texas, having been an active advisor and worker with Gov. James V. Allred, Dr. Homer P. Rainey, and me, in our successive efforts for the people of Texas.

Major Parten is one of the 20 members of the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic, which is now embarking on a most important study of the dangers facing our democratic way of life.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to print in the Appendix of the RECORD, as a part of these remarks, the attached editorials from the Providence, R. I., Bulletin of June 18, 1957, entitled "What Is a 'Truly Free Society'?"; from the New York Times of July 19, 1957, entitled "A Free Society"; and from the Denver Post of July 22, 1957, entitled "How Fares Freedom?"

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article from the Fund for the Republic Bulletin of July 1957 entitled "Freedom and Justice: The Basic Issue," and the list of the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic.

There being no objection, the editorials, article, and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Providence (R. I.) Bulletin of June 18, 1957]

WHAT IS A "TRULY FREE SOCIETY"?

The study of pure science is often derided as an impractical and expensive waste of time. Yet, it is only by the understanding of basic laws of nature that dramatic scientific advances are made possible.

For instance, the theoretical discovery by the late Albert Einstein that matter could be converted totally into energy set the stage for the advent of the nuclear age.

Similarly, theoretical studies of the society in which we live can be highly rewarding. The day-to-day problems at all levels, from the scholarly to the mundane, become so demanding of time, thought, and energy that most people never have a chance to take a long, quiet look at where society has come, or where it's going and why.

Therefore, the decision of the Fund for the Republic to direct a major research effort at clarifying the nature of a truly free society and how it can be maintained is a welcome one, indeed.

Such an excursion into philosophical definitions might seem as remote from the pressing issues of this day as Einstein's curiosity about matter and energy was to the atomic bomb. Yet the fund's projected study is basic to our understanding ourselves

as social and political animals, and so to our very survival.

As Robert M. Hutchins, president of the fund, pointed out, society has undergone revolutionary changes since the 17th and 18th centuries when the modern concepts of human freedom were being formulated.

Indeed, when civil liberties were defined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, with its remarkable Bill of Rights, the United States was small and life was geared to a sparsely settled agrarian society. Beyond the church, Government represented the "only significant social organization." Certainly, there were no such things as the business and industrial colossi, the gigantic labor unions, powerful pressure groups and the overwhelming nature of mass communications that we know today.

Scores, if not hundreds of different pressures and influences are impinging on individual freedoms in ways never even conceived 200 years ago.

Yet, we continue to use the same words to express philosophical values largely unchanged since 1776, with little regard for their applicability or validity in a modern age. And just as a piece of tempered steel breaks with dangerous whiplashing when bent beyond endurance, so society can react with dangerous passions when the concepts by which men live are twisted into cynicism by maladjustment to the social reality.

Competent scholarship is, of course, essential to the success of such a venture, and happily the fund has obtained the services of a group of 10 distinguished Americans to direct the study. If well done, then the project could prove an important bit of philosophical preventive medicine, sparing America from the destructive contradictions of a sort of national schizophrenia.

[From the New York Times of July 19, 1957]

A Free Society

The Fund for the Republic is embarking on an important study of one of the great problems facing our democracy: the effect on freedom and a free society of the large-scale organizations and institutions that have grown up in the last half-century and that were as unknown to the Founding Fathers as the jet airplane and the atomic bomb.

Big business and big labor, to name two major forces of the new age, inevitably affect our life as a Nation and our freedom as individuals. These new groupings—in industry and in labor, in voluntary associations and in pressure groups—have helped change our society from the relatively simple association that it was to the highly complex network of interrelationships that we see around us. Their profound impact on personal freedom and on the structure of the State must first be understood before it can be properly coped with. In announcing the new study, Robert M. Hutchins, president of the fund, said: "We must find out how these developments affect freedom and justice. We must discover the basic issues they present."

This basic issues program is described as a principal part of the present phase of the fund's operations, which began with a grant from the Ford Foundation over 4 years ago. The fund has been spending its money by and large in some exceedingly useful directions despite ill-informed and often irresponsible criticism that has been directed against it. In so doing, the fund has helped strengthen American democracy, and the new study just announced gives every indication of being a major contribution to this end.

[From the Denver Post of July 22, 1957]

How Fares Freedom?

The Fund for the Republic has undertaken what could prove its most valuable contribution to the American way of life which so many of us take too much for granted. With the aid of 10 distinguished Americans the fund will study and report on the issues of individual freedom and civil liberty in the United States.

So far, four broad areas of examination have been outlined: The industrial corporation and its effects on economic, political, and social freedoms of the individual; the trade union and its relationship with its members, its community and its terms and practices as they affect individual rights; the Government's defense policies and their impact on traditional civil liberties; and the role of religion in public life, relationship between church and State, and right of religious dissent.

As Alan Barth writes in the current New Republic, "civil liberties have come back into fashion" with the recent United States Supreme Court decisions upholding individual rights against the encroachment of big Government. But big business and big labor have equally important effects on freedom in a democracy. So do other big institutions which have sprung up in this country since the 18th century—pressure groups, mass communications, and so forth.

This is what the fund is moving into. To conduct its survey of contemporary American life it has enlisted Adolph A. Berle, Columbia professor and former Assistant Secretary of State; Henry R. Luce, Time-Life publisher; Scott Buchanan, philosophy professor and former dean of St. John's College; Eugene Burdick, author of the Ninth Wave and assistant professor of political science at University of California; Eric Goldman, Princeton history professor; Clark Kerr, chancellor of University of California; Father John Courtney Murray, S. J., Catholic theologian and editor; Isidor I. Rabi, Nobel prize-winning Columbia professor and chairman of General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission; Robert Redfield, anthropology professor at University of Chicago; and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Protestant theologian and editor.

During the past 4 years the fund has spent $8 million on studies of communism, maintenance of due process, protection of freedom of speech and belief, education and maintenance of equal opportunity. Now the fund proposes to answer two crucial questions of our times: What is a truly free society, and how can such a society be maintained?

In announcing the fund's new program, President Robert M. Hutchins warned that the defense of civil liberties today involves more than the mere insistence upon strict adherence to the Bill of Rights. Tremendous changes have occurred since the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were written, "with consequences which their authors could not even imagine."

So the fund proposes to evaluate how freedom and justice have fared, and how they can best be safeguarded in context with our modern society. It does not delude itself that it can come up with all the final solutions, but it does promise to define the fundamental issues and problems in order to provide, as Mr. Hutchins said, "the basis for intelligent discussion of the most important issues of our time."

If the fund can do that, it will have achieved one of the most important accomplishments of our time. For as John Philpot Curran declared in his speech on the right of election in 1790: "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance."

[From the Fund for the Republic Bulletin for July 1957]

Freedom and Justice: The Basic Issues

The Modern Problem of Civil Liberties

The Fund for the Republic has enlisted 10 distinguished Americans, outstanding for their experience and competence in relevant fields, to conduct an extensive inquiry into the basic issues of individual freedom and civil liberty in the United States. In a coordinated program on which the fund will presently put a major emphasis, they will seek to identify and clarify those fundamental issues that underlie most of the tumult concerning questions of freedom and justice in our contemporary society.

When the fund was established in 1953 it took as its charter the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The purpose of the fund, as the directors expressed it, was to make these founding statements living documents in the daily affairs of the Nation. This work must and can continue. Yet it has become increasingly clear that the defense of civil liberties, as traditionally understood—a mere insistence upon the letter of such texts as the free-speech clause of the first amendment or the constitutional protection against self-incrimination—is no longer enough to meet the real issues which are constantly arising in this field.

After intensive thought and consultation, lasting over a year or more, the directors and officers of the Fund for the Republic have concluded that their fundamental problem does not lie in the ill observance of the great 18th century texts; it lies rather in the immense changes in the circumstances and institutions of the American people, which have rendered the application of those texts to contemporary affairs so confusing and difficult a task.

The 18th century constitutional structure, with its Federal and State bills of rights, was developed for a small, scattered, almost wholly agrarian society. Except for the church, Government was virtually the only large, organized institution with significant impact on the individual; and the constitutional guaranties were, naturally, concerned almost wholly with the protection of indivdual and minority interests against Government. There were no giant industrial corporations; no trade unions; the modern political party was not even contemplated; mass communications were not in the hands of huge, highly organized and centrally controlled media; the voluntary pressure group scarcely existed. Today these and other big institutions affect the individual for good or ill quite as intimately as big government does. Without a reexamination of the modern context, without full inquiry into the true, as opposed to the alleged, effects of these institutions, the modern problems of liberty and justice in a free society will remain insoluble.

To Clarify the Basic Issues

The Fund for the Republic does not delude itself with a hope that final solutions for those problems can be found through any single effort. It does believe that the basic issues of freedom and justice can be defined; that the mistaken or fictitious issues which absorb most current dispute can be stripped away; that the real problems can be clarified and set forth in terms permitting of their rational debate among free men.

This is the purpose of the new program. The primary responsibility for the work will be in the hands of the 10 consultants, who are:

A. A. Berle, Jr., attorney, former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Brazil, professor of corporation law at Columbia University since 1927; and author of a number of books on the corporation, including (with Gardiner C. Means) The Modern Corporation and Private Property, a foundation work on the subject published in 1932.

Scott Buchanan, professor of philosophy, with a wide background of teaching at Amherst, Harvard, University of Virginia, University of Chicago, St. John's College, Fisk University, and elsewhere; a member of the American Mathematics Association and

American Philosophical Association and author of works on philosophy and politics.

Eugene Burdick, assistant professor of political science at the University of California; a Rhodes scholar; a novelist as well as political scientists; and in 1950–51 a member of the staff of the Naval War College.

Eric F. Goldman, contemporary historian and presently a professor of history at Princeton. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow, a Library of Congress Fellow, and a State Department lecturer in Europe and India.

Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, and a specialist in the fields of labor economics and industrial relations. A member of the War Labor Board, 1943–45, and of Presidential factfinding boards, he has had extensive experience as impartial chairman or arbitrator in industrial relations.

Henry R. Luce, editor and publisher, the founder of Time, Life, and Fortune magazines, a director of the Union Theological Seminary, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Roosevelt Hospital.

John Courtney Murray, S. J., Catholic theologian; editor of the quarterly, Theological Studies; formerly visiting professor of philosophy at Yale, and trustee of Manhattanville College.

Reinhold Niebuhr, graduate professor of theology and ethics at Union Theological Seminary, New York; editor of the quarterly, Christianity and Society, and the biweekly, Christianity and Crisis; author of works on Christian ethics and on Christianity and international and domestic politics.

Isidor I. Rabi, physicist, presently chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission; a member of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, and author of many contributions on quantum mechanics, nuclear physics, and molecular beams.

Robert Redfield, anthropologist; professor at the University of Chicago since 1927; past president of the American Anthropological Association. He has served as research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in charge of ethnological and sociological field work.

With Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, these men will meet regularly for extended sessions of study and discussion, directed toward the clarification of the basic issues of freedom and justice in the modern state. Elmo Roper, chairman, and George N. Shuster, vice chairman of the board of directors of the fund, will participate in the work of the group in order to maintain a close liaison between the consultants' committee and the board.

The consultants will initiate and coordinate whatever factual studies or theoretical or practical investigations they may need to help them in their primary task of clarification. They expect to have published, through whatever media may be most appropriate, the results of such supporting studies, as well as reports of their own discussions, preliminary findings and such conclusions as appear to be of value. The work is seen as one of continuing inquiry, discussion and publication.

In announcing the program, Mr. Hutchins said: "It is our hope that the program will develop findings and reports which will form the basis for intelligent discussion of the most important issues of our time."

INITIAL PROJECTS

The program has been conceived as a single undertaking in which every member of the consultant group will be jointly responsible for the conclusions in every field of study. At the outset, however, some division of the task is obviously necessary: Four separate study projects are now being organized, and others will be developed later. For each project 1 or more of the consultants have assumed a special responsibility, while 2 or more members of the fund's board of directors have agreed to lend counsel and assistance and to provide liaison between the board and the project. The four initial projects are:

On the industrial corporation

This project will seek to appraise the effects of the corporation on the economic, political, and social freedoms of the individual; later it will try to determine the meaning for a free society of the corporation's relation to other institutions. The project will seek the cooperation of industry and assistance from universities, trade associations, and competent individuals.

Special consultant: A. A. Berle, Jr.

Liaison directors: M. Albert Linton, J. Howard Marshall.

On the trade union

This project will examine the relationship between the union and its membership, between the union and the community, and the implications for individual rights of collective-bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, size of the bargaining unit, and other factors. The project will develop initially through informal conferences and discussions with trade-union officials, industrial relations experts, arbitrators, and others qualified to contribute.

Special consultant: Clark Kerr.

Liaison directors: Oscar Hammerstein II, Paul G. Hoffman, Meyer Kestnbaum.

On individual freedom and the common defense

While the expansion of modern big government is one of the most striking of the institutional changes since 1789, government as a whole is too vast a subject for any single study. It was therefore decided to begin with a study of government in its capacity as an institution to provide for the common defense. The project will seek to identify the significant points of impact of government's measures for defense (against both internal and foreign threats) on the traditional concepts of freedom and liberty; it will explore the effects on individual freedom of the draft and other military manpower policies; of measures for the control of sedition; of measures directed toward the prevention or detection of espionage and similar conspiratorial crimes. The project will probably commission certain special factual studies and will consult with qualified persons in government, law, education, and science.

Special consultant: I. I. Rabi.

Liaison directors: Charles W. Cole, Herbert H. Lehman, Jubal R. Parten.

On religion in a democratic society

The first amendment guarantees the right of the individual to the free exercise of religion and prohibits governmental establishment of any church. But in our increasingly complex society many issues remain unsettled—problems of censorship, parochial schools, adoptions, etc. To explore the basic issues underlying these controversies the project will deal with the relationships between church and state, the role of religion in public life, the right of religious dissent, the meaning of freedom from as well as for religion. The project will appoint a consultant subgroup composed of Protestants, Catholics, Jews and humanists who will meet regularly with the special consultants and liaison directors. Spokesmen for various points of view on these questions will be called upon for consultation and advice. The project will also sponsor special seminars and commission needed studies and research from qualified individuals and institutions.

Special consultants: Father John Courtney Murray, S. J., Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr.

Liaison directors: Msgr. Francis J. Lally, Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen.

FOR LATER DEVELOPMENT

Other similar projects will be undertaken in the future. These may be devoted to other institutions; they may, particularly in the case of government, be devoted to different aspects of the institutions already under examination; they may study certain central problems of freedom which do not lend themselves to the institutional approach. The organization of these projects will be flexible enough to permit the employment of whatever methods seem most useful and whatever minds have most to contribute, but it will in general follow the pattern approved by the board of directors for the four initial undertakings.

The 10 members of the consultants' committee have agreed to serve for at least 1 year, and in June 1958 the progress of the program will be reviewed and its further direction defined. The present group, as Mr. Hutchins reported to the board on its formation, "is remarkable for the individual distinction of its members; for the diversity of their interests, backgrounds and points of view; for the harmony and ease of communication in their meetings; for their dedication to the purposes of the fund and for their enthusiasm for the program on which they are working together." Theirs may well prove a contribution of major significance to freedom and justice in the United States.

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RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Americans Should Have More Respect for Their Own Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, September 17 is Constitution Day. It was on September 17, 1787, that the United States Constitution was adopted. This is indeed a hallowed occasion. However, these days, some Americans seem, unfortunately, more determined to pay lipservice to the Constitution than to give it genuine respect.

That is particularly true in the case of what amounts to some Americans' outright disrespect for the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. Some Americans apparently do not seem to mind if the Bill of Rights is ignored or trampled upon, so long as it is the other fellow who is being hurt. These Americans do not seem to understand that if the Bill of Rights is violated with impunity, as regards one group, then all groups are in danger.

The Bill of Rights exists for all, not just for a few.

I point out these facts in connection with this further fact: The other day, a professor from the University of Wisconsin read a research paper before the American Sociological Society, meeting in annual convention here in Washington, D. C. The paper summarized the results of a survey of a sample of college students in two universities—the University of Wisconsin, and Northwestern University. The surprising result of the survey was that it showed that comparatively few students seem to believe in some of the provisions of the Bill of Rights.

It appears, from the survey, that more than 4 out of 10 would deny an accused person a public trial, under some circumstances.

About the same percentage appear to believe that there are some groups to whom it would be all right to deny the right of peaceful assembly.

And one-quarter of those interviewed see no objection to double jeopardy in criminal proceedings.

This survey ought to give all Americans pause to reflect.

I think our University of Wisconsin and Northwestern students might well brush up on their study of the history of the United States Constitution, the history of why we adopted these precious first 10 amendments to the Constitution.

I have a high regard for these two great universities, naturally; and I hope further studies may show that the students have a better understanding of, and wider sympathy for, the blessings with which we are all endowed.

I send to the desk two items: first, an article from the August 28 issue of the Madison Capital Times on this research paper; second, a statistical table from the paper itself.

I ask unanimous consent that these two items be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and table were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times of August 23, 1957]

SOCIOLOGISTS IN SURVEY FIND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS REJECT PRINCIPLES OF BILL OF RIGHTS

WASHINGTON.—The freedoms guaranteed to Americans by the Bill of Rights apparently are no longer cherished by college students, a team of sociologists reported today.

Drs. Robert McGinnis, of the Univerisity of Wisconsin, and Raymond W. Mack, of Northwestern University, presented to the 52d anual meeting of the American Sociological Society the results of a survey they conducted among University of Wisconsin undergraduates.

In the survey, the first 10 amendments to the United States Constitution—familiarly called the Bill of Rights—were transformed into a 14-item questionnaire.

A "random sample" of students was asked to answer the questionnaire, which brought out their attitudes toward various Bill of Rights principles such as freedom of press and religion, protection against double jeopardy, the right to avoid self-incriminating testimony.

The students "overwhelmingly rejected the principles of the Bill of Rights," McGinnis and Mack said.

Less than 1 percent of them expressed complete agreement or even acceptance with reservations of all the Bill of Rights principles.

The questionnaires were submitted to 483 Wisconsin undergraduates chosen at random from the student body in attendance in September of last year.

Among the findings:

Three students out of four believe there are circumstances in which an individual ought to be subject to a double jeopardy.

More than 7 in 10 would deny an accused person the right to confront his accuser. Nearly half went further and said there are situations where star chamber proceedings are preferable to public trial.

About 4 out of 10 held that there are some groups to whom the right of peaceful public assembly should be denied.

A study of belief in the Bill of Rights: Percent in agreement with each of 14 provisions of the Bill of Rights, university students and schoolteachers

[In percent]

Provision	Group			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Reserved rights	44	53	54	71
Excessive bail	61	59	64	59
Trial by jury	90	90	91	93
Informed of accusation	95	88	89	90
Confront accuser	24	25	31	35
Double jeopardy	24	27	27	24
Public trial	54	43	52	54
Due process	70	54	59	58
Self-incrimination	56	61	62	63
Search and seizure	82	82	83	83
Peaceable assembly	57	63	69	58
Militia and quartering of troops	64	64	65	68
Freedom of religion	77	86	87	87
Freedom of the press	83	93	94	92

NOTES

(1) Northwestern University students.
(2) University of Wisconsin freshmen and sophomores.
(3) Total sample: University of Wisconsin.
(4) Wisconsin schoolteachers.

Radio Bulletin of Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio bulletin dated August 27, 1957, issued by the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minn.

There being no objection, the bulletin was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP, AUGUST 27, 1957

How important are farm prices to farm prosperity? Ask a farmer, and he'll tell you that farm prices are all important. And, he'll wonder to himself why anyone would ask such a foolish question. Every farmer knows he's got to have decent prices to survive. Farming, after all, is a business, and if prices aren't high enough to cover costs of operation and return a profit, the business is in plenty of trouble. That's the boat the farmer is in. That's why he's so concerned about the low prices he gets for what he raises and sells now.

But, if this is so simple, why talk about it? Well, here's the reason. Several months ago, the Secretary of Agriculture gave a talk to Minnesota bankers, meeting in St. Paul. In this speech, the Secretary dealt with what he called half-truths about agriculture. One of

the so-called half-truths that the Secretary claims to see has to do with the role of farm prices. Now, the editor of Successful Farming magazine got a copy of that speech, but, from another source, he got evidence that blows the Secretary's argument sky high. He tells about it in the latest issue of that magazine.

He says that "By interesting coincidence, two pieces of printed matter recently reached Successful Farming editorial offices at almost the same time. One was a speech by Secretary Benson to a group of bankers in which he stated, 'A fourth half-truth is that farm prosperity depends directly on farm prices * * *. It is income that farmers spend, not price. Income is the result of production times price per unit minus costs.'"

The other, adds the editor, was a chart in the Monthly Review, put out by the Tenth Federal Reserve District bank. Says the editor, "The chart is especially interesting after reading the Benson statement, because it shows that farm income follows farm prices up and down rather closely and almost ignores the 'total farm production' line."

One look at the chart shows that the editor is right. And, he concludes with this observation, "So perhaps Secretary Benson's statement is wrong in attempting to minimize effect of price on income—more wrong than the half-truth he's attempting to dispel." Now the source of the chart which the Federal Reserve bank shows is, of course, none other than the Department of Agriculture. Yes, right in the Secretary's own shop, he could have, if he'd tried, found the evidence that shows farmers must get decent prices to come out with decent net incomes. The chart tells the story that Secretary Benson missed, or perhaps doesn't want to tell about. The simple truth is that the farmer's price, and his net income, go up and down together.

Right now they are down, and Successful Farming magazine reminds us that Secretary Benson played a big part in bringing them down. In fact, the magazine editor says Mr. Benson has launched a big push from his office in Washington to make farm prices even lower next year.

Farmer's don't, however, need a chart to remind them of the cold, hard facts about making a living on the farm. They know the score. That's why they've worked for farm programs to protect prices, and why hundreds of thousands of them, right here in the upper Midwest, market their grain, GTA, the co-op way.

Mutual Security Conference Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the compromise on the differences between the House and Senate on the mutual security appropriation is not going to satisfy either those who support this program for our national security or those who oppose any or all aid to other friendly nations.

Here, it seems to me, is a clear issue. We necessarily cannot represent the viewpoint of the majority of our constituents. By that I mean, there is plenty of information available to Members of Congress which supports the necessity of adequate funds in the interest of national security, yet these facts are not generally available to the public. Therefore, it seems to me, we have the obligation of voting for restoration of funds even though public opinion at home does not fully support such action. After all, the testimony given at hearings on the mutual security bill was definite. For example, after retiring as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Radford at such a hearing returned and restated his unequivocal support of this program as an essential part of our defense. He reiterated as a retired citizen what officially he had said previously, and he knew the facts. Now I know the American people do not see the mutual security program entirely in the light of defense which many of us do, but that is the light in which Admiral Radford testified.

The voting in Congress indicates, I am sure, that the viewpoint of constituents is a strong influence on us. But today we must vote our own consciences and not as it is politically expedient to vote. The security of the Nation is at stake. So I must personally stand up on this issue and be counted with those who support this unpopular but nevertheless what I believe to be essential program. It is one that will deter war and Communist aggression. I accept the position that defense needs have become so expensive, it is economy to build up the means of self-defense of other friendly peoples abroad rather than to try and maintain major mobilization at home to the point of virtual national bankruptcy.

One new aspect, important since the Army leadership in Syria was taken over recently by the Communists, is now linked with this bill. We have, as I understand, 14 allies chiefly in the Middle and Far East whose military strength depends on it. The five countries, Korea, free China, Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey, by our assistance have 2,100,000 men under arms. These countries are under Communist pressure from without and from within. By treaties, approved by the Senate, we have said the security of the United States would be in jeopardy if Communist aggression succeeds against any of these. Therefore, we have a vital interest in the ability of each country to stand and defend its own integrity.

As legislators, let us not dodge our responsibility. This is waging peace. This mutual security, if adequate, will prevent war. As such we must provide sufficient funds for the program.

So, Mr. Speaker, I am impelled to support the maximum restoration of funds in the conference report on the mutual security bill.

A Congressman Should Visit With His Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I believe that a Congressman should be in his district to confer and visit with his constituents whenever official duties do not require him to be in Washington.

When Congress adjourns in a few days, I expect to return home and to be available for conferences and visits with residents of the Fourth District in the courthouse of each county seat between 8 a. m. and 4 p. m., in accordance with the following schedule:

Allen County, Lima: Thursday, September 19.

Auglaize County, Wapakoneta: Tuesday, September 17.

Darke County, Greenville: Wednesday, September 18.

Mercer County, Celina: Monday, September 16.

Miami County, Troy: Tuesday, September 24.

Preble County, Eaton: Wednesday, September 25.

Shelby County, Sidney: Thursday, September 26.

No appointments will be necessary. Any problem with, or opinion concerning, the Federal Government will be proper subject for conference.

Of course, I will be glad to see residents of the district, in my Piqua office, any time that Congress is not in session, except on the days scheduled above.

One-Third Socialized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Punxsutawney Spirit of August 26, 1957:

ONE-THIRD SOCIALIZED

We are approximately one-third socialized. And if the trend continues at the rate it has followed since 1929, in 50 years 99 percent of our economy will be socialized and 1 person out of 100 will be privately employed.

That startling observation comes from Emerson P. Schmidt, director of economic research for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. He points out that last year nearly one-third of the national income was channeled through Government, either Federal, State, or local. He adds: "Just as human wants are unlimited and insatiable, it appears that the pressure for Government intervention and expenditures is unlimited and insatiable."

Dr. Schmidt is particularly concerned with the continuing effort to load more and more activities and functions on the Federal Government. As he sees it, "We've seemingly become incapable of distinguishing between national problems and nationwide problems." Washington now runs 54 grants-in-aid programs and 13 new ones are in the current budget—including one for assisting States to plant trees. The results are inevitable. The Government bureaucracy grows. The proportion of our earnings taken by Government tends to increase. More and more Government controls and regulations come into being, to the detriment of the free market. As a consequence, he finds, * * * our growth rate has not been what it could be under more favorable tax treatment and less debilitating regulations. According to him, since 1946 our per capita real income—

which is income adjusted for changes in taxes and in prices—has increased only $182, or about $18 per year per person.

Dr. Schmidt deals in considerable detail with the steady growth of governmental intervention in the fields of money and banking. Intervention has taken various forms at various times, including the forcing down of interest rates, guaranteed loans, easier borrowing arrangements, etc. And this, he writes, "puts the economy under constant inflationary pressures and creates political pressures for direct Government lending, direct controls, and regimentation. It must finally lead to capital investment rationing, compulsory saving, price and wage controls, profit controls, the allocation of labor to specific assignments—a regimented economy."

It is frequently said and commonly believed that the demand for new services and interventions by Government comes from the people and so is irresistible. Dr. Schmidt characterizes that as almost 100 percent hokum and buncombe. He is convinced that the demand comes, instead, from a comparatively small number of researchers, writers, and intellectuals. They get their ideas widely talked about—and then * * * the politicians latch on to them and make them their own.

Is the situation hopeless? It is not, in Dr. Schmidt's view. Today, he feels, the basic drift of thought in the Western World is toward more conservatism—and that this drift can be capitalized upon. We can, he argues, get better representation at all levels of government. He makes his final point in these words: "If we each begin somewhere at the local level, within a few years we can change the sociopolitical climate in the direction of greater productivity and more freedom for all."

One Man or Many?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane Republican, Kane and Mount Jewett, Pa., of August 26, 1957:

ONE MAN OR MANY?

"One of the most persistent issues of modern times is the controversy over defense organization at the seat of government," writes Col. J. D. Hittle, United States Marine Corps, in the July issue of United States Naval Institute Proceedings. "In essence the issue is a clear-cut one and centers on the question of whether or not our Nation should discard the Joint Chiefs of Staff as the top military planning agency and replace it with the Prussian-German type single chief of staff and supreme general staff system."

In 1947 Congress established the JCS system and specifically forbade adoption of the supreme general staff system. Ever since, efforts have been made to change the law and authorize the appointment of a single chief of staff. As Colonel Hittle points out, there are superficial attractions in this plan. And one danger, in his view, is that "It deceives because it offers what so many seek—an easy, simple solution to a very complicated problem."

For instance, the fact that in actual combat, troops require a single commander is used as an argument in support of the single chief of staff concept. But, as Colonel Hittle observers, field commanders—no matter how high their rank or important their command—are not responsible for determining the Nation's basic strategy. They only implement it. "This," he writes, "points up the very fundamental difference between planning at the national and lower levels—planning at the seat of government originates the national strategy. Subordinate theater commanders carry out such strategy as it applies to their respective commands." Moreover, determination of the basic national strategy involves far more than military decisions alone. It is always influenced by many other and diverse elements—political, industrial, economic, etc.

The great military successes of Frederick the Great—a monarch whose authority was absolute, and who was supreme commander in war—are cited in favor of the single chief proposal. But as Colonel Hittle shows, Frederick operated under vastly different conditions of warfare. He had ground forces only, and faced none of the problems resulting from the need to coordinate ground, air and naval forces. At his greatest battle his army numbered but 36,000 men—about the size of 2 present-day divisions. As war became more and more complex, Colonel Hittle finds, the single chief of staff or single commander system failed to keep pace. Indeed, he believes that the ultimate defeat of Napoleon, another supreme commander with absolute power, was due to that failure, and that the emperor "did not comprehend sea power or naval problems."

Colonel Hittle presents many convincing arguments against the single chief system, and in favor of the JCS system we now have. To quote him once more, "The JCS system assures full development of land, sea and air warfare doctrines and material, because no one service can dominate another. All are partners in national security. The single chief of staff permits 1-man and 1-service control of the armed forces and leads to stifling of progress and service initiative."

University of Wisconsin School of Banking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, there is now meeting at the University of Wisconsin a most interesting school. In attendance are 1,128 bankers from 39 States of the Union. They are enrolled in a course in banking, sponsored jointly by the university and by an organization of American bankers.

The 2-week course is being addressed by many of the outstanding economists and bankers of the Nation.

The school demonstrates the interest versity of Wisconsin is a servant, not simply of the youngsters of my State, but also of the entire adult population, and not simply of my State, but also of other States of the Union.

The school demonstrates the interest of the banking profession in serving ever more effectively the financial needs of the people of this country. This is the sort of development which shows how private banking is on its toes, eager to learn, to improve, and to serve.

I ask unanimous consent that an article on the subect of this banking school be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal]

LARGEST BANK SCHOOL AT UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN DRAWS 1,128

MADISON, WIS.—With the largest enrollment in its 13-year history, the University of Wisconsin School of Banking will open Monday.

A total of 1,128 bankers from 39 States have enrolled for the 2-week course, which will close with commencement exercises September 6.

The school is sponsored jointly by the university and the Central States Conference, which consists of bankers' associations in 16 Midwestern States. Students are required to attend three summer sessions before graduating, and in addition must complete extension work between sessions.

This year, 325 members of the third-year class are expected to receive diplomas. Chancellor Clifford M. Herdin of the University of Nebraska will be the commencement speaker.

Dr. Herbert V. Prochnow, a Wisconsin alumnus and vice president of the First National Bank of Chicago, is director of the school. Fayette H. Elwell, dean emeritus of the university's school of commerce, is administrator.

Prochnow is a former Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and has been director of the school since 1945. The curriculum includes courses in contemporary economic problems, commercial bank credit, investments and commercial law.

Prochnow said that 110 faculty members drawn from the fields of banking, government, economics, law, and business would lecture. He said that faculty members include outstanding authorities in their fields.

Among the lecturers are Dr. Gabriel Hauge, a special assistant to President Eisenhower; Clarence B. Randall, also a special assistant to the President and former board chairman of Inland Steel Co.; Willis Gale, board chairman of Commonwealth Edison Co., Chicago, and Dr. Sumner H. Slichter, Harvard economist.

Wisconsin lecturers will include Carl M. Flora, vice president of the First Wisconsin National Bank, Milwaukee, and John H. Shiels, president of the Madison Bank & Trust Co., Madison.

Surplus Property for Worthy Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to make certain welfare and recreation agencies eligible for Federal surplus property.

Under the present law, such surpluses can go only to medical institutions, health centers, schools, colleges, and related organizations. The proposed bill would broaden eligibility to include agencies such as the Salvation Army, YMCA, YWCA, Travelers Aid, and similar organizations.

The bill grew out of recommendations drawn up by a National Welfare Assembly Committee, which included members drawn from American Foundation for the Blind, Child Welfare League of America, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Council on Social Work Education, Girl Scouts, National Council of Churches of Christ in America, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, National Jewish Welfare Board, National Recreation Association, Salvation Army, United Community Funds and Councils, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association. In addition, the following organizations also expressed their interest in this subject: American Hearing Society, Board of Hospitals and Homes of the Methodist Churcch, National Catholic Community Service, and United HIAS Service.

The present law, which limits eligibility for surplus Government property to educational and health organizations, should be expanded to include worthy welfare and recreational agencies. These include settlement houses, homes for the aged, youth centers, character building agencies, and adoption centers.

These agencies are doing a magnificent job of helping our young people, our aged, and many of our needy citizens. They need and can make good use of surplus property in their work.

Since the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare cooperated with the National Welfare Assembly Committee in drawing up the agreement out of which this bill grew, it deserves wide support and should be acted upon as soon as possible after Congress reconvenes in January.

We should leave no stone unturned in helping these fine organizations pursue their objectives, for in the end their success will mean a better America for all.

San Francisco Only Logical Home Port for U. S. S. "Ranger"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I profess no talent as a naval strategist. I feel that I am wise to leave that to the admirals. But I do profess considerable knowledge of the sea and the men who sail it, having spent a good many years before the mast. The men who make up the complement of the beautiful new *Ranger* are, I am sure, no different in their tastes and desires from the merchant seamen; the bluejackets of the lesser but no less proud vessels of our splendid fleet, or the boys who man the lovely white cutters of the United States Coast Guard.

Ask them their idea of the best liberty town on the coast and we will wager that San Francisco wins the toss, hands down.

There has been much argument and comment both in the public prints and in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on why the *Ranger* should make Long Beach her home port rather than Bremerton or San Francisco. The reasons given are certainly valid as far as they go for either of these two fine ports to the northward and southward of San Francisco. But let us take a minute or two to discuss the ship's assignment from the point of view of her 3,500 crew members' welfare and morale.

Has anyone ever walked down the main street of a Navy town when liberty has been granted and the town's population virtually doubles in the space of hours? The sea of white hats may make the hustlers, the gyp artists, the tattoo parlors, and the beer-joint operators faint with delight as the jacktars struggle with their own form of temptation on where to spend their money.

Has anyone ever thought of the housing and schooling problems that beset the smaller Navy town when a ship the size of the *Ranger* drops her hook in her permanent anchorage? Has anyone experienced the married sailors' dismay when they learn the stepped up rent they would have to pay for cramped quarters in an already cramped community?

To a city the size of San Francisco, the influx of 3,000 Navy families would be a drop in the bucket. The city is big enough to absorb far more than that, and in San Francisco the natural beauties, the wonderful climate, and the cultural and educational advantages are a strong morale inducement which I feel should be carefully considered.

The quasi-military experts have argued that farther south in California the flying conditions are better than those in the San Francisco area. The number of crystal-clear days may be more frequent farther south, but I doubt it. This may seem naive of me to mention, but nowadays is aerial combat limited only to those days when no vagrant whisp of nimbo-stratus clutters the horizon and the eyeballs of the foe are clearly visible a rocket's range away?

San Francisco's shipyards are quite capable of handling a ship of the *Ranger's* bulk. The critics point out that another west-coast port would be better equipped to handle her if she ever became badly damaged. Again at the risk of naivete, may I suggest that were she banged up, the unfortunate event would probably occur somewhere east of Suez, and were she required to limp home for docking, the difference in nautical miles on a great-circle run from the Far East to any port on the west coast would be practically negligible.

I enjoy a mental picture of the *Ranger*, steaming in stately dignity beneath the Golden Gate Bridge, inbound from a Far East patrol. Below, in her berthing spaces the liberty section is getting ready to go ashore. The dialog might go something like this.

"What are you gonna do tomorrow, Boats?"

"Going to take the wife and kids out to the ball game. I hear those San Francisco Giants are playing a doubleheader."

San Francisco, with its unlimited facilities to absorb, educate, and entertain the 3,500 sailormen and their families, wants to be home port of the *Ranger*; and with its shipyard facilities and unquestioned position as a major port city on the Pacific coast, ought to be the home port for the queen of the Pacific Fleet.

Latin American Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I have on several occasions during the last few months, addressed the House indicating my concern over the campaign of the gentleman from Oregon against several Latin American republics. I honestly feel that his activities are contrary to the best interests of our national security and the welfare of amicable hemispheric relations. I have tried to be quite objective in my comments on the gentleman's activities and have raised numerous questions which he has seen fit either to evade or to leave unanswered. If these questions were fully and completely answered by the gentleman, the House might be in a better position to judge his actions in light of full disclosure. I would like to take this opportunity to repeat some of my questions posed on July 19, and August 9, 1957, in the fond hope that the gentleman will see the benefit of complete and candid replies in the interest of a full understanding of his objectives.

I have stated that the gentleman foments revolution and in support of this assertion, I quoted his words of June 13, 1957, on this floor. "Do I foment revolution against dictators? Yes; gladly, and until I die." I asked the gentleman if he still adheres to this position or has he seen the folly of an American representative fomenting revolution against friendly Allied countries.

I have asserted that from a reading of certain Costa Rican newspapers it would appear that the gentleman's statements and actions were an intrusion into the foreign policy prerogatives of the executive branch of the Government. In order to judge the correctness of my assertion I have, on several occasions, asked the gentleman to make available to the House all his public and private statements made in the Caribbean area. He has consistently refused to do so.

I have repeatedly questioned the gentleman concerning his weekend excursions to Costa Rica and Colombia in the company of a female employee of the Library of Congress. I have asked the gentleman to explain why this employee, Mrs. Bennett, was given equal pictorial and editorial billing by Costa Rican newspapers and why she was termed "a collaborator of the gentleman from Oregon." Also, I have asked that the gentleman make known the extent of the

expenses defrayed by the Government of Costa Rica and a Colombian newspaper. I brought to the gentleman's attention the fact that the Associated Press, under dateline June 15, reported that Mr. and Mrs. Porter arrived in Costa Rica on that date. I asked the gentleman if the Associated Press had confused Mrs. Bennett with Mrs. Porter and, if not, were Mrs. Porter's expenses defrayed similarly. None of these questions have been answered.

As regards the gentleman's attitude toward the propriety of the Library of Congress providing the services of Mrs. Bennett, I have inquired of the gentleman if he believes that those services are proper. I raised the question of conflict of interest in Mrs. Bennett, a Federal employee of the United States, accepting emoluments from foreign governments. I ask the gentleman if he had sought a ruling on this question from the Attorney General of the United States. There has been no answer.

I felt that in light of my assertions concerning the improper actions of Mrs. Bennett, it would be helpful to judge their correctness if the gentleman from Oregon were to make available a summary of Mrs. Bennett's actions and public statements in the Caribbean. Such might explain her widespread press coverage in Costa Rica. No such information has been forthcoming from the gentleman.

The gentleman has stated that the military advantage of aid to certain Latin American countries is only fancied but he admits that the Department of Defense asserts that the military advantage gained thereby is very real. I have asked the gentleman if he considers himself a more qualified judge of military requirements than the Department of Defense. The question remains unanswered.

I agree with the gentleman that the Communist danger in Latin America can be more attributed to subversion than invasion but that there is no difference in the end result. I asked the gentleman if he is aware that the Red government of Guatemala established by subversion was overthrown by Castillo Armas just in time to prevent the arrival of Soviet arms in a Swedish ship.

The gentleman has stated on numerous occasions that everyone in the State Department below the post of Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs agrees with his policies. In the interest of the continuation of our good-neighbor policy, I ask the gentleman to make public the names of those State Department officials who are not in sympathy with this long-established bipartisan policy. Again, the gentleman has failed to produce.

The gentleman has stated that he has been "lionized by the people of Costa Rica." In this regard, I asked the gentleman what connection there was between his fervent reception in Costa Rica and his introduction of an amendment to the mutual security bill which would have cut off aid to Costa Rica's archenemy, Nicaragua.

I ask the gentleman to explain the meaning of the overwhelming defeat of his amendment to the mutual security bill particularly in light of the fact that he had brought these amendments and his report thereon to the attention of every Member of this body 2 weeks before the vote was recorded.

I have asked the gentleman why he does not consult with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs or the Secretary of State before making his radical charges against the governments of allied countries. Again, no satisfactory answer was forthcoming.

These and many other questions designed to reach a better understanding of the objectives of the gentleman from Oregon remain unanswered. I have no means of knowing whether the gentleman will ever choose to reply but in the absence of any explanation from the gentleman, I conclude his silence is a tacit admission of the veracity of my assertions.

Mutual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, for the RECORD, I want to include the latest summary of the Federal aid mutual security debate as depicted in the following editorial by one of Connecticut's finest newspapers, the Hartford Times.

I have long felt that this program is one of the most important weapons we have for the defense of the free world and in maintaining America's leadership. I have consistently voted for foreign aid, yet, at all times have been particularly interested that this program be on a sound economic basis with no waste. The day may come when foreign aid can be eliminated, but until peace is secured, we should continue this program as economically as possible as insurance to peace in the world.

FOREIGN AID CUT COMING

The Senate has restored $500 million of the $800 million the House cut from the President's near $4 billion request for foreign aid. The matter will go to conference committee to adjust the two bill versions.

The long, sharp debate in both Senate and House has made an impression on the administration. Vice President NIXON says that a worldwide survey is to be made in an effort to cut the costs of foreign aid operations. He virtually agreed that cuts could be made without loss of effectiveness when he said:

"I would be less than candid if I were not to say that in some areas of the world there has been waste and that in some areas of the world where we have provided funds it hasn't accomplished the purposes we would like."

The American people will need to be kept up to date on the facts if they are to continue to give support to this highly desirable program. The critics cannot be allowed to have the last word.

The program began as a temporary venture as the Marshall plan during the Truman administration and was designed to stem the swelling postwar tide of aggressive communism in Europe. Red-instigated general strikes threatened to overthrow governments in Italy and France. Our economic aid removed the economic distress on which Reds were basing their appeal.

There is sound basis for holding, as Mr. NIXON did, that "the expenditures we make in the foreign field are just as important and, in some ways more in the interest of the United States than the expenditures we make in our own defenses here at home." But that proposition needs the constant support of relevant facts.

Especially there must be frank scrutiny of the causes of public criticism. Mr. NIXON said that "as result of the congressional attitude toward this program, the administration is examining the operation of these programs all over the world to see ways in which we can do it with less money than we have been doing in the past."

With such information in hand, further debate can be intelligently carried on. Some degree of economy is indicated by the removal of admitted waste.

Professional Visual Care for War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. F. SISK
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has reported favorably to this House H. R. 6719, which we may anticipate will be before the House for action shortly after we convene in January. I would like to commend this legislation to the Members and urge that during the recess they take the opportunity to examine it. The bill would provide urgently needed salary adjustments to the professional personnel of the Veterans' Administration. I am convinced these adjustments are not only merited, but that they are most necessary if we are to secure for veterans the high caliber health and hospital services they deserve.

I would like particularly to address my remarks and draw the Members' attention to section 5 of H. R. 6719, which would provide a long overdue recognition of the services and accomplishments of the optometric profession and would enable the Veterans' Administration to make far better use of optometrists in providing visual care for veterans.

About 10 years ago the Congress directed that the armed services commission optometrists. As a consequence, more than 300 doctors of optometry are on active duty with professional status as commissioned officers of the military services, holding ranks as high as lieutenant colonel in the Army, captain in the Navy, and major in the Air Force. Under present regulations, doctors of optometry, graduates of accredited and recognized colleges requiring 5 or 6 years of college work leading to doctors' degrees, are classified as technicians, grades 5 to 7 by the Veterans' Administration and are paid and treated as such. As a consequence, fewer than 10 optometrists are employed by the Administration throughout the country. Unfortunately, the veterans and taxpayers are

the ones who suffer through this inconsistent discrimination.

I do not think there can be any doubt of the ultimate economy and improved visual care which would result if the Congress enacts the authorizing provisions of section 5 of H. R. 6719 and if a strengthened program of visual care of veterans is conscientiously formulated by the Veterans Administration. Doctors of optometry are providing about 75 percent of the visual care in the United States and it is unthinkable that we should deny this same visual attention to veterans.

Doctors of optometry are intensively trained to test and diagnose visual defects and to consider test results and prescribe appropriate corrective lenses and devices. This training to diagnose, to analyze, and to prescribe are the phases of their work in the visual health field which merit professional recognition, for they require the exercise of independent, trained judgment. Doctors of optometry are thus differentiated from nurses, laboratory workers, and other technicians who carry out orders given them by a doctor.

Doctors of optometry are also intensively trained to recognize diseases of the eyes, though treatment of diseases by medicine or surgery is outside their field. When a patient exhibits symptoms of disease, he is referred to a specialist in diseases of the eye in exactly the same manner as your family medical doctor refers patients to specialists when diagnosis and treatment are not in the medical field in which his services will provide the attention and expert handling required.

During committee consideration of this legislation, two objections were raised to the provisions of section 5 giving professional status to doctors of optometry. It was said this should not be done because the present professional staff of the Veterans' Administration is designated as the "Medical Service," and optometrists are not medical doctors. To me, such an argument completely lacks substance and is a quibbling over words. It would be far better to rename the division as "Health Service," than to deprive veterans of this care—if any recognition is to be given to such an argument.

More serious was the allegation that optometrists are not professionally trained. I looked into this, because I certainly do not want to bring about unskilled or untrained visual care. I find that every college in this country giving a degree as doctor of optometry maintains a professional school of optometry with high requirements for admission, including at least 2 years of preprofessional training at the college level, with a minimum of 3 or 4 additional years of professional study, requiring 5 or 6 years of college training in all. This compares favorably with the requirements of other professions concerned with health care and exceeds a number of them.

I think the Members will agree that this requirement, together with the provisions of section 5 authorizing the Veterans' Administrator to determine requirements for eligibility, effectively insure the highest professional standards. I feel it is unfortunate that misleading statements were made to the committee in this regard.

There is a larger and perhaps a more important principle involved in the legislation we consider which bears on health care for veterans, servicemen, and others entitled to such care. I think it would be most unfortunate if we became so circumscribed and bound to the canons and beliefs and theories of any one school or branch of the healing art that we could not take advantage of the services offered by another branch. We all may suffer if we are blind to the advances of science and the formulation of new theories which, perhaps, do not fit into the thinking of older schools. We cannot afford to trust our health and well-being exclusively to a monopoly of thought.

Treasury Department Analysis of Customs Administrative Bill of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERE COOPER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, on August 23, 1957, I introduced, at the request of the administration, H. R. 9424, entitled "A bill to amend certain administrative provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930 and related laws, and for other purposes." Our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York, Representative REED, introduced an identical bill, H. R. 9425, on the same date.

I have received from the Treasury Department an analysis of this legislation. I have received a large number of requests for copies of this analysis from interested individuals and organizations.

Since it is highly important that all interested individuals and organizations have this material for study prior to the commencement of the second session of this Congress, under unanimous consent, I ask to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

ANALYSIS OF CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATIVE BILL OF 1957—TITLE I, AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930 AND RELATED LAWS—REFERENCES TO REPEALED LAWS—OBSOLETE STATUTE REPEALED

Section 101: (a) The act of March 24, 1874, was repealed by section 643 of the Tariff Act of 1922 (42 Stat. 989) and no corresponding provision of law is now in effect.

Section 3433 of the Revised Statutes was superseded by section 3177 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939, and the latter has now been superseded by section 5521 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

(b) Section 3448 of the Revised Statutes was superseded by section 2197 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939, and the latter has now been superseded by section 7701 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

(c) Section 3369 of the Revised Statutes was superseded by section 2190 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939, and the latter has now been superseded by section 5753 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Section 901 of the Revenue Act of 1926 was superseded by section 3074 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939, and the latter has now been superseded by section 5333 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

(d) Section 241 of the Criminal Code has been repealed and the matter is now covered by title 18, United States Code, section 42.

(e) Revised Statute 2904 is obsolete. Dutiable value on imports is determined in accordance with section 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended.

DEPOSIT OF IMPORTED LIQUORS IN BONDED WAREHOUSE

Section 102: Section 11 of the act of March 1, 1879 (19 U. S. C. 467) would be amended by eliminating detailed statutory requirements regarding inspection and a time-consuming stamping procedure by customs officers of casks and other containers of imported liquors. If the Secretary should deem it necessary in the administration of applicable Federal laws for any marks or stamps to be placed on containers of imported liquors, he would be authorized to issue regulations requiring the marks or stamps. An obsolete provision dealing with distilled spirits in containers of not less than 5 wine gallons is deleted.

FREE ENTRY OF RETURNED ARTICLES

Section 103: (a) and (c) Subparagraphs 1615 (e) (3) and 1615 (g) (3) would be amended to insure that articles, resulting from manufacture of imported merchandise entered under bond for export pursuant to the proposed amendment to section 308 (1) made in section 105 of this bill, could not be reimported free of duty. This follows the policy of related provisions of paragraph 1615 dealing with merchandise manufactured in bonded warehouse (par. 1615 (e) (3)), etc.

(b) The amendments of pragraph 1615 (f) would provide, in effect, for the inclusion in the duty to be assessed on a blend of foreign and domestic liquors returned to the United States after having been exported, of an amount equal to any tax which may have been waived on the domestic component. This would remove an ambiguity in the present law and thus forestall a possible claim, that such a blend upon return to the United States may be subject to a duty equal only to the duty and tax waived or refunded on the foreign component.

By deleting the second sentence of subparagraph (f), the necessity of affixing internal-revenue stamps as evidence of duty payment to returned American manufactured tobacco before its release from customs custody would be eliminated. The existing requirement leads to confusion because the assessment to which the internal-revenue stamps relate is a duty not a tax. Evidence of duty payment on tobacco can be established satisfactorily and more economically by a rubber stamp such as is now used in the case of returned American cigars and cigarettes.

The spelling of "respect" is corrected in the fourth sentence.

PERSONAL EFFECTS OF TRAVELERS

Section 104: The amendment of paragraph 1798 (g) would ratify and stabilize an administrative ruling to the effect that no duty is collectible on account of the sale of the wreckage of a tourist's automobile within 1 year after its importation, and would apply the principle of the ruling to other articles in addition to automobiles. While it is not believed that the forfeiture provisions of the existing statute are violated by a sale of such wreckage, a statutory standard defining the extent to which an article must be reduced in value by a casualty if the sale thereof is not to result in forfeiture, is considered desirable for administrative guidance and certainty.

The new subparagraph (h) would permit residents of the United States who rent automobiles while abroad, to make incidental crossings into the United States in the rented

car without being faced with payment of duty on the car. It is anticipated that the regulations would limit the side trips to some such period as 7 consecutive days but recognize that numerous side trips may be made. The regulations would recognize the possibility that rented cars may be wrecked and therefore not be returned abroad and provide for no forfeiture in such a case. (See above amendment proposed to subparagraph (g).)

TEMPORARY IMPORTATION UNDER BOND FOR EXPORTATION

Section 105: (a) Under the present section 308 (1) of the Tariff Act, articles may be entered, temporarily free of duty under bond for exportation, for repair, alteration, or to be processed. However, if the processing would be such as to result in articles manufactured or produced in the United States, entry under section 308 (1) bond would not be allowed. For example, this bond procedure is not available to an importer who brings in a shipment of airplane parts for use in the manufacture by him in this country of an airplane which will be exported. This is because the airplane would be considered to be an article manufactured or produced in the United States. For the importer to do this under present laws, he must file a consumption entry, pay duty on the merchandise, file an application for drawback pursuant to section 313 (a) of the Tariff Act, prepare a drawback entry to cover the exported product, and await the payment of drawback of 99 percent of duties paid on the imported merchandise used. This procedure is costly and time consuming to both the importer and the Government.

The proposed amendment of section 308 (1) would permit operations like the one just described to be carried out under import-export bond even though the article as exported would have been processed to such a degree as to be considered "an article manufactured or produced in the United States." Specifically, the proposal would allow imported merchandise (except distilled spirits the manufacture of which is prohibited by the second proviso of 19 U. S. C. 1311; flour or byproducts produced from wheat prohibited in 19 U. S. C. 1313 (a); and certain other commodities containing alcohol) to be entered under a section 308 import-export bond for use in the manufacture or production of articles solely for export, upon compliance with specified conditions designed to safeguard the revenue. No substitution of domestic merchandise for the imported merchandise would be permitted. A complete accounting would be required for all products and wastes, and all products and valuable wastes would have to be exported or destroyed under customs supervision. Specific identification of the imported merchandise would be preserved, the provision being applicable only to merchandise covered by a single entry. When the merchandise is covered by more than one entry, or when the substitution of domestic for imported merchandise is desired, the drawback procedures would have to be followed.

Adoption of the recommended provision in the areas specified to supplement the drawback procedures, which are the only ones available under existing law, would result in a substantial reduction of time consuming work to the Customs Service, and enable many importers who manufacture by lot solely for export to avoid having their money tied up for extended periods awaiting the processing of their claims for drawback.

Conforming amendments are proposed to paragraph 1615 of the Tariff Act (19 U. S. C. 1201, par. 1615) in section 103 of this bill to insure that such manufactured articles would not be reimported free of duty under that paragraph.

(b) Proposed new subdivision (13) would permit entry under temporary bond for export of articles solely for public fairs or exhibitions. This includes articles to be exhibited as well as the backdrop material. The privilege would be available for public fairs and exhibitions other than those designated pursuant to the proposed Trade Fair Act, title II of this bill. Unlike special trade fair legislation and the proposed general Trade Fair Act, subdivision (13) would not cover articles to be sold or consumed at fairs or exhibitions nor make any allowance in duty due to deterioration while on exhibition nor permit the articles to be entered for consumption. Of course, the existing provisions in title 19, United States Code, section 1557 (c), for destruction in lieu of exportation of merchandise at the importer's request without payment of duty would be available.

DRAWBACK AND REFUNDS

Section 106: (a) The provision for permitting the use of imported and domestic merchandise of the same kind and quality on a substitution basis in the manufacture or production of articles for exportation with benefit of drawback was first enacted as section 313 (b), Tariff Act of 1930, which extended the substitution privilege to sugar, nonferrous metals, and ores containing nonferrous metals. Substitution was authorized because of the difficulty encountered by manufacturers, such as canners and sugar refiners, who used both imported and domestic merchandise in manufacture, in preserving the identification of the imported merchandise used. This resulted in the abandonment of many just claims for drawback. It was believed that manufacturers should not be foreclosed from drawback on their exported products because of the loss of identification and the admixture of imported and domestic merchandise.

By Public Law No. 109, 82d Congress, 1st session, the substitution privilege was extended to metal, and ores containing metal, generally, and to linseed, etc. And by Public Law No. 1012, 84th Congress, 2d session, the privilege was further extended to printing paper, coated or uncoated.

Manufacturers using merchandise other than sugar, metal, ores containing metal, flaxseed or linseed, flaxseed or linseed oil, or printing paper have indicated that they believe the substitution privilege should be extended to the merchandise they use in manufacturing for export on the same basis provided for the above-enumerated commodities. After careful study the Bureau of Customs has concluded that there are classes of merchandise other than those listed in the statutes in connection with which substitution is just as feasible as it is in the case of the enumerated classes of merchandise. Under the proposed new language the feasibility of granting the substitution privilege for an article would be determined as applications therefor are received from time to time from the manufacturers who believe their operations permit the utilization of substitution without endangering the revenue and without interference with the efficient conduct of customs business.

The problems of administering the proposed provision would not differ in nature from those which have been resolved in administering the existing substitution provisions. The privilege would not be extended in any case where substitution could not be as successfully administered as under existing law.

(b) The amendment of section 313 (f) would delete a provision that drawback of duties on salt used in curing exported meat may not be allowed in amounts less than $100. There is no similar limitation on allowances of other drawbacks, and no reason is known for continuing the limitation, which has appeared in provisions ancestral to section 313 (f) at least since 1883.

DEFINITIONS

Section 107: The title of appraisers would be changed from "appraiser of merchandise" to "appraiser of customs" to identify the position with its customs function and conform to the title of other principal field officers like collector of customs, comptroller of customs, and surveyor of customs. Mention of the chief assistant appraiser would be deleted, because the definition as proposed to be amended is believed broad enough to include this position, especially in view of title 19, United States Code, section 1500 (c), which empowers the chief assistant appraiser to perform the duties of the appraiser.

REMOVAL OF GOODS FROM PLACE OF UNLADING

Section 108: The amendments of section 448 (a) would—

(a) Permit definite determination of the time when the liability of the carrier on account of irregular removal of imported articles from the place of unlading ceases by specifically providing that removal is to be made in accordance with regulations of the Secretary. The liability now ceases when a permit for the removal has been issued by the collector of customs, and it has been difficult to determine what amounts to an issuance of a permit in certain classes of transactions, particularly when the articles are forwarded in bond to a second port of entry.

(b) Clarify the extent of the carrier's liability by expressly providing for liability for liquidated damages equal in amount to the duties, taxes, charges, and exactions accruing on the merchandise irregularly removed. In respect of such merchandise which is duty free and consequently as to which duties, taxes, charges, and exactions accruing may be negligible, it is necessary to provide a minimum liability ($500) to discourage laxity in handling such goods. Administrative relief, of course, may be granted in appropriate cases, such as where duty-free goods were not removed with any purpose of evading customs requirements.

(c) Change the carrier's liability from one for "duties" to one for liquidated damages, in order that administrative relief may be extended in cases such as where an irregular removal is for direct exportation and proof of the exportation is furnished.

(d) Change "48 hours" to "5 days" to conform with the extension of the 48-hour period formerly prescribed for making entry in section 484 (a), Tariff Act of 1930, to 5 days by section 16 (b) of the Customs Simplification Act of 1953 (19 U. S. C. 1484 (a)).

(e) Conform the references to merchandise and baggage with the fact that the term "merchandise" in this section is defined in 19 United States Code 1401 (c) so as to include baggage.

VERIFICATION OF DOCUMENTS

Section 109: Section 486 (d) was added as a new provision to the Tariff Act of 1930 by section 17 of the Customs Simplification Act of 1953 (19 U. S. C. 1486 (d)). It authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury by regulation to prescribe that any document required by any law administered by the Customs Service to be under oath may be verified by a written declaration in lieu of the oath. However, the new section did not provide that penalties applicable in a case of the filing of a false oath would be applicable if a false declaration were to be presented in the same circumstances. In accordance with the apparent intent and purpose of the previous legislation, this amendment would prescribe the same penalties for such written declarations, given falsely or not given when required, as are now provided in the case of oaths.

ADJUSTMENT OF VALUE FOR CHANGE IN QUANTITY

Section 110: A recent final decision of the customs courts has required an unrealistic valuation for duty of certain goods purchased at a price per unit of weight which lose weight through evaporation of moisture on the voyage of importation without any diminution in their actual value. The proposed amendment of section 507 would correct the result of this unrealistic decision by authorizing an adjustment, upward or downward as may be appropriate, in the unit value to compensate for either losses or gains in weight which do not affect the real value of the goods. The adjusted unit value would be applied to the landed weight of the merchandise to determine the dutiable value, thus permitting assessment of ad valorem duties on the real value of the goods.

This amendment, of course, would not affect the appraisement of merchandise the weight of which does not change during storage or transportation or merchandise whose actual value is affected by changes in weight.

REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS

Section 111: In general the amendments proposed by this section would change existing law (1) by permitting notices of appraisements to be given in the same manner as notices of liquidations; (2) by permitting liquidation to be made without awaiting a final appraised value; (3) by authorizing administrative review of appraisements by appraisers and eliminating collectors' appeals to reappraisement; (4) by changing the time within which appeals and protests may be filed to 90 days; (5) by requiring deposit of liquidated duties where appeals or protests are filed in connection with merchandise entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption; (6) by making certain conforming amendments to section 514 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U. S. C. 1514); and (7) by prescribing when mailed appeals or protests are filed.

Subsection (a): Proposed section 501 (a) would eliminate the present statutory requirement that written notices of appraisements be given directly to interested parties and provide instead for notices of appraisements to be given in accordance with section 505 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U. S. C. 1505), that is, "in the form and manner prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury." This would permit notices of appraisements to be given in the same manner as notices of liquidations. It is intended to issue regulations providing for a combined notice of appraisement and liquidation. The Treasury Department is studying the practicability of giving the combined notice by mail so as to provide better service to the importing public and modernize the present method of giving notices of liquidations, which generally is by posting the notice in a conspicuous place in the customhouse.

The general authority of collectors to file appeals to reappraisement is eliminated as unnecessary in view of the proposal to amend section 515 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U. S. C. 1515) by providing for administrative review of appraisements by appraisers. (This is explained more fully in the comments under subsection (d) of this section of the draft bill.)

Proposed section 501 (b) and (c) would permit liquidations to be made immediately after the initial administrative determination of value, without awaiting possible administrative or judicial review of the valuation but subject to revision if the final appraised value either upon review by the appraiser or by the court differs from the initial appraised value.

Under existing law the administrative determination of the duties due on imported merchandise, i. e., the liquidation of an entry (19 U. S. C. 1505, 1514, 1515), awaits the final determination of the value of the merchandise, i. e., the appraisement (19 U. S. C. 1500, 1501). The proposed amendments would greatly expedite advice to importers as to their duty liability and would permit a very substantial reduction of the backlog of unworked entries which must now be carried for periods ranging from 2 to 10 years or more until value litigation is settled. After the notice of appraisement has been given (proposed sec. 501 (a)), the importer would have 90 days within which to appeal for reappraisement. The importer would continue to have the same rights to protest the liquidation he now possesses except that the time for filing a protest is changed from 60 to 90 days. (This is explained in the comments on the proposed amendments to sec. 514.)

Subsection (b): The amendments of section 503 of the Tariff Act (19 U. S. C. 1503) are necessary to conform that section with the changes proposed to be made in sections 501, 505, 514, and 515 of the Tariff Act by this bill.

Subsection (c): The proposed amendments of section 505 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U. S. C. 1505) would permit notices of appraisements as well as liquidations to be given in the form and manner prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, as explained in the above comments on proposed section 501 (a), and provide that if a notice of liquidation or appraisement is mailed, the date of mailing is deemed the date the notice is given. This is patterned after existing provisions of section 501 (a) (19 U. S. C. 1501 (a)) and definitely fixes the time within which appeals or protests may be filed.

Subsection (d): The time within which protests against decisions of the collector may be filed would be changed from 60 days to 90 days. The period prescribed for filing appeals to reappraisement in proposed section 501 (a) is also 90 days. As indicated above, under the proposed bill an importer would receive notice of both appraisement and liquidation of an entry at the same time and the 90-day periods would run concurrently. He would have to decide whether to file an appeal or a protest, or both, within a stated period of time. Under existing law, the notice of appraisement is given first and 30 days are provided for filing an appeal. The notice of liquidation is given after a final appraised value is determined and 60 days are allowed for filing a protest against the liquidation. It is believed importers are entitled to the longer 90-day period within which to consider whether to file appeals or protests and it is hoped that with that longer period the number of protective appeals or protests, which otherwise would have been filed because of insufficient consideration, may be minimized.

The other changes proposed to section 514 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U. S. C. 1514) are conforming amendments.

The language to be inserted in the first sentence would conform section 514 with the proposed amendment to section 520 (a) (2) set forth in section 113 of this draft bill and with the amendment of section 520 (c) (1) (19 U. S. C. 1520 (c) (1)) made by section 20 of the Customs Simplification Act of 1953 (67 Stat. 519). The language, dealing with reliquidations and protests where appeals to reappraisement have been filed, to be inserted after the first sentence of present section 514, is designed to avoid any possible conflict between the existing finality of liquidation provisions of section 514 and the portion of proposed section 501 (c) which would require reliquidation of an entry in accordance with a change in final appraised value determined through review of an appraisement by an appraiser or in a judicial reappraisement proceeding. It would make clear that protests may be filed against such a reliquidation on the limited ground that it is not in accordance with the final appraised value. Without this language, a conflict possibly could arise if the original liquidation was not protested and became final and conclusive on all parties by virtue of section 514 but the initial appraisement was changed by reason of administrative or court action. This amendment is also intended to reassure parties who wish to contest only the appraisement that it would be unnecessary to protest the liquidation to protect their rights with respect to matters relating to the appraisement, such as changes in classification by reason of a final appraised value differing from the initial appraised value on which the liquidation was based. Reliquidations to reflect such changes would be authorized and such reliquidations would be subject to protest on the ground that they do not follow the final appraisement.

Subsection (e): The proposed amendments of section 515 (19 U. S. C. 1515) would provide for review by appraisers of appealed appraisements in substantially the same manner as the collector's review of protested liquidations is prescribed by existing law (19 U. S. C. 1515). Provision is made for transmittal of papers to the court in appropriate cases where appeals or protests, or both, are filed after the required administrative review is made. The requirement of paying liquidated duties upon protest now applicable in the case of goods entered directly for consumption is extended to goods withdrawn from warehouse for consumption with respect to which either an appeal or protest, or both, is filed. A more detailed description of the proposed amendments to section 515 follows.

REVIEW OF APPRAISEMENTS

515(a): Proposed section 515 (a) would provide for review by appraisers of their appraisements when an appeal is filed. Under this provision appraisers would not be authorized to change an appraisement voluntarily in the absence of an appeal once a notice of appraisement has been given. This differs from the authority of collectors who may reliquidate an entry during the protest period even though no protest has been filed. Experience has demonstrated in the case of protests that differences between an importer and the collector often are resolved and certain errors in liquidations corrected upon the review without the necessity of court proceedings. It is anticipated that the review by appraisers would have the same salutary results and ultimately speed up the final determination of duties. Upon review the appraiser would be authorized to modify in whole or in part the original appraised value or to affirm it. However, he would not be authorized to increase the original appraised value upon review, unless the appeal takes the position that the original appraised value was too low. In such a case the appraiser could, if he agreed with the importer, increase the original appraised value. Such a situation could arise for example where the tariff schedule provided for a lower rate of duty on articles which are worth more per dozen. The importer might want the higher value in order to obtain the lower rate.

Notice, as in the case of the original appraisement, is to be given of any modification and appeal therefrom may be taken. If an appeal is filed from any modification, or if the appraiser affirms his original decision, the papers are to be transmitted forthwith to the court in accordance with proposed 515 (c).

The 90-day period for review would commence to run upon the expiration of the period within which an appeal could have been filed if none had been filed, that is 90 days after the notice of appraisement is given. In the existing law on collectors' review of protests the 90-day period begins running when the protest is filed. The change is made to prevent a situation from arising where the 90-day review periods for appeals and protests would expire on different days in instances where both an ap-

peal and protest are filed in connection with the same entry but on different days (and see comment on sec. 515 (c)), and to provide time for the additional review by the appraiser.

REVIEW OF LIQUIDATIONS AND OTHER DECISIONS

515 (b): Except for the commencement of the review period described under section 515 (a) above, there is no change of substance here.

TRANSMISSION OF PAPERS TO COURT

515 (c): This subsection would provide for transmission of papers to court where upon review the appraiser or collector affirms his original decision or if there is an appeal or protest from the modification of a decision. As under existing law, there will be no additional administrative review when a protest or appeal is filed in connection with the modification of the original liquidation or appraisement.

In cases where an appeal and protest are filed in connection with the same entry and the action taken following review (for example, affirmation of either the appraisement or liquidation, or both; or a protest or appeal is filed against a modified liquidation or appraisement) is not agreed to by the importer so that the matter must be determined by the court, provision is made for transmittal of the appropriate papers to the court at the same time. This requirement illustrates the need to have the review period for appeals and protests commence at the same time.

DEPOSIT OF DUTIES

515 (d): This amendment would extend to goods entered for warehouse a requirement for deposit of liquidated duties now applicable in the case of goods entered directly for consumption where a protest is filed. That requirement would also be extended to cases where appeals to reappraisement are filed. Moreover, the law would spell out that protests or appeals not accompanied by deposit of liquidated duties are subject to summary dismissal by the court. It is anticipated that these amendments should result in reduction of "automatic" appeals to reappraisement (and protests to a lesser degree) simply because there is an advance in value over the entered value irrespective of whether any real issue is present.

COMPLIANCE WITH COURT DECISIONS; RETRANSMITTAL OF PAPERS

515 (e): This merely rephrases existing law with no change of substance.

Subsection (f): Section 516 (a) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U. S. C. 1516 (a)), relating to American manufacturers' appeals to reappraisement, would be amended to insure that existing procedures governing the special appeals covered by section 516 (a) would not be disturbed by the amendments proposed by this section of the bill to section 501 and related provisions of the Tariff Act. It would defeat the purpose of section 516 (a) if the new procedures, which would be applicable generally to appraisements and appeals, were to apply with respect to the special procedures contemplated by section 516 (a).

TIMELY MAILING TREATED AS TIMELY FILING

Subsection (g): This would add a new section to the Tariff Act of 1930 patterned after section 7502 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. It would apply where a protest or appeal is mailed to the proper customs officer within the time prescribed by the Tariff Act, as indicated by the postmark on the envelope, and is received after such time has expired. In such a case, the protest or appeal is deemed timely filed.

Since it is possible to predate postmarks where mailing machines or other devices are used, subsection (b) of the amendment provides that a postmark not made by the United States post office shall be deemed the date of delivery only to the extent permitted by regulations. If the document is sent by registered mail rather than ordinary mail, the registration before the due date is prima facie evidence that the document was delivered to the proper officer, and the date of registration is deemed the date of mailing. These provisions follow substantially subsections (b) and (c) of section 7502 of the Internal Revenue Code.

Subsection (h): This is a special effective date provision for section 111.

EXAMINATION OF PERSONS AND RECORDS

Section 112: Existing law authorizes customs officers to cite importers and others to appear before them for examination under oath and to require the production of letters, accounts, contracts, invoices, or other documents relating to merchandise imported within 1 year previously, in connection with classification or appraisement matters. The proposed amendments of sections 509, 510, and 511 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U. S. C. 1509, 1510, and 1511) would broaden this authority to permit such examination of persons and records to be extended to matters relating to customs transactions generally which have occurred up to 3 years before the citation to appear is issued. These amendments would enable customs to give full effect to improvements in internal audit techniques, by spot checking the records of importers, brokers, and carriers to verify the accuracy of internal customs operations. Importers, brokers, and carriers maintain inventory, accounting, and other documentary records of their business transactions. By having access to such records customs can verify the accuracy of its own records as to such matters as the quantities and types of goods imported and deliveries of goods by carriers.

REFUND OF ERRONEOUS COLLECTIONS

Section 113: It is the present position of the Bureau that an erroneous collection of fees, charges, or exactions other than duties or taxes, such as a collection for storage or for reimbursement of salaries or expenses of employees assigned for special services, is refundable after the expiration of 60 days after payment only if a proper protest against the collection is filed with the collector within that 60-day period. The proposed amendment of title 19, United States Code, section 1520 (a) (2) would remove some inequities which have occurred under the present law by permitting refunds of such erroneous collections determined within a year after payment, even though no protest was filed. That time element is similar to the time limitation now prescribed for correction of so-called clerical errors under title 19, United States Code, section 1520 (c) (1). And title 19, United States Code, section 1520 (c) (1) would be conformed with the change proposed in section 111 of this bill to extend the protest period in title 19, United States Code, section 1514 from 60 to 90 days.

ENFORCEMENT POWERS OF CUSTOMS AGENTS

Section 114: The amendment of section 595 would clarify the law as to the enforcement powers of customs officers and extend certain enforcement provisions of the customs laws to make more effective the administration of laws enforced by customs officers which are not custom laws, such as the export control laws. A somewhat similar provision was enacted as section 104 of the Narcotic Control Act of 1956 dealing with the more limited area of violations of laws relating to narcotic drugs.

WAIVER OF SURETIES ON BONDS

Section 115: The amendment of section 623 would confirm an administrative practice of providing by regulation for taking bonds, which are required by the customs laws, without sureties or deposits of cash or securities in lieu of sureties for certain types or classes of transactions where such sureties or deposits are unnecessary to protect the revenue and it is burdensome to require either a surety or deposit. For example, under existing regulations sureties and deposits are not generally required for import-export bonds in the case of (1) certain vehicles or craft brought in temporarily by a nonresident to take part in a race or other specific contest for which no money purse is awarded or (2) commercial travelers' samples or professional equipment or tools of trade. In these cases the vehicles, craft, samples, equipments, or tools of trade are imported for a temporary period and to be exported within a certain time.

TITLE II—TRADE FAIRS

Section 201: The proposed Trade Fair Act was originally drafted at the request of members of the House Ways and Means Committee. A draft bill substantially the same as this section was transmitted informally to the chairman of the committee in the spring of 1954, but there was no action on that draft. The draft would cover generally the objectives of exposition statutes of a kind which have been introduced to the number of 3 or 4 in most recent sessions of the Congress and its enactment would permit the Treasury to draft general regulations to apply to all similar expositions, thus resulting in a considerable saving in time and manpower for the customs service.

TITLE III—EFFECTIVE DATE AND SAVINGS CLAUSE

Section 301: (a) This subsection would make the changes in law proposed in the bill effective 30 days after enactment, unless otherwise specially provided for.

(b) This subsection is intended to maintain the status quo on rights and liabilities already accrued under laws which would be repealed or modified by the bill.

Administration Guilty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger of August 27, 1957:

ADMINISTRATION GUILTY

The Eisenhower administration is guilty of causing an almost scandalous reduction in GI home building. The Veterans 'Administration reported recently only 151,870 applications for GI home loans had been made during the first 6 months of 1957.

When viewed in comparison with 254,827 for the first 6 months of last year, the figure is a tremendous reduction.

In June of 1957 the number of applications received for GI home loans was the lowest for any June since the end of World War II—12 years ago. In testimony before congressional committees recently, Veterans' Administration spokesmen admitted that very little money is being made available for the GI program.

A Democratic Senator has charged the administration's latest change in interest policies—raising the interest rate on FHA-insured home mortgages to 5¼ percent—might even further reduce the volume of GI home-building activity.

The record of the present administration concerning GI home loans is not a good

one. Desipte all the excuses and explanations, a drop such as that experienced in the last 12 months is very undesirable. Not only does it seem to us morally wrong, since the high interest rates of the administration and its tight money policies have slowed up housing construction, but the reduced building affects the sale of appliances, furnishings, and other things, which also affect the general economy of the Nation.

Puerto Rico and Its Governor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, during the first session of this Congress there have appeared in the RECORD sundry statements with reference to various aspects of Latin American policy in general and to policies concerning the Caribbean area in particular. Although I am the only person in the Congress who represents a Caribbean community, I have not felt inclined to participate. However, in a spirit of fairness and justice to my constituents in general and to the chief executive of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marin, in particular, I must now make the present statement. But, before I proceed, may I say that it is not my intention to engage in debate with any of my colleagues who have preceded me. I merely wish to set the record straight in what concerns Puerto Rico and its Governor.

Many, if not most, of the Members know Governor Muñoz-Marin, and I know that those who do have always had a high respect for him. In this regard, I must express my deep appreciation for what our colleague from California [Mr. JACKSON], had to say in his remarks on Monday. Perhaps it is unnecessary that I may say anything on this subject, but men pass on while the printed word remains. The record might be confusing if the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico were to remain silent.

I shall begin by observing that the powers and functions of the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico are about the same as the functions and powers of the government of any State of the Union, and that the United States Government operates in Puerto Rico in the same way as it does in any State of the Union.

I observe, too, that there are only 65 miles of water between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. Whatever the political conditions in the Dominican Republic may be, it is a fact that a substantial number of Dominican citizens have chosen to exile themselves from their native country, and that Puerto Rico, as well as New York, and certainly other places in the United States, have become their havens. Whether they live in Puerto Rico, New York, or Miami, they live under the same United States laws. I can understand that the feelings between these exiles and officials of their own government may be taut and tense. It does not require much imagination to conceive it. But no matter how strained those relations may be, I do not believe that such a situation should justify transgressions of the boundaries of propriety as to either of them in dealing with or referring to or passing judgment on the acts of officials of the United States Government or of the State governments, including the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

There is an instance which I shall point out where I think such boundaries have been transgressed. In a letter recently inserted in the RECORD, accusations have been made by a Dominican official with respect to the Governor of Puerto Rico for the reason that the latter granted an interview in his office in San Juan to a gentleman of Dominican extraction, a resident of the city of New York, who was then visiting Puerto Rico. He was accompanied by a former president of the Dominican Senate who has been a resident of Puerto Rico for many years. These gentlemen are known to be opponents of the present Dominican administration. No evidence, whatever, except supposition and speculation, has been given to consider the visit of this gentleman to Puerto Rico as anything improper. But it seems that, in the opinion of the Dominican official, the officials of the government of Puerto Rico are under an affirmative obligation to refuse to receive callers, or in any way communicate with persons who happen to be opponents of the present Dominican administration.

We in Puerto Rico live under the laws of the Commonwealth and the laws of the United States and no other. It is not our concern what political habits in other countries may be.

The Governor of Puerto Rico would not refuse to confer at any time with his own political opponents. It seems absurd that he may be expected to refuse to confer with anyone merely because that person is somebody else's opponent.

Suppression of freedom of thought, expression and association in Puerto Rico cannot be imposed either by direction or indirection from within; less so, by indirection from without.

Rights and privileges recognized in the United States are as sacred in Puerto Rico as anywhere in the Union. The citizens of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico fully expect such rights always to be so maintained.

Why Not Teach Religion?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Rock Hill Herald of August 26, 1957:

WHY NOT TEACH RELIGION?

Should religion be taught in a State-supported college or university?

The State University of Iowa thinks so. That university's school of religion has just finished its 30th year.

The purpose of the school is to tell students what the various religions teach. The school does not try to gain followers for any particular religion.

Classes are taught by Protestant ministers, Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis. Some of the courses are: "The Catholic Faith," "Religious Groups of America," "The Religions of Mankind," "The Protestant Faith," "Protestant Christianity" and "Jewish History."

Iowa's School of Religion is not supported by tax money. The school's money comes from individuals and organizations.

The Catholic Church pays the salaries of the priests on the faculty. Protestants pay the salaries of the Protestant professors. B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation, a Jewish organization, pays the salary of the rabbi on the faculty.

Many State universities have adopted the Iowa plan of teaching religion. Some have set up departments of religion.

Is it constitutional to teach religion in a State-supported university? No Government action ever has been taken to prevent the study of religions in a university.

Iowa takes the position that religion is an essential part of an orderly society. It does not teach religious faith. It teaches only information on religions as they exist.

Students get an understanding of the history and literature of the various religions and an insight into their meaning. They also get an understanding of the spiritual values in human life.

Against a backdrop of nuclear weapons, international distrust and fear, this sounds like a good idea.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

I am writing Keenotes this week slightly ahead of my usual schedule. The House of Representatives is momentarily expecting the fall of the gavel denoting adjournment of the 1st session of the 85th Congress. Should this occur before the weekend, I plan to leave Washington immediately to return to the fifth district and a prolonged round of visits with all my good friends and constituents back home. It will be good to see the hills of West Virginia again.

Meanwhile my time is divided between trying to complete bits of unfinished business at my desk and scurrying through the subway to the Capitol in answer to the quorum bells summoning Member to the floor to vote on the spate of bills—the unfinished business—which always seems to flood Congress in the final days of any session.

It is, of course, much too early to pass judgment on the record which the 85th Congress has written for itself thus far. Many political writers will, however, attempt to do so, using as a basis the extent to which the administration's recommendations and pro-

gram have been enacted into law. This is hardly a sound appraisal.

Both the administration and the Congress are answerable to the people and no Congress can acquit itself of its grave responsibilities by becoming a rubber stamp of approval for anything and everything an administration might propose. In this respect, the 85th Congress has, I feel, acted with wisdom and restraint. It has considered each of the President's legislative recommendations with great thoroughness and in terms of the national interests. It has not permitted itself to be coerced into hasty decisions by the pressures of political expediency and it has maintained an attentive ear for the wishes of the people rather than for the whimsies of the White House.

I use the word "whimsies" purposefully for I know of no better way to describe the administration's constantly shifting position on its own legislative proposals. Every effort to pin the administration down to a firm stand on any given issue, at any given moment, has proved a frustrating experience for both its most ardent supporters and its most vigorous opponents, alike. Take the very important matter of the budget, for example.

After severely criticizing the spending policies of his predecessors in office, the President in January submitted to Congress a budget calling for the greatest peacetime spending in the history of the country, a record of $7.8 billion. In July, he issued instructions to his Cabinet members to hold expenditures in their departments down to the $70 billion level of the preceding (1957) fiscal year.

When his own Secretary of the Treasury denounced the 1958 budget as too large, the President, gravely agreeing that this was so, invited the Congress to cut it. But hardly had Congress settled down to this challenging task, than the President appeared on television to warn the American people that any cuts in the appropriations he had requested for his defense and foreign-aid programs would seriously imperil the national security.

The administration has been equally vague and indecisive about other of the long list of recommendations in its program. The need for school construction legislation was pointed up as urgent and then when the bill was before the House, the something less than lukewarm enthusiasm for it emanating from the White House, helped its opponents to defeat the bill.

Passage of the first civil-rights bill to get through Congress in 80 years also had legislators going around in circles. The administration would compromise. It wouldn't compromise. It insisted upon section III. It didn't care about section III. No bill at all was better than enactment of the Senate version. With modifications, it would accept the Senate version. Small wonder, then, that many Members of Congress were hard put to know just where the administration stood on this most critical legislation.

Reviewing the events of this session in my own mind as I write this, I am more than satisfied that the 85th Congress, in its first session, has dealt conscientiously and responsibly with the problems and the affairs of the Nation. Where no emergencies existed, it has wisely refrained from hasty action. It has delved beneath the surface of each legislative proposal, cautiously exploring what far-reaching effects it might have upon our people.

Above all, it has responded notably to the public demand for economies in government. It has known how to be generous where generosity was called for, as witness the pay raises voted the hard-pressed postal and classified employees of the Federal Government. But it has also known how to eliminate nonessential spending when the benefits received were not equal to the dollars spent.

In fact, a major portion of the 85th Congress' time so far has been devoted to the budgetary and bookkeeping problems of the Nation, and in the years ahead the American taxpayer may be very happy that it was.

And now, wishing everyone in the Fifth District a very pleasant Labor Day, I look forward to seeing all of you in person shortly.

Address by the Honorable Frank M. Coffin, of Maine, to the Maine Soil Conservation District Supervisors Association Annual Meeting, Thorndike Hotel, Rockland, Maine, August 29, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, one of the most critical, and most challenging issues before this Congress is the great need for more adequate conservation legislation. As the demands on our land and water resources increase, our responsibility to conserve and use wisely the resources we have is more imperative than ever.

Our distinguished colleague from Maine, Mr. COFFIN, has made some pertinent and imaginative suggestions on this subject. In a speech to the Maine soil conservation district supervisors, Mr. COFFIN outlined an approach to improving our program for tree planting and land utilization. This is a subject of considerable interest to the people of Maine, of course, but his suggestions in the following speech merit the attention of conservationists in the entire Nation:

President Sanborn, Chairman, Harriman, Commissioner Newdick, supervisors, and friends, having emerged from the heat and humidity of Washington and the last frantic days of the congressional session, I welcome the opportunity to be with you in this pleasant Maine setting tonight. I am not sure that my function should be that of a speaker in your program, but rather that I should be playing a more appropriate role as a listener.

One of the great pleasures and satisfactions of my first months in Congress has been the opportunity to learn more about the problems and programs of agriculture. I confess that my joy would be more complete if I had all the answers to the problems, but for the present I shall content myself with learning and some tentative explorations in the fields of agricultural policy. From what I have observed of the battles raging among the so-called farm bloc in Congress, caution seems the better part of valor.

I am not here, tonight, to tell you how to solve the problem of surpluses, the increasing squeeze of lower farm prices and higher costs of operation, and the gigantic challenge of our productive capacity. I am here as a layman who must weigh in the balance the conflicting proposals which appear in Congress and vote for legislation which will benefit you and the consuming public. I am here to examine one phase of agriculture, to stimulate some inquiry in an area which is of great importance to our entire Nation, and particularly to the State of Maine. That area lies in the great field of conservation and land utilization.

I would like to call to your attention tonight a little bit of the past, a larger chunk of the present, and a glimpse of the future.

The first settlers on this continent found an abundant land waiting for tillage, presenting vast opportunities for the production of food and fiber. As the eastern seaboard was settled, and as land—once rich—was depleted, the pioneers moved westward for richer soil. The land has been cultivated, bared, and in many areas of the country stripped of its productive capacity.

The political emphasis in the last few years has been on the problem of surpluses in certain commodities, but the day is coming when we may be plagued—not with surpluses—but with a shortage of arable land on which to produce enough food and fiber for ourselves and others.

Fortunately, the warnings of the early conservationists have been heeded, and since the thirties we have been making great strides in correcting some of the abuses which have been so wasteful of land and water resources in the past.

We in Maine can be proud of the record we are building in the field of conservation. The work which you and your fellow agriculturists are doing is an inspiration to anyone who takes the time to study the results of your work.

Approximately 95 percent of the farms and farm land in Maine are within the boundaries of the State's 15 farmer-organized soil conservation districts. Maine's high-ranking position so close behind the 16 States that are 100 percent covered by such districts is doubly significant.

It reflects the progressive manner in which the State's landowners and operators have taken advantage of the district machinery provided by the 1941 State law for local, democratic organizations to deal more effectively with individual and community soil and water conservation problems. In addition, it points up the tremendous responsibilities of local leadership in advancing the State's basic agricultural economy. These responsibilities rest upon the shoulders of the 45 locally chosen soil conservation district supervisors and the State Soil Conservation Committee.

Agricultural production represents a better than $200 million annual cash business in Maine. Nothing can be more important to the long-time health of this or any other State's agricultural productive capacity than the protection and improvement of its basic soil and water resources.

Maine's soil conservation districts—with 15 years of progressively successful experience and accomplishment behind them—are looked to for continued effective leadership, through their elected supervisors, in maintaining our productive agricultural resources for continuing use. The 10 years of effective work in the Knox-Lincoln district are a challenge to the future, as is the experience in the other districts of the State.

Maine's soil and water conservation program has been built on sound foundations, since the original establishment of the erosion control demonstration project in the Aroostook County potato area in the mid-thirties. It has advanced through the teamwork of local farm and business community leaders, the college of agriculture, experiment station, and extension service at the university, and various other local, State, and Federal agencies, including the Soil Conservation Service, and other divisions of the United States Department of Agriculture.

The statistics showing the present level of activity in the soil conservation districts of Maine are most impressive. Nearly 8,000 cooperators, with a million and a half acres are participating in your program. Two thousand six hundred of these cooperators are located in my own congressional district.

In the Second District alone over one and a quarter million acres of soil surveys have been completed, and basic plans for 1,543 farms have been drawn up.

Conservation applied on the land is the physical measure of success of the soil and water conservation effort to which the Nation has addressed itself during the last quarter of a century. Another dependable yardstick of our advancement in basic resources preservation is the unprecedented public concern over the conservation, development, and most efficient use of our water, timber, grass, and wildlife resources.

The soil conservation district program has, with the cooperation of local, State, and Federal interests, given us a great democratic experiment and an adventure in initiating and implementing practical conservation action. Under the watchwords "conservation, development, self-government" this program provides an outstanding example of democracy in action.

Congress, meanwhile, has a continuing history of providing broadened soil and water conservation authorizations as need has dictated, and of making necessary appropriations to carry them out. Admittedly, the funds made available for the Federal share of technical and other conservation participation have not always been as much as were desired or could be used effectively by local soil conservation districts or other conservation users and assisting agencies. But these appropriations have been increased year by year in an attempt to keep up as nearly as possible with obviously growing district and other needs and demands.

Technical assistance under the 1935 Soil Conservation Act, through the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service, remains, of course, the backbone of the Federal contribution to the national action program of soil and water conservation, supplemented by the important cost-sharing assistance of the agricultural conservation program. Both have stood the test of soundness in purpose and results through more than two decades of operation.

Of similar promise in a broader field of conservation need is the opportunity opened up by the 1954 Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act for still wider cooperative action in dealing with water supply and management problems extending beyond agricultural lands and individual properties to entire communities or metropolitan areas.

So far, no immediate appropriate watersheds for use of the new Watershed Act apparently have been programed in Maine; but undoubtedly further study of likely watershed areas, as local community interest develops, will confirm the need and the opportunities for small watershed projects similar to those getting underway in neighboring Northeastern States.

Particularly as it was broadened in 1956 to include more multiple-purpose municipal and industrial water supply needs, drainage and other purposes, the Watershed Act has a place in the overall soil and water conservation potential of the southeastern area and other parts of the State.

We do not have as serious flood-prevention situations to cope with as are found in other parts of the country, but there is always a need for conserving the moisture in the soil for crop and pasture production, for streambank protection—especially in handling snow-melt runoff—drainage rehabilitation of wetter croplands, and so on. Land use treatments with the practices being used in the soil conservation districts are basic to any watershed treatment; and the Watershed Act may well operate to facilitate and strengthen the soil conservation districts' going programs.

There have been, of course, other important conservation measures provided by recent Congresses.

There is the Water Facilities Act for making direct or insured loans through private banking sources and the Farmers' Home Administration for soil and water conserving or drainage facilities and reforestation.

In addition, a provision has been inserted in the revised Internal Revenue Code, making it possible for farmers to treat expenditures for a number of soil conservation measures as current expenses that may be deducted from farm income for income tax purposes.

Another, the Great Plains conservation program, ties together more closely Federal, State, and local technical, financial, and other conservation efforts on a primarily conservation land-use basis. It is, at present, limited to the Great Plains area, but it could suggest similar application in principle elsewhere.

There is the newer Soil Bank Act with its conservation reserve features for helping landowners to get less productive acreage into permanent trees or grass crops, or into use for water storage. It is regrettable that more emphasis has not been placed on the soil conservation features of this act, rather than the present public stress on getting crops out of production.

The very circumstances of such broadened conservation authorizations and programs point up the fact that the resources conservation job, though well advanced in general, is not finished anywhere, and it is only well begun elsewhere. The fine accomplishment in erosion control and conservation land-use methods in the Maine potato country, for example, by no means indicate that the whole task is finished even there, much less in the State as a whole.

There are comparatively new-found problems coming into focus. Good agricultural land is being withdrawn from production and taken over for suburban building and industrial sites, highways, airfields, and various other nonagricultural uses. Conservationists, agricultural interests, and planning authorities alike have been growing more and more conscious of the vast, so-called "strip cities" spreading over the countryside before the onrush of fast increasing populations and urban concentrations—and of the land and water problems developing in their wake.

Even in Maine, areas like those around Portland and Bangor, especially with the influx of summer residents, have not escaped this trend. Now is the time for us to act.

Now is the time to make sure we do not waste the resources of this verdant State. We must treasure our two jewels of great price—our unsurpassed 85 percent forest cover and our unequalled annual rainfall. Now is the time to put our minds and hands to the task of preserving our land and water resources before they are lost forever.

Faced with the problems of our peculiar soil conditions, confronted with changing market patterns, we should adapt ourselves to the most useful and productive use of our land.

To me, one of the great opportunities presented to us is the potential development of our forest resources to meet the ever increasing demand for wood and wood products. New uses are being found for wood. As long ago as 1947 I was impressed with a challenging book entitled "The Coming Age of Wood."

Greater demands are being placed on the available supply of wood and lumber products. With forest development we can preserve our land and water resources and provide greater economic opportunities for our farmers and for our manufacturers and workers.

A start has been made in this area, but it is only the beginning. The problems of long-term investment, the hazards of fire, the steady drain of taxes, and the delayed return on tree planting make it almost impossible for many of our farmers to consider going into tree farming on the scale which is necessary if we are to meet this challenge.

Under the Soil Bank Act, for example, a relatively small acreage of land can be planted to trees, with Government assistance for planting and land rental payments. We have substantial acreages of land that were cropped at one time, but which are not qualified for soil-bank payments under existing requirements of the act because they are not cultivated at the present time.

In the current session of Congress I drafted a bill which I introduced with Representative McINTIRE, seeking to amend the Soil Bank Act by providing for participation by those who "plant and maintain trees for the contract period on specifically designated acreage of land on the farm which was once used in the production of such crops and is still suitable therefor."

This problem of land that has been abandoned to cropping use is particularly challenging from the standpoint of getting more needed conservation planting done in Maine. The need for some workable incentive or other solution persists beyond the present facilities of the soil-conservation districts themselves for expanding this part of their regular soil-conservation program.

We cannot afford to have our former croplands grow up to useless hardwood brush. We cannot allow the opportunity of wood utilization and supply to pass us by.

My soil bank bill, H. R. 6303, offered a tentative approach to the problem. The Agriculture Department has not looked on this suggestion with a kindly eye. Before we can arrive at a practical solution it will be necessary for us to explore the possibilities of some pilot projects similar to those pursued under the original Soil Conservation Act of the 74th Congress, which later developed into the very effective watershed program.

Several possibilities suggest themselves. Some require Federal action, some State participation, and all demand the cooperative effort of farmers and farm leaders like yourselves.

There is the possibility of expanded Federal-State participation and cost-sharing in actual tree planting. There is the suggestion of long-term Federal loans for tree farming, where conservation practices are followed. There is the proposal for deferred taxation on land planted to trees under such a program. And, there is the thought of cooperative tree farming by groups of farmers, where the resources of a single farmer are not sufficient to carry the load. There may be other avenues which can be followed in approaching this challenge.

This, to me, is one of the soundest ways in which we can help to preserve the identity of our family farmers. This, to me, is one of the most effective means of preserving the beauty and productive grandeur of our State—it is a means of preserving a way of life that is dear to us all.

Soil conservation districts offer the logical means through which we can deal with these farm and watershed programs locally. No one knows the problems better than the district supervisors and the district cooperators, or has had more sound experience in the field of resource conservation, in Maine and throughout the country.

There are today 2,770 soil conservation districts, including 93 percent of the Nation's farms and ranches, and 88 percent of its farmland. As of January 1, 1957, nearly 1,140,000 district cooperators had basic conservation plans on nearly 320 million acres. Soil surveys, on which are based the conservation farm plans that guide the application of soil and water conservation practices on the land, had been made on more than 500 million acres in the districts.

Applications for Federal assistance on projects through the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, meanwhile, totaled 742

to August 26, 1957. That many had been made by local communities, approved by their States and forwarded to Washington. A total of 278 of these had been authorized for planning assistance. Fifty-five already were approved for operations. Conservation and land-treatment and flood-prevention work is well along, also, in the 58 pilot small-watershed projects, along with similar flood-prevention work on subwatersheds in 11 major authorized watersheds under the 1944 Flood Control Act.

This progress and accomplishment is made possible by bringing to bear the human and physical resources of many individuals and many communities on the common problem, from Maine to California, from Florida to Washington State. The results obtained stem from the initiative, leadership and hard work of nearly 14,000 soil conservation district supervisors and one and three-quarter million district cooperators—like those in the 15 soil conservation districts of our own State of Maine.

In January I hope to implement some of the suggestions I have made tonighht with further legislation to encourage the expansion of our tree planting program. I hope you will give considerable thought to the tentative proposals I have made with a view to advising me on the wisdom and practicability of these or other approaches.

I am therefore seeking your assistance during the next 4 months to discuss various kinds of pilot projects that might well be incorporated in such legislation. This process of analysis and creative thinking on your part will contribute immeasurably to our chances of success. I say this with such experience as I have gained in the legislative process. Over 15,000 bills are filed each session. Only a few reach final passage. Those bills which contain not only a fruitful idea but which are accompanied by the down-to-earth support of citizens who know the problems which the legislation aims to solve have the best chance of success.

You have the experience and the knowledge necessary for sound recommendations. The success of any such program will depend on your contributions. As a Representative in Congress I can help you with enabling legislation.

I can think of nothing more appropriate than a new and needed approach to land stewardship originating in the State of Maine.

How To Dispose of Surplus Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the Tax Foundation has come through with some pertinent information on the subject of surplus foods, and I present here the article:

SURPLUS FOOD COULD SUPPLY EVERY FAMILY

Fellow asked the black sheep: "Have you any wool?" To which the sheep replied: "No, sir. No, sir. But the Commodity Credit Corporation has a lot of it."

This modern version of the nursery rhyme wouldn't be too far from the truth. According to a recent report the CCC had 38 million pounds of wool, black, white and gray, collected under the price support program.

Wool, however, isn't the only commodity held by the CCC in millions of bushels, pounds, hundredweights. There are also (among other things) butter, cheese, dried milk, dried edible beans, corn and wheat. All carefully stashed away and paid for with billions of tax dollars.

At the end of May, the CCC estimated its net realized loss on price support operations for 11 months of fiscal 1957 at $1.2 billion—compared to an $844 million loss in the like period in 1956.

Any difficulty envisioning these vast stores (currently cached in tents, bins and even floating ships) would be made easier, says Tax Foundation, Inc., were the quantities divided up among American families in something like a surplus crop dividend.

Here is what would result if CCC's inventories were whacked up among the 43½ million American families:

Commodity	Number of pounds or bushels in inventory	Approximate distribution per family
Butter	51,935,000	1 pound.
Cheese	193,507,000	4½ pounds.
Dried milk	182,934,000	4¼ pounds.
Dried beans	247,300,000	5¾ pounds.
Corn	849,059,000	19½ bushels.
Wheat	848,490,000	Do.
Wool	37,906,000	1 pound.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, these are the closing moments of the 1st session of the 85th Congress. There is some pressing business still to come before the House prior to adjournment. The important items of business on our agenda are well known to all of us in Congress, as they are to the Nation. Only a matter of the utmost urgency should be brought up on the floor if it is a departure from the specific issues that await our consideration.

I am convinced that the irresponsible and arbitrary actions of the Bureau of the Budget—actions which reverse the considered judgment of Congress and flout the expressed will of the American people—constitute a matter of such urgency.

I am talking about the apparently deliberate refusal of the Executive Office of the President's Bureau of the Budget to permit the executive agencies to spend, or even to plan to spend, the sums of money appropriated by Congress and approved by the President as the necessary and proper expenditures for these agencies and departments.

I will not generalize. Let me be specific.

On June 27 of this year, the Congress voted an appropriation bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Two days later, the President signed this bill into the law of the land. Among other vitally important programs for which this bill provided—programs which affect all Americans in a very direct and personal way, like social security, education, vocational rehabilitation, and food and drug regulations—there were eight appropriations totaling $211 million for research against cancer, heart disease, mental illness, and the other diseases that kill and cripple millions of Americans each year.

I do not need to tell my colleagues that this year, perhaps more than any other year in recent history, appropriation bills have been considered with great care; nor do I need to tell my colleagues why this has been true. In most instances, the administration's appropriation requests have been cut back, reflecting the commitment of Congress to reduce unnecessary Federal spending and stop the threatening upward spiral of inflation.

In some individual instances, however, the Congress voted more funds than the administration requested. This is one of its responsibilities, in the final analysis—to review these requests for funds, to evaluate them, and to act on them—to cut them, approve them, or increase them, according to the considered best judgment of the Congress in session. A cornerstone of our constitutional system rests on this authority and responsibility of Congress to set the fiscal and legislative base for the programs of the executive branch of the Federal Government.

In the case of the medical research programs of the National Institutes of Health—after weeks of hearings and discussions involving literally hundreds of witnesses before both Houses of Congress—we provided a modest increase in the requested funds from $190 million to $211 million. I will highlight the importance of these appropriations with four simple statements of fact: First, these funds support more than one-third of all the medical research done in this country today; second, many of the great recent advances against disease have resulted from research supported by these appropriations; third, the experience of both Houses of Congress over a period of many years has been that these programs have been accorded, because they have merited, the confidence and respect of our country's scientific institutions and of people everywhere; and fourth, the effect of denying a large part of the needed funds for these programs, or of creating a feeling of uncertainty as to their availability, is sure to be seriously damaging and may be catastrophic.

Despite these facts, and despite their knowledge of the conviction of Congress that these programs should receive sustained and far-sighted support, a handful of the President's advisors have apparently decided that the full amount of the funds appropriated for the National Institutes of Health shall not be spent—although Congress, and the President want it to be available if needed. Even today, nearly 2 months after President Eisenhower signed the bill into law, and after an incredible series of contradictory and delaying acts, the situation is far from clear. Those who direct these programs have been told they are permitted to spend—and this only after some extreme pressure on the Bureau of the Budget from Congress and from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Folsom—most,

but still not all, of what they need in the first quarter of fiscal year 1958. They still do not know, and Secretary Folsom does not know, what they will be permitted to spend for the rest of the fiscal year by those omniscient and omnipotent manipulators of the Federal fiscal processes who advise the President but do not feel compelled to carry out his orders after he has appraised their advice and made his decision.

I will not go into any of the harrowing details. A simple chronology of the events related to the National Institutes of Health appropriation since June 27 will make my point.

On that date, their bill, which increased the President's appropriation request by $21 million, was passed and sent to the White House.

On June 29, the President signed the bill into law.

Yet the day before, June 28, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget had issued instructions which not only forbade spending at the level approved by the President the next day, but—incredible as it sounds—directed a pattern of spending which for the National Institutes of Health would be actually below what the President had asked Congress to appropriate in the first place.

On August 7, the Bureau of the Budget advised Secretary Folsom that it could not make up its mind about the full year, but that he would have to cut roughly $17 million out of the first quarter's spending for the 8 appropriations.

On August 13, Secretary Folsom asked the Bureau of the Budget to reconsider, and they yielded a little bit.

On August 20 Secretary Folsom again asked them to reconsider, and they yielded a little bit more.

It is not for me to say how much effect was made by the inquiries of Congress as to the status of these matters during the time they were in negotiation. A committee of the Senate chaired by the distinguished Senator from Alabama, LISTER HILL, looked into it. A committee of the House, which I am privileged to chair, looked into it twice. I cannot feel that it was a very rewarding experience for any of us. Certainly there has been no clarification either as to general policy or as to specific intent on the part of the Bureau of the Budget. The National Institutes of Health are still nearly $800,000 short of their needs for research in their own laboratories in Bethesda during the first quarter. And they still have no idea how much, during the remainder of the year, they will be permitted to spend of the total of $211 million appropriated for the medical research they conduct and the research and training they support among the Nation's medical schools and universities.

I am sure it must be apparent, even to the uninitiated, that medical research cannot go forward in the face of these fiscal uncertainties. Those who do research and those who foster environments where creative research can thrive have every right to expect stability and continuity in that part of their support derived from the Federal Government. They do not expect arbitrary and capricious action of the kind that has characterized the Bureau of the Budget's handling of these appropriations this year. Such actions sow seeds of uncertainty and indecision among the scientific community and do irreparable damage of a deep and lasting nature.

I want to emphasize what I mean by the National Institutes of Health. It is not, as some may think, just a group of laboratories in Bethesda, Md. They are part of it, and they do splendid work, and they must be supported at adequate levels so their scientists can continue to make the outstanding contributions to the Nation's health that they have made in the past.

Much more important, however, is the fact that through the National Institutes of Health a large segment of all the medical research in this country is supported. Thus we are not concerned here with the simple maintenance of a Government bureau. When doubt and uncertainty creep into the fiscal picture, it shakes the entire medical school and university world by undermining their confidence in the stability of Government support. The Congress by its actions and the Public Health Service by its wise and careful administrative leadership have gradually built up this confidence as these programs have come into being and developed in size and in stature since World War II. I am sure it is the intention of every Member of Congress that the scientists and scientific institutions who are part of this national research effort against disease should not feel insecure in this support. Yet we find that all of the confidence that has been built up through the years can be undermined by a few people in the Budget Bureau who do not understand the significance of stable support and apparently do not care if our medical research effort is strong or weak, as long as they can juggle figures to what they think to be their own advantage.

Last year, nearly 7,000 research projects in 700 research institutions all over the country were supported by these funds. More than 3,000 people were being trained for careers in medical science and related fields. These are not statistics. They are people, and they are the people who are and will be the producers of new knowledge which will benefit all mankind. They know, as you and I know, and as all thoughtful people know, that medical research cannot be turned on and off like a faucet under the hand of some master planner.

Yet not 2 weeks ago, I had a desperate call from a distinguished scientist. He had trained for a career in medical research and teaching—long, hard years of specialized work in which the only rewards were those satisfactions that come to a scientist in the accomplishment of the progressive steps of his career. He had submitted an application for research grant support from the National Institutes of Health. That application was reviewed by the groups of nonfederal scientists and laymen who advise the Surgeon General on the scientific merits of each application. The project was recommended highly, and the Surgeon General approved it. The scientist was notified of this action, but at the same time he was told that it was dependent on the availability of funds. So far so good. But now came the impact of the Bureau of the Budget. The scientist wants to make the study, his institution supports him, the project is found worthy of support by an outstanding scientific review panel, the Surgeon General wants to support the study, the Congress appropriates funds which permit such support, the President signifies his assent—and yet there follows a period of shilly-shallying, of backing and filling, of delay and confusion. The weeks pass. The scientist is uncertain. He wants to think everything is all right. To do the study, he has to make his plans, hire technical staff, arrange for laboratory space, reapportion part of his teaching load. These things must be done in the spring and early summer if they are to meet the needs of the academic year. Yet Public Health Service officials are not permitted to definitely commit the funds to him. There was something in one of the Bureau of the Budget's directives about not approving any new grants. Other bureaucratic phrases fly thick and fast. They add up to the fact that the scientific administrator in Washington cannot tell the scientist in the university that the funds are on their way. And so he, having once had confidence in the stability and leadership of this federally supported research program, has to call me, his Congressman, to see if I can help resolve his bewilderment.

I must say, with a great deal of chagrin, that I was not able to give him, nor was I even able to find out, the answers.

I am disturbed to think what might have happened on these apportionments had Congress not happened to be in session during the period of time when this sequence of contradictions and equivocations took place.

Let me remind you, too, that this is not an isolated instance. Last year, for example, and in connection with these same appropriations I have been discussing, the techniques were different but the apparent intent was the same. Again the Bureau of the Budget withheld the right to spend appropriated funds. They said, in effect, spend at a curtailed rate until you have justified to our satisfaction that you can spend the newly appropriated amount wisely—and then made sure they were not satisfied until the year was more than one-quarter gone, thus assuring themselves of savings which were in fact forced by these delaying tactics and resulted in a shrunken program.

I have talked about this issue in terms of medical research not because it is unique, but because it so clearly makes the point. Other Public Health Service programs have been similarly affected, as have other important functions throughout the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, whose programs are so intensively scrutinized by the appropriation committee of the House which it is my privilege to chair.

I cannot say from first-hand experience whether the same situation prevails among other agencies. I doubt, however,

if there are many whose appointed heads are as forthright and as consistent as Secretary Folsom. Although he must have been subjected to tremendous pressures from the President's budget intermediaries, he has steadfastly refused to compromise his principles or the Department's program. It is ironic indeed that he must make such fights within his own family, but he is the more to be praised for standing up for what he thinks is right.

It is altogether inappropriate and perhaps impolitic for me to interpret his position. I would have to guess from his actions, however, that he believes in careful budget formulation and thoughtful budget defense, followed by prudent administration of appropriated funds so that if there are savings, they are the product of economical administration rather than the arbitrary prejudgment of a group of slide-rule experts whose calculations totally ignore the substance of the programs involved and their present and potential meaning to the American people.

It is my conviction, gentlemen, that if this trend is permitted to continue, it will make a mockery of the established and proved appropriation processes of Congress. We can hold all the hearings we want, and render the most considered judgment of which we are capable in the public interest, but it has no meaning if the Bureau of the Budget—with or without Presidential instruction or that of the assistant President—interferes with the orderly processes of government by imposing fiscal restraints in direct contravention of the will of Congress. And they do this on the slender pretext of the Antideficiency Act, which was designed to prevent overspending by executive agencies, and not to superimpose their judgment on that of Congress.

I do not suggest that there is any grand strategy behind this series of moves. It would be unthinkable that—having capitalized on the plans for extending traditional and creating new programs which the public wants—this administration could now abandon them and deliberately contrive enforced savings so that there can be a possibility of a tax reduction in an election year at the expense of the health of the American people. I would rather think that it is merely shortsighted budget maneuvering on the part of a handful of misguided people that underlies these events.

For I know, as you my colleagues know, what is at stake. It is not merely an issue between the legislative and executive branches—although preservation of our respective roles is of the utmost importance. Just as important, however, is the fact that those who direct the affected programs cannot do what clearly needs to be done in the public interest.

Let me illustrate, again, from the National Institutes of Health.

During the first quarter of the fiscal year, the Bureau of the Budget—after first trying to withhold $17 million for these programs—finally withheld just over $700,000 appropriated by Congress for laboratory research and clinical investigations at Bethesda. This is still under appeal, but even if the appeal is won, a great deal has been lost—confidence and morale, to be sure, but also definitive studies of the kind not one of us would wish to see curtailed. Let me cite a few: research on the Asian influenza vaccine and on the disease itself; marked expansion of studies of radiation as part of the broad field of physical biology; a new study centered in Panama and dealing, among other things, with the continuing threat of yellow fever; a new project which initiates a program of research against mental illness within expanded clinical facilities at St. Elizabeths; a comprehensive, multidiscipline study of the biological aspects of aging; an expansion of the promising research field represented by viruses and cancer; establishment of studies in both metabolic and infectious diseases, using animals in germ-free environments as the research tools.

The successful conduct of research of this kind is certain to yield important advances in medical science and may mean the difference for many Americans between health and productivity on the one hand, and death and disability on the other.

It is not, of course, only the research programs of the Institutes that are affected. In combination, the restrictions placed on initial spending and the uncertainties over how much can be spent during the full year are certain to inflict damage on all of the major programs of the Department, including other activities of the Public Health Service.

The Department, as you know, is fairly young. But it is composed of a number of established activities. Grouping them together as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was a great forward step. In addition to giving the individual programs a frame of reference, it also permits and encourages a coherent and unified attack on certain major problems with which the Department is faced. And now these complex programs are also impeded by false economy and threatened by budgetary confusion.

A typical example is in the work of the Department related to our older citizens—the aged and infirm. I have pressed the Department hard for 3 years to assert more leadership in this field. Finally they have at least made a good beginning. Elements of the Department's new and promising program are found in the Social Security Administration, the Office of Education, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and all three bureaus of the Public Health Service, as well as in the Secretary's own office. And now even this good start is being cut back. Does the Bureau of the Budget really think they know better than the whole Department how appropriated funds for these programs can most effectively be spent? Is there any one of them who knows anything at all concerning the substance of these programs which they so casually reduce or destroy?

The same thing can be said for mental health and mental retardation. I have discussed and studied this field in general and in specific for almost all of my 17 years in Congress. This does not qualify me as an expert. But I know that this is a problem of immediate and alarming proportions. The mentally ill, the severely disturbed, the psychologically or physically handicapped children—I am convinced that we cannot and must not fail to do whatever we can on their behalf. And yet we find research and study in this field being forbidden even though Congress has made money available—even to the unbelievable point of impeding the small beginning made by the Office of Education in studies of how better to teach the mentally retarded up to their optimum educational level.

I say we cannot permit a handful of numbers experts in the Bureau of the Budget to decide whether such studies should or should not be undertaken. With me, this is both a practical matter and a matter of principle.

I call upon the administration to cease these confusing, delaying, and damaging practices. I shall watch the fiscal events of this year with a great deal of interest. If there is no improvement during the next budget and appropriation cycle, I will most certainly seek full discussion and appropriate action to assure Congress and the American people that this disturbing threat to our system of government is remedied.

But this is not enough, because this is remedial and not immediate action. I also call upon the President of the United States to take steps now to untie the hands of the program people in his executive branch. I cannot believe that he knows what is happening in his name. He has gone on record many times to confirm his belief in and support of medical research. He cannot be aware that his own staff is undercutting programs which reflect his own convictions.

I am sure that the remarks I make here to alert the House of Representatives will be brought to his personal attention. I feel sure that when he knows the facts, he will order the Bureau of the Budget to stop this highhanded and destructive practice at once.

Hon. Samuel K. McConnell, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the tributes paid to our able and distinguished colleague, Hon. SAMUEL K. MCCONNELL, of Pennsylvania, who is leaving us at this time to accept the position of executive director of United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc.

He has rendered outstanding service to his district and to the Nation during the past 14 years in which he has been a Member of this House.

He has made a very special contribution as a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, and as its senior Republican member and its chair-

man at a time when the committee has had most difficult problems to deal with.

By his character, his ability, and his spirit of fair play at all times he has won widespread respect in all walks of life, regardless of party affiliation.

His colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have both high regard and affection for him will greatly miss his daily association.

SAM and I have been good friends ever since he came to the Congress.

I have greatly valued his friendship over the years.

I join in wishing him every success and happiness in the work ahead.

Bureaucrats Take Over Functions of Congress Firearms Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, a very serious situation has developed in regard to the proposed revision of the Federal Firearms Act by the Internal Revenue Service. I have here an article which appeared in the Dan Smoot Report of Monday, August 26, 1957, which I desire to insert in the RECORD, as it gives a clear analysis of the effect of the proposed regulations if they are enforced.

Dan Smoot, the author of this article, is well and widely known. For 9½ years he was with the FBI, and for 2 years was on the FBI staff in Washington, as an administrative assistant to J. Edgar Hoover. His work as a stanch supporter of fundamental Americanism is nationally known, and for that reason I believe his article on the Internal Revenue's proposed regulations are well worth our earnest and careful consideration:

In the Federal Register of May 3, 1957 (vol. 22, No. 86), there appears a proposed revision of the Internal Revenue Service Regulation, issued under the authority of the Federal Firearms Act.

The principal changes in the firearms regulations are as follows:

1. Each manufacturer or importer of a firearm shall identify it by stamping, in a manner not readily obliterated or altered, the name and location of the manufacturer or importer, and serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm.

2. Manufacturer's and dealer's records of receipt and disposal of firearms must be retained permanently on the premises until discontinuance of the business by the licensee.

3. A manufacturer or dealer must maintain on the premises complete records of the production, receipt, or disposition, at wholesale or retail, of all pistol or revolver ammunition. The ammunition must be described as to manufacturer, type, caliber, and quantity, and the identity of the persons from whom received and to whom sold must be shown.

4. A person purchasing a firearm or handgun ammunition in over-the-counter sales must acknowledge receipt thereof in his own handwriting in the prescribed record.

This is a classic example of the operations of administrative law. These new regulations, secretly and arbitrarily written by an administrative agency of the Federal Government, were not passed by Congress. Congress, in fact, knew nothing about them.

Some anonymous bureaucrat simply decided to change the law of the land—indeed, to stretch the law of the land until it violated the basic constitutional rights of the people—without even bothering to consult the legislative branch of the Government.

What happened after that official notice in the May 3 Federal Register is an interesting story.

A few sports writers found out about the new administrative regulations and sounded the alarm.

For example, Norman Phillips, in his Field, Stream, and Ocean column for the Valley Times (North Hollywood, Calif.) on May 29, 1957, said:

"The boss has kindly granted us an extra column today so that we can tell you about the most dangerous piece of antifirearms legislation that has come along in quite a while. it just popped up out of nowhere, and it's slated to go into effect Monday, June 3. You'll have to act fast if you want to stop it.

"Briefly, the Income Tax Bureau has issued three directives: section 177.50, section 177.52, and section 177.54. The first requires that all guns be stamped with caliber and shell size; the second, that all firearms be registered with the Government, and the third, that all ammunition other than .22 caliber rim fire be registered.

"It directs every sporting goods store to keep a record of all ammo sales and to file a report on every cartridge and shell sold. In short, it's just what the antigun forces have been trying to get through for years—and what we have always defeated. But it's slipping right through now, without anyone knowing.

"The question is not are these good laws or bad. The question is, what right does the Internal Revenue Bureau have to regulate the conduct of American citizens by passing regulations? The Constitution specifically gives the power to pass laws to the Congress, and prohibits any other body from so doing. These are not laws that have been introduced in Congress and discussed by your elected officials. It will do no good to write to your Senator or your Representatives in Washington; he couldn't stop them if he tried. He doesn't get to vote on them. They go into effect next Monday, just because some Internal Revenue bureaucrat decided they ought to be put into effect. Nobody votes. He just issues an order.

"This legislation by directive strikes at the foundations of the American system; is as vicious an attack on our Constitution as anything a foreign power ever thought up. Even if the laws were good instead of bad, they should still be fought for that reason.

"The only thing you can do is to sit down and write two letters right now. Don't put it off, because the regulations go into effect Monday. Just say you are against the enactment of firearms and ammunition registration regulations 177.50, 177.52, and 177.54. Say that they would only serve to harass law-abiding citizens, without having any effect on lawbreakers.

"Don't be insulting, but just get a few sentences down on paper. Mail one copy to Secretary of the Treasury G. M. Humphrey, Washington, D. C., and two copies to Department of Internal Revenue, Alcohol and Tax Division, Washington. Yes, you have to write to Internal Revenue in duplicate. It's a Government bureau and they have to have two copies of everything."

Subsequently, Guns magazine, the American Rifleman, and other similar publications took up the cry.

In his column for July 19, 1957, Norman Phillips had this to say:

"Due almost entirely to the prompt letter-writing efforts of sportsmen all over the Nation, the new Treasury Department ruling has been suspended for the time being. Our local sportsmen, alerted by a column written by this reporter, turned in a fine showing of protest and the whole thing is held up for a while. But this illegal law is still on the books, and Treasury officials can decide to enforce it at any time.

"We refer, of course, to the Internal Revenue ruling that dealers must register all sales of firearms and ammunition. It even goes far enough to tell manufacturers how they must make and mark their guns. It was never voted into law by Congress, remember—it was some Washington bureaucrat sitting behind a desk who dreamed this one up. The Constitution specifically gives Congress alone the authority to enact legislation. But then, a little think like the Constitution isn't going to slow down an Internal Revenue man when he wants to dream up something new.

"The weirdest thing of all, to this reporter, is the fact that Treasury officials have sent out word the law is not to be enforced; not just yet, anyway. Look at it logically—if the Treasury has the power to make a law, how dare they not enforce it? On the other hand, if they are not required to enforce, and make arrests under this law, then it isn't very much of a law, is it?

"Just one more question—since when did enforcement of a law, even a bad one, become optional with a public servant? This whole business smells like something Hitler or Stalin dreamed up."

The story is not yet ended. Vigorous public protest has caused the Treasury Department to start hemming and hawing about the new regulations—claiming, as Norman Phillips points out, that the public need not be excited because the Treasury Department is not going to enforce the new regulations (which are already on the books).

Now, the Treasury Department has arranged a public hearing.

(On August 27 the Internal Revenue Service started public hearings in Washington to give all interested parties an opportunity to be heard on the subject of the new firearms regulations.)

Inasmuch as practically nothing about all this has been in the major newspapers, or on radio or television, one wonders just how the "interested parties" were to find out about the meeting.

* * * To me, the grimmest aspect of this firearms controversy is the Federal bureaucracy's disrespect for the Constitution of the United States.

Amendment 2 of the Constitution says: "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

Politics Stalemate Farm Legislation—Benson Exploits Disunity Among Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, as the 1st session of the 85th Congress draws to a close, it occurs to me that I should advise the Congress and the country concerning the work of the House Committee on Agriculture during the weeks and months of the present session. I also feel that I should discuss some of the problems with which the members of our committee have been confronted and

ay something about the present plight f American farmers.

Such a report, to convey to the Na- ion a true accounting, must bring for- ard at the outset the name of Mr. Ezra aft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture.

BENSON RETURNS FROM THE WILDERNESS

In the closing weeks of this Congress, hen the Secretary of Agriculture, under ormal circumstances, would be in Washington eagerly pressing all matters ital to the well-being of farmers, every- ne was wondering as to the whereabouts f Mr. Benson. His absence seemed to be hrouded in some sort of mystery. The President indicated at a news conference hat the Secretary was out in the country etting grassroots opinion on a new farm rogram. Apparently the President did ot know where the Secretary was nor id he know what he was doing. But ow the veil of mystery has been lifted nd we are told that the Secretary has een wandering in the wilderness for 50 ays and nights. He says he was in- pecting national forests. We, of course, ope that he found everything well in he wilderness. Actually, the farmers of merica think that the Secretary has een in "a wilderness" since the begin- ing of his administration. Ever since e has been in public office we have been oping that the Secretary would come p with some new idea, but to this good ay he has neither presented a single ew thought nor a single new idea. His ne purpose has been to drive down farm rices and income.

CONGRESS ALERT TO FARMERS' NEEDS

Mr. Speaker, there has never been a ession of Congress in which the Mem- ers who are interested in the well-being f agriculture have worked more dili- ently, more faithfully, or with a greater edication, in behalf of those millions of ur citizens who live and labor on the arms of our country. I commend those Members of both parties who have roven themselves to be devoted friends f agriculture.

PARTISAN POLITICS PLAYS A PART

Unfortunately, partisan politics has ifted its ugly head in our committee oom. The problems of agriculture are aramount and should be considered in n atmosphere which is entirely free rom partisan politics and political ex- ediency. Members of our committee of oth parties are devoted to the cause of griculture and to the well-being of all he people of our Nation, but we are ivided along party lines and in such a ituation the farmers of the Nation are he ones who suffer.

When the 85th Congress convened in anuary the agricultural economy, after 4 long years of steady and devastating eterioration, was still growing progres- ively worse. Secretary Benson was winning the great battle to bring down rices and to lower farm income. Never n any occasion has he championed the ause of farmers. Many farm families, nable to make ends meet, have moved nto towns and cities seeking jobs which were not available. Others were hold- ng on to their land only by privation nd by increasing their debts. Many perators of larger farms were hard- ressed. Meanwhile, other great seg- ments of our economy continued to en- joy unparalleled prosperity.

SITUATION DEMANDED ACTION

This Congress immediately set to work to undo the damage that had been done to the farm program in the 4 years of Mr. Benson's reign; to take whatever legislative steps were needed to restore stability to agriculture—and thus to bring our farm people into equal part- nership in the rewards of American free enterprise.

But, Mr. Speaker, our efforts have been nullified by the Secretary of Agri- culture, Mr. Benson.

The deep concern of the Members of this House for the well-being of agri- culture is vividly spread in the records of our Committee on Agriculture, which it is my privilege and honor to serve as chairman. These records show that the Members of this body have introduced in this session 513 bills, intended to im- prove the conditions on our farms and our committee has taken final action on 272 of these bills.

Our committee, with its 18 subcom- mittees, has conducted 176 hearings and study sessions. We studied all the bills carefully and, as is the custom, selected those we deemed to be worthy of early action and submitted them to the Secre- tary of Agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, the House, the Congress, the farmers of America, should know this:

We sent 125 bills to the Secretary. Mr. Benson approved only 16 of these bills. He disapproved or proposed sub- stantial changes in all the others or did not express an opinion at all. He re- jected all legislation proposing funda- mental improvements in the operation of farm laws to increase the income of farm families.

We sent to him bills proposing revi- sions in the present loan and acreage allotment program. We forwarded to him bills proposing two-price or domes- tic parity systems for various commodi- ties which would let these crops move competitively into world markets while maintaining a reasonable price in our domestic markets. We sent to him pro- posals for production payments, com- pensatory payments, or marketing equalization payments to farmers. He returned them with the Department's stamp of disapproval.

BENSON WOULD DESTROY PARITY PRINCIPLE

Instead, Mr. Benson sent us his own proposal, that the flexible 75 to 90 per- cent of parity supports for the major crops, the sliding scale which he in- stalled, now be discarded and that he be given absolute authority, at his own per- sonal discretion, to fix the supports of major crops at zero to 90 percent, or to eliminate the program completely. In effect, Mr. Benson's program for agri- culture is that we make him the czar of agriculture.

Needless to say, no Democrat would touch Mr. Benson's bill; and likewise, it is to the credit of the Republican Mem- bers of the Congress that they, too, have washed their hands of this new effort of the Secretary to destroy the parity prin- ciple which the farmers of America were so long in winning and which the Nation had come to accept as sound and fair. Agriculture is in the middle of a sad and sorry situation when the Secretary of Agriculture is not able to persuade and prevail upon any member of his own po- litical party to introduce legislation which he proposes.

Mr. Speaker, although Mr. Benson cannot find support in the Congress for this new mischief he proposes, we have learned that when the Secretary disap- proves a measure it is doomed. This is the lesson the President taught us last year when he vetoed H. R. 12, the bill which sought to stop the downward flex- ing of farm prices and to restore 90 per- cent of parity price supports.

Thus, the threat of veto, at Mr. Ben- son's signal, thwarts the Congress.

THE SECRETARY EXPLOITS DISUNITY

Moreover, the Secretary does not rely entirely upon the veto, nor upon the fortunes of his bills in the Congress, to accomplish his ends. He has a third design. It is the most crafty, and the most cunning, of all. It is contemptible and unforgivable. We have it from no less a source than the Wall Street Jour- nal, which supports Mr. Benson's poli- cies, that the administration is exploit- ing disunity among farmers to bring down farm prices. The following is from the front page of this newspaper's edi- tion of August 2:

Benson maneuvers to blunt opposition to his drive for lower price supports.

He'll seek power to ease planting curbs right away if props drop. Aids figure fatter harvests would offset the initial pinch of lower prices on farm income. Benson will hold out hope that controls would die eventually. He'll promise to use prop-cut- ting power moderately, trim supports to world market levels in easy stages.

Administration strategists aim to exploit splits within commodity groups. They play California cottongrowers against Dixie pro- ducers in the push for lower fiber props. Officials make the most of intercrop jeal- ousy. Benson plans to ask authority to lower dairy support floors; spokesmen for major crops complain mandatory dairy props incur heavy losses.

Benson's foes fail to agree on an alterna- tive. Some Democrats plug hard for direct payments to farmers. Others refuse to swal- low the idea. Benson's backers take cheer from the opposition's distress.

A BATTLE WON AND LOST

Mr. Speaker, only a few short years ago we were confident that a long, hard, and sometimes bitter struggle had been won. We thought that at long last agri- culture had been accepted in equal part- nership to share equitably in the rewards of free enterprise along with all other segments of our society.

Today we find ourselves embattled perhaps as never before.

Farmers are again the poor relations in the Nation's economy. The parity principle is under assault, and has been shaken to its very foundation. Crop is pitted against crop, region against region, organization against organiza- tion. This disunity is being exploited to rob the farmer of the rewards for his work.

The situation we confront today is strangely and ominously reminiscent of the state of agriculture 25 years ago.

There are many Members of this House who can remember—and some

will never forget—the late 1920's when agriculture went into a devastating decline. Our farmers called for help. The rest of our economy—much as today—was preoccupied with prosperity, and the farmers' cries scarcely were heard.

Ultimately, in the early 1930's, the ruin of agriculture ran its inevitable course, and our whole economy tumbled into a great depression.

It was then that this country came to a realization of the importance of agriculture to the strength and prosperity of our whole economy. That was when our farm program was born.

Mr. Speaker, in a few days we shall be back home, in our districts among the good people who sent us here, and in our daily associations we shall be giving accounts of our stewardship. Our farmer friends will want to know why agriculture is depressed—why the farm program that operated so well so long and at so little expense is not now working to help them—why farm families are not sharing in the Nation's prosperity—why nothing has been done.

I am going to tell the truth. I am going to tell my farmer friends about Mr. Benson, and about those who hold his hand. My people are going to hear from me two stories: One, a 20-year story; the other, a 4-year story.

THE 20-YEAR STORY

The 20-year story, which began in 1933, is an account of the accomplishment of the parity principle—agriculture's magna carta. The income of agriculture multiplied sixfold, sevenfold, or eightfold in those two decades. For 11 consecutive years prior to 1953, the average prices paid to farmers were at or above 100 percent of parity. Rural people were able to buy the conveniences and comforts hitherto available only to those who resided in the cities and towns. The blessings of electricity were taken into the rural areas. Farmers became financially able to mechanize their farms and to apply the new sciences, to bring the blessings of abundance at low cost to this country. Farmers, with the means to do it, devoted their resources and energies to the restoration and conservation of their most precious resource, the soil. Better farm income created greater markets for industries in the cities, made jobs, and kept factory wheels turning.

During those 20 years the output per farm increased by 100 percent, so that now each farmworker feeds 20 persons. As a consequence of this new efficiency in agriculture American families have had available to them more and better food, for an expenditure of a smaller percentage of their total income, than in any other period of history. Although in recent years retail prices have increased as farm prices declined, even today the average hourly wage of industrial workers will buy twice as much food as in 1929.

Our accomplishments in agriculture were phenomenal. What did this 20-year program cost?

The Commodity Credit Corporation supported the prices of the major storable crops for the 20 years prior to 1953, not at a loss, not at a cost, but at an actual profit of $13 million. For these two decades the CCC price supports on basic crops, nonbasics, perishables and nonperishables, storables and nonstorables—potatoes, eggs, wool, and everything else—amounted to only $1,064,000,000.

The total losses on all price-support programs through the Commodity Credit Corporation on all commodities amounted to only $1,064,000,000. I emphasize the fact that this was a cumulative loss for 20 years; to show just how negligible this loss really was, and in fairness to farmers the cumulative losses should be related to cumulative gains for the same period of time. The cumulative farm marketings for the same 20 years, 1933–52 inclusive, amounted to more than $390 billion. The cumulative national income for the same 20 years amounted to over $3 trillion. So in fairness, we must relate price-support losses both to farm income and to national income to realize just how negligible the losses really are.

THE 4-YEAR STORY

Now let us look at the 4-year story which began in 1953, and which continues—though we pray that it may not be for long.

First, we recall that 1953 was the year in which the assault was launched upon the parity principle—the Secretary of Agriculture began shouting to the country: "The farmer is pricing himself out of his markets"—and here is the story:

Farm prices dropped in 1953 to 92 percent of parity, to 89 percent in 1954, 84 percent in 1955, to 82 percent in 1956, and prices in July 1957 were running below July of 1956 in terms of parity.

Farm net income dropped from $14,256,000,000 in 1952 to $11,800,000,000 in 1956.

Farm-mortgage debt has risen from $6,600,000,000 in 1952 to approximately $10 billion today.

Whereas the CCC price-support program for 20 years cost $1,064,000,000, the losses for the 4 years, 1953 through 1956, were 3 times the combined total of the previous 20 years—slightly over $1 billion in 20 years, and $3 billion in 4 years. Meanwhile, CCC investments in surpluses increased from $2,452,000,000 in 1952 to $8,211,000,000 as of January 1, 1957.

Briefly, in 4 years Mr. Benson has lost 3 times as much money in CCC price supports as this program cost in the previous 20 years; at the end of the 4 years he has 3 times more surplus on hand than he had when he started; farm prices are down 18 percent and farm income down 15 percent.

Mr. Speaker, thus is the dreary 4-year story of the farmer's income going down and the costs to the Government going up.

FACTS AND FIGURES

To aid the Members in pointing concisely to what has taken place, and what is taking place, in agriculture, I am inserting at this point certain facts and figures. But before submitting these facts and figures I want to emphasize that Secretary Benson has had more money, more personnel, and more power and authority than any other Secretary of Agriculture in the history of this Re public. He has had more committees more commissions, and personal advise than any other Secretary in history When he took office our agricultura budget was only $1,817,000,000. The la Benson proposed was for approximate $5 billion, amounting to almost 50 per cent of the total net income of all th farmers of America during the year 195 Only a small part of this gigantic sum actually went into the pockets of farmer

CCC PRICE SUPPORT LOSSES

As of January 1, 1953: $1,064,617,225.

As of January 1, 1957: $4,005,229,643.

(NOTE.—The losses in 4 years, from Janu ary 1953 through 1956, were about thre times the total of losses during the previou 20-year history of CCC price support opera tions.)

Twenty-year loss (1933–52): $1,064,617,22

Loss (1953 through 1956): $2,940,612,41

CCC OPERATIONS IN BASIC CROPS ONLY (COTTON WHEAT, TOBACCO, CORN, RICE, AND PEANUTS)

January 1, 1953 (at the end of 20 years) $13,011,290 profit.

January 1, 1957 (4 years later): $1,22 671,853 loss.

(NOTE.—A $13,011,290 profit over a 20-ye period of CCC price supports on the basi turned into an $8 million loss within months after Mr. Benson took office. I 4 years under Mr. Benson losses on the basi amounted to $1,235,683,243 compared to th $13 million plus profit in the previous years. These losses have been piling highe since January 1, 1957.)

(NOTE.—The CCC support program for cot ton, over 20 years, showed a profit of ove $268 million. But this profit has been wipe out, by a cotton program loss of over a ha billion dollars in the last 18 months.)

Losses on dairy products

Up to Jan. 1, 1953	$121, 523, 3
Since Jan. 1, 1953, to Jan. 1, 1957	1, 161, 871, 6
Dairy program total	1, 283, 395, 0

(By the end of June 1957 the dairy pro gram losses had exceeded $1,400,000,000.)

CCC INVESTMENTS

Total CCC investments (inventory and loans) as of Jan. 1, 1953	$2, 452, 000, 0
Total CCC investments (inventory and loans) as of Jan. 1, 1957	6, 211, 000, 0
Total increase in 4 years	5, 759, 000, 0

CCC investments by crops (inventory an loans)

Crop	Amount	Value
Cotton:	*Bales*	
Jan. 1, 1953	1, 097, 000	$166, 779, 0
Jan. 1, 1957	10, 263, 000	1, 723, 711, 0
Wheat:	*Bushels*	
Jan. 1, 1953	467, 847, 000	1, 081, 545, 0
Jan. 1, 1957	1, 039, 029, 000	2, 683, 452, 0
Corn 7:		
Jan. 1, 1953	368, 349, 000	587, 274, 0
Jan. 1, 1957	1, 199, 688, 000	2, 045, 551, 0
Rice:	*Hundredweight*	
Jan. 1, 1953	168, 000	878, 0
Jan. 1, 1957	22, 372, 000	173, 848, 0
Peanuts:	*Pounds*	
Jan. 1, 1953	192, 528, 000	22, 644, 0
Jan. 1, 1957	336, 435, 000	35, 664, 0
Tobacco:		
Jan. 1, 1953	544, 067, 000	250, 373, 0
Jan. 1, 1957	1, 075, 660, 000	673, 554, 0
Dairy products:		
Jan. 1, 1953		8, 445, 0
Jan. 1, 1957		111, 031, 0

Farmers (1952 and 1956)

	1952	1956
Farmers' net income (billions)	$14.3	$11.8
Farmers' share of food dollar (cents)	47	40
Prices paid by farmers, index	287	286
Prices received by farmers, index	288	235
Parity ratio	100	82
Number of farms	5,421,000	4,964,000

PER CAPITA INCOME (1956)

People on farms: $889 (down $64 per person since 1952).

Nonfarm people: $2,010 (up $177 per person since 1952).

COMPARISONS

Average of farm prices in 1956 down 18 percent from 1952.

Net farm income in 1956 was 15 percent below 1952.

CONTRAST

Hourly earnings industrial workers in 1956 up 19 percent since 1952

Net corporation dividend payments in 1956 up 33 percent since 1952.

Farm prices (as percentage of parity)

	Percent
1942	105
1943	113
1944	108
1945	109
1946	113
1947	115
1948	110
1949	100
1950	101
1951	107
1952	100
1953	92
1954	89
1955	84
1956	82

Cash receipts of farmers (not including Government payments)

1932	$4,748,000,000
1947	29,664,000,000
1948	30,253,000,000
1951	32,909,000,000
1952	32,538,000,000
1955	29,264,000,000
1956	29,999,000,000

Net income of farmers (including Government payments)

1932	$1,928,000,000
1947	17,191,000,000
1948	15,943,000,000
1951	14,802,000,000
1952	14,256,000,000
1955	11,340,000,000
1956	11,836,000,000

National income

1932	$43,049,000,000
1948	208,980,000,000
1951	250,779,000,000
1952	266,406,000,000
1955	296,379,000,000
1956	314,471,000,000

Mr. Speaker, these are the facts and the figures. I will tell my people the truth, that the 20-year story is the triumph of the parity principle and its meaning in a better life for farm families, more and better food for a smaller part of the paychecks of consumers and a modest cost to the Government; that the 4-year story is of the dismantling of this hard-won parity principle and what this has meant in new deprivations for farmers and huge costs to the Government.

MORE TROUBLE AHEAD

Now, where do we stand today?

I regret that I must tell my farmer friends that the worst seems yet to come.

Those who are tearing down the parity principle—the farmers' Magna Carta—thus far have accomplished their ends principally by destruction of the 90-percent of parity price supports and the substitution of a sliding, flexible, lower support system, down to 75 percent of parity for the major storable crops.

Now, as I have heretofore mentioned, the Secretary of Agriculture has sent to the Congress a proposal that he be given absolute power, in his own personal discretion, to support the basic crops at 0 to 90 percent of parity, or to eliminate supports completely. He evangelizes a free-market and free-price route for agriculture.

I can see nothing but farm bankruptcy in such a policy.

THE NATURE OF THE FARM PROBLEM

Agriculture alone cannot live under one system and the rest of the economy under another. Wages do not fluctuate with supply and demand. Labor has its minimum wage and collective bargaining laws. Supply and demand have little influence on the cost of transportation, electric power, and telephone service. Industry puts a price tag on what it produces.

Agriculture is the only major element of our total economy that has no device outside of Government, to pattern its production to market needs. Farmers have no way of measuring what should be their individual contributions to a balanced national supply of food and fiber, without Government help. Farmers have virtually no bargaining power in the commerce they conduct.

Shall we say to the farmers of America that you shall go into the market places with what you produce and, hat in hand, ask: "What will you give me?"

The farm families on these broad lands are the primary producers of the wealth of this Nation. Yet, in 1956, although they comprised 13.2 percent of our population, they received only 6.3 percent of our national income. Income of all farm workers last year averaged only 78 cents an hour, for their labor and their management. The average wage of industrial workers increased to $2.08 an hour. The per capital income of the 22,250,000 people living on farms amounted to only $889—and a third of this was from off-farm sources such as part-time jobs in town—while the per capita income of our nonfarm population soared to $2,010.

Yet we have before the Congress, directly from the Secretary of Agriculture, a proposition for the further dismantling of price supports—a proposition that would totally wreck the parity principle, which is agriculture's only recognized means of determining the inequity of its position in relation to the rest of our economy and society.

THE ANTIFARMER CAMPAIGN

Perhaps never in history, as in the last 4 years, has 1 segment of our society been singled out for such lambasting, such slander, and generally such cruel treatment as has been administered to the farmers of America.

Through every medium, through press releases, through radio and television, in speeches, thousands upon thousands of words have been beamed to city dwellers. With evil sounding overtones, such words as "surpluses," "controls," "subsidies," "waste," have been drummed into city ears. Our customers in town have been told that the farmer is pricing himself out of his markets, with a hint that he is living a high life on Government checks. The farmers have been denounced, ridiculed, and vilified from one end of the land to the other by people in high places.

Moreover, as I have pointed out to the House, a successful attempt has been made to divide farmers, to set one group, one region, one organization against another.

The great shibboleth of the exploiters of disunity is the one word: "Freedom."

Never has one word embracing a noble aspiration of a people been more soiled in its usage. The American farmer is the most independent, the most freedom-loving individual on earth. The question is: Shall we let the exploiters use this virtue to permanently repress our farm families and to make them content with a lesser share in the rewards of America's free enterprise?

Industry and business manage, adjust, and control production and the flow of goods offered for sale. We are told that if farmers enter into a program to pattern their production to the measure of their markets they are surrendering their freedom.

Industry and business put a price tag on the goods they produce and merchandise, but the farmer is propagandized that if he enters into an arrangement to use the pricing principles that are necessary to the success of any enterprise, he will lose his independence and his liberties.

The exploiters would deny to the farmers the recourse to their Government such as has been used to restrain the impact of the free play of supply and demand in industry and business and has mitigated and tempered the hazards of working and trading in industry and business.

Let me make my own position clear.

I shall work to the limit for the real independence of farmers, and of all Americans; but I shall never brood on the farmers' loss of their freedom to go bankrupt and their freedom to become again the paupers in this Nation's economy.

The free-market and free-price route that is now being preached for agriculture, while the farmers' production costs are fixed high by the protections afforded all others in our economy, will surely put our farmers at the mercy of a world price.

We shall not submit to reducing the American farmer to the rank of world peasant.

Many of us representing agricultural districts supported the laws that have brought a new era of prosperity to the laboring man. We supported the enactments that have created the economic climate for the greatest business prosperity in our history. I would not repeal these statutes.

We supported and fought for the laws that established the parity principle for agriculture. We shall not rest until the

befuddled foes of equity for agriculture are routed out of administrative places in Washington and the farmers' position of due reward for enterprise is restored and secured.

PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN PLANNED

Mr. Speaker, I have information to the effect that officials of the Department of Agriculture are now preparing for perhaps the greatest program of propaganda that has yet been undertaken. I am advised that workers in the Department of Agriculture have been directed to prepare and to present facts and figures in such fashion as to indicate that all is well on the farm front, that farmers are not really hurting and are not in distress. Under the guise of summarizing accomplishments under the Eisenhower administration, officials of the Department will try to show that farmers are riding on a rosy road to prosperity.

Soon we may expect the entire propaganda potential of the Department of Agriculture to be beaming misleading information to the people of the country. Perhaps officials of the Department of Agriculture will indicate:

That farm prices have turned the corner, that they are higher than a year ago.

That farm income is headed up for the first time in a peacetime year since 1947; that farm assets are at an all-time high, and that only 1 out of 3 farms is burdened with a mortgage.

That exports are larger than ever before.

That surplus holdings of the Commodity Credit Corporation are being drawn down. That markets are returning and surpluses are disappearing.

Our farmers have learned that when Mr. Benson says things are getting better it is time for agriculture to get ready for something worse. Certainly, when Mr. Benson reports that farm prices have turned the corner, he will not mention the fact that farm costs are climbing faster than prices and that farm prices in July of this year were below the prices of July of last year in terms of parity. I am quite certain that the Secretary of Agriculture will not mention the hundreds of millions of dollars of losses incurred and the hundreds of millions of dollars paid out in subsidies which are responsible for increases in exports and some slight reduction in the inventories of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Actually Mr. Benson would probably do farmers a favor if he would withhold this new and bright presentation which he is planning, for we see and realize that in the past, whenever he talks up prices, parity has gone down. Here are some of the things Benson has said in the past and here is what has happened to parity every time he has talked of prices:

Date	Benson said—	Parity stood at (percent)—
Feb. 11, 1953	"Analysis leads us to expect no major changes (in farm price) during the next several months."	94
Apr. 7, 1953	"Our analysis * * * anticipate that prices of farm products during the spring and summer will be steady."	92
Oct. 21, 1953	"It's my belief that the major price declines are behind us."	90
June 30, 1954	"It (last month's 4-percent farm-price decline) does not indicate a general weakening in the farm-price structure."	88
Jan. 7, 1955	"I am convinced that for agriculture the road ahead will be smoother than the one we have been traveling."	86
June 15, 1955	"I am confident that we have seen the worst of the transition which agriculture goes through following every major war."	81

Mr. Benson talked some more in 1956 and the level of farm prices dropped to 82 percent of parity.

In reviewing the records and summarizing accomplishments, no doubt the Secretary will lay considerable stress on the achievements of the rural development program. The farmers will recall that this program was launched in the wake of searing criticism of the Secretary early in his administration when his aids made statements to the effect that "inefficient" farmers should stop trying to farm and find jobs in industry. By the operation of this program, Secretary Benson cannot kid small farmers into believing that he and his associates have had a change of heart.

Mr. Benson spoke a few weeks ago in Minnesota. Mrs. Margaret Terning of Cokato, Minn., daughter of one of the township's finest farmers and wife of another one of the area's finest farmers, asked the Secretary: "How is the farmer to meet his obligations in the face of lower farm prices and rising costs?" Mr. Benson's reply: "Seek other employment."

During the entire time that Mr. Benson has served as Secretary of Agriculture he has had in mind and has worked diligently to accomplish one goal, and that is to lower farm prices and bring down farm income. His sliding scale is sliding the farmers of America into bankruptcy.

FARMERS MUST STAND TOGETHER

Mr. Speaker, we shall never accomplish an equitable position for agriculture in Washington unless there is behind us, at the grassroots, a mobilization of purpose, understanding and action in a united agriculture.

Those of us in Washington who have the interest of agriculture at heart will never impose a program upon farmers. We shall not act until we know what farmers want.

Our weakness in the Congress at this moment is the disunity in the ranks of agriculture. The house of agriculture is divided. This is the work of the Secretary of Agriculture and those who support him. The exploiters are using the disunity they have created to tear down the parity principle.

There have been reports in the press that political overtones are evident, that the declining farm population may be a factor in the calculations, and the strategists, playing for political power by repressing farm prices, may reason that they will more than offset losses in the dwindling rural vote if they pick up additional support in the cities.

This is a sorry business, but I have no fear of it.

Our problem is to bring agriculture into one community of purpose and effort.

AMERICA'S STRENGTH

We may then convince the Nation that the interests of our great rural and urban populations are one and the same that they are tied inextricably together.

We may then show America where her essential strength lies. We may point out that in America 1 farm worker feeds 20 persons, while in Russia agriculture requires the labor of fully one-half the total population. We shall emphasize that the efficiency of our farmers along with the moral fiber of a free people, is the basic difference in the stature of a democratic America and a communistic Russia. We shall sink home the fact that, while one-half Russia's total population works on farms and still cannot meet the Communists' need for food and fiber, in America the efficiency of our farmers releases 90 percent of our work for other employment—in factories, in mines, in shops, in transport, in all the other pursuits which—with the abundance of food and fiber from our farms—makes the United States standard of living the object of longing of peoples the world over.

We shall tell our story. We shall spread the truth about agriculture.

Once we in agriculture are united—once we put our house back together—I am supremely confident that our friends in the towns and the cities, and their representatives in the Congress will insist—as a matter of self-interest and of simple American justice—that our parity principle be restored, that farm families share fairly in the reward of enterprise, and that they enjoy a full partnership in the blessings of this capitalistic system which has made our abundance and our strength the envy of the world.

Navy in Greatest Transition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the Navy is, as has been pointed out by the distinguished Chief of Naval Personnel, embarked on one of the most monumental transitions since the history of this Nation or of naval development. No branch of our service nor any branch of any military service since the dawn of history has undertaken such a transformation. To be sure, this change in the very concept and basic operation of a naval fleet will not be a "bargain basement operation." It will cost money, it will cost time and it will require the greatest minds that this Nation can produce; it will require men and women

who are dedicated "beyond the call of duty" to this historic task.

Mr. Speaker, the change from gunpowder to atomic weapons and from guns to guided missiles is a costly undertaking. All of the services are undergoing a change. However, when one branch of the service must so program its combatant materiel of war from conventional power to nuclear power, along with the attendant unforeseen and unexpected problems arising, it requires the whole cooperation of every segment of the organization. It requires trained men and women, Mr. Speaker, this fact is called to the attention of the Nation by the distinguished Chief of Naval Personnel, Vice Adm. J. L. Holloway, Jr. Admiral Holloway gave to the Nation the Holloway plan which has produced more trained officers than any program in the history of this country. He has made the Nation conscious of its required contribution to the Navy and to the Marine Corps in all of its varying avenues of endeavor. Admiral Holloway has served his country in many important billets from command of battle cruisers, battleships, and other craft of lesser importance, to Superintendent of the Naval Academy and now Chief of its important Bureau of Naval Personnel. In this capacity, he is required to assign every officer of the fleet or ashore in each billet everywhere on earth. Mr. Speaker, he has a terrifying responsibility and he is demonstrating his great and most unusual genius in a capacity that brings praise from every walk of life from the Congress to the man on the street. Mr. Speaker, in the Army-Navy-Air Force Register of August 24, Admiral Holloway has written a magnificent article which I want all Americans to read—all Americans for all time. He titles his magnificent treatise "Navy in Greatest Transition." Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include this fine contribution by Admiral Holloway:

Navy in Greatest Transition

(By Vice Adm. J. L. Holloway, Jr., U. S. Navy, Chief of Naval Personnel)

The Navy is embarked on the greatest transition in its history. At one and the same time, and on a worldwide basis, the Navy is moving from:

Conventional to nuclear power.

Gun powder to atomic weapons.

Guns to guided missiles.

Propeller planes to supersonic jets.

Fast control systems to superfast, automatic systems.

All these steps require trained men, and not just perfunctorily trained men. To operate complex equipment, to take responsibility for thousands of lives, to serve with imagination and dedication in all parts of the world requires men with the highest levels of knowledges, skills, and attitudes. But the educated mind, the alert eye, the nimble hand, and the devoted heart are not the products of chance. They must be developed before the acute need arises.

The Navy does not find readymade guided missilemen or nuclear weaponsmen; nor can readymade experts in inertial navigation international relations, or officers skilled in military management problems be obtained overnight.

To meet its responsibilities the Navy must operate the largest training organization in the free world under single management. In scope this program ranges from preparatory training that stresses the three R's for semiliterate recruits to postgraduate education at the master of science and even the doctor of philosophy level for officers. Hundreds of schools and courses prepare naval personnel to perform vital assignments in the operating forces and shore establishments.

The first part of this article will describe some highlights of the naval officer training programs; the second part will take up some recent developments in enlisted training; both will show how Navy training is meeting the challenge of training tomorrow's Navy—today.

Civilian firms are realizing how long and difficult is the course of executive development. Corporate personnel managers warn their employment interviewers that the "young man you hire today may be the company's president tomorrow."

We in the Navy have had much experience with the problems of executive replacement. We have always recognized that the midshipman is the future naval leader. We cannot "hire" our senior naval officers from the "outside." Training lead time where officers are concerned is very long; we must project 10 and 20 years into the future when we train the midshipman and junior officer.

We must prepare for future supersonic missile ships, superspeed nuclear-powered submarines, antimissile missiles, transoceanic sonar, and all of the other automated electronic and atomic devices of the next decades, by grounding our officers in the basic technical subjects that are required for an understanding of the new equipments. For example, at the beginning of the training process our Naval Academy and NROTC courses include an introduction to the study of guided missiles, nuclear weapons, and nuclear power. For the officer already with the fleet there are the guided missile schools at Dam Neck, Va.; Pomona, Calif.; and Naval Air Station, Jacksonville, Fla., where the focus is on the applied mathematics, physics, electronics, hydraulics, aerodynamics, and other sciences required for missile weapons systems; there are the nuclear power courses at Idaho Falls and New London; there are nuclear weapons courses at Sandia Base, N. Mex., and elsewhere.

POSTGRADUATE TRAINING

Our practice is to send new officers direct to duty in the fleet. However, after an appropriate tour of duty, the naval officer has many opportunities for postgraduate training.

There are about 1,000 officers on board at the United States Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif., and another 300 pursue studies in the graduate schools of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford, Harvard, the George Washington University, and in similar outstanding institutions. Incidentally, the United States Naval Postgraduate School is the only service institution accredited to give master's degrees and doctor's degrees as well as baccalaureate degrees.

HIGH SCHOLASTIC STANDARDS

Scholastic standards are important because the modern naval officer must deal with the problems as well as the results of our complex technology, economy, and political and social organization. The men he leads as well as the ships and weapons he directs, are all products of our civilian institutions. The preface to Soldiers and Scholars (by John W. Mastland and Lawrence I. Radway, Princeton University Press, 1957) states this as follows: "The traditional distinction between military and civilian affairs in American life has become less significant. Under present condtions at home and abroad, it is obviously not enough for the Armed Forces to provide good soldiers, sailors, and airmen, and the leaders necessary to command them in battle. Today many of these leaders are called upon to work closely with foreign affairs experts, industrial managers, scientists, labor leaders, and educators."

ATOMICS AND MANAGEMENT

The United States Naval Postgraduate School is the first educational institution to install a small-scale nuclear reactor. This 100-milliwatt reactor will be available to the officer students for practical experience in the operation of atomic powerplants.

Other new courses or additions to existing courses in the Navy's postgraduate program put an increasing emphasis on guided missiles, special weapons, inertial navigation, advanced fire control systems, electronics, and foreign languages. A new course, also indicative of the complex times in which we live, is the middle-management course at the postgraduate school.

For some time the Navy has had an advanced-management course at Harvard; the new middle-management course at Monterey will provide the middle-grade officers of the Navy with a better understanding of their managerial responsibilities and opportunities.

OFFICER PROMOTION

The officer promotion qualifications program supplements an officer's on-the-job experience and insures that officers selected for promotion are qualified to perform the duties of their grades. It raises and broadens the scope of knowledge of all naval officers and stimulates their professional growth.

To do this we use all the methods of formal training, resident courses, written examinations, and correspondence courses. The typical line officer in progressing from ensign to captain—a 20- to 25-year period—can expect to complete no less than 30 correspondence courses. Each of these courses is a well-packed, well-presented injection of important professional information.

LEADERSHIP MOST IMPORTANT

The new hardware of the Navy will increase the need for training for leadership. Complex operations call for men of higher levels of education and skill; and the handling of these men calls for more imaginative leadership as well as for the time-honored standards of character and integrity on the part of the naval officer.

The naval officer's career is, indeed, one of continuous training for the challenge of leading. History proves that in time of war we must live on our accumulated education—our grassroots and our basic indoctrination; during hostilities we take our people with their more or less fixed education content, and by rapid training methods bring them into operational competence in minimum time.

In the decades between wars, and in peace, we restore our educational and deeper seasoning processes which only time can adequately fortify. Training continues, and education builds the deep reservoirs of knowledge upon which we live, once war breaks upon us. Thus our officers serve the greatest Navy of all time—in peace and war, in training and in fighting.

THE NEW ERA

The new era that is bringing about such a tremendous impact on the Navy in the areas of electronics offensive weapons and air defense systems, guided missile systems, antisubmarine defense systems, nuclear power, and nuclear weapons has imposed a problem of first magnitude on all naval training.

Never before have we faced such exacting demands in terms of quality and quantity for people with the extensive technical education and training required to operate and maintain these new weapons. In addition, we must continue to meet the training requirements in all conventional areas.

We may have fewer men in the Navy, but each will cost us more. The investments in education and training will increase as more

and more men become responsible for more and more complex and expensive equipment.

FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH

Whether the Navy is training to man ships of the past, present, or future, there is one fundamental truth under which we operate. This truth—this concept—sets the Navy apart and is unique among all the services. Limited space aboard ships requires that every man aboard must be able to perform his twofold duties—his technical duty and his battle duty. In battle the whole ship goes into action, and every man on board has his place on the team that fights the ship. The storekeeper becomes an ammunition passer; the commissaryman becames a telephone talker; and the personnelman takes his place on the damage control team. Add to this dual demand the complexity of the modern weapon systems which the technician must maintain and operate, and the incredible speeds with which attacking aircraft of today and tomorrow approach their targets, plus the superweapons of tomorrow with which the man-o-warsman has to contend, and the magnitude of the training job facing us is brought into focus.

SHIPS OF 1,000 SKILLS

A ship is a community requiring heat, light, power, food, clothing, and medicine. It must maintain and repair itself. It must move under its own power. It must carry out its missions and in doing so employ all sorts of complex operations and equipments. All these functions require trained men. A Navy destroyer, according to a recent survey, needs over 1,000 skills for its operation and maintenance. These are separate and distinct skills as defined by the official Dictionary of Occupational Titles. But there are only 200 to 250 men on board a destroyer. If the destroyer were civilianized, it would have to tow a hotel barge astern of it in order to provide housing for all the technicians required. Thus all these skills must be available in the men on board, and they must obtain their skills from carefully planned, efficient training programs.

NEW TRAINING

The increasing emphasis on nuclear power, guided missiles, special weapons, computers, and the automation of more functions must be matched with a similar emphasis on the training of men to operate, maintain, and repair the equipments and systems which are constantly being developed, modified, improved, and put into operation. New schools, new courses, new training aids, and new publications are being developed in all these areas. The demand for naval technicians and the corresponding demand for training are tremendous.

TECHNICIAN DEMAND

To help solve this demand for technicians we have established numerous courses and programs. Three new programs that are proving highly successful are: The Naval enlisted advanced school program, the operator maintenance training program, and the horizontal conversion program.

In the Naval enlisted advanced school program (NEASP) experienced career enlisted men are sent to engineering colleges for 2 years of specialized engineering instruction; then they return to the fleet for 4 years of duty; and then they go back to college for 2 more years and obtain their degrees. By this means the Navy is developing a new type of practical engineers—Navy men with technical skill as well as engineering knowledge.

Our NEASP graduates will be able to understand the workings of entire systems and will be able to supervise the operation and maintenance of the Navy's newest equipments.

This plan started in September 1956 when our first quota of selected men entered Purdue University. They have established a remarkable record there. Our men, carrying a heavier, accelerated course than the average engineering student, have nevertheless earned marks averaging 4.35—while the other students have averaged 3.9.

The operator maintenance training program provides for the intensive technical training of equipment operators—e. g., radiomen, sonarmen, radarmen—in the maintenance of their equipment. The more the operator can service his own equipment, the fewer highly skilled repair technicians are required for routine work, and the more efficient is the operation of the equipments.

The horizontal conversion program permits a man in a crowded rating, for example, gunner's mate, to qualify through training and examinations for conversion to an uncrowded rating, for example, guided missileman. The horizontal conversion helps balance the Navy's enlisted personnel structure and at the same time provides a man with additional advancement opportunities. All this, of course, means another challenge to Navy training because before the men can be converted they must acquire new skills.

ENLISTED NAVAL RESERVE

Enlisted Naval Reserve training goes in equal step with the Regular training programs. Naval reservists attend the Regular schools; and they use the same aids, courses, publications, and correspondence courses. All Reserve training is kept current with regular training whether it is drill night training or active duty for training on board a ship.

To give reservists actual frontline experience, Operation Deployment East and Operation Deployment West have been established. In Operation Deployment East enlisted reservists are flown to the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean for 18 days of practical operational experience with the fleet. In the Deployment West enlisted reservists are flown to the 7th Fleet in the west Pacific for 22 days of duty. Only outstanding reservists are chosen for these tours and therefore these deployments provide not only practical experience but also act as motivating factors in the Reserve program.

A NATIONAL ASSET

The Navy is cooperating with the Department of Labor's new project titled "The Skilled Work Force of the United States." This project provides for the interchange of training methods, aids, and publications between industry and the military. Already the committee for this project has called for a wide choice of Navy-produced materials. This acceptance by industry of Navy training ideas and methods is another indication of the high quality of naval training.

MODERN CHALLENGES

I like to think that if an impartial observer were seeking a training program to prepare men for advanced weapons systems, for global operations, for leadership and good management, and a program that created as well as adapted and used the best of training methods and in doing so developed better individual and better citizens, the impartial observer would recommend that one could do no better than to adopt the United States Navy's training programs in whole and in part. The challenges have been and are great; the responses are magnificent.

Address by Hon. Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York, at Launching of the Steamship "Santa Rosa"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished mayor of the city of New York, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, has just delivered a significant address outlining in persuasive manner the importance of the American merchant marine and tracing the history of the various contributions to its upbringing.

The speech was delivered in connection with the launching of the new steamship *Santa Rosa* by the Grace Lines at Newport News. Mrs. J. Peter Grace, wife of the president of W. R. Grace & Co., was the sponsor at the launching, the initial one in the current ship replacement program initiated by the United States Maritime Administration. The Grace Lines have been outstanding in their maintenance of superior transportation facilities for decades, the new ship taking the place of the present steamship *Santa Rosa* which for 25 years has operated between the east coast and the Caribbean and South American ports.

Because of the timeliness of the well-chosen remarks of Mayor Wagner, and because I am profoundly aware of the importance of maintaining a strong merchant marine at all times, I take pleasure in including the text of the mayor's address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ADDRESS OF MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER

To be here with you on this most happy and important occasion is an honor and privilege.

I was particularly pleased when Mr. J. Peter Grace, president of W. R. Grace & Co., and Mr. Lewis A. Lapham, president of the Grace Line, asked me to participate in these ceremonies.

The invitation afforded me an opportunity to take part in a significant event in the history of our American merchant marine, the launching of the new *Santa Rosa*.

The invitation was, in addition, especially gratifying because it came to me as mayor of the city of New York from two men whose very families included members who had served distinguished terms as mayors of great cities. In the instance of Mr. Grace, his grandfather, William Russell Grace, was twice elected mayor of New York City and served from 1881 to 1882, and from 1885 to 1886. I am sure that we all recall the distinguished service in the years 1944-48 of Mr. Lapham's father, Mayor Roger D. Lapham, of San Francisco.

Finally, I am pleased that I have the opportunity here in a sister port area to tell of some of the constructive program which New York City is accomplishing in order to strengthen its port and to better serve the maritime industry.

In New York we are keenly aware of the American merchant marine's contribution to

the national economy and to America's defensive strength in a troubled world. I have repeatedly, during my years in public service, expressed myself in favor of the vital need for strengthening and keeping strong the American merchant marine.

This occasion is a significant one in the history of a shipping company which is strongly linked with New York. As New York developed into its preeminent position as the world's greatest port, the Grace Line has developed to a preeminent position among the leaders of the maritime industry.

New York City and the Grace Line trace their relationship back to about 1865, when William Russell Grace, a native of Ireland, came to New York by way of Peru, where he had previously established several successful enterprises.

Soon after his arrival in our city, William Russell Grace rented office space in downtown Manhattan and, with chartered sailing ships, began trade with the west coast of South America. The organization he had previously set up in Peru facilitated his shipping activities in that part of our hemisphere.

Through the 1870's and 1880's his New York to South America transportation services expanded. Early in 1892 he introduced steamers in the South America run. I need not underscore for you that the great shipping activities which have been carried on by his successors have continued to grow and to strengthen at an enviable pace. Nor need I point to the well-known and outstanding position which the Grace interests hold in fields other than in shipping, aviation and chemicals being only two which I would mention.

Today the Grace Line operates 19 *Santa* ships out of New York City. Of these 19 vessels, 2 are express liners to South America; 9 are combination cargo-passenger ships, and 8 are freighters. I understand the Grace Line plans to add several additional freighters to the South America service by the end of this year.

I view this launching of the new *Santa Rosa* not alone for its significance in adding to the Grace fleet and to our merchant marine, but in a broader sense, as spelling out in dramatic fashion the continued success, growth, and leadership of the Grace Line.

It is obviously pleasing to me as a New Yorker to recall that the Grace Line leases an outstanding city-owned terminal in Manhattan which is made of integrated piers 57 and 58 on the North River, and, in Brooklyn, occupies a pier at the foot of Java Street.

Pier 57, an integral part of the Grace North River Terminal, is a modern, uniquely designed structure which has received worldwide attention from engineering, port, and terminal experts. It is particularly suited to the great concentration of operational activity which so marks the Grace Line. Actually, the pier boasts of not only a roof supporting hundreds of automobiles being transported over Grace Line ships, but also affords underwater cargo storage facilities. The underwater storage is accomplished by using the interiors of 3 huge concrete boxes which form the substructure of the pier.

The development of New York City's pier facilities is going forward at a rate unexcelled in many, many years. Under the direction of Commissioner Vincent A. G. O'Connor, whom I am happy to see here today, the department of marine and aviation, which administers our waterfront, is making most substantial progress on its $187 million program to rebuild New York City's waterfront.

We have completed negotiations, have purchased some $2 million worth of steel for its substructure and will shortly commence the building of the new Holland-America Line pier at West Houston Street on Manhattan's North River. This huge $19 million passenger and cargo terminal, of dramatically new and advanced concept, will bring to New York from New Jersey the great Dutch line with an attendant great increase in the maritime economy of our city.

My colleagues on the city's board of estimate and I have encouraged Commissioner O'Connor in forwarding a program which, commencing this year in most substantial developments, will remake whole sections of New York's waterfront and add great facilities which will give efficiency in operations to steamship lines and railroads, and add employment for workers engaged in the transportation field.

We are already building several new railroad shipping terminals in Manhattan and tearing out old structures to make way for the modern and efficient terminals which are replacing them.

A great new terminal will be announced shortly for Brooklyn, a mammoth freight facility which will be leased to another of the foreign lines. This will again evidence New York's determination to preserve its leadership in world trade and to justify its continued acceptance by the shipping industry as the hub of international commerce.

But, to get back to the Grace Line and its new *Santa Rosa*, we are looking forward to the spring of 1958 when this beautiful new ship will enter our harbor on its maiden voyage and begin operations between our city and the Caribbean and South America.

We are looking forward also with equal enthusiasm to the completion of the new sister ship of the *Santa Rosa*, the *Santa Paula*. I am happy to learn that the *Santa Paula* also is expected to be soon launched and to undertake service next year.

The outlay of some $23 million by the Grace Line and the Federal Government for the *Santa Rosa* as part of the Grace Line's $286 million fleet replacement program points up the Grace Line's confidence in the future and the American people's determination that an increasing number of ships plying the oceans of the world will fly the American flag.

Thank you again for inviting me to be with you today and for the opportunity to be present at the launching of this great ship.

May God grant her many, many successful and happy voyages.

Baxley Has Corporation To Help Finance Factories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to insert at this point an article concerning industrial development in cities throughout the Eighth Congressional District of Georgia. The article follows and is entitled "Baxley Has Corporation To Help Finance Factories":

[From the Atlanta Constitution of August 6, 1957]

BAXLEY HAS CORPORATION TO HELP FINANCE FACTORIES

(By Jim Montgomery)

BAXLEY, August 5.—Appling Industries, Inc., is the name of an industrial development corporation organized to raise local dollars to help finance the development of manufacturing payrolls in this southeast Georgia community and environs.

In its organization and operation it differs little from close to 100 other such units scattered throughout the State—all with essentially the same purpose.

Their combined assets—which will never be combined—give Georgia a potential source of $12 million or so in capital to finance new and expanding industry.

Most of this total is on paper, today.

Many communities have already raised such funds, but a good deal of the total is what members of these corporations think they could raise—tomorrow, if necessary—through a communitywide sale of stock or debentures.

But the heaviest accent in these tub-thumping campaigns is, with rare exceptions, on providing financial aid to build a branch plant for a company headquartered outside of the community.

A Constitution survey of civic leaders and businessmen in 25 middle and south Georgia communities indicates that a local industrialist would be given the same consideration as an outsider in 13 of them—if the occasion ever came up.

The fact that it hasn't is some of these towns might suggest that their local industrialists either have reason to feel otherwise, or that they would rather not risk the possibility that the community would resent their making profits on its investment.

This was the tenor of replies heard in the 3 communities where such aid was considered as highly unlikely, and in 4 others where the answers amounted to a highly qualified "maybe."

But this is 1 of the 5 remaining communities (which is just a fifth of those surveyed) where there is no doubt as to the sincerity of their positive answers.

Baxley is helping a local industry.

Local firms also have found aid in Edison, Jesup, Waycross, and Americus (and probably some other towns not surveyed).

Valdosta and others have come through to aid the expansion of long-established branch plants—businesses in operation long enough to have gained a sort of quasi-local status.

Here in Baxley the matter did not come up until last April, when a young man who had been operating an upholstery trim shop seemed on the verge of shutting his doors and moving on to look for better opportunities.

But local businessmen didn't want their community to lose a man of his talent and ability by default—by failing to support a promising venture that could be nurtured in their own backyard, while at the same time pinning all their hopes for economic growth on the problematical attraction of a branch plant.

So why not stay in Baxley, they asked the young man, and go into the furniture-making business?

They backed up their proposition by launching a public sale of stock that brought in more than $5,000 despite a limitation that no one person could buy more than a single $200 share.

The Baxley Better Built Furniture factory was then launched in quarters provided rent free for 6 months, with rental thereafter to be determined within reasonable limits by the firm's ability to pay.

It's only a few months since the start, and the firm's employment figure and studio couch output are still small—but it's a going business because Baxley went all out to help a neighbor.

A somewhat more unusual incident took place recently in Wayne County, a few miles southeast of here—more unusual because Jesup is riding the crest of a new prosperity that came a few years ago with the establishment of Rayonier's chemical cellulose plant.

Rayonier is the dominant employer there, a situation that will become even more so when a capacity-doubling expansion is completed soon. Some communities admittedly tend to forget about their older, smaller industries when something big and new moves in.

But that didn't happen in Jesup.

Sea Island Shirts, Inc., with headquarters and sales offices in New York, had been making shirts here for 18 years when a recent internal reorganization and change in ownership resulted in making the Jesup plant a separate corporation under Robert Pascal, the man who had run it for years.

The Pascal Corp. needed working capital, and decided to raise it in the plant's home town.

The Jesup Chamber of Commerce backed up this idea, and its members knocked on local business doors until they had sold $100,000 in preferred stock in the Pascal Corp. to 71 people.

These investors will get 6 percent per annum for their funds (which will be repaid in a maximum of 10 years), and Jesup is now headquarters of a nationally known apparel firm—a firm that employs more than 300 production workers now.

An additional 200 jobs will be added eventually, depending on when plant expansion plans can be carried out.

According to Jesup Chamber of Commerce Manager R. Jack Fishman, two other Georgia communities had offered to build Pascal complete new plants in their towns, but he wanted to stay where he was if he could get enough local capital.

"And that he did," Fishman said, "without resorting to the appeal that he might otherwise move away."

In Waycross right after World War II, a local furniture manufacturer needed $10,000 for an expansion program, and that city's industrial development corporation (now replaced by a quasi-governmental authority) came up with what he needed.

Their money, with interest, was paid back in full in just 2 years, though it could have been strung over a longer period.

In southwest Georgia's Calhoun County, a group of businessmen in Edison had grown increasingly concerned over the area's population loss due in part to the lack of nonfarm payrolls.

Calhoun had 10,438 residents in 1940, but the census 10 years later counted only 8,578.

They pondered the possibility of trying to attract some sort of industry from the outside, but conviction grew that a new locally owned and operated industry would be best for their economy.

Getting an outsider to come in would, for one thing, have taken a lot of effort that might not prove successful; for another, a branch plant's operations were felt to be too subject to the whims of absentee officers not too concerned with Edison's problems; also, the profits of such a plant would not be of any direct benefit locally.

So in 1952, Edison Textiles, Inc., was formed with capital of $63,000 raised through the sale of 630 shares of stock to between 20 and 30 local people.

Production of girls' underwear, sun suits, and nightwear began in a remodeled horse show barn, and first year sales of $44,000 provided 42 workers with $16,000 in wages.

Two years ago, Editex added 3,000 square feet to its building, and today it employs some 80 local residents on a $160,000 annual payroll. Annual sales have passed the $500,000 mark, and its goods are sold in stores throughout the Nation.

President and General Manager Ed J. Faber and Vice Presidents William Israel and Dan Hammack (all are directors, too), are now considering possible expansion plans that within 3 years are expected to bring a $400,000 annual payroll to more than 180 employees—and an annual sales volume exceeding $1,250,000.

What's more, if retained earnings won't provide enough expansion capital, they're sure they can raise whatever they need by selling debentures right at home—where they're achieving their goal of providing payrolls to build a better community.

Vietnam Celebrates Second Anniversary of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, because Congress will not be in session on the occasion of the celebration of the second anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Vietnam on October 26, 1957, I wish to take this opportunity to send warm greetings to the people of Vietnam, President Ngo Dinh Diem, and His Excellency Tran Van Chuong, Ambassador of Vietnam, in honor of this event.

In 2 short years of independence free Vietnam has made commendable progress toward stability, security, and strength. Vietnam can justly take pride in her notable accomplishments. They have laid the foundation for even more satisfying development in the future. Among the factors that explain the remarkable rise of free Vietnam from the shambles created by many years of murderous civil and international war, the division of the country at Geneva, and the continuing menace of predatory communism, there is the dedication, courage, and resourcefulness of President Diem himself. In him, his country has found a truly worthy leader whose integrity and devotion to his country's welfare have become generally recognized among his people. Asia has given us in President Diem another great figure, and the entire free world has become the richer for his example of determination and moral fortitude.

The United States is proud to be on the side of the effort of the Vietnamese people under President Diem to establish freedom, peace, and the good life. The United States wishes to continue to assist and to be a loyal and trusted friend of Vietnam. President Diem during his recent visit to the United States said on May 13, 1957:

You all know what we have achieved during the last 2 years. Most people know that we could not have succeeded as we did without American material aid. But not many know that equally important for our survival was your moral aid, a kind of aid that usually does not come from governments but from the people directly. * * *

Recently, we and our friends talked much about our need for leadership on other levels than the political—for leadership in the cultural, technical, and economic fields. In order to build a stable economy, which is the necessary basis for democracy, we do indeed need such leaders whom we now so desperately lack. This is why we welcome your technical advisers, whether they come from your Government, from private industry, from universities, or from foundations.

We welcome such help, but even more we would welcome support for our efforts to train our own technicians. Although we want your advisers in our country, we aspire also in this effect toward fuller independence. We must multiply our efforts to educate our youth for these great new tasks.

Vietnam is a great temptation for the Communists. Vietnam is the gateway to the invasion of southeast Asia and to its immense resources in manpower and raw materials. President Diem has said:

We all still live in great peril of losing out to a determined enemy who is active along a front line that circles the whole globe. Fate has put us at a crucial spot on the border between democratic freedom and Communist tyranny. Your aid enables us to hold this crucial line, and to hold it at less expense to you, and at less danger to the world than you could have done it yourselves. * * * We need you. * * * Our people hate war, but they also hate to be slaves.

If attacked, we shall fight again. Your aid and your friendship will help us fight well and, we hope, successfuly. We will then surely not fight for Vietnam alone. And if we, as we pray, are spared such a conflict, it may well be because the enemy is afraid of our determination and strength. In any case, and whatever the future will bring, we shall repay the debt we owe to the free world.

We are proud of the progress being made by Vietnam and happy that we are able to assist. The orderly development of the new states of southeast Asia to political stability and economic well-being is a source of gratification. As one who deeply believes in freedom, democracy, and the importance of achieving a better understanding among all nations, I wish Vietnam every success which she so richly deserves.

Hometown Funds Bringing New Plants to Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article:

[From the Atlanta Constitution of August 7, 1957]

HOMETOWN FUNDS BRINGING NEW PLANTS TO GEORGIA

(By Jim Montgomery)

AMERICUS, August 6—Things are looking up today for soft-drink bottler Tom Warren,

young man determined to do everything he can to help his business and his community.

As he sees it, these goals are inseparable.

That's why he's serving as chairman of the Americus Industrial Development Committee, which has just completed negotiations for a 65,000-square-foot mobile home manufacturing plant that will create 100 or more new jobs by the end of the year.

Hanging fire are 2 more manufacturers expected to occupy an additional 90,000 square feet and provide 200 more jobs at the 160-acre industrial site recently purchased by the Americus-Sumter County Development Corp.

The improved property will represent a sizable investment even before the first plant takes shape on it.

(Another mobile home manufacturer, by the way, has been eyeing 3 other Georgia communities and 1 in South Carolina. He reportedly has decided on one of the Georgia towns, and is expected to announce the location soon.)

Warren and other young Americus businessmen "got on the ball (in industrial development work) because we were losing too much manpower, and our sales figures showed it."

"Every time 1 person moves away it means my sales fall by 200 bottles a year, and my community backs up instead of moving ahead.

"So we set out to get new payrolls."

And set out they did. When the development corporation here was organized last fall, some 200 people bought more than 1,000 shares of stock at a dollar a share.

Each share committed its holder to purchase, on demand, a 3-percent debenture of at least $100 denomination to mature in a maximum of 20 years.

Thus assured of at least $200,000 when needed, the corporation was ready to talk turkey with prospects. First came a $35,000 plant financed on a 10-year basis for a truck body manufacturer, who promptly turned around and paid up the whole works.

Then came the purchase (price undisclosed) of the new industrial site.

And thanks to its advance preparation, it took the corporation just 3 days to lay its hands on $150,000 with which to finance about three-fourths of the cost of the new mobile home plant. Marlette Coach Co. will pay 5.5 percent interest on this money (of which 2.5 percent will be used to defray the development corporation's expenses), and finance the remainder itself.

But in order to keep its funds from being tied up too long, says Warren, the Americus group hopes it will be able to get one of the State pension funds to take over the note as soon as the building is completed.

The $150,000 can then be used to finance a plant for one of the other firms now considering an Americus location.

This community wants new plants as much as anyone, the bottler said, "but we feel that we ought to get a fair rate of return on any money we invest. We've made concessions in the past, and whether we do again will depend on the circumstances."

ASKED NOTHING FREE

"But we sure enjoyed working out this last deal, because they didn't ask to get anything free. And they agreed to pay the going rate of interest on the money being loaned to us."

That's pretty much the way most Georgia communities feel about such matters.

In Montezuma, for instance, the development corporation is charging an apparel plant 4 percent interest on the $25,000 put up for a maximum of 20 years by about 50 local investors to partially finance a plant built in 1948.

Mrs. Nanita G. Schofield, Montezuma Chamber of Commerce manager, doubts that enough funds of that type could be raised locally unless a profit was assured.

NO BIG TEST

Dawson Banker Frank Smith estimates that the Terrell County Development Corp. could raise up to $150,000 "at the going rate of interest" to finance a new industry, but no big employers have come along to test his supposition.

Albany, Inc., could probably raise a $500,000 industrial ante, according to chamber manager Walter R. Brown, but investing any part of it on a profit or nonprofit basis "will depend on the ability of the borrower to pay."

Another south Georgia county plans to finance a new plant through the sale of $120,000 of stock to local shareholders, the principal to be repayed over an 8-year period after the 12 years required to pay principal and interest on a commercial loan.

ANNUAL RENTAL

During the second 20 years, however, the company operating the plant will most likely pay an annual rental amounting to 1 percent of the total plant cost to the local development corporation.

Holders of some $60,000 worth of $25 par value preferred stock in Greater Camilla, Inc., will get a return of $1.50 a share per year on their investment in a new 26,000-square-foot apparel plant, according to B. T. Burson, development corporation and chamber of commerce president.

An additional $60,000 is being borrowed at the going rate of interest from the State teachers' pension fund.

The Thomasville-Thomas County Industrial Development Corp. is set up to raise as much as $50,000 locally, to be repaid over a 20-year period at a cost to the borrower of 2 percent, which would just about cover the group's operating expenses.

REAL RETURN

The real return, says Chamber Manager Dewey Norwood, will come in the form of economic gain for the whole community from new jobs and income provided by such a plant.

A few other communities feel the same way, but development experts now advise them to charge the going rate of interest, since any company worth having should be willing to pay it.

Industries for Brooks County, Inc., organized in Quitman just last month, hopes to raise $20,000 in its first year through the sale of $25 units ($5 par value stock and $20 par value bonds) bearing a guaranteed 2 percent return from the outset.

GETTING RETURNS

Elsewhere in the State, development corporation investors get returns of 2 and 3 percent (Valdosta), 5.5 percent (Homerville), 6 percent (Jesup), 4 percent (Dublin and Milledgeville), 4½ percent (Monticello), and 3 to 6 percent (Jackson).

In Alamo, on the other hand, some 20 citizens put up $55,000 to build a 14,000-square-foot apparel plant—even before they had a prospect.

Then, headed by Chamber of Commerce President L. M. Achord, they started casting about and landed an occupant already making shirts in nearby Vidalia and Dublin, Oxford Manufacturing Co.

PAY THROUGH RENT

More concerned about getting their first major industry than making money directly on their investment, the Wheeler Countians worked out a lease with Oxford to pay off the principal only through rent over 10 to 25 years.

Alamo made some other concessions, too, Achord said, but the new employer probably wouldn't have branched out to Alamo if the deal hadn't been made extra attractive.

Though the wisdom of giving so much is widely debated in industrial development circles, there's no argument in Alamo, where some 175 Wheeler County and neighboring folks will soon be cashing regular paychecks—providing the old agricultural economy with a much-needed industrial transfusion.

Libya Celebrates Sixth Anniversary of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of one of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly terms with the United States.

Congress will not be in session when Libya celebrates her sixth anniversary of independence on December 24, 1957, hence I wish to take this opportunity to send greetings to the people of Libya, His Majesty Mohamad Idris Al Mahdi Al Senussi, and His Excellency Saddigh Muntasser, Ambassador of Libya, in honor of this event.

On December 24, 1951, King Idris proclaimed "to the noble people of Libya that in fulfillment of their endeavors and of the United Nations resolutions of November 21, 1949, our beloved country has, with the help of God, attained independence." Both the League of Nations and the United Nations had proclaimed the concept of international responsibility for less fortunate peoples. Libyan independence became for many states the expression of this concept and of the assertion of the rights of nationalism.

Since 1951, Libya has been moving slowly but concretely in the direction of political maturity; its governmental institutions have assumed greater substance and authority; its economy has been bolstered by foreign grants and technical assistance; and its people have grown increasingly to accommodate themselves to the existence of national institutions which are somewhat more powerful and far more impersonal than those of the tribe or the family. In addition, the Libyan Government has enhanced its prestige and underlined the country's strategic importance in the Mediterranean area by concluding special agreements with the United States and United Kingdom permitting the establishment of western troops and bases in Libya. Libyan foreign policy has shown a marked friendliness to the United States and a growing understanding and appreciation of the threat of international communism.

We are proud of the progress being made by Libya and happy that we are able to assist. The orderly development of the new states of Africa to political stability and economic well-being is a source of gratification.

The Facts Behind International Harvester Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement entitled "The Facts Behind International Harvester Prices."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FACTS BEHIND INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER PRICES

It may have come to your attention that International Harvester again has found it necessary to announce increases in the price of most of its products.

You may reasonably ask why.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to tell you what has been happening over the past several years to our cost-price structure, for the current increase is but the latest phase of a continuing economic trend.

This economic trend in our country since the beginning of World War II is now familiar to most people. They realize that when such basic elements of costs as wages, salaries, and materials and supplies are increased substantially, selling prices of finished products also must be increased. For the past 10 years especially, there has been, with some interruptions, a steady increase in these basic elements of cost.

We can trace these events and their effect upon our prices most clearly if we go back to 1941. That was the last year in which the distortions of World War II were not present in any marked degree. It was a year in which the farm price parity index stood at 93, as high as it had been since 1925.

I. SIXTEEN YEARS OF COSTS AND PRICES

Three elements of costs over the past 16 years have used up about 95 cents out of every dollar our company has received. These are: (1) costs of materials, supplies, and other related expenses, which in 1955 took about 56 cents of every dollar received; (2) wages and salaries of our employees, which took about 34 cents; and (3) taxes, which took about 5 cents.

Let's look at the increases we have experienced since 1941 in the two principal elements of our costs, and compare our price increases with them:

1. Since 1941, costs of the materials and supplies which we buy, taking an average of all of them, had increased, as of August 1, 1956, by 109 percent.

2. Since 1941 and up to August 1, 1956, the average hourly earnings of our employees had increased by 169 percent.

Since 1941, up to August 1, 1956, the prices of our farm equipment products, including farm tractors and farm implements, had increased only 96 precent—considerably less than our increase in costs.

By comparison, the increase since 1941 in the prices received by farmers for their products, as of August 1, 1956, was 119 percent.

So, prices received by farmers, even at the lower levels of early 1956, were ahead of farm equipment prices. In recent months prices received by farmers have turned upward again.

Now, let's look at what happened in August 1956.

II. INCREASED MATERIALS COSTS

During the summer of this year a strike in the steel industry was followed by substantial wage increases for the employees of that industry, as well as liberalization of retirement and welfare benefits and the establishment for the first time in the steel industry of supplementary unemployment benefits. This was followed by price increases for iron and steel products. Including small increases that had been made prior to the strike, these increases for the types of steel we use in our manufacture averaged about 8.5 percent.

Iron and steel products are the most important materials we use, both in tonnage and in dollar amount. So this increase in basic steel prices has had another major effect on our production costs.

But only a part of our increased production costs stems directly from the iron and steel price increases. There will be a further major effect on our costs caused by the increased prices which will be charged us by the thousands of suppliers who furnish us with finished or semifinished components made principally of iron and steel. Many of these increases exceed in percentage the increase in iron and steel prices.

Furthermore, we have experienced numerous increases in the costs of many other materials not made of iron and steel, and have received notices of many others to take effect in coming weeks.

The estimated increased cost of materials and supplies to Harvester, on an annual basis, is $40 million.

III. INCREASED WAGES AND SALARIES

Since 1945 Harvester employees have received a number of substantial wage increases. These increases have included both basic wage and salary increases and adjustments under the cost-of-living and annual improvement agreements made with unions. Proportionate increases have been made for employees not covered by union contracts.

In 1941, the average straight-time hourly earning rate of Harvester factory employees (excluding overtime premium pay but including night bonus) was 85.5 cents.

On August 1 of this year these rates had risen to $2.30 an hour. At this point the rates were 169 percent more than the 1941 rate.

Since August 1, 1956, employees have received an additional 6-cent-an-hour annual improvement increase as well as another 4-cent cost-of-living increase, for a total of 10 cents an hour. This additional 10 cents brings the current average straight-time hourly earning rate for Harvester factory employees to $2.40. This is an increase of 181 percent since 1941.

There also has been a tremendous increase in the cost of fringe programs for the benefit of employees, including hospitalization, sickness, group life insurance, supplementary unemployment payments, vacation and holiday pay, and retirement plans. The total cost of these plans is about 50 cents per hour for every employee of the company, which must be added to the $2.40.

The 1956 wage, salary, and fringe benefit increases, when applied throughout the company's operations will cost Harvester about $15 million annually.

IV. OTHER INCREASES

These are not the only increases in costs our company must bear. There will be substantial increases in our transportation costs, and in other expenses of doing business.

It is estimated that these increased costs will amount, on an annual basis, to $5 million.

Now we can put them together for a combined picture of what has happened in our business since August 1, 1956:

Annual cost to Harvester of increases in materials prices	$40,000,000
Annual cost to Harvester of increased wages, salaries, and liberalization in employee plans	15,000,000
Annual increase to Harvester of transportation and other expenses	5,000,000
Total annual cost to Harvester	60,000,000

The assertion is sometimes made that a company such as ours could absorb out of its profits increased costs such as we have sustained this year and in other recent years. The absurdity of that statement is shown by the fact that our average net profit resulting from each dollar of sales during the past 16 years has been only 4.5 cents.

Had the company tried to absorb increases in costs during the past 16 years, we would long since have been out of business, for these higher costs have totaled hundreds of millions of dollars.

Of even greater significance is the reduction which has occurred in this net profit margin during the past years, shown as follows:

Net income (after taxes) from each dollar of sales

	Cents
1951	4.6
1952	3.7
1953	3.7
1954	2.7
1955	3.9
1956 (9 months ended July 31, estimated)	3.4

For a company like Harvester, which requires a large amount of capital in relation to its sales volume, its profit margin is unquestionably one that cannot absorb increased costs continuously and provide future capital.

So, in view of the higher costs we now face, totaling at least $60 million on an annual basis, and despite our continuing efforts toward economy and improved efficiency, Harvester's only alternative was to increase prices—even though the farm equipment market is down from past years.

The increases in costs were studied carefully, and price increases on farm equipment products were announced. These price increases amount only to 5 percent. Appropriate price increases have also been put into effect on motortruck and construction equipment products.

It was our policy as we studied these higher costs, as it has been in the past, to hold the price increase to the very minimum.

The chart on page 2 shows the record of Harvester's increased average hourly earnings, increased materials costs, and its farm equipment price record for 16 years. For purposes of comparison, the prices received by farmers for their products also are shown. We believe this record shows that we have tried to hold our farm equipment pricing to a consistent policy of (1) not increasing prices until higher costs made it necessary, and (2) in every case holding increases to the minimum justified by costs.

There is one other price policy which Harvester has followed consistently:

We have not increased prices during periods of shortages when customer demand outran supply.

Harvester does not look with favor on the continuing trend of rising costs and prices. We deplore it. We join with that vast army of people who desire stability in key economic factors.

However, as long as major increases take place in the costs of materials, wages, and salaries, transportation, and other expenses, Harvester, like nearly all other companies,

has no choice but to increase its prices correspondingly.

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER CO.
CHICAGO, ILL.

Cambodia Celebrates Its Fourth Anniversary of Independence, November 9, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of one of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly terms with the United States.

Because the Congress will not be in seession at the time of the event, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Cambodia, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, and His Excellency Nong Kimmy, Ambassador of Cambodia on the occasion of the celebration of the fourth anniversary of independence of Cambodia, November 9, 1957.

The people of Cambodia have displayed courage and scored no small victories on their path to independence. Cambodia became an associated state within the French Union as a result of the French-Cambodian Treaty of November 8, 1949. Following additional arrangements with France, the Cambodian King proclaimed national independence on November 9, 1953. International recognition was accorded Cambodian sovereignty in the Geneva Declaration of July 21, 1954.

Cambodia and the United States have enjoyed close friendship and cooperation. According to Secretary Dulles:

United States policy in Cambodia is based on a simple precept: That is, the United States through its military and economic aid programs seeks to assist the Cambodian Government in its endeavor to maintain the sovereign independence of the Kingdom. This assistance is extended only at the wish of the Royal Cambodian Government, which officially requested military aid on May 20, 1954, and military and economic aid on September 1, 1954.

The United States considers it to be in its national interest to help in the economic and social advancement of all free nations. The best way that we in America can maintain our own independence is to help other countries maintain their independence. Only by granting full independence to the Asiatic peoples can the Communists be deprived of the contention that they are liberating those peoples from colonial rule. Full sovereignty for all people is the only way to rally them at this hour to the cause of the West and to persuade them that it is in their own interests to fight to the death against the Communists.

As one who deeply believes in freedom, democracy, and the importance of achieving a better understanding among all nations, I want to again extend warm greetings to the people of Cambodia, and wish them every success.

Importation of Swiss Watches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, in connection with the continuing controversy over the importation of Swiss watches, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from Paul F. Mickey, vice president of American Watch Manufacturers Association, Inc., which sets out some highly interesting facts and figures.

This is a vital moment to the watch industry, and also the preservation of high type skills which have so long been identified with that industry.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN WATCH MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Washington, D. C., August 13, 1597.

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR DIRKSEN: We have recently told officials of the various agencies and departments involved in the current Office of Defense Mobilization study of the watch industry of certain facts and views on the current condition of the jeweled watch industry, the need for immediate Government action, and the quality of action required. In order that you may be fully informed, we are writing now to make the important parts of that information a matter of record for your consideration and possible future reference.

Eighteen months have elapsed since the domestic jeweled watch industry asked ODM to act under section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955. Seven months have passed since ODM's public hearing on the problem.

During this period the industry's situation has deteriorated, especially since the first of 1957. Production in 1956 was 2,066,000 units, whereas 1957 production is running at the rate of 1,622,000 units. This reflects an additional cutback of 110,000 watches since our conference. The 1957 rate is 21 percent below 1956.

Average employment on domestic watch production in 1956 was 3,955. Current employment is now about 3,300, a drop of 16 percent. This reflects a decline of an additional 200 employees since our conference.

Imports of jeweled watch movements in 1956 were 7,062,000 but have increased in 1957 to an annual rate of 7.9 million movements, a 13-percent increase. The actual increase for the first 4 months of 1957 over the first 4 months of 1956 was 12 percent.

During the first quarter of 1957 Elgin had a loss of $121,000. This is the first time that Elgin has had a loss in any quarter of any year since the depression. In the first quarter of 1957 Hamilton earned 10 cents a share as compared with 76 cents a share in the first quarter of 1956. Hamilton expects to recoup some of this loss in position during the remaining part of the year but its profits for 1957 will be in the order of 50 percent below profits for 1956.

It is very clear to the management of Hamilton and Elgin that something must be done to improve the condition of these companies. If it is to be done by the companies independently of any Government action, the economics of the situation dictate that they must turn to importation to a much greater degree. Last year Hamilton's return on imported watches was 57 percent greater than its return on domestic watches. During the first quarter of 1957 Hamilton earned $120,000 before taxes on $3 million in sales of domestic watches. At the same time it earned a profit of $125,000 on only $1 million of sales of imported watches. Elgin's rate of return on imported versus domestic watches is comparable.

The companies have no choice. They must supplant all unprofitable domestic production by imports and must do so very promptly unless decisive action is taken by the Government to establish conditions which will provide a sufficient volume of domestic production to reduce unit costs and increase profits on domestic watches. At the present time the companies are producing at around 40 percent of capacity.

As we have indicated the question is not just one of early action but of decisive steps to settle this problem in a manner certain to improve the position of the American producers in competition with the low-cost Swiss imports. Action which temporizes or attempts to compromise the problem will not aid the Government and will not be of assistance to the domestic watch manufacturers. It is our sincere view that unless the Government feels that the United States should have a jeweled watch industry and is prepared to meet the problem of effective action squarely no action should be taken at all. Half measures will only call forth the usual criticism from the Swiss watch cartel without benefiting the United States.

As we indicated to the Office of Defense Mobilization when our application was filed, the volume of production necessary to put American manufacturers on a paying basis is about 85 percent of capacity and this is approximately one-third of the American market. Average apparent consumption of jeweled watches for the last three years has been 8,822,000. Apparently consumption in 1956 was $9,128,000.

In the 1954 report on the essentiality of the jeweled watch industry the Office of Defense Mobilization stated that 2 million units was the absolute minimum necessary to keep employed an adequate number of skilled workers for defense purposes. The report specifically stated that the ODM was not passing upon the question of whether or not this was an economic level for operations of the domestic companies. The industry has always cautioned that it was not a permissible level. Nevertheless, the 2 million figure has been spoken of in some quarters as the level at which the industry should be maintained. We must therefore say specifically that any consideration of a 2 million level as one at which the industry should operate is totally out of the question from the standpoint of economics. This is not a matter of theory; the companies have been operating in this area for the past 2 years and it has proved completely uneconomical. Emphasis must be placed upon the true approach of ODM when it said that "the present downward trend in watch production must be halted and reversed." Only a definite reversal will be of any avail in preserving domestic production.

As you know, it is our intense belief that the United States should and must have a jeweled watch industry. And it is quite clear that the United States has the authority and the power to preserve its industry by taking steps such as those which have been

adopted in France, Gerat Britain, and Russia. Failure to do so, in our judgment, would be a grave mistake. We hope you will understand, therefore, that in bringing the situation of the industry to your attention as we have, we are only seeking to let you know in a timely fashion that (1) some decisive action to put this problem at rest must be taken if the Government decides that an industry be maintained, (2) that this must be done very soon and (3) that no action is preferable to half-measures since the latter will not be of benefit to the country or the industry.

Sincerely,

PAUL F. MICKEY,
Vice President.

Iran Celebrates the Birthday of the Shah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of one of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly relations with the United States.

Congress will not be in session when Iran celebrates the birthday anniversary of the Shah on October 26, 1957; hence, I wish to take this opportunity to send greetings to His Imperial Majesty Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi and the people of Iran in honor of this event.

After a decade of almost continual foreign menace and internal strife, Iran today is experiencing recovery. Internal order, a prowestern foreign policy, and a modest start on the profound economic and social reforms considered essential for long-term stability have been effected.

A major factor in the improvement of the country's position has been the cooperation extended through the United Nations and the United States technical assistance programs which have been operating in Iran since 1949 and 1950, respectively. These programs have met with much enthusiasm in Iran. Greater progress is still needed, and efforts are being exerted toward that end.

Although much remains to be done, there is much that is positive and satisfactory in the present Iranian situation. Iran has consistently demonstrated her confidence in the principle of collective security and helps to form a bulwark against communism. Menaced for centuries by the Soviet dreams of expansion, Iran has a life-and-death interest in the collective security aims of the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower doctrine.

As one who deeply believes in freedom, democracy, and the importance of achieving a better understanding among all nations, I want to take this opportunity to wish Iran every success.

Detroit Takes Pride in Her Port, the Busiest Waterway in the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 19, 1957

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention, since the opening of the St. Lawrence seaway, that several of the Great Lakes port cities and areas have been vying actively with one another over the attractiveness and advantageousness of their respective port facilities. It is my opinion that the basic criterion for a realistic comparison of ports and port areas is the amount or tonnage of business handled during a specified period of time.

The Greater Detroit Board of Commerce has compiled what I consider to be an exceptionally telling and impressive table of comparative tonnage figures from 1953 to 1956 for the Great Lakes ports of Detroit and Milwaukee. These comparative traffic and tonnage figures have been compiled from the latest and most authoritative figures available, the Annual Report of the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army. The traffic breakdown excludes coastwise, internal, intraport, and local figures. It is easily observable, Mr. Speaker, that the city and port of Detroit, for the years 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955 has, in respect at least to the city of Milwaukee, handled vastly greater tonnage amounts and therefore, I think, demonstrated its superior port facilities and advantages.

Traffic analysis, ports of Milwaukee and Detroit, 1952–55

Year	Port	Total traffic	Total overseas	Total Canadian	Total lakewise
1952	Milwaukee	5,704,003	19,052	331,278	5,314,338
	Detroit	22,440,231	43,685	718,564	21,051,703
1953	Milwaukee	5,742,348	35,341	460,550	5,234,240
	Detroit	25,463,140	155,584	627,146	23,838,727
1954	Milwaukee	5,462,529	40,812	358,859	5,055,302
	Detroit	21,211,941	59,528	819,272	19,588,903
1955	Milwaukee	6,201,842	65,989	352,266	5,761,319
	Detroit	26,497,792	90,286	1,077,615	24,681,017

Mr. Speaker, I should also like to include in the RECORD an article by Gerald Warren, secretary of the St. Lawrence Seaway Committee, entitled "Detroit, Take Pride in Your Port." This article, Mr. Speaker, is an exceedingly comprehensive and illuminating story of the great port area of Detroit, which, I am sure will be of interest to all concerned with Great Lakes area:

DETROIT, TAKE PRIDE IN YOUR PORT
(By Gerald Warren, secretary, St. Lawrence Seaway Committee)

No port publication would be complete without directing attention to the pride we hometown folks should take in our port. The coming of the St. Lawrence seaway and the attendant excitement caused great ridicule to be cast on local port activity. In the 3 years since the seaway legislation passed it has been the rule for just about everybody in the Great Lakes to tell the other fellow how best to prepare for the opening of the modernized waterway in 1959.

Much of the talk didn't make sense to the shipper and during the excitement that important fellow remained serenely silent. It did reach a point, however, where some were sure Detroit would never recover from the severe complex developed over reports on the sorry shape of our port. Today it appears that the situation has settled considerably and that all concerned are working toward a common goal of planning realistically for tomorrow's port needs.

Detroit can and should be proud of its port. Last year our port handled 27 million tons of cargo. Iron ore, coal, steel, limestone, and chemicals made up the bulk of the port's domestic business. On a tonnage basis our port outranked the ocean ports of Los Angeles, Boston, or Mobile. Unofficial figures indicate that we rank with the top dozen ports in the Nation in size.

The Detroit River is the busiest waterway in the world. It has unlimited favorable navigation characteristics—no harbors to be dredged or low level bridges to hamper traffic—and a natural accessibility enjoyed by few ports in the world. These attributes of a natural port put us far and away ahead of our other lake competitors who must yet go to Washington for funds to get their harbors in shape.

HEAVY LIFT CARGOES HANDLED EASILY AT THE PORT OF DETROIT

The port of Detroit is equipped to handle the heaviest cargoes shippers can send by water. A giant 100-ton shear leg crane is available at our port to handle the very heaviest single-lift loads that can be hoisted aboard an ocean vessel. Great Lakes Engineering Works is probably the best equipped firm on the Great Lakes to give service to shippers that have especially heavy and difficult cargoes to handle.

Last year, for example, Ford Motor Co. wanted to send heavy machinery to its Bremen, Germany, plant. In most lake port cities, cargo of this type would have had to be sent to the east coast for shipment to Europe. Not so at the busy port of Detroit. Loads were hoisted aboard in excess of 85 tons. Ford reported a substantial saving and at the same time got unexcelled service at the port of Detroit.

McLouth Steel Corp. wanted to send a steel mill to Spain. In a run-of-the-mill Great Lakes port this would be an impossibility. Not so at the dynamic port of Detroit. Several 70-ton loads were lifted aboard the ocean vessel sitting in the deep water at the dock on the Detroit River, and with no more effort than is exerted on any busy work day this job was done in short order.

LARGEST FREIGHTER TO BE BUILT AT DETROIT

A true story of our port couldn't be told if we didn't also note that the Great Lakes Engineering Works is presently building the largest boat (yes, boat, that's what they're called on the lakes) ever to be built on the Great Lakes. Work was started on the 730-foot boat last year and it is scheduled for

completion in July of 1958. The vessel will cost in excess of $8 million. The vessel is owned by the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., and when finished will be operated by Columbia Transportation Co.

It is reasonable to expect that Great Lakes shipyards will find an increasing number of orders on their desks for the more modern and efficient bulk lake carrier. The Great Lakes fleet is, for the most part, outdated and with the deepened connecting channels, the race will be on among the lake carriers to modernize their fleets. All in all, this spells happy days for the Great Lakes shipbuilding industry. Other major companies on the Great Lakes are Defoe Shipbuilding Co., Bay City, Mich.; Manitowoc Shipbuilding, Inc., Manitowoc, Wis.; and American Shipbuilding Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

PORT TERMINALS ANXIOUSLY AWAIT MORE OCEAN BUSINESS

Along with the staff at the Port of Detroit Commission and the steamship agents whose job it is to see that shippers use the port of Detroit, the port terminal operators in Detroit are doing their level best to see that the shipper gets the best possible service at our port. Their record to date has been noteworthy. Shippers have high praise for the capable and efficient manner in which their shipments are handled at the port of Detroit. Ship captains are especially pleased with the speedy and efficient equipment available to help cut down in-port time at Detroit.

In 1956, the Detroit Harbor Terminals, Inc., was worked to slightly over 20 percent of capacity. There were 51 days during the shipping season in which there were no ships at the docks of the terminal and on another 58 days, there was only one ship per day that discharged cargo. The terminal operator is exceedingly anxious that the shipping season of 1957 will see more production of cargo over his docks. Effective trade development programs are being pursued to produce this new business.

Much the same story can be told for Detroit's other terminals that handle foreign cargo. The Detroit Marine Terminal has specialized in cost-saving, cargo-handling techniques which have gotten wide attention. Simply stated, the terminal operator does everything he can to avoid putting the shippers' cargo in the transit shed. Every effort is made to short circuit the usual ship-to-dock, dock-to-transit-shed and shed-to-truck cycle. The streamlined system in use at the Detroit Marine Terminal cuts out these steps by use of stopwatch timing, which starts before the ship arrives in port, from the ship to truck or rail car. This close attention to cargo control saves the shipper money.

DETROIT SECOND IN FOREIGN TONNAGE ON THE GREAT LAKES

The port of Detroit has held second place in foreign overseas business since this business started to blossom forth shortly after the end of World War II. Every indication points to the fact that our port is going to stay in the forefront of the race between port cities for cargoes in and out of the industrial heartland of the United States. Year in and year out, our port has handled more foreign business than Milwaukee, Duluth, Toledo, Buffalo, or Cleveland. This calls to mind a rather amusing incident that happened last year when Milwaukee's port director was paid to come to town and tell us how inadequate we were. Luckily our folks didn't put much stock in what was said at that time and our port business still continues to soar above that of Milwaukee.

POLITICIANS KEEP STEADY KEEL

Our local political leaders have been blessed with wisdom to meet the needs of our port. The Wayne County Board of Supervisors had repeatedly refused to be rushed or pressured into ill-conceived port schemes or programs. That body, which has the responsibility of raising the money for our port development program has buttressed itself with the best know-how available in getting all the information in before making decisions that could conceivably waste millions of the taxpayers' money.

The port commission itself has cast off that idle dream of governmental autonomy and has at last taken its proper role as an agency of Wayne County. As a result, the commission is getting the kind of support from the supervisors that is needed to build for our future port needs. The Commission's program for development on the riverfront near West Jefferson and West Grand Boulevard will get the most serious consideration when presented to the supervisors in the near future.

Saudi Arabia Celebrates King Saud's Anniversary of Accession to the Throne, November 12, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Bandung Conference I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of 1 of the 29 participating nations in the Asian-African Conference on friendly terms with the United States.

Inasmuch as the Congress will not be in session at the time of the event, I wish to take this opportunity to extend greetings to the people of Saudi Arabia, His Majesty Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz al Saud, and His Excellency Sheikh Abdullah Al-Khayyal, Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, upon the occasion of the celebration of the fourth anniversary of King Saud's accession to the throne of Saudi Arabia, November 12, 1957.

The Arabian Peninsula is the cradle of the modern Arab people. Since the consolidation of the Saudi kingdom in 1925, Saudi Arabia has been the largest and in many ways the most important of the states of the peninsula. The United States has had relations of special importance with Saudi Arabia for over two decades and looks forward to continued cooperation. Firmly committed against communism, King Saud follows his father's traditional policy of close friendship with the United States.

Upon this occasion of the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the accession of King Saud, I pray for divine guidance of the leaders and people of this noble country. May they discover what is basically just within the vexing issues upon which they are called upon to make their decisions. And may love fill the hearts of citizen of Saudi Arabia so that peace may be more surely secured and brotherhood helped to come alive for the peoples of the world.

William Proxmire: Wisconsin Senator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Washington Post, published here at the Nation's Capital, is one of the most influential daily papers in the Nation. In today's edition, Thursday, August 29, 1957, the lead editorial is titled "Wisconsin's New Senator" and discusses many factors that entered into the smashing upset victory won by Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE in Wisconsin on Tuesday, as a candidate on the Democratic ticket.

Mr. President, while this able editorial weighs the forces of the Proxmire victory, I think it fails to give proper credit to the personality, popularity, energy, zeal, and capability of BILL PROXMIRE as a campaigner. The unpardonable factor of candidates' personality is, I think, the largest single factor for victory or defeat in any single statewide campaign. BILL PROXMIRE is a man seasoned in combat, undismayed by reverses, enlightened by education, blessed by a charming wife, endowed by nature with a keen intellect, vigorous in action, strong in mind and body, and dedicated to the public good. Such a combination in one man carried with it the elements of victory, and were, in my opinion, the biggest single factor in BILL PROXMIRE's victory in Wisconsin. The people saw a man, recognized him, and chose him to represent them. It would be a mistake to attribute his victory too largely to the failures of the Republican Party, as numerous and as dismal as they have been. It is a measure of restored confidence in the Democratic Party, blackened though it has been by the hucksterism of the past 12 years.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial from the Washington Post of August 29, 1957, be published with these remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WISCONSIN'S NEW SENATOR

After 25 years in the wilderness, the Democrats of Wisconsin have finally elected a United States Senator. The circumstances could not have been more extraordinary, and the Republicans are wise in recognizing the upset candidly as a sharp defeat for President Eisenhower. Dopesters and pundits concluded long ago that Democrat WILLIAM PROXMIRE hadn't the ghost of chance of defeating Republican Walter Kohler, the popular three-time Governor of the State. The backstairs boys on the Hill were already counting on Mr. Kohler's vote with an eye to possible Republican control of the narrowly divided Senate.

But the implausible came to pass, and Mr. PROXMIRE whipped the favorite by more than 121,000 votes in a special election for the seat left vacant by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. In the process, he weakened some dubious stereotypes about midwestern politics. Mr. PROXMIRE is an internationalist and New Dealer. He is an out-

lander from Illinois who settled in Wisconsin only a decade ago. He once worked for the J. P. Morgan banking firm on Wall Street; he also holds degrees from both Yale and Harvard; he is divorced. About the only similarity between Mr. PROXMIRE and his predecessor is that both were interested in college boxing. Surely the time is past due for a new formula on what supposedly constitutes political poison in Wisconsin.

A number of circumstances contributed to Senator PROXMIRE's victory. The Wisconsin Democratic Party has been making steady inroads into rural Republican strength; in 1953, the rural Ninth District elected the first Democratic Congressman in its history, largely because of farm discontent. The rudderless course of the administration on some issues recently undoubtedly helped the Democrats. But in addition, the Wisconsin Republican Party is split into warring factions and there is reason to believe that many rightwing Republicans cast spite votes against the more liberal Mr. Kohler in the wake of a bitter party primary fight.

Finally, Mr. PROXMIER is an indefatigable campaigner who, like RALPH YARBOROUGH of Texas, had run three times for governor before winning the special election. He campaigned all over the State, where Mr. Kohler seemingly was overconfident and simply did not work as hard as his opponent. The Democratic victory is a salutary sign that Wisconsin may well become a two-party State for the first time since the demise of the La Follette Progressive Party.

McCarthyism played little part in the campaign. It is significant that two independent McCarthyite candidates gathered only a sprinkling of votes. Actually, the appeal of Senator McCarthy in Wisconsin had been widely exaggerated, and Mr. Kohler may now regret that he did not take on McCarthy 5 years ago instead of waiting for a sure thing. The late Senator trailed the entire Republican ticket by a substantial margin in 1952, and throughout his second term, he had been in political trouble in Wisconsin. The victory of a member of the erstwhile "party of treason" in Wisconsin is just one more sign that the madness of McCarthyism has ebbed, that men may again differ without poisoning the air with charges of disloyalty.

Adverse Effects of Expanding Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Nation's Business of September 1957:

ADVERSE EFFECTS OF EXPANDING GOVERNMENT

(Rapidly growing Federal power and its limiting effect on individual rights and free enterprise are shown in a new report prepared for Congress. The 9-part study, made by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, is condensed in this issue as a special service to the readers of Nation's Business. The study was prepared at the request of Representative RALPH W. GWINN, Republican, of New York, and 16 other Republican and Democratic legislators who believe that the American people do not realize to what extent they have already voted away their rights to a mushrooming Federal bureaucracy. Specifically, the Congressmen asked for available data on the adverse effects of Federal encroachment on the free-enterprise system. The findings show in detail the disadvantages of letting Washington do the work which could be done by our individual States, communities, and citizens. Representative GWINN feels the drift toward socialism has progressed to a point where it is beyond control by Congress. He says Congress won't and can't stop it because it would have to attack the problem piecemeal. What it will take, he believes, is an amendment to the Constitution limiting the income-taxing power of Congress and thus reducing the Federal Government's capacity to dominate the activities which are the responsibility and right of States and communities. He has introduced and will seek passage of such an amendment in the House of Representatives next session. Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, has introduced an identical amendment in the Senate. The condensation of the special report follows.)

1. ADVERSE EFFECTS OF HIGH TAXES

For 1956 the per capita tax burden of all levels of Government has been estimated at more than $600. About three-fourths of this burden was represented by Federal taxes. Twenty years ago the per capita Federal tax burden was only about $30.

Not only has the per capita tax burden increased sharply but taxes have also risen in relation to national income. Though national income rose about fourfold from 1929 to 1955, Federal taxes rose about 23-fold.

In the past decade Federal tax collections have been sustained at levels either approaching or exceeding 20 percent of our national income.

If we use Federal plus State and local tax collections we get an even more oppressive situation. During the period 1952–55 taxes exceeded 27 percent of national income in every year and averaged more than 29 percent of national income for the whole period.

In the following sections of this report, historical data on the individual and corporate income tax rates and burdens are presented to illustrate how these rates have risen since their initial imposition.

Effect of high taxes on incentive to work

The table below illustrates how the Federal personal income tax has increased since 1913. It shows for selected years the amount of income left after tax for certain levels of net income of a married couple with no dependents:

Net income before tax	Income left after Federal income tax			
	1913	1929	1939	1956
$10,000	$9,940	$9,948	$9,585	$8,112
$25,000	24,740	24,138	22,511	18,276
$50,000	49,240	45,810	41,131	30,408
$100,000	97,490	85,130	67,531	47,224
$500,000	474,990	389,130	195,856	96,452
$1,000,000	939,990	760,130	330,056	141,452

This table does not take into account the further reductions of income resulting from other taxes, such as the State income tax, Federal excise taxes, and local property and sales taxes.

After World War II—a period of high tax rates—a special tax committee reported to the House Ways and Means Committee its concern over the effects of high tax rates on production:

"With the present scale of tax rates we have put the brakes on men's incentives to a dangerous degree by piling heavier and heavier burdens on them as they try to climb up the ladder * * * this is stultifying to the kind of dynamic long-term growth that has characterized this country in the past. * * *

"If our economy is to survive and prosper, we must see to it that men are encouraged to work and produce, to turn out better goods at lower prices. Particularly we must see to it that tax rates are not so high that a man has little or no incentive to work harder and produce more."

A study conducted by a well-known economist attempted to determine the effect of high taxes on incentives of executive and managerial personnel to work. One of the questions asked in the questionnaire sent out to business firms was: "Do you believe that, the higher the tax rate, the less the incentive to work and save?" Out of 208 answers, 197 were affirmative.

In response to another question, more than two-fifths of firms replying said the rate structure for the personal income tax, especially the high middle-bracket rates, has affected either the supply or quality of managerial personnel available.

Of the companies answering another survey, 75 percent felt that high taxes were diminishing the incentive of employees at the executive level, 46 percent noticed reluctance on the part of executives to take on additional responsibility, and 43 percent believed the efficiency of junior executives impaired.

From this we see that one of the ways high taxes adversely affect a nation's productivity is by lessening the incentive of individuals to work. If taxes are so high—as the present taxes are—that they may take more than nine-tenths of any additional income, the taxpayer will feel that it is no longer worth while to earn additional money. His productivity and the productivity of the nation suffer thereby.

Effect of high taxes on individual investments

Unless adequate savings and investment funds are forthcoming from individuals, our high productivity cannot be maintained. Businesses must necessarily depend on these funds supplied by individuals, because their own internal funds are not adequate to finance their capital needs (plants, machinery, etc.). If the individual's desire or capacity to save or invest is curtailed, business will not be able to obtain necessary funds for its capital needs to maintain high productivity. However, high taxes impair both the desire and also the financial capacity of individuals to save and invest. In this connection Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey recently stated:

"We must create more incentive for more saving, to have more capital available for expansion. We must have it because we in our growing country have a milion new people every year looking for new jobs. Unless someone can invest from $10,000 to $20,000 each for them, they cannot get a job in which they can earn the kind of wages now being paid in America.

"Without savings and investments you cannot get high productivity."

Effect on desire of individuals to save and invest

If taxes are too high, individuals who normally provide these investment funds will prefer to use them for consumption purposes, because the rate of return on invested funds will not be worthwhile. Furthermore, high tax rates encourage individuals to place their funds in sources such as tax-exempt bonds, which may compete with private investment.

The growth in investment in tax-exempt State and municipal bonds during the last decade has been phenomenal. From 1946 to 1955 outstanding bonds increased from $15.7 billion to $42.7 billion.

The appeal of the bonds to the high-income taxpayer is obvious. A single individual having a net income between $150,000 and $200,000 would have to receive a 30 percent return on a corporate security to have the same net return as he would receive from a tax-exempt bond yielding only 4.2 percent.

Colin Clark, a noted Australian economist, holds that inflation results if taxes exceed 25 percent of the national income. He says that the first effect is on production.

The late Randolph E. Paul, tax expert who traced historically the views for and against a progressive income tax system, has pointed out that there are some who accept the general principle of progressive taxation but object to a high degree of progression, such as exists in the United States, because it adversely affects production by reducing the incentive to work and invest.

Effect of high taxes on the individual's capacity to save and invest

Even more serious is the unfavorable effect high taxes have on the financial capacity of individuals to save or invest. It is obvious mathematically that the more the Government takes from individuals whose savings are channeled into investment, the less these individuals will have for these purposes.

A taxpayer has only 9 cents left from each additional dollar of income over $200,000 ($400,000 on a joint return). This can be contrasted with the comparatively light burden on a taxpayer who, in the first years of the income tax (1913–15), was taxed at a maximum rate of 7 percent on income more than $500,000.

In 1956 a couple having a net income of only $10,000 would have paid the Federal Government 15.9 percent, or $1,590, a sizable part of which might otherwise have been savings, although there is no telling how much of this is squeezed out of the living standard of the families in this income group. In 1913–15, when the income tax was first in effect, a $10,000 a year net income family paid only $60. A couple having a net income of $500,000 in 1956 paid to the Federal Government 80.5 percent.

Effect of high taxes on investment by business

High taxes have also reduced businesses' retained earnings and other internal funds used for capital investment. A particularly acute problem is created for small business. We need only review the increase in the rates of corporate income taxes to understand how taxes can restrict these internal funds available for capital investment.

The Federal corporation income tax originated in an excise tax act enacted in 1909. This was levied at the rate of 1 percent on net income exceeding $5,000. The corporation excise tax was superseded by the 1913 income tax law. The Federal corporate income tax rates have shown a general trend upward since the first income tax law. Today, effective tax rates range from 30 percent to 52 percent.

The extent to which higher corporate income tax rates have affected the percentage of profits left after taxes since 1929 is illustrated in the table. It shows not only that the percentage of profits left to corporations after taxes has been reduced but also that the percentage of profits after taxes has dropped in relation to national income.

Year	Percentage of corporate profits left after taxes	Corporate profits after taxes as a percent of national income
1929	86.5	9.5
1939	78.1	6.9
1949	60.3	7.3
1955	49.4	6.5

Reductions in the percent of profits left after taxes from 86.5 percent in 1929 to 49.4 percent in 1955 means that corporations in 1955 had less than half of their profits for use either to pay dividends or to reinvest in their business. Any resultant reductions in the rate of return to the shareholders in the form of lower dividends discourages the desire and curtails the capacity of individuals to invest. Reductions in the amount of reinvestment in business reduced productive capacity of the Nation.

The problem of high corporate taxes is particularly acute for the small corporations. This was brought out in a recent report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report:

"It is a widely held view that small and new businesses have limited access to credit and equity capital from external sources, as compared with larger, better established firms. The growth requirements of small and new companies frequently involve more extensive reliance on internal resources, particularly retained earnings, than in the case of other companies. A corporation income-tax rate structure which does not unduly limit the financial resources required to finance the growth of large established companies, therefore, may prove extremely burdensome in this respect for small and new companies."

Two Harvard University professors (John Lintner and J. Keith Butters), in a study of the effects of taxes on concentration, stated:

"The fact that retained earnings are a more critical source of funds for financing expansion for smaller than for larger companies leads to a further conclusion of major consequence to our analysis: High corporate income taxes will restrict the growth of smaller firms more severely than that of larger companies. * * *"

In spite of this acute need for internal funds by smaller business, profits after taxes of small corporations have declined in recent years.

Dangers of high taxes to a capitalistic economy

The forces of high taxation in the United States have been abetting the creeping socialism in the other parts of the economy.

Data have been presented to show that, if the United States continues its rate of absorption of national product by taxes, we will reach 100 percent socialization in the next century.

The greatest danger of high taxation lies in the fact that we are proceeding in the direction which Karl Marx in 1848 predicted would be the road to destruction of capitalism; that is, destruction of the middle class with the aid of a highly progressive tax.

2. ADVERSE EFFECTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING

There are reasons to question the kind and extent of governmental assistance which has been developing in connection with the provision of private housing over the past 20 years.

To some this assistance appears as intervention, interference—the usurping of the powers of State and local governments—and the restriction of the rights and privileges of the private building industry and the individual home consumer.

History reveals that governmental assistance has been accompanied by, or has in effect constituted, governmental intervention. Some degree of intervention is understandable once the decision has been made to assist.

The Government, no less than a private investor, desires an accounting of its funds and must establish rules designed to lessen the risks. Often, bureaucratization at its worst has resulted.

The bureaucratization which has taken place in public housing is viewed by some as no less than astounding.

This bureaucratization has largely been responsible for the growth of so-called public housing and for the varying conceptions and misconceptions as to its objectives and purposes.

These perpetually changing objectives have kept housing officials and other advocates of public housing constantly searching for new rationalizations adopted to changing economic, political and social conditions; and has kept realtors, homeowners, and taxpayers constantly searching for evidence of fraud, corruption, and unduly high costs. Time which might be spent examining the program with a view to improving or eliminating it has been spent in its defense.

Our housing laws, initiated during a period of general economic depression, are understandably incompatible with current conditions.

In a dynamic and expanding economy, a growing group of citizens are opposed to making publicly owned housing units available to families who can afford to rent privately owned dwellings. They likewise oppose dictation from the Federal Government as to how they shall handle local slum clearance and renewal problems. They are impatient with the lack of understanding and consideration for local laws which may not be compatible with Federal restrictions. Still others believe that the social and moral effects of public housing leave much to be desired both from the standpoint of public housing tenants and the general community.

Background

The institution of public housing through PWA had the objective of work relief and rehabilitation of the construction industry. But the objectives have changed to the provision of adequate housing for all Americans through home financing, low-cost housing, slum clearance and its corollaries—urban redevelopment and urban renewal.

A vast array of governmental machinery has been created for private and public housing, slum clearance, redevelopment, renewal, planning, and public works. The Public Housing Administration is located under the Housing and Home Finance Agency in Washington with approximately 900 local authorities administering some 490,000 low-rent public dwelling units.

The city in which the housing is to be constructed has no direct control over the authority, except that it might give or withhold its consent to certain undertakings.

Once a public housing project is established or begun, the city has no direct control over its operations. Thus, public housing is usually a separate little pocket of city government, dominated by rigid Federal rules and regulations.

In any exploration of the subject of public housing two questions immediately come to mind.

Just what is public housing?

Who pays for it?

In essence, public housing is a program of Federal loans and subsidies to local public housing agencies, designed to enable them to build and operate housing for rent to families whose incomes are deemed to be so low that they cannot afford adequate housing provided by private enterprise.

Who pays for public housing?

The local property taxpayer and the United States income taxpayers pay for public housing. The tenants of public housing pay rents based upon their income. Each family is required to pay not less than 20 percent of its income for rent, including utilities. In no instance has this covered the full cost of operating and managing the low-rent projects.

According to computations by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, some public housing tenants pay less than half their rent; the taxpayers pay the remainder.

The Public Housing Administration, in its 1957 appropriation hearings, requested $96 million ($93 million approved) for annual contributions and $10 million (approved) for the low-rent housing program's administrative expenses. The Bureau of the Budget estimates that $736 million will be spent on community development and public housing

during 1957; that these programs will have receipts of $556 million.

So Federal taxpayers will be paying about $180 million in taxes to help communities improve facilities and to pay for the subsidized public housing. This figure does not include the cost to the local community for schools, garbage and trash collection, sewage facilities, police protection, and other services; nor does it include the lack of taxation revenue from these projects.

These are the costs of public housing to the taxpayers. What about the actual cost of constructing and maintaining this Government housing?

The cost of public housing

Under the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, the cost of building and equipping dwelling units cannot exceed $1,750 per room, excluding the cost of land and nondwelling facilities. An extra $750 per room is allowed in some of the higher cost areas.

The Housing Act of 1956 permits an extra $500 per room for dwellings designed for elderly families.

Thus, the full cost for standard dwelling unit rooms can be as high as $2,500 each; dwellings for elderly families may cost as much as $3,000 per room, if built in a high-cost area. The size of the units varies within each project. The average is 2 bedrooms, but a few have 4 or 5 bedrooms.

Members of the real estate and building materials industries contend that public housing is not only costly in terms of the cost to the taxpayer of the subsidy, but that the original construction costs are higher than they would be if the projects were sponsored by private groups.

The Federal Government's increasing role

The Federal Government has been assuming more and more responsibility for housing and housing policies. Federal agencies now participate in financing—doing some direct financing themselves; they construct and administer low-cost public housing projects; they advance loans for slum clearance, urban development, and renewal; and give guidance to local projects.

There are indications that the Government's role has not contributed to the long-term stability of the residential construction industry and cost reductions are not apparent. Increasing local opposition to Government's interference points up the wide disagreement which exists as to the proper scope of Federal housing activities and the administration of Federal housing policies.

Some of this interference with administration at the local level can be directly attributable to the desires of the bureaucrats at the national level; some of it must, however, be laid squarely in the laps of the local and State governments. If local and State governments took more initiative in originating and carrying out the necessary programs, less interference would be forthcoming from the Federal agencies. More and more, the lower levels of government seek aid from the Federal Government. In many instances aid is sought under the mistaken notion that "it won't cost us anything, the Federal Government will take care of it for us."

With public housing, as with free public anything, there is always a tendency to increase the number of persons eligible to benefit and to expand the area of authority. This is especially true if there is a possibility to catch votes. New reasons can always be found why these benefits should be extended, and unfortunately, many of these, properly dressed up, sound plausible at the moment.

The moral and social effects of public housing

There is evidence that public housing is characterized by a confusion in its basic objectives, that it has fostered restrictions upon the earnings and initiative of its occupants, that it has deterred the production of rental housing by private industry and that it has permitted the growth of power hierarchies in the form of public-housing management.

The claims of the public housers that public housing eliminates slums, that it houses low-income families who could otherwise not afford decent housing, that it reduces crime, juvenile delinquency, and other antisocial behavior, are open to some question. Socially, politically, and economically, the segregation of low-income groups in subsidized publicly owned housing may not be the most desirable method of handling our housing problem.

Few definitive analyses have been made of the social effects of living in public housing. However, from time to time since 1934, civic leaders, sociologists, and others have made short-range, somewhat restricted studies of the adverse effects of public housing and the relationship of housing to social behavior. These studies, for the most part, have been prepared either in refutation of claims that subsidized housing is the solution to high rates of crime, illegitimacy, indolence, poor health, and other social deficiencies of slum dwellers and lower income persons, or as a warning to the country of the dangers inherent in socialized housing.

Public housing tenant morale: Based upon his service as the unpaid chairman of the Housing Authority of New London, Conn., and numerous discussions of the housing problem with other housing officials, Morton S. Baratz concludes that public housing results in a serious interference with freedom of choice. Mr. Baratz presents two arguments: "First, the market for shelter has been divided in half, necessitating an elaborate and cumbersome system of rationing. Second, the administration of the rationing system has adversely affected incentives to work and has contributed to a reduction in the size of the labor force."

As to the division of the housing market, Mr. Baratz visualizes two reasonably distinct parts: "On the one hand, private landlords and builders are providing modern facilities for families earning roughly $5,000 or more per year (though the minimum figure varies in different sections). On the other hand, federally subsidized projects service families earning an average of $3,500 per year or less."

What could represent less freedom, less privacy, than the process through which an applicant must go to qualify for residency in public housing: Investigation of credit records, inspection of present quarters to assure that the applicant will properly maintain his public-housing unit, the submission of an income-tax statement of the previous year, the signing of a waiver permitting the authority to inquire of his employer as to current earnings, and the swearing before a notary public that all the statements on his application are true and that he will report immediately any changes in his income or family composition.

In public-housing projects there is a rule that tenants' income may not increase more than 20 percent over the income earned at the time of acceptance. When income and employment are steadily rising (occupants of public-housing projects are typically between 25 and 40 years of age), incomes inevitably increase—if the tenant is ambitious.

This, if his income exceeds the amount set by the authority, the tenant either hides the fact, or his wife withdraws from the labor market, or he has to buy a house. These are harsh choices.

There have been instances when occupants of housing projects refused overtime work and promotions for fear of being made to vacate their project home.

Public housing and the lowest-income group

Public housing purports to meet the needs of the lowest-income group—but it falls far short of its objective.

In 1954, 6 percent of all United States nonfarm families had incomes of less than $1,000 and 9 percent had incomes between $1,000 and $2,000. The Ninth Annual Report of the Housing and Home Finance Agency indicates that the medium income for eligibility of families whose incomes were reexamined in 1955 was $1,793. A medium of $1,793 does not reflect a predominantly lowest-income tenancy in public housing, yet almost 6 million nonfarm families in this country have incomes of less than $2,000.

In 1954, 37 percent of the local housing authorities had income limits of $2,400 or less for admission of average size families. In 1955, only 34 percent had limits of $2,400 or less. In 1954, 6 percent of the authorities had income limits above $3,000; in 1955 this had increased to 10 percent. Thus, the eligibility requirements are on an upward trend to permit higher income families admission to the public housing.

Slum clearance no justification for public housing

The merits of public housing as a means of ridding communities of slums need to be examined with considerable skepticism. First, is the question as to whether or not public authorities are justified in changing the housing habits of thousands of citizens simply in the belief that they are thereby improving their lot in life.

Research indicates that a substantial number of persons whose total income appears adequate to allow them to live in homes that most people would consider standard, prefer to allocate their income in such a way as to minimize their outlay for housing. As is also shown, many people prefer remaining in what are widely considered to be slum conditions rather than to live in public-housing projects that carry with them restrictions and disruptions of long-established customs and relationships.

Even in circumstances where slum clearance is essential or unavoidable it is erroneous to conclude that public housing necessarily provides an acceptable solution.

As shown by specific instances the erection of a public-housing project on a former slum site has meant, in many cases, not the elimination of a slum but the spreading of slum conditions into other parts of the city. Not only do many persons not want to move into public-housing projects, but a large number who would be interested find themselves ineligible for a variety of reasons such as too low or too high income and, in many communities, their race.

In conclusion, it can be shown that public-housing projects themselves are in grave danger of becoming slums and several have apparently reached that point already.

Juvenile delinquency and public housing

Supporters of public housing frequently base their appeal on the presumed relationship of substandard housing and slum dwelling with a high incidence of crime and delinquency. These contentions do not reveal why some of the families living in slums or other substandard dwellings do not experience the social ills which the reformers attribute to their living conditions. For that matter, they do not explain why one boy in a family may be incorrigible, while his 3 or 4 brothers, living in the same environment, are not. When social behavior is concerned, the effect of housing is difficult to determine.

A study of juvenile delinquency in an East Harlem slum area revealed that:

The one unmistakable conclusion that emerges (from the study) is that there is no relationship between bad housing in its physical aspects and juvenile delinquency as revealed by court records.

In 1951, the Los Angeles police department conducted a survey of the cost of police services for the city at large, in blighted areas and for public housing projects. Chief of Police W. H. Parker reported that he believed

the data indicated that public housing police costs were at least equal to those for the city at large. Exceptions have been taken to this report based for the most part on the inadequacy of statistics and the methodology. However, the study does appear to document the fact that safe, standard housing is not a panacea for crime and delinquency.

What the proponents of public housing seem to overlook is that, in concentrating large families in a housing project, they are in most instances centralizing delinquency without offering substitutes in the form of wholesome outlets for youthful energy.

Political exploitation is inherent in public housing

A noted housing specialist, Charles Abrams, has warned against the abuse of the slum clearance and urban renewal programs.

As Mr. Abrams puts it:

"Slum clearance remains the most serious myth of the housing process." Areas are demolished which should remain in the housing inventory. The homes of small property owners, who have been initiating their own slums, are condemned—and their only choice is tenancy. Is this the perpetuation of the dream of all Americans for a home of their own?

It is conceivable that continued subsidization of housing accommodations for the lower income groups will eventually extend to Government housing of the middle-income groups. There is already much pressure on the Congress for Federal governmental assistance on the construction of middle-income housing. Should the Government begin providing middle-income housing, the votes of those who qualify will be extensive—they, too, will benefit from the housing supplied by their own tax money.

There have been some occasional incidences of overzealous housing managers using their offices for political propaganda. There have also been instances when other city officials have attempted to use the housing authorities for political gains.

How widespread this type of conduct may be is difficult to determine. It may be assumed, however, that most of the blatent incidences have been brought to light at congressional hearings.

Nevertheless, the possibility of political pressures being brought to bear on public housing tenants, managers and other officials is inherent in our public housing program.

Summary

As democratic governments are forced either in the public interest or by political pressures to assume more functions, it becomes increasingly important that the people maintain a constant vigil. A comprehensive review and reappraisal of the public housing program and other phases of the national housing program appear to be warranted.

Public housing has been a live issue for more than 20 years. Debates and discussions have been largely argumentative—they have not been studious appraisals of the program in the light of current conditions; they have not reviewed the programs and the results to ascertain if the original objectives have been or are being obtained.

This report points out some of the evidence indicating varying concepts of the objectives of public housing and delineates areas in the program which can be seriously questioned both with regard to their contribution to the promotion of the general welfare and to the welfare of the tenants of public housing.

More and more of the taxpayers are objecting to paying their neighbor's rent; city officials face the problem of congestion and its concomitants—increased services, crowded school facilities, lack of recreational facilities, overtaxed police forces; the majority of the lowest income group is still in need of decent standard housing; and slum clearance and redevelopment projects have in many instances succeeded in creating new potential slums because of the desire of those displaced by projects to remain in the same general neighborhood.

Obviously these are not the objectives of the public housing program.

3. ADVERSE EFFECTS OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Federal participation in financing elementary and secondary education in the States mainly has taken the form of, 1, aid to special kinds of education—such as agricultural or industrial training—generally comprised within the term vocational education, 2, aid to certain localities, such as districts containing large federally owned, tax-exempt properties, and, 3, aid to an activity closely associated with education, such as the provision of school lunches.

The Government also makes available Federal surplus property for educational usage, and part of this has been utilized by public schools. As to whether all these programs are basically forms of Federal aid to education is a matter of opinion. It is fairly obvious that in at least one instance (that of the national school lunch program) the basic purpose is not aid to education. Nevertheless all of these programs have contributed to provisions for education in the States and local school districts affected.

The Constitution makes no mention of education. Under the 10th amendment the powers not delegated to the Federal Government and not prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people. Since education is not among the powers expressly delegated to the United States, it falls within the provisions of the 10th amendment.

Some people have contended that the general welfare clause gave the Government not only the right but actually the duty to promote education. It is significant that the general welfare clause says only that: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States * * *."

Not only under the Constitution but also traditionally in the United States, education has been principally a State and local responsibility. In our early history the organization of local school districts was a natural result of the geographical, religious, and political conditions of the time. No other aspect of American life has more clearly demonstrated the operation of grassroots democracy than the local administration of schools.

There are dangers in departure from this tradition. Nevertheless, through the years the Federal Government has assumed a great number of responsibilities in this field.

The many bills for additional Federal aid to education that have been introduced in Congress in recent years propose a continuation of this trend toward centralization of Government responsibility for education.

Federal aid may have helped retard State and local reforms

By causing people to change their philosophy of government and look to Washington for help, Federal-aid programs may well have contributed to retardation of State legislation for the advancement of education.

For example, although reorganization of school districts has been one of the most important measures for obtaining better schools in thousands of localities, some States have neglected to pass laws facilitating consolidation. In many instances, legislatures have refused to define what constitutes an adequate school district or to give the State educational authority power to approve sound consolidations. In some States, in fact, there has been an actual reversal of legislation expediting reorganization of school districts.

In about half of the States the public schools are supported mainly from the local property tax. Because some school districts are rich in assessed valuations of property, they have been reluctant to consolidate with districts poorer in this respect. However, except for constitutional restrictions, the State legislatures have complete power to enforce consolidation of districts for the improvement of education throughout their boundaries. It may be that in some instances the legislatures have refrained from doing so because of the hope that a renewal of Federal aid for school construction or other Federal intervention would make such politically undesirable enforcement at the local level unnecessary.

Past programs, and the multiplicity of current proposals for others, may have delayed other State action for advancement of education.

For instance, some States years ago placed upon their local administrative units restrictions which have made difficult local investments in education in proportion to the ability or desires of the people. Examples are homestead exemption acts which reduce revenue, and limits on tax levies or bonded indebtedness. These are in some cases outdated restrictions.

Of greater importance is the fact that some State legislatures have not provided sufficient State aid to local school districts for education. These States have allowed their local communities to continue depending mainly upon the local property tax without drawing enough support from State sources of revenue. Thus these State governments have not only failed to utilize some of their most important sources of revenue for the support of education, but they also have failed to distribute their revenues so as to provide better schools throughout their boundaries. In 32 States during the school year 1953–54 less than 50 percent of the revenue for public schools was drawn from State sources.

Schools which have had to depend upon the local property tax have frequently been unable to respond to expanding educational needs. In only a few States have the legislatures authorized local boards of education to secure school revenues from nonproperty tax sources.

There have been many inequities in the assessment of property and in local tax rates in many States. While some States have been using 10 to 12 sources of revenue to support education, other States have been using only 1 or 2 sources for this purpose.

A publication of the United States Office of Education in 1950 declared that nearly every State had some public school finance practices that might be seriously questioned. The publication stated that many of these practices were tending to perpetuate existing conditions and indirectly penalize improvements regardless of the desirability of these improvements.

These obstructions to provisions for the construction, maintenance and operation of better schools could be corrected through State leadership and State legislation. The inequities might have been removed in many instances if Federal programs had not encouraged the people to adopt a philosophy of "let's get some more Federal money to do the job." Federal programs have discouraged self-reliance among the States and communities.

Federal aid to education has had ill effects on our system of government in general

The increasing Federal activity in education has affected not only the philosophy of government with respect to education in some localities but it also may have had wide-sweeping effects on the general philosophy of government in other fields.

The indispensability of education to popular government has been an important premise of the American faith. The consequence of any Federal influence on educational philosophy and practice (however subtle) may be a significant alternation of fundamental American political concepts.

The determination of public educational responsibility at the Federal level may cause demands for Federal aid to be extended to private schools. Such a situation may, in turn, endanger the nature of separateness of church and state in our system of government.

Federal activity in education may have led toward orthodoxy and absolutism, with the accompanying undesirable effects on our American system of government in general.

Waste of Federal aid has led to Federal controls

Prior to the enactment of the Morrill Act of 1862, all of the Federal subsidies to the States for education were made for general or indefinite educational purposes and without restriction or regulation. The result was that some of the States, in what has been termed as "an administrative orgy of dishonesty and breach of trust," wasted a large portion of this money in ways which were never contemplated by Congress.

The subsequent history of Federal controls in grants-in-aid has been capsuled:

"Not since the day on which Lincoln attached his signature to the Morrill Act has any distribution of money been made to the States without safeguards for their expenditures."

In 1914 Congress created the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education to study the implications for Federal subsidy to vocational education and to report their finding and recommendations. The Commission, while recommending the vocational education program that eventuated in the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, disavowed proposing any Federal control. The Commission declared that:

"The Federal Government has no authority to control or manage the internal affairs of the States nor can it take part in controlling or managing their educational system."

However, it has been one thing to say, as did the Commission in its statement of principles, that "national grants to the States should be given for vocational education under those conditions which will conserve and promote the local interest, initiative, and responsibility, with all of their recognized advantages," and it has been quite another matter to realize such aims as the preservation of local autonomy. From the 1914 Commission's recommendations have sprouted the current Federal vocational education programs.

Certain control devices have existed in the Federal legislation and in the administrative machinery.

Yet, in 1938, President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education observed that:

"An excessive amount of Federal control appears to have been exercised over many aspects of the federally aided system of vocational education. This control has been due in large part to the provisions of the statutes, but it also appeals to have resulted in part from the manner in which those provisions have been interpreted and administered in the United States Office of Education and its predecessor in the work, the Federal Board for Vocational Education."

Federal aid has given States an inferiority complex

Many statistical devices have been used to indicate the relative ability (or inability) of the States to support the maximum effort needed to meet the public responsibility for education. These relative ability studies have greatly influenced grant-in-aid allocation formulas. They have done much to establish the popular notion that the States—or certain States—cannot, of and by themselves, provide for the education of their citizens without Federal assistance.

The inferiority complex which has been more or less imposed upon the States can be partly attributed to Federal activity in the field of education. Indeed, the rapid expansion of overall Federal power during the first half of this century largely has been both the cause and the result of this belittling of State prestige and competence.

There are, of course, differences in income and tangible wealth among the personal, family, community, and regional units. There are also price or cost differences. Such differentials influence local and State taxability to some degree. That these differentials would prohibit adequate State and local support for education has not been proved.

4. DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS OF FEDERAL CREDIT AGENCIES

Today the Federal Government lends directly $1 for every $5 lent by private banks. Furthermore, pressure to increase the amount of Government lending and expand the areas covered seems to be rising.

The major fields in which the Government has instituted and expanded its loan programs are housing, agriculture, loans to business, foreign investment, and intergovernmental loans.

Some of the lending agencies have retired the capital stock owned originally by the Government, pay their own administrative expenses, and are essentially privately managed, subject to governmental supervision and control. Agencies mutualized in this sense include the Federal land banks, the Federal home loan banks, and the banks of cooperatives (partly).

However, as Federal instrumentalities, these mutualized agencies are free from much State and local taxation, and in most cases also from Federal income tax. Thus even these agencies have what may be considered an unfair advantage over competitive private enterprise.

Before considering the lending programs and loan guaranteeing of individual Federal agencies, certain dangers and risks of governmental lending programs may be pointed out.

In principle, it must be recognized that every governmental lending and loan-guaranteeing program involves the replacement of judgment and decision-making of private lenders by the judgment and opinions of Government officials. It is thus an interference in the private economy.

The criteria used by Federal officials are different from those of private lenders. The private lender is concerned essentially with earning a profit from lending and usually feels an immediate responsibility for the disposition of the funds at his disposal. These motives are either absent or less compelling on the part of the average Federal official.

Usually Federal loan programs have been instigated to bring sectors of the economy out of a depression, to minimize its severity, or to foster the defense effort. Desirable though these objectives at a given time may be, there is first the question as to whether a Federal loan program is economically and politically the soundest way of achieving them. The Government has available such alternatives as monetary and fiscal policies which can be used to further defense and antidepression goals, without the arbitrary intervention in specific parts of the economy that is inevitable in lending programs.

Second, all Federal programs have a tendency to be extended and perpetuated long after the original cause for undertaking them has been removed.

The governmental intervention in the economy by means of lending programs inevitably involves considerable favoritism. Firms or individuals who fail to meet the credit standards of private lending agencies receive an unfair competitive advantage if they are then granted a loan by a governmental agency. In deciding where available loan funds should be allocated, Federal officials often find the pressures of political considerations too strong to permit evaluation of loan applications on sound business principles alone. Further, standards for loans, which originally are specific and strict, gradually are relaxed, allowing even more room for laxity of administration, favoritism, and even corruption.

Housing loans

The Federal Government has assumed a rapidly increasing role in determining the levels of housing construction. Before World War II, about one-sixth of the mortgage debt on nonfarm one- to four-family homes was insured or guaranteed by Federal Government agencies. By the fall of 1955, the total home mortgage debt had increased to approximately $86 billion—about 37 percent Government underwritten.

As a result of these Government guaranty and insurance programs, mortgage loans have been substantially increased in duration, downpayments have been lessened, and interest charges have been lowered. Government activity in housing has been a significant factor in stimulating the building boom during much of the post-World War II period, with the result that building costs and prices of new as well as existing houses have been materially increased.

The lure of home ownership has been a significant factor in the postwar migration to the suburbs. This has created innumerable problems for urban centers. Property values, especially of rental property, have been adversely affected. Construction of moderately priced apartments has been severely cut back. Adequate maintenance has been neglected. Slum areas have tended to spread, which in turn has invited further Government intervention in slum clearance and urban renewal. As the real estate values in urban areas have been jeopardized, tax revenues have fallen, or have failed to keep pace with the increasing demands for municipal services.

These conclusions are borne out in more detail in the following discussion of specific housing programs.

Federal National Mortgage Association

Although the Federal National Mortgage Association makes no loans directly to individuals or institutions, except for certain housing in Alaska, its portfolio of FHA insured and Veterans' Administration guaranteed mortgages represents the largest volume of loans in the housing field by the Government. Its outstanding loans (mortgages) as of the end of June 1956, totaled $2.5 billion. The FNMA was chartered on February 10, 1938, and in 1954, was made a constituent agency of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The Federal National Mortgage Association has been subject to severe criticism.

It is possible that the continued propping up of the housing industry by this agency (and others) is retarding technological improvements in the housing industry and delaying the movement toward lower housing costs.

There is a serious question whether the special assistance activities will interfere with the sound management of the secondary mortgage functions. Such pump-priming activities, potentially inflationary, should probably be abandoned.

Federal Housing Administration

The Federal Housing Administration insures private mortgages for a wide variety of types of home and housing construction. This program has relieved private lenders of a substantial portion of the risk formerly assumed on mortgage loans.

The history of the Federal Housing Administration has been marked by a lowering of qualifying standards and an expansion of function well beyond that intended in the original legislation.

Veterans' Administration

The Veterans' Administration has as one of its major functions guaranteeing housing, business, and farm loans made by private lenders to World War II and Korean war veterans.

It also makes loans directly to veterans for the purchase or construction of homes in areas where the guaranty program is ineffective because of lack of private loans at 4½ percent interest. The Treasury reports that these direct loans outstanding, as of June 30, 1956, totaled more than $433 million.

While there was a substantial need to assist in the readjustment of servicemen at the end of World War II and, to a somewhat lesser extent, at the end of the Korean war, the question remains whether loan and loan-guarantee programs were the most desirable device to achieve rapid readjustment. In any case, there is even less reason for retaining these programs, many years after the end of the respective conflicts.

Lending institutions whose loans to veterans are guaranteed or insured under the various Veterans' Administration loan and guarantee programs are receiving, in effect, a subsidy from the Government which is assuming risks which the lending institutions themselves normally would have to assume.

Public Housing Administration

Although the Public Housing Administration is not primarily a lending agency, it makes loans and grants to assist local authorities in the construction of low-rent public housing. This program reached its peak in 1952 when nearly $1 billion was lent.

Since then the major portion of these loans has been liquidated, the loans being assumed by private investors.

However, the housing authority bonds purchased by private investors are secured by the pledge of the annual contributions of the Public Housing Administration which are intended to supplement the net proceeds from operation of the low-rent housing programs.

The Public Housing Administration also makes short-term loans for planning and construction costs.

Urban Renewal Administration

The Urban Renewal Administration is a constituent unit of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Among its responsibilities are loans to municipalities to clear and redevelop slums and to rehabilitate and improve blighted areas. In addition, it guarantees private temporary loans through the pledge by local agencies of the Federal loan commitment. Thus in this area, too, the Federal Government's role involves considerable intervention in the specific problems of local communities.

Community Facilities Administration

The Community Facilities Administration was established as a constituent unit of the Housing and Home Finance Agency by the same order that created the Urban Renewal Administration. It is responsible for administering, among other programs:

1. Loans to institutions of higher learning to finance student and faculty housing and other educational facilities.

2. Public facility loans to State and local governments to finance construction of needed public works.

3. Liquidation of a program of loans made to manufacturers of prefabricated houses and components. This program was originally in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The lending programs of this agency have expanded rapidly as requirements for loans have been liberalized. The low interest rate, 2¾ percent, has had such undesirable repercussions that the Commissioner of the Community Facilities Administration, John C. Hazeltine, has requested that Congress raise it to 3⅛ percent. The present rate has virtually eliminated all private investors from the college housing field, leading the commissioner to predict, "Increasing pressures will be placed on the Federal Government to make direct loans aggregating billions."

Thus we have the prospect that the low-interest rate actually slows down critically needed college housing construction.

The 1955 Housing Amendments also authorized $100 million for a new program of loans to local Governments for public facilities, such as water and sewage systems.

Home Owners Loan Corporation

The Home Owners Loan Corporation, formed in 1933 to preserve home ownership by refinancing foreclosed or delinquent home mortgages, is no longer in existence. By June 30, 1952, it had acquired 1,017,821 mortgages involving more than $3 billion, and had liquidated all of these mortgages. Its operations provide a useful example of how the true cost of a lending program can be concealed.

HOLC borrowed from the United States Treasury at a rate of one percent a year, substantially less than the Treasury paid on its borrowings from the public. Thus the $14 million earnings which HOLC paid into the Treasury in 1951 does not reflect a profit for the Government as a whole. According to the General Accounting Office report on audit of HOLC accounts, the cost to the Treasury for supplying funds to HOLC since 1933 was about $92 million.

Housing and Home Finance Agency Liquidating Programs

All told as of June 30, 1956, the Housing and Home Finance Administration had, in the revolving fund of various programs in liquidation, loans receivable outstanding totaling about $156 million. This is in addition to all the active programs carried on by the various constituent agencies of the Agency.

Agricultural loans

In agriculture, lending programs of a considerable variety have grown substantially in the past two and a half decades.

The farm lending agencies have been a factor in the greater availability of credit in rural areas than in urban areas during a period of generally tight credit. As the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration, R. B. Tootell, noted in December 1956, competition from the Federal land banks and from production credit associations have helped to keep interest rates of commercial banks from rising as much as elsewhere.

To the extent that this easy credit in rural areas is the result of governmental action, urban areas are paying a premium in terms of higher interest rates over what would prevail if the credit supply were more equitably distributed. The dangers of this kind of inequity are widely recognized.

Commodity Credit Corporation

In terms of volume of loans outstanding, the Commodity Credit Corporation is the major agricultural lending agency in the Government.

By far the most important CCC lending programs are its price-support operations. Sizable as these loans are, they reflect only a part of the price-support program.

As of June 30, 1956, while CCC loans totaled $2.3 billion before reserve for losses, and $1.9 billion after reserve for losses, the Corporation also had a commodity inventory of $6 billion before reserve for losses, and $3.9 billion after reserve for losses.

Its total assets were $7.5 billions as of June 30, 1956. Its capitalization, originally $3 million in 1933, has been increased to $100 million.

Originally it had no specific borrowing authority. When Congress gave it a permanent charter in 1948, its borrowing power was $4.7 billion. This was raised 5 times in 8 years.

As of August 1, 1956, it was $14.5 billion.

In the second category of CCC loans are the farm storage and equipment loans made to encourage farm storage at lowest cost of the commodities it holds as security on its loans. If storage facilities in an area are inadequate, CCC will make, or will guarantee if made by a private lending agency, recourse loans to producers for a maximum of 80 percent of the cost of new farm storage facilities.

In the third category are loans to the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose of making crop insurance premium advances, soil-conservation payments, and certain other payments, and to pay the administrative costs of the county committees handling such programs. These advances are repaid to the Commodity Credit Corporation out of a congressional appropriation at end of the fiscal year, with interest at least equal to the cost of money to the CCC. None are outstanding at present.

Although these loans do not compete with private funds, such an enormous lending operation makes waste, fraud, and inefficiency inevitable.

Rural Electrification Administration

Since 1935 the Rural Electrification Administration has been making loans, chiefly to cooperatives, for financing construction of electrical distribution, transmission, and generating facilities to serve rural areas. Since 1950, similar loans have been made to finance construction and improvement of rural telephone systems. Interest rates are set at 2 percent. Administrative expenses are financed by a separate appropriation.

This is another example of a program which has grown larger and larger. In 1956 it lent $229 million to electric cooperatives compared to $180 million in 1955. Although 90 percent of all farms are now electrified, the Rural Electrification Administration seems to make no effort to require those to whom it lends to become more self-supporting, to rely more on private bank credit, to pay competitive interest rates, and to bear the costs of administration. Until such steps are taken, the taxpayer will continue to bear a part of the cost of these facilities which are of direct benefit to a relatively small segment of the population.

Farmers' Home Administration

The Farmers' Home Administration makes loans to farmers presumably unable to obtain credit from other sources for farm operation expenses and crop production, farm ownership and improvements, and for soil- and water-conservation activities. These loans are financed by annual authorizations. It insures long-term mortgage loans, and soil- and water-conservation loans. It administers emergency loan programs for farmers hit by production losses from natural calamities, or by unfavorable economic conditions.

The program was started as a relief measure at a time agriculture was seriously depressed. But the time is long past when it could be considered primarily a relief agency. Further, there has been a substantial shift of population away from farming which also should make it possible to cut back on this phase of farm aid. It is also dubious that a lending program is the most feasible way of carrying out its functions.

Other agencies are authorized to make loans to cover disaster and other emergency situations, and to help farmers carry out soil-conservation programs. Thus, there is unavoidable duplication when this agency handles these same functions.

In addition, the low interest rates, long terms of loans, and the Government's bearing the administrative costs, have meant that the taxpayers have been subsidizing a limited group of individuals. These loans have in fact probably tended to discourage marginal farm operators from shifting into other economic activities and have encouraged the retention of many farm units that are too small to be efficiently operated.

Farm Credit Administration

The Farm Credit Administration, though it is not a leading agency, is the supervisory authority for some important governmental and quasi-governmental lending agencies: Federal land banks, banks for cooperatives, Federal intermediate credit banks, production credit corporations.

The United States is divided into 12 farm credit districts, each with 1 Federal land bank, 1 bank for cooperatives, 1 Federal intermediate credit bank, and 1 production credit corporation.

The Federal land banks were established in 1916. Since 1947 their capital stock has been entirely owned by member national farm loan associations which act as agents of the banks in making long-term first mortgage loans on farm real estate.

Since their mutualization, these banks have been subject to relatively little adverse criticism.

The Central Bank for Cooperatives and the 12 banks for cooperatives are federally incorporated agencies making loans to farmers' cooperative associations. The majority of the capital stock is held by the Federal Government. The Farm Credit Act of 1955 provided for the retirement of the Government's investment and the eventual ownership of the banks by farmers' cooperatives.

As long as these banks have their capital provided in large measure by Federal funds, they will enjoy a considerable advantage over private banks. Having these funds available without payment of interest or other charges has enabled them to accumulate earnings, and in some instances to lend at rates of interest more advantageous than borrowers would have had to pay to other lenders.

The Federal intermediate credit banks are now under the supervision of the Farm Credit Administration. These banks make loans to, and discount paper for production credit associations, the banks for cooperatives, State and national banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock loan companies, and similar financing institutions. Certain types of loans are made to farmer cooperatives. The funds they lend are borrowed from private sources. The equity capital is owned by the Federal Government.

There seems little reason for these banks to be federally owned. A system of privately owned production-credit discount banks, regulated and supervised by the Farm Credit Administration, would probably have all of the advantages and few of the disadvantages of the present system.

The production credit corporations are wholly owned by the United States. They supervise and assist nearly 500 production-credit associations in the extension of agricultural production credit, and in some instances partly finance them through investment in capital stock.

Bills were introduced in the Congress in 1956 to merge production credit corporations in the Federal intermediate credit banks and to retire the Government's capital in the latter.

LOANS TO BUSINESS

Federal loans to business center chiefly in the Small Business Administration.

The other business loan programs, including those connected with defense production, have not generally involved losses to the Government, or have been comparatively insignificant.

Small Business Administration

The Small Business Administration was established in 1953 but its growth has followed the pattern established by other lending agencies. It offers a variety of types of assistance to small businesses; this report will be limited to its lending functions.

Loans fall into two categories, business loans and disaster loans.

Total amounts authorized for these loans and the amount of the revolving fund appropriated for these loans have increased steadily. The original act authorized business loans up to $150 million and disaster loans up to $25 million. The disaster loan fund was increased in February 1956, to $125 million. In February 1957, the authorization for business loans was increased to $230 million.

The revolving fund of SBA, which covers both business and disaster loans, started at $55 million, was increased to $80 million in 1954, to $105 million in 1955, and increased twice in 1956, first to $125 million and then to $175 million. It was increased again in February 1957, by $45 million, to a total of $220 million.

The growth in the lending programs of SBA is due in no small measure to the liberalization of loan requirements and the widening of the area of eligibility for loans. It is potentially the most diversified of all Government lending agencies. Few kinds of business are now ineligible under its program and no specific end to its expansion is in sight.

Since the lending authority of the Small Business Administration is so broad, there is a serious danger of favoritism and of assisting certain businesses which thereby obtain an unfair competitive advantage over their rivals. Any conceivable volume of lending by SBA is bound to provide loans for particular firms that are no more deserving than scores of others who are turned down, or, more important, who, relying on their own resources and on private credit facilities, do not apply to a Federal agency for help.

Although it is too early to evaluate the effects of SBA's lending program in terms of return to the Government, there is at least some evidence that a number of loans were approved without sufficient thought as to availability of private capital, ability to repay, and the effect of the loan on the borrowers' competitors.

Maritime Administration

In 1956 Congress liberalized the law under which the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce insures private construction loans and mortgages on most types of cargo and passenger-carrying vessels. As a result the volume of insured loans has increased rapidly and is expected to grow still further. It is possibly ironic that legislation designed to facilitate private financing has involved such an extensive program of Government insurance. It seems apparent that, without this insurance, the level of shipbuilding privately financed would have been far lower.

The question remains, how sound economically are such construction projects if private capital is unwilling to support them without a Federal mortgage insurance program.

Export-Import Bank of Washington

The Export-Import Bank of Washington was established in 1934 as part of the national recovery program. Its purpose was to aid in financing and thereby stimulating exports and imports and the exchange of commodities and services in foreign trade. More recently it has come to be regarded widely as an instrument of United States foreign policy.

There are a number of reasons why a continuation of this agency may be viewed with some concern.

The original justification for the agency has long since disappeared.

Further, it is of dubious economic merit to encourage exports and at the same time admit additional imports only grudgingly. Unless the countries whose imports of American goods are financed by Export-Import Bank loans are thereby put in a position to increase their exports to the United States, the American Government faces the risk of adding one more giveaway program to those already accumulated.

Resentment is bound to be created between nations receiving loans and those who are turned down. To the extent that loans are made to foreign importers of American goods, it is even more doubtful that the funds will be used in a way to help the industrial development of their own countries.

It seems likely that the goals of American foreign policy cannot, in most cases, be reached by a Government lending program as well as by other more direct programs. In cases where a loan program seems warranted, it is quite likely that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, of which the United States is the major stockholder, is a more appropriate agency.

It is in a sense ironic that the United States has exclusive control over one bank designed for foreign lending and at the same time is the leading stockholder in its closest counterpart.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The full report analyses the activities of several additional lending agencies. These analyses are omitted in this condensation, either because the volume is small or has little direct impact on the economy. Bureau of Indian Affairs loans to start Indians in agriculture and Veterans' Administration rehabilitation loans to disabled veterans are examples.)

Conclusion

Few segments of our economy have not, in one way or another, felt the impact of Government loans. Furthermore, all evidence points to a continued expansion of these programs.

There can be little consolation in this trend for those who are clearly dedicated to a free private enterprise economy, operating with a minimum of governmental intervention, either in terms of control, regulation, or promotion.

It is virtually axiomatic that governmental assistance itself leads inexorably to a considerable degree of governmental control.

Those in favor of a truly free private enterprise economy would, therefore, do well to make their opposition to this extensive program of government loans known. Only in this way does it appear possible to have the current trend reversed.

5. DANGERS OF FEDERAL ELECTRIC POWER

In 23 years, the Federal Government has multiplied its power-generating capacity about 76 times—from 232,000 kilowatts in 1933 to about 17 million kilowatts now. In doing this, the Government has invaded what traditionally has been primarily a field of private enterprise.

This field involves millions of Americans who are participating directly or indirectly in the generation and distribution of electric power by private utilities. These people are participating directly through purchases of stocks or bonds, and indirectly through investments by insurance companies, banks, or religious and educational organizations and trust funds.

Thus the public can actually claim some form of ownership of the private electric companies.

The philosophy of Federal ownership of power does not encourage the people of a region or a country to rely upon their own

genius, their own initiative. To allow the Federal Government to take over where a private enterprise can engage profitably with benefit to the area encourages a careless and unaggressive attitude in the people of that area.

A private company must be inventive and must encourage the creative genius of its employees to provide better service to its customers and for greater profit to the business—a Government agency feels no such urgency. Our history proves how important this factor has been in creating our high standard of living and technological developments. The electric industry itself is living proof of what Americans have achieved in the stimulating and competitive system of free enterprise.

This subsidized Federal power is unfair. Not only are sections which do not have Federal power paying for the power developments in areas such as the Tennessee Valley and the Pacific Northwest, but they stand the chance of losing some of their industries to these areas.

Besides being harmful to general competition in industry, Federal power is unfair to private electric utilities which must charge higher rates because they pay higher taxes and must make a profit. The rates charged for Federal power do not include charges for Federal taxes. Only in a few cases do Federal agencies make payments to States and local governments in lieu of taxes. When such payments are made, they are generally only a small part of the amount the regular taxes would be.

In many instances little or no interest is paid on the money used, since the money is supplied by all the people through taxes.

Since taxes and interest on money invested in plants and facilities are two of the biggest items of cost in the utility operation, the Federal agencies can sell electricity at below real business costs.

Spurious comparisons are made of the alleged cheapness of public power. Such cheapness merely reflects the subsidies garnered by the Federal power plants. The owners of private utilities pay Federal, State, and local taxes; pay interest on their bonds; pay dividends; pay taxes on their dividends; and still do not charge rates higher than people can or are willing to pay. The rates and earnings of private electric companies are regulated by governmental commissions; consequently they are not allowed to make excessive profits.

Magnitude of Federal power operation

The Federal Government is by far the largest single producer and supplier of electric power in the United States.

It supplies practically all the electric utility power in Tennessee and is a major producer and supplier in Alabama, Mississippi, Washington, Oregon, Montana, California, Arizona, and Nevada. During 1953, the Federal Government produced electric energy in 22 States and sold it in 5 additional States.

Federal electric power capacity grew from 232,000 kilowatts, or 0.7 percent of the national total in 1939, to 17 million kilowatts, or 14.8 percent by December 21, 1955.

Further additions provided through completion of construction in progress and authorized by the Congress are expected to increase generating capacity to approximately 35 million kilowatts, at a total cost of about $10 billion.

These Federal electric properties will, if completed, include at least 168 hydroelectric plants, at least 17 steam-electric plants, and substantially more than the present 23,000 circuit miles of transmission lines.

In addition to this Federal power, nonfederal public bodies generated 7 percent of the total in 1953, an increase from 5.5 percent in 1933. Private investor-owned power, which amounted to 94 percent of the total electric generating capacity in 1933, dropped to 76 percent by December 31, 1955—a decline of 18 percent.

Of the hydroelectric power developed in the United States, more than 50 percent is generated by public agencies, with the Federal Government's share being 40 percent and local public power's share 10 percent.

The largest Federal electric power system is that of the Tennessee Valley Authority located and operated in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. The capacity as of June 30, 1956, of these TVA plants was 9,279,485 kilowatts.

This exceeded by more than twofold the capacity of our largest private electric utility system, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. system.

The additional capacity of TVA plants now under construction and those on which the TVA proposes to start and complete construction through fiscal 1960 will raise its capacity to nearly 12 million kilowatts. That capacity, by then nearly 75 percent steam-electric, will constitute about 6 percent of the Nation's total electric utility power capacity as estimated for 1960.

From inception in 1933 to June 30, 1955, the United States Government has made available to TVA through appropriations, bond purchases, and property transfers, a total of $2,015,490,529. For the same period TVA has recorded a net income of $301,427,523 from its power operations, and net expenses of $159,290,652 for its other programs. TVA has repaid to the United States Treasury a total of $178,635,890. The resultant equity of the United States Government in TVA was $1,978,991,510 on June 30, 1955.

All Federal power is subsidized

Those favoring big government favor control of electric energy by Government. Such control can only be gained if the movement has popular support. The most obvious means of obtaining this support is price. To be politically desirable, public power must be made to appear cheaper than investor-financed power. Actually, in a country of such technological competence as ours, real cost differences in power production as between public and private development in a given area will be of little significance—provided all costs are included in each.

For example, comparative studies of costs by the Atomic Energy Commission revealed that (assuming a uniform fuel cost of 19 cents per million British thermal units and excluding all taxes), TVA energy at Oak Ridge costs 3.78 mills per kilowatt-hour and at Paducah costs 3.93 mills, compared with the investor-owned Ohio Valley Electric Co. cost of 3.79 mills per kilowatt-hour at Portsmouth, Ohio.

With true costs about the same, the only way an advantage can be shown for public power is by subsidizing it.

All Federal power is subsidized through one or more of the following forms: 1, use of interest rates lower than the actual cost of long-term money; 2, omission of interest during construction; 3, omission of Federal-income taxes or a comparable contribution to the cost of the Federal Government; 4, omission of State or local taxes (with two exceptions, TVA and Hoover Dam); 5, charging large parts of the initial capital costs to wholly subsidized Federal activities such as flood control, navigation, fish and wildlife preservation; 6, charging administrative costs, insurance, and pensions to other Government accounts.

Because Federal power is thus subsidized and because hydroelectric sites are not uniformly located in all States, the Federal taxpayers in many States find their tax payments going to subsidize the users of Federal power in other regions.

Cost allocations—another form of subsidy

Another form of subsidy of Federal power has resulted from improper allocation of costs.

Multiple-purpose development, because of allocations of the joint or common costs to the various functions served, provides savings over the cost of single-purpose structures. This results in lower costs of any one of the functions, such as hydro power, navigation, flood control, etc. So long as the power development is incidental to the major purposes of flood control, navigation or irrigation, a case may be made for allocation of costs in accordance with approved methods such as the separable costs-remaining benefits method or the alternative-justifiable-expenditure method.

However, where power is a predominant purpose of the structure, as in many recent developments, and therefore in direct competition with private industry, it can be argued that the full cost of the single structure required for power development only should be allocated to power in the multiple purpose structure and the savings resulting from such allocation be applied to repayment to the Treasury for the other purposes served.

If the Government's power operations are regarded as a business in which it is properly engaged, then it should be operated for the benefit of, or at least without loss to, the Federal Government and the Federal taxpayers, as well as for the benefit of the power users.

The principal reason for the low TVA rate is the fact that the power pricing policy followed relieves users of TVA power of the burden of making a sufficient payment in the price paid for power toward the costs of the Government in carrying on the program.

For TVA's total operations through 1953, there would be (on this basis) a deficit between total financial requirements ($794 million) and total operating revenues ($695 million) of approximately $100 million, or 14 percent. Similarly, the total cost of service ($803 million) would have exceeded revenues by about $108 million, or 15 percent.

From this, it can be assumed that increasing the TVA power rates 15 percent would eliminate the subsidy to TVA power users by the general taxpayers.

The conclusion, therefore, is:

1. That, partly because of its failure to charge as a cost the 3 percent interest on borrowed funds which the Federal Government has had to pay through 1953, and partly through the small payments in lieu of taxes, the TVA has understated its costs by about $108 million and that an equivalent power subsidy has been given to the TVA power users.

2. That, if the TVA had charged the fair regulated rates which other power consumers have to pay, at least a 30 percent increase in TVA rates would be justified.

3. That TVA power rates and revenues, which allow for the payment of all operating costs, depreciation on investment, and approximately 4 percent return on the Government's investment in power, include an item of $30 million in lieu of taxes—and this is $170 million less than Federal, State, and local taxes would have totaled during the period if full accrued taxes (especially the Federal corporate income tax) had been paid.

4. That the allocation of costs by the TVA to navigation and flood control adds a small additional advantages to TVA rates over the rates which must be charged by private utilities, but that this is a declining advantage with the increase in the proportion of steam plants with the TVA system.

Federal power causes power shortages

To meet fluctuations of peak demand and allow for outages, etc., a reserve of at least 15 to 20 percent in generating capacity is

considered good practice. Certainly, one of the most important duties of a public utility is to provide an adequate supply of power to meet the increasing demands of consumers.

The margin of reserve was sharply reduced in 1947 as the demands for electric power, pent up during the war, grew faster than new capacity could be installed. But since 1949 the electric utility industry has caught up with the demands and now has brought the margin between generating capacity and demand to between 17 and 20 percent. Consequently future installations need only keep pace with increases in demand and retirement of old machines.

As these figures show, the public utility function has generally been fulfilled throughout the country by local nonFederal sources. But this is not the case in all areas.

The TVA area and the Pacific Northwest face power shortages, because of the manner in which the Federal projects have been administered.

In fact, by 1954 the hydro power was insufficient for the loads of municipalities and cooperatives in the TVA area.

It is obvious that TVA power development is a policy of self-perpetuating socialism within the private enterprise system. It makes the local utilities dependent upon public power and then gets their support to extend public power.

It is also pertinent to review the effect of this Federal utility responsibility on the growth of industry in Tennessee, the heart of the TVA area. Many people would conclude that, with low cost power, industrial expansion would be booming. This is not the case.

The availability of power is as important a consideration as the cost. The supply in the TVA area is uncertain, partly because the water power is nearly all developed and partly because the Federal Government is growing more reluctant to build steam plants and subsidize TVA further.

Compared to other parts of the South the TVA area is having a relatively slow industrial growth. So-called cheap power has not proven to be a boon to the economy because of the uncertainties caused by the fact that the Federal Government is the sole supplier of power to the area.

Federal power is monopolistic

This steadily increasing utility responsibility by the Federal Government can lead to what, in effect, is a Federal monopoly on power development in the region.

For example, Adm. Ben Moreell, in his book "Our Nation's Water Resources," cites the TVA, under its sole supplier clause, as requiring all of its regular utility customers to take their entire supply from its facilities.

This policy creates an obligation on TVA to build all the generating facilities which are needed in the area it supplies. The result is that TVA has built large steam plants and extensive transmission systems. Distributors have no generating facilities of their own.

Federal power not now essential for national defense

The need for Federal power in the interest of national defense has been frequently used to justify projects or appropriations. Yet $21 billion has been spent by investor-owned electric companies for generation, transmission and distribution facilities since World War II while total expenditures of the Federal Government from the beginning of its program in 1906 to mid-1953 are only $2.3 billion. These figures refute the allegation that public power is essential for national defense.

Federal electric power is a menace to the private enterprise system

The hydroelectric power activities of the Federal Government were initially associated with navigation, irrigation and flood control, and were justified under the commerce clause of the Constitution. The development of power was merely incidental to these other functions.

However, not only are some projects now justified mainly because of the power development, but the Government has felt the need to go the next step further. Because water supply varies considerably and only so much of it can be counted on for a firm power supply, a more dependable additional source is needed. Steam power, which can be produced from a dependable fuel supply, is the best source of this additional power.

Since steam power production does not aid navigation, prevent floods, or provide irrigation, and since it has little to do with interstate commerce, advocates of public power are making other justifications for these plants. They assert that Federal construction of steam plants is necessary for defense or for the general welfare. If it becomes established that the Federal Government can build hydroelectric and steam powerplants wherever it wishes, then the Federal Government may be pressured to take over more and more of this traditionally private business in even larger areas.

The local business character of power production and distribution could thus conceivably die, not only because of the Federal Government's development of hydroelectric power and building of steam plants, but because it is, so far, the sole developer of atomic energy. If the Federal Government holds the monopoly on this great potential source of power, all power could eventually come under its control.

Federal public power is socialistic

Some of the advocates of public power deny that it is socialistic. But here is what Norman Thomas, five times candidate of the Socialist Party for President of the United States, had to say about it:

"The principle behind public development of power is socialistic and it is rather childish to deny it."

In a press conference on June 18, 1953, President Eisenhower was asked to give examples of what he had previously referred to as creeping socialism. The President gave as his example, TVA. He said that he had been asked to expand Federal expenditures in the TVA region. The Federal Government had seized and was purchasing a monopoly in power there, and it was impossible for the locality now to expand unless the Federal Government would spend more money.

President Eisenhower asserted that the TVA region quoted as one of its needs for power the fact that so many industries from other sections—New England and other places—wanted to come down there seeking cheap power. The President said:

"So we get to this curious thing in the socialistic theory that we provide such cheap power for one region that it can take away the industries from the other sections. It seems that we have got to have some kind of reevaluation of all these things."

6. THE CASE AGAINST FEDERAL RECLAMATION

One of the functions of the Federal Government is the collection and the expenditure of the taxpayer's money. In spending these funds, it is responsible for determining the most efficient and equitable use of the money.

Projects which are nonreimbursable should be those which benefit all the people.

Taxpayers should not be asked to subsidize projects or parts or projects from which they derive little or no benefit.

These principles have been violated by the Bureau of Reclamation projects.

To pass these projects by Congress, proponents have claimed dubious benefits. Especially noteworthy has been the abuse of the benefit-cost ratio which permits fabricating a case for the feasibility of a project.

To be economically sound, a project must produce total benefits exceeding total costs. However, an undertaking is not truly economic unless it is the best use of capital and resources and the least costly means of achieving a desirable end. The best solution can be found only by giving equal consideration to all possible measures, with a view to finding the combinaton which will produce a maximum of net return.

Many of the Nation's economists agree that in the past two decades the Bureau of Reclamation has been more interested in finding a use for surplus waters of the West than in planning and constructing economically sound projects. Fortunately for the taxpayers, the Bureau of the Budget, through issuance of criteria late in 1952, put a brake on the Bureau's efforts to disregard fair and equitable methods in their zeal to develop the West.

Benefit-cost ratio

Until a few years ago, standards of feasibility of constructing reclamation projects had been progressively lowered mainly because the benefits claimed as offsets to costs of these projects were exaggerated. The benefit-cost ratio should include valid reasons for constructing projects, not mere excuses for justification. If a close relationship exists between direct benefits to immediate beneficiaries and their ability to repay their proportionate part of the cost, the benefit-cost ratio formula will have more chance of being realistic.

The Engineers Joint Council recommended in 1951 that both benefits and costs should be expressed in tangible monetary terms and should be accurate and realistic.

Many groups, including the E. J. C., suggested that the benefits to be considered should be net benefits—the total of the net annual income and other tangible benefits minus all costs incurred by the beneficiaries (as distinguished from the Federal Government) in attaining those benefits and further, minus all disadvantageous or injurious, but tangible, results of the development.

The council recommended that, in order that Federal water resources developments may qualify as being economically justified, the ratio of tangible benefits to cost, each on an annual basis, should not be less than 4 to 3. In cases where the factors entering into the ratio cannot be estimated closely or where they may not be realized for a long or an indefinite period in the future, the corresponding ratio should not be less than 2 to 1. Depending upon the relative probabilities of realizing within a reasonable period the benefits and costs involved, the requirements, as to the ratio, may appropriately be intermediate between 4 to 3 and 2 to 1.

These recommended ratios of benefits to costs are not observed by the Bureau of Reclamation. The Fryingpan-Arkansas Project, which the Bureau has been trying to get through Congress, has a ratio of direct benefits to cost of only 1.05 to 1. At that, the benefits are estimated many times greater than the ability of the irrigators to repay.

Because of rising prices, it is unrealistic to reappraise the benefits and costs by the same multiplier or price-level index.

Costs become fixed as of the time of construction or expenditure, whereas benefits will vary from time to time in the future, depending upon not merely changes in price level but also technological progress in respect to the alternatives for the several functions of a given water development.

Benefits derived from increases in food and fibers

Although there is merit in increasing our food and fiber production, care should be taken that the most efficient manner of bringing this about is adopted and that it comes at a time when it is needed, not when it may add to the problem of surplus production.

In the first place, the increased land to be brought under cultivation through irrigation in the arid West is a small percent of

the total land now being harvested. If all the available water were used to the maximum extent, about 17 million more acres of new cropland would be added. Since 345 million acres are harvested at present, it would add less than five percent. The foods and fibers that would be produced by these reclamation projects would be relatively minor.

In contract, the Department of Agriculture estimates that there are 60 million acres of new land in humid areas suitable for first-class crop production, once it has been properly drained and cleared. The drainage and clearing method of providing new crops represents about 17 percent of the present total cropland and acreage.

The costs of the projects to be undertaken by the Bureau of Reclamation in the 17 Western States are high—estimates per acre on the Columbia Basin Project are between $500 and $600 and estimates on the Upper Colorado River Storage Project run even higher. For the proposed Fryingpan-Arkansas Project, the costs run $219 per acre for a supplemental water supply of 0.5 acre-feet per acre, which is equivalent to $1,166 per acre for a full water supply. This presents a serious question as to the justification for reclamation projects in general and for the consideration of the Fryingpan-Arkansas in particular. The average value of the irrigated farmland in the Fryingpan-Arkansas areas does not exceed $225 per acre.

In contrast, average costs per acre of drainage run about $40 in the Southeast and from $8 to $25 in the Mississippi River Delta. Cost of land clearing ranged from $50 to $100 per acre in the Northeast where brush was cleared for seeded pasture, from $95 to $160 per acre where woodland was cleared for cultvated crops, and from $15 to $30 per acre for light clearing of abandoned fields.

However, there is reason to believe that food and fiber requirements for our estimated 1975 population can be supplied by the existing farmland acreage.

It should be concluded, therefore, that projects should not be justified on the basis of increasing the food and fiber supply.

In addition to estimates of subsidiary benefits based on farm income, it has been customary to claim presumed increases in trade and commerce as offsets to the construction cost of projects. These have usually been computed on the gross volume of new business without recognition of the fact that no benefit is derived from the mere circulation of money. The engineers joint council stressed that, for such benefits to accrue, there must be tangible gains to those who transport, process, and distribute goods to the ultimate consumer, all without increased cost to him.

The council concluded that, regardless of how they are estimated, subsidiary benefits should not be lumped with direct offsets to costs to determine the feasibility of any project or unit of a project for the development of the water resources. Where such costs must in large part be defrayed out of tax revenues of the Federal Government, all subsidiary benefits will be no more than the margin above cost to which the general public is entitled.

Justification by projects rather than river basins

Arguments have been advanced for determining the feasibility of projects in a drainage basin collectively, even where the projects were not mutually dependent. To adopt such practices would be likely to increase the amount subsidized by the general taxpayer, and would encourage uneconomical projects.

Individual developments or projects should each be subject to the standard criteria of economic justification including margin of benefits over cost, except where such projects are physically and of obsolute necessity interdependent. No exceptions should be given to orderly stream development or to drainage basins. To allow such exceptions would result in using surplus values or benefits accruing from the stronger projects to make up for the deficiencies of the weaker projects.

Financing and repayment

In the first 50 years of the reclamation program (1903–1953) the Federal Government undertook 91 projects. These projects have cost much more, taken much longer to be paid for, and irrigated less acreage than was originally estimated.

Between 1903 and 1911 the Secretary of the Interior authorized 25 Federal projects. In 1910, at the time Congress made funds available for their completion, the estimated cost was about $147 million—an increase of $79 million over the estimated cost at the time of authorization a few years before. Up to June 30, 1952, these 25 projects actually had cost nearly $304 million, and the estimated cost of completion was about $368 million. This is a 440 percent increase in costs.

Of the 25 projects, 4 with 78,600 acres proposed for irrigation had to be abandoned with a loss of $1.3 million. In addition, Congress wrote off $16 million of the cost on 16 of the remaining 21 projects to reduce the repayment obligation until it was within the ability of the farmers to pay.

Between 1911 and 1933, 11 projects were authorized. At the time of authorization, these projects were estimated to cost $203.8 million, more than half of which was for Hoover Dam. On June 30, 1952, $281.8 million had been spent and the estimated completed cost was $305.3 million. At the time of authorization, it was proposed to make water available to 1,441,430 acres. However, the irrigation allocation as of 1952 is to supply 994,494 acres, of which 814,952 were irrigated in 1952.

One of the eleven projects had to be abandoned and Congress wrote off $2.4 million on 3 other projects. The reimbursable portion of the irrigation allocation has been set at $123.2 million, of which power income is to repay $890,582 and water users $121.3 million. Of this latter amount, $92.8 million is under contract; accruals total $5,419,705.

Only 4 of these projects have been able to maintain a 40-year repayment schedule. The Owyhee projects schedules call for complete repayment by 2039, Grand Valley by 2029, and Vale by 2024—all about 100 years after authorization. Owyhee and Vale have repaid less than 15 percent.

Between 1932 and 1942, 34 projects were authorized, 3 of which have a poor record of both estimating and repaying costs. These are Central Valley, Columbia Basin, and the Colorado-Big Thompson. The estimated cost of 32 of the 34 projects of this decade at the time of authorization was $917 million. The completed cost of these projects, as estimated in 1952, was $2,161,000,000, and of all 34 projects, $2,199,000,000.

Of the 1952 estimated completion cost, $656.2 million or 29.8 percent is charged to power, $259.5 million or 11.8 percent to flood control and other nonreimbursable purposes, $1,283,000,000 or 58.3 percent to irrigation. Of the total irrigation allocation, nonreimbursable items for relief and other purposes amount to $29.9 million, leaving $1,253,000,000 to be repaid—$661 million from power revenues, $565 million by the water users, and the remainder from other sources. Contracts to cover the water users' obligation amount to $385.7 million on which $3.4 million or less than 1 percent of the water users obligation has become due and been repaid.

At the time of their authorization, these projects were supposed to irrigate 5,209,707 acres. However, the 1952 estimate came to almost 1 million less, or 4,490,168 acres.

The three big projects, Central Valley, Columbia Basin and Colorado-Big Thompson plus Davis Dam and San Luis Valley and Palisades projects account for $1,136,000,000 of the $1,244,000,000 increase in cost of all projects between the time of authorization and 1952. The increase in cost for these 6 projects amounts to 147 percent, as compared with an increase of about 74 percent for the other 26 projects.

Seven of the other projects in this group have a high degree of writeoff. They are W. C. Austin, Buffalo Rapids, Buford-Trenton, Eden, Mancos, Mirage Flats and Newton. Originally estimated to cost $17 million, the 1952 estimate was $33 million, an increase of 93 percent. Writeoffs amount to $18,500,000, about $2,500,000 more than the increase in cost and 115 percent of the original estimates.

Between 1942 and 1953, 20 projects were authorized. The total cost estimated in 1952 was $445,700,000. Again, some of the projects were poorly estimated. Hungry Horse, for example, was estimated to cost $48 million at the time of authorization. But the 1952 estimate was $102,900,000.

The Missouri Basin contract, approved by Congress in 1944, is so large that it requires special attention. In 1944, the Bureau of Reclamation portion of the Missouri River Basin project was estimated to cost $840,000,000. In 1953, the same work was estimated at $3,700,000,000, an increase of 343 percent. The entire plan was reconsidered, and in 1956 the project was estimated at $2,800,000,000, which was a 234 percent increase.

Two projects of the original plan are good examples of the poor planning and unnecessary expenditures of the Bureau of Reclamation. The original plan included the Missouri-Souris project in North Dakota and the Oahe project in South Dakota.

The original plan for the main division of the Missouri-Souris project called for irrigation of 1,275,000 acres—more than one-fourth of the total area of new irrigated land (4,760,000 acres) contemplated for ultimate development under the plan. The cost of bringing this land under irrigation was to be $123,000,000. By 1952 the estimated cost had risen $438,000,000.

After construction had started, soil experts of the North Dakota State Agricultural College, and others, questioned the feasibility of irrigating much of the land included in the project. This led to a special investigation by a board of three outside experts, and a finding that a large proportion of the land should not be irrigated.

Thereafter, the Bureau of Reclamation abandoned its efforts to develop this area.

The proposal to irrigate 750,000 acres in the James River Valley of northeastern South Dakota in connection with the Oahe project followed a similar course. The plan authorized in 1944 contemplated irrigating the 750,000 acres at a cost of $84 million, or more than $300 per acre. Agricultural officials of the State seriously questioned the feasibility of the project from the agricultural standpoint, as did some individuals within the Bureau of Reclamation itself.

These developments led the Secretary of the Interior to appoint a three-man committee of disinterested experts to study the proposed unit. This committee has concluded that it would not be feasible to develop some 250,000 acres of the area originally selected, and that the remainder of the area should not be put under irrigation unless expensive drainage systems were first installed.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Oahe area is in a belt where the annual precipitation of from 21 to 24 inches makes it possible to grow, in most years, good crops of alfalfa, corn, and other field crops without irrigation. All the land is privately owned, and it is certain that in the circumstances outlined a great majority

of the farmers would not care to burden themselves with high-cost irrigation works which would stand idle much of the time.

The upper Colorado River storage project was approved by the President in April 1956. It authorized $760 million to be appropriated for 4 storage projects and 11 participating projects. Of the $199,749,400 allocated to irrigation, $80,546,500 will be paid by the water users, leaving $119,202,900 to be repaid from power revenues.

The power features will be paid off first, with interest, from the sale of electricity. After those expenditures are liquidated in an estimated 50 years, the power profits would be used to pay off the costs of the irrigation aspects of the plan. According to Robert LeRoy Cochran, ex-Governor of Nebraska and an official of the Bureau of the Budget, such repayment, if ever made, would take considerably more than another half century.

Mr. Cochran also pointed out that the power features might well be obsolete in 50 years.

Meanwhile, because of the high construction costs per acre of the irrigation works and the accumulating unpaid interest, the Federal subsidy would be enormous.

Conclusion

Reclamation does not pay for itself and has no general and regularly observed rule of repayment nor any contractual term which cannot be changed at any time. On many of its projects there is only a remote possibility of repayment, and the costs will ultimately be written off by the taxpayers. The write-offs plus the interest add up to a considerable sum, which is taken out of the pockets of all the people for the benefit of a few.

In its conservation and control of waters, the Federal Government is depriving the recipients of some of their liberties. Under the 1939 act, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to make contracts to water users which, in effect, put the Government in permanent possession of the water rights, even after the costs allocated for repayment have been paid off in full. The reason given to Congress for this form of contract was to provide relief for water users unable to comply with the statutory 40-year period.

The Engineers Joint Council has stated that there was no need for the Federal Government to acquire any proprietary rights to such waters. Intrastate waters should remain in the control of the individual States. Jurisdiction over interstate waters can best be effected through compacts between States.

It can be seen that the Federal Government, in its role as the trustee in charge of disbursement of tax revenues and in its role as a banker responsible for the soundness of his loans, has failed to meet many established economic and financial principles.

Water resources have not been developed when they are needed, for we are spending millions irrigating land for additional crops at a time of agricultural surplus. The claim that these lands will be needed for the food and fiber supply of future generations is made without taking into consideration other means which may provide a greater supply at far less cost. Reclamation projects, therefore, are not being developed to meet proven economic requirements. The abuse of the benefit-cost ratio and the dreaming up of dubious benefits to make the project look good are examples of the failure to meet these requirements.

Those who are receiving the primary benefits from reclamation projects are not paying the cost of those benefits and the taxpayer ends up paying for a large share of the benefits that the farmers within the project area are receiving.

Such actions, although not socialistic in the full sense, tend to undermine the free enterprise system of growing crops and meeting the country's food supply. Certainly, through these Federal subsidies, which are fast getting out of hand, the seeds of Federal paternalism or even socialism are further spread.

7. ADVERSE EFFECTS OF GRANT-IN-AID ON THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

The Federal system is so ingrained in America's character, tradition, and political institutions that any force which in any way touches upon it or affects it should be a matter of serious interest and concern to all the people. This statement rests upon two basic assumptions: First, that American federalism is a highly desirable and essential configuration of government; and second, that it is a fairly sensitive and complicated mechanism.

For these reasons, the role of grants-in-aid in our society deserves our most thoughtful consideration. Both the number of grant programs and the amount of money involved have shown marked increases in recent years. Unless basic changes are made in policy, there is every indication that this upward cycle will continue.

This trend, if not reversed, poses a real threat to the Federal system. Power accompanies money, and as the States and even the local units have become more and more dependent upon Federal funds and have witnessed the progressive intrusion of the National Government into what have always been considered their own areas of responsibility, they have found their activities, authority, and the control of their own destinies more and more circumscribed. Conversely, the Government in Washington, already heavily burdened with legitimate responsibilities with which it alone can deal, continues its encroachment into the field of State government. By undertaking projects and services that could be handled more expeditiously and less expensively at the State and local level, the Federal Government, through the grants system, has jeopardized the equilibrium of the Federal system. It is not surprising that many people believe that the grants program, as it now exists, is wrong and dangerous in principle, wasteful and inefficient in practice, and that we can ignore its implications for the future only at peril to our fundamental politicial values and institutions.

Brief history of grants-in-aid

Grants on the vast scale to which we are now accustomed are stricly a product of the 20th century and primarily a development of the past 25 years or so.

Especially since World War II, both the dollar expenditures for grants-in-aid and the number of grant programs have shown a steep climb. In sharp contrast to the $900 million of Federal money spent for grants in 1946, something more than $5 billion, including money from the highway trust fund, is budgeted for grants for fiscal 1958. This becomes even more shocking when one considers the great prosperity enjoyed throughout these years.

During approximately this same period, the number of separate grant programs has substantially increased. More than 50 programs are now in operation, and more than half of them have been set in motion since 1944.

With the addition of new grant programs, the expansion of established programs, and the staggering increases in the amounts of money involved, has come additional Federal control over the destinies of the States. Once these controls become entrenched, they are difficult to dislodge. The growth of Federal authority within a State means a consequent loss in the State's own authority and an increase in its dependence upon the central Government. There is a real danger that this trend will get completely out of hand, with the result that the States will degenerate into no more than geographical and administrative units under an all-powerful National Government.

If it should come to this, our Federal system, instead of being the strong and vigorous arrangement of governments which has done so much to preserve our freedom, would become no more than a cherished memory of the good old days.

Federalism and grants today

What is the condition of our Federal system today? Is it still in good health? Does it still contain the strength to serve the Nation as well in the future as in the past? These are vitally important questions of the American people, and we are fortunate in having at our disposal a wealth of current data from which to seek the answers. Within the past few years the Federal system has been subjected to perhaps the most thoroughgoing examination in our history. The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations brought together a substantial amount of useful information and analysis which merit the careful consideration of all who wish to understand federalism in the United States.

The Commission report observes that "the national Government has gradually undertaken some new activities which are susceptible of a large measure of State and local handling," and that the more effectively State and local governments can function "the less occasion there will be for a by-passing State action in the future."

In the final analysis, the report continues, "the preservation and strengthening of our Federal system depend * * * on the self-restraint and responsibility, as well as the wisdom, of our actions as citizens." Tolerance and room for diversity of policy must be maintained if we are to preserve the essence and not just the legal fiction of federalism. We, as citizens, have the duty to make certain that the needs of the people that could be dealt with by State and local governments do not, by default, have to be met by the national Government.

Economic inroads of grants into State government

Broadly speaking, under the grants-in-aid system the Federal Government, through its taxing powers, draws money out of the States and then reallocates it to the States in accordance with the types of grant programs in effect, the distribution formulas in effect, and the needs of the States.

Any type of grant-in-aid redistributes the wealth because most Federal taxes are based upon ability to pay whereas grants are apportioned primarily upon the basis of needs, as accurately as these needs can be determined.

The Federal Government becomes, therefore, an arbiter of who gets what and how much.

Many people regard the round trip the money takes from the States to Washington and back as being, at the least, absurd, unnecessary, wasteful, inefficient, and unjust to the more prosperous States. At the worst, this procedure threatens to sap the States of all their vitality and purpose while the national Government grows ever larger and more powerful.

The movement of taxing power from the State and local governments to the national Government is a comparatively recent development. A study made by the government of Indiana revealed that in 1932 local and state governmental units collected and spent three-fourths of all taxes, leaving one-fourth to the Federal Government. In 1954, this study goes on to say, the reverse was true. Three-fourths of all tax dollars go to the Federal Government, one-fourth to local and State units. It is interesting to note that this inversion coincides closely with the burgeoning of grants-in-aid.

This shift in tax power and the concomitant mushrooming of the number of grants programs and the money involved in them has been noted by a number of other observers. For example, Harley L. Lutz, a distinguished economist, has expressed his alarm over what this may mean to the future relationship between the Federal Government and the States. He says that the increasing taxing power of the national Government has reduced the capacity of State and local governments to meet their costs out of what tax sources are available to them. This makes the apparent case for grants seem stronger, resulting in higher Federal taxes and still fewer tax sources for the States. Here indeed is a vicious circle. If this policy is allowed to continue and expand, the dependency of the States upon Federal money could become so great that they would lose all their capacity to resist domination from Washington.

It has been asserted that the States cannot or will not raise the money at home and spend it for services the people want, and that, therefore, the Federal Government must undertake these responsibilities. Since the money comes from the States in the first place, the validity of this argument can be questioned.

The fiscal aspects of grants have damaged American Federalism in other ways than just through the tendency of the national Government to take over so many tax sources. The desire to get free money has tempted some States to expand grant programs that simply do not need expansion. As a result, other services in these State that may really need development often have to suffer.

Another phase of this fiscal domination of the States by the Federal Government is revealed in the feeling of compulsion States sometimes experience to spend unnecessarily and beyond their means just to get some of their own money returned to them.

The idea that Federal grants represent free money and a real saving is about as persistent in some minds as it is erroneous. It is not unusual for a project within a State to cost more with Federal assistance than if it had been built solely with local funds.

The purely administrative costs of Federal grants are impossible to calculate accurately. The New Jersey Taxpayers Association is probably correct in saying that no one knows. Although there are figures available that show administrative costs for a few programs as being almost 20 percent of the total grant, it is doubtful whether these costs can be as exactly determined as the amount, say, of an overall appropriation. A dollar taking the trip from a State to Washington and back to the State certainly undergoes a measure of shrinkage, and it is not surprising that many people wonder why it has to take this trip at all.

In still another way the fiscal features of the Federal grants have brought about the intrusion of the National Government into what is generally considered to be purely a State affair. The States' own internal budgeting problems have been greatly increased by grants, and as Federal aid has come to make up more and more of each State's finances, the budgeting difficulties have likewise increased. When one considers, for example, that the budget for Ohio for 1953 included 49 different Federal appropriation items, the problems of that State's budget officers become immediately apparent.

The State's budget is to some extent contingent upon what action the National Government takes from year to year with regard to grants. The long view of the State's financial prospects is, therefore, difficult to conceive, and a lot of second guessing is required of State officials. All of these problems are heightened by the fact that with some of its grant programs the Federal Government bypasses the State treasury and the State's budgeting operations, and there is a tendency for the State to lose control of the whole situation.

Administrative and political inroads of grants into State government

To get Federal aid for a project, a State must comply with the rules laid down by Washington. This also applies in many cases, to the wages paid workmen, although these wages may well exceed the prevailing rate for similar work. If a State cannot or will not comply, the money may not be forthcoming.

The setting of project specifications by remote control from Washington is only one of the many ways by which the Federal Government is chipping away at State autonomy. The establishment of standards for State personnel who handle grant money presents another foot-in-the-door approach by which the Federal Government can exercise some control over the States. As with project specifications, these personnel criteria are often set with little or no regard for the accepted traditions or practices of the various States.

Controversies between the National Government and the States that are directly or indirectly attributable to the setting of these personnel standards have been commonplace.

It may not always be true that the placement of State employees under civil-service standards and their enforced compliance with these standards work to the benefit of a State agency. A provision to this effect is, however, incorporated in some grant laws. The genuinely harmful results of this provision were noted in Massachusetts. Personnel standards in that State have been lowered in the Public Health Commission as a result of the enforced application of civil-service rules.

The services of some exceptionally trained medical men have been lost because they did not wish to be restricted by the rigid civil-service requirements.

It is not only through the establishment of personnel standards that the Federal Government, in its grant programs, tends to weaken the governments of the States in ways concerning personnel. There are elements that rarely go down on paper and psychological factors that are occasionally as real and injurious to the States as they may be intangible.

For example, there is sometimes a problem of loyalty. It should be safe to assume that the primary loyalty of a State employee is to his superiors and to his State government. But if this employee's job is to administer Federal grant money, he may find himself in an uncomfortable position if the interests of the State should conflict with a grant program. Although it certainly can be assumed that the overwhelming number of Government employees at all levels of government are conscientiously trying to do their best work, it would be naive to conclude in all cases every employee would shun what he believes to be his own best interests in such a test.

The Government also may coerce a State into a reorganization of its governmental structure.

For instance, compliance with the provisions for public assistance grants may require a State to designate a certain agency or set up a special agency to administer this money.

The fact that a State believes that its existing facilities may be adequate or that its own plans might be better than those prescribed by Federal law may make no difference. The reorganization must be undertaken regardless.

One of the most damaging effects of Federal grants-in-aid upon the strength and structure of State governments is their tendency to weaken executive control and responsibility and to increase greatly the problems of efficient administration. Too often the governor finds that he simply cannot do his duties well and thoroughly because of the way grants are administered. Too often for the same reason the administrative apparatus of the State is splintered and disintegrated and by no means as effectively under control as it should be.

A management consultant firm found, for example, that in Connecticut the necessity for the State to comply with certain Federal administrative criteria in order to get grant money discourages, if it does not actually prevent, quality administration.

It was found that some State agencies in South Carolina that are administering grant funds are developing and growing in a different direction and at a different speed from those agencies not handling Federal money.

More than 50 years ago James Bryce listed as one of the blessings of the Federal system the belief that "it prevents the rise of a despotic central government, absorbing other powers, and menacing the private liberties of the citizens. * * * The States are represented as bulwarks against its encroachments."

Less than a decade ago, in a report on Federal-State relations prepared for the First Hoover Commission, a study group declared:

"Through the grants-in-aid, the National Government influences, and to some extent controls, 75 percent of the total activities of State governments. With grants goes control. With control goes power. With power goes centralization—and in too much centralization lies danger to our entire Federal system of government."

Since those words were written the amount of money being spent for Federal grants has doubled.

There is reason to think that new grant programs calling for new expenditures, as well as increased outlays for established programs, are to be expected in the future. Not including expenditures from the highway trust fund, the 1958 budget estimates that net expenditures for aid to State and local governments will be more than $500 million greater in fiscal 1958 than in fiscal 1957.

Grants for the established programs continue to rise. Primarily as a result of legislation enacted in 1956, payments to the States for public assistance are expected to be $97 million higher for fiscal 1958 than for 1957. The net increase in all other established programs totals $249 million. Although there will be some decreases, they will be more than offset by numerous increases in such categories as construction grants for waste-treatment facilities and aid for schools in federally affected areas.

The assumption of new powers by the Government has moved steadily ahead during the past generation. A study made a few years ago by the Legislative Reference Service lists almost 200 governmental functions which have been transferred from the States to the Federal Government or to joint control since 1920. This is just a selected, not a definitive, list.

Money allocated for grants constitutes 5 or 6 percent of the total Federal budget, but it makes up a much higher proportion of many State budgets. Over the years the percentage of State budgets supplied by grant funds has tended to increase, making the States progressively more dependent upon this money. In 1915, only 1.2 percent of the total State revenue receipts came from Federal grants. In 1929 this figure had reached 5.2 percent.

Through the late 1930's and into the World War II years, the proportion of total State revenue derived from grants remained between 13 and 14 percent. It dropped to 10.9 percent in 1945, but had risen to 13.2 percent by 1947. In 1954, 16.9 percent of all general State expenditures came from Federal grants. These figures are averages for all of the States. Several States receive from 20 to

30 percent of their budget in the form of grants, and in a few States the ratio is even higher.

This dependence of the States upon grants today and the trend toward even larger grants and greater centralization of power in Washington are interrelated phenomena that do not foreshadow a hopeful future for either the States or the Federal system. The prosperity and strength of the States and of American federalism are inseparable. They will flourish or fade together.

Our grants-in-aid may be leaving largely unmarred the facade of State sovereignty and the formal structure of federalism, but their substance is being drained off. The longer we ignore or remain indifferent to this trend, the more difficult it will be to arrest or reverse it; and for the possible tragic consequences we shall have no one but ourselves to blame.

8. FOREIGN AID AS A SUBSIDY TO NATIONALIZATION

In countries where nationalization programs have long been under way, it is evident that postwar financial aid from the United States has assisted the movement.

Socialization in Western Europe

Since World War II socialism has been encroaching upon the free economies of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and Asia.

The war brought much havoc to normal economic relationships on the European Continent. Physical plant, population, property relations and emotions all were radically altered. In the areas of Europe occupied by the Germans, property owners had been liquidated, currencies were all but exhausted.

Because of the disruptions caused by 6 years of conflict, the people were weary of war, uncertainty, unemployment, and other dislocations resulting from conflict. The war had bred a reliance upon Government for the necessities of life and radical groups expected their demands to be met in return for the cooperation they had given in the war. People seemed more concerned over personal security than anything else. Their spirit of initiative and self-reliance appeared to be shattered.

As a result of these conditions, the countries of Western Europe have relied upon programs of nationalization of industry, particularly basic or key industries, as a partial answer to their economic troubles. Private capitalism has lost ground.

It is true that in most of Western Europe the railroads, the postal service, telephones and radio communications, and many public utilities were public enterprises before World War II.

While the degree and intensity of nationalization since the end of the war has varied from country to country, depending upon the amount of nationalization already undertaken, the economic condition of the country, the strength of the political parties advocating nationalization, and other factors, only a few countries in Western Europe have not undertaken some nationalization.

The large financial resources needed to implement socialization programs have not always been readily available. In some cases the effect of foreign aid has been to facilitate nationalization and socialization schemes already under way.

During the war, of course, aid funds were employed exclusively for the defeat of Germany and Japan. The really perplexing questions arose after the war. Specifically, does our financial aid support nationalization programs in the recipient countries?

Clearly, the answer is yes. Although it is true that the degree to which the success of such programs should be attributed to foreign aid cannot be determined, it stands to reason that nationalization programs have been aided, both directly and indirectly, by the postwar financial assistance from the United States.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: America has spent $64 billion on foreign aid since World War II. The mutual security program for fiscal 1957 earmarked $527 million for economic aid purposes. Other money has gone into direct military assistance, to refugee aid and other channels.]

About half the national income of the United Kingdom is presently being spent by the state.

When the Labor government came into power in 1945 it embarked upon a broad program of nationalization and a cradle-to-the-grave program of social security. A radical rebuilding of the economy along socialist lines was undertaken, notwithstanding the desperate financial situation of the country.

Since 1945, when the program was initiated, millions of pounds sterling have been spent to pay for the property of industries that have been nationalized.

A substantial proportion of our nonmilitary aid has gone to nationalized industries in the United Kingdom and other Western European countries.

During the years 1940–1951, when most of the postwar nationalization was undertaken, with Lend-Lease, emergency relief, the loan to Britain, the Marshall plan, military aid, the North Atlantic Pact, and other programs, the total of American wealth distributed throughout the world has been about equal to the present national wealth of Great Britain.

What did Western Europe do with these billions? We sent them food, fuel, raw materials, machines, and even permitted some of our aid to be used to retire their public debts. With the aid provided, we built for them new factories, new power houses, and modern roads.

We restored their railroads, we built irrigation works, and we provided aid for agricultural programs in their colonies.

Some people emphasize that much foreign aid has been granted to facilitate the disposal of our surpluses, especially agricultural surpluses. In the back of the minds of such people appears to be the thought that, because certain products are in oversupply in the United States, they are no longer wealth and hence no longer valuable.

Whether or not the products that we give away are surpluses, they still are wealth. Although our plane of living has been rising while we have been extending aid, would it not have risen more had we employed in our own country the wealth that we have given away?

Could not some of this money have been used to reduce our own huge public debt instead of making it available to other countries for that purpose?

Aid to nationalized industries

It has been said that, in our foreign-aid programs, the nationalized industries have been given financial aid in preference to private industry. Roy Gilliford, of the Detroit Board of Commerce, in testifying on the extension of European recovery, stressed that the Economic Cooperation Administration program placed almost everything on a government-to-government basis.

He stated that there was no desire on the part of the British Labor Government to help private industry. Since many of the other Western European governments were in the process of nationalizing many of their key industries, they, too, would be likely to favor government rather than private enterprises. One of the main criticisms of the European recovery program, he felt, was that it started at the government level, rather than with requests from business, a practice which tended to shut out private enterprise.

France

In France the first big plunge into the nationalization of industry took place in April, 1946, when the state took over the production, distribution, and transmission of electricity. A month later came the coal mines. Before the war the state was in control of the railroads, aircraft factories, civil aviation, the central bank, the Alsatian potash mines, and the manufacture of tobacco. It also had acquired the branch banks and, as a result of the war, it had fallen heir to considerable interests in the automobile (Renault) and chemical (Francolor) industries.

Once she had taken over these large industries France faced the problem of modernization and repair of war damage. Five years after the nationalizations by the French, the Statist reviewed how successful the program had been in coal mining and electrical production. It said:

"But what is abundantly evident is that Marshall aid has been the salvation of nationalized coal mines and electricity."

In 1952, Richard B. Frost pointed out in the magazine, "Inside Michigan," that the taxpayers of the United States were paying for the construction of the French Genissiat project. This entailed huge power and navigational projects on the Rhone and Rhine Rivers. In this article Mr. Frost stated that no consideration had been given to whether the project would be self-supporting or self-liquidating. The entire cost of the program was to be borne by the already overburdened taxpayers of the United States. Although the project was so costly that it was turned down twice by French taxpayers, the United States came to the rescue.

Italy

Edmund Stevens wrote a series of articles in the Christian Science Monitor in November and December, 1952, entitled "United States Aid and Italy," which shows how our assistance program has helped perpetuate Government control of industry. He points out that:

"In Italy, nationalization has gone further than in any country this side of the Iron Curtain, not excepting Great Britain, which, after the war deliberately embraced socialism."

In the same article, Mr. Stevens states:

"Not only did (the original) framework of state enterprise survive the demise of fascism, it has grown far more rapidly since the war than it ever did under Mussolini, thanks, in no small measure, to American aid."

In Italy the aid program has failed to make credit available to private enterprise and to lower prevailing interest rates. Four main groups—finsider, the state steel trust; finmeccanica, the state mechanical trust; the power interests (state and private combined) and the private automobile monopoly, Fiat—accounted for more than two-thirds of all aid. Small business received only small amounts of help from the ECA. As Mr. Stevens points out, only $6.5 million out of $250 million worth of dollar purchase loans to Italian industry was parceled out in loans of less than $15,000.

In another article Mr. Stevens said that although the Italian state was refusing legitimate aid from American capital, it was receiving American taxpayers' dollars through ECA.

Congressman DANIEL A. REED of New York has cited another type of American aid that was given to the Italian Government:

"I call attention to the railway station in Rome, Italy, financed by our American taxpayers. This great, monumental railway station is a mile long, into which you could put the Pensylvania Station, the Grand Central Station, the Cleveland Union Station, and all the railroad stations of the Chicago area, and a few small stations left over.

"When our internationalists visit Rovigo, Italy, a town of 40,000 population, between Venice and Bologna, take a look at the tre-

mendous railroad station. It dwarfs our railway stations in Albany, Rochester, and Syracuse, and it has private offices for everybody from stationmaster to lamplighter. This station was financed by our American taxpayers."

In 1953, a team of American businessmen, headed by P. C. Crawford of Thompson Products Co., made a brief survey of Italy. Their observations have been described as follows:

"• • • Thanks to the $3.5 billion spent on that country, it is now 40 percent better off than it has been in 2,000 years, but there has been no real fundamental improvement in the economy. For one thing, taxes are high, are based on the production-hour measurement, and work so as to keep (labor) costs high and wages low."

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom was governed by the Labor Party from 1945 to 1951. During its tenure of office a broad program of nationalization of industry and of social welfare was undertaken. Coal, electricity, gas, civil aviation, cable and wireless, inland transport, and iron and steel were nationalized. In addition, a broad program of social welfare, including free medical and dental care, family allowances (cradle-to-the-grave security) was undertaken. After the Churchill Conservative government assumed office in October 1951, iron and steel and the road transport section of inland transport were denationalized.

There seems little doubt that American aid to Britain has aided their socialization program either directly or indirectly.

Official spokesmen for the Labor Party as well as for the Conservative Party have frequently voiced the need for American aid to carry on the program of the British Government. Sir Stafford Cripps, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labor government, stated this clearly:

"Recovery in Britain is not complete and its achievement depends on continued American aid. We can speak of our recovery being complete only in the very limited sense that our production is now back to the levels, indeed substantially above the levels, of prewar production • • •.

"The continuation of American assistance is, therefore, a vital element in our progress toward full recovery. Moreover, aid to Britain is essential, not only to our own recovery, but also the recovery of Western Europe."

Winston Churchill, Conservative Party leader, caustically criticized the Labor government for its claims of the prosperity it was creating, while all the time the real prop under the economy was American foreign aid. Following is a representative statement:

"The socialist governments have become dependent upon the generosity of the capitalist system of the United States."

In 1950, near the close of the Marshall plan, the Conservative Research Bureau stated:

"The Washington loan and Marshall aid from America are, of course, the two factors which, ever since 1945, have buttressed the British economy and shielded it from the more disastrous consequences of Socialist incompetence and misrule."

Counterpart funds

Active withdrawals from counterpart funds as of December 31, 1955, were $9,681,500,000. Of this total only $1,697,200,000 was used for military purposes.

Promotion of production, $4,334,800,000, was the largest single item in this program. Much of this huge total contributed directly to the nationalized industries, particularly in such fields as coal mining and transportation. The French coal mining industry received $306.2 million of counterpart aid, while the British coal industry received only $400,000. The railroads of France benefited from $125.1 million of counterpart funds, while the British received $6.3 million.

Perhaps the greatest assistance counterpart funds have made to the nationalized industries of European countries is in the retirement of the public debt. Foreign aid has been used to retire $2,510,700,000 of the public debt of European countries.

This means that European countries have been enabled to retire part of their public debt and use the money so saved for any type of program that they might desire. Following is a list of countries which have used counterpart funds to retire their public debt:

Austria	$12,500,000
Denmark	130,000,000
France	171,400,000
Netherlands	197,400,000
Norway	292,700,000
United Kingdom	1,706,700,000
Total	2,510,700,000

This is a unique position in world history. No government before has been willing to go deeper into debt to supply other nations with funds for the purpose of retiring their debts.

Naturally, the fact that nationalization and social welfare programs have increased the national debt of European countries, while we are permitting them to retire this debt with counterpart funds, has troubled many Americans. Senator B. B. HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa, has stated this feeling cogently:

"I am under the personal impression that it does not make any difference what the bookkeeping system is, if the national debt of Great Britain is increased by the nationalization, and we contribute dollars to the reduction of the British national debt, we are at least to that extent contributing to the nationalization program."

About 60 percent of French counterpart funds were utilized in making loans to the various sectors of the French economy, as well as to the French overseas territories. These loans were made by Government agencies, either directly in the case of nationalized industries, or through the normal banking channels in the case of private industry. According to the task force report on overseas economic operations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, "the major portion of the loans were made to nationalized industries."

United States foreign aid has permitted use of budgetary resources for socialization

Numerous writers have attested to the fact that the foreign aid has been the deciding factor in encouraging social experimentation by European nations.

Charles H. Wolfe has stated the reasons that Europe needed our aid, as follows:

"Why was it, at the start of the Marshall plan, that European countries appeared to need United States dollars so urgently? Because, ordinarily, heavy sums were being spent on armaments, on subsidies to the nationalized industries that were running a deficit, on food subsidies, and on increasing pensions, family allowances, and other forms of social security.

Melchoir Palyi, American writer on economic topics, agreed that our financial assistance was necessary before the socialization programs could be carried out, saying:

"As American aid during the war saved the Communist regime in Russia, and enabled it to become a threat to our national security, so American aid after the war made possible Europe's collectivistic and semicollectivistic experiments. It is a reasonable inference that, without American dollars, the planners of Europe would have had to curtail their schemes, and Europe would have lifted itself up from the war by the simple and effective process of going to work and conserving its capital."

Even European economists have been cognizant of the relationships. Wilhelm Roepke has written:

"It is a bit of irony that the Marshall plan, which should have pulled Western Europe out of the muck of collectivistic, nationalist economic polity, has threatened to create a new supercollectivism on a superstate level. More than that: It runs the danger of becoming an economic planning machinery which will provide a powerful incentive to the various national collectivistic systems, either by strengthening the existing dyed-in-the-wool collectivistic government, or by forcing other governments which are either ready to give up bureaucratic planning or so far have been able to resist it, to accept a collectivistic controlled economy. Indeed, as a result of the American Marshall plan, an international planning bureaucracy is about to be created which is the most valuable help for the national planning bureaucrats. How, through this means, the European economies can be freed from the collectivistic paralysis and disorders is a secret which seems to defy solution."

One official of the ECA admitted as much (with respect to Great Britain) while he was testifying before a congressional committee:

"We are providing financing for the import of items and equipment for certain nationalized industries in Britain. In particular, we are financing the import of mining machinery for the coal industry, and the coal industry is a nationalized industry. It was nationalized well before the ECA came into existence, so there is a case where, in a sense, it can be said that the ECA has direct contact with nationalized industry in Britain."

9. ADVERSE EFFECTS OF BUREAUCRACY ON AGRICULTURE

The adverse effects of the growth of Government farm price supports and controls are well stated by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson in his book, Farmers at the Crossroads, and by a committee of outstanding agricultural economists in a pamphlet, Turning the Searchlight on Farm Policy.

Harmful effects of high, rigid price supports

Concerning the effects on individual initiative and economic progress, Secretary Benson writes:

"The farmers' basic problems are due in large part to Government price and acreage control policies." These took away the initiative of management, making it impossible for farmers to make the most efficient use of their machinery. Continued indefinitely, these policies would have driven free farmers to a condition of peasantry.

The high, rigid price supports were never responsible for the high prices the farmer received during the war periods. Prices were higher than the supports.

But the continuation of supports after the war has had a most harmful effect. Their principal result has been to pile up, in Government bins, surpluses of farm products that have hung over the market like the sword of Damocles.

Stockpiling toward catastrophe

The Commodity Credit Corporation has almost $9 billion invested (autumn, 1956) in price support inventory and commodity loans—and this in spite of aggressive disposal programs under which this administration has moved more than $5.5 billion worth of surpluses. Without this disposal the Government would have more than $14 billion worth of agricultural products on hand. As it is, warehousing charges cost the American taxpayer (including farmers) $1 million a day.

This stockpile is a catastrophe to our farmers. It is a part of the world supply and as such is a depressing influence on

farm prices. Department of Agriculture economists estimate that, without excessive stocks, the 1955 net farm income would have been 20 percent higher. Therefore, at least $2 billion was lost by our farmers because of the surplus problem.

The surplus problem began with our price-supported basic commodities—wheat, corn, cotton, peanuts, rice, and tobacco. Accumulations of these commodities led to acreage restrictions.

Nearly 30 million acres were diverted out of wheat and cotton.

These acres were shifted mainly into feed grains. This shift accounted in large part for the increase in total feed grain production, and contributed substantially to the surplus of corn now in Government hands. The resultant low price of corn and other feed grains encouraged added livestock production, which helped to bring on the low prices for hogs and feeder cattle in the winter of 1955–56.

This illustration of how the cotton and wheat problems were shifted, in part at least, to feed grains and thence to hog producers entirely outside the Cotton and Wheat Belts, demonstrates the interlocking nature of American agriculture. It is difficult, if not impossible, to impose an artificial adjustment on one sector without its having an impact elsewhere.

Rise of foreign competition

There are other important and undesirable consequences of this system of uneconomic price manipulation. It stimulated excess productions abroad as well as at home. It encouraged substitute products to rob our markets both in this country and in other lands. It helped destroy our export outlets, as expanded production abroad robbed us of traditional markets. It even attracted foreign production to our shores to compete with domestic output.

Unless the basic problems are solved, these things together will bring upon our farmers the most stringent production and marketing controls in the history of American agriculture.

Controls versus initiative

These controls are the undesirable product of an uneconomic system of price fixing.

Producers of our basic crops have been cut back on production quotas required under the law to the point that many of them are nearly forced out of farming.

Midwestern corngrowers operating under acreage allotments have found it difficult to have enough volume to operate efficiently. In 1955, for example, only about 40 percent of the corn grown in commercial areas was within acreage allotments and was therefore eligible for price support. Most Corn Belt farmers voted with their corn planters against acreage allotments for their corn crop. They foresaw the futility of pursuing a price support and control program which would further restrict their volume.

There is no Government program that can provide a decent living for a family with a cotton allotment of 4 acres, a tobacco allotment of less than 1 acre, a wheat allotment too small for efficient use of necessary equipment, or a corn allotment cut down to the size that the rigid 90 percent price support program would impose.

When a commodity gets into the fix of being produced for the Government rather than for a growing market, its producer almost inevitably finds a ceiling placed on opportunity.

Paternalism leads to disaster

Secretary Benson presents the issue facing farmers as follows:

The issue is clear. Is agriculture to manage its own affairs? Or is it to be managed from Washington?

Which better serves the farmers' interests—and the Nation's interests? Shall Government subsidize agriculture in such a manner that it also takes control? Or shall Government be kept in the role of servant—or partner—but never the master?

These are not put as rhetorical questions.

History teaches us that when individuals have given up looking after their own economic needs and transferred a large share of that responsibility to the government, both they individually and the government have failed.

If we are to profit by the lessons of history and avert the fate of these other nations, we must steadfastly pursue and strengthen the course which leads toward greater individual freedom and toward more self-reliance.

These conclusions of the Secretary of Agriculture are supported by the group of agriculture economists who drafted the report Turning the Searchlight on Farm Policy. They pointed out that high price supports lessen farmers' drive for operating efficiency, and production controls tend to spread. They said:

The quest for prices maintained above the trend of market values leads to undue reliance on organizational power and political pressures. This tends to lessen the farmers' drive toward economically desirable adjustments of their industry (or component parts of it) to the other parts of our economy. It may even weaken the motive to make maximum improvement in operating efficiency.

If farm prices are supported at a higher level than that which the market would establish, control of production or/and marketing or use will have to be instituted in the effort to keep prices up to this artificial level. Those controls often rely on voluntary enforcement at the start but move inevitably toward compulsory controls and substantial restriction of the farmers' freedom of choice.

Besides limiting freedom of choice and thus of flexible adaptation to local and changing conditions, these controls aim to restrict the supply of agricultural products available to the market. In the case of acreage allotments, any output lost in a given year is gone forever, except as fertility may be conserved by nonuse of land.

In the case of marketing quotas and related storage operations, the shrinkage in market supply is temporary (except for ultimate deterioration of diversion to lower uses), but not without its harmful consequences.

Production controls are ineffective if applied to a limited range of products and therefore tend to spread. If farmers are restricted in acreage of specified crops, they select their best acres, apply more fertilizer, and give better care to the crops so that outputs prove to be reduced less than planned. Idle acres are put into nonrestricted crops.

The administrative or legislative authority is prone to meet this situation by extending the list of controlled commodities. For this reason and also because jealousy is engendered by Federal aid given to some producers and not to others, the area of production control tends to spread from a few staple or strategic commodities to embrace practically the whole field of agriculture. As the administrative area widens and the control machinery becomes more complicated, costs to the Federal Treasury greatly increase.

A high price policy hurts consumers

This group of agricultural economists also commented on effects on consumers:

A high-price program involving restriction of production hurts consumers, particularly in the lower income groups, because they cannot satisfy their wants as adequately as they could if productive resources were used more fully. Government price supports at high and rigid levels can work over a long period only if the amounts produced and sold are effectively restricted.

The controls needed will curb the freedom of farmers in using their productive resources in the most effective manner.

We do not believe that such restrictions and controls will serve national well-being or provide the highest attainable real income for either farmers or the rest of the Nation.

Domestic production and foreign outlets disrupted by farm program

Prof. Carl Malone of Iowa State College has shown how our price supports have disrupted domestic production and foreign outlets for American farm products:

The fixed-formula price-support program has had effects quite unanticipated by its designers. It led to a boost in potato production from around 350 million bushels annually in the late 1930's to around 450 million bushels in the late 1940's—during a decade when consumer potato demand was decreasing. The result: About a sixth of the crop in the late 1940's went to the Government, mostly to be destroyed. * * * Thus, a fixed-formula price program may develop a big gap between what buyers are willing to buy and farmers are encouraged to produce. * * *

With a storable export product, wheat, the 90 percent of parity price-support program has encouraged production and required a divorce of the American wheat market from world prices. The Government often finds itself a major wheat buyer through the loan program, selling at a loss in the export markets to meet world prices. Then it backs up the supported domestic price with tariffs or quotas since the high American price acts as a magnet to supplies elsewhere.

Where a product has ready substitutes, the fixed-formula 90-percent price support may keep the price above the free-market level. A major effect, then, is to encourage production of the substitute product and discourage consumption of the supported product. Cotton price supports are proving a real boon to the rayon industry—butter supports to the margarine industry.

The cost of Government farm programs, 1933–55

The Office of Budget and Finance of the United States Department of Agriculture has prepared a detailed tabulation of the realized cost of all agricultural and related programs for the fiscal years 1932 to 1955. The total realized cost of programs primarily for stabilization of farm prices and income, 1932–55, was $9.8 billion.

Summit Avenue Baptist Church Celebrates 100th Anniversary, 1857-1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 5 of this year, it was my pleasure to attend the 100th anniversary communion service at the Summit Avenue Baptist Church in Jersey City, N. J. It was a pleasure to join with others in the congregation to wish the historical little church many happy returns of the year.

As a boy, over 37 years ago, I attended Sunday school at the Summit Avenue Baptist Church. The late Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes and his father are among those who have taught and preached at the Summit Avenue Church.

Under unanimous consent, I should like to list three items in rememberance of the 100th anniversary services, Mr.

Speaker. The items include the table of contents from the book, Hymns of the Christian Life, the church covenant, and the program:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MORNING WORSHIP

Worship.
The church.
The Lord's Day.
The scriptures.
The Holy Spirit.
Jesus Christ: Nativity, suffering, and death, resurrection and ascension, second coming.
Christian experience: Love, grace, repentance, faith, peace, assurance, prayer, consecration, sanctification, divine healing, comfort, guidance, service, missions, communion, close of life, national.

EVENING SERVICE

Evangelism, missions, second coming, invitation.
Responsive reading.
Topical index.
General index.

SUMMIT AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH, REV. R. EARLE PETTINGILL, MINISTER, 575 SUMMIT AVENUE, JERSEY CITY, N. J.

OUR CHURCH COVENANT

As we trust we have by divine grace been brought to embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the influence of the Holy Spirit to give ourselves up to Him; so we do now solemnly covenant with each other, as God shall enable us:

To walk together in brotherly love.

That we exercise a Christian care and watchfulness over each other, faithfully warn, rebuke, and admonish our brethren as the case may require.

That we will not go to law, brother against brother, before unbelievers.

That we will not forsake the assembling of ourselves together nor omit the great duty of prayer, both for ourselves and others.

That we will participate in each other's joys, and endeavor with tenderness and sympathy to bear each other's sorrows.

That we will seek divine aid to enable us to walk circumspectly and watchfully in the world, denying ungodliness and every wordly lust.

That we will contribute for the support of a faithful and evangelical ministry among us, and for the spread of the Gospel abroad.

And that through life, amidst evil report and good report, we will seek to live to the glory of Him who hath called us out of darkness into His marvelous light.

100TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR, 1857–1957, THE SUMMIT AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH, SUMMIT AVENUE AND COTTAGE STREET, JERSEY CITY, N. J.

Rev. R. Earle Pettingill, minister, 575 Summit Avenue; The Church With a Heart in the Heart of Things. Mrs. R. Earle Pettingill, organist; Mr. Bert Crolius, director and soloist.

100TH ANNIVERSARY COMMUNION SERVICE

9:45 a. m., church school. Our school has been showing a steady increase all year, but there is still room for you, if you have not made this a habit. Come out and join with us.

11 a. m., morning worship.
Organ prelude.
Call to worship: Psalm 8.
Hymn No. 2: Come, Thou, Almighty King.
Invocation, Lord's Prayer, Gloria Patri.
Special music: The Radiant Morn (by Woodward): Choir.
Morning Scripture reading: Genesis 12:1–9; Hebrews 11:8–16.
Pastoral prayer.
Choral response: Choir.
Responsive reading: Church covenant.
Hymn No. 111: Faith of Our Fathers.
Pastor's informal word.
Tithes and offerings.
Offertory.
Special solo: Mr. Bert Crolius.
Doxology.
Organ meditation.
Morning message, He Dared To Trust God; pastor.
Hymn No. 24: The God of Abraham Praise.
The Lord's Supper.
Anniversary memberships.
Fellowship offering.
Benediction hymn, Blest Be the Tie That Binds.
Organ postlude.

The flowers today are in loving memory of the pastor's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fred H. Pettingill.

The hostess for the month of May is Mrs. Roy Smedes.

Communion hostesses for today are Mrs. Walter Cleaver, Mrs. Elmer Lewis, and Mrs. William Ennis, Sr.

THIS WEEK

Monday, 8 p. m.: Adventurers' Club in recreational rooms, for juniors and seniors.

Monday, 8 p. m.: Trustees' meeting, at the church.

Wednesday, 4 p. m.: Junior choir rehearsal; 7 p. m.: senior choir rehearsal; 8 p. m.: midweek hour of Christian fellowship.

Thursday afternoon and evening: Meeting of the Women's Missionary Union of Hudson County. Supper will be served.

COMING EVENTS

Wednesday, May 15, hold the evening open. Our 100th anniversary business meeting will follow our midweek hour of Christian fellowship. Wednesday, May 22, our 100th anniversary catered banquet. Reservations are going fast. See Mr. or Mrs. Cleaver today and make your reservation, as we are going to open the ticket sale to those outside our congregation next week. Sunday, May 26, Mrs. J. W. McCrossen, of the New Jersey State convention, will be our speaker at the morning worship.

Have you joined the new Booster's Club? About 22 people have joined a special Anniversary Booster's Club, agreeing to pay $1 a week for 60 weeks. This plan was started with the hope that our mortgage, taken in 1952 to run for 10 years, may be liquidated by the end of the year. We are not behind in our agreement, but the church could very easily be free of debt at the close of the anniversary. We should have 50 more to assure success. See Mrs. Cumings at the booster table today. It can be done—a debt-free church by 1958.

OFFICERS OF THE SUMMIT AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH

Minister: Rev. R. Earle Pettingill, 575 Summit Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

Church clerk: Miss Erilynne Forsberg, 299 Bergen Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

Financial secretary: Mr. Ronald E. Davis, 434 Union Avenue, Belleville, N. J.

Treasurer: Mr. William C. Ennis, Sr., 161 Palisade Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

Deacon's board: Mr. Elmer R. Lewis, chairman; Mr. Alexander Luken, secretary; Mr. Frank Anderson, treasurer; Mr. Eric Forsberg, Mr. Ray Leach, Mr. William Hick, Mr. Edward Wardell.

Trustees board: Mr. August Bahr, chairman; Mr. Walter Cleaver, secretary; Mr. Bert Crolius, Mr. Louis P. Manfredi, Mr. Charles Colgrove, Mr. Ronald E. Davis, Mrs. L. T. Cumings, Mr. J. Peter McNamara, Mr. Clifford Crolius, Mrs. W. Roberts, Mr. William C. Ennis, Sr.

Board of Christian education: Mr. George Butler, Mrs. R. E. Davis, Mrs. R. E. Pettingill, Mr. William C. Ennis, Mrs. Carl Haag.

Chief ushers: Mr. Peter M. McNamara, Mr. Robert Thornton.

Flower committee: The deaconness board, Mrs. Roy F. Smedes, chairman.

This church is a member of the Hudson Baptist Association, the New Jersey Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Convention, in full cooperation.

Reflection Is Good for the Political Soul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as a prelude to my 1957 annual report to my constituents, I should like to call attention to my report at the close of the 84th Congress in July 1956, which read as follows:

REFLECTION IS GOOD FOR THE POLITICAL SOUL

(Extension of remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Friday, July 27, 1956)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago a giant hoax was perpetrated on the American people. They were promised a new approach to Government, one that truly was to represent them. In 1952, they were promised a world of peace and prosperity, lower taxes, higher wages, lower prices, and a balanced budget. The best business heads in America were to run our Government.

Two years went by, and the disillusioned American people went back to their own party, the Democratic Party, by electing a Democratic Congress. The administration moaned and warned of a partisan cold war, of a stalemate within the Government. President Eisenhower cried loudest. Let us now review what happened.

Whatever good there was in the President's program had more support in every instance from the Democratic Party than from his own Republican Party. The President, himself, presently admits that the Democratic Congress produced a substantial amount of worthwhile legislation.

In 1952 the American people were fooled into believing in a program that its authors themselves did not believe in. We hope in this election year they will not fall prey to the hoax that the elephant will again try to foist upon them.

Evaluation of the past will help us to spot the election year myths when they are presented by Republican campaigners.

THE ADMINISTRATION—ABSENTEE MANAGEMENT; WHO'S MINDING THE STORE?

We were promised a President who would be a guiding knight, an active and strong manager, a leader of our country, an expert in military affairs, and a friend of our foreign allies.

Instead we have an ailing gentleman, who had no experience in government, and who has shown no interest or desire to learn about his tasks. On several occasions he has told his press conferences about seeking the enactment of bills he had already signed into law. This disinterest or lack of knowledge cannot be attributed to ill health. Eisenhower's pleasing personality and past military achievements are no substitute for political leadership. There can be no justification for his delegating the authority and responsibility vested by our Constitution solely in the President.

The business managers of our Nation, such as Secretary Wilson and Secretary Humphrey, may be fine in business, but they have proved they do not belong in government. The promotion of the national well-being for the

benefit of the many rather than the few is foreign to their philosophy.

It is not true that what is good for General Motors is good for the country. Profits of an automobile industry are not equivalent to the welfare of a people.

Our health program should not be measured with an eye to a balanced budget. Nor has Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey earned the right to act as an adviser to our Armed Forces. Defense and national security must not be impaired by a desire for a balanced budget.

THE CONSUMER, LABOR, AND THE FARMER—THE TIGHT SQUEEZE

The one problem common to the farmer, to labor, and to all of us, is that of the consumer.

Candidate Eisenhower promised us a lower cost of living. President Eisenhower will surely disclaim responsibility for a higher cost of living.

Consumers prices are at a record high. The National Consumer Price Index rose for the fourth successive time in a year. It has reached the highest peak in 5 years. Next month another rise is expected.

The Democratic farm program is based on the knowledge that general prosperity cannot be maintained while we continue to depress the farmer. President Eisenhower vetoed our Democratic farm price support bill and then quickly raised price supports himself. Apparently his sliding scale had slid too far, for farm income is down 30 percent in the past year.

Milk prices to the consumer have continued to rise. Secretary Benson decided to raise dairy prices just when manufacturers had warehouses filled with cheese and butter bought at the lower price level. The farmer who sold his milk at the lower price then had to buy it back as high priced butter. This apparently is the Republican idea of how to aid the dairy farmer. No wonder so many of these farm families spread oleo on their bread.

Milk prices do not worry Secretary Benson who finds that the little farmer is of no importance. Benson is more concerned with the three members of his advisory board whose firms have been indicted for monopolistic practices. Mr. Benson is apparently fully occupied in directing the administration's everchanging farm policy. He first opposed and then supported a soil bank; he first opposed and then approved the plowing under of crops; first opposed and then approved the idea of farm policy as a political issue.

The present administration makes many boasts as to the increase in the size of the labor force. This increase is largely a result of our ever-increasing population. Of far greater significance is the fact that at least 2,900,000 people who want jobs, cannot find them. In the past year one million persons have been added to our unemployed rolls. That represents a total of nearly 10 million American men, women, and children who have lost their means of support. The billion dollar year that General Motors has just concluded does not help these people.

The Democratic Party sponsored a bill to help our unemployed learn new skills when their previous trades no longer offer employment. Retraining these people will help to relieve all of us of the burden of support. This is the type of constructive, positive, legislation which brought our country to the prosperous state which it enjoyed in 1952 when Republican businessmen began to tear it down.

Candidate Eisenhower pledged himself to the amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act. President Eisenhower has consistently refused to live up to his campaign promises. Former Secretary of Labor Durkin offered the President 19 amendments, which were in accord with Candidate Eisenhower's promises. Eisenhower refused to go along with any of them. Instead he submitted to Congress a program which would toughen the Taft-Hartley Act. His Labor Secretary resigned and was replaced with another big businessman. Congress refused to go along with President Eisenhower's labor program as presented.

In an attempt to meet the increased cost of living, Congress has raised the minimum wage to $1 per hour over President Eisenhower's protest that 90 cents was adequate.

The Republican Party as represented by President Eisenhower may be a party of the people, but of and for a very few people.

BAD GOVERNMENT

During his 1952 campaign candidate Eisenhower had much to say about corruption in Government and useless personnel in Government.

We said then and repeat now: no political party has a monopoly on virtue or efficiency. Every party when trusted with the privilege to govern must be ever alert to weed out the loafers, the incompetent, and the criminal.

President Eisenhower has sadly failed the people in that regard.

The executive departments, in almost every instance, are employing more people and more top executives at higher salaries than in any previous administration. The exceptions are in the so-called service departments.

The Post Office Department serving all of the American people is using fewer employees and giving the worst service we have ever experienced.

The Veterans' Administration, serving our veterans and particularly our disabled veterans, has been reduced in force, moved around, kicked around, and made a less useful agency to those who need it most.

The Agriculture Department has been reorganized to take out of the hands of the farmers, most of the things they can do best for themselves.

Misappropriating funds is the order of the day for this administration. This administration has appointed more corrupt officials than any other in our history.

Starting with Secretary Benson using Department funds to refurbish a Government lodge for his personal use, we find corruption rampant in every department.

Warehouses bursting at the seams, because improperly constructed; selling millions of dollars worth of cheese to the processors and buying them back at higher prices, without the cheese ever leaving storage or changing hands; indictments of three members of Secretary Benson's advisory board; self-dealing for his private profit of one of his paid subordinates; loading the school lunch program with more than $400,000 worth of phony transportation charges in Illinois for the sole benefit of one of his Republican friends. There are, no doubt, many more such incidents which have not yet been exposed. We are just beginning to investigate the monopoly enjoyed by three companies in disposing of surplus commodities.

Under 20 years of Democratic administration the Commodity Credit Corporation never exceeded an authorization of $6¾ billion. The total lost in those 20 years from operation of the program, was about $1 billion. During 3½ years, the Republicans have increased that authorization to $14 billion. The losses have increased by at least $4 billion. No small part is attributable to the increased interest rates paid to bankers and much of it paid in violation of law.

Dixon-Yates was bad, so bad that even the Republican administration has backed down on its spurious claim of legality.

The cancellation of a Defense Department contract awarded to the Chrysler Corp. and awarding the same business to General Motors is only a small part of the wrong doing in that Department.

The foot-in-mouth statements of Secretary Wilson is the least important of the many things that are bad in this administration.

The Small Business Committees of the Congress have devoted some part of almost every day to urging the Defense Department to follow the law and its own regulations in awarding contracts and making payments earned thereunder.

The Office of the Comptroller of the Currency and that of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation have also been managed in a manner adverse to the public interest.

The big banks and big holding companies have grown bigger with the aid and abetment of the Republican appointees to those agencies.

The responsibility for the Illinois bank scandal, the theft of State funds through bank manipulations, must be borne at least in part by those same Republican Federal appointees.

Internal mismanagement by those officials of their offices I hope will soon be the subject of thorough investigation.

Under the leadership of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency attempts are being made to weaken our banking laws for the benefit of the big banks and to the detriment of the small banks and small investors. A part of that scheme was the abortive attempt to destroy the right of minority stockholders to minority representation on the directorates of national banks.

The full story about the giveaways by the Interior Department, the attempt to destroy TVA, REA, and our other public facilities and natural resources requires much more time than I can give here.

SMALL BUSINESS

Since 1953 our Government has been taken over by big business and the big banking interests of the country. The little fellow has had no representative in the Cabinet or at the top of any executive department. On the contrary, he has had as antagonist big business and the big banks, not only in the market place but also in every department of Government.

What is even worse, the so-called WOC—the big-business man on loan to the Government, drawing no compensation from the Government but being paid by his big-business employer—has an inside track keeping big business constantly informed as to Government plans and channeling Government business away from the small-business man and to big business.

Credit restrictions are manipulated so as to dry up all sources of credit for the small-business man.

Except in times of war or emergency, WOC's should not be employed by the Government.

I have contended and will continue to urge that the Small Business Administration Act must be strengthened by eliminating the Policy Board now dominated by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and Secretary of Commerce Weeks. The agency must be made not only permanent, but permanently independent of the Treasury Department and the Department of Commerce.

The small-business man, displaced by slum clearance and highway construction, should be entitled to low-interest-rate loans based upon character and ability to perform, rather than bankable collateral.

The Defense Department must be directed by the Small Business Administration to discard, as required by law, the old arbitrary, numerical definition of a small business firm, and follow a more realistic one. This will give small business a larger and more equitable share of Government contracts.

The Small Business Administration may boast that during 3 years, it has approved 3,560 business loans in an aggregate amount

of $137,915,000 on account of which it disbursed $52,578,000. Compare that, however, to what this administration has done for big business in the same period through the Export-Import Bank alone, to wit: 805 loans for a total authorized aggregate amount of almost $7,500,000,000 against which it disbursed over $5,171,000,000. The Export-Import Bank made 22 percent as many loans with an average disbursement of over 426 times more per loan. To put it more simply, SBA's loan disbursements averaged less than $15,000 each and the bank's more than $6,400,000 each.

While big business has made more and bigger profits than at any time in the history of our country, small business has been going into bankruptcy in greater numbers than at any time since the depression days of the early 1930's.

For years, I have led the fight to establish offices of the Small Business Administration in Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico so to enable American citizens residing so far from the mainland to avail themselves of the privileges accorded by law to all. I personally urged the Appropriations Committee to give the agency the money for that purpose. The money was voted. I am still waiting to be informed that even one of those offices has been opened.

GIVEAWAY: THE GOVERNMENT'S PRIVATE CHARITY

The administration in its "partnership" plan gives, and gives, and gives, and the people get nothing in return. First, it was offshore oil lands, then TVA, then natural gas. Now, any river or forest that big business wants, it can have for the asking.

The President wanted and got a Federal water storage project on the upper Colorado River. Since no big business wanted it, the President's partnership plan was forgotten. And Idaho Power Co. wanted to build a private power project at Hells Canyon, so the administration opposed the public sponsored Hells Canyon project. The administration opposed the idea of municipalities in New York State having priority purchase rights to the electric power which would issue from the Niagara River power development program.

The development of atomic energy for peace is an idea that the Democratic Party sponsors wholeheartedly. But we voted against the administration's atoms-for-peace program since it would have given a few big businesses a monopoly in the development of atomic energy for peacetime use.

Incidentally, Attorney General Brownell now has completely disavowed the Dixon-Yates contract and has accepted the view of the Democratic Party that the whole agreement was illegal.

It took New Deal reclamation programs to give us back our forests. It has taken less than 4 years of an Eisenhower administration to lose them. The administration's policy is to lease them to private industry—which flagrantly abuses them.

We have no right to expect anything else of the Department of Interior under this administration. Its consistent policy is to put political appointees in the place of ardent careermen. It has been no accident that many of these political appointees have been anticonservationists. There is no necessity for commenting on the scandals that have evolved over the private uses that many of these appointees have made of the assets of the Department.

FEDERAL AND POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Anyone aware of the importance of all Federal and particularly the postal employees, can see no reason why they should not have many of the rights that are accorded to workers in private industry.

We have, over the objection of the administration, raised their wages, to enable them to meet the rising costs of living. This, while the President kept clamoring for increased pay for those already in the highest brackets. We have also liberalized the civil service retirement benefits.

We have not yet devised any method to stop administrative destruction of the merit system.

Nor have we been able to abolish the brazen gag order that Republican Postmaster General Summerfield has imposed on postal workers. He has forbidden them to complain about the post office to anyone but their superiors in the post office. Members of Congress and the press have become off limits to these employees. We must now write into the law permission for these employees to complain to their Congressmen without impairing their merit standing.

The Supreme Court's decision, limiting the scope of the security program to those areas of government which can be defined as sensitive, would seem to have eliminated the problem created by the unwarranted administrative security clearance procedures. The administration is now sponsoring a bill which would classify all Government positions as "sensitive." The recommendations of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, which fundamentally agree with the decision of the Supreme Court, should be followed in this regard. No American wants subversives in our Government. We can and must provide adequate means for protecting the Government's best interests. But we must do it without needless duplication of effort and without destroying our fundamental principles of fair play and of good Government.

VETERANS AND ARMED FORCES

Neither the veterans nor the Armed Forces have been forgotten by the 84th Congress. Aware of our debt, we, the Democratic Party, sponsored and supported measures to better their lot.

The veteran home-loan program has been extended, as have been the disability benefits for the veterans of World Wars I and II. Neither forgetting the youth of our Nation nor those who were their fathers, we are providing educational asisstance to children of servicemen who died in World War II and in Korea. We have extended the Missing Persons Act authorizing continued pay for service personnel missing or captured in Korea.

To maintain a strong armed force, we have extended the draft law to 1957. To provide greater incentive for career personnel—a necessary essential in our defense program—we have placed all military personnel under our social-security program, and have increased the benefit payments to survivors of servicemen and veterans. We have also provided for medical care for the dependents of members of our Armed Forces. We have raised the pay of our 6-month trainees under the Reserve program as well as the pay of the Armed Forces in order to attract and keep better men in the service.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION—THE UNBALANCED SCALE

Social legislation is not a partisan matter to the Democratic Party. The welfare of the Nation is more important than party politics. We, of the Democratic Party, were happy to note that much of the welfare legislation of the administration was an extension of New and Fair Deal plans. These acts and others of a similar nature were supported wholeheartedly by the Democrats.

Over the administration's protests we succeeded in amending the Social Security Act by lowering the retirement age for women to 62 and permitting the disabled to become eligible for full benefits at the age of 50. Democratically supported and New Deal initiated, and administration sponsored, the benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act, and the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act were increased.

National disaster insurance for the victims of flood and hurricane disasters was established.

We have extended the Federal school milk program to include child-care centers, nursery schools, settlement houses, summer camps, and other similar nonprofit associations.

I sponsored a Federal Scholarship Act. Worthy students who desire a college education or postgraduate work would be enabled to apply for these loans to aid them through school. This is no giveaway, since the students will repay these loans when their education has been completed. Such a program has been found feasible in prior years. It should have never been abandoned.

We have also authorized $378 million in Federal aid for school construction, in areas which have become overcrowded by increased governmental activity.

Little need be said of the failure of the school-aid bill. Due to a shameful coalition of a minority of the members of my own party and of a majority of the Republicans, this much-needed bill was defeated.

In matters of national health and medical research we went beyond what the administration requested. The Oveta Hobby attitude, of health being a strictly private affair, did not reoccur during this session. Ninety million dollars have been set aside for medical research of crippling and killing diseases, for extended hospital construction and for training nurses and health specialists. Four million dollars have been set aside for a dental research institute.

The housing bill authorizes a public housing program of only 35,000 units a year for 2 years. The Democratic majority in the House felt that this was an unrealistic attempt to remedy the housing shortage. Administrative opposition proved too strong and we were compelled to settle for less than is needed. We did succeed in liberalizing the terms of Federal mortgages; for financing home improvements, for financing single-family home purchases, and for financing rental dwellings. We also liberalized, not enough, but somewhat, the Federal mortgage terms for elderly people and for urban renewal projects.

The administration sponsored a civil-rights bill which was quite innocuous. It provided for things which the President now has the right to accomplish without any new laws. Once again a self-interested coalition of a few Democrats and a great many Republicans thwarted this measure. That action will no doubt be President Eisenhower's excuse to do nothing about the matter.

We did not enact the health insurance program of the President since it would have done nothing except help some insurance companies. It would have done nothing for the individuals who need medical and hospital assistance or insurance to pay therefor.

Throughout this program, the unbalanced scale continued to dominate the administration's thinking. No matter who sponsored the legislation, the Democratic Party approach was: If it was for the benefit of the people as a whole, we supported the bill. This cannot be said of the Republican Party. Their narrow interests and petty insights have not yet revealed to them the importance of the broadest approach for the benefit of the greatest number.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—PERILOUS PATHS

Under our system of government, the President must assume the leadership in the realm of International Affairs. He must make the policy in the first instance. His State Department should be his spokesman. Congress may respond by approving appropriations or by Senatorial action on proposed treaties.

The path of peace is always difficult. The Democratic Party believes it can only be maintained by an unequivocal but honorable approach to foreign affairs. To find a permanent peace, we must be vigilant and alert, honest with ourselves and with our allies, and firm with our potential enemies.

The ideological conflict between the East and West continues. The Communist countries have changed their outward demands, but they have not changed their aims of world domination. This administration has made no attempt to move forward in this field. It has mumbled and fumbled, it has bluffed and rebuffed, it has bleated and retreated.

The Democratic Party has supported President Eisenhower in his attempts to find a road to peace. We have supported his foreign-aid program authorizing $3.9 billion to be used for military, economic, and technical assistance to our friends and allies during the next year. Although the President asked for more, his aides have admitted that they cannot spend in the next year the funds now appropriated for those purposes.

The removal of United States troops from Japan is imminent and will permit her, as our ally, to regain her true place in the world of nations. The House passed a resolution asking that Japan be admitted to the United Nations.

I have been continually opposed to the Near East policies of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. Their blindness, if not stupidity, has helped raise Egypt's Nasser to a position in which he thereatens the peace of the world.

Our demand for arms for Israel have been ignored. Instead of firmly insisting upon a cessation of hostility, Dulles has encouraged Arab fighting. We demanded that Dulles and Eisenhower protest against blocking the Suez Canal to Israeli and Greek ships. My question is still unanswered: "What will the United States do when American ships are barred?"

The anti-Semitic boycott by the Arab States has been approved by a delinquent administration. It has excluded American soldiers and American civilian employees of the Jewish faith from American bases in Saudi Arabia.

PROTECTING THE INTEGRITY OF UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

From the very earliest days of the establishment of our Nation, we have insisted that American citizens, wherever they may be and wherever they may go, must be treated as such regardless of race, color, or religion. We have a long history of having come to the aid of American citizens wherever their rights have been threatened, impaired, or impeded.

This administration has sadly failed the American people and has repeatedly and constantly backed away from that fundamental principle of American freedom.

The protection of the integrity of United States citizenship and of the proper rights of United States citizens to lawful trade and travel and other activities abroad, is a basic principle of United States sovereignty. It is a primary principle of our Nation that there shall be no distinction among United States citizens based upon individual religious affiliations.

Any attempt by foreign nations to create such distinction among our citizens in the granting of personal or commercial access, or any other rights otherwise available to United States citizens, is inconsistent with and contrary to our principles. Any such distinctions directed against United States citizens is incompatible with the relations that should exist among friendly nations.

We should insist that in all negotiations between the United States and any foreign state, that every reasonable effort should be made to maintain these principles. We should carry on no negotiations and engage in no conventions, agreements, or treaties with any foreign nation that does not recognize these principles or violates them.

These principles have been so firmly imbedded in our tradition that up to 1952, no political party found it necessary to restate them in a political platform.

In 1952, however, the Republicans inserted these words in their platform, to wit:

"We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution."

That should have been a warning signal. We had no such treaties or agreements then and have none now. No prior administration, Republican or Democratic, ever permitted the rights of American citizens to be impaired by any foreign country.

This administration, however, has permitted the Arab States to disregard, ignore, and even trample upon the rights of American citizens in travel and trade. They prohibit Americans from traveling into, through, or over these nations because of religion. On the same basis they refuse to allow Americans to trade with their own citizens.

This administration has ignominiously permitted a foreign nation to violate a treaty obligation and acquiesced in that country, Saudi Arabia, banning American citizens from an American base on the sole ground of religion.

CIVIL DEFENSE

To aid our civilian defense program Congress has increased the appropriation for construction of aircraft control and warning systems.

Testimony adduced before congressional committees established that our so-called civilian defense is utterly worthless and completely valuless in the event of an atomic bomb attack. Every penny presently being spent by the so-called Department of Civilian Defense is wasted.

Nevertheless, this administration would do nothing to improve this horrible and horrifying situation.

CONCLUSION

The record of the 84th Congress speaks well for our country. It could have been better. I am sure it would have been better, if we had had a Democratic President.

The levelheaded approach of a Democratic Congress under a Republican President produced meritorious legislation. We did not enact all the legislation that should have been passed. What was accomplished, in the main, is a record that the Democratic Party can be proud of. Even though we worked under an unsympathetic administration, the national interest was our first thought at all times. I am proud to have had the privilege to serve in the responsible 84th Congress.

During the ensuing recess I will continue to serve my constituency. My office at room 1305, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C., will remain open and fully staffed for that purpose.

The Restrictions on Trade With Red China Are Working—Relaxing Them Can Only Benefit Our Enemies and Injure Ourselves

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of August 29, 1957:

RED CHINA'S COTTON

The economic woes of the Chinese Red regime are again becoming apparent. A new rationing edict on cotton cloth has been announced. A further 20-percent cut is decreed and women are urged to change their style of dress to use less raw material. The army is already put on short clothing ration and this is the second civilian cut this year.

This is important because it is an index to the economic life of the society. The Chinese are normally heavy cotton consumers. The lack of adequate cotton supplies shows not merely a failure of domestic production—which never did meet the need—but also the impact of restrictions on trade with Red China. When cotton clothing has to be rationed there is hardship in the whole community.

Actually, Red China is repeating the experiences of other Communist societies. In the beginning great emphasis is placed upon the growth and development of heavy industry. This is a twofold program. In the first place it is suposed to create and sustain that industrial proletariat that is the backbone of a Marxist state. In the second place it is supposed to provide the sinews of war. What happens, meanwhile, to the individual is of no importance. Human values must give way to theories and human needs must be ignored. Clothing is one of those needs, and it can be rationed.

It has been reported, again and again, that Red China has made important industrial gains. The miles of railway that have been built or reconditioned are impressive. There is more steel. There are some new mines, both iron and copper. There is more coal. Peiping is even boasting that it can now make tanks and even jetplanes.

But there is less cotton in China to clothe the individual Chinese. The gains are obviously being made at a cost. The pattern is not new and it is not surprising. What remains to be seen is how far the individual Chinese can be pushed. A further cut in the cotton ration is a gamble. It may pay an undesired dividend.

H. R. 8002

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to request that the following letter to the editor appearing in the New York Times of August 22, 1957, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This letter was written by Mr. Clarence Francis, national chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. He explains H. R. 8002, the many reasons why it should be enacted into law, and answers very forcibly some questions that have been raised about the bill. The letter follows:

TO IMPLEMENT BUDGET—BILL'S PURPOSE SAID TO BE TO MODERNIZE FEDERAL FISCAL SETUP

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

On August 11 the New York Times published an article by Hanson W. Baldwin, "Wilson and the Budget," and the following day an article by Edward H. Collins, "Budgetary Reform." Both of these articles present the arguments of the opponents of House Resolution 8002, which would implement the

budgetary reforms proposed by the Hoover Commission. Mr. Collins and Mr. Baldwin then proceed to pass adverse judgment upon this bill. We feel that your readers should have both sides of this important question.

Mr. Collins refers to this budgetary reform as "a gadget proposal" and so would intimate that it is simply a tricky way of doing things. Actually, of course, this proposal is part of an elaborate program offered by the Commission to reform the whole fiscal setup of the United States Government and to modernize it. The task force that made this study for the Commission was composed of outstanding accountants and businessmen and it made 31 recommendations.

The Commission itself, in adopting the report of its task force, made 25 different recommendations. These cover both accounting and budgeting and would put the Government of the United States, for the first time, on a firm business basis.

SYSTEM OF COST ACCOUNTING

Neither Mr. Collins nor Mr. Baldwin mentioned the fact that the major part of these recommendations has already been enacted into law, Public Law 863, enacted last year, and establishing cost accounting throughout the Government. It was not until this was done that it was possible to carry out the Commission's proposed method of budgeting.

As the Commission itself pointed out, budgeting is far more than preparing figures and estimates of proposed expenditures. Budgeting functions are vital to the whole conduct of our Government. In the preparation of the budget lies not only the control of departmental expenditures but the power to insist on efficient methods of management in the spending agencies. And within an effective budgeting system lies restoration of full control of the national purse to the Congress.

Much of this program of fiscal reform for the Government is highly technical. But the budgetary plan would provide, in effect, for a budget that would pay for the costs of goods and services received in the fiscal year, instead of providing the full amount for projects for many years in advance with no further check on expenditures. This is the principle applied generally in American business and in most homes.

Under the present system of appropriating the full amount in advance we have had huge carryover funds that now total more than $70 billion. The exact amount is not known. Mr. Baldwin, in his article states that these carryovers "were due primarily to one cause, the weaknesses of our Armed Forces prior to World War II and the Korean conflict."

ACTUAL CASH OUTGO

May I point out that the facts do not bear this out. The carryover, for instance, in 1950 was estimated at $11.5 billion. By 1953 it had grown to $68.8 billion and now is estimated by the Comptroller General as exceeding $70 billion. Also, while the current budget is about $70 billion, the actual cash expenditures will be closer to $86 billion.

Mr. Collins says that Budget Director Percival F. Brundage has refused to identify himself with a firm figure of $4 billion savings yearly for this reform. This is true, of course. But Mr. Brundage did affirm that it would mean not only improved program control by the Congress and Executive of the expenditures but would also provide large economies. The Commission itself did not make an estimate of savings, and the task force did not make a firm estimate. Here is what the task force said:

"The benefits which would result from improved financial management cannot be calculated with any degree of precision, but we believe the resultant dollar savings could reasonably be expected to amount to $4 billion, which is approximately 8½ percent of the controllable budget expenditures."

This, of course, does not apply to the budget proposal alone; it applies to the whole fiscal program outlined in 31 recommendations. The budget plan is 1, No. 11.

MR. WILSON'S VIEWS

Mr. Baldwin's article deals largely with a statement made by Secretary of Defense Wilson in executive session and made public by the members of the Appropriations Committee, evidently thinking that it would help their cause. Actually, Mr. Wilson's statement proved the two major contentions of the Hoover Commission—first, that Congress in a large degree has lost control of the purse and second, that H. R. 8002 would mean large financial savings.

Mr. Wilson testified that this bill would cause him difficulties because while the Congress is budgeting $38 billion for the new fiscal year for his Department it is spending at the rate of $40,200,000,000. This means that he is spending more for the fiscal year than authorized by Congress. He said that if this bill were enacted he would have to cut his expenditures by $2,250,000,000, which is quite a substantial saving in any man's money.

Mr. Collins' article makes much of the fact that contract authority, one method that would be used in some degree under this proposed budgetary plan, had been tried in 1942 and later rejected. This, of course, was before the new methods of accounting were installed in the Government by Public Law 863. Before, this kind of budget and this kind of contract authority could not work. Under it, both can.

Neither Mr. Collins nor Mr. Baldwin mentions the reasons for H. R. 8002. These are outlined in the Commission's reports; they are the confusion and waste in the fiscal management of the Government.

For instance, the Government has no adequate inventory. We do not know exactly what the Government owns; we do not know exactly what it owes; we do not know from year to year what it will spend. Neither can the Government strike a balance sheet, listing its assets and its liabilities, so you can know whether it is solvent or not—apart from its authority to collect taxes without limit.

Neither Mr. Collins nor Mr. Baldwin mentions the fact that H. R. 8002 has the approval not only of the distinguished gentlemen of the Hoover Commission and its task forces but also has received the approval of the President of the United States, the former Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Budget, the Comptroller General of the United States, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, and numerous authorities on accounting and budgeting methods. Neither did they mention the fact that this bill, in the form of an even stronger measure, S. 434, the Kennedy-Payne-Byrd bill, passed the Senate unanimously.

CLARENCE FRANCIS,
National Chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report.
NEW YORK, *August 14, 1957.*

The Honorable Samuel McConnell

SPEECH
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania we affectionately know as SAM MCCONNELL leaves the House this week to become executive director of the United States Cerebral Palsy Association.

Having felt the friendly and inspiring influence of this most characterful and dedicated legislator during his 13 years of productive service in this body, I wish to make these observations:

He is an unforgettable statesman and humanitarian.

He believes his mission in life is to add to the sum of human happiness, subtract from the sum of human misery.

He has been preeminent in legislative endeavors for the handicapped, the underprivileged.

He has exalted service above self in a quiet yet very persuasive way and he believes he has been truly called to his new and challenging work.

I shall always feel close to SAM MCCONNELL and I believe that those, young and old, soon to feel and understand his ministrations, will be uplifted and come to love him.

Congressman Nimtz Plans Tour of 25 Cities in Third District of Indiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. JAY NIMTZ
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. NIMTZ. Mr. Speaker, in order to bring the services of my congressional office directly to the people in their home communities, I am planning an official business tour of 25 cities and towns in the Third Indiana District while Congress is in recess.

My 1957 grassroots tour has been scheduled for September 16 through September 20 and will include visits to 7 communities in Elkhart County, 6 in St. Joseph County, 7 in La Porte County and 5 in Marshall County.

A temporary office will be established in a central location in each community where I will have an opportunity to meet local constituents and discuss with them current problems and policies of the Federal Government.

A member of my Washington office staff will accompany me and we will welcome the chance to be of service to any and all callers. No advance appointments will be necessary.

After 8 busy months in Washington, I am eager to return to Indiana and renew my personal contacts with friends in the Third District. This tour will give me an opportunity to do so and it also will make it possible for me to report directly to the people on my stewardship in Congress.

During the congressional recess my office at 301 Federal Building, South Bend—Telephone, Central 4-5616—will be open daily to answer any inquiries from constituents. My office in Washington also will remain open to assist visitors from the district.

The complete schedule for my September tour of the district follows:

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

Lakeville, Town Hall, 9 a. m.
Plymouth, Court House, 10 a. m.
Bourbon, News-Mirror office, 2 p. m.
Argos, Town Hall, 3 p. m.
Culver, Post Office, 4 p. m.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

Michigan City, Court House, 10 a. m.
Westville, Public Library, 1 p. m.
Union Mills, Fire Station, 2 p. m.
Wanatah, H. W. Welkie office, 3 p. m.
La Crosse, Town Hall, 4 p. m.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

North Liberty, Post Office, 9 a. m.
Walkerton, Town Hall, 10 a. m.
La Porte, Court House, 11 a. m.
Rolling Prairie, Fire Station, 3 p. m.
New Carlisle, Town Hall, 4 p. m.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

Osceola, Fire Station, 9 a. m.
Elkhart, Court House, 10 a. m.
Middlebury, First State Bank, 2 p. m.
Bristol, Town Hall, 3 p. m.
Granger, Post Office, 4 p. m.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

Wakarusa, Exchange State Bank, 9 a. m.
Goshen, Court House, 10 a. m.
New Paris, State Bank, 2 p. m.
Nappanee, City Hall, 3 p. m.
Bremen, Town Hall, 4 p. m.

Career Compensation Act of 1949

SPEECH
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Reserving the right to object, will the gentleman explain the bill, please?

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. I will be glad to.

The bill provides for the validating of payments to women members of the Air Force which were paid because they were living with their husbands while the Government would provide them with single quarters. They did not want to live in barracks. The Air Force paid them a quarters allowance. This legislation validates those payments, and the amendment of the Senate provides that future such requests must be approved by the Secretary of Defense.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will this make possible the payment of Air Force personnel who were denied payments by Congress because their wives happened to be stationed at the same base, but they were not given joint quarters?

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. I believe this takes care of all the problems of female members of the Air Force who were paid as a result of that problem.

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. But it would not take care of the male members of the Air Force whose wife was a civilian employee on the same base but they were not given joint quarters?

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. This deals with women only.

State Retirement Fund Finances Plants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 26, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article:

[From the Atlanta Journal and Constitution of August 4, 1957]

STATE RETIREMENT FUND FINANCES PLANTS

(By Jim Montgomery)

SYLVESTER, GA., August 3.—A new kind of optimism is taking hold of folks in this traditionally agricultural south Georgia community—a feeling being generated by the promise of regular jobs for more than 400 people in a brand-new apparel plant.

Their smiles are new because up to this time Worth Countians had been able to do little more than shake their heads sadly over the realization that inability to win better living standards had forced thousands of their neighbors to seek greener pastures.

This growing exodus left the county with a population of only 18,200 a year ago—some 3,000 less than in 1940.

Natural population increase alone should have added some 2,100 citizens to the 1950 census total of 19,357, but Worth's natural gain potential in the 6 years that followed was more than offset by the loss of nearly 3,300 people who moved away.

Coupled with shrinking agricultural opportunities, this outmigration of 17 percent of its residents since 1950 provided scant cheer for those who remained.

Though many of these manage to supplement their income with paychecks from jobs held in nearby Albany, Worth County itself was looking desperately for new payrolls to stem its ebb tide of humanity.

Then, a year ago, came a glimmer of hope—an industrial prospect brought to Sylvester by State commerce department and Georgia Power Co. development experts.

Mortician W. A. Banks, Druggist E. M. Moore, Merchant H. I. Powell and other civic-minded businessmen here launched a campaign to raise some $90,000 through the Sylvester-Worth County Development Corp., in which 435 local people bought stock.

But this was only a start toward the $455,000 cost of the 72,835-square-foot, air-conditioned plant. The Sylvester Textile Corp., the private company which will begin operating in the just-completed building later this month, could match the amount put up by the community.

But where was the rest to come from? The big insurance companies can put as much as 51 percent of their massive resources into topnotch mortgage loans, but they like bigger potatoes in the industrial field.

The tight money bugaboo also makes it harder for small firms to borrow expansion capital, and the Sylvester company didn't want to raid its working capital reserve.

The answer to Worth County's prayers—a loan of $271,440 at 5.5 percent interest for a maximum of 15 years—came from 1 of 2 Georgia organizations charged with responsibility of safely investing combined trust fund assets of close to $110 million.

Approval of the loan by the investment committee of the board of trustees of the Employees Retirement System of Georgia came after a thorough investigation into the financial soundness of the company that will operate the plant—an established manufacturer of ladies' negligee.

This loan will bring the fund's total investment closed and committed on new Georgia industrial plants to $1,936,140 since the beginning of 1955, when the first such loan was made, according to W. Frank DeLamar, executive secretary-treasurer of the employees system.

He said applications amounting to $535,000 are pending on another 4 plants, which would raise the grand total in this type loan to $2,471,140 on 15 plants, most of which have been partially financed by community development corporations.

The system's first loan in the industrial area, he said, was $110,000 at 5 percent interest to Patcroft Mills in Dalton on January 14, 1955. Next, in February 1956, came a $60,000 loan at the same rate to Wright Garment Co., Bremen.

Other 5-percent loans include 1 of $498,200 last September on the Monroe Auto Equipment Co. plant at Hartwell; 1 of $32,500 in January on the Venus Textile Manufacturing Corp. garment plant at Social Circle; 1 of $300,000 in April on a Conyers plant that doubled production capacity of Lithonia Lighting Products Co., and 1 of $125,000 early last month on the Momar, Inc., sanitary chemical plant in Atlanta.

Loans were closed late last month on the Diamond Bros. furniture plant in Swainsboro ($165,000), and the Waynesboro Garment Co. facility in Burke County ($161,000)—but the rising cost of money had by then pushed the mortgage interest rate to 5.5 percent.

This higher rate also applies to other outstanding commitments due to be closed soon—$66,000 on a Loganville garment plant, and $147,000 on a Perry textile products manufacturing plant.

And just as the 5 percent rate is a thing of the past, some financial seers are guessing that the going rate of interest will soon climb to 6 percent.

Should this happen, much needed industrial expansion in Georgia and elsewhere will be more costly. Development people hope that won't make new plants too costly, and thus slow down the State's industrial growth rate.

Right now, according to DeLamar, the State employees' fund will be right at its 30-percent mortgage investment limit when and if its present industrial loan applications are approved.

New plant loans will then account for nearly 10 percent of its nearly $26 million in assets, with other types of mortgages accounting for about 20 percent, and with the remaining 70 percent in stocks, bonds, and Government securities.

However, this fund's assets, which are invested to earn the highest rate of return consistent with maximum safety, are mounting at the rate of $5 million a year, most of which is from contributions of State employees that are matched by State government payments.

In addition, it gets new lending power from payments which steadily diminish the principal and interest on old loans.

The fund's mortgage-lending operations works this way:

On receipt of an application, the investment committee through the fund's retained investment adviser, the First National Bank of Atlanta, conducts a thorough investigation to determine the soundness of the company that will operate the plant.

If its meets the strict criteria, and if sufficient money is available within the fund's 30 percent mortgage loan investment limit, a commitment is made to lend no more than

90 percent (usually closer to 50 percent) on the value of the building, at the going rate of interest.

The commitment, for which the manufacturer is charged 1¼ percent of the total loan, enables him to obtain a short-term commercial bank loan to go ahead with construction of the building.

The retirement system loan is closed only after the building has been completed and appraised by a recognized private real-estate expert. The average length of these mortgages is 15 years, during which the deed is assigned to the retirement system as collateral, and the operating company is liable for complete repayment of principal and interest.

The fund's emphasis on safety in such investments is evidenced by the fact that, according to DeLamar, "we turn down 2 applications for every 1 we approve."

Trustee Edwin L. Swain, State merit system director, summed up the investment committee's viewpoint on aiding new industry: "We are vitally interested in keeping industry coming into—and scattering over—our State in order to keep our people from having to move away."

Nobody is more aware of that philosophy than the Sylvester man who said, "I just don't know where we could have borrowed enough money for our new plant if it hadn't been for the State employees' retirement fund."

Other trustees of this fund are B. E. Thrasher, Jr., State auditor, chairman; Zach D. Cravey, comptroller general; Dr. T. F. Abercrombie, State health department director emeritus; Ben T. Huiet, State labor commissioner; George B. Culpepper, Jr., Fort Valley attorney; and James D. Robinson, Jr., board chairman, First National Bank of Atlanta.

Robinson, Swain, Cravey, and Culpepper make up the committee that reviews all the fund's investments, on which reports are submitted to the entire board of trustees.

Address by Hon. James Roosevelt Before American Medical Center Annual Auxiliary Dinner, Denver, Colo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most successful charitable institutions of Colorado, indeed of our entire Nation during the first part of this century, has been the American Medical Center, formerly known as the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society of Denver, Colo. Its good deeds and unselfish service to countless thousands is an enviable record of people of good will.

Following in the magnanimous tradition of the other members of his distinguished family, our colleague, JAMES ROOSEVELT of California, has given unstintingly of his time for many years in the service of this fine organization. His generous work and constructive efforts have been highly appreciated by all of those who have worked with him in this cause and especially by the recipients of the services afforded by this institution.

On August 3 of this year, our colleague JAMES ROOSEVELT, addressed the members and friends of the organization at the annual auxiliary dinner held in Denver, Colo. The address is replete with valuable material and is a statement of the program of the American Center for the year.

I take great pleasure in inserting this address in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues may have the advantage of the information which it contains.

The address follows:

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT, JCRS—AMERICAN MEDICAL CENTER ANNUAL AUXILIARY DINNER, DENVER, COLO., SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1957

Friends, when Kipling wrote that "East is east and west is west and never the twain shall meet," he certainly didn't reckon with our JCRS–American Medical Center. For here we are tonight, a Congressman from California talking to a group of charmingly effective auxiliary and advisory board leaders from New York, Washington, and other eastern communities at this inspiring western city in the foothills of the Rockies.

Why is this so? Why do so many of us, from such widely scattered backgrounds and geography, come together with such wonderful unity and kinship? Whence this warmth of feeling that entwines us—or entwains us, if I may—with a sense of dedication and loyalty I have not experienced since the days I worked with my father and the people of the Warm Springs Foundation?

For me the answer is one word—devotion.

Think for a moment of this amazing town of Spivak, with which we have been renewing an old and deep acquaintance these last few days. You won't find it on the map, not even a dot. Yet you will find it warmly remembered in the hearts of tens of thousands of people in communities stretching from sea to shining sea. For this little town of Spivak—our JCRS–American Medical Center—is truly a unique town that only real devotion itself could build.

Its very founding was an act of faith and love. You will recall, I am sure, how a small group of workingmen moved with deepest compassion at the sight of fellow humans trekking to Denver for relief of their consumption and literally dying in the streets for lack of facilities, chipped in $1.10 to set up 6 tents and a wood structure. Look how we have grown in 53 years, with our wonderful structures of health and healing and the city coming to our very doors with its modern shopping center.

But over the span of unfolding decades and steady growth, our unique open door policy has remained constant. In 1957, as in 1904, we still only ask, "Are you ill? Are you in need? You are welcome here." To the victim of cancer, tuberculosis and chest diseases today, as to the victim of consumption yesterday, our hospital offers a rather rare and unusual handclasp. Most hospitals are unwilling to tie up their beds with patients needing prolonged treatment and care. Let it be said to the glory of our hospital that we welcome patients in all stages of disease for an unlimited period of time. You have seen our doctors and nurses and medical team work far beyond the call of duty. You have talked to our patients and heard them glow about the most potent wonder drug they receive here—devotion. It is inspiring to realize how many lives we have saved; how much anguish we have saved loved ones; how rich a contribution we have made to the medical arsenal of our Nation. I know you were as thrilled as I to hear Dr. Seife report that in the 3 years since the inauguration of our cancer service, we have handled 227 cases and snatched many fellow humans from the very valley of the shadow of death.

But can we sit back feeling that we have licked the problem? Certainly not. Your presence here tonight underscores your understanding of the need for continued and heightened effort. The enemy we are fighting is a formidable one. The United States Public Health Service informs me that 28 million Americans are now afflicted with chronic diseases, half of them under 45 years of age.

This is truly our Nation's number one medical problem. Chronic diseases are costing Americans 1 billion days of disability, the services of 1 million workers, and the lives of 1,100,000 each year. This cost in lives is appalling; but the cost to the living is more than the Nation can afford. Victory over death and disability from major diseases depends on dollars to pay for brains, training, buildings, and equipment, all of which can be produced with your help and the understanding of an enlightened public.

This year, some $45.5 million is being spent by all sources on cancer research, or about $1.75 per American now alive who will eventually die of cancer unless new treatment, cures, or preventive measures are found. In contrast the polio people allocated $2,905 per expected death in 1955, the wind-up year of the research that led to the Salk vaccine.

I am strongly suggesting here that what we need is a crusade to conquer cancer, tuberculosis, and other chronic diseases through an all-out partnership of Government, science, and public philanthropy.

I am happy to learn that thanks to our fair and stalwart ladies our research into cancer, tuberculosis, lung cancer, and other vital areas will be augmented through their help in supplementing the $77,000 grant from the Ford Foundation and completing the Dr. Philip Hillowitz Laboratory.

Like yourselves, perhaps, I have often wondered what is the "mah-nish-ta-naw" of our institution. (I participated in the Passover Seder at our hospital, and remember how the Haggadah starts with its haunting questioning, "mah-nish-ta-naw.") What then makes our hospital so different from all the rest? What motivates these wonderful women of ours in their tireless toiling, filling canisters, enlisting the participation of friends and neighbors, planning luncheons and fashion shows and spending long hours in all-out participation? What inspires our business leaders here to give so generously of their crowded time and energy? The answer goes deep into our Judeo-Christian tradition. You delegates from our auxiliaries throughout the Nation and you warm-hearted men give the inspiring affirmation, "Yes, we are our brother's keeper. Yes, we love our neighbor as ourselves." Your thanks can be most eloquently found in the letters of our patients. Many of these patients have come here to die. They return to live. What greater personal reward can we have than the feeling that you and I and so many others have made this possible?

I feel prouder of myself as a human being when I pick up the recent issue of our bulletin and see this letter from a young Jewish patient:

"I don't think that all the money in the world could buy this friendly consideration for one another that I find here. There is still hope for the human race; atom bomb or no atom bomb, I believe once again people are here to stay and I am proud to be part of them."

Since we are a family together, may I share something with you about which we are not so proud?

You have visited the Texas Building. On its first floor, you have heard the busy steps of doctors and nurses as they work to bring new life to victims of cancer. On the second and third floors, however, there are no footsteps. There are only empty corridors and waiting beds. What a challenge that is. We have the skills and the staffs to save lives. There are human beings waiting for those beds. They have turned to us in their anguish and suffering. And we hear their cries; for our ears are sensitivity attuned.

Yet, ironically, despite our unique open-door policy, we cannot admit them.

Why not?

Money.

It costs us $5,000 a year to take care of one patient. To operate our hospital at full capacity, we must raise $1,250,000 annually, compared to our current income of $700,000. It is to step up our fund-raising and to provide 100 more beds to victims of TB, cancer, and allied diseases that we are now launching our national development program.

I am happy to announce the recommendations of the national development committee to the board of trustees. I am sure that these recommendations constitute the beginning of an effective program to put every facility of the hospital to its fullest use for better service to patients, and to enable us to do our share in the overall research into the fight against cancer and chest disease.

The budget this year calls for an increase of $125,000 over the existing agreement with President Winocur if the aim of operating the hospital at full capacity is to be realized. I have every confidence that the board of trustees will find a way to raise this additional money that will fill our empty beds.

The national office will soon be moved to Denver, where the office of the national executive director will be based. Mr. Jack Miller, because he is unable to move to Denver, has agreed to remain as director of the eastern region, and a new national director will be appointed shortly. Mr. Miller's help and guidance in working out a plan for the years ahead has been invaluable. Although tonight he is working on resolutions at the office and cannot be at the dinner with us, I know you all join me in expressing my heartfelt and sincere thanks to him for his tireless devotion to the hospital, and for the wonderful job he has done.

Four regional offices will be set up in the East, Middle West, Southwest, and Far West. They will help the existing auxiliary and member groups coordinate the work of forming new groups and developing new sources of funds.

I am happy and pleased to announce the recommendation of the National Development Council for the appointment of Mrs. Sara Zeecov to the board of trustees. She will be the national director of the ladies auxiliaries with an office and staff in Philadelphia. To carry out her important work she has plans for an expanding staff.

The National Development Council has held healthy and constructive discussions with the medical advisory board, which I am sure will lead to an even better medical program.

Each generation must accept new responsibilities. Our fathers have built structures of healing and faith. We must maintain and extend them. Our JCRS has a glorious past. The future of our American medical center looms wonderously before us. With renewed loyalty and with devotion, we rededicate our efforts to mankind's noblest cause—to alleviate suffering humanity with humanity.

Protecting the Citizenship of Naturalized Clergymen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1957, I introduced H. R. 791 to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide that clergymen who are naturalized citizens shall not lose their nationality by residence abroad, even though they are not representatives of American organizations, if they devote full time to their clerical duties.

Until about 20 years ago we found that many clergymen and members of religious orders were coming to the United States to help meet the religious needs of our communities. Since World War II this situation has reversed itself, and now the entire world is drawing on our theological schools for its graduates. These men and women are being called upon to serve abroad, and some of them, while otherwise willing to do so, refuse for the reason that they are naturalized citizens and would lose their citizenship by accepting such extended employment abroad.

In order to eliminate this hardship, I introduced H. R. 791, which would protect the citizenship of these naturalized clergy, provided that such persons register each year at the appropriate Foreign Service office.

The second part of my bill would restore citizenship status to those persons fulfilling religious assignments abroad at the time of the enactment of the Immigration Act in 1952, who lost their citizenship rights for that reason. Such persons would be restored to citizenship by taking the required oaths referred to in section 310 (a) of the Immigration Act.

I have kept in more or less constant communication with the House Judiciary Committee about this bill and had been led to believe that it would be incorporated into the next immigration bill brought before the House for action.

It is indeed regrettable that S. 2792 which was passed today under suspension of the rules did not contain any such provisions.

The bill being considered under suspension of the rules was not open for amendment and I therefore had no opportunity to offer my bill as an amendment thereto.

I urge the House Judiciary Committee to take action on my bill or incorporate it into an overall immigration bill early in the next session of Congress.

Lowndes, Davis, Sumter Know How To Win Plants and Influence Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Jim Montgomery, Constitution business editor, Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., entitled "Lowndes, Davis, Sumter Know How To Win Plants and Influence Industry."

The article follows:

LOWNDES, DAVIS, SUMTER KNOW HOW TO WIN PLANTS AND INFLUENCE INDUSTRY

(By Jim Montgomery)

VALDOSTA, August 7.—South Georgia communities setting out on their first organized efforts to build industry usually take a close look at highly successful counties like Lowndes.

Any county in this area that could raise its industrial employment from 1,500 to 3,500 since 1947, they figure must have some sort of "secret weapon" worth knowing about.

There are, of course, a whole lot of factors involved in such a success story, but when asked to single out one of the most important, a lot of folks around here unhesitatingly refer to a hustling banker named Jim Blanchard.

Two other counties bear scrutiny, too.

Over in Jeff Davis County, a lot of credit for building industrial payrolls from almost zero at the end of World War II to a level of around 1,000 workers today goes to a native son who got his first taste of business hawking peanuts in the streets of Hazlehurst some 30 years ago.

And the bustling new look in Americus in Sumter County is attribtued to a revitalized development committee boasting a big entertainment fund and a man whose full-time job is to pay his respects at the home-office lairs of nothern prospects.

These are some of the elements of success in the ever-developing art of "how to win new plants and influence industry."

Here in Valdosta, Blanchard would be the last to claim credit for what's been done, and the first to rattle off a list of other who "have done much more."

But other civic leaders are sure this community will feel the loss when he leaves soon to take the reins of a bank in Columbus, which town they feel is getting a lucky break.

The main things they'll miss are Blanchard's intense leadership in community affairs, industrial, and otherwise, and his dogged determination to let no barrier impede progress.

Back in 1946, for instance, Valdosta stood to get a new metal products plant if the building could be financed locally. So its industrial development corporation was formed to do the job.

It dug up $40,000 by selling 930 shares of common stock to some 90 people here—a little over half the cost of the 35,000-square-foot building.

Another $25,000 was needed; so was the industry. Traditional policies notwithstanding, Blanchard saw to it that the remainder was provided by his bank on a 10-year real estate loan (that was retired in 5 years).

Loans of $70,000 covered two expansions which meant more jobs for Valdosta and more business for his and other banks. Then, with this amount nearly paid off, Blanchard's bank provided another $167,000 (secured by notes on the old and new buildings) that enabled the metal firm to build an additional plant here.

Soon to be opened, this facility will be 1 of 3 being operated here by Metals Products Division of Thompson Industries, providing scores of relatively high-wage jobs because a local banker was farsighted enough to realize he could help both his community and his bank by daring to restyle old policies.

Another type plant employing some 300 workers is here for the same reason.

No wonder a local observer remarked somewhat gloomily, "Keep your eye on Columbus after Jim gets there."

The Americus Industrial Development Committee apparently caught fire when a group of young businessmen decided last fall it was about time to do something about the fact that no major new industry had taken root there in 20 years.

First off they should have enough money to entertain prospects as lavishly as neces-

sary, and to finance traveling expenses for one or more of their number to personally visit industrial home offices in the North.

The new plant just announced, and at least two others on the verge of locating there, indicate that this $10,000 fund made up of individual donations is being used expeditiously.

And the former Indiana trailer manufacturer chosen to smoke out Northern prospects—the committee feels such a man is necessary to keep the city from being too dependent on state-level industrial promoters—has already earned his keep.

The biggest industry in Hazlehurst before World War II was a cotton warehouse and building materials business operated by a merchant, the late Roland Cook, and his son Claude, a young man with big brown eyes and big ideas.

The younger Cook's success story of parlaying these attributes into a huge wood products manufacturing business employing some 400 workers in a 500,000-square-foot plant layout is now almost legend.

But when he realized he didn't have enough jobs for the community's World War II veterans, Claude Cook launched a one-man campaign that included a steady stream of personal correspondence on his company's letterheads and personal follow-up visits to New York and Chicago, aimed at bringing in new payrolls.

Within 6 years, Hazlehurst was boasting three new industries with combined employment of 600—giving a community that had but 1,600 residents in 1941 an industrial payroll of around 1,000 in 1952.

And its population today is estimated at 3,300.

Two of the new plants were built by Cook's own construction crews and financed by some $360,000 of the young industrialist's own capital, though he had no assurance that he would be able to sell the notes to the mortgage investment institutions that eventually did take them.

Today, at age 40, Cook is expanding his own enterprise, with a new metalworking contract about ready to bring desired diversity and more jobs to the area.

Persuasive and self-assured, Cook has long relied on maintaining personal and friendly contact with as many businessmen as he gets to know.

That's how he's brought new plants to his home town and won handsome conracts for his own business.

One of his favorite activities along this line may conceivably have an effect on the location of new plants in other parts of the State some day.

For winter after winter the top brass of some of America's biggest blue chip industrial corporations spend many a happy day in Georgia as Cook's guests at his plush hunting and fishing lodge on the outskirts of Hazlehurst.

These and other communities could list numerous factors that have contributed to their successful economic growth, but none would outweigh the work of one or a few key individuals.

Retirement of Elton Layton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, may I note with a touch of personal sadness the resignation of Elton Layton as clerk of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives.

Although Mr. Layton has resided in Virginia for many years, I still dispute Congressman BROYHILL'S claim that Elton is his No. 1 constituent. I feel that because of the fact that Elton for many years was a resident of my own district I can also lay claim to him.

Since coming to Washington and particularly since he began his work on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he has endeared himself to the members of that committee under whom he has served over the years and his gracious and courteous manner to those who have had dealings with the committee certainly has given him stature of such a nature that two Congressmen could claim him as their own.

Elton Layton comes from Matamoras, Pike County, Pa., where his twin sister, Mrs. Elda Lord, still resides. He is the son of the late Cora Layton Hine, of Matamoras and Orson, Pa.

Mr. Layton started work on his 16th birthday in 1906 as a stenographer with the Erie Railroad Co. in New York City and, after working 5 years with them, he accepted a better position with the Borden Condensed Milk Co. in New York City. Five years later he accepted a position in the Quartermaster General's Office of the War Department here in Washington. He was soon promoted to secretary to the Quartermaster General of the Army. In this position he came into contact with Members of Congress, one of whom, Hon. Samuel E. Winslow, had taken note of his ability and offered him his present position which he accepted at the beginning of the 67th Congress in 1921. It is believed that no one on Capitol Hill has ever continuously served as a clerk of any committee for that length of time.

It is my sincere hope and prayer that Almighty God will shower His choicest blessings upon Elton and his family during the years to come.

The Federal Income Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the organization, For America, has issued a bulletin on the Federal income tax which is of vital interest to every taxpayer and every citizen of the country. The following article shows the evils of the excessive taxation under which our people are now struggling, and offers, sensible and workable suggestions as to how we can rid ourselves of this burden which is strangling our initiative, infringing our constitutional rights, and playing directly into the hands of the Communists:

The strongest modern advocate of a graduated personal income tax was Karl Marx. In his Communist manifesto of 1848, he vigorously advocated a graduated personal income tax as a means of establishing an all powerful state and of destroying the right to private property.

After our Civil War an income tax ranging from 3 to 5 percent was enacted but soon abolished. In 1894 another income-tax law was enacted. It was declared unconstitutional after a single year in operation.

Since 1913 our present income-tax amendment has become a monster with which politicians deny each of us the right to the full fruit of his labor. Today one-third of America's human effort is taken from us by confiscatory taxes.

Propaganda pictures the income tax as a tax to soak the rich. Actually, 83 percent of the personal income tax collected by the hungry Government in Washington comes from those who earn annually $6,000 or less.

In 3 years, 1954–56, the present administration spent $193 billion. From President Washington—152 years up to 1940—our Government spent a total of $167 billion. Thus, in 3 years, our Government spent $26 billion more than had been spent in 152 years.

The total cost of World War I was $31 billion. The Washington Government now spends more than this in 6 months—even when our country is at peace. This is bureaucracy run riot. Since World War II $60 billion in foreign aid have been siphoned from American taxpayers. This is sixty thousand million dollars. It is a sum equal to "the assessed valuation of all real and other property in the 17 biggest cities * * * New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis, Washington, San Francisco, Boston, Houston, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Buffalo, and Dallas.

"We would be appalled by the mere suggestion that these 17 biggest cities, if it were possible, be shipped overseas as gifts to foreign nations. Yet, in effect, that is what we have done." (Hon. Spruille Braden, Manion Forum, January 27, 1957.)

Our national debt, which totals $270 billion, is more than the combined debt of all other countries; despite this our Government continues to outspend all other countries combined. (Data on Russia unavailable.) Could anything be more irresponsible?

What results from this spending orgy? Our dollar is now a 47-cent dollar. In terms of what the dollar bought 20 years ago, we are already more than halfway to a worthless dollar. No currency in history which became irredeemable—and our dollars are no longer redeemable to us in gold—ever kept even a fraction of its value for more than 42 years. On this basis starting with 1938, should present Government spending continue, by 1980 our dollar won't be worth a continental. This continuous drop in dollar value undermines all insurance policies, savings bonds, savings accounts, and retirement pay; it endangers every type of dollar investment.

How can we stop this inflationary spending orgy? So long as the Government has the power to levy and collect income tax, the spending will continue. The American people can stop this only by repealing the income tax (16th) amendment.

The income tax deadens initiative. It penalizes thrift. It prevents the accumulation of individual capital, especially venture capital. It enables foreigners to make American investments and our do-good Government has pledged to redeem foreign, but not domestic, investments in gold. Under this agreement foreign investors could draw $9 billion from our $22 billion gold reserve.

It breeds dishonesty where it never before existed. It reduces the States—sovereign under the Constitution—to beggars for Federal handouts. It is rapidly changing our free country into a Socialist state. It is financing foreign Socialist and Communist states and leading us into world government.

It gives the Government unlimited power over the citizen.

The income tax (16th) amendment is the only provision in the Federal Constitution which grants unlimited power to the Government. It gives the income tax collectors a license to violate the Constitution including the Bill of Rights. Income tax collectors can enter your home or business and demand private, personal records without a search warrant. They may require you to testify against yourself. You are assumed guilty until you prove—not to a judge or jury but to the tax collector who makes his own interpretation of a labyrinth of conflicting tax laws—that you are innocent. It is furthering the Communist goal for us to spend ourselves into destruction.

How can the Government be financed without income tax? Enormous savings could be effected were the Federal Government willing to save. The Hoover Commission recommendations would save $7.5 billion annually. Senator BYRD finds $6.5 billion new or unnecessary items in the 1958 budget.

The Government engages in competition with private enterprise; it owns 25 percent of all the land in the 48 States. Liquidation of this unfair competition and a major portion of ownership would save billions.

Foreign aid is unconstitutional. It is immoral to use American taxpayers' dollars to support Socialist and Communist governments abroad.

America can have more effective defenses for less money. A new defense concept, which rejects old-fashioned mass armies and doubtful alliances, and places principal reliance on American air supremacy, first as a war deterrent and second as a weapon of victory if war is forced upon us, will save billions. It would give us and the free world stronger defenses. It would also make conscription unnecessary and bring more than a million servicemen home. These several savings are estimated at $25 to $30 billion. They would equal the major portion of our present personal income tax.

Repeal of the 16th amendment would end corporate income taxes. However, Congress would still be free to raise money by taxing corporations.

Income tax is not reducing the national debt. Our tax-and-spend rulers protest—How can we pay the national debt if the income tax is repealed? How are we paying it now? The truth is, our various tax-and-spend rulers have made no genuine effort and have no plan to pay the national debt. Our crushing national debt can never be paid until a moral Government exercises strict economy.

A more equitable tax system is possible. Repeal of the 16th amendment will require, at best, 3 to 5 years to become law. This gives the Congress ample time to effect necessary and enormous savings. The time required to achieve repeal also gives the Congress time to create a Tax Commission to examine our entire tax structure and to recommend an equitable tax program. Such a new tax system, after huge savings have been effected, could easily meet the Federal Government needs.

There is nothing irresponsible about income tax repeal. Rather, our irresponsibility increases daily as we fail to take action on repeal.

How can repeal best be effected? This can be done by the State legislatures as is provided in article 5 of the Constitution:

"The Congress * * * on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments * * * which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof."

The Jenkins-Keogh Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I dare say that every Member of the House has received letters with reference to the Jenkins-Keogh bills. Many of you have received dozens of letters, many of you have spoken to me about these bills. I want to say at the outset that many of the intelligent people of the country favor the passage of one of these bills.

Our existing tax structure contains a regrettable discrimination against self-employed taxpayers in that they are denied the tax benefits accorded to employees generally for their retirement. Under existing law a general employee is not taxed on amounts paid by a corporation for the establishment of a retirement fund with respect to the employee. The employee does not become subject to tax until he begins to draw his retirement benefits. A self-employed person does not have a similar opportunity to defer his tax liability on amounts set aside for his retirement. The doctors and the lawyers and thousands of other self-employed are interested.

There are several disadvantages in this discriminatory aspect of our Federal tax structure. The first of these is the fact that this discrimination results in an inequitable apportionment of the total tax burden among our citizens. A second disadvantage is found in the fact that existing law with its onerous schedule of tax rates virtually precludes the self-employed individual from making any realistic provision for his years of retirement. A third disadvantage of the present law treatment of self-employment income is that it prevents the accumulation of investment savings that is vital to the industrial and technological development of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, there is legislation pending before the Congress that would remove the discrimination I have referred to. I refer to "The Self-Employed Individuals' Retirement Act of 1957", H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, introduced by my distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. KEOGH] and myself. In commenting on this legislation, Mr. Speaker, I believe it is appropriate that I first make brief reference to the outstanding work on this matter by my distinguished cosponsor. The gentleman from New York as a member of the House Committee on Ways and Means, has worked conscientiously and effectively in behalf of this legislation. Mr. KEOGH has worked with diligence and with dignity to have this meritorious legislation made a part of our Federal tax structure and I express the unequivocable conviction that in the not too distant future our efforts will meet with success.

Mr. Speaker, simply stated this legislation would allow self-employed individuals to exclude amounts up to 10 percent of their otherwise taxable income in computing their tax liability, provided such amounts are invested in prescribed types of retirement funds, annuities, and insurance contracts. These bills would provide an annual maximum deduction of $5,000 and a lifetime maximum deduction of $100,000. Appropriately the bills would allow a somewhat larger annual deduction for individuals who are age 50 or over at the time the legislation becomes effective. The amounts excluded from tax would become subject to tax as they are withdrawn after the taxpayer reaches 65 and retires.

From this brief description of the legislation it is evident self-employed individuals from all walks of life would receive deserved benefit from the enactment of this legislation. Examples of specific economic groups that would be benefited are farmers, self-employed businessmen, physicians, lawyers, and other self-employed individuals.

The principle embodied in the so-called Jenkins-Keogh proposal has been pending before the Congress of the United States for years. I believe it is proper to state that there is general agreement that the principle is sound but objection has been raised to the legislation on the grounds that its enactment would entail a revenue loss. The Treasury has felt obligated to oppose the legislation under both Democrat and Republican administrations. However, with the modest improvement in the fiscal affairs of our Nation that has occurred in recent years I believe that the time is at hand when the Congress can and should take favorable action on the Jenkins-Keogh proposal. It is my hope that this prospect will become reality during the 85th Congress and will be made possible through substantially reduced Federal expenditures and enlargement of the budgetary surplus. It is my hope that across-the-board tax reduction fairly granted to all our taxpayers will be possible and that an important part of such a tax reduction program will include the provisions of the Jenkins-Keogh bills.

It is a matter of simple justice for the 10 million American citizens who are the victims of this discrimination in our present tax structure that this result should be realized without delay. That is not to say that the enactment of the Jenkins-Keogh bill will remove all the tax discriminations against the self-employed. Existing law would retain special benefits for corporate employees not available to self-employed individuals such as stock options and accident and health benefit programs.

Mr. Speaker, as one of the coauthors of this legislation I have been gratified by the public response that I have received in support of the Jenkins-Keogh bill. This support has been expressed by responsible citizens across the Nation, from my congressional district and from virtually every congressional district, from individuals who would personally receive equity under the bill and from individuals who have no economic interest in its enactment but who recognize the merit in its objective.

My distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. KEOGH] and I have worked

hard during this 1st session of the 85th Congress to bring about favorable consideration of the bill. The fact that the legislation has not become a part of our Federal tax structure does not imply that our efforts have been to no avail. I believe that a great deal has been accomplished that will be reflected in results in the foreseeable future. This legislative proposal will undoubtedly play an important part in the revenue revision hearings scheduled by the Committee on Ways and Means to begin January 7, 1958. I am confident that when the legislation is presented to the House of Representatives for a vote that it will receive the overwhelming support of the distinguished membership of this great legislative body. If the employees of the country are taken care of in this respect why should not the men who employ them be given some protection?

Mr. Speaker, this legislation represents tax fairness and tax equity. It represents principles that are consistent with our American way of life. It represents in my judgment must legislation for favorable action during the 85th Congress.

Dulles Was Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to have inserted in the RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the Tuesday, August 27, edition of the Peoria Journal Star:

DULLES WAS RIGHT

For months Secretary Dulles has been taking an editorial beating from the Nation's newspapers because he refused to let American reporters go to Red China. Now that he has finally consented and Peiping has said "No," it may dawn upon our eager journalists that there was wisdom in his position after all. For the Chinese Communists are now using the situation as an entering wedge to open the way for American diplomatic recognition of Red China and a seat for them in the United Nations.

Red China says the United States wants its reporters to act as spies and to stir up trouble in China. That is pure hokum. Their real objection is that the United States won't allow reporters from Red China to enter the United States. And the reason Peiping wants reciprocal arrangement of that kind is that it would force the United States to give formal recognition to the Communist regime in China.

Our State Department has said that it wants no deal with Red China as to exchanging reporters. That position is logical and right and it should be stoutly maintained.

We are in what our Government calls a state of quasi-war with Red China. There is no way in which we can protect Americans in China. In fact, the Communists in Peiping still hold Americans in their prisons, Americans whom they were pledged long ago to release.

We do not recognize the Communist regime as the Government of China and there are many compelling reasons why we should not. And we cannot enter into a reciprocal agreement with Peiping regarding an exchange of reporters when we recognize no such government.

Secretary Dulles is right. If American newsmen want to go to China, and Peiping is willing to admit them, let it be tried for 6 months. But as for buying that privilege by inviting Peiping to send reporters here—no deal.

Dr. Salk and His Vaccine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, this House has already paid tribute to Dr. Jonas E. Salk, who, I think it can be fairly said, has become the most world renowned citizen of Allegheny County and the city of Pittsburgh, Pa. A unanimous resolution of the Congress authorized a gold medal for him. It was presented on January 26, 1956, with the statement:

> Through dedicated and selfless effort * * * you have brought new hope to mankind in the continuing battle against a dread disease, poliomyelitis, infantile paralysis.

It is difficult to pay tribute again to one whom the world has so widely honored and whose name has become a household word in these United States. It is fitting, however, for this House and the citizens of the world to realize what has been further accomplished in the worldwide conquest of polio in the year and a half since Dr. Salk was officially honored by Congress. I cannot give you all the intricate details of this story, but I should like to present some of the highlights and a few examples of both national and international importance.

In July of this year a Fourth International Poliomyelitis Conference was held in Geneva, Switzerland, at which Dr. Salk was one of the principal speakers. It was clear on this occasion that Dr. Salk's work has had international repercussions of the happiest kind. The Salk vaccine has blanketed the world. It is a free gift from America, including Canada, to all the nations of the globe. In freeing children, parents and adults from the threat of surprise attacks of a capricious, terrifying disease, it is a major contribution to the peace of mind of all the peoples of the world.

Vaccines made essentially the same way as the Salk vaccine are now being manufactured in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England, Germany, Israel, and South Africa. Wherever these vaccines have been administered to large sections of the most susceptible population, dramatic declines in polio paralysis have been registered. Little Israel, for example, which gave vaccine to all its preschool children, has just reported that only 8 cases of paralytic polio occurred during the summer polio season of 1957 whereas it had 125 cases last year.

While countries that enjoy the protection of the vaccine have all showed immense declines in paralytic polio, World Health Organization reports indicate an increase in epidemics of polio throughout the world. Epidemics are now occurring with frightening frequency in countries where they were never reported up to 10 years ago. Such epidemics have taken place in India, Ceylon, Israel, Mexico, Argentina, and a considerable number of other countries in South America and Africa. By exporting the know-how of making Salk-type vaccine, the United States is bringing a kind of technical assistance to nations of the globe which cannot help but warm the hearts of their people toward this country.

Mothers and fathers in the United States itself will also continue to be grateful to Dr. Salk and his many coworkers for freeing them of that lump-in-the-throat fear of polio that used to darken the otherwise happy and carefree days of summer vacation. I am happy that this fear has now been virtually eradicated from Allegheny County, Pa. In June 1957 the 1-millionth shot of Salk vaccine in my county was administered. Jonas Salk deserves extra credit for this as a citizen as well as a scientist because he used his good offices to spur the organization of a model community-wide vaccination program in Allegheny County. "Your neighbor's vaccination would protect you," he said—and acted accordingly.

Since 1955, when the Salk vaccine came into use, the ravage of paralytic polio in this country has been spectacularly reduced. The total number of cases of polio reported in 1956 was only half the number in 1955 and this year, 1957, the number is again running less than half that of the previous year. Indeed, up to the middle of August, only about 3,000 cases had been reported since the first of the year from the entire country. And the number who suffer the cruel attack of crippling polio has declined even faster.

Three properly spaced shots of Salk vaccine, the first 2 given 2 to 6 weeks apart and the third shot from 7 to 12 months later, are over 90 percent effective in preventinly paralytic polio.

Unfortunately, however, there are still 87 million people under age 40 in the United States who have not yet received the full protection against paralytic polio that 3 properly spaced doses can supply. Only 1 person in 5 under age 40—mostly schoolchildren—have yet received the full recommended dosage of the vaccine. Emphasis on getting "Salked," as the phrase now runs, must now be devoted primarily to teenagers and preschool children.

Before we can really achieve the conquest over paralytic polio which Dr. Salk's vaccine promises, we must vigorously continue to prosecute the nationwide and communitywide vaccination programs of which Allegheny County, Dr. Salk's home county, affords such a splendid example. I wish to express my gratitude, which I am sure Dr. Salk shares, to all the physicians, nurses, public health workers, community leaders, press and radio officials, and volunteer workers in Pittsburgh and its suburbs who have made this communitywide vaccination program such a model for

the Nation. The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis has widely advertised the Allegheny County vaccination plan to its 3,100 local chapters throughout the country.

We can add but little here to the reputation of Jonas Salk. He has already received many gold medals. While the congressional gold medal—for distinguished civilian service to mankind—was one token of our regard for him, I am sure Dr. Salk himself would consider that this House had paid him much higher tribute when in 1955 and 1956 it appropriated the total sum of $53,600,000 for purchase and administration of the Salk vaccine to protect millions of children and young people under 20 and pregnant woman promptly against the threat of paralytic polio.

Universities have vied to confer honorary degrees on Jonas Salk, a distinguished academician, who now holds the rank of commonwealth professor of preventive medicine and director of the virus research laboratories at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine. He has accepted honorary degrees from the University of Pittsburgh; from the City College of New York, his alma mater; from New York University, at whose medical school he received his doctor of medicine degree in 1939; and from Roosevelt University, Chicago, where—the university president said—Dr. Salk's award "was in memory of a man who was a victim of polio, who began the nationwide March of Dimes to finance its conquest, and to whom this university is a living memorial, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

One of Dr. Salk's most treasured memories is the visit that he, his charming wife, and three sons were invited to pay at the White House on April 22, 1956. When President Eisenhower's invitation was phoned to him at his laboratory in Pittsburgh, he thought he was receiving a call for somebody else.

On the occasion of this White House visit, Presidential citations were conferred upon Dr. Salk himself as "a benefactor of mankind" and upon the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, represented by Mr. Basil O'Connor, its president and Dr. Salk's close personal friend, "without whose support Dr. Salk's work could not have gone forward so rapidly."

The official Presidential citation called Dr. Salk's achievement "a credit to our entire scientific community, which does honor to all the people of the United States."

Mr. Eisenhower's personal remarks were more prophetic. The President said:

> When I think of the countless thousands of American parents and grandparents who are hereafter to be spared the agonizing fears of the annual epidemic of poliomyelitis—when I think of all the agony that these people will be spared in seeing their loved ones suffering in bed—I must say to you that I have no words in which adequately to express the thanks of myself and all the people I know—all 164,000,000 Americans, to say nothing of the rest of the people in the world who will profit by your discovery.

Dr. Salk's reply to Mr. Eisenhower was characteristic of the man himself. He said:

> My reward, you might say, came to me in the quiet of the laboratory some 2½ years ago when a light glimmered through the darkness with hopeful brilliance. * * * The honor for the discovery of a polio vaccine must be shared by the members of my staff and all the other scientists who helped make it possible. * * * I hope that we may have the opportunity to see, again in our own lifetime, the beginning of the end of other fears that plague mankind.

Jonas Salk, a boy who had to work his way through college and depend heavily on scholarship and fellowship grants for his graduate education, today stands as a symbol of American science. As both his presidential citation and he himself assert, he could never have put together the jigsaw puzzle of earlier scientific research and develop a practical vaccine without the dedicated efforts, before and after the event, of other men and women of science.

It would be impossible to mention by name here even all the scientists whose work had a direct bearing upon the development of Dr. Salk's successful vaccine against paralytic polio. As token of all the rest I will mention only a few:

Dr. John Enders of Harvard University, who was awarded a Nobel prize for his work on tissue culture which made the Salk vaccine realistically possible.

Dr. Thomas M. Rivers, now medical director of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, who since 1938, when the national foundation was organized, was the architect of the search for a successful vaccine.

Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr., young Dr. Salk's teacher first at New York University and later at the University of Michigan, and author of the famous Francis report, which announced to a waiting world on April 12, 1955, that the Salk vaccine was a safe and effective preventive of paralytic polio.

Dr. William McD. Hammon, of the University of Pittsburgh, who conducted extensive field trials with the best polio preventive that preceded the Salk vaccine, gamma globulin; Dr. David Bodian, of Johns Hopkins, and Dr. Dorothy Horstmann, of Yale, who independently showed polio antibodies do circulate in the bloodstream, thus demonstrating that a vaccine, if developed, would have a good chance to work against polio virus infection.

Yet the roster of those who made possible the Salk vaccine is much larger than even the scientists who contributed to it. Properly viewed, it should include all the thousands of physicians, nurses, schoolteachers, and administrators, public health workers, and volunteers who took part in the historic 1954 field trial of the Salk vaccine. It should include the 650,000 United States schoolchildren—polio pioneers—who received injections of the trial vaccine or a placebo substance during the vaccine field trial, the largest controlled experiment in medical history. And finally, it should include the parents of these children and the 80 millions of other Americans, little people and big, who gratefully contributed their dimes and dollars to the March of Dimes that the fight against polio might be carried on to victory.

No one appreciates better than Dr. Salk how much these willing pioneers, volunteers, and scientists have contributed to the vaccine that bears his name. He has expressed his special gratitude to the physicians and residents of Sewickley, Leetsdale, and other Pittsburgh suburbs, from which the first volunteers for the preliminary tests of his vaccine were drawn. It is a measure of the fortitude, conscience, and scientific confidence of the man that his own sons were among the very first children to be vaccinated with his own still experimental vaccine.

Dr. Salk himself already has, and I think this great House should, pay tribute to the first unsung heroes in this remarkable saga of man against disease. I am referring to the children—some crippled in mind, others in body—in Pennsylvania who helped Dr. Salk cross the bridge of experiment from animals to human beings as he progressed in his research. The children at Polk State School and the D. T. Watson Home—and their parents—deserve special praise. Polk is a State institution for mentally retarded children. The Watson Home volunteers were children who already had suffered polio crippling.

The honors that have been heaped upon Jonas Salk have not destroyed his usefulness as a productive scientist in the broad field of virus research. He continues to work quietly in and ably direct his laboratory to the end that the Salk vaccine itself may be further improved and other virus diseases, such as influenza, conquered. He has consistently turned down offers to profit personally by his fame or make a fortune out of his discoveries.

Many scientists who contributed to the welfare of mankind have been ignored and even persecuted in the process. Ignaz Semmelweiss, the Hungarian obstetrician, and America's own Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, for example, were heartily denounced for their efforts a century ago to save mothers from dying of childbed fever. Jonas Salk has at least had the pleasure and privilege of seeing the fruits of his own scientific work.

His career to date, and it is far from being over, has many lessons to teach. Not the least of them is the fact that genius, when properly nourished, can strike anywhere. In the course of his academic training, Dr. Salk was fortunate enough to have available to him a National Research Council fellowship for the advanced study of virology. The funds for this fellowship were actually supplied by the March of Dimes. Upon this House, and the Nation at large, falls a continuing responsibility to support basic scientific research and keep open the lines of educational opportunity which gives genius a chance to flourish.

Address of Hugh G. Grant, of Augusta, Ga., Former State Department Official and United States Minister to Albania and Thailand, Under the Auspices of the Citizens Council, Florence, S. C., August 29, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to unanimous consent granted to me, I insert herewith an address delivered this date by Hon. Hugh G. Grant, of Augusta, Ga., to the Citizens Council, Florence, S. C.

The address follows:

I assume that the great majority of you South Carolinians here tonight are members of the Citizens' Council or are in sympathy with its objectives. I assume also that most of you are fathers and mothers who have children in the public schools and that you are chiefly concerned over the grave question of whether or not you, your fellow citizens and your political leaders, including your Governor and members of your State assembly, will be able to continue to hold the line against any and all attempts to mix the races in your schools. This is a natural and logical attitude on your part since the education and welfare of your children constitutes your chief concern.

The maintenance of segregation in the schools, as important as it is, is only one phase of this issue which involves the status of the whole social structure of your State of South Carolina and of all the other Southern States. I shall discuss this later.

I pause at this point to commend in the highest terms the efforts of you South Carolinians and your political leaders in resisting successfully, up to this time, the assault against racial segregation in your public schools which was touched off by the United States Supreme Court more than 3 years ago. South Carolina, as on the eve of the War Between the States, has been in the front battle lines in resisting this unconstitutional attack against her sovereign right, as a member of the Federal Union of States, to manage her own local affairs.

I am proud to say that my own native State, Alabama, and Georgia, where I am now a resident, are included in the list of eight Deep South States which so far have successfully resisted the assault. These eight States are South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and North Carolina.

Four of these States, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, have been widely described as constituting the "hard core of southern resistance" against the race-mixing program.

Despite the resistance in the eight Southern States, the battle is still raging. We are on the defensive with powerful forces, official and unofficial, arrayed against us.

Chief among the official forces are the United States Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, the present executive branch of the Federal Government headed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and top officials of both major political parties.

In the unofficial category are the spearheading National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and its satellites, some racially mixed, others all white. These include the so-called liberals; minority groups; national labor organizations; tax-exempt foundations; national magazines; church organizations (Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish); sections of the press, TV, radio and movie industries; interracial councils and, significantly, behind the scenes but potent, Communists and fellow travelers who would bring about racial discord and strife among the American people as a part of their plan to effect the collapse of the United States from within.

The great majority of the advocates of race mixing are to be found beyond the borders of the eight resisting Deep South States. At the same time there are a great many influential persons and groups within these resisting States who, directly or indirectly, are giving aid and comfort to the outside forces attacking the South and its way of life.

On the outside of the resisting States are many well-meaning northern and western white people who have had little or no personal contact with the Negro. These people have no real conception of the racial problem in the South. They, therefore, theorize about it, and criticize the southern white people, under the impact of the enormous propaganda campaign directed against the South from the North.

I recall an incident at Portland, Oreg., a few years ago when I was a guest at an assembly of Presbyterian Church members, at which the speaker was a Negro from Ohio who, in discussing the race problem, proceeded to castigate the South and all white southerners for their alleged mistreatment of Negroes. This man was a mulatto, about 50 percent white, a graduate of an Ohio college, and a fluent speaker. I sensed that the reaction of this audience of some 200 white Presbyterians was sympathetic to this speaker's allegations. These white Oregonians had come under the spell of the same kind of insidious propaganda about the South that has been widely disseminated throughout the country over a considerable period of time. One of the contradictions in this attitude was that most of these white church members were direct descendants of the pioneers who went west in covered wagons, settled Oregon and herded the American Indians into reservations where their descendants live today segregated and in many cases in utter squalor.

A ray of hope that our misguided northern and western fellow Americans may begin to understand and sympathize with the South's views on segregation lies in the ever-increasing migration of Negroes from the South to the North and West. Washington, D. C., today has the largest Negro population percentage of any city in the United States. Chicago's Negro population has jumped by 197,000 since 1950 and today the Windy City has more Negroes than Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, and Houston combined. New York City has a Negro population of 840,000. This is more than the total population of New Orleans. Some 2,000 southern Negro migrants are reaching Los Angeles every month. Meanwhile, the Negro population in the South in proportion to the white people gets smaller each year, although 60 percent of the Nation's 18,000,000 Negroes still live in the South. These statistics have been compiled by David Lawrence's U. S. News and World Report. Incidentally, this publication has been very fair in its presentation of the facts in regard to the race problem. I have seen no evidence of any slanting of the news against the South, in contrast to the policy pursued by other national periodicals.

It does not see unreasonable to suggest that the Deep South States should take definite steps to encourage further Negro migration to the North, especially among those Negroes who appear to be dissatisfied with the southern pattern of segregation. It would be a fine thing, for instance, if several hundred thousand Negroes would migrate to Minnesota, the home State of Senator Hubert Humphrey, ardent Democratic foe of the South. I believe there are now only about 14,000 Negroes in Minnesota.

Also among those on the outside of the resisting States who condemn the South are top flight Republican and Democratic white politicians in the North. These men have no real concern for the welfare of the Negro. They want his vote to keep themselves in political power. The election of governors, legislators, Senators and Representatives in the Congress—even the President and Vice President of the United States—is involved, as well as the election in the lower political brackets of mayors, councilmen, sheriffs, etc. The great migration of Negroes from the rural South to the big urban centers of the North and West is radically changing the political complexion of the Nation. I will refer to this subject later in a discussion of the so-called civil-rights legislation.

Among other outsiders vigorously opposing the South are highly organized minority white groups, many of them late comers to our shores. Many of these people have ideologies alien to those upon which this Constitutional American Republic was founded. Not being fully amalgamated, despite all the talk about the "American Melting Pot," these white people, Jews and Gentiles, have established powerful organizations in the big cities of the North and have thrown in their lot with the Negro agitators of the NAACP for complete equality, economic, political and social.

Among the sponsors of race mixing are the powerful national labor bosses in the North who seek their objectives by enlistment throughout the Nation of millions of dues-paying members, regardless of race.

Now let us turn to the homefront and see who among us are, directly or indirectly, obstructing the resistance movement. It cannot be disputed that the number is considerable. There are the so-called liberals, many of whom, having received their higher education in northern universities, have developed theories in conflict with the fundamental facts of race. Many of these people are psychologists and sociologists on the faculties of our southern colleges and universities. They exercise great influence upon many of our southern young people.

There are also among us here in the South some of the modern do-gooders. Among these are some of the leaders of such organizations as the YMCA, the YWCA, the PTA, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the Community Chest.

There is still another important group within the resisting States that it not resisting. This group is made up of business and professional men in our southern towns and cities who, fearful of losing some profits and fees from the increasing number of prosperous Negroes, keep their mouths shut and refuse to take a stand. Many of these men are actually antagonistic toward such resistance organizations as the citizens' councils. I have personally felt pressure from such individuals because of my activity in the resistance movement.

I have been publicly labeled as a "militant segregationist." Well, I take the position there is no middle ground on the issue of segregation. One is either for it or he is against it. I am for it, now and for all time. If that implies militancy then I am a militant segregationist.

Many of the men in this business and professional group of obstructionists to the resistance movement are members of civic luncheon clubs. Being a member of one of these clubs myself, I believe I can state without challenge that today among these clubs there is a definite trend toward main-

taining silence on the subject of segregation on the theory that such discussions would be controversial and, therefore, to be avoided. The State president of one of these luncheon club organizations in Georgia wrote me recently that while he agreed wholeheartedly with me on my stand on segregation, he did not believe the organization should be drawn into it since it was not supposed to deal with any controversial political matters. And furthermore, he said, the organization would be severely crippled if it should take part in the segregation issue.

Recently I learned through correspondence with a Citizens' Council leader in Kentucky, where I spoke a few weeks ago, that his contacts to enlist the support of the civic luncheon clubs in his section had revealed an unwillingness to cooperate. The attitude of the club members, he said, was that any effort at preparation would lead to trouble with the NAACP, that if they [the clubs] kept quiet they might avoid suits. This is shocking to my way of thinking.

My correspondent added that the battle against race mixing would have to be fought by the farmers and the workers.

I am of the opinion that this hands-off policy on the segregation issue on the part of civic luncheon clubs stems partially from the policymakers in the international headquarters of these clubs, the majority of which are located in the North. If such is the case I favor the withdrawal of the southern clubs from the international organizations.

These references to the reluctance to take a stand for segregation on the part of many of our business people in the southern communities seems to point to the fact that one of the most effective weapons in this conflict involving race mixing is economic. Keep this in mind always, my friends. This weapon has been used by certain white resistance forces in meeting the challenge of the NAACP agitators in the South. It also has been, and is, being used effectively by the Negroes to break down white resistance to race mixing. Examples are the Negro bus boycotts in several southern cities, notably in Montgomery, Ala., and in the recent Negro boycott of white merchants in Tuskegee, Ala.

Time is running out, my friends. Our southern white business people, many of them leaders in their communities, should stand up and be counted on this issue and if necessary take some losses in order to help hold the line against this insidious race-mixing conspiracy.

Another obstacle to the resistance movement against race mixing in the South stems from Federal appropriations in southern communities for all sorts of local projects, ranging from free lunches for the schools to street improvements and housing developments. Where United States military camps are located in southern communities, large appropriations may be available for military projects such as housing, which will put many dollars into the pockets of certain local businessmen. There is also a lot of money spent in the local communities by military personnel. The net result is the tendency on the part of local business people to keep quiet on the segregation issue, with a view to avoiding any possible antagonisms with the powers that be in Washington who hold the Federal purse strings. A big factor in this situation today is the fact that the armed services, including hundreds of thousands of soldiers in training on southern soil, are completely integrated under Federal Executive orders. President Truman started this system and President Eisenhower has completed it—for political purposes (the Negro bloc vote).

Federal aid anywhere along the line means Federal control, which in these times means pressure from Washington for race mixing. I wish to congratulate the leaders of your own South Carolina Clemson College for their recent refusal to accept certain Federal appropriations.

One of the most effective instruments of opposition to the South's resistance movement against race mixing is in the church. Tens of thousands of our church members, Protestant and Catholic, under the influence of false leadership, are being led to believe that race separation is in conflict with the spirit of brotherly love and, therefore, un-Christian. Handpicked church committees and commissions draw up wordy resolutions endorsing the Supreme Court decisions against segregation. These lengthy documents are read and quickly adopted at huge church conventions. Nine-tenths of the delegates don't know what they are voting for.

It is a sad story that many devout church ministers, priests, and laymen who are opposed to such church resolutions, lack the moral courage to speak out against them. Many lay church members of the rank and file feel that any opposition to the church leadership is a sin.

I do not doubt that many ministers who are preaching segregation in un-Christian believe they are inspired of God. Well, so did the clerics who burned Joan of Arc and those who condemned Galileo for hearsy for saying the earth was round rather than flat.

I personally believe that the concept that race separation is un-Christian is not in conformity with Bible teaching and in fact is utter nonsense. Race is God-made and not man-made.

I have been informed that some South Carolina church ministers have recently secretly organized a group known as "Concerned South Carolinians." The object of this group is reported to be the promotion of gradual integration of the races. In this connection, I commend Governor Timmerman for exposing the prospectus of this so-called Concerned group.

I said in the beginning of my remarks that you South Carolinians are gravely concerned over the possibility of retaining segregation in your public schools. You have a right to be deeply troubled since the resistance methods adopted in the Deep South States have been in the nature of delaying actions. Unfortunately, there has been a lack of uniformity of action among the resisting States. Much hesitation and timidity have been shown in official circles in some of our States. There has been some actual resistance to the resistance movement, as in Tennessee where, unfortunately, a young politically ambitious Governor, Frank Clement, is at the controls, and in Kentucky where Gov. "Happy" Chandler has his eye on the White House. You and I can take pride in the fact that Governor Timmerman and Governor Griffin have taken strong stands against race mixing.

It is my opinion that if the governors of our Southern States had assembled immediately following the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, and had joined in concerted action then against the decision, following up this action with uniform legislative proposals, including strong acts of interposition—if this had been done—we would not today find ourselves on the defensive.

Furthermore, on the national scale, to quote one of the most stalwart defenders of the right of the State to carry on its own local affairs, Representative JAMES C. DAVIS, of Georgia, it is possible that the Supreme Court program for race mixing could have been blocked before the decision was announced, through the concerted opposition of southern Senators and Representatives in the Congress. Congressman DAVIS made this statement to me in his Washington office in June 1954, shortly after the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the schools.

The lesson to be learned from these failures is that unified action at the State level in the Southern States and at the national level among southern Senators and Representatives in the Congress is necessary. To achieve this unified political action there must be determination and unity of purpose in the rank and file of white citizens throughout the South. A monster grassroots organization should be perfected without delay.

Delaying legal actions are not enough to stem the creeping tide of race mixing. This procedure alone can result in complete and final defeat for the forces of resistance.

As I have pointed out, the plan to force the mixing of the races in the schools of the South is only one phase of the conspiracy. Let us be realistic and face it. An all-out attempt is being made to change the whole social and political structure of this Nation on behalf of a minority group of Negroes comprising only about 10 percent of the total population of the United States. This is revolution.

The tactics being pursued in this revolution in the North as well as in the South, strongly suggests totalitarianism and communism. Our American constitutional Republic is rapidly becoming a police state with highly centralized government control of almost every phase of the lives of the individual citizens. There are numerous examples. I shall refer to only 2—1 in the North and 1 in the South.

Last week a Negro family (probably at the instigation of the NAACP) took possession of a $12,150 home in an all-white neighborhood at Levittown, Pa. The white residents protested. There were some demonstrations. The State police, by order of the Governor of Pennsylvania, moved in with the local police in full support of the Negro intruders. Then came the order from the commanding officer of the Pennsylvania State Police—hereafter no gatherings of three or more persons would be permitted and only residents and those on official business could enter this residential area.

Here is your police state, Communist style, in action—the Pennsylvania State authorities, in accordance with the race-mixing edicts of the Federal Supreme Court, telling the white citizens of Levittown that they cannot even meet together to protest the violation of their rights under the Constitution of the United States. Is this the United States of America or Soviet Russia?

Let us travel down from Pennsylvania to Tennessee. Last fall in the little town of Clinton, Tenn., with a population of some 5,000 persons, a Federal judge, the son of a former governor of the State, ordered the integration of the white high school. This judge forgot his own oath to support the Constitution of the United States and slavishly followed the sociological decree of the Supreme Court. The white citizens held meetings and protested vigorously, resulting in a rigid Federal injunction by this Federal judge against anyone interfering with his race-mixing edict.

There were some demonstrations by the white citizens who sincerely believed that their rights were being violated. Collaborating with the Federal judge in order to force the Negro students into the white high school, Tennessee's politically ambitious Governor proceeded to turn the high-school grounds into a battleground with Tennessee State militiamen, tanks and tear gas. Between solid lines of these soldiers with drawn guns and bayonets the Negro students were led into the Clinton High School.

The opposition to this tyrannical procedure continued for several weeks, the school being finally closed in December after a Baptist minister, a self-appointed agent in the race-mixing program, attempted to escort the Negroes to school.

Now, President Eisenhower's Attorney General Herbert Brownell, got into the act

after the Clinton, Tenn., school board appealed to Washington for help in keeping the Negro pupils in the white school. Brownell boldly stated that the Federal Government would prosecute anyone who interfered with this race-mixing affair—in the sovereign State of Tennessee.

The next episode in this sorry business was that some of the "town leaders" of Clinton went into a huddle with the United States District Attorney and the Federal Judge at Knoxville. The "leaders" did not suggest the withdrawal of the Negroes from the white high school as a means of restoring what they described as "law and order," but instead demanded the arrest of some of their fellow citizens who had dared to speak out in protest against this violation of their constitutional rights.

The Federal judge now issued contempt citations and the arrest, handcuffing and deportation to Knoxville of 16 white citizens of Clinton, in addition to John Kasper, followed. The judge was going to try them without a jury, but mounting public protests caused him to back down and arrange a jury trial. Press reports of the trial indicate that the judge practically dictated the verdict of guilty (six were so adjudged) on the basis of the "law;" according to the interpretation of the judge.

A significant comment on this Clinton, Tenn., trial is that of Washington Columnist David Lawrence:

"The case now goes up on appeal through the higher courts, and eventually the Supreme Court of the United States will have to decide whether those defendants who stand convicted today—and who did no more than associate with one another to express opinions to their fellow citizens on the subject of segregation in the schools—are to be given the same benefits so generously bestowed on members of the Communist Party. For in recent decisions of the Supreme Court it was ruled that freedom of speech, guaranteed by the first amendment of the Constitution, includes the right publicly to advocate even the forcible overthrow of the Federal Government itself."

The Clinton, Tenn., case has established the pattern for the Nation's Federal judges, who are political appointees, for the enforcement of the revolutionary and unconstitutional race mixing program decreed by our sociological Supreme Court.

Two Southern Governors, Clement of Tennessee, and Chandler of Kentucky, and a Northern Governor, Leader of Pennsylvania, have established the pattern for the ignominious surrender of State sovereignty under the false slogan of preserving law and order, in conformity with Federal edicts which violate the constitutional rights of the citizens of the States.

Are these patterns, one in the South and the other in the North, going to prevail in this country? If they do, then our political leaders should stop talking about the Communist tyranny in the land of our adversary, Russia. I am reminded of the old adage, "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

I say to you, my fellow American citizens, with all the earnestness at my command, that these patterns will prevail in this Nation unless the rank and file of our white citizens, North, South, East, and West, rise up in angry protest and declare that this shall not happen. There is no place for compromise on this issue. We will either abandon our system of constitutional government and submit to a Federal police state or we will not. Which shall it be?

Let us take a look at this so-called civil-rights bill. First, the historical background. After the American Revolution, a Federal Union was organized by the States under a Constitution. The Negroes were slaves, not citizens, and had no part in it. Later, 10 amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, were added to the Constitution. The purpose was to insure to the citizens of these States freedom from any oppressive measures by the newly created Federal Government. This was clearly set forth in amendment 1, providing for freedom of religion, speech, the press, and the right of peaceable assembly; amendment 9, providing that the rights listed in the Constitution were not to be construed to deny or disparage other rights retained by the people; and amendment 10, providing that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Seventy years later came the tragic War Between the States, the result of economic factors involving the Negro slaves. Four years of bitter warfare left the South broken, poverty stricken, and devastated, with the former Negro slaves to be supported.

Not satisfied with their decisive military victory, the Republican politicians of the North now plotted the total destruction of the white civilization of the South. The purpose was twofold—the vindictive punishment of the South and perpetuation of Republican political control through the Negro vote. This was to be accomplished through a civil-rights bill, the first of its kind, and three amendments to the Constitution: the 13th, abolishing slavery; the 14th, establishing equality of the Negro before the law and making him a citizen; and the 15th, prohibiting the denial of the right of suffrage to the Negro.

The 13th amendment was promptly ratified in 1865, but the 14th and 15th amendments were not ratified until the Southern States, with the exception of Tennessee, had been placed under rigid military rule, the white citizens disfranchised, and the former Negro slaves placed in political control under the supervision of the avaricious Carpetbaggers from the North. These two amendments were, therefore, fraudulently ratified and are not legally a part of the Constitution.

After some 10 years of what historian Claude Bowers has described as "The Tragic Era," the Republican plot to destroy the white civilization of the South was thwarted. This was accomplished through the fortitude, courage and sacrifice of the Southern white people, with the support of a Supreme Court which fulfilled its oath to support the Constitution. In effect the court held, in a series of momentous decisions, that the Congress has no constitutional power to nationalize all civil rights and thereby centralize all power into the hands of the Federal Government.

For some 70 years there was peace, progress and increasing prosperity in the South for both the white people and the Negroes, two distinct races of people living in friendly coexistence.

Meanwhile, there were ominous political undercurrents stemming from the tragic Reconstruction Era. The Republican Party controlled the Negro vote which was becoming increasingly important with the migration of tens of thousands of Negroes from the rural South to the urban centers of the North. The Democratic politicians in the North looked on enviously, and finally in 1936, through Roosevelt's New Deal, grabbed the Negro bloc vote.

The South, still with the bulk of the Negro population, again became the target. The politicians of both major parties in the North engaged in the attack against the South. Federal civil rights legislation was resurrected and broadened by Democratic President Truman to include the notorious FEPC. A Senate filibuster led by Southerners, with the assistance of a few Northern conservatives, killed this vicious measure.

From now on there was a knock-down-drag-out battle between the Democratic and Republican Parties for the Negro vote. Sparked by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, the battle was carried into both Democratic and Republican Conventions and the subsequent campaigns of 1956. Both sets of nominees for President and Vice President, Stevenson and Kefauver, for the Democrats and Eisenhower and Nixon for the Republicans, backed by party platforms, went all-out for Negro equality all along the line.

And so today we witness the strange and sordid spectacle of the political leaders of this great Nation, which was founded and developed by sturdy white pioneers, with a racial heritage of thousands of years, groveling for political gain by means of the vote of a minority group of primitive people only 92 years out of slavery. One wonders what has crept into the thinking processes of these white men who are selling their birthright for a mess of potage. In order to accomplish their program these political leaders would scrap the Constitution and change the American Constitutional Republic into a centralized police state.

This state of affairs is at the core of the present civil rights legislation. U. S. News & World Report in its issue of August 16, 1957, headlines it as follows: "Outside the South—It's 4 Million Negro Votes That the Fight's All About—Four Million Negro Votes in 14 States—These Votes Can Decide Elections."

A few weeks ago I had the privilege of appearing as a witness before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee which held extensive hearings on the proposed legislation. I have followed the debates in the Senate through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and press reports. I have had some correspondence with Members of the Congress in regard to the bill. I have read columns of opinion in newspapers and magazines concerning the merits and demerits of the bill. I have reached the conclusion that this bill is very bad for the South and the Nation and that every possible means to defeat it, including the filibuster in the Senate, should be utilized.

The bill is bad because it is a fraud, since it professes to be designed for the welfare of the Negro. It is no such thing. It is designed to place millions of Negro votes on the auction block to the highest bidder, the Republican or the Democratic Party. The bill is bad because it is a violation of the constitutional right of the State to establish and maintain the civil rights of its citizens under its police power. The bill is bad because it is another step in the creation of an all-powerful Federal police state, patterned along the lines of totalitarian and communistic forms of government which the American people abhor.

As Columnist David Lawrence points out, "Under this bill the Federal Government now is to become the policeman by a law—in disregard of the Constitution—to arrest and put in jail not only those local officials of the States who seek to obey the voting procedures as set forth in their State laws, but those individuals who allegedly influence improperly the votes of other persons."

The issue of States rights should have been the main line of attack against this bill in the Senate and not the question of the jury trial, as important as jury trial is. The prolonged jury trial debate only served to becloud the key issue in this insidious bill, since there is no assurance of a jury trial, the Federal judge having the right to inflict a 45-day jail penalty for coercion, without a jury trial.

Party politics ran all through the plan of strategy in the Senate. LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, Senate Democratic majority leader, and WILLIAM KNOWLAND, of California, Senate Republican minority leader, both potential presidential candidates for their respective parties in 1960, were calling the signals in the interest of their parties and themselves. Democratic Speaker of the House,

SAM RAYBURN, also of Texas, and Republican minority leader in the House JOE MARTIN, of Massachusetts, were coaching from the sidelines. Under this leadership it was announced in advance that the southern Senators would not resort to the filibuster, the South's final weapon. That decision was a very grievous error. It sets a very bad precedent for the future. It constitutes a defeatist attitude which can be fatal.

I heartily commend your South Carolina Representatives in the Congress and your Governor who are urging resort to the filibuster against this evil bill in the Senate.

Teachers Pension Fund Helps State Economy Gain Through Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 26, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the following article so ably written by Mr. Jim Montgomery, of the Atlanta Constitution, telling how the citizens of my hometown of Homerville, Ga., helped finance part of the construction of the Standard Container Corporation, a new industry which will open there soon. The article follows:

[From the Atlanta Constitution of August 5, 1957]

TEACHERS PENSION FUND HELPS STATE ECONOMY GAIN THROUGH LOANS

(By Jim Montgomery)

HOMERVILLE, August 4.—An unfamiliar assortment of metallic noises will soon swell into a thunderous overture that will sound as the sweetest of music to folks in this south Georgia land of pine trees and honeybees.

Already outlined on the western horizon of this Clinch County seat are the steel girders of a 30,000-square-foot factory where, in about 3 months, some 100 new workers will start drawing paychecks for making insect spray guns out of sheet metal.

And there are indications that Standard Container Corp. plans someday to double or triple the size of this new plant to include operations that will be performed elsewhere initially.

Like nearly 100 other Georgia communities, Homerville stood ready to finance part of the construction cost—through the Clinch County Industrial Association, Inc., which sold $50,000 worth of 5.5 percent debentures to some 150 residents of the area.

This investment will eventually return 3 to 4 percent interest after taxes to each of the purchasers, but their subscriptions covered but a relatively small part of the total cost.

And Standard Container, which will spend some $100,000 to ship the plant's machinery here, didn't want to foot the rest of the bill out of its own reserves.

So Clinch County turned to the teachers' retirement system of Georgia, a pension trust fund with current assets of around $83 million that is growing at the rate of close to $12 million a year.

Intensely interested in Georgia's economic development, though just as concerned over the safety and income of their investments, the trustees of this fund approved a loan committee of $130,000 at 5.5 percent interest.

SHORT TERM LOAN

This amounted to a go-ahead on construction, with commercial banks willing to put up the needed building funds as a short-term loan on the basis of the commitment.

Dr. Dan B. Terry, who along with Mayor Wellie K. Peagler, and other civic leaders heads up Homerville's industrial development activities, had a special reason for asking the trust fund to make the loan.

"Our main reason for borrowing from the teachers' fund," he explained, "was to give our people the benefit of their professional experts in investigating Standard's financial soundness.

"When they made the commitment, we knew for sure that we were getting a goot industry."

LIKE EMPLOYEES' SYSTEM

Mortgage investment operations of the teachers' system are similar to those of the State employees' system—both conduct thorough investigations of the company involved, neither will make a construction loan (the commitment is contingent on appraisal by a recognized real estate expert after completion), and both want long-term investments at the going rate of interest.

Some differences include the commitment fee (1 percent for the teachers' fund, 1¼ percent for the employees), the maximum amount of the loan (up to two-thirds of appraised value for the teachers, no more than 60 percent for the employees), and the amount of money still available for mortgage lending.

NEAR THE LIMIT

The employees' system mortgage investments, close to 10 percent of which are in industrial properties, now stand close to its 30 percent limit on that type investment.

But the teachers' fund is nowhere near its probable 30-percent mortgage limit, according to Citizens and Southern National Bank vice president James S. Budd, who also serves on the board of trustees and the investment committee of the older and wealthier retirement system.

"We're trying to make more industrial loans to help spur Georgia's economic growth," he said in Atlanta, "but we're not getting many applications. You can just about count the number we've turned down on the fingers of one hand."

In terms of those closed, committed, and pending likely approval, the teachers' fund has some $3,458,500 invested in 4 industrial facilities—or only about $1 million more than the much smaller employees' fund has invested in this field.

The first such teachers' fund loan was made to General Industrial Corp. (on the old Atlanta Paper Co. plant) in 1949. The 4-percent interest rate on the $300,000 principal has since been raised to 5 percent.

A year later it invested $130,000 at 4 percent in the S. P. Richards Paper Co. Atlanta plant.

Next, in 1952, this fund invested $139,500 at 4-percent interest in a new rug mill at Hazelhurst, which had been built by that city's young industrialist Claude Cook.

Four years ago it put $105,000 at 5.5 percent in the Atlanta plant of American Art Metals, and in 1955 and 1956 it invested some $544,000 in 3 Atlanta truck terminals, with a 5-percent rate on 2 of these loans, and 4¾ percent on the other.

Increased activity this year has included closing of a $50,000 loan at 5.5 percent to the individual owners of a new aluminum extrusion plant in Marietta.

Commitments due to be closed this year include $600,000 at 5¼ percent on the huge new Butler's shoe warehouse and office building in Atlanta; $60,000 at 5.5 percent on a new shirt plant in Camilla, the other half of which was financed by Greater Camilla, Inc., a community development corporation; $175,000 at 5.5 percent on the new Marks handkerchief plant in Augusta; and, of course, the new container plant in Homerville.

Budd said an additional $1,225,000 now applied for is likely to be approved on 1 new plant and 1 expanded facility.

FIFTEEN TO TWENTY YEARS

Though one of the above investments is scheduled for repayment in 7 years, most of the fund's industrial paper matures over 15 to 20 years, Budd said, and deeds remain assigned to the fund until payments are completed.

He indicated that loan applications have been turned down on such grounds as inexperienced management, overly specialized one-product plants, and general corporate financial weakness, despite occasional politically motivated pressures to make such loans.

The fund trustees apparently feel a strong responsibility to see to it that their investments bring the best possible returns under the least possible risk.

NOT ABSOLUTE

"Of course," commented State auditor B. E. Thrasher, Jr., a trustee of the teachers' fund and chairman of the employees' fund board of trustees, "there's no absolute guaranty of safety.

"But we come as close to it as possible by thoroughly investigating all the investments we consider, and by keeping our investments diversified."

Thrasher, Budd, and other trustees say that is why they attacked a measure backed by Comptroller General Zack Cravey (who also is a trustee of the teachers' and employees' systems) that would have required investment of 45 percent of these funds in Georgia insurance companies and real estate.

Both this bill and a substitute resolution urging such action were defeated in the 1956 general assembly. It was termed "unrealistic" by investment advisers, who pointed out that greater flexibility is needed to adopt to interim-market fluctuations.

More than 15 small Georgia communities can attest to the wise use of these trust funds in helping them obtain new payrolls, and the teachers' fund is looking for more investments of this type right now.

Though some would like to be able to utilize these funds at less than the going rate of interest, others emphasize that Georgia's teachers and employees should get the most they can out of their investments.

It is also pointed out that the extensive investigation work that precedes approval or rejection of a commitment gives a community assurance of getting a good company that the going rate of interest won't make or break.

SACRED TRUST

A commercial banker in south Georgia feels the retirement funds, as a sacred trust, should not be used for industrial mortgages as long as other money is available; and that a top limit of 20 percent should apply when pension money is so used.

"Their investment portfolio should be well diversified," he declared.

True, in some Georgia communities, commercial banks have been and are investing in long-term real-estate mortgages that mean new plants for their areas. Sometimes a number of banks participate in such loans, and some have done so at well below the going rate.

FEW MATCH INTEREST

But few institutions, outside of the major insurance companies just as interested in other States as Georgia, are as willing and able to support sound new industries throughout the State as Georgia's two biggest pension funds.

Trustees of the teachers' retirement system of Georgia, in addition to Budd, Thrasher, and Cravey, include Dr. George M. Sparks, president emeritus, Georgia State College of Business Administration, chairman; Frank Hughes, secretary, Georgia Education Association; Mark Smith, Bibb County superintendent of schools, and Miss Esalee Burdette, Washington schoolteacher.

The Door Ajar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, I favor the passage of Senate bill S. 2792, which will permit 60,000 worthy aliens to enter the United States. This bill is a step in the right direction, although it is a very short step.

For the 60,000 aliens who shall benefit by this bill, it is a long stride to America, freedom and reunion with their families. The authors of this legislation deserve commendation and praise for the passage of this bill, and while, in my opinion, it does too little, it is not too late.

This bill is humanitarian in purpose, compromising in spirit, and recognizes inequities in our present immigration law, which cry out for revision. The wails of anguish of separated families have reached our ears, and we have heard. The groans of refugees from communistic oppression have been faintly heard in the din of hysterical outbursts and propaganda. In this bill, we have provided for the use of leftover visas from the Refugee Relief Act, which expired in December of 1956. These can be distributed, not only among some of the classes of aliens listed in that law, but also among the aliens who have fled from oppression in Hungary or Egypt.

The most humanitarian and noble provision deals with the admission of orphans. Many American couples denied the blessings of parenthood will be able to hold the warm hand of an orphan child, who in turn, will know the tender love of a mother and the handclasp and counsel of a father. Truly, these are hands forming a bridge across the seas.

In our joy of seeing the passage of this legislation, we forget temporarily its shortcomings. The quota system which relegates certain peoples to second-class citizenship and the discriminatory provisions against naturalized citizens contained in the present law should be modified. Unused quotas should be reallocated and distributed. Our economy can profit by a fresh stream of skilled specialists and persons who appreciate freedom and opportunity.

Our Lady of Liberty holds high her lamp beside the golden door, smiles faintly, and once again, extends her welcome. While the doors to democracy have not been fully opened by this bill, the door to democracy is ajar.

I favor wholeheartedly the passage of this bill.

Definition of "Producer" as Applied to the Soil Bank Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a letter I have received from the Comptroller General's Office, dated August 26, 1957, clarifying the meaning of the word "producer" as applied to the Soil Bank Act. I am proud to say that the Comptroller General has ruled in accordance with my thinking in the matter, that the $3,000 limitation apply to each producer relative to a farming unit, rather than to operate as a ceiling on the amount of compensation that can be paid to him for all farms in which he may have an interest, thus excluding the landowner as a producer and allowing the tenant to participate in the program. I have fought vigorously in behalf of this interpretation, and many times have called upon the Department of Agriculture urging that such clarification be placed upon the act.

The letter follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, August 26, 1957.

The Honorable SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On August 9, 1957, the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Marvin L. McLain, requested our decision concerning the meaning of the word "producer" as used in the limitation on the funds made available for the acreage-reserve program under the Soil Bank Act, contained in the Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration Appropriation Act, 1958, Public Law 85-118, approved August 2, 1957 (71 Stat. 338). The appropriation limitation involved, in pertinent part, reads as follows:

"*Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used to formulate and administer an acreage-reserve program which would result * * * in total compensation being paid to any one producer in excess of $3,000 with respect to the 1958 crops."

Subtitle A, title I of the Soil Bank Act, Public Law 540, approved May 28, 1956 (70 Stat. 188, 189), provides that under the acreage-reserve program producers shall be compensated for reducing their acreage of certain basic commodities below their farm-acreage allotments or farm base acreage. Section 105 (a) of the act provides that the rate of compensation payable to producers for participation in the program shall be at such rate or rates as the Secretary of Agriculture determines will provide producers with a fair and reasonable return for reducing their acreage. Section 124 authorizes the Secretary to prescribe such regulations as he determines necessary to carry out the program.

Your department takes the position that the Congress intended the $3,000 limitation to apply to each producer with respect to a particular farming unit, rather than to operate as a ceiling on the amount of compensation that can be paid to him for all farms in which he may have an interest. The effect of the construction contended for is to apply the limitation of each farm separately so that a producer having an interest, for example, in 3 separate farms could receive as much as $3,000 for each farm or a total of not to exceed $9,000. The letter sets forth several other examples of payments, so far as concerns such interpretation of the limitation, as an aid in our determination of the matter.

In support of that position the Department points out that while the enabling act contains no statutory definition of the term "producer" the administrative regulations governing the 1956 and 1957 acreage-reserve programs, as well as the conservation-reserve program (subtitle B) defines it to mean any person who is an owner or a landlord, cash tenant, standing-rent tenant, fixed-rent tenant, share tenant, or sharecropper. Also, that a similar definition is contained in the regulations on the agricultural-conservation program, the price-support programs, and the acreage allotment and marketing quota programs. Under that definition, the Department contends that it is necessary to look to each farming unit to determine whether a person is a producer, and that the term "producer" has no meaning thereunder except as it relates to a particular farm. The word "farm" is defined in the referred-to regulations as meaning all adjacent or nearby farm or rangeland under the same owner which is operated by one person. Thus, the Assistant Secretary expresses the view that the Congress, in adopting the provision in question, had in mind the definition of the words "producer" and "farm" as used in the 1956 and 1957 acreage-reserve programs and other agricultural programs and intended that the $3,000 limitation apply to each such producer on each such farming unit.

In further support of this view, the Assistant Secretary quotes the following statements made on the floor of the Senate (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD dated August 1, 1957, p. 12105) by Senator MUNDT, one of the conferees of the committee of conference on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill, 1958, and concurred in by Senator RUSSELL, spokesman for the managers on the part of the Senate, during consideration of that part of the report of the committee of conference relating to the limitation in question.

"What we were trying to do * * * was to establish a ceiling to avoid unduly large payments to a single farm operation.

"So I think it should be established in the RECORD here and now that what we had in mind in conference was really a $3,000 limitation on a single farm operation or on a single farm; that it is the producer we have in mind, rather than a farm owner who might own several farms. In my own State of South Dakota, frequently there are widows who support themselves from the income of 2, 3, or 4 pieces of property which they rent on shares to different tenants.

"I should like to establish with the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations the fact that we were not trying to discriminate among tenants; we were thinking in terms of the producer, as that word applies to the operator of a single farm, rather than to the individual who might own several farms, and thereby, by working out some acreage reserve contract with one tenant farmer, preclude himself from participating with other tenants on different farms to the disadvantage of those other tenants."

The primary question here involved is whether the limitation quoted above on the use of funds made available to the Department of Agriculture to carry out the acreage reserve program of the Soil Bank Act inhibits your Department, during the fiscal year 1958, from paying "to any one producer in excess of $3,000 with respect to the 1958 crops." Of course, there can be no more convincing evidence of the purpose of a statute than the words by which the legislature undertakes to give expression to its wishes; and, on first examination of the

provision, there would appear to be no doubt that payments of any one producer aggregating in excess of $3,000 regarding the 1958 crops would be contrary to the restriction and, therefore, legally improper.

However, in view of the contention of your Department that such an interpretation of the limitation would operate to prevent it from obtaining sufficient participation in the acreage reserve program to achieve the acreage reserve goals for the major commodities covered by the Soil Bank Act, a result certainly not intended by the Congress; and in the light of the arguments and evidence advanced to support the Department's position on the matter, we have carefully examined the legislative history of the enabling legislation as well as the appropriation limitation here involved in order to ascertain the congressional intent of the proviso.

As indicated by the Assistant Secretary the Soil Bank Act does not itself define "producer" but it is clear from the text that the term is used to denote a person who raises agricultural crops and puts them in a condition for market. See *Sancho* v. *Bowie* (93 F. 2d 323, 326). As thus used the term clearly is not limited to land owners but comprehends in addition, tenants and sharecroppers as defined in the referred-to administrative regulations. If any further support for this view is needed, it may be found in the provisions of section 122 of the act, 70 Stat. 197, wherein the Secretary of Agriculture is directed to provide adequate safeguards to protect the interests of tenants and sharecroppers in respect of payments made under the acreage reserve program.

Under this description of "producer" there remains for consideration whether the Congress intended, by the proviso in question, to limit the amount of compensation payable to him for all farms in which he may have an interest, or whether it was intended to limit the compensation payable to producers for a single farm operation.

The proviso was first introduced as an amendment to the cited appropriation on the floor of the House by Representative REUSS. See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 15, 1957, pages 6182, 6183. The amount of the limitation—namely, $5,000—was charged to $2,500 on amendment of Representative ABBITT, and, as amended, was agreed to and passed. The following statement by Representative REUSS, quoted from page 6183, summarizes the attitude of the House of Representatives on the debate of the proviso:

"As the report of the Committee on Appropriations at page 26 well states: The principal justification for the acreage-reserve program is to restore to the farmer some of the income he has lost through reduced prices and acreage.

"Now, this $5,000 limitation to any one farm producer means that Government help will go where it is needed, not where is is not needed. Aid to the large-scale combination producer simply increases the tendency away from the family-sized farm, a tendency which has already gone much too far."

The Senate Committee on Appropriations in reporting out the bill increased the amount of the limitation to $5,000. The committee of conference settled on $3,000 which was agreed to and passed by both Houses. The above-quoted statements by Senator MUNDT reflect the attitude of the Senate on the application of the proviso.

Thus, the legislative history of the proviso discloses that the Congress, in deciding upon the $3,000 acreage reserve payment ceiling to producers, thereby intended to discontinue the large payments made to a single farm operation without in any way discriminating against farm tenant operators. Such being the case the limitation may be given effect only by regarding it as applicable to a single farm operation and each operator thereof.

In view of the foregoing comments, you are advised that we concur in the understanding of your Department that the Congress considered the applicability of the $3,000 limitation to each producer regarding a particular farming unit, rather than as a ceiling on the amount of compensation that can be paid to him for all farms in which he may have an interest. The acreage reserve payment illustrations outlined in the letter are based upon this understanding and appear unobjectionable.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK H. WEITZEL,
Assistant Comptroller of the United States.

Congressional Investigation of International Labor Organization Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, the Senate recently considered a resolution (S. J. Res. 73) to raise the ceiling on United States contributions to the International Labor Organization from $1,750,000 a year to $3,000,000 a year.

The Senate approved an increase of $250,000, which would raise the ceiling to $2,000,000 a year.

The resolution has now been referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. It will come up for discussion and action at the next session. It would be most constructive, therefore, to give the questions raised by this resolution some study in the meantime—and I therefore propose to go into it today, with the hope and expectation that what I have to say may lead to a closer examination of the advisability of the ILO budget increase.

Just what is the ILO?

Most of us know that it is a holdover from the League of Nations, and that it is now one of the agencies of the United Nations.

We know that it holds an annual conference every June in Geneva, attended by representatives of labor, employers, and government from each of its 78 member countries.

We know that the ILO is presumed to concern itself with the welfare and the standards of living of the workingman, all over the world.

We are told by the Labor Department, the State Department, and various international idealists, that the ILO is a vital instrument for the preservation of world peace.

But all of this still leaves us in the dark. I repeat—just what is the ILO, and what does it do?

Fortunately, we have available factual information on this subject, gathered from people who have had ample experience in ILO conferences. I refer in particular to William L. McGrath, of my own city of Cincinnati, who served for 6 years as a member of the United States employer delegation to the ILO, and has also served a 3-year term as a member of its governing body.

Mr. McGrath's reports on the actual workings of the ILO have aroused the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, which nominate the employer delegation to the ILO, to the point that these two organizations have seriously questioned the advisability of further participation in the ILO. They sent a delegation this year practically under protest, at the urgent insistence of the Government, and have recommended that the Congress of the United States conduct a searching joint investigation as to the advisability of the United States continuing to remain a member of the ILO.

The concern of the NAM and the United States Chamber of Commerce lies in the fact that the ILO has long since ceased to be a body devoted to the affairs of labor, and has instead become a political forum and propaganda agency devoted chiefly to fostering the philosophy of socialism, communism, and nationalization of industry.

To further its purposes the ILO uses the convention device. As you know, a convention is, in effect, a draft of a basic law which, when ratified by member countries, stands as a treaty among the nations which have ratified it.

ILO conventions can be, and are, used as the framework for specific legislation in countries all over the world. Left-wing political orators use them to lend support to their campaign proposals. From the standpoint of ideologies the ILO is probably the most influential propaganda organization in the world today; and this propaganda is in the main absolutely contrary to the beliefs and principles of the United States.

We, that is, the great majority of us, believe in freedom for the individual; the ILO is dedicated to mastery by government. The underlying intent of practically every ILO proposal put forward in recent years has been along the lines of more power for government, more control by government, more regimentation by government, more regulation by government—until the state would be the complete master of human destinies and affairs.

In its earlier days the ILO devoted itself to subjects concerned directly with labor. But then, in 1944, the ILO passed the so-called Declaration of Philadelphia, which said, among other things, that it was a responsibility of the ILO to examine and consider all international economic policies and measures in the light of the attainment of conditions under which human beings pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development.

By incorporating this declaration in its constitution, the ILO assumed the presumed right to draft proposed international laws on any subject under the sun; and that is exactly what it has proceeded to do. Let me give you some examples:

The ILO has drafted a proposed international law to the effect that government should give people money for ill-

ness, injury, childbirth, unemployment, old age, invalidity, which is defined as the inability to engage in any gainful activity, and a morbid condition. Interwoven in the provisions of this convention is a complete system of socialized medicine.

The ILO has drafted a proposed international law to the effect that all private employment agencies should be put out of business, and all employment placement should be concentrated in the hands of government. If government can tell people where they must go for jobs, government can direct the destiny of mankind.

The ILO has drafted a proposed international law to the effect that government should pay benefits to employed women at the time of childbirth, that the children should be put into a Government-run nursery, and that interruptions of mothers' working time for purposes of nursing the baby should be counted as working hours and paid for as such by the employer. I am told that when this convention was being drafted, an argument arose as to whether the convention should prescribe that a woman should nurse her baby for 1 hour during the working day, or for 2½ hours.

The ILO enacts recommendations as well as conventions—and in its recommendations it can give its socialistic ambitions full sway, for recommendations are pure propaganda, and do not have to be held within bounds which are practical for ratification purposes.

In 1955 the ILO passed a recommendation to the effect that in each country the public authorities, meaning government, should take over the education of all youngsters on the farm, providing them with textbooks, and teachers, prescribing examination requirements, and providing buildings, transportation, equipment, and so forth. This was a blueprint for the Communist technique of forcing young minds into the pattern prescribed by government.

In that same year the ILO recommended that the competent authority—meaning government—should prepare suggestions and guidance for the operation of canteens and cafeterias in industrial plants, subject to legal enforcement. In short, government is going to prescribe what people shall eat.

The ILO also enacts resolutions. One of its resolutions, passed under the pretext of dealing with unemployment, prescribed that government should take over production, allocation of markets, distribution of products, price fixing, wage fixing, financing—in fact, all phases of the economic system—and in addition, prescribed how workers should use their leisure time.

The ILO has what it calls a program of technical assistance. Theoretically, the ILO is supposed to send out experts to underdeveloped countries to help them increase productivity. But a large share of the technical assistance projects undertaken by the ILO turn out to be projects having to do with giving government a greater voice in the affairs of men.

For instance, the ILO calls the setting up of a social security system, the organization of a labor department, the establishment of a cooperative, the undertaking of a manpower survey, technical assistance. It is my suspicion that the technical assistance of the ILO consists largely of providing assistance in the promotion of socialism.

The Socialists took control of the ILO some years ago, when socialism took a firm hold in Europe. The underdeveloped countries of the Far East, impressed with Socialist ideas, followed the European pattern. Then in 1954 the Communists came back into the ILO in a big way. Russia returned as three nations—the U. S. S. R., the Ukraine, and Byelorussia—and began to bring its satellites back in full strength.

Today the Soviet countries have a solid block of 36 potential votes in the ILO, as compared to 4 for the United States.

The recent Communist invasion of the ILO has operated to push the nature of its proposals further to the left. While the Socialists and the Communists compete for followers, they nevertheless agree on certain basic theories such as nationalization of industry and government regimentation.

The net result is that today, as I said before, the ILO is spreading the doctrines of socialism and collectivism all over the world.

The Labor Department and the State Department say that the ILO represents an opportunity to sell the American way of life and the competitive system to the rest of the world. But have our Government delegates ever stood up at an ILO conference and made such an attempt? The answer is "No."

The employer and worker delegates from the free countries of the world have tried to have the so-called employer and worker delegates from the Soviet nations disqualified, on the ground that they cannot possibly represent free associations of employers and workers, and are merely stooges of their governments and the Communist Party. But has the United States Government helped in this effort? Again, the answer is "No." Our Government's policy has been simply to accept the doctrine of coexistence.

In short, the Socialists and the Communists have been gaining increasing headway in the ILO, and the influence of the United States has been growing less and less.

Hour after hour, in the plenary sessions, I am told, the Reds condemn our way of life and make frequent abusive reference to the United States—and for the most part we just sit and take it.

And is an international forum in which free enterprise is damned by a continuous flow of leftwing and Communist oratory of any possible help in selling the philosophy of the United States or in the preservation of world peace?

This brings me to the question of the proposed increase in our annual contribution to the ILO. We are asked to give more money to an organization in which our influence has been growing steadily less, and which is becoming increasingly successful in selling the rest of the world the very principles to which we are most opposed.

But that is just the beginning of the budget story. The detailed facts are almost incredible.

The United States pays 25 percent of the ILO budget; the other 77 nations pay the rest. This means that we bear one-fourth of the cost, and have one-seventy-eighth of the votes.

Sixty-four member nations of the ILO pay a total of 24.07 percent of its budget. In short, 64 nations, all rolled together, pay less than the United States; and yet those 64 nations, which include the smaller, underdeveloped and Socialist nations, can completely outvote the United States on any issue.

In 1955 the budget was apportioned among 66 member nations. But then the three Russian nations, the U. S. S. R., the Ukraine, and Byelorussia, came back in, and Honduras also joined. These 4 new members contributed 11.5 percent of the ILO budget. As a result, 41 nations got reductions in percentage allocations of ILO expense. But did the United States get a reduction? The answer is "No." For some years there has been a persistent drive within the ILO to get an even higher percentage from the United States of America.

The 1958 budget for the ILO contemplates a further percentage reduction for 27 member nations.

Now, in the face of the facts I have previously given you, let me ask this simple question—why should our country provide additional financing to an organization which is dedicated to the destruction of the very principles for which our country stands?

Of course, there are people who gaily assume that everything is for the good and that the ILO must be a noble enterprise because of its announced intentions. There are also people who may feel that the interests of the United States are well protected in the ILO because Mr. David Morse, Director General of the ILO, is an American citizen.

I would like to say a few words about Mr. Morse. Back in the Roosevelt era he was General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, and then became Under Secretary of Labor. He headed the Government delegation to the ILO, and then in 1948 was elected its Director General. This was a natural progression, the implications of which you can judge for yourselves.

When the Russians came back into the ILO, bringing their satellites with them in full force, Mr. Morse took a very factual view of the situation. After all, they represented a substantial increase in the ILO budget.

At the May meeting of the governing body this year, the question arose as to the reelection of Mr. Morse as Director General. His term was to expire in 1958. The governing body voted to extend his term for 5 more years.

Speaking in support of that proposal, Mr. Arutiunian, representing the Government of the U. S. S. R., said that he wished to stress the fact that Mr. Morse had been personally responsible to a very large extent for "certain developments in ILO activities in recent years";

that during his directorship it had become a universal organization, which made it possible to organize cooperation between countries which had different social and economic systems.

Following his reelection, Mr. Morse "hinted"—according to the Christian Science Monitor of June 27—that he would submit formal proposals soon for full ILO recognition of employer delegates for Communist countries.

I draw no implications and make no criticism of Mr. Morse. The executive head of an international organization owes his allegiance to that organization, and must shape his policies in line with majority opinion of its membership.

When he assumed his office, Mr. Morse took the following oath:

I solemnly undertake to exercise in all loyalty, discretion, and conscience the functions that have been entrusted to me as Director General of the International Labor Office, to discharge these functions and regulate my conduct with the interests of the International Labor Organization alone in view, not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any government or other authority external to the International Labor Organization, and at all times to uphold the constitution of the International Labor Organization.

It is my understanding that Mr. Morse is an exceptionally able man, which he must be, to hold the position he does. I simply wish to point out that the fact that Mr. Morse is an American citizen does not make him, in the ILO, an official representative of the interests of the United States. To carry through his job with honesty and integrity, he must follow the thinking of majority ILO membership, and such thinking is contrary to the philosophy of the United States.

I would like to mentioned another individual currently in the limelight in connection with ILO affairs, Joseph E. Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Last year, when the NAM and the United States chamber launched a serious blast of criticism of the ILO, the administrative branch of the Government set up an independent committee composed of college professors to look into the matter. Mr. Johnson was the chairman.

The Johnson committee came up with a report to the effect that, although there were many things wrong with the ILO, it was nevertheless a glorious institution. I have always been intrigued by the unfailing instinct of people in Government to select a committee chairman who will come up with a report which suits their purposes.

Mr. Johnson showed up this June as one of the advisors on the United States Government delegation to the ILO Conference in Geneva. No doubt this is merely a singular coincidence.

I think it is high time that the Congress of the United States turned the spotlight on the ILO.

The Congress has not been in the least backward in turning the spotlight on organized labor. Why should we hesitate as far as the ILO is concerned? It is rather interesting that, when Dave Beck was wanted by Senator MCCLELLAN'S committee, the first story was that he could not come because he was on his way to attend an ILO meeting in Hamburg. I believe the time has come for the Congress to take a new look at this whole ILO proposition.

I should like to explore this pertinent question—can anyone from the Labor or State Department, or any place else, point specifically to any particular advantage or accomplishment gained for the people of the United States as a result of our participation in the ILO?

I say that either the United States should be more effective in the ILO than it is now, or we should get out of it—one or the other.

But the correct answer can only be obtained by really digging into the subject. That is why I think we should have a joint congressional investigation.

Mr. McGrath, who has devoted many months of time and effort to the ILO, was once told by a member of the State Department that as to ILO matters there were "global considerations which no mere businessman could be expected to understand." Perhaps there are global considerations which no mere Congressman can be expected to understand. If so, I would like to know what they are.

It is my present intention to introduce at the next session of the Congress a joint resolution calling for a complete investigation of the International Labor Organization.

The American Legion of Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a copy of a resolution passed by the American Legion of Kansas at its convention held in the city of Hutchinson on August 23–25, 1957:

Whereas we are shocked by the announcement made by the United States Far East Command in Tokyo that Sp3c William Girard of the United States Army will be surrendered to Japanese authorities for prosecution on a homicide charge while on duty on a military reservation occupied by the United States forces, and while discharging an assignment given him by his superior officers; and

Whereas the ratification on July 15, 1953, of the Status of Forces Treaty of the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations, and similar agreements with other nations, has deprived our servicemen of the traditional protection extended by our Constitution and enjoyed by United States servicemen on foreign soil, and now subjects our men to trial, imprisonment and even the death penalty under foreign laws in foreign courts and prisons: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of Kansas, petition our representatives in the Congress of the United States to support legislation which will nullify that part of the NATO treaty and similar agreements referring to the Status of Forces and which deprives American servicemen of the protection of the United States Constitution, when serving in more than 50 countries in the world; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent the Honorable ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL and the Honorable FRANK CARLSON, our United States Senators, and our representatives in Congress.

Whereas the Armed Forces of the United States are continuing to discharge or release thousands of war veterans, many of whom are disabled and will need counseling, and employment assistance; and

Whereas a majority of these war veterans are young and had no civilian employment experience before their service with the Armed Forces, and many of them will seek the help of the Veterans Employment Service to obtain gainful employment: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Department of Kansas of the American Legion in regular convention in the city of Hutchinson, August 23–25, 1957, endorse this essential service and urge the Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to enable the Veterans Employment Service to do adequately the job so necessary to the security and welfare of the veterans; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the National Adjutant, the Director of the Economic Commission of the American Legion, for appropriate action at the National Convention in Atlantic City, N. J., September 16–19, 1957, and that copies be forwarded to our delegation in Congress, and to our United States Senators, urging them to give this resolution appropriate consideration.

Hon. Samuel K. McConnell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, it is my genuine regret that I was not present in the Chamber of the House on Tuesday last, when some Members, including yourself, gave expression of their high respect and esteem for our distinguished colleague of Pennsylvania, who is resigning from this body soon.

It was not long after SAM came to the Congress approximately 10 years ago that I became impressed with his high character and sound judgment. He was always of even temper, always friendly and gracious, always a gentleman with never an unkind word, always calm and deliberate. He was the kind of legislator who appeals to his colleagues and associates to a very high degree. We shall miss him in this Chamber.

His good advice will be needed in years to come and, personally, I will miss his friendship which I have treasured highly. In our regret, however, Mr. Speaker, there is consolation in the thought that Mr. MCCONNELL is leaving us in order to render service to the unfortunate persons suffering from physical handicap. I am sure that he, too, must have some misgivings in leaving the Congress, but I am confident that he is motivated by the high sense of duty which has been char-

acteristic of him, and his desire to be of genuine help to his fellow man, Mr. Speaker, we wish him God's speed and good health.

Serious Problems in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, this 1st session of the 85th Congress is at an end. For more than 7 months we have been in session wrestling with the problems facing our country. Millions of words have been recorded on the floor and in the committee hearings of the House, but very little in the way of constructive legislation has been enacted. It is not my purpose to find fault with the inaction of the Congress. It is a normal thing for the first session of a Congress to produce less in the way of final legislation than does the second session, but I wonder if it is normal to spend thousands of hours in session in committee and on the floor and produce but a fraction of the program that has been suggested by the President or by the Members who have introduced more than 10,000 bills embodying their ideas of needed legislation.

My primary interest in the Congress for many years has been in the fields of small business and agriculture. On occasion I have taken the floor to outline suggestions which my thinking and study in these fields have convinced me are needed to solve some of the serious problems facing these two segments of our economy.

In agriculture particularly are we facing serious difficulties about which little is being done. When we close the books on this session of Congress, we will have to conclude that no major farm legislation will have been enacted by the Congress. However, the Committee on Agriculture, on which I have the honor to serve, has done a world of work in committee, and many hearings have been held. Much testimony has been heard on major agricultural problems, and certainly during the 2d session of the 85th Congress this House will have an opportunity to consider fundamental changes in the approach toward the solution of the difficulties. As I said in an address on this floor last year, changes must be made in our basic agricultural legislation to bring it in conformance with the era in which we live. Our present price and production control legislation had its genesis in the postwar depression following World War I. The skid of prices received for farm products in 1919 and 1920 brought home sharply the importance of our agricultural economy to the economy of our Nation as a whole. Failure to solve or ease the problem at that time, in my opinion, paved the way for the depression of the early thirties.

In 1933 a determined effort to bolster the farm economy saw a movement toward managed prices and production that resulted in the Agriculture Act of 1938. This act, with minor amendments, is still the basic agricultural act under which most of our farm programs are operated.

These programs were depression born and geared to an emergency that had little or not relation to present-day economic factors. I find no fault with the attempt to help the farmer at that time, but I am certain that experience has shown that the type of programs devised would not solve the problems that arose when the tremendous energies of our agricultural producers met the challenge to feed the free world during World War II, the Korean war, and the immediate postwar period.

Agriculture is not like most production processes where adjustment can be made by shutting down an assembly line or abandoning a line of production when the demand has slackened or ceased. The success with which the challenge of the war years was met is to be commended, but the gradual readjustment of world markets to improve local conditions without a corresponding adjustment of our own production and marketing has led to a disjointed imbalance which has caused much of the serious difficulty into which agriculture has been plunged. It is to the credit of this administration that the problem has not achieved disastrous proportions.

The specter of ever-increasing surpluses and ever-increasing production was met with increased production controls while the price support program attempted to compensate the farmer for reduced plantings. How inefficient this process really is can best be illustrated by what is happening to our basic crops under the basic Agriculture Act of 1938, as amended. Cotton is probably the best, or perhaps I should say the worst, example of outmoded programs attempting to aid a crop and by this assistance practically ruining the cotton producers.

It is abundantly clear that high-level rigid price supports are not good for the cotton industry. Our cotton loses out in markets both at home and abroad. Stiff competition from synthetic fibers and from expanding foreign cotton production abroad means that our growers cannot find a market and cotton is piled in Government warehouses.

By our own actions we are pricing our cotton out of important market outlets. Our rigid high supports for cotton enable competitors—the synthetic fiber producers and foreign cotton growers—to expand their production and take over an increasing number of our cotton customers. As the saying goes, we "hold an umbrella over our competition." All of this happens because we were unwilling to recognize the basic fact that competitive prices for cotton are still highly important in holding and broadening domestic and foreign markets for the output of our efficient cotton farms.

High, rigid price supports, which discourage domestic consumption and exports, are largely responsible for cotton backing up into the hands of the Federal Government. When that happens, severe acreage curtailment is necessary.

There is a growing realization today that we must be able to sell our cotton to people—not to the Commodity Credit Corporation via the price-support route. The CCC itself consumes no cotton; it is people who do. People—not the CCC—make up the lasting and permanently profitable market that cotton must have.

Official reports of the Department of Agriculture reveal some very interesting facts about plantings and production of cotton. In the 1934–38 period the average of cotton acreage in the United States was more than 29 million acres a year. For 1957 the acreage is down to 14.2 million acres. Despite these drastic reductions in acreage, the United States had 60 percent of the world's accumulated cotton stocks on August 1, 1956.

During the same periods that domestic producers were being forced to reduce their cotton acreage drastically, foreign countries, spurred on by our price support umbrella over the world market, increased their cotton acreage by leaps and bounds.

During the 1934–38 period Syria planted 74,000 acres of cotton. In 1956 their cotton acreage was 675,000 acres—nine acres for every one planted prior to World War II.

Mexico increased its plantings from 680,000 acres in the 1934–38 period to more than 2,690,000 acres in 1955—nearly 4 times as many acres as in the prewar period.

Prior to World War II Turkey planted approximately 621,000 acres. By 1955 plantings were nearly 2½ times as large, or more than 1,500,000 acres.

Production yields kept pace with these increased plantings, and American producers have been producing for storage instead of consumption. The price umbrella made it possible for foreign countries to undersell United States price supported cotton. The obvious result is the loss of actual and potential foreign markets.

Certainly what is true concerning the loss of markets for cotton will positively apply to every other type and kind of farm commodity that depends on foreign consumption for the disposition of the surplus.

The failure of the price-support programs as provided for under the basic act of 1938 is not so much the failure of inactivity—we have attempted with patchwork amendments to bolster the act on a hit-and-miss basis—but the failure to proceed vigorously with corollary programs to keep it modern.

In the face of outmoded programs that need changing, we have made some progress. Last year, net realized farm income was 4 percent above 1955—the first peacetime year in which net farm income increased since 1947. Computed on a per farm basis the increase amounts to 7 percent.

For the first half of this year, realized net farm income was at the rate of about $12.1 billion, 2½ percent higher than in the first half of 1956.

Prices which farmers received for crops and livestock in the month ending July 15 rose 1 percent. At the same time, farmers' costs of production and living supplies fell one-third of 1 percent during the same month.

Market prices for cattle and hogs have been running $2 to $3 per 100 pounds above a year ago. Meat consumption last year averaged 167 pounds per person—the highest in more than 50 years.

Milk prices received by farmers have averaged higher, above the previous year at this time, for the third consecutive year.

Exports in farm commodities in fiscal 1957 were the highest in history. Most of this was due to increased activity made possible by the administration sponsored Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480).

Government-owned surpluses are being reduced. Commodity Credit Corporation investments in price supported commodities were about $7.6 billion on May 31, 1957, a net reduction of about $900 million since May 31 of 1956, and a reduction of about $1.3 billion below the peak holdings of February 1956.

Farm values reached an all-time high in March of this year, up 7 percent over the previous year.

An alltime high of $176 billion in total agricultural assets was again set January 1, 1957. Farmers have only about $12 in debts for each $100 of assets they own. Only about 1 farm of each 3 has a mortgage. Farm ownership is at an alltime high. There are fewer tenants as compared to farm owners than ever before.

Over 94 percent of all farms have electricity.

Despite cries about the plight of the family farm and its disappearance from the scene, we find that large-scale farms are only about 4 percent of all farms—the same as 30 years ago.

Most of this strengthening in agriculture has been due to the reduction of surpluses. The results of the soil bank and surplus disposal programs are serving to halt the trend of lowered farm net income.

William Howard Taft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON H. SCHERER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago, on September 15, William Howard Taft was born in Cincinnati in the First Congressional District of Ohio which I have the honor to represent in the Congress of the United States.

We all know that the Taft family has made tremendous contributions to this country. William Howard Taft has been the only person to serve this Nation both as President and Chief Justice. It is, therefore, patricularly fitting that we in Cincinnati, the birthplace and home of William Howard Taft, pause for a few moments to pay tribute to a great American on the 100th anniversary of his birth.

The William Howard Taft Memorial Association is doing just that. Among other things, it has this month passed the following resolution:

Whereas September 15, 1957, marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of William Howard Taft, the 27th President of these United States; and

Whereas beginning with that day in June 1900, when he stepped ashore at the port of Manila, Philippine Islands, he began his services to his country culminating in the highest offices that the United States can bestow on any man. From that date until his death in 1930, he bore the burdens of government as Governor of the Philippines, Secretary of War, President of his country, and Chief Justice of the United States. No other American in the history of this country served in all of these high offices.

In the freshness of youth and early manhood, Mr. Taft's interests centered almost exclusively in the sphere of jurisprudence where his activity was prodigious. He was a man of noble character with a powerful mind. Powerful and striking in person, he towered above the masses of men in his mental talents as much as he did in form and bearing.

He became beloved by the Philippine people as their Governor-General. He supervised the building of the Panama Canal as Secretary of War. As President of the United States, he governed a land inhabited by a busy and enterprising people, and as Chief Justice he lived the most satisfying portion of his life.

His career was filled with drama, romance, and adventure, with the backdrop the kaleidoscope of a growing Nation, and while the wars, the peace, the flag waving of political activity were the orders of his day, he undauntedly devoted his life to aid in the building of his country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the event of the centennial of his birth be brought to notice on the floor of Congress so that the worthiness of his contribution to the history of our Nation shall receive appropriate acknowledgment.

Given under our name on this 24th day of August 1957 at Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION,
STACEY HULBERT ALLEN,
President.
SARALEE ROBINETTE MELEDY,
Vice President.
MABEL KRAUSE HOYER,
Secretary.
IOLA COOK WILBUR,
Treasurer.

After Retirement—What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, it has just been my pleasure to read a scholarly and thought-provoking paper prepared by Mrs. Ruth Helmick Tipton, formerly a student at George Peabody College, in Nashville, Tenn., where she received her master's degree in August of last year. Mrs. Tipton is also a former teacher in Davidson County, Tenn.

Mr. Speaker, I feel this paper is worthy of the attention of all Members of Congress and all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and, therefore, under unanimous consent, ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

AFTER RETIREMENT—WHAT?

(By Ruth Helmick Tipton)

"What knowest thou, that we know not? What understandest thou, which is not with us? With us are both the grayheaded and very aged men, much elder than thy father." (Job 15: 9–10.)

INTRODUCTION

This topic was chosen because my father is within 5 years of retirement and we have been considering the various possibilites of what we, as a family, can do after retirement. I say we because as a widow with a young child I am presently making my home with my parents. Having always been a very close family, we feel that it will continue to be advantageous to all of us to remain together. This, of course, presents double problems for I must consider possibilities for my continued work, advantages for my daughter, such as music, ballet, and her continued study of French. My parents in turn must consider the type home they wish, climate, possible continued work, travel, friends and family.

Friends who have retired have given us insight into what we do not want to do as well as what we might enjoy doing. My parents are both physically fit and young in heart so have no intention of retiring to the rocking chair for many a long year. Nor would they be happy just resting, puttering around the yard or a workshop. Therefore, we are busy investigating all possibilities that allow for growth and activity.

They will probably spend the first 2 or 3 years in traveling. They plan to live abroad for these first few years, really getting to know the people and countries by living long enough in each place to make friends. My father was overseas during both World Wars and has friends in some of the countries that they will visit. After this they plan to come back to the States to work.

The problem now is what type of work will be most enjoyable and not too demanding on physical strength.

My father's hobbies are woodcarving, cabinetmaking, drafting, photography, and mechanical drawing. We have thought of a gift shop combined with a motel where possibly light snacks might be served. Mother has so many wonderful recipes that we feel are different and would be appreciated.

The next idea they have toyed with was traveling around taking pictures of historical spots, scenes of natural beauty, etc., which they might be able to sell to film companies who make up series of slides for tourist trade.

Too, they believe they can sell a good line of toys or clothes for children and combine photography with this. The problem will not be to make a regular salary, but rather to keep occupied so that they will not grow older than they feel. We firmly believe that nobody is old who is growing and giving of himself to help others.

"Now I turn to the future for wine and bread,
I have bidden the past adieu;
I laugh and lift hands to the years ahead,
'Come on, I am ready for you.'"
—*Edwin Markham* (at 80).

John J. Corson and John W. McConnell, authors of Economic Needs of Older People, say, "Generations passed before the American people became fully aware of their stake in the development and training of children as future workers and citizens. Additional decades will be required to bring about a so-

cial consciousness of what is involved in conserving the health, capabilities, and social relations of the population living in retirement."

"It is estimated that at present 36 percent of the more than 13 million persons in the United States over 65 have no income of their own, that 38 percent have an annual income of less than $1,000, and that 11 percent have an annual income between $1,000 and $2,000. Only 15 percent have incomes of $3,000 or more.

"The number of older persons is steadily increasing in relation to the total population. Since 1900, the number of persons 65 and over in the United States has quadrupled, while the total population has only doubled. The number of aged dependents per 100 workers is climbing." [1]

Some people retire because they have enough money saved to live on the rest of their lives and they plan to spend their time in travel and recreation. They are fortunate, but as we see from the figures above, they are in the minority.

Some are retired at a given age (65, 68, or perhaps 70) by the company they work for. Some retire because of ill health, because no one is willing to employ them, and many other reasons. Whatever the reason all these people need something to occupy their time—something useful and gainful. Many find that their retirement pay is not sufficient to meet the rising cost of living and must seek gainful employment.

We all need to plan early to make our retirement years independent, useful, and active within our physical capabilities. How? "By saving money toward old age, by investing wisely, by seeing to it that you get the social security credit you've earned, by looking around for the money-making possibilities in your hobby, by familiarizing yourself with the details of a small business you can open after you retire, by fitting yourself for possible employment then, and by care in selecting a retirement spot, if you choose to move." [2]

We will likely face a general pattern of disinterest in the services of the over-age worker, so we will have to put ingenuity and initiative to work. We will have to be willing to take the little jobs, even the odd jobs. We will have to plan shrewdly and may even have to revert to tasks and activities that we first started out with. The main thing is that the earlier we realize our needs after retirement the better chance we will have for a happy, useful, and successful retirement.

The three most common problems are lack of interesting occupations, lack of adequate income, and illness. We must remember that the years after retirement are indefinite in number. The first step is to have a savings account, next life insurance, Government bonds, and finally investment securities.

The main thing is to go about our planning systematically. We should have a budget and thus get an idea in black and white where our money is going. How much we save, put into insurance and bonds, will depend on our individual expenses. With your plan down in black and white you can see where your money oozes away. We should save a minimum of 10 percent, but 15 percent would be better. The important thing is that our savings should be systematic. Next, we should take our savings out before we get into our paycheck and start spending. Safety, rather than income on savings should be our first consideration. All deposits are insured up to $10,000. We need to look around at the banks, their rates of interest, when interest starts, etc.

The principal point in buying life insurance is to buy it early and save money. It is more expensive as you grow older. Be sure the policy you buy fits your needs. "Straight life" is usually the best foundation and the first $5,000 or $10,000 should be in that form. In an annuity you pay a stipulated sum first, and collect regular income payments as long as you live. The trouble here is that what would have been an adequate income before the war is now shrinking in purchasing power.

The average person should buy bonds for safety of principal, and for income. A modest backlog of United States savings bonds should be acquired first. The bonds sold on the payroll-deduction plan are series E bonds and are sold at 25 percent less than face value. The United States savings bonds can be combined with a savings account and other investments to insure a balanced financial plan.

The authors of Successful Retirement tell of one family who decided to develop their financial plan for retirement along a unique line. They decided to follow the pattern set by corporations for funding their debts. They decided that the telephone bill of $4.50 a month, or $54 a year, was a good place to start. With American Telephone & Telegraph common stock paying $9-a-year dividend, it meant that an investment in six shares of A. T. & T., paying $54 a year in dividends, would pay for the phone bill.

A special savings account, exclusively for the purchase of securities, was opened in a mutual savings bank. The original savings account opened at the beginning of the budget planning was not touched—that money was for emergency use only. Extra money was placed in the new account and when enough had accumulated they bought two shares of the American Telephone & Telegraph stock. When the first quarterly dividend check of $4.50 arrived they decided not to use it to pay the phone bill since this was already in the budget, but to place this in the special security savings account and save toward buying the required 6 shares to save the $54 a year.

Next they decided to invest in the local utility company (light and gas bill). They later on saved enough to invest in the chainstore where they did most of their food buying. Later on when this company began to lose customers they decided to drop into the brokerage office and when they discovered that the company was dropping back in earnings, and that new competitors were pressing them hard. They decided to sell the chainstore stock and put this nice profit in the special account. They learned that you don't fall in love with stocks, but get out if things begin to go wrong with the company. They also learned to draw out money just after interest was paid, also, to buy stocks in 10-share units whenever possible and save on commissions. Whenever rights were offered to buy additional shares, they were always exercised, never sold. They developed more interest in the companies and their products; newspapers and magazines were carefully read with reference to the stocks they owned.

Many people move to find inexpensive living quarters (and living quarters with a minimum of housekeeping effort); to seek employment opportunities that are open to those receiving old-age and survivors insurance benefit payments; or to find a climate suitable for their state of health.

The older person should not bemoan the fact that he must live alone. Many younger people choose this way of life—the bachelor and the bachelor girl—and many older people have this same desire to be independent.

As we get older our ability to attend to the details of housekeeping and property-holding are lessened. There is also the reduced financial ability to maintain property and living expenses, due to the necessity to live on retirement and/or savings (usually far below the income of the wage-earning period). Often older people cannot adjust to reducing their scale of living either as to space or the amount of money it takes to keep up a home. We should give serious thought to our retirement home and not lose sight of the values in a change.

If parents will not be happy in another home then often the children will have to help the parents live in the established pattern. This may well prove an excessive drain financially on children who have their heaviest responsibilities elsewhere (raising families and getting started in business and their profession). If the children are unable to pay for necessary help for aging parents the children must perform the household duties (major ones) in addition to their regular job. This often means that they remain in the parental home. In some cases the children may reach middle-age before having a chance to "live their own lives." In the case of an unmarried daughter this may mean being too old to start out into competitive business and therefore must take "left-over" jobs which are often uncongenial. This may result in severe frustration and often unacknowledged resentment of the aged parents.

If the parents move into their children's homes they find insufficient living space because of real estate values, modern architecture, and small houses. There are personality conflicts, sharp differences in social customs, and often conflicts arise because the elders have difficulty in relinquishing authority over "children."

Any of the above require major adjustment at a time of life when it is most difficult to make. Therefore, we should plan for our home after retirement just as we plan for financial security.

There are many things that a retired person might do to add to their income. Some of these develop from hobbies, some from previous work, and many from exercising a little ingenuity.

Many city people have the idea that they will retire to the farm, but this requires experience, capital, and strength they are not likely to have. In general, part-time farming will not add cash to the family income, but it will give you your food and in some areas you may be able to sell your surplus. If you are in a resort area then you have opportunities to dispose of fresh produce at a profit to the hotels, especially if you can beat the market by a few days. For men who like hunting and fishing the resort hotels will often snap up the frogiegs, fresh-caught fish, and game in season.

A roadside stand that offers various items for sale can be managed by a retired person. You should identify your product with the region—old-fashioned New England * * * and so on. People enjoy such local color; and they like to think they are getting something they can't get any other place.

Another country service is the fresh berries and cream, fresh berry shortcakes, or freshly made pies, cake, or cookies with milk from your own cow, and good coffee. Tourists are tired of the usual snacks along the road and will welcome such things as the above.

If you have a berry patch let the people pick their own fruit and weigh it as they leave and collect. We did this on the west coast. During the war the farmers were unable to get people to pick the fruit and the servicemen were called on for help, but even with their help the fruit was ripening before it could be picked. We went into the peach orchard with our own containers which were weighed as we went in. We picked the peaches and as we came out they weighed

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[1] David L. Bowen, "Ratio of Aged High in New England," The Nashville Tennessean (Sunday Morning, Feb. 5, 1956, p. 7-B).

[2] Evelyn Colby and John G. Forrest, Ways and Means to Successful Retirement (B. C. Forbes and Sons Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1952, p. 4).

the fruit and we paid for it. This was loads of fun to those of us who had never had a chance to do such things and to those who had missed doing this. The added bonus was that we were not weighed as we went in and were allowed to eat all the fruit we wanted as we picked. They saved their fruit crop and built good relations too.

Some part-time New England farmers have built up a steady trade in maple fudge with butternuts or black walnuts, maple syrup, maple sugar, cream, and candy. Also honey is a good seller and this can also be a mail-order business. Fruit preserves that are a specialty of the region or locality are often inexpensive to make in the country and can be sold in many areas.

Some farmers are raising rabbits for both meat and wool. Some raise mink, chinchilla, goats, guinea fowl, fox, and even earthworms and other worms and insects. Goat milk is part of the diet of certain ailments and you should notify every physician and hospital in the locality that you can supply goat milk. Guinea fowl are a luxury food and are served in high-class restaurants and hotels. They are relatively difficult to raise, but can be sold for high prices. The retired man or woman or couple will have time for the attention necessary to raise them. The earthworms can be sold to farmers to enrich and aerate the soil, also to fishermen. The zoos will buy certain worms and insects for their animals.

There is a demand today for herbs, both fresh and dried. Some plants are used in medicine, some cultivated, and others are found wild by hunters. Here you could combine your exercise with moneymaking.

If you have a large house (in the country) you might convert part of it into an apartment for summer vacations. You might erect a studio for rent to artists, authors, musicians for the summer—just advertise in the newspapers of the nearest large town or city. These people appreciate a quiet place where their odd hours and practice will not disturb neighbors. If you are in a resort area you might build 1 or 2 cabins or take in summer boarders. If you are where there is no day nursery and one is needed you might start one of these for working mothers.

A small nursery or greenhouse in the country is often successful and appeals to those retired persons who like to work in a garden. You should have some specialty and encourage everyone to use this plant. It can become a fad to have your specialty.

Kennels and boarding homes for dogs and cats will often do well in the country, particularly when not too far from towns.

City people who have fireplaces in their homes will be glad to buy firewood. This requires a truck to deliver and a power saw, but a regular route can be built up and a fair amount collected for the few hours in the open air.

Many rural and small towns could use a children's exchange shop. The idea is to place on sale whole and clean but slightly worn and outgrown clothes.

Some exchanges take on children's toys and furniture. We had just such a shop in Newfoundland during the war where we took all things we no longer needed, and the items were sold for us, with the shop keeping a certain percentage. This was called a Thrift Shop and worked very well. When the child no longer needed his toilet seat, Baby Tenda, high chair, baby bed, rocking horse, playpen, stroller, or what have you, these items were made available to others who needed these things. We even exchanged other hard-to-get items such as shoes, pots and pans, extra dishes, irons, and so on.

Some country homes that are not near restaurants offer meals served along the road.

Many rural areas would welcome the services of the physician and dentist who retire from city practice; the nurse, and especially the practical nurse. A retired civil engineer could put his skills to ues in many country areas. The retired man who can operate an airplane could do crop dusting for insect control. Also retired salesmen can find jobs selling to those in the rural areas. The careful driver might get a job as a schoolbus driver.

Resort hotels employ people during the season as chambermaids, waitresses, clerks, cashiers, gardeners, and so on; and roadhouses and tearooms require similar help. The waiters and waitresses in resort hotels are generously tipped.

Operators of large farms need berrypickers, vegetable pickers, weeders, etc. The large farm needs extra cooks and waitresses during the threshing season.

Children's camps need extra help, too. If you can teach crafts, games, etc., you would be of use, as well as with cooking and serving food for the campers.

In small towns, suburbs, and in the city you might be able to start a rental library.

If you plan to go into a small business after you retire, then your wife should enter the business and learn as much as possible before you venture with your capital. If the business you hope to start after retirement does not employ women, then you might work part time or nights in the business yourself to get the information you need. If you explain your interest, you may be able to get much helpful information from the owner. We are interested in a children's shop on retirement, and I plan to spend some of my summers in such a shop to get all the information possible. I have several friends who are in this type business and they know that we are interested for future use and in another locale, so will not be competition. They are willing to discuss the problems as well as the many advantages of such a shop with us.

A diaper washing service is needed in many small towns and a retired person could operate such a business.

A retail business run from the home is easier on the retired person, for then they can dovetail business and household duties. One friend is a retired beauty parlor operator, and she keeps just as busy as she wishes taking care of the neighborhood women. She is always willing to run you in in case of an emergency, and so has built up much goodwill among her customers. She has her shop in her front room of the house. She also has made use of her maid as the hair washer. In order for the maid to do this part of the beauty parlor work, she had to take a beauty course at her colored beauty school and get a license. They made an agreement that her course would be paid for by the shop, and in return the colored girl would work a certain length of time using this new trade for the benefit of the customers of the shop.

In retirement towns you might be able to use your dressmaking experience by specializing on work for elderly women, particularly alterations.

Many retired people can go into real estate and insurance selling. A notary public is needed, and this can be done by retired persons. A photostat shop or shop duplicating by machine, form letters, addressing and stuffing envelopes, mailing and the like, can be done by retired people. A typewriting service which you advertise to schools, hospitals, physicians, dentists, lawyers, ministers, real estate and insurance agents, and, particularly, to local authors. Be willing, be eager to do emergency work. The work of public stenographer is also open to the retired person. A traveling salesman often needs stenographic help that the small town does not afford.

Too, you can address envelopes, and especially addressing envelopes (handwriting) for wedding announcements, to record gifts and givers for the bride's thank-you notes—do the secretarial work for the wedding, and this is usually well-paid work. If you really take a lot of the burden off the bride and her family, you can be sure of recommendations to their friends.

You might open a small shop serving sandwiches, pie and coffee in containers to be eaten off the premises and located near a school, factory, or other institutions.

A dessert shop which could open late in the morning and after movies, where something besides the usual ice cream would be offered—fruit and berry shortcakes, layer cakes; offer a variety of unusual sherbets and cookies for the reducers; homemade puddings. Superlative coffee is a must.

Desk lunches for business people and rainy-day service. Good homemade soups, casserole dishes, salads, home-made cakes and pies. Serve a few really good lunches rather than many dried sandwiches, etc.

You might start with a small line of homemade bakery products and homemade confections. You might take orders for parties, dinners, and showers. You might specialize on children's birthday parties or holiday parties. Offer a set price per head for the guests so the mother knows exactly what she will have to spend. Serve normal-diet foods in fancy guise to children instead of rich and sweet dishes—avoid stomach aches the next day. Provide an inexpensive gift for each child with your advertisement on it for the child to take home from the party. If you have an extra room you might turn it into a party room? The mother would appreciate this for the home is usually upset after a party and too there is an element of surprise in taking the child to a party instead of bringing it to him. Many hotels do this sort of thing now and more and more parents are beginning to see that it is just as reasonable to have the party outside of the home and so much less work on the mother. Too, older women might act as hostess in the hotel for parties not only for children, but for adult groups—most hotels have this sort of service and if not you might talk it up to the local hotel. This brings more business to the hotel and at the same time will give employment to a retired woman.

A petshop, kennel, or breeding pets can be a good business for a retired person. You might follow up the sale of your pet with a mimeographed sheet explaining the care, training and feeding of the pet. You can then stick in your price lists for the various needs of the pet sold. If you board a pet you can drop the owner a card now and then to let them know how the pet is getting along for owners worry about their pets while they are on trips.

Concessions in hotels and office buildings for newsstands, cigar standse, etc., offer suitable work for the retired or handicapped people. So does a back-number magazine stand.

Gift shops and holiday stores where you keep supplies of favors for all the holidays, birthdays, cards and small gifts also can be run by retired people.

Along with the beauty shop or barbershop could go grooming for the ill in hospitals or homes * * * it is good for the morale of the aged or ill to look their best and often age or illness keeps them from going to you, but you could go to them.

Renting electrical appliances such as sanders, waxers, fans, heaters, etc., could be carried on from one's own home. Also invisible mending or weaving will offer work to those with good eyesight, manual dexterity and patience.

A sporting goods store appeals to many retired persons. You might just handle fishing equipment and athletic equipment for boys.

A mechanical laundry where the housewife carries her bundles of wash to put through the machine in the laundry, are popular these days and many locations do not yet provide these. You might add a drier, facilities for starching, dyeing, and a large machine for washing scatter rugs, etc.

Frozen food lockers are popular, but require a good-sized investment. Householders rent lockers in the plant and store food in them. Generally, the plant cuts meat into family-size portions and packages them for freezing; this might require the butchering ability which you might not have and would have to hire, since the meat may be a whole side of beef or whole deer.

A lock-and-key shop is a good business for a retired man and can be operated from the home in a small town.

Taxi service in a small town or in an area that attracts tourists—a guided tour of the spots of interest could easily be handled by the retired person.

The retired professional man or woman, or one whose career was in an unusual field might be a lecturer for business or fraternal clubs and associations, women's clubs, garden clubs, writers' groups and the like.

A retail art supply store, music store or record shop are possibilities for the retired artist and musician. They might also give lessons to the young people and the adults.

A retired photographer in a small town might interest his neighbors in photographs of their homes, both interior and exterior. Distant relatives like to see the garden in spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Specialize in photographing pets; emphasize the value of photographing a child on every birthday and offer an album designed to hold such a series. One friend went to dog shows and photographed the pets making a considerable sum for his efforts and patience.

There are so many things a retired person can do—babysitting, help with household tasks, efficient dinner maid, a retired woman who can cook and serve for a dinner party, holiday and anniversary parties require extra help—often the woman to cook and the man to serve. Part-time housekeepers for businesswomen or bachelors or a business couple. Companions for elderly people.

"Animal-sitting" in the city is a welcome service. Many owners do not want to board their pets while they are absent, but do need someone to feed, water and/or exercise animals left at home by the owners. Absolute reliability is needed and prior acquaintance with dogs is essential; if you are a stranger when you walk in, Rover is likely to defend his home from you, food or no food.

Social director or hostess at hotels, resorts, ranchos, and the like offer employment for the retired person. This is usually seasonal. The hostess welcomes guests, introduces them to others and makes them feel at home, arranges a program of activity for their entertainment. Often the guest's birthday is observed with a cake or champagne. This could be both profitable and interesting work. Often a retired couple can do this sort of work together.

Some hotels, hospitals, and other institutions hire women to mend the linen. Often this is part-time work and the work is light. Linen checker, hotel maid, porter, room clerk, reservation clerk, key clerk, room-service clerk, parcel delivery clerk, waiters, waitresses, kitchen helpers, locker-room attendant, etc., are all jobs offered by hotels that the retired person could fill.

Tourist-court attendant, parking-lot attendant, used-car lot attendant, bathhouse attendant, restroom attendant, checkroom attendant, safe-deposit vault attendant, veterinarian hospital attendant, turnstile attendant, ticket taker, vehicle fare attendant at bridges and ferries—all of these offer jobs for the retired person. The retired man might be a watchman, bank guard, building superintendent, movie usher, porter, elevator operators in office buildings, hospitals, stores, and hotels. Large plants employ guides to conduct people through the establishment and older people can be used here. Golf courses offer caddying and greenskeeper for older workers. Florist and other retail stores need messengers. Many office and factory messengers are older men; so are timekeepers, shipping-room clerks in stores, plants, and offices; so are stock clerks.

The retired woman is offered a chance to work as housemother, librarian to run hospital library, cashiers in some restaurants, movie theaters, or other places of amusement, cashier or wrapper in retail stores, switchboard work in hotels, particularly on the night shift and mailroom work is often light and can be done by the older worker. Mature women are often preferred by physicians and dentists as receptionists. Substitute work pays well, and when secretaries take their vacations they often need someone to fill in who is familiar with office routine. Laundering fine silks and laces can be turned into a tidy sum for the laundries of today ruin these finer things. A few hours a day spent in the care of children or reading to an invalid will also earn money for the retired woman.

There are probably many other jobs available to the older worker that I have not mentioned, but these should give us some choice and, too, we can develop paying jobs from our hobbies. Before going on to hobbies I should like to mention what is being done to help older people find jobs.

"The ability of the aged to learn, to accustom themselves to long and irregular hours of work, even to perform strenuous manual duties not generally associated with their age, was proved during the war. The War Manpower Commission reported on the actual experience of employers with older men and women workers. The employers indicated that even in cases where the production of the aged per time unit has been relatively less than that of younger persons the experience, judgment, concentration, carefulness, and patience of the older wage earners are compensatory factors 'which pay dividends in quality of product, salvage from waste and rejects, and often in long-run output.' The reluctance of many employers to employ the aged may have been reduced by their experiences during the war." [3]

Marjorie King, of San Francisco, Calif., spends her spare time finding jobs for women over 40. Careers Unlimited for Women is flourishing, and its services are free to both employee and employer. The agency is financed by donations and office space and equipment are contributed by businessmen, some of whom once hesitated to hire older women. She says these people do not want retirement but work.

The Detroit section, National Council of Jewish Women and the Jewish Vocational Service of Detroit, sponsored a program known as the National Council of Jewish Women-Jewish Vocational Service Special Placement Program for Older Persons. They used selective placement, which involves a careful determination of the client's physical capacities and finding jobs with physical demands to match. Actual placements have far exceeded expectations and have shown a progressive increase each year. There were 32 placements in 1951, 57 in 1952, 76 in 1953, and 70 percent were of persons 60 years of age and over. The women have interested employers in the program. A followup study with employers showed that they were well satisfied with clients placed from the program. Clients proved to compare favorably in terms of length of stay on the job and degree of job satisfaction. They earned less, but were paid rates for the particular job in the particular industry. Late in 1952 a suitable sheltered workshop was established to assist in the vocational adjustment of certain hard-to-place persons.

Charles H. Meyer, personnel director of Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, says, "Age is of little consequence to satisfactory performance among certain industrial workers." [4] Carpetweavers at Alexander Smith & Sons Carpet Co., were compared and those under age 45 and over 45 showed up about the same as to satisfactory performance.

State Teachers College, Florence, Ala., has put their retired teachers to work, but not as teachers. There is a small museum in one building and one retired teacher has an apartment in the building and is in charge of the museum. Others live with younger teachers and have their room and board furnished them by the college in return for duties of a supervisory capacity. There is one disabled person in 50's and others over 75. One is acting as housemother and is in charge of the maid service of the dorm.

Hobbies can make money for you. Many people retired and active make money from their hobbies. Your hobby may not produce money after you retire, but it does provide excellent recreation and relaxation now and for the future. A hobby to be rewarding in old age should have been started years before and continued as opportunities permitted. One friend collected antiques as a hobby and after retirement opened her home as an antique shop. She kept the pieces she did not want to part with in one room, but the other rooms were open and one might better see the display of old glass, odd pieces such as bed warmers, fireplace equipment, melodeons, etc. She was constantly on the look out for more antiques to replace those sold so she continued her hobby but made it work for her too.

One friend collects snakes to sell to the small zoos. The Children's Museum uses live animals to feed their snakes and some retired person could easily raise white rats or other small animals to sell to the zoos or museums that require live food for their animals.

Malcolm C. Dizer was a stamp collector and has worked his hobby into a profitable business. Along with his stamps he writes things that will enhance the meaning of the stamps—factual information, quotations from famous writings, a bit of poetry that is suitable, drawings and photographs. He arranged these bits of knowledge and the stamps into little booklets which he published. When Edward abdicated and the United States was in a furor about it he sent out the stamps of Edward and beside them he printed Edward's abdication message as his Christmas card to friends. His friends came back asking to buy additional copies and also people he did not know who saw these cards asked to buy them. This was the way he started making his hobby pay.

The stamps honoring famous Americans have been made into a booklet. He not only spent his spare time looking up material and learning about his stamps for his own enjoyment, but is able to sell these to other collectors.

One man enjoys making costume jewelry as his hobby, and when he retires he plans to supplement his income with this hobby for he is already picking up a fair amount on the side making this jewelry.

Needlework, knitting one-of-a-kind dresses, crocheted place mats, etc., are hobbies for women that can be turned into money after retirement.

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[3] NICB, Studies in Individual and Collective Security, No. 4; Financing Old Age; Henry W. Steinhaus (National Industrial Conference Board, 247 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., 1948), p. 49.

[4] The Personnel and Guidance Journal, Age and Productivity (vol. 34, October 1955), p. 85.

Woodworking, metalworking, and furniture making are hobbies that men can turn into money after retirement. Doll houses that are duplicates of the child's house could be sold at Christmas or for birthdays. Leathercraft in which you specialize on binding valuable books.

The amateur magician or puppeteer is sometimes in demand for entertainments in private schools, at dinners, and other social gatherings.

Genealogy—a booming subject today. What started out as a hobby or interest in one's own family could work into a good business by research into other family backgrounds. It is a highly specialized field, but fascinating.

After retirement you should always have something you can do but try to confine to the minimum the things you must do. Loneliness is a problem with many retired people today. Their children grow up, marry, move away. Some of their friends and relatives move or they become ill or frail. So one thing we can do in preparation for retirement is to get into contact with as many friends and relatives of about our years as we possibly can—and keep in contact with them. One way to keep in touch is letter-writing or sending out postal cards. You could write these about every 2 weeks with a bit of family news and a friendly message—don't be alarmed if you don't hear right away—you probably will hear from most of them eventually. If you travel a bit after you retire, then it will be a very pleasant break in the journey to stop by and visit some of these friends and relatives you have been writing. We need to keep our friends, and if we fail to keep close to others whom we found congenial in interests and personality we invite a lonely and unhappy old age. We also need young friends, for they stimulate us.

Find out about the older group in your church and join them as often as possible. Before you retire make it a point to seek out and cultivate the friendship of the older people, make your friendly circle as wide as possible for you won't be able to keep up with the younger people as you get older.

Another valuable thing to do is to clean out your household so that it is as easy to clean and care for as possible. Clear out those articles that take space and need care but contribute little to usefulness. One older friend went through her house and got rid of most of her figurines, silver service, and dishes, and other dust catchers. When asked how she could bear to give up these lovely things, she said she had been slave to them long enough (the constant polishing) and it was time they had a new master. So often we are slaves to our material possessions. As we get older we had better part with some of these useless material possessions so the decks will be cleared for real action when we retire.

Idle lives are empty, unsatisfactory. The physical strength is less, but less is needed; life is easier, and machinery does for the feebler hands what once required the strength of youth.

Older people have equal power to learn, but less speed. Since they have much more time their somewhat slower reactions need not trouble them. They need to keep mentally alert. To keep the mind alert set for yourself the task of improving yourself by reading, learning a foreign language (Spanish in 3 weeks—conversation), or take hold of one of the great causes of the world. They will give you enthusiasm, purpose. Begin to grow spiritually—get rid of prejudices—study race, a ruler, or whatever.

You must not be isolated. Get together in a group and study current events, including political affairs in your own community. There are many places where voluntary services are needed—children's institutions, churches, social service groups, and parent-teachers' associations.

Mrs. Mary Traffan Whitney, of North Weare, N. H., says, "It is the beginning of a new phase of life, as interesting and valuable as any that has gone before * * *. When seniors as a group come to feel that life has for them new duties and responsibilities as well as new enjoyments, a new social influence will be felt because a whole section of the span of life which has gone to waste or lain fallow will be recognized as one of its most fruitful portions."

A little study of "Who's Who in America" will show that a great number of the names listed are 65 or over.

Walter Damrosch in the middle seventies produced an opera. Carrie Jacobs Bond began her radio career at 72. Wagner wrote the opera Parsifal after he was 65. Edison worked on to a very late date. Paderewski, after a musical career, a political career, then entered the movies. Dr. Lilliam Martin resigned at 65 from her chair of psychology in Stanford University, but she did not remain idle; she turned to hard work in psychological clinics, traveled, wrote several books, and worked on the problem of salvaging old age.

Yes, you can live these later years as usefully and happily as those which have preceded; perhaps even fill them with more usefulness and happiness. There is no reason to stop growth or cease those things which give us pleasure, just because we have passed 65.

"Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be;
The last of life for which the first was made.

—*Browning.*

"For age is opportunity no less
Than youth itself, though in another dress;
And, as the evening twilight fades away
The sky is filled with stars, invisible by day."

—*Longfellow.*

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John Prather Fights for Right To Live Out His Life on His Ranch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I watched with great interest the developments in the case of Mr. John Prather, the 82-year-old New Mexico rancher who stood up against the Federal Government and all of its powerful arms, demanding that he be allowed to live out his few remaining days on his ranch. Although many probably feel that this fine old gentleman was wrong and that he should not have raised his arms or his voice against the all-powerful Federal Government, I want the record to show that I am proud of the action taken by this rancher and I glory in his spunk. I thought that he was right. He was fighting for a cause just as those who led the American Revolution were. The time should never come in this country when a man, who sincerely believes he is following the right course, should not be permitted to stand up and fight for his cause. The records will show that the military in this country has not been guiltless of land-grabbing activities. This has been brought out most pointedly in recent committee hearings.

The military is not above and beyond human error. Its particular choice as to land it desires to utilize does not mean that decision is infallible. Mr. Prather has, no doubt, paid many thousands of dollars into the tax coffers of this land. He is a living example of the free-enterprise system to which a democratic society must be dedicated if it is to survive. He should not only have every right in the world to retain the land for which he has worked so hard, but he should have the help of those who would take that land away from him to see that every possible alternative is resorted to.

I have received many letters from people who reside in the district which I have the honor to represent. Among these was a letter from Mr. Elmo Duke of Amarillo, Tex. I also received a column that was written by the very able editor and publisher of the excellent newspaper, the Castro County News,

which is published at Dimmitt, Tex., Mr. Bascom Nelson. I am requesting under unanimous consent to insert, with my own remarks, a portion of Mr. Nelson's comments, which appeared in his paper on August 15, 1957:

ABOUT DIMMITT AND CASTRO COUNTY

(By Bascom Nelson)

There is an old man in New Mexico who is probably on the receiving end of much unspoken moral support from people everywhere. He is Mr. John Prather, 82, who swears the United States Army's not big enough to put him off his home place.

It seems the Army has a guided missile test range adjacent to his 27,000-acre ranch and they need his property to make the range big enough. A roomful of Army generals and other assorted brass probably came to this conclusion and decided to take the old man's land. To be magnanimous, they offered him $209,000 for his land, which was probably more than it is worth. But Mr. Prather didn't want to sell.

Then came a court order for him to sell his land. The old gentleman still said the ranch wasn't for sale at any price.

So now it stands with Mr. Prather in one corner, the United States Army in the other. A group of a dozen M. P.'s and three marshals tried to evict him Thursday but couldn't muster the nerve to come out from behind the rocks and face the old man's rifle.

It could be argued that Mr. Prather is in the wrong, that he is unpatriotic, a near-criminal, and should get off his land. But it is refreshing to see someone, once in a while, do a bit of defying of a tremendously powerful Federal Government. He will probably eventually lose his argument. When he does, his quiet but firm resistance will have only marked another time that a man was forced from his home against his wishes.

Europe Acclaims Cleveland Orchestra

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, among one of the more successful cultural exchanges made possible by the State Department policy, the Cleveland orchestra was permitted to tour Europe and to include Warsaw on its concert itinerary. It is regrettable that the concert planned for the city of Prague had to be canceled because of diplomatic problems. However, as a Clevelander it was thrilling to learn of the response to the Cleveland orchestra throughout Europe.

An article by Martin Mayer in the September issue of Esquire magazine pays tribute to the Cleveland orchestra, excerpts of which are as follows:

ON RECORD

(By Martin Mayer)

The Cleveland is not merely a very good orchestra for the size of its home city; it is, as its conductor George Szell says, "a very good orchestra for the size of the world."

Arthur Krock of the New York Times called the Cleveland group's European tour the greatest success American propaganda had experienced abroad since cultural exchanges began, and the reasons are obvious. Nobody in Europe would be much surprised to hear a great orchestra from Philadelphia, New York or Boston—but Cleveland—mon Dieu! An orchestra of such stability and balance—such even crescendos and adaptable strings—how did this happen?

The answer is: Through care and love and money. The care has been shown in the choice of conductors, who have traditionally been given more administrative authority in Cleveland than almost anywhere else. In 40 years, the orchestra has had only four leaders: Nikolai Sokoloff, Artur Rodzinski Erich Leinsdorf and (since 1946) George Szell. The love is shown in the number of concerts Clevelanders attend; last season the orchestra gave more home performances than any other American symphony—over 100. And the Cleveland budget gives Szell five rehearsals a week, enough time so he can place an unfamiliar contemporary piece on almost every program. The money is visible in Severance Hall, built specifically for this orchestra in 1931, and in the superb instruments played by the string section. It is generally believed that in the orchestra's endowment is an instrument fund, which would explain a great deal.

In personnel, the Cleveland is now definitely George Szell's orchestra: "my instrument," he says. It had to be, both because Szell's temperament is not one which tolerates obstacles and because the situation on his arrival was chaotic. The orchestra had been without a permanent director for 3 years: Leinsdorf had been drafted into the United States Army and the directors had felt obliged to hold his job open for him. Szell organized the situation by intensive personal attention to every least and last post, bringing about a measurable change in the personnel. He considers that "the personnel of the orchestra is now consolidated. Artistically and from the human angle it is exceptionally congenial."

Sixty years old, well over 6 feet tall and utterly erect, Szell is perhaps the most imposing presence in the musical world today. He was born in Budapest, but the family moved to Vienna when he was 3. A child prodigy on the piano, and assistant conductor to Richard Strauss at the Berlin Opera before he was 20, he has never stopped studying music, and he sees no reason why anyone else should, either. In recruiting for his orchestra, he says, "I offer them myself. They enjoy making music, and they know they can learn more." Nobody in music, however, has been more kind to young ambitions: he organized a program which brought to Cleveland each season for 3 years two student conductors who worked under him. When funds for this program ran out, Szell organized a unique conductors' workshop under which two young conductors of small-town orchestras come to Cleveland for 2 weeks to study Szell's procedures and to work with the Cleveland orchestra.

Szell's particular specialties over the years have been Mozart, Wagner, and Czechoslovakian music (he was director of both the opera and the orchestra in Prague from 1929 to 1936). All three are represented in recent Epic releases—the last two Mozart symphonies on one disc, orchestral excerpts from The Ring on another, and a notably dramatic performance of Dvorak's Slavonic Dances in a two-record set (which also includes Szell's own impeccable and imaginative orchestration of the Smetana quarter From My Life.) Most earlier Szell recordings are on Columbia, and two of them, presenting the conductor as a pianist, are particularly worth hearing—the two Mozart Piano Quartets with the Budapest, and a collection of Mozart Violin Sonatas with (unfortunately) Szigeti. The records make one regret Szell's devotion to the orchestra: there are few conductors as good as he is, but there is literally nobody who plays Mozart on the piano with his combination of great strength and genuine grace.

One of Ten in a Private Job?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 24, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, we who believe in initative and enterprise will be gratified to know that the public press from time to time takes note of the continuing effort to saddle more and more activities and functions on the Federal Government.

I am very happy to quote for the RECORD a thought-provoking editorial from a recent issue of the Poughkeepsie New Yorker:

ONE OF TEN IN A PRIVATE JOB?

We are approximately one-third socialized. And if the trend continues at the rate it has followed since 1929, in 50 years 99 percent of our economy will be socialized and only one person out of 100 will be privately employed.

That startling observation comes from Emerson P. Schmidt, director of economic research for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. He points out that last year nearly one-third of the national income was channeled through Government, either Federal, State or local. He adds: "Just as human wants are unlimited and insatiable, it appears that the pressure for Government intervention and expenditures is unlimited and insatiable."

Dr. Schmidt is particularly concerned with the continuing effort to load more and more activities and functions on the Federal Government. As he sees it, "We've seemingly become incapable of distinguishing between national problems and nationwide problems." Washington now runs 54 grants-in-aid programs and 13 new ones are in the current budget—including one for assisting States to plant trees. The results are inevitable. The Government bureaucracy grows. The proportion of our earnings taken by Government tends to incerase. More and more Government controls and regulations come into being, to detriment of the free market. As a consequence, he finds, "Our growth has not been what it could be under more favorable tax treatment and less debilitating regulations." According to him, since 1946 our per capita real income (which is income adjusted for changes in taxes and in prices) has increased only $182, or about $18 per year per person.

Dr. Schmidt deals in considerable detail with the steady growth of governmental intervention in the fields of money and banking. Intervention has taken various forms at various times, including the forcing down of interest rates, guaranteed loans, and easier borrowing arrangements. And this, he writes, "puts the economy under constant inflationary pressures and creates political pressures for direct Government lending, direct controls, and regimentation. It must finally lead to capital investment rationing, compulsory saving, price and wage controls, profit controls, the allocation of labor to specific assignments—a regimented economy."

It is frequently said and commonly believed that the demand for new services and interventions by Government comes from the people and so is irresistible. Dr. Schmidt characterizes that as "almost 100 percent hokum and buncombe." He is convinced that the demand comes, instead, from a comparatively small number of researchers, writers, and intellectuals. They got their

ideas widely talked about—and then "the politicians latch on to them and make them their own."

Is the situation hopeless? It is not, in Dr. Schmidt's view. Today, he feels, the basic drift of thought in the Western World is toward more conservatism—and that this drift can be capitalized upon. We can, he argues, get better representation at all levels of government. He makes his final point in these words: "If we each begin somewhere at the local level, within a few years we can change the socio-political climate in the direction of greater productivity and more freedom for all."

Col. Pauline Kirby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, Col. Pauline Kirby retired last month from the Army Nurse Corps after one of the most distinguished careers in the history of that great organization. Colonel Kirby's final assignment was as Chief of the Nursing Service of Walter Reed Army Hospital, where she achieved a fine record in keeping with the best traditions of Walter Reed.

The people of Leflore County, Miss., are proud of the distinguished medical and military record achieved by Colonel Kirby. By unanimous consent, I include the official Department of the Army release about Colonel Kirby's retirement.

Pauline Kirby, retired Army Nurse Corps colonel, was born in Mississippi on July 9, 1905. A graduate of Greenwood High School (Greenwood, Miss.), she received her degree as a registered nurse from Baptist Memorial Hospital, Memphis, Tenn., in 1926. On entering the Nurse Corps the following year, she was assigned to the station hospital at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

Among the stateside tours served by Colonel Kirby have been assignments at Northington General Hospital, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Moore General Hospital, Asheville, N. C.; Percy Jones Hospital, Battle Creek, Mich.; and Army and Navy Hospital, Hot Springs, Ark. During World War II (1942–45) she was assistant director of nurses in the Southwest Pacific, and from 1949 to 1952 she served as chief nurse at Tripler Army Hospital, Honolulu, Hawaii.

In April 1954 the Mississippi native was named chief of the nursing service at Walter Reed Army Hospital, Washington, D. C. With her promotion to full colonel in November 1956, the Army Nurse Corps became the first woman's military organization to have 3 officers of that grade on active duty at the same time.

When Pauline Kirby retired from active military duty on July 31 this year, the honors paid her were many. First, she received a certificate of retirement, signed by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, awarded as a "testimony to duty faithfully performed." Next, she was presented with an award of outstanding service, witnessed jointly by Maj. Gen. Silas B. Hays, Army Surgeon General, and Col. Inez Haynes, Chief of the Army Nurse Corps. This citation paid tribute to her "outstanding and faithful service as a nurse and administrator," and noted that she was "influential in establishing the Army Nurse Corps to the national recognition it warrants today."

Still another certificate of achievement was awarded to Colonel Kirby by Maj. Gen. Leonard D. Heaton, commanding general of Walter Reed Army Medical Center. This citation commended her "superior qualities of leadership, astute judgment, and constant endeavor for the development of the individual nurse and enlisted technician toward unity and total effectiveness of military nursing."

Colonel Kirby's immediate postretirement plans were to visit her Greenwood, Miss., home to spend some time with her family. Her mother, Mrs. Cora Kirby, lives at 611 Market Street.

Interesting and Important Contribution of Nutt-Shel Co. Employees to International Comity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 6, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I call to your attention the following text of a report to me by Mr. Hal Butler, distinguished resident of the great 23d District, California, which I represent in this great legislative body.

Here is the letter transmitting this very interesting and significant report to me:

MAYWOOD, CALIF., *August 27, 1957.*
Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: I am writing this letter to you as you asked, in regard to our conversation on Sunday afternoon, at Leo Rule's concerning the efforts of the children of the employees of the Nutt-Shel Co., in their presentation of over 150 books (picture) on life in the United States. I think this effort on the part of these children is worthy of some note, and feel that their efforts will accomplish a great deal in cementing the friendship between the peoples of Thailand and the United States.

As you probably remember, you asked that I get the names of those participating in the project to you so that you might have their names read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. So I am enclosing the names of those participants, and their addresses. I know that some are not fortunate enough to be in our great 23d, but nevertheless I feel they are a credit to their congressional representative.

I am enclosing a rundown on the affair from its inception, so you may make your own remarks from what you have read. By the way, I think a telegram to the employees of the Nutt-Shel Co., 811 Airway, Glendale, Calif., would help immeasurably in boosting the spirits of the people who are making these goodwill gestures.

Will close now, so that I might get this off without further delay.

Loyally and sincerely,

HAL BUTLER.

Several weeks ago, when there was so much talk about the children of many California families making an appearance at the World Communist Youth Festival in Moscow, a group of young people, children of the employees of the Nutt-Shel Co., Glendale, Calif., got together and approached the head of the company (through his administrative assistant, R. H. Blakeley). The president of Nutt-Shel, L. E. Hutson, listened to what they had to say.

What they said was primarily this. What can we do as kids to combat these tales and bad publicity of all kids either being rowdies, delinquents, thugs, and radicals. Mr. Hutson, just listened, and finally, after much musing dumped it in the lap of his advertising executive, Mr. Henry Welsh. Knowing that I have been quite active in youth activities, as well as being publicity officer of the American Legion's 19th District, Mr. Welsh called me.

I met with a group of the children, and we found out that Thai Airways was purchasing some Lockheed Super Constellations, and that they were getting ready to take them to Thailand. Just where the idea for picture books came up, I don't know, but anyway we batted that idea around for a while. The more we discussed it, the more they liked it. Seems as though the thought of a hands-across-the-sea gesture of friendship to the Thais was good, and it was from this that we started.

I acted as coordinator, and the kids went out and bought picture books with very little writing in them, so that the language barrier would not interfere. This was in about 2 weeks.

This morning I attended the presentation ceremonies at the Lockheed Air Terminal, and it would have done your heart good to see the simple little show that the kids put on. The company matched the number of books the kids donated, and they are planning to carry on with other worthy projects, similar to this one.

That just about brings us up to date on the story.

The names follow:

Pat Fitzsimmons, Roger Fitzsimmons, Ann Fitzsimmons, Mark Sutton, Richard Sutton, Mrs. Thomas Imboden, Mrs. Betty Eastwood, Bud Eastwood, Steven Eastwood, Marilyn Eastwood, Ralph Eastwood, Tom Burgnon, Ted Burgnon, Mrs. Harold Burgnon, Richard Johnson, Mrs. Leonard Johnson, Mrs. Richard Poucher, John Poucher, Steve Poucher, and Ray Poucher.

The Plight of Certain of Our Aged Folks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, in the past several weeks we have discussed legislation that would give our country authority to spend some $3 billion presumably to aid and assist foreign nations. We provide this assistance on the theory that it will better the economic condition of friends abroad and thus strengthen the democratic way of life as contrasted with communism throughout the world. Certainly we all want to help friendly nations, and as good neighbors it is well that we give attention to their needs. We have been most generous in the past on matters of economic and military aid to promote peace and stability throughout the world. While today our thoughts are centered on how we can help foreign nations help themselves, I cannot help but feel that we have some home problems that need attention. Con-

centrating on poverty abroad to the exclusion of our own needy just does not make sense to me. Charity begins at home.

I am thinking particularly of the plight of certain of our aged folks. We have in this country some 14 million who are 65 years and over. About 2½ million of these are on old-age assistance, where their average monthly pension is less than $60 a month—these are our unfortunate and needy elders—they are not on social security nor do they have retirement. They have to depend upon this dole of $60 or less to keep themselves alive from one month to the next. It is obvious that no one can live in health and decency on this pittance. I hate to think of this session of Congress coming to a close without doing something about this home problem. It involves 2½ million of our very own senior citizens. You do not have to go around the world to extend aid to humankind; it is needed right here in our own country. During the coming year let us do a little soul searching and see if we cannot come up with something better for these old folks, at least in partial keeping with what we are about to do for foreign peoples throughout the world.

Irrigation Aid Refused

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 22, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, on leave to extend my remarks, there follows an editorial from the Twin Falls Times-News, published at Twin Falls, Idaho, under date of August 14, 1957:

IRRIGATION AID REFUSED

Those public power enthusiasts who have minimized the fears of Idaho farmers if the Government should get control of Snake River through construction of a high dam in Hells Canyon, might explain a little news item from Salem, Oreg.

The Army engineers, according to a story in the Oregon Journal, have informed Harley Libby, president of the Oregon Farmers Union, that no additional release of water from Detroit Dam is planned this season.

The farm organization had asked additional water to aid irrigation in the Jefferson area. Some farmers believed less than normal flow was provided by the Army engineers who operate the dam facilities.

In a letter to the Farmers Union president, Col. Jackson Graham, district Army engineer, said the flow at the dam has been maintained, but the drain downstream was heavy. He explained further that officials had asked all water possible be held back to provide storage for a feared power shortage. Power, he added, takes priority.

Runoff above the dam is dropping rapidly and no replenishment can be expected this season, said Colonel Graham.

Farmers Union President Libby is a Jefferson area farmer. Many farms in this particular area use well water for irrigation.

It was because these wells are unusually low this summer that the farm organization appealed for more water from the dam over which the Army engineers have control.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that a number of Farmers Union organizations are among the contributors to the National Hells Canyon Association which has waged a long and relentless fight to give the Federal Government control of Snake River with a high dam in Hells Canyon.

We wonder how President Libby and the members of the Oregon Farmers Union now feel about Government operation of a dam in which they happen to be particularly interested.

Memorial for Those Lost on U. S. S. Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1957, H. R. 5809 came before the House and was passed by unanimous consent. This is a measure introduced by my able colleague, the delegate from Hawaii, Mr. Burns, and has for its purpose the construction of a memorial to the memory of those who lost their lives on December 7, 1941, in the sinking of the U. S. S. *Arizona*. I am proud of the fact that I was chairman of the subcommittee which heard testimony on this measure and which piloted it through the Congress. I am honored that I was permitted to help shepherd the measure through the House on August 19, 1957.

Mr. Speaker, on December 7, 1941, there were 1,473 men and officers serving aboard the U. S. S. *Arizona*. Of this total complement, 1,157 were declared dead or missing as a result of this most treacherous attack on December 7, 1941, which day President Roosevelt declared to be a day dedicated to infamy. One hundred and sixty-one bodies were accounted for following the dastardly attack on Pearl Harbor; but, today, the final remains of 996 American boys are still entombed in the hull of the U. S. S. *Arizona*. This ship, by decree of this Government, is the final resting place of almost 1,000 American men wearing the uniform of the United States Navy; and if there is a hallowed place on earth, this surely is the place.

My home State of Louisiana paid a fearful price when the losses of that black December day are added up. My State lost 24 young men who came from all parts of the State, 1 of them being from my home city of Shreveport; and the bodies of these men lie today entombed in this sunken ship. Their names and home addresses are: Achilles Arnaud, Arnaudville, La.; Claude Duran Arnold, Jr., Lake Charles, La.; Wilburn James Ashmore, Elizabeth, La.; Miller Xavier Aydell, French Settlement, La.; Malcolm Clark, Pollock, La.; John Quitman Davis, Tangipahoa, La.; Louis Felix Ducrest, Broussard, La.; Charles Donald Frederick, Albeville, La.; Ivan Joseph Huval, Folsom, La.; Floyd Baxter Jones, Shreveport, La.; Joseph McNeil Legros, Norse, La.; Jessie Huall Murphy, New Orleans, La.; "J" "D" Naylor, DeRidder, La.; Amos Paul Pace, Robert Leo Pritchett, Jr., New Orleans, La.; Wilburn Carle Roberts, Pollock, La.; William Edison Stoddard, Vinton, La.; Robert Tyson, Oak Grove, La.; John William Whitaker, Jr., Pollock, La.; Adrian Delton Williams, Gonzales, La.; Robert Kenneth Willis, Jr., Pineville, La.; Vernon Wesley Woods, Springhill, La.; Thomas Raymond Jones, Tallulah, La.; Walter Samuel Savage, Jr., Monroe, La.

A number of years ago, Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of visiting Pearl Harbor and going by harbor boat to the wooden tramway which at that time connected with the superstructure which was the portion of the U. S. S. *Arizona* which remained above water several hundred yards offshore in the Pearl Harbor. This ship is located in an arm of the Pearl Harbor. It is about 400 feet from shore; and lies on the bottom in between 36 and 38 feet of water. Within recent years, the ship seems to have settled somewhat and now about the only portions of it above water are a few funnels of air vents, forming a part of the upper portion of the ship. It is awe inspiring to be able to stand on the steel deck of what remains above water of that great battlewagon. It is impressive to be able to uncover one's head and watch Old Glory, flying from the original mast and waving in the breeze. It brings one nearer to God as he ponders prayerfully on the lives of those 1,000 Americans who peacefully slept that Sunday morning safely, so they thought, within the steel sides of this great ship.

The American people have not forgotten those brave Americans. Although 17 years have passed since then, I believe it is yet the proper time to provide by popular subscription a memorial, either on this ship or adjacent to it, befitting the rare courage and pristine patriotism of those 1,000 Americans who sleep now and forever in the waters of the Pearl Harbor of Hawaii.

Getting A Break From Senate Probers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post dated August 24, 1957, which embraces some comment on the hearings before the Subcommittee on Monopoly of the Senate Judiciary Committee, with respect to the hearings on the activities of American oil companies in the Middle East resulting from the closure of the Suez Canal. I am quite certain that the question raised by this editorial has been in the minds of many of the people over a period of time and I deem it of sufficient interest for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY CAN'T A CORPORATION GET A BREAK FROM THE SENATE'S PROBERS?

Some of our corporate executives, especially those who operate the Nation's oil industry, are wondering how they can profit from the Supreme Court's solicitude for the rights of individuals who testify before congressional committees. Oil executives, who took it on the chin before Senator O'MAHONEY's Subcommittee on Public Lands, would like to find the formula.

During the June hearings before Senator O'MAHONEY's subcommittee, the oil companies were accused, on the basis of a report by the committee's staff, of using the Iranian crisis to grab Middle Eastern oil for themselves; and of taking advantage of the situation to stifle competition in defiance of the antitrust laws. None of this was based on testimony before the committee. Charges were also made that the oil companies had profiteered from the Suez oil lift.

American oil companies went into Iran, after the nationalization of Britain's oilfields, as a means of keeping Iran's oil out of Soviet hands. They were exempted from antitrust prosecution by the Government for the reason that the companies had to be assured that they would not be prosecuted later for doing what the State Department wanted them to do in the emergency.

As far as the oil lift of 1956 is concerned, the cost of bypassing the Suez Canal, with a shortage of tankers to overcome, was high. But the oil lift is generally regarded as a triumph of American efficient management under peculiarly difficult circumstances. Surely those who directed it, and thus prevented a catastrophic oil famine in Western Europe, deserve something better than the reiteration of unproved charges dredged out of a report by the committee's staff—a report largely based, as Senator DIRKSEN brought out during the hearings, on articles in newspapers and other secondary sources.

Unlike a suspected subversive, an oil company can hardly challenge the legislative purpose of a staff report leaked to the press outside the committee room. However, oil companies and other corporations which think their rights are being overlooked by congressional committees might try leaking it around that they are up to some sort of shenanigans with the Communists. Once identified with the Red conspiracy, the oil boys could defy their inquisitors, take the fifth amendment, cite the first, and make the committee's day hideous with endless statements of principle. At all events, they would seem to have as good a chance for a square deal as they have been getting by acting in the Nation's interest.

Ohio and Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, having long been an advocate of an enlightened world-trade policy and representing a district in the State of Ohio that is keenly aware of the importance of foreign trade, I was pleased to submit an article for the October 1957 issue of the GOP Trunklines publication.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the article, as follows:

SOME OF THE BENEFITS OF FOREIGN TRADE

On the very day I received an invitation to contribute a brief article to Trunkline on the role of Ohio in foreign trade, I was writing our Ambassador in Tunisia about the recent shipment of roadbuilding equipment which left Cleveland a few weeks ago destined for north Africa. You may have read in the local papers about these trucks and other machinery which were manufactured by the Euclid division of General Motors.

We Ohioans should be very proud of our expanding export industry. One sees the products of Ohio's mills and factories no matter where one travels.

How delighted I was during my trip to Africa in 1955 to see Euclid trucks, manufactured by this very company, at work in the Bomi Hills mine in Liberia. This mine, in turn ships 20,000 tons of the highest grade iron ore to Cleveland mills each month for turning into countless steel products.

In my own 22d Congressional District it is difficult to gather figures which indicate the great extent to which we are dependent upon export business. We produce paint, enamels, automobile and airplane parts, and many other items which go into making a complete machine. Moreover, there is concentrated in the State of Ohio, almost one-third of the entire machine-tool industry of the United States, the backbone of any peacetime industrial or wartime armament program. All of this points up the growing importance of reciprocal trade to hundreds of business and industrial firms in Ohio.

A good indication of our dependence upon foreign trade is shown in a recent Ohio industrial study by the United States Department of Commerce. It showed that about 30 percent of Ohio workers are in industries whose export sales on a national basis are more than 20 times as large as the corresponding United States imports; and another 40 percent of Ohio's workers hold jobs in industries which sell to foreign markets from 4 to 20 times as much as is imported to this country in comparable goods.

But the maximum effects on Ohio will be in years to come when the great St. Lawrence seaway will be bringing new markets to our doors and new products to our people. The seaway may transform the whole Great Lakes area into another coastline and those of us who look toward the future see that our best interests lie in an enlightened world-trade policy.

As Republicans we can feel great pride in the accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration in the field of foreign trade. The administration has effected measures and programs that have resulted in the greatest expansion of peacetime world trade in history. United States commercial exports increased from $12.3 billion in 1953 to $17.3 billion in 1956, and imports rose from $10.9 billion to $12.6 billion during the same period.

The Secretary of Commerce reports that among the Department's activities which have contributed to this increase are the organization of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce in the Department, programs designed to stimulate tourism and United States investment overseas, and the initiation of American participation in international trade fairs abroad. In the past 3 years, the Department estimates that some 30 million people visited United States exhibits at fairs in 27 countries, including 1 in Poland which attracted an estimated 1.25 million persons.

Not only does all of this help in maintaining our own prosperity, but it contributes much to carrying abroad to people everywhere the message of what is accomplished under our free way of life.

Imports of Foreign Plywood Are Robbing Thousands of American Workers of Their Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 16, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, several large plywood plants in the Pacific Northwest have announced that they are closing their plants "indefinitely." Many other plywood plants in Oregon and Washington are operating on a curtailed basis. Many plywood workers and also the loggers who supply these plywood mills with logs are idle.

Why this slump in business and this unemployment in the plywood industry when most of the other industries of the Nation are enjoying boom or near-boom times?

The answer is to be found in reading the Department of Commerce's figures on plywood imports. A few years ago practically no foreign plywood was being imported into the United States. Now, however, 75 million square feet of foreign hardwood plywood valued at almost $6 million is coming into the United States each month, and worse still, this volume of foreign plywood imports is flooding the United States in increasing quantities month after month.

In May of this year, the last month for which plywood-import figures are available to me, plywood imports into the United States totaled 77,424,000 square feet and had a dutiable value of $5,698,411.

Based upon these figures, it is a fair estimate that about 900 million square feet of plywood with an import value of about $60 million will come into the United States this year, most of it from Japan where the wage rate in the forest products industries is about 11½ cents an hour.

Arnold Koutonen, of Olympia, Wash., general manager of the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Co. plywood operations, says that the amount of plywood now coming into the United States from Japan alone is equivalent to the production of 12 large American plywood mills employing a total of 5,000 workers.

Of the imports of foreign plywood, Mr. Koutonen, who is a past president of the Douglas Fir Plywood Association, said in a recent press interview:

No question about it, these foreign imports are taking a deep dig into the domestic industry. The Japanese are producing a high quality product that is not only competing with our American hardwood plywood but in certain instances is replacing fir plywood in some areas.

Right now—

Says Mr. Koutonen—

the Japanese are exporting 75 million square feet of hardwood plywood a month to the United States. This is equal to the production of 12 of our own plants employing 5,000 workers.

Plywood imports into the United States from Japan are 50 to 60 percent greater

this year than last year and, worse still, are increasing. Imports of Japanese plywood in May 1956 were 43,823,000 square feet according to the United States Department of Commerce and in the same period of this year were 63,203,000 square feet or a 50 percent increase over the same month of a year ago.

The Japanese plywood worker receives a wage of 11½ cents an hour and is paid no overtime rate for overtime work. American workers cannot and should not be expected to compete with such starvation wages.

While practically all of the plywood coming into our country is hardwood plywood, still this hardwood plywood due to the low price paid the labor that makes it is selling at prices below those at which softwood plywood can be manufactured in this country. As a result, imported hardwood plywoods are being used as substitutes in fields which heretofore were exclusively served by our western softwood plywoods. The result is much unemployment in the plywood industry of the Pacific Northwest.

Multitudes of Americans suffer financial losses and often financial hardship when plywood mills are closed due to loss of their American markets to foreign competitors.

Workers in the plywood plants lose their jobs or find their workweeks curtailed. Their income shrinks.

Operators, when their plants are down, make no profits. They lose money.

The workers and operators in industries that supply American plywood mills with materials such as logs, also, have to close down with loss of wages and profits.

Merchants and others whose businesses rises when labor prospers also suffer from job and profit curtailments.

The biggest loser when too much foreign goods come into our country is the Government of the United States itself.

When a plywood manufacturer makes money he pays 52 percent of his corporation profits into the Federal Treasury as income taxes.

All workers when earnings are high and employment steady, pay large sums in Federal income taxes but they pay little or no such taxes when forced into idleness.

All the suppliers of industries crippled by too much imports also suffer loss in profits, wages, and salaries and also pay less income taxes.

Foreign workers and foreign industries which make plywood in foreign plants in foreign countries pay no income tax into the United States Treasury.

I have a bill that has been pending consideration by the Ways and Means Committee for many months.

My bill (H. R. 5942), if enacted into law, would limit the imports of foreign hardwood plywood to 15 percent of the domestic consumption of the United States for the previous years.

This year plywood imports are totally almost 50 percent of the hardwood plywood consumption of the Nation. These imports this year will total, it is expected, about 900 million square feet valued at $60 million. Under my bill these plywood imports would be cut to about 300 million square feet valued at some $20 million.

My bill (H. R. 5942), if adopted, would allow Japan and other nation's a large market in the United States but still a much smaller market than they now have. The result of enactment of my bill would be that while our American plywood workers still would be injured to some extent they would not be hurt nearly as badly as they now are being injured by the deluge of foreign plywood that is pouring into the United States in ever-increasing quantities.

Every effort that I and other Congressmen have made this year to get legislation reported by the Ways and Means Committee that would slow down the foreign plywood imports which are wrecking large segments of our Nation's economy, closing plants and depriving workers of jobs, has, so far, failed.

I hope that when the Congress reconvenes on January 7, 1958, that one of the first orders of business will be to clear for congressional action bills, such as my bill (H. R. 5942), which if enacted into law, would create anew the jobs of 5,000 or more workers who have been deprived of employment due to too heavy imports of foreign plywood.

I pray that the Ways and Means Committee will act to give relief to the plywood industries and the cities where it exists by speedily enacting legislation that will place quota limits on the quantities of plywood low-wage, low-living standard nations now are shipping in ever-increasing quantities into the United States.

Justice in the United States Customs Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DEAN P. TAYLOR

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Congress seeks endlessly for new sources of revenue. The matter of protection of its revenue is, therefore, important to all legislators.

A most enlightening article on this subject appeared in a recent edition of the American Import and Export Bulletin. The article was written by Miss Mollie Strum, who, incidentally, is the only woman trial attorney on the United States Department of Justice customs trial lawyers' staff.

It would be remiss not to mention the fact that Miss Strum has had unique success in the prosecution of important cases as Government counsel. Her efforts have resulted in the acquisition of millions of dollars in revenue to the Government.

In addition to her being the darling of the Federal Bar Association—she was the first woman president of that body—Miss Strum has been honored by other organizations and associations. In 1955 she was the first woman lawyer to be selected as the outstanding professional woman in the United States. She received the scroll for outstanding achievement in the field of Federal jurisprudence and, recently, she was elected vice president of the United States division of the United Nations League of Lawyers.

Her article is as follows:

Among the least known but highly significant activities for protecting enormous amounts of Federal revenue, is the Customs ligitation of the United States Department of Justice, under the leadership of the Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable Herbert Brownell, Jr., which is handled by a small staff of highly specialized trial lawyers who travel to every port of the United States to represent the Government. Upon reflection, one finds that our entire national economy and our international relations are all entwined with the enactment and enforcement of the laws, which these lawyers uphold; and with the far-reaching effects of the outcome of the litigation.

President Eisenhower said: "The United States continuously seeks to strengthen the spiritual, political, military, and economic bonds of the free nations. By cementing these ties, we help preserve our way of life, improve the standards of free peoples, and make possible the higher levels of production required for the security of the free world."

Our foreign-trade program and the reciprocal trade agreements are designed not only to promote world trade but also to insure world peace. As a result, merchandise flows into the United States from every corner of the globe. Machinery, drugs, chemicals, metals, oils, toys, jewelry, fabrics, lumber, rugs, foodstuffs, surgical and dental instruments, optical instruments, agricultural implements, perfumes, earthenware, bamboo wares, and every other article known to man, travel to our shores. When it crosses our borders, customs problems arise as to the scope of statutes, trade agreements, judicial decisions; various benefits, proper rates of duty and value; the construction of rules and regulations; and generally, the protection under our laws of the privileges of those citizens who observe their obligations; which are ascertainable prior to the importation.

Customs duties date back to ancient days. The earliest record is found in the Old Testament (Ezra, chapters 1–2; 4: 3–6; 4: 13). It was said: "There have been mighty kings also over Jerusalem, who have ruled over all the country beyond the river; and tribute, custom, and toll was paid unto them." (Ezra 4: 19–21; 7: 24.) In the New Testament there appears the statement that Jesus called Matthew from "the receipt of customs." (Mark 2: 14, Luke 5: 27–29.) Was Matthew a collector of customs duties at the Sea of Galilee and a forerunner of our present-day Federal collectors of customs?

The word "customs" is defined in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (vol. 6, 14th ed., p. 904) as a British term of early origin, which is an abbreviated form of customary dues, anciently used to describe any customary payment, whether to king or church.

The power of our Federal Government to impose customs duties is derived from article 1, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States; and the courts have upheld the constitutionality of tariff acts. Congress enacted our first tariff act in 1789.

Our present customs laws cover the greatest conceivable variety of subjects ranging from the mundane to the extraordinary. No matter how strange or sublime an area of life may appear to the uninitiated, sooner or later some phase of it will appear under the microscopic examination of customs enforcement or litigation—be it the appraisement and classification of the most diversified materials and articles known to our

civilization; the constitutionality of a Federal statute; the authority of the President of the United States to terminate trade agreements; the treatment of merchandise from Communist countries; or the various other types of cases which are presented to the customs lawyer. For example, recent test cases won by the Government involved the applicability of certain customs statutes and regulations to the airlines (*Pan American World Airways* v. *United States* (C. D. 1851); and the right to exclude certain merchandise from entry into the United States, upon the authority of orders of the President issued pursuant to the provisions of section 337 of the Tariff Act of 1930, relating to unfair practices in the import trade (*Charia & Co.* v. *United States* (C. D. 1642, 135 F. Supp. 727, affirmed on appeal)).

It is not the obligation of Government officials who enforce the customs laws to seek to collect the highest possibly duty or to punish legitimate importers. It is our responsibility to ascertain: What did Congress intend when it wrote these statutes? When disagreement as to the interpretation of these laws arises, the parties may resort to the courts for judicial determination.

The United States is the only country in the world which has a customs court devoted exclusively to customs litigation. The effect of its decisions upon our economic life is probably unparalleled by any other court. For instance, a decision resulting in exceedingly low tariff costs to the importers may cause a sudden, increased flow of foreign merchandise to such an extent that the competition may affect an entire domestic industry.

An American manufacturer, producer, or wholesaler, has certain rights to file a lawsuit in the United States Customs Court, protesting the classification of, or the rate of duty imposed upon, certain imported merchandise.

An importer is entitled to his day in court. All importers ought to be aware of the fact that all administrative decisions of collectors of customs at any port in the United States as to the rate and amount of duties chargeable, or excluding merchandise from entry, under any provisions of the Customs laws may be protested in writing by the importer, consignee, or agent within 60 days after the date of liquidation, reliquidation, decision or refusal. Otherwise, it becomes final and conclusive. The collector shall, within 90 days after the filing of the importer's protest, review his decision and may modify it in whole or in part. However, if the collector shall, upon reviewing it, affirm his original decision, the collector shall transmit the papers to the United States Customs Court for due assignment and determination as provided by law.

When the importer and the customs officials at the port of entry disagree as to the proper dutiable value applicable, under the law, to certain imported merchandise, the importer may file an appeal for reappraisement within 30 days after the customs appraiser at the port of entry has determined the dutiable value, and the importer, his attorney or agent has received due notice.

There are cases in which the appeals for reappraisement have been filed by the Government. They are known as collector's appeals and are comparatively few. Such proceedings are initiated by the collector of customs in instances where the customs appraiser has received new information regarding the proper dutiable value after he has officially made his appraisement which is binding upon the Government as well as the importer unless a timely appeal for reappraisement is filed.

Unless an importer or his representative, is aware of his rights and privileges under customs laws and the stautory periods of limitaton within which to bring certain controversies before the customs court for determination, he may unnecessarily incur financial losses. On the other hand, he should also be aware of his obligations and prohibitions under the law, which include the proper marking of imported merchandise (additional rules may be imposed for failure to mark properly); requirements for detailed invoice descriptions and the disclosure of all facts deemed necessary to a proper appraisement, examination, and classification of the importation; the prohibition of the importation of convict-made goods, the prohibition against meat unfit for human food, and meat from foreign countries where public notice has been given in our country that rinderpest or foot-and-mouth disease exists; and others ranging from minor points to fraud and criminal actions, which may result in fines and imprisonment after trials in the United States district courts.

However, the importer need have no hesitancy in becoming a party to litigation in the United States Customs Court which Congress established in 1926 for his benefit, with exclusive jurisdiction to review the decisions of any collector of customs, including all orders and findings entering into the same, as to the rate and amount of duties chargeable and as to all exactions of whatever character within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury. In a recent case, *Horton* v. *Humphrey* (146 F. Supp 819), importers of cast iron soil pipe, claiming that they were threatened with the application of a special dumping duty under the Antidumping Act of 1921, as amended, brought an action for declaratory and injunctive relief in the United States District Court of the District of Columbia. That court dismissed the complaint and held that the imposition of the dumping duty must be reviewed by the customs court, which provides an adequate and exclusive remedy in this sort of case, with the right of appeal to the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals and further recourse to the Supreme Court through petition for certiorari.

The United States Customs Court, of which the Honorable Webster J. Oliver is chief judge, is composed of nine judges appointed for life by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. They hear and determine cases which arise throughout the country. The chief judge may set hearings to be held at any port of entry in the United States, its Territories, and possessions. Thus, no matter where an importer resides, he may request a hearing near that place convenient to him and where his witnesses are accessible, and he may have his case heard by the court either at a seaboard city or an inland city. At the end of each calendar year there is published a schedule of the ports of entry at which hearings will be held during the forthcoming year. The number of hearings scheduled to be held at the same port of entry during each year will depend upon the number of cases arising there.

The increase in foreign trade has increased the amount collected in revenue, and also the volume of litigation affecting imports. An indication of the change in customs revenues can be found in the 1956 report of the Secretary of the Treasury (pp. 318–322). For the years 1789–91, customs receipts amounted to $4,399,473. By 1956 annual customs receipts had increased to $704,897,516.

The Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States for 1880 (p. 91, table No. 7) lists 586 Federal suits against collectors of customs and agents or officers of the United States. The number of customs cases has increased tremendously not only because of the great increase in foreign purchases, but probably also due to the greater awareness of importers of their rights under customs laws in the United States Customs Court. Despite the heavy volume of litigation, the old cliche of justice delayed is justice denied is not true in the customs court. The Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956 (p. 247), states that 33,641 customs cases were disposed of during that year. Any importer who is ready to try his case can be heard very speedily, that is, within 60 days after it is filed in the court. The testimony is recorded by a court reporter. After he transcribes his notes, the parties may file briefs which, together with the record, are studied by the judges prior to rendering a decision in the case.

Usually the case which is tried before the Court is a test case. Since it would involve an unnecessary expenditure of time and effort to try the same issue on the same merchandise at each of the ports where it is imported, other cases involving the same questions of law are "suspended" pending the decision in the test case. Thus, numerous cases are stipulated by the parties under decided cases and disposed of according to the Court's decision in test cases. The so-called test case itself may seem to involve a comparatively small amount of money but the eventual disposition of the suspended cases and the customs treatment of future importations involving that merchandise with that value or rate of duty may amount to millions of dollars in revenue to the Government or in refunds to importers.

Discussions of tariff laws always involve mention of customs duties but it is important to note that the Tariff Act of 1930 provides for the importation of 691 articles of merchandise free of duty. Sometimes litigation is required to ascertain whether an imported article was intended by Congress to be free of duty or dutiable under some tariff provision.

Even the Iron Curtain has left an imprint upon our customs laws. By virtue of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the President of the United States was authorized to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries, and at least 1,000 of the dutiable provisions of the Tariff Act have been reduced by trade agreements which apply to all countries alike when the agreement is made with any one, except Iron Curtain countries. This, too, has resulted in litigation to determine when merchandise is from an Iron Curtain country. For instance, when has the identity of material produced in a country not entitled to the reduced rate, lost its identity as Iron Curtain merchandise and become a new article in another foreign country which is entitled to the reduced rates of duty and from which it is finally exported to the United States? Several cases have been decided on this subject and several are pending before the Court.

Innumerable judicial interpretations exist concerning customs laws. Rules for construing statutes are complex, and numerous. While customs laws are generally subject to the same rules of construction as other legislative acts, some rules have been established for constructing tariff laws, which have characteristics all their own. However, this specialized field of customs law is but a small part of the tremendous law practice of our Nation's own law office, the Department of Justice, which has specialists in every field of law, who strive to keep the scales balanced for the benefit of more than 170 million citizens whom we represent.

It is a great privilege for a lawyer to represent the United States in customs litigation at all the ports of the United States, upon appeal before the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, Washington, D. C., and to participate in the preparation of customs cases which may reach the Supreme Court of the United States—actually to contribute knowledge and effort to uphold the laws of the land, to safeguard and

protect the interests of the Government and its citizens, and to help to make "Justice for all" a living reality in our great democracy "of the people, by the people and for the people."

A Rebirth of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, because our Supreme Court has lately been the subject of many political attacks, I desire to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an effective editorial from the Progressive magazine of August 1957, which praises the illustrious Chief Justice Warren and his colleague for their concern over civil liberties and human rights.

This editorial, entitled "A Rebirth of Freedom," emphasizes the fact that our Supreme Court has risked contumely and criticism in order to make sure that traditional constitutional guaranties are respected.

I am particularly pleased to include this editorial in the RECORD, because two of the members of the Court who have contributed greatly to the tribunal's defense of our freedoms are outstanding men from the great American West—Chief Justice Earl Warren, former Governor of the State of California, and Justice William O. Douglas, who was brought up in the State of Washington and spends his mountain vacations in the uplands of the State of Oregon.

The vigorous editorial from the issue of the Progressive for August 1957, has been partially edited by me so as to eliminate any personal criticism, direct or implied, which it might possibly contain of my colleagues in the Senate and the House. I desire to discuss this great question without, in any way, voicing criticism myself, or including criticism of my colleagues in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

A REBIRTH OF FREEDOM

The fury of the current assault on the United States Supreme Court constitutes one of the most shameful chapters in recent American history. Because it dared reassert the rights and liberties of the individual in a series of memorable decisions that called a halt to a 10-year wave of repression, the Court has been subjected to a torrent of vilification almost without parallel in modern times.

These comments were but a trickle in the torrent of abuse that roared around the Court. Justices of the Nation's highest tribunal were flooded with vituperative mail, some of it obscene, most of it anonymous, and much of it so vitriolic that "dirty Communist" was the mildest epithet used.

Why? What had the Court done to provoke this storm of hate bordering on hysteria?

It all began with the case of *Jencks* v. *United States*, certainly the most criticized—and most misunderstood—of the Court's recent decisions.

Clinton E. Jencks, president of Local 890, International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, had been convicted on two counts of perjury in filing a non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act. The Government's principal witnesses, Harvey Matusow and John Ford, both former undercover informers for the FBI, testified they had known Jencks as a Communist. Under cross-examination, however, they said they could not remember exactly what they had told the FBI about Jencks' activities. Counsel for Jencks demanded that the FBI produce the informers' reports, but the trial judge rejected the motion.

In reversing the judgment of the lower court and ordering a new trial, the Nation's highest tribunal held, 7 to 1, Justice Tom Clark dissenting, that when Government witnesses testify in court that they have made reports of the events and activities related to their testimony, the defendant is entitled to inspect these reports to see if they are inconsistent with the witnesses' testimony on the stand.

Many Congressmen and newspaper editors, most of whom seem not to have bothered to read the text of the Court's decision, interpreted this conclusion of the Court as a mandate that the FBI must bring all its raw files into court and that everything it has learned from informers must be made public. No one who reads the decision can escape the conclusion that this is total misrepresentation. For the majority of the Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Brennan, clearly emphasized that the demand of the dependent must be for production of * * * specific documents and that it must not propose any broad or blind fishing expedition among documents possessed by the Government on the chance that something impeaching might turn up. Moreover, the Court held that the demand may not extend to statements taken from persons or informants not offered as witnesses.

The conclusion seems clear enough: The decision emphatically does not mean that the FBI must open all its files to the accused. Far from authorizing a fishing expedition among the raw files of the FBI, the Court specifically limited the right of the defendant to examine the files only of those informants the prosecution chooses to call as witnesses in open court, and to examine only those portions of the reports which are directly and specifically related to counts on which the defendant was indicted.

In handing down this judgment the Supreme Court was merely affirming one of the most ancient and honored principles of American law—that in a criminal proceeding a man whose life or liberty is at stake is entitled to all evidence in the hands of the prosecution that is relevant and essential to his defense. This great principle was best stated by the late Justice Sutherland when he wrote that the interest of the United States in a criminal prosecution is not that it shall win a case, but that justice shall be done.

Despite the bitter outcry based on shabby reporting in many newspapers, the Court did not, as widely charged, go chasing off on new legal tangents and disregard long established precedents. On the principal issue, the Court merely made applicable to that holy of holies, the FBI, a long accepted principle of law.

The fallacious outcry that the Jencks decision would cripple the FBI and destroy its usefulness in the struggle against subversion was paralleled shortly afterward when press, politicians, and professional patriots pilloried the Supreme Court for its decision in the case of *Watkins* v. *United States*.

John T. Watkins, a labor official, had been summoned before the House Un-American Activities Committee in April 1954. Watkins did not claim the immunity of the fifth amendment; on the contrary, he testified freely about himself and his own past associations with Communists, and he readily agreed to identify any persons he had known to be Communists and who still were. But he refused to give the names of persons who had once been Communists but who had, to his knowledge, broken with that movement. It was this refusal, based on his conviction that such questions are not relevant to the work of the committee, that led to the contempt citation by Congress and conviction in the lower court.

In a 6-to-1 decision, Justice Clark again dissenting, the Supreme Court reversed this conviction. Speaking for the majority, Chief Justice Earl Warren held that the investigative powers of Congress "are broad but not unlimited." Congress may investigate only those matters about which it needs to know to perform its constitutional legislative functions.

"We have no doubt that there is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure. The public is, of course, entitled to be informed concerning the workings of its Government. That cannot be inflated into a general power to expose where the predominant result can only be an invasion of the private rights of individuals. * * * There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of Congress."

The Chief Justice and his five concurring colleagues made it clear that since there are limits on the investigative power of Congress, a witness before the congressional committee has the right not to answer questions which go beyond these limits. Moreover—and this is the heart of the Watkins case—just as a criminal statute must be definite enough so that a person can tell whether the conduct he is considering would be criminal, so also the constitutional guaranty of due process of law requires that witnesses before congressional committees be advised as to the claimed pertinency to legislative purpose of the questions asked them, so that they may have a fair opportunity to decide whether they would be within their rights in refusing to answer.

As for the specific committee and its purpose—the House Un-American Activities Committee, which has been going its ruthless, sometimes lawless, way unmolested for two decades—Justice Warren concurred with countless Americans when he observed that "It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of un-American? * * * The committee is allowed, in essence, to determine its own authority. * * * [Committee members] may act pursuant to motives that seem to them of the highest. Their decisions, nevertheless, can lead to ruthless exposure of private lives in order to gather data that is neither desired by Congress nor useful to it."

The uproar generated by this decision resulted from the widely circulated misinterpretation that the Court had destroyed the power of Congress to investigate. But even the most casual reading of the full text of the decision makes it clear that the Court did not in the slightest degree curtail the congressional investigative power when it is used constitutionally—to acquire data to guide the House or Senate in legislating.

In another notable case, *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire*, the Supreme Court reinforced constitutional safeguards for amademic freedom and freedom of political belief. Prof. Paul M. Sweezy, Marxist author and lecturer, had been summoned twice before Attorney General Louis C. Wyman, of New Hampshire, to whom the legislature had delegated its powers to investigate subversion. Examined at great length, Sweezy answered most of the questions put to him. He responded freely to all questions about the Communist Party, and denied he was a member of

it. But on two topics he refused to answer questions. He declined to discuss his association in 1948 with the Progressive Party, claiming that the State had no right to inquire into his activities in support of a lawful political party. And he refused to discuss the contents of a lecture he had given to a class at the University of New Hampshire, except to deny that the lecture included any advocacy of overthrow of the Government.

The Supreme Court reversed the New Hampshire judiciary's conviction for contempt, but produced no majority decision. Chief Justice Warren filed an opinion which was concurred in by Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan. Justices Frankfurter and Harlan filed a separate opinion invalidating the State court's decision, and Justices Clark and Burton dissented.

The New Hampshire Supreme Court, in upholding the citation for contempt, had agreed that the questioning of Sweezy trespassed on freedom of speech and academic freedom, but said these freedoms must yield to the right of the State to meet subversion. Chief Justice Warren responded to this contention with an unusually eloquent opinion in which he found that the questions asked Sweezy "unquestionably [constituted] an invasion of petitioner's liberties in the areas of academic freedom and political expression—areas in which the Government should be extremely reticent to tread." Said the Chief Justice:

"To impose any straitjacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our Nation. No field of education is so thoroughly comprehended by man that new discoveries cannot be made. Particularly is this so in the social sciences, where few, if any, principles are accepted as absolutes. Scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study, and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die.

"Equally manifest as a fundamental principle of a democratic society is political freedom of the individual. Our form of government is built on the premise that every citizen shall have the right to engage in political expression and association. * * * All political ideas cannot and should not be channeled into the programs of our two parties. History has amply proved the virtue of political activity by minority, dissident groups, who innumerable times have been in the vanguard of democratic thought and whose programs were ultimately accepted. Mere unorthodoxy of dissent from the prevailing mores is not to be condemned. The absence of such voices would be a symptom of grave illness in our society. * * *

"We do not conceive of any circumstance where a State interest would justify infringement of rights in these fields."

The last of the four historic decisions to draw venomous criticism from the professional patriots was the case of *Yates* v. *United States*, involving 14 second-string Communists convicted on the west coast for violation of the Smith Act. This law, passed in 1940, makes it a crime to (1) advocate overthrowing any government in the United States, by force or violence; (2) organize or help to organize any group that advocates the violent overthrow of the Government, and (3) belong to any such group knowing the purpose thereof.

The major issue in Yates strikes at the very heart of what the Smith Act prohibits. In the initial test of the law, the trial of 11 top Communist leaders in 1949, Judge Medina instructed the jury that in order to find the defendants guilty, it must find not merely that defendants had advocated and taught forcible overthrow of the Government, but must find as well that defendants had sought to incite action toward that end. That charge to the jury was upheld in the famous Dennis case.

But the trial judge in the Yates case delivered no such charge to the jury, and did not require it to find the defendants were actually trying to incite action. The Supreme Court held that the failure to include the element of incitement in the charge was a reversible error. Writing for the majority, Justice John M. Harlan drew the fundamental distinction between "advocacy of abstract doctrine" and "advocacy directed at promoting unlawful action." The Smith Act, he pointed out, does not prohibit mere "teaching of forcible overthrow as an abstract principle, divorced from any effort to instigate action to that end." The Court resolved no constitutional issue, for it said that reversal of the lower court was required merely by the meaning of the statute. The Court found that in the case of five of the defendants there was a complete absence of evidence from which a jury, properly charged, could find any attempt at incitement. It ordered these five discharged. In the case of the other nine a new trial was ordered because the Court found there was some evidence which a jury should weigh as to incitement.

The four cases analyzed here were not the only ones resolved in favor of freedom by the Supreme Court during its recent term. There were a number of others ranging over a wide variety of issues. Altogether they added up to far and away the most hopeful development in the field of civil liberties since the wave of hysterical repression swept the Nation more than a decade ago. For the most part the Supreme Court charted no new course; it merely reaffirmed the principles of the Bill of Rights from which we had strayed for so long.

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., Missouri Democrat and the highly respected chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, put it this way: "It is not the Supreme Court that should be criticized in the present circumstances. It is the unconstitutional and unlawful procedures which have been permitted to develop in this country that should be criticized." Senator HENNINGS, one of the few liberal Members of Congress to speak up in support of the Court's decisions, declared that the Supreme Court "should be praised for fulfilling its function as the ultimate guardian of human rights and freedom in our society."

The Supreme Court has paved the way for a rebirth of freedom in the United States. It performed a memorable achievement in nourishing and enriching the very soul of American society—individual liberty. It has helped immeasurably to sustain and strengthen the institutions of democracy for the great ideological struggle with communism. At this moment in history when materialism rampantly dominates our lives, when results, and only results seem to count, it is heartening to have our Supreme Court beckon us back to the spiritual values of first principles by counseling us that means are at least as important as ends, and that those who would fight fire with fire run the terrible risk of burning the book they live by.

Courteous, Considerate, Efficient Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, as we come to the final hours of this session of Congress, I want to take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation to the fine group of young men who serve us here in the House as page boys, doorkeepers, messengers, and in a variety of other capacities.

They are uniformly courteous, considerate, helpful in a million ways, and provide us with very efficient service. When one considers that there are 435 Members of the House of Representatives, and that we are all on constant call when the House is in session—with messages from our offices, visits to the floor with friends and constituents who have come to see the House in action, and the constant summoning of the telephone—it is a wonder these House employees I mentioned can find the energy to carry back and forth all of the many messages and to run all of the many errands which are their duty during a day when the House meets.

I would like to pay particular tribute to the fine work of C. H. "Colonel" Emerson, and "Charlie" Hackney, in directing the work of the telephone pages in the Cloakroom, and "Art" Cameron, overseer of the group, as well as the boys themselves—particularly "Ken" Harding, "Dan" Corcoran, "Bob" Gandel, "Joe" Saunders, "Bill" Grotefeld, and John Larkin. They have been wonderful to me.

Mr. Turner Robertson, chief page, is one of the outstanding employees of the House, and I know I speak for all of the Members when I say how much we appreciate the fine way he directs the bench pages, the door pages, the phone pages—the entire group.

Conflict in Immunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter to the editor of the New York Herald Tribune, written by one of our very distinguished New York State Supreme Court justices, the Honorable Samuel H. Hofstadter.

Judge Hofstadter's letter appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of August 29, 1957, and reads as follows:

CONFLICT IN IMMUNITY

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

To obtain the testimony of witnesses who take the fifth amendment, immunity sometimes is granted to them, pursuant to State and Federal laws—whereupon they are compelled to testify. Congress passed the first such Federal law 100 years ago.

These laws exchange amnesty for protection under the fifth amendment. To be constitutional, they must afford freedom from penalty as broad as the privilege for transactions about which the witness is compelled to testify. The immunity must be coextensive with the protection of the fifth amendment.

If the act of immunization meets this requirement, it is valid legally—and morally.

For, in the give-and-take of our society, these are the guidelines: no man may be forced to help convict himself of crime, but when he is fully freed of potential danger, the community may compel him to speak.

There is a flaw in this otherwise excellent accommodation between private privilege and public need. Some acts are crimes both under Federal and State laws. A witness may not refuse to testify because the immunity granted in one of these jurisdictions does not extend to possible prosecution in the other.

An exception arises when Congress enacts legislation of national concern—such as security or defense, for example—and in exercising its power to preempt that area of legislation, confers immunity against State as well as Federal prosecution. Its intention when manifested becomes "the supreme law of the land."

But, except for this, immunity to Federal prosecution will not prevent possible prosecution in a State jurisdiction. Conversely, State immunity does not protect the witness from prosecution in the Federal courts.

In view of the ever-expanding areas and multiplying subjects affected by the criminal law of both State and Federal governments, we must take cognizance of this gap. The residual danger of nonimmunized compulsory incrimination can be eliminated by a simple expedient. Congress and the several States should enact reciprocal immunity laws.

The Federal law would grant immunity where a State agency has granted immunity. Such automatic amnesty would only apply, however, where the State in question had a reciprocal law to the effect that it would not prosecute for the same matter where a Federal agency has already conferred immunity.

Such an arrangement is pragmatically and morally correct. It will eliminate contention—however ill-founded legally—by recalcitrant witnesses to whom immunity is offered. It perfects the otherwise plenary protection against compulsory self-incrimination enjoined by the Bill of Rights. For ordered liberty to persevere, it is the duty of each generation to fashion fresh forms for its ancient freedoms.

SAMUEL H. HOFSTADTER.

NEW YORK, *August 26, 1957.*

Gen. O. P. Weyland—The TAC and Limited War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Christian Monitor, Tuesday, August 20, 1957:

TAC AND LIMITED WAR

(By Robert R. Brunn)

(The Tactical Air Command (TAC) was built up during the Korean war to carry the burden of air war there. Now it has been trained up to fight if necessary on the other side of the world in so-called brush fires, a type of war which seems more likely than global war because of the mutually deterrent nature of nuclear weapons. TAC's mission is discussed and its commanding officer's thinking about the limited use of nuclear weapons is reported.)

LANGLEY FIELD, VA.—Gen. O. P. Weyland leans back in his chair. "The next brushfire problem may be more remote than Korea, any place where the Communists think a quick move would be successful. If quick help is needed, Tactical Air Command could provide great striking power with a few planes if small nuclear weapons are used in a strictly military sense."

In that brief statement by the commanding officer of TAC you have its principal preoccupation today: limited war. Tactical Air Command has the fighter-bombers that might fly across an ocean in a hurry to contain an action until ground troops could be brought to bear. Its specialty is antipersonnel bombing, the taking out of bridges and roadblocks, cutting communications generally.

TAC is building what it calls a composite air striking force, one that would try to contain ground action. Last fall a complete air strike force was flown to Europe by TAC. There were 40 combat aircraft plus aerial tankers and transports. The idea is that a force of this kind could find itself a forward base and attack from there.

For example, suppose there was a war condition somewhere in southeast Asia. TAC tankers might refuel back in Arabia and continue to support the forward fighter-bombers. This striking force in all would include tactical bombers, fighter-bombers, reconnaissance planes, carriers for supplies, and tankers.

REVERSED ROLES FORECAST

Air Force thinking is that very often in the future the roles of the Army and the Air Force may be reversed. Rather than planes supporting troops right from the beginning, the Air Force may move in first with bombers and knock out an enemy swiftly, with the troops coming in later to mop up. The argument is that the Air Force has a much simpler logistic problem.

What is Tactical Air Command anyhow? TAC had its great buildup during the Korean war. It carried the real brunt of the air war there, giving close support to the ground troops. Today it has units scattered across the United States in training and on readiness, to carry out its basic missions of holding air superiority over an area, interdiction of communication lines, close air support of ground troops, tactical reconnaissance, and airlift.

Its mission is much more complicated in some ways and broader than that of the Strategic Air Command, which exists, in effect, to drop bombs on the critical centers of any aggressor. TAC must be more flexible, ready to go in many directions and to fight many different kinds of engagements and engage in many different types of missions.

One typical unit of TAC this writer visited is the 366th Fighter-Bomber Wing. Stationed in central Louisiana at England Air Force Base, it has its eyes on the world, for, as it commanding officer, Col. William A. Daniel, says, "The 366th is ready to strike anywhere in the world."

The 366th always maintains one squadron in Europe on a rotation basis. A few months ago each squadron in the wing had rotated once for a 6-month tour and its 391st squadron was in Abiano, Italy. The 366th squadrons have been cut way down in housekeeping facilities and administration so that they are ready to go at a moment's notice from its homes in and near Alexandria, La..

The 366th is about the size of an Army division. It uses up about $16 million of supplies yearly and has a payroll of $2 million. Its members live in their own little "city" at England Air Force Base and are now busy building a large housing project to better house their personnel.

This business of having combat-ready units actually based in central Louisiana makes sense. This way they can go either way, east or west; they are assured of almost compete protection from surprise attacks; they can cut down on the large cost of transporting families, supplies, and replacements across ocean and continents.

Behind Air Force tactical units such as that in Louisiana there lies a very hot military question: Will they be able to use nuclear weapons in limited wars without this spreading to total war?

AIR WAR IN EUROPE

Let's have a visit with General Weyland who knows as much as anyone in the Air Force about tactical-aid-power use. His XIX Tactical Air Command gave Gen. George S. Patton, Jr., classic air support when the Third Army made its historic dash across France in 1945. General Weyland participated in six major campaigns in tactical air in World War II.

Then in the Korean war he played the largest air-command role as commander of the Far East Air Forces and of the United Nations Air Force. It was a tactical air war primarily.

So when you ask General Weyland about the use of nuclear weapons in a limited way you are talking to someone whose opinion is valuable. He is not unequivocal and uncompromising in his position, but generally speaking he believes that nuclear weapons can be used in a limited engagement. A large school of thought holds this is impossible, but let's hear his thinking on it.

Without placing his opinions in direct quotations, what follows is the burden of his thinking about nuclear weapons and the shape of possible limited conflict:

A nuclear war does not necessarily mean total obliteration as some people believe. The nuclear weapons have been refined and the Air Force now has them in quite small sizes—not only in the size of explosion but also in physical size so that they can be carried by smaller airplanes.

For example, he believes a fighter-bomber can destroy a bridge without unduly destroying the surrounding territory. What this means is that there would be less need to destroy than in Korea, and no need to make hundreds of sorties as in Europe.

Big weapons are weapons of desperation, but at the same time the Strategic Air Command with its big bombers is essential for deterrent power alone. Because of the mutual unwillingness to use large weapons first, a new global pattern is emerging.

General Weyland agrees that it is as much a political as a military struggle. Fearing total war, the Soviets are looking to political and economic attrition for their gains. But Korea proved that the Soviets are willing to use limited military action, especially if they can use someone else.

The next brush fire problem may be much more remote than Korea—any place where the Communists think a quick move would be successful. General Weyland says this is the reason for the TAC striking force. If quick help is needed, TAC could provide great striking power with a few planes and small nuclear weapons used in a strictly military sense. Nuclear bombs can get much closer to their targets because of their power and so there will be more assurance of destroying targets, too.

Meanwhile the vast fear and adverse propaganda made following the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is a problem in Asia. In fact, there may be a rising clamor for the abolition of all nuclear weapons in the future.

General Weyland holds that the general world opinion that nuclear weapons are weapons of mass destruction must be corrected. Why shouldn't the United States hold a public nuclear bombing show which would make the point quite clear to global thought that these weapons may well be used in a limited way?

TACIT AGREEMENT SEEN

He says that there is a tacit agreement on both sides in any conflict not to use the larger weapons. But then, what will be the dividing line between larger and smaller weapons? No one is sure. At times a fairly large weapon might be needed.

For example, in Korea his forces never obliterated a village until Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, became a target. Not only was it a communications center but it housed an arsenal. In Pyongyang the Communists kept shifting the headquarters and supply centers. This brought continued bombing, which eventually wore away the city, progressively eliminated it. General Weyland's planes did drop warning leaflets before widespread bombing.

An example of what can be done: In Korea to knock out 1 arsenal he remembers it took 30 big B-29's 2 missions, each dropping between 10 and 15 tons of TNT from each plane. One nuclear weapon would have taken care of this. Despite this great power, it probably would be kept under control, if for self-preservation alone. We did not bomb Peiping.

Having said all this, General Weyland says he does not believe that the United Nations forces should have used the nuclear bomb in Korea. From the strictly military point of view, only nuclear bombing of China might have been useful. A bomb on a military target in Mukden or anywhere in Manchuria would have been a warning. Having said this, he agrees that the United States did not realize the full moral impact of the act when Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed.

So that is General Weyland's case for the limited use of nuclear bombing. As the commander of the United State Air Force's arm designed to use limited bombing, he is naturally interested in it.

With all this airplane talk, TAC need not look far to see missiles on its horizon. Already TAC is organizing Matador missile units and is going through the interesting process of sorting out fighter-bomber and missile missions, setting up a hybrid organization that will utilize both. But missiles or bombers, the Tactical Air Command is a body of highly trained men ready to go anywhere in an unstable world where more and more people are looking away from total war to limited war as the stronger possibility.

Control of Signboards on the Interstate Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a vigorous and effective editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of August 26, 1957, entitled "Victory for Ugliness."

This same editorial page of a great daily newspaper also contained a cartoon by the gifted cartoonist, Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, along the same theme. That theme is the backward and mistaken action of the Senate Public Works Committee, by a vote of 7 to 6, in shelving our bill to control signboards along the interstate highway system of 41,000 miles.

Regrettably, the dramatic cartoon by Mr. Fitzpatrick, who is one of America's illustrious cartoonists, cannot under our rules be included in the pages of the RECORD, but the editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch will help to make evident the general approach of the drawing by this talented artist.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VICTORY FOR UGLINESS

Senator NEUBERGER of Oregon says the 7-to-6 vote of the Senate Public Works Committee killing the billboard-control bill was a "victory for ugliness," and there is no better description. The closeness of the vote, however, encourages hope that the victory will be temporary.

Mr. NEUBERGER introduced the first bill to control roadside advertising along the newly planned Federal Interstate Highway System. His argument was that the people would pay for these highways, and thus would create an advertising opportunity which could enrich the advertisers at the expense of the scenery. The people, he said, were entitled to some protection.

So far they have not got protection. The original Neuberger bill provided that the Federal Government would pay the States up to 90 percent of the cost of buying roadside advertising rights. This was watered down in committee to a plan to pay the State just three-fourths of 1 percent of the cost of a highway project for regulating (not abolishing) advertising. Now that has been killed.

The seven Senators who voted for the billboards were Republicans MARTIN of Pennsylvania, HRUSKA of Nebraska, KUCHEL of California, and REVERCOMB of West Virginia, and Democrats KERR of Oklahoma, SCOTT of North Carolina, and MCNAMARA of Michigan.

Here was a measure of the power of a lobby. The public has no lobby. But arrayed against the control bill were the outdoor advertising interests, backed by motel and restaurant and oil interests and the sign-painters union. From this group came arguments that billboards make the landscape more beautiful and driving safer.

It is a commentary on the Senate that such nonsense could justify the growing blight on public roads. For the billboard blight is growing. According to the Kiplinger magazine, Changing Times, advertisers spent $44 million on billboards back in 1940, but this year are spending more than $200 million. The interstate highways yet to be built could support a far more expensive clutter.

But the fact that the Interstate System has not yet been built offers some hope. The Neuberger bill should be revived in the next session of Congress. There is still time to defend the beauty of the land along the new road network, if the taxpayers who pay for roads will let their Senators know how they feel.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, everyone wants to build schools. The Members of this body, and indeed the citizens of our country, do not all agree on the proper method of building schools, nor on the responsibility for their construction. One segment of our population believes that only local authorities should build the schools. Another segment believes that it should be a combination of local and State authorities. Still another group feels that there is a Federal responsibility involved, and that the Federal Government should assume part of the responsibility for school construction.

As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, I have always maintained that provided the Federal Government does not control education, it is immaterial as to who builds the schools. The only material factor is that they actually be constructed, and that no American child receive a substandard education because of lack of facilities.

The records will show that the local authorities, in almost every section of the country, are doing their utmost to build schools. Only in very rare instances do we have a school district which is not ready and willing to tax its last resources to provide schools. However, try as they will, the local authorities have not in all cases been able to provide schools needed to educate an increasing school age population.

In many States, the State itself has stepped into the breach and has helped the local school districts in the construction of schools. In almost every instance in which this has occurred, the problem of providing schools has been solved. In fact, I am satisfied that the problem can be solved by any State if it desires to render substantial financial aid to the local school districts.

If the States would face up to their responsibilities, we would not need to even discuss the possibility of Federal aid to school construction. Or, if more builders, or just plain citizens, would feel that it was their responsibility to help provide schools, there would be no need for Federal aid to school construction.

A fine example of a builder facing up to what he deems to be his responsibility is set forth in the following editorial from the Arizona Republic. In this editorial is recounted the story of how the Cartwright School District, as hard pressed a school district as there is in this country, was helped by a progressive builder, John F. Long, of Phoenix, to meet its existing classroom shortage. The editorial follows:

EXAMPLE AT CARTWRIGHT

Now that Congress has killed the Federal school aid bill, local communities are faced with the necessity of meeting their own classroom shortages. A lot of them could take a lesson from the Cartwright School District in Phoenix. Like a few other districts in Arizona, Cartwright is in serious straits because it has bonded itself to the legal limit and still faces a classroom shortage. It has been caught on the merry-go-round of a population growing so fast that increases in assessed valuation can't keep pace.

Cartwright is fortunate in one respect. It counts a progressive home builder among its greatest assets. He is John F. Long, who has turned the farms out on West Indian School Road into modern housing developments with hundreds of homes.

Appreciating the school problem to which his developments have contributed, Mr. Long has started construction of a 12-classroom school for the Cartwright district. He has provided the land, and has even furnished the architectural work. He says the final bill

ill be about half of the standard price. The chool building will be turned over to the istrict on a lease-purchase agreement, thus emoving the need for a bond issue (which he district can't issue) and permitting for ayment in the form of rent (which the dis-ict can pay because it will receive State d based on the increased average daily at-ndance).

The only place where Federal school aid er made sense was in such population-mpacted areas as the Cartwright district. ut the district's school board, with the help f Mr. Long, is showing how even the most apidly growing areas can overcome the class-oom shortage if they quit sitting around and aiting for Uncle Sam to do it. The lease-urchase scheme should be widely adopted hrough the country, thus ending for all ime the annual request for a handout from ashington, a handout that local taxpayers ill have to pay in the long run anyway.

If more builders would face up to this esponsibility, and more States would ce up to their responsibility, there ould be no school problem. Realizing at the States need to enter this field, e Republican Party of the State of rizona included the following plank in s 1956 platform:

EDUCATION

The future of our State rests with our ildren; therefore, their education is of ime importance. The tremendous expense volved dictates efficiency and economy. e pledge our support to the highest stand-ds of education with equal opportunity for l children.

Many rapidly growing school districts in e State have reached the limit of their nded indebtedness, and yet are unable to ild adequate school facilities. We recom-end the establishment of a State school ilding authority to render financial assist-ce through lease-purchase agreements to stricts currently unable to provide essen-l school buildings.

The ever-increasing needs of higher edu-tion are so important and their cost so eat, we believe that Arizona must ap-oach the problem without sectional bias. e shall seek to provide for such needs, ilizing all available resources within a tewide framework.

Mr. Speaker, my own private platform r building schools is set forth in this tension of remarks. First, let every hool district do its utmost to solve its n problem; second, let responsible ivate individuals realize that they are part of the problem, and do what they n to help solve it; third, let the States emselves, through school building au-orities or other means, help the school stricts; fourth, if all of these measures ll do not build sufficient schools, then e responsibility must in the end rest on the Federal Government.

Can the Federal Government afford help build schools? There is only e thing which we cannot afford in this untry. We cannot afford to raise even e generation of uneducated or par-ally educated children. In this 20th ntury world with its complexities, its veiling of scientific mysteries hereto-re undreamed, its competition between eologies, its deadly threat of an end to e in the shadow of a mushroom cloud, educated population is our last, best apon. To allow this mighty sword to rrode, or to lose its luster, would be to ndemn the world to death, or to gen-ations of Communist slavery. These ings must not happen.

Segregation in the Field of Sports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting the enclosed letter, two articles, and my reply for the consideration of Congress and the American people:

SUN-TELEGRAPH,
Pittsburgh, Pa., August 23, 1957.
Representative JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. FULTON: I am enclosing a couple articles I've written on a situation I find annoying. If it annoys you as it does me, you may be able to get the Defense Department to advise the United States Military Academy to withdraw from this football game.

It is my feeling that the United States Military Academy should represent all the people, that the United States Military Academy has no business participating in a segregated sports event.

I concede that the contract for this game was signed 4 years ago, but other northern colleges have canceled contracted games since Louisiana last year passed its distasteful jim crow sports law (Negroes and whites cannot compete together or sit together at public events). Unofficially, a boycott exists. The United States Military Academy is about to break that boycott and become the first northern college to go into Louisiana since the law went into effect.

GEORGE J. P. KISEDA.

[From the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of Saturday, August 24, 1957]

ARMY DEFIES THE BOYCOTT

(By George Kiseda)

The United States Military Academy is going ahead with plans to play a segregated football game with Tulane University in New Orleans November 16. Lt. Gen. Garrison H. Davidson, Superintendent at West Point, told the Sun-Telegraph yesterday that "we made our contract 4 years ago and we're going to honor it."

It will be the first breakthrough in an unofficial boycott that has existed among northern colleges since the Louisiana State Legislature last year passed a law barring interracial sports competition and integrated seating. No northern colleges have sent their football and basketball teams into Louisiana since then.

The University of Pittsburgh was the first to announce its position, withdrawing as a possible candidate for the Sugar Bowl football game. Then the University of Wisconsin canceled a 2-year football contract with Louisiana State University.

Subsequently, Notre Dame, Dayton, and St. Louis asked to be relieved of their contracts to appear in the Sugar Bowl basketball tournament. In some cases there were no Negroes on the college teams involved, but the colleges withdrew on principle and also because they had Negro students and alumni who would not be able to sit with white students and alumni.

There are no Negroes on the Army football team, but there are seven Negroes in the Academy.

According to General Davidson, himself, an old Army football star and coach, the Tulane game was scheduled 4 years ago by Col. Earl Blaik, who is coach and athletic director at West Point. A telephone interview with General Davidson went like this:

"Question. Are you going ahead with plans to play Tulane in New Orleans?

"Answer. Sure.

"Question. Are you aware of the year-old Louisiana law barring interracial competition and requiring segregated seating?

"Answer. Yes. We entered this contract 4 years ago, you know.

"Question. Are you aware that no northern college has played down there since the law went into effect, that, in other words, there has been a boycott?

"Answer. Well, we made our contract 4 years ago and we're going to honor it.

"Question. Some of the northern schools have broken contracts since the law went into effect.

"Answer. Our responsibility is to play the game. Our policies, insofar as the corps of cadets is concerned, are equal opportunity for everybody.

"Question. Suppose 1 of the 7 Negroes in the academy wants to go to the game. What will you do?

"Answer. Nobody from the corps of cadets is going. It's too far—it's a matter of economy.

"Question. What about Negro alumni? What if they want to go to the game?

"Answer. I wouldn't guess at a proposition like that. I'd have to wait and see what develops.

"Question. How will you sell your allotment of tickets?

"Answer. We won't place restrictions on our tickets.

"Question. But Negroes won't be admitted to white sections.

"Answer. I'm not so sure about that. I don't know.

"Question. What is your position on the United States Military Academy participating in segregated sports events?

"Answer. Our laws are the national laws. We follow a policy of equality of opportunity for everybody in the corps of cadets.

"Question. But what is your policy on the United States Military Academy participating in a segregated sports event such as this?

"Answer. I don't think I'd want to comment on a hypothetical question that hasn't arisen yet. I just know that we're going through with the game. I think that should answer it.

"Question. Aren't you embarrassed somewhat that the United States Military Academy will be the first northern college to play there since the law went into effect?

"Answer. Oh, no. Not a bit. We contracted this game with the university and we're going to honor our contract."

[From the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of August 26, 1957]

SPEAKING OUT ON SPORTS

(By George Kiseda)

When Louisiana's odious Jim Crow sports law passed in the State legislature last year, there was some speculation that it would hurt New Orleans' Sugar Bowl promotion. But the lowercase democrat who introduced the bill into the legislature assured everybody that no such thing would happen.

"Sugar Bowl teams," said Louisiana State Representative Lawrence Gibbs, "will put first things first when they get an opportunity to play in the annual classic. They get $120,000 (sic) for appearing in the Sugar Bowl and don't think they overlook the prestige either."

Northern colleges did put first things first but not the way Representative Gibbs expected. Putting principle before principal, Pitt said it wants no part of the Sugar Bowl until Louisiana decides to rejoin the Union. Notre Dame, Dayton, and St. Louis pulled out of the Sugar Bowl basketball tournament, Wisconsin canceled a 2-year football contract with LSU.

Since Gibbs' gibberish became law, no northern colleges have sent their football

or basketball teams into Louisiana. Now, though, the boycott is about to be broken in the last place you would expect it to be broken—West Point.

Lt. Gen. Garrison H. Davidson, Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, told the Sun-Telegraph last week that Army will play Tulane in New Orleans November 16 as scheduled.

General Davidson's explanation was that the game was contracted 4 years ago and Army was dutybound to honor its contract. Other colleges have felt differently.

General Davidson was cordial throughout the telephone interview but seemed not to be aware of the significance of the United States Military Academy participating in a segregated sports event.

The United States Military Academy presumably represents all the people. It seems to me that the Academy is under no obligation to honor a contract that was legally conceived but now can be honored only by violating the Constitution.

The last thing I asked General Davidson was, "Aren't you embarrassed that the United States Military Academy will be the first northern college to play there since the law went into effect?"

"Oh, no," he replied. "Not a bit. We contracted this game with the university and we're going to honor our contract."

I, for one, am embarrassed that General Davidson is not embarrassed.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 29, 1957.*

Mr. GEORGE KISEDA,
The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR GEORGE: Received your articles. Certainly admire your courage and think they are wonderful. Am placing them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today and will send you copies. Am also contacting White House immediately protesting football game in New Orleans on November 16, and strongly urging its cancellation. What is use of civil-rights law by Congress if Army disregards civil-rights law by Congress if Army disregards civil-rights and cooperates in their repression. Wil lbe glad to follow up on this matter strongly. Count on my full coperation.

Congressman JIM FULTON.

Address by Petras Dauzvardis, Consul of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine speech which was delivered by Petras Dauzvardis, consul of Lithuania, at the observance of the anniversary of New York-Kaunas flight of Darius and Girenas, in Chicago on July 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY PETRAS DAUZVARDIS, CONSUL OF LITHUANIA, AT OBSERVANCE OF ANNIVERSARY OF NEW YORK-KAUNAS FLIGHT OF DARIUS AND GIRENAS, JULY 21, 1957, MARQUETTE PARK, CHICAGO

Capt. Stephen Darius and Lt. Stanley Girenas are symbols of the close friendship of the United States and Lithuania. Born in Lithuania, they came here as youngsters, studied, and were volunteers in the United States Army, then fighting for the freedom of all nations. Lithuania regained her freedom and became an independent state as a result of the war and the determination of the Lithuanian nation. Darius returned to Lithuania to help her rebuild.

After Darius' return to this country he brought along the idea of a nonstop flight to Lithuania to strengthen American-Lithuanian ties. Girenas joined him in carrying out the plan. They accomplished their mission, even though they did not reach Lithuania alive. Their heroic sacrifice was highly esteemed by both countries. Eloquent testimony of this is this imposing monument in Marquette Park, this and other patriotic observances, and the sincere and ardent expressions by people of both nations.

These expressions touch upon America and Lithuania as well as on Darius and Girenas. The flight and death of Darius and Girenas occured in the month of July. This month is replete with significant historical events: America's Declaration of Independence, the legal recognition of the State of Lithuania, and the Soviet treachery against Lithuania and the community of nations.

The Soviet Russian-Lithuanian Peace Treaty, by which Lithuania was recognized as a sovereign and independent state, was signed on July 12, 1920. On July 28, 1922, 35 years ago, America recognized Lithuania as a full-fledged state. The Lithuanian Legation at Washington and the Consulates at New York and Chicago were opened after this recognition and continue their functions to this day.

The American Legation and Consulate in Lithuania, however, no longer function. They were closed by the imperialistic Soviet occupant of Lithuania, who seized Lithuania in June 1940, deposed the lawful Lithuanian Government and substituted its illegal puppet agency, which still rules Lithuania and annihilates its people, although the Stalin-Molotov regime has been damned and condemned by the present Soviet bosses for its many iniquities.

Lithuania, as I said, was seized by the Soviets in June of 1940. On July 14 and 15, 1940 the occupants, in violation of the Hague Convention, enacted the tragicomedy of elections—actually the appointment—of a so-called peoples parliament. By order of Stalin-Molotov this body (illegal by international as well as Lithuanian law, and even by the doctrine of the father of Russia's Communists, Lenin), on July 21, exactly 17 years ago, voted to Sovietize Lithuania and incorporate it into the Soviet Union.

All free Lithuanian representatives and freedom-loving Lithuanian people denounced this illegal act by the Soviets. Lithuanian Minister in Washington, P. Zadeikis, lodged his protest with the Department of State on July 22, and the Department of State published its condemnation on July 23, 1940.

So the month of July is a month of triumph and of tragedy for Lithuania. Triumph, because in that month Lithuania was recognized de jure by America and Russia, and because America continues to recognize her as an existing state—and is making every effort to free her. Tragedy, because Russia violated her pledge and throttled Lithuania's independence—enslaved her people and is mercilessly torturing and exploiting them.

However, just as every tragedy teaches a lesson, so Lithuania's tragedy teaches a lesson to the nation and to the world. The nation steels itself for the struggle for freedom: the people become more freedom-conscious and feel that like all other cherished possessions, freedom must be guarded and defended, otherwise it can be lost.

The tragedy of Lithuania teaches the world that the leaders of the United States are honorable men, while the rulers of the Soviet Union are hypocrites. America does what it says, while the Soviet Union says one thing—but does another.

Here is an example of Soviet fraud: After the Soviet Union imposed mutual-aid pacts upon the Baltic States, citing the treaties of peace and nonaggression, and inserting an article about the noninterference of one state in the affairs of another, Commissar of Foreign Affairs V. Molotov declared (on October 31, 1939) to the Supreme Soviet and the world:

"These pacts are based on mutual respect for the political, social, and economic structure of the contracting parties, and are designed to strengthten the basis for peaceful, neighborly cooperation between our peoples. We stand for the scrupulous observance of pacts on a basis of complete reciprocity and we declare that all nonsense about sovietizing the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs."

Less than a year after the signing of the pacts and the solemn declarations, the Soviet Union seized and sovietized Lithuania and the other Baltic States—in flagrant violation of agreements and pledges. This is clearly a crime against international law and morality.

The present rulers of the Kremlin accuse Stalin and Molotov of all kinds of crimes—Khrushchev and Bulganin also swear allegiance to Lenin, but break their word and violate even Lenin's doctrine.

If Stalin and Molotov offended peace, friendship and coexistence—and they did this by seizing Lithuania and other countries—then Khrushchev-Bulganin-Zhukov must right these wrongs, by restoring freedom and independence to Lithuania and the other enslaved states.

Khruschev, Bulganin, and their cohorts say that the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians joined the Soviet Union "freely" that their "parliaments voted" this move. This is a bald-faced lie, the alibi of culprits. They do not mention the illegality of these "parliaments," or their lack of any right to convert independent states into colonies of a foreign power. They also refrain from mentioning the doctrine of their "father" Lenin, which plainly states:

"Any incorporation of a small or weak nation into a large or strong state without the definite, clear and voluntary desire of that effect of that nation * * *" and especially "* * * if this nation is not accorded the right to decide the problem of the form of its political existence by a free vote—implying the complete withdrawal of the troops of the incorporating or strong nation—then the incorporation is an annexation, i. e., an arbitrary appropriation of a foreign country, an act of violence."

The Lithuanian nation had no say regarding the incorporation of Lithuania. The country was arbitrarily and violently annexed to the Soviet Union, with the Soviet Army and Molotov's deputy Dekanozov present and operating in Lithuania.

All evidence shows that Lithuania was occupied by force, illegally incorporated into the Soviet Union, and is illegally restrained by the Soviets.

The Lithuanian nation wants to be free and act freely, and to have its own independent state, in which it could govern itself.

The Lithuanian nation demands that the occupants get out of Lithuania and restore sovereign rights and self-government to her as set forth in the Lithuanian-Soviet Peace Treaty, the Atlantic Charter, and the Charter and Declaration of the United Nations.

One-fifth of the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, some time ago I introduced a bill to create a commission to provide for Federal-State commissions and a National Land Study Board of Review to study problems of land ownership and to propose disposition of land in excess of Federal needs.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful editorial supporting my bill, which appeared in the Winston-Salem Journal of August 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE-FIFTH OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The history of the North American continent is in large measure a story of unplanned land exploitation without regard for the consequences. We are paying the penalty today for our ancestors' lack of foresight in land use.

Because of the emphasis placed on conservation in the 20th century, much has been done toward reversing the trend toward depletion of the soil and forests. The old policy of giving away land or selling it for a song has been replaced by various programs of Federal land acquisition. As a result, the Federal Government now owns more than one-fifth of the continental United States, nearly 90 percent of which lies in 11 Western States.

It is only natural, therefore, to ask the question: Where do we go from here? Should the Federal Government continue to acquire land? Or should it dispose of some of its holdings to the States and private owners?

To help provide an answer to those questions, Senator RUSSELL LONG, of Louisiana, has proposed creation of individual Federal-State commissions and a National Land Study Board of Review to study the problems of public land ownership. To answer critisisms that he proposed a giveaway of Federal lands, Senator LONG would set up an elaborate system of checks and balances. In the final analysis, each House of Congress would hold the veto power over any recommendations for disposal or acquisition of lands that might result from the study.

The Long bill seems generally in line with recommendations of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, which proposed in 1955 a working board to consider resources policy, including land policy. The Hoover Commission also has recommended creation of a committee to study Federal lands so that a uniform policy of management could be developed. Nothing has come of either of these recommendations. In fact, says Senator LONG, no overall congressional land policy has been set forth since the Homestead Act of 1862.

Answers to the questions posed above do not come easily. For one thing, the issue of Federal land policy is packed with emotion. Some conservationists view with alarm any disposal of Federal lands. Other citizens argue vehemently that a free-enterprise system demands the reestablishment of private ownership as the ultimate objective in Government land policy. The wise solution probably lies somewhere between these extremes.

The sale of some Federal lands, especially those set aside as national parks and national monuments, would be tragic in the extreme. Indeed, prudence suggests that the Federal Government should act quickly to acquire the few areas of shoreline that remain undeveloped. Many, perhaps most, Federal coast holdings should be preserved intact, especially where watershed protection and erosion control are vital. Some grazing lands in the West might be sold to private interests, while others probably should be kept in the public domain.

But there is no virtue in Federal land ownership for its own sake. Where large areas are tax-free, local and State governments may be hard pressed for tax sources, even though some Federal lands yield payments in lieu of taxes. Thus there is no reason to shy away from the sale of Federal lands, if it can be accomplished without harm to the national interest and without showing favoritism among prospective purchasers.

Senator LONG's stated purpose in introducing the bill is not to have the Federal Government sell lands it is more desirable that they own and manage, but rather to dispose of those lands that it is more desirable to have in private, State, or other public ownership. If his bill would help to accomplish that purpose, it should get favorable consideration in Congress.

A Common Market for the Western Hemisphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered by the Honorable Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, before the American Chamber of Commerce for Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro, on August 7, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A COMMON MARKET FOR THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

(Address delivered by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, before the American Chamber of Commerce for Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro, August 7, 1957)

There are moments in history when mankind is offered the opportunity for greatness. These moments occur only infrequently. Often they are missed, escape into oblivion.

There is, I think, such a moment now. There is an opportunity beckoning to the peoples of all the Americas—from Canada to Cape Horn. It is a moment for greatness. We stand on the threshold.

What is this opportunity before us? It is the opportunity to demonstrate to all the world the capacity, the capability, of our hemisphere to develop an economic and social system that can be man's best hope for progress, for security, for peace.

And what is the pattern that I have in mind?

It is nothing less than the development of a common market for the whole Western Hemisphere.

Now this prospect may be unprecedented and it may be dazzling. Some will say it is downright impossible.

It is true that the idea of a common market for the Western Hemisphere has elements of a dream. But it is a dream that I think we can turn into reality. The components of the dream are the regional groupings now under discussion.

What great idea did not start as a dream? Think of all the dreams that mankind has put into practical use—for his advancement, for his common welfare.

I don't come to offer you the idea of a common market, complete, packaged, and wrapped up overnight. It won't come quickly. It won't come easily. It will be a long pull and a hard one.

I don't propose that overnight we dismiss tariffs and sovereignty, pride and self-protection, as if we were shucking an ear of corn.

What I propose is something much simpler. I propose that we be receptive to the idea of a common market on a hemisphere basis; that we discuss it and talk about it; that we hold conferences about it; and that we consider what steps we might take together to achieve this ultimate goal.

There is one thing that the common market must never be and can never be. It must not be dominated by any country or any group of countries. It must not be dominated by colossus America or colossus anything or anybody.

It must show at every step of the way that it is based on mutual trust, mutual equality, mutual benefits.

Now how do we go about creating this common market? There are innumerable ways. As a matter of fact, we already have an advanced pattern of economic cooperation between our nations. In addition, a good many organizations throughout our hemisphere are devoting attention to it. As you all know, there are also encouraging beginnings of regional groupings in Central and South America.

What we need above all is to continue our self-questioning, our self-examination, to seek constantly for things that we can do to improve the economy of the hemisphere.

In my opinion, the inevitable pattern of the future will be large-scale regional economic development—the common market among nations.

As we look around the world, we see two significant developments in this respect. One is occurring in the Soviet orbit. The other is taking place in Western Europe.

What is the Soviet pattern? It is an imperial system as old as Rome. It makes vassals of the satellite states, drawing out their wealth and substance for the benefit of the Soviet Union. The Communists speak of a common market. What they have achieved in reality is a slave market.

In Western Europe, there is the true beginning of a common market based on the voluntary energies and dedication of the countries involved. This common market is being created because the people themselves see in it a new development that offers greater promises and rewards than they have known before.

Now I don't propose a Western Hemisphere common market from either negative or defensive reasons—though these are compelling enough in their own right. I propose it consciously and affirmatively for the great benefits it can bring to us all.

The blueprints can, and I believe, will be drawn. They will come from the leaders of industry and labor, agriculture and the professions in all our countries, and from the inter-American organizations even now pursuing studies on how to accelerate our economic and social development in the Americas.

It is just this belief in our opportunity for economic development and our eagerness to get on with the job that has already brought together a number of distinguished citizens of Canada, of the United States, of the Latin American States.

Through the National Planning Association, we have formed the Inter-American

Research Committee. I happen to be chairman of this committee and Galo Plaza of Ecuador is vice chairman.

Here in Brazil, your great country is greatly represented by Fausto Rivera Cardoso, one of the leading union leaders in this hemisphere, head of the National Confederation of Commercial Workers, a man of boundless energy and vision.

All of you, I am sure, are familiar with the committee. But I should like for a moment to tell you a few things that are on our mind. We shall have our first meeting in Washington this October.

On our committee, we've found a great deal in common—which, of course, is always useful in a committee seeking common objectives. All of us speak the same language and in much the same accent—the language is optimism—and the accent is private initiative.

But while we commune in optimism, we are also sensible enough to expect no miracles and to expect plenty of problems. We have certain beliefs in common. They are these:

We believe, first, that the Western Hemisphere is potentially the best area to achieve the expansion and growth of private enterprise for all segments of society.

We believe, second, that all nations of this hemisphere can benefit by more extensive mutual use of our mutual resources—raw materials, capital, know-how, skills, educational facilities.

We believe, third, that the Americas—with an old and durable concept of international cooperation—must develop a new and practical approach to our economic destiny.

In seeking this approach, we have plenty of home work to do. Our schedule calls for us to explore several large topics in breadth and depth. We will look into the projected growth rates of population, income and purchasing power in the hemisphere.

We will study the effects of inflation on economic development, trade and investment. We will explore how the various economies can complement each other for our mutual benefit. We will look into means for increasing capital formation and for speeding economic development. And we will make case studies of the growth of private enterprise in the Americas—in order to get more and better of the same.

We shall make these studies—and others to come—with a high sense of purpose. We know that in order to move the world, we must first learn how to construct a lever. And in order to build a mutual free economy, we must first fully understand the economies of each of us.

It is, I submit, high time for all this inter-American self-examination—and for practical, workable programs that will come from it.

If the nations of Europe—after centuries of internal conflict—can find their way to mutual economic ties, how can we in our Western Hemisphere—with our tradition of cooperation—how can we think of failing in our endeavor? Are there any differences between us today that can stand against the flowering of our hemisphere tomorrow?

The promise we seek cannot come from economics alone. To build this tomorrow we will need to know each other better so that we can get along better together. In this respect, I hope you'll forgive me if I speak for a moment about my own private enterprise—the motion picture business.

Motion pictures are, I believe, one of the most powerful levers for bringing men and nations together. The films, of course, don't set out to be a lever, or even to be an influence—they merely aim to entertain. In entertaining, however, they help us to bridge the difference between us and to strengthen our common goals.

To my mind, one of the most welcome developments in Latin America would be the steady growth of the Latin American motion picture industry. Your development of great actors, writers, directors, has already made itself felt in our industry as well as in yours. Our market in the United States is free and wide open to your future productions. Our welcome mat is permanently at our front door.

And this is so because the films of Latin America and the films of the United States—like the people of our countries—have certain bonds in common. North and south of the border, our films reflect not just the life and living in our countries, but the vital concepts of our Western World. The concepts, I believe, are these three:

Our films reflect the concept that man is an individual, not a mass.

They reflect the concept that man can be and is meant to be free.

They reflect the concept that man can remake his society—or his hemisphere—as he wishes it to be.

Through our movies—and through our exchange of music, and painting, and literature, all the arts—we are getting to know each other, to build ever stronger foundations for our common future.

As I said earlier, I came to talk to you today about an opportunity for greatness, a time and a place for greatness.

The time is now. The place is our Western Hemisphere.

And the opportunity is to develop a common market for all our nations, all our peoples.

Little men and little minds will be afraid of this large prospect. They will draw away from it. They will dismiss it with the curt words: "It can't be done."

Little men and little minds always prefer to travel the old and cautious ways. The goal to which they beckon us is little and small.

But big men and big minds will relish the prospects before us. The goal toward which they beckon us is unlimited. It can be as broad and wide as our hearts, our spirits, and our mutual hopes. They will say it can be done, despite the problems, and will set about to find ways to accomplish it.

So today I make this appeal:

Let us all think big, act big; let us think and act as big as our whole hemisphere.

The task before us is worthy of our talents and our faith. We can be worthy of our moment in history.

If we succeed in this task—to build a common market among our nations—we shall achieve not merely a flowering Western Hemisphere for ourselves and our children.

We shall also achieve a bastion of freedom and security for all mankind.

The Proud and the Complex

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Pilot, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, July 13, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROUD AND THE COMPLEX

Algeria was once a word that meant no more to most people than a far-away exotic land of turrets and veils and Arab mystery. Today it means trouble, violence, bloodshed and grave international distress. Senator KENNEDY last week entered this strange world with strong words questioning American policy on Algeria and at least by implication suggesting that France reevaluate its present strategy there. It was a forthright and deliberate spech and the Senator, we can be sure, was aware of the storm that would follow upon its delivery.

The President and the Secretary of State in public statements quite understandably soft-pedaled the whole business, but it is likely that they will give the Senator's suggestions some serious consideration. The issue which centers about the matter of Algerian independence is full of complexity. It is not simply a question of French intransigence on one side, nor of nationalistic local autonomy on the other. There are many issues involved which are so mutually conflicting that one almost despairs of a solution without large compromises all around. Senator KENNEDY plainly understands all this but he argues forcefully that the present hands-off attitude of our own country is costing us dearly in the world opinion of the newer peoples. These nations just now moving toward national self-determination, and often prematurely, should feel friendly toward America with its long record of anticolonialism but they are distressed by our policy of silence and inaction on Algeria.

It is convenient of course to say that this is primarily a French question and that it can be best solved by France, so long familiar with North African complexities as in Tunisia and Morocco. While French opinion is surely not unanimous on the wisdom of present French policy in Africa, President Coty has just announced that full Algerian independence will never be granted. Certainly no solution will be acceptable that does not give consideration to the Communist influence in Algeria, the unreliable character of the rebels and the presence of more than a million Europeans there. There just is no easy solution for Algeria, as indeed everyone admits.

At the same time Senator KENNEDY's basic concern is a legitimate one and also one to which Americans must give immediate attention. Without judging the French position we know that it is interpreted in Asia and Africa as an imperialistic one, since there Algerian rebel action is seen as totally legitimate and French retaliation as fully vindictive and repressive. This is a ridiculous oversimplification but like all such it sells easily among simple people and it allies us with those who are classified as the enemies of freedom. This is actually both unhappy and unnecessary.

We can sympathize with the incredible difficulties facing the French policymakers in Algeria and we can also show an understanding of the legitimate aspirations of the Algerians for self-determination. Up until now we have emphasized the first at the expense of the second and we have as a consequence lost the confidence of those vast areas of the world in ferment for the future. We are judged as a people ready to sacrifice our traditional principles rather than embarrass our allies, as opportunists shifting to suit the wind in the changing world.

Senator KENNEDY does well to call this to the attention of America and the administration, for we neglect it at a very real peril indeed. It is appropriate, too, that true friends of France make the point plain for it is one that should not be misunderstood. None of us meanwhile forgets that in modern times it is to France that we may look in the Western World for the most resounding declaration of the ideals of free men and free nations.

Appendix

Speech of Dr. Emerson Schmidt Before American Institute of Architects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, in the recent Finance Committee hearings on the financial condition of the United States, considerable criticism has been directed at the policies of the Federal Reserve Board in its efforts to restrain the expansion of bank credit and thus to check inflationary pressures in the economy. Almost everyone seems to agree that continued inflation is the greatest internal threat to the very existence of our national life. With inflationary pressures continuing over the past 18 months, there are those who urge that Federal Reserve policies should be reversed, the supply of money and credit increased and the interest rates reduced. It is argued that the so-called tight-money policy and higher interest rates are the cause of inflation, rather than the effect of efforts to check and stop what otherwise could be a continuous spiral of higher prices. As a people we must accept and even encourage the monetary and credit policies of restraint necessary to curb this inflation, even though these may temporarily defer or diminish some expenditures or activity, or else be prepared to accept the consequence of continuous creeping inflation.

Mr. President, I am very favorably impressed by a speech of Dr. Emerson Schmidt, director of the economic research department of the United States Chamber of Commerce, given before the American Institute of Architects, which discusses clearly and objectively the necessity of monetary controls imposed by the Federal Reserve. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts of this speech be printed as part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the speech were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CREDIT RESTRAINT DELUSIONS

Criticisms of the alleged tight money policy have emanated almost on a daily basis from politicians, leftists, and even some businessmen. Here we see a basic organized drive against the free market system. Few see the implications for a free economy. There is good reason to believe that a free economy and, indeed, human freedom are impossible unless we also have a flexible money market. This is an idea almost never discussed in the economic literature or the popular press.

If the interest rate is driven downward by artificial forces, it drives the demand for capital ever upward. It generates pressures for government intervention on a geometric scale.

Lord Keynes, the most influential economist of our generation, during the depression of the 1930's wanted to drive the interest rate to zero—the euthanasia of the rentier class. He has had many followers in Washington and elsewhere. They are regimenters and totalitarians—whether consciously or not. To make the point clear: Interest-free perpetual loans, for example, would be the equivalent of making capital a free gift. When things are free, there is no possible limit to the demand for them. Then rationing and detailed government planning replace the free choice of the citizen.

Similarly, government guaranties of loans, easier and easier borrowing arrangements with interest rates forcibly depressed below market levels by law or by fiscal and monetary policy as prior to March 1951, likewise drive the demand for capital through the roof. This puts the economy under constant inflationary pressures and creates political pressures for direct government lending, direct controls, and regimentation. It must finally lead to capital investment rationing, compulsory saving, price and wage controls, profit controls, the allocation of labor to specific assignments—in other words, a regimented economy.

This set of ideas on economic interrelationships has been inadequately discussed in the United States by those who favor human freedom, a free economy and mass human welfare.

Unless we can get more individuals all across the land, individuals in whom the people have confidence, to understand the anatomy of money, credit, commercial and central banking, and the function of a flexible interest rate, we may drift by default into the regimentation and controls which have gripped and weakened other nations.

Several members of the Joint Congressional Committee on the President's Economic Report in the Joint Economic Report of 1955 argued:

"Instead of being used to promote full employment, maximum production and purchasing power, fiscal and monetary policies have been, and are being, used to promote the interest of the lending and investment classes and a handful of giant corporations at the expense of the farmer, small-business men, and employees."

A number of Members of Congress have continued to reiterate the same idea.

It is clear from this that the foundations of sound-money-maximum-employment policies are imperfectly understood, even in high places. Since the United States Treasury-Federal Reserve accord of 1951, the Federal Reserve has been striving to protect the purchasing power of the dollar. The mechanics at its disposal are not perfect. But when everyone is trying to borrow the maximum and when our economy is apparently trying to do too much and we have overfull employment, something has to give. During inflation, credit restraint means that some potential borrowers or would-be borrowers are not only to pay somewhat higher interest rates, but, perhaps, borrow somewhat less than they had intended. Again, something has to give.

At the same time, as the purchasing power of the dollar is preserved, all dollar savings, such as mortgages, bonds, life insurance, savings deposits, have their values preserved.

It is inevitable that lenders in such a period will get a better return. But contrary to demagogues, this is not the objective of a sound money policy. It is an incidental effect. Increases in interest rates tend to raise the income of savers and other moneylenders. Critics of flexible interest rates are making a mockery of one of the essential functions of the Government, namely, to maintain an honest currency.

The average person can never be expected to take the time and trouble to master these intricacies. But urgently needed are informed leaders in every community, whose judgment and public spirit is unquestioned, who will lead in the struggle for freedom—including the flexible money market.

The power to prevent inflation (and to some extent, deflation) unquestionably is now at hand in the United States Treasury and the Federal Reserve System. Enlightened public support on the side of reasonable price stability and sustained high employment is indispensable to strengthen the hand of these monetary authorities.

While the Federal Reserve or, even more carelessly, the administration is blamed for tight money, actually, the Federal Reserve has followed the money market far more than it has led it. In the overwhelming majority of loans, the borrower and lender are perfectly free to negotiate whatever rate is mutually satisfactory. The Federal Reserve has no legal or direct control over such transactions whatsoever. The tail does not yet wag the dog.

Because of the alleged tight-money policy, innumerable efforts are made by politicians, Government bureaus and pressure groups to get around this alleged credit restraint, via direct loans, via taking on State and local responsibilities and in other devious fashions.

C. Canby Balderston, Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, made it clear that every attempt to create a perferred position for any group concentrates, in a full-employment economy, the stringencies on the balance of the economy that much more fiercely. He put it this way:

"The alternative to free markets is to resort to Government subsidies, guaranties, and tax benefits. These may shelter preferred groups and meet apparent social needs, but we must not forget that each time we use them we substract from the credit, materials, and labor available to others who must rely upon the free market. The greater the amount of special shelter provided by Government, the more difficult becomes the situation of those not so protected. In a free society, it is axiomatic that not everyone can be sheltered. It is understandable, therefore, that free markets should be looked upon as the central feature of our private enterprise system."

Germany in the South American Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Hendrik J. Berns, relating to Germany's efforts in the South American market.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GERMANY GRABBING SOUTH AMERICA—BEING SWEPT FROM UNDER OUR NOSES

(By Hendrik J. Berns)

The busy broom of German efficiency is sweeping the South American market.

Refurbished by United States postwar dollars, it is penetrating every region and all corners.

The United States bolstered Western Europe to stem the Communist tide. It neglected its hemispheric brothers to the south for that reason—and because of hesitation induced by lack of faith in political and economic conditions in the principal Latin American nations.

Once revived and moving ahead full speed, the Europeans had no such hesitations.

Under the leadership of West Germany they plunged right into all of South America.

South America is taking what it can get and where it can get it. The United States is rarely among the offering.

In textiles, machinery, communications, transportation; in chemicals, equipment, glass; in locomotives, trucks, and automobiles—the story is always the same:

First come the Germans; next come other European nations; then comes the United States.

On avenidas, streets and plazas; in hotels, restaurants and bars—the voices are always the same:

Loudest is German; next come other European lingos; then comes that of the United States.

But it would be wrong to deduce that Latins want it that way. In fact, they would much rather be tied to the United States than to West Germany or other European nations. In fact, they regret this estrangement of the wartime marriage by which they contributed to victory.

They believe it is due to the North American attitude rather than to South American behavior.

They point out, too, that our attitude is not quite logical. Because, they say, Western Europe no longer needs our products and our economic help while South America does.

Yet we have not turned the other cheek. So, West Germany, France, Italy and even Poland are doing all they can.

In Argentina, Brazil, and Peru the argument heard runs somewhat like this:

"You either want to come here with money and take over or you want to come here with know-how only. We don't want anyone to take over. And we cannot get along with know-how alone.

"What we need is the combination of money and know-how. That combination you are not willing to give because you do not trust us completely.

"The Germans do. Not only are they willing to give it—they throw it at us.

"So, of course, we are delighted to get what we need. But, seen long range, it would be better for you and us if we could get together."

Evidently we can't.

Still more evidently we don't.

Thus, the broom of German efficiency keeps on sweeping the South American market.

Reciprocal Interchange of Students With European-Soviet Bloc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on August 5 I introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 44 to express the sense of Congress relative to interchange on a reciprocal basis of persons with the Soviet European bloc under the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act. This proposal is in line with State Department policy. In addition, section 8 of S. 2792, which passed the Senate on August 21st and is pending before the other body today, provides that the Secretary of State and the Attorney General may waive the fingerprinting requirement for alien visitors, thus facilitating the exchange program contemplated by Senate Concurrent Resolution 44.

I have received, Mr. President, from Dr. George B. Lieberman, rabbi of the Central Synagogue of Nassau County, Long Island, N. Y., an interesting letter in support of this interchange program, based upon his own personal experiences during a visit last summer to the Soviet Union. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Rabbi Lieberman's letter and an accompanying story from the August 26, 1956, New York Times.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE OF
NASSAU COUNTY,
Rockville Centre, Long Island, N. Y.,
August 16, 1957.

Hon. JACOB K. JAVITS,
Senator of the State of New York,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: The New York Times of August 4, 1957, carried an item that you were initiating action for the waiving of fingerprinting of visitors from behind the Iron Curtain.

It so happens that I was in Soviet Russia last summer on an official visit with the delegation of the New York Board of Rabbis. I speak the Russian language, which enabled me to converse with many Russians.

As a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, in Cincinnati, and in behalf of the American Jewish Archives, I had the additional assignment to investigate some scholarly material in the libraries of Moscow and Leningrad. During my search I held conferences with a number of Russian scholars and intellectuals. Repeatedly they taunted me about the problem of fingerprinting. To them it was a very sensitive subject and they made clear that as intellectuals they did not want to be placed on the level of criminals. Many of them are eager to come to the United States for scholarly research in our libraries. The government would probably send them. If given the opportunity, I feel that they would return to their students and fellow-intellectuals as friends of American democracy and as exponents of our way of life. Even though I did not discuss political problems with those academicians, I somehow feel that some of them are non-Communist. The men and women I interviewed with reference to ancient manuscripts and rare books gave me that impression. Your proposal is in the right direction and I commend you for it.

Upon my return from Soviet Russia, in an interview with newspapermen, I shared my experience with reference to the issue of fingerprinting. Enclosed you will find a report in the New York Times.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE B. LIEBERMAN.

[From the New York Times of August 26, 1957]

RUSSIA REPORTED IN FAVOR OF VISITS—OFFICIALS SEEK EXCHANGES OF SCHOLARS, RABBI SAYS ON RETURN FROM TOUR

Some officials of the Soviet Union strongly favor an exchange of United States and Russian scholars and scientists, according to a Long Island rabbi.

The Soviet view was reported this week by Rabbi George B. Lieberman, Reform spiritual leader of the Central Synagogue of Nassau County, Rockville Centre, Long Island. Dr. Lieberman, 1 of 7 rabbis who recently visited the Soviet Union, arrived home on Wednesday. Rabbi Lieberman was the only one of the group who was able to speak fluent Russian.

He said Stepan Gavrilovitsh Karneyev, Chief of the Foreign Department of the Academy of Sciences, had expressed sharp disappointment that he had had too little contact in recent years with foreign scholars interested in research.

Mr. Karneyev and other officials, Rabbi Lieberman asserted, indicated a strong willingness to accept an exchange program of United States and Russian scholars and scientists.

In this connection, Rabbi Lieberman quoted Mr. Karneyev as saying to him: "When you came here, were you fingerprinted?" Mr. Karneyev stressed that no Russian scholar "would like to go through such an indignity."

Under United States law, Russians visiting here would have to be fingerprinted.

OTHERS FAVOR EXCHANGE

The criticism of United States policy of fingerprinting Soviet personalities, Rabbi Lieberman said, was shared by university professors and students with whom he came in contact. They also favored an exchange program, he said.

Speaking at a press conference at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, Rabbi Lieberman underscored the existence in the Soviet Union of a wealth of rare Jewish and Hebrew historical documents, books and manuscripts dating back before the 10th century.

This collection, he said, is being cataloged by Soviet scholars. Rabbi Lieberman said that extensive research was being conducted in Jewish antiquities at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences. He said there were valuable documents at the Saltykov-Schedrin Library, the former Imperial Public Library in Leningrad and the Lenin Library of Moscow, which he visited.

He reported that he had been assured by Mrs. F. S. Abrekosava, associate director of the Lenin Library, and other Soviet officials that not only bibliographies but photocopies and microfilms would be made available to foreign scholars.

Rabbi Lieberman said that scholars affiliated with the Institute of Oriental Studies were studying Hebrew, a language that he pointed out was not recognized in the Soviet Union "and even considered subversive."

Turing to the subject of the religious life of Jews in the Soviet Union, Rabbi Lieberman said that while the Government does not bar freedom of worship, its leaders continue to frown on religious observances. He stressed that there were no facilities such as training schools for rabbis and religious schools, which could strengthen Jewish religious life.

Address by Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, at Dedication of Alben W. Barkley Room, Mary I. King Library, University of Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered on May 27, 1957, at the dedication of the Alben W. Barkley room in the Mary I. King Library at the University of Kentucky.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE LISTER HILL, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ALABAMA, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE ALBEN W. BARKLEY ROOM, MARY I. KING LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, MAY 27, 1957

How fitting it is that we should dedicate this room in your beautiful library of the University of Kentucky as the Alben W. Barkley room, and place here for our benefit and for the benefit of those who come after us the papers, letters, and memorials of Alben Barkley.

Alben Barkley was my cherished friend, and for 6 years as Democratic whip of the Senate it was my privilege to serve as his assistant when he was majority leader of the Senate.

How well I remember the many times we worked together. I recall the many times we had lunch in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, and planned our strategy, our work to be taken up in the Senate.

Alben Barkley worked hard; he always worked hard. But he knew how to relax. And he could relax those with him. With his stories and his humor, Alben Barkley could relax the mind and refresh the spirit. It was good to be with him.

His fund of stories was inexhaustible. They flowed like the refreshing waters of one of your fine Kentucky springs. Alben Barkley had a story for each situation. And always there was an underlying wisdom in his stories. They were founded in his folklore.

The great thing about Alben Barkley was his love of everything around him. He loved Kentucky, her history, her traditions, and her people. He was proud that he was her son, and his first loyalty was to her people—his people. He was flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone. Their strength was his strength.

In his papers and letters is written so much of the history of our country, of the epic story of America. As I said this morning, Alben Barkley's life overlapped four historic periods in the development of our Nation.

First, America's coming of age with Woodrow Wilson, when a people became conscious of their destiny and their leadership in the family of nations;

Second, the days of the great depression which demonstrated that in time of domestic crisis a vigorous, determined Government can act to protect the people from stagnation and despair and needless suffering;

Third, were the years of World War II and after, when America used her might to beat down the totalitarian enemies of the free world and then to hold back those who sought world domination by infiltration and subversion and cold war;

And finally, he lived into the age of nuclear energy, of flight faster than sound, of man's first tentative thrust into outer space with the building of the earth satellite.

And, as I said this morning, Alben Barkley was at home in all these times. He retained always the resilience of youth, the zest for new things, the willingness to try uncharted paths. He looked always to the future.

Those who come here will find not only the written words, the revealing facts, the interesting and delightful stories and anecdotes, the discussion of great issues and the events of history, but more than this—they will be challenged and inspired by the shining example of the life and character and services of Alben Barkley.

This great Kentuckian stands today beside the immortal Henry Clay who by his heroic efforts to save our country from fratricidal war sacrificed his bright chances to be President; beside the martyred Lincoln who admonished us to have courage, for only brave men and women can preserve freedom and the blessings of freedom.

Alben Barkley was majority leader of the Senate longer than any man in American history. In his autobiography he tells us that when he was first elected majority leader in the extremely close contest between him and another great American, the late Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, he solicited no votes. Alben Barkley did not solicit votes. Alben Barkley led men by the force of his genius. He led them by the example of his life, by the influence of his character and his courage, by his devotion to principle and his steadfast adherence to his convictions, and by his discerning and masterful presentation of the issues.

He was the militant leader, the captain of teamwork, with rare capacity to persuade and cooperate with men, without abandonment of principle, leading them in the vital service of our country and of humanity.

Alben Barkley was a partisan—a partisan for his friends, a partisan for his party, a partisan for the convictions he held and the things he believed to be right. He was a partisan in the cause of the people. But he bore no malice. There was no vanity in him; there was no retribution in his spirit; there was no littleness in this man.

In the heart and soul of Alben Barkley there were so tempered the elements of tolerance, patience, and sympathy that he drew to him the ungrudging regard and affection of all who came within the radius of his genial influence. Always his life brought home to us the admonition of the Master to His disciples: "That ye love one another, as I have loved you, that ye also love one another."

It was in an hour of joy and zest that Alben Barkley passed out of the company of living men. For nothing pleased him more than to stand before his fellow men, to speak to them, to expound the gospel of the Democratic Party which he loved so well, and to proclaim the faith by which he lived. We know how powerful, how persuasive, how compelling was his logic and his eloquence, how withering his sarcasm, how devastating his wit—all combining to make him the Nation's foremost political orator. Who that heard him can ever forget his memorable speech in the late evening at the 1948 Democratic convention in Philadelphia—the speech that lifted the discouraged and disheartened delegates, moved and inspired them, and sent them forth with fire and resolution to win the victory. After the speech there was no longer any question as to who would be the convention's nominee for Vice President. All eyes and all hearts had turned to Alben Barkley.

Vice Presidents have come and gone, many of them, but we have had only one so outstanding in personality, in leadership, and in service to our country, so strong in the appreciation and affection of the American people as to become "Mr. Veep."

Alben Barkley as a young man attended for a short time Thomas Jefferson's university, the University of Virginia. There he breathed deep the air of Jefferson's philosophy. There he found and nurtured his spiritual kinship with the author of the Declaration of Independence. There he became the disciple and the prophet of Jeffersonian democracy.

Alben Barkley recognized that great forces were at work in America and that great changes were taking place. He knew that when a nation grows rich and powerful it can become careless and forget its ideals. He worked always for the preservation and the perfecting of American democracy. He fought against special privilege, monopoly, the mastery of the many by the few. He fought to keep wide the door of economic opportunity, to redress social wrongs, to correct political abuses. He was on the side of the underprivileged and less fortunate—the little folks. He sought to break down the barriers of bigotry and intolerance and hatred. He taught the brotherhood of man. He was the champion of the people—a mighty warrior for peace for ourselves and for all nations.

As a Member of the House of Representatives and as the majority leader of the Senate, Alben Barkley gave leadership—more than any man in the history of the American Congress—to legislation for the advancement of economic strength and social gains for the American people, for human welfare and equal justice for all.

In the closing words of his autobiography Alben Barkley declares:

"I believe there are certain things which are still crying for accomplishment in this country. I shall continue to raise my voice for them."

And then he concludes:

"I should like to live to see every American family living in a comfortable home, and every American child born and reared in an atmosphere sufficiently wholesome to guaranty an even chance for health and intellectual and moral development consonant with the responsibilities of American citizenship. I should like to live to see the world at peace, where the inventive genius of man would be utilized to improve the conditions of life throughout the world. I should like to live to see the pledge of every nation respected by every other nation because it was made in good faith and observed to the letter."

It is not surprising that the last words to fall from the lips of such a man were the words: "I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord than sit in the seats of the mighty." Alben Barkley sat in the seats of the mighty, and he served nobly and well in the house of the Lord.

So long as America shall stand, the example of the life and character and services of Alben Barkley will be remembered—will challenge and inspire men and women to carry on, to fight for the ideals and the principles that have made our America great. It can be said of Alben Barkley, as it was said of that other

native son of Kentucky, that towering figure, Abraham Lincoln:

"He held his place—
Held the long purpose like a growing tree
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

Essay on Rembrandt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, in the closing days of this important session of Congress, we should give some attention to the cultural side of life. Therefore I wish to invite the attention of my colleagues and others to an essay on Rembrandt, written by Miss Roma Harlan, of the State of Indiana. Miss Harlan is a most talented artist.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the essay may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMBRANDT

(By Roma Harlan)

Recently I was asked to copy one of Rembrandt's most powerful self-portraits in the National Gallery of Art. To me this was a real opportunity, as I am a portrait painter and this is my favorite portrait. This self-portrait combines tremendous power with a subtlety of expression, and reveals Rembrandt's steady courage during a difficult period of his life. We know at the time it was painted in 1659 Rembrandt was 56 years old and had recently gone through bankruptcy, losing all his property.

To attempt to accurately copy this portrait made my heart sink, for painters and scholars have been debating for years exactly how he achieved his magnificent effects. Many painters who have copied Rembrandt have differed in their opinions of his technique.

Finally I took my courage and my brush and faced the portrait. The painting showed such life, the personality of the Dutchman seemed all around me; he almost seemed to speak. I had a great desire for him to come to life and discuss the painting with me. I was positive, if he did, I would meet a man of character—a strong, direct, intelligent gentleman—though I knew I would have difficulty understanding him, for he would be speaking Dutch.

When I first looked at the painting it was a dark day, and I saw a dark picture, and I knew I did not fully understand all I saw. The portrait was so subtle, so strong. How did he get that subtlety? The cloudy day made the light bad—very bad—the painting could hardly be seen, and this made me feel quite helpless. The thought kept occurring and recurring to me that only Providence could help me now.

I stood on a raised stand to be on a level with the portrait, with people all around me—interested, nice people, but distracting. I could not concentrate because my thoughts kept wandering to the people and the movements about me. Finally, I scumbled in the underpainting. This was fairly simple. Rembrandt could have done it in several ways, his brushwork was not of a uniform pattern. The scumble was only the beginning; now for the painting.

I laid in a line drawing as exactly as possible; accuracy was of prime importance. I could see places where Rembrandt had drawn thickly, the paint had dried—then he had redrawn parts, changing some and overpainting others.

I forgot what I had read in art books, the advice of friends, the council of experts, and even the people around me—and I really looked at the painting—studying every part, every stroke, every detail. What had he painted first, second, third—how had he built it up. Actually—what had he done? This was what I wanted to know, because it would effect my painting from now on.

The more I looked the bolder I became. Sight is a wonderful thing; slowly, I began to see the Rembrandt. After a desperate 2 or 3 days, my vision became more penetrating, and I began observing more and more. Then on the third or fourth day—almost as if by a miracle—the sun broke through the skylight and shone directly on the portrait, penetrating the heavy, yellow surface varnish. In a flash appeared a vision of startling vividness, and the picture lay before me as clear as a bell. It was like seeing a magnificent sunset, and my heart leaped to my throat. There it was; stroke by stroke, color by color, every minute particle of it. All shadows vanished, and I experienced one of the greatest thrills of my life. It was so amazing, so beautiful, that I wanted to shout and tell everyone around me to "Look at this"—but my good sense told me it had taken several days of careful observation before I was able to see it with such clarity—and that the chances were slight that an untrained person could see it. An artist might.

At that moment I realized what a powerful perception Rembrandt had, and how marvelously he had recorded his vision for generations to come.

I was so excited I wanted to paint it all out immediately, but there was too much—much too much. Look at all the different ways he had laid on the paint. What variety of colors, brush strokes, expression lines, he had used—with a delicacy which Laurie described as "the point of his brush, as sensitive as the antennae of an insect, drawing, drawing all the time," and I can think of no better description.

Art critics had recommended that I paint the portrait in big, bold strokes, yet I saw no big, bold strokes, and knew they had completely overlooked his subtlety. They truly did not see it. They grossly oversimplified what was really highly complex in Rembrandt's painting technique. For what seems to be big strokes are often large masses of paint laid in, then modeled, refined, feathered, worked in until the means to the end has disappeared. The casual observer might easily misread this and conclude it was all achieved with big strokes. Certainly, in some places where Rembrandt wanted the shock of an accent he occasionally applied bold brush marks to secure strength when seen from a distance. To say these strokes were broad or rugged would be inaccurate, because they were subtly adapted by tone and emphasis to the whole portrait. He changed techniques many times from one side of the portrait to the other, manipulating his strokes in so many ways that it is difficult to describe what occurred on the canvas. The belief that it was painted according to a simple formula, from start to finish, was just the opposite of what appeared to have actually taken place. If Rembrandt were to come to life today he might well be amused at people who think they have figured out his technique in a simple manner.

I have never seen any painter who can paint as subtly, when he wants to, as Rembrandt. In places he seems to breathe on the paint, as if to almost paint air rolling over the top of the forehead, down into and under the hair. With what absolute accuracy he places his surfaces, so that the hair seems so well defined that we know it stands out perhaps an inch above the head. How could I, technically, get on canvas such subtlety?

Rembrandt used every variation imaginable; bold strokes, heavy impasto—thin, delicate strokes, light impasto—scumbling only—palette knife—paint so thin the canvas showed through, then suddenly thick paint, even modeled in low relief. There were places where the paint was thrown on with a palette knife to produce a powerful effect, and others of delicate modeling. There was glazing, and glazing on top of glazing—some places in small areas, others broadly done. His technique—if you can call it that—was unpredictable, varying to suit the impression he desired. His wide mastery of every type of painting was amazing—thin—thick—semithick—transparent—opaque—delicate to a hair's breadth, and abruptly strong and bold.

When I left the portrait after that first clear glimpse, I thought to myself, "They will never believe me"; "Perhaps I was wrong"; "Why should I see this portrait and not the others?" Then I recalled what I had read in Laurie, who described what I had seen; I was not alone.

With many misgivings I thought, "Maybe I shall never see it again this way, and I shall believe this vision was a mistake—not true—a sort of dream—perhaps wishful thinking." So with fear and excitement I approached the portrait again, praying for the sun to come. Finally it came—and there it was again. It was not my imagination. The portrait lay before me exactly the same as before; every little brush stroke, every expression line, dot, and color.

Actually, it was extremely difficult to see unless the sun came directly down on the head and penetrated the varnish. Then the gorgeous coloring—the magnificent drawing—the jewel-like effect—could be observed, testifying to the ingenious technical ability and the superb visual perception of the unmatchable Dutchman.

Inflation in South America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Hendrik J. Berns entitled "Inflation Is Choking South America."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

INFLATION IS CHOKING SOUTH AMERICA

(By Hendrik J. Berns)

The difference between life in North America and life in South America is the difference of day and night.

Neither the elegance of shops in Buenos Aires, nor the beauty of Copacabana in Rio de Janeiro, nor the gold and diamond sparkle of Lima or Caracas clubs can hide that fact.

The multitude of the begging, the homeless, the illiterate—the unclad and the unsheltered is always too evident.

The unbelievably poor live side-by-side with the unbelievably rich.

The educated live side-by-side with the innumerable who can neither read nor write.

That is the stark reality of the scene in South America.

Some say: "It is due to economic conditions. Nothing has been done to stop the ever-rising tide of inflation."

Others say: "It is due to political conditions. Here, a dictator has impoverished the country. There, a clique is constantly seeing to it that the spoils remain always for the few and the same few."

Still others say: "It is due to the fact that tremendous natural resources have remained unexploited and huge regions unexplored."

But all agree that while the present looks dark, the future looks bright. Yet no one knows when the future will start.

"We cannot foretell what the next 6 months will bring. But even you can see what will be 5 or 10 years from now," is everybody's favorite slogan. And basically that slogan is correct.

So are the arguments that inflation, political upheaval, political corruption and underdevelopment have retarded progress and pushed some of the people sky-high while keeping most of the people way down.

For, it is true—from Buenos Aires north to Caracas and from Bahia west to Lima—that the future does belong to South America.

Simply, because some day a nation with vision or enterprising individuals with millions will open the unopened regions and bring to life the slumberng colossus of gold, iron, oil, coal, zinc, lead, manganese, uranium, aluminum, copper, and silver buried in the mountains and in the valleys.

In the meantime, inflation continues to choke the lifeline of the millions who earn 10 percent less than North Americans and must pay living costs as high as ours if not higher.

In the meantime, governments keep on tottering and cliques remain in power, visibly or in the background.

In the meantime, most of the entire continent, from north to south and east to west, remains underdeveloped and unexplored.

Because, in spite of accelerated industrializing here and more roadbuilding there and better air transportation everywhere, no one is really attempting to solve the problem.

Everyone is just talking about it. Nothing is ever done about it.

Thus the rich get richer and the poor get poorer and the vacuum between grows larger and larger.

Even finance ministers and industrialists, politicians and newspapermen admit it. Even they agree that the situation grows more precarious daily. But they, too, seem to think that one can reach the future by simply waiting for the present to pass.

It is not clear to them that the future cannot be reached safely unless the present is bridged properly.

Envy of North America, mingled with resentment is the South American way of compensating for those shortcomings.

Yet there is no compensation.

And the demand for outside help is raised forever.

Yet, no decisive effort is ever made at self-help.

Convention of United States Army Ambulance Service Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, this year marks the 40th anniversary of the opening of Camp Crane, at the fairgrounds of Allentown, Pa., which was the training site of the United States Army Ambulance Service.

At this camp were trained many of those who were to participate in the heroic work of this service overseas during World War I.

Most of the members of this service were volunteers and some joined various field medical organizations and were in action even before the organization of the United States Army Ambulance Service, with which they subsequently affiliated themselves.

By the end of the war approximately 5,000 Americans participated in ambulance work with the French and 1,200 with the Italians.

Last July 11, the 38th reunion and convention of the veterans of this organization, now known as the United States Army Ambulance Service Association, was celebrated at the site of Camp Crane.

I am indebted for the report on this 38th annual convention to Past National Commander Albert E. Herrmann, of the United States Army Ambulance Service Association, who is also executive officer of the Old Guard, City of Philadelphia.

I ask unanimous consent that the names of those attending this 1957 reunion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMBERS ATTENDING 38TH ANNUAL CONVENTION

Elmer Austin, Kingston, Pa.; Donald L. Atwater, Newark Valley, N. Y.; Percy W. Atkinson, Roseland, N. J.; Charles R. Ashford, Elkins Park, Pa.; Harvey S. Adams, Belleville, N. J.; Robert Ware Allison, Sherborn, Mass., past national commander; Eddie Adam; Matthew D. Arnold, Long Meadow, Mass.; R. Kenneth Braunsdorff, East Orange, N. J., past national commander; William E. Boyle, Providence, R. I.; Rev. Guy A. Bensinger, Dutch Neck, N. J., past national commander; Elwood L. Burton, Yardley, Pa.; James M. E. Boes, Philadelphia, Pa., past national commander; Von H. Byrd, Wallingford, Pa.; Harvey R. Bowman, Bridgeport, Conn.; Charles W. Bradfield, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Howard S. Byerman, Springfield, Ohio; Sol. Buck, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles F. Bustard, Cheltenham, Pa.; Albert R. Beck, Havertown, Pa.; Dr. William W. Baumgartner, Leeminister, Mass.; George M. Conrad, Allentown, Pa.; Vincent F. Coleman, Chicago, Ill.; William H. Clifford, Lenox, Mass.; James J. Cummings, Philadelphia, Pa.; R. H. Clapp, Knoxville, Tenn.; Leo G. Cadden, Bethlehem, Pa.; James F. Collins, Boston, Mass.; Leslie J. Craigen, Seattle, Wash.; Walter G. Camobell, Reinerton, Pa.; Ralph B. Creamer, Allentown, Pa.

Gordon C. Camp, Westmont, N. J.; Edward Cook, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Harry Cosiett, North East, Md., past national commander; T. E. Dohoe, Attica, N. Y.; Alan J. Dufield; Wylie B. David; R. E. Ditterline, Bethlehem, Pa.; Claude Diefenbach, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; Horace E. Dunstan, Havertown, Pa.; Frank C. Dietz, Erie, Pa.; J. Harry Davie, Philadelphia, Pa.; Walter Davidson, Allentown, Pa., past national commander; Donald E. Delbridge, Batavia, N. Y.; Eugene B. d'Oronzio, Florence, S. C.; M. L. Ettinger, New York, N. Y.; Thomas H. Ellis, Merchantville, N. J.; Harry Eisner, Brooklyn, N. Y.; George A. Engelhart, Sr., Westmont, N. J.; Royal H. Eckert, Allentown, Pa.; W. Glenn Elliott, Fort Story, Vt.; Kenneth Fuessle, New York, N. Y.; Robert W. Faulkner, Elkins Park, Pa.; B. Fridholm, Boone, Iowa; Dana S. Felton, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Ralph R. Flower, Buffalo, N. Y.; Allen C. Fuller, Rochester, N. Y.; George R. Gilbert, Allentown, Pa.; Leslie Grove, Richmond, Va.

Oliver C. George; Donald B. Gould, Johnstown, Pa.; Joseph H. Goldstein; F. Herman, Wilkinsburg, Pa.; Philip L. Hilbish, Ansonia, Conn.; John H. Hodges, Philadelphia, Pa.; Fullwood P. Hayes, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Frank E. Hruby, Berwyn, Ill.; Joseph L. Hendel, Reading, Pa.; Albert E. Herrmann, Philadelphia, Pa., past national commander; Joseph L. Hackenberg, Shamokin, Pa.; Fred B. Huebenthal, Maywood, Ill.; Ted. Hissey, Philadelphia, Pa.; Clinton Hannaford, Manchester, Conn.; Elmert Hemberger; Henry W. Holman, Hackensack, N. J.; William Herbits, Boston, Mass.; Louis L. Hirschkorn, Lawrence, Long Island, N. Y., past national commander; Clifford Hoag, Collindale, Pa.; Joseph E. Haefling, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; J. W. Hauser; Ted. Jarlemski, Decatur, Ill.; James T. Jones, Sarasota, Fla.; Roscoe Jarrett, Allentown, Pa.; Thomas Johnson, Havertown, Pa.; J. Cory Johnson, Bloomfield, N. J.; William Jamison, Washington, D. C.; William W. Johnston, New York, N. Y.

John Kaufman, Reading, Pa.; Michael J. Kane, Sunbury, Pa.; F. Warren King, Upper Darby, Pa.; Chester G. Kaseman, Shunk, Pa.; Clarence E. Keifrider, Philadelphia, Pa.; Van Kirk, Line Lexington, Pa.; Henry L. Kalbach, Reading, Pa.; Thomas C. Kern, Johnstown, Pa.; George Kisling, Washington, D. C.; Louis W. Kaner, Long Island City, N. Y.; George A. Lawrence, Allentown, Pa.; Walter R. Lumsden, Allentown, Pa.; George T. Love, West Chester, Pa.; Michael Lee, Milford, Mich.; John Lovell, Allentown, Pa.; Sidney Lavine, Yonkers, N. Y.; P. Alban Licourt, Ridgewood, N. J.; Sabatino LaNoce, Philadelphia, Pa.; Russell E. Maintain, Newtonville, Mass.; J. R. McCarthy, Duluth, Minn.; D. L. Mackay, North East, Pa.; Guy H. Moyer, Freeburg, Pa.; John J. McKenna, Allentown, Pa.; Neil A. Mosteller, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Kenneth R. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa.; Robert C. McLaughlin, Collingswood, N. J.; Arthur R. Markley, Allentown, Pa., past national commander; Edgar R. McClain, Belle Vernon, Pa.

Pasqualino A. Meglio, Philadelphia, Pa.; Willard C. MacLean, Jr., Batavia, N. Y.; Francis V. Nixon, Pacific Palisades, Calif.; William B. O'Brien, Milton, Mass.; S. Peon, Allentown, Pa.; James Parris, Philadelphia, Pa.; Thomas A. Porter, Roxbury, N. Y., past national commander; Robert P. Patterson, Catasauqua, Pa.; Roland L. Peters, Bethesda, Md.; John O. Parcell, Philadelphia, Pa.; George A. Peyton, Johnstown, Pa.; Harold B. Rutledge, Roslindale, N. Y.; C. A. Robinson, Cleveland, Ohio; Robert Ritter, Allentown, Pa.; Robert W. Rhoades, Euclid, Ohio; William J. Raudenbush, Hatfield, Pa.; past national commander; E. W. Reilley, Philadelphia, Pa.; John S. Rotex, Cortland, N. Y.; Walter B. Shore, Batavia, N. Y.; Harold

Shuster, Lancaster, Pa.; Richard H. Short, Allentown, Pa.; past national commander; George A. Stryker, New Brunswick, N. J.; W. G. Siler, Morristown, Tenn.; Louis H. Schoenly, Upper Darby, Pa.; Murray B. Schroeder, Camp Hill, Pa.

William D. Sullivan, Los Angeles, Calif.; Bert P. Swanson, Los Angeles, Calif.; Percy E. Stover, Portland, Maine; Alfred E. Sommers, Montgomery, Ala.; Russell Stetler; Herbert Sattler, Philadelphia, Pa.; Edward R. Simmons, Somerset, Mass.; William A. Stoeltzing, Pittsburgh, Pa., past national commander; Dr. Hy A. Schnirring, Long Island, N. Y., William F. Short, Penns Neck, N. J.; Albert E. Smith, Camden, N. J.; R. A. Twomey, Bradenton, Fla.; Rev. Alvin E. Teichart, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles L. Winkler, Philadelphia, Pa.; Frank J. Williams, Buffalo, N. Y.; F. D. Wells, Huntington, Pa.; Charles L. Wood, Jr., Penn Wyne, Pa., Warren E. Ward, Lewiston, Pa., national commander; Bernard H. Wood, Owego, N. Y.; Horace Wood, Milton, Mass.; Wallace P. Wetzel; Rudolph L. Wilhelm, Bloomfield, N. J.; Ray Wolloff, Dedham, Mass.; George E. Wilson, Philadelphia, Pa.; E. H. Yeagley, Alliance, Ohio.

Women's Increasingly Important Role in American Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as we all know, women in the United States are assuming an increasingly important role in the affairs of our Nation.

As I have had occasion to point out several times in the RECORD, women are commendably performing tasks in every walk of American life—in public office, teaching, law, science, the arts, sports, and almost every other field.

This fact might be noted, too, on this the final day of the 1st session of the 85th Congress: Since the first woman was elected to Congress in 1916, they have made tremendous strides in taking on important roles in municipal, county, State, and Federal Governments.

In our overall economy, the 22 million women in the working force today, also, obviously are a great contribution.

Let no one erroneously assume, however, that women, in becoming members of the Nation's working force, have become automatons—without feeling—in this technological age. To the contrary, the wife and mother is still the center of our homes—the basic foundation of American life and the American family.

However, a great many of the ladies are doing a tremendous job of combining constructive, creative careers outside the home, with homemaking.

I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a further brief statement on the increasingly important role of women in Wisconsin and American public life, including a list of Wisconsin women in State administration.

There being no objection, the statement and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

Especially noteworthy is the role which women are occupying in public service.

For example, now, there are nearly 576,000 in the Federal service. There are 16 women—a Senator and 15 Congresswomen—in the 1st session of the 85th Congress. In 1957, a total of 321 women are serving in State and Territorial legislatures—an alltime high.

In addition, at least 10,000 women have been elected to municipal office, and 18,000 to county office.

Too, women are coming closer to the 50 percent mark in the number of postmasters. Back in 1786, the first two women were appointed postmistresses. Now there are about 15,600 women postmasters out of a total of 37,400 in the United States.

WOMEN IN JUDICIAL SERVICE

Recognition of women jurists throughout the United States and its territories is increasing steadily. Nineteen hundred and fifty-seven finds as many as 114 women lawyers serving as justices in Federal, State, county, and municipal courts throughout the United States. They are prominent also on the bench of circuit courts, probate, domestic relations, criminal district courts, and in Federal courts of appeal, tax, and customs.

WISCONSIN WOMEN IN PUBLIC SERVICE

In my own State of Wisconsin, women have established an especially fine record of playing important roles in public service.

There follows now a list of some of these prominent women in State administration. Although far from complete, this list illustrates a cross section of the many, many women in public service in Wisconsin.

WISCONSIN WOMEN IN STATE ADMINISTRATION

Director, Governor's commission on human rights, Mrs. Rebecca C. Barton.

Secretary, free library commission, Janice Kee.

Director of nursing education, department of nurses, Adele G. Stahl.

Members, food standards advisory committee, department of agriculture, Mary Agnes Bergin, Dr. Flora Hanning, Dr. Anne Marshall.

Member, fine arts commission, Mrs. D. B. Dana.

Member, grain and warehouse commission, Mrs. Lillian Crandall.

Members, Governor's commission on human rights, Mrs. Ernest H. Anderson, Mrs. Melvin Brown, Mrs. Harry Hamilton, Mrs. Harmon Hull, Mrs. William M. O'Donnell, Mrs. Louis A. Weisfeldt.

Members, free library commission, Hilda Cavanaugh, Ella M. Veslok, Mrs. Jean Wulling.

Members, State board of nursing, Ruth Coe, Sylvia Haubrich, Janet Jennings, Evelyn Mercer, Sister M. Regula.

Member, board of personnel, Mrs. Jane Harvey.

Members, board of public welfare, Mrs. C. R. Beck, Mrs. H. L. Garner, Mrs. Karl Kleinpell.

Member, joint committee on county institution standards, Ellen Hempstreet.

Member, State radio council, Lulu Radlund.

Member, State retirement fund board of trustees, Margaret L. Clash.

Member, board of regents of State colleges, Mary M. Walter, Mrs. Anita V. Webster.

Regent of the University of Wisconsin, Mrs. Helen C. Laird.

Member, State board of vocational and adult education, Mrs. Erna Cartwright.

Members, cosmetology examining board, Mrs. Nora Dalton, Mrs. Lelia Raynes, Mrs. Charlotte Toellner.

Members, advisory hospital council, Mrs. Otto Falk, Mrs. John Ramsey, Alice Topsant.

Members, committee of examiners for nurses, department of nurses, Helen Brunelik, Alice D. Schmitt, Sister M. Concepta, Sister St. Barbara, Adele Stahl (ex officio).

Members, nursing home advisory committee, board of health, Sister M. Clarine, Margaret Healy, Mrs. Frances Jellen, Mrs. Mollie Rahr, Theda L. Waterman.

Members, committee of examiners for trained practical nurses, Sister M. Aquin, Marie Arnold, Mrs. Florence Byrne, Mrs. Gertrude Neuman, Mrs. Ethel F. Straw, Adele G. Stahl (ex officio).

Member, certification committee for public health nurses, Ruth C. Adams.

Director, maternal and child health section, department of health, Dr. Amy Hunter.

Chief, research division, State historical society, Alice E. Smith.

Administrative assistant, fair employment practice division, industrial commission, Virginia Huebner.

Executive secretary, State judicial council, Mrs. Marygold Melli.

Administrator, traveling library and extension, free library commission, Mrs. Orrilla T. Blackshear.

Superintendent, Wisconsin home for women, department of public welfare, Mrs. Marcia Simpson.

Assistant reviser of statutes, Mrs. Dolores T. Thimke.

Administrative assistant, department of taxation, Jan Ahern.

Director, Library School, University of Wisconsin, Rachel Schenk.

Associate dead and director, School of Nursing, University of Wisconsin, Margery J. McLachlan.

The Problem of South American Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article by Hendrick J. Berns, published in the Miami Herald of August 27, 1957, relating to the education problem in South America.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

EDUCATION: SOUTH AMERICA'S GREAT PROBLEM

(By Hendrick J. Berns)

South America needs help and self-help.

It is only partly true that economic and political conditions and the terrible gap between wealth and poverty are caused by:

Inflation, underdevelopment, dictatorships, political corruption or the self-interests of ruling cliques.

The root of the evil lies deeper. It lies in these facts:

Lack of education of huge masses has made it easy in South America for dictators to take over; for cliques to perpetuate themselves; for corruption to continue unabated; and those who enjoy having so much, they prefer to keep it that way.

Those who have not are so accustomed to have not, for centuries, and so uneducated, also for centuries, they cannot and do not make the effort to have.

Financial, professional, political and social success of the few is based on the inability to succeed of the many.

In other words, the root of the evil lies in:

Lack of education and lack of opportunity. This is essentially a financial problem. You cannot build public schools without public money.

Many South American nations lack such money. Others misappropriate theirs. Some for military purposes which experts call superfluous. Others for long-range projects which experts call untimely.

But these circumstances do not alter the fact that the solution of the fundamental problem of South America is still education and opportunity for those millions who have neither.

Now, someone might argue that the financial debacle of the South American countries is a matter of national self-help. True enough.

Yet in a world as interdependent as ours it is also a matter of international help. Particularly when it comes to continents as huge as South America and as prosperous as the United States.

In this case international help is, in reality, inter-American help and thus a matter of enlightened self-interest. For, the United States can ill afford to neglect South America for economic, political and even human reasons.

Yet we are. And this in spite of the fact that we should know how much more of the world—and right at our very doorstep—this might leave to Moscow and to communism.

And why are we neglecting South America?

Simply, because, over the years, we have not been able to agree with our South American neighbors on what should come first: the horse or the cart; self-help or help.

In theory, this is a wonderful argument. In practice, it is an idle one.

For obviously, if a solution is to be found—and it surely must be found—it can lie only in the simultaneous approach:

Self-help and help must go hand in hand. The horse and the cart can well come together.

Today we are pouring millions of foreign-aid dollars into South American countries. They are spent aimlessly by the few with disregard of the many.

This method does not help the mass of the people nor does it help us. In fact, because it does not help the masses it defeats the purposes of foreign aid and creates animosity rather than friendship.

We could well spend less tomorrow if we spent it wisely. If we ourselves administered the money and defined its purposes.

If we did that, we would produce, automatically and simultaneously, that type of self-help needed on the part of these nations. For they would help themselves. Not, as in the past, just to our money, but to our cooperation and advice, too.

And South America needs nothing else and nothing more urgently than help and self-help. Only then can the nations of South America move from their crisis-ridden present into the golden future promised by their natural resources.

And only then can the United States reweld the solidarity that has been lost, exert the leadership that has been lacking and lock the door of this hemisphere on Moscow and communism.

New Horizons for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, because it was necessary for me to remain in Washington, Tuesday, August 27, to vote on important legislation, I was compelled to cancel a scheduled address before the annual convention of the American Soybean Association, meeting jointly with the National Soybean Processors Association.

Because it contains a message I feel needs to be emphasized, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of the address I had prepared for delivery to the Nation's soybean producers.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HORIZONS FOR AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

(Address by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, before the 37th annual convention of the American Soybean Association, Hotel Leamington, Minneapolis, Minn., August 27, 1957)

It is indeed a pleasure for me to have this opportunity to meet with the American Soybean Association. You represent a dramatic and still unfolding chapter in our country's agricultural history.

We in Minnesota are proud to be hosts to this national convention, because soybean production is now a well-established hundred-million-dollar crop to farmers in our State. In addition, the annual soybean crop in Minnesota is providing hundreds of thousands of man-hours of employment in the marketing, transportation, and processing fields. I am pleased to know that the National Soybean Processors Association is holding its convention simultaneously with the American Soybean Association, as the close working relationships between soybean processors and soybean producers has been one of the healthy factors in successful advancement of your industry. You need to work together. You have much in common. Your destinies are linked together. Too often that fact is overlooked.

Soybeans have become a billion-dollar crop in the United States. This commodity represents a vitally important segment of our agricultural economy.

Perhaps nowhere has the rapid rise in soybean production been more graphically exemplified than right here in Minnesota, where soybean acreage has grown from 2,000 acres in 1934 to 2.8 million acres planted this year. In other words, the acreage devoted to soybeans in Minnesota has increased 1,400 times in 24 years. Minnesota has now risen to be the second most important soybean producing State in the Nation, second only to Illinois. Last year, we produced 12 percent of the total national output. And I want to serve notice on our friends in Illinois: we do not stand still in Minnesota. Our soybean producing area is still growing. Our increase in total soybean acreage has resulted from increases in both the number of producers growing soybeans, and the number of acres planted per farm. In 1934, only 4 percent of the Minnesota farmers planted soybeans. This grew to 10 percent by 1944, 20 percent by 1949, and approximately 40 percent by 1956. It will be higher this year and next. Already, soybeans provide 1 out of every 4 dollars of cash income from the sale of crops in Minnesota.

You cannot look into the dramatic story of soybean production in Minnesota without wanting to pay deserved tribute to such men of vision as R. E. Hodgson, superintendent of the Southeast Experiment Station in Waseca, who began working with soybean crops in the early 1920's, and John Evans of Montevideo, who was a real pioneer in the growing of soybeans in Minnesota, as early as 1917. Of course, there are many, many others who occupied a vital role in development of this great agricultural industry.

This $100 million Minnesota crop represents an outstanding success in the large scale introduction of a new cash crop into the well established cropping systems of our State. It reflects great credit on the coordinated efforts of our farmers, merchandisers, experiment stations, technicians, processors, machinery manufacturers, and many other groups. Minnesota is proud of this contribution to the Nation's well-being, for that is what our expansion of soybean production has been.

Because it relates to a theme I wish to develop later, I think it is fair to say that the greatest spur to this vast expansion of soybean acreage, in Minnesota and elsewhere, was patriotic response of our farmers to Government requests to help meet our own Nation's food and fiber needs.

Soybean acreage in Minnesota and in the Nation was relatively small until the start of World War II. Prior to the war, we were net importers of edible oils. When some offshore sources were shut off, the Government called for an expansion in soybean acreage. You producers met that demand, just as you have historically met every demand for our Nation's needs.

It is well for the public to remember that. It is sometimes too easy for urban residents to forget how dependent they are upon the Nation's farmers—and how well our dwindling farm population has always provided abundantly for the needs of all our people.

The experience gained in producing the crop required to meet the Nation's needs in time of emergency was the basis for the further expansion in the postwar period.

Today, instead of a net importer, we are the world's greatest exporters of edible oils and soybeans.

It took courage, and vision, for you in the soybean producing and processing industry to keep your sights on the future, instead of retreating to standards of the past. You have shown that courage and vision, and it is paying off. You are going to need more of it, in order to prove to some skeptics that agriculture and agricultural thinking does not have to be geared to the past.

At a time when most spokesmen for agriculture were talking about cutting back production, about adjusting backward from wartime peaks, about trimming our sails to prewar standards, you soybean producers proved you could not only hold your wartime gains, but could still move ahead. You did it by working together toward seeking out and capturing new markets. You did it by keeping your eyes on the lookout for new and broader horizons, instead of retreating to the past.

Of course, you had a unique commodity to work with—a commodity combining two of the world's greatest nutritional needs: edible oils, and protein.

In a real sense, therefore, your markets are worldwide and expanding, limited only by your own imagination and enterprise in going after them—and by the living standards of the world.

We are investing huge foreign aid funds in trying to raise living standards in underdeveloped areas of the world—and your potential markets improve as those living standards improve. Meanwhile, it is important that eating habits be cultivated as part of your market development.

For that purpose, I am convinced that even relief feeding operations making use of both oil and protein are important to the future of your industry. The demand for both is virtually unlimited. Every voluntary agency working in this field has appealed for our Government to find ways to make more fats and oils available, and I have seen in my own observations that they are needed for balanced diets.

I am sure many of you are also aware of the wonderful work being done by the Meals for Millions Foundation, seeking to fight

starvation in the world by providing high protein diet supplements financed entirely by voluntary donations—a penny-a-meal project that is worthy of your support. I hope your organization will get behind such efforts, as part of your market development work.

Domestically, your markets have been divided between production of a high value protein animal feed, soybean meal, and a versatile human food ingredient, soybean oil.

As producers, it has been to your own self-interest to seek a greater share of your return from the oil ingredient of your beans. It has also been to the best interest of your fellow farmers, as it is farmers themselves who buy the soybean meal in one form or another.

The soybean meal pouring out of our great processing plants is the foundation stone of the mixed feed industry as we know it today. Eighty-eight percent of the farmers in Minnesota buy at least part of their feed. Many of you soybean producers also buy mixed feed for your cattle, hogs, or chickens.

With your soybean production, you are helping to provide yourselves and others with highly desirable feed ingredients. And the more you develop substantial outlets for your oil, the more you can afford to encourage an expanded livestock economy by making a high value protein feed available at reasonable prices for yourself and others.

There are other sound reasons, from the standpoint of balance in the overall picture of American agriculture, to continue encouraging the shift that has been underway to soybean production.

Additional acres going into soybeans mean fewer acres in other commodities with which we face greater problems.

In Minnesota, for example, while soybean acreage increased from 767,000 acres in 1949 to 2.6 million acres in 1956, the acreage of feed grains and wheat was reduced by 1.5 million acres in 1956 compared with the total in 1949.

I know the question that must be arising in the minds of some. If we continue to encourage this shift, are we just setting the stage for transferring the surplus problem of some of these other commodities onto the shoulders of soybean producers?

Let me just say this—it does not have to happen, and I do not think it will. With the vision and enterprise shown by the soybean industry in its research and market development program, with the kind of cooperation that has been maintained between soybean producers and processors, with the vast backlog of need that exists in the world for both the oil and protein ingredients of your product, a bright vista of future opportunity still exists for the soybean industry.

Whether or not you achieve the full potential of that future opportunity, however, will depend upon the sympathetic understanding, and the vision or lack of vision, of your Government. Make no mistake about it: Regardless of what farm legislation is on the statute books, Government attitude and policy—and the attitude and policies of those making vital administrative decisions within Government—have now and will continue to have a profound effect upon your economic opportunity.

To the extent that your Government has the foresight to look deeply into the future, and work hand-in-hand with you and with the private trade toward creating a helpful economic climate for your continued expansion, there is no reason why the future should not be bright for soybean producers.

But to the extent that your Government is timid and blind, afraid to lift its eyes to new horizons, unimaginative in planning ahead, and unwilling to take full advantage of the experience and guidance of the private trade, your path could become a rocky one.

It is not my intention tonight to engage in a controversial discussion of farm legislation, as important as that may be. Time would not permit fully developing the justifiable case for greater economic protection for agriculture as being truly in the public's interest.

But I do express serious concern, without partisanship, over some of the administration attitudes toward whatever legislation exists.

I am convinced that much of the depressed plight of American agriculture today is directly traceable to administrative decisions and policies within the Department of Agriculture, regardless of what laws are on the books. Timid, fumbling, bungling, short-sighted decisions that deprive you of fair income, and at the same time take more out of the pockets of other taxpayers, characterizes the farm policy of the administration.

And, I might add, more and more people are coming to the same conclusion—people with years of valuable experience in the handling of farm commodities, and people to whom this administration would normally look for all-out support.

I am equally convinced that the present Secretary of Agriculture has at his disposal ample authority, in way of legislative and economic tools to bolster or depress farm prices and farm income almost at will.

Let me give you some examples.

While giving lipservice to the free market the Commodity Credit Corporation (the CCC) has made it impossible for any semblance of a free market to operate on many of our commodities. It has dumped corn to undersell the free market, in competition with the growers, driving prices down below the support levels so that in turn more corn must be taken over by the Government. By its own sales policies it has forced more and more of the grain business to go through Government hands, rather than less and less as it should be.

You have been more fortunate in soybeans, but you too are to a great extent at the mercy of Department of Agriculture administrative decisions. Until the recent takeover, CCC had not lost any money in supporting the price of soybeans. As a matter of fact, the Government's operations to bolster soybean prices had resulted in a $4 million profit.

With a little courage and foresight, the Department of Agriculture could have avoided any takeover of beans from producers this year. Just a few more export sales of oil at the right time would have bolstered the free market sufficiently to attract beans out of growers' hands and into the private trade. Producers' prices would have been bolstered and the Government takeover limited.

Timing is of the essence. Too often the CCC has withdrawn from export operations just before harvest season, moving back in to bolster the market only after most of the beans are out of producers' hands and owned by speculators.

This year is no exception. We need export commitments soon, to bolster the market while beans are in the hands of the producers. I hope our friends here from the Department of Agriculture will heed that advice.

Now, don't misunderstand me. The soybean industry has some good friends in the Department of Agriculture. Some of them are here with you, like Gwynn Garnett and Martin Sorkin. Yet, I am sure even they would concede privately that they are often overruled by men of lesser knowledge and understanding in the hierarchy of agricultural bureaucracy. Your task as organized producers is to insist that the interests of growers comes foremost in the highest decision making levels of the Department. Fortunately, you have had the support of the processors as well in urging the Department of Agriculture to give more attention to the proper timing of its export commitments, for maximum beneficial effect on the market before beans are all acquired by speculators.

Perhaps I have talked too much tonigh about soybeans—and I know you have plent of experts meeting with you far more fami liar than I could hope to be with your ow particular problems. But if I have devote considerable time to discussing your ow commodity, it is primarily because your soy bean industry is symbolic of the major point I want to make tonight—points that con cern all agriculture, and the entire Nation attitude toward agriculture.

Your own growth is the result largely o response to the Nation's needs in one perio of emergency, and your future is closely in terwoven with another emergency—the en tire free world's struggle for survival.

That same thing is true about most o American agriculture.

Your destiny cannot be determined by yo alone, in a period when survival of freedo in the world must transcend even the mos pressing domestic problems.

That is also true about the rest of Ameri can agriculture.

Its destiny is linked inseparably with ou struggle against the cunning, imperialist forces of communism threatening to engu the world—and with the degree of recogni tion we receive as to the vital importance o agriculture's role in that struggle.

You have had the vision and enterpris to seek new horizons for your markets rathe than be satisfied with the past, and all agri culture needs to raise its sights to th broader concept of meeting the needs of th world in which we live, under condition that exist in the world today.

But if agriculture needs to broaden it horizons, even more so is that need eviden in the highest levels of our Government.

If, in fact, that need is recognized at som levels within the Department of Agricultur today, it is not being adequately reflected i its current policies—nor is it being aggres sively pursued and championed beyond th realm of the Department of Agriculture int the State Department, the National Securit Council, and the White House.

The greatest hope for American agricul ture today rests in building markets abroa both for the present and for the future.

The greatest hope for strengthening th bonds linking our allies of the free world i an all-out stand against the onward marc of communism is solidifying our economi and cultural ties.

These two objectives are too interlocke for either to be considered alone.

As a result, agriculture's future rests to great degree upon the extent to which w recognize its vital role in international trad and make wiser use of our abundance t supply the needs of other people who migh otherwise be compelled by necessity o naivete to turn to the Soviet orbit for foo and fiber to survive.

We as a nation are blind indeed if we a willing to rest our hopes entirely upon gun planes, and bombs.

As vital as adequate defense forces remai for our protection, all they can buy us i time. How we use that time is up to us but our fate hangs in the balance.

Russia is making shrewd use of its time The cunning rulers in the Kremlin hav shifted at least for a time, from militar warfare to economic warfare—and are mak ing more progress with trade than they wer able to achieve with guns. They have move their tentacles into country after country in part or in whole, under the guise of eco nomic agreements and expanded foreig trade operations.

Make no mistake about it: countries be coming more and more dependent upon th Iron Curtain area of the world for food manufactured goods are enmeshed more an more into the Soviet web, and slowly bu surely are being weaned away from the rem nants of the free world.

The greatest weakness that has confronted Russia in this calculated economic penetration of neutral areas has been its own shortage of food and fiber. Yet Russia has been shrewd enough to recognize that fact, and has given top priority to expanding its food output. Not for its own people, but as an economic weapon in a world which above all else must have food.

What have we been doing, in this same period? We have been asking our farm people to lower their sights, to trim their sails, to cut their production to pre-war standards. We have been told downward adjustment is necessary. We have been guided into looking backward, instead of looking ahead.

Regretfully, the highest policymakers in our Government fail to appreciate the greatest weapon for peace in our hands—our abundance of food and fiber, and our potential to produce in still greater abundance.

We are going into a fight for our lives, with one hand tied behind our backs. We are failing to mobilize and fully use our greatest asset.

Timidity and hesitancy still lead our Government officials to look upon our food export programs as merely emergency surplus disposal legislation—a way to get out of a domestic problem, instead of the most effective way at our command of building economic ties for the future.

Remember one thing: the instinct for human survival is stronger than any conviction about ideology. People are going to eat. If we don't fill the food needs of the world, Russia will set out to fill them. She has already chartered her course in that direction.

The country upon which the greater part of the world is dependent for food, fiber, and other trade will eventually wield the balance of power in the world. We are losing, today, on this economic front.

What good is it for us to build bigger H-bombs, if we let the rest of the world become slowly linked to the Iron Curtain countries by economic and trade policies?

Where in this Government today do you see full realization of that fact?

Where do you see any aggressive leadership toward assuming the role we Americans are best equipped to fill in the current ideological struggle—best equipped by productive resources and humanitarian instincts?

We are far from a militaristic people, yet we seem to rest too much of our hope on weapons.

Are we ready to choose the battlefield as our best grounds to meet Soviet Russia? Remember, Russia is outdoing us in the training of scientists and engineers. Remember, Russia has H-bombs, too. Remember, Russia has less respect for human life than we do, and might more readily welcome a military showdown.

The real material advantage we have over Russia today is our abundance of food. All of us would rather see it put to good use, rather than just be piled up in storage. And we Americans are naturally traders and merchandisers; the role of finding ways to feed the world fits us a lot more naturally than the role of warriors.

Why, then, are we hesitant about challenging Russia on the economic front? Why shouldn't we, instead of Russia, be aggressively seeking to become the world's supplier of the material wants of less-developed countries?

I will give you my conclusions.

First, we are blinded by the almighty dollar. It has become almost a fetish for timid Government officials to worry about doing business anywhere in the world for anything but American dollars.

My friends, let me remind you of something: we are in a struggle for international survival of freedom, not just haggling about the price of a cow over the fence with a neighbor on the back 40.

We are spending billions of good, hard American dollars for weapons, dollars you pay for in taxes—and dollars that can never do any constructive good in the world after they have been turned into tanks and H-bombs. If the international situation is serious enough to justify such vast defense expenditures—and our military leaders assure us it is—we are certainly silly to be quibbling over the loss of a few American dollars through the export sale of farm products for foreign currencies.

If we expect to compete with Russia for international trade in the world of today, we must be ready to trade in whatever currencies are available. We cannot hoard all the dollars ourselves, then be willing to sell or trade only for dollars that others do not have.

It is something like being in a poker game, and getting all the chips back in the hands of the dealer. The rest may decide to go on playing with matches or buttons. If we want to stay in the game, we will have to find ways to adapt to matches or buttons too.

We are in the international game to the finish, whether we like it or not. If we insist on sitting on the sidelines as spectators, we have no right to complain about the outcome. But if we want to protect and strengthen our ties with other freedom loving people, we are going to have to trade with them—whether it is for lire, pesos, pounds, francs, or marks.

It is not as though we did not have good uses for foreign currencies. We are engaged in Government operations all over the world. We have defense bases all over the world. We have private American business interests all over the world. We certainly can use constructively the foreign currencies we obtain through sale of our farm products abroad—and official records of our Government prove it.

But there is still a second reason why we are failing to meet the Soviet challenge on the economic front.

It is the timidity of our Government officials, and their lack of vision, imagination, and daring. They fail to understand what a powerful force for freedom our abundance of food and fiber could be, both in economic relationships and as humanitarian evidence of our concern for hungry people everywhere.

To most of the officials in our Government at Washington today, our food abundance is just some kind of a domestic headache they would like to wish away. They simply fail to appreciate what an asset it really is. Perhaps the greatest disservice done to our country—not just to farm people, but to our entire country—has been the propaganda role of the Secretary of Agriculture in creating the impression that there is something bad about having more than enough food to go around. Apparently, to try to win a political argument, Secretary Benson stands guilty of bringing American agriculture in disrepute.

Far more is at stake than any political argument over farm policy. Our country's entire future is involved. Instead of criticizing farmers, the American people should be thanking God for our abundance, and insisting upon its wise use as a weapon of freedom, a potent force for peace.

Instead of quibbling about his personal philosophy on farm legislation Secretary Benson should have the courage to stand up to the President and the rest of the Cabinet and defend our farmers as being one segment of our economy fully prepared to serve our country in this emergency.

We need a Secretary of Agriculture today who can convince the President, the Secretary of State, and the National Security Council of the great asset you farm people have put at the country's disposal—and one who will fight to see that our abundance is fully used internationally to turn the tide for freedom.

We need a Secretary of Agriculture who will stand up and tell the truth to the American people—that every cent invested in protecting our farm producers is an investment in our Nation's security, just as much as the money spent for tanks and guns.

We need a Secretary of Agriculture with the vision to realize that whatever costs are involved in aggressively seeking out and gaining foreign markets for farm products today not only serves the best interest of our international relations, but actually is a sound investment toward building future markets for American farmers in the years of peace we seek ahead.

I have not come to these conclusions lightly. Many of you know that I spent a month overseas this year to see for myself whether real opportunities existed for the kind of food utilization I have long envisioned. I have talked with our military commanders abroad. I have talked with our diplomatic representatives. I have talked with highest officials of other governments. I have talked with American businessmen abroad. I have talked with our church-workers and representatives of CARE carrying on such a valuable people-to-people relief work abroad.

On every hand the answer was the same. It is a national disgrace that our country fails to realize the potential asset it has in an abundance of food and fiber, in the midst of a world of hunger and need.

Since my return, I have devoted long hours to conducting weeks of hearings before the Senate Committee on Agriculture into operations of Public Law 480, under which our farm export programs are conducted. From witness after witness before our committee, from every agency of our Government and from producers as well as the private trade, the evidence has been conclusively the same.

Yet our Secretary of Agriculture, as late as last week, reiterated his belief that Public Law 480 was just emergency surplus disposal legislation. The same view has been echoed by spokesmen in the White House.

They fail to lift their eyes, to the broader horizons involved. They lack the comprehension that even you farm people have that food can be a greater asset than guns, at a time when peace of the world is at stake.

They lack the vision that your own American Soybean Association has displayed, in gearing your goals to the future.

We can argue forever about farm policy, but we can have little basis for agreement as to what legislation is needed until we first arrive at some appreciation of the role American agriculture can and should play in our international relations.

We cannot solve problems of the present, based on thinking of the past.

We cannot adequately meet challenges of the future, guided only by standards of even the present.

We cannot solve agriculture's problems by thinking of agriculture as just an isolated, minority segment of our economy. We must have a broader view, and realize that we are no longer confronted just with a problem of surpluses and depressed farm income. We must fully realize that our agriculture can and should be an integral part of winning freedom in the world. In that context, we need abundant production as a vital part of our defense arsenal, and we can certainly afford, in the Nation's interests, seeing that our producers are properly and fairly regarded for fulfilling our Nation's needs.

We urgently need to lift our eyes, and raise our sights. We need to broaden our concepts. We need to look for new horizons and we need to be thankful that America's farmers have always been ready to fulfill our Nation's needs, however they may be neg-

lected and abused between national awakenings to our dependence upon them.

We need such a national awakening today.

My personal crusade has been to stir such an awakening, such a realization of the real importance of our abundance of food and fiber. Your help is needed. Between now and the first of the year, every effort should be made to get our country's top policymakers to take a more serious look at the role our food abundance can play in bolstering the free world and strengthening our economic and trade ties all over the globe.

When Congress reconvenes in January, it is my intention to submit a series of recommendations for improvement and expansion of Public Law 480 along those lines. You can rest assured we are going to ask for more than just a 1-year extension of this authority. We are going to ask that it be recognized as a foreign-trade policy of our Government, not just as a tool for getting rid of surpluses.

Let me leave you with another thought. In time of war, we recognized the importance of food and fiber went far beyond just farm people. We created a War Food Administration, to mobilize our food resources for victory. Perhaps today, in time of a shaky and uncertain peace in the world, it is time to think about a similar role for a special "Peace Food Administrator" to guide more effective use of our food resources for another victory.

It is just as important to mobilize and use our resources for winning on the trade and economic front today, as it was to help win on the battlefront a few years ago. It is even more important to use our food abundance as a constructive force for peace on the humanitarian front, in the ideological struggle now dividing the world.

If we fail to get the leadership we need in that direction from the Department of Agriculture, we must turn to the White House. If we fail to gain the full understanding we need anywhere in the executive branch, Congress itself must intervene and show the way.

I urge your support in that effort. For only then can you and others in agriculture reach the new horizons that beckon from all over the world.

Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Slobodan Draskovich, formerly of the University of Belgrade, now residing in Chicago, has written a book entitled "Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse"—Regnery, Chicago, 1957—which I would like to bring to the attention of the Congress and the American public because of Dr. Draskovich's interesting observations in light of the political developments in Eastern Europe over the last decade.

Dr. Draskovich, son of Milorad Draskovich, was born in 1910. His father was Minister of the Interior in Yugoslavia, and was assassinated by the Communists in 1921. Slobodan received his law degree from the University of Belgrade. Later, he received his doctor of philosophy in economics from the University of Munich. During World War II he was a prisoner of war in Italy and Germany. He came to the United States in 1947. An author of many articles and several pamphlets pertaining to political economy, in February 1949 he testified before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee on how official representatives—probably referring to Yugoslav diplomats in United States—had aided Yugoslav propaganda activities in the United States. Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse, is his first book published in English.

The author's thesis is that the tragic and glaring disparities between facts and Western opinion about Tito and "Titoism" compel him to expose to the world the realities of the Moscow-Belgrade entente. At length, he develops this facet of his report. He says, in part:

In the 7 years which had elapsed since the Kremlin-Tito break of June 28, 1948, both the Soviet leaders and Tito had had enough time to study the nature, causes and consequences of their conflict, to determine a line of action and to pursue a policy which would lead to the liquidation of the rift.

During all that time neither side had done anything to harm any fundamental interest of the other. There had been mutual accusations, insults and recriminations. But they were devoid of any serious political meaning and intent. What Moscow held against Tito were either arbitrary inventions (such as the subordination of the CPY to the People's Front, or the subordination of the workers to the peasants in Yugoslavia) or carbon copies of the Kremlin policies (acceptance of aid from Western democracies; capitalist reforms in the economic section, such as decollectivization of agriculture or free market for some products; liberalization of the regime and Communist self-criticism). What Tito held against Moscow was equally untenable. The Soviet Union was notoriously an imperialistic power, but since its very foundation in 1917, not only since 1948. And all Yugoslav Communists had known it and approved it. Without Soviet imperialism there would have been no Communist Yugoslavia, as Tito openly admitted. As for the accusations of "police state," lack of democracy, bureaucratic rule, Tito was shouting in a mirror. The Soviet Union was a police state, a ruthless bureaucratic dictatorship, but so was Yugoslavia. The Kremlin had its secret police NKVD; Tito had his secret police UBDA.

So in the whole Communist world, after the initial surprise and shock, nobody paid any attention to the reciprocal mudslinging and shadowboxing, which were keeping the Western wishful thinkers busy and happy.

But the Soviet-Yugoslav relations were not only devoid of mutual hostility. They were never strained beyond mutual irritations and they never for a single moment affected their dedication to the one and only ultimate aim of Communist world conquest, nor did they affect their basic relationship of anti-democratic allies. Within the Communist camp, they were disputing. On the world plane, they were both unchangeably dedicated to the subversion and destruction of the free world.

No longer defined as a mere provincial—Yugoslavia—ideology, the Communists have artfully amplified the Titoist concept to represent independent national communism wherever it is possible to establish it. But this national idea, observes Dr. Draskovich, is an intrinsically Communist scheme concocted by Moscow and Tito, with full mutual understanding, to confuse and ultimately conquer the West.

Dr. Draskovich emphasizes that Titoism is not an anti-Soviet drive, but Moscow's weapon against the West. Tito's current policy of peaceful conviviality between the East and West camps is but a facade for the scheme mapped out by the Communists. Communists, as we have seen, have the greatest interest in keeping complex political issues as confused as possible.

The author devotes a great deal of space to the Belgrade-Moscow rift of 1948 and suggests that Moscow has done great services to Tito by attacking and denouncing him just enough to feed "the West's delusion about Tito's resistance to and political warfare against Soviet imperialism."

In an engaging though somewhat repetitive style, the author has indicated what he recognizes of the strategy of the Kremlin to penetrate and annihilate the very spiritual and political fiber of the free world with Yugoslavia's Tito as their Trojan horse. As in the case of Troy's fateful legacy—the gift of the Greek wooden horse—subversion, espionage and sabotage are the disruptive goals of the Communist international conspiracy. It is deduced from Dr. Draskovich's book that Moscow has set Yugoslavia as an experimental camp for its Machiavellian intents to follow throughout the satellite bloc.

Bitterly deploring what he terms the West's "criminal folly" of assisting Tito morally and materially, Draskovich argues that in no other important issue has the West lost its political equilibrium and its acumen for political analysis and sound judgment to such an appalling degree as in the case of Tito and Titoism. At this point, we should recall our grand giveaway program which has funneled $734,304,000 to Yugoslavia since June 30, 1945. For good measure, in wheat alone, for the period January–April 1957, 19,567,000 bushels of wheat valued at $33,615,000 were given to Tito. How distant is the day when our country will come to the realization that to receive capitalist assistance is no Communist sin, that it will make easier the achievement of Communist objectives?

Of the book's many enlightening subsections, to quote a few: "Is the downfall or communism imminent?" "Tito's different foreign policy," "The pitfalls of Yugoslav 'different' communism," "Tito and Communist world monolithism," one arrested my attention which I would like to cite in part. It concerns the pirating of democratic words by the Communist camp for the obvious purpose of confusing the people. So great has been the impact of the war of words in our century that in World War II the identity of democratic-Communist vocabulary facilitated the capitulation of 10 European states to the Red camp. We remember Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Rumania. Says Dr. Draskovich:

The thorough confusion which reigns in the realms of terminology and semantics in the cold war, is unfortunately a source of weakness for the democracies, and a source of strength for communism. Most of the terms are used by both sides: freedom, justice, peace, civil and human rights, progress, humanity, welfare of the people. They ob-

viously belong to the democratic vocabulary. However, the democracies have allowed their vocabulary to be used by the Communists, who have adulterated their contents and adapted them to Communist ends. And since the democratic side did not fight back to protect the original meaning of its own vocabulary, the U. S. S. R. and Communists everywhere were able to promote communism by using democratic concepts and terms. And so, for example, at Yalta, the Soviets violated the democratic sense of the agreements, but not the Communist sense. The tragedy of the West is that the difference between the two was not raised in Yalta. Since Yalta, little has been done to retrieve from the Communist vocabulary the stolen concepts and slogans of democracy. In any study of communism it is indispensable to clarify the democratic terms they use to destroy democracy and to expose the Communist semantics; that is, the meaning which Communists give to various political terms.

Dr. Draskovich's book is a challenging treatise which speaks of his love of freedom.

Since all men do not draw the same conclusions from the same facts—

He tells his readers—

I have made clear the values and yardsticks on which my considerations and conclusions are based: The preeminence of spiritual values in the life of human society, the absolute importance of individual and national freedom and human dignity, the rights and interests of all free people and of all the oppressed who fought to preserve their freedom and who are fighting to regain it.

Lewis E. Hoffman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK A. BARRETT
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement relative to an old friend of mine, Lewis E. Hoffman, who served the United States in an official capacity, first in the Bureau of Land Management, and earlier in the General Land Office, for a period of 44 years.

He is a dedicated public servant, and I am sorry he has reached an age at which it is necessary for him to retire from the Government service.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BARRETT

On August 1 of this year, the Federal Government lost an extremely able, and extremely dedicated, public servant in the retirement of Lewis E. Hoffman from the Department of the Interior. For nearly 44 years, Lew Hoffman has been associated with with Bureau of Land Management and its predecessor agencies dealing with the public domain of the United States, and at the time of his retirement was its Chief Minerals Staff Officer. He will practice law in Washington.

Mr. Hoffman is widely recognized throughout the minerals industry as perhaps the topmost authority in the United States on the oil and gas leasing laws. His book Oil and Gas Leasing on the Public Domain, has been a "bible" of the oil and gas industry since its original publication in 1951, and this year he brought out a revised edition to cover new developments in oil and gas leasing, including the laws and regulations covering submerged lands, among other things.

Lew Hoffman has appeared before the committees of Congress many, many times, and has always proved a most competent, and most cooperative witness. In addition, he was always available to any Member of the Senate or the House for private consultation on legislative and administrative matters affecting the development of the mineral resources of the public domain.

His Federal Government service dates back to 1913 when he was with the old Patent Office, then a bureau in the Department of the Interior and 7 months later he began his life work in public lands and their mineral development. He served in the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, and then, upon the passage of the Mineral Leasing Act on February 25, 1920, he was designated by the Commissioner of the General Land Office to organize a division to administer the oil and gas provisions of that act. The task was a tremendous one as the change from the right to prospect for oil and gas, from making mining locations under the United States mining laws to the issuance of permits and leases under the Mineral Leasing Act was a revolutionary departure from the then existing practice and procedure.

On September 9, 1943, the Secretary of the Interior awarded Mr. Hoffman a meritorious promotion for "the interest and initiative you have shown in improving work methods within the Minerals Division which have resulted in more efficient management with a noticeable improvement in the morale of the employees under your supervision. I am glad that it is possible to give this evidence of the Department's appreciation of this service."

In 1953 Mr. Hoffman was appointed chairman of a task force of the President's Cabinet Committee for the establishment of a national policy relating to the production and utilization of minerals and metals. The task force was established to effect a comprehensive review of legislation, Executive orders, directives, and other components of the existing Federal mineral policy. The task force report received the highest praise from officials of the Department.

I am certain that all of Mr. Hoffman's host of friends on both sides of the aisle join me in wishing Lew Hoffman good fortune in the years that lie ahead.

Address by Hon. Lister Hill, of Alabama, Before the Alabama Library Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered on April 12, 1957, before the Alabama Library Association, at Tuscaloosa, Ala.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR LISTER HILL BEFORE THE ALABAMA LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, TUSCALOOSA, ALA., APRIL 12, 1957

Mr. Chairman, librarians, trustees, and friends, I am honored and happy to be with you, who know so much about the past and present, to discuss with you the library of the future. It is altogether fitting that our theme, the library of the future, be considered at this trustees luncheon, for I know that all librarians will agree that without a firm reliance on the interest, the support, the sacrifice and the leadership of the trustees of our libraries, we could not hopefully contemplate the library of the future or have and cherish the blessings that flow from the library of today. We congratulate you and thank you, our library trustees, for your selfless devotion to the cause of enriching the lives of our people by giving of your time and your efforts to bring knowledge and culture to our towns and cities, to our rural communities and to the very hearthstone of our homes throughout the land.

We live in an era so remarkable for its contrasts that we can talk of the library of the future—which is now actually in the making—at the very time when, in many parts of the United States, the library of the present is nonexistent. While I speak about the library of tomorrow I am just as interested in the librarian of today.

Of all the varied impacts on man's progress by the forces that have influenced it—religion, education, politics, war, and man's quest for peace and freedom—the institution that contributed mightily and affirmatively along with the others, and received the minimum of the plaudits of history, is the library. The library seems to have assigned to itself the role of doing its job and saying nothing about it.

Emerson said: "Meek young men grow up in libraries"—but I think Emerson was wrong. We cannot read the library bill of rights adopted by the Council of the American Library Association in Atlantic City in 1948 without being impressed with the courage and forthrightness of the American librarian.

This document is important not only for that which is in it, but more significantly for that which is not in it. We might have anticipated that librarians were demanding their rights; that librarians were raising justifiable protests against the indifference of a society that ignored their services and paid them poorly. Instead they were putting themselves, their reputations, their means of livelihood, at stake for the basic American freedoms: Freedom of speech, freedom from censorship of books, freedom of thought, freedom from cultural suppression, freedom to use libraries for purposes of assembly. The document was in its way like a pronouncement from Mount Sinai or an echo of the Continental Congress.

Some of the figures on library systems in the United States must sound distressing to a proud American presented with the administration's budget for 1958 totalling $71.8 billion. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare I cannot begin to tell you of my astonishment at certain data on the public library in America. I found myself obliged to report in connection with my then proposed Library Services Act, that of the 7,500 public-library systems in the Nation, 60 percent have less than $4,000 per year for operating expenses; 15 States have available for library services less than 50 cents per capita annually; 15 States have available for this purpose less than $1; 15 States have available less than $1.50; and only 3 States have available $1.50 or more annually. Recent studies by the American Library Association conclude that $3 in annual per capita expenditure is necessary for minimum library serv-

ices, and not a single State has thus far even approached this figure.

The people and our democracy suffer from this wholly inadequate support. Librarians suffer, especially those in the lower range of library administration and those in charge of the smaller and inadequate libraries.

We must raise the level of the librarian's salary from its present rank among the lowest in all employed groups in America to a level in keeping with the librarian's professional responsibilities. Counted into the budget scheme in estimating salaries, should be the 5 years of formal education beyond high school called for by your profession. The salary should reflect moreover, the constant necessity in this fast-moving age for keeping informed on library changes and developments. It should reflect also the increasingly difficult task of making the initial salary high enough to attract professional people who meet your progressively higher standards. In 1956 there were 12 jobs for every graduate of a library school.

The hour demands that we give the librarian a salary which will enable him to enjoy a good standard of living, to permit recreation and travel, continued study and educational growth, and provide security in old age. We must recognize the essential worth and dignity of the librarian and assure full opportunity to take part in the life of the community.

How can simple justice be more elementary than this.

Why should a librarian be expected to take anything less?

It is evident that libraries—like our schools—raise the level of democracy by educating, by inspiring democracy's thinking and developing its leadership. History convinces us that the library is not only a highly desirable supplement to the school, but often a substitute for it. The galaxy of the world's great men contains the portraits of many whose formal schooling was extremely meager, but whose scholarship was profound because their education came from books somehow made available to them. Benjamin Franklin, one of the wisest and most versatile of all Americans, had little formal education. John Marshall, who took the skeleton of the Constitution of the United States and clothed it with flesh and blood, had less than a year of formal schooling. Of what university was Shakespeare a graduate? Lincoln's school was mostly a handful of books, and Thomas A. Edison went to school less than 3 months. Could it not then be said that the library, in one form or another, public or private, pathetically small or larger and prouder, made possible the contributions of these giants of history? And how many thousands, how many millions whose collective contribution to life and progress is immense, but who individually were less noted, have in the same way contributed to the fruits of man's progress?

Education such as the library affords constitutes the bread and wine of life for a democracy. It is thus that we were appalled at the spectacle of 27 million Americans in a population of 168 million without public library services and 53 million people with inadequate library services. So much of this cultural deprivation of so many Americans occurs in the rural areas. Here there are either no libraries at all or only the most inadequate library service. In the Congress, therefore, we passed what we are proud to call the Library Services Act.

This act, which I sponsored for 10 years before it was finally passed by the 84th Congress in the spring of 1956 will bring books and learning to the 27 million Americans. Under the terms of the act, Congress authorized $7½ million to be appropriated in each of the next 5 years beginning in 1956–57, on a matching basis, to the States. The administration of the act will conform, as you know, with State and local conditions. Funds are to be granted based on the rural population of the State as compared to the rural population of the United States. And the money is matched by the State on the basis of the per capita income of the State as compared to the national per capita income.

The State, of course, determines its personnel, books, and materials, without interference from the Federal Government. The State plan is administered under the authority of the State library agency, and in my judgment, the autonomy of the States in the matter of library policy is complete.

The act follows a well-established formula in general Federal-State relationships. There is one aspect that is new: The establishment of library facilities where they were formerly lacking so that no American can ever again be said to have been kept out of the reach of books, the culture they bring, and the self-improvement they inspire.

A democracy like ours in its own enlightened self-interest should do no less.

I share your gratification over the fact that the Office of Education approved the Alabama State library plan on March 15 last and the funds for Alabama were made available as of March 1.

Alabama, we learned from the December 1956 Library Journal, proposes to use the funds to be made available under the act (1) to strengthen the State public library service division; (2) to make development grants to already established regional libraries; and (3) to provide establishment grants to new regional libraries, bringing together present smaller units and unserved areas.

Alabama will be a principal beneficiary of the Library Services Act, for in addition to the educational and cultural enrichment that it will bring to our State, the act will provide a powerful and persuasive inducement to new industries, new jobs and, therefore, a higher standard of living for our people. We know that when new industries consider locating in Alabama, they almost invariably inquire of the facilities and services available with respect to schools, churches and libraries—which, as you see, makes you a part of a vital triumvirate. When the 1,131,000 citizens of Alabama, who now have no free public library service, are emancipated from the darkness which the dearth of books imposes, we can then envision the day when Alabama shall no longer be only a part of the Nation's new economic frontier, but rather an economic fountainhead for the Nation.

All that I have discussed with you up to this moment constitutes the public library of today that is the foundation of the public library of the future. Those of us who have examined the fantastically new electronic library equipment see nothing in it, I am sure, that is frightening in any way, or threatening to the future status of the librarian. If anything, these basically mechanical devices, marvelous as they are, represent only the bringing of a type of automation into library service, and in my judgment, they add scope and opportunity to the librarian as well as to the library. Before and after the drudgery is done by the machines there are still the imagination, the memory, the skills and aptitudes of the creative librarian which no machine can ever replace. And as the machines amplify the services of the library they draw within the orbit of the librarian a new set of demands from veteran library users on the one hand, and a whole new library audience on the other. That is the history of the machine since man first conceived the uses of the wheel.

The library of the future will not be an isolated collection of books. It will, on the contrary, be a unit in a great network. Any book in any library anywhere will be available to the most remote reader in the farthermost ends of the country. The system of communicating the book will probably be electronic, so that the microreader will be the instrument by which the student, using a microfilm, will peruse the book, document, or monograph.

The library of the future will make a very special response to the increasing demands of science and technology. New-found knowledge may be quickly disseminated to special activities and assimilated to avoid duplication of the original effort. Many of the electronic devices are in the laboratory stage so far, but their practical use is certainly in the offing. We know it is quite possible to get a full bibliography by IBM. The book ejector by the same process may soon furnish the reader in an instant with a whole armful of the books pertinent to his needs. The revered storehouse of man's knowledge that has made the great libraries of all time so precious since the days of ancient Alexandria is now enormously multiplied. It has been estimated that with modern methods and devices all the 10 million or more volumes in the Library of Congress can now be stored on microfilm in an average-size reading room. The value of our scientific advances for preserving the chronicle of civilization is beyond any price estimate.

We can now envision the day when we have rare manuscripts, for example, projected to the ends of the earth by telegraphic facsimile machines; when the library of today, emerging into the library of the future, is capable of distributing musical and dramatic recordings, as well as books; when the library becomes more and more a community meeting place for cultural pursuits, where recorded performances, on film or tape, are made available for groups, clubs, and societies.

It seems to me almost impossible that we can misread the facts or fail to see the results of our experiments. If they show anything it is that a new horizon is opening up for the librarian in the library of the future. The challenge and the opportunities seem to be almost unlimited. The values for civilization and for man's cultural progress are significant in a sense that has never prevailed before. New dimensions in the diffusion of our convictions, our faith, our literature, our knowledge, are presented us. With these instruments how can democracy fail? In this enrichment of life, in this strengthening of democracy, one of the key figures is inevitably the librarian. The librarian is the mentor, the guide, the custodian, the teacher, in many instances the inspiration, at the heart of the modern public library in the modern community, urban or rural. We may know that this highly skilled, distinctly professional and strategic guardian of our culture will measure up fully to his opportunity in the future as he certainly has in the past. On this cultural front the safety of American democracy is assured the American people and the free world.

We can look forward with high hopes to the day when ignorance and every form of tyranny over the mind of man shall be supplanted by the knowledge and culture that come with books and the wisdom and understanding that come with knowledge and culture. I salute you, librarians and trustees, as you build the library of the future and render your mighty service to your fellow man and to generations yet unborn—the beneficiaries of the priceless legacy that you will preserve.

Together: Midmonth Magazine for Methodist Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, a member of the publishing board of a new magazine to be published by the Methodist Church, called Together, has sent me a statement of this new venture in religious publication, which will be, apparently, a very significant addition to religious literature periodically published in this country.

There is a significant note of interest in connection with this new magazine, in the fact that the editor is the brother of our distinguished and esteemed colleague, Senator CASE of South Dakota. His brother is Mr. Leland D. Case, former editor of the Rotarian, and new editor, as I said a moment ago, of the new magazine.

I ask unanimous consent that a statement which has been forwarded to me for information be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with the remarks I have just made.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The general conference of the Methodist Church voted endorsement at Minneapolis in May 1956 to firm up plans which the Methodist Board of Publication had approved in October 1955. Usually, when new magazines are launched, either they start simply and evolve gradually or they are preceded by many months of policy incubation, depth and motivation surveys, staff recruitment and training, and expensive dry-run issues. The circumstances backgrounding the bold venture precluded birth of Together and the New Christian Advocate from such a matrix.

Despite these obstacles, the editorial and business operations have been integrated at 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, as a unit of the Methodist publishing house. The business department operates under Mr. Warren P. Clark, whose personal fitness has been seasoned by many years of experience with the old Advocate. More than 600 people work under his direction in carrying on circulation, business, and advertising activities. Their task has been especially heavy as the two-hundred-thousand-odd addresses of persons receiving the Advocate have been merged into the 900,000 subscribers on Together's rolls.

Any degree of editorial success attending the bold venture is surely to be attributed to the competent individuals who comprise the staff. From the office boy up the scale, each is progressing in his or her job not only with the satisfaction that goes with a craftsman's pride in achievement, but with the inner glow of awareness that the job is especially well worth the doing.

The experimental factor present in the whole bold venture is evident in the New Christian Advocate. Methodism's 130-year-old Advocate tradition is thrust into the ongoing present through the title. But the format and content represent a fresh concept in professional periodical literature for the clergyman, who is a busy man. His working hours may have remained unchanged, but into them he must cram response to more demands, in greater variety than were known to his predecessor. Such facts account for the format of the New Christian Advocate—a pocket-sized book with clean typography. It is tailored to the habits and convenience of the pastor who must do some of his reading at odd times, such as waiting at hospitals or riding trains or planes.

Planning of Together started a review of the purpose comprehended in the subtitle, "the magazine for Methodist families." This was to be a magazine to promote Methodism's meaning and mission among the families comprising the public created by membership in Methodist churches.

So practical planning began with a study of the prospective reader—the children, the teen-agers, and the other age groups comprising Methodist families, A. D. 1956. In common with other typical American families, they are known to be more prosperous, more mobile, and more informal than their forebears. They have more leisure time but they also have more competitive demands upon it. And they have a proper pride that organized causes with which they are identified should be well presented to themselves and to their neighbors.

Together seeks to inform and inspire the individual member. It tries to reach not alone those self-selected members who attend church the Sunday after Easter, but many who otherwise would never be exposed to a church publication—yet are on the rolls of a Methodist church. Together is Christian and ecumenical—but it is also unabashedly Methodist. It seeks to become a welcome visitor within Methodist homes.

Together becomes a new local church emphasis tool to draw the congregations together on a new level of mutuality. The pastor can, for example, refer to Together in sermons, knowing it is the one magazine each member of his congregation sees. Twelve times a year it is a visitor from the church getting attention at especially impressionable leisure moments.

Together can also become a unifying element in Methodist diversity. This is achieved not alone by developing or reawakening a church awareness among members at the local level, but also by reiterated stress on the many-phased program of the Methodist church. Together tills the soil of interest out of which action can spring.

It was conceived as a church-family magazine to be exposed to all families of all Methodist churches. The only practicable way to gain this goal is through the all-family plan in churches. When it succeeds in Methodism as well as its counterpart has with Presbyterian Life in a sister denomination, Together will have 3 million circulation. Such achievement is of the essence of Together's purpose—carrying forward through a journalistic medium the evangelistic outreach of John Wesley.

Together achieves attention with its illustration, especially color pictures, starting with the cover and climaxing in the 8-page midsection. Subject matter ranges church-related topics including the quadrennial emphases on the local church, education, and the lands of decision—Korea, Bolivia, Belgian Congo, and Sarawak.

Similarly, articles are planned to enrich the reader-member's understanding and appreciation of his church. These range from reader-participation to big-name authorship, from artists' sketches to full-color pictorials, from controversial powwows to lyrical personal testimony. And parables drawn from modern life, features that journalists call human interest stories, are often used to teach profound lessons.

The editorial position is that within the people called Methodists lie deep desires, high dedication, and outreaching fervor, but also rich in diversity, remarkable vitality, and great talent. Together's role is to discover, develop and interpret these.

My Place in the World of 1976

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, as long as history has been recorded, man has often written and spoken disparagingly of the younger generation. I have recently received a copy of a speech, written by a Nevada high school graduate.

This speech with its title, "My Place in the World of 1976," denotes the high ambitions which this young writer holds for himself and others. It is typical of the ideals held by many American youth of today. It gives hope for mankind, and shows faith in the future. I commend its reading to all and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MY PLACE IN THE WORLD OF 1976
(By Dom Bruzzese)

I believe that in 20 years we will be living in an era known as the atomic age. By then, the peaceful uses of atomic energy will have surpassed its uses for war, and the results will benefit all mankind.

Before this new age comes to pass, however, a climate of peace must be established in the world. At present, the world is made up primarily of two armed camps—the democracies and the Communists. The are spending money like water in a mad race for military supremacy. Nations are hurling charges and countercharges at one another that grow worse by the day. The cold war might well break into a hot war at the slightest provocation. Prospects for peace at present look black indeed.

Despite these disturbing facts, I have complete faith in the future. As Adm. Lewis Strauss, of the AEC once put it: "My faith tells me that the Creator did not intend man to evolve through the ages to this stage of civilization only now to devise something that would destroy life on this earth."

For a while, we must continue to maintain a vigorous and sustained atomic weapons program, in order to prove conclusively that war is rapidly becoming obsolete. Within the next few years, however, I believe that the Communist half of the world will realize that an atomic war will destroy all civilization, including theirs. They will have seen the wisdom of competitive coexistence—of living together in a peaceful world. The conquest of science will replace their past goal of the conquest of man. When that day comes, the nations of the world can go forward with full speed toward the development of the atom for constructive, rather than destructive, purposes. At that time we will begin the atomic age.

Based on predictions by the AEC and countless scientists, nuclear power will have a tremendous impact upon our future economy. By 1976, it may make it possible to undertake large new industrial activities at sites that would otherwise be uneconomic due to high transportation costs or the absence of transport facilities for conventional fuels.

Nuclear power may solve the problem of providing additional cheap electric energy in locations where the demand is expected to outrun the availability of hydroelectric power.

Nuclear power may permit and perhaps encourage the development of strategically decentralized areas of industrial production requiring low-cost electric energy.

Nuclear power may provide blocks of electric energy for Government and military installations where the cost of power is important, but not controlling in site selection.

Nuclear power may help electric utility systems in metropolitan areas to adjust to such limiting factors as rail transportation and smoke nuisance arising from a major increase in electric energy generation from coal.

Nuclear power may contribute in some measure to the introduction of new production techniques in electroprocess industries.

Nuclear power may become technically feasible and economic for commercial propulsion purposes, such as the powering of merchant ships, planes, and locomotives.

I am confident that these and other miracles of atomic energy will be a part of our way of life by 1976.

Further, it has been predicted by leading scientists that energy may be obtained within 20 years from harnessing the H–bomb. If this comes to pass, and I think it will, the vistas are unlimited, for the very waters of the sea can then be utilized as fuel. The limitless energy thus produced, virtually without cost, could, for example, reclaim most of the world's deserts, including that in southern California and my own State of Nevada. Realizing that most anything can be grown in the desert if properly irrigated, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that these lands will become as fertile as the richest valleys here in California.

In this atomic age, I believe that my home town of Las Vegas would be a natural setting for a large institute for atomic research in medicine.

Physically, if the desert becomes irrigated, that area should be ideal by 1976. Our wonderful sunshine would be a great drawing card for the ill to go there for observation and treatment at the medical center that I visualize. The bothersome dust that we have there at present, and which could be a deterrent to a medical research institute, should be pretty much eliminated by the grass, the crops, and the trees that will cover the land. Some of this same foliage will also act as a bulwark against the winds that presently plague our community on occasion.

Scientifically, a research center located in Las Vegas for the purpose of utilizing the atom for medical uses would be extremely practical. With Las Vegas and the surrounding area already established as a most vital test site for atomic development, and with recent announcements by the AEC that their installations there are going to be greatly expanded, that area, by 1976, could well be the most important atomic energy center in the country—or the world for that matter. The probable availability to this research institute of the facilities and scientific brains of the AEC there would be of invaluable aid to the cause of medical advancement.

If my present plans materialize, I hope that my place in the world of 1976 will be as a staff member of this institute. By then, I will have graduated from Georgetown Medical School in Washington, D. C., and served my internship. In addition, I ought to have had 9 or 10 years of experience as a physician in a large research institute. While there, I'll attempt to specialize in developing the use of the atom for medical purposes. I should like to think, in fact, that I will have played a part in promoting this research center in Las Vegas, by convincing interested persons that the advantages of establishing such an institute there would be many.

I visualize my role in this medical center as the coordinator of research. In that capacity, I would be responsible for seeing that the various research projects were directed toward the proper goals.

It is extremely difficult at this time to predict what these goals would be in 1976. I do strongly feel, nevertheless, that based on the progress already made in utilizing the atom for medical purposes, the results of such research will have far-reaching effects in the field of medicine.

For example, the atomic reactor can already be tapped directly for radiating neutrons. These neutrons are used experimentally to treat cancer patients. They are also used to make radioactive isotopes, which are used as tracers to follow the spread of medicines through the body and as a source of rays to diagnose and treat tumors. Already they have saved more lives than were destroyed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In experiments reported at the University of California at Berkeley, human cancer is being attacked with protons, which are the hearts of hydrogen atoms. Leprosy is being treated with radioactive sulfur by India's Department of Atomic Energy and Indian Research Center. An atomic method for speedy, accurate measurement of the heart's pumping efficiency and the state of its action has been developed at the Bronx Veterans' Administration Hospital in New York.

These are just a few examples of what has already been done in nuclear medicine. With the type of clinic that I envisage in Las Vegas by 1976, many dread diseases as we know them today will be completely conquered. The health of the world could be vastly improved by what might be done in a research center in my city.

This, then, is what I hope my place will be in the world of 1976. I will be doing what was phrased by a Japanese sage many centuries ago when he wrote: "Do not try to do what your predecessors did; rather, seek what they sought."

Depressed Economic Conditions in Cumberland, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Mr. John G. Thomas, president of Local 1874 of the Textile Workers Union of America, on the depressed economic conditions in Cumberland, Md. Mr. Thomas' statement was originally prepared for a committee hearing on this problem which had to be deferred until the next session of Congress. He urges affirmative action on S. 964, which I introduced in the Senate earlier this year, and presents another persuasive picture of the serious needs of communities with prolonged high-level unemployment.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TESTIMONY ON CUMBERLAND (AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY), MD.

(By John G. Thomas, president and business agent for Local 1874, Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, Cumberland, Md.)

Allegheny County, Md., despite all protestations to the contrary, continues to be a depressed area.

This condition has persisted for almost a decade now. The human suffering and economic loss involved in this long, dreary period of unemployment and underemployment is not apparent to the person who walks up and down our principal business streets of Cumberland—our principal city. Nor do official statistics give anything like a complete or revealing picture of what has been happening to the human beings in our community as a result of the prolonged economic illness from which we have been suffering. No amount of glib self-deluding sales talk can cover up the hard fact that people have suffered, continued to suffer, and that business has been seriously hurt by the curtailment of employment in our biggest local plants.

Certainly, there have been some ups and downs in our employment and business life in these years; but the fundamental fact is that the deficit of jobs persists and the community shrinks instead of enjoying a reasonably normal growth.

If any of us thought that this situation would correct itself or that purely local action would bring about a genuine cure, surely those ideas should have changed by now.

If there are those who profess to believe that this depressed condition of our local economy can be remedied without Federal legislation along the lines of the Douglas bill, these persons must be suffering from a severe form of mental astigmatism.

The bare fact that Allegany and Garrett Counties are the only two counties in Maryland which have declined in population since 1950 should by itself demonstrate that there is something radically wrong in these areas. And when the situation persists for over 10 years it is not just a passing phase or some slight difficulty that can be easily thrown off or remedied.

There has been a fluctuating outmigration of people from the county for some years now. It must be pointed out, however, that some of those who leave to get jobs in the automobile or aircraft plants have been forced to return to their old homes here every so often because these persons having little or no seniority in the plants to which they go are invariably the first to be caught in the periodical layoffs which occur in the automobile or related factories.

There is a local joke in Cumberland about the fact that so many families or breadwinners from the Cumberland area have happened to locate in Pontiac, Mich. Because so many of these individuals were originally from Lonaconing in Allegany County that the particular neighborhood in Pontiac where this group have settled is now known as Little Lonaconing.

According to data obtained from the local office of the Maryland Department of Employment Security, these are the essential facts of our local situation.

A year ago (July 1956) the total labor force in Allegany County was estimated to be 41,300.

At that time the unemployed were estimated to be 5,500 or about 13.6 percent.

The total of those actually employed (including the nonseasonal agricultural workers) was estimated to be 35,800.

Today there are more persons unemployed than there were a year ago. Exact figures on current unemployment are not immediately available but we can point to the fact that there has been a sharp dropoff in employment at the celanese plant. The normal current payroll at celanese is around 2,360. At present less than 2,000 are working.

The Lonaconing plant of the General Textile Co. (a commission yarn mill) has closed down altogether. This plant employed at one time between 250 and 300 people, but it has gradually decreased its employment rolls in the last 10 years to a mere number which fluctuated between 40 and 50 employees and when it closed down completely the first week of this month (July) it had 30 employees on its payroll. We are not certain

whether this shutdown will be permanent or not. But nobody is now working at this mill.

Also there is some decrease is employment at the Kelly-Springfield tire plant.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad just announced further furloughs among those employed in its shops here.

The number of persons in the county in covered employment as of 1956 was 19,474 or 216 less than in 1950. This represents a decline of 1.1 percent between roughly equivalent dates in 1950 and 1956.

Employment in mining and manufacturing jobs decreased by 13.2 percent in the decade. Miscellaneous and service employment dropped by 9.3 percent in the same period.

The number of persons employed in construction increased by 97.4 percent as against 1950.

On this last figure it should be pointed out however, that the bulk of those engaged in construction jobs are working on the new $34 million Pittsburgh Plate Glass plant which will be completed within very few months with a consequent layoff of about 1,000 men on that one operation.

It is a fact that between 400 and 500 new employees will be hired at the new glass plant when the construction job is finished, but in terms of net employment there will be 500 fewer people drawing paychecks in this area when the plant goes into full operation.

In this connection the Members of Congress should be apprised of the fact that none of the older furloughed workers from Celanese or the other plants in the area are eligible for these new jobs at the glass plant. No matter how skillful or experienced or steady they may be, the hiring policy of Pittsburgh Plate Glass is to exclude persons above 35 years of age.

There are some hopeful factors in the local situation which should, in fairness, also be cited. For instance, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad has announced the expenditure of some $10 million on a new marshaling yard. Certainly that will mean some additional construction work but there is no knowing at this time whether on the completion of this improved facility there will be fewer regular employees or somewhat more.

The West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co., while maintaining stable employment, has announced a slowing down of its plant expansion program. Certain mechanical modernization projects at the Luke plant are being postponed for at least another year.

The Allegheny Ballistics Laboratory, operated by the Hercules Powder Co. for the United States Navy Department, now employs some 856 persons and has been taking on some additional persons and is expected to continue to do so in the coming months.

The other side of the picture is this:

It should be recalled that in 1946 employment at the Celanese plant was over 10,000. Today some 2,000 people at this same establishment produce probably 3 times the amount of rayon that was made by the large work force in 1946.

Take this figure for instance: the spinning department at the plant today is producing over twice as much with a work force of 450 as it did previously with a complement of 1,000.

In cellulose acetate department the figures are roughly a 300-percent increase in output.

What has happened to all the people who used to have jobs at Celanese? Many, of course, have left the community permanently.

One thing that this long depression in Cumberland has proven to us is that it is exceedingly difficult, and sometimes practically impossible, for families to just pick up and leave a place where they have lived most or all of their lives. People have family connections and responsibilities which tie them down; they may own houses or some other other property which cannot be readily disposed of. Children cannot be taken out of schools overnight. Whatever the immediate reason, families can't pull up stakes without the greatest of difficulty no matter what happens to their jobs.

By obtaining an old work roster from Celanese recently and doing a lot of checking, we have been able to establish the fact that some 1,500 of the furloughed or dismissed employees are now making their livings in a variety of miscellaneous jobs in and around Cumberland. Several of the men I know are working in gasoline stations for wages of around $5 a day and frequently put in a 7-day week to take home less than $35. Quite a few women who formerly were members of the Textile Workers Union of America now work in retail stores in Cumberland for wages of less than half they earned while in the factory. The wife of one of our local union officers is working in a shoe store in town for 67 cents per hour.

These are typical instances and not isolated cases. We could cite many others of this kind if anyone would be interested.

Cumberland is probably one of the oldest and most repeatedly studied depressed areas in the country. It has been spotlighted in several national surveys; its plight has been featured in headlines and then promptly forgotten for the next several years.

The unions and other progressive elements in the community have made serious, determined and patient efforts to relieve the chronic unemployment which has dogged us for so long. We have contributed money as long as we had any surplus funds in our treasuries to aid local efforts to attract new industries or to otherwise improve our economic prospects.

The problem has not been solved. And while we hesitate to engage in controversies with those in our community who attempt to say that things are getting better, we must emphasize that the facts give the lie to the optimistic kind of publicity which is used to minimize the rather ugly situation which persists year after year. Some businessmen have insisted that all must be well because certain stores have done a large volume of business. We are happy to know that some stores or other local business concerns are doing all right. Against these few success stories we could offer dozens of cases where business has been hurt badly and continues to feel the harmful effects of unemployment and underemployment.

What we do know is that heads of families come into our office every day with undeniable stories of distress and privation—of the difficulty of living decently on insufficient and uncertain wages. The overall outlook is not bright.

Cumberland is a depressed area—that is the undeniable fact. To get us out of this situation, we need and must have outside assistance such as long and bitter experience proves can only be had through congressional action. We urgently recommend adoption of the Douglas bill (S. 964).

Firearms Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, the Treasury Department has recently been holding hearings on the question of the promulgation of a new and extensively revised firearms act, which a great many people—sportsmen and others—not only feel is a great incursion into the liberty and freedom of the American people to keep and bear arms, but will inhibit the activities of sportsmen and sporting organizations who deal in firearms.

I have gone through these regulations. I feel they go away beyond any need, and I believe that they are not only not essential, but that they will be harmful to the literally millions of people in the United States who get their recreation from hunting and the use of firearms.

In that connection, Mr. President, I have in my hand a copy of testimony given by a Washington lawyer whom I know, who represents some of the firearms dealers who would be directly affected by the promulgation of these new orders. It expresses at least one view of a segment of the people who would be affected. It is very short, and I ask unanimous consent that the testimony by Mr. Fred B. Rhodes, Jr., at the hearing on August 27, 1957, on this subject, before the Internal Revenue Service Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Treasury Department, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD along with my remarks in connection with it.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF FRED B. RHODES, JR., ATTORNEY, REPRESENTING PASADENA FIREARMS CO., AND GOLDEN STATE ARMS CORP., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Chairman, in the interest of brevity I would like to submit as a part of the record, and to have the stenographic record show that the detailed comments of my clients are contained in these statements which I give in the appropriate number of copies.

Let me first state that I represent the Pasadena Firearms Co., of Pasadena, Calif.; the Golden State Arms Corp., of Pasadena, Calif.; and approximately 1,500 other dealers of their dealer chains in 47 of the 48 States of the Union, Alaska, and the District of Columbia. We consider ourselves truly small business. And I would like to address what I say to that particular viewpoint. Therefore, I would like to disassociate myself from those who have spoken as manufacturers, and most particularly, I would like to disassociate myself from the gentleman who spoke here yesterday, Mr. Shutt.

Mr. Shutt, you will recall, represented certain retail sporting goods firms in the United States. And he indicated a rather conciliatory attitude on the part of those people toward these regulations. I would like to say here, for the record, my clients give me no such latitude in discussing these regulations.

They are opposed to them from section 177.50 on. And I wouldn't want anything that I might say in jest or otherwise to indicate any lack of seriousness on the part of those that I represent.

I am proud to state here that the warning bell was rung by the vice president and general manager of the Golden State Arms Corp., Mr. Walter Anderson, who was here in Washington on business for the company on May 8 of this year. At that time he came into possession of a copy of the proposed regulations, and immediately saw in them the danger to the Golden State Arms Corp. in regard to its mail-order business, which is large.

He, of course, communicated that to others who were similarly situated. He communicated it to the dealers for whom I speak here today.

As a result of this warning, there have been angry protests arising from every corner of the United States.

I believe you gentlemen are witnesses to that fact, because you have been advised, as have some of the rest of us, of their interest in this matter.

One of the witnesses in support of these changes decried yesterday the fact that the police of the Nation were not better informed or better organized concerning this matter. He did say one reassuring thing to you. He said that regardless of the way this decision went, that his people wouldn't carry on the fight beyond the decision that you gentlemen make.

Let me say for the record, that my people aren't so charitable, and they will carry on the fight beyond this forum. And if these proposals are enacted and given the force and effect of law, they will carry the fight to the Congress of the United States and to the courts of this country.

Now, since most of the beneficiaries of this action are stated to be the police of this Nation, and since we have already had quotations from their magazine, the Police Chief, let me quote also from the August 1957 issue of their publication:

"Police administrators who cannot attend or send a representative to this hearing"—speaking of the hearing we are now attending—

"should either fill out or return to the IACP headquarters the questionnaire appearing on page 10 of this issue, or send their suggestions and comments in duplicate to the Director, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington 25, D. C. This should be done without delay. It is expected that firearms manufacturers and sportsmen and other organizations will be very vocal in presenting their views, views which do not always coincide with crime prevention and law enforcement."

Let me repeat that for the record—"views which do not always coincide with the best interest of crime prevention and law enforcement."

Gentlemen, let me brand that statement as worse than a lie for the impression it attempts to create.

Let me go on and read further from this journal:

"The Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service now serves as a national clearinghouse on firearms registration and identification. These new regulations would permit a more complete and effective service to law enforcement officials who are seeking such information. This service is available by mail, telephone, telegraph. If records of the clearinghouse reveal no information on a specific firearm or ammunition, then the internal-revenue officers will investigate for violation of the Firearms Act. In many instances such investigations have enabled State and local police to solve a case." In the light of this sales approach let us now turn to the questionnaire which appears at the end of the article. There is there, under the caption "Three," a very revealing statement:

"If in your opinion such records would be of little or no value, please be frank and so state, since such records do involve time-consuming work and expense."

It was heartening and refreshing today to hear the head of this organization admit that he wasn't clear in his own mind as to the full benefit to be derived from these regulations. Apparently they had not received the results of the poll they proposed to take.

Let me go on.

These have been unusual hearings in many regards, first, because they were not originally planned as a part of this rulemaking action; secondly, they are unusual because Members of Congress came here in the busy closing days of this session to testify in answer to requests of angry constituents.

The witness here yesterday, for the Metropolitan Police Department of this city attempted, in a rather strained way, to create the impression that these men were inarticulate, and that they did not express the sentiment of the Congress.

I think his attempt to convince us was both weak and ineffective. There are angry protests arising over this from all over the land. In fact, our people are fighting mad about these regulations. They look on them as a bureaucratic maneuver; another interference from Washington in the conduct of their business.

Now, let me say this is not a new problem that they face. They have been dealing with Washington for years. And, gentlemen, it is not a case of attempting to resolve a major point which creates the trouble at all; it is the matter of getting someone who has final authority to speak on interpretations of technical matters. And these things have a habit of dragging on, as your files well reflect, for long periods of time, and which only result in cost to these people who are honestly trying to make a living.

It is for this reason that these people resent all of this being put upon them by officials here in Washington. And they look on it this way.

Gentlemen, if the situation here in this country with regard to crime and its detection is so serious as to warrant these sweeping changes, then I believe we are before the wrong forum, for indeed the people of this country should be advised as to the danger in which they find themselves.

And they should, on the other hand, be encouraged to bear arms and certainly to become proficient in their use. If this is the case; if the Nation's welfare is endangered, certainly we should be before the committees of Congress competent to handle such a question. It results in a change of the law, rather than a change in the regulations.

I am pleased to appear here before you on behalf of these people for whom I speak.

Again, let me say, these small-business men throughout the United States, who are honestly trying to make a living, approach this thing in a 212 degree cold rage.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. AVIS. Thank you, Mr. RHODES.

Proposal Covering Creation of Governmental Agency for Financing Railroad Equipment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the following is a summary of legislation I have introduced at this time so that it may have consideration and study prior to the next session of Congress.

PLAN

First. A new Government agency shall be created, to be known as the Railway Equipment Agency, or with some similar nomenclature, with initial capital of $500 million, with the understanding that more will be advanced by the Government from time to time as may be needed.

Second. The railroads shall have the right to apply to this equipment Agency for long-term net leases for such new equipment as they may desire. The exact length of such leases shall be on the same basis for all companies, but shall be varied in term, taking into consideration the true economic life of the type of equipment in question. For example, diesels probably should be leased for 15 years and freight cars for 20 years, and passenger equipment perhaps on a 10-year basis.

Third. The basic rental shall be determined in accordance with the following principles:

(a) During the term of the lease, the rental shall be sufficient to completely amortize the cost of the equipment, less the estimated scrap value of the equipment at present-day prices.

(b) The interest factor shall be one-fourth of 1 percent above the estimated cost of money to the Agency for the length of period involved.

(c) Interest shall be calculated on the declining balance with respect to that portion of the cost which is amortized, and on a straight line basis with respect to the portion that is not amortized, that is, estimated scrap value.

(d) The rental shall be absolutely net and all repairs of whatsoever nature shall be made by the leasing railroad.

Fourth. The Agency shall have the right to borrow up to four times its capital; in other words, up to 80 percent of the cost of the equipment. At the end of the lease for any equipment, the governmental body having control over the stock piling of strategic materials for national defense purposes shall have the option of purchasing any equipment it desires from the transportation Agency at the fair value of the equipment, to be determined at that time. Any equipment not thus purchased for stock piling for defense purposes shall be sold for scrap by the transportation Agency, with the proceeds recaptured by the transportation agency.

Fifth. Any lessee, subject to the approval of the equipment Agency, may assign its lease to any other railroad in the event it no longer has a demand for the equipment, but in no event shall the new lessee receive a lease other than for the balance of the period remaining to the original lessee. Also, in the event that any lessee defaults under the terms of its lease, the equipment Agency may recapture the equipment and re-lease it to another railroad for the remaining balance of the term, but in no event for a longer period.

Sixth. In the event there are more applications for equipment than can be handled expeditiously—this is particularly likely to be true not only at the outset but in the event of emergencies or in periods of an upsurge in traffic—the principle of allocation shall apply.

ADVANTAGE OF PLAN

A. From the standpoint of the Government:

First. The plan as outlined will not cost the Government anything, as contrasted to the subsidies handed out to other segments of the transportation industry. In addition, it is probable

that the one-fourth-of-1-percent-interest differential, plus the differential between the current estimated scrap value and the ultimate scrap value or proceeds realized from sale to the Government stockpiling agency, should be sufficient to pay the costs of administration, give the Government a return on its funds, and ultimately the return of its initial capital.

Second. The Government will be assured that the railroad industry will be maintained in first-class condition, prepared for any emergency, and with adequate capacity.

Third. The Government will have an opportunity to stockpile a substantial amount of equipment against a war emergency at a relatively low cost.

Fourth. The Government will be assured of protection of the capacity of the railway-equipment industry, so vital in the event of an emergency.

Fifth. Maintenance of the physical condition of the railroads at a high level will serve as a stimulant to the peacetime economy and should bring in additional revenues in the form of income.

B. From the standpoint of the railroad industry:

First. It should be possible for the railroad industry to put its entire plant in first-class condition without damaging its credit. This is true not only with respect to rolling stock but road as well, since funds thus released from the equipment budget will be available for modernization of yards, signal control, and the roadway generally.

Second. Such a program should make it possible for the industry to expand its capacity, thus insuring its participation in the expanding economy and stimulating the latter by providing a modern, efficient, low-cost transportation system to serve its needs properly, and also further aiding the economy through its increased purchases, and on a more regularized basis, from the whole railroad-equipment industry.

Third. With a modernized efficient plant, the industry should operate more efficiently, thereby keeping costs of transportation at the lowest practicable level and at the same time earning greater profits.

Fourth. As a result of the Government agency placing the orders for much of the equipment, a far greater degree of standardization of equipment should be possible, thus reducing the overall cost of equipment and thus holding down the cost of transportation.

Fifth. Through the program outlined, the railway equipment industry should be able to put its production on much more of a mass-production basis, expand its capacity and strengthen its position.

Sixth. If the Government finds itself in the position of leasing equipment to the railroads, then obviously, because of its financial stake in the railroad industry, it will naturally have an interest in the railroads' welfare.

Seventh. This plan embodies the principle of the user paying full cost for Government services rendered. Therefore, if it goes through, it should strikingly point up by comparison the fact that certain other segments of the transportation industry are not paying their way.

Eighth. By virtue of the fact that the proposed lease arrangement would be with a Government agency rather than a private corporation, all tax questions are automatically resolved. The lease arrangement would provide what is tantamount to realistic depreciation geared to the actual economic life of the equipment. Of course in this connection we would get the depreciation in the form of tax deductible rental.

Ninth. An additional objection to the present pattern of leasing equipment from a private corporation is that it is costly by reason of the loss of the residual value. Under this plan the railroad at least gets credit for the estimated scrap value of the equipment.

C. From the standpoint of the public:

First. The public in general, both individually and through industries, will thus be assured of the finest in low-cost mass transportation at the lowest possible cost.

Second. This is adopting one hundred percent the Eisenhower administration policy that industry should pay as it goes for services rendered by the Government.

Overall, the simplicity of the plan itself has much to recommend it, together with one other important fact, namely, that it is possible to work it out on a completely voluntary basis. It is not necessary for all railroads in the industry to approve of the plan or to participate in it, but it would be available to all, and over a period of time it would appear almost a certainty that the industry as a whole would utilize it.

Railway equipment agency—Schedule of rentals

[Interest factor, 3¾ percent plus ¼ percent (4 percent)]

Type of equipment	Cost of equipment	Present-day scrap value [1]	Cost to be amortized	Term of lease (years)	Annual return on scrap value	Annual amortization	Annual rental due under lease	Total rental due under lease
Freight cars	$70,000,000	$10,300,000	$59,700,000	20	$412,000	$4,341,243	$4,753,243	$95,064,860
Diesels	20,000,000	700,000	19,300,000	15	28,000	1,713,117	1,741,117	26,116,755
Passenger cars	10,000,000	325,000	9,675,000	10	13,000	1,175,456	1,188,456	11,884,560
Total	100,000,000							133,066,175
Annual rental:								
1st to 10th year							7,682,816	
11th to 15th year							6,494,360	
16th to 20th year							4,753,243	

[1] Government would be the beneficiary of difference between present-day scrap value and value at the end of the lease.

UNIT RENTAL

Type of equipment	Unit cost	Present-day scrap value	Cost to be amortized	Term of lease (years)	Annual return on scrap value	Annual amortization	Annual rental due under lease	Rental	
								Monthly	Daily
Freight cars	$8,500	$1,250	$7,250	20	$50	$527.20	$577.20	$48.10	$1.60
Diesels	200,000	7,000	193,000	15	280	17,131.16	17,411.16	1,450.93	48.37
Passenger cars	140,000	4,500	135,500	10	180	16,462.46	16,642.46	1,386.87	46.23

Legislation Resulting From the Banking and Currency Committee's Illinois Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a transcript of my regular radio-television report of August 24, 1957, with Robert A. Wallace, staff director of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. The subject of the report was a review of legislation resulting from the Banking Committee's Illinois investigation last fall.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator DOUGLAS. We have with us Mr. Robert Wallace, the staff director of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Mr. Wallace, won't you come in and sit down and we'll discuss the handling of State and local funds.

Now, Bob, you directed the Senate Banking Committee's Illinois investigation of the Hodge scandal and found out that the Illinois State Auditor, Orville Hodge, had stolen some $2½ million from State funds. As a result of that investigation, we have passed some legislation in the Senate which is now before the House. Before we get into the specifics of handling State and local funds would you summarize briefly what our Senate bill provides and why?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, PAUL, as a result of the Hodge investigation the Senate passed the bill you mentioned making some basic technical changes in our banking laws. These changes will make our bank deposits safer, when they are insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and protect us all from unsound banking practices. They will guard us against abuse of authority by Federal officials. They will make it impossible for anyone to own a large block of a bank's stock secretly, as in the case of Orville Hodge's secret ownership of stock in the Elmwood Park Bank.

Senator DOUGLAS. What about the abuses which occur when public officials such as State and local treasurers shake down banks for contributions because they have money on deposit there? And what about abuses where banks give money to these officials in return for interest-free deposits of State and local government funds?

Mr. WALLACE. I think one of the most important reforms to come from our Hodge investigation is the provision in the Senate bill which would prohibit payoffs by bankers to public officials who have the power to grant or withhold favors to a bank.

Senator DOUGLAS. That formerly was true of national banks, and our bill would apply it not merely to national banks but also to State banks that are in the Federal Reserve System or are insured in the FDIC.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, but we went beyond that. Our reform would prohibit not only banks from making gifts to these public officials but it would also make it illegal for the bankers themselves to do it.

Senator DOUGLAS. That is very necessary, because we ought to control the left-hand pocket as well as the right-hand pocket.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. We found that the two banks involved in our investigation were up to their ears in politics. The millions of dollars of State and county money had to be kept somewhere, and these banks found they could get the use of it at bargain interest rates, or even free, when they made contributions for the benefit of State and county treasurers and public administrators.

One public official deposited a million dollars of publicly controlled money in one of the banks in an interest-free account, which means that the bank got free use of the million dollars. The bank could turn around and loan that money out for 6 percent. That meant an extra $60,000 earnings every year for the bank. The main stockholder in the bank, Mr. Leon Marcus, who has since been murdered, gave $4,600 to this public official for his personal or political use. He swore he paid this money in order to get these deposits. That is the type of thing that the Senate bill would outlaw.

Senator DOUGLAS. Let me ask you this—don't you think a much larger proportion of the public funds which are deposited in banks should bear interest?

Mr. WALLACE. They certainly should. We found in our investigation that the State treasurer of Illinois controls over $200 million of State funds deposited in banks over the State. The interest payments amounted to $1,500,000, less than 1 percent. Proper management of this money ought to bring in at least 3 percent at a minimum. That would mean an extra $3 million to Illinois taxpayers on these deposits alone.

Senator DOUGLAS. Now, this is true not merely of State funds, but of county funds, too, is it not?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, that is true of county funds, too.

It seems that all through the history of the Illinois offices of State treasurer, county treasurer, and public administrator, the handling of taxpayers' money and other publicly controlled funds has been sloppy and slipshod. We can legislate against shakedowns and payoffs, but unless we citizens of Illinois get more interested in how our money is handled, we are going to lose millions of dollars. These millions could help reduce taxes, or build schools, or any number of things. But this money certainly should not be permitted to slip through the fingers of our public officials and go to people who don't need it, especially on the basis of gifts to the public officials who allocate it.

Senator DOUGLAS. And, in some municipalities, though I believe not in Chicago, city funds are also involved.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, city funds. Then there are the other funds such as the proceeds from the sale of toll road bonds, school bonds, and other trust funds. The Illinois State treasurer manages over a billion dollars of our money.

Senator DOUGLAS. I understand on the Illinois toll bond issues, we are paying interest before the money is being used, and that we are losing around $17 million a year.

Mr. WALLACE. That was the $400 million issue and they haven't started using all of it yet. Normally such huge bond issues are issued as the money is needed, saving a great deal in interest charges.

This problem of management of our tax money is truly serious. During the Hodge investigation, we found that there were over 500 banks in which State treasurers would deposit money. I went through case after case where State deposits in a particular bank had been increased, saying to different State treasurers who had allocated such funds "Now why did you increase this bank's deposits?" The answer would be, "Well, Joe Smith, this friend of mine, has a hand in that bank, and I wanted to do old Joe a favor." Now that is a bad way to manage the public funds of Illinois taxpayers and it is terribly wasteful.

Senator DOUGLAS. The Senate bill, if passed by the House, will help, but you think what is needed is a greater sense of responsibility by depositing officials and by the general public and by the bankers themselves. Is that correct?

Mr. WALLACE. Absolutely. But let me make one point clear in this regard. I talked to a lot of bankers, too. I think most bankers would favor outlawing gifts which smack of payoffs. At the moment, some politician can come around and demand that the bankers give contributions and it amounts to a shakedown. In fact, it smells of bribery. Now if the Senate bill goes through the House and becomes law, it will protect the bankers from these unscrupulous politicians who come around demanding money.

Senator DOUGLAS. Well, Bob, I think you did a fine piece of work in that investigation, and your results bore fruit in the Senate bill. Now I hope that the people of Illinois may become concerned about this matter and move on their end to clean up the situation. Thank you very much, Bob.

Bonneville Power Administration Observes 20th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine article prepared by Mr. Gus Norwood, executive secretary, Northwest Public Power Association, Inc., for the September 1957 issue of the Association's Bulletin in observance of the 20th birthday of the Bonneville Power Administration on August 20, 1957.

There being no objection the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION OBSERVES 20TH BIRTHDAY

On August 20, 1957, the Bonneville Power Administration quietly observed its 20th birthday. Power revenues for the day were about $200,000, running over $5 million per month or $60 million per year paid into the United States Treasury.

For the oldtimers the day brought reminiscences of the long and continuing struggle to harness the Columbia River for the good of man.

These pages are dedicated to those who have battled so the Pacific Northwest might have low cost electricity.

A good starting point is a noteworthy letter of July 9, 1935, from Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes as Chairman of the National Resources Committee addressed to the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission:

"The National Resources Committee has been requested by the President to submit a report on the future of the Columbia Basin, which he is hoping will be helpful in determining the type of organization which should be set up for the planning, construction, and operation of certain public works in that area.

"The committee desires the assistance of the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission for this work and requests your cooperation in securing a report for action by the advisory committee in Washington not later than November 1, 1935."

On April 21, 1936, there was placed in the President's hands the report calling for creation of a regional public electric corporation

to build a transmission system and power pool to market at wholesale the power from Grand Coulee, Bonneville, and future Federal dams under a postage stamp rate and with preference to public and cooperative agencies so the benefits from the public development might be passed along to the people.

As a compromise Congress passed a temporary or provisional law creating the Bonneville Power Administration. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Bonneville Project Act August 20, 1937.

THE FIRST BONNEVILLE ADMINISTRATOR

On November 1, 1937, President Roosevelt appointed as first Administrator of the Bonneville Power Administration his good friend Mr. James Delmadge Ross, for 36 years the able superintendent of lighting for the city of Seattle. In 1931, while Mr. F. D. Roosevelt was Governor of New York, Mr. Ross served as a consultant to the New York Power Authority.

J. D., as he was affectionately known by thousands of civic leaders throughout the Pacific Northwest, got BPA off to a good start. He hired a staff, built the first transmission facilities, and established the famous postage stamp $17.50 per kilowatt year rate.

In the first annual BPA report Administrator J. D. Ross set forth many of the policies and much of the philosophy as he interpreted the Bonneville Act.

He showed the inadequacy of previous electric load forecasts and urged Congress to speed up installation of generators. He urged the new public utility districts and city distribution systems to adopt promotional resale rate schedules based on a model "objective" rate averaging three-fourths cent per kilowatt hour for home use. He prepared a master plan for future growth of the BPA system.

All this was initiated in a brief 1½ years. Following the untimely death of J. D. Ross on March 14, 1939, Mr. Charles E. Carey was appointed Acting Administrator until the appointment temporarily of Mr. Frank A. Banks on May 4, 1939, who served until September 16, 1939, when Dr. Raver took office.

IN MEMORIAM J. D. ROSS, 1872–1939

President F. D. Roosevelt paid tribute to J. D. Ross in these words: "It is fitting that every American should know of the passing of one of the greatest Americans of our generation. Mr. J. D. Ross, fighting against illness, built for himself a strong body and a brilliant mind in the building of Alaska and later of the Pacific Northwest. An outstanding mathematician and an equally great engineer, he combined with this the practical ability to make things work in the sphere of public opinion and successful business. More than that he was a philosopher and a lover and a student of trees and flowers. His successful career and especially his long service in behalf of the public interest are worthy of study by every American boy. My personal affection for him grew with the years, and because so many people leaned on him for so much of inspiration and advice, his place in our country will be almost impossible to fill."

INTEGRITY OF THE TRANSMISSION SYSTEM ESTABLISHED

The appointment in August 1939 of Dr. Paul J. Raver as BPA Administrator came none too soon. Within the month Poland was invaded. When the new Administrator took office September 16, 1939, the war clouds were gathering.

By December 20, 1939, the Alcoa contract was signed keynoting the tremendous defense buildup and the bringing in of the electroprocess industries.

New generators were installed on a crash-program basis and thousands of miles of tranmission lines stretched to the far corners of the region to bring low cost power.

The third annual BPA report issued December 30, 1940, refers significantly to substantial progress in improvement in management. With emphasis on construction the new orders established faster procedures, instituted the 6-year advance program, and fixed responsibility to insure that transmission facilities would always be ready ahead of generator installations.

In 1944 in recommending construction of Hungry Horse Dam BPA had urged the concept of integrated development of the Columbia River. Congress authorized the project. Five years later in 10 days of Senate debate August 15–25, 1949, BPA in a signal victory won the right by a Senate vote of 45 to 35 to build the Spokane—Hungry Horse—Anaconda 230,000-volt transmission line and thus insure electrical and hydraulic integration of Hungry Horse Dam as part of the Columbia River power system. It was a crucial test for the integrity of the grid system and of the quality of the BPA staff.

During Dr. Raver's tenure 1939–54 rural electrification in the BPA area was substantially completed. Residential power use in Oregon and Washington quadrupled while average rates were cut in half.

On November 30, 1951, Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman conferred upon Dr. Paul J. Raver the highest award, a citation and gold medal for distinguished service. The citation reads:

"The basis for this award to Mr. Raver is for outstanding service in the public interest through development of the Columbia River power system as part of the comprehensive multipurpose basin development program and for his contribution to national power policies, nationally recognized labor-management cooperation and collective bargaining agreements, and high qualities of leadership as an administrator."

DR. PEARL BECOMES ADMINISTRATOR

Dr. William A. Pearl became the third BPA Administrator on January 15, 1954. Dr. Raver became superintendent, Seattle City Light.

The Columbia River power system has reached 4,700,000 and will pass the 5,000,000 kilowatt mark before the end of 1957. With the decision of Congress to start construction of John Day Dam the region has over 3,000,000 kilowatts of additional Federal capacity under construction. Ultimately with adequate upstream storage these projects will exceed 10,000,000-kilowatt capacity.

Bonneville Power Administration markets power for: Grand Coulee, Bonneville, Hungry Horse, McNary, the Dalles, Chandler, Detroit, Big Cliff, Lookout Point, Dexter, Albeni Falls, and Chief Joseph. Bonneville Power Administration will market power from John Day, Ice Harbor, Cougar, Strube, and Hills Creek, which are under construction. Plans are progressing on the authorized Green Peter, White Bridge, and lower Monumental Dams. Other projects authorized are Little Goose, Libby, and lower Granite. The corps has recommended Bruces Eddy and Penny Cliff and has under preparation the 308 review report on future projects for the next phase in the development of the Columbia River power system.

A major new function of Bonneville Power Administration is the wheeling of power from non-Federal dams. Arrangements have been concluded for Box Canyon Dam and Pelton Dam. This insures maintaining the integrity of the Bonneville Power Administration grid and facilitates construction of non-Federal dams.

As of June 30, 1957, Bonneville Power Administration had turned into the United States Treasury $518 million. By 1963 Bonneville Power Administration will reach the billion-dollar mark in revenues. Repayment of Federal investment in all dams is ahead of schedule.

During the last fiscal year 28 billion kilowatt-hours had been sold bringing the accumulated total to 219 billion kilowatt-hours.

The Bonneville Project Act of August 20, 1937, on balance is one of the greatest laws passed by Congress for the development and conservation of Pacific Northwest resources, being on a par with the Reclamation Act, Rural Electrification Act, homestead law, and the creation of the Forest Service. The Bonneville Act has done much for the people of the Pacific Northwest and for the Nation.

Paying for Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a very able editorial from the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times for Thursday, August 29, 1957, which recommends that Government-guaranteed loans be provided to finance the higher education of able men and women whose private resources would not be sufficient to permit them to go through a college or university on their own funds, but whose future earning power will be increased by such higher training, so that the loans, on the whole, ought to be very good investments.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAYING FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Without charity or government gifts, it ought to be possible for every youngster who wants to to be able to go to college.

They can't now, according to the second report of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School.

We have a suggestion for Congress on a possible partial solution for this problem and some of the other economic difficulties of higher education.

Like everything else, the cost of going to college has been rapidly climbing in recent years.

The impact of this increase is multiplied by the fact that no longer is a higher education thought of as something only for those in the higher income brackets.

It is only a slight exaggeration to say that every high-school graduate now wishes to go on to college. A substantial percentage of these hope to go to professional graduate schools.

This means an expenditure of between $5,000 and $10,000, a huge burden on low-income families, or even on well-to-do families, if 2 or 3 children overlap in college.

Present scholarship and loan facilities cannot accommodate more than 10 percent of absolute minimum needs. And prospects of that condition materially improving are not bright.

Therefore, we make this suggestion:

Let Congress establish and finance what we shall call the Federal Students' Loan Insurance Agency—FSLI for short.

This would function just as FHA does. Students with satisfactory high-school records and good reputations, would apply for loans for the first year at college from a local bank. FSLI would guaranty the bank against loss. Each year the student would apply for another year's loan, predicated upon his maintaining a satisfactory scholastic standing.

Interest rates should be kept low, possibly through some special discount arrangement, either by Federal Reserve or the loan agency itself.

Repayment should be long-term—10 or 15 years—commencing 1 year after the student graduates or drops out of school, with payments starting low and gradually increasing over 4 or 5 years as the borrower's earning power increases.

Such an arrangement would be fully within our tradition of free enterprise. It would leave the student with complete freedom to choose his own school, and no "Federal interference" would be involved.

Credit losses, we are confident, would be almost nonexistent.

In addition to easing the burden on parents, if the loans are realistically geared to needs this plan could ease the pinch on colleges and State institutions. They could raise tuition fees to more nearly cover expenses. And the price would be paid by those who benefit—the students themselves.

Election of Mel Ruder as President of the Montana State Press Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I had the honor of addressing the Montana State Press Association in Great Falls, Mont., on August 17. On that occasion one of my closest friends in the State of Montana, Mel Ruder, the publisher of the Hungry Horse News at Columbia Falls, Mont., was elected president for the forthcoming year.

Mel has only been in the State of Montana about 12 years, but already he is one of Montana's great citizens. We expect great things of him.

Mel edits and publishes one of the greatest weekly newspapers in the country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial appearing in the Billings Gazette of August 21, 1957, written by my old friend and farmer colleague, Tom Stout, who used to be a Member of the House of Representatives, entitled "Deserved Honor," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DESERVED HONOR

The election of Mel Ruder, publisher of the Hungry Horse News at Columbia Falls, Flathead County, as president of the Montana State Press Association at that organization's 72d annual convention, held last week in Great Falls, was a deserved honor bestowed upon a young man who has already won national recognition as an outstanding weekly newspaperman. He is one of a number of publishers of weekly papers in Montana who are serving the best interests of their progressive communities in most effective fashion and establishing a high standard of excellence for the weekly press of the State.

Established in 1885, the Montana State Press Association is one of the oldest organizations of business and professional people in the State. So far as this writer knows, none of the founding members is still alive and there are very few of those who were active in the newspaper business as far back as 50 years ago. But the roll of members, kept, we assume, in the files of the secretary, will be found to contain the names of men whose fame as editors and publishers extended far beyond the bounds of Montana. Many of the others with whom the writer was personally acquainted, played active parts in the dramatic political and industrial history of the State.

The writer's first contact with many of the members of the Montana State Press Association was in the midwinter of 1906 when former United States Senator W. A. Clark gave some 40 or 50 of those members and their wives a free trip from Butte to southern California by way of celebrating the completion of his railroad from Salt Lake City, Utah, to San Diego, Calif. It was a highly enjoyable journey for all members of the party, especially since all expenses were paid by the Senator, including refreshments of every kind. Incidentally, and this is not intended as any reflection upon the convivial habits of the members of Montana's press in those times, when someone rang a bell for service down in the middle of the desert a few hundred miles south of the Mormon capital, the porter came in and said: "Gem'ans, there ain't no use in you axing for any more liquor 'cause it's been all used up an' that's the firs' time that has happened since this 'ere railroad wuz built."

The annual business meeting that year was held on the wharf at San Diego where Col. Sam Gordon, famous publisher and editor of the Yellowstone Journal, Miles City, was elected president. For some reason or another, the colonel had lost his voice and had to deliver his acceptance address in a whisper. None of us heard anything the doughty colonel said but the close of his whispered talk was, nevertheless, greeted with thunderous applause.

Business was of secondary consideration at the annual conventions of the Montana State Press Association in those early times. Members attended to enjoy the fine spirit of warmhearted fellowship with other members of their craft. As Dan Whetstone has related in his book, Frontier Editor, there were some pretty lusty battles waged by rival editors, or editors belonging to rival parties and factions in the stirring political contests that were held in those times. But when the members of the press met at their organization's annual convention, all rivalry, most of it synthetic, was forgotten and men who, only a short time before, were accusing each other of every crime in the book, were to be seen greeting each other as if they were long-lost brothers.

They still have some fun at these annual meetings, but the accent is on matters of business in which the members are chiefly interested. A speaker of national prominence in the world of business or Government service is usually invited to speak at the banquet which ends the meeting. Last year at Livingston, Roy Glover, chairman of the board of the Anaconda Co., was the speaker. At the recent meeting, MIKE MANSFIELD, Montana's junior Senator, delivered an interesting address on the administration's foreign policy.

There are a few elderly members who continue to attend the annual conventions but a majority of the members and most of the active ones are men, and a few woman publishers, who are on the sunny side of the half century mark. They are carrying on the fine traditions of Montana journalism in splendid fashion. Nothing in that respect will be missed with Mel Ruder serving as head of the organization until the close of the next annual meeting in Glacier Park in 1958.

Cotton Shows the Way to Farm Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, there appears in the Reader's Digest of September 1957, an article entitled "Cotton Shows the Way to Farm Prosperity," which was condensed from the Christian Science Monitor of August 2, 1957.

This article concerns itself with the subject of how a good product can sell itself in a free market without Government price supports—the product being extra-long staple cotton—and it mentions prominently our distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON].

I commend this article to all Senators and in order that each might have an opportunity to read it, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COTTON SHOWS THE WAY TO FARM PROSPERITY

(By James Daniel)

Three years ago Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, of New Mexico, was leaving his office to attend a Senate Agriculture Committee meeting when he got a phone call that in recent months has deflected the course of American farm policy by several degrees and may well play a role in giving it an altogether new direction—away from Federal price supports.

The caller was Mitchell Landers, a young cotton farmer who lives near Berino, N. Mex. He insisted on seeing ANDERSON right away and the Senator agreed, a little grumpily. Five minutes later Landers was standing in ANDERSON's office.

"Sir," he said, "I represent 3,000 farmers down my way who grow extra-long-staple cotton. We're wondering if you could get the Government to lower the price support on it."

Telling of the moment later, Landers said, "He looked at me as if he thought I had been out in the sun too long. He said he'd seldom heard such a request and asked me to explain."

Landers came quickly to the point. "What we want," he said, "is for the Government to stop setting our cotton price so high nobody can buy it. Last year 9 out of every 10 pounds we grew went into Government storage, while cheaper foreign cotton supplied almost our entire market. If you will lower our price support $50 a bale, we think we can get our costs down to where we can treble or quadruple our market."

Mitchell Landers could not have picked a more sympathetic listener. As Secretary of Agriculture after World War II, Senator ANDERSON had foreseen and warned against the dangers of high rigid price supports. But vote-conscious Congressmen had drowned out his voice, promising farmers even higher supports. Most of them really believed that high price supports helped farmers. Here was a farmer who disagreed.

"Young man," said ANDERSON, "there are some other Senators here I want to meet you." Before Landers knew what was happening he was facing the Senate Agriculture Committee, repeating his request to an amazed group of lawmakers.

The upshot was that by the time this boyish, diffident young man left Washington a bill had been drafted giving him exactly what he wanted. Soon the Landers amendment was through the Congress and signed by President Eisenhower. One Senator later confided, "When I heard him I thought anybody as foolish as that deserved to get his wish granted."

Landers was not daft. Born in north Texas, he had beat around in business, sold brushes, then operated a war plant in El Paso. In 1946 his wife's father, a cotton farmer, fell ill, and Landers moved to Berino in the Rio Grande Valley to take the farm over. After 2 good years the market for cotton collapsed, and Landers and thousands of other cotton farmers found themselves staggering under mountainous debts as the Government, in a futile attempt to maintain high cotton prices, slashed back allowable acreages.

Landers' area was especially hard hit. At vast expense farmers had leveled the desert floor, sunk deep wells and created irrigated farms that were worth $2,000 an acre if they could grow cotton. Already some of the best land was going back to cactus and jackrabbits. This was a national shame, for the Government, by penalizing efficient cotton growers, was hurting the average citizen twice—once in high taxes to pay the subsidies and again in excessive costs for cotton goods made necessary by rigged cotton prices.

One day Landers found a slip of paper in his mailbox informing him that for the next year his allowable cotton acreage had been cut back by one-third. "I owed the bank $10,000 on equipment and I couldn't make my payments," he recalls. "And I wasn't alone."

At the crossroads store where farmers gathered there was soon a small knot of men, Landers among them, angrily discussing the way Washington was mangling the cotton farmer. In 25 years of regulation, United States cotton acreage had been cut from 43 million to 17.4 million. United States attempts to peg the world price of cotton had succeeded only in raising foreign cotton production from 12 million to 23 million bales, while United States exports declined from 7 million to 2 million bales. Meanwhile, American consumption of cotton substitutes rose to the equivalent of 4 million bales. With all this the United States cotton carryover was pushing toward 15 million bales, nearly 2 years' supply.

"What do you think, Mitch?" said one of Landers' neighbors. "They've been electing you to those Farm Bureau cotton committees. How do you see it?"

"Well," said Landers, "if you were running normal business and found yourself losing customers, you'd cut your costs and cut your price and try to rebuild your market. We've been growing extra-long-staple cotton as a sideline for years and insisting on the Government's guaranteeing us a fancy price. Now I hear Dr. W. E. Bryan at the University of Arizona has bred a new variety that has so high a yield that it could compete with the synthetic fibers. But to be competitive we'd have to lower the price and assure the mills of a steady supply. And we can't do that unless the Government lowers our support and lets us increase our acreage."

Some of Landers' neighbors labeled him a crackpot. But there were men on his side, too. Among them was Bob Banta, a grower near La Union, N. Mex., who said, "I figure we farmers have to grow something that will sell. If it won't sell we have to quit growing it." Said another grower: "If the cotton industry can't stand on its own feet it doesn't have a place in our economy."

To be sure he was on the right track, Landers asked the National Cotton Council to make a survey to find out how much extra-long-staple cotton could be sold at any given price. The council reported that if extra-long-staple cotton came down only 10 cents a pound (then from 67 cents to 57), its market would be far greater, estimated on the basis of price alone.

In July 1954 Landers called a meeting of representative growers from the Southwest. They voted to ask Congress to lower their price support to the minimum permitted by law and pledged to contribute $3 for every bale of extra-long-staple cotton they grew, to finance a marketing campaign. Within a month Landers paid his call on Senator Anderson, and shortly thereafter he and his friends founded the SuPima Association of America (Superior plus Pima, plant breeder's term for the strain).

The rest is agricultural history. After Congress dropped the price support the market price of SuPima fell to 57 cents, but demand increased so fast that soon SuPima was selling for more than it had before. For the past 2 years SuPima has fought chiefly to keep its price down. When growers were asked if they wanted to get into the soil bank's system of payments for nonproduction, they wired back: "No."

This year when the price-support formula, which goes up and down according to supply, would have allowed them to get the peak supports permitted by law, they persuaded Congress to exempt them from strict application of the formula. Many of them even want to go off parity altogether, believing that any pricing system so erratic encourages mills to depend on synthetic fibers, whose costs are fixed and predictable.

In the past 2 years the Government has cleared out virtually its entire surplus of extra-long-staple cotton, and total consumption has risen to 240,000 bales, an increase of 600 percent. With no surplus, the Government increased the 1957 SuPima acreage from 45,000 to 89,000. Already SuPima growers have added $9 million to the farm income of the Southwest. Said an El Paso banker recently: "Without this, I can tell you, a lot of our borrowers would not have made it."

Since Mitchell Landers presented his case before the Senate Agriculture Committee, attitudes on farm legislation have altered considerably in Washington—and also through the Cotton Belt. Seeing what SuPima has accomplished, some cotton growers are asking a like program for other staple lengths of cotton.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, who misses no opportunity to praise SuPima as a shining example of the way to farm prosperity, said recently: "In our free American economy, the greatest and most lasting gains attained by any segment of the population have always been through their own efforts rather than through Government controls or aids. What these 3,000 cotton farmers of west Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona have done is in keeping with the best American traditions. Their program and philosophy are worthy of study and emulation by all agriculture."

Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages Aboard Aircraft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the August 25, 1957, issue of the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier, which supports the provisions of my bill, S. 4. This legislation is designed to prevent the serving or consumption of alcoholic beverages aboard airplanes.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIQUOR IN PLANES

In a report to his constituents, Senator STROM THURMOND says he has been unable to get a satisfactory reply to the question why liquor should be served aboard passenger airplanes. Senator THURMOND has introduced a bill to prevent either serving or drinking alcohol aboard planes.

While we defend the right of a man to take a drink under most circumstances, we agree with Senator THURMOND when he points out that the cramped cabin of a plane is close quarters for drinking. Nondrinking passengers may well find themselves very uncomfortable in a crowd of imbibers.

We also agree with Senator THURMOND when he points out that children aboard planes where liquor is served are in what amounts to a flying bar.

Children are not allowed in saloons on the ground. Why shouldn't they be given the same protection in the air?

Crisis in Red China Grows—Increasing Flood of Refugees Pressing To Escape Into Hong Kong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report from Hong Kong in the Worldgram column of the U. S. News & World Report of August 23, 1957:

For a cable report on Red China's crisis, as it looks in Hong Kong:

"The British in Hong Kong are finally convinced that Red China is in real trouble. They measure trouble by the number of Chinese trying to escape into this crown colony. And right now, the British say, pressure on the border is greater than at any time within the last 19 years.

"The only comparable period was in 1938, when the Japanese invaded south China and the Chinese fled to Hong Kong to escape air attacks. But in 1938 the British had no barriers around Hong Kong. The Chinese could enter freely.

"Now, with Hong Kong flooded with refugees, the British permit a Chinese refugee to enter only when another Chinese leaves. So the refugees hide out in swampy inlets near Hong Kong waiting a chance to smuggle themselves in."

This Hong Kong report on Red China continues:

"Pressure on the border is so great now that the British believe Red China may be threatened by mass starvation. The Communists themselves admit widespread destruction by floods in Manchuria as well as in north, central, and south China.

"Millions of peasants have been mobilized to strengthen river dikes. The order is out to plant late, quick-growing crops as flood waters recede.

"Students are being ordered into the countryside to help the peasants. Even university graduates, who normally step right into government jobs, are for the first time being told to get into the fields until the crisis is over.

"The typhoon season is just getting underway. One hard blow hitting the mainland could bring starvation to millions. Three of the last four years have been poor crop years. The Reds have very little fat left for an emergency."

Democracy's Great Institution: Baseball

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, knowing of the great interest the American public has in baseball, I have asked unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Robert L. Howsam, general manager of the Denver Baseball Club, before the United States Air Force Academy Sports Council:

DEMOCRACY'S GREAT INSTITUTION: BASEBALL

(Delivered by Robert L. Howsam, general manager of the Denver Baseball Club, before the United States Air Force Academy Sports Council)

The greatest honor ever to be accorded me is this invitation by the assistant dean of faculty and president of the United States Air Force Academy Sports Council, Colonel Schweiger, to address the banquet of the Great Plains Conference baseball tournament. I am overwhelmed by this audience of high officials and distinguished airmen. Since baseball is my life's work, I presume you want me to discuss America's great game. If so, the theme of my address will not disappoint you.

Morale is the vital factor in military training and effectiveness on the field of battle. Our highest military officers, from the President down, comprehend fully the advantages to be found in competitive athletic sports. It is my firm conviction that the staggering success of American soldiers in combat is due in no small part to the skills, strategies, prowess, inspirations and challenges acquired in competitive athletics.

One of the great inspirational events of America is the ceremony celebrating the opening of the baseball season each spring in the Nation's Capital. On that great day, the President of the United States leaves his desk, joins the throng and throws out the first ball at Griffith Stadium. The Supreme Court and the two Houses of Congress recess and join him. The Cabinet officers are there, too, as are the department heads. The Ambassadors and Ministers of all the nations of the world occupy the box seats. The Pentagon comes in full force. Little wonder that baseball is recognized throughout the world as our great national game.

Baseball is as much a part of America as the freedoms we cherish and the liberties we defend. If one understands baseball, he understands America.

The Congress has just ended another historic debate over civil rights, lasting for many weeks. American courts, schools, yes, and the military, have been struggling with the knotty problems of racial prejudice for generations. Yet baseball, under the leadership of its keen and revered statesman, the one and only Branch Rickey, has achieved more in the solution of this stubborn problem than all the other agencies combined.

There is no racial or religious or economic distinction on the baseball diamond today. Baseball does not ask the color of your skin, the identity of the God you worship, or the side of the track on which you were born. Proof of your baseball skills is its only question.

Yet professional baseball has its problems. Strangely enough, most of them are generated within its own framework. The Supreme Court has urged Congress to clarify baseball's relationship to the antimonopoly laws and so a House committee is examining its operation and its structure. A former baseball star and a few sportswriters, who owe much to America's great institution of baseball for their fame and fortune, are pecking away at its pillars.

I mention sportswriters because sportswriters are as much a part of professional baseball as the man in the pitcher's box or the gentleman on first base. At least 50 million Americans read the sport pages every day.

Professional baseball stands on solid ground and needs no defense by anyone. Most folks realize that it is making a tremendous contribution to America and its welfare. Yet the press is asking questions; and while I realize this is not a forum in which to indulge in controversy, I want to keep the record straight.

The other day, Jack Carberry, sports editor of the Denver Post, a lifetime personal friend for whom I have deep affection, asked this pertinent question in his sports column, "What is wrong with baseball?" In a speech a few days later, Carberry said, "Baseball is withering and dying on the vine and I don't know why." These are honest questions and require honest, straight-from-the-shoulder answers.

Tremendous changes in entertainment opportunities and habits have taken place in the past 10 years. Couple them with the ravages of inflation and it is easy to understand why all entertainment, including baseball, is facing serious difficulties.

Today, it costs over 5 times as much to stage a professional baseball game as it did just 10 years ago, with little or no advance in the admission price.

The magic of television brings baseball games and the theater right into peoples homes scot-free with no snarled traffic which worries the ball park visitor. Fans demand more and more in the way of ball park attractiveness and comfort. The players have to put on a better performance, too.

But, even so, there is nothing wrong with baseball that a few more fans through the turnstiles will not cure. Please, Jack, help us keep them interested.

Very severe former Federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, as the first commissioner of baseball, achieved at least two remarkable results of far-reaching importance. He restored public confidence in professional baseball by eliminating completely every hint of crookedness on the field of play and he compelled the shortsighted owners to place the employment of baseball talent on a fair and equitable basis. He reconstructed the reserve clause into a fair and equitable document, in spite of its very necessary, restrictive nature. Under these reforms, the players, almost to a man, today swear by the reserve clause. They realize it stabilizes professional baseball and thereby benefits them.

It will be a sad day for professional baseball should clubs be able to bid for players on the open market. On that day, pennants and super-talent will go to wealthy owners and the poorer clubs will take what is left and be helpless so far as competition is concerned. Then, professional baseball will be the most monopolistic business known to man.

In his role as self-annointed agitator, Bob Feller is socking baseball management these days with wicked bean balls. His is a sad case. "Rapid Robert," with extraordinary baseball talent, had built for himself a spectacular career and a modest fortune out of America's great game. For him to be throwing rocks these days rather than baseballs is a tragedy.

Fans, the solid rock upon which baseball is built, have dug deep in their jeans through the years to make him big box office with a salary greater than was paid to the President of the United States. In these circumstances, fans, players, and sport enthusiasts, generally, regret that now at the end of his illustrious pitching career this Van Meter, Iowa, farm boy who never had it so good, has turned upon his benefactors with a series of reckless and bitter tirades, wherever three or more sports writers gather to listen. He held one in Denver the other day and I think baseball should not remain silent but should point out the inaccuracies of his charges.

The facts are that Bob Feller has goofed. His new fast one, delivered by way of overworked tonsils is a gopher ball. The cures he urges would surely send professional baseball to the showers for keeps. Under his plan, after 5 years every ballplayer would become a free agent to chase "pie in the sky" just as a lost soul on the desert staggers after but not quite catches up with the tricky mirage. Under Feller's open baseball market formula, the well-heeled clubs would be loaded to their ears with talent and their struggling competitors, unable to compete in the market places, wouldn't draw flies. To spell sports with a dollar sign would prove fatal, and Mr. Feller must realize that.

The fabulous and universal appeal of baseball in this country provides the safety valve this great Nation must have to keep everything in proper perspective. The divergence it provides aids Americans in solving or living with life's serious problems. It helps them to laugh at themselves and puts them in the frame of mind to accept the bad breaks in life philosophically. That explains why the official opening of the baseball season each spring is made a gala occasion by the President, the Congress, and the Supreme Court. On that day, all of them amble out to the ball park to eat peanuts and pour it on the umpires and cheer the spectacular plays. A government that can set aside its tremendous problems for a few hours to pay tribute to the Nation's supersport cannot and will not fail.

But professional baseball simply must have stability to attract the huge capital outlay necessary to provide the expensive facilities and to operate it as the fans want it operated. Somebody has to put up that immense capital. Would the wealthy Bob Feller or any other capitalist invest a thin dime in baseball if it had no stability? Of course not.

The American and National Leagues each employ 200 ballplayers at an average salary of $14,000 and a total salary expenditure of nearly $6 million annually. This operation requires more than $50 million for facilities alone. To bring this form of entertainment to the American people, someone must invest $100,000 to provide baseball grounds and stadiums for each and every ballplayer in the major leagues.

In Denver, there is an investment of $40,000 in facilities for each ballplayer employed by the Bears. Without unquestioned stability, no one could or would make such an investment.

There are other sizable investments in equipment and player contracts that must be made, too. All of these things have to be kept in mind when reforms are considered. It takes a lot of faith and courage to assume the difficult task of management in baseball.

Organized baseball today is living under a very serious threat on the part of people who do not understand its composition, its potential in Americanism, and its problems. This is no time for its own people to be running around stirring up trouble and confusing the Supreme Court and Congress with wild and ill-considered statements. This is a time to rally behind America's No. 1 sport and insure it the stability it must have. Corrections of some of its practices are in order, but the Bob Feller meatax approach is not the way. The reserve clause and territorial rights, among other things, must be preserved or utter chaos is inevitable.

Let's meet the challenge forthrightly and constructively and prove to Congress and the Supreme Court that professional baseball is not managed by evil men bent on wangling bright young ballplayers out of their birthright. To the contrary—it is a much-loved and respected American institution that provides wholesome entertainment and basic lessons in sportsmanship. It trains bright young athletes regardless of race or station in life to become so adept with a baseball, a glove, and a bat that millions follow every move they make and everything they say or do.

In the field of better international relations, professional baseball is making a tremendous contribution. In Japan, the Philippines, Canada, Mexico, Caribbean areas, and the Latin Republics generally, baseball is very popular. The exchange of players among these countries and between them and us has performed miracles in better understanding and good fellowship everywhere. When the people of the world exchange their contests of war for contests on the baseball diamond, there will be world peace.

In closing, I want to pay further tribute to the Air Force Academy Sports Council for what they have done and what they are doing to promote and encourage the game of baseball. The baseball tournaments which they hold each year not only provide wholesome entertainment for the Armed Forces but they build interest in America's great game. The Great Plains Conference is divided into four districts: the northern, southern, eastern, and western. In the series of tournaments you will hold among them, considerable baseball talent and thousands of enthusiastic fans will be developed. Everyone in professional baseball is grateful to you.

China's Sorrows Pile Up Under Its Red Conquerors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the London Economist of June 8, 1957. It is highly significant that this highly respected journal is now reversing itself after going along for some years with the optimism with respect to communism in China that prevailed in many Western circles for a time.

It knows that in the end facts always impose themselves. Would that the British Government would be as realistic before it contributes further to building up a regime that is as much an enemy of Britain as it is of ourselves and the whole free world, and the long-suffering people of China.

CHINA'S SORROWS—TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, MAO TSE-TUNG'S REGIME MAY LOOK STRONG AND SURE OF ITS SUCCESS AS PACEMAKER FOR ALL ASIA, BUT BEHIND ITS BAMBOO CURTAIN THERE IS BRUTAL FRANKNESS ABOUT ITS LOSS OF POPULARITY AND ECONOMIC SETBACKS

At first glance, the Far Eastern tide would seem to be running strongly in China's favor. May was a merry month for Mao Tse-tung in three respects. Anti-American violence in Formosa and Angio-American rifts over trade embargoes have been fully exploited by the Communists as evidence that the "imperialists" are retreating in disorder. India's economic difficulties and austerity budget have evoked more tactful comment in Peiping, but a note of quiet satisfaction pervades it. To uphold its claim to be Asia's "wave of the future," China has to discredit not only America and its friends, but also the idea that Asian poverty can be conquered without loss of liberty.

It is no fire-breathing dragon that looms over the Far East today. Since 1955 China has taken on the look of a suavely implacable python awaiting the dinner gong. It is content to swamp Asia with propaganda and to mesmerise its neighbors by its aura of inevitable triumph. It proclaims its confidence that Formosa and all its other objectives are coming to it in Mr. Mao's good time. The world is politely invited to draw its own conclusions from the contrast between other Asian countries, struggling with disunity, discontent, and stagnation, and the picture of new China, marching with giant strides to wealth and power.

This picture, as it is usually presented to the outsider's eye, is radiant with news of bumper crops and overfulfilled plan targets; with the grateful smiles of collectivised peasants, and of reformed capitalists too; even with the claim that, since a year ago, freedom of speech has been added to the other blessings of Peiping's benevolent rules. Protests from Formosa or Hong Kong that all is not so fair in Mr. Mao's garden are easily dismissed as propagandist slanders. Peiping's claims are as rich in corroborative detail as in artistic verisimilitude.

But a world seeking the truth need only contrast the tale it is told with what the Chinese Communist leaders say within their own Bamboo Curtain. Without any material other than their speeches and the columns of their controlled press, new China's sorrows can be clearly observed. Instead of a great, well-oiled economic and political machine rolling irresistibly forward, the eye sees a pattern of lurches, checks, and plunges, of sharp frictions, suffering, unrest, and repression.

A general wage freeze is now being imposed. Some wages are being cut, and managers have been warned not to take on additional hands. Unemployment is so far from a memory of the past that the workless have now been told not to expect labor exchanges to help them, but to go out and find jobs for themselves. Inflation, another unsolved problem, has eaten away earlier wage increases. Higher prices for such essentials as salt, pork, vegetables, cooking oil, tea, textiles, and shoes have lately been announced.

Bedrock rations of rice, wheat and other grains, and cotton cloth are often not honored, and for cloth they have been halved. The housing program has come to a dead stop. Overcrowding in towns is made worse by the continuing blind flooding-in of penniless peasants, although as many of them as possible are rounded up and shipped back. Famine still recurs, and relief funds are frequently misappropriated. Production of pigs has fallen in 2 years from 100 million to 80 million. Among the Government farms which were supposed to set an example of efficiency for all China, 1 in 3 is running at a loss.

The planned economy, that cynosure of Asian eyes, is proving to be a boon-and-bust affair, a matter of plunging rather than planning. When things looked good a year ago, targets were set higher with scant regard for the obvious risks; now the planners have hastily lowered them again behind a smokescreen of jargon. This has cost China dear. The state planning commission itself confessed last month that its methods were "too inflexible * * * waste has been very serious." Not till late 1956 did the commission think of sending out inspectors to check its blueprints against reality, and by then it was too late to correct many mistakes. It is a common practice for local bosses to falsify reports of production, stocks, and manpower. How real can planning based on such dubious data be?

Even in heavy industry, the Communists' favorite field, the picture is one of muddle, waste, costly and cumbrous administration, and drastic checks caused by lack of materials or by plain bad planning. The latest cutbacks affect even the much heralded steel centers to be built at Wuhan and Paotou. Many new industrial projects are being left half built. Plans for railway extensions are being pigeonholed. Orders are to drop ambitious projects and concentrate on cheap, quick-return operations such as opencast coal mining and the repairing of old blast furnaces. As part of the new economy drive, even safety standards, already inadequate, must be revised downward.

Outwardly monolithic, the Communist state is yet riven by the new "contradictions among us" which Mr. Mao lamented in his speeches of 3 months ago (the full texts are still unpublished). The newly collectivised peasants resent the townsmen's privileges, and hold back their produce, feeling that in any case there is little they can buy in exchange for it. Their unwillingness to grow enough cotton has half starved the textile industry. They have already quit the collectives in such large (but unrevealed) numbers that the Government innocently boasts of the many thousands who have come back in, while admitting that this is only a fraction of the total who withdrew. The urban workers, for their part, resent the way the trade unions operate as Government organs interested only in collecting dues and resort to harsh measures when dissatisfied workers start trouble. They resent, too, the extremely high wage differential and the fat pay packets of the managers; while the managers in turn are sick of being supervised by incompetent Communist officials.

The workers' discontent has been shown in illegal strikes, go-slow action, and absenteeism; that of the peasants, and of students indignant at being drafted into unsuitable jobs, in rowdy demonstrations. The managers and technicians are mostly too afraid of being purged to act so openly, but their very prudence makes for inefficiency, for they have often not dared to question orders which they knew to be stupid. Much the same applies to scientists and other intellectuals. Although the all-flowers-blooming-together doctrine has theoretically been in force for a full year, few intellectuals have been rash enough to speak their minds, and some who rashly did so suffered for it.

It is not surprising that Mr. Mao himself should have singled out contradictions between the people and their rulers as China's worst problem. He has warned his hierarchs that to continue treating discontented people as the enemy will turn them into really dangerous enemies. His new call for less harsh repression of popular unrest may at the least give many Chinese a sensation of relief, even if the Communists clamp down again when they think enough steam has been let off to avert a full-scale explosion.

Meanwhile, some oddly un-Communist palliatives are being adopted. Free markets have been revived for farm produce such as vegetables. The new price increases for scarce foods are frankly explained as a form of rationing by the purse. Dividends of 8 percent and guaranteed permanent ownership of their shares are offered to Chinese living abroad who invest in enterprises in the Communist homeland. The newly emancipated women of China have been told to get back into the kitchen and thus ease unemployment among a male labor force which is increasing by 6 million each year. They are also being urged to use cut-price contraceptives (the only product output of which is being steeply stepped up this year).

This is not the picture that Peking likes to present to the world; but every detail here given is derived from official Communist pronouncements. These little-known realities should be kept in mind in any assessment of the Far Eastern problem, which is essentially the problem of China. They suggest that Mr. Mao has good reason to move slowly on the international stage—but less reason to be sure of ultimate triumph. They indicate that fraternal aid from Russia falls off sharply when the beneficiary can no longer pay for it; sharp cuts in China's exports to Russia have been accompanied by a general switch to the more modest kind of industrial project which we can carry out with our own resources. Russia may not be overly keen to help China through its difficulties—or it may not be able to. Neither the mystique of the plan, nor the supposed dynamism of Communist society, nor the vaunted support of the Soviet block has saved China from its new sorrows.

Those Asians tempted to think that to sacrifice one's freedom to the Marxist gods is a sure way of propitiating the demon of poverty may do well to ponder these facts, and think again. Those, in both Asia and the West, who look with fear at a China apparently united under an ambitious and tyrannical regime, may feel some relief at the discovery that it is less monolithic than they thought, and welcome the possibility that its rulers may be forced to become less tyrannical. But they would be unwise to let their new knowledge induce complacency. There is no sign of Peking moderating its ambitions. At present Mr. Mao evidently hopes to solve by suaver means some of the problems which Stalin tackled with the iron fist. But his failure in this attempt would lead almost inevitably to a reversion to open ruthlessness—and perhaps to a bid to rally a discontented people, and divert its attention from its domestic woes, by embarking on some foreign adventure. Whatever else is being cut back in China's hard-pressed economy, its rulers have emphasized that its arms program is going ahead.

Dr. Herman Wells To Be United States Delegate to United Nations—His Qualifications for the Job Are Many and Varied

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New Castle (Ind.) Courier-Times of August 26, 1957:

DR. HERMAN WELLS TO BE UNITED STATES DELEGATE TO UNITED NATIONS—HIS QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE JOB ARE MANY AND VARIED

We, of Indiana, take special pride in the confirmation of Dr. Herman B. Wells, president of Indiana University, to be one of the five United States delegates to the United Nations.

This is not the first time that our national Government has called upon Dr. Wells for important and significant service; such calls have been numerous. We recall his distinguished performance as director of cultural affairs in postwar Germany, heading one of the five divisions of occupational authority under General Clay.

In this capacity he had direction over the schools, press, radio, libraries, museums—all of the institutions and occupations in Germany primarily concerned with the development and expression of ideas and opinion. Above everything else, the West hoped at that time that the German people might be guided to embrace the democratic spirit and thought patterns, and to repudiate the old Prussian traditions and ideas. Under Dr. Wells' guidance, this was accomplished with an effectiveness that few thought possible. Moreover, it was done with the approbation, the cooperation, and the good will of the people of Germany.

As Dr. Wells enters upon his duties as delegate to the United Nations, his qualifications are many:

His position as head of a great university is a twofold asset. One is the kinship which exists between himself and the heads of other such institutions the world around. Another is that he goes to the U. N. known primarily as a man of learning rather than a politician, a fact which assumes additional importance when we reflect that the peoples of many parts of the world reserve a special respect for teachers.

There are his international friendships resulting from previous experiences such as that in Germany. In this connection we might add his familiarity with the operations of the governments of other nations.

Back of every political problem in the world today is an economic problem, and this field is Dr. Wells' specialty of specialties.

His thought processes always reveal the capacity to see a situation in its larger context—in all of its involvements—and likewise the vision to see it in the circumstances of tomorrow's world.

Finally, nothing so equips Dr. Wells for the work at the U. N. as his disposition.

He will always be found taking the heat out of situations, and leading toward compromise rather than conflict.

Instinctively, he seeks adequate solutions. When the news that university enrollments would double in the next decade or so set educators discussing whether they would raise requirements to restrict enrollment or seek some other route around the problem, he faced it squarely with the announcement that Indiana University expects to provide educational opportunity for these larger enrollments, and to build and otherwise to prepare to do the job.

Dr. Wells is a man of genuine humility. His accomplishments are many, but he is always ready to give the credit to somebody else. It is his disposition to be utterly self-effacing. If this strikes many of our friends from the Orient as rare in an American, it can scarcely be less welcome.

Indiana is proud not just to have a Hoosier as a member of the United States U. N. delegation, but that we have a man of the caliber and character of Dr. Wells to do the job.

Round Trip From Denver Is Rich in History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. CARROLL
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Marshall Sprague entitled "Round Trip From Denver Is Rich in History." The article deals with the history of the surrounding area of Denver, Colo., and was published in the New York Times of August 25, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROUND TRIP FROM DENVER IS RICH IN HISTORY

(By Marshall Sprague)

FORT GARLAND, COLO.—Euthusiasm for regional history is rife hereabouts, with multitudes of people combing the country for old bones or leafing through popular booklets on local heroines like Baby Doe Tabor, about whom an opera has been written.

Recorded history goes really far back, out here, thanks to the dry climate which has preserved a tree-ring chronology dating natural events—fossilized for the most part—almost to Christ's time. This is for the geologists.

A second preservative is the State Historical Society of Colorado, founded in 1879 and running today on an annual State budget of $130,000. This is for the State's human history.

The society owns 5 historical sites, the 1,000-mile circuit of which, in this reporter's view, is as romantic, as illuminating, and as indescribably beautiful as any other motor tour in the West. Besides, the trout fishing is superb in spots.

ON THE GREAT PLAINS

Five days from Denver and back again will do it nicely. One can spend the first day on the Great Plains which almost nobody looks at hard enough to see their unique charms—a 250-mile trip southeast to the site of Bent's Fort, by way of U. S. 287 through Limon and Eads, to U. S. 50 on the Arkansas River, and then west to the railroad town of La Junta. En route to Bent's Fort is Bijou Basin where Plains Indians found buffalo even as late as 1880. At Eads, intrepid historians can detour 11 miles east to Chivington where Miss Mary Marble, the postmistress, will describe the unmarked road running 9 miles to the spot where the Sand Creek Massacre occurred on November 29, 1864. It was a sad day in western annals.

Bent's Fort, a short side trip out of La Junta, was a great adobe trading post on the north bank of the Arkansas, a union station of the western world, focal point of American expansion and of trade with Mexico and the Indians. The Bent brothers built it in 1834 and for a decade the West's immortals gathered there—Kit Carson and Tom Fitzpatrick, Ceran St. Vrain and John Charles Fremont.

The commercial value waned by 1849. William Bent abandoned it and it became a stage stop until the Civil War, and then a community corral, until its mud walls melted into the ground. The historical society acquired the site in 1953. Today, the vast original foundations, excavated by students of Trinidad State Junior College, can be viewed.

La Junta has good accommodations for a first night with Colorado history. Next morning the car should be pointed at the blue Spanish Peaks on State Route 10 which veers from the Ratan Pass-bound Santa Fe Trail. At Walsenburg, one takes U. S. 160, crossing the lovely Sangre de Cristos.

Beyond La Veta Pass, one is stunned suddenly by the incredible gray-green landocean of the San Luis Valley below, with the Continental Divide rising snowily far on the other side, and Fort Garland in the foreground sprawled at the foot of mighty Mt. Blanca.

Garland was built in 1858 (replacing nearby Fort Massachusetts) to guard San Luis Valley settlers against the Ute Indians. Its whitewashed adobe barracks and officers' quarters, its shady parade ground and flagpole, have been wonderfully restored by the Historical Society.

From June to October, the 37-star flag which Col. Kit Carson flew as fort commander there can be seen, and also the place where the two heads of the famous Espinosa boys are said to be buried. The Espinosas tried to continue the Mexican War indefinitely by killing 30-odd Americans over the years. Tom Tobin finally bagged them near La Veta Pass and turned in their heads for the bounty.

ENCHILADAS FOR LUNCH

One can lunch on enchiladas here at Garland and drive south on State Route 159 to San Luis, and west to Romeo on State Route 142 through the Mormon town of Manassa, birthplace of the Manassa Mauler, Jack Dempsey. North briefly on U. S. 285 to La Jara leads to Pike's Stockade, a short detour of immense complication, but worth making.

In 1806, Lt. Zebulon Pike and a few soldiers were sent up the Arkansas River to see if the Rockies were really there. Pike discovered Pikes Peak, wandered into San Luis Valley, then Spanish territory, and built a small log stockade on the Conejos River to rest up in. Before he and his men got much rest, Spanish officials from Santa arrived and arrested the whole party. They spent 3 months in the Chihuahua jail for trespassing.

The historical society has restored Pike's 36-foot-square stockade and the spot's enchantment is enhanced by the difficulty of finding it. Pheasants, doves, ducks, and deer make loud noises in the underbrush and it is time to toss a fly in the Conejos, a splendid trout stream. Toward evening, there is time to continue north on U. S. 285 to Alamosa on the Rio Grande for the night. There, at Kit Carson Trading Post on Main Street, flourishes the valley's genial celebrity, Kit Carson 3d, grandson of the greatest of mountain men.

Heading west through Durango and north to see the Chief Ouray Historical Monument near Montrose, the drive involves 310 miles of continuous Alpine splendor, including the heart-moving Wolf Creek Pass over the Continental Divide and then the northward stretch through the San Juan Mountains, the most precipitous pyramid in North America. This million-dollar highway (built of gold-bearing gravel) goes through Silverton and Ouray where the flying jeeps are full of uranium hunters and western movie stars on location.

Chief Ouray was Colorado's great Indian leader and his monument memorializes also the Ute Indian bands who held these mountains for centuries against all comers until 1881 when the irresistible pressure of white immigration forced them to give up most of their homeland. The historical society has just created a Ute Indian Museum of exhibits and dioramas at the monument. Near it is the tomb of Ouray's wife Chipeta, Colorado's equivalent of Pocahontas.

SILVER TOWN

The monument is on the banks of the Uncompahgre River where the fishing is good, but it is better on the Gunnison, along which a fourth historical day can be spent, after a night at Montrose. U. S. 50 runs east through Gunnison town and over Monarch Pass for 127 miles to U. S. 285 and north for 60 miles on U. S. 24 to Leadville. This town, at 10,150 feet, is the highest settlement of town size in the United States. It has also been the world's richest producer of silver since 1878.

The historical society maintains in Leadville a period piece called the Healey House, filled with relics of the 1880's and run by the timeless Mrs. Marian (Poppy) Smith who knows more about the old camp than anyone else. Adjoining is the Dexter Cabin where Leadville tycoons played draw poker with fabulous silver mines at stake. Other Leadville sights are the old home of H. A. W. Tabor, Colorado's best-known nabob, the Tabor Grand Hotel (now the Vendome) and the Matchless Mine which figured in Douglas Moore's opera, The Ballad of Baby Doe.

The last night can be spent out a Dillon, 34 miles from Leadville on State Route 91 over Fremont Pass. The trip into Denver next day is only 78 miles, but it includes Loveland Pass, one of the State's most spectacular. A detour at Idaho Springs off the Denver Road leads to Central City, Colorado's first mining metropolis, but Central's history requires another 5 days at least, and might be saved for another visit out here.

Department of State Historical Division

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, before this session ends, I wish to comment upon a matter which has been of long-standing concern to me—the operation of the Department of State Historical Division, particularly as it relates to the publication of the records of our recent diplomatic history. The place of Dr. Donald Dozer in the controversy which has arisen over this question is well known. For those who are not aware of his part in the argument, I believe it can be stated fairly and briefly that this gentleman was summarily fired, without a hearing, from the Historical Division as a result of his honest belief that it is the proper function of a historian and scholar to insist that the people be apprised of such facts as exist when the divulgence of such information does not compromise our national security.

Dr. Dozer is an Ohioan and a native of the 15th Congressional District which I have the honor to represent here. His career as a scholar has been a most distinguished one and, through my friendship with him, I know that his integrity is beyond reproach. He has a long and brilliant record as a teacher of American diplomatic history, inter-American relations and other subjects in the historical field at Boston University, the University of Maryland, the American University, and the strategic Intelligence School of our Armed Forces. He has achieved membership in Phi Beta Kappa and other societies as a result of his outstanding scholarship.

After wartime service in several Federal agencies, Dr. Dozer joined the Latin American Division of the Department of State. For that position, he was recommended by Dr. James P. Baxter III, formerly of Harvard University and now president of Williams College, and by Mr. John C. Dreier, who is now our ambassador to the Organization of American States. From 1944 through 1947, Dr. Dozer's high competence was rewarded by steady advancement. In 1947, he was placed in charge of the Division of Research for American Republics in the intelligence organization of the State Department. Four years later, Dr. Dozer transferred to the Historical Division as assistant to the Chief of the Division, Mr. G. Bernard Noble. In this position his duties were defined as follows:

Under general supervision, serves as adviser to the Chief of the Division of Historical Policy Research, GS–170–15–4476, on new historical research problems and projects which initially require consideration by the Chief of the Division. In this connection, provides technical advice and assistance in studying and analyzing such projects, particularly those which cut across branch lines.

Deals with assignments involving the planning and assimilation by the Division of projects arising as a result of recent developments and happenings in our foreign relations such as the war in Korea, our relationships with the countries of Europe under the Atlantic Pact and the historical issues leading up to its establishment, and similar events in our foreign relations, as well as special historical background papers which require special and expeditious handling. Advises and assists the Chief of the Division in regard to the planning, objectives, approach, content, analysis and conclusions to be developed with respect to such problems and projects as they relate to the historical aspects of our foreign relations.

As an expert in the field of intelligence research, reviews completed projects and studies for the purpose of assuring the proper treatment and integration of both historical and intelligence aspects; and assures that top policy officials of the Department are apprised of any problems which require special treatment and interpretation because of the unique and complex intelligence and historical issues involved in our foreign relations.

During Dr. Dozer's more than 15 years of Government service, including more than 11 years in the State Department, all of his performance ratings were either very good, satisfactory, or excellent. They commended him particularly for his industry, cooperativeness, and subject competence. These commendations were signed by all his supervisors including Dr. Roland D. Hussey, now professor of Latin American history at the University of California at Los Angeles, Mr. Ellis O. Briggs, now American Ambassador to Brazil, and Dr. Allan Evans, Director of the Office of Intelligence Research.

Dr. Evans, who knows Dr. Dozer well, has praised him as a meticulous scholar by training, anxious to avoid any danger of falling into prejudiced or distorted judgment, and abiding carefully by established evidence.

Prof. William L. Langer, Coolidge professor of history at Harvard University, who became well acquainted professionally with Dr. Dozer while he was serving as Chief of the Research and Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Serv-

ices and later as special assistant to the Secretary of State in charge of intelligence work, says that he formed a high regard for Dr. Dozer both as a man and as a scholar. He adds that Dr. Dozer was highly esteemed by his colleagues as an able, hard-working, and devoted analyst. Col. William A. Eddy, who replaced Professor Langer as special assistant to the Secretary of State for intelligence in 1946 and who, like Dr. Dozer, was a former student at Wooster College, knows Dr. Dozer well as a friend and former colleague and has indicated his high opinion of his work and his administrative activities. Mr. Park Armstrong, Colonel Eddy's successor as special assistant to the Secretary of State for intelligence from 1947 until his resignation early this year, has written that Dr. Dozer is, in his opinion, an outstanding figure in the Latin American field:

He possesses a profound knowledge of the historical, sociological, and economic background of the area and, as well, a thorough understanding of the current scene. He has a unique intellectual aptitude for the interpretation of present conditions and developments and a decided facility for its expression.

Dr. Dozer, as assistant to the Chief of the Historical Division, Mr. Noble, was commended by his chief in November 1951 as follows:

Performance very satisfactory in all assignments thus far undertaken. Has shown great interest, initiative, competence, and cooperative spirit in work.

In his performance rating a year later in December 1952 Dr. Dozer was commended as follows by the same chief:

Overall work performance is very satisfactory in all assignments within the range of his interest. This applies particularly to the field of United States relations with Latin America in which he has special competence.

All of Dr. Dozer's performance ratings up to the last one, dated May 22, 1955, were similarly laudatory.

In his State Department work Dr. Dozer, while still in the intelligence organization, qualified for and received civil-service status on the GS–15 register. Throughout his State Department service he possessed top-secret clearance; that is, he was authorized to see all documents having the highest security classifications "top secret" and "eyes only" needed for his work. He was designated as the sole representative of the State Department in Washington to attend the second Latin American Intelligence Conference at Quarry Heights in the Panama Canal Zone in 1948. In the same year he was included as a member of the United States delegation to the Ninth International Conference of American States and attended that conference at Bogotá, Colombia, as assistant technical secretary of the American delegation.

Dr. Dozer's association with the State Department ended in January 1956 as a result of differences precipitated by his insistence upon the prompt, careful, and unexpurgated publication of diplomatic papers in fulfillment of the commitments publicly assumed by the Department in 1953 and 1954.

I believe it is advisable to recapitulate the record of events which led to this disagreement. In 1953 when the Eisenhower administration came into office the Historical Division in the State Department, which was responsible for the publication of the diplomatic papers of this Government, had allowed them to fall 18 years in arrears. These papers had been published only through 1934 and thus covered only the first 2 years of the Roosevelt administration.

In May 1953 the State Department under a new administration proposed to expedite the publication of these records. Assistant Secretary of State Mr. Carl McArdle promised in a letter which was published in the Supplemental Hearing on Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce appropriations for 1954, first, that the Department of State would bring the publication of these volumes as up to date as possible; second, that if additional funds could be made available the State Department would give priority to the full story of the United States relations with China, 1941–50; and, third, that the documents on the wartime conferences among the heads of the Allied Governments in World War II would be ready for publication within a year; that is, by June 30, 1954. The Department of State thus offered to break the long silence of the previous 18 years and inform the American people of the negotiations that had been carried on with foreign nations in their name by their responsible officials during the crucial periods before, during, and immediately after World War II.

This broad program of publication was entrusted to the Historical Division, which had been headed by Mr. G. Bernard Noble since 1946. His assistant was Dr. Donald M. Dozer. Dr. Dozer has publicly asserted that from the beginning this program of publication was subjected there to delays, sabotage, and expurgation of records. In fact, Dr. Dozer and other members of the division were not even assigned to the compilation of the wartime conferences until nearly 6 months later although those records had been promised to be ready for publication within a year. The assignment of one member of the division to this urgent project was postponed because priority was given to three other projects: These so-called priority projects were the great seal of the United States, buildings occupied by the Department of State, and portraits of the Secretaries of State.

Leads to material indispensable for the completion of the project, as, for example, the John Paton Davies notes of the Cairo Conference, papers in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, and papers of Alger Hiss and Secretary Stettinius, were either not followed up or were followed up ineffectually by the responsible officials of the Division. After Dr. Bozer was finally given responsibility in October 1953 for compiling the records of the Cairo-Teheran Conferences of 1943, he met his deadline and had his compilation ready for publication by June 30, 1954.

Meanwhile at the congressional hearings on the State Department in April 1954, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs reiterated the commitments made a year earlier that the historical division would finish the compilation of papers of all 12 of the wartime conferences by June 30, 1954. In addition, he promised specifically that the Malta-Yalta, Potsdam, and Cairo-Teheran volumes would be published by June 30, 1955. He promised also that within 4 years, that is by June 30, 1957, the Historical Division would publish a total of 41 volumes, including the annual volumes of foreign relations, at the rate of 8 volumes for fiscal 1954, 11 volumes for fiscal 1955, 11 volumes for fiscal 1956, and 11 volumes for fiscal 1957. Congress thereupon appropriated a quarter of a million dollars for this specific purpose, during the fiscal year 1955.

In the 4 years 1953–57 Congress has appropriated close to a million dollars to the Historical Division of the State Department for this program. What has been accomplished? Where are the diplomatic papers that the State Department explicitly promised to lay before the American people? Most of them still remain hidden behind the iron curtain of the Historical Division. Of the five volumes of papers on the wartime conferences which were promised, only one—the Malta-Yalta volume, compiled originally in uncensored form by Mr. Bryton Barron and later censored prior to publication—has been published. Four years and a million dollars after the launching of this speedup program the Historical Division is still 18 years in arrears in the publication of the annual volumes of the diplomatic papers of this Government.

If a decision was ever made at top levels in the Government to kill this program and to continue to withhold from the American people the secret diplomatic record of their Government during the war and postwar periods, that decision was never made known either to Dr. Dozer or to the Congress, which has continued for 4 years to appropriate all the money requested for it by the State Department.

On the contrary, the Historical Division was told officially in 1953 that this program was strongly backed by the White House. President Eisenhower himself publicly endorsed it in a press conference in April 1955.

It seems apparent that the forces in the State Department which have succeeded in delaying the overdue publication of these diplomatic papers have fully succeeded in ridding the Historical Division of both Dr. Dozer and Mr. Bryton Barron. These gentlemen were the two spokesmen within the Department whose insistence upon full and honest reporting caused an internal argument which culminated in their dismissal.

I believe that my colleagues here will agree that it is a most anomalous situation when trained, professional men such as Dr. Dozer and Mr. Barron are pilloried for their insistence that a department of Government carry out its stated commitments. We find such developments hard to imagine when they occur in Government. When such arbitrary action takes place, it is possible that the Department

has discharged the wrong men. Although harmony may now prevail in the State Department's Historical Division, the problems which this incident discloses lead only to the conclusion that overhauling of the Division is needed and is, in fact, very long overdue.

The release of Dr. Dozer under the guise of inefficiency is a transparent ruse which hardly needs comment here in view of his services to the Department over many years. The unfortunate aspect of this affair is that it casts a cloud over the professional ability and standing of this fine and able gentleman. It is ironic indeed that this should occur to a fine scholar whose only fault was to pursue too diligently the ethics of his profession—namely, the objective reporting of facts. If the Historical Division wishes to rewrite history or to suppress information for narrowly political reasons, I feel certain that no scholar wishes to be associated with this process of "doublethink."

In this sense, Dr. Dozer's experience has been a service to the Nation. The fact that the unfortunate conditions it showed to exist in an important agency of Government are uncorrected is tragic indeed. Although objective scholarship is obviously persona non grata in the State Department, we can rejoice that Dr. Dozer's refusal to distort the truth about the conduct of our foreign affairs represents the kind of scholarship which is in the best tradition of American principles. I congratulate this gentleman and I feel certain that my feelings in this regard are shared throughout his profession and by those many public figures and newspapers who have spoken out in Dr. Dozer's cause.

Congressman Moore To Visit Citizens in Each County in First District of West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that a Congressman should be in his district to confer with his constituents and assist with problems whenever official duties do not require his presence in Washington. Accordingly, during the session, I have returned to my district each weekend to consult with my constituents and attend to their needs. In all, I have made over 100 speeches and personal appearances in the district during the past 8 months.

Upon the adjournment of Congress, I plan to return home and be available for conferences with the residents of the First Congressional District either at the courthouse or post office in each county seat. Following is the schedule I have arranged:

Monday, September 16, Hancock County: 9 a. m. to 12, courthouse, New Cumberland; 2 p. m. to 6 p. m., post office building, Weirton.

Tuesday, September 17, Brooke County: 9 a. m. to 6 p. m., courthouse, Wellsburg.

Wednesday, September 18, Ohio County: 9 a. m. to 6 p. m., post office, Wheeling.

Thursday, September 19, Marshall County: 9 a m. to 6 p. m., courthouse, Moundsville.

Friday, September 20, Wetzel County: 9 a. m. to 12, courthouse, New Martinsville; 2 p. m. to 6 p. m., town hall, Hundred.

Monday, September 23, Marion County: 9 a. m. to 6 p. m., courthouse, Fairmont.

Tuesday, September 24, Taylor County: 9 a. m. to 6 p m., courthouse, Grafton.

No appointment will be necessary for anyone who desires to come by on any of these dates and discuss any problem or give me an opinion on governmental matters. In addition to the above schedule, I will maintain a district congressional office throughout the year in the Mercantile Bank Building in Moundsville, and will always welcome visits from the people in the First Congressional District.

Attempt To Capture and Control TVA by Budget Bureau Threatens Independence of This Great Agency of Our Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the nomination by the President of Mr. Arnold R. Jones, Deputy Director of the Budget Bureau, to a vacancy on the Board of the TVA, I recently appeared before the Senate Public Works Committee to express the concern of my constitutents about this appointment. In my view there is an issue involved in this matter which goes beyond the TVA and should concern every Member of Congress—an issue of attempting to control by the Executive our independent agencies—which are arms of the Congress. To bring this issue to the attention of my colleagues I ask unanimous consent to have reproduced in the RECORD a portion of the transcript of the hearings before that committee. My statement follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOE L. EVINS, UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN, FOURTH DISTRICT, TENNESSEE

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and may I say that I am complimented by your generous remarks and those of my own Senator—Senator GORE, of Tennessee. I want to say with regard to Mr. Jones, who is here with us before the committee, that I have had the pleasure of meeting him, and following meeting Mr. Jones some time back, I sent him a copy of a statement which I had made in the Congress on the TVA. I don't think it was any outstanding statement, but at least it expressed my point of view. My statement has been called an answer to some of the charges of misrepresentation made against the TVA, the continuing tirade of misrepresentation.

I said, "If you become our TVA Director, I want you to know of the point of view of the people in the Valley."

Mr. Jones very courteously responded to my letter and said, "Thank you for providing me with another point of view on TVA. I am interested in all points of view."

I appreciated his letter, but the fact that he would say "another point of view" would indicate to me that he had certainly a point of view other than that of the TVA. It is well that he should have all points of view. That letter was not intended for any later use, but it does indicate to me he has been indoctrinated with an anti-TVA point of view.

It seems that in the Budget Bureau he has one point of view, and I was able in some limited measure to provide him with another. I hope that if he does become our TVA Chairman down there, he will be guided by this other point of view and some of the things that have been brought out in this hearing before this great committee by the known friends of TVA.

Mr. Chairman, I have always been reluctant to appear before a committee of the Senate concerned with the confirmation of Presidential appointees. I have been through three of these nominations. I am compelled to do so on this occasion because this appointment is of tremendous importance to the people whom I represent. They are not able to come here and express their opinions, and as their Representative I feel dutybound to speak in their behalf.

The Fourth District of Tennessee, as Senator GORE has indicated, is a great district. It consists of 23 of the 95 counties in Tennessee. It was formerly two congressional districts. It is entirely dependent upon TVA for its source of power supply. I do not have the actual count, but I believe at least 10 percent of the 150 municipalities and REA co-ops which obtain their power from TVA are within the district I represent, or partially in it—more than 10 percent of the 150.

I cannot overestimate the importance of the TVA to the people I have the honor to represent. You would have to experience with us the difference which nearly 25 years with TVA has made in our lives to really appreciate how we feel about it.

I would say, too, that to us the TVA is not just a utility, it is a symbol of our progress. To us the TVA is not an agency in Knoxville, it is a partnership in which everyone in the Valley participates. If we obtain our power from the REA co-ops, we feel that we own a share of it. If we obtain our power from the municipal system, we own the municipal system—the people in the Valley.

But this has been a rather peculiar one-sided partnership. Although our investment is more than 25 percent in total investments, and although the people of the district I represent, and the people of the 7-State area are completely dependent upon TVA for its source of power supply, they have no voice in the policies of the TVA. Only through a representative of the people can the voice of the people be heard. Indeed, many of late have come to feel that they have little or no voice at all; they feel that the office of the Budget Bureau has become the policymaker for TVA. And I might add, they feel that it has been a destructive one; that the Budget Bureau and not the TVA or not even the Congress has become the policy maker for our region. That is the feeling of our people.

Gentlemen, we are all aware of the powers of the Budget Bureau, its growing and ever increasing powers. It is a matter, Senator, in which the entire Congress is concerned. This power can be doubly painful and destructure to a people when the power of the Bureau is so great that it can affect the lives and well-being of 5 million people.

Policies of the TVA are supposed to be determined by its board of directors, whose members are chosen by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The TVA Act does not require the board of directors to consult with the Budget Bureau in making its decisions, but for the past 5 years the Bureau has been attempting to control policy. The past 5 years have been the hardest in the 24-year life of the TVA.

Why do I say this? Mr. Chairman and members of this great committee, I think I can prove that to you. Here are some of the facts of the enmity and hostility of the TVA emanating from the Budget Bureau.

As I indicated earlier I received a letter from Mr. Jones in which he expressed appreciation for another point of view. This indicated that the Budget Bureau is indoctrinated with a different point of view from the TVA philosophy.

The members of the Appropriations Committee of the House on which I serve—and we know that hearsay evidence is not legally acceptable, Mr. Chairman, but it has its probative if not evidentiary value—the clerks who deal with the Corps of Engineers and who deal with the Bureau of Reclamation, and with public works projects, the staff who are in daily contact with them on all of these great public works projects throughout the country—in the Northwest, in California and elsewhere—said to me that Mr. Jones is prejudiced against TVA. I said, "Why do you say that?" They said, "The Budget Bureau is prejudiced against all public power projects." You know that. It has been demonstrated.

I want to point out that I called upon the President, President Eisenhower, in the early part of his administration. This was in connection with the reappointment of Mr. Gordon Clapp. Mr. Gordon Clapp as a young man was an able public official. He was a splendid administrator. He was dedicated and devoted to the TVA. He was a young man interested in the career service, not a politician. He had grown up in the TVA. Some 15 or 20 Members, Senators or Representatives, went to see the President and to urge upon him the reappointment of Mr. Clapp. Although this man was dedicated to the philosophy of the TVA and everyone recognized that he was a fine administrator; he was thrown overboard and another man appointed in his place.

That was the President's privilege, but he did not reappoint a career man dedicated to the TVA.

The last major addition, Mr. Chairman, to the power capacity of TVA came in the latter days of the Truman administration. That was the so-called New Johnsonville addition. It was recomemnded by the President, former President Truman, and approved.

The next major addition was proposed in the early days of President Eisenhower's administration, and that was the so-called Fulton addition. The Board of the TVA unanimously recommended the Fulton addition, but the Budget Bureau opposed it. That was fought out twice in the Congress and twice defeated. The Congress did not adopt it, but certainly the Budget Bureau was opposed to it, and although the Board recommended, the Budget Bureau refused to recommend the Fulton addition.

So I say that the last major addition to the TVA system was in the latter days of the Truman administration, and there have been no major additions since that time.

This committee is all too familiar with the Dixon-Yates scheme that was hatched in the nest of the Budget Bureau. I believe it was conceived in iniquity to weaken and subvert TVA to the private power interests, to their great financial gain.

You are familiar with the connection of the First Boston Corp. with this plan and that the private utilities would have profited under this scheme. This committee is familiar with what was disclosed about this scheme by committees of the Senate. Both Senator HILL and Senator KEFAUVER had a great part in disclosing the presence in the Budget Bureau of one Adolph Wenzel and his conflict of interest. He was a paid consultant of the First Boston Corp., and he was consulting on TVA. He was brought in by the late Mr. Rowland Hughes, the former Director of the Budget Bureau.

Not only these acts, Mr. Chairman, of the appropriation for the Fulton plant being denied, TVA's growth therefore limited, the Dixon-Yates sabotage plan advanced, but I should cite that in the past 5 years, as I have said, there have been no major starts. Furthermore, the Budget Bureau has cut and reduced TVA's Board of Directors recommendation for appropriations for its other activities.

The Budget Bureau opposed the use of the corporate funds by the TVA. We of the Congress and friends of the TVA in both the House and the Senate have won for the TVA the right to use surplus corporate funds after it has paid its statutory obligations into the Treasury, and as to accumulated funds, the Congress reaffirmed their right to use these funds, but the Budget Bureau opposed the use of these surplus funds.

The Budget Bureau has recommended most stringent self-financing plans. The distinguished chairman of this committee, Senator KERR, knows full well the Budget Bureau's plans for self-financingn and opposition to his own work of constructive legislation in this field.

The Budget Bureau has been the agency, I repeat, that has been trying and largely succeeding in setting the policy for the past 5 years for the TVA, writing its ticket, if you please, where it could go. It has gone nowhere. Its progress has been very limited. It has been virtually halted. And what progress has been made has been over opposition and with restrictions.

Gentlemen, the Budget Bureau has been like a coach to the TVA, a coach tying weights and chains around a great youth, shall we say, a track star.

I repeat, in summary, that the Budget Bureau has cut appropriations for the TVA, it has opposed the use of corporate funds, it has hatched the Dixon-Yates scheme, it has tried to impose restrictive self-financing plans, and at every turn and at every step the Budget Bureau has opposed the TVA. This to my mind, Mr. Chairman, is crystal clear; a blind man could see it.

I cite this history of the past 5 years as the hardest years in TVA's history. I express the concern of the people I have the honor to represent against Mr. Jones, who comes as a ranking member, a ranking star of the Budget Bureau, as its deputy director. Their apprehensions and fears are that Mr. Jones will continue the policies of the Budget Bureau for he has been an official of the Bureau.

I should point out one further factor with regard to corporate financing. The TVA Board proposed the plan a few years ago to build plants with accumulated profits, and this is significant: The action of the Board was unanimous in its decision. That was since Chairman Vogel has been a member. But the Budget Bureau vetoed this proposal and substituted its own plan and authorization for one generator to be paid for from the sale of bonds which TVA could obtain after the authority was passed.

In other words, they saw a need, the unanimous Board, for additional capacity. The Budget Bureau rejected that plan and said, "You can have one addition, provided you get self-financing passed through the Congress," knowing the self-financing bill was having difficult sledding in the Congress.

This is an important fact: Although Chairman Vogel, as you may have heard, was for this before the Board, when the Budget Bureau proposed the other plan, he immediately retracted his previous position and voted to go down the line with the Budget Bureau. Fortunately the two other Directors stuck with their determination, and with the approval of the 84th Congress they went ahead with these additional units.

About three years ago the President had the opportunity to fill a vacancy on the TVA Board about which you have heard a great deal. He filled it with Mr. Vogel instead of reappointing Mr. Clapp. At that time Mr. Vogel appeared before this Committee in this very room and professed his belief in the TVA. I was told that there could not have been a stronger advocate than Mr. Vogel. He not only believed in the TVA Act, he believed in the yardstick, he was enthusiastic about its flood control and navigation function. He assured the Committee that he would act independently. He went further. He said that he would more or less consult with the people of the Valley and determine how they felt about things, for the President said he wanted things worked out as the people in the area wanted them that way. He said he would do the best job he could to serve the people and serve them well.

Disillusioned, the people of the Valley have made plain their feelings before this Committee.

I have heard Mr. Vogel before the Appropriations Committee of the House, and it is most strange to observe his position of wanting to be for the TVA and still follow the philosophy of the Budget Bureau. Here is a minor example, Mr. Chairman.

There was a little item in their appropriation for some small markers up in the bayous and bays of the lakes. Mr. Vogel said, "Gentlemen, I am opposed to this. My colleagues are for it. I want to cut it out." Someone said, "Mr. Chairman, why are you against it? You know people can get lost on these lakes and lives can be lost. Why are you opposing a little appropriation to put markers up to tell the direction?" He said, "It is an expensive matter and the Corps of Engineers does not have this authority, and I don't see why we shouldn't follow the Corps of Engineers' practice."

That was his reason for opposition to it. It illustrates his difficulty, in doing what the Budget Bureau wants him to do, rather than going along with the philosophy of the TVA.

Here is another experience with the TVA and the Budget Bureau shortly after Mr. Vogel came to the TVA, they submitted its plan for self-financing. Although originally all three members of the Board agreed to it unanimously, the Budget Bureau made certain suggestions for changes, which are well known to this committee. Mr. Vogel didn't go along with his colleagues on the Board. He went along with the Budget Bureau. His position on this, as expressed before this committee, has been somewhat similar to that of Mr. Jones. He said "he thought the TVA could live with the Budget Bureau recommendations." In any event, the committee is aware that as late as April 29, Mr. Jones signed a letter to the Budget Bureau along these same lines. The recommendations in that letter would have given the President and the Budget Bureau and the Secretary of the Treasury more and more control over the TVA.

Mr. Chairman, this grasp for more and and more power, more and more control by the Budget Bureau, is an alarming thing.

I am sure that you gentlemen can appreciate, and do appreciate, the apprehensions of the people concerning this new nominee of the Board to the TVA Board, largely because of the fact that he has been an official of the Budget Bureau. Nothing personal against Mr. Jones, but it is the Budget Bureau that the people have great concern about.

The Budget Bureau has from the beginning of this administration led the fight against TVA. They are concerned, naturally, can any good come out of the Budget Bureau? I agree with what the chairman said earlier. We know that someone said, can any good come out of Nazareth, and certainly some good did come out of Nazareth. But people are apprehensive. That good cannot come out of the Budget Bureau for TVA. This is the question which this great committee must decide.

Remember, gentleman, that the future of 5 million people will be affected by the course that you men determine, and yet these 5 million people are dependent upon you for your decision. This is why, as I say, although I am reluctant to appear before this committee concerned with the confirmation of a Presidential appointee, I feel it would be a dereliction of my duty if I did not.

As I pointed out, there is a statutory requirement concerning the qualifications of the TVA Board Director. In this respect the appointment differs from that of others you consider.

I was certainly astonished to learn that a few days ago Mr. Jones testified that the President had never made any attempt, so far as Mr. Jones was aware, to determine his point of view on the TVA, and thus to determine whether Mr. Jones did in fact meet the statutory requirements.

Senator KERR. May I ask you a question there? Knowing the attitude of the President about the TVA, would you rather risk the actions of a man appointed by the President that the President didn't know what he would do, than the actions of a man with reference to whom the President had talked to and did know what he would do?

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, I have followed some of the hearings of this Committee. There has been a general statement that the President has directed this: The President has advised that this be done. I think the Budget Bureau has been telling the President what to do. I won't put the blame entirely on the President of the United States. I think the Budget Bureau formulates the policy; they go in to the President and say, "Mr. President, this is it," and he says, "All right, boys, take it." The President I don't think has any enmity. How could he when he twice came to our State and carried it, once, and made strong statements for the TVA.

Senator KERR. Is he making as strong statements for the TVA as he did for 90 percent of parity for the farmers?

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, he came to Memphis and there was a tremendous crowd there. He said that TVA is a great experiment in agricultural development and conservation. He praised it. When he flew over to Knoxville some of our colleagues flew with him, Congressman HOWARD BAKER, I believe—and I do not wish to misquote my Republican colleague—he said, "Mr. President, you made a strong statement. You didn't make it strong enough. Make a strong statement in Knoxville." There he said: "My friends, I pledge to you under my administration TVA will be maintained at maximum efficiency." He didn't just praise it as a conservation bill.

Senator KERR. He praised the farmers at Brookings, S. Dak. He said, "I guarantee you 90 percent of parity, and we will work for 100-percent of parity."

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, that emphasizes what I said before. The Presidency is a great assignment, the greatest job in the world, and he must have lieutenants and assistants around him. I don't think the President is directing it. I reverse the situation and say the Budget Bureau has been formulating the policy, laying it before the President, and selling him, and the President has been taking it. I don't think the President has really had any enmity, although he did, after being irked one day, refer to TVA as creeping socialism.

Senator KERR. He referred to the expansion of TVA as creeping socialism.

Mr. EVINS. I don't think that is a very endearing term, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KERR. Do you think he knew what kind of a term it was? In view of your great tolerance that you have professed here for him, after criticizing the situation because he hadn't talked with this man, I would feel that in justice to him you should be fairly certain in your mind that he knew even what was said as to its meaning, before you became too critical of him.

The Senator quoted from his press conference the other day, after he had been in office something over 4 years, and after he had made his second appointment to the Board of Directors, that in view of the requirement that it be a bipartisan Board, that he thought the next one would have to be a Democrat. Do you know of any requirement in the law that there has to be one Republican on that Board?

Mr. EVINS. On many of our independent boards——

Senator KERR. Or one Democrat?

Mr. EVINS (continuing). The law provides that they shall be bipartisan, not more than 1, 2, or 3 of the same political party. That does not apply with respect to the TVA.

Senator KERR. That is my impression. I was telling you that the Senator from Alabama quoted the President at a press conference as indicating that it was his information or opinion that there was such a requirement with reference to TVA, and that he would, therefore, on the next appointment, have to appoint a Democrat.

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, he wouldn't have to appoint a Democrat, and our people would be satisfied with a Republican if he appointed one on the Board who believed in TVA and who would be its champion. That is what we want in the valley. We want an individual who is on the Board who champions the TVA and who believes in it sincerely with heart and conscience, regardless of partisanship or politics.

Senator GORE. Or where he comes from.

Senator KERR. The point of the remark of the Senator from Oklahoma was calling your attention to the fact that after 4 years in office and making 2 appointments to the Board of Directors, of which the total is 3, that the President still didn't know that it wasn't a requirement that there be a bipartisan board.

Mr. EVINS. I think that affirms our statement, Mr. Chairman, that the President is being improperly advised; that he is not being given all the facts.

Senator KERR. In that situation apparently he was given some that weren't. I mean apparently he had all of them and then some more.

Go ahead.

Mr. EVINS. The President is not directing. The Budget Bureau is directing. It is the reverse, in my humble judgment.

Senator KERR. In other words, you think there is more of the Budget Bureau thinking in what the President does than there is of the President's thinking in what the Budget Bureau does?

Mr. EVINS. Yes, Mr. Chairman; but I cannot reconcile how the President can be so strong against TVA and at the same time he recommended the upper Colorado River storage project.

Senator KERR. You can't understand that?

Mr. EVINS. I voted for it.

Senator KERR. You can't understand it?

Mr. EVINS. He wanted the upper Colorado project. He said this is what I believe in, developing the whole river valley.

Senator KERR. You can't understand that?

Mr. EVINS. I can't understand the inconsistency. I can't reconcile his being for that and opposed to TVA.

Senator KERR. You are assuming, of course, that he recognized the need existed? You are going to get yourself into the same shape as the Senator from Oklahoma got himself into a few days ago when he told the truth about what he thought about what was in the President's mind, if you are not careful. And I hope that you will do as I did, consider it deliberately before you get out onto that platform.

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, if I could be as esteemed and as great as the distinguished chairman and the able Senator from Oklahoma, I would consider it an achievement and an accomplishment.

Senator KERR. That gives me great comfort, because it overcomes some of the remarks that have been made that were not entirely consistent with it.

Senator GORE. Overcomes or balances?

Senator KERR. Overcomes.

Go ahead.

Mr. EVINS. I placed in the record some time back—to some people—this forum can be a sort of education. They seem to think that TVA is the only public power project in the Nation.

What of the great Columbia River development, the great Missouri River development, and the Pick-Sloan plan which calls for 200 dams, 6 multipurpose dams on the Missouri River—6 of them, 6 major multipurpose dams on the Missouri River and 200 other dams. The Pick-Sloan plan called for an expenditure of $5 billion.

The TVA has been successful. It is most successful in its conservation, in its flood control, in its fertilizer program of bringing reduced fertilizer to the farmers. Its power operation is paying out. I think its main opposition is its success. Yet I can't reconcile the hostility to the TVA.

The great St. Lawrence seaway development, when that project came to the Appropriations Committee, with which you are all familiar, they said, "There is nothing controversial here; let's approve it." I said, "Let's talk about it a few minutes, Mr. Chairman. What do you propose to do here?"

"Well, we are going to build a 25-foot channel for 200 miles; another, 500 miles."

"How many power units do you have there at present?"

"Well, there are 5—2 on the American side, owned by private industry, 3 on the Canadian side, owned by the Canadian Government. Five existing power units on the St. Lawrence."

"What do you propose to build there?"

"Thirty-two power units in addition, 16 on the American side, 16 on the Canadian side."

To build 32 additional power units on the St. Lawrence seaway, and the great conservative Chicago Tribune, a paper that opposes everything as socialism, came out with an editorial and said this will be a great development, it will make Chicago the greatest city in the world in 25 years.

One man on the committee from Illinois said no, in less than 10 years. So they voted the St. Lawrence seaway development. And the upper Colorado project. But TVA is bad, and I cannot reconcile it and our people can't understand it. We want a member of the Board there, Mr. Jones or whoever it may be, who believes in TVA. That is our appeal.

There is one other matter I would like to address myself to, and that is that I feel strongly the need and necessity of so-called

independent agencies to be kept independent, free of executive control.

Since our country was adopted, there has been a tremendous trend toward centralizing power and centralizing of power in the Chief Executive and under his direction in the Bureau of the Budget.

The Congress should reverse this trend, the continued increase of power in the Bureau.

I served on the Independent Offices Subcommittee on Appropriations and a few years ago I served as chairman of a subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee, that looked into the problems of the increasing executive power over our independent agencies. These hearings are published and the findings were somewhat startling.

These agencies, as we all know, are supposed to be arms of the Congress. The Constitution gave the Congress the power to regulate commerce. The Congress, in turn, delegated this power to the independent commissions. There has been a shifting of that power over the years, since the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

We had an illustration a few weeks back—not a few weeks but a few months back—of the chairman testifying that these independent agencies have been quasi-legislative arms of the Congress and quasi-judicial, but he said in his speech, they are shifting, they are now becoming quasi-executive.

That is a situation with which the Congress must be concerned, this constant shifting and centralization of power into the hands of the executive.

May I point out that the President was able to mobilize a combination of some of these independent agencies, AEC, SEC, and FPC, to try to put over the Dixon-Yates deal, to use them all.

In other words, he was able to use them in an attempt to change the TVA without the necessity of going to Congress for legislative action. The process by which Congress granted control of these agencies began with the requirement that these agencies go to the Bureau of the Budget for approval of their budget. That is where it started.

Previous to that they came to the Appropriations Committee of Congress. Furthermore, it gradually developed that these agencies had to obtain the Bureau of the Budget's approval before they could submit proposals for legislation and inquiries for information that they needed. They controlled the type of questionnaire they could send out.

During the war this was necessary in order to cut down on duplication on requests sent out to the industry. Now we know the Bureau of the Budget is using that to control the various agencies.

Finally, by failing to veto one of the Hoover Commission's recommendations, the Congress gave the President the authority to appoint and to remove members of the Commission, to designate the Chairman, and the Chairman the authority to become the administrative officer with right to control the staff, control the appropriated funds, and control the workload. The result is that, at the moment, the Congress now stands in a sort of second- or third-hand role in authority over the independent agencies which were created as arms of Congress. You gentlemen are all too familiar with that.

I want to point out that the House this year has, as you know, passed legislation to set up a special committee on Congressional oversight, to examine more thoroughly the results of the operation of our independent agencies, who are supposed to be deputies of the Congress. This oversight committee is now getting organized.

We witnessed in the past 5 years, I repeat, a similar but thus far unsuccessful attempt by the Executive to capture control of the TVA. I understand, as one of my colleagues has pointed out, that you spent 2 years in writing and passing legislation which gave TVA power to raise bonds, to maintain its independence of the Executive.

They always talk about bureaucracy in Washington; why don't you decentralize? TVA is an example of decentralized government, operating in the field. But now even that, is bad to some; if it is not one thing it is another that they work against.

I believe it was pointed out that if the new Board turns out to be willing to submit to the Bureau of the Budget, you will be surrendering the fruits of your labor on the self-financing legislation. Even if we are not concerned about the TVA, I am concerned about the drifting of our independent agencies to Executive control.

We cannot afford to surrender more, Mr. Chairman. Sometime, somewhere, we in the Congress must put a stop to the continued encroachment of the Executive on constitutional and executive duties and responsibilities, and the recognized worst offender of them all is the Bureau of the Budget. They are determining appropriations, they are writing legislation, they are issuing orders and edicts.

I think, when the Congress passes legislation, when the Congress speaks, the Bureau of the Budget should be responsive to it. What good will it have done to legislate on the TVA or any other independent agency if, through appointments, the Executive achieved control of these agencies and directs their policies?

I wish most strongly, Mr. Chairman, that you and members of the committee would weigh these circumstances which I have attempted to point out. The importance of our regulatory and independent agencies remaining as arms of the Congress and their independence is very important.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, can a man with Budget Bureau service and the indoctrination Mr. Jones has had as Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, truly and in fact, divorce and disassociate himself from the influences of his work and his association over the years with the Bureau of the Budget which, as I pointed out, has been the principal architect of the destruction of the TVA?

I say, gentlemen, that human nature being what it is, that he cannot. I would hope that he could. But old soldiers remember their previous battles. I think they remember the techniques of their warfare.

I make this appeal not against Mr. Jones personally but for and on behalf of and in the interest of the people whom I am honored to represent. To do otherwise would be a dereliction of my duties.

Thank you, gentlemen.

Passenger Ships for Transpacific Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, the United States House of Representatives has a long and proud tradition of careful and thoughtful attention to the merchant marine problems of the United States. It has, as my colleagues all know, a committee primarily charged with the responsibility for this phase of our national policy.

Largely as a result of this close attention from this body, it has been possible over the decades to maintain a merchant marine, with all its allied industries and activities, which has provided indispensable strength to the Armed Forces and the commerce of the United States.

As part of its continuing close study of the merchant-marine problems of our country, your committee has, over the years, developed a program of constantly reviewing the effectiveness of our shipbuilding and ship-replacement program with Government departments and private operators. As a result, the House has been able, in past years, to anticipate the needs of the country in times of crisis and to correct abuses and mistakes which may have crept into the merchant-marine program immediately upon their discovery.

A critical problem now appears to exist in one phase of the merchant marine which strongly affects our competitive position with other merchant marines and even more strongly affects our readiness to provide for troop transport needs of the armed services. Your committee will study this problem and will be holding hearings on it as soon as possible.

The problem arises in connection with the ability of private steamship companies to replace their large passenger ships. A large passenger ship is a highly specialized piece of equipment, designed for a particular use and of value only in the particular trade for which it is designed.

To provide a balanced fleet which will include all necessary types of ships for our foreign commerce and national defense, the Federal Maritime Board requires replacement of vessels as they reach a life of 20 years and become, thereby, obsolete for the purposes of commerce and defense.

In accordance with the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, the Federal Maritime Board has required the United States Line to enter into a contract for the replacement of the steamship *America*, which is reaching its obsolescence point, and has equally required the American President Lines to enter into a contract to build a new large passenger vessel to operate between the Pacific coast and Far Eastern ports. Both of these operators have undertaken, in good faith, to comply with the requirement of the Government and to construct the replacement vessel. They have both found that, under the current high costs and high interest rate economy, construction of replacement vessels under the present Federal Government policy is so prohibitive in expense as to be practically impossible.

On August 19 I introduced legislation which would authorize construction of a new passenger ship for the transatlantic trade. On August 23 I introduced a bill to provide for construction of a new fast passenger ship for the transpacific trade. The bill would authorize a 26-knot ship with a capacity of 1,400 passengers to be built by the United States and sold to the operator with a Govern-

ment contract to serve on that route, the American President Lines.

The American merchant marine in the Pacific Ocean is in serious need of new passenger-ship construction. The entire American-flag passenger-ship fleet in the Pacific, including service to the Orient, to Hawaii, to New Zealand and Australia and around the world, includes only 10 vessels of an average age of 15 years, a designed speed of 20½ knots or less and a total passenger capacity of less than 5,000.

If we are to hold our place in the face of the growing Japanese merchant fleet in the Pacific and if we are to provide ships which can serve effectively in time of emergency as troop transports, we must proceed with the building of this passenger liner for the trans-Pacific service.

Recently the Secretary of the Navy appeared before our committee and testified that 89 percent of the United States troop-lift potential is in vessels of 15½ to 20 knots speed and is thereby deficient for the requirements which an emergency will place upon it.

The bill which I have introduced does three things:

First. It recognizes that the sound national policy of the United States calls for construction of a large, fast passenger ship for the Pacific trade.

Second. It follows the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 which has so successfully dealt with the major merchant marine problems of the country in the last 20 years.

Third. It specifies a method of financing this construction which is sound and economical both for the Government and the operator of the vessel.

Hallmarks of the Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, misinformation, misunderstanding, and a persistent refusal to debate the issues on the floor of the House continue to be the hallmarks of the opposition offered my view on Latin America by the senior and distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. REECE] and several other Members.

In the Appendix, pages A7166–A7167, for August 28, 1957, the gentleman takes me to task for violating the historical secrecy of the grand jury because the New York Times for August 22, 1957, carried a story about my appearance before the grand jury investigating the Murphy-Galindez cases.

If the gentleman had bothered to check with my office or with the Department of Justice, he would have learned that the Department had informed me that I was at liberty to make any statements I desired about my appearance before the grand jury. I consulted them in advance and I disclosed nothing that would in any way interfere with assignment of the grand jury and the duties of the Justice Department lawyers.

The gentleman takes exception to my suggestions that the grand jury indict Trujillo and invite the Dominican Ambassador to appear just as I did. The gentleman's implication that I recommended subpenaing the Ambassador is unwarranted. Just as I was invited to appear so could Ambassador de Moya be invited. His appearance would give the jury an opportunity to hear Trujillo's leading apologist and if the jury chooses to consider indicting Trujillo, this seems only fair.

As for the gentleman's shock over my suggestion that Trujillo be indicted for the murder of Gerry Murphy, I note the gentleman does not discuss Trujillo's guilt or innocence. The point he raises is that of the propriety of a Member of this body suggesting American legal action against the sovereign of an allied country.

Does not the gentleman know that we are talking about the Dominican Republic? That its president is Hector Trujillo and that it has a legislative body that makes its laws? This fellow, Rafael Trujillo, is only the top general but there is no constitutional basis for calling him the sovereign, and we are, right now, talking about the legal situation; are we not?

American grand juries have often issued indictments where we did not at the time have jurisdiction over the person indicted. If Rafael Trujillo wants this matter settled, let him submit himself to our jurisdiction for the kind of fair trial he could never get in a country like his own.

Whether or not he ever does come within the reach of our legal process is beside the point so far as the grand jury is concerned. Their job is to determine whether any crimes have been committed and to bring indictments against the person or persons they believe, on the basis of evidence, to be responsible.

That he is actually the dictator of an "allied" nation gives him no immunity from indictment. Does the gentleman believe the grand jury owes Trujillo some sort of courtesy to the degree that the grand jury should overlook the overwhelming evidence against him? Perhaps the gentleman would have the grand jury consult the State Department for permission to do its sworn duty?

The principles of international law cited by the gentleman from Tennessee are fine—in their place. They do not apply here.

In conclusion, the gentleman should know, as he could have learned very easily, that I was invited by the grand jury to appear before them. I did in no manner solicit the invitation although I was happy to appear. They wanted my opinion and the basis for it. I told them, as I have said publicly for many months, that Rafael Trujillo was criminally responsible for the murder of my constituent, Gerry Murphy, and that the evidence was already largely established by the FBI and has appeared in notes from our State Department to the so-called Dominican Republic.

But the gentleman, I recall, apparently does not care to discuss the evidence. He prefers to say there is none and to confine himself to matters of "propriety" where, I regret to say, his factual premises are false and his legal principles inapplicable.

It is my hope, perhaps a vain one, that the opposition to my views about our Latin American policy will see fit, in the 2d session of the 85th Congress, to take the trouble to inform itself and to debate these important issues on the floor of the House in keeping with the great tradition of this most eminent of all deliberative assemblies.

One Step Forward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, 2 days ago this House took favorable action on one of the most significant pieces of legislation to come before it in many years—the Civil Rights Act of 1957. For the first time since the Reconstruction era, concrete action has been taken to implement the rights provided for in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, and to guarantee that they will not be denied to persons because of race, color, or creed.

I am indeed proud to have been able to vote for this legislation, for it represents a great milestone of progress. And it is action which I have always fought to obtain.

The passage of this measure was not an easy task to accomplish. It has been a long and arduous fight and one which has been constantly uphill. It is a source of great satisfaction to finally see the fruition of our labors.

I am sorry to say that the bill as finally passed by the House contained a number of amendments which I personally did not want to see included, and which I had originally opposed when the bill first came before the House for consideration.

Most important of these amendments was the one providing for a trial by jury in contempt cases. I was adamantly opposed to the adoption of such an amendment for I felt that it would unnecessarily weaken the bill, and also that there was no precedent whatsoever for providing for a trial by jury in criminal contempt cases.

Nevertheless the Senate chose to add a jury trial amendment to the bill, and it was even more unfortunate than the original one proposed in the House, for it provided for jury trials in all criminal contempt cases arising under this act or any other act. This was obviously an ill-considered move, for it would have brought about preposterous results. It would have made completely ineffectual the emergency provisions of our labor

laws. Furthermore, there is no machinery even set up for trials by jury in the appeals courts and the Supreme Court.

Obviously this was unacceptable. Consequently there was proposed an amendment to limit jury trials to those contempt cases arising under this act.

A jury trial amendment of any type was difficult for me to accept, as it was for many of my colleagues: but a compromise was necessary and this was the least objectionable compromise.

The bill in its final form represented concessions from both sides. Neither side has won—neither side has lost. But from this compromise will come a gain for a segment of our society, which has been far too long denied the rights guaranteed by our Constitution.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 has made it crystal clear that the restrictions on the right to vote because of color, race, or creed are not to be tolerated. This is a most important step, but it is only a step. We have a long way yet to go in meeting the need for legislation in this field. But we have made a start—for the first time—and we shall now renew with increased vigor our efforts to provide complete equality for all our citizens.

We must not assume either that the passage of this bill will automatically accomplish its objective. It will only be successful if it is vigorously administered by the Department of Justice, and the proposed Civil Rights Commission, and of equal importance, if there is cooperation on the part of all sections of our great country in upholding the principles set forth in this measure. To me it is a shameful thing that there have been threats made by some persons that efforts will be made in the South to frustrate the administration of this new act, and that local enforcement officers will refuse to cooperate with Federal officials relative to this measure. I sincerely trust that this will not be the case.

For this is a measure which every American should stand behind and be proud to support. Although it was enacted substantially for the benefit of a minority group, it will not only benefit the Negroes in our country—it will benefit all Americans because it is a step toward the full enjoyment of the democratic privileges we hold so dear.

The Late Morgan Bulkeley Brainard, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, one of Hartford's and Connecticut's leading citizens passed away on August 28, 1957. Morgan Bulkeley Brainard, Sr., distinguished insurance executive and philanthropist, died Wednesday morning at 3:45 in Hartford, Conn.

Not only was it a great loss for all the people of his city and State who knew him and respected him so highly, but, as one who has known him and has always looked up to him, especially from the time I first entered the insurance business, I feel that it is, to a great extent, a personal loss also.

His great life and the records of his achievements even transcend the borders of Connecticut, when one considers his prominence in insurance and civic life throughout the Nation. The great growth of the Aetna Life affiliated companies under his leadership has spanned more than 50 years and is a beacon in the insurance industry.

His interest in all phases of our business, cultural and civic life, will represent a void that will not easily be filled.

Mr. Brainard, who in earlier years held numerous political and civic appointments in city government, was born in Hartford Jan. 8, 1879, a son of Leverett and Mary Bulkeley Brainard. His grandfather, Eliphalet Adams Bulkeley was founder of the Aetna Insurance Co.; his uncle Morgan G. Bulkeley, Governor of Connecticut and United States Senator, also was Aetna president.

He received a bachelor of arts degree from Yale University in the class of 1900 and an LL. B. degree three years later. In 1932, Trinity College awarded the insurance leader an honorary master of arts degree.

In 1905, Mr. Brainard started with the Aetna Life Insurance Co., and in 1922 was made president.

In addition to his insurance affiliations, Mr. Brainard had a wide variety of other business interests. In his later years he served as chairman of the board of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad and was a director of, among others, United Aircraft Corp., Cheney Bros., Hartford National Bank & Trust Co., Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection & Insurance Co., Hartfort Electric Light Co., Connecticut Power Co., Underwood Corp., and Hartford County Mutual Fire Insurance Co.

He was also a member of the board of directors of Hartford Hospital and a trustee of the Colt Bequest. His club affiliations were the Hartford Club, and Links and the Yale Club of New York.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Eleanor Moffat Brainard; 4 sons, Morgan B. Brainard Jr., Charles E. and Maxwell L. Brainard, all of Hartford, and Edward M. Brainard of Grangeville, Idaho; and a daughter, Mrs. Henry S. Robinson Jr., of West Hartford. There are 8 grandchildren and 2 great-grandchildren.

Statement of Hon. Frank G. Clement, Governor of Tennessee, Opposing Confirmation of Mr. Arnold R. Jones as TVA Board Director

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the Senate Public Works Committee this past week has been holding hearings in regard to President Eisenhower's nomination of Mr. Arnold R. Jones to the vacancy on the Board of Directors of the TVA. The committee has held extensive hearings on this appointment and I want to commend the committee for its patience, thoroughness, and fairness.

In this connection, the Honorable Frank G. Clement, Governor of Tennessee, made a most eloquent presentation of facts before the committee and I have asked unanimous consent that the statement of Governor Clement may be reproduced in the Appendix of the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK G. CLEMENT, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE, BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, CONCERNING NOMINATION OF ARNOLD R. JONES TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, AUGUST 29, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am grateful to you for the opportunity to appear before you in your hearings on the nomination of Arnold R. Jones for membership on the TVA Board. I count it an honor and a privilege to appear before you.

Some of you gentlemen have seen me here before. Since the advent of the present national administration I have been in Washington many times before congressional committees. At one point I had about established status as a commuter.

As most of you who are concerned with the great conservation enterprise of the Tennessee Valley know, those visits coincided with and were precipitated by periods of crisis for TVA during the past 5 years. These years have been increasingly difficult for the TVA.

This administration and the private power interests have waged both cold and hot war on the TVA, submarine, and aerial attack and also attack by infiltration. With a few exceptions the battle has been going against the TVA.

And one notable exception was the recent action of the United States Senate in approving a workable revenue bond bill by which TVA may continue to finance its vital power services to the valley and the Nation. I wish to congratulate the chairman and members of this committee and other members of the Senate who voted for that bill. The economic future of Tennessee and that of other States of the valley is deeply involved in the TVA's ability to continue to adequately supply us with electricity. The TVA power production is, we believe, a sound low-cost operation that pays its way and can finance itself—if given the opportunity.

But, as I have said, the attack on the TVA has been many sided and so its troubles are compounded.

I have not been before a committee during the present session of Congress, and you may feel inclined to wonder why I come before you on this occasion when I tell you that I am not personally acquainted with the nominee under consideration. My reply, gentlemen, is that I do have knowledge of the sponsorship which has led to Mr. Jones' nomination. Mr. Jones, we all know, comes out of the Bureau of the Budget, and is sponsored by its Director, Mr. Brundage. I also have knowledge of some of the extremely disquieting things Mr. Jones has said about the TVA in his testimony before this committee.

Mr. Jones has testified before your committee that he believes in the feasibility and wisdom of the TVA Act, but that he would be untruthful if he came here and represented that he was enthusiastic about it (transcript, p. 124). Looking at the concrete things which Mr. Jones has said and done about the TVA I raise the question whether he is not one of the most mischie-

vously unenthusiastic men about this institution who has ever appeared before your committee. Imagine what would happen if the President nominated someone for Secretary of Defense who testified that he was not enthusiastic about this country's defense program. I venture to say that not a single Member of the Senate would be willing to vote for his confirmation. Or imagine what would happen if a nominee for membership in the Atomic Energy Commission were to come up here and testify that he was not enthusiastic about the atomic energy program. You can readily see why those of us who over the years have shown by our deeds that we really do believe in the TVA are so troubled by this nomination of Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones is not the first nominee for the TVA Board to be put forward by this administration.

You gentlemen may recall that the present Chairman of the TVA Board, Gen. Herbert Vogel, had substantially the same sponsors in the administration.

I am sure you are aware of the fact that the Bureau of the Budget—from the first difference over the appropriational needs which Director Joseph M. Dodge developed by using figures given him by the Edison Electric Institute, through the Dixon-Yates deal of unhallowed memory and on to General Vogel—has been the focal point of hostility to the TVA in the present administration.

Now the Bureau would give us Arnold R. Jones, out of their very ranks.

Moreover, gentlemen, not only did the administration propose General Vogel and the Bureau of the Budget sponsor him, but this very subcommittee, as some of you doubtless recall, examined General Vogel and approved him for the job. You examined Vogel—and let me add that he was very closely questioned about what he knew about the TVA act and his attitude toward the institution and the philosophy behind it. You examined him and those of you present for that examination will remember that he professed full sympathy with the philosophy and aims of TVA and professed a discriminating understanding of his responsibilities under the law.

In view of their common sponsorship, in view of your examination of both of them and in view of the general similarity (as I will undertake to show) of the attitudes that Vogel and Jones have taken toward TVA, I believe that the record Vogel has made as Chairman of the TVA Board over the past two years in the Tennessee Valley is of significance to this investigation. In Vogel's case his real attitudes became clear only after his confirmation by the Senate, whereas, in the case of Mr. Jones, warning signals are before you now.

Gentlemen, I am not a technician. But I know what the TVA has been, I know what it is, and I know what it should be in the future if the principles in the act creating it remain unabridged on the statute books of this country. I am one who believes in the feasibility and wisdom of the act. This belief is one that usually engenders a wholehearted enthusiasm for the TVA, its purposes and its accomplishments. I am no exception; I am enthusiastic about it. I am enthusiastic about it because of its fine traditions, its high policies, its sound operation and its great benefits to my State and region—and to this whole Nation.

And I know how the people of my State of Tennessee feel about the TVA. They are enthusiastic for the same reasons that I have given. They are vitally interested in it and they are vitally concerned about it. They are deeply concerned about the appointment now before you. Indeed, I have never before seen the people of my State so generally disturbed over the qualifications of a nominee for the TVA Board as they manifestly are about those of Arnold R. Jones. I might report that the people of Tennessee remember, as I do, that the TVA Board was created nonpartisan, not bipartisan, and that it should remain so.

At least such was the case until the present Chairman of the Board took office. His coming has created conflict and difficulty in the proper functioning of TVA.

Gentlemen, General Vogel's conduct of his office has been so questionable that I, speaking as Governor of the State in an address before the State municipal league more than a year ago, made the following statement:

"I charge, out of a conviction reached with great reluctance, that since he was confirmed in his appointment to the Board of the TVA, Gen. Herbert D. Vogel has pursued a course of conduct in clear violation of the duty in that office. I assert that in the hearings preceding his confirmation he did not inform that committee as to his intentions and thus deceived the Senate of the United States which voted to confirm him. I believe that he threatens the integrity of the great agency he heads, that he has endeavored to destroy its independence, to frustrate its objectives, to suppress the facts in order to abet and aid those who would deliver the TVA to its enemies. I charge that he has violated the oath of office he took in professing 'belief in the feasibility and wisdom' of the TVA idea and in committing himself to the protection and promotion of the institution it represents."

I proceeded to substantiate that indictment from a public record that is equally available to you gentlemen: The hearings before committees of Congress. (As a brief of this evidence, I will be glad to submit a copy of my address for the RECORD.)

It has been the actions on the part of Chairman Vogel that I referred to in that address and his subsequent actions that have alerted the people of Tennessee and the Valley generally to the necessity for scrutinizing most carefully the qualifications and bent and past associations and real intentions of any future nominee. In the course of this scrutiny of Mr. Jones, we have learned some things which leave us with the firm conviction that the Senate ought not to approve this nomination.

I would like to compare with you some of the views of General Vogel and those which I understand Mr. Jones has expressed to this committee. Mr. Jones has said to you that he believes in the feasibility and wisdom of the TVA Act, indeed, if he were not willing to say this, the TVA Act itself would forbid him to be appointed to the Board. General Vogel said the same thing, in emphatic terms, without reservation.

1. Mr. Jones has told you that he agrees with the principles set forth in the letter to Senator CHAVEZ which Mr. Jones signed, as Acting Budget Director, on April 29, 1957 (transcript, p. 46). The first of those principles, as I read it, would give the Budget Bureau control over all TVA bond issues. The letter also proposed to take away from the TVA Board the freedom it now has to use its power revenues to add units at existing steam plants. Mr. Jones has said he agrees with those ideas. General Vogel has made his agreement with those ideas known. Gentlemen, I say to you that if those two amendments to the TVA Act were ever accepted by the Congress, TVA would be in the hands of the Philistines. With the Budget Bureau stopping all TVA appropriation requests for the starting of new generating plants, as it has for 4 years; and with TVA deprived of the right to use its own revenues, where would TVA go for funds to add more power capacity? You may say that it will have the authority to issue bonds, if and when the TVA revenue bond bill passes the House. I say to you that if the Budget Bureau version of the revenue bond bill passes the Congress, the Budget Bureau will have control over all TVA bond issues. And I would express to you my conviction that a Budget Bureau which hatched Dixon-Yates, a Budget Bureau which has stopped TVA appropriations for 4 years, is not likely to approve TVA bond issues with a great deal of pleasure and pride. But Mr. Jones says TVA can "live with" Budget Bureau control over TVA bond issues; he agrees with the principle of Budget Bureau control of TVA's every source of funds.

2. In communications with this committee, General Vogel has said that while he considers the Kerr bill the best for flexibility for TVA, he generally thinks the committee should take the Budget Bureau's bill. Mr. Jones has said virtually the same thing here, I am informed. He has stated that while he prefers the management flexibility of the Kerr bill as passed by the Senate, he feels TVA could live with the Budget Bureau bill (transcript, pp. 63, 263). These men can give lip service to both of the opposing plans.

3. General Vogel has agreed with the Budget Bureau that TVA should not have the freedom to use its own power revenues to add units at existing steam plants. Mr. Jones has told this committee that while he would prefer that TVA keep this right, he again feels that TVA could live with the Budget Bureau proposal which would take that freedom away from the TVA Board (transcript, pp. 101–102).

4. General Vogel has consistently sided with the Bureau of the Budget, aaginst the majority of the TVA Board. Mr. Jones has testified that he feels he can iron out the difficulties between the Budget Bureau and TVA (transcript, p. 252). General Vogel has ironed out these difficulties in a very simple manner: he has agreed with the Budget Bureau. How Mr. Jones might iron out the differences with the Budget Bureau gives us equal concern.

5. General Vogel has gone around the Tennessee Valley making speeches and statements that this administration has added more power generating capacity to the TVA system than any other administration. He does not explain that all the power capacity that has gone into operation during this administration was either approved under the previous administration or was added through TVA's use of its own power revenues—a thing Vogel opposed. We find Mr. Jones offering similar sort of talk, saying that more money has been spent on power in the past 5 years than in any 5 years in TVA's history (transcript, p. 111). It seems evident that Mr. Jones, disregarding the plain fact that the Budget Bureau has recommended no additional generating capacity for the past 4 years, is echoing the same line that General Vogel has taken, and may be influenced by the same people.

So we find that Mr. Jones agrees with General Vogel on major issues involving TVA; we find that Mr. Jones has been subjected to the same Budget Bureau brainwashing that General Vogel so quickly and readily succumbed to; and we find that while Mr. Jones makes some very pleasing generalizations about believing in TVA and wanting to preserve it, his answers to questions on specific and vital TVA policies contradict and pervert the generalizations he makes.

General Vogel and Mr. Jones together on issues would control the TVA Board. And in view of the record, it appears that these men would turn that control over to the Budget Bureau, thus sacrificing the independent-agency concept which the Congress wrote into the TVA Act.

The testimony you have received, according to accounts I have seen, shows two things: That Mr. Jones asked for this job; and that he was promoted for the job, as I have said, by Mr. Brundage, Director of the very Budget Bureau that has been proven

to be most unfriendly to TVA (transcript, pp. 36–37).

Gentlemen, it stretches the imagination to the breaking point to believe that Mr. Brundage would accept and recommend a man for the TVA Board of Directors whom Mr. Brundage felt would not acquiesce in the policies of the Budget Bureau. It seems obvious to me that Mr. Brundage recommended Mr. Jones for one reason—he thought Mr. Jones could do the job the Budget Bureau wanted done, in the same faithful and undeviating manner as General Vogel has fought to do over the opposition of the other two TVA Board members.

This one appointment, if confirmed, would enable the Budget Bureau and the White House to do something they haven't been able to do with the consent of Congress, something which indeed Congress has erected roadblocks to keep the Budget Bureau from doing; namely, shift the real control—the financial control and the control of management functions—from the TVA Board to the Budget Bureau.

Let me say that I hope your deliberations on this matter will be based on the same principles as your consideration of the self-financing bill—that is, that TVA is an independent agency, that it should be subject to the will of Congress, but that within the limits of congressional control the TVA Board should have the authority that logically goes with the responsibility and accountability. I hope you will determine whether you feel Mr. Jones will do his part in making the self-financing bill the instrument for the successful continuation of TVA that you meant it to be. Especially do I call your attention to his expressed views on Budget Bureau control over TVA bond issues, which I understand both this committee and the Senate rejected on bipartisan votes.

Next year TVA will observe its 25th birthday. At the age of 25 this largest Government corporation will be valued at something around $2 billion. It will have made a record that in my opinion is unparalleled in the history of a public enterprise. It will find its pattern of multipurpose development of a region's resources being copied in many parts of the world. It will find itself the sole supplier of electrical energy to a population of nearly 6 million people. It will be engaged in a multiplicity of functions placed in its hands by the Congress. It will have made an enviable record in flood control on the Tennessee River and its tributaries, and incidentally on the Mississippi River, too. It will have wiped out malaria; will have worked with State and local agencies on reforestation, fertilizer experiments, public health, better use of the soil, and in many other ways.

In brief, at the age of 25 TVA will find itself to be a phenomenally successful regional development agency; to be a significant asset to the Nation; and to have been a remarkable example internationally of man's ability to improve his well-being through improved use of his God-given natural resources.

Permit me to add a few words concerning the high duty which the Senate of the United States owes to the people of the United States in this matter. All of us in public office are constantly mindful of our grave responsibilities. I know that this is true of myself as Governor of the State of Tennessee, and I am sure it is equally true of every one of you as Members of the United States Senate. It is the United States Senate, and the Senate alone, in whom the Constitution places the responsibility for advising and consenting to the nominations which the President may make.

Membership on the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority is a public office of exceptional importance. Your committee now has before you the nomination of Mr. Jones to a vacancy existing on that Board. From the voluminous testimony which has been given before you—including the very strange testimony of Mr. Jones himself—it must be clear that the most serious questions have been raised concerning the fitness of Mr. Jones to occupy this seat on the TVA Board.

The Senate is now in the closing days of this session of Congress. Certainly no Senator ought to be asked to vote upon this most important nomination without having a genuine opportunity to make a full and careful examination of the transcript of testimony which has been taken before your committee.

In my opinion, any man—Mr. Jones or anyone else—who serves on the TVA Board of Directors should be of a caliber to fit the tremendous responsibilities that go with the job. This is one of the biggest things in the country. It is one of the most important. As a matter of fact, one writer has called TVA quite possibly the greatest American invention of this century. In considering this nomination, or any other nomination to the TVA Board, I urge you to assess the heavy and unique responsibilities of a TVA Director, and to weigh the man against the weight and the size of those duties placed upon a TVA Board member by the Congress itself.

Address by Gen. R. McC. Pate, USMC, Commandant of the Marine Corps, to 58th National Encampment, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Tuesday, August 27, 1957, Miami, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of this House the inspiring speech of Gen. Randolph McCall Pate, Commandant of the Marine Corps, before the VFW 58th annual encampment at Miami, Fla., on August 27, 1957.

In reading this speech I am sure you will recognize the reasons why the VFW encampment was so impressed by this message from General Pate. It is reassuring, indeed, to hear from such an outstanding leader regarding the sound character and combat attributes of the American youth today. There were many comments by VFW listeners to the effect that it is good for parents to realize that they are entrusting their sons to the command of such capable and understanding leaders as General Pate:

Distinguished guests and fellow Americans, again it is my deep personal pleasure to meet with you at another national encampment of your great organization. I always look forward to being with you.

The pleasure of our reunion stems both from the warm comradeship that characterizes your encampments as well as from the serious and constructive objectives and purposes which motivate the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

I have looked forward to this opportunity to be with you on this occasion. It is one of life's richest experiences to be able to meet with comrades in arms who have shared the unforgettable joys and tribulations that come only to those who have had the privilege of helping defend our Nation. I am glad to be with you. I could not feel otherwise, because a person is always happy when he is among old friends.

I, therefore, take real pleasure in making what I consider my annual report to the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

First I can state to you without reservation that your Marine Corps is the combat-ready, hard-hitting, fast-striking, force in readiness that you justifiably expect it to be.

Your Marine Corps is ready to move on a moment's notice. It is ready for whatever assignment may come. It is ready to do its job wherever the need exists.

I would like to outline for you where your marines are today stationed, where they are alertly standing their watch, contributing to the safety and security of our Nation.

The famed 1st Marine Division is now stationed, with the 3d Marine Air Wing, on the west coast of the United States. It is a ready and able-to-go expeditionary force-in-readiness.

Moving out into the central Pacific you have the 1st Marine Provisional Brigade on the Island of Oahu. This is a highly trained, compact, air/ground team, specializing, as do all Marine units, in tactics involving hard punching, highly mobile amphibious forces supported by Marine aviation units which have no peer in the highly important and intricately specialized mission of providing precision close air support to the man with the rifle.

In the western Pacific, looking down the throat of the red dragon of oriental communism, you have elements of the hard and lean 3d Marine Division on Okinawa and near by is the 1st Marine Air Wing. These marines are also in a state of immediate readiness.

Based as they are on this western bastion of the free world's defenses in the western Pacific, the marines of our 3d Division stand as a guardian of our security in this vital strategic area. The presence of these highly mobile and finely trained fighting forces is a powerful and persuasive symbol of our Nation's determination to stand fast against the ruthless aggression of Asiatic communism.

We make no secret of the fact that this powerful and flexible marine striking force is so strategically located. The very knowledge of the presence of such a force cannot help but cause deep second thoughts by even the most fanatic Communist chieftian planning future encroachments upon the liberties, freedom, and vital resources of the nations of southeast Asia.

On the east coast of the United States, facing the troubled Mediterranean world and the Near East, you have the equally famous 2d Marine Division with the 2d Marine Air Wing.

This division and wing are also in a condition of constant readiness.

As a matter of fact, a part of this force is afloat and constantly on station providing indispensible punch to the power of the 6th Fleet, which is playing such a vital role in the preserving of the liberties of the lands bordering on the Mediterranean.

This combat readiness of your marines, combined with the unsurpassed mobility and flexibility of the balanced fleet with which we serve, constitute an indispensible portion of the free world's defenses in these dangerous times.

The strength of the Marine Corps is not one of mathematical manpower alone. The strength of your marines is something far greater because it stems from fervent faith in the beliefs which are those of all Americans—an unshakable conviction that all those things which are part of the American way of life are priceless and must be de-

fended, and as unswerving determination to resist the endless incursions of godless communism.

In addition to these characteristics your marines are strengthened also by a strong sense of discipline based upon mutual respect, confidence in themselves and their fellow marines, and a secure knowledge of their professional competence.

Although these are the moral attributes and the spiritual strengths which characterize your marines today, they are not a recent product or innovation. Such things as are of the spirit and the heart are not readily improvised.

Rather they are the composite result of landings on many shores, of thirst in the deserts, hunger in the jungles, bitter cold, searing heat, endless privation and sacrifices—the common lot and the common heritage of those who have served their country on foreign shores.

The marine of today exercises a stewardship over the history and glories passed on by his predecessors. They realize the trust placed in them. They will not be false to that trust.

You can derive a real sense of satisfaction from the manner in which your marines are doing their job. You are certainly justified in taking this satisfaction because our Nation has given the Marine Corps a wonderful human product with which to work. These alert, courageous, and moral young men who comprise the Marine Corps are not a race apart from the rest of the Nation. They are a typical representation of American youth.

In all candidness I can say to you the Marine Corps is capable of great achievements, but it would be incapable of being the Marine Corps that it is were it not for the typically high caliber young men which come to it from your homes and your communities, your schools, and last but not least, from your churches.

There has been altogether too much criticism of today's young people. When put to the test of sacrifice, bravery, and the responsibilities of military duties they have, in my opinion, fulfilled every demand. I have said it before, and because I believe it so strongly, I will say it again—the young men of America today can whip the pants off anything that the godless rulers of the Kremlin put in the field of battle.

There is another feature of the Marine Corps which I want to include in my report to you at this time. The Marine Corps offers little but tough training, strict discipline, rigorous duty stations and eternal readiness for battle, and the satisfaction of a necessary job well done.

It is to me, and I believe it will be to you, reassuring to know that our Nation produces the kind of young men who continue to volunteer for such service to their Nation. I am glad to report to you that the Marine Corps is continuing its tradition of being a completely volunteer organization. We are not confronted with a scarcity of those who seek to enlist in your Marine Corps. Rather, our problem is of an opposite nature. It is indeed a healthy sign of our times that we have today more youths motivated by the spirit of adventure—the willingness to serve under rigorous conditions—than we can accept for enlistment in the corps.

I have always contended that our Nation will continue to produce strong-spirited, patriotically motivated youths who will prefer the rugged life of the soldier to the easier ways of modern civilization. They follow the example set by you overseas veterans. This is the heritage of patriotism, devotion, and sacrifice which has been the hallmark of the American fighting man.

This is the type of man we seek. This is the type of man we get. This is the type of man who becomes your marine. This is the real strength of the Marine Corps.

There is one additional point that I would like to make in the course of this brief report. While we marines place heavy emphasis upon esprit de corps, we also place great emphasis upon complementing that great intangible strength with the finest, most advanced weapons and leadership that it is possible to provide.

The Marine Corps continues to perform the mission of our Nation's force in readiness and we have, since the end of World War II, made what I consider great technical and material progress.

For instance, amphibious operations based on great armadas of transports packed with troops landing across fire-swept beaches now must take their place in the glorious history of American arms. World War II amphibious tactics have been superseded by a farsighted, versatile, highly mobile type of operations. The troop transport of today and tomorrow is a special type of combined troop transport and helicopter carrier.

The landing craft of today is a huge helicopter capable of taking off with its load of highly trained marines as far as 50 miles from the beach. Thus, this new tactic increases the speed of the assault. The pattern of the attack is over rather than through the deadly beach defenses.

Through the great dispersion between helicopter transports the conduct of amphibious operations is feasible even against the enemy who possesses atomic capabilities. Add to this a whole arsenal of new weapons developed since the end of World War II and you can readily realize that the Marine Corps continues to perform its historic role in a modern way.

To summarize, the Marine Corps is morally and materially strong.

As you can readily see, I am proud of your Marine Corps. You have every right to be proud of your Marine Corps.

The Marine Corps feels that we have justified the faith in us that you have demonstrated by your repeated encampment resolutions urging continued maintenance of three full combat divisions and air wings. We are grateful for your confidence and your support.

We marines pledge that we will continue to justify your faith.

On each occasion that I have the privilege of being here with you like this sitting with you and exchanging stories of our times together in the service—which stories, I must admit, get better with the passing of the years—I am reminded of the many common interests that exist between the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Marine Corps. That this is so should be no surprise. After all, to be a Veteran of Foreign Wars requires one to achieve the distinction of having served our Nation overseas. Marines share that honorable distinction because overseas duty is the most usual kind of duty for a marine.

It has again been my happy privilege to be with you at another national encampment. Each encampment that I attend, each such opportunity to mingle with my many comrades in your organization, serves to reaffirm my longstanding recognition of the inalienable and abiding bond that exists between the wearers of the globe and anchor and the Cross of Malta.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce Activity Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, and House Resolution 99, as amended, 85th Congress, I should like to submit a statement of the activity of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for the 85th Congress, 1st session.

The committee has had an extraordinarily large number of bills referred to it during this session and has held lengthy hearings on various and sundry bills to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, Railroad Retirement, Unemployment Insurance, and Taxing Acts, and amendments to the Natural Gas Act. Following lengthy hearings on these and many other bills, the committee held extensive executive sessions and was able to clear some of these extraordinarily important legislative proposals during this session.

The committee had referred to it 71 bills to amend the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance and Taxing Acts. Extensive hearings were held by the committee on these bills. The bill, H. R. 4353, which I introduced on February 5, 1957, was sponsored by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, and received the attention of the committee. Many of the bills before the committee contained provisions incorporated in this proposed bill. It is a "package" bill involving consideration of not only further adjustments to the act, but consideration of the amendments passed in the last Congress, as well as the tax-exempt features on contributions by employees for income-tax purposes. Due to the overall "package" approach and involvements, further consideration was postponed until the next session of Congress.

Incorporated in the bill, H. R. 8525, which was approved by the committee and which is now pending on the House Union Calendar, were amendments to the Natural Gas Act to exempt producers of natural gas from regulations under the act as public utilities; and to provide for a new method of regulating the price at which natural gas is sold under producer contracts.

In the field of aviation, a bill to establish an Airways Modernization Board to develop, modify, test, and evaluate systems, procedures, facilities, and devices to meet the needs for safe and efficient navigation and traffic was enacted.

The President also signed a bill to authorize permanent certification for certain air carriers operating between the United States and Alaska.

A bill providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers for purchase of aircraft and equipment cleared both Houses of the Congress and is awaiting Presidential action.

Another aviation measure relating to the reinvestment by air carriers of the proceeds from the sale and other disposition of certain operating property and equipment, was approved by the House.

To implement the legislative recommendations contained in the 70th Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 24 bills to amend the Interstate Commerce and related acts were introduced and referred to this committee. The following recommendations were enacted into law:

Recommendation No. 2, amending section 4 of the Interstate Commerce Act dealing with the long- and short-haul provision.

Recommendation No. 6, revising the definition of a contract motor carrier under section 203 (a) (15) of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Recommendation No. 7, amending section 20b of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to stock modification plans.

Recommendation No. 15, amending section 218 (a) of the Interstate Commerce Act, requiring contract motor carriers to file actual rates.

Recommendation No. 19, changing the requirements for obtaining freight forwarder permits.

Recommendation No. 23, increasing penalties for safety violations under the Interstate Commerce Act.

Recommendation No. 26, amending the Medals of Honor Act.

Recommendation No. 3, dealing with shipments of Government property under section 22 of the Interstate Commerce Act, has been approved by both Houses and has been sent to the White House.

Recommendation No. 14, amending section 214 of the Interstate Commerce Act, concerning arbitrary stock par values, passed the House and Senate.

Recommendation No. 24, to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to prescribe rules, standards, and instructions for the installation, inspection, maintenance, and repair of power or train brakes, has passed the Senate and a companion measure has been reported from this committee and is now awaiting action by the House.

A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to provide for the preservation of competitive through-routes for rail carriers, has been approved by the House and is presently pending before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

In the field of public health, bills providing for the construction of sanitary facilities for the Elko Indians in Nevada, and to assist in the construction of community hospitals which will serve Indians and non-Indians, were enacted into law.

Another proposal extending the authority of the Surgeon General to make certain payments to Bernalillo County, N. Mex., for furnishing hospital care to certain Indians, has been approved by both the House and Senate.

After extensive public hearings and executive consideration, a bill to protect producers and consumers against misbranding and false advertising of the fiber content of textile fiber products (Textile Fiber Products Identification Act) was reported from this committee and approved by the House.

An amendment to section 304 (d) of the Federal Food and Drug Act, with respect to the disposition of certain imported articles which have been seized and condemned, was approved by both Houses of the Congress.

A bill to declare a portion of Back Cove at Portland, Maine, to be nonnavigable water of the United States, also passed both Houses and was signed by the President.

The detailed activity report follows:

ACTIVITY REPORT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, 85TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

BILLS REPORTED

The committee has considered and reported favorably the following bills:

H. R. 469. To prohibit misbranding and false advertising of fiber content of textile fiber products. Report No. 986, by Mr. MACK, August 5, 1957. Passed House, August 14, 1957.

H. R. 3233. To amend section 22 of Interstate Commerce Act (transportation services for Government, reduced rates). Report No. 677, by Mr. HARRIS, July 1, 1957. S. 939 passed House, amended, in lieu, July 30, 1957.

H. R. 3625. To amend section 214 of Interstate Commerce Act (motor carriers, capital stock). Report No. 391, by Mr. HARRIS, May 7, 1957. Passed House, May 20, 1957.

H. R. 3775. To amend section 20b of Interstate Commerce Act (railroads, stockholders assent to modification or alteration). Report No. 440, by Mr. HARRIS, May 13, 1957. Approved August 16, 1957, Public Law 85–150.

H. R. 4511. To declare certain portion of Back Cove at Portland, Maine, nonnavigable. Report No. 388, by Mr. HARRIS, May 6, 1957. Approved August 13, 1957, Public Law 85–126.

H. R. 4520. Permanent certification for air carriers operating between the United States and Alaska. Report No. 610, by Mr. HARRIS, June 24, 1957. Approved August 26, 1957, Public Law 85–166.

H. R. 5124. Authorizes Interstate Commerce Commission to prescribe rules and regulations for installation and maintenance of power or train brakes. Report No. 1205, by Mr. STAGGERS, August 20, 1957.

H. R. 5328. To amend the Medals of Honor Act. Report No. 392, by Mr. HARRIS, May 7, 1957: Approved June 13, 1957, Public Law 85–50.

H. R. 5384. To amend Interstate Commerce Act (preservation of competitive through routes for rail carriers). Report No. 878, by Mr. HARRIS, July 25, 1957. Passed House, August 19, 1957.

H. R. 5822. To amend section 406 (b) of Civil Aeronautics Act (air carriers, reinvestment of gains). Report No. 980, by Mr. FLYNT, August 2, 1957. Passed House, August 14, 1957.

H. R. 5953. Construction of water and sewer facilities for Elko Indian colony, Nevada. Report No. 554, by Mr. WILLIAMS, June 13, 1957. Approved August 14, 1957, Public Law 85–137.

H. R. 6456. To amend Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (reexportation of imported articles seized and condemned). Report No. 933, by Mr. WILLIAMS, July 30, 1957. Passed House, August 5, 1957.

H. R. 7993. Government guaranty of loans to certain air carriers for purchase of aircraft and equipment. Report No. 981, by Mr. ROGERS, August 2, 1957. S. 2229 passed House, amended, in lieu, August 19, 1957.

H. R. 8053. To authorize funds to assist in construction of community hospitals for Indians. Report No. 574, by Mr. WILLIAMS, June 17, 1957. Approved August 16, 1957, Public Law 85–151.

H. R. 8525. To amend Natural Gas Act (exempt producers from utility-type regulation). Report No. 837, by Mr. HARRIS, July 19, 1957.

H. R. 8825. To amend section 203 (a) of Interstate Commerce Act (to revise definition of contract carrier by motor vehicle). Report No. 970, by Mr. HARRIS, August 2, 1957. S. 1384 passed House in lieu, August 14, 1957. S. 1384 approved August 22, 1957, Public Law 85–163.

H. R. 9023. Payment for hospital care for certain Indians to Bernalillo County, N. Mex. Report No. 1052, by Mr. WILLIAMS, August 13, 1957. Passed House, August 14, 1957.

S. 1492. Increase penalties for violations of safety standards administered by Interstate Commerce Commission. Report No. 877, by Mr. HARRIS, July 25, 1957. Approved August 14, 1957, Public Law 85–135.

S. 937. To amend section 4 of Interstate Commerce Act (publication of rates). Report No. 577, by Mr. HARRIS, June 19, 1957. Approved July 11, 1957, Public Law 85–99.

S. 1856. Airways Modernization Act of 1957. Report No. 836, by Mr. HARRIS, July 19, 1957. Approved August 14, 1957, Public Law 85–133.

S. 943. To amend section 218 (a) of Interstate Commerce Act (publication of actual rates for transportation charges). Report No. 895, by Mr. HARRIS, July 29, 1957. Approved August 13, 1957, Public Law 85–124.

S. 1383. To amend section 410 of Interstate Commerce Act (freight forwarders). Report No. 880, by Mr. HARRIS, July 25,1957. Approved August 28, 1957, Public Law 85–176.

NUMBER OF PUBLIC HEARINGS

The committee held public hearings as follows: Entire committee, 75; subcommittees, 74.

Hours of sitting (public hearings): Entire committee, 181½; subcommittees, 152½.

Executive sessions: Entire committee, 32; subcommittees, 14.

Hours of sitting (executive sessions): Entire committee, 58; subcommittees, 14½.

Printed pages of public hearings, 4,214.

Unprinted pages of public hearings, 1,500.

In addition to the above, the committee filed 5 reports and published 2 committee prints, as follows:

House Report No. 314, Petroleum Survey—1957 Outlook—Oil Lift to Europe—Price Increases: The committee early in the first session of this Congress again engaged itself in a comprehensive survey of the Nation's petroleum sources. Accordingly, the committee compiled for the information of the House the results of its study of the recent diversion of petroleum to Europe caused by the closing of the Suez Canal and the shutting down of the Iraq pipelines, and the circumstances attending increases of crude oil prices in the United States. The committee shall continue to keep abreast of the petroleum situation and report its further observations and comments at subsequent dates.

House Report No. 474, A Report on the Organization and Financing and Participation of the United States in International Health Programs: Inasmuch as the committee has legislative jurisdiction in the field of public health, its responsibilities frequently touch upon international health programs in different parts of the world, including the operation of the World Health Organization, as well as health and quarantine problems affecting international air commerce. House Report No. 474 is a summary of the findings developed in hearings held by the committee in the 84th Congress, for the purpose of compiling a résumé of what the United States Government currently is doing in the field of international health.

House Report No. 573, Pulp, Paper, and Board Supply-Demand: Pursuant to the existing authority of the committee, to investigate and study the current and prospective consumption of newsprint and other papers, production and supply of such materials, and possibilities of additional production through use of alternate source materials, the committee last year requested the Department of Commerce to prepare a survey of the competitive demand for these products. The report was submitted by the Department early this year and the committee believed this comprehensive analysis of the subject should be made available for the information and use of the Members of the House. The committee shall con-

tinue its close study of the newsprint and paper and pulp supply-demand situation and shall report periodically to the House its findings.

House Report No. 1275, Automobile Seat Belts: The Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety established in the 84th Congress, to study the increasing number of traffic deaths and injuries and ways of setting up a long-range program to reduce these highway tragedies, undertook in this first session a study of the crashworthiness of automobile seat belts. A vast amount of testimony was taken in public hearings from experts in the field. As a result of these hearings and a study of the testimony presented, the subcommittee concluded that the use of automobile seat belts would lessen the degree of potential injury to those involved in traffic accidents, and the subcommittee's findings and conclusions have been set forth in House Report No. 1275.

House Report No. 1272, Air Transportation Development and Airspace Use Problems: In executing its legislative jurisdiction in the field of civil aviation policy, the committee has given special attention to airspace use problems and the continued orderly development of air transportation. In connection with its study of these aspects of the subject, it made a thorough investigation, in conjunction with the Federal regulatory agencies administering aviation legislation, of two civil aviation accidents—one the crash of a jet fighter plane and a civil passenger transport on January 31, 1957, in the Los Angeles area, and the other the crash of an airliner on February 1, 1957, following takeoff from LaGuardia Airport, New York. In the course of the committee's study, attention was drawn to the expansion of the Government's Military Air Transport Service and its effect on the sound development of civil aviation. The committee plans to make a study of this particular aspect of the problem.

Transportation policy (committee print): As a result of a study of transport policy and organization, made by an advisory committee established by the President in 1954, there were introduced in the House and referred to the committee in the 84th Congress two identical legislative proposals embodying the recommendations of the Presidential Advisory Committee on transport policy and organization. Extensive hearings were held on these proposals in the 84th Congress, comprising 1,860 printed pages of testimony. Due to the complex nature of the proposals, and the vast amount of information submitted at the hearings, the committee undertook to digest, analyze, and index the testimony, with the thought that such a synopsis would prove useful to the Members of the House in further consideration of transportation legislation.

Medical school inquiry (committee print): Consistent with its legislative responsibility in the field of public health, the committee made an extensive study into the problem of the adequacy of schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and public health to meet the needs of the constantly increasing number of applicants for admission to the country's medical schools. Since the 81st Congress, legislation has been introduced designed to assist medical schools, and at different times some bills have received active consideration by the Congress. Realizing the increasing importance of the need for additional educational facilities in the field of medicine and related sciences, the committee compiled for the convenience and use of the Members of the House the factual data it gathered on existing medical school facilities.

The More the Soviet Union Appears To Change, the More It Remains the Same

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. George E. Sokolsky from the Washington Post of today. It shows once more, for those who are still so reluctant to learn, that the more the Soviet Union seems to change, the more it remains the same. Every gesture that has appeared to be conciliatory was a device to buy time or divert attention or beguile us into relaxing. It was a step backward in order to take two steps forward. The pattern continues. There will be no conciliation on the Kremlin's part if and when it gets to the point where it can say to us, surrender or die.

Mr. Sokolsky's article follows:

RUSSIA AND AMERICA
(By George E. Sokolsky)

I have been reading an interesting, even an exciting little book entitled "Russia and America—Dangers and Prospects" by Henry L. Roberts, who is director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University. The book is a summary of more than 2 years of conferences in the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization which devotes itself to such matters.

On the whole, this is undoubtedly the most reasoned and most reasonable statement of our foreign policy that has yet appeared.

That does not necessarily mean that everybody will agree with every paragraph of Roberts' book. Althought it was written before the great changes that Khrushchev ushered in on his march toward supremacy and before the State Department sought to convince the American people that Marshal Zhukov was the really big man, Roberts wrote:

"It has been suggested, too, that (a) the Communist regime might 'regress' to a more traditional Russian pattern, or (b) the bureaucrats and technicians (including the military) might come to outweight the party and produce a managerial or technocratic system. With regard to the former, it is hard to envisage just what this regression would result in, especially since the Soviet regime in the course of its existence has taken over and utilized a number of traditional Russian patterns without having its purposes perceptibly diluted. At most, such traditionalist tendencies are likely to be more of a drag on the regime than an active force for change."

His understanding of the managing elite, the new aristocracy in Soviet Russia, is correct. These people have a vested interest in the continuance of their system and of themselves and their children in the managing elite, with all its privileges. They have therefore become orthodox in their Marxist ways and whoever seeks to weaken the Communist Party imperials them.

It is gratifying to find in a book issued under such auspices as the Council on Foreign Relations such a paragraph as this:

"• • • Recent research on the Soviet system has shown that the presumed reversions to normalcy of the later 1930's and early 1940's—the Popular Front as a form of multiparty cooperation, the 1936 constitution, the fostering of Great Russian nationalism, the announced dropping of the Comintern, the adoption of a new national anthem to replace the Internationale, and so forth—did not affect the basic structure of the state, the party, or the Communist ideology. Soviet foreign policy has remained an instrument of the total system. In 1943 and 1944, well before the postwar chilling of the alliance, the USSR was setting up the conditions for the sold war."

Some of us who so reported at the time were either called Fascists or fanatics, but the facts now stand out and many a reputation for expertness is destroyed a decade later by the inevitable exposure of the truth. What during the war years was regarded as expertness is now known, in many instances, to be little more than propaganda to make an ugly alliance with Soviet Russia palatable to a people who despised the Bolsheviks. This vast Government propaganda to make us love the Russians originated in a document which Harry Hopkins brought to the Quebec Conference in August 1943, and which contained this prophetic opinion:

"Since Russia is the decisive factor in the war, she must be given every assistance and every effort must be made to obtain her friendship. Likewise, since without question she will dominate Europe on the defeat of the Axis, it is even more essential to develop and maintain the most friendly relations with Russia."

The value of this book, which now can be bought in paper covers, is that it hammers out the various arguments, pro and con, and the conclusions reached are generally on the right side. It is a valuable study for those who search for truth.

Mutual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from today's New York Times entitled "The Foreign-Aid Bill":

THE FOREIGN-AID BILL

After kicking the mutual-security program back and forth between its two Houses and their committees, Congress has finally agreed in conference to appropriate a total of $3,435,810,000 for so-called foreign aid during the current fiscal year. Of this total only $2,768,760,000 is in new money, the rest consisting of unobligated funds voted in previous years and now reappropriated.

This total is more than $1½ billion below President Eisenhower's original request, more than $1 billion below his revised rockbottom figure, and even more than half a billion dollars below the figure previously authorized by Congress. It does represent an improvement over the lethal cuts made by the House of Representatives, but not much. Added to the reductions in both our own Defense Establishment and that of our allies, the congressional cuts in the mutual-se-

curity program can only further impair the safety of both this country and the whole free world confronted by an aggressive Soviet Russia which evades disarmament and boasts of new triumphs in both nuclear armament and political and economic penetration.

The cuts in the mutual security program are all the more regretable because, in contrast to the free world's military defense establishments which are designed to have a deterrent and therefore negative effect on Soviet ambitions, our foreign aid comprises in effect a positive, one might almost say "offensive," weapon in the cold war to counter the Soviet strategy of "peaceful competition" for men's souls to avert a possible arbitrament of nuclear arms. Yet, while the Soviets, with far smaller national resources, make all sorts of tempting offers to needy nations of both arms and economic and technical aid, sometimes with startling succes, Congress has seen fit to appropriate for this purpose only four-fifths of 1 percent of our gross national product, and only 1 percent of the current individual income in the United States. This is a low insurance premium which cannot buy the best insurance that might be had. And economy on insurance can be a false economy indeed.

How serious the cuts might turn out to be is shown by the following considerations. Direct military aid, which serves primarily to bolster NATO's still-lagging nuclear defenses, has been cut from the $1.9 billion asked by the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to $1,340,000,000. Defense support, three-quarters of which goes to help Korea, Vietnam, Free China, Turkey and Greece to maintain military establishments beyond their own capacity to carry them, has been cut from the $900 million requested to $725 million, which may mean that these establishments will have to be reduced. And Congress has not only refused President Eisenhower's request to transfer these direct military items to our own defense budget, where they belong, but has also gravely curtailed the development loan fund designed to permit long-term economic planning and make economic aid in time practically self-sustaining.

However, since both houses of Congress have now agreed on the compromise figure, the Eisenhower administration will have to live with it, and it will be up to James Hopkins Smith, Jr., the new director of the International Cooperation Administration, to make the most of it. The $5.5 billion worth of foreign aid still in the pipelines, plus various other assistance measures should facilitate his task. But it will take the most careful administration and avoidance of any waste to stretch the reduced program without irreparable harm to it.

Korea Salutes General MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Human Events on the celebration to be held in Korea at the dedication of a statue at Inchon in honor of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. I wish our own Government had given to this truly great general and noble American the honor his long life of brilliant and dedicated service deserves. I hope it may be done in order that he may know how profound is the respect and affection the Americans have for him in their hearts.

KOREA SALUTES GENERAL MACARTHUR

(By Edna Fluegel)

SEOUL, KOREA.—There's a great day coming for Korea—MacArthur Day, Inchon Day, American Day, Korea Day—in fact, several days when a whole nation plans to say "thank you" by giving.

From its poverty and urgent needs Korea has raised money—not a great sum to Americans, perhaps, but touchingly vast as a voluntary contribution from the people of the Republic of Korea. From its officialdom it has drawn a Who's Who of Korea to serve on the various planning and welcoming committees. Every class, every occupation and every business association is represented at some stage of the project. The program encompasses all of Korea, old and new, from classic dances and Mansei (three cheers) to the ROK army and a detailed schedule that reflects the impact of American military procedures on Korean public administration.

The days are September 14–20, 1957. The day of days is September 15, when a statue of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is to be unveiled high on a hill overlooking Inchon city and the site of his—and the free world's—great victory. The location is breathtaking; the statue, even in the rough clay form in which I saw it, is a masterpiece that will satisfy MacArthur admirers the world over.

This article is being written on June 22 after a day at Inchon and a visit to Manguk to see the statue in its present state. It is one day after America's historic decision to face up to reality by modernizing military equipment here because the Communists have ceaselessly violated the armistice. It is three days after the writer stood in the "security area," on Communist territory, and viewed the bridge of no return, with places that once were news spread out in all directions.

The scars of two Communist occupations are still vivid in Seoul, where the enemy is minutes away by jet-flight—a mere hour and a half by old-fashioned truck transport. Seoul is rebuilding, as is the whole of Korea. Though this is a city and a nation on the alert, where war is expected sooner or later, it is far removed from the fears of Washington and London—the fears that limited victory to South Korea, that deprived us of the chance to reverse the loss of China, and that may have made major war inevitable.

This land will be a military frontier of America for a long time—but it is thanks to Inchon that there is a Republic of Korea on this territory and that a frontier for both America and Korea is here at all. This the Koreans understand, both in terms of Inchon and later. Most of them believe that MacArthur was right in April 1951; many know the role he played on his return to America; some followed his great addresses and know that an aroused public opinion—further informed by such organizations as the American Legion and other patriotic societies—has contributed greatly toward stiffening American policy toward communism in Asia. And so Korea is giving this statue and these days in a tribute to a foreigner, a tribute unique in the long history of an ancient land.

Here is what the Koreans are planning. They want General MacArthur, his wife, his son and his aides to come to Korea on September 14. Everything that the Koreans could jam into the next few days is scheduled—and reportedly a large slice of the Republic will also be squeezed in somewhere between Seoul and Inchon. When a mere American tries to explain here that many American communities have also wanted MacArthur and that invitations from other countries have not been few, the Koreans with whom I have spoken say: "But we love MacArthur. He's ours. He surely will come if he is able."

The statue I saw today is a masterpiece in the making. It is 12 feet high. When finished in bronze it will rest on a 20-foot-high base on the top of a hill overlooking the city, the island on which the initial landing was made and the water far beyond. The statue is the creation of Kyong Sungkim, professor of Hong-ik University. With 10 assistants, he has been at work about a month in a studio that is itself incredible to an American—yet probably very similar to the studios from which the world's greatest art treasures emerged. Approaching through muddy, narrow alleys, surrounded by the din and crowds of swarming Manguk, you go up a precarious flight of wooden stairs to a room barren of modern equipment—but you don't notice the room or its lack of equipment for a long time.

For there, caught by some magic of the artist's skill and devotion, is MacArthur: the strategist who had to gamble because the issues were global and freedom itself was at stake; the commander loaded with honors who risked a great career, because he alone believed it could be done. He has just lowered his field glass and probably has heard the first favorable reports. The jubilation of some of the famous photographs has not yet come—but there is a surcease of tension, an almost calm, though not yet relaxed, feeling. There is motion, realistic appraisal; you almost expect him to turn to a companion and say, "It will work."

To Koreans, this statue and these scheduled days of rejoicing and of giving mean much. Korea has come a long, hard way. It has a long, hard way to go. It must produce and maintain the military might it needs, and the economic strength and social consciousness it must have to develop a sizable middle class—on which alone the democracy to which it aspires can be soundly based. It is weighed down, not only with problems of reconstruction, but with a heritage of decades of occupation. It is short on technical skills, managerial ability, and leadership qualities. Surrounded by Communist enemies and a former conqueror it still distrusts with its northern half still held by the Communists, this nation needs a "breather." Korea needs a chance to "point with pride" and, above all, a chance to give—to shower on a hero it has adopted as its own all its affection and devotion.

To Americans, this statue and these days are not without significance. Americans are not notably popular in many lands. Nor have we been overburdened with gratitude. There are other countries where Americans have fought and died, where American treasure has been freely unloaded, where America stands guard against the common foe. There are those who say that no great power should expect gratitude, and that East and West cannot meet in friendship or in mutual appreciation. But Korea is grateful and it is no small thing for one nation to enshrine as a national hero a man of another allegiance. That a man of the West kept faith with a small nation of the East and that the nation, in turn, remembers and is grateful may be a fact worthy of prayerful reflection by a disillusioned and troubled America.

Congressional Action on the President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. MAHON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, with respect to the overall budget, which was submitted to Congress by the President in January of this year, I wish to make the following observations.

It must be understood that there are two kinds of budgets—an appropriation budget and an expenditure budget. Also the Treasury may be obligated to spend money through legislative acts of Congress not handled by the Appropriations Committee. Typical examples of this are public and military housing. Another example are funds for the big highway construction program.

We reduced the President's appropriation budget for fiscal year 1958 in the sum of $4,914,355,584. In addition, we reduced deficiency budget requests which were presented to Congress during this session by the sum of $134,023,395. These deficiency requests were for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957. The total budget reductions during this session of Congress have therefore been $5,048,378,979. A portion of these reductions are accounted for by transfers of funds appropriated in prior years and transferred for obligation or expenditure in fiscal year 1958. In the defense budget such transfers in the sum of $590 million were made. This was the chief transfer but there were one or two others which were relatively minor and which I do not have at hand for inclusion at this point. It must be remembered, however, that in transferring these funds we have reduced the overall authority of the Government to obligate and spend money.

While it is true that the appropriation budget was reduced by $5,048,378,979, larger reductions can be appropriately claimed. The specific requests in such instances did not come before the Appropirations Comimttee. A good example of this is the school construction bill. The President included in the budget a request of $450 million for the school construction program, but the request never came before the Appropriations Committee officially because the school construction authorization bill was defeated by Congress. Another case in point is the mutual security bill, in the budget of the President submitted in January which included for appropriations the sum of $4.4 billion for the mutual security program. Although the President withdrew a part of this estimate, Congress also failed to authorize the amount officially requested, therefore, the amount which came before the Appropriations Committee was approximately $1 billion less than the January budget estimated. This $1 billion figure could be appropriately claimed as a reduction in the President's January budget. But the President himself was responsible for withdrawing his request for one-half of the latter sum. Another case in point is military construction.

I would now like to make reference to items requested in the budget which would grant authority to agencies to withdraw money from the Treasury without action of the Appropriations Committees, in other words without direct appropriations. For example, Congress exceeded the President's request for obligating authority for the housing program this year to the extent of about $1.1 billion. But the authority to guarantee housing loans, Commodity Credit Corporation loans and programs of that type are vastly different from regular direct appropriations granting authority to expend money which will not be répaid or recovered. Many of these loan programs represent very little ultimate loss to the Treasury, and this sort of obligational authority, and it is obligational authority, should not be considered in the same light as direct appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, these references have been very brief. As I said in the House earlier today the Gentleman from Missouri, Mr. CANNON, the Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee is preparing a very detailed statement in regard to the 1958 budget which will appear hereafter in the RECORD.

Crackdown on Careless Drivers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been a good deal of concern about Asian flu and other dangers to the people of America. I have received a letter from Horace T. Deahl pointing out the much graver problem of our ever-mounting automobile death toll. In my judgment, this letter is most timely when each day the newspapers carry accounts of death and destruction caused by drivers whose licenses long since should have been revoked. Under unanimous consent, I include this letter in the Appendix of the RECORD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 19, 1957.*

Hon. Mrs. GRACIE PFOST,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MADAM: There is a subject which too few people write about, but there should be a good deal. I refer to the slaughter on the crosswalks of our city streets.

There are many, many people driving cars who should be in insane asylums or penitentiaries. There are many homicidal maniacs driving cars today who have no more conscience that a rattlesnake.

In the old days when in the West everyone carried a gun there were very few people killed compared to what we kill with autos, and if some gunman did shoot anyone he was hunted down all over the State and other States and so it is today. If anyone poisons or stabs or slashes anyone to death or attempts to kill anyone he is punished if he is apprehended. Or if anyone is killed or injured with a blackjack or club or with any weapon he is hunted down—except one weapon. With that one weapon we are all free to rundown and maim or kill anyone we care to if we have the green light or if we are making a turn at a corner.

A lot of people undergo a transformation when they are behind the wheel of an auto, surrounded with 2,000 pounds of steel, more or less. They feel big and invincible. They feel like gods; and anyone on foot is their lawful prey if they choose to kill. The driver knows he will not get punished much, if at all. All he has to do is stop, appear to be sorry, and say he did not see the man, or woman, or baby. He is allowed to keep his car and go on driving, a menace to other pedestrians.

The auto kills more people than all the wars have in the past put together, and will continue to kill more and more as cars are built with more power and speed each year, and speed limits go up.

And why is this situation allowed to go on? They go on killing each other and their fathers and mothers and children. As time goes on we become more and more callous. In time it will be a common sight to see 5 or 6 corpses piled up on the corners waiting for the meatwagon to come around to gather them up.

If it is unlawful to kill people with any weapon why don't we include the auto? We might as well allow everyone to carry guns and shoot indiscriminately up and down the streets and if he shoots anyone just say, "Well, he got in my way, or I didn't see him," or some other foolish excuse. We don't make laws to punish these homicidal maniacs because we lack intestinal fortitude.

I know that because there are so many auto drivers there will be a lot of opposition to any such laws, but if we can get one good drastic law passed and we see the number of accidents take a big drop then we will see the benefit.

Say, for instance, any driver who kills a pedestrian on a city street crosswalk where the pedestrian has a green light serves 1 year in jail or pays a $5,000 fine or both. If a pedestrian is hit on a crosswalk when the pedestrian has the green light and is injured, even slightly, the motorist has his license suspended for 1 year. Make this mandatory, not up to the judge.

If these callous homicidal maniacs know they are bound to be punished they will be very careful. Then our old people will be able to cross in comparative safety and not have to run like a rabbit, like I saw an old woman about 70 have to do at 15th and New York Avenue to avoid being run down by a truck.

When I used to drive a horse and buggy I had more consideration for a rooster crossing the road than a lot of drivers give us old folks nowadays. Just because some ape sitting in a 2,000-pound steel vehicle is in a little hurry to get home to supper that doesn't give him the right to run over us. It's up to the law to show him different.

After all motorists are pedestrians, too, a times, but they don't seem able to get the pedestrian's view of it.

I have little hope that this letter will do any good or that you will even read it all, but I sincerely hope you will consider it, and remember it, and some day help to get these killers more punishment than they are getting now.

I remain,

Very sincerely and respectfully,

HORACE T. DEAHL.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

First session of Eighty-fifth Congress adjourned sine die.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 15080–15181

Bills Introduced: 24 bills and 8 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2888–S. 2911; S. J. Res. 132; and S. Res. 197–203. **Pages 15081–15082, 15234, 15236**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

Part II of S. Rept. 1163 accompanying S. 49, Alaska statehood, and Part II of S. Rept. 1164 accompanying S. 50, Hawaii statehood; and

H. R. 7972, providing for the conveyance of certain property to the city of Warner Robins, Ga. (S. Rept. 1165). **Pages 15080, 15207**

Bills Referred: Five House-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees. **Page 15079**

Greetings to Malay: S. Res. 198, extending cordial greetings to legislative assembly of Government of Federation of Malay, was adopted. **Page 15082**

Legislative Accomplishments: Order was entered for printing as a Senate document a statement on the legislative record of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, and as a Senate document minority statement on legislative record of 1st session of 85th Congress with an appendix of laws and treaties of general interest.

Pages 15114–15138, 15142–15151

Call of Calendar: On call of calendar, 56 measures, of which 28 were private, were passed, as follows:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

Michigan land: H. R. 7900, to permit the sale of certain land in Ottawa County, Mich.;

Missouri land: H. R. 580, to authorize exchange of certain land in Missouri;

Texas land: H. R. 7964, to remove limitation on use of certain realty heretofore conveyed to city of Austin, Tex., by U. S.; and

Private bills: 10 private bills, H. R. 8576, 1411, 1474, 1502, 1677, 4174, 7014, 8374, 1315, 4351.

With amendment, to be sent back to House:

Civil War commemoration: H. J. Res. 253, to establish a commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War; and

Private bills: Five private bills, H. R. 1419, 1883, 4544, 5719, 4335.

Without amendment and cleared for House (motions to reconsider passage of the following 16 judgeship bills were tabled):

Kansas judge: S. 264, to provide for the appointment of a district judge for the district of Kansas;

Maryland judge: S. 697, to provide for the appointment of a district judge for the district of Maryland;

North Carolina judge: S. 2700, to provide for the appointment of a district judge for the eastern, middle, and western districts of North Carolina;

Mississippi judge: S. 2701, to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the southern district of Mississippi;

Utah judge: S. 2702, to make permanent the temporary judgeship for the district of Utah;

North Dakota district: S. 2703, to provide for the redistricting of the judicial district of North Dakota;

Florida judge: S. 324, providing for appointment of an additional district judge for the southern district of Florida;

Connecticut judges: S. 472, authorizing two additional district judges for the district of Connecticut;

Colorado judge: S. 1060, providing for appointment of a district judge for the district of Colorado;

Nevada judge: S. 2714, authorizing an additional district judge for the district of Nevada;

Pennsylvania judges: S. 2747, providing for the appointment of two additional district judges for the eastern district of Pennsylvania;

South Carolina judge: S. 2773, providing for appointment of a district judge for the eastern and western districts of South Carolina;

Iowa judges: S. 2799, providing for a circuit judgeship for the eighth circuit, and for appointment of a district judge for the northern and southern districts of Iowa;

Massachusetts judge: S. 1224, providing for appointment of a district judge for the district of Massachusetts;

Ohio judges: S. 2832, providing for appointment of one additional district judge each for the northern and southern districts of Ohio;

New York judges: S. 2864, additional judges for Court of Appeals for Second Circuit and district courts for southern and eastern districts of New York;

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-fifth Congress will be published not later than Thursday, September 19, 1957. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Statuary Hall, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Basic Inquiry Into a Baffling Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the New York Times of August 25, 1957, by Mr. Edwin L. Dale, Jr., entitled "Basic Inquiry Into a Baffling Inflation." Mr. Dale examines the hearings which the Subcommittee on Monopoly and Antitrust Legislation has been holding into the administered-price field as well as other congressional inquiries into this subject. It is a very thoughtful and well-done article, reporting the views of outstanding economists, among others, that this is not the traditional type of inflation which can be controlled through traditional methods.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIC INQUIRY INTO A BAFFLING INFLATION

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—"Mr. Chairman, this is not the kind of inflation about which we have been reading in our textboooks."

"A rise in prices in these conditions is a most serious situation."

"The contrast between this inflationary movement and those of World War II and the Korean war will be evident."

These are 3 statements made by 3 economists of widely differing viewpoints before congressional committees in the past several months. Needless to say, they were talking about what more than one member of Congress has called America's most serious domestic problem—the renewed surge of inflation.

Is the current inflation so baffling, then? Haven't we always had inflation?

The answers, in order, are "Yes" and "No."

This inflation is baffling because, among other things, most of the classic conditions for inflation do not exist:

1. The Government is running a small surplus, not a deficit. The Government, if anything, is subtracting from total spending power, not adding to it. Yet prices are rising.

2. The Government's tight-money policy is working, in the sense that the Nation's total supply of money—currency plus demand deposits in banks—is hardly expanding at all, as it has almost invariably expanded in past inflations. Yet prices are rising.

3. Most important, not only are there no shortages to speak of in the economy, but there is substantial excess capacity in almost all manufacturing, farming, and mining. In the face of fairly sluggish overall demand, the Nation's industrial output has actually declined a little this year, unheard of in a general inflation. Yet prices are rising.

Perhaps this is all a little different, the ordinary citizen may say, but surely we've always had inflation, haven't we? One way or another, haven't prices risen steadily throughout our history?

Surprisingly, the answer is in the negative. The United States has experienced far more years of steady or declining prices than years of rising prices, and the stable years have included many years of prosperity. If the inevitable inflationary effect of wars is left out, the price level has risen very little over the past century and a half. This point is of crucial importance because it indicates that the built-in bias of our kind of economy is not—or at least has not been in the past—an inflationary bias.

Even in the modern period, since World War II, there has been much more price stability than people realize. Judging by the Consumer Price Index, prices were stable from late 1948, when the war inflation finally ended, until the Korean war, and then again from mid-1952 until the current new inflation broke out early last year.

By inflation we mean here simply rising prices to consumers. There are other definitions, but this one will suffice. What has happened during the new inflation of the past 16 months is that prices to consumers have risen just short of 5 percent—possibly the steepest inflation in history not directly associated with a war. In and after wars there are huge Government deficits, huge increases in the money supply, widespread shortages and, in general, a big excess of demand over supply—conditions which, as has been noted, evidently do not exist today.

The Government, it is important to note, is acting today as if this were a standard inflation caused by standard causes. It is using the classic anti-inflation medicine: tight money and a balanced budget. Men like George Humphrey, the former Secretary of the Treasury, are convinced that these remedies will eventually work, and without causing a bad slump in the process.

This viewpoint is fully shared by a large and respected school of economists who might be called the classicists. These men, too, are certain that the present inflation is not really peculiar, that it is caused by the same thing that has always caused inflation—too much money chasing the available supply of goods and services—and that the cure for it is tight money.

They explain the failure of the old-fashioned medicine to work so far largely in technical terms involving the velocity of turnover of the existing supply of money. The money supply, while not rising much, is turning over much faster, and this has the same effect as a rising supply. But this rise in velocity can go only so far, say the classicists, and if the Government continues to keep the money supply under control the inflation will stop.

The nonclassicists or new inflationists—the men who believe this to be a situation fundamentally new in our history—say the classicists may be theoretically right, but that in practice they are wrong. True, there has to be a large enough money demand to validate price rises brought about for nonmonetary reasons. True, the Federal Reserve could theoretically stop the inflation by squeezing money so tight as to cause severe unemployment. But the real causes of the inflation are nonmonetary causes. Modern America simply will not permit serious unemployment as a solution to anything, even inflation, and monetary restraint cannot succeed short of such serious unemployment.

The puzzling character of the inflation has led these men into many hitherto unexplored channels for an explanation. They have tried to find out why individual prices at wholesale, some up and some steady or even down, have not been behaving at all in the classical pattern; why consumer prices and wholesale prices appear to be reflecting different influences and conditions; why tight money does not appear to be working; and, if new forces are now at work in the economy, what kept them from working during the 4-year period of stability up to last year.

The search has led, among other things, to the discovery that the 4 years of stability were in part an illusion. There was the slump in farm prices from Korean war peaks that went much farther than anyone wanted. There was the 1953–54 recession which, while not serious, created more unemployment than most people wanted and pretty well halted price and wage increases in much of the economy while it lasted. There was the emergence of the discount house and a drastic, one-shot squeeze on retail unit profit margins for consumer durable goods (these prices were declining at retail through most of the 4 years). In short, the basic forces of the new inflation probably were at work all along, but were disguised for a while in the general averages.

Before assessing these basic forces, it is well to take note of three causes of the new inflation that are of considerable importance and are frequently overlooked:

1. The impact of our exploding population, together with the World War and Korean war rises in general wages and prices, on State and local government budgets. These governments finance themselves to a large extent by sales taxes and local property taxes—both of which enter directly into the Federal Government's consumer price index. For example, some of the steepest price rises in recent years have been in cigarettes and gasoline—mainly because of sales taxes.

This is certainly a nonclassic situation, and indeed is not even inflation in any ordinary sense of the term. But consumers pay higher prices because of it.

2. The catch-up in rents. A part of the steady rise in the fairly important rent section of the index is attributable to the gradual dismantling of rent controls, which persisted much longer than other direct controls. Rents were artificially low and were bound to rise as controls came off. Again, this is not a classic, or even a continuing, condition.

3. The turn-around in some key farm prices. Here the issue is not Government price supports, which have an astonishingly slight impact on food prices paid by consumers. The prices in question are prices of things with no price support at all—mainly meats. A combination of steadily rising population, and hence food buying, with some decline in excessive numbers of meat animals, has brought a sharp increase in meat prices from their 1953–54–55 low. This, for once, is a classic supply-and-demand situation, and it need not continue. That is, food prices may not be pulled up continuously from this particular cause.

Granting all these causes, however, the heart of the exploration into the new inflation centers around the powers and practices of business (particularly big business) and labor (particularly organized labor). Whether he blames business or labor or both, the new inflationist arrives, in one sense, at the same answer: This is something relatively new under the sun, and there is little the classic Government weapon of monetary restraint can reasonably do to prevent the resulting inflation.

President Eisenhower is clearly a new inflationist; he says that only statesmanlike action by both business and labor can save the day, and that Government cannot do the whole anti-inflation job. Such a statement would be meaningless if—as in classical theory—no individual unit or group of units in the economy has independent power to influence the total result.

What, then, are the facts of the situation? Fortunately, there will be nearly unanimous agreement on several major ones:

Item: Wages have risen faster than the productivity of labor during most of the past decade. This means that labor costs for each unit of output have risen. They are 28 percent higher today than 10 years ago, according to a recent study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

This has nothing to do—for the moment—with union or nonunion wages. It may well be, though statistics on the point are hazy, that wages in unionized industries have exceeded productivity increases less than in nonunionized industries (thought, if so, this merely means that unions are concentrated in industries which, by their nature, are able to mechanize).

In any case, final prices of goods and services must in the end cover higher labor costs, irrespective of the cause of those higher labor costs, unless business profits are to be sharply narrowed. The evidence appears to be that business profits, in the sense of profit margin over costs, have remained remarkably stable or even declined a little over the decade.

Item: The steadiest and, in the aggregate, largest price increases in the past 5 years have been in services and other nongoods. These include personal services, repair services, entertainment, utilities and public transportation, plus the aforementioned rent. Across most of this area, unionized or not, wages are an exceptionally large element in total cost of production, productivity rises slowly if at all, and final prices must quickly reflect higher wage levels.

Item: There is something of a labor shortage, particularly in the prime 25–45 age group, partly caused by low depression birth rates but mainly by the national commitment to, and experience of, full employment. This means that as one wage rises, other wages in a given community tend to rise fairly soon afterward. This is why, although only one-third of the nonfarm labor force is organized in unions, wages have risen across the board in recent years. It is why, for example, wages and hence prices have risen even in the nonunionized small service industries.

This point also explains a most revealing phenomenon of the 1954 recession. Even though many big unions won wage increases that year in the face of partial slumps in their industries, general wages rose very little. There was just enough unemployment, and hence labor surplus, to prevent the spillover of wage increases into the nonunionized sectors. Thus, United States Steel can argue that you could never tell from its wage chart whether the economy was in a boom or a depression, but the Nation's wage chart shows the difference very well.

Item: In many segments of industry there exists a considerable discretion over prices by the seller—called the power to administer prices—without regard to the strength or weakness of demand. This is an extremely subtle, and somewhat controversial, point, but one which is being carefully explored in the context of the new inflation. No one contends that this power is limitless, but it is quite obvious from recent experience that the steel, auto, aluminum, and tire industries, for example, have the power to raise prices even though they are operating at far less than capacity and demand is sluggish.

Price-administering power is said to characterize particularly those industries dominated by a few large firms (the concentrated industries). Whether this is true or not—and some analysts say it exists in many sectors not usually considered concentrated—there is agreement that it can exist only when the number of sellers is relatively small. The point is, it clearly exists in sufficient degree so that business after business is reasonably sure that, if it grants a wage increase, it can recover the cost in higher prices.

Steel is a perfect example of the general proposition. This industry obviously could have raised prices, and increased its profits, in January or April instead of July. It timed the increase in July to coincide with the wage increase, but the key point is that the price-raising power was always there.

Item: The only hope for general price stability is that some prices—in sectors where machinery adds rapidly to productivity—actually decline. Prices in those areas where there is little hope for rising productivity (haircuts are a perfect example) are bound to creep upward over time, as living standards and general wages improve. This means that where productivity is high, as in manufacturing generally, the consumer must get some of the benefits of rising productivity if overall prices are to be stable. Thus, if the wage-price situation in major industries merely prevents price declines, it is inflationary.

Item: There is a built-in political need for the labor union leader to win a wage increase every year, if at all possible, and to win as good increases for his men as the labor leader in the next union.

The pattern of the new inflation begins to emerge from this set of familiar conditions in the modern economy. It can be called a cost-push inflation or a wage inflation—but it is a wage inflation that could not exist but for pricing powers inherent in modern capitalism and a basic national commitment to full employment. This national commitment is something new in our experience.

Another new factor is the existence of strong labor unions in a normal time; this is the first period since labor unions grew powerful in the 1930's that we have not had either a depression or a classic inflation of the wartime type, when wages probably would be sucked up along with everything else whether unions existed or not. Now unions for the first time clearly are capable of exerting their own upward push toward higher wages, which, in full employment, tends to spread to nonunionized sectors.

This portrait of the new inflation has long since been accepted abroad, particularly in Britain. Wage inflation is accepted as a real, new economic force, even though many men who accept it haven't the slightest antipathy to labor unions and fully believe in the value of unions. Irrespective of one's sympathies, the deeply disturbing aspect of the new inflation is that remedies for it are difficult, perhaps impossible, to find.

As an economy, and as a people, we have found ways of insulating ourselves from Adam Smith's classic model, in which the desire of each individual to improve his income worked for the general good. Now our greed works for the general harm—or at least for a general rise in prices. We have, as it were, created a set of institutions by which we can all get a raise each and every year.

If the new inflationists are right in their analysis, is there no escape from a constantly rising price level? The state of the evidence, and of the analysis up to now, is not encouraging. The solutions proposed by a few of the new inflationists are rather tentative and unimpressive. The most common is known as the jawbone attack. With varying ramifications, it really involves just an appeal, by such means as Presidential statements or Presidentially called conferences of business and labor leaders, to people to be less desirous of improving their incomes.

It assumes a sort of noneconomic man and, judging by past efforts of the sort, has dubious prospects. However, this is the approach receiving more and more attention abroad and, given a widespread public acceptance of the concepts of the new inflation and the consequent need for restraint, it conceivably might work. Inasmuch as practically nobody favors direct Government controls, there is a good chance that this method may be tried some time in the next year or two, with much more fanfare than has accompanied appeals for restraint so far.

Several of the more daring new inflationists—men like Leon Keyserling, former chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers—have proposed the radical solution of measures that are actually inflationary in the classical sense; pumping up the money supply and running Government deficits in an effort to resume the rapid rate of economic growth reached during the early postwar period. It is argued that in this way productivity will rise faster and form more of an offset to the apparently inevitable (even desirable) wage increases. The method, whatever its merits, seems most unlikely to be tried, given the current state of political and economic sentiment.

It must be reported that in their private hearts even those new inflationists who have suggested remedies are pessimistic about the future of prices. The writer has heard more than one of them say that if we can keep the price rise to say 30 percent over the next 20 years, we shall have done extremely well. But it is important to note that many of these men—led by Harvard's Sumner Slichter—are not greatly alarmed about the continuance of creeping inflation. They feel it

can be lived with and that it is, in any case, far preferable to the severe unemployment that would be needed to halt it.

Nonetheless, such a price rise not only destroys or impairs savings, and creates inequities for those groups who have not institutionalized their power to improve their incomes, but creates a potentially far more serious problem as well.

The men currently in charge of the Nation's economic policy—in the Federal Reserve, in the Treasury, and in the Council of Economic Advisers—are convinced with a passion that creeping inflation of this type is inherently unsustainable. They are certain it will so change people's habits and expectations, their decisions to spend and invest and save, that the whole economy will change. We shall then have either a runaway inflation or a bust—probably first one and then the other.

These men, it should be noted, are also classicists. They believe that the current weapons will work and that the inflation will soon end—even though it might take a mild dose of unemployment to do it. And that, in fact, is what might well happen. Certainly the great debate is not yet resolved, and it can be resolved only in the test of time.

Even if the new inflationists are right, the situation need not be considered hopeless. On the assumption that a majority of the community is against inflation—perhaps a debatable assumption—inflation will become one of those problems of urgency for which, in our past, solutions of some kind almost always seem to have been found. Perhaps it will be the jawbone attack, perhaps even controls of some kind, with all their evils.

The fact that no solution is self-evident now does not mean there is none. But one absolute prerequisite to a solution is a genuine conviction by a substantial majority of the society that inflation is bad—a conviction that may not exist today.

One thing, at least, is clear. The next year, possibly two, should tell the story of whether this is, after all, a predominantly new breed of inflation and one not subject to any currently visible remedy. If tight money and fiscal restraint have not worked by then, the classicists will almost have to concede defeat.

In England and in much of Europe there is considerable resignation to the idea that modern capitalism, modern labor, and modern government create a built-in bias toward inflation for the first time in history. By a year from now those Americans who have resisted the idea heretofore may have to reach the same conclusion—and then start looking for remedies based on the discovery that classical impersonal market restraints simply will not work.

Resolution by Members of the Massachusetts Delegation To Continue the Operation of Murphy Army General Hospital in the Best National Security and Economic Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a resolution adopted and signed by Members of the Massachusetts delegation in the House, and transmitted to the Secretary of the Army, requesting his reconsideration and recall of a recent order to completely deactivate this Army general hospital by January 1, 1958.

As revealed by the resolution, it is the combined and conscientious conviction of these Members that a proper and reasonable evaluation of all the factors involved clearly demonstrate it would be in the best national security and economic interest to keep this hospital operating, at least at its current level.

The resolution also reminds the Secretary that such was the express intent of the House when the Mililtary Appropriations Act of 1958 was considered by this body on July 24, 1957.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION BY MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATION MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PETITIONING DEFENSE DEPARTMENT TO CONTINUE CURRENT OPERATION OF MURPHY ARMY GENERAL HOSPITAL AT WALTHAM, MASS., IN THE NATIONAL AND MILITARY INTEREST

Whereas Murphy General Hospital in origination and intention, for the emergencies of war or national pestilence was designed as a vital unit of the military-hospital network required to adequately fulfill the military obligation; and

Whereas the catastrophes of war and pestilence currently threaten the national security; and

Whereas this general hospital is the only such hospital within the New England area and has been competently serving the whole population of that entire region; and

Whereas incalculable hardship would be inevitably visited upon wide segments of the military personnel and dependents through travel and financial expense, following any deactivation; and

Whereas Murphy General Hospital is ideally accessible by train, plane, and automobile as well as being advantageously located adjacent to one of the greatest and most renowned medical centers of the world; and

Whereas the New England area is among the very highest, if not the highest, potential military recruitment sections of the country; and

Whereas the comparative cost of military hospital care and private hospital care under the so-called Military Dependents Assistance Act demonstrates the economic advantage of treating military dependents at military hospitals; and

Whereas the financial condition and atmosphere of the Nation make it imperative for this Government to exercise the greatest diligence in the expenditure of the American taxpayers' money; and

Whereas the buildings and grounds of Murphy Army General Hospital are in excellent condition; and

Whereas it is conservatively estimated that any planned replacement of Murphy General Hospital would require the expenditure of five times more than the original cost of Murphy General Hospital; and

Whereas one of the highest legal and moral obligations of the Military Establishment is to do everything within reason to maintain and heighten the patriotic morale of military personnel and their dependents and increase the attractiveness of a military career; and

Whereas it is manifestly against the best and wisest national interest to project a dangerous and dubious gamble with military morale and career incentives: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the undersigned members of the Massachusetts delegation in the United States House of Representatives do hereby respectfully petition the Secretary of the Army, and other concerned officials of the Defense Department, to conscientiously reconsider and recall the outstanding directive that Murphy General Hospital be completely deactivated as of January 1, 1958; and be it further

Resolved, That the undersigned do hereby express their most sincere convictions that such rescinding action would be in accord with the expressed intent of the United States House of Representatives as well as the best interest of this Nation.

Signed August 29, 1957.

JOHN W. MCCORMACK, HAROLD D. DONOHUE, PHILIP J. PHILBIN, THOMAS J. LANE, EDWARD P. BOLAND, THOMAS P. O'NEILL, TORBERT H. MACDONALD, JOSEPH W. MARTIN, EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, WILLIAM H. BATES, LAURENCE CURTIS, DONALD W. NICHOLSON, *Members of Congress.*

Report to the People of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin—XI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin on my voting and attendance record for the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

No attempt has been made to include votes on all of the numerous bills, motions, and amendments. The report does include all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. The purpose of this report is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through some 15,000 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The descriptions of the bills and the amendments or motions as contained in the report are for the purposes of identification only; no attempt is made to describe the legislation completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved. I believe this word of caution is advisable in view of the fact that the descriptions used are, for the most part, taken from the official titles of the bills which unfortunately do not always reflect the nature or true purpose of the legislation. Upon request, I will be pleased to furnish more complete information concerning any particular bill; as well as a summary of the issues involved and the reasons for my vote.

The furnishing of this report continues a service I began in the 1st session of the 80th Congress. This is the 11th report of my voting and attendance record. These 11 reports show how I voted on 1,532 questions in the House of Representatives. Based on quorum calls and the record votes, they also show an attendance record of 95 percent.

Voting and attendance record, Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, 8th District, Wisconsin (85th Cong., 1st sess.)

Roll-call No.	Date 1957	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1	Jan. 3	Call of the House	Present.
2	Jan. 3	Election of Speaker	Martin.
3	Jan. 29	Quorum call	Present.
		H. Res. 123, providing for the consideration of H. J. Res. 117, authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East:	
4	Jan. 29	On ordering the previous question. (Passed 262 to 146)	Yea.
		H. J. Res. 117, authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East:	
5	Jan. 30	On passage. (Passed 355 to 61)	Yea.
		H. R. 4249, making a deficiency appropriation for the fiscal year 1957:	
6	Feb. 5	On amendment placing a $15,728,000 limitation on amount to be spent for State and local administration of public assistance grants. (Passed 206 to 167.)	Yea.
		H. R. 2367, providing for payment to ranchers for deferred grazing as part of relief available to drought-stricken areas of the Southwest:	
7	Feb. 6	On passage. (Passed 270 to 108)	Nay.
8	Feb. 19	Quorum call	Present.
9	Feb. 20	Quorum call	Present.
10	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
11	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
12	Mar. 5	Quorum call	Present.
13	Mar. 6	Quorum call	Present.
14	Mar. 7	Quorum call	Present.
		H. Res. 188, providing for House agreement to Senate amendments to H. J. Res. 117, authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East:	
15	Mar. 7	On passage. (Passed 350 to 60)	Yea.
16	Mar. 12	Quorum call	Present.
		H. Res. 190, requesting the President to indicate where substantial reductions in the 1958 budget may best be made:	
17	Mar. 12	On passage of H. Res. 192, providing for consideration of H. Res. 190. (Passed 219 to 185)	Nay.
18	Mar. 12	On motion to recommit and substitute resolution commending President for requesting departments to review budget requests to determine where cuts can be made and requesting President make information received available to the House of Representatives. (Rejected 185 to 214).	Yea.
19	Mar. 12	On passage. (Passed 219 to 178)	Nay.
20	Mar. 13	Quorum call	Present.
21	Mar. 13	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 4901, establishing a minimum acreage allotment for corn:	
22	Mar. 13	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 168 to 237)	Nay.
23	Mar. 13	On passage. (Defeated 188 to 217)	Yea.
24	Mar. 14	Quorum call	Present.
25	Mar. 14	Quorum call	Present.
26	Mar. 20	Quorum call	Present.
27	Mar. 21	Quorum call	Present.
28	Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
29	Mar. 26	Quorum call	Present.
30	Mar. 27	Quorum call	Present.
		H. Res. 85, authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct studies and investigations, and to make inquiries relating to operation of the monetary and credit structure of the United States:	
31	Mar. 27	On passage. (Defeated 174 to 225)	Nay.
32	Mar. 28	Quorum call	Present.
33	Mar. 29	Quorum call	Present.
34	Apr. 1	Quorum call	Present.
35	Apr. 2	Quorum call	Present.
36	Apr. 3	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6287, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for fiscal year 1958:	
37	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $30,000 the appropriation for 3 new positions in the Department of Labor to handle international labor affairs in South America and the Near East. (Passed 286 to 126.)	Yea.
38	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $204,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of the Solicitor, Department of Labor. (Passed 241 to 171.)	Yea.
39	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $46,300 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor. (Passed 246 to 169.)	Yea.
40	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $136,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights. (Passed 137 to 275.)	Yea.
41	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $442,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor. (Passed 214 to 206.)	Yea.
42	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $12,186,000 funds for grants to States for unemployment compensation, thus eliminating an increase requested by Bureau of Budget over departmental request and eliminating contingency funds. (Passed 220 to 199.)	Yea.
43	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $1,500,000 funds for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and provide same amount used in 1957. (Passed 253 to 167.)	Yea.
44	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $263,800 the appropriation for new positions in the Mexican farm labor program. (Passed 342 to 167)	Yea.
45	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $346,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Passed 217 to 201)	Yea.
46	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $31,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Women's Bureau. (Rejected 206 to 209)	Yea.
47	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $288,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor. (Passed 214 to 206.)	Yea.
48	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $1,327,000 the increase in funds for expansion of the Food and Drug Administration. (Rejected 130 to 285)	Yea.
49	Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $1,482,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of Education. (Rejected 206 to 207.)	Yea.
50	Apr. 4	On amendment to delete language providing $50,000,000 to municipalities for waste treatment works construction. (Rejected 185 to 231)	Yea.
51	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6306, increasing the authorized cost for construction of 4-lane bridge to replace the existing 14th Street Bridge across the Potomac River:	
52	Apr. 8	On passage. (Passed 190 to 131)	Yea.
53	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
54	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
55	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
56	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
57	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
58	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
		S. J. Res. 72, approving an agreement amending the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of Dec. 6, 1945, relative to deferment of certain interest payments:	
59	Apr. 10	On passage. (Passed 218 to 167)	Yea.
		H. Res. 191, providing $350,000 (in lieu of $100,000) for purpose of investigating studies by House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:	
60	Apr. 11	On passage. (Passed 225 to 143)	Nay.
61	Apr. 15	Quorum call	Present.
62	Apr. 16	Quorum call	Present.
63	Apr. 17	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6871, making appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal year 1958:	
64	Apr. 17	On amendment to reduce by $7,039,958 the appropriation for the United States share of the cost of international organizations of which we are a member. (Rejected 166 to 205)	Nay.
65	May 7	Quorum call	Absent.
66	May 8	Quorum call	Present.
67	May 9	Quorum call	Present.
68	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
69	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
70	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
71	May 14	Quorum call	Present.
72	May 14	Quorum call	Present.
73	May 15	Quorum call	Present.

Voting and attendance record, Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, 8th District, Wisconsin (85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1957	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H. R. 7441, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration for fiscal year 1958:	
74	May 15	On amendment to suspend operation of the soil-bank program at the end of fiscal year 1957 and to delete provision for $500,000,000 for the 1958 program. (Passed 192 to 187.)	Nay.
75	May 21	Quorum call	Present.
76	May 22	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 7599, making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal year 1958:	
77	May 22	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete $7,500,000 for construction of an additional House Office Building. (Rejected 176 to 206.)	Yea.
78	May 22	On passage. (Passed 278 to 93)	Nay.
		H. R. 2, authorizing the State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago to divert additional water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway:	
79	May 22	On passage of H. Res. 254, providing for consideration of H. R. 2. (Passed 267 to 102)	Nay.
80	May 22	On motion to recommit until the bilateral discussions between the United States and the Dominion of Canada with respect to the further diversion of water from Lake Michigan have been concluded. (Rejected 143 to 224.)	Yea.
81	May 22	On passage. (Passed 222 to 143)	Nay.
82	May 23	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 985, providing that chief judges of circuit and district courts shall cease to serve as such upon reaching the age of 75:	
83	May 23	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 47 to 293)	Nay.
84	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
85	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
86	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
87	May 27	Quorum call	Present.
88	May 27	Quorum call	Present.
89	May 28	Quorum call	Present.
90	May 29	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 7665, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1958:	
91	May 29	On motion to recommit with instructions to restore $313 million of the committee cut of $2,586,775,000. (Rejected 151 to 242)	Yea.
92	May 29	On passage. (Passed 394 to 1)	Yea.
93	June 3	Quorum call	Present.
94	June 4	Quorum call	Present.
95	June 5	Quorum call	Present.
		H. Res. 259, providing for the consideration of H. R. 6127, providing means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States:	
96	June 5	On passage. (Passed 290 to 117)	Yea.
97	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
98	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
99	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
100	June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
101	June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
102	June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
103	June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
104	June 10	Quorum call	Present.
105	June 10	Quorum call	Present.
106	June 10	Quorum call	Absent.
107	June 11	Quorum call	Present.
108	June 13	Quorum call	Present.
109	June 14	Quorum call	Present.
110	June 17	Quorum call	Present.
111	June 18	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6127, providing means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States:	
112	June 18	On motion to recommit with instructions to add provision for jury trial in contempt proceedings. (Rejected 158 to 251)	Nay.
113	June 18	On passage. (Passed 286 to 126)	Yea.
114	June 18	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 7221, making supplemental appropriations for 1957:	
115	June 18	On motion to agree to Senate amendment providing $14,000,000 for initiation of Federal flood-insurance program. (Rejected 186 to 218)	Nay.
116	June 19	Quorum call	Present.
117	June 20	Quorum call	Present.
118	June 21	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6974, extending for 1 year the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954:	
119	June 21	On passage. (Passed 344 to 7)	Yea.
120	June 24	Quorum call	Present.
121	June 25	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 7963, amending the Small Business Act of 1953, making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency:	
122	June 25	On passage. (Passed 392 to 2)	Yea.
123	June 26	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6287, making appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for fiscal year 1958:	
124	June 26	On motion to recommit the conference report. (Rejected 73 to 321)	Not voting.[1]
125	June 27	Quorum call	Present.
126	June 27	Quorum call	Present.
		S. 1428, authorizing furniture and furnishings for the additional office building for the U. S. Senate:	
127	June 27	On motion to recommit with instructions that the House Public Works Committee insert specific cost figures. (Rejected 135 to 231)	Nay.
		S. 1429, authorizing the enlargement and remodeling of Senators' suites, and other changes and improvements in the existing Senate Office Building:	
128	June 27	On motion to recommit with instructions that the House Public Works Committee insert specific cost figures. (Rejected 148 to 216)	Yea.
129	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
130	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
131	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
132	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
133	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
134	July 9	Quorum call	Present.
135	July 9	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 8240, authorizing certain construction at military installations:	
136	July 10	On amendment deleting from bill section requiring congressional review of action by Defense Department to eliminate activities competing with small businesses. (Rejected 183 to 230.)	Yea.
		H. R. 7390, providing for limitation and regulation of the use of advisory committees within the executive branch:	
137	July 10	On motion to recommit to the Committee on Government Operations with instructions to receive further testimony from the Department of Defense and the Post Office Department. (Rejected 183 to 225.)	Yea.
		H. R. 8364, further amending the Reorganization Act of 1949, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to Congress at any time before July 1, 1959:	
138	July 10	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 44 to 330.)	Nay.
139	July 11	Quorum call	Present.
140	July 11	Quorum call	Present.
141	July 12	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 72, amending the World War Veterans' Act of 1924 to restrict the transfer of estates of incompetent veterans derived from compensation and pensions:	
142	July 12	On motion to recommit. (Passed 191 to 161)	Nay.
143	July 15	Quorum call	Present[1].
144	July 16	Quorum call	Present.
145	July 16	Quorum call	Present.
146	July 17	Quorum call	Present.
147	July 19	Quorum call	Present.
		S. 2130, the Mutual Security Act of 1957:	
148	July 19	On motion to recommit to delete provisions creating the Development Loan Fund. (Rejected 181 to 227)	Nay.
149	July 19	On passage. (Passed 254 to 154)	Yea.
150	July 22	Quorum call	Present.

[1] Absent. Would have voted "nay" if present.

Voting and attendance record, Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, 8th District, Wisconsin (85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1957	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H. R. 2474, providing for a $546 increase in basic salary of employees in the postal field service:	
151	July 23	On passage. (Passed 379 to 38)	Nay.
152	July 23	Quorum call	Present.
153	July 25	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 1, providing for Federal assistance to States for school construction:	
154	July 25	On motion to strike the enacting clause (and prevent further consideration of the bill). (Passed 208 to 203)	Nay.
155	July 29	Quorum call	Present.
156	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
157	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
158	July 31	Quorum call	Present.
		S. 1856, establishing the Airways Modernization Board to provide for the development and modernization of navigation and traffic-control facilities:	
159	July 31	On passage. (Passed 375 to 17)	Yea.
160	July 31	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 2147, providing for the construction of the San Angelo Federal reclamation project, Texas:	
161	July 31	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 189 to 202)	Yea.
162	July 31	On passage. (Passed 201–190)	Nay.
163	Aug. 1	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 8643, authorizing the public construction of certain works of improvement in the Niagara River for power, and for other purposes:	
164	Aug. 1	On passage. (Passed 313 to 75)	Nay.
165	Aug. 1	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6763, providing for the construction of a 4-lane tunnel under the Potomac River in the vicinity of Constitution Ave. in lieu of a bridge previously authorized:	
166	Aug. 1	On motion to consider the bill. (Passed 296 to 76)	Nay.
167	Aug. 1	On motion to strike enacting clause (and prevent further consideration of the bill.) (Rejected 175 to 194)	Yea.
168	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 6763 (continued from Aug. 1):	
169	Aug. 2	On motion to consider the bill. (Passed 275 to 59)	Nay.
170	Aug. 2	On amendment changing the bill to provide for a 6-lane bridge in lieu of a tunnel. (Passed 225 to 107)	Yea.
		H. R. 6709, implementing a treaty and agreement with the Republic of Panama:	
171	Aug. 5	On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. (Passed 279 to 91)	Yea.
172	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
173	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
174	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 9131, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1958:	
175	Aug. 7	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce appropriation of new funds for TVA by $9,784,000. (Rejected 158 to 244)	Yea.
176	Aug. 7	On passage. (Passed 330 to 75)	Nay.
177	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
		H. Res. 362, providing for the consideration of H. R. 7244, amending the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, permitting deductions for a self-help meat promotion program:	
178	Aug. 7	On passage. (Defeated 175 to 216)	Yea.
179	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 4813, extending the life of the District of Columbia Auditorium Commission:	
180	Aug. 8	On adoption of conference report authorizing the acquisition of certain land for a District auditorium-cultural center. (Rejected 115 to 284.)	Nay.
181	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 8992, providing for United States participation in the organs of the International Atomic Energy Agency:	
182	Agu. 8	On motion to delete provision for congressional control over distribution of nuclear material and deleting authorization for matching of material with other members. (Passed 298 to 100.)	Yea.
183	Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 8996, authorizing appropriation for the Atomic Energy Commission:	
184	Aug. 9	On amendment deleting $3,000,000 for design and construction estimates of a plutonium reactor. (Rejected 197 to 201)	Yea.
185	Aug. 9	On amendment deleting $55,000,000 for construction by the Commission of a natural uranium and a plutonium recycle reactor. (Passed 211 to 188.)	Yea.
186	Aug. 9	On amendment revising cooperative power reactor demonstration program and deleting provision for Government ownership and operation of generating plants. (Passed 213 to 185.)	Yea.
187	Aug. 9	On passage. (Passed 382 to 14)	Yea.
		H. R. 2462, providing an 11 percent across-the-board salary increase for classified Federal employees:	
188	Aug. 9	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 70 to 319)	Yea.
189	Aug. 9	On passage. (Passed 329 to 58)	Nay.
190	Aug. 13	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 8090, making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army and certain agencies of the Department of the Interior for fiscal year 1958 (conference report):	
191	Aug. 13	On motion to agree to Senate amendment earmarking $500,000 for preparing plans for Bruces Eddy project on Clearwater River, Idaho. (Rejected 23 to 363).	Nay.
		H. R. 5836, increasing certain postal rates:	
192	Aug. 13	On passage. (Passed 256 to 129)	Yea.
193	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
		S. 2130, the Mutual Security Act of 1957:	
194	Aug. 14	On adoption of conference report increasing amount authorized by House by $250,000,000 and extending Development Loan Fund to 1960. (Adopted 226 to 163).	Nay.
		S. 1383, amending the Interstate Commerce Act to change the requirements for obtaining a freight forwarder permit:	
195	Aug. 14	On passage. (Passed 177 to 176)	Yea.
196	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 9302, making appropriations for Mutual Security for fiscal year 1958:	
197	Aug. 15	On motion to recommit with instructions to increase various items by $715,000,000. (Rejected 129 to 254)	Nay.
198	Aug. 15	On passage. (Passed 252 to 130)	Yea.
		H. R. 7993, providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers:	
199	Aug. 19	On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. (Passed 242 to 94)	Nay.
		H. R. 1937, authorizing the construction, maintenance, and operation by the District of Columbia Armory Board of a stadium in the District of Columbia:	
200	Aug. 20	On adoption of conference report. (Rejected 134 to 234)	Yea.
		S. 1520, providing for the disposal of dam on Little Kanawha River in West Virginia (conference report)	
201	Aug. 20	On motion to recommit to conference with instructions to insist on House provision limiting Federal contribution to $50,000 as recommended by Corps of Engineers instead of $112,000 as provided in report. (Rejected 135 to 232).	Yea.
		H. R. 9131, making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1958 (conference report):	
202	Aug. 21	On motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment striking out funds for construction of an additional airport in or near Washington, D. C. (Rejected 125 to 233).	Nay.
203	Aug. 21	On motion to agree to Senate amendment providing an additional $475,000 for the Columbia River project. (Rejected 140 to 216)	Nay.
		H. R. 9379, making appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal year 1958:	
204	Aug. 21	On amendment restoring $30,000,000 for industry cooperative program. (Passed 214 to 135)	Yea.
		H. Con. Res. 176, authorizing the printing of 500,000 additional copies of an illustrated booklet on the Capitol at cost of $95,000:	
205	Aug. 22	On passage. (Passed 183 to 129)	Nay.
206	Aug. 23	Quorum call	Present.
		H. R. 9131, making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1958 (conference report):	
207	Aug. 23	On motion to recede from disagreement on Senate amendment providing an additional $475,000 for the Columbia River project. (Passed 166 to 121).	Nay.
208	Aug. 23	On motion to agree to amendment providing for $425,000 for Columbia River project. (Passed 165 to 120)	Nay.
		S. 2229, providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers:	
209	Aug. 23	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 203 to 77)	Nay.
		H. Res. 407, citing Louis Earl Hartman for contempt of the House of Representatives by his refusal to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities:	
210	Aug. 23	On passage. (Passed 276 to 0)	Yea.
		H. Res. 409, citing Bernard Silber for contempt of the House of Representatives by his refusal to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities:	
211	Aug. 23	On passage. (Passed 261 to 0)	Yea.
212	Aug. 27	Quorum call	Present.

Voting and attendance record, Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, 8th District, Wisconsin (85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1957	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H. Res. 410, providing for House agreement to Senate amendments to H. R. 6127 (civil-rights bill) with a further amendment limiting jury trials in criminal contempt proceedings:	
213	Aug. 27	On ordering the previous question. (Passed 274 to 101)	Yea.
214	Aug. 27	On passage. (Passed 279 to 97)	Yea.
		H. R. 7915, clarifying the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case which opened FBI files to perusal of defendants under certain circumstances in Federal court cases:	
215	Aug. 27	On passage. (Passed 351 to 17)	Yea.
216	Aug. 28	Quorum call	Present.
		S. 2792, amending the immigration laws so as to facilitate the entry into the United States of certain adopted children and other relatives of United States citizens:	
217	Aug. 28	On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. (Passed 293 to 58)	Yea.
218	Aug. 30	Quorum call	Present.
219	Aug. 30	H. R. 7915, clarifying the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case which opened FBI files to perusal of defendants under certain circumstances in Federal court cases: On adoption of the conference report. (Adopted 315 to 0)	Yea.
220	Aug. 30	H. R. 9032, making appropriations for mutual security for fiscal year 1958: On adoption of the conference report. (Adopted 194 to 122)	Yea.

AN EXPLANATION OF TERMS

Of necessity the report contains parliamentary and legislative terms with which the reader may not be familiar. An explanation of some of these terms may, therefore, be helpful:

A. A quorum call consists of a calling of the roll of Members to determine whether or not a quorum—a majority of Members—is present. No business may be conducted when it is found that a quorum is not present.

B. Recommittal: Generally, on all important bills, a motion to recommit the bill to a committee, with or without instructions, is voted upon by the House before it votes upon passage of the bill. If such a motion is adopted, it means that the bill will be changed, delayed, or even killed. However, when a motion to recommit is accompanied by instructions, the vote generally indicates whether the Member is in favor of or opposed to the change in the legislation proposed by the instructions and does not necessarily indicate his position on the bill as a whole. A motion to recommit with instructions, if adopted, does not kill the bill.

C. The type of bill can be determined by the letters which precede its number. All bills that originate in the House are designated by an H; those that originate in the Senate by an S. There are four main types:

First. H. R. (S.) designates a bill which, when passed by both Houses in identical form and signed by the President, becomes law.

Second. H. J. Res. (S. J. Res.) designates a joint resolution which must pass both Houses and be signed by the President before becoming law. It is generally used for continuing the life of an existing law, or in submitting to the States a constitutional amendment, in which case it does not require the signature of the President but must be passed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses.

Third. H. Con. Res. (S. Con. Res.) designates a concurrent resolution. To become effective it must be passed by both the House and Senate but does not require the President's signature. It is used to take joint action which is purely within the jurisdiction of Congress. Many emergency laws carry the provision that they may be terminated by concurrent resolution, thus eliminating the possibility of a Presidental veto.

Fourth. H. Res. (S. Res.) designates a simple resolution of either body. It does not require approval by the other body nor the signature of the President. It is used to deal with matters that concern one House only, such as changing rules, creating special committees, and so forth.

D. Rule: Important bills, after approval of the committee concerned, go to the House Committee on Rules where a rule, in the form of a House resolution (H. Res.), is granted covering the time allowed for debate, consideration of amendments, and other parliamentary questions.

E. Conference: Representatives from both Houses of Congress meet in conference to work out differences existing in the legislation as passed by the two bodies. Upon conclusion of their conference, a report is submitted to each House setting forth the agreements reached. Each House then must act by way of adopting or rejecting the report in whole or in part.

F. Ordering the previous question: A motion to order the previous question, if adopted, shuts off further debate on the question before the House and prevents further amendments to such proposition.

G. A bill may pass, or be defeated, by one of the following kind of votes:

First. Voice vote: The Speaker first asks all in favor to say "aye" then those opposed to say "nay." If there is no question as to the result, this is sufficient.

Second. Division: If the result of the voice vote is in doubt, the Speaker asks those in favor to stand, then those opposed to stand. He counts in each instance and announces the result. If he is in doubt, or if demand is made by one-fifth of a quorum, then—

Third. Tellers are ordered. A Member on each side of the question is appointed as teller, and they take their places at each side of the center aisle. Those in favor walk through and are counted. Those opposed do likewise. The result settles most questions, but any Member, supported by one-fifth of a quorum, can ask for a rollcall. This privilege is guaranteed by the Constitution.

Fourth. Rollcalls place each Member on record on the particular measure involved. Each Member's name is called and his vote recorded. Rollcalls constitute the official voting record of the House.

The outcome of rollcall votes is indicated in parentheses in the record above, and the actual vote is shown—the yeas first and the nays last.

Foreign Aid—People Are Weary of It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including two editorials which relate to foreign-aid spending. The first is from the Janesville (Wis.) Daily Gazette and the other is from the Wall Street Journal. I include both at this point:

[From the Janesville (Wis.) Daily Gazette of August 17, 1957]

TWO VIEWS ON FOREIGN AID

Decisive votes in the House during the past week have cut more than $800 million from the foreign-aid appropriation bill. President Eisenhower and some House Republican leaders are much concerned, and efforts are now centered in the Senate with the hope that House cuts may be restored there.

The President and administration leaders are represented as fearful that the cuts will undermine the whole foreign-relief program and endanger American security. House committeemen who passed on the administration request for about three and a third billion dollars, and the House itself, appeared unconvinced that the country runs any such dangers if some savings are made. Even with the cuts made by the House, the bill provides for more than two and a half billions in new money, a stupendous sum.

While there are variations in figures as to foreign-aid funds already appropriated and in the pipelines, according to which side of the argument is being presented, it is perfectly apparent that money is at hand for months and probably for years into the future. The bill now under consideration probably is important to the administration more as a matter of promise and policy planning for the future than any immediate need.

With due respect to the President's views of what is necessary in the way of foreign aid, there certainly is room for difference as a matter of long-range policy. Essentially,

it is the difference between winding up as soon as possible what started out to be emergency aid following World War II versus the theory that America has been cast in the permanent role of a sort of super-Santa Claus to scatter dollars among almost all of the nations on earth.

Since the need for restoring war damage has been overcome, the money has continued to be spent on the grounds that the United States was thus combating communism. There were indications that this policy has borne fruit in some directions. It is equally true that efforts have been totally ineffective in other cases, and that some of the money has been squandered on projects which have no imaginable application to this objective and for purposes having nothing to do with American security.

It is now entirely clear that the Eisenhower administration has no plans whatever for effectively cutting back on foreign spending, and certainly none for getting the American taxpayer from under the burdens of paying billions into the Treasury every year to be spent for worldwide projects of every kind. It is only necessary to recall the unhappy situation in Egypt which resulted from promises of vast sums for a high dam for irrigation and power to realize that our money has occasionally bought trouble rather than security.

Without going isolationist or relinquishing any practical considerations of national security, it would seem that United States policy as of 1957 should have the objectives of (1) limiting foreign aid now to areas and projects connected directly with American interests; (2) serve notice, perhaps by way of substantial cutbacks in funds, that the Santa Claus era is drawing to a close; and (3) give some positive signs to American taxpayers that their long period of enforced charity round the world will be eased.

At best, taxes will remain at excessive levels to support all of the Federal domestic programs we have going, along with paying interest on our huge debt. It will raise morale, however, to have assurance that taxing will be primarily for our own Nation, and to a much less degree than now, for foreign nations.

It is not so much on the exact amount which should be provided in foreign aid at this time as it is on his seeming inability to find any end to the program that we differ with President Eisenhower on this issue.

[From the Wall Street Journal of August 19, 1957]

INEVITABLE REACTION

The House cuts in foreign aid reflect something more than a revulsion against interminable global handouts. We suspect they reflect an inevitable weariness among the people with this country's involvement in every corner of the world.

Foreign aid is the focus of this feeling, to be sure, because it is tangible. But consider the kind of plea President Eisenhower made and the House ignored; the President spoke of our investment in the casualties of Korea. It was perhaps an unfortunate choice of words, because it calls to mind all the frustrations of our international experiences since 1941.

We defeated Germany and Japan only to make possible the consolidation of Soviet Russia and Red China into a far worse menace. That can scarcely be described as progress. We fought in Korea to no decision only to be confronted by the prospect of fighting in Indochina and the Strait of Formosa. These dangers eased only to give way to commitments to fight in the Middle East.

Every development only gets us in wider and deeper. Meantime the billions have been pouring out without enhancing our prestige but, insteal, encouraging the view abroad that we must be either suckers or imperialists.

One of the minor irritations in all this is that we are supposed to take everything so seriously. The most ridiculous antics of any "pipsqueak" nation can't be laughed at; "vital interests" are at stake. Even the Gilbert-and-Sullivan campaign against the Imam of Oman must be viewed solemnly because of its portentous potentialities.

It is a pity to have to lose our sense of humor about what is, after all, very often a very funny world. But there is nothing funny at all about the possibility of being plunged into war, idiotic or otherwise, anywhere at any time for no better reason than that we are up to our necks everywhere.

The surprising thing is not that Americans are getting fed up but that they have been so patient so long. The surprising thing is not that the President's foreign-aid pleas fall on deaf ears but that Congress has not long since ended the program.

The American people probably aren't going isolationist in the sense of cutting all commitments. But their weariness is understandable. And it might be a mistake for this or any other administration to assume that they will be indefinitely content with letting any nation that chooses lead them by the nose.

The Citizen's Responsibility in International Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following outstanding address by the Honorable Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, before the biennial convention of the American Association of University Women, Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass., June 27, 1957:

THE CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

(Address by Francis O. Wilcox)

In speaking to you this afternoon on the citizen's responsibilities in world affairs, I shall be commenting upon problems to which you give a great deal of attention, individually and as an organization. As graduates of American colleges and universities, you have been educated for leadership in a free society. Those of you here from foreign universities represent no less the training for a life of reason, tolerance, and understanding in societies dedicated to the well-being of the individual rather than the glorification of the state.

The interdependence of the modern world has made internationalists of us all. The world has shrunk so much that we do not have much of a choice in the matter. "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall hang separately." Out of our political, religious, cultural, and historical diversity we seek, and I believe we are finding, a common denominator of values.

Nearly half a century ago Theodore Roosevelt remarked that "The United States of America has not the option as to whether it will or will not play a great part in the world. It must play a great part. All that it can decide is whether it will play that part well or badly."

Today the choice before us is dictated by the need for human survival. With the threat of nuclear war hanging over our heads we have no alternative but to play our part wisely and well. The best insurance that we will do this is a well-informed public opinion carefully following the course of world events.

AMERICA'S ROLE OF LEADERSHIP

I venture to say that the most remarkable development of this century is the assumption over the last 17 years by the United States of its present role of responsibility and leadership in world affairs. This is a role we did not play during the previous 150 years of our existence as a sovereign state.

Indeed, the United States has been going through a revolutionary period since 1941 in our relations to other countries. In this brief period, we have moved from relative isolationism to internationalism, from a policy of no entangling alliances to a system of complex political, economic, and security alliances with more than 40 nations. We have only to recall our extreme reluctance to participate in some of the meetings of the League of Nations, even in the modest role of observers, to realize how times have changed.

Clearly this dramatic shift has been impelled by considerations of the national interest. It is often forgotten that every important move in foreign policy is based on one overriding consideration—whether it will advance the well-being and security of the American people. The effectiveness of our policies must be judged on how well they accomplish this end.

In no country is foreign policy more constantly under review than in the United States. In no country do the people have a greater voice in foreign affairs. Our budgetary process alone assures such annual review. To be sure, this process often dismays our friends and allies who may not understand our system of checks and balances. Yet it has the great virtue of insuring that our policies, once arrived at, are backed by a majority of the informed leadership in the Congress in the Executive branch, and among the public. This again insures that they will be carried out with vigor and confidence. It also insures, and I think this is of vital importance, that our policy is morally defensible, for our people will tolerate no other.

I should like to say a word here about the unique nature of American leadership in international affairs. Through the centuries other countries have grown in influence, expanded their borders, and carved out empires because of personal ambitions of leaders, for religious reasons, for the advancement of trade and the accumulation of riches, or because of some other compelling sense of mission. Most who succeeded, at least temporarily, in carrying out such policies were able to count on the compliance of disciplined citizens, either because the governments were autocratic or because their people were also imbued with some particular sense of mission in the world. In the process, some of them have brought blessings along with oppression, and have planted the seeds of future self-government and independence.

The new American leadership, on the other hand, was not sought but was largely thrust upon us by a sick and frightened world. Its objective is neither conquest nor territorial aggrandizement, but the preservation of freedom. It identifies the well-being of the world community, under freedom, with the security and welfare of the American people. In essence, it seeks for other peoples the blessings we enjoy at home. The vast resources that we have poured into other countries in support of these convictions are sometimes mistaken as generosity of the do-good variety—or a belief that all problems are susceptible to economic solutions.

This is to misinterpret the deep wellsprings of our belief, tested since the day of our independence, that men are created equal and that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness apply to mankind, not just to the people of one land, if we are all to prosper in peace.

Public support for United States leadership has been strong and consistent for a period of years now, despite surface fluctuations. Support has been especially strong for the United Nations which was born of American initiative and continues to receive the approval of the overwhelming majority of our people in both political parties and in all sections of the country. It is based on the increased awareness of the American people that the United Nations has served the interests of the freemen everywhere. It has served the cause of peace, security, and well-being for mankind.

I think we all have a responsibility to help preserve the unique quality, high purpose, and practical application of the American concept of leadership lest it deteriorate into a new isolationism or be tempted to control where it cannot persuade.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CITIZEN

I hope you will not think I am flattering you if I say that the quantity and quality of understanding of our foreign-policy goals at home and abroad depend to a great degree on national organizations such as yours. You represent the educated elite of a highly educated society. A college degree is within the reach of a vastly greater proportion of our people than it was when most of us graduated. As our members increase, so does our responsibility. We must understand better America's new position in the world, how we got there, where we are going and why. The university graduate in his or her public and private life are the parents of ideas and leaders of opinion. For this reason they have a unique responsibility.

I am told that the women of America in the aggregate control most of the wealth of this country. If so, I think it is in good hands. But there is a greater resource at your disposal. You are also the cotrustees—for I think men must be accorded this responsibility also—of the concepts of democracy which made our country great. You are the recipients of an education designed to fit you for life in a free society. These are assets which should be used to enrich not only our national life and culture but to support an informed and enlightened foreign policy as well.

This is a continuing responsibility since foreign relations are in a constant state of flux, and policies require regular review. The attitudes of the American people and of the Congress intimately affect these reviews.

I am reminded of the recent observations of one of the top officers of the Department of State. He pointed out to a group of his colleagues that every day he was obliged to make decisions of major or minor import to our foreign relations. He found it particularly hard, he said, to make these decisions in the absence of the opinions and views, often conflicting, of those around him. These provided him with the perspective and alternatives necessary to form judgments which were soundly based.

His observation, I think, applies equally well to the policy-forming process on the national scene. While the President and the Secertary of State formulate and carry out American foreign policy, the Congress provides or it may refuse to provide the required legislation and funds. When we don't get the funds or legislation, it is my feeling that we have failed in one of two ways. Either we have failed to secure public understanding of our policies or the public understands them but is unwilling to support them. There is, of course, a third possibility—apathy and lack of concern on the part of leadership groups. This, in my opinion, is the most distressing of all.

I am often asked by organizations such as yours whether their formal resolutions and petitions on foreign policy matters have much influence. I can assure you that they do, both on the legislative and executive departments of our Government. While they may not always be translated into the specific actions you recommend, they are an indispensable part of the policy-forming process in a democracy.

ENLARGED MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS

I have said that some people charge that the United Nations is a superstate or world government. They see cause for alarm in the large number of new nations in Africa and Asia that have recently become members of the United Nations. They fear apparently that they will vote as a solid bloc against the United States on important issues and impose their will on the Western World. This is far from being the case.

In the first place, we ought never to forget that the 28 sovereign countries that represent Africa and Asia have widely divergent traditions and cultures. In many ways their differences outweigh their similarities.

Furthermore, these countries have not voted as a bloc. On the Suez issue, of course, there was wide agreement but even then there was not unanimity among them. With respect to Hungary, their votes were very much divided to begin with, but the later resolutions condemning Soviet action received substantial backing from Asian and African countries. On the Algerian and the Cyprus issues at the last General Assembly, Asian initiatives resulted in compromise resolutions which received broad support. It is important to note that in all these cases they were voting with the United States.

Finally, it should be remembered that the General Assembly can only make recommendations, it cannot impose its wishes even by majority vote. I fail to see, therefore, how the new strength of the African and Asian states in the United Nations is a threat to us. In fact it provides a challenge and a new opportunity for American leadership.

The Government of the United States and the great majority of the American people have wholeheartedly welcomed these states into the United Nations. We sincerely believe in the self-determination of peoples. We have welcomed their independence.

Now that they are members, we must try to understand their points of view, even as we expect them to understand ours. The people of the emergent nations of Asia and Africa want three things. They want freedom and independence. They want recognition as first-class citizens in the world community. They want to develop their countries and improve their lot in life.

We can all recognize these as American concepts. They are ideas that we can all support. If the people of this vast and populous area are given sufficient help and encouragement in attaining these goals, we can count on their remaining on the side of freedom.

Above all, let us not jump to the conclusion in the United Nations that merely because some states don't always reach the same conclusions we do, that they are against us. This would result in giving only lip service to the concept of independence which we hold so dear. There is plenty of room in the United Nations for honest differences of opinion.

FOREIGN AID

Turning to another field, there also exist some serious misconceptions in our thinking about our foreign aid programs.

Most commonly it is argued that in extending assistance to foreign countries we are engaged in a great giveaway program, that we are coddling a group of ungrateful allies, and that we are imposing an unnecessary burden upon the American taxpayer.

Let us look briefly at what you might call the anatomy of our so-called foreign aid. In the first place, the term "aid" is extremely unfortunate. As the President said in an address to the Nation on May 21, "The common label of 'foreign aid' is gravely misleading for it inspires a picture of bounty for foreign countries at the expense of our own. No misconception could be further from reality. These programs serve our own basic national and personal interests." The money we spend abroad for economic and defense assistance is basically an investment designed to pay dividends in greater political, economic, and military security for the United States.

Second, the assistance is mutual or cooperative. In most cases, it requires large outlays of funds, services, and manpower by the recipient country. Some countries with narrow economies literally have to resist American aid because they cannot afford it.

Let us be clear then on one fundamental point. American aid is no one-way street. The United States needs its allies just as much as they need us. They provide us with bases essential to the effective employment of our strategic airpower. They maintain their own military forces for the joint defense of the free world. Without them, many thousands of American soldiers would have to be stationed overseas—and at an annual cost to us of from 7 to 35 times what it requires to maintain a foreign soldier.

On the economic side, our economy would hobble along in low gear if deprived of the strategic materials—tin, rubber, industrial diamonds, manganese, and many more—which our assistance helps to keep flowing to our shores.

AID TO UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES

There is a misconception that stems from a misunderstanding of the real purpose of mutual assistance. This misconception is based upon the contention that the so-called neutral nations should be called upon to cast their lot solidly with the free world now or else suffer the loss of American aid. They should not be allowed to sit on the fence, the argument runs; they are either for us or against us.

Let us take the case of those States which have a policy of nonalinement. International communism is constantly seeking to convince the people and governments of such "uncommitted" countries that communism is the cheap and quick way for the underdeveloped peoples to secure high living standards and positions of political and economic influence. They are, in many cases, backing up this propaganda with loans and grants and other forms of material assistance.

Our assistance to these newly developing countries, in particular those bordering on the Sino-Soviet bloc, is of the utmost importance. It cannot be sporadic. If it is to be most effective in helping the governments of these countries to maintain their independence, there must be assurance of responsible continuity.

The results of the competitive struggle between the free and Communist world are being watched carefully by the uncommitted peoples. Accomplishments in a country such as India, for example, which is committed to the liberal social and political ideals of the free world, are being compared with those under the ruthless dictatorship existing on the Chinese Communist mainland. The relative degree of prosperity which is achieved over a period of years by the peoples of these two areas may determine the choice between communism and free representative government in countries in the whole of Asia and Africa. Clearly,

American and free world assistance to India and other countries in a like situation can weigh heavily in the balance which may determine this choice.

Moreover, the assistance which the United States has extended to Yugoslavia during the past few critical years has been of inestimable value to the free world. It has helped that strategic country maintain its independence from outside domination from any source.

I believe we are also under something of a misconception that other countries we aid are doing relatively little to help themselves or to help each other. Yet we know that many states have rigorous controls over consumer goods, far beyond anything we are accustomed to, to be able to export more goods and thus earn dollar income to help stabilize their economies. Many spend large amounts annually for the support and welfare of dependent territories under their care. And all states members of the United Nations contribute according to their means to the support of the specialized agencies of which they are members. Others give generously to the various voluntary programs of the United Nations.

We should also keep in mind that every dollar we send abroad under our bilateral program is matched by the recipient country which puts up an equal amount in local currency. These local-currency proceeds thus do double duty in improving the economic strength and the military positions of the countries receiving assistance.

Generosity is a relative thing. A dollar from a poor man may be liberal. Ten from a rich one may be stingy. Now the United States is rich and we are not stingy. But I believe the portrait of the wealthy uncle handing out largess to his indigent neighbors is by no means an accurate one. It is enlightening, for instance, to note the figures for contributions to the United Nations expanded technical assistance program. The United States ranks fifth in per capita contributions. We are exceeded in generosity by Canada, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in that order.

Lastly, I would observe that through our aid programs we should not expect to buy gratitude or unquestioning compliance with our wishes. Loyalty, from a man or a country, that is for sale is not worth much. It is well known that recipients of charity are inclined to harbor some resentment against their benefactors. I believe it was Mark Twain who said, "I don't know why that man should dislike me, I never did him a favor."

The basic purpose of our foreign assistance program is to strengthen the free world. We are therefore partners in a common enterprise to which all contribute and from which all should benefit.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It is our duty as educated women and men to do what we can to remove barriers to a sound understanding of America's role of leadership in international affairs. We have assumed a big and continuing commitment and we must measure up to the responsibility.

We are an impatient, pragmatic people. We want to meet all problems head on and solve them. This may be possible in personal or national life. It is not always possible in international affairs. We must take account of the legitimate and complex interests and rights of other countries whose cooperation, understanding, and resources we need. Real leadership does not mean imposing your will but winning support for your position. It is sometimes said facetiously that diplomacy is "the art of letting the other fellow have your way."

We face a continuing threat in the unswerving determination of the Communists to reform the world in their own image. Their leaders have left no doubt that they are ready for a long struggle on the economic, political, and propaganda levels. It is not sufficient to recognize this threat to defeat it. We must understand its spurious appeal to some. We must avoid shortcomings in our own society and in our own diplomacy which may play into Communist hands. In the atomic age we must make our intentions unmistakably clear; our strength is a shield, not a spear; our dedication is to peace, not war. Miscalculation by the Communists on this score might lead to disaster beyond repair for both the free and Communist world.

The citizen's responsibilities in international affairs are first of all personal. This is a matter of interest, attitudes, and understanding. If each of us would make a determined effort to keep abreast of world developments and take appropriate action either individually or through the various organizations to which we belong, our foreign policy would be greatly benefited.

The American Association of University Women is in the forefront of organizations which recognize this responsibility and do something about it—individually, locally, and on the national level.

In the midtwentieth century, we no longer have a choice about our position in the free world. It is merely a question of how effectively and how well we lead. This depends in no small degree on the insight which you who are trained for leadership bring to bear on the pressing issues of our times.

To sum up:

If we will understand the long-range nature of the Communist threat and do our best to meet it;

If we will continue to support the United Nations and the cause for which it stands;

If we will work closely with our allies and continue to avoid going it alone;

If we will demonstrate to the uncommitted nations of the world the enduring qualities of democracy and freedom;

If we will take our stand always as a nation on high moral grounds—

Then we can face the future with confidence that the cause of freemen will prevail.

The Ghost Ship of the Confederacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, on June 21, 1957, I included in the RECORD a letter from one of the greatest and most noble men I have ever known, Hon. S. P. Gaillard, of Mobile, Ala., entitled "A Distinguished Member of the American Bar Looks at the Civil Rights Bill." As I stated then in my introductory remarks, Mr. Gaillard on March 26 of this year celebrated his 101st birthday and I believe he is the oldest living active member of the American bar; that he well remembered the day his father left his fireside to serve the South in its battle for principle; that he well remembered the infamous Reconstruction days when an army of carpetbaggers descended on the South and the poverty and humiliation which he and his family suffered during that period; that Mr. Gaillard is a deeply religious man and lives an ideal Christian life and that he has been an elder in the Presbyterian Church for over 50 years and that even in his 102d year, he attends Sunday school regularly.

On July 18 he has again written me, after reading my kinsman's, Ed Boykin's book Ghost Ship of the Confederacy, and under leave to extend my remarks at this time, I include this thought-provoking letter from this remarkable Christian gentleman, who certainly speaks with the voice of experience, having lived through the Civil War and the Reconstruction era:

GAILLARD & GAILLARD,
Mobile, Ala., July 18, 1957.

Hon. FRANK W. BOYKIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRANK: I am reading with deep interest the Ghost Ship of the Confederacy, and I thank you a lot for it. Ghosts?

Yes, it has quickened and brought back to mind and activity ghosts of innumerable childhood fears during an unrighteous Civil War; of continued fear, brutality, and studied humiliations and hatred pressed upon us by one's own kind, during the experienced but unbelievable era of reconstruction, deliberately made one of devastation and hatred, cast upon us with such force that even a lad could not fail to have it stamped upon the tablets of his memory beyond effacement.

As a young man, I closed the book, set seals upon it, resumed the citizenship into which I was born and learned to revere the Stars and Stripes as the only flag of my life and the country it represents, the only country I ever knew, and for which I would lay down my life, and for which two sons quickly volunteered to defend in World War I, Palmer serving actively as a lieutenant in the Air Service—and becoming a near-casualty in battle—and so officially reported to me.

And what has happened to break those seals and open afresh those old wounds?

A flood of judicial decisions from a court once on the apex of the judiciary of the world, jeopardizing the security of the Nation and violating the constitutional law of the land, so declared and maintained by it for generations when compounded by the highest type of our judiciary, coming as they do, like fallout from some alien cosmic smog emanating from a new psychological theory unknown to the fundamental laws of the Nation, and smacking of a combination of Karl Marxism and the dictatorship of five men who were not placed in power by the voice of the people.

And for what purpose?

I. To put in the United States Constitution by force of a judicial decree the word "integration," although every State of the Union, from the days of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, naturally lived and preserved the segregation of races.

II. The invasion of the legislative branch of our Government and the assumption of its powers, by the judicial branch, at present dominated by 5 men not put there by the voice of the people, while the legislative branch—the chief cornerstone of the Republic—consisting of 96 Senators and 435 Representatives, are there by direct voice of the people. Has our legislative branch of Government become atrophied? Have our leading politicians become so frantic to get the votes of a Negro minority as to consent to the destruction of our form of government?

As to segregation of the races, I repeat: Every State in the Union has practiced it because it is natural for both white and black races to do so in their social, private, and family relations, the lines being more clearly distinct where the two races are concentrated. Integration is so unnatural that white homeowners in large areas of Chicago, Ill., gave up their homes as incoming Negro residents flowed in among them; and white residents in large sections of Washington, D. C., for the same reason, have taken wings and flown to distant suburbs; and you may live to see Washington, D. C., the Capital of a great nation, a predominantly Negro city—

a most appropriate habitation for Chief Justice Earl Warren, Justice Hugo Black, formerly, I hope, of Alabama, and our honored and respected President Eisenhower. But wings for flight have not been exhausted.

Segregation is not the product of America or any part of it, for in varying degrees segregation of the races is a universal fact; and to find its origin you must turn back the pages of history for some 4,000 to 6,000 years until you sense a submerged world by the flood.

Then when, how, and by whom was it brought about?

You be the judge from the records. Turn to the 11th chapter of Genesis (and the 10), and you will find that after many generations from Noah, the race had but one language and one speech and being integrated—not by any predated decree of Chief Justice Earl Warren—they thought and planned as one race for the last time, for, although the All Wise Creator had assured Noah that they would never be visited by another flood, they had no faith in the assurance, and began to fear and prepare for a great tower that would reach above any flood the Creator might again send upon them.

It is not wise for them to tempt and defy the Almighty Creator, for that record shows that he brought to naught their planning for defiance by destroying their oneness of race and language, and scattering, separating, segregating them into many diverse races, all stamped with permanent racial marks and characteristics.

Those racial marks and characteristics make for segregation, but not for marks of superiority or inferiority, as the record is silent. But there was one characteristic common to them all:

PRIDE OF RACE

And in proportion to the cultivation of that force, like the power of internal combustion in a modern engine, by the several races, to that extent some races made greater advances in civilization than others. And those racial advances varied greatly during different eras.

Toynbee, in A Study of Races, abridged, page 54, in considering racial contributions to civilization, says:

"The black races alone have not contributed positively to any civilization—as yet. The white races hold the lead."

And yet, while the dominant white race of the South is taxing itself to the limit and is binding its wholehearted energy to extend to that black race the same educational opportunities in the same modern buildings that it gives to its own white children—separate though equal—our Government seeks to chain two such civilizations together: Chief Justice Warren, as spokesman, holds in effect, that as some of that race (from an exaggerated inferiority complex) might have their feelings hurt if not permitted to bodily commingle with, touch elbows and associate with members of the white race, their constitutional rights have been abridged and a new era in civilization must be established, backed by every power of the Nation.

As boy, 10 to 15 years old in the era of reconstruction, so-called, Freedman's Bureau and Negro domination of the State through carpetbaggers backed by Federal bayonets, I learned the bitterness of that power.

Have the great majority of the southern white race no feelings to be hurt by the forced integration of two races so far apart in origins?

Is the civil right to vote point centered by the administration in power so politically valuable as to justify the mortal wounding of the spirit of so large and important a section of the Nation?

I cannot believe that the American civilization of 1957 is still animated by the bitter animosity and hatred for the white people of the South that possessed Thaddeus Stevens.

It does not animate the dominant body of our southern Negro citizens. In Mobile, Ala., we are living together in peace and friendship, vote in the same voting machine, have the identical educational advantages in public schools minus the irritation of a forced integration.

Why invoke the hatreds of a dead Thaddeus Stevens?

Even he and his bitter stripes to the inner feelings of my own heart and spirit, has not touched my lifelong friendship and helpfulness for that race, and I view with gratification their advance in civilization since their dormant spirit of racial pride has been vitalized and new opportunities have been opened to them by the white race.

Ghosts? Yes. Not of ships but of men like Thaddeus Stevens to play politics with the unity of a nation.

With best of wishes from your old friend and lawyer turned 101 years of age.

S. P. GAILLARD, Sr.

Battle of the Budget in Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. MAHON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, the battle of the budget has been the highlight of this session of Congress. The appropriations budget which was submitted by the President in January has been reduced by $5 billion. The defense budget, a part of the overall total budget, has been reduced by $2.6 billion. The President, himself, scaled down the defense budget as submitted in January in the sum of $558 million. This does not have reference to recent cutbacks.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON], chairman of the Appropriations Committee, will insert in the RECORD a statement as to the complete budget reduction. I wish to submit a few facts and observations which relate to the defense budget.

There have been many statements reported in the press in recent weeks about cutbacks, stretchouts, and other modifications by the Defense Department in the military program. I should like to try to put the picture in focus. Generally speaking, the slowdowns and modifications have no relation to the reductions made in the defense budget this year by Congress. In connection with these remarks, I shall insert in the RECORD a letter from the Controller of the Defense Department which confirms this assertion.

First I should like to discuss the situation in very broad terms.

Last year the Department of Defense had available to it for expenditure for all purposes including military public works, $74.7 billion. Of this amount $36.2 billion was appropriated by Congress last year, the remaining funds having been carried over from appropriations of previous years. The carryover funds were for such things as ships, aircraft, ballistic missiles, and other long-lead-time items. It was not anticipated, of course, that the Defense Department would spend last year the total sum of $74.7 billion available to it. Vast sums would remain unexpended for previously financed long-range defense items.

For the current fiscal year the Defense Department has available to it for expenditure about $70.8 billion, of which amount $35.9 billion is in new appropriations. However, in this latter sum is $590 million which is not actually a new appropriation, but represents transfers from unneeded funds from previous years to new categories for obligation or expenditure this year.

Out of a total availability of $74.7 billion last year the Department expended $38.4 billion. Out of a total availability of $70.8 billion this year the Defense Department expects to expend $38 billion.

It will be noted that the available funds were greater last year. The Committee on Appropriations realizes that large carryover sums are required but it feels that these sums have been too large and the committee has been hammering away in an effort to reduce these carryover funds. It has been particularly interested in reducing the amount of unobligated carryover funds though it agrees that substantial unobligated carryover funds are necessary under the financial plan of the Defense Department.

Now Congress cut defense appropriation requests for the current 1958 fiscal year by $2.6 billion, yet the total availability for obligation and expenditure remains very great.

The newspapers have carried many stories in recent days of announcements from the Pentagon of cutbacks in personnel and the slowing down of many programs. What does this mean? Does this mean that reductions in the defense budget by Congress is responsible for these cutbacks? The answer is "No."

Here are the significant facts that relate to the cutbacks in the defense programs. Defense spending last year amounted to $38.4 billion. However, during the latter part of the fiscal year defense spending was at the rate of $40.2 billion annually. The previous estimate of the Department and the Budget Bureau had been that defense spending for last year would be $36 billion.

It became apparent to the Defense Department a few months ago that if defense spending took its natural course during this fiscal year, it would range between $40 billion and $42 billion. Abundant funds are in the hands of the Defense Department to finance a defense program this year in the sum of $42 billion, or much more, out of a total availability of $70.8 billion.

Congress did not fix an annual expenditure figure for the Defense Department. This matter is left to the President, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Defense Department. The rate of defense spending is heavily influenced by the rate that aircraft and other expensive defense equipment is delivered and paid for by the Government. Congress approves programs and provides the funds to finance them to completion over periods which extend in long lead time hardware to 2 or 3 years.

The executive branch of the Government concluded that if it did not curb

defense spending from funds available to it, spending would be far in excess of $40 billion this year. This would throw the fiscal plans of the administration out of order and make it necessary to sponsor an increase in the national debt ceiling.

In view of these difficulties, the administration decided to hold in reserve vast sums which might otherwise be spent on the defense program this year in order to hold defense spending for the year at $38 billion, somewhat less than last year.

That, in brief, is the story which needs to be understood. I do not point out the story to be critical but merely to make the facts clear.

The Congress this year took a close look at unexpended and unobligated balances in the Defense Department and concluded that it could wisely and safely make reductions in new money appropriations. It is now crystal clear that Congress did the right thing in cutting the defense budget. To have done otherwise would have just added to unneeded funds available to the Department.

The object of congressional cuts in the defense budget was twofold. They were made to compel more economy and efficiency, better management of money and manpower in the defense program. They were made to bring down the annual unobligated and unexpended funds to more realistic levels. They were made in many instances to deduct amounts requested in the budget in January which the Department advised in July it would not need.

Had the administration realized in January when the budget was submitted that a big cutback would be necessary in order to hold spending in line with previous plans and estimates, the President would have, no doubt, submitted a much-reduced budget. In January the Defense Department was completely unaware that the spending rate would be $2.4 billion higher in fiscal year 1957 than anticipated.

It is true that if Congress continued indefinitely to appropriate about $36 billion for the Defense Department, as it did for this year, defense spending would have to come down to about that annual average figure, but Congress placed no limitation whatever on necessary defense spending for this year or for future years. We were only dealing with appropriations for the fiscal year 1958, the year which began July 1, 1957.

The administration is undertaking a $38 billion defense spending program this year and has plenty of funds for that program and more. Admittedly, as pointed out, if we should continue a $36 billion appropriation from year to year, the spending rate would eventually have to come down to the $36 billion level. But Congress has made no such demand. Yet I would add that if wisely spent, $36 billion ought to buy a fairly adequate defense program. However, the budget for next year will no doubt be considerably above that level.

Mr. Speaker, I have given, generally, the highlights of defense financing for fiscal year 1958. Having given this broad outline a more detailed statement is submitted for those interested in greater detail.

THE DEFENSE BUDGET FOR 1958

The struggle with the defense budget for fiscal year 1958, particularly since the House acted in May on that budget, has been attended with much confusion. There have been many statements and many changes in program. I think it is important that Members of the House understand what has transpired in connection with this budget that started out last January as a bare minimum requirement for the defense needs of the Nation. On January 30, the Secretary of Defense, a very able and devoted official, told the Subcommittee on the Department of Defense Appropriations:

> I cannot foresee, at this time, any justification for a reduction in the Military Establishment, not in the total annual military expenditures of the Department of Defense below the present level, short of a drastic improvement in the international situation. With prudent management, neither do I foresee the need for any important increases in these forces or their costs short of a war.

The next day, on January 31, the Secretary of Defense said:

> I think the budget is just about right. I am willing to take any of you on and argue, if you want to take a dollar off or put a dollar on. Do not do it. We have worked awfully hard on this budget. We think it is about right.

Now that general feeling in connection with the Department of Defense budget for fiscal year 1958 was reflected throughout the hearings by the top civilian officials of the Department and the respective services. We were assured all along the line that the requested budget was a minimum required for the defense needs of the Nation. No doubt, all of these people were absolutely sincere and expressed their honest convictions in support of what they thought at the time was a minimum requirement.

At this point I wish to insert a brief table showing by service the budget appropriation and expenditure estimates for the Department of Defense as presented in January compared with final appropriations and the latest revised expenditure estimates recently announced.

1958 budget, Department of Defense

[In millions of dollars]

	Appropriations			Expenditure estimate		
	Request	Enacted	Change	January estimate	Present estimate	Change
Office of the Secretary of Defense	$705.0	$698.7	−$6.3	$704.0	$750.0	+$46.0
Department of the Army	8,539.0	7,319.6	−1,219.4	9,130.0	8,950.0	−180.0
Department of the Navy	10,517.1	9,866.4	−650.7	10,347.0	10,400.0	+53.0
Department of the Air Force	16,481.0	15,930.2	−550.8	17,472.0	17,900.0	+428.0
Proposed for later transmission	2,257.9	[1] 1,480.5	[2] −777.4	347.0	(3)	−347.0
Total	38,500.0	35,295.4	[2] −3,204.6	38,000.0	38,000.0	

[1] Includes $5,500,000 for Office of Secretary of Defense, $365,000,000 for Department of the Army, $265,000,000 for Department of the Navy, and $900,000,000 for Department of the Air Force.
[2] Reflects $558,200,000 not submitted in the final official appropriation request. Actual congressional reduction was $219,200,000 in items not transmitted with the regular budget and $2,646,400,000 in all budget requests.
[3] Distributed to estimates above.

The President's budget indicated that total appropriation requests for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year 1958 would be $38,500,000,000. Within this figure was $2,257,000,000 for military public works and other military programs which were not submitted as a part of the original budget except on the basis of a single line estimate—just the figures were given. The budget submitted in January also included an estimate of $38 billion for expenditures. It will be noted that we are referring to two types of budgets, the appropriation budget and the expenditure budget.

Now, let us see what happened to that budget submitted in January. I omit for the present military public works and refer to the remainder, $36,128,000,000. After nearly 4 months of hearings and analytical review, on May 21, 1957, the Appropriations Committee of the House reported a bill dealing with the President's January defense budget, excluding military public works. On the basis of the committee review of these requests in what is known as the regular Department of Defense budget, the requests for appropriation were reduced by $2,586,775,000 to $33,541,225,000. With one minor addition not specifically a part of the defense budget the House approved the amounts recommended for the Department of Defense as they were proposed by the committee. By way of explaining what the committee had done I think it would be well to review again at this point a statement in the committee report beginning on page 7, as follows:

REDUCTIONS IN BUDGET

The inescapable conclusion is that so long as present world conditions prevail, a defense program calling for high level expenditures, without costly peaks and valleys, will have to be continued.

The total amount of the estimate $36,193,000,000, contained in the President's budget included $65 million for military construction, Army and Navy reserve forces. This amount is deleted from the bill and comparative tabulations for the reason that the amount requested exceeded the still outstanding authority. It is understood that a bill to increase and extend this authority is now under consideration. The committee will subsequently consider this item on the basis of authority made available.

The budget estimate is reduced by $2,586,775,000, and the recommended appropriation of $33,541,225,000 is $1,157,298,000 below the amount appropriated for 1957. Of this total reduction in new obligational and expenditure authority, the amount of $1,996,775,000 represents a direct reduction in the defense budget, and $590 million is a reduction in funds appropriated in prior years, but currently available to the Department for obligation and expenditure under stock and industrial fund operations. This surplus cash is recommended for transfer to items of appropriation contained in the accompanying bill, and, accordingly, is added to the amount of $33,541,225,000, resulting in total

obligational authority for items in the bill of $34,131,225,000, or a net reduction of $1,996,775,000 in the budget estimates.

Although the above amount of $590 million is recommended for transfer to the regularly budgeted items which were considered by the committee it should not be regarded as a paper cut. It is a reduction in that amount in total obligational and expenditure authority requested by the Department for fiscal year 1958. In explanation, it should be stated that these funds, differing from directly appropriated funds only as to purpose and methods by which they are administered, are just as much a part of the Department's financial resources as all other funds which, on the books on the Treasury, are credited to the Department of Defense.

With respect to the direct reduction of $1,996,775,000 in the budget request, two specific amounts, which are parts of this total, should be mentioned.

The first is the reduction of $516 million in the Army request for procurement and production. The President, in his recent message to the House of Representatives on possible reductions in the Federal budget, suggested that this amount, which is estimated to remain unobligated as of June 30, 1958, could be considered for deletions. As of March 31, the amount available to the Army for procurement and production during 1957 is $3,421,366,000. Obligations against this amount through March 31 total $884,522,000. Fiscal year 1958 obligations are estimated at $1.5 billion. This would indicate that the Army will not only have adequate financing for this item through fiscal year 1958, but that a sizable unobligated balance will remain even with this large reduction in the budgeted amount of $583 million.

The second item is the amount of $126,741,000 which is deleted from the total request on the assumption that the Federal Republic of Germany will continue to render goods and services in the equivalent amount rendered during 1957. It is understood that negotiations on the extent of German Republic contributions are now in progress. The delay experienced in building up the military forces of the West German Republic necessitates continued heavy burdens in that area by our military.

Certain items of reduction in requested new authority are based on additional recoupments, in both 1957 and 1958, resulting from price redeterminations and announced stretchouts of certain programs. Increased unobligated balances over amounts estimated when the 1957 bill was considered, and on the basis of which certain appropriations were recommended for 1957, made further reductions possible.

In effecting these reductions, the committee was particularly cautious in seeking not in the slightest to jeopardize the projected increase in military striking power, in particular, or the national security, in general. It is convinced that even when the more or less uncontrollable cost increases of $576 million in 1958 over 1957, subsequently shown, are included, the total of over $45 billion in carryover and new obligational authority is fully adequate for continuation of the planned buildup of our defense establishment.

Note that the excerpts above from the report refer to the regular defense appropriation bill and do not include military public works which are included generally in these remarks as a part of the overall Department of Defense program. Note also that the excerpt from the committee report does not represent the final version of the legislation.

At about the time that the Appropriations Committee was preparing its recommendations on the Department of Defense appropriation bill, the Department had discovered that expenditures by the Department of Defense, particularly the Air Force and Navy, for fiscal year 1957, were running substantially above the estimates contained in the President's budget submitted in January. I will insert a brief tabulation at this point showing the estimated expenditures for fiscal year 1957 as reflected in the President's January budget submission for the fiscal year 1958 and the expenditures as they have recently been reported after the close of that fiscal year.

1957 expenditures—Department of Defense

[In millions of dollars]

	Actual		
	1957 expenditures as estimated in 1958 budget submitted January 1957	1957 expenditures as reported August 1957	Changes from January 1957 estimates
Office of Secretary of Defense	$650.0	$610.0	−$40.0
Department of the Army	8,580.0	9,021.0	+441.0
Department of the Navy	9,730.0	10,391.0	+661.0
Department of the Air Force	16,890.0	18,347.0	+1,457.0
Proposed for later transmission	150.0	(1)	−150.0
Total	36,000.0	38,369.0	+2,369.0

[1] Distributed to amounts above.

As stated before, in April or May the Department of Defense discovered that expenditures for fiscal year 1957 were running at a much higher rate than had been previously estimated. It was realized at that time that, if expenditures were not reduced and brought under control, the surplus estimated in the President's budget for 1958 may become a deficit. As a result of this the Secretary of Defense issued an order on May 22 freezing $500 million of funds currently available to the three services. This $500 million was made up of $100 million for the Army, $150 million for the Navy, and $250 million for the Air Force. This action came as a considerable surprise because on about the same day the Department of Defense was telling the Senate Appropriations Committee that reductions of the magnitude made by the House in defense appropriations requests would amount to gambling unwisely with the security of the Nation. Clearly, the Defense Department spokesmen were in error, as disclosed by subsequent events.

Now this was, undoubtedly, a period of great confusion and uncertainty, in regard to the true financial needs of the Department of Defense for the fiscal year 1958. Expenditures at that time were running at a rate that indicated that expenditures for fiscal year 1958 would be in excess of $40.2 billion, much higher than the President had estimated in January.

The problem presented to Congress as to what determination should be made with respect to the defense budget was most difficult. For months the Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee labored with the problem. The controlling factors with the committee were, first, how can we make reductions that will have the effect of compelling better management and more economy in the operations of the far-flung activities of the Department of Defense. Arbitrary cuts would not get the job done. A painstaking job of pinpointing the soft spots was required. A second consideration which we had was how can we safely reduce the carryover funds to more manageable proportions.

It was testified by departmental witnesses that a carryover of approximately $2 billion less than the carryover from 1956 to 1957 would have no adverse affect on military operations.

Of course, members of the House Appropriations Committee generally were pleased when the House upheld the position of the committee in making the reductions proposed in defense appropriations requests.

Various officials and citizens generally had offered suggestions as to how savings could be accomplished in defense spending. The United States Chamber of Commerce which represents both little business and big business and which has, of course, through many of its individual members a direct stake in defense contracts and defense spending, urged, through its spokesmen, much more drastic cuts in the defense budget than the members of the Appropriations Committee were willing to make. The United States Chamber of Commerce made quite an exhaustive study of the whole problem and made a lengthy presentation to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees.

The suggestions of the United States Chamber of Commerce were most helpful to the committee. Of course, much of the detailed information available to the committee was not available to representatives of the chamber. Consequently, the committee action did not follow the pattern of the chamber's recommendations. A spokesman of the chamber, in appearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee, was kind enough to make the following reference to the work of the House on the defense appropriation bill:

> Now, may I speak for just a moment about the House bill, merely because in our opinion the job done by the House this year, we feel, is one of the most sound and thorough jobs of analysis that has been given the defense budget certainly in this generation. We think the approach was objective and penetrating, and we cannot commend too highly the hours of time spent and the results of that effort which have come out of the House Committee in the bill before you.

The fact that the task of Congress was not easy is evident from a review of what had transpired before. The Committee had been assured that the Defense budget was an austere budget. The Congress had been challenged to find ways to reduce the budget and in March the House of Representatives passed House Resolution 190 requesting the administration to advise the House where substantial reductions could be made in the President's budget request. On April 18 the President responded with a communication to the Speaker which included two items related to the Department of Defense. One stated that by delaying less urgent projects new spend-

ing authority for military public works could be reduced by $200 million. The other said that the House may wish to give attention to an additional item of $516 million requested for Army procurement and production. This was not listed as a specific item proposed for reduction but was merely indicated as a possibility, saying that, "such action would of course increase by $516 million the large amount that will have to be authorized for Army procurement and production in fiscal year 1959." We had already pinpointed this $516 million item as unnecessary for inclusion in the 1958 budget.

Now this $716 million didn't give the committee much to work on from a total request indicated in the budget as $38,500,000,000. Nevertheless the committee continued its efforts to find additional items for reduction, items that in no important way seriously affected the defense posture or the security of the nation.

In connection with military construction the administration also went to work and found additional areas where reductions could reasonably be made. As a matter of fact the administration, instead of requesting $2,257,900,000 for military public works and other military programs as proposed in the President's January budget for later transmission, actually submitted a total request of only $1,699,700,000 including $34,200,00 0for the United States scientific satellite program. Consequently the administration's request for such items was reduced not $200 million as indicated in the President's communication of April 18 in response to the House Resolution 190, but was rather reduced $558,200,000. This reduced request was finalized, of course, sometime after it was determined that defense spending would far exceed what had previously been estimated in the President's budget. It admittedly was an attempt to hold spending in line. This request was subsequently reduced by the Congress by approximately an additional $200 million.

Now I would like to get back to the discussion of congressional action on the regular Defense appropriation requests contained in the President's budget submitted in January. As pointed out above the House had reduced the President's budget request for these items from $36,128,000,000 by some $2.5 billion to $33,562,725,000. In acting on the bill about the 1st of July the Senate restored a net of $971,504,000 to the amount approved for appropriation by the House. In conference this restoration was reduced to $197,125,000, so that the final appropriation bill approved by the Congress was $2,368,150,000 below the President's budget request.

During the Senate-House conference on the bill, or just prior thereto, the Defense Department advised that there was to be a 100,000 reduction in military manpower which conferees should consider in arriving at the necessary appropriations. This altered the picture quite decidedly.

All told the Congress has reduced the appropriation requests for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year 1958 by approximately $2,600,000,000. The Congress has made this much reduction in appropriation requests and yet the estimate for Defense expenditures for fiscal year 1958 have still remained at $38 billion or the same figure as estimated in the President's budget submitted in January. How is this possible? The natural question is, Were the reductions made by the Congress merely ineffective paper cuts in their effect on the United States Treasury? The answer is, "No." There is considerable complexity, but simply stated it can be said that every reduction made by the Congress reduced the amount of money that was or would be available for expenditure by the Department of Defense either during fiscal year 1958 or in subsequent years. Of course, some of the reductions were effected by transferring old available funds to take care of new obligational requirements and some of the reductions were made in procurement funds where the expenditures would only be made as the items to be procured were produced in subsequent years. Nevertheless the reductions made by the Congress would have had a substantial effect on the rate of expenditure for the fiscal year 1958 and these reductions would have had a substantial effect had the estimates contained in the President's budget been valid in the first place.

As previously pointed out, however, even with the congressional cuts in the budget, ample funds were available to the Defense Department, more than $70 billion, from which the expenditure rate could soar far above the $38 billion spending estimate in the President's budget for the current fiscal year. The administration determined to hold defense spending for the current fiscal year to the budget figure of $38 billion, and it set to work to do it. On May 22 a first step was taken in this process. A memorandum freezing $500 million of 1957 funds was issued. This action was followed by a series of orders reducing or curtailing defense procurement programs. None of these administrative actions was the direct result of congressional reductions in the defense appropriations requests. I am sure that I do not have a complete list; however, the major portion of this series of orders to date are as follows:

March 12: Memorandum to Service Secretaries directing a 12 percent reduction in military and civilian personnel in the Washington, D. C., area.

May 22: Memorandum to Service Secretaries freezing $500 million of the 1957 funds available for major procurement and production, research and development, and military construction. This memorandum also directed the military departments to submit a detailed plan by June 12 showing how they propose to stay within the $38 billion 1958 expenditure estimate.

June 19: Department of Defense directive to effect an immediate, continuing, and sharp curtailment in use of overtime in the performance of all kinds and types of Department of Defense procurement contracts, including production, research and development, and construction.

June 26: Announcement by the Department of the Navy curtailing the development and procurement of the W2V–1 long range early warning aircraft and the A4D–3, an improved carrier attack model.

June 28: Classified letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to all Federal agencies, including the Department of Defense, requesting that all agencies in the executive branch keep the rates of commitments, obligations, and expenditures for fiscal year 1958 at or below the level for the fiscal year 1957, to the extent feasible. The letter directed that (1) as a general rule, requests for apportionment and allotments of funds shall be based upon holding obligations to absolute minimum levels; (2) in the case of those appropriations that are for major capital outlay and development—construction, procurement, research, etc.—the requests for apportionment and the allotments should reflect the postponement of a significant part of the obligations planned in the budget for 1958.

June 28: Memorandum from Secretary of Defense to Service Secretaries stating that pending apportionment of funds for fiscal year 1958, obligations may be made for only essential operating expenses on an austere basis and that no obligations or commitments for procurement and construction should be made without specific approval by the Secretary of Defense.

July 11: Announcement by the Air Force that as a result of a review of current projects which might be modified or canceled in the light of present and anticipated budget and expenditure levels, the further development of the Navaho missile was being discontinued.

July 1: Letter from Assistant Secretary of Defense, Properties, and Installations listing military installations and activities which have been programed for deactivation during the period beginning July 1 and ending December 31, 1957.

July 16: Memorandum to Service Secretaries directing a 100,000 reduction in military personnel made up of 50,000 Army, 25,000 Navy and Marine Corps, and 25,000 Air Force.

July 26: Announcement by the Department of the Air Force of planned production stretchouts in Century series fighter aircraft.

August 5: Announcement by the Department of the Navy of plans for inactivation of 60 ships now operating in the Pacific and Atlantic fleets as necessary adjustments within the operating forces to permit the most effective employment of personnel and funds which will be available to the Navy during fiscal year 1958.

August 6: Memorandum from the Secretary of Defense to the three services freezing civilian employment and directing that to accomplish the expenditure objectives for fiscal year 1958 civilian force levels must be reduced.

August 12: Announcement by the Department of the Air Force that it was taking steps to cut back its payroll expenditures for civilian personnel by approximately 5 percent by the end of October, and stating that at the same time it is requesting contractors, except for ballistic missile work, to make corresponding cuts in expenditures.

August 13: Directive issued by the Secretary of Defense reducing established percentages for progress payments for new procurement effected on and after September 1, 1957.

August 14: Announcement by the Department of the Navy that it was taking action to reduce the number of civilian employees by approximately 18,000, the majority by October 31, 1957, and the balance spread over the remainder of the current fiscal year.

August 15: Announcement by the Military Sea Transportation Service of plans to inactivate 15 MSTS tankers made possible by the anticipated decrease in military petroleum shipments resulting from Department of Defense economy measures.

August 16: Announcement by the Department of the Navy stating plans to discontinue male recruit training at the Naval Training Center, Bainbridge, Md., as a necessary ad-

justment to permit the most effective employment of personnel and funds during fiscal year 1958.

August 20: Announcement by Marine Corps suspending the enlistment of men under the 2-by-6 program as a reduction in the recruiting program necessary to meet the lower strength requirement recently ordered by the Secretary of Defense.

August 21: Announcement by the Department of the Air Force of the cancellation of the development of the XF-103 all-weather interceptor aircraft.

August 21: Announcement by the Department of the Navy that it was making certain changes in the future production rates of a large number of new model aircraft and missiles as a result of increasing costs, technological advances and budgetary limitations.

August 23: Announcement by the Department of the Army regarding reductions in civilian personnel and in Army activities, installations and units consistent with the 50,000 reduction in Army military strengths to be effective January 1, 1958, and the limitation on Army expenditures for fiscal year 1958.

To get a proper perspective on the Defense spending problem, it is important to review what happened in fiscal year 1957. Looking over the monthly expenditure rates it is evident that spending began to build up as early as last November. And while the President's budget estimate submitted in January included an expenditure estimate of $36 billion for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1957, actual expenditures turned out to be approximately $38,400,000,000 or $2,400,000,000 greater than was estimated in January. At the end of June 1957 the Air Force alone was spending at a rate of $18.9 billion or $19 billion a year compared with the amount estimated for the fiscal year 1958 of approximately $17,600,000,000 in the President's January budget. For all the services the expenditure rate was running over $2.25 billion higher than the $38 billion estimated in the President's January budget. Thus it became necessary for the administration to curtail this expenditure rate substantially or face an actual deficit in the budget expenditures for fiscal year 1958. While the Congress had reduced appropriation requests by nearly $2,600,000,000 these reductions were such that they would largely affect expenditures in subsequent years. The direct effect on expenditures for fiscal year 1958 would probably have been in the area of $400 million to $500 million as a maximum. Therefore the administration was faced with the necessity of further reducing the expenditure rate by approximately $2 billion and has proceeded to do so by administrative action resulting in the series of orders and announcements listed above.

It has been recently stated that the programing efforts of the Department of Defense aimed toward curtailing expenditures in fiscal year 1958 are fairly well complete. I believe that this is so. However, should costs continue to rise and if expenditures in future years are not to exceed a $38 billion ceiling, the outlook is for further reductions in the defense program such as the much discussed additional 200,000 reduction in military personnel ceilings. While Congress has succeeded in holding appropriations approximately $2.6 billion below the President's January estimate or at slightly less than $36 billion, it is to be assumed that if a $38 billion spending level is to continue year after year it will require a higher level of appropriations in 1959, or in years immediately following. Along this line I would like to include as a part of the RECORD a letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Comptroller, dated August 14, 1957, as follows:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C.

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON,
Chairman, Department of Defense Subcommittee, House Committee on Appropriations.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your inquiry concerning the effect on the defense program of congressional action on the fiscal year 1958 defense budget request.

The adjustments required in the programs of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1958 are essentially those necessary to hold expenditures for the current fiscal year to $38 billion, the expenditure estimate contained in the President's budget submitted to the Congress in January.

It is possible that when the final program decisions for the current fiscal year have been made, we may find that congressional action on the Department's requests for new obligational authority for that year may affect certain programs in a minor way. Conversely, we may later find that in a few instances a small amount of the new obligational authority provided by the Congress for fiscal year 1958 in the annual appropriation accounts cannot be utilized effectively. All the funds provided in the no-year accounts, in my judgment, can be properly and advantageously utilized in reestablishing the long lead time programs on a fully funded basis.

The real problem posed by the action of Congress on the 1958 budget is that the appropriation of slightly less than $36 billion, including transfers, in support of a current program of $38 billion requires the utilization of essentially all of the carry-over obligational authority which might otherwise have been available as a credit against the fiscal year 1959 request. While this action does not materially affect defense programs in 1958—it will require a budget request for 1959 of at least $38 billion to support a continuing program of this magnitude. This will create a psychological problem inasmuch as it will appear to the public as a substantial increase in the defense budget, whereas in fact the level of the program would in that case remain the same.

Sincerely yours,

W. J. MCNEIL.

The question arises, has the Defense Department done great injury to our defense effort, by arbitrarily withholding funds from expenditure and stretching out and cutting back defense programs in order to hold defense spending this year at $38 billion? Admittedly, this is a very serious action. It is difficult at the moment to evaluate the full effects of the slowdowns and cutbacks. We all hope that important ground will not be lost in the battle to maintain sufficient military strength.

Undoubtedly we are still very strong militarily. On this point I would like to cite a statement recently made by Adm. Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He said:

We have the military power to destroy the Soviet Union today, not just by one means but by several means, not just by one weapon but by many weapons, not just from one direction but from many directions. The Soviet Union knows this.

The United States, of course, does not want war. Our capacity for destruction of a potential enemy is very great. But there is another side to the coin. The capacity of the potential enemy to hurt us is also very great. As has been said before, there is no real alternative to peace. The chief objective of our defense program is not to fight a war but to prevent war.

William E. Borah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY DWORSHAK
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, the Borah Foundation Committee and the Borah Commission are sponsoring appropriate activities in recognition of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the late William E. Borah's United States senatorial service.

In order to recall some of the significant achievements of Senator Borah's outstanding service, I requested the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to prepare a political review of his renowned senatorial career.

I ask unanimous consent to have this statement inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILLIAM E. BORAH

William E. Borah was born on a farm near Fairfield, Ill., on June 29, 1865. He attended the common schools of Wayne County, Ill, and Southern Illinois Academy at Enfield. He was graduated from the University of Kansas at Lawrence in 1889, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1890, and commenced practice in Lyons, Kans. In the following year he moved to Boise, Idaho, and devoted his time exclusively to the practice of his profession. He was an unsuccessful candidate for election as a silver Republican in 1896 to the 55th Congress and an unsuccessful candidate for election as United States Senator in 1903. Mr. Borah was a member of the Republican National Committee from 1908 to 1912 and a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1912 which nominated William Howard Taft for the Presidency.

He was first elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in 1907, 50 years ago this year. Senator Borah won reelection in 1913, 1918, 1924, 1930, and 1936, serving from March 4, 1907 until his death on January 19, 1940. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1936.

In 1895, he married Miss Mamie McConnell, daughter of Governor McConnell, whom he served at one time as secretary.

He early attained renown in the practice of law, participating in some of the most sensational criminal trials of the period as a State prosecutor. These included the prosecution in 1899 of a labor leader, Paul Corcoran, for alleged complicity in dynamite outrages and murder in the Coeur d'Alene

mining area in northern Idaho, and in 1905 the prosecution of William D. Haywood and other leaders of the Western Federation of Miners for the murder of former Gov. Frank Steinenberg, of Idaho.

He was opposed by Clarence Darrow, attorney for the defense in the Haywood trial. After the Haywood trials, Mr. Darrow described Mr. Borah as the ablest man he had ever contended against.

Following his defeat by a caucus-approved candidate in the Idaho Legislature in 1903 for the senatorship, he stumped the State reiterating that "King Caucus must go." Four years later, he carried his candidacy to the voters with such great effect that a majority of those elected to the legislature were pledged to vote for him for Senator.

To sum up the activities of Senator Borah in Congress, it is said, would have been to write a general summary of the political history of the United States for a third of a century, for no important matter came up in Congress without his having something to do with it.

Mr. Borah played a prominent role in the submission by Congress of the constitutional amendments providing for the popular election of Senators, the income tax, and prohibition. He was a constant advocate of a corrupt practice act to regulate campaign practices. He had a prominent part in the movements to unseat Senators Stephenson, of Wisconsin; Lorimer, of Illinois; and Newberry, of Michigan. He was the author of the resolution directing inquiry into the preconvention campaign expenditures of 1920. He sponsored the bills creating the Department of Labor in 1913 and the Children's Bureau.

Despite his lifelong habit of political independence, Senator Borah never opposed the election of the presidential nominee of his party except on one occasion. This was in 1896, when as a young man of 31 he ran for Representative on the Republican ticket while supporting William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic presidential nominee, on the free silver issue.

Mr. Borah believed strongly in the two-party system and was opposed to attempts to form a third major party. He said on many occasions that he preferred to make his fight within the Republican Party. When Theodore Roosevelt sought the Presidential nomination in 1912, Senator Borah acted as one of his floor managers in the Republican Convention. He declined, however, to follow Roosevelt into the Progressive, or "Bull Moose," Party. In 1924, he supported the candidacy of Calvin Coolidge, although he himself received the endorsement for reelection of the Independents under Senator La Follette. He declined, however, to accept the Republican Vice Presidential nomination in 1924. He vigorously supported the Republican candidacy of Herbert Hoover in 1928.

Criticized as an "isolationist," Senator Borah was strongly for world peace and the reduction of armaments. He opposed with equal vigor anything that smacked of entangling alliances with European powers. His leadership in the fight against the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations and the World Court focused wide attention on him. He was one of those who insisted that European nations should pay their World War I debts to the United States.

He opposed American military occupation of Nicaragua, Haiti, and Santo Domingo, bitterly fought reciprocity with Canada, and urged free tolls for American ships in the Panama Canal.

Senator Borah was perhaps best known for his leadership in the successful fight against the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations and for his part in bringing about the Washington conference for the limitation of armaments in 1922. His speech of November 19, 1919, opposing the Versailles Treaty was widely regarded as ranking in its impact with the greatest forensic efforts ever delivered in the Senate. The Washington Arms Conference of 1921 was brought about to a great degree by the insistence of Senator Borah. Although he did not approve of the four-power treaty that resulted, Senator Borah regarded the naval limitation treaty that grew out of the conference as a promising step toward world peace. He also advocated an economic conference to supplement the work of the armament discussions.

Senator Borah strongly supported economy in Government as a means of lifting the burden of taxation resulting from World War I. He opposed high tariff schedules and the soldiers' bonus. He once refused to accept a rise in salary voted by Congress until he had been reelected, holding that he had not been chosen for a position paying a higher salary.

He opposed President Hoover in 1931 for the administration's failure to provide what he considered adequate drought relief in 21 western States.

Although opposed to most of President Roosevelt's New Deal measures, Senator Borah approved the reduction in the gold content of the dollar, which Congress, on the recommendation of the President, put into effect in June 1933.

Senator Borah opposed the NRA codes, which he charged tended to encourage monopoly, to which he had been opposed for years. He opposed President Roosevelt's attempt to pack the Supreme Court in 1937. He criticized waste in the distribution of relief funds and helped bring about a senatorial investigation of Federal relief.

During 1936, Senator Borah was a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. He warned the members of his party that it was doomed to defeat unless it accepted new leadership. He openly began his campaign for the election of favorable delegates in February, selecting as his principal issue the question of economic concentration. He was successful in the Wisconsin and Nebraska primaries, but met defeat in New York and other key States. In the 1936 election, he was reelected to the Senate for his sixth term by his greatest vote, polling 126,000 voted to 54,500 for his Democratic opponent, on the same day that President Roosevelt won the electoral vote of Idaho and 45 other States.

He was one of the supporters of the investigation made into the structure of the American economy by the Temporary National Economic Committee. In 1938 he left his party in voting to increase the WPA appropriation. He was repeatedly criticized for his objection to the Wagner antilynching bill, which he opposed on constitutional grounds. He gave support to the southern Senators who opposed it during the prolonged filibuster that defeated the bill. He was strongly opposed to any attempt at invoking cloture. He felt that free debate had killed many bad pieces of legislation.

Senator Borah opposed the power of the President to negotiate reciprocal-trade agreements and the third term.

He was the leader of a bloc of Senators who bitterly opposed repeal of the Neutrality Act in 1939. He believed that repeal was the opening wedge to American participation in World War II.

Of him it was said, "he represents so many points of view that everybody agrees with him sometimes and nobody agrees with him all the time."

"Pride in the positon he attained as both a national and international figure," stated the New York Times at his death in 1940, "caused the voters of Idaho to reelect him successively, even though he frequently was at odds with the leadership of his party both National and State."

Japan's Cotton Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from the Council for Improved United States-Japanese Trade Relations.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COUNCIL FOR IMPROVED UNITED STATES-JAPANESE TRADE RELATIONS,
Washington, D. C., August 29, 1957.

Hon. MARGARET CHASE SMITH,
Senate of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SMITH: I have noted that in speaking in the Senate on August 26 in favor of S. 314 you made some comments upon Japan's cotton textile industry which are far from accurate. You have a well-deserved reputation for fairness and integrity, and I know that you would wish to afford an opportunity for correction if, in the heat of debate, statements were made which will not stand sober scrutiny.

You said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 14509) "only in the end to find Japan fully exploiting her cheap labor, paid coolie wages, for cutthroat competition against her benefactor." These inflammatory words create an entirely wrong picture of the situation in Japan's cotton teextile mills, where conditions are good by any standards in the world and wages are, if anything, above those prevailing for similar skills in other Japanese industries. These facts were fully presented last year to the subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee headed by Representative HALE BOGGS when that subcommittee was in Japan, and they are documented on pages 2097 to 2104 of volume 4 of the hearings of that subcommittee. I enclose two pamphlets published by the Council for Improved United States-Japanese Trade Relations which deal objectively (in our view) with the subject of Japan's textile labor.

It is true, of course, that Japanese wage rates are much lower than those of the United States, because Japan is a poorer country. International trade would, indeed, dry up if a poorer country were barred from exporting to the United States because it is poorer.

You also referred, in the same passage quoted above, to "Japan, to whom we have poured millions of dollars and the finest and most modern of textile machinery out of the goodness of our heart." Japanese leaders have frequently expressed their gratitude for the economic aid to their country in the early postwar years. It simply is not true, however, that the United States furnished textile mills to Japan or rebuilt Japanese mills. The reconstruction of Japan's textile industry was accomplished with internal Japanese investment funds, not from United States aid.

Finally, the expression "cutthroat competition" is unfair and subject to serious misinterpretation, when at the request of the United States Government the Japanese Government and Japanese cotton textile industry are enforcing painful and rigorous controls to insure that Japan's exports to the United States do not occasion difficult readjustments for the American industry. Let me refer you in this connection to the admirable

summary of the cotton textile situation in relation to Japan by Mr. Boggs which appears at pages 3185 to 3188 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 13, 1957.

This letter is not addressed to any legislation pending in the United States Congress, but is designed only to correct misapprehensions about competition from Japan. I trust that you will see fit to introduce it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD before the Congress adjourns.

Yours sincerely,

NELSON A. STITT,
Director.

Time To Put Up or Shut Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Bernard F. Hillenbrand, executive director, National Association of County Officials.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIME TO PUT UP OR SHUT UP

(By Bernard F. Hillenbrand, executive director, NACO)

It seems to us that much of the criticism of civil defense is cruel and irresponsible. Anyone with a spare rock seems to want to throw it at the civil-defense effort.

All levels of civil defense take a beating but our county civil-defense people seem to get the most abuse. They are the most vulnerable. They are close to the people. When the civil-defense effort fails—they bear the brunt of the blame even though it isn't always their fault. They usually receive no pay and get little recognition. For the most part they are the same conscientious Americans who served on the draft and rationing boards and other thankless jobs during our numerous wars. Everyone who didn't like rationing, drafts, or the war lets some of that feeling rub off in their criticism of civil defense.

This is not to say that all is well with civil defense. Far from it. The civil-defense people are the first to admit that much is wrong. We do not advocate that anyone stop criticising now or ever. Criticism is good. It is the wind against which a good kite rises or a poor one falls. It is like pain in the human body. It warns that something is wrong.

We do have standards for criticism. It must fair and it must be in accord with the facts. And those who would call attention to shortcomings must be willing to do their part to correct them.

These seem to be the facts. Clean or dirty, we have the atom and hydrogen bombs and so do the Russians. Other countries have or will probably have the bomb, too. With or without fallout, these big bombs can kill millions of people—Americans included. There is talk about disarmament, but so far it is just talk. No responsible official in any country has so much faith in peace talk that he is advocating that his own country disarm.

Perhaps those who deny the need for civil defense have some different facts. We think not. We do need civil defense.

Even if there were no threat of war there would be need for civil defense or something like it to cope with natural disaster. In 1953, the Federal Civil Defense Administration was designated as the Federal Disaster Relief Coordinating Agency. Since that time $55 million has been allocated to State and local governments to relieve suffering among victims of floods, forest fires, and other catastrophes. Our folks in Louisiana and Texas were the latest to fall victim to raging nature.

Despite tremendous efforts of former Federal Civil Defense Administrator, Gov. Val Peterson, and officials at the State and local level, our home defense effort has far to go. A House congression committee under the energetic leadership of CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, made a most thorough study of the subject and concluded that our entire approach to civil defense should be revised. The committee has a solution which has been incorporated into a bill now before Congress. It won't be passed this year. Maybe it will never be passed. It calls for development of a national plan, construction of underground shelters, more assistance to States and localities to finance costs and overall reorganization of FCDA. For the citizen it means more taxes, volunteering for civil-defense work, more time-consuming civil defense test exercises, and many other inconveniences. In the meantime, Congress has passed the Durham bill, H. R. 7576, which is a step toward strengthening civil defense. It gives more responsibility to the Federal Government and authorizes the expenditures of $18,850,000 toward the administration cost of State and local civil defense agencies.

For our part we will continue to give our all-out support to Bob Adams, and the dedicated members of his civil defense committee of the National Association of County Officials. Lt. Gen. Clarence R. Huebner, president of the State directors' association, has often said that the county is the most vital link of the civil defense chain. Our counties are planning an increasingly important role in civil defense, as evidenced by the fact that Maj. Gen. Edwin G. Ziegler, civil defense director of Buffalo and Erie Counties, has just been elected president of the United States Civil Defense Council. He will do a fine job. Former Gov. Leo A. Hoegh, of Iowa, has just been named the new Federal Civil Defense Administrator. He has a big job and we should help him all we can.

It is truly time to put up or shut up.

Senator Morse's Statement Opposing S. 2377

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I voted against S. 2377. It was not possible for Senator MORSE to be present. He opposed the bill and wanted the statement of his position in the RECORD. I ask permission to insert this very thoughtful reason as to why Senator MORSE, had he been present, would also have voted in opposition to S. 2377.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR WAYNE MORSE, DEMOCRAT, OF OREGON, ON S. 2377, THE SO-CALLED JENCKS BILL

I wish the RECORD to show my opposition to the final version of S. 2377 as agreed upon in conference and approved by the Senate.

From the first I have maintained that a measure dealing with basic rights of due process, embodied in a decision of the Supreme Court, required more deliberate consideration in committee and by the bench and bar than S. 2377 received.

The bill as drafted by the Department of Justice and reported to the Senate was a poor bill which undercut the Supreme Court's decision and imperiled other rights heretofore protected by the courts. After many revisions, the bill was greatly improved in the Senate.

The two rollcall votes in the Senate defeated attempts to deprive defendants of rights protected by the Supreme Court's decision and to impair other decisions interpreting the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. The ground gained in the Senate was lost in conference.

I regret the Senate's hasty action in approving the conference version.

Adams County, Ohio, Opens Its Doors to the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to supply the following information about the world's conservation exposition and plowing contests which will be held in the Sixth District of Ohio at Peebles in Adams County:

ALL IN READINESS FOR GIANT WORLD'S FAIR OF AGRICULTURE

PEEBLES, OHIO.—Adams County, Ohio, opens its doors to the world next week during the 1957 world's conservation exposition and plowing contests here, September 17, 18, 19, and 20.

"Everything is in excellent shape," according to General Chairman Earl K. DeVore, Winchester, Ohio, dairyman. Transportation, food and housing arrangements have been completed. Preparations for the exposition have been underway for 3 years.

All roads leading into the area have been widened and resurfaced. Free parking areas will accommodate more than 33,000 cars at one time, and an elaborate system of traffic control will prevent any cross-traffic tieups within the 2,500-acre site area. More than 20 food concessions, under supervision of public-health authorities, will be stocked with 26 tons of hamburger, 3 miles of hot dogs, 1 million paper cups, 12,000 gallons of milk, 24,000 gallons of coffee, 12 tons of potatoes, 33,000 pies, and 120 tons of ice.

Cochairman Bob Miller of station WLW, Cincinnati, points out that while thousands of visitors are expected at this World's Fair of Agriculture, no one need fear the traffic or crowds. The crowd on any one day will be no larger than that at a Big Ten football game, plus the fact they will be dispersed over a 16-farm area. And, they will not all be trying to arrive at the same time, as they do at a sporting contest.

This will be the largest onetime, all-inclusive agricultural event ever held in the United States, and the first time the world plowing contests have taken place on American soil. Champion plowmen from 14 countries will compete for the world plowing championship, with the winner to be announced at the master plowman's banquet in the Peebles High School gymnasium Friday evening, September 20.

The Ohio State plowing champions will be named after the September 17 State eliminations, and will be entered in the national plowing matches the following day. The national winners on September 18 will compete in the 1958 world contests in Germany.

In keeping with the established tradition of American field days, admission is free on State and National days, September 17–18. In keeping with the established tradition of the world contests, a 50-cent admisison charge will be made to those over 18 years of age on September 19–20.

Included among the many dignitaries scheduled to attend the exposition are: the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture; Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; and the Honorable C. William O'Neill, Governor of the State of Ohio.

A queen of the furrow, selected from more than 1,100 rural Ohio contestants, will reign over the entire exposition. Other attractions include a complete women's program—highlighted by a New York fashion show; and daily appearances by the world-famous 102-piece United States Army Field Band. Tractor-tipping demonstrations will be featured each afternoon. Exhibition shooting by Herb Parsons, the world's greatest marksman, will be presented September 19–20. Visitors during the first 3 days will have a chance to see some 40 top sheep dogs in action in the supreme championship trials of the North American Sheep Dog Society.

More than 100 acres will be devoted to educational and commercial exhibits. The educational exhibits will illustrate utilization of our natural resources through proper land and livestock management. Visitors will see the ultimate in soil and water conservation practices as they apply to this particular area. More than $1 million worth of farm machinery will be on display in the commercial exhibits.

A 3,000-foot airstrip on the site will accommodate aircraft as large as DC–3's.

Following the exposition, the foreign plowmen, team managers, and officials will be guests of various agricultural, business, and industrial groups on a week-long tour of the Buckeye State.

Carlos Castillo Armas—Resolution by the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM RAYBURN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose herewith a copy of a resolution adopted by the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala:

The Congress of the Republic of Guatemala has been informed through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the resolutions adopted by the Congress of the United States of America, expressing its deepest sorrow at the death of His Excellency, Carlos Castillo Armas.

Therefore, the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala resolves: To thank the Honorable Congress of the United States of America for their kind expressions of sympathy to the people of Guatemala, which they issued as representatives of the people of the United States of America. Through these expressions our people have received, in this hour of tragedy, reiterated proof of moral support from the representatives of the people of the United States, and this will encourage us to proceed with energy and courage in continuing the social and economic reconstruction so successfully started by the illustrious President Castillo Armas, a victim of international communism.

FEDERICO CARBONELL RODAS,
President.
GUILLERMO VIDES CASTANEDA,
First Vice President.
VIRGILIO VISCOVICH PREM,
Second Vice President.
JULIO PRADO GARCIA SALAS,
First Secretary.
MANUEL DE JESUS GIRON TANCHEZ,
Second Secretary.
LUIS D. ESKENASSY CRUZ,
Third Secretary.
OSCAR COBAR CASTILLO,
Fourth Secretary.
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
GUATEMALA CITY, GUATEMALA, CENTRAL AMERICA, *August 28, 1957.*

Against Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution of the Washington State Association of County Commissioners.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGAINST FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

"Whereas the National Association of County Officials is an organization dedicated to the maintenance of constitutional government, States rights, and strong local government; and

"Whereas this association holds to the deep conviction that strong local government is a bulwark of democracy; and

"Whereas this association is opposed to Federal control or interference with respect to matters which should rightfully be left for local determination; and

"Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States legislation proposing to enact Federal aid to education; and

"Whereas the financing and full control of educational facilities within the States are rightfully the sole responsibility of the States and the political subdivisions thereof: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the National Association of County Officials does hereby go on record as being opposed to Federal aid to education; be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Member of the Congress of the United States."

At this point, Richard Watts, executive secretary of the of the Washington State Association of County Commissioners, moved that the resolution proposed by the legislative committee be tabled. Mr. Watts came to the speaker's rostrum and made a brief speech, saying that he felt that there was such divided opinion within the association on the subject of Federal aid to education that this resolution would split the organization and alienate important elements of our support.

The motion to table the proposed resolution was then put to a vote and defeated.

The Record and Accomplishments of the Committee on Ways and Means During the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERE COOPER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, it has been my custom since I have been chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means to place in the RECORD a brief report near the end of each session on the work and accomplishments of the Committee on Ways and Means during the session of Congress for the information of Members of Congress and the interested public.

The survey which I have just completed on the work of the committee this session provides ample evidence of the diligent and conscientious attention to duty of all members of the committee. I wish to take this opportunity to again commend them for their hard work, their devotion of long hours and days and weeks to our committee activity. I would like to express my grateful appreciation to my distinguished colleagues on the committee who have served so ably and so conscientiously on the committee during this session. I should also like to take this opportunity to state that as members of the committee they have initiated and acted upon legislation which is greatly in the public interest and of tremendous assistance to the citizens of our country.

This legislative activity has covered nearly every major field of the committee's broad jurisdiction. While some of the bills receiving favorable action by the committee were what might be termed minor bills, a number of measures properly fall within the category of major legislation. At a later point in this report I shall give a brief summary and description of the action of the committee in each of the areas of its jurisdiction. I shall also, at a later point, indicate the activity of the three subcommittees which the committee reestablished at the beginning of this Congress.

This session of the 85th Congress has been a period of intensive activity by the Committee on Ways and Means. The legislation which has been favorably acted upon by the committee is sound, responsible, and beneficial to the American people. The committee has, with determination and conscientiousness,

applied itself to the exceptionally heavy workload before it and has made great progress in the interest of all our citizens. Due to the vital importance of matters falling within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, to the economy and well-being of our Nation, it is particularly necessary that this committee exercise the utmost care and thought to screening the many proposals referred to it so that those measures selected for favorable consideration will be ones which are in the public interest and which benefit all Americans. I can truthfully say that the record of the committee during this session has been an outstanding one. As an individual member of the committee, I voted against some of the matters which were nevertheless ordered reported by a majority of the committee. This is the way our committee system works.

As I shall point out in more detail later in this report, the committee has taken action on a broad front. It has favorably reported, and the House has passed, the first technical revision of our excise tax structure since 1932, when many of our present excise taxes were first adopted. It has favorably reported a major bill the purpose of which is to correct unintended benefits and hardships and thus close many actual and potential loopholes in our income and estate tax laws. It has favorably reported a bill which has now become public law which make it possible for our citizens to receive a higher interest return on their investments in United States Savings bonds. It has protected the fiscal integrity of the Government by extending, on the request of the administration, certain excise and corporate tax rates until June 30, 1958. It has favorably acted on amendments to the Antidumping Act. It has taken favorable action on a variety of social security measures affording further benefits to our citizens. It has acted to empower the Government to further control the manufacture of narcotic drugs. And it has acted on a broad variety of other measures,

But equally important as the matters on which the committee has taken final action are the studies which are underway looking toward major action next session. The three subcommittees of the committee have been hard at work on agendas which they have developed and the groundwork which has been laid through their continuing careful studies will be basic to action to be taken by the full committee in the forthcoming session.

In my past reports of this nature I have taken occasion to point out the constantly increasing workload of the Committee on Ways and Means. In the survey I have just completed, it is obvious to me that this pattern of increasing activity in the areas of jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means has continued on a sharply ascending curve which attests to the importance of the matters which we handle and to the vital relationship of our legislative activities to the welfare of our country. In this report I shall shortly present statistics to show that more public bills have been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means during this session of the Congress than have been introduced and referred to us in any single previous session in the committee's history. At the end of the 84th Congress I pointed out that some 1,324 bills had been introduced and referred to the committee for consideration, which was the largest number ever referred to us up to that time. During the 1st session of the 85th Congress, which is just drawing to a close, a total of 1,538 bills have been referred to us for consideration. Thus, it can be seen that more bills were referred to the committee during the 1st session of the 85th Congress than during both sessions of the 84th Congress. These 1,538 public bills cover every area of our jurisdiction and every facet of our activity. This is between 3 and 4 times the number of bills which were referred to the committee during the 2d session of the 84th Congress, and approximately twice the number of bills which were referred to the committee in the 1st session of the 84th Congress. Of course, it is generally true that more bills are introduced during the first session of the Congress than during the second session. However, to repeat, the total of 1,538 bills which were referred to the committee during this 1st session of the 85th Congress represents more bills than were referred to the Committee during both sessions of the 84th Congress, or for that matter, any previous Congress.

I will set forth below a comparative table which I have had prepared showing the number of bills introduced and referred to the committee for the past decade. It can readily be seen from this table how vastly the work of this committee has grown during that period. For example, 10 years ago, during the 1st session of the 80th Congress—1947—a total of 407 bills were introduced and referred to the committee, which represents only approximately one-fourth of the total of 1,538 bills which were introduced and referred to the committee during this session of the 85th Congress. Six years ago, during the 1st session of the 82d Congress—1951—some 433 bills were referred to the committee, again only about one-fourth the number referred this year.

The following table shows statistics in this regard for the past 10 years:

TABLE I

85TH CONG.

1ST SESS., 1957

	House bills	House joint resolutions	House concurrent resolutions	House resolutions
Number introduced and referred	1,517	15	1	4
Number reported	50			
Number passed by House	42			
Number enacted into law	21			

TABLE I—Continued

84TH CONG.

1ST SESS., 1955

	House bills	House joint resolutions	House concurrent resolutions	House resolutions
Number introduced and referred	835	7	0	4
Number reported	62			
Number passed by House	57			
Number enacted into law	49			

2D SESS., 1956

Number introduced and referred	466	5	0	4
Number reported	36	1		1
Number passed by House	32	1		
Number enacted into law	21	1		

83D CONGRESS

1ST SESS., 1953

Number introduced and referred	880	8	2	2
Number reported	34	1		
Number passed by House	30	1		
Number enacted into law	23	1		

2D SESS., 1954

Number introduced and referred	330	5	2	0
Number reported	14	3		
Number passed by House	14	3	2	
Number enacted into law	12	3		

82D CONG.

1ST SESS., 1951

Number introduced and referred	433	11	7	1
Number reported	32	4		
Number passed by House	31	4		
Number enacted into law	26	4		

2D SESS., 1952

Number introduced and referred	277	3	2	0
Number reported	26	3		
Number passed by House	22	2		
Number enacted into law	19	2		

81ST CONG.

1ST SESS., 1949

Number introduced and referred	567	14	0	4
Number reported	17	7		
Number passed by House	17	7		
Number enacted into law	15	6		

2D SESS., 1950

Number introduced and referred	228	15	16	2
Number reported	22	9		
Number passed by House	19	9		
Number enacted into law	16	6		

80TH CONG.

1ST SESS., 1947

Number introduced and referred	407	8	3	6
Number reported	25	4		
Number passed by House	25	4		
Number enacted into law	18	4		

TABLE I—Continued
80TH CONG.—Continued
2D SESS., 1948

	House bills	House joint resolutions	House concurrent resolutions	House resolutions
Number introduced and referred	236	12	1	3
Number reported	27	5	1	-------
Number passed by House	26	6	1	-------
Number enacted into law	17	6	-------	-------

At the beginning of this session of the Congress, the committee acted to reestablish three subcommittees covering three of the major areas of the committee's jurisdiction. These subcommittees and the membership of each follow: Subcommittee on Internal Revenue Taxation, under the chairmanship of the Honorable WILBUR D. MILLS, with the following membership: NOBLE J. GREGORY, THOMAS J. O'BRIEN, FRANK IKARD, RICHARD M. SIMPSON, ROBERT W. KEAN, and HOWARD H. BAKER; Subcommittee on Excise Taxes, under the chairmanship of the Honorable AIME J. FORAND, with the following membership: HERMAN P. EBERHARTER, EUGENE J. KEOGH, FRANK M. KARSTEN, A. S. HERLONG, Jr., THOMAS A. JENKINS, NOAH M. MASON, and HAL HOLMES; and the Subcommittee on Foreign Trade Policy, under the chairmanship of the Honorable HALE BOGGS, with the following membership: CECIL R. KING, BURR P. HARRISON, EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, DANIEL A. REED, JOHN W. BYRNES, ANTONI N. SADLAK, and THOMAS B. CURTIS.

I. STATUS OF LEGISLATION 1ST SESSION, 85TH CONGRESS

During the first session of this Congress, the committee has favorably reported to the House of Representatives a total of 48 bills, of which 43 have been passed by the House. Of the 43 which have been passed by the House, a total of 21 has passed the Senate, and a total of 21 has been signed into public law. As may be seen from table I, more bills were reported during this session than in any previous session during the past 10 years, with the exception of the 1st session of the 84th Congress.

The follwing table shows the status of legislation on which the committee has acted favorably during the session just completed, broken down into categories of tax bills, social-security bills, and tariff bills:

TABLE II

	Social security	Tariff	Tax	Total
Bills reported to House	11	13	26	50
Bills passed House	10	11	22	43
Bills reported to Senate	8	10	4	22
Bills passed Senate	8	9	4	21
Bills enacted into law [1]	8	9	4	21

[1] This figure includes 10 bills awaiting the President's signature.

The full committee met 61 times in executive session and in addition conducted public hearings on 5 different subjects for a period of some 8 days, receiving testimony from some 119 different witnesses, plus the statements received from many other individuals and organizations for the record. In this connection, it is important to point out here that groundwork for much of our legislative activity this session was laid in public hearings conducted by our three subcommittees last fall. Those hearings, of course, were not covered in my report at the end of last session and properly should be included here. During these hearings, which lasted a total of 36 days, some 356 witnesses were heard, in addition to many additional statements submitted for the record. Data concerning the public hearings of the full committee and the subcommittees follows:

TABLE III.—*Public hearings of Committee on Ways and Means and subcommittees thereof*

	Date	Number of witnesses
Committee on Ways and Means:		
Tax Rate Extension Act of 1957, H. R. 4090, H. R. 4091.	Feb. 6, 1957	2
Maximum interest rate permitted on United States savings bonds, H. R. 4734, H. R. 4735.	-	4
Amend certain provisions of the Antidumping Act, 1921, to provide for greater certainty, speed, and efficiency in the enforcement thereof, and for other purposes, H. R. 6006, H. R. 6007.	July 29-31, 1957	9
Sliding scale import excise tax on lead and zinc, H. R. 8257, H. R. 8265, H. R. 8303, H. R. 8307, H. R. 8328, and H. R. 8464.	Aug. 1-2, 1957	70
Provide for Federal agencies to withhold city income taxes of Federal employees, H. R. 6745.	Aug. 27, 1957	14
Subcommittee on Internal Revenue taxation:		
Requirement that taxpayers establish a reserve for past depreciation in connection with a changeover from a retirement method of depreciation to some other method.	Apr. 12, 1957	5
Technical amendments to the Internal Revenue Code.	Nov. 19-28, 1956	37
Subcommittee on Excise Taxes: On excise taxes.	Nov. 26-30, 1956; Dec. 3-10, 1956	108
Subcommittee on Foreign Trade Policy: On administration and operation of customs and tariff laws and the trade agreements program.	Sept. 17-28, 1956; Oct. 2, 1956	90

Overseas conferences: The subcommittee also conducted overseas studies and conferences and received statements and views from a large number of witnesses which have been published as vol. 4 of the hearings containing some 373 pages.

Moreover, the three subcommittees of the committee met in executive session approximately 38 times during the session.

II. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY

A. Tax legislation:

During the first session of this Congress the Committee on Ways and Means took favorable action on 26 bills, the purpose of which was to amend the Internal Revenue Code in various respects. Many of these bills made important changes in our tax structure, and three of these bills constituted major legislation. Of these 3, 1 has been signed into public law, 1 has passed the House of Representatives and is presently pending before the Senate Finance Committee, and 1 is pending on the House Calendar. Of the 22 bills which might be labeled minor bills, 2 have been signed into public law, 19 have passed the House, and 3 are pending on the House Calendar.

A brief description of the three major bills in the tax field follows.

A major tax bill, which has been favorably acted upon by the committee and which has passed the House of Representative and is now before the Senate Committee on Finance, is H. R. 7125 entitled "Excise Tax Technical Changes Act of 1957." While this bill, as indicated by its title, is a technical one and does not make any major changes with regard to excise tax rates, it contains the first overall technical revision of the general excise tax provisions since 1932, the year when a great many of these provisions were first adopted. Its title does not truly indicate the vast amount of time and work which went into the bill's preparation, consideration, and reporting by the Committee on Ways and Means. In order that the true nature of the work involved may be indicated, the bill itself consisted of some 430 pages, and the committee report accompanying the bill consisted of approximately 212 pages. This bill represents the culmination of over 2 years of intensive work both by the full committee and by the Subcommittee on Excise Taxes, formerly the Subcommittee on Excise Tax, Technical, and Administrative Problems.

In addition to numerous changes in virtually all classes of the miscellaneous excise taxes, the provisions of the code relating to the communications and documentary stamp taxes and the important credit and refund provisions have been entirely rewritten by title I of the bill. Title II of the bill is concerned with the provisions of the code relating to the taxes on distilled spirits, wines, beer, tobacco products, and firearms. The bill provides a general technical revision of the distilled spirit provisions and also the occupational tax provisions relating to wholesale and retail dealers in alcoholic beverages. Title I of the bill, as indicated above, contains the first general technical revision of the excise tax provisions which has been attempted since the time when most of those provisions were first incorporated in the Internal Revenue Code. The extensive and intensive work which went into the preparation of final drafting and approval of this bill by the committee can be indicated also by the fact that extended public hearings were held on the subjects covered by the bill for a period of approximately 2 weeks in October 1955 and also again in January and March of 1956, incorporating over 1,000 pages of testimony and statements in three volumes. Several interim reports were prepared and considered by the subcommittee and given careful and complete consideration by the full Committee on Ways and Means prior to final action on provisions of the bill. The bill was reported by the committee on May 24, 1957, and passed the

House of Representatives on June 20, 1957. It represents a major revision of the technical excise tax provisions of the code.

A second major tax bill favorably reported by the Committee on Ways and Means was H. R. 8381 entitled "Technical Amendments Act of 1957." This bill represents a major step in the elimination of substantive unintended benefits and hardships in the existing income, estate, and gift tax provisions, and also removes many technical errors and ambiguities in the tax statutes. The bill contains 81 sections. While in terms of the number of changes most of the bill deals with the correction of inadvertent errors in the internal revenue laws, the bill contains considerably more significant provisions which are concerned with "unintended benefits" and "unintended hardships" which relate to problems of revenue significance which have developed over a considerable period of time. This bill represents the culmination of intensive work by the Subcommittee on Internal Revenue Taxation, by the full Committee on Ways and Means and by the staffs. Active work toward the bill was begun in July of 1956 when the Subcommittee on Internal Revenue Taxation was established to review existing income, estate and gift tax provisions and to determine the substantive unintended benefits and hardships and technical problems needing correction. That subcommittee held public hearings in November of 1956 which cover over 500 pages of testimony and statements received from various individuals and organizations interested in these matters. In addition, as indicated, both the subcommittee and the full Committee on Ways and Means spent many days in executive session studying these various problems before reporting H. R. 8381. The bill was reported by the committee on July 9, 1957, and is presently pending on the House Calendar.

A third tax bill which can properly be considered a major bill from the standpoint of the general revenues was H. R. 4090 entitled "Tax Rate Extension Act of 1957." This bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means provided for a one-year extension of the present corporate income tax rate and existing rates of certain excise taxes. In the form in which the bill passed the Senate, a 15-month extension of these tax rates was provided for, and in that form the bill was agreed to by the House of Representatives and signed into law by the President.

The extension of these tax rates concerned was requested by the Secretary of the Treasury in behalf of the administration and was agreed to because of their effect on the Federal budget in the fiscal year 1958. It was estimated that, had the rates not been extended, there would have been a deficit in the fiscal year 1958 of about $500 million. It was estimated that the total full-year effect under the bill as passed by the House would be $2,975 million. The bill was favorably reported by the Committee on Ways and Means on February 7, 1957, passed the House on March 14, 1957, passed the Senate on March 27, 1957, and signed by the President on March 29, 1957.

Two additional tax measures which received favorable action by the Committee on Ways and Means deserve particular mention here. These bills are now pending before the Senate Committee on Finance. The first of these, H. R. 8865, relating to the administration of certain collected taxes, was designed to secure greater compliance with present law on the part of employers and others in paying over to the Government trust fund withheld tax moneys such as income, social security and retailers taxes. It provides, generally speaking, for penalties to insure that employers who withhold income, or social security taxes or who collect excise taxes shall pay such moneys into the Treasury. The committee was advised that, as of December 31, 1956, the delinquent withheld income and social security taxes alone amounted to $279 million. This legislation was designed to prevent this from further occurring.

The second tax bill which also deserves special mention, in addition to the major bills, is H. R. 8216, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to prevent unjust enrichment by precluding refunds of alcohol and tobacco taxes to persons who have not borne the ultimate burden of the tax. This legislation limits refunds to cases where claimants bore the ultimate burden or repaid the amount of the tax to the person who bore the ultimate burden. Claims already filed, including refunds of these taxes, amount to $830 million.

In addition to the above major bills and bills deserving of special mention, the committee also took favorable action on 19 miscellaneous bills of lesser importance relating to taxes. These miscellaneous bills covered a variety of different subjects too lengthy to outline here. Details as to these and all other bills referred to the committee can be found in the legislative calendar of the committee.

B. Fiscal legislation:

In the field of general fiscal legislation, other than taxes, the Committee on Ways and Means took favorable action on one bill, H. R. 5520, which properly can be classified as major legislation. As reported by the committee and in the form in which it passed the House of Representatives, this bill would have increased the maximum permissible interest rate on savings bonds—and savings certificates—held to maturity from 3 percent to 3½ percent a year, compounded semiannually. It would have authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to increase the yield on savings bonds and savings certificates bearing issue dates of February 1, 1957, or later, and it would also have authorized the Secretary, in his discretion, to increase the maximum interest rate on series E savings bonds, maturing on February 1, 1957, or later which the holder retained for an extension period of not more than 10 years beyond their maturity dates. The Senate amended this bill so as to provide discretionary authority to the Secretary to raise the interest rate on these bonds to 3.26 percent in lieu of the 3½ percent authority contained in the House bill, and the bill in this form was agreed to by the House and approved by the President April 20, 1957.

This legislation is quite important to the millions of individuals who purchase and hold series E savings bonds, since it will permit the Secretary of the Treasury to increase the interest rate payable to these millions of individuals on this important type of savings, if he deems this advisable. This legislation was designed to further encourage investment in these bonds by our individual citizens. The importance of this authority, which can be exercised by the Treasury, in affording our citizens increased interest on this class of investment is underscored by the generally rising interest rates on other comparable forms of investment. This legislation will permit our individual citizens to continue to participate in this vitally important savings program at a rate of interest more commensurate with that which is paid on such other forms of similar investment.

C. Narcotics legislation:

The Committee on Ways and Means also took favorable action during this session of the Congress on a bill, H. R. 9028, covering another important area of the committee's jurisdiction, namely, the field of control of narcotic drugs. While this legislation is technically tax legislation, or constitutes an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code, from a substantive point of view it appropriately can be considered to be an additional different field of jurisdiction. This legislation was designed to give full effect to treaty obligations of the United States to limit exclusively to medical and scientific purposes the manufacture of narcotic drugs and to require that such manufacture be restricted to persons and premises that have been licensed for the purpose. It is also designed to amend the Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act to bring the regulation of exports in conformity with current treaty obligations, and to permit the importation and exportation of certain narcotic drugs for scientific research purposes. This action of the committee during this session thus further supplements the important action taken by the committee and the Congress during the last session with regard to control of the illicit trafficking in drugs and the prevention of insidious and heinous crimes resulting from the use of such drugs. This legislation is considered therefore to be quite important in protecting the welfare of our citizens and in promoting the general interest. It is now pending before the Senate Committee on Finance.

D. Social-security legislation:

One of the most important major fields of jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means is that relating to our national social security laws. As may be recalled, during the second session of the 84th Congress the Social Security Act amendments of 1956 were finally enacted by Congress and approved by the President. During this first session of the 85th Congress, the committee did not act on a major social security bill compar-

able to the Social Security Act amendments of 1956 but it did take action on a variety of lesser, but nonetheless important, bills in this area of its jurisdiction. The action which the committee took on these miscellaneous bills in the field of social security will afford benefits to a very large number of our citizens who, because of certain provisions in existing law, would not have been able to receive such benefits. For example, a large number of ministers had not availed themselves, for one reason or another, of the privilege which was extended to them of electing, by April 15, 1957, to come under the act as a self-employed individual. A number of other ministers had been mistakenly enrolled along with lay employees in certain church schools and similar organizations and were faced with the prospect of losing their social security coverage. The committee acted, in H. R. 8892, to afford these ministers a further opportunity to elect coverage and to insure that all those who desire coverage might obtain it. Another bill, H. R. 6191, extended the time in which the disability freeze provisions of the act could be made retroactive, which should be of material benefit to those of our citizens who have been unfortunate enough to become disabled. In this same bill the committee also took favorable action on a provision which eliminated from present law the so-called dual disability provision as it related to disability-insurance benefits insofar as veterans who were receiving service-connected disability compensation from the Veterans' Administration are concerned. This change in the law will permit veterans to draw both social security and veterans' disability benefits.

As indicated above, there were a variety of these miscellaneous bills, a total of 11, too numerous to outline here, which will be of very material benefit to our citizens. All of these social-security bills are now law or are awaiting signature by the President.

E. Customs and tariff legislation:

The Committee on Ways and Means has taken action on a number of bills with respect to customs and tariff matters. One bill of particular interest and which deserves mention here is H. R. 6006, the purpose of which is to amend the Antidumping Act of 1921 so as to provide for greater certainty, speed, and efficiency in the enforcement of that act. This legislation was based upon the report made to the Congress by the Treasury Department in accordance with section 5 of the Customs Simplification Act of 1956. The three principal features of this legislation are as follows:

First, it amends provisions of the act relative to the assessment of dumping duties to correct possible situations which may arise where sales at less than fair value and injury are found but where no duties can be collected; second, it amends certain definitions contained in the act so as to bring them into conformity with new definitions included in the Customs Simplification Act of 1956; and third, it provides for mandatory public notice when there is reason to believe or suspect sales of imported merchandise at dumping prices, and mandatory public notice by the Treasury Department and the Tariff Commission of their decision in dumping cases along with reasons therefor. This legislation embodies all the amendments which the Treasury Department was prepared to recommend to the committee at this time. However, the committee recognizes that many interested individuals and organizations have urged more basic amendments to the Antidumping Act, and the committee is continuing to study this act, along with other matters in this general field, with respect to the desirability and advisability for further legislation. This bill is now pending before the Senate Committee on Finance.

Another bill in the customs and tariff field which deserves some particular mention here is H. R. 6304, the purpose of which, as acted upon by the committee and as it passed the House of Representatives, was to make permanent the existing privilege of free importation of gifts from the members of the Armed Forces of the United States on duty abroad. The Senate amended this bill so as to extend this privilege for an additional 2-year period, and in that form is was agreed to by the House of Representatives and approved by the President. This legislation should be of particular interest to the members of the Armed Forces abroad in that, from a morale standpoint, it is extremely important to a serviceman on such duty to be able to send small gifts and souvenirs from the region in which he is serving to his family and friends in this country.

The Committee on Ways and Means acted favorably on a total of 13 bills in the field of customs and tariff matters and, although the majority of these bills properly could be classified as minor bills, they do provide benefits and helpful assistance to our citizens and our industries.

F. Studies and program for second session:

As I have indicated above, the Committee on Ways and Means and its subcommittees have under way studies and investigations which should be of material assistance in the further consideration of important legislation during the next session of this Congress. Due to the nature of the public bills falling within the jurisdiction of this committee, it is particularly necessary and advisable that the committee act with the utmost thoughtfulness and caution. The relationship of tax legislation, fiscal legislation, social-security legislation, and customs and tariff legislation to the economy of our Nation and the well-being of our citizens is obvious, and the committee has always taken cognizance of this fact. It could not act precipitously on legislation of this kind. I emphasize these matters because it underscores and gives emphasis to the significant studies which are under way particularly by the three subcommittees of the committee.

I have already announced that the Committee on Ways and Means, beginning next January 7, will conduct general revenue revision hearings. During the course of those hearings the committee will receive the views and comments of individuals and organizations with respect to our revenue system. In the meantime, the Subcommittee on Excise Taxes is continuing its work toward further technical and administrative changes, and, even more important, is making a study of our Federal excise tax structure and rates.

Let's Look at the Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. REECE] has the audacity to state in the Appendix—pages A7206–A7207—August 27, 1957, that I have not given sufficient replies to questions he has asked me July 19 and August 9, 1957.

I invite any Member or other reader of the RECORD to read our respective statements and judge for himself.

I also point out that I have been very willing to debate these matters on the floor of the House, or elsewhere, whereas the intrepid gentleman from Tennessee confines his ill-informed sniping to insertions in the RECORD. I venture to hope he will eventually consent to pose his questions to me personally on the floor of this House, or elsewhere.

For the benefit of those who have not the time or facilities or disposition to read the previous exchanges, let me make these brief comments on the questions the gentleman lists in his August 29, 1957, insertion.

I adhere to my position that dictators should be overthrown and that I, along with most Americans, favor their being toppled by a revolution to bring justice and mercy back into government, peaceful revolution if possible.

As for what the Costa Rican newspapers reported, if the gentleman objects to any story I will be glad to confirm or deny its accuracy. But I see no point in burdening the RECORD with these clippings. However, the gentleman, or any other person, may see these clippings in my office. I never have refused anyone access, contrary to the gentleman's assertion.

The matter of the trip expenses paid by the Colombian newspaper, El Tiempo, and by the Costa Rican Government has been fully explained and justified in these pages. The Library of Congress has approved every aspect. We have a favorable official legal opinion. I have not, it is true, asked the Attorney General. Why does not the gentleman do this. It is time he consulted some lawyer on this question.

As for the military advantages of the dictator-run countries in Latin America, I am most willing to debate this issue with the gentleman. The real issue is what policies are most effective in fight-

ing international communism in Latin America.

I do not intend to embarrass any employees of the State Department by disclosing which of them favor an end to the "be soft to Latin American dictators" policy of Secretary Dulles and President Eisenhower.

As for the enthusiastic reception I received in Costa Rica, I point out to the gentleman that this was prior to my origination and introduction of an amendment to cut off aid to Nicaragua and other Latin American dictatorships.

As for the defeat (171 to 4) of the amendment in the House, I believe it was largely because it had had no committee hearings. I expect a better result next time.

If the gentleman cared to investigate even cursorily, he would find that I have consulted often with members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the State Department, and I shall continue to do so.

I have not been silent in the face of these questions, contrary to the gentleman's astounding assertion. It is the gentleman who shuns debate and ignores and neglects the most elementary factfinding.

I repeat my request that the gentleman agree to debate these issues in person, on the floor or elsewhere. Let us have and end to his timid hit-and-run unilateral insertions in the RECORD.

A Message from Hon. John W. McCormack, Member of Congress, Majority Leader, United States House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks by including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a message from the distinguished majority leader, Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, which appears in the current Newsletter of the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee:

A MESSAGE FROM HON. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, MAJORITY LEADER, UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The enormous role which Americans of many diverse national heritages play in making our country great must be obvious to anyone who sits in Congress. During my 30 years of service in the House, I have known and worked with elected Representatives whose parentage brought to the United States the best from almost every corner of the globe.

Among our Democratic Members of Congress today there are Representatives whose families came within the last generation or two from Italy, Spain, Ireland, Poland, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Norway, Sweden, and India. Among them are the chairmen of several of our most important committees.

The fact that these men have shown such qualities of statesmanship and patriotism as to cause their neighbors to elect them to our highest legislative body is by itself proof of the great contribution which immigrants have made to the United States.

Based on my observations, I wish to praise the work of the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee. It is both important and necessary. The division helps Americans of recent parentage abroad to take a more active part in affairs of government, and thus to be better citizens. It helps all of us toward better understanding of our neighbors, and a fuller knowledge of each other's heritage. It stands for the Democratic Party's deep interest in the welfare of every man and women in the United States, and it represents the American spirit at its best.

A Threat to the Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. PAT JENNINGS
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, last week the Special Subcommittee on Coal Reserves reported on its findings after 15 months of study. The recommendations of this subcommittee were of particular interest to the coal-producing region of Virginia, for it was here that one phase of the study was conducted.

At my request, the Subcommittee on Coal Research held hearings at Abingdon, Va. It was my privilege to testify at this hearing and to arrange for the appearance of representatives of coal management, of the United Mine Workers of America, and of transportation officials as well as executives of large consuming industries.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to review the report of the Special Subcommittee on Coal Research at this time, except as it may pertain to the overall fuels situation in this country. With the approach of adjournment, I feel impelled to protest attempts to import natural gas into this country when such vast amounts of bituminous coal, anthracite, and lignite, as well as domestic oil and gas, are available. To this extent I am pleased at the opportunity of quoting the special subcommittee's report and recommendations.

The subcommittee observes that the estimated recoverable coal reserves of the continental United States are of such magnitude that they would last for 1,900 years or more at the present rate of coal consumption. It points out that this enormous quantity would be sufficient to cover an area the size of the Commonwealth of Virginia with a solid layer of unbroken coal approximately 41 feet thick.

Virginia, home of the first commercial mine in the western hemisphere, has produced more than 600 million tons of coal since that first mine went into operation in 1745. Despite this vast output, however, there are still more than 5 billion tons of recoverable coal remaining, or 8 times more than the total amount extracted in the past two centuries.

Coal is an important business in the western portion of the Commonwealth of Virginia. It also has an important bearing on the economy of most of the other areas of our State. The millions of tons of coal that roll each year from the mines of Virginia and West Virginia into the great docks of Hampton Roads find employment for thousands of railroad workers throughout the length of the State. Last year 42,197,191 tons went through Hampton Roads en route to Europe and the rest of the world, with additional tonnages tranferred there for water shipment to New York and New England.

Virginia is also an important consumer of bituminous coal. In addition to that which is used for home heating, more than 3,993,000 tons were consumed in our electric-generating stations in 1956. I should like to mention parenthetically that steam-electric powerplants in Virginia in 1956 had a total installed capacity of 1,587,900 kilowatts. Another 483,000 kilowatts of capacity will be available in plants now under construction that will be completed in 1957. For 1958 another 770,000 kilowatts will be available with 160,000 to be added in 1959 and a like amount in 1960. Thus the capacity of steam-electric generating stations is scheduled to double in less than 5 years, as contrasted with an estimated increase of about 50 percent for the country as a whole in the same period. These figures were compiled under the direction of William L. Kurtz, of the National Coal Association's department of coal economics, and were published this week. Other important customers include the chemical industry, the cement industry, textile mills, and a variety of other industrial and manufacturing plants.

I concur with this appraisal of the coal industry's position as reported by the subcommittee on coal research:

The development of this great resource and revival of this industry should be a national undertaking of the highest priority.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that the major recommendations of the subcommittee will be adopted through legislation by Congress early next year. It is a most important assignment, for it will be a contribution to the welfare of the entire Nation as well as to coal-producing regions. Meanwhile, any program to bring in foreign fuels in direct competition to the coal industry would be a direct contradiction to the program recommended by the subcommittee.

We do not need foreign gas in our Midwestern States any more than we need foreign peanuts in Virginia or anywhere else in America. I have been disturbed at the suggestion that the Federal Power Commission allow Canadian gas to enter the fuel markets of this coal-rich Nation. I know that any time a foreign fuel usurps coal's markets anywhere east of the Mississippi River, the impact will eventually extend right into the homes of my constitutents. Whenever there is excess coal production, the entire industry suffers. Even if that were not the case, however, opening domestic fuel markets to an alien product

would certainly be unfair to members of the United Mine Workers of America in the affected areas. For that reason I am hoping that my colleagues from all sections of the country will join in denouncing the plan to put Americans out of work. It is a matter now before the Federal Power Commission, and I trust that the decision of that Government agency will dispose of the case to the satisfaction of our workers. Meanwhile it is a matter which requires the close attention of all Members of Congress.

Let's Look at the Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks we have heard and read many criticisms of certain decisions of the Supreme Court, and even of the Court itself and its members. Some of those criticisms have been careful and thoughtful; others have been hasty and intemperate. Most reflect dissatisfaction and concern over the results of the decisions. Only a few rest upon an analysis of the issues, the law and the facts which were before the Court and upon which its decision in each case was based.

There are 13 decisions subsequent to the school segregation case—1954—about which Members of this House have been especially critical.

Six of those decisions must be attributed to ommissions or defective action on the part of Congress. Another, the Jencks case, involved unwise tactics by the prosecution in a criminal case in a Federal court—and 2, Kremen and Zucca, involved improper actions of 2 bureaus of the Department of Justice.

Among the six are the Stevens case, the Watkins case and the Mallory case. In the Stevens case the Court found that certain laws enacted by Congress established a congressional intent to occupy the field of prosecution for acts in violation of the Federal antisedition law and, therefore, that violation of that law could not be prosecuted by a State in its courts. Corrective legislation—H. R. 3—has been introduced and is pending before our Judiciary Committee. A similar bill was reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee last year but was not acted upon by the Rules Committee.

The Watkins case merely held that we had not extended to the House Un-American Activities Committee the authority to carry on some of the investigations that committee had undertaken. It is well recognized and has long been established that a delegation of legislative authority must state a clear and definite rule or principle within which the agency can act. Here again the remedy is clear and it is in our hands.

The Mallorey case construed one of the rules of procedure in Federal courts. That decision relied upon and followed the Dennison case decided 6 years ago. Congress has had ample time to bring about a change in the rule of procedure.

The Jencks case is quite different from the three just mentioned. Here the Court applied another long-established rule that if a prosecutor relies upon the testimony of a witness who had made an earlier report on the facts about which he testified, that report must be made available to the defense, or in the alternative, the testimony of that witness must be stricken from the record.

The Jencks, Kremen, and Zucca results can be avoided in the future by adequate action in the department concerned.

The other four—Slochower, Schware, Konigsberg, and Sweezy—involve whether or not State and local laws and administration were in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. Remedial action if desired lies with State and local authorities.

I submit that we in Congress should not try to hold the Supreme Court responsible for results due to our own shortcomings in legislating or to the actions of officials in the administration. And it must be kept in mind that as time goes on without our taking remedial action, it is the Congress and not the Court which has the responsibility for continuing in effect the law as found by the Court.

World's Fair of Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, the world's conservation exposition and plowing contests to be held at Peebles, Ohio, September 17 to 20 of this year, are of sufficient importance to be known as the World's Fair of Agriculture. I am glad to submit the following information for the RECORD:

THE 1957 WORLD'S CONSERVATION EXPOSITION AND PLOWING CONTESTS, INC., SEPTEMBER 17, 18, 19, 20, PEEBLES, OHIO

BACKGROUND

This is the fifth world's plowing contest—the first ever held on American soil. This is the largest, onetime, all-inclusive agricultural event ever held in the United States. Previous contests have been held in Canada, North Ireland, Sweden, and England. Preparations already are underway for future contests scheduled in Germany, North Ireland, France, and the Netherlands. This is the world's fair of agriculture.

WORLD PLOWING ORGANIZATION

The executive committee directing this group is composed of agricultural leaders from 14 countries. General secretary is Alfred Hall, London, England.

WORLD PLOWING ORGANIZATION

Two-man plowing teams representing 14 countries will compete for the world plowing championship, September 19–20. Countries entering teams in this competitive event are: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, New Zealand, North Ireland, Norway, Sweden, United States, and West Germany. Each of these teams won the national event in their own country to qualify for the world contest. The 1957 world champion will be announced at the master plowmen's banquet in the Peebles High School Friday evening, September 20.

NATIONAL PLOWING MATCHES

The United States "world series" of agriculture will bring together champion plowmen from approximately 15 States in the national contests, September 18. The winners of this event will represent the United States in the 1958 world contests to be held in Germany.

OHIO STATE PLOWING ELIMINATIONS

The 1957 county plowing champions from Ohio will compete September 17 for the State championship. The winners automatically will participate in the national matches the following day.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The committee directing the State, national and world competitions this year at Peebles is composed of: Earl DeVore, Winchester, Ohio, dairyman, general chairman; Bob Miller, WLW farm program director, Cincinnati, and Bob Barre, area soil conservationist, Hillsboro, Ohio, cochairmen.

SITE

Local, State and national soil conservation technicians have been working for the past 3 years with 16 farmers in preparing the 2,500-acre site. Visitors will see the utimate in soil conservation practices which apply to this particular terrain. The 2,500 acres have been loaned by the 16 cooperating farmers interested in hosting the world event.

GOLDEN PLOW AND CAIRN OF PEACE

A Cairn of Peace (a permanent monument composed mostly of native stone, but including a stone from each of the competing countries) will be dedicated at 3 p. m., September 19. This cairn is the fifth in a series of permanent monuments which stand as a landmark at the site of each world plowing contest. The cairn is topped by a golden plow, emblematic of superiority in the art of plowmanship. A miniature golden plow will be presented to the world champion plowman.

EXHIBITS

More than 100 acres will be devoted to educational and commercial exhibits. The educational exhibits will feature proper utilization of natural resources through proper land and livestock management. Commercial exhibits will be highlighted by more than a million dollars' worth of farm machinery on display.

SPECIAL EVENTS

In addition to the competitive events, daily features will include appearances by the world-famous 102-piece United States Army Field Band, the Queen of the Furrow, and radio and television stars; also, a complete women's program, featuring a fashion show, with New York and area models; 40 top border collies (first 3 days) in the supreme championship trials.

FACILITIES

Free parking areas will accommodate 33,000 cars at one time. Free 10-minute transportation from parking areas to exposition site. Continuous free wagon tours over a 4½-mile route. A 3,000-foot airstrip capable of handling DC–3's. More than 20 food concessions (approved by State health authorities). All roads leading into the area have been widened and resurfaced. Traffic-control plan designed to eliminate any cross traffic within the site area.

ADMISSION

In keeping with tradition of American field days, no charge will be made September 17–18. In keeping with the past established tradition of the world event, a 50-cent admis-

sion charge to those over 18 will be made September 19–20.

PRESS FACILITIES

A press tent will be in operation starting September 16 and continuing through September 20. Typewriters, tape recorders, and cameras will be available (we ask that you bring your own tapes and film holders). There will be a number of attended pay telephones in the vicinity of the press tent. There will be Western Union wire circuits in operation.

Statement Concerning the Activities of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives, 1st Session, 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following report of activities of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, of which I am chairman, for the 1st session of the 85th Congress. The report is brief, but I expect that, in accordance with past customs, a full and complete account of committee activities will be submitted at the close of the Congress next year.

During the year, a great part of the time of the committee was devoted to basic studies of matters within the jurisdiction of the committee, preliminary to consideration of specific legislation during the second session. Some of the problems under consideration involved safety legislation for small pleasure boats, and late in the session bills were introduced for action next year. As a part of its work in this field and in furtherance of its aim to report a simple and effective means of control for the over 4 million small boats in the country which are presently unregulated, the committee distributed to the governors and attorneys general of the States and Territories copies of the bills with a request for their cooperation in achieving a workable uniform law for State and Federal cooperation in the field of boating safety. In addition, the Council of State Governments has placed this subject on the agenda for its next meeting in Washington on September 5 and 6, 1957.

In a related field, the committee considered 18 bills involving Public Law 519, of the 84th Congress, which extended Coast Guard jurisdiction over boats for hire which carry 6 or more persons. The law, as originally enacted, would have subjected such boats to regulation on January 1, 1958, but a number of Members of Congress were of the opinion that the date did not provide sufficient time for understanding of and compliance with Coast Guard regulations. After study and hearing, the committee concluded that additional time should be afforded, and accordingly reported a bill extending the deadline to June 1, 1958. That bill is now awaiting action by the President.

In the field of merchant marine activity, the committee placed emphasis on its studies of basic problems, rather than immediate legislation. Probably the most serious problem confronting the merchant marine is the possibility of a diminution in its importance in the field of national defense. New strategic concepts, with their emphasis on air power and missiles and the belief that any future war will be of very short duration, have induced the belief in some quarters that the supply problems of the past, which could only be met by the merchant marine, will not exist. In an effort to determine whether such ideas had any support among those charged with the responsibility for the safety of our Nation, the committee called the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Commerce to testify regarding the attitude of the administration. Their testimony, together with that of the many other witnesses who appeared, is presently under study by the committee, and will be the subject of a separate report to the House.

Primarily, as a result of the work of the committee in the previous Congress, substantial progress can be reported in the modernization of our merchant marine. As a result of the encouragement of the committee, the Maritime Administration revised its policy on operating subsidy contracts to increase their duration to 20 years. This was necessary to provide assurance of continued subsidy to the operators who were faced with the necessity of replacing their aging fleets with new ships at great cost. One company, Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., has entered into a contract to build 53 ships at a cost of half a billion dollars. Another, States Steamship Co., has undertaken the obligation of building 13 ships at a cost of $150 million. On Wednesday of this week Grace Line launched the Steamship *Santa Rosa* to replace a 25-year-old combination vessel of the same name. Another similar vessel is presently under construction, and these two constitute the start of a $286 million construction program to include 9 passenger-cargo vessels and 15 freighters. In addition, the Maritime Administration is in the process of soliciting bids and awarding contracts for over 15 ships for operation on essential trade routes.

The encouragement and the work of the committee over the past few years is reflected not only in the future prospect of a completely new and modern merchant marine under the American flag, but in the present activity in our shipyards. Only a short time ago the committee became aware of the dangerously low rate of activity in the shipyards, with the resulting low employment and the loss of shipbuilding skills so necessary to the welfare of our country in wartime. There was evidence of deterioration of our tramp fleet, with no prospect of replacement of its aging ships because of the lack of prospect of continued business and the consequent inability to secure financing of new construction. Ships were being laid up for lack of cargo because of foreign competition by newer ships at lower rates. Extended hearings produced a record in which representatives of Government, labor, ship operators, and investment experts contributed their ideas.

Ultimately, the situation was attacked on two fronts. The first involved assurance of more cargo for American ships. This was accomplished by requiring the shipment of not less than one-half of cargoes in which the United States Government had an interest on American ships—the so-called 50–50 law. While previous separate bills had contained such a provision, there had been no permanent requirement, and thus no assurance of future business. As a result of this law, some degree of stability is guaranteed American-flag ships.

The other goal—that of securing new construction to protect our defense stake in the shipyards and to keep us competitive in the field of ocean trading—was achieved through a combination of administrative action and legislation. As to the former, the Maritime Administration tightened its rules covering transfers of ships to foreign flags by instituting a requirement that for each transfer, equivalent ships must be built in American yards for operation under the American flag. By this action, shipowners were able to secure a part of the capital necessary to build new ships, shipyards received much needed business, and assurance was secured that our fleet would contain new ships designed to meet the needs of our commerce and defense.

The other problem urgently requiring action was the ever recurring need for financing of new construction. In the United States, ocean shipping has never been regarded as a prime investment. With the cost of new ships far above their present ones, shipowners were not in a position to think about securing financing of replacements. After long study, the committee evolved the bills which amended the Merchant Marine Act to provide for Government guaranty of private mortgages on ships, and has continued its activities to amend the basic legislation as experience required. The effect of this approach was, for the first time, to make ships attractive as investments for private capital. The result has been a substantial contribution to present shipbuilding activity, and a prospect of future expansion of our American-flag fleet.

For some time the committee has been concerned over the failure of the United States to keep abreast of other maritime nations in the field of passenger vessels. Such vessels have been vital as troop carriers, and they are essential to maintain American-flag service during peacetime. In an effort to meet the need for such vessels to some degree, bills have been introduced by the chairman and other members of the committee to authorize the construction of a ship similar to the steamship *United States*, to replace the steamship *America*, and a new 1,400 passenger vessel for operation in the Pacific. Hearings on both of these will be scheduled early in the next session, and early action by the committee is assured.

The collision of the motor vessel *Stockholm* and the steamship *Andrea Doria* off Nantucket Island on the night of July 25, 1956, and the sinking of the latter with

a loss of 50 lives, focused the attention of the world on the subject of safety of life at sea. Pursuant to authority granted by the House, the committee undertook a staff investigation by a group of experts of the collision to determine what lessons could be learned and applied to minimize the consequences of such happenings in the future. The result of their study was embodied in House Report No. 2969, 84th Congress, which recommended certain actions by various agencies of the Government. To determine what progress had been made in carrying out the recommendations contained in the report, a hearing was held late in this session to receive progress reports. As a result of this hearing a report—House Report No. 1179—was made by this committee, with recommendations that prompt steps be taken to secure international action to consider the necessity for raising standards of safety.

Another matter that was the subject of extended hearings by the committee was that of utilization of private terminal facilities by the Armed Forces to a greater degree than at present. Although the bill which gave rise to the hearings was not acted on, it is expected that further action will be taken in the course of the next session.

Within the sphere of its jurisdiction over fisheries and wildlife, the activity of the committee ranged from consideration and action upon bills affecting control over the salmon fisheries in the Northwest and Alaska, to protection of commercial fishermen in the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean. The necessity for action in the latter field arose from the fact that there is no international agreement as to the offshore limits of territorial waters, and the distances claimed range from 3 miles by the United States to 200 miles claimed by Peru. United States fishermen conducting their activities in waters claimed by some maritime nations have bene subjected to seizure of equipment, detention, fines and, in two cases at least, bodily injury from shots fired in the course of seizure. In 1954, Public Law 680 was enacted, which authorized the State Department to reimburse fishermen for fines illegally collected by foreign nations. However, the losses suffered were considerably greater than the fines, and legislation was introduced to include reimbursement for these items. As a result of hearings, a bill was reported to provide reimbursement for loss of fishing gear and personal injury to citizen crew members.

In the field of migratory wildfowl, there has been criticism for a number of years over the disposition of proceeds of duck stamp sales. At the time of the enactment of the original legislation requiring the purchase of stamps by hunters, it was believed that the proceeds of the sales would be devoted chiefly to the acquisition of badly needed additional wildfowl refuge lands. However, over the course of years, the Department of the Interior has utilized by far the greater portion of money derived from that source for other purposes, and the acquisition program has suffered. In an attempt to correct the situation, a number of bills were introduced and considered by the committee which would earmark the proceeds of the duck stamps for refuge acquisition. During the course of hearings, bills were introduced to meet objections made by those interested in the problem, and at present the committee has before it a bill believed to implement the original purpose of the early legislation which has the endorsement of a large proportion of the sportsmen of the country, and on which final action will be taken early in the next session.

Early in this session the committee received a graphic illustration of the problem of inflation facing the country. During the 84th Congress Public Law 251 was enacted which authorized the construction of two new vessels for the Coast and Geodetic Survey at a cost of $3,700,000 each. When bids for their construction were received, it appeared that an additional $300,000 per vessel would be required, and the necessary authorization bill was reported by the committee and subsequently enacted into law.

In the field of activity touching the Panama Canal, the committee was confronted with the necessity of acting on legislation to implement the new treaty made with the Republic of Panama in 1955, covering the transfer of some $24 million of land and buildings to be transferred to the Republic, and the necessary authorization of expense for replacement of transferred facilities within the Canal Zone. Authorization of the transfer was favorably reported by the committee, but some of the remaining problems of the impact of the treaty upon the Panama Canal Co. remain to be considered during the next session.

Present calculations indicate that the Panama Canal will be utilized to its fullest capacity not later than 12 to 15 years hence. In view of the time required to locate, plan and construct additional facilities, the committee is undertaking to recruit a staff of experts in the engineering and transportation fields to evaluate existing data to determine the proper location, type and extent of additional means for transit between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in the region of Central America. It is planned that the result of their efforts will be reported to the House for its guidance in considering necessary legislation to augment the present canal facilities.

In addition to the work of the staff, a number of subcommittees plan to engage in studies of matters within their jurisdiction in preparation for action on legislation during the next session of this Congress.

During the 84th Congress, legislation was enacted to effect a reorganization of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior to establish an assistant secretaryship within the Department and to separate the commercial fisheries jurisdiction from that of sport fisheries and wildlife. During the present session it appeared that the reorganized Service planned very considerable increases in the number of regional offices and personnel theretofore existing. The committee has been studying the situation for the purpose of seeing that the personnel increase was kept at a minimum, consistent with the proper functioning of the Fish and Wildlife Service, and plans to continue its work in this field during the recess. In this connection, the chairman has agreed with the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fisheries and Wildlife that there will be no increases in personnel and no vacancies will be filled until the committee has had opportunity at the beginning of the second session to hear from responsible officials as to the need for any increase.

Virginia Tanner Choice of Woman's Ad Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Woman of the Year—Virginia Tanner Choice of Woman's Ad Club."

Miss Tanner and I were classmates in Douglas, Ga., and I have followed her career with keen interest. In my opinion, she is most deserving of this fine tribute paid her by the Woman's Advertising Club of Baltimore. I am exceedingly proud of her accomplishments in the field of advertising, and wish to share this fine article concerning Miss Tanner with my colleagues.

The article follows:

WOMAN OF THE YEAR—VIRGINIA TANNER CHOICE OF WOMAN'S AD CLUB

(By Virginia Tracy)

Baltimore has Georgia to thank for some delightful additions to its population.

One of them has just been named "woman of the year" by the Woman's Advertising Club of Baltimore and, as a result, has become a candidate for national honors.

She's the comely, capable and charming southerner, who edits the Baltimore & Ohio magazine, the first woman to become editor of a railroad magazine in the country and the first woman editor to become president of the American Railway Magazine Editors Association—oldest and most colorful industrial editing association in the Nation.

Virginia Tanner is a native of Douglas, only child of the late Melvin Tanner, for many years superintendent of schools in Coffee County, and Mrs. Tanner, the former Miss Kate Norman, who was a schoolteacher in Georgia.

TAUGHT FOR A YEAR

Their daughter, too, had a brief fling at teaching. After receiving her bachelor of arts degree from the Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville, Miss Tanner taught for a year at Waycross, Ga., and then joined the staff of the Waycross Journal Herald. She has studied journalism at college, where she was active on the paper, and later had attended the Columbia University School of Journalism.

Virginia has written articles for the Atlanta Journal magazine, the New York Times magazine, and the Sunday Sun magazine, and when she first came to Baltimore was associated with an advertising agency engaged in writing radio scripts.

Though she tries "not to be a professional southerner," this Georgia Baptist is senti-

mental about her homeland. She loves its people, its warmth and friendliness, its traditions and culture. Her home in Douglas stands near the Swanee River on whose banks a handsome museum has been erected to honor the memory of Stephen Foster.

LOVED THE TOBACCO MARTS

When she was a little girl, she loved to be taken to the sprawling tobacco warehouses where she listened entranced to the chant of the auctioneer. Douglas is in the heart of the tobacco country, one of the largest tobacco markets in the South, and is located not far from Sea Island, Ga., where she spent many happy weekend vacations.

Like Margaret Mitchell, she, too, had a grandmother who remembered Sherman's march through Georgia and who marveled at the accuracy of the details in her book. Virginia was in Atlanta for the premiere of Gone With the Wind, the most momentous occasion in the city's history—since the Yankee general's tragic trek.

Miss Tanner is still active in her high-school alumni in Douglas and in her college alumnae in Milledgeville, where she was president of the student body in her senior year. Milledgeville was the first capital of the State of Georgia and its beautiful homes were spared by Sherman. The president of her alma mater lives in the house that was the Governor's mansion in the antebellum era.

But business and pleasure have taken Virginia to many other parts of the world. She loves to travel and she has not only visited every section of America, but has been in Mexico, Canada, and the Caribbean.

ENCHANTED WITH FRANCE

Last summer she toured Europe for the first time and was so enchanted with Paris that she is now studying conversational French in preparation for another trip to France.

Her sole pet is a little black cocker spaniel named Ginger, who lives with Mrs. Tanner and Virginia at the Geneva Apartments. In art, her tastes run to the works of the French impressionists. In literature, she lists Thomas Wolfe and Ralph Waldo Emerson among her favorite authors.

Other likes include the Democratic Party, Adlai Stevenson, Edward R. Murrow, and Ethel Merman. Virginia is a great believer in the United Nations, and in cultural exchanges among the countries of the world. She has a great yen to drive a sports car. Her favorite color is blue. It matches her eyes. She not only wears a lot of blue but likes to have it around her with touches of gold. Interior decoration is a hobby.

In selecting Miss Tanner for woman of the year, the Woman's Ad Club took into consideration her many accomplishments in a field that is still pretty definitely a man's world.

MEMORABLE EXPERIENCES

As assistant director of public relations in charge of publications of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Virginia has had some memorable experiences that range from sharing a diesel locomotive ride with Van Johnson during a Hollywood-to-Washington migration of cinema folk for the Capitol's March of Dimes ball, to interviewing President Truman and Winston Churchill on their way to Fulton, Mo., where the great Briton delivered his famous Iron Curtain speech.

Baltimore's nominee for woman of the year, who occupies the highest position held by a woman in railroad public relations in the land, was instrumental in developing the enormously popular historic-trains fabric, now being shown in department stores and interior decorating shops from coast to coast, depicting in color copies of authentic locomotives in the Baltimore & Ohio's famed museum.

The fabric was on display in London at Eastertime when the city's large model train builder's associaton staged its annual spring show.

Displays are also being arranged for Holland, France, and Norway. And the project is still growing, with sport shirt, apron, and Christmas wrapping paper manufacturers seeking rights of reproduction, and, incidentally, of reminding the public of America's first railroad.

Commentary: To Congress a Platypus Is Born

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, many words have been uttered on the confusion and contradiction of civil-rights legislation as passed by this Congress. I have opposed all of the bills to come before the House on the basis they are highly discriminatory against the South, through denying trial by jury and interference with States rights. The Tampa Sunday Tribune of August 25, 1957, published in the First District of Florida, made an intriguing comparison of the many stages of growth and resulting wording of this bill. I include it in the RECORD so that all might read this interesting comment:

Looking over the latest and final compromise bill on civil rights, we are convinced that Congress and Mother Nature have at least one thing in common: both can give birth in moments of stress or caprice to strange hybrids unlike anything else in the biological (or political) kingdom.

The House has crossbred Democratic and Republican versions of the so-called jury trial amendment, and come up with a design historians may describe as the duckbilled platypus of American jurisprudence. The platypus is somewhat duck and somewhat mammal. The new compromise is somewhat trial-by-jury and somewhat trial-by-judge, with fur and feathers haphazardly intermingled.

As we get it, the compromise would work like this in the enforcement of voting rights:

If a person is accused of criminal contempt for violating a judge's order, the court can decide whether to permit or deny a jury trial.

In either case, the top penalty would be 6 months' imprisonment and $1,000 fine.

But if the judge tried it himself, and imposed more than 45 days and $300, then the defendant could ask that his case be tried again and this time by jury.

This may well prove the oddest judicial design ever written into the criminal law. If a defendant doesn't like his sentence, he can make the court do it all over again.

Yet it is but slightly more bizarre than the first "compromise" which the Republicans unveiled a couple of days earlier with great fanfare.

Under this offering, a choice was up to the judge. He could have jailed a man without trial for not more than 90 days, or he could have called a jury trial with a maximum penalty of 180 days.

In other words, the judge would have determined the penalty ahead of the verdict. Before the evidence was heard, the judge would have been forced to decide if the defendant was merely moderately and academically contemptuous or guilty of revolving, freewheeling contempt. This, too, was an ingenious plan; we have long labored under the idea the sentence came last.

This first, or Republican, compromise was a transparent plan to try and put the Republican label back on the bill which Senator Lyndon Johnson and his Democrats had put through the Senate. Democrats didn't take it. The last plan, the compromised compromise, is probably acceptable to majorities in both Houses because both Democrats and Republicans will be able to claim the bill as theirs.

Why Arkansas Needs Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion about the pros and cons of Federal aid for school construction in Arkansas, and I should like to give my reasons for supporting the legislation proposed to the House this session. The newspapers in my district have taken different positions on this issue and I appreciate the encouragement given me by some of them. I do not mean to disparage the arguments made by those newspapers opposed to Federal aid, however, but rather would like to point out to them why I believe Arkansas would benefit from the kind of program which was defeated in the House by the narrow margin of 203 to 208. And, Mr. Speaker, many other States are confronted by similar conditions. In a recent editorial, John F. Wells, of the Arkansas Recorder, published an open letter asking my colleague Mr. TRIMBLE and myself some pertinent questions about this issue. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial and my answers, which were also published in the Recorder, as follows:

A LETTER TO TWO CONGRESSMEN

AUGUST 2, 1957.

Hon. JIM TRIMBLE,
Hon. BROOKS HAYS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We note that, with resultant applause from the Arkansas Gazette in which the Recorder cannot join, you voted for the amended (to penalize districts with segregated schools) Federal aid for education bill.

It is a foot-in-the-door proposal, as we see it, with the National Government offering school districts money, collected in the first instance from the people and returned to them after great chunks have been carved out for the support of bureaucracy.

Because we are fond of both of you personally, we want to give you ample opportunity to convince us, and others who may share our antipathy for the Federal aid legislation, that you are right and we are wrong.

Would you mind answering these questions?

1. Which school districts—identify them—in all the counties where the taxpayers vote for you biennially are in need of the Federal construction money that the defeated bill would have provided?

2. Who in your respective districts has urged passage of the bill? (We don't ask you to supply names of individuals, but would appreciate your listing organizations.)

3. What organizations in your respective districts are on record as opposed to the legislation?

4. What would be the source of the Federal money? Are current tax revenues adequate to provide it?

5. Would not such an appropriation tend to be inflationary?

It is not our purpose to heckle you. We do not question your sincerity, and we don't want to be in the attitude of criticizing without opening our columns to you for a full and frank discussion from your points of view.

Respectfully,

THE ARKANSAS RECORDER.

AUGUST 8, 1957.

Mr. JOHN F. WELLS,
Arkansas Recorder, Little Rock, Ark.

DEAR JOHN: I appreciate your giving me an opportunity to present my reasons for supporting Federal aid for school construction. I am sorry that you cannot agree with me that this is a necessary program to provide for the adequate education of our children. It is designed as a temporary crash program to help the States provide about 170,000 additional classrooms, the present deficit. No Federal controls are involved in this effort to aid the States to meet their primary responsibility for public education. I cannot agree with you that it is a foot-in-the-door proposal to gain Federal domination, because all the necessary safeguards against such a possibility were written into the bill and, in any event, the whole program terminates in 5 years. As for the State of Arkansas paying for this assistance with its own Federal tax money, you might be interested to know that Arkansas would get much more money back than it paid into the Federal Treasury and has everything to gain financially from this assistance—Arkansas would contribute about $1,500,000 of the $300 million spent yearly and get back $5,292,000. This expenditure is also in the national interest because the rest of the country has a vital stake in the education of Arkansas citizens, many of whom will spend their adult lives in other parts of the country.

The vote you criticize was against a motion to strike the enacting clause, a move that would have killed every chance for Federal assistance for school construction. Adoption of that motion denied the House the opportunity of voting on the pending amendment offered by Congressman AYRES to replace the Kelley bill with the administration proposal. The Ayres amendment would have killed the nonsegregation amendment. Thus my vote was designed to enable the House to approve the Ayres substitute.

As for your specific questions, I should like to answer them briefly as follows:

1. Just about every county in my district and most of the counties of the State need money to build additional classrooms. The State is taxing the people to the limit and no further burdens should be imposed until some Federal contribution is made.

2 and 3. While several organization have contacted me who are either for or against the legislation, the letters I have received from individuals lead me to believe that an overwhelming majority of the people in the district are for Federal aid for school construction.

4. As I have already pointed out, the Federal revenues from taxes that Arkansas would pay for this school aid are much less than the money Arkansas would receive. Current national tax revenues are more than adequate to meet the cost of this program, which was included in the President's budget, a budget that envisages a $3 billion or $4 billion surplus. I have been aware all along of my duty to the taxpayers of other States and have opposed the spray-gun type of distribution of Federal funds. I was one of only nine Democrats who supported the need formula in the last Congress similar to the Ayres amendment mentioned above.

5. This appropriation would be no more inflationary than current Federal expenditures for roads, housing, social security, or any other Federal grant program.

Thanks for your invitation to submit this statement, and I hope you will find the information useful in your continued analysis of this problem.

Sincerely yours,

BROOKS HAYS.

The Statue of Liberty Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, a very fine constituent of mine, Mrs. Joyce H. Shearin, of Roanoke Rapids, N. C., has composed, and received a copyright for, a very unusual and inspiring meditation entitled "The Statue of Liberty Speaks." Mrs. Shearin has put her heart and her soul into its words. Her composition deserves recognition, and every freedom-loving believer in a Divine Being should have the opportunity of reading, hearing, and using it on appropriate occasions.

In this hour the world is in a turmoil. The redemption for mankind is being worked out in many mysterious ways. There is an urgent necessity for us to recognize the sovereignty of Almighty God—and recognizing it—to call upon Him for more faith, for a better understanding of His magnificent purpose in our lives and for a greater courage to fulfill the many tasks He has committed to us.

As a constant reminder of these truths, and in recognition of a fine piece of work, under leave to extend my remarks I am very happy to include below Mrs. Shearin's meditation, which she has dedicated to Mr. J. C. Shearin and J. C. Shearin, Jr.:

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY SPEAKS

(A meditation by Joyce H. Shearin, Roanoke Rapids, N. C.)

(Character: The Statue of Liberty wearing authentic costume.)

(Introduction: I direct your attention to the Statue of Liberty, who, today, reigns supremely on Bedloe Island, in New York Harbor. We shall be privileged to hear her thoughts concerning America, its people, and all humanity, as she speaks to our Heavenly Father.)

(Patriotic music—chorus, organ or orchestra—is heard in the background as curtain rises. A medley continues as indicated in margin. On stage, the Statue of Liberty is standing immovable, posed identical to the original statue. She slowly comes to life. Music becomes softer. Miss Liberty begins to speak reverently to God.)

FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

STATUE OF LIBERTY. I am thankful, O Heavenly Father, that I, like all Thy people throughout the world, am privileged to come into Thy presence. The brave leaders of this country—Washington, Lincoln, Lee, and others—prayed for Thy guidance and were fortified by Thy strength. And so it is with me. Each time that I come to Thee I am fortified by Thy strength, and my light shines brighter upon all the land.

I humbly beseech Thee to help me hold fast this torch which perpetually gleams with the light of liberty—a beacon of hope for the world.

MARSEILLAISE HYMN

I thank Thee today as I have each day for 72 years (to be changed according to time—dating from 1884) for having been chosen to represent liberty. It was a memorable day in 1884 when the citizens of France presented me to the United States as a symbol of liberty and brotherhood which are mutually enjoyed under a free form of government.

I am thankful, too, Father, that liberty is represented as a proud woman, for all ages and for all people, dressed in a simple robe which falls in graceful folds to the pedestal upon which I stand.

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

And this tablet which I hold so firmly here in my left arm: May the people of this land have a fuller appreciation of the treasure inscribed upon it—the date of the Declaration of Independence. I thank Thee for this tablet, because it keeps me mindful of the struggles of the patriotic forefathers of this country who sacrificed their lives and fortunes for freedom; and the heartaches of those who more recently have given their best—their lives and loved ones—for the preservation of our American heritage. Let no one neglect the responsibilities of maintaining liberty.

COLUMBIA THE GEM OF THE OCEAN

Let every person remember, Father, that in the begining this country was founded on a belief in God; that its citizens are members of a magnificent Democratic organization—the United States Government—whose principles are based on the existence of a supreme being, these principles being declared on that never-to-be-forgotten day, July 4, in the year of our Lord 1776.

This country was born under God, and only under God will it live as a citadel of freedom. Even as the great Liberty Bell in 1776 rang out the glad tidings of the Declaration of Independence, it sang of Thee. The inscription engraved upon it is from Thy guiding book: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." So, it is now as it should be—that as allegiance is pledged to this country the people say: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of American and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

Even the smallest coins of this country are a reminder that it is "In God We Trust." Let no one forget that free people who put their trust in God are the greatest people. They demand that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness be made available to everyone, regardless of race, creed, or color. I am constantly aware of this, for here at my feet lies the broken chain of oppression and bondage, struck from enslaved people.

MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE

This crown that I proudly wear sends forth its golden rays of brightness and warmth for all to see and treasure as freedom's holy light. Oh, what a joy it is for those who love liberty to give Thee all the praise for that

holy light when voices ring out in that prayerful song:

"Our fathers God, to Thee
Author of liberty
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King."

Without Thy strength, O Heavenly Father, I could not extend to people everywhere the invitation written for me by Emma Lazarus and carved on the base of my statue:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore
Send these, the homeless, the tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

(As Liberty quotes the last line she slowly resumes her pose as the Statue of Liberty, raising her lamp on the word "lift." Music swells with the Star-Spangled Banner; thus the audience rises in tribute.)

Salute to Sam Pryor, America's Goodwill Ambassador

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, as the 1st session of the 85th Congress draws to a close, it occurs to me that one of the most valuable and enduring influences toward better understanding and cooperation in this troubled world is the goodwill engendered through association of individuals in various countries. And I think that it is worthy of mention that one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, Mr. Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., is one of the finest of these unofficial goodwill ambassadors for the United States. His wide range of interests, both personal and business, has taken him to many parts of the world on missions of goodwill. He is one of the few American business executives licensed to pilot his own plane and despite the fact that he is entitled to travel aboard the luxury airliners of Pan American World Airways, he prefers to pilot his own plane on many of his global travels.

As a very young man, Mr. Pryor served in destroyer flotilla duty in the United States Navy from 1917 to 1919. Later he was a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps Reserve from 1926 to 1940.

Mr. Pryor graduated from Yale in 1921 with a bachelor of philosophy degree. He also holds an honorary doctor of laws degree from Marietta College. While a student at Yale he was the intercollegiate boxing champion. In the years immediately following graduation, Mr. Pryor conducted big game safaris in various parts of the world.

Now vice president, assistant to the president, member of the executive committee and member of the board of directors of Pan American World Airways, Inc., Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., began his business career in 1922 as district sales manager for Remington Arms. He became assistant to the president of American Brake Shoe Co. and vice president of its subsidiary, Southern Wheel Co., in 1925. He joined Pan American in 1941 and is one of the most versatile and brilliant members of its present outstanding executive staff. Included in his business activities are positions as director and member of the executive and finance committee of Hertz Corp., director of Howe Sound Co., director of the Greenwich, Conn., Trust Co., chairman of the executive committee and director of the Vanadium Corporation of America, and chairman of the board of directors for Philpryor Corp., and for the Middle East American Oil Co.

While Mr. Pryor's business interests are many and varied, they do not constitute his entire field of activity. This father of a family of 5 children, and proud grandpa to 6 grandchildren is keenly interested in community, family, and civic affairs and finds time for active participation in many areas. He is a director of the Boys' Club of America. He is also a captain in the historic Connecticut Governor's Footguard.

Active participation in local and national civic affairs has included serving as Republican national committeeman for Connecticut in 1938, vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, chairman of the arrangements committee, and director of the eastern campaign headquarters for the campaign of Willkie for United States President in 1940. Mr. Pryor resigned as vice chairman and committeeman in 1941.

During World War II, Mr. Pryor directed the airlines' airport development program, locating 50 airfields, seaplane and lighter-than-air bases in South America and Africa. Successful location of these air operations bases made possible the effective air operations which were a most important factor in the successful campaigns of the United States and its allies against the enemy. In recognition of this outstanding contribution to the Nation, President Truman awarded the Medal of Merit to Mr. Pryor on April 15, 1946.

A singular honor, of which he is most proud, came to Mr. Pryor when Pope Pius XII awarded him the medal of a knight commander of the Order of St. Sylvester, at the Vatican on April 22, 1950. Mr. Pryor is one of the few non-Catholics to be thus honored in recognition of his moral excellence and his achievements which encourage others to good works. The award is only made to those who have made outstanding contributions and who are of such stature in the world that they serve as guide and inspiration to others.

Of all these and many other achievements not detailed here, we salute Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., business and civic leader; man of vision and ability, highly esteemed in farflung places; goodwill ambassador without portfolio; and outstanding citizen.

Report of Annual Courthouse Conferences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, following our usual custom, on Monday, August 12, we started our annual courthouse meetings in each of the seven counties of our district. We completed the tour on Saturday, August 24. As you will recall, Mr. Speaker, these dates were set up many months ago after a conference with you and the leaders. We all felt at that time that Congress would have adjourned; however, I recognize that circumstances beyond your control altered these plans. I regret that I did not get to attend all of the meetings in each of the seven counties, but those meetings at which I was unable to be present, were handled by Mrs. McGregor and my secretaries. I felt it my duty to return to Washington when controversial legislation on which I was not recorded, was brought before the Congress for consideration. Even in the face of flying back and forth, I missed several of the courthouse meetings and missed several rollcalls, more than I have missed, I believe, since the first of the year.

During the district tour we personally interviewed about 417 people and during the evening and public meetings, approximately 1,685 were in attendance. I was highly pleased with the results of these meetings since it afforded me an opportunity to become better acquainted with the people and problems of the district. In many instances we could be of service in explaining legislation and to give careful study to the personal problems presented to us. Many of the cases brought to our attention had to do with:

First. Veterans benefits and claims, the coverage of the new laws relative to those who have worn the uniform of our country.

Second. Immigration, the possibility of new laws.

Third. Farm problems, including acreage allotments, and the requirements and benefits of soil bank participation.

Fourth. Highways, many county and township officials and citizens were interested in the highway legislation and how it affected county and township roads.

Fifth. Flood control, one of the problems of our district was the flooding of roads below some of the dams that were constructed for flood control.

Sixth. Social security, many were interviewed relative to their benefits under this law.

Seventh. Mail service, numerous requests for extensions of rural routes were received confirming the reintroduction of my bill this session.

Mr. Speaker, I find that the people of the 17th Ohio District are greatly dis-

turbed by several issues and may I put them in the following categories:

(A) Inflation: They are worried about the decreasing purchasing power of the dollar, living costs and the price of the products they buy are rising. Many savings accounts are being depleted. Even though taxes and unnecessary expenditures have been decreased, many are finding it most difficult to pay their taxes and are asking all of us to do everything within our power to reduce all expenses except where absolutely necessary and essential so that a tax reduction may be made. The philosophy of placing a penalty on initiative and thrift should be discontinued.

(B) Communism: Many question the continuous increase in the cost of our defense program and defense against communism. They feel that those in command of the military are not careful with the taxpayer's money nor efficient in the handling of the problems given to them. There is too much delay, too much redtape, too much jealousy between the branches of military organizations, and it is too costly.

(C) Labor: People are worried relative to the apparent activities of racketeers among various organizations. In this regard some of our national union officials seem to have been squandering the money the rank-and-file laboring man has been paying to them each month. Many are demanding more stringent labor laws, even to the extent of right-to-work laws. People are objecting to having to pay a union fee, then working just a few weeks and being laid off and their place filled by another worker.

(D) Business: Many are worried about various enterprises placing them under the jurisdiction of big business; or, they find themselves in the category that their product cannot be produced in competition with so-called big business with enormous production lines.

(E) Farm program: I honestly believe that the majority of the people of our district want to do away with the alleged farm control program. They recognize the enormous cost and are of the opinion that most of the Federal laws are benefiting the large 1-crop farmer and give very little consideration to the rotation farmer. Great dissatisfaction prevails relative to acreage allotments and penalties imposed thereon. Many feel that all farmers should be entitled to vote on the crop referendum. They also feel the farmers should be allowed to raise the necessary crops for feed and seed purposes on their farms.

(F) Social security: Many of our people are confused by the various interpretations of the social-security law, such as eligibility for benefits, et cetera.

(G) Highways: All of our people want good highways and are willing to pay for them. They do want, however, the rights of a property owner to be considered. The property owner should be entitled to a fair value for his property. The road contractor should receive a fair profit for his endeavors. Certainly, the highway user is entitled to a good road for his dollar spent.

(H) Mail delivery: Our people were very appreciative of our introduction of a bill that would grant mail service to all wherever practicable. They were happy to learn that the legislation has been endorsed by the Post Office Department and hope that Congress will take definite action when it reconvenes.

Mr. Speaker, it was a real privilege and honor for me to meet personally and discuss many problems with the people. I am happy to have been afforded the opportunity to have been present and to present my capable office staff who so very efficiently took care of these meetings when it was necessary for me to absent myself and return to Washington to vote on important legislation before the Congress.

Civil Rights Compromise is Plain Petty Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask inclusion at this time of an editorial from the Tampa Times of August 26, 1957. In this editorial is pointed out one of the many true and highly discouraging aspects of civil-rights legislation passed in the closing days of the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

The editorial that follows points out in detail many of the political aspects that have made this measure so obnoxious to many Members as well as a great number of citizens throughout the Nation.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMPROMISE IS PLAIN PETTY POLITICS

The "iffy" civil rights compromise reached by congressional leaders last weekend is nothing more than a politically-motivated effort of both sides of this controversy to save face. The real interests of the nation were grossly ignored while the politicians threw their arms around each other's shoulders and said in effect, "We can't win against each other, but let's fix it so we can't lose, either."

The goal of the northern liberals in Democratic ranks and the administration had been to secure the Negro bloc vote in the big cities. When it became obvious that southern opposition was powerful enough to defeat the strong civil rights legislation demanded by the Administration, both sides of the liberal bloc decided to create an atmosphere in which it appeared that they are equally responsible for protecting Negro voting rights.

The compromise solution is to modify the Senate bill which provided a jury trial for persons accused of violating Federal injunctions in civil rights cases. The new version permits a jury trial only if the fine is in excess of $300 or imprisonment in excess of 45 days.

This leaves ample opportunity for Federal meddling in southern affairs by politically inspired civil-rights agents and blocks local control in these matters. A person accused of contempt of a Federal court will be at the mercy of a Federal judge who may sentence him to pay $300 and serve a 45-day jail term with no appeal to a local jury. This is simply setting up a political dictatorship by the Federal courts.

Southern Democrats should fight this modification of the Senate compromise even if it means invoking that vital tool, the filibuster.

The liberals in both ranks are displaying crass hypocrisy in waving the civil-rights banner in the pretense of helping the southern Negro. Their real interest is the political hope of capturing the northern Negro bloc vote by pretending great concern over racial conditions in the South.

The use of the civil-rights bill as a political weapon is certain to be demonstrated in 1958 and 1960 elections, if it passes.

Newsweek magazine reported last week that Vice President NIXON, a presidential aspirant, is making advocacy of civil rights his personal political trademark. It observed that Mr. NIXON wants the Justice Department to send squads of investigators into the South at once to prosecute all infringements of the Negroes' rights to vote.

This is an example of the political capital the politicians intend to make of the civil-rights legislation at the expense of the peace and welfare of the South.

The Senate passed a reasonable civil-rights measure which would perform a sincere job of protecting Negro voting rights, while protecting also the local southern communities from an invasion of latter-day carpetbaggers. But the compromise measure offered by the House negates defenses erected in the Senate bill and opens the door to political manipulations in the guise of helping Negro voters.

If this measure passes, Congress will indeed, have sunk to a record low in the mire of political expediency.

The Fight for Freedom Is Everlasting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to enclose a very timely editorial, which appeared in the June 15 issue of the Worcester, Mass. Evening Gazette, reminding us that freedom and liberty are not automatic. We must continue to fight today as forcefully as did our ancestors, for the enemies of liberty are ever-present and ever-challenging, even as the Communist dictatorship imperils human freedom in this hour.

The article follows:

FAMOUS ANNIVERSARY OF HUMAN FREEDOM

Today is the 742d anniversary of the signing of Magna Carta. As we look back over the centuries to the field of Runnymede, where the rebellious barons forced King John to sign the famous document of freedom, we can see how relentless has been the struggle for human liberty. Considering the state of the world today, we can understand how much there is to be done before mankind can be deemed truly free.

The signing of the Magna Carta in 1215 did not automatically bring liberty to England. The rights inscrolled on that coarse piece of parchment had to be fought for again and again. They had to be gradually enlarged, so that the liberties the baron class sought for itself would be finally extended to people of all walks of life. Not until 1867 did Britain attain full manhood suffrage. Not until 1920 did women vote throughout the United States in a presidential election.

The fight goes on. The rights inscribed in Magna Carta, enriched by further rights won during the intervening centuries, are deathless symbols to freedom-loving people everywhere. Next month, a monument will be erected at Runnymede to commemorate that portentous moment in history. The monument will be financed by American and British lawyers, as a common testimonial to the majesty of the law that has made Britain and the United States outstanding among nations.

It will be a fitting gesture. For among the many now antiquated phrases of Magna Carta is one that still rings true and clear. It is the one guaranteeing to anyone accused of a crime the right to trial by a jury of his peers.

The Veterans' Education Appeals Board Has Finished Its Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the 85th Congress has enacted Public Law 85–200 terminating the Veterans' Education Appeals Board which was created on July 13, 1950, by Public Law 610, 81st Congress. On September 12, 1950, President Truman appointed the three members of the Board, the Honorable C. M. Thompson, Chairman, Hon. E. L. Earpin, member, and Hon. J. Z. Miller III, member.

These gentlemen have now completed the monumental task which confronted them in 1950. They have rendered decisions on 531 cases. The guidelines laid down by these decisions served to improve the administrative procedures of the veterans' education and training program under Public Law 346, 78th Congress. The cases considered by the Veterans' Education Appeals Board involved $200 million in claims. The policies laid down by their decision affected the entire veterans' education and training program for World War II veterans which has involved $17 billion total expenditure, about $5 billion of which was for tuition payments to educational institutions.

A review of the history of this Board brings out an important lesson in governmental operation. The veterans' education and training program for World War II veterans created an unprecedented relationship between the Federal Government and practically all of the public and private educational institutions of the Nation. It became necessary for the Federal Government, through the Veterans' Administration, to enter into contracts for reimbursement for the training of veterans. There were no precedents to follow and a great deal of misunderstanding, dissatisfaction, and abuse grew out of the contractual procedures which were followed.

The controversies had become so intense by 1950 that it became necessary for the Congress of the United States to create a separate and independent Board to consider and settle the controversies which had arisen between educational institutions and the Veterans' Administration. Prior to the creation of the Board, an educational institution finding itself in disagreement with the Veterans' Administration had no clear avenue of appeal. The Veterans' Administration found refuge in an earlier act of the Congress giving the Administrator finality of decision and the educational institutions involved found it impossible to seek review by the Court except under the most limited circumstances. The American tradition of Government is not served when an agency serves as its own prosecutor, jury and judge, and there was continual dissatisfaction since the contending educational institutions had no source of appeal to the Administrator's decision. The Veterans' Education Appeals Board was created to provide such an appeal. It removed contractual controversies from a political atmosphere since it was inevitable that educational institutions feeling that they had not obtained fair consideration would turn to Members of Congress for assistance.

The Veterans' Education Appeals Board has now come to the end of its program and has been discontinued at its own request. The Members of the Board labored long and tirelessly in a field beset with the most exasperating complications. They have done a good job and have rendered an outstanding service to the veterans of the Nation. I worked on the legislation which created the Board and have followed their activities closely throughout their existence. I am pleased to have this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation and admiration for accomplishments of the Veterans' Education Appeals Board.

Virginia Tanner Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herein the following proclamation by the Honorable Elie L. Holton, mayor, city of Douglas, Ga., proclaiming Monday, May 6, 1957, Virginia Tanner Day:

MAYOR'S PROCLAMATION—VIRGINIA TANNER DAY

Whereas Virginia Tanner is a native of Coffee County and city of Douglas, Ga.; and

Whereas Virginia has distinguished herself in her chosen field of journalism, and is now assistant director of public relations of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and is the first woman to become editor of a railroad magazine in the country and the first woman editor to become president of the American Railway Magazine Editors Association; and

Whereas Virginia has throughout the years retained an active interest in her hometown of Douglas and its people; and

Whereas she has been named woman of the year from the city of Baltimore;. and

Whereas the people of Georgia and of Douglas in particular wish to express their love and admiration for Virginia.

Now, therefore, I, Elie Holton, mayor of the city of Douglas, hereby proclaim Monday, May 6, 1957, as Virginia Tanner Day in Douglas.

Witness my hand and the great seal of the city of Douglas this 4th day of May 1957.

ELIE L. HOLTON,
Mayor, City of Douglas.

National Grange Headquarters Should Not Be Destroyed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, before Congress adjourns I want to express my views in opposition to the proposal of the administration to condemn and tear down the National Headquarters Building of the National Grange here in Washington.

This building, which is a modern 8-story office building, was purchased by the National Grange in 1941. It occupies a ground space of 50 feet by 70 feet on Jackson Place and is surrounded on the west and the north by the historic Decatur House.

The money for the purchase of this property was raised through activities carried on by the more than 7,000 local subordinate granges throughout the Nation. Many of these local granges are located in the Sixth District of Ohio and I have received numerous protests from grange members about this proposal by the administration.

It is rumored that if the Grange Building is condemned and torn down the space it now occupies will be used as a lawn between the Decatur House and the proposed new office building to house the swelling White House staff of the President. As was well stated on yesterday by the gentlewoman from Idaho [Mrs. GRACIE PFOST]:

It is generally estimated that the Federal Government will have to pay $500,000 for the Grange property if it is acquired by the General Services Administration by condemnation. Add to this the cost of clearing the site and putting it in grass, and you will have the most expensive lawn in America.

I have an open mind on the question of the need for additional office space for the President. Likewise, if additional Presidential office space is needed, I have an open mind on the question as to whether it be located on Jackson Place, as now proposed.

However, I am firmly convinced that it is not necessary to destroy the Grange Headquarters Building for this purpose. The land occupied by the Grange Building lies north of the area that would be used for the proposed new executive office building.

I agree that a nice lawn between the proposed new office building and the so-called Decatur House might be desirable,

if a vacant space for this lawn was available, but certainly it is not economical or sound business for the Government to condemn and tear down a modern 8-story office building in order to provide a 50-by-70-foot grass plot. To this I am unalterably opposed. I shall use every effort at my command to defeat this proposal.

Mr. Herschel D. Newsom, master of the National Grange, has written me about this problem. His letter to me and my reply are as follows:

NATIONAL GRANGE,
Washington, D. C., August 1, 1957.

Hon. JAMES G. POLK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN POLK: The Grange needs your help to preserve its national headquarters building.

Early this year the Government instituted eminent domain proceedings and by a declaration of taking filed therein took title to our building. In addition it took all remaining privately owned property in this block—except the Decatur House on one corner. It is proposed to tear down the buildings on the land which has been taken to erect thereon a structure known as Federal office building No. 7.

Actually, the Grange property is only a relatively small rectangle—50 feet by 70 feet—and is surrounded on both the west and the north by the Decatur House. Thus, the two buildings together form but a single rectangle, the larger part of which (Decatur House) will remain intact. Because of its unique juxtaposition with Decatur House, the destruction of our headquarters building is entirely unnecessary to permit the erection of a Federal office building. The attached plat shows the properties involved.

In addition to the offices of the National Grange itself, our building houses the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, the American Institute of Cooperation, National Agricultural Research, Inc., Farm Roads Foundation, and Washington offices for more than 30 farm publications. Thus there can be no question that the building is presently serving a very important and worthwhile public purpose in the interest of agriculture and the American farmer.

The National Grange purchased this property in 1941 with funds which had been raised for the purpose through activities carried on by the more than 7,000 local subordinate Granges throughout the Nation. These activities included the serving of lunches and dinners, apron sales, penny suppers, amateur plays, and many more. Thus Granges and Grange members across America have their nickels and dollars invested in their national headquarters building.

The location of this building is important to Grange members, and they are proud of the fact that their work and contributions have provided a symbolical national home for farm families within a block of the White House, even as are located the headquarters buildings of the AFL–CIO and the United States Chamber of Commerce. All of us will appreciate your help in preserving our building for us.

If S. 2261 just reported by the Public Works Committee were to be amended as follows this objective would be accomplished:

Page 9, line 17, insert a colon in lieu of the period and add the following:

"*Provided, however,* That no portion of lot 816, square 167, in the District of Columbia (the headquarters of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry) shall be acquired for or used for any such project, and the Administrator is directed to withdraw the declaration of taking of said lot heretofore filed by him in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia and to take such other action as may be necessary to restore title to said lot to the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry."

This proposed amendment is consistent with the action taken by the Congress earlier this session when in an effort to preserve the Grange Building, it approved a provision in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act prohibiting the use of funds during the fiscal year 1958 for Federal office building No. 7.

We shall be very grateful for your support.

Respectfully yours,
HERSCHEL D. NEWSOM, *Master.*

AUGUST 30, 1957.

Hon. HERSCHEL D. NEWSOM,
Master, the National Grange,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. NEWSOM: You may be assured that I shall use every effort at my command to help preserve the National Grange headquarters building at its present location.

On June 27 when the conference report on the independent offices appropriations bill, H. R. 6070, was considered in the House of Representatives I was glad to vote for Senate amendment No. 11, prohibiting the use of funds during fiscal year 1958 in connection with Federal Office Building No. 7 on square 167 in the District of Columbia.

I am also glad to tell you that I approve and will support your suggested amendment on page 9, line 17, of S. 2261, an act to amend and extend the Public Buildings Purchase Contract Act of 1954.

This bill probably will be considered at the next session of Congress.

You have well stated how unnecessary and uneconomical is the proposal to destroy your headquarters building.

I have talked with many members of Congress about this issue and I believe that in the next session of Congress those of us who are supporting you in your valiant fight to preserve your headquarters building, will be able to squelch, once and for all, this silly proposal.

Most sincerely,

JAMES G. POLK.

Ramon Magsaysay, Champion of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, August 31, is the anniversary of the late president of the Philippines, Ramon Magsaysay.

Mr. Magsaysay came to Washington shortly after I became a member of this body and it was during his stay here that I became acquainted with him and gained the privilege of having him as a personal friend. Throughout the past 10 years I viewed with interest his leadership of his country and the role he played in world affairs.

Although he is no longer with us, his memory will stand as a living memorial to his people and the rest of the free peoples throughout the world. It is only befitting that our country on the anniversary of his birth honor him as the first to be placed in the "champions of liberty" series of postage stamps.

Who Gets the Subsidies?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting 5 pages, or 5 chapters, on the subject Who Gets the Subsidies? These articles have been presented to me by the American Farm Bureau's research staff, and although I do not agree with them in their entirety, I feel that they have approached the subject and in every way attempted to be fair and equitable.

Subsidies are something that our forefathers knew nothing about and possibly this generation and the next generation would be better off if we forgot all about them. At least we know that subsidies play a very important part in our economy, and therefore I respectfully ask the membership to read this report from the Farm Bureau.

I personally congratulate the Farm Bureau's research staff for this report. It certainly took a lot of time and a lot of thought, and I repeat, I honestly believe they have endeavored to present both sides of a very difficult subject.

WHO GETS THE SUBSIDIES?—PART I

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first part of a discussion of subsidies and what might be done about them, prepared by the American Farm Bureau's research staff. Future issues of the Newsletter will carry articles continuing this discussion.)

Subsidies are very much in the news these days. Everybody knows that certain groups get special benefits from Government programs. In general, it can be said that those who get such special benefits are subsidized. But it is not a simple matter to say what is a subsidy and what is not.

Almost everything that the Government does benefits some people at the expense of others or helps some more than others. The real problem is to draw a line between those programs that really contribute to the general welfare and those that benefit certain groups at the expense of the public.

There are many kinds of subsidies. Sometimes the Government gives money to people—or buys products it doesn't need—to help the "needy," to encourage certain kinds of business, to stabilize the economy, or to guard against a national-defense emergency.

Sometimes the Government provides services to various groups including commercial users at less than cost.

Sometimes the Government encourages a particular type of business or individual activity by favorable tax treatment. Then there are numerous cases—such as tariffs or other import restrictions, minimum wage and maximum hour laws—where the Government helps people get higher prices and wages, but does not guarantee them a market.

HOW DO YOU LOOK AT SUBSIDIES?

There are different ways of looking at subsidies. One school of thought says, "Practically everybody is subsidized. The subsidies we want are justified by the subsidies other people get. We are as good citizens as they are. Why shouldn't the Government help to support us, too—or at least give us enough to offset the subsidies others are getting?"

Another school of thought says, "Yes, we do have some subsidies, but not nearly as

many as some people think. The Government can't give anything to anyone without first taking it from someone else. The idea that one subsidy justifies another is wrong. Subsidies are really a device by which the Government plans the economy—decides what factories are to be built, what goods and services are to be produced, how they are to be distributed, and finally how the national income is to be divided between the people. Do we want more of this or less?"

What do you think about subsidies? Do you think the Government ought to use subsidies to see that everybody gets a fair share of the national income? Do you want the Government to decide what you "fair share" is? Do you think we have too many subsidies, thtat many subsidies have outlived their original purpose, that we ought to get rid of all of them, or that we should consider them individually?

Before we try to answer these questions, let's look at a few of the more important cases where the Government is said to be subsidizing various groups and let's consider these cases in the light of the following questions:

(1) What is the purpose of a particular subsidy?

(2) Is it a worthy purpose—that is, a purpose that benefits the public as a whole—or is it a purpose that benefits special groups at the expense of the taxpayers? Does it improve or hinder the functioning of a market economy?

(3) Is a Government program necessary to accomplish this objective? If so, is a subsidy the best possible or most economical means of accomplishing the desired objective?

(4) Is the subsidy really accomplishing the objective for which it was established? In other words, are the taxpayers actually getting the results for which public funds supposedly are being spent under a subsidy program?

ACCELERATED AMORTIZATION

Under the tax laws, a taxpayer may deduct the cost of productive facilities which wear out over their estimated useful life. This may be as long as 100 years.

During World War II, industry was allowed to accelerate or speed up such deductions and to deduct the cost of certain facilities in a 5-year period. This practice was revived in 1950 as a result of Korea and continues today.

The advantage of accelerated amortization is obvious. It means that a part of a taxpayer's taxes are deferred until after the amortization period. This does not of itself reduce the total taxes that must be paid over the useful life of the facility. It does give the taxpayer several years' free use of income that otherwise would have been paid out as taxes for the year in which it was earned.

This clearly is a subsidy. The question is whether it is justified in the national interest.

There may be some justification for speedy writeoff of facilities used solely for national defense. It is hardly reasonable to expect industry to amortize an investment in a tank plant, for example, over a 30-year period if the plant has no civilian use and may be useless in 5 years. In such cases it may be better to stimulate private investment in defense facilities by accelerated amortization than it would be to build the plants with public funds.

Is it a different matter, however, when accelerated amortization is extended to facilities such as steel materials, electric powerplants, freight cars, and passenger airplanes which are largely or fully usable for peacetime civilian purposes? This has been done to a considerable degree in recent years on the ground that we need to build a bigger mobilization base.

Through the extension of such tax privileges the Government is in a position to help determine what production facilities are to be built, who is to build them, and where. This power has been used to aid areas with unemployment problems.

Here are some questions to consider:

(1) Do we want the Government to use the tax laws to allocate resources?—To decide what industrial facilities are to built?—who is to build them?—Where?

(2) Is this type of Government planning of civilian facilities really necessary for adequate national defense and security?

WHO GETS THE SUBSIDIES?—PART II

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second part of a discussion of subsidies and what might be done about them, prepared by the American Farm Bureau's research staff. Future issues of the Newsletter will carry articles continuing this discussion.)

PUBLIC POWER

Public power projects are subsidized in a number of ways—by low interest rates on Government investment, by charging some project costs to nonreimbursable items, such as flood control and navigation, and by exempting public projects from most of the taxes that normally are paid by private enterprise.

The Second Hoover Commission found that 7 public power administrations were subsidized to the extent of $71.7 million in 1953.

Some say that the Federal Government must develop power facilities to insure maximum development of our resources and make low-cost power available for economic development.

Others say that Federal projects cannot really produce power any cheaper than private enterprise. If Federal projects can sell power for less than private enterprise, it is only because of Government subsidies. Thus, the areas that receive lower-cost power as a result of Federal projects are being subsidized at the expense of the taxpayers in other areas.

For example, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have about 20 percent of our total population. These States pay about 29 percent of all Federal income taxes. They use approximately 19 percent of all electricity sold in the United States. But they have no Federal powerplants existing, under construction, or authorized.

Do these three States gain from the development of subsidized power in other regions of the country or do they lose through increased taxes and the migration of industry to public power areas?

Here are some basic questions on public power policy:

(1) Is a public power administration more able to reflect power demands than is private industry working through the market system?

(2) Is it more desirable to subsidize public power with tax money than to encourage private development and make it contribute to the public treasury through the tax system?

(3) Is the real objective of public power advocates cheap power or Government control of productive resources?

POST OFFICE

Most people are aware that the United States Post Office operates at a loss. The big deficit items are second-class mail and third-class mail. In 1954, for example, the net post office deficit was about $400 million.

Second-class mail (newspapers and magazines) showed a deficit of $218 million.

The loss on third-class mail (largely advertising circulars) was $147 million.

Fourth-class mail (parcel post, including books which are carried at a special rate) showed a deficit of $23 million.

Some say that the Government is subsidizing the large commercial users of the mail including newspaper and magazine publishers, mail-order firms, and direct-mail advertisers. Others say that the post office is a service to all the people and that it should not be expected to base its rates entirely on its costs.

Second-class mail privileges for magazines and newspapers and the special rate for books originated in the belief that the Government ought to encourage the diffusion of knowledge. Some people say that the circulation of advertising material diffuses knowledge with regard to products, services, and prices.

Unlike some other subsidies, the same mailing privileges are available to all who ask for them. The second-class mailing privilege is used, not only by commercial publishers, but also by a wide range of individuals, corporations, and associations who publish newspapers or magazines for their members, employees, customers, or other special groups.

Low postal rates are no guaranty that anyone taking advantage of them will make a profit. Many magazines and newspapers have failed despite the advantage of second-class mailing.

On the other hand, it can be argued that everyone who uses Government services such as mail should pay the full costs of these services.

Here are some questions to consider:

(1) Who benefits from low second-class mail rates—newspaper and magazine publishers, their subscribers, or their advertisers, or all three?

(2) Who gets the benefit from low rates on catalogs and advertising materials—the advertisers or their customers?

(3) Should all mail users pay the full cost of the services they use?

(4) Should the Post Office be considered a business enterprise or a public service?

WHO GETS THE SUBSIDIES?—PART III

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the third part of a discussion of subsidies and what might be done about them, prepared by the American Farm Bureau's research staff. Future issues of the Newsletter will carry articles continuing this discussion.)

WATER TRANSPORTATION

All types of water transportation receive some form of Government aid.

Coastwise shipping is protected by laws requiring goods shipped between United States ports to move in American ships. All ocean shipping benefits from Federal aids to navigation.

Construction subsidies are used to pay for national defense features of oceangoing cargo ships and tankers and to offset the fact that construction costs are higher in the United States than in foreign shipyards. Construction subsidies are also used to promote research and new designs for ships, machinery, and equipment.

In recent years, the construction differential subsidies have varied from $40 million to $146 million per year. In addition, the Government sold many commercial usable vessels to private shipping concerns at considerably less than their market value following World War II.

Operating differential subsidies are paid to shipowners on certain international routes to compensate for the fact that operating costs of domestic operators are higher than their foreign competitors.

The Government recaptures one-half of the profits of a subsidized operation in excess of 10 percent of the capital necessarily employed over a 10-year period. In recent years operating differential subsidies are accruing at the rate of something over $100 million per year.

Some say that maritime subsidies are necessary to maintain operating shipyards and

a strong merchant marine for national defense purposes.

Others question whether subsidies are the best way to make certain that we have enough ships and shipbuilding yards in time of war. If competition were substituted for subsidies, it might be possible to find cheaper ways to build and operate ships.

Furthermore, the removal of trade restrictions here and abroad could increase cargo volume and help to reduce inefficiencies. What do you think?

Navigation and harbor improvements are other subsidies to maritime, lake, and inland waterway transportation. The Constitution gives the Federal Government control over navigable waters.

It has long been national policy to spend public funds to improve harbors and facilitate safe navigation. The real question is whether the use of improved waterways should be free for commercial purposes after the public has paid for the improvement. This question is particularly important in the case of inland waterways which compete with other forms of transportation.

Some say that the Government should improve navigation for national defenses and to give the public the benefit of low-cost water transportation.

Others say that improvements in intracoastal and river navigational facilities tend to favor a relatively small group of water shippers at the expense of their competitors, the public, and other forms of commercial transportation. User charges are collected on the Panama Canal and will be collected on the St. Lawrence Seaway, but not on other inland waterways.

Here are some questions to consider:

(1) Does national defense really require that we subsidize the construction and operation of oceangoing ships?

(2) Who gets the benefit when navigational improvements open a river to barge transportation—the general public, shippers, or the barge operators?

(3) Should user charges be collected on improved waterways such as the Mississippi River?

RAILROADS AND TRUCKS

Many years ago railroad construction was subsidized by large grants of public land. The primary purpose was not to benefit the railroads, but to open public land to settlement.

The land grants were part of a broad national policy which included the distribution of public lands to homesteaders, mining, and lumber interests either free or at nominal prices. On the basis at which the land was valued at the time, the railroad grants were worth $123 million.

In return, the railroads granted rate reductions on Government traffic including mail until the early 1940's. Through such rate reductions, they, in effect, paid the Government $1.1 billion for the land grants.

The only current railroad subsidy is the accelerated amortization granted on new equipment such as boxcars and locomotives.

Since trucks use highways which are built with public funds, some people say that the trucking industry is subsidized. Others say that the trucks pay their own way or more through license fees and user taxes.

The use of public highways by trucks leads to extra reinforcing costs in road construction as well as extra maintenance costs. The question is whether trucks pay enough user taxes to cover their fair share of highway costs.

In 1952, motor vehicles paid State user taxes totaling $3,097 million, of which trucks paid $1,057 million or 34.1 percent. These truck taxes were 41 percent of total 1952 expenditures on State administered highways. In the same year, trucks paid Federal excise taxes totaling over $426 million. It is estimated that trucks will bear a minimum of 25 percent of the total increases in taxes under the Federal-aid-to-highway revenue acts in 1956 plus their pro rata share in gasoline, tire, and tread rubber taxes.

Here are some questions to consider:

(1) Do you think the railroads have adequately repaid the Government for land grants?

(2) Does the fact that trucks use public highways give them an advantage over the railroads who provide their own rights-of-way?

(3) How should highway costs be divided among the various classes of highway users?

(4) Do you think trucks pay their fair share of highway costs in your State?

WHO GETS THE SUBSIDIES?—PART IV

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the fourth part of a discussion of subsidies and what might be done about them, prepared by the American Farm Bureau's research staff. Future issues of the News Letter will carry articles containing this discussion.)

AIDS TO AIRLINES

Airlines receive a number of Government aids which differ so much they need to be considered separately.

Direct subsidies have been paid airlines to speed the development of a new industry. Direct subsidies have been declining. Direct subsidies amounted to about $76 million in fiscal 1954 and are estimated at $34 million for fiscal 1957. Subsidy payments are now largely confined to local service airlines and certain international routes. Airline routes and rates are completely regulated by a Government agency.

Subsidies were paid through airmail until a few years ago. Airmail pay currently is said to be based on the value of the service rendered. Some say that the service airmail pay still includes a subsidy. Others say that total payments for transporting airmail are not greatly different than what would be charged for a comparable movement of air express.

From the standpoint of public policy, the subsidization of airlines through airmail pay appears undesirable. If the public wants to subsidize airlines, it would appear that there should be a clear separation of such subsidies from Government pay for services rendered.

Airway, communication, and navigation facilities are maintained by the Federal Government. Some say that such facilities are comparable to public highways. The airways are used by a large number of private and military planes as well as by the airlines.

Others say it may be an appropriate function for Government to maintain airways and control traffic, but that airlines should pay user charges. The airlines do pay a Federal tax of 2 cents per gallon on gasoline; however, some of the newer planes burn kerosene which is not subject to the tax.

Airports are largely built by local communities with Federal aid which has been running around $20 million per year.

Airlines have also received accelerated amortization privileges on new equipment.

Here are some questions to consider:

(1) Was it sound public policy to subsidize the airlines when they were an infant industry?

(2) Should the airlines be expected to stand on their own feet today?

(3) Does the public interest require feederline service to cities that fail to generate enough business to cover the cost?

(4) Is it good public policy to keep United States airlines flying to important foreign countries if this requires a subsidy?

(5) Should the Federal Government help finance local airports or should the entire job be left to local governments and the airlines?

(6) Is the maintenance of airway facilities (navigational aids and traffic control) basically different from the maintenance of public roads?

(7) Should the airlines pay user charges for the maintenance of airways?

(8) Should excise taxes on aviation fuel be considered to be user taxes?

SUBSIDIES TO LABOR

Some say that Federal wage-hour laws in effect constitute a subsidy to labor. Such laws help some workers to get higher wage rates and overtime payments. But the same laws discourage overtime employment and make it more difficult for some workers to find jobs.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Jobless workers are subsidized through the unemployment-compensation program. Benefit payments under this program have been running about $1.4 billion per year. Administrative costs amount to another $250 million.

Some say that this program encourages idleness. Others say it helps to stabilize the economy and to ward off a serious depression. Benefits are temporary. They help to prevent unemployment from spiraling. The high level of employment in recent years indicates that most people prefer work to unemployment benefits. What do you think?

SOCIAL PROGRAM

The Federal Government has been making grants to States at the rate of $1.4 billion per year for payments to needy persons such as dependent children and aged, crippled, and blind persons. It was once thought that the expenditure for direct relief would decline as more people became eligible for social security. This has not yet happened.

The social-security program itself is geared to subsidize the lower income groups and those who enter the program at an older age at the expense of other participants.

For example, a person who has paid social-security taxes on an average income of $110 per month can receive $60.50 per month in benefits while a person who has paid taxes on an average earning of $350 can receive only $108.50.

Furthermore, individuals with the same average earnings may receive the same retirement benefits although some have paid social-security taxes for a much longer period than others.

What do you think about aid to the needy and the social security questions?

(1) Should the care of needy persons be left entirely to the States and local communities or should the Federal Government help?

(2) Should benefits under the social-security program favor low-income persons and those who enter the program at an advanced age or should payments be related to the amount each individual has paid into the program?

WHO GETS THE SUBSIDIES?—PART V

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the fifth and final part of a discussion of subsidies and what might be done about them, prepared by the American Farm Bureau's research staff.)

AGRICULTURE

Many of our agricultural programs have been called subsidies—particularly by nonfarm people. Some people even think that such programs as agricultural research and extension are subsidies. Others say that these programs are not subsidies because many of the benefits are passed on to the public in the form of better, or more economical farm products.

What do you think?

The Federal Government is also spending funds for more direct subsidies, which include price support operations, surplus removal, soil conservation payments, and soil bank activities.

Some say that agricultural subsidies are justified by subsidies others are getting.

Others say that the real question in agricultural policy is not what others are doing, but what is good for agriculture.

These people say that subsidies have created surpluses and other problems which are actually reducing farm income by destroying opportunities for farmers to earn a high per family income. That is, agriculture will do better by expanding markets on a sound basis and adjusting production to real market demand than it will do by depending on subsidies.

They say that farmers would do better by trying to eliminate any unjustified subsidies that are being paid to others than to try and get bigger subsidies when subsidies have failed to solve our farm problems.

The impact of subsidies is far greater on agriculture than on other industries. Subsidies put some industries in a better position to compete, but they still must find customers for their products. That is, there are checks and balances in nonagricultural subsidies that prevent them from causing great disruptions.

The most important check is that the Government has not guaranteed a market for the subsidized industries. For example, the second-class mailing privilege does not guarantee a publisher that he will sell his newspapers or magazines.

In agriculture the picture is reversed. Agricultural subsidies have had the checks and balances removed. Through price support, the Government has guaranteed agriculture a market.

The guaranteed market causes farm production to increase in spite of production controls. In other subsidized industries overproduction is checked either by limits on the amount of the subsidies or by the fact that production must be sold on the open market.

The restrictions and waste in agricultural programs are an inevitable result of price supports. For it is well to remember—we have wheat and cotton export subsidies because of price supports; we have quotas and allotments because of price supports; we have surpluses, surplus-removal programs, and diverted acre problems because of price supports.

With all of the experience we have had with Government attempts to boost farmers' income, which is down while the income of free industries is up, it seems wise to take a hard look at what subsidies really do.

The total cost of the agricultural programs is almost impossible to calculate. However, the realized cost of efforts to stabilize prices from 1933 through 1956 has been in excess of $14 billion. In addition, payments in excess of $3 billion have been made to conserve the soil. Some examples of program costs in stabilizing prices are: corn, $1¾ billion; cotton, $2⅛ billion; wheat, $3⅓ billion; peanuts, $183 million; rice, $100 million; tobacco, $241 million.

Estimated soil-bank payments for 1957 are $1.2 billion. The export subsidy programs, while moving surpluses, have been expensive. For example, the International Wheat Agreement for the export of wheat has cost $759.6 million since 1949. Cotton exports are costing an estimated $45 per bale on 6.5 million bales in 1956–57. In addition, public funds have been made available to finance about half of these exports through loans, gifts, and foreign-currency sales.

The cost of the agricultural programs goes far beyond the monetary figures. Because of the programs, farmers must live under laws, rules, regulations, and orders that divide up the right to produce. Under these Government programs and controls the tendency is to level down all farmers to a low common denominator gathers momentum every year.

Here are some questions to ask yourself:

(1) Will farmers gain more by trying to expand on the subsidies they now have or by trying to eliminate all subsidies?

(2) Have Government subsidies brought prosperity to agriculture?

(3) Have subsidies given to agriculture created sound markets for agriculture, or have they created more problems?

(4) Should farmers be paid for operations that are normal and accepted farming practices?

IS EVERYBODY SUBSIDIZED?

Many other Government programs involve varying degrees of subsidy. For many years the Government has bought all newly mined silver at an artificial price. This is done in the name of monetary policy. But it provides a market for the silver mining industry. A few years ago the Government started buying a number of other domestically mined minerals in the name of providing a stockpile for national defense. But when the stockpile goal was reached, Congress ordered the buying program continued to provide a market for the affected mines.

Millions of veterans are participating in a subsidized Government life insurance program; however, this amount of insurance is no longer available to new veterans. Some people are living in subsidized public housing. There is no question but what we have an amazing number of subsidies, but it may be that subsidies are overemphasized. Some say that everybody is subsidized. Others say that a great many people do receive some subsidy but that relatively few economic groups really depend on subsidies for their well-being.

Some say that subsidies are so much a part of our system that it is useless to examine or question them, and that the important thing is to see that every group gets its share of Federal subsidies. Others say that if we take the approach that one subsidy justifies another, the net result may be a completely controlled economy. In this connection the Supreme Court has said, "It is hardly lack of due process for the Government to regulate that which it subsidizes."

What do you think?

Background and Development of Old Glory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this time a most interesting and educational article, by Madeline Corse, tracing the background and development of Old Glory, which appeared in the June 14, 1957, issue of the Worcester, Mass., Telegram.

The article follows:

HOW OUR NATIONAL EMBLEM EVOLVED

(By Madeline Corse)

What is a flag? The word comes from the Anglo-Saxon fleogan, which means "to float in the wind," but our national flag has a higher meaning, the symbol of freedom.

The Declaration of Independence did not provide the Thirteen Colonies with a flag of their own. Many flags were flown, it is true, some stately, some symbolic, others frankly defiant.

As early as 1634 the Massachusetts Bay Colony was flying the Union Jack, which was gradually changed to suit their own needs, until a pine tree was given a place on the flag. Eventually the Union Jack was displaced, and in 1775 our naval vessels flew a plain white flag with a large pine tree.

SONS OF LIBERTY

Just before the Boston Tea Party, the daring Sons of Liberty met under a huge elm which they called the Liberty Tree. Somewhat belatedly, General Gage ordered the tree cut down, but it survived as the emblem on a new flag, with the words "An Appeal to God" beneath it.

Down at Fort Moultrie, S. C., another flag was flown in 1775, the colors chosen because the men wore blue uniforms and their caps were adorned with silver crescents. They chose a blue banner, with a silver crescent in the canton, or upper left-hand corner.

Five different rattlesnake flags flew in the South and elsewhere. The Culpepper minutemen in Virginia first carried one in 1775. On a bright yellow ground, a coiled rattlesnake reared its head. The wording below was a warning, "Don't Tread on Me." There is much symbolism here. The rattlesnake has bright eyes and no eyelids, denoting vigilance. It gives warning before an attack, but never surrenders. Its bite is fatal. The separate rattles are firmly united, as were the Thirteen Colonies.

A fighting flag was flown at Concord Bridge, the standard of the Bedford minutemen. "Their flag to April's breeze unfurled" was square in shape, with a rich red ground. The design in silver and gold was copied from an old flag of the city of Ostend, an arm and a sword thrust out from a cloud. Three round gray spots represent cannon balls. The motto on a scroll is Vince aut Morire (Conquer or Die). The Bedford flag, carried into battle by Cornet Nathaniel Page, is preserved at the free public library in Bedford.

When General Washington journeyed via New York to Boston to take command of the Continental Army, he was attended by the Light Horse Guards of Philadelphia. Their flag displayed 7 blue and 6 silver stripes, the forerunner of our national flag.

On January 1, 1776, Washington left his headquarters in Cambridge, Mass., to see a new flag raised at Prospect Hill in neighboring Somerville. While the Union Jack was retained in the field, the flag had 13 stripes of red and white, and is known historically as the Cambridge flag.

THE STARS AND STRIPES

The Bennington flag used the number 13, representing the Original Colonies, in 2 ways. There were 13 stripes, red and white, but with the white on the outer edges. The blue field displayed 11 stars in a half-oval formation around the numeral 76, with 2 single stars above. These stars are unique because they are 7-pointed. Under this illustrious flag Gen. John Stark led 2,000 Green Mountain Boys to victory.

The making of the first official flag has always been in dispute. Francis Hopkinson, of Pennsylvania, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is usually given credit for its design. It is generally conceded that Betsy Ross actually made the flag for a congressional committee consisting of George Washington, Robert Morris, and Betsy's uncle, Col. George Ross.

General Washington's own coat-of-arms included 5-pointed stars, and while his own tentative design for the new national flag showed 6-pointed stars, it is said that Betsy Ross showed him how she could fold material and make a 5-pointed star with a single cut of the scissors.

The following resolution was adopted in Congress on June 14, 1777, the first Flag Day:

"Resolved, that the flag of the 13 United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars, white on a blue field."

The 13 stars form a perfect circle.

An interesting legend comes to us from an Army officer's letter written in 1777, in which he tells how a flag was made and

flown over Fort Stanwix in what is now Rome, N. Y. According to his account, the red was "pieces of stuff procured from the garrison."

Another name for our flag was coined when in 1824 a sea captain in Salem, was presented with a flag on his birthday. Joyfully he shouted: "I'll call her Old Glory, boy, Old Glory!"

Boston Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I enclose a very fine article in relation to the Boston Naval Shipyard, appearing in the August 9, 1957, edition of the Boston Naval Shipyard News, and written by its editor, Mr. James L. Harrington.

The article follows:

A BOSTON NAVAL SHIPYARD-BUILT SHIP IS A STRONG GUARANTY TO THE UNITED STATES FLEET THE SHIP IS THE BEST THAT MAN CAN PRODUCE

Behind the guaranty that a Boston Naval Shipyard-built ship is the best that man can produce is the exciting story of vessels from this naval shore establishment which have fought in every naval battle since the War of 1812, and documents reveal stirring sagas of the sloop *Frolic* hurling her might against the British brig *Little Fox*, climaxed with the destroyer *Mayrant*, better known as the *Mighty May*, receiving the surrender of Marcus Island from the Japanese.

Ships built and manned by New England men left the shipyard from 1813 till the close of the last great war to carry the colors of the United States to victory. Navy tars fought with cutlass, boarding hooks and staccato bursts of antiaircraft fire to place these vessels in world halls of fame—while others that departed from this harbor lie deep off the coasts of Tripoli, France and Japan, undersea monuments to the men who hewed, built and sailed the fighting craft of a great Navy.

A far cry from the sleek, greyhound lines of a modern-day destroyer, the U. S. S. *Frolic* was an 18-gun sloop of war authorized by an act of Congress, January 2, 1813, and was the first naval vessel built at the Charlestown naval shore establishment. She was designed and built under Josiah Barker, who also constructed the *Independence*. Her total cost was $72,095.

Departing from Boston on February 18, 1814, under the flag of Master Commandant Joseph Bainbridge, for a cruise to the West Indies, she met and destroyed the brig *Little Fox* on March 7 and later captured an unmanned privateer schooner on April 3.

However, her fame was short-lived. While 15 miles off the coast of Natanzas, Cuba, the *Frolic* was captured by the H. B. M. *Orpheus*, a vessel of 36 guns, and the H. B. M. *Shelbourne*, a man-of-warsman carrying 12 guns. Seizing the American craft proved to be of little value to the English forces for the skipper and crew of the *Frolic* had thrown overboard all her guns during a 60-mile sea chase.

After being taken by the British, the *Frolic* was renamed the *Florida*, used in the British revenue service. Her career was short, for she was broken up at the Chathan dockyard in 1819.

Sailing from Boston under the flag of Commodore William Bainbridge, the second craft to be launched from the shipyard, the U. S. S. *Independence*, took part in the war with Algiers. As peace was concluded before her return to the States, she showed herself at various Barbary ports, arriving at Newport, R. I., November 15, 1815.

TOPS IN FIGHTING CRAFT

The *Independence* was a 74-gun ship of the line and, when launched July 20, 1814, was considered the tops in fighting craft. Later tours of duty reveal this line vessel serving as flagship for Commodore John B. Nicholson, Commodore Charles Stewart, Commodore William B. Shubrick, Commodore Charles W. Morgan, and Commodore William Mervine. Her final spot, limited in duty, was at Mare Island, Calif., as a receiving ship and a barracks ship for the station marines.

Her eventful and colorful career ended when she was stricken from the Navy list on September 3, 1931, and sold on the same date to John H. Rinder for $3,515.

The *Alligator*, *Boston*, the first *Cumberland*, *Warren*, *Falmouth*, *Boxer*, and *Porpoise* were built during the years of 1820–36. These vessels were all sloops-of-war except the *Cumberland*. Exploring barks, store ships, steam cutters, screw sloops and screw steamers also went down the shipways at Boston.

FIRST SCREW STEAM FRIGATE

Mention is made of another famous craft, the *Merrimac*, launched on June 24, 1855, in the presence of thousands of spectators. The vessel, which battled the *Monitor* on March 8, 1862, was announced to be the finest vessel of her class afloat. She was the first screw steam frigate launched in our Navy and was built to carry 40 heavy guns. The total cost of the ship was $879,126.

Following cruises to Annapolis, Habana, England (note: the British Admiralty ordered several frigates patterned after the *Merrimac*) she sailed for the Pacific. Returning from the Pacific, she arrived at Norfolk on February 6, 1860, and was taken out of commission. This was her last service under the flag.

In April 1861, she was readied for use, but for the prevalence of treasonable counsels would have taken out of Norfolk before the destruction of the Navy yard, April 21, 1861. Her conversion to an ironclad, under the name of the *Virginia*, and her attack upon our ships in Hampton Roads, her defeat by the *Monitor*, March 8, 1862, and destruction by the Rebels May 11, 1862, have become matters of history.

"Damn the torpedoes. Full speed ahead."

A colorful naval phrase, passed down through the century, was uttered by Adm. David G. Farragut, skipper of the Boston-built *Hartford*, during his memorable performance at Mobile Bay. Farragut, who gained a distinguished career as an officer, took command of the *Hartford* when she went on her first cruise to the East Indies, in 1859–61.

FIRST TORPEDO BOAT

She was launched on November 22, 1858, from the same ways as the *Merrimac*. Following the Civil War, she was sent to the East Indies under Rear Adm. H. H. Bell, who had been Farragut's chief of staff at New Orleans. She went out of commission shortly after a spar deck was added at New York.

The iron torpedo boat, the *Intrepid*, the first vessel of its kind added to the Navy, was launched from the old upper ship house, since torn down, on March 5, 1874.

Between 1861 and 1866 the Civil War caused great activity in the building, equipping, and movement of vessels at the shipyard. During this period 39 vessels of war were built at Charlestown and neighboring shipyards. Close to 45 vessels purchased by the Navy were overhauled, refitted, and equipped here.

CONSTRUCTION LULL

A lull in new construction ran between the years of 1874 and 1902 with the *Pentucket* completed in 1902, and the *Cumberland*, a steel training ship, completed in 1904. Prior to our entry into World War I, the U. S. S. *Bridge*, a store ship, was placed into service on May 18, 1916.

When the armistice was signed the keel of the U. S. S. *Brazos*, an oiler, had been laid and went into service on May 1, 1919. She was followed by the *Neches* on June 2, 1920 and the *Pecos* on April 23, 1921. On October 12, 1923, the shipyard was crowded with visitors to witness the launching of the U. S. S. *Whitney*, a destroyer tender.

The event marked Navy Day and men and women, accompanied by their families, entered the shipyard from early in the morning until late at night. A gala swimming meet was held in the large drydock and the finale was a huge fireworks display at the old baseball park, now the location of the electric shop and pipe shop.

Beginning in 1935, the destroyers, "eyes of the fleet," commenced to roll from the shipways—destined to make fame in a long 4-year war against Germany and Japan. It was here that the Navy Department sent out a call for the skilled shipbuilders of New England. Men had answered the call in 1899 and now their descendants wended their way to build ships of steel. Gone were the days of handhewn decks and ribs—poured steel and pressed metal plates were the answer.

FAMOUS FIGHTING DESTROYERS

Ships like the *MacDonough*, *Monoghan*, *Case*, *Conyngham*, and the *Mugford* were completed long before the shadow of war fell across New England. In their wake came the famous *Mayrant*, the fighting *O'Brien*, a courageous *Madison*, *Lansdale*, *Gwin*, and *Nicholson*. And one must not forget the stalwarts *Humboldt* and *Matagorda*, seaplane tenders.

"The enemy has struck a savage and treacherous blow. We are at war, all of us. There is no time now for disputes or delays of any kind. We must have ships and more ships, guns and more guns, men and more men—faster and faster. There is no time to lose. The Navy must lead the way. Speed up—it is our Navy and your Nation."

This message was received from Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox on December 8, 1941.

The Boston Naval Shipyard went into high gear.

Men and women, young and old, combined their efforts with youngsters of high school age, to answer the call of the Navy. Three 8-hour shifts per day went into effect. Unskilled hands, under the tutelage of experienced supervisors and mechanics, soon learned the intricacies of shipbuilding.

A not uncommon sight was a woman welder or drop forger. Ship after ship rolled down the ways, commissioned, fitted for sea and sent off to war. Yes, 166 fighting craft, built in the shipyard by New England men and women, went to battle against Mussolini, Hitler, and Hirohito.

Some ships left never to return—sunk by surface shellfire?—stricken by submarine torpedoes?—blasted by dive bombers? Who knows? Naval archives tell most of the stories of the *Guest*, *Ralph Talbot*, the *Griswold*, and others, but some ships had no survivors to tell a story.

Ships and more ships, destroyer escorts to submarines, wended their way, along with landing ship tanks from Omaha Beach to Guadalcanal. Soon the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets had many supporters in fighting hearts of steel. The fame of Boston-built ships was heard from Tarawa to the midnight bombardment of Hammamatsu.

Mighty aircraft carriers and undersea raiders from Boston carried the fight to the very

shores of Nippon. And many stood fast in Tokyo Harbor when the Nipponese signed the famous and historic surrender papers aboard the U. S. S. *Missouri*.

The Boston naval shore establishment still serves the Navy, building and overhauling the mightiest aircraft carriers afloat or a lowly harbor tug.

Her latest achievement is the U. S. S. *Suffolk County* which will join the fleet next Thursday.

Today many of the ships that were constructed in the Boston Naval Shipyard still serve with the fleet, while others are in mothballs, ready for a day when they might be called to action.

That day arrived during the Korean warfare when yard personnel speedily restored naval vessels to an active status.

But whatever the needs of the fleet and Nation may be, the Boston Naval Shipyard stands alert and able to meet those needs. The 157 years of shipbuilding experience have created a shipyard at Boston, manned by workers whose forefathers built gallant sailing vessels, that the American people can always depend on for distinguished service. Boston built is a guaranty that the best ship possible of construction has joined an illustrious line of the sea defenders of America.

High Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, the petition has long been considered an authoritative voice of democracy. Recently out in my State of Idaho, however, the petition became the tool of a private power company engaged in a gigantic drive to try to make the Members of this body believe there is great grassroots opposition to the high Hells Canyon Dam in the very State which would benefit most from its construction.

Unless I am very much mistaken, these petitions will eventually appear somewhere in Washington—either in a House committee or on the floor—as bona-fide evidence that there is overwhelming opposition to the high dam in Idaho.

The way in which the power company used its influence—and its employees—to obtain the signatures on the petitions is described almost daily in the letters I receive from various parts of Idaho. For obvious reasons I am not going to divulge the names of my correspondents, but I would like at this time to ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD excerpts from some of their letters:

CAMBRIDGE, IDAHO.

Yesterday, when we heard that the Idaho Power Co. had a petition out, getting people to sign against a Federal high dam in Hells Canyon, we started a petition of our own to see how many were for the high dam. In a few hours time, we had over 100 signers, all very much in favor of the high dam. We talked to people in a small area and many more would have signed, if we had reached them. Quit a few people told us that they signed the Idaho Power Co. petition only because great pressure was put on them to do so by the Idaho Power employees doing the petitioning, or because they were afraid of losing their jobs on the two low dams now being constructed. I think it is a pretty bad thing when people are forced to vote contrary to their beliefs to protect their jobs. The last general election showed the true feelings of the people of Idaho and the Northwest.

COUNCIL, IDAHO.

Another thing I'd like to tell you is that the Idaho Power Co. petition that was circulated by their employees, was a must for the employee. Each man had to procure 10 signatures on the petition.

NAMPA, IDAHO.

Since the Senate passed the Hells Canyon bill, I know that all of the money will be directed against the House action—which will be millions. The Idaho Power has been more active than at any time in its history. All of the chamber of commerce boys throughout the State are going to all of their employees with petitions, and they are really putting on the pressure.

NEW PLYMOUTH, IDAHO.

As you doubtless know, the Idaho Power Co. has petitions out for its dams at Brownlee, etc. One was presented here and I signed it rather than offend the manager. We have good accounts with their employees. It was presented as an effort to help them out.

COUNCIL, IDAHO.

We also want to tell you that the Idaho Power Co. is now circulating petitions for the low dams. The workmen are being asked to sign and you can see that they would be afraid not to sign—coercion, I would call it. High dam people are also circulating petitions for the dam, but we are at a disadvantage because of their indiscreet policies—their low dam policies.

HAILEY, IDAHO.

As you know, here in southern Idaho, with the two strongest papers, the Boise (Idaho) Statesman, and the Twin Falls Times News, so controlled by the Idaho Power Co., the people have little chance of presenting their views. Even in our little weekly, the Hailey Times, there were two articles favoring the Idaho Power Co., and the amount of taxes they pay. Last week my husband was in Lincoln County, and he ran into a paid employee of the Idaho Power Co. going around getting farmers to sign petitions against the Government dam, telling them their water rights were in danger, etc. Most of them fell for these lies.

Yesterday, when my husband paid his electric bill here, at the office, they asked him if he ould sign the petition. He pointblank said, "No."

POCATELLO, IDAHO.

For your information, I went into the power company office here in Pocatello, just a day or two ago to pay my light bill, and the clerk in that office shoved a petition in front of me and asked if I would sign that petition opposing the high Hells Canyon Dam. I informed her immediately I would not sign that petition and hoped that the Hells Canyon Dam would go through by the Federal Government. They are using every means possible to defeat that bill. Anyone who pays their bill, young or old, who goes in there, is asked to sign the petition. I thought I would give you this information. Perhaps you already know it.

WENDELL, IDAHO.

Since the Hells Canyon bill passed in the Senate, there is now one of the most vigorous campaigns ever attempted to confuse the issue and defeat the bill in the House. All Idaho Power Co. employees are out early and late circulating petitions and telling people that if the present construction is stopped, there will be a power famine.

Mr. Speaker, I would like also to include several other letters which indicate how the wind really blows in Idaho on the Hells Canyon Dam issue:

TWIN FALLS, IDAHO.

This letter is written to thank you for your excellent work in sponsoring a bill to authorize construction of a high dam at Hells Canyon. I feel confident that this community feels the same way about it; also, the great majority of people in southern Idaho. This is true in spite of the thousands of dollars worth of propaganda circulated by the private power interests.

CALDWELL, IDAHO.

I am writing this letter in the hope that we might give you some moral support in your fight for Hells Canyon Dam. I suppose the Republicans are going to try to prove that the high dam is anything but economical, but we believe that anything would be more practical than Idaho Power playing dog in the manger, and simply keeping the people from building an adequate structure in the deepest gorge in the United States.

At the last meeting at the Community Hall (Sand Hollow) it was easy to tell that there were more high-dam rooters than ever before. It is a shame the people can't vote on such issues. We would win easily.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the widespread support for the high dam in the area which would be most benefited by it, I sincerely hope the Hells Canyon bill can be brought to the floor of the House for consideration early in the next session of the Congress.

Refugee Relief Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two telegrams which I have received from the outstanding Greek leader, Mr. Spyros Skouras, and Monsignor Swanstrom, of the Catholic Relief Services, NCWC.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LONDON, *August 30, 1957.*

Senator KENNEDY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Congratulations, and am highly appreciative bill you sponsored behalf Greek refugees. Please accept my gratitude.
Kindest regards.

SPYROS SKOURAS.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *August 26, 1957.*

Hon. JOHN KENNEDY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

Wish congratulate you your good work getting some relief to meet our mutual problems with refugees. We are all hoping and praying for early passage by Congress of a bill.

Monsignor SWANSTROM,
Catholic Relief Services, NCWC.

An Odd and Cynical Approach to Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the following two editorials in August from the St. Petersburg Independent, St. Petersburg, Fla., well illustrate the feeling of a great segment of the public throughout the Nation as well as in the first district of Florida. The final provisions of civil-rights legislation, which I have opposed, in giving to the Federal judge trying such cases the right to pretrial judgment as to guilt creates an absurdity both in concept and in law. I ask inclusion of these two editorials at this time that the position of the people of the first district will be clearly understood. I hope that all who read these editorials will clearly see that the hybrid creature created by this Congress is one that will in the future come home to haunt its breeding ground.

The editorials follow:

ODD APPROACH TO JUSTICE

All the backing and filling in Congress on the proposed civil rights law has finally produced a Republican compromise proposal so ridiculous it does not deserve serious consideration.

In brief, the compromise calls on Federal judges to decide in advance whether a defendant is just a little bit guilty or flagrantly guilty of criminal contempt.

Under the bill passed by the Senate, defendants charged with civil contempt in voting rights cases could be jailed by a Federal judge without jury trial. Civil contempt is an action in which the court acts in an effort to enforce compliance with its order. But in criminal contempt cases—an action designed to punish the defendant—a jury trial would be provided.

The jury trial provision has stuck in the craw of administration leaders, not only because the jury trial provision is applicable to all cases of criminal contempt, but because they say it would weaken the voting rights enforcement.

So now House Republican Leader MARTIN, with President Eisenhower's blessing, has offered a compromise proposal. His proposal would give judges sole discretion to decide whether there should be a jury trial in voting rights cases in which a person is accused of criminal contempt for violating a court injunction.

If a judge tried the case without a jury, he could impose a penalty no stronger than 90 days in jail and a $300 fine. But in the event he decided there should be a jury trial, the defendant, if convicted, might be imprisoned for as long as six months and fined up to $1,000.

Thus if the judge decided in advance that the defendant was just slightly guilty of criminal contempt he could slap him in jail without a jury trial. But if he deemed the defendant's action warranted heavier punishment he would have to provide a jury trial.

Certainly this is a strange approach to justice, particularly when the judge necessarily would be so intimately involved in such a case from the beginning. Indeed, in those cases which the judge deemed less serious, he would be the accuser as well as the judge and jury.

If a compromise on the jury-trial phase of the bill is necessary, it would be well to limit its scope to voting rights cases. But the Republican proposal is a cover-up job to save face—compromise for the sake of compromise. As such it is merely a travesty.

CYNICAL APPROACH

After the Democrats and Republicans produced a judicial hybrid it now appears that Congress will adopt the bobtailed civil-rights bill.

The hybrid—one of the oddest-looking animals ever conceived—is a compromise on the jury-trial amendment. It provides that in voting rights cases the judge shall decide whether criminal-contempt charges shall be tried by himself alone, or by a jury. But if the judge tries the case himself, and assesses a penalty of more than 45 days in jail and $300 fine, the defendant has the right to demand and receive an entirely new trial.

The compromise provision is almost as ridiculous as the Republican proposal which would have permitted the judge in such a case to deny jury trial if he thought the defendant a little bit guilty but would require a jury trial if he thought the accused flagrantly guilty.

The only reason for limitation of the jury trial in such a case is the prevailing belief that southern juries will not convict in a civil-rights case. And if this is not a cynical approach to the whole matter of civil rights we have never seen any examples.

I Am an American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as we come to a cessation of activities of the first session of the 85th Congress, I would like to have consent to insert a few remarks about Chicago's observance of I Am an American Day on September 15. Our beloved President Eisenhower has proclaimed Citizenship Day. The two occasions will be observed simultaneously in Chicago.

I was born and raised in Chicago and I know how keenly we feel the responsibility of being an American and I say too, that we are dedicated to preserving America. In becoming a new citizen, it is important to understand fully what it means to be an American and what it took to make America. I have long looked upon American citizenship as a priceless heritage.

Americans are comprised of many creeds and many colors. In this composite there is a very basic ingredient which is the source of our greatness. I refer to the love and recognition of God Almighty. As I have listened to the deliberations on mutual security, I am convinced that the greatest certitude we can have for mutual security among nations is a rededication to the principle of Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.

In my opinion, we cannot be true Americans without loving God, working for peace and praying that our efforts to safeguard the liberties given us by our Constitution and the Almighty will continue to be blessed.

When Chicagoans gather together on September 15 to give thanks and thought to being Americans, I will be among them. Many will be new citizens and many will be natural-born citizens. Each has a responsibility to the other. I am proud indeed that nearly 250,000 men of the Holy Name Society of the Roman Catholic archdiocese are joining with other civic, patriotic, fraternal, business, and labor organizations in Chicago to observe I Am an American Day. Each of us is an integral part of our beloved country.

Congressman Dollinger's Annual Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, following is my report to the people of the 23d District of New York on the first session of the 85th Congress.

Early in 1957, the President announced his legislative program, which was very impressive. In fact, his recommendations were a continuance of Democratic programs established under Democratic administrations, and therefore had the support of Democratic Members of Congress. Although the Democrats did all in their power to push action on vitally needed legislation, the President's lack of leadership, failure to gain support of his own party, failure to wield his authority and give administration backing to important measures, have wreaked havoc. His record of achievement is a sorry one. Out of 16 major recommendations, only a few have been enacted into law, and the legislation passed only because of support of the Democrats; on many major issues members of his own party refused to stand behind him.

The President's following proposals, all important to the majority of our people, have not been touched upon so far, due to his apathy and indifference: Extend the minimum wage to more workers; special Federal assistance to cut unemployment in distressed areas of the United States; extend and perfect the social-security system; overhaul and improve the Taft-Hartley Act; legislation to control monopolistic mergers; Federal assistance for hospital construction with special reference to low-cost care of chronic cases and needs of older persons; increased Federal aid for medical care of the needy and to help build facilities to train more physicians and scientists; expansion of voluntary health insurance through Federal reinsurance and pooling arrangements; immediate statehood of Hawaii and Alaska; extend and liberalize the Refugee Relief Act. These may be called "sins of omission." Let us examine the record and we shall see that the Republicans have continued to carry out their policy of helping the moneyed interests and disregarding the needs and general welfare of the average citizen.

REPUBLICAN GIVEAWAYS CONTINUE

The natural gas bill, which would cost consumers $800 million annually, is backed by the President and is being pushed by gas and oil interests. I voted against the measure in committee, and my efforts and all those opposed have succeeded in preventing a final vote up to this time. However, strong efforts will be exerted early in the next session to enact this legislation. I shall continue to fight against passage of this vicious bill.

The President used his great influence to help retain the Hells Canyon power site for the Idaho Power Co., another victory for private power interests, which will mean higher prices for consumers.

The administration has been urging passage of a bill providing for the return of seized German war assets to German nationals. In effect, this would mean return of property seized during World War II to the German war lords who were responsible for the atrocities committed against humanity. I am opposed to this giveaway, and will do all in my power to prevent the return of such seized property.

After years of battling private power interests, which wished to grab Niagara power and which had the blessing of the Republicans, we finally succeeded in passing a bill which provides for development by the power authority under New York State law. This will protect consumers.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Passage of the civil-rights bill marked a great day in the legislative history of our country, and I was deeply gratified to have the opportunity, after years of unrelenting work in behalf of civil rights, to cast my vote in favor of the legislation. When we consider that this is the first time in more than 80 years that civil-rights legislation has been passed, its importance cannot be measured.

Admittedly, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is not the strong bill which passed the House—and even that was not strong enough to right all prevailing evils of discrimination and I was not satisfied with it. It is far from ideal; it does not meet all present needs and provides fewer remedies than the American people as a whole would have wished. However, it was expedient to accept a compromise; it was wise to accept the best that we could get rather than have no bill at all and let even a small victory escape us. Now we have a starting point; now we can continue to build until every last vestige of discrimination is wiped out and true freedom enjoyed by all.

At least, on its face, the Civil Rights Act carries a significant new approach to enforcement of Negro voting rights—rights guaranteed by our Constitution since passage of the 14th and 15th amendments in 1868 and 1870. Such guaranties have meant very little or nothing in the face of threats, obstacles, and numerous cruel and blatantly illegal methods used to prevent Negroes from voting. Action by the Federal Government to enforce these constitutionally guaranteed rights has been a dire necessity for more than half a century.

At last, we are over the first hurdle; we have had a showdown on the issue of civil rights. Those sincerely interested in justice and equality for all have succeeded in getting favorable congressional action on a civil-rights bill.

IMMIGRATION

The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act with its shocking inequities still remains on our statute books, despite all attempts to rewrite the law to make it conform with our American ideals and principles and our professed desire to help the oppressed peoples of the world, who look to us for shelter.

The immigration bill recently passed is a mere drop in the bucket; it does not touch the most glaring hardships or unfair provisions in existing law. Chief of the inequities is the national origins quota system using the 1920 population census as a basis for setting quotas. This provision was deliberately intended to discriminate among aliens on the basis of race and nationality. Unused visas for northern European countries, where the quotas are large, average 250,000 a year. If 1950 were used as a base year, it would raise the annual admissions total by about 65,000; it would reallocate unused national quotas—of countries like England—to small-quota countries, where the demand for admission to the United States is greater.

The new bill also failed to give resident status to 28,000 Hungarian refugees who now have a stateless status here; it failed to end present discrimination against naturalized citizens. It does admit orphans adopted by Americans overseas; it does help reunite families which were split when one member or more immigrated; it does provide for waiving fingerprint requirements for certain foreign visitors; it does permit more than 60,000 aliens to enter this country on a hardship basis.

I shall not rest until the harsh and antiquated McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 has been repealed or completely rewritten to meet the pressing need for a more humane and sensible immigration policy.

REPUBLICANS SCUTTLE IMPORTANT BILLS

The Republicans again killed the school-construction bill. There is a lamentable lack of adequate schools throughout our country; our children are forced to attend overcrowded schools; schoolhouses in many areas are run down and in dangerous states of disrepair. The future of our country depends upon the education and training we give our youth. Defeat of the bill cheated our children of benefits that are justly theirs and our Nation will suffer as a result of this unwise action on the part of those who voted against the legislation.

Eisenhower said he wanted a Federal school-construction bill; yet he never raised his voice when the measure was being considered. This is another instance of failure on his part to be well-informed and to assert his leadership.

Tax relief was promised us, but the administration has bitterly fought every effort to lower income taxes. At the same time, loopholes in the present law have made it possible for Big Business to profit by tremendous tax writeoffs. The average taxpayer, because of record-breaking high living costs, can barely exist, but the industrialists wax fat on huge profits and tax exemptions.

Wages have not kept pace with increasing living costs. I introduced a bill to increase the minimum wage to $1.25 per hour. Stiff opposition on the part of the Republicans has prevented action on this legislation.

The administration vigorously opposed pay increases for postal workers and classified employees. In spite of the President's threat to veto the measures, the Senate and House passed pay increase bills. I was pleased to have the opportunity to vote in favor of the sorely needed pay increases.

Social security should be liberalized and extended, but Democratic efforts to get action on legislation to increase benefits have failed because of lack of cooperation on the part of the administration.

Housing continues to be a major problem. Legislation passed during this session is helpful to the building industry and to those financially able to own their own homes, but the greatest need is for more federally aided housing projects to house those in low-income and middle-income brackets. The Republicans have cut the number of housing units at every opportunity and, so far, the Democrats have been unable to increase the number to the figure provided in the original Democratic housing program.

The mistrust generated by Secretary Dulles and lack of faith in our President and Secretary of State to wage a successful fight in matters of foreign policy increase daily as we watch the United States losing ground in the Middle East and as the Soviet Union accomplishes one successful coup after the other. There has been no decisive action on the part of the administration to achieve peace and therefore Israel remains vulnerable to attack by her enemies. Until the 9-year Arab-Israeli deadlock is broken there can be no real peace in the world. I, of course, shall continue my efforts in behalf of Israel and try to help her at every opportunity.

MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

In view of ever-increasing living costs and the fact that wage increases have not kept pace to meet them my efforts to help consumers have continued. I introduced, among others, bills to help veterans and their dependents; for tax relief to annuitants; to increase personal income-tax exemptions; to repeal excise taxes; to end discrimination against older workers.

BRONX CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE

Just a reminder that my congressional office at 938 Simpson Street, Bronx, is open daily. My constituents are welcome to call there and to take up any problems they may have. I also urge them to write me so that I may have the benefit of their views regarding legislation. I also invite them to call at my office, 1723 House Office Building, when they visit Washington.

The Hopes and Fears of the Young in This Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a very interesting article, by Eugene Gilbert, of Youth Research, appearing in the June 27 issue of the Worcester (Mass.) Evening Gazette, containing an account of the reaction of teen-agers to the potentialities of the atom bomb and atomic energy.

The article follows:

TEEN-AGERS AND THE ATOM BOMB

(By Eugene Gilbert)

Growing up in the shadow of the atomic mushroom, most of today's teen-agers hope it portends good rather than evil.

Three out of four youngsters say they are happy atomic energy was discovered.

One in three thinks the atomic bomb will end wars.

Only 1 in 4 thinks it's likely to destroy mankind.

At the same time, 55 percent concede they do have fears for the atomic future. A Wisconsin girl sums hers up this way:

"Let's not talk about it. It sends chills up and down my spine—and I don't mean the kind you get when you look at a handsome boy, either."

A 15-year-old boy, one of the non-frightened 38 percent, takes a more fatalistic view:

"What's to be afraid of? You've got to die sometime—and I don't think one bomb is going to do it, anyway."

"People talk themselves into all sorts of stupid things," says another youngster. "The sky isn't going to fall down tomorrow but still some people worry about it."

SEE GOOD PREVAILING

Generally, the girls we questioned in a national survey were more fearful than the boys.

But frightened or not, 4 out of 5 teen-agers think atomic energy has greater possibilities for good than for evil.

"The atom can be a very helpful tool if we are wise enough to use it in the right way and not for destroying ourselves," says a Philadelphia girl.

"Unless the higher ups really go crazy, our civilization will stride forward because of atomic energy," observes a New Jersey boy.

BOON AND DISASTER

"For me personally, the discovery of atomic power with its benefits to mankind is the major happening of the 20th century," enthuses an 18 year old.

Speaking for the pessimistic minority, a Connecticut youth asserts:

"The forces of evil have caused the development of atomic energy. Perhaps the forces still left for good in the world will be able to drive it out before we all have to pay the penalty."

"I feel we would all be better off if it had not been developed because it can do more harm than good," adds a New Yorker.

MOST DOUBT WAR

On the question of whether there will be an atomic war, some 36 percent say "Yes," while 47 percent say "No."

"Nations will be too wary ever to fight a full-scale war," says a Brooklyn boy hopefully.

"There will always be wars and more wars," counters a pessimistic Georgia youngster. "It will take more than a good scare to stop governments from wanting to crush other governments."

"It all depends upon nations' ability to cooperate and the role of power politics, but I am sure it will all work out," says a cautious optimist of 19.

PESSIMISTIC

While those feeling that atomic energy is likely to destroy mankind are in the minority, they state their case with blunt finality.

"I think we are destined to destroy ourselves," says a Sarah Lawrence College student.

"Everything points to the end of civilization as we presently know it," prophesies a college sophomore.

TWENTY YEARS TO LIVE

"I think it's already too late to stop the powers that be from causing our destruction and that of those around us," is the grim warning from a 15-year-old Los Angeles boy.

"We're finished, man," says one young pessimist, "whether we like to admit it or not. Maybe not today or tomorrow, but you can count on a big bang one of these fine days."

It is interesting to note that of that group 5 percent foresee an end to mankind in 5 years, 9 percent in 5 to 10 years, 10 percent in 10 to 20 years, and 64 percent in more than 20 years.

SOME HOPE

But, on the bright side, there are those who believe every bit as firmly that there is a future for homo sapiens.

"I think eventual fear of atomic energy will end war and atomic energy will be used to benefit mankind," predicts a New Haven, Conn., boy.

"Nothing can wipe us off the face of the earth," concludes a Chicago girl, with the faith and bright confidence of her 16 years.

British Planning Atomic Powerplant Seven Times Size of Calder Hall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article appearing in the August issue of Atom entitled "Hinkley Point Power Station," which follows:

HINKLEY POINT POWER STATION

The Minister of Power has given his consent to the construction by the Central Electricity Authority of a nuclear power station at Hinkley Point, Somerset. A public inquiry into the proposal was held at Bridgwater by inspectors from the Ministries of Power and Housing and Local Government.

The Minister has considered very carefully, in consultation with the Minister of Housing and Local Government, the evidence given and the submissions made on behalf of the parties at the inquiry. He appreciates that, as pointed out at the inquiry, the coast at Hinkley Point has a character at present isolated and undeveloped, but sites for nuclear power stations as suitable as that at Hinkley Point are very difficult to find and the Minister does not consider that a power station on this site will seriously affect the amenities in this sparsely populated area or be unduly conspicuous when seen from neighboring viewpoints.

In a letter to the county council, and also in evidence at the inquiry, the central electricity authority have given a number of assurances in connection with this project. In particular, the authority intend to appoint a landscape consultant in connection with the landscaping of the site and architects of the highest standing will be employed for the buildings. The authority will also discuss the design of the buildings with the county council at an early stage, and will consult with the county council and the Williton rural district council on the question of providing public paths in substitution for rights of way which may need to be diverted or stopped up. Public access to the foreshore in the neighborhood of the power station will only have to be restricted during the period of construction.

It is expected that the output capacity of this station will be 500 megawatts, equal to that of the Battersea Power Station—or 7 times that of Calder Hall. The highest building will be 175 feet. There will, however, be no tall chimneys, and only very short vents about roof level and hardly visible. There will be no cooling towers. The station will be connected with the 275-kilovolt supergrid line which is planned to run between Melksham (near Bath) and Exeter, but it is intended that the route for this connection should be well clear of the Quantocks and Brean Down.

Milford, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, the Milford Chamber of Commerce, of Milford, Clermont County, Ohio, is one of the finest organizations of business and professional men in southern Ohio. Under date of August 15, 1957, the Milford Chamber of Commerce in special session adopted the following resolution which I deem to be of sufficient importance to be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Whereas it is our considered judgment that the cost of our Federal Government is too great and unnecessarily so; and

Whereas necessary reduction of the cost of Government would result to the benefit of Democrats and Republicans alike; and

Whereas the Honorable Herbert C. Hoover, distinguished, able, and devout patriot, who gives so much and takes so little, has just recently celebrated his 83d birthday: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Milford Chamber of Commerce, Milford, Ohio, respectfully exhort the Congress to honor Ex-President Hoover and the members of his commission by adopting the accrued budget as presented by the commission for congressional consideration; and be it further

Resolved, That we send commendations to Ex-President Harry S. Truman for his practical wisdom and political courage in bringing the great talents of Mr. Hoover to labor for more efficient and less costly government and that copies of this resolution be sent to Mr. Hoover, Mr. Truman, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Senator Lyndon Johnson, Senator William F. Know-

land, Senator Bricker, Senator Lausche, Speaker Sam Rayburn, Representative John McCormack, Representative Joe Martin, Representative Clarence J. Brown, Representative James G. Polk, Representative Gordon Scherer, the Cincinnati Times-Star, the Cincinnati Post, the Miami Valley News, the Clermont Courier, the Milford Advertiser, and the Cincinnati Enquirer whose editorial inspired this resolution.

Duly adopted in special session August 15, 1957.

GEORGE H. DAY,
President.
JOHN HARDOERFER,
Executive Secretary.

Address by Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, Before the 58th National Encampment, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Miami Beach, Fla., Monday, August 26, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I have recently had the privilege of attending the 58th annual encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars held during the past week in Miami, Fla.

It is always a pleasure to me to renew and strengthen my ties of friendship with the members of this fine patriotic organization dedicated to the defense of our country and specifically to the perpetuation of the ideals and way of life on which our Nation was founded and has since followed. The continual effort of the VFW to protect our national inheritance of freedom is to be commended and appreciated by all Americans.

This year, the encampment was highlighted by the presentation to Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, of the VFW commander in chief's Gold Medal award for distinguished citizenship. This highest award of the VFW was made to Admiral Burke for his contributions to national security.

The selection of Admiral Burke to receive this coveted citation was indeed an appropriate and timely recognition of the great service which this dedicated officer has given our country.

It is not without cause that Admiral Burke has come to be recognized as a steadying force—a balance wheel, so to speak—in our highest military councils. In this period when we hear so much about friction and unwarranted rivalry between the increments of our military services, Admiral Burke has become a symbol of progress and efficiency through cooperation and understanding. His attitude toward and manner of dealing with the important problems which face our military and naval leaders today could well be noted by all who are interested in this vital aspect of our national security.

This important attribute is in addition to Admiral Burke's indisputable forte as a brilliant strategic thinker and planner—an indispensable ingredient in the successful military leader.

The tribute paid to Admiral Burke by the Veterans of Foreign Wars was justly deserved. The VFW is to be commended for their recognition of the great contributions of Admiral Burke.

Another highlight of this encampment was the appearance and speech of the distinguished Commandant of the Marine Corps, Gen. Randolph McCall Pate. The tremendous ovation given General Pate by the members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars was indicative of the high regard in which General Pate is held by those who appreciate the role ever played by the Marines in the safeguarding of our Nation.

General Pate, the gentleman and the leader, is unfailingly a pleasure to be with. He told the encampment what they hoped to hear—and I guess already knew—that the Marine Corps, as our combat force in readiness, as always, was ready to go wherever and whenever they were needed.

True to the Marine tradition of getting the best out of its officers and enlisted personnel, General Pate struck a particularly pertinent note when he told the encampment that the boys our country produces today are the soundest and finest on the face of the earth. General Pate's speech is printed elsewhere in the RECORD.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee and as an officer in the United States Naval Reserve, I am proud of these two outstanding officers.

Those at the VFW encampment expressed many favorable comments upon the inspiring manner in which Admiral Burke and General Pate represented the Department of the Navy. It is easy to understand why there is such widespread belief throughout the country that the naval services today have the finest Navy-Marine command team in history. This reassuring situation with respect to the uniformed heads of the Navy and Marine Corps is the direct result of the close relationship between Admiral Burke and General Pate. This relationship between the uniformed chiefs of the Navy and Marine Corps has been reflected down through the entire chain of command in both services. The result is a spirit of mutual respect, understanding and cooperation that is all too rare in these times. I am certain that the leadership example set by the Chief of Naval Operations and the Commandant of the Marine Corps could well be emulated by the other services.

This smooth-functioning, efficient, cooperative teamwork between the Navy and the Marine Corps, resulting from the Burke-Pate leadership, is a credit to the administrative ability of the Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates, Jr.

These few words I have spoken are not, I hasten to assure you, exclusively my personal conclusion. These attributes of Admiral Burke and General Pate are so striking, and the favorable conditions they have created so apparent, that comment has been generated throughout our Nation. Editorials in periodicals the width and breadth of the country have expressed approbation of the outstanding contributions of Admiral Burke and General Pate.

I commend to the attention of this House the speech of Admiral Burke before the Veterans of Foreign Wars 58th annual encampment, together with an editorial from the August 27 issue of the New York Times reflecting the widespread admiration which the country has for the steadying influence of Admiral Burke in these critical days:

ADDRESS BY ADM. ARLEIGH A. BURKE

Commander in Chief Holt, members of this great patriotic organization, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and ladies of the auxiliary, I accept this award with deep appreciation and humility. While you have honored me personally, I accept this award not for myself but on behalf of the wonderful men and women of the United States Navy. In the final analysis it is these fine youngsters, from your homes and your communities, who are the real strength of your Navy. They are the ones who stand a vigilant watch in our fleets around the world today. On behalf of everyone in the Navy, we pledge to you that we shall do everything possible to continue to merit the confidence which you have symbolized by this award.

You have conferred upon me the additional honor of speaking to you at this opening convocation of the 58th national encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. This honor I accepted with deep appreciation. As a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars I am, of course, aware of the basic objectives and interests of this organization.

Patriotism, belief in our Constitution, and devotion to the way of life which it provides are basic concepts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Your organization understands clearly the subtle and open dangers of world communism. You defend with resolute determination our Nation and our liberty against the evil forces of communism.

These also are the essential faiths of those who serve in the Armed Forces. These are the motivations, the beliefs, and the aspirations of those who now serve, as you have served, in the military services of the United States.

You may rest assured that the young men and women whom you have sent from your homes, the products of our schools, of our communities, and of our churches, are superior to those who bear arms in the name of the Communist tyranny.

The strength of our young men is rooted in the simple, homespun teachings of Americanism, a belief in God, and devotion to country. This is the heritage of freedom which has been passed from generation to generation of American fighting men. This is the essence of the moral right and spiritual strength, which veterans such as you have passed to those who now stand where you stood, in the ranks of the defenders of our Nation.

Belief in God, faithful devotion to a country of freemen, represent intangible but overwhelming strength, which distinguishes our fighting man from the military vassals of communism. These moral and spiritual strengths give to our fighting men a quality unknown to those who march under the banners of the hammer and sickle.

You can depend upon the young American because he is better. He is better, tougher, and a more resourceful fighting man than anything the Communists can muster.

But we all know well that our fighting forces must have, in addition to these moral and spiritual attributes, the most efficient weapons and leadership. We would, indeed, be putting a tragic burden upon our fight-

ing men if we did not give them the finest weapons and leadership that human effort can provide.

For the past 2 years I have, as Chief of Naval Operations, served as a member of your Joint Chiefs of Staff. On the basis of this privileged experience I can report to you, without reservation, that the Armed Forces of the United States are doing the job you want them to do.

During my service as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff I have had an excellent opportunity to observe my colleagues in the joint chiefs, who are also the uniformed heads of their respective services. They are men of whom you can be justifiably proud. They have, without exception, rare qualities of leadership and superior professional knowledge. As the military heads of the services, they work continuously to improve the individual services for which they are responsible. They have been eminently successful, because our military services—all of our military services—are the best, the most modern military services in the world today.

This continuous effort toward progress is being made by each of our fine military services. Each is making a significant contribution to the overall advancement and progress of our national defense team. There is a wholesome, reassuring cooperative effort among your armed services to give our country the military power the Veterans of Foreign Wars has long urged as necessary to guard against the predatory forces which threaten our freedom.

It has been an inspiring experience, as well as an honor, to work together with the military chiefs of the other services in the common effort to give our country better national security.

It has been a rare privilege to work with, to observe, and to know my colleagues in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, both professionally and personally.

It has been a reassuring two years in which I have been able to sit down and work, in an atmosphere of cooperation and sincerity, with such able leaders as Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Chief of Staff of the Army, Gen. Randolph Pate, Commandant of the Marine Corps, Gen. Nate Twining, former Chief of Staff of the Air Force, and his distinguished and able successor, Gen. Thomas White.

In particular I wish to pay my respects to the retiring chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Radford. Few men of our time have contributed more to our Nation than has Admiral Radford during his long naval career.

Our Nation continues to be fortunate in having a man of the proven ability of Gen. Nate Twining, who as you know, has recently succeeded Admiral Redford as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Telling you of the fine cooperative spirit that exists among members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff does not mean to imply that my colleagues are not men of strong conviction. They most certainly do have strong professional and individual beliefs as to what is required to give our Nation and the free world the protection we must have.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff differ occasionally on the basis of professional background or personal belief. But there is never any doubt that the determination and strong will of each are based on the common objective of doing what is best for the country. Each member knows that strong convictions on the part of men of good will are an important basis for arriving at the best possible defense within a reasonable budget. There is no major problem affecting our national security that cannot be resolved by men of strong but fair attitudes.

The longer I serve in the Joint Chiefs of Staff the firmer becomes my assurance that my colleagues are imbued with a common desire, motivated by a common objective, and dedicated to a common purpose. Their common goal is to provide the versatile, hard-hitting military power that will assure the preservation of our Nation and our freedom.

This cooperative team efficiency, which characterizes the strength of the Joint Chiefs of Staff system, underscores the wisdom and farsightedness of the position long held by the Veterans of Foreign Wars on this matter. You Veterans of Foreign Wars can justifiably feel a sense of deep satisfaction from your unswerving support of our American Joint Chiefs of Staff system. The combat history of World War II, recent events, and events which occur almost daily, combine to justify your stand in support of our Joint Chiefs of Staff system. In hot war and in cold war our American-developed Joint Chiefs team concept has demonstrated clear superiority over any system of one-man rule.

The armed services and the Nation as a whole are indebted to the Veterans of Foreign Wars for the constant and determined stand you have taken in support of the laws which make the American Joint Chiefs of Staff system the keystone of our defense structure.

Turning now to the subject of our Nation's seapower, you would probably be surprised if you did not hear from me on this subject. It would surprise me, too.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars have long insisted that our country be provided with modern, hard-hitting, fast-moving, balanced fleets. You deserve the thanks of all Americans for your timely recognition of the really serious implications of the continuing rise of Soviet seapower. Our Nation is more secure because of the stand your organization has taken on this matter.

The fundamental dangers arising from growing Soviet seapower have been pointed up in the perceptive, well-informed resolutions of your previous encampments.

In calling attention to the increasing might of the Soviet Navy you have helped our Nation recognize one of the great strategic realities of our time.

There is not, even now, adequate appreciation in many quarters of the critical world problems created by the Kremlin's maritime expansion.

Whatever else the men in the Kremlin may be, they are hard, cold, and ruthless strategists. They have keenly and accurately appraised the geographical nature of the free world.

They realize the fundamental fact that the non-Communist world is geographically, economically, and strategically a vast oceanic confederation.

They know, as we know, that it is the sea that provides the highways of commerce and trade that nurture the free world in peace. They know also that the sealanes are the strategic sinews that alone can bind the free world together in time of war.

The men in the Kremlin know too that the United States and her allies depend on sea transportation for the raw materials for our industries in peace and the strategic materials in time of war. They know that our allies throughout the world can prosper in peace and be supported in war only as long as we control the seas.

There is no empty theory behind the rising threat of Communist naval power. It is cold, hard fact.

When World War II ended the United States was the number 1 seapower, Great Britain was second, and the Soviet Union was down among the lesser naval nations. In a short span of 12 years the world has witnessed an astounding shift in international power relations. The Soviet Union has now replaced Great Britain as the second ranking seapower in the world.

The naval building rate of the Soviet Union since World War II has exceeded all other peacetime naval construction programs in history. They have a large, well-rounded Navy. They already have the largest submarine force in history, and they are still building submarines at the rate of about 100 a year, a rate never equaled by any nation at peace.

They are devoting great effort to development of submarines capable of launching guided missiles against metropolitan and industrial targets in any part of the world.

Your Navy is working constantly to improve our capabilities against a submarine offensive if it should come.

The versatile forces we are developing, our ships, aircraft and missiles—all of them—are designed to play their part in the fight against the submarine. They must be designed also to oppose all other threats to our control of the sea as well.

At this moment we do not have all the answers needed to perfect defenses against enemy submarine attacks. There are some tough problems yet to be solved. Able and dedicated officers, enlisted men and civilian scientists are working tirelessly to create the defense we must have. I am confident that we will succeed.

Meanwhile, it would be dangerous and somewhat less than frank if we were to minimize the threat which Soviet seapower poses to our survival.

There is one encouraging aspect of our naval development that I would particularly like to bring you up to date on at this time. We now have in commission, under construction, or authorized for construction by the Congress, a total of 21 ships which will be propelled by nuclear powerplants. This includes 19 nuclear-powered submarines. The first of these is *Nautilus*, which on January 17, 1955, sent her now-famous message "underway on nuclear power." *Seawolf* has since joined the fleet, and we are launching the fourth nuclear submarine at our Navy Shipyard at Portsmouth, N. H., tomorrow. Four of the nuclear-powered submarines now authorized will carry missiles.

The nuclear-powered cruiser *Long Beach* is being built by Bethlehem Steel at Quincy, Mass. We have recently announced the contract for the nuclear-powered carrier to the shipyard at Newport News, Va. To round out our nuclear-propulsion program we hope to ask the Congress to authorize the construction of a nuclear-powered frigate.

Your Navy has powerful forces deployed today in distant waters. Such distant deployment would require an attack by our Nation's enemy against our distant naval forces, attacks which otherwise might be directed toward our cities and industries.

The protection of this country is not based on a defense line through New York and Miami, or Boston and Seattle. That is not good enough in the nuclear-missile age. Our outer barrier against enemy aggression must be away from our shores, out into the practically endless reaches of the distant seas.

The nature of the East-West conflict, together with the technological developments of our time, are placing an ever-greater importance upon sea power. The ability to maintain freedom of the seas assures the wellbeing of the free world in time of cold war. Control of the seas is the key to survival and victory in event we are attacked.

Your Navy is helping man the distant ramparts of the free world, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

With its ships, aircraft, and landing forces on distant stations, the Navy maintains our first line of defense overseas.

Your Navy is ready. And your Navy is determined to give our country the maximum in defense for every dollar made available to us.

Important as the Navy is to survival in the nuclear-missile age, the Navy alone cannot protect our Nation and the free world. No one weapon, no one service by itself, can, by itself defend our Nation and our allies. Suc-

cessful, efficient defense requires teamwork in which all our military services participate. The Army and the Air Force, and our wonderful, hard-fighting, seagoing partners, the Marine Corps, all are indispensable elements of our defense team. We need them all.

The strength of the United States depends upon the interest and understanding of defense problems by the American people. The Veterans of Foreign Wars, and its members as individuals, have done much to assure that our Nation will have a strong, versatile force for defense. Our Nation is more secure because of what your organization has done to bring to our Nation a deeper understanding of the necessity for a strong defense posture in these perilous times.

You are performing a great and a necessary role. Ours is a better Nation and a stronger Nation because of you.

It has been an unforgettable pleasure to be with you. On behalf of the men and women of your Navy, I thank you for the honor you have bestowed on me.

In concluding I salute you, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

You served in war.

You are serving in peace.

Yours is the kind of patriotism by which a nation endures.

[From the New York Times of August 27, 1957]

THE JOINT CHIEFS' TEAM

"A soft answer turneth away wrath." Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, remembered the Biblical injunction yesterday in his address in Miami to the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Admiral Burke is a fighting leader; he has given the Navy a new dynamism and he could never be accused of failing to uphold his service point of view. But he has always stated his case without rancor, personal bitterness or recriminations against other members of the defense team.

His tribute yesterday to the other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to that body as a corporate entity was, therefore, to be expected from Admiral Burke, but was nevertheless refreshing in this time of service disputes, and unwarranted criticism of the heads of our services.

There is "never any doubt," the Admiral said, that the "common objective of the good of the country is the goal of each member of the Joint Chiefs. * * * "There is no major problem affecting our national security that cannot be resolved by men of strong but fair attitudes. * * * In hot war and in cold war our American-developed Joint Chiefs team concept has demonstrated clear superiority over any system of one-man rule."

Admiral Burke's recipe for leadership—team effort and praise for the other members of the team—should be the rule in Washington; it would ease many of the service rough spots that lie ahead.

James P. Wesberry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I have read with appreciation the remarks of the gentleman from California [Mr. DOYLE] carried at page A6670 and paying tribute to the chaplains of the Senate and House. Our colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. DOYLE] has rendered a helpful service in assembling and publishing this information. The list of chaplains of the House from the beginning of the Congress includes only the regularly elected chaplains. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add this footnote with reference to the fine service rendered by one of the acting chaplains during the illness of the beloved chaplain James Shera Montgomery. I refer to the chaplaincy of James P. Wesberry in 1949. In his brief service as acting chaplain Dr. Wesberry endeared himself to the Members and formed lasting friendships here. His inspiring prayers were published as House Document 344 of the 81st Congress.

Unabated Greed—A Protest by a Philadelphia Builder and Developer to Increased Discounts on FHA Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, in recent days I have received a letter from a friend of mine who is engaged in the home-building field in the Philadelphia area, and his letter points up so well a serious situation in regard to mortgage financing that I feel it deserves the attention of the entire membership of the House and of the Senate as well. Consequently, under unanimous consent, I am submitting this letter for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Since the letter was written for my personal information, I have decided to delete the name of the constituent who sent it to me, because I would certainly not like to see him subjected to possible reprisals from the financial institutions with which he has to deal for having called this to my attention so forcefully.

He points out that before the FHA interest rate was raised an additional one-quarter percent, the discount rate on FHA mortgages in Philadelphia was between one-half and 1 percent—meaning the builder or buyer had to pay a side payment or premium of that percentage of the mortgage in order to get financing on a home.

FHA mortgages, as we know, are fully insured by the Federal Government, so the lender takes no risk whatsoever. Even so, on such mortgages, the lender was able to demand and get this additional side payment of from one-half to 1 percent as a further price of making the insured loan and inducement.

Now, however, my constituent points out, even though the FHA interest rate has been increased by one-quarter percent—the second increase in a year—assuring higher returns for the lenders who issue FHA-insured loans, FHA has also set a maximum discount rate in the Philadelphia area of 1½ percent—and the lenders are insisting on this full additional amount.

I think this will probably be the first time in history—

This constituent wrote to me—

that the interest rate and the discount rate were increased at the same time, and if that is not an outrage and typical example of unabated greed, then I do not know what greed means.

The full text of the letter in question is as follows:

Just in case liberal Members of Congress like yourself should become incensed upon receipt of information of the policy adopted by the banking industry as explained below, I would like to register or add my protest to what should develop in a flood of protests on the part of home builders and citizens who are in the market for the purchase of a home.

For the past few months, until the release of the new FHA downpayment policy, raising the interest rate one-quarter of 1 percent and lowering the downpayment in accordance with the action of Congress, the discount rate on mortgages was between one-half and 1 percent.

At the same time the release of the new terms were made public the Administration also informed the banking industry that a ceiling would be set on discount rates and that the ceiling in the Philadelphia area would be 1½ percent.

Instead of the bankers taking the additional one-quarter of 1 percent interest and delivering mortgages at par, the greedy so-and-so's are demanding and setting the discount rate at the full 1½ percent permitted under the Executive order.

I think this will probably be the first time in history that the interest rate and the discount rate were increased at the same time, and if that is not an outrage and typical example of unabated greed, then I do not know what greed means.

I certainly feel that the banking interest should be blasted publicly by Congress, and shown up for this outrageous action.

I know that unless fellows like myself call such things to your attention, you would not have the information on which to take appropriate action.

America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include, at this time, a very pertinent article, appearing in the June 30 issue of the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram containing some most inspiring comments on the 125th anniversary of the famous hymn, America.

The article follows:

AN ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICA

Americans do well to observe the 125th anniversary of the famous hymn America. They need have no fear about singing it as often and as spiritedly as they wish. There was a time, a generation and more ago, when things were different. Then there was a race between America and The Star-Spangled Banner.

Largely through the efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, it was The Star-Spangled Banner which won, despite the fact that it is hard for the untrained voice to sing, on account of its wide range. On March 3, 1931, Congress passed a measure declaring that the "composition known as The Star-Spangled Banner is designated as

the national anthem of the United States of America." That made it official.

But Americans have not lost any love for America. The strong and stately strains of God Save the King, combined with the lofty words by the Reverend Dr. Samuel F. Smith, make America a great national hymn. The theme is as appropriate today as it was in 1832, perhaps even more so. "Sweet land of liberty * * * Let freedom ring * * * Land of the noble free * * * Sweet freedom's song * * * Author of liberty * * * With freedom's holy light."

America has patriotic fervor without vainglory—love of country, love of freedom, faith in God. After 125 years, Americans may realize its beauty and appropriateness anew. "Let music swell the breeze."

Report to the People of the Second District of New Hampshire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PERKINS BASS

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 85th Congress has adjourned and we are now able to appraise its accomplishments and their effect on the Nation and the Second Congressional District in New Hampshire which I am privileged to represent in Congress. This has been an unusual session, for although it followed within weeks the sweeping reelection victory of President Eisenhower, the Congress has been led by the opposing party, and for the first time a President has served under a two-term constitutional limitation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The drive of international communism for world domination continues unabated, and with the memory of the brutal Hungarian suppression last fall and the decline of western European influence in the Middle East, international considerations have dominated much of the work and thinking of the Congress. Programs of economic and military foreign aid for our allies, and a continued high level of expenditures for national defense were closely examined and approved under increasing inflationary pressure and world tension. Early in this session, the Congress wisely supported the Eisenhower doctrine—a program of support for our friends in the vital Middle East.

SPENDING

During fiscal year 1957 we again enjoyed a balanced budget, and a resulting small surplus which was applied to debt reduction. Through stringent economies mostly on domestic spending, the Congress, working with the administration, has been able to reduce by more than $4 billion the original budget estimates for 1958. I supported many reductions consistent with national security in the belief that in a period of inflation the Government should make every effort to postpone or cut back on all but the most essential expenses. Reducing appropriations is one of two effective means of decreasing the cost of Government. The second, a more positive approach, is to increase efficiency, and in this respect I introduced 5 bills which implement the most important recommendations of the Hoover Commission. They speak for themselves. First, government shall not engage in business-type operations that compete with private enterprise; second, have the budget presented annually on the basis of accrued expenditures so that the Congress will have closer control over actual spending; third, have the military services use each other's vacant storage space to prevent duplicated facilities; fourth, permit a more business-like distribution of Government surpluses; and, fifth, create a civilian-managed agency to administer common supply and service activities for the armed services.

TAXES

I am hopeful that next year we will have a sufficient budget surplus through continued Government economies and reductions in spending to permit substantial tax relief to the income taxpayer and to small business.

SMALL BUSINESS

During the year the important Banking and Currency Committee on which I serve enacted several measures of importance to our economy. Before this committee come matters pertaining to small business which forms the backbone of our New Hampshire economy. This session we enacted legislation to extend the life of the Small Business Administration for 1 year, and have increased the SBA's authorization for loans which will be used to aid smaller businesses. Next year we hope to take action that will establish the SBA as a permanent agency to carry on its work, and soon the people of New Hampshire will see an office of the SBA opened in Concord to deal with their special problems.

Also before this committee come questions in regard to housing. I am happy to say that just recently the FHA announced it is liberalizing downpayment requirements for purchasing a home, thus making the dream of home ownership a reality for many families.

POULTRY CRISIS

As New Hampshire is a rural State, we are naturally interested in agriculture, particularly the poultry farmer who accounts for roughly one-half of our agricultural income. And today the poultry industry is sick. In view of this critical situation, I have worked in close cooperation with the Department of Agriculture to formulate a plan that would help restore the poultry industry to its once healthy State without Government controls or interference. To accomplish this purpose, I introduced a 7-point program calling for increased Government purchasing of eggs and broilers for the armed services and other Government agencies; restriction on Government credit agencies dealing with poultry expansion; increased domestic and foreign consumption of eggs and broilers; and a "clear the air" investigation of integration by the Justice Department's Antitrust Division.

INTERNAL SECURITY

Congress wisely enacted legislation requested by the administration which restricts the use of FBI files by criminals and subversives without violating their constitutional rights. This law was necessary to clear up doubts which had arisen from a recent decision of the Supreme Court on the question of FBI files.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Congress enacted a moderate civil-rights bill—one which we hope will insure that the Negro will vote in increasing numbers in every part of the country, and that through this power of the ballot, they will enjoy increasing civil rights in other fields. Although this is not a real issue in New Hampshire, it is very controversial in other parts of the country, and has dominated the latter part of this session.

CATHEDRAL OF THE PINES

Senator BRIDGES and I were fortunate and honored to have sponsored and worked for the passage of a resolution of the Congress recognizing the dedication of the famous Altar of the Nation located at the Cathedral of the Pines in Rindge, N. H., as a memorial to all American war dead.

SUMMARY

Except for civil rights, relatively little legislation of importance was passed at this session, other than the necessary routine business of providing funds to run our Government. This was partly, but not entirely due to a divided Republican administration and Democratic Congress. We can hope in the 2d session of the 85th Congress that sound legislation will be enacted covering many areas of direct concern to us in New Hampshire.

During the recess, I intend to conduct office hours in some 60 cities and larger towns in every county of the Second District. I hope that as many of you as possible will stop by during office hours in your area to see me and discuss your problems.

Amending Chapter 233, Title 18, United States Code

SPEECH

OF

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this bill is a stronger bill than either the House or the Senate versions which preceded it.

Its purpose is to protect Government files as a result of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Jencks case and to clarify the situation arising from that decision.

In the Jencks case the Supreme Court ruled that after a Government witness had testified, the defendant had the right to inspect previous statements made by that witness and in the possession of the Government. This decision was based on the rule of evidence that a defendant can impeach the veracity of a witness by questioning him on prior inconsistent statements, and has certain rights to see

such statements. It went somewhat further than previous decisions in stressing the rights of the defendant.

Prompt action by the Congress was essential because some of the lower Federal courts were running wild as a result of the Jencks decision. They had permitted accused persons to rummage through Government files, and in one case even to inspect transcripts of grand jury hearings.

The bill just passed by Congress limits the effects of this decision. It makes it clear that the defendant has no right under the Jencks ruling to see a prior statement of a Government witness until such witness has testified, and not under any pretrial procedures. It limits the statements which can be inspected to those which relate to the subject matter of the testimony of the witness, and it further limits them to a written statement made by the witness—or adopted by him—or to an oral statement made by the witness to an agent of the Government and recorded contemporaneously.

If the Government contends that the prior statement does not relate to the subject matter testified to by the witness, the statement is submitted to the trial judge in chambers without being shown to the defendant, and he can excise portions of the statement which do not have such relevancy.

This bill should be helpful in clarifying the situation, but I regret that it was necessary for the Congress to act with some haste. I believe that it would have been extremely helpful to have had available the result of the mature study of the Jencks decision which will undoubtedly be made by law schools, bar associations, and other legal authorities.

I believe that as a result of further study it may be possible to devise even more effective provisions to protect secret Government files. Perhaps more discretion could be allowed to the trial judge. In the Jencks case the Supreme Court was giving its interpretation of the law, and did not base its rulings on constitutional requirements. If so, it is entirely within the province of the Congress to change the existing law, so long as the new procedure which it establishes does not violate due process of law.

The Land of Opportunity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include a most revealing and interesting article by Sylvia Porter, appearing in the June 14, 1957, issue of the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram.

This statistical compilation unhappily reminds us that 96 percent of Americans have incomes under $10,000, and 74 percent under $5,000.

However, the article does hold out some hope that "you, too, can become a millionaire," but you have about one chance in a billion.

The article follows:

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY STILL CREATES MILLIONAIRES

(By Sylvia Porter)

The odds that you or I ever will have an income of a million dollars a year or a half or a quarter or a tenth of a million are mighty meager, to put it most modestly.

Rather, the Internal Revenue Service's just-released final analysis of our 1954 income-tax returns indicates a full 96 percent of us had incomes of under $10,000 and over 74 percent of us had incomes of under $5,000. And while tens of millions of us have moved into higher brackets since 1954, the basic income pattern is the same.

FASCINATING STATISTICS

Nevertheless, I confess that ever since the days of the New Deal—when the lament that none of us ever would be able to become wealthy again in our land moved into our folklore—I have been utterly fascinated by statistics revealing how many Americans have achieved the income stratosphere of $100,000 to $1 million a year. Somehow, I suspect that you too harbor a secret curiosity about this—so here goes, with the results of three separate studies on high incomes which by coincidence have all been released in the last several days.

According to the Internal Revenue Service's survey of income tax returns:

ROSE IN 1954

In 1954, the number of $1-million-a-year Americans zoomed 39 percent over 1953 to a total of 201. (That, incidentally, was the period of the 1953–54 recession.) The 201 Americans had an eye-popping total income of $406.5 million.

The number in the $100,000 to $1 million group rose 19 percent to an impressive 18,509. There is no question that many more have entered this fabulously well-heeled group since 1954.

According to a Business Week survey of top executive salaries:

In 1956, seven executives of American corporations received salaries of over $500,000.

Their names? Eugene G. Grace, chairman of Bethlehem Steel; Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors; Arthur B. Homer, president of Bethlehem Steel; Crawford H. Greenewalt, president of du Pont; Frederic G. Donner, executive vice president of General Motors; Louis C. Goad, executive vice president of General Motors; and Robert E. McMath, vice president of Bethlehem Steel.

One among these seven—Grace—received a pay hike that boosted him, in solitary splendor, to more than $800,000, the first man to earn that much a year since Business Week started the surveys in 1950.

THOSE OVER $300,000

In addition to the top 7, another 16 received salaries of over $300,000 a year.

Their corporations? Of the 16, 4 are with Ford, 3 with Du Pont, 2 with Columbia Broadcasting System, and the others are with United Merchants & Manufacturers, Union Carbide, Republic Steel, Distillers Corp.-Seagrams, General Motors, Procter & Gamble, and Gulf Oil.

And according to the American Management Association sixth annual survey of salaries in the "middle management" category:

In 1957, the average business executive in the middle management category is earning nearly 6 percent more than he earned last year.

Of over 6,000 middle management executives surveyed, three-quarters received salary raises last year. In large companies, middle management salaries may go as high as $30,000.

TAXES REDUCE TOTAL

Of course, taxes slash the total incomes. For instance, the estimate is the tax bite shrinks Grace's take home to about $133,000. And out of the $406.5 million reported by the 201 millionaires, taxes took over $222 million.

But by any standard you can mention, these top salary and income men must be called tremendously wealthy. And they must have investments from which they can earn incomes subject only to limited taxation.

In short, these dollar statistics pound home the fact that while America is becoming a land of "people's capitalism," it also is a land of giant capitalists too.

And despite the New Deal, Fair Deal and now what even some ardent Republicans call the Ordeal, the Horatio Alger saga lives on. It's still possible to become a millionaire and remain one.

Give Dulles Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Press, St. Marys, Pa., of August 28, 1957:

GIVE DULLES CREDIT

No man in world history has toiled harder for the cause of peace than John Foster Dulles and for that he has earned the gratitude of his fellow man.

Sometimes his decisions, at first glance, seem to be all wet and arouse heated criticism even from those who admire him personally.

But give credit where credit is due and point to what the man has achieved, rather than look alone at the blocks he has stumbled over.

So in this vein we want to give Mr. Dulles full credit for his foresight in his long ban against allowing any Americans to enter Red China, a nation that still holds many Americans prisoners, and slaughtered no less than 4,500 in the Korean war by tying their hands behind them and compelling them to kneel at the edge of their already-prepared graves to die from bullets in their skulls.

Mr. Dulles stood out for a long time against penetration of the Bamboo Curtain, but a certain element of the American press kept barking at his heels on what they sloganed as "right to know" until he reluctantly lifted the ban to permit some 20 newsmen to go to China. What they could find out about the Peiping Government while being shadowed around the clock is hard to comprehend, but yap they did and finally won their point.

No sooner had the announcement been made than Peiping radio, official voice of the ruling dynasty, said the newsman would not be admitted because they would be acting as spies for United States, and in turn, the Communist Chinese government demanded that a like number of their newsmen be permitted to visit America, a move, that if granted, would be practical recognition of Red China and an open rebuke to Gen. Chiang Kai-shek who saved the west coast from invasion by Japanese forces after Pearl Harbor by tying down so many Nipponese divisions in Manchuria, Tokyo could not

spare the manpower to virtually wade ashore off the coasts of Washington, Oregon, and California, so poorly were they defended.

Mr. Dulles, on frequent occasions voiced his objections against any exchange of relations with China until the last American, held prisoner there, was granted his freedom.

Last week some 40 addled-brained Americans, who had fallen for Russian propaganda by attending a Communist youth festival in Moscow, defied their Government by visiting China as guests of government that would not hesitate to slit their throats should the occasion arise.

We had hoped those men in the newspaper world who have been putting their Secretary of State to so much pressure for an official O. K. to visit China, would let up on their pressure after seeing how another group of American travelers had flouted the authority of their Government. But no—they had to continue their breast beating until Mr. Dulles had to give ground. And now they can't get into China until some other deal is made in which their own American Government will be the loser.

What, we might ask, as a fellow newsman, could any American correspondent find out in China when his right to travel would be limited to certain areas as it is in Moscow, and all his dispatches subject to censorship?

They would have served their country better had they continued to play ball with Mr. Dulles, who in view of what has occurred within the past couple days, had the Chinese sized up for what they actually are, double crossers.

World Plowing Champion To Be Announced at September 20 Master Plowmen's Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to furnish for the RECORD the following additional information about the World's Conservation Exposition and Plowing Contests to be held at Peebles, Ohio, September 17–20:

WORLD PLOWING CHAMPION TO BE ANNOUNCED AT SEPTEMBER 20 MASTER PLOWMEN'S BANQUET

PEEBLES, OHIO.—The initial announcement of the 1957 world plowing champion will be made at the master plowmen's banquet in the Peebles High School gymnasium Friday, September 20. The banquet starts at 6:30, and Ohio's first lady, Mrs. C. William O'Neill, will announce the winner on a special WLW radio broadcast from the banquet to be heard between 10 and 10:30 p. m.

Plowing champions from 14 countries will compete for the coveted "golden plow" award during the 1957 World's Conservation Exposition and Fifth World Plowing Contests here, September 19–20. This marks the first time the world contests ever have been held on American soil. The Ohio State plowing contests will be held September 17, and the national plowing matches, September 18.

Flags of all 14 competing countries will decorate the banquet hall, according to Chairman M. G. Harover, Manchester, Ohio. The Queen of the Furrow will be presented with her court, and special musical entertainment will be provided by the Hometowners of Radio Station WLW, Cincinnati, recent winners of the Godfrey Talent Scouts program, and Robert Webb, Supervisor of Music, Manchester Public Schools. Also appearing will be the world famous 102-piece United States Army Field Band.

Toastmaster will be Judge James W. Lang, Jr., Manchester, Ohio, chairman of the exposition program committee.

Other dignitaries appearing on the program include Ohio's Gov. C. William O'Neill; Alfred Hall, general secretary, World Ploughing Organization, London, England; Earl DeVore, Winchester, Ohio, exposition general chairman; and Walter Feurlein, of Germany, who will extend the official invitation to the 1958 World Plowing Contests in his country.

TENTATIVE TRAVEL ITENERARY FOR FOREIGN PLOWMEN, TEAM MANAGERS, AND OFFICIALS OF THE 1957 WORLD'S CONSERVATION EXPOSITION AND FIFTH WORLD PLOWING CONTESTS

(There will be approximately 60 in this group, representing 14 countries)

September 12: All European representatives depart London Airport, TWA flight No. 971. United States, Canadian, and New Zealand teams and officials arrive (evening). Taft Hotel, New York City.

September 13: 6:40 a. m., flight No. 971 arrives Idlewild International Airport—met by exposition officials; 12:30 p. m., press conference, Taft Hotel, followed by afternoon tour of Manhattan Island, dinner, and evening free.

September 14: 7:20 a. m., depart LaGuardia Airport, TWA flight No. 1; 9:10 a. m., arrive Washington, D. C., Airport, and guests for the day of national farm organizations for luncheon and tour; 6:45 p. m., leave Washington airport, TWA flight No. 41; 8:06 p. m., arrive Greater Cincinnati Airport, and board buses for transportation to Peebles, Ohio, and housing in private homes.

September 15: Free day at Peebles (attend church of choice, tour site, check equipment).

September 16–18: Peebles (practice plowing) and attend World's Conservation Exposition functions.

September 19–20: Peebles (world plowing contests) and attend World's Conservation Exposition functions; 9 p. m., announcement of world champion at plowmen's banquet.

September 21: 11 a. m., arrive WLW studios, Cincinnati (luncheon and network broadcast); 1 p. m., Cincinnati baseball game; 6 p. m., dinner at Netherland Hilton Hotel, Cincinnati.

September 22: Agricultural tour to Columbus, lunch at private farm homes in Washington Court House area, lodging at Ohio State fairgrounds.

September 23: Tour of Columbus and Ohio State University, College of Agriculture.

September 24: Tour of Akron, Ohio, visit Hardin County Fair, dinner.

September 25: Tour Akron industrial plants.

September 26: Tour of Cleveland, depart 9:55 p. m. from Cleveland Airport and arrive at New York's LaGuardia Airport 11:55 p. m.

September 27: 6 p. m., depart Idlewild International Airport, TWA flight No. 970.

Constitutional Rights of the States and of Individuals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 23, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following report of the committee on maintenance of constitutional rights of the States and of individuals of the Mississippi State Bar.

The report is most timely:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MAINTENANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE STATES AND OF INDIVIDUALS, MISSISSIPPI STATE BAR, 1956–57

We, the committee on maintenance of constitutional rights of the States and of individuals, recommend to the Mississippi State Bar the adoption of the following resolution:

"Whereas a year ago, the bar of this State, in convention assembled, adopted a resolution deploring the usurpation of sovereignty of the several States by the Supreme Court of the United States; and

"Whereas this course of the decisions, we believe, has continued and broadened into other phases of State sovereignty, and if it continues will ultimately nullify the authority of the sovereign States and will operate to render obsolete the term 'States rights' as we presently use and understand the term; and

"Whereas since the opening of the October 1956 term, we believe, decisions of the United States Supreme Court have been rendered without regard for precedent or established rules of constitutional interpretation, which have resulted in increased strife, confusion, and disunity, not only among sections of these United States but also among peoples of different races and creeds within the various sections, and among the departments of the Federal Government; and

"Whereas we the members of the Mississippi State Bar, being charged by legislative mandate, as members of the legal profession, with the duty 'to support the constitution and laws of this State and of the United States,' as well as being urged by a sense of patriotism and loyalty to our Federal Government and our State, feel called upon to reiterate those foundation stones of government in which we believe and which we are convinced are embodied in our Federal Constitution and also in the constitutions of the several States; and

"Whereas we believe in the intrinsic value of every individual regardless of race, creed, or color, and that each is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness under due process of law and under equal protection of the law; that equal justice should be meted out to all men under the law, and that it is our duty as lawyers to do our utmost to see that this end is accomplished; that violence should be averted; that the rights of all men should be defended with equal vigor to assure to all their true constitutional rights; and

"Whereas we believe that since the opening of the October 1956 term of the United States Supreme Court, the true intent and purposes of the framers of our Federal Constitution have been circumvented and ignored by the Supreme Court of the United States, especially in its construction of the 1st, 5th, 10th, and 14th amendments to said Constitution, in that said Court no longer seems to heed or give credence to the fact that the several States, in ratifying the Federal Constitution, reserved to themselves all powers and authority not specifically relinquished to the National Government; but instead, the Supreme Court of the United States, through legislation by judicial fiat, under the guise of constitutional interpretation, has brought about an ever-increasing trespass upon those areas heretofore rightfully held to be within the province of the authority reserved by the States; and

"Whereas Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes gave graphic expression to his fear of encroachment by the Federal Government upon the rights of the States when he said:

"'I have not yet adequately expressed the more than anxiety I feel at the ever-increasing scope given to the 14th amendment in cutting down what I believe to be the constitutional rights of the States. As the decisions now stand, I see hardly any limit but the sky to the invalidating of those rights if they happen to strike a majority of this Court as for any reason undesirable. I cannot believe that the amendment was intended to give us carte blanche to embody our economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions.'

"And since that time, the danger of which Chief Justice Hughes warned has been multiplied countless times so that we find ourselves rapidly approaching the point where State sovereignty is becoming only a hollow shell; and

"Whereas it has become increasingly evident that the outcome of litigation affecting States rights and internal security of the Nation before the Highest Court of this land can no longer be anticipated by application of the doctrine of stare decisis, we reaffirm our position as being in accordance with the belief of Judge Thomas M. Cooley, as stated in his great work on constitutional limitations (8th ed., vol. 1, pp. 123, 124), that 'A Constitution is not to be made to mean one thing at one time, and another at some subsequent time when the circumstances may have so changed as perhaps to make a different rule in the case seem desirable. * * * It is with special reference to varying moods of public opinion, and with a view of putting the fundamentals of government beyond their control, that these instruments are framed; * * * (and) a court or legislature which should allow a change in public sentiment to influence it in giving construction to a written constitution not warranted by the intention of its framers, would be justly chargeable with reckless disregard of official oath and public duty. * * * What a court is to do, therefore, is to declare the law as written, leaving it to the people themselves to make such changes as new circumstances may require.'

"Whereas we believe that recent opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States, purporting to draw the dividing line between national and State sovereignty within the concept of the Federal Constitution, trespass upon rights of the respective States; and

"Whereas, nevertheless, as lawyers, we do respect the Court as an institution, but reaffirm our right and duty to legitimately and constructively criticize the members of the Court and their opinions; and

"Whereas, among the illustrations of the breadth, depth and scope, and indicative of the trend of such usurpations of power by the United States Supreme Court, with the States and prosecutions affected, are:

"The State of Kansas, in *Walker* v. *City of Hutchinson, Kans.* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 178), decided December 10, 1956, was denied the right, to determine, through its State statutes which were approved by the Kansas Supreme Court, the sufficiency of notice by publication in a real property condemnation suit, as violative of the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution.

"The State of Arkansas, in *Miller, Inc.* v. *State of Arkansas* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 231), decided December 17, 1956, was denied the right, through its State statutes which were approved by the Arkansas Supreme Court, to require a contractor who bid on a Federal project in Arkansas to comply with Arkansas contractor licensing requirements, although the Federal Government had not acquired the property upon which the construction work was to be done, on the ground that such would interfere with the application of the Federal Procurement Act.

"The State of Michigan, in *Butler* v. *State of Michigan* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 412), decided February 25, 1957, was denied the right through its State statute, approved by the Michigan Supreme Court, to determine what was and to prohibit the possession and disposition of obscene literature on the ground that it violated the due process clause of the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution.

"The State of Utah, in *Guss* v. *Utah Labor Relations Board* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 601), decided March 25, 1957, was denied the right, through its Labor Relations Board, to enjoin unfair labor practices prohibited by the National Labor Relations Act even though the National Labor Relations Board declined to entertain the Union's complaint, because the Federal act preempted this field in the absence of the National Labor Relations Board ceding jurisdiction to State agencies.

"The State of Ohio, *Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, etc.* v. *Fairlawn Meats, Inc.* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 613, decided March 25, 1957), was denied the right, through State courts, to restrain a labor union, not representing a majority of employees, seeking to compel an employer engaged in interstate commerce to agree to union shop contract, because the Federal act preempted any State action even though National Labor Relations Board obviously would decline jurisdiction.

"The State of California, in *San Diego Building Trades Council* v. *Garmon* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 618, decided March 25, 1957), was denied through its courts power to enjoin unions on the same ground of preemption by the Federal act, even though the National Labor Relations Board declined to entertain a petition for relief.

"Although dealing with a procedural matter under rule 58, dealing with the finality of judgments of the Court, the United States Supreme Court, speaking per curiam, in *United States of America* v. *Ohio Power Company* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 683), held where a taxpayer had won a tax recovery lawsuit by the Court's denial of certiorari on October 17, 1955, and the denial of two Government petitions for a rehearing on December 5, 1955, and May 28, 1956, did on June 11, 1956, sua sponte, vacate its own order of December 5, 1955, and both denials of rehearing, and reversed itself so as to make the taxpayer lose that which he had won more than a year and a half previously, and as to which Justices Harlan, Frankfurter and Burton were disturbed to the point of dissenting, by separate opinions, saying the action of the majority to be a departure from sound procedure and '* * * unsettling to lawyers and litigants and more disturbing to their confidence in the even handedness of the Court's processes than to be left in the kind of uncertainty which today's action engenders, as to when their cases may be considered finally closed by this Court.'

"The State of New Mexico, in *Schware* v. *Board of Bar Examiners of the State of New Mexico* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 796, decided May 6, 1957), acting through its bar examiners, whose action was approved by the New Mexico Supreme Court, was denied the right to exclude appellant from the State bar examination on the ground, among others, of past membership in the Communist Party, because the Court said that such would be a violation of the due process clause of the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution.

"The State of California, in *Konigsberg* v. *State Bar of California* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 810, decided May 6, 1957), was denied the right, through its bar examiners, whose action was approved by the California Supreme Court, to deny appellant permission to practice law in California because of his refusal to answer questions as to his present and past membership in the Communist Party because, according to the United States Supreme Court, such would violate the due process clause of the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution. The majority opinion so offended Justices Clark and Harlan that, dissenting, they said, among other things: 'But what the Court has really done, I think, is simply to impose on California its own notions of public policy and judgment. For me, today's decision represents an unacceptable intrusion into a matter of State concern.'

"The property rights of Stephen Girard have now been violated by the Court. This decision is a sequel to the segregation cases, which involve merely a phase of deprivation of States rights, originating with *Brown, et al.*, v. *Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (98 L. Ed. 873, and 99 L. Ed. 1083), in which the Court departed from legal precedent upon the separation of the races and the doctrine of separate but equal facilities, and during the October 1956 term of Court, now concluding, continues to usurp State regulation of educational and recreational facilities, and intrastate transportation. This trend culminated in the Girard College case, *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and City of Philadelphia, et al.*, v. *Board of Directors of the City Trust of the City of Philadelphia* (1 L. Ed. (2d) 792, decided April 29, 1957). Girard by his will chose to endow with his own money a college to admit 'as many poor white male orphans between the ages of 6 and 10 years as the said income will be adequate to maintain,' and of which will the city of Philadelphia was named as trustee. The administering board of directors of city of Philadelphia, following the dictates of the will, refused to admit two Negroes. This action was approved by the Orphans Court of Philadelphia and the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, but the United States Supreme Court avoided the direction of the donor and held such refusal of admission to be discrimination under the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution on the theory that the board which operates Girard College is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania and, therefore, their action constituted State action.

"The United States Government and its courts in *Curcio* v. *United States of America* (decided June 10, 1957), not yet officially reported, were denied the right to hold in contempt the secretary-treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for a refusal predicated upon the fifth amendment to answer a question as to the whereabouts of the books and records of the union he had been ordered to produce and which inquiry arose when the Federal grand jury of the southern district of New York was investigating racketeering in the garment and trucking industries in New York City.

"The United States Government in Communist cases, styled *Yates, et al.*, v. *United States of America* (Nos. 6, 7, and 8, decided June 17, 1957), not yet officially reported, totally lost its case to secure affirmance of the lower court conviction in 1952 on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the United States Government against Henry Steinberg, the party's legislative director for Los Angeles County; Rose Chernin Kusnitz, party organizer in New York and later in Los Angeles; Frank Spector, Los Angeles organizer; Al Richmond, editor of the Daily People's World, and Philip Marshall Connelly, the World's Los Angeles editor, all of whom freed of said charges instead of reversing and remanding for further action by the trial court as was the Supreme Court's decision regarding the nine other defendants involved, and which acquittal was recognized as the first instance of its kind in the entire history of the Court according to Justice Clark who, in his dissent, said, among other things:

"'In any event this Court should not acquit anyone here. In its long history I find no case in which an acquittal has been ordered by this Court solely on the facts. It is somewhat late to start in now usurping the function of the jury, especially where new

trials are to be held covering the same charges.'

"The United States Congress, in *United States* v. *Watkins* (decided June 17, 1957), was denied the right to require Watkins as a witness before its committee to answer questions unless the committee first established the pertinency of the question and specified the purpose thereof, and the Court determined abrupt limits upon the authority of congressional committees and freed Watkins of contempt proceedings theretofore brought because of his refusal to name persons he had known in the Communist movement, and Justice Clark dissenting says, among other things: 'The majority has substituted the judiciary as the grand inquisitor and supervisor of congressional investigations. It has never been so.'

"With regard to the impairment of constitutional rights by legislation introduced in the Congress, we feel that reference should be made to the pending so-called civil-rights bill which has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate. Under the guise of preserving equity jurisdiction, this bill would give to a single judge the right to conduct a criminal hearing where he would be both judge and jury. Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter condemned such invasion of the constitutional right of an individual to a jury trial in his book entitled 'The Labor Injunction' wherein he clearly warned against this device, saying:

" 'The heart of the problem is the power, for all practical purposes, of a single judge to issue orders, to interpret them, to declare disobedience and then to sentence.'

"He said the injunction employs the most powerful resources of the law on one side of a bitter social struggle.

"Justice Frankfurter opined that trial by jury in contempt proceedings is an innovation in modern practice, but is a return to what is old in the history of English law.

"And he said that 'since a charge of criminal contempt is essentially an accusation of crime, all the constitutional safeguards available to the accused in a criminal trial should be extended to prosecutions for such contempt.'

"The effect of this proposed legislation would tend to create a central police force which has been proved throughout history to be a forerunner to the abolition of human rights. Such concentration of power in the Federal Government was warned against by the late Justice Robert H. Jackson before he died in 1954. He said:

" 'If the Department of Justice must prosecute local officials, the FBI must investigate them, and no local agency which is subject to Federal investigation, inspection, and discipline is a free agency. I cannot say that our country could have no central police without becoming totalitarian, but I can say with great conviction that it cannot become totalitarian without a centralized national police. At his trial Hermann Goering, with great candor, related the steps by which the Nazi Party obtained complete domination of Germany, and one of the first was the establishment of the supremacy of the national over the local police authorities. So it was in Russia, and so it has been in every totalitarian state. All that is necessary is to have a national police competent to investigate all manner of offenses, and then, in the parlance of the street, it will have enough on enough people, even if it does not elect to prosecute them, so that it will find no opposition to its policies. Even those who are supposed to supervise it are likely to fear it. I believe that the safeguard of our liberty lies in limiting any national policing or investigative organization, first of all, to a small number of strictly Federal offenses, and, secondly, to nonpolitical ones. The fact that we may have confidence in the administration of a Federal investigative agency under its existing heads does not mean that it may not revert again to the days when the Department of Justice was headed by men to whom the investigatory power was a weapon to be used for their own purposes': Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the members of the Mississippi State bar, in convention assembled, having stated our beliefs in the premises, do hereby:

"1. Commend all Congressmen from Mississippi and the other States who have worked unceasingly to preserve the constitutional rights of the States, of all individuals, and the internal security of this Nation, and urge them to continue this struggle which we believe must be won if our American heritage is to be perpetuated. We especially urge them to continue in their efforts to defeat the civil-rights bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now being considered by the Senate.

"2. Commend the members of the Mississippi Legislature, the Governor of Mississippi, all other State officials, and all individuals joining therein with them for their untiring efforts directed toward the maintenance of State sovereignty in every phase thereof, and urge them and Members of Congress from Mississippi to exert their every effort to bring about a termination and reversal of the usurpation hereinabove recognized.

"3. Urge the Congress to enact corrective legislation to restrict judicial violation to the Constitution.

"4. We pledge ourselves to maintain eternal vigilance in the preservation of individual and States' Rights and urge them to keep abreast of the new developments in these matters and to be prepared to acquaint the general public with the newest trends at every available opportunity.

"5. Urge the members of the bars of the other 47 States to bind themselves together and lend their efforts to curb usurpation by the United States Supreme Court of the rights of the sovereign States, and we further urge the Bars of the other States to give their thoughtful consideration to the idea of forming within their respective bar associations a committee comparable in purpose to the 'Committee on Maintenance of Constitutional Rights of the States and of Individuals' of the Mississippi State Bar in order that we may share ideas and work together for the common good of all; be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of the foregoing resolution be sent to the Members of Congress from Mississippi; to the Attorney General of each State; to the President of the American Bar Association; to the editor of the American Bar Association Journal, and to the president of all State bar associations."

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON MAINTENANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE STATES AND OF INDIVIDUALS.
HUGH N. CLAYTON, *Chairman*.

The Civil-Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I join with many of my colleagues in appreciation of the fact that the first civil-rights bill in 82 years now goes to the President's desk for likely approval.

While this legislation is not perfect in many respects, it represents the best law which could be passed at this time. The test of this legislation will not be in the convictions or imprisonment which it may produce. The test will be in the civil-rights violations it may discourage. It is to be hoped that the mandate of this legislation will fix itself clearly in the mind of every citizen to the end that he will not impair or interfere with the voting rights or civil liberties of his fellow men.

If the spirit of this legislation is wholeheartedly accepted by the American people everywhere, no further legislation may be required. Our hope is that true tolerance will become habit and custom throughout the American scene.

Ranch Life in Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on July 23, the Wall Street Journal characterized ranch life in Montana this way:

Ranch life still can be lonely—neighbors often are miles away—but the modern ranchhouses remind one of suburban homes. Tall television aerials dominate roof lines. Inside, kitchens gleam with appliances and bathrooms are bright with tile. Cadillacs are numerous and expensive pleasure boats dot the ranch country's lakes and reservoirs. In the summer, ranch wives gossip of last winter's vacation in Bermuda, Hawaii, Mexico, California, or Arizona.

On August 8, the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] and the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] took the floor of the other body to point out that ranch life in Montana is not the party the Journal pictures it to be.

The senior Senator from Montana pointed out that the farmers and ranchers of Montana are in trouble. He noted that ranchers "are earning no return whatsoever" on the more than $1 billion they have invested in land and cattle, that at today's prices they must sell 7 more calves to buy a combine than 5 years ago.

Editor Miles Romney of the Western News, weekly newspaper published at Hamilton, Mont., in my home county, took note of the newspaper article and the speech in the following editorial:

PAINTING PRETTY PICTURES

When the Wall Street Journal published an article telling how Montana farmers were living in luxury and head over heels in prosperity it was too much for Montana's Senator JIM MURRAY.

In a Senate speech the Montana solon took general issue with the Journal's report, pointing out that farmers and ranchers must sell 7 more calves at today's prices to buy the same combine which cost $200 less 5 years ago when the price of beef was 8½ cents higher.

MURRAY also pointed out that 2,000 Butte miners have been laid off in the past 90 days, a Roundup coal mine has been shut down, a 40-man shift has been laid off by the Diamond Match Co., unemployment in the Bil-

lings area is up 275 percent over last year, men have been laid off by the Anaconda Aluminum Co., and so forth.

MURRAY suggested it was time the administration did something to help lead and zinc miners suffering from a bad market while foreign operators flooded it with cheap metals. He thought the administration should do something to improve the economic stability of farmers and ranchers. He wrote a letter to the editor of the Journal appealing to him to remove the rose-colored glasses from his reporter and send him to Montana to report the facts.

There has been so much talk in some newspapers, upon the air, in administration puff notices, to the effect that times are prosperous, that many people are mousetrapped into believing prosperity in general. Some people hold a different view of this economic picture. With prices for necessities of life everywhere upon the increase, the administration had better cease painting pretty pictures and begin devising ways and means of protecting the rank and file of Americans from an inflation which could prove to be ultimate disaster.

Mr. Speaker, the senior Senator from Montana also said he does not know of a single small cattle producer in Montana who has paid any income tax in the past 5 years. The facts destroy the pretty picture painted by the Wall Street Journal.

United States Steel Increased Cost of Steel $250 Million To Match Wage Increase of $94 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, a number of us have watched with interest as the great steel companies have insisted that their recent $6-a-ton price increase was forced upon them by additional wage costs. This was on top of two earlier price jumps within a year. For one, I have also read with interest an editorial in the NAM News, a publication of the National Association of Manufacturers, stating that the question of steel prices has nothing to do with "social responsibility or social irresponsibility."

Let us concede that the manufacturer in America is not supposed to take into account the question of social responsibility. He is supposed to price his products, instead, only in regard to feasibility—that is, in accordance with what he can get away with in the marketplace. This, in any case, is the thesis of the NAM News.

But, if we concede that this is true, two other very important issues are raised.

The first is whether, if steel producers deny any social responsibility for prices and inflation, why do they try to justify the increases by blaming them on wage rises.

The wage increases won by workers last year, in direct wage payments and in fringe benefits, amounted to 20 cents an hour. The increases won this year, under the same contracts, totaled about 15½ cents an hour.

The 1956 wage increase cost United States Steel an estimated $94 million, if it is assumed that no part was matched by increased productivity, which is contrary to experience.

But Big Steel raised its prices last year an average of $8.50 a ton, calculated to produce about $250 million in additional revenue. And this year, to pay for a 15½-cent wage increase, Big Steel has jumped its prices another $10 a ton, in 2 jumps, calculated to add at least another $300 million in revenue.

Big Steel will make more money, before and after taxes, by raising its prices and blaming wage rates, than it made in 1956 and 1955 and 1954.

The pattern is the same in other giant industries. Ford and General Motors complained in 1955 that they would have to raise prices in 1956 to balance wage increases of 20 cents an hour. But in 1955—before prices were raised but after the wage increase—GM earned $1.41 after taxes for each of its 400,000 employees for each man-hour worked. Ford made $1.47 per man-hour after taxes.

There is some skullduggery going on.

There was once a Member of the Congress who worshipped Wall Street so fervently that he insisted that his colleagues should listen to the bloodless voice of the markets, to the calculations of businessmen who would have laughed at the idea of social responsibility.

But that was two generations ago. I do not think that the Congress today is willing to surrender its own prerogatives and the interests of the people to the bloodless voice of anybody or to the blatant declaration of irresponsibility proclaimed by the NAM News.

The giant corporations are raising prices far beyond what seems necessary to match wage increases, but they are blaming workers and unions for the price increases.

On the other hand, their spokesman of the NAM contemptuously says that the giant corporations are not supposed to have any sense of social responsibility.

I suggest that this attitude is two-faced and dishonest and—more important—defiant of democracy. If the world of the giant corporations is so irresponsible, then it is the duty of the Congress to impose upon that world some sense of reality.

Good Conservation Contributes to Christian Culture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a very timely and thought-provoking editorial, appearing in the July 8 issue of the Waltham, Mass., News Tribune, reminding us that intelligent conversation is an important part of good Christian life. I recommend its reading.

The article follows:

NEED FOR GOOD TALK

Conversation isn't a lost art in this country, as has been said so many times. Television and other diversions notwithstanding, there is no lack of conversation. The trouble is that most of it is of the buzz-buzz, gossipy variety, being of the sort which makes lots of noise without getting anywhere in particular.

Thus, conversation as an art rather than as chatter seems to be the thing which is missing. We don't hear much these days about the debating societies and discussion groups of other generations which did for the cerebral region what gymnasium workouts did for the muscles.

Significantly, just this type of social activity is coming back in a modest way. Foremost in blazing the way is the League of Women Voters organization which puts motivation into its membership procedure by sponsoring workshop groups. These probe into all facets of community, State, and National problems in a series of units meetings devoted to good talk.

At college, of course, much of the value to be derived from the educational process is to be found in the jam sessions in which students test the pedantic theory in the free-for-all atmosphere that a practical debate encourages.

At Boston University, informal get-togethers of students with President Harold C. Case and Mrs. Case have become a tradition. During the past year some 1,500 students participated in 1 of 13 adventures in conversation in the Case castle, as the president's home is known. The intent is to give each student at least one opportunity to participate in these affairs during his 4-year college career.

In similar vein, Brandeis University's student-faculty ratio of 10 to 1 is deliberately designed to bring pupils into constant close association with instructors. So well has this worked that it is difficult to know when classes begin and end, at times, the mutual interest in small, intense discussions being what they are.

One other point concerns television. A program we look forward to is the year-end CBS roundtable in which Edward R. Murrow sits with correspondents from all over the world and amiably, unhurriedly analyzes the trends through an interchange of comment. On educational TV, the programming high on our personal list is the professor-student discussion type offered quite frequently.

Americans are noted for the hard sell, the fast-thinking approach, the advertising gimmick, all the flash and glitter of expediency. It gives the feeling our national culture is superficial. We certainly can do with more studies, penetrating thought, and the way to it is to be found in good talk.

The ability to carry on an intelligent conversation is an important part of living.

Dairy Firms Get 2.2 Cents Profit on $1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today an article by Mr. Lewis C. French, vet-

eran farm editor of the Milwaukee Journal, which appeared in the Sunday, August 18, 1957, issue of the Milwaukee Journal, entitled "Dairy Firms Get 2.2 Cents Profit on $1":

DAIRY FIRMS GET 2.2 CENTS PROFIT ON $1—NATIONWIDE SURVEY SHOWS INCOME OF MILK DEALERS ROSE SLIGHTLY IN 1956

(By Lewis C. French)

How much profit is there in the milk business?

The Nation's dairy dealers made a net operating profit of 2.23 cents on every dollar of sales in 1956, according to a survey made by Prof. G. W. Starr, of the school of business administration at the University of Indiana, for the Milk Industry Foundation of New York, N. Y.

The survey of dairy profits was started in 1941. It now covers 425 dairy plants in 342 cities in 45 States.

Few issues are more controversial than that of profits on milk and dairy products. Dairy farmers protest they are not getting enough for their milk. Consumers often protest that they pay too much for their milk and cream.

LOW, HIGH NOTED

The foundation's survey showed a narrow margin of profit. In the 16 years of the survey, reports have shown dairy dealers' profits as low as 1.44 cents for each dollar of sales in 1952 and as high as 2.28 cents in 1954. The 1955 return was 2.18 cents.

The brightest part of the 1956 report was that fluid milk sales in the plants surveyed showed a sales increase of 7.5 percent over 1955.

While the survey showed that dairy dealers did not make much money, the financial report showed that stockholders of big interstate dairy corporations, which operate chains of manufacturing plants and distributing companies, did very well. Even a small slice of profit on the millions of dollars consumers spent for dairy foods paid off for the corporations.

On the national average, farmers shared a little more than half of the consumer dollar, 50.03 cents in 1956. The 1955 slice, according to the survey, was 47.64 cents.

Farmers are paid for their milk on the basis of 100 pounds and butterfat tests. One hundred pounds of milk measures out to about 46 quarts.

AVERAGE CLIMBS

In 1956, dairy farmers averaged $5.45 a hundred pounds for 3.8 percent butterfat test milk. The 1955 national average was $5.32.

Wisconsin dairymen would have clicked their heels at that price.

The report shows that throughout the Nation in 1956, consumers paid an average of 24.2 cents a quart for home delivered milk, an increase of just over 1 cent a quart from 1955.

Wisconsin farmers were paid less than the average for their milk and Wisconsin consumers paid less for their supplies.

Shippers to the greater Milwaukee market last year averaged $4.02 a hundred pounds for standard 3.5 percent butterfat test milk, according to H. R. Erdmann, Federal Market Administrator. Adjusted for the 3.8 percent fat (cream) content of the milk prices used in the national survey, this would be around $4.24 a hundred pounds or $1.21 less than the national average.

The average for all market milk in Wisconsin for 1956 was $3.74 or $1.71 a hundred less. And the 1955 average on this class milk within the State was $3.55 a hundred.

QUART COSTS 19 CENTS TO 22 CENTS

Wisconsin consumers benefited considerably. Most consumers in the larger cities, including Milwaukee, paid 21 or 22 cents a quart for grade A milk and often 19 to 20 cents a quart in stores.

"While 24.2 cents was the average price received by the companies in the survey for a quart of home delivered milk, there was considerable sold in larger containers at a discount," the report said, acknowledging that the quart home delivered price no longer was the barometer of consumer price.

CONTAINER SIZE IS FACTOR

The trend is decidedly away from one quart sales. People buy one-half and full gallons. The Erdmann report shows that in Milwaukee only 11.3 percent of the Milwaukee consumers now buy 1-quart units.

There are two reasons. One is that the Milwaukee price, and that in most state cities, is more than ever based on the size of the container purchased, with a discount being given for larger containers. Then, with alternate day deliveries, the housewife wants larger containers.

Sharp changes on the Greater Milwaukee market area show why the quart unit is no longer the accurate barometer of milk sales or prices.

Noted in the Erdmann reports are these facts:

Sixty-five percent of the fresh milk sold in Milwaukee is in half gallon containers—40 cents for home delivered milk, when the 1956 survey was made, and 32 cents to 36 cents in the cash and carry retail outlets.

Sixteen and six-tenths percent of the sales are in full gallons at still lower prices.

More milk with less cream is sold. In June, out of 31,140,000 pounds of milk sold, 1,388,000 pounds was skim milk with the cream removed or just a trace left for flavor.

Use of 2 percent butterfat milk—compared to the normal 3.5 test—now runs more than 350,000 pounds a month and the volume is growing.

Buttermilk sales are up to 560,000 pounds.

DOLLAR COST BREAKDOWN

The fractional breakdown of the cost of selling milk—based on each dollar of sales—as computed by Professor Starr follows:

Material costs	$0.5791
Administrative salaries	.0081
Other salaries and wages	.2068
Taxes and licenses	.0288
Insurance	.0053
Depreciation	.0166
Advertising	.0116
Containers	.0529
Supplies	.0529
Other expenses	.0119
Operating expenses	.9777
Net operating profit	.0223

The report notes that the 57.91 cents listed for material costs is not all for the farmer-producer. The share to the farmer was 50.03 cents. Purchased transportation, such as tank trucks, is added.

CONTAINERS COST MORE

The national report shows that container costs have almost doubled. To sell a dollar's worth of milk or cream in 1941, the bottle or fiber containers cost 3.76 cents. They cost 5.88 cents in 1955 and 5.66 cents in 1956.

Transportation showed the sharpest increase in cost, 41 percent in 1956 over 1955. Wages and salaries of office help were up 6.4 cents of the dollar, with taxes and licenses 5.3 percent higher.

Dairy dealers surveyed spent $17 million for advertising and sales promotion along with the $6 million budget of the American Dairy Association, which the producers contributed to stimulate sales.

"It is true that there is a narrow margin on bottle milk and cream sales," said one Wisconsin dairy distributor. "You just skin by, especially on home-delivery sales. The margin increases with higher volume sales through cafes and stores, and even the self-service dispensers.

"Then, too, there is a higher percentage on sidelines, especially cottage cheese and low-fat milk and flavored milk. To stretch the returns, most dairies now sell eggs, butter, cheese, citrus-fruit drinks, and in some States even the historic competitor of the dairyman, oleomargarine. Yes, they sell either butter or margarine from the same sales truck or dairy counter."

The Economic Need of the Hour—Patriotic Cooperation Against Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a very pertinent editorial, appearing in the June 27 issue of the Worcester (Mass.) Evening Gazette, very sensibly and clearly reminding us that we will become suffocated by inflation unless all economic segments of our society combine and cooperate efforts to retain and maintain economic stability. It has been done, it can be done, and it must be done if we hope to avoid economic catastrophe.

Let us all dedicate ourselves to the proposition and the challenge in patriotic concern for the welfare of the Nation.

The article follows:

LIVING COSTS STILL GOING UP

Inflation is still the No. 1 domestic problem faced by the Eisenhower administration. Living costs went up in May for the ninth straight month, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Consumer Price Index rose to 119.6, based on average prices for the 1947–49 period.

This news is nothing new to the average shopper who pushes his cart around the supermarket every week. As the food prices have climbed, penny by nickel, the pressure has been felt on budgets throughout the land. The question is: where will it stop? No one seems to know.

Another question is: Whose fault is it? There is no agreement on this one. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey takes credit for curbing inflation and then complains that inflation is the cause of the growing Federal deficit. Consumer credit is another reason given—even as other people are complaining about "tight money." Labor blames business profits. Business blames high wages. Everyone deplores the rising prices. But many also fear that even a slight leveling off could result in a recession.

It is a strange phenomenon—prosperity that continually squeezes the average man's pocketbook. One thing seems clear: if the inflation is not curbed somehow, there is going to be a rising demand for wage increases throughout the Nation. These will be followed, as the night follows the day, by price increases.

Many observers think that this steady weakening of the dollar is inevitable. But inflation has not proved inevitable in Western Germany—to take one example—where the mark has risen in value to become one of the strongest currencies in the world. It is a sign of defeatism to say that the most powerful and prosperous nation in the world can do nothing about this disease which is eating into its economic vitals.

The Navy's Role in Limited War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following foreword of Adm. Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, to the new book The Sea War in Korea, written by Comdr. Malcolm Cagle, United States Navy, and Comdr. Frank Manson, United States Navy, Annapolis, United States Naval Institute, July 1957:

When the Communists invaded Korea on June 25, 1950, the United States was neither expecting nor prepared to fight in that remote area. They apparently had analyzed United States willingness, readiness, and ability to fight and concluded that we would simply watch and complain, but not fight. The Communists apparently saw an opportunity to seize some additional free world territory with little risk and at little cost.

The United States Army had no troops in Korea, the United States Air Force had only a few wings in the Far East, and the United States Navy had only 1 cruiser, 4 destroyers, and a few minesweepers in the Sea of Japan.

With so few combat forces initially available, control of the seas—taken for granted as is too often the case—was a prerequisite in implementing the United Nations decision to resist aggression against the Republic of Korea. Without the capability to use the seas, the decision to intervene on a rocky peninsula half a world away would have been meaningless and unenforcible. With control of the seas, the decision was sound and reasonable.

Once the decision was made, ships of the free world navies converged on Korea from every one of the seven seas—combatant ships, oilers, supply ships, ships loaded with troops, ammunition, guns, tanks, and aircraft; ships from the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Atlantic, and from the faraway Mediterranean.

Control of the seas gave the United Nations the advantage of mobility—the opportunity to consolidate and combine the free world's economic and military strength. Seapower brought American troops, first from Japan, later from the United States. Seapower defeated the initial aggression with the classic amphibious assault at Inchon. Seapower made it possible to redeploy the United States forces from Hungnam. Seapower helped to limit the conflict.

Use of the seas was denied to the Communists. This placed serious limitations on their ability to build up military power in Korea. It exposed the land flanks of the North Koreans (and later the Red Chinese). It denied them easy resupply by sea.

The Communists' attempt to seize Korea by military action was a failure. But this failure does not mean an abandonment of military adventures by the Communists. They will try again whenever other means fail or when they see a weakness they can exploit or find a vacuum they can fill.

The Communists have stated repeatedly that any means may be used to attain their goal of world domination, including war. The most important tenet of communism—the one given most stress in their doctrine—is that communism must continuously strive to possess all power, and conversely to destroy all rival power. This proposition is basic to communism. It must be borne in mind constantly when dealing with Communists. Their tenet and their goal do not change.

There are many other explosive areas in the world. They are explosive because of this standing threat and this goal of communism.

While the Korean war was unusual in many respects, it nevertheless has great meaning and significance for the future. In 1957 terminology, it would be called a "limited war." In the thermonuclear age, as major nations of the world improve their capability to wreak mutual destruction upon one another, the probability of all-out nuclear war is diminished. The probability of limited war is increased. It is important that the Korean war receive careful study. It is the first limited war the United Nations have fought against Communist totalitarianism.

The naval history of the Korean war is outlined in this book in great detail. The authors have distilled from it the lessons, results, and significance of the Korean war. This effort should be of great interest and benefit to every student of international or military affairs.

Of the many lessons of the Korean war, three stand out above all others:

1. The military forces of the United States must be vigilant and ready to defeat aggression in any area and in any form, whether it be large of small, atomic or conventional. Our hope, of course, is that our visible, vigilant strength will discourage Communist aggression. To do so, we must be capable of effective counteraction, ranging from the uses of a squad of marines to the use of atomic-tipped ballistic missiles. Our Navy must have many different arrows in its quiver.

2. Control of the sea is prerequisite to victory in modern war, whatever its size, type, or scope.

3. The Korean war was a limited war. A limited war is the type of war most likely to occur in the thermonuclear age.

ARLEIGH A. BURKE,
Admiral, United States Navy,
Chief of Naval Operations.
WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 1, 1957.*

The Sea War in Korea: A Remarkable Book

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, as the 1st session of the 85th Congress draws to a close there is ever greater concern in the minds of the Members of Congress over the American position of leadership in the field of foreign policy. The recent announcement by the Soviet Union of the successful firing of an intercontinental ballistic missile has caused some in this country to make quick and possibly intemperate remarks about free world security. If there ever was a time for men in posts of leadership to weigh their words with care and maturity—that time is now.

Although this session of the Congress is over, it does not mean that the work of the membership has ended. Before reconvening in January 1958, each and every Member will give considerably of his time and energy to the problems of foreign policy and the military security of this country and the free people of the world.

Despite statements that may be issued from the Kremlin from time to time, Americans can be reassured that this Nation continues as the greatest military power on the globe. In order to exercise moral leadership in international affairs in behalf not only of the 170 million citizens of this country, but also for those millions in the satellite areas who yearn for the eventual day of freedom, it is important that the United States preserve its military strength. And it is equally important that strength be in appropriate balance to meet the variety of tests which may be forced upon us, considering our worldwide United States security bases that must be safeguarded.

Comdr. Frank Manson is now head of plans and policies analysis in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, and has been a special assistant to Adm. Robert Carney and Adm. Arleigh Burke. He has played an important part in documenting the story of the Pacific war in the official battle report series.

America has long recognized that, despite the heavy costs, it must continue to maintain a balanced military power in union with its free world allies. No single-weapon system is sufficient to meet the many types of threats to our United States security. No single weapon is adequate to implement all facets of American international policy. America and its allies must ever be prepared to meet the newly arising threats quickly and effectively—on land, on the sea, and in the air. The cost of a balanced military posture will never be low. There is no bargain basement price tag on security. But, when told the facts, I am confident the American people are willing—yes, eager—to pay the economic price for genuine security. The American people will likewise demand that the President and the Congress provide that kind of military strength which is so necessary to an enlightened and just foreign policy in this troubled world.

It is with this thought in mind that I bring to the attention of the Congress—and to the attention of the American people—this story of The Sea War in Korea, which so graphically portrays the interlacing of foreign policy and balanced military forces. This is the real story of the Korean sea war, and every intelligent United States citizen will find it extremely interesting and informative, as it is based on actual war firsthand documents and official sources. The top military commanders, including General MacArthur, have been consulted on the preparation of this inspiring volume.

Congratulations to the authors, the United States Naval Institute, and the good United States Navy for a job well done.

As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives it is a real privilege to recommend to my colleagues the recent book documenting and evaluating the application

of free world military power in restraint of aggression. This fine volume is entitled "The Sea War in Korea." The book is published by the United States Naval Institute. It is written by Comdr. Malcolm W. Cagle, United States Navy, and Comdr. Frank A. Manson, United States Navy, and is a highly professional and readable translation of that story into language which every citizen can understand. Those of us in the Congress who must make responsible decisions about the defense budget each fiscal year should never forget that the strong justification of our Military Establishment is to implement American foreign policy based on power and justice. Our United States Military Establishment must always be of such nature and balance that it can appropriately support our entire foreign policy and not just a part, through weakness.

The authors of The Sea War in Korea are peculiarly and remarkably qualified to write the story of that conflict. Comdr. Malcolm Cagle, a native of Tennessee, has a distinguished record as a naval flyer in World War II, and holds the Navy Cross for bravery. He has occupied important positions in the Pentagon and is now beginning graduate study at the National War College following duty as special assistant to the Secretaries of the Navy, Charles Thomas, and Thomas Gates. Although primarily a seagoing man, he has found time to write extensively in the past and has received repeated recognition for his literary talents.

Comdr. Frank Manson, served aboard the famous destroyer *Laffey* that was hit by seven kamikaze planes in the Pacific in World War II, and served in many capacities with distinction in the United States Navy in both the Atlantic and the Pacific theaters.

The Wilderness Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor of August 27, 1957, carried a very informative article on the wilderness bill by Mr. Kimmis Hendrick, chief of Monitor's Pacific news bureau.

In effect this article clarifies some of the misunderstanding of the purposes of the bill which were set forth in an earlier article written by Mr. Roscoe Fleming which was inserted in the RECORD on July 25, 1957, by the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. ULLMAN].

I believe Mr. Hendrick's statement will be of great interest to all my colleagues in considering this important legislation, and I include it as part of my remarks:

PRESERVATION SOUGHT: WILDERNESSES SCANNED

(By Kimmis Hendrick)

LOS ANGELES.—Will Congress give the American people a system for preserving their magnificent wilderness heritage?

Conservationists have offered a plan. A bipartisan group of Senators from Maine to California is supporting a bill introduced this session.

Put before the Upper House by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, the bill if enacted into law will be known as the National Wilderness Preservation Act. Senator HUMPHREY says it represents "improvements, corrections, and clarifications" of a similar bill introduced last year.

The United States Forest Service is arguing that the bill is weighted too heavily on the conservation side, and through the Department of Agriculture has offered a substitute proposal. In response, conservationists have modified their bill to meet the basic Forest Service objections but without weakening its long-range purpose.

This purpose, as the conservation bill clearly states, is to make it national policy to preserve for posterity the untouched treasure of the Nation's available wilderness areas. The bill also would establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council to coordinate this policy.

WILD AREA DEFINED

In language that obviously strives to match with words the grandeur of the lands it deals with, the bill defines a wilderness area as one "where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community, a wanderer who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails."

It was indeed an American poet who many years ago stated this ideal so eloquently that conservationists delight to quote him. Walt Whitman said, "Without wilderness, America will change. Democracy, with its myriad personality and increasing sophistication, must be fibered and vitalized by regular contact with outdoor growths, animals, trees, shrubs, sun warmth, and free skies, or it will dwindle and pale."

GRADUAL THREAT SEEN

Already the United States has a few wilderness areas officially designated for protection with just this ideal in view. But conservationists note that they are threatened constantly by interests that want their timber or their minerals or to make them into popular resorts.

Introducing the conservationists' bill this year (S. 1176), Senator HUMPHREY noted that the process of this threat may be gradual. Now is the time, he said, in which guards against it can be set with no sacrifice. Such an ardent Republican conservationist as Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania has spoken to the same effect.

Forest Service opposition seems to be based on the desire to avoid any interference with the present authority of a single official to make final decisions regarding wilderness area administration.

The wilderness bill, according to Dr. Richard E. McArdle, Forest Service Chief, "would give a degree of congressional protection to wilderness use of the national forests not now enjoyed by any other use. It would tend to hamper free and effective application of administrative judgment."

Dr. McArdle also says that last year only 1 percent of those who visited national forestlands went into wilderness-type areas. In testimony before congressional committees, he has stated that "the great mass of recreational users is precluded, by lack of roads, from seeing and enjoying these areas."

ROLE FOR CONGRESS

But if roads were built, conservationists answer, and great masses of people could then visit these back country areas, there soon would be no unspoiled wilderness left on this continent at all.

If this were to happen, conservationists point out, there soon would be no unspoiled wilderness left on this continent at all.

Why should there be? Conservationists argue that the more crowded this continent becomes, the more people have the right to know what primitive country means. They have the right to the tangible and intangible benefits of land that hasn't been exploited for short-range profit or turned over to mass recreation.

David R. Brower, executive director of the famed Sierra Club, admits that many people may never see a wilderness area and that many may never wish to see one. "But wilderness must be there," says Mr. Brower, "or the world's a cage."

As contemplated in the conservationists' bill now before Congress, the Wilderness Council it establishes would not be an administrative unit. The Forest Service has spoken as though it feared its power, but as a matter of fact, as Dr. McArdle himself has said before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, the council actually would have no administrative responsibilities.

It still would be the prerogative of Congress, as it is today, to add to, modify, or subtract from the lands designated to remain in their primeval state.

The wilderness council would consist ex officio of the persons at the time designated as the Chief of the United States Forest Service, the Director of the National Park Service, the Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Amendments have been proposed, acceptable to conservationists, which would add the Director of the Bureau of Land Management and reduce the number of citizen members, also provided for, from 6 to 3.

The Wisconsin Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, much has and will be written about the results of the recent Wisconsin senatorial election. It is significant that such an outstanding publication as the Cleveland Press should add its bit to this editorial quarterbacking. As one who has consistently supported the economy bloc during the 1st session of the 85th Congress, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the excellent editorial which appeared in the August 29 issue of the Cleveland Press:

WILL THE REPUBLICANS LEARN?

The upset election in Wisconsin should prompt the modern Republicans to think.

The margin was so decisive it hardly can be attributed to entirely local issues or personalities. It sends to the seat left vacant by the death of Republican Joseph McCarthy the first Democrat to be elected to the United States Senate from Wisconsin in 25 years.

The new Senator, WILLIAM PROXMIRE, is moreover a relative newcomer to Wisconsin, a resident of that State for less than 10 years. And his opponent was a proven vote getter, Walter J. Kohler, three-time Governor of the State.

It is significant that only 30 percent of Wisconsin's eligible voters turned out to the polls and this may be an indication of Republican apathy which extends far beyond the borders of Wisconsin.

For this apathy there are, perhaps, many reasons including local discontent with farm policy. But an important reason is inflation.

lus the revised pitch on big Government pending which has characterized the last w months.

Reduced size of government and reduced pending were vital planks in the Republican latform of 1952, upon which Dwight Eisenower was elected, breaking the 20-year reign f free-spending Democratic New Deal and air Deal.

Again in 1956 there seemed to be a choice etween spending and saving. Those favorng spending had a chance to vote for Adlai tevenson, who was overwhelmingly defeated.

The determination to pare down our vast ederal bureaucracy, to enforce economy, to ght inflated living costs, to ease the heavy urden of taxes, has been the cohesive force hich has held the Republican Party toether through two national elections.

It has prompted those who believe in that olicy to get out and work in the elections. has prompted them to bother to vote.

It prompted an avalanche of mail to Conress when the $71,800,000,000 budget was ubmitted by the administration and forced congressional economy campaign.

But the Republican label is no longer on hat campaign. The fire has gone out of the rusade and that could be one reason for hat has happened in Wisconsin.

Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am leased to include a very timely article, ppearing in the June 8, 1957, issue of he Worcester (Mass.) Evening Gazette, resenting a most practical and commonense summation of our extension of id to Poland during these trying days f her existence under a Communist egime.

I recommend its reading for a clearer nderstanding of Poland's unfortunate urrent position and the hope of her ventual freedom with our reasonable ssistance.

The editorial follows:

AID TO POLAND IS A GAMBLE

The administration is taking a big gamble giving aid to Poland. But it is a gamble at may pay off handsomely. The $48 milon worth of goods that we will shortly be ipping to Polish ports, plus the $46 million ore that will be made available when ongress passes the surplus agricultural mmodities disposal program, may loosen e Kremlin's hold on Poland to such a deree that the Communist empire will be riously weakened.

Not all observers agree with this interetation. Some Members of Congress have nted that aid to Poland is aid to Moscow, d that we should not help any Commuist regime anywhere.

Poland has a Communist regime to be re. But it is a Communist regime different from the regime which it displaced. e ruling figure in Poland today is Wladysw Gomulka, who spent years in prison der the Stalinists. He is insistent that land shall pursue its own independent urse.

Actually, Gomulka does not have much om for maneuver. His nation lies beeen the Soviet Union and the restive Red tellite of East Germany. Soviet troops are stationed all over Poland. As a result, Gomulka has to walk carefully. He cannot afford to antagonize Moscow.

At the same time, he has made it plain that he is dead set against Moscow domination. It took courage on his part to ask for United States aid, in the face of ominous rumblings from the Kremlin. There is no doubt that the Kremlin is highly suspicious of Gomulka, as it is of Yugoslavia's Tito. Neither is a properly pliant puppet in the Soviet eyes.

If we wait until we get regimes in Eastern Europe which are antiseptically anti-Communist and 100 percent democratic by our lights, we will wait forever. Tito and Gomulka are probably the best we can get at the moment. Communists they are, but they are also nationalists. There is a good case for supporting them in their initial efforts to free their countries from the Soviet embrace.

Discussion of Intergovernmental Relations From the Viewpoint of the Municipality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, recently I inserted in the RECORD a copy of the statement of Patrick Healy, Jr., executive director of the American Municipal Association, before the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee on July 30, 1957. Following Mr. Healy's prepared statement, there were some interesting colloquies between Mr. Healy and members of the subcommittee. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include them as follows:

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Thank you, Mr. Healy, for an excellent statement.

Mrs. Dwyer.

Mrs. DWYER. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I was quite interested in what you had to say, sir, on sewage disposal plants and water pollution being a national problem. Why then do municipalities on a State level fight air pollution even on a State level and claim it is a municipal problem when pollution of air knows no boundary lines? Why is their position so different in that field? For instance, the State League of Municipalities in the State of New Jersey opposed a provision or proposal by the State legislature that we have State laws on air pollution.

The League of Municipalities opposed that and said it was a municipal problem. I mean, I can see a similarily between water pollution and air pollution.

Mr. HEALY. I am not prepared to answer why the people of New Jersey took that position. I do know that in other States it is considered a State problem, and an interstate problem.

In California, for example, where the problem is particularly acute in some areas, they have asked for expanded Federal research into air pollution control, and they welcome some outside assistance.

Mrs. DWYER. Would your association then feel that it now was a Federal problem rather than a State problem? I mean, have you taken any position on that as you have on water pollution of streams?

Mr. HEALY. Yes, we have. I can't put my finger on it right now, but we have asked for the Federal Government to continue the policies of Federal responsibility for research and technical services, financial assistance to States and municipalities and enforcement of interstate pollution controls.

Mrs. DWYER. Sir, were you interested at all in the first interstate pact that was made on the study of air pollution beween New York and New Jersey?

Mr. HEALY. No; we did not participate in that.

Mrs. DWYER. Your league was opposed to it actually in both States.

Mr. HEALY. I see.

Mrs. DWYER. That is why I wondered on your water pollution how far you have come along in anything on air pollution as well as water pollution.

Mr. HEALY. Our position so far has been mainly to recommend Federal participation in research and technical assistance in air pollution, but in the case of water pollution, we have gone further and recommended and the Congress has seen fit to adopt the principle of Federal aid for construction of sewage-treatment plants.

Mrs. DWYER. In the city of Elizabeth we built our own sewage-disposal plants, and in the city of Plainfield, which is a much wealthier city in my own district they waited until they got a Federal grant, so I am not so sure that that always works on an incentive basis, because sometimes towns that are not as financially able go ahead and do the job that needs to be done for the town without waiting for Federal grants.

There is just one more question I would like to ask. Do you agree with the mayor who was here this morning from Milwaukee, that the Federal Government is in a better position as it concerns collecting taxes; that it is in a financially better position than the States to do the job of civil defense? For instance, he also mentioned school construction.

Would you agree with that when we know that the Federal debt today is almost $274 billion and the money really comes from the States, plus the fact that in school construction it was, I think, brought out that actually there are only 7 States that were in real need of moneys for school construction? That is an involved question. Do you follow my reasoning?

Mr. HEALY. I think I see what you are getting at. Our American Municipal Association has taken no stand on the matter of Federal aid for school construction, but I think Mayor Zeidler this morning, in referring to the superior ability of the Federal Government's tax resources was referring to the interstate character of industry today, the fact that a corporation, while it might be located with its home office in a State that has extra-favorable laws, has farflung operations throughout the country or over several States, and that the individual States left to obtain tax revenues from those corporations are not likely to achieve the same success that the Federal Government can.

I think that is more what he was referring to, and as a former State taxman myself, I can agree with that, that it is in that field of taxation that the Federal Government has more resources, is better able to finance Government than the States are.

Mrs. DWYER. Do you feel it is because the Federal Government has grabbed those resources from the States where they rightfully belonged?

Mr. HEALY. Well, not entirely. I think, as I pointed out in this testimony, that you have a situation of interstate competition too, and whereas a State may find that it is very desirable to undertake certain governmental services, it may not be willing to finance those services by imposing taxes which they feel might discourage industry from locating in that State, and you have got that continuing process going on to dis-

courage States from assuming their obligations to the public.

Mrs. DWYER. In other words, what you are saying is it is to the benefit of the States to allow the Federal Government to do urban development and slum clearance and sewage disposal plants and civilian defense because on a State level their responsibility is to keep their tax rate down low enough to keep industry within the State and keep the people on the local level happy by thinking their tax rate is not high. Are the States not keeping it low by going to the Federal Government, which is so far away that the people don't realize what the taxes really are?

Mr. HEALY. Well, you can apply that same line of reasoning within the State in State aid for school districts, for example. You could say well, let each school district raise its own money, so the people in that district will know what they are paying for. But they don't do that. Most States now have State aid for schools, and in some cases they have State aid for other activities of local government.

I don't think it is an attempt to try to fool the people into thinking they are getting something for nothing. I think it is an equalization program and recognizing the fact that the State is better able to raise revenue than the local school district is.

Mrs. DWYER. In other words, then your philosophy would be, or would it be—correct me if I am wrong—that the equalization such as we have on the State school aid formula would carry on on the Federal Government for other programs as well that equalize the 48 States on moneys going into the States for urban clearance, and so forth.

Mr. HEALY. I am not advocating it as a means of an equalization program that the Federal Government continue to participate in urban renewal. We advocate that as a means of stimulating urban renewal, as a means of providing Federal leadership which, incidentally, results in about $5 of private capital being spent for every $1 of Government money. It is a terrific program to stimulate private initiative and private action in rebuilding the cities.

For example, in your State of Connecticut, Congressman MAY, New Haven has taken the leadership in this program. This is a stimulating type of action that Federal aid results in.

Also it is a financial participation that we feel would not be there if the cities had to do it alone or if they had to depend on State governments.

We are not suggesting that it is an equalization program. It is just the fiscal facts of life in local government.

Mrs. DWYER. I agree with you on the air program that it has been a very fine thing for the cities of America. I was trying to draw you out what your philosophy was as far as your association is concerned.

Thank you all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. MAY.

Mr. MAY. I would like to compliment Mr. Healy on his statement and to perhaps get at the solution to these problems, as I tried to do earlier today.

You say that a lot of your answers to the problem lie in better State legislatures, legislators, more pay, but you have to sell the voters on the virtues of good State government, effectiveness and responsiveness of the State government.

Does your association have any promotional ideas or plans to help do that in the various States as a group?

I know in Connecticut they raised the pay, I think, $100 of the legislators last time. But next door in Massachusetts they work a little longer and they get paid five times as much. There is a great conflict going on in Iowa right now. Perhaps your association is doing something about it throughout the country.

Mr. HEALY. We are not. This is just a personal opinion of mine, as I pointed out here. The association has not undertaken any program to improve, you might say, the caliber of State legislatures.

Mr. MAY. That might be a little difficult. As I look at it, as the two former legislators mentioned this morning, they recognized the problem when they were there. We need everybody in the act.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. You have to put yourself in the position to try to improve your bosses and how they operate.

Mr. HEALY. That is right.

Mr. MAY. Along with the chamber of commerce this morning—maybe they are able to get into more areas than yours—it seems to me we are going to need the support of all kinds of organizations and associations in the country to get some conclusions that will be implemented.

Mr. HEALY. I think our association will give some study to this problem. We discussed it very informally among some of the representatives of the leagues of municipalities this last week and there is quite a bit of interest in this.

When I see both the State legislatures and the Congress in operation, what appeals to me is what a comparison there is. Congress does such a terrific job in the consideration and the passing of legislation that I do not know why the same kind of a job cannot be done at the State level.

Maybe the answer, as I have suggested here, is making it a full-time job. Maybe we should have smaller legislatures and make it full time, like Congress is, professional legislators with adequate staffs and adequate committee staffs and and have a continuing session every year.

City councils do that. They do not have staffs and they are not paid, but they are a continuing body that meets once a week year around. I do not know why the State legislature has to meet only once every 2 years for 60 days.

Mr. MAY. It would seem that the great powers they have over the local governments and with the increased populations and problems and the current discussion of the State programs that ought to be undertaken perhaps by States that they have a long way to go to keep up with the other areas of government.

Mr. HEALY. Yes.

Mr. MAY. Something should be done.

Mr. HEALY. That is right. It is going to take quite an educational program to ever put anything like that over. People's first reaction is "my God, they are in session too long now."

Mrs. DWYER. That is right.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. That is usually the attitudes of the governors.

Mr. HEALY. But actually and seriously the State legislature, I think, is the key to the strengthening of this whole State government process and local governments, therefore.

If the Chamber of Commerce of the United States would take on a project like that to improve the legislative processes, I think they might have a very constructive program. They are the leaders in local businesses and to a large extent have a lot of influence on public opinion. That is the kind of a program they ought to try to get behind instead of arbitrarily wanting to cut out all Federal aid and cut out Federal taxes and leave these things to the State. They do not stop to consider how the States are going to handle them if they have them back again.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. I think we all appreciate the viewpoint of the municipalities as expressed by you, Mr. Healy.

Has your group in any of its meetings ever embarked upon the highly controversial question as to whether or not the Federal Government by virtue of aid in various fields may ultimately get control and as a resul of control and continued centralization o power in Washington, because of the inher ent dangers in too much centralizatio might ultimately lead to dictatorship?

Mr. HEALY. We have not considered it fro that particular angle.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. I mention that because we have these discussions, on all of thes Federal-aid programs, the significant argu ments—and I know I make them myse quite often—are that Federal aid ultimatel leads to Federal control and Federal aid wil eventually force local governments and peo ple to rely too largely upon that aid and tha as a result of Federal control eventually ev erybody will have to look to Washington an of course, Washington everyone knows no is a city of bureaucracies. In fact, the othe day we were told during the debate on on piece of legislation that the Federal Gov ernment has approximately 35,000 advisor committees, allegedly advising somebody i Washington as to how it ought to operat and what it ought to do. That is the rea son I asked that question. That seems t be the thing that worries States-righters, s to speak, and there is merit to their posi tion. Then, of course, we in Congress afte we have been here a while learn to appre ciate the position of those who cannot agre completely with the view of the so-calle States-righters because we realize that ther are State responsibilities which many time the people in the States are unwilling t accept or simply cannot accept because o fiscal difficulties which you have described

Mr. HEALY. Well, our association in 194 and 1949 and 1950–51 adopted various state ments on home rule, and one of those state ments adopted in 1949 reads as follows:

"The administration of elections, school and police must always remain within th control of the States and local government Democratic government cannot easily b overthrown by a highly centralized govern ment as long as the elections are local, th educational system under State and loca control, and the police are primarily unde local jurisdiction. Municipal officials pledg their efforts to retain control in fact as we as in theory under these three importan activities."

A lot of thought went into that statemen and reflects our position that as long as yo retain local control of elections, of educa tion, and of police, we do not fear centraliza tion and too much power in Central Govern ment from Federal-aid programs.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. So long as you do not hav Federal control.

Mr. HEALY. That is right.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. With Federal control, it realistically argued, a few people controllin the reins of Government and the purse strings could do away with elections, th police forces, and local authorities; is th not right?

Mr. HEALY. That is right, if they have th police.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. That is what happened i Germany and in Japan. That has been th history of dictatorship. There is the con tinued centralization of power in the hand of a few people, the gradual abolition o rights and privileges of people on the loc scene and, eventually, abolition of the righ to vote and various other privileges.

Mr. HEALY. That is right.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. No other questions.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Naughton.

Mr. NAUGHTON. Mr. Healy, you made re erence to the Federal-State task force th has been appointed by the President and th Governors Conference to examine Federa State relationships. Is there any represen tation on that body of the local governmen below the State level?

Mr. HEALY. No, sir; there is not at the present time. The task force idea was presented to the governors by the President. The governors accepted it in a resolution and have appointed, I think, 10 of their number to their part of it and the President has made his appointments, but there is no representative of local government on the task force. Our president of the American Municipal Association, who is Mayor Ben West, of Nashville, Tenn., wrote to the president of the Governors Conference on July 11, Gov. William G. Stratton, of Illinois, calling attention to the President's talk at Williamsburg and the task force proposal and if you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, I might read part of that letter.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. You may do so.

Mr. HEALY. "In addition to pointing out that the needs of the Nation's citizens are glaringly evident, the President made it clear that unless action is prompt and effective, urban problems will soon almost defy solution.

"You will recall that in defining the problem and acknowledging the need for prompt and remedial action, the President raised the formidable question as to which level of the government, the city, the county, the State or the Federal Government has the basic responsibility to act. He also pointed out that if all levels must merge their efforts in order to handle the problem effectively, some basis must be established whereby the roles of the specific levels of government can be defined.

"In view of the President's emphasis on urban problems and specific references to current Federal programs effecting the Nation's cities, we assume the work of the task force will be directed largely to an analysis of necessary governmental activities in urban areas. On this basis we feel that participation in the task force by persons directly representing municipal interests would prove of great value to it in conducting the sort of study the President outlined. We are perforce most interested in the task force idea and are anxious to participate in its work actively. We should like to have you know that we stand ready to provide whatever assistance we can in furthering the efforts of the task force to conduct a successful and objective reappraisal of the responsibilities and resources of our local, State, and Federal Government."

By letter dated July 23, Governor Stratton answered our President as follows:

"DEAR MAYOR WEST: This will acknowledge your letter of July 11, informing me of your interest in the President's task-force proposal.

"I have noted your comments with reference to the many pressing urban problems now facing America's cities and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in calling my attention to your desire to actively participate in furthering the work of the task force.

"Sincerely,

"WILLIAM G. STRATTON,
"Governor."

That is typical of the way the cities have been treated. Of course, this may just be an acknowledgement. We hope that the Governor's Conference will call some direct representation of cities into their deliberations.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. I was looking for Mr. Michel. I thought he might be able to do something about that.

Mr. NAUGHTON. Mr. Healy, do you know if there is any representation of the legislative branch of State government on this task force?

Mr. HEALY. Well, on the task force itself there is not. They are all governors or Federal officials.

Mr. NAUGHTON. The task force is made up of executive officials from the Federal level and the State level. Since their recommendations, if they are to achieve any great changes or improvements, ultimately must be passed upon by the legislative branch at the State and Federal level, would you have any comment upon whether something might be done to achieve closer coordination with the legislative branch of Government during this study, rather than just presenting the results after its conclusion?

Mr. HEALY. I would hesitate to suggest how that task force should be composed. We have made a suggestion here that urban interests be represented. So far we have not made any impression and I doubt if we would want to suggest anything else in connection with the task force.

Mr. NAUGHTON. I was interested in finding out whether you personally felt there might be value in achieving better coordination and if you had any ideas as to how this might be done?

Mr. HEALY. It would seem that there would be considerable value in having representatives of State legislatures in on the ground floor of the deliberations of that task force, because as you have pointed out, they are the ones that are going to have to pass the laws. My observation has been that many times very well-meaning governors who are men of great stature and broad vision have good ideas which they present to State legislatures that are not adopted, and just as a matter of practical politics it would seem expedient to bring the legislatures into the task force.

Mr. NAUGHTON. Would the last comment apply equally at the Federal level?

Mr. HEALY. I would think so.

Mr. NAUGHTON. Just one other thing.

I think you quoted the philosophy from the Kestnbaum report that the level of government closest to the community should be used in approaching these problems, which need solving. Is it your feeling that the municipality, which I think you characterized is the level of government that is closest to the community, is presently handicapped in solving these problems by restrictions which have either been imposed by or not removed by the States under which the municipalities are organized?

Mr. HEALY. What was the last part of that question?

Mr. NAUGHTON. I wanted to know if it was your feeling that the municipalities, as the level of government closest to the community, have been handicapped in solving these problems because of restrictions that have either been imposed by the States or have not been removed by the States?

Mr. HEALY. Well, actually you mean the Federal programs, Federal aid programs.

Mr. NAUGHTON. Either in connection with Federal aid programs or in solving problems of a general nature.

Mr. HEALY. We feel, as I pointed out, that the present arrangements are quite satisfactory in such programs as Federal aid to airports and urban renewal, where you have a direct Federal-city relationship, and that nothing can be gained by imposing a State channel there, through which Federal aid must pass. Likewise, on all affairs of an urban character, we take the position that the cities are best able to administer local programs without interference from the State. We have quite a strong home-rule statement here that is our guide in this policy and if you care to, I would be glad to read it to you or put it in the record.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. You may leave it with us and we will be glad to include it in the record.

(The document as referred to is as follows:)

"HOME RULE

"1. The rights of home rule should be extended to all American cities. Within the framework of broad constitutional grants and broad statutory grants and limitations, the incorporated municipalities should have the right to adopt and amend their own charters and to pass all other local laws consistent with their powers and not inconsistent with the State constitution and State statutes. The basic right of all people in a democratic society is to govern themselves as long as they can do so without infringing on the rights of others. The extension of home rule would provide a more democratic government in the United States. At the same time, greater responsibility would be fixed on those persons most directly responsible for the conduct of those affairs in government which most directly affect the lives of its citizens. We therefore resolve:

"1-1. The people of an incorporated city should have the right to handle their own affairs under a constitutional grant of power from the State. Home rule would permit cities to amend their own charters by action of the local electors, to choose the activities they wish to perform, and to raise their revenue as they see fit. They should be free to choose their own form of government, not merely to operate a government given them by the State. They should have the right to decide for themselves what services they require, without asking State permission for each new undertaking. They should have authority to raise revenues from any local sources, without being required to beg for funds to pay for the services they need. The municipalities should not be required to support State projects, pay for State services, or carry financial burdens imposed on them by the State (1948).

"1-2. The principle of municipal independence carries with it the obligation of cities to face their own problems, to meet their own responsibilities, to finance their own enterprises within the limits of local resources, and consistent with practical economic and social factors (1948, 1949, 1950, 1951).

"1-3. Local government in the United States should be autonomous so far as practical and consistent with public welfare. While the Federal Government and governments of the several States may invoke their broad powers and greater financial resources to make possible some local government services, still these powers and finances should be delegated for the purpose of administration to the municipal authorities, in a manner consistent with responsible local self-government (1948, 1949, 1950, 1951).

"1-4. The American Municipal Association believes in and will work for effective governmental and administrative organization and practices in municipalities, seeking to preserve the representative character of municipal government, and to assure the people a high standard of municipal service, to the end that the greatest public benefit may result from the use of public funds. While no municipality can have complete autonomy, the cities should have the maximum local authority consistent with their position as constituent elements in a sovereign State (1948, 1949, 1950, 1951).

"1-5. The American Municipal Association maintains that efficient and economical municipal government can best be attained if the citizens of cities have both the power and the duty to require their chosen representatives to constantly seek the best methods of operating municipal activities, without being hamstrung either as to organization or financing by arbitrary restrictions in State constitutions or statutes (1954).

"1-6. The administration of elections, schools, and police must always remain within the control of the states and local governments. Democratic government cannot easily be overthrown by a highly centralized government as long as the elections are local, the educational system under State and local control, and the police are primarily

under local jurisdiction. Municipal officials pledge their efforts to retain control in fact as well as in theory under these three important activities (1949).

"1–7. The AMA supports the national franchise and local home rule consistent with the provisions of the United States Constitution for the District of Columbia (1956)."

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Healy, you are familiar with the fact—I refer again to North Carolina—that there we have an Advisory Budget Commission which meets continuously and compiles its report, which the Governor usually signs, and makes its recommendations to the State legislature.

I think both the chairmen of the appropriations committees and of the finance committees of the house and senate are on that commission.

I make that preface to this question. If the subcommittee were to seek the viewpoint of the State legislatures, on the basis of your experience with them and your knowledge of the setups in various States, what particular individuals would be the best point of contact for this subcommittee?

Mr. HEALY. I believe most State legislatures have a committee on local government. I would think that the chairman and 1 or 2 of that committee should be on.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Are you referring to the local government commission?

Mr. HEALY. No, a committee of the legislature.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. It is called the Committee on Cities and Towns in any State?

Mr. HEALY. They have different names for it. That is what I mean. Another committee would be the appropriations committee chairman. Another one would be the tax-raising committee.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. The finance committee.

Mr. HEALY. Finance. Finally the chairman of the committee on highways. I think those are committees that most city problems come before and their chairmen should be pretty well familiar with some of the problems.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Of course, the chairmen of the appropriations committee could well serve a useful capacity insofar as the State government is concerned as well as the municipal government.

Mr. HEALY. That is right.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Any more questions?

Thank you very much.

Mr. HEALY. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Bernard Hillenbrand.

It looks like we are getting a cross section of the various governments in our country.

Research: The Basic Ingredient of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to enclose a very pertinent editorial, appearing in the June 12 issue of the Worcester, Mass., Evening Gazette, emphasizing that, in this modern age, research is synonymous with progress throughout the country, even as it is in old New England.

The editorial follows:

THE BACKBONE OF NEW ENGLAND

According to some experts, the richest industrial resource of Massachusetts is not the textile, electronic, or any other industry.

It is research.

Without the vast research facilities centered about Boston, New England would be little more than a scenic appendage to the industrial heart of the United States. The work of "research row" on the banks of the Charles River links this region solidly with industry from New York to California.

Even as a pure industry, research is impressive. According to a survey by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, New England manufacturers spent $330 million on research and development in 1955. Massachusetts alone has no less than 322 research laboratories covering millions of square feet of space and employing 15,453 people. They service industrialists all over the world.

The importance of research is incalculable in this day. In the communications industry, for example, 77 percent of the sales in 1955 were derived from products unknown 10 years earlier.

Another study, done by Dr. Joseph F. Zimmerman, of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, for the State Department of Commerce, points out how pervasive research is in this area. Boston, says Zimmerman, is now conceded to be the medical research center of the world, with 62 schools and other institutions actively engaged in the pursuit of technical knowledge.

Agricultural and forestry research is playing an ever larger role in New England thinking. When this is coupled to the vast research effort being made continually in the field of industry, it can be seen how essential research is to New England prosperity.

It is sometimes said that brainpower is the biggest shortage in the United States today. Fortunately for New England, some of the best brains in the Nation are actively at work in our laboratories and educational institutions.

Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council on the Situation in the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, no group in America has been more hard-headedly accurate in its understanding of Soviet moves and maneuvers during the last two decades than the leaders of the A. F. of L., now merged with the CIO. Continuing that brilliant tradition is the following analysis of the exceedingly dangerous operations of Khrushchev, the dictator of the Soviet Union. Even more menacing than his deceptive pretentions of liberalizations is the fact that so many, in their wishful thinking, imagine he is more benign than Stalin, when in actuality he is more dangerous, because more clever.

STATEMENT BY THE AFL–CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The latest Soviet purge is an inevitable phase of the struggle within the Communist Party ruling clique over succession to Stalin.

In the 40 years of Communist dictatorship there, was not a single purge—no matter how much its real nature has been camouflaged with liberal premises and generous promises—which did not aim to strengthen the one-party system and to concentrate all power in the hands of the Communist Party boss.

Khrushchev has learned from Stalin how to camouflage and combine his purges with a seeming relaxation of Soviet domestic and foreign policies. In the midthirties, Stalin combined his ruthless purges and drive to strengthen his totalitarian control with such "liberal" measures as abolition of bread-rationing, adoption of the new "liberal" Soviet Constitution, popular front tactics, and Soviet participation in the League of Nations. In the midfifties, Khrushchev is driving to strengthen his control of the Communist Party and its totalitarian power over every walk of life—under cover of economic concessions to the peasants, generous promises to the workers, and expanded efforts for so-called coexistence.

Khrushchev and Zhukov, posing as champions of "peaceful coexistence" and generous treatment of the satellites, were the primary architects of the savage suppression of the Hungarian people in their effort to secure national independence and genuine coexistence with Russia and the rest of the world. The more flexible Soviet foreign policy under Khrushchev has not provided the slightest indication of Kremlin readiness to restore to the Baltic, Balkan, central European and Asian countries the national independence and human rights taken away from them by the use or threat of Soviet military force. Moscow is today most categoric in its opposition to German national unification through free elections. It insists on turning the entire German nation into another Soviet satellite by confederating the democratic Federal German Republic with the East German Communist puppet regime. Soviet imperialism in the Middle East has never before been as brazen. Moscow continues its unrelenting opposition to effective international inspection to assure the suspension of atomic tests and the cessation of production of fissionable material for military purposes.

There is just as little truth to Khrushchev's domestic claims. The new economic councils, established in the various Union Republics, are to be controlled by the respective Communist Party machines dominated by Khrushchev. Thus, the much-heralded struggle against bureaucracy actually aims to strengthen Communist Party control over the expanded Soviet economy. This reorganization is, therefore, not a step toward liberalism.

A similar reorganization plan is being prepared for the so-called trade unions in the U. S. S. R., with a view of assuring even stricter Communist Party control. Only by insuring such control, can Khrushchev intensify the exploitation of Soviet labor and hope to fulfill the sixth 5-year plan.

The promotion of Marshal Zhukov to full membership in the Presidium cannot be viewed as encouraging from the viewpoint of the free world. The Red Army is no force for liberalization. The percentage of Communist Party members in the armed forces is higher than in any other segment of Soviet society. Its leaders are fanatical Communists. Significantly, the United Nations report on Hungary emphasizes that the high command of the Soviet Army was even more determined than the Russian civilian authorities to crush the Hungarian democratic revolution. Clearly, the alinement of the Soviet military chieftains with Khrushchev offers no hope for greater freedom for the Soviet peoples and the captive nations or for a more peaceful Soviet foreign policy.

The test of any move towards democratization under a system of one-party dictatorship is the extent to which such a move reduces party control and domination. By this test, the new Khrushchev course, which aims at extending and tightening the hold

f the Communist Party on every walk of life, is away from liberalization and democratization. It is rather, a move toward harker reaction.

It would be fatal for the free world and the Soviet peoples to have any illusions about the Khrushchev course. Its fundamental aims are: (1) To prepare and strengthen the Communist Party machine for the next stage in its drive to destroy all its critics and concentrate all power in the hands of its first secretary. (2) To prepare and strengthen the Soviet regime for more effective pursuit and speedier realization of its basic foreign-policy aims—domination of the world and its remoulding in the pattern of Soviet despotism.

The Tobacco Program Must Not Be Disturbed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the Agriculture Department's inability to control surpluses of basic farm crops under the high price support program has provoked the Secretary to ask congressional authority to adopt requisite application of the flexible price principle.

It is apparent that even with limited acreage allotments, basic commodities continue to pile up surpluses when farmers resort to improved methods of cultivation.

As evidence that the Secretary, acting under existing laws, has been unsuccessful in reducing the enormous surpluses bought and stored at Government expense, he told the committees of the Senate and House that a new approach must be found. He said that production control is impractical, and that present laws governing acreage allotments and price supports are obsolete. He asked for major changes in the different price support programs for the six basic farm commodities—corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, peanuts, and rice.

While it is true that approximately 8 billion are presently tied up in surpluses, I would remind our readers that of all the support programs, tobacco is the only one that has operated without cost to the Government or to the taxpayers.

Tobacco is unique in that growers, sales agencies, and manufacturers have cooperated fully with the Commodity Credit Corporation in their well-regulated program to maintain production in line with demand. In so doing, tobacco growers have consistently been favored with 90 percent parity prices without involving the Government with any part of the losses sustained over the Government price-support programs.

In all fairness, whatever the Secretary of Agriculture or the Congress does to solve the problems with which agriculture is beset, we must not interfere with the successful operation of the 90 percent support of tobacco. As long as growers are willing, as they have been in the past, to conform to reductions of their allotments for the sake of a guaranteed living price for their effort, this program should not be disturbed.

For the most part, tobacco is grown on small family farms. It is a personalized crop requiring 436 man-hours per acre. Technology has no place in its cultivation. It is the only cash crop that can return needed income to small farms in hilly country. Sixty and seven-tenths percent is grown on allotments of one acre and under. It requires 12 months to prepare soil, to seed, transplant, cultivate, harvest, and prepare for market.

There are approximately 4,000 tobacco allotments in my district. To disturb their source of assured annual income would be disastrous. Growers will accept reduced allotments when they are convinced it is necessary for the successful operation of the tobacco program.

I realize the Secretary of Agriculture is hard pressed for a solution of the farm problems. Since nothing short of balancing supplies with demand offers much hope of eliminating the surplus problem, his appeal to Congress for some approach other than supports is understandable.

But tobacco is different from any of the basic commodities. It stores well and improves with age. The average stock in storage is about 3 years—just enough to take care of possible crop failures. The tobacco program guaranteeing 90 percent parity to the farmer has cost the Government nothing. It is a workable program, highly profitable to the grower, and should not be disturbed.

In the President's message to the Congress January 11, 1954, he said:

Each farm crop has its own problems and these problems require specific treatment.

He said further:

Tobacco farmers have demonstrated their ability to hold production in line with demand at the supported price without loss to the Government. The relatively small acreage of tobacco and the limited acres to which it is adapted have made production control easier than for any other crops. The level of support to cooperators is 90 percent of the parity price in any year in which marketing quotas are in effect. It is recommended that the tobacco program be continued in present form.

Please, Mr. Secretary, do not disturb the tobacco parity program as long as it is working successfully.

Tennessee Well Represented at World's Conservation Exposition and Plowing Contests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, Herb Parsons, America's fastest gun handler, and John and Pauline Blankenship, the first husband-and-wife team to ever enter the national plowing matches, are from Tennessee. I am including the following information about them for the RECORD:

WORLD'S GREATEST MARKSMAN TO APPEAR SEPTEMBER 19–20 AT WORLD'S CONSERVATION EXPOSITION

PEEBLES, OHIO.—Herb Parsons, America's fastest gun handler, will give a spectacular free public shooting exhibition at the 1957 world's conservation exposition and fifth world's plowing contests here, September 17, 18, 19, and 20.

A self-taught wizard with a Winchester, Parsons throws a 2¼-inch hard-maple block into the air, cracks the block and splinters the pieces with 4 bullets in an average of 3 seconds. In another amazing feat, he throws 3 clay pigeons behind him and between his legs, swings around and shatters them before they reach the ground. Conditions permitting, he will bag a tiny parachute 700 feet in the air with a high-powered rifle loaded with tracer ammunition.

Safety in the handling of firearms is as important to Parsons as his spectacular shooting, and his whole program stresses firearm safety as well as entertainment. Throughout his exhibition, in which he uses 12 rifles and shotguns, Parsons maintains a rapid-fire barrage of humorous comment. Parsons will appear at 1:30 p. m., September 19–20, the same days when champion plowmen from 14 countries will be competing for the world plowing championship. This is the first time this event has been held on American soil.

Parsons, who shoots under the sponsorship of Winchester-Western, is a native of Tennessee, had his first rifle at the age of 8, and bagged his first limit of quail when only 9. He has been shooting ever since. Described as the fastest and most entertaining gun handler in the country, Parsons is not a trick shooter—he performs his feats legitimately.

HUSBAND-WIFE TEAM TO REPRESENT TENNESSEE IN NATIONAL PLOWING MATCHES

PEEBLES, OHIO.—For the second consecutive year, a husband-and-wife team will carry Tennessee's colors into the national plowing matches, to be held here September 18. John and Pauline Blankenship, Route 6, Murfreesboro, Tenn., made history in the 1956 contest as the first husband-wife team ever entered into the national plowing matches.

Contestants from some 15 States are expected in this year's national matches being held in conjunction with the 1957 world's conservation exposition and fifth world's plowing contests, September 19–20. This is the first time the world contests have been held on American soil. Two-man teams are entered from 14 countries.

The fact that the Blankenships plow as partners, rather than competitors, eliminates the chance of any family squabbles as to which one is the real champion of the family. John plows in the level-land event, and Pauline in the contour contest. 1957 marks John's fourth appearance in the national matches. In previous competition he placed 12th, 9th, and 10th. Pauline made her first appearance in the national contest last year, placing 10th.

Mrs. Blankenship is the second woman ever to appear in a national match. As she explains it, "I'd rather be out there plowing than sitting at home waiting for John."

The Blankenships operate a 208 acre general farm, on which they milk 25 Jersey cows, raise Hampshire hogs, a few sheep, grain, and corn. They also breed and sell English shepherds, an all-purpose farm dog.

The Blankenships have 2 children, Mary Ann, age 11, and Henry, age 13, and they plan

to have the youngsters on hand when mom and dad go after the national plowing championship September 18. The winners of this year's national matches will compete in the 1958 world contests in Germany.

Protecting Our Country Against the Disloyal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, no true American can dispute the need to protect our country against disloyal public servants and disloyal citizens. All too frequently, however, in matters of this kind we allow hysteria to bestir our emotions to the point where we become illogical and sometimes almost childish.

Nothing can bring us back to our senses faster than a sense of humor.

That is why I submit, for the enjoyment of our colleagues, the following story which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of August 24, 1957. With all its humorous aspects, it strikes very close to the truth of what has happened in too many Federal departments and in many departments of local governments:

NOTHING HAD EVER STIRRED UP SUCH A FUROR AT THE PENTAGON AS THE IMPROBABLE CASE OF THE TOP SECRET MAN

(By Jacob Hay)

You may well ask what ever happened to Howard and Vinnie Enderby, but you will never get a clear answer from the United States Government. In fact, the United States Government doesn't even want you to ask questions about the Enderbys, and if you do, you might find yourself regarded with a cold and fishy eye by some polite young fellow from the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Chances are you've never heard of the Enderbys, and so you wouldn't have heard of their abrupt disappearance. Rest assured the newspapers gave it very little space. On orders from Washington. You think that sort of thing can't happen here? Well, sir; think again.

As it happens, I know what became of Howard and Vinnie. I threatened a floor fight if I didn't get the facts, and the Defense Department finally gave in.

Permit me to introduce myself. Upsham is my name; Clarence P. Upsham, Member of Congress from Exeter County, Pa., representing in the lower House as fine a group of upstanding American citizens as you will find anywhere in this blessed land of ours, coauthor of the Upsham-Shoemaker Act and vice chairman of the Subcommittee on Inland Herb Production.

And I say to you, my friend, that the conduct of the Government with regard to Howard and Vinnie Enderby has been infamous! I repeat, sir, infamous.

The whole nefarious affair began just over 2 years ago, shortly after Howard was, on the strength of some original work he'd done as associate professor at State, appointed to the post of chief of research and development for the Exeter Electronics Corp., of which you have undoubtedly heard.

Roebuck Masterson, president of Exeter Electronics, is a very close personal friend of mine, and I have the facts straight from him, so far as this part of the story goes.

Everybody in Exeter was tremendously proud of Howard's appointment. A hometown boy, he'd gone to State, and from there to MIT, where he'd taken his doctor's degree. And all of this, mind you, without taking a single red cent from his Aunt Bess Enderby, who'd raised him after his folks died. All done on scholarships, hard work and good old, redblooded Exeter County get-up-and-go. Fine boy in every respect. Tall, kind of heavy set, and his hair just beginning to recede a bit. Wore horn-rim glasses, but not stuffy, if you follow me.

Anyhow, when Howard came back to Exeter to work, his Aunt Bess had died, so he went to live at Mrs. Sam Heyward's boardinghouse out on West Market Street near Belvedere Avenue, and that's how he got to know Miss Vinnie Heyward, who was about 3 years younger than he was—that would have made her just on 30—and taught sixth grade at Franklin Elementary. Not what you or I might call a beautiful girl, perhaps, but she had a sweet, kind face and manner. Probably it was only natural that she and Howard should be attracted to each other. Here was Howard, who'd worked too hard getting an education to have much time left for girls, and here was Vinnie, who felt she ought to stand by her widowed mother and was just about resigned to being an old-maid schoolteacher living out her life in their big old house.

And so it got to be pretty well understood between them that just as soon as Howard's year of probation was up and he proved he could handle the job, he and Vinnie would be engaged to be married.

Well, sir, you can imagine how the two of them felt when Roebuck Masterson called Howard into his office and told him the job was permanent.

"That missile-control system of yours has got us an $8 million contract from the Air Force, my boy," Roebuck Masterson told Howard. "Exeter Electronics doesn't overlook work like yours, Howard. Forget the probationary period; the job is all yours, and what's more, your first raise becomes effective today. Congratulations, m'boy!"

It was a dream come true. The big, sunny office with its fine, comfortable furniture, and full command of a research laboratory second to none were really his, Howard Enderby's. It was just about everything a bright young research scientist might wish, and then some.

That very night Howard took Vinnie out to dinner at the Hotel Phineas Exeter and proposed over their second cup of coffee. Vinnie's brown eyes were misty when she accepted, and she could barely keep from weeping when Howard brought out the diamond.

"With what I'll be making," Howard told her, "we'll be able to give your mother so much every month, and she can give up the boardinghouse, if she wants to, and find a nice little apartment. As for us, I've had my eye on that new development, Aurora Hills, out on the Bull Road; one of those split-levels, maybe."

"Oh, Howie," Vinnie said softly, "aren't they terribly dear? I mean, isn't that where the Luther Manchesters bought?"

"Luther Manchester, the lawyer? Why, Vinnie, do you realize I'll be making nearly as much as Luther Manchester made the best year he ever saw?" Howard said proudly. "You won't have to blink an eye when Martha Manchester walks by, no, ma'am. Not Mrs. Vinnie Enderby, the prettiest girl in town."

"Oh, Howie," Vinnie breathed. "I'm so happy for us." And gently she laid her hand, sparkling with its diamond, on his.

Well, then, you can imagine how they must have felt 2 weeks later when Howard lost his job. He'd been working on plans for an entirely new research project when Roebuck Masterson sent for him, and when he arrived in Masterson's office, there was this quiet young fellow from the FBI.

"Howard, I'm 100 percent certain there's been some stupid mistake in the records," Masterson began bluntly, ignoring the shocked look on the face of this fellow from the FBI, "but it's about your security clearance. They tell me they can't clear you to work on top secret projects. Now they tell me! Frankly, I think they're crazy."

"But ——" Howard was speechless.

"Were you," the FBI man asked smoothly, "between September of 1937 and June of 1939, a member of the Demosthenian Literary and Debating Society at the Pennsylvania State College in State College, Pa., now known as the Pennsylvania State University at University Park, Pa.?"

"Why, certainly," Howard replied unhesitatingly. "We won the all-college trophy in 1938. Old Doc Stolzmeyer was our faculty adviser that year. Grand old gentleman."

"H'm'm'm." The FBI man sounded mildly pleased. "That does it. Doubtless you are aware, Mr. Enderby, that Professor Stolzmeyer was at that time eastern regional director of the Communist Party in the United States?"

"Oh, no. Oh, dear me, no."

"Oh, yes. Now the odds are, Enderby, that you're probably fairly loyal, but in this game we can't take chances. Rules are rules and regulations are regulations, and the fact remains that for 2 years, give or take a few weeks either way, you were in regular and close association with a known Communist."

"But we won the all-college on the affirmative of: *Resolved by this house*, That the Soviet Union stinks."

"You see, Enderby? These people are subtle. Sorry, but so far as your clearance is concerned, it's no go."

"But Stolzmeyer himself could tell you I never——"

"Professor Stolzmeyer, Enderby, took a sabbatical for study abroad in 1948. When last seen, he was boarding a train bound for Warsaw. He has since published two papers in the Soviet Journal of Comparative Bibliography and is believed living in Leningrad."

"Heaven knows how I hate to do this, Howard," Roebuck Masterson declared sadly, "but it looks very much as if I'll have to transfer you to household appliances. At least, until somebody clears this mess up once and for all."

"It's been very nice meeting you, Mr. Enderby," said the man from the FBI. "Sorry it's taken us so long to get around to you, but our backlog's tremendous. And you've taken this very well, I may say. Some of them foam at the mouth and run."

"But I've got to finish work on our missile-control system," Howard said desperately. "After all, it's my own invention, and none of the other fellows in the lab fully understand all of the problems we've still got to lick."

"Sorry, Enderby." The FBI agent's tone was final. "We can't take the risk. Your system's been classified 'top secret,' and without a clearance—well——." He shrugged and left.

So Howard Enderby was transferred to household appliances. Oh, it was done with tact and discretion, and Roebuck Masterson always made a point, over the poker table at the country club, of the fact that he needed his best men in household appliances because, in the final analysis, household appliances were the real backbone of Exeter Electronics. When world tension eased, who would need guided missiles? But the world would always need and buy a better vacuum sweeper.

Nevertheless, there was bound to be talk, and there was. Howard Enderby had been tried and found wanting; he just hadn't measured up to the job. Some people said they'd always said right along that Best

Enderby's nephew was a little too smart for his own good.

But Vinnie Heyward, bless her, was steadfast and loyal, and said it didn't make even the tinest bit of difference that Howard's lower salary wouldn't permit them to buy the split-level in Aurora Hills. And she went straight ahead with her plans for the wedding, except that she gave up all thought of a big ceremony with bridesmaids and ushers and all.

"Sooner or later they'll realize this is all just a silly, stupid old mistake," she kept telling Howard. "You'll see."

So they were married. Just a quiet little wedding in the side chapel at St. John's with only a few friends. And found themselves a nice little apartment.

Howard worked hard in household appliances. He developed a new type of switch for the Exeter line's mixer, and eliminated the static nuisance in the rotisserie. But his heart wasn't in it.

One afternoon, roughly 3 months after his demotion, he went to see Roebuck Masterson.

"Sir, I wonder if you'd mind suggesting to Bill Loughlin that he interlock the B-circuit complex with the thermal return," Howard said, referring to one of his former subordinates still working on the missile-control system.

Roebuck Masterson's eyes hardened, and he heaved himself to his feet behind his desk. "Howard, I'm shocked and surprised at you. How'd you know Bill was having trouble with that B circuit? Have you been pumping him for information? Aren't you aware you're not even supposed to know anything about that circuit?"

"It's really very simple, sir. I assumed that, in the normal course of development, Bill would be getting around to working on the B circuit just about now. I happened to pass him in the corridor this morning and he looked worried. I therefore assumed he'd come to the B-circuit problem and was encountering difficulties, and certainly the difficulty most likely to arise is with the interlock. The solution is to tie it in with the thermal return. You see what I mean?"

"You're dead sure Bill didn't violate security and come to you for help?"

"Dead sure."

"I'll pass on your suggestion, Howard, but I'm damned if I know what to think about this."

Well, as it turned out, interlocking the B-circuit complex with the thermal return did the trick, as Howard had known it would.

Several weeks later, he dropped by Masterson's office again, and laid on his superior's desk a superbly miniaturized angle-of-attack computer.

"George Heffernan ought to be about ready for this gadget," he told Masterson. "Anything larger would cramp the space he's going to need for the search-and-track radar." George Heffernan was Bill Loughlin's right-hand man. "I built it at home, by the way, in my spare time."

Two days afterward, Masterson was summoned to the Pentagon to face a grim-visaged group of Defense Department security officers, none ranking lower than full colonel.

"I tell you Enderby's a genius," Masterson told them flatly. "And I can swear on a stack of Bibles that he hasn't been near the research lab since the day I moved him out. The point is, he can estimate and deduce what problems are likely to arise, and then he simply goes ahead and works out an answer."

"He shouldn't," a rear admiral snapped, and stared distantly out of the window at the Potomac. "He's in violation of security even thinking about such things."

"I think intensive surveillance is indicated," an Air Force major general rasped. "We've got to establish who his contacts are; whether he's passing this stuff along and, if so, to who."

"To whom," corrected the gentleman from the Atomic Energy Commission, who had come to the meeting just in case.

"Nevertheless, Enderby's developed a workable gadget and we're going to use it," Roebuck Masterson said in a voice that rang steel. His eyes were icy beneath the formidable white thatch of his brows. "You can't stop a man from thinking, even if everything he thinks is classified."

"That's what I don't like about the situation," the rear admiral admitted.

"I'll initiate intensive surveillance procedures at once," said the gentleman from the FBI.

Three days after this meeting, Agent G. Fred MacBirney moved into the guest-sewing-room-cum-den in Howard and Vinnie Enderby's apartment. Slow-spoken and gentle, G. Fred MacBirney was a tall young man of Howard's age, but considerably thinner. He was also considerably embarrassed.

"Isn't there something in the Constitution about not quartering troops on the people?" Howard asked, when MacBirney showed up at the door, presented his credentials and stated his mission. "Not that Vinnie and I object to you personally, believe me. Vinnie loves company, and so do I, up to a point."

"I'm not exactly troops," MacBirney pointed out, "but I think you've got an argument there that would stand up in court. It's in the Bill of Rights someplace and, frankly, I don't think this is legal; but then, I'm not giving the orders. I also think you're taking this wonderfully, I really do."

"Most of them foam at the mouth and run, I suppose?" Howard inquired, smiling benignly.

"I beg pardon?"

"Nothing, actually. Just a passing thought."

"You could say I'm a visiting cousin," MacBirney suggested helpfully. "I mean, it might make it easier for both of us."

"Do you by any chance play chess?" Howard asked as he helped MacBirney carry his suitcases into the guest room. "I'm an Egeshevsky's gambit man, myself."

"Ever try Braunstein's end game?" MacBirney replied. "It works beautifully, once you get the hang of it."

"Now why don't you two boys step across the street to the Dutch Kitchen for a beer while I fix supper?" Vinnie called from her own kitchen. "Lamb chops, broccoli, and scalloped potatoes. Does Mr. MacBirney take tea or coffee, Howard?"

That evening Howard won 2 games and lost 1. G. Fred MacBirney insisted on going out to fetch midnight hamburgers, and Vinnie finished turning one of Howard's worn shirt collars and repaired a skirt.

Four weeks later, G. Fred MacBirney paused to light his pipe as he walked down South George Street past the First Presbyterian Church. A small anonymous black sedan eased up to the curb and MacBirney got swiftly into it.

"Well, Fred, what's the pitch? We haven't had report one from you, and you've had a month." The driver headed for the open countryside south of the city as he began his interrogation. "Meanwhile, all hell's busted loose in Washington, but I'll get to that later. What's with this guy Enderby?"

"He hasn't been out of my sight for a minute, except when he's asleep. And I'd like to go on record as saying he's as nice a security risk as any I've ever seen. Mrs. Enderby's a superlative cook, and I've put on 4 pounds. It's her marble layer cake with coconut icing."

"Does he keep a typewriter in his bedroom?"

"Now you mention it, I think he does. After all, I'm using what used to be his study. Why?"

"Seems he's written a couple of letters to the Pentagon, and the boys are climbing up the walls and gibbering."

"What sort of letters?"

"They won't tell me, but I get the distinct impression they're horrified at the idea of sending such hot dope through the mails. You know, Fred, if it was anybody else on this assignment but you, I'd swear we were goofing somewhere."

"George, why don't you have dinner with us this evening and see for yourself what the Enderbys are like?"

"Who, me? Me. Why, they'd throw me out so hard I'd bounce into next week."

"Nonsense, George. Howard and Vinnie would love nothing better than to have me bring my boss home to supper."

"Fred, boy, maybe I will." George swung the small black sedan around and headed back toward town. "You say she prefers coconut icing, eh, Fred?" The sedan picked up speed.

G. Fred MacBirney's boss, George, was not exaggerating the gravity of the situation at the Pentagon, where something closely approaching panic had swept through the various branches, bureaus, sections and subgroups devoted to safeguarding the security of the Department of Defense.

The cause of this unfortunate situation was a series of letters from Howard J. Enderby. None of the letters had anything whatsoever to do with projects then underway at Exeter Electronics, and this is what shook one and all so badly. For example, Enderby had outlined, clearly and briefly, a radar diffusing device which could render an aircraft carrier invisible, on radar at least, at less than 2 miles. Once somebody who could understand the letter had been located, the reaction was immediate and violent. The letter was classified top secret, eyes only, and major changes were ordered in the construction of the carrier *Shiloh*, building at Newport News.

Another in the series of letters suggested the solution to a design problem which had been holding up production of the ultra-secret Air Force Vulcanus ground-to-air rocket for nearly 6 months.

"Announcement of the Vulcanus project appeared in my local newspaper more than a year ago," Howard had written, "and since I haven't yet read of its being produced, I got to thinking about the most likely trouble spot your people might run across, and it struck me that the target-locking transistors might give you a bad time. If you've got the problem licked, just throw this into the nearest wastebasket. Yours sincerely, H. J. Enderby, Ph. D."

When the sixth letter arrived, postmarked "Exeter, Pa.," the Under Secretary of Defense for Security called an emergency meeting in his office. It was a tense and uneasy assemblage, and the atmosphere was rendered no cheerier by the presence of a Deputy Attorney General, who had been asked to sit in to advise on questions of constitutional law.

"If this were Russia, we could have this man, Enderby, shot," the Under Secretary for Security said, opening the meeting. "And if this were Great Britain, we wouldn't be conducting this meeting in the first place. Gentlemen, we've got a problem on our hands, mark you my words."

"Under the law," the Deputy Attorney General put in, joining the tips of his fingers in judicial fashion, "the defenda—, that is to say, Enderby, cannot be prevented from thinking, as *Schmidlap* v. *North Carolina* plainly indicates. The question resolves itself into the problem of what you do with a man who keeps thinking top-secret thoughts."

"We couldn't sort of classify his head could we?" inquired a youthful Air Force brigadier, who was promptly frozen into flush-faced and embarrassed silence by a senior admiral.

"Wouldn't it be possible to strike the Demasthenian Literary and Debating Society off your list of subversive organizations?" the Under Secretary of Defense for Security asked

wistfully. "You know, just quietly, just this once. As kind of a favor."

"Well." The Deputy Attorney General was shocked to the depths of his legal soul. "That sort of thing may be all very well over here in Defense, but let me assure you we don't go in for it at Justice; no, sir-ree-bob."

"We've got to do something," the Under Secretary said slowly, pounding the table with his fist to emphasize his words. "We simply have got to do something."

"I still say we could classify his head," the Air Force brigadier muttered beneath his breath, as the meeting broke up an hour later without reaching a final decision.

Back in Exeter, there was quiet joy in the Enderby apartment, Roebuck Masterson daring opposition from his board of directors, had made Howard cochief of research and development, in charge of household appliances, and had raised his salary accordingly. Howard and Vinnie had forthwith purchased the split-level Tudor cottage at 413 Fenwick Lane, right across the street from the Georgian colonial rancher occupied by the Luther Manchesters. G. Fred MacBirney had gone to New York for a weekend and returned with a third-rate but absolutely genuine Matisse drawing which had taken every cent he'd saved for a vacation in Mexico.

"I want you kids to have something to remember me by," MacBirney had said simply as Vinnie accepted his gift, her gentle brown eyes swimming. "That is if I ever leave."

"Which reminds me," Howard said, pausing in the act of stirring the preprandial shaker of martinis, "have you picked out the wallpaper for your room yet, Fred?"

And then the telephone rang.

"Is anything wrong, Howard?" Vinnie asked when her husband had finished listening to the caller at the other end of the wire. "You have such an odd expression on your face."

"They want me in Washington tomorrow afternoon," he told her. "And they said I'd better bring along my attorney, if I had one."

"Oh, Howard, I'm frightened."

His jaw hard, G. Fred MacBirney reached for the telephone, dialed long distance, waited briefly and then spoke, harshly and swiftly, "That you, George? Fred MacBirney here. This is official. I quit. 'Night, George." And hung up. "As it happens," he said, turning to Howard and Vinnie, "I am a lawyer, licensed to practice law in the District of Columbia and before the Supreme Court of the United States. I hereby volunteer my services. Howie, you've just got yourself a barrister."

"I'll pack a lunch and we can drive down," Vinnie brightened at once. "It's been years since I've visited Washington."

The following day, Howard J. and Vinnie T. Enderby, accompanied by counsel, G. Fred MacBirney, presented themselves at the offices of the Under Secretary of Defense for Security, and were ushered into the same room in which the emergency meeting had been called a few days before. The same group was gathered about the long mahogany table, but on this occasion the door was guarded by two United States marines in dress blues.

"Admiral Walkinson, Lieutenant General Bishop, Colonel Catling, and Mr. Davis, of the AEC," the Under Secretary completed the introductions. "Major Cramsie, would you get Mrs. Enderby an ashtray, please? We want this to be as informal as possible, you understand, Mrs. Enderby. Just a friendly little group."

There followed a brief statement of the situation by the Deputy Attorney General, according to Fred MacBirney's best recollection. You will not, of course, be surprised to learn that the verbatim transcript of the proceedings was destroyed by burning immediately afterward, and the two marines who had been present were transferred to duty aboard the radar-picket ship *Covington*, permanently stationed in the Bering Sea. But Fred MacBirney's word is good enough for me, and this is the way it went, as he recalls.

"What it boils down to," the Under Secretary of Defense declared when the Deputy Attorney General had finished, "is that we're in a bind. We need your brain, Enderby, but legally you're not supposed to use it."

"Mr. Enderby's contributions are proving immeasurably valuable," rumbled the senior Air Force general, and there was a loud murmur of assent. "We've got to the point where we couldn't do without his thinking, rocketrywise."

"Hear, hear," said the AEC's representative. "Well said."

"I tell you, Enderby," the Under Secretary resumed, "we've put our best thinking into this mess, and I believe we've come up with the answer."

"It better be good," muttered G. Fred MacBirney.

"We have decided, with the full agreement of the Justice Department," the Under Secretary said, "to classify you."

"Top secret," the Deputy Attorney General added triumphantly.

"Now wait just 1 minute," G. Fred MacBirney thundered, leaping to his feet. "Now you just hold your horses."

But then Howard Enderby was speaking, and a curious smile was on his broad, pleasant face. "Relax, Fred," he said easily, beaming through his horn-rimmed spectacles. "Maybe he's got a point. Naturally," he continued, directing his attention now to the Under Secretary, "you've planned to classify Vinnie—that is, Mrs. Enderby—top secret too?

"Why—ah, I hadn't thought about that angle," came the reply in some confusion. "But I suppose we'd have to, wouldn't we?"

Howard nodded happily. "And I think you'll agree that, as top secrets, we really ought to be isolated. For security's sake.

"We did have something like that in mind, I'll admit," put in the Deputy Attorney General uneasily.

"And it goes without saying that you'll want me to go right on thinking?" Howard went on, sweetly and earnestly.

"Great Scott, yes, man. That's the very reason we've got to classify you," boomed the senior admiral.

"But in order to think properly, I'll need the correct environment, won't I?" Howard asked, and now his voice was so gentle that the representative from the Atomic Energy Commission had to cup an ear to hear.

"That would seem to follow," the Under Secretary agreed smoothly.

"But if I didn't have the proper environment, I might not be able to think or I might even refuse to think, mightn't I?" Howard continued his relentless questioning.

"Again, that might be expected," the Under Secretary agreed, but his tone was suddenly guarded.

"In that case," said Howard Enderby calmly, "I have a number of suggestions to make."

The whole operation was carried out so quietly and efficiently that it was some time before Exeter, Pa., began to wonder what ever happened to Howard and Vinnie. Arrangements were made to dispose of the split-level in Aurora Hills, and the Enderbys' possessions were loaded in an unmarked van which later deposited them at a military airfield on the outskirts of Baltimore, where they were crated for shipment and placed aboard an aircraft of the Military Air Transport Service.

Roebuck Masterson was called to Washington and curtly informed that the Enderbys were now wards of the Government and that he would not discuss the matter further, under any circumstances.

In Alexandria, Va., G. Fred MacBirney paid a hurried call upon a Miss Joanne Baldridge, aged 26, resident in that city, and shortly thereafter these two young persons also vanished.

In Roebuck Masterson, however, the Defense Department erred badly in supposing that he would accept their patently feeble story meekly, and tremble at their veiled threats.

Instead, he came directly to my chambers in the House Office Building and demanded that I take action. As soon as I had heard his story, I did so, for Roebuck Masterson is a responsible citizen and, in addition, exercises considerable influence in my party's affairs on a statewide scale.

As I've told you, it wasn't easy. There were evasions, denials, delays, and endless petty annoyances, but in Representative Clarence P. Upsham the Defense Department was dealing with a man armed with right, truth, and justice, as well as, I might add, a potential member of the House Armed Services Committee, should my constituents see fit to return me to my seat for another term. In the end, the Defense Department crumbled.

While I insist on bringing to merciless light the Government's treatment, highhanded as it was, of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Enderby, I am, on the other hand, constrained by the considerations of our national security to refrain from disclosing their exact location. Suffice it to say that I, like them, was flown there aboard a military aircraft.

Howard and Vinnie, I am happy to say, are enjoying excellent health and, somewhat to my surprise, seem extremely happy. He has put on a little weight around the waist, but the climate has done wonders for them both.

Their house, a really quite commodious structure, faces out over the lagoon from its position in a grove of towering palm trees. Wicker armchairs and tables make the broad, shady verandas comfortable, and a score of cheerful natives, hibiscus flowers in their hair, make Vinnie's household tasks a work of love and joy. Vinnie, by the way, has become an expert at the surfboard, while Howard prefers sailing his catamaran for recreation after a day in his magnificently equipped laboratory.

Fred and Joanne MacBirney live on the other side of the island, past the Nike site and heavy antiaircraft batteries, in accommodations of equal comfort. Fred has been reinstated in the FBI, at Howard's express wish, and, like the Enderbys, the MacBirneys seem quite contented and even happy in their exile.

Indeed, when I announced my intentions of revealing their ghastly plight, both families were urgent in their appeals that I should do no such thing.

"Please, Congressman Upsham," Howard Enderby begged me earnestly on the day of my departure, following a truly excellent native luncheon served on palm leaves by a number of remarkably well-proportioned young native girls, "think it over. We've everything we need here. Fred and I are learning Bogdanoff's Gambit. Lieutenant Nurney, who commands the antiaircraft people, plays beautiful poker. The plane from the mainland brings us anything we want once a month, and I'm in the middle of some infrared-ray work for the Navy. Why not just forget the whole business?" Inside the house, an air conditioner switched itself on, as the day was tepid, and I was grateful for its coolness, since, unlike Howard and Vinnie, who wore merely the simple island garb of brightly colored cotton sarongs, I was dressed in my customary dark blue serge.

"Please, Congressman," Vinnie added her plea, and I was once again struck by the rich golden tan she had acquired while living on this lost tropical atoll.

"No," I told them firmly. "You young people have been grossly mistreated and your rights violated by our Government, and I will see justice done if it is the last

thing I ever accomplish as a Member of the Congress of the United States."

And I intend to. Or get classified top secret myself.

New Jersey Should Be Considered as a Farm Drought Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the disastrous results that have followed the drought during the past summer in the State of New Jersey. The farmers of New Jersey have suffered great losses which justify the recognition of that fact by the Federal Government. Too frequently the farmers of New Jersey are overlooked in the application of remedial legislation that has been enacted by Congress that would be helpful to farmers. It is time more considerate attention was given to our New Jersey farmers.

As an indication of the need that exists herewith include as part of my remarks a resolution that was passed by the Senate of the State of New Jersey. It reads as follows:

Whereas the State of New Jersey has been visited with one of the most disastrous droughts which has occurred in many years; and

Whereas the farmers of the State have suffered and will continue to suffer tremendous losses by reason of damage to their crops occasioned thereby; and

Whereas the President of the United States has been requested to determine that the State is a disaster area, so that Federal aid may be made available to those suffering damage by reason of the drought and said request has been denied: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the New Jersey Senate, That:

1. The President of the United States is hereby respectfully requested to reconsider his determination that the farming areas of this State do not constitute disaster areas and to determine them as such disaster areas in order that Federal aid may be available to those persons who would be entitled thereto as a result of such determination.

2. The secretary of the senate is hereby directed to forward a copy of this resolution, duly signed by the president and attested by the secretary, to the President of the United States and to each of the United States Senators, and each Member of the House of Representatives, from New Jersey.

ALBERT MCCARY,
President of the Senate.

Attest:

HENRY H. PATTERSON,
Secretary of the Senate.

To further emphasize the need that exists I include as part of my remarks a telegram which I have received from Hon. Charles W. Sandman, Jr., State Senator of New Jersey representing the County of Cape May. His telegram reads as follows:

CAPE MAY, N. J., *August 13, 1957.*
Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Due to the vacancy in the Third Congressional District caused by the death of the late T. Millet Hand I have been asked by a delegation of farmers of Cape May County, N. J., to urgently request reconsideration of the negative drought-disaster decision as it affects New Jersey and particularly Cape May County. This county is the smallest county, agriculturally, in the State and now shows crop losses estimated in excess of $1 million and increasing daily. Corn and hay crop total losses. Pastures beyond repair. Farmers feeding winter feeds. Irrigation ponds dry. Rivers used for irrigation now salt and unusable. Lack of feed grains forcing liquidation of livestock. General economic conditions endangered by lack of farm income as it affects local businesses. Farmers unable to settle current indebtedness and unable to borrow for the coming crop year. Only extreme severity of condition and desire to obtain relief for the farmers in this county necessitates this direct appeal.

Respectfully,
CHARLES W. SANDMAN, Jr.,
State Senator, New Jersey.

In answer to this telegram I addressed a reply to Senator Sandman reading as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 14, 1957.*
Senator CHARLES W. SANDMAN, Jr.,
Cape May, N. J.:

Telegram received. Regret exceedingly previous action taken by administration in not designating New Jersey as drought area. However, Department of Agriculture advises me Acting Secretary of Agriculture Morse has authorized making production emergency loans pursuant to section 2 (a) of Public Law 38, as amended, to eligible farmers in all counties of New Jersey because of damages and loss to crops and pastures resulting from drought conditions. I am mailing you leaflet outlining requirements for participation. Farmers desiring further information about loan or other types of assistance should get in touch with Farmers' Home Administration office serving their county.

CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
Member of Congress.

It's Your Life, Be Careful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 10, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a very pertinent editorial, appearing in the July 4 issue of the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram, emphasizing that in the greatest number of automobile fatalities that plague this Nation, it is the driver alone who is responsible for the deaths of himself and passengers.

This startling revelation by the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators should serve as an adequate warning to each of us and vividly remind us that every time we sit behind the wheel of an automobile our destination is not, necessarily, to heaven in a hurry.

The article follows:

WHAT CAUSES MOST AUTO DEATHS

The familiar plea for safe driving on a national holiday is once more being broadcast throughout the land. There is evidence that these repeated urgings are not entirely without effect, however inadequate they might seem in the face of a killer which takes 40,000 lives a year.

The American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators points out that traffic deaths dropped 18 percent this Memorial Day compared to a similar period a year ago.

The association appends "one last word of warning to carry through the summer. • • • By far the greatest number of highway deaths occur on the open road with no other auto involved, sheer cases of drivers losing control of speeding cars."

That is a statistic worth thinking about. And it means just one thing. Most of the motorists setting off today for a long Fourth of July weekend will have only themselves to blame if they never get back.

Social Security Wage Freeze

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the following bulletin from the Butte, Mont., chapter of the Disabled American Veterans is a case history of the need for a more sympathetic interpretation of what is meant by the amendments to the Social Security Act that provide for payments to those disabled and for freezing of wages of disabled workers.

The following bulletin recites the case of a man who has had six separate determinations that he be totally and permanently disabled. Yet because the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance has laid down as a test that to qualify for benefits "you must have a disability which is so severe that it prevents you from doing any kind of work," this man is denied a right which Congress intended him to have.

The bulletin from the Disabled American Veterans of Butte, Mont., follows:

As every reader of this bulletin knows, our totally and permanently disabled life member, Cornelius (Neal) King, had a hearing last October 22 before a social-security referee on his claim for a wage freeze under the 1954 amendment to the social-security law. The Butte social-security office had previously denied this protection to King's wife and children.

At that hearing, in addition to our witnesses, we had (1) a sworn statement by Dr. Terrill, of the Montana Tuberculosis Sanitarium, showing that King was totally and permanently disabled from silicosis; (2) a certificate from the Montana Department of Public Welfare showing that King was totally and permanently disabled by silicosis; (3) a finding by the Insurance Division of the Veterans' Administration that King was totally and permanently disabled by silicosis; (4) a finding by the Compensation Division of the Veterans' Administration that King was totally and permanently disabled by silicosis; (5) a letter from the Attorney General of the United States of America to the United States district attorney in Butte conceding that King was totally and permanently disabled by silicosis; and (6) a judgment by the Federal court in Butte that King was totally and permanently disabled by silicosis.

In spite of this mountain range of uncontradicted and undisputed evidence of the man's disability the referee said "No," backed up the local social-security office, and denied King's wife and children the protection of the wage freeze—all on the strength of some stuff he read in a big medical book.

In these intervening months the Appeals Council of the Social Security Administra-

tion has decided that their case against King is a bit wobbly, and they have refused to approve this outrageous decision by their referee—at least until he can get in with a little testimony by some witness who is willing to swear on his oath that silicosis does not disable a person.

So they have ordered a rehearing of King's case, now scheduled for September 13, at which time the social-security people will unwrap their star witness to testify that silicosis is not disabling. He is Dr. Armstrong, a medical expert from the University of Maryland, who knows all about respiratory diseases. How do we know he will testify against King? Because if Dr. Armstrong had told the social-security boys back in Maryland the truth—that silicosis was an insidious and certain killer—then they would have reversed the case outright and granted King the wage freeze. But Dr. Armstrong has evidently told them that silicosis isn't any worse than a bad cold. So now the holy white fathers of social security are sending this man to Butte at taxpayers' expense to help them put the harpoon into King—but good.

Yes, King will get the ax on September 13. He will suffer the rottenest injustice that has come to the attention of Butte Chapter No. 6, Disabled American Veterans, in many a long year. He has fought his claims successfully for 10 years, through many Government agencies, and he's still willing to keep up the good fight—but he's 60 years old now and this dreadful scourge of silicosis is taking its toll. He doesn't have much fight left; he doesn't care what the social-security referee does, nor what the medical expert from Maryland says. But whatever the result, King is ready again to take it on the chin.

King is an ex-Butte miner and has served this Nation honorably in two World Wars. Can the rest of us sit idly by while these shrewd bureaucrats of the Social Security Administration nail King to the cross? If we do, we can never tell when we might get a dose of the same medicine. Can we sit by and let the eager beavers in this Government agency make an official determination that silicosis is not a disabling disease? If we do, it will hurt plenty for a lot of veterans as well as nonveterans in this mining community. Can we afford to let the Social Security Administration go on with these milk and honey newspaper articles—about what they'll do for the disabled worker—and then let their hatchetmen give the works to an outstanding United States citizen like Cornelius King?

Butte Chapter No. 6 of the Disabled American Veterans is not about to sit still for this kind of social security.

Hon. Sam McConnell, Jr.

SPEECH
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 27, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the entire Nation is the loser when Members of Congress like SAM MCCONNELL retire from office. The announcement of his resignation in order to accept the position of executive director of the United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc., ends a congressional career of distinction by one of the most popular and able Members of this body.

Having served for several years on the same committee with SAM, I watched him in action and got to know him well. Equipped with a brilliant, analytical mind, he seemed to always be a little ahead of the field in finding loopholes, detecting weaknesses, and bolstering vital features of legislation. He was indeed a devoted public servant, thinking always of the public interest when controversial legislation was being considered.

In my humble opinion SAM MCCONNELL has been one of the most respected, sincere, and valuable Members who has served in this body since I came here 16 years ago. We need more men like him. I join with my colleagues in this deserved recognition and praise, and extend to SAM and his family Godspeed and all good wishes for the future.

Accomplishments of Present Session of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, among the accomplishments of the present session of Congress is the fact that the legislative branch has been stubbornly reestablishing its position of equality with the executive arm of the Government. I do not mean to say that this has been a recalcitrant Congress, but it has been one in which party lines have been fairly well ignored in considering requests from the White House.

For instance, we gave the President what he wanted in the way of a Mideast doctrine, and it has apparently paid off. His bold plan for that area of the world was questioned at length, but the fact remains that the interests of the free world have been immeasurably bolstered in a critical area.

When you consider the recent heat of the civil-rights debate, you can see again that, unlike the New Deal and the Fair Deal, when a President sends his views to Capitol Hill it is not always with the certainty that they will be accepted with alacrity.

The President is an intensely popular man, but he is a man who accepts the idea wholeheartedly that our system of Government is composed of three branches—the legislative, executive, and judicial. They are, as the President has admitted, fundamental and their rights and constitutional duties cannot be tampered with.

The Republican Members of Congress have consistently tried to limit appropriations to last year's expenditures and to date few new programs have been approved involving any large and continuing outlay of money. It is true that even with these economies, the budget involves a great deal of money, but, eventually only time will tell whether we have been wise or foolish.

It must not be forgotten that we live in a turbulent, unsafe, and totally insecure world. And, frankly, it takes in- surance payments to live in that kind o a world. In the past we have carrie this insurance on the basis of short-ter endowment rates, thereby depleting ou capital structure. It is time we con verted this plan to long-range term rate consistent with the stabilization of ou national currency and our monetary standard.

It would not be wise for this country to temper its present "hard look" at com munism as personified by Khrushche and Bulganin. Communism is still tyr anny, no matter how you regard it.

After I served in the 83d Congress, took occasion to visit Asia. In Afghan istan, India, and other places in the Fa East, I saw the fertile soil in which th false Communist seed is sown with suc prolific repercussions. It simply boil down to this, the Communist bosse preach an almost religious doctrine o political resignation. The people ar exhorted to be apathetic in everythin except their devotion to the regime.

Our aim, therefore, should be to figh it with everything we have, provided al ways we do not overlook the fact tha only by remaining solvent and unite can we hope to prevent creeping socia ism and Communist infiltration. Ever public servant entrusted with financia administration should resolve each da that Lenin's prophecy shall not com true.

So, too, must we face head-on th spending inflationary trends. This is terrific subject, one that is worldwide i scope. People everywhere are demand ing more things. Their demand fo goods is beyond the capacity of th world's productive machinery. We hav decolonialized a great many people an given them an opportunity to demon strate their political maturity. At th same time, even at a faster rate tha their political development, they ar rapidly advancing in their economi growth. This can continue only as lon as they maintain stable currency.

The old established currencies of th world have skidded down to unbeliev able lows of value. The French fran is well below the value, in terms o American currency, of the old America continental dollar. America must s the pattern by stabilizing our dolla then others may be expected to follo

As to what to do about this situatio I personally favor a revision of our ta laws so that private investors may hav more money in their pockets with whic to increase our productive capacity an help alleviate a condition which is no confined to the United States alone, bu to the world at large. Here in Americ labor and industry must cease vyin with each other for higher wages an automatic price increases. The consum ing public, heretofore the innocent vic tims, deserves a break which, if no soon forthcoming, will resort to boycot methods in self-defense.

We have balanced our budget an made a sizable reduction in Federa spending. Let us make this program yearly habit and, as the night follow the day, the purchasing power of th dollar will move toward normal.

Congressional Record

United States of America

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PERIODICAL READING ROOM

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-fifth Congress will be published not later than Thursday, September 19, 1957. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Statuary Hall, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Walter Reuther's Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, on August 26 I commented on the floor of the Senate to the effect that Walter Reuther's proposal of an average cut of $100 in automobile prices was as phony as a $3 bill. Evidently, I am not alone in this thinking because many editors across the country have assessed this approach in the same way. Knowing that Mr. Reuther is not one to give up easily in seeking the achievement of his publicity attempts, I have collected certain of these writings and ask that they be placed in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point in my remarks so that my colleagues may be kept abreast of popular thinking on this Reuther phony.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of August 24, 1957]

MR. REUTHER IS WRONG

There are superficial resemblances between Mr. Walter Reuther's proposal for checking inflation and the replies from General Motors and Chrysler. Mr. Reuther, speaking for the United Auto Workers, asked the automobile industry to cut prices on new model cars $100, and said that if this were done the UAW "will give full consideration to the effect of such reduction on your coroporation's financial position in the drafting of our 1958 demands and in our negotiations." Mr. Curtice, speaking for General Motors, suggests that the union extend its present contract for another 2 years. "For our part," he concludes, "we will continue to do all in our power to resist inflationary pressures and promote stability." Mr. Reuther emphasizes the automobile industries' profits; Mr. Curtice stresses labor's gains; Mr. Colbert, of Chrysler, the industry's moderation. Each tends to place the burden of beginning to halt inflation on the other.

But there is an important difference in the two approaches. Mr. Reuther's assistance in keeping down costs is not only conditional upon a prior cut in automobile prices. He proposes that if there is a dispute between the union and management over the effect of such a cut upon company finances, it be submitted to arbitration, in which the union would have the right to ask for whatever data on the affairs of the company it chose to bring before the public.

In other words, as Mr. Curtice promptly pointed out, the present proposal "bears an unmistakable resemblance" to Mr. Reuther's demand in 1945–46 that General Motors "open the books" to answer his contention that wage increases could be granted without price increases. And Mr. Curtice quotes Mr. Reuther's later remarks "that the whole question of opening the books was merely a public relations job on our part * * * and it was used to put the company on the spot, so that they would have to talk economics or be over a barrel."

Now it is one thing, in a competitive industry, to talk economics in general and quite another to reveal the whole financial machinery of a company. The one is feasible, the other is not. Evidently Mr. Reuther, on his own showing, knows that. Consequently, Mr. Curtice has every reason to be mistrustful of the Reuther suggestion, quite apart from the basic premise that prices are not properly the subject of collective bargaining. This last is not an arbitrary position; it simply reflects the fact that prices are the result of a complex pattern in which wages are simply one, albeit a very important factor. To appraise that pattern is the responsibility of management, one which, in Mr. Colbert's words, Mr. Reuther wants management to abdicate.

So Mr. Reuther's initiative is not the way to combat inflation. His exchange with Mr. Curtice has pointed up the need for fighting the creeping deterioration of the value of the dollar, a subject on which President Eisenhower has spoken very earnestly. But the way to stop that deterioration is restraint—self-restraint, at whatever key points it can be applied. It is not a matter of bargaining, or something to be used for bargaining advantage. It is a hard, simple thing that rests on the conscience of everyone who buys or sells, who influences wages or prices.

[From the Detroit Times of August 26, 1957]

CALLS REUTHER BID PHONY AS A $3 BILL

WASHINGTON, August 26.—Senator GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona, told the Senate today Walter Reuther's proposal for an average cut of $100 in automobile prices was as phony as a $3 bill.

GOLDWATER charged Reuther detests free enterprise and wanted the Government to take over the businesses of the country.

Major auto manufacturers have rejected Reuther's proposal for a price cut in exchange for a UAW promise to make some adjustment in next year's union contract demands.

GOLDWATER said if Reuther so piously wanted to end inflation, he should quit demanding more Federal spending for schools, public power, foreign aid, agriculture, housing, and other projects.

He said Reuther wanted to expedite our transition from the blessings of free enterprise to the oft-proved disasters of socialism, and added:

"Walter Reuther detests free enterprise. He abhors any form of private management,

and the market place in which we and our ancestors have met for thousands of years he considers the very epitome of evil.

"This is the same man who in 1934 was so enamored of the Soviet Union that he closed a letter with the statement 'carry on the fight for a Soviet America.' I say this: that if and when the businessmen of this country succumb to the constant siren wails of Mr. Reuther, then the fight for a Soviet America will be won."

[From the New York Journal-American of August 24, 1957]

M. S. RUKEYSER SAYS: REUTHER "ECONOMIC KIBITZER NO. 1"

As a replacement for the American competitive system, Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers, appears to be groping for a substitute economic blueprint.

His letter, advocating a $100 wholesale price cut in new model automobiles, which he sent to the presidents of the Big Three, envisages a new technique for rigging prices by collusion between management and the union.

With his customary gift for exploiting the spirit of day to dayness and opportunism, Reuther's essay on how to combat inflation is—to say the least—timely. This is in the Reuther tradition.

Reuther has long specialized in arresting economic ideas. For example, in the early phases of preparation for our participation in World War II, Reuther proposed that the automobile industry simultaneously produce automobiles and munitions. Fetching as the proposal seemed, the War Production Board ordered a complete cessation of manufacture during the emergency of motorcars for civilians.

After the shooting phase of the war, Reuther again captured the headlines by exploiting public apprehensions that a vast period of unemployment might be in the offing. Here Reuther circulated his famous doctrine that wage rates could be upped without increasing selling prices. His rhetoric was enticing, but this has proven to be a multi-billion-dollar economic fallacy.

The postwar record of prices, after the Reuther experiment, indicates that costs, subject to competition, tend to make prices, and that, if unit costs are raised through arbitrary pressures at the collective bargaining table or elsewhere, selling prices tend to rise.

Many learned this simple principle in an elementary course in economics, but this vast country was turned into a laboratory for testing the principle anew.

Two years ago when the guaranteed annual wage was the password of the onetime boy wonder, Walter Reuther, now a mature man of 50, Reuther guessed wrong and rejected the Ford offer of an alternative. Ford proposed to sell employees company stock at half its value on easy installment terms. While it may take a full generation to measure the extent of Reuther's blunder, it can be said that thus far disaster insurance has been of less value during the continuing boom than a stake in the good times.

From a practical standpoint, Reuther's current effort to become public economic kibitzer No. 1, and to arrogate to himself management's responsibility to exercise judgment in pricing products, indicates that he is concerned about the hazards of exploiting the boom to the hilt. His vague suggestion of moderation in wage demands in return for an automobile price cut, is a radical shift of policy from earlier indications that next year Reuther would plump for introduction of a 4-day workweek, presumably for 5 days' pay.

Such a formula would have inflated unit labor costs, and would have put manufacturers on the spot. Under such circumstances, they would have to choose between a workers' strike based on resistance to such a demand, on the one hand, and a possible buyers' strike, on the other, resulting from pricing themselves out of the market through yielding to the demand.

Maybe Reuther himself believes the propaganda about administered prices. While the manufacturers do set nominal prices, true selling prices are determined in competition by haggling by dealers and customers about the value of the old car and the desirability of additional gadgets on the new one.

[From the Flint Journal of August 23, 1957]

CURTICE ANSWER IS CHALLENGING

Probably no one was as surprised as the head of the UAW-CIO by the answer of General Motors President H. H. Curtice to the letter proposing that manufacturers' prices of 1958 automobiles be reduced $100 per unit. An intent to curb the inflationary cycle was avowed. A justifiably flat "No" would have served the Reuther propaganda purpose. Had the bait carried any element of soundness, the absence of a guaranty of equity made it unthinkable.

Reuther knows that present prices of cars are based on estimated costs as of the time of signing the current 2-year contract between the companies and the union.

He knows labor rates and costs of materials from the same cause as it affects suppliers have increased.

He knows that the prices of cars have not been boosted in the face of the added expense of producing them.

He knows, therefore, that, in effect, the prices of current models are less than they were when the 1957 lines were introduced.

In labeling this as a move toward reversing the inflationary trend, he was wearing a different cloak than when he set forth what he will ask in negotiations for a new contract next year.

If the manufacturers will follow his suggestion, he said, he will consider modifying his demands. These constitute a heavily loaded package with such items as a 4-day week that would catapult costs without a compensating increase in production except at expensive overtime.

Mr. Curtice's reply brings the issue down to earth, which is not where the union boss wishes it to be. It returns the matter to the field of labor negotiation, where it belongs. The counterproposal would continue the present contract for another 2 years. In it, the workers are protected with the cost-of-living escalator clause. The merit of its operation was demonstrated again Thursday, when hourly rates were increased 3 cents on the basis of further rise in the cost-of-living index compiled by the United States Department of Labor. This brings to 19 cents per hour the total of raises under the escalator plan. Eligible salaried employees have been recognized proportionately.

Additional protection for the workers is afforded in the annual improvement-factor wage increase designed to boost the buying power of an hour's work to assure employees of an improved standard of living. The amount of the annual increase would be 2½ percent of the employee's straight-time hourly wage rate or 6 cents per hour, whichever is greater.

Major benefit of a 2-year extension of the present contract would be removal of the strike threat which has been worrying workers and others who would suffer from such a blow to our economy. Unemployment has been experienced in many quarters in the automobile field. Supplementing this with enforced idleness at a time when substantial production could be expected is not a happy prospect. It would be a high price to pay merely to aid union maneuvering.

It is apparent that Reuther outsmarted himself in his price-reduction blurb. It permitted a reply which carries pertinent points in the facts of economic life. It goes to the heart of inflation.

This is where we came in. It may be too much to hope that 1958 negotiations now will be approached in good faith, including a minimum of propaganda, and that the glory of ambitious politicians will be subordinated to the good of our entire economy, wherein lies the basic well-being of all of us, including the union members.

[From the Charleston Daily Mail of August 21, 1957]

MR. REUTHER'S GENEROUS OFFER IS REALLY ANOTHER BID FOR MORE ECONOMIC POWER

Walter Reuther, of the United Auto Workers, is convinced that the price of automobiles is too high. He couldn't be more right, and we suspect all motorists and most automobile manufacturers thoroughly agree with him.

On this Mr. Reuther makes an offer: If the automobile industry will cut the prices on the 1958 model by an average of at least $100 a car "we for our part (the UAW) will give full consideration to the effect of such reduction * * * in the drafting of our 1958 demands and in our negotiations."

It is a part of Mr. Reuther's pretty pretense that this represents a fair exchange, an equitable basis for wage negotiations and a major blow against inflation along the lines of the President's request to labor and management to hold the line. At even the least skeptical glance, this is scarcely the truth.

What Mr. Reuther proposes is that the manufacturers make a binding agreement on prices in advance of any collective bargaining in return for which he promises only full consideration. Had he been in earnest, Mr. Reuther might have made his proposition in specific terms, spelling out how much less he was willing to take in wages if management were willing to forego its profits accordingly. On this basis, it might be possible to work out some satisfactory arrangement for easing the burden of inflation.

Unhappily, this does not jibe with Mr. Reuther's performance in the past, and it is not hard to see how management would look upon it with misgivings. Mr. Reuther always wants something, and it is never a question of something or nothing, but simply of how much.

In this instance and despite his artful dissembling, Mr. Reuther wants a little more than usual. He wants, in addition to the power to determine wages, which he pretty much enjoys, the further power to determine prices and profits as well. The fact that this is advanced in the name of economic stabilization does not not conceal its true import. What Mr. Reuther wants most of all is the privilege of bargaining with himself when it comes to the complicated business of dividing the corporate dollar and its principal product among workers, consumers, and stockholders. This is a good deal too much economic power to entrust to any one man.

[From the Dayton Journal Herald of August 21, 1957]

The proposal by Walter Reuther, big boss of the United Auto Workers, to the big three manufacturers in the automobile field—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler—that they agree in advance to cut the prices of their 1958 models by at least $100 a car under present retail prices, has made interesting reading but has elicited little response from the gentlemen to whom it was addressed.

And for a very good reason, it appears. Mr. Reuther was specific in telling the automobile makers what they should do, but he was pointedly vague in advising them and the public what his union would do in return.

His only commitment was that if the manufacturers comply "we for our part will give full consideration to the effect of such

duction on your corporations' financial position in the drafting of our 1958 demands and in our negotiations."

What sort of horse trading is that?

It would be quite as sensible for the automobile makers to tell UAW that if it will now make a flat commitment to reduce its demands—and how much—in the next negotiation sessions, they will take such commitment into full consideration in fixing the prices of their new models.

Come again, Mr. Reuther, but next time leave the loaded dice at home.

[From the Knoxville Journal of August 20, 1957]

WALTER REUTHER IS REAL CUTIE OF ALL CURRENT CROP OF LABOR'S STATESMEN

This Walter Reuther is the cutie among the labor barons.

He knows how to get publicity which brands him as one of the statesmen of labor, but at the same time wraps up his statements in such doubletalk that he is not committed to anything.

This past weekend fantasy was a fine example of what we are talking about.

Reuther called on the country's automobile manufacturers to reduce their prices on all automobiles by about $100 for 1958. If they would do that, quoth the statesman, then his union would make a favorable note of it in the forthcoming wage negotiations. Mr. Reuther wants all employers to make a profit, according to his statement.

Yet the gentleman is already on record as demanding for the new contracts between the United Automobile Workers and the automobile manufacturers next spring a 35-hour week and a substantial increase in pay.

What the automobile people, and other businesses and industries for that matter, need is a full-time magician on the payroll, someone who can reduce hours, increase wages (with no per-unit production increase), and at the same time maintain, or reduce prices.

Fortunately for him and his brethren, Mr. Reuther is never called upon to perform the miracles he demands of others. It's a lot simpler to call the boys out on strike than it is to raise a payroll.

[From the Detroit News of August 27, 1957]

THE PRICE OF CARS—WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

To no one's surprise the Big Three automobile companies have unanimously rejected Walter Reuther's suggestion that they cut next year's car prices an average of $100 as their contribution toward halting inflation.

Agreeing with Reuther's statement of the inflationary problem, they admit that they may stand on dangerously high precipices. They just don't altogether trust the voice behind them saying, "Go ahead and jump. It won't hurt a bit and besides I'll soon come down and save you."

Both L. L. Colbert, president of Chrysler, and Henry Ford II wondered how Reuther would react if his proposal were turned around and he were asked to take an immediate wage cut provided the companies would thereafter consider reducing the price of cars. The mirror imagine is perhaps not exact but the point is well made that Reuther for his part has offered nothing to the cause but a vague promise to be rational.

If the companies cut prices, he says, he will take their financial situation into account in framing his forthcoming contract demands. But he himself observes that this promise is actually self-enforcing since "you cannot wring water from a stone." In short he is assuring the companies that they can go ahead and make their statesmanlike sacrifice of profits to the national interest and he will not penalize them by driving them into bankruptcy.

This is certainly more enlightened than a point of view which might wholly ignore the fact that labor's wages are paid by the sale of their produce. Yet it seems at this date rather low ground on which to rest a claim to statesmanship. Nowhere has Reuther implied any willingness to reduce or even refrain from raising UAW wages, though he actually admits that the wage-price spiral is inflationary and pernicious.

On the contrary the shape and timing of his move clearly are intended to put the onus on the automobile companies for the inevitably inflationary wage demands about to emerge from the UAW drafting rooms. Now that he has the companies on record, presumably he need feel no further restraint of conscience.

In his letter Reuther recognized the principle which requires the subordination of particular economic interests to the general good. It will be interesting to see whether he will give that principle as prominent a place at the 1958 bargaining table as it has had in his sermon on the responsibilities of others.

[From Newsweek magazine]

INFLATION: TO REUTHER—PUT UP

To Walter Reuther's out-of-the-blue proposal that the Big Three of the auto industry cut the prices of 1958 models by an average of $100 as a means of fighting inflation (Newsweek, August 26), General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford, one after the other, said "No" last week—and pinned a propaganda label on the auto-union boss, but GM went further. Its president, Harlow H. Curtice, put a counterproposal squarely up to the chesty, redheaded Reuther.

"Specifically," Curtice wrote to him, "we suggest that you announce now your willingness to extend intact our national agreement for a period of 2 years beyond May 29, 1958 [expiration date of the present contract]." This, said Curtice, would "make a real contribution to the economic stability of our country." (The Reuther plan had promised nothing more on the union's part than that it would give full consideration to some possible modification of its upcoming wage demands.)

"We find it somewhat difficult," Curtice observed, "to reconcile your professed concern over inflation with your expressed 1958 collective-bargaining objectives." Those objectives, he pointed out, would by Reuther's own statement include the biggest wage increase in the history of the union. In short, said Curtice, the whole Reuther proposal looked to him like nothing but another publicity maneuver.

Chrysler's reply to Reuther was published 24 hours later. Its president, L. L. Colbert, wrote: "In a nutshell, you are proposing that management abdicate its responsibilities—and months after sustaining a drastically reduced income, a company would go before the UAW or before a three-man panel to attempt to justify its needs for partial relief. * * * We do not believe that this is the way to combat the forces of inflation."

FIXING THE BLAME

Ford's answer came at the end of the week. In the most bitterly sarcastic of the three letters, President Henry Ford II wrote Reuther: "We will not solve the problem [of inflation] with propaganda broadsides. * * * The rapid increase in wages of automobile workers over the past 10 years—which were negotiated under the duress of your demands—have unquestionably contributed to inflation. Thus, having poured gasoline on the fires of inflation, you now stand by and tell us how to fight the blaze. In return, you say you will consider using less gasoline next time—or maybe only kerosene."

Reuther, in the meantime, had not just been waiting for the mailman. He sent copies of his Big Three letters to the White House with a covering note urging President Eisenhower to give the price-cut plan "the support of your great personal and official prestige." (At his press conference, Mr. Eisenhower said only that he had received and read the letter and referred it "to my economic groups and the Department of Labor.")

REUTHER'S RETORT

Then, as the Big Three's replies came in, Reuther slammed with relish into rebuttal. General Motors, he stated, had "again demonstrated shortsightedness * * * and a shocking disregard for the welfare of the American buying public." As for his plan being a publicity maneuver, Reuther retorted that if it had been one—which it was not—it would have ceased to be one the moment that the Big Three said "Yes." "Our proposal was made in good faith and we hoped for its acceptance."

But Detroit automen recalled (and Harlow Curtice noted in his letter) that Reuther's tactics during the General Motors wage deadlock and strike of 1945-46 had been notably similar to these he is pursuing now. He claimed then that General Motors could afford to cut Chevrolet prices by $100 and still raise wages; he appealed for the support of President Truman. But after a settlement had been reached, Reuther candidly told a press conference: "The whole question [of General Motor's ability to pay] was merely a public-relations job on our part."

[From the Rochester Times-Union of August 24, 1957]

REUTHER RUNS THE COURSE: EVERYTHING BACK TO NORMAL

(By Paul Miller)

Walter Reuther apparently enjoys posing as a statesman, complete with broad views and long-range thinking. Sometimes, too, he makes a convincing picture.

Nobody, however, seems to me to shed a pose and revert to type any faster than Reuther-the-statesman after he gets a rebuff.

He ran that course this week. As the statesman, he had proposed in an elaborate presentation timed for Sunday newspapers, that major automobile manufacturers cut $100 off the price of 1958 cars.

The language of the presentation seemed studiedly restrained and respectful.

It was calculated, in my opinion, to muddy the water and put automakers in a hole public relationswise prior to contract negotiations with Reuther's union.

Reuther must have known that prices of products are not generally regarded as a proper subject for collective bargaining, he's been told that often enough.

Yet, stepping out of the statesman role, he howled as if hit an unexpected wallop when General Motors reminded him all over again, and counter suggested that if Reuther wants to help fight inflation he get his union to extend the existing contract.

At that, Reuther cried arbitrary rejection and shocking disregard of public welfare—Chrysler later also rejected the proposal so pending something from Ford, everything is back again to what must pass for normal in Detroit.

Reuther, who many suspect has national political ambitions for himself, may be expected to make life tough for the automotive Big Three, and to the accompaniment of publicity for Reuther.

Few, however, will expect him to make any contribution to forces effectively fighting inflation, now or in the future. On the contrary.

[From the Kansas City Times of August 24, 1957]

MR. CURTICE GETS DOWN TO BRASS TACKS

In his answer to Walter Reuther's proposal, Harlow H. Curtice of General Motors has spotlighted the big villain behind creeping inflation: The failure of productivity to rise as fast as wages. This was a point ignored

by Reuther in his proposal of a $100 price reduction on 1958 models. And it is a point which cannot, in the long run, be ignored.

But at least there is general agreement between labor and management that inflation is a serious national problem. And we can hope that both are beginning to consider methods of combating it at the wage-price level. Certainly Reuther's original suggestion was a propaganda move. He offered a quid without a quo: The manufacturers to reduce their profits while wage increases continue to add to the costs. The only inducement by Reuther was the suggestion that otherwise the demands would be worse.

However, the whole question of the dangerous spiral of wages and prices is healthily out in the open. We can hope that this will ultimately arouse public opinion. And that responsible management and labor will respond with their best efforts to hold the line before a public revolt.

In recent years the average increase in productivity has been from 2 to 3 percent a year. Wages have gone up an average of 7 to 8 percent annually. The difference of 5 percent is out-and-out inflation which can be absorbed only by the public. Until productivity and wages are again in step, it is difficult to see how prices can be held down. And remember that the profit dollar is as much a victim of inflation as the wage dollar. Just as Reuther must protect interests of his union, Curtice must protect the interests of his stockholders.

Curtice's proposal to extend the present UAW contract by 2 years would, we believe, offer productivity a chance to gain. The proposal assumes both a cost-of-living escalator and an annual increase to improve the living standard of employees. Certainly it would protect the motorcar workers against inflation in a way that people on fixed incomes are not protected.

Pricing is not a matter for collective bargaining. Other costs must be considered as well as the competitive situation. But Curtice could shed some light by discussing that question, not with the U. A. W., but with the people. Certainly it is fair to ask if dealers, with big trade-ins or other gimmicks, are being forced to cut their own profit margin. And the public must wonder how much of the expected price increase for 1958 can be traced to labor costs, how much to raw materials, and how much to cover a better product.

Curtice has at least kept the debate alive, and has come back with a counterproposal. We hope that Reuther's curt classification of the GM answer as a manifestation of "shocking disregard" for the public welfare does not end the matter. For this is an issue which concerns not only labor and management, but also the welfare of the whole economy.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times of August 26, 1957]

CURTICE GETS GM OFF SPOT

If the United Auto Workers want to fight inflation they should extend their present wage contract another 2 years, suggests General Motors President Harlow H. Curtice. This was his answer to Walter Reuther's suggestion the auto companies fight inflation by cutting 1958 model prices $100.

Curtice said prices were not properly a subject for collective bargaining; Reuther turned down the 2-year contract proposal.

The exchange between Reuther and Curtice is preliminary fencing, with an eye on public opinion, before they sit down for collective bargaining over the renewal of the union contract next year. The union is expected to demand a shorter workweek with more take-home pay. It would consider cutting these demands if industry would cut auto prices this fall, Reuther said.

Reuther temporarily had the automakers on a publicity spot, but we think Curtice has wiggled off it. His proposal that the present 3-year contract be extended 2 years should appeal to many union members. Like the 5-year contract that preceded it, it has encouraged stability, reduced strike fears, and given workers pay raises tied to living costs—another one last week.

Moreover, Curtice scored in recalling that Reuther once admitted that a similer price demand he made in 1948 was "merely a public relations job * * * to put the company on the spot so that they would have to talk economics or be over a barrel."

[From the Detroit Free Press of August 27, 1957]

AS AN INFLATION FOE REUTHER MISSES MARK

One of Walter Reuther's personal assets in his climb to power in organized labor has been his ability to discern public-relations dangers while they are still well ahead.

Years ago he glimpsed the future and saw that sooner or later labor was going to be badly hurt with the general public if it had the taint of communism. Wherever his power extended in unions, Communists were disposed of.

Later he foresaw the perils to labor's reputation which lie in men and action such as the McClellan committee has put on view.

But Reuther got there first. Long before the McClellan investigation, he deemphasized goons and banned unsavory characters. And while many may question some ways in which his union's money is spent politically, no sign exists that officers dip into the cash drawer or involve themselves in interests that conflict with those of the UAW.

There is no doubt in our mind that Reuther has looked toward the horizon and spotted another cloud which could throw a dark shadow on labor. It is inflation.

Reuther's method of putting himself on record as a fighter against inflation in a way that nobody could miss was his recent letter to the automobile industry's big three on prices and wages.

With absolute correctness he presented inflation to the automobile makers as a ruinous scourge. With equal correctness he told the manufacturers that checkmating inflation is a joint responsibility of management that sets prices and organized labor that bargains for wages.

Nevertheless, we doubt that Reuther is going to make his position as a foe of inflation as clearcut and self-proving as has been his enmity toward communism and racketeering.

What Reuther urged was that the major carbuilders set 1958 prices $100 below prices on comparable 1957 models. In consideration of this Reuther told the industry: "We for our part will give full consideration to the effect of such reductions on your corporation's financial position in the drafting of our 1958 demands and in our negotiations."

Nobody seems to have missed the fact that while Reuther asked a definite commitment from management on the price aspect of inflation, he was completely indefinite on what the UAW bargainers would do specifically about holding the line on wages.

In this light, the public necessarily has to withhold judgment on the extent to which Reuther's offer has real meaning. It can hardly be expected to be swept away by enthusiasm for a proposition so conspicuously wide open at one end.

Particularly is this so in light of a reminder given Reuther by General Motors President Harlow H. Curtice in his reply. Curtice recalled that Reuther once stated that the UAW's 1958 objective would be the biggest wage increase in the history of the union * * * a shorter workweek with increased take-home pay.

And, answering Reuther, the auto companies cited the fact that whereas 1957 models still carry the same price tags they had when they were introduced, wages in the plants have increased appreciably since that time.

Henry Ford II, replying to Reuther for the Ford Motor Co., dealt with the fact that, whereas its pay rates have gone up 70 percent since 1948, Ford prices have risen only 30 percent—and that they now buy a much better car than in 1948.

Opponents can bat statistics around endlessly, of course. But it seems to us that in all three letters there is a wealth of price, wage, and production fact that will try Reuther's skill at riposte to the utmost.

His truly glaring weak spot, however, was hit on by L. L. Colbert, Chrysler Corp. president.

"Would it not," he asked Reuther, "be just as logical for the automobile industry to ask members of the UAW to take an immediate and sizable wage cut, which the companies would then 'take into consideration' in pricing their 1958 automobiles?"

Reuther's generalities, when met with an array of hard fact such as the auto makers fired back at him, don't impress us as the stuff to make him a hero in the eyes of those who watch prices chase wages, and vice versa, while inflation deflates their purchasing power.

Until he does better, this new gambit isn't likely to harvest the esteem which other long-range public-policy battles have won him.

[From Time magazine]

LABOR VERSUS MANAGEMENT

Walter Philip Reuther, 49, the redheaded boss of the 1,500,000 United Automobile Workers and vice president of the 15-million-man AFL–CIO, remained utterly aloof from the tawdry discourse about Jimmy Hoffa and Johnny Dio going on in Washington. Instead, the UAW's Reuther chose to initiate a new public debate, not about labor corruption, but about economics. Aware of public concern about inflation, Reuther astutely proposed that the big three automobile makers cut prices on 1958 models by $100 or more below 1957 prices, whereupon his union would give "full consideration" to lower company earnings in preparing wage demands (Time, August 26).

The automakers were unanimous in their answer. "Another publicity maneuver," shot back General Motors Corp. President Harlow H. Curtice. Retorted Chrysler Corp. President Lester Lum Colbert: "You are proposing that management abdicate its responsibilities—and that months after sustaining a drastically reduced income, a company would go before the UAW or before a three-man panel to attempt to justify its need for partial relief." Henry Ford II: "The rapid increase in wages of automobile workers over the past 10 years, which were negotiated under the duress of your demands, have unquestionably contributed to inflation. Thus, having poured gasoline on the fires * * * you now stand by and tell us how to fight the blaze. In return, you say you will consider using less gasoline next time—or maybe only kerosene."

Net result of the exchange: a spate of publicity for Walter Reuther and his odd theory that United States private enterprise should be limited by some kind of labor review and control. As Walter Reuther must have realized all along, neither the proposal nor the discussion made any real contribution to the critical struggle against inflation.

Service of Reserve and Retired Officers in the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOS. E. MARTIN
OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, our security rests not only on our career military personnel, but on the millions who constitute our Reserve forces. These private citizens, together with retired military personnel, constitute a link between the professional soldier and the rest of our citizens. They can contribute significantly to our military strength by developing their own understanding of current military problems and transmitting their views to their friends and associates.

The July 1957 issue of the Officer, the official journal of the Reserve Forces Relief and Benefit Association, presents a challenging article by Frank R. Barnett entitled "The Role of the Reserve and Retired Officer in Conflict Through Communication."

Dr. Barnett is associated with the Richardson Foundation as director of research. He was formerly a professor at Wabash College. During World War II he served as an infantryman; he was a Russian interpreter for the G–5 section of the 69th Infantry Division, the first American unit to meet the Red army on the Elbe River in April 1945; he also served as a military government official in Berlin. Subsequently he won a Rhodes scholarship. While in England he had opportunities to revisit Berlin during the Russian blockade and the airlift, to participate in a summer seminar on political science at the University of Zurich, and to interview exiles from the Communist empire who crowded into London after the fall of Czechoslovakia and the purges in Poland, Hungary, and other Iron Curtain nations.

His article suggests that Genghis Khan, represented by the present rulers of Russia, stands on the American frontier. His armies practice conquest by communication. Dr. Barnett shows how our Reserve and retired officers can perform an important role in this phase of the current cold war.

I have found his summary of the present world situation of such great interest that I am bringing it to the attention of all readers of the RECORD by including it as an extension of my remarks:

CLAUSEWITZ HAS REVERSED THE ORDER OF BATTLE

Unwittingly, 2 Russians and 2 Germans have stationed America's Reserve, retired, and inactive officers in the first line of national defense; while, at the same time, they have helped to bar officers on active duty from most of the main battlefronts. The men responsible for this curious reversal of the order of battle are Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, and Von Clausewitz. If those four had not radically altered the ground rules of warfare, Reserve officers would be in reserve.

Instead, Reserve and inactive officers are actually the shock troops in the only battles that may ever be fought: on the fields of politics, economics, public opinion, and the underground. We are confronted with a paradox in which a captain in the National Guard or a retired colonel can actively engage the enemy as a cold war brigadier, while the general in the Pentagon—or in Korea—must watch the contest passively from his Reserve depot. And if the war of ideas (and beliefs) is lost by the inactives, the trial by firepower will almost certainly be defaulted in advance to the enemy.

WHY ARE THE RESERVES ON THE FRONT LINES?

How has the 20th century revolutionized the inactive officer's role in national defense? Why do the theories of Clausewitz—updated by the practice of Lenin, Hitler, and Stalin throw on officers with civilian status the chief burden of what Communists call "institutional conflict?" How does Khrushchev employ the strategy of ambiguity in order to keep the Pentagon perpetually off balance and out-of-bounds in the arena of psychological warfare?

These questions must be answered, for the continuation of Western civilization now depends—increasingly—on the managerial skills, political dexterity, economic drive and sheer will to survive of civilian components which, in a free society, predetermine the uses to which science, strategy, and hardware can be applied by the professional military. The Soviet betrayals after Yalta, the evasions inherent in the Berlin airlift, the stalemate in Korea—those problems might have been resolved by science and strategy. The missing ingredients were moral courage, determination, belief in ourselves. Weapons without will are like a foreign policy without power or a purpose; but in a democracy it is not the career soldier's job to define the national will or frame the national purpose. It is the right and duty, however, of the Reserve and retired officer—who recognizes the problem of survival—to speak up boldly and aggressively, drawing to himself if necessary the fire of the naive, the neutralist, and the willfully misinformed.

TWENTIETH CENTURY WARFARE IS WAGED THROUGH POLITICS AND IDEAS

Von Clausewitz, who was a gentleman, had one thing in common with Lenin, Hitler, and Stalin, who were murderous barbarians. (Some propagandists are busy today claiming that Stalin corrupted Lenin's bright dream of communism; but history proves that Lenin deliberately built terror and treachery into the structure of Communist power.) But all of these men argued that trial-by-arms on the battlefield was only a part—even a minor part—of warfare. To them, conflict between nations was not limited to an artillery duel, a bayonet charge, or a clash between naval vessels and aircraft. Instead, they believed that the struggle for power was waged primarily through politics, education, propaganda, fifth columns, and sheer willpower.

In their view, the battle is three-quarters over when the guns begin to fire. The true military genius labors to break his opponent's will to resist well in advance of a formal declaration of war. The Communists, like the Nazis, try—through ideological and political techniques—to demoralize enemy troops, compromise enemy statesmen, confuse the enemy's civilian leadership. Communists try to frighten politicians in the free world into inaction and attempt to create indecision everywhere by dividing all sectors of society into hostile, suspicious groups who cannot stand together. The master of the Hitler-Khrushchev style of warfare cloaks his own preparations for conquest in peace offensives or offers to expand trade. He practices subversion, economic infiltration, and espionage so subtly that honorable men have difficulty in defining these threats as aggression. For the Communists, the front is everywhere.

This is the new theory of warfare. This is conquest by communication, envelopment by politics, encirclement by economics, and conflict by symbols. This is the fourth dimensional warfare—a contest in which ideas dominate the battlefield and predetermine how our armies and navies and air fleets will be used, or whether they will be used at all. The Communists may not want an atomic war that will destroy their own headquarters. They may not fight in the conventional three dimensions of warfare: by land or sea or in the air. They may prefer to paralyze and isolate America with fourth dimensional warfare; they may try to confiscate our overseas investments; they would like to maneuver us into a voluntary peaceful coalition in the world Soviet state.

THE SOVIETS ARE STILL WINNING THE COLD WAR

For those who faintly trust the larger hope, it may be instructive to recall what has happened in the past year in the conduct of the irregular war:

1. On September 20, a 7-man team of NATO experts announced in Philadelphia that the Soviet Navy had risen from seventh to second place among the world's navies. The team, headed by Vice Admiral Thach, United States Navy, reported that the Russians have a fleet of 400 submarines and are producing 3 new submarines every fortnight. (The Nazis, at the beginning of World War II, had only 65 submarines and still almost managed to sever the Anglo-American lifeline across the North Atlantic.)

2. The 58th edition of Jane's Fighting Ships, published in November, evaluated the growth of Soviet naval power as the most extraordinary development in Communist grand strategy since World War II. Jane's reported that "Besides this huge underwater fleet, Russia has built more cruisers and more destroyers since the end of the Second World War than all the nations of the rest of the world combined."

3. In 1956, the Communists—

(a) sent arms and technicians to Syria and Egypt;

(b) trained Egyptian officers in Czechoslovakian war colleges;

(c) offered their version of foreign aid to Burma and Indonesia;

(d) continued to build up military power in North Korea and off the coast of Formosa;

(e) pushed their underground networks deeper into Iran, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia;

(f) backed nationalist revolts in Morocco, Algeria, Tunesia;

(g) threatened Laos and Cambodia with underground armies; and

(h) covered all of these power thrusts into the vitals of the free world with peaceful coexistence talk—aimed at confusing and disarming statesmen in America, Britain, France, and Germany.

4. In the New York Times on May 10, 1956, it was reported that Dr. Willard F. Libby, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, told a Senate-House committee that "The Soviet Union soon will have a lead over the United States in an important phase of basic nuclear research."

5. President Sukarno of Indonesia, despite his good-will tour of America, announced that his country needed a guided democracy which would probably include Communists in the Cabinet.

6. Mr. Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, wrote—in an article in U. S. News & World Report, May 11, 1956—that "The Soviet production of machine tools now exceeds that of the United States."

7. There were increased political and economic pressures on Japan to trade with Communist China and do business with Soviet Russia.

8. Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the New York Times of May 30, pointed out that the Bolshevik Party maintains no fewer than 6,000 schools and colleges of political warfare, propaganda, agitation, and subversion. He pointed out that the U. S. S. R. employs

875,000 full-time and 2,100,000 part-time propagandists.

9. At a dinner of the University of Pennsylvania's Law Review in May of last year, Mr. Allen Dulles said that the Communists were now emphasizing parliamentary revolution, the infiltration of free political parties in an effort to advance the cause of civil war through parliamentary techniques.

10. All over the world, Communist Parties softened their line and move toward popular-front coalitions with any groups that were anti-Western or anti-American.

11. On March 15, 1956, Donald A. Quarles, Secretary of the Air Force, told a Columbia Engineering Alumni Association dinner in New York that the Soviet challenge to United States air-atomic leadership was serious and disturbing.

12. On May 1, Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, admitted before a news conference in Washington that "the Soviet Union was outstripping the United States in the production of globe-girdling planes that can carry hydrogen bombs." (New York Times, May 2, 1956.)

13. On February 15 of this year, Dr. Edward Teller, one of our foremost nuclear physicists, told the Air Force Association at its meeting in Washington that scientific supremacy would pass from the United States to Russia within the next 10 years. According to the New York Times, Dr. Teller sees no way to reverse the trend, owing to the long lead time required to educate scientists. (Other American scientists are not so gloomy as Dr. Teller, but no one can deny that the Communist world is engaged in an all-out effort to catch up and surpass the West in the training of technical and scientific manpower.)

14. On January 20, the Atomic Energy Commission announced it had detected another nuclear test by the Soviets.

15. On February 23, 1957, Marshal Zhukov, Soviet Defense Minister, warned that atomic, hydrogen, or even more powerful bombs could be rained on the United States in another war. (New York Times, February 24, 1957.)

COMMUNIST COURAGE VERSUS WESTERN DOUBT

So much for communism's military, industrial, political, and economic capabilities. What of Communist willpower? Unhappily for us, Communist will—when it is put to the test—seems to be far more resolute than our own. Communist courage—when the battle is joined—reflects discredit on the superficial phrases with which some free world statesmen seek to clothe the nakedness of their cold war policies.

Last spring, Khrushchev denounced Stalin as a sadist and a murderer; but in the fall the same Khrushchev urged all Communists to be like Stalin when fighting capitalist imperialism. In the spring, Khrushchev prophesied (before the 20th assembly of the Communist Church Militant) that Marx and Lenin would inherit the 20th century. In the fall, at the height of the Suez debacle, Khrushchev snarled at western diplomats in Moscow: "Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We'll bury you."

Khrushchev risked world war III in November when he threatened to put rockets on Britain and France. Communist China and Communist Russia risked world war III when they offered to send volunteers to Cairo. The rulers of the Kremlin looked down the atomic barrels of all the American airbases surrounding their heartland, looked hostile world opinion straight in the face—and sent 20 armored divisions to crush the life out of Hungary. There is something dreadfully wrong with Communist morals—but, by comparison with the West, they enjoy a crucial advantage in courage, resolution, and the will to win. By their own standards, they are even morally superior to us, for they are obviously willing to die for what they believe in.

Some optimists argue that the slaughter of Hungary exposed a terrible weakness in the Communist empire. Perhaps it revealed an even greater sickness in western civilization and especially America. Our society, unlike communism, is founded on certain assumptions about the moral nature of the universe. If those assumptions are wrong, if there are no sacred obligations, if there is nothing worth dying for, if there is nothing worth risking for, then, of course, the Communists are right; man is an insignificant insect, spinning his pitiful web on a flying ball of meaningless mud. And let us have our creature comforts, prosperity, and peace in our time.

It is doubtful that many Americans think that way at all. This Republic has created the most exciting experiment in human liberty and opportunity the world has ever known. Owing to our unique legal, political, and economic framework, ordinary men and women have had the chance to do quite extraordinary things—for themselves, for their families, and for others, including the peoples of all the world. This experiment in human freedom would never have conferred its unlimited benefits on present generations if it hadn't been for two sets of men:

1. A group of American statesmen who were so controversial that they could have been hanged by the neck if their cause had not prospered.

2. A little band of men from beyond the sea who were equally willing to risk their careers and lives for the American dream—Von Steuben, Kosciusko, Rochambeau, and the Marquis de Lafayette.

Two Frenchmen, a German, and a Pole betting all they had on a new social order—a way of life that might transform not only the American continent but, in time, the whole world. Can we think of those men and not be somewhat ashamed that our Government is afraid to impose moral, political, and economic sanctions against the Soviets over the murder of Hungary?

In World War II, Polish and Czech soldiers fought brilliantly by our side—under General Anders in Italy and in the deadly battles in the skies over Britain. Are British and American statesmen proud of themselves when they think of how casually they permitted Moscow to blackmail Poland, Czechoslovakia and, the rest of Eastern Europe into slavery?

Every schoolboy knows that Lord Byron, the poet, died in a tent on alien soil where he had gone to fight the Turk for the independence of Greece. Neither the British Foreign Office nor the American State Department of today's world would have permitted Lord Byron to make that moral gesture. They would have been afraid that his act would give offense to a tyrant.

Western civilization still has economic strength; it still has skilled manpower; it has science and it has weapons. But does the West any longer believe in itself? Does it have a grand purpose or merely a little set of confused and conflicting ad hoc, emergency programs? Can we, in short, meet the Communist challenge at the ultimate levels of conviction, courage, and ideological commitment?

Or shall we continue in the future—as in the past—to fight every battle of the cold war on our side of the Iron Curtain? Shall we forever be locked into the false dilemma of coexistence or containment? No status quo power has ever checked the thrust of a dynamic barbarian, for even if the defense is 90 percent successful on every occasion, a civilization can be pushed to its grave 10 yards at a time.

The question on Hungary was not world war III versus doing next to nothing. There were many things short of war we might have done, if there had been a plan, and if national will and national purpose had not faltered. Actually, there were minimum risks in imposing economic sanctions flying in unarmed planes loaded with relief supplies, and insisting on U. N. observers. The worst time of all for the Kremlin to start world war III was during the Suez and Hungarian crises. Hungary meant that none of the 60 satellite divisions were reliable. And Suez had brought United States military power into worldwide alert. Our Navy was at sea; our atomic bombers were in the air; our farflung battleline was at the ready. For the Soviets to have risked total war at such an hour would have been suicide, as General Gruenther pointed out at a NATO press conference.

GENGHIS KHAN STANDS ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

The reserve officer and the retired officer must commit themselves to active duty because an Asiatic conqueror now stands on our frontier. Owing to science, the Atlantic Ocean is no wider than the Rio Grande. Owing to technology, the Pacific is no broader than Lake Michigan; and the wastelands of the north can be bridged in a few hours' flight. We Americans are face to face with the descendants of Genghis Khan.

HIS ARMIES PRACTICE CONQUEST BY COMMUNICATION

Khrushchev and company are no longer a rude barbarian horde. They are disciplined in science and well armed with engineering. They are schooled in economics and political theory. They speak many languages. They have learned to use education, literature, art, trade, law, and even religion as weapons of subversion. Above all, they are superbly trained in the conduct of symbol-warfare—in conflict by communication, penetration by politics, and confiscation by parliamentary procedures.

THE MILITARY ALONE CANNOT DEFEND AMERICA AGAINST SYMBOL WARFARE

That is why we must talk about private citizens' responsibility for national security. In the past, wars were chiefly shooting matches. Editors and educators, lawyers, bankers, and businessmen naturally left defense problems in the hands of America's soldiers and technicians. Today, the front is everywhere. Certain intangibles can literally wash out the material foundations of defense. If the world climate of opinion is mobilized against us by propaganda, we will lose markets, airbases, and access to strategic raw materials. If, here at home, we lose the will to sacrifice or cynically disregard our spiritual traditions, all of our physical wealth will not safeguard American civilization. Today, national defense begins at the level of domestic political morality, the quality of citizenship training for our youth, and the reputation of American business both here and abroad. These intangibles are the clear responsibility of private citizens—and the special province of civilians who have given a portion of their lives to the service of their country as officers.

PRIVATE CITIZENS CAN DO A GREAT DEAL

There is no need to despair. In a sense, we have not yet begun to fight; for we have thus far neglected to organize systematically our greatest source of strength, the vitality latent in our 4,000 voluntary associations. Only a tiny percentage of America's schools and colleges bother to teach our young people (who will be standing guard duty next year) the facts about communism. In all too many schools and colleges, it is possible to earn a degree without learning any of the unique facts about American civilization. In other words, although we are locked in a struggle for survival, we have not troubled either to know ourselves or our enemy.

Retired and Reserve officers who serve as trustees of school boards, universities, private foundations, professional societies, etc., can do something about that problem. Indeed something is already being done by isolated individuals across the country. But what is lacking is a clearinghouse of ideas, a mechanism for chainstoring the first-rate intellectual product developed in one locality to the rest of the Nation. It is in the development of such a mechanism that the civilian officer—now engaged in law, education, business, banking, publishing, etc.—could perform an outstanding service.

OUR FEARS MAY BE LIARS

In the black hours when Britain was obliged to go it alone, after the fall of France and before America had entered World War II, Winston Churchill cheered Parliament with a quotation from an English poet: "If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars." Hopes about the good intentions of Genghis Khan & Co. have indeed been dupes; but we need not turn from mirage to despair. The enemy has his Achilles heel if we but dare to thrust. There are rumblings in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Some Red army men went over to the rebels in Hungary. There are stirrings within Russia itself—questions from students, murmurings among scientists, doubts among intellectuals. The Russian people have not lost their religion in nearly four decades of rule by militant atheists.

If we can become as excellent in moral philosophy as we are in engineering, we can increase the doubts and tensions behind the Iron Curtain. If we can become as skillful in politics as we are in business management and invention, we can keep the "precincts" of Asia and the Middle East from voting Communist. More than that, we can carry this political battle inside the Soviet empire, and by means short of war, we can help the peoples of Poland, Hungary, China, and Russia to throw the rascals out.

WE CANNOT JUST HOPE FOR THE BEST

We must not expect, however, that the Soviet empire will conveniently disintegrate by itself. The Communists have worked night and day to dissolve the ties that bind free societies together. They have not waited for things to happen; they have made things happen. They have trained tens of thousands of professional revolutionaries to wage psycho-political combat. Communism, moreover, is not just an idea. It is a power technique. The rulers in Moscow are not going to let their empire fall apart even if they lose faith in the validity of Marx.

A NATIONAL SERVICE UNIVERSITY

We believe in professional training in America. We train for engineering and science, we train for business management and philosophy, we train young men at the service academies in the complexities of firepower, logistics, and military hardware. But in all of America there is no training academy which equips Americans to play cold war chess with the Communist masters of political warfare. We train diplomats in international law, but the Soviets operate outside of law through subversion, infiltration, propaganda, and psychological warfare. Politics is a dirty word in America—yet in this 20th century of mass communications there is no alternative to politics—except a hydrogen war.

Do we not need a national service university? The teaching materials in such an academy would include a survey of the problems posed by science and geopolitics, and the strategy and tactics of international communism. Not that we want Americans to copy the Communists—but we must understand their methods to avoid being mousetrapped. The curriculum might also include what could be called the theology of freedom, or the philosophy of citizenship. We are so busy and so pragmatic that we have forgotten much of our own philosophy. Very few Americans can articulate what it is we stand for. We perform, but performance is not enough. The Communists capture the slogans, manipulate the symbols, pervert the communications. We must produce cadres of Americans in every walk of life who are not paralyzed by the cult of doubt and confusion which has swept this country for the past 25 years.

THE STUDENT BODY

Who would attend such a national service university? I would hope that young diplomats would come after they had studied international law. I would hope young officers would come after they had studied strategy and tactics. Our foreign-aid personnel should attend—for their competitors are skilled politicians. And nongovernmental effectives should be there: businessmen who represent our great corporations abroad, ministers and editors, teachers, labor leaders, and the permanent officers of our voluntary organizations. An adequate course could be given in 3 weeks—for the student body would consist of exceptional men who have already attained leadership. In other words, a defense institute would be the equivalent of the Harvard School of Advanced Management, in the field of national survival.

LIMITED GOVERNMENT CAN'T DO THE WHOLE JOB

Someone may ask: Why not simply expand the work of one of the war colleges? My answer is that those splendid colleges necessarily concentrate on problems which can be dealt with inside the framework of Government and the military services. We need an institute whose orientation is toward the work of nongovernmental and voluntary groups. For our limited Government cannot possibly compete with Communist total government in the conduct of ideological warfare. If it did, Washington would have to control our drama, our economic system, our science, our law, our editorial opinion, our schools and our religion. Either private groups will voluntarily commit themselves to some sector of the cold-war front, or those areas will continue to be vulnerable to the political, economic, and psychosocial penetration of Communist unconventional warfare. But private initiative in the cold war will only be effective when it is given some professional training. The Reserve and retired officer, whose voice is influential in commerce, industry, and education, could be the most persuasive spokesman—and trustee—for the kind of training which can enable America to win the conflict of communication and thus avoid a thermonuclear showdown with the Kremlin.

Capitals and Capitols

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Jane Aiken who is a student at Washington Junior High School in Rock Island, Ill.:

CAPITALS AND CAPITOLS

When Illinois was separated from Indiana in 1809, a capital had to be chosen for the new Territory. Kaskaskia, a rough frontier town settled by the French, was the most important commercial center of the region at the time and was finally chosen as a suitable place for the Illinois capital.

The capitol building itself was a large, crude, brick structure erected in the center of the square. It had been the headquarters of the French military commander during the period of French occupancy.

The first State constitution, adopted in 1818, provided that the seat of government should remain at Kaskaskia until otherwise directed by the general assembly. It also directed the assembly to petition Congress for four sections of land to be used for the seat of the government. If this was granted, State authorities were to lay out a town which would remain the capital for 20 years. The grant was made and a town, named Vandalia, subsequently was located on the Kaskaskia River. Here three capitol buildings were erected. The first, a two-story frame affair, was burned December 9, 1823. The second structure, of brick, was torn down in 1836 to make room for a larger building which was erected in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the removal of the capital to Springfield. This building is still standing.

Before the 20 years elapsed, the question of a permanent location for the capital came up again. Sangamon County had become the most heavily populated area in the State, with 7 representatives and 2 senators in the legislature. These men were called the long nine because of their great height. Abraham Lincoln and Ninian W. Edwards were members of this group whose object was to make the village of Springfield the new capital of Illinois. The long nine voted as a unit in the legislature and were always lobbying for votes for their cause. They gathered strength rapidly, and in 1837 the adoption of Springfield as the next capital was decided on the fourth ballot.

Springfield ranked second in population to Jacksonville among Illionis towns. Despite its vigor, its houses were shoddy, there were no sidewalks, and streets were often impassable because of the deep mud. The cornerstone of the new statehouse in the center of the square was laid July 4, 1837, with much ceremony. The building was considered large enough to meet all the State's future needs.

Illinois, however, was a booming State, and scarcely 25 years elapsed before the building was outgrown. Rival towns then thought they saw a chance to obtain the capital for themselves, but again Springfield outstripped them. On land donated by the city, the cornerstone for our present statehouse was laid in 1868. We hope this ornate, beautiful building will serve for many years to come.

Compulsory Inspection of Poultry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask consent to include in the RECORD my statement telling of the role of leadership played by members and officials of a labor union in bringing to reality a bill for compulsory inspection of poultry which was passed by Congress in the latter days of the session.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPULSORY INSPECTION OF POULTRY

(Statement by Senator NEUBERGER)

I believe it is extremely important that the American people know the background of this legislation. They must know that this consumer-protective and health-protective legislation will go on the statute books in large part because of the work of a labor union.

Today, much attention is given the few racketeers who have infiltrated the labor movement or the very labor leaders whose actions have violated the law. That is why, Mr. President, I would bring to your attention the great public service work of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL–CIO) for the enactment of the compulsory poultry inspection legislation.

At a conference in 1946, representatives of poultry processing workers discussed ways of dealing with the double problem of (1) infections and other forms of disease transmitted from poultry to workers, and (2) the filthy and diseased poultry some processors marketed. Some delegates suggested compulsory poultry inspection legislation as the answer. The conference adopted this idea and urged legislation for it.

The idea of a campaign for such legislation slowly developed in the union. The meatcutters union, especially its poultry workers locals, from time to time urged Congress to enact compulsory poultry inspection legislation.

Some public-health experts had similar ideas. They, too, had intimate knowledge of the need for a compulsory poultry inspection law. Some public-health pioneers were among the first to call for this legislation.

About 3 years ago, the meatcutters union stepped up its campaign for compulsory poultry inspection. It publicized startling facts about the need for this type of regulation. It obtained sworn affidavits from poultry workers describing the terrible abuses against health and sanitation practiced by the backward parts of the poultry industry.

It delved into public-health reports to show the extremely high rate of food poisoning cases due to poultry and poultry products. It proved through Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the industry had an excessively high rate of industrial injury. It painstakingly researched and brought to congressional attention the psittacosis epidemics and other outbreaks due to diseased poultry which have erupted in areas throughout the country, including Oregon.

The meatcutters union did not do this to hurt the industry. On the contrary, its aim was to secure the quick enactment of legislation, which it knew was an important to the welfare of the industry as to consumers and poultry workers.

The hard work of the meatcutters union for this legislation received the highest praise from a congressional committee studying the need for compulsory poultry inspection. In June 1956, the Subcommittee on Legislation Affecting the Food and Drug Administration of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported to the Senate:

"We wish to express our appreciation to the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL-CIO) for the excellent, definitive, and thoroughly documented exposé of conditions in the poultry processing industry under the department's voluntary inspection program which was given this subcommittee by this trade union's representatives. * * * We are grateful to the union and believe the American people will share that gratitude."

Public health organizations also worked hard to convince Congress of the need to enact compulsory poultry inspection legislation. Such groups as the Associaiton of Food and Drug Officials of the United States, Association of State Public Health Veterinarians, Conference of Public Health Veterinarians, United States Livestock Sanitary Association, Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, American Nurses Association, and the American Veterinary Medical Association have aided Congress with their expert knowledge and support. They deserve the highest praise possible for their public service efforts on behalf of this legislation.

Once the facts concerning the need for poultry inspection became known other great organizaitons took part in the campaign. These include the General Federaiton of Women's Clubs, National Farmers Union, American Association of University Women, Young Women's Christian Association, Housewives United, Naitonal Consumers League. These organizations continuously fight on the behalf of consumers.

The overwhelming majority of the poultry industry, too, proclaimed the need for compulsory poultry inspection. I have disagreed with most of the industry groups concerning this legislation, for I have felt that the bills they backed were weak and could not do the job. I believe that the industry leaders made a serious error in not backing the strongest bill possible because such legislation, it seems to me, would have been foremost in their interest. But I must congratulate these men because the majority of the poultry industry leaders did not blindly fight this legislation, as did the heads of other industries when regulatory laws were considered. This is to the great credit of the poultry industry.

Mr. President, I believe it is unnecessary to go through the campaign for compulsory poultry inspection in detail. Congress has had legislation concerning poultry inspection before it for 3 years. The first bills, introduced by the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] and in the other House by the able gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], called for an investigation by Congress of the need for this legislation.

In the beginning of the 1st session of the 85th Congress the distinguished Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] introduced the first actual poultry inspection bill. From that bill developed all the other measures on his subject, some of which were excellent, some extremely weak. I take great pleasure in having been a sponsor and having worked for S. 1128 in this session.

Altogether 5 congressional hearings, 3 in the Senate and 2 in the House, have been held on this legislation. Few pieces of legislation have been so thoroughly considered in committee. And no fewer than five final votes have been taken in both Houses on poultry inspection bills.

Mr. President, the legislation which we have finally enacted on this subject is a compromise measure. Many of us in the Senate would have liked a stronger bill. But we hope and expect that the bill enacted will adequately protect the consumer and poultry worker and will aid the poultry industry to expand. I consider its enactment and excellent step forward in consumer-protective and health-protective legislation.

The American people should know that always in the forefront, leading the fight for this greatly needed legislation marched the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America—AFL–CIO. I believe the American people owe this labor union a debt of gratitude.

I want to congratulate the officers of this fine organization, President Earl W. Jimerson, and Secretary-Treasurer Patrick E. Gorman, its other officers and members for their great service to the public. The untiring efforts of this union to protect the consumer and the poultry worker with this legislation is a true example of the work of American labor.

One Way Around a Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Denver Post of August 19, entitled "One Way Around a Scandal." The way, the editorial says, is to greatly extend research into increased industrial uses of farm products. This, I have been advocating for 2 years, offers the only permanent solution to the farm problem.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, follows:

ONE WAY AROUND A SCANDAL

The magazine Time this week contains a startling headline: "The $5 Billion Farm Scandal—Every Day in Every Way It Gets Worse."

Did the headline refer to criminality, corruption, bribery or income tax evasion in the Department of Agriculture or among the farmers of the United States? No.

The Time story was devoted solely to the Government's farm policy. It called attention to the technological explosion that has increased farm productivity one-third since 1940; to the $5.5 billion worth of farm surpluses stacked away in warehouses, mothballed merchant ships and cold storages; to the national problem that turns values topsy-turvy * * * "making good crop weather seem a national calamity and drought a boon."

What the magazine calls a scandal is in fact becoming more of a national offense to public reason; and there is mounting evidence at hand that farmers know it and resent it the most of all.

In this connection, a report was made recently by a five-man Commission on Industrial Use of Agricultural Products. The Commission was created by Congress to investigate whether some relief from this frightful rotation of spend and waste could be found in the diversion of farm crops to industrial usage.

The Commission set forth some fascinating findings and promising recommendations. It said industry is now investing about 3 percent of its gross sales or $3 billion annually on research. Agriculture is not spending more than $375 million or 1 percent of sales in the same pursuits.

One result of this imbalance in basic research has been, for example, that agriculture is being researched out of its natural markets. (One-half of the market for natural fibers such as cotton, wool, flax, and silk have been taken over by synthetic fibers. Two of every three pairs of shoes are now made partly or wholly of leather substitutes.)

The Commission would treble the $16,145,000 annually provided through the Department of Agriculture for industrial use research. And it asks that 15 percent of the national gross receipts from customs be allotted the administrators of such an industrial utilization program.

The Commission would have Congress create a five-man, nonpartisan, agricultural research and industrial board, its members to be named by the President with the Senate's consent. It would empower the Board to enter into contracts with land-grant colleges and universities, and cooperate with

private enterprise in multiplying the number of scientists and laboratories and experimental projects that can be put to work on the problem.

The Commission took testimony from 188 of the country's outstanding leaders in agriculture, industry, and science. It correlated the work of 18 special task groups and committees representing all of the agricultural products useful or potentially useful in industry. And it put this all into one compact and highly useful report for Congress' enlightenment.

The facts of today's topsy-turvy situation in agriculture comprise less of a scandal than would the failure of the Congress to act upon this one suggestion for meaningful relief.

American Responsibilities in the Nuclear Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, in the months ahead the Congress and the executive branch of our Government must meet the challenge posed by the recent announcement that Soviet Russia has perfected an intercontinental ballistic missile.

Students who have followed Russian developments in the military field since the dawn of the atomic age can be of great assistance in evaluating Russian developments in terms of our own responsibilities.

The Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore has an extensive operations research office. Col. William R. Kintner is the United States Army adviser to this unique organization. A battalion commander in Europe in World War II, Colonel Kintner later saw action with the 7th Division in Korea. He has been on the faculty of the Command and General Staff College and more recently has been attached to the Office of the Secretary of Defense. He was the winner of the general prize essay contest for 1956, conducted by the United States Naval Institute.

This prize essay is particularly significant in view of this most recent Soviet announcement. I am including extracts from this study in my remarks for the information of my colleagues and for those in the executive branch who must determine United States policy at this critical junction in world history.

There being no objection, the extracts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

(By Col. William R. Kintner, U. S. Army)

The advent of atomic weapons has not modified Communist ideology which emphasizes the inevitability of world revolution and the ultimate collapse of capitalism. Despite talk of peaceful coexistence, a state of war, whether open or disguised, is, in Kremlin theory, the inevitable relation between the U. S. S. R. and the free world. Communist leaders consider conflict with the Western World, and ultimately the United States, to be inevitable. Nothing short of world domination, therefore, can be their necessary objectives.

In a penetrating analysis Time and the Bomb, an Australian member of Parliament, W. C. Wentworth, stated that Stalin established the framework of the long-range Soviet atomic policy in 1946: "With the discovery of the atomic bomb, Russia entered a soft-shelled period. For the immediate future, her comparative position was vastly weakened; for the more distant future there was the prospect of vast new strength." Yet Stalin foresaw that "It was no longer inevitable that the struggle to communize the world would be a long one."

American possession of atomic weapons would, for a while, however, frustrate Communist plans. Stalin's basic problem, consequently, was how to get through this soft-shelled period. The vital choice lay between two alternatives—

1. To accept international control of the atomic bomb, and allow the world situation to develop without any possibility of atomic war.

2. To sabotage international control of the atomic bomb, so as to force the world eventually toward communism, either by general atomic war or by the constant threat of general atomic war.

Stalin, Wentworth argued, chose the second of these two alternatives.

Regardless of the validity of this interpretation, the outline of the atomic plan which the Soviets adopted a decade ago is beginning gradually to emerge. It is reflected in the shift in pronouncements by Soviet leaders; from marked indifference toward atomic weapons, through eulogy of peaceful applications of atomic energy, to blunt assertions of their power to annihilate nations in a single shattering blow.

Any objective accounting of where things stand after 10 years of the atomic age would show that many of the pillars on which the United States has based its strategy have been weakened. The United States as well as the U. S. S. R. is now dangerously exposed to atomic attack; and United States allies act as if a nuclear stalemate already exists.

Having created these midcentury power realities, the Soviet Union initiated after Stalin's death in 1953 a flexible, accordian strategy of alternating conciliation and threat. It is now proposed to examine available Soviet literature on nuclear warfare, to establish the range of possible Soviet nuclear-based strategic policies, and to point up the responsibilities of the United States as the principal defender of world freedom.

THE EVIDENCE

Unfortunately for us, there is no Soviet equivalent to the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. The paucity of detailed information filtering through the Iron Curtain, other than that reaching only highly classified agencies, necessitates resort to research in available Soviet publications; Russian developmental trends, state, military, and industrial, are nebulous.

The Soviet Army newspaper Red Star in January 1954 began a series of articles on atomic energy and its application to military and civilian uses. This series represented the first major effort to make available to the Soviet people information concerning nuclear energy and its range of peaceful and military applications. The Soviet Union had obviously not disclosed the whole course of its atomic policy in its controlled press.

Atomic weapons were adopted by the U. S. S. R. contemporaneously with attaining an all-around mature economy, the result of Stalin's forced industrialization of the country. The Soviets were consequently ready to expand in the nuclear sphere on the foundations of an economic program which had always been weighted toward heavy industry and military production in particular. Postwar technological developments in all three armed services have continued at the expense of production for strictly civilian uses. The recent elevation of the Soviet Union's long-range air force along with unexpectedly rapid progress in nuclear sciences is conclusive evidence of the Kremlin's interest in the atomic age.

The policies behind the Soviet air defense effort appeared in a 1954 Red Star article, The Atomic Weapon and Antiatomic Defense, by B. Olisov, professor, doctor of technical sciences, winner of the Stalin prize, major general, engineering and technical service: "The entire history of wars and of the development of military technology convincingly says that the application by either side in a war of new kinds of weapons or the perfecting of those already known has always also called forth means of counteraction. * * * At present, when the striking power of atomic and hydrogen weapons has already been sufficiently explored, we can speak of reliable and, as experiments have shown, simple methods and means of defense. Measures are being taken not only for the direct defense of troops and the population but methods of combat against airplanes and other carriers of atomic bombs are also being developed, and also methods of conducting combat operations under the conditions of the application of the atomic weapons."

An action of great significance was that of the Supreme Soviet—divorcing the Soviet long range air force (ADD) from army control to the personal supervision of Defense Minister Marshal Georgi Zhukov.

We need no official evidence that the U. S. S. R. has adopted western concepts of unified, indivisible airpower designed preeminently to win command of the air.

Their emphasis upon solid rear areas, without which it is impossible to conduct a war, previously assumed to indicate reliance upon fifth column subversive action against an enemy (together with the converse, rigidly enforced discipline among the entire population of Russia to support the armed forces) admirably fits a concept of atomic knockout blows against the hostile seat of government and key industrial areas.

Exuding the Soviet's increased confidence on this question, Olisov very recently stated: "The existence of atomic and hydrogen bombs in the U. S. S. R. has shown that the atomic armaments race cannot be a guaranty of the safety of the United States of America in case of war."

If further evidence be needed, Red Star, semiofficial publication of the Ministry of Defense, publicizes a sharp trend from ground troops supported by air to air-atomic power as the decisive instrument. This apparent trend does not mean, however, that the Soviet Union is neglecting the task of reorganizing the Red army for nuclear warfare. Soviet theorists ascribe these commonsense efforts as counteraction to American aggressive plans.

A Red Star (1954) series on antiatomic defense proves the Kremlin was not surprised by Marshal Montgomery's proposal to hold strategic nuclear attack for retaliatory purposes while employing fission (if not fusion) weapons for the tactical defense of Europe. These instructive articles advise commanders how to use terrain, soldiers, and civilians on protective measures, especially in the organ of the Young Communist League.

Utilization of the ground, long a skill among Communist forces, receives thorough attention. Instructions range from the individual's hastily dug foxhole to painstaking preparation of bombproof field fortifications for whole units. Specifications for digging into the ground all classes of weapons and equipment are readily met by troops accustomed to pick, spade, and ax.

What is the significance that defense against the bomb, from individual behavior of the Soviet soldier to plans of Soviet generals, is covered without mention of the offensive potential of the same weapons? We only have access to the openly published Communist writings. In the closed book of Soviet tactics, reserved for the higher and politically trusted hierarchy, would doubtless be found complete directives and planning factors for Russian tactical and/or strategic atomic offensives.

We do have some evidence, however, that the U. S. S. R. is developing weapons which seem to be fashioned for offensive atomic action. For example, the magazine Air Force (May 1955) credits the Malot (Soviet equivalen of the United States B–52) with a cruising speed of 630 miles per hour at 55,000 feet, and rates its 4 jet engines at 15,000 pounds static thrust. An indication that these newest planes' early appearance was no extraordinary spurt of Soviet technology and industry may be found in the statement of Gen. Nathan F. Twining, United States Air Force Chief of Staff, that lead time for the MIG–15 was placed at 1 year while the United States of America's F–80 required 2.

Soviet naval capabilities in nuclear conflict are also growing. Whether or not they are actually building aircraft carriers, their expanding cruiser strength ranks second in world navies, close behind acknowledged preeminence in undersea craft. It seems unlikely that guided-missile delivery from both types has been neglected. In fact a note in the Proceedings (August 1955) reports a Soviet guided missile with 140-mile range which can be fired from a submarine at 300 feet depth, and voices fears that the U. S. S. R. is ahead in atomic rocket propulsion.

A similar excellence in ground armament seems probable, even though reports are vague.

THE RANGE OF SOVIET STRATEGY

The Soviet acquisition of both atomic and thermonuclear weapons introduces new factors into the military power equation. The basic Soviet program, as the free world has come to learn, is worldwide domination under the iron heel of the Kremlin. Belief that conflict between communism and the free world is inevitable is and has been the mainspring of Soviet actions. The specific elements by which this strategy has been carried out since the end of World War II can be summarized as follows:

(a) Protect the Soviet Union from attack.

(b) Maintain armed forces of a size and character which can constantly menace the West.

(c) Increase the effectiveness of subversive efforts to undermine the free world.

(d) Press the free world as far as possible but do not deliberately invoke war.

(e) Openly challenge the West for the leadership of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

The Soviet march toward world domination can be pursued along three broad lines. These, which will be described subsequently, are peaceful conquest, creeping expansion and nuclear knockout.

Any appraisal of the military establishments of today suggests the preponderance of the Communist bloc (in truth, merely Russian) conventional arms. Outlawing or neutralization of nuclear weapons would redound to the definite weakening of the NATO nations, vis-a-vis the Soviets, while presumably eliminating all serious threat to the solidity of the latter's rear areas.

The purpose of continued Communist invective against inhuman nuclear weapons is simple: prepare for the worst eventuality but work unceasingly to disarm your potential enemy of his essential weapon which is no more than an auxiliary arm for yourself. Contrary to their words, however, Soviet actions all point toward neutralization rather than outlawing these weapons.

There are vital differences between outlawing nuclear weapons and their neutralization by expanding Communist thermonuclear bomb and long-range air force (or intercontinental ballistic missile) capabilities. Any tenable agreement to ban such weapons inevitably includes inspectional provisions antithetical to the sanctity of the Iron Curtain. The Soviets will talk about inspection but never accept it.

Neutralization from strength poses a more dangerous possibility for the West. Communist leader Khrushchev, touring India in November 1955, when the explosion of a Soviet megaton bomb was announced, made this calculated bid for neutralization: "We will never be the first to use such a weapon. We will be very glad if bombs are never exploded on cities or villages. Let them lie and influence the nerves of those who would start a new war. Because if they start a war, they will receive a proper answer."

As other nations besides the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain possess the weapons, the deterrent effect of our Strategic Air Command to prevent nonatomic forms of aggression diminishes. NATO nations' demand for protection rather than liberation prophesies their distaste for a conflict which would destroy their homeland—whether the bombs be strategic or tactical. Nuclear parity will exist when both sides have sufficient bombs (and delivery capability) to destroy the other. It does not require equal numbers, as in the case of high explosive weapons.

THE THREE STRATEGIES

Atomic parity may open attractive strategic possibilities to the Kremlin. On the assumption that the West lets down its guard and loses its political and military cohesion, the Soviets have three possible strategy choices. The first is a surprise knockout nuclear attack designed in such a way as to destroy the United States capability of retaliation. This possibility cannot be ignored, especially since Soviet military writers are now paying considerable attention to the virtues of surprise.

Secondly, and especially if the United States vigorously protects its retaliatory capability, the Soviets may only seek an effective neutralization of nuclear weapons in order to pursue a strategy of increased political warfare under two possible variants. The first variant is that Red armies would actually be unleashed for peripheral aggression; the second would be that the threat of their possible use coupled with intense political pressure and fifth columns might bring about the capitulation of important border nations without the actual use of force.

The third possible strategy is that the Soviets might seek to achieve their goal through genuine peaceful competition. This competition would endeavor to demonstrate to technically backward peoples, particularly in Asia, that communism offers a better and quicker means of achieving industrialization and hence national power than any adaptation of the free-enterprise system.

THE NUCLEAR KNOCKOUT—STRATEGY NO. 1

While the Soviets may believe that the triumph of communism is inevitable, they may feel that the leisurely, almost inevitable rise in their relative power position in comparison with that of the United States is too slow. For this reason a strategy which would quickly eliminate their only opponent has obvious attractions.

Nuclear blackmail to sunder opposing coalitions, nuclear devastation of a defeated foe to occupy more easily and communize his whole country are readily conceivable Communist strategies. Surprise attack with nuclear weapons against a powerful opponent, trusting to the annihilating effect of the first blow may, however, be too great a gamble for cold-eyed men whose fundamental ideology tells them that time is on their side. According to their lights, they need only steadfastly refuse to be provoked into empiricist errors by the actions of their implacable capitalist foes. Recent Communist emphasis upon surprise attack might originate in the need for self-assurance, and as a warning to the West that the Soviet is ready to meet such an onslaught.

The enormity of the stakes demands we prepare to defend against strategy No. 1.

Wentworth's penetrating article explains dfiscerningly why the Soviets might adopt a knockout strategy. Some of the elements of such a plan (against which many events of the past decade seem understandable) were:

1. During the period of atomic weakness maintain an attitude of qualified hostility toward the West. Gesture toward general war, but back down whenever general war is threatened.

2. Push forward on many fronts so as to obtain maneuver space, which would be particularly valuable in the last phases of atomic disadvantage.

3. As nuclear parity approaches, the substitution of a policy of pretended friendliness for the policy of unfriendliness short of war would be possible. This would bring short-term advantages in the free world, and the late stages of the period would not be sufficient for the policy's longer term internal disadvantages to develop.

4. Consistently sabotage any scheme for effective international control of atomic energy, while seeming to make increasing concessions to the idea. In this area advocate measures that will confuse public opinion in the democracies.

5. Once Russia has achieved nuclear parity, press communism forward fairly rapidly under the protection of Russian arms, threatening the world with a general atomic catastrophe if any attempt is made to frustrate Soviet maneuvers.

6. If, after Russia achieves nuclear parity, the West should intervene to prevent progressive communization by force of Russian arms, in spite of the Soviet threat of general atomic war, then (perhaps without warning, and after a short period of the warmest conciliation) unloose a full atomic catastrophe on the world, in the belief that, even if Russia is among the victims, nevertheless only the new order—a permanent, totalitarian, worldwide sovietization—can emerge from the disaster.

In short, the initiative regarding war is in their hands. Worse yet, the chances of a police state launching a surprise blow from within its frontiers are infinitely more likely than that a democracy do so, should democratic processes ever permit the attempt.

The Soviet Union cannot build the perfect defense and the irresistible atomic offense at the same time. The U. S. S. R. too must take into account its vulnerability to the hydrogen bomb before making the decision to employ it against us. If the area of destruction of the H-bomb is of the order of the unmanageable, the Soviet vulnerability to this type of weapon must be as serious as is ours. Unless we neglect our defenses, only a technological breakthrough in the delivery systems would seem likely to disturb the turbulent stability of the hydrogen stalemate.

CREEPING EXPANSION—STRATEGY NO. 2

Whether or not a total nuclear war ever takes place, the possibility of one occurring does have a significant influence on political alinements during the cold war. The leaders of every free country must frequently make assessments of the political implications of the changing global military situation. In a very real sense, the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union is a battle for the allegiance of the committed and uncommitted nations located along the periphery of the Soviet heartland in Europe and Asia. The American effort to

maintain these nations within the free world has been extremely costly and difficult. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has been able to exploit the difficulties, discontents, and fears of those people with relatively little expense.

There is some evidence that the Soviet Union now leans, more than in the past few years, toward achieving its aims primarily through political and psychological means backed, as always, by military intimidation.

The Soviet pattern of conflict calls for appropriate, not maximum, violence. It does not eschew violence as such, but gives greater emphasis to the role of psychological-political operations. Communist doctrine—asserting time is on their side—applies brakes to its own fanaticism. It sanctions war, limited or otherwise, to operations which seem, at the time, certain of success at minimum cost. It bluntly halts a misadventure by stratagem ranging from the truce talks, such as halted our Korean offensive in 1951, to quick retreat and denial that fighting had occurred, as after the undeclared 1938 war with Japan in Manchuria.

The Soviets are developing and are increasing their military strength as a backstop for stepped-up political warfare. As the Soviet atomic stockpiles grow, their potential for atomic blackmail will also grow. Retaining their present preponderance in conventional military forces, they might also resort to tactics designed to bring all of Eurasia under their domination without venturing war with the United States. We face an equally real danger that the security of the United States can be undermined by the piecemeal progression, short of war, of Communist domination over the free world and the alienation of our allies through accordion moves of relaxation and fear.

Throughout Asia, in particular, there is a close connection between the Communists' employment of military force and their skillful use of diplomacy, subversion, and guerrilla warfare to erode and destroy the weak governments situated along the Communist periphery. The Communist campaign of expansion is from its inception based on a combination of military force integrated with subversion.

Asia will be a primary area for creeping Communist aggression. The basic program for Communist expansion in this area envisions step by step isolation and subversion of individual countries, utilizing established base areas in the U. S. S. R., China, North Korea, and North Vietnam. A "Thai Liberation Government" and growing army thrives in southwest China; Burmese hill tribes receive arms and agents to foment their traditional enmity for centralized authority; a powerful indigenous Communist Party in Indonesia draws funds and supplies from the mainland; while even militantly neutral India constantly contends with rioting Reds in her cities and nervously scans Communist maneuvers on her borders in Nepal, Bhutan, and Assam. Growing Chinese Communist power stands forth as the proximate agency but the guiding policy emanates as always from Moscow.

Any backward underdeveloped country situated adjacent to the Communist bloc is a likely target of future Communist aggressors posing as anti-colonial liberators. In such a country there will exist an active Communist Party. There will be political incapacity to take vigorous action against subversion. A trumped-up excuse for a liberation insurrection will be devised. Volunteer support will be offered by the Communists. Unless the Communist combination of insurrectionists-volunteers can be checked before they seize the instrumentalities of government as well as control of the main population centers, it may be impossible to prevent the loss of another country.

As this strategy is pursued, the absence of a sharp line of demarcation between war and peace will continue. The terms "hot" and "cold" war, by their sense of mutual exclusiveness, obscure the fact that we are now involved in war. According to Soviet military authority, "If war is a continuation of politics, only by other means, so also peace is a continuation of struggle only by other means."

PEACEFUL CONQUEST—STRATEGY NO. 2

The Soviets have shown a remarkable capacity for waging an unconventional offensive behind their armor of military power. Their campaign of aggression has thus far confused and baffled their opponents. As long as they can advance against soft spots, there seems to be no particular reason why they should attempt to reduce bastions of resistance by the outright use of military force, particularly their own.

The U. S. S. R. has almost achieved a position of hegemony over the Eurasian land mass. It would be wishful thinking of the most naive sort to believe that they would fail to reach out for the whole prize so nearly within their grasp. This reaching, however, need not assume the form of either global or limited war.

Ideological pronouncements emanating from Moscow since the 1955 summit meeting all point to a vigorous campaign to put a new face on communism. The Soviets now see a chance to make an open bid to capture the surging social and political revolutions of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Through programs of industrial development, the Soviet Union may be able to exploit the world revolution in aspirations and install Communist governments subservient to them in areas now outside the Soviet bloc. An extension of Soviet power to a few strategically located countries would expose to bloodless conquest much larger areas vital to our security. This kind of advance in Soviet influence, shrinking the free world and adding to the resources of the Communist bloc would threaten us with ultimate isolation no less than would Red victories in a series of peripheral wars.

It is not comforting to realize that Communist actions for the past several years could mark a phase in the implementation of any of these three basic strategies or, more confusingly, a combination of them. Communist intentions always point toward the higher synthesis which history will produce out of opposites. Thus the Kremlin can actively espouse peaceful coexistence while simultaneously fostering subversive movements abroad and building up its armed forces at home. Through this three-pronged approach the U. S. S. R. will be prepared to capitalize in one of several ways from the new historical situation which will exist once nuclear parity is achieved.

IMPLICATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES

Since the end of World War II, the United States defense policy has been based on the assumption that American security rests on the fullest exploitation of nuclear weapons. As long as the United States retained its monopoly in nuclear weapons, this assumption was valid. Today the monopoly has long since been broken. A period of nuclear parity between Russia and the United States seems inevitable as megaton weapons explode over Siberian tundras.

The near advent of nuclear parity necessitates an objective evaluation of the net significance of atomic weapons in the world power struggle. Such an analysis may indicate that we are asking atomic weapons to carry more than their proper share of the United States security load. It may even reveal that the hydrogen bomb, the yet unborn intercontinental guided missile, and the atomic-powered, nuclear-armed submarine may, unless we take other measures as well, eventually prove detrimental rather than beneficial to the strategic position of the United States.

We must steel our inexorable determination to use these weapons the instant it becomes necessary. Our human instincts recoil at mere contemplation of nuclear warfare, but can any thoughtful person discover any less horror in the prospect of a communized world? We need not yet face a choice so bleak. Before the Soviets reach the nuclear sufficiency they are so rapidly approaching, we have time to turn our efforts toward the whole range of Communist strategies.

The free world needs some more tangible shield than the threat of reprisal. We need a political-military solution capable of blocking all forms of aggression. The military, thinking through the implications of the new weapons and reformulating their doctrines on an entirely different plane of magnitude, confront Clausewitzian verities of limited objectives. Total war's absolute destruction is the negation of strategy which exists only to further national policy. Mutual suicide is not policy but an act of ultimate desperation.

Continued coexistence with the Soviet bloc must rest on terms which are consistent with our national well-being and dignity. To this end United States national policy should provide the political and economic framework for the development of unprecedented nonmilitary programs and sound military strategies capable of coping both with the threat of thermonuclear war and the whole range of subversive, psychological, and paramilitary actions open to the Soviets. Twin aspects of this policy are development of adequate means to assure the military defense of the United States and its alliance system, and an ideological offensive designed to wean the Soviet people, in time, from amoral communism. National policy must be accommodated to military capabilities, clearly specifying what these capabilities should be.

We must develop an antidote to what may become the palsying fear of thermonuclear war. This requires a determined effort to convince the Kremlin that we can and will fight if attacked, plus an equal endeavor to formulate policies which promise success in recurring crises short of war. This latter United States task requires the formulation and implementation of an integrated cold war strategy designed to reduce the dimensions of the Soviet threat, while increasing the power of the United States military posture to deter war.

It is clear that we cannot voluntarily surrender our right to use the hydrogen bomb without abandoning the field to the Soviets. Only the certainty that in extremis it will be used will make the hydrogen bomb a real deterrent to general war and a bulwark against Soviet atomic blackmail.

Our preparations to deter—or in extremis—to meet, total war, will not materially strengthen our hand in peripheral campaigns—or vice versa. Both forms of aggression must be stopped. Additionally our ideological superiority over communism—the sanctity of religion, freedom of the individual, the right to private property, opposing party absolutism—must, joined to enlightened political and economic policies, defeat the Red "peaceful" surge.

Thus the minimum structure for security demands four unshakable military pillars for its support.

1. Retaliatory force of strategic air.
2. Air defense (military and civil).
3. Command of the seas.
4. Local ground defense supported at key locations by highly mobile, atomic armed, joint task forces capable of swift intervention at any trouble spot.

The present strength of each of these pillars varies. The strongest is the United States retaliatory capability but, in a period

of dynamic technological change, this force cannot be maintained in a static manner.

A major effort is now underway to create an air-defense system for North America. Building an air-defense system, including its civil-defense component, will be a huge task but is one that is technologically feasible provided sufficient funds and time are available.

United States capability for exercising command of the seas probably stands at as high a level as our retaliatory capacity. New ships and weapons must be provided the Navy to keep it that way. The free world alliance is bound together by ocean highways. If these highways are severed there is little chance that divided and exposed segments can survive. The scope of the necessary United States naval effort is dictated by the fact that an attacker, seeking to disrupt sea communications, can achieve his purposes with fewer forces than the defender who must assure their use.

The development of mobile task forces to meet hostile actions lesser than general war lies considerably behind the efforts that have gone into the other pillars of the United States defense program. The creation of such forces is a challenging task involving all the armed services.

Until the Communist bloc has changed its basic tenets, has shown by tangible actions its willingness to live with the free nations of the world on a basis of genuine give-and-take we cannot afford ever to let down our guard.

Whether the next several decades will bring the defeat or alteration of communism will depend largely on the relative power and influence of the United States. A national determination to preserve human freedom at whatever cost, America's proudest inheritance, is a test the United States can meet squarely.

Representative Wigglesworth Valued Member of Congress Who Shuns Publicity

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the attached article which appeared in a recent edition of the Boston Sunday Herald:

REPRESENTATIVE WIGGLESWORTH VALUED MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO SHUNS PUBLICITY

(By Tom W. Gerber)

WASHINGTON, August 30.—A Massachusetts Congressman who once was a star Harvard quarterback is one of the Eisenhower administration's stanchest ball carriers on Capitol Hill.

Yet white-haired, publicity-shy Representative RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, of Milton, probably has had less public recognition than any member of the so-called Eisenhower team.

This is despite the fact he has served in Congress for nearly 29 years and has become one of the most powerful and influential Representatives in the Nation's Capital.

A QUIET WORKER

But these political attributes long have been hidden beneath the 66-year-old Congressman's mantle of modesty which also cloaks his fiery sense of public responsibility.

He works quietly, with intense concentration. He attracts little attention. He seldom issues a statement, unless he's specifically asked.

Few persons recognize his important role in national affairs.

But among these few persons are those in the top echelon of the Government. WIGGLESWORTH's files bulge with letters of tribute from leaders such as President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, and Defense Secretary Wilson.

Last year when WIGGLESWORTH was faced with Republican primary opposition he hired a public-relations expert to help him in his campaign.

This agent sought and received the Congressman's permission to poke through the files in search of campaign material.

His eyes bulged when he saw the correspondence.

For it disclosed that WIGGLESWORTH is on a first-name basis with virtually every important official in the Government. Yet this is the kind of thing WIGGLESWORTH never tells anybody.

And he was reluctant to allow the public-relations expert to use the correspondence in the campaign, though most Congressmen would have had the letters in public print soon after they were received.

WIGGLESWORTH ultimately was talked into using the letters. And this was one of the first inklings of WIGGLESWORTH's real stature in Congress.

RANKING POSITION

His immense, but seldom invoked, authority on Capitol Hill stems from the fact that he is the ranking Republican member of the House Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations.

This position means he is the Eisenhower administration's top proponent on requests for Defense Department funds. This year, as in previous years, money requests for the Defense Department have been the biggest chunk of the national budget.

WIGGLESWORTH also is second ranking Republican on the House Mutual Security Subcommittee, which handles funds for foreign aid.

And this is an item for which President Eisenhower consistently has waged a vigorous battle. WIGGLESWORTH has been one of the administration's top strategists in these fights.

He has been a member of the House Appropriations Committee since he came to Congress in 1928. He now is the second ranking Republican member behind the venerable JOHN TABER of New York.

In his 29 years in Congress, Representative WIGGLESWORTH has become widely known among his colleagues—and almost nowhere else—as one of the Nation's leading authorities on Government finance and fiscal problems.

In 1952, even before President Eisenhower took office, Representative WIGGLESWORTH was one of a small group of GOP experts that conferred with the President on the Nation's fiscal problems.

CLOSED-DOOR EXPERT

Perhaps one reason WIGGLESWORTH seldom has been publicized in his important House committee job is that most of the testimony is behind closed doors.

This is because justification for sought funds involves telling the subcommittee the Nation's topmost secrets. Thus the public is barred and little ever leaks of WIGGLESWORTH's vital role.

In addition to his important House committee assignments, WIGGLESWORTH is on two other groups that perform essential functions yet received little attention.

The first is the House Republican Policy Committee, under the chairmanship of Representative JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts.

Thus WIGGLESWORTH has a hand in establishing GOP policy on every important piece of legislation that comes before the House of Representatives.

His other assignment is vice chairman of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee.

This group sets top-level strategy aimed at electing GOP candidates to Congress.

Another indication of WIGGLESWORTH's stature in Congress is his suite assignment in the New House Office Building on Capitol Hill.

Among Congressmen, this is one of the most jealously guarded prerogatives. WIGGLESWORTH's suite of three rooms and connecting hallways is one of the most spacious in the building.

Representative WIGGLESWORTH was born in Boston, a nephew of the late United States Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. He graduated from Harvard in 1912 and from Harvard Law School in 1916.

BOSTON NATIVE

While at Harvard, he played varsity quarterback on the football team 3 years and also played varsity baseball and ice hockey.

He was Harvard backfield coach for 6 seasons during which Harvard teams won 50 games, lost only 1, and tied 4.

He has been in public service all of his adult life.

He was an artillery officer in France during World War I. Earlier, he was a secretary to the United States Governor General of the Philippines.

Following the war, WIGGLESWORTH was legal adviser to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of foreign loans. He was Secretary of the World War I Foreign Debt Commission, assistant to the Agent General for reparative payments in Berlin, and Paris representative and general counsel for the 12 organizations created under the Dawes plan in 1927–28.

But WIGGLESWORTH's activities have not been restricted to national and international affairs.

His files also are crammed with letters from constituents he has helped and from representatives of the shoe, granite, and shipbuilding industries which he has helped over economic hurdles.

AIDS CONSTITUENTS

His 13th Massachusetts District includes Brockton, one of the Nation's shoe manufacturing centers, and Quincy, home of Bethlehem Steel Co.'s Fore River shipyards and the bustling granite industry.

Unlike most politicians, Representative WIGGLESWORTH has kept his charming family in the background during his political career.

However, last year when it appeared he might have a tough fight in the GOP primary, WIGGLESWORTH's wife and three girls pitched in to help him campaign.

A LANDSLIDE

It wasn't a fight—it was a landslide for WIGGLESWORTH.

His gracious wife, the former Florence Booth, of Louisville, Ky., disclosed that her husband often discusses with his family the merits of legislation he is called to vote upon in the House.

"He worries about doing the right thing," Mrs. Wigglesworth told the Herald, "particularly on questions that aren't all black and white."

And she said more often than not he brings home stacks of material to study in connection with his work in Congress.

She told of a circumstance in 1941—before the attack on Pearl Harbor—when Representative WIGGLESWORTH bought a home in Washington's Georgetown section in the morning and voted to extend the draft in the afternoon.

STILL FAMILY JOKE

She said he was convinced that the draft-extension vote would be political suicide. Nevertheless, she said he was convinced it was necessary.

Representative WIGGLESWORTH sent his family a telegram that evening which has been a family joke ever since:

"Bought house this morning, voted to extend draft this afternoon. What shall I do with the house?"

They kept it, of course, and still have it.

Despite WIGGLESWORTH's almost slavish devotion to his job, he has given abundant time to his 3 girls, Ann, 24, who graduated from Smith College in 1955 and has been teaching 2 years; Mary, 22, who graduated from Radcliffe in June; and Jane, 19, a Smith sophomore.

He has taught them sailing, swimming, and tennis and he still takes them to football and baseball games.

"He's wonderful to talk to, too," Ann said. "If there's anything on your mind he listens with understanding and then gives his advice.

"Aside from loving him very much, we have great admiration for him."

Representative WIGGLESWORTH apparently treats his family the same way he does the public. Fuss, attention, or publicity embarrasses him.

"He never misses a birthday or family occasion," Mrs. Wigglesworth said, "and he's always coming up with little surprises.

"Only the presents and the surprises just sort of appear. He likes to do it in a quiet way."

The First Congressman O'Hara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Enoc P. Waters, Jr., in the Chicago Defender of August 24, 1957, in which mention is made of the Honorable James E. O'Hara, a distinguished member of the Negro race who served as a Representative from North Carolina in the 48th and 49th Congresses and died in 1905. He was the first Member of Congress by the name of O'Hara, and the family name is carried into the present generation by his direct descendant, Dr. Ralph O'Hara Lanier. Dr. Lanier, whose middle name is that of the first Congressman O'Hara, at one time was president of Texas State University, later under President Truman was our Ambassador to Liberia, and at present is in New York City with the Negro College Fund.

Mr. Waters' article follows:

ADVENTURES IN RACE RELATIONS—NAMES ARE FOOLERS

(By Enoc P. Waters, Jr.)

Anyone who is fascinated, as many are, by the always interesting and occasionally humorous situations that develop in the field of race relations, will find it worthwhile to trace the origin of the surnames that Negroes bear.

We are told frequently that names like Campanella, Fitzgerald, O'Shaunessey, Kirkpatrick, Dago, Czbowski, or Mazique are not typical Negro names. Are Johnson, Smith, Brown, Robinson, or Kemp typical Negro names?

If the national origin of a name is to be the determining factor then only an African name could be regarded as typical for a Negro just as an Italian name is typical for an Italian.

But in this American melting pot, it's not unusual to find a Jew named Jones and a Greek bearing a French name. There are Poles named Powell and Irishmen named Cohen.

So you just can't judge a man by his name. A story about a Reconstruction Congressman named James E. O'Hara from North Carolina got us to thinking about O'Hara. He served from 1882 to 1887 in the 48th and 49th Congresses.

One of the most illustrious—and incidentally oldest—Member of the present Congress is a gentleman from Illinois named BARRATT O'HARA. Though white, he probably represents more Negroes than the Reconstruction O'Hara who was colored.

In fact, the Illinois O'HARA once met another distinguished gentleman named Rafael O'Hara Lanier, an educator and a diplomat. Seeing only his name, one might suppose that the latter is a combination of Spanish, Irish, and French, and he very well might be, but all who see him regard him as a Negro.

After conversing a while, the two decided that it is quite likely that they have some ancestors in common.

The Reconstruction Congressman once was introduced to some Irish immigrants who had been anxious to meet him believing that he might be a son of the Old Sod.

When they saw his brown face, they were astonished.

"And how long since you kim over?" they asked.

He smiled: "Oh, I've been here quite a few years," he said truthfully, "but the climate of North Carolina has tanned me considerably."

"Begad, but it has that," his visitors agreed, and promptly decided to settle in a northern State where they hoped the climate would not affect their complexions to a similar extent.

Foreign Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I have just finished reading a special report by the Attorney General outlining results of a study of the competitive problems of the nickel industry in relation to the Defense Production Act.

This is an interesting report. The Attorney General has found out, as some of us have been maintaining all along, that the International Nickel Company of Canada, Ltd.—INCO—is a ruthless monopoly; that it is a foreign concern, and hence not subject to our antitrust laws, and yet this administration has permitted it to assume the job of allocating a material vital to defense and to nondefense industries.

This report raises as many questions as it answers.

Why did the Attorney General not get around to INCO earlier? You will recall that the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, in Document No. 4, 82d Congress, reported that INCO, which produces over 85 percent of the free world's nickel, was one of the most formidable monopolies the subcommittee has found.

The report shows that someone must allocate the existing nickel supply. Because the Government is a nickel producer and helps create the shortage, it would seem logical that the Government might allocate the supply. Instead, this administration has allowed a foreign monopoly, which they now denounce, to allocate the supply. This makes me wonder about the legal status of INCO's entitlement system.

I also wonder if it is fair that the production and distribution of INCO competitors be reported, directly or indirectly, to INCO for consideration in making these entitlements.

And, should the Government, which now recognizes INCO's monopoly and previous unfair practices, permit INCO to allocate NICARO nickel?

Mr. Speaker, I started asking questions about nickel last year after I read that the Interior Department was developing a mineral lease with INCO for lands in the Superior National Forest in Minnesota. According to the most recent information I have, that lease has not been executed and there is no plan to approve it at present.

This brings up two more questions:

First. Since INCO is a monopoly according to the Attorney General, would he approve leasing the Minnesota Forest Service property to them?

Second. If not, how long will it be before someone else gets a chance to lease the property and help break the monopoly?

The Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in the light of recent occurrences in Syria, it is important to reread the remarks of our distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK], of November 29, 1956, as follows:

For the past year and a half, the administration has been living in a dream world—a world of hope—in foreign affairs.

The realities of current world history and events are now catching up with the administration and our people are having a rude awakening.

We have seen the myth of peaceful coexistence exposed by the ruthless actions of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

We have seen the actual threat of another world war by the actions of the Kremlin. And in our own country we see leadership that, with firmness, could have averted these conditions, just the same as Chamberlain could have averted World War II if he had followed the policy of firmness. Chamberlain showed that the policy of appeasement—or peace at any price—is the road to war.

We see our leadership, in desperation, acting with a lack of policy and in a confused state of mind which may contribute to greater danger.

In Hungary, we have witnessed Communist Russia sending in its forces of killers to suppress the fight for liberty. The reason they moved into Hungary is because the uprising was a fight against any or all forms of communistic government. We have witnessed the Soviet Union establishing the Kadar regime, which is not a legitimate government.

We have heard the pleas of fighting and dying Hungarians falling on ears of inaction. Action that the United States and United Nations could have taken and failed to take has played into the Kremlin's hands in Hungary and elsewhere.

What can the United States do?

In addition to sending of medicine and foods, which has been done to some extent, the United States could announce its refusal to recognize the Soviet puppet Government of Hungary until all Soviet troops are withdrawn and those Hungarians forcibly deported to Siberia returned to their homes.

As I suggested to one of the highest officials of the State Department 2 weeks ago, the United States Government could urge and support a United Nations announcement that United Nations observers were going into Hungary forthwith. The United Nations observers could fly to the Budapest Airport in a United Nations plane clearly marked as such. This could be done under the resolution already approved by the United Nations General Assembly providing for U. N. observers to be sent to Hungary.

The Soviet Union and the Soviet puppet Government of Hungary could only do 1 of 2 things—admit the U. N. observers or arrest and expel them. The burden then would be upon the Soviet Union and the present illegitimate Hungarian Government.

Sending U. N. observers would convey a message of real hope to the patriots in Hungary. It would be a stimulating action to millions of others behind the Iron Curtain who are longing for freedom from any kind of Communist domination.

It should be remembered that, not so long ago, the Communists had to bend to world public opinion when Red Cross trucks with food and medicine were denied admission. As a result of that, world public opinion was aroused—and within 24 hours they permitted them to enter Hungary to bring relief to the suffering people.

It is the inactivity of the United States leadership—its attitude of an aggrieved but thoroughly passive spectator—which creates doubts in the minds of other free nations, and which gives the Kremlin and men like Kadar courage to proceed further.

It is now essential that we immediately get back to sound thinking, to firmness and consistency in our foreign policy, and regain the confidence of our friends throughout the world. This is a matter of paramount importance to all of us.

Now, read the following article that appeared in the U. S. News & World Report of December 7, 1956:

A NEW WAR BUILDS UP IN MIDEAST—SYRIA, ARMED AND RUN BY REDS, STIRRING TROUBLE

BEIRUT.—War—not just another little war, but a whole powder train of little wars which could touch off a world war—is in the air here in Beirut.

Within a few hours' drive over the mountains from this city, capital of Lebanon, is Damascus, the capital of Syria. And Syria has become virtually a Soviet satellite in the heart of the explosive Middle East.

In the half dozen countries of this part of the world, troops are on the move or are digging in, fearing attack. At the core of this military activity is Syria, armed by Soviet Russia, playing Russia's dangerous game in the area. And the Soviet Foreign Minister, in effect, has warned the West against an attack on Syria. Here is the picture:

Syria and Lebanon are at guns' point. Syrian troops are massed on the frontier of this little country, seeking to force it into the pro-Soviet alliance of Syria, Egypt, and Jordan.

Syria and Turkey are at odds, too. Turkey, armed and aided by the United States, has denounced Syria for its threats against Lebanon. The Turks, guarding their northern frontier against Russia, do not want to be outflanked by the Russians through Syria.

Syria and Iraq have been on the threshold of war for weeks. Syria has dynamited the pipelines carrying Iraq's oil overland to the Mediterranean. Iraq's Government, anti-Communist, fears the rise of Soviet influence in Syria.

Syria and Jordan are teetering between alliance and war. One faction in Jordan wants a deal with pro-Western Iraq. Another faction wants a deal with pro-Soviet Syria. It's nip and tuck. The country itself may be divided between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Syria and Israel are enemies. Israel's armed forces could enter Damascus in a matter of hours. But Israel, fearing that such an attack would unite Arab rivals against her, is waiting, watching.

RUSSIAN STRATEGY

At the bottom of all these wars in the making over Syria is the Soviet Union. Russian plans to operate in the Middle East through Egypt were upset when Britain, France, and Israel attacked Egypt. Now, Western experts say, Russia is working through Syria, turning that country into its major base in this war-ready part of the world.

In Damascus, the United States Ambassador warned Syria about United States concern over the Soviet arms shipments. In Washington, the State Department announced that the United States would view with the utmost gravity any threat to the territory or independence of Baghdad Pact members—Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Britain.

Soviet penetration into Syria is real, thorough, deep.

Syria's Army of from 40,000 to 60,000 men already has more Soviet equipment than it knows how to use. Total value of Soviet tanks, self-propelled guns and other weapons now in the country is estimated by the British at $60 million. Other reports place the figure at $100 million.

Soviet missions have made Syria their headquarters for the whole Middle East. Hundreds of Soviet experts, advisers, and technicians—perhaps even the crews for tanks and planes which Syrians cannot handle—are in the country.

Air bases in Syria have been equipped to handle Soviet jet fighters and bombers. Six MIG–17 fighters, manned by Soviet crews, escorted the Syrian President back to Damascus from a visit to Moscow—and remained in Damascus.

Communists, once underground, now operate openly throughout Syria. They publish four daily newspapers in Damascus. Their leader directs Communist activities in the Middle East from the Syrian Parliament, of which he is a member.

Press and radio throughout the country are under military censorship. The only foreign news printed is that distributed by the Soviet Embassy.

In addition to all this, Syria's pro-Soviet Army struck directly at Britain and France—and Iraq, too—in the midst of the war in Egypt.

ARMY AND OIL

Syria, up to now, has developed no oilfields of its own. But, in Syria, as in Egypt, Soviet agents found an easy means of cutting the flow of Middle East oil to Europe.

In Egypt, the Suez Canal normally carries 1.2 million barrels of Middle East oil a day, bound for Europe by tanker. Now the canal is blocked by ships sunk by Egyptians in the midst of the short war.

In Syria, 1 set of pipelines normally carries 550,000 barrels of oil a day, from Iraq to Mediterranean ports. When war began in Egypt, the civilian government in Damascus ordered Syria's Army to guard the pumping stations on these pipelines inside Syria. Instead, officers of Syria's Army dynamited the pumping stations, halting the flow of Iraqi oil westward.

The only Middle Eastern oil now reaching Western Europe through the normal routes is some 300,000 barrels a day flowing through a single pipeline from Saudi Arabia. This line, also passing through Syria, was left intact—in part because pro-Soviet leaders in Syria are still trying to get Saudi Arabia into their deal with Russia.

SMALL AND UNDERDEVELOPED

The Syrian base for Soviet operations in the Middle East is a semiarid, sparsely populated expanse of desert and mountains about the size of Oklahoma.

Most of Syria's 3.7 million people are poor farmers and desert tribesmen. Wealthy Syrians, living in the cities, own most of the farmland.

In Damascus, in a dozen smaller cities, groups of army officers, lawyers, schoolteachers, minority leaders, and professional politicians have kept the country's Government swamped in a mass of intrigue.

Within barely 10 years of independence, Syria has had five military coups—some bloody, some bloodless. There have been 20 cabinets and 4 different constitutions. Western experts on Syria have described its politics as a basket of eels. Now, if Soviet agents have their way, all this is coming to an end.

POWER BEHIND SCENES

Real boss of Syria today is neither the President nor the Premier nor even the commander of the army, but a man just promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, Abdul Hamid Sarraj. He is a man little known outside Syria, a handsome bachelor of 32. He is chief of the army's intelligence corps and the head of a group of officers who run the army and, through the army, run Syria.

Most of Syria's professional officers still smart under the defeat of the Arab countries, including Syria and Egypt, by Israel in 1948. They admire Egypt's soldier-dictator, Gamal Abdel Nasser. Sarraj, particularly, was impressed by Nasser's ability to get arms from Soviet Russia.

Sarraj worked closely with Soviet agents, military and political, sent to Syria in the past year. Sarraj's own agents in the Syrian Army found evidence to dismiss or demote all prowestern officers, to promote and encourage all pro-Soviet officers who took Sarraj's orders.

Western intelligence reports say that it was Sarraj who pushed Syria's Government into a formal alliance with Egypt more than a year ago. It was Sarraj, too, these reports indicate, who negotiated the arms deal with Soviet Russia at a cost of turning Syria into the main Soviet base in the Arab world.

Under cover of the worldwide excitement over the brief war in Egypt, Sarraj tightened his grip on Syria. He persuaded the Government to declare martial law. Then the army created a war atmosphere and took over the country.

Every night, in Damascus, the air-raid sirens wailed, though there was no sign of planes in the sky. Buildings were blacked out. Streets were sandbagged. The army, directed by Sarraj, set up military censorship of the press and the radio. Pro-Western Syrian leaders were jailed, charged with con-

spiring with the British, the Iraqis, the Israelis.

Shipments of Soviet arms to Syria are being stepped up. They arrive on Soviet freighters, direct from Soviet Black Sea ports, at the Syrian port of Latakia, where the docks are under military guard. With the arms shipments come Soviet technicians, advisers, and experts.

BREAKING TIES

Most of the countries in this part of the world are new, only a few years out of colonial status under British and French management. Some, until recently, looked to the West European powers not only for markets for their oil, but for military protection. Now, since Britain and France joined Israel in the attack on Moslem Egypt, the old alliances are crumbling fast.

Jordan, for example, has announced the end of its alliance with Britain and its determination to order units of the British Royal Air Force, now based in the country, to get out.

Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan, all allied with Britain in the Baghdad Pact, now meet without British representatives present. All are urging the United States to join the pact, already supported by United States arms and cash.

War, as it looks now, could flare up in this area at any time. And the charge by the Soviet Foreign Minister of a Western plot to attack Syria indicates that Russia does not intend to give up its position in that country without a fight.

Soviet Russia, out to win control of the Middle East through Syria, is dragging the whole area closer to a chain reaction of little wars which could involve the European powers and United States, too, in a world war.

Mr. Speaker, having in mind what has happened in the Middle East, we should ask ourselves how much more bungling by our State Department can we withstand.

Summary of Legislation Considered by the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, 85th Congress, 1st Session

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BRENT SPENCE

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, legislation considered by the House Committee on Banking and Currency during the 1st session of the 85th Congress may be classified into three categories: Housing, small business, and finance. In the first two fields, the committee acted on emergency legislation early in the session to provide urgently needed assistance to housing and small business. Later the committee considered a comprehensive housing bill which was enacted as the Housing Act of 1957. A complete revision of the Small Business Act was reported by the committee and passed the House. Although this bill was not acted upon by the Senate at this session—instead, a temporary extension of the Small Business Act was enacted—action is expected early in the 2d session. In the third category, finance, the committee reported out a bill regulating savings and loan holding companies, which passed the House but had not been acted upon by the Senate when the session closed. Another committee bill extending the Export-Import Bank was enacted into law. As the session ended, the committee was engaged in extensive hearings on a revision of the Federal laws relating to banks, savings and loan associations, and credit unions. These and other bills acted upon by the committee are discussed below under the three headings, "Housing," "Small Business," and "Finance."

HOUSING

INTERIM AUTHORIZATION FOR FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC LAW 85–10—HOUSE REPORT 51

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 209

As the mortgage market tightened in late 1956, offerings of FHA and VA mortgages for purchase by FNMA under its secondary market operations sharply increased, with the result that FNMA had neared the limit of its funds in early 1957. In response to urgent requests for action to permit FNMA to borrow more funds for its secondary market operations, the committee on February 7 reported out a joint resolution increasing this authority by $500 million. This was a stopgap measure, designed to meet FNMA's immediate needs, pending more deliberate consideration of long-term needs. It passed the House on February 20, and passed the Senate with amendments on March 12. On March 14, the House agreed to the Senate amendments, and the resolution was signed by the President on March 27, as Public Law 85–10.

As enacted, the measure included, in addition to the $500 million increase for secondary market operations, an increase of $50 million for FNMA's special assistance purchases of cooperative housing mortgages and a technical amendment concerning limits on FHA insured mortgages on multifamily projects in urban renewal areas.

Under FNMA's Charter Act, it may borrow up to 10 times its capital and surplus to obtain funds for its secondary market operations; in early 1957, this worked out at about $1.1 billion. The resolution increased FNMA's capital stock held by the Treasury by $50 million; under the 10-to-1 formula this resulted in an increase of $500 million in borrowing authority, raising the limit to $1.6 billion. While most of FNMA's borrowing takes the form of obligations sold to the general public, it also has authority, subject to the overall 10-to-1 limit, to borrow from the Treasury; an increase of $350 million—to $1,350 million—was made in this authority. In return for the stock it received in FNMA, Treasury canceled $50 million of FNMA notes it held. These amounts were raised again later in the session by the Housing Act of 1957, discussed below.

Section 305 (e) of the National Housing Act authorizes FNMA to purchase cooperative housing mortgages insured by FHA under section 213 of that act. Public Law 85–10 raised the maximum amount of these mortgages which FNMA may hold under section 203 (e) by $50 million—from $50 million to $100 million—and correspondingly increased the limit per State from $5 million to $10 million. These amounts were raised again later in the session by the Housing Act of 1957, discussed below.

Section 3 of Public Law 85–10 makes a technical change in the method of computing the maximum amounts for FHA-insured mortgages on multifamily housing projects in urban renewal areas under section 220 of the National Housing Act. Under section 220, FHA may increase the mortgage limit by $1,000 per room in high-cost areas; the technical amendment makes it clear that this increase is allowable for projects which average less than 4 rooms per family unit.

EXTENSION OF VOLUNTARY HOME MORTGAGE CREDIT PROGRAM

PUBLIC LAW 85–86—NO HOUSE REPORT

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 115

The general housing bill (H. R. 6659, discussed below) as reported by the committee contained a provision extending the life of the voluntary home mortgage credit program, which was due to expire June 30, 1957. This program facilitates the flow of private funds for housing credit into remote areas and small communities. Requests for home loans are referred by VHMCP personnel to those lenders considered most able and willing to approve such loans. When it became apparent that action on H. R. 6659 could not be completed by June 30, the Senate and House on June 27 passed Senate Joint Resolution 115, extending the program through August 15, 1957. The measure was signed by the President on June 29.

HOUSING ACT OF 1957

PUBLIC LAW 85–104—HOUSE REPORTS 313 AND 659

H. R. 6659

At the time it acted on the stopgap FNMA resolution, the committee requested its Subcommittee on Housing to begin hearings on longer range solutions to serious problems in the housing field. The committee foresaw that in the prevailing tight money market it would be increasingly difficult for prospective home buyers to obtain financing on terms they could afford. The veterans' home loan program, which financed about 30 percent of housing starts in 1956, was falling off sharply as lenders turned to other investments with yields higher than the 4½ percent limit fixed by statute on GI loans. To meet the needs of the sizable group of home buyers who can afford only modest downpayments, legislation was clearly needed.

After receiving the subcommittee's recommendations, the committee on April 8 reported to the House H. R. 6659, designed to restore a sound home-building industry and to achieve other important objectives in the field of housing. After undergoing considerable modification in the House and Senate and in conference, this bill was approved by the President on July 12, becoming the Housing Act of 1957.

As approved, the Housing Act of 1957 contains six titles modifying housing programs under existing law.

Title I of the new act deals with FHA insurance programs.

Title II relates to the operations of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

Title III concerns the slum clearance and urban renewal programs.

Title IV deals with the low-rent public housing program and provides for the disposition of several federally owned war housing projects.

Title V extends and amends the military housing program and also amends the purchase price formula used in the acquisition of Wherry projects through negotiation.

Title VI continues and expands the college housing program, continues the voluntary home mortgage credit program, establishes a new 2-year program of farm housing research, provides for the exchange of data with foreign nations relating to housing and urban planning and development, directs the FHA Commissioner and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to set reasonable ceilings on discounts permitted in connection with Government-insured or guaranteed loans, and expands the authority of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to make urban planning grants.

TITLE I. FHA INSURANCE PROGRAMS

The new act increases the permissible maximum loan-to-value ratios on mortgages insured by FHA under its regular sales housing program, thereby permitting lower downpayments for home buyers. As amended, the maximum amount of a mortgage which may be insured by FHA under section 203 may not exceed 97 percent of the first $10,000 of appraised value of property, plus 85 percent of the next $6,000 of appraised value, and 70 percent of such value in excess of $16,000. Existing dollar ceilings—for example, $20,000 in the case of a 1- or 2-family home—were unchanged.

Prior to this amendment the maximum loan-to-value ratios were 95 percent of the first $9,000 of value and 75 percent of the appraised value in excess of $9,000—except that the President could increase the figure of $9,000 to $10,000.

Where the mortgagor is not the occupant of section 203 housing—as in the case of a builder-mortgagor—the mortgage continues to be limited to a maximum of 85 percent of the mortgage amount available for owner-occupants.

The new act also lowers downpayments for section 203 (i), which is designed to encourage low-cost housing in suburban and outlying areas. The minimum downpayment is reduced from 5 to 3 percent.

The law also increases the permissible maximum mortgage under section 203 (i) from $6,650 to $8,000.

The law also lowers the downpayments for urban renewal sales housing under section 220, to conform to the minimum downpayments permitted under the section 203 program.

The section 222 servicemen's mortgage insurance program is also modified so as to permit downpayments lower than 5 percent wherever such lower downpayments would be permitted under the revised downpayment schedule for FHA's section 203 program.

The new law required the FHA Commissioner, before putting the lower downpayments into effect, to make a finding that such action is in the public interest, taking into consideration possible effects on the economy and also the availability or lack of credit for GI loans guaranteed by the Veterans' Administration. On August 6, 1957, the lower downpayments permitted by the new act for the various FHA programs were made effective by regulation.

Other provisions realting to the FHA insurance programs: The act amends the FHA title I home improvement loan program to make payments of loss to the lender incontestable after 2 years from the date the claim was certified for payment, in the absence of fraud or misrepresentation, unless the Government demands repayment within the 2-year period.

The section 207 mental housing program is amended to permit a high cost area allowance of $1,000 per room regardless of the number of rooms per unit.

The program for rental housing for elderly persons under section 207 is amended to permit a maximum mortgage of up to $8,400 per unit for elevator-type projects. The act also makes it clear that units in section 207 projects for the elderly can be designed for and occupied by single elderly persons.

The act also amends the National Housing Act to require that in cases where replacement cost instead of value is used as a basis for mortgage insurance, the FHA shall furnish the applicant with its estimate of replacement cost instead of the estimate of value which it furnishes to the buyer in other cases.

Title I also contains a number of technical provisions relating to debentures, insurance premiums, transfer of moneys among FHA insurance funds, and other phases of FHA operations. It also repeals two obsolete provisions.

TITLE II. FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION

SECONDARY MARKET OPERATIONS

The law amends the provision governing the amount of FNMA stock which a mortgage seller must purchase under FNMA's regular secondary market operations. Under prior law FNMA could increase without limit the amount of the required stock purchase, the only restriction being that it could not be less than 1 percent of the mortgage amount. The new act establishes the maximum stock purchase requirement at 2 percent and retains the minimum of 1 percent.

The new act provides additional funds for FNMA's regular secondary market operation. By increasing FNMA's capitalization by $65 million, FNMA's borrowing authority is increased by $650 million, since under the law FNMA may borrow up to 10 times its capital and surplus. The increased borrowing authority brings FNMA's total mortgage purchase authority to approximately $2.25 billion. A corresponding increase is made in the amount of FNMA obligations which may be purchased by the United States Treasury.

FNMA special assistance functions: Under its special assistance program FNMA provides financing support on favorable terms for especially deserving FHA programs such as military housing, urban renewal housing, and cooperative housing.

The new act requires that until August 8, 1958, FNMA purchases of mortgages under its special assistance functions must be at par. Under prior law FNMA was required to purchase at 99 or more.

With respect to the fees and charges which FNMA may make in connection with special assistance mortgages, the new act places a limit of 1½ percent of the unpaid principal amount. Not more than half of such fees and charges may be collected at the time of commitment. Previous law contained no limit on such fees and charges.

The new act increases the authorization for FNMA purchases of mortgages designated by the President for special assistance. The new authorization of $450 million for the purchase of whole mortgages supplants the previous authorizations of (1) $200 million for the purchase of whole mortgages, and (2) $100 million for the purchase of 20 percent immediate participations in mortgages. The President has designated as eligible for special assistance, mortgages covering disaster housing, housing in Guam and Alaska, Wherry military housing, housing for the elderly, and urban renewal housing.

Additional FNMA support for cooperative housing is provided by an increase from $100 million to $200 million in the authority of FNMA to purchase FHA section 213 cooperative housing mortgages under its special assistance functions. The former $10 million limitation on outstanding purchases per State is increased to $20 million. Under the amendment $50 million of the total authorization is reserved for cooperatives certified by the Federal Housing Commissioner to be consumer cooperatives. Of the commitments in any one State, not more than $15 million may be outstanding at any time for cooperatives which are not consumer cooperatives.

The authorization for FNMA purchases of FHA title VIII military housing mortgages is increased from $200 million to $450 million, of which 7.5 percent is reserved for purchases of mortgages insured under section 809. Section 809 mortgages finance sales housing for essential civilians at military research and development centers.

TITLE III. SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN RENEWAL

The authority of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to make capital grants under the title I program for slum clearance and urban renewal is increased by $350 million. Under this program the Federal Government makes grants to local communities up to two-thirds of the cost of slum clearance and urban renewal projects.

The new act also provides an alternative formula for calculating the Federal capital grants, the use of which is optional with the community. In place of

the two-thirds Federal to one-third local grant formula for a project, the local public agency can have, if it so elects, the benefit of a three-fourths Federal to one-fourth local grant formula, if the community bears all expenses of planning, surveys, legal services, and administrative costs. In effect, under the alternative formula, the Federal Government pays a higher percentage of a reduced project cost, and it is expected that the Federal share of the total costs will be approximately the same under either formula. The purpose of the alternative formula is to make it possible to eliminate review and discussion at the Federal level of survey and planning costs and project administrative costs.

The new act also increases from 10 percent to 12½ percent the proportion of the capital grant authorization available to any 1 State.

In order to relieve both the local public agencies and the Federal Government of a considerable burden of paper work, the new act authorizes the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to permit local public agencies to make relocation payments in fixed amounts (not exceeding the present $100 limit) to individuals and families without the necessity of investigating the actual costs incurred in each case.

The maximum allowance for paying the relocation expenses of individual businesses displaced by slum-clearance operations is raised from $2,000 to $2,500.

The definition of "urban renewal plan" is amended to permit a local community to indicate in a submission separate from the urban renewal plan, the relationship between the urban renewal plan and the overall local planning objectives. The previous definition required that this relationship be indicated in the urban renewal plan itself.

Another amendment extends to slum clearance projects under the 1949 act a provision—previously applicable only to urban renewal projects under the 1954 act—whereby the estimated costs of facilities offered as noncash grants-in-aid can be deemed actual costs for certain purposes. This avoids delay and resulting expense in winding up an urban renewal project where the facilities offered as noncash grants-in-aid are still under construction and the actual costs thereof cannot be known until completion.

The new act also provides that, where the local housing agency is also acting as the local public agency for the purposes of slum clearance and urban renewal, the local housing agency may include in its administration building sufficient facilities for the administration of its slum clearance and urban renewal functions. In such cases an economic rent shall be charged for such facilities as are used for urban renewal functions. The rent shall be paid from funds derived from sources other than low-rent public housing projects administered by the local housing agency.

TITLE IV. PUBLIC HOUSING

Low-rent housing: The new act permits certain exemptions from income for the purpose of determining eligibility for both initial and continued occupancy. The amendment permits families seeking admission to public housing an exemption from their annual income of $100 for each minor—other than the head of the family and his spouse—and each adult dependent member of the family with no income, and up to $600 of the income of each member of the family other than the principal wage earner. For continued occupancy exemptions are permitted of either $100 or all or part of the income of each minor in the family—other than the head of the family and his spouse—and $100 for each adult dependent member having no income, and up to $600 of the income of any other member of the family other than the principal wage earner. Exemptions under prior law were—for admission, $100 for each minor; and for continued occupancy, $100 for each minor or all or any part of the income of each minor.

The permissible cost limits of low-rent public housing are raised from $1,750 to $2,000 per room for regular units, and from $2,250 to $2,500 per room for units for elderly persons.

Another amendment requires that every contract for Federal assistance to low-rent public housing projects shall require that the plans, drawings, and specifications follow the principle of modular measure in every case deemed feasible by the local housing agency.

Disposition of war housing projects: The new act contains the following provisions affecting the disposition of war housing projects: First, it extends until December 1, 1957, the time in which war housing project Conn–6029 may be sold to the Housing Authority of Wethersfield, Conn., pursuant to the provisions of the Housing Act of 1954; second, it directs the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to dispose of housing project Nev–26021, to the Housing Authority of Las Vegas, Nev.; third, it directs the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to convey two Lanham war housing projects, LA–16011 and LA–16012, to the State of Louisiana; fourth, it directs the Administrator to sell to the city of Layton, Utah, a war housing project known as Verdeland Park—Utah–42015.

TITLE V. MILITARY HOUSING

The title VIII military housing program is extended by the new act for 1 additional year, through June 30, 1959.

The new act makes the statutory maximum average of $16,500 per family unit for housing under the title VIII program applicable to each project rather than each mortgage. Since financing for a large project generally requires separate mortgages for the various areas of the project, and the mortgages in some of these areas may range somewhat higher than the $16,500 family-unit average limitation—although the family-unit average of all project mortgages does not exceed that limit—this section permits greater flexibility in project planning and financing.

The new act changes the formula used in determining the purchase price of Wherry Act housing acquired by the military services through negotiation. It substitutes for the allowance for physical depreciation previously included in determining such price, an allowance representing the estimated cost of repairs and replacements necessary to restore the property to sound physical condition.

TITLE VI. MISCELLANEOUS

College housing loan program: The new act increases the college housing loan authorization by $175 million—from $750 million to $925 million.

Eligibility under the program is extended to include: First, any public or nonprofit hospital operating a school of nursing beyond the level of high school, or approved for internships by recognized authority; and second, any agency, public authority, or other instrumentality of any State established to provide or finance housing or other educational facilities for students or faculty of any nonprofit public educational institution offering at least a 2-year program acceptable for full credit toward a baccalaureate degree.

A $25-million ceiling is placed on the amount of loans which may be outstanding to hospitals for housing for nurses and interns.

Voluntary home mortgage credit program: The voluntary home mortgage credit program is extended by the new act until July 31, 1959. Under previous law the program would have expired on August 15, 1957.

Farm housing research: The act authorizes a new program of farm housing research designed to assist in the improvement of farm housing by developing data and information on, first, the adequacy of existing farm housing; second, farm housing needs; third, problems in purchasing, constructing, or improving farm housing; fourth, the interrelation of farm housing problems and problems of urban and suburban housing; and fifth, any other matters bearing upon adequate farm housing.

The research, study, and analysis must be conducted by land-grant colleges financed with grants made to them by the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

The Administrator's authority to make grants to land-grant colleges expires June 30, 1959, and the total amount of such grants cannot exceed $300,000 during either of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1958, and June 30, 1959. Appropriations are authorized to be made to carry out the program.

Exchange of data: The Housing and Home Finance Administrator is directed to exchange data relating to housing and urban planning and development with other nations where the exchange is deemed by him to be beneficial to the programs of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Discount control: Under the new act the Federal Housing Commissioner and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs are directed to fix reasonable limits on the charges, fees, and discounts imposed upon the builder, seller, or purchaser, in connection with the financing of the construction or sale of housing covered by an FHA or VA mortgage. Such limits may vary in accordance with

the terms of the mortgage, the geographical area of the housing, and such other pertinent factors as the Commissioner or Administrator deems advisable. No loan may be insured or guaranteed by the Federal Housing Commissioner or the Veterans' Administrator unless the lender certifies that no charge, fee, or discount has been imposed by it in excess of the limits prescribed by the agency concerned.

Urban planning grants: The new act extends eligibility for section 701 planning grants to, first, official governmental planning agencies for areas threatened with rapid urbanization as a result of the establishment of rapid and substantial expansion of a Federal installation, and, second, State planning agencies, to be used for the provision of planning assistance to such areas.

SALE OF HOUSING PROJECTS IN ALEXANDRIA, LA.

HOUSE REPORT 220

H. R. 5603

This bill, providing for the conveyance of two Lanham Act projects to the State of Louisiana, was reported by the committee on March 25, and passed the House on April 1. The Senate did not act on this bill, but it did include substantially the same provisions as an amendment to the general housing bill, and the proposal was enacted into law as section 402 (c) of the Housing Act of 1957, discused above.

SALE OF HOUSING PROJECTS IN DECATUR, ILL.

PUBLIC LAW 85-234—NO HOUSE REPORT

S. 2460

This act provides for the conveyance of 2 Lanham Act projects in Decatur, Ill., to the city of Decatur or its housing authority, for $260,000, on condition that the projects will be demolished within 5 years. The bill pased the Senate on August 21; passed the House August 23; and was approved by the President.

SMALL BUSINESS

SMALL BUSINESS LOAN AUTHORITY

PUBLIC LAW 85-4—HOUSE REPORT 8

S. 637

The first hearing of the committee during 1957 was held January 23, on legislation to increase the Small Busines Administration's authority to make loans to small businesses. At the close of 1956, SBA's outstanding business loans and commitments had reached $137 million, just $13 million short of the statutory limit of $150 million then in effect. Since applications for such loans were being approved at the rate of about $13 million a month, prompt action was required to prevent a sudden interruption in SBA's lending program. Accordingly, the committee on January 28 reported out H. R. 3109, which provided for an increase of $80 million in the business loan authorization; this was the amount estimated to be sufficient to permit operations through July 31, 1957, the expiration date then provided in the statute. On January 29, the Senate pased S. 637, providing for an increase of $65 million. On January 31, the House passed S. 637, with an amendment substituting the provisions of H. R. 3109. The Senate agreed to the House amendment the following day, and on February 11 the bill became Public Law 85-4. As enacted, it raised SBA's business loan authority by $80 million, from $150 million to $230 million.

REVISION OF SMALL BUSINESS ACT

HOUSE REPORT 555

H. R. 7963

Under the Small Business Act of 1953, as in effect at the beginning of the 85th Congress, the Small Business Administration was scheduled to expire on July 31, 1957. On May 14, 1957, the committee began hearings on legislation to extend this expiration date and revise the Small Business Act, as a result of which the committee on June 13 reported to the House a bill, H. R. 7963, which completely rewrites the Small Business Act, making various changes in the interest of promoting a more vigorous and efficient program of assistance to small business. The bill passed the House on June 25.

The principal changes embodied in H. R. 7963 are: First, to make the Small Business Administration a permanent agency; second, to increase the authorization for loans to small business; third, to provide for a more equitable share of Government procurement for small business by requiring a new definition of small business for procurement purposes; fourth, to reduce the interest rate on direct SBA business loans and on SBA's share of such loans made in participation with private lenders and to eliminate the ceiling on the interest rate on the private lender's share; and fifth, to replace the Loan Policy Board with a National Small Business Advisory Board.

At the close of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, H. R. 7963 was pending before the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Senate, where action is expected early in the second session.

EXTENSION OF SMALL BUSINESS ACT

PUBLIC LAW 85-120—NO HOUSE REPORT

S. 2504

When it became apparent that the Senate could not act on H. R. 7963, discussed above, in the first session, the Senate enacted S. 2504, a bill extending the Small Business Act for 1 year, through July 31, 1958, and increasing its authority to make loans to small business by $75 million, to $305 million. The House passed the bill on August 2, and it became law on August 3, effective retroactively, as of July 31.

FINANCE

EXTENSION OF EXPORT-IMPORT BANK ACT

PUBLIC LAW 85-55—HOUSE REPORT 221

H. R. 4136

Following a precedent established in 1945 and continued in 1951, the committee acted early in the 85th Congress to extend the life of the Export-Import Bank for 5 years, through June 30, 1963. This extension was provided for in H. R. 4136, reported by the committee on March 25. The bill passed the House on April 9 and the Senate on June 5, and became law on June 17.

The Export-Import Bank is an agency of the United States established in 1934 to assist in the financing of exports and imports between the United States and foreign countries. Most credits of the bank finance the export of United States manufactured or agricultural products, or services. To a limited extent imports into the United States are also financed but generally financing from commercial banks and other private sources is available for this purpose. A provision of the charter of the bank expresses the intent of Congress that the bank should encourage and not compete with private capital and throughout the years the relationship between the bank and private lenders has been most harmonious.

All of the $1 billion authorized in outstanding capital stock of the bank is owned by the United States Treasury. The bank is authorized to borrow funds from the Treasury up to a maximum amount of $4 billion outstanding at any 1 time.

Over the 23-year period ending December 31, 1956, the bank had financed sales of United States products and services in 68 countries of the world. Over this period loans disbursed totaled $5,277 million. Of these, $2,641 million had been repaid leaving outstanding $2,636 million of loans. In addition, the bank had undisbursed commitments of $1,553 million. Over this 23-year period gross earnings aggregated $777.5 million while interest and dividends paid to the United States Treasury totaled $328.9 million. After payment of all operating expenses and losses charged off, a reserve of $435.1 million has been accumulated by the bank. The Treasury as owner of all the capital stock of the bank is the beneficial owner of the accumulated undisbursed reserve.

The bank has an outstanding record of successful operation. Total losses charged off approximate only $500,000. As of December 31, 1956, installments of principal past due totaled approximately $9.3 million. These have not been declared in default or charged off against the bank's earned reserves of $435.1 million because of the expectation of eventual repayment. Even if past due principal amounts are added to losses actually charged off, the ratio to aggregate loan disbursements of $5,277 million is less than one-fifth of 1 percent.

Many of the development projects abroad for which the bank assists in the financing of export of American goods and services for these projects, require considerable time for completion. In order that the development of projects of this type may proceed on an even flow basis the committee has deemed it wise to act well in advance of the scheduled expiration date of the bank's lending authority. The 5-year extensions of the agency allow operations to proceed without interruption but at the same time automatically bring the agency up for review by the committee at periodic intervals.

REGULATION OF SAVINGS AND LOAN HOLDING COMPANIES

HOUSE REPORT 178

H. R. 4135

In 1955 the committee reported out a bill, H. R. 6627, designed to regulate holding companies in the field of commercial banking. It was subsequently enacted into law and became the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. Shortly after the committee had reported that bill a new holding company was formed

in the savings and loan field. In view of the potential problems that could develop from a holding company movement in the savings and loan field the committee decided to take action before these problems assumed the complex status that had been encountered in dealing with the holding company problem in the commercial banking field. Accordingly, the committee on March 1, 1957, reported H. R. 4135, to protect against the encroachment of holding companies in the savings and loan field. The bill passed the House on March 21. Although the Senate did not act on this measure during the first session, title VI of the Senate-passed Financial Institutions Act of 1957 contains substantially similar provisions.

Savings and loan associations are community institutions devoted to encouraging thrift and home ownership. Typically they are managed by local people and are mutual institutions. At the end of 1956 there were over 6,000 savings and loan associations in the United States with combined assets of over $43 billion. These institutions held slightly over 34 percent of the mortgaged debt on the nonfarm homes of the country. Although most of the associations are mutual institutions, the laws of 14 States permit the organization of permanent stock associations. The stock associations account for approximately 6.6 percent of the number and 10.5 percent of the assets of all savings and loan associations operating in the United States.

While there are several ways a holding company might gain control of a savings and loan association, the simplest way is by buying a controlling interest in the permanent stock of a stock association. This has been the method used in all instances which have come to the committee's attention.

H. R. 4135 as reported by the committee and passed by the House prohibits any holding company from acquiring control of two or more savings and loan associations if the savings accounts in the associations are insured by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. The bill also denies FSLIC insurance to any uninsured savings and loan association if it is controlled by a holding company which also controls an insured savings and loan association. The bill prohibits any insured savings and loan association controlled by a holding company from making any loan to the holding company or any of its subsidiaries. The bill does not have any retroactive effect as it would not require an existing holding company—and there are only a few—to divest itself of an insured association it now controls. However, it does prohibit an existing holding company from acquiring control of any additional insured association after enactment of the act.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS ACT

H. R. 7026 AND S. 1451

On July 15, the committee opened hearings on H. R. 7026 and S. 1451. These bills rewrite the Federal laws relating to banks, savings and loan associations, and credit unions. In addition to eliminating obsolete provisions of law and rearranging other provisions in more logical order, the bills embody numerous substantive changes in these laws. Hearings continued for 5 weeks, and were then suspended due to the impending adjournment of Congress. They are scheduled to reopen early in the second session.

Progress Against Status of Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, as another session of Congress ends, we can report considerable progress in the fight against the status of forces treaties and important improvement in the situation of servicemen subjected to foreign courts.

The Pentagon was shaken by the extent of official and public indignation when we first brought the status of forces issue to light during debate on the Selective Service Act 2 years ago.

The Pentagon attitude of apathy and indifference has undergone remarkable change. Commanders in the field were alerted to their obligations to protect accused servicemen to the fullest possible extent. Studies of the criminal codes of the foreign nations were expediated so that for the first time the officials of the State and Defense Departments knew what kind of justice our men could expect to receive.

Prison conditions have improved greatly. In Japan, as the result of the publicity we have given the issue, all American prisoners have been transferred to a single prison which is more modern than others though still lacking in many facilities Americans consider essential.

Better interpreters have been employed since we began to fight these treaties, and the Congress has enacted legislation to pay attorney fees for GI's who fall into the hands of foreign courts. Men with legal training are now being assigned as observers, and their reports are being brought into Washington for review.

In some cases appeals are being urged. Some diplomatic interest has been evidenced.

In the Girard case, solely because of the public interest aroused, the assistant judge advocate general has been sent to aid the defense.

One of the American civilians, former national commander of the American Legion, Alvin Owsley, who is in Japan for the Girard case, has inspected Yokosuka prison and reports that conditions are reasonably satisfactory.

All of these developments, alleviating the conditions under which our men are held and helping them to secure better treatment in foreign courts, have come about directly as a result of our demands for modification of the Status-of-Forces treaty and related agreements. It is a tremendous change from the attitude of indifference we found 2 years ago.

More important, the public and Congress have been aroused. House Joint Resolution 16 has been reported by Foreign Affairs. The Armed Services Committee has also reported legislation. Though our indignation makes it difficult to be patient, we can count this as real progress toward eventual modification of the treaties themselves. No legislative battle is easy. This one, against such formidable opponents, has been particularly difficult. I think we have come a long way toward eventual success.

Editorial Refuting Attack Upon Senator Neuberger by Oregon Republican Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a vigorous editorial from the Pendleton East Oregonian, of Pendleton, Oreg., of August 30, 1957.

This editorial, entitled "Birds of a Feather?" exposes a recent attack made upon me by the Republican State leadership in Oregon—an attack based upon Senate rollcalls in which I overwhelmingly supported the foreign policy position taken by President Eisenhower.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIRDS OF A FEATHER?

By launching an attack on the voting record of Senator NEUBERGER the leadership of the Republican Party in Oregon has, it seems to us, revealed that it sits with party conservatives who are openly opposing much of President Eisenhower's legislative program.

The chairman of the Republican Party in Oregon, James F. Short, used a Congressional Quarterly survey of the voting of Senators and decided that Senator NEUBERGER's voting record on so-called economy legislation was appalling.

The Congressional Quarterly's economy survey is based on 23 Senate rollcalls between January 3 and July 28. On those 23 rollcalls the recommendations of President Eisenhower were made clear 17 times and out of those 17 rollcalls Senator NEUBERGER voted with the President 13 times. No other Democrat supported the President on as many rollcalls.

Mr. Short's inclination to attack Senator NEUBERGER on the slightest provocation is understandable. The question in this case is whether Mr. Short realizes the punch he threw at Senator NEUBERGER knocked the President's hat off.

We suspect that Mr. Short knew exactly what he was doing. He must have known that Senator NEUBERGER had been supporting most of President Eisenhower's legislative program. We have called attention to the

fact that Senator NEUBERGER has voted differently from Oregon's senior Senator, WAYNE MORSE. Mr. Short is well aware, we're sure, that Senator MORSE has opposed all Eisenhower proposals.

Mr. Short saw the opportunity, we think, to get 2 birds with 1 stone. And by doing so, he left the clear impression that at Oregon Republican headquarters the boys who call the shots think the birds are of the same feather.

The Supreme Court's June 17 Opinions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles written by Alan Barth and Harry Kalven, Jr. Mr. Barth is on the staff of the Washington Post and Mr. Kalven is professor of law at the University of Chicago. Their articles appeared in the July 1, 1957, issue of the New Republic:

THE SUPREME COURT'S JUNE 17 OPINIONS

(By Alan Barth)

Civil liberties have come back into fashion. In an extraordinary quartet of opinions handed down on Monday, June 17, the Supreme Court reaffirmed and revitalized its traditional role as the guardian of individual rights against arbitrary governmental authority. It imposed checks upon the investigating committees of Congress and a State legislature, upon the application of a Federal statute, and upon the personnel policies of the executive branch of the Government. Through all these decisions runs a common dominant theme: That national security is not to be achieved by overriding the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

The decision in the Watkins case is perhaps the most significant of the four because it arrests a power directly exercised by Congress itself—a point Professor Kalven elaborates in his comments which follow mine in this issue. The Court has said repeatedly, in half a dozen decisions since 1880, that the power to investigate is a limited power, subject to the same limitations which the Constitution imposes on the power to legislate, of which it is an adjunct. In reversing the conviction of John T. Watkins for contempt of Congress, however, the Court drew new and more meaningful boundaries for the application of this power.

"We have no doubt," the Chief Justice said for the Court, "that there is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure. The public is, of course, entitled to be informed concerning the workings of its Government. That cannot be inflated into a general power to expose where the predominant result can only be an invasion of the private rights of individuals."

But from its very inception 20 years ago, the House Committee on Un-American Activities regarded exposure of individuals—and punishment of them through pitiless publicity—as its principal purpose. It aimed, expressly, to punish by investigation what the Constitution forbade Congress to punish by legislation.

The committee has operated as a kind of itinerant auto-da-fe, intruding its inquisitorial nose into almost every aspect of American life, unrestrained by any jurisdictional limitations imposed upon it by the House and unconcerned about rights of privacy or immunities from governmental regulation. The failure of the House to define its function or to discipline it in any way left its jurisdiction so vague, the Court concluded, that witnesses called before it have no means of determining whether questions put to them have any relevancy to a legitimate legislative purpose. It was on this vice of vagueness that the Court rested its reversal of Watkins' conviction. But the whole tone and much of the content of Chief Justice Warren's opinion warned that "abuses of the investigative process may imperceptibly lead to abridgment of protected freedoms" and asserted "the responsibility placed by the Constitution upon the judiciary to insure that the Congress does not unjustifiably encroach upon an individual's right to privacy nor abridge his liberty to speech, press, religion, or assembly."

This emphasis on first amendment rights was fortified by the Court's decision on the same Monday, in the Sweezy case revolving around the refusal of a university professor to tell the New Hampshire Legislature about the nature of his past expressions and associations. The demand for such information, the Court declared, "unquestionably was an invasion of petitioner's liberties in the areas of academic freedom and political expression—areas in which Government should be extremely reticent to tread."

The decision in the Watkins case in no sense strips Congress of its power to investigate. It merely requires the House or Senate, when it delegates this power to a committee, to define the area of investigation; and it requires the committee to remain within that area. In addition, it makes clear that the object of investigation must be information desired by Congress, not the establishment of a public pillory. The Un-American Activities Committee, as presently conceived, cannot possibly operate under these strictures.

The Yates and Service decisions have a narrower impact. In the Yates case, the Court upset the convictions of some California Communist leaders under the Smith Act—but without repudiating its 1950 decision in the Dennis case which held the Smith Act to be constitutional. What Justice Harlan seemed to be trying to do was to restore to the clear-and-present-danger doctrine some of the original meaning given to it by Justices Holmes and Brandeis and almost completely drained from it by Chief Justice Vinson. He attempted to do this, without ever using the clear-and-present-danger phrase, by refining the definition of the kind of advocacy which the Smith Act makes punishable. Men may be punished for advocating overthrow of the Government by force and violence, the Court now emphasizes, only when those to whom the advocacy is addressed are urged, to do something, now or in the future, rather than merely to believe in something. This is, no doubt, a useful distinction. But, as Justice Black pointed out in a critical concurring opinion, defendants could still be convicted for agreeing to talk as distinguished from agreeing to act. Perhaps the chief significance of this decision lies in its indication that the Court is now profoundly concerned about peacetime sedition prosecutions and is disposed to scrutinize them with great care.

The significance of the Service decision—which comes 5½ years after John S. Service was discharged from the Foreign Service by Secretary of State Dean Acheson—may be limited to Mr. Service himself. By finding that his discharge was invalid, it affords him a measure of vindication and makes him eligible for back pay and reinstatement. But the McCarran rider under which he was discharged has been repealed; and the Truman loyalty-security program under the procedures of which he was cleared on six separate occasions, has been replaced by the Eisenhower program. There may be some utility in this decision, nevertheless, by reason of its plain warning to the administration that Federal employees may not be arbitrarily or wantonly dismissed and defamed.

In an important sense, all these decisions are tragically belated. The excesses they curb should have been curbed a decade ago. In the late 1940's, the Supreme Court rejected several petitions to review decisions by courts of appeals dealing with encroachments on first amendment rights by the House Un-American Activities Committee. In the Barsky case in 1948, for example, Judge Henry Edgerton of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia set forth in a dissenting opinion very much the same line of argument that was developed by Chief Justice Warren last week in the Watkins case. Judge Edgerton, joined by Judge David L. Bazelon, made this same argument in dissent when the Watkins case came before their court a year ago. Had the Supreme Court adopted their reasoning in 1948 instead of in 1957, congressional investigating practices might have been brought within proper limits then instead of now. Many injustices to individual witnesses and a number of convictions for contempt of Congress might have been avoided.

Had the Warren Court instead of the Vinson Court considered the Dennis case in 1950 in the light of the fervor for individual rights expressed in the Yates case in 1957, the Smith Act might have been held invalid. Had the Warren Court reviewed the Dorothy Bailey case in 1951, the result might have been—instead of the indecisive 4-to-4 division of the Vinson Court at that time—a clear pronouncement that Government employees could not be stamped with the stigma of disloyalty without the full protections of due process of law.

But, of course, no one can say with any certainty what the Warren Court would have done a decade ago; indeed, no one can say with certainty that the Winson Court, sitting today, would not have reached the very results that were reached on Monday, June 17. The differences between the two Courts cannot be ascribed to differences in personality and outlook alone. The climate of opinion in which they operated is a powerful factor, too—and perhaps the determining factor.

It is an attribute of judicial statesmanship to wait until time has ripened the readiness of society to accept new directions in the law. The panic atmosphere of a decade ago no longer prevails in anything like the same degree. Perhaps the real significance of the Court's June 17 opinion day lies in its reflection of a renascence among Americans of faith in their own institutions, of respect for the dignity of the individual, and of recognition that the only valid function of national security, after all, is to sustain those fundamental human rights which the founders of this Nation believed that free governments are instituted to secure.

(By Harry Kalven, Jr.)

A few weeks back in these pages I had occasion to review the then existing law on the powers of congressional investigating committees, with the facts of the Arthur Miller contempt trial as the special focus. I concluded by saying:

"The Supreme Court, after carefully avoiding these issues during the past decade, will soon decide the Watkins case. In so doing it will in all probability also cover the issues in the Miller case. I doubt if Mr. Miller will win. But I hope very much I am mistaken."

The Supreme Court has now decided the Watkins case favorably to Watkins—and, by implication, to Arthur Miller. My hope has been realized.

In the Watkins decision, the Court redirects our attention to the exact definition

in Federal statute of the crime of contempt: it is the refusal to answer any question pertinent to the question under inquiry. In Watkins, the Court is unable to discover from the record what the question under inquiry was, particularly as viewed by the witness at the time of the congressional hearing. The witness was therefore left, concludes the Court, with no adequate guide as to whether the question he refused to answer was pertinent or not; moreover, he was left with no adequate guide as to whether his conduct in refusing to answer would be a crime or not. Such vagueness in the application of criminal sanctions, so the Court argues, violates the due-process clause of the fifth amendment.

Now the Court recognizes that the balancing of the congressional need for information and the individual interest in privacy is an arduous and delicate task for any court, but the opinion repeatedly indicates that the Court, and not Congress, is the final arbiter of the matter. The Court begins with the basic authorization from Congress to the House Un-American Activities Committee, an authorization which has remained unchanged since 1938. "It would be difficult," says Justice Warren, "to imagine a less explicit authorization. Who can define the meaning of un-American? What is the single solitary principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution?" What is important here is that the Court takes that famous authorization for what it really is—a blank check from Congress to the committee. It concludes that the initial control of the House over the committee has been slight or nonexistent. The opinion is thus in part a judicial lecture to Congress on the responsibility of Congress for the guidance of its committees.

I think it is a fair reading that the Court will not permit Congress to set up committees free to investigate what, when, and whom they please. The opinion seems as much concerned with the dilemma of a court, when the committee authorization is so vague, as it is with the dilemma of the witness. The theory of the decision then, as I read it, comes to this: The Court is willing, and perhaps even eager, to defer to sober congressional judgment that certain given information is needed by Congress. But it will do so only if Congress will in fact exercise such a judgment. If Congress does, the pertinency requirement can then function as an important safeguard against the whims and arbitrariness of individual investigating committee members; it can function as a safeguard because the Court can subsequently tell whether the questions asked were pertinent or not. The Watkins case is thus a logical companion to the Rumely decision a few years back where the Court did make serious use of the pertinency yardstick.

Suppose now Congress were explicitly to authorize a committee to investigate communism in the labor movement. Would a witness then have to answer the questions about past associates which were put to Watkins? I am inclined to think the answer is "Yes." Does this then make the Watkins decision only a formal victory which Congress can quickly overturn? There are several reasons why this may not prove to be the case. First, such an inquiry might never be authorized by Congress for the Court decision has armed in an important way the Members of Congress who may wish to scrutinize the need for new investigations with greater care. Second, and more important, the Watkins case may have permanently changed the political structure of congressional investigating committees. It may require a decline of the standing committee, the patronage of which is inherited on strictly party seniority lines, and the rise of the ad hoc inquiry which cannot last forever.

This change from permanent investigating committees to temporary ones with more limited and explicit purposes would prevent a congressional committee from being owned in the sense that McCarthy, Jenner, Eastland, and Walter have tended to own committees in the past. And this might be a very great and salutory change. Finally, it is important to note that once more the committee—and not the witness—is losing the battle of publicity. The decision, if it does nothing more, should shatter in the minds of the public and the press the image of the omnipotent inquest.

It is the special flavor of the Watkins case, as it is of the Arthur Miller case, that the witness was candid about himself and refused only to tell about associates of many years past. The Court has little to say about this aspect and might equally have decided in Watkins' favor had he refused to talk about himself. There remains unsettled, therefore, the highly interesting issue of whether the Court would find such questions pertinent under an explicit and clear committee authorization, or whether it would find the information requested too stale.

Let us push our speculation one step further. Suppose Congress were in its authorization specifically to request a review of Communist activities over the past 20 years. The Court could no longer deny the questions were pertinent to the inquiry Congress requested, and it would be forced back to the constitutional issue of whether such information could serve a legitimate legislative purpose. This was the chief point Watkins had argued, coupling the staleness of the questions he was asked with considerable data on the real politik of the committee. The Court restates his argument, but then carefully observes: "But a solution to our problem is not to be found in testing the motives of committee members for this purpose. Such is not our function." The opinion, as anticipated, contains some useful reminders that it is not the function of congressional committees to try cases or to enforce laws; there is a condemnation of exposure for exposure's sake, and a surprisingly strong reference to investigations "conducted solely for the personal aggrandizement of the investigators." But the opinion is less clear than might have been hoped on whether informing the public is a legitimate and sufficient function of a committee. My guess is that the Court is loath to get into the question of whether an investigation has in fact no legislative purpose and hopes to obviate such questions by a stern reliance on the pertinency criterion.

Although Justice Clark in dissent appears to interpret the majority as in part resting its case on first amendment grounds, it is difficult to find that they do so. There is, however, an unexpected and powerful statement about the possible interferences with free speech and assembly:

"Abuses of the investigative process may imperceptibly lead to abridgment of protected freedoms. The mere summoning of a witness and compelling him to testify against his will about his beliefs, expressions, or associations is a measure of governmental interference. And when those forced revelations concern matters that are unorthodox, unpopular, or even hateful to the general public, the reaction in the life of the witness may be disastrous. This effect is even more harsh when it is past beliefs, expressions, or associations that are disclosed and judged by current standards rather than those contemporary with the matter exposed. Nor does the witness alone suffer the consequences. Those who are identified by witnesses and thereby placed in the same glare of publicity are equally subject to public stigma, scorn, and obloquy. Beyond that, there is the more subtle and immeasurable effect upon those who tend to adhere to the most orthodox and uncontroversial views and associations in order to avoid a similar fate at some future time. That this impact is partly the result of nongovernmental activity by private persons cannot relieve the investigators of their responsibility for initiating the reaction."

The recognition of the threat to the first amendment here serves chiefly to emphasize the basic issue of vagueness; yet the passage is a full acceptance of the thesis that an investigation itself can impair free speech—a thesis advanced by Judges Clark, Edgerton, and Prettyman almost 10 years ago and by Justices Black and Douglas in the Rumely case more recently.

Finally, in the Watkins case the Court not only looked to the authorization of the committee for clues as to the scope of congressional inquiry, but also carefully considered the authorization from the parent committee to the subcommittee, the statements of the chairman at the start of the hearing, the chairman's response to Watkins when he declined to answer, and the general course of the questioning. While it found all these equally ambiguous in this particular case, it conceded that other cases might differ significantly in these details, even though the basic committee authorization remained equally vague. However, the record at least in the Miller case seems highly similar to the Watkins record and this time I think it highly probable Miller will win. It might be noted that this part of the Court opinion leaves matters in a somewhat unsatisfactory state, since it is difficult to see how, for example, the chairman's clear statement of his purpose can be tested against the purposes of Congress, so long as the authorization from Congress to the committee remains as vague as it does here.

A Cut-Price Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, responding to the request of the Council for Improved United States-Japanese Trade Relations, I inserted in the RECORD the letter of that organization making a protest against me.

In order to keep the RECORD balanced and fair, I now request that a rebuttal letter from the president and chairman of the board of the Bates Manufacturing Co. be placed in the RECORD.

I also request that an editorial by Mr. E. Howard Bennett in the August 22, 1957, issue of America's Textile Reporter be placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *September 3, 1957.*

Hon. MARGARET CHASE SMITH,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SMITH: I have your letter of August 31 with the enclosure from the Council for Improved United States-Japanese Trade Relations.

As a rebuttal, I want to state that because of Japanese imports into the United States of over 1 million dozen flannel shirts, the Windsor Print Works, at North Adams, Mass., employing 600 people, was forced to close its doors under the avalanche of this unfair competition, after operating over 100 years. The plant closed permanently after spending millions of dollars on modernization. Most of the workers are still unemployed

after 18 months; the town has suffered, and my company has taken a loss running into millions.

The Luther Manufacturing Co., Fall River, Mass., closed its doors, after being in business for 60 years, because of the importation of Japanese combed goods which tore down the American price structure.

The Shelby Cotton Mill, Shelby, N. C., formerly making cotton print cloths which were exported, closed its doors 2 years ago because it could not compete with the Japanese in foreign markets.

The Martinsville Cotton Mill, Martinsville, Va., closed its doors last year because it, also, could not compete in foreign markets with the Japanese on cotton textiles.

The Lynchburg Cotton Mill, Lynchburg, Va., employing over 1,000 workers, is closing its doors this month because it cannot sell its production in world markets in competition with the Japanese.

The Kings Mountain Mill, owned by the Loomtex Corp., making print cloths for foreign markets, was also forced to close last year with heavy losses because it was unable to meet Japanese competition.

The York Mill, in Saco, Maine, closed its doors 2 months ago because of imports of Japanese combed goods which broke down the American price structure.

Our books are open to show how devastating the Japanese competition was to all these mills.

Many other mills in this country have closed their doors and are suffering because of low-wage competition from abroad. Only your bill can save the American textile industry, which equalizes through cotton legislation low foreign wages.

Sincerely yours,

LESTER MARTIN,
President and Chairman of the Board, Bates Manufacturing Co., Lewiston, Maine.

[From the American Textile Reporter of August 22, 1957]

A CUT-PRICE INDUSTRY

Thirty-five years ago most of the cotton manufacturing business was located in New England. And 1922 was approximately the year when that industry was suffering most from the effects of the aftermath of the first war. Remember that there were big units in New England in those days. Some of them were larger than any of the strictly cotton textile manufacturing plants in place at present in the Southeast. There was an oversupply of goods in the markets. The mills were curtailing in some instances while others ran with the excuse that it was cheaper to sell goods at a slight loss than to shut down. Chaos reigned. Now in those days we did not have the extremely elaborate accounting methods nor the production control systems which are prevalent today and, consequently, many mills ran for months before the treasurer knew or would admit that he was running deep into the red. In many instances, poorly informed or deceitful selling houses would keep assuring the mill that the market was due for a turn for the better and to warehouse goods to be cashed later at a profit.

But the cotton textile depression as far as New England was concerned continued, so that by the middle of the twenties, more than a few of the larger units were shutting down and liquidating and southern companies were taking over their market position. Then, too, devastating strikes hit those old New England companies in the early twenties and accelerated the flight of textile capital into the Southeast. But all through those trying times, we would keep hearing that if a certain mill could only get an eighth or a quarter of a cent if yard more, it would be in the black and mills continued to borrow money on this false hope.

Today we are hearing from the mills and from the markets similar wishful thoughts. And as we think back to those older days, we come to the conclusion that there is a very simple solution: don't sell goods at a loss.

We hasten to add that we can understand the arguments propounded that we must keep our labor force happy and together; that our overhead and carrying charges and other fixed costs go on and on and that by running we can alleviate some of this expense; that we will lose our contacts in the market, these being usurped by other companies who choose to run; as well as other, sometimes valid, reasonings for operating a company at a loss.

But it still all boils down to the matter of setting a profitable price and sticking to it, not just getting our seed back, but a reasonable profit percentage. But, except for a wartime boom and inflation, never has there been a time during the 70 years' life of this paper when there have not been price cuttings, failures, and liquidations.

Let's face it. Not everyone can make a profit every year. Some of us are smarter than others; some of us are more hard working and more ambidextrous than others; some of us are victims of bad fortune while others are enjoying good fortune. Yet, even if all of these different problems were resolved, human nature being what it is, there would always be some mill which would go into the market at a quarter of a cent cheaper, and it is this weakness and this one alone that causes the chaotic situations which the cotton textile industry periodically faces.

We have a great deal of admiration and respect for the abilities and thinkings of Leon Lowenstein. We were very much interested to read the other day the report of his speech to the executives of his Wamsutta Mills, where he stressed two very important factors which he considers to be the key to the future of cotton textiles. He said the first is proper production that parallels consumption. This is a very interesting statement. It isn't new. Other industries do it. Allegorically, there is a fellow sitting in an office high up in a building down in Newark who looks out the window occasionally to see what price the corner gas-station man is getting for his product, and if it doesn't look right for some reason or other, he advises his company to up the tank-wagon price a half a cent or a cent. Coincidentally, every other oil company in the United States arrives at the same pricing conclusion.

Then if the automobile owners, for some reason or other, do not see fit to buy quite as much gallonage, then, as an interesting coincidence, the refiners curtail a little—not one but all of them. And the order goes out to the pumping stations to slow down the pumps. Somehow or other, the earning statements of the oil companies seem to be pretty stable with a reasonable return percentagewise and we never hear any noises from either the consumer or the Department of Justice. It just all happens.

The few steel companies who control that production of the country with their round heels, fall down before the United Steel Workers and grant a substantial wage increase and then blandly announce an increase of $5 a ton, take it or leave it. And if we don't do the taking in the same quantitive amounts, then we note that the steel rate for the previous week was off a little. But the steel companies show profits and the stockholders get dividends. Every single, solitary industry in the United States except the textile industry is organized pricewise regardless of what the Department of Justice has to say about it and in spite of the injunctions in the Sherman Antitrust Act.

Letter after letter crosses this desk telling us that the market is more active but that the prices are unsatisfactory. Who makes the prices?

We are 100 percent in agreement with Mr. Lowenstein's insistence that production should parallel consumption, but he and everyone else in the industry wants a larger percentage of the total production and, at the same time, no one knows what consumption actually is in order to gear our production to it. At the same time, in our disorganized state, we try to make consumption bigger at, say, 72 cents a pound than it was at 80 cents a pound when everyone was getting a reasonable profit. What is the sense of a relatively large production if no one makes any money?

Is there any difference today in our marketing and merchandising habits than those of 35 years ago when if a mill needed an order to keep looms running, it would quote an eighth or a quarter of a cent less than the market? Immediately that lower price was the market and that wasn't done by the salesmen on the street, but more generally by one of the old commission house partners or even the mill president or treasurer himself. Many have been the times when we have seen a poor cotton-goods salesman fighting competition from his own mill.

But further to confound the pricing situation, let's turn to Mr. Lowenstein's second important factor which is proper protective tariffs and not a dependence on so-called voluntary quotas. He says, "We cannot be saved by quotas on imports. We can be rescued from this flood of cheap goods only by the proper protective tariffs."

We agree, but it must be apparent by now that the present administration has no intention of either providing suitable tariff protection for the textile industry nor any other. Just witness the recent experiences of the zinc and copper people.

Quoting Standard & Poor's Basic Analysis for Textiles and Apparel—"Imports into the United States have increased in recent years to around $1 billion annually. Imports of woolen and worsted fabrics reached a 33-year peak in 1956 of 34.7 million square yards, up from 19.5 million in 1954. Cotton cloth imports in 1956 rose to a peak of 188.2 million square yards, up from 36.3 million in 1952. At the same time, exports of cotton cloth continued to decline to 511.6 million square yards in 1956, from 802.4 million in 1951.

"Japan is estimated to have shipped about 1.3 billion yards of cotton goods in 1956, plus a billion yards of rayon goods. Shipments to the United States in 1955 approximated 150 million square yards of cotton, exclusive of another 78 million equivalent yards of goods made up in garments. Rayon staple sales to the United States of about 1.5 million pounds equaled the combined total for the 5 previous years.

"Rising imports have resulted from continued tariff concessions. Since inception of the reciprocal-trade agreements program in the 1930's, tariffs by early 1955 had been reduced an average of nearly 40 percent. On September 11, 1955, cuts ranging from 27 to 48 percent were put into effect under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, negotiated at Geneva. Additional reductions were negotiated, effective September 10, 1956, for the benefit of Japan and other nations. In the case of unbleached cotton cloth valued at not over 70 cents a pound and with average yarn numbers not over 80, the duty formerly was 10 percent, plus 0.35 percent for each yarn number. It is now 7.5 percent plus 0.25 percent for each yarn number. Import duties on cotton sheets and pillow cases were cut from 20 to 12½ percent, and on other important items by 50 percent."

Getting back to the suggested control of production in relation to consumption, we are very much interested in the Census Bureau's report of cotton consumed in June 1957, as compared to the corresponding month in 1956. The Bureau says the daily rate of use in June of this year was 32,485 bales (30 working days) as compared to 32,-

393 bales in 1956 (25 working days). At the same time, it is interesting to note that active spindles reported in June 1957, numbered 19,740,000 as compared to 20,454,000 in 1956. How difficult it will be to control production if, year by year, fewer spindles can consume more cotton daily.

We agree with Standard and Poor's when they say "Excess capacity and highly competitive prices result in a high degree of instability of operations and limit worthwhile earnigs to relatively brief periods." That is what Mr. Lowenstein said.

Price concessions together with low figure imports have disorganized the market. The news that one mill has cut prices travels faster than the speed of sound. No other industry abuses itself so, pricewise.

Facts, figures, expert testimony—all indicate that it is a lack of industry self-discipline which upsets the market. But self-regulation, apparently, is abhorrent. Everyone knows it and it has been talked about for years. There will always be certain mills struggling to keep up, many of them falling by the wayside, because the well-equipped, well-managed, efficient, low-overhead fellows can stand the gaff of the cut price, but the industry as a whole cannot.

Distrust of Foreign-Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, though the foreign-aid issue has been decided for this year, the comments of Editor John S. Knight published recently in the Akron Beacon-Journal express so well the feelings of many who are opposed to the program that I wish to call it to the attention of all concerned. Ohio State Senator Fred Danner forwarded the editorial to me with the hope that it could be circulated among all Members of Congress and throughout the executive department.

The editorial follows:

NO WONDER THERE'S DISTRUST OF FOREIGN-AID PROGRAM

(By John S. Knight)

President Eisenhower is disturbed by the cuts being made in his foreign-aid program.

He has indicated that unless Congress appropriates enough money to carry out the administration's aims, a special session will be called later in the year.

Without questioning the President's sincerity, I would disagree with him concerning the need.

Some weeks ago, President Eisenhower voluntarily suggested that he would accept $500 million less for the overseas assistance program than he had originally requested.

There must be a good deal of padding in the foreign-aid setup when the administration publicly admits that it can stand a half-billion-dollar slash.

We have been at the business of dispensing foreign aid since the Marshall plan was sprung on an unsuspecting public in 1947.

This would seem to be an opportune time to determine if substantial reductions can be made without, as the President says, "placing our interests in real jeopardy."

IT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE TEMPORARY—REMEMBER?

The controversy over foreign aid arises principally out of distrust.

At its inception, we were told that the money would be used for the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe. The assurance was given by the administration then in power that foreign aid was to be temporary and would be terminated when Europe's economic recovery has been assured.

As we all know, this didn't happend. Billions of American dollars continued to flow in a steady stream to nations showing every evidence of prosperity.

The next departure from the original concept of foreign assistance came when the State Department adopted foreign aid as a permanent arm of our foreign policy.

Less talk was heard about helping nations to help themselves as our Government began to use the so-called foreign-aid dollars in the dubious business of buying friends.

Immediately every neutral nation had communism for sale. If we didn't come through, they warned Russia would gobble them up.

The United States fell hard for this international con game and is still playing it to the limit permitted by Congress.

TWENTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS FOR SAUD BUT HE WONT TAKE IT

The third factor in creating public distrust of foreign aid is the sorry sequence of blunders by officials charged with its administration.

From Afghanistan to Yugoslavia, the record is one of extravagance and bad judgment. ECA, under Paul Hoffman, disbursed funds to unstable governments in Europe without seeking even a semblance of fiscal reform.

In the Middle East, weeds are growing over unfinished projects which had their origination in the fertile minds of impractical do-gooders.

As a gesture of good will, the United States offered oil-rich Saudi Arabia $25 million in foreign-aid funds. Our Ambassador is still pursuing King Saud, hoping to get rid of the money.

But the King, it appears, is busy with other matters.

Back in 1953, the Foreign Operations Administration built a bathhouse in Saudi Arabia for pilgrims on their way to Mecca. The project was abandoned when it was discovered there wasn't enough water to run the sterilizers.

BRITAIN AND ISRAEL USE MONEY PRUDENTLY

Now this is not to say that all foreign-aid programs have been wasteful or poorly conceived. Our intervention in Guatemala was a severe setback for the Communists.

Great Britain, unlike free-spending, undisciplined France, has used our assistance to the mutual advantage of both countries.

With American aid, the hard-working Israelis are taking great strides toward their cherished goals.

But these examples of accomplishment do not erase the public memory of profiteering in France, of graft in Korea, of supplying jet fighters to the crafty and unscrupulous Tito, who cuddles up to Moscow on the days we aren't looking.

The President can say as he did last Wednesday evening, that administrative malfunctioning and waste do exist in foreign aid, but that we "are human."

Still, there have been too many instances of extravagance and official bungling to inspire confidence that our money is being spent wisely and prudently.

As Senate Democratic leader LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas has said: "The foreign-aid program has lost considerable public support because of the way it has been handled."

With that statement, I heartily agree.

COMMITMENTS SUBJECT TO CONGRESS' APPROVAL

House Republican Leader JOSEPH MARTIN has announced that President Eisenhower won't stand for the new reductions in foreign aid.

"It's too deep a cut," said MARTIN. "This will not permit him to keep his commitments."

Unwittingly perhaps, Representative MARTIN has touched upon a basic flaw in the foreign-aid program.

Can the Chief Executive commit this country to foreign expenditures beyond what the Congress is willing to authorize?

Are there no limitations upon his authority? No protection against government by secrecy?

In essence, what Congress seems to be saying is that since it controls the purse strings, Presidential commitments will be honored at its pleasure.

By refusing to give the administration a blank check for foreign aid, the Congress is showing the President that we still have a government of checks and balances; that the legislative branch is no mere ratifier of executive actions.

It is likewise accurately reflecting the mood of the Nation.

Pearl Buck School for Retarded Children in Eugene, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, because I am sponsoring legislation in the Senate—S. 1092—to provide for Federal grants-in-aid for the training of teachers who specialize in the instruction of retarded children, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a report on the enlightened training program developed by the Pearl Buck School for Retarded Children in Eugene, Oreg. This program has been developed by Mrs. Elisabeth Waechter, of Eugene, who is the author of the brief report which I believe will be of interest to my colleagues in the Senate.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEARL BUCK SCHOOL'S MANUAL-TRAINING PROGRAM

(By Elisabeth Waechter)

Every educational program has to set goals according to which plans are made to prepare the participants as best as possible. In general the aims in a training program of mentally retarded children are the same as for their normal peers. We want to develop their abilities to the fullest and equip them to become useful and well-adjusted citizens of our society. Yet in dealing with the retarded, we have to face realistically the limitations due to their specific handicap. Even in cases of moderate retardation expectation of success in the academic field is extremely limited, the more severe the retardation the less can be expected academically. But the great majority of retarded children can succeed in the areas of practical work if trained properly. This training has to lead the children from learning to take care completely of their own personal needs to eventual economic usefulness. The children have to be taught simple basic skills, they have to be able to follow instructions and to do neat, accurate work. Good work habits are of utmost importance even in the simplest activities.

Many retarded children also have poor physical coordination and perfection in manual skills requires a great deal of prac-

tice. But unlike in the academic areas he can achieve as near equal quality as normals can.

Therefore, we plan to introduce a manual-training program for the teen-age boys and girls at Pearl Buck School, most of whom have been enrolled since a number of years. This program is of a prevocational nature and will introduce the students in the different skills and crafts. It will also help the teacher to evaluate the childrens' abilities in the different fields for future guidance and work placement.

The training will include all household skills as cooking, sewing, ironing, washing and cleaning as well as simple woodwork, pottery, bookbinding, weaving, and so forth. The children will work on simple projects, which will enable them to improve their skills. Though they do not work for the purpose to produce, but for the purpose to learn, the finished product is of importance. We want to instill in them the feeling of responsibility toward their own work, where only utmost effort will lead to good results. The manual-training program will be closely integrated with the academic program. Reading and arithmetic will become meaningful by studying the recipes or instructions for measuring ingredients and figuring the cost of the items. Their own activities will be related to community living with field trips to factories and plants, where similar products are mass produced as we make in our own shop.

We hope that this type of program will prepare our students better for a useful life than the average school program which is primarily oriented to teach academic skills.

The 1944 Communistic Rebellion in Slovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article from the August issue of the Bulletin of the Slovak National Council Abroad entitled "The 1944 Communistic Rebellion in Slovakia":

THE 1944 COMMUNISTIC REBELLION IN SLOVAKIA

In late August 1944 a rebellion to overthrow the Government of the free Slovak Republic was set in motion by Communist partisan forces that were parachuted into the country by Moscow. Although the predominant element among the invaders was Czech, there were also Russians and Frenchmen among them. Conspicuous as one of the leaders promoting this putsch was Dr. Joseph Lettrich who is now an official of the Council of the Free Czechoslovakia and resides in the United States of America.

The objective of this offensive strategy was not only the ruthless subjugation of the Slovak Government but also the occupation of Slovakia and the integration of the crushed republic into the politically hybridized Czecho-Slovak Republic. With the help of Soviet troops this goal was achieved in the spring of 1945.

Some of the tactics and activities of these Red invaders are reliably described by Dr. Joseph Pauco in his latest book Slovácí a Komunizmus (The Slovaks and Communism; Middletown, Pa.; 1957). We quote here in part from the chapter Dielo pomsty (A Labor of Revenge)—Editor:

"The baseness of the partisans literally knew no bounds. They looted and plundered at will and murdered wantonly. Consequently the toll of the struggle was tragic even though the encounters did not last exceptionally long. Col. Otto Klement reports that 'official statistics released early in 1945 indicate that the so-called national uprising in 1944 cost the Slovak nation close to 80,000 lives sacrificed on Slovak territory.'

"The partisans and their henchmen terrorized Slovak villages. They categorically seized all citizens of note who had shown a lack of favor for communism. 'They robbed their apartments, homes, castles, factories, places of business, warehouses; they indulged in drunken orgies and began to annoy innocent victims and torture and kill them,' states Col. Otto Klement who was fully informed of all that happened.

"Thousands of Slovaks were subjected to unspeakable torture and inhuman torments. Among the first victims in this wave of terror was the Slovak labor leader and deputy to Parliament, Francis Slamen, who met his cruel fate in the town Brezno and Hronom. He was a typical Slovak laborer, one of thousands of diligent and honest Slovak workingmen, providing for his family by the toil of his hands. He was interested in the welfare of Slovak workers but his crime was that he based his interest on the principles of fundamental Christian equity. He organized a Christian-social worker association and as president of the group, he was shown a certain degree of deference by his coworkers who came to realize that the problems of the laboring class can be resolved without recourse to revolutionary methods, without violence, bloodshed, and confiscation of private property.

"When Francis Slamen noticed that there was a concentration of questionable elements in the neighborhood of Brezno, he decided to go to Bratislava in order to inform the state authorities. His plans were to leave in the evening of August 27, 1944, but an informer foiled his plans and a few hours before train time, he was forced into a partisan truck.

"The partisans then rounded up other influential loyal patriots in this town, driving them out of their homes at the point of leveled automatics. They packed them into the fore section of the truck while heavily armed guards took up the rear. At about 11 o'clock at night, the truck was started on its way but it halted every 50 meters or so in order to take on more unfortunate captives.

"Shortly before midnight, the truck loaded with captives left the heart of town. When the tragic company reached the town limits, two of the partisans who were stationed as guards in the truck opened fire on the victims. Several of them died on the spot; others lived a few hours longer.

"The sole survivor in this instance was the Judge Denk. His face and head were spattered with the brain fragments of Slamen and Dolnan and both his hands as well as his head and neck were torn with shot. But he did not lose presence of mind or consciousness and he was able to save himself. When the partisans came to carry away the corpses, Denk let himself be taken as a dead man with the dead. They left him in the cemetery for burial with the rest and it was there that he spoke to the gendarme who was left to take over, begging him to take him to a hospital from where his wife later smuggled him out to safety and survival.

"The heartless partisans who carried out this coldblooded task of political vengeance appropriated all the valuables on the persons of their victims right where they fell. They even stripped the dead of their shoes and before leaving the scene, they kicked the bodies about with violent brutality.

"Another notable victim of the partisans was the Catholic priest and Parliamentary Deputy Rev. Anthony Salát, who died in the first week of the rebellion. He was a man of noble character and his was the stature of an earnest Slovak patriot, a brilliant popular writer, a matchless public speaker and one of the most outspoken and determined opponents of communism.

"Through the years, dating back as far as 1929, he served as a parliamentary representative of the Slovak Populist Party. In public life he merited distinction not only as a gifted and objective speaker, a defender of Slovak rights in the forum of Prague's Hall of Parliament, but also as a journalist.

"Because of all this, the partisans marked as one of their earliest targets, a figure to be cut down mercilessly, this Father Anthony Salát, a distinguished national leader and an intrepid fighter for justice. They dragged him out of the quiet of his parish to the bridge that spans the Hron River. He begged to be allowed to make his confession but the rabble refused him this spiritual consolation. In answer to his request they sounded off rounds of satanic laughter and piercing ridicule which alternated with salvos from their automatics, felling the good priest to the cold paving of the bridge that he had built for the community.

"But even this did not satisfy the savage liberators. They beset the corpse of the murdered Father Salát and robbed it. Out of his vest pocket they removed his gold watch; out of his coat pocket they took his wallet. They even knocked out several of his teeth and claimed the gold caps from his dental work. Then they hurled the sadly abused and rifled body into the Hron.

"Father Anthony Salát was not the only Slovak Catholic priest done to cruel death by the partisans. Among others who perished under the violent hand of the oppressors were Fathers John Nemec, Martinka in Liptovsky sv. Michal and the seminarian Milan in Povazská Bystrica. A frightful death befell the pastor, Father Seda, in Liptovsky sv. Ján. In his report at a hearing of the United States congressional committee, the Catholic priest Dr. Stephen Náhalka, related the sufferings inflicted on Father Seda: 'They cut strips of skin and flesh from his back and in the end even amputated his genitals.'

"Father Nicholas Sprinc, a priest of the same diocese as Father Seda, reported the following: 'Father Seda was killed. The Reds first flayed him and then subjected him to tortures which it is not proper to describe for the press. His skin was stripped in thick layers. His tormentors then kept cutting off parts of his body and forcing them into his mouth to the accompaniment of blasphemous exclamations about "Holy Communion".'

"Another witness before the congressional committee was the Reverend Joseph Poess of Slovakia whom the partisans had severely wounded in the mass grave near Sklenné where he served as pastor. Ninety men perished in this mass grave but Father Poess saved himself in spite of the fact that he had been buried alive. He made his escape out of the grave and after untold sufferings and imprisonment, he made his way to freedom. The indictment which the partisans fabricated against him was that he had a secret sending station operating from the church steeple and that he cached weapons in the church sacristy and under the altar in his church.

"Col. Otto Klement had information on many individual instances of brutality wreaked upon helpless and innocent citizens by the partisans. In Turiec the sibling Mary R. fell into their hands. They struck her unconscious with a heavy milk can; they tor-

tured her by wedging pins under her nails and after she was completely spent, she had to kiss the feet of a common prostitute. Finally the partisan band bound her in chains and bore her off to their headquarters, Sklabina in Turiec. There they shot her and threw her body into a mass burial pit.

"Her father, John R., was an old man of 78. The partisans trussed him up and left him, barefoot and half naked, exposed outdoors all night. When he accepted a pair of shoes offered him by a lady, the gypsy who was guarding him beat him to bloodshed. Then the partisan horde took the old man into Sklabiná, aimed a shot at the nape of his neck just as they had dispatched his daughter, and threw him into the mass grave too.

"All these people had no connection whatever with political activities of any kind. Their offense was that they were, to some extent, propertied people.

"Singled out for sacrifice were also a number of intrepid officers who chose to accept no command in the uprising. For this service to their country, Colonels Kanák and Zverin as well as Lieutenant Colonel Kl'úcik and First Lieutenants Frecer and Sindler were shot to death. The distinguished General Turanec was put under house arrest in Banská Bystrica right at the outset of the putsch. Once they let loose the full strength of their partisan activities, they had General Turanec flown to Moscow where they tortured him for his uncompromising stand against communism.

"One of the major stigmas of the putsch is the concentration camp which the partisans arranged in the castle fortress Slovenská L'upca. Here they tormented and persecuted over a thousand victims—not only men but women and children, too. The superintendent of this concentration camp was the savage Communist Staudinger. One of the prisoners, R. Rudohorský, recalls some of the sufferings experienced in Slovenská L'upca:

" 'The housing of the prisoners was horrible. The overseer packed over 150 people into a single room. Other sections were crowded with as many persons as could possibly be forced into them. Household furnishings were removed. From the beginning, the prisoners were bedded on the bare floor; later the authorities allowed them to bring in some straw. Spies, informers and instigators of trouble were planted among the prisoners. Hygienic appointments in this concentration camp became a thing of the past. The place was a real hell.

" 'Inmates took sick as a result of the undernourishment, starvation, filth and foulness that prevailed. Instead of providing medical help or relief for them, the vindictive jailer turned on them with abuse and embittered their lives still further with inhuman treatment. Even when the doctor did come into the camp, he was allowed to examine a sick unfortunate only in the presence of the commandant of the guard of National Security. * * * The physician prescribed medication for which the prisoner paid but he never received the filled prescription. * * * Fare: potatoes and cabbage. Anything by way of shortening or grease that may have been allotted to the kitchen was either appropriated by a woman cook of ill repute or the superintendent of the institution and the commandant of National Security or it was sold. But conditions worsened to such an extent that not even potatoes or cabbage were to be had. There was actual starvation. Red partisans, armed to the teeth, visited the castle fortress daily to conduct investigations among the inmates. They heard the grievances of the prisoners and freely dealt them resounding slaps and blows; they beat them and tortured them unmercifully.

" 'Many of the wretches were taken away under cover of night and never returned again. Conditions became such that no prisoner felt that his life was safe. Everyone lived in dread expectation, wondering just when the partisans would come to claim this one or that one who would vanish forever to the abyss of death. * * * The barbaric superintendent, a former shoemaker, on visiting the confining quarters abused the miserable inmates by kicking them about like dogs while he cursed them fiendishly and threatened every single one of them with the gallows. If any of them happened to have a covering of any kind, he ripped it away and spewed insults upon them and epithets of nazistic and fascistic swine.

" 'Little children begged their mothers for bread or milk but what were the unhappy mothers to do when the perfidious scum that held them had no mercy or feeling in its heart to allow at least to the children some food of substantial quality. Wives were isolated from their husbands; they were permitted to have no contact whatever, not even a brief word exchanged from one to the other as they went for their daily rations. Husbands were the unwilling and helpless witnesses of the appalling sufferings of their wives and children.'

"Only prayers and hymns sustained the balance and some semblance of morale among the agonizing prisoners whose sufferings are unimaginable.

"An evil reputation came to be associated with Kunerad, one of the headquarters of the partisan band located near the city Zilina. V. Zingor testifies that the Czech Karel Bacilek was the political commissar in the fortress Kunerad. Brutal in the extreme was the punishment meted out to anti-communistic fighters and quick sentences were readily executed. It was much as in Sklabiná.

"To date it has not been ascertained precisely how many victims met maximum penalties in these two places. Colonel Klement reports that in Sklabiná over a thousand citizens were murdered from the region of Turiec alone.

"In the mass grave in Podsuchá, as the Reverend Stephen Náhalka testified, there were found 80 victims of partisan ferocity. Father Poess revealed that in the mass graves near Sklenné about 200 of his parishioners met their deaths.

"An American citizen, Mr. Smrekovsky, declared before the United States congressional committee that in the Slovak community where he had lived in the days of the Slovak Republic, the partisans on one occasion destroyed an entire family of 5 persons among whom were a 2-year-old child and a 4-year-old child. All were then consigned to a mass grave.

"Other mass graves were also found at Kovácová, in Pusty Hrad, in the Prievidza Valley, at Humenné, Lucivná, Bosany, L'ubietová, Nemecká L'upca, and Kremnicka.

"During this Communist putsch, material losses in Slovakia were extremely great. The state statistical and planning office in Bratislava published in its Statistical Handbook of Slovakia, 1947, an evaluation of damage inflicted on buildings, projects, and their equipment, art objects, communications, livestock, and other ravaged properties as in excess of 114,461,000,000 crowns or $2½ billion.

"The arrival of the Soviets into Slovakia in the bloody August putsch, 1944, was no uncertain forecast of what would befall the Slovak people in the event of the downfall of their independent state."

William Pitcher, Superintendent of Schools of St. Tammany Parish, La., Has Done a Remarkable and Outstanding Job for Schools in That Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. MORRISON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Pitcher, who is one of the outstanding school superintendents in the entire Nation, has done a wonderful and a remarkable job for the schools of his parish in Louisana. He has called upon me on many occasions to assist him to secure surplus materials at very little, and sometimes at no cost, because they were to be used in school construction. As a result of using these surplus materials, St. Tammany Parish has perhaps one of the finest physical plants of school buildings in the entire Nation. I was exceedingly pleased to have an opportunity to assist in securing and expediting these various surplus items at the request of Superintendent Pitcher. Mr. Pitcher devoted a tremendous amount of time and effort on this project and traveled many thousands of miles. To illustrate more fully what it has meant to St. Tammany Parish, I include the following article which appeared in the August issue of the Nation's Schools and also the New Orleans Times-Picayune newspaper:

SCHOOLS OF ST. TAMMANY AIDED BY FEDERAL SURPLUS—SUPERINTENDENT PITCHER SAVES HALF MILLION

(By Virginia Turman)

Little pitchers are supposed to have big ears, but husky William Pitcher, superintendent of schools in St. Tammany parish, is better known for his sharp eyes.

In the last 10 years Pitcher's eye for a good buy has tagged him with the nickname "Bargain Basement Bill," a title he does not particularly care for but which applies to a point of perfection.

It all started May 30, 1947, when the problem of bringing St. Tammany schools up to date was wrapped in a black-edged aura of a limited building budget.

While attending a school business officials meeting in Chicago in 1945 he heard a speech that inspired him to gamble $157.70 into a saving of almost one-half of a million dollars.

The speech he heard concerned Federal surplus goods, a permanent program under the amended Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, whereby war surpluses and large quantities of excess property generated in normal Federal housekeeping processes is offered at an almost unbelievable savings to all United States school systems.

This was the end of World War II and enrollments in St. Tammany were going along with the national dilemma of steadily rising enrollments. New buildings were needed badly, repairs were becoming increasingly imperative and modernization could no longer be postponed.

As Pitcher said later, "Our solution didn't come in the form of a vision. Plain hard thinking, sweating-it-out brain grinding and looking about us in every possible direction finally supplied the magic-like answer: Federal surplus.

The parish school board agreed with Pitcher that anything could be tried once and they took their first experimental step. Seven barracks buildings that originally had cost the Government several hundred thousands of dollars were bought. The cost? Only $157.70.

This successful venture spurred the program and the "bargain basement" plan has boomed the parish building program into a beehive of activity.

So far, by utilizing new and surplus materials in combination, 13 schools have been rejuvenated with new classrooms, gymnasium facilities and lunchrooms. A conservative construction cost estimate would be $8 a square foot, or a value of $440,392. But the actual cost to St. Tammany was only about $220,000.

This saving has enabled Pitcher to begin a "plus program," of all-new, California-type buildings with new equipment. This summer, construction includes a grammar school at Covington, a grammar and junior high school at Madisonville, a senior and junior high at Mandeville, a grammar school at Slidell, a junior high at Slidell and an addition to St. Tammany high school for Negroes at Slidell.

During the 10 years of "bargain basement buying," each of St. Tammany's 23 schools has been modernized and repaired, with a minimum of spending. It all adds up to a savings of almost one-half million dollars.

"Statistics are dry," Pitcher says, "but our savings on the transfer of Federal surplus have been incredible. A six-drawer executive desk that we buy for from $4 to $6 is actually valued at from $80 to $100."

Pitcher's ingenious mind has thought up other ways of making dimes do the work of dollars. Manual training shops in the schools repair typewriters, desks, and other fixtures. Pitcher estimates that 1,300 items, including refrigerators, have been remodeled at a cost of $11,880. Purchased new, the cost would have been $32,876.

Thinking along the lines that the use of a cafeteria only a few hours a day is a waste, he converts libraries in some of his schools into cafeterias at lunchtime. Another double-duty feature is his self-named "cafetorium," a cafeteria that, with the use of folding doors, opens onto a gymnasium that doubles as an auditorium.

The building program has won the interest of everyone in the parish. Pupils, teachers, civic and business leaders are proud to participate in the rapid transition from old to new. The whole parish has been enriched by the switch from old eyesores with outdoor toilets to sturdy structures with adequate classroom space and modern plumbing.

"Take Folsom Rosenwald School for Negroes in Covington, for example," Pitcher says. "For 15 years, 600 students crowded daily into a wooden shack for their lunch. Last May, our surplus materials were used to build an ultramodern brick-and-glass lunchroom for only $5,854. It has now been insured at a replacement value of $26,500."

The construction work has been a summertime boon to pupils and teachers in another way, too, Pitcher adds. High-school youngsters work with the construction gangs or fix up secondhand property.

Two teachers with masters degrees—Roy Taylor, coach and social studies teacher at Madisonville Junior High and Joseph Howes, mathematics teacher at Covington High—are only two of the school system's teachers who are fattening up their lean summer salary by painting the interior of a 4-room addition at Lacombe Junior High School for Negroes.

Pitcher obtains his secondhand materials from a Federal surplus warehouse at Baton Rouge. At a usual bargain price of one-tenth of the goods' value, he then pays for the dismantlement of the building and the costs of transporting the materials to St. Tammany.

New Orleans Architect August Perez, Jr., then fits the materials to the needs of the building program. If the window frames measure 9 by 4 feet, he designs a plan whereby the frames, already complete with glass, can merely be placed into the building.

"The future for the program is indefinite," Pitcher says, pointing out that $50,000 in surplus materials have been utilized in the past year, with a resulting value of $125,000.

"Emphatically," he states, "I do not suggest the use of Federal Government surplus materials and equipment for the construction and modernization of schools in areas more fortunate financially than we in St. Tammany.

"On the other hand, it is better to have an adequate number of comfortable and practical, although nonglamorous, school buildings than a few 'dream schools,' if that is all that your budget can stand.

"We're satisfied," he says proudly.

New Vessel Essential to Pacific Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the members of the Appropriations Committee of this body devote perhaps the largest part of their attention during the congressional session to an effort to ascertain and insure the economic soundness of the programs of governmental expenditure which are brought to them for action and recommendation.

In the years in which I have been in Congress and the prior years with which I am familiar, going back to 1936, no area of appropriation requested of the Congress has produced a sounder investment of the public funds than the appropriations for merchant ship construction. These appropriations have enabled the Government to carry out the national policy of promoting our foreign and domestic commerce and providing indispensable military and naval auxiliaries in time of war. As part of a sound commercial private enterprise, the moneys appropriated for merchant ships which have been covered by ship mortgages have in every case been paid back by the ship operator in accordance with the repayment schedule of the mortgage.

Thus, when our Nation faces a need for replacement of our existing merchant fleet, members of the Appropriations Committee and Members of the House as a whole can take pride in a program which has brought a return of all of the money lent to the steamship operators.

As the Members of this body know, our merchant vessel fleet will be able to serve the twin purposes of foreign trade and national defense only if it is kept modern by regular replacements of units which grow old and out of date. Today we are facing an important replacement problem in a limited portion of our merchant fleet. I speak of the large passenger vessels which provide essential troop transports in time of national emergency. The American President Lines, which operates the passenger vessels used in the transpacific trade, is required under terms of its contract with the Government to build a replacement passenger ship next year. To be of maximum value for purposes of defense and commerce in the Pacific, it should be of about 26 knots and should carry 1,400 passengers. In order to facilitate this essential vessel construction, I have joined with Congressman SHELLEY in introducing a bill authorizing the United States to construct such a vessel and sell it to the American President Lines in strict accordance and compliance with the terms of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

Newsstand Filth: A National Disgrace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Hon. JOHN DOWDY, of the Seventh District of Texas, has introduced three bills, H. R. 2542, H. R. 3663, H. R. 4383, to further restrict the circulation of obscene literature, including magazines, comic books, and similar publications which put more emphasis on obscenity than they do on literature. These bills have received widespread support, and I for one hope that they may be considered and enacted during the 2d session of the 85th Congress.

A few days ago an article appeared in the current—September 1957—issue of Better Homes and Gardens, entitled "Newsstand Filth: A National Disgrace," by Jack Harrison Pollack. This article clearly states and sets out the dangers of such obscene and licentious literature. The article by Mr. Pollack appears in full below:

NEWSSTAND FILTH: A NATIONAL DISGRACE

(By Jack Harrison Pollack)

Today, all over America, obscene magazines are flooding the newsstands. These lewd periodicals were recently cited as a national disgrace and community menace.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warns that "sex-mad magazines are creating criminals faster than jails can be built."

Few parents realize the extent of this open filth, which is sold freely on thousands of neighborhood newsstands, and in candy, drug, and grocery stores, supermarkets, and transportation terminals. The estimated combined circulation has jumped to 25 million a month.

The editorial formula of these lurid comeons masquerading as magazines is simple: The colored cover shows a sexy female. Inside, greater pictorial and printed titillation awaits the cash (usually 50 cents) customers.

These lascivious journals, which are often printed on slick paper, go far beyond the traditional cheesecake of girls in scanty or

revealing attire. Some racy man-about-town magazines even describe sexual intercourse in detail.

Obscene periodicals also are full of sex perversions which might seem normal to teen-agers who get their first sex education here. Homosexuality, nymphomania, Lesbianism, fetishism, and bestiality are common text subjects.

Many of the ads offer a further stream of filth in such things as action comic booklets, and movies for men only.

In business and in boldness, today's rash of smut sheets has reached a new low.

Who reads this trash? The biggest buyers are teen-agers. Many adolescents buy them in stationery stores adjoining their high schools, and even use their allowance and lunch money to do so.

What effect does this literary diet have on our children? Experts agree that it undoubtedly contributes to juvenile delinquency. Throughout the United States, law-enforcement officers told me that filthy magazines were a big factor in sex crimes.

J. Edgar Hoover says: "The circulation of periodicals containing salacious material plays an important part in the development of crime among the youth of our country. The increase in sex crimes is due partly to sex literature presented in certain magazines."

Senator KEFAUVER, whose investigating committee found a definite connection between pornography and juvenile delinquency last year, observes, "The impulses that spur young people to sex crimes are unquestionably intensified by reading obscene periodicals."

Former Detroit Police Inspector Herbert W. Case insists, "There hasn't been a sex murder in the history of our department in which the killer wasn't an avid reader of lewd magazines and books."

Juvenile court judges throughout the United States point out the direct relation between obscene magazines and teen-age crime. Judge Victor B. Wylegala, of the Erie County, N. Y., children's court, reveals that four 15-year-old boys who had attacked women on the street were found to have rooms filled with pornographic magazines. When questioned, these youngsters admitted that their lewd magazine reading had stimulated their crimes.

Dr. Benjamin Karpman, chief psychotherapist at St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D. C., says: "A normal 12- or 13-year-old boy or girl exposed to pornographic literature could develop into a homosexual. You can take healthy boys or girls, and, by exposing them to abnormalities, virtually crystallize and settle their habits for the rest of their lives."

Explains Dr. George W. Henry, psychiatry professor at Cornell University, "The adolescent is most sexually excitable and has the least legitimate opportunity to find an outlet for that sexual excitability."

But haven't there always been sexy magazines on the newsstands? Not like today.

Here is how the University of Illinois' Prof. Theodore Peterson, America's leading historian of magazines, sums it up:

"Smutty magazines are nothing new. But two things make them of special concern today. One is the great increase in the number of retail outlets for magazines and the change in the type of outlets. Years ago, one almost had to seek out the smutty magazine—in the side-street store, say. But today, when supermarkets, candy stores, drugstores, transportation terminals, and the like handle magazines, smut has become ubiquitous.

"Far more important, though, is a striking change in the content of these low-type magazines. In the twenties and thirties, many of the magazines seemed to consist of uncomplicated sex and unsophisticated smut with no untoward psychological implications. But today a large share of the magazines look as if their editors had studied the textbooks and casebooks of abnormal psychology and learned their lessons well."

Who publishes these magazines? Obviously, fast-dollar operators. Many of them are fly-by-nights. Frequently, their hit-and-run smut sheets are only "volume one"; they may not even publish another issue. Unlike respectable magazines, there is no good will in their here-today-gone-tomorrow titles. When the "heat" is on, they disappear. But when the local situation cools off, they may return under a different title.

"Some objectionable magazines are pulled into a central warehouse after a complaint and then reissued with a new, different cover," explains a New York district attorney.

To avoid United States postal prosecution, some publishers ship their obscene magazines by truck. One scandal magazine claiming 4 million circulation did so not long ago, after the post office refused to handle it.

All of these resourceful hop-skip-and-jump publishers have shrewd lawyers who devise angles to keep their junk on the newsstands. Some lawyers set up dummy, fictitious corporations for each issue. "If a newsstand dealer is arrested our lawyer pays his fine and helps get him out of trouble," explains one publisher. These small fines barely dent smut profits.

How great are these profits? Recently a publisher told the Wall Street Journal that his racy magazine grossed $3,500,000 last year, with a quarter-of-a-million dollar clear profit.

Smuit publishers always try to defend themselves by shouting "freedom of the press." They would have you believe that only bluenose, puritanical killjoys object to their publications. But the framers of the Constitution never meant the first amendment to protect filth peddlers who poison minds.

The United States Supreme Court recently reaffirmed this public morality concept by ruling that obscenity was not protected by the first amendment. The decision was widely hailed as a move to protect our youth from pornographic literature.

Unfortunately, the solution isn't simple. Respectable magazine publishers have no control over merchants who do not belong to the Magazine Publishers Association. The MPA recently formed a committee under Publisher George J. Hecht to handle the problem.

More energetic cleanup efforts are now being made by alert distributors, wholesalers, and retailers of magazines.

Responsible distributors and wholesalers have begun taking steps to clean up the newsstands. In Chicago, the Council for Independent Distributors vows: "The more offensive magazines will be improved drastically or they will be dropped by responsible wholesalers." This organization says "Never in the history of our industry have so many suffered because of a few individuals who * * * have published, or distributed nationally, publications of questionable content."

In New York, Henry H. Oschay, chairman of the independent publishers' and distributors' censorship committee, recently told me that some distributors were now reading proof on questionable magazines that they distribute, and that some printed issues have been destroyed. In a letter to members, Oschay estimated that there are now about 50 objectionable magazines on the newsstands.

But many public-spirited distributors and wholesalers alibi: "We don't publish any more dirt than do some newspapers or movie ads." Many such wholesalers also engage in illegal tie-in sales, forcing local retailers to accept their smut magazines along with the respectable ones.

Druggist organizations have begun sparking voluntary cleanup campaigns. In Cleveland, during the past 16 months, the Academy of Pharmacy has urged its 500 druggist members to stop selling over 100 objectionable magazines.

In Seattle, the Washington State Pharmaceutical Association, in urging its members to stop displaying and selling magazines that offend decency, said: "Many contain immoral suggestive articles not fit to be read by adults and most certainly not by teen-agers."

In Minnesota and Maryland, druggists have likewise begun getting rid of pornographic magazines. In some communities, signs have been placed in store windows to call attention to dealers who cooperate in magazine cleanup drives.

Grocery chains, too, in California, Texas, and several Rocky Mountain States have been banning the "girlie" and scandal magazines. Some hotel chains have begun keeping obscene magazines off hotel newsstands.

Much of the recent cleanup activity among distributors, wholesalers, and retailers has stemmed from stricter State, local, and Federal moves against the smut magazines. But these moves must have intelligent citizen backing.

In at least a dozen States, pornographic publications are now under fire. Recently, new antiobscenity bills have been debated in the legislatures and committees of Michigan, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Florida, and Vermont. Minnesota is pushing a model obscenity law recently drafted by Robert C. McClure of the University of Minnesota law school. It provides for court adjudication of alleged obscenity by judges instead of local prosecuting officials, and puts the publication on trial instead of the retailer, wholesaler, or distributor. A copy of this law would be well worth study for application in other States—perhaps yours.

In over 250 communities, the "girlie" and scandal magazines are under attack. Today, throughout the United States there is a movement for stricter, tougher, clearer, more enforcible antiobscenity laws. Heavier penalties, such as Georgia's $5,000 fine and 5-year jail term, are being demanded against the purveyors of filth.

Pornography has often been a matter of geography. But the new United States Supreme Court decision against obscenity may help change this. In some areas, courts have thrown out cases against degenerate magazines that courts elsewhere have found guilty. Before the Supreme Court decision, a United States postal official told me, "If we try a case in Los Angeles or New York, we often lose, because the judges there tend to be lenient, but when we go into other communities, we usually win."

Today smut magazine publishers are largely exempt from postal prosecution if they have applied for second-class mail permits or have had their magazines copyrighted. But several strict bills recently introduced in the United States House of Representatives by Texas Congressman JOHN DOWDY would close these loopholes. One bill—H. R. 4383—would enable the post office to hold lewd material instead of mailing it, and then to take a year to prosecute the magazine. Another bill—H. R. 2542—would make it possible to prosecute an offender where the mail is received instead of merely where it is mailed. "After all, the actual damage is done in the community where the pornography is distributed," Congressman DOWDY recently explained to me. Still another DOWDY bill—H. R. 3663—would increase the punishment for a first offense to either a $5,000 fine or 5 years in jail.

Recently the Coral Gables, Fla., Woman's Club did an extraordinary job in licking the problem, and other communities could well emulate them. A Decent Literature Council,

composed of leading business, legal, religious, civic, educational, newspaper, and women's club representatives, was formed. The council's aim was not to censor adult literature, but to get voluntary cooperation in protecting children from obscenity. A letter was sent to the city commission requesting that something be done about it. Next, a standards committee was set up to evaluate the doubtful magazines objectively. The city fathers acted quickly. An ordinance was passed requiring dealers to get 16 magazines off the stands immediately or face $500 a day fine and 6 months in jail for each extra day they remained on sale. The smut quickly disappeared.

Heartened by their success, the Coral Gables women began to work on the problem statewide, and in June 1957 they helped push an antiobscenity bill through the State legislature in record speed.

The clergy has also helped enormously in cleaning up pornographic magazines. Although various denominations might differ about censorship, they all close ranks in opposing obscene reading matter for children. Your priest, minister, or rabbi has access to national lists of questionable magazines, and a word to him at your local place of worship will bring him to your aid.

The important thing is to ask him now—to organize, and to act. Check the heading titled "What you can do about it," and then do it.

WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT IT

1. Tell your friends not to buy or read any girlie or scandal magazines—even out of curiosity. Nothing will stop this filth faster than unsold magazines.

2. Check what is being sold on your neighborhood newsstands. If you see any salacious magazines, frankly say so to your dealer. He often will agree with you and remove them from display—especially if other customers object.

3. If your retailer or wholesaler is uncooperative, make your protest felt through your club, PTA, church group, fraternal, business, or professional organization.

4. If none of this is successful, write or visit your appropriate local law-enforcement officer and bring all the facts to his attention. Many existing laws ban obscenity.

5. If you receive any obscene publication through the mail, show it to your local postmaster. He will forward it to Washington for appropriate action.

6. Work to strengthen your local and State antiobscenity laws. Also write a letter to your Senator or Representative in Washington, urging him to support Congressman DOWDY's bills (H. R. 4383, H. R. 2542, and H. R. 3663).

7. Learn what your teen-age children are reading—at home and away from home. If you are watchful, you may prevent needless tragedy.

Budget Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming increasingly clear that there exist serious deficiencies in the congressional review of the budget and in the methods and procedures of making appropriations in support of the Federal Government. These problems are by no means new. Budget and fiscal processes and procedures of Government have been the subject of continual and controversial discussion during the past decade. However, the increasing high cost of Government, amply demonstrated in the fiscal 1958 budget, has magnified the seriousness of the problems to alarming proportions and has emphasized the pressing need for immediate reform in this area of Government.

The Constitution grants to Congress exclusive power over the public purse. It does this by providing that no money may be drawn from the Treasury except in consequence of appropriations made by law. However, the control over the public purse thus vested by the Constitution has become eroded over the years, until today in many areas only an empty shell still remains in Congress. The power to enact the annual appropriations measures amounts to, in many ways, but an empty remain of the constitutional grant.

The planning of Federal expenditures and the adoption of a Federal budget is highly technical business. Members of Congress can attest to this, for they have the disconcerting experience of receiving the telephone-book size budget document each year, containing technical budgetary and fiscal terms and hundreds of pages of figures, which successfully challenges practically everyone to become educated as to its meaning and full significance. I believe it is a near-unanimous experience among Members of Congress, in the last analysis, to accept as personally understandable only the barest highlights of the budget, for lack of the means and the time to delve into it any further.

There is much evidence that the procedures and methods employed by Congress to review and authorize the Federal budget in the past are simply not adequate to meet the demands imposed by today's Government. While the executive branch has increased manyfold in size and complexity, Congress has grimly tried to keep pace with the limited means at its disposal.

For example, while the Federal budget is in preparation, revision, and rerevision over a period of 18 months or so, Congress must act on it after having had a chance to study it over a period of only several months. And, at that, in checking money requests, we must rely almost totally on the testimony, data, and so forth, presented by those who made up the budget in the first place. And, needless to say, the size of the machinery Congress possesses to perform its fiscal chores is small indeed when compared with that of the executive branch.

The result is that only a once-over-lightly treatment can be given to such items as overall fiscal planning, program evaluation, budget surplus and deficits, Federal spending levels, the problem of carryover balances of appropriations, the need for improvements in agency accounting systems, and a host of related problems. It means that over the years congressional control over the public purse has been precariously diminished.

I wish to make clear at this point that my remarks are not intended to be critical in any way of the Appropriations Committee, for I believe it does excellent work. The situation in which we find ourselves is in spite of the efforts of the Appropriations Committee.

Various possible solutions to solve our fiscal problems have been tried in the past. Principal among these were the use of the legislative budget as provided for in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and the omnibus appropriation bill. The purpose of the legislative budget was to place a legislative ceiling on expenditures as a framework in which to consider the various appropriation bills. This procedure never really got off the ground, and no attempt to use it has been made in the last several Congresses. The omnibus appropriations bill method has also been used. Under that method, the Congress considers the whole Federal spending program at one time and in one bill.

An indication of the mounting alarm and the belief that improvements in our fiscal procedures and policies must be forthcoming is the fact that many bills proposing reforms of one kind or another are before Congress for consideration. I am setting forth a list of various types of proposals that have been made. It is quite evident from a study of these diverse proposals that there are many ideas as to how best to approach the problem. However, they all have one thing in common, and that is that they have been born of the realization that improvements of some sort must be made. Included in bills before Congress are the following types of legislative proposals:

(a) To require that appropriations be determined on an annual accrued expenditure basis.

(b) To amend the Constitution to require Congress to stay in session each year until it has produced a balanced budget.

(c) Proposes that the budget shall include each year a special analysis of certain long-term construction and development projects.

(d) To amend the Constitution to provide that the Federal expenditures shall not exeed Federal revenues, except in time of war or grave national emergency.

(e) To enact a Public Debt Reduction Act to lower gradually and systematically the ceiling of the national debt.

(f) To direct the Comptroller General to make investigations with respect to all agencies in the executive branch and to report the results to the respective congressional appropriation committees to enable the latter to give adequate consideration to the items relating to such agencies contained in the budget. Upon request, the Comptroller General would be authorized to make a special expenditure analysis of particular agencies.

(g) To provide that in any year a budget surplus occurs, one-half shall be applied as tax credits against individual income taxes.

(h) To create in the legislative branch an office of the United States budget; to prepare for Congress at the beginning of each session the budget, a budget report, summary data, and supporting details.

(i) To provide penalties for violations of the requirement of apportionment of

certain appropriations to avoid the necessity for deficiency or supplemental appropriations.

(j) To provide that all appropriations for each fiscal year would be consolidated in one general appropriation bill, and would require that such act contain provisions limiting expenditures.

(k) To direct the President to include in the budget a sum not less than $2 billion to be applied toward reduction of the national debt.

(l) To create a Commission on Budget and Tax Policy authorized to make a thorough and comprehensive study of proposals before Congress, and otherwise the purpose of which is to limit the power of Congress to tax or appropriate or the power of the President to expend moneys or to contract indebtedness.

(m) To amend the Constitution to provide for balancing of the budget when presented to Congress, except in time of war.

(n) To require that bills and resolutions authorizing appropriations reported by committees of Congress be accompanied by an estimate of the probable cost of the legislation.

In addition, the House early in the session saw fit to pass a resolution requesting the President to inform it how cuts in the budget could best be made.

It is not only the Congress that is calling for reforms in our budgeting and appropriations procedures. The President and the heads of our fiscal departments have repeatedly made suggestions for improvements in this area. The Hoover Commission has called for reforms. Newspapers and magazines have shown active interest and concern, as have taxpayers throughout the country.

To alleviate the situation, 32 other Members and myself on July 18 introduced identical House resolutions, House Resolutions 325 through 357, proposing the creation of a select committee to study the whole field of fiscal organization and procedures in Congress. Subsequently two additional identical resolutions, House Resolutions 381 and 396, were introduced. It is the purpose of the resolution to provide a means for the House to conduct a penetrating self-analysis with a view toward arriving at a comprehensive, well-designed program to enable Congress to perform its constitutional responsibilities more effectively.

The resolution would create in the House of Representatives a 10-member Select Committee on Fiscal Organization and Procedures of the Congress who would be appointed by the Speaker. Since the committee is to be strictly a nonpartisan body, the resolution provides for equal representation from both the majority and minority parties, by specifying that no more than five committee members shall be members of the majority party. One of the committee members would be selected by the Speaker to serve as chairman. Because of the nature of the study to be undertaken, it was deemed both advisable and necessary that the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations be included as committee members, and the bill so provides.

The task of the committee would be to conduct a full and complete study of the fiscal and budgetary organization and operations of Congress with a view toward recommending improvements for the purpose of strengthening congressional control over the public purse. The resolution does not specifically limit the scope of the study, but directs the committee to give particular attention to the following: First, the existing fiscal machinery and appropriations procedures of Congress; second, present methods of controlling public expenditures; third, alleged defects of present budgetary practices; and, fourth, proposed reforms in budgetary procedures.

The committee would be authorized to sit and act within the United States while Congress is in session, during recesses, and during periods of adjournment. It would have power to hold hearings, would possess subpena power to require the attendance of witnesses and the production of records, papers, and other materials. The committee would be empowered to employ experts, consultants, technicians, clerks, and stenographic help, and also would have authority to recruit on a loan basis, experts, consultants, and technicians from the executive branch of the Government.

The committee would submit to the House a report of its findings and recommendations as soon as practicable during the 85th Congress. No definite date is specified because until the study is actually underway it is difficult to determine the magnitude of the undertaking with sufficient accuracy so as to make it possible to set a realistic reporting date. Then too, what would be a proper reporting time would depend in part on the nature of the recommendations made as a result of the study. I am confident however that the study could be expedited sufficiently so that the Congress would have the benefit of the information and recommendations during the 2d session of the 85th Congress.

Unfortunately, hearings have not been held on the resolution in the Rules Committee, and inasmuch as the 1st session of the 85th Congress will soon come to an end, it is apparent that this most important measure will not be enacted this session.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is through a basic, all-inclusive approach as proposed in this resolution where all the ills and possible remedies may be explored that effective and worthwhile improvements may be brought about. For that reason, I strongly urge favorable action in the Rules Committee and in the House on this resolution as a first order of business when we reconvene next January so that this important work may be started without delay.

Report on the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUDWIG TELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. TELLER. Mr. Speaker, a substantial record of achievement was made by the 1st session of the 85th Congress, but much unfinished business remains for action during the 2d session which will convene January 7, 1958. Here are some of the main issues we faced in the session just concluded, and how we dealt with them:

CIVIL RIGHTS; PROTECTING THE INDIVIDUAL'S CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Our 1957 session of Congress will forever be remembered for its accomplishment in enacting a civil-rights law protecting the right to vote of all persons regardless of race, color, or creed—the first such national law to be enacted since Civil War reconstruction days. Though aimed primarily at the South, its protection is nationwide. It establishes a Federal commission with subpena power to investigate facts as a basis for additional protective legislation; it creates a new civil-rights division in the Office of the Attorney General, and authorizes injunction proceedings to restrain violations of voting rights. I am proud to have voted for this law. Denial of the right to vote cannot be countenanced—and should be punished—if the Bill of Rights in our national Constitution is to be given full meaning.

For the South, civil rights is a passionate issue. The Republican Party embraced it with unaccustomed enthusiasm, believing that the Negro vote would go Republican—a belief which is not shared by most experts in race relations who are aware of the solid economic basis underlying the Negro's affection for the Democratic Party. This politically inspired motive on the part of the Republicans should be borne in mind, for while we are thankful for the votes of the Republicans, we have a right to question their sincerity on a national basis in view of their long-standing opposition to the Democratic Party's program for a national FEPC to outlaw racial and religious discrimination in employment.

The Supreme Court of the United States has played a curiously changing role in the history of our country. In the early days of our Nation that Court cemented the Federal Union and established the Court's right to protect individuals against arbitrary and unconstitutional actions by the executive and legislative branches of Government. The Supreme Court had some bad days, particularly for some time prior to and

during the early 1930's, when it declared unconstitutional a good deal of desirable social legislation, such as laws which prescribed minimum wages or maximum hours of employment.

Now, again, the Supreme Court has become the guardian of individual liberties. In the recently decided Watkins case the Court enlarged the rights of individuals when their conduct is inquired into by a roving congressional investigating body. In the Jencks case, a defendant in a criminal case was guaranteed the right to examine inconsistent statements previously made to the Government by prosecution witnesses. In the Mallory case the Court held that a person charged with a crime has a right to speedy arraignment—he may not be unreasonably detained solely to obtain a confession. These are decisions which underscore the reasons for our national greatness, for they are sinews of protection for individual rights which our Constitution guarantees.

The Eisenhower administration sought during the past session to override these decisions by congressional enactments, but in the main failed to accomplish its unwise objective. A law to protect FBI files was passed, but it modified—it did not overrule—the right of a defendant to examine relevant Government files for inconsistency.

INFLATION

Combating inflation is a top-drawer congressional responsibility. Little was done in the Congress during the 1957 session to meet this responsibility. Juggling interest rates and making credit harder to get are not enough, and may be wrong approaches because they hurt small and medium-sized business enterprise. An overall program is necessary, dealing with such things as monopoly price policies, the possibilities of union-management cooperation in wage-setting practices, installment selling, and a searching investigation of banking procedures. The coming 1958 session of Congress should give specific attention to the effects of inflationary forces. The wellsprings of these forces are complicated, to be sure, but their ruinous effects are plain for everyone to see and feel.

PROTECTING SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESS

We are in the midst of a vast wave of business mergers which, if allowed to go unchecked, will continue to undermine the existence of an independent middle class in this country.

Nothing was done so far in the 85th Congress to stop this merger movement, or even to slow it down. Nor was anything done to limit the size of corporate giants which are normally monopolistic and at all events prevent small and medium-sized business concerns from entering the particular industry.

Protecting and encouraging the small-business concern requires action on many additional fronts. The Small Business Administration was extended for 1 year during the session just concluded. In the 1958 session it is my hope that this Government body will be made a permanent agency, that its powers will be enlarged, and that the delaying red-tape which now hamstrings it will be materially reduced.

It is plain, moreover, that our corporate income tax structure needs overhauling so as to reduce the tax rate for the smaller corporations. And in the field of military procurement, where today big business has a virtual monopoly of Government contracts, a program is needed to increase the small-business man's share. All these things are unfinished business of the 1957 session which requires action in the forthcoming 1958 session of Congress.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In pro-Soviet Syria we are now harveting the fruit of the Eisenhower-Dulles so-called Arab policy in the Mideast. By welching on a promise to provide millions of dollars for Egypt to build its Aswan Dam, a promise which Dulles should never have made, Dulles provided Nasser with a pretext for seizing the strategic Suez Canal. Then Dulles humiliated our great allies Great Britain and France when they sought to right Nasser's illegal seizure, and at all events failed to grasp the opportunity at that time to work out an overall settlement of the resulting crisis, including a peace treaty between the Arabs and our only dependable ally in the Middle East—Israel.

No wonder, then, that the Democrats in Congress viewed with suspicion the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign-aid program—a program which has failed to halt the advance of the international gangster conspiracy known as communism.

I have seen, and heard in action on the floor of the House of Representatives, the spokesmen for isolationist Republicanism from Midwestern United States. This—together with the Eisenhower-Dulles unwillingness to take the Democrats into their confidence—is a drag on our national ability to work out an effective bipartisan policy for our international affairs.

The need for such a policy is urgent. International communism is stronger, not weaker, than it was when Mr. Eisenhower took over the Executive reins of Government In far-off Indonesia and Afghanistan the Communist cause has recently been gaining additional adherents. Free Europe openly expresses its distrust of Dulles. We need to stand united and respected before the world if our alliances with fredom-loving countries are to have the effect which our dedication and our foreign-aid outlay fully justify.

FEDERAL AID FOR LOCAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

A major shortcoming of the session was the defeat of the Kelley bill, a temporary program for Federal aid to local school construction. The sum of $1.5 billion, or $300 million annually for 5 years, would be provided to aid school construction by the States. Three main things contributed to the defeat of the bill: First, the failure of Mr. Eisenhower to give it more than lukewarm support, of a kind which almost was a signal that he had no objection to its defeat; second, the opposition of Republican stalwarts in Congress, witness the fact that among those who voted against it were HALLECK, of Indiana, assistant Republican leader; ARENDS, of Illinois, Republican whip; ALLEN, of Illinois, ranking Republican on the Rules Committee; third, failure of leaders in the field of education to explain the need for the bill and the provisions of the bill, and to marshal public opinion in support of it. I received only 4 communications on the subject, 2 of them favoring and 2 opposed to it.

The program of Federal aid for local school construction is not one of largesse or Federal charity or random spending. It is a temporary program aimed largely at those States which have no State education agencies and leave school construction to local communities. Its purpose is to compel these States to follow the example of New York, and provide State programs for school construction in those poorer communities which have insufficient real estate to float school bonds. The Northern States have to bear a disproportionate share in providing boys for military service because so many of the boys from Southern States are rejected for illiteracy, and the Armed Forces spend about $30 million in an effort to educate the illiterate. Persons who are justifiably concerned about the mounting Federal budget ought to give consideration to these facts. Education is a national problem, a national responsibility.

But more facts need to be known and publicized regarding the extent of the local school shortage, and more effort needs to be exerted to explain these facts to the public and the need for the Federal program. As a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, I spent long hours during the 1957 session in helping to work out the bill which was favorably reported by our committee to the Congress. I shall do all I can in the 1958 session, believing as I do that the program is urgent, to help in enactment of a Federal program of aid for local school construction.

OUR UNFAIR IMMIGRATION LAWS

The McCarran-Walter immigration law should be repealed. Its quota system is unfair to southern Europeans and refugees from other areas, because the law is based on a 1924 immigration ratio which has long outlived its usefulness. Its infamous national origins feature chains a person to the country where he or she was born, whatever his or her citizenship or circumstances may be at the time immigration to our country is sought. It contains arbitrary provisions which discriminate between native born and naturalized citizens.

My bill to repeal this evil law, similar to bills introduced by other Democratic Congressmen, died in committee. I must frankly state that a number of otherwise liberal Democrats in Congress are half-hearted in their professed desire to repeal this law.

All we could hope to do under the circumstances was to help as many people as we could by amending the law. I cannot say that even this was adequately done. Why, for example, should not Christian and Jewish refugees from the

Middle East and elsewhere be given the same hospitable reception as was accorded the escapees from Hungary? We did, however, amend the law somewhat so as to admit about 60,000 additional persons, particularly for the purpose of reuniting families. Further liberalization of the McCarran-Walter immigration law should be made a priority item for the 1958 session of Congress.

THE BUDGET; GOVERNMENT ECONOMY; TAX REDUCTION

The Democratic-controlled Congress shaved billions of dollars from the budget requests of the Eisenhower administration. Economy was a watchword of the 1st session of the 85th Congress. But economy is a relative thing, and is defined in different ways depending upon one's views regarding the responsibilities of the Federal Government and the items which come under the head of savings. By voting to abolish fast tax writeoffs for industry groups represented by high-powered lobbyists, for example, I helped to save billions of dollars for the Government. Therefore, I believe that my vote favoring long-delayed salary increases for postal employees and other Federal employees, particularly since such increases help efficiency by reducing employment turnover, is not an antieconomy vote.

The time has come, however, to think seriously about our huge and ever-mounting budget, and the burdensome taxes which it imposes upon all people. Part of the budget increase is, of course, due to the mounting population. Most of it is due to defense and foreign aid. These items of the budget must be faced up to if we are to remain strong and free, and help in maintaining peace in the world.

There remains, nevertheless, room for substantial economizing. The Cordiner report on the armed services, for example, shows that several billion dollars can be saved by a recasting of pay scales designed to keep skilled personnel in the Armed Forces, where now they leave for private industry and thereby require the Government to go to the expense of training their replacements. Many of the carefully prepared Hoover Commission reports ought to be adopted, because they show that billions of dollars can be saved by more efficient Government budget and purchasing and operational practices. A study is now being made by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, designed to prove that the States can take over many of the activities now engaged in by the Federal Government.

These are huge possibilities for economizing, thereby saving money which can provide a basis for a tax cut and at the same time leave funds for protecting and improving the health, welfare, and education of our people.

Statement by Senator Wiley on His Activities During 1st Session of 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on my activities during the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"In what fields was our senior Senator, ALEXANDER WILEY, active during the 1st session of the 85th Congress?"

"What legislation did he introduce?"

"What happened to this legislation?"

"On what other general matters has he been striving for the interests of Wisconsin and the Nation?"

These are some questions which the people of our State have a right to ask.

And they are questions which I am more than pleased to answer.

DOZENS OF BILLS OFFERED BY SENATOR WILEY

During the 1st session, which began in January and which concluded on August 30, I was pleased to introduce dozens of bills affecting our State and Nation.

Some of these bills, I introduced solely as an individual Senator. Others, I cosponsored with other Senators.

I am glad to say that some of these bills were successfully enacted into public law. Others are still pending in Senate committees.

SENATE RECEIVES THOUSANDS OF BILLS

This is what usually happens considering the mass of congressional legislation.

All told, some 3,000 bills were introduced in 1957 by the 96 Senators. Naturally, only a fraction of the 3,000 bills were actually acted upon in the first session, and for that matter, will be acted upon even in the second session.

When the Senate reconvenes next year, I will, however, be active in advancing as many as possible of the delayed bills which are still pending in committees.

MANY OTHER ACTIVITIES OF SENATOR WILEY

Of course, a Senator's activities are by no means confined merely to introducing bills.

As my readers know, it is my privilege to serve as senior Republican member on the Senate Foreign Relations and Senate Judiciary Committees.

On those committees, I work on a vast amount of legislation in domestic and foreign affairs.

TWO HUNDRED TO THREE HUNDRED LETTERS PER DAY FROM HOME

In addition, in each day's mail from Wisconsin, comes an average of from 200 to 300 letters, postal cards, and telegrams.

These cover matters affecting individual constituents throughout our State, as well as individual communities.

I am always happy to act upon this correspondence and to fulfill individual and public needs.

It would not be possible to list all of the many subjects about which folks write. But I might say that my Wisconsin correspondence includes everything from the problems of Wisconsin men in the Armed Forces to the pension needs of elderly citizens, veterans' claims, National Guard and reservists' problems, river and habor projects, passports for Wisconsin travelers overseas, loan applications by Wisconsin small companies to the Small Business Administration, problems of State agencies in Madison in connection with Federal agencies, city, and county problems, and a vast variety of other issues.

SENATOR WILEY'S TWOFOLD AIMS

My aim always is twofold:

(a) To seek justice and equity for the individual.

(b) To seek fulfillment of community needs.

Consider item (b). What does serving our States, communities, and areas really mean? Well, take the field of transportation. Serving Badger transportation needs means securing still better roads for Wisconsin, more modern airports and frequent airplane service, adequate railroad service, expanded port development.

HOW ELSE WISCONSIN IS SERVED

Serving Wisconsin, too, means promoting Wisconsin's tourist industry (which brings in $400 million in income per year), advancing the cause of conservation (fish and wildlife), helping to attract new industries to Wisconsin so as to help increase employment and payrolls.

Serving Wisconsin, too, means helping to boost consumption of dairy products—the eating and drinking of 17 billion pounds of milk produced by our State's dairy farmers each year.

YOUR SENATOR FIGHTS BAD BILLS

"Serving our State" means fighting for good legislation and opposing bad legislation.

Thus, during 1957, I battled successfully against such evil bills as:

(a) The natural gas rate increase bill—which would raise the cost of fuel used in your home and office (400,000 Wisconsinites depend on natural gas).

(b) The Chicago water steal bill which would lower Great Lakes shipping capacity.

Both of these dangerous bills still face us. Both must be continually combated.

So, too, I fought to help bring in Canadian natural gas to our State, so as to lower fuel costs and increase fuel supply. I battled against those who are trying to sabotage the import of much-needed Canadian gas.

THE WILEY-SPONSORED BILLS

But, now, let's turn to the Wiley bills as such, bills which I personally sponsored or cosponsored.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

I'm delighted to say that H. R. 5728 was successfully enacted as Public Law 85-108, so as to permit completion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway.

I had personally cosponsored the companion bill, S. 1174. This legislation eased sea-

way financial burdens by broadening the borrowing authority of the Seaway Development Corporation and authorizing the deferment of interest payments on borrowing. This particular bill was a natural followup on the Wiley seaway law itself, Public Law 358, 83d Congress, which achieved victory for the seaway after Wisconsin's 30-year battle.

CIVIL RIGHTS

One of the great landmark actions of the 85th Congress, 1st session, was the enactment of a civil-rights bill for the first time in 82 years. Naturally, I was pleased to vote for the final version of this bill, H. R. 6127, even though amendments had unfortunately weakened it.

Early in the session, I had been pleased to cosponsor one version of this bill in the form of S. 83, as offered principally by Senator DIRKSEN.

ADVANCING WORLD PEACE

World peace—that is our greatest single goal.

I was happy to concentrate, therefore, on this foremost of all goals in this session, just as I have done in previous sessions.

And so, I cosponsored the famous Eisenhower doctrine resolution. It has helped assure peace for the troubled Middle East.

With Senator GREEN, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, I specifically cosponsored Senate Joint Resolution 19. It authorized the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the Middle East in order to assist in the strengthening and defense of their independence against Communist aggression.

Our resolution was overwhelmingly approved by both Houses.

Another crucial bill which I cosponsored with Senator GREEN, our committee chairman, was S. 2130, the 1958 mutual security bill.

This bill, too, was successfully enacted into public law, thereby continuing worldwide cooperation against the Communist menace.

PROTECTING FBI FILES

Another landmark of the 1st session was enactment of the bill to protect the integrity of FBI files against Communist fishing expeditions.

This bill prevents Red snooping for material, while at the same time assuring defendants the right to necessary relevant information.

With Senator O'MAHONEY as sponsor, I had cosponsored an earlier version of this bill, S. 2377. It amended chapter 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for the production of relevant statements and reports of witnesses.

BYRD ANTARCTIC COMMISSION BILL

One of the bills of which I am deeply proud is the Byrd Antarctic Commission bill, S. 2189. I had introduced this bill, with 22 cosponsors.

I believe that if this bill is enacted, it will become one of the great milestones of the 85th Congress. Its purpose is to help America protect its national interest in that vast region of the globe. Thus far only about 1 percent of the Antarctic has been explored.

It was a pleasure for me recently to be present at a hearing held before the House of Representatives Interior Committee on a companion version to the Wiley bill.

I earnestly hope that this Byrd Antarctic Commission, to be named for the late, great Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd, will be successfully established next year.

TAX REFORM

One of the most important bills which I introduced was S. 769. Its purpose is to establish a Hoover-style Federal Tax Commission. Such a Commission would make a top-to-bottom review of the whole tax structure of the United States—income taxes, nuisance excise taxes, corporate taxes, etc. Fourteen Senators joined with me in cosponsoring this bill. Only through a comprehensive survey such a Commission could make will be ever get lasting and thorough reform of our hodge-podge tax system.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

At long last, the bottleneck in reform of our immigration laws has begun to be remedied. President Eisenhower's suggestions for changes have been followed—but only in small part so far. Nevertheless a beginning was made.

Earlier this year I was happy to cosponsor with Senator DIRKSEN the Eisenhower bill for amendment of the McCarran-Walter law, in the form of S. 1006.

MISCELLANEOUS BILLS

For purposes of brevity, let us now just look down an outline list of additional legislation which I sponsored or cosponsored.

FARM BILLS COSPONSORED

S. 2408, milk consumption (Senator THYE sponsor), to authorize a special milk program for veterans and the Armed Forces, and an accelerated brucellosis eradication program.

S. 1680, cranberries (Senator SALTONSTALL sponsor), to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, to include cranberries for canning or freezing.

S. 2306, research (Senator CURTIS sponsor), to provide for the increased use of agricultural products for industrial purposes.

S. 1699, dairy studies, to provide for the establishment of a dairy research laboratory. (This bill, like the three preceding bills, went to the Agriculture Committee.)

This particular Wiley bill is one for which I have been striving for many years, as my readers may recall.

SCHOOL AND TEACHER AID BILLS COSPONSORED

S. 1298, area vocational aid (Senator HILL sponsor), to assist States in providing needed area vocational education programs. (Labor and Public Welfare Committee.)

S. 889, school building (Senator SMITH of New Jersey sponsor), to authorize a 4-year emergency program of Federal assistance to States and communities to enable them to increase public elementary and secondary school construction. (Labor and Public Welfare Committee.)

The House, unfortunately, defeated the companion version to this bill.

S. 1640, teachers' tax deductions, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to allow a teacher to deduct from gross income up to $600 a year of necessary expenses incurred by him to further his or her education. (Finance Committee.)

SMALL BUSINESS

S. 11, equality of opportunity (Senator KEFAUVER sponsor), to amend the vital Robinson-Patman Act by protecting small business against a current loophole in the antimonopoly laws.

We succeeded in reporting this important bill favorably from the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, but it became bottled up in the full committee, unfortunately.

S. 150, small business tax relief (Senator FULBRIGHT sponsor), to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to adjust corporate normal tax and surtax rates, thereby giving a much needed break for small business (Finance Committee).

CONSERVATION

S. 555, Hells Canyon (Senator MORSE sponsor), to advance conservation and electricity production by authorizing the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Federal Hells Canyon Dam on the Snake River between Idaho and Oregon.

The Senate passed this bill, which I cosponsored, but the House unfortunately killed it.

S. 1176, wilderness system (Senator HUMPHREY sponsor), to establish a wilderness preservation system so as to protect our outdoor heritage (Interior and Insular Affairs Committee).

AID TO MUNICIPALITIES

S. 967, payments in lieu (Senator HUMPHREY sponsor), to authorize the payment to local governments of sums in lieu of taxes and special assessments with respect to certain Federal real property (Government Operations Committee).

ANTIJUVENILE DELINQUENCY

S. 1455, juvenile delinquency grants to strengthen and improve State and local programs to combat and control juvenile delinquency. (Labor and Public Welfare Committee).

As a member of the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee I am naturally especially interested in cutting down the staggering toll of crime among young people. More than 1 million youngsters are getting in trouble with the law each year, unfortunately.

ELECTION PARTICIPATION

S. 1406, political contribution deductions to encourage mass participation in election financing by allowing individuals to deduct for Federal income-tax purposes $50 of political contributions made each year to candidates for elective Federal offices (Finance Committee).

GREAT LAKES REGION

S. 1416, Lake States compact (Senator MCNAMARA), granting Congress' consent to a Great Lakes Basin compact.

MENOMINEE INDIANS

S. 2131 (Senator WATKINS cosponsor), to delay for 2 necessary years the date for submission of plan for future control of property and transfer of the trust property of the Menominee Tribe (Interior and Insular Affairs Committee).

Unfortunately, this bill failed of passage because of a parliamentary tieup in the last hours of the Senate session.

BOOST FOR OLDSTERS

S. 1688, fair break on pensions, to amend section 203 of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of earnings (from $1,200 to $1,800) which elderly individuals are permitted to earn without suffering deductions from their benefits. (Finance Committee.)

MISCELLANEOUS BILLS

Were space to permit, I could list literally dozens of other bills which I have offered.

These include bills to strengthen our patent system, budgetary reform, tariff legislation, foreign policy, and many others.

Before introducing each of these bills, I test them by this standard: "Does the bill serve the public interest?"

Serving you, the people, is always my goal. Some bills may involve only a relative handful of people. Other bills involve all 170 million American people. But always, legislation must definitely serve some worthwhile need or goal on behalf of America.

YOUR REACTIONS INVITED

I hope that my readers have found this report rewarding.

I cordially invite any questions which you may have in mind, after reading through this report.

It is not intended as a complete statement of what I have sought to achieve during the months of January through August 1957. But it does perhaps give you an inkling as to some of my varied activities.

In order to make it complete, I would have had, for example, to list the literally hundreds of issues which I voted upon on the Senate floor. I would have had to list the innumerable official phone calls to Federal agencies and to folks back home on their problems, the many talks with visiting constituents, and with correspondents of press, radio, and television, the committee hearings participated in, as well as other endeavors.

But I think that this report, however limited, does give you an idea of what your senior Senator has been striving for in the direction of prosperity and justice in America and a just and lasting peace in the world.

The ROTC and the Defense Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful guest editorial entitled "The ROTC and the Pentagon" which was written by Dr. A. L. Strand, president of Oregon State College, for the August 29, 1957, issue of the Corvallis Gazette-Times, of Corvallis, Oreg.

In this editorial Dr. Strand, who is one of the outstanding editors of our Nation, takes issue effectively with the position of the Defense Department when that Department opposed grants-in-aid for the erection of Reserve Officers Training Corps facilities on college campuses.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROTC AND THE PENTAGON

(By Dr. A. L. Strand, president, Oregon State College)

Within the past month a long chapter in the history of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps was closed in Washington. It was closed by a surprising, if not incredible, letter the Department of Defense wrote to Congressman CARL VINSON, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, saying that the Department was opposed to legislation that would provide grants-in-aid for the construction of ROTC facilities at educational institutions. This is of more than passing interest to Oregon State College for we have all three branches of the ROTC—Army, Navy, and Air Force. Although they are fairly well housed now, there's no doubt about the necessity of expanding some of their facilities before very long. But that isn't the sole point. It's the attitude of the Department of Defense toward its main source of young officers about which we are mostly concerned.

It's easy for the public to take for granted a lot of things that aren't so. This is very true of the operations of the ROTC on college campuses and of course you couldn't expect the public to know anything about the "finagling" that has been going on for 10 years in the Department of Defense over ROTC facilities unless someone tells the story. The invitation of the vacationing editor to write something for his column provides a good opportunity to tell it. In a way it really begins on our campus anyway.

On a warm day in late July 1945, Congressman James Mott, of Oregon, and Capt. Arthur S. Adams, United States Navy, sat in my office discussing various matters pertaining to the Armed Forces. Mott was the ranking Republican on the House Naval Affairs Committee, and Adams was the top man in the Navy V–12 and ROTC programs. They were well acquainted because of past associations in Washington. Captain Adams was here as head of a board of naval officers which had come to convert our temporary V–12 unit into a permanent Navy ROTC.

Congressman Mott was happy that Oregon State had been selected for a Navy ROTC and perhaps had something to do with it. I was happy about it too, but was concerned about finding space to house the organization. But both Mott and Adams stated emphatically that there would be no problem about space. The Naval Affairs Committee had a bill ready to introduce in the Congress which would provide excellent facilities. Mott would introduce it himself and in a very few weeks it would become operative. Any temporary rooms on the campus would suffice until a naval science building could be erected with the Federal Government bearing at least half of the cost. The Navy even had plans ready and copies would be sent us. It wasn't long until the plans arrived and we picked out a site for the building.

But the bill was never introduced. Congressman Mott died suddenly within a few weeks of the time he was here. As we know now the Navy facilities bill died with him, but nobody knew it then. Some institutions went ahead and constructed naval science buildings on the strength of assurances from Washington. They were left holding the sack.

By 1947 the unified Department of Defense was established and soon the new United States Air Force got its own ROTC. When the Land-Grant College Association inquired about the Navy facilities bill, it was informed by the Department that a new bill, which would take care of facilities for all the ROTC's, Army, Navy, and Air Force, had been written and assigned to the Navy to get through the Congress. It would be but a short time until things were underway. The institutions believed thoroughly that the Department of Defense meant what it said. It was logical to suppose that the Federal Government had an obligation to meet in helping to furnish facilities for the training of officers for the Armed Forces.

But nothing ever happened. No bill with the backing of the Department of Defense was ever introduced. All the institutions got from the Department was assurance that it was ready, or about ready, to press the matter. There was no lack of support in Congress and out. The Advisory Board on Reserve Components heartily backed the proposition and, of course, the land-grant and State university associations, including the institutions where about 80 percent of the ROTC output of officers takes place, were strong for it and had their Representatives in Congress well advised.

Years went by and finally on July 31, 1957, the Department of Defense informed the House Armed Services Committee that it is against any legislation to provide grants-in-aid for the construction of ROTC facilities. The Department's letter also stated that it had been advised by the Bureau of the Budget "that enactment of this legislation would not be in accord with the program of the President in view of the current budgetary situation and because they believe that the educational institutions having ROTC's should continue to furnish facilities without cost to the Federal Government."

The letter is in direct contradiction to statements made within the past 2 years by official spokesmen for the Department of Defense, and of the Army, Navy, and Air Force separately. Except for one incident I shall record later, the letter is in contradiction to a full 10 years of direct promises and continued assurances. The Department may not take it that way, but the letter is a slap in the face of the old prewar group of colleges and universities, which furnished over 77,000 young officers in World War II, without which this same Department of Defense has said many times that the crucial and rapid mobilization of our Armed Forces in 1940–41 could not have been accomplished. The letter ends 10 years of procrastinating deception and must be embarrassing to all the honest Army, Navy, and Air Force inspectors and advisers who have visited the Nation's ROTC's since 1947. The Department of Defense, which a few years back was anxious to spend billions on universal military training, which most people know could not have lasted much longer than from one session of the Congress to the next, opposes very modest expenditure of funds for the most permanent source of trained manpower our country has.

Above are the facts of the case. What follows are my own opinions.

In the first place, we think the Eisenhower administration cannot be directly blamed for what has happened and the about-face of the Department of Defense. Some might claim that it is another case of divine aloofness, but we believe the real seat of the trouble lies in the Pentagon and has been there since long before the present administration took office. The Pentagon empire is a very large place. The turnover in the personnel who occupy it, big brass and little brass, is rapid. It is unlikely that there is a single officer, or high-ranking civilian official, in it today who was there 5 years ago. It's very strange, therefore, how an unbroken resistance to the ROTC can persist, but that seems to be the case. One might almost conclude that it descends on the higher category of officers from the walls of their offices when they move in. In spite of all the sweet words of praise and expressions of great satisfaction over the character and general qualifications of the young officers educated in the ROTC institutions, and in spite of the fact that all three services confess they must depend more on the ROTC's for officer replacement than on their own Academies, there is a persistent and continuing faction in the Pentagon with whom the ROTC doesn't rate and never has. This contention isn't based solely on the facilities matter. That would be unwarranted. It's one instance after another of foot dragging that goes back many years, certainly as far back as the Roosevelt administration. The apparent about-face action of the Department of Defense isn't an about-face at all.

Where is the resistance to the ROTC? It's hard to believe it might be in the Air Force which has been almost completely dependent on the college output of young officers for its replacements. And it's probably not the Navy. The Navy initiated the idea of helping the institutions obtain proper facilities, and, with its Holloway plan of providing generous scholarships under a careful procurement program, has always shown enthusiasm for the ROTC from its Washington headquarters. That leaves just the Army, and I hesitate to make that inference for the college has enjoyed the best relations with the Sixth Army Headquarters at the Presidio, with Fort Lewis and the other Army establishments where our men go for summer campus, with our military district, and with all the excellent officers who have served as commandants of our Army ROTC. Nevertheless, in May 1955, Assistant Secretary Hugh Milton II, Department of Army, got pinned down before the House Armed Services Committee in sort of an embarrassing way. Said Milton: "Our position in the Department of the Army has been that since a good many institutions have already assumed the obligation of providing these facilities, and felt that they were obliged to do so under the Land Grant Act of 1862, that we at the Federal Government level should not engage in a construction program." For all that had gone on before, this statement was quite a surprise to the committee and it might even have been a surprise to the former general that he had said it. He was under some duress, as it were, and backtracked by adding that the Department had the matter under study. His statement was absolutely contrary to the position held by

the institutions founded under the act of 1862 and he must have known it. The executive committee of the land-grant association promptly protested to the Secretary of the Army and the incident was smoothed out. But the cat was out of the bag.

The final knifing of the grants-in-aid for ROTC facilities by the Department of Defense, coming just at the time the institutions are attempting to prepare for much greater enrollments, and what's also important, just at the time the Department and the institutions are trying to work out some better curricular integration between the military and civilian studies, will have some repercussions. The institutions realize now that they were taken on a snipe hunt, a snipe hunt that lasted 10 years, and were left in the woods. They are not likely to forget it.

Meeting the Crisis in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me on the agricultural situation and its effect on the American farmer.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

MEETING THE CRISIS IN AGRICULTURE

Today, the American farmer is facing a critical income problem.

Our farm folks, by and large, are finding it increasingly difficult to make a fair living for themselves and their families. Too many farmers—especially the small-family type—are finding it necessary to sell out. Why? Because they don't find it worthwhile to work long, hard days for a minimum of return.

In Wisconsin, the picture is similar to the situation across the Nation. Our current total of around 170,000 farms is unfortunately diminishing at a rate of about 3,500 annually. The number of small farmers—who often find that they can hardly survive at today's low prices for his products—is diminishing. The large farmer is getting larger.

YOUNGSTERS LEAVING FARMS

A great number of fine young folks, too, find it necessary to seek off-the-farm jobs—part time or full time. The prospect of making family-size farming a really successful career is growing dimmer and dimmer. For example, consider the present average rate of cash income of only 30 to 50 cents per hour received by Wisconsin dairy operators. That is not much to look forward to, especially for aspiring young Americans.

DAIRY PLANTS CLOSING

We must face the fact, too, that not only farms, but many other businesses closely related to farming and dairying are being forced to the wall. For instance, a regrettable number of creameries have "Out of business" signs in their windows. Far too many of our cheese factories—many of them family operated for years—are closing their doors. In addition, in villages and towns, hardwaremen, lumbermen, implement dealers—and others dependent upon the buying power of these farmers—are finding themselves squeezed along with the farmer.

FARMERS ARE "HARD HIT" BY INFLATION AND HIGH INTEREST RATES

Rising costs due to inflation have hit the farmer tremendously hard. To pay rising costs, he has to produce more milk, vegetables for canning, beef, and other products. As a result, a glut on the market all too often forces prices—now too low—to an even lower level.

The "upping" of interest rates, too, hits the farmer in his "thin" pocketbook. Since almost all farmers are creditors, for short-term production loans, high interest rates cut particularly deep into their incomes. At the same time, they are provided no relief from high costs of labor and of manufactured products and supplies. Thus, the farmer now finds himself caught in a kind of "double squeeze."

NO SIMPLE ANSWER

This is definitely a bad situation.

What are we going to do about it? We have got to roll up our sleeves and resolve these problems. The job is tough. There is no "pat" answer. We recognize that because agriculture is so complex, any solution will not be simple. However, we must find a solution—both in the interests of agriculture, and of our whole economy.

PROGRAMS TO ASSIST FARMERS

Currently, a number of farm-related programs have been designed and put into effect to assist individual farmers. While these programs do not make up for loss of income, they do help in a great many ways. For example, the following programs are in action:

The surplus disposal program has made reserves of surplus farm products—including milk, cheese, peas, and other items produced in Wisconsin—available for school lunches, disaster relief, and other noncommercial market uses.

The program attacking brucellosis to cut cattle losses is meeting with success. Happily, my own Badger State has now been certified free of brucellosis.

The Rural Electrification Administration has helped rural electric and telephone systems to meet growing demands for their services by our farm folks.

The expanded extension service program in the Nation—and especially in Wisconsin—is doing a fine job of assisting education programs, farm and marketing adjustment, and just plain know-how and advice.

The rural redevelopment program is expanding in a great many States, including Wisconsin, which has two pilot counties—Sawyer and Price.

An expanded Soil Conservation Service is providing soil and watershed conservation assistance.

These, and a number of other assistance programs, are working to help the farmer.

THE SOIL BANK

According to estimates, American farmers will receive more than $732 million in soil-bank payments this year. This will serve to bolster our farm income, as well as to carry out soil-bank objectives of reducing surpluses and protecting the soil. The 85th Congress clamped a $3,000 cut on the amount a producer could receive in any year. This stops the unfortunate practice of providing the large corporation farmer with hundreds of thousands of Federal dollars. As we know, the smaller, family-type farmer is the one who needs greatest assistance.

In Wisconsin, participation is increasing under the soil bank. According to estimates, payments to Badger farmers will amount to over $10 million this year.

NEED TO MODERNIZE PARITY

There still remains a great deal of controversy over the best level of parity—the fairest price—support levels for farm commodities.

As we know, attempts have been made to change and modernize the parity formula. To my way of thinking, the very definition of "parity" is obsolete and unfair to the dairyman.

But, regardless of the formula, the farmer is basically concerned with the amount of goods that he himself can buy with income from the products he sells. Currently, prices he receives are too low to offset costs and get a reasonable profit—or, in some cases, any profit at all.

For example, in terms of buying power, the present level of parity, as now defined, is $3.25 per hundredweight (a very modest price-support level—for manufacturing milk). This means only about 7 cents per quart. That is much too low. At this price, the farmer simply cannot pay the high costs of operation, equipment, and labor.

For many months, I have pointed this out to the Secretary of Agriculture, and urged that the price-support level be raised at least 20 cents—to $3.45. Permissible under the present law, such an administrative increase would help give milk prices to the farmer a much-needed boost. But even such a parity level is a long way away from an adequate profit for the farmer. A changed definition of parity in the light of modern conditions is also essential.

FARMER-CONSUMER RELATIONSHIP

In planning for a healthy agriculture, of course, the farmer-consumer relationship is important. The farmer must get a good price for products; at the same time, we can't afford to price these products out of reach of the consumer's pocketbook.

Regrettably, the price spread between what the farmer gets for his commodity, and what it sells in the city for, is often too great. This does not necessarily mean that our so-called middleman is making unfair profits. However, it does point out that the farmer is at a disadvantage in bargaining—that is, he must buy his machinery and equipment at a high retail price. At the same time, he must sell his milk, beef, corn, pork, eggs, and other products at low wholesale prices. Then they go through a long chain of distribution, while the price to the ultimate consumer is being raised.

If the farmer is to survive, this farm-to-market spread must be reduced, or at least shared, to a greater degree, by the farmer.

FINE WORK OF CO-OPS

Meanwhile, fortunately, our cooperatives are making a tremendous contribution toward helping the farmer get a larger share of the market price of his products.

These cooperatives carry on work in the important fields including production, marketing, purchasing, financing, insurance, and public service. The cooperatives have been, and continue to be, of invaluable service to our farmers. Wherever possible, co-op programs should be strengthened and expanded.

WILEY DAIRY BILL NEEDED TO STIMULATE RESEARCH

Today, one of the greatest needs of agriculture is more research. That is why, for example, I introduced specific research legislation in the interests of dairying. The enactment of the Wiley bill providing for a dairy research center at Madison would be a tremendous help to our dairy farmers. This would aid to—

Achieve more efficient methods of dairy farm operation;

Promote sales and distribution of dairy products;

Step up consumption;

Explore the possibility of the greater industrial and other uses of milk byproducts; and

Fulfill other needs of this vital industry.

INCREASED CONSUMPTION OF DAIRY PRODUCTS

To best help the Wisconsin dairy farmer, we must, of course, attempt to increase consumption of our healthful dairy products. If we can get millions of folks to drink another glass of milk, eat another slice of cheese, and consume a little more butter and other products—this would get rid of our price-depressing surplus, and result in a better market for the farmer.

Our teen-agers drink too little milk, and so do our old folks. Consumption must be boosted, among these and other groups.

SALES AND PROMOTION

To get increased consumption, of course, we must step up and expand our sales and promotion programs. Since 85 percent of Wisconsin milk is sold outside the State, we must more effectively spread the news of the healthful qualities of dairy foods across the Nation.

SOCIAL SECURITY NECESSARY

In these times when the farmer is suffering from an economic squeeze, the opportunity to retire under social security is, indeed, important. All of our farm folks—whether a tenant, owner, or laborer—are now eligible.

As a matter of fact, thousands of farmers across the country—many of whom would normally continue to operate their farms—are retiring. Why? Because of the tragic fact that retirement benefits—though very modest—often exceed the income now received from farm operation. This is sometimes true in Wisconsin, as in almost every other State in the Nation. It is another bit of evidence of the great need for a better program for agriculture.

Liberalized social security for elderly farmers past 65 and for their widows or wives past 62 is nevertheless essential.

CHALLENGES IN OTHER FIELDS

There are, of course, challenges in a number of other fields. For example, we need improved programs:

To fulfill our labor needs at harvest seasons;

To protect our home industry against unfair competition from imports—especially of commodities in surplus such as butter oil, cheese, and other products; and

To ease Federal tax burdens to the extent that the Nation's budget will permit.

CONCLUSION

Finally, let me point out that Uncle Sam alone cannot do all these things.

As we recognoize, it is impossible to legislate prosperity. However, the Government can, and should, continue to help wherever possible, to speed the economic recovery of the farmer.

The job, of course, is to provide our farm folks with a sound and proportionate share of the national income. By so doing, it will benefit, not only the farmer, but strengthen the whole economy.

Maintaining Employment Levels at Boston Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include Resolution 54 adopted by the 71st annual convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, Boston, Mass., on August 9, 1957:

RESOLUTION 54

MAINTAINING EMPLOYMENT LEVELS AT BOSTON NAVAL SHIPYARD

Whereas the Boston naval shipyard draws its employees from every part of the Commonwealth more particularly within a radius of 60 miles from the city of Boston; and

Whereas each city and town therein is greatly affected by the financial stability of these employees; and

Whereas any proposed layoff which will affect every trade and occupation and result in many professional and technical men and skilled mechanics seeking work in other States; and

Whereas the Navy has announced an economy cut of several fighting ships from the active fleet that could mean diverting Boston repair work to other shipyards; and

Whereas any reduction in the appropriation for the Boston naval shipyard and any further cutback in work would increase unemployment in this area to an untenable degree: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor delegates in convention urge the Congress of the United States to take action as may be necessary to compel the Department of Defense to maintain the present standard of employment and work at the Boston naval shipyard; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, to each Member of the Massachusetts congressional delegation, to Secretary of Defense, to Secretary of Navy.

Urges Stronger GOP Leadership in 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, may I call attention to the leadership on the other side of the aisle that the 2d session of the 85th Congress be prepared to meet the issues facing the Nation and to act promptly on legislation that concerns the general welfare.

I very humbly suggest to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] and his able lieutenants that they have it in their power to enable us to do our job next year and to adjourn by the statutory date.

One of the reasons why it has been necessary for this Congress to remain in session has been, in my opinion, the vacillation on important issues in the White House beginning with the budget and ending with the civil-rights bill. We have seen a series of statements and pleas on the part of the President and his spokesmen that force us to revise the old "off again—on again, Finnegan" metaphor as obsolete and ineffective. Normally here in the Congress we can meet and resolve the great issues on a basis of Democratic and Republican position as the springboard. Normally we look to the President as setting the position for his party.

That has been true for as long as I can remember. There was never any doubt in the minds of any that when Presidents Roosevelt and Truman spoke that was the Democratic position. When President Eisenhower speaks, about all we can conclude is that what he says is the position of the individual who last had his ear before he spoke.

It has gotten so that we may remain confident that if we do not like the Eisenhower position we can just wait 5 minutes, and, like the weather, it will change.

So, my suggestion to the gentleman from Massachusetts and his able lieutenants is that they come here in January prepared in a series of special orders to give us the Republican position on these major problems and that the membership of the Congress consider these as the real Republican position so that we may proceed to the important business of legislation, and debate these matters from that standpoint.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make it perfectly clear that I am not suggesting to my good friends that they seize the leadership of the Republican Party; I am merely suggesting that they step in and fill a void. The President has abdicated this leadership, and since the Republican Party is in charge of the administration, it is to the best interest of the country to have someone within that party fill this void. We shall then know where we are and we will not have to stand by and see our friends across the aisle embarrassed when the White House, in one of its sudden about-faces, pulls the rug from under them. I think they should weave the rug upon which they shall stand.

Statement by Hon. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement recently made by me to the press and the radio.

I make the further observation that if President Eisenhower and the present administration become firm and remain consistent in the foreign policy which the President and the administration establish, it will receive stronger support from the Congress and the American people.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN W. MCCORMACK, DEMOCRAT, MASSACHUSETTS, MAJORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

I consider it highly inadvisable as the price for letting American newspapermen into Red China that we allow Red Chinese spies, under the guise of being newspapermen, to enter the United States. The situation is

embarrassing enough for us without capitulating to the Red Chinese this form of tribute.

As a matter of fact, there are many who felt it unwise to permit American correspondents to enter into Red China. Such action gives them a superior status and a privilege that no other American possesses. As citizens they are not superior to others. But, more important, we remember that not so many years ago, when some American correspondents went into the then Communist part of China, they told the American people that Mao and his kind were not Communists, but were progressives seeking agrarian reforms through democratic means.

At that time, those correspondents certainly "brainwashed" the American people. I shall assume that they did not intend to do so, but they helped the Chinese Reds immeasurably many times more effectively than the Red Chinese could have helped themselves.

For President Eisenhower and the State Department to make this kind of a deal and let a group of Chinese newspapermen, who, we know, are nothing but spies, come into our country is indefensible. It would be a crime against our national interest.

Everyone knows that such Chinese Reds would be spies. They would operate with clever threats and other means upon the loyal American Chinese. They would also have an adverse effect upon anti-Communist Chinese in other lands.

Instead of weak and vacillating actions, President Eisenhower and the present administration had better get firm, and instead of wavering, be consistent.

Our Government should definitely state, and stand by it, that spies from Red China under the guise of newspapermen will not be admitted into the United States.

Presidential Disability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, written by Gerald W. Johnson, and which appeared in the April 29, 1957, issue of the New Republic:

PRESIDENTIAL DISABILITY
(By Gerald W. Johnson)

The removal of the President of the United States is so grave a matter that it has never been affected except by death, and only once attempted by other means; yet of 33 individuals who have held the office 8, almost exactly 25 percent, have been permanently or temporarily disabled while in office. The framers of the Constitution, foreseeing the contingency, established the office of Vice President, and decreed (art. II, sec. 5) that "Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or disability, both of the President and Vice President."

One hundred and sixty-eight years have passed and Congress has not yet by law provided for such cases, nor, according to Congressman FRELINGHUYSEN in last week's New Republic, is it about to now. For he says "there is no consensus in Congress as to what is the best solution, be it by constitutional amendment, simple resolution or joint resolution." When a President is accused of high crimes and misdemeanors, the Constitution itself (art. I, secs. 2 and 3) provides that he may be impeached by the House and tried by the Senate, but the Chief Justice, not the Vice President, shall preside, thus bringing all three branches into the procedings. It is hardly credible that this involvement of all was accidental.

Congress has never yet by law provided against the death of a President, although seven have died in office. The question was indeed decided as long ago as 1841, but not by Congress. When the first President to die in office succumbed, the Vice President assumed the office of President, not Acting President, and nobody in Congress, not even Webster, Clay, or Calhoun, was man enough to stop him. So if seven Vice Presidents have taken over the Presidency without incident, we owe that orderly succession, not to the wisdom of Congress, but to the bold resolution of John Tyler.

Three times Congress' refusal to do its duty has left the Nation without an efficient official head for many weeks at a time. If no disaster followed, the credit is largely due to three individuals, James G. Blaine, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, and Sherman Adams, each of whom, without the authority of law, stepped in to save the country from the results of congressional laziness and indifference to the safety of the Nation.

That laziness and indifference persist to an almost incredible degree. The incumbent of the Presidency has already twice been disabled for weeks at a time, and his physical condition is known to be such that a third collapse may come at any time without warning. The President himself, realizing the danger, has asked Congress to act, but to no effect.

Yet to a superficial observer it would seem a simple matter for Congress to provide by law that when serious suspicion of Presidential disability arises, Congress may by joint resolution call on the Supreme Court, not to examine the man, which is beyond the Court's competence, but to weigh the evidence, which is the Court's business. If the Court certified to Congress that the weight of expert, scientific testimony showed disability, Congress could, again by joint resolution, call upon the Vice President to assume the duties of the office until the disability should be removed. Upon the President's recovery, the process could be reversed.

This would involve action by the executive branch, but not on its own initiative. The legislative would have made the first move and the judiciary would have examined its grounds for action and found them tenable. Thus all three branches would have admitted that the authority of the man in the Presidency was legitimate and there would be no chance for mischiefmakers to mislead public opinion with cries of usurpation and tyranny.

At the same time it would repudiate the silly and bitterly unfair theory that a sick man should be responsible for diagnosing his own case. A sick man almost always thinks he is better than he is. Doctors, family, and friends all conspire to make him think so, for the sound reason that keeping up his morale does assist his recovery.

In private life this is admirable, but in public life it is dangerous. Once that very thing came near wrecking this Government. In 1823 William H. Crawford was a strong candidate for the Presidency until, like Wilson, he suffered a stroke that partially paralyzed him. But he began to improve and his friends encouraged him to believe that he was going to be all right, so instead of withdrawing he stayed in the race. By so doing he threw the election into the House of Representatives, ruined the hopes of Henry Clay, and put upon Adams' title to the Presidency the cloud of bargain and corruption that poisoned the political atmosphere for the next 20 years—all because a sick man could not be brought to face the brutal truth about his condition.

With this record before it, if Congress refuses to take action, the blame lies upon Congress, not upon the wise and bold men who framed the Constitution.

Pilots Tell Perils of Drunks Aloft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under permission heretofore granted by the House, I am including a statement by J. W. Anderson, staff reporter for the Washington Post and Times Herald, wherein he quotes from reports given by representatives of the Air Line Pilots Association.

A great deal is being said these days with respect to the improvement of safety and safety devices for airline passengers. Here is one place where improvement can be made rather promptly if the airline management would give it the consideration to which it is entitled.

The statement follows:

The airliner's pilot reported:

"We had an intoxicated passenger on board who was obnoxious to the hostess on several occasions.

"In a mistaken attempt to get a drink of water, he mistook the main cabin door of the DC-3 for a water tap and had grasped the handle of the door before he could be stopped by the hostess.

"Had he been successful in moving the handle, we would have lost him and the hostess."

The report was 1 of 30 given by the Air Line Pilots Association to a Senate Aviation Subcommittee considering two bills to ban drinking on interstate flights.

The Civil Aeronautics Board has told the Senators that it investigates all complaints, but has found no reason to ban liquor.

But the Pilots Association claims that airborne drunks are becoming a major hazard to air safety. When C. N. Sayen, association president, made the charge at a hearing earlier this month, the subcommittee asked for particulars.

The pilots replied with stories of incidents ranging from nuisances to near disasters.

"The practice of serving intoxicating beverages on domestic airlines is relatively new and still confined to a limited number of flights on eight airlines," Sayen wrote in a letter to A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, Democrat, of Oklahoma, chairman of the subcommittee.

"However, the practice is spreading, and competitive pressures are being created on carriers still refusing to adopt the practice."

EXAMPLES CITED

As examples of hazards, he cited this report:

"On our flight into Washington there was a group of passengers in the front compartment buying drinks and drinking from their own bottles.

"One of this group of jolly boys threw a partially filled bottle—a fifth, not a miniature—to, or at, one of his companions, and the bottle hit another passenger.

"This could have been the start of a real brawl. Or the bottle—which is a consider-

able missile—could have hit one of the windows."

Another pilot was bringing his plane into Dallas:

"A short, well-inebriated man wandered into the cockpit and began to berate me for being 'angry with him and just what did I have against him anyhow?'

"A circle of the field was necessary while a hammerlock was applied to convince him that the captain was not mad at him and that he should return to his seat."

STEWARDESS' STORY

And to demonstrate the heights to which gracious living can rise with liquor aboard, a stewardess told this story:

"A male passenger became extremely uncooperative as a result of overindulging. He refused to fasten his seat belt and observe the 'no smoking' sign when approaching for a landing.

"I told him several times to extinguish his cigarette which he did, except that he relit another one as soon as I turned my back. Upon telling him to extinguish cigarettes for the third time, he did so by putting it out in the palm of my hand."

NO DANGER, CAB SAYS

CAB, in a letter to Senator MONRONEY on Friday, asserted that its investigation "did not disclose any incident in which the serving of alcoholic beverages might have jeopardized flight safety.

"Some incidents involving unpleasant and objectionable conduct on the part of passengers were disclosed," wrote Vice Chairman Chan Gurney of CAB.

"However, most, if not all, appeared to have resulted from passengers drinking liquor prior to flight, or liquor which had been carried privately aboard the airplane."

The Pilots Association said that the serving of liquor by the airlines makes it difficult to prevent drunken passengers from boarding planes, and makes it impossible to prevent them from bringing their own bottles with them.

The two bills before MONRONEY's subcommittee would ban all consumption of liquor in flight.

Maintaining Watertown and Springfield Arsenals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include Resolution 16 adopted by the 71st annual convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor on August 7, 1957:

RESOLUTION 16

MAINTAINING WATERTOWN AND SPRINGFIELD ARSENALS

Whereas the Watertown Arsenal and the Springfield Armory are Federal field establishments that have greatly contributed to the defense needs of the Nation and the prosperity of the Commonwealth over the past century; and

Whereas both these traditional defense activities have been subjected to a series of adverse administrative actions which have curtailed their scope of operation; and

Whereas such curtailment of operations has unduly hurt the economic well-being of the Commonwealth and the defense readiness of the Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in convention, go on record and urge the Congress of the United States of America to provide and insure the continued operation of the Watertown Arsenal and the Springfield Armory at a higher plane and wider scope of operations as an aid to bolster the economy of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and improve the defense preparedness of the Nation.

Senator Kerr Emerges as Chief Critic of Administration's Money Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT S. KERR
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Wall Street Journal by Lester Tanzer.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR KERR EMERGES AS CHIEF CRITIC OF ADMINISTRATION'S MONEY POLICIES

(By Lester Tanzer)

WASHINGTON.—Out of a yearlong attack on the administration's restrictive credit policies has emerged a new economic spokesman for issue-hunting Democrats in Congress: ROBERT SAMUEL KERR, the big, bluff, tart-tongued Senator from Oklahoma.

From the day Congress first assembled in January, Democrats have been assailing high interest rates and inflation and blaming the administration for both. Next year according to present plans, Democrats aim to make an even bigger issue out of so-called tight money, especially if its dampening effects spread to more segments of the economy.

Though the Democratic assault on tight money continued all session long, one notable shift did occur. In the early days of the year it was Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, the easy money apostle from Texas, who led the Democrats. But as the session wore on, Senator KERR became his party's undisputed economic champion. And he's likely to carry the Democrats' banner on financial issues in 1958, too.

GRUDGING ADMIRATION

Foes say Mr. KERR is arrogant. Even his friends admit he's got a sharp tongue. But friend and foe alike agree the Oklahoma lawmaker is the Democrats' most effective critic of high interest rates. "He's awfully clever," says one of President Eisenhower's top advisers with grudging admiration for the now famous Kerr technique.

Mr. KERR's frontier-tinged origins probably account for his built-in distrust for Wall Street and eastern bankers, common among folks reared in rural regions. His rags-to-riches life story, replete with log cabins and covered wagons, would probably make most aspirants for President of the United States, as Senator KERR once envisioned himself, somewhat envious.

Mr. KERR was born in 1896 in a log cabin near Ada, Okla., at that time Indian Territory. He was the second of seven children. When his older sister was 6 weeks old, his parents had driven there in a covered wagon from Texas to Indian Territory.

Before he went into politics, Senator KERR taught school, sold magazines, served as a field artillery lieutenant during World War I, ran a produce business, and practiced law, and built Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc., of which he is president.

In 1940 he was selected Democratic national committeeman for Oklahoma. Two years later he became governor, the first native of the State to hold that office. He delivered the keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention in 1944, and, in 1948, was elected to the Senate. Besides his Senate Finance Committee assignment, Mr. KERR is a ranking member of the Public Works Committee, where he holds forth as a public-power advocate.

HIS PRESIDENTIAL HOPE

The Sooner State Senator had ambitions in 1952 of running for President against Dwight Eisenhower, but his campaign for the nomination sputtered out. Political reporters remember the irony of a huge replica of the humble log cabin in which Mr. KERR was born, set up in the lobby of Chicago's Conrad Hilton Hotel, mirroring the large sums reputedly spent on the Senator's campaign.

In his questioning at the Finance Committee's probe, in his Senate speeches, and in personal chats, Mr. KERR has painted a broad picture of his monetary philosophy. It shapes up something like this:

Inflation can be caused just as well by too little credit as too much. Right now, says Mr. KERR, the United States is going through the first time in its history when supplies of goods exceed demand, only to find inflation threatening the economy. Credit, he contends, is the only commodity in short supply now and high interest rates are behind the inflation.

More expensive credit, according to Mr. KERR, doesn't discourage much borrowing; instead, big corporations just pass on the higher rates to consumers, thus sending up prices. "High interest rates," he argues, "drive smaller, marginal operators out of business and it's these people who provide the effective element of competition that restrains the price level."

That technique combines with some unorthodox economic theories a quick, folksy wit, and the ability to make statistics sit up and do tricks. As do all good prosecuting attorneys, Mr. KERR sees things in blacks and whites and holds little patience for those who disagree with him.

In Mr. KERR's view, high interest rates are the principal cause of inflation; most economists—and the administration—figure restrictive credit policies will dampen the demand for credit and stem the inflation-spurring capital goods boom. BOB KERR's answer to inflation is to ease up on the credit brakes, a move orthodox economists reckon would only further fuel inflation.

Mr. KERR balks at any effort to label him an easy-money man, however. He claims he's for neither a drought or a flood of credit, just enough to assure a steady, healthy expansion of the economy. He reckons he's about half way between the administration and WRIGHT PATMAN in his economic thinking.

Thus far, Mr. KERR's principal forum has been the Senate Finance Committee's probe into the Nation's financial health. He's made some speeches on the Senate floor, too, including one in which he claimed President Eisenhower had no fiscal brains. That remark is probably as good an example as any of Senator KERR's blunt manner and willingness to tackle any antagonist, big or small.

Mr. KERR has struck his most telling blows, Democrats figure, as second-ranking member, right behind Chairman HARRY BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, of the Finance Committee. The lawmakers have so far heard former Treasury Secretary George Hum-

phrey and outgoing Under Secretary Randolph Burgess. The committee broke off hearings until the fall, at the earliest, in the midst of questioning Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin before Mr. KERR had a crack at him.

A CHANCE NEXT SESSION

The Oklahoma Democrat will get his chance at Mr. Martin once hearings resume. Other Government economists and officials, as well as a parade of private citizens, are still slated to testify at hearings that could extend well into the next session of Congress.

Mr. BYRD's committee abounds with Democratic critics of administration and Federal Reserve monetary and fiscal policies—including scholarly PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, courteous ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee, and RUSSELL LONG, of Louisiana. But none have yet displayed Mr. KERR's flash and ability to make oft-bored reporters sit up and take notice.

The 61-year-old legislator allows he has held the same economic views as long as he can remember, or, as he puts it, ever since his father "taught him the difference between a Republican and a Democrat. A Republican puts a premium on the value of the dollar, a Democrat on the value of labor and the thing produced," says the Senator.

The Federal Reserve Board won't be carrying out its responsibilities, he believes, unless it supplies enough credit to keep the economy growing, rather than tighten up credit to force an economic slowdown. "It's a lot easier to start a recession than stop one," he reckons.

SEEKING MIDDLE GROUND

What Senator KERR says he'd like to see is a middle ground. "I'm as much opposed to cheap money as tight money," he avers. If it were up to him, he'd make the Federal Reserve peg long-term Government bonds at about 3 percent, compared with the 2½ percent at which such securities were pegged before the Federal Reserve Board ended its interest-fixing activities in 1951. But he would peg them by Federal fiat, abandoning the free market under which they have risen to effective rates of close to 4 percent.

Democrats who count on Mr. KERR as their major weapon in the fight against administration monetary policies, however, regard Mr. KERR more highly as a tactician than as an economic philosopher. In that field he can make full use of his mastery of the fine art of jumping to conclusions, usually based on carefully selected, but always accurate statistics.

For example, Mr. KERR got George Humphrey to agree there were practically no shortages in consumer goods—such as autos, food, appliances, or housing—then concluded, therefore, the shortage of credit must be causing inflation. When he got a word in edgewise, Mr. Humphrey pointed out the present inflation has been spurred primarily by excessive demand for capital, not consumer goods, and the resulting higher prices for such capital goods has been passed along in consumer items.

To the observer of Mr. KERR in action, perhaps his most striking attribute is his self-assurance. People are often irked by the Senator's everpresent conviction his views are the only right ones. But most respect his willingness to express his views, no matter how unpopular they may be.

This penchant for bluntness and combat has endeared Senator KERR to his Democratic colleagues. They are banking on the sharp-tongued Senator from Oklahoma to use just those qualities as the spearpoint of their attack in future months on the administration's monetary moves.

Statement of A. R. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, under leave granted to Members of the Senate to extend their remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I offer a statement prepared by Mr. A. R. Jones, nominee by the President to fill a vacancy on the Board of Directors for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. Jones would have been accorded the opportunity to make this statement at a concluding meeting of the Senate Committee on Public Works, originally scheduled for Friday, August 30, 1957, had that meeting not been canceled.

The statement presents information bearing on certain questions asked and testimony offered during the hearings on Mr. Jones' nomination.

For the information of Senators interested and as a matter of public interest for all concerned with the operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and in justice to Mr. Jones himself, I believe that the statement merits this presentation.

I might add that it is my personal belief that Mr. Jones is exceptionally well qualified for any position in Government that calls for honesty, experience, and training in the field of fiscal analysis and governmental policy. I understand that he has consented to accept an interim appointment for the vacancy on the Board of Directors for the Tennessee Valley Authority. I trust that his associates in the TVA and the people of the valley will accord him the cooperation necessary for anyone to successfully discharge the responsibilities of such a position.

Mr. Jones' statement follows:

Since the hearing set for 10 o'clock this morning on my nomination as a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority was canceled without an opportunity for me to state my side of the case, I respectfully request an opportunity to make this statement a part of the official record of the hearings.

First, as to my personal background and qualifications. I grew up on a small farm in Kansas, walked to a country school, and rode horseback to high school. Without marshaling the difficulties of farm life in the early part of this century, I emphatically assert that I understand the needs, desires, and aspirations of rural people.

I was graduated with a degree in business administration from the University of Kansas in 1927, and engaged in governmental and public accounting work until the fall of 1928, when I started teaching accounting at Kansas State College. I have done graduate work in economics, personnel, business and management in 4 graduate schools since 1927, most recently in 1953.

For 5 years I taught college-level courses in accounting, economics, insurance, investments, and similar business subjects at Kansas State College.

In 1933 I was appointed assistant budget director (actually the active director) and State accountant of the State of Kansas and, within days after I took office, conducted an audit of the State treasury which resulted in the collection, without protest from the bonding companies, of $500,000 on the State treasurer's bond.

During the 4 years that I held the position of assistant budget director and State accountant, I was responsible for implementing the uniform accounting and auditing laws of Kansas, affecting all of the counties, cities, school districts, townships, and other municipalities of the State. In fact, the financial affairs of Kansas were conducted in such a manner that the then Governor received national recognition and was nominated for the Presidency of the United States in 1936.

During 1937, in addition to my public accounting practice, I was treasurer of Washburn College of Topeka, Kans., having been asked to rehabilitate the financial affairs of that institution, which I successfully did.

In 1939 I was appointed a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission with the unanimous approval of the Kansas Senate. I was reappointed in 1941 for a 4-year term, and again was unanimously confirmed by the Kansas Senate. I resigned on August 17, 1942, to volunteer my services in the Army of the United States.

The Kansas Corporation Commission was responsible for the regulation of electric, gas, and telephone utilities, railroads, motor carriers, securities, and proration oil and gas production.

I submit that I am familiar with the economics, accounting, and ratemaking activities of public utilities.

Following 38 months in the Army, I accepted responsibility as the chief business officer of Kansas State College and remained in that position for approximately 11 years. The responsibilities of that office, which worked directly with the president of the institution, were to be in charge of the physical plant, including power generation; to be in charge of dormitories for men and women and housing for married students; preparation of the college's budget, including the internal administration of the budget and relations with the legislature; and, in general, being responsible for the business and housekeeping affairs of the institution. Kansas State College is 1 of the 100 largest educational institutions in the United States.

During my tenure as chief business officer of Kansas State College, the appropriations were increased by 362.2 percent, these increases being particularly manifest in the agricultural research and farm extension areas.

I had an unusually successful experience in the issuance of student union revenue bonds at a favorable interest rate while at Kansas State College.

For the period 1929 to August 17, 1942, I maintained an office and engaged in public accounting, having obtained my certificate as a certified public accountant in 1931. Obviously, it was only between calls to public service that I was able to devote my full time to public accounting. Nevertheless, I am a qualified certified public accountant and a long-time member of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants.

During the period 1949 to 1952, I served as one of the more active members of the Kansas Little Hoover Commission and wrote the Kansas Reorganization Act of 1953. I

was responsible for and successful in presenting that act to the Kansas Legislature.

On April 23, 1956, I became Deputy Director of the Federal Bureau of the Budget. I was asked to take this position. I did not seek it.

There has been considerable intimation in the record that I might be a captive of the philosophy of the Bureau of the Budget if I became a Director of TVA. Frankly, gentlemen, I do not agree with that conclusion. If I have established anything during my 30 years of experience in Government and business, it has been that I follow the dictates of my own conscience, and I certainly have no intention of changing that attitude regardless of where I may be working.

This statement is supported by the following paragraphs from a letter from Dr. James A. McCain, president of Kansas State College, to the chairman of this committee. Dr. McCain is now in Europe, and first offered to fly back to testify before this committee in my behalf, but at my suggestion, wrote a letter, the quotation from which follows:

"At least by innuendo, the (Caldwell) articles questioned Mr. Jones' integrity. I have been intimately associated with him for 7 years and can assure you that he is scrupulously honest, almost to a fault, in both his personal and his professional life. One of his great assets to the college in appearances before regents, legislative committees, and State officers, was his reputation for preparing meticulously honest, accurate, and complete financial reports. It was universally assumed that budgets and budget requests prepared in his office would contain no padding or devious accounting.

"Questions were also raised about Mr. Jones' attitude toward TVA. It happens that I myself greatly admire the Tennessee Valley Authority and its contributions to the economic and cultural developments of its area. I feel sure that Mr. Jones would have been unwilling to accept appointment to the Commission unless he was prepared to give unstinted support to TVA. One of his most marked characteristics is an almost fanatical loyalty to persons and organizations for which he works."

Further, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the representations I have made to this committee, I would like to repeat the summary of my attitude toward TVA which I read to this committee last Monday morning:

"As I have previously testified, I profess a belief in the feasibility and wisdom of the TVA Act. If confirmed by the United States Senate, I will subscribe to the oath including that statement and will do so without reservations.

"Having taken the oath of office, I will vigorously and with determination devote my efforts to TVA and will hold my responsibilities to TVA above all other responsibilities, except, of course, those overriding personal responsibilities to my family.

"As one of the three directors of TVA I will administer the TVA Act to the best of my ability and understanding in accordance with the intent of Congress as expressed in the TVA Act and amendments thereto.

"I will join the other directors or will individually support forward-looking plans and recommendations for the development of TVA, to the Congress and to the President. I will give due consideration to suggestions made by anyone who I believe to be appropriately concerned with the affairs of TVA, including groups and individuals who wish to make suggestions for the further development of TVA. In all cases, however, I will act according to the dictates of my own conscience, convictions, and judgment as to what is good for TVA, and I will follow to the best of my ability such legal course as may be necessary to execute my conclusions.

"Further, if any President of the United States should ask the TVA directors either to follow a general course of action or to take some specific action, I would, of course, give such request every consideration.

"If I determined that the request was not in accord with the intent of the TVA Act or in my opinion not in the best interest of TVA I would not favor doing it and I would then follow such legal course as I considered to be in the best interest of TVA."

An unusual portion of the 7 days of hearings was devoted to a discussion of semantics, with particular emphasis upon whether or not I could appropriately take the TVA oath because I had stated that I was not highly enthusiastic about the spirit of TVA. The testimony will show that in testifying on this subject, I indicated only that my attitude was not doctrinaire. Webster's unabridged dictionary, in explaining the synonyms of the word "enthusiast" states: "The term sometimes implies a subordination of judgment to enthusiasm."

I submit that, if TVA is to obtain favorable acceptance in the money market and thus a fair rate of interest on its revenue bonds in order to hold down power rates, judgment and stability are far more important than the management that would result from one who is inspired or possessed—the dictionary definition of an enthusiast.

If I may be permitted a bit of self-appraisal, I have never cried from the housetops as to what I was going to do, but I am proud of the praise I have received for the work I have done during my 30 years of public service. I have approached each new task with great hope and expectation, but advance bugle blowing does not fit my personality.

During my 30 years of public service, I have taken many oaths, each of them with seriousness and determination to live up to them, and each without reservation.

I have worked with a large number of responsible people, and I have yet to experience a willingness on the part of any of my superiors and associates (incidentally, of both political parties), to willingly permit me to terminate my services.

I am disappointed that the committee has not seen fit to complete its hearings and vote on my nomination. If, under any circumstances, I should become a Director of TVA, I will live up to my oath, which I will take without reservation, and to the statement of my attitude which I have made to the committee repeatedly. I will approach my responsibilities with zeal, vigor, and determination, but not as a zealot.

The progress of TVA has been at a standstill entirely too long. I am convinced that reasonable men can find a mutually acceptable plan for breaking this deadlock. I sincerely believe that such a plan can be developed and enacted at an early session of the Congress.

I sincerely hope that the outcome of the efforts of all of us in relation to TVA will ultimately contribute to its progress and continued service in its many areas of activity to the Tennessee Valley and to the Nation as a whole.

Thank you very much.

The United States Sets Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, at various times during the first session of the Congress I have placed in the RECORD, for the information of the Members of Congress and readers of the RECORD, editorials from all parts of the Nation favoring statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. These editorials are unsolicited expressions of the opinions of the American people. I have noted that I did not necessarily agree with the reasons advanced by the editorial writers for the failure of statehood legislation to pass the Congress.

I include for printing in the RECORD an editorial from the Carlinville, Ill., Enquirer, which should be of interest. I agree with the writer that Alaska and Hawaii should be States. The opinions of the editorial writer are his own, though it would seem likely that he speaks the mind of many others, not necessarily mine.

The editorial follows:

THE UNITED STATES SETS EXAMPLE

There is quite a bit of trouble over the world in regard to colonies, both the French and British having special difficulties in recent months.

They should learn some from the United States and the neat way in which it manages its colonies, referring particularly to Hawaii and Alaska. Every 4 years the 2 political parties solemnly promise those colonies that they will become States. It is written in the party platforms; the candidates make their determination to provide statehood clear; legislation is introduced to that effect.

Of course, something happens and Alaska and Hawaii remain colonies, although, of course, we call them Territories, but they always have something to look forward to, the promise of statehood that they will receive every 4 years.

Tribute by Philip W. Amram to Supreme Court and Chief Justice Earl Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, an able Washington attorney, Philip W. Amram, has written an eloquent tribute to the vigorous liberalism of a majority of the membership of the United States Supreme Court. This tribute to our highest judicial body appeared in the current issue of Western World.

As a Senator from a western State, I am particularly pleased that Mr. Amram has hailed the leadership on the Supreme Court of Chief Justice Earl Warren. I always regarded Earl Warren as a great Governor of California, even though he and I are not of the same political party. In my opinion, the appointment of Earl Warren as Chief Justice has been one of President Eisenhower's major attainments and acts in the White House.

When he served in the State Capitol at Sacramento, Earl Warren was distinguished for his nonpartisanship and liberalism in such fields as conservation, education, civil liberties, and government administration. These same char-

acteristics typify his position on the Supreme Court.

Now that the Jencks case has recently been the subject of extended debate in the Senate, in connection with legislation dealing with this particular issue, I believe that Mr. Amram's article from Western World, an article entitled "The Bill of Rights Stays Supreme," might be of some valuable interest to many of my colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BILL OF RIGHTS STAYS SUPREME

(By Philip W. Amram)

Oyez. Oyez. Oyez. All manner of persons having claims that the investigating committees of the Congress have impaired their civil rights may presently appear and they shall be heard by the Supreme Court of the United States—and shall receive protection.

These are not the exact words with which the clerk opens each session of the Supreme Court, but they tell the story behind the historical opinions of June 17, 1957.

In formulating these decisions, the Court has cast itself in the role of champion of the individual citizen in his encounters with the executive and legislative branches of Government.

The outstanding features of the constitutional form of government in the United States are the division of powers between the three branches of the Federal Government (the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary); the system of checks and balances between them; the division of powers between the Federal Government and the States; and the independence of the Federal judiciary to control unconstitutional action by either the executive or the Legislature of the Federal Government or the States. This power of the Court was dramatically illustrated in a series of cases.

In a single day, the Court:

1. Set aside a conviction for contempt of a committee of the United States House of Representatives and laid down ground rules for the conduct of congressional investigations.

2. Set aside a similar conviction for contempt of a committee of the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire.

3. Set aside the action of the Secretary of State discharging a Foreign Service officer on loyalty charges.

In these and other decisions handed down the same day, the Court emphasized a further point—that it, and not the legislature or executive, is the ultimate protector of the civil liberties of the individual citizen and the guarantor of his rights under the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution.

These decisions were all the more dramatic because all of them, in one way or another, faced the dilemma which has troubled the American conscience since the end of World War II—how can the Government of the United States control the Communist conspiracy, dedicated to the complete destruction of every one of these civil liberties, without itself impairing those liberties? The Court made its position crystal clear. The freedoms of the individual must outweigh the need for total exposure, total control, and total punishment of the Communist conspiracy. The conspiracy must be exposed, controlled, and punished without impairing these freedoms.

The individual cases all dealt with specific technical issues. The exact point decided in each of them is far less interesting than the statements of broad principle and broad policy which the Court included in its opinions.

The case of John T. Watkins perhaps has excited the most comment. It dealt with the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives, a committee which has been in existence since 1938, and has now reached the dignity of a standing committee of the House. The committee was ostensibly investigating Communist infiltration into the labor movement. Watkins, a prominent figure in the Farm Equipment Workers' Union, testified in detail about his own activities, and his associations with the Communist Party in the forties. He agreed freely to discuss any persons who were, in his opinion, still members of the party. But he refused to name or discuss persons who had left the party. As Watkins put it:

"I will not, however, answer any questions with respect to others with whom I associated in the past. I do not believe that any law in this country requires me to testify about persons who in the past have been Communist Party members or otherwise engaged in Communist Party activity but who to my best knowledge and belief have long since removed themselves from the Communist movement.

"I do not believe that such questions are relevant to the work of this committee nor do I believe that this committee has the right to undertake the public exposure of persons because of their past activities."

For his refusal, Watkins was indicted, tried, and convicted. The Supreme Court set the conviction aside.

At the outset the Court, speaking through the Chief Justice, Earl Warren, recognized that it was called upon to restrain the investigative power of the legislature, a power which the courts of England did not possess. It approached "the questions presented with conscious awareness of the farreaching ramifications that can follow from a decision of this nature."

The Court recognized and confirmed the power of the legislature to conduct investigations.

"The power of the Congress to conduct investigations is inherent in the legislative process. That power is broad. It encompasses inquiries concerning the administration of existing laws as well as proposed or possibly needed statutes. It includes surveys of defects in our social, economic, or political system for the purpose of enabling the Congress to remedy them. It comprehends probes into departments of the Federal Government to expose corruption, inefficiency, or waste."

The Court recognized and confirmed the duty of the citizen to cooperate in such investigations.

"It is unquestionably the duty of all citizens to cooperate with the Congress in its efforts to obtain the facts needed for intelligent legislative action. It is their unremitting obligation to respond to subpenas, to respect the dignity of the Congress and its committees and to testify fully with respect to matters within the province of proper investigation."

On the basic limitation of the power to investigate, the Court used this language:

"But broad as is this power of inquiry, it is not unlimited. There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of the Congress. This was freely conceded by the Solicitor General in his argument of this case. Nor is the Congress a law enforcement or trial agency. These are functions of the executive and judicial departments of government. No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress. Investigations conducted solely for the personal aggrandizement of the investigators or to punish those investigated are indefensible. * * *

"We have no doubt that there is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure. The public is, of course, entitled to be informed concerning the workings of its Government. That cannot be inflated into a general power to expose where the predominant result can only be an invasion of the private rights of individuals."

PRIVATE RIGHTS

The Court then elaborated on these private rights of individuals.

"This, of course, assumes that the constitutional rights of witnesses will be respected by the Congress as they are in a court of justice. The Bill of Rights is applicable to investigations as to all forms of governmental action. Witnesses cannot be compelled to give evidence against themselves. They cannot be subjected to unreasonable search and seizure. Nor can the first amendment freedoms of speech, press, religion, or political belief and association be abridged."

This brought the Court directly to the problem of "accommodating the interest of the Government with the rights and privileges of individuals.

"Abuses of the investigative process may imperceptibly lead to abridgement of protected freedoms. The mere summoning of a witness and compelling him to testify, against his will, about his beliefs, expressions, or associations is a measure of governmental interference. And when those forced revelations concern matters that are unorthodox, unpopular, or even hateful to the general public, the reaction on the life of the witnesses may be disastrous. This effect is even more harsh when it is past beliefs, expressions, or associations that are disclosed and judged by current standards rather than those contemporary with the matters exposed. Nor does the witness alone suffer the consequences. Those who are identified by witnesses and thereby placed in the same glare of publicity are equally subject to public stigma, scorn, and obloquy. Beyond that, there is the more subtle and immeasurable effect upon those who tend to adhere to the most orthodox and uncontroversial views and associations in order to avoid a similar fate at some future time."

Where, then, shall the lines be drawn for the accommodating of the congressional need for information and the individual's interest in his privacy?

"We do not underestimate the difficulties that attend such an undertaking. * * * The critical element is the existence of, and the weight to be ascribed to, the interest of the Congress in demanding disclosures from an unwilling witness. We cannot simply assume, however, that every congressional investigation is justified by a public need that overbalances any private rights affected. To do so would be to abdicate the responsibility placed by the Constitution upon the judiciary to insure that the Congress does not unjustifiably encroach upon an individual's right to privacy nor abridge his liberty of speech, press, religion, or assembly."

The Court then turned to the key questions in the case—what was the purpose of the investigation and what was the relevancy of the particular questions?

First, the Court found that the charter of the investigating committee was too vague to be valid of itself.

"Broadly drafted and loosely worded, however, such resolutions can leave tremendous latitude to the discretion of the investigators. The more vague the committee's charter is, the greater becomes the possibility that the committee's specific actions are not in conformity with the will of the parent House of Congress.

"The authorizing resolution of the Un-American Activities Committee was adopted in 1938. * * * It defines the committee's authority as follows:

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (I) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (II) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (III) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.'

"It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of 'un-American'? What is the single, solitary 'principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution'? * * *

"The members of the committee have clearly demonstrated that they did not feel themselves restricted in any way to propaganda in the narrow sense of the word. Unquestionably the committee conceived of its task in the grand view of its name. Un-American activities were its target, no matter how or where manifested. * * *

"Combining the language of the resolution with the construction it has been given, it is evident that the preliminary control of the committee exercised by the House of Representatives is slight or nonexistent. No one could reasonably deduce from the charter the kind of investigation that the committee was directed to make.

"The committee is allowed, in essence, to define its own authority, to choose the direction and focus of its activities. In deciding what to do with the power that has been conferred upon them, members of the committee may act pursuant to motives that seem to them to be the highest. Their decisions, nevertheless, can lead to ruthless exposure of private lives in order to gather data that is neither desired by the Congress nor useful to it. Yet it is impossible in this circumstance, with constitutional freedoms in jeopardy, to declare that the committee has ranged beyond the area committed to it by its parent assembly because the boundaries are so nebulous."

PROCEDURAL REQUIREMENTS

This point might have been enough for the decision of the Court. Yet the Court went further. It designated certain minimum procedural requirements to be followed in such legislative investigations.

"Protected freedoms should not be placed in danger in the absence of a clear determination by the House or the Senate that a particular inquiry is justified by a specific legislative need.

"It is, of course, not the function of this Court to prescribe rigid rules for the Congress to follow in drafting resolutions establishing investigating committees. That is a matter peculiarly within the realms of the legislature, and its decisions will be accepted by the courts up to the point where their own duty to enforce the constitutionally protected rights of individuals is affected. An excessively broad charter, like that of the House Un-American Activities Committee, places the courts in an untenable position if they are to strike a balance between the public need for a particular interrogation and the right of citizens to carry on their affairs free from unnecessary governmental interference. It is impossible in such a situation to ascertain whether any legislative purpose justifies the disclosures sought and, if so, the importance of that information to the Congress in furtherance of its legislative function. The reason no court can make this critical judgment is that the House of Representatives itself has never made it. Only the legislative assembly initiating an investigation can assay the relative necessity of specific disclosures. * * *

"There are several sources that can outline the question under inquiry in such a way that the rules against vagueness are satisfied. The authorizing resolution, the remarks of the chairman or members of the committee, or even the nature of the proceedings themselves might sometimes make the topic clear.

"Unless the subject matter has been made to appear with undisputable clarity, it is the duty of the investigative body, upon objection of the witness on grounds of pertinency, to state for the record the subject under inquiry at that time and the manner in which the propounded questions are pertinent thereto. To be meaningful, the explanation must describe what the topic under inquiry is and the connective reasoning whereby the precise questions asked relate to it."

The opinion emphasized again and again that it is the Court which stands as the protector both of the citizen and of the rights of investigation; that it is the Court that will make the accommodation when their interests are conflicting; and that it is the Court which will restrain the investigating committees which go beyond their proper scope of questioning.

And to set at ease those who may think that the legitimate power of investigation is being curtailed, the Court ends its opinion with these words:

"We are mindful of the complexities of modern government and the ample scope that must be left to the Congress as the sole constitutional depository of legislative power. Equally mindful are we of the indispensable function, in the exercise of that power, of congressional investigations. The conclusions we have reached in this case will not prevent the Congress, through its committees, from obtaining any information it needs for the proper fulfillment of its role in our scheme of government. The Legislature is free to determine the kinds of data that should be collected. It is only those investigations that are conducted by use of compulsory process that give rise to a need to protect the rights of individuals against illegal encroachment. That protection can be readily achieved through procedures which prevent the separation of power from responsibility and which provide the constitutional requisite of fairness for witnesses. A measure of added care on the part of the House and the Senate in authorizing the use of compulsory process and by their committees in exercising that power would suffice. That is a small price to pay if it serves to uphold the principles of limited, constitutional government without obstructing the power of the Congress to inform itself."

The opinion has resulted in widespread comment, some of it almost hysterical in tone, as though the Justices of the Supreme Court had become part of the Communist conspiratorial apparatus. But a careful reading of the opinion discloses only the firm insistence of the Court on the basic protection of the rights of the individual citizen, and an equal insistence on the power of proper and legitimate congressional investigation.

Increased Benefits for Federal Employees in Hazardous Occupations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include Resolution 15 adopted by the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor at its recent convention:

RESOLUTION 15

INCREASED BENEFITS FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES IN HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS

Whereas employees of United States naval and Veterans' Administration hospitals and United States penal and mental institutions are engaged in hazardous work; and

Whereas these Federal employees are engaged in hazardous occupations such as all types of employment involving the custody, care, and/or treatment of fellow humans and the protection of public properties are not receiving adequate compensation or retirement benefits; and

Whereas determination by Federal administrative officials is overly restrictive in allowing recognition of hazardous type employment: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor urge the Congress of the United States of America to increase the compensation and retirement benefits of these Federal employees and provide for a more liberal interpretation of hazardous type occupations.

The Economic Assistance Program and the Cause of Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Joseph Lipski, former Polish Ambassador, and a letter from Karol Popiel and Dr. Jzydor Modelski, of the Polish Christian Labor Party in exile.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 26, 1957.*

The Honorable JOHN F. KENNEDY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: I read with great interest your remarkable speech on United States policy toward Poland, delivered on the floor of the Senate on August 21, 1957.

May I convey to you the expression of my sincere appreciation for having so convincingly pleaded the cause of Poland, taking into account its precarious position vis-a-vis Soviet Russia, but on the other hand the determined attitude of the Polish people who—to use your own words—are not satellite people, although Poland may still have a satellite government.

I warmly welcome the fact that in your statement the Polish problem has been approached from a wider European angle. The vision of a peaceful Europe in which an independent Poland would find its proper place should, in my opinion, always guide our political thinking and our efforts striving to attain lasting security arrangements. No real peace and stability would be achieved were Germany reunited and central-eastern Europe left under Soviet domination. Artificial lines of demarcation bear germs of inevitable conflicts.

After the Poznan rising of June 1956 and the October events when the question of eventual United States economic support for Poland was being discussed, the Polish Council of National Unity representing the

Free Poles in the Western World, spoke definitely in favor of such help.

Your economic assistance program has been received by Free Poles with keen interest and satisfaction. Under existing international conditions it seems to be the only way to give practical support and encouragement to the people of Poland, proving United States interest in their aims to obtain full freedom and better living conditions.

I remain, dear Senator KENNEDY,

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH LIPSKI,
Former Polish Ambassador, Representing the Executive Committee Polish Council of National Unity.

POLISH CHRISTIAN LABOR PARTY,
Washington, D. C., August 26, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN F. KENNEDY,
United States Senator, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The Polish Christian Labor Party of Poland compelled by the Communist regime to desist from its activities at home watches attentively, through its representatives in exile, all motions and political moves of the free world aimed at alleviating the fate of the nations subjugated by communism and thus accelerating the moment of their liberation.

In such a capacity we wish, after having been acquainted with the contents of your address to the United States Senate on August 21, 1957, to express our heartfelt thanks for a full presentation and wise evaluation of the situation in Poland and the proper conclusions drawn as to what policy should be adopted in order to accelerate the evolution of relations in our country in the direction desirable for its true interests.

We are convinced that Poles at home to whom news on your initiative arrives—will appreciate in it both a sign of political wisdom of an American statesman and an evidence of your sincere friendship toward our nation.

Kindly accept the assurance of our highest regards and true respect.

We remain,

KAROL POPIEL,
President of the Polish Christian Labor Party in Exile.

Dr. IZYDOR MODELSKI,
Chairman of the Council of the Polish Christian Labor Party in Exile.

Status of Soil-Conservation and Flood-Prevention Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 85th Congress has come to an end with some eight flood-prevention watershed projects which have been approved by the Department of Agriculture and still undelivered to the Speaker. The law places primary responsibility for the consideration of these flood-prevention projects on the Secretary of Agriculture but the delay in handling these projects is not the fault of the Department of Agriculture nor the Secretary. These are projects that have been approved by the Department of Agriculture. They are projects every one of which filed its original application more than 2 years ago. They are projects which should have been submitted to the Congress at the session which is now adjourned.

The law provides that after the Secretory of Agriculture and the interested local organization have agreed on a plan for works of improvement—that is, after the Secretary has approved a work plan—that it shall be transferred for interagency review. In other words, it shall be reviewed by the other agencies of government which may be concerned, depending on its cost, and so forth. Most of these projects are reviewed by the Corps of Army Engineers, many by the Bureau of Reclamation, and so forth. The law does not authorize these related agencies to either approve or disapprove projects but only to review and comment. They are then sent to the Bureau of the Budget which again has only reviewing authority and which is charged with transmitting the projects to the Congress. The law says:

> The views and recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of the Army, if received by the Secretary of Agriculture prior to the expiration of the above 30-day period, shall accompany the plan transmitted by the Secretary of Agriculture to the Congress through the President.

This review is merely that there may be an orderly record of all such projects. Surely, it is not necessary for one arm of the executive branch—the Bureau of the Budget—to exercise a veto power over another arm of the same executive—the Department of Agriculture. Under the law, these projects may not be held for review more than 30 days but some of them were referred for such interagency review nearly 6 months ago. A list of the projects and the dates on which they were received and transmitted is included herewith:

Watershed	Application received in Washington	Planning assistance authorized	Work plan received in Washington	Transmitted for interagency review	Transmitted to Bureau of the Budget	Transmitted to Congress
Abbotts Creek, N. C.	Jan. 4, 1955	Mar. 18, 1955	Feb. 20, 1957	Mar. 25, 1957	June 5, 1957	----------
Big Sandy, Colo	Dec. 27, 1954	Aug. 25, 1955	May 31, 1957	June 6, 1957	Aug. 2, 1957	----------
Deep Creek, N. C	June 9, 1955	July 18, 1955	May 21, 1957	May 27, 1957	July 31, 1957	----------
Elm River, N. Dak	Feb. 7, 1955	Apr. 15, 1595	Feb. 25, 1957	Mar. 14, 1957	May 28, 1957	----------
High Pine Creek, Ala	Apr. 11, 1955	----do----	Apr. 22, 1957	Apr. 26, 1957	July 3, 1957	----------
Knob Creek, Tex	Aug. 16, 1955	May 14, 1956	May 28, 1957	May 31, 1957	July 22, 1957	----------
Swan Buffalo Creek, N. Dak	Feb. 7, 1955	Apr. 15, 1955	Mar. 8, 1957	Apr. 3, 1957	May 28, 1957	----------
York Creek, Tex	Aug. 16, 1955	Oct. 1, 1956	June 10, 1957	June 14, 1957	Aug. 2, 1957	----------

I do not know why all of these projects have been held in express violation of the intent of Congress. The Agriculture Committee made a formal request of the Bureau of the Budget to give us the detailed reasons for the delay of each of these projects. We have been unable to secure the desired information. The Bureau of the Budget has seen fit to simply tell us that they were retained for further study. We had requested that the projects be transmitted before the adjournment of Congress in order that congressional approval which is required by the law might be forthcoming. Our requests have been ignored.

Since it has been impossible to get a specific statement we have naturally resorted to speculation and to rumor. The reports that reach our committee are to the effect that at least some of these projects are being held up because the Bureau of the Budget feels that there should be substantial local contribution on the cost of the construction of the necessary works of improvement. The law was specifically changed by Congress just last year to eliminate the necessity of farmer contribution to the cost to the needed water detention structures. The Bureau of the Budget may not feel that this congressional action was wise, but it is the law, and I must confess that I am somewhat astonished that it should be thus ignored.

In an effort to justify some assessment of the farmers, it has been suggested that at least some of these projects, including Knob Creek in Texas, are actually drainage projects and that the problem is one of drainage for which there should be local payments. To suggest that it is necessary to drain an area which never has any excess water except immediately after a flood, seems to me to be straining a point beyond reason. I can see absolutely nothing to this whole procedure except a clear-cut determination to write a new set of rules for flood prevention projects. The law confines the rulemaking power of the Executive to rules needed "to carry out the purposes of this act and to assure coordination of the work authorized by the act." I think Congress, not the Bureau of the Budget, has the right to establish the rules of eligibility and of referral. Congress has established these rules, and among such rules it seems to me that Congress established was one which was at least intended to require the Bureau of the Budget to transmit the proposed work plan to the Congress within a period of 30 days. This, in most cases, the Bureau has not done. It is true that there are probably 2 of the projects which were only held 29 days prior to adjournment of Congress.

I realize that this program is new. I realize that the law is not absolutely clear. I realize that the Bureau of the Budget is confronted with many difficult problems. I do not want to be unfair to anyone but I do want the people who are so vitally interested in the development of these projects to understand just why they are being held up. I want them to know that the Agriculture Committee has passed upon every project that has been submitted to it and has done so without delay. I hope that the Bureau of the Budget will see fit to forward these projects to the Congress on the first day of the next session. I know

that if it does that the Agriculture Committee will act promptly. If it does not, I know of no course for us to pursue except to attempt new legislation which will remove the existing roadblocks which have been thrown up in the path of the development of these projects.

The Legal Basis for the State of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article written by Sol M. Linowitz, a member of the New York bar—Rochester. Mr. Linowitz' article appeared in the June 1957 issue of the American Bar Association Journal:

THE LEGAL BASIS FOR THE STATE OF ISRAEL

(By Sol M. Linowitz, of the New York bar, Rochester)

Countless barrels of blood and many buckets of ink have been poured over the Arab-Israel problems of the Middle East. The vital nature of the issues involved has increasingly led to mingling of political, sociological, moral, and emotional considerations in apparently objective efforts to analyze the situation.

Today the State of Israel, born in conflict 9 years ago, still lies in the midst of a powder keg. Her 1,700,000 inhabitants live in a country the size of New Jersey and face apparently implacable opposition from their Arab neighbors who continue to assert that the land of Israel is historically and legally theirs. Both in and out of the United Nations, there is again and again heard the argument that the State of Israel was a political creature foisted upon the Arab countries without legal or moral sanction; and that the effect of the new state was to deprive the Arabs of lands to which they were rightfully entitled, ultimately driving into the desert hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees made homeless by an illegal expropriation.

Never was it more important than it is today to understand clearly the respective rights of Arab and Israeli in this matter. And never was there greater need to reexamine with objectivity the legal basis for the State of Israel and the validity of its birth certificate.

This is an effort to explore that question, and that question alone. Political aspects—which have loomed so large in the tragic Arab-Israel story—will be ignored. Sociological and economic considerations will be dealt with only to the extent necessary to permit an objective and informed decision with respect to legal rights involved in the creation of the State of Israel by the United Nations.

The point of departure for a legal analysis of the respective rights and obligations is the Balfour declaration issued by Lord Balfour on November 2, 1917. The entire text of the Balfour declaration was as follows:

FOREIGN OFFICE,
November 2, 1917.

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD: I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majestys Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which have been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

For over 39 years, English, Arabs, and Jews alike have indulged in partisan research and interpretation of this document and its genesis. The most significant and incontrovertible fact is, however, that by itself the Declaration was legally impotent. For Great Britain had no sovereign rights over Palestine; it had no proprietary interest; it had no authority to dispose of the land. The declaration was merely a statement of British intentions and no more. It said that (1) England viewed with favor the establishment in Palestine of a home for the Jewish people; (2) Britain would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object; and (3) nothing should be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.

THE PALESTINE MANDATE—A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

The true importance of the declaration lay in the fact that the preamble to the Palestine mandate issued by the Allied Powers in 1922 specifically recited that Great Britain as mandatory was to be responsible for putting the declaration into effect. Significantly, it stated that recognition had thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country. The mandate was accordingly set up to effectuate these purposes, and Great Britain as mandatory assumed the obligation of exercising the mandate in accordance with the precise terms of the Balfour Declaration.

The mandate device used by the Allied Powers in the Covenant of the League of Nations was an innovation in international law. While President Wilson and General Smuts had conceived of the mandate as a trust arrangement, the other powers had accepted their mandatory roles as a convenient manner of obtaining desired territories.[1] It was, therefore, hardly surprising that the administration of the various mandates was inevitably molded to the political aims of the mandatories. The British action in assigning mandatory functions to the Colonial Office was as frank an indication of this attitude as was their use of the mandated territory of Haifa as a naval base. In short, the British conception and administration of the Palestine mandate must be recognized as part and parcel of a uniform policy.

Article 2 of the Palestine mandate obligated the mandatory to accomplish certain objectives: (1) To place the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as would secure the establishment of a Jewish national home as laid down in the preamble; (2) to develop self-governing institutions; and (3) to safeguard civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine. Article 5 made the mandatory responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory was ceded or leased to, or placed under the control of the government of any foreign power. The administration of Palestine was charged by article 6, with the obligation of facilitating Jewish immigration into Palestine under suitable conditions. Article 27 required the consent of the League of Nations to any modification of the terms of the mandate.

The touchstone for an analysis of what was sought to be achieved and the method for its attainment lay in the words "Jewish national home".[2] Borrowed from the original Zionist platform at Basel, the words "national home" were novel in the field of international law. The unfamiliarity of the term spawned variegated interpretations of its meaning. By the application of established principles of legal construction, however, its intended meaning could be readily ascertained: The establishment of Palestine as a place to which Jews could emigrate with the understanding that if such immigration should prove to be large enough, a predominantly Jewish state or commonwealth would come into existence. Lloyd George, President Wilson, and various others so understood the term, and their testimony offers an irrefutable "legislative history" of statutory meaning.

Thus, the Report of Palestine Royal Commission of 1937 stated: "It would depend mainly on the zeal and the enterprise of the Jews whether the home would grow big enough to become a state. Mr. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, informed us in evidence that if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."[3]

Everything in the language of the mandate itself precisely conformed to this interpretation. The mandatory was, for example, directed to take such steps as would secure the establishment of the Jewish national home (art. 2). The administration of Palestine was to facilitate Jewish immigration (art. 6). The administration was to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews (art. 7). The Jewish agency, which was to advise with the Palestine administration, could itself undertake construction or operation of public works, services, and utilities subject to arrangement with the administration (art. 11).

Of equal importance in this connection was the specific provision in the declaration and mandate for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. Read in the light of the contemporaneous preoccupation of the Allied Powers with the minorities in other lands, this provision signified the contemplated reduction of the non-Jewish communities to a minority in Palestine and the concern with the preservation of their rights as minority groups.

Over the years, however, both the British mandatory and the Arabs urged other interpretations designed to indicate a contrary policy. The British position was to a large extent based on an interpretation of the particle "in" contained in the term "establishment in Palestine of a national home." From the Churchill white paper of 1922 until the report of the Royal Commission in 1937, it was maintained that the use of the word "in" signified an intention to establish a national home in a part rather than the whole of Palestine. This argument was advanced again and again despite the fact that clothing a naked particle with such drastic significance seemed to run counter to the whole mandatory scheme. In article 25 of the mandate, Great Britain was authorized, with the consent of the Council, to postpone or withhold application of the mandate provisions to Transjordan. By clear implication, therefore, the mandatory would not be in a position to withhold application of the man-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

date in the rest of Palestine or apply it only to a portion of western Palestine.

The obvious fact is that a time arrived when political considerations became paramount in the English view. This was apparent from the statement of the Shaw Commission in 1940 that in its opinion the primary duty which was laid upon the Palestine Government was one of holding the balance between the two allies of the validity of the Jewish parties in that country. There was no clear direction, the Commission found, to assist either party in the fulfillment of its aspirations.

(This must be compared, of course, with the letter accompanying the Balfour declaration by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild as a declaration of sympathy with the Zionist aspirations.)

LIMITED IMMIGRATION—A FESTERING PROBLEM

Even more meaningful, in this regard, however, was the white paper of 1939, which provided for total future Jewish immigration to Palestine of 75,000; rigorous restrictions on land purchase by Jews, and ultimate establishment of a Palestinian state with Jews as one-third minority. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League unanimously held this white paper to be inconsistent with the constant interpretation, therefore placed on the mandate; and a majority went so far as to hold that it was directly contrary to the mandate. Yet the limitation of immigration continued to be a festering problem.

The argument most extensively advanced by Great Britain to support those various curtailments of Jewish migration was based on a reading of article 6 of the mandate. The administration of Palestine was directed by that article, while insuring that the rights and positions of other sections of the population were not prejudiced, to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions. This provision had been quite properly construed by the mandatory to authorize the limitation of immigration in accordance with the economic absorptive capacity of the country. The difficulty was, however, that questionable estimates of absorptive capacity were again and again relied upon to justify the restraints imposed.

Cultivable areas were, for example, estimated in the report of the Palestine Royal Commission on the basis of work methods of the average Arab peasant, not the advanced methods being used by Jewish farmers in Palestine. In taking this position, Great Britain also overlooked the fact that a significant number of objectives studies clearly indicated that with proper development of the Transjordan Valley and other natural resources Palestine could settle several million additional persons.

For example, Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of United States Soil Conservation Service, had estimated that if there were full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression for reclamation and power, at least another 4 million persons could be absorbed in addition to the 1,800,000 already in Palestine and Transjordan. (The fact that there are today 1,700,000 people in the portion of Palestine called Israel certainly tends to support the validity of Dr. Lowdermilk's estimates.) Yet Great Britain chose to reject or ignore such studies; and Jewish refugees from Europe, denied the right to enter legally, entered illegally and under the cover of darkness.

The Arab view of the declaration and mandate was and is based largely on two contentions: (1) Palestine belongs to the Arabs and cannot therefore become either the Jewish national home or a Jewish state, and (2) the McMahon-Hussein correspondence of 1915 precluded the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Without detailed restatement of the arguments as to relative original sovereign rights of Jews and Arabs in Palestine, it is indisputable that the Jews were at one time sovereigns of the land, were deprived of it by force, and never renounced their right. Of more importance, however, the Palestine mandate—issued after the Allies had conquered the Turks and Palestine, and after the Arabs had fought with the Turks—specifically recited in paragraph 3 that "recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country." Implicit in this recognition was necessarily the acknowledgment by the Allies of the validity of the Jewish claim to sovereignty. The quarrel of the Arabs on this score, therefore, has been with the victorious Allies, who in solemn proclamation recognized the prior Jewish rights to Palestine.

The second facet of the Arab argument has been that England had, prior to the Balfour declaration, already committed itself to the Arabs in the McMahon-Hussein letters in favor of the establishment of an independent Arab state in Palestine. The salient facts regarding this correspondence are these: On October 24, 1915, Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner for Egypt, seeking to secure Arab assistance against the Turks, wrote a letter to Sherif Hussein of Hedjaz. The letter stated that, insofar as England was free to act, she was prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within certain areas proposed by the Sherif of Mecca. The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Hama, Homes, and Aleppa were expressly excluded. The tortuous ambiguous language of the letter has been studied with painstaking care. It is sufficient to observe that Sir Henry McMahon himself, Winston Churchill, and two other Colonial Secretaries, all agreed that the letter was not intended to refer to Palestine. Even King Hussein's son, Emir Feisal, accepted this view 4 years after the letter was written. On January 3, 1919, Emir Feisal and Dr. Chaim Weizmann (later the first President of Israel but then representing the Zionist organization) signed a treaty which dealt with the establishment of an Arab state, exclusive of Palestine.

Generally overlooked in the refined search for intentions, however, is the paramount and all-important fact that at the time in question England had absolutely no right of disposition and no legal or proprietary interest in Palestine, which was then a Turkish province. Regardless of what commitment England might have made, she was neither sovereign over Palestine herself nor was her action ratified either by Turkey (the then sovereign) or the League of Nations (the later sovereign). In the Treaty of Sevres in 1920, Turkey renounced her rights to Palestine in favor of the Allies. This treaty did not become operative, however, and in the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 (after the Palestine mandate) Turkey renounced all right and title to territories outside of the boundaries laid down in that treaty, "the future of these territories * * * being settled or to be settled by the parties concerned."

This alinement of the respective legal position of the parties to the Palestine dispute led the United Nations in 1947 to the following conclusions: (1) Jewish claims to Palestine were predicated on a formal international document of unquestionable legal validity and supported by the terms and legislative history of the mandate; and (2) the Arab position rested on a claim of prior sovereign rights rejected by the Allied Powers after World War I and on an interpretation of a legally ineffective letter from Sir Henry McMahon.

Accordingly, the United Nations by solemn resolution on November 29, 1947, divided the formal British mandate of Palestine into an Israeli State and an Arab State with Jerusalem as an international city under United Nations supervision. Pursuant to the resolution, the British mandate of Palestine came to an end on May 14, 1948, and the State of Israel was born.

From that day to this there has been no peace in the Holy Land. Aroused and impassioned by fear and suspicion Israel and the Arab States alike have for 8 years known only bloodshed and hostility. During that time, Israel, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan have all engaged in attack, skirmish, and counterattack. Tonight, as for hundreds of nights before, Arab guards are poised in their watchtowers; armed Israeli men and women crouch over their machineguns; and on each side of the border soldiers wait tense and ready, challenging every sound and shadow.

It would, of course, be illusion to assume that peace in the Middle East can be achieved through legal analysis such as has been here attempted or by judicial dicta, regardless how persuasive. For peace between Arab and Israeli will come only when there is a real will for peace; it will come only when the United States, England, and the other countries of the world recognize that what is at stake in the Middle East is crucial to the survival of peace everywhere; it will come only when humility and understanding replace passion and bloodshed on the part of Arab and Israeli alike; it will come only when all concerned truly understand that for world peace to have a firm and solid foundation in our time it must have strong and deep roots in that part of the world where civilization was first born and where the call for universal brotherhood was first heard loud and clear by mankind.

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[1] See Intimate Papers of Colonel House (1928), pp. 293 et seq.; Lansing, The Peace Negotiations (1921), pp. 149 et seq.

[2] In the Report of Palestine Royal Commission (1937) (at p. 39) it was stated: "The primary purpose of the mandate as expressed in its articles is to promote the establishment of the Jewish national home."

[3] See also Baker, Woodrow Wilson, and World Settlement, vol. 7, pp. 256, 305. Also the London Times of March 4, 1914, quoted President Wilson as follows: "The allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth." See also Miller, My Diary at the Conference of Paris, vol. 4, p. 263.

Lending Policy of the Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, there has been considerable discussion lately regarding the lending policy of the Rural Electrification Administration. I am sure that a great many of my constituents will be interested in the letter which the Secretary of Agriculture wrote recently to the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], in his capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter and a summary thereof be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and summary were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., August 30, 1957.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Reorganization, Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have carefully considered your further letter of August 22, 1957, about the questions you have raised concerning the rumored changes in the lending policy of the Rural Electrification Administration.

These questions were also discussed in Mr. MORSE's letter to you of August 9 and my letter of August 20. Substantially the same questions were raised during my press conference of August 20. A transcript of that portion of the press conference which includes my answers regarding REA was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 21 by Senator MORTON.

In both the letters and the press conference I have pointed out that there has been no reorganization of REA. The request to Mr. Hamil that he consult or discuss with the Director of Agricultural Credit Services applications for loans over $500,000 has not curtailed his authority for final approval on those loans. This action was taken in view of the record volume of applications for REA loans and the many complex problems which have arisen in the administration of that program due to population shifts, increased costs of equipment, machinery and labor, and an increasing demand for more electric current for both farm and nonfarm use.

The changing character of the Nation's countryside is having a marked effect on the territory and electric service requirements of many REA borrowers. City people are moving to the country and building homes. Industry is locating in suburban and rural areas. The REA service territories are losing a good bit of their rural traits. About half of their revenue comes from farm service and the remaining half from nonfarm residences, commercial, and miscellaneous services.

The increasing demand for electric power throughout the country is reflected in constantly increasing demands for REA loans to provide needed facilities. REA loan approvals are keeping pace with this trend as shown by the following table:

Loans approved during year

Fiscal year:	
1952	$165, 758, 731
1953	164, 972, 662
1954	167, 104, 100
1955	167, 530, 430
1956	189, 804, 800
1957	300, 461, 514

The request of Mr. Scott to Mr. Hamil that he be given a chance to review the applications for the loans in question was completely compatible with my testimony on Reorganization Plan No. 2. It is in line with the legal authority which exists in the basic law, in the reorganization plan, and in the public notices with respect to that plan which were published in the Federal Register in 1953 and 1954.

In my colloquy with you in the hearings on the reorganization plan held on May 18, 1953, 83d Congress, 1st session, at page 169, you asked whether it was my intention "to have the REA pretty much as an autonomous organization."

I replied as follows:

"Certainly I do not have in mind weakening the service which REA is rendering. I think it is very essential, and I do feel that we have selected a good man to help it, and he will be given a pretty free hand, I am sure. But if we have in mind any major changes, certainly we would want to consult with the Congress before we took such steps, because I know there is a very wide interest in that agency, probably as much as in almost any other agency in the Department."

The requirement that these applications be reviewed by the Director of Agricultural Credit Services does not weaken the service which the agency was created by Congress to render. It was not a "major" change either in policy or in organization. It was not a transfer or an abolition of a function. The authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make that request of an agency head under his supervision and direction, including REA, existed even before the reorganization plan of 1953 was approved.

REA was created as an independent agency of the Government by the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 (7 U. S. C. 901, 914). Section 1 of the act provided that all of the administration's powers would be exercised by an Administrator. However, that section was substantially modified by section 5 of President Roosevelt's Reorganization Plan No. 11 of 1939 (5 U. S. C., p. 125), which transferred REA and its functions and activities to the Department of Agriculture and provided that such functions and activities "shall be administered in that Department by the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration under the general direction and supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture."

It appears that in 1944 a question arose about the making of allotments as required by the act. The Department took the position, with the full legal approval of its solicitor, that the Secretary's duty to supervise and direct the activities of REA not only permitted him to approve the allotments but made it his duty to do so if desirable for the proper operation of the program.

This conclusion was based on decisions of the courts, notably *Knight* v. *United States Land Association* (142 U. S. 161), and the decision of the Comptroller General, volume 19, Comptroller General Decisions, page 400. In the Knight case the Supreme Court concluded that the words "direction and supervision" are synonymous with the word "control" and impart broad powers including the power to initiate, guide, superintend, manage, rule, review, notify, and overrule.

In that case the Court was construing words directing the Commissioner of the General Land Office to perform certain functions "under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior." The Court said that the words under discussion are an expression of the power of the Secretary to supervise and control the extensive operations of the land department and then quoted with approval the statement of the Secretary of the Interior as follows:

"The statute in placing the whole business of the Department under the supervision of the Secretary invest him with authority to review, reverse, amend, annul, or affirm all proceedings in the Department."

See also *Orchard* v. *Alexander* (157 U. S. 372 (1895)); *Cameron* v. *United States* (252 U. S. 450, 460 (1920)); and *West* v. *Standard Oil Company* (278 U. S. 200, 220 (1929)).

State court decisions also follow this rule. They have held that the term connote a power to superintend generally together with the incidental authority to regulate and control. *Vantongeren* v. *Heffernan et al.* (5 Dak. 180, 38 N. W. 52 (1888)); *State ex rel. Board of Transportation* v. *Fremont, E. & M. V. R. Co.* (22 Neb. 313, 35 N. W. 118 (1887)).

The courts apparently do not distinguish between phrases using the word "general" with "direction and supervision" from those where the word "general" is not used. See *Great Northern Railway Company* v. *Snohomish County* (93 Pac. 924 (Wash. 1908)).

This conclusion with respect to the Secretary's authority over the Rural Electrification Administration Administrator followed the policy determination of the Department reached in early 1940 in connection with the transfer of the Farm Credit Administration to this Department to be "administered in such Department under the general direction and supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture." The Comptroller General in 19 Comptroller General 400 said:

"Consequently the Farm Credit Administration must be regarded as no longer an independent agency but as an agency within the Department of Agriculture and under the general direction and supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture * * * there would appear to be no authority under existing law for the effecting of such a transfer of authority and responsibility as would amount to a restoration of the Farm Credit Administration to its former status 'an autonomous Federal agency.'"

It seems clear therefore that the request that the Rural Electrification Administrator review certain loans with the Director of Agricultural Credit Services is not the exercise of new authority vested in me by Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1953. Moreover, it is a step which is well within the information given to the Congress and the public at the time Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1953 was presented, approved, and made effective.

The Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration is not only requested to discuss major loan problems with the Director of Agricultural Credit Services, but the law requires that all special livestock loans over $50,000 must be approved by the Secretary of Agriculture because of the major problems involved.

Soon after I became Secretary of Agriculture, I alined the agencies of the Department into major groups, each group to report to me through designated officials of the Department. During the Senate hearings on Reorganization Plan No. 2, I furnished and there was included in the hearings two charts showing the organization of the Department effective January 21, 1953, and as amended March 10, 1953. The January 21 chart shows the Farm Credit Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, and the Rural Electrification Administration grouped under "Agricultural credit" and that these agencies are to report through the head of that group. The March 10 chart shows substantially the same arrangement (pp. 142 and 144, hearings before the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, on Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1953 and S. Res. 100 disapproving Reorganization Plan No. 2, 1953, May 12, 13, and 18, 1953 (other references to hearings contained in this letter are to hearings before this subcommittee)).

By Secretary's memorandum 1320, dated January 21, 1953, all employees of the Department were advised that "agency and office heads within each group will report to their respective group head. * * * The Secretary and the Under Secretary meeting jointly with the major group heads and the Solicitor will consider matters of policy determination and long-range planning. * * * This organizational arrangement will make possible closer coordination of related activities and will centralize responsibility for consideration and determination of operating problems and other matters requiring departmental attention within each group." A copy of this memorandum was furnished the subcommittee and appears in the hearings at pages 140–141.

As you are aware, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1953 transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture all of the functions of the heads of the agencies with which it dealt, includ-

ing REA. However, on August 28, 1953, I issued, and there was published in the Federal Register of that date (18 F. R. 5155), a delegation to each Assistant Secretary and to the Director of Agricultural Credit Services the authority to exercise general direction and supervision over the agencies of the department designated in such delegation. The delegation also provides that nothing therein shall "preclude the Secretary of Agriculture from exercising any of the powers and functions or from performing any of the duties herein conferred."

This was implemented by Secretary's memorandum 1320, supplement 2, dated September 18, 1953, which directed the agencies of the Department to report to designated Assistant Secretaries or, in the case of the agencies grouped under Agriculture Credit Services to report to the director. This was in line with my delegation of August 28, 1953.

On October 13, 1953, my office issued a press release outlining a proposed reorganization of the Department to which was attached an announcement of intention to reorganize and a chart showing the Rural Electrification Administration grouped with other agencies under Agricultural Credit, under an Assistant to the Secretary, under the Secretary. (The Office of Assistant to the Secretary in Charge of Agricultural Credit is now known as the "Director of Agricultural Credit Service.")

The assignment of functions to the agencies under the reorganization plan was published in the Federal Register for January 6, 1954 (19 F. R. 74). Among other things this assignment provides:

"No delegation or authorization prescribed in this document shall preclude the Secretary from exercising any of the powers or functions or from performing any of the duties conferred herein and any such delegation or authorization is subject at all times to withdrawal or amendment by the Secretary. No delegation or authorization prescribed in this document shall preclude the exercise of any delegation or authorization otherwise provided to the Under Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, Administrative Assistant Secretary, or assistant to the Secretary for Agricultural Credit, or to the staff agencies as provided in section 112 hereof. * * * The head of each agency (1) will maintain close working relationships with the officer to whom he reports, (2) will keep him advised with respect to major problems and developments, and (3) will discuss with him proposed action involving major policy questions or other important considerations or questions, including matters involving relationships with other agencies of this Department, other Federal agencies, or other governmental or private organizations or groups."

I hope these comments answer the questions you have raised regarding any reported recent reorganization or major policy change in REA.

In your letter of August 22 you assign as one reason for the proposed hearing the necessity of this Department providing the Congress with its official position on any proposed changes in the policy of the agency which are contrary to the intent of the Congress. We, of course, would not initiate any changes which are contrary to the intent of Congress and we would be the first to suggest, as required by the reorganization plan, that we discuss with the Congress any major changes proposed to take effect in the future.

In these circumstances, there would be no information we could give in the proposed hearing which has not heretofore been given in previous letters, the press conference of which you have a transcript, or in this reply.

I know you will give careful consideration to the additional information about the working arrangements we have with regard to REA and the legal and administrative justification for them that I have pointed out in this letter.

After you have had a chance to study this communication it would be most helpful if you would let me know if there are any procedures or policies being followed by the Department in the REA loan program with which you do not agree.

Sincerely yours,

E. T. BENSON,
Secretary.

SUMMARY OF ATTACHED LETTER

1. Senator HUMPHREY'S questions have been discussed in previous letters of the Secretary and the Under Secretary, and in the Secretary's press conference of August 20. (See excerpts from press conference at pp. 1406-1407, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 21.)

2. The request of the Director of Agricultural Credit Services to review loan applications of over $500,000 has not changed the REA Administrator's authority to decide whether the loan will be made.

3. The request for review was made because of the growing complexities of the REA program and the record volume of loans.

4. The request was not a "major" change in organization, policy, or functions.

(NOTE.—Major changes in organization or functions require "appropriate advance public notice." See 5 U. S. C., supp. IV, 511; sec. 4 (b) of plan No. 2 of 1953.)

5. The request is not contrary to the Secretary's testimony on plan No. 2.

6. President Roosevelt's Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1939 gave the Secretary "general direction and supervision" of REA and the courts have held that these words are synonymous with "control." See also volume 19, Comptroller General Decisions, page 400.

7. In 1944 the Secretary of Agriculture exercised the authority given by the 1939 plan to approve certain allotments under the REA Act.

8. The FHA Administrator discusses major problems with the Director of Agricultural Credit Services; certain loans must by law be approved by the Secretary.

9. Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1953 transferred all of the authority of the REA Administrator to the Secretary.

10. The notices or reorganization under plan No. 2 published in the Federal Register, and the delegations and redelegations of authority made under it stated that the Administrator of REA would function subject to the "general direction and supervision of the Secretary."

11. The Secretary will give advance notice of any major changes proposed to be made under plan No. 2 required by the plan.

12. The Senator is asked to inform the Secretary of any REA loan policies or procedures with which he disagrees.

National Television Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of Keenotes:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

A letter from Mr. Thad H. Brown, vice president for television, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, invites me to join with the rest of the country in a salute to the American system of television broadcasting as part of National Television Week, which is being observed September 8 through 14, this year.

I am very happy to do so and herewith add my own thanks to the many men and women who daily contribute so much to our enjoyment of the entertainment, and our profit from the wealth of information, which this modern miracle of American engineering and scientific skills has brought into our homes.

A fact sheet thoughtfully provided by the national association gives some truly impressive statistics about the television industry which—it is hard to believe—is only a little more than 10 years old. In this brief span, 40 million families have invested the substantial sum of $17 billion in TV receivers. About 90 percent of the public has been brought within range of at least 1 of TV's 479 existing stations and some 75 percent have a choice of 4 or more channels from which to select programs of education, information, and entertainment.

Each year, we are told, an estimated $200 million worth of free time is allocated to public-service programs; and broadcasters, last year, supported more than 115 major national public-service campaigns. Brief mentions on sponsored programs of worthy public-service causes have become a common practice. Through the service of local television stations—which is frequently contributed—effective support has been raised to meet many community needs, such as the construction of a new hospital or library, for example; while other free services warn of bad road conditions, traffic congestion, and other local emergencies.

To this list of noteworthy accomplishments, the national association might well have added another solid achievement of the TV industry in the national interest. Although still in its infancy, this fast-growing industry has created new employment—both direct and indirect—for hundreds of thousands of men and women throughout the country. Directly, there are the jobs connected with the manufacture, sales, and service of TV sets—the planning, production, and televising of TV programs. And then there are all the jobs created by the demand for those byproducts of TV viewing which include everything from TV packaged suppers to snack tables and revolving chairs.

Somewhat disconcerting, however, if not downright alarming, is another statistic furnished by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters. American families, it is declared, "have come to spend more than 5 hours a day viewing the average set—more time than is spent in any other single activity except working and sleeping." At this rate, the potential of this new medium of mass communication to influence the lives and thoughts of the American people is unbounded. In the wrong hands, it could be used as a terrible weapon of propaganda to wreak immeasurable havoc upon the social, political, and economic life of the Nation.

Indeed, one cannot remain entirely unaware of the faint odor of oil and other special interests in some of the programs sponsored by big business which attempt to show the vast benefits which the American people derive from the importation of foreign products—say, crude and residual fuel oil, for instance—in exchange for our own exports. This is true, of course, only to the extent that our domestic industries do not suffer

in such instances, the public should be able to hear both sides of the story and I have long felt that West Virginia's coal, chemicals, glass, and pottery industries could do with a little television promoting on their own account.

Actually, I have been a little amused that the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters is not above a little propagandizing on its own part. In the fact sheet, which presumably went to all Members of Congress, it is stated: "Television has grown and thrived under the free American system. With a minimum of Government regulation, it has shown itself to be responsive and responsible to the American people." Even a Member of Congress can take a hint, you know.

On the whole, however, those who control and direct the television networks—from major network to local station—have, I feel, proved themselves fully alert to their great responsibility as a major source of information for the American public. In the televising of such important events the Kefauver committee's investigation of organized crime in 1951, the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954, the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in 1956, and the present Senate racketeering investigation, the industry has rendered a great public service.

So despite singing commercials—with sincere thanks to our many fine commentators, too numerous to mention here, who accurately report events upon the national and international scenes—and in grateful acknowledgement of the many pleasant hours (but, by no means, five per day) which I have spent before my television set—I am more than pleased to join with the rest of the country in this salute to our American system of television broadcasting and those who make it work, during this National Television Week.

A Grave Problem Requiring Serious Thinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a most timely and thought provoking article, concerning our calculations for war, entitled "Are We Prepared?" appearing in the editorial column of the August 10, 1957, issue of America.

The article follows:

ARE WE PREPARED?

Don't be surprised if, as time moves on, you hear more and more serious talk about United States readiness for the contingency of limited war. The massive tensions of the past decade have pulled us into a painful posture in which we stand, fists up, ready for the monster struggle we hope will never come—the one we would have to fight against all-out aggression by the Soviet Union. Our minds and energies have so focused on this one dire possibility that we have thought too little about more likely eventualities. Our growing nuclear strength is somehow connected in the public mind with the sole emergency of total war, made necessary by the final, overweening ambition of the men in the Kremlin. Psychologically speaking, we are almost prepared for such a war. But are we ready to face the grim, small-scale demands of limited war for such precious but restricted areas as Oman, Indonesia, or Guatemala? This is what we must now begin to ask ourselves.

Some say our experience in World War II is responsible for current mistaken thinking about future wars. There we had a war that fitted our American conception of what war should be: overt aggression against us and our allies; obvious superiority of United States resources; finally, a terrible retribution inflicted on the enemy by our triumphant forces. Simplicists as always, we tend to think of future wars in this same pattern—the enemy's big aggressive blitz, our retaliatory bombardment of his bases and home cities, then the last inevitable stage when we close in for his unconditional surrender.

PIECEMEAL WAR

As the brilliant young analyst Henry A. Kissinger writes in Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy (Harper, 1957):

"The lesson of the two World Wars had convinced us that we would have to resist a military onslaught against Western Europe. * * * Beyond this, our consideration of the strategic shifts which we would resist by force was inhibited by a doctrine which left no room for intermediate positions between total peace and total war."

As our calculations have frozen harder and harder in this mold, we have tended, in proportion to the growing destructive power of the weapons evolved by our technology, to define in more and more drastic terms, writes Dr. Kissinger, the Soviet provocation which would ultimately drive us into war.

But what about Korea? Surely that was a limited war, one which we held within rigidly limited bounds. Yes, writes Dr. Kissinger, we did keep Korea limited. But this happened, not because we understood the meaning of limited war, but rather because we were reluctant to engage in all-out war over the issues at stake there. "In short, we thought we could not afford to win in Korea, despite our strategic superiority, because Russia could not afford to lose." Our ultimate frustration over Korea stemmed, it now appears, from our failure to grasp the strategic opportunities presented by this kind of war.

These considerations point unerringly to the wisdom of what Thomas E. Murray, former Atomic Energy Commissioner, has advocated—a more realistic and more rational nuclear policy regarding limited engagements with the enemy. We should begin to explore this vital question. If we fail to develop such a policy, we shall lose our struggle with the Reds, who are shrewd enough so to calculate their moves that no one stage in their conquering advance will ever seem to us to be worth fighting about. The big war, for which we are readying ourselves, would never come; the ultimate provocation would never be given. But one day we should wake to find ourselves defeated.

What United States Officials Really Knew About Surprise Attack on Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 17, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, which appeared in the December 7, 1956, issue of U. S. News & World Report, makes most interesting reading:

WHAT UNITED STATES OFFICIALS REALLY KNEW ABOUT SURPRISE ATTACK ON EGYPT

The whole question of the ability of the United States to protect itself against any sudden outbreak of war has been reopened now by events in the Middle East.

Complaints are heard the American intelligence services fell down on the job when Israel, Britain, and France decided to go to war in Egypt. Some Congressmen are recalling the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor 15 years ago this week and the surprise offensive in Korea in 1950—and are wondering whether the same thing can still happen at a time when the United States is spending millions to keep itself informed through an elaborate intelligence system.

If Washington cannot keep posted on the plans of its closest friends, they ask, how can it hope to know what plots its enemies are hatching?

That leads to the question: What really did happen before the October 29 attack on Egypt, and what did the United States know about it? The full answer to that question now can be given for the first time.

Actually, 24 hours before Israel invaded Egypt and 48 hours before Britain and France intervened, a top secret report from the Central Intelligence Agency was delivered in writing to the White House. It said that:

Israel would not attack Jordan.

Israel would attack Egypt.

Britain and France would attack in the Suez Canal area.

This document climaxed a whole series of warnings from Central Intelligence, all pointing in the same direction. It did not specify exact dates, nor did it forecast the French-British ultimatum of October 30 to Egypt and Israel.

The report predicting actual attack was what is known as ultimate distillation of intelligence—in other words, top priority. President Eisenhower himself decides what officials get reports in this category. Such documents are not widely circulated. It is probable that only four men—the President and the heads of the State Department, the Armed Forces, and Central Intelligence—knew the exact contents of this particular paper.

It was on the strength of advice from its own intelligence services that the United States quickly sent two cautionary warnings to Israel, and advised American citizens to leave the Middle East.

Both military and diplomatic officials of the United States Government had been concerned about the situation in the Middle East for weeks. As early as September 6, Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden of Great Britain told President Eisenhower that the British would use force rather than lose that area either to the Russians or to Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

As the outbreak of war approached, however, United States diplomats found themselves cut off from official information. In London and Paris—where facts usually are freely given—the Americans were told practically nothing of what went on at top-level meetings between the British and French.

To get a clear picture of how the situation built up to war, you have to go step by step through the chronology of develoments.

On October 16—a full 2 weeks before fighting started—Prime Minister Eden made a flying trip to Paris.

There the British Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, went into session with French Premier Guy Mollet and his Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau. The four had dinner together, and then talked until 1 a. m.

Afterward, they issued a statement saying that negotiations with Egypt must be on the basis of international operation of the Suez Canal. That was all that Americans were told officially of the meeting. Some United

States diplomats now believe, however, that in the Paris meeting the French won British agreement to use force in Egypt.

After the Paris meeting, Mr. Lloyd sent United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles a message suggesting that they get together to discuss once again a peaceful solution of Suez. No exact date was fixed but the meeting was proposed for some time in November.

On October 23, Mr. Pineau flew from Paris to London and held a night conference with Sir Anthony and Mr. Lloyd. Once again, United States officials were told nothing beyond the formal announcement that the question of reopening negotiations on the Suez Canal had been discussed. Some Americans now believe that the exact date for the Israeli attack on Egypt was discussed at the meeting and that its chief purpose was to coordinate British-French plans.

Four days after this session, the Moscow newspaper Pravda published a dispatch that said: "An agreement was reached between French Foreign Minister Pineau and British Foreign Secretary Lloyd concerning the launching, in the nearest future, of military intervention in Egypt."

On October 27, United States intelligence reported to President Eisenhower that Israel had started complete mobilization—a development that the Israeli Government had not announced.

On the strength of the intelligence report, the President sent a quick message to Israel's Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, warning against forceful initiative which would endanger the peace.

Next day Israel formally announced that it was calling up its reserves. The President sent a second cable to Mr. Ben-Gurion. He also sent messages to other governments in the Middle East, expressing United States concern over the situation. He ordered United States officials to initiate immediate consultations with the British and French.

At that point, Secretary Dulles conferred with British and French diplomats. They expressed a far less serious view of the danger of war than he did.

It was now October 28 and United States officials were genuinely concerned about the imminence of war—even though they had received only the scantiest official information from Israel and from the British and French.

Late that day the State Department announced that all Americans in the trouble area who were not performing essential functions would be asked to leave as a matter of prudence.

At about the same time Secretary Dulles instructed United States Ambassador to Great Britain Winthrop Aldrich to talk things over with the British Foreign Minister. The two men met that night. Mr. Aldrich's cabled report—received in Washington the next day—was not alarming. Mr. Lloyd had assured him that Britain was determined to reach a solution on Suez without using force.

On October 29, the war started. Israeli troops crossed into Egypt and knifed across the Sinai Peninsula, apparently headed for the Suez Canal.

Before the actual attack, Israeli Ambassador to the United States Abba Eban had assured Secretary Dulles that his country mobilized because "we have reason to fear an attack on us by neighboring states."

It was nightfall in the Middle East—noon in Washington—when the Israeli Army moved. This was 24 hours after United States intelligence had predicted such an attack, and had predicted correctly that Israel would strike into Egypt instead of eastward into Jordan.

President Eisenhower quickly conferred with seven of his top advisers. The decision was made to place the Israeli-Egyptian war before the United Nations.

Secretary Dulles sounded out high British and French diplomats on the idea of U. N. action to stop the war quickly. Both said they would have to consult their governments. Another meeting was scheduled for the next day.

On October 30, before Secretary Dulles could hold his second meeting with the allied diplomats, the British and French issued their surprise ultimatum to Egypt and Israel—an announcement that they would intervene in force unless both sides withdrew from the Suez Canal area. That day was one of fast-moving developments. This is the way it proceeded around the clock from morning to late afternoon:

9:30 a. m.: Ambassador Aldrich called on Foreign Secretary Lloyd in London. He knew that the British and French were to hold a high-level meeting later in the day, and was told he would be informed of the results.

10 a. m.–noon: The British Cabinet was in session.

Noon: French Foreign Minister Pineau, just in from Paris, met with Mr. Lloyd at the British Foreign Office, then crossed the street to join Prime Minister Eden at No. 10 Downing Street.

1:45 p. m.: The three men were joined by French Premier Mollet, who flew in from Paris. It was at this session, which lasted until after 4 p. m., that the top men of the two governments worked out complete details of the ultimatum that was to precede their intervention in Egypt. Their decision was a closely kept secret. Probably not more than a dozen men in both governments knew the full details.

4:15 p. m.: Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, Permanent Under Secretary in the British Foreign Office, handed the ultimatum to the Egyptian Ambassador. Mr. Pineau was present to represent the French.

4:25 p. m.: Sir Ivone repeated the ceremony with the Israel chargé d'affaires. Again Mr. Pineau was present.

4:30 p. m.: Prime Minister Eden announced the ultimatum in the House of Commons. He said: "My right honorable and learned friend, the Foreign Secretary, discussed the situation with the United States Ambassador this morning." He did not say that the United States had been officially informed of the ultimatum.

As soon as Sir Anthony began speaking, copies of his statement were cabled by the British to Washington and were sent by messenger to the United States Embassy in London. The American Minister in London, Walworth Barbour, telephoned the news to the State Department in Washington.

After receiving this official notification, President Eisenhower telephoned the British Prime minister. It was Mr. Eisenhower's first call to 10 Downing Street after receiving the intelligence report that Israel was about to attack and that Britain and France would intervene. He had avoided telephoning earlier because it is almost certain that Soviet intelligence is able to tap such calls.

It is true that neither Britain nor France supplied the United States with official information of their plans in advance of the ultimatum. But, actually, the United States Government knew all the essential facts about the attack except for one detail—the political device of issuing an ultimatum to Israel and Egypt.

ALWAYS ON GUARD

How was United States intelligence able to deliver the goods in advance? You get a part of the answer from a recent speech by Allen W. Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence. He said:

"As coordinator of foreign intelligence, we have set up machinery in Government today which greatly reduces the danger of being caught unprepared, as we were at Pearl Harbor. There the essential facts, to a large extent, were available. But at that time there was no central machinery to pull them together and bring the conclusions to the attention of those who had the responsibility for action.

"Today there is a 24-hour watch machinery established to bring important factors to the attention of competent officers as soon as they are received.

"Of course, after each crisis you will find allegations in the press that our intelligence has failed and that we have been caught flat-footed in situations such as in the Middle East, Poland, Hungary, and the like. Such criticisms have to be left unanswered—not because they are justified, but because the information available to us cannot be advertised before the event.

"Sometimes it cannot be mentioned even after the event without risking disclosure of intelligence sources and methods which, under the law constituting the Central Intelligence Agency, are not to be divulged."

The Central Intelligence Agency is a far-flung organization that keeps a detailed check on happenings all around the globe. It also has access to all information of other American intelligence organizations. Operating on a 24-hour basis, the CIA acts as an evaluation center for the mass of information constantly pouring into its headquarters.

It is clear now that the vast network of the American intelligence system was able to alert this Government to the approach of war over Egypt at the very time that United States diplomats were being shut off from official details of what Britain, France, and Israel were up to. The actual outbreak of war came as no surprise to the United States.

Freight Forwarders

SPEECH
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1383) amending section 410 of the Interstate Commerce Act to change the requirements for obtaining a freight forwarder permit.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I am still troubled by the language on page 6 of the report. The letter from the Commission is dated as late as July 24, 1957, and it carries this language:

We are of the view that section 410 (d) should be eliminated in its entirety.

Now, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee why does the Interstate Commerce Commission say that this section 410 (d), which is the bill before the House, should be eliminated?

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman would read the entire letter he would understand. I will ask the gentleman to start on page 5, where the Commission, in their statement of justification, repeats what they told us last year when this bill was presented to us. I introduced the bill referred to, H. R. 4391. It will tell you there precisely what they wanted.

Mr. GROSS. Let me ask the gentleman this question: If section 410 (d), or the language in this bill remains then will we be doing what the Interstate Commerce Commission and the signers to this letter say we would be doing, that is, giving preferential treatment to controlled forwarders?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, that is true, so far as that statement is concerned and is justified in the report, if the gentleman will refer to it, on page 2.

Mr. GROSS. Then the answer is that we will be giving preferential treatment to railroad forwarders?

Mr. HARRIS. Well, in that they will continue.

Mr. GROSS. They will continue?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes. They developed the program themselves and that is the purpose of it.

Mr. GROSS. And they will get the licenses that are granted in the future on a preferential basis over anybody else?

Mr. HARRIS. Of course, there would be no further need for the railroads in the future. They already have theirs.

Blinded Veterans Association, Inc., Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include the resolution unanimously adopted by the Blinded Veterans Association, Inc., at their 12th annual convention in Hartford, Conn., on August 24, 1957.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 9

Whereas the Blinded Veterans Association, Inc., is a national membership organization composed entirely of blind individuals; and

Whereas this association has, since its inception in 1945, recognized its constitutional right to organize nationally and locally without restriction by any Federal or local laws; and

Whereas the association does, in fact, work closely with Federal, State, and local governmental and voluntary agencies serving blind persons, and has, in turn, been consulted by these agencies; and

Whereas the association, in its efforts to promote higher standards of service for all blind people in the United States, recognizes the value of a constructive approach to achieve this objective; and

Whereas S. 2411 and H. R. 8609, which have been introduced in the 85th Congress, appear redundant in the light of the above and would seem to serve no practical purpose, and, in fact, may be detrimental to the best interests of all blind persons: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Blinded Veterans Association in national convention assembled in the city of Hartford in the State of Connecticut on August 24, 1957, do hereby reaffirm their faith and trust in the basic rights guaranteed all citizens by the Constitution and Bill of Rights of the United States and believe no further legislation is needed to guarantee these rights to blind persons; and be it further

Resolved, That the members of the Blinded Veterans Association do hereby offer the full cooperation of the association and its members to Members of Congress interested in raising standards of services to blind persons; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States; to the executive directors of the American Association of Workers for the Blind, the American Association of Instructors of the Blind, the American Foundation for the Blind, the National Federation of the Blind, and the Council of State Agencies for the Blind; and to the officials of Government and voluntary agencies serving blind persons in the United States.

Local Communities Spent $11.1 Billion on Education in 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, local communities spent a billion dollars more in 1956 than they did a year before, and the local taxpayers spent $2.7 billion for schoolhouse construction.

This is evidence of the financial strength of the local communities. It also points out the absurdity of the Federal Government pretending to be able to take the money from the local communities described below and redistribute it around better than the local communities and the State can distribute their own money for the education of their own children.

I should, at this point, like to quote from the Washington Report for August 30, 1957, as follows:

Spending by local governments on education in the United States went up $1 billion in 1956. School districts, cities, towns, and counties disbursed $11.1 billion. These were dollars collected through taxes levied upon your business and your property. The total included $3.5 billion in aid grants by the States to local governments.

The figures, contained in a Bureau of the Census report, are another compelling reason for you as a businessman, taxpayer, and community-conscious citizen to give increasing attention to the needs of your schools and how the money is being spent to attain them.

WHERE IT WAS SPENT

Almost all of the $11.1 billion went for elementary and secondary schools. Only a small portion was devoted to higher educational institutions maintained by local governments.

Increased local spending strengthens arguments against proposals for Federal intervention in education through use of Government funds to build schools.

A substantial portion of the $11.1 billion spent last year—$2.7 billion—went for school construction and other capital outlays. This display of local effort in 1 year far overshadows the proposal, recently defeated in Congress, to allocate to all the States the sum of $300 million a year over a period of 5 years.

DISPLAY OF STRENGTH

Local financial strength and willingness to support education are evident in the indications which point to 1957 as another record-breaking school construction year.

The Investment Bankers Associaiton of America reported this week that 2,456 school bond issues, with an aggregate value exceeding $1,831,000,000, have been sold in the past 10 months, ending July 31.

Past school construction records indicate that 30 percent of school construction is financed on a pay-as-you-go basis, or from revenues other than bond sales.

EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND TEN CLASSROOMS

When the 10-month bond sales total is increased by approximately 30 percent, it means that more than $2,600,000,000 is to be provided for building classrooms, or enough for 87,210 units—assuming the average classroom cost to be $30,000.

Under the same calculation and assuming that the volume of bond sales continues at the same level through September 30, financing will have been provided for more than 110,000 classrooms in a 12-month period beginning last October 1. The United States Office of Education put the alltime record at 69,200, built in 1956.

INTEREST RATES NO BAR

The steady rate of bond sales discounts contentions from some quarters that interest rates were too high and that local governments would be unable to market their school issues.

This is what was found when every State and municipal bond issue sold during July was analyzed and weighted to determine if there was wide variance in the price of school bonds as compared with other local bond issues:

Average interest rates for health and welfare bonds (hospitals, and so forth) were 4.5 percent; utilities other than water and sewer, 4.26 percent; water and sewer, 3.9 percent.

School bonds, 3.89 percent, were only two-tenths of 1 percent above the national average of 3.69 percent for all municipal and State bonds.

Local and State school bonds sold, Oct. 1, 1956, to July 31, 1957

State	Number of bond issues	Total value of bond issues
Alabama	14	$10,912,000
Arizona	54	20,226,000
Arkansas	3	1,735,000
California	360	246,317,000
Colorado	11	16,543,000
Connecticut	40	35,373,000
Delaware	9	10,618,000
Florida	25	40,101,000
Georgia	9	14,175,000
Idaho	7	4,238,000
Illinois	132	80,180,000
Indiana	76	24,569,000
Iowa	39	17,751,000
Kansas	36	20,030,000
Kentucky	45	20,672,000
Louisiana	42	47,712,000
Maine	3	949,000
Maryland	12	58,969,000
Massachusetts	90	47,906,000
Michigan	144	110,021,000
Minnesota	110	57,652,000
Mississippi	19	7,963,000
Missouri	52	35,948,000
Montana	25	6,389,000
Nebraska	11	1,098,000
Nevada	5	4,550,000
New Hampshire	13	3,962,000
New Jersey	93	89,944,000
New Mexico	5	3,683,000
New York	139	231,484,000
North Carolina	22	20,349,000
North Dakota	10	668,000
Ohio	165	98,966,000
Oklahoma	77	16,433,000
Oregon	43	13,301,000
Pennsylvania	93	104,846,000
Rhode Island	12	8,289,000
South Carolina	12	26,675,000
South Dakota	27	7,755,000
Tennessee	26	23,370,000

Local and State school bonds sold, Oct. 1, 1956, to July 31, 1957—Continued

State	Number of bond issues	Total value of bond issues
Texas	180	$112,200,000
Utah	2	3,218,000
Vermont	12	5,615,000
Virginia	12	19,466,000
Washington	63	52,824,000
West Virginia	1	766,000
Wisconsin	65	40,614,000
Wyoming	11	4,403,000
Total	2,456	1,831,428,000

Income Tax Deduction for Parents of College Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, near the close of this session of the 85th Congress, I introduced H. R. 9414 to provide fair and equitable income tax deduction for the parents who bear the expense of sending students to college.

The introduction of this bill is based upon a thorough study of the costs of sending students to college and the incomes of the parents who pay these costs. A legislative research team at the State University of Iowa, composed of William O'Connell, Arthur Kudart, and Rodney Miller, conducted a survey and did other research for me which bears out the need for such legislation.

The findings of this group have been summarized in a report which should have the attention and study of all Members who have an interest in making it possible to maintain a high standard of college-trained citizens to direct the destiny of this Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask consent to have printed in the RECORD this report. The report follows:

In the recent months discussion of the crisis in higher education has been heard all over America. Publications of all complexions and persuasions have carried stories outlining their views, analyses and solutions of the problems facing the Nation in this vital field.

Regardless of the paper one reads it is universally recognized that America today and in the foreseeable future faces an acute shortage of persons qualified for the natural sciences, engineering, home economics, dentistry, medicine, nursing, school teaching, and college teaching.

Many reasons are given for this shortage. One, however, appears on every list. This reason is simply that a great percentage of our qualified young people are not embarking on a program to earn a college degree. Impossible as this may seem when one views the crowded campuses across the Nation it still remains a fact that only 51 percent of the students in the upper two-fifths of high school senior classes enroll—not graduate, but enroll—in college.

The reasons assigned for the failure of half the qualified high school graduates not enrolling in college are many and varied. One reason is listed by nearly every observer. This reason is that the majority of those students who do not enter college are, in one way or another, held back by lack of funds to pay the cost of tuition, books, and living costs.

While college costs may be minimized through frugal living and compensated for with part-time jobs there still faces the average college student a gap between income and expense which has traditionally been difficult to bridge. Conditions today aggravate this time-worn fact.

College costs have followed the lead of other items in the cost-of-living index and have soared upward. Just how far these costs have risen is well illustrated by a statement of Robert W. Murphy, general counsel of Borg-Warner Corp., "If one heeds the voice of experience, he should consult the father of a boy or girl in college. Multiply even $1,500 by 4 years and $5,000 by 4 children (or select any number from 1 to 12), and it is obvious that a sizable minimum is required. This amount must be set aside after taxes."

A study of costs of 1,000 students attending the State University of Iowa was made by a legislative research team sponsored by Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL of the First District of Iowa. William O'Connell, Arthur Kudart, and Rodney Miller, all students at the university, conducted the study and compiled the results. It is to be remembered that the costs at a State institution are generally lower than at a private school. Congressman SCHWENGEL's study found that the average cost to keep a child in school for 1 year was between $1,475 and $1,500 per year. The study also showed that the average parent had more than one child in college. The study further revealed that the income of the student's parents varied from $15,000 annually for doctors to $4,100 for farmers. For parents in the top-income brackets college costs constitute a felt financial drain. For those in the lower brackets these costs were a definite burden.

For many parents, already faced with the expenses of maintaining a family, the prospect of providing college expense money of several thousand dollars per child is anything but bright. Parents viewing this future are reluctant to counsel their children to contemplate college against these seemingly impossible odds.

Thus it is evident why a considerable number of talented young people do not elect to continue their education beyond high school. Weighing the rosy employment prospects of the present time against the prospect of constituting a drain on his family's financial resources, 1 out of 2 qualified high-school graduates makes the decision not to attend college.

This decision affects the national interest in many ways. However three effects stand out.

First. The strength of our Nation in today's technical and scientific age is directly proportionate to the number and quality of persons trained by colleges and universities for work in these fields.

While we are well aware of the importance of the scientist in the current arms and missile race, this importance is analogous to the visible position of an iceberg. The unseen problem is our urgent and continuing need to insure an adequate supply of teachers and researchers who will give us the scientists and science of the future. The crew-cut young physicist preparing the innards of the ICBM at Cape Canaveral traces his talent back to the unassuming mathematics instructors who guided his training in high school and college.

Second. Protecting our democracy is important and is dependent upon an enlightened people to guide its course.

While some may argue that plain horsesense was sufficient to guide our forefathers it must be recognized that horsesense today requires greater refinement. For citizens of our age to make intelligent decisions requires that more and more of them be trained to understand the interrelationships of modern innovations and worthwhile traditions. In short, today and tomorrow's citizen must sufficiently comprehend his world to be able to distinguish between modern innovation and irrational new paths.

Third. The well-educated citizen is an economically productive citizen.

The average high-school graduate earns nearly twice the annual income of his eighth grade trained contemporary; and the college trained man earns, on the average, twice what a high-school graduate makes. In the plain dollars and cents of our present income tax it is an undisputable fact that persons with higher incomes pay a greater share of the cost of our Government.

The ability of the college graduate to earn—and contribute—more suggests a means by which our National Government can encourage more able young people to go on to college. The means would not call for the appointment of a National Commissioner, the creation of an additional bureau or the hiring of a single employee. The solution would neither subsidize nor pamper prospective college students. It would offer an encouraging helping hand to those who wish to make the sacrifice to work for a higher education.

This means would consist of amending the Internal Revenue Code to provide for the deduction of certain college expenses in the computation of adjusted gross income of the student or his parent.

The plan would allow income-tax deductions for these essential items of college expense: tuition, books, and a reasonable allowance for the cost of living away from home.

1. Tuition: This item with the added laboratory fees makes up from 15 to 35 percent of the average college student's expenses.

2. Books: In highly specialized fields of study the limited area of circulation of texts makes this an important cost item.

3. Living allowance: This item would cover only those necessaries which result from a student maintaining a home away from home. Thus dormitory fees and the like could be compensated for with a blanket allowance. This allowance would be set at $400, slightly over $10 per week for the school year.

In this fashion the Federal Government could demonstrate its intention to join with those parents and young people who are facing the prospects of heavy college expenses. The dollar saving for each student does not appear large when viewed alone but when added to the college-strained budget of a student and his parents it is a major sum. This investment in our Nation's intellectual future can be likened to the Government's program of allowing income-tax deductions to farmers for expenditures made in the conservation of our soil resources.

The expenses occasioned in obtaining a college education are as surely "ordinary and necessary" in the production of the graduate's income as are the multitude of far-flung conventions which now qualify as legimate income-tax deductions. This plan would involve the loss of revenue in the short run. In the long run this tax advantage would be repaid by the graduate through his higher taxes and his valuable services to the entire Nation. At the same time it would provide direct financial aid to the parent faced with the costs of education of one or more children beyond high school.

That this problem is real and that the need for relief is great is best indicated by the answer on a questionnaire returned during Congressman SCHWENGEL's survey. When asked whether he favored a plan to provide this income-tax relief one parent replied, "Yes. The plan would not help me. My last son graduates this year but I know how much help is needed."

The Case of the Free Rider

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert in the RECORD an article in the magazine of labor and management called Partners, for August 1957, by Maurice R. Franks.

The article follows:

THE CASE OF THE FREE RIDER

(By Maurice R. Franks)

The main argument advanced by the labor leaders in their fight to have compulsory unionism made universal revolves about the so-called free rider—the worker who stands back and declines to join the union. With anger they point to the fact that he reaps all the advantages secured through the union's negotiations with management because the law requires that a labor-management contract cover all employees within the bargaining unit. Tearfully the labor leaders point to the free rider as the enemy of union security, whose continued employment in business and industry can cause the collapse of the entire labor movement. In the labor leader's book of foul names the free rider is all kinds of a slacker, slob, and heel—the lowest type of cheapskate and the most vicious type of ingrate—an individual unworthy to ride on the bandwagon of unionism beside those who have paid their fare. Rending their garments and tearing their hair, the labor leaders have lumped all free riders together in a single repulsive category and have demanded that no right-to-work law shall appear on any statute book to block the advance of compulsory unionism.

These emotional pleas have tugged at the heartstrings of many a lawmaker in State and Nation and stirred the fancy of judges sitting on some pretty high benches in these United States of ours. The result has been that in an alarming number of cases the free rider has come out second best in his struggle against organized labor's effort to license all employment. This means that what may or may not have been a serious inequity in the first place has resulted in one that now most definitely is.

It therefore seems imperative to me that, while there is still time to do so, all of us who still have a voice in the march of American affairs should carefully reexamine the case of the free rider and determine if we can the direction in which true justice lies. Because, although every free rider still remains a prospect for voluntary union membership, from universal compulsory unionism there can be no retreat. We'll be stuck with it and with all the un-American things it stands for.

NO STANDARD BRAND

The first thing that should strike us as we look into the facts of the case is that there is no standard brand of free rider and that the unions make a dangerous mistake when they lump them all together in one category.

For example, the fellow who lays back his ears and refuses to the bitter end to join the union that has successfully appealed to a majority of his shop mates and may indeed be a heel, a cheapskate, and all kinds of a despicable character. Or he could be a working fool or a screwball. He could be the very heart and soul and body of human repulsiveness, so that the wonder really should be how any self-respecting union man could ever desire to call him brother.

Such a worm cannot possibly be a discredit to the union—and for the simple reason that he doesn't belong to it. If anything, he emphasizes its character and dignity and adds to its stature and prestige so long as he remains a conspicuous holdout. Being who and what he is, he injures the union only on the day when he comes crawling to it for a card and the union, in a moment of weakness, takes his buck and cuddles him into its arms.

So long as a union is an organization of self-respecting workers and not a mechanical license bureau serving the shakedown enterprises or social herding of a dangerous leadership, you'd think it would make a point of giving the widest possible berth to all who might in any way give it an unsavory reputation. But, however the case may be, and however the leaders of unions may feel about it, even such low characters as pictured here still are Americans and still are as inherently entitled as the next man to have their basic American heritage of freedom preserved, not abrogated, by the laws of State and Nation. Freedom of thought and conviction, voluntary association of individuals, undictated choice in all issues affecting their organization—these are matters of fundamental American principle which no union and no law and no court should be privileged to take away from any person—even the least of our number.

Next, let's take a look at the free rider who is not a heel or a slob or a cheapskate, who is not an ingrate—for he knows that he has nothing to be grateful for.

There is the free rider, for example, who has taken a good long look at the kind of union offered him and doesn't like at all what he sees. He may have found its leaders to be a bunch of petty crooks or big-league criminals, a nest of dangerous radicals, or a huddle of equally dangerous nincompoops. Maybe he can see, even with one eye closed, that the spirit of brotherhood isn't present in the union and could never prick the skin of the hard-boiled gangsters who have organized, or are out to organize, his shop.

There is the free rider who by personal deed and circumstance has enjoyed a long and mutually faithful relationship with his employer and who would not care to prejudice that relationship by joining a union offering him fewer and shallower advantages.

There is also the free rider who is ideologically opposed to unionism because he believes it to be the sworn enemy of incentive and personal initiative. There is also the free rider who is as openminded as he is hesitant and wants only to be shown. He may be only a temporary holdout, a worker who is a better man because he is no pushover for high-pressure salesmanship—who is no superficial joiner but who, when he does join up, will want to play a conscientious part and work hard for the organization he has sworn his allegiance to.

BUILDERS OF UNIONISM

And just as a heel can be good for a union by staying out of it, so can a first-class character help a union to attain acceptability or even excellence by refusing to join it until it shows signs of improvement. A first-class character, so long as he is and is left to remain a first-class citizen, provides the union with a first-class target to shoot at—a continuing incentive to operate respectably, honestly, and efficiently so as to attract such members as will build it into a true brotherhood of creative effort.

The high type of holdout or so-called free rider—and the unions know very well how many of this type there are—is no enemy of decent unionism. He is the enemy of only the type that is unworthy to police his employment, that is unworthy to tamper with the economy of the Nation, that in fact can be its ruination through the indulgence of its leadership in crime, political subversion, and incompetent social planning. Considering the low estate to which all too many unions have sunk through the unseemly or grossly incompetent operations of their leaders, the high type of free-rider holdout can in fact be a builder of better unionism by refusing to be a pushover and publicly stating the reasons.

RIDING CAN BE EXPENSIVE

Though told that only the union leaders can possibly know or decide what is good for labor, many a free rider knows and, from what he sees, can tell the world that this just isn't so. Refusing to have any wool pulled over his eyes, he can count the cost of riding on certain union bandwagons—when the elaborate show planned by the leaders fizzles into a dismal flop. And he can also figure that such a ride could end in a bad economic smashup for him.

There was, for example, the Westinghouse strike of 1955—a strike the IUE leaders cooked up quite without regard for what the company could or could not do for them without jeopardizing its competitive position, its workers' employment, and, in the final analysis, even their union's security. Formulas were so complex that for the better part of 155 days negotiations were either topsy-turvy or stalemated. For over 5 months, picket lines held down production at the Pittsburgh and other plants of the Westinghouse Corp., and the blind but faithful union toll payers were left sitting at home and counting up the pay they were losing.

And what did the blind and the faithful gain for their long standstill ordered by their union? A well-nigh incomprehensible technicality or two in certain instances. But meanwhile, their losses were large and tangible. According to the union's figures, the average pay per worker lost during the strike was $1,850—and setting this off against reckonable monetary gains, it will take the more fortunate workers a full 50 years to pay up their deficit, and the least fortunate a total of 124 years to make up theirs.

Many a free rider throughout the land figured the cost of that ride on the bandwagon of unionism and also figured, "No, thanks, not for me." And many another free rider is reaching the same conclusion today when he eyes the Kohler strike in Wisconsin. Out there, the bandwagon of UAW unionism has been rolling for about 3 years—not forward toward bigger and better employment, but downward on the skids. Thus far, the blind and faithful unionists of Kohler have lost over $10,000 apiece through no wages, and the strike isn't settled yet and probably never will be.

"And," asks many an observant free rider, "just how unimpressive can union representation be?"

UNIONISM ITSELF A FREE RIDER

There is, finally, the free rider who is keen and observant enough to catch his would-be destroyers in a gross inconsistency. He catches them—in the very propaganda they discharge—boosting unionism itself aboard a big bandwagon for the nerviest free ride in all history. He hears them telling workers everywhere that they owe everything they have gained through their employment to unionism alone—there well-equipped homes, their cars, their entire high standard of living—that without unionism and the bigtime bargaining of its leaders, the workers of this Nation would still be living in abject poverty.

Well, this just isn't true, of course. And many a free rider in possession of the brains

the good Lord endowed him with knows very well that it isn't. Labor has come into its present lucrative estate mainly because of the progressive accomplishments of business and industry operating in a free economy. The American worker is better off because of the investments unlimited of American stockholders, of the know-how unlimited of American management, and because of the marketing and selling unlimited of American commercial interests. Our standard of living is what it is, not because of union intervention, but because of technology and engineering as it has been made by investment capital to blossom in every corner of our land. The unions came later and added their mite to an expanding human mechanism, but they were mainly a byproduct rather than a great power source of the economic development of our country.

Now that is the truer picture of what lies behind today's lucrative employment and effective worker purchasing power—and the union leader who publicly claims a larger spot in it than the facts accord him is the cheapest sort of free rider.

But no one need hate him or excommunicate him or legislate him out of business for that—if such is the extent of his effort to puff himself up. Where the labor leader really becomes dangerous—both socially and economically—is in his relentless campaign to change the face of this Nation, through economic and political pressure, through pulling wool over the eyes of the American people and denying them the opportunity to see and to judge organized labor for what it really is—a phenomenon, both good and bad in itself—and who would compel all workers everywhere to pay a toll for the right to earn a living. The union leader becomes a peril in our midst when he subverts the basic freedoms of people by publicly distorting the case of the free rider.

Unico Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include at this time a resolution on the projection of our current immigration policy adopted and passed by the Worcester chapter of Unico National on July 25, 1957.

The resolution follows:

Whereas Worcester chapter, Unico National, has been a leader in advocating legislation to relieve the immigration of worthy people to our shores; and

Whereas H. R. 7904, sponsored by Congressman KENNETH KEATING, Republican, of New York, and S. 2222, sponsored by Senator JOHN KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, are humane in scope and in the right direction of obtaining justice, democratic and fair dealing in objectives which seeks the reunion of families, wives, and minor children of persons admitted to our country under the provisions of the Refugee Act of 1953 and the admission of the "pipeline" cases—those persons whose application visas were screened, processed, and verified under the RRA but were cut off when the full quota was reached: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Worcester chapter, Unico National, at its regular board meeting held in Worcester, Mass., on July 25, 1957, unanimously endorses the adoption of H. R. 7904 and S. 2222; and be it further

Resolved, That the members of the House subcommittee be notified to report H. R. 7904 out of committee, and that the members of the Senate subcommittee be notified to report S. 2222, out of committee, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the newspapers in this area, and that a copy of same be sent to each Unico chapter in the chain; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senators SALTONSTALL and KENNEDY of Massachusetts and Congressman DONOHUE of the Fourth Congressional District.

A Great Kid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Bob Considine which appeared in the New York Journal-American August 25, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GREAT KID

(By Bob Considine)

WILLIAMSPORT, PA., August 24.—This is as nice a town as a fellow would want to be in, but there was an hour or two Friday night when it would have been better to be in, let's say, Old Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico. The Little League team of that city had just won what amounts to the World Series, cameo sized, which was played here.

Twenty-five years is a long time to be associated actively with sportcasting, and the thrills (if that isn't too juvenile a word) have been ample. But I swear I've had not many that surpassed the spectacle of a 12-year-old boy named Angel Macias pitching a perfect game while the infant-sized members of his team defeated a good, healthy, vitamin-brimming team from La Mesa, Calif., 4–0. Old Monterrey got a play-by-play from I. N. S. The church bells there are still ringing. The tequila is flowing like, well, Niagara.

The Mexican kid and his teammates cut the big kids down to size in a way that at times became intolerably dramatic. Occasionally, there is criticism of the Little League that its tournament competition places too much value on victory, tenses up children who psychologically might be better off sharpening switchblades or playing dominoes. I say rot. These miniature big leaguers conduct themselves generally better than their elders, show no psychiatric scars, live cleaner, talk nicer, sign their autographs in nice block letters a fellow can read.

PUT 'EM IN THE POLO GROUNDS

As for the brand of baseball they play, put them in the Polo Grounds next year, and they'll bring baseball back to New York.

The Monterrey squad of 14 is 100-percent churchgoing Catholic. Renouncing a traditional siesta on the day of the big games, they went in a body to a local church and made ready to kneel in front of it to await the blessing of a priest. Turned out that the dear father was already at the ball park, trying to get a seat. The Mexican boys, distressed beyond words, went in silence to the neat little stadium where 10,000 had gathered. The priest was summoned from his seat in the sun. The boys knelt in the miniature dugout and took his blessing, crossing themselves as he gave it.

Then they went out and won it in a manner that had the North American mob rooting for them like Latin Americans.

They are a remarkable lot of children. Only one or two had ever strayed beyond the confines of Monterrey. Products of a region that has had a pitiless drought for years, they still can't believe the extravagance of a United States shower bath. They would have preferred to play barefooted, but the rules call for rubber spikes. They shyly objected to stripping for a physical exam. Half of them are shoeshine boys, including the almost incredible Macias, who has the poise of a fine matador and pitched like Don Larsen himself. Twelve-year-old Francisco Aguilar, who scored the winning run as a pinch-runner, helps support his family by working in a foundry at 6 cents an hour. So does the infant-sized catcher, Roberto Villarreal, who saved Macias' perfect game with a simply brilliant scoop up and throw out on a wicked little bunt in the fifth.

LEFT OR RIGHT, IT'S ALL THE SAME

A fine young member of the team was discovered, by its coach, living off the meager garbage pails of the Mexican town. Another had to be nursed out of a severe case of malnutrition.

Nobody hit the ball out of the infield on Macias, as cool a player as you ever saw. He alternated a high hard one with a plunging low curve that rendered the other side useless. It was a much better game than he had pitched in his four previous appearances in Little League competition. On those 4 occasions he pitched 1-hitters. He is ambidextrous in the purest sense. When he goes to warm up before a game it's practically a question of flipping a coin, to decide which arm he'll use that day. He plays a nifty shortstop, as a right-hander, and a fine first base as a left-hander. His rooters at Williamsport hoped he'd switch from right to left during his pitching chore in the final game, so completely was he the master of the situation. His coach later explained why this was not feasible.

"His left arm wasn't warmed up," the coach said.

The Mexican boys were so tiny that Little League officials couldn't find uniforms small enough to fit them, and thus they played in their Monterrey suits, bought for them by the United Metals Co., of that region.

The exotic North American food has been the biggest thrill to the Mexican boys, aside from winning the title. Some of them apparently had never tasted cow's milk. All are confounded and delighted by a rare dish called "hammonddaigs." Pancakes awash in molasses are sufficient for several of them as a main course for breakfast, lunch and dinner. They met up with fried chicken while playing their way up through the South, and will remember it along with the Statue of Liberty and Radio City Music Hall, and talking over the radio to their people back home.

Here, indeed, were little hands across the border, and they were grasped warmly, gratefully.

Statement by Senator Thurmond

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND

In view of remarks made on the floor of the Senate today, and later amended to appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, by Senator LONG, of Louisiana, I feel that it is necessary for me to issue a statement.

I want to review briefly the course of events which led to my extended speech in the Senate on Wednesday and Thursday.

At the final caucus of the southern Senators on Saturday, August 24, it was generally agreed that an organized extended debate would not be held. However, it was also agreed that each Senator was on his own to oppose the bill as best he could. From the beginning, I made up my mind that it was my duty to oppose the bill strongly. Last weekend I prepared an address from the material I had been assembling for a long time, although I still had not decided how long I would speak.

After further consideration of the so-called civil-rights bill and the compromise proposed by the House, I came to the conclusion that I should make a long speech against the bill. Also, I came to the conclusion that further consideration should be given to the question of whether organized extended debate should be conducted by the southern Senators.

When I arrived at this latter conclusion on Wednesday, I went to Senator RUSSELL's office and told him that I planned to make a long speech and suggested that he call the southern Senators into session again to consider the advisability of an organized effort. Senator RUSSELL stated that if a majority of the southern Senators requested him to do so, he would call them back for another caucus, but, that in lieu of such requests, he would not call another caucus in view of the previous understanding on Saturday that each Senator would follow his own course.

The International Geophysical Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, July 1 of this year marked the formal beginning of an 18-month, worldwide scientific program that is without parallel in history—the International Geophysical Year. This program will make contributions of inestimable value to our store of basic knowledge in the geophysical sciences and related disciplines through the harmonious collaboration of the 64 participating nations.

The United States participation in the International Geophysical Year is sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences, which has created a National Committee for the IGY and his designated the National Science Foundation to coordinate the interests of the Government and to administer Government funds in carrying out the program.

In order that the Members may have a brief summary of just what the IGY is and what it proposes to produce in the way of ultimate benefits to mankind, I am including the following remarks made recently by Dr. J. Wallace Joyce, Head, Office for the IGY, National Science Foundation:

THE INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR

Ladies and gentlemen, I appreciate very much having the opportunity this evening of telling you something about a cooperative program in science without parallel in history—the International Geophysical Year, or IGY, as we call it. I know that this description may sound a bit enthusiastic but I am sure I can demonstrate to you that the IGY fully warrants such superlatives.

I want to tell you very briefly what the IGY is, what it will include, why it was suggested, how it is being planned, and what it may produce in the way of ultimate benefits to the human race.

What is the IGY? It's a period of worldwide observations and studies of the sun, and of the earth and its physical environment, including its atmosphere and the space through which it travels. The IGY actually lasts for 18 months, starting the 1st of July 1957 and ending the 31st of December 1958. At present scientists from 57 countries are participating, and the total cost to these countries has been unofficially estimated in excess of $225 million.

These observations and studies which will be undertaken during the IGY are urgently needed to describe and to help explain the physical phenomena which make up man's physical environment. The sciences involved are classed under the general term of geophysics, and include such fields as aurora and airglow, cosmic rays, geomagnetism, glaciology, gravity, ionospheric physics, latitude and longitude, meteorology, oceanography, seismology, and solar activity.

You may well ask, "Why a worldwide program with the many problems the planning of such an operation entails?" Basically, the geophysicist faces a situation that the chemist or the physicist does not encounter. In working out their problems experimentally the latter can set up many of their experiments in laboratories where conditions can be carefully controlled and where the number of variables with which they must deal can be kept at a minimum. The geophysicist, however, must deal with experiments which are performed by nature with the whole world as its laboratory. He must observe the pattern of behavior of the various phenomena he is studying over the entire earth if he is to understand what is happening. Variable factors are not controllable. They may be numerous and can cause great difficulty in performing the analyses which lead to conclusions as to basic causes of the various phenomena which are observed. The interpretation of these results, therefore, requires the geophysicist to exert a great deal of ingenuity if he is to come up with the correct answers. These steps are necessary prerequisites to an understanding of the underlying causes of geophysical phenomena, the ingredients of our physical environment. Understanding, on the other hand, is often a prelude to adaptation or in some cases to possible control.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Very early geophysicists recognized the inherent advantages of measuring physical quantities over large areas during relatively short intervals of time. The first practical application of this principle occurred during the period 1882–83 when 10 nations undertook cooperative observations in the Arctic region, primarily in the fields of meteorology, aurora, and geomagnetism. The period was called the first polar year. The clarifications it produced in our concepts of the various physical phenomena studied thoroughly justified this method of approach.

Fifty years after the first polar year, during the period 1932–33, a second polar year was planned and carried through despite the fact that the world was in the midst of a major economic depression. This time more than 30 nations participated, and again emphasis was placed on Arctic regions. In addition to the subjects which had been studied during the first polar year, the ionosphere came in for a great deal of attention. The increased understanding of the nature and behavior of the ionosphere which we obtained as a result of the second polar year has been of inestimable value to us since the early 1940's in both the fields of radar and radio communications.

One of the significant observations made during this period was a recognition of the correlation between radio blackouts and periods of great geomagnetic and earth current disturbances.

Another outstanding contribution of the second polar year was the initiation of meteorological observations taken from instruments carried aloft by balloons. These readings, which are now transmitted back to the earth's surface by a radio link, have greatly increased the capabilities of the meteorologist to make accurate weather forecasts, for they add a third dimension, so to speak, to his knowledge of the behavior of the atmosphere.

The circumstances that led to the International Geophysical Year were touched off in a most casual and unexpected way. One evening in April 1950 a group of scientists met informally at the home of one of them in Silver Spring, Md., to greet Prof. Sydney Chapman, one of the world's great geophysicists, who was passing through Washington. Our discussions soon centered on the current status of geophysics. In particular, we wondered what the future of geophysical research should be, now that the war was over and geophysics could again be pursued on a worldwide scale. Dr. Lloyd V. Berkner, whom many of you know, called attention to the tremendous advances in instrumentation that had taken place during the 1940's. He said that he thought it would be a shame, in view of the new instruments and techniques that were available, to wait out the whole 50 years before a Third Polar Year was held. He suggested that consideration be given to holding a Third Polar Year 25 years after the Second, which would place it in 1957–58, a time that was close to 1 of the periodic intervals of intense solar activity. The suggestion was received with enthusiasm.

In later discussions scientists recognized the great benefits of extending the planned program to encompass the entire earth. Accordingly, the event was renamed the International Geophysical Year to reflect the increased scope in coverage.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE IGY

How was the IGY planned? During the 18 months following the initial proposal, it was considered and supported by a number of international scientific groups, most of them members of the International Council of Scientific Unions. The Mixed Commission on the Ionosphere endorsed it as did, also, in rapid succession, the International Scientific Radio Union, the International Astronomical Union, the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, and finally the International Council of Scientific Unions itself.

In late 1951 and early 1952 nations adhering to ICSU were invited to establish special national committees to take part in the planning and guidance of the IGY. At the same time ICSU established a special committee for the International Geophysical Year, called CSAGI, from the initials of the French name of the committee. The CSAGI was to be the guiding body, responsible to ICSU, for preparing a coordinated and agreed-to scientific program for the IGY, within the time schedule necessary to permit the start of observations in all areas on July 1, 1957.

The CSAGI was composed of representatives of the various scientific unions involved, including astronomy, geodesy and geophysics, scientific radio, pure and applied physics, geography, and biological sciences. Representatives were also designated from the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), whose cooperation had been early sought and enthusiastically given, and, later, from the International Consultative Committee for Radio Communications (CCIR). Finally, ICSU appointed a Bureau of CSAGI, consisting of Prof. Sydney Chapman, president; Dr. Lloyd V. Berkner, vice president; and Prof. M. Nicolet, general secretary.

From among its members, including the Bureau, CSAGI designated a number of reporters, one for each of the disciplines to be covered, namely, meteorology, geomagnetism, aurora and airglow, ionosphere, solar activity, cosmic rays, longitude and latitude, glaciology, oceanography, seismology, gravity. Reporters were also designated for world days and rockets and satellites.

The reporters were to act as focal points or conveners for the development and coordination of worldwide programs suitable to the IGY in their respective fields of interest.

In order to coordinate the various scientific related activities in certain geographically plausible subdivisions of the earth, adjoint secretaries were appointed for the Antarctic, the Arctic, Eastern Europe, southern Africa, and the Western Hemisphere.

In describing the duties of the reporters, I have used the term "programs suitable to the IGY." The need to establish criteria against which to judge the suitability of suggested programs for inclusion in the worldwide program of the IGY was clearly recognized by the CSAGI. The following, in their relative order of importance, were laid down soon after planning started:

1. Geophysical problems requiring for their solution concurrent synoptic observations at many places on the globe, involving coordinated efforts by many nations.

2. Geophysical problems, the solution of which will be aided by the availability of the results of synoptic or other concentrated geophysical work undertaken during the IGY.

3. Observations of other major geophysical phenomena where the main program involves the occupation of stations in regions of the earth to which comparatively little geophysical effort has been devoted in the past, but which will, as a result of the IGY, be areas of accelerated interest. The Antarctic and certain equatorial regions are examples.

4. Observations of slowly varying geophysical phenomena, for comparison with similar future observations at later epochs.

With the expanded concepts of the IGY came invitations to all countries of the world to join in the enterprise. To date, 57, as I have already indicated, have organized national committees for the IGY and are taking some active part in the venture.

In general, the various countries provide the funds, equipment, and personnel for IGY activities that they undertake within their continental limits, possessions, or in areas where they have traditionally had an interest. Thus the magnitude of the IGY program depends on the degree to which each nation supports its own program. Bilateral arrangements may be made between individual countries to cooperate in common projects, but such arrangements are outside CSAGI channels. Naturally, however, CSAGI welcomes any arrangements that contribute to the scope and success of the enterprise.

The IGY is a nongovernmental undertaking. The projects are planned and carried out by the world's scientists at the grassroots level, and therein lies much of the strength and enthusiasm which are so evident in the IGY.

THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE IGY

The National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council adheres, as you know, to the International Council of Scientific Unions on behalf of American scientists. The United States National Committee for the IGY was therefore established by the National Academy of Sciences in February 1953, under the chairmanship of Dr. Joseph Kaplan, a well-known physicist from the University of California at Los Angeles. The committee membership provides appropriate representation from the various scientific disciplines and institutions throughout the country, both governmental and private.

The Academy-Council recognized the importance of Government cooperation and support to the success of the United States portion of the IGY program. In the fall of 1953, the Academy-Council invited the National Science Foundation to coordinate the interests of the United States Government and to obtain and administer Government funds required to carry out the United States IGY program. This procedure also provided for a full consideration of the Government's interests in planning and carrying out the United States portions of the IGY program.

The National Science Foundation accepted the invitation and established an office for the IGY. With the effective help and cooperation of the United States National Committee, the foundation went to the Congress for funds for the scientific program and received a total of $39 million.

Reviewing for a moment some of the points I have just made, we see that CSAGI has the responsibility for planning a coordinated worldwide scientific program appropriate to the IGY. This program is synthesized from various proposals submitted by individual countries, modified through periodic meetings of CSAGI and national representatives. Four such planning meetings have been held: in Brussels in 1953; in Rome in 1954; in Brussels in 1955; and in Barcelona in 1956.

Individual countries are responsible for organizing and supporting their own portions of the IGY program. In order to provide national viewpoints in the deliberations of CSAGI, an advisory council for the IGY was established to consist of the chairman of each national committee for the IGY or his accredited representative. By this means, country capabilities are taken into account by CSAGI in deciding an overall IGY programs. So much for organization.

EVOLUTION OF THE PROGRAM

Let's now take a brief look at the steps a project proposal goes through before it becomes an approved part of the IGY program. I shall refer to the procedures adopted by the United States National Committee for the IGY as typical of actions at national levels. Professor X proposes a study of certain types of radio frequency radiations originating in the sun. His proposal is considered by a small group of experts constituting a technical panel highly qualified to deal with the problems of solar activity. If his proposal is accepted by the panel, it goes forward to the national committee, and again, if concurred in, passes to CSAGI. CSAGI, through a series of planning meetings, attended by national delegations made up of qualified scientists, considers Professor X's proposal as a part of the United States program. If it is considered to be an appropriate IGY project, and particularly if it can be supported by similar studies in other parts of the world, it will in all probability be approved.

In this way the world program in each broad field of geophysics is built up. Obviously, where national programs do not mesh, adjustments become necessary, either by persuading other national committees to include suitable complementary projects, or, if this cannot be done, by abandoning the isolated projects.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMS

Now, you must be wondering about the kinds of experiments that are being undertaken during the International Geophysical Year. Avoiding details, I shall tell you about some of the broader aspects of the scientific programs.

Let me start by saying that the term "empty" as applied to the space our planet earth is passing through is gross misnomer. This space is filled with all sorts of radiant energy from radio waves to X-rays, as well as atomic debris or particles, and solid objects of varying sizes from micrometeors to an occasional large meteorite. The effect of these on the earth's atmospheric mantle produces many of the phenomena we plan to study.

The sun is the source of most of the radiant energy that the earth receives. This energy in its various forms has a profound effect on the various portions of the gaseous mantle or atmosphere which surrounds the earth. For example, as solar ultra-violet rays encounter the first tenuous portion of this mantle, they cause ionization of the atoms present thus producing the electrified regions known generally as the ionosphere.

One of the most spectacular manifestations of solar effects on the upper atmosphere is the aurora. Caused by bombardment of the very rarefied regions of the upper atmosphere by charged particles from the sun, the aurora appears generally only at high latitudes. In fact, the two zones of maximum auroral occurrences are centered about the earth's two geomagnetic poles. This distribution of aurora is known to be associated with the geomagnetic field which deflects the incoming charged particles toward these two poles.

Networks of stations in both north and south polar and subpolar regions will detect, record, analyze, and map auroral occurrences. All-sky cameras and visual-observer programs will keep track of the sky during periods of darkness. During daylight, or when clouds obscure the sky, radar equipments will serve as electronic eyes. Radionoise measurements and radio-astronomical observations will add their share to the vast amount of data that will be collected. From studies of these data we hope to answer many questions and to obtain a better and clearer understanding of the basic processes that produce ionization and other quantities.

Until the mid-1940's man's probing of the high atmosphere had been accomplished primarily with the aid of balloons and a few high-flying aircraft. We knew from our observations taken at the ground and at these moderate altitudes that many things such as cosmic rays, solar particles, and radiation of various types either failed completely to penetrate the atmosphere and to reach the earth's surface or were considerably modified in the course of the transit. The air in general serves as a shield against most radiation and particles. There are "windows," as we call them, in certain regions of the spectrum, including, for example, the visible parts, the infrared and radio frequency regions. When powerful rockets became available at the end of the war, the upper-atmosphere physicists were quick to take advantage of this opportunity to get instruments out beyond the bulk of the atmosphere. A whole series of projects and experiments have resulted in what today is an effective upper-atmosphere rocket research program. One rocket has gone as high as 250 miles, while others have frequently penetrated well beyond the 100-mile mark. We are now planning a series of Aerobee shots during the International Geophysical Year which we hope will reach 150 miles or better.

The rocket experimenters soon recognized that although a rocket is an effective tool for measuring a vertical section of the atmosphere it does not provide continuous observations above the bulk of the atmosphere. These could be achieved by an artificial satellite which circles the globe for a suitable period of time. Thus the idea of the scientific earth satellite was born. You have already heard much of this device. I want to stress that in the minds of upper-atmosphere research people the satellite is a research instrument—a natural evolution of the high-altitude-sounding rocket, despite the somewhat sensational publicity the satellite has received.

Time does not permit a detailed account of the satellite and of the many experiments that have been proposed for this unique vehicle. I shall therefore limit my remarks to a brief review of the principal physical features of the device and of its launching vehicle, and mention a few of the experiments that we hope to include in satellite flights.

The satellite will be a metallic sphere some 20 inches in diameter and its total weight will be 21.5 pounds. It will be placed on orbit by means of a three-stage rocket vehicle, the first two stages using liquid fuels, and the third page a solid propellant. The total height of the launching vehicle will be 72 feet, and the maximum diameter 45 inches. Its weight, fully fueled, will be approximately 11 tons. The first stage, developing a thrust of some 27,000 pounds, will start the system upward. Starting vertically, the nose will be gradually tipped over in the direction of the desired orbit. By the time the first-stage fuel is expended and the empty structure is jettisoned, the vehicle will be approximately 36 miles high. The empty first-stage case will land some 230 miles down range from the launching site. At this point, reached about 2 minutes after take-off, the speed will be from 3,000 to 4,000 miles per hour.

The second-stage rocket will then take over, driving the vehicle to a velocity of about 11,000 miles per hour at an altitude of 130 miles when the fuel is used up. The nose cone will have been jettisoned early in this second stage of the flight. At this point the vehicle, still including the second and third stages and the satellite itself, will coast upward, inclining more and more toward the horizontal, until at approximately 300 miles altitude it will be tangent to a spherical surface concentric with the earth's surface and traveling at about half the orbit velocity. At this point the second-stage case will drop off and the third-stage rocket will fire, driving the satellite to its orbit speed of about 18,000 miles per hour.

Once the satellite is in orbit it will be tracked both optically and by radio signals. We shall be able to measure directly a number of quantities which at the present time we have only obtained by indirect observations. One of these will be the density of matter along the orbit of the satellite. Ideally, this orbit should be circular, but inaccuracies in launching speed and altitude which cannot be avoided will probably result in an elliptical path. We are hoping that this path will not come closer than 200 miles nor go farther than 1,500 miles from the earth's surface. By observing closely the path which the satellite follows as it circles the earth, we can also get a better measure of the oblateness of the earth. This is the equatorial bulge resulting from the centrifugal force of the earth's rotation. We shall also be able to locate the relative positions of continents and other land masses on the earth's surface more accurately and thus improve our maps.

The satellite will carry certain limited internal instrumentation, the observations from which will be transmitted by a radio link back to the earth. The satellite itself cannot be recovered, but will be destroyed when it eventually spirals back into the earth's lower atmosphere; hence the need for a radio telemetering system. The internal instrumentation will observe the temperature of the satellite shell. It will detect contact with micrometeorites, very small particles that may erode the satellite skin or in a few cases actually penetrate it. It will measure solar ultraviolet light, primary cosmic-ray intensities, the magnetic field of the earth along the orbit, and possibly determine the thermal balance of the earth; that is, the difference between the incoming solar energy and the outgoing energy which the earth and its atmosphere reradiate into space. This latter is of prime importance to the geophysicists, particularly the meteorologist, for, as we shall see, solar energy absorbed in the atmosphere is a primary influence on the weather.

Let us return now to the atmosphere and see what happens as the incoming solar radiation penetrates deeper into the gaseous mantle. The principal effect is to heat the various atmospheric gases. This heating in turn sets up motions in the atmosphere which are the principal cause of all weather phenomena which we observe. Actually, the region from the equator north and south to about 38 degrees latitude absorbs an excess of heat over that reradiated. On the other hand, regions north and south of the 38 degrees latitude radiate more heat than they receive. If it were not for the moderating effect of a turbulent atmosphere which transmits the excess heat from equatorial regions to the poles, we would find that both equatorial and polar regions would be uninhabitable.

Obviously, the more we can learn of the behavior of air masses and the various factors which cause them to move, the better will become our long-range weather predictions.

One phase of meteorology of interest to every man is the forecasting of weather. From the casual picnicker to the farmer whose economy depends on his crops, advance knowledge of weather conditions—and the more advanced the better—is essential. Now the accuracy of weather forecasts depends on how much of the total atmosphere we can keep under constant observation. Weather is to a large extent a dynamic affair. Hot or cold fronts move across the country. Hurricanes and monsoons travel along certain paths, which depend on patterns of high- and low-pressure areas.

The man who can observe the weather only in his immediate vicinity can tell very little what is coming. As he begins to get reports from increasingly greater distances, particularly in the prevailing directions of weather, his ability to forecast future events improves. The more complete and accurate these reports, the better off our forecaster is.

There exists a fairly effective network of weather stations over some part of the world, although today there is still an immense part of the atmosphere where data are lacking. It has been estimated that only about one-fifth of the total atmospheric mass is adequately probed each day. If all of this great mass could be evenly divided among the world's population, each person would have about 2 million tons of air to watch. There is still much to be desired in long-range weather forecasting, but this will improve as we learn about worldwide behavior of air masses. The IGY is planned to give us such information.

Several special meridional chains of stations will be established during the IGY to measure various geophysical quantities, among which are air mass movements. The chain extending from the North Pole to the South Pole along the 75° to 80° meridional zone is of particular interest to scientists in the Western Hemisphere.

I have mentioned the effects of solar energy on weather. Conditions on the earth's surface have a profound effect. With roughly three-fourths of the earth's surface covered by water, the oceans are important factors in determining weather. Large ice masses, such as those covering the Antarctic and Greenland, also have their effects. Surface topography sets up complicated motions at the base of the atmospheric mantle. All contribute to weather formation. Thus, we are led into the fields of oceanography and glaciology. Both will receive worldwide attention during the IGY. The interrelationships existing among these as well as other fields will form the basis for important and, we expect, productive studies.

Let me mention just one of the problems facing the oceanographer—that of measuring and mapping the deep currents in the oceans. His knowledge of these currents is almost nonexistent and yet they are prime factors in the turning over process in the oceans, a process vital to the ability of the sea to support life. With the oceans a prime source of food to many peoples, you can see how important this factor becomes. They also contribute to weather, and finally, if we can determine for certain that the deep waters do not rise to the surface in less than decades or even hundreds of years, these depths might provide a partial solution to the problem of the disposal of the radioactive wastes that accumulate from atomic reactors used for power and other peaceful purposes.

Many other fields of geophysics are included in the IGY program. We have listed them earlier, but time does not permit even a brief review of them.

I should, however, like to mention two subjects in which you will be interested. The first is the Antarctic, and the second, the plan for exchange of IGY data.

The Antarctic is, geophysically speaking, a region of intense scientific interest. This vast continent, almost the size of the United States and Canada combined, will by comparison with earlier years be a veritable beehive of scientific activity. Twelve nations are operating over 60 stations on the continent and in adjacent subantarctic islands. Some 40 of these stations are on the continent itself. The United States will operate five stations (Little America, Byrd, Weddell Sea, South Pole, Knox Coast), and will share the operation of a sixth with New Zealand (Cape Adare). The United States will maintain an air operating facility at McMurdo Sound in the Ross Sea area as a base for the support of the United States program.

For the first time in history, there will be enough stations in the Antarctic, properly distributed over that great land mass, to make possible the preparation of daily weather maps for that continent. The United States, at the invitation of CSAGI, will operate the weather central that will provide these maps. They will be of inestimable value for Antarctic flight and trail operations during the IGY.

Actual operations began with an exploratory cruise of the Navy icebreaker, the U. S. S. *Atka*, during the 1954–55 season. During the 1955–56 season, Operation Deep Freeze I built the main base at Little America and the McMurdo facility. It also brought in construction materials for the Byrd and South Pole stations and much of the supplies and a part of the scientific equipment. Wintering-over parties of construction personnel were ready to tackle the Byrd and South Pole stations as soon as the Antarctic spring permitted.

Operation Deep Freeze II, this year, has transported the group of scientists for the first year's operation, about 75 to winter-over and some 15 who will stay only through the present Antarctic summer. The materials

for the Knox Coast and Wedell stations were also delivered this year, along with the balance of the scientific equipment.

WORLD DATA CENTERS

The harvest from all this scientific effort during the International Geophysical Year will be great masses of data in all the various fields of geophysics. The ultimate benefits that mankind will realize will depend on the rapidity and extent to which the research scientist has access to the results of these worldwide observations and can begin to make effective use of them.

In order to assure ready availability of all data, the CSAGI has recommended the establishment of three world data centers. One of these centers will be in the United States, one in the U. S. S. R., and the third divided between Western Europe and Japan.

The following principles will govern the operation of these centers:

1. Each world center will receive original copies of IGY data from countries that elect to use that particular center as the archives for their data. In general, it is anticipated that countries in the area of a given center will send their data to that center, although there may be exceptions. The important point is that all original IGY data will go to one or the other of the three centers now planned.

2. Each center will immediately make copies for the other world centers of the original data it receives and will supply these copies free of charge.

3. Any institution or individual may request from a world center copies of data, which will be supplied at the cost of reproduction. Every effort will be made to keep such costs low.

Thus three complete sets of IGY data are planned, conveniently located to supply requests from scientists throughout the world.

Plans for the United States world data center are now being formulated. In all likelihood there will be a series of primary archives in the various disciplines, located at appropriate institutions and agencies, with a central coordination office for handling requests.

CONCLUSION

I hope I have convinced you of the tremendous scope and effort involved in the IGY. You will, I believe, agree that this greatest of all scientific collaborative efforts should make contributions of inestimable value to our store of basic knowledge in the geophysical sciences and in related disciplines. No man can predict all of the practical benefits that may eventually stem from such increases, but our experiences with the two earlier periods of coordinated observations give us high hopes.

But the greatest benefit to be derived from the IGY may be the completely intangible but far-reaching implications of a great experience in international cooperation. When 57 nations collaborate harmoniously in the accomplishment of a common objective, there is surely a lesson to be learned from how this was achieved.

Disarmament Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a very interesting article appearing in the August 3, 1957, issue of America, containing pertinent comments about our current disarmament policy and the complexities involved. I recommend its reading.

The article follows:

DISARMAMENT PROGRAM

Secretary Dulles began his televised report on disarmament on July 22 by noting that while the subject is very complex, it is of such importance for all of us that we cannot leave it to the experts. He demonstrated in the remarks that followed just how involved the negotiations are which are now underway. He also provided material for the average American to study as he tries to comprehend the uncertainties and the risks that accompany our current desperate search for a way out of the fateful armaments race. Our spokesmen are making broad promises in our name. It is vital for the general public to grasp the price we must pay for solid progress toward a world free from atomic terror.

Disarmament discussions have been going on in London for several months. They are under the auspices of the United Nations, which, in 1954, created a five-power subcommittee on disarmament. The so-called "atomic powers," including Canada, are represented thereon, with Presidential Assistant Harold E. Stassen voicing the policies of the White House. Up to quite recently these negotiations were getting nowhere. The present revival of interest arises from a feeling in Allied circles that the Soviets are now sincerely concerned about the problem. Kremlin representatives have been talking more realistically and with less propaganda. Hence the current hope in Washington that now something can really be achieved.

According to Mr. Dulles, the United States plan embraces four principal points:

1. A system of inspection, by air and on the ground, which would provide safeguards against large-scale surprise attacks. This implies our willingness to have the Soviets inspect our territory, if a like concession is granted us by the Soviet Union.

2. A halt in the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons, if the control system is agreed upon. We also propose the gradual transfer of nuclear-weapons stockpiles to peaceful uses, perhaps under the supervision of an international atomic-energy commission. There would also be a temporary suspension of testing for a 10-month trial period.

3. A start to be made in reducing and regulating conventional armaments and forces.

4. An arrangement to coordinate the development of outer-space missiles for peaceful and scientific purposes.

A reading of this synthesis of the United States proposals at London must leave the reader with a sense of uneasiness. Even in the supposition that all these proposals are carried out to the letter, we still have here no absolute guaranty of security and peace. On the contrary, many Americans may feel that we are, by such offers, giving too much away in return for shadowy and illusory promises. These doubts gain strength when one contemplates the basically unsteady world political situation. How is mutual disarmament possible when the key political issues of the cold war remain unsettled?

It would be vain to pretend that these worries are not legitimate and well founded. Yet we feel that Secretary Dulles was right in stressing the need to take at least one step now, in the hope that a second step may become possible later. As he put it, the risks of moving forward are not greater than the risks of being frightened into immobility.

Capitol Cloakroom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following broadcast:

CAPITOL CLOAKROOM, AS BROADCAST OVER THE CBS RADIO NETWORK

Mr. BANCROFT. Congressman McCORMACK, why is President Eisenhower disappointed in Congress?

Mr. CHURCH. Is legislation needed to help labor clean house, sir?

Mr. DOWNS. Representative McCORMACK, does the Wisconsin election mean a Democrat in the White House in 1960?

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Congressman McCORMACK, welcome to Capitol Cloakroom. A veteran of 20 years in the House, you are the Democratic leader on the floor and therefore in a good position to appraise the session of Congress which has just ended.

Now, President Eisenhower told us at a news conference that he was disappointed in the record of Congress.

Why do you think he was?

Mr. McCORMACK. Well, when President Eisenhower made that statement he was talking, in my opinion, as a Republican politician and not as the President, or one objectively evaluating what this session of Congress has done.

I think the President was—is somewhat peeved at the fact that his own party in Congress has deserted him. On many of the rollcalls on bills that the President recommended, we find from 50 to 70 percent of his own party in the House of Representatives voting against him. And, of course, some of the President's close advisers who pretty much keep themselves on the job to advise the President, probably realize that they had to have some diversionary statement because the record of this Congress clearly contradicts what the President said.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, you think this has been a good, productive Congress?

Mr. McCORMACK. It has been an outstanding Congress, a most fruitful Congress; and, furthermore, since President Eisenhower made that statement, there has been a large number of important bills which have passed both branches of Congress.

Mr. CHURCH. Pinpoint a couple of the reasons why you think this was an extraordinarily successful session.

Mr. McCORMACK. Well, the volume of work done by the Congress is far greater than was done in the 83d Congress, which is a fair comparison, because the 83d Congress was a Republican-controlled Congress.

The importance of the legislation that we have passed through this Congress during this session: For example, we started out with the Mideast doctrine of President Eisenhower's which would have been unnecessary if he had given the right kind of leadership at the time of the Suez trouble when it first started, but, nevertheless, due to his uncertain and confused leadership, we had to step in and fill the vacuum in the Middle East to create an influence that had been destroyed when Britain and France influence in that wide area and that important area of the world was destroyed, mainly, in part, by actions on the part of President Eisenhower and the present administration. And we had to step in to assert an influence there of the Western World. We are the only

country who could do it; and if the right kind of leadership was given to the country and to the free world at the outset of the Suez Canal problem and controversy and difficulty, there would have been no necessity for that; but the Democratic Congress rose to the heights and recognized that water had gone over the dam that was unnecessary; we passed the resolution.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Senator——

Mr. MCCORMACK. Now, only a few days ago we passed another historic bill known as the civil-rights bill, which is really the right-to-vote bill, and might be termed the right to register, because you can't vote until you register, and this is to remove difficulties and obstacles, unnecessary obstacles, against all Americans, without regard to race, color, or creed, registering, but with particular emphasis at that time upon our Americans of the colored race.

Mr. BANCROFT. I wanted to ask before we left foreign aid—I mean foreign policy: You say that Democratic-controlled Congress did approve the Mideast doctrine, but were you supporting the President's Congress when you knocked a billion dollars off his foreign-aid request?

Mr. MCCORMACK. Oh, when you talk about knocking a billion dollars, as a matter of fact, it is more than a billion dollars, Mr. Bancroft.

He recommended about $4.9 billion and what went through is about three-billion-seven-hundred-and-some-odd-million dollars, but there is about $600 million more which was reappropriated from previous years' appropriations.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, my question still stands. Is that supporting his foreign policy?

Mr. MCCORMACK. Certainly it—we gave him plenty of money in which to carry on.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, let me put it another way——

Mr. MCCORMACK. Last year when he made a recommendation, you will remember, there was a billion-dollar cut and the President complained, and yet when the fiscal year was over, there was still $500 million that was not used, so we appropriated $500 million more than was necessary.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, MCCORMACK, it seems to me that what is involved here in the—in these postpolitical sessions and assessment is that the Democratic Congress and the administration are both going to be contesting who did what for whom.

Now, you say that the Eisenhower doctrine, which was unnecessary because of, or arose because of lack of leadership, yet it is called the Eisenhower doctrine and was passed by the Democratic Congress which then takes or is attempting to take credit for it.

That is paradox, isn't it?

Mr. MCCORMACK. Well, Mr. Downs, I think that my statement is clearly consistent.

If, when the Suez Canal trouble started, when Nasser stepped in there and took it over in violation of an international agreement, this administration had devised the sound and affirmative policies that it was capable of, and if when the British and French moved in, in Suez, we had not pulled the rug out from under them and cooperated with the Soviet Union and the United Nations in doing so, thereby destroying the influence of Britain and France in the Middle East, and it was a great influence, there would have been no necessity for the Eisenhower doctrine, which took place, which we passed 4 months later, but the influence being destroyed, we had to step in there.

Mr. CHURCH. Even so, even so, what happened to the unanimity? There was unanimity in the House when you voted on the doctrine, and that unanimity seems to have gone out the window. It went out the window very shortly thereafter, as witness the cuts in the foreign-aid structure.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Well, no, the cuts——

Mr. CHURCH. What happened?

Mr. MCCORMACK. The cuts in the foreign aid have absolutely nothing to do with the—with the Eisenhower Mideast doctrine. The reductions in the foreign aid are the best judgment of congressional committees as to what amount of money would be—we would be justified in appropriating during the present fiscal year, in connection with foreign aid or mutual assistance. It amounts, in direct appropriations and indirect appropriations, to about $3,400,000,000. It is the feeling of Congress that that is adequate, and if it is not adequate the President can meet that situation next January by submitting to Congress a supplemental budget.

Now what we Democrats, and I am speaking for myself, would like to see the President do, is to be more consistent in his leadership, to be more firm in his leadership, not to be vacillating.

I don't like to pick up the paper, and I am sure other Americans do not, and see Zorayin browbeating us, the United States, using scornful language toward us and then the President of the United States making a conciliatory statement.

Mr. CHURCH. What would you do about it, sir?

Mr. MCCORMACK. I would use firm language. I would let them know that the United States is a powerful nation. I would let them know that the United States is not—is not going to permit country after country to be internally subverted and taken over by Communist forces and become subject to the Communist satellite. I would have, in the case of Hungary, taken affirmative action at the right time.

Mr. CHURCH. Action, did you say, or words?

Mr. MCCORMACK. Exactly. We could have taken plenty of action there before the Nagy regime was overthrown by the Kremlin stepping in and putting Kadar and his gang again in control of Hungary.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Congressman MCCORMACK, do you think that just words, no matter how sharp, would have stopped all that; or would you be in favor of sending troops in to do it? How far would you go in order to stop this thing?

Mr. MCCORMACK. We don't have to send troops there. There is plenty of things we can do in order to—because the only language that the Communists appreciate and understand is the language of strength. Above all, we should keep our Armed Forces maintained at the highest level necessary, consistent with world conditions.

We have seen a hundred thousand reduction in manpower in the Army, already; we see another hundred thousand going, being underway. We see the reductions in our Air Force. We see the reductions in our Navy. The world sees that.

We are having disarmament talks in London, and we have had for months, and we are trying to have the Soviet Union agree to reduce their armed forces and—why should they, because we are reducing ours unilaterally? We are eliminating the, what you might call the negotiable fat, by reducing our own Armed Forces, instead of trying to use that as a trading point for the purpose of having the Soviet Union reduce its armed forces.

Mr. DOWNS. But, Mr. MCCORMACK, the Democratic Party, to get back to the whole outlook on foreign aid, and which is part of our mutual-security system, the Democratic Party in the past has been the one that has been for the large appropriations to beef up the armed forces of our allies. Now comes a Republican administration, the Democrats are on the other side of the fence talking about reducing it, and you did reduce the foreign-aid bills, which is part of the mutual-defense system.

Mr. MCCORMACK. No; I don't think—I don't think the evidence justifies that statement.

Take the vote today on the passage, on the agreeing to the conference report on the mutual-assistance appropriation bill. The vote was 107 Democrats for, 70 against; 87 Republicans for, 52 against.

That means there were 52 Republicans who voted among those who voted today against one penny being appropriated for foreign aid.

Mr. BANCROFT. And 70 Democrats.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Exactly. But there were 107 Democrats, still, who voted for the passage of the bill, and there were only 87 members of the President's own party, and he is in control, he is in the White House.

So I think—now when, back several years ago, the necessity for larger appropriations were greater than they are today because most of the countries of Europe, from an economic angle, were in very bad condition and it was necessary to help rebuild them economically in order to rebuild them from—from the angle of moral, from the moral angle—and from the angle of defense.

Now, that has been pretty well taken care of so that so far as Europe is concerned, there is no necessity of appropriations for economic aid. The economic aid now goes in certain countries of southeast Asia, the Philippines, South Korea, and Formosa, the principal amount being military aid.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Congressman MCCORMACK, I wonder if we can get back to Congress here, and the day-to-day problems.

You are a leader of the majority party in the House. You have just completed a session, the first session in our history in which the President in the White House is forbidden by law to run for reelection. Do you think that has had any effect and if so, what effect, on the workings between——

Mr. MCCORMACK. No question——

Mr. BANCROFT. Between the White House and the Congress?

Mr. MCCORMACK. No question about it in my mind, Mr. Bancroft. It is commonsense that when a man is starting his second term, and it is known that he cannot succeed himself because of the constitutional restriction, that immediately within his own party processes get underway in connection with controlling the next convention, within the Democratic Party and within the Republican Party there are different groupings, some affiliated with one another, some who are not, and there is the fight for control and power.

I opposed that amendment and one of the main reasons I opposed it was, it is the first, it is the only provision in the Constitution which is a limitation on the right of the individual American citizen.

Every other prohibition in the Constitution is against Government to protect the individual.

Furthermore, I opposed it because I felt it would be dangerous to put a 2-year—two-term restriction into our Constitution because, suppose 3 years, suppose sometime in the future our country is at war, and the President of the United States is finishing his second term. Is there anyone who thinks that a campaign would be for the best interests of our country, if we are fighting for our very preservation, and we had a man in the White House who was probably doing a wonderful job?

Mr. BANCROFT. Are you going to try to repeal it now?

Mr. MCCORMACK. I shall vote for its repeal, if it comes up.

I regret the day that the amendment was put on, and it was a slap at Franklin D. Roosevelt while he was buried at Hyde Park—that is what put all that over.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, Mr. MCCORMACK,, you talked about the achievements of this Congress; what about the things that——

Mr. McCORMACK. And might I say they didn't dare do it while he was alive.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, what——

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, the Republicans weren't in control while he was alive, were they?

Mr. McCORMACK. Well, it wasn't purely or wholly Republican vote that did it, Mr. Bancroft. There were quite a few Democratic votes, too.

Mr. DOWNS. What about the things that Congress did not do, such as school aid and the rest of it, and what political effect is that going to have?

Mr. McCORMACK. Well, the school aid, Mr. Downs, as you know, the Republicans overwhelmingly voted against the bill, to strike out the enacting clause which killed the bill. The Democratic vote was overwhelmingly in favor of keeping the bill alive.

The vote was 208 to 203. Two of the Republican leaders in the House voted to kill the bill. If only 3, a shift of only 3 votes, the bill would have been saved and we would have gone back to the Committee of the Whole.

The President was not even kept informed as to what the legislative situation was at the time, even if they could have gotten in touch with the President. I don't know whether they could or not. I don't know where he was at the time, whether in the White House or elsewhere.

But the Republican leadership had plenty of time to call the President. They didn't do it, and if they did and went back among their Members, they could have easily shifted 3 or 4 more votes and saved the bill.

So, while both Democrats and Republicans voted to kill the bill, the Republicans overwhelmingly voted to kill it; the Democrats overwhelmingly voted to save the bill, but unfortunately the combination of the large Republican vote to kill the bill, and the Democratic vote that voted that way, was enough to kill the bill by five votes.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Mr. McCORMACK, are you not—the Democrats are in control of this Congress. Are you not trying to take the credit for the Democrats for the good things in that Congress and yet blame it on the Republicans who don't control Congress for what you regard as the bad things about this Congress?

Mr. McCORMACK. No, Mr. Bancroft. Each and every individual Member of Congress, elected by the people of his district, whether Republican or Democrat, and they've got to take their own responsibility for their own vote, and there are two political parties and both parties must take their responsibility, but when the President of the United States makes a recommendation, or says he is satisfied with the bill, as he did in the case of school construction, and a majority, a clear majority of his own party votes against him, I think it's fair to comment upon it, particularly when a clear majority of the Democrats vote for the bill.

Mr. CHURCH. Well just for the record, was there anything, Mr. McCORMACK, that was wrong in this 1st session of the 85th Congress that was the fault of the Democratic Party?

Mr. McCORMACK. Well, we had a lot of difficulties.

A few weeks ago we didn't think we were going to get a bill to meet the Jencks decision; well, we knew we were.

A few weeks ago they didn't think we would get an immigration bill through, it's not as far I would like to see it go, but it's going to do an awful lot of good. We got it through.

A few weeks ago they didn't think we were going to get through the right-to-vote bill, known as the civil-rights bill, but it's through, and it will be law.

There are some things that we haven't done that I would like to see done, but there's another session of this Congress, Mr. Church, and you and I know, from your experience in Washington, and my experience, that the President's recommendations are not put through, all put through the first session of a Congress, it's a Congress.

Furthermore, every recommendation made by the President is not correct. We have done a lot in stopping some of his recommendations going through that would be harmful, to the best interests of the people of our country.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Mr. McCORMACK, this is Labor Day as you know, and I believe the platform of your party, for quite a few years now, has promised some changes in the Taft-Hartley Act.

When is that, what could you tell us on this Labor Day about the chances of that?

Mr. McCORMACK. I would think that in the next session of Congress, that there is an excellent chance of some amendments being put through that will remove several of the inequitable provisions of the existing law.

Mr. CHURCH. What about—what about the business of, as you hear today, labor cleaning house? Do you think there is any legislation necessary there, Mr. McCORMACK? I know that's a subject pretty close to your heart.

Mr. McCORMACK. The great majority of labor, and I'm talking about the leaders of labor, are just like the great majority of businessmen, the great majority of bankers, financiers, or any other field of activity—good, honorable men.

But, unfortunately, there is a small percentage of them, like there in past years, and there are probably today in other walks of activity who are unscrupulous. I think, directly addressing myself to it, that the McClellan committee has done a very fine job in exposing the violations of trust that have taken place by some, but we should not indict all leaders of labor for that small percentage.

However, the evidence clearly shows that something must be done to protect those trust funds an' I favor legislation that will do that. But I do not, I will not favor legislation that will be punitive in nature and repressive against labor, because as you know there are certain forces in this country who are antilabor and they will try to capitalize the present situation to put through, not legislation to meet the problem of—of the—proper protection of these trust funds, but who would try to put through legislation that would be detrimental to labor, in other words, antilabor.

Mr. BANCROFT. So this is——

Mr. McCORMACK. So, answering your question first, something should be done in connection with the trust funds. I can confine my answer to that. I don't think anyone, any honorable person wants directly antilabor legislation.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, you think this will be done in the session starting in January——

Mr. McCORMACK. I have every confidence that proper legislation will be passed. The one thing we have got to watch is that certain powerful elements in this country do not use the hysteria to put through antilabor legislation.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, you have quite a few things here left for the session starting in January——

Mr. McCORMACK. Oh, yes.

Mr. BANCROFT. And that will be an election year, as you know.

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

Mr. BANCROFT. Do you think Congress will be able to deal with things in an election year——

Mr. McCORMACK. Oh, yes——

Mr. BANCROFT. Which it was unable to deal with in this nonelection year?

Mr. McCORMACK. Oh, yes, we Democrats have a habit of doing things.

Mr. BANCROFT. You think you can legislate better when you are under the voters' guns than when you are not?

Mr. McCORMACK. No, no. I wouldn't say that, Mr. Bancroft, although, as you know, this is big league politics down here.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, you have been in it a long time.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, speaking of elections, there was an election out in Wisconsin the other day they made you Democrats very happy. What do you think this portends toward 1960 in the presidential election?

Mr. McCORMACK. I would say, Mr. Downs, that if anyone was to say that that was not an important election and the results very important, would be far reaching, would be one who has closed his eyes to the facts.

It was an amazing election, the first, for the Democrat to win is amazing; second, to win by the votes he did. It's fair to assume that Wisconsin, geographically located where it is, that that feeling of the people of Wisconsin as evidenced by the election results, must exist in adjoining States to Wisconsin.

To me it's a clear indication of repudiation of the leadership of President Eisenhower. I think foreign affairs entered into it, his uncertain, vascillating leadership. The feeling of fear in the minds of the American people that we are on the defensive throughout the world, and that it's due to lack of affirmative policy and consistent policy and action on the part of President Eisenhower and the present Republican administration.

And we must remember that under our Constitution the President is the sole repository in the field of foreign affairs.

Mr. CHURCH. Well, Mr. McCORMACK, how do you——

Mr. McCORMACK. Second, might I say, not to talk longer, Mr. Church, I think the domestic questions, the farm questions, I think inflation, I think related to inflation, the economic aspect was the high interest rate, all of those played an important part, also.

Mr. CHURCH. I just wondered how you accounted for the fact that Mr. PROXMIRE was defeated three times in a gubernatorial race in Wisconsin by the same man that lost to him in this senatorial race.

Wouldn't it seem to you that it was because of a completely split-up Republican Party in the State, rather than what you suggest?

Mr. McCORMACK. No, I don't—in a State like Wisconsin, it would be impossible for it to be for that cause alone. There must have been—what were the factors that caused the split party? What were the factors that caused people who ordinarily voted Republican and who did in the past, not on this year, on this occasion? I don't think it was any intraparty split that could account for that. It might account for some votes, and that exists in every election where there are—some disgruntled Republicans against a Republican candidate and some disgruntled Democrats against a Democratic candidate.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Mr.——

Mr. McCORMACK. But they are usually not enough to affect an election, and certainly in Wisconsin that wouldn't bring about that tremendous result.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Mr. McCORMACK, let's see if we can project this Wisconsin thing a little bit.

Now, there is an election coming up in New Jersey this fall, and if Governor Meyner wins there, do you think this is all adding up to a big Democratic trend that will be reflected in the congressional elections in 1958?

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Bancroft, I have seen a big Democratic trend for the last 2 years.

To begin with, in 1956 the Democratic trend was there. It was true that President Eisenhower won by over 9,500,000 votes, but was a personal victory, because when we got to the political level between the 2 politi-

cal parties, the Democrats—Democratic candidates for Congress—got more votes than the Republicans.

If the people, in voting for President Eisenhower for reelection, had meant that that was a manifestation against the Democratic Party, we wouldn't have had more than 160 Democrats in the House of Representatives. Instead, there was 234, I think, elected to the House, and a Democratic Senate.

So that in 1956 it was there, the trend was there. Mr. Eisenhower's personal popularity was able to save the situation for himself.

Furthermore——

Mr. BANCROFT. And yet you would be in favor of repealing the law that forbids him from running again?

Mr. MCCORMACK. I would vote for it, it isn't a question of forbidding Mr. Eisenhower, I was against, and I am still against the two-term prohibition for the reasons which I previously stated.

Mr. BANCROFT. Yes; I know.

Mr. MCCORMACK. First, it's an invasion on the right of the American citizen. The only limitation in the Constitution against the right of an American, an individual American; and second, the potential danger to our country that it could constitute.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, Mr. MCCORMACK——

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. MCCORMACK, speaking of individual rights and the rest of it and splits in the Republican Party, what has happened since the Thurmond filibuster, the civil-rights passage of this right-to-vote bill, what has happened to the split in the Democratic Party?

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Downs, despite the split in the Democratic Party, it's the first time in the history of the country that a bill was reported out of a committee, was last year, it was a Democratic-controlled committee and it passed the House but it didn't get through the Senate.

The second time legislation of this kind ever came out of a committee was in the 85th Congress, this Congress, a Democratic-controlled committee. It was passed by Democratic-controlled Congresses.

Now, I think as a result of the passage of the bill, the tensions within the Democratic Party will subside. You mark my words, gentlemen, I have been chairman of the platform committee on 3 out of the last 4 occasions. I think I know something about it. I have lived it, preserving unity in the Democratic Party in the different conventions when each time, in 1944, 1952, and 1956 when I was chairman, there were threatened walkouts. I think I know from actual experience what the situation is, and we are not—the tension is not going to be there, there will be no more threatened walkouts in Democratic conventions.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, I wonder if I could——

Mr. MCCORMACK. And as the result of the tension subsiding, Mr. Bancroft, and Mr. Downs, and Mr. Church, unity becomes stronger and in the House we are not going to have this constant threat of a small group from the South compelled to make coalition with the great majority of the Republicans.

Mr. BANCROFT. I would like to ask just one very simple question: Do you think a Democrat is going to win the presidency in 1960, and if so which one?

Mr. MCCORMACK. First, my first answer is "Yes"; the second one, there are, we have a dozen good candidates.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, I guess that's the best way——

Mr. MCCORMACK. Might I say JOHN KENNEDY, of Massachusetts is one of the outstanding ones.

Mr. BANCROFT. Thanks, thank you very, very much, Congressman MCCORMACK.

Sensible Reaction to Russian Psychology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, in view of the recent Russian announcement about their possession of an intercontinental missile, I am pleased to include a most pertinent editorial, appearing in the Christian Science Monitor issue of August 28, last, sensibly pointing out the reaction attitude we should adopt in the face of this obvious attempt to inspire psychological panic.

The editorial follows:

MISSILES IN PERSPECTIVE

The physical force of the Soviet's announced intercontinental missile cannot possibly equal its psychological impact. Therefore, the chief immediate aim of the free world should be to keep its mental shirt on while surveying the situation.

The Moscow statement, even taken at face value, does not forthwith upset the world balance of power. For years can intervene between a successful test of a weapon and its operational availability in numbers sufficient to be decisive in war. And there is good reason to believe that the United States is within months of successful testing.

Washington dispatches disclose diverse views about how much weight to give the Russian report. Senator JACKSON termed it ballistic blackmail, and some sources saw it as timed to influence events in the Middle East or the disarmament negotiations. The West is so accustomed to mendacity in Moscow and to all things being bent to the uses of propaganda that it could easily conclude this is more of the same.

The Soviet announcement was notably linked with reports of new hydrogen-bomb tests and accompanied by blasts at the American position on disarmament. And words in the statement such as "successful," "unprecedented altitude," "intercontinental," and "target area" are open to interpretation. So is the claim that the results "show it is possible to direct rockets into any part of the world." Such claims could be made about a missile which hardly surpassed the 3,000-mile flight obtained already in American tests.

But it would be hazardous to build complacency on assumptions that Moscow is exaggerating. Whatever its unreliability in other fields, its claims about weapons have usually proved true. But the diplomatic effects depend greatly on how the free world responds. If it is not frightened, uncommitted nations will take note and guide their own policies accordingly.

It is worth pointing out also that though intercontinental ballistic missiles may become the ultimate weapon, they do not hold that position today. Moscow is careful to point out that rockets are not vulnerable to up-to-date antiaircraft defense. But we should not be hasty to assume that missiles fired across the oceans can attain the accuracy required even for atomic warheads. Defense against missiles is difficult, but those working on it are not hopeless. Meanwhile, airplanes carrying H-bombs—and provided with many forward bases—remain the greatest military force in being. In this field the anti-Communist powers are still well ahead and able to exercise a decisive deterrent.

Yet every step in the race to build more destructive weapons sounds a warning to all who recognize the necessity for greater progress in peacemaking. This should be the most emphasized meaning of Moscow's announcement.

The Archbishop Speaks Forth to the Critics of His Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith correspondence with the Archbishop of the Dominican Republic.

The churches of the world have always given people those things which even democracy does not always produce—truth, peace, faith, and hope.

When free people finally win the war against a Godless communism, the victory will belong to those religious faiths which defied communism to the end in the name of Christianity and humanity.

During the inflammatory criticism of the Dominican Republic in this first session, it was charged General Trujillo had encouraged communism at one time. It was inconceivable to me that a country estimated at more than 98 percent Roman Catholic could be guilty of this.

I wrote a letter to His Excellency, the Archbishop of the Dominican Republic, and I have had an answer which I am submitting for the information of the House. There is not one word of truth in the charge. Since I have never known an archbishop who feared either the truth or any layman of any type, I am satisfied His Excellency speaks without restraint, independently, and in absolute truth as only he would know it from a long and intimate association which would not be possible for any of us to experience.

The matter-of-fact tone and reporting of His Excellency is proof enough for me that the charges against the Dominican Republic are not supportable, but most certainly prejudicial and made without regard to the governmental concepts of the Latin Americas. I think His Excellency puts it well when he says the propaganda going on in the United States stems from those who are in disagreement with the Dominican regime on law and order.

I have long felt we cannot make the world over in the image of America and Americans. We have expended over $60 billion in American taxes on our efforts something along this line, and we are worse off in the world today for it.

The fault lies not only in our money, but perhaps more in ourselves. We expect praise for our generosity, but we

give none; we want credit, but we will not pay credit to those who aline themselves with us; we expect homage and eternal alliance, but we will not stand firm and long.

Some of these days we are going to have to pay tribute to the Catholic churches and the stronger governments for our victory over communism. Conditions today are such that it is more profitable, more safe, and decidedly more expedient and easy to be a neutral power than to be an open and avowed enemy of communism. Those rulers and nations who played the appeasement and neutral roles with Hitler are dead and dying. I cannot repeat too often my own strong conviction that we should credit and encourage those strong chiefs of state who risk their lives, their fortunes, their family futures, and their own place in history, on the side of Christianity and democracy.

The Congress can get more headlines, more mail, and more admiring glances out of the mirror, with investigation of labor racketeers and others than we can get in a solid piece of positive legislation such as social security and a humanitarian viewpoint for the older people or the workingman. There are no headlines in the cost of living rises, or in high taxes. It is the prosecutions which get the headlines. It has remained for the defense to preserve and assure a sense of balance regardless of the pressures at the time.

Therefore, if I have come to the defense of a friend of the United States without qualification, perhaps in the end the jury of people will find I have contributed a small part to our stronger union against communism. The exchange of correspondence follows:

AUGUST 20, 1957.

Your Excellency the Archbishop RICARDO PITTINI,
Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I am requesting your opinion and comment on a matter which is of considerable consequence here in the United States and which pertains to a subject on which you would be most qualified to speak.

In your opinion:

1. Is the Government and those in authority in the Dominican Republic anti-Communist and has it ever encouraged communism?

2. Would you classify the Government as different from that of other Latin American countries? It has been charged that the Government is a dictatorship.

3. Are the people oppressed by the Government? Would your opinion be that the peoples of the Dominican Republic enjoy substantially the same freedoms which are had by people in other Latin American countries?

The Dominican Republic is under severe criticism in the United States by political exiles, and by one Member of Congress, along with some segments of the press. I have serious doubts about these charges and therefore seek Your Excellency's opinion. I am sure it will be very helpful to us.

Would it be asking too much to have a reply at your very earliest convenience?

Sincerely,

GARDNER R. WITHROW,
Member of Congress, United States of America.

[Translation (Spanish)]

CIUDAD TRUJILLO DOMINICAN REPUBLIC,
August 30, 1957.

Hon. GARDNER R. WITHROW,
Member of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, Washington.

DEAR MR. WITHROW: It gives me pleasure to reply to your kind letter of this August 20, in which you ask my opinion about the stand of this country's Government on communism and about the differences which possibly exist between the Dominican Government and those of the other countries of Latin America in matters concerning the exercise of individual liberties.

Because of my duties as head of the Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic, I can tell you in regard to the first question that the Government and authorities of this country are absolutely anti-Communist, and they enforce, in the strictest possible manner, the stipulations of the law of the National Congress of October 20, 1936, which authorizes a prison term of 3 months to 2 years and a fine of $50 (Dominican currency) to $500 for every Communist or anarchist activity and every doctrine contrary to public morality, such as is practiced traditionally in all civilized nations.

The anti-Communist activity of the Dominican Government is very sincere and definite, manifested not only by the repressing of activities of that nature on Dominican territory, but also by giving wide and definite protection to whatever tends to strengthen the population of this country, the traditional norms of life and the principles of Christian morality. With this goal, Dominican authorities have given to the Catholic Church resolute protection without, of course, diminishing the constitutional principles of religious liberty which constitutes one of the essential norms of Dominican life.

In matters concerning the democratic or dictatorial character of the Dominican Government, compared with the other governments of Latin America, I can tell you with absolute frankness that the Dominican Republic is one country where the citizen enjoys complete liberty with the sole obligation of obeying laws scrupulously and of abstaining from all activity illegally directed against the security of the state. All legal activities can be exercised with as much freedom as in the United States, the citizen develops his spirit of initiative without fear of the slightest coercion on the part of the authorities. The Government is based upon the firm belief in authority, and order is jealously kept, a fact which has permitted the country to progress enormously without the menace of civil disturbances and without the typical disquiet of any kind of social anarchy.

I do not believe that any difference exists between the Dominican Government, from the point of view of the exercise of the principle of authority and the more liberal governments of Latin America, except that laws in the Dominican Republic are strictly obeyed and public order reaches a higher level of solidarity than in any other Latin American country in the hemisphere.

The propaganda being directed against the Dominican Republic abroad evidently is biased and emanates from elements disaffected with the regime of order, peace, and strict enforcement of the laws which exist in this country and which can be justly judged as one of the most disciplined and progressive in the world.

My best regards to you.

RICARDO PITTINI,
Archbishop of Santo Domingo.

Jeanne Parent: Great Patriot and Heroine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I learned of the death of a woman whose heroic acts during World War II earned her the United States Medal of Freedom and many other decorations.

This gallant and heroic lady who braved danger and withstood torture to save American lives was my neighbor, Jeanne Parent.

Though I did not have the privilege and honor of knowing her well—I had heard of her great deeds and was proud to number her among my constituents.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Jeanne Parent may have passed from the American scene, but her story of exemplary courage, her great love for freedom, will always serve to inspire others and will live on as part of the story of America.

Mr. Alfred Robbins, writing for the Newark Star Ledger, tells her story eloquently—a story we will all remember:

JEANNE PARENT: GREAT PATRIOT AND HEROINE

(By Alfred Robbins)

When Mrs. Jeanne Parent applied for her United States citizenship papers she was asked only one question: "If we get into another war will you do the same thing over again?" Mrs. Parent smiled and said simply: "Yes."

Yes, she would hide allied aviators shot down in Belgium during World War II from the Germans.

ENDURED BRUTALITY

Yes, she would go without food and endure brutal beatings rather than divulge the names of fellow underground workers.

Yes, she would spend 2 months in a German political prison and face execution without a tear.

And so Mrs. Parent, who had not set foot on American soil until 1946, officially became a citizen. But in her heart she had been an American since that November day in 1942 when United States troops stormed ashore in North Africa.

MATE INTERNED

"She went underground in Belgium because she wanted to help those boys," John Parent, her husband, said yesterday.

And though he didn't mention it, Mrs. Parent must also have felt she was helping her husband. Parent, an American citizen had been interned by the Nazis as an enemy alien immediately after the African invasion.

Since he wasn't there, Parent's story of his wife's work was sketchy. "She didn't talk much about it," Parent said.

HELPED 150 YANKS

"But I know she helped about 150 American boys," he said. Mrs. Parent not only hid the boys but also helped them obtain fake credentials, disguises and transportation to Switzerland.

All went well until 1944. The allies had landed in Normandy and were starting to push toward Belgium. But in July of that year the Gestapo broke into the Parent home

and found a young aviator from Texas hiding there.

"Jeanne was then named a member of the 'Aviation Club' by the Germans," Parent said. "Members were those of the underground who helped allied fliers escape."

INITIATION: DEATH

"When someone in the club was caught," Parent continued, "he or she was sentenced to be executed."

Mrs. Parent was thrown into a political prison in Liege, Belgium, to await transfer to the notorious Buchenwald death camp. She languished there 2 months.

"My wife received very little food during her imprisonment," Parent said. "And she was continually beaten because they wanted her to talk and she would not."

SPURNED REWARD

If his wife had talked, Parent was asked, would she have been freed.

"Not only would they have let her go," he answered, "but I too would have been freed and Jeanne would have received 25,000 francs."

"But if she had spoken, many in the underground would have been killed," he added. "They made her suffer for silence."

NICK OF TIME

Before the Germans could find a vehicle to transport Mrs. Parent to Buchenwald, American troops liberated the town in September and set Mrs. Parent free.

"After Jeanne was freed, our home became kind of a social club for American soldiers," Parent said. "They would stop by for a meal and because my wife could speak English, it was a taste of home."

"Many of those boys were gloomy and homesick and a talk would help them," he said.

CAME TO UNITED STATES

Parent was released in 1945. He, his wife, and two daughters, now Mrs. Julie Snyder, of Newark, and Mrs. Jacqueline Blunt, of Bloomfield, came to Newark the following year.

Mrs. Parent was awarded the United States Medal of Freedom and a citation from then-General Eisenhower for her gallant services in the Allied cause. She also received the Commemorative War Medal, the Political Prisoners Cross, and other decorations from her native land.

Parent was asked what kind of a woman his wife was to have performed such heroic deeds.

MET IN BELGIUM

His face registered surprise. "Why, she was a housewife when I first met her in Belgium," he said. "My folks were from Belgium and they wanted to go back. I went with them, planning to stay only 6 months, but I met Jeanne and stayed longer."

They were married in 1924. Parent worked as a representative for an American business firm. "We were just an ordinary, happy family," Parent said.

FAST INVASION

When the Nazis invaded Poland in 1939 the Parents decided to remain in Belgium because they thought the Germans would honor a treaty between the two countries.

"Once the Germans invaded the Lowlands," Parent said, "it was too late for me to leave; it happened so fast."

After her arrival in the United States, Mrs. Parent visited some of the boys she helped.

RETICENT

"I remember one," Parent said. "His name was Ben St. John from Olean, N. Y. He refused to discuss his war experiences with anyone except my wife."

But, for the most part, Mrs. Parent went back to being a housewife in Newark.

"People would ask us why we didn't write a book," Parent said. "But it was all over and we just wanted to be left in peace."

Mrs. Parent died Thursday in the peace and quiet of her home at 235 Montclair Avenue, at the age of 53.

National Manufactory Born in Paterson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, my home city of Paterson, N. J., which was founded and named by Alexander Hamilton, is prominent in this year's centennial observance of Hamilton's birthday. Recently County Government, a New Jersey publication, carried the following most interesting article on Paterson:

NATIONAL MANUFACTORY BORN IN PATERSON

(By Dr. Stanton Hammond, Passaic educator-historian)

County Passaic's Paterson was the brainchild of a colossal figure in Colonial America, Alexander Hamilton. Nestled in the valley of an Indian river at the foot of a bold cliff, it is a city of an incredible history; both county capital and economic heart.

On rainy Tuesday, March 5, 1680, two Dutch missionaries visited the thundering waterfall we call Passaic Falls. Their diary bespoke an awe of its enormous waterpower. But the falls thundered for another century untouched by the hand of man. When the grasping British King, George III, drove his finest subjects in America to arms in defense of their rights, a graceful Hamilton, fired with plans and ambition, emerged as a builder after the Battle of Monmouth in 1778.

On Friday afternoon, the 10th of July 1778, General Washington and his aides tarried for lunch at the brink of the Passaic Falls. Hamilton was a member of that company, headed by an experienced surveyor, a relaxed general of the armies. Did the conversations of the hour or a leisurely walk along the waterfall produce a suggestion, by Washington to Hamilton, that the vast waterpower of the Passaic Falls, might be harnessed to make things for days when peace would reign in the new land?

I firmly believe that he did—for on becoming President of the new nation, Washington named Hamilton as the first Secretary of the Treasury. In a very short time, the latter sent to the Congress his famous Report on Manufactures. In it he pointed out that the United States could never really be free of Europe's domination until it made most of its own products. Furthermore, he proposed a corporation should be formed to run this business. While he favored a strong centralized government, he evidently did not want this government to get into business in competition with its citizens.

By 1791 Hamilton's busy mind had a plan to free America from European capital and manufacture. He set about getting support from investors, keeping Passaic Falls in mind. On Tuesday, November 22, he wisely secured a charter from the New Jersey Legislature to set up such a corporation. This was the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures which was to build and operate the National Manufactory.

In honor of the governor who helped steer the project to success and get New Jersey to subscribe $10,000 toward a million in stock, Hamilton named the new city for William Paterson. Passaic Falls was in competition with several southern locations, the Delaware and Raritan Rivers, but Hamilton finally steered the "sum" to this magnificent location.

The Indians called this falls Totowa, "the place where the water falls between" the rocks. The new project did not have smooth sailing, because men like Budinot, Pintard, and Lord Stirling's son-in-law, Duer, turned out to be poor businessmen. The engineer hired to lay out the works, Maj. Charles Pierre L'Enfant proposed such gradiose schemes that he was dismissed July 4, 1792, 16 years to the day of our Declaration of Independence. Altho his talents were never used in Paterson, they were utilized later by President Washington to lay out the grandest city in the Western World, our Nation's Capital, Washington, D. C.

The directors of the sum found a practical superintendent in Peter Colt, who put Paterson on the map by dint of skill and great ingenuity. However, the load was too great for his experience, and the sum closed down within a few years, never to resume manufacturing. Still a start had been made, and within a few years the town of Paterson began to brim with industry. The Colt family returned at the time of the War of 1812 and managed the city's development for nearly three-quarters of a century.

The first manufacturing at Paterson was of cotton goods. One reads with amazement in Dr. Fisher's 1832 census that 3,360,372 pounds of raw cotton was made into cloth and duck sail. In another decade silk, locomotives, and other heavy machinery, nails and hard supplies were in the lead of things made around Paterson and for a period of 60 years. Hamilton's plans to free America from dictation of European manufactures actually began at Paterson in successive economic waves. First, cotton, that spread to other parts of the infant Nation; then locomotives and other rail machinery started in Paterson, to go on to Philadelphia and elsewhere.

Next came the manufacture of silk—the star industry in Paterson long called the Lyons of America, and the Silk City. John P. Holland tested his first successful submarine above the Passaic Falls. Only today can the atomic-powered *Nautilus* dive and maneuver to the tune of Holland's advanced theories of underwater navigation. His original sub rests in the Peterson city museum.

Wright airplane engines poured out of Paterson's mills to help win World War I—the first worldwide justification of Hamilton's faith in the power of the falls. For 163 years, firsts have made a serial story of success in the life of Paterson, Passaic County's stalwart son. And the city that rose by the falls of the Passaic has had its share of vicissitudes. In 1902 it rose like a phoenix from the ashes of a great fire. Later it experienced floods, the epidemic of cholera, strikes, the taint of sensationalism spawned by yellow journalism—all to become a stronger city better able to fulfill the founder's dream—so much more than Alexander Hamilton could have imagined that Independence Day in 1792.

Today Paterson pilots Passaic County to an even greater commercial destiny in the pursuit of useful manufactures.

Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, once more at the close of a session, I am making a report to the people of the First Congressional District of Idaho.

In my opinion, the Democratic-controlled 85th Congress has proved itself responsible, temperate, and in tune with the times. By every means of communication at their command, the people let the Congress know they wanted present levels of Government spending cut. That is what the Congress did. The President's budget requests were slashed by more than $5 billion. I hope this forecasts a tax cut for the people next session.

Aside from its economy record, the 1st session of the 85th Congress will be known for two solid achievements—it passed the first civil-rights bill since the Civil War, and it enacted legislation providing for full United States participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency, which will put the atoms-for-peace program into operation.

THE BATTLE OF THE BUDGET

The civil rights and budget battles overshadowed all else. The budget fireworks began when the President submitted the largest peacetime spending program in history. There followed a sensation-packed drama in which the President first embraced, and then denied, again rejected, and then supported the budget which bore his name, only to virtually repudiate it in the end. It was a tragic example of what happens when Executive leadership is lacking.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S BENEFIT

The controversy surrounding civil rights held up legislative action on many other proposals. An important bill that got through will lower downpayments on FHA-insured loans, but because the administration's hard-money policy contues to increase interest rates, little improvement has yet been felt in the ailing housing market, or in the allied western lumber industry.

Immigration restrictions were eased so that many fine Idaho families may now have an opportunity to adopt orphans from abroad and bring them into their homes. Consumers got a break through the passage of a poultry inspection bill which will put fresher and better products on the market.

THE FORGOTTEN FARMER

This year's output of farm legislation was the smallest since the depression. Bills were passed extending the soil bank for 1 year, and allowing farmers to produce up to 30 acres of wheat for feed without penalty. Funds were also increased for swapping surplus commodities for foreign currencies.

Little was done to keep America's family-sized farms in operation. In spite of Secretary Benson's predictions that farmers would make more under this administration's farm policies, net farm income has dropped 27 percent during the past 5 years, and farm mortgage debt is at its highest point since 1921. The administration steeled itself against any attempts to enact a new farm program.

THE MINING INDUSTRY

Accomplishments for the mining industry are also disappointing. The industry did not like the administration's lead-zinc bill, and the administration did not like the industry's bill, and the House Ways and Means Committee did not like either. Then the President pulled the rug out from under the Congress by implying at a press conference that he had been misled in sending the peril-point lead-zinc program to Congress, and suggested that the proper and preferable route was for the lead-zinc industry to file an application with the Tariff Commission for relief under the escape clause. This procedure has been there all of the time. Why did not the administration recommend using it 6 months ago, instead of allowing the lead-zinc situation to deteriorate while the Congress struggled with a bill the White House did not really believe in

LEGISLATION FOR THE WEST

Several bills of special interest to the West were considered this session. A bill prohibiting the military services from withdrawing more than 5,000 acres of public-domain land without congressional approval passed both the House and the Senate, and is ready for final approval next session. A measure I sponsored to prohibit futures trading in onions, which has almost unanimous support of the onion industry, is pending on the House Calendar. Hearings were held on bills providing for an overall study by a special commission on how to make best use of the Nation's great outdoor recreation resources.

HELLS CANYON NOT DEAD

The Hells Canyon bill passed the Senate, but White House pressure and private power company lobbying kept it from being reported out of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. There will be further consideration of the Senate-passed bill on February 1, 1958.

Full and proper development of the Middle Snake is now a critical issue. A group of western Congressmen and Senators have asked the Federal Power Commission to withhold granting licenses to the Pacific Northwest Power Co. to build low dams at Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep until studies on the proper development of the Middle Snake are completed. If the people of Idaho and the Pacific Northwest are to receive full benefits from the rushing waters of the Snake River, there must be adequate storage in the Middle Snake area.

FOR CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREES

As chairman of the House Retirement Subcommittee, I put in many long hours working on a measure which would require no appropriated funds but would increase pensions for retired civil-service employees. They are having a hard time paying today's prices on yesterday's pensions. This bill passed both my subcommittee and the full Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and is ready for further action as soon as the new session convenes.

The wheels were set in motion to find out why the cost of living has continued to rise each month under this administration. At least three congressional committees have begun studies of the hard-money policy and other inflationary pressures in our economy. Out of these hearings may come recommendations for legislation which will help the American family stretch its budget.

President Eisenhower has indicated he is disappointed with the performance of the 1st session of the 85th Congress. In reply I can only say—the Democrats in Congress are disappointed that the President did not put up a bigger fight for programs he said he wanted. In many cases, a statement of support from the White House at the right time would have pushed a bill through.

This Congress worked long and hard and despite the fact that the White House remained aloof on most controversial measures, the record written is a good and substantial one.

Greater Economy With Increased Efficiency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include a very timely editorial commenting upon the projection of the so-called Cordiner plan into our military preparedness program, appearing in the Christian Science Monitor issue of August 26, 1957.

The editorial follows:

THE CORDINER PLAN BREAKS THROUGH

Someone apparently has convinced the Bureau of the Budget that a price of even $300 million a year for 2 years is not too great if it will be saving the Treasury $5 billion a year by 1962. At any rate, the Defense Department plans to introduce a bill embodying recommendations of the Cordiner report and with the Budget Bureau's blessing.

This news evidently heralds a withdrawal of the administration's opposition to recommendations of the Defense Department's own Advisory Committee, headed by General Electric Co.'s president, Ralph J. Cordiner. This group urged, it will be recalled, that the principle of pay for technical knowledge and skills as well as for seniority and what might be termed purely military proficiency be introduced into the armed services.

This, it is believed, would enable the services to compete effectively enough with the pay scales and opportunities of private industry to cut down the enormous turnover among men whom the Government has spent as high as $150,000 each to train. It would increase combat efficiency by building up the core of skills and experience. The dollar savings would come from reducing the cost of having continually to train new men.

Full hearings on this and other similar bills will have to wait until after the first of the year.

Meanwhile the Air Force has taken a step which promises results in line with those of the Cordiner recommendations. Pilots, obviously, require the most intensive and expensive training. Henceforth pilot trainees must sign up for 5 years instead of, as heretofore, for 3. Those who do not wish to will be trained for ground duties. The Air Force admits half those now starting pilot training may drop out. But it believes these losses will be well offset by the gains.

More and more it becomes evident that large savings are possible in today's Defense Establishment by building up and conserving professional knowledge, experience, and skills.

Francis Bellamy's Authorship of the Pledge of Allegiance Settled by Library of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress recently completed a study of the authorship of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, which was undertaken pursuant to my request. The findings of the Library team, headed by John T. Rodgers, of the History and Government Division, are clearly and completely set out in 148 authoritative and careful pages. Mr. Rodgers deserves high praise for his presentation of the whole problem.

I am delighted to report that this study bears out the contention that Francis Bellamy was the true author of the vital words which make up our Pledge of Allegiance. It is certainly to be hoped that this definitive report will end once and for all any dispute as to the pledge's authorship.

Now that the report is in, tribute should be paid to David Bellamy, of Rochester, N. Y., son of the author, who has been most diligent in seeing to it that this question was finally settled, and to Dr. John R. Russell, librarian of the University of Rochester, who made available much of the material on which the study was based.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include at this point in the RECORD the summary and conclusion portion of the Library of Congress study, which was entitled "Authorship of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag: A Report":

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As the preparation of this report drew to a close, the Legislative Reference Service, for the sake of general clarification, invited the 2 able protagonists in this dispute, Miss [Margarette S.] Miller [of the Bellamy Memorial Foundation] and Mr. [Archie B.] Birtwell [of the Malden, Mass. Evening News] to sum up their respective arguments under 6 principal heads. Both agreed to do so, and each submitted a summary to this Service without seeing that of the other side. We felt this procedure would be helpful to the reader, as well as to ourselves, for in so intricate a case as this has proved to be it is not always easy to keep a proper perspective—one is apt to lose sight of the forest because of the trees. Since Mr. Birtwell, for the present purpose, may be regarded as the prosecution against a long-established claim, we present his summary first:

"Point 1: The Youth's Companion itself attributed its own pledge to James Bailey Upham.

"Point 2: Francis Bellamy waited until 5 years after Upham's death to first ask credit, and then waited 12 years more until after the death of Seth Mendell to try again, this time publicly, and this was 6 years after the Companion attribution.

"Point 3: Former Companion officeworkers testified 9 to 1 that they had never heard of anyone except Upham mentioned as the author. (All other testimonies from outsiders.)

"Point 4: Francis Bellamy deliberately violated the Companion policy of anonymity in 1894, yet his supporters claim he waited 31 years because of his respect for this policy.

"Point 5: The 1939 decision for Bellamy in Washington, on which his claim has thrived for 17 years, was the result of a 7-hour review, and not the result of an investigation. Americana, Britannica, and World Almanac have all now expressed a lack of confidence in that finding and in the claim itself. One of the trio of now-noted professors (Dr. West) declined to defend the finding. Dr. Tansill refused to answer my polite inquiries at all. (I refer you again to my detailed analysis of this decision.)

"Point 6: Respecting the Companion policy of anonymity, Mr. Upham never claimed credit for the pledge, nor did he ever claim credit for any of his contributions, including the many patriotic ideas which he originated and carried out, including the 'flag before every schoolhouse' campaign and the Columbian celebration itself. Mr. Bellamy also did not voice his claim during Upham's lifetime, nor has any personal correspondence of his been introduced or claimed to show that he did so during that period.

"Point 6 (A): A 1923 letter from the Youth's Companion, signed Perry, Mason & Co., to Francis Bellamy, said: 'You see our dilemma * * *.' The dilemma was that the writer was generations removed from the Companion of 1892 and had no knowledge or right to grant Bellamy's request. He could only refer to what the Companion had said years before.

"Conclusion: Francis Bellamy accumulated a chain of his own assertions, circumstantial evidences, which, together with assumptions and generalities, pointed to his authorship. Nowhere in this chain is there one item which would be admissible as proof positive of his authorship. In all fairness, it is easy to see why some persons might be instilled with the feeling that he was the author, especially in light of his self-created role of underdog. But, in view of the Upham evidences, one could never say that he had proved his point in his personal dispute with the Youth's Companion. He said a crime was committed, but no motive was ever found."

Miss Miller's summary follows:

"Point 1: Previous complete studies show Bellamy author:

"(a) Twenty years' personal research into three major claims.

"(b) Nonpartisan examination by three eminent historians favoring Bellamy.

"Point 2: Prima facie evidence supporting Bellamy:

"(a) Patriotic pamphlets, magazines, proceedings, textbooks.

"(b) Bellamy affidavits-statements contemporary to pledge writing.

"Point 3: Three men directly intimately concerned with 1892 program credit Bellamy:

"(a) James B. Upham, part owner of the Youth's Companion.

"(b) Francis Bellamy, himself, chairman of 1892 school celebration.

"(c) Harold Roberts, 1892 official press representative.

"Point 4: No credit given James B. Upham during his lifetime:

"(a) Upham never claimed credit for himself.

"(b) Upham not connected with the writing until 1917, 12 years after his death.

"(c) No mention of authorship in numerous Upham obituaries which dealt in extreme to patriotic activities.

"Point 5: Gradual growth of Companion point of view favoring Upham:

"(a) 1910—Companion president made no claim for Upham.

"(b) 1917—Companion editorial: Salute collaboration by editors.

"(c) 1923—Companion leaflet: 'A form of pledge was written by Upham and hammered into shape by others.'

"(d) 1956—Upham spokesman: Sole pledge responsibility for Upham.

"Point 6: Consistent effort of Bellamy to get recognition for authorship:

"(a) Genuinely sincere-heartfelt letters written by Bellamy to Companion in 1923 begging for interview and hearing.

"(b) Companion refusal to grant interview.

"Conclusion: Companion erred in initial statement. Editors deny paper could ever make mistake."

To which we add our own:

1. No question as to authorship, by the one party or the other, arose during Upham's lifetime.

2. Upham himself never claimed authorship of the pledge.

3. Upham, according to sworn testimony of one and the assertion of a second witness, freely admitted Bellamy to be the author—the sole author—of the Pledge of Allegiance.

4. The affidavits in support of the Upham claim are vague and inconclusive.

5. The Bellamy affidavits, on the other hand, are very specific, entering into the minutest detail.

6. The two copies of the pledge, in the handwriting of Francis Bellamy, written on the backs of contemporaneous Youth's Companion office forms and containing, respectively, a queried word and the final insertion of that word, exactly as related by Bellamy in articles and subsequent affidavits, offer powerful circumstantial evidence.

In reaching our own conclusion on what has, frankly, been a most difficult and delicate matter, we have been guided, in the last analysis, by what we may call the law of inherent probability, as at once the safest, sanest, and fairest rule which could be applied. Nevertheless, the way of the arbitrator is hard: it is a thorny path, beset with many dangers and vexations. He knows he cannot possibly please both sides: he may end by pleasing nobody, including himself. Certainly he will win no plaudits by taking refuge in good Sir Roger De Coverley's famous pronouncement, when that worthy old gentleman was called upon to pass judgment, that "much might be said on both sides." So there was nothing for it but to plunge in medias res, clinging to the above-mentioned rule in the hope that it would bring him safely through all pitfalls and entanglements that lie in wait for all investigators of such problems as these.

We are of the opinion, then, that, all factors taken into consideration, the Bellamy claim to authorship rests upon the more solid ground. As we read the mass of testimony introduced by the Bellamy side, including the three long, greatly detailed, and specific affidavits made by Bellamy, we became, and remain, convinced that Bellamy's testimony and his sworn statements are those of an honest man—a man convinced of the rightness of his cause and by no means at a

loss for words and arguments to defend it. The mere mass of specific detail which Bellamy offered was not the least impressive part of his case. Unless one is prepared to believe that Francis Bellamy was a deliberate and conscienceless lair, the mass of his testimony is overwhelmingly in his favor. We, for our part, do not believe Francis Bellamy did lie: we are persuaded that he told the absolute, literal truth as he saw it, and we are, therefore, constrained to pronounce in his favor. In ascribing the authorship to Bellamy on the basis of the greatly preponderant evidence, we recognize that there are still certain gaps. We believe that there still may be persons living or items in existence which would shed additional light on this important question. We would, therefore, appeal to any of our readers who know of such additional evidence to bring it to our attention.

It should never be forgotten that, to the day of his death, Mr. Upham apparently never made a formal assertion, verbal or otherwise, as to his own claim to authorship, nor does anyone quoted in the Birtwell testimony claim that he did—on the contrary. Had he done so, surely some of the members of the old Companion staff who knew him so well and remembered what they did profess to remember so clearly and whose affidavits and letters Mr. Birtwell submitted to us and which we have reproduced in this report—surely at least one of these intimates would have head Mr. Upham say that he had written that pledge, or would, at the very least, have been able, of the witness' own positive knowledge, to swear that he knew Upham had written that pledge instead of taking refuge in such generalities as "it was generally understood," "everyone believed," "nobody doubted," etc. The only person (and she was not a member of the Companion staff) who does make a positive assertion, as from her own knowledge, is Upham's sister-in-law, who testified that she had seen Upham write and rewrite the pledge many times at her breakfast table. Without in any way casting aspersion upon the lady's perfect good faith, we cannot permit this lean bit of testimony, otherwise unsupported, to stand against the detailed depositions by Bellamy. A possible explanation is found in the remark attributed to Upham by Bellamy to the effect that the former had "tried to write a salute but has not got anything."

The only direct statement that we have, and probably shall ever have, by Upham concerning the authorship of the pledge of allegiance are those contained in the Wadsworth and Scott testimony, in the affidavit made by Mrs. Lue Stuart Wadsworth, reproduced above. According to her testimony Upham admitted that Bellamy had written it. Mr. Birtwell, via a Mr. Anderson, of the Companion staff, endeavors to dismiss this sworn assertion as the confused memory of an old lady, but we cannot for a moment allow this to stand. How did Mr. Anderson, and hence Mr. Birtwell, know that Mrs. Wadsworth's memory was unreliable? There is also the testimony of Mrs. Scott and her account of the New Jersey flag raising in which Upham again gave credit to Bellamy.

A man is presumed innocent until proved guilty. For at least 32 years the claim of Francis Bellamy to the authorship of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag has been universally recognized.

No adequate proof, in our judgment, has been adduced to overthrow this claim.

In its report of May 23, 1939, the Committee of the United States Flag Association stated:

"In view of this strong contemporary evidence it is the opinion of the members of this committee that the author of the Pledge of Allegiance to the American Flag was Francis Bellamy, of Rome, N. Y., and not James B. Upham, of Malden, Mass."

In the language of the courts, "Judgment affirmed."

Federal Assistance to Small Business Is a Vital Necessity for Their Preservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 8, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the very pertinent remarks by Dr. John W. Dargavel, bureau chairman of the National Association of Retail Druggists, contained in the August 1957 issue of the Fair Trade Newsletter on the unhappy economic situation of small business and unfortunate legislative inaction in reasonably assisting them during this session.

Let us hope that our combined leadership, with encouragement of the Chief Executive, will deal with this desperate problem of threatening catastrophe to small business in the very early days of the next session.

Dr. Dargavel's remarks follow:

SMALL BUSINESS NOT EXPENDABLE, DARGAVEL WARNS

Commenting that every bill introduced to help small business is being left to die in the 85th Congress, Dr. John W. Dargavel, bureau chairman and executive secretary of the National Association of Retail Druggists, warned of the consequences of treating small-business men as though they were expendable, in a special message in the NARD Journal last month. Said Dr. Dargavel:

"Republican and Democratic candidates alike in the national election campaigns of 1956 shouted long and loud about the desperate plight of small-business firms, and they made ironclad promises to leave nothing undone to help insure the survival of independent enterprise in America. Then after the political oratory ceased and the votes were counted, the majority of the victorious candidates seemed to make haste to forget the pledges they made to strive in behalf of independent enterprise. One of the examples in sharp focus is the evasive tactics used to dodge action on relief from the overload of taxes levied on small-business firms.

"The independent druggists must join in a drive to make it clear to the politicians that the owners of small-business firms refuse to be shunted to a corner as though they are expendable. Moreover, the Members of Congress must be made to understand that they will be held to the promises they voiced in support of independent enterprise in the campaigns of 1956."

THE LITTLE MAN WHO IS THERE

In an article published in a recent issue of Credit Executive magazine, Dr. Dargavel pointed out that "America's small-business man is very much the little man who is there. He's a key figure in our economy. The country's 4 million small-business concerns add up to 95 percent of all the businesses operating in the United States today. Yet he's facing a growing crisis. If it is not checked, America's small-business man will become the little man who isn't there."

Study findings, Dr. Dargavel reports, show that "the small-business man with his independent stores, factories, and enterprises of all sorts, provides the livelihood for 1 out of every 3 people in America. This demonstrates that America needs the little and medium-sized businessman as well as the giant."

However, small business, in the midst of record-breaking prosperity, is in trouble, Dr. Dargavel finds. "Bankruptcies and failures are mounting. To date there have been more failures among small-business men this year than in any year since 1939. Cautious estimates by Dun & Bradstreet indicate that in 1957, over 13,000 small businesses will be wiped out—unless the present trend reverses itself.

"The failures are concentrated in retailing, small manufacturing, and home building. This has been going on for some time. The United States Senate Small Business Committe, for example, reports that in 1956, small-business failures totaled 12,686. This represents a 16-percent increase over 1955 and a post-World War II high. Retailers ranked second highest in business failures last year. Figures from the Small Business Administration show that 6,341 stores closed their doors in 1956. This is 19.8 percent higher than retail failures in 1955." Another grim note is a 26-percent decrease since 1950 in the number of new businesses opening each year.

SQUEEZE OF CUTTHROAT COMPETITION

"Why is small business confronted with the growing threat of failure in the midst of a boom?" Dr. Dargavel asks. He cites some answers of the United States Senate Small Business Committee: "One is the constantly rising costs of labor and materials. Another is the heavy tax burden which never allows the small-business man to get off the hook. A third is the tight-money situation which makes it harder and harder for the little man to get bank loans, even at high interest rates. Then there is the growing trend toward mergers of little companies with big ones.

"And of vital importance, there is the squeeze of cutthroat competition—such as price wars on the popular brands which constitute the independent retailer's bread and butter.

"To prevent this destructive competition from creating chaos in the market place, rules of fair competition are needed," the bureau chairman points out.

"In the interest of the good society, the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases in the market place—as in any other area of life—must be limited by the commonsense restraints which society itself imposes.

"The fair-trade laws are rules of fair competition and fair play over the counter. Enacted by 45 State legislatures, these laws have been supported by Congress and upheld by the United States Supreme Court and 16 high State courts. But, today, in 11 States, courts have knocked out fair trade and new legislation is needed to give small business an opportunity to compete on fair terms with big business. As the Senate Small Business Committee says: 'Independent businessmen simply are not equipped to survive the low blows of unfair competition.'"

THE CITIZEN'S STAKE IN SMALL BUSINESS

Dr. Dargavel raises this question: "What is the average citizen's stake in keeping the small-business man from becoming a vanishing American? What would America be like without small business? For one thing, it would be a collection of supergiant businesses so big and so tough that they would inevitably invite control by a superbig and supertough government. This is not the road to democracy. That the threat of a monopoly by bigness is not an idle one is indicated by the recent statement of a big industrialist who said:

"'I think that, if our economic system is to continue, we must have smaller businesses developing, otherwise competition will be eliminated in the next 5 to 10 years, and we will end up with 1, or possibly 2, large companies in each of the major fields.'

"How will our communities be affected if small business disappears? The burden of the taxes now paid by small-business men will be shifted to others, including all consumers. Who will take over the financial support and participation which small business now contributes to civic activities and organizations, such as hospitals, churches, community chests, the Boy Scouts, and all the other efforts to improve our communities? The exit of small business will leave a serious vacuum in towns and cities all over the Nation—a vacuum which cannot be filled by absentee business owners.

AN AMERICAN DREAM

"Finally, there is that precious American dream of working for yourself," Dr. Dargavel points out. "If this dream is to be a reality and not a myth, small-business men must have conditions of fair competition so that they can prosper if they have what it takes. If people can see no possibility of success in their own business, America must inevitably become a nation of many working for the few. Freedom of opportunity will come to mean less and less in America.

"The American people have it within their power to save small business by supporting legislation to preserve this vital part of our economy and by letting their representatives in State legislatures and in the Congress know they want action before it is too late. Only adequate laws to assure fair competition can prevent dollar power alone from dominating the economy."

Record of 85th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 85th Congress has ended with a record that contains many disappointments but out of which I think most Members can feel some sense of achievement.

The 85th Democratic-controlled Congress was an economy-minded Congress. Its principal achievement was the reduction of President Eisenhower's requests and the Bureau of the Budget estimate for appropriations for fiscal year 1958 by $5,048,378,979. I supported this reduction recommended by the Appropriations Committee and adopted by the Congress. I opposed all meat-ax attempts to go beyond committee action in reducing requests for appropriations. Many of the most important programs of the Government would have suffered by such meat-ax approaches.

The House Appropriations Committee gave thorough study to each item in the budget and accomplished a record for economy, seldom equaled in our legislative process. The House committee actually reduced budget requests by $5,515,773,184, but some restorations in the Senate resulted in adjustments in conference, with the House position in the main being preserved, so that the final cut by the Congress in President Eisenhower's funds request was $5,048,378,979. This figure I supported.

This was one of the longest sessions of a peacetime Congress, opening on January 3 and closing its work August 30. There were more rollcalls and quorum calls—220 of them—than in any other Congress since the start of the Korean war. I did not miss a single quorum call or rollcall during the session.

During the session, I secured passage of 5 public bills, including 2 which were regarded as part of the President's legislative program, and 3 private bills.

It has been—for the third straight year—a Democratic Congress serving with President Eisenhower, a Republican. Once again it is fair to point out, I think, that the result has not been the "political cold war" the President once predicted from such a division of party power.

In the House of Representatives, on the contrary, the point can be made that most Democrats cooperated wholeheartedly with the President to advance legislation that he said he wanted. For example, the civil-rights bill we passed was taken, lock, stock, and barrel, from the administration proposals. It fell into trouble in the Senate, but this trouble was not partisan trouble but rather sectional.

In the House again, in an effort to save the Federal-aid-to-schools bill, we Democrats agreed on the floor to abandon our own beliefs and convictions on the proper distribution of Federal school funds and accept the Eisenhower proposals. Our offer failed, and the bill was killed; but 57 percent of Democrats voted to save the program and only 41 percent of the President's own Republicans voted with us.

There is no evidence of "political cold war" in that record.

Neither was there "political cold war" in the scrutiny of foreign policy. I myself sponsored the bill authorizing our country to participate in the "atoms for peace" international plan that President Eisenhower recommended. It was not strange for Democrats to support this type of program, for the late Senator Brien McMahon, Democrat, of Connecticut, and I cosponsored the original resolution many years ago that called on the executive department for leadership in the field. The point is that we did not desert our principles merely because they were adopted and recommended by a Republican President whose party might claim the credit.

When the President presented the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East, with what seemed to be a demand for authorization for war in the Mediterranean at his choice at some future time, many of us were disturbed, but we supported the President to present a united front to the world.

Nevertheless, although some changes were made in the resolution, the Democratic Congress gave bipartisan and nonpartisan support to the Eisenhower doctrine.

There were some factors that made responsible action by the Congress this year very difficult. One was the violence and persistence of the so-called economy drive. A second, I think we Democrats may fairly say, was what seemed to be extraordinary vacillation in the White House.

The vacillation was noticeable even in regard to the President's $71.8 billion budget. Before this budget was submitted to the Congress, it had been sharply attacked by Secretary of the Treasury, Humphrey, in a background briefing for reporters.

A tremendous wave of letters poured into the Congress that seemed to reflect some grassroots protests against spending. Many of these letters were inspired by organizations, but they were properly heeded by Members of the House who have a responsibility to their own constituents. And the White House never seemed able to make up its mind. The President demanded restoration of Defense Department and foreign aid money cut by the House, but then dropped his requests after the Senate had fought hard to support him—led, I may say, by Senate Democrats. At a crucial moment the President's own Budget Director undercut work in Congress by seeming to endorse attacks on the President's budget proposals.

My own attitude toward the budget was to support all Appropriations Committee efforts at economy—to trim fat and waste and to postpone projects that could be postponed—but to refuse to adopt the meat-ax approach of simply slashing at random. And I see no virtue in trying to deceive the voters by making cuts that are really spurious—eliminating funds for services already obligated, for example, when everyone in the House knows that next year the money will have to be restored in deficiency and supplemental appropriation bills.

Our country has very large obligations for the defense and preservation of freedom in a dangerous world, and the price tag is not cheap. We have subcommittees on appropriations that very carefully study the requests of the various departments and are experienced and skillful at proposing the elimination of waste. These subcommittees are the ones that suggest wise money cuts, and the reports of the subcommittees I supported. The meat-ax approach is not wise and I could not accept it.

There are other examples of what seemed White House vacillation, entirely apart from the budget, that made it difficult for the first session of the 85th Congress to function effectively. One was on the school-aid bill, mentioned above. So far as I can tell, no Republican leader took the trouble to tell the President at the decisive moment that we Democrats had accepted in toto his bill. At least, he did not himself take the trouble to make a few telephone calls to fellow Republicans and tell them that he wanted action. The bill failed by a mere 3 votes on the first rollcall; a shift of 2 votes would have changed the result, and it is inconceivable that the President could not personally have won 2 votes from among the 59 percent of the Republicans who, in the absence of such an appeal, voted against him.

The civil-rights bill revealed a comparable absence of effective Presidential leadership. In the House we gave him exactly the bill he said he wanted. But when it reached the Senate, President Eisenhower seem to begin debating with

himself in public. He said in a news conference he was "surprised" to find certain things in the bill that he "did not understand." The result was that he yielded the initiative on the measure to its enemies, and all the waverers began to jump down on the "compromise" side. The President's performance very seriously damaged what his administration originally insisted it wanted.

The record of 5 years suggests that the President is never really very effective when he announces that he is for something. He may say he is for it, but he seldom carries through. But when he is against something, such as river-valley development or a program to help our still distressed farmers, then the White House is tremendously effective. It fights as one man, and the Republicans respond. But when Mr. Eisenhower says he is for something, he seldom if ever makes the fight necessary to persuade the Republicans he means it.

My own work this session has been divided, as usual, between the legislation all members must consider for the welfare of the country and the particular interests of the district and people I have the honor to represent.

On January 5, 1957—the opening day of the session—I was elected as chairman of the Democratic caucus for the 85th Congress. In that capacity I nominated the gentleman from Texas, SAM RAYBURN, for his eighth term as Speaker of the House; announced the selection of the gentleman from Massachusetts, Representative JOHN MCCORMACK, as majority leader; and I was appointed, along with MCCORMACK and the gentleman from Massachusetts, Minority Leader JOSEPH MARTIN, to notify the President that the House was organized and ready to do business.

Most people know that much of the work of the Congress is done through committees. I serve on both the Committee on Armed Services, which has jurisdiction over our defense system, and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, which was created as a congressional supervisor of the Atomic Energy Commission.

There has not been a day during the session, except for brief recesses, when I have not attended at least 1—and sometimes 2—meetings of subcommittees or committees working in the atomic energy and armed services fields.

For example, many people became interested in our Status of Forces Agreement regarding trials of our servicemen abroad, and the full Armed Services Committee held extensive hearings which I attended.

From the Atomic Energy Subcommittee on Agreements on Cooperation, of which I am a member, we reported out the bill authorizing American participation in the "atoms for peace" International Atomic Energy Agency. This bill permits the United States to furnish fissionable material for nuclear power reactors in other countries and was necessary to give effect to Senate ratification of the treaty creating the IAEA.

I am equally as interested in fostering the speedy development of nuclear powerplants in our country; indeed, it is vital that the United States shall not be outstripped by other major nations in developing this new source of electric power. Presidential hostility has made it impossible to pass the Gore-Holifield bill, instructing the Atomic Energy Commission to build experimental reactors so that the general public may have the benefit of their enormous $17 billion investment in the atom. But there is a program of private investment, and this can be encouraged by proper Government action. So I sponsored a bill, passed by both Houses, providing that the Government will assume liability over and above private insurance coverage for reactor hazards.

In the absence of such Government assurances, private industry and insurance were reluctant to move swiftly. This bill encourages private industry to go ahead, offers protection to the public financially and also writes in certain reactor safety standards that must be accepted.

I must report frankly that I am still concerned about our slowness in pushing for nuclear power. The pressurized water reactor at Shippingport, Pa., largely financed by the Government and based on development work by a team headed by Adm. Hyman Rickover, will soon be in operation. There will be great publicity next January when nuclear power actually moves into the electricity lines of the Pittsburgh area.

But we need to work on other kinds of reactors—particularly a gas-cooled type that uses natural instead of enriched uranium. Forty percent of all TVA electricity is now being used to enrich uranium, and the development of a gas-cooled natural-uranium reactor would be a great step forward toward production of nuclear power at an economic level.

The Atomic Energy Committee, of course, is also concerned with national defense. The Subcommittee on Research and Development has been given credit—correctly, I think—for saving a program of experimental work toward nuclear propulsion of aircraft.

There were unmistakable signs, many months ago, that the administration was lengthening its target dates in an economy move. I had no objection to a cutback in production plans for an airframe for nuclear craft, but there was serious danger that the whole project would suffer from the reduction of Air Force funds for research and development. The subcommittee's providing produced reassurances from Donald A. Quarles, then Secretary of the Air Force, that every effort would be made to pursue the program vigorously.

The joint committee also created a special subcommittee, of which I was a member, to conduct full-scale hearings on the problems of radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons tests.

We heard scores of experts in the field of fallout, the spread of radioactive particles in the atmosphere and on the earth, and the potential effects on human beings, animals, and vegetation. What we had previously was a welter of uncoordinated information, and the subcommittee report—released just a short time ago—sought to summarize the available facts in a coherent and comprehensive form. We did not get the final answers, of course, but the report should prove very useful to intelligent discussion of the problems by the public.

In another field, one other major public bill was passed in which I have long been interested—the bill establishing Federal inspection and Federal health standards in the marketing of poultry.

I introduced the first resolution in the House calling for an investigation of slaughterhouse and processing plants in the poultry industry after I became aware that very sick chickens were being foisted on the public and that the Government possessed no power to protect the public. Now we have a new system providing for Federal inspection, prohibiting the movement in interstate commerce of poultry or poultry products from diseased, unwholesome or adulterated chickens and turkeys. We have had compulsory meat inspection, for the protection of the public health, for many years. Now we have protection of the public health through inspection of poultry.

I sponsored again, in this session, a bill to grant Federal assistance to areas of chronic and persistent unemployment. Despite the general levels of prosperity, the country is pockmarked with numerous areas where worked-out mines or other troubles have given rise to low incomes, lack of economic opportunity, and genuine depression. There should be Federal aid for these areas, to help them through loans, grants, and counsel, to get back on their feet. I am sorry that administration opposition has made enactment of the bill I sponsored, comparable to the bill sponsored in the Senate by our own Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, impossible.

Naturally I voted for the pay raise for postal workers—and I helped force the bill to the floor, against administration opposition, by petition discharging the committee that had bottled up the measure. I do not consider it right that Uncle Sam should be a bad employer, that he should deny postal workers and civil-service workers the pay increases needed to keep them from suffering from rising living costs. In its best days, the Government has taken the viewpoint that it has a special example to be a good employer, to set an example to private industry, and that is what it should be today.

I regret the failure of the school-aid bill, regret the troubles surrounding the civil-rights bill in the Senate, and can merely repeat that stronger Presidential leadership would have produced better results.

I opposed the natural-gas bill, which would both raise prices to our users of gas and damage the southern Illinois coal industry by allowing a high-profit group of giant oil companies to charge all the traffic will bear. There was sufficient opposition among House Members to keep this bill from being considered in the first session of the Congress.

I sponsored one other bill that is, I think, of more than strictly local interest. This is a measure to incorporate a new veterans' organization, called Veterans of World War I of the United States of America.

This organization, sought by veterans who served from April 5, 1917, and July 2, 1921, would allow perpetuation of the comradeship of those who fought in a war more than a generation past. They have interests in common because of age and memories, and they have a proper concern for celebrating the splendid battle names that ring in their history.

The Defense Department—it informed me in May—has plans well advanced for the return to this country of unknown servicemen of the Korean war and of World War II. Their remains will be ceremonially interred in Arlington National Cemetery.

This is pursuant to two bills that I sponsored in previous sessions of Congress. The remains will be placed in crypts near the sarcophagus of the Unknown Soldier of World War I, in ground already a place of sanctity for Americans, but there will be no change in the present sarcophagus or in its famous inscription, "Here rests in honored glory an American soldier known but to God."

One of the major interests of southern Illinois and of St. Clair and Madison Counties in particular is the question of flood control.

The House this year approved several projects: $97,000 for planning a flood wall at Alton, $550,000 for work on the Wood River levees, and $800,000 for additional levee work in the East Side Levee and Sanitary District.

The House Public Works Committee authorized $40,000 for a small-boat harbor at Alton.

I am sponsor of three bills or resolutions that, in the long run, I hope, will get Federal flood protection that our people seriously need.

One is the bill, which I have sponsored in other sessions also, to get the basic Mississippi River flood-control program modified so as to allow the Kaskaskia project at New Athens, Ill., to be included.

Another is a bill to modify the existing Mississippi River project so as to allow construction of a dam at Chain of Rocks.

The third is a resolution calling for a thorough review of earlier flood-control projects in regard to southern Illinois.

I do not believe that these earlier projects are adequate to meet the needs of our people. The situation has changed sharply since the 75th Congress, 10 years ago, when the comprehensive plan for the Ohio and lower Mississippi Rivers was published. I have asked for new review and survey from the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, covering both the 75th Congress document and all other applicable reports.

Specifically, I requested the House Committee on Public Works to ask the engineers for a review of all programs with "particular reference to all streams in St. Clair and Madison Counties" that flow into the Kaskaskia and Mississippi "with a view to providing improvements."

The Committee on Public Works promptly sent this resolution to the Army Corps of Engineers for a preliminary report on the feasibility of such a survey and review. The Corps of Engineers has agreed that it is feasible and that the survey should be made, and the committee has approved my resolution. This is the first essential step to getting a better flood-control program worked out along comprehensive lines.

Taking account of the feeling of many of our people that they suffer from remoteness in the processes and availability of Federal court, I also introduced a bill to redefine the area under the jurisdiction of the United States District Court for Southern Illinois. Under my bill the southern district would cover 23 of the southern Illinois counties, including Madison County, and court would be held in Alton, Quincy, and Springfield.

Tito's Yugoslavia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an important book review by my friend, Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, professor of international relations in the Catholic University of Chile. The volume reviewed by my friend is entitled "Tito's Yugoslavia," by Mr. Eric L. Pridinoff, a one-time Foreign Service officer who served our country with distinction in the United States Embassy, Belgrade. The book was published in Washington, D. C., by the Public Affairs Press, one of the most reputable publishing firms in America. The review by Dr. Thorning was featured in the autumn 1956 issue of World Affairs, a magazine which is edited by some of the most respected scholars of the United States. The review follows:

TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA, BY ERIC L. PRIDONOFF (WASHINGTON, D. C., PUBLIC AFFAIRS PRESS, 1955; PP. VII–243)

(Review by Joseph F. Thorning, professor in the Catholic University of Chile)

This is a valuable personal report which comes to the public at an opportune moment. The author, who served as a Foreign Service officer in the United States Embassy, Belgrade, relates the essential facts about the origin and development of Tito's totalitarian government. "During my experience in Yugoslavia," declares Mr. Eric L. Pridonoff, "I found that the Yugoslav rulers carried out their promises by exterminating any opposition to the letter and no child of a parent who was considered politically unreliable received food or clothing under any circumstances." Ration cards are needed for everything from a loaf of bread to a bucket of coal. Unlimited economic and police authority is vested in street committees assisted by an army of public prosecutors. No human being in Tito's Yugoslavia can exist without a document signed by such functionaries. This is called a karakteristika, "a kind of civic report card" which indicates exactly where its holder stands in relation to the Communist regime. No one can get a job or a ration card without it. The system originated in the Soviet Union. It is described by Titoists as the new democracy.

It is Mr. Pridonoff's contention that American and British diplomats have been "ill-advised, badly misinformed and incredibly gullible." Public opinion was misled, he claims, either by Marxist stooges such as Louis Adamic and Stojan Pribichevich or by carefully screened newspaper people unfamiliar with the languages and history of the country who were taken on prearranged itineraries and briefed by Tito's interpreters. Other writers, some of them United States citizens of Yugoslav birth, were provided with food, lodging and transportation.

The most revealing chapter of this study is entitled "UNRRA Fiasco." Many Yugoslavs, to this day, do not know that United States aid was contributed entirely without charge. Charitable gifts were sold to the sick and the starving at exorbitant prices. The sale of UNRRA sugar alone, the author points out, brought Tito a profit of $200 million. "The proof is overwhelming," Mr. Pridonoff concludes, "that without UNRRA it would have been impossible for Tito to have consolidated his power over the people of Yugoslavia." This may help to explain why the Yugoslav dictator is presently demanding that all technical aid be channeled through the United Nations. The recent rapprochement between Tito and the Soviet hierarchy underlines the importance of this book.

So-Called Right-to-Work Laws Are Anti-Union-Security Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, there are now 17 States which have, under the authority of section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, so-called State right-to-work laws. President Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor, Mr. Mitchell, has repeatedly said that these State laws are wrong in principle, but I call your attention to the fact that he has never asked us to repeal the Federal law that tolerates them. Secretary Mitchell talks a good line about what he suggests are the pro-labor policies of this administration. He is never able to deliver the goods; he can't count on support either from his President or the leadership of his party in Congress.

The right-to-work label on these State laws is a complete misnomer. They guarantee to no one the right to work. They guarantee no single human being a job. Accurately described, they are simply anti-union-security laws. They are designed to make union organization more difficult and to jeopardize the security of established unions by saying that no kind of collective bargaining contract can contain a union-shop or maintenance-of-membership clause.

They are, therefore, antiunion laws. They are intended to block and frustrate union operations.

As a member of the Democratic Party, it is a source of satisfaction to me to observe that the only State which in recent years has repealed a mislabeled "right to work" law was the Democratic State of Louisiana. Louisiana repealed its statute this year. But in 1955, Utah, under a Republican State administration, adopted one of these outmoded statutes and the Republican Governor, the Honorable Bracken Lee, signed it. In Kansas in 1955, a Republican legislature passed such a law, and when the Republican Governor vetoed it he was sharply attacked by his party.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest that we look at the economic facts of our industrial society. Labor organization has been a positive good to us. The process of collective bargaining may once have been a rather simple one. Today it involves expert studies of productivity—the output per man-hour, the value of new machinery, and the profits to be shared from new technological processes—as well as discussions of equity and simple justice.

The economists who serve the labor unions are as well trained, technically, and as honest—if not so well paid—as those who serve great industry. They know how to talk in terms of the value of purchasing power—mass purchasing power by millions of worker consumers—in undergirding our economy.

Collective bargaining and unions have helped build our mass purchasing power. They furnish the market that lets steel executives plan enormous expansions of capacity. The consumer market is among the most significant factors that Government fiscal agencies must consider in their mysterious manipulations of credit and fiscal policy. Union wages, to a considerable degree, form a bulwark of purchasing power.

The so-called right-to-work laws of the States do not embody any concept of State responsibility for economic prosperity, for the right of hard-working people, in general, to have a decent place in the scheme of things.

The Federal Government has a very specific obligation to maintain what we call prosperity. When here in Congress we adopted the Employment Act of 1946, we said that employment or unemployment were issues for the Federal Government to consider. We said, in fact, that the maintenance of maximum employment was a direct concern of the Federal Government.

The 17 States that continue right-to-work laws, so-called, have made no comparable acknowledgement of their own. They have not said they will use Government processes to see that willing workers have decently paying jobs. They have not said they recognize a responsibility for prosperity in their own Commonwealths.

The States could not say such things, of course. Our economic system is interstate and national, and only the National Government can really do anything about trying to promote conditions under which people have a right to work—that is, prosperity and jobs.

What the 17 States have done, in their mislabeled right-to-work laws, is to pretend they were interested in jobs, but to adopt, in fact, an antiunion attitude.

It is significant, Mr. Speaker, that here in Congress we have never passed any law saying that unions could not negotiate, through the normal processes of collective bargaining, a union-shop clause in contracts.

Why have we not done so? The simple fact is that it would be contrary to our consciences, to what we know of practical industrial relations and the value of free, strong unions. It was a shabby thing that we did in 1947—to say that we would not pass an anti-union-security law ourselves, but that we would, through section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, give the more antiunion States a Federal license to pass such laws on their own.

I consider it significant that no State in which industrial relations between management and strong unions has an established tradition has ever considered seriously a so-called right-to-work law.

The States which have passed these laws are those in which industry and industrialized society are relatively new.

My suggestion is that they would benefit greatly—that they would avoid many of the mistakes made decades ago by others of us—if they would heed the voices of experience.

In an industrialized society—a capitalism that is also democratic—strong, free trade unions are inevitable and an affirmative good.

Pass a law to restrict unions and you achieve nothing except an intensified drive on the part of unions to overturn the law. Give the unions respect and good standing, and the American citizens who are members will take care of their own self-discipline. Never in American history has an antiunion law, or an antiunion decision of the Supreme Court, stood the test of time. But in times of genuine crisis the leaders of unions have shown that they recognize their responsibility as citizens of our whole democracy.

The best way to cure the evil of the so-called right-to-work laws in the remaining 17 States is for us to repeal section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act that makes them legally tolerable.

Mr. Speaker, Secretary Mitchell has not asked us to repeal this section. President Eisenhower has not asked us to repeal the section. President Eisenhower, in fact, has refused to back up his subordinate, Mitchell, in saying that the States should repeal the laws on their own.

The record shows that the laws are wrong, that they go contrary to American experience. The record also shows we in the Congress have had no help—not little help, but no help—either from the President or his Labor Secretary in moving toward overriding the State laws as apparently they need to be overridden.

The Public Doesn't Want Tax Reductions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Charles H. Andrews, member, board of supervisors, county of Ventura, Calif.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the County Officer for July-August 1957]

THE PUBLIC DOESN'T WANT TAX REDUCTIONS

(By Charles H. Andrews, member, board of supervisors, county of Ventura, Calif.)

After 5 years of public service as an elected county official, I am convinced that John Q. Public does not really want tax reductions. He just makes noises in that direction.

Donned in the armor plate which my term of office has grown over a once-thin skin, I venture this observation only because I know what I am talking about. For me, as a former listless taxpayer, the shoe is on the other foot. I am now 1 of 5 men who spend roughly 16 million a year of John Q's money each year. We are a county board of supervisors, or commissioners; whatever the term may be in various sections of the country.

County government is the basic government of our land, the grassroots thing that pollsters and sentimentalists often refer to. This is government wherein you are called by your first name, telephoned with no regard for dinner time, Sunday worship, Christmas, or the sacred hours of sleep. If you have the audacity to not answer the phone, constituents will appear at your door and demand service.

And this is the government, bless its frail human heart, that demands new schools, sewer plants, road and special services in one breath and takes up the banner for tax cuts in the next breath.

The plain fact is that most people don't know what they are talking about when they discuss taxes. Sit on the sidelines with me while I interview some people in my office.

George and Mary are in their early seventies, getting welfare aid. Their combined income from county and State is $178 a month. Their home is paid for; they have a fairly good car. He is getting medical attention from the county hospital, feels he should have a better pair of glasses but argues violently that they shouldn't be deducted from his check.

"I paid taxes in this county for 40 years," he says, "and I'm entitled to my rights."

I check the assessor's office, find the man had paid taxes for 40 years. Also I discovered he had been a pensioner for 8 years and had gotten his original "investment" back in 10 months. At the risk of seeming unsympathetic to oldsters, I told him he didn't have much cause for complaint.

"But I voted for you," he said, falling back on the classic statement that must be the No. 1 aggravation to people in public office.

My next visitors are a delegation of civic leaders from a small unincorporated town. This area receives fire and flood protection, sheriff's coverage, road and other maintenance work in regularly budgeted planned projects. Before long this could qualify as a small city, yet it is still unincorporated and

possibly receiving more direct benefits per dollar of tax paid than the outlying areas.

"We need to have our main street widened," says the leader of this group. "The traffic is getting unbearable, and our businessmen are suffering. We could use a park, too. The people have to drive 4 miles to a county park."

After considerable research on this request, I informed these people that a special taxing district would have to be set up to provide anything more than the normal road maintenance and construction, to build a park, set up street lighting, or build sewers. Special projects are not a fair charge against general tax money. Needless to say, this was an unpopular decision on my part, and the delegation let it be known.

Next in my office is a 40-year-old man who has a good job. His wife also works; they have no children. He has received a notice from our district attorney that he is a responsible relative, financially liable for a portion of the support of his aged father. The father left home when the son was 2, returned when he was 10. California law states that absence for more than 6 years when children are under 18 absolves children from later responsibility of the parent.

"Why should I take care of him, even 5 bucks a week?" the man asks me. "He never did nothing for me."

And the father becomes a public charge because of a son's vengeance. At times like this, even the strong constitution of a politician, if such we must be called, becomes nauseated. The old days when people loved and cherished their families seem to be fading. And the welfare state is upon us.

The popular officeholder, the fellow who never says no, who presses for liberal legislation, gets that way because of an overwhelming onslaught of people who continually ask for something with no regard for who is going to pay the bill.

For glaring examples, witness several new California bills introduced into the legislature this year, providing that old-age pensioners may own a power lawnmower, color TV, a home valued at $20,000, a car—and still be eligible for aid.

These and similar laws are being enacted all through the United States because there is little or no opposition. It is the popular thing to do.

In my particular little district there are 190 miles of county roads. Each week on my desk are new petitions asking the county to build special new roads or accept old ones. Our laws call for a 50-percent matching of private funds; no one wants to match at $30,000 a mile.

In our county is a school district which spends more per capita than any other in the State. Its board of trustees historically went first class for years, stressing a plush plant rather than adequate teacher remuneration and top personnel. Yet at school-board meetings in which lavish expenditures were authorized, never a citizen put his head in the door to protest. It took a grand jury to bring about some semblance of reform. Meanwhile some $10 million went down the drain where $5 million would have done the job. (This is your money we are talking about, John Q.)

Legislators all the way from city councilmen to State senators are aware of these disturbances and this waste at the grassroots. Witness the Field Act of 1948, in California, which says any school building not conforming to the structural requirements of the act (susceptibility to earthquake) shall be torn down and replaced.

In the city of Ventura a contractor labored with heavy equipment for 2 months to knock down an old school, declared unfit by interpretation of the Field Act, a well-meaning but grossly mishandled piece of legislation. It cost almost as much to tear down the old school as it did to build the new one.

Legislators I have talked with admit the fallacy of such goings-on.

"But how can we stop it?" they ask. "If we speak up, then parents will say we're against education."

And I say nothing could be further from the truth. An educational plant and an architectural monument are two different things. Once again the choice could rest with taxpayers if they took the trouble to show up at school board meetings.

All phases of government are subject to bungling and waste through ignorance and lack of experience on the part of elected and appointed public officials. But actual expenditures affecting people in their own communities can be controlled through their zealous interest. There is more to a courthouse than a marriage license bureau and a courtroom. Here is where demands for service come in faster than the money can be raised to pay for them. Something has to give, and it is here that these choices and decisions are made. Usually it is the squeaking wheel that gets the grease. Only by attending board meetings can John Q. learn what goes on.

I have faith that an enlightened public could become a less demanding one. The man who wants everyone zoned but himself may benefit from visiting the courthouse, studying on a wall map the trends of his area, the land values affected by lack of planning and zoning.

The man who is too busy or not sufficiently informed to understand the workings of his local government is missing a good opportunity to acquire an understanding of government at all levels. A grand jury member told me, "I've learned more about government in 2 months than I learned all through high school and college." If there is apathy in Washington, in Sacramento, in the county courthouse, it is merely an extension of the apathy back home. Unless you have a representative dedicated to his cause, he may conclude that no one cares, so why bother to face the firing line for an ideal?

In California this year there were more than 7,000 bills introduced into the legislature.

"I haven't seen half of them," one assemblyman told me, "much less understand them. How can we be expected to analyze all that and digest it intelligently?"

Yet he and I know that some ringers will slip by and become law, despite the best efforts of all interested people and associations. Each bill represents thinking, good or bad, and each has a motive to create something new or change the status quo. A good 80 percent will wind up costing the taxpayer more money.

Figures compiled by the County Supervisors Association of California show that had Governor Knight signed every bill passed by the 1957 legislature, the State would be $225 million in debt. This is 1 State out of 43. And there are 58 counties in this 1 State. Small wonder that there is need for an increasing vigilance. This association has successfully fought off a lot of giveaway legislation but it needs every bit of help it can obtain.

Our land can be visualized as being divided into two sections, one paying the bills, the other tax free. Paying are the homes, farms, industries. The rest is nontaxable. Some of this is justifiable such as parks, roads, public domains and possessions, churches. Some of it is hardly justifiable and actually strains the letter of the law, still it squeaks by under pseudo-religious guises and various manipulation of freeloading mumbo-jumbo. There is plenty of room for housecleaning here but it will take plenty of public support and brave men to pick up the brooms. An acreage limitation for quasi-religious cities would be a good one to start on, for example.

Every time a freeway is built an average of 10 acres per mile goes off the taxroll. The percentage of cost to be shared among remaining taxpayers around the freeway goes up. We enjoy a new service, but we pay for it and our children will pay for it, and possibly theirs.

When a public dam is built, the land under that water is taken out of production and off the taxrolls. Each new public service voted in by legislators or by a citizen may be exactly what he has been wanting. But he cannot expect it to be free.

As a public servant I see these things happening every day, every week. I think ahead to an ever-expanding population striving, as we strive, to better its way of life. In this picture will be super airports, road systems deluxe, molecule-type apartment houses for doubled and tripled populations. The land will become infinitely more valuable and vast irrigation, fire protection, land management and flood-control projects will become mandatory to secure the highest possible use of this precious remaining agricultural earth.

Still in this streamlining and superefficiency of man's earthly functions there must parallel an even greater efficiency in the functions of government to insure economic survival. We cannot continue to allow the mushrooming of the many appendages of basic government until it grows into a monstrous octopus which we are no longer able to feed.

There is an urgent need for people who will work on committees to study various phases of government and press for reforms, who will sacrifice personal comforts to help safeguard a future from economic strangulation.

The citizen who pays lipservice to dropping the tax rate, who has not armed himself with specific recommendations, who agitates on street corners and through incoherent letters to editors, is an alarmist and the worst kind of politician; worse than most of the Johnnie-come-latelies he puts into office by virtue of their campaign promises.

This is the man who approaches his ballot like a popularity contest and then compliments himself for having exercised his privilege of free choice. Only until he substitutes a philosophy of cause rather than effect can he hope to cast an intelligent vote. Only until he insists before his local school board that his children be given more emphatic and interesting rudiments of government as it relates to them personally, can he perform a service to the next generation.

John Public is responsible for the pork-barrel politicians who seek to satisfy his impossible and unrealistic demands. If he understood basic government and followed its trends, he would then press for a public service managed by highly skilled and intelligent men with the same precise efficiency as a private enterprise battling against competition.

People who care a whit for their mounting tax burden must let it be known instead of taking an absent-owner attitude that lets the store tend to itself. It is only fair to warn them that unless they begin taking a more active part in the affairs of our land and soon, as we will have reached a stage where the world may owe us a living, according to these doctrines, but will be unable to provide it.

Work of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS S. GORDON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 85th Congress, the Committee on Foreign Affairs made significant contributions to the international relations of the United States. As a result of the critical political situation which exists in the world, the committee devoted much time to a searching review and examination of the foreign-policy problems which face this Nation today. Constant attention and a thorough consideration was given to all matters which have come before us in this session.

The security of our country has been enhanced by the coordination of defense measures, which has contributed materially toward the defense of the American Continent by the promotion of close collaboration with the military forces of the American Republics. In other areas of the free world, our mutual allies have acted affirmatively in deterring the progress of international communism.

As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to all members on the committee for their wholehearted cooperation and assistance. The committee, operating on a bipartisan basis, has contributed to the strength and unity which represents the United States to the governments of the world.

Measures of international and national importance were given thorough consideration and were enacted in this session. The committee acted responsibly, courageously, and constructively on all matters pertaining to our foreign-policy problems.

It is very gratifying that our Nation is making such a sincere effort to help solve the economic and political problems which confront the peoples of Spain, Poland, and Latin America. Strong democratic governments will emerge with the improvement in the economic standards in these countries.

Our extension of aid to Poland during these trying days under a new regime is a step in the right direction for the Polish Government to pursue its own independent course. The $48 million worth of goods that we will ship to Polish ports, plus the $46 million more in surplus agricultural commodities, may loosen the Kremlin's hold on Poland to such a degree that the Communist empire will be seriously weakened. The renewal of trade with Poland will certainly give us a clearer understanding of Poland's unfortunate current position and the hope of her eventual freedom with our reasonable assistance.

Spain today is an important link in our mutual-defense system. Spain's present defense agreements with the United States provide assurance for continued military and naval operations in Western Europe and the Mediterranean area. Consequently, the adequate defense of Spain assures the protection of our vital bases located there which are of importance to United States security interests. We are fortunate in having Spain a mutual partner in the fight against international communism. It is conceivable that Spain has much to offer to the international organizations that are dedicated to the free people of the world. Every effort should be made to invite Spain for membership in the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Our Nation applauds the efforts that are being made in the American Republics to deal with the menace of communism. The peoples of Latin America have recognized the dangers of communism and have successfully combated this scourge by preserving democratic governments. In the uncertain and troubled world of today the future security of the United States may well depend upon maintaining a solid front in the defense of the American Continent. It is, therefore, important that we should continue to exert every effort in the direction of our foreign policy toward Latin America to promote cordial relations with the Republics of this hemisphere, not only by military leadership in our fight against international communism but in economic and cultural activities as well.

A summary of the legislative measures on which the committee completed its action during this session follows:

Statistical record, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Number of consultative committees	8
Number of ad hoc subcommittees	2
Number of conference committees	2
Number of meetings of conference committees	4
Number of bills and joint resolutions referred to the committee (Of this number 61 are duplicates.)	126
Number of simple and concurrent resolutions referred to committee (Of this number 103 are duplicates.)	146
Number of bills and joint resolutions considered by the committee	33
Number of bills and joint resolutions reported favorably	12
Number of bills and joint resolutions favorably reported by committee and passed by House	10
Number of bills and joint resolutions enacted into law	10
Number of simple and concurrent resolutions considered by committee	18
Number of simple and concurrent resolutions reported and acted upon by the House	7
Number of hearings (open and executive)	161
Number of pages of printed hearings	3,176
Number of pages of reports	796
Number of witnesses	338
Number of witnesses appearances before committee	399
Number of meetings with Rules Committee	6
Number of committee reports:	
Reports on legislation	14
Minority reports on legislation	2
Conference reports	2
Special reports	7
Total	25

Statistical record, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 85th Cong., 1st sess.—Con.

Number of messages from the President and executive communications referred to the committee	19
Number of House documents referred to the committee	17
Number of memorials and petitions referred to the committee	65
Number of reports requested from Government departments and agencies on legislation referred to the committee	61
Approximate number of pages in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of House consideration on bills and resolutions reported by committee	458
Number of Members sponsoring measures referred to the committee	151

Time spent in sessions: By committee: Executive, 86 hours, 46 minutes; open, 49 hours, 34 minutes. By subcommittees: Executive, 63 hours, 52 minutes; open, 57 hours, 14 minutes. Total, 256 hours, 46 minutes.

Approximate total authorization in measures considered by committee and passed by House and enacted into law, $3,367,083,000.

(By way of comparison, the money involved in public bills before the committee during the 73d Cong. was $102,000.)

MEASURES ENACTED INTO LAW

MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1957

This act extended the mutual security program for another year, authorizing a total of $3,367,083,000 as a result of the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses. The above figure represents a reduction of $250,250,000 from the Senate figure of $3,617,333,000 and an increase of $250,250,000 above the House authorization of $3,116,833,000. In reporting this bill the committee was aware that the United States is confronted with serious problems in the field of foreign affairs and that satisfactory solutions to many of these problems have not yet been found; approved August 14, 1957, Public Law 85-141.

MIDDLE EAST DOCTRINE

The purpose of the resolution is to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East in order to assist in the strengthening and defense of their independence.

Three primary objectives are accomplished by the resolution:

First, it puts the Soviet Union on notice that the United States intends to use its Armed Forces if necessary to secure and protect any nation or group of nations of the Middle East requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism.

Second, the resolution by its scope and spirit, as well as by its language, is intended to make clear to the governments and the people of the Middle East the attitude and the policy of the United States toward them. The policy of the United States toward the area and its readiness to provide assistance contemplates no infringement of the sovereignty of any nation.

Third, the resolution removes certain restrictions on the use of mutual security funds by the President which are contained in existing law. A sum not to exceed $200 million may be used for the purpose of furnishing economic and mili-

tary assistance pursuant to the provisions of section 401 (a) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and without regard to section 105 of the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1957.

The maintenance of international peace and security, insofar as the foreign policy of the United States is concerned, has involved all three objectives. To utilize one is not to exclude the others. This is the impulse behind the language contained in section 2 of the resolution respecting employment by the President of the United States of the Armed Forces of the United States in the general area of the Middle East consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States; approved March 9, 1957, Public Law 85–7.

AMENDMENT OF ANGLO-AMERICAN FINANCIAL AGREEMENT

The bill amends the Anglo-American Financial Agreement and provides that the United Kingdom will give up all rights to claim a waiver of interest under the original agreement. In return the United States agrees that the United Kingdom may postpone a maximum of seven payments of interest and principal beginning with the interest payment due on December 31, 1956.

This resolution does not involve a determination by the Congress as to whether or not the United States should waive or postpone its collection of any current or future interest payments on the British loan of 1946. The decision of the Congress on this basic issue was made in 1946 when it ratified the Anglo-American financial agreement of December 6, 1945.

This resolution is necessitated by the fact that the complex formula for determining whether or not the borrower is entitled to a waiver of interest does not work satisfactorily because of changes which have occurred during the last 12 years. It would defeat the purpose of the waiver clause if long negotiations accompanied by a certain amount of controversy became necessary whenever the United Kingdom is confronted by a financial crisis; approved May 31, 1957, Public Law 85–21.

CONVEYANCE OF CERTAIN LAND IN TEXAS

The bill authorizes the Secretary of State to take the necessary action to make possible an exchange of land now held by two school districts in Texas for other land more suitable for school purposes; approved May 31, 1957, Public Law 85–42.

SURRENDER TREE SITE, SANTIAGO, CUBA

This bill provides for the transfer of responsibility for the care and maintenance of the Surrender Tree site in Santiago, Cuba, from the Department of the Army to the American Battle Monuments Commission. This memorial marks the spot at which the preliminary surrender of the Spaniards occurred on July 17, 1898; approved August 13, 1957, Public Law 85–125.

CORREGIDOR-BATAAN MEMORIAL COMMISSION

The bill enables the Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission to waive certain legislative restrictions so as to permit the employment of an individual, retired military person, to serve as an Executive Director of the Commission. Similarly, it will permit the employment of a small number of clerical workers without regard to the provisions of the Classification Act of 1949; approved August 28, 1957, Public Law 85–179.

DISPOSAL OF CERTAIN LANDS TO ALIENS

The bill amends the act of August 27, 1935, as amended, by deleting the present restriction that the Secretary of State may only lease or dispose of certain lands to citizens of the United States. The bill permits the disposal of lands and interests in lands by the Secretary of State to aliens; approved August 28, 1957, Public Law 85–201.

BUFFALO AND FORT ERIE PUBLIC BRIDGE AUTHORITY

The resolution provides for the continuation of the Buffalo and Fort Erie Public Bridge Authority with power to maintain and operate the highway bridge over the Niagara River between Buffalo, N. Y., and Fort Erie, Ontario, Canada. Similarly, this resolution repeals the resolution approved July 27, 1956 (Public Law 824, 84th Cong.), which granted the State of New York authority to negotiate and enter into an agreement or compact with the Government of Canada for the establishment of the Niagara Frontier Port Authority to take over the operation, control, and maintenance of the bridge and provided for the termination of the corporate existence of the Buffalo and Fort Erie Public Bridge Authority; approved August 14, 1957, Public Law 85–145.

SECOND WORLD METALLURGICAL CONGRESS

The resolution provides for an official welcome by the Congress to the overseas metal scientists who will attend the World Metallurgical Congress sponsored by the American Society for Metals to be held in Chicago, Ill., on November 2 to 8, 1957; approved August 31, 1957, Public Law 85–247.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY CELEBRATION

The resolution authorizes the President to invite the States of the Union and foreign countries to participate in the St. Lawrence seaway celebration to be held in Chicago, Ill., from January 1, 1959, to December 31, 1959.

The year 1959 will mark the opening of the St. Lawrence seaway to deep-draft vessels, thereby permitting the uninterrupted shipment of goods from all ports in the world to all ports along the Great Lakes; approved August 30, 1957, Public Law 85–228.

CONCURRENT AND HOUSE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

MEMBERSHIP OF SPAIN IN NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 115

The resolution expresses the sense of Congress that the President take all proper and necessary steps to bring about an invitation to Spain to become a party to the North Atlantic Treaty and a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Passed House March 20, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings; passed Senate April 12, 1957.

URGING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGARY, HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 204

The purpose of this resolution is to request the immediate reconvening of the General Assembly of the United Nations to consider the report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary on the brutal action of the Soviet Union in Hungary. The text of the resolution is expanded to deal with other captive nations in Eastern Europe so that the Hungarian tragedy shall not be repeated elsewhere in the world.

Passed House, June 26, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings; passed Senate, amended, June 26, 1957; conference report adopted in Senate and in House, August 6, 1957.

EXTENDING GREETINGS TO GHANA, HOUSE RESOLUTION 185

The resolution conveys the greetings of Congress to the Legislative Assembly of Ghana on the occasion of the independence of that state, March 6, 1957. Further, it reaffirms the friendship of the United States for the people of Ghana.

Passed House March 6, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings, without reference to committee.

CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT RAMÓN MAGSAYSAY, OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES, HOUSE RESOLUTION 201

The resolution expresses the condolences of Congress to the people of the Republic of the Philippines in the loss of their beloved President, His Excellency Ramón Magsaysay.

Passed House March 18, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings, without reference to committee.

PAN-AMERICAN DAY CELEBRATION, HOUSE RESOLUTION 203

The resolution designates Monday, April 15, 1957, for the celebration of Pan-American Day, at which time it is the custom of the legislative bodies of the various Republics to exchange greetings and expressions of cordial friendship.

Passed House March 18, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings, without reference to committee.

UNACCOUNTED AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR TAKEN BY THE COMMUNISTS, HOUSE RESOLUTION 292

The resolution urges the President to continue his efforts for the return of, or a satisfactory accounting for, the 450 American prisoners of war taken by the Communists during the Korean conflict.

Passed House July 9, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings.

CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA, HOUSE RESOLUTION 379

The resolution expresses the condolences of Congress to the Government of the Republic of Guatemala in the loss of their President, Carlos Castillo Armas.

Passed House July 29, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings, without reference to committee.

MEASURES PASSED BY HOUSE BUT NOT FINALLY ACTED UPON IN SENATE

AUTHORIZING AMBASSADOR HENRY CABOT LODGE AND CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO ACCEPT AWARD TENDERED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY, H. R. 8592

This bill authorizes Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Hon. William A. Barrett,

Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, and Hon. James G. Fulton, Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, to accept and wear the award of the Order Al Merito della Repubblica Italiana, tendered by the Government of the Republic of Italy.

Passed House, July 12, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings, without committee action.

AUTHORIZING HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, TO ACCEPT AWARDS TENDERED BY THE REPUBLICS OF ITALY AND CUBA, H. R. 8734

This bill authorizes Hon. VICTOR L. ANFUSO, Representative from the State of New York, to accept and wear the awards of commander of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic, and commander of the National Order of Merit "Carlos Manuel de Cespedes," Cuba, tendered by the Republics of Italy and Cuba.

Passed House, July 16, 1957, unanimous-consent proceedings, without reference to committee.

MEASURES REPORTED BUT NOT FAVORABLY ACTED UPON IN THE HOUSE

PAYMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF DENMARK, S. 2448

This bill authorizes an appropriation of $5,296,302 to the $35,432,350 already paid to the Danish shipowners for the 40 Danish ships that were requisitioned by the United States in 1941.

The additional payment is necessitated by the fact that the procedures followed when the ships were first requisitioned established a legal situation under which the owners of the vessels could not receive full compensation in the terms of the original understanding between the Danish Ambassador and the Department of State.

Reported to House, July 30, 1957.

STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENTS, HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 16

This resolution provides for the revision of the Status of Forces Agreement and certain other treaties and international agreements, or the withdrawal of the United States from such treaties and agreements, so that foreign countries will not have criminal jurisdiction over American Armed Forces personnel stationed within their boundaries.

Reported to House, July 1, 1957; hearing by Rules Committee on request for rule, July 2 and 10, 1957.

The Role of United States Agriculture in World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Dr. Walter W. Wilcox, senior specialist in agriculture of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, addressed the annual meeting of the American Farm Economic Association at Junaluska, N. C., August 30, 1957, on the topic The Role of United States Agriculture in World Affairs.

This address sets forth agriculture's truly great contributions in a comprehensive manner which should be of interest to all Members of Congress dealing with agricultural problems.

The last half of this address is of especial interest because of Dr. Wilcox's analysis of the contribution of current price-support programs to net farm income in recent years and the estimated effect of lowering price supports to levels which would encourage the movement of all current production into consumption through commercial markets in the next year or two.

THE ROLE OF UNITED STATES AGRICULTURE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

(By Walter W. Wilcox, Library of Congress)

I am delighted to be able to address my fellow agricultural economists on this particular topic. As you all know, American agriculture has exercised an important role in world affairs from earliest colonial times. To begin with, there is little doubt that Great Britain and Western Europe enjoyed more peace and tranquillity in the field of religious beliefs in the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries as a result of the emigration of the nonconformists to the American colonies—largely to American agriculture.

Hundreds of thousands—nonconformists in religious and social customs—left their mother countries in these three centuries to find a new life and carve out an estate for their families on this continent. American agriculture began as something of a safety valve both for the population problem and for the religious and social-reform groups in Western Europe.

CONTRIBUTION TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

As soon as the colonies were established, they stimulated increased economic activity in the mother countries and American agriculture began its historic exports of tobacco, food, and fiber. Exports of tobacco from the Virginia and Carolina colonies were more important than the exports of food and fiber in those early years.

There is little evidence that imports of food from the United States were an important factor in the industrial revolution in England in the early 19th century. After the adoption of the factory system, however, it was the availability of export surpluses from the United States which provided the food and fiber base for the industrialization of Western Europe.

When the half-dozen most important influences of American agriculture on world affairs are listed, its contribution to the industrial development of Western Europe will rank high on the list. Who can say what the course of history would have been if American agriculture had not produced an export surplus in the 19th century?

The period of American agriculture's major contribution to industrial development in Western Europe began in the last half of the 19th century and continued until the outbreak of the World War I, in 1914. During this long period imports of cotton, wheat, pork, lard, and other farm products from the United States permitted a rapid rise in living standards in Western Europe at the same time that population growth and industrial development were unprecedented.

AMERICAN AGRICULTURE BETWEEN WORLD WARS I AND II

Everyone in this audience is more or less familiar with the role of American food in bringing relief to the famine-stricken millions immediately after World War I. Again, who can accurately assess the role of this food which saved millions of lives and contributed immeasurably to the restoration of political stability in the postwar years?

The period between World War I and II was tragic for American agriculture, American business, American diplomacy, and equally tragic for world economic and political affairs. The experiences of that period have been invaluable in guiding our progress in recent years. But we paid a high price for our experience.

Perhaps one should not pass the period of the 1920's and the 1930's without giving some attention to the impact of American agriculture on world events and vice versa. There is little doubt that during this period the impact was mostly vice versa.

The sharp decline in the price of United States farm products after World War I and the failure of agriculture to share in the industrial prosperity in the 1920's led to misguided increases in protective tariffs. First came the Emergency Tariff of 1921, then the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922, and after 8 years of continued ailment, really strong medicine was administered in the form of the Hawley-Smoot Act of 1930.[1] Import duties were increased on livestock products, grains, sugar, vegetable oils, and many other products. The Hawley-Smoot tariff increases were prescribed, however, by nonfarm statesmen, in lieu of the farm-bloc-supported McNary-Haugen bills which twice passed Congress only to be vetoed each time. Actually, the tariff increases intensified rather than helped solve the farmers' economic problems.

Although the economic troubles of agriculture contributed to the worldwide depression of the 1930's in other ways in addition to furnishing an excuse for raising import duties, its role in causing the downward spiral in economic activity at that time, was probably overstated in the literature of the 1930's.

The great depression of the 1930's in the United States did have a decisive influence on American agriculture, however, and on its place in world commerce. The programs adopted to combat depression set the stage for the withdrawal of the major agricultural exports from the freely competitive world markets—a situation which has continued until our current program of disposing of agricultural surpluses in foreign countries was adopted.

In the preparation of this paper several interesting hours were spent in reviewing the professional papers of that period dealing with the conflict between domestic farm programs and the goals of freer international trade. There is no doubt that a real conflict existed even though the conflict was less intense than at present.

It is difficult, however, to attach any great importance to the interferences with free-world trade which resulted from the domestic farm programs prior to World War II. World traders found it more difficult to conduct their business, trying to anticipate the actions of the United States Government as well as the usual market influences on supply, demand, and prices. On the other hand, subsidized exports were seldom pushed to the extent that they exceeded previous free-market exports.

Domestic production adjustment, price stabilization, and diversion programs had a net effect of reducing United States exports and increasing world prices at a time when world prices for agricultural products were depressed. These influences, together with some assistance from American capital, including United States technical know-how contributed to the continued growth of production in other exporting countries. Hence, one concludes that in an overall sense,

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Footnotes at end of speech.

United States partial withdrawal from world export markets in the 1930's had a buoyant effect on world prices and a modest stimulating effect on economic development in the other agricultural exporting countries.

The synthetic fiber industries in importing countries also received some stimulation. Since world supplies of food and fiber tended to be burdensome during this period it is difficult to isolate any significant adverse effects on the traditional importing countries resulting from United States farm programs.

AGRICULTURE'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD WAR II

The advent of World War II brought a challenge to American agriculture that was met so successfully that one could write a book about it. The United States began contributing foods to our allies through lend-lease arrangements before we became involved militarily. Food products from American farms became a part of the rations of every Allied military force in action, including the Russian forces. And when the Allied military forces were successful, shipments of food produced on American farms made a great contribution toward averting famine and anarchy in the defeated countries.

Farmers in North America enjoyed relatively favorable weather and a minimum of dislocations caused by the hostilities. Farm production in the United States and Canada increased 35 percent between 1935–39 and 1946–47, an increase not approached in any other area of the world except Great Britain.

United States food supplies during these war years were augmented by accumulated stocks of farm products above ground and additional productivity in the soil resulting from prewar acreage restrictions. There also is little doubt that management and sharing of food supplies during the war years was enhanced by the administrative experience gained by the Commodity Credit Corporation and other agricultural agencies in the prewar years.

AGRICULTURE'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION

It would be logical to turn now to agriculture's role in world affairs in recent years. Yet agriculture's greatest contribution to the shaping of world affairs might be overlooked if special attention is not called to it. American agriculture's contribution to the fabulous development of American industry and business enterprise overshadows any other role it may have played in world affairs. This has been an interdependent development with American industry producing the improved machines, chemicals, and other supplies essential for ever-increasing efficiency in agriculture.

My philosopher friend John Brewster ascribes much of the distinctive, dynamic thrust of American business and technology to the spirit of enterprise inherited from our Puritan forefathers and democratic principles formulated in colonial times. American agriculture operating in this cultural environment sought and obtained the assistance of Federal-State-supported research and educational institutions now called the land-grant college system.

With the help of these land-grant institutions and American industry, United States farmers soon became the most efficient agricultural producers in the world. Without the cheap food produced by American farmers and the progressive release of more and more workers from the fields and farmyards, industrial development in the United States could not have made the progress it has. And there can be no argument that it is the high level of industrial development which gives the United States its current position of leadership in world affairs.

To some this may sound like agricultural fundamentalism: The position that since food is basic to life, food production is more important than other economic activities in modern society. No such extreme claim is intended. Current American industrial development is not primarily based on the tremendous productivity of American agriculture. Yet there is little doubt that industrial development would have been slowed down greatly if half or more of our people had been required in food and fiber production and if food prices in the United States had been based on the cost of imports from other parts of the world. Actually the percentage of the total labor force employed in agriculture has declined from 31 percent in 1910 to 10 percent in 1955.

Parenthetically, the current problems of agriculture grow directly out of these particular developments which permitted it to make such a great contribution to national industrial progress.

IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY FARMING AND IMPROVED TECHNOLOGY

It seems appropriate at this point to mention other aspects of American agriculture's role in world affairs which are often overlooked. Two immediately come to mind. The first is the social and economic success of the family farm in the American cultural environment. This aspect of American agriculture has played a dominant role in guiding land reform activities in most of the underdeveloped countries of the world in the past 10 years. Land-reform programs in Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Italy, and Egypt in particular have utilized the successful American family-farm experience. Here one senses a danger that because of its success in the United States and Western European environment, the family-farm approach may be prescribed in cultural and economic situations where it is not adapted.

The second contribution which might be overlooked is the export of agricultural technology. United States agricultural technicians are playing a leading role in the worldwide technical-assistance programs of both the United States and the United Nations. Social and economic progress in the underdeveloped countries of the world is as much dependent on technical progress in agriculture as on industrial development. Indeed, there are some indications that a more productive agriculture must come first.

Technical progress in agriculture and industrialization are interdependent in underdeveloped countries as well as in the United States. Workers must be freed to man the machines of industry and industry must provide jobs for the workers freed by technical progress in agriculture. Also, without increased food production in most of these countries workers will not have the health and vigor necessary for rapid economic development.

In the century ahead the export of American agricultural technology and technologists may prove to be agriculture's greatest role in world affairs. Certainly it is likely to be more important than the exports of American farm products.

This is merely a personal estimate and it is not based on an assumed decline in farm exports. Rather, it is based on the evident and assumed great opportunity for world betterment through the adoption of improved agricultural technology.

AGRICULTURE'S CONTRIBUTION TO FREER TRADE

Before turning our attention to American agriculture's role in world affairs in recent years, its changing role in formulating broad foreign-trade policy in the Halls of Congress is worthy of note. Historically the congressional delegations from the South have been for freer trade and lower tariff policies. In terms of numbers of Congressmen and Senators for freer trade interests from the cotton and tobacco South have had greater representation than the protectionist interests of the Midwest and West. It was the industrial oriented legislators in combination with midwestern agriculture's representatives which were responsible for the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930. But this is past history. In recent years United States trade policies have tended toward more restrictions and the southern agricultural interest no longer exercise their strong opposition.[3] Industry has become important in the South. Southern Congressmen are increasingly influenced by the restrictionist interests of these new industries as well as by the restrictions required by domestic farm price-support measures. No longer can one say that the solid South consistently favors freer trade policies.

EFFECTS OF CURRENT AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

Now that the many important but noncontroversial aspects of American agriculture's role in world affairs have been briefly sketched, attention can be centered on the more controversial aspects of the current scene. Trade reports and news items indicate there is much concern on the part of other countries about current agricultural policies in the United States specially as they influence exports.

Perhaps if they were more fully aware of the magnitude of the productive capacity of American agriculture and the sharp price discounts required to move excessive supplies into use they would be even more apprehensive. Surely United States policies to date have reflected a substantial concern for the interests of agricultural producers in other exporting countries and in the importing countries. And there is little doubt that this concern for the legitimate interest of others will continue.

But the nature and the intensity of the agricultural supply and income problem in the United States is such that it will continue to create international trade problems for some time. In spite of a 16-percent reduction in estimated labor used, returns to all labor and management in agricultural production fell from 89 cents in 1947–49 to 70 cents an hour in 1956.[4] The fact that farm output increased 13 percent during this period is not unrelated. In contrast to the decline in hourly earnings of farm labor from 89 to 70 cents an hour, workers in manufacturing increased their earnings during this period from $1.33 in 1947–49 to $1.98 an hour.

The above facts tell only a part of the story. Net farm income would have fallen at least 20 to 25 percent lower except for extensive Government price-support operations. In each of the last 4 fiscal years net Government purchases and nonrecourse loans have accounted for $2 to $3 billion of the income received by farmers. In view of the inelastic demand for wheat, cotton, and a number of other price-supported products gross and net farm income under actual production levels would have been at least $2 to $3 billion lower except for the price supports.

Returns to all labor and management in agriculture has varied from 65 to 80 cents an hour in the past 4 years. Except for the removal of $2 to $3 billion of farm products from commercial markets each year by price-support activities, it is estimated that returns would have varied from 46 to 59 cents an hour. Even more discouraging are the implications of the latest analyses of farm price specialists. They indicate to me that in spite of efforts to expand markets and adjust production, in the next year or two if price supports are lowered to levels that would permit all current production to move through commercial markets, net farm income, and returns per hour of farm labor will decline 20 to 25 percent from current levels. Some farm organizations and farm leaders, perhaps believing the decline would be less, favor such a reduction in farm price support levels and related activities. Other groups, perhaps believing the decline would

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Footnotes at end of speech.

be even greater, resist any changes in existing price support policies until more satisfactory intermediate programs or compromises can be achieved.

Basically the people in the underdeveloped countries of the world are short of food and fiber while production in commercial exporting countries is excessive for commercial market outlets at reasonably stable prices.

No attempt was made to price United States exports of basic price-supported crops competitively or to bridge the gap between need and commercial market demand in 1952 and 1953 when stocks began to accumulate in the United States. In 1954 Public Law 480 was passed which permitted the sale of United States farm surpluses for local currencies, and authorized expanded barter programs and grants of food in emergencies. It was late 1955 and 1956 before shipments were made under this program in volume. The Government also adopted a competitive pricing policy on cotton in 1956 which is still in force.

Everything of importance to date, however, has been either emergency legislation, or temporary administrative policy. No agreement has been reached on new long-run policies adapted to the current situation. There is general agreement that the flexible price-support policies adopted in 1954 are not adequate. The production-control features of the soil bank are losing support. There is agreement among economists, politicians, farm organizations, and farmers that the old price-support programs are inadequate. Agreement does not go beyond this, however.

We have the technical ability, to build hydrogen bonds and intercontinental missiles. It is frustrating to have to observe that as yet we do not have the political and economic ability to develop farm programs which give farm products a substantial part of the price stability and bargaining power enjoyed by other products in our economy.

The outlook for an improvement in this situation is not good. Techniques of price support are available which could be applied only to that portion of the total production utilized in domestic markets without having significant adverse effects on production, prices, and commercial movements of supplies for the export market. These may be tried within the next few years, although they now are opposed by important farm groups. The other alternatives appear to be either an indefinite continuation of current marketing quotas on cotton, wheat, tobacco, rice, and peanuts or a general disintegration of farm price support activities which also would have substantial international trade repercussions.

FUTURE PROBLEMS

Without attempting here to plot the course for moving out of the current muddle, let us shift our attention to the future. There is little doubt that American agricultural exports will play a larger role in world affairs in the next 2 decades than in the 2 decades prior to World War II. Cotton, wheat, fats and oils, and tobacco will continue to be the leading exports.

Relatively large supplies of these exports products are expected to continue even though livestock production is increased substantially in the United States. Projections of farm production trends in the United States indicate that both domestic and foreign markets for farm products will be under pressure from abundant supplies for a considerable period ahead.

In view of these expectations, social scientists and the food and agricultural statesmen of the world have an unusual opportunity. Can they develop the means by which a part of American agriculture's excessive output will be effectively channeled into productive use outside of regular commercial channels? On the one hand additional food is needed in the underdeveloped countries of the world as they attempt rapid economic development. On the other hand, unless new types of credit are developed, although supplies are burdensome in relation to commercial market outlets, only a part of the need can be filled through these markets.

Obviously, American agriculture will play a much more important role in world affairs in the decade ahead if bilateral or multilateral programs of distribution are developed to supplement the international food markets serving underdeveloped countries. One approach might be a continuation of a greatly restricted program of sales for local currencies under Public Law 480.

There is danger that Public Law 480 will be discredited along with existing domestic farm price-support programs. The adverse effects on normal commercial trade of current sales under section I of Public Law 480 are antagonizing our competitors in world markets. A rebellion against the high cost of the current program is also brewing. However, if and when domestic price-support programs are sharply revised, a modest sale of American farm products for local currencies may be desirable. It could assist greatly in balancing supplies of farm products with market outlets. It also would assist in promoting economic development in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the outstanding characteristic of American agriculture in the past 100 years has been its high productivity and its inability to contract production when market outlets were inadequate.

American agriculture was developed by pioneering people, first from the mother countries and later from the Eastern Colonies and States. In spite of much emphasis in the literature on farming as a way of life, at least half the farm families consider it a business in the best tradition of American businessmen. As a result of their business management they have adopted technological innovations parallel to those adopted in other industries. If our current export of agricultural technology could be supplemented with authoritative information on the cultural factors which led to its rapid adoption in the United States, the role of American agriculture in future world affairs might be great indeed.

United States and United Nations technical-assistance programs will achieve greatly increased results when a larger part of the total effort is devoted to educational and training efforts centering on the social, economic, and other cultural factors which have facilitated the rapid adoption of technological improvements in the United States. If this is done there is little doubt that American agriculture's greatest role in the future of world affairs will be its contribution of cultural experience and technical know-how.

This does not infer that exports will be unimportant. The future development of commercial agriculture in the United States, including long run export policies, or lack of them, is in a more critical position today than many people realize.

Problems associated with assuring agriculture reasonable rewards for over-abundant production which it cannot change quickly and finding ways and means of effectively utilizing this overabundance are among the more important problems in urgent need of attention by social scientists. The latter problem is especially challenging since the overabundance is only in relation to market outlets. There is no overabundance in relation to physical need.

The role which American agricultural production plays in world affairs in the future will be greatly influenced by social scientists contribution to the solution to these two problems. What changes in business practices and regulations will assure farm businessmen reasonable rewards for their high level productivity in a economic society dominated to an important extent by the interests of large corporations and large labor unions?

And, what arrangements will assure that the over-abundant market supplies of food and fiber produced in United States and other western countries will make a maximum contribution to the economic development of the free world?

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[1] Our Farm Program and Foreign Trade, by C. Addison Hickman, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1949; p. 55.

[2] Piquet, Howard S., Some Aspects of Reciprocal Trade Agreement Legislation, Social Science, vol. 24, No. 4, 1949. Also, Staff Papers Presented to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, February 1954, pp. 266–268.

[3] After allowing interest at 4¾ percent on capital. These and most subsequent data in this section were taken from S. Doc. No. 18, 85th Cong., 1st sess. Prepared by the USDA.

Tributes to Kelley Loe, Labor Leader, of Portland, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD two fine editorials in tribute to an outstanding and courageous leader of Oregon labor, Kelley Loe, who died in Portland, Oreg.

These editorials are A Real Labor Leader, from the Oregonian, and Kelley Loe, a Credit to Labor, which appeared in the Oregon Daily Journal. Both these daily newspapers are published in my home city of Portland.

At a time when a willful minority of labor leaders have been shown to be tainted by underworld affiliations, it is well to include in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD tribute to a labor leader whose character was unimpeachable and whose integrity and sincerity were of the stanchest and purest quality. I valued Mr. Loe's friendship, and his counsel was always on the side of the right and courageous course.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregonian]

A REAL LABOR LEADER

Modest, retiring Kelley Loe, quietly puffing his pipe as he explained to you the background of some public issue, was a familiar figure among leaders of Oregon industry and labor. A resident of Portland since 1918, Mr. Loe was among the best known and best liked of Oregon's labor leaders through the years.

He never would admit that he was a labor leader. "Put me down," he once told an Oregonian interviewer, "as just one of the rank and file." You could laugh that off. In union labor circles he was widely recognized as the man who did much of the best

thinking and writing on questions affecting the workingman. He was articulate and effective in promoting the principles to which he devoted his career.

Mr. Loe was a lobbyist in the best sense, and many legislators have been grateful to him for information needed to help them get a grasp of facts needed on a legislative problem. Though 4 years retired from his post as assistant secretary of the Oregon Federation of Labor, he was still available for help when needed. Loved for his personal friendliness, he is remembered as a fellow who liked to sit down and just talk things over. Those who'll miss him are by no means confined to the ranks of labor.

[From the Oregon Journal]

KELLEY LOE A CREDIT TO LABOR

All who knew Kelley Loe, quiet-spoken, scholarly labor leader, editor and author, instinctively liked him, even when they disagreed with him.

As an editor of the Oregon Labor Press, as legislative lobbyist and public-relations chief for the Oregon labor movement, and as an authoritative writer in the labor, civil-rights, and tax fields, his wise counsel was eagerly sought, not only by labor leaders, but by legislators and newspapermen generally. His diligent research work, his inherent fairness not only won for him the confidence and esteem of his fellows in the labor movement, but in the broader fields of civic work and public service.

He took many a brash labor leader by the hand, guiding him skillfully through the legislative maze at Salem and over the public-relations hurdles which otherwise would have meant disastrous spills. Even when he himself was on the firing line, in some battle over labor legislation, the sales tax, or civil rights, he would smile, speak softly, yet make his point and thus win friends for the cause and for labor generally.

That's why governors and mayors often named him to study committees, regardless of partisan politics. And when he turned his hand to writing a book about the labor movement, he brought to the task a fluency, a flair for dispassionate research and appraisal, and an objectivity rarely found among those who work in and write about the labor movement.

So when Kelley Loe died the other day, after a quarter of a century in the labor movement (following his earlier career in the newspaper business), Oregon lost a good citizen, a scholar and a gentleman, a man who did great credit to the cause he represented.

It Is Up to the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, many of us here believe that government is most responsive when it is closest to the people. For this reason, we have been most gratified by President Eisenhower's interest in transferring Federal responsibility for many programs to the States. This, of course, is a reversal of the long trend whereby the Federal Government has assumed more and more functions and, in so doing, has preempted areas of taxation to pay for these programs.

I wish to call the attention of the Congress to an editorial which appeared in the August 29 edition of the Perry County Tribune of New Lexington, Ohio, which commends the President's leadership in this area and discusses the primary issues involved as they affect the cost of government. The editorial is as follows:

UP TO THE STATES

President Eisenhower belongs to that fast-growing group of authorities who believe that one way to bring about tax reduction is for the States to assume responsibility for some of the costly activities that are now carried on by the Federal Government.

The President proposes a task force for action which would have a three-pronged job: To designate functions which the States are ready and willing to assume and finance, that are now performed or financed wholly or in part by the Federal Government; to recommend the Federal and State revenue adjustments required to enable the States to assume such functions; and to identify functions and responsibilities likely to require State or Federal attention in the future and to recommend the level of State effort or Federal effort, or both, that will be needed to assure effective action. As specific examples of programs in which there should be greater State participation, the President cited slum clearance and disaster relief.

It is an obvious fact that the Federal Government can only spend the money which it has first taken from the people and the enterprises of the States. It is also a fact that a substantial proportion of that money is absorbed by Federal administrative overhead, and that in most instances the States would get more concrete return out of each dollar if they did the work themselves.

Moreover, the money saving, important as it is, would be only a part of the benefits that would result. If the States knew they had to do their own financing, they'd examine spending proposals with much more critical eyes instead of seeking Government aid for all manner of unnecessary projects. Then, best of all, there would be reaffirmation of the largely forgotten principle that local needs should be met so far as possible by local action, a principle which lies at the heart of free, representative government.

Regulation of Firearms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which was made before the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service by Fred B. Rhodes, Jr., Esq., who is an attorney with offices here in Washington.

Mr. Rhodes was speaking for approximately 1,500 firearms dealers throughout the United States, many of whom are in Massachusetts and who have separately expressed to me their concern over the proposed ruling of the Internal Revenue Service which would place upon them an onerous reporting burden, as well as, in their judgment, an unwarranted extension of Federal control.

Because Mr. Rhodes has done such an able job of summing up their case, I wish to take this opportunity to bring this statement to the attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF FRED B. RHODES, JR., WASHINGTON, D. C., BEFORE THE ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO TAX DIVISION, AUGUST 27, 1957

It is my privilege to appear here on behalf of Pasadena Firearms Co., of Pasadena, Calif.; the Golden State Arms Corp., also of Pasadena, and approximately 1,500 dealers throughout the United States with whom the Pasadena Firearms and the Golden State Arms Cos. conduct an extensive business in firearms and ammunitions, and for whom they act as distributors. My principal clients, the Pasadena Firearms and the Golden State Arms Corp., also conduct an extensive business in direct mail-order and over-the-counter sales to individuals of arms and ammunition, which is sold both for sporting and target practice use and for preservation as collectors' items.

My principal clients also conduct a significant importing business in foreign arms and ammunition, either through their own agency or through that of such well-recognized foreign firms as Sidem International, who also are agents for the Fairchild Airplane & Engine Co. in present negotiations with the Netherlands and Bonn Governments, and have acted as intermediaries between North Atlantic Treaty Organization governments and the United States Government in the matter of purchase of United States military weapons and equipment.

Despite the volume of business conducted by my clients, one must class this as small business. In speaking on their behalf, I wish most strongly to emphasize that my protests to certain proposed regulations relative to the Federal Firearms Act as published in the Federal Register of May 3, 1957, are made from the particular viewpoint of small business.

In this connection, I am authorized to state that without any doubt the proposed sections 177.51 (firearms records), 177.52 (ammunition records), and 177.54 (over-the-counter sales to individuals) would impose penalties in time and cost of additional administration which would be ruinous to the conduct of business. Furthermore, section 177.50 (identification of firearms) would impose additional and very costly procedures which would vary from the serious to the prohibitive. Certainly this would be the case with imported collectors' items.

Concerning the proposed sections 177.51, 177.52, and 177.54, I have used the adjective "ruinous" because investigation since my letter of protest of May 31, concerning the effect of the proposed regulations upon my principal clients' business, has disclosed with certainty that not only would marginal operations be eliminated because such operations could not support the additional administrative burden, but that my principal clients' business as a whole would face prohibitive burdens in time and cost of the additional administration. The business volume and profit margins are insufficient to maintain the additional administrative burdens, and especially in the present state of the national economy, the additional administrative burden could not be passed on to the customers in the form of price increases.

The same may be said for my clients' dealers. Those whose business consists wholly, or almost wholly, of arms and ammunition, would face similar prohibitive problems, while those whose arms and ammunition

business constitutes only a part of their retail activity, would carry on this part of their business at a loss, or, at best, as a marginal operation.

These conclusions have been based upon my clients long experience as distributors, dealers, and importers.

In connection with the additional burden of cost of administration which the new regulations will impose, I call especial attention to the fact that the Congress specified in the Federal Firearms Act, a license fee for manufacturers of $25 and for a dealer of $1 per annum. No transfer tax whatever was imposed by the act, and yet the additional administrative burden imposed by the proposed regulations will, in effect, impose a heavy transfer tax in those cases where customers can be induced to bear the increased cost. In other cases wherein customers cannot be induced to pay the resultant increased selling price, the net effect of the proposed regulations will be to prohibit trade. It is estimated that there are 100,000 dealers in the United States and of these perhaps 45,000 to 50,000 are licensed.

I wish to question whether it was or is the will of the Congress either to impose such a transfer tax, or so to prohibit trade, or virtually to eliminate a whole category of small business. On the contrary, it is the frequently expressed will of the Congress, as well as of the executive branch of the Government, to assist small business, and to reduce the number of small business failures per annum.

The section of the proposed regulations causing my principal clients the gravest concern is section 177.54 (over the counter sales). Since this section requires the person or persons to whom firearms or ammunition is sold, distributed, or delivered, to receipt in their own handwriting upon the main company record format as prescribed in other sections of subpart D, the proposed regulations would abolish the present mail-order trade. Strictly interpreted, the proposed regulations therefore would, upon going into effect, immediately put out of business such firms as the Pasadena Firearms Co. and the Golden State Arms Co., which depend to a large extent upon mail-order business. It may well not have been the intent of those who prepared the proposed regulations so to abolish the mail-order trade in arms and ammunition, but if there is in the proposed regulations any method of conducting the mail-order business which does not have such effect, that method is not apparent to my clients or me. * * *

Of especial concern to my clients is the fact that the proposed regulations would place the reputable and recognized dealer at a considerable disadvantage, in comparison with sales and exchanges between individuals, since the latter remain unregulated, while the former are subject to the imposition of additional administrative burdens having effects varying from the extremely grave to the prohibitive. I question whether it is or was the will of Congress to place established and reputable dealers under such disadvantage.

* * * * *

It, therefore, appears that the proposed regulations are properly a subject for further legislation, rather than for imposition by administrative action. It is basically logical and in conformity with past precedent that if the problems of firearms regulation are so great that they require the extensive and sweeping additions to the firearms identification and recordkeeping procedures as called for by the proposed regulations, then new legislation, preceded by appropriate congressional hearings, is very much in order.

That such is the case is further borne out by determination of the legal basis of the proposed regulations. This legal basis is to be found only in section 903 (d) of the Federal Firearms Act ("Licensed dealers shall maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment, and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe") and in section 907 ("Rules and regulations: The Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this chapter").

The marking of firearms is not called for in any part of the Federal Firearms Act, although called for in section 5843 of the National Firearms Act ("Identification of firearms: Each manufacturer and importer of a firearm shall identify it with a number or other identification mark approved by the Secretary or his delegate, such number or mark to be stamped or otherwise placed thereon in a manner approved by the Secretary or his delegate"). The only mention of identification markings in the class of arms covered by the Federal Firearms Act is found in section 902 (i) ("It shall be unlawful for any person to transport, ship, or knowingly receive in interstate or foreign commerce any firearm from which the manufacturer's serial number has been removed, obliterated, or altered").

Having made a close study of the Federal Firearms Act, the National Firearms Act, and the present and proposed regulations for the Federal Firearms Act, and after consultation with my clients, I call your attention to the following detailed arguments regarding the proposed regulations:

1. Section 177.50, identification of firearms: This section provides for the identification of firearms by certain markings thereon to be made by manufacturer or importer (name and location of same, serial number, caliber, and model of the firearm). The Federal Firearms Act itself does not call for any such identification, either by serial number or other means, much less for the details demanded by the proposed regulations. The act mentions serial numbers only to prohibit transport or receipt of firearms in interstate or foreign commerce "from which the manufacturer's serial number has been removed, obliterated, or altered" (sec. 902 (i)).

Previous regulations did not call for any such identification as is now proposed, and, indeed, the only mention of serial numbers of firearms in the previous regulations was in connection with the required recording by dealers of serial numbers of firearms "if such weapons are numbered" (sec. 315.72 (a), pt. 177 of title 26 (1954), Code of Federal Regulations, printed in the Federal Register of April 15, 1954).

During the times when the Federal Firearms Act was passed and amended, and at all times before and since, the custom of the firearms industry in the United States and abroad has been to manufacture large numbers of firearms (especially of the sporting type, cheap .22-caliber rifles, and military weapons, such as the M1903) have been manufactured without such identification as called for by the Treasury in the proposed regulations, and these rifles have been and are being made available for wide public sale.

Had the Congress considered it necessary to identify firearms in the manner prescribed by the proposed regulations, it is reasonable to conclude that at the times of passage and amendment of the act, and since, legislation would have been provided to alter common commercial and Government practice, and provide for identification as was done in the National Firearms Act (Sec. 5843: Identification of Firearms). At least, it may be expected that the Army would have been induced to follow the desires of the Treasury.

As the proposed regulations stand, they leave the development of firearms marking systems to individual manufacturers and importers, which can result in confusion and inefficiency of operations, both business and governmental.

Furthermore, the cost and time involved in identifying weapons in the proposed manner would vary from prohibitive to serious proportions. Importers in particular are gravely affected, since it is impossible in many, if not most, cases to develop the type of mass production methods (which may be justified in manufacturing) which can render bearable the effort of so marking miscellaneous lots of firearms. In the case of collectors' items, such marking would constitute defacement, and result in considerable lowering of value of the weapon on the domestic market. So far as the regulations are concerned, antique arms, as well as modern, are affected.

Finally, the regulations would leave unaffected approximately 30 million of already manufactured arms in use in the United States and not identified as called for in the proposed regulations. Importers, compelled to identify arms in the manner proposed, would thus be placed at a serious disadvantage in relation to trade in such domestic unidentified arms.

While the proposed section 177.51 implies that the permission of the Director of the ATT Division may be sought in order that the firearms identification information demanded in this section may be omitted, the time as well as the expense involved in the seeking of such permission would be prohibitive to extremely costly. Rapid turnover and maintenance of low inventories are recognized essential business practices to which the seeking of such permission in each case would run seriously counter. In the case of single items or small-volume transactions, the seeking of such permission would be out of the question financially.

2. Section 177.51, firearms records: Procedures added and expanded from those previously approved and in general practice will impose such additional administrative burdens resulting in the effects on business mentioned above. The following points are considered especially critical:

(a) New prescribed record format: A prime net effect of the proposed regulations is to impose upon dealers a specific business record form, which is both described and illustrated in the Federal Register of May 3, 1957. This has been accomplished without prior consultation with business. This format calls for procedures different from those now in general use, no previous standard format having been called for either by legislation or regulation. This format is by no means necessarily adapted to the various standard business methods (especially machine records systems where used) in common use in the manufacturing, wholesale, importing, and retail fields. As a result the proposed regulation will call for keeping of a new and additional set of records not consonant with standard business practice.

(b) Keeping of separate records: This requirement imposes upon dealers additional business procedures, with consequent grave effect upon administrative overhead costs both initial (to effect the change) and continuing.

The proposed format and recordkeeping, when taken in consideration with the proposed section 177.54 (over-the-counter sales to individuals), which requires receipt by individuals in their own handwriting in the record prescribed in the proposed section 177.51 (firearms records), will impose the gravest complications and administrative handicaps and burdens upon the conduct of business. The results are further developed below in the comments upon the proposed section 177.54.

(c) Length of time records are to be kept: Previous regulations called for retention of records in permanent form for 6 years. The proposed regulations specify retention of such records in perpetuity. The question is asked: Is the gain to firearms control worth the burden imposed on the industry? De-

pending upon location and the value of real estate and floor space, the retention in perpetuity of firearms records will impose a serious burden in the form of storage space occupied, and the material equipment required for such storage. Moreover, the expense of such storage is affected by the proposed section 177.55, which requires that firearms records be available for examination by designated internal revenue officers during business hours, which is taken to signify that such records must be sorted in such a manner as to be available and not stored in locations and in a manner minimizing cost and space requirements. Since the proposed section 177.51 requires that such records be delivered to the Director of the ATT Division for permanent retention in the event of absolute discontinuation of business, why (provided that permanent retention of records is necessary to adequate firearms control) should not such records be turned over to the Director after 6 years? Would it not be more convenient and efficient for the Government to have a central file, than for the agents to have to go to the trouble and expense and time of calling on individual businesses and inspecting their files as necessary? And if firearms-control requirements do not justify the maintenance of such a central file, can it be maintained that they justify putting business to the trouble and expense of maintaining permanent files?

3. Section 177.52, ammunition records: This section is a new one, since previous regulations provide for no recordkeeping whatever of pistol and revolver or any other ammunition. It is noteworthy that the act nowhere provides for any recordkeeping of transactions on such ammunition.

The maintenance by dealers of such records, especially in the case of sales of small numbers of rounds, and most especially in the case of several or single rounds for collectors, imposes an especially great additional administrative burden. The amount of the burden is greater than that regarding firearms records (as expounded in 2 (a) above) in that in the case of ammunition, in retail sales especially, the burden of time, staff, and materials involved in additional administration will normally be greater in proportion to the value of the sale, than in the case of a firearm. Moreover, the records of ammunition will be additional to the separate new system for firearms. In consequence this section will have signal effect on trade, and therefore most definitely raises the questions of whether the gain to firearms control is worth the deleterious effect upon business, and of whether Congress intended that the act should have this effect.

When the proposed section 177.54 (over-the-counter sales to individuals) applies, the burdens imposed will be extremely grave, and the obtaining of signatures of individuals involved in mail-order transactions would appear to abolish mail-order business as stated above.

It is noted that whereas the proposed section 177.51 specifies in some detail that entries in firearms records shall be posted at the time of the transaction, or in each instance not later than the close of business on the day next succeeding the day on which the transaction occurs, the proposed section 177.52 (ammunition records) makes no regulation as to the time of posting. If it is necessary in the public interest that firearms records should be promptly posted, it would appear equally so in the case of ammunition records. Therefore, it is feared that the apparent discrepancy in the proposed regulations may be an indication that the fullest consideration thereto has yet to be given in the public interest as well as in that of businesses concerned.

4. Section 177.54, over-the-counter sales to individuals: Actually covers, because of the phrase "or distribution to individuals," mail-order sales as well as true over-the-counter sales and requires, therefore, receipt in the handwriting of the "persons to whom the firearms or ammunition are sold, distributed, or delivered * * *," both of direct and mail-order sales on the record prescribed by this subpart. Not only does the requirement for such signatures seriously complicate and add to the cost of administration as described in 2 and 3 above, but in the case of mail-order sales the obtaining of the signature on the main firearms record appears impossible.

The grave effect of the proposed recordkeeping may be illustrated by reference to the hitherto approved and satisfactory recordkeeping system employed by my principal clients.

This system has been to describe the firearm and state the serial number (if any) on the clients' copy of the invoice. This is accomplished by a single typing which produces in a single operation a set of 10 sheets, which fulfill all extant requirements of business administration. The introduction of the proposed special form and separate records would result not only in the acquisition of new stationery and other material equipment, but also the addition of the special administrative procedures and space for the former and latter. The special typing required in itself can definitely be stated to be an added overhead item prohibitively costly in its general effect upon much of my clients' business. * * *

It is hoped that the above is sufficient to illustrate why the question arises as to whether the gains to firearms control are worth the cost to business and the resultant restraint of trade and hence of manufacture.

The people I represent are small-business men in 47 out of the 48 States of the Union, the District of Columbia, and Alaska. They are honest people who are attempting to make an honest living. It is very natural that they would resent any Federal interference which would increase the cost of doing business, and in some instances would drive them out of business, unless it was apparent that the national welfare was endangered. If this was the case, they like every other patriotic citizen would be in favor of such changes in regulation; it is apparent that this is not the case, and they know it, and further they resent being put upon by the Federal Government. To impose the costs, to bring about the hardships which these regulations will bring to small-business men is unfair and unjustified. If this agency feels that the welfare of the Nation is at stake then it should take the problem to the Congress of the United States for a revision of the act.

General Lafayette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News on the 200th anniversary of the birth of General Lafayette:

GENERAL LAFAYETTE, 1757–1834
(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

September 6 is the 200th anniversary of the birth of General Lafayette.

East-siders, New Yorkers, Americans, and freedom-loving people everywhere will on this day salute the memory of that illustrious, fearless Frenchman, military hero and champion of freedom.

He is New York's and America's beloved adopted son who, at 19, using his own funds and accompanied by 11 loyal companions, sailed for America to join Gen. George Washington and other patriots fighting for this Nation's independence.

The War of American Independence had begun in 1775 and Colonel Lafayette of the Noailles Dragoons mentally followed the American struggle for freedom:

"The feelings of my heart, long before it became my duty, engaged me in the love of the American cause.

"I shall neglect nothing on my part to justify the confidence which the Congress of the United States has been pleased to repose in me as my highest ambition has ever been to do everything only for the best of the cause in which I am engaged.

"As the defender of that liberty of which I adore, free myself beyond all others, coming as a friend to offer my services to this most interesting Republic. I bring with me nothing but my own good will, no ambitions to fulfill, and no selfish interest to serve. The happiness of America is intimately connected with the happiness of all mankind; she is destined to become the safe and venerable asylum of virtue, of honesty, of tolerance, of equality, and of peaceful liberty."

General Lafayette made four visits to the United States during his lifetime. The first was in June 1777, when he began his service with the American Army under General Washington, and lasted until January 1779. Lafayette then spent a little more than a year in France, where he supervised the outfitting of a fleet and an army of 6,000 to aid the Americans.

Returning in April 1780, Lafayette continued his military service with the Revolutionary forces until the victory at Yorktown, October 1781. His mission accomplished, in December of the same year Lafayette sailed to France.

From July 1784 to January 1785, Lafayette visited the United States on a peacetime tour. Finally, in 1824, he was invited by the Congress and President James Monroe to visit this country as its guest of honor.

On August 14, 1824, Lafayette, at the invitation of Congress and President Monroe, arrived in New York Harbor on the vessel *Cadmus*. He was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette.

On August 16, 1824, after leaving Staten Island, Lafayette and his party landed at the Battery in lower New York City. More than 30,000 persons came to greet him. They lined the streets, rooftops, and wharves. Cannon boomed a salute and for 4 days and 4 nights the city of New York was turned into a huge festival center. In triumphal parade, Lafayette was driven to City Hall for a mammoth reception. He reviewed troops at City Hall Park and later at Battery Park; he watched the ascension of the balloon, American Eclipse.

At City Hall, the mayor said:

"In the name of the municipal authority of the city, I bid you a sincere welcome to the shores of a country, of whose freedom and happiness you will ever be considered one of the most honored and beloved founders. Your contemporaries in arms, of whom indeed but few remain, have not forgot, and their posterity will never forget the young gallant Frenchman, who consecrated his youth, his talents, his fortune, and his exertions to their cause; who exposed his life, who shed his blood, that they might be free and happy. They will recollect with profound emotions, so long as they remain worthy of the liberties they enjoy, and of the exertions you made to obtain them, that you came to them in the darkest period of their struggle, that you linked your fortune with theirs, when it seemed almost hopeless,

that you shared in the dangers, privations, and sufferings of that bitter struggle, nor quitted them for a moment till it was consumated on the glorious field of Yorktown. Half a century has elapsed since that great event, and in that time your name has become as dear to the friends as it is inseparably connected with the cause of freedom, both in the old and in the new world.

"The people of the United States look up to you as to one of their most honored parents—the country cherishes you as one of the most beloved of her sons. I hope and trust, sir, that not only the present but the future conduct of my countrymen, to the latest period of time, will, among other slanders, refute the unjust imputation that republics are always ungrateful to their benefactors.

"In behalf of my fellow citizens of New York, and speaking the warm and universal sentiments of the whole people of the United States, I repeat this welcome to our common country."

Lafayette's reply:

"Sir, while I am so affectionately received by the citizns of New York and their worthy representatives, I feel myself overwhelmed with inexpressible emotions * * * it is the pride of my heart to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America, I am proud, also, to add that upward of 40 years ago I was honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Mr. Mayor, I beg you gentlemen, to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New York, the homage of my profound and everlasting gratitude, devotion, and respect."

On September 9, Lafayette attended a special oratorio at St. Paul's Church, at Broadway and Fulton Street. On September 12, Lafayette worshipped at Trinity Church, at Broadway and Wall Street, and on September 14 more than 6,000 persons jammed Castle Garden at the Battery to fete Lafayette and wish him bon voyage on his journey up the Hudson River.

The life story of this young nobleman is one of the most romantic in history, and the fame of such a character can find no limit except in earthly gratitude.

Congress made him a gift of $200,000 in cash and a township of land. A full-length portrait of Lafayette by Samuel F. B. Morse is now in the art gallery of the New York Public Library, and facing Fourth Avenue is the Lafayette statue, by Bartholdi, presented by the French Government to the city of New York.

Pork Barrel and Beans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include a very fine editorial which appeared recently in the Chicago Sun-Times entitled "Pork Barrel and Beans" which follows:

PORK BARREL AND BEANS

Looking back on the economy wave that more or less swept through Congress, it is interesting to note that the major escapee was the old pork barrel, or public works. Congress cut the overall budget requests 7.7 percent but hometown projects, needed or not, only 2.1 percent.

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, turned out to be the only sponsor interested in trimming the pork barrel substantially. He sent us a letter calling attention to a vote in which he was snowed under 85 to 1 when he wanted to cut about $200 million out of the $858 million appropriation for 400 rivers and harbors projects in 41 States.

Senator DOUGLAS, who is an economist, argued that the construction work would mean money would be spent for the very commodities where price inflation is strongest. Ultimately, this would affect business costs and the cost of living. At least a fifth of the projects, he said, weren't worth in benefits the money that would go into them.

DOUGLAS knew he was arguing a lost cause. Too many Senators were getting too many public projects for cities and towns in their home States. They are against inflation, but not at the expense of some favorite projects.

But PAUL is undeterred. He wrote:

"Until I am convinced I am in error, I shall try to cut expenditures upon capital goods in periods of inflation and try to practice thrift at all times. I must confess I get discouraged at the way the economy vows of January melt away by August."

On another occasion he tried to save the taxpayers $30,000 by moving that this amount be knocked out of the Federal budget because it is used to subsidize the Senate restaurant. DOUGLAS said that the famous bean soup and other items on the menu should not be sold at a cut price to Senators who could afford to pay free-enterprise prices out of their $22,500-a-year salaries. But he was shouted down. When it comes to pork barrel or bean soup for themselves, Senators don't mind spending your money.

An Economy-Mandated Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, with the close of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, we who are Members of this body can agree on 1 fact, at least—that we were mandated by the American people to reduce Federal spending, balance the budget and otherwise get the Government's financial affairs in order. Everyone knows, or should know, that we are in a life-and-death struggle with Public Enemy No. 1—inflation. People are worried, scared, and they look to Washington for protection and relief.

In analyzing my own record in this and previous Congresses, Mr. Speaker, I am proud that I have consistently sought economy in government. As a member of our Appropriations Committee, I have been strong in demands for drastic cuts in departmental budgets, particularly the multi-billion-dollar Defense Department. I cannot, for the life of me, see why it is necessary for our military forces to spend some $40 billion a year even though the maintenance of defenses, with the consequent easing of war hazards, is very expensive.

My Ninth Congressional District in Indiana is comprised of 14 counties with a population total of some 260,000. It is a typical grassroots section where people are thrifty, realistic, and aware of the fact that money does not grow on trees. Early in this session they let me know of their firm determination against $72 billion Federal budgets and doubtful give-away programs to foreign powers.

The mandate of Indiana people was so strong that I joined with my Indiana colleagues in late February 1957, in signing a declaration of economy in Government which stated, in part:

The Indiana Republican delegation in the House of Representatives, after careful study and evaluation, has unanimously agreed that a reduction of the $72 billion budget will be in the best interests of the people of the United States. It was further agreed that every proposed reduction in the budget, which does not curtail essential services or endanger the security of our country, will be supported.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that I have consistently followed that declaration of policy. In fact, my record of economy votes was noted in the Congressional Quarterly, as being the highest in the State of Indiana and among the highest in the entire Nation.

Despite the demands of my committee work, I was present on this floor to cast my vote on virtually all of the 100 roll-calls of the session just closing.

As an example of my economy policies, I would mention the various appropriation bills on which this chamber acted, after these measures had cleared the committee on which I serve. I helped in two places to get these appropriations reduced—in committee and on this floor.

For fiscal 1958 the various appropriation bills sought a total of $64,048,466,290. When they passed the House they had been reduced to $58,515,233,806. After Senate and conference clearance they totaled $59,134,110,706. These totals do not reflect certain other costs which the Nation's taxpayers are called upon to assume. One huge item is the fixed charge of approximately $7,400,000,000, which represents interest on our public debt, now exceeding $270 billion.

I had great misgivings about the amounts requested in these appropriation bills. In every instance where there appeared a possibility of voting for responsible reductions, I did so. In one of the appropriation bills, 14 amendments were voted upon with an aim of effecting reductions. I am proud to have been one of those who voted in favor of each of those 14 amendments.

The Congressional Quarterly tabulations for 26 so-called economy bills through July 28 showed that I had favored 22 of them for a percentage of 81. This is among the most consistent records held by any Member of Congress.

In analyzing the record of this congressional session, we find that relatively few major bits of legislation were acted upon. Of more than 13,000 measures introduced, only about 250 merged with House and Senate approval. Much remains to be done next year. Little was done about veterans' legislation, and I am particularly anxious that Congress consider problems of World War I veterans. They truly are the forgotten men of this century's American wars.

Giving them some help where it is needed would be sound economy and entirely justified.

It is also noteworthy that taxpayers of America received no relief during the first session. No substantial tax reductions were enacted, and few were given the courtesy of consideration. Yet the tax revenues under existing laws increased from $68,165,000,000 in fiscal 1956 to $70,989,000,000 in fiscal 1957 because of the economic growth of the Nation.

The Mutual Security Act, or foreign aid bill, was reduced to a $3 billion figure from the $4.4 billion sought. I opposed this bill because I know our people, already suffering from oppressive taxation and ruinous inflation, strongly doubt the wisdom or fairness of spreading money abroad with the abandonment so evident in the past. Foreign aid, as we are doing it, should be thoroughly scrutinized and reevaluated. That is the temper of the American public.

It is my determination, Mr. Speaker, to press vigorously for economy in government for as long as I remain in Congress. It is an urgent necessity if we are to stem the rapid drift toward inflation. Ever since we deserted the philosophy of those who framed our Constitution, which limited our powers to tax ourselves, this Nation has known little about the blessings of economy.

I have long advocated a full-scale reform of our national tax structure. Whether the 16th amendment, which provides for the levying of an income tax of unlimited amounts according to the whims of Congress, was a proper step is indeed gravely doubtful.

When we come back to Washington for the second session of this Congress, I hope every Member on this floor will remember that he carries a mandate from his constituency. It is a mandate as strong as any ever declared by the American people. They want a return to commonsense, economical Government. That is our job for 1958.

Bordentown, N. J., Celebrates 275 Historic Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, Bordentown, N. J., located in the Fourth District of New Jersey, which I have the honor to represent, will celebrate its 275th anniversary the week of September 7–14 this year.

Bordentown was founded in 1682 by William Farnsworth, one of William Penn's party of friends, and has had a part to play in the great periods of American history since then.

Bordentown was the home of Thomas Paine and Francis Hopkinson—musician and signer of the Declaration of Independence. The home of Francis Hopkinson still stands.

Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, and the former King of Spain, chose Bordentown for exile and built a mansion there in a beautiful park. The park and the mansion live on, and the home is now occupied by a religious order, the Society of the Divine Word.

Clara Barton, of Red Cross fame, lived in Bordentown at one time and established a public school there around 1852. The little, one-room, red brick schoolhouse is one of Bordentown's proudest possessions.

From the time when, as one of the earliest towns in what was then west Jersey, Bordentown was established, it has occupied a special place in the history of New Jersey and our country.

The residents of Bordentown have spared no efforts to give a proper and fitting tribute to their historic city and to those who so brilliantly wrote its history by word and deed.

I include here articles from the Trentonian and the Bordentown Register:

[From the Trentonian, Trenton, N. J., of August 30, 1957]

BORDENTOWN LOOKS AT 275 HISTORIC YEARS

On the banks of the Delaware River where it bends, just below Trenton, is Bordentown, a colonial town which was founded in 1682 by one of William Penn's party of Friends, Thomas Farnsworth.

This year, with a whole week of celebration planned from September 7 to 14, the old colonial town commemorates its 275th birthday.

Bordentown has had a part in every facet of American history. Starting with the Quakers who established a trading post there in 1682, the first milestone was reached when Joseph Borden, a shipmaster originally from New England, came to town in 1717 and established a stage line from New York to Philadelphia.

With packet ships between Philadelphia and Bordentown, stagecoaches from Bordentown to South Amboy, and sailing ships from Amboy to New York, the line was established. It was famous in its day.

In the pre-Revolutionary days and after, Bordentown was the home of Thomas Paine, Francis Hopkinson—signer of the Declaration of Independence—and many other notables. The Hopkinson House which was built in 1752 is still in excellent state of preservation.

In 1817, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon and ex-King of Spain, chose Bordentown for his home in exile. He built a large mansion set in a beautiful park on the riverbank. Both mansion and park are still intact though greatly changed. It is now the home of a religious order, the Society of the Divine Word. The Bonaparte influence through 30 years greatly affected the town.

It was in 1831 that the first railroad in New Jersey was started at Bordentown, the Camden & Amboy Line, now a part of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The Johnny Bull locomotive, now in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., made its first run on the tracks built through Bordentown. It was built in Bordentown.

The next national figure to make history in Bordentown was Clara Barton of Red Cross fame. Miss Barton came to Bordentown from New England in 1850. New Jersey had not been successful in establishing public schools which were popular in New England and New York. Miss Barton, who was a teacher, thought New Jersey should have this type of school and started one in Bordentown.

The little, one-room red brick schoolhouse which was New Jersey's first successful public school is one of Bordentown's proudest possessions. Miss Barton started with 6 students and in a year's time had 600 with schoolrooms wherever available. In 1852 a school building was erected to house her growing public-school enrollment. The Clara Barton school building is a New Jersey landmark.

The Gilder estate and house built in 1788 are other proud possessions of Bordentown. The home of Richard Watson Gilder, editor of Century magazine; Joseph and Jeanette, New York newspaper writers and editors of the seventies and eighties; William Gilder, an explorer and writer; John Francis, musician and composer; and Robert, an artist and newspaper editor of Omaha, Nebr., it is now the possession of the city and the shrine of the Bordentown Historical Society, while the ample grounds provide a municipal stadium and recreation park for the area.

The new Carslake Community House will offer a historical exhibit of mementoes of all notables who have made Bordentown history—artists, writers, military and others, during the week of celebration.

Opening with a firemen's parade on September 7, the week will end with a giant historical and military parade on September 14. A spectacular pageant will be presented 6 nights on Gilder Field. "Open house" days, industrial exhibits and lots of other events will round out a week of activity in historic old Bordentown.

Bordentown's pages are crowded with historic personages and events. Her quiet shaded streets are reminiscent of another day, with scores of houses built in the 1700's changed a little, still in use and well cared for by their owners and occupants. Bordentown is the home of the famous Bordentown Military Institute which for neary 75 years has offered scholastic and military training for young men.

[From the Trentonian, Trenton, N. J.]

HISTORIC BORDENTOWN

With all of the historic Trenton area looking on fondly, historic Bordentown today begins a week-long celebration of its 275th anniversary. Bearded men dressed in adaptations of what their forefathers wore will abound; ladies becomingly turned out in fashions of the past will lend their charm to the notable event; and a series of highlights will weave an aura of gaiety about the city on the bend of the Delaware.

Gaiety is always the keynote of such a celebration, but under it all there is a deep significance which, we note, will receive full attention in Bordentown. Through the 275 years of its existence, Bordentown has grown as the Nation grew. The city can look back on colonial connections, Revolutionary events, the beginning of public education, early transportation, and a long list of people who contributed much to the cultural and economic progress of America.

The days that have been set aside during the week tell the story of Bordentown—religious observances tomorrow, followed by Railroad and Industrial Day, Fraternal Day, Neighbors and Open House Day, Youth Day, and Historical and Military Day.

From the time when, as one of the earliest towns in what was then West Jersey, Bordentown had its beginning, it has occupied a rather special niche in the annals of State and Nation. We note with neighborly pride that residents of a modern Bordentown have spared no efforts to give proper and fitting tribute to their historic city and to those who so brilliantly wrote its history by word and deed.

[From the Bordentown Register, Bordentown, N. J., of August 22, 1957]

ANNIVERSARY HOMECOMING ARRANGEMENTS COMPLETED

The Reverend James E. Purdy, chairman of Homecoming Sunday (September 8), has recently announced the completion of plans for this part of the 275th anniversary for Bordentown. Letters have been made available through all the religious bodies of our community whereby present members may invite former residents to attend a special service in each of our 10 churches and synagogues during the morning.

Arrangements have been made with Mayor Edward J. Koenig to have the newly completed Carslake Memorial Community Center dedication at 2 p. m. The Honorable Robert B. Meyner, Governor of New Jersey, will dedicate the new structure.

In the evening at 7:30 p. m. there will be a community service at Gilder Field. The speaker at this service will be Dr. Samuel Engle Burr, Jr., of Washington, D. C., a former Bordentonian, and now a distinguished educator, traveler, lecturer, and author of numerous books.

Dr. Burr has this year published Small Town Merchant, the story of his father's long and very active life as a merchandiser in Bordentown in the post-Civil-War days. Many successful business men and women received their early start through the efforts and interest of Mr. Burr, smalltown merchant.

The combined choirs of the churches and synagogue will render two selections and lead in community singing.

Working with Father Purdy completing the arrangements have been all the clergy of the town and Mr. George Groveman. One of the features of the Sunday program will be the bestowal of a memento commemorating the 275th anniversary to the oldest man and the oldest woman returning to participate in the afternoon exercises. The historical pageant will not be presented Sunday evening.

An American Student Visits Moscow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, appended is a letter which I received from a young man, George S. Abrams, who was one of a group of Americans visiting Moscow recently during the International Youth Festival. Mr. Abrams, it will be recalled from press reports, was the individual who spoke at length to Muscovites in Red Square regarding the United States and our sincere desire for world peace. The Russians listened and learned. This bespeaks the value of an exchange of persons program between our country and the European Soviet bloc as set forth in my bill, Senate Concurrent Resolution 44, presently pending before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Abrams' letter follows:

NEW YORK, *August 29, 1957.*

Senator JACOB JAVITS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: The bill for increasing reciprocal exchanges which you sponsored was drawn to my attention yesterday. I hope you will allow me to express a few of my personal feelings and experiences that may bear a little on your bill.

I have just returned from a 3-week stay in Moscow. During that time I had an opportunity to speak to many thousands of Russians. These Russians were average citizens, "the man on the street."

I came home with two main impressions. The first is that the Russian people live in a vacuum and see and hear only what their government chooses to allow them to see and hear. They know virtually nothing of the West and are full of distortions created by the Russian Government.

This leads to my second main conclusion: That there is an urgent need to get any and all information to the Russian people and by far the best way of getting such information to the Russian people seems to me to be by personal contacts through exchanges, as advocated by your bill.

One more brief point. The problem of fingerprinting is a very difficult one. The average Russian with whom I talked said that he would not like to be fingerprinted if he came to the United States. The Russian people sincerely seem to regard fingerprinting as a personal shame—something within their knowledge and belief restricted only to criminals. Anything that can be done to relax the present fingerprinting requirements would seem to me to go a long way toward ending the stalemate presently preventing exchanges between East and West.

I feel that America can afford to relax the fingerprinting requirement because it has nothing, I believe, to fear from such exchanges. We can only gain by allowing the people of Russia and her satellites to see the West and westerners and to find out for themselves many of the things they are told are not true.

I have written this letter in somewhat of a hurry as on September 15 I will enter the Army in the 6-month training program. I do very much want to use all my available time in the next few weeks to give such information as I might have gained from my Russian experiences to such people as yourself.

Thank you very much for allowing me to express some of my very personal opinions, and I sincerely hope that your bill will gain enough support to pass.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE S. ABRAMS.

NEWTON, MASS.

The Tax That Chokes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD an editorial from the Pioneer Press, of St. Paul, Minn., of August 2, 1957, entitled "The Excise on Freight," and one from the Herald-Whig, of Quincy, Ill., of August 5, 1957, entitled "A Tax That Chokes."

These editorials have been published in response to my article in the August 1957 issue of Railway Progress magazine entitled "The Tax That Chokes the West."

I am happy to report that the editorials support effectively and vigorously my claim that this unfair and discriminatory levy works against the best interests of the States in the West and the Northwest.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press of August 2, 1957]

THE EXCISE ON FREIGHT

One of the most illogical and unfair excise taxes levied by the Federal Government is the 3-percent impost on freight charges. It is especially discriminatory against Minnesota and other States which are far from the big centers of population and markets.

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon, in an article in Railway Progress magazine, urges that the levy be repealed. His State and others in the West suffer ever more punishment from this tax than the Midwest. However, its injustices extend throughout the country. There is no sound justification for its existence at all.

Northwest manufacturers, already handicapped by distance from the big consuming markets, are handed a further penalty by the Government through this 3-percent penalty on their freight bills. Northwest farmers pay more for what they buy and get less for what they sell because of the freight tax. Consumer prices in general are increased.

Railroads and common-carrier trucklines are penalized. The 3-percent freight penalty fosters private tax-free hauling of goods which normally would be handled by the common carriers. The private-haul loophole discriminates against small businesses and individuals, since they are not as capable as big companies of hiring private truck fleets. Another way in which the tax is avoided is by shipping goods on Canadian railroads instead of on American lines. The Great Northern and Northern Pacific are among companies hit in this manner.

"By all possible tests," writes Senator NEUBERGER, "the 3-percent Federal excise tax on freight has been an abysmal failure. The time has come to repeal this unfair levy."

[From the Quincy (Ill.) Herald-Whig of August 5, 1957]

A TAX THAT CHOKES

Oregon's Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, writing in the August issue of Railway Progress, says the Federal excise tax on freight transportation "threatens to doom economic development in the West and Northwest." But it is doing the rest of the Nation no good, either.

Senator NEUBERGER says the 3-percent excise tax on the 2,000- to 3,000-mile freight hauls necessary to reach the centers of major population from the West and Northwest frightens manufacturers away from those areas. The tax on a carload of lumber from Oregon to Pittsburgh, he points out, is 40 percent higher than on a carload of lumber from Georgia. Pittsburgh is chosen as a freight focal point because 55 percent of the Nation's population lives within a 500-mile radius of Pittsburgh.

The 3-percent freight tax and the 10-percent excise on passenger transportation were instituted during World War II to discourage all but essential traffic. But of even greater general interest than the Senator's analysis of its harm to the West and Northwest is the Interstate Commerce Commission's estimate that the tax on freight, by diverting traffic to private carriage and through deductions as a business expense, is causing a Federal tax loss of $24 million a year.

It adds up to a good argument for the success of legislation introduced by Senator NEUBERGER to repeal the freight tax, and to his contention that the passenger transportation tax is much more unfair than would be a luxury tax on a man's second suit of clothes or a family's second automobile.

Everybody's Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, since the Springfield Armory, the oldest of the Army's manufacturing arsenal plants established by President George Washington, stopped producing the M–1 Garand rifle earlier this year, the 2,500 skilled employees have been very uneasy because of threats and rumors of large-scale layoffs. Fortunately, the employment level was maintained because the armory was producing the Vulcan 20-millimeter air cannon for the Air Force. But now come reports that the Vulcan gun production will be cut back at the armory, with a possible loss of 500 jobs, while all of the air-cannon production will be turned over to a private corporation.

Mr. Speaker, I have said this before and I repeat it now: I have favored this administration's policy of getting the Government out of business—the dry-cleaning business, the coffee-roasting business, the cobbler-shop business—but I do object to the concerted effort on the part of those in high places in this administration who are bent on stripping the Army's historical and efficient arsenal production plants and giving the important task of gunmaking to commercial profitmaking corporations.

In this connection, and under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Springfield, Mass., Daily News on August 29, which points up the threat that faces the Springfield Armory, the employees, and the community.

The editorial follows:

EVERYBODY'S FIGHT

The Springfield Armory workers are building a $5,000 kitty to finance a campaign to get the Defense Department to use the local facility instead of giving contracts to private firms.

The Federal Employees Veterans' Association is running the 8-day drive to raise $5,000 for an advertising promotion to attract interest to the plight of the armory.

There is something incongruous in the action. Employees are donating money to run a campaign to influence their employer to make use of his own plant and employees instead of paying a much higher price to have the work done somewhere else. However, the Federal Employees Veterans' Association members have seen the effects with which private manufacturers have used lobbying and educational funds, and have decided to adopt similar tactics, insofar as possible.

The campaign is certain to attract public attention. The failure of a private manufacturer to fulfill a previous contract to make rifles for the Defense Department, and the high cost of such contracts, will undoubtedly be cited to point up taxpayers' questions about the Defense Department plans.

How do private firms win Defense Department contracts, despite the fact that the armory can do a better job at a lower price? Politics and lobbying conspire to provide the answer. So the armory employees are trying to use those weapons, unfamiliar to them, to win this battle.

Of course, it is not exclusively their fight. The country loses when the country passes up an opportunity to get the best rifle production at the lowest cost. The loss is magnified when the shifting of contracts to private firms reduces the ability of the armory to function as the heart of the Nation's military small arms development program.

Western Massachusetts loses when the armory is permitted to stand idle, and the skilled craftsmen released to seek other employment. Springfield itself, whose history is closely linked to the armory, suffers greatly when the work force there is cut.

Therefore, it is fitting that the armory employees are not carrying this fight alone. James R. Weaver, retired manager of the east Springfield Westinghouse plant, has accepted the chairmanship of the Springfield Rifle for Springfield Committee which will seek to have the file made here where it was developed and engineered.

Mr. Weaver, formerly head of the plant which is the city's largest employer, now heads the committee to assist the armory, the city's largest public employer. The greater Springfield community, which has a big stake in the armory, should assist in any campaign to overcome political influence and turn Defense Department contracts to the armory where they can be best filled at the lowest price.

The Record of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with a policy which I have followed since first elected to the 81st Congress as a Member of the House of Representatives, I submit to the people of the Fourth District a report on the major legislative actions of the 85th Congress.

THE 85TH CONGRESS

The 1st session of the 85th Congress has come to a close. We can now look back and appraise its achievements, as well as its failures.

The 85th Congress met and continued in session during a period of trial and crisis. On the international scene we have witnessed several upheavals in the Communist realm. Still we have made no apparent progress toward a secure and lasting peace. The Communist threat has not vanished. Red penetration into the Middle East, southeast Asia, and other areas has continued. By crushing the rebellion in Hungary and going unpunished, the Soviets reasserted their supremacy over the captive nations. Further, aided by the bungling and inaction on the part of our administration, they managed to gain an important foothold in the Middle East. In spite of the disarmament talks in London, we seem to be no closer to peace than we were a year ago.

On the legislative front, foreign affairs legislation fared poorly. The first session was marked by, first, a signal lack of new approaches to the solution of world problems; and second, growing discord between the majority in Congress and the Chief Executive. Both can be traced to the lack of Presidential leadership.

Extensive studies conducted during the past year pointed to the need for a new approach to foreign policy problems. Virtually none have been forthcoming from the administration. The $4 billion foreign aid bill proposed by the President did not help the situation; it was padded, arrived late, and was not actively championed by the President until too late. Congress cut into it deeply, appropriating little over $3 billion in new funds. Other bills in this field either failed to clear the committee stage, or ran into stiff opposition on the floor of the House.

With respect to domestic legislation, the picture was more encouraging. Faced with a recordbreaking $72 billion budget proposed by President Eisenhower, Congress spent much of the session trying to trim it to the bone, and made encouraging progress. The budget was cut by $4.9 billion.

A detailed report on legislative actions—and on my votes on the various bills—is tabulated with this report. It outlines all major legislative actions, including the passage of reorganization legislation, the Housing Act, civil rights, and other measures.

There were, however, three important areas which needed—but failed to receive—special attention:

First. Inflation, aided by high Federal spending, continued to spiral. The cost of living is still on the upswing. Ever-increasing interest rates, pushed up by deliberate Government action, are fattening the purses of big investors but place a heavy burden on the average wage earner. The cost of home mortgages, business loans, auto and other consumer borrowing has gone up. Even the cost of servicing our national debt has jumped $1 billion a year. This comes out of our pockets.

Second. The average taxpayer and the small-business man are hard pressed. Federal tax revenues are at an alltime peacetime high. Together with high interest rates resulting from the tight-money policy, they spell trouble for the average taxpayer and the small-business man. While large corporations are reporting record profits, small-business earnings dropped sharply. The number of bankruptcies has increased. On top of high taxes and the tight-money policy, the administration, first, has been bypassing small business in Government procurement; and second, reneged on a tax cut recommended by a special Presidential Commission.

Third. The farm problem has not been solved, even though the cost of running the Agriculture Department has gone up under Mr. Benson from $1 billion in 1952 to $4 billion a year under current rate of spending.

Voting record of Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Stand	Issue	Status
	INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Opposed	Resolution giving President standing authority to use United States Armed Forces in the Middle East	Became law.
Voted for	Mutual security program for collective defense	Became law.
Opposed	Postponement of interest payments on the British loan	Became law.
Voted for	United States membership in the International Atomic Energy Agency	Became law.
Voted for	Revision of our immigration laws, special visas for orphans	Became law.
Voted for	Review and revision of the Status of Forces Agreement	Pending.
Voted for	Resolution demanding accounting for the 450 American servicemen reportedly held prisoners of war by the Communists	Approved.
	GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION	
Voted for	Extension and simplification of Government reorganization	Became law.
Favored	Improved method for submitting Federal budget estimates	Passed Senate.
Favored	Strengthening of the anticorrupt practices Federal election law	Pending.
Voted for	The Civil Rights Act of 1957	Became law.
Voted for	Salary increases for postal and other Federal employees	Vetoed.
Favored	Establishment of the Airways Modernization Board to assure safe, efficient navigation system for civilian and military planes	Became law.
	NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY	
Voted for	$34,000,000,000 appropriation for the Department of Defense	Became law.
Voted for	Revision of doctors', dentists', and specialists' draft law	Became law.
Voted for	Improvement of the Federal Civil Defense Act	Passed House.
Voted for	$45,000,000 construction and equipment program for aeronautics research	Became law.
Voted for	Protection of FBI files against undue exposure	Became law.
	NATIONAL ECONOMY	
Favored	Ending the issuance of rapid tax writeoff certificates	Became law.
Voted for	Reduction of cabaret tax from 20 percent to 10 percent	Passed House.
Voted for	Strengthening of the Small Business Administration	Became law.
Opposed	Increase of postal rates, particularly first class	Passed House.
Voted for	Increase in borrowing power for Federal National Mortgage Association	Became law.
Opposed	Higher interest rates on U. S. Government bonds	Became law.
Voted for	Congressional investigation of "tight-money" policy	Defeated.
	VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN	
Voted for	Increasing rates of compensation for disabled veterans	Became law.
Voted for	Increasing and extending veterans' home loan program	Became law.
Voted for	Consolidation and simplification of laws on veterans' benefits	Became law.
Voted for	Increasing pensions of widows of Spanish-American War veterans	Passed House.
Voted for	Liberalization of requirements for veterans' widows' benefits	Became law.
Voted for	Reemployment rights for National Guardsmen	Passed House.
	SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH AND WELFARE	
Voted for	The Housing Act of 1957	Became law.
Voted for	To extend time for disabled persons to file for social security	Became law.
Favored	Improved annuities under the Civil Service Retirement Act	Pending.
Favored	Voluntary social security coverage for policemen and firemen	Pending.
Voted for	Federal aid for school construction	Defeated.
	AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES	
Voted for	Authority to sell, barter or donate United States surplus farm commodities abroad in support of our foreign policy	Became law.
Voted for	Compulsory inspection of poultry in interstate commerce	Became law.
Opposed	Exemption of natural gas producers from Federal regulation	Pending.
Favored	Establishment of humane methods in slaughter of meat animals	Pending.
Voted for	Extension of our national soil conservation program	Became law.
Voted for	Limited extension of the soil bank program	Defeated.
Voted for	Increased borrowing authority and powers of St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation	Became law.

Rollcall record	Total number of rollcalls and quorum calls	Rollcalls	Not voting	Quorum calls	Absent [1]
85th Cong., 1st sess.	220	100	15	120	14

[1] Absence on quorum call does not necessarily mean a legislative day's absence.

Increase Annuities for Retired Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I am very disappointed that action will not be taken by Congress in this session to increase the annuities of Federal employees who have retired after a record of devoted service to their Government. Many of these annuitants are elderly and they did not benefit from the liberalized retirement law which went into effect on October 1, 1956. I introduced a bill this year, H. R. 4085, which would have corrected this disparity between the annuities received by those who retired under the new liberalized law, and those who had retired prior to enactment of the law. My bill would have increased the annuity for these elderly persons, many of whom now require constant medical attention, by 25 percent. That increase is not large when you remember that many of these annuitants retired from Government when salaries were small in terms of today's dollars, and that 40 percent receive less than $100 a month. It seems to me that there is an obligation upon Congress to increase the annuities of these retired people who are facing the heavy burden of increased living costs on fixed incomes. I sincerely hope that this legislation will be one of the first items of business in the next session of Congress in January.

Report to My Constituents in the Sixth Congressional District of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, as United States Representative for the Sixth Congressional District of Maryland, I would like to publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my voting record for the 1st session of the 85th Congress:

Voting record of Representative DEWITT S. HYDE, 6th District, Maryland (85th Cong., 1st sess.)

Date	Measure	Vote
Jan. 29	H. Res. 123, providing for consideration of H. J. Res. 117, to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in area of Middle East to assist in the strengthening and defense of their independence. (Approved 262 to 164.)	Yea.
Jan. 30	H. J. Res. 117, to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in area of Middle East to assist in the strengthening and defense of their independence. (Passed 355 to 61.)	Yea.
Feb. 5	H. R. 4249, making appropriations for fiscal year ending June 30, 1957. On amendment for grants to States for State and local administration. (Passed 206 to 168.)	Absent.
Feb. 6	H. R. 2367, to establish a deferred grazing program as part of the relief for drought-stricken areas. (Passed 270 to 109)	Absent.
Mar. 7	H. Res. 188, a resolution agreeing to the Senate amendments to H. J. Res. 117. (Passed 350 to 60)	Yea.
Mar. 12	H. Res. 192, providing for consideration of H. Res. 190, resolution to return the budget to the President. On agreement to the resolution. (Agreed 219 to 185.)	Nay.
Mar. 12	H. Res. 190, resolution to return the budget to the President. On motion to recommit. (Failed 185 to 214)	Yea.
Mar. 12	H. Res. 190, resolution to return the budget to the President. On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 220 to 178)	Nay.
Mar. 13	H. R. 4901, to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed 168 to 237.)	Nay.
Mar. 13	H. R. 4901, to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and for other purposes. On passage. (Failed 188 to 217.)	Yea.
Mar. 27	H. Res. 85, authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct studies relating to the operation of the monetary and credit structure of the United States. On agreeing to resolution. (Failed 174 to 225.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $30,000 Office of Secretary, Labor. (Passed 286 to 126.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $204,000 Office of Solicitor, Labor. (Passed 241 to 171.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $46,300 Bureau of Labor Standards. (Passed 246 to 169.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $136,000 Bureau of Reemployment Rights, Labor. (Failed 137 to 275.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $442,000 Bureau of Employment Security. (Passed 214 to 205.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $12,186,000 grants to States for unemployment compensation, Labor. (Passed 220 to 200.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $1,500,000 unemployment compensation for Federal employees, Labor. (Passed 253 to 167.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $263,800 Mexican farm labor program, Labor. (Passed 342 to 77.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $346,000 Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Passed 217 to 202.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $31,000 Women's Bureau, Labor. (Failed 206 to 210.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $288,000 for Wage and Hour Division, Labor. (Passed 214 to 205.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $1,327,000 Food and Drug Administration, HEW. (Failed 130 to 285.)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment reducing by $1,482,000 Office of Education, HEW. (Failed 206 to 207.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, appropriations for Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On amendment to delete total appropriation of $50,000,000 for waste treatment works construction, HEW. (Failed 185 to 231.)	Nay.
Apr. 8	H. R. 6306, amend the act entitled "An act authorizing and directing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to construct 2 4-lane bridges to replace existing 14th Street or Highway Bridge across Potomac River." (Passed 190 to 131.)	Yea.
Apr. 10	S. J. Res. 72, to implement further the act of July 15, 1946, by approving the signature of the Secretary of the Treasury of an agreement amending the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of Dec. 6, 1945. (Passed 218 to 167.)	Yea.
Apr. 11	H. Res. 191, to amend H. Res. 152, 85th Cong. (Passed 225 to 143)	Nay.
Apr. 17	H. R. 6871, appropriations for Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary and related agencies for fiscal 1958. On amendment on international organizations and conferences. (Failed 167 to 205.)	Nay.
May 15	H. R. 7441, appropriations for Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration for fiscal 1958. On amendment to suspend soil-bank program. (Passed 192 to 187.)	Nay.
May 22	H. R. 7599, appropriations for legislative branch for fiscal 1958. On motion to recommit with instructions to strike out $7,500,000, New House Office Building. (Failed 176 to 206.)	Nay.
May 22	H. R. 7599, appropriations for legislative branch for fiscal 1958. On passage. (Passed 279 to 93)	Yea.
May 22	H. Res 254, resolution providing for consideration of H. R. 2, to authorize the State of Illinois and District of Greater Chicago to test the effect of increasing diversion of water from Lake Michigan. On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 267 to 102.)	Yea.
May 22	H. R. 2, authorizing the State of Illinois and district of Greater Chicago to test the effect of increasing diversion of water from Lake Michigan. On motion to recommit. (Failed 143 to 225.)	Absent.
May 22	H. R. 2, authorizing the State of Illinois and district of Greater Chicago to test the effect of increasing diversion of water from Lake Michigan. On passage. (Passed 222 to 144.)	Absent.
May 23	H. R. 985, to provide that chief judges of circuit and district courts shall cease to serve as such upon reaching the age of 70. On motion to recommit. (Failed 47 to 293.)	Nay.
May 29	H. R. 7665, appropriations for Department of Defense for fiscal 1958. On motion to recommit with instructions to restore $313,000,000. (Failed 151 to 242.)	Yea.
May 29	H. R. 7665, appropriations for Department of Defense for fiscal 1958. On passage. (Passed 394 to 1)	Yea.
June 5	H. Res. 259, resolution providing for consideration of H. R. 6127, the civil-rights bill. On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 291 to 117)	Yea.
June 18	H. R. 6127, to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within jurisdiction of the United States. On motion to recommit with instructions to provide for trial by jury. (Failed 158 to 251.)	Yea.
June 18	H. R. 6127, to provide means to further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. On passage. (Passed 286 to 126.)	Yea.
June 18	H. R. 7221, supplemental appropriations for fiscal year ending June 30, 1957. Conference report. On motion to recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment on Federal flood insurance. (Failed 186 to 218.)	Nay.
June 21	H. R. 6974, to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. (Passed 345 to 7)	Yea.
June 25	H. R. 7963, to amend the Small Business Act of 1953. (Passed 393 to 2)	Absent.
June 26	H. R. 6287, appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare for fiscal 1958. On conference report. Motion to recommit. (Failed 73 to 321.)	Nay.
June 27	S. 1428, to authorize furniture and furnishings for the additional Senate Office Building. On motion to recommit with instructions to give specific cost figures. (Failed 135 to 232.)	Yea.
June 27	S. 1429, authorizing the enlargement and remodeling of Senators' suites and other improvements in existing Senate Office Building. On motion to recommit for specific figures. (Failed 148 to 216.)	Nay.
July 10	H. R. 8340, to authorize certain construction at military installations. On amendment to strike sec. 411. (Failed 183 to 230)	Nay.
July 10	H. R. 7390, to amend the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946. On motion to recommit. (Failed 183 to 225)	Nay.
July 10	H. R. 8364, to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949 so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1959. On motion to recommit. (Failed 46 to 338.)	Nay.
July 12	H. R. 72, to amend sec. 21 of the World War Veterans' Act of 1924, to provide for disposition of unpaid benefits at death of intended beneficiary. On motion to recommit. (Recommitted 191 to 161.)	Yea.
July 19	S. 2130, to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1954. On motion to recommit. (Failed 181 to 227)	Nay.
July 19	S. 2130, to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1954. On passage. (Passed 254 to 154)	Yea.
July 23	H. R. 2474, to increase the rates of basic compensation of officers and employees in the field service of the Post Office Department. On passage. (Passed 379 to 38.)	Yea.
July 25	H. R. 1, to authorize Federal assistance to States and local communities for school construction. On motion to strike out the enacting clause. (Approved 208 to 203.)	Yea.
July 31	S. 1856, to provide for development and modernization of the national system of navigation and traffic control to serve needs of civil and military aviation. On passage. (Passed 375 to 17.)	Yea.
July 31	H. R. 2147, to provide for construction by Secretary of Interior of reclamation project in Texas. On motion to recommit. (Failed 189 to 202)	Yea
July 31	H. R. 2147, to provide for construction by Secretary of Interior of reclamation project in Texas. On passage. (Passed 201 to 190)	Nay.
Aug. 1	H. R. 8643, to authorize construction of certain works of improvement in the Niagara River for power, etc. On passage. (Passed 313 to 75)	Yea.
Aug. 1	H. R. 6763, to amend the act to authorize and direct the construction of bridges over the Potomac River. On motion to go into committee. (Approved 297 to 76.)	Yea.
Aug. 1	H. R. 6763, to amend the act to authorize and direct the construction of bridges over the Potomac River. On motion to strike out the enacting clause. (Failed 175 to 194.)	Nay.
Aug. 2	H. R. 6763, to amend the act to authorize and direct the construction of bridges over the Potomac River. On motion to go into committee. (Approved 275 to 59.)	Yea.
Aug. 2	H. R. 6763, to amend the act to authorize and direct the construction of bridges over the Potomac River. On amendment to change tunnel to bridge. (Passed 226 to 109.)	Nay.

Voting record of Representative DEWITT S. HYDE, 6th District, Maryland (85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Continued

Date	Measure	Vote
Aug. 5	H. R. 6709, to implement a treaty and agreement with the Republic of Panama. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 279 to 91)	Yea.
Aug. 7	H. R. 9131, supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1958. On motion to recommit to reduce funds TVA. (Failed 158 to 244)	Yea.
Aug. 7	H. R. 9131, supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1958. On passage. (Passed 330 to 75)	Yea.
Aug. 7	H. Res. 362, resolution providing for consideration of H. R. 7244, a bill amending the Packers and Stockyards Act to permit deductions for a self-help meat promotion program. On resolution. (Failed 175 to 216.)	Nay.
Aug. 8	H. R. 4813, to extend the life of the District of Columbia Auditorium Commission and selection of site for auditorium. On adoption of conference report. (Failed 115 to 284.)	Nay.
Aug. 8	H. R. 8992, to provide for appointment of representatives of the United States in the organs of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to make provisions with respect to participation of the United States in the Agency. On amendment. (Passed 298 to 100.)	Yea.
Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with sec. 261 of Atomic Energy Act of 1954. On amendment to strike Government production of reactor. (Failed 197 to 201.)	Yea.
Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission. On amendment to strike 2 items. (Approved 211 to 188)	Yea.
Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission. On amendment to substitute language sec. 111. (Approved 213 to 185)	Yea.
Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission. On passage. (Passed 383 to 14)	Yea.
Aug. 9	H. R. 2462, to adjust rates of basic compensation of Federal employees. On motion to recommit. (Failed 70 to 319)	Nay.
Aug. 9	H. R. 2462, to adjust rates of basic compensation of Federal employees. On passage. (Passed 329 to 58)	Yea.
Aug. 13	H. R. 8090, appropriations for civil functions. Conference report. On motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment on Bruces Eddy project. (Failed 23 to 363.)	Nay.
Aug. 13	H. R. 5836, to readjust postal rates and establish a congressional policy for determination of postal rates. On passage. (Passed 256 to 129)	Yea.
Aug. 14	S. 2130, to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1954. On adoption of conference report. (Approved 226 to 163)	Yea.
Aug. 14	S. 1383, to amend sec. 410 of the Interstate Commerce Act, to change the requirements for obtaining a freight forwarder permit. On passage. (Passed 177 to 176.)	Yea.
Aug. 15	H. R. 9302, appropriations for mutual security for fiscal 1958. On motion to recommit to restore funds for military assistance, defense support, and development loan fund. (Failed 129 to 254.)	Yea.
Aug. 15	H. R. 9302, appropriations for mutual security for fiscal 1958. On passage. (Passed 252 to 130)	Yea.
Aug. 19	H. R. 7993, to provide for guaranty of private loans to air carriers for purchase of aircraft and equipment. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 242 to 94.)	Yea.
Aug. 20	H. R. 1937, to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation by the Armory Board of the District of Columbia of a stadium in the District of Columbia. On adoption of conference report. (Failed 135 to 234.)	Yea.
Aug. 20	S. 1520, to amend act entitled "An act to provide for the disposal of federally owned property at obsolescent canalized waterways." Conference report. On motion to recommit. (Failed 137 to 232.)	Nay.
Aug. 21	H. R. 9131, supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1958. On motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment for funds for airport. (Failed 125 to 233)	Yea.
Aug. 21	H. R. 9131, supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1958. On motion to recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment on Rathbun Dam. (Failed 141 to 216.)	Nay.
Aug. 21	H. R. 9379, appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1958. On amendment to restore funds for industry cooperative program. (Passed 214 to 135.)	Yea.
Aug. 22	H. Con. Res. 17, to authorize the printing of additional copies of H. Doc. No. 232. (Approved 183 to 120)	Yea.
Aug. 23	H. R. 9131, supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1958. Conference report. On motion to recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment on Rathbun Dam. (Approved 166 to 121.)	Nay.
Aug. 23	H. R. 9131, supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1958. Conference report. On motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment which would reduce funds for dredging Columbia River. (Approved 165 to 120.)	Nay.
Aug. 23	S. 2229, to provide for guaranty of private loans to air carriers for purchase of aircraft and equipment. On conference report. (Approved 203 to 77)	Yea.
Aug. 23	H. Res. 407, resolution certifying the report of the Committee on Un-American Activities as to the refusal of Louis Earl Hartman to answer questions before subcommittee. On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 276 to 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 23	H. Res. 409, resolution certifying the report of the Committee on Un-American Activities as to the refusal of Bernard Silber to answer questions before subcommittee. On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 263 to 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 27	H. Res. 410, resolution providing for the disposition of the Senate amendments to the bill, H. R. 6127, civil rights. On ordering previous question. (Approved 274 to 101.)	Yea.
Aug. 27	H. Res. 410, resolution providing for the disposition of the Senate amendments to the bill, H. R. 6127, civil rights. On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 279 to 97.)	Yea.
Aug. 27	H. R. 7915, to amend sec. 1733 of title 28, United States Code, regarding FBI files. On passage. (Passed 351 to 17)	Yea.
Aug. 27	S. 2792, to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act. On passage. (Passed 295 to 58)	Yea.
Aug. 30	S. 2377, to amend ch. 223, title 18, United States Code, regarding FBI files. On conference report. (Approved 315 to 0)	Yea.
Aug. 30	H. R. 9302, appropriations for mutual security for fiscal 1958. On adoption of conference report. (Approved 194 to 122)	Yea.

The Impact of Federal Income and Social Security Taxes on Personal Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting a report by Paul O. Peters, an economist, on the impact of Federal income and social-security taxes on personal income:

IMPACT OF FEDERAL INCOME AND SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES ON PERSONAL INCOMES—COMPARISON OF 1930 WITH PERIOD 1950–56

In any study of what personal incomes mean in an economy primarily based upon the expansion of credit and debt, it is important to have for ready reference statistical tables of various kinds.

It must be understood that the whole economy depends for its operation on individuals who labor in the productive enterprises which furnish the payrolls for those engaged in the public service and the service trades. It also must be understood that the wealth of the Nation is dependent primarily upon its natural resources and the ability and willingness of the people to convert natural resources into things useful to man individually and society collectively. Thus, in considering personal per capita incomes over the years, consideration should be given to the fact that after the Federal Government has taken its toll, there still remains an almost unidentifiable toll which is included in the cost of all purchases of capital, producer, and consumer goods since they are part of the purchase price.

Also, not to be overlooked is the impact of State and local taxes of all kinds. In this study we will cover only the impact of Federal taxes on incomes and the relationship of the Federal debt to the income which apparently caused the depreciation in the purchasing power of $1.

As a part of this study there is here presented a table showing the percent of per capita incomes absorbed by Federal income and withholding taxes together with the per capita public debt:

Year	Per capita personal income	Per capita income tax	Percent	Per capita Federal debt
1930	$569	$9.34	1.64	$131.51
1950	1,491	122.40	8.21	1,696.66
1951	1,649	173.94	10.54	1,653.42
1952	1,727	211.87	12.66	1,650.06
1953	1,788	230.42	12.88	1,666.74
1954	1,767	226.32	12.81	1,670.14
1955	1,846	223.81	12.12	1,660.15
1956	1,940	247.77	12.77	1,622.64

Should It Be Free or by Fee To See TV?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, Bill Cunningham, nationally known feature writer for the Boston Herald, has detected the fierce struggle that is going on behind the scenes of the telecasting industry. Like everything else, TV programs cost money. We cannot expect to get something for nothing. Shall the programs be paid for by advertisers or by the viewers? What is the best method to finance and bring topnotch entertainment to the TV screens that are standard equipment in almost every American home?

Shall we be able to choose our own programs for free as at present? Or shall those who want to put parking meters on our sets so that we will have to feed the coin box in order to get certain special programs have their way?

The general public, which is supposed to have the deciding vote on this question, has been kept in the dark.

Maybe this battle to determine whether free dialing, or pay as you see, shall prevail may wind up in a compromise, but the televiewing audience in the United States ought to know what is going on so that public opinion will decide the issue.

How about nonsecret congressional hearings on this, brought to us over all channels?

In the meantime, let us look through the door that Bill Cunningham has pried open for us.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the stimulating views of Bill Cunningham that appeared in a recent issue of the Boston Sunday Herald under the heading "Pay Television Becomes Issue":

PAY TELEVISION BECOMES ISSUE

(By Bill Cunningham)

Occasionally, and even incidentally, a subject will make a quiet start on the sports pages and gradually balloon to such size that it requires special handling. Such, at the moment, is the facts of life or pay-as-you-see TV. What do you know about it? The answer, probably is "Nothing"—thus making it practically unanimous. This is an effort to relieve that situation.

The heavy majority, however, will undoubtedly be interested because TV has now become such an integral part of their daily and, especially, nightly existence. The virtues of the medium may be arguable but nobody can argue with the fact that it's here, and here to stay. The only future question is, in what form?

There's no argument about the fact that, in its few short years, it already had tremendous impact upon the American scene, and has already greatly changed life as we knew it. Offering free entertainment, granting the cost of the set, it naturally began to compete on the cheapest plateaus—cheap referring to the cost, not the quality, of the diversions already existing.

Radio, a giveaway, felt the hardest smash. Network radio as separate from strictly local programing, has been the gradual but almost complete casualty there. Another way to say it is that radio was driven into mostly local operation, featuring, for the most part, disc jockeys and news.

Somewhat to the amazement of radio, this has proved highly and increasingly successful. It's network radio—soap operas, panel discussions, big musical hours, and such—that have really suffered. In fact, it's practically dead.

Next were the movies, and the cheaper sorts of movies—both the pictures themselves, and the shoddier places that ran them. The casualty rate in cinema temples, especially neighborhood small town and side street shrines of the celluloid has been enormous. But, here again, a strange thing happened.

The new competition forced the movie industry to fight or expire. So the big companies fought. They began to make bigger and more magnificent pictures. They devised new inventions and techniques—the wide screen, better color, truly super spectaculars such as The Ten Commandments, Around the World in 80 Days, CinemaScope, etc.

There's also been a big and prosperous trend toward drive-ins. The field has been drastically reduced, but what's survived is better—better much than TV, which has its obvious limitations. It hasn't all been loss.

The newspapers have felt, and are showing, the new impact. More space is given now to TV programs, chatter, and columns than the movies ever knew even in the days of their monopoly. We have a new phenomenon now, the daily TV critic in almost every paper, a marvel to all because he does an entertaining job despite a hurdle that would seem to be too high for even the most nimble journalistic kangaroo.

The hurdle is that he's forced to write behind himself all the while, discussing something that's happened and gone and won't be back. Unlike the movie critics and drama critics, his typographical korpsbrudders, he's forced to deal in obituaries.

When a man reviews a play or a movie, he's writing about something that's going to be around for at least a few days, maybe a few weeks. He's writing about something people can see.

The TV critic, however, is writing about something that was. If his readers didn't chance to see it, they won't even know what he's talking about. If they did, the best he can do is match his opinion against theirs.

There are all these things, and more, but to get to the point the master controversy now ahead, either far or near, concerns the possible intrusion of subscription, or pay-as-you-see TV, and what it will or won't do to the present free variety.

This got its current mushrooming on the sports pages recently in connection with the proposal to move the two National League baseball clubs, the Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Giants, from New York to Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively.

ONE OF SEVERAL FACTORS

Sports writers, delving into the matter, discovered one of the several factors, but probably the most powerful, was the proposal to telecast all games there on a pay-as-you-see basis. One of the three companies claiming to have perfected that type of process was reported to have offered both teams $125,000 per game for such rights.

This was sensational news for two reasons. First, it meant that each ball club would be guaranteed $9,625,000 per season, plus whatever it took at the gate. Next, it meant that this system was perfected, believe its officials, and ready to go, pending permission of the Federal Communications Commission. Heretofore, pay TV has been just something predicted, a possibility of the future, like atomic powered motorcars.

To the moment that baseball development has gone no further, but the queries from TV zealots have been coming in by the bale. They want to know what pay TV is, how it works, what it promises to do to their current TV opportunities and habits. The pros and cons do seem to be pretty formidable but the mechanics of this particular system involved in the baseball news don't seem to be too involved.

It would be like subscribing to a telephone service. For some monthly rate—$3 has been mentioned—you'd actually be renting the service of a particular channel. This would play hi-fi music 24 hours a day, which you could turn on at any time. On the set, however, would be a coin box, costing an extra sum to install. Everything from $10 to $100 has been mentioned.

Special events, such as the ball games, big fights, dramatic shows, Broadway musicals, new movies, or whatever, would be available at a price at certain specified and advertised times.

If you wanted one of these, you'd feed the specified price into the coin box, as if it were an old-fashioned quarter gas meter. This would stop the music, and bring on the ball game or whatever. It would unscramble the wavelength, to use the technical language. At the end of the month, a man would come 'round, like a meter reader, to unlock the box and collect the money.

Theoretically, as the proponents of the new plan explain and extoll it, the viewer of the future would be in positive clover. He'd have his choice of both the free and the pay. He could sit in his living room enjoying the present type of program if nothing better appealed to him.

Or if there was something special he wanted to see on the pay-as-you-see, he could insert his half dollar, dollar, or whatever, and get the world series, Notre Dame versus Army, or, possibly, whatever corresponds to My Fair Lady in that theoretical tomorrow.

JUST AS BITTERLY OPPOSED

Opponents of the new idea, including such powerful interests as the current TV networks, many motion-picture companies, motion-picture theater owners' associations, etc., including an overall group known as Organizations for Free TV, are just as bitterly opposed, just as resoundingly certain that TV, as presently constituted, will be swallowed and ruined and its enormous cost passed on to the public for the personal profit of a slick group of musclers-in.

They claim this is no miracle nor progress, in the sense that it's a further step or a new idea like the invention of the automobile, the airplane, or broadcasting itself. Instead, as they explain it, a bunch of smart tinkerers have found out how to unscramble the picture and sound, which cost millions to develop, and this way not only cut themselves in, but take over the whole show. It would make no new jobs. In fact, it would throw thousands out of work. It would offer nothing that can't already be had. And had, now, at no cost to the public, they say.

"It has no value whatsoever in the television industry except to make money for its inventors and promoters by taking away free entertainment and making the public pay them for it," says one statement. It, furthermore, calls this "an unwarranted and outright invasion of its [the public's] rights."

Other claims, statements, and arguments offered by the information bureau of the Organizations for Free TV runs about as follows:

Pay-to-see TV claims it will simply add "premiums" in entertainment from stage, screen, concert hall, and stadium; that it will merely supplement free programing, entering the present structure as a healthy competitor. Instead, there are no more than a dozen extraordinary shows, concerts, even fights and baseball games a year. What do they do when they run out of "premiums"?

Instead of friendly and healthy competitors, they're not a supplement but a substitute. "Being in no respect whatever, a creative aim, pay-to-see TV is a competitor for profit, nothing else. What we have here is an astonishingly frank announcement that the pay-to-see group intends to buck free TV and, by every means at its disposal, seek to destroy it."

Pay-to-see TV claims it would help movie producers, sports promoters, and legitimate theater owners by giving them a gigantic outlet for their new products. "But," says the rebuttal, "the gigantic outlet referred to was created by free TV. Now that it has been established, a handful of men are desperately trying to take it over."

FULLY AWARE OF APPEAL

"These men are fully aware of the appeal to producers and promoters—no real-estate taxes, no unemployment taxes, no social-security benefits, no payroll to meet. And clearly the producers and promoters will not have to meet these obligations if they abandon the theaters, playhouses, and arenas. But, just as clearly, thousands of wage earners will lose their jobs. Thus the handful of men will profit tremendously while the country as a whole suffers seriously."

Still quoting the opposition: "Pay-to-see TV claims you could experience the thrill of an opening night on Broadway for a fraction of the box-office price. Actually, however, this couldn't be done. Once a theater is mechanically equipped to televise a show, it is no longer a theater but a studio. It

can't accommodate the lights, cameras, and equipment and an audience, too. The very first move is to rip out the first 25 or 30 rows of seats to make room for the equipment—exactly the seats that make a 'first night' what it is.

"Pay-to-see TV operates on credit, billing the viewer on the basis of holes punched in cards by a decoder, or on a cash basis—such is the claim. Actually, the decoder, by itself, is not enough. In addition, the set owner must purchase a 'cash register' (the coin box) which is attached to the set.

This operates, along with the card he has bought, to unscramble the picture. Sets are delicate. Unscrambling may well lead to trouble and loss of picture. On any pay-to-see TV basis, the owner will have no way yet described to get his money back if unscrambling results in picture failure. There is no way of getting a refund if the program bought for cash fails to please, or interest, the viewer.

"It will be impossible for any station to transmit free and pay shows at the same time. The customer who wants the free show will have to wait until the pay show is over. * * * The claim is made that pay TV would operate on new part-time UHF-TV stations only. That might be the start, but only the incredibly naive will believe it will stay that way. Once established the pay group will capture all the talent, all the networks, everything the free has built, and sell it back to the set owner at a high price.

"Pay-to-see TV claims it will not affect today's pattern of sponsored television but will introduce new programs. This is simply not true. They're already trying to tie up major-league baseball, and they talk of the World Series and championship fights already covered by free TV.

DON'T STOP AT SPORTS

"But they don't stop at sports. Here are excerpts from a letter written by the public-relations director of one of the groups on March 25, 1955, to every television station in the United States:

" 'On March 7, 65 million people watched Peter Pan, and the reaction from every segment of the industry and the public was overwhelmingly favorable. According to figures quoted to us, it cost something more than $600,000 to put it on the air. It is exactly the kind of entertainment which subscriber television could bring to the home viewer, and to your station, as a regular weekly event.

" 'While the sum of $600,000 for a single program is staggering to a sponsor, it represents less than 1 cent per viewer for the Peter Pan audience. On subscription television and, with the same audience paying only 25 cents a set, the box office would have amounted to $5 million for division among producers, distributors, and broadcasters.'

"Does this sound as if the 'slot-machine boys' will keep their hands off today's free TV. Of course not, and they know it, even though they continually mouth insincere promises that they have no designs on today's top programs."

And so go the arguments to much further, and even more bitter lengths, but this should be enough to sketch the size and form of the controversy. This is no new subject. It's simply been under cover until the recent play by one of the subscription groups, Skiatron, to sew up the Giants and Dodgers brought part of it into the open.

The eventual decision is in the hands of the Federal Communications Commission, as matters stand, but there's some talk now that the Congress, or at least some Congressmen, may try to move into the argument.

In the meantime, the televiewer can only wait and wonder.

Or he can express his views in a letter to the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C. That's what these friends of free-TV are urging the public to do—against the pay variety, naturally.

Those are the issues, and some of the arguments. The eventual decision? I'm just reporting, not forecasting, at the moment. I'd say some form of pay-TV figures to be with us eventually, but what kind or when I wouldn't presume even to try to guess.

Changing Pattern of Income Payments to Individuals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend I am inserting as part of my remarks a report entitled "Changing Pattern of Income Payments to Individuals" by Paul O. Peters, an economist:

CHANGING PATTERN OF INCOME PAYMENTS TO INDIVIDUALS: AN ANALYSIS—A COMPARISON OF 1930 WITH THE PERIOD 1950–56

The Office of Business Economics in the Department of Commerce has again published in the Survey of Current Business, a detailed study of personal incomes, by State and regions for the calendar year 1956 together with revised data for the years 1954 and 1955.

From our own files, the table following has been prepared. It shows the gross personal income, the reported population, and the computed per capita income for the year 1930 as compared with the years 1950 through 1956:

[United States average]

Calendar year	Midyear population	Gross personal income	Per capita personal income
1930	122,775,046	$73,325,000,000	$569
1950	151,683,000	225,473,000,000	1,491
1951	154,360,000	252,960,000,000	1,649
1952	157,028,000	269,050,000,000	1,727
1953	159,636,000	283,140,000,000	1,788
1954	162,417,000	284,823,000,000	1,767
1955	165,270,000	303,268,000,000	1,846
1956	168,174,000	324,281,000,000	1,940

To properly evaluate the actual gain or loss to the individuals who received the incomes in the years under study, there is presented a compilation from official Government reports showing the revenues collected on personal or individual incomes and the per capita amount in current dollars with a column showing the relative purchasing power of the current dollar as reflected by the wholesale price index for the year 1926 equals $1:

Year	Revenue collected from incomes	Population, midyear	Revenue per capita	Value of $1
1930	$1,146,844,763.08	122,775,046	$9.34	$1.157
1950	15,566,957,888.15	151,683,000	122.40	.570
1951	26,849,780,916.00	154,360,000	173.94	.543
1952	33,269,505,721.00	157,028,009	211.87	.528
1953	36,783,850,714.00	159,635,000	230.42	.528
1954	36,919,986,858.00	162,417,000	226.32	.527
1955	36,969,678,132.00	165,270,000	223.51	.521
1956	41,670,881,000.00	168,174,000	247.77	.494

St. Lawrence Seaway Tolls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce has adopted a resolution relative to the establishment of tolls on the St. Lawrence seaway so as to make that project entirely self-liquidating. Since this is a question of great concern to Massachusetts and to other sections of the country, under unanimous consent, I include this resolution in the Appendix of the RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF THE GREATER BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE RE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY TOLLS

Whereas the Congress of the United States authorized our country's participation, financially and operationally, in the development of the St. Lawrence seaway with the understanding that the project be a completely self-liquidating one; and

Whereas costs involved in completing above project have risen so significantly ($35 million thus far) over original cost estimates made in the year 1953 that liquidation of debt in 50 years' time appears more difficult to accomplish than originally expected; and

Whereas there are likely to be still further costs, not presently foreseen, incurred before completion; and

Whereas there are indications of a movement to transfer part or all of the above financial burden from users to taxpayers: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, That users of the St. Lawrence seaway should pay rates which will reflect the full economic cost of said waterway and will discharge all costs incurred within 50 years after completion of project and without any recourse to taxation on nonusers; and be it further

Resolved, That the accomplishment of complete liquidation be as follows:

1. Complete tabulation of all costs involved in building the seaway, including an accurate forecast of all maintenance expenses for 50 years;

2. Division of above total cost by 50 to find the yearly dollar figure which must be realized by tolls;

3. Deduction of the most realistic tonnage estimates by taking an average of the tonnage predictions of 3 leading economists, 2 of whom should be Canadians and 1 a citizen of the United States;

4. Division of the yearly writeoff dollar figure (see No. 2) by predicted tonnages to find the basic per ton toll charge;

5. Rigid adherence to the per ton toll charge, except in the most unusual circumstances, for at least 3 years. Although this policy may seem severe, it is the only realistic policy that can be followed at the outset in establishing a firm basis of repayment;

6. If, at the end of 3 years, tonnage estimates have proven to be substantially inaccurate, further hearings should be held to determine whether tolls should be raised or lowered from previously determined levels for the purpose of raising more revenues. A willingness to experiment intelligently with different toll schedules should be exhibited, if needed;

7. If, at the end of 50 years, despite all possible effort, liquidation is not complete, tolls should be continued at levels which will

produce greatest total revenues until the seaway is fully paid for;

8. To insure a sound program of future maintenance thereafter, tolls should be continued but at a very low level sufficient to cover these maintenance costs only; and be it finally

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all members of the Massachusetts congressional delegation in Washington, D. C.

Shell, British Petroleum, and American Express Co. Capitulate to Arab Blackmail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, realizing they cannot defeat Israel in military combat, the Arab States have banded together in an endeavor to strangle Israel by economic boycott. The Arabs have been staging this economic quarantine of Israel since 1948. But their three latest successes with Shell, British Petroleum, and American Express Co. have exacerbated the seriousness of this situation.

The action of Shell and British Petroleum is not without political significance. The British Government has a 51-percent interest in British Petroleum. This decision, therefore, of British Petroleum to pull out of Israel was made, undoubtedly, with the consent of the British Government. There have been some dubious excuses that the pullout was due to lack of business. These excuses will not wash. Both of these companies have yielded to Arab blackmail. Their operations in Israel were most attractive. They have a 9-year profit record in Israel. The latest figures available show, for example, that the business of Shell in Israel amounted to almost $20 million during the calendar year of 1956. Since the total supply of petroleum products in Israel during the calendar year of 1956 amounted to roughly $40 million, it can be seen that the share of the Shell Co. was about 50 percent of the entire sales.

Since the early beginnings of the British mandate over Palestine, Shell has maintained the largest operation of any single company in Palestine and, subsequently, in Israel. It maintained this large volume of business in the infant State of Israel despite Arab boycott pressure since 1948. In fact, Shell has been the backbone of Israel's entire fuel economy. It has supplied oil, shared in the operation of oil refineries of Haifa, operated the largest network for commercial distribution of gasoline, liquid cooking gas, insecticides, and various other byproducts. Shell practically had a monopoly in the supply of machine oils for all the industrial needs of Israel. The sudden withdrawal of Shell is bound to be felt in the many fields of Israel's economy. It will unquestionably also hurt many American business investments in Israel, since it will make more difficult the position of American businesses which have resisted the pressure of the Arabs. The London Times and Economist have stated that this ostensibly commercial decision is, in fact, the beginning of a turnabout of British policy, indicating the desire of the British to reestablish themselves in favor of the Arabs—almost at any price. I point out that there is an oil adviser to the British Foreign Office, who is Harold Beeley. The decision of Shell is a triumph of Beeley. He is an Israeliphobe, as was his former employer, Ernest Bevin, the erstwhile Foreign Minister of Great Britain.

The director general of the Arab boycott office stated over the Damascus radio, January 19, 1957, "Continuation of the present policies is likely to lead to the elimination of Israel."

Already, in these past years, the burden on Israel's economy and financial resources, caused by the Arab boycott, has virtually wiped out the benefits of economic aid annually extended to Israel by the United States Government.

Dag Hammarskjold has stated that the Arab boycott is a deadweight on united efforts for settlement in the Middle East. Thus, the action of these two British companies can only serve to encourage the Arabs in their ambition to bring about a total collapse of Israel. The Washington Post, on August 5, 1957, declared that anything that seems to be knuckling under to this boycott will invite more highhandedness and it is to be hoped that the British Government will consider fully the psychological implications of a withdrawal. The August issue of Fortune magazine points out that the boycott has been strictly observed by the Middle East oil companies anxious to please their Arab landlords. Fortune says that Aramco has reportedly gone so far as to threaten to cancel its contract with European firms producing such innocent apparatus as floating roofs for water tanks if those firms do business with Israel.

Now we have the American Express Co. which joins those who would put the squeeze on Israel. It, too, has shut up shop in Israel after many years of successful operations—first under the British mandate and then under the Government of Israel. From the very day of the opening of their office in Tel Aviv they have been under constant pressure to sever their connections with Israel and were threatened with trouble in their offices in Arab countries. Now the American Express Co. has decided to take the line of least resistance and to close shop in Israel. All it has now in Israel is a mere agent who can only provide inferior service. For an international tourist company to work through an inferior facility and not through its own office, is to provide inadequate service as well as a complete cessation of some services. A full-fledged office of the American Express in any country receives passengers at the airport or the harbor, accompanies them to hotels after making hotel reservations, and so forth. A single agent cannot offer such facilities and provide such service. He works on his own account and cannot charge the wages of his personnel to the principal company with whom he only has a contract. The agent will take care of passengers only if they call on him. He cannot possibly be as effective with reference to hotel reservations, obtaining space on boats and airlines, as is a strong company like the American Express which enjoys the maximum cooperation of airlines and maritime companies.

The American Express also gives the argument that it in no sense yielded to external pressure and that its decision was purely a business one based on lack of demand at a continued loss. The facts do not bear out this assertion.

Americans interested in Israel cannot be mere bystanders and observers in this attempt to kill off Israel, nor should the United States Government be unconcerned with the change of attitude of the British Foreign Office and its return to the old, discredited policy of appeasement of the Arabs. The Arab boycott has spread so far as to cause blacklisting of American citizens who happen to be Jews and are directly or indirectly concerned with American firms that have done business in Arab lands. Firms that have Jewish directors or Jewish executives or employees are the object of Arab spleen.

As a Member of Congress, I cannot view with complacency this admitted economic rape of Israel and this vile discrimination against many American citizens because of their faith.

The American Express Co. has heretofore enjoyed the goodwill of Americans of all faiths. I have always used American Express money orders on my travels abroad. I shall never do so again. I shall refrain from purchase of these certificates as a protest against this unwarranted and unfair operation. Likewise, the Shell Oil Co. has heretofore earned the goodwill of Americans of all faiths. Last year its gross intake totaled $1,365,000,000. That company has a responsibility to American public opinion, especially when their activities, like succumbing to Arab extortion, involve them in international politics and international relations and affect world peace. As a protest against the Shell Oil Co., I shall never again fill my car with Shell oil or use any of its products.

If my fellow Americans join me in this protest, I shall be greatly gratified. I hope that this statement will be widely broadcast among the users of all gasoline products. Too little has been bruited about in the press and over the airways as to the actions of American Express and Shell Oil Co., as well as British Imperial Oil. I am sure that when the public knows about these matters, it will act in a way not unlike my own. It is also hoped that various organizations may become apprised of these facts to the end that suitable action can be taken by their members individually, if not collectively.

Tribute to Navy and Marine Corps Teamwork

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Stamford (Conn.) Advocate regarding a condition which I believe merits the attention of all persons interested in our national security.

This example of smooth, cooperative command functioning within the Department of the Navy should be observed and followed by other elements of our military forces.

Our strength, defensewise, depends on a combination of leadership, such as has been displayed by the top civilian of the Navy Department, Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., together with his principal military assistants, Admiral Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, and General Pate, Commandant of the Marine Corps.

The editorial follows:

AN EXAMPLE FOR THE SERVICE

The conflict between the armed services, often exaggerated in observers of the news columns, is nonetheless real. As long as this competition is limited to a natural esprit de corps, it can be advantageous. There is no necessity for the conflict to spill over to a stage where it is detrimental to the armed security of the Nation.

We would point out that there is at present one department which actually has two services and that these two services exert at the present time an unprecedented spirit of cooperation. The Department of the Navy controls both naval operations and the Marine Corps. Here is a wide separation of activity, especially in modern warfare. Yet because of the daily example set by the heads of these two services a cooperative spirit exists which could well be emulated by the larger divisions, Navy, Army, and Air Force. Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, and Gen. Randolph McC. Pate, Commandant of the Marine Corps, are more than warm personal friends. They have an understanding of each other's problems and a mutual respect. With Secretary of the Navy Gates handling executive affairs, the Department of the Navy is an ideal team.

If anyone believes this teamwork is gained at the loss of service spirit, they haven't even a rudimentary knowledge of what makes the Navy tick. The Marines, of course, are in a class by themselves when it comes to fighting men.

Summary of Veterans' Legislation Reported, 1st Session, 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following summary of veterans' legislation reported during the 1st session of the 85th Congress:

LAWS ENACTED

Public Law 85-24: Provides that pension under public or private laws administered by the Veterans' Administration shall not be paid to an individual who has been imprisoned in a Federal, State, or local penal institution as a result of conviction for a felony or misdemeanor for any part of the period beginning on the 61st day after his imprisonment and ending when the imprisonment ends. Apportionment of pension may be made to dependents under certain conditions.

Public Law 85-56: Incorporates into a single act the subject matter of the extensive body of existing legislation authorizing and governing the payment of compensation for service-connected disability or death to persons who served in the Armed Forces of the United States during a period of war, armed conflict, or peacetime service, and to their widows, children, and dependent parents. Provides the same sort of consolidation of the laws relating to pension, hospitalization, medical and domiciliary care, and burial benefits. Consolidates into one act all the administrative provisions relating to these benefits, as well as those common to all benefits administered by the Veterans' Administration. Also incorporates the provisions of existing law relating to the ancillary benefits of financial assistance for specially adapted housing and automobiles for certain disabled veterans. Repeals those provisions of law relating to such benefits which are obsolete, executed, or restated in substance in the bill.

Public Law 85-168: Effective October 1, 1957, increases rates of compensation for service-connected disabilities as indicated on the following table of wartime rates:

	Prior Law [1]	Public Law 85-168
(a) 10 percent disability	$17	$19
(b) 20 percent disability	33	36
(c) 30 percent disability	50	55
(d) 40 percent disability	66	73
(e) 50 percent disability	91	100
(f) 60 percent disability	109	120
(g) 70 percent disability	127	140
(h) 80 percent disability	145	160
(i) 90 percent disability	163	179
(j) Total disability	161	225
(k) Anatomical loss, or loss of use of a creative organ, or 1 foot, or 1 hand, or blindness of 1 eye, having only light perception, rates (a) to (f) increased monthly by	47	47
Anatomical loss, or loss of use of a creative organ, or 1 foot, or 1 hand, or blindness of 1 eye, having only light perception, in addition to requirement for any of rates in (l) to (n), rate increased monthly for each loss or loss of use by	47	[2] 47
(l) Anatomical loss, or loss of use of both hands, or both feet, or 1 hand and 1 foot, or blind both eyes with 5/200 visual acuity or less, or is permanently bedridden or so helpless as to be in need of regular aid and attendance, monthly compensation	279	309
(m) Anatomical loss, or loss of use of 2 extremities at a level, or with complications, preventing natural elbow or knee action with prosthesis in place, or suffered blindness in both eyes, rendering him so helpless as to be in need of regular aid and attendance, monthly compensation	$329	$339
(n) Anatomical loss of 2 extremities so near shoulder or hip as to prevent use of prosthetic appliance, or suffered anatomical loss of both eyes, monthly compensation	371	401
(o) Suffered disability under conditions which would entitle him to 2 or more rates in (l) to (n), no condition being considered twice, or suffered total deafness in combinations with total blindness with 5/200 visual acuity or less, monthly compensation	420	450
(p) In event disabled person's service-incurred disabilities exceed requirements for any of rates prescribed, Administrator, in his discretion, may allow next higher rate, or intermediate rate, but in no event in excess of	420	450
(q) Minimum rate for arrested tuberculosis	67	67

[1] Peacetime rates are 80 percent of wartime rates.

[2] But in no event to exceed $450.

Additional disability compensation because of dependents [1]

	Wife, no child	Wife, 1 child	Wife, 2 children	Wife, 3 or more children	No wife, 1 child	No wife, 2 children	No wife, 3 or more children	Dependent parent or parents
Service on or after June 27, 1950	$21.00	$35.00	$45.50	$56.00	$14.00	$24.50	$35.00	$17.50(1)
World War II	*$3.00*	*$9.00*	*$0.00*	*$2.00*	*$5.00*	*$7.00*	*$9.00*	*19.00*
World War I								35.00(2)
Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer Rebellion								*38.00*
Civil War								
Indian wars								
Peacetime service (under combat or extrahazardous conditions)								14.00(1)
Regular peacetime service	16.80	28.00	36.40	44.80	11.20	19.60	28.00	*15.00*
	18.00	*31.00*	*40.00*	*50.00*	*12.00*	*23.00*	*31.00*	28.00(2)
								30.00

[1] Above rates are for 100-percent disability. If and while rated partially disabled, but not less than 50 percent, additional compensation is authorized in an amount having the same ratio to the amount specified in the applicable table, above, as the degree of disability bears to the total disability; e. g., war service-connected disability of 50 percent, compensation rate, $100. If veteran has a wife, his compensation is increased as follows: $100+$11.50=$111.50.

NOTE.—Rates in italics as in Public Law 85-168.

Public Law 85-171: Permits forwarding of all types of Veterans' Administration benefit checks where the person has moved and left no forwarding address instead of the prior requirement of returning the check to the Veterans' Administration.

Public Law 85-194: Increases from $10 to $25 the maximum amount that may be paid by VA for shipping charges on personal property of deceased veterans who die on VA property.

Public Law 85-200: Terminates, 60 days after enactment, the operation of the Veterans' Education Appeals Board and transfers its records to Archives.

Public Law 85-209: Section 1 provides a uniform alternative marriage date requirement for widows applying for pension or compensation. It provides that a widow who does not otherwise meet the applicable delimiting marriage dates as presently existing in the law be eligible for pension or for compensation if she was married to the veteran for 5 or more years or for any period of time if children were born as a result of the marriage. Section 2 permits women to receive pension, compensation, or other gratuitous benefits based on the service of a veteran even though there was a legal impediment to her marriage to the veteran which she entered into without any knowledge of such legal impediment, if other requirements are satisfied.

Public Law 85-311: This law excludes from computation as annual income in determining eligibility for non-service-connected disability or death pension as well as service-connected death compensation or dependency or indemnity compensation for parents, any payment of veterans' bonus by a State, Territory, possession of the United States, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, based on service in the Armed Forces of the United States and their widows and children.

BILLS PASSED BY THE HOUSE AND PENDING IN SENATE COMMITTEES

Finance Committee

H.R. 76: Provides that the statutory award rate of $47 for service-connected disability shall be awarded in the case of each loss—for example, the loss or loss of use of the hand, foot, or an eye, or creative organ. The present law provides for only one such award of $47 in addition to the award under the basic compensation structure.

H.R. 358: Increases to $75 monthly the rate of pension payable to widows of Spanish-American War veterans—present rates are $54.18 and $67.73, the latter rate applying if the widow was the wife of the veteran during his service.

H.R. 1264: Provides that when the veteran is in the hospital for tuberculosis he shall be eligible for payment of a non-service-connected disability pension based on the presumption that he is totally disabled. The present regulation permits payment only after 6 months has elapsed. For most other diseases for which the veteran may be hospitalized, pension is payable immediately upon a finding of total disability without the elapsing of any particular period of time.

House Joint Resolution 73: The purpose of this resolution is to provide service pension under the conditions and at the rate prescribed by the laws reenacted by Public No. 269, 74th Congress, August 13, 1935, as now or hereafter amended, for any person who served in the Armed Forces of the United States in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the islands of Leyte and Samar, after July 4, 1902, and prior to the first day following the last armed engagement between such armed forces and inhabitants of the Philippine Islands in the province or island in which he served, and who was honorably discharged from the enlistment in which such service occurred, and to the surviving unremarried widow, child, or children of such person. No pension would be paid for service after December 31, 1913. The pension rates currently payable to veterans and their dependents under the mentioned laws are as indicated in the following table:

Type of benefit	90 days' or more service; or less if discharged for disability incurred in service in line of duty	70 to 89 days' service
A. Veterans' benefits:		
Age 62 or more, or 10 percent or more disabled	$101.50	$67.73
Helpless or blind or so nearly helpless or blind as to require regular aid and attendance	135.45	88.04
B. Dependents' benefits:		
Widows	54.18	(1)
Wife during service	67.73	(1)
Additional for each child	8.13	(1)
Children, no widow:		
1 child	62.31	(1)
Each additional child	8.13	(1)

[1] No provision.

Labor and Public Welfare

H.R. 7251: This bill amends the definition of the term "State" as set forth in the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, Public Law 550, 82d Congress (GI bill of rights for Korean veterans), and the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act of 1956, Public Law 634, 84th Congress, in order to make clear that the benefits of those acts may be given to persons pursuing a course of education and training in the Panama Canal Zone. It also authorizes training under Public Law 634 in the Republic of the Philippines.

H.R. 6908: Authorizes modification and extension of the program of grants-in-aid to the Republic of the Philippines for hospitalization of certain veterans, to restore eligibility for hospital and medical care to certain veterans of the Armed Forces of the United States residing in the Philippines. The bill would—

1. Permit use of Veterans' Memorial Hospital for cases other than those involving service-connected disabilities.

2. Permit treatment of service-connected veterans on out-patient basis.

3. Extend period of assistance from December 31, 1959 to June 30, 1963.

4. Place overall ceiling of $2 million on expenditures for this purpose in any 1 year.

5. Grants hospitalization to American veterans residing in the Philippines on a permanent or temporary basis and outpatient care to service-connected American veterans.

BILLS PASSED BY THE SENATE AND PENDING IN HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

S. 166: Extends for a period of 2 years the laws granting educational and training benefits to veterans of World War II who were prevented from entering or completing such training within the prescribed time because such person had not met the nature of discharge requirements of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act prior to a change, correction, or modification of a discharge or dismissal, or the correction of a military or naval record.

S. 1698: Extends the time for filing claims for mustering-out payments under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 to July 16, 1958 (now July 16, 1956).

REPORTED AND PENDING ON HOUSE CALENDARS

Union Calendar

H. R. 5930: Amends the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act of 1956 to provide educational assistance thereunder to the children of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled from wartime service-connected disabilities. Grants educational assistance on the same basis as provided by the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act of 1956, Public Law 634, 84th Congress. That law is limited to the children of individuals who died from an injury incurred in, or aggravated by, service in the Armed Forces during World War I, World War II or Korea. Funds for operation of program to be obtained from assets accruing to Government from Trading With the Enemy Act.

H. R. 6719: Provides adjustments in organization and salary structure of the Department of Medicine and Surgery in the Veterans' Administration, as indicated in the table below:

	Present salary	H. R. 6719 (sec. 1)
Chief Medical Director	$17,800	$19,500
Deputy Chief Medical Director	16,800	18,500
Assistant Chief Medical Director	(8) 15,800	(8) 17,500
Director of Service	(20) $13,225-14,300	(20) 16,000
Director, Nursing Service	11,610	12,690
Deputy Director, Nursing Service	10,320	(1)
Chief Dietitian	10,320	12,690
Chief Pharmacist	10,320	12,690
Chief Physical Therapist	10,320	(1)
Chief Occupational Therapist	10,320	(1)

[1] No change.

Grade	Present salary		H. R. 6719 (secs. 2 and 3)	
	Nonspecialist	Specialist (25 percent)	Nonspecialist	Specialist (10 percent)
Physicians and dentists:				
Chief	$11,610-$12,685	$13,760	$13,015-$14,200	$14,316-$15,620
Senior	10,320- 11,395	$12,900- 13,760	11,820- 12,700	13,002- 13,970
Intermediate	8,990- 10,065	11,238- 12,581	10,300- 11,500	11,330- 12,650
Full	7,570- 8,645	9,463- 10,806	8,930- 9,950	9,845- 10,945
Associate	6,390- 7,465		7,650- 8,650	
Junior	5,915- 6,720		7,000- 7,400	
Nurses:				
Assistant director	$7,570-$8,645		$8,010-$9,300	
Senior	6,390- 7,465		6,505- 7,795	
Full	5,440- 6,250		(1)	
Associate	4,730- 5,500		(1)	
Junior	4,025- 4,885		(1)	

[1] No change.

	Present salary	H. R. 6719 (sec. 4)
Lay managers:		
GS-16	$12,900-$13,760	$13,015-$14,200
GS-15	11,610- 12,690	13,015- 14,200
GS-14	10,320- 11,395	13,015- 14,200
GS-13	8,990- 10,065	13,015- 14,200

Also places optometrists on the professional level in the Department of Medicine and Surgery.

VETOED

H. R. 4602:

1. Extended direct and World War II guaranteed loan programs to July 25, 1959.

2. Repealed section 512 of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, the present direct

loan program, and substitutes a new section, establishing a new policy.

3. Congressional intent as to declaration of direct loan areas was expressed to include small cities, towns, and rural areas. Thirty thousand population was used as a guideline where the town is not part of the metropolitan area of a big city. VA could declare larger towns as eligible areas on the basis of a historical shortage of mortgage funds.

4. Authorized an additional $150 million for the period July 1, 1957, to June 30, 1958; and provided that the Administrator may recover, until July 25, 1958, the $60 million he failed to draw prior to June 30, 1956.

5. Increased the maximum amount of direct loans from $10,000 to $13,500.

6. Provided for an advance commitment to a builder for a reservation of direct loan funds upon the payment of a commitment fee of 2 percent of the amount of the funds reserved. The commitment to be valid for not over 3 months and subject to extension if the builder is active and has contracted with an eligible veteran. This provision would have provided a means under which builders could obtain financing for new construction in small cities, towns, and rural areas.

7. Provided that the Administrator should commence processing the direct-loan application of the veteran without delay, submitting the information to the voluntary home mortgage credit program and giving that agency 20 days to find a lender. Also gave the Administrator the authority to transfer the commitment fee paid by the builder to the private lender who purchases the loan from the VA.

8. Provided that the Administrator could make construction advances to the veteran and builder during construction, thereby eliminating the necessity of the builder obtaining a construction loan.

9. Provided discretionary authority to the Administrator to exempt new construction under this section from the subdivision and land-planning requirements. Permitted the building of homes in keeping with the area in which they are located, thereby eliminating the Veterans' Administration's present demands that a builder, building in a country town, must pave the streets, install curbs and gutters in front of the house, that being the only place in the town in which that type of improvement is done. The bill did not permit any deviations from the Veterans' Administration minimum construction requirements.

10. Included a technical correction requested by Veterans' Administration with reference to the guaranteeing of automatic loans.

NOTE.—The Committee on Veterans' Affairs has reported 5 bills (4 enacted into law) which convey land either to the Veterans' Administration or from the Veterans' Administration to certain municipalities, etc.

Veterans' Administration appropriations

(Fiscal year ending June 30, 1958)

PUBLIC LAW 85-69, APPROVED JUNE 29, 1957

General operating expenses	$161,374,000
Medical administration and miscellaneous operating expenses	21,763,400
Inpatient care	702,000,000
Outpatient care	79,000,000
Maintenance and operation of supply depots	1,790,000
Compensation and pensions	2,826,250,000
Readjustment benefits	784,047,000
Military and naval insurance	4,275,000
Hospital and domiciliary facilities	42,500,000
Major alterations, improvements, and repairs	2,028,000
National service life insurance	7,600,000
Servicemen's indemnities	$29,877,500
Grants to the Republic of the Philippines	1,500,000
Service disabled veterans insurance fund	1,500,000
Automobiles and other conveyances for disabled veterans	
Total	$4,665,504,900

Veterans' Administration appropriations—Continued

Veterans' Administration appropriations—Continued

Summary of committee action

	Congress					
	80th	81st	82d	83d	84th	85th, 1st sess.
Bills and resolutions referred	498	619	436	402	537	
Hearings	60	64	50	46	71	
Hearings, printed pages	3,596	2,355	2,562	4,337	4,271	
Executive sessions	49	34	27	55	37	
Bills reported	60	44	36	36	48	
Bills on House Calendar	16	1		14	1	
Pending in Senate committees	6	16	14	2	17	
Bills on Senate Calendar		1	1	2		
Recommitted		1	1			
Bills vetoed	1	2	4			
Bills passed over veto		1	2			
Laws enacted	36	24	22	25	30	

VETERANS IN AMERICA

Population of veterans

America's population of living veterans is more than 22,600,000.

Seventy percent, or more than 15,300,000, served in World War II. They average 38 years of age.

More than 5 million—average age 28—served during the Korean conflict period. Approximately 900,000 of them are "double duty" veterans, serving both in World War II and the Korean conflict.

Less than 3 million—average age 63—served in World War I.

Spanish-American War veterans, average age 80, number 55,000. Another hundred or so oldtimers, in their 80's and 90's, served in the Indian wars.

The Nation's veterans, together with their families, make up more than 40 percent of the total population of the United States.

MEDICINE

VA operates 173 hospitals for the care of ill and disabled veterans. On any average day, VA's patient load approaches 115,000. During an average year, VA admits nearly half a million veterans to its hospitals.

Admissions are under a priority system.

First call goes to veterans with service-connected conditions. Generally, the service-connected can get admitted immediately.

And next, if beds are available, come veterans with non-service-connected ailments who are unable to pay for private hospitalization. In addition to signing a statement of inability to pay, they also must submit a statement of their assets and liabilities.

INSURANCE

Nearly 6 million veterans today hold GI insurance policies valued at nearly $44 billion. The breakdown:

Nearly 5 million World War II veterans hold $35.7 billion of national service life insurance; 640,000 Korea veterans hold $6.6 billion of special nonconvertible, nonparticipating GI term insurance; 24,000 disabled Korea veterans have $239 million of term and permanent insurance available just to them; 800,000 World War I veterans hold $1.6 billion of United States Government life insurance.

GI LOANS

Eligibility: Any person who served in the armed services at any time on or after September 16, 1940, and prior to July 26, 1947, or on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to February 1, 1955, discharged under conditions other than dishonorable after active service of 90 days or more or because of disability incurred in line of duty is eligible. Generally loans must be made prior to July 26, 1958, for World War II veterans; veterans of Korea have until January 31, 1965. Widows of deceased veterans whose death was due to service may also qualify.

Amounts: Non-real-estate loans up to $2,000 and real-estate loans in certain cases up to $7,500, or a prorated portion thereof, or loans of both types or combinations thereof, may be guaranteed with interest at not more than 4½ percent per annum, repayable in not more than 30 years, except in the case of farm realty, which may run for 40 years. (Maturity on non-real-estate loan may not exceed 10 years.) If the proceeds of the loan are to be used for the acquisition of residential property, the amount guaranteed may be 60 percent of the loan but not over $7,500. Banks or other lending institutions make the loans, with the Government guaranteeing 50 or 60 percent of the loan, but in no case to exceed the above amounts. Under certain conditions, Veterans' Administration is authorized to lend, until June 30, 1958, up to $10,000 directly to the veteran when private sources are not available.

EDUCATION

More than 10 million veterans so far have trained under these 4 programs. That's four times the total enrollments in every college and university in the United States of America.

Of the 10 million total—

More than 7,800,000—one-half of all World War II veterans—trained under the World War II GI bill. Of them, nearly 50 percent went to schools below the college level (such as trade and technical schools); more than 25 percent studied in college, and the rest trained on the job and on the farm.

Another 1,800,000—2 out of every 5 Korea veterans—trained under the Korean GI bill. Their numbers will grow (the program doesn't end until 1965).

A new trend has developed under the Korean GI bill. Fewer veterans have attended schools below the college level (less than 40 percent), and more have gone to college (more than 50 percent). Enrollments in on-the-job and on-the-farm courses account for the balance.

Another 612,000 disabled World War II veterans and 48,000 disabled Korea veterans have received vocational rehabilitation training. Some 40 percent have trained for top-level jobs in professional and managerial fields.

It has helped raise the educational level of veterans to better than 4 years of high school, whereas the level of nonveteran males, same age group, is but 2 years of high school.

"(Your every voter, as surely as your chief

magnistrate, exercises a public trust," said Grover Cleveland. Through more education, veterans have become better prepared to exercise this public trust.

It has helped build up America's reservoirs of trained manpower, so urgently needed for our Nation's strength and well-being. This country has gained immeasurably from the 500,000 engineers, 250,000 school teachers, 170,000 doctors, dentists, and nurses, and 115,000 scientists who learned their skills under the GI bill.

Theodore Roosevelt's Contributions to Our Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the centennial commission for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt, it is my pleasure to request that there be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following sketch of the life and accomplishments of a great President, our beloved Teddy Roosevelt:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

On October 27, 1958, we celebrate the centennial of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt. It is especially fitting that the armed services should pay him honor. Not only was he a great President, but he was one of the best friends that the Armed Forces ever had in the White House. He had a clear vision of the importance that the military would have in preserving our national security and in promoting our national ideals. In fact, he was one of the first Americans fully to understand the new demands that the 20th century would make upon the American people.

The people probably had a greater affection for Roosevelt than for any other man of his time. This affection did not rise from the great successes of his career, nor even from the enormous range of his interests and ability. It rather was a response to the quality of his character and the contagion of his personality. History will remember Roosevelt as much for the ideals he personified as for the momentous events of his career.

ROOSEVELT, THE MAN

What were those qualities of character? Roosevelt himself honored "those most valuable of all qualities, the soldierly virtues." In a day when many men looked upon corruption as an inevitable part of public life, Roosevelt raised a higher standard of public duty and honor. At a time when many men thought they best served the general interest by serving their own interest, Roosevelt personified an ideal of personal service that refused to count the personal cost. The people loved him because they sensed that honor, courage, loyalty, and dedication to his conception of the common welfare were so completely a part of the man that his acting according to these virtues was doing what came naturally for him. They loved him the more because he did it joyously. In him the life of service and courage was a life of exuberant adventure. His life showed that achieving high ideals was not a matter of putting on a long face, but rather was high excitement and much more fun than sin.

Because the American people sensed the greatness of his character and admired the enthusiastic, full-blown way he did things, they could love him even more because of his human weaknesses. They knew that the quickness of his temper, his tendency to be overcertain he was right, his flair for dramatizing whatever he did, and even the favoritism he displayed for the Rough Riders when he made Presidential appointments, were exaggerations of good qualities. He did nothing from meanness or cold calculation. His life seems to have been guided a bit more by his heart than by his head, but the heart was good and the head seldom had cause to disagree with it. It was this quality of serving the public interest gaily and with exuberance in a dramatic and forceful way, never hesitating to antagonize powerful men when necessary, that the public loved.

One monument to his sense of honor and integrity was a civil service system cleansed of many of its worst abuses through his efforts. His loyalty and patriotism were well illustrated by his personal desire for military service when no one would have blamed him for being content with civilian service. His courage was both moral and physical. His moral courage was perhaps best illustrated by his willingness to run for President in 1912 when he knew that to do so would cost him the friendship of many men whose friendship he valued. The examples of his physical courage are endless. This highly excitable man seemed to be the coolest of men in firing at a charging lion or other wild animal on a big-game hunt. The affection the Rough Riders had for him was based partly upon his demonstrated courage as a soldier.

But the quality which in many ways was most impressive about Roosevelt was his enormous energy. He typified better than any other American the explosive outpouring of activity in the United States during the years following the Civil War. His enormous energies are suggested by the range of his activities. He was a voluminous author, a first-rate naturalist, explorer, soldier, cowboy, big-game hunter, and, of course, statesman. Although he was a sickly child, especially troubled with asthma as well as being very nearsighted, he became the champion of the strenuous life. Just how strenuous his life was can be seen by a brief review of his career.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

His father was a prominent New York merchant who devoted a great deal of time to civic and charitable affairs. His mother was a gentlewoman from Georgia; two of her brothers fought in the Confederate Army.

As a boy, young Roosevelt was greatly interested in natural history. He enthusiastically collected insects of various kinds and learned all their Latin names. On his first trip to Europe at the age of 11 he visited all the museums of natural history he could find.

When he was about 12 his athletic father told him that he was a sorry physical specimen and that something should be done about it. A gymnasium was built on the second floor of the Roosevelt home in Manhattan. So young Roosevelt began to work out with a punching bag, dumbbells, and horizontal bars. Roosevelt, in later years, was proud of his physical ability. He won it through hard work and he gloried in it. However, at first he went about his exercises in a routine way without much enthusiasm. When he was 13 years old, though, an incident occurred that set him to building his strength in earnest. Two youngsters teased him in that cruel way children sometimes have. Finally he decided to fight, only to find that one of the boys could easily hold him at arm's length. He wasn't hurt physically, but his pride was wounded. This was Roosevelt's first lesson in preparedness—a lesson he turned to the service of his country when he became President. His character is nowhere better illustrated than in his reactions to this incident. He immediately began to take boxing lessons and made rapid progress. His interest now turned to sports and hunting with that combination of enthusiasm and determination that marked everything he did.

Just before his 18th birthday he entered Harvard College. His classmates remember that Roosevelt ran everywhere he went. He was always in a hurry, bursting with the same energy that was transforming the United States into a great industrial country and a world power. That force of will and perseverance which had made him a good athlete, rider, and marksman in spite of poor physical equipment continued in Harvard. A great disappointment was his defeat in the final round for the lightweight boxing championship of Harvard. Roosevelt applied himself to the intellectual side of Harvard with the same energy. He made Phi Beta Kappa. However, he dodged the classes of a young history instructor, Henry Cabot Lodge, as being too tough. Lodge later became a close friend of Roosevelt and a United States Senator. Some of his classmates thought he took education too seriously because he questioned and even contradicted his professors, but he could not be passive in anything he did. He had to live life to the hilt.

EARLY VENTURES INTO POLITICS

Following Roosevelt's career after leaving college is almost like tracing the course of a rocket. At the age of 23 he was elected to the New York Assembly. He exhibited independence and courage in fighting corruption and in promoting practical reforms. Before he was 25 he was one of the leading members of the Republican Party in New York State. Despite his other activities, his interest in military affairs continued; he joined the New York National Guard in 1882.

Personal tragedy struck Roosevelt in February 1884. His mother and his wife died within a few hours of each other. This, coupled with a discouraging political outlook after the Republicans nominated James G. Blaine for President—a nomination Roosevelt had unsuccessfully tried to block, caused Roosevelt to leave public life temporarily. The next 2 years he spent as a ranchman in the Dakota country. He enjoyed the vigorous life and even caught some thieves and knocked down a gunman who advanced on him in a bar. Roosevelt didn't drink but had to go through the bar to get to his room. Many aspects of his life read like the dream of any healthy American boy.

In 1886 Roosevelt attempted, at the age of 28, a political comeback as the Republican candidate for mayor of New York City. Despite a vigorous campaign he ran last in the three-man race.

ROOSEVELT, THE AUTHOR

While in college Roosevelt had begun to write The Naval War of 1812. He undertook this work, which he finished shortly after graduation, because he found the existing accounts unreliable. This book is still a classic in naval history. Roosevelt devoted a great deal of time to writing between 1884 when he went to the Dakota Bad Lands and 1889 when he accepted a Federal appointment in Washington. During this period he wrote Hunting Trips of a Ranchman, Ranch Life, and The Hunting Trail, biographies of Senator Thomas H. Benton and Gouverneur Morris, The Wilderness Hunter, and a History of New York. Other books followed, among them the popular 4-volume The Winning of the West (1889–96). The output was great, but the quality was unequal. The biography of Benton was superficial, but his hunting books were exceptional in their field and are still excellent reading.

PROMOTING GOOD GOVERNMENT

In the Assembly he had become interested in civil-service reform and in 1889 President Harrison appointed him a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. Roosevelt's vigorous promotion of the merit system did much to improve the quality of the Federal service and gain for himself the enmity of the professional politicians who had not taken the civil service law too seriously up to this time. Roosevelt enjoyed the battle. He fought hard and repeatedly risked his career to promote the public welfare, but he had no consciousness of sacrifice. Rather he seemed to consider it a high privilege.

He resigned from the Civil Service Commission in 1895 to become president of the police board of New York City. Here, again, the same flair he had shown for dramatizing good Government in Washington, was used with telling effect. Corruption was widespread in the police department, with the police taking graft from saloonkeepers, gamblers, and prostitutes. He stalked the streets at night to see if his policemen were on the job. It was during this period that cartoonists made his prominent front teeth famous. It became the talk of the town how delinquent policemen became uneasy with the coming of nightfall, expecting any moment to see the approach of a dark figure with gleaming teeth. A reporter disguised himself with a broad-brimmed hat and went about frightening members of the police force by chattering his teeth at them. Roosevelt was not able to accomplish as much as he had hoped in the way of permanent reform, since the other two police commissioners blocked his program. However, his colorful behavior and vigorous attack upon real abuses kept him constantly before the public and helped his future. New Yorkers loved to read how the commissioner caught a policeman drinking a glass of beer at the side door of a saloon and how the policeman fled at the sight of those white teeth only to be caught after a chase of 50 yards and hauled in for trial.

STRENGTHENING THE NAVY

Roosevelt fought hard for McKinley's election in 1896, and was rewarded with an appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The success of our fleets in the Spanish-American War can be attributed in great measure to his efforts to promote the efficiency of the Navy. In this position he exhibited his customary energy, demonstrating also great talent as an administrator and the finest patriotism. As Acting Secretary of the Navy (the Secretary having taken a short vacation) Roosevelt ordered Admiral Dewey at Hong Kong to coal his ships and in the event of war to make certain the Spanish squadron did not leave the Asiatic coast. These preparations, taken deliberately without the knowledge of his chief, prepared the way for the brilliant naval victory at Manila.

IN ACTIVE SERVICE

If Roosevelt's biography had been written as a piece of fiction it would have been dismissed as overdramatic and highly improbably. The most improbable episode in his amazing career was his active service in the War with Spain. As soon as war became certain, he submitted his resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Navy and offered his services as a soldier. It seemed an absurd thing to do, but it proved to be his path to the White House. He was aching to get into the fight. Offered the command of a volunteer cavalry regiment, he declined on the grounds that Capt. Leonard Wood (later major general) was better qualified for it. He accepted the rank of lieutenant colonel when Wood was made colonel.

The regiment was the famous Rough Riders. From the beginning they were Roosevelt's Rough Riders, although he was nominally second in command. He dispatched telegrams to the territorial governors in the West asking for men who were young, good shots, and good riders. The applications poured in. From the first, Roosevelt was afraid he would miss the action. Within a month from the outbreak of war, he left for San Antonio where the Rough Riders were assembling in May 1898.

He almost immediately won the affection of as tough and varied an aggregation of men as ever were assembled in this country. Recruits came from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. They came from the fancy clubs of Boston and New York. But there were also cowboys, broncobusters, professional gamblers, clergymen, Indians, stage drivers, miners, mountaineers, hunters of bear and buffalo, and muleskinners. They were men who went by such names as Cherokee Bill, Happy Jack of Arizona, Smoky Moore, and Rattlesnake Pete. The men added new nicknames for each other. A courageous but natty member of an exclusive eastern club was called Tough Ike and his rough cowpuncher bunkmate was christened The Dude. One cowpuncher was dubbed Metropolitan Bill because he talked so much about having an aunt in New York.

Roosevelt loved these men and they loved him. He loved them because they had courage and loyalty to each other and because they were gay adventurers. It was perhaps this common love of adventure and respect for each other that bound Roosevelt and the Rough Riders together. After only a few weeks of frantic training the Rough Riders left for Tampa, Fla., to await transportation to Cuba. When Wood and Roosevelt reached the quay in Tampa on the morning of June 8 they discovered that 2 other regiments had been assigned to the U. S. S. *Yucatan* ahead of them. It was the only ship available. There couldn't possibly be room for the Rough Riders. Roosevelt himself described what he did in this emergency:

"I ran at full speed to our train; and * * * double-quicked the * * * regiment up to the boat, just in time to board her as she came into the quay, and then to hold her against the Second Regulars and the 71st, who had arrived a little late, being a shade less ready than we in the matter of individual initiative. There was a good deal of expostulation, but we had possession."

He and the Rough Riders arrived in time to fight and distinguished themselves with the charge up San Juan hill. Roosevelt was breveted brigadier general "for gallantry in battle." It was a short war, but battle and disease took their toll. The disease-ridden troops arrived on Long Island on August 15, a little more than 2 months after leaving Tampa.

Roosevelt never forgot the Rough Riders. He considered the war the greatest experience of his life. From that point on he was constantly helping his old comrades who were in trouble. As President he placed many of them in Federal positions.

FROM GOVERNOR TO PRESIDENT

After returning from Cuba in the fall of 1898, Roosevelt became the Republican candidate for governor of New York. He was nominated because the party bosses needed someone who could win, not because they liked him. Although a popular hero, he won by a narrow margin. He had just turned 40.

During his 2 years as governor, Roosevelt made himself thoroughly disliked by many large corporations and the politicians they controlled by insisting that the corporations pay reasonable taxes. Since the fruits of victory soured in the politicians' mouths with an honest and courageous governor, they looked about for some means of getting rid of him. In the national convention in Philadelphia in 1900 they maneuvered him into a position where he could scarcely refuse the nomination for Vice President. He was "kicked upstairs."

In those days the Vice President had very little to keep him busy, so Roosevelt decided to continue the study of law with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as his teacher. But fate took a hand and cut his studies short. President McKinley was shot on September 6, 1901, and died 8 days later. Theodore Roosevelt became the youngest President in American history, being not quite 43 years old. In 1904 he was reelected in his own right by a large majority.

The host of new problems confronting the country and the energy with which Theodore Roosevelt attacked them made his Presidency one of the most eventful in American history. However, it was a disciplined energy he now displayed. Some people thought of him as a bull in a china closet. His opponents made the mistake of assuming that his flair for publicity meant that he was unpredictable. They feared that his enthusiasm might lead him into rash actions at home or abroad. But they were wrong. His Presidency is an example of the way in which the Office of President seems to bring out the very best in a man. He demonstrated a capacity to rise to the job and to more greatness than his previous career had indicated. No one questioned his intelligence or courage, certainly not his patriotism. It was maturity, patience, an ability to discipline his enthusiasms that he now displayed, as well as perseverance in promoting the public interest, and great administrative ability.

Roosevelt was probably the most athletic President in our history. He led panting diplomats on frantic walks over rocks and streams while lecturing them on the importance of the strenuous life. He took jiu-jitsu lessons in the White House. While boxing with a young army officer his left eye was injured. His doctor told him he had to give up boxing. Within a few years the eye failed completely. Roosevelt's enormous vitality was properly characterized by a visitor from Great Britain, John Morley, when he said, "Do you know the two most wonderful things I have seen in your country? Niagara Falls and the President of the United States, both great wonders of nature."

MILITARY REFORMS

The Spanish-American War had revealed shocking deficiencies in our war machine. Remembering the evil consequences in Cuba of fighting a war with volunteers who were inadequately trained and under military leadership grown slack through public neglect, Roosevelt began sweeping reforms in 1903. The Army was thoroughly reorganized and its efficiency improved. A permanent General Staff was created. A new militia law led to a more efficient National Guard. Noticing that some officers had become too fat, Roosevelt decreed that they must be able to ride horseback a specified number of miles.

As he himself put it:

"Our Army and Navy, and above all our people, learned some lessons from the Spanish War and applied them to our uses. During the following decade the improvement in our Navy and Army was very great; not in material only, but also in personnel, and above all, in the ability to handle our forces in good-sized units."

NAVAL EXPANSION

Although the Navy had been better prepared for the Spanish-American War than the Army, the consequences of the war made the development of the Navy particularly important. We now had distant possessions, particularly the Philippines, which brought new responsibilities that could be met only with a strong Navy. Roosevelt stated the matter well when he said in his inaugural address in 1905, "* * * much has been given to us and much will rightfully be expected of us. * * * Power means responsibility and danger. * * * We have become a great Nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into

relations with other nations of the earth." These responsibilities could only be met if we had a Military Establishment sufficient to compel respect. At this point in our history that meant a strong Navy more than anything else.

Upon every possible occasion Roosevelt called for a stronger Navy, since "it is not possible to improvise a navy after war breaks out." He kept after Congress for larger appropriations and used all his skill as a great popular leader to develop support. In his first message to Congress he appealed thus for a stronger Navy:

"No one point of our policy, foreign or domestic, is more important than this to the honor and material welfare, and, above all to the peace, of our Nation in the future. Whether we desire it or not, we must henceforth recognize that we have international duties no less than international rights. Even if our flag were hauled down in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, even if we decided not to build the Isthmian Canal, we should need a thoroughly trained navy of adequate size, or else be prepared definitely and for all time to abandon the idea that our Nation is among those whose sons go down to the sea in ships. Unless our commerce is always to be carried in foreign bottoms, we must have war craft to protect it."

Our Navy at this time consisted of 9 battleships with 8 more in the process of construction. Roosevelt advocated more battleships, plus the proper proportion of other craft, including cruisers and auxiliary and lighter craft. He especially objected to our fleets rusting out before they wore out. He instituted fleet maneuvers in order to train the personnel. Naval maneuvers on a large scale, commanded by an admiral of the United States Navy, were held for the first time in our history. Roosevelt urged that Congress appropriate the necessary funds for gunnery practice.

It seems strange today that these measures should have appeared novel, but Congress was reluctant to provide the funds required. Congress did agree, however, to build one additional battleship a year in addition to replacing existing ships as they became worn out.

In 1907 it became clear to the President that one additional battleship a year was not enough. In his message to Congress that year he said:

"It was hoped The Hague Conference might deal with the question of the limitation of armaments. But even before it had assembled informal inquiries had developed that, as regards naval armaments, the only ones in which this country had any interest, it was hopeless to try to devise any plan for which there was the slightest possibility of securing the assent of the nations gathered at The Hague. No plan was even proposed which would have had the assent of more than one first-class power outside of the United States. * * * It is evident, therefore, that it is folly for this Nation to base any hope of securing peace on an international agreement as to the limitation of armaments. Such being the fact, it would be most unwise for us to stop the upbuilding of our Navy. To build one battleship of the best and most advanced type a year would barely keep our fleet up to its present force. This is not enough. In my judgment, we should this year provide for four battleships.

Congress did not agree to 4 that year, but it did agree to 2 in each of the next 2 years.

"By 1908, when our battle fleet steamed around the world," in the words of Roosevelt, "the Navy had become in every respect as fit a fighting instrument as any other Navy in the world, fleet for fleet. Even in size there was but one nation—England—which was completely out of our class; and in view of our relations with England and the English-speaking peoples, this was of no consequence."

Roosevelt's decision to send the United States battle fleet around the world was a master stroke. It accomplished many objectives at once. First, it kept the Navy on the front page at home and helped develop public support for his naval program. Second, it created respect for American power abroad. Third, it was enormously beneficial to the Navy itself. Instead of being merely a series of individual units, the Navy learned to operate as one body. The lessons learned in fueling, maintenance, and other things were invaluable.

In summary we can say that under Theodore Roosevelt the Navy was greatly expanded and its new capital ships had the heaviest offensive and defensive power in the world. The Navy was developed into an efficient and highly trained battle unit. Our naval gunnery improved enormously. The enlisted strength of the Navy doubled and the officers were increased by 20 percent. Most important, perhaps, Roosevelt convinced the American people of the importance of the Navy to our dignity, strength, and prosperity as a Nation. Without the Navy, Roosevelt could hardly have said that the proper conduct in foreign affairs was to "speak softly and carry a big stick."

OTHER PRESIDENTIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Roosevelt acquitted himself well in many other respects during the eventful years of his Presidency. By his new-found qualities of restraint and patient negotiation he succeeded in ending a great coal strike. He earned the title of trust buster in his fight to break up some of the great industrial monopolies developing in the United States. He successfully mediated a peace between Russia and Japan in 1905 and won the Nobel peace prize for his efforts.

In 1906 he intervened in Cuba, upon the request of the Cuban President, to restore order. When this was accomplished the United States withdrew. This action did much to diminish Latin American fear of American domination. He vigorously enforced the Monroe Doctrine. He recognized the new Republic of Panama when it rose against Colombia, which had been stalling on the Panama Canal, then negotiated a treaty with Panama and initiated the construction of the canal.

One of his greatest achievements was his success in conserving our natural resources. He constantly tried to preserve public lands from destruction and misappropriation. Roosevelt made the conservation movement a reality, fighting to prevent exploitation of our mineral and timber resources and waterpower. He conducted this fight partly as a matter of justice, since these resources belonged to all the people, and also because he knew our power as a nation would be weakened if the waste continued. It was with deep satisfaction, in February 1905, that he signed the act creating the United States Forest Service.

As President, he continued the fight he had begun as a member of the Civil Service Commission. He insisted upon a high sense of public duty. He was quick to root out corruption and favoritism in public service.

Roosevelt was a great executive. He had imagination and a keen sense of the trend of history. He had a capacity for careful planning, for weighing all the factors and alternatives. His capacity for efficient action was enormous. Although his earlier career sometimes suggested action without reflection, his actions as President showed that he usually understood the great historic issues at stake and that his course of action was well thought out. Things had to move, but, if need be, he could be patient.

WILD-GAME HUNTING

Roosevelt was only 50 years old when he left the White House after serving 7½ years as President. Retirement was inconceivable to a man of his energy and enthusiasm. Less than 3 weeks after Taft's inauguration, Roosevelt sailed with his son Kermit to east Africa for a hunting trip. The Smithsonian Institution mounted and exhibited 50 of his best trophies. When Roosevelt came out of the jungle he was perhaps more of a world figure than he had been in the White House. He made a triumphal tour of Europe.

RETURN TO POLITICS

Upon his return to the United States in 1910, his supporters in the Republican Party urged him to reenter politics. A Progressive Party was organized to run Roosevelt for President in 1912 against President William Howard Taft, who had won Republican renomination, and Woodrow Wilson, the Democrat nominee.

Roosevelt fought hard as the Bull Moose candidate. In one instance he insisted upon making a scheduled speech, although he had just been shot and badly wounded in an attempted assassination. Roosevelt polled 88 electoral votes to only 8 for Taft, but the split in the Republican vote sent Wilson to the White House.

EXPLORING BRAZIL

Roosevelt's sense of adventure was still strong. He set out in October of 1913 to explore an area in the interior of Brazil. His party encountered great hardship and suffered from tropic fever. He became very ill. Thinking himself a burden on his exhausted party, he urged them to leave him to die but they refused to do so. Outwardly Roosevelt seemed to recover his old energy, but his health had been undermined.

WORLD WAR I

When the Frst World War broke out, Roosevelt disliked Wilson's policy of neutrality. He saw great danger to the United States in a German victory. He deplored our unwillingness to prepare ourselves adequately in the event we should become involved in the war.

When war did come Roosevelt urged that it be prosecuted energetically. Characteristically he offered to raise a division of volunteers, and some 300,000 men responded. Congress authorized the organization of the division, but President Wilson refused to permit its organization.

This was a great disappointment to Roosevelt, who earnestly desired to serve his country on the field of battle. However, he did not sulk in his tent, but did his best to arouse public opinion to a vigorous prosecution of the war. All 4 of his sons served in the Army with distinction; 3 were wounded and 1 was killed. He campaigned for a Republican Congress in 1918, but his health was failing. He died early in the morning on January 6, 1919. He was only 60, but into that span he had somehow managed to fit several careers and more service to his country than it seems possible one man could give in so short a life.

AN APPRECIATION

In the perspective of history it appears that Theodore Roosevelt's greatest contribution was his insistence that the United States had a new role to play on the international scene. Most of the 19th century had been a period of relative stability, largely maintained by the British Navy. Consequently, during the 19th century the United States could safely concentrate its expanding energies upon internal expansion and development. But by 1900 it was evident that new forces were at work in the world. We ourselves had become a great power. In the future the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine would be more our responsibility and less that of the British Navy. Japan was a rising naval power in the Far East, and Great Britain would have increasing trouble enforcing the peace in that part of the world. On the European Continent, Germany was a rapidly rising power and Italy, too, had

been unified. In the Balkans, Turkish power was on the decline and movements for independence were growing among the Slavs.

By the time Roosevelt became President in 1901, the Pax Britannica was insecure. Few Americans realized the profound international changes that were occurring. We had been able for so long to take international stability for granted and therefore to concentrate our energies upon our own development, that many of us had come to believe that we need not concern ourselves much with foreign affairs. Theodore Roosevelt and a few other Americans realized that the course of events had carried us beyond the point where we could continue to avoid a larger role in international affairs.

One consequence of our traditional attitude had been neglect of our Armed Forces. We felt secure between two great oceans. Congress, the people, and most of our Presidents had felt little need to concern themselves seriously with military power. Roosevelt awakened the country to the new dangers and opportunities abroad in the world and the need to be prepared militarily for any eventuality.

There are many reasons for Americans to honor the centennial of Theodore Roosevelt's birth—too many to enumerate completely. We of the Armed Forces especially honor this versatile and many-sided genius because of his great achievements in the military field and because he demonstrated to the Nation that the "soldierly virtues" are the price of peace in an imperfect world.

We honor him as a great statesman because of his demonstrated ability to mediate industrial and international disputes, his vigorous enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, his forceful action that made the dream of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama a reality.

We honor him for putting the public welfare above private industrial and personal interests. We honor him for his measures to conserve our natural resources for the welfare of generations to come. We honor him because he raised the moral tone of American political life, for his patriotism and the quickened sense of patriotism he spread abroad.

We honor him for all of these things, but we love him—as the people of his own generation loved him—because he taught us that the life of honor, courage, loyalty, and patriotism is a great adventure and a lot of fun.

Backward Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 29, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of August 30, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

BACKWARD STEP

The stampede for adjournment of Congress may very well save the country from a congressional stampede to shore up the Federal employee security program in needless and, indeed, senseless fashion. The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has reported a bill sponsored by Representative WALTER which is designed to overturn the Supreme Court decision in the Cole case last year. That decision held that the power to dismiss summarily any employee of the United States whenever the head of an agency deemed it advisable in the interest of national security could be applied only to positions actually involving national security. Mr. WALTER's bill would lump all Government jobs together, from charwoman to Secretary of Defense, treating them all as sensitive and as involving national security.

Mr. WALTER's bill takes the form of an amendment to a noncontroversial Senate measure intended simply to clarify suspension provisions in existing law. It could be brought before the House at this late date only through a suspension of the rules; but if passed by the House, it would be subject to conference and possible acceptance by the Senate in the rush to get out of town. The Senate, of course, has had no chance to hold hearings on the Walter bill or to give it any consideration. Apart from other defects in the proposal, therefore, House action ought to be held off until Congress reconvenes next year. There is not the slightest evidence that the Supreme Court ruling in the Cole case has had any harmful effect on the Federal employee security program. On the contrary, it has tended to make the program more effective by focusing its force on the sensitive positions where it is most needed.

The Van Zandt Bill, H. R. 6975, Is a Compromise Measure Which Will Provide Aid to Labor Surplus Areas in a Reasonable and Realistic Manner, Thus Solving a Vexing Problem That Has Been Permitted To Become a Political Football at the Expense of the Misery and Heartaches of the Unemployed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of the adjournment of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, it is regretted that during the 8-month session no progress has been made in having distressed area legislation enacted.

This inactivity on the part of Congress is inexcusable since both major political parties are on record in giving recognition in their 1956 party platforms to the urgent need for Federal aid to areas having persistent and substantial unemployment.

Although the need for Federal aid to labor surplus areas is readily apparent, it is impossible to understand the action of the democratically controlled 85th Congress in pigeonholing distressed area legislation.

A subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee held hearings on distressed area legislation last March, at which time I testified to the urgent need for Federal aid to labor surplus areas. To date, the subcommittee has not submitted its recommendations to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

As far as the House of Representatives is concerned, I am informed that there are over 40 bills pending before the committee, including the 2 bills I introduced on the subject—1 of which is H. R. 6975, which is designed as a realistic approach to the solving of the perplexing problem. Despite the interest manifested, no action was taken nor scheduled by the committee on distressed area legislation during this session of Congress. Meanwhile, unemployment conditions in distressed areas have become gradually worse each month since the convening of Congress on January 3, 1957. It is a serious indictment of the 85th Congress that this important legislation has been sidetracked and virtually ignored during this session.

Can it be true that the failure to enact distressed area legislation is deliberate since this is not an election year? If so, the Democratic leadership is guilty of playing politics with the misery of the unemployed by withholding action on such vital legislation until 1958. It will be recalled that in 1956 Democrats made distressed area legislation a major campaign issue. One would expect, therefore, that since the Democrats are in control of both branches of Congress—and likewise, all congressional committees—they would redeem their oft-repeated pledge to get action on distressed area legislation as soon as the 85th Congress convened.

Since it is an accepted fact that actions speak louder than words, the wailing and beating of breasts by Democrats in the 1956 campaign with respect to providing aid for distressed areas is, in the face of the facts, nothing more than campaign oratory at its worst. This being true, we can expect another torrent of tear-jerking statements from Democratic candidates next year, in the hope of affecting the outcome of the congressional elections in 1958.

Mr. Speaker, since the 83d Congress when I first introduced legislation to aid distressed areas, I have witnessed the clumsy and ineffective manner in which the subject has been handled. This is to be regretted sincerely because, as President Eisenhower pointed out in his state of the Union message, and in other public utterances, we have pockets of unemployment throughout the Nation despite the general prosperity of the country as a whole.

As a result of President Eisenhower's pronouncement, the administration version of a bill was introduced in the 84th Congress. In addition to reintroducing my own bill from the 83d Congress, I also introduced a bill incorporating the views of the Eisenhower administration.

Meanwhile, the Democrats sponsored bills in the Senate and House of Representatives known respectively as the Douglas and Spence bills. It was evident from the action taken on the Senate bill in the 84th Congress, when it was approved in the Senate by a 2-to-1 vote that there is intense interest and a compelling need for distressed area legislation. Unfortunately, the conflicting versions of the bill approved by the House Committee on Banking and Currency and the Senate-approved bill resulted in no action on the legislation in the House before the adjournment of the 84th Congress. The conflict developed over a difference of opinion regarding some administrative details and a few substantive matters with regard to the execution of the program.

This year, with the history of the fate of the Senate bill fresh in the memories of all interested Members of Congress

was expected that a new start would be made in finding a practical solution to the legislative stalemate encountered in the 84th Congress.

Recalling the rosy promises of the Democrats during the 1956 campaign, it was regarded as a certainty that the Democratically controlled 85th Congress would lose no time in making good its avowed promise to enact the legislation speedily. As previously stated, the record of the House of Representatives during the 1st session of the 85th Congress, which shows no action taken or scheduled on distressed area legislation, is a sorrowful reminder of how soon glib campaign statements are forgotten. In view of the lack of action on distressed area legislation, they can only be interpreted in their true light—as purely "window dressing" and mere campaign oratory.

Regardless of the attempt to find a readymade excuse for delaying action during this session on distressed-area legislation, the grim fact is that unemployment conditions in these affected areas are steadily growing more acute. This is confirmed by the July 1957 Summary of Labor Market Developments in Major Areas, issued by the United States Department of Labor.

The summary discloses that 11 States and Puerto Rico have several areas of "substantial labor surplus." They are plagued with unemployment to such an extent that they are classified as major areas with unemployment ranging from 6 to 11.9 percent. In addition to the 11 States with major areas of substantial labor surplus, there are 20 other States, classified as smaller areas, in which unemployment is equally acute. In other words, there are 31 States that are adversely affected by the gaunt specter of unemployment.

In discussing unemployment I know whereof I speak, because a major portion of my congressional district in Pennsylvania has been classified since 1949, save for a short period during the Korean war, as an area having a substantial labor surplus. At various times during the period from 1949 to the present unemployment was over 18 percent in the Altoona, Pa., area, which is one of the major labor-surplus areas in the Nation. At the present time unemployment in the Altoona area is over 9 percent. For years unemployment in the DuBois-Clearfield area in my congressional district has exceeded 6 percent.

As a matter of fact, in Pennsylvania we have the following areas that have been classified for years as having a "substantial labor surplus": Altoona, Erie, Johnstown, Berwick, Bloomsburg, Clearfield, DuBois, Lewistown, Lock Haven, Pottsville, Sunbury, Shamokin, Mount Carmel, Uniontown, and Connellsville. These labor-surplus areas in the great Keystone State are joined by scores of areas in the other 30 States where unemployment is a persistent and chronic economic malady.

Mr. Speaker, it is time to face the grim fact that a compromise bill—as exemplified by my bill, H. R. 6975—is the only practical solution to the legislative deadlock facing distressed-area legislation.

It is abundantly clear that, due to the failure of the 84th Congress to resolve its differences in the Senate and House versions of distressed-area legislation and to the listless attitude of the 1st session of the 85th Congress in trying to effect a compromise, we face 1958 without enactment of this important legislation. In good conscience we simply cannot continue to ignore this distressing situation any longer.

We owe it to the distressed areas in 31 States and Puerto Rico to stop squabbling over details and to unite our efforts in approving a reasonable, yet realistic, program to ease the pangs of unemployment that are a blight on the economy of an otherwise prosperous Nation.

I am not interested in who gets the credit, nor do I have pride of authorship in recommending a careful study of my compromise bill, H. R. 6975. I think it is an accepted fact that the differences in the administration bill, the Douglas bill, and the Spence bill appear insurmountable. Meanwhile, Congress is stymied in its efforts to carry out the desire expressed by President Eisenhower that "we must deal with the pockets of chronic unemployment that here and there mar the Nation's general industrial prosperity." To achieve this goal, my compromise bill, H. R. 6975—which is a revised version of similar bills on the subject introduced by me in Congress since 1953—incorporates the best provisions of the proposals of the administration bill as well as the best that can be found in the bills introduced by Senator DOUGLAS and Representative SPENCE.

In arriving at a fair and reasonable compromise, I found that in some instances the administration bill fell short of providing adequately to meet the needs of chronically distressed areas. On the other hand, the Douglas and Spence bills provide too liberal assistance to areas whose economic decline is of recent duration. I took into consideration the fact that normally such communities have sufficient resources and are not in need of the variety of programs offered in these bills. In other words, I came to the conclusion that a fair compromise can be effected by providing different types of aid to labor surplus areas based upon the duration and levels of unemployment.

Therefore, my compromise bill, H. R. 6975, would reduce the cost of the program and yet leave sufficient funds for communities which meet the most rigid tests of chronic unemployment and economic distress. In short, my bill would assure that the neediest communities would get aid. At the same time, by establishing limits on some of the aid provided in the Douglas and Spence bills, it would be possible to reduce the overall cost of these programs. Although my bill would greatly decrease the cost of the Douglas bill, and liberalize the provisions of the administration bill, it would still provide essentially the same benefits—such as grants for technical assistance, loans and participations, grants for public facilities, vocational training, and retraining subsistence payments.

My bill, H. R. 6975, would also amend section 207 (a) of the Small Business Act of 1953 by empowering the Small Business Administration to make loans to local private nonprofit organizations—including industrial foundations, development corporations, and similar groups—formed to assist, develop, and expand the economy of areas of substantial and persistent unemployment, but only where the purpose of the loan was to enable such organizations to provide supplementary assistance to one or more small-business concerns in such area—and only after such concerns had qualified for loans from the Small Business Administration.

I am convinced that a thoughtful study of my bill, H. R. 6975, will reveal it as a practical and reasonable approach in ending the legislative bickering which has nullified all efforts to enact distressed area legislation. This is especially true when you consider the cost of the various bills.

The administration bill, S. 1433, is considered as a conservative approach and will cost about $55 million. The Douglas bill, S. 964, represents an ultraliberal approach to the subject and would cost in excess of $325 million. By comparison, my compromise bill, H. R. 6975, would cost in the neighborhood of $200 million and would extend Federal aid to labor surplus areas in a reasonable, yet realistic, manner.

Mr. Speaker, I have been zealous in my efforts since 1953 in sponsoring distressed area legislation in Congress, and I know I am joined by my colleagues in my reluctance to see the misery of unemployment become a political football. We are about to adjourn this session of Congress with little or no success in attaining the common objective of enacting a program to aid areas certified by the United States Department of Labor as areas of substantial labor surplus. It is my sincere hope that we recognize the futility of endless bickering and legislative stalemates which have hovered over distressed area legislation for the past 5 years.

As previously stated, I have no pride of authorship in urging consideration of H. R. 6975 as an acceptable compromise in the field of distressed area legislation.

Therefore, I earnestly beseech that we unite in support of the compromise bill, H. R. 6975, because I honestly feel it provides the means of leading us out of the legislative wilderness of delay and despair in which distressed area legislation has needlessly floundered the past 5 years.

Much More Than the H-Bomb Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES P. S. DEVEREUX
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DEVEREUX. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following article written by Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times military editor, that appeared in the New York Times magazine section of August 18, 1957, and en-

titled "Much More Than the H-Bomb Is Needed":

MUCH MORE THAN THE H-BOMB IS NEEDED

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The mushroom cloud overshadowed the House floor.

The gentleman from Missouri, Representative CLARENCE CANNON (Democrat), was urging reductions in the defense budget: "The next world war will be decided in a matter of hours. There will be a period of mopping up and taking over, but the war will be decisively fought on one afternoon or less. * * * The Army is no longer of any use in war except in occupying territory taken from the air and in enforcing martial law. * * * Could the Navy protect us? Ridiculous.

"The one thing that stands out like Mars at perihelion—like the headlight on a locomotive on a moonless midnight," said Mr. CANNON, warming to his subject, "is that if there is a war there will be no time for the Army and Navy to nibble around the edges."

Mr. CANNON'S confident predictions are part of the now familiar arguments of the great debate. In the era of megaton thermonukes, of what use are armies, navies, or conventional forces, industries, or manpower—or even will to fight? The war will be over in an afternoon. Planes and missiles and nuclear weapons are the decisive factors, so decisive that they have not only made obsolete the traditional surface forces but would threaten, if invoked, civilization and even life on earth. War itself has become obsolete: "The imminence of war is receding," said Mr. CANNON. "An age of nuclear stalemate is dawning."

What's wrong with this picture? Are nuclear weapons alone sufficient? Can we insure our security by a one-weapon, one-service strategy? Does the threat of massive retaliation deter war? Is there, in truth, a nuclear stalemate?

The capsuled answers to these questions are simple:

The picture drawn by Mr. CANNON is black and white and hence fallacious. Nuclear weapons alone are not sufficient. We cannot provide security solely by big bombers and bigger bombs. Massive retaliation postulates a threat that, it has been said, would be morally criminal and practically disastrous to implement. Or, as Dennis Healey, British Labor Member of Parliament, has put it: "No people whatever in the world are prepared to commit suicide unless they are threatened with murder and perhaps not even then." The threat of nuclear bombardment may deter world wars but it obviously has not deterred small wars. A nuclear stalemate exists only in the sense that the United States and Soviet Russia each possesses the power to devastate the other and neither is likely to utilize this capability so long as each maintains it.

The problem of United States—or world—security in the nuclear age is as complex as the technology that is supposed to be its servant. It is, in the first place, a political and psychological problem, the problem of the nature of man; it is only secondarily a military problem. As long as men want things other men have, as long as men quarrel, as long as they are aggressive, just so long will there be conflict in all the broad interpretations of the word.

It is true that the acquisition of tremendous power by nation-states and the technological revolution in war pose such frightful threats to civilization that most men and all rational rulers shrink from general war, draw back from the prospect of nuclear conflict. The fear of devastating retaliation tends to impose caution upon the war lords and to force them to calculate most carefully the risks of any aggressive course. It restrains the enemy, limits his actions. For this reason the capability of massive retaliation is one of the basic essentials in any security policy—indeed, in our national and foreign policy. We are trying to deter war, to avert it, and, at the same time, protect the vital interests of the Nation.

But the equation of deterrence is far more complex than that of bombs plus bombers equals security. Deterrence is the sum of all its parts. The capability of retaliating massively against any aggressor—the capability which is essential to stay his hand against us—means the capability of surviving an enemy's first blow, of preserving enough of our retaliatory power to devastate the enemy. It means not only bombs and bombers, but also bases—dozens of them, at home and overseas, dispersed and hidden. It means bases at sea—the submarines, missile ships, carriers, and seaplanes of the fleet—mobile bases which can be sunk, of course, but threatening to the enemy because of their mobility; bases which act as magnets for enemy attack, thus dispersing and weakening his threat to our cities and fixed installations. It means bases in the air—great planes with seven-league boots, like the future nuclear-powered bomber, capable of days of flight, mother ships for guided missiles. These, too, can be easily destroyed, once found, but they are elusive targets; they, too, distract and disperse an enemy's offensive effort, and they, too, help to insure that no enemy, once he draws the sword, can escape unscathed.

Deterrence also means the smaller bases of the tactical plane—the fighter bomber and light bomber; it means missile bases in this country and overseas. And it means a multiplicity of weapons systems; the more ways there are to attack the enemy, the less certain he is that he can defend himself.

Deterrence also means defense—point and area defense of our military installations and bases and cities, defense by manned interceptor aircraft, by Air Force Falcon and Army Nike guided missiles, by electronic warning lines, by the Navy's radar picket lines of planes, surface ships, submarines, blimps. It means passive defense—civil defense—arrangements for the protection of our cities and people which would insure survival of at least some of our civilization.

All this and much more is deterrence and deterrence is no stronger than its weakest link. Deterrence, therefore, is quite obviously more than bombs and bombers, more than Air Force, more than the Army or Navy; it is a posture of strength, the Nation in arms, and its will to take action if attacked.

This kind of deterrence might deter, as it has so far helped to deter, large-scale overt attacks by Soviet Russia itself. But it also deters us. It obviously has political and military limitations and liabilities The power of nuclear deterrence and the threat of nuclear retaliation are so great that they can only be invoked for most serious cause—actual evidence of large-scale overt military attack upon our vital interests. Even then any rational ruler would hesitate to unleash the whirlwind unless the enemy attack took the form of nuclear assault.

Suppose, for instance, that the Soviet armies were to move across the East German frontier tomorrow, but with conventional forces only and without utilizing nuclear weapons in any way. We are supposedly committed by our announced NATO doctrine and by our strategic concepts to use nuclear weapons—both small tactical ones and huge thermonuclear bombs—if Soviet forces attack in Europe, or if they attack United States forces anywhere. Yet fear of the consequences of such an action—the terrible chain reaction that it would bring—might well make any President hesitate.

This is the first great limitation of nuclear deterrence. If the chips were down would we actually use it, unless the enemy used nuclear weapons first? An overdependence upon it obviously hampers our diplomacy, reducing its flexibility, and concentrates too much of our military effort upon a strate that, because of fear of consequences, would be most reluctant to implement.

But there is another great limitation. T nuclear bomb obviously has not deter small wars, border conflicts, peripheral strug gles, or even major wars like Korea and Indo china. It did not stop the Anglo-Frenc attack upon Port Said. Today, several smal wars are raging—civil strife in Algeria, Indo nesia, Malaya, and the Arabian peninsula and the A-bomb has no part whatsoeve military or political, in these conflicts.

Suppose that tomorrow a Hungarian-typ revolt started in Poland. The chain rea tion might spread to East Germany, an brutal Russian repression might cause inci dents along the Iron Curtain. Would th A-bomb help or hinder?

The terrible prospect of atomic disast would certainly tend—as it did in Hungary— to stay our hand. Border incidents cann be handled by A-bombs, only by men on foo with guns in their hands and artillery behin them. And nuclear weapons cannot enforc freedom, except at the price of Armageddon

There could be, of course, special case where nuclear weapons of limited powe could be used in limited ways against limite targets for limited ends without too muc risk of spreading a war or of making a bi war out of a little one.

In the defense of Formosa, for instanc nuclear shells or warheads on guided mis siles might be used defensively against at tacking planes or an invading amphibiou force. But if United States planes droppe nuclear weapons on Chinese mainland air fields, the war might well balloon to un manageable dimensions.

This, indeed, is the greatest danger w fact. So long as we keep our guard and re tain a massive retaliatory capacity, no wa of tomorrow is likely to start with a planne and deliberate nuclear blitz, unless a megalo maniac comes to political power. The dan gers of war are the dangers of miscalculatio or accident. And the atomic danger wi come not as war starts, but when one sid or the other starts losing. Then only lim ited aims—a way out for the enemy, limite targets, limited weapons, and fortunate geo graphical conditions—might avoid holocaust

Small wars, therefore—the most likely kin of war we face—cannot be deterred or even won by nuclear weapons alone. If we plac all our dependence upon such weapons, w may be forced, when faced with limite aggression, to choose, as Robert Endicot Osgood puts it in his book, Limited War, be tween "total war, nonresistance, or ineffec tive resistance." The alternatives obviously are unacceptable—either defeat by Commu nist small-scale aggression or the invocation of all-out war.

What kind of military program, then, d we need? What kind of forces are essentia for security?

They must be forces capable of meeting the various kinds of threats we face. The must be able to deliver a big punch or a gentle tap. They must be able to make the punishment fit the crime, to adapt the mili tary force required to the strength and skil of the enemy aggression, to the terrain and climate, to the geographical limitations, to the objectives desired. They must include forces capable of handling a military police man's job in a street riot, a fire brigade tailored for quick transportation to any conflagration in the world, and a hard-slug ging element with nuclear punch ready to implement the ultimate sanction. The de mand for variety and versatility in the forces needed has not been lessened by the advent of the nuclear-missile age; it has been in creased. We have not dispensed with the doughboy with his feet in the mud and the rifle in his hand; we have merely comple mented him with new elements of military force.

It is interesting and noteworthy that in the two most recent crises it was neither nuclear weapons nor airpower that played a major role, but forces of all arms and services teamed and harnessed to a common goal. During the Suez crisis, British surface ships took British fighting men and many British planes to the scene of battle where marines and paratroopers landed in the now familiar, and still useful, manner of World War II. And in the Jordanian crisis, it was the United States 6th Fleet which was the instrument of diplomacy. This a fleet with nuclear bombs and guided missiles, but it is also a fleet with 1,800 marines, combat loaded and ready for business. It is, in other words, a rounded and balanced implement of power, tailored to apply graduated deterrence to troublemakers.

More and more, as the nuclear age matures, we must grow accustomed to living in the shadow of the mushroom cloud. But more and more it seems probable that the great atom carriers—the strategic bombers of SAC, the intercontinental ballistic missiles of tomorrow—will assume the role of navies of a bygone age, the role of fleet in being. They must be built, nurtured, maintained, and replaced as threat, as symbol, as deterrent. The fleet in being could checkmate an enemy's fleet, prevent invasion, and restrict an enemy's strategy, but it was no defense against submarine warfare or surface raiders.

We face a skillful enemy who believes that the ends justify any means and acts accordingly. His strategy is a composite of political, economic, psychological, and military factors. Some of his important victories have been won without presenting us with a casus belli. The most dangerous threats today—in the Middle East, in southeast Asia, in Indonesia, and in Africa—postulate not the onslaught of atoms, but the creeping communism of political, psychological, and economic infiltration and the subversion of fractionalization and civil war.

To meet these threats, more than military power is needed. Any task force for security must include psychological elements to sway men's minds, economic elements to develop resources and build a better life, political elements to couple freedom and responsibility—and military elements to safeguard against conquest. It must include covert as well as overt defenses, imaginative strategies, and new ideas.

Thus security in the atomic age is not as simple as some Congressmen, eager for economy, believe. The formula transcends military force. But it must include military power in all its varieties, from lethal punch to tiny tap. We must have a flexible strategy, freedom of choice, alternatives of action. If we become frozen or fixed to one weapon or service or to one concept—to a denial (100 percent) defense, to massive retaliation, to ballistic missiles—we may achieve economy, but at the expense of liberty and life itself.

To the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. is an organization that is only 8 years old. Its membership has passed the 100,000 mark. It is the fastest growing group of ex-servicemen in the world.

At last, the men and women who served their country in 1917–18 have an identity of their own, and the way they are joining the new organization that is reserved exclusively for them, is reminiscent of the way they flocked to the colors—40 years ago.

The enthusiasm and the cooperation of these old soldiers is good to see.

Too long have they remained in the background, so busy helping others that they gave no thought to themselves.

Now, their legitimate pride is demanding recognition. They have an objective. And they are uniting in comradeship to achieve their goals.

They were the first battle group in our history to defend the principles of freedom in the world arena.

As such, they are entitled to the honors, respect, and rights of those who served in this conflict, as distinct from the veterans who served in other wars.

In tribute to them, under unanimous consent, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial entitled "Veterans of 1917–18" from a recent issue of the National Tribune:

VETERANS OF 1917–18

"Give me some men who are stouthearted men
Who will fight for the right they adore.
Start me with ten who are stouthearted men
And I'll soon give you ten thousand more."

Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A., as you meet in Minneapolis, Minn., for your national convention, September 8–11, you might well adopt the above lines taken from an oldtime popular operetta as your theme song through the coming year and through the years to come.

For, truly, your group has proven that you are indeed stouthearted men as you have striven through the years to become a recognized force in the ranks of American veterans.

Led, this year, by Harlan W. Barnes, your national commander, you have proven your right to the designation "stouthearted men." You have met with disappointments in seeking the objectives for which you were organized. Undaunted, you have recognized the fact that, to the courageous, disappointments are but steppingstones to ultimate success.

The tens of thousands in the song have been secured. Figuratively, some short years ago, you started with 10 men and today you number your membership at nearly 100,000, and as more and more veterans of World War I realize what you are striving for, your membership will grow until it can take its place proudly in the ranks of the greatest veteran groups.

The men who are joining your ranks are also members of other veteran organizations but, little by little, they are beginning to realize that here is an organization which is distinctive—which has but one objective—an adequate recompense in time of need for the men who fought to save the world for democracy.

These men who are joining your ranks are not giving up their affiliation with the older groups to which they belong. They have no desire to sever the ties of comradeship which membership in those organizations betokens.

No, but they have come to the conclusion that membership in this new organization means something to them personally—something which they seek and need—something which they believe as their right as fighting members of the Armed Forces of the United States in time of war, when their country called them.

In the realm of veterans' organizations you occupy an almost unique place. The only other veteran group which can lay claim to a distinction as men apart is the group which served in the Spanish-American War—those who fought from 1898–1902. Just as no veteran of later wars can ever become a member of the United Spanish War Veterans, no man who served his country, no matter with what distinction—can belong to the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. if he did not serve during the First World War.

This is something to bear in mind as you begin your next year of existence when seeking to recruit members for your organization.

What have the Veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. accomplished since its puny beginnings some 8 years ago? What, indeed? In that short space of time you have welded together a cohesive group of men who believe in your principles and who are now devoted to the cause which you have espoused.

They know that here is a group of veterans which has but one thought—to secure justice for war veterans—a justice which has been acknowledged down through the years since April 19, 1776, when the embattled farmers stood at the bridge near Concord to fight for the right they adored.

At your meeting in Minneapolis you will have many things to consider—your new officers for the coming year—many subjects of national import, and, above all, your overall objectives, which are the reasons for your existence. Never lose sight of that. Pensions without an income limitation and a charter for your organization are what you are fighting for and you should never cease to fight for them until you win.

Bear in mind in your endeavors that, up to 2½ million men, there is no limit to your scope. The size of your organization depends on the zeal of your present membership and the devotion of your leaders. If every member of your group goes out and sells your cause to eligible members the results would be surprising, not only to you but to the men who make our laws when you come before them to plead your cause.

There is an old French proverb, to wit: "Nothing is impossible to the valiant heart." Be valiant in your fight for what you believe in and you cannot lose.

We wish you well at your national meeting. We feel sure that you will come away from it as fully determined as you have been in the past and instilled with the knowledge that stouthearted men cannot fail. Good luck to you.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 85–262, 85th Congress, and the order of the House of August 30, 1957, empowering him to appoint commissions, boards, and committees authorized by law or by the House, did, on September 3, 1957, appoint as members of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission the following members on the part of the House to serve with himself: Mr. CHELF, of Kentucky; Mr. DENTON, of Indiana; Mr. MACK of Illinois; Mr. ALLEN of Illinois; Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky; and Mr. NIMTZ, of Indiana.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS ENROLLED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that on August 31, 1957, that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 580. An act to authorize the exchange of certain land in the State of Missouri;

H. R. 1315. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Page;

H. R. 1411. An act for the relief of George H. Meyer Sons; Brauer & Co.; Joseph McSweeney & Sons, Inc.; C. L. Tomlinson, Jr.; and Richmond Livestock Co., Inc.;

H. R. 1419. An act for the relief of Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell;

H. R. 1474. An act for the relief of Mrs. Jennie Maurello;

H. R. 1502. An act for the relief of Homer Cazamias;

H. R. 1677. An act for the relief of Gilbert B. Mar;

H. R. 1883. An act for the relief of Benedict M. Kordus;

H. R. 2486. An act to authorize Commodity Credit Corporation to grant relief with respect to claims arising out of deliveries of eligible surplus feed grains on ineligible dates in connection with purchase orders under its emergency feed program;

H. R. 4174. An act for the relief of Filomena and Emil Ferrara;

H. R. 4335. An act for the relief of Ramon Tavarez;

H. R. 4351. An act for the relief of G. H. Litts;

H. R. 5719. An act for the relief of Clara M. Briggs;

H. R. 7014. An act for the relief of Madame Henriette Buaillon, and Stanley James Carpenter;

H. R. 7096. An act to amend paragraph 1684 of the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to istle or Tampico fiber, to admit free of duty a beta-ray spectrometer for use at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., and for other purposes;

H. R. 7900. An act to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to sell to individuals land in Ottawa County, Mich., which was acquired pursuant to the provisions of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act;

H. R. 7964. An act to remove the limitation on the use of certain real property heretofore conveyed to the city of Austin, Tex., by the United States;

H. R. 7972. An act to provide for the conveyance to the city of Warner Robins, Ga., of certain lands and any improvements located thereon in such city;

H. R. 8374. An act for the relief of Virginia Ray Potts;

H. R. 8576. An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands within the Old Hickory lock and dam project, Cumberland River, Tenn., to Middle Tennessee Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, for recreation and camping purposes;

H. R. 9280. An act to facilitate the conduct of fishing operations in the Territory of Alaska, to promote the conservation of fishery resources, hereof, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 253. Joint resolution to establish a commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 230, 85th Congress, he did, on August 31, 1957, sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

H. R. 580. An act to authorize the exchange of certain land in the State of Missouri;

H. R. 1315. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Page;

H. R. 1411. An act for the relief of George H. Meyer Sons, Brauer & Co., Joseph McSweeney & Sons, Inc., C. L. Tomlinson, Jr., and Richmond Livestock Co., Inc.;

H. R. 1419. An act for the relief of Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell;

H. R. 1474. An act for the relief of Mrs. Jennie Maurello;

H. R. 1502. An act for the relief of Homer Cazamias;

H. R. 1677. An act for the relief of Gilbert B. Mar;

H. R. 1883. An act for the relief of Benedict M. Kordus;

H. R. 2486. An act to authorize Commodity Credit Corporation to grant relief with respect to claims arising out of deliveries of eligible surplus feed grains on ineligible dates in connection with purchase order under its emergency feed program;

H. R. 4174. An act for the relief of Filomena and Emil Ferrara;

H. R. 4335. An act for the relief of Ramon Tavarez;

H. R. 4351. An act for the relief of G. H. Litts;

H. R. 5719. An act for the relief of Clara M. Briggs;

H. R. 7014. An act for the relief of Madam Henriette Buaillon and Stanley James Carpenter;

H. R. 7096. An act to amend paragraph 1684 of the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to istle or Tampico fiber, to admit free of duty a beta-ray spectrometer for use at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., and for other purposes;

H. R. 7900. An act to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to sell to individuals land in Ottawa County, Mich., which was acquired pursuant to the provisions of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act;

H. R. 7964. An act to remove the limitation on the use of certain real property heretofore conveyed to the city of Austin, Tex., by the United States;

H. R. 7972. An act to provide for the conveyance to the city of Warner Robins, Ga., of certain lands and any improvements located thereon in such city;

H. R. 8374. An act for the relief of Virginia Ray Potts;

H. R. 8576. An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands within the Old Hickory lock and dam project, Cumberland River, Tenn., to Middle Tennessee Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, for recreation and camping purposes;

H. R. 9280. An act to facilitate the conduct of fishing operations in the Territory of Alaska, to promote the conservation of fishery resources thereof, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 253. Joint resolution to establish a commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, and for other purposes.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 230, 85th Congress, he did, on August 31, 1957, sign enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1007. An act for the relief of Sgt. Donald D. Coleman;

S. 1636. An act for the relief of Delfina Cinco de Lopez; and

S. 1791. An act to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1959.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, reported that, on the following dates, that committee had presented to the President, for his approval, bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On August 30, 1957:

H. R. 230. An act to require the Secretary of the Army to convey to the county of Los Angeles, Calif., all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain portions of a tract of land heretofore conditionally conveyed to such county;

H. R. 2075. An act for the relief of Albert A. Heinze;

H. R. 2654. An act for the relief of Martin Wunderlich Co.;

H. R. 2904. An act for the relief of the Knox Corp., of Thomson, Ga.;

H. R. 3028. An act to provide for the relief of certain female members of the Air Force, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3370. An act to amend section 1871 of title 28, United States Code, to increase the mileage and subsistence allowances of grand and petit jurors;

H. R. 3468. An act for the relief of J. A. Ross & Co.;

H. R. 3625. An act to amend section 216 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to prevent the use of arbitrary stock par values to evade Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction;

H. R. 3940. An act to grant certain lands to the Territory of Alaska;

H. R. 6127. An act to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States;

H. R. 6258. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved August 17, 1937, as amended;

H. R. 6562. An act relating to the N½ sec. 33, T. 28 S., R. 56 E., Copper River meridian, Alaska;

H. R. 6760. An act to grant to the Territory of Alaska title to certain lands beneath tidal waters, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7536. An act to amend the act of January 12, 1951, as amended, to continue in effect the provisions of title II of the First War Powers Act, 1941;

H. R. 8030. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 with respect to acreage history;

H. R. 8256. An act to amend the District of Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act of 1947, as amended, to exclude social-security benefits and to provide additional exemptions for age and blindness, and to exempt from personal property taxation in the District of Columbia boats used solely for pleasure purposes, and for other purposes;

H. R. 8508. An act to provide that there shall be two county committees elected under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act for certain counties;

H. R. 8918. An act to further amend the act of August 7, 1946 (60 Stat. 896), as amended by the act of October 25, 1951 (65 Stat. 657), to provide for the exchange of lands of the United States as a site for the new Sibley Memorial Hospital; to provide for the transfer of the property of the Hahnemann Hospital of the District of Columbia, formerly the National Homeopathic Association, a corporation organized under the laws of the District of Columbia, to the Lucy Webb Hayes National Training School for Deaconesses and Missionaries, including Sibley Memorial Hospital, a corporation organized under the laws of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H. R. 8928. An act to amend the act of June 9, 1880, entitled "An act to grant to the corporate authorities of the city of Council Bluffs, in the State of Iowa, for public uses, a certain lake or bayou situated near said city";

H. R. 8994. An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to increase the salaries of certain executives of the Atomic Energy Commission, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9302. An act making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9406. An act to amend the act of June 23, 1949, as amended, to provide that telephone and telegraph service furnished members of the House of Representatives shall be computed on a biennial rather than an annual basis; and

H. J. Res. 374. Joint resolution for the relief of certain aliens.

On August 31, 1957:

H. R. 580. An act to authorize the exchange of certain land in the State of Missouri;

H. R. 1315. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Page;

H. R. 1411. An act for the relief of George Meyer Sons, Brauer & Co., Joseph McSweeney & Sons, Inc., C. L. Tomlinson, Jr., and Richmond Livestock Co., Inc.;

H. R. 1419. An act for the relief of Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell;

H. R. 1474. An act for the relief of Mrs. Annie Maurello;

H. R. 1502. An act for the relief of Homer Adamias;

H. R. 1677. An act for the relief of Gilbert Mar;

H. R. 1883. An act for the relief of Benedict Kordus;

H. R. 2486. An act to authorize Commodity Credit Corporation to grant relief with respect to claims arising out of deliveries of eligible surplus feed grains on ineligible dates in connection with purchase orders under its emergency feed program;

H. R. 4174. An act for the relief of Filomena and Emil Ferrara;

H. R. 4335. An act for the relief of Ramon Alvarez;

H. R. 4351. An act for the relief of G. H. Betts;

H. R. 5719. An act for the relief of Clara M. Riggs;

H. R. 7014. An act for the relief of Madame Henriette Buaillon and Stanley James Carpenter;

H. R. 7096. An act to amend paragraph 1684 of the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to istle or Tampico fiber, to admit free of duty a beta-ray spectrometer for use at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., and for other purposes;

H. R. 7900. An act to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to sell to individuals land in Ottawa County, Mich., which was acquired pursuant to the provisions of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act;

H. R. 7964. An act to remove the limitation on the use of certain real property heretofore conveyed to the city of Austin, Tex., by the United States;

H. R. 7972. An act to provide for the conveyance to the city of Warner Robins, Ga., of certain lands and any improvements located thereon in such city;

H. R. 8374. An act for the relief of Virginia Ivy Potts;

H. R. 8576. An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands within the Old Hickory lock and dam project, Cumberland River, Tenn., to Middle Tennessee Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, for recreation and camping purposes;

H. R. 9280. An act to facilitate the conduct of fishing operations in the Territory of Alaska, to promote the conservation of fishery resources thereof, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9282. An act to provide additional office space in home districts of Congressmen, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners;

H. J. Res. 253. Joint resolution to establish a commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 453. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 85th Congress convene at noon on Tuesday, January 7, 1958.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED

The President of the United States subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that, on the following dates, he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On August 29, 1957:

H. R. 1558. An act for the relief of Phillis Guyadeen;

H. R. 3280. An act for the relief of Mrs. Grace C. Hill;

H. R. 3583. An act for the relief of Chandler R. Scott;

H. R. 3818. An act to provide for the maintenance of a roster of retired judges available for special judicial duty and for their assignment to such duty by the Chief Justice of the United States;

H. R. 4240. An act for the relief of Cornelia S. Roberts;

H. R. 5807. An act to amend further and make permanent the Missing Persons Act, as amended;

H. R. 5851. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Mrs. Mattie Jane Lawson;

H. R. 6952. An act to authorize the transfer of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries;

H. R. 7697. An act to provide additional facilities necessary for the administration and training of units of the Reserve components of the Armed Forces of the United States;

H. J. Res. 354. Joint resolution to authorize the designation of October 19, 1957, as National Olympic Day; and

H. J. Res. 411. Joint resolution for the relief of certain aliens.

On August 30, 1957:

H. R. 1636. An act for the relief of George D. LaMont;

H. R. 1741. An act for the relief of Ikuko Morooka Mahoney;

H. R. 1868. An act for the relief of Daniel Adamson;

H. R. 1944. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to make inapplicable, in the case of the survivors of certain members of the Armed Forces, the provisions which presently prevent the payment of benefits to aliens who are outside the United States;

H. R. 2580. An act to increase the storage capacity of the Whitney Dam and Reservoir and to make available 50,000 acre-feet of water from the reservoir for domestic and industrial use;

H. R. 2842. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide for the temporary free importation of certain tanning extracts, and to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to suspend temporarily the tax on the processing of coconut oil;

H. R. 4098. An act to provide for the conveyance to the State of California a portion of the property known as Veterans' Administration Center Reservation, Los Angeles, Calif., to be used for National Guard purposes;

H. R. 4230. An act for the relief of W. C. Shepherd, trading as W. C. Shepherd Co.;

H. R. 4854. An act for the relief of Victoria Galea;

H. R. 5894. An act to amend the laws relating to the endorsement of masters on vessel documents and to provide certain additional penalties for failure to exhibit vessel documents or other papers when required by enforcement officers;

H. R. 6363. An act to amend the act of May 24, 1928, providing for a bridge across Bear Creek at or near Lovel Point, Baltimore County, Md., to provide for the construction of another bridge, and for other purposes;

H. R. 6709. An act to implement a treaty and agreement with the Republic of Panama, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7458. An act to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, to restrict its application in certain overseas areas, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7864. An act to amend the act of May 4, 1956 (70 Stat. 130), relating to the establishment of public recreational facilities in Alaska;

H. R. 8126. An act to amend section 16 (c) of the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands;

H. R. 8240. An act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes;

H. R. 8284. An act for the relief of Innocenza Guarascio;

H. R. 8646. An act to amend the Alaska Public Works Act (63 Stat. 627; 48 U. S. C. 486 ff.) to clarify the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to convey federally owned land utilized in the furnishing of public works;

H. R. 8753. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to include California, Connecticut, Minnesota, and Rhode Island among the States which are permitted to divide their retirement systems into two parts so as to obtain social-security coverage, under State agreements, for only those State and local employees who desire such coverage;

H. R. 8755. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit any instrumentality of two or more States to obtain social-security coverage, under its agreement, separately for those of its employees who are covered by a retirement system and who desire such coverage, to include Alabama, Georgia, New York, and Tennessee among the States which may obtain social-security coverage for policemen and firemen in positions covered by a retirement system on the same basis as other State and local employees, and to extend the period during which State agreements for social-security coverage of State and local employees may be made retroactive;

H. R. 8821. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to facilitate the provision of social-security coverage for State and local employees under certain retirement systems;

H. R. 8892. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the time within which a minister may elect coverage as a self-employed individual for social-security purposes and to permit such a minister to include, for social-security purposes, the value of meals and lodging furnished him for the convenience of his employer and the rental value of the parsonage furnished to him, and for other purposes;

H. J. Res. 338. Joint resolution for the relief of certain aliens;

H. J. Res. 340. Joint resolution to facilitate the admission into the United States of certain aliens;

H. J. Res. Joint resolution to extend the time limit for the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain war-built vessels for utilization on essential trade routes 3 and 4;

H. J. Res. 373. Joint resolution to facilitate the admission into the United States of certain aliens;

H. J. Res. 392. Joint resolution for the relief of certain aliens;

H. J. Res. 408. Joint resolution authorizing the President to invite the States of the Union and foreign countries to participate in the St. Lawrence seaway celebration to be held in Chicago, Ill., from January 1, 1959, to December 31, 1959; and

H. J. Res. 409. Joint resolution to waive certain provisions of section 212 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of certain aliens.

On August 31, 1957:

H. R. 1214. An act to authorize the President to award the Medal of Honor to the unknown American who lost his life while serving overseas in the Armed Forces of the United States during the Korean conflict;

H. R. 1318. An act for the relief of Thomas P. Quigley;

H. R. 1394. An act to authorize the sale of certain keys in the State of Florida by the Secretary of the Interior;

H. R. 2938. An act for the relief of Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.;

H. R. 3877. An act to validate a patent issued to Carl E. Robinson, of Anchor Point, Alaska, for certain land in Alaska, and for other purposes;

H. R. 6456. An act to amend section 304 (d) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, with respect to the disposition of certain imported articles which have been seized and condemned;

H. R. 6508. An act to modify the Code of Law for the District of Columbia to provide for a uniform succession of real and personal property in case of intestacy, to abolish dower and curtesy, and to grant unto a surviving spouse a statutory share in the other's real estate owned at time of death, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7384. An act for the relief of the town of Medicine Lake, Mont.;

H. R. 9023. An act to amend the act of October 31, 1949, to extend until June 30, 1960, the authority of the Surgeon General to make certain payments to Bernalillo County, N. Mex., for furnishing hospital care to certain Indians;

H. J. Res. 230. Joint resolution to suspend the application of certain Federal laws with respect to personnel employed by the House Committee on Ways and Means in connection with the investigations ordered by House Resolution 104, 85th Congress;

H. J. Res. 313. Joint resolution designating the week of November 22–28, 1957, as National Farm-City Week;

H. J. Res. 368. Joint resolution for the relief of certain aliens; and

H. J. Res. 404. Joint resolution providing for the recognition and endorsement of the Second World Metallurgical Congress.

On September 2, 1957:

H. R. 38. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide for the temporary free importation of casein;

H. R. 110. An act to amend section 372 of title 28, United States Code;

H. R. 293. An act to authorize settlement for certain inequitable losses in pay sustained by officers of the commissioned services under the emergency economy legislation, and for other purposes;

H. R. 499. An act to direct the Secretary of the Navy or his designee to convey a 2,477.43-acre tract of land, avigation, and sewer easements in Tarrant and Wise Counties, Tex., situated about 20 miles northwest of the city of Fort Worth, Tex., to the State of Texas;

H. R. 896. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of the Army to furnish heraldic services;

H. R. 1324. An act for the relief of Westfeldt Bros.;

H. R. 3028. An act to provide for the relief of certain female members of the Air Force, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3367. An act to amend section 1867 of title 28 of the United States Code to authorize the use of certified mail in summoning jurors;

H. R. 3377. An act to promote the national defense by authorizing the construction of aeronautical research facilities and the acquisition of land by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics necessary to the effective prosecution of aeronautical research;

H. R. 3940. An act to grant certain lands to the Territory of Alaska;

H. R. 4144. An act to provide that the commanding general of the militia of the District of Columbia shall hold the rank of brigadier general or major general;

H. R. 4191. An act to amend section 633 of title 28, United States Code, prescribing fees of United States commissioners;

H. R. 4193. An act to amend section 1716 of title 18, United States Code, so as to conform to the act of July 14, 1956 (70 Stat. 538–540);

H. R. 4336. An act for the relief of the First National Bank of Birmingham, Ala.;

H. R. 4609. An act to further amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the conveyance of a portion of the United States military reservation at Fort Schuyler, N. Y., to the State of New York for use as a maritime school, and for other purposes," approved September 5, 1950, as amended;

H. R. 5061. An act for the relief of Harry V. Shoop, Frederick J. Richardson, Joseph D. Rosenlieb, Joseph E. P. McCann, and Junior K. Schoolcraft;

H. R. 5810. An act to provide reimbursement to the tribal council of the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation in accordance with the act of September 3, 1954;

H. R. 5811. An act to amend subdivision b of section 14—Discharges, when granted—of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended, and subdivision b of section 58—Notices—the Bankruptcy Act, as amended;

H. R. 5920. An act for the relief of Pedro Gonzales;

H. R. 6172. An act for the relief of Thomas F. Milton;

H. R. 6258. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved August 17, 1937, as amended;

H. R. 6562. An act relating to the N½ sec. 33, T. 28 S., R. 56 E., Copper River meridian, Alaska;

H. R. 7383. An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes;

H. R. 8030. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 with respect to acreage history;

H. R. 8508. An act to provide that there shall be two county committees elected under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act for certain counties;

H. R. 8679. An act to provide a 1-year extension of the programs of financial assistance in the construction of schools in areas affected by Federal activities under the provisions of Public Law 815, 81st Congress;

H. J. Res. 351. Joint resolution to establish a Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission;

H. J. Res. 387. Joint resolution for the relief of certain spouses and minor children of citizens of the United States; and

H. J. Res. 430. Joint resolution to waive certain provisions of section 212 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of certain aliens.

On September 3, 1957:

H. R. 9302. An act making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

On September 4, 1957:

H. R. 230. An act to require the Secretary of the Army to convey to the county of Los Angeles, Calif., all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain portions of a tract of land heretofore conditionally conveyed to such county;

H. R. 580. An act to authorize the exchange of certain land in the State of Missouri;

H. R. 1502. An act for the relief of Homer Cazamias;

H. R. 1677. An act for the relief of Gilbert B. Mar;

H. R. 2075. An act for the relief of Albert A. Heinze;

H. R. 2136. An act to amend section 124 (c) of title 28 of the United States Code so as to transfer Shelby County from the Beaumont to the Tyler division of the eastern district of Texas;

H. R. 2654. An act for the relief of Martin Wunderlich Co.;

H. R. 4174. An act for the relief of Filomena and Emil Ferrara;

H. R. 4351. An act for the relief of G. H. Litts;

H. R. 6868. An act for the relief of t estate of Agnes Moulton Cannon and for relief of Clifton L. Cannon, Sr.;

H. R. 7096. An act to amend paragraph 1 of the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to or Tampico fiber, to admit free of duty beta-ray spectrometer for use at Stanf University, Stanford, Calif., and for oth purposes;

H. R. 7636. An act to provide for the co veyance to the State of Florida of a certa tract of land in such State owned by t United States;

H. R. 7671. An act to amend section 11 chapter X of the Federal Bankruptcy Act, make certain equipment trust provisions a plicable to aircraft and aircraft equipment air carriers;

H. R. 7972. An act to provide for the co veyance to the city of Warner Robins, G of certain lands and any improvements t cated thereon in such city;

H. R. 8256. An act to amend the District Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act 1947, as amended, to exclude social-securi benefits and to provide additional exemp tions for age and blindness, and to exem from personal-property taxation in the Di trict of Columbia boats used solely f pleasure purposes, and for other purposes;

H. R. 8374. An act for the relief of Virgin Ray Potts;

H. R. 8918. An act to further amend t act of August 7, 1946 (60 Stat. 896), a amended by the act of October 25, 1951 (Stat. 657), to provide for the exchange lands of the United States as a site for t new Sibley Memorial Hospital; to provid for the transfer of the property of t Hahnemann Hospital of the District of C lumbia, formerly the National Homeopath Association, a corporation organized und the laws of the District of Columbia, to t Lucy Webb Hayes National Training Scho for Deaconesses and Missionaries includi Sibley Memorial Hospital, a corporation o ganized under the laws of the District Columbia, and for other purposes;

H. R. 8994. An act to amend the Atomi Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to increa the salaries of certain executives of t Atomic Energy Commission, and for oth purposes;

H. R. 9280. An act to facilitate the conduc of fishing operations in the Territory Alaska, to promote the conservation of fish ery resources thereof, and for other pur poses;

H. R. 9406. An act to amend the act June 23, 1949, as amended, to provide th telephone and telegraph service furnishe Members of the House of Representativ shall be computed on a biennial rather tha an annual basis;

H. J. Res. 374. Joint resolution for the re lief of certain aliens; and

H. J. Res. 453. Joint resolution establishin that the 2d regular session of the 85t Congress convene at noon on Tuesday January 7, 1958.

On September 7, 1957:

H. R. 277. An act to amend title 17 of th United States Code, entitled "Copyright to provide for a statute of limitations wit respect to civil actions;

H. R. 1411. An act for the relief of Georg H. Meyer Sons, Brauer & Co., Joseph Mc Sweeney & Sons, Inc., C. L. Tomlinson, J and Richmond Livestock Co., Inc.;

H. R. 1474. An act for the relief of Mr Jennie Maurello;

H. R. 1883. An act for the relief of Benedic M. Kordus;

H. R. 1937. An act to authorize the con struction, maintenance, and operation by th Armory Board of the District of Columbia a stadium in the District of Columbia, an for other purposes;

H. R. 2486. An act to authorize Commodity Credit Corporation to grant relief with re spect to claims arising out of deliveries o eligible surplus feed grains on ineligibl

ates in connection with purchase orders nder its emergency feed program;

H. R. 3370. An act to amend section 1871 f title 28, United States Code, to increase he mileage and subsistence allowances of rand and petit jurors;

H. R. 3468. An act for the relief of J. A. oss & Co.;

H. R. 3625. An act to amend section 214 of he Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, o prevent the use of arbitrary stock par alues to evade Interstate Commerce Comission jurisdiction;

H. R. 4335. An act for the relief of Ramon avarez;

H. R. 4992. An act for the relief of Michael . Ovens;

H. R. 5719. An act for the relief of Clara . Briggs;

H. R. 6760. An act to grant to the Territory f Alaska title to certain lands beneath tidal aters, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7014. An act for the relief of Mme. enriette Buaillon and Stanley James Carenter;

H. R. 7536. An act to amend the act of anuary 12, 1951, as amended, to continue effect the provisions of title II of the irst War Powers Act, 1941;

H. R. 7654. An act for the relief of Richard . Taylor and Lydia Taylor;

H. R. 7900. An act to permit the Secretary f Agriculture to sell to individuals land in ttawa County, Mich., which was acquired ursuant to the provisions of title III of the ankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act;

H. R. 7964. An act to remove the limitaion on the use of certain real property hereofore conveyed to the city of Austin, Tex., y the United States;

H. R. 8576. An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands within the Old Hickory ock and dam project, Cumberland River, enn., to Middle Tennessee Council, Inc., Boy couts of America, for recreation and campng purposes;

H. R. 8928. An act to amend the act of une 9, 1880, entitled "An act to grant to the orporate authorities of the city of Council luffs, in the State of Iowa, for public uses, certain lake or bayou situated near said ity";

H. R. 9282. An act to provide additional ffice space in home districts of Congressmen, elegates, and Resident Commissioners; and

H. J. Res. 253. Joint resolution to establish commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, and for other urposes.

On September 9, 1957:

H. R. 6127. An act to provide means of urther securing and protecting the civil ights of persons within the jurisdiction of he United States.

HOUSE BILLS DISAPPROVED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The message further announced that the President had disapproved the following bills of the House; his reasons for such actions are as follows:

On September 2, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 2224

I am withholding approval of H. R. 2224, directing the payment of $581,721.91 to the State of Washington as full satisfaction of a claim against the United States for the cost of replacing and relocating a 28-mile portion of secondary Highway 11–A which was condemned and taken by the United States in 1943 as part of the Hanford atomic energy project.

The claim involved in the bill has been thoroughly litigated and its payment denied by judicial determination. The statements in House Report No. 401, 85th Congress, on H. R. 2224, concerning the basis of the court decisions appear to be in error. Both the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Washington and the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit found that there was in 1943 no necessity for replacing the road since there were adequate substitutes available. They held that the State was therefore not entitled to compensation. Certiorari was denied.

No equitable reason for overruling the decision of the courts has been advanced. This is not an instance in which a strict application of the law of eminent domain renders a claim noncompensable or in which denial of the claim will cause undue hardship and suffering to the condemnee because of peculiar circumstances. The doctrine requiring payment only when a substitute highway is necessary is based on the consideration that there is no money loss when it is unnecessary to replace the road. As a matter of fact, there is a saving of expense to the State in that the burden of maintaining a road has been removed. Enactment of this bill would encourage the reopening of other similar claims which the courts have denied.

The State is now constructing a new road across a portion of the Hanford project. The findings of the courts indicate that any need which this road may serve as a substitute for Highway 11–A must have been created by developments since 1943 and not by the Government's taking of a portion of Highway 11–A. Furthermore, the Atomic Energy Commission has contracted to give the State an easement over Commission-owned lands for such a highway. The Department of the Army has constructed 14 miles of this road to serve its own needs. While the State has reimbursed the Department for the extra expense involved in constructing the road to meet State specifications, the contribution of the Department has resulted in substantial savings to the State. No equitable reason has been established to justify further Federal contributions to the cost of this road.

On September 2, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 4602

I am withholding approval of H. R. 4602, which would extend and expand the direct-loan program for housing for veterans in rural areas and small cities and towns.

The Veterans' Administration direct-loan program was established for the purpose of granting to veterans for whom guaranteed loans were not readily available an equal opportunity to receive the homeownership benefits of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. The terms and conditions of these direct loans were intended to conform as closely as possible to the guaranteed loans. Since the direct-loan program was established, in 1950, approximately $700 million in funds have been disbursed.

In recent months a steadily expanding economy with continued strong demand for available investment funds has resulted in a general rise in the interest-rate structure. Because of the higher yields available on other forms of investment, the flow of investment funds into VA-guaranteed mortgages has been drastically reduced. To correct this situation, this administration strongly urged the Congress to increase the maximum interest rate on VA-guaranteed mortgages from 4½ to 5 percent. No action was taken on this recommendation and, as a result, eligible veterans are finding guaranteed mortgages almost impossible to obtain. It is still within the power of Congress, however, to stimulate the flow of private investment funds into VA-guaranteed mortgages by adjustment of the maximum interest rate.

What the proposed legislation seeks to do is to make substantial amounts of additional mortgage funds available by providing for direct Government loans at interest rates well below the current market. These funds are to be made available only to a limited number of veterans—namely, those in rural areas and small cities and towns. I cannot approve a program that has such a potential inflationary effect upon the economy or that is so discriminatory. There is no justifiable reason for making loans at interest rates below the current market available to some veterans and denying them to others.

Help to veterans in the field of housing can be met most effectively with programs available to all our citizens, veterans and nonveterans alike, through the coordinated activities of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The recent liberalization of loan terms under the FHA mortgage-insurance program should make this program available to a far wider segment of the population, thus stimulating private home-building activity to meet the growing needs.

It is my considered judgment that the above-mentioned deficiencies of H. R. 4602 are of a magnitude and importance which preclude my approval of the bill.

On September 7, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 1315

I have withheld my approval from H. R. 1315, a bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Page.

H. R. 1315 would pay the sum of $14,430.88 to Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Page in connection with the wrongful death of their son who was a member of the Armed Forces.

On the night of July 4, 1954, the decedent, Pfc. Charles H. Page, Jr., was a member of a motorized patrol at Killeen Army Base, Killeen, Tex. As the patrol approached a classified area after dark it was properly halted and challenged by a posted walking sentry. The decedent identified the patrol, whereupon the sentry requested that the dome light inside the vehicle be turned on. The patrol had twice passed the same sentry earlier that evening after the fall of darkness and had been allowed to proceed after the sentry had been informed that the light did not work. But, this time, on again being informed that the light did not work, the sentry directed the decedent to dismount and be recognized. The latter refused, calling out to inquire if the sentry did not recognize his voice and, at the same time, directing the driver of the vehicle to proceed. The

sentry ordered the vehicle to halt and then fired, fatally wounding the decedent.

The decedent was survived by his parents who are the beneficiaries of this bill. The parents were paid a death gratuity of $569.22 and are currently in receipt of monthly benefits from the decedent's free $10,000 indemnity. In addition, upon a showing of dependency, they could qualify for regular monthly payments under the Social Security Act and under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration. The award proposed in H. R. 1315 is additive to the foregoing benefits.

I cannot see my way clear to approve this bill. The Federal Government has provided a costly, comprehensive, and orderly system of benefits for survivors of members of the Armed Forces who die in service. As long as the death is service connected, these benefits are payable regardless of the cause, whether it be in combat or as the result of a tragic incident like the present one. As I have previously noted, the parents here have already received, and presently are continuing to receive, substantial benefits on account of their son's death. On a showing of dependency they could qualify for additional benefits.

H. R. 1315 would add to the benefits, to which the parents have heretofore or may hereafter become entitled, a further award in the amount of $14,430.88. To make such an award in this case would establish a most undesirable precedent with respect to other cases involving service-connected deaths. If this bill were approved, it would be difficult to deny similar awards to the survivors of other servicemen who die under a wide variety of circumstances. To follow such a course would, in my opinion, jeopardize the entire structure of benefits which has been built up for the protection of servicemen's survivors.

I am constrained, therefore, to withhold my approval from H. R. 1315.

On September 7, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 1419

I have withheld my approval of H. R. 1419 entitled "An act for the relief of Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell."

The bill would authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell, 1950 East Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., the sum of $11,197.95 in full settlement of all claims of said Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell for refund of excise taxes and other expenses sustained as a result of the actions of the collector of internal revenue of Philadelphia, Pa., in the years 1937, 1941, and 1942.

An examination by the Treasury Department of the facts in this case discloses that Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell has recovered by court action all taxes assessed and collected from her which were in dispute—plus interest—except $464.76 which was barred by the expiration of the statutory period of limitations. These taxes which were in dispute were manufacturers' excise taxes.

After a recovery of the taxes, Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell instituted a damage suit against the former collector, both individually and as collector of internal revenue of Philadelphia, Pa. The district court rendered a judgment in favor of the former collector and denied damages to Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell. This judgment was later upheld by the court of appeals.

The bill, therefore, would give to Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell the sum of $11,197.95 as damages which were denied to her by the Federal district court and the court of appeals. The court of appeals in affirming the decision of the lower court stated (*Powell* v. *Rothensies* (C. A. 3d, 1950), 183 F. 2d 774, 775):

> The evidence offered by the plaintiff herself conclusively establishes that at the time of the levy and seizure in question there were outstanding in the hands of the defendant 2 unpaid assessments against the plaintiff for manufacturer's excise taxes and that the warrant for distraint under which the levy and seizure were made was expressly based upon these 2 outstanding assessments, which with interest and penalty then amounted to $4,716.44. Under these circumstances it was within the scope of the defendant's ministerial duty to make the levy and collection here in controversy and he cannot be held answerable in damages for so doing. The trial judge, therefore, rightly directed a verdict for the defendant.

It would thus appear that the damages sustained by Mrs. Powell resulted from her failure to satisfy two unpaid assessments and that, in collecting the unpaid assessments, the former collector of internal revenue was acting within the scope of his ministerial duties.

H. R. 1419 would have a discriminatory effect, as it would afford to Mrs. Powell relief which had been denied her by the Federal Courts and which would be denied all others in similar circumstances who do not have the benefit of special legislation. Furthermore, H. R. 1419 would create an undesirable precedent by allowing damages to be collected from the United States under these circumstances.

Under the circumstances, therefore, I am constrained to withhold my approval of the bill.

On September 7, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 1591

I am withholding approval of H. R. 1591, a bill for the relief of the Pacific Customs Brokerage Co., of Detroit, Mich.

The proposed legislation would provide for the payment of $29,502.55 to the beneficiary in full settlement of all claims against the United States arising out of an erroneous classification of baler twine which was imported at Detroit, Mich., between May 5, 1950, and February 16, 1951. The collector of customs liquidated these entries at the rate of 15 percent ad valorem, the rate applicable under paragraph 1005 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as modified, in accordance with established and uniform practice for merchandise of this type. The importer failed to protest this ruling within 60 days after liquidation of the entry.

About a year after the entries had been liquidated, the Customs Court, in connection with the importation made by another importer, decided that similar merchandise was entitled to entry free of duty under paragraph 1622 of the Tariff Act. This decision was later affirmed by the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. This interpretation of the law had no effect on the classification of the merchandise in H. R. 1591, since the duty determination had been made and had become final and binding.

The Congress has established a regular procedure for importers to contest the rate of duty and obtain a judicial determination by the Customs Court of the correct rate. This judicial review is obtained by filing a protest to the collector's decision within 60 days after it is made. No protest was filed by the Pacific Customs Brokerage Co. The Congress, in section 514 of the Tariff Act, has provided that if such a protest is not made within 60 days, the decision of the collector is final and conclusive upon the importer and all other persons, including the United States. This provision, like other statutes of limitations, is desirable to permit the final disposition of cases in an orderly manner.

The importer had a legal means to contest the classification decision but failed to do so within the terms of the statute. To grant relief in this situation would be inequitable and would discriminate against the hundreds of other importers who have paid duty based upon a construction of the law which the courts have subsequently decided would be erroneous.

For these reasons, I return the bill without my approval.

On September 7, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 1733

I am withholding my approval of H. R. 1733, for the relief of Philip Cooperman, Aron Shriro, and Samuel Stackman.

The bill would provide that, for the purpose of determining the individual liability for income taxes for the taxable year 1951 of Philip Cooperman, Aron Shriro, and Samuel Stackman, the elections of said Philip Cooperman, Aron Shriro, and Samuel Stackman, sole stockholders of Queens Syndicate, Inc., which was liquidated pursuant to a plan of complete liquidation adopted on the first day of September 1951, to have the benefits of section 112 (b) (7) (A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 would be considered to have been filed within 30 days after the date of adoption of such plan. The bill states that the benefits of section 112 (b) (7) were denied to the stockholders because the mailing of the elections was delayed, without negligence or fault on the part of the stockholders, until after the 30th day following the adoption of the plan of complete liquidation.

Section 112 (b) (7) provides a special rule in the case of certain complete liquidations of domestic corporations occurring within 1 calendar month for the treatment of gain on the shares of stock owned by qualified electing stockholders. The effect of this section is to permit deferral of tax upon unrealized appreciation in the value of the property distributed in liquidation. An election to be governed by section 112 (b) (7) must be filed by the shareholder or by the liquidating corporation with the Commis-

ner of Internal Revenue on or before midnight of the 30th day after adoption the plan of liquidation. Essentially, R. 1733 would waive this requirement the named taxpayers.

The records of the Treasury Department disclose that it was not involved in e untimely filing by these taxpayers the elections. These records show at on September 1, 1951, Queens Syndite, Inc., adopted a plan of complete quidation. On November 18, 1951, elecns on Form 964, signed by the electing areholders, were received by the Office the District Director of Internal Revene, Brooklyn, N. Y. Accordingly, the ing of the elections was delayed for ore than 6 weeks after the 30-day peod prescribed by law for the filing of ch elections.

The granting of special relief in this se would constitute an unfair discrimiation against other taxpayers similarly uated and would create an undesirable recedent which might encourage other xpayers to seek relief in the same anner.

Under the circumstances, therefore, I m constrained to withhold my approval the bill.

On September 7, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 2462 AND H. R. 2474

I am withholding approval of H. R. 462 and H. R. 2474, bills providing inreases in salary rates scheduled under he Classification Act of 1949, as amendd, and the Postal Field Service Comensation Act of 1955, as amended, and roviding salary increases for other ederal employees.

H. R. 2462 would increase salaries, nder the Classification Act, by about 1 percent, and would make the increases pplicable to all except the most responible jobs. H. R. 2474 would increase alaries in the Postal Field Service by 546. The increases would range downard from about 19 percent for the less esponsible jobs to about 3.5 percent for he most responsible jobs.

I cannot approve these bills because, irst, they are not justified by considerations of equity; second, they would materially accentuate existing disparities in he pay scales; third, they would increase otal Federal expenditures so as to make arge supplemental appropriations necessary; fourth, they would increase the ate of Federal expenditure so as to reuire in all probability an increase in the tatutory debt limit; and fifth, they ould contribute unnecessarily to existng and incipient inflationary pressures n our national economy.

First. The claims that the increases rovided for in these bills are justified y increases in the cost of living have not een sustained. From July of 1951, the ffective date of the 1951 pay increases, o March of 1955, the effective date of he 1955 pay increases, the cost of livng increased by slightly more than percent. Yet the 1955 pay increases mounted to an average of about 8 percent for postal employees and about 7.5 ercent for classified employees. Since March of 1955 the cost of living has gone p a little over 5½ percent, or a total ncrease since July of 1951 of about 8.9 percent. Against this increase of 8.9 percent in the cost of living, approval of these bills would result in there having been granted since 1951 to postal employees increases in pay averaging about 20.6 percent and to classified employees increases in pay averaging about 18.5 percent. During this same period, fringe benefits have grown substantially—low-cost life insurance, unemployment compensation, liberalized retirement, and survivor benefits. By no standards do the equities of the situation justify the increases provided for in these bills.

Second. Federal employees have the right to expect fair and equitable wage treatment in relation to each other and in relation to employees in private business. These bills disregard that fundamental principle. Both would widen existing pay discrepancies within the Federal establishment and aggravate existing inequities, and it has not been demonstrated that generally the present conditions of Federal employment are out of line with those of the millions of other citizens working in private industry.

Third, in the absence of any compelling justification on the merits, great weight must be given to the serious fiscal and economic implications of these bills. The bills would increase annual expenditures by about $850 million for increased base pay and increased benefits computed on base pay. To meet these increased costs, either drastic curtailment of postal services and programs covered by the Classification Act, or large supplemental appropriations would be necessary, notwithstanding our firm efforts to operate these Federal programs within existing resources.

Fourth, the bills, by increasing the rate of Federal expenditures in relation to receipts, would press the public debt upward to a point so dangerously close to the statutory debt limit that an increase in the limit would appear unavoidable. The undesirable economic consequences of such action are apparent.

Fifth, these increased expenditures and the threat of increased public debt which they pose would have the effect of adding to the upward pressures on the prices of things Americans buy. I am firmly convinced that our people want orderly economic growth with reasonable price stability. The attainment of this goal lays heavy obligations upon us all. Of the Federal Government it demands fiscal integrity, however hard the choices such a course may impose. There can be no doubt, moreover, that the health of our economy and the defense of the dollar require economic statesmanship of employers and workers, public and private alike, in determining how much we as a nation pay ourselves for the work we do. Government cannot in good conscience ask private business and labor leadership to negotiate wage adjustments with full regard to the whole Nation's interest in price stability while at the same time approving the enactment of these wholesale salary-increase bills.

My decision to withhold approval of these bills is made with firm belief that the Government's salary position must support recruitment and retention of able employees in the thousands of different occupations essential to our Federal operations. An inquiry into the need for adjustments in the structure of executive branch pay systems has been undertaken at my direction. In the event this inquiry demonstrates the need for logical, fair, and discriminating adjustment, recommendations for appropriate action will be made early in the next session of the Congress.

On September 7, 1957:

VETO OF H. R. 2904

I have withheld my approval from H. R. 2904, for the relief of the Knox Corp., of Thomson, Ga., for the reason that it provides for a return by the Government of fees to a private corporation which had been properly paid pursuant to a valid contract. In this case, there were fees of $7,809 paid by the Knox Corp. in connection with commitments by the Federal National Mortgage Association to purchase mortgages on housing to be constructed in the future. The housing was not constructed. However, the Government was not responsible in any way for the failure to construct such housing. Accordingly, the commitments were terminated and the commitment fees were retained by the Federal National Mortgage Association. This action was in accordance with the express terms of the contract and with established procedure. There is no proper basis upon which an exception can be made in this case. Approval of this special relief bill would establish a highly undesirable precedent and result in unwarranted costs to the Government.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Pursuant to a special order agreed to on August 30, 1957, the Clerk of the House received from the Secretary of the Senate a message informing the House that, on the following dates, the President had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the Senate of the following titles:

On August 28, 1957:

S. 364. An act for the relief of the village of Wauneta, Nebr.;

S. 959. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to exempt certain wheat producers from liability under the act where all the wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm, and for other purposes;

S. 999. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land to the State of North Dakota for the use and benefit of the North Dakota State School of Science;

S. 1631. An act to amend certain sections of title 13 of the United States Code, entitled "Census"; and

S. 1866. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to require the inspection and certification of certain vessels carrying passengers," approved May 10, 1956, in order to provide adequate time for the formulation and consideration of rules and regulations to be prescribed under such act.

On August 29, 1957:

S. 336. An act for the relief of Angela Ferrini;

S. 465. An act for the relief of Maria Concetta Di Turi;

S. 976. An act for the relief of Charles A. Sidawi;

S. 1685. An act for the relief of Sic Gun Chau (Tse) and Hing Man Chau;

S. 1736. An act for the relief of Rosa Sigl; and

S. J. Res. 96. Joint resolution to authorize establishment of the U. S. S. *Enterprise* (CV–6) in the Nation's Capital as a memorial museum.

On August 30, 1957:

S. 397. An act for the relief of William Woeras;

S. 398. An act for the relief of Benjamin Wachtfogel;

S. 441. An act for the relief of Jose Ramirez-Moreno;

S. 463. An act for the relief of Pedro Ampo;

S. 485. An act for the relief of Luigi Lino Turel;

S. 499. An act for the relief of Daniela Renata Patricia Zei;

S. 562. An act for the relief of Hideko Takiguchi Pulaski;

S. 567. An act for the relief of Vida Djenich;

S. 660. An act for the relief of Ursula Rosa Pazdro;

S. 662. An act for the relief of Howard I. Buchbinder;

S. 796. An act for the relief of Zacharoula Papoulia Matsa;

S. 1306. An act for the relief of Carmen Jeanne Launois Johnson;

S. 1387. An act for the relief of Rebecca Jean Lundy (Helen Choy);

S. 1496. An act for the relief of Nicoleta P. Pantelakis;

S. 1574. An act to provide for the disposal of certain Federal property in the Coulee Dam and Grand Coulee areas, to provide assistance in the establishment of a municipality incorporated under the laws of Washington, and for other purposes;

S. 1767. An act for the relief of Eileen Sheila Dhanda;

S. 1783. An act for the relief of Randolph Stephan Walker;

S. 1804. An act for the relief of Marjeta Winkle Brown;

S. 1848. An act for the relief of Michelle Patricia Hill (Patricia Adachi);

S. 1896. An act for the relief of Maria West;

S. 1902. An act for the relief of Belda Roidriquez Ternoir;

S. 2165. An act for the relief of Gertrud Mezger;

S. 2431. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Klamath River Basin Compact between the States of California and Oregon, and for related purposes; and

S. 2460. An act to authorize the transfer of certain housing projects to the city of Decatur, Ill., or to the Decatur Housing Authority.

On August 31, 1957:

S. 268. An act to provide that the United States shall return to the former owners certain mineral interests in lands acquired for the Arkabutla, Sardis, Enid, and Grenada Reservoirs, Miss.;

S. 939. An act to amend section 22 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended;

S. 1290. An act for the relief of Lee-Ana Roberts;

S. 1293. An act for the relief of Ethan Thu (Eton) Yellin;

S. 1306. An act for the relief of Pao-Wei Yung;

S. 1307. An act for the relief of Toribia Basterrechea (Arrola);

S. 1421. An act for the relief of Anais Luiz Darzins;

S. 1815. An act for the relief of Nicholas Dilles;

S. 1817. An act for the relief of John Panagiotou;

S. 1838. An act for the relief of Charles Douglas;

S. 1910. An act for the relief of Salvatore Salerno;

S. 1962. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey a certain tract of land owned by the United States to the Perkins Chapel Methodist Church, Bowie, Md.;

S. 2003. An act for the relief of Jozice Matana Koulis and Davorko Matana Koulis;

S. 2095. An act for the relief of Vaclav Uhlik, Marta Uhlik, Vaclav Uhlik, Jr., and Eva Uhlik; and

S. 2603. An act to amend the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1896.

On September 2, 1957:

S. 524. An act for the relief of Robert F. Gross;

S. 1035. An act for the relief of Alice Eirl Schaer (Mi On Lee);

S. 1050. An act for the relief of Hrygory (Harry) Mydlak;

S. 1167. An act for the relief of John Nicholas Christodoulias;

S. 1335. An act for the relief of Sandra Ann Scott;

S. 1370. An act for the relief of Wanda Wawrzyczek;

S. 1482. An act to amend certain provisions of the Columbia Basin Project Act, and for other purposes;

S. 2063. An act for the relief of Guy H. Davant;

S. 2377. An act to amend chapter 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for the production of statements and reports of witnesses;

S. 2438. An act to amend the District of Columbia Business Corporation Act; and

S. 2500. An act to make uniform the termination date for the use of official franks by former Members of Congress, and for other purposes.

On September 4, 1957:

S. 281. An act for the relief of Jaffa Kam;

S. 684. An act for the relief of Ilse Striegan Bacon;

S. 807. An act for the relief of Jackson School Township, Ind.;

S. 880. An act for the relief of Necmettin Cengiz;

S. 882. An act for the relief of Pauline Ethel Angus;

S. 1049. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ahsapet Gamityan;

S. 1153. An act for the relief of Zdenka Sneler;

S. 1175. An act for the relief of Helene Cordery Hall;

S. 1241. An act for the relief of Edw Martin Hinsberger;

S. 1271. An act for the relief of Daniel cide Charlebois;

S. 1321. An act for the relief of Ju Matsuoka Eckrich;

S. 1456. An act for the relief of Ref Guerrero-Monje;

S. 1467. An act for the relief of Ita Kasahara;

S. 1520. An act to amend an act enti "An act to provide for the disposal of erally owned property at obsolescent ca ized waterways, and for other purposes";

S. 1635. An act for the relief of M Talloura Boist;

S. 1636. An act for the relief of Del Cinco de Lopez;

S. 1645. An act to authorize the Secret of the Interior to grant easements in cert lands to the city of Las Vegas, Nev., for ro widening purposes;

S. 1791. An act to further amend the organization Act of 1949, as amended, so t such act will apply to reorganization pl transmitted to the Congress at any time fore June 1, 1959;

S. 1835. An act for the relief of M Domenica Ricci;

S. 1921. An act for the relief of M Goldet;

S. 1972. An act for the relief of Let Maria Arini;

S. 1996. An act to approve the contr negotiated with the Casper-Alcova Irrigati District, to authorize its execution, and other purposes;

S. 2028. An act for the relief of Sherwo Lloyd Pierce;

S. 2041. An act for the relief of Sala Wei bard;

S. 2204. An act for the relief of Marga E. Cullotv; and

S. J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to author and request the President to issue a proc mation in connection with the centenn of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt.

On September 7, 1957:

S. 1007. An act for the relief of Sgt. Dona D. Coleman;

S. 2080. An act relating to the computati of income for the purpose of payment death benefits to parents or pension for no service-connected disability or death certain cases;

S. 2229. An act to provide for Governme guaranty of private loans to certain air ca riers for purchase of modern aircraft an equipment, to foster the development an use of modern transport aircraft by su carriers, and for other purposes;

S. 2413. An act to clarify the authority the President to fill the judgeship for th district of South Dakota authorized by th act of February 10, 1954, and to repeal th prohibition contained in such act again filling the next vacancy occurring in th office of district judge for such district; an

S. 2434. An act to amend the act entitle "An act to provide books for the adu blind."

Appendix

Legislative Record of the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 85th Congress has been a successful one, and in the legislative history of our country it has been a historic one.

For the passage of the civil-rights bill—right to vote—is an event that will forever mark this Congress as one of historic significance. The importance of this event, the first time in over 80 years, is further emphasized by the fact that this bill was passed by a Democratic controlled Congress. And yet, only a few years ago, when the Republicans controlled the 83d Congress, with President Eisenhower then, as now, in the White House, such legislation was not even reported out of the Republican-controlled committees of either branch. In the language of the legislator, in the 83d Congress, civil-rights legislation was killed in committee.

In making my statement as majority leader on the accomplishments of the first session of this Congress, I could rest my case on the statement that I have made that the past session has been a successful one, and in the legislative history of our country, a historic one in the passage alone of this bill.

Another history-making event was the passage of the Middle East resolution. It is rare in our history that an entire Congress, never mind one of its sessions, is faced with two such historic events and handles them in a successful manner.

The importance of these two events from the angle of legislative history cannot be denied or minimized.

After his election last January, and on the opening day of the Congress, Speaker RAYBURN delivered to the Members of the House of Representatives a brief but expressive address in acknowledgment of his election as Speaker of the 85th Congress.

I quote a part of Speaker RAYBURN'S remarks because they are worth our reconsideration today—months later—as a standard for evaluating the work accomplished during those long months. The Speaker said, referring to Congress:

This is the highest theater that anyone plays in upon this earth today. I must refer again to the tremenedous and at times appalling responsibility that falls upon the shoulders of each and every one of us. We must so act in the days to come that we will merit the confidence and the faith not only of our own people but of the people of the whole world, because your country and mine has been challenged to take the leadership of the free world. If we do not with courage and judgment accept that leadership, then the world will be a place in which good men and women will be unhappy.

He concluded:

This is no time for acrimony. This is a time of dedication for every human being that lives within the confines of the United States of America. Therefore, I look forward to a session that will be fruitful, that will be serviceable not only to us but to the other people of the earth.

The Speaker's simple but practical statement of his test of the success of the newly assembled House of Representatives by implication makes of less importance many other tests which are being applied today as the session closes. The President, majority and minority Members of the Senate and House, authors of newspaper editorials and special columns, TV and radio commentators, and the representatives of numerous special interest groups and geographical areas, are expressing widely different views, largely because they have set up as basis for their judgments so many different criteria of successful congressional achievement. Some persons measure our work in terms of the number of Presidential recommendations we enacted into law or defeated. President Eisenhower himself during the closing days of the session expressed disappointment that more of his proposals had not been adopted, but others have judged that in the light of all surrounding circumstances Congress did rather well by the administration's program. The record shows that President Eisenhower received generous treatment, particularly with a large segment in a number of cases, a majority of his own party voting against him.

To try to summarize all these evaluations of the record of the 1st session of the 85th Congress presents a difficult task. During the past few days I have been reading a large sample of these analyses, ranging from the strongly partisan to the more objective, and I quote a part of an editorial in the New York Times which stated, in part:

The 1st session of the Democratic 85th Congress has left a record sure to frustrate all those analysts who demand verdicts of precision. No such clear-cut summation is possible on the facts. This session has rejected some of the President's proposals; but some presidential defeats, as, for example, in the death of the school-aid bill, were caused largely by members of his own party, and were compounded by his own occasional lack of enthusiastic leadership. The session has adopted some Presidential proposals intact; others it has adopted and then basically redesigned to suit Democratic purposes. * * * The political climate in general, indeed, has been good. There has been a total absence of irresponsible and merely punitive congressional investigatory action. The President and the Congress have moved together, each in decent regard for the rights and privileges of the great separate constitutional house which the other occupies.

On the last day of the session Senate Majority Leader JOHNSON said:

Mr. President, this session acted responsibly. This session acted courageously. This session acted constructively. We can leave it to the historians to determine the rank of this Congress in history. For the present I think it is sufficient to say it was a job well done. Individuals may have been disappointed. But the country was not disappointed, as was demonstrated in Wisconsin earlier this week. And when the adjournment bells ring, the record of this Democratic session I think will compare with any.

It is apparent that Speaker RAYBURN and Senate Majority Leader JOHNSON have, in substance, said the same thing. Speaker RAYBURN'S emphasis on the responsibility of the Congress for "a session that will be fruitful, that will be serviceable not only to us but to the other people of the earth," is matched by Senator JOHNSON'S emphatic statement that "This session acted responsibly—courageously—constructively." This is not merely a partisan defense of a record, but the statements of these two leaders represent the consensus of the views of objective-minded persons, in and out of Congress.

For myself, I subscribe wholeheartedly both to Speaker RAYBURN'S test of successful congressional action and to Senator JOHNSON'S conclusion that Congress has met this test in the session which has just ended.

President Eisenhower's expressed disappointment in the record of Congress is difficult to understand. It seems to be a personal and hasty reaction rather than a conclusion justified by the facts. Every President in modern times has had a list of measures which constituted the legislative program of his administration, and it is right and proper in our system of government that he should work to get every item enacted into law. But no President has ever achieved that aim—not even Presidents supported by large majorities of their own parties in both Houses of Congress. Probably their disappointment has been just as great as President Eisenhower's. But in most cases they have worked harder, more skillfully, and more consistently than he has done to get his program enacted, and their disappointment may have been tempered by the realization that at least

they had not failed by default. President Eisenhower, furthermore, appears to be rather naive in his belief that he could get immediate action on all of the recommendations he submitted during the first session of the present Congress, some of them highly controversial, and many minor in nature. Normally, the first session of a Congress starts out with a large program of its own and administration measures, and it takes about 3 months to organize and get started. Some of these receive final action during the first session, but always a very large number—many of which may have been passed by only one House or given hearings before committees—remain on the calendar for disposition in the second session. True to form, a very considerable number of administration measures was enacted in the past session, a few were defeated, and many remain to be acted on next year. If the President understood this, or were reasonably patient, he would direct his attention to getting congressional action on the remainder of his program, rather than complaining against Congress for not having disposed of his entire program during the first half of its normal working period. He might work to have more of the members of his own party support his recommendations. Furthermore, the President should realize that there is no particular reason to believe that his program of legislation is so perfectly prepared that agreement with it is inevitable. Most legislative proposals in their original form are extremely complex and their impact cannot be fully appreciated. Such matters as foreign aid, for example, require the joint consideration of the administration and the Congress, and the final legislative measure may be—and frequently is—a combination of the original views of these elements, plus modifications which develop during the process of consideration. A few of President Eisenhower's recommendations, after submission to such joint consideration, were defeated during the past session; some were enacted in almost their original form; others were amended before passage; others have yet to be given that thorough consideration which Congress is obliged to accord them if it is to be responsible to its obligations. President Eisenhower must realize and expect that his proposals to Congress—proposals of major importance because of their source—need thorough consideration and that the Congress is working with him, and not against him, in the effort to enact legislation which is in the best interests of all our people. If the Congress were to be merely a machine for processing into the form of statutes every recommendation from the President, we would not be the Congress of the United States as our duties are prescribed by the Constitution and as they are accepted to be under our form of government.

Particular interest has been attracted to the record of the present Congress because of the divided control in our Government. The record of the past session shows that instead of a stalemate resulting, that the Democratic-controlled Congress has cooperated with President Eisenhower in the most understanding and effective manner. An examination of rollcall votes shows that on many of his recommendations and budget estimates President Eisenhower received more support from the Democratic Members than from Republican Members.

This record of action for the national interests of our country, and for the best interests of our people will continue in the second session of this Congress, for the Democratic Party is not a party of blind opposition.

The policy of the Democratic Party is to constructively support, constructively propose, and when in opposition to a measure, to constructively oppose.

The Democratic Party, even at times when the opposition was playing partisan politics, has steadfastly adhered to bipartisan action.

In the world of today it is important that bipartisan action continue, and that understanding relationships between the two great political parties and the leaders thereof exist. For of paramount importance to all Americans is the United States of America and its national interest.

And in establishing bipartisanship and national unity so necessary to meet the problems of the present emergency, President Eisenhower must play his part. In attaining this important and necessary objective the President is a leading figure. The making of unwise or emotional statements by the President, particularly when they vary from the facts, such as his statement of being "keenly disappointed" with the record of the first session of this Congress, is not consistent with such leadership.

The reply of Speaker RAYBURN to that statement is not only pertinent, but expressive and justified. I quote the Speaker, "When I operate with a man I always like to know where he stands today and where he stands tomorrow."

In the best interests of our country, and for a future world of peace, bipartisan policy and action is as necessary today as any time in the history of our country.

There is a strong feeling among our people, which feeling I have, as well as many other Members of Congress, that our position internationally is not as secure as it was 2 or more years ago. It is not too late for this situation to change, but it calls for firm and consistent leadership on the part of President Eisenhower.

The quicker we get back to the basic policy of peace through strength the better it will be for our country and for the free world.

In addition to the civil-rights bill and the Middle East resolution which I have already referred to, I call attention to some of the important measures enacted during the past session.

Another bill of great importance that required months of hearings and consideration is the International Atomic Energy Agency Participation Act. The President considered this to be a recommendation of great importance in carrying out of foreign policy and in making progress toward ultimate peace.

As Chairman DURHAM, Democrat, of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, well said on this measure:

> By participating in this Agency, the United States has an opportunity to demonstrate to all nations of the world our leadership and interest in the field of atomic energy, our technical accomplishments, and our willingness to help other countries to apply the best use of the atom. The Agency also provides a real means and method of developing an effective international control system to divert fissionable materials from weapons to peaceful purposes, and to emphasize the best use of atomic energy.

Another important bill passed is the Atomic Energy Indemnity Act, designed to encourage private industry to develop atomic energy in this country.

One of the significant results of the past session was the action taken on President Eisenhower's budget message, the largest peacetime budget in the history of our country.

While different opinions have been expressed as to reductions made by the Congress, it is generally recognized and understood that the reductions are in excess of $5 billion. In itself, this is a remarkable achievement.

In addition to the passage of the various appropriation bills, among which were many controversial items, and the foreign assistance—mutual aid—authorization bill, and later the foreign assistance appropriation bill, many other bills of importance were passed, such as:

Extension of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

Amendment of the Small Business Act of 1953, improving that act in the interests of small and independent businesses and particularly the establishing of the Small Business Administration on a permanent basis.

Extension of the Reorganization Act of 1949.

Amendment of the Airways Modification Act of 1953, and the establishment of the Airways Modification Board.

Amendment of the Immigration and Naturalization Act. While this particular bill does not go as far as some would like, it represents a marked step forward, and will bring humane and beneficial results to about 60,000 persons and orphans each year.

Establishment of a deferred grazing program. The rolcall vote of the passage of this bill is an interesting one, for 192 Democrats voted for its passage, with 9 against. On the other hand, 78 Republicans voted for its passage, but 100 Republicans voted against it.

The House resolution requesting the President to furnish information on the results of the survey conducted by him and the executive agencies as to where the President's original budget estimates could be reduced. The passage of this resolution was a matter of great concern to the American people. If complied with by the President, it represented cooperative action with the Congress as intended by the Constitution.

On this rollcall 210 Democrats voted for the resolution, with only 3 Democrats against it. On the other hand, only 10 Republicans voted for the resolution, and 175 Republicans voted against it.

Amendment of the Anglo-American greement. This was a major recommendation of President Eisenhower. If failed to pass it could have had serious iverse results in the field of foreign ffairs. President Eisenhower was very uch concerned about this bill and its assage. The rollcall vote is very interesting. On this measure, strongly urged President Eisenhower, 133 Democrats oted for it with 68 Democrats against s passage. On the other hand, only 85 epublicans voted for its passage and 99 epublicans against it.

This clearly illustrates the division ithin the Republican Party, and which as shown itself on a number of other otes during the past session. And with his division, the record of the past session under Democratic control is all the ore remarkable.

Appropriation of adequate funds for he Tennessee Valley Authority. On the ollcall vote to reduce the apropriation, 19 Democrats voted against this amendent, and 2 for the reduction. On the ther hand, 156 Republicans voted for he reduction and only 25 against it. vote for the reduction of funds for he TVA was not in the best interests of he people of the area of the country erved by this great activity.

The bill authorizing the Federal Power ommission to issue a license to New ork Power Authority for the construcion of a power project at Niagara Falls.

A bill to restrict the use of the Fedral Bureau of Investigation files by dendents in criminal cases. The passage f this bill was a matter of vital imortance.

Extension of the excise and corporate axes.

The Housing Act, more liberal than he one recommended by President isenhower.

Adequate appropriations for medical esearch. This action on the part of the ongress is a matter of paramount imortance to all the people of he United tates. The amount appropriated was arger than that requested by Presient Eisenhower. While all Members re entitled to credit, a special comendation is due in the progress made y the Federal Government in the field f medical research to the gentleman rom Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] and he Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL].

The pay raise bill for postal employes, which, unfortunately has been ocket-vetoed by the President.

The pay raise bill for other classified mployees, which, unfortunately has lso been pocket-vetoed by the President.

In connection with these two bills, it my firm opinion that pay raise legisation for the postal and other classied employees will go into effect next ear. One thing is certain, the Demoratic-controlled Congress which passed hese bills in the last session will make very effort to do so in the coming session. The pay raises carried in the bills ere justified. The action of President isenhower in vetoing these bills is most fficult to understand, and is justifiably ubject to criticism.

There are some measures and appropriations which failed to pass, which eserve comment.

Much has been said and written about the school-construction bill. The bill reported out of the House committee represented a reasonable compromise between Democratic and Republican views on such legislation. The President stated that he would sign the bill as reported out of committee. While under debate in the Committee of the Whole, a motion was made by a Republican Member which, if adopted, would have made the bill conform to the President's original recommendations. The Democratic Members in charge of the bill stated they would support this amendment. However, before this vote could be taken in the Committee of the Whole, the motion to "strike out enacting clause" was made, and it carried.

The bill then came before the House of Representatives for consideration on whether or not the enacting clause would be stricken out. To strike out the enacting clause meant to kill the bill.

The rollcall vote on this question is very interesting. It shows that 97 Democrats voted in favor of striking out the enacting clause, but 126 Democrats voted against such action. On the Republican side, the vote was 111 Republicans to strike out the enacting clause—which meant to kill the bill—and only 77 Republicans voted against it. The enacting clause was stricken out by a vote of 208 to 203.

This is another illustration of what I have said in the House of Representatives that the President goes one way, and the majority of his party in the House goes the other way.

The House resolution for a Subcommittee on Banking and Currency to study national and credit policy came up for action in the House. This was a very important resolution in the interests of the average American. It was defeated. The vote of this resolution is also very interesting, for 172 Democrats voted for it, 38 Democrats against it; and on the Republican side, only 2 Republicans voted for it, with 187 Republicans voting against this important resolution.

An appropriation for $14 million to start the Federal insurance program, which Congress had voted in 1956, and which was the minimum amount necessary to keep this necessary program alive. This appropriation was defeated by a vote of 218 to 186. It was a part of a larger amount recommended by President Eisenhower. On this vote 127 Democrats voted to keep the program alive, and 89 Democrats voted against it. On the Republican side only 59 Republicans voted for this appropriation and 129 Republicans voted against it.

There are measures that will be acted upon in the second session of this Congress, such as statehood for Alaska, which has been reported out of committee, and I am confident that statehood for Hawaii will also be reported out of committee and acted upon.

If the President and Republican leadership can persuade 50 percent of the Republican Members of the House to vote for these bills, they will pass during the next session.

There are other measures such as wider minimum wage coverage that can be enacted into law during the next session if some Republicans, both in committee and the House of Representatives, will support such legislation.

The Hells Canyon bill has been vigorously opposed by President Eisenhower and his administration. This is most unfortunate and contrary to the best interests of the people of the area affected. It is also an advisable project for our country to develop. On the vote in committee, not a Republican voted in favor of this bill. In committee it was defeated by a few votes. Every member in committee who voted for this bill was a Democrat, and all Republican members on this committee voted against it. The Republican Party and each Republican member have their responsibility for this and for votes on other measures.

Continuing until July 1, 1959, suspension of 2,000,500 statutory limitation on personnel strength of Armed Forces.

Extending until July 30, 1958, the President's authority to expedite defense contracts under title II of the first War Powers Act of 1941.

Authorizing $1.2 billion program of construction at installations and bases of Armed Forces here and abroad, which includes $51 million for new housing facilities.

Assuring adequate medical treatment for those in the Armed Forces by legislation inducting doctors, dentists, and allied specialist categories into the Armed Forces, as needed, with Reserve commissions; and ending special doctor-dentist draft.

Increasing by $150 million authorization for acquisition of housing and nursing facilities for Reserve components of the Armed Forces.

Authorizing $44.7 million construction and equipment program for research facilities of National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

House resolution condemning Communist China's failure to account for 450 American prisoners of war taken in Korea.

House concurrent resolution declaring the sense of Congress that Spain should be admitted to membership in NATO.

House concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President and United States delegates to the U. N. General Assembly seek adoption of report of its Committee on the Hungarian Revolution and work for measures to bring about freedom of captive nations.

Extending operating authority of Export-Import Bank for 5 years to June 30, 1963.

Authorizing agreements for construction of atomic reactors in Berlin, West Germany.

Establishing Airways Modernization Board to assure safe, efficient navigation system for all civilian and military planes.

Requiring the Atomic Energy Commission to obtain specific authorization of Congress for civilian power project appropriations.

Limiting issuance of tax-amortization certificates for fast writeoff of new defense plants; ends program December 31, 1959.

Increasing borrowing power of FNMA by $0.5 billion to $1.6 billion to help ease mortgage—money market.

Permitting Great Lakes shipyards to compete for construction or reconditioning of United States merchant ships.

Providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers for equipment purchase.

Increasing the rates of compensation for service-connected disabilities and for dependency allowances.

Extending home-loan and loan-guaranty programs for World War II veterans to July 25, 1959.

Increasing maximum of loans; and otherwise encourages new construction in rural and smalltown areas.

Providing career incentives for nurses and medical specialists of the armed services.

Consolidating into a single act and simplifying the laws governing compensation, pensions, burial benefits, hospitalization, and administration by Veterans' Administration.

Extension to June 30, 1958, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act.

Providing for deferred grazing and protein feed program in drought areas.

Providing for compulsory inspection of poultry and poultry products.

Promoting of development of phosphate production under public domain.

Providing for construction of San Angelo reclamation project, Texas.

Extending to June 30, 1959, aid to school districts affected by Federal activities.

Extending to July 1, 1958, time for disabled persons to file applications to preserve their rights to old-age, survirors and disability insurance; permitting veterans with service-connected disability to receive both social-security and VA benefits.

Providing for Federal indemnity against atomic-reactor hazards for protection of public.

Increasing penalties for violations of Interstate Commerce Commission safety laws and regulations.

Facilitating coverage under Social Security Act of employees of various States and local governments.

There are many other bills I could mention that have passed or will pass in the second session of this Congress, but I have mentioned enough to evaluate the past session in terms of constructive and successful service to our country and to our people.

But those that I have mentioned will place the 1st session of the 85th Congress in the legislative annals of our country as not only a successful one but as a historical one. For certainly in the passage of the civil-rights bill—right to vote—and the Middle East resolution alone, the first session of this Congress has made history.

The success of a Congress, or a session thereof, is judged by what it has done affirmatively, but also by preventing the passage of legislation that is not in the best interests of our people.

It will be remembered that the 83d Republican-controlled Congress is remembered for what has properly been termed its giveaways to certain special interests.

In the 84th Democratic-controlled Congress this was stopped. There was no more giveaway legislation passed by this Congress.

Among the achievements, little noted, of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, is, like during the 84th Congress, there has been no giveaway legislation passed. There will be none passed in the coming second session of this Congress.

The life and action of a Congress, or one of its sessions, are a part of the life and action of our Government during the same period. Many of the important actions or inactions are nonlegislative, but are made administratively by the administration in control of the executive branch of Government, at present the Republican Party, under the administration and leadership of President Eisenhower.

There are matters of important concern to our people, such as inflation; high cost of living; high interest rates; the plight of the farmer, with the consumer paying more and the farmer receiving less for farm products; the plight of small and independent businesses, the increasing bankruptcies among them that are all traceable to and which are the responsibility of the President and the executive branch and not of the Congress.

It is a well-known fact, for example, that our Government is paying the highest interest that has been paid in years, and this means higher interest in all fields of activity in the borrowing of money.

It is a well-known fact that President Eisenhower and Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson are bitterly opposed to Democratic measures to lighten the load of the farmer and to enable our farming community to obtain its fair and proper share of the national income. For a depressed agriculture is not healthy for our national economy.

And in connection with these situations, the responsibility rests on President Eisenhower and not on the Congress. There are millions of Americans—and this feeling is growing—who are "keenly disappointed" with the record of President Eisenhower and his administration.

I express my thanks for the many courtesies and considerations the Members have given to me personally and as majority leader during the past session.

I wish for each of my colleagues and your loved ones every happiness, as well as a most restful adjournment.

You can meet your constituents with the knowledge that the 1st session of the 85th Congress was not only fruitful but, above all, historical.

I am looking forward to seeing and meeting with you next January and in serving with you during the second session of this Congress. I am looking forward to our carrying out the bipartisan relationship, particularly in the field of foreign affairs, as in the past session, which is so necessary in meeting the problems that might confront our country in the days that lie ahead.

Budget Estimates and Appropriations, 85th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, I include herewith certain tabulations summarizing the work of the 1st session of the 85th Congress on appropriation bills. Comparisons are made with the budget estimates submitted by the President. Numerous pertinent related facts and tabulations are included.

The first tabulation is in the usual stereotyped form by bills, segregated as between deficiencies and supplementals for fiscal year 1957 and the bills for fiscal year 1958. Permanent appropriations—those which recur automatically under substantive law without annual action—are included for purpose of showing a more complete picture; they are, perforce, on an estimated basis at this time.

These summaries are necessarily confined to appropriation bills over which the Committee on Appropriation has original jurisdiction. The President recommended numerous authorities to take money out of the Treasury by means other than direct appropriation. Some legislation has ensued as a result. Other budgetary provisions contingent on passage of legislation recommended but failing of enactment, or differing from the President's budget, will affect final overall budgetary results, definitive tabulation of which is not presently available.

For example, Congress again exceeded the President's request for obligating authority for the housing program—to the extent of about $1.1 billion. This is the principal instance, dollarwise, where this was done. On the other hand, final tabulations will show that Congress reduced the 1958 budget through failure to enact legislation for which contingent provision was made in the budget. Principal examples are the $451 million obligational authority included for the school-construction program which failed of enactment and $477 million cut from the foreign-aid authorization request. Preliminary figures indicate that total new obligating authority written into law for fiscal year 1958, including direct appropriations in the following summary, will be somewhat more than $3 billion below the $73.3 billion recommended in the January budget submission.

The executive branch and the Congress in recent years have tended toward lodging more and more budgetary determinations outside the traditional annual appropriation bill procedure. Substantial amounts of the budget are passed upon or set in legislative bills. Various devices to get money out of the Treasury through the side door and the back door rather than the front door have gained in popularity. Action on these matters is often diffused. They all ought to go through 1 procedure, 1 system, under

et of rules, so that the Congress and the country can clearly see the whole picture at any given time or point. Present practices tend to undermine and impair effective determinations on the budget each year.

Comparison of budget estimates and appropriations, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Department or establishment	Estimates considered by House	Reported to House	Passed House	Estimates considered by Senate	Reported to Senate	Passed Senate	Public Law	Increase (+) or decrease (−), appropriation compared with estimates
I. Fiscal year 1958 acts:								
Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration	$3,965,446,617	$3,692,889,757	$3,692,889,757	$3,965,446,617	$3,668,732,157	$3,668,972,157	$3,666,543,757	−$298,902,860
Department of Commerce and related agencies:								
Department of Commerce	803,790,000	591,387,000	591,387,000	803,790,000	551,890,600	551,890,600	536,607,225	−267,182,775
Panama Canal	17,648,000	16,648,600	16,648,600	17,648,000	16,790,600	16,790,600	16,765,600	−882,400
Independent agencies	50,075,000	45,649,400	45,649,400	50,075,000	44,903,000	44,903,000	44,417,400	−5,657,600
Total	871,513,000	653,685,060	653,685,060	871,513,000	613,584,290	613,584,290	597,790,225	−273,722,775
Department of Defense:								
Office of the Secretary of Defense	17,175,000	16,350,000	16,350,000	17,175,000	16,350,000	16,350,000	16,350,000	−825,000
Interservice activities	687,825,000	682,375,000	682,375,000	687,825,000	682,375,000	682,375,000	682,375,000	−5,450,000
Department of the Army	8,465,000,000	7,239,425,000	7,239,425,000	8,465,000,000	7,397,156,000	7,397,156,000	7,264,550,000	−1,200,450,000
Department of the Navy	10,487,000,000	9,801,355,000	9,801,355,000	10,487,000,000	10,054,255,000	10,054,255,000	9,866,355,000	−620,645,000
Department of the Air Force	16,471,000,000	15,801,720,000	15,823,220,000	16,471,000,000	16,384,093,000	16,384,093,000	15,930,220,000	−540,780,000
Total	36,128,000,000	33,541,225,000	33,562,725,000	36,128,000,000	34,534,229,000	34,534,229,000	33,759,850,000	−2,368,150,000
District of Columbia	(207,249,900)	(192,530,300)	(192,530,300)	(209,504,800)	(197,582,720)	(196,636,850)	(195,676,480)	(−13,828,320)
Federal payment	25,504,450	22,504,450	22,504,450	25,504,450	23,004,450	23,004,450	22,504,450	−3,000,000
General government matters	20,921,870	16,021,370	16,021,370	20,921,870	16,010,370	16,010,370	16,010,370	−4,911,500
Independent offices	5,923,195,000	5,406,201,700	5,385,201,700	5,923,195,000	5,378,224,800	5,378,594,800	5,373,877,800	−549,317,200
Department of the Interior and related agencies:								
Department of the Interior	373,460,000	321,582,000	321,582,000	373,460,000	323,378,900	323,778,900	326,015,900	−47,444,100
Forest Service	126,186,000	118,456,000	118,456,000	126,186,000	118,716,000	119,216,000	119,216,000	−6,970,000
Related agencies	15,543,700	14,357,700	14,357,700	15,543,700	14,157,700	14,157,700	10,957,700	−4,586,000
Total	515,189,700	454,395,700	454,395,700	515,189,700	456,252,600	457,152,600	456,189,600	−59,000,100
Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare:								
Department of Labor	384,678,000	364,366,300	349,060,200	384,678,000	354,348,600	354,348,600	353,817,600	−30,860,400
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	2,582,114,581	2,483,836,581	2,483,536,581	2,582,114,581	2,516,707,381	2,516,707,381	2,503,130,381	−78,984,200
Related agencies	14,485,000	14,300,000	14,234,800	14,485,000	14,234,800	14,234,800	14,234,800	−250,200
Total	2,981,277,581	2,862,502,881	2,846,831,581	2,981,277,581	2,885,290,781	2,885,290,781	2,871,182,781	−110,094,800
Legislative branch	80,678,628	78,470,285	78,370,285	108,271,443	104,844,660	104,844,660	104,844,660	−3,426,783
Mutual security	3,386,860,000	2,524,760,000	2,524,760,000	3,386,860,000	3,025,660,000	3,025,660,000	2,768,760,000	−618,100,000
Public works:								
Department of the Interior:								
Power administrations	38,236,000	32,928,000	32,928,000	38,236,000	35,087,000	35,087,000	35,087,000	−3,149,000
Bureau of Reclamation	199,312,000	174,688,223	174,688,223	199,312,000	183,624,223	183,624,223	179,974,223	−19,337,777
Civil functions, Army	638,905,000	607,196,800	607,196,800	638,905,000	665,440,100	665,440,100	643,033,100	+4,128,100
Total	876,453,000	814,813,023	814,813,023	876,453,000	884,151,323	884,151,323	858,094,323	−18,358,677
Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies:								
Department of State	227,714,552	180,382,743	180,382,743	227,714,552	193,478,243	193,478,243	189,024,243	−38,690,309
Department of Justice	234,655,000	227,855,000	227,855,000	234,580,000	226,380,000	226,380,000	226,705,000	−7,875,000
The Judiciary	40,780,250	38,562,050	38,562,050	40,855,250	38,637,050	38,637,050	38,362,050	−2,293,200
United States Information Agency	144,000,000	106,100,000	106,100,000	144,000,000	90,200,000	90,200,000	96,200,000	−47,800,000
Funds appropriated to the President	18,500,000	10,900,000	10,900,000	18,500,000	14,390,000	14,390,000	12,400,000	−6,100,000
Total	665,649,802	563,799,793	563,799,793	665,649,802	563,085,293	563,085,293	562,891,293	−102,758,509
Treasury-Post Office:								
Treasury Department	713,831,000	691,467,000	691,467,000	713,831,000	691,467,000	691,467,000	691,467,000	−22,364,000
Post Office Department	3,250,000,000	3,192,000,000	3,192,000,000	3,250,000,000	3,192,000,000	3,192,000,000	3,192,000,000	−58,000,000
Tax Court of the United States	1,460,000	1,460,000	1,460,000	1,460,000	1,460,000	1,460,000	1,460,000	
Total	3,965,291,000	3,884,927,000	3,884,927,000	3,965,291,000	3,884,927,000	3,884,927,000	3,884,927,000	−80,364,000
Post Office supplemental, 1958	149,500,000	133,000,000	133,000,000	149,500,000	133,000,000	133,000,000	133,000,000	−16,500,000
The supplemental, 1958	1,860,748,967	1,581,590,587	1,581,590,587	1,973,767,827	1,820,351,547	1,824,001,547	1,734,011,947	−239,755,880
Atomic Energy Commission, 1958	2,491,625,000	2,269,718,500	2,299,718,500	2,491,625,000	2,323,632,500	2,323,632,500	2,323,632,500	−167,992,500
Subtotal, fiscal year 1958	63,907,554,615	58,500,505,106	58,515,233,806	64,048,466,290	60,314,989,771	60,320,140,771	59,134,110,706	−4,914,353,584
II. Deficiency and supplemental acts, fiscal year 1957:								
2d urgent deficiency, 1957	55,100,000	48,990,000	48,990,000	55,945,000	49,861,000	49,861,000	49,861,000	−6,084,000
Additional appropriations, 1957	327,000,000	320,090,000	320,090,000	327,000,000	320,090,000	320,090,000	320,090,000	−6,910,000
3d supplemental, 1957	[1] 204,973,163	[1] 94,840,788	[1] 94,840,788	[1] 206,699,320	142,342,045	142,342,045	85,669,925	−121,029,395
Subtotal, fiscal year 1957 and prior years	[1] 587,073,163	[1] 463,920,788	[1] 463,920,788	[1] 589,644,320	512,293,045	512,293,045	455,620,925	−134,023,395
III. Grand total, session	64,494,927,778	58,964,425,894	58,979,154,594	64,638,110,610	60,827,273,816	60,832,433,816	59,589,731,631	−5,048,378,979
Permanent appropriations, estimate							7,852,813,730	
Grand total, regular annual, supplemental, deficiency and permanent							67,442,545,361	

[1] Totals include budget estimates originally considered by the House and/or Senate in the urgent deficiency appropriation bill and H. J. Res. 310 which were not enacted.

Summary of congressional action on "appropriation" estimates, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Appropriation bill	Estimates	Passed by House	Passed by Senate	Conference agreement	Reduction		
					Amount, latest action	Percent, House bill	Percent, latest action
1. Bills for 1958:							
Treasury-Post Office	$3,965,921,000	$3,884,927,000	$3,884,927,000	$3,884,927,000	$80,364,000	2.0	2.0
Interior	515,189,700	454,395,700	457,152,600	456,189,600	59,000,100	11.8	11.5
General Government matters	20,921,870	16,021,370	16,010,370	16,010,370	4,911,500	23.4	23.5
Independent offices	5,923,195,000	5,385,201,700	5,378,594,800	5,373,877,800	549,317,200	9.0	9.2
Labor-HEW	2,981,277,581	2,846,831,581	2,885,290,781	2,871,182,781	110,094,800	4.5	3.7
District of Columbia (Federal payment)	25,504,450	22,504,450	23,004,450	22,504,450	3,000,000	11.8	11.6
Commerce	871,513,000	653,685,060	613,584,290	597,790,225	273,722,775	25.0	31.4
State, Justice, Judiciary	665,649,802	563,799,793	563,085,293	562,891,293	102,758,509	15.3	15.4
Agriculture	3,965,446,617	3,692,889,757	3,668,972,157	3,666,543,757	298,902,860	6.9	7.6
Legislative	108,271,443	78,370,285	104,844,660	104,844,660	3,426,783	2.8	3.1
Defense	36,128,000,000	33,562,725,000	34,534,229,000	33,759,850,000	2,368,150,000	7.1	6.6
Public Works	876,453,000	814,813,023	884,151,323	858,094,323	18,358,677	7.0	2.1
Supplemental (Post Office)	149,500,000	133,000,000	133,000,000	133,000,000	16,500,000	11.0	11.0
Supplemental, 1958	1,973,767,827	1,581,590,587	1,824,001,547	1,734,011,947	239,755,880	15.0	12.1
Mutual Security	3,386,860,000	2,524,760,000	3,025,660,000	2,768,760,000	618,100,000	25.4	18.2
Atomic Energy	2,491,625,000	2,299,718,500	2,323,632,500	2,323,632,500	167,992,500	7.7	6.7
(A) Cumulative totals:							
House	63,907,854,615	58,515,233,806			5,392,620,809	8.4	8.4
Senate	64,048,466,290		60,320,140,771		3,728,325,519		5.8
Conference	64,048,466,290			59,134,110,706	4,914,355,584		7.7
2. Supplemental and deficiency, 1957:							
Total	589,644,320	463,920,788	512,293,045	455,620,925	134,023,395	20.9	22.7
3. Cumulative totals for session:							
House	64,494,927,778	58,979,154,594			5,515,773,184	8.6	8.6
Senate	64,638,110,610		60,832,433,816		3,805,676,794		5.9
Conference	64,638,110,610			59,589,731,631	5,048,378,979		7.8

APPROPRIATIONS SUMMARY FOR THE SESSION

Budget estimates of appropriations submitted to the House during the session just concluded totaled $64,494,927,778. Against these requests, the Committee on Appropriations recommended $58,964,425,894, a net cut of $5,530,501,884. The House approved a total of $58,979,154,594, a cut of $5,515,773,184, or about 8.6 percent.

Budget estimates considered by the Senate aggregate $64,638,110,610, and bills passed by that body total $60,832,433,816, a reduction of $3,805,676,794, or 5.9 percent.

Final appropriations approved amount to $59,589,731,631, a reduction of $5,048,378,979, or 7.8 percent below budget estimates submitted by the President. As noted, this does not take into account actions outside the appropriations process with respect to 1958 budget recommendations.

These summaries attest to the determination of the House and the Congress to follow with action the declaration of the House on March 12 in resolution 190 that the public interest required "substantial reductions" in the President's recordbreaking 1958 budget. That budget has been substantially reduced. We have delivered on our promise. It should have been reduced even further. And as I shall shortly demonstrate, it has been reduced under the most extraordinary and anomalous cicumstances in memory. The executive branch first repudiated the budget and openly invited Congress to cut it, then failed to point out where it could be effectively reduced. Furthermore, it fought practically every cut made, then turned around and issued a general order to withhold use of substantial sums after they were appropriated.

THE BUDGET FOR 1958—GENERAL SUMMARY

Mr. Speaker, the story of the 1958 budget is in several respects one of the most remarkable within memory. It would consume pages and take hours to recount the details. I shall confine my remarks to a general summary of the budget and subsequent events.

The President submitted his budget for fiscal year 1958 on January 16. Measured in terms of both authority to obligate the Treasury, and proposed expenditures, it is the largest budget ever submitted in time of peace.

It proposed to initiate numerous new programs and to expand and extend others.

It called for spending $71.8 billion—$73.6 billion including the highway trust fund formerly carried in budget totals.

It called for enactment of $73.3 billion in appropriations and other authority to obligate—$76.4 billion including the highway item.

It proposed the highest tax take ever submitted in time of war or peace.

It specifically recommended another extension of Korean wartime tax rates—though the war ended 4 years ago. Otherwise, it would have proposed a deficit instead of a small surplus.

It proposed a public debt $3.1 billion higher after 5 years of the present administration.

It proposed a cumulative 5-year budget deficit of $1.4 billion counting the highway trust fund and $2.2 billion without it.

It proposed a 45-percent increase in nondefense spending over fiscal year 1954—the first full fiscal year of the present administration.

It proposed total spending on a comparable basis within 1 percent of fiscal year 1953, which was a war year—the last fiscal year of the previous administration.

Rather than reducing expenditures, it proposed to continue the unbroken chain of increased spending for the third straight year in time of peace.

Another measurement is to note that it omitted, for the first time in 4 years, pointed comparisons with spending in 1953 and President Truman's last budget, that for 1954. The reason seems obvious: the 1958 budget recommends authority to obligate $4.6 billion more than did the 1954 budget. Suggested 1958 peacetime spending was only 1 percent less than 1953 wartime spending. The budget for 1958 is so excessive that such unfair and unfavorable comparisons are no longer expedient.

The January budget for 1958 called for spending about $3 billion above 1957; between five and six billion dollars more than 1956; and between seven and eight billion dollars more than the year before that.

Finally, in terms of authority to obligate the Treasury—and this is the crux, because an obligation has to be paid—the January budget for 1958 called for $3.2 billion more than 1957; and $13.2 billion more than 1956.

REACTION TO THE BUDGET

Mr. Speaker, this is what the President submitted to us in the same message in which he expressed his "firm belief that tax rates are still too high" but so utterly failed to reduce spending that he was forced to urge another extension of Korean wartime tax rates in order to show a small budget surplus.

This is the message which advises that the Federal budget must contribute to stability of living costs and preservation of the purchasing power of the dollar, but simultaneously proposes higher spending which aggravates and feeds the fires of inflation and further reduces the buying power of the dollar.

This is the record peacetime budget submitted in time of record national income and it misses by billions—$12 billion to be exact—the President's promise in the fall of 1952 of a $60 billion budget. What is more serious, it proposes a steady trend upward, not downward.

Reaction to this excessive and burdensome budget was swift, widespread, and violent. Never has there been such severe condemnation, such deprecation of an Executive budget, by the press and the people generally. Both sides of the aisle repeatedly sounded a serious note of alarm at the size and direction of the President's budget. Taxpayers the

ength and breath of the land sounded sustained crescendo of criticism, demanding that Congress cut the budget nd reduce spending.

More significantly, we witnessed the nprecedented repudiation of the budget y the President and the key members of is official family who were its chief rchitects. On the same day it was submitted, Treasury Secretary Humphrey, onceded by all to have the ear of the President on fiscal matters, said in a engthy statement to the press:

The cost of living has recently moved up somewhat in spite of monetary measures to restrain it. Governmental expenditures and the number of Government employees are now increasing. This trend should promptly be stopped.

The President approved this statement. He concurred in it. In fact, he cleared the statement before the Secretary gave it out. But he failed to reflect it in his budget as the law clearly requires the law, written in 1921, specifically instructs the President to send up a budget every year and to include in it such requests for appropriations and spending as are necessary "in his judgment" to run the Government. He has complete freedom to make such recommendations—and only such recommendations—as are in his judgment necessary. He is not directed to include new programs or expand existing programs. He could promptly have stopped this upward trend in his budget recommendations. But he did not. He asked for more than last year, more than any other year in peacetime history. And his recommendations clearly pointed to even higher spending in the future in that he asked for increased authority to commit the Treasury.

Everyone immediately realized the President and his chief fiscal officials had repudiated the 1958 budget. Apparently it did not represent, as the law states, what was necessary "in his judgment." It obviously represented something in excess of that.

Secretary Humphrey went further in his statement:

I think there are a lot of places in this budget that can be cut.

* * * * *

I think there is some hope you can reduce expenditures all along the line. I would certainly deplore the day that we thought we couldn't ever reduce expenditures of this terrific amount, the terrific tax take we are taking out of this country. If we don't over a long period of time, I will predict that you will have a depression that will curl your hair, because we are just taking too much money out of this economy that we need to make the jobs that you have to have as time goes on.

Coming from one so intimately in touch with the compilation of the budget and so close to the President, these are frank and startling statements. The Secretary especially deplored the ever-increasing trend of higher and higher budgets, more and more spending, repeated extension of near-record tax rates. He insisted that tax cuts were necessary, but should be considered only if the trend of spending was downward, not upward. But the trend is steadily upward, not downward, as I shall demonstrate. The Director of the Budget said he was "fearful" that spending in future years might go even higher. The record of the past 2 years corroborate his fears.

The President originally estimated fiscal 1956 spending at $62.4 billion but wound up spending $66.5 billion—$4.1 billion more. His original fiscal 1957 budget indicated spending of $65.9 billion but the year closed this past June 30 with actual spending of $69.4 billion without the highway trust fund item and $70.3 billion with it—over-runs of $3.5 billion or $4.4 billion, depending on how you want to figure it. In light of these facts—and every figure is documented—and events of the past 6 months, the budget as submitted is undoubtedly bigger than otherwise apparent from official totals.

REVIEW OF THE BUDGET

Alarmed by this recordbreaking budget, its repudiation by the executive branch, and especially since it was apparent the budget did not comply either with the spirit or the letter of the law under which submitted, the Committee on Appropriations immediately invited the Secretary of the Treasury and the Budget Director to come up and discuss the budget with us. We took it for granted they would throw some light on the situation and offer information of assistance in processing the budget and the appropriation bills. We tried for 2 days, but received no concrete suggestions. They repeatedly expressed the hope—a fond hope, I would say—that Congress would make substantial cuts, but they refused to point out where we could cut a single dollar. They further advised that they were planning a concerted effort within the executive branch to cut both 1957 and 1958 spending, but they steadfastly refused to revise the budget pending before us. They proposed to revise it without telling Congress how and where. The Budget Director said:

I would like to see you cut, but, frankly, I do not quite see where you can do it, either.

He could not see how we could cut the budget, but he already had undertaken to see that the executive branch cut it.

The outcry against the President's budget continued unabated. We were importuned from all sides to reduce it substantially. The Republican conference of the House, representing the entire Republican membership, significantly adopted a formal resolution calling for a "substantial" reduction in the budget of their administration. Rebellion was rampant.

Then came another volley of statements from high officials in the administration, going simultaneously in both directions. In some respects, the mystery of the budget was deepened, but the pronouncements also indicated belated administration recognition of the budget rebellion. Still no assistance in cutting was forthcoming. The departments defended every dollar of the budget in the official committee hearings. They could not—or would not—tell us where they could get along on less money.

On March 6 Secretary Humphrey had this to say:

It is the size of this budget, even though balanced, that concerns us.

Who is "us," Mr. Speaker? Obviously, this includes the President. The Secretary, therefore, tells us that the President is concerned about the size of his budget—yet he made it big; he made it excessive. With wide discretion and power in his own hands, he could have made it smaller. But he did not.

Echoing his superior, Treasury Under Secretary Burgess on March 11 said:

But, after all explanations, the budget is still too big for the future best good of the citizens of this country.

Also, on March 11 the Assistant Budget Director and the President's Special Economic Assistant made speeches of similar import. All these statements were critical of the size of the President's budget.

Then in a rather abrupt about-face, statements from the executive branch made it appear that this high budget was the sole doing of the Congress. In a widely publicized speech of March 6, Secretary Humphrey undertook to explain the division of responsibility for making the budget and for approving the budget. He quoted the law but failed to explain its meaning. As I indicated a little while ago, the law directs the President to request only those amounts which are "necessary in his judgment"—his judgment, not the judgment of Congress or anyone else. Speaking of various programs, the Secretary said:

In these programs, after Congress passes the laws, the Executive has little opportunity to exercise any discretion, but merely administers the program and writes and distributes the checks which the various laws direct.

The import of this statement is that the President is confined to a routine, mechanical, ministerial role. Nothing could be further from the truth. The job of making the budget is his job. And he has a constitutional role in enactment of the laws. He is directed to confine his recommendations to what is "necessary in his judgment." The Congress did not compel him to budget for numerous and costly new programs. He did so voluntarily. He is the special pleader for them. And some of them are for purely local responsibilities, yet he has often urged that the Government should avoid assuming purely local burdens.

And the Secretary signally failed to point out that these laws are submitted for Presidential approval. If he approves, he signs them; if not, he vetoes them. When he signs a bill calling for expenditure of funds, he signifies approbation. He embraces it. And he has the duty not to provide for them in his budget if "in his judgment" he so determines.

So, Mr. Speaker, let no one be misled as to whose budget it is, although I must confess to some difficulty in determining just what budget the President recommended for 1958. That has never been clear.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 190

It was with view to securing some clarification on the firmness of the budget requests that on March 12 the House,

faced with the highest budget in peacetime history and uncertain as to the President's support of it, took the unprecedented action of formally soliciting his advice as to how and where he thought substantial reductions could best be made. We were anxious to have all possible up-to-date information available. We needed to have the President tell us whether we had the right budget before us or if changing conditions warranted alterations. The departments were telling us we had the right budget—they were defending every dollar. But they did not seem to be in step with those who drew up the budget.

The Budget Director had said a resurvey was underway by order of the President.

The confusion got worse before it got better. Several agency heads announced through the press that their budgets could be revised. On March 15 the Housing Administrator announced a $200 million reduction in his 1958 budget. The Secretary of Commerce publicly stated that he knew where $50 million could be taken from his budget, but he failed to specify when the Committee on Appropriations asked him to cite line and page number. He indicated he had in mind projects approved by Congress last year which he had not requested—but I do not recall his pointing out that the President had approved the laws containing the projects.

Then on March 26 the President vigorously defended his budget, saying it had been drawn "carefully, intelligently." He took full responsibility for it. He said it was "futile" to talk about cutting the budget "severely."

RESPONSE TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 190

The President responded on April 18 to the request of the House for advice as to where and how the President thought his budget could best be substantially reduced. It was a disappointing message since it offered no suggestions for appreciable budget reductions of a durable character.

Referring to his $71.8 billion spending budget, he flatly told us that no substantial reduction could be made—that to do so, in his words, would "weaken the Nation's defenses, or cut back or eliminate programs now required by law or proposed in the public interest, or both. That forces the conclusion that a multibillion-dollar reduction in 1958 expenditures can be accomplished only at the expense of the national safety and interest."

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the President in effect told us precisely what he told us when he submitted his budget in January. In sum and substance, he advised that the $71.8 billion spending estimate was in the public interest for one reason or the other, or both. That was repetitious—the House was looking for information and clarification.

As to his $73.3 billion obligational budget, involving thousands of budget items, the President suggested reductions in only 7 instances totaling $1.342 billion. They had told us earlier they were resurveying the whole budget, yet only 7 out of thousands of items were included. But there was a qualification. Much of this $1.342 billion was labeled "postponement," "delay," and "adjustment"—not genuine, lasting retrenchment. In fact, after offering the list, the President made this flat and amazing admission:

> Once again I remind the House that less than half of this reduction (this $1.342 billion) in new spending authority can be reflected in reductions in expenditures during the next fiscal year, and even a part of these expenditure reductions will have to be restored in the future.

It is truly a remarkable circumstance that the President would first submit this list—even though it only had 7 items on it—and then immediately discredit its validity by admitting it would have no real effect and that if adopted much of it would have to be restored. The House had every reason to expect more helpful information.

The President concluded his message with this promise:

> All elements of the budget, meanwhile, will remain under searching examination by the executive branch in its continuing effort to find additional savings, large or small, that are possible under existing law. Any additional reductions found possible in new spending authority will be promptly reported in the usual way to the Senate and House of Representatives.

Here the House was given an unequivocal promise that it would be advised promptly of any additional reductions found possible. The entire 1958 budget was still pending in Congress—not a single regular 1958 appropriation bill had then been sent to the President.

The Congress meanwhile continued to process the appropriation bills with the departments defending every dollar. But we made substantial reductions nonetheless. As noted, we have cut the budget estimates of appropriations by the substantial sum of $5,048,378,979. We should have cut deeper.

HOLDING AT OR BELOW THE 1957 RATE

Except for one or two items necessarily resubmitted, based on revised authorization legislation, we heard nothing further from the President as to additional reductions he had found possible in his 1958 budget. He had promised to promptly advise the Congress if and when he did. He had determined on additional cuts but we were not advised. The press obtained and published on July 12 a secret letter issued by the budget Director in the last days of June to all agencies conveying the President's order to take "positive action" to "keep the rates of commitments, obligations, and expenditures for fiscal year 1958 at or below the level for the fiscal year 1957, to the extent feasible."

By way of emphasis, the order further provided:

> In most cases direct obligations should not rise above the level for the fiscal year 1957.

After listing some allowable exceptions, it went on:

> In the case of those appropriations that are for major capital outlay and development—construction, procurement, research, etc.—the requests for apportionment and the allotments should reflect the postponement of a significant part of the obligations planned in the budget for 1958.

For all appropriations, however, there should be a critical analysis of all activities and advantage should be taken of every possibility for reductions; apportionments in all cases should be consistent with "allowable" sums being used in planning the 1958 budget. The sums available in excess of minimum needs will be placed in reserve for contingencies.

We had been told throughout the session that every dollar requested was necessary—that all items had been "critically analyzed" before submission. The President had ordered 1 resurvey back in January and out of the thousands of budget items, he advised on April 18 of only 7 items we could cut—and as noted earlier—much of this was not of lasting quality. Then, in a secret order, he suddenly directed another resurvey after Congress had adopted several bills and was in the final stages of consideration on the others involving some $44 billion of his total budget. Why did he not hold the 1958 budget to the 1957 level when he sent it up in January? We have insisted all session long that he should have done that. Why did he not advise us, as promised, of this new order when we still had $44 billion of his budget under consideration? Why did they keep insisting on the 1958 budget when they had decided on a policy of cutting back to the 1957 level? Why was not Congress advised that it had obsolete information before it—that the policy had changed?

I am glad the administration is finally evidencing some concern. Spending has been running at such an unbridled rate that unless some effective action is taken we are headed farther down the road to full-blown inflation and possible financial disaster. But if we had been supplied with a budget at the 1957 level, instead of this recordbreaking 1958 budget, we could have made even deeper retrenchment with hope of hastening both tax relief and respectable payment on our staggering national debt.

The Committee on Appropriations promptly called the Budget Director to secure some light on this latest order. Unfortunately, he did not give us any information which would assist in disposing of the $44 billion still pending. He left us completely at sea. He first said he "had no plans"—those are his words—to withhold any of these funds but later advised they would be considered under the secret order along with appropriations already sent to the President.

We inquired specifically about the $34 billion defense bill because we were on the eve of conference with the other body which had raised the House amount by about $1 billion at the insistence of the President. This is the bill on which the President had accused the House of "needlessly gambling" with the national security. This is the principal bill the President had in mind when he advised the House in these words in responding to House Resolution 190:

> I most solemnly advise the House that in these times a cut of any appreciable consequence in current expenditures for national

security and related programs would endanger our country and the peace of the world.

This is the bill as to which the President told the press and the Nation on May 22, referring to the item for military personnel strength:

We had taken the figure of 2.8 million (personnel), as it now stands and, realizing that it was going to be very difficult to stay at that strength, had trimmed the budget down until we thought that it was the bare minimum.

After all these stern warnings, all this information to the contrary, they pulled the rug from under us. On the day before conference with the other body, we received official notice that the President had approved a 100,000-man reduction in military strength—2.8 million men sudden became 2.7 million. With this and other adjustments, we could cut the Senate amount by $142,249,000, they advised. Strange proceedings, Mr. Speaker.

But that is not half the story. When the President "solemnly advised" the House not to make any cut of "appreciable consequence in current expenditures for national security" the Department was running at an annual rate in excess of $40 billion. It actually spent $2.4 billion in excess of the $36 billion estimate for fiscal 1957. When the fiscal year 1958 began it was operating at a rate about $2 billion above the $38 billion estimate for 1958. Spending was completely out of control. They were desperate. Immediate and drastic action was necessary—and they knew it. All the while, right up to the eve of conference, they insisted they must have the budget. Possibly because without it even more drastic cuts would be necessary.

In consequence, almost daily in past weeks administrative orders have been issued to cut defense spending. Among them:

First. Reduction of 100,000 military personnel—with indications of additional cuts;

Second. Cut in number of Reserve drills;

Third. Cut in progress payments to defense contractors;

Fourth. Layup of Navy ships;

Fifth. Five-percent cut in civilian personnel;

Sixth. Cancellation of major missile program;

Seventh. Cutback in several major procurement programs;

Eighth. Stretchout and slowdown in construction;

Ninth. Closing of installations.

Mr. Speaker, a strong, healthy economy is the wellspring of a strong defense. Without it, we could not long afford a defense adequate to our protection and survival in event of crisis. Substantial reduction in spending and substantial payments on our huge debt are indispensable essentials. These belated cuts ordered by the President should have been made before he asked for too much money, but they are nevertheless welcome. They are long overdue. They are indisputable evidence the administration has let spending get way out of control. In fiscal year 1956, the Government spent $4.1 billions more than its original estimate. In fiscal 1957, it spent $4.4 billion more than its original estimate.

Speaking of uncontrolled defense spending, they over-ran that estimate in fiscal 1957 by $2.4 billion—$38.4 billion as against the estimate of $36 billion. This over-run recalls the intriguing entry in the President's 1956 budget for defense. He estimated total spending at $35.7 billion but to get the total down to an even $34 billion, inserted a discount of $1.7 billion and called it an "unallocated reduction." Not specified. An unknown, said to represent savings to be picked up during the year. I have always suspected this was little more than an 11th hour decision and so inferred at the time. They not only did not save any of the $1.7 billion; they spent it and more besides. This beguiling entry did not show up in the 1957 budget, but they still understated defense spending—not by $1.7 billion, but $2.4 billion.

Mr. Speaker, these belated Presidential orders to cut spending and impound appropriations compel the question: Would the President say he is "needlessly gambling" with the national security in making them? He said the House was. Is he? Of course not, and neither was the House. On the contrary, it could be said to be "needless gambling" to keep on spending more and more and making no significant reduction in the debt.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, when this record-breaking budget was received in January, the administration could not see where it could be cut.

When the Treasury Secretary and the Budget Director came before the committee a week later, they wanted it cut but they said they could not see where it could be cut.

When the President responded to the House in April, he could not see where it could be cut—at least not in a durable, lasting way.

When the House cut the largest appropriation bill, the defense bill, we were accused of "needlessly gambling" with security. The President asked that our action be reversed. Still the budget could not be cut.

But suddenly, Mr. Speaker, on June 28 the secret letter was issued. At last, after many of the bills had been processed and sent to the President, after defending the budget as submitted, at last they could see where the budget could be cut. The general policy is to cut back to the 1957 level, which they should have done in the first place.

But they still would not tell us how this secret order would cut the bills still then pending in Congress. They wanted every dollar appropriated when they knew they were going to turn right around and cut spending. That is what they are doing right now in Defense. And they are doing it in other departments.

THE PUBLIC DEBT

Mr. Speaker, after all these years we still have a colossal national debt. In December 1955 the debt reached its highest point in history. Failure to control spending and make substantial payments on the debt resulted in 3 straight requests from the administration to raise the debt ceiling of $275 billion—twice to $281 billion and once to $278 billion. The executive branch is now engaged in belated, desperate efforts to delay spending in the ensuing months so as to be able to squeeze by within the $275 billion ceiling. Of course, this situation could have been avoided if spending had been controlled. Failure to do so is catching up with them.

The debt situation is summarized in the following table:

The public debt increase during 4 fiscal years of the present administration

[In billions]

	Beginning of year
Fiscal year 1954 (July 1953)	$266.1
Fiscal year 1955 (July 1954)	271.3
Fiscal year 1956 (July 1955)	274.4
Fiscal year 1957 (July 1956)	272.8
Fiscal year 1958 (July 1957)	270.5
Actual increase during last 4 years (July 1953–July 1957)	+4.4

This record of utter failure to hold the public debt at the level reached when the present administration assumed full fiscal responsiblity in July 1953 is in sharp contrast with the 4 preceding years of similar nonwar operation when it was reduced $12 billion, as shown:

The public debt decrease during 4 previous nonwar years

[In billions]

	Beginning of year
Fiscal year 1947 (July 1946)	$269.4
Fiscal year 1948 (July 1947)	258.3
Fiscal year 1949 (July 1948)	252.3
Fiscal year 1950 (July 1949)	252.8
Fiscal year 1951 (July 1950)	257.4
Actual decrease during the 4 years (July 1946–July 1950)	−12.0

These are the facts. They cannot be hidden. And they are distressing. We now owe $4.4 billion more than we did 4 years ago. This is the inevitable result of the succession of record peacetime budgets. Even the Korean wartime taxes still being levied in order to show a budget surplus have not been enough to overtake spiralling Federal expenditures sufficiently to make significant payment on the debt. And, Mr. Speaker, this record of failure is miles away from the promise when President Eisenhower said in 1952:

Our children deserve a little better of us than to keep hanging bigger and better debts about their necks.

Failure to reduce the debt has contributed to substantially increased cost just to carry it. A significant but often unnoticed expenditure is the inescapable item of interest payments. We now spend as much for interest as we did to run the entire Government only 20 years ago. This item cost $6.4 billion in 1954. In 1957 it cost $7.3 billion. For fiscal 1958 it will undoubtedly exceed the President's estimate of $7.360 billion because recent refundings have been made at a much higher interest rate. We are now having to pay 4 percent on a sizable part of the debt. The average computed interest rate on the

debt has consistently increased for several years past, as follows:

Fiscal year	Debt at end of year	Interest cost	Computed interest rate
1952	$259.1	$5.9	2.329
1953	266.1	6.5	2.438
1954	271.3	6.4	2.342
1955	274.4	6.4	2.351
1956	272.8	6.8	2.576
1957	[1] 270.5	[1] 7.3	[1] 2.7

[1] Preliminary.

At the present rate, it will take hundreds of years to pay off the debt. One calculation submitted several months ago shows that if we set about to pay it off by the year 2100—144 years from now—it would entail total payments of $1,205,078,709,686.40. This assumes a 3-percent interest rate which is probably low in light of recent experience, but the figure alone dramatizes the magnitude of the matter.

DEFICITS AND INFLATION

We received many pledges of economy. They assured us they would reduce spending. They said they would reduce the national debt. They would do away with inflation. They would balance the budget.

They have not reduced spending. Spending has been increased—and continues to increase. It increased $2.5 billion between 1954 and 1957. It increased $5.7 billion between 1955 and 1957.

They have not reduced the debt. They have increased the debt—to the tune of $4.4 billion in 4 years.

They have not banished inflation. The official cost-of-living index shows successive increases in each of the past 11 months. It has increased in 15 of the last 16 months. It stands at the highest point in history. The purchasing power of the dollar continues to shrink. Millions of families, especially those with fixed incomes, find it increasingly difficult to provide the necessities of life. Bonds, life insurance, savings accounts, and pensions continue to drop in real value.

And finally, Mr. Speaker, they have not balanced the budget. They are claiming they have. But they have not. They did not balance it—it balanced itself. It just happened—and by a precarious margin at that. It stands as an indisputable fact that the facade of budget surpluses in the fiscal years 1956 and 1957 has not been erected by economy and retrenchment, as I have shown. It is due solely to repeated extension of excessive wartime tax rates and the rising national income. Not a single American family can find any comfort or relief in that because they are still saddled with wartime tax rates. And this excessive spending contributes to their being robbed by unnecessarily high taxes and by inflation. Our taxes are so high that, together with State and local taxes—and, of course, they all come out of the same pocket—nearly 33 percent, one-third, of the national income goes for taxes.

The surplus of $1.6 billion for fiscal 1956 was immediately hailed in an official pronouncement a year ago as a great achievement. In sharp contrast, the tone of the recent announcement of a $1.6 billion surplus for fiscal 1957 was subdued. Possibly the reason can be found in the fact they slipped backward. The surplus was not as large as forecast only 6 months earlier. A recent issue of a national publication carried this story:

> The inside story is that payment was delayed beyond June 30 on more than $500 million worth of armament bills in order to make the 1957 budget year that ended June 30 look better than it actually was. The budget surplus of $1.6 billion otherwise would have been about $1 billion or less.

I had been closely following expenditures in the closing weeks of fiscal 1957. For defense military spending, the daily rate during June averaged $135 million, ranging from a low of $61 million to a high of $487 million, except on the last business day of June, when only $10 million was spent. Furthermore, through July 18—the first 18 days of the new fiscal year—the daily average was up to $164 million.

For the first month of fiscal 1958, budget expenditures exceeded the first month of fiscal 1957 by $800 million. Budget receipts were down $400 million.

This report brings to mind what they did on the last day of the fiscal year 1955, 2 years ago, when they reserved approximately $600 million, or over 21 percent of total reservations made during the whole year under the military assistance program. The effect was to continue the funds available into the following year.

Terming inflation "the most critical economic problem now facing this country," the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board recently said that larger budget surpluses are essential to s rising prices. He admonished:

> It is clear that the present situation both for a larger budgetary surplus tha have had or have in prospect.

In similar vein, the Under Secretar the Treasury recently said:

> A more antiinflationary governmental f policy is desirable. In the present high s of prosperity in this country, the Fed Government should have a larger surplus should be retiring debt more rapidly.
>
> This is probably the most effective which could be taken by the Federal Gov ment.

The alarming thing, Mr. Speaker that we have no assurance of a lar surplus. Certainly not if needed tax lief is granted. As I indicated, the fi 1957 surplus was smaller than ear forecast. And they are spending m and more. Revised executive estima of spending and income for the curr fiscal year 1958 are not yet availa The original estimate of $1.8 billion s plus will, I assume, be revised. It sumed passage of a postal-rate incre priced at $654 million which was enacted. Full results of the secret or to hold to the 1957 level are unknown will also affect the outcome.

In any event, Mr. Speaker, failure achieve a substantial surplus and fail to make significant payments on the d is not due to inadequate tax rates or sufficient taxable income. It is due failure to control and reduce spendi That is an undeniable fact.

The following tabulation summari the income and spending record of last 4 years:

Budget receipts, expenditures, deficit (−) or surplus (+)

[In billions]

	Actual, 1954	Actual, 1955	Actual, 1956	Actual, 1957		4-year totals	
				Budget basis	Including highway trust fund	Budget basis	Includ highw trus fun
1. Receipts (net)	$64.7	$60.4	$68.1	$71.0	$72.5	$264.2	$2
2. Expenditures (net):							
(a) Major national security	46.0	40.6	40.6	43.2	43.2	171.3	1
(b) All other items	20.9	24.0	25.9	26.2	27.1	97.0	
	67.8	64.6	66.5	69.4	70.3	268.3	2
3. Deficit or surplus	−3.1	−4.2	+1.6	+1.6	+2.2	−4.1	

Mr. Speaker, the country is gravely concerned over the steadily increasing cost of government. Throughout the Nation there is a constantly growing demand for reduction in public expenditures. It is confined to no one political party and to no one locality. Everywhere there is a rising clamor for retrenchment to stop the spreading conflagration of runaway inflation, to check the rising cost of living now in its 11th month of consecutive skyrocketing advances, to halt the successive sliding drops in the purchasing power of the dollar, to break the upward trend of taxes and permit the repeal of war taxes in time of peace, and really balance the budget. The budget has not been in actual balance the last 4 years through any act of economy or retrenchment reduction in public expenditures but, the contrary, has mounted until it n stands at the extreme high-water ma in the peacetime history of the Americ Republic.

This nationwide protest was intensifi when after a presidential campaign bas on promises of economy by both parti the budget sent to the House in Janua was found to be in excess of any peac time budget ever submitted to the Co gress. Time has more than justifi that protest. The price of food has co sistently risen since that time while t farm parity index has lagged behi Interest rates are higher while the Fe eral Reserve banks are tightening t supply of money and loans. The Go

ernment is faced with a possible decline in Federal revenues. Just the other day, August 19, stock prices on the New York exchange took the steepest drop in the last 2 years. Notwithstanding assurances of economy, the civilian payroll of the executive branch has increased for the third successive year and now exceeds $11 billion, the highest in the fiscal history of the Nation. Fixed incomes, insurance policies, and savings accounts are dwindling in value and frequently the widow finds today they will buy less than half they would have bought when contracted for. There are indications that the statutory ceiling of $275 billion on the national debt is in danger of being breached as the debt today approaches $274 billion. So instead of substantially reducing the debt, as promised in the campaign, it has increased with the inevitable results of more inflation, higher cost of living, further reduction in the buying power of the dollar, continuation of war taxes in time of peace, and serious complications in the national economy, with corporate profits, after taxes, and labor, agriculture, the small-business man, and every dinner table in the Nation penalized accordingly.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], at one time dubbed "The Meat Ax," today finds himself cast in the unenviable role of defender of big and reckless spending. He and other administration apologists would have us believe that $5 billion is not $5 billion when cut from the budget estimates of appropriations. Many devious and labored excuses have been advanced, and doubtless many more will be advanced to show that the magnificent record made by the Committee on Appropriations and the House and Senate, in cutting the appropriation bills of the session are "phony," "paper cuts," and "bookkeeping maneuvers." But the fact remains that our drive for economy and sane appropriations have turned back the big spenders with a saving of close to 8 percent below the specific appropriation requests from the White House. That means $5 billion and more the taxpayers will not have to turn over to the tax collectors. Of course, the Government will continue to spend money, money appropriated in former Congresses and carried over. But by the same rule, money denied this year in this budget, this session, will be saved the taxpayers in subsequent years. Practically every general appropriation bill carries money, not only for the current year but for next year and the next year as well. Savings of money denied on estimates and budgets for future spending are savings nevertheless of just that much cash left in the taxpayer's pockets. Eventually if not now.

And in addition, the economy sentiment which we created throughout the Congress and the country undoubtedly resulted in voluntary reductions by the administration of large sums in originally planned requests.

I also want to take advantage of the occasion to say to those disgruntled spenders, booted away from the public trough, who sarcastically assert that much of the money we have saved will "be put back next session in supplemental bills" that we now have an antideficiency law with teeth in it, and each department is required to apportion its appropriations by months or quarters. May I caution the departments that we have given them money to run their departments for 12 months, and we expect them to operate on that basis. To give a Government agency a definite amount for the year and let them spend the money in less than a year and come back and tell us their money is gone, and they will have to have a supplemental appropriation is to permit the departments to appropriate. The Constitution places that responsibility on the Congress and not on the departments, and we invite the entire executive branch to cooperate with us in supporting the Constitution. I trust no governmental employees from the Cabinet officers down to the janitors will labor under any misapprehension on that score. We expect to enforce the law.

Of course, there may be emergencies and unforeseen contingencies which rise unexpectedly. The antideficiency law makes provision for these. But they must come within the letter of the law. Congress, exercising its prerogative under the Constitution, has provided the amount of money it deems sufficient for the year. And Congress expects that amount to cover the year's expense of operation. If any governmental agency, in its superior wisdom, decides that it knows more about that than Congress, it is in for a rude awakening. The country is demanding economy, and it is high time someone in Washington gave heed to that very reasonable demand.

In closing may I say that the committee and the House expect to receive the complete budget estimates for fiscal 1959 much more promptly. For a number of years the foreign aid and the defense construction authorization estimates have been so delayed that the legislative committees could not process the authorizations in time to permit the Committee on Appropriations to complete consideration of the appropriation estimates before the beginning of the fiscal year. There is no tenable reason why all these estimates should not be ready in time to permit the Congress to dispose of its appropriations and avoid the inexcusable delay which has kept Members of the Congress in Washington when they should have been in their States and districts and discharging other engagements and commitments which they should have been free to meet.

May I also assure any who entertain any apprehensions in the matter that in making this much needed reduction in the estimates we have left no Government agency without adequate funds to carry them over the congressional recess. We have cut the fat but not the muscle. As a matter of fact, we could have extracted another $5 billion without material interference with the legitimate functions of Government. That will be our goal in the future.

Half a Cup of Sugar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of August 30, 1957:

HALF A CUP OF SUGAR

If a neighbor dropped by this morning with a half cup of sugar to repay a full cup borrowed last week, we suspect there would be some strain on the good-neighbor policy. And if this were often repeated, it wouldn't be long before the borrowing neighbor found your doorbell went unanswered.

Which is why it is not too surprising that the Federal Reserve Board has discovered people are less enthusiastic about United States savings bonds than they used to be.

The Treasury has been having trouble with its savings bond program for some time now. The total amount of money it is able to borrow from the public on savings bonds is down. Moreover the amount it has had to pay out has exceeded the amount it has been able to borrow. In the first 7 months of this year the redemptions of old savings bonds were $600 million more than the sales of new bonds.

Several reasons have been advanced for this; people generally aren't saving as much money, the rate of interest has been too low, and so on. Just recently the Treasury boosted the interest rate in an endeavor to sell more of these bonds.

All these reasons certainly have something to do with the case. The public generally is still saving money, but as Reserve Board Chairman Martin noted the other day the rate of savings is not as high as it ought to be considering the supposedly high level of prosperity. The interest rate on savings bonds has been low relative to the general money market. To some extent the Treasury savings bonds suffer from the fact that they are a little more inconvenient than a bank savings account.

But that isn't the whole of the matter. The Reserve Board's surveyors not only found that the number of families preferring savings bonds had dropped from 42 percent in 1954 to 26 percent now; they also found a decreasing enthusiasm for fixed-return investments generally. The number of people who prefer to put their savings in real estate has grown from 8 percent to 12 percent. Those who prefer stocks have grown from 7 percent to 10 percent.

Well, it took quite a bit of sugar to buy a $100 savings bond in 1944. In 1954 when those bonds matured, the patriotic citizen received about a third more dollars than he had lent the Government, exactly according to promise. But with those one-third more dollars he couldn't buy one-third more. He couldn't buy as much.

Nor does the thrifty householder have to go all the way back to 1944 and the war years to have suffered the same pains. The people who are today claiming the return of loans made to their Government on savings bonds in 1947 are also finding that their savings have shrunk, not grown, in a decade.

You don't have to be a financial expert to learn from that kind of experience. The trouble the Government is having right now with its savings-bond program—indeed, with

its whole debt-management program—is traceable to its past actions in slashing the value of the dollar.

It would have been surprising if the Federal Reserve surveyors had found any other attitude among the Nation's families. For it's just plain hard to keep people from noticing that what comes back is only half a cup.

Annual Report to Constituents by Hon. Stuyvesant Wainwright, of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, this is my fifth annual report to my friends and constituents of Suffolk and Nassau Counties on Long Island. As you are interested in what your Congressman does to earn his salary, please take a few minutes to read my personal accounting to you. As the taxpayer, homeowner, voter, and citizen, you are the "boss." As your Congressman, I am the employee. Our Government exists for service and protection alone. This is fundamental to the Republic. Should we breach this trust, the Government must change.

Actually, only a nominal percentage of congressional time is spent in floor debate and voting. The major portion is divided between two fields: committee work and personal service. However, it is well to review, briefly, the accomplishments—or lack of accomplishments—of this 1st session of the 85th Congress. The guide for legislation is set by the President of the United States in his state-of-the-Union message delivered in early January. This year President Eisenhower laid principal stress on the rights and dignity of the individual, saying:

> We have much reason to be proud of the progress our people are making in mutual understanding—the chief buttress of human and civil rights. Steadily we are moving closer to the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color. But, unhappily, much remains to be done.

Here we find the principal battleground of the first session. Unhappily, due to the efforts of a small band of men from a particular section of the land, this wonderful goal has been partially frustrated. It could never have happened if these men had not had support from the leaders of their political party. Partisanship nearly destroyed the objective.

The second great battle was over the Presidential budget. A figure of $72 billion was presented to the Congress. It was reduced to approximately $66 billion. Actual spending will be less. I supported the reductions recommended by the various congressional committees except in military preparedness and defense, especially in the missile field. The Republic must be vigilant and strong. The Communist empire is searching constantly for a weakness in our armor. Acute economy in this field would be false and wicked.

Your Congressman participated in two major debates: One, to raise postal salaries; and the other, to put the Federal Government in the field of education at the grassroots. It became obvious early in the session that postal employees should have a cost-of-living wage increase. However, the postal unions demanded an increase of 12 percent, across the board. The President made it clear that he would veto such a measure. Consequently I fought for—and voted for—a 5-percent increase. I opposed the larger amount, believing it would be an hypocrisy to try for an amount certain of eventual defeat.

The grave question as to whether the Federal Government should dip down into each and every school district of the Nation constituted the second major issue. I opposed the measure on the grounds that no State indicated inability to handle its own school problem; the truly needy States would get but a small handout, while the rich States would get the lion's share; the classroom deficit across the Nation had been reduced from 400,000 to less than 80,000 in 2 years without Federal interference; and, finally, it appeared to me unwise to risk placing the control of our school system in the hands of the Federal Government.

Little significant legislation was passed at this session. It is rather difficult to blame the President, for the Congress is and should be an independent body. At the present time, and for the past 3 years, it has been controlled by the Democratic Party. Naturally, it would not be enthusiastically inclined to act quickly and favorably on legislation recommended by a Republican President. The prospects for an improvement of this situation in 1958 are rather poor: The congressional elections will be just around the corner.

Of a more personal nature, each week I have written a report to keep you current and familiar with the Washington work. The important weekly papers have presented this column regularly as a fine public service. So, too, have Suffolk's radio stations broadcast each Sunday my program from the Nation's Capital. All work of proper representation must be based on understanding and knowledge of the views of the persons represented. Therefore, each year I have sent out a poll to obtain the benefit of your thinking on the key issues of the day. Of equal importance is personal contact. Regular office meetings were held in my Huntington office and at Wainscott. They will continue to be held on a weekly basis through the fall until the next session of Congress convenes. Phone Hamilton 7-9400 or Bridgehampton 2-0751 for a personal appointment.

Nearly 100 young men took examinations for the service Academies: Annapolis, West Point, the Air Force, and Kings Point Merchant Marine. Nine nominations were made, all based on the abilities of the young men. In the 5 years I have served in Congress no man named to an academy has failed. Each nominee has been a distinct credit to his community, Long Island, and his country. I shall continue this nonpartisan, nonpolitical method of selection.

This year the Senate confirmed 10 our recommendations for postmaster more acting postmasters have been stalled. City delivery has either been stalled or improved for Bayport, Far ingdale, South Farmingdale, Oakda Wyandanch, Halesite, and East Brer wood. Rural free delivery routes ha been established or extended for Rid Hampton Bays, and Bohemia. A route under consideration for Wading Riv The existing facilities have been i proved in Brookhaven, Eastport, Far ingdale, and Lindenhurst. With the v growth of our area it is essential th the postal facilities stay abreast of t increase.

The economic stability of our area crucial. In my reports for 1954, 19 and 1956 I predicted continued full e ployment and prosperity. This proved highly accurate despite the f that it was the most criticized statem in the reports. Unfortunately, I am quite as optimistic for 1958. Stocks a supplies are at an alltime high. T housing industry has fallen off 25 p cent. Military contracts have been back. A readjustment period is progress rather than an overall econor recession. To counter this I reco mended the reduction of downpayme on Federal housing. The Defense D partment has been asked repeatedly protect Long Island's extraordinary p of skilled workers in the aircraft a allied industries by giving us our f share of Federal contracts. I beli that 1958 should be a period for cons dation rather than large-scale expansi

The necessity of preserving our natu heritage at Fire Island in the form a national park has been a subject constant conferences with the Depa ment of the Interior. A citizens' co mittee was established which has d an extraordinary job. The econo drive kept the project out of the F eral budget, but it is hoped that it be restored next year.

Long Island's housing industry, w the cooperation of the Long Island Ho Builders Institute and the Federal Ho ing Administration, has made gi strides to provide better homes for many new residents. This is a const and continuing process.

Many minor projects were effected instituted, such as an Army engine study of the harbor facilities at P Jefferson and Sag Harbor; a foghorn the Montauk breakwater; a radio bea at Shinnecock Inlet has been promis improved military housing at the Suff Airbase; attracting commercial use MacArthur Airport; dredging of sh areas in the Great South Bay Chann farm group conferences, with spe reference to disposing of potato s pluses; several hundred individual migration cases; the expediting of numerable passport applications, and processing of nearly a thousand milit cases, either hardship discharges transfers or veterans' service matter

In addition, I introduced legislatio keep former enemy assets from be turned over to Italy, Germany, and pan—H. R. 7318. These funds con tuted the only reparations ever rece

from these nations who declared war on us. They must be used as reparations for those who have legitimate claims against these governments. I introduced many other bills, such as H. R. 498, to provide a permanent home for the Vice President of the United States; H. R. 4842, to provide control of advertising on federally owned or controlled lands; House Concurrent Resolution 168, calling for the creation of a permanent United Nations police force, and H. R. 4532 and H. R. 7144, bills dealing with quality requirements for inspection, certification, and labeling of Irish potatoes.

It has been an honor and pleasure to be of service to you and to my country for another year. Your patience and tolerance where we have disagreed and your understanding where we have been unable to solve your problem completely are especially appreciated. Your comments, advice, and suggestions are always welcome.

Nigeria Looks Toward Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to call the attention of the House to a very significant event. Monday the 2d of September will mark a major step in Nigeria's resolute march toward independence. On that day the Honorable Abubakar Tafawa Balewa will take office as the first Prime Minister of the Nigerian Federation, and then convene the opening session of Nigeria's all-African Cabinet.

Mr. Balewa's appointment implements the decision of the Nigerian Constitutional Conference, held in London earlier this year, to grant a considerable measure of internal self-government to the Federation. The selection of Mr. Balewa, formerly Minister of Transport, as Prime Minister assures Nigerians a capable and dedicated leader, a man who is firmly committed to independence for his country in 1960. He is well prepared by temperament and training to form a national government, whose immediate task will be to coordinate the policies of the three regions and the cameroons.

In recent years, Mr. Speaker, there has been an ever-increasing sentiment within Nigeria for national independence. Conferences were held in 1953 and 1954 in London and Lagos, respectively, to determine the character of the Federal constitution, and to consider the question of self-government. Earlier this year the three regional premiers agreed upon 1959 as the target date for independence, and a resolution to that effect was passed unanimously by the house of representatives on March 26. With this background the London conference convened May 23 with nearly 100 delegates and advisers from Nigeria and Great Britain to "review the constitution and examine the question of self-government."

In commenting on this proposal, Mr. Lennox-Boyd stated that it would be very difficult for Her Majesty's Government to draw a blank check in favor of independence in 1959, as it was presently impossible to foretell what the structure of Nigeria would be by 1959. Two regions—the east and the west—were only just launching out on regional self-government, while the third and largest—the north—did not want independence until 1959. Consequently, Nigeria as a whole had not yet been in a position to feel the strain of regional self-government, and the British wanted some idea as to how that strain would be taken before finally settling the issue of independence. Furthermore, the conference had only just agreed to establish a commission to look into the position of minorities, and there was a possibility that recommendations of this commission might lead to the establishment of further states in Nigeria. While he expressed concern lest Nigeria move too quickly into an independence for which she might not be prepared, Mr. Lennox-Boyd alined himself squarely behind eventual self-government.

The decision of the conference to grant immediate self-government to the eastern and western regions, but to defer until 1960 setting a firm date for federal independence, indicates considerable qualities of statesmanship on the part of Nigerian leaders. Although disappointing to those who sought a fixed date for national independence, the decision will provide opportunity for exercising nearly complete self-government within regional spheres, and limited self-government within the Federation.

As regard the legislature, the conference recommended that a House of Representatives and a Senate be created. The Senate would be coequal with the House, and be comprised of 12 members from each region and the Southern Cameroons, 4 representatives from Lagos, 4 special members appointed by the Governor-General, members of the Council of Ministers who are also Members of the House, and the President, if elected from outside the Senate. It was agreed that the present House should run its full course; thereafter, it would consist of 320 members, elected on the basis of one member for approximately each 100,000 of the present population. Members of the House would be elected by universal adult suffrage in the eastern and western regions and the Southern Cameroons, and by adult male suffrage in the northern region. The franchise in the northern region is to be reviewed from time to time.

The problem of minorities in each region was given considerable attention by the conference. A minorities commission was set up to go in detail into the fears of minorities, and to consider how these could best be met. The conference took a strong position against splitting up Nigeria into further states, but the commission was given authority to recommend the creation of additional states if no other solution seems practicable.

The decisions taken by the constitutional conference will do much to strengthen Nigeria's preparations for full self-government, and provide much of the transitional machinery that is so essential to establishing a viable constitutional and administrative structure. Much credit is due the British who are unselfishly devoting themselves to training Nigerians for the assumption of governmental responsibilities.

A land of some 30 million people, Nigeria is confronted with many problems as she moves towards independence. Yet I am confident that these problems will be surmounted, and Nigeria will prove herself equal to the responsibilities that lie ahead.

To Prime Minister Balewa and his compatriots may I offer heartiest congratulations, and assurances that we stand ever ready to assist him and his country to a responsible and durable independence.

Report of Congresswoman Coya Knutson to the 9th Congressional District of Minnesota on the 1st Session, 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, this report will cover two groups of issues: national issues and matters of purely local or district interest and need. These are of equal importance in the sense that a sound and healthy national economy is the background and foundation of a sound and healthy local economy. A good national farm program and a healthy farm economy are essential to a good farm situation in the Ninth District. The opposite is equally true. If there is a weak spot in the national economy—as in the depressed farm income—the effect is felt not only in the Farm Belt but throughout the entire national economy. For this reason, the obligations of a Representative to the country as a whole are as great as to the congressional district he represents. The job of the Representative is to act with the greatest care, diligence, and judgment in the best interests of the country and in the best interests of the constituents whom he represents. These two interests are almost never at odds with each other.

APPROPRIATIONS

In the national picture, the most important issue is undoubtedly the problem of appropriations. The temper of the country since midsummer of 1956 has been one of complacency, and a feeling almost of normalcy—with a few notable exceptions—has prevailed throughout the country. Unquestionably, this atmosphere was largely responsible for the

economy wave, the demand for across-the-board cuts in Federal expenditures which swept over the entire country. Congressmen felt the impact heavily and the greatest single influence in the consideration of the President's budget for the executive agencies was this tidal wave of grassroots demand for economy.

These executive agencies include the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with its Office of Education, its Public Health Service which protects the health of the citizens against epidemics and scourges such as polio and Asian flu, the research in the fields of cancer, heart disease, mental health, neurological diseases and blindness, infectious diseases, arthritic, and metabolic diseases and dentistry, carried on by the National Institutes of Health; its Social Security Administration which assists the States in the administration of the program, old-age and survivors insurance; the Children's Bureau which provides the know-how in assisting the States in their problems of juvenile delinquency, training of nurses and technicians for the care of retarded children, and many other important State-administered children's programs; the Department of Labor with its Bureau of Employees Compensation, including disability and unemployment compensation, its apprenticeship and training section, and its Division of Prices and Cost of Living, among others; the Commerce Department with its Bureau of Standards, its Bureau of the Census, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Civil Aeronautics Board and Administration, the Bureau of Public Roads, and others; the Justice Department with its FBI, its Immigration and Naturalization Service; the Interior Department with its Bureau of Reclamation and its Bureau of Indian Affairs and others; the Treasury Department with the Coast Guard, the Internal Revenue Service, the Bureau of Customs, and all the financial operations of the Government; the Post Office Department; and so on and on through the Government, all the executive agencies, independent offices, and commissions.

Of the requested amount of over $73 billion in new appropriations, cuts of an estimated $4.9 billion were made. Of this total, the administration agreed to about half, although there was considerable disagreement within the administration itself and the various Cabinet officers of the administration, on the majority of the fiscal issues.

Each of these appropriations required minute study but the result was invariably the same—reduced budgets—many of them in essential functions and services, many of them with far-reaching and widespread effects. While there is probably no one who would question the principle that economy is a good thing wherever possible, there are obviously certain dangers inherent in economy for economy's sake. Carried to its logical conclusion, this theory could end up with the elimination of whole programs, good or bad according to one's view—and even of the Government itself. This is absurd, of course. But so is the thoughtless and indiscriminate slashing of essential Government programs and services. There are a number of such programs over which there should never have been any disagreement—programs which are essential to the Nation's health, or to its security, or to the normal conduct of its business and its agriculture.

These are programs which are of equal importance to citizens in my district and to the citizens of the southernmost districts of Florida and California. These are the programs over which there could be no possible quarrel on grounds of regional interests. Yet, because of the weight of the economy pressure wave, we had to spend valuable hours on the floor of the House when we should have been in committee conducting our studies or in our offices tending to our districts' business. We had to have rollcall after rollcall—14 in 1 day, estimated at 40 minutes each—in an effort to persuade our colleagues of the differences between cutting an appropriation where such a cut could be made with continued efficiency of the operation, and cutting an appropriation merely for the sake of cutting where the country's vital interests required the full requested amount. Just simply swinging the appropriations meat cleaver resulted in the elimination or drastic curtailment of some pretty essential services, not only to my own district, but the country as a whole.

There were some threats to essential programs which fortunately we were able to fight off by just simply digging in our heels and refusing to give in on. One of these was the sewage disposal aid to the States. Pressure to knock out the grants, which are the heart of the water pollution control program, was spearheaded by the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and trade associations representing certain polluting industries. The attack was mounted under the guise of economy. Conservationists in Congress were able to turn back this powerful attack on the year-old water pollution control program when, by a rollcall vote of 231 to 185, the House reversed a previous decision to eliminate the grants to stimulate the building of sewage-treatment plants.

Here is the perfect example of the parallel of national and local interests. I don't think anyone will question the need of our doing our utmost to halt the frightful and rapidly increasing pollution of our national streams and rivers which provide the water with which we bathe our babies and cook our food. Even the most economy minded States-righter will agree: First, that this is not an issue of State versus Government control—since, what good would it do if one State did something about water pollution and the next State, geographically speaking, through which a particular river flowed, did nothing; and second, that the increasing pollution, if unchecked, will have a devastating effect upon the health of our citizens. Manifestly, this is the perfect marriage of national and local interests. In my own district, any number of our cities have or will have sewage disposal problems—Fergus Falls, among them. I am glad to say that we can now see some hope for a solution of this problem.

In such an atmosphere as was crea by this economy drive, there were, fortunately, many measures of regio interest as well which "fell between slats" and were eliminated altogeth Some of these affected my own distr The elimination of funds for provision improved facilities for customs offices our borders was accomplished despite best efforts. In some cases such were made because of lack of regio interest, as for example, eastern Me bers' disinterest in western Membe border problems, and southerners' northerners' problems.

Other deep cuts were made in budg of agencies such as the Weather Bure the importance of which is better kno in such areas as Minnesota, where forces of nature are alternately threat boon, and where provision must be m in accordance with long-range foreca ing. City constituents may be merely convenienced by faulty weather repo ing. The farmer is not so fortunate.

ADMINISTRATION'S MONEY POLICY—TAXE

The work on appropriations is one the most important functions of House of Representatives provided in Constitution. It requires the most c scientious and continuous study on part of every Member. It is also one the most interesting functions becaus is here that we have an opportunity study the vast functioning of our G ernment in all its relations to our p ple and to the world. It is here, a that we find out exactly what the adm istration's policies are and how they operating.

One of the interesting things ab these fiscal matters is that the figu approved by Congress in the various propriations measures do not include permanent and indefinite appropriati of moneys to pay interest on public de interest on various trust funds and forth. These amounted in fiscal y 1956 to nearly $7 billion. In short, C gress has no control over these outl whatsoever. The Government must interest to the purchasers of its bon from the sale of which the Treasury p the costs of operating the Governme These purchasers are, principally, large national banks, insurance co panies and the Federal Reserve Boa On account of the hard money, high terest policy of this administration, the inflation which these policies fe this cost to the Government for mon to pay for its operations has increa from 1952 to 1957 by approximately per capita—roughly $850 million year or over a 3-year period, more th $2 billion.

This huge sum alone would cover appropriations for fiscal year 1958 any one of the following Departments Agencies—for combinations of a nu ber of them: Commerce, $537 milli Agriculture, $1.59 billion; Interior, $ million; Labor, $354 million; Treasu $691 million; State, $189 million; Justi $227 million; United States Informati Agency, $96 million; all public wor $858 million—or any number of the dependent offices and commissions together. These figures are approxima

The enormity of this loss of taxpayers' hard-earned money due to inflation can be better appreciated by comparison with other benefits which might have been purchased. With this $850 million per year, we could have met three-fifths of the cost of the proposed Federal aid for school construction; we could have paid 95 percent of the cost of an adequate slum-clearance and urban-renewal program—estimated at $900 million by the United States mayors' conference; we could have met the total cost of the drought-relief programs from 1954 to 1957 and still have close to $400 million to spend on needed soil- and water-conservation programs in the stricken areas; we could have built the high Hells Canyon Dam and had close to $500 million left over.

We are all, as individuals, keenly aware of the effects of the inflation and the hard money, high interest rate policies on our own pocketbooks. Since January 1953, the cost of living, according to the Consumer Price Index, has risen a full 6.1 percent; food—except for seasonal variations—generally up 3.8 percent; clothing up 1.8 percent; mortgage interest up 30 percent; local water rates up 35 percent; transportation up 20 percent, in many areas much more; rent up 12 percent. There are but a few of the increases in our basic expenditures. As I mentioned in the Capital Chat of August 29, the interest rates on Federal Housing Administration-insured loans have been increased by Administration ofder 16⅔ percent in just 8 months.

In addition, according to the former Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, "State and municipal financing has increased by $18.8 billion in the past 4 years." This means that in February 1957, State and local governments had to pay 69.6 percent more in interest to carry their debts than in 1952. I leave it to you to think what your State and local governments could have done for you with that money.

Besides the effect on individual pocketbooks and on State and municipal financing, the exact figures of this increased cost to the Government of its own operations on account of the administration's fiscal policies were certainly an eye opener. It would be an interesting speculation to figure for this period, 1953–57, the excess funds Congress has had to appropriate for Government operation on account of the lower purchasing value of the dollar. Probably well within this vast sum lies the amount of money which might have gone for a substantial tax reduction for everyone—not just for the corporations and for individuals above the 42 percent income-tax bracket.

FOREIGN AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Our stature in the eyes of the world is dependent upon our international relations. The only part that the Congress plays in the conduct of foreign affairs, is in the approval of appropriations and certain personnel. In the process, of course, we must examine the work of the various executive agencies which are engaged in the day-to-day conduct of these affairs with all other nations. Parallel and supplementary to the military and diplomatic negotiations, these operations include the contributions of know-how and personnel to the various specialized agencies of the United Nations: Among others, the World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, and the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; the independent international service agencies, International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and others.

Technical assistance is furnished in most of these areas to help other countries, principally the underdeveloped countries, to help themselves, to build up their native skills to productive levels, to eliminate the tremendous starvation areas of the world, and to build strong economies, widely based educational systems and democratic institutions. These agencies and those of our citizens who are engaged in this worthy work, are quietly making friends for us all over the world, in helping to eradicate the dreadful diseases bred of poverty and lack of sanitation—and by ignorance. These devoted and dedicated people are the 20th century missionaries of democrary and they are sent wherever they are needed. They are building the only effective and lasting barrier against the spread of the atheistic communism which breeds upon poverty, ignorance, suspicion, hate, and despair.

Despite the pressures of the economy wave, most of the little amount needed for this great democratic effort was saved. It amounts to only about one-seventh of the noncongressionally controlled interest payments paid out by the Government for fiscal year 1956, mentioned above. It is only about one one-hundredth of the yearly cost of World War II, not including the entire atomic bomb development project and the collateral "shooting war" expenditures, such as transportation of troops, hospitalization, veterans' benefits, and war claims. But the effect of this worldwide missionary work is inestimable in the cause of peace and in counteracting with the people, the threat to liberties throughout the world.

ORPHAN BILL

Important in this people-to-people relationship, is the question of immigration—particularly of orphans being sought for adoption by American couples. Next to the economy mail, and mail in support of Hells Canyon, one of the subjects about which the next greatest number of constituents has written is the adoption and immigration of orphans. I am happy to be able to report that through the combined efforts of like-minded Members, this legislation has been passed by the Congress. The language of the so-called orphan bill was incorporated in the omnibus refugee bill, which also made certain other desired changes to provide for the reuniting of families, and so forth. Adoption by proxy will be permitted, the age limit is raised to 14 and no restrictions were added except for the cutoff date of June 30, 1959. This is indeed good news for these American couples who have asked Congress to help them share their abundance and their way of life with young orphaned refugees.

SIGNIFICANT SETBACKS AND FAILURES: LOST RIVER AND RUFFY BROOK, SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

An important failure—although temporary—is the public works omnibus rivers and harbors bill, which among others, includes authorization for the Lost River and Ruffy Brook flood-control projects. As you will remember, the omnibus rivers and harbors bill of 1956—which also included the Lost River and Ruffy Brook projects—was vetoed by the President last year. There has been a real attempt this year to avoid another veto by eliminating several projects which, beside the purely political purpose, caused the veto last year. A number of these projects were eliminated. However, certain of those which came within this category, were not eliminated and reports have been requested on these from the Corps of Engineers.

These reports are not expected to be filed with the committee until this fall. If reported on favorably by a branch of the administration, there would be no reason for a Presidential veto. However, if the bill had been passed before the engineers' report was received, that alone might have provided an excuse for a Presidential veto. Members of the committee felt that rather than risk a veto of these important projects again, with very poor prospect of overriding, it would be better to hold the bill over until next year. If this bill had been passed, vetoed and the Congress had been unable to override, Congress would not have had another chance to consider these projects again until the 86th Congress convenes, January of 1959. These projects in different parts of the country, for flood control, channel dredging, and other improvements of rivers and harbors required for the continued flow of commerce and the protection of those along their banks, are too important to waste again as political ammunition. We cannot waste an additional year. Unfortunately, for all our great need, we must consider the stark political realities of the situation.

A most unfortunate failure of legislation passage for lack of support by the President for his own bill, is the ill-fated, critically needed school-construction measure. The campaign to meet the growing crisis of classroom shortages has been stymied once more. A shift of three votes would have saved the bill. On January 28, 1957, the President told the Congress that classroom shortages are our most critical education problem—and he might have added that for lack of trained engineers, scientists, and other skilled persons in this highly technological age, we might very well lose the race against time in our cold war with the Russians. The proposal of the committee was a bill, H. R. 1, for $300 million a year for 5 years, compromising the distribution formula to allot half of the money to the States on the basis of need—the administration proposal—and half according to school population. In addition, the bill provided for $750 million to purchase school construction bonds and $150 million in advances to

school financing agencies. In a last-minute effort to save the program, the Democrats threw their weight behind a proposal to substitute the original administration plan for the committee bill. They fought a delaying action, hoping that a White House call would line up the necessary support—but the call never came.

SUMMARY OF FARM SITUATION AND LEGISLATION

Of deepest concern to my district is the farm program and related legislation. There is very little I can add to what you already know. The facts are evident to you, to the consumer and to the country at large. Net farm income during the past 5 years has fallen 27 percent as a result of the administration's farm policy. Interest costs per acre have risen 67 percent since 1951 and taxes 33 percent. Since June 30, 1953, Commodity Credit Corporation stocks have more than doubled. In the same period, losses for supporting crops under this administration have been nearly three times more than the costs of its over two decades of existence. Early estimates of farm mortgage debt indicate that this figure will reach the highest point in 1957, since 1921—a huge total of $9,902,000,000. A further tragic estimate is the loss to the Nation annually of 100,000 farms—family farms.

In a February 12 press release, you may recall, I protested the steady downbeat on sliding scale parity price cuts. This downbeat is entirely consistent with the whole Republican program of the past 3 years which was interrupted during the election year. There is no question that price cuts in supports are intended to be lower than the market price and consequently of no value to the farmer. The drop in barley prices from June election-year prices of $1.02 to 94 cents, oats from 65 cents to 60 cents, rye from $1.27 to $1.15, sorghums from $1.97 to $1.83 a hundredweight, less freight costs, cuts the very threads out of the family farmer's net income. Not only is this a loss to the farmers but it is a $50,400,000 direct loss to the United States through the Commodity Credit Corporation, in the drop of prices that affect these commodities, the downbeat of prices is designed to confuse the consumer and abrogate the farmer's land tenure. There has been no cutback in farmer production on account of sliding-scale parity. The present cut in parity, subtracted from last year's election-year prices, means a loss of $57 million to farmers on oats, a $29 million loss to farmers on barley, a $3 million loss on rye, and a $17 million loss on grain sorghums.

As for legislation, we have a new compulsory poultry inspection law, a durum bonus acreage program extension for 1 year, a law making permanent the ACP, and the extension of Public Law 480 for disposal of surplus commodities abroad. There is in addition a new law to permit farmers to produce up to 30 acres of wheat for feed without penalty instead of the previous limit of 15 acres. And that is about that. Among the important measures we were not able to get through were the potato bill and the prohibition of futures trading on onions, although this year we were able to get the onions bill at least out of committee and ready for floor action.

Add to this summary rumors of administration's efforts in the next session to get rid of Public Law 480 altogether, and Secretary Benson's request for authority to eliminate all price supports and return to the uncontrolled chaos of the 1930's, which would result in far greater farm production than ever known before. Last spring, in the hearings before the Agriculture Committee, Secretary Benson, who bases his recommendations on the idea that lower prices will naturally reduce production and thereby eliminate surpluses, made the amazing statement that he knew of no competent authority to indicate to the contrary. I was able to produce figures from his own Department's agriculture statistics of 1955, indicating that in some 30 cases—that is, over half the time in certain commodities—this theory has been proved wrong. In these 30 cases, lower support prices had increased production and higher support prices had decreased production. In other words, Secretary Benson is basing his recommendations on an idea that works only about 50 percent of the time. That is not good enough for Congress—or for the farmers.

Next session, armed with materials and testimony gathered in hearings this fall—and an election year—we will be prepared for the knockdown and dragout fight with Mr. Benson.

The Family Farm Subcommittee and the Consumer Study Subcommittee will be making investigations in the field this fall, following their preparatory hearings here in Washington during the session. These are the only two committees which will be working on agriculture during the period between the first and second sessions of this Congress. The family farm hearings will be held for the purpose of securing testimony on actual experiences of family farmers in order to develop a sound farm legislative program. One of the sites chosen for these important hearings is Fergus Falls, Minn., and one of the considerations in choosing this particular city was its location in Otter Tail County, which has the largest number of family farms of any county in the State of Minnesota, and is one of the top 20 counties in the number of family-operated farms in the Nation. Much may be learned from the farm families of this area on the shaping of Government policy to strengthen the basic family system of agriculture.

The Consumer Study Subcommittee, whose schedule is not yet firmly set, will continue with its study of food price trends and will probably hold its hearings principally in cities and food-processing centers.

MISCELLANEOUS NATIONAL ISSUES

Natural-gas legislation: Some 20 million consumers have more to fear from the latest version of the natural-gas bill than from the one vetoed during the 84th Congress on grounds of arrogant lobbying by oil interests. That earlier bill would have frankly and openly amended the Natural Gas Act of 1938 to free the field sales of natural gas to interstate pipelines from Federal regulations, thus permitting big producers to raise fie prices to levels at just about all th traffic would bear. The new bill will exactly the same thing by a camouflage pretense at continued regulation of pr ducer prices. By use of elaborate lega isms, a reasonable-market-value fo mula is devised which actually directs th Federal Power Commission to regula on the basis of a general increase producer prices in line with the risin market value of gas—all of which is to arrived at by private arm's-length ba gaining. The implications of such a bi are astounding. Through the concerte efforts of a small group of Represents tives, the consumer interest in holdin the line on natural-gas prices has bee protected, and the bill held over unt next year. The consumers of Americ who stood to lose about $800 million an nually out of their pockets to the alread economically overfed oil-and-gas indus try, can breathe a sigh of relief—but onl until next session. The need for con tinued vigilance was never more clea and my district can be assured of m continued opposition to this bad legis lation.

Rural electrification: Riding on th outcome of the fight over REA are pow costs to farmers served by REA co-op and much more. REA's defenders ar under fire from two fronts: the adminis tration money managers who favor up ping interest rates on new REA loans-now fixed by law at 2 percent—to n less than what the Treasury pays on i long-term debts—roughly 3½ percent-and private power interests which pla an all-out effort to prevent further ex pansion by the co-ops.

Fish and game, duck stamp: In 193 when duck faced extinction, Congres passed the Duck Stamp Act. Duc hunters were to buy a Federal duc stamp for $1, with the proceeds going t buy and develop more land for the na tional waterfowl refuge system. Th money was not coming in fast enough t do the huge job which sportsmen figure needed doing. So they came to Congres in 1949, asking that the price of the duc stamp be doubled. Congress went alon

Four years later, 1953, the money wa rolling in. There were funds for greatly expanded refuge acquisition an development program. It never got o the ground, because the new administra tion picked the duck hunters' pocket and used the money for current operat ing expenses of the Fish and Wildlif Service. This is one of the many mean by which this administration has pre sented a balanced budget to the publi Even the Post Office Department got int the act. In 1954, the price which tha Department charged for printing an distributing the stamps was almost fiv times what it was in 1953—for about th same number of stamps.

Once again it is proposed that Con gress increase the fee. The preferre alternative is the Democratic propos to earmark 65 percent of the receipt from the present $2 fee for the purchas administration, maintenance, and de velopment of refuges. Hearings on thi last bill revealed that sale of duck stamp grossed almost $5 million last year. I

the past 20 years, duck stamps have brought in nearly $50 million. Of that, only $4.5 million has been spent for land—the rest has gone for operating expenses in the past 4 years of the Fish and Wildlife Service. Another example of the need for vigilance.

Retirement security measures: Only relatively minor bills dealing with social security were considered by the 85th Congress during the 1st session. Public Law 109—H. R. 6191—extends until July 1, 1958, the time for disabled persons to file applications for disability freeze to preserve their rights to old-age, survivors, and disability insurance. An important section of this law prohibits deductions from social-security disability benefits of the service-connected disability compensation paid to veterans. This will permit a totally disabled veteran to receive the full amounts of both payments without any reduction.

Several bills authorizing various States to combine retirement systems with social security were enacted. Another bill, H. R. 1944, liberalized regulations relating to the payment of social-security benefits to alien survivors of certain members of the armed services. H. R. 8892 extends for 2 years the time within which a minister may elect coverage as a self-employed individual for social-security purposes.

LOCAL ISSUES

H. R. 8508, the two ASC county committee bill—Public Law 85-278: I introduced a bill to prevent the consolidation of the two ASC county committees which have been serving the large counties of Otter Tail and Polk in the Ninth District. These are 2 of the counties of the 4 in the United States which would have been affected by a recent ruling of the General Accounting Office that no county shall have more than 1 ASC committee and that those which have 2 must consolidate these 2 by the end of September. These 2 counties are in the group of 20 largest counties in the country and a much smaller group of large counties principally engaged in farming. The system of two ASC county committees grew out of a need for them—to give adequate service to the farmers in these widespread areas.

Despite the fact that this bill is noncontroversial—no one is injured by its passage—only local interests are involved and there is nothing but advantage to be gained by its passage, yet this bill encountered one of the peculiar obstacles, by coincidence, which sometimes befalls a bill in the legislative process. When the bill reached the Senate, it passed favorably through the subcommittee to the Committee on Agriculture and was reported favorably to the Senate for action on a calendar which is similar to the House's Consent Calendar. There, quite by coincidence, this bill at the time was the only bill having to do with agriculture and was picked by a Senator seeking to secure passage of a very important piece of watershed legislation by the customary method of attaching it as an amendment to another measure. When we on the House side got wind of this, we were perturbed because there was a deadline for passage of the ASC committee bill, and none, or at least no known deadline requirement for the watershed legislation. To this there was the added possibility of a Presidential veto of the bill in amended form. This we just could not risk, important as the watershed legislation might have been.

The minute we found out in a routine check with the Senate bill clerk, that this bill had been objected to—that is, put over for further debate on account of the proposed amendment, we immediately got in touch with Senator HUMPHREY and he, in turn, immediately went to work in the Senate to eliminate the amendment and secure passage of the bill without amendments. But for Senator HUMPHREY'S valuable assistance in the Senate in giving the bill the final push without crippling amendment, this important deadline bill might have been lost. The bill has now gone to the President for signature and there is not any reason whatever for a veto. By the time this report goes to press, undoubtedly H. R. 8508 will be law.

In conclusion, I would like to discuss the ways in which your Representative can be of service to you, other than as a Member of Congress engaged in the legislative process. The additional services, largely advisory and representative of your interests with the various executive agencies and commissions, such as the Farmers' Home Administration, Defense Department, Social Security Administration and so forth, are limited to requests. Frequently, however, the very fact of expressed interest or protest on the part of the elected Representative is sufficient to make these agencies reconsider a hasty or an improper decision.

Warroad customs curtailment: An example of such a reaction is a reversal of its decision to curtail customs service in Warroad on the part of the Customs Bureau of the Treasury Department. As a result of vigorous protest based upon the potential damage to commerce and international interchange in the Warroad area, the threatened permanent curtailment of the service between the hours of 9 p. m. and midnight on Sundays and holidays, was removed and the service was restored in full.

Personal problems: Other and more common examples are the frequently successful solutions to personal problems which range all the way from compassionate transfers or harship discharges for hard-pressed service people and their families, to pressing for improved loan servicing of our farmers by FHA.

Egg prices: A third type of service is the campaign to draw public attention to a given problem, such as the low egg prices, and in this a continuous flow of letters from you is of considerable assistance to your Representative. In the egg crusade as an example of this part of a Representative's work, there are several steps to be taken. The first, of course, is continuous letter protest to the offending agency—in this case, the Department of Agriculture. Immediately after the convening of Congress last January, I began this phase by writing letters to the Secretary of Agriculture, asking that he do something about the depression-low egg prices by support and by buying eggs. Receiving no satisfactory reply, other letters went to the Secretary, and still receiving no satisfaction, it appeared that national attention should be called to the problem. Here is where your good letters came into the picture. After July 1, as the second phase of the campaign, I started a series of insertions of your letters on low egg prices and the cost-price squeeze in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This was followed by the third phase, a floor speech in the House. This speech was picked up by the international wire services because of the buildup and through them was given a play in newspapers all over the country.

This is about the only way your Representative can influence the policies and operations of the administration—by securing the pressure of widespread public protest. In order to enlist the aid of an aroused public, attention must be focused on the problem. This is exactly what happened on the egg crusade and it has worked. The Secretary of Agriculture has begun to buy eggs in sufficient quantity to have an effect on the price—and prices to the farmer are going up, little by little.

Evaluation of the 1st session: Well, the 1st term of the 85th Congress is over. It was a Congress which might best be described as moderate—a balanced Congress. This is perfectly understandable because there were many instances of crossing party lines in different groupings, which was in turn, undoubtedly, the result of changing political patterns all over the country. The whole country is in a period of political transition. In many ways we who would have liked to see more vigorous and more liberal action on important issues had a feeling of frustration; however, much groundwork for constructive legislation in the second session has been laid.

I stayed until the last horn blew and the session was over August 30 with a rush of last-minute business. Many of my colleagues had been unable to stay the full term for personal reasons; sometimes in the last week or two it had been difficult to find a quorum in Washington. And, now that the congressional children are back home and ready to go to school—in their overcrowded classrooms—their parents can finally take a few days vacation.

Congressman John D. Dingell Reports to the People of the 15th District of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is my practice to report as often as possible to my people. Accordingly, I offer this report to my people on the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

The distinguished minority leader of the Senate, the Honorable WILLIAM KNOWLAND, said:

The Congress worked hard and long. Of course, the number of bills passed ran into the hundreds.

Our own distinguished majority leader in the House, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK said:

One of the greatest Congresses this country has ever had.

I am certain that when history has judged this session we will find that this has been one of the great Congresses.

Last session I served my people on the Public Works Committee and on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Since the legislative work on the road bill, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and projects of especial interest to my people have by and large been completed my service was no longer so valuable on the Public Works Committee. For that reason I changed from the Committee on Public Works to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at the beginning of this session in order to oppose the gas consumers gouge bill.

I maintain two offices to serve the people of my district, one in Washington, and the other in Detroit at 7310 Grand River Avenue staffed by my able assistant, Mr. Charles S. Brown, and my Detroit secretary, Mrs. Theresa Tabin.

BILLS INTRODUCED

This is a short summary of the major bills I introduced.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. Speaker, I devoted much time to improvement and extension of the Social Security Act to more classes of people with better benefits commensurate with the needs of our retirees. I introduced the following bills on this subject:

H. R. 4765, a bill guaranteeing up to 60 days' free hospitalization each year to those eligible for social security benefits, including retirees, widows and dependent children.

H. R. 7669, a bill to raise the amount of annual earnings taken into account in computing benefits under the Social Security Act from $4,200 to $6,200. This bill would more adequately cover our social security retirees, raise the maximum benefit for a retired worker from $108.50 per month to around $140 per month. Under this bill widows who now receive a maximum of $81.40 would be entitled to benefits of over $100 a month. Combined family benefit of a retired husband and wife would be increased from $162.80 to around $200 a month.

This bill would not increase social security taxes for workers earning less than $4,200. The maximum increase to the employer and employee will amount to about $3.75 a month but will apply only to workers earning between $4,200 and $6,200 a year.

H. R. 5737, a bill to reduce the retirement age for men to 60 and for women to 55. The purpose of this bill is to permit our citizens to have the opportunity to receive the advantage of a more realistic retirement age where they desire to retire, or where forced to for health reasons, or because of inability to obtain jobs.

H. R. 6948, the humanitarian old-age rights bill, which I cosponsored with a number of other liberal Members of Congress. This bill establishes for the first time clear legislative intent by Congress that public assistance shall be administered promptly and humanely with due regard for preservation of family life. The bill requires that old-age assistance recipients shall receive benefits at the same age as old-age beneficiaries under title 2 of the Social Security Act. It permits earnings of up to $50 a month by aged and handicapped on public assistance instead of the present $30 a month. It also permits parents of needy children, and needy children thmeselves, to earn up to $30 a month to supplement their assistance checks without reduction in aid. This bill will permit recipients of old-age assistance to own a home of assessed value, less all encumbrances, of up to $5,000 free from imposition of lien as well as household furnishings and an insurance or burial policy up to $500. It would eliminate the practice of enforcing collections from relatives of recipients of old-age assistance. This bill also prohibits publishing of names of recipients of old-age assistance in the so-called pauper lists, and provides that the value of United States surplus food made available shall not be deducted from the recipient's aid.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I am proud to say that I was the author of the first bills introduced this session guaranteeing equal rights to all of our citizens. Those bills are:

H. R. 140, a comprehensive civil rights bill aimed at outlawing discrimination in employment, political participation, travel and accommodations; as well as protection of citizens from lynching; and to establish a civil rights division in the Department of Justice for the protection of the rights of all citizens. This included creation of a joint congressional Committee on Civil Rights, the outlawing of poll tax in the several States, and other things.

H. R. 141, which was purely an anti-poll-tax bill aimed at outlawing the poll tax in the various States as a prerequisite to voting in a Federal election.

H. R. 142, a bill aimed at the creation of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice to protect the rights of all American citizens.

H. R. 143, a statute outlawing lynching and offering Federal protection to all citizens from lynch mobs and lynch law.

H. R. 144, a bill aimed at outlawing discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. This bill was a vigorous compulsory Federal fair employment practices bill.

Some of the features of these bills are included in the Civil Rights Act passed by this Congress.

HEALTH INSURANCE

I was cosponsor of H. R. 3764, a bill to provide a program of national contributory health insurance. This bill provides for a Federal program of contributory health insurance which sustained by a contribution from an e ployer and employee into a fund like social security trust fund. From t fund each citizen will be entitled to payment of all hospital bills, doctor b and medication. Thus for the first t the American people are offered a and complete guaranty of effect health protection. No longer wo health and adequate medical care be property only of the well-to-do.

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

This is one of the most pressing pro lems facing the city of Detroit. As people know, the city of Detroit is fac by continued obsolescence both of hom and of factories. Many of our fine re dential areas are deteriorating into slu through the passage of time, and on thriving industrial areas are lapsing cause of changes in factory requiremen and needs. To help this problem I troduced two bills:

H. R. 6551, which would authorize t Federal Government to invest up to billion of the social security trust fun which today totals approximately billion, in bonds or other obligatio issued by local public agencies for urb renewal projects.

H. R. 5302, a comprehensive bill permit Federal cooperation and funds redevelopment of idle factory areas of t kind we have in Detroit which once em ployed thousands and thousands of me This bill would make available to D troit Federal funds for redevelopi blighted industrial areas for industri purposes.

TAXATION

During this session, Mr. Speaker, I i troduced and worked for three bills amend the tax laws of this country:

H. R. 7065, providing for a raise in t exemptions for individuals from $600 $700.

H. R. 7066, which provided for an i crease in exemptions from $600 to $80

I want to make it very clear that the 2 bills are aimed at benefiting low-i come taxpayers and will offer a fami of 4, earning in the vicinity of $5,000, tax reduction of about $120 to about $1 per annum. Under these bills a larg number of low-income taxpayers will removed from the rolls, especially tho earning under $2,000 a year.

H. R. 2541, a bill to give all corporatio with an income of under $525,000 a ye a substantial reduction in taxes and off corporations with incomes larger tha that amount increased taxes at a ver slight rate. The purpose of this bill w to give tax relief to small business an afford some help in their battle again the economic giants of this country, wit no losse of revenue to the Treasury.

IMMIGRATION

Mr. Speaker, during this session, I i troduced two bills on the subject of im migration:

The first was H. R. 4908, an omnibu immigration bill to eliminate the inequ ties and harsh features of our present im migration law. This bill does away wit the national origins quota system an

substitutes for it a general quota system, based only on the ability of this country to absorb newcomers. It eliminates the type of second-class citizenship which is given our naturalized citizens under existing law.

H. R. 4909, a bill to grant permanent refuge to escapees who came into the United States under the parole provisions of the immigration law. The purpose of this bill is to permit the Hungarian escapees who have entered the United States to become eligible for permanent residence and ultimate citizenship.

THE RECORD OF THE 85TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

THE BUDGET AND APPROPRIATIONS

The 1st session of the 85th Congress cut the President's $71.8 billion budget to $66.5 billion.

The House actually voted to cut the President's budget by $6.5 billion. A slightly smaller cut results from the fact that the Senate insisted on higher expenditures for certain items.

I insert a breakdown of fiscal 1958 appropriation bills, and the action taken thereon by the Congress.

Congressional action on appropriation estimates, 85th Cong., 1st sess., Aug. 29, 1957

Appropriation bill	Estimates	Passed by House	Passed by Senate	Conference agreement	Reduction		
					Amount, latest action	Percent House bill	Percent latest action
Bills for 1958:							
Treasury-Post Office	$3,965,291,000	$3,884,927,000	$3,884,927,000	$3,884,927,000	$80,364,000	2.0	2.0
Interior	515,189,700	454,395,700	457,152,600	456,189,600	59,000,100	11.8	11.5
General Government matters	20,921,870	16,021,370	16,010,370	16,010,370	4,911,500	23.4	23.5
Independent Offices	5,923,195,000	5,385,201,700	5,378,594,800	5,373,877,800	549,317,200	9.0	9.3
Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare	2,981,277,581	2,846,831,581	2,885,290,781	2,871,182,781	110,094,800	4.5	3.7
District of Columbia (Federal payment)	25,504,450	22,504,450	23,004,450	22,504,450	3,000,000	11.8	11.8
Commerce	871,513,000	603,685,000	613,584,290	597,790,225	273,722,775	25.0	31.4
State, Justice, Judiciary	665,649,802	563,799,793	563,085,293	562,891,293	102,758,509	15.3	15.4
Agriculture	3,965,446,617	3,692,889,757	3,668,972,157	3,666,543,757	298,902,860	6.9	7.5
Legislative	108,271,443	78,370,285	104,844,660	104,844,660	3,426,783	2.8	3.2
Defense	36,128,000,000	33,562,725,000	34,534,229,000	33,759,850,000	2,368,150,000	7.1	6.6
Public works	876,453,000	814,813,023	884,151,323	858,094,323	18,358,677	7.0	2.1
Supplemental (Post Office)	149,500,000	133,000,000	133,000,000	133,000,000	16,500,000	11.0	11.0
Supplemental, 1958	1,973,767,827	1,581,590,587	1,824,001,547	1,734,011,947	239,755,880	15.0	12.1
Mutual security	3,386,860,000	2,524,760,000	3,025,660,000	2,768,760,000	618,100,000	25.4	18.2
Atomic energy	2,491,625,000	2,299,718,500	2,323,632,500	2,323,632,500	167,992,500	7.7	6.7
(A) Cumulative total:							
House	63,907,854,615	58,515,283,806	----------	----------	5,392,620,809	8.4	8.4
Senate	64,048,466,290	----------	60,320,140,771	----------	3,728,325,519	----------	5.8
Conference	64,048,466,290	----------	----------	59,134,110,706	4,914,355,584	----------	7.7
Supplemental and deficiency, 1957: Total	589,644,320	463,920,788	512,293,045	455,620,925	134,023,395	20.9	22.7
Cumulative total for session:							
House	64,494,927,778	58,979,154,594	----------	----------	5,515,773,184	8.6	8.6
Senate	64,638,110,610	----------	60,832,433,816	----------	3,805,676,794	----------	5.9
Conference	64,638,110,610	----------	----------	59,589,731,631	5,048,378,979	----------	7.8

According to an earlier edition of the Congressional Quarterly I voted for economy only 13 percent of the time, but in that 13 percent of the time I voted to cut some $6.5 billion in nonessential items, almost the exact amount cut from the budget by the House of Representatives.

Yet I voted for the full amount of the social-security appropriation; the full amount of the Federal contribution for pollution abatement; the full amount of Federal grants to the States for schools, school lunches, old-age assistance, aid to dependent children; Federal research into cancer, heart disease, and mental illness; and Federal highway construction. I voted for the full amount requested for the Food and Drug Administration to protect the purity of this country's food and drugs, and other essential humanitarian and social programs.

I voted to pare $1.1 billion from the administration's request for $4.4 billion for foreign aid, which has been carelessly administered for the past several years. Waste has been so flagrant as to have been commented on on a number of occasions by House and Senate committees which investigated the program. The amount appropriated is in excess of the amount that the administration can justify. Today $5.5 billion is in the pipeline awaiting expenditure, and the $3.3 billion authorized by Congress gives a total of $8.8 billion available for expenditure. At present rates of expenditure that is enough for about 3 years.

In like manner I voted for reduction in the President's request for defense funds. The congressional committee which studied this matter said categorically after long hearings that the amount authorized was adequate for the needs of a sufficient defense for this country. The President received as much as he was able to spend last year, and more than the amount the administration intends to spend this year.

THE SCHOOL BILL

I voted for the Federal School Construction Act this year, by voting against a motion to kill the enacting clause. The vote on that particular motion was very close, 208 to 203. It broke down into 97 Democrats and 111 Republicans voting to kill the bill and 126 Democrats and 77 Republicans voting against killing the bill. Thus a majority of Democrats voted to save the bill, and a majority of Republicans voted to kill the bill.

It is particularly interesting to note that at the time the bill was killed the Republican assistant minority leader and other prominent leaders on the Republican side were urging that the bill be killed and announcing that they intended to vote against it. The only substantial Republican leader who voted against killing the bill was the minority leader himself. It is also interesting to note that he made no significant effort to save the bill. It is equally important that the people be aware that at the time this bill was killed by Republican Members of the House, a maneuver was on to accept the few precise changes in the bill which the President wanted so as to enact a school bill now.

VETERANS

The House refused to raise interest on Veterans' Administration's direct and guaranteed home loans from 4½ to 5 percent, thus preserving low interest rates for veterans.

This Congress enacted a bill to extend the direct loan and guaranteed loan program for World War II veterans housing to July 25, 1959, and to raise the direct loan maximum from $10,000 to $13,500. Congress also passed H. R. 52, to authorize an increase in pensions for veterans with service-connected disability by approximately 10 percent and included higher increases for completely disabled veterans.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I was one of the backers and sponsors of the first civil-rights bill, H. R. 6127, enacted in over 80 years. This is a good bill, and is a long step toward full equality for all our people. It guarantees the right of all citizens to vote and sets up strong Federal injunctive procedures to protect that right. It creates a Civil Rights Division within the Office of the Attorney General headed by an Assistant Attorney General, charged with enforcement of this and several other existing civil-rights statutes. The bill creates a Commission on Civil Rights empowered to look into civil-rights problems.

THE JURY-TRIAL AMENDMENT

Since there is much confusion over the jury-trial amendment, I want to explain what was done on that matter.

Two weakening changes were made in the Senate after we in the House had beaten off all attempts to weaken the bill. The first was striking of section III, which in effect narrowed the bill to a right-to-vote bill.

The second was the so-called jury-trial amendment. Opponents of the bill ef-

fectively spread the idea that they were protecting the right to jury trial by that amendment. However, it is long settled law that there is no right to jury trial in cases where civil or criminal contempt is the issue; that is, failure to obey lawful order of a court.

A successful compromise was effected very narrowly limiting the jury-trial amendment and guaranteeing the effectiveness of the courts to enforce the bill. The compromise made a new trial by jury available only in contempt cases when the sentence was more than $300 or 45 days imprisonment. There is no jury trial available in civil contempt proceedings at all.

THE GAS GOUGE BILL

During this session of Congress a bill to exempt gas producers from regulation was introduced and was finally reported by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. This bill would guarantee $1 billion a year windfall to all producers of natural gas and to the pipelines who own their own reserves, and would mean a big raise in consumer prices for natural gas. I was among those who fought this bill in committee and before the House Rules Committee. We were able to slow the progress of the bill to such a point that its sponsors deemed it unwise to bring it before the Congress for final vote and passage. As said by Drew Pearson in his column of August 16, 1957:

The reason for this (defeat of the gas bill) was the effort of some young, vigorous Congressmen, led by MACDONALD, of Boston; JOHN DINGELL, of Detroit; * * * all Democrats, all first- or second-term Congressmen.

PROTECTION OF THE FBI FILES

I voted for the legislation enacted which would protect FBI files from indiscriminate prying by defendants, yet which would offer to any person accused of crime adequate opportunity to secure sufficient entry into pertinent, relevant documents in the possession of the Government, including the FBI, to adequately prepare for his own defense and to cross-examine witnesses.

IMMIGRATION

I also voted in favor of the compromise Immigration bill, S. 2792, which passed both the House and Senate. This bill, although substantially less than was embodied in my own Immigration bill, was, nevertheless, a good bill. It permits reissuance of 18,656 visas for refugees, and provides for relief for certain classes of child immigrants, tuberculars, and certain classes of wives and dependents presently excludable.

PAY RAISE FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Postal and classified Federal employees are shamefully underpaid. In order to help these people secure a fair and decent living standard I voted for H. R. 2474, a bill to give a $546 annual increase for each of the 500,000 postal workers, effective September 1, 1957. I also voted for H. R. 2462 to provide an 11-percent increase for Federal white-collar workers. It has been announced that the President will veto both of these bills. In that event I will not only vote for such bills again but will introduce them on the opening day of next year's Congress.

POSTAL RATE INCREASE

I voted against the administration's postal rate increase bill because it continued the several hundred million dollar yearly subsidy to magazines, newspapers, and periodicals at the expense of the individual users of first class and air mail. These last two classes of mail would be raised by up to 33 percent while now paying a profit. Other classes of mail which are losing money would be raised far less than the amount of the present loss to the taxpayer.

I have attempted to follow a good, constructive, liberal program for the benefit of all of the people of my district and of the country. I intend to continue this record as long as my people have me serve them.

Report on Major Legislation of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. PAT JENNINGS
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 85th Congress ends today. I have prepared, for my constituents in the Ninth District of Virginia, a brief report on the major legislative actions of the session. I have stressed those actions of particular interest to the people of my district.

No attempt has been made in this report to cover all of the activities of the session. Neither do I try to assess the accomplishments of the Congress, preferring to wait until the second session has been completed and action taken on much important pending legislation. The work of this first session, however, is more than adequate to insure this Congress an appropriate niche in history—perhaps as one of the most responsible ever to serve the people of this Nation.

AGRICULTURE LEGISLATION

I have served as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture again in this Congress, having first been assigned to this committee in the 84th Congress. Since farming is of great importance in the Ninth District, service on this committee enables me to give close consideration to all agriculture legislation passed by the Congress.

The unwillingness of the Secretary of Agriculture to approve the bills referred to him for a report has limited, to a major degree, the agriculture legislation of this session. The committee's records show that the Members of the House concerned with the well-being of agriculture in the Nation have introduced more than 500 bills. After careful study, the bills considered most worthy of action were sent to the Secretary for consideration. He approved only 16 of the 125 bills submitted. He disapproved or proposed substantial changes in all others or did not express an opinion. We know from experience that unless the Secretary indicates to the President that he proves a bill, it is doomed to a ve as the major farm bill passed in the Congress was vetoed.

The farmers of this Nation, de optimistic statements from Secretar Agriculture Ezra T. Benson, are sti trouble. Prices are high on things chased for the farm; prices have not proved on products sold from the f I hope that in the second session we have more favorable comments from Secretary on legislative proposals signed to bring a fair share of the tion's prosperity to our farmers.

The Agriculture Committee has t final action on more than 270 of the introduced in this session. The mittee, with its 18 subcommittees, conducted 176 hearings and study sions and some are also planned du the recess.

Among the major agriculture ac of the session were: A 1-year, $1.3 bi extension of the Agricultural Trade Development Assistance Act, u which our surplus farm commoditie disposed of at home and abroad; the proval of a deferred grazing prog providing assistance to the farme drought areas; establishment of a pulsory Federal poultry-inspection tem to insure sanitary practices and rect labeling of poultry and po products; an improved program of trol and eradication of plant pest cluding a new threat to farmers, th ported fire ant; a change in law t empt—for 1958 and later crops—up acres of wheat from marketing pen when the entire crop is used on the where raised; and authority provide a continuation of the agricultural servation program—ACP.

Preliminary investigation and ings on legislation referred to the culture Committee are often done b of its subcommittees. I am a memb the Subcommittees on Tobacco, W Livestock, and Feed Grains, Res and Extension, Family Farms, and sumers Study. These have been act the first session. For example, the sumers Study Subcommittee has u taken a broad investigation into the sons for increased food prices dur time of declining farm income. Family Farms Subcommittee, which a field hearing in the Ninth Distric year at my invitation, will contin work on ways and means to im farm programs for the benefit o small farm.

BUDGET REDUCTIONS

This has been an economy-m Congress, effecting substantial cu the $71.8 billion recordbreaking p time budget for fiscal year 195 nounced by the President last Jan When the final vote was taken o appropriations bills, the budget had reduced enough to give serious con ation to a tax cut next year.

Estimates of the budget cuts from $4.9 billion, as tabulated b House Appropriations Committee, t billion totaled by the Joint Committ Reduction of Nonessential Expendi Whatever be the final figure, it is

ent to illustrate the deep concern of he Congress over the proposal to increase Government spending.

I have voted for a majority of these udget cuts, including the billion-dollar eduction in foreign-aid funds. In some stances I did not vote for reduced funds ecause it was apparent they would have o be provided at some later date or essential Government services curtailed.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The major actions in this important gislative field were the passage of the iddle East resolution to authorize ecoomic and military cooperation with iddle East nations threatened by agression; authority for the United States participate in the International tomic Energy Agency; and a much ilder immigration bill than proposed y the administration.

A continuation of foreign-aid was approved, but plans to make it a permanent peration in some respects were curtailed nd the funds requested for fiscal year 958 reduced. When the authorization nd appropriation bills were finally greed upon, the $4.4 billion proposed in he budget estimates had been cut by a illion dollars. This action, in my opinon, will insure a more responsible and fficient administration of the foreign-id operations.

VETERANS' LEGISLATION

We extended and improved the veterns direct home loan program to provide ore opportunity for veterans seeking ome loans in rural areas and small owns to secure financing, which has beome more difficult under current tight oney policies. Service-connected disbility compensation payments were inreased by an average of 10 percent with he degree of disability determining the mount of the increase. For example, a 0 percent disability monthly payment as raised from $17 to $19 while a total isability payment was increased from 81 to $225. Also, various veterans laws ere consolidated into one volume and a ouse-passed bill to raise pensions for panish-American War widows is awaitng Senate action.

FINANCE, COMMERCE, INDUSTRY

The approval of tax legislation included extension of the present corporate ncome tax rate of 52 percent and the xisting rate of certain excise taxes, and he curtailment of the authority to issue ast tax writeoff certificates for new lants. The House passed the first overall technical revision of the excise tax aws since 1932 and the bill is pending in he Senate. No income tax reduction bill as approved, but hearings on such legislation have now been scheduled for ext January.

The Small Business Administration, hich provides technical and managerial dvice and credit to small business, was xtended for a year and its loan funds ncreased. The Senate is expected to approve a House-passed bill next session to ake this a permanent agency.

The Senate approved, and the House ill probably do so next session, a revision and modification of all the Federal aws governing banks, savings and loan ssociations, and credit unions.

Also, interest rates payable on savings bonds were increased from 3 to 3¼ percent.

CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL

I opposed the passage of the so-called civil-rights bill, which occupied more time in the Congress this session than any other single piece of legislation. As passed, this measure empowers the Attorney General to use Federal injunctions to prevent alleged interference with voting rights, creates a Civil Rights Commission to investigate complaints and determine whether additional legislation should be recommended, and establishes a new section in the Justice Department, headed by an Assistant Attorney General, to be concerned with civil rights. An amendment to provide jury trials in criminal contempt cases growing out of this bill was added in the Senate and later modified by House-Senate agreement. The changes made during consideration of this bill made it less vicious to the sections of the country at which it was aimed than the original bill proposed by the administration.

IMPORTANT MISCELLANEOUS

Passage of a $1.9 billion housing bill, which included lower downpayments on FHA-insured homes, was the major piece of housing legislation of the first session. Funds were also provided for urban development and slum clearance.

The bill to begin a 5-year, $1.5 billion program of Federal aid to the States for school construction was killed in the House after an amendment was adopted to prevent the use of these funds in any State with segregated schools. Extended to June 30, 1959, however, was the assistance now provided school districts affected by Federal activities in their areas.

Pay raises were approved for postal and other Federal workers, but a veto is expected by the President. If action to disapprove these bills is taken by the President, further legislation will be required in the second session to increase pay for Government employees.

A bill to protect the files of the FBI was passed after it became apparent that a uniform procedure was needed for the production in court of statements by Government witnesses.

Also, an Airways Modernization Board was approved to assure a safe, efficient navigation system for all civilian and military aircraft.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Although we have not considered social-security amendments comparable to those of 1956, which reduced the retirement age for women and provided disability benefits at age 50, we have passed bills to make important technical and other changes in the program. The filing time for ministers to secure coverage under social security as self-employed individuals was extended for 2 years. Also, a bill was passed to insure further protection for the disabled by extending the time in which the disability freeze provisions of the Social Security Act could be made retroactive, and to allow a veteran to receive both his service-connected disability compensation and any social-security disability benefits to which he may be entitled.

FLOOD PROTECTION

Included in the public-works appropriation bill for flood control in several areas of the Nation was an initial allocation of $100,000 in planning funds for the proposed Pound River flood-control reservoir in Dickenson County. I will seek further planning funds for this project in the second session, in addition to authorization and planning funds for any other flood-protection dams found feasible under a survey now nearing completion by the Corps of Engineers. Since the flood in the Ninth District earlier this year, I have been exploring every possibility for flood control, such as local protection projects and reservoirs.

COAL RESEARCH

A special Subcommittee on Coal Research, established in the 84th Congress, has now concluded a 15-month study of the coal industry, its problems and needs. Broad recommendations for a greatly expanded program of coal research and development to insure a greater degree of stability for the industry and its workers have been made by the subcommittee. I intend to introduce legislation in the second session to carry out certain of the subcommittee's major recommendations. Coal production in Virginia is concentrated in the Ninth District and is the primary industry in several counties. Therefore, I have supported this subcommittee's work at every opportunity, including the arranging of a field hearing in Abingdon last spring to receive testimony from representatives of the industry in Virginia.

JENNINGS BILLS

I have introduced several bills in the first session and expect consideration of them by the appropriate committees of the Congress in the next session.

Two of my bills pertain to social security changes. The first would lower the retirement age for men to 62 as was done for women last year. The second would provide that a child shall be considered the adopted child of a deceased individual where adoption proceedings were commenced before such individual's death and are subsequently completed by the surviving spouse.

Pending before the Committee on Government Operations is my bill to authorize the donation of surplus Government property to community organizations, such as lifesaving crews and volunteer fire departments.

In the field of agriculture, I have introduced a bill to establish an Agricultural Research and Development Board to begin a research program to find new and increased industrial uses for agriculture products. Early this year I introduced legislation to improve the soil bank, especially to allow more participation by corn and wheat raisers outside the so-called commercial production areas of the Nation. Hearings were held and a bill similar to mine favorably reported. However, the House turned the bill down after amendments were added on the floor. Hearings have also been held on an amendment I have proposed for the soil bank to make grazing lands eligible for inclusion in this program.

Pending in the Agriculture Committee is my bill to establish an acreage-pound-

age quota system for burley tobacco. This bill would also increase allotments by at least 5 percent and provide adequate export tobacco.

As I stated, hearings will begin in the House Ways and Means Committee next January on tax legislation. I have two bills pending before the committee to increase personal exemptions from $600 to $800 and to allow a taxpayer an additional exemption for college students.

CUMBERLAND GAP PARK

Appropriated in this session were funds for the Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, which is being established on the Virginia-Kentucky-Tennessee border. Included in the appropriation, in addition to regular maintenance funds, was $325,000 for the construction of roads and trails, and $322,000 to construct buildings and utilities. Lee County residents have been very much interested in the development of this park on the county's border.

NEXT SESSION ACTIVITY

Among the major bills likely to be taken up at the second session are the postage rate increase bill, which was passed by the House; the natural gas bill, reported by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee; the TVA bond financing bill, which has passed the Senate; an extension or replacement with a direct appropriation plan, of the Lease-Purchase Act, under which Government buildings are awaiting construction; aid to areas of the Nation with excessive unemployment; trade and tariff bills; and the usual appropriation measures.

Both my district office in Marion, Va., and my Washington office will remain open, as usual, during the recess to serve the people of the district.

Pay Raises for Postal and Other Classified Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I feel very strongly the urgent necessity of increasing the pay of postal and other Federal classified workers to keep pace with the rapidly rising cost of living. I believe that the President is callous and thoughtless in his apparent belief that the workers are now receiving adequate compensation. In the coming session of Congress I will fully support a bill to grant these workers a decent living wage.

One of my first acts as a Member of the Senate was to send a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him to sign the pay-raise bills passed by the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the message I directed to the President.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Honorable DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I most strongly urge you to sign the bills granting long overdue pay raises to postal and other classified Government workers. I am deeply concerned about the failure of salaries for Government workers to keep pace with the rapidly rising cost of living. The necessity for such an increase was a major issue in my campaign. In view of the large majority by which my policies were endorsed by the voters of Wisconsin, it is clear that the people of my State realize that a fair increase is justified and necessary.

Please do not let these Government workers down.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
United States Senator.

Hon. Otto Passman, Statesman Extraordinary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article that appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Star which I think is of great interest to the Members of this House. It pays a fitting tribute to a man who is constantly endeavoring to protect the Public Treasury. More power to him.

The article follows:

PASSMAN IS VIEWED AS NEW FORCE IN AID

One of the many important developments in the long session in Congress now ending has been the emergence of a new "Mr. Big of Foreign Aid."

He is OTTO E. PASSMAN, a Democrat from Louisiana, whose stalwart opposition to administration requests for new mutual-security funds caused President Eisenhower to suffer perhaps the greatest defeat of his career in the White House.

After Mr. PASSMAN's House Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Appropriations had its say, the administration's original $4.4 billion request for new mutual-security money had been whittled to $2.77 billion. The $1.6 billion reduction was one of the most severe Congress has made in an Eisenhower foreign-aid request.

Not only the Eisenhower prestige, but that of the Senate as well, hung in the balance in the last stages of the congressional debate.

FLAMBOYANT ORATORY

Until some time after 3 p. m. last Wednesday, the Louisiana Representative with the flair for flamboyant oratory and his House colleagues had been insisting on a $2.5 billion final package. It then took all the pressure Speaker SAM RAYBURN and other Democratic leaders could bring to push the House group back to the final $2.77 billion figure.

Even then Representative PASSMAN, who keeps complete foreign-aid statistical tables in his head, was reluctant to go along.

He had stood up to even more pressu few weeks ago, when President Eisenh called him to a special 6 p. m. conference the House and Senate leadership.

The President, Senate Majority L JOHNSON and House Minority Leader TIN occupied a sofa in the White House ond-floor sitting room.

In a chair directly opposite them the P dent placed Congressman PASSMAN. P ing him in semicircles sat other congress leaders, almost all of them publicly mitted to the President's foreign-aid gram substantially as it was. Among were a who's who of the administration strategically important Democrats: Ha Rayburn, Cannon, Saltonstall, Taber, glesworth, Knowland, Radford, Holl Herter.

Mr. PASSMAN, ever conscious of his s cropper beginnings, admits being overw He sat silently as others expressed their port of foreign aid. When the Presi called on him at last, the weight against was impressive.

"There is not a member of my commit Mr. PASSMAN began politely, "who would stroy or cripple your foreign-aid prog Mr. President. But they will make subs tial reduction in the appropriation upon their understanding of the n Either I or you, Mr. President, have given erroneous information about the gram."

Then Mr. PASSMAN, who keeps on his a tabulation of his net worth down to last pair of socks and shorts in his ward began reeling off from memory amounts President had requested and comparing to the amounts of carryover funds the ad istration had not spent from previous y appropriations.

CLICKS OFF CATEGORIES

He clicked off the categories—mil spending, defense support, special fu economic development. All showed a hi of administration overestimation of amounts needed, Mr. PASSMAN said, bec much less than the appropriation was ac ly spent.

In the fiscal year that ended June 3 pointed out, Congress had cut the adm tration's request almost a billion dollars, even then the administration fell shor $500 million of obligating the money ap priated. It appeared to him, he told President, that the administration had o stated its needs last fiscal year by billion.

The Representative concluded his speech with an assurance that his comm intended to ask the House to appropriat the money necessary, in his commit opinion, to carry out the programs the P dent had projected.

Mr. Eisenhower replied, in effect, tha would be satisfied if this were done.

BORN ON FARM

Mr. PASSMAN, now 57, had come a long from the tenant farm near Franklinton, where he was born. His formal schoo ended in the fourth grade, when at the a 13, he left home to go to work in a Covin La., grocery store.

He finally got a high-school diploma by ing to night school, later served in W War II as a naval officer, and now hea profit-sharing factory that makes comm cial refrigerators, restaurant equipment, lounge furniture.

Every morning at 10 o'clock Repres tive PASSMAN gets telephoned reports the Passman Wholesale Equipment Co. the Passman Investment Co. on the prev day's income and expenditures.

He watches the taxpayer's dollars with same loving care he lavishes on his per fortune, now about $500,000.

The Cyprus Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, it is a special privilege to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report and resolution of the 31st annual convention of the Order of Ahepa, which was held in St. Louis on August 23. This is a special privilege because of the close association which my good friend, George C. Vournas, has had over the years with this organization.

Mr. Vournas, a distinguished lawyer, a brilliant scholar, and a great American patriot, has done more than any other person in welding into our body politic the Grecian-American community. He has accomplished this not only through his work in the Order of Ahepa, but also in his own individual capacity and through his activities in many other civic organizations. He has made a valuable contribution to our democratic way of life, and his selfless devotion to our country is in the best of American traditions.

There being no objection, the report and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF THE JUSTICE FOR CYPRUS COMMITTEE AT THE 31ST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE ORDER OF AHEPA HELD IN ST. LOUIS, MO., AUGUST 18–24, 1957

1. The debate held on the Cyprus question in the United Nations during the week of February 18, 1957, and the resolution passed by that body were important steps forward in the struggle of the people of Cyprus for self-determination.

2. The release of Archbishop Makarios from illegal imprisonment on the Seychelles Islands was hailed throughout the world as the necessary first step to the resumption of negotiations between the controlling power, the British Government, and the people of Cyprus in whom sovereignty alone resides. However, it is to be noted that Archbishop Makarios, the political and religious leader of the people of Cyprus, has not been returned to his homeland from where he was first abducted. In effect, this means that the situation that prevailed in early 1956, prior to the archbishop's illegal imprisonment, of negotiations in Cyprus between the British Government and the people of Cyprus, represented by their leader, Archbishop Makarios, has not been restored.

3. The British conservative government has refused to resume bilateral negotiations with Archbishop Makarios. In this connection, it should be noted that the bilateral talks between Archbishop Makarios and Field Marshal Harding, which started on October 4, 1955, were unilaterally terminated March 5, 1956, by the British Government when a solution was reported near.

4. During the past year, and particularly this past spring, there has been an increasing amount of evidence of brutality by the British security police against the people of Cyprus. A great debate has raged about this in the British press, and some of Britain's leading newspapers have demanded an independent inquiry be made concerning these allegations. Also, in the House of Commons debate on Cyprus (July 15, 1957), the labor opposition called for an independent inquiry into the allegations. Thus far the answer of Field Marshal Sir John Harding and the British Government has been to refuse an independent inquiry into these charges. In this connection, your committee would like to draw the attention of this national convention to the official report by a committee of the United Nations on the mass and brutal repression by the Soviet Union in Hungary. Although the methods employed by Communist Russia in Hungary are different in degree from those employed by the British in Cyprus, in essence the aim of both is the same—the control of an alien population by force.

5. A small minority within the British Government have been referring to partition as a possible solution in order to coerce the Cypriotes to accept less than full freedom. This solution has been uniformly condemned by outstanding authorities in England, in the English press, and in the House of Commons. Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, distinguished foreign affairs analyst of the New York Times, wrote a particularly cogent article pointing out the disaster that could result if partition were considered as a solution. He labeled partition "a fatal solution" (the New York Times, April 24, 1957).

6. During the past year, Senate Resolution 81, calling for application of the principle of self-determination to Cyprus, was introduced under the cosponsorship of 17 United States Senators and the full endorsement of 10 others who had not had time to cosponsor it. The Order of Ahepa played a leading role in this resolution.

RESOLUTION

Whereas on July 18, 1955, the 84th Congress unanimously passed House Concurrent Resolution 149 which reads as follows:

"Whereas Communist imperialism and other forms of colonialism constitute a denial of the inalienable rights of man; and

"Whereas the people of the United States have traditionally supported other peoples in their aspirations to achieve self-government or independence and in their struggle against tyranny or domination: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That it is the sense of the Congress that the United States should administer its foreign policies and programs and exercise its influence so as to support other peoples in their efforts to achieve self-determination or independence under circumstances which will enable them to assume and maintain an equal station among the free nations of the world"; and

Whereas the above resolution expresses the sense of the Congress that the United States in its international relations should maintain its traditional policy in opposition to colonialism and Communist imperialism; and

Whereas the issue in Cyprus of self-determination is basic to American foreign policy; and

Whereas it is in the interest of American foreign policy and prestige that the compromise solution of military bases for NATO and freedom for the people of Cyprus be accepted; and

Whereas the overwhelming majority of the people of the island of Cyprus are struggling for their liberty and are demanding an end to their present colonial position in the British Empire; and

Whereas the United States fought a great world war under the banner of the principle of self-determination of all peoples: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Order of Ahepa:

1. Strongly reaffirms its support for the application of the historic American principle of self-determination to the people of Cyprus and all other peoples seeking self-determination.

2. Strongly condemns the totalitarian methods employed by the British to thwart the basic right of the people of Cyprus to government by consent.

Calls for our Government to urge an independent inquiry by the United Nations, similar to the United Nations Hungarian inquiry, to probe the great number of allegations of brutality by the British security police against the people of Cyprus.

4. Express its great sympathy to the hard-pressed people of Cyprus in their gallant struggle for self-determination.

5. Rededicates itself, in the interest of American foreign policy, to the great task ahead of assisting the people of Cyprus in their struggle for freedom.

6. Initiate immediately a comprehensive program, in the interests of American foreign policy, in support of the application of the principle of self-determination for Cyprus and place responsibility on the supreme president for its fulfillment.

7. Appoint a national committee to plan and carry out such a program with headquarters in New York where the United Nations and the central committee of the Cyprus Federation of America are located.

8. Form active local committees throughout the United States and coordinate their efforts through the national committee.

9. Again take serious and sustained steps to enlist the assistance of the United States Government toward a solution of the Cyprus question and the granting to the Greek Cypriotes their inalienable right of self-determination.

10. Reexpresses its sincere appreciation to those Senators who have endorsed the application of the principle of self-determination for Cyprus.

11. Urge our Government to use its influence and prestige as leader of the free world to have negotiations resumed between the British Government and Archbishop Makarios and to allow Archbishop Makarios to return to his people in Cyprus.

12. Transmit these resolutions to the President of the United States, the Congress, the State Department, the United Nations, and the press.

Eisenhower Doctrine in Middle East on Thin Ice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a critical situation is developing in the Middle East which is of great concern to all of the people of the United States. We seem to be getting deeper and deeper into a political situation that could perhaps end only in a shooting war. We pray to God that this will not happen.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a timely editorial that appeared in the Wall Street Journal and which sets forth the dangerous position that our country is in.

The editorial follows:

GETTING IN DEEP

A few months ago the United States was able to help prevent a Communist coup in Jordan. It is extremely doubtful the United States can pull off a similar feat in Syria; in fact, the deeper the United States gets

into that situation the more dangerous it is likely to become.

Syria is not Jordan. In Jordan there is a prowestern King who was able and willing to take decisive action, buttressed by an American show of force and military aid. In Syria the prowestern elements have been routed and the Soviet stooges are already in control for the time being at least.

There is no way for the United States to grapple directly with the problem of Syria's slippage into the Soviet orbit. For this is a plain case of Soviet subversion, something the Eisenhower doctrine does not and cannot cover. The unhappy fact is that, once a country has gone under, the United States can do little to retrieve it except by the inadmissible course of war.

What the United States is attempting, instead, is to deal with the matter indirectly. By dramatically rushing its arms aid to Jordan and by forceful official statements, it is making a show of force presumably designed to suggest to the Syrians the unwisdom of their Communist plunge. These moves are also intended to restrain the Syrians from any aggression they might contemplate against their neighbors. The implication is that the Eisenhower doctrine, which promises military assistance to any middle eastern nation attacked by a country controlled by international communism might be brought into force.

How serious this threat of Syrian aggression may be is unknown. It would seem the Soviets, well on the way to winning Syria by subversion, might be understandably reluctant to sponsor a Middle East war which might undo their "victory." But if the threat is serious, the question arises whether the United States should get involved in the Middle East Korea, which could be the result of applying the Eisenhower doctrine. The American people might well wonder if Syria is worth that.

Meanwhile the effects of the United States involvement so far could be the reverse of those intended. The tough talk may only speed the Syrians on their way to becoming a fullfledged satellite, if they have not already gone all the way. The stepped-up arms shipments to Jordan may only bring stepped-up Soviet shipments to Syria, adding the fuse of an arms race to a situation already quite explosive enough.

It is obviously unfortunate when any country slips down the Soviet drain. And there are always those who, with more emotion than reason, are ready to ask how the United States can sit idly by and do nothing. The answer is that each case must be viewed on its merits and, above all, kept in perspective.

Not every piece of territory in the whole world is so important as to justify running the risks of war. The United States realized that it could do nothing, short of war, to undo the coup in Czechoslovakia or make the Hungarian rebellion successful. And in the so-called East-West struggle Czechoslovakia and Hungary are far more valuable properties than Syria. It is thus somewhat ironic that this country should even be toying with force for such a relatively worthless objective.

The Soviet Union is far from getting its own way in the world; most places it is stopped cold, and even its success in Syria may prove a doubtful one. But neither should the United States assume responsibility for everything that happens in the world.

In any case, the United States cannot control everything. And to try is to risk fighting everywhere, regardless of any area's stategic importance to the United States. That is not serving the national interest but endangering it.

"After Living 16 Weeks in Cleveland as a Visitor From Vienna to the International Youth Leaders Exchange Program, I See the United States in Another Way: America Now Has a Face for Me and I Must Say I Like This Face"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of my hometown, Cleveland, Ohio, have just completed another unique contribution toward good will among nations. They are just not satisfied with merely studying or talking about foreign affairs; they believe the most effective diplomacy between nations must be carried on by the people themselves.

Thus, they sponsored last year, and have repeated this year, the evergrowing international youth leaders exchange program.

In 1956 this program involved 25 leaders of youth groups and youth organizations from Western Germany. This experiment was so successful that it was not only repeated, but extended this year to include 52 youth leaders from 8 European countries. Austria was represented by 3 youth leaders; Belgium by 1; Finland sent 4, and France 6. Two came from Italy; 26 from Germany; 7 visited with us from the Netherlands, and 3 came from faraway Norway.

What impressed me most about this program was the fact that it was not just operated by our Government, but was initiated and sponsored by a group of Cleveland citizens who voluntarily got together to make this program possible. This group, headed by Kenyon C. Bolton, president of the Cleveland Council on World Affairs, included educators, businessmen, religious leaders—men and women from all walks of life and representing all religious, political, and racial groups.

The administration of the program was in the hands of one of Cleveland's most prominent Red Feather agencies, the Neighborhood Settlement Association of Cleveland. Henry B. Ollendorff, its executive director, acted as the coordinator of the program and was ably assisted by Miss Elizabeth H. Brown, the executive secretary of the project.

Although initiated and sponsored by Clevelanders, the project was a truly cooperative one. Our own Government through the International Educational Exchange Service of our State Department, contributed overseas travel grants for 38 participants, as well as a small cash grant and a great deal of help and advice. The foreign governments made possible the overseas travel of 14 of the visitors and contributed a total of $7,700 directly. Even the foreign visitors contributed directly to the program thro 10 weeks of summer work in Cleve social agencies and children's ca without receiving any salary. The Cl land foundation pioneered, as u with a grant of $3,200. The social a cies of Cleveland in which the visi worked during the summer, made a able to the program the amount of aries which they would otherwise paid for this summer work, tota $10,500. The Cleveland citizens th selves responded to an appeal by Walter K. Bailey, president of the W ner & Swasey Co., and voluntarily ga the program a total of $12,500 hundreds of individual contribut ranging from $2 to the Cleveland Ro Club's $1,000.

Thus, it can truly be said that this a cooperative enterprise of citizens, ernments, and foreign visitors.

The other unique feature of this gram was its combination of study work, of giving and receiving, of learn and teaching.

The foreign youth leaders arrive Cleveland on May 1. During the fir weeks they stayed in private home the guests of Cleveland families. E one stayed in a home for 2 weeks, this made it possible for them to American family life as members of f ilies in three different settings. hundred and fifty-six Cleveland fam volunteered eagerly to serve as host f ilies, and they included all social, ligious, and racial groups in metropolitan city.

Many of my constituents have told how much their visitors have cont uted to the broadening of their fami and their children's horizons; how t went to school with their children told about their countries; how ea they were to learn about everything t comprises the American way of life; how heartbreaking it was to let them to another family after 2 weeks.

These first 6 weeks were filled w many hours of study. This period cluded a course on American group-w methods in the School of Applied So Sciences of Western Reserve Univers taught by Prof. Margaret Hartford. T course was followed by visits to dozens social agencies, settlement houses, ch dren's institutions, the juvenile co factories, but also theaters and musi events. On 12 different occasions th met for discussions with leading Cle land citizens on specific phases of Ame can life, labor, industry, religion, volu tary citizen participation, and welf work. There was never enough time social engagements.

During the following 10 weeks, ea one of our visitors worked in one of t institutions he had before visited, a camp counselor, or a social worker, i settlement house, a children's camp Scout organization, or a children's ins tution. They led groups of Americ children, working, playing, and liv with them and their American fell counselors.

When the group left Cleveland, 400 of their new friends gathered at Hiram House Camp to bid them farewell. Many of the visitors tried to say what they felt, but nobody could really express it. The leader of the Finnish group put it this way:

We are sure that, as the years go by, our sense of the past will have one fixed dividing point: "before or after I was in America."

A young social worker from Vienna put it movingly in these words:

After 16 weeks' experience, I see the United States in another way: America now has a face for me * * * and I must say, I like this face.

Before leaving for their home countries, I had the pleasure of welcoming the group in Washington. They visited the White House and the Capitol, and I can well understand why Clevelanders insist that this program be continued and extended for many years. Not only are these young people ambassadors of good will, but they are representatives of Europe's youth who have to come to know this country of ours as it is, and as it wants to be. At the same time they have enriched the philosophy and the work of Cleveland's agencies by working with our own young people.

This has been an exchange program in every sense of the term.

The West German Government has already responded to last year's program by inviting eight Cleveland youth leaders to come to Germany during the summer of 1958. Other such invitations will follow. Cleveland can certainly be proud of the leadership they are assuming in diplomacy—people-to-people diplomacy.

How Britain Curbs Labor Racketeering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial based on an article by Victor Riesel which was written in London quite recently. I do not know the source of the editorial so I am asking leave to include the editorial and the article by Mr. Riesel.

HOW BRITAIN CURBS RACKETEERING

Unions and the labor movement are as strong or stronger in Britain than they are in the United States. But the British don't have the same problem of labor racketeering, as we do. Instead they have a unique system set up that protects the rank and file union member against dictation by strong-arm labor leaders and against milking of the union funds.

Evidently, the machinery works to the satisfaction of organized labor since it is more than 85 years old and has obviously not hampered the growth of the British labor movement. This novel device was described the other day by labor columnist Victor Riesel, who appears in the Globe-Democrat.

The British insure fairness and honesty on the part of labor leaders through an agency called the Register of Friendly Societies. It was authorized by law in 1871.

This law says in effect that all public associations, such as unions, can be exempt from taxation and business laws if they register. To sign up, they must agree to permit the Chief Registrar to examine their books and discipline them if they violate ethical practices.

The result, Victor Riesel writes, is this:

"Today some 90 percent of Britain's unions are registered. Each year they file detailed and accurate financial reports, listing every penny owned by the union, every inch of real estate, every shilling spent, and why. This is made public and every union member—in fact, really every British citizen—can get a copy.

"Furthermore, the unions are checked regularly by (the registrar's) small staff.

"The registrar is the man to whom the rank-and-file in the operating engineers or some teamsters' locals or, in fact, any American union could go if they had evidence of corruption."

One thing is crystal clear as a result of the Senate Racket Committee's disclosures. And that is that card-carrying members of the union deserve better protection of the funds collected from them. Instance after instance of loose if not fraudulent use of union funds was revealed before the Senate Rackets Committee.

At present, unions are not required to make public disclosure of what money they took in, what it was spent on, and by whom. That kind of reform is a must—for the protection and good name of unions as well as in the public interest.

And so is some kind of safeguard to insure that the Johnny Dios and other hoodlums can't rule unions with hired thugs or gunmen, masquerading as business agents or organizers.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of August 29, 1957]

RACKET BUSTING

(By Victor Riesel)

LONDON, August 28.—From Sherlock Holmes I got positively no help on racket busting in America. The old boy was not at home on Baker Street. I ambled over to Jermyn Street, but unfortunately Dr. Watson was on holiday. But that didn't foil your operative. There was someone in at 17 North Audley Street, Westminster, in Mayfair—a three-story, old Georgian brownstone-front house such as we all dreamed was occupied by Detective Holmes.

There is an answer to America's rackets at 17 North Audley. For there resides a modern knight, Sir George Crabbe. He has enough power to crack any labor racket, should some hood here ever catch the disease from the States.

Sir George can seize any union that falls into the hands of a thief. Sir George can seize its books. But he can do more than that. He can seize its property, its public buildings and even its postage stamps. And he can turn the property back after he has vacuumed it.

Yet fewer Britons know Sir George than know that Charles Dickens and Karl Marx were neighbors, in a way. You see, Sir George is the chief registrar of the Registry of Friendly Societies. As such, he has the power to act in the name of the queen, decency, and civilization, all of which are so synonymous here. The Registry, it seems to me, is something we can use in the United States in this year of the shakedown 1957, and not when Congress reconvenes in 1958. Here is why:

The Registry of Friendly Societies was set up under the law of 1871. This act said in effect that all public associations, such as unions, can be exempt from taxation and business laws if they register.

All these unions needed to do was to come in, agree to conduct themselves as the decencies of ethical practices dictate and they could get a certificate, a number, and tax exemptions. But they also had to agree to permit the chief registrar to examine their records and discipline them if need be.

Today, some 90 percent of Britain's unions are registered. Each year they file detailed and accurate financial reports, listing every penny owned by the union, every inch of real estate, every shilling spent and why. This is made public and every union member—in fact, really every British citizen—can get a copy.

Furthermore, the unions are checked regularly by Sir George's small staff. There are no phonied books. Each year the unions must bring up to date the constitutions, procedures and practices and lists of officers which always are on file at 17 North Audley. Included are all union laws covering their own regulation of expense accounts, fines of members, collection of dues, assessments, and initiation fees. Even membership lists are checked. If an officer is removed, the registrar wants to know why.

Furthermore, the registrar makes certain that funds collected for special purposes are spent for these purposes. A union can raise money to back a Laborite candidate. But it puts the pounds in special kitties. Furthermore, this money can't be spent without approval of a majority of the membership—and no one is forced to contribute a political halfpenny.

The registrar is the man to whom the rank and file in the operating engineers' or teamsters' locals or, in fact, any American union could go if they had evidence of corruption. In England, all they would need do would be to call Mayfair 7001. They would get an appointment. They would be listened to. If their evidence held up, Sir George would order some of his 10-man staff to look at the union books, or sit in on union elections, or count the union's cash.

The Cameron Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have tried to keep the House advised of such disasters as the tidal wave which struck the coast of Louisiana with such vicious force on June 27 during hurricane Audrey.

As president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, I have long had a great interest in all the varying aspects of the Nation's water problems. Our Federal program for water utilization is concerned with the control of our water resources and with efforts to minimize its devastation when it goes on a rampage. We are interested in trying to avert disaster and we are interested in analyzing the facts after a disaster so that we can plan and expand control measures.

Therefore, the three Federal agencies most immediately and directly involved in the Audrey storm were asked to prepare brief reports on their activities in the Cameron, La., disaster area. The reports were prepared by the Military Establishment, by the United States Weather Bureau, and the Federal Civil

Defense Administration. In addition, I call the attention of the House to a newspaper article appearing in the Port Arthur, Tex., News on Friday, August 30, 1957, entitled "Lights To Go On—Cameron To Have No Rest for Labor Day."

These reports and this article will give Members a fuller insight into the vastness of the human problems that arise when disaster strikes. They should emphasize again the need for expanding and accelerating our Federal flood-control and water-utilization programs.

EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT OF MILITARY RESOURCES, DISASTER RELIEF, LOUISIANA, JUNE 27–AUGUST 27, 1957

1. Reference is made to the telephone conversation between Major Capka and Lieutenant Colonel Crayton, reference a request from the office of Representative OVERTON BROOKS, Louisiana, for information, subject as above. The following information is provided as a basis for a reply to the request of the Congressman.

2. A tropical disturbance, hurricane Audrey, struck the Louisiana and Texas coast June 27–28. The area in the vicinity of Cameron, La., was damaged severely. The commanding general, Fourth United States Army, in consonance with his responsibility to control and coordinate emergency military support in disaster relief, designated the commanding general, 1st Armored Division, Fort Polk, to establish a disaster relief operation center at Lakes Charles. The employment of all emergency military assistance rendered by the services in the disaster area was controlled from this center. Liaison and coordination with other Federal agencies, the American Red Cross, State and local authorities were effected at the military disaster relief operation center.

3. The cumulative totals of military assistance rendered in the State of Louisiana, in connection with the disaster caused by Hurricane Audrey, are as follows:

(a) Cumulative totals of military personnel employed:

(1) Army: 3,755 man-days with a maximum of 512 personnel, employed on June 29.

(2) Navy: 448 man-days with a maximum of 246 personnel, employed on June 28.

(3) Air Force: 1,846 man-days with a maximum of 49 personnel, employed on July 10.

(4) Coast Guard: 725 man-days with a maximum of 280 personnel, employed on June 28.

(b) Cumulative totals of military equipment employed:

(1) Army: Cots, 3,600; blankets, 8,900; litters, 110; medical kits, 1; baby delivery kit, 1; sedans, 4; trucks, 116; ambulances, 11; tractors, 5; dozers, 3; refrigeration vans, 5; water purification units, 2; water tankers, 7; mobile shower units, 3; helicopters, 14; light aircraft, 3; radios, 26; tent hospitals, 4; tent kitchens, 4; field tents, 27; ranges, 24; and, in addition, engineer bridging and timber, generators, power saws, and compressors.

(2) Navy: Blankets, 500; pumps, 5; one-half-kilowatt light plant, 1; trucks, 15; radio and transmitter unit, 1; helicopters, 3; aircraft, 3.

(3) Air Force: Helicopters, 9; other aircraft, 31.

(4) Coast Guard: Cutters, 3; buoy tenders, 2; patrol vessels, flood-relief boats, 20; helicopters, 3; aircraft, 4; communication trucks, 2; other trucks, 4.

4. The above totals do not include personnel who indirectly supported the disaster operations, such as command, staff, liaison, maintenance, and communications or resources alerted and held available for possible employment.

5. Army helicopters were used for personal reconnaissance of the affected area by the Governor of Louisiana and key Federal Civil Defense Administration officials. The number of military personnel and military resources employed were reduced and withdrawn as State, local, and FCDA control was organized. Assistance to the American Red Cross, such as necessary personnel to operate field kitchens and equipment, refrigeration trucks, water-purification units, and some heavy engineer equipment were not withdrawn from the area until August 27, due to the fact that civil authorities were incapable of coping with the requirement of providing for the humanitarian demands in the affected area.

For the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations:

F. T. PACHLER,
Brigadier General, General Staff, Director of Operations, ODCSOPS.
H. P. DONALD,
Lieutenant Colonel, General Staff, Assistant Executive Director of Operations, ODCSOPS.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,
Washington, August 27, 1957.

Hon. OVERTON BROOKS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. BROOKS: I refer to your recent expression of interest concerning United States Air Force support rendered during the domestic emergency hurricane Audrey.

The Air Force participation in the hurricane disaster in the State of Louisiana extended from June 28, to July 23, 1957. Seventeen aircraft and seventy-nine aircrew members participated in airlifting personnel, clothing, and supplies. Helicopters and liaison aircraft assisted in the coordinated air-sea rescue effort. A large number of men participated at various Air Force bases in loading supplies and refueling aircraft.

Final reports have not yet been received from field activities, and the complete extent of United States Air Force participation is not known at this time.

Your interest in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

F. ADDUN

(For and in the absence of Joe W. Kelly, major general, USAF, director, legislative liaison.)

BRIEF REPORT ON HURRICANE AUDREY, JUNE 25–28, 1957, BY UNITED STATES WEATHER BUREAU

On Monday, the 24th of June, reports of light westerly winds at upper levels over the southwest portion of the Gulf of Mexico gave indications to Weather Bureau hurricane forecasters that a tropical storm was forming in the Bay of Campeche area. Later in the day a weather report sent in by a shrimp boat confirmed the beginning of a tropical storm that later was to be known as hurricane Audrey and which would strike Cameron Parish with great violence on Thursday morning, June 27.

The tropical depression remained almost stationary during Monday night, but gradually became more intense. At 4 a. m., central standard time, Tuesday, June 25, a bulletin was issued by the Weather Bureau's hurricane forecast office at New Orleans stating: "There are some indications that it is beginning to intensify and a slow northward movement is expected."

A Navy weather-reconnaissance plane departed from Jacksonville early on Tuesday morning, to report on what was happening over and near the storm area in the western Gulf of Mexico. By noon the Navy plane had obtained a definite fix on the location of the center of the depression, and also reported that the surrounding winds had increased to hurricane force (75 miles per hour or more).

Hurricane Advisory No. 1 was issued Tuesday noon on June 25, advising a hurricane watch (an announcement for specific areas that a hurricane or incipient hurricane condition off the coast poses a threat; all pe in the indicated areas should take stoc their preparedness requirements, keep ab of the latest advisories and bulletins, an ready for quick action in case a warnin issued; otherwise, the usual daily activ need not be interrupted) for the Texas Louisiana coasts and stating that "all terests along the Texas and Louisiana co and in the Gulf of Mexico should watch later advisories."

During the remainder of Tuesday, the h ricane continued to move northward at ab 5 miles per hour and then increased its ward speed to about 10 miles per hour next morning. Navy weather reconnaissa aircraft continued to report the position the center of the storm and the intensit the wind around the center through the of radar, pressure measurements, and dr sondes (a device released from the pl which automatically transmits atmosph conditions back to the plane as it float the earth beneath a balloon). In additi many weather reports were received f ships in the Gulf of Mexico which assis in locating and forecasting the movemen the storm.

At 10 a. m. Wednesday, June 26, hu cane warnings were issued for the en Louisiana coast and stated that "• • • to the size of the hurricane, gales will s along the Louisiana coast tonight." same advisory contained this statement: persons in low, exposed places should m to higher ground." Added impetus to importance of the advisory was given by local statements issued by Weather Bur offices along in the warned area, such as one issued by the Weather Bureau airp station at Lake Charles, La., Wednesday af noon warning all residents of coastal area evacuate before dusk. In some areas ext sive evacuation of low places was carried Wednesday noon and evening. The Cross estimates that shelter was provi for about 18,000 people from exposed pla on the Louisiana and extreme southe Texas coasts.

Hurricane warnings for the Louisiana co were continued in the 4 p. m. Thursday visory from the New Orleans Hurricane Fo cast Center. At 10 p. m. Thursday warnings were extended westward to H Island, Tex., and the advisory included statement that "the area from High Isla to Morgan City is expected to bear the bru of this hurricane Thursday."

During Wednesday evening, June 26, tides slowly rose on the Louisiana and sou east Texas coasts and there was a slow crease in the wind, but it was not un about 3 a. m. central standard time Thursday, June 27, that the winds and tid became dangerous. At Lake Charles, La., t highest wind, 97 miles per hour, occurred 9:30 a. m. Thursday; and at Port Arth Tex., a wind gust reached 86 miles per ho at 10:33 a. m. Thursday. The highest ported wind over land was 105 miles hour from the Cities Services Refining Co near Lake Charles, but there was an unc cial report of 160 miles per hour from oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico.

Rainfall was heavy over a large area wi the greatest fall reported from Jennings, L of 10.40 inches. Tides of 6 feet or mo were reported from Galveston, Tex., to C codrie, La., with the highest of 10.6 feet be measured from a watermark inside a buil ing in Cameron. Most of Vermillion a Cameron Parishes were overrun by sea wat

After the center of Audrey crossed coast near Sabine, La., it began curving the Northeast and lost some of its streng It then moved across central Tennessee, in western Pennsylvania and western New Yo State. However, the storm maintained su cient strength to cause heavy rains, floo and winds up to 100 m. p. h. in the Gr Lakes region.

As the storm moved to the Northeast at least eight tornados occurred in Alabama on the morning of June 28, 1957, as a result of the unusual atmospheric conditions.

Press reports show 534 deaths from hurricane Audrey, and most of them occurred in Cameron Parish from drowning in the high water. Property damage was estimated at $150 million ($120 million in Louisiana; $9 million in Mississippi; $8 million in Texas, and lesser amounts eastward and north as far as Canada).

As soon as the tragic death toll in Cameron Parish became known, an extensive investigation was launched to determine the reasons for the disaster, in view of what appeared to have been excellent warnings. This investigation has not yet been completed but the following points have immediate interest:

1. The Weather Bureau warnings in connection with Audrey were as excellent as can be expected with present facilities and under the present state of the science of meteorology.

2. Almost everyone in the warned area was aware of the approach of Audrey at least 1 day before the storm struck Cameron.

3. Except for Cameron and Vermillion Parishes, extensive evacuation was completed by Wednesday night, and was organized and carried out in an orderly manner.

4. Hurricane preparedness plans were practically nonexistent in Cameron and Vermillion Parishes.

5. Conflicting and unofficial advice was issued over certain television and radio stations which gave incorrect representations of the Weather Bureau's warnings and thereby may have lulled people into a false sense of security.

Weather Bureau plans for an improved hurricane warning service include an extensive hurricane preparedness information program, an expanded telecommunication network, additional modern weather search radar stations along our coasts, the installation of dozens of automatic tide height recorders from Maine to Texas, enlarged surface and upper-air observation networks, more aircraft reconnaissance flights, and an expanded tropical storm research program which would give special attention to the problem of forecasting more precisely the heights and times of storm tides that might engulf inhabited points along our coasts.

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION PARTICIPATION IN THE HURRICANE AUDREY DISASTER OF JUNE 27, 1957, IN CAMERON, LA.

The Natural Disaster Office at the national headquarters of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, in its role of assisting the Administrator in carrying out his responsibilities for the President's disaster program, received (as standard operating procedure) all weather reports of Audrey. The FCDA region 5 office at Denton, Tex., maintained close watch of the impending hurricane and alerted all Federal agencies in the area for any possible assistance that might be rendered. During the disaster, supplies and equipment such as blankets, cots, and generators were authorized for release from FCDA warehouses for use in the affected areas.

By Friday it was apparent that a very serious disaster had occurred, especially in the parish of Cameron. FCDA coordinated the activities of other Federal agencies acting under their statutory authority in providing material, supplies, personnel, and equipment for rescue and life saving. At the request of the Governor of Louisiana and upon recommendation of FCDA, the President, on June 29, amended his previous Louisiana declaration of a major disaster to include the areas damaged as the result of hurricane Audrey. Former FCDA Administrator Val Peterson accompanied by his successor, Gov. Leo A. Hoegh and his deputy, Mr. Lewis E. Berry, arrived in the area early Saturday, and they were joined on Sunday by Gen. Holmes E. Dager, Director of the Natural Disaster Office, and his deputy, Mr. Charles Beal. Meanwhile, regional people were in the affected areas, and at one time or another the entire regional staff was engaged in this disaster operation, as were personnel on loan from other Federal agencies.

Through coordination of activities of other Federal agencies such as the Corps of Engineers, Department of Defense, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Housing and Home Finance Agency, General Services Administration, Small Business Administration, Small Business Administration, Bureau of Public Roads, and assistance and cooperation with the American National Red Cross, and through project applications for work determined eligible under Public Law 875, the following types of rehabilitation work have been or are being performed where necessary:

1. Rescue and transportation of cattle and providing them with hay and water.
2. Debris clearance.
3. Health and sanitation measures including removal of dead animals, chlorinating water wells, pumping septic tanks, etc., including vector control, spraying, and insecticiding.
4. Clearing roadways and waterways of obstacles and debris.
5. Replacing communication and power facilities.
6. Repairing schools and other public facilities.
7. A temporary housing program in cooperation with the American National Red Cross, Housing and Home Finance Agency, and General Services Administration.
8. Making surplus property available to the State and to small business.
9. Furnishing professional assistance and administrative guidance in the disaster operation.

[From the Port Arthur (Tex.) News of August 30, 1957]

LIGHTS TO GO ON—CAMERON TO HAVE NO REST FOR LABOR DAY

CAMERON, LA., August 30.—Labor Day weekend will be a holiday of rest and relaxation for most of the Nation, but not for the hurricane Audrey victims of stricken Cameron Parish, La.

However, Red Cross officials who have been working side by side with the people of this area to restore them to their predisaster status feel that the holiday weekend will be much more than just another 3 days of hard work.

According to Frank Kelly, disaster chairman for the Calcasieu-Cameron chapter of the American Red Cross, this weekend will actually mark a major milestone on the road to Cameron Parish's recovery.

LAST MASS FEEDING

For one thing, electric power will be restored to Cameron for the first time since the tidal waves and hurricane-born waters swept through the gulf community on June 27. The Red Cross mass feeding program, which has provided more than 125,000 hot meals for the disaster victims, will be discontinued on September 3 because the advent of electricity will mean the restoration of refrigeration and cooking facilities and will finally make possible the reopening of at least one restaurant and food store in each of the stricken communities of Cameron, Grand Chenier, and Creole. The last mass feeding will end with the meal on Monday evening, September 2.

"It will mean that each family can start cooking for itself, either in the tents which the Housing and Home Finance Agency has provided on a loan basis, or in the few homes which have been repaired and which have been reoccupied," Kelly said. "It means that a positive step has been taken by the people of Cameron Parish to get back on their feet again."

At the same time, the work of repair and rebuilding will go on right through the weekend, with another AFL–CIO volunteer "building bee" in cooperation with the Red Cross scheduled to erect seven more new homes with materials supplied by the Red Cross. In the swamps of Pecan Island, houses will be towed out and returned to their foundations.

PLAN FOR FUTURE

In the hundreds of tent homes which are being used until all the homes can be repaired or rebuilt, the Red Cross supplied basic furnishings and equipment for the temporary dwellings of the people of this parish. Every family applying to the Red Cross will have a plan for its future this weekend because earlier in the week the Red Cross Advisory Committee completed the review of the last of almost 1,600 plans for family rehabilitation recommended by disaster workers serving in the Calcasieu-Cameron area since late June.

In the entire area of southwestern Louisiana and 4 counties in Texas, 3,670 families have requested Red Cross rehabilitation help. The Red Cross anticipates that by the time the job is complete and all of the financial awards have been made to help the stricken people with those things they cannot do for themselves, approximately $2,500,000 will have been spent for Red Cross relief and rehabilitation work.

While plans for Red Cross assistance to the families have been completed and approved, the Red Cross staff still has a great amount of work to do in the Calcasieu-Cameron area. Red Cross specialists will stay on the job, disbursing the approved funds, reviewing building contracts, and helping families with their purchases; however, by Labor Day 1957, the end of the job is in sight.

HARD WORK AND HOPE

As Frank Kelly said here today, "2 months ago, there was tragedy and despair. This weekend, the keynote is hard work and hope."

The hurricane took 363 lives and 190 persons are believed missing. Twelve hundred homes were destroyed and 600 suffered major damage. But the accent today is on recovery, not loss statistics, and the Red Cross disaster staff workers predict that Labor Day 1958, will find the events of the past 9 weeks will be part of history, and that next year Cameron Parish, too, will take a holiday.

Making Living Easier for the Housewife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, American industry is to be credited with most of the laborsaving ideas and appliances that have given the housewife her freedom from drudgery and added hours of leisure time to enjoy her family.

The Bon Ami Co. has come up with an idea in this connection which I believe will be of interest to all Members of the House. Bon Ami is sending a representative to every major city in the country this fall to lecture before women's groups on how to make living easier for the housewife. It is a good-will program of helpful hints.

A great deal of preparation and research have been done to make the lectures worth while and interesting and I hope that many thousands of American mothers will have the opportunity of attending.

Trials of Servicemen Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Green Bay, Wis., Chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars passed a resolution August 22, 1957, concerning the status-of-forces agreement which this country has with other nations where American troops are based. I do not agree with this resolution. I believe that such agreements are necessary and desirable not only to assure amicable relations with the foreign nations involved but for the real protection of the individual soldier. Nevertheless, I take this opportunity to insert in the RECORD the resolution of the Green Bay chapter in order that the views of this outstanding organization may receive the public attention they deserve. The Green Bay VFW is a dedicated and loyal group of citizens deeply concerned not only with veterans' affairs but with the many troublesome issues which face this Nation. I know that the members of this chapter have given a great deal of thought to the status-of-forces problem.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolution adopted by the organization.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF BROWN COUNTY COUNCIL, VFW, EIGHTH DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN, IN MEETING ASSEMBLED AUGUST 22, 1957, PERTAINING TO THE PREROGATIVE ESTABLISHED OF SUSTAINING THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF OUR SERVICEMEN TO TRIAL BY OUR MILITARY TRIBUNALS, IN CASE OF CRIMES COMMITTED ERRONEOUSLY OR WITH CRIMINAL INTENT, OR FOR OTHER CAUSES, WHILE ON ACTIVE DUTY IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES ON FOREIGN SOIL

Whereas it has been an established custom since Revolutionary War days to grant our servicemen in the armed services of our country the constitutional inherent right of trial by a military tribunal for any felony, misdemeanor, or crime perpetrated, while on active service of the United States on foreign soil or home territory; and

Whereas since World War II this distinctive and protective right has unjustifiably been taken from him, through negotiations of the so-called status-of-forces treaties between the United States and certain foreign countries, without congressional sanction or confirmation of the Senate, but by Executive order in presumptive authority; and

Whereas citing the case of Sgt. William Girard, the Supreme Court of the United States, on July 11, upheld the administration's contention, according to forces treaties agreement, to turning Sergeant Girard over to a Japanese civilian court for trial for manslaughter charges, perpetrated by him, while on active duty, protecting Government supplies and rifle range property; the Supreme Court's opinion being that they could not find anything in the Constitution to prevent the Government from using this method, if desirable, nor any laws enacted to prevent such action, of turning their servicemen over to the countries' courts, with which agreements had been made; and

Whereas in our opinion it is throwing to the four winds a time-tried precedent which has satisfactorily proven itself over the years and it was appeasement purposes (for protecting our overseas bases) that the State Department has diplomatically, politically, and expediently engineered this status-of-forces treaties agreement, by usurpation of the servicemen's inherent and constitutional rights in doing so. Therefore, we have to disagree with the Supreme Court's decision in this instance, the status-of-forces treaties has taken the aspect of a war crimes commission, so, it is with discord and displeasure that we quote our feelings on the Court's decision and the administration's policy of sacrificing jurisdiction over their own servicemen's actions on foreign soil. There is seemingly billions for appeasement and foreign aid but only peanuts for the veteran.

Respectfully yours,
BROWN COUNTY COUNCIL, VFW,
FRANK BYRNES, *Commander*,
CEYLON BERG, *Adjutant*,
LEONARD WISNESKI, *Quartermaster*,
LLOYD A. LAPLANTE, *Legislative Officer*.
GREEN BAY, WIS.

How To Stop Paying Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the time has come to recognize the fact that neither this nor any other Congress is going to repeal socialistic measures one at a time. It cannot order one group of beneficiaries of Federal subsidies to get out of the feed trough first. They must all be taken out together which means that we need an overall measure to do just that. If some such overall measure is not adopted we are faced with the inevitability of continuing at an ever-increasing pace the socialization of all groups until everybody feels they are all feeding alike in the common feed trough.

It is for that reason I have introduced House Joint Resolution 355 and will continue to press for favorable congressional action on a constitutional amendment which will repeal the 16th amendment together with another provision which will end, once and for all, that competition with its own citizens brought about by the Government corporation. The adoption of this amendment to the Constitution would mean that the Federal Government would no longer need the present vast sums derived from the individual income tax.

I would like, at this point, to quote from a radio broadcast which shows, in terms of statistics, just how this proposed constitutional amendment would work:

HOW TO STOP PAYING TAXES

The following informal discussion betwe Dan Smoot and Willis E. Stone was presente this week on the Dan Smoot radio broadca Willis E. Stone, president of the Americ Progress Foundation, 6413 Franklin Avenu Los Angeles, Calif., is one of the Nation foremost experts on the subject of taxation and on the subject of the unconstitution activities of the Federal Government:

"Mr. SMOOT. Bill, I have been looking ov a remarkable document which you pul lished: How To Stop Paying Taxes. That's catching title—at this time of year, particu larly.

"Mr. STONE. It is going to become mor catching as time goes on.

"Mr. SMOOT. Bill, this study of yours really one of the most startling things I've ever seen. Based on a review of the 19 budget and of the 1954 fiscal operations the Federal Government, it reveals that, the Government had stayed within the con stitutional limits of its power, in that on year, we could have avoided paying an personal income tax at all; and the Govern ment still would have come out with a debi of $674 million.

"Can you justify that claim?

"Mr. STONE. Yes, but let's correct a poin This debit you speak of—$674 million: that a black-ink balance. That is a profit to th Government. I wanted to make that ver clear.

"Mr. SMOOT. Let me review this. If th Government had operated constitutionall in 1954, according to your calculations, could have got by without collecting on penny of personal income tax, and coul have come out in the black $674 million?

"Mr. STONE. That is right. This is quit a story.

"Mr. SMOOT. Yes, go into it.

"Mr. STONE. Well, here is the point of de parture: The Government of the Unite States is operating over 500 Federal corpo rations. None of these have any constitu tional authority for existence at all.

"Mr. SMOOT. That sounds like the corpo rate state that Mussolini set up in Fascis Italy.

"Mr. STONE. Well, it is very close to it These Federal corporations have taken ove 40 percent of the land area and 20 percent o the industrial capacity of the United States.

"In their operations, they go into red ink on such a vast scale that to pay their losses and their hidden costs, they collect taxes, o they use tax dollars provided by individuals almost every one of them.

"That is why I am in favor of the proposed 23d amendment which would make it impossible for the Federal Government to operate all these agencies, or corporations, in competition with private citizens.

"Mr. SMOOT. Bill, you actually are the author of that proposed 23d amendment, aren't you?

"Mr. STONE. That's correct.

"Mr. SMOOT. Isn't it rather brief? Could you give us the wording of it?

"Mr. STONE. It is pending in Congress as House Joint Resolution 128, reintroduced into the 85th Congress by Congressman RALPH W. GWINN, of New York. It provides that the Government of the United States shall not engage in any business, professional, commercial, financial, or industrial enterprise except as specified in the Constitution.

"Mr. SMOOT. That's the whole proposed amendment?

"Mr. STONE. There are some other implementing clauses, but that's the whole intent and purpose.

"Mr. SMOOT. And that's the thing you claim would save us some $33 billion or $35 billion a year or more?

"Mr. STONE. That's right. Now, this is the way it works: It would cause 40 percent of the land area, roughly, and 20 percent of the

industrial capacity to be sold back to the American people. They would pay for it with their Government bonds.

"This would cut the national debt over $50 billion. Now, it costs one and a quarter billion dollars to pay the interest on that portion of the national debt. It costs a billion and a quarter in taxes to pay the amortization charges against that portion of the national debt.

"But this amendment would stop the losses of these Federal corporations. And they lose—after operating all year long rent free, cost free, interest free, and tax free—they manage to lose over $10 billion a year.

"Mr. SMOOT. Now, wait a minute. The Federal corporations—you mean such things as TVA, the Small Business Administration—all lose an average of $10 billion a year on their operations?

"Mr. STONE. They lose in excess of $10 billion a year.

"Mr. SMOOT. Another figure: You say you anticipate that the Government would be required by your amendment to sell, to private individuals or private corporations or private enterprise, its holdings? You mean such things as Tennessee Valley Authority?

"Mr. STONE. That's right.

"Mr. SMOOT. And the Government could get a total of $50 billion?

"Mr. STONE. That is correct. The acquisition price, according to the Government's inventory, is somewhere around $200 billion. We're estimating that all of this property—which cost $200 billion—could be sold to private citizens and corporations for at least $50 billion.

"Mr. SMOOT. You've estimated it very conservatively, haven't you?

"Mr. STONE. We feel we have been ultraconservative in our estimates.

"Mr. SMOOT. You take $50 billion off the national debt by selling these properties which the Government never had any right to acquire in the first place. And you save $10 billion a year on what they are losing, then a billion dollars on what we are paying on $50 billion a year on the national debt——

"Mr. STONE. That is a billion and a quarter in interest and another billion and a quarter in amortization. Then there is $10 billion in losses that would be abolished because there is no place to lose it any more. And then you have another factor. On the general payroll—not the corporate payroll, but on the general payroll of the Federal Government—are approximately 1 million people who do nothing but service the Federal corporations, without any cost to the Federal corporations. Now they would go back into the fields of private enterprise and earn a living.

"Mr. SMOOT. You mean a million government employees——

"Mr. STONE. A million governmental employees——

"Mr. SMOOT. Doing a bookkeeping job for the Federal corporations?

"Mr. STONE. Well, doing a servicing job. They are providing printing, attorneys, research—all manner of services.

"Mr. SMOOT. A million government employees?

"Mr. STONE. That's right. With a payroll of about $4 billion a year and a cost in goods, facilities, and services of $12 billion a year.

"Mr. SMOOT. What all does that include? Such things as typewriters, buildings, and so on, which must be provided for those 1 million employees?

"Mr. STONE. Yes. It might be interesting for you to know, Dan, that there are three and one-half typewriters for every typist in the Federal Government.

"Mr. SMOOT. They have plenty, don't they?

"Mr. STONE. They are well equipped. Now, these five items—that is, interest, amortization, losses, payroll and goods, services and facilities aggregate $28½ billion at the 1954 level.

"That is what we, the taxpayers, are paying to maintain the competition of rent free, cost free, interest free, tax free, competition of the Federal agencies against our own enterprises.

"This is a dual proposition. There is no equity, no justice. This isn't a single standard. These Federal corporations are princes of privilege, and they represent a loss to the American taxpayer of $28,500,000,000 tax every year. This is on the 1954 level.

"The proposed 23d amendment would also outlaw this fantastic thing called the foreign aid program, which the American taxpayers are compelled to pay. At the 1954 level, $4,669,000,000 in 1 year was spent to maintain socialistic and communistic regimes in power in foreign nations. Now, the $4,669,000,000 in foreign aid that would be abolished, plus the abolition of the cost of operating the Federal corporations to the taxpayers ($28½ billion) means that we can cut the cost of Government by the proposed 23d amendment $33,169,000,000.

"In 1954 the total volume of income taxes collected from individuals (before refunds) was $32,495,000,000. So you see, in 1954, if the cost of the Government had been cut in compliance with the terms of the proposed 23d amendment, the Government would have been $674 million richer that year—without collecting 1 penny in individual income tax.

"Mr. SMOOT. Bill, if we should get this amendment that you propose—the Gwinn amendment, or the 23d amendment—adopted, and the Government had to sell all these facilities which you claim the Government has no constitutional right to be operating anyway (such as Tennessee Valley Authority and the big Bonneville Dam up on the Columbia River), what would those areas do for electrical power? Isn't it necessary for the Government to be in there producing power for those folks

"Mr. STONE. Not at all. In fact, the only two areas of real electrical power shortage in the United States are those areas where the Government maintains a monopoly: Bonneville and TVA.

"Mr. SMOOT. Those are the only two areas in the Nation where there is a power shortage?

"Mr. STONE. That's right. Private enterprise has never known an area of power shortage, because private enterprise is equipped to go ahead and build, and pay taxes on its investments, and enlist voluntary financial support to build needed projects. But the Government of the United States—not the Government as we usually think of it, but the governmental agencies that have captured the machinery of government—is in open warfare with private enterprise in the development of electrical projects. I point out to you the Niagara River project and the Hells Canyon project of the Idaho Power Co.

"Mr. SMOOT. What can we do about it?

"Mr. STONE. We can get the Government out of competition with its very own citizens.

"Mr. SMOOT. How can the citizens who are interested do anything about this constitutional amendment that you propose?

"Mr. STONE. There are two ways of getting this constitutional amendment, which would restore the basic faith of the Founding Fathers. One way is to get a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress to authorize the submission of the proposed 23d amendment to the State legislatures for ratification. But we don't have to wait for that.

"Mr. SMOOT. That's what Congressman RALPH GWINN is doing in introducing this resolution in the Congress; isn't it?

"Mr. STONE. That's correct. But the State legislatures themselves (according to the fifth article of the Constitution) can initiate this thing in a very simple sort of way. On the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, Congress shall call a convention for proposing amendments. Any amendment proposed at such a convention must then be submitted to the States. To be adopted, the amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the States.

"The State of Illinois has already taken the lead in this action and has adopted a resolution requiring Congress either to submit this proposed amendment to the American people for ratification, or call a constitutional convention for that purpose.

"Mr. SMOOT. Have any of the other States done that?

"Mr. STONE. No; but it is now going before other State legislatures—Texas, California, Colorado, the Carolinas. Citizens in many States, I hope, will ask their legislatures to present this 23d amendment proposal in 1957."

Economy, Yes; but Not in the Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 31, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, written by Sidney Weintraub, and which appeared in the June 3, 1957, issue of the New Republic. Mr. Weintraub is senior professor in the department of economics at the University of Pennsylvania and is the author of many books and articles. He is currently engaged in a study of monetary and debt-management problems.

ECONOMY, YES; BUT NOT IN THE TREASURY

(By Sidney Weintraub)

It is one of those paradoxes, of which these times are full, that the Secretary of the Treasury can appear to be the paragon of economy—in the management of other Cabinet departments—with hardly a glimmer of criticism in the public press for what might seem to others the rather bountiful management of the affairs of his own department.

One of the agencies showing continuous and consecutive increases in expenditures in recent years is the Treasury itself. And if a prophecy may be ventured, the ceiling is not yet in sight. What I refer to concerns the interest payments on the national debt. For the fiscal year ended June 1952, when the national debt total was about $9 billion less than its present size of $276 billion, the total annual interest payments amounted to $5.8 billion. In the following fiscal year, reflecting in part the tight money policy in the early days of this administration, the interest sum was $6.5 billion.

As a result of the 1953–54 business downturn, prompted in degree by the same tight money policy, the subsequent reversal to somewhat easier money and lower interest rates helped reduce the annual carrying charges on the national debt to approximately $6.4 billion in the fiscal years 1954 and 1955. The national debt was roughly at about $280 billion over this period.

Since then, annual interest payments have risen to $6.8 billion for the fiscal year 1956, and it is estimated for the current 1957 fiscal year they will total $7.2 billion. For 1958 the total is expected to go to $7.3 billion—which may be an understatement if present interest trends continue.

In fine, since the fiscal year 1954, the annual Treasury expenditure for interest payments on the national debt will have increased from about $6.4 billion to $7.2 billion, or an increase of 12.5 percent, despite a drop in the national debt of near $3 billion.

Curiously, over the same period the total of all Government expenditures, from the fiscal year ending June 1954 to the budget estimate for the year ending this June, rose from $67.8 billion to $68.9 billion. Of this $1.1 billion increase covering all Federal Government departments, the Secretary of the Treasury's own bailiwick, the Treasury Department itself, has on net balance been responsible for $800 million of the increase, or for over 75 percent of the net rise in Government outlays. Might not the other department heads, whose budgets Secretary Humphrey is so anxious to trim, turn to him and ask et tu?

When one ponders the results of the mounting Treasury expenditure for interest on the national debt, the facts become even more astonishing. For if the Federal Government were to spend $800 million additional for schools, or roads, or flood control, there would be some tangible outcome of the expenditure that could be expected to contribute to national well-being over the years. Likewise, in the hands of the military, it could buy more planes and missiles, or even contribute to higher standards overseas. But when interest payments are increased by the selfsame amount of $800 million the net effect, almost in toto, is to increase the earnings of commercial banks who hold most of the issues on which the interest payments are increased. There is also some rise in earnings of other investing institutions, such as savings banks and insurance companies, plus a much smaller part going to individual bondholders. The interest payments of the Treasury thus become what the economist is fond of terming a transfer payment, one which does not leave in its wake a corresponding flow of goods, as a road, a school building, courthouse, or an atom-powered submarine.

To criticisms of this nature, that the interest-payment increase serve little purpose except to swell the incomes of financial institutions—and this is not a criticism of the profits of these institutions, which are not excessive by prosperous business standards—the usual retort is that the higher rate of interest to which all borrowers are subject, including the Treasury, is necessary in order to curb inflation. Although the matter of inflation is a vast and intricate subject, as readers know, the main questions from the standpoint of Treasury debt management are not as difficult as some pretend. We can consider these briefly.

In the first place, interest rates constitute the price of money, the cost of borrowing. Thus, if there is too much money at work in the economy, then higher interest rates can discourage some borrowing, can restrain some overexpansion and take some of the steam out of the boom even though moderate measures are unable to clamp the lid down tightly. In this respect higher interest rates are like higher prices on commodities: if there is a tomato blight and consumers must cut their purchases, then a price rise serves to accomplish just this. If automobiles are in short supply, then a price rise can keep the queue from forming. This is the function of the price system, as those of us who believe in it see it: its job is to tailor demand down to the available supply.

But, note, demand must be cut down; some buyers must be compelled to abstain from purchasing. Here then is where a policy of debt management which involves higher interest rates to the Treasury fails in its purposes: it can never make the Treasury forgo borrowing when the purpose of the Treasury in entering the market is merely to renew its existing borrowing. As pointed out earlier, the national debt today is somewhat smaller than it was 3 years ago. With Treasury surpluses over the last 2 years, and a likely surplus next year, the Treasury is not borrowing to meet any new bills; instead it is repaying some of its debts. When the Treasury does borrow nowadays, its purpose is to get funds to pay off existing bondholders; substantially, the process of doing so involves selling them a new Treasury security in exchange for the old maturing one. As so much of the weekly maturing debt issues are the so-called Treasury bills and certificates of indebtedness held by the banking system, the banks effectively subscribe to the new issues by redeeming the old ones they have on hand. Considering that interest rates on these securities have risen from about 1 percent in 1954 to the current levels of 3.25 percent, it is clear that a bonanza (which to some financial minds is of minor importance and in other opinions is of major proportions) is being reaped.

This then constitutes one of the major issues in debt management and monetary policy today, even though its deeper significance has eluded discussion in most of our newspapers and financial journals. The question may be posed in this form—in the application of monetary policy to control the economic boom, ought there not be some mechanism to shelter the Treasury from the impact of tight money?

Because it must be accomplished whether interest rates are high or low, Treasury refinancing has nothing to do, either directly or indirectly, with inflationary demands for money. In order to restore monetary policy to its proper role of curbing or stimulating the demand of private industry for funds through changes in the interest rate while, at the same time, helping to insulate the refinancing needs of Government, the former and venerated Chairman of the Federal Reserve System, Marriner Eccles, suggested one such device in the 1940's. Briefly, the proposal envisaged that banks be required to hold a legal reserve in the form of Government securities, in addition to existing deposits with the Federal Reserve System. However, with the abatement of the inflationary pressures in the years just preceding the Korean action and in the face of the usual objections to new banking legislation, the proposal was dropped. Under the present Chairman of the Reserve System, neither this nor any alternative proposal has ever been seriously discussed; the entire question has been regarded as being almost frivolous.

Likewise, the Reserve System, under some self-imposed restrictions dating back to 1953, has refrained even from assisting the Treasury in maintaining the price of new issues during a period of refinancing—a matter which becomes more curious considering that any self-respecting investment banking syndicate underwriting a new issue regards it as essential to render such assistance. The Federal Reserve, despite its efforts to shed authority, is rightly the fiscal agent of the Treasury and ought in most cases to render it the same aid as private bond issues enjoy. Astonishingly, this handicap has had apparent Treasury approval; this Federal Reserve self-denial was responsible for the well-known fiasco surrounding the 3¼-percent 30-year bond issue in late April 1953. More recently the same decision was a contributing factor to the shock experienced by the Treasury in its financing of mid-May, when subscriptions to its refunding issues fell substantially short of its hopes. At that time 28 percent of the holders of some $4.2 billion of maturing securities—an unduly high rate of "attrition," as it is called—demanded cash in lieu of new security issues, despite being offered the highest interest rates on Treasury obligations in some 23 years.

It was hoped that the monetary commission recommended by President Eisenhower would, if created, give serious attention to these matters. For whether or not new techniques are adopted in the near future, the issue of monetary control and its impact on Treasury interest payments will go on plaguing us with a rise in Federal budget interest-payment outlays being occasioned whenever tight money is invoked unless new procedures are instituted. Perhaps it is only by sparing himself a concern with fundamentals in his own office that the Secretary of the Treasury has been able to plead for economy in Government—in spheres other than his own.

State Versus Federal Authority—Are We Witnessing the Beginning of the End of State Government in America?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence, regardless of personal views in the matter of school integration, has been fearlessly stating the basic issue involved in the present crisis in Arkansas. The question he raises is highly important to the future of the United States. He asks:

Are we witnessing the beginning of the end of State government in America?

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including his article:

THE STATES AND FEDERAL AUTHORITY—DAMAGE TO COMMONWEALTH'S OBLIGATION TO KEEP ORDER FEARED IN ARKANSAS

(By David Lawrence)

Are we witnessing the beginning of the end of State government in America, and the emergence of a supreme dictatorship over the States by the Federal Government in Washington?

Does the silence of so many of the governors of the several States about the events of the last 10 days mean they already have been cowed into submissiveness as their sovereign rights are taken from them by an edict from Washington?

One governor—in Arkansas—calls out the troops to prevent bloodshed, and immediately the Federal Government undertakes to pass judgment upon his motives and his right to maintain order in a sovereign State.

Another governor—in Tennessee—says he must wait until an overt act occurs before he can call out the State troops. Now a school building has been blown up in Nashville. Might not vigilant action in advance have prevented such a tragedy?

If the Governor of Arkansas now withdraws the troops and lives are lost, will the Federal Government accept the responsibility for impairing the obligation of a State to maintain order within its own borders?

These are questions which have been generated by the arbitrary action of a single Federal official in Little Rock who has taken it upon himself to serve as judge, prosecutor, and jury to inquire into the motives and efficiency of the Governor of the State of Arkansas. The Department of Justice in Washington, at the direction of and with the approval of the President, has helped to prepare an injunction which conceivably can prevent the Governor of Arkansas from performing the duties of his office. This means the representative or republican system of government in one of the sovereign States would be suspended by the order of a Federal judge.

Never before in American history has the Constitution been so flagrantly defied and disregarded by the Executive. Article IV says:

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government."

When the words "United States" are used in the Constitution, it means the executive branch of the Federal Government.

When the words "republican form of government" are used, it means that the people of Arkansas have the right to self-government—to expect the help when asked, and not the hindrance of Federal authorities in the course of the operations of the State government.

Only the people of Arkansas, acting under their own constitution, can decide whether their chief executive is efficient and whether he is complying in good faith with the requirements of State law as well as Federal law.

They can impeach him and remove him—but the Federal Government does not have any such power. For the Federal Government to attempt to interrupt the duties of the Governor of a State, even for 1 day, is to assume the right to remove the Governor for his entire term of office. There is no difference in principle.

The issue raised in the Arkansas case is whether the Governor, in calling out the State militia to prevent bloodshed, is acting in good faith. But even assuming that his judgment is open to question, where does a Federal judge get the right to try a State governor in a Federal court for malfeasance—for failure to do his duty?

There are lots of people who say offhand that, when there is a conflict between State authority and Federal law, the power of the Government at Washington must prevail. But there is no Federal law involved here. No law has been passed by Congress on the subject of integration.

Actually, the Federal court order banning segregation has been respected in at least three localities in Arkansas, with the cooperation of the Governor, himself. So he insists that the issue is not integration, but the preservation of order.

If these complex questions relating to integration can be handled by court order and without legislation by Congress, then it makes many observers here wonder why Congress felt it necessary last month to pass a law to assure voting rights to Negroes, instead of letting the Federal courts issue injunctions against local officials of the States who interfered with the registration of Negro voters.

The casualties in the cold war in the South are mounting. Impatience in Washington and the straitjacket imposed by the Supreme Court and the lower courts, with their confusing orders, are producing widespread resentment. The American people are not accustomed to government by injunction. They've seen it fail in labor disputes, and they are now witnessing an even worse debacle in trying to solve social questions through complicated court orders in which the rights of the States are ignored.

Monetary Policies and Problems (Record of House Actions on Proposed Investigation)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the previous Congress, and again in the present Congress, the House considered the question whether there should be an investigation and study of the Nation's monetary and credit system. These considerations grew out of resolutions introduced by me.

Consequently, I have received a number of letters asking questions about the history of this matter. Quite a few of these letters have come from college professors in political science and economics. One of the most frequent requests is for transcripts of the testimony of witnesses—including Hon. W. Randolph Burgess, Under Secretary of the Treasury—who appeared before the Rules Committee of the House earlier this year. Other letters have asked for such things as a chronology of events, a summary of the party votes, and a résumé of the issues.

The purpose of my remarks today is to try to supply these things.

As I have already pointed out, the testimony of the Under Secretary of the Treasury, and the testimony of the other witnesses about which inquiries are being made, was given before the Rules Committee of the House. The Rules Committee is, of course, an internal committee of the House. As a usual matter it does not hear outside witnesses—that is, witnesses other than Members of the House—and normally the committee does not print the record of its proceedings.

When the Rules Committee was considering a rule for House Resolution 85, however, the committee did invite, and hear, several outside witnesses. This was in February and March of this year. The outside witnesses, in addition to Mr. Burgess, were: Mr. Allan Sproul, former president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Mr. Kenton R. Cravens, president of the Mercantile Trust Co. of St. Louis, Mo.; and Mr. Frazar B. Wilde, Chairman of the Research and Policy Committee, Committee for Economic Development, who is also president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co.

The transcript of these hearings has not been printed for the reasons I have already indicated. Manifestly, however, there is a proper public interest in this record, and in order to satisfy requests for copies of the testimony, I will ask to be inserted in the RECORD, following these remarks, those portions of the transcript covering the testimony of the outside witnesses, plus the transcript of my own statement.

Several other Members of the House also testified on this matter, but I have not consulted with these Members as to whether they would like their testimony included, and hence I will not ask that their testimony be inserted at this time.

As to the chronology of events, the votes and the issues, I will try to summarize these as clearly as the subject matter permits.

PARTY VOTES ON RESOLUTIONS TO INVESTIGATE

Both of the resolutions introduced by me would have provided—if they had been adopted—for the investigation to be made by the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House. They were as follows:

In the 84th Congress, the resolution was House Resolution 210, introduced April 8, 1955. This was considered by the House on June 15, 1955, and was rejected by a vote of 214 to 178. The debate may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date.

In the 85th Congress, the resolution was House Resolution 85, introduced January 7, 1957. This was considered by the House on March 27, 1957, and rejected by a vote of 225 to 174. The debate may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date.

In 1955, 177 Democrats voted for the resolution, and 29 voted against it; 1 Republican voted for the resolution, and 185 voted against it.

In 1957, 172 Democrats voted for the resolution, and 38 voted against it; 2 Republicans voted for the resolution, and 187 voted against it.

REASONS FOR INVESTIGATION

With respect to the considerations which weighed on the votes, these have been presented in a complex setting, but after a consideration of the record the issues will, I think, appear both clear and consistent.

As to the reasons why such an investigation should be made, the first and foremost reason, it has seemed to me is this: There has not been for many decades a thorough investigation of our monetary and credit system, undertaken with a view to a critical appraisal of the system itself, and with a view, possibly, to broadgage legislation for improving the system. In these decades, new kinds of financial institutions and new financial practices have come into being and these have become weighty factors in our economic system. The vastly expanded Federal debt has placed public debt management in a considerably different role, with a considerably different influence on the Nation's supply of money and credit, from anything experienced prior to the last two decades. Finally, the financing needs of industry, trade, and consumers have all changed in many important respects.

Furthermore, by mid-1953 it had become evident that the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System had embarked upon certain new policies for the managing of the Federal debt and for managing the Nation's money and credit affairs which would affect—for better or for worse—the Nation's whole economic life. Clearly these policies would affect the cost of carrying the Federal debt and affect both the cost and the success of a number of programs—including social, economic, and national defense programs—for which specific legislative enactments had been made over the preceding years.

CONGRESS HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY

Finally, as to the reasons why the investigation should be made by a committee of Congress, these are basic: The Constitution assigns to Congress the powers of issuing money and regulating the value thereof, as well as the power of borrowing money on the credit of the United States. It is for the reason of Congress' clear and undivided responsibility over monetary affairs that the Federal Reserve System functions by law as an arm of Congress, on a delegation

of legislative powers, with supposedly complete independence from executive control.

Manifestly, then, since Congress has the duty of framing legislation, it also has the duty of investigating and gaining a firsthand understanding of the matters on which it is to legislate. Needless to say, the Committees on Banking and Currency of the Senate and the House have been given jurisdiction over these matters, and it is through these committees that the respective Houses of Congress keep themselves informed on banking and currency matters.

OPPOSITION'S ARGUMENTS IN 1955

Arguments against the investigation, on the other hand, have been more varied and complex. The opposition, which includes first and foremost the Republican leadership and the big financial interests, have given different reasons for their opposition at different times.

In 1955, the principal arguments made against House Resolution 210 were (a) that the proposed investigation was not needed and (b) that such an investigation would be dangerous, in that it might upset the Nation's prosperity. For example, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN], who led the opposition's debate, likened the proposed investigation to our boyhood inclinations toward "meddling" with watches. He said:

When the watch was running well, we probably meddled with it, experimented and pulled it apart, and then it did not run. I think we have that same analogy here. (Vol. 1, pt. 6, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 84th Cong., 1st sess., p. 8311.)

In a similar vein, the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Wolcott, painted a picture of increasing prosperity and he, too, saw, somehow, a danger that a study of money and credit matters might dampen the prosperity. He said:

We cannot afford to take any chances with that kind of prosperity.

* * * * *

This is a dangerous resolution, it is a dangerous study, and the resolution should be defeated. (Vol. 1, pt. 6, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 84th Cong., 1st sess, pp. 8312–8313.)

NEED FOR INVESTIGATION BECOMES RECOGNIZED

In the year and a half following the rejection of my resolution, however, the need for such an investigation became increasingly recognized. In this period the Treasury and the Federal Reserve intensified their application of the "tight" money and high-interest policies, with direct and recognizable effects upon large segments of the population. Many of these events were subject of comment by me and other Members in numbers of speeches which may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD over this period.

By late fall of 1956, protests were being voiced by State and local governments whose plans for building schools, building roads, and building other badly needed facilities were being disrupted. Complaints were being heard from farmers, from home builders, and from small business people in all lines. Even a few big businesses in Government-regulated fields were feeling the pinch. As a consequence, a subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee of which I was then Chairman held hearings with the Federal Reserve Board and a number of prominent business leaders early in December of 1956. If it had not been clear before, these hearings left no doubt that a thoroughgoing investigation was in order, and in public demand.

NEW RESOLUTION IS COUNTERED BY A PRESIDENTIAL PROPOSAL

Consequently, when the new Congress convened I introduced House Resolution 85—on January 7—to authorize the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House to make an investigation.

By this time, the old arguments against such an investigation began to give way to a rather complicated series of maneuvers to head off the investigation.

When the President read his State-of-the-Union message on January 10, the Congress heard an unequivocal statement that "the time has come to conduct a broad national inquiry." This statement contained, however, a bright new idea as to how the inquiry should be made. Without reference to the proposed congressional investigation which was then pending, the President asked Congress to authorize him to appoint a commission of "qualified citizens" to make the investigation, saying that the administration would then "develop and present to Congress any legislative proposals that might be indicated." Specifically, the President's message said:

I believe the time has come to conduct a broad national inquiry into the nature, performance, and adequacy of our financial system, both in terms of its direct service to the whole economy and in terms of its function as the mechanism through which monetary and credit policy takes effect. I believe the Congress should authorize the creation of a commission of able and qualified citizens to undertake this vital inquiry. Out of their findings and recommendations the Administration would develop and present to the Congress any legislative proposals that might be indicated for the purpose of improving our financial machinery.

THE PRESS BECOMES CONFUSED

Whatever the merits or demerits of the President's proposal, it served to create considerable confusion in the public press, which is, of course, prone to become confused at times when such issues arise. A large segment of the press pictured the "Patman resolution" as something which had been inspired by the President's proposal and intended to thwart the administration's forward-looking program.

The way Business Week reported the matter in its March 2 issue was particularly interesting to me, as the distinguished editor of this magazine is a close student of the monetary issue and had testified at the hearing I conducted in the previous December. It said:

When President Eisenhower, in his state-of-the-Union message, asked for a monetary commission to study the adequacy of the Nation's financial institutions, congressional approval seemed inevitable.

Then came a resolution by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Texas Democrat, who has made a career in Congress of fighting big-money interests and Wall Street. He proposed a similar study by Congress.

To give another example, on March the day after the Rules Committee fina ly acted on my resolution, the Washin ton Post and Times Herald reported th event under the heading: "House Ur Rejects Ike Credit Study," saying:

The House Rules Committee recommend yesterday that the House Banking Comm tee make a "full and complete investigati and study" of national monetary and cred policies.

In doing so, it, in effect, rejected Preside Eisenhower's request that Congress autho ize him to appoint a commission to unde take such a study.

* * * * *

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democr of Texas, author of the resolution to ke the probe in the hands of the Banking Co mittee, told the rules group the commissi study proposed by the executive could tu out to be a banker-guided study.

Finally, 10 days after my resoluti had been rejected by the House, the Ne York Journal of Commerce was st telling its readers—April 17—editorially

President Eisenhower originally propos a monetary investigation to be conducted a commission of private citizens. * * *

It isn't working out that way. First, Re resentative PATMAN, the arch enemy of s called "tight money," tried to put the inqui into the hands of the House Banking Co mittee.

HASTY BANKERS' BILLS FAILED TO "GRAB TH BALL"

Following the President's request f authority to appoint a commission of pr vate citizens, this request was quickly pu into the form of a bill and simultaneous introduced, on January 14, in both th Senate and the House, by the ranking mi nority member of the Senate Committe on Banking and Currency [Mr. CAPE HART], and the ranking minority membe of the House Committee on Banking an Currency [Mr. TALLE]. These are S 599 and H. R. 2891.

On hasty consideration the President request seemed to put the House in th tactical position of having to choose be tween his request and the resolution of Member of the House. Thus it seemed briefly, that should a vote come, th President's request would at least pro vide a rallying point on which the Mem bers of his own party could muster soli opposition to any congressional investi gation.

On more mature reflection, however, i became apparent that there were certain weaknesses in the President's proposa which might result in its failure to draw an issue. In the first place, it was a least highly doubtful whether the Presi dent needed any additional authority to appoint a commission of private citizens to make the study—he had previously ap pointed a variety of such commissions to make studies in other fields without re questing any authority for doing so. Furthermore, an investigation by a com mission made up of private bankers—as it was assumed the President's commis sion would be made up—seemed hardly to satisfy the congressional prerogatives and responsibilities imposed by the Con stitution.

REPUBLICANS OFFER MODIFIED BANKERS' BILL

Accordingly, the House author of the administration's bill made two separate

modifications to his original bill. The first provided for congressional representation on the proposed commission—a feature which clearly called for House action and was thus certain to involve House Resolution 85 in a popularity contest with the President. The second, made when passage of House Resolution 85 later came to seem both likely and imminent, extended the offer of congressional representation—to a point where such representation might pass for equal representation with the Executive branch.

Specifically, the first of the amended bills, H. R. 3660, was introduced on January 24. It provided for a Commission to consist of 9 citizens to be appointed by the President and, on the congressional side, to consist of the chairmen and the ranking minority members of both the Senate and the House Committees on Banking and Currency. It also provided that the President would designate the Chairman and the Vice Chairman. Thus, while this bill called for no more than 5 of the President's 9 citizens to be of the same political party, the bill would nevertheless have created a highly one-sided body—from the standpoint of Executive control—as well as, possibly, from the standpoint of party control.

"COMPROMISE" BILL OFFERED TO BLOCK INVESTIGATION

Next came H. R. 6332, which was introduced on March 25—after the Rules Committee had finally reported House Resolution 85. This was billed as a compromise plan, offered for the purpose of defeating House Resolution 85.

For example, the Wall Street Journal, on March 27, announced H. R. 6332 under the caption: "Administration Offers Compromise To Block House Monetary Study," saying:

The administration came up with a new compromise Monetary Commission proposal in a last-minute effort to defeat a proposed study by the House Banking Committee.

The administration compromise would give Congress a 50-percent representation on the proposed Commission.

The House heads into a showdown vote—probably late today—on a proposal by Representative PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, to have the House Banking Committee conduct a far-reaching investigation of Federal monetary and credit policies. Both Republican and Democratic leaders concede the vote will be very close, splitting almost completely along party lines.

However, in a final attempt to win a few Democratic votes against the Patman proposals, the administration has modified its original proposal for an investigation by a group of private citizens appointed by the President.

The President and congressional Republican leaders at the weekly White House conference yesterday announced their support of the Talle bill.

The "compromise" bill not only seemed to provide an arguing point that congressional representation would be equal to the President's, on the commission which this bill proposed, but that party representation also might be equal. The bill called for 8 members to be appointed by the President "from private life"; 4 Members of the House, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House; and 4 Members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate. But since the President was to appoint half of the members, and his Vice President was to appoint another fourth of the members, the bill hardly provided assurance that the commission would be of such independence as to investigate matters that might embarrass the administration or, as for that matter, to recommend legislation which leaders of the financial community might regard as distasteful.

The American Banker on March 27 was equally proud of the Administration's maneuvers to beat the proposed investigation. It said:

ADMINISTRATION ACTS TO BALK PATMAN RULE OF CREDIT PROBE—ASKS LARGER COMMISSION ON EVE OF HOUSE DEBATE

The administration plan came on the eve of House debate on Representative PATMAN'S strategy to have the House Banking Subcommittee * * *.

In President Eisenhower's weekly meeting with Republican leaders in Congress, House GOP Leader MARTIN and Senate GOP Chief KNOWLAND decided that the 12-member commission would better serve the public interest.

REPUBLICANS MADE INVESTIGATION A PARTY ISSUE

As already indicated, House Resolution 85 was in the hands of the Rules Committee from January 7, to March 20. It was during this period that the Rules Committee held hearings, off and on, and invited witnesses from the Executive branch and private banking circles. Business Week of March 2 reported that:

The Patman resolution has languished for 2 months in the Rules Committee, which decides what measures will be considered by the House. Three hearings have been held, but they have been 2 and 3 weeks apart.

Foes: The reason for stringing them out apparently is to provide time to work out a compromise suitable to both Congress and the President. Even with the backing of House Speaker SAM RAYBURN, PATMAN is probably bound to lose if the Republicans make it a partisan issue. And there is every indication that they will. On the thesis that it's the President's proposal against a Democratic proposal, they plan to go down the line against PATMAN, if his resolution reaches the floor. To their number you would have to add a smattering of conservative Democrats.

After the Rules Committee reported House Resolution 85 and it became apparent that the House would thus vote on the issue, the Wall Street Journal of March 20 reported on a meeting of the Republican Policy Committee of the House, the purpose of which was to solidify Republican opposition and also to set a meeting for the following Monday to "work up steam" against the resolution. The Wall Street Journal said:

HOUSE REPULICANS PLAN TO FIGHT CONGRESSIONAL MONETARY POLICY INQUIRY

WASHINGTON.—House Republicans lined up solidly in opposition to a Democratic proposal for a House Banking Committee investigation of Federal financial and monetary policy.

The House Republican policy committee at a meeting late yesterday endorsed instead an administration proposal for an investigation by a commission mostly of private citizens, with some Members of Congress on the commission. The policy committee called a conference of all House Republicans for Monday to work up steam against the Banking Committee investigation.

The investigation, proposed by Representative PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, has been approved by the House Rules Committee and will probably come up for a House vote next week. Republicans are hopeful that their lines will hold fast and that they will pick up enough Democratic votes to defeat the Patman proposal.

The tenor of the argument against the resolution, both before the Rules Committee and in the debate in the House was (a) an investigation by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House—or any other single body—would not have sufficiently broad representation; (b) Congress ought to give the President what he had asked for; and (c) an investigation conducted by a subcommittee of which I would be chairman would not be objective. Before the Rules Committee there was also an argument that the Committee on Banking and Currency would not be able to obtain the assistance of experts, whereas the President's commission could do so; but this argument was dropped after I obtained telegrams from a large number of college professors who offered assurance that the academic community, at least, would cooperate with a committee of Congress.

The arguments, however, probably changed no votes.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S BEHIND-THE-SCENES EFFORT TO PREVENT PROBE

Clearly, big business, big bankers, and the administration did not want an investigation; and the reasons for opposing the investigation—whatever the reasons may have been—were so strong that an all-out drive was made to prevent an investigation.

Mr Thomas L. Stokes, in his syndicated column of March 7, said:

One of the most intriguing behind-the-scenes battles in years is now being waged by the Eisenhower administration to prevent a congressional investigation of monetary policy and Federal financial institutions.

* * * * *

But the administration, with the backing of powerful financial interests, did not let up; in fact, it redoubled its efforts.

The newspaper Labor, on March 16, reported:

Significant developments on the banking front reveal a struggle of vital importance to the pocketbooks of the American people. On one side are bankers, their big-business allies, and the Eisenhower administration; on the other, a group of Democratic Congressmen headed by WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas. * * *

* * * * *

A few days ago, however, the (House Rules) Committee took the almost unprecedented step of listening to a high administration official, Under Secretary of the Treasury, W. Randolph Burgess. * * * He urged the committee to shelve a bill introduced by PATMAN. * * * Burgess said the administration is against the Patman bill and wants the study to be made by a private commission of "experts," whom Eisenhower would appoint.

Also, Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, revealed a number of letters he has received from big-business men, urging that Congress adopt the Eisenhower banking study plan. The letters were written by such men as Eugene Holman, chairman of Standard Oil of New Jersey; Presi-

dent C. G. Mortimer of the giant General Foods combine; high officials of a number of railroads; and many other heads of large corporations.

The New York Journal of Commerce—itself an opponent of the probe—said:

Weeks of behind-the-scenes effort to block a congressional investigation of monetary institutions will come out into the open on Capitol Hill. * * * The strategy is directed from the White House and is aimed at postponing a vote on the Patman investigation. * * * Therefore, the White House-directed plan is to keep all (Republican) members in line.

BANKERS LOBBIED TO DEFEAT INVESTIGATION

On April 9, the American Banker, considering what bankers' position should be toward a possible investigation by the Senate Finance Committee, thought the situation complicated, recalling that the financial community had thrown its full weight behind defeat of the resolution proposed by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN. It said:

SITUATION COMPLICATED

The situation for banking as respects this committee is complicated by the fact that the financial community threw its full weight behind the defeat of the resolution proposed by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, who had sought to have a House subcommittee, which he heads, control a proposed monetary commission and its study of money and credit policies. (The full House Banking Committee approved it and sent it to the floor where it met defeat.)

The Machinist on April 11 said:

Defeat of the probe—called the most important issue facing this Congress—came after the Eisenhower administration and the Nation's banking interests put on the pressure. The administration said it wanted its own investigation by a 16-member commission—half appointed by the President. The bankers wanted no probe at all.

Shortly after House Resolution 85 was voted down in the House, Mr. Drew Pearson made a passing reference to the "bankers' lobby," in his syndicated column of March 30, saying:

BANKERS' LOBBY OPERATES

While the Senate rackets committee was getting the headlines, White House pressure was being put on congressional leaders regarding an investigation into something far more fundamental—the cost of living, tight money, and the extent of inflation.

* * * * *

Long-distance phone calls had gone out to bankers in southern cities nearest Washington to come to Washington immediately and switch Democratic votes. The bankers' lobby was successful.

Actually, it was my understanding that the American Bankers Association's drive to defeat House Resolution 85 went a great deal further than calling its members from Southern States to Washington. This drive—or so I was told—included a program of having at least one banker from each congressional district make a personal call on his Representative.

ABA SHARES CREDIT WITH "SUPERB PERFORMANCE" OF GOP LEADERSHIP

In any case, the magazine Banking, which is the journal of the American Bankers Association, came rather close to crediting the defeat of House Resolution 85 solely to its members' activities. For example, on page 40 of the May issue, Banking carries a headline "Bankers' Prestige," under which the editor first credits the defeat of the investigation to the bankers' "numerous telegrams, telephone calls, and letters," but then, as a second thought, shares the credit with the "superb performance" of the Republican leadership. It said:

Both in connection with Senate passage of the Robertson bill and House defeat of the Patman inquiry, Senators and Representatives reported that they received numerous telegrams, telephone calls, and letters from individual commercial bankers, emphasizing the effect of these matters upon commercial banking.

In the Senate, these communications resulted (coincidentally or otherwise) in greater attention and attendance by Senators to the debate on the Robertson bill than has occurred in a long time in the case of legislation lacking broad, public interest.

Sponsors of the Patman resolution credited these banker communications with the defeat of the subcommittee inquiry. Seasoned observers, however, would not evaluate this banker expression of sentiment as the decisive factor. President Eisenhower backed the broader-gauge financial inquiry. House GOP leadership under Representative JOE MARTIN, Republican, Massachusetts, and his assistant, Representative CHARLES HALLECK, Republican, Indiana, turned in a superb performance from the standpoint of a purely political operation. They lost only two Republican votes in the House.

G. O. P. FORGETS IT ASKED FOR PROBE

In conclusion, it seems fair to say that what the big bankers, the Republican leadership and the President wanted was no investigation, and not just an alternative method of investigation. Despite the glowing statement in the President's State-of-the-Union message as to the need for an investigation, Republican demands for such an investigation, since House Resolution 85 was voted down, have been faint—if at all audible. Recently the President has been expressing "disappointment" in the performance of this Congress, and the White House has been giving out lists of the "important" things which the President has asked for and did not get. The President's request for a monetary investigation has not been among the things listed. It would appear that either the Republican leadership has forgotten that it asked for such an investigation, or with House Resolution 85 out of the way, the President's request is no longer important.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE RULES COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 85

As I indicated earlier in this statement, there have been a number of requests for copies of the testimony of Hon. W. Randolph Burgess, Under Secretary of the Treasury, and copies of the testimony which were given by some of the other outside witnesses who were heard by the Rules Committee on House Resolution 85, which was to authorize an investigation of monetary problems. Since this testimony has previously not been made public, and there is a proper public interest in it, I am inserting in the RECORD herewith the testimony of each of the outside witnesses, plus, in addition, my own testimony before the Rules Committee:

HEARINGS ON H. RES. 85, AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO CONDUCT STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS, AND TO MAKE INQUIRIES, RELATING TO THE OPERATION OF THE MONETARY AND CREDIT STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED STATES; AND H. R. 3660 TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL MONETARY AND FINANCIAL COMMISSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON RULES,
Washington, D. C., February 28, 1957.

The committee met at 10:37 a. m., pursuant to call, in room G–12 of the Capitol, Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wilde, we will hear you first.

STATEMENT OF FRAZAR B. WILDE, CHAIRMAN, RESEARCH AND POLICY COMMITTEE, COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND PRESIDENT, CONNECTICUT GENERAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Mr. WILDE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have a statement to make in behalf of the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, of which I am the Chairman.

May I also identify myself as an insurance executive, and in that capacity I have to direct, through our committees, the investment of the company's funds. That is my principal activity.

I inject that thought to explain that this matter is one that I have dual interest in, both from the standpoint of CED and as a practicer in the markets, day in and day out.

May I read this to save the time of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead, Mr. Wilde. Proceed in your own way.

Mr. WILDE. I am grateful for the opportunity you have afforded me to present the views of the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development on a proposed study of monetary and financial policy.

From the beginning of its studies 15 years ago, CED has believed that proper monetary and financial policy is essential for the health and vigor of our economy, and we have emphasized that broad understanding is essential for proper policy.

In a statement issued in 1953 we said of monetary policy:

"It permits the Government to exercise a major influence over the general conditions that create stability or instability without requiring or permitting the Government to direct the activities of individuals, businesses or banks; but, partly because of its indirectness, monetary policy is not as well understood by the public as its importance requires."

As long ago as 1948 CED recommended the establishment of a national commission to study monetary and financial policies. I quote our recommendation as then made:

"We believe that Federal financial policy can be carried out with existing knowledge and instruments in such a way as to make a major contribution to economic stability. In any case, we must do what we can now, with the knowledge and instruments we have. At the same time we should be considering how we can improve our instruments and policies for the future. It is now over 35 years since there has been an overall review of our financial structure and problems. In that period there have been drastic changes in our monetary and banking laws, in the size of our budget and debt, in the Government's role as a source of credit, and in America's position in the world economy. The committee recommends that a temporary commission be established to make a comprehensive study of the possibilities of improving the structure and policies of monetary, budgetary, and related institutions.

"In this recommendation the committee is suggesting a broadening of the scope of

inquiry beyond that indicated by many recent proposals for a national monetary commission. The monetary problem is inseparable from the problems of budgetary policy, debt management, and savings institutions. A comprehensive examination should also cover our international as well as our domestic financial policies. The whole field should be within the purview of the commission, and for this reason we suggest the term 'Commission on National Monetary and Financial Policy.'

"The commission should, we think, be established by act of Congress, in such manner that its recommendations, when arrived at, will have congressional support and the confidence of the public. It should be nonpartisan and include private as well as public members.

"It would be impossible and undesirable to try to spell out the agenda for such a commission fully at this time. It should have a broad charter, adequate staff, and time to pursue the problem of improving Federal financial policy, wherever it may lead."

May I recall again this is 1948. So we have been thinking about this for a long time.

Two months ago, on January 17, 1957, Mr. J. Cameron Thomson, Vice Chairman of CED, and I repeated this recommendation. We said, in part:

"No aspect of public policy is more important than financial policy to the growth and stability of a free economy. The use of monetary restraint as a major tool for preventing inflation in the past year has raised a number of questions about our financial policies and institutions.

"We are not suggesting that the criticisms implicit in these questions are well founded, but the continued existence of these questions indicates that the conditions which prompted our 1948 suggestion for the establishment of a commission still prevail.

"Either there are important deficiencies in our present financial system or there is widespread misunderstanding of the system. It is as important to correct the misunderstanding as to correct the deficiencies that might be found.

"We believe that a comprehensive and objective study by a national commission could make a major contribution to improving the system and understanding of it."

I have made copies of the 1948 and 1957 statements available to this committee.

May I now emphasize a few points:

1. Our recommendation for a study does not rest on the belief that there are or are not important deficiencies in our financial system. We believe that the study should start with an open mind on this question.

2. Our main need at the present time is study and public education. Even if the financial system were technically perfect, it would not operate well without public understanding. If changes are needed, they can only be achieved if public understanding is improved. This means, in my opinion, that the study should be undertaken with no mandate to produce recommendations for legislation.

3. The subject to be studied is broad, deep, and difficult. It will take a great deal of time. I can say this from experience. We have been working in this area in CED for many years. We have never found it easy or quick to reach conclusions. Moreover the time cannot be all staff time. The members of the commission will have to be prepared to devote much of their own time.

4. The main consideration governing the composition of the Commission is the one stated in our 1948 report. The Commission should be set up in such a way that its findings will have congressional support and the confidence of the public. This means that it should include some Members of Congress and some private citizens. The case for including Members of Congress is simply that there are some exceedingly well-qualified men in each House and that their participation would increase the acceptance of the study's findings in the Congress and in the country. The case for including private citizens is similar. There are in private life a number of men of great wisdom, experience and objectivity in the fields to be studied. They represent backgrounds and viewpoints not found in the Congress and would make a major contribution to the quality of the results. In view of the national importance of the subject, a number of outstanding private citizens would probably be willing to give their full time to this study. It is important that at least some members of the Commission be able to give full time to the study, and this could not be achieved if the Commission consisted entirely of Members of Congress.

Holding hearings would not be an adequate substitute for having a number of private members of the Commission. There is all the difference in the world between testifyinng before a congressional committee and serving as a responsible member of a group that must work through problems to reach a consensus.

May I call your attention to the discussion on this subject by Alfred C. Neal, President of CED, testifying before the Joint Economic Committee on February 1, 1957.

5. The terms of reference of the study should be stated broadly, to leave the Commission maximum freedom. The inquiry should cover the following subjects, among others:

(a) Has the growth of nonbank financial intermediaries, both private—such as savings and loan associations, finance companies, and insurance companies—and public, such as FNMA, impaired the effectiveness of Federal Reserve action to promote economic stability?

I append a list of some of the more important financial institutions.

(b) How is the impact of general monetary restriction distributed among different classes of borrowers and lenders? Is this distribution discrimatory, unfair, or bad for the economy in comparison to the alternatives, which may be inflation, higher taxes or selective controls? How could the distribution of the burden of preventing inflation be improved?

(c) What criteria should be followed by the Federal Reserve in deciding when to tighten or relax credit? What criteria should be used by the Federal Reserve in choosing among alternative techniques for controlling the supply of money and credit, such as changes in reserve requirements, changes in discount rates and open-market operations? Should the Federal Reserve restrict its open-market operations to short-term Federal securities?

(d) Should authority be delegated to a Federal agency to control the terms of consumer credit? Should similar authority be extended to other types of credit?

(e) Is the supply of savings adequate to meet the needs of our growing economy? If not, how should Federal policies with respect to financial institutions, taxation or other matters be modified to increase the supply of savings?

(f) In what proportion should reliance be placed on monetary and fiscal policies to achieve economic stability?

(g) Are the existing arrangements for coordinating monetary and credit policies and for assuring consistency of these policies with other economic policies of the Government satisfactory?

I hope that it will be the judgment of Congress that the best minds in the country, in and out of Congress, should be enlisted to give these and other fundamental questions about monetary and financial policy the thorough and objective study they deserve.

May I add, Mr. Chairman, that in the 1908 commission, composed entirely of Members of Congress, we were dealing with a relatively simple situation, almost entirely a matter of bank money, to make the system more flexible particularly for farmers and businessmen. Now we are dealing with an exceptionally complex and broad area, with this type of legislation that is indicated in this bill, and it is said by most people it is imperative to get a broad commission that can bring to Congress and the people the benefits of many broad points of view and many experiences. Such a commission might properly be large in order to get that comprehensive treatment and could work through subcommittees.

Now, that previous congressional group, you will recall, took 4 years to report, and I don't think the present temper of the people or the Congress wants to take too long a time; yet, this is an enormously complex subject.

There is a point made here which I would like to emphasize, as I think it is true of most of us: That holding hearings, bringing in experts before a group, isn't a substitute for the kind of forum that will give the most information to the Congress.

I am talking about private committee meetings where people spend a long time swapping views, fore and back, get to know each other by first name, Congress gets the benefit of knowing experts, businessmen, and vice versa. It is the way that the full truth and all the shades could be developed.

I would like to illustrate what I mean. I just wrote down types of economic areas that ought to be represented: Commercial banking, obviously; investment banking; savings and loans; the academic; and the long-term lenders, such as insurance companies—and, not by way of making nominations, but illustrating the type of people, such people as: Arthur Burns; Ned Brown, of Chicago; Randy Burgess; Sumner Slichter; Alan Sproul; Alan Kline; Robert Nathan.

I just do that to illustrate my thinking in these different areas and not to suggest that those are the only people available.

Gentlemen, I think that is the main burden of my story.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. COLMER, have you any questions?

Mr. COLMER. Obviously not, Mr. Chairman, I just got in.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. First of all, Mr. Wilde, I want to say I just got your splendid statement you just made and I agree with you 100 percent, especially with that part in which you indicate the things you say need to be done.

There are quite a number of things that you mention here that it is hoped to be accomplished, especially in regard to the men of wisdom and experience in the banking and business and commercial fields out in private industry.

I have checked the biographies of the members of Congress. Maybe they aren't all complete, but I find in the Members of Congress on the Banking and Currency Committee—and I don't know about Mr. HEALEY, of New York, or ANDERSON of Montana, or BREEDING, of Kansas, because their biographies are not in or are not available at this time, as far as I am concerned, and, although I don't mean to say the members of the Banking and Currency Committee aren't well qualified, nevertheless, I find—there are only 3 or 4 on the Banking and Currency Committee who have any experience in this field, and they are:

Mr. TALLE, of Iowa; he has been an educator in economics, political science teacher, lecturer.

Mr. KILBURN, of New York, vice president of the New York Trust Co.

Mr. BASS, of New Hampshire, trustee of the New Hampshire Savings Bank.

Mr. McVEY has been a lecturer in that field.

Outside of that, the biographies don't show any member of the Banking and Currency Committee has had any banking experience as has been connected with banks or any kind of commercial companies.

I think you have given us something to think about. Maybe we should bring a few in here to give this matter their full time, which the Members of Congress can't do.

Mr. PATMAN, who is here, is probably one of the hardest working Members in Congress He is a power on the Banking and Currency Committee. He is on the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. I believe he is vice chairman of that committee. He is also chairman of the Small Business Committee. He would probably, I think, if his resolution goes through, be chairman of this committee or commission.

So, I think you have given us something to think about and, inasmuch as there have been and are few on that Banking and Currency Committee, according to my observation, who have been in Congress a long while and who have the necessary experience, maybe it would be just as well to have a few outsiders, some who have devoted their lives to this field; and, after reading what you have to say, I think it should be investigated and studied.

Mr. WILDE. I have no intent to be in derogation of the Congress—I have great respect for it, and I think there are men in every field of our activity in the Congress who know much about it—but I think the time factor is terribly important and the opportunity, if that would be the judgment of the committee, to broaden it, to get great benefits from it, would be of great assistance to the Congress if they found legislation was needed. Certainly, such a commission isn't going to write the legislation. It is going to be done by the whole Congress, operating through its committees.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, this is rather delicate and complex. It gets more complex and delicate to me every time I hear a witness. So, I am personally in hearty accord with what you have said.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILDE. I have done a few minor things in this field, working in Washington and in this area, working for the Federal Reserve and on a few committees, and this particular field, considering all the time I have been in finance, is unbelievably complex today.

You can see from that list——

Mr. ALLEN. I think that old saying that there is no substitute for experience is certainly apropos, and I would say, everything being equal, those who have dealt in this field, given their full time and all their life to it, would be in a better position to know the answers than someone who could come in and just give part time to the proposition.

That is all, Mr. Chairan.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. MADDEN, do you have any questions?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Wilde, with regard to this list on the back page, what are these institutions and what do they represent? Why were they attached to the statement?

Mr. WILDE. They were an attempt on my part to show the wide distribution of institutions that are in the business of either saving or loaning money, running all the way from commercial banks down to special instruments that the Congress has set up.

You see, for example, the Federal National Mortgage Association, which is colloquially called Fannie May. I believe the present budget has upward of $2 billion in it for their operation—a billion seven perhaps. That is a brandnew thing.

Most of these are brandnew.

At the time of the original inquiry, in 1908, I don't believe even the first group amounted to very much, and most of these others on the list didn't even exist. Government. through instrumentalities, wasn't in the business of collecting and loaning money.

So, the purpose was just to show—and it is probably not complete—the spread of financial life today.

Mr. MADDEN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. BROWN.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Wilde, I am sorry I wasn't here when you started your statement, but I have read it with considerable interest and I think you have made a pretty good point and a pretty good case.

The work that has to be done is so complex and involves so many different organizations and institutions that there is some doubt whether Congress itself, or a committee, could possibly do this spadework of getting the information that is necessary for Congress later on to make a base for any legislative action it might desire to take.

Ten years ago last month I introduced legislation in Congress, as a result of the general feeling during the war and before that our Government bureaucracy had spread all over the lot and something had to be done to bring it under control, for a joint congressional and civilian commission to be set up on a bipartisan basis to study the organization of the Government. That afterward became known as the first Hoover Commission, and the legislation was unanimously passed by both bodies, with the support of both parties, and that Committee called into service some 330 or 340 of the most distinguished Americans that it could find—from education and from labor and from business and industry—to assist the Committee or the Commission in task-force studies of these different problems, and then reports were made to the Congress, and recommendations, which were contained in some 25 volumes.

As a result of the work of that first Commission, between two and a half and three billion dollars a year have been saved in the operation costs.

The Congress took these reports and recommendations, as made by that bipartisan Commission, and used them as the basis for legislative action, the President using them as the basis for Executive orders and the agencies for administrative orders.

The reason why that Commission was created—and then the second Commission to go into matters a little more extensively was created—was because the Congress itself, through no committee, could do that kind of work. It was just too big and too comprehensive a job.

The two Commissions spent nearly 5 years, and the Congress is still working, considering many of the recommendations made by those two Commissions. The cost was very slight in comparison with the savings. I think the first Commission cost ran right at $2 million altogether.

It seems to me this problem is extremely important when you take into consideration the number of different institutions that will be affected——

Mr. WILDE. Yes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. And anything that we do in connection with the monetary and the credit structure of this country will affect every citizen of the United States, especially if we make any mistakes.

Mr. WILDE. Oh, yes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. So, it might be well to have checks and balances—first, the commission that will make these studies; then give the benefits of their findings and reports to the Congress, and then the congressional committees, in finality, will have to pass upon them and decide which are good or bad or what ought to be done in view of the conditions that the commission finds and reports as factual information and material.

I recall the first Hoover Commission found there was something like, I think, 93 different lending agencies within the Federal Government alone, and I think this list of yours, while it is very good. is not as comprehensive as it might be. I can think several myself—several different organi tions and institutions—that will be vit interested in anything that we might relative to the monetary system.

This just doesn't affect the Banking Currency Committee alone. For instance, have pending now in the Ways and Me Committee of the House legislation wh would take away from municipal and lo bonds and State bonds the exemption fr Federal taxation which we now have on interest paid, which would change entir the picture of floating necessary bond iss by the State and local governments for St and local construction, education, and forth, and so on.

What would be the effect of that on States and getting the schools that we ne and so forth, and so on, the highways t we must build, the city buildings and se ices we use these funds for?

There are just thousands of these sit tions that can arise, and I think the probl is of such proportions that it needs the b brains of the entire country, just not in C gress, although I do admit probably greatest brains in the country are cente right here in the Congress; but we can a little help from outside, in my opini Mr. Wilde.

That is what I am trying to drive at, I would hope that a little later on you mi be able to furnish us with an expanded as you give some thought to this problem

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. DELANEY.

Mr. DELANEY. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. TRIMBLE.

Mr. TRIMBLE. I hesitate to ask questi because, as I said the other day, this is a a complicated question, where even a wh per can shake the foundations of our fin cial system. However, I know so little ab it that a whisper from me won't hurt, I thi

I represent a district in north Arkansa small farmers and small-business men. I on a farm myself. A 500-acre farm is a farm in our district, and a million-dollar vestment in business is big.

A lot of my constituents talk to me wh I am at home, and they write to me wh I am here. They are worried about the wh general situation. I don't know whet they are right or wrong but, on the the that my constituents are always right sympathize with them.

Now, with regard to this Commission, wh ever it is, that is set up, maybe one per would be better than a whole group to h the whole, vast panorama of this situat as it affects everybody and then hear peo from every affected group.

Now, about the interest rates: The peo in my district are disturbed to no end. T say that the larger businesses of the coun don't have to borrow money; they can go and expand without having to borrow mon So, the high-interest rates don't affect the They can just move out and expand wh ever they please. However, in my secti they have to borrow money, and the ra are up, it contracts the business expans of the—I don't want to say little busines small business, which is really the foun tion stone of our people.

I don't know whether that is true or n but I hope whatever is done in this busin will be done with full and complete int rity and with a lot of commonsense beca I want it to be made so plain that ever Congressman like me can understand it. I can understand it, then my 350,000 c stituents can understand it.

Mr. WILDE. May I comment, Mr. Congr man?

Mr. TRIMBLE. Yes.

Mr. WILDE. I think you are perhaps ill trating the point I am trying to make—t the wide diversity of interests needs to h people who understand it.

You are talking about largely agricultural credit and small-business credit.

Agricultural credit divides between capital for long-term improvement—buying land, and so forth—which we lend and other insurance companies—I think the supply of such capital, in combination with the land banks, has been quite adequate, at least up until the last year, and I haven't heard very much about stringency even then; I know we have continued to make loans, and we make them in your territory—and, on the other hand, the short-term loans of the bank to make a crop, and so forth, to hold some stock.

I want to add the rates have not been high. They have been running around 5 percent, which certainly is not an onerous rate and historically is a pretty normal rate.

The lowest agricultural mortgage rates that I know of were about 4 percent, and that would be some exceptionally strong land, say, in Illinois or some place like that that has what we call a community value.

I do not know what the bank rates are for short-run money. They may have gone up quite a bit.

There are those two things and, as I say, to me it illustrates the point that a commission ought to have an Alan Kline or someone else who understands the agricultural problem, which is interrelated, of course, with all the rest.

In the small-business field, which, of course, obtains throughout the country, you have a very involved situation from my point of view. You have the practical problem of enough equity so that lending institutions can afford, with safety, to lend their money because all of us are trustees of the other fellow's money. We just can't accept high credit risks.

One of the major problems of small business is they don't have equity; they don't have protection above it, the tax laws or the willingness of rich people to speculate because they don't have the money.

There is a great lack of equity money for small business. If that was there, then the various institutions would be able to loan more money in the primary position.

Mr. TRIMBLE. That is one thing about which I, of course, don't know what needs to be done.

Mr. WILDE. Yes.

Mr. TRIMBLE. I know what needs to be done, but I don't know how to do it.

Mr. WILDE. Yes.

Mr. TRIMBLE. The small farmers and the small-business men are having a rough go in my section. They are just having a devil of a time.

Mr. WILDE. You have some doing awfully well, Congressman. They have loans and they make prompt payments.

Mr. TRIMBLE. Yes. They manage, but they are having a tough time.

Twenty-one of the rural electric co-ops that serve us on our farms have 11,000 connections. As I left to come up here in December, 2,100 of those are idle. The people have left, moved out, and gone to another job where they can make ends meet.

That is too big a percentage of people having trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any more questions, Judge?

Mr. TRIMBLE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. SCOTT.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thornberry.

Mr. THORNBERRY. As I understand, you are convinced this study ought to be made?

Mr. WILDE. Oh, yes; I am very much convinced of it, both in all the research we have done and my personal observation in the last 20 years.

Mr. THORNBERRY. And you have no fear that a study by a commisison such as you recommend would in any way have a harmful effect over the country?

Mr. WILDE. No. On the contrary, I think it would be constructive and would bring out for public scrutiny and discussion some of the involved elements that are in the picture.

Mr. THORNBERRY. But you don't think that Congress, which in the end is responsible to the people of the country, through a recognized committee, ought to make the study?

Mr. WILDE. Yes; I do. I think the Congress should make the study in combination with a business group.

I think it should be a mixed commission, if that is the proper term, because I think it is very desirable to have Congressmen putting in as much time as they can; but there are a good many thousand man-hours involved in this to do a thorough job, and I imagine the businessmen, the professors, and others might put in more hours than some of the congressional men might be able to put in.

I would like to see them both joined at the start, myself.

Mr. THORNBERRY. But you don't think that Congress, through a committee, should do it itself?

Mr. WILDE. I think that the Congress, operating strictly through its own committee, wouldn't get the result that the Congress, itself, needs and wants. I don't think it can put in enough full time, and I don't think—as I have said here, if you call in an expert, he is in a different status; but if you make him a part of the team and do like business does—sit around a table and yak-yak back and forth—that may have a colloquial connotation in it—you get more information and more balance out of it.

Mr. THORNBERRY. Would you say your approach in this regard is peculiar only to this field?

Mr. WILDE. No. I think it is becoming common in many fields. For example, I have just done this in a small way in Connecticut. Several of us in finance and several from the legislature, the senate, and the house, were asked to study road financing for Connecticut, and I think it was very useful to us who don't understand the political problems and was useful to the legislators who don't understand quite as well at times the business problems.

So, there is a minor illustration of just what I am saying. I am not talking here right from the book. I am talking from quite a bit of practical experience.

Mr. THORNBERRY. What I am asking is: Are you becoming more and more convinced from what you say that the legislative body or Congress is now in such a situation that it is not equipped or able to inquire into fields for which Congress is responsible to the people of the United States regardless of what the field is?

Mr. WILDE. No. I think there could be very specific, narrow areas where it is perfectly practical for a commission of Congress, and then to call in a few people.

I can't think of something offhand, but there must be such things.

This is terrifically involved and interrelated and complex.

The Congressman is trying to low rate himself in saying he doesn't understand it. None of us understand it too well. I am exceptionally humble myself about it and I have studied it and worked in it for more than 20 years.

Mr. THORNBERRY. You indicated a moment ago the type of people that you thought could well serve on the Commission and you referred to them as you were referring to your list, and I noticed that you referred to the commercial banks; secondly, the insurance companies, and I think one of the group.

Mr. WILDE. Investment.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I understand what you are doing. You are naming people and individuals.

I have a feeling, Mr. Wilde, as Mr. Trimble has indicated, a great many people in this country are deeply concerned about this type of thing. Even Congressmen and responsible people in government are not entirely willing to just trust to the people who are concerned about these other credit institutions to have anything to do with the inquiry.

Would you think you would be on sound ground if you would have people who were not directly affected by such an inquiry being members of the Commission?

Mr. WILDE. Of course, I wouldn't because, to me, the success of this country depends upon mutual understanding and cooperation between the various elements in the economy—agriculture, labor, business, and so forth—and the legislative branch, and I think our society has become so much more involved in all respects that the only way it can work to the best advantage is by joining forces in these types of things, and I don't think that there is anybody in this or in academic areas that is going to try to put something over on somebody else. They couldn't do it if they tried, and they wouldn't try, and a group like this would work cooperatively to try to arrive at the truth.

I have confidence in the people and in the Government, but I think we are asking our legislators—even at the State level, and certainly at the Federal level—to undertake an enormous chore under today's economy, where it is so involved and there is so much Government participation that I think it has got to work better if there is joint operations and not as though one stood over here and one over here and didn't trust the other.

I feel very strongly that way.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I believe that is all.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. BOLLING.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Wilde, Mr. Brown referred at some length to the operation of the Hoover Commission—the first Hoover Commission and the second.

I am much more familiar with the operations of the first Hoover Commission than I am of the second.

He also mentioned the fact there were in task forces of the Hoover Commission some three-hundred-odd highly qualified individuals in the specialized fields in which they worked.

It happens I know something of the technique being used by the Committee on Ways and Means. They have established advisory groups, advisory groups which, as I understand it, have the opportunity to sit back and, as you put it, yak-yak a great deal.

I am unable to see the remarkable gain in a commission which is composed of those who have the ultimate responsibility plus those who have the specialized operating knowledge when the Congress or a committee of the Congress has perfect opportunity to create all the circumstances that you suggest. It can have the staff, which presumably would be drawn from the highest qualified people in the country. It can have the interchange of views through the task-force technique, so well used by the Hoover Commission, and it can then exercise the responsibility that no commission, Hoover Commission or other commission, can take away from it of digesting, pulling together the best product of the best people in the United States.

This is what is going to happen ultimately. Inevitably, the legislation is going to be passed by the normal processes of congressional action.

Mr. WILDE. Sure.

Mr. BOLLING. It just seems to me what a mixed commission does—and I think this is very well illustrated by the comparative lack of success of implementation of the second Hoover Commission's reports—is, in effect, prolong the process. It has a study. The Congressman goes through the same study.

I believe this is historically accurate in relation to what happened before. There

were two sets of studies in 1907, and then, finally, there was a legislative committee study.

One of the things that disturbs me about the mixed commission is that I cannot see the advantages you ascribe to it, and I do see the disadvantage of additional time.

Would you comment on that?

Mr. WILDE. Well, of course, we are dealing in two different experiences. Yours is largely legislative, I take it. Mine is in business and partial exposure. It is a matter of opinion, of course, rather than a matter of absolute evidence and proof.

My own feeling, as I have said, is that we would move faster if there was a mixed commission where small units of it were exploring the different areas and putting it all together.

I cannot see that the Hoover Commission can be distinguished in its task forces because it was doing or trying to do things which affected the organization of Washington, and that involves a great many personal equations and settled habits, both of the legislative and of the executive.

This is dealing in a more impersonal field and with very complicated interrelationships of money, banking, and credit and financial structure, and I think it is quite a different type of animal and lends itself to this mixed-commission approach more efficiently and with more speed.

I think the evidence of the other commission, which took 4 years and, I presume, had able men on it and had a very much simpler problem than is confronting the country today, is an indication of what I am talking about; and I don't quite visualize the flow from any recommenaditons that might develop to the legislative hall would be delayed by this process. I would think they would be accelerated.

Mr. BOLLING. The point I am trying to make is that it seems to me the legislature, itself, if it undertakes the study, if it is determined that changes in the legislation are important, then it is fairly obvious the legislative committee is, in itself, in the best position to proceed. Having made the study, it has cut off a step.

I don't see where you cut out of the process any of the outside-of-Congress experts from all the different types of credit institutions.

It seems to me, actually, one can assure a broader look through a congressional study than through a mixed-commission study, because it is inevitable that a person from one kind of business is going to have, to a degree, not the prejudices, but the views of that particular kind of business.

Mr. WILDE. Sure.

Mr. BOLLING. How big do you envisage such a mixed commission—27 men—in order to get the point of view of all the different credit institutions?

How are you going to get real representation on a mixed commission unless you make it so large as to be clearly unwieldy?

It seems to me in any method of technique, in any technique that is used, you are going to have to use the task-force method, and I see no reason why the Congress can't do that as well as a mixed commission.

Mr. WILDE. Congressman, I would answer you to this extent: In numbers, I think 8 or 10 would cover the area, because you do it by type of business. Commercial banking might have 2 people; investment banking might have 1 or 2 people; insurance company only 1; savings and loan maybe 1, and the academic might have 2.

You can easily cover the economy with 8 or 10 people, and if there were .6, 8, or 10 from the 2 branches of the Congress, you wouldn't have a very large group, and you would have the advantage of working together to the extent that the Congressmen could.

If you use the experts and put them on a different status, file all their reports—I don't understand how you gentlemen in the Congress can read things, you're so loaded with every kind of a report. If you are participating in the thing, you would get some of it by osmosis as you went along.

Mr. BOLLING. I won't pursue it any further.

Mr. O'NEILL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you finish, Mr. BOLLING?

Mr. BOLLING. Yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'NEILL, do you have any questions?

Mr. O'NEILL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute.

Mr. COLMER.

Mr. COLMER. As I stated a moment ago, I was unfortunately detained and didn't hear all of your statement, Mr. Wilde, but I have since glanced over it, and I have listened to the questions and answers. I just merely wanted to take this time to express my appreciation of your organization, that is, the Committee for Economic Development. I think it has done a splendid job, a great public service.

I have had occasion in the past, as a Member of Congress, to work with some of your people, notably one of your previous presidents, Marion Folsom, and who now is, of course, a member of the President's Cabinet.

I just wanted to take this opportunity to commend you and your organization for the splendid public service that you render, an unselfish service, except, I suspect, it is selfish in the extent that all of us are interested in maintaining and perpetuating the American system.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILDE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, very much for giving me this opportunity to brag on CED a little bit.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very glad to have you with us this morning.

Mr. WILDE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. We have with us Mr. Randolph Burgess, Under Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Burgess, we will be very happy to hear from you at this time.

STATEMENT OF HON. W. RANDOLPH BURGESS, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Secretary BURGESS. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen: I have no written, prepared statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed in your own way, then.

Secretary BURGESS. Thank you, sir.

I might first call to your attention what undoubtedly you have in mind—the position on this subject by the administration.

The President in his state of the Union message made a statement on that point.

Do you already have that in the record?

Would you care to have me read that?

It is very brief.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Secretary BURGESS. "Essential to the stable economic growth we seek is a system of well-adapted and efficient financial institutions. I believe the time has come to conduct a broad national inquiry into the nature, performance, and adequacy of our financial system, both in terms of its direct service to the whole economy and in terms of its function as the mechanism through which monetary and credit policy take effect.

"I believe the Congress should authorize the creation of a commission of able and qualified citizens to undertake this vital inquiry. Out of their findings and recommendations the administration would develop and present to the Congress any legislative proposals that might be indicated for the purpose of improving our financial machinery."

Then in the Economic Report that was just developed in just a little different language, but along the same line. May I quote that, under the heading "Improving Private Financial Facilities and Promoting Thrift":

"The exceptionally heavy demands which economic expansion is placing on credit and capital markets have directed attention increasingly to questions concerning the adequacy of our financial facilities and of the laws and regulations which govern their operation.

"Alert to these problems, the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency during the past year made an extensive and constructive investigation of Federal laws affecting financial institutions.

"The impact on the economy of monetary policies designed to restrain inflationary measures has also become increasingly a matter of public concern. There is need at this time of a thorough study of recent changes in our financial structure and practices covering the activities of public as well as private agencies and of the legislative and administrative steps needed to improve our facilities for meeting credit and capital requirements and for exercising appropriate controls over credit.

"The state of the Union message recommended that the Congress authorize a national monetary and financial commission to perform this important task. The commission should be composed of distinguished citizens of outstanding competence and experience in the range of questions to be studied."

In accordance with that recommendation there were bills introduced in the Congress by Senator CAPEHART and some of his associates in the Senate Banking Committee and Mr. TALLE in the House.

The administration is not wedded to any single method of doing this job.

I think the history of these investigations—I have had some connection with some of them—depends on the quality of the people and their breadth of background and understanding, their knowledge and experience that they bring to bear on this work.

There have been a good many forms of commission. During Mr. Wilde's testimony there was reference to the National Monetary Commission that did its work prior to the passage of the Federal Reserve Act. That was an outstanding job. That was, as I recall, composed of 9 Members of the House and 9 Members of the Senate. They associated with themselves a great many very competent people in subgroups, put out a bookshelf of some 20 volumes.

There have been down the years a great many studies—some of them good; some of them useless waste of time.

I was a member of the Harriman Commission on Foreign Economic Policy back in 1947. That was composed of citizens outside of the Congress. Its findings were considered very carefully by the Congress and resulted in the formation of the Marshall plan.

There is a great deal of experience abroad. I suppose the most famous commission on this subject is the Macmillan Commission in England. I just pulled that out the other day and was looking at it. That was a commission with some members of Parliament but mostly of distinguished citizens of one kind or another. I have the list of them here. There are 14 of them, and they put out a report which had very great influence on British policy over the succeeding years.

The objective is to get a number of people working at this thing of very great competence who can examine the question, examine witnesses, material, and so forth, who have time to devote to it and who will do a job for us in this difficult field. It hasn't been completely surveyed for a long time. We have had piecemeal shots at it.

I think that job that Senator ROBERTSON'S committee has done in the Senate is a extraordinarily able piece of work. He ha

had a group of consultants who have worked with him and has turned out a bill which differs in details. There is a great deal of valuable material in bringing up to date a number of our legislative laws. It hasn't attempted to deal with some of these broad policy matters, and it is those that we ought to get into and make a thorough study.

We have considered this very carefully and, among different members of the administration, our desire is there should be the most competent, broad, and able job done here.

Our thought, embodied in those first bills was that men who can be detached for this purpose for a couple of years, who weren't burdened with the routine of the Congress, could do the job most competently.

If, in your wisdom, you want to associate Members of the Congress with some outside people and can shape up a commission that you can get with some of the very best people, for it takes the best—this is not a matter of just hearing some witnesses and compiling a lot of information. Unless the people on the commission have experience and the judgment on the subject to weigh the evidence, impartially and ably, this isn't going to amount to anything. It is just going to take an enormous amount of time of busy people away from their work and not do the job.

So, our emphasis is on quality of people.

You have before the Congress at the present a number of bills. If some of these bills are passed, you would be having the House Committee on Banking and Currency conducting a separate investigation and at the same time have the Senate Banking Committee doing exactly the same thing, and those of us who will have to give a great deal of time preparing material for it will simply not be able to give it the attention—any one committee—that we ought to, and we will be running off in several directions and you won't get the same focus of attention and interest in the country that you would if you could get together a group that commanded the confidence all through the country and was able to get the time of the best people to serve as experts and come before it.

That, I believe, is the way I would state the principle, as I see it, Mr. Chairman.

I was interested in Mr. Wilde's testimony and am in very close agreement with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Secretary BURGESS. I think that is all I have to say directly. I will be glad to try to answer questions that the gentlemen may have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Colmer, do you have any questions?

Mr. COLMER. Just briefly, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, do I understand you correctly, first, that you are of the opinion that such a study should be made?

Secretary BURGESS. Yes, sir; we are, very definitely.

Mr. COLMER. Then the only question that you have is how it is to be set up, the mechanics of it?

Secretary BURGESS. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. COLMER. And the personnel?

Secretary BURGESS. That is correct.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Secretary, some of us who are not too familiar with this broad subject and the fiscal, monetary affairs of the country, and so on, are very concerned, as a result of the testimony of some of the witnesses here, that such an investigation and study might result in some unfavorable reaction upon our economy, upon our business, and so on, generally. You don't see that in such a proposal?

Secretary BURGESS. Well, sir, that would all depend on the character of the investigation. If this is done by impartial people, who approach it without preconceived opinions and don't make it a witch hunt, I don't see that it is going to do any damage.

We welcome, I think, a very careful and objective inquiry.

Mr. COLMER. Then, sir, third and finally, can you see any effect that this might have, one way or the other, upon the peril of inflation that is threatening us?

Secretary BURGESS. Well, sir, I would hope that might be one of the questions that this commission would consider—whether we have in our armament all the weapons that we need to combat inflation; whether the Federal Reserve fiscal and monetary policy acting alone are adequate; whether they need any form of supplement.

I think that is one of the things they might consider. It is a very, very important question, I am sure.

Mr. COLMER. Thank you, sir.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. Secretary, I am sorry you weren't here to hear as I did, Mr. Wilde, who is Chairman of the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. He made an excellent statement.

First of all, I want to say I heartily agree with what you have said. I think we need some men of experience here, practical men, impartial men, people who have the confidence of the people throughout the country.

Many of us don't realize the problem in that field, and here we are getting into problems in a most complex and delicate field.

The thing that has occurred to me—and I know that the Members of Congress—all of us—are very busy people: If we wouldn't have this commission, we would have to turn it over to the Banking and Currency Committee and I believe much of the work would have to be done by the staff members.

Secretary BURGESS. That is right.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I don't know the salaries of these staff men here and what they can pay them, but it is just a few thousand dollars a year and I, personally, wonder whether or not you can hire, with good experience, somebody in this field or that field at a few thousand dollars a year; and, after all, they would be the ones who, to a large measure, would be responsible for bringing forth properly the facts. In other words, these staff members have a great influence here. I have been here in Congress now going on 26 years, and I know that these staff members do have great influence on the Members. They have to rely on their judgment.

So, I repeat, it occurs to me whether you can get outstanding men, who know much about the credit of agriculture, small business or commercial loans, for that small compensation.

Secretary BURGESS. I'll tell you, Mr. Congressman, you can't.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. You can or can't?

Secretary BURGESS. You cannot.

I have had a great deal of experience——

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. That is my judgment——

Secretary BURGESS. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Since I have been around the Hill——

Secretary BURGESS. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. That it is nearly impossible to bring somebody down here for a few thousand dollars a year who is an expert in the particular field.

Secretary BURGESS. In the case of the Aldrich Commission, the National Monetary Commission, they were able to get some of the very best people in the country to contribute, men like Professor Sprague of Harvard—and I can't give you the names of all of them; but I have been over their volumes. It was a beautiful job.

They just wouldn't come and work for just one committee of Congress, doing a job like this, I can assure you.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I know now, for instance, there are some bills here to raise some minor Federal workers, to raise their salaries, in minor jobs, some departments.

Secretary BURGESS. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Because they aren't getting sufficient salaries to keep good men.

Secretary BURGESS. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I doubt whether you can get at the present time anyone too well learned in the subject involved here.

That is one thought.

The next thought I have is about the size of the committee that my good friend, Mr. BOLLING, brought up.

It has been suggested here that this commission might be composed of 5 or 6 outsiders and 4 Members of Congress. That wouldn't be as unwieldy as this Banking and Currency Committee which, I believe, consists of 30 people—I think that is the number on the Banking and Currency Committee—and then you go into subcommittees. Then you bring in other members, other people in the various fields, who ought to be brought in.

So, it would be more unwieldy to have the 30 members of the Banking and Currency Committee, with different thoughts along those lines, than to bring in perhaps 5 or 6 different commission members and 2 members maybe on the Banking and Currency Committee from each side.

So, from that standpoint, I can't see that it would be any better than just having this commission at the moment.

Another thing I mentioned before you arrived was this: I looked over the biographies of the various members of the Banking and Currency Committee. Maybe they didn't include everything, but most of those do when we put our names down there. We tell all about ourselves, that is, the good things. However, I notice there are only about four on that committee who have had any experience on banking or who have been associated with any of these loans or banks or anything of that nature.

So, I think that factor, itself, as far as I am concerned, is very important.

Maybe it might be well to bring in a few outsiders.

I want to thank you. I, personally, appreciate your testimony.

Secretary BURGESS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I think probably this will be worked out all right.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. MADDEN.

Mr. MADDEN. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. BROWN.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Burgess, in reply to a question asked by Mr. COLMER, if I understood you correctly, you said a study of this kind could be very effective and very worthwhile if it is conducted in an unbiased, nonpartisan, or bipartisan, or nonprejudiced way.

Secretary BURGESS. Right.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. However, you didn't give the other alternative. Suppose it should be conducted by individuals who had some bias and some prejudice and some preconceived convictions and ideas as to how to operate our monetary and financial system in this country; then, what would the situation be?

Secretary BURGESS. Mr. BROWN, I think, in the first place, it could not command the service and the interest of the people of the country who are in the best position to contribute to a very fine study.

In the second place, I think if it were biased there would be that danger that Representative COLMER has referred to—that is, if there were headlines which reflected a bias or which were accusatory of the way things had been administered, or handled in terms of a witch hunt, I think it could do a good deal of damage.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Is this economy of ours and our financial structure in such a delicate balance today that some ill-advised action or statement of someone in authority

in connection with such an investigation, could trigger off a progressively bad result?

Secretary BURGESS. I have great faith in our economy. I think it will take a lot, but I can assure you, Mr. Congressman, that it would shake the confidence of the people in the Congress if the Congress undertook to make this kind of an investigation in an inadequate and partial and biased manner.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I am not sure just how much confidence the people of the country have in the Congress to start with.

Secretary BURGESS. Well——

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. So, I am not particularly concerned with the confidence of the people in the Congress; but I am very much concerned as to whether or not we may do something here that will shake the confidence of the American people in the financial soundness and stability of not only our Government, but our entire monetary and fiscal systems clear down to the grassroots.

I have been through a few depressions myself and so-called panaceas and sometimes just the wrong word said or the wrong thing done has a bad effect.

Is that——

Secretary BURGESS. Let me put it this way: It occurs to me, Mr. BROWN, that if the investigations of this committee, whatever it was, appeared to be threatening the functions of the Federal Reserve System—I believe that could do great damage in the country.

The country has great faith at the moment in the integrity and honesty and courage of the fellows who are running the Federal Reserve System, and I think, if they got the impression that this inquiry was directed to undermining that, that that could really create difficulty in that direction.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. You feel some such study as has been proposed by both the President and Mr. TALLE, and others on the Banking and Currency Committee—and I understand Mr. CAPEHART and others in the Senate—is in order, if properly conducted?

Secretary BURGESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. If it is to be done, if I understood your answers to the question, you feel that the best way would be through the commission-form of activity?

Secretary BURGESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. And then, next, if it would not take that form of investigation or study, do you think it should be a joint committee of Congress or just a committee from one branch or the other, or from both?

Secretary BURGESS. By all means joint because—I speak for the people who have got to furnish the information—if we are going to have two separate committees at work here, the difficulty about getting up suitable material and taking care of it is a terrific burden; but, more than all else, this Commission, both in terms of getting the right people to come as witnesses, in getting the right people to come as staff assistants, as aides to it, and its findings, if it is going to do any good, has got to command the confidence of the people of the country, and the joint commission that had on it both Senators and Representatives and people from private life of experience and reputation, would certainly command very much more of all those things than simply a single committee of the House or the Senate.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Of course, if there was any legislation found necessary to be put through the Congress, it would have to pass both Houses?

Secretary BURGESS. Certainly.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Both House and Senate?

Secretary BURGESS. Yes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Both bodies?

Secretary BURGESS. Yes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. My good colleague from Missouri, Mr. BOLLING, was concerned over whether the naming of the Commission wouldn't result in delay.

It has been my experience on commissions that the commissions generally do spadework and get a lot of the roughage out of the way and bring up facts and information for the use, first, of the commission on which to base its report and recommendations, which are then made available to Congress, with all that testimony, so that the Congress doesn't have to go over all of it again but does have something to refer to; and in that respect I disagree with my friend and think that a commission operation is very helpful because it does save the time of Congress and the congressional committees.

I would like to comment on one other thing and ask one other question about something you said.

You expressed the opinion, as I recall and understand, that a single committee of the Congress could not get the type of assistants on its staff that a Federal or National commission could obtain, recognized as a servant of all the American people; is that correct?

Secretary BURGESS. I am sure that is correct, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. In that connection, I would just like to point out, from my own experience, the Hoover Commission—and I speak specifically of the first one—did obtain the services of about 330, as I recall, or a few more, of the topflight individuals in this country to assist on task-force services, assisting the commission, and practically all of them, outside of a few college officials or educators, were serving without compensation.

I recall very vividly how former President Hoover, as Chairman of that Commission, would call in men the Commission decided it would like to have to go into various problems—experts in that field—and he would say something to them like this: "You know, Mr. Burgess, this country has been good to you. You were raised on a farm out in Iowa, but you have come a long way and made a success in life, and you can afford to give 3 months or 6 months of time to your Government. Now you are drafted. We want you in here."

I recall distinctly on 1 task force, dealing with the insurance problem that confronted the Congress and the Nation—for veterans and for servicemen, we had 7 presidents of insurance corporations, the largest in the country, serve and give the benefit of their advice, and they brought in their own statisticians and their own experts, actuaries and all, to study the system that we had here and to go over it, and they brought in recommendations that have not only saved the American people a great deal of tax money, but have been of real benefit to the veterans of this country and helped them on their insurance problems.

Secretary BURGESS. That is true.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I recall we had presidents of railroads who dealt with some of the transportation problems that didn't affect them at all.

Is that your idea as to the type of men you ought to have on this commission and that they ought to be drafted into public service?

Secretary BURGESS. I think that is a very good illustration.

In this particular area, one would, of course, seek people who had both experience and objectivity.

I think you would have very much more chance of getting them with a distinguished commission, recognized as such, men of leadership and reputation who would work with the Members of the Congress.

Of course, I am enormously impressed with the workload the Members of Congress carry, and members of this House Banking Committee. It includes very many good friends of mine. I have been before the committee over the years a great many times. They are fine people, but they carry an enormous volume of work, and I don't think they c detach themselves for this kind of thing anything like the way that the task require

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. One other questio and I am through, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Burgess, you have been around a lon long while, like some of the rest of us ol timers——

Secretary BURGESS. Much too long, I a afraid.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. And you have se some of these commissions and read an studied their work over the years—the Ra dall Commission, the Harriman Commissio the Hoover Commission, the different one Have you ever heard or known of any these individuals who served on these var ous commissions being men who have do something that was against the interest the country or in the personal interest themselves?

Has there ever been any question as their integrity or their patriotism, to yo knowledge?

Secretary BURGESS. I don't recall any case Mr. Congressman.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I can't recall any.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. DELANEY.

Mr. DELANEY. Just one question: Fro your remarks, Mr. Secretary, I gather a stud of this type would take considerable tim As a matter of fact, you mentioned it woul take many years.

Secretary BURGESS. I thought of 2 years the bill that Senator CAPEHART presented, an Mr. Talle.

I think 2 years is indicated, or approx mately 2 years. It is quite a chore.

Mr. DELANEY. Then, after the committ reported, we would have several bills u questionably and we would go through th same routine here in Congress, so that n action on this could be anticipated at th session of the Congress?

Secretary BURGESS. I would think that certainly true; yes.

Mr. DELANEY. Thank you.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. THORNBERRY.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I believe not at this time

The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I believe not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. SCOTT.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Yes, Mr. Chai man.

Mr. Secretary, I have this concern, an that is that we have seen in the past som situations where staff members appear at th inception of a task of this kind with som fixed orientation arising perhaps from the former employment in or outside of the Gov ernment and, as compared with a Commi sion, such as in Mr. TALLE's bill, it seems t me that the Talle proposal would permit th interplay of a great many viewpoints, tha the conclusions would be hammered out a the level where the ultimate recommenda tion is to be made rather than evolved at staff level and then passed on to men wh are admittedly distinguished and competen but not experts in those fields, and I am won dering if that isn't one of the difficulties i asking Congress to pass on this kind of delicate question.

Secretary BURGESS. That is one of the ver great difficulties. Of course, we find it gen erally in all our work—how far you trus your staff people and how far you are abl to review the results yourselves and mak sure that they are absolutely correct.

Of course, it is a problem we have in ad ministration all the time, bridging that gap

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I have to go t the floor and handle a resolution. I won't be long, I hope. Mr. COLMER will take over.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. I have 1 or brief questions.

I have served on four other committees o this House and, frankly, the recommenda tions of the staff are usually based on

much work and research which is not available to us or which it isn't possible for us to evaluate that there is certainly a great temptation to simply accept what the staff members suggest, and I am wondering if a congressional report coming out, let's say, with restrictions against the whole credit system as now constituted might not present, let's say, to the small-business man of the country, harassed by their own credit problems, a far more complicated and perhaps dangerous situation.

Someone has spoken of the kind of report which might trigger off an economic change here.

Don't you think that, should there be a report which represents perhaps, in its final result, the recommendations of staff members, such a report might have the effect, conceivably of triggering off an undesirable economic result?

Secretary BURGESS. Well, it could, Mr. Congressman.

I think there are two ways that could happen.

Gentlemen, if we do on this an inadequate job, recognized as such through the country, as not a good job, two things will happen: Either they will simply ignore it—it will be just pure waste of energy for everybody who takes part—or else it may do some real damage.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Thank you.

That is all.

Mr. COLMER (presiding). Mr. BOLLING.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Secretary, you are familiar with the work in a rather more limited field—2 subcommittees of the Joint Economic Committee, 1, I think in the 81st Congress and 1 in the 82d Congress, on the subject.

Secretary BURGESS. The Douglas committee and the Patman committee; yes, sir.

Mr. BOLLING. Recognizing these were more limited inquiries than that proposed, what was your opinion of the competence and objectivity of those two inquiries?

Secretary BURGESS. I thought the first committee, the Douglas subcommittee, did a first-class job. They had extended hearings. There was a great deal of hard work done. It was a joint group. Members of both Houses attended. They had an extremely competent staff man, Lester Chandler of Princeton, who took that job, and the report was, I think, a very helpful job. I think it made possible the accord between the Federal Reserve and the Treasury that followed.

The second report, I think, accomplished nothing.

Mr. BOLLING. As to the objectivity of the conduct of the second——

Secretary BURGESS. I think it was just pretty good.

Mr. BOLLING. Just pretty good?

Secretary BURGESS. Just pretty good.

Mr. BOLLING. In that you would disagree, then, I take it, with most of the editorial writers of the banking journals and others who almost universally praised the objectivity of the second?

Secretary BURGESS. Well, I think the chairman conducted the hearings in a statesmanlike fashion, but I think when it came to the report that the report lacked objectivity on a number of points.

Mr. BOLLING. I take it, Mr. Burgess, you don't object to people having opinions?

Secretary BURGESS. Not at all. That is fine. I even have some myself, even after serving 4 years in the Treasury.

Mr. BOLLING. So, your concern is not with the opinion of individuals?

Secretary BURGESS. No; not at all.

Mr. BOLLING. You mentioned several times in your original testimony that we would have to have the best people, and impartial people, on this commission. I take it the original concept of the administration was not to have a mixed commission?

The recommendation, as I understood it, was for a commission of citizens, and the original legislation first proposed, I take it, at the request of the administration, was for a citizens' commission?

Secretary BURGESS. That would be our No. 1 choice because we thought in that way the work would march forward most promptly, that you would have the least, shall we say, political overtones—they sometimes do get into these things—and the job would go forward best; and we recognize the Congress is very busy, and would be busy passing immediately on bills in this area, on which they have to take a position, while at the same time the subject is being discussed by the commission objectively.

I think that was found to be the case in the Randall Commission. That was a mixed commission, and it was discovered, I think, the Members of Congress on it had difficulty in harmonizing the positions they had to take, which were partly political positions, in the Congress at the same time they were sitting on this other commission objectively as individuals.

It is a very difficult thing to harmonize sometimes.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Burgess, you speak of the best people and impartial people.

Secretary BURGESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOLLING. Not citing any names necessarily, could you give me an example of what, in your idea, would constitute the best people and impartial people to serve on this commission—by kind, if not by name?

Secretary BURGESS. Well, by kind, a man like Alan Sproul, who was a public servant all his life and is now retired from the Federal Reserve System. So, he has no obligations to anybody. I think he would be a very good member of this commission.

I think a man like the witness you had just before me would make a very good member of the commission, Frazar Wilde. He is connected with an insurance company, not one of the big five. He has worked with the CED people. He has had broad experience. I think he would make a good member of such a commission.

One could go on. We are rich in good people in this country.

Mr. BOLLING. Do I gather, then, your idea would be that the people who should be members of the commission would be those who had had vast experience in one of the savings and lending fields?

Secretary BURGESS. I think it should include some one of that sort, but I think it should also include people from the academic field.

I mentioned Lester Chandler, who was the expert for the Douglas committee, who was professor at Princeton, who has had no connections with, had no money, no eleemosynary return from serving private industry. I think he is now director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, but a thoroughly able and competent student.

There should be other men from the academic field, I think.

You might find somewhere a college president who—well, I'll give you a man—Harold Dodd who has just retired as president of Princeton, who is an historian, a very able, balanced person, great public devotion.

Mr. BOLLING. And these people, the academic people, you feel would give to the commission the noninstitutional representation?

Secretary BURGESS. Yes. I'd try to balance it off. I'd certainly try to get someone who had experience in the field of labor and who knew that area, somebody who knew the farm field.

You certainly would want somebody who knew rural credit. The problem of rural credit is one of the real problems here.

I think somebody ought to take a look at all the agencies that make loans to farmers. There are more agencies making loans to farmers than you can count on your fingers and toes.

Another is the point—somebody raised the question—of small business and the capital supply for small business. Somebody ought to take a look at that, and I would try to find a man, businessman, who served small business as one of this group.

Mr. BOLLING. So, you envisaged a really balanced commission in which most of the economic interests of the country, both financial and otherwise, would be somewhat represented?

Secretary BURGESS. Yes; represented.

I think you have to be very careful in trying to get people who are not special pleaders for their own particular field, and you can find such people. Of course, the danger is you get people who are.

That is one of the difficulties about a mixed commission.

To get representation from this group will take 9, 12, to 15 people, and to add to that your Members of Congress involves you, perhaps, in a pretty big commission; but that is one of the details.

Mr. BOLLING. You aren't particularly concerned about the number of people on the commission?

What would be the largest number?

Secretary BURGESS. It shouldn't get too big. I think nine would be an ideal number. Fifteen would be suitable. I am a little afraid if it ran very much over that, but that is a matter of judgment.

You might manage 17, 19, but to get really first-class people, it would be easier to ask them to be members of a 9-man commission than 15 because a person is diluted a good deal. He thinks, "Well, this isn't so much. I am just 1 of 21."

It is a little harder to get him to do the job that way than if it is a smaller group.

Mr. BOLLING. Thank you, sir.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. O'Neill.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Burgess, recently Mr. Hoover was a prophet of doom and gloom, and immediately the stock market went down a few points.

With inflation the way it is, what effect do you believe a study, either by the Congress or by a joint committee, would have on the economy of the Nation today?

Secretary BURGESS. I heard Mr. Hoover speak.

If I might say, Mr. Chairman, I think the difficulty we encounter frequently here is you can't put the subjunctive into a newspaper headline.

What Mr. Hoover said was: If we violate economic laws long enough, they are going to turn around and bite us; but, of course, the headlines never get the "if."

The effects of this commission on business and on sentiment, I think, all depends on how it is done.

If you have the kind of commission that we have been talking about and I think you people want, I don't worry about its disturbing sentiment.

If you have unbiased and objective people who examine these things carefully, I think it will add to confidence rather than the reverse.

Mr. O'NEILL. One other thing, Mr. Burgess: Here we are supposedly the world's greatest legislative body.

Secretary BURGESS. We are.

Mr. O'NEILL. We are.

You haven't enough confidence that this body could get dedicated men to do a job without bringing in substantial businessmen?

Secretary BURGESS. It is conceivable; yes. I think it is.

Mr. O'NEILL. How about these men you mentioned that you would like to see working in the committee?

They are dedicated men, and wouldn't they work as part of a task force?

Secretary BURGESS. My judgment, Mr. Congressman, is they would not agree to serve with an investigation simply committed by one committee of this body. They wouldn't think it was good enough.

Mr. O'NEILL. That is all.

STATEMENT OF KENTON R. CRAVENS, PRESIDENT OF MERCANTILE TRUST CO., ST. LOUIS, MO., MARCH 6, 1957.

Mr. CRAVENS. I have a brief statement, Mr. Chairman, and it might be well to read, to begin with.

I am Kenton R. Cravens, president of Mercantile Trust Co., St. Louis, Mo. I have asked for this opportunity to comment on H. R. 85 because of my strong personal interest in its general subject matter.

As Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency for the Study of Federal Statutes Governing Financial Institutions and Credit, I have had opportunity to study the need, possible scope, and best means of conducting a study of the Nation's monetary and credit structure. There seems to be general agreement as to the need for such a study and reasonable agreement as to its scope. Apparently a real difference of opinion exists, however, as to who is going to do the job.

Possibly the best way to resolve this question would be to review the scope of such a study so as to more accurately appraise the necessary qualifications of those who should be charged with the responsibility.

The advisory committee recommendation on this subject reflects largely my own thinking. That committee recommendation reads in part, as follows:

"The establishment of a commission for the purpose of making an objective study and appraisal of the use of monetary controls to stabilize the Nation's economy and the impact of such controls upon the American system of free enterprise, and of the adequacy and responsibility of all financial institutions as custodians of the Nation's savings, to provide, individually and collectively under existing laws, the State and National financial needs for the continuing growth of our dynamic economy, giving appropriate consideration to deposit and savings insurance programs, the essentiality of Government lending and investing, and the tax burden on debtors, creditors, and equity owners."

Thus, the study would be one of existing financial institutions. I emphasize that it is not the role of such a commission to conduct a continuous review of current monetary policies. To the extent of the need therefor, such reviews have been and will be made by the appropriate committees of the Congress. Nor would it be the purpose of a study to criticize such reviews or to supplant them. The monetary system is a creation of the Government and appropriate legislative committees and the executive branch should review its functions whenever they deem it necessary. The problem to which a national monetary and financial institutions study would address itself is far more basic in that it would study the financial systems themselves.

As you can see, a study of the character which I have in mind is in the nature of a fact-gathering undertaking. Such study will require much work by students of the problems under the guidance of practical men of broad experience and perspective. There is no need for self-serving arguments at this time. If the study is to be conducted with an air of objectivity, it must be outlined and guided by the best and most capable students of the problems. This must be the fundamental objective. Upon completion, the study must be as impartial and factual as possible.

The Advisory Committee believed that these objectives could best be achieved by submitting the direction of the study to men who are extraordinarily well informed about the problems. Such men can properly be drawn with some degree of preponderance from the financial field and other fields of economic endeavor. It goes without saying that the men must be able to see the problems of all industries as well as the problems confronting their own industry.

To assure this objective, the Advisory Committee recommended the composition of the Commission as follows:

(a) That it must be composed of not less than 12 and not more than 17 members.

(b) That the legislative branch of the Government be represented thereon by not less than 4 and not more than 6 members, consisting of the chairmen and the ranking members of the Banking and Currency Committees of the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

(c) That the remaining members of the Commission be appointed by the President of the United States without regard to their place of residence, their occupation, or whether they are members of the majority or the minority party of the Congress, but with regard only to the fact that each shall be an outstanding American citizen; and, lastly,

(d) That the President of the United States appoint from among the members of the Commission a Chairman thereof.

I think congressional representation on such a Commission is both desirable and necessary. The results of the study undoubtedly will be the basis of some new legislation, or at least will receive the scrutiny of the Congress. It is thus necessary that the legislative point of view should be kept in mind at all times; but a commission composed of just one committee of one House of the Congress is far too restrictive and cannot hope to achieve beneficial results. One reason for this is that an urgency exists, both as to getting the study underway and completing it promptly, and the Congress is already literally snowed under with work. The urgency to which I refer is the fact that no one knows yet whether or not we have brought business cycles under control. Thus, we need an answer to that question without delay.

This is not exactly what I mean. What I do mean to state is that we need to study the problem, study it as carefully as we can, and it would be a tragic mistake to find out later that a careful study would have helped us to avoid some tragedy.

To reiterate, we are not advocating, nor is anyone advocating, this is the time to legislate about existing problems. This study should be a truly national one and only if it is conducted on the broadest kind of basis can it command complete public confidence, the necessity for which is apparent to all. The adoption of H. R. 85 would preclude this kind of a study. So, I respectfully urge, with the greatest emphasis at my command, that this committee and the Congress consider with approval a broader approach to the problem than is contemplated by H. R. 85.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Cravens.

Do you wish to add anything to your statement?

Mr. CRAVENS. No. I think that summarizes my own strong personal views about the problem. I realize it is an area that can provide many different opinions. Anything more I would say would simply reemphasize that which I have said.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. COLMER, do you have any questions?

Mr. COLMER. I don't think I have any questions at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any questions, Mr. ALLEN?

Mr. ALLEN. I certainly want to compliment you, Mr. CRAVENS. I think you have said a lot in a few words, and I certainly agree with you a hundred percent.

Do I understand that you say this Commission—you recommend the Commission—should consist of perhaps an agricultural authority, an insurance authority, maybe a labor authority, and so on, with representation from all fields? That is what I understand you to mean. Is that true?

Mr. CRAVENS. My own thinking on that would be that the President would try to get—and get—the required number of public representatives and screen them on the basis of their basic qualifications, and not have them represent any particular interest.

I think it would be a mistake to have one man dedicated to representing labor, one man dedicated to representing capital, one man dedicated to representing agriculture. I think he would want to screen them as to their basic qualifications, their ability to be objective, and, above all, to see that they had no affiliations or had no direct representations.

I think we would get a better job on that kind of a basis.

Mr. ALLEN. Then, of course, you would want authorities in all the various fields?

Mr. CRAVENS. That is correct.

Mr. ALLEN. That is one of the objections many of us have in regard to H. R. 85.

We know that you can't get men of too much learning to come in. We know about the important part that a staff plays. We know that you can't get experts, generally speaking, for the small compensation that the staff would receive.

That is the reason, perhaps, it would be better to have some people with a background of long experience instead of perhaps staff people, coming in at a low salary, who aren't experienced in the field and with probably the things this committee or commission would cope with.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. MADDEN.

Mr. MADDEN. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. DELANEY.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Cravens, you have considered this subject for a considerable time; you have studied this problem for a considerable time; have you not?

Mr. CRAVENS. The focusing of this has been done since all of us in our group started tackling the problem; and, of course, when you start getting into one of those situations, you get into it far more deeply than you would normally.

Mr. DELANEY. You state here: "As chairman of the advisory committee to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency," and so on.

Mr. CRAVENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DELANEY. As of necessity, you must have given considerably more thought to the subject than you would under normal circumstances.

Mr. CRAVENS. That is correct.

Mr. DELANEY. We have had other experts here who have also had some opinions and have made a great deal of study in this regard.

Do you think something can be gained by putting all those people together and arriving at probably some agreement on and some arbitration of, the problems we have confronting us?

Do you think the members of the Banking and Currency Committee could evaluate the testimony of such men as yourself? When we get all through, they have got to sell the idea to the entire Congress in order to put it over.

Mr. CRAVENS. Sure.

Mr. DELANEY. You have some definite views, I presume.

Mr. CRAVENS. Yes. I told you this kind of problem has a lot of room for many views.

I have never seen a time when qualified people got around the table that something

good didn't come out of it, if that is your question.

Mr. DELANEY. Yes. That is substantially it.

There are other groups, chairmen of other groups, who have studied this problem, and who have also testified here, and I presume they have arrived at some definite ideas.

Now, the Congress eventually has to pass on it. I don't know who could be better qualified to pass on it than someone who listens days in and day out, over a long period of time, because they eventually have to make the recommendations to the Congress.

Many of the groups that have made studies must have come to some conclusions. Isn't that so?

Mr. CRAVENS. Yes; that is correct.

The conclusions that I came to and my group came to I have stated in this statement.

Mr. DELANEY. It should be studied; further studied.

Could you tell us just what the problems are, the immediate, pressing problems, at this time?

Mr. CRAVENS. I wonder if I might answer that question with a worksheet of mine which spells out perhaps in more detail the very summarized objective I have put in.

Would you like me to?

Mr. DELANEY. I would be glad to hear it.

Mr. CRAVENS. There are six paragraphs.

As I look upon the scope and the work of some kind of a group that you put together on this, in more detail they would follow something like this:

Area 1: The matters of chartering, examining, and supervising all financial institutions in the United States which are custodians of the savings and other funds of the people, and as the same are respectively related to the needs of the public in our present-day economy, and the question of the advisability of continuing the existence of the present dual system of banking as compared with creating a federally chartered branch banking system.

Let me stop right there. Now, all that means is that we ought to see whether or not our present banking system and our present financial institutions are supplying the credit with even balance over the country that our economy needs.

We have a different type of economy than 10 years ago and 20 years ago.

Area 2: The question of whether financial institutions can adequately service the credit needs—that is, the need for equity funds as well as debt funds—of the present-day economy and the problem of defining the fields in which each type of financial institution can best contribute to those needs.

It was not many years ago that the banking system supplied only 90-day, short-term credit. Today we find it in all kinds of hybrid types of credit—term loans of 10, 12, 15 years; 3-to-5-year consumer-credit loans; mortgage credit up to 30 years, and so forth.

I think that is a great area that we need to study.

Who is going to supply the various types of credit and equity to keep this economy of ours going?

Area 3: The matter of overall tax burden—State, local, as well as Federal—on financial institutions, including the tax position of governmental lending agencies, and the relationship which the tax burden of a particular type financial institution has to the availability of investment capital for its own account and to its contribution in supplying the credit needs of our present-day economy, and the question of whether or not the present tax laws are disproportionately responsible for the increasing demand for loans from financial institutions.

An example: Under the present tax laws, the burden is all on debt rather than equity. A corporation can deduct the interest on its debt, but it can't deduct the dividends on its stock.

So now we have created a tremendous debt load on corporations—possibly too great. I don't know, but that is an area we ought to study.

Area 4: The problem of what constitutes appropriate protection to the depositors and account holders of financial institutions by means of Federal or State insurance programs, and the matter of the adequacy, feasibility, and insurability, if you please, of such protection, with particular reference to the practical cost for the protection, on whom the burden of the cost should fall, and the manner in which the protection should be represented to the people.

For example, there we represent to the people that every deposit up to $1,000 and every share account up to $1,000 in savings and loans is fully protected. I just can't believe there are enough resources to do it if we had a tremendous economic collapse. Yes, under most conditions, they are protected; but to represent to the people that in any event they are protected, to me, is immoral.

That is an area that ought to be studied.

Area 5: The matter of existing programs for insuring a financial institution is a question of what conditions such programs are intended to provide insurance against, the problem of whether or not the present level of the accumulated reserves is or is not adequate, and so forth.

Area 6: The matter of a complete review of our central banking system, as related to its responsibility in the field of monetary and credit controls, to determine the adequacy of its present powers and the impact which the exercise of particular powers has upon our present economy, and the different types of financial institutions; the matter of reserve requirements of member banks of the Federal Reserve System; the question of the value of such reserves as monetary control measures; the problem of the impact which the use of such reserves makes upon the banking system generally; the matter of the Federal Reserve System's control generally over the banking system and in fields other than monetary and credit control; the matter of comparative value of selective as against quantitative controls, and the effectiveness of each on the monetary and credit management, each different type of financial institution and the public generally; the problems existing in the area of monetary and credit management as a result of the Government's activities in investing and lending fields and in the money market; and, last, and I think probably equally important for this group to consider, the matter of Government lending and credit, and the laws under which their activities are conducted, with particular regard to:

(a) What is and what is not essential to the common good;

(b) The long-range effects on the Nation's economy;

(c) Achieving better coordination among the many Government lending agencies; and

(d) The question of whether or not such activities are eroding the private enterprise system by, in effect, subsidizing inefficient management at the expense of efficient management.

Now, those are just a few of the things and, if you sit and dig and dig and dig, you can see how broad the scope becomes.

Mr. DELANEY. You could go very far afield there. For example, you could go into taxation, which wouldn't come within the scope of this committee either, that is, the taking of credit for debt and interest payments, while you are not permitted to take your dividend credit. That would go into another field and another avenue.

That pretty well answers my question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Trimble, do you have any questions?

Mr. TRIMBLE. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thornberry.

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Cravens, I have been impressed with your statement. I think you have tried to state—and have done so—briefly the objectives in mind.

I have been a little concerned about some of the statements that have been made about some fear of a depression if Congress, through a regularly recognized committee, were to go into the problems for which Congress is responsible. I don't believe you express that fear, recognizing the Congress has the responsibility.

I am impressed by 1 part of your statement where you say a study by just 1 committee of 1 House of Congress cannot hope to achieve beneficial results.

Now, I note from what you have said here, you have been chairman of an advisory committee to a committee of the other body. You wouldn't say that study did not achieve any beneficial results; would you?

Mr. CRAVENS. If it had been in the area of a monetary study, it would have achieved no beneficial results, although that isn't a good choice of words.

Obviously, any group, conscientiously working on a problem, regardless of how limited it may be, does produce a lot of valuable things; but my concept of this problem is that it would have such a broad national base that, to the ultimate, major objective, it would not produce any major beneficial results.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I understand that—and I am not quarreling with you in the idea, from what you have said from your worksheet, that with the study you have in mind what you are trying to do is have a broad scope—but what I am concerned about is, regardless of personalities, which I think have entered into some of this, and which I think is unfortunate, ultimately—and you recognize it in your statement, even though you go ahead and later say it can't achieve beneficial results; you must know from your service—it must have been a valuable service from what you said in your statement—that what the Senate committee has done did at least achieve one result in your mind, regardless of what somebody else may say, that you needed a broader study of the monetary system—a committee of Congress does have a responsibility to the Congress and ultimately to the people who send us here for certain objectives, and you wouldn't say a committee of Congress should be prevented from inquiring in the field; would you?

Mr. CRAVENS. Let's take the answer to your question in two parts.

The first part was that the committee I represented did not have on it any Members of Congress. It was a 27-man group, and the job that was put before it was a very small and narrow one compared to this kind of a job; but, even in that particular case, it made its findings, and did its work, and it came up with its conclusions, independently of Congress, so that in effect it was an outside group, and then it made its very point to Congress, which is entirely what I envisage in a proper monetary commission—that it does its work over its allotted time, and then prepares its report to Congress for its action, scrutiny, or whatever it pleases.

Now, I go a step further, and I say it is much better to have a partnership, have the most experienced Members of Congress in that field in partnership with students of the problem, and I think you will achieve better results, even better than we achieve without any partnership.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I think whatever I would say would be argumentative, but I don't believe you did respond to the second part, and that is ultimately the Congress, through its committees, and——

Mr. CRAVENS. Oh, yes.

Mr. THORNBERRY. Having the determination for what should be done.

Mr. CRAVENS. I made that point.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I think that is right, and I just wanted to point that out.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown just came in.

Mr. BROWN. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bolling.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Cravens, this point that Mr. Thornberry was making is one that concerns me a great deal.

I don't quite follow the thinking that recognizes that Congress has these responsibilities, and if there should be any legislative recommendations, ultimately must act, and yet, at the same time, the implication of your statement that the Congress is incompetent to do the work that leads up to its action.

Mr. CRAVENS. I would have to take issue with you. I would like you to show me any word or any sentence in my statement that in any way indicted the competency of any Member of Congress or any committee thereof.

Mr. BOLLING. I didn't say you said any individual was incompetent, but the burden of the statement and the burden of the approach is that it is not a good idea to have either the full committee or a subcommittee of the full committee charged, under our rules, with the responsibility for this area of legislation do the whole job for which it is responsible.

It seems to me the very technique that was used in the advisory committee of which you were chairman demonstrates very clearly that the Congress and a committee of the Congress, of a single part of the Congress, of the Senate, can get the most competent advisers to sit down and do the most thorough job of advising the congressional committee as to what its decisions might be.

It seems to me the very committee of which you were the chairman demonstrates how easy it is for Congress to get good people to work out these things.

Mr. CRAVENS. Well, you are missing a very important step there. Yes, the responsibility rests with the Congress; yes, there are undoubtedly many students and technical people who can do a fine job in research work and other factfinding undertakings, but it seems to me that Congress should be the first one to want in between them and this fact gathering, shall we say, professional staff, as you are talking about, a group of men——

Mr. BOLLING. That is'nt what I was talking about, if I may interrupt. I was talking about the kind of group you served on.

Mr. CRAVENS. Well——

Mr. BOLLING. I am not talking about the staff in this case. I am talking about the capacity.

Mr. CRAVENS. You have got exactly the same thing there, and it would be exactly the same thing between the staff of the committee of Congress, of the Senate, and the supervising agencies. They developed all the technical data. They did the fact gathering, and this committee did nothing but screen it, appraise it, fit it, and come up with a package that the Senate committee could look at.

That is exactly what you have got in this type of monetary Commission I have got. That is what they would do, and you have done a tremendous job for Congress and for the Nation, it seems to me.

Then you have got one other point: You want—and must have—the broadest kind of public confidence in this.

I have a feeling you will command more confidence if you spread it, than you will if you keep it in either one of the committees of the Congress. I think a joint undertaking is a better way.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Cravens. We are glad to have had you with us this morning.

Mr. CRAVENS. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Allan Sproul, formerly President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, is listed as our next witness.

Mr. Sproul, we are happy to have you with us, and we will be glad to hear from you.

You may proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF ALLAN SPROUL, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK, MARCH 6, 1957

Mr. SPROUL. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, as you said, I am a former President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. I am now a resident of California and director of the American Trust Co. in San Francisco, a director of the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation of Oakland, and a part-time worker in my own mental and spiritual garden.

I have here a brief statement I would like to read.

I have sought and I appreciate this opportunity to be heard by your committee on the question of how an inquiry into the nature, performance, and adequacy of our financial system might best be conducted in the interests of the people of the United States, having due regard for the nature and organization of our political institutions.

I am assuming that we are all now pretty well agreed that it is time for such an inquiry. This does not mean ,necessarily, that there are such serious defects in the present workings of our financial system as to require major changes and adjustments. Nor does it mean that we have overlooked the dangers of tampering with the sensitive mechanism of a money economy. It reflects, rather, the coming together of a number of suggestions from various sources that, despite the hazards, it is time for a broad, fundamental study to improve our knowledge of the workings of our present system, to see if there are ways in which our performance can be improved, and to increase that public understanding of the operations of the system which is necessary if it is to work most effectively, no matter how it is organized and operated.

My own views are that the best way to proceed with such a study is as the President suggested in his state-of-the-Union message, and as is contemplated in one of the pairs of bills, H. R. 2891 and S. 599, which have been introduced in the Congress. I suggest that it is preferable to proceed in this way, with a small commission of competent citizens, rather than with a mixed congressional-citizen committee or directly through committees or subcommittees of the Congress, for the following reasons:

1. There are two major kinds of inquiries into the workings of our financial system, and into the methods and administration of monetary and credit policy. One is the continuing scrutiny of performance and the examination of those responsible for that performance, which is clearly the function of congressional committees or subcommittees. The other is the periodic survey, at relatively long intervals, of the development of our financial system over time, the appraisal of its performance, and the means of its possible improvement. Such a study should be divorced as far as possible from a preoccupation with specific current problems which may warp judgment and prejudice opinion.

2. What is now contemplated, I assume is the second kind of inquiry. It will require the uninterrupted and uninhibited attention of those who undertake it, over a long period of time. I cannot see how Members of the Congress, with the hundreds of demands which have a proper call on their time and attention, can possibly devote themselves to this one subject in the way I conceive to be necessary. Here is no question of relative competence, but a real question of the best use of available resources.

3. An inquiry of such special character and of such fundamental and long-range significance should be able to command services of an outstanding staff; of pe who have been willing to abandon c more permanent pursuits in order to pa ipate in this undertaking. I think th will be possible to recruit such a staff if this inquiry is set apart, by its chara and by the composition of the membe of the commission, from the continuing of inquiries which are undertaken by c mittees of the Congress. It must ha special prestige which will make the people in the country willing to inter their regular careers in order to serve a staff.

4. One seeming solution of this proble mixed congressional-citizen commis seems to me to have a special disadvant It introduces into the proposed commis men who have a prior obligation to the gress to which they were elected and to committees of the Congress to which have been appointed. They really ca commit themselves fully to anything be it comes before them in their legislative pacity, and they certainly should not cannot commit their colleagues on com tees or in the Congress.

5. The job now to be done, as I see one to be completed in steps. The first would be a broad survey of the whole te by a commission of competent, obje civilians, divorced from partisan public special private interests, and shielded a as possible from the pressures and the of what may be current controversy. second step would be the sifting of the ings of this commission by the executive legislative branches of the Government, the consideration of possible legislatio the appropriate committees of the Cong And the third step would be action by Congress on whatever proposals grow o this study and this sifting. There is no question of prerogatives or jurisdiction and final responsibility will rest with Congress, of course. The real questio how best to get the job done in the p interest.

I submit that a study by a citizen mission is most likely to start us on the to this ultimate objective. In the word Woodrow Wilson, the study should be un taken "in the spirit of those who que their own wisdom and seek counsel knowledge, not shallow self-satisfactio the excitement of excursions whither cannot tell."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sproul, would you to add anything to your statement?

Mr. SPROUL. No; I have nothing to add Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Colmer, do you any questions to ask of Mr. Sproul?

Mr. COLMER. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Sproul, in the language of Woo Wilson, my knowledge is so shallow on whole subject that I approach it with humility and timidity.

As I understood from the reading of statement, you don't exactly approv either of the proposed bills, that you there should be a commission set up posed of citizens generally rather than bers of Congress?

Mr. SPROUL. Yes; that is right.

Mr. COLMER. And you would have resentatives on that commisison from various segments of our economy?

Mr. SPROUL. No. I have no candidate such a commission. That is a job fo appointive power with all the resources sit at its command for combing the co and drafting the men best suited for th but I can say that I do not conceive o commission as being dominated by special interest, and certainly not ba dominated, nor dominated by any s group or made up of representatives of s groups.

I conceive of it as a commission made up of men who by reason of the breadth of their experience and the quality of their judgment would be competent to study and evaluate the opinion of others and the work of an expert staff and to reach sound conclusions in the public interest.

I find it just as repugnant to believe that there are not such citizens as to believe that Members of Congress are swayed by private interests in legislating for the public weal.

Mr. COLMER. I think I could comment on that, sir, but I don't know that it would add anything.

I find that Members of Congress sometimes——

Mr. BROWN. Are pretty human.

Mr. COLMER. Are rather human, amenable to pressures, as well as sometimes citizens concerned about their own interests which are involved; but, as I say, that does not add anything to the statement.

Mr. Sproul, you have had a great deal of experience in this field. You are not apprehensive right now, with the situation being what it is in our economy, that a study might have some rather serious results affecting the stock market, et cetera?

Mr. SPROUL. No, I am not. A study such as we are discussing here—I think a long-range study lasting over perhaps 2 years, of fundamental aspects of our financial institutions and their operations—I don't think would have such adverse effects, or possible adverse effects. It comes perhaps at a fortunate time, when we are not faced with the collapse, the imminent collapse, of any of our financial institutions, and when we are not trying to remedy a serious, current, or immediate situation.

Mr. COLMER. I am sure how I feel about it—and maybe I shouldn't say I am sure you agree with that, but I am sure in my own mind—that the threat of inflation, continued inflation, is a rather serious one, is it not?

Mr. SPROUL. Well, I think there are forces in our economy which constantly create upward pressures on prices and, insofar as that can be called inflation, I think there is a continuing threat of inflation; but at the moment it is not so serious a threat as, again I say, to cause a study, a long-range study, such as this to be interpreted as an attempt to meet a present and critical situation.

Mr. COLMER. Do I understand from that statement, sir, that you are of the opinion that the inflationary trend is not serious?

Mr. SPROUL. No. I say I think there are forces in the economy which constantly raise and create the threat of inflationary pressures. There are other forces which combat that, and there are some weapons and measures in the hands of the monetary authorities and the fiscal authorities which can combat those pressures.

I do not see that the threat of inflation at the moment is a critical and urgent one which needs a study such as this to head it off, and, therefore, I don't see that a study such as this would be interpreted as an attempt to meet a critical, emergency situation.

Mr. COLMER. Just along that line—incidentally, I am a baby in the woods in this thing, as I told you, to start with.

Mr. SPROUL. Yes.

Mr. COLMER. Just what is it that demands such a study now, in just a brief sentence, if you will, please?

Mr. SPROUL. Yes. I think it is a necessity for informing ourselves better of the nature and character and functioning of all of our financial institutions, public and private; the necessity of informing ourselves better than we are now informed as to how those financial institutions have their contact with the money market of the country; the necessity of informing ourselves better how the monetary authorities reach through to those financial institutions by way of the money market, and the necessity of informing ourselves better how fiscal and monetary actions may be used to preserve the stability of the dollar while promoting stable economic growth in the country.

Mr. COLMER. Then do I understand it would be largely educational?

Mr. SPROUL. No. I think it might well lead, after this phase process which I have suggested, to the consideration of legislation; but I certainly think it would be impossible now to prejudge and forecast what such legislation might be. I think that it would be wholly foreign to the whole idea of the study, which is to go at it, as far as possible, without preconceptions of what legislative ends you might ultimately reach.

Mr. COLMER. Do you agree with Mr. Cravens, as I got the import of his statement, along that line, that in the selection of these people, these experts, and so on, the personnel of the commission, the question of political alignment shouldn't be considered, but they should be selected purely upon their qualifications?

Mr. SPROUL. Yes. In the first phase, as I conceive it, they should be selected on the basis of their broad qualifications of experience and demonstrated wisdom and judgment, and not even experts, necessarily. The experts would be the staff who would be selected by them to do the spade work and make the studies for them.

Mr. COLMER. Of course, as you know—if you don't, I will educate you a little bit—the system in the political field is to make the selections upon a basis of political alignment, not less than so many from the party in the majority and not less than so many from the minority.

I quite agree with both of you on that. I don't think that is material.

Mr. Chairman, I can't contribute anything to this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. ALLEN. No. I don't have any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. MADDEN?

Mr. BROWN?

Mr. BROWN. As I understood your statement, Mr. Sproul, and as I interpret it myself, you would have the feeling, whether it be a civilian commission responsible to the President and the Congress, or a joint committee of the Congress, or a committee from one branch of the Congress, that the membership of that committee should be made up of men who do not have any preconceived ideas and viewpoints that they have expressed publicly or any criticisms against this or that activity or this or that function of the Government, so as to be entirely free, at least in the public mind, regardless of how they might attempt to be impartial, and so that in the public mind there would be confidence that this was an impartial investigation and not an investigation to put over any particular idea as to how to handle our banking system and our national economy generally?

Mr. SPROUL. That is right. I think as far as possible these men should not be grinding any particular axes or promoting any particular point of view in the studies of this commission.

Mr. BROWN. Regardless of whether it is a commission or a committee of the Congress, do you feel it would be possible to find men of that type who would be so objective that even their past experiences or their own experiences or interests or views wouldn't creep into the action of this group?

Mr. SPROUL. I think it should be possible to find a small civilian commission which would qualify under those specifications.

You would know better than I whether it would be possible within the ranks of Congress to find a similar group. I do think, however, the Members of the Congress are called upon, by their daily labors, to take positions on various current and prospective problems which perhaps would lessen the chance of finding such men there to make such a study as is suggested here.

Mr. BROWN. It has been my experience with public officials—and that includes Members of Congress—that they are just a little reluctant to admit they are wrong on something or other they have done.

We, here in Congress, generally try to defend our votes and our positions on public issues, and we, of course, unlike private individuals, are on public record where we have more or less committed ourselves to certain philosophies or programs, so that it is pretty difficult at times to disassociate ourselves from this or that stand, even if you are convinced in your own mind and soul that you made a mistake before.

Would that also apply to civilians?

Mr. SPROUL. It would apply to some extent to civilians. I think we are all, to the extent we have expressed ourselves publicly, reluctant to backtrack; but civilians don't have to express themselves publicly as often as Congressmen do, and it would be less apt to have a record, past record, which would color current and future thinking.

Mr. BROWN. I make the honest part of my living, as I said here before, out of the newspaper business, and, despite my attempts to disassociate myself from the newspaper business, when I consider different pieces of legislation coming before this Congress, I do have confronting me—and I realize and I do appreciate—the fact that I understand or believe I understand the problems of a publisher, and I do sort of have a bit of prejudice in that direction.

I sometimes think that Mr. Allen, for instance, doesn't understand the problems of the newspaper business like I do, and he doesn't appreciate the difficulties that confront us. So that leads me to this question: You have been head of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and you know its workings and you understand the banking business. If you were on this Commission, do you think you could set that aside completely and not particularly have the viewpoint of the Federal Reserve System, based on your experience and knowledge of it, and maybe be in the same position that I am with Mr. Allen and say, "Well, you are just a little stupid; you don't understand the problem like I do"?

Mr. SPROUL. Of course, if I were on such a commission, my views would be somewhat influenced by my experience in the Federal Reserve System; but I can say this: A career in the Federal Reserve System is a career, as I have experienced it and as I believe it to be, in the public service, which would not interfere with an objective approach to problems of this sort.

I think that may be a very special case—that you are not serving private interests in the Federal Reserve System; you are not serving banking interests; you are in the public service while you are in the Federal Reserve System, and it would be an easy step from there to the work of such a committee as this.

Mr. BROWN. Of course, you have made the point—and I think it is a very good point—that the man who has spent his life in the banking business or in the investment field or in Federal Reserve work, or this or that, has a greater experience and is in a better position to investigate and study all of these problems than those of us of Congress who have not been connected with financial and monetary activities, and I think you have also made a very good point, Mr. Sproul, and it certainly has been my experience in 20 years here, that Members of Congress, as individuals, do not have time to go out and do the spadework that is necessary to get the information and the material upon which they should base their judgment, using their own commonsense, as representatives of the people, in determining what

legislative action or anything should be taken.

I have watched these committees of Congress work for a good many years, and before that in the legislature of my own State, and usually the work of a committee depends not only upon the intelligence and the ability of the members of that committee, and the soundness of a suggestion, but upon the type of staff and the type of information they are able to obtain, and they usually have to lean on someone else to get that information and factual data or they don't function well.

I have seen some committees and, if I might be a little disrespectful, I have seen some chairmen of committees—not in this body, of course, but in another legislative body—who have gained great credit in the public mind despite the fact they didn't have anything to do with it. The work was done by somebody else who helped them, and all they did was come out and act as a mouthpiece to give it to the public and to the Congress.

I think you have made two very good points this morning, and I think you have had a very logical as well as a short presentation of the problem. It concerns all of us greatly because I am convinced there isn't any Member of Congress but what wants to do the best thing in connection with seeing to it that we have a stable, proper, monetary system, and something that will help perhaps prevent inflation and also prevent deflation.

The credit system of this country right now is in a situation where I think it deserves a great deal of study, and it must have it. I am a little worried, to be frank about it, about some of the situations that now exist.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. DELANEY.

Mr. DELANEY. Just one question: I believe you stated it would take at least 2 years to make a study of the scope you have in mind. That means we couldn't anticipate any action in the present Congress?

Mr. SPROUL. That is right.

Mr. DELANEY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. THORNBERRY.

Mr. THORNBERRY. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. SCOTT.

Mr. SCOTT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. BOLLING.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Sproul, in your statement you had a very powerful paragraph dealing with the necessity for having absolute objectivity—it was much better stated than this—with no self-interest, and so on. Over the years, in all the administrations, there has been a great many Presidential commissions. Do you know of a single Presidential commission that has come up with a recommendation which was contrary to the opinion of that administration?

Mr. SPROUL. No, but that doesn't mean there haven't been any. It just reflects possibly my ignorance of the findings of all of the Presidential commissions; but, as I understand the present situation, the executive branch of the present administration has not announced any views or opinions with respect to our financial institutions and their workings, so that there wouldn't be that question. You wouldn't have to face that question in the commission, as to whether it was differing with, or agreeing with, or compromising with, an executive view.

Certainly, for my part, I think such a commission could and should differ with the executive view if the evidence brought before the study may indicate the necessity or desirability of such difference.

Mr. BOLLING. Thank you, Mr. Sproul.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'NEILL.

Mr. O'NEILL. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Sproul. We appreciate your coming in.

Mr. SPROUL. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to come in.

HEARINGS ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 85, INVESTIGATION OF MONETARY PROBLEMS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON RULES,
Washington, D. C., March 13, 1957.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:40 a. m., in room G–12, United States Capitol. Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives SMITH (presiding), COLMER, MADDEN, DELANEY, TRIMBLE, THORNBERRY, BOLLING, O'NEILL, ALLEN, BROWN, LATHAM, and SCOTT.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. PATMAN, I'm sorry that I didn't know we were going to meet at 11 o'clock.

Mr. PATMAN. If you can give me 15 minutes, I will get through.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be fine. Does anybody else want to be heard any further on this Patman resolution?

Go ahead, Mr. PATMAN.

STATEMENT OF HON. WRIGHT PATMAN, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE FIRST DISTRICT, STATE OF TEXAS

Mr. PATMAN. With your permission we have here and will have distributed a copy of my statement and a copy of an article from the Review of Economics and Statistics, published by Harvard University Press, concerning an investigation that was conducted by me as chairman in 1952, which, of course, is, I think, very fine from the viewpoint of the committee and the chairman.

I want to thank the committee for this opportunity to appear before you. I know it has required a great deal of patience on the part of the members to sit here and listen to extensive testimony on this resolution.

It is apparent, however, from the distinguished witnesses who have asked to appear before you and testify on House Resolution 85 that the subject matter of the resolution is considered to have more than just passing significance.

If there were any doubts at the start of this hearing about the intense national interest in our monetary policies, the state of our financial structure and institutions, the Government's lending and insuring agencies, and the Government's role in monetary affairs, then those doubts should be resolved by now.

Therefore, I am not going to take up the time of the committee today in restating the reasons for this study or the matters that need looking into.

However, I do want to put into the record the statement I sent to the members following my earlier appearance before the committee which covered those points.

May I have that permission, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

"STATEMENT BY WRIGHT PATMAN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, CONCERNING HOUSE RESOLUTION 85, FEBRUARY 20, 1957

"Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, at the last meeting of the Rules Committee, I explained why I believe a full and complete study of our national monetary and credit policies and the adequacy of our financial facilities is needed. I also gave the reasons why I felt that Congress rather than the executive or outsiders named in part by the executive should conduct this study.

"Following my presentation, it became clear from the questioning that your committee wanted to know what specific objectives I had in mind in offering this resolution; what specific areas did I feel ought to be looked into.

"Let me say first, in answer to the chairman's question as to whether I think the Banking Act of 1935—the Glass-Steag Act—should be amended, that it will depe upon the findings that the committee mak after it has looked into the functioning our financial facilities. If it is found th any changes in the laws and regulations go erning their operation are needed to impro our ability to meet the credit and capit requirements of an expanding economy a to preserve our competitive enterprise sy tem, then amendments may be suggested strengthen existing banking laws, includi the Glass-Steagall Act.

"Another question by Representati COLMER was directed toward the problem inflation control. This unquestionab should be an important part of the stu One of the things that has impressed me that rather severe monetary restraints ha been imposed—six increases in the red count rate in 1 year—and interest rates ha been forced up clear across the board wit out visibly curbing important price i creases. It is also evident that general cre controls impose excessive burdens upon sc groups in the economy who scarcely aff inflationary trends while other groups th exercise an important role in the inflation spiral are scarcely touched by general cre controls.

"So the study should very definitely l into the effectiveness and adequacy of F eral Reserve techniques for fighting in tion. Of course, in this whole question what constitutes inflation, we should w to look into the distinctions between norm and necessary expansion and an inflation trend. And, similarly, in fighting inflat with monetary weapons, we will want make sure that we don't promote monop and keep postponing urgent school constr tion and housing. So we will have to f ways and means of permitting certain pu programs to move ahead and small busin to get the credit it needs.

"These are only a few of the questions t would be covered by the study. There many others. Let me mention briefly s others I think will need careful study:

"1. The question of required reserves member banks needs looking into, parti larly the level of reserve requirements differential reserve requirements.

"2. When first conceived by Carter Gl the Reserve System was supposed to be sentially a system of regional banks desig to assure that credit would flow in nee amounts to the different regions of the co try. The regional system was supplan by a central bank in 1935. Now we f that chronic deficits in credit are being perienced by some regions while credit plentiful in others. I note, for example, t FNMA will buy mortgages at 95 in some gions and say 91 or 88 in others. In ot words, this is a reflection that money is m accessible in some places than others. study should find out the extent of th variations; what causes them; and how t can be overcome.

"3. Many new and greatly expanded sou of credit have developed in the last 20 ye that are out of reach of monetary contr Institutions that compete for savings make credit available are subject to dif ent regulations and laws. We need to l at the laws and regulations governing public and private institutions.

"4. Finally, there is this question of status and responsibility of the Federal serve System.

"Let me point out several things we n to consider. There are no vacuums. nature abhors a vacuum, so does poli The question of control of the Federal serve is a very vital question that affects lives of every single American. It affects free-enterprise system.

"It is contended that the Federal serve should be kept free from poli pressures. But what about other kind

private pressure and influence? What safeguards or controls does the public have to assure that such influences are not being exerted?

"Well, it is said that the Federal Reserve is responsible to Congress and that this affords the protection the people need. But how responsible is the Federal Reserve to Congress? I have here in my hand correspondence between the Chairman of the Federal Reserve, the Chairman of the House Government Operations Committee and the Controller of the General Accounting Office. The correspondence discloses that the Chairman of the Federal Reserve refused to allow the Controller of the GAO to conduct an audit in accordance with instructions from the chairman of the House Government Operations Committee. This was a case of the agent refusing to make an accounting to the principal..

"Let me show you what is involved here.

"Many Members complain about waste and uncontrolled expenditures of taxpayers' funds. I have yet to hear a single Member complain that he has no way of controlling a single penny that is spent by the Federal Reserve, which gets is funds from the taxpayers and is a public agency of the Congress.

"Here are some figures that may interest you.

"From 1946 to 1956, the 12 Federal Reserve banks received interest on United States Government securities and profit from sales of such securities amounting to a total of $4,002,588,985. Their net current expenses, excluding outlays for which they were reimbursed by other public agencies with public funds, totaled $1,008,041,364. In other words, the interest they received from the Treasury made it unnecessary for them to come to Congress to ask for appropriations and thus Congress could not control or review expenditures of public funds.

"Let me point out that the powerful New York Federal Reserve Bank received nearly $1 billion from the Treasury in interest and from profit on sales of United States securities in the same period. Again, it spent $216 million for net current expenses out of public funds over which Congress had no control and no power to review or audit.

"So it seems to me that an important area for study by the committee will of necessity be the question of responsibility and accountability of the Federal Reserve."

Mr. PATMAN. I have asked to be heard briefly at this time so that I might have the opportunity to respond to some of the objections that have been raised against a single congressional committee conducting the proposed monetary study.

You have heard the witness for the administration, Dr. Burgess, state quite unequivocally that he was certain no single committee of the Congress could command the services of the very best experts and technicians needed to help do this job, while a commission appointed by the President would have no difficulty getting them to serve.

When I heard Dr. Burgess make that statement, I was shocked. I just did not believe that our fine economists, monetary experts, and other technicians would refuse to cooperate with a single congressional committee.

So I sent a telegram out to a group of outstanding economists at the universities and in private research organizations.

I asked them whether Congress could count on nonpartisan expert assistance, such as their own, in the event a congressional study went forward. Here are the replies I received.

I will read one of them. I sent out about 35, Mr. Chairman, and I got about 30 replies back. I think that is pretty good. I never had that percentage before on anything else that I sent out.

Dr. Galbraith, professor of economics of Harvard University, said this in his telegram, and here are the telegrams that I received—every one of them.

"You can certainly count on every assistance. There is a tradition of candid and friendly cooperation between congressional committees and economic experts, and you have done much to foster it yourself. A congressional study, which in the nature of the case, will be broadly based and conscious of all people and points of view, would be far more attractive to independent scholars than a commission dominated by the administration. The latter would be handicapped for obvious reasons in examining present policies including those affecting farmers and small-business men as well as the reasons for the failure to control living costs. As a result there would be overwhelming temptation to bury the important issues in generalities and words. Am not being critical. This is usual result when an interested body, whatever the party, examines itself.

That is signed by Dr. Galbraith. We had similar telegrams pledging academic assistance—telegrams from Dr. Clark, professor of economics, Columbia University; Dr. Heller, professor of economics; John H. Kareken, and Harlan M. Smith, University of Minnesota; Dr. Seymour E. Harris, professor of economics and chairman of department of economics, Harvard University; Dr. Paul M. O'Leary, professor of economics, Cornell University; Dr. Alvin H. Hansen, Harvard University; Prof. Everett E. Hagen, MIT; Benjamin Higgins, professor of economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; William H. Miernyk, director, bureau of business research, North Eastern University; Dr. Sidney Rolfe, economist, Commercial Investment Trust, Financial Corp., New York; Dr. V. Lewis Bassie, director, bureau of business research, University of Illinois; Arthur R. Burns, Columbia University; and Leon H. Keyserling. You know who he is here.

H. Christian Sonne, chairman, board of trustees, National Planning Association; Richard A. Lester, chairman, department of economics, Princeton University; Prof. Paul A. Samuelson, MIT; Prof. Lorie Tarshis, Stanford University.

Prof. Edwin E. Witte, chairman of the department of economics, University of Wisconsin; William Haber, professor of economics, University of Michigan; Howard R. Bowen, president, Grinnell College; Jesse Burkhead, professor of economics, Syracuse University; Prof. James Tobin, Yale University; Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., here in town.

Dr. Gerhard Colm, director of research, National Planning Association; Prof. Ben W. Lewis, Oberlin College; and others that have come in since this was mimeographed.

I don't think you could have had a better response than that. I think it shows conclusively that Dr. Burgess was wrong as was Mr. Cravens, of St. Louis. Mr. Cravens said something to the effect that a single committee of a single House couldn't do the job, but in responding to Mr. THORNBERRY's question, he said he was chairman of a group working with a single committee on the Senate side, so that contradicts that on its face.

These telegrams should remove any doubts about whether a single congressional committee, can get objective, unbiased, outstanding experts from private life and from our great universities to serve and assist on the proposed monetary study.

In addition to the objection that a single committee might not be able to recruit a staff of sufficient standing to help do an effective job, some witnesses expressed the fear that a study undertaken by a congressional committee might be limited in its usefulness; since Congressmen have to take public positions on the issues.

Mr. PATMAN. There were some statements made that probably the study would not be an objective one or something like that and too much bias. The truth is, I am probably the least biased person that has appeared on this, because I know so much less than these fellows like Mr. Sproul and Mr. Burgess. They have more bias because they have more things to be biased on.

It was stated that great harm could result from a study undertaken by members who appeared to have preconceived ideas and prejudices toward current monetary policies and the regulation of financial institutions.

I am certain that if a congressional monetary study goes forward, it will be conducted as others have been in the past, in an impartial, objective manner,

It should be obvious, however, that in a field as controversial as this one, the experts in the field and those who have studied it over the years would have to be pretty unusual not to have a point of view.

In this connection, when Dr. Burgess testified, he mentioned three outstanding persons whom he felt would be qualified to serve on the proposed Commission. I have a very high regard for their objectivity and expertness in the field, but I would like to point out that they definitely have expressed themselves publicly on important questions which a monetary commission would consider.

For example, Dr. Burgess mentioned Prof. Lester Chandler of Princeton, whom I respect and have known for many years, as someone he would like to see on the Commission.

Yet he did not seem to think that Professor Chandler's role in the congressional hearings leading to the 1951 accord between the Treasury and Federal Reserve indicated he had any preconceived ideas or would necessarily be prejudiced on the subject of the independence of the Federal Reserve.

Dr. Burgess also proposed Mr. Allan Sproul, whom I admire and respect too, as a prospective candidate for the Commission. I do not say that Mr. Sproul's long association with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and his service as vice chairman of the Open Market Committee should render him ineligible. But I do say that after 30 years of service with the Federal Reserve, Mr. Sproul has a point of view.

Mr. Sproul has on many public occasions clearly expressed himself on important questions that will come up in this study. For example, Mr. Sproul is on record in favor of direct Federal Reserve authority to regulate consumer and mortgage credit financing.

Mr. Sproul has also stated publicly that he is opposed to having the expenditures of the Federal Reserve banks brought under the budgetary control of Congress and subsequent review by the General Accounting Office.

These represent substantial issues, which should be considered in any monetary study. Clearly, Mr. Sproul has preconceived ideas on these subjects.

Dr. Burgess suggested that Mr. Frazar Wilde would make a fine member of the proposed Commission, and I do not doubt it. But it is equally true that Mr. Wilde has certain notions and ideas about the role of monetary policy in our economy.

As Chairman of the Research and Policy Committee, of the Committee for Economic Development, Mr. Wilde has expressed his views on many of the issues which will be covered by the proposed monetary study.

As president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., Mr. Wilde has to look at questions of monetary policy from the practical business point of view. This is not to say, however, that Mr. Wilde would lend his support to policies which he did not believe were in the public interest.

The point I am making is that intelligent, observant individuals have points of view and they cannot shut them out from their thinking just because they are called upon to sit upon a commission and study questions that will affect public policy.

It would be foolish for me, too, to deny that I do not have firm convictions on important issues of monetary policy, I was chairman of a congressional subcommitte which conducted hearings and issued a report on general credit and debt-management problems. Dr. Burgess praised those hearings in a speech he made December 29, 1953, at a joint meeting of the American Economic Association and the American Finance Association here in Washington at the Statler Hotel.

Referring to what he called "a milestone perhaps in the history of finance in this country," he said, "was the fact of the Douglas and Patman reports." "These reports," he added, "built up a volume on this whole subject of money that is most impressive. And the reports as they came out educated public opinion."

I might mention, too, that those hearings and the report of the subcommittee were characterized as highly valuable and completely objective by newspapers and magazines, including the banking magazines, which at the start of the hearings voiced doubts about the chairman's desire to give all the interested parties a fair and impartial hearing. I would like to offer for the record some of those evaluations of the Patman subcommittee's 1952 study.

I would like to put them in the record, Mr. Chairman, if you please. This is one I called to your attention a while ago, and you have a copy before you now, from the Harvard University Press.

(The documents referred to appear at the end of Mr. PATMAN's testimony.)

Mr. PATMAN. I want to say a word now about the analogy drawn by Representative BROWN frequently during these hearings, between the Hoover Commission and the type of body that would be best suited to conduct the proposed monetary and financial institutions study.

As Representative BROWN knows, the Hoover Commission was established to deal with the reorganization of the entire executive branch. No single committee of Congress was authorized to do the job. Every committee of the Congress would have had to be called in. More important, the function of the Hoover Commission was to make reorganization plan recommendations. Under the Reorganization Act, the writing of reorganization plans was expressly made an Executive responsibility. Congress could not initiate them. Congress cannot even change a reorganization plan which the Executive submits. If the Congress fails to act, the plan becomes law.

That is why it was not improper for the Executive to take the leading responsibility for the Hoover Commission study and why the executive-appointed-commission approach was logical as furnishing a basis for a reorganization plan.

The initiative and responsibility in the field of reorganization of the executive branch was clearly the Executive's under the Reorganization Act of 1946.

But does it necessarily follow that the Hoover Commission approach should be applied to an inquiry into national monetary policy and our financial institutions which will provide the basis for congressional legislation and policy determination in this field?

The answer is "No." Indeed, just the reverse is true.

At the very beginning of the Constitution, article I, section 8, the Congress is given the inescapable constitutional responsibility for determining monetary policy. The Executive clearly does not have any responsibility, other than the responsibility to administer the policy we determine.

The issue as between a National Monetary Commission, a majority of whose members would be appointed by the President, with a mandate to make studies and recommendations for monetary legislation, and a congressional committee study, clearly involves a constitutional question.

In the monetary field, Congress must write the entire legislation by itself. The Executive has no authority whatsoever in this field, other than to sign or veto the bills, which Congress initiates, and carry out the provisions of such bills as become law. The Executive cannot and should not be permitted to intrude into the monetary field, unless Congress desires to abdicate its constitutional responsibility.

If the Congress is to carry out its constitutional duty, it—and not the Executive—must assume the leading responsibility for any study or studies directed toward implementing its own clear constitutional obligation.

I insist that the proposal to authorize a national monetary commission, such as is envisaged under H. R. 3660, with a majority of its appointees, and its chairman and vice chairman named by the President places in the Executive the leading responsibility for a study directed toward helping Congress implement its constitutional obligation to determine monetary policy, and thus is violative of the separation of powers provided by the Constitution.

You have heard it argued that experts should be on the Commission to aid the Members of Congress. Regarding this, the administration bill provides for more experts than it does Members of Congress.

The President is authorized under H. R. 3660 to appoint 9 private citizens, while only 4 members are to be appointed from the Congress. This is putting the experts on top, not on tap.

Who will the experts be? It is clear they will come from the field of private banking. Otherwise, then what is the reason for section 2 (e) of H. R. 3660 which is designed to exempt the President's appointees from provisions of the Code which are applicable to cases of conflict of interest?

I am afraid that under the guise of seeking to aid Members of Congress, the Commission study proposed by the Executive could turn out to be a banker-guided study.

Surely Congress would not want itself placed in the position of appearing to favor a banker-guided study of monetary policy over a congressional committee study.

If expert assistance is needed, then it is the responsibility of the Congress to designate the experts it needs and keep them on tap—not on top.

For the Executive to be given authority to name the experts to assist Congress in carrying out its constitutional responsibility in the monetary field is just as inappropriate as it would be for Congress to appoint the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to help the President discharge his constitutional responsibilities.

Furthermore, Congress is being asked by the Executive to participate in the anomalous spectacle of authorizing the President to take primary responsibility in appointing a group, whose ultimate function will be to advise the Congress on how to legislate in the monetary field.

Time and time again in recent years, the Congress has been urged to turn over its legislative responsibilities to the Executive.

Congress sooner or later—and I hope it is soon—will have to face up to the question of performing its responsibilities under the Constitution and of carrying out the duties directly entrusted to it by the people who elected us.

If we abdicate our responsibility; if we say that the problems of Government have grown too complicated and too complex for us; if we agree that the Executive and his appointed experts should, in the words of Repres tive BROWN, "bring up facts and inform * * * and recommendations for us" so "the Congress doesn't have to go all it again," then we are deceiving the p who elected us.

We are, in effect, admitting that we ar able to do the job the people elected do. Moreover, we are admitting that present system of government doesn't when we say that Congress can't work out the President assuming part of its lative responsibility.

In conclusion, let me say this. The mittee on Rules of the House of Repre tives has a unique opportunity here. If these hearings, the Committee on Rule jects the National Monetary Commission posed in H. R. 3660 and other varia thereof designed to bypass a congress study and approves House Resolution will not only have made it unequivo clear that it has confidence in a comm of the House to perform its duties co tently and without bias in an area withi jurisdiction but, more than that, it will rejected an attempt at Executive usurp and obstruction of congressional inves tive power.

By approving House Resolution 85, Rules Committee will be reaffirming the of Congress to act in a field in whi has clear constitutional responsibility, out awaiting the pleasure and process o Executive.

It will help restore public confidence i Congress.

Members of the Banking and Cur Committee are not so overburdened that cannot find time to devote to this highl portant problem of monetary policy.

And we reject the view that the hi and best judgment in this field is that o experts. On a matter which affects the fare of every citizen—affects the whole omy of the United States—I say the hi and best judgment is the congress judgment, rather than expert judgment, cisely because our judgment is a ge judgment. It is representative of, and lar to, public judgment.

That is the essence of our democratic, resentative government.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. ALLEN. I have a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any?

Mr. MADDEN. No. I asked Mr. PATMAN other day when he was up here. I am much for your resolution and want to mend you on your statement here.

Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. At the bottom of page 1, say you sent this telegram. Do you ha copy of that telegram?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes, sir. I thought I ha the telegram. This is the third stateme have gotten up for this committee.

Mr. ALLEN. Will you read the telegram

Mr. PATMAN. I will put it in the record

Mr. ALLEN. Do you have the telegram self?

Mr. PATMAN. I am trying to shorten it, I left it out of this statement, but I qu what it contained.

Mr. ALLEN. I would like to have you it to me now.

Mr. PATMAN. I don't have it now.

Mr. ALLEN. Do one of your assistants it now?

Mr. PATMAN. I am asking him to look it Wait just a minute.

This is Washington, D. C., March 1, "Those opposing congressional study of m etary policy and financial institutions w ing that unless guided by banking comm ties there will be no hope of getting level expert assistance. Can Congress c on effective nonpartisan assistance suc your own in event congressional study forward? This, of course, implies no

sonal commitment to serve, but expressions of your own attitude."

Mr. ALLEN. Will you read that again, please?

Mr. PATMAN. This is addressed like to Dr. Galbraith and all the different ones here.

Mr. ALLEN. What was the telegram? Read it slowly.

Mr. PATMAN. Those opposing congressional study of monetary policy and financial institutions warning that unless guided by banking community there will be no hope of getting high level expert assistance.

of getting high-level expert assistance.

Can Congress count on effective nonpartisan assistance such as your own in event congressional study goes forward? This, of course, implies no personal commitment to serve but expressions of your own attitude.

Mr. ALLEN. I don't recall any evidence when they said there was hope of getting any.

Mr. O'NEILL. A flat statement by Burgess when I asked him.

Mr. BOLLING. Absolutely flat statement.

Mr. ALLEN. No hope of getting any?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. O'NEILL. I said to Mr. Burgess, I recall, "We are supposedly the world's greatest legislative body." He says, "No supposedly, you are."

I said, "Do you mean to tell me, in your opinion that we, as this great legislative body, couldn't get competent help unless we put it into the hands of the President or put it into the hands of a bipartisan committee, as you say. I mean a committee of Congress and members outside of Congress?" He said, "Very definitely you couldn't."

Mr. ALLEN. No hope.

Mr. O'NEILL. You must have the transcript here.

Mr. PATMAN. I have it quoted here. May I read it?

"Secretary Burgess. By all means joint because—I speak for the people who have got to furnish the information—if we are going to have two separate committees at work here, the difficulty about getting up suitable material and taking care of it is a terrific burden; but, more than all else, this commission, both in terms of getting the right people to come as witnesses, in getting the right people to come as staff assistants, as aides to it, and in its findings, if it is going to do any good, has got to command the confidence of the people of the country, and the joint commission that had on it both Senators and Representatives and people from private life of experience and reputation, would certainly command very much more of all those things than simply a single committee of the House or the Senate.

Mr. O'NEILL. One other thing, Mr. Burgess: here we are supposedly the world's greatest legislative body.

Secretary BURGESS. We are.

Mr. O'NEILL. We are.

You haven't enough confidence that this body could get dedicated men to do a job without bringing in substantial businessmen?

Secretary BURGESS. It is conceivable; yes. I think it is.

Mr. O'NEILL. How about these men you mentioned that you would like to see working in the committee?

They are dedicated men, and wouldn't they work as part of a task force?

Secretary BURGESS. My judgment, Mr. Congressman, is they would not agree to serve with an investigation simply conducted by one committee of this body. They wouldn't think it was good enough.

They say that is a reflection upon our system of government.

Mr. ALLEN. If you take out that one sentence, yes. You are asking this group of people—what did you say about nonpartisan?

Mr. PATMAN. Let me read you what Burgess said before so as to also make it more enlightening to you.

You are probably forgetting something he said. Dr. Burgess said: "You have before the Congress at the present a number of bills. If some of these bills are passed, you would be having the House Committee on Banking and Currency conducting a separate investigation and at the same time have the Senate Banking Committee doing exactly the same thing, and those of us who will have to give a great deal of time preparing material for it will simply not be able to give it the attention—any one committee—that we ought to, and we will be running off in several directions and you won't get the same focus of attention and interest in the country that you would if you could get together a group that commanded the confidence all through the country and was able to get the time of the best people to serve as experts and come before it."

Now let me read you the telegram I sent out.

Mr. ALLEN. About the nonpartisan.

Mr. PATMAN. "Those opposing congressional study of monetary policy and financial institutions warning that unless guided by banking communities there will be no hope of getting high level expert assistance. Can Congress count on effective nonpartisan assistance such as your own in event congressional study goes forward? This, of course, implies no personal commitment to serve, but expressions of your own attitude."

Mr. ALLEN. What would any nonpartisan American, how else could he answer the telegram? I am reading the answer from J. M. Clark, professor of economics, Columbia University.

"I am not a financial expert; am sure experts willing to cooperate in proposed inquiry."

That is one. They couldn't do anything but answer the way you write the telegram. Could they say "No," the people wouldn't be willing to give the advice to a congressional committee? Would it be possible to get a different answer? Here is a couple of more of them from Prof. Ben W. Lewis, Oberlin College.

"Congress can always count on high level expert assistance from economics profession whether for congressional committees or presidential committees authorized by Congress."

How else can they answer those things? How would any American answer if you get a letter, can we count on you to help a congressional committee?

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Burgess answered it differently. He said we wouldn't.

He said our House wasn't big enough. That is an attack on the system of government.

Mr. ALLEN. The way the telegram is worded you couldn't expect some American college professor to write back, "You can't count on us."

Sure, they are compelled to answer your telegram that way. Here is one:

"I am confident that expert nonpartisan assistance will be available for any dispassionate inquiry into monetary policy.

"Prof. JAMES TOBIN,
"Yale University."

What else could a person answer but come back with those kinds of replies?

Mr. PATMAN. It answers Dr. Burgess. He said we couldn't get the right kind of people.

Mr. ALLEN. Robert Nathan & Associaties says:

"Responding your wire wish to assure you that we would certainly be prepared to assist any group authorized by the Congress to study monetary policies and financial institutions."

How else could an individual American answer a telegram as you have worded it there? Could he write back saying, "No, you can't depend upon people not to cooperate with the congressional committee any more than if they ask you to start beating the wife."

Mr. O'NEILL. They can answer it as Seymour Harris answered it:

"Badly need investigation of the monetary problems; this investigation should be undertaken by the Congress not by the administration."

They all have the same opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. I have to remind you there is a quorum call on.

Mr. ALLEN. That's the only question. I couldn't conceive of any American writing back differently saying that for nonpartisan advice and assistance.

Mr. PATMAN. I couldn't conceive of Dr. Burgess making up such a statement.

Mr. LATHAM. I have a few questions and Mr. SCOTT has a few.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. SCOTT is not here.

Mr. LATHAM. He went to answer the quorum call. I suggest that we answer the quorum call and ask the witness to come back.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to come back a little later?

Mr. DELANEY. I think we could try to finish up with this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's come back after the quorum call.

(Recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions of Mr. PATMAN?

Mr. SCOTT?

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. LATHAM has some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. LATHAM said Mr. SCOTT wanted to ask a question.

Mr. ALLEN. Let them go ahead.

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. PATMAN, I think that reading the telegrams which you sent out I can understand why you got the answers that you did. I think that you have in the telegram, you assume or state certain things which are not the fact. For instance, you say, "Those opposing congressional study of monetary policy" and then later on "Can Congress count on effective," and so on. Actually what you propose with your resolution is really a subcommittee study; isn't it? It is not the whole Congress.

Mr. PATMAN. It is the committee that has jurisdiction of the subject, the Banking and Currency Committee.

Mr. LATHAM. It would be a subcommittee of the full committee?

Mr. PATMAN. The whole committee or a subcommittee.

Mr. LATHAM. I think that destroys the whole basis of your attack on the statements of Mr. Burgess who was here. Because his thought was directed, his thought that it would be difficult to get some of these prominent people to lend their full assistance to an inquiry was directed to the idea that this was going to be carried on by a subcommittee of the full committee of the Congress and not by the Congress itself.

It would be different in the whole Congress, if this were a full congressional proposition.

Mr. PATMAN. The whole House would be doing it if the House passed a resolution the House would be backing it.

Mr. LATHAM. That is what you say in this telegram and that is why you got those replies. But actually it is a subcommittee investigation.

Mr. PATMAN. I don't agree with you. It is the House of Representatives investigation.

Mr. LATHAM. It is, in a sense, but actually it is going to be done by a subcommittee and that was certainly what Mr. Burgess was directing his remarks at in my humble opinion.

Mr. PATMAN. May I invite your attention to the fact that he used the phrase, "A single congressional committee"?

Mr. LATHAM. The telegram doesn't say that, it speaks about Congress.

Mr. PATMAN. We are talking about different things.

Mr. LATHAM. Of course, people will cooperate with Congress. I believe there is another statement in your telegram.

Mr. PATMAN. What is it?

Mr. LATHAM. Isn't this untrue? You say here, "Those opposing congressional study warn that unless guided by banking community."

Mr. PATMAN. That's right.

Mr. LATHAM. Who has suggested that this study as proposed by Mr. Talle would be guided by a banking community? I haven't Heard that, I don't think.

Mr. PATMAN. I am sure the gentleman knows that Mr. Burgess' recommendation would be looked upon favorably by the President to select the ones who know more about this than anybody else. I don't think anybody doubts that.

Mr. LATHAM. My recollection is that Mr. Wilde specifically stated that we should have some banking representation, from academic thinkers, Members of Congress—he suggested labor. You put a completely false assumption in that telegram.

Mr. PATMAN. I dont' agree with you.

Mr. LATHAM. When you say you "warn," that it is going to be "guided by the banking community."

Mr. PATMAN. That's right.

Mr. LATHAM. That wasn't what I heard around this table.

Mr. PATMAN. Now listen to this: Mr. Burgess even says if you will read this language carefully in effect, that he is going to have to write the speeches and he can't afford, he doesn't have the time to write speeches for both sides. You read his statement now.

Mr. LATHAM. I don't recall any testimony in that sense.

Mr. PATMAN. It is pretty far reaching.

Mr. LATHAM. I have a pretty clear recollection that most of these men who testified said that it should be broad, it should be representative of all the phases of governmental life and financial life and certainly not limited as you say in this telegram to being guided by banking interests.

Mr. PATMAN. I think that is the issue. That is my opinion of the issue. Whether we will have a banker study or by the Congress.

Mr. ALLEN. Will you yield, Mr. LATHAM?

Mr. LATHAM. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Why didn't you put this telegram in your statement when you put the replies in? Isn't that natural when you receive letters back?

Mr. PATMAN. Let me answer that.

Mr. ALLEN. Isn't that a natural thing to do?

Mr. PATMAN. This is the third mimeographed statement I got up. Every time it looked like I would have less time. The first two I had it in there. I sent over to the office to get copies. I kept trying to reduce it in size.

Mr. ALLEN. When you have 11 pages, isn't it natural when you send out a telegram——

Mr. PATMAN. That's why I put it in the first time. I put it in. But you kept putting me off and putting me off. I had to change it and reduce it in size and I was reducing it in size.

Mr. ALLEN. It was just 7 lines out of 11 pages.

Mr. LATHAM. Do you think that Congress ought to do its constitutional duty to study that thing?

Mr. PATMAN. I certainly do.

Mr. LATHAM. Did you vote for the resolution yesterday passing the buck to the President on the budget?

Mr. PATMAN. That wasn't passing the buck. If he didn't say something in his message about it, I wouldn't have voted for that resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution yesterday took a full day, so let's not get into that.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. PATMAN. I could ask you for the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. If you get started on that, you will be here all day and I want to go.

Mr. SCOTT?

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. PATMAN, your telegram does not state that it is an expression of opinion on your part as you indicated a moment ago. It states, it uses the very ancient technique of "they" or "those" meaning some dangerous or sinister—that you, I don't know why I lost that word—that some sinister element is behind it. This is an ancient technique in Washington. They are those that would destroy your liberty. They would do you harm. You start this telegram off by saying, without identifying and without evidence here which I have heard to support it, that "Those opposing a congressional study of monetary policy"—may I point out first of all that "those" are not identified; they are made to appear sinister; that the references to a congressional study of monetary policy, which many economists who may not carefully follow all the proceedings of the Congress and reports in the press would be justified in assuming could also refer to the administration proposal, which is a proposal to include Members of Congress in a study and therefore is in part a congressional study of monetary policy, and I ask you if the use of the words "congressional study of monetary policy" and the use of the vague word "those" did not prevent you from securing a fair and adequate reply from these economists?

Mr. PATMAN. I don't think so. If I had sent that telegram to Mr. Sproul, he would have replied "No"; or to Mr. Wilde, he would have said "No"; or Mr. Cravens, he would have said "No."

Mr. SCOTT. Then you knew who not to send the telegram to?

Mr. PATMAN. Some didn't reply. Those who replied preferred a congressional study. And everybody knows that Congress acts through committees.

Mr. SCOTT. Did anybody, in so many words, ever in any part of his testimony warn that unless Congress was guided by the banking community, using that phrase, that you couldn't get expert assistance?

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Burgess said that.

Mr. SCOTT. Did he use the phrase "banking community"?

Mr. PATMAN. He went further than that. He reflected on you, Mr. SCOTT.

Mr. SCOTT. Will you show me where he said that?

Mr. PATMAN. He reflected on you and the House of Representatives. He said we just couldn't do the job. We thought we were big enough to do the job.

Mr. SCOTT. He never used the phrase "banking community."

Mr. PATMAN. I am using that as an interpretation of what he is trying to do. I don't think any of us believe anything else.

Mr. SCOTT. If you had said in this telegram, "In my opinion," there are certain people including Mr. Burgess who oppose a congressional study of monetary policy, what do you think of that, would you have gotten the same telegram?

Mr. PATMAN. I sent the telegram and I had the right to fix it up the way I wanted.

Mr. SCOTT. I agree on the fixing. I have analyzed the replies you received. They made no sense to me until I saw the telegram. There are 25 replies and, even on the basis of a heavily double-barreled loaded wire, you only draw 4 replies which stoutly favor a "congressional study," even in the broad sense of the term; one specifically states that he favors a coordinate study—incidentally, the only man replying who seems to understand what this is all about. One reserves his opinion as to which course to pursue. And 19 definitely do not comment as to which course is preferable; that is, the administration bill or your committee study.

Mr. BROWN. He should have asked which they wanted.

Mr. SCOTT. That is my point. You should have given them a choice if it was to be an objective report as to whether they preferred the administration proposal or your proposal. But my point is even where you did not give them the choice, even with a loaded telegram, 19 of these 25 economists are too smart to come back and say that they favor what you want in your wire. I will read you the gentlemen who did.

Mr. PATMAN. You have criticized the word "they."

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. The newspapers over the country generally refer to "they"—Cravens, Wilde, Sproul, and Burgess—as opposing a congressional study. "They"—that word is used by the newspapers all over the country. It was well understood when I say "they."

Mr. SCOTT. I don't believe the average busy economist would assume by the word "they" exactly what you assumed by that. Nor would all the people in this room draw that assumption. Out of the 4 people who favor the congressional study, you have quoted 3 on your first page. They are Galbraith, Heller, Harris, and on the next page, Mr. Miernyk, whereas even Leon Keyserling does not give you an affirmative answer. He simply says he will be glad to help a congressional study.

Mr. PATMAN. May I invite your attention to one point that is being overlooked in your questioning? I asked them one specific question. Let me read that question.

"Can Congress count on effective nonpartisan assistance such as your own in the event congressional study goes forward?" That is the question I asked.

Mr. SCOTT. Your question is not quite that. Your question says, "Can Congress count on effective nonpartisan assistance such as your own in event congressional study goes forward?" Relating then back, however, to the fact that there are some sinister sources who oppose any congressional study which in turn would indicate that these same people have no confidence in the Members of Congress who would be chosen on the administration proposal.

Mr. PATMAN. But may I suggest too that Dr. Burgess has said they wouldn't serve and this was to find out if they would serve and every one of them said they would serve or at least said we could get support.

Mr. SCOTT. Would you be willing to trust your judgment on the opinion of economists here by sending a telegram to all of the economists in all of the colleges of the country, the head economist in each college and university, a simple telegram saying, "Do you favor the administration proposal or the Patman proposal?"

Would you be willing to rely on the judgment that you got back from them?

Mr. PATMAN. I am not doing that. You can do it if you want to. I am satisfied with the answers I got.

Mr. SCOTT. One other thing, Mr. PATMAN, and that is you expressed some concern about the fact that some of the people who were suggested by Mr. Burgess would not be, could not be objective in this committee.

Mr. PATMAN. I didn't say they couldn't be objective. I said they had a point of view.

Mr. SCOTT. I said you implied they could not be objective because you said they had a point of view.

Mr. PATMAN. That doesn't mean they can't be objective. I have a point of view and I can be objective and my record in Congress is convincing that I can be objective and

ve been objective although I have a point view.

Mr. SCOTT. In developing the theory of nobjectivity——

Mr. PATMAN. I didn't use that word.

Mr. SCOTT. In developing the theory of nobjectivity, you use the words—if you low me you will notice that as a former ofessor I try to use very exact language. I id you used the words "clearly Mr. Sproul s preconceived ideas on these subjects." it wrong to have a preconceived idea on ese subjects?

Mr. PATMAN. That is not wrong. I am deding that right.

Mr. SCOTT. Why was it necessary to go into e point of view and preconceived ideas?

Mr. PATMAN. They were attacking me beuse I have a point of view.

Mr. SCOTT. You see no harm in these people ving because they have a point of view.

Mr. PATMAN. Not on that account.

Mr. SCOTT. I think that is all.

Mr. LATHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

Mr. LATHAM. I think this is kind of imrtant.

Mr. PATMAN. Since he brought that out, I ust read what I said: "I have a very high gard for their objectivity and expert comtence in the field but I would like to point t they definitely have expressed themves publicly on monetary questions which e monetary commission would consider."

Mr. SCOTT. Have you not expressed yourself so, Mr. PATMAN?

Mr. PATMAN. Certainly I have. I don't ow of anybody interested in Government at hasn't expressed himself.

Mr. SCOTT. If you have a point of view and meone else has a contrary point of view, uldn't it be advisable to have both of you a committee so we can hammer out some nclusions on it and have debate?

Mr. PATMAN. They should not necessarily on the Commission but they should be ard and considered.

Mr. SCOTT. Then it would be better to have e people with your point of view on top d the people with the different point of ew on tap.

Mr. PATMAN. I have demonstrated that I n conduct an objective investigation and prefer that kind of an investigation.

Mr. LATHAM. You answered a moment ago answer to a question by Mr. SCOTT that Those opposing"—those words in the teleram referred to the witnesses who were re, including Sproul, Burgess, and Wilde.

Mr. PATMAN. Cravens.

Mr. LATHAM. Yes. You say in the telegram further, "Warning that unless guided the banking community." Can you point to a statement by any of those witnesses at unless guided by a banking community ey would be against this proposal?

Mr. PATMAN. The President in appointing e Commission will leave monetary matrs to Mr. Burgess. That is the reason he brought down from New York with four ther directors of the Federal Reserve bank have control of monetary policy. You now and I know that the President would ppoint whoever Mr. Burgess wanted that ould be a banker-guided group.

Mr. LATHAM. Wait a minute now.

Mr. PATMAN. That is my belief. I doubt you have a different view.

Mr. LATHAM. I know that is my belief. an you point to any testimony of any one those men who warned that unless guided the banking community they would be gainst this proposal?

Mr. PATMAN. Well, Mr. Burgess is, No. 1, a anker community man. He has demonrated that many times and he told us that e couldn't do the job. The House of Repsentatives couldn't do the job. We were oo small.

Mr. LATHAM. I know, but you cannot point to any slightest scintilla of evidence in the testimony.

Mr. PATMAN. That is right there. Mr. Burgess said we want an administration group, an Eisenhower-appointed group.

Mr. LATHAM. He didn't say that.

Mr. PATMAN. He testified to it. I will strike out the word "Eisenhower." A group appointed by the President. I know who he would appoint and I doubt if you have any contrary opinion. You know who he would appoint. He would appoint the people that Mr. Burgess wanted appointed.

Mr. LATHAM. They proposed to appoint somebody, someone from labor.

Mr. PATMAN. One witness might have said that, but Mr. Burgess didn't say that.

Mr. LATHAM. That's all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, gentlemen.

Any further questions?

Mr. SCOTT. Could I ask one question? I noticed the reference to New York here. Is there anything per se evil in the banking community of New York that leads you to say that?

Mr. PATMAN. Oh, no. I don't hate New York just because there are a few selfish, greedy fellows up there. You have them in every town in the country.

Mr. ALLEN. May I ask one question? I can't find it here. When Mr. MULTER testified, he said something about the big banks lobbying and gobbling up the little banks. I can't find that in this testimony now, where I asked you those questions but in your statement I don't see it here.

Mr. MULTER. Are you referring to my testimony?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. MULTER. It was handed to me this morning and I haven't had a chance to review it.

Mr. ALLEN. I can't find in this transcript where you said that; I know you said it here.

I know I asked you about that question and requested you, if you would, reconsider it. I don't find it in the official transcript where you said that.

Mr. MULTER. I have not read the transcript and I have made no changes or corrections in that yet. You and I did have a considerable discussion about the big banks gobbling up the little banks.

Mr. ALLEN. I have the part where I asked you, but I can't locate your statement. It is in here where I ask you this question, "Don't you want to reconsider about the banks gobbling up the small people," and I had you reconsider it, but in your statement here I can't find where you said that.

Mr. MULTER. Somebody has edited what I said, because, Mr. ALLEN, I did say what you say.

Mr. ALLEN. I asked you if you didn't want to reconsider it. I can't find where you said it here in this transcript.

Mr. MULTER. May I suggest, Mr. ALLEN, that I have thought about what you and I were discussing. I have no desire to change what I said about the big banks gobbling up the small banks. I think even Attorney General Brownell agrees with me in that statement, if not in that exact language; in substance he agrees with me, so far as lobbying is concerned, may I say the banks have every right to lobby as any other American citizen has and to that extent I think you are right, that has no place in this record.

Mr. ALLEN. It is out of that unless I can't find it.

Mr. PATMAN. May I briefly comment on one statement the gentleman from Pennsylvania made, Mr. SCOTT, and that is that every point of view should be on the Commission and I said, No., they should be heard but they shouldn't necessarily be on the Commission. The reason for that is that Members of Congress bet their political lives every day when they vote on questions.

They have more at stake than anybody else because they have everything, their whole record and their future at stake. They are going to do their very best to arrive at the right decision on these questions. A committee composed of Members of Congress, they have reasons to do exactly the right thing, whereas a commission composed of people outside of Congress who are not elected, they have nothing to lose and this resolution proposing the presidential study even exempts them from the conflict of interest and from all criminal prosecutions in the even they do not protect the public interest.

So there is a big difference. And a person sitting on that committee who has his political life at stake and who is elected to serve the people and one who is not elected to serve the people and who is exempt from any prosecutions.

Mr. SCOTT. Would the gentleman permit a comment there? In reference to the fact that we in Congress are always betting our political lives and that we have something to lose if we don't do the right thing, let's look at the other side of the shield. If we are on a congressional committee, is it not also true that perhaps politically we may have something to gain if we reach certain conclusions?

Mr. PATMAN. If we do the right thing.

Mr. SCOTT. According to our views. If we come to certain conclusions, we as Congress also induced by the lure of gain as well as restrained by the threat of loss.

Mr. PATMAN. By doing the right thing.

Mr. SCOTT. According to our lights.

Mr. PATMAN. The only way to remain in politics and stay winning is to do the right thing.

Mr. COLMER. While we are getting into this academic discussion, may I suggest off the record——

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all, gentlemen? Thank you very much.

Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, sir.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON GENERAL CREDIT CONTROL AND DEBT MANAGEMENT; JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT

(Speech of Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN, of TEXAS, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, June 28, 1952)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a little over a year ago, Senator O'MAHONEY, chairman of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, appointed a Subcommittee on General Credit Control and Debt Management. I am chairman of this subcommittee; the other members are Mr. Bolling and Mr. Wolcott, of this House, and Senators Douglas and Flanders.

As many of you may remember, there was a great deal of criticism of this subcommittee, particularly in the financial press, by persons who were misinformed concerning our intentions. These criticisms had no effect on the members of the subcommittee, as we knew that we had no intention other than to conduct a thorough and objective inquiry, and we had confidence in one another.

In the early summer of 1951 the subcommittee secured the services of Dr. Henry C. Murphy as economist. Dr. Murphy has had a long and distinguished career as a public servant. For 13 years, from 1935 to 1948, he was attached to the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, after 1939 holding the position as assistant director of research and statistics. Since September 1949 he has been Chief of the Finance Division in the Research Department of the International Monetary Fund, from which position he was borrowed by the subcommittee. For a number of years prior to 1935 he was in private business in Detroit. He holds degrees from

several colleges and universities, including a doctor's degree from Brown University. He is the author of a well-known text, "The National Debt in War and Transition." A large part of the credit for organizing and directing this inquiry must be given to Dr. Murphy. His work has been characterized by a high proficiency, forcefulness, and above all fairness. The subcommittee was extremely fortunate to obtain a man of his caliber as directing economist.

In addition to Dr. Murphy, Dr. Grover Ensley, staff director of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, has been particularly helpful. Indeed the entire staff of the committee should be commended. Without their assistance this inquiry could never have been made.

During the summer and early fall Dr. Murphy prepared a searching series of questions addressed to various classes of respondents, the questions for each being tailored in accordance with their interests and special sources of information. In preparing these questions, Dr. Murphy had the close cooperation of the Federal Reserve System, the Treasury, and many members of the financial and academic communities. The questions were released to the public in the form of a pamphlet published by the subcommittee last October.

The response, both inside and outside the Government, and especially from the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System, was magnificent. The answers of all respondents were published by the subcommittee in February of this year in a two-volume document entitled "Monetary Policy and the Management of the Public Debt; Their Role in Achieving Price Stability and High-Level Employment." This document has been widely acclaimed as the most valuable sourcebook of material on monetary policy and debt management which has been published in many years. Originally issued as a joint committee print, it has since been reprinted as a public document by resolution of the Senate.

The subcommittee held hearings from March 10 through March 31. We heard witnesses representing all phases of opinion, including both public officials and leaders of the financial and academic communities. In the course of these hearings we built up a record which I know will be of use to Congress and its committees and to the public generally for many years to come.

The printed record of the subcommittee's hearings was released to the public recently, and the subcommittee has now prepared and will soon issue its report. I think this time is opportune, therefore, to place in the RECORD some clippings from newspapers, magazines, and financial services and some extracts from comments made by witnesses at the hearings which bear on the significance of the task undertaken by the subcommittee and the way in which it has addressed itself to this task.

This material is as follows:

"[From the Washington Post of March 7, 1952]

"PATMAN TO EVALUATE SNYDER'S DEBT POLICY

"(By J. A. Livingston)

"The hearings scheduled to start on Monday before Representative WRIGHT PATMAN'S Subcommittee on General Credit Control and Debt Management will not lead immediately to new legislation. They're primarily explorative. Yet they have special significance. They will help to determine the place of John W. Snyder among the great, near-great, or not-so-great American Secretaries of the Treasury.

"For this Snyder has a sympathetic committee chairman. Snyder has favored a low-interest policy to keep down the cost of carrying the Federal debt. And PATMAN, a Democrat from Texas, has long been partial to low interest rates on Government securities.

"Nevertheless, in the questionnaires sent out by PATMAN to the Treasury, the Federal Reserve, the Council of Economic Advisers, and other Government agencies his low-interest bias has been imperceptible. The document is a landmark in monetary history. The replies have been well documented, carefully reasoned, and are unusually complete. Henry C. Murphy, the committee economist, who drafted the questions and 'nursed' the replies, has provided reading matter for monetary experts, college professors, and students for years to come.

"For the first time, Snyder has bared the events, from the Treasury viewpoint, which led up to the accord with the Federal Reserve Board a year ago. He goes into great detail, in 189 pages, to explain the pros and cons of Treasury policy. His answers to a similar questionnaire from a subcommittee on money and credit headed by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS in 1949 were brief and took less than 20 pages. DOUGLAS has been an outspoken critic of the Treasury's policy. He objected to the policy of pegging Government bond prices.

"Both the Douglas and Patman subcommittees are divisions of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, with no power over legislation. Thus, DOUGLAS got nowhere in sponsoring a resolution to protect the Federal Reserve from Treasury domination. Legislation on money and credit originates in the Banking and Currency Committees, headed by Senator Burnet R. Maybank, Democrat, of South Carolina, and Representative BRENT SPENCE, Democrat, of Kentucky.

"One measure of the success of a Secretary of the Treasury is the cost of the debt. And Snyder, throughout his term of office, has tried to keep the cost down. That's why he resisted the efforts of the Federal Reserve Board to reduce supporting prices for Government bonds. If prices of Government bonds drop, interest rates rise.

"There's another measure of a Secretary of the Treasury: Has he kept his financial house in order?

"When Snyder took office, at the end of June 1946, the total debt was $268 billion. Today it is down to $257 billion. But the composition of the debt has changed radically. The amount of nonmarketable United States securities has increased from 30 percent to 45 percent, largely because large investors, such as insurance companies and individuals, have not been attracted to long-term Treasuries at a 2½-percent rate.

"As a consequence, Snyder has used short-term obligations to pay off long-term issues. Thus, half of the marketable issues outstanding today are due or callable in 1 year or less, as against 33 percent when he took office, as the following table shows:

	June 1946	Today
	Percent	*Percent*
Under 1 year	33	50
1 to 5 years	18	20
Over 5 years	49	30

"It won't be easy for Snyder to float large long-term bond issues in the near future, say, for 6 months. Just as such bonds were not easily salable when large investors feared depegging, now long-terms are not readily salable because large investors want the market to be thoroughly tested after the depegging.

"Snyder may have time to rearrange the composition of the debt if the Democrats win the election and he continues in office. But if the Republicans are victorious in November, he will turn over to his successor a big job of housekeeping. The new Secretary of the Treasury will have to refund what Snyder has unfunded.

"Snyder has compromised. To reduce cost of carrying the debt he has reduced maturity. The Patman questionnaire hearings will help to determine the wisdom of that compromise. But time will be necessary to fix Snyder's place in tory: Will the 2½-percent long-term ra ultimately validated by the market?"

"[From the Washington Post of March 1952]

"PATMAN IN THE CHAIR

"Only in one country, so far as we k is credit policy debated on the front and that is Sweden. In this the Sw have a true sense of values. For the agement of the supply of bank credit (w is by far the bulk of the money in cir tion) has, obviously, all-important repe sions on the people's livelihood. Here, ever, the subjects gets attention mainly the financial pages—though the flare-u year ago between the Federal Reserve Sy and the Treasury, both of which have cr creating powers, became public prop The flareup occurred when the Federal serve wanted to tighten credit availa and the Treasury to keep it easy. The rel was composed by an accord last Mar which went some way in meeting the Fe Reserve point of view.

"Now the subject has been reopened b investigation by a five-man subcommitte the Joint Committee on the Economic Re under Representative WRIGHT PAT Nearly a year ago, Mr. PATMAN annou the investigation. In the meantime he been assailed as a money crank and an money addict who would not listen to re and who wanted to rub out the independ of the Federal Reserve System. Exactly contrary has proved to be the case. chairman could be more judicial-min none more willing to allow the argum pro and con to be heard. Indeed, yest he acknowledged the enlightenment had been forthcoming in the colloquie tween Senator DOUGLAS and Federal Re and Government witnesses, particularly Keyserling.

"The investigation arm at its best

"Senator DOUGLAS wants to turn the ac of last March into a statutory enactm and to strengthen it in behalf of Fe Reserve independence. He wants the Fe Reserve authorized to assume primary sponsibility for regulating the supply cost of credit. Thus the Treasury would to play second fiddle in this respect to Federal Reserve. When these proposals made, this newspaper felt they were inad able. We still think they are. At the time we welcome the thorough airing w the problem is getting. Senator Dou has an acute and highly informed mind this as on a score of other problems of ernment, and the rubbing of it against minds of the money experts in Federal serve and Government service is produ testimony of the utmost value in for opinion and policy. Here is the investig arm at its best."

"[From the New York Herald Tribune February 29, 1952]

"MONETARY POLICY BATTLE IS SPARKED UNITED STATES POLL—TOP FEDERAL, FI EXPERTS ROLL OUT GUNS

"(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

"WASHINGTON, February 28.—The Trea the Federal Reserve Board, and Reserve presidents, President Truman's Counc Economic Advisers, and several hundred vate experts rolled out their heavy art today to fight the battle of monetary icy—the question of the effectiveness sirability, and safety of a general tight of credit and rise in interest rates to pr inflation.

At the end of 1,302 pages, the field was
wn with wounded arguments and, de-
e agreement on many points and a will-
ness to cooperate, the issue was still very
ch in question.
The battle of words was fought in the
n of detailed and lengthy replies to a
estionnaire sent out last fall by a sub-
mittee of the congressional Joint Eco-
ic Committee, headed by Representative
IGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas. The
lies made public today covered a wide
ge of subjects, but by far the greatest
ce was devoted to monetary policy. The
wers are believed to be the most com-
e review of the subject in a generation
more.
The official and unofficial experts dis-
eed on:
1. What is likely to happen after the Re-
e Board clamps down on credit and the
ation of deposit money by squeezing bank
erves.
2. The effect of a credit tightening move
Treasury borrowing and the public debt.
3. The meaning of what actually hap-
ed in this field between the end of World
r II and the present.

"All agree on inflation peril

And they implied disagreement on what
ht to be done in the near future, when
lationary forces (they all agreed) will be
sent and the Treasury will have to borrow
to $10 billion in the market.
Ranged on one side was the Federal Re-
ve, whose hardest hitting arguments were
sented not by the Board itself but in the
t replies of the presidents of the 12
deral Reserve banks. The Federal Reserve
lieves strongly in monetary policy and,
ile accepting other responsibilities such as
isting in Treasury financing, has few
ubts that credit tightening is a good in-
ument in almost any inflationary circum-
nce.
On the other side was the Treasury, whose
ws were presented by Secretary John W.
yder. Mr. Snyder accepted the proposi-
n than expansion of the money supply is
desirable in inflationary conditions, but
argument left little doubt that he be-
ves monetary policy is overrated in its ef-
tiveness and must be used with caution.
In the middle, but leaning toward the
easury viewpoint, was the Council of Eco-
mic Advisers. One member of the Coun-
, John D. Clark, didn't participate.

"Four hundred private experts reply

And up and down the spectrum of opinion
re the 400 private economists, bankers,
urance company executives, and Govern-
nt security dealers who answered the
estionnaire. The published replies revealed
t frequently 2 experts in the same special-
were 180° apart in their judgment of a
tail of policy or of its entirety.
The disagreement in theory and practice
ended down, in some instances, to the
st minute detail. For example:
The Treasury and CEA contended that
effectiveness of monetary policy in curb-
expansion of bank loans (and thus the
ney supply) is limited by the fact that
nks, in the present period of a huge public
bt, can always replenish their funds by
owing maturing short-term Treasury se-
rities to 'run off'—that is, accept cash for
em.
The Reserve bank presidents called this an
parent, but not an actual, loophole' and
d the device is possible for an individual
nk but not all lenders unless the 'System
rchases enough of the refunding issues to
pply the Treasury with the cash to pay off
lders of maturing securities.'
The disagreements between the Federal
serve and Treasury began soon after the
r, the compendium reveals. In their dis-
sions of such an issue as removal of the
referential discount rate' in 1945, the an-
swers show, in Mr. Snyder's words, this difference of emphasis:

"'The most important economic question that confronted the country (we felt) as the war ended was how to expedite the reconversion process and maintain a high level of employment and production * * *. The Federal Reserve expressed concern mainly about the inflationary aspects of the reconversion period.'

"Disagreement after Korea

"But the real disagreement, and the striking difference of analysis in what happened, came after Korea. Mr. Snyder described a Treasury refunding operation announced on August 18, 'identical with the terms of the issues offered in connection with the last previous refunding operation—the refunding of the issues which had matured on June 1 and July 1.'

"The Reserve, he said, promptly took action to raise the rediscount rate, allowed short-term rates on Government securities to fall, and the result 'was a significant financing failure for the Federal Government.' A side result, he said, were forced purchases of securities by the Reserve with a net inflationary, not deflationary, effect. A comparable situation, he added, developed in November.

"The Reserve saw the same events entirely differently. Mr. Snyder's offering, according to the bank presidents, was 'unfortunate' in having the same terms as a pre-Korea issue. The System's 'only course' was to try to restrain credit expansion by allowing a falling off in the short-term market while still offering to buy the Treasury's maturing issues.

"The Reserve Board's chief concern before the 'accord' of last March was the unloading of Government bonds by institutional investors through sales to the 'Reserve in a pegged market, with consequent expansion of bank reserves.'

"Snyder ignores point

"Mr. Snyder did not even mention the point, merely pointing out, acidly, that 'the net result of Federal Reserve open market operations from August 21, 1950, through the end of the year was an increase in the System's open market account of over $2,500,000,000.' This, he said, 'was debt monetization'—just what the Reserve was trying to prevent.

"In three different places the Reserve Board's reply indicates that its monetary operations, particularly after the 'accord,' were a major factor in the halt in inflationary pressures in the last 9 months of last year. Mr. Snyder scarcely touches on the subject. The Council of Economic Advisers gives other factors far more credit.

"The basic disagreement over policy, to be described tomorrow, is summed up this way.

"Council of Economic Advisers: 'Restraint in the management of open market policy (the chief instrument of monetary policy, as all sides agree) will probably become more important during the next stage of the mobilization period.'

"Reserve bank president: 'We believe that in an inflationary period general credit and monetary policies should be directed toward restraining inflationary pressures, whether or not the Treasury is expected to have to carry out large borrowing or refunding operations in the foreseeable future."

"[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 16, 1952]

"PATMAN PROBE NO HEADLINER, BUT ITS VITAL—GROUP WELL POSTED ON TOUGH MONETARY ISSUES

"(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

"WASHINGTON, March 15.—In a week that saw congressional committees investigating such matters as the Institute of Pacific Relations and ship transactions get into table-pounding, angry denunciation of witnesses (and vice versa), another committee—with far fewer potentialities for headlines—was quietly and calmly inquiring this week into a matter of ultimately far greater importance.

"The five members of the Subcommittee on Monetary and Debt Management Problems of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, headed by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, wanted to know how to stop the seemingly continuing decline in the value of the dollar. They wanted to know how much the support operations of the Federal Reserve System in the Government security market after Korea contributed to the inflation of that time.

"They wanted to know about the Government debt, and the creation of bank reserves, and the money supply and equally arcane matters. And what's more, they did not come into the matter cold; they had done some homework, and they moved around familiarly in the difficult field.

"On a high plane

"What's more, individual members often disagreed sharply with the viewpoints expressed by the witnesses present; but, except for some vitriol in the exchanges between Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, and Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder, the week's hearings were conducted entirely on a plane of high debate and never of political or emotional argument.

"Perhaps typical of the atmosphere was the phrase used by Senator DOUGLAS after a long, intense colloquy with Chairman Leon H. Keyserling, of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. The two had disagreed right down the line, after a great deal of preliminary sparring to get their respective viewpoints clearly stated.

"Senator DOUGLAS, without a note of criticism or sarcasm, finally remarked: 'The issue is clearly joined.'

"Chairman PATMAN, who is viewed with alarm by defenders of the Federal Reserve System, conducted the hearings with studied impartiality. His own questions indicated he still has many of the ideas that his critics worry about, but there was—this week at least—no effort to do more than get a little further elaboration of those ideas from the witnesses.

"Got little encouragement

"Significantly, he got little encouragement on any of them, even from witnesses who might be expected to share his viewpoint on many phases of the monetary problem.

"The other members of the committee are Representative Jesse P. Wolcott, Republican, Michigan, generally regarded as a sort of senior spokesman of conservative Republicans on economic matters in the House; Senator RALPH FLANDERS, Republican, Vermont, the slow-speaking, bushy-mustached businessman from New England, whose questions are often sparkled with dry wit and were invariably brief and penetrating, and Representative RICHARD BOLLING, Democrat, Missouri, the 'youngster' on the committee and clearly a 'liberal,' who admits, 'I am there to learn,' but whose careful queries impressed many observers with how quickly the learning process has taken place.

"One of the surprises of the hearings was the number of spectators. Day after day their number approached or passed the 100 mark, though far more exciting things were going on on Capitol Hill. It's a fairly safe bet that few of them were disappointed at the performance—despite the lack of fireworks."

"[From the Wall Street Journal of February 29, 1952]

"FISCAL FORUM—PATMAN MAKES PUBLIC THE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON MONETARY POLICY

"(By George E. Cruikshank)

"WASHINGTON. — Representative PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, made public what the Nation's leading economic and fiscal ex-

perts—both in and out of Government—think of this country's monetary policies and the management of the public debt.

"The information comes in the form of answers to a questionnaire sent out by Mr. PATMAN last fall. He heads a committee which is investigating the Government's postwar monetary policies. On one important point—Federal Reserve Board support of the Government bond market—some observers here think the answers show that the Reserve Board and the Treasury have finally buried the hatchet and agreed that there should be limited support of Government bonds. Other observers think the answers leave the feud essentially where it was, with the Treasury still hankering for stronger Federal Reserve support of the bonds.

"Hearings start March 10

"The answers to Mr. PATMAN's questions fill 2 volumes and cover some 1,300 pages. They will serve as a basis for hearings which are scheduled to begin on March 10. Any doubts as to the proper interpretation of the answers are expected to be dispelled at those hearings when the individuals come up for direct questioning by the committee members.

"Secretary Snyder's answers to the questions dwelled at length on the market for Government securities. Time and again, the Secretary cited the need for a sound market for Government securities, but he made it clear that rigidly fixed prices were neither necessary nor desirable.

"At another point he emphasized: 'I consider the term "stable market" as we think of it in the Treasury as a market in which prices and yields fluctuate within a moderate range over a considerable period, but without exhibiting any pronounced upward or downward trend.

"'I do not consider it to mean a pegged market in which fluctuations are prevented by means of fairly rigid support operations on the part of the Federal Reserve.'

"Prior to the Secretary's statement, it was widely held that the Treasury wanted the Federal Reserve to support Government bond prices at par or above by buying the securities whenever they were offered for sale. Mr. Snyder, in coming out for a stable market, did not say whether the Federal Reserve should keep the security market stable at prices above or below par. This was taken by some to mean that the Reserve System's new policy has been accepted by the Treasury. Other observers noted, however, that Mr. Snyder urged the postwar period as an example of stability, and that is precisely the time during which all the feuding has been going on.

"Answers from CEA

"Those who thought the Secretary's statements showed administration acceptance of the Reserve Board's policy of limited support for Government bonds, got further encouragement from the answers sent in by the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

"The Council, too, came out for a stable market for Government bonds and opposed a rigid pegged market. However, the Council's answers were submitted by only 2 of the 3-man body. Leon Keyserling and Roy Blough submitted answers to the Patman questionnaires, while John Clark—the third member—did not contribute. This was taken to mean by some that Mr. Clark did not agree with his colleagues on limited bond support.

"Another hot issue—White House control of the Federal Reserve Board—received considerable attention by the Treasury, the FRB, and the CEA in their answers.

"Representative PATMAN, a known advocate of putting the Reserve Board under the thumb of the Chief Executive, will get no support from the Board and, apparently, no direct support from the Treasury or the CEA.

"In answer to question 9—What provision, if any, is there for resolving policy conflicts between the Treasury (or other agencies of the executive branch) and the Federal Reserve System? Do you believe that this power should lie with the President (or already does under the Constitution)?—Secretary Snyder replied:

"'There is no doubt that the Federal Reserve System could conceivably impede, if not actually obstruct, Government policies which the President has announced and, indeed, on which he may have been actually elected or reelected to office. The President has complete power over the Secretary of the Treasury. He has no such powers over the members of the Board of Governors. Hence, since the President does not have the power of removal, it would appear to me that he is without power effectively to direct.

"'I do not recommend that it be changed.'

"No authority to solve conflicts

"Secretary Snyder, later on in his answer to the same question, said the biggest disvantage to the present arrangement was that no specific authority existed to resolve any 'irreconcilable' conflicts between the President and Treasury and the Federal Reserve.

"He listed the present methods for ironing out policy conflicts as: The give and take resulting from discussion around the conference table; the force of public opinion; congressional action.

"'I do not suggest that the President should be given any powers which he does not now have to resolve such disputes,' the Secretary emphasized.

"Secretary Snyder urged the creation of a small consultative and discussion group within the Government to consist of the Secretary of the Treasury, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, the Director of the Budget, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. This group would act as a top advisory group to the President on broad questions of monetary and fiscal policy. It would meet with the President for informal discussions as often as desired.

"'In other words' the Secretary replied, 'I recommend to the committee no drastic changes in order to resolve disputes.'

"Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin's answers to the Patman question about executive control over the Federal Reserve proved no surprise. A stanch advocate of an independent board, Mr. Martin answered:

"'It is essential to the effective performance of the system's unique function that the independence of the judgment reposed by Congress in the board and the open market committee be preserved'."

"[From the Wall Street Journal of March 3, 1952]

"SNYDER TO LEAD OFF HEARINGS ON POSTWAR UNITED STATES MONETARY POLICIES—PATMAN GROUP INQUIRY TO BEGIN NEXT MONDAY; AT LEAST 26 WITNESSES SCHEDULED TO TESTIFY

"WASHINGTON.—Treasury Secretary John Snyder will be lead-off witness in the long-planned congressional hearings on the Nation's postwar monetary policies.

"Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, chairman of a subcommittee of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, said his group would hear from at least 26 witnesses during the course of its investigation which is scheduled to begin March 10.

"The committee will delve into recent developments and appropriate future policy in the fields of money, banking and credit, management of the Nation's public debt, and the adequacy of the country's banking system to serve the needs of depositors and borrowers.

"William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chair... of the Federal Reserve Board, is slated to ... pear March 11. Leon Keyserling and ... Blough, of the President's Council of ... nomic Advisers, testify the following day.

"A. L. M. Wiggins, chairman of the At... Coast Line Railroad Co. and former U... Secretary of the Treasury, is schedule... come before the committee on Friday, M... 14, along with Preston Delano, Compt... of the Currency.

"Late last week the Patman subcomm... released a 1,300-page compendium of m... rial on monetary policy and manageme... the public debt. The information was in... form of answers to questionnaires sen... more than 1,000 financial experts in are... of Government. Those answers will ser... a basis for the hearings."

"[From the New York Journal of Com... of February 29, 1952]

"SNYDER, RESERVE STILL SPLIT ON CREDIT ICY—REPLIES TO JOINT CONGRESS UNIT S... BASIC DIFFERENCES—TREASURY HEAD IS ... TRUSTFUL OF TRADITIONAL RESTRAINT ... BACKED BY MARTIN

"(By Joseph R. Slevin)

"WASHINGTON, February 28.—The Tre... and the Federal Reserve Board, which ... ciled their immediate differences over ... and monetary policy in a full accord ... last March, still hold widely divergent ... on how they can best work for a stable ... omy now and under various hypoth... conditions in the future.

"The Federal Reserve Board believes ... as it did last March that substantial re... should be placed on the traditional me... of achieving general credit restraint th... open-market operations, rediscounting ... manipulating reserve requirements.

"Snyder is cautious

"Secretary of the Treasury John S... still distrusts these techniques and is ... posed to anything more than an ultr... tious use of them, because he fears that ... eral restraints might upset the Govern... bond market and make it difficult, if no... possible, for him to carry out Govern... financing operations.

"These conclusions emerge from the n... that Snyder and Federal Reserve ... Chairman William McC. Martin, Jr., ... submitted in answer to questions from ... subcommittee on general credit contro... debt management of the congressional ... Economic Committee.

"The congressional group publishe... Snyder and Martin answers in a 1,30... compendium today, along with resp... from the Federal Reserve bank presi... Council of Economic Advisers, three ... Federal agencies, State bank super... bank and life-insurance-company execu... economists, and Government bond d...

"The subcommittee, under the chair... ship of Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, ... ocrat, of Texas, is investigating fiscal ... monetary policies and relationships be... the Reserve System and the Treasur... plans to hold public hearings beginning ... day, March 10.

"Two types of questions

"Declaring that the subject matter ... the group is immense, Mr. PATMAN sai... foreword to the compendium that two ... of questions stand out as focal points ... committee's investigations. He named ... as (1) the proper machinery for the for... tion of monetary policy and (2) the ... content of monetary policy.

"The compendium is notable for the ... prehensive nature of the answers it co... and for the manner in which it has ... ceeded in airing the varying Federal R... and Treasury views. Mr. PATMAN char... ized the volumes as by far the best s... book of materials on general credit c...

d debt management which has been assem-
d in our generation.

"Mr. Snyder's and Mr. Martin's answers
monstrate that the Treasury and the Fed-
l Reserve achieved a modus vivendi last
rch but did not reach philosophical agree-
nt on the monetary and fiscal policies that
uld be employed to stem inflation.

"At the same time, their responses strongly
ggest that a complete philosophical recon-
iation of the theories of the two agen-
s is not likely and that no more be an-
ipated than the negotiation of effective
rking agreements to deal with specific
uations.

"Have different goals

"This is so because the Treasury, on the
e hand, appears to be primarily concerned
at monetary restraints be used in such a
y that its financing activities can be suc-
ssfully carried out in a Government bond
rket that is permitted only modest fluc-
ations.

"The Federal Reserve, on the other hand,
s monetary restraint as its primary objec-
e and apparently believes that Treasury
nancing should be subordinated to eco-
mic stability and effected in a market that
attuned to the requirements of the na-
nal economy rather than to those of Treas-
y Department management officials.

"These divergent theories resulted in a vio-
nt disagreement between the two agencies
at was reconciled—in the Federal Reserve's
vor—in the accord of last March.

"The accord covered a number of points.
s chief consequence, however, was that it
eed the Federal Reserve from its obligation
support the long-term Government bond
rket.

"The Federal Reserve had supported the
ng-term market since early in World
ar II. This policy had resulted in its pour-
g large quantities of cash into the spend-
g stream as it sought to prevent a decline
the prices of Governments by buying
nds from banks and insurance companies
hich were making investments elsewhere.

"Continued after Korea

"This policy was continued in the months
ter Korea because Secretary Snyder, faced
th enormous rearmament financing prob-
ms, wanted the assurance of a stable
nd market. In January of 1951 Snyder
blicly announced that Treasury financing
uld be carried out within the 2½-percent
ng-term rate pattern that the Reserve had
en maintaining.

"However, in February the Reserve advised
nyder that it could no longer go along with
is policy. Then, on March 8, the accord
as negotiated.

"Government bonds have since fallen be-
w par, and the going market rate now is in
he neighborhood of 2.7.

"Credit seen tightened

"Mr. Martin's answers make it clear that
he Board believes this action helped last
pring to break the inflationary spiral. The
hairman contends that letting the prices
f Governments fall tightens credit for a
umber of reasons, chief among them being
he reluctance of institutional investors to
ell their securities at a loss.

"The sharpest cleavage between Secretary
nyder and Mr. Martin appears in their dis-
ussions of the effectiveness of open-market
perations and the Federal Reserve bank dis-
ount rate. The Board's position is that
pen-market operations not only can directly
estrain credit expansion by making in-
estors reluctant to dispose of their Gov-
rnments but also make the discount rate
ffective, since investors will seek to obtain
heir commercial paper at the Reserve banks
nce the selling of Governments has been
ade less attractive.

"Secretary Snyder contends that changes
n the structure of commercial bank port-
olios makes these traditional monetary con-
tol weapons much less effective than they
once were. Pointing out that banks now
hold much larger proportions of Government
securities than they did 20 or 40 years ago, he
maintains that Federal Reserve efforts at
credit restraint are 'more likely' to result in
banks attempting to liquidate their Govern-
ments than in their curtailing their loan ex-
pansion.

"Fears bond dumping

"At the same time, Secretary Snyder ex-
pressed grave concern that falling prices of
Governments might result in nonbank in-
vestors, such as insurance companies, dump-
ing their holdings. He emphasizes that 'no
precise forecast' can be made of the probable
results of general credit restraint on bank
and nonbank holders.

" 'The impossibility under present condi-
tions of measuring in advance the effects of
a general restrictive credit policy,' he says,
'means that sudden and severe declines in
the market prices of Government securities
may be produced by what was intended to be
a moderate degree of credit restriction. This
provides a strong reason for caution.

" 'Sudden and severe declines in the mar-
ket prices of Government securities,' he con-
tinues, 'might be shocking to public confi-
dence. They might be embarrassing to many
financial institutions owning large portfolios
of Government and other high-grade securi-
ties, particularly those with small amounts
of stockholder capital relative to their total
assets.

" 'Such declines,' the Secretary stresses,
'would complicate the Treasury's financing
problems.'

"Backs orderly markets

"Against this view, Mr. Martin says, in his
only direct discussion of market stability,
that the Reserve System believes in 'orderly
markets.' He defines these as markets that
are not subject to erratic movements but
that 'do not preclude broad movements that
reflect changes in basic underlying forces.'

"Mr. Martain says, referring pointedlly to
Secretary Snyder's reluctance to see the in-
terest rate rise that 'if Government securities
are available on terms that make them at-
tractive to the market, they will not require
open-market operations in a volume that
would be in conflict with the credit and
monetary objectives appropriate to the
period.'

"As for Secretary Snyder's fear that in-
vestors will sell their Governments and get
all the cash they need if prices go down,
Mr. Martin argues at length that: (1) If the
Federal Reserve does not buy them there
will be no increase in inflationary bank re-
serves; (2) as prices go down the yields will
make the securities more attractive to in-
vestors; (3) banks will become increasingly
reluctant to sell and take losses as prices go
down, and (4) bank sales and bank redemp-
tions of maturing issues will be limited by
the need of banks to maintain the liquidity
of their portfolios.

"A similar psychology, Mr. Martin says,
governs life-insurance firms and mutual sav-
ings banks."

"[From the New York Evening Post of
October 17, 1951]

"POWER-POLICY FIGHT

"(By Sylvia F. Porter)

"The power-policy conflict which has
smoldered between our National Treasury
and our central bank for almost 39 years is
breaking into the open again.

"This week, a congressional subcommittee,
headed by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN,
Democrat, of Texas, is quietly launching an
intensive probe into the operations of these
two fiscal giants of America—to determine
what and how close should be their relation-
ship, who should settle their feuds when they
explode, whether in this critical era it is
possible to have an independent central
bank or whether you and I must take the
risks inherent in giving our President more
authority over our banking system.

"This has been the key fiscal debate of our
century—the relationship between our
Treasury and Federal Reserve System.

"For Congress has given to the Federal Re-
serve System (our central bank) the author-
ity to smooth out economic peaks and panics
through regulating the supply of money and
credit in our land.

"When the Reserve clamps down on our
supply of money and credit—as it did last
spring, for instance—it can seriously hurt
you, as a businessman or builder, home buy-
er or user of installment credit. Yet when
it clamps down, it is fighting inflation at its
source.

"At the same time, Congress has given to
the Treasury the authority to manage the
public debt. The Treasury now has a $255
billion debt to manage; it has to borrow
billions every few weeks; it has to have a
receptive market when it borrows. It can be
as badly hurt by a Reserve move to tighten
credit as you or I can be.

"When the Reserve tightened the money
screws last spring, the Treasury was put on
a spot; it was forced to pay much more
interest on its loans, to add to the already
staggering cost of our debt.

"It's a constant dilemma, a basic conflict.
Those who want to give more power to the
Treasury fear that the Reserve, in its zeal to
curb inflation, could really send us spinning
from boom to bust.

"Those who want to maintain a truly in-
dependent central bank fear that the
Treasury, in its zeal to manage the debt,
could really send us into an even more dan-
gerous inflation. And they warn that all
nations going socialistic have first taken
over their banking systems and they point to
the lesson of England.

"This is a measure of the issues at stake in
this probe. They make most other investi-
gations seem superficial in the extreme.

"The conflict crashed the front pages last
spring—but after a few awful weeks, the
Reserve won and major credit-tightening
steps were taken. Then Reserve Board
Chairman McCabe resigned; William Mc-
Chesney Martin moved over from a Treasury
undersecretaryship to chairmanship of the
Reserve Board; Snyder and Martin were and
are friends; the general outside belief was
that all was serene.

"But not so. This fight goes far beyond
personalities. So now PATMAN is reviving
the debate, is sending tough, detailed ques-
tionnaires to Martin, to Snyder, to the pres-
idents of the 12 Reserve banks, to the 48
State banking supervisors, to key bankers,
etc.

"The answers to the questionnaires should
be back by the year end. Public hearings
are scheduled for early 1952. This story will
be front-page news again in a couple of
months.

"And the debate is more significant than
ever. More significant even than in 1913
when our Federal Reserve System was
created. More significant even than in 1935
when that System was overhauled to meet
the banking crises of the depression thirties.

"For how this conflict finally is resolved
will have a direct impact on the life of every
American. It is no exaggeration to say it
actually could help decide the ultimate eco-
nomic fate, the financial strength of Amer-
ica itself."

"[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of
February 29, 1952]

"MONETARY ISSUES AIRED BY OFFICIALS

"WASHINGTON, February 28.—Secretary of
the Treasury John W. Snyder called for a new
top-level council of Government officials to
nip in the bud conflicts between Federal
agencies over key monetary issues.

"Chairman William M. Martin of the Federal Reserve Board indicated he would go along with such a proposal.

"Their views were expressed in answer to a long list of questions on how best to promote national welfare through monetary and credit policies and avoid the booms and busts that have marked America's economy in the past.

"Replies released

"The questions were submitted to Government officials and more than 1,000 private bankers, brokers, and businessmen by a joint congressional subcommittee on monetary policy.

"More than 400 replies, covering 1,300 printed pages, were released today. Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, subcommittee chairman, said they made up the best symposium on such issues in our generation.

"The subcommittee will start hearings on the issues March 10.

"In the background was a sharp dispute over basic policy between the Treasury and Federal Reserve Board which stirred financial circles last year.

"Accord reached

"The question was whether the Reserve Board should go on supporting the prices of Government securities, thereby keeping interest rates low. The controversy ended in an accord under which the Board buys only enough securities to keep an orderly market. It has let interest rates rise and prices on Government bonds fall.

"This raises the cost of carrying the huge national debt, but the Board contends it saves the Government money in the long run by curbing inflation.

"The conflict brought demands from some legislators that the Reserve Board be put under control of the White House, which already directly controls the Treasury.

"Change opposed

"Both Snyder and Martin agreed today that under present laws the Reserve Board is independent of the President. In fact, Snyder noted, it is possible that the Board could impede, if not actually obstruct, policies proclaimed by the President.

"But they both opposed changing this setup. They emphasized that the Treasury and Reserve Board have now reached an accord which is working well."

"[From the Dallas News of March 23, 1952]

"OPINIONS VARY ON HOW TO STOP BIG DEPRESSION

"WASHINGTON, March 22.—Two weeks of congressional digging into Federal monetary policy and how best to steer clear of inflation or depression have made it clear the Nation's top experts are sharply divided on many broad, basic, and vital issues.

"A Senate-House subcommittee so far has heard from 19 Government officials, private economists, and university professors. More than a dozen others will be heard in 10 days to 2 weeks more of hearings.

"All of the witnesses thus far have agreed that monetary policy—the Government's program for regulating the supply of money—can be one of the keys to preventing or softening the booms and busts that have pockmarked America's economy in the past.

"But beyond that the authorities have split. Representative PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, subcommittee chairman, told a reporter today the lawmakers will wait until all views are in and then consider specific recommendations.

"There is growing talk of a possible resolution expressing the views of Congress on issues which at times have brought conflict between the Government's chief financial agencies—the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System.

"One issue is whether the Federal Reserve System should keep its independent position as 'the Supreme Court of Finance,' as some witnesses called it.

"In tightening the money supply to restrain inflation, the Federal Reserve Board tends to make it harder—and more costly—for the Government to borrow money. This has brought the Board into conflict with the White House and the Treasury in the past, although the agencies are working harmoniously on the surface right now."

"[From the Odessa (TEX.) American of March 23, 1952]

"CONGRESSMEN OPEN DEBATE ON MONDAY

"WASHINGTON.—Congressmen puzzling over the basic monetary policy of the United States enter the open-debate phase of their study Monday.

"In the past 2 weeks the Patman subcommittee of the Senate-House Economic Committee has quizzed 19 Government and private experts about Government borrowing, management of the $259 billion national debt, and control of the Nation's supply of money.

"For the coming week Subcommittee Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, has planned 4 free-for-all round-table debates by a new set of 22 keymen from the United States economic world.

"By June PATMAN'S five-man subcommittee hopes to piece together a complete analysis of monetary policy and debt management. It is expected to couple this with a set of recommendations for change, or no change, in the present situation.

"Three central questions confront the investigators:

"How important is it to the economy as a whole that the Government have a certain monetary policy?

"What is present policy and is it correct?

"Who should direct it—the White House, the Treasury, the Federal Reserve System, or all three?

"Witnesses' opinions have split 50–50 on all three problems, and PATMAN refused Saturday to predict his group's final conclusions.

"The Patman inquiry was inspired by a policy 'accord' reached by the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board of Governors just 1 year ago, after months of wrangling over who did what to the Government bond market.

"Government borrowing is done by selling bonds and other Government securities. The Reserve had a policy of buying these securities on the open market when public demand was low in order to keep their prices at par or higher. The accord recognized the abandonment of that policy, and since then prices of Government securities have fallen.

"For example, 2¼-percent bonds maturing in 1962 sold at 100.20 before the accord and now are 97.28."

"[From the American Banker (the only daily banking newspaper) of February 29, 1952]

"PATMAN REPORT REVEALS SNYDER BACKING FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD INDEPENDENCE

"WASHINGTON, February 28.—The much-discussed report of the special subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, under the chairmanship of Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, was made public today. One volume of the two-volume report comprised the views of the Secretary of the Treasury on problems of debt management, monetary policy, and credit, and those of the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board on these and related topics.

"Of significance is the fact that the report reveals the Secretary of the Treasury recommending against any change in the independent status of the Federal Reserve Board.

"As was expected, the history of the recent 'accord' over debt management was featured especially in the replies to questions [illegible] mally asked of the Secretary of the Treas[illegible] The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bo[illegible] devoted relatively less space to the subj[illegible]

"As has been frequently recorded in [illegible] American Banker, despite other news repo[illegible] no important differences now exist betw[illegible] the two agencies.

"Important in the questions and their [illegible] plies is the underlying thesis of Represen[illegible] tive PATMAN, namely, the advisability of [illegible] executive branch of the Government exer[illegible] ing greater control over the 'independ[illegible] Federal Reserve System.

"In the formal replies from the Secret[illegible] of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve [illegible] support is found for greater Presidential c[illegible] trol over the Federal Reserve.

"The latter, however, admits that it is [illegible] regularly clearing major communications [illegible] Congress and plans for requesting new le[illegible] lation through the Bureau of the Bud[illegible] The Bureau is, in effect, a part of the Wh[illegible] House. It operates directly under the dir[illegible] tion of the President.

"Secretary of the Treasury John W. Sny[illegible] pointed out that the President cannot, eve[illegible] he wished, remove a Reserve Board Gover[illegible]

"'Since the President does not have [illegible] power of removal, it would appear to me,' [illegible] says, 'that he is without power effectively [illegible] direct the Board.'

"As to a change, the Secretary add[illegible] 'Whether or not this situation should [illegible] changed is a matter for the Congress [illegible] decide. I do not recommend that it [illegible] changed.'

"Suggests discussion group

"In a discussion of the differences [illegible] grew over debt-management policy betw[illegible] the Federal Reserve under the chairmans[illegible] first of Marriner S. Eccles and then un[illegible] Thomas B. McCabe, the Secretary saw no[illegible] ing wrong in efforts of the President to [illegible] to have the differences composed by dis[illegible] sions around a table.

"Mr. Snyder suggested 'the creation [illegible] small consultation and discussion group [illegible] set up within the Government. This w[illegible] be composed of the Chairman of the Res[illegible] Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, [illegible] Director of the Budget, the Chairman of [illegible] Council of Economic Advisers, and the Ch[illegible] man of the Securities and Exchange C[illegible] mission.

"'I would have this group meet inform[illegible] but regularly and frequently for the purp[illegible] of discussing domestic monetary and fi[illegible] matters with each other,' he said.

"He would have this group call in head[illegible] the lending agencies, when matters rela[illegible] to their activities were under discussion.

"Secretary Snyder said the proposal wa[illegible] adaptation of one of the reports of [illegible] Hoover Commission designed to coordi[illegible] financial operations of the Government.

"What it would do

"The Secretary believed that such a g[illegible] would serve two major purposes:

"1. 'By regular and periodic meeting [illegible] discussion * * * differences of opinion [illegible] become less likely to develop. It is so m[illegible] easier to settle any prospective differe[illegible] of opinion around a table before they bec[illegible] fixed in mind or before they have been p[illegible] licly announced.'

"2. 'The group would act as a top-l[illegible] advisory group to the President on b[illegible] questions of monetary and fiscal policy. [illegible] could meet with him for informal dis[illegible] sions, and could report to him preferably [illegible] an informal and confidential basis as o[illegible] as desired.'

"The Secretary added after making [illegible] proposal:

"'As you see, I recommend no dr[illegible] changes in order to resolve disputes. I t[illegible] that they will be resolved as most disp[illegible]

e if discussion and negotiation are encouraged and facilitated.'

"That there was a sharp division of meth-ds and means for meeting economic changes casioned just prior to and immediately llowing the affair in Korea, is detailed in e Treasury's reply to the Patman committe.

"Difference in methods

"In perspective as afforded in the replies both Secretary Snyder and Chairman artin, the differences lay largely in meth-ds of achieving a common objective. hairman Martin appraised the differences: "'The differences that arose reflected dif-rences in judgment as to evaluation of the o objectives and as to the effectiveness d consequences of measures that might be ken.'

"There is no doubt, however, that before e publicized 'accord' was reached, the reasury had difficulties. Secretary Snyder dicated considerable concern as a result the Korean war. He sought to avoid arp fluctuations in Government securities. "He said he found that, despite all argu-ents, the Federal Reserve 'wanted to raise ort-term interest rates.' The Treasury d earlier gone along. However, at that me, the Secretary feared more world in-olvement than he did inflation. He said was not unaware of the latter for he d asked Congress for sharply higher taxes. "The Federal Reserve, however, was placing eat reliance on 'traditional measures of eneral credit restraint which involved a de-ining securities market and increases in terest rates. It was in this specific area at disagreements between the Treasury d the Federal Reserve arose.'

"'Financing failures'

"The Secretary told of 'financing failures' Treasury financing, despite, in one case, hen he said the Treasury sought to follow eserve proposals.

"However, the answers of the Federal Re-rve and the Treasury were the same on e present 'accord,' apparently indicating ll cooperation though the Treasury is re-ealed as much less impressed with the ar-ument that higher interest rates are es-ecially effective of themselves as instru-ents of credit control than is the Federal eserve.

"A large portion of the volume is given er to discussion of interest rates in rela-on to credit controls and to statistics and harts.

"The second volume of the two-volume re-ort includes the replies received from omptroller of the Currency, the President's ouncil of Economic Advisers, the Chairman f the Federal Deposit Insurance Corpo-ation, about half of the State supervisors, overnment bond market specialists, life-surance officials, and others. These con-ern chiefly subjects more closely related to heir specialized activities.

"Patman's philosophy

"Open hearings are scheduled by March 10 hen officials will be questioned on the basis f their replies.

"The philosophy back of the questions sked by Representative PATMAN is revealed n his foreword to the 1,300-page report.

"After crediting the replies by saying this compendium constitutes in my judgment y far the best sourcebook of materials on eneral credit control and debt management' ver attempted, he pointed out that present overnmental machinery is based chiefly on iscretion.

"Mr. PATMAN added that the Reserve Sys-em is answerable only to Congress presuma-ly. However, Congress is not constituted or more than overall directions. He argues hat it might thus be better for the execu-tive agencies to participate as creatures of Congress.

"Mr. PATMAN said it is 'of the utmost importance to insure the continuation of the participation of business and agriculture (and possibly labor) in the formulation of monetary policy.'

"The coming hearings, he said, would be for the purpose of sifting arguments pro and con on this and on various proposed means of credit controls, such as special Reserve requirements.

"Committee Chairman PATMAN admitted no easy solution to problems which he labels as immense. He added that 'only one result' of the present deliberations 'can be confidently predicted: That is, that the fundamental issues involved will be found vastly too complex to permit of facile generalization.'"

"[From Banking (the official journal of the American Bankers Association) of May 1952]

"THE PATMAN HEARINGS HIGHLIGHT A PERMANENT PROBLEM

"(By Raymond Rodgers)

"In the 46th verse of the 1st chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, the categorical question, 'Can anything good come out of Nazareth?' is asked, and the answer is, 'Come and see.' It is with such a spirit that bankers should study the hearings of the Patman Subcommittee on General Credit Control and Debt Management of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, to gage their probable consequences to banking and business.

"The importance of these hearings can hardly be overemphasized. Their importance and basic scope is indicated by the title of the two volumes giving the replies and excerpts from the replies to the questionnaires sent out last October; Monetary Policy and the Management of the Public Debt—Their Role in Achieving Price Stability and High Level Employment. The 1,302 pages of formal testimony contained in these 2 volumes might well be made required reading for all bankers and advanced banking students.

"The committee

"To say that the results, so far, at least, have been a pleasant surprise to those in banking is indeed an understatement. The same ground had been covered 2 years earlier by Senator DOUGLAS and his subcommittee, Dr. Henry C. Murphy, the economist to the present subcommittee, who largely determined the witnesses and character of the hearing, had been identified with the Treasury. And most disquieting of all, the chairman, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, had, through long years of earnest effort, achieved a reputation, second to none, as an inflationist. In fact, his reputation as an inflationist was so well-established that many could think of him only in the terms which Emerson once used when he said of another, 'What you are * * * thunders so that I cannot hear what you say.'

"Despite the fears, the conduct of the chairman has been, in the words of observers, impeccable. He has not tried to force his opinions on the subcommittee but has been willing to let the witnesses be heard. Whether this is because he has been subdued by the unanimity of the public opposition to chaining the Federal Reserve to the Treasury chariot, or is from some other reason, the fact is that a hearing and not an investigation is being conducted. Dr. Murphy and the staff, likewise, are to be congratulated. They have done a searching, comprehensive, competent, and fair job. Senator DOUGLAS and the other members of the subcommittee who have special competence and experience in the field of banking and credit may be expected to make the most of the wealth of material presented."

"[From Banking (the official journal of the American Bankers Association) of May 1952]

"WASHINGTON

"(A monthly column reviewing Washington developments of interest to bankers)

"(By Lawrence Stafford)

"Whether or not the Patman committee proposes to change any of the rules of debt and credit management, this Capital generally appraises the operation of that committee as constructively useful.

"Sometime this month the Patman group will attempt to draft a report and possible recommendations for the congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report, of which it is a subcommittee.

"Supplementing the similar background covered some time ago by the Douglas committee, the Patman committee has illuminated the current monetary picture with a wealth of authoritative background. That background has included both facts and opinions. The opinions have been those of the outstanding governmental and financial leaders of the land.

"This inquiry well planned

"What is said to make this committee's inquiry especially valuable is its technique of operation, devised by Dr. Henry C. Murphy, chief of staff, and Representative PATMAN. They designed questionnaires especially adapted to bringing out the viewpoints of various persons and occupations—Federal debt managers, Federal monetary managers, bank supervisors, bankers, insurance men, Government bond dealers, and so on.

"The questions were pointed—almost to the stage of embarrassment. Yet the persons questioned were given considerable time to order their thinking on these controversial issues. This remarkable technique appeared to be adapted to the complex subject matter. In the more usual case, persons called into public hearings, even on an inquiry mission of the sort the Patman committee undertook, must almost improvise their answers on the spot.

"So the public hearings were taken after the written answers were filed, and hence on further, more mature reflection.

"Basic harmony found to exist

"Fundamentally, the oral hearings made no basic, or even important modification from the underlying situation as reported on the written questionnaire, detailed in the April issue of Banking. That basic situation is that there exists, after the ordeal of trial by experience and questionnaire, a basic harmony among monetary managers, and in particular between the Treasury and Federal Reserve Board.

"The Board's return to orthodox thinking and toward reliance on such orthodox monetary mechanisms as open-market operations and the discount rate was further confirmed. So was the Board's abandonment of its predilection for the pegged-market days, to embrace new, novel, and untried monetary mechanisms.

"During the hearings the only important difference between the Reserve Board and the Treasury was whether there should be established a domestic advisory council of leading officials on monetary matters, somewhat similar to the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems.

"Secretary Snyder definitely thought this would be helpful in effecting a greater coordination among all Federal officials on credit and monetary control. The Board was fearful of it, particularly that the Reserve might be overweighted in such a council.

"Committee work was educational process

"As Senator RALPH E. FLANDERS, Republican, of Vermont, said, the committee's opera-

tions gave everybody an education, not merely the professionals in money management and debt operations, but the general public as well.

" 'The chief value of the inquiry has been to remove the veils of mystery and misconception that have obscured the real nature and purpose of the Federal Reserve from public understanding,' he said.

"Thus, the committee adduced ample testimony to point up the limitations of monetary policy as an instrument for achieving wonders in controlling inflation or deflation.

"Handling public debt an art

"Witnesses, such as A. Lee M. Wiggins, former president of the ABA, and former Under Secretary of the Treasury, made it clear that the business of handling the public debt and operating monetary controls was something beyond a tight mechanistic concept and something of an art, even if Mr. Wiggins did not quite express it that way.

"Other witnesses freely criticized the Government, and accused the administration of devising numerous programs which made for inflation, regardless of what steps were taken ostensibly to control inflation.

"For this liberality, freedom, and diversity of testimony, Chairman PATMAN is freely given large credit. Mr. PATMAN is said to have refused no single witness a chance to testify. Although he had given the impression of hostility to the Federal Reserve prior to the course of hearings, the Representative's conduct impressed observers as something between that of a fair judge who wanted to hear everyone completely out, and an earnest student anxious to learn every side of each controversial issue.

"Patman modifies views

" 'I am highly pleased with the job which was done by the Federal Reserve and the Treasury at these hearings,' said Mr. PATMAN.

" 'What pleased me was that these official witnesses supported the Employment Act of 1946 as national policy proclaimed by Congress, an act of which I was the author in the House.

" 'This act sets forth a good policy, although I'll admit it could be strengthened. I think perhaps it gives too much emphasis upon the inflationary side of Government action, and does not emphasize sufficiently the necessity at times of deflationary action and the further need for protecting a sound dollar.'

"Mr. PATMAN for a long time had favored having the Federal Reserve banks, in gradual stages, absorb about half the Federal debt so as to save the payment of interest. 'I still think this could be done, and save the payment of $3 billion annually of interest, but I am not going to advocate it. I am not going to advocate it at the present time because I am frankly afraid to trust Congress. The Congress is inclined to take the easy way.'

"The Texas Representative noted that, when Congress refuses to raise taxes and provide for tough price control, it is not a time to lessen the burden of the Federal debt.

"Wolcott comments

" 'For the first time there has been outlined in one place, for the benefit of those who care to read about it, the whole panoply of moves which the Roosevelt and Truman administrations have sponsored over nearly two decades to promote—to consciously promote—inflation in the United States,' said Representative JESSE P. WOLCOTT, Republican, Michigan, another member of this committee.

" 'One of the benefits of the Patman committee hearings is that some highly credible testimony has at last been brought to bear on this point. I think that the committee's inquiry has been useful on that score in showing that the administration has been more concerned with deflecting from itself and placing upon this or that element of the economy, the bankers or others, blame for the inflation it has caused. This has been the administration's true aim, rather than one of dealing effectively with inflation'."

"[From the Burroughs Clearing House (House organ of the Burroughs Adding Machine Co.) of April 1952]

"A VERITABLE 'BRITANNICA OF BANKING'—THE PATMAN HEARINGS—THEY LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR A CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF THE ENTIRE BODY OF FINANCIAL AND MONETARY LEGISLATION

"(By John H. Donoghue)

"When the Hatfields and the McCoys put away their muskets and struck up an agreement to live together in peace, it was natural for folks to wonder why they ever took to feudin' in the first place.

"The Congress of the United States reacted with similar curiosity when the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board jointly announced, on March 4, 1951, that they had reached an accord, bringing to an end the dispute that lay between them.

"Why was an accord necessary? The question has weighed heavily on the minds of the key legislators who are responsible for writing the laws of banking and finance. Both the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Systems are creatures of Congress; both operate under its laws. If these two great institutions are found working at cross purposes and publicly disputing about it, does not the fault lie with the Congress itself for writing one law for the Treasury and a contrary one for the Federal Reserve?

"The product of these questions was the investigation conducted in March 1952, a year after the accord, by a subcommittee of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Beginning on March 10 and continuing daily throughout the remainder of the month, the hearings became popularly known as the Patman hearings since the chairmanship of the five-man bipartisan panel of Senators and Representatives was held by Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of TEXAS. This title has helped to distinguish the present set of hearings from those conducted by the same subcommittee in 1951, during the chairmanship of Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois.

"The Patman hearings were by no means confined to a rehash of the Douglas committee's output. In fact, the real importance of the investigation is the groundwork which it has laid for a painstaking review of the entire body of fiscal and monetary legislation by Congress.

"The immensity of the task undertaken by Mr. PATMAN and his colleagues almost eludes comprehension. And the value of the record now compiled is likely to increase with the passage of years, for it serves as a background pattern of the Nation's foremost economic opinion, into which future monetary proposals and actions should be made to fit. It will be hard for anybody to offer a theory or scheme affecting public debt or private credit without finding the arguments for and against it already set forth in the Patman record.

"Therein lies the true value of the Patman research. It did not settle the variance of attitudes between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve, and nobody really expected that. But the investigation did assemble a very great number of competent judgments on the relative importance of various factors that affect the economic welfare of the people, and also a large variety of informed guesses as to what will be the outcome when this or that policy is adopted in the face of several hypothetical situations that may arise in the Nation's economy.

"Appropriately, the first witnesses who peared before the committee were the principal fiscal and monetary officials of United States. John W. Snyder, Secret of the Treasury, and William McChes Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Board of G ernors of the Federal Reserve System, the key managers whose policies were un scrutiny—one managing debt, the ot credit. The importance attached to the timony of these two key witnesses is obvi from a glance at the two-volume compe dium of questionnaire replies issued by committee shortly before the hearings beg Volume No. 1 of 600 pages is devoted to views expressed by these 2 men. Volu No. 2, also 600 pages, is given over to other 1,000 persons, including Federal serve bank presidents and the Presiden Council of Economic Advisers, to whom committee addressed opinion-seeking qu tionnaires.

"The major message of the hearings the fore, was expressed on March 10 and 11 wh Secretary Snyder and Reserve Chairm Martin occupied the witness chair in ornate, marble-lined Senate caucus roo Both of these sessions lasted full days they set the pitch for the remaining 3 we of hearings.

"Confronting Secretary Snyder and Boa Chairman Martin was a panel of five season interrogators. The one they kept their e on, however, was Subcommittee Chairm PATMAN, a debater of great skill. It was PATMAN who vocally declined to join chorus of congratulations when the Tre ury and the Federal Reserve announced burial of the hatchet.

"Four of the members were repeaters fr the former Douglas subcommittee: Mr. P man, Senator Douglas, Senator Ralph Flanders, Republican, of Vermont, and Re resentative Jesse P. Wolcott, Republican Michigan. The fifth subcommittee mem was Representative RICHARD BOLLING, Dem crat, of Missouri, taking the place of deceased Representative Frank Buchanan.

"Sharing the spotlight with Chairman P MAN was Senator DOUGLAS. He came to hearings not to learn but to teach, and this respect he differed markedly from Cha man PATMAN. Mr. DOUGLAS is a confirm believer in the efficacy of traditional mon tary measures in controlling the cycli movements of the economy.

"Before the hearings began the Illin Senator had it all worked out that reason for the price inflation following Korean outbreak was the timidity of Federal Reserve Open Market Committ His doggedly held position is that the Fe eral Reserve could and should have refus to purchase the $3,500,000,000 of Gover ment securities that it actually acquir during the 8 months between the Kore outbreak and the March 4, 1951, agreeme with the Treasury. To be sure, Mr. Doug has not flatly declared that a cutoff Federal Reserve purchases would have fo stalled the damage done to the value of United States dollar during those mont But he does stand firmly on the ground th the Federal Reserve, by continuing its sec rity buying to the tune of $3,500,000,0 must accept a goodly share of the respon bility for permitting the inflation to t place, for it was this $3,500,000,000 of Fe eral Reserve credit that turned up in jump from $16 billion to $19 billion of me ber bank reserves during the same peri It was a short leap for the Illinois Sena from this $3 billion increase of bank reser to the $10 billion increase of bank loa Thus, briefly, runs the Douglas theory what happened in the inflationary mon following Korea.

"Senator DOUGLAS spared no effort to m Secretary Snyder and Reserve Board Cha man Martin become converts to his theory

post-Korean inflation. At one time when Secretary Snyder was on the witness stand, the Illinois Senator began dumping glassful after glassful of water into a tumbler before him, shouting for more water and generally inundating the hearing room, to illustrate the proposition that an increase of money and credit supply is disastrous.

"Secretary Snyder refused to acknowledge that he had ever insisted that the Federal Reserve support the market for Government securities. Even under the most persistent questioning, he would go no further than to acknowledge that a stable market is desirable for Government financing. As for conflicts of objectives with the Federal Reserve, he insisted that these could be worked out by cooperation.

"Mr. Snyder added one proposal to his testimony, possibly for the purpose of giving the subcommittee something to chew on, in a suggested money and credit advisory board which would assist the heads of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve in their efforts to cooperate. He was careful to specify that the advisory board would have no power but to advise.

"Chairman Martin, of the Federal Reserve, warmly defended the March 1951 accord. He had a personal feeling in the matter, for he was the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury who spent weeks of day-and-night toil in the negotiations that led up to the agreement.

"It became apparent during the Martin testimony that some fairly sharp exchanges of opinions took place between the Federal Reserve Board and a number of the Nation's leading bankers prior to March 1951. Senator DOUGLAS called upon Reserve Chairman Martin to produce a number of letters from bankers and others urging the Federal Reserve Board to increase interest rates long before it was actually done. When Mr. Martin protested, the five subcommittee members agreed to look over the letters in private.

"The importance of the bankers' letters is that they support the Douglas estimation of the effectiveness of monetary restraint as the traditional and legally intended method of regulating the relation of money supply to demand. He needed this support because he was not getting very much from the two top witnesses, Snyder and Martin. It was obvious that a majority of the Federal Reserve Board, during the months immediately after Korea, did not agree with the bankers and economists who insisted that interest rates be moved upward—and promptly.

"Thus, it was the theory of monetary controls that was on trial. As witness after witness came to the stand, additional new attitudes and appraisals came to light. But there was full agreement on one thing—that Senator DOUGLAS had accurately pinpointed the issue by asserting, and inviting denials, that inflation would have been materially lessened if the Treasury-Federal Reserve accord had taken place many months earlier."

"[From the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of April 10, 1952]

"WASHINGTON AND YOU

"WASHINGTON, D. C.—Now that the Patman committee has concluded its hearings about the Federal Reserve System and Treasury financing, there is a unanimous agreement that Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, Texas, was the greatest surprise of the entire hearing.

"Mr. PATMAN had long advocated a shifting of about half the Treasury debt to the Federal Reserve to save interest, and he was an advocate of subordinating the Federal Reserve to the national administration.

"The Congressman is unlikely to renew these recommendations, and his long study particularly is not expected to result in even a proposal to directly subordinate the Federal Reserve to the Treasury or the administration. He may propose some ideas about greater supervision and liaison which will be unpalatable to the Federal Reserve, but he is expected to stop short considerably of submerging the independence of the Federal Reserve in making monetary policy.

"Actually, Representative PATMAN gave the clear impression of having definitely learned something by the hearings, and of having profited by what he learned in modifying his views. Mr. PATMAN has become a more mellow man.

"What has pleased witnesses before the Patman hearings, however, has been the liberality with which he listened to views contrary to those he was alleged to hold. The chairman of this special committee took pains to let any and all advocates of all points of view have their full say, and he did not decline a hearing to a single individual who asked to appear. Far from turning the hearing into a drumhead court for 'funny money,' Representative PATMAN appeared to most witnesses as a rather mature, subdued, and considerate judge who wanted to hear all parties out."

"REPORTING ON GOVERNMENTS

"(A weekly news service on U. S. Government securities)

"NEW YORK CITY,
"February 23, 1952.

"DEAR SIR: The Patman subcommittee's public hearings on debt management and fiscal policies—past, present, and future—will open March 10. Top Government and Federal Reserve officials, leading bankers, economists, life insurance company executives, etc., are slated to testify, to answer the most searching questions on credit policy and Reserve-Treasury relationships publicly. The hearings are scheduled to last about 3 weeks. The program calls for a report by the subcommittee to the full Joint Committee on the Economic Report by May. In the words of Dr. Henry C. Murphy, economist to the Patman subcommittee, 'This will be the biggest inquiry into our monetary system since 1911—the inquiry 41 years ago which led to the creation of the Federal Reserve System.' In the words of another Washington official who has been intimately connected with the subcommittee's preparations, 'This will be quite a show and in its more serious and fundamental way, will rival any of the congressional probes we've seen in the last couple of years.' And every effort will be made to focus attention on the debates and issues involved, to alert the public to the probe's importance.

"On October 12, the subcommittee sent its questions on general credit control and debt management to about 1,100 sources. For weeks, a staff has been processing the answers and within a few days a compendium will be published—including the answers from Federal Government and Reserve officials in full and summaries and extracts of the others.

"The book will run about 1,500 pages. The Reserve's answers alone are sufficient to fill an ordinary-sized book.

"This in itself is a monumental piece of work. One official who has studied the answers goes so far as to state, 'After this book is available, every textbook on debt management and fiscal policy will need rewriting for this is history as it is being made.'

"You who are reading this bulletin are the men to whom this inquiry is addressed. You are the participants in this financial drama; you are the audience, too. A large number of you received and answered the subcommittee's questionnaire. And while few of you probably will read the 1,500-page compendium and few of you will be able to attend the public hearings, you are and will be vitally involved in what is going and will go on.

"Thus, this letter is written as a preliminary report to give you the background and to outline the issues before the public hearings start. There has been some attempt to minimize the significance of the subcommittee because of the likelihood that no legislation will result from its hearings. This is akin to missing the forest because of the trees. We repeat again the opening lines of our letter of September 1, 1951: 'The power-policy conflict that raged between our Treasury and Central Bank during the first half of this year has a counterpart in virtually every country of the Western World. Few investors realize that they have been—and still are—in the middle of one of the great fiscal debates of the century. Nevertheless, this is a hard, sharp fact. The final word on the Treasury-Central Bank controversy in our country has not been written.'

"Those words hold today as they held then. Within this framework of reference, we submit in this letter (a) quick facts about the subcommittee and the questionnaire to help you avoid confusion; (b) an analysis of the two great questions involved; (c) a preview of the debate expected between supporters of the Reserve and supporters of the Treasury; (d) observations and forecasts.

"Quick facts about the subcommittee

"This is the second full-dress inquiry into fiscal and debt management policies and problems in less than 3 years. The first inquiry was managed by a subcommittee headed by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and resulted in the now-famous call by DOUGLAS for a reaffirmation of the Reserve's independence regardless of the dislocations that would follow. There is no question that the Douglas subcommittee's report played an important part in influencing Reserve psychology in late 1950 and early 1951.

"Now this inquiry takes place after the unpegging. An entirely different atmosphere exists. This is a period of remobilization. This is the start of a phase of deficit financing. In 1949, those testifying in favor of an unpegged market could only guess what might happen. Now they have a record to which to point.

"This subcommittee consists of: Representative Wright Patman, Democrat, of Texas, as chairman; and Senator Douglas, of Illinois; Senator Flanders, of Vermont; Representative Bolling, of Missouri; Representative Wolcott, of Michigan.

"Because of the makeup of the committee, both a majority and a minority report may result. It's improbable that DOUGLAS and PATMAN could compromise their own viewpoints to the extent permitting a report which both could sign with satisfaction.

"As important to you as the hearings will be the 1,500-page compendium of answers to the Patman questionnaire. Printed in full will be the answers of the Treasury Secretary, the Reserve Board Chairman, the Council of Economic Advisers, and other Government officials. There will be summaries and extracts of the rest. The Douglas subcommittee had nothing as complete as this with which to work. We've never had anything like it either.

"The two great issues at stake

"There has been much emphasis in newspaper and magazine editorials in recent months on PATMAN's bias for the Treasury, his supposed hate for the Federal Reserve, his oft-expressed inclination toward cheap and ample money. There also has been considerable sniping at his choice of Murphy as economist, for Murphy was a top economist for the Treasury through the war years and the angle mentioned is that Murphy's sympathies would incline toward the Treasury.

"This is awfully superficial stuff, though. Neither PATMAN nor Murphy could—even if they would—stop those testifying from stating their beliefs and highlighting the conflicts and issues at stake. Digging beneath the superficialities, here are the two great

questions which will be brought out at the hearings and which are of such deep concern to you:

"(1) How shall monetary policy in this country be formulated? There are various factions—such as the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board, the President's Economic Council, groups of private bankers and insurance company executives, and the inclinations of each often differ, often are in obvious conflict.

"Who, then, shall be dominant? Why? What shall be the relationship among them, how shall it be defined, how shall it be maintained, and in times of conflict particularly, where shall the ultimate control lie?

"This truly is basic. And for many of you, the question itself is relatively new. There was a long period, for instance, during which private bankers pretty much called the tune ('Wall Street settled it'). There was a period during which the New York Reserve Bank seemed more powerful than the Federal Reserve Board in Washington. There was a prolonged era during which the Treasury was completely dominant (you lived through this one). There was the period during which insurance companies were liquidating ineligibles on so gigantic a scale that one might even tag that the phase of insurance-company control. Now there's a so-called accord, and the question is surrounded by obscurities. Who? How? Why?

"If by chance you consider this theoretical, just ponder for an instant the practical applications. Were the Treasury in control today, 2½ percent would be the long-term rate, par would be the bottom price, 4 percent VA mortgages hardly would be going begging, your entire investment policy would be different. If the conflict between the two fiscal giants flares up again—and it very well may—your portfolio policy would be directly involved.

"It would be a near miracle if the Patman subcommittee's hearings were to result in any real settlement of this problem. But they surely will highlight the issue and by so doing, give us needed guidance.

"(2) And second, what shall be the policy now? Neutrality on the part of the Reserve, permitting prices to fluctuate in a wide range, and the market to decide the trend of interest rates? Greater recognition of the Treasury's financing-refunding problems and a modification of the Reserves program? Should the Treasury go out and compete for long-term funds, regardless of cost? Should it continue emphasizing short-term financing despite the dangers?

"As participants in the market, you understandably might be more interested in the anwers to this question. Throughout World War II, your problem as far as the Government market was concerned, was of kindergarten proportions: rates were set, huge bank financing was the rule, you simply played the pattern of rates. Now you're playing in the postgraduate league, and you realize that whatever answers are made to the second question will affect your actions in every other high grade market, and your income-profits position down the line.

"The debate between the Treasury and Reserve

"We have been amazed when we have heard presumably informed investors speak of the March 1951 accord as settling the power-policy conflict between the two fiscal agencies. The accord decided very little; it met the short-term but not the long-term issues; in military parlance, it was an armed truce, not a peace. At the very top level, Secretary Snyder and Reserve Board Chairman Martin are friendly, but Snyder, as we have reported to you, is not convinced that what was done was right and is not resigned to the changes. At the lower technical and staff levels, the experts are in frequent consultation, and thus there is better understanding of the problems on each side, but understanding is far from a synonym for agreement.

"The answers of the Reserve to the Patman questions will be an exhaustive argument for an independent Federal Reserve System able to pursue alternative programs of restraint, neutrality, and ease as economic conditions dictate. And the Reserve will urge understanding of the fact that such programs must affect interest rates for the Government as well as for private lenders, and when the Treasury borrows, it must compete for and hold its place in the market.

"The answers of the Treasury to the Patman questions will be an exhaustive argument for a system under which the Reserve cooperates with the Treasury to maintain confidence in the Government market and in Government credit. And the Treasury will urge understanding of the fact that it is charged with the tremendous responsibility of financing and refunding in multibillion-dollar terms, and every tiny interest rate rise adds tens of millions to debt costs.

"This will be just a starter. And the opinions we've seen run all the way from a castigation of the Reserve to a denunciation of the Treasury—with every shading in between. The debate, we repeat, is in its infancy.

"Observations and forecasts

"It's most improbable that there will be any legislative results; this isn't a legislative committee, and that is not an objective. But the impact of the debate will be deep and will grow with time, we believe.

"From what we have read and heard, we would anticipate considerable clarification of the present situation and probable actions just from the discussions and the answers to the questionnaire. We hope to submit digests of the important answers after we have had time study the 1,500-page book.

"Today, the accord is working—not excellently, but fairly well. Compromises are to be expected in the near future, too, so the real test of the relationships may be postponed for a while.

"But a real test will come. It certainly will come if there is a recession followed by another manufactured inflationary upsurge, and then the Reserve must meet what it deems its responsibilities while the Treasury is financing a deficit. Then issue (1) will be on the table for all to see. And that's why we so strongly recommend that you follow these hearings, that's why we believe this inquiry will turn over of great importance.

"Yours very truly,

"S. F. PORTER."

"[A news service on U. S. Government securities]

"THE GOLDSMITH WASHINGTON SERVICE,
"March 15, 1952.

"First week of Patman subcommittee hearings most interesting in my 15 years of reporting. Testimony covered 553 typewritten pages—open hearings will last 2 and maybe 3 weeks longer. Write Joint Economic Committee for schedule, anybody may attend. We hope to hook up important testimony last week with that in coming weeks.

"Chairman PATMAN was praised Monday by committee members and Snyder and Tuesday by Martin for excellent work of Henry Murphy in working on and cooperating with Federal Reserve and Treasury and preparation of such fair answers to questionnairs. And PATMAN has been praised by all witnesses so far for judicial conduct of hearings—but there are 3 to 4 or 5 weeks to go—some question motives and think conduct could change to free-for-all—which might have market influence particularly if general news is dull and daily press coverage more complete.

"This week Senator DOUGLAS carried the ball and pressed Secretary Snyder—Federal Reserve Chairman Martin—and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Keyserling to answer whether (1) Federal Reserve purchases of $3,500,000,000 Government securities in the 8 months following Korea—potential basis for $18 billion commercial bank loan expansion and the actual increase of $10 billion commercial bank deposits were materially responsible for the 18½ percent increase in prices. (2) Conversely whether failure of the Federal Reserve to purchase Government's on balance since the accord has been a major factor for inflationary lull since accord was adopted on March 5 and Government securities market unpegged.

"At the beginning of the hearings Monday morning Senator DOUGLAS said Snyder's answers were entirely unsatisfactory, but in the afternoon Snyder conceded that he hoped 'that we can avoid any situation like that in the future.' Felix Belair's story summarized that hearing more fully in New York Times, March 11.

"DOUGLAS also criticized Snyder for pages 72, 73, and 74 in part I of Treasury answers to the questionnaire, which he said impugned the integrity of former Chairmen Thomas McCabe and Marriner Eccles, and asked PATMAN that they both be asked to appear before the committee. See paragraph 5, page 3, or last letter. PATMAN invited them, reporter later that the time allotted them was satisfactory—but had not received unqualified acceptance. They may not be heard till end of scheduled hearings and McCabe and Eccles could prolong hearings for several days, and then Snyder and Martin might ask time for rebuttal—unlikely. Meanwhile pressures will be brought to bear to have them testify or withhold testimony.

"On Tuesday morning Martin had excellent prepared statement—only 5 pages—with supplementary brief of important answers 7 pages. Write Elliott Thurston, Federal Reserve Board, for copies of each."

"MARCH 29, 1952.

"Last week I heard the greatest debate of my lifetime between Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. They debated the fundamentals of economic policy. Involved was the difference between socialism and capitalism—the question of whether to control the economic system by monetary controls or so-called overall shotgun controls as opposed to direct controls was raised."

"[Excerpts from statements made in the hearings]

"HON JOHN W. SNYDER, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

"The hearings which are beginning this morning represent the culmination of a number of months of intensive study and preparation of replies to the questions raised by your subcommittee. Anyone who has worked on this complex project cannot help but be impressed with the scope and searching nature of the questions which were asked. In our already heavy work schedules it was not easy to find the time to set down the pros and cons of the many issues presented for generalized discussion in the questionnaire. In view of the importance of the study, however, we felt that time must be found; and I am very glad that we were able to give full and considered replies to all of the questions submitted to us.

"I believe that everyone who reads the written replies received by the subcommittee will feel, as I do, that the body of material which you have assembled will be of great value in the field of debt management and monetary policy for many years to come. Not one point of view, but many points of view—I am almost tempted to say all points of view—seem to have been elicited by the subcommittee in the written answers to the

various questionnaires which were sent out. A policy record, in the most fundamental sense, is not only a record of decisions made and actions taken—it is a record of appraisals, of conclusions, and of judgments. Those who replied to the subcommittee's questionnaires, it seems to me, have attempted to be fully responsive in this fundamental sense.

"I want to say here, Mr. Chairman, that I do hope that these 1,300 pages will be read with a great deal of care, and carefully digested by all people who are charged with any part of the preparation of the studies and the formulations of decisions in connection with debt management and monetary policies.

"I want to add my words to those of your colleagues who have addressed their remarks previously to the complimentary appreciation of what has gone ahead in laying the groundwork for these hearings. I think that we could well say that this has been the most carefully and most studiously prepared hearing on this subject that we have experienced. I am extremely hopeful that out of this fine foundation will grow discussions and studies that will be extremely helpful in the great problems we have in the future (hearings, pp. 7–8)."

"HON WILLIAM M'C. MARTIN, JR., CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

"In coming before you today I should like to express what I know has been in the minds of all of us in the Federal Reserve System in preparing the answers to your questionnaire. We have welcomed this opportunity to put down on paper our concepts of what our function is in the governmental structure and in the economy. You gave us a heavy load of homework and we have all profited by it. I know that for me it has been more than a refresher course—it has been a liberal education in what I prefer to call reserve banking, rather than central banking operations. The task of preparing answers to the comprehensive and searching questions has been formidable and I will not pretend that I approached it without some reluctance. Now that the task is done and the results are published I realize how worth while has been the time and effort expended not only by those of us in the System but by the many others to whom you addressed questionnaires. Irrespective of the conclusions you may reach as a committee, you have assembled a body of information that I think will prove to be invaluable for a long time to all who are interested in the special problems of general credit control and debt management.

"Beyond that, however, we have all genuinely welcomed this inquiry. The Federal Reserve System is a servant of the Congress and, through you, of the people of the United States. You created it, you can abolish or change it. Our task is to carry out your will and it is our duty to lay before you all the facts at our command for which you ask and to give you our best judgment on these important matters (hearings, pp. 73–74)."

"A. L. M. WIGGINS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ATLANTIC COAST LINE RAILROAD CO. AND THE LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD CO.; FORMERLY UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY; FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION

"The questionnaires and the answers that were sent out and received, in my opinion, constitute the most valuable collection of thinking in the field of money, in money management, problems of debt management, and other collateral questions that I have found anywhere.

"I have read the entire 1,300 pages of this report since it was published about—since I got a copy about 10 days ago, and it is very instructive and illuminating and I congratulate the committee on the character of the questions (hearings, p. 220)."

"MARION B. FOLSOM, TREASURER OF THE EASTMAN KODAK CO.; CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

"Forward steps in money and debt policy during the past year have been due to improved appreciation of the fundamental issues. The investigation conducted by the subcommittee under Senator DOUGLAS made a major contribution to this improvement. We are confident that the present investigation will make a similarly important contribution to better understanding and thereby to better policy (hearings, p. 296.)"

"J. CAMERON THOMSON, PRESIDENT, NORTHWEST BANCORPORATION; CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON MONETARY, FISCAL, AND DEBT POLICY, COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

"We have found the problems of monetary policy exceedingly difficult. The materials you have already published have demonstrated that the work of your committee will contribute a great deal to our study, and we are happy to participate in your investigation.

* * * * *

"We are confident that the work of your subcommittee, like the work of its predecessor subcommittee under the chairmanship of Senator DOUGLAS, will be a major step in the development of a successful program for the avoidance of serious inflation or depression.

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"We were talking, before the hearing started, about how available these reports are going to be made. I think along the lines you are talking about these reports ought to get very wideapread circulation. I am going to get some for each officer in our corporation. They put together a lot of valuable information and you have drawn out answers from people that have not been had in recent years. The record of the two hearings is the best source of information as to the developing monetary policies of the country and the value of these powers, and I believe they should get as wide a circulation as possible (hearings, pp. 296, 305, 315).

"AUBREY G. LANSTON, PRESIDENT, AUBREY G. LANSTON & CO., UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SECURITY DEALERS

"Many have commented on the public service rendered by the committee's publication of two volumes on the subjects of debt and money management and on the exceptional work of the staff headed by Dr. Murphy and on the high quality of the replies. It is a real achievement (hearings, p. 389)."

"DONALD B. WOODWARD, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT, THE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW YORK

"I want to congratulate this committee and its staff director most warmly on the invaluable information you have collected and published. Your two volumes are a classic, and they and the hearings enrich the literature immeasurably. Everyone is in your debt. I am deeply honored to be asked to appear before a body that has so distinguished itself (hearings, p. 602)."

"WESLEY LINDOW, VICE PRESIDENT, IRVING TRUST CO., NEW YORK CITY

"You have made a fine contribution in publishing the two volumes based on the answers to your questionnaires on monetary policy and the management of the public debt (hearings, p. 629)."

"ROY L. REIERSON, VICE PRESIDENT, BANKERS TRUST CO., NEW YORK CITY

"The questions posed by this committee in its questionnaires were excellently designed to point up the issues encountered in the difficult task of determining debt management and credit policies under inflationary conditions, and the answers will be an invaluable source book of material in this field for many years to come. The full and free exchange of ideas at these hearings is helping to illuminate some areas not wholly covered in the questionnaire and to discuss problems raised by some of the answers received. It is a privilege to be here (hearings, pp. 636–637)."

"H. CHRISTIAN SONNE, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, AMSINCK, SONNE & CO., CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION

"I welcome the broad-gaged examination of the problem, undertaken by this subcommittee. The material published in the background volumes in itself is a treasure of information and is very valuable for every student of the subject.

"At the request of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, the NPA sponsored a meeting on fiscal policy of a group of prominent economists from all over the country in September 1949. In October 1951 we had a similar meeting on monetary policy. Each of these meetings resulted in a statement on which the majority of the participants agreed. I was pleased to note that the statement resulting from NPA's October 1951 conference is included in one of the background volumes published by this subcommittee (hearings, p. 844)."

"MONETARY POLICY AND THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT; THE PATMAN INQUIRY[1]

(From the Review of Economics and Statistics, May 1953—Harvard University Press)

"(By James Tobin, professor of economics, Yale University)

"The documents produced by the Patman inquiry are a remarkable contribution to monetary literature. The first title, 'Compendium' for short, consists of replies to questions propounded by the committee. The first volume of the compendium contains the careful answers of the Treasury and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to the lengthy questionnaires submitted to them. The second volume includes replies from the presidents of Federal Reserve banks, the Council of Economic Advisers, Federal and State bank-examining authorities, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, economists, bankers, life-insurance executives, and dealers in United States Government securities. The questionnaires varied with the respondent and were designed to obtain both factual information and expressions of opinion. The answers provide a wealth of legal, institutional, statistical, and historical information. Whether you wish, for example, a complete chronology of Federal Reserve policy actions since 1914, a summary of the reserve requirements of nonmember banks, a world survey of Treasury-central bank relationships, or a study of

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[1] Monetary Policy and the Management of the Public Debt: Their Role in Achieving Price Stability and High-Level Employment.

1. Replies to Questions and Other Material for the Use of the Subcommittee on General Credit Control and Debt Management, Joint Committee on the Economic Report, 82d Cong., 2d sess. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office; 1952; two parts. Pt. 1, pp. xvii+632. Pt. 2, pp. vii+633–1302.

2. Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Credit Control and Debt Management, Joint Committee on the Economic Report, 82d Cong., 2d sess., March 10–31, 1952. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office; 1952; pp. v+993.

3. Report of the Subcommittee on General Credit Control and Debt Management, Joint Committee on the Economic Report, 82d Cong., 2d sess. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office; 1952; pp. vi+80.

the density of banking offices relative to population in the several States, the Patman compendium is your source. The replies also provide a variety of opinion, comment, and theory concerning the role of monetary policy in the postwar United States economy.

"The second title, 'Hearings' for short, reports oral testimony on these same subjects and includes also numerous documents and written statements submitted to the committee. The committee heard testimony from the principal contributors to the compendium and from many others; the witnesses represented a wide variety of experience, interest, and viewpoint. The hearings include four panel discussions on aspects of monetary policy. Two of these, 'How should our moneatry and debt-management policy be determined?' (pp. 747 ff.) and 'What should our monetary and debt management policy be?' (pp. 685 ff.), are especially deserving of the attention of the reader who can only hit the high spots of these volumes.

"The third title, 'Report' for short, gives the findings and recommendations of the committee majority, with dissenting observations by Senator DOUGLAS. The report is an admirable review of the events investigated by the committee; and its findings on the issues discussed in the compendium and hearings are, in my opinion, well balanced and moderate. For this report, and indeed for the skillful design of the whole inquiry, there can be no doubt that Henry C. Murphy, the committee's economist, deserves tremendous credit.

"It is patently impossible for a review to do justice to the masses of material in these three documents. I hope I have given some idea of their scope. For the rest, I shall confine myself to three major topics of the committee's inquiry: (1) the Treasury-Federal Reserve conflict, (2) the theory of the operation of monetary controls, (3) the place of monetary restriction in an anti-inflationary program.

"Drama: The Treasury-Federal Reserve conflict

"The struggle between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve gave to monetary theory and policy a dramatic interest which economic issues seldom achieve. The drama is now over. The accord of March 1951 and the Patman inquiry were its concluding acts. The advent of new leadership in the Treasury makes it unlikely that the struggle will be resumed.

"As the last act of the drama, the Patman inquiry was anticlimactic. The Douglas committee, which investigated the same subject in 1949, had strongly criticized the Treasury and had recommended Federal Reserve independence in the formation of credit policy. This token of congressional sentiment, even though the mandate to the two agencies favored by Senator DOUGLAS was never passed, may well have stiffened the Federal Reserve in the subsequent conflict. (See hearings, p. 535.) The Patman investigation, it was widely predicted and feared, was to be the Treasury's day of revenge and a challenge to the independence of the Federal Reserve. Nothing of the sort happened. The inquiry only consolidated the victory the Federal Reserve had already won in March 1951. Representative PATMAN conducted the inquiry, so far as a reader can discern, with the utmost fairness and impartiality. Although he was widely regarded beforehand as an "easy money" man, he gave no sign of dissatisfaction with the accord. He proved to be less interested in issues of monetary policy—except for selective credit controls, of which he strongly disapproved—than in emphasizing that the Federal Reserve System is a public agency responsible to Congress, not a chain of bankers' banks. Some of the organizational recommendations in the report reflect this concern, but none would significantly weaken the autonomy of the Federal Reserve.

"The extent of the Federal Reserve victory is indicated by changes in Federal Reserve attitudes on two proposals: one for an advisory council on monetary policy and one for granting the Board of Governors discretion to impose supplementary reserve requirements. In the days of its weakness the Federal Reserve had supported similar proposals. Now its spokesmen opposed them.

"In 1949 Chairman McCabe, of the Board of Governors, and the presidents of the Reserve banks indorsed the Hoover Commission recommendation for a national monetary and credit council to facilitate consultation among the Treasury, the Federal Reserve, and the major Federal credit agencies.[3] Such a council was one of the recommendations of the Douglas committee. In the Patman investigation, Secretary Snyder, who had given the plan only lukewarm support in 1949, revived the proposal. The Federal Reserve was now cool to the proposal, and Senator DOUGLAS even colder. Formerly the council was considered an opportunity for increasing Federal Reserve influence with executive agencies; now it was viewed as a threat to Federal Reserve independence. The Patman committee majority nevertheless recommended the establishment of a council by Executive order as an experiment.

"The shift of attitude on supplementary reserves is of greater importance. In 1947 the Board of Governors sought powers to require supplementary bank reserves in Government securities, as a step toward insulating the public debt from the interest rate fluctuations incident to a flexible monetary policy. As late as May 1951, 2 months after the accord, the report of the President's Four-Member Committee on this problem (Defense Mobilizer Wilson, Secretary Snyder, Chairman Martin of the Board of Governors, and Chairman Keyserling of the Council of Economic Advisers) stated, "Within a few days the Board of Governors will ask the Congress to consider definitive legislation providing for supplementary (reserve) requirements" (hearings, p. 132). The request was never made. By the time of the Patman inquiry, the Board of Governors had apparently been won over to the view of President Sproul of the New York Bank, who had always opposed the scheme. Federal Reserve spokesman were extremely cool to any innovation in reserve requirements. Practical difficulties which had not seemed insurmountable before seemed so now. Having waged and won a fight on the moral principle that you cannot have your cake and eat it too, the Federal Reserve was in no mood to look with favor on devices for reconciling flexibility of monetary policy and stability of Government securities prices. The committee majority did not agree. Representative BOLLING repeatedly inquired why the Board should not have supplementary powers over reserves as a standby even if they were not immediately needed, and he never got a good answer. The report favored granting such powers and pointed out that the time to provide them is precisely when they are not needed. But in the absence of a specific proposal by the Federal Reserve, this recommendation is certain to remain an expression of sentiment rather than a basis for legislation. Since the Federal Reserve was riding as high in the sympathy and esteem of Congress and the public as it is ever likely to be, its unreceptiveness to additional power may in future prove to be unfortunate. It is all very well to say there is no need for insulation when, under the Board's monetary policy, long-term Governments fall no lower than 95. But if it becomes necessary to let them fall to, say, 80, the old dilemma will recur and the Board might again wish for a way out.[5] For there is no evidence that the Federal Reserve has either the disposition or the political strength to heed the extremists who would have it hew to the monetary line, letting bonds fall where they may.

"The Patman inquiry was not only the last act of the Treasury-Federal Reserve drama. It was a revival of the whole play for the benefit of a wider audience, and it provided most of us with a much better view of the preceding acts than we had originally. Both the Treasury (compendium, pp. 50–74) and the Board of Governors (compendium, pp. 346–363) provided narratives of the events from the end of the war to the accord. The Treasury's account is both more informative and more combative, although their newfound friendship put both agencies under restraint in discussing their past differences.[4] The Federal Reserve reply is really given by President Sproul's testimony (hearings, pp. 519–523, 541–543) on the period from August 1950 on, a narrative to which two other key Federal Reserve figures, Mr. Eccles and Mr. McCabe, signified their concurrence. Further light on the history of the struggle is shed by the confidential correspondence between the two agencies from June 1950 to March 1951 (hearings, pp. 942–966), published by the committee over the cogent objection of Mr. Martin concerning the effects of this practice on the public service. Finally, the historically minded reader should not omit the account by Aubrey Lanston (compendium, pp. 1253–1265) of the market's day-by-day reactions to the pulling and hauling between the agencies.

The report itself (pp. 25–28) provides an excellent and judicious summary of these events. On the evidence, there is no reason to doubt the committee's conclusion that the record shows principally the actions of men of good will trying to work out the solution for an exceedingly complex problem. Nor is the record a history of Treasury domination of an unwilling Federal Reserve, suddenly ended in 1950–51 by an abrupt turn of the worm. Ever since the war, beginning with the question of termination of the preferential discount rate, the Federal Reserve has been pecking away at the structure of interest rates inherited from the war. The Treasury has resisted and delayed each step, but eventually the Treasury has always yielded. (Almost invariably the initial Treasury view is that any change in the status quo is risky—depression or war may be coming—or unnecessary or both.) Throughout the period the Federal Reserve has influenced not only the structure of rates but the types and maturities of Treasury issues. Only once, in the refunding operation in the fall of 1950, did the struggle ex-

[3] Joint Committee on the Economic Report, A Compendium of Materials on Monetary, Credit, and Fiscal Policies (81st Cong., 2d sess.; S. Doc. No. 132), pp. 77–79, 180–186.

[5] A supplementary reserve requirement such as the Board proposed in 1947 would not eliminate the possibility of declines in long-term bond prices. But it would, even if indirectly, remove some of the pressure on the long-term market. To the extent that short-term debt was locked in the banks, the supply of short-terms to other investors would be diminished. The resulting rate structure would increase the willingness of these investors to hold long-terms. Or the Treasury and Federal Reserve could, without expanding bank reserves, reduce the outstanding supply of long terms and satisfy the needs of nonbank investors for short-term obligations.

[4] Compare the preaccord letter of the Treasury General Counsel to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, General Credit Control, Debt Management, and Economic Stabilization, pp. 38–40.

plode into openly conflicting actions by the two agencies. The Treasury learned its lesson, and its next refunding followed Federal Reserve recommendations. Ultimately, in early 1951, the Federal Reserve had nothing left to peck at except the 2½-percent long-term rate itself. Once again, in spite of some public verbal combat and the enlistment of the President on the Treasury side, the Federal Reserve prevailed. The accord came only 1 month after it was proposed to the Treasury by the Open Market Committee and only 2 months after the first intimation that the Federal Reserve had its eyes on the long-term rate. As in previous instances, the Treasury followed Federal Reserve advice regarding types and maturities of securities to issue.

"Naturally the spheres of decision of the two agencies and their relationships with each other were problems of great concern to the committee. Both agencies took the attitude that the status quo, vague and informal though it may be, was satisfactory. Leave us alone, they said in effect, and we can work things out in cooperation and harmony. Skeptical outsiders were more worried about defining formally the spheres and powers of the two agencies. Most respondents were for asserting and safeguarding the independence of the Federal Reserve from the executive, and there was considerable support for a mandate of the kind advocated by Senator DOUGLAS. Others held that "independence" is an unrealistic slogan, because monetary policy neither can nor should be made in a compartment separate from the other economic policies of the Government. In the panel discussion on this subject (hearings, pp. 747 ff.) G. L. Bach and Harold Stein were persuasive advocates of this viewpoint, arguing that it is more important to enhance the influence of the Federal Reserve in the administration than to attempt to increase its independence. Some of the recommendations of the committee majority were directed to this end: in particular, the proposal that the Chairman of the Board of Governors have cabinet rank and be designated, from the membership of the Board,[5] for a 4-year term concurrent with that of the President; and the proposal for a consultative and advisory council on monetary problems.

"Theory: Operation of monetary controls

"The Patman inquiry inspired, both in written replies and in oral testimony, numerous expositions of the theory of monetary control. A large majority of the respondents assigned to general monetary controls considerable influence on the level of economic activity. Only a few voiced the skepticism of their effectiveness so common 5 or 10 years ago. These volumes are impressive evidence of the rediscovery of money, as Howard Ellis has called this reversal in economic fashion.

"The fluctuation of economic thought on the importance of the money supply is an interesting phenomenon in itself. Like the rise and fall of other fashions in the social sciences, it does little credit to our science. Neither the initial skepticism about money nor its recent rediscovery has been solidly grounded on empirical evidence. Skepticism arose from the apparent impotence of monetary measures from 1929 on, received intellectual support from the Keynesian revolution,[6] and acquired reinforcement from an uncritical exaggeration of the importance and relevance of empirical findings that businessmen assign interest rates a low rank among factors influencing investment decisions. To some extent, skepticism grounded in the inadequacy of monetary measures to stimulate recovery from depression was applied to the opposite problem of preventing inflation. The reversal of fashion has had perhaps an even thinner empirical foundation. No new evidence has been adduced to prove the importance of monetary factors,[7] or to reverse previous impressions of the insensitivity of businessmen and other spenders to interest rates. The new confidence in the power of monetary weapons has been acquired just by giving the matter further thought—often, one suspects, wishful thought. Absence is said to make the heart grow fonder, and to monetary policy has been attributed power to avoid the evils which flourished during its suspension in the interests of debt management. If the performance of the economy in response to monetary controls between the wars was an inadequate basis for pessimism about their efficacy, the performance of the economy since the war in the absence of monetary controls is surely an inadequate basis for optimism.

"The important varieties of monetary theory espoused to the committee may be, with some violence to the individualities of some respondents, classified into three schools. One group, whose intellectual headquarters is Chicago, believes that aggregate spending is sensitive enough to the rate of interest, and hoarding insensitive enough, to make the quantity theory a good approximation. A second group agrees that the issue hinges on the sensitivity of spenders and hoarders to interest rates. But this group is skeptical about the interest-elasticity of spending and is impressed more with the variability than with the constancy of monetary velocity. These two schools fit easily into the traditional framework of monetary discussion. Their disagreement, although it contributes to a marked difference in policy recommendations, is less a difference of theory than of empirical judgment. In the panel discussion (hearings, pp. 685 ff.) Milton Friedman and Paul Samuelson represented ably these two points of view.

"The third school, however, sets forth a new theory of monetary control which claims that both of the old schools are asking the wrong questions. Under the leadership of Robert V. Roosa[8] and others, the new theory has developed and spread rapidly in recent years. It has been inspired by postwar Federal Reserve policy, before and after the accord; the theory, in turn, inspires the policy. The Federal Reserve replies in the Compendium indicate that it is the official rationale of current policy. Because of its intellectual interest and its evident practical importance, the new theory deserves careful examination. In the Patman inquiry only Professor Samuelson and Whittlesey (hearings, pp. 691–710, 736–743) gave it the critical attention which it merits.

"According to this theory, monetary controls work much more through restricting the availability of credit than through increasing its cost, much more through restraints on lenders than through reactions of borrowers. It is possible, according to the theory, to curtail spending significantly by limiting the availability of bank reserves, without raising significantly market rates of interest. Some upward pressure on rates there is bound to be. But this is largely incidental, and one cannot judge the impact of a monetary restriction by the height to which it pushes interest rates. There are evidently two related parts to this proposition. The first is that it is possible to restrict reserves without raising interest rates appreciably. The second is that such restriction will curtail aggregate demand. Thus the new theory provides an answer to those of the other two schools who question the importance of fractional increases in interest rates. The significance of the new doctrine may be most clearly appreciated from the fact that it implies that monetary restriction will curtail aggregate demand even if the most extreme skepticism about the interest-elasticity of borrowing and spending were justified.

"To put the theory in an over-formal but nonetheless perhaps an illuminating way, the substance of it is that an increasing yield on Government bonds is an extremely good substitute for a high yield. At a given interest rate, the demand to hold Government bonds, relative to other assets, will be higher if the interest rate is increasing or has recently increased than if it is stable. This is due to a combination of factors neglected in the older theories: first and most important, imperfections in the money markets which prevent the yields on other assets from adjusting to compensate for the increased attractiveness of Government bonds; second, irrational and conventional behavior by financial institutions, so that portfolio decisions are not based wholly on yield comparisons but partly on considerations such as a reluctance to realize capital losses; third, uncertainties and expectations associated with increases in bond yields, which may make both borrowers and lenders appraise the economic future with more caution. Against these factors works the more familiar speculative effect: expectations and fears that interest rates will continue to rise tend to reduce the demand for bonds. But the new theory contends that if the favorable factors are skillfully exploited by the central bank, they will more than offset the speculative effect.

"The consequences of a restriction of bank reserves are, according to the theory, as follows: The central bank restricts reserves by selling Government securities or by lowering the price at which it will buy them. In either case there is some increase in their yield. This increase in yield deters banks and other lending institutions from selling Government securities to make alternative loans and investments. It deters them for two principal reasons. First, they do not like to take a capital loss on Government securities, even if an alternative asset offers a higher yield.[9] Second, and more important, the increase in yield makes Government securities more attractive relative to alternative investments

[5] Board members, according to the majority report, should have terms of 6 instead of 14 years, be eligible for reappointment, be reduced in number from 7 to 5, be chosen without geographical restraints, and receive increased salaries.

[6] Formally Keynes' theory justifies skepticism about monetary policy only in special circumstances. But Keynes himself and many Keynesians believed these circumstances to be typical of modern economies.

[7] Milton Friedman has presented figures showing a fairly close correspondence between the monetary expansions and the price inflations associated with three wars (Price, Income, and Monetary Changes in Three Wartime Periods, American Economic Review, 42 (Proceedings, 1952), pp. 612–625). Even accepting an interpretation of these data favorable to the quantity theory, it remains quite possible that over shorter spans of time the relationship between money and prices is loose.

[8] See his essay, Interest Rates and the Central Bank, Money, Trade, and Economic Growth, pp. 270–295. For the development of the doctrine, beginning with prewar writings, see pp. 275–276 of this essay and the works there cited.

[9] The replies of insurance executives (Compendium, pp. 1234–1244) do not provide unequivocal support to the view that they are irrationally "pinned in" to Government securities by capital losses. (Neither do the figures on changes in insurance company portfolios since the accord.) Several executives explicitly denied that such losses were of any concern if higher yielding investments were available. Others consider losses a deterrent, but it is not clear that they meant anything more than that higher yields on Governments make them more competitive with other assets.

because the rates on other assets are kept from rising by institutional rigidities in the market. Lenders will, therefore, ration credit to private borrowers, and some willing borrowers will simply not be accommodated. For example, convention will keep the rate charged by banks to their commercial customers from rising; loan applications, which previously would have been accepted, will be refused. Again, the rate on mortgages will be sticky, in part because of Government regulations; fewer mortgages will be bought. Similarly, corporations and State and local governments will find it impossible to float bond issues to finance investment projects. In all of these cases, it is argued, the disappointed borrower and spender does not have open to him in the market the alternative of offering a higher rate and obtaining the funds. Hence, even if borrowers are not likely to be deterred by higher interest charges, even if it is true that spending is insensitive to interest-rate levels, monetary restriction is effective in curtailing spending.

"This argument relies, as Professor Samuelson pointed out, on an increase in the imperfection of the market as a consequence of the initial rise in bond yields. There must be more rationing of credit than there was before. The importance of the argument depends on the persistence of the increase in imperfection. If the rates available to private borrowers are fixed for a long period, the theory uncovers important new potentialities for monetary control. If these rates are within a short time free to adjust upward to compensate for the increased yield and attractiveness of Government securities, the contribution of the new theory is more modest. It points out some dynamic effects, neglected by the older theories, which temporarily enhance the influence of a monetary restriction. But as these effects wear off, the lasting influence of the restriction depends on the answer to the questions the older theories ask: How interest-elastic are the demands for the alternatives to bonds, goods, and cash? As the transient effects die, lenders will satisfy the needs of borrowers who are willing to pay higher rates. In order to do so, they will shift out of Government securities; and given the volume of bank reserves, security yields will rise. To the extent that the increase in bond yields induces corporations and individuals to hold securities rather than cash reserves, lenders are provided with funds to satify the needs of borrowers who were previously rationed out of the market. In the ultimate equilibrium, rates on different assets will stand in a normal relationship to each other; the former degree of market imperfection will be restored; and the effect on spending will depend on what the monetary restriction has done to the level of interest rates and how borrowers and spenders react to that. Even so, the transient effects may be exceedingly useful to a central bank which wishes to dampen spending without raising interest rates much, or fears that demand is in any case not very responsive to the level of rates. If the inflationary pressure which the central bank wishes to oppose is itself temporary, the transient effects may be enough to do the job. Otherwise it would be necessary to administer successive doses of the medicine until the level of interest rates is pushed high enough to handle the situation.

"The strength and persistency of these availability effects are empirical questions crucial to the new monetary theory. Inferences on the subject are drawn from events following the accord. But this should be done with great caution. Certainly the general economic stability of 1951 and 1952, compared with 1950, cannot be considered proof of the effectiveness of monetary policy, any more than it can be considered proof of the effectiveness of the direct controls introduced in 1951. Many other explanations of this phenomenon are at hand. But even if more specific evidence indicated that monetary policy should receive substantial credit for halting the inflation, the accord had unique characteristics which limit its usefulness as a basis for generalization. It was a departure from a policy and a rate to which the market had long been accustomed. It was natural for the market to react with confusion and imperfection and to transmit the change only slowly to the rates on private credit. Once the market is again accustomed to flexibility of basic rates, it may adjust with more speed. The first dose of the new medicine is likely to be the most effective, and it can only be administered once.

"The evidence that the accord produced substantial effects of the kind envisaged by the new theory is not, in any case, impressive. (See testimony of Professor Whittlesey, hearings, pp. 698–710.) Bank loans continued to grow. Insurance companies continued to dispose of Government securities in favor of other assets, even though by 1951 they had reduced Governments to something like a normal proportion of their portfolios. Although some new bond issues may have been postponed following the accord, the statistics of new issues suggest that it was not long before it was possible to place issues at rates acceptable to the market. (Professor Whittlesey argued also that anticipation of the accord greatly increased security offerings in the first quarter of 1951.)

"In assessing the inflexibility of lending rates in the face of monetary restriction, it is essential to remember that lenders have at their disposal a number of devices for raising the effective rate of interest to the borrower while the nominal quoted rate remains the same. Bankers, for example, can be more insistent that borrowers keep certain amounts on deposit. Their replies to the committee (compendium, pp. 1133–46) indicate that in many cases this was in fact their reaction to monetary tightness in 1950 and 1951.

"It is easy to understand why the new theory of monetary control should be eagerly seized as the rationale of Federal Reserve policy. For it offers the hope that monetary policy can be effective without the large fluctuations of interest rates which used to be considered essential. And even now, for better or for worse, the Federal Reserve is not realistically free to pursue a policy which disregards the prices of Government bonds. A great deal of Federal Reserve and Treasury effort must still, as ever since the war, be devoted to increasing private investors' willingness to hold Government securities by measures other than increasing their yields.[10] The new theory reaches the cheerful conclusion that these measures will also be an effective curb on private spending, because they reduce the availability of credit to private borrowers.

"Such a policy does not imply that rates must never rise; indeed occasional small changes in rates are, according to the theory, necessary to bring into play the effects on which the policy relies. It does require that, at any given level of rates, private willingness to hold Government securities be as large as possible and, consequently, the supply of bank reserves and of money as small as possible. To this end the Treasury and Federal Reserve have available many devices; for example, judicious adjustment both of the types and maturities of public debt instruments and of the composition, in distinction to the size, of the Federal Reserve's Government portfolio; "moral suasion" to prevent holders of Government securities from selling—this went to extremes in 1950, and the Open Market Committee has now penitently forsworn its use (see compendium, pp. 630–632, 1253–1256, and hearings, pp. 398–400); setting the rediscount rate in such relation to the short-term government rate as to induce banks in need of reserves to borrow them, so that both the traditional distaste of bankers for indebtedness and the Federal Reserve's discretionary powers in respect to the privilege of rediscounting may be exploited; "pinning in" private bond holdings by penalizing sales, redemptions, or conversions before maturity with capital losses; manipulation of market uncertainties and expectations about future rates. Experience with this kind of policy has led to increased awareness of lags, imperfections, and institutional conventions in the money markets. These the policy seeks to exploit to make monetary measures effective, at least temporarily. As the market adapts itself to one measure, the ingenuity of the monetary authorities may be taxed to find another.

"Only the future will tell whether this kind of monetary policy will do the job to the satisfaction of the monetary authorities themselves, or whether in the end they will conclude that monetary control can only be successful through the more pronounced changes in interest rates on which central banks traditionally relied in the past.

"Policy: Monetary restriction in an anti-inflationary program

"Concerning the wisdom of the accord, the Patman inquiry disclosed virtually no dissent. Many thought that par support should have been abandoned earlier; almost no one, except an occasional banker, thought it should have been perpetuated. Concerning the importance of the accord, there was considerable disagreement. Senator DOUGLAS and Professor Friedman were inclined to blame the 1950 inflation on the failure of the Federal Reserve to cease support at that time, and to attribute the stability of 1951 and 1952 to the new policy. Most others, including Federal Reserve spokesmen, were more modest in their claims for monetary measures. At the opposite extreme, Mr. Keyserling thought monetary policy a relatively insignificant factor both before and after the accord. But even he did not suggest that the accord was bad policy.

"There was, however, substantial division of opinion on how far monetary policy should be pushed. At one extreme is Professor Friedman's position that it should be pushed as far as necessary to remove any inflationary pressure which fiscal policy does not remove, regardless of the consequences in the Government securities markets. At the other—if we leave aside the bizarre views of Mr. John D. Clark (compendium, p. 892)—Mr. Keyserling found so many disadvantages in higher interest rates that he would rely on direct controls instead of monetary restriction to supplement fiscal policy and would indeed prefer moderate inflation to the consequences of higher interest rates. In between, most respondents found some reasons for placing limits on monetary restriction, though their limits would be less confining than Mr. Keyserling's.

"Reasons for limiting reliance on monetary restriction fall into two classes: those connected with the public debt, and those which would have force even if the public debt did not exist or were insulated. For the most part, the reasons offered of the first class will not survive rational examination. Long ago Paul Samuelson demonstrated that the solvency of banks and other financial institutions is not threatened by a decline in Government bond prices.[11] As for the higher in-

[10] And evidently by means other than compulsion. As noted above, the Federal Reserve is now not interested in supplementary reserve proposals designed to "insulate" part of the debt.

[11] The Effect of Interest Rate Increases on the Banking System, American Economic Review, 35 (1945), pp. 16–27.

terest charges to the Treasury, the issue is essentially the same as in the old controversy on the burden of the debt. It may seem strange to hear "after all, we owe it to ourselves" from financiers pleading for higher interest rates rather than from Harvard professors dispelling alarm over the size of the debt. But the substantial truth of the argument holds in either context. The only objection to a rise in debt charges is the friction and possible injury to incentives involved in taxing to pay the interest without unwelcome distributional consequences.[12]

"More weight must be assigned the second class of reasons for limiting monetary policy. Prevention of inflation is not the only national economic objective. There are several instruments available for preventing inflation, and they can be combined in varying proportions. Among the several combinations which can do the anti-inflationary job, the optimum mix of policy instruments is the one most favorable to other social objectives. The Patman inquiry inspired surprisingly little discussion of this problem. The prevalent assumption seemed to be that, since an adequate anti-inflationary program is unlikely to be adopted, the best tactic is to urge stronger measures all around. This may be a realistic view, but is it the proper attitude to take in advising a committee of Congress? Congress, after all, has the authority to decide how much use shall be made of all anti-inflationary weapons. Should one say to Congress, in effect: We know you fellows haven't the guts to raise taxes, so you'd better go all out for monetary restriction? Or should one offer some guidance on the relative degrees to which Congress should rely on tax policy, monetary restriction, and direct controls?

"One formula which often seems implicit [13] in discussions of the problem is that the budget should be balanced and any remaining inflationary pressure removed by monetary means. Although this prescription has the practical appeal that a balanced budget may be the best one can expect from Congress, it is not consistent with the countercyclical fiscal policy, including surpluses in boom times, which economists have been educating the public to accept. Moreover, should the formula apply regardless of the size of the budget? A large balanced budget would put more of a burden on monetary measures than a small one.

"The choice between monetary restriction and tax increases is largely a choice between consumption and investment. (It is not entirely so, both because taxes may deter investment as well as consumption, and because monetary restriction, even excluding selective credit controls, may curtail consumption as well as investment.) Mr. Keyserling's objection to heavy reliance on general credit control was that he preferred to obtain resources for defense from consumption rather than from investment. Furthermore, given a decision that investment must bear a certain share of the burden, what lines of investment should be curtailed? General monetary restriction will result in one pattern; direct controls in another. Mr. Keyserling was not sure he would like the pattern of private investment produced by general monetary restriction. Professor Friedman and other exponents of the free market were sure they would not like a pattern produced by direct controls. Incidentally, if the description of the money market given by the new monetary theory is correct, the choice is less between a pattern produced by the price system and one produced by direct controls than between a pattern produced by decentralized rationing of credit and one produced by governmental controls of materials allocations and prices. These issues are, much more than the charges on the national debt, the ones to consider in judging the extent to which inflation should be fought by monetary weapons.

"Another relevant consideration is the expected duration of the inflationary pressure and the economic forecast after it subsides. Experience with high and variable rates of interest during a period of inflationary pressure may well decrease the demand for bonds in the future and make it more difficult to achieve the lower rates suitable to a deflationary economic climate. Therefore, it can reasonably be argued (see report, p. 35, and statement of Roy Blough, hearings, p. 253), a temporary inflationary storm should be fought by measures which can be more easily put into reverse. But the importance of this consideration should not be exaggerated, even if the assumption that normal economic weather is deflationary is accepted. Just as there are other ways of dealing with inflation, so there are other ways of coping with deflation; indeed it is widely agreed that monetary measures are less effective against deflation than against inflation. The economy will not be doomed to depression just because the monetary authorities find it takes time to undo the uncertainties and expectations about interest rates created by their previous anti-inflationary moves. If the long-run economic outlook is really deflationary, the central bank will be able in time to bring rates back down to their preinflation levels both by monetary expansion and by gradually reducing investors' rate expectations and uncertainties.

"In recent years the subject of monetary policy has excited emotion as well as analysis. The end of the Treasury-Federal Reserve conflict has made the subject one of less absorbing interest, but also one which can be approached with less passion and more perspective. The volumes produced by the Patman inquiry will contribute to the serious study of monetary problems for a long time to come."

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[12] On the other hand, objections to insulation devices designed to save interest charges on the Treasury without hamstringing the Federal Reserve seem equally insubstantial. A rise in the interest rates the Treasury pays may do little harm, but neither is it a good thing in itself. The argument, frequently encountered in these volumes, that the Government should be as subject to the discipline of the capital market as any other borrower is inconsistent with the argument that higher interest charges do not matter. If the transfer of interest from taxpayer to bondholder is properly of little concern to the Government, why should a high market rate deter the Government from spending? It is true, of course, that resources should be diverted from private investment to public investment only if they have as high a marginal social productivity in public use as in private. But the connection between this principle of rational allocation and the interest rate the Treasury has to pay to borrow is surely extremely tenuous.

[13] For fairly explicit statements of this formula, see the reply of Milton Friedman (compendium, p. 1069), and the statement of Lester V. Chandler in General Credit Control, Debt Management, and Economic Mobilization (Joint Committee on the Economic Report, 82d Cong., 1st sess.), p. 65.

Questionable Business With Tito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of Newsweek magazine contained the following brief news item. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including it at this point in the RECORD:

RED RASH

BELGRADE.—President Tito came to a momentous unannounced agreement with Khrushchev at their meeting in Rumania. It was a pact to expedite transshipment of Soviet-trained Egyptian and Syrian officers across Yugoslavia. Tito also agreed that Soviet-sponsored military equipment could move through his country under wraps to hamper western intelligence.

Arkansas Already Uses Method Now in Congress Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most illuminating news article about natural gas price regulation from the Arkansas Recorder of July 12, 1957, under the heading "Arkansas Already Uses Method Now in Congress Bill."

Members of Congress who are deeply concerned about the possible effects on consumers of the new Harris bill, H. R. 6790, to amend the Natural Gas Act, will find this article most informative. It reports the effect given by the State public service commission to a recent State law substituting field price for the former cost basis of regulation of natural-gas prices within the State. This is a change which is very similar to the proposed "reasonable market price" formula of H. R. 6790.

The article reveals that on this field-price basis the State commission increased the rate-base value of the Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Co.'s producing properties by adding $32 million to the figure that had previously been $10 million. A Louisiana commission ruling is also reported to the effect that such an increase netted the company $4 million more than a fair return.

I hope Members will carefully review the facts in this situation as revealed by an Arkansas paper as they seek to determine the probable impact of the Harris bill on consumers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARKANSAS ALREADY USES METHOD NOW IN CONGRESS BILL—FIELD PRICE OF GAS TO BE FIXED

If Congress will look this way, it can see for itself what the field price (sometimes called commodity value) approach to natural gas rates does to consumers and for stockholders and producers. Costs of producing gas are disregarded in determining field price, which is the estimated price at which the gas might be bought from others.

The identical ratemaking method prescribed in the Harris-O'Hara bill which the House Interstate Commerce Committee approved by a 15–13 vote on Tuesday has been applied in Arkansas directly or indirectly by 3 companies, in 2 of which W. R. Stephens,

of Little Rock, is vitally interested. He is Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co.'s board chairman and owner of the Fort Smith Gas Corp.

Also he is the owner of the wells from which the Fort Smith Gas Corp. buys most of its supply, and is the owner or part owner of many wells selling to Ark-La.

Both Ark-La and Fort Smith Gas have applied the field price to their production, insofar as Arkansas is concerned. Both have some customers in one or more other States, but the bulk of their revenue comes from Arkansas.

A third utility, Arkansas Western Gas Co., headquartered at Fayetteville, is a beneficiary of the field price because the PSC could not very well deny it the same treatment accorded to Mr. Stephens' companies.

ANOTHER STUDY

A month after the Louisiana Public Service Commission ruled that Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co. is netting over $4 million more than a fair return on investment, the Arkansas Public Service Commission moved to impede any step that might be taken to reduce rates. It directed its staff this week to determine the field price of gas produced by Arkansas utilities.

It is in Arkansas that Ark-La is amassing the earnings that the Louisiana Public Service Commission deemed excessive and that were cited by it in turning down a request from Ark-La for higher rates in the Shreveport area.

Two rate increases in Arkansas where only one was granted in Louisiana after the acquisition of Ark-La control by W. R. Stephens, Little Rock bond broker and political-campaign-fund specialist, late in 1954 were responsible for the huge gain in revenues that has pushed the utility's share from $12.50 per $5 par value share to $32.50 for an equivalent 1954 share (now 1.21 shares).

The gas-producing industry has been trying for years to wriggle off the rate-regulation hook. For a time, it was thought that only that part of the production owned by utilities was subject to regulation, by States only, but the United States Supreme Court ruled that prices of gas moving interstate should be fixed by the Federal Power Commission.

In the interim prior to the Court's decision, gas utilities looked for ways and means of spinning off their production to nonregulated ownership from which the utilities would buy the gas for resale to customers.

That is exactly what the Fort Smith Gas Corp. did in the course of purchase and dissolution of Arkansas-Oklahoma Gas Corp. in 1953 and 1954. The wells the latter company owned were spun off to Stephens Production Co., over which the State has no jurisdiction. Hence, Stephens can charge his Fort Smith utility whatever he pleases, unless the FPC interferes.

Some of the Fort Smith industrial customers are asking the FPC to do just that.

WHO'S OUT OF STEP?

After the United States Supreme Court dumped gas-rate regulation back into the lap of the FPC, gas utilities sought to bring about adoption of the field-price method of ratemaking. They failed in a test that; after the FPC had sanctioned field price, went all the way to the Supreme Court.

In Arkansas, however, where the public service commission is more amenable to Mr. Stephens' persuasion than is Louisiana's PSC, field price has been adopted and been made to stick. The Arkansas Supreme Court ruled that it was a violation of the trustee relationship that should exist between a public utility with its guaranty of reasonable profit and the customers who patronize the monopoly.

That part of the Court's opinion was ignored by the General Assembly which, within 4 days, after the decision was rendered, passed act 175 of 1957. It directs the public service commission to use field price in fixing gas rates. Stephens went to bat personally, and mobilized Arkansas-Louisiana stockholders and employees and other utilities to ride herd on the legislators.

The bill does not—as the public service commission states in its order issued this week for its own determination of field price—require the commission to establish the price. It merely provides that, when it comes time to measure earnings the utility shall be permitted to deduct a fictitious expense item—field price—instead of actual cost of producing gas from its own wells.

TWO-HUNDRED-PERCENT WRITEUP

The new act does not apply to the rate case remanded to the public service commission when the Court reversed the November 1955 approval of the field price method of fixing Arkansas-Louisiana rates; but the commission nonetheless added $32 million to the rate-base value of Arkansas-Louisiana's production properties that previously had been accorded a $10 million value in the rate base detailed in the 1955 order. That was the difference between cost and field price—200 percent—as the public service commission saw it.

By that time the industries that had fought Stephens and Arkansas-Louisiana through the courts and won an empty victory evidently concluded they had been wasting their time. They signed up at the higher rates and did not protest the reapproval of the rates they had opposed—rates that are responsible for the $4 million excess in earnings to which the Louisiana public service commission pointed.

But the Secretary of the Army did protest, and filed a motion for an appeal, but the public service commission—as was reported first in the Recorder 2 weeks ago—denied the motion. It remains to be seen whether the United States Government also will withdraw its resistance to one of the most far-reaching and successful utility stock promotion programs since the boom market just prior to the start of the depression, effects of which have never worn off.

The Federal Securities and Exchange Commission has aided and abetted the promotion step by step, a circumstance that no doubt will be called to the attention of the Secretary of the Army who must ultimately say whether the Pulaski circuit court shall be asked to force the public service commission to send up the record for an appeal.

Press reports of the public service commission order for the field price ascertainment quoted Stephens as promising that the inflated valuation would not bring higher domestic rates. That isn't his problem at the moment. What Arkansas-Louisiana wants is public service commission action that will avert a rate reduction such the Louisiana Commission in effect said appeared to be called for.

Little Rock and Civil Rights—Does This Mean the End of States Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by Mr. David Lawrence which appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Star. As usual, Mr. Lawrence pinpoints the vital question involved in the present controversy:

LITTLE ROCK AND CIVIL RIGHTS—DISPUTE SEEN PROVING PREDICTION THAT BILL IS BLOW TO DUAL GOVERNMENT IN UNITED STATES

Every governor, every sheriff, every mayor, and every local official who has anything to do with the administration of State or city laws can be hauled into Federal court on any pretext now and charged with alleged interference with a Federal court order. This can happen, no matter how earnestly and conscientiously the official may be performing the duties of his own office.

Such is the situation which confronts the American people today as they note the unprecedented action of a Federal judge in summoning the governor of a sovereign State so that the court may pass judgment on his executive ability, his efficiency and his good faith in discharging the duties of his office.

If the Governor of Arkansas should perchance differ with the terms of an injunction that may be issued by the Federal judge after the September 20 hearing and continue to keep troops on guard, in accordance with his conscientious belief that he is fulfilling his duty as the chief executive of his State in preventing bloodshed and disorder, he can be charged with civil contempt and put in jail. Under existing Federal law, he will not even have the benefit of a jury trial.

If the troops are withdrawn and bloodshed follows, there is no way to hold the arbitrary-minded Federal judge responsible for the death of any citizen.

How easy it would be for impassioned opinion to uphold a dictator in America today if he attempted overnight to transform the American system of government into an irresponsible government—judging by the widespread indifference to what is happening in Arkansas.

Many persons say frankly in conversations with their neighbors that the Governor ought to be jailed, but the average citizen today knows little about our dual system of government. Lack of education in the schools on the constitutional rights of the States, plus the steady whittling away of those rights by a usurping Federal Government, aided by a usurping Supreme Court, has persuaded many citizens that, of course, anything the Federal Government does is right in all controversies with the States.

"Why don't you remove the Wisconsin Senator from office?" wrote many citizens to President Eisenhower in 1955. They didn't seem to realize that there is a guaranty of freedom of speech in the Constitution. Nor did they know apparently that the States are supposed to be sovereign. But now a governor is to be interrupted in his duties and perhaps removed by a Federal court and put in jail.

Nor do the people generally understand that a governor can be tried now without a jury and sentenced to jail by the same judge who makes the charge and acts as prosecuting attorney, judge, and jury. Congress debated this very issue recently in connection with the civil-rights bill but surrendered to the concept of a Federal dictatorship. There are no jury trials in civil-contempt cases.

This correspondent made a memorandum for himself on Saturday, August 31, apropos the passage of the civil-rights legislation by Congress and put it in his files to be read a year hence. The memorandum read as follows:

"The damage done to constitutional government by a majority at the session of Congress just ended is epochal. It is the worst blow to the dual system of government inflicted in the history of the Republic.

"For the States have been placed in the role of subordinate satellites of the Federal Government. Their governors, their justices, their mayors, and their sheriffs now can be court-martialed at any time by Federal injunction. They no longer are independent, self-governing units.

"Only a patriotic and impartial-minded Supreme Court of the United States can strike down this usurpation of power by Congress. The membership of the present Court, itself recently guilty of usurpation, affords however, little hope of saying the constitutional system.

"The legislators call the new measure, for instance, a law on civil rights. They have made millions of persons believe that only the right-to-vote issue is involved. Actually, the new law is a condemnation of State government in America, its capacity to rule. This deprives the States of their historic right to determine for themselves what the qualifications of voters shall be and whether State, county, and city officials are properly enforcing such State laws. This opens the way at any time for the central government to break down the authority of State governments on any question by further use of the same principle of Federal authority now written into the civil-rights legislation."

Only 4 days later the prediction in that memorandum came true. There is chaos today in the relations between the States and the Federal Government. Footnote for history: In this tragic hour, the President and the Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States are away from Washington on vacation.

Socialism and the Federal Estate and Gift Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most vicious devices by which this country is being driven down the road toward socialism is the Federal estate and gift tax. Not only are the rates excessive and confiscatory, but the whole principle is wrong.

It is for this reason that I have introduced in this Congress a bill—H. R. 9435—which would repeal these taxes, and a proposed constitutional amendment—House Joint Resolution 461—which would prohibit the Federal Government from ever reimposing such taxes in the future.

At this point I want to quote from a truly worthwhile study of this subject from the point of view of the harm it does to our country, and its destructive effect in terms of preventing an essential expansion of industry:

SOCIALISM AND THE FEDERAL ESTATE AND GIFT TAXES

(By Robert B. Dresser)

In this article, I propose to discuss the harmful effects of Federal estate and gift taxes, and the advantage of leaving such taxes exclusively to the States.

Under existing laws the estate tax runs to a high of 77 percent and the gift tax to 57¾ percent. The gift tax is imposed as an essential aid to the estate tax to prevent evasion of the latter.

The rates of these taxes are manifestly confiscatory, and they have very harmful economic effects. They not only seriously impair the incentive to work, save and invest, but they are extremely destructive of capital and will in the long run destroy the accumulations of capital that are so necessary for industrial activity and expansion with the resulting beneficial effects on our economy and the people as a whole.

In its report on the tax problems of small business, published in June 1953, the Select Committee on Small Business of the United States Senate makes the following statement regarding estate taxes (pp. 21–23):

"Your committee is deeply concerned with those forces which lessen competition and compromise the free enterprise nature of our economy. Testimony which was given to the Taxation Subcommittee lent credence to reports that estate taxes often lead to the disappearance of small or medium-size independent businesses or their merger with the dominant segment of an industry."

The report quotes the following testimony of a witness:

"Since little companies are generally individually owned, death inevitably forces a substantial cash inheritance-tax demand on any small company owner's estate. Then the small organization that had managed to survive competition and income taxes must raise the cash to meet this tax, or be liquidated by sale or merger, which is happening at an alarming rate.

"The effect, then, of the present system of taxation is to accentuate the trend toward concentration of economic power in the hands of a few, while the Department of Justice spends great effort prosecuting the monopolies that are forced into existence by our tax system."

In its findings and recommendations the committee says:

"The impact of death levies on many privately held small businesses all too often results in forced sales to competing firms in the same industry. Furthermore, the threat of inheritance and estate taxes provides a strong inducement for the principal owners of any such corporation to "hedge" against the possibility of death through such sellouts."

Moreover, the heavy taxation of large estates compels the rich to seek comparatively safe, liquid investments in order to provide for the heavy taxes that will be imposed upon their estates at death, thus further reducing the capital available for hazardous business ventures which have done so much to improve the lot of the American people.

It should be realized that rich men, such, for example, as the late Henry Ford, play a very important part in our economy. They and their families can personally consume and enjoy but a trivial part of their wealth. The balance is in effect held by them as trustees for the public. It is this wealth that has supplied in the past much of the venture or risk capital required by new and hazardous enterprises, such as the railroads, the automobile industry, the aircraft industry, and many others, as well as for the expansion of existing enterprises. By this means jobs and good wages have been provided for millions of workers. The automobile industry furnishes an excellent illustration. Based upon 1957 reports, the number of jobs created directly and indirectly by the automobile industry, which is only about 60 years old, is over 10 million. This is 1 out of every 7 persons now employed in all classes of employment in the United States.

Such enterprises, however, are risky. Many of them fail and the investor loses his investment. Hence, he must have funds that he can afford to risk. Most people do not have such funds, and such holders of capital as banks and trust estates are not permitted to make such hazardous investments. High death as well as high income taxes destroy the incentive and the ability to incur such risks.

Does anyone doubt that the wealth of Mr. Henry Ford was of far greater benefit to the people of this country in his hands than it would have been in the hands of the Federal Government? He used it to develop a great industry which has given employment at good wages, directly and indirectly, to hundreds of thousands of people. In the hands of the Federal Government the money would soon have been dissipated in the construction of nonproductive post offices and other Government buildings and in paying the costs of an unduly expanded bureaucracy.

RULE AGAINST PERPETUITIES BREAKS UP LARGE ESTATES

There should be no fear that the absence of a heavy Federal estate tax would lead to an undue concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. The rule against perpetuities, inherited by us from the common law of England, forbids tying up the ownership of property for a longer period than a life or lives in being and 21 years. In other words, an estate must be divided among the heirs or beneficiaries in the second succeeding generation. From that time on the estate will be subject to a further subdivision with each generation, if it should happen that there is any of it left to be divided. If the large estates are to be broken up, it is obviously better that this should be done by natural forces than by taxation. In the first case the capital continues in the hands of individuals. In the second it is taken by the Government.

REVENUE FROM DEATH AND GIFT TAXES SMALL

Assuredly, the harm done to the economy by the present high rates of death and gift taxes is out of all proportion to the revenue produced, and cannot be justified by any argument based on fiscal needs. Even with the very high rates now in force, the revenue from these taxes is comparatively trivial. It is only about 1½ percent of the total budget—enough to pay the Government's expenses for about 5 days.

STATES ALSO IMPOSE DEATH TAXES

The imposition of death taxes is not confined to the Federal Government. The individual States as well impose either estate or legacy taxes on death. The duplication of taxes by the State and Federal Governments has become a matter of grave concern, and it is important that steps be taken to end it. The field of death taxes should be assigned to the States, the laws of which determine the right to dispose of property on death and the rights of inheritance.

The gift tax is merely auxiliary to the estate tax, and both should be dealt with alike.

REASON FOR IMPOSING SUCH TAXES

If these taxes have such a harmful effect and produce so little revenue, why are they imposed?

An examination of the speeches, articles, and books on the subject during the past 35 or 40 years furnishes the answer.

The manifest purpose is to redistribute wealth. An approach to an equality of wealth for all was to be effected by means of taxation. And some even went so far as to advocate an outright abolition of the right of inheritance as proposed in the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx.

Even the president of one of our great universities, in a magazine article published 14 years ago, expressed sympathy with the suggestion that the Government confiscate, by constitutional methods, all property once in a generation.

The ultimate result of this, of course, would be the ownership of all property by the Government, the objective of the Communists as expressly stated in the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx.

In some of the literature during this period the view was expressed that large wealth cannot be fairly and honestly acquired, and that as a matter of simple justice it should be taken by the Government at death. This, it was said, would do away, among other things, with the revolting spectacle of an offspring of a rich parent enjoying the benefits of wealth which he did nothing to accumulate.

One book, written 17 years ago, discusses this whole subject at great length, and gives the history of the movement to impose these taxes. Never have I read a more bitter, scathing attack on those who have acquired fortunes. It is a veritable hymn of hate.

At the bottom of the attack on the right of inheritance is undoubtedly the human vice of envy—envy that someone else is rich while I am not.

If there is a single economic justification for a heavy death tax, I have not been able to discover it. On the contrary, as I have pointed out, it has very harmful economic effects, and in the case of the present Federal estate tax, it produces with the gift tax comparatively little revenue.

RESULTS OF REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Moreover, the results of the redistribution of existing wealth would, I think, be most disappointing to those who advocate it.

Based upon figures taken from a report of former Secretary of the Treasury Snyder to the Ways and Means Committee on February 5, 1951:

1. If the total taxable income, before taxes, in the income-tax brackets over $6,000 were divided equally among the 155 million people in the country at that time, each person would receive $80.

2. If the total taxable income, before taxes, in the brackets over $10,000 were so distributed, each person would receive $50.

3. If the total taxable income, before taxes, in the brackets over $20,000 were so distributed, each person would receive $25.

LESSON TO BE LEARNED

The lesson to be learned from this is that what is needed in order to improve the lot of the less fortunate is not a redistribution of existing wealth, but the production of more wealth. This can be accomplished only by providing a proper incentive for people to work, save, and invest in productive enterprises. It is the incentive furnished by the right to acquire and own property and to dispose of it during life and at death, and the right to make and keep a reasonable profit for one's labor and the use of his property that makes possible the increased production of wealth and the resulting improvement in the general scale of living. It is this incentive which is the mainspring of the private enterprise system without which it will not work. The removal, or partial removal, of this incentive by excessive income and death taxes leads to the production of less wealth and defeats the objective of improving the lot of the average citizen.

Our astounding economic progress and our high scale of living have been due to our American system of private enterprise and our system of constitutional government which have given the individual freedom and provided him with the incentive to work, save and invest in productive enterprises.

IMPORTANCE OF MACHINERY

Over 90 percent of the work in American industry is done by machinery. It is this machinery that has made the high wages and high scale of living possible.

The capital required to provide this machinery has come from the savings of corporations and individuals. The great bulk of the new capital supplied by individuals which is needed for this machinery and the expansion of industry comes from those having the larger incomes and the greater wealth. Excessive taxation not only discourages the investment of capital in industry but it also reduces the source of supply by the amount of the excessive tax.

IMPORTANCE OF OUR INDUSTRIAL LEADERS

Largely responsible for our marvelous economic progress are the great industrial leaders and inventors—such men as Henry Ford, Thomas Edison, and many others—who have provided the ideas and leadership that have made this wonderful achievement possible. That many of them made large fortunes is not a reason for condemning them. The price thus paid has been trivial compared with the benefits received by the people as a whole.

That there may have been some knaves among those who acquired large fortunes is no reason for a blanket condemnation of them all. To forbid the transmission of such fortunes on death would largely destroy the incentive to do the things that have so greatly benefited the American people. It would be like burning down the barn to get rid of the rats.

WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN UNITED STATES

The large fortunes constitute but a small part of the wealth of the country. According to a study by Dr. Williford I. King, on July 1, 1936, there were about 9,000 families in the United States having wealth of $1 million or over, and their wealth in the aggregate amounted to approximately $22 billion. This was slightly less than 7 percent of the total value of private property in the country at that time, which Dr. King estimated at about $321 billion.

Despite frequent assertions to the contrary, the fact is that never in all history has there been such a wide distribution of wealth among the people as in the United States.

CONCLUSION

By way of summary, the Federal estate tax is the least defensible of any of the taxes levied by the Federal Government. It is a direct levy on capital, its economic effects are exceedingly harmful, it produces but little revenue, and it invades a field of taxation already being used by the States.

I, therefore, submit that the levying of such taxes should be abandoned by the Federal Government, and this means of taxation left exclusively to the States, where competition would tend to keep the rates within reasonable bounds.

The gift tax is merely auxiliary to the estate tax, and both should be dealt with alike.

To accomplish this objective a bill should be promptly passed repealing the death and gift taxes, and in addition an amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be adopted prohibiting the levying of such taxes by the Federal Government in the future. A bill (H. R. 9435) repealing these taxes has recently been introduced in the House by Congressman RALPH W. GWINN, and joint resolutions proposing such a constitutional amendment have been introduced in the present Congress by Senator DIRKSEN and Congressman GWINN (S. J. Res. 25, H. J. Res. 141, and H. J. Res. 461).

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *August 26, 1957.*

Consumer Has a Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful editorial from the Austin Statesman of July 8, 1957, under the heading "Consumer Has a Side."

It may be surprising to some, but it should be gratifying to many, that out of Texas, the State which is our largest natural-gas producer, a voice should be raised in behalf of the consumer.

Members of Congress considering the Harris bill, H. R. 6790, would do well to ponder the concluding appeal of the editorial:

It is equally clear that no injustice should be permitted on millions of gas users who, if this bill passes in its present form, will have no check on price rises which may get underway almost immediately after it becomes law.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSUMER HAS A SIDE

Last year President Eisenhower vetoed the measure passed by Congress which freed natural-gas producers from Federal price control. He did so, he said, because of the arrogant lobbying by the bill's supporters. At the time, however, he said he favored the general purposes of the measure.

Now he has withdrawn from the view that an amendment should protect the rights of the consumer, feeling, apparently, that the bill does not jeopardize the consumers' rights. And he sees no need for the Federal Power Commission to look into the costs of production.

Many billions are at stake in this legislation. It would seem, in all fairness, that the President find out first just what the circumstances and facts are so that it will be fair both to the gas industry and to the consumers.

It still is not very clear how it can be that an unregulated industry is to the interest of the consumer who is dependent on its product.

No one wants to see an injustice committed on the gas industry. On the other hand, it is equally clear that no injustice should be permitted on millions of gas users who, if this bill passes in its present form, will have no check on price rises which may get under way almost immediately after it becomes law.

The Labor Movement Serves Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address given by Prof. Philip Taft, of Brown University, a member of the American Federation of Teachers, at the annual banquet of the federation, held in Chicago, Ill., on August 22, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS GIVEN BY PROF. PHILIP TAFT, OF BROWN UNIVERSITY, A MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE FEDERATION, AUGUST 22, CHICAGO

The general labor movement has influenced education and the school system in several ways—some directly, and others, perhaps of equal importance, indirectly. From its beginning, the labor movement of the United States, and of other countries as well, has sought to expand the opportunities of

the average man and woman who depends on the sale of his services for his income. The labor movement has sought also from its inception to shorten the hours of labor. In fact, as we recall the first demands made by the emerging trade unions of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, we find that the demands for higher wages and shorter hours were almost always bound together in one package. It may properly be asked how do the demands for higher wages and shorter hours affect the educational institutions of the country. My answer would be: very directly and significantly, for it is only by raising the wages of adults—the real wages, I mean—that the family is enabled to provide for the schooling of its children. The first requisite for a general and broad education of all the people is adequate income for the family so that it can afford to keep the child in school rather than to send it to the mine or factory at a tender age to help raise the family income. Indirectly, therefore, the trade unions, by insisting that a greater share of the national income be paid to wage earners, were, in fact, asking that the working child be given the opportunity for an education. Let us bear in mind that only as the family ceases to depend upon the income of the young wage earner is it possible to force a withdrawal of the child from industry.

Consequently, the trade unions were among the first groups in our society to recognize and fight against the evil of child labor. They were among the first groups to insist on raising the school age, and on the establishment of systems of supervision which prevented the evasion of the laws regulating the employment of children and prohibiting the employment of those below a stipulated age. By insisting that the child's place was in the school and not in the factory, or the counting house or the mine—fortunately our generation does not know of the employment of children of tender age as breaker boys in the coal mines—the labor movement stimulated and enlarged the role of the school system in our society and in our communities. The relationship between the level of real income and the demand for education can be seen today by the increased enrollments in the secondary schools and colleges and universities as the levels of real income have risen.

Shorter hours have been, as has already been noted, one of the earliest demands of organized labor. As a matter of fact, the first labor movement organized on the North American Continent was established to promote the shorter workweek—the 10-hour day. That is one reason why the Mechanics Union of Trade Associations, the first labor movement in our country, was brought into being in Philadelphia in 1827. From that time on, and as a matter of fact, in the single union before that time, the labor movement has always placed the demand for shorter hours high on its list. Thus, the trade unions in the 1830's demanded the 10-hour day. In the years immediately following the Civil War the unions started to agitate and demand the 8-hour day; this was followed by an effort to establish the 44-hour week, so that the workers would have a greater span for leisure-time activities, including education. The next demand for shorter hours took the form of a plea and insistence upon a 5-day week, and this schedule of work was in many places established by the trade unions before it was recognized as desirable in the law of the land.

The relation between shorter hours and education was recognized by the trade-union pioneers in the United States and other countries. The men who founded the trade-union movement to which we are affiliated were men of character and vision who sought a better life for their fellow men. They did not regard the labor movement as a business, but as the instrument by which men and women could attain a better and fuller life. It was a Boston machinist, Ira Steward, who argued that when a worker is forced to work long hours he becomes a mere machine, a beast of burden with few wants and interests. He therefore believed that by reducing the hours of labor, man's wants and interests inevitably expanded. Where formerly he was satisfied with a mere animal subsistence, a shorter workday, by giving him time to think and reflect, would automatically open new horizons for him. Time to think leads to greater curiosity which can be satisfied only with a knowledge of the arts and of the sciences. Steward saw in shorter hours the basic requisite for raising the educational level of our working people.

But we must never forget that the early movement was not established by believers in mere bread-and-butter organizations. They, of course, stressed the primary need for the organizations of labor to win better wages and working conditions, but they saw in more favorable conditions of employment the means for enlarging the understanding and activities of the average men and women whom they zealously served.

So far I have attempted to show the contributions of organized labor in the expansion of educational opportunities for our people. These have been great, even though frequently unrecognized. Organized labor has, moreover, always shown a more direct and pervasive interest in education; labor has always supported the school and the teacher. Before dealing with the school system, labor has noticed the teacher. In my opinion, the teacher, working with the pupil, is the most important member of the school system. A school could be operated without auditoria or athletic fields or even buildings; it is possible to run a school in the fields or even in private homes. The one indispensable individual in a school working with the child is the teacher, a simple fact not always recognized by school committees, superintendents, and even the parents of schoolchildren. The labor movement, in contrast, has always recognized the primary importance of the teacher, not only because of his contribution to the education of the youth of America, but because the labor movement has insisted that those who made a contribution to the welfare of the community, those who provide a useful and necessary service should be accorded all the rights enjoyed by other citizens and be given the opportunity to share in the fruits of economic progress. The classroom teacher should not be the forgotten man in our society. The labor movement has always fought for the right of the teacher to enjoy the freedoms accorded to all other citizens, and has insisted that freedom of speech and freedom of organization and the right to organize be accorded to the teacher as well as those in other occupations. The labor movement has actively opposed the efforts of some school authorities to deprive teachers of rights possessed by other citizens and has defended, and even more, insisted, on the necessity of teachers organizing so that excessive burdens would not be forced on them. But labor has not neglected to recognize that effective teaching and devoted teachers should be properly rewarded. We must neither underestimate nor overstress the altruism of teachers.

So far, I have dealt with the influence of the labor movement in promoting education and educational opportunities indirectly through the creation of a political and economic climate which increases the educational opportunities for the average man and woman, and enables the teacher to protect himself against certain kinds of abuses. But the labor movement has long been also the direct and faithful friend of the teacher and the school system.

Let us now turn to more direct activity on behalf of education. From its first organization, the labor movement aided directly in the campaigns for the establishment of adequate schools, for the children of America. In fact one of the grievances most complained of by labor in the first decades of the last century was the absence of free public education. It was recognition of the need for free public education which helped stimulate the scattered local unions of Philadelphia to combine into what we would today call a city central federation for common action in behalf of free education. All Americans, including those who send their children to private schools, are proud at least of the principle of free public schooling for every child.

Even though labor had little organization and few resources, much of the early effort went into campaigns for free public education. The arguments against free public education were not lacking and some folks were convinced that such a system would only be a waste of the taxpayer's funds and would give the Government an opportunity to control the child and even the parent. Some believed that the worker's children should attend the charity schools then in operation in many communities. But the first organizations of labor believed, as we do today, that a democracy is not possible unless every child is given the opportunity to an education without the stigma of charity or inferiority. The worker's organizations of the 1830's declared education to be "the rock on which the temple of moral freedom and independence is founded; any other foundation than this, will prove inadequate to the protection of our liberties, and our republican institutions. In order to support the superstructure, the foundation must be broad. Our Government is republican; our education should be equally so."

The quotation expresses the view of the labor movement of the pre-Civil War period. No less friendly was the attitude of the labor movement which followed the Civil War. Education was from the beginning, high on the list of demands of the American Federation of Labor, and the first convention of the A. F. of L, came out for compulsory education of the children of America. In addition, the A. F. of L. soon thereafter went on record that textbooks and supplies be furnished free for every pupil attending a public school.

The attitude of the labor movement has always been that educational opportunities should be sufficiently diverse to take account of the varying talents and capacities of individuals. Therefore, it has recognized the need for vocational education. Actually, the labor movement was largely instrumental in the enactment of the first Federal law providing for grants-in-aid to States for the promotion of vocational education. The first draft of the Smith-Hughes Act was written in the office of A. F. of L. President Samuel Gompers. The labor movement has watched these developments with sympathy and understanding and has sought to have programs developed which would serve the individual, the school, and industry, but which would not be utilized as a means for giving advantage to special private firms. The labor movement has urged the adoption of night-school programs where young people and adults might resume their schooling shortened by the need to enter the labor market. Favoring equal opportunity for all, the labor movement has persistently supported the establishment and enlargement of the public college and university so that educational opportunity would not be rationed on the basis of income.

Quite early in its history, the general labor movement recognized the desirability of teachers forming organizations which would be able to protect the standards of the profession and, at the same time, defend the salary scales and the working conditions of the teacher. Of course, there are always those who question the propriety of teachers

joining a labor organization; others are not happy about affiliating with federations composed largely of manual workers. Even from the narrow point of view of self-interest, the teacher gains a great deal from his affiliation with the general labor movement.

Surely no group in our society has more loyally and consistently fought for the extension of education and the rights of the teacher than has the labor movement of the United States. What better forum is available to the teacher than the millions of citizens anxious to be told of the needs and achievements of our schools? Where else could the teacher find an audience as sympathetic to his problems and as anxious to solve them as can be found within the labor movement?

As teachers we recognize certain facts. In dealing with the level of salaries we are inevitably aware that the Government which employs us also provides other services for the community. Schooling, while of major importance, is only one of a number of services provided by modern government. Frequently the services compete for the tax dollar, and those employees who are not in a good bargaining position are likely to have their needs overlooked. The teachers must have a spokesman because the employing units of the teacher are frequently facing demands from other groups also. It is, moreover, a true if unfortunate fact that many school committees, administrators, and even parents, are more impressed by eye-catching buildings and expensive athletic plants than with good teaching and efficient teachers. It is true also, however, that good and comfortable buildings and athletic plants and effective teaching are not mutually exclusive. They go very well together, and teachers appreciate clean and comfortable schoolrooms as much if not more than anyone else. The error lies in judging merely by externals and remaining satisfied if the facilities are modern and attractive. Facilities are only instruments used by the teacher and the level of teaching is determined by the person who directs the class and not by modern lighting or buildings even though the latter may be helpful teaching aids and highly desirable. What we must insist upon is that good schools are the result of good teachers and that neglecting the teacher will ultimately destroy the school system.

Because of the competition for the tax dollar by many groups and services and because laymen frequently confuse externals with what is essential, teachers must organize so as to effectually present claims for a fair share of the tax revenue. The general labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor, and subsequently also by the CIO, recognized the needs of the teacher and that they could not efficiently be met by the individual. The A. F. of L. welcomed the first organized groups into its midst. The first local unions of teachers were warmly greeted and their support urged upon the affiliates. At first, as is customary in all crafts, professions, and industries, the local unions were affiliated directly to the American Federation of Labor, but by 1916 there was a sufficient number of local units of teachers organized for the A. F. of L. to grant them a national charter—and the American Federation of Teachers was established. The advantage of the affiliation with labor was the A. F. of L. could give the teachers support in seeking to rectify their grievances; it could make known to a wider audience the claims and rights of teachers and mobilize the membership of the trade unions in their behalf. The significance of the national union organization of teachers was that for the first time teachers acquired an experienced central body which could aid local groups and give them the benefit of experience gained in organizing and negotiating with the school authorities.

Organizing the unorganized has never been an easy task. In some periods it is less difficult than in others, but fear and inertia are always to some extent present. Newly organized workers have in the past frequently faced the danger of discrimination and loss of employment if they tried, but were not successful, in establishing a union. Even today, when labor is protected by legislation in its right to organize, discrimination is not unknown. Far more serious and widespread were the obstacles of the past, before the great expansions of trade-union membership in the 1930's and 1940's. Teachers who joined a union then faced not only the economic hurdles of all the other unions; they had to overcome even greater obstacles than manual workers. As Government employees they were frequently prohibited from combining with their colleagues in order to rectify injustice and secure equitable treatment.

Yet the pioneers who laid the groundwork for the American Federation of Teachers persisted in their tasks. They have been able to convince, cajole, or force school authorities in many communities to recognize that a teacher has the right to join a protective organization to defend his economic and professional status. But the American Federation of Teachers has been more than a mere agent for handling grievances. It has foreseen many of the problems facing school systems of America and has found ways through which they might be intelligently met. Because its views are primarily influenced by the needs of the children and those who have the primary responsibility for their formal training, the teachers, the American Federation of Teachers, has been able to warn against the successive crises that have faced and are facing our educational system. The views of the AFT are not those of the school administrators; its views are not formulated with a view of serving a selfish special interest, but they are devised to serve the interests of all the people, and of the future generations. The American Federation of Teachers as an integral part of the AFL–CIO can bring educational problems to the great forum of labor's convention and there mobilize sentiment for a proper public policy.

The depression of the 1930's led to a serious crisis in our economy and in our schools. Local governments, harried by falling revenue and rising costs of their relief budgets, began reducing the amounts allocated for schools. The AFT and the AFL both directed their efforts toward not only halting this dangerous trend but reversing it. At the depths of the depression, the conventions of the AFL warned of the need to increase school appropriations. The depression years brought with them a serious attack upon the schools, caused largely by the breakdown of sources of revenue, and the demand for economy which was an outgrowth of the depressed state of business. It took the form of sharp budget cutting and, in some instances, of which Chicago is the outstanding example, local governments were unable to pay teachers out of their reduced tax income. At its convention in 1933, the A. F. of L. noted this danger to continued existence of the free public school which organized labor had long fought to establish. It called upon the Federal Government to aid the States to maintain their educational plants and activities. The convention recognized that the primary responsibility for the education of children rested upon the local community and the State, but it also recognized that the breakdown of the educational system in any State, and the disastrous effect such a breakdown inevitably exercises, is a potential problem for the citizens of all States.

In 1936 the convention of the A. F. of L. endorsed pending bills in Congress which sought to provide Federal aid to States for education. The shifts in population occasioned by World War II and its continuance up to now, the great increases in school enrollment and the still greater increases expected, raised the question of school financing again. The labor movement, as represented by the two federations—the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations—and since the merger by the existing federation, has spoken out continuously for Federal aid to education, so that children in areas with low-tax resources would not be denied adequate educational opportunities.

As one examines the record, he finds that the most consistent friend of the school system has been the organized-labor movement. Labor has, over the years, fought for the expansion of the school system so that every child would have an opportunity for a free education through college and the university. Labor has recognized, as perhaps few groups in our society have, the significance of the teacher in the educational system. Because the labor movement has always fought for the protection of civil rights for all the people of America, it has demanded that the teacher be treated in like manner and be allowed all the rights and privileges of other citizens. Because it recognized that the teaching profession has a just claim for its fair share of the national income, it has fought for adequate salaries for the teachers.

The labor movement has, moreover, recognized that the payment of adequate salaries is not only a measure of justice, but that, if the teaching profession is to recruit the able and devoted men and women who have staffed our public schools, their remuneration must be sufficiently attractive to encourage young people to take up the career of teaching. Unless we want a continuing steady deterioration in the quality of teaching, the teaching profession must not be neglected. The men and women who have devoted years of effort are perhaps too committed to change their professions; but death and retirement as well as the withdrawal of younger members from a profession which has failed to retain its position on the income scale make the raising of the pay of teachers imperative. It will not profit the community to have the finest plant and equipment that money can buy, if it is not manned with competent teachers.

These conditions have long been recognized by the general labor movement and by our own American Federation of Teachers. Because of their primary interest in the schoolchild and the schoolteacher, the American Federation of Teachers, and the general labor movement of which it is a part, have concentrated their major efforts in improving the school system, in promoting the enlargement and enrichment of the curriculum so that every need, as far as possible, is filled; in protecting the teacher as a citizen, and as an employee. The campaign waged by the A. F. of L. is never lost, and, for that matter, never permanently won. Because of the continuing need, the teacher requires an independent spokesman and the sympathetic interest and support of a large body of citizens whose only demand upon the school is that it serve the children of America effectively.

Questionnaire Submitted to the People of the 12th Congressional District of New York

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, each year it has been my custom to sub-

mit to the people of the 12th Congressional District of New York, whom I have the honor to serve, a questionnaire setting forth various questions which will be considered by the Congress of the United States in its deliberations.

I appreciate the fine response to the questionnaire and am gratified to say that the people of the 12th Congressional District of New York are intensely interested in their Government and are willing to take time to participate in it by expressing their opinions and advice to their Representative in the Congress.

The following is the questionnaire and the results in percentages:

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
1. To promote the cause of world peace, President Eisenhower has said he believes it may be necessary for him to meet from time to time with foreign heads of state with whom he may not always agree. Do you favor such meetings between the President and foreign leaders?	84	14	2
2. Do you approve of President Eisenhower's general foreign policy?	52	43	5
Do you favor—			
(a) Continuing foreign military aid?	51	44	5
(b) Continuing foreign economic aid?	51	45	4
3. Do you approve of Congress authorizing the admission of a greater number of immigrants from all countries?	42	52	6
4. Do you approve the sale of farm surpluses to Communist nations?	32	63	5
5. Do you favor reduction of the Federal debt before reducing taxes?	64	34	2
6. Do you approve Federal legislation to ease the supply of housing credit, including greater Federal support of the mortgage market?	58	39	3
7. Do you approve the Federal Government's encouragement of more liberal credit and lower interest rates for small business?	83	15	2
8. Do you approve controls by the Federal Government of rents, wages, and prices in peacetime?	47	51	2
9. The administration has proposed extending the present $1 an hour Federal minimum wage to groups not presently covered, mainly retail and service employees. Do you favor this proposal?	84	15	01
10. Do you favor requiring registration of pension and welfare funds of labor unions and disclosure of financial transactions involving them?	91	06	03
11. To put the Post Office Department on a pay-as-you-go basis, do you favor increasing postage rates, including a boost in the 1st-class mail from 3 to 4 cents, as proposed by the administration?	69	29	02
12. Do you approve direct Federal grants to States for education?	60	38	02
13. Do you favor Federal plans for reinsuring privately run voluntary hospitalization and surgical insurance?	52	46	02
14. Do you favor further reduction in the age at which persons shall be eligible for social security?	62	36	02
15. Do you favor the enactment of a strong civil rights program to enforce the voting rights of all citizens?	80	18	02

The response to the questionnaire by thousands of residents of our district has been of great assistance to me in carrying out their wishes. Many persons who answered the questions also submitted comments on other issues and suggestions for solutions to some of the problems of the day.

They are the people who elected me to represent them in the Congress of the United States. If there is any way in which I can be of service to them I hope they will not hesitate to call upon me. During recess both my Washington and Brooklyn offices remain open. I have a competent staff and my services and theirs are available to my constituents. I want them to know that even when Congress is not in session I am on the job.

Address by Walter Reuther to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the thought-provoking speech on some of our most pressing national problems by Mr. Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, to the Convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Chicago on August 22, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY WALTER P. REUTHER TO THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, CHICAGO, ILL., AUGUST 22, 1957

My good friend Carl, distinguished guests, delegates to the American Federation of Teachers convention, and friends, it is a privilege and great pleasure to be with you tonight. I have looked forward to this opportunity because I feel at home among teachers. I always tell my wife: "You know, I get many, many invitations to speak and from all sorts of groups, but I have the least resistance when the teachers ask me to come because I have a great affection for the teachers."

Further, I also think that my credentials are in order because I don't think that I could have demonstrated my affection in a more tangible way than by marrying a teacher—and, of course, that is precisely how I demonstrated my affection. [Applause.] My good wife is a very attractive young lady, but then she was much more attractive to me—some 22 years ago when we were married—becauses, in her purse, she carried a membership card in the American Federation of Teachers. [Applause.] She not only carried a card in your union but was also a very active member of the American Federation of Teachers.

Now, I did not come with a learned and prepared text as did our good friend Dr. Taft here. However, I would rather like to think out loud with you concerning some of the problems that I have been thinking about and that I also know that you have been thinking about.

You know, if H. G. Wells had written that potent line about history being a race between education and chaos today, he would have been much more accurate than he was at the time he wrote it, because you and I and the people of the world are living in the most difficult, the most challenging period in human history.

I would like to talk about that problem as it relates to education because, in a broad sense, what you and I and the millions of people who make up the family of man do with the problem, the kind of solution we will find for it and how we can exploit the opportunities that are on the other side of the coin, in a large measure, depend upon what we do with the development of human resources of the world.

We are in a crisis in the world. The crisis is not economic, political or military in character. Essentially we are living in a moral crisis which is reflected in man's growing immorality to himself—of man's growing abuse of himself—which finds its most terrifying expression in the total destructive power of the H-bomb, which, in our place in history, has made peace an absolute condition of human survival.

Now, just as the world is in a crisis because of this moral problem, the plaguing domestic problems of America are essentially moral in character. The civil rights question which has been debated for so many weeks in Washington—that is not a political question—that is esentially a moral question of how Americans must learn to live with others, regardless of race, creed or color. This happens to be, I think, perhaps America's most challenging problem as it relates to providing leadership to the free world in the growing struggle for the hearts and minds of people everywhere; in the contest between freedom and the forces of communism and communistic tyranny.

Go to Asia, as I did, into the villages of northern India, and they will ask you about Montgomery, Ala., and they will want to know all of the details because they are looking at America—and they will judge us not by our productive indexes, not by the brightness of chrome on the new Chevrolets and Cadillacs, not by the millions of tons of steel that we have the capacity to produce, even though, of course, they are impressed by these statistics—but they will judge us by the only true measurements of the greatness of civilization—not our material wealth, but how do we demonstrate the social and moral responsibilities essential to translate material wealth into basic human values.

They will ask us: "What about your double standards in America?"

We need to work hard at finding a practical way to overcome the moral gap between America's noble policies and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights.

The second most important challenge in America is education, a condition that becomes more threatening and more serious each day as classrooms become more and more antiquated and more children demand the right of education as members of our free society and as teachers get less and less compensation in terms of their equity of the gross national product.

Of course, here again the crisis in education is not economic. We have the material resources essential to overcoming this basic educational deficit. We have the know-how in terms of teachers and techniques—what we lack is the moral courage and the good sense to commit a large enough portion of our economic resources necessary to overcome this basic deficit.

While we are talking about moral crises, I just want to say in passing that the labor movement has a moral crisis on its hands—that essentially the corruption and the gangsterism which have penetrated certain unions in the American labor movement is a reflection of our culture. It comes out of the fact that we have placed too great an empha-

sis in our society upon the sheer acquisition of material wealth as being the only symbol of success and that this kind of almost total dedication to material values tends to corrupt, and, of course, it corrupts labor leaders as well as other members of our society.

Therefore, I am proud to be part of the team in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations who are engaged in the practical and somewhat painful task of applying our newly devised ethical codes to our labor movement. [Applause.]

I want to assure you that it may be painful, but that we are determined to drive out of the leadership of the American labor movement every crook and racketeer, because we believe that neither crooks nor Communists ought to be in the leadership of a free labor movement. [Applause.]

Now, the crisis in education is one that cannot be overcome as a deficit in the production of automobiles might be overcome. If there is a demand for more cars than Chevrolet may be producing, then all that you do is to put on a second or third shift, and very shortly you begin to overcome the deficit.

However, in education you have got to back way up, because you are dealing here with human elements. That is the great tragedy of America—that we are developing many problems and, essentially, they grow out of this cultural lag between the progress that we make as a free people in the physical sciences, in the art of working with machines and materials and our failure to make comparable progress in the human and social sciences—in the art and know-how of working with people, developing human resources. Education, of course, essentially is that kind of a task—the finding of a way within the framework of our free society to facilitate the maximum growth of every human being.

The American labor movement can be proud of the history that Dr. Taft referred to. We were in the front ranks fighting for education for all because we shared the belief that every child is made in the image of God and that every child should have the kind of educational opportunities, so that each child can be given the opportunity of engaging in and developing that spark of genius which God put into each of us—some more or some less—but to give that spark an opportunity to grow and develop and flourish so that every child can grow to his maximum stature intellectually, culturally, and spiritually—not limited by the fact that the schoolhouse where he went to school was antiquated and inadequate, that the school classroom had 45 students and a harassed and underpaid teacher—but the right of that child to grow should be limited only by its capacity to grow in response to that kind of educational opportunity that every child's nature calls for.

Therefore, we are not Johnny-come-latelys in this struggle to enable every child to have that sacred right of individual maximum growth. This is what we have been talking about.

We have failed to understand this problem because we have failed to comprehend the new dimensions of the forces that are working in the world in which the atom has been split. This is not the problem of yesterday. The tools of today, the problems of today cannot be solved with yesterday's tools or yesterday's concepts. We need new tools and new concepts in order to meet the new challenge and then translate these opportunities into practical fulfillment.

There is much noble talk about education. Yes, you hear eloquent orations on the public platforms around election time about how our children are our most precious national asset and yet, after all is said and done, we treat them as though they were unimportant. What we need is less pious talk and more practical and positive action on the educational front of America. [Applause.]

This is not only a matter of individual growth—the right of every child to grow to his fullest. Of course, that in itself ought to be sufficient motivation to get us off of dead center—but if that is not enough, then the people who look at education and pinch every penny out of it ought to realize that education is the key to national survival.

We are fighting wicked, powerful, and evil forces in the world. We are the strongest of the free nations of the world and because we are the strongest in riches, blessed with more resources than any other country in the world, we must assume corresponding responsibilities in the struggle to make freedom survive in the world. Therefore, education is both a matter of individual growth and a matter of national survival.

Just look and see what the Russians have been doing. You know, I served for a year on a panel established by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, to explore into the peaceful applications of the atom. When we went into the fields of medicine, agriculture, basic research, the field of atomic energy, into its industrial uses—in every field, the limiting factor, the thing that prevents our making maximum progress in harnessing the atom for the peaceful needs of man was not a shortage of ingredients or facilities, but a shortage of trained manpower.

Of course, as you look at the other aspects of American life you will also find that this same problem exists.

Now then, what are the Russians doing while we quibble about our educational needs and fail to meet them? They are forging ahead. In 1920 the Soviet Union, 2 years out of revolution, where they overthrew the Czar, had 41,000 graduate engineers, scientists, and people in related fields. In 1920, we had 215,000. In 1954, the Soviet Union had 54,000 and we had roughly, 500,000. In 1956 they had 120,000 engineers and scientists and related technicians and we had graduated 70,000.

I asked the dean of one of the leading engineering schools in the East whether the Russians were just doing a better quantitative job, sacrificing quality for mass education, and he replied that it would be a sad mistake for us to think that is what they were doing—that in many cases a 4-year engineering or scientific degree in a leading technical university in the Soviet Union was equivalent to a master's degree here. They are advancing because they are really working on education and the many things in relation thereto.

We find that the high schools and preparatory schools in America, because of budgetary problems, begin to cut out the essential courses, and, of course, as a result, problems accumulate. Therefore, as I said, you just cannot overcome these problems by putting on a third shift as we do in the Chevrolet plants, and so that is the reason we are in trouble.

When you look at the fact that more than 50 percent of our high school students who have greater potential growth do not go to higher schools of learning, that they go to work—that then, when you add all of these things together, you can see why we are in trouble. We are in trouble because we seem more concerned with the condition of our finances than with the adequacy of our educational system.

I say that the society that is more concerned about other things than for the growth of its children is going to be in deeper and deeper trouble as we go down the road in history.

Take an automobile worker or a sweeper, for instance, the lowest paid classification that we have in our automobile industry. Last year the statistics indicated that half of the elementary schoolteachers of America received less income than a sweeper in an automobile factory. Now, our sweepers are not getting too much but the teachers are getting too little.

Yet, why is this? It is because somehow we have not gotten our values into proper focus—we have not worked out our list of priorities based upon their true values.

Teachers are entitled to the kind of compensation commensurate to the training needed to teach and to the responsibilities associated with the teaching of our children. However, they continue yet to occupy second class economic citizenship.

You must remember that there is also this problem of growth—for the birthrate is not marking time just because we are looking the other way. [Laughter.] Somehow these unborn children will not postpone their birthdays just because men of little faith have not measured up to the economic needs of an educational system in crisis.

That is why we need to begin to do something about it. Those people who opposed Federal aid to education dressed it up. They are really opposed to Federal aid for education, they tell us, because they do not want Federal control. Of course, they know that you can have Federal aid with local control, but yet these same people are willing to take millions for all kinds of subsidies—for industry, for highways and so on. You have never, I am sure, heard one of these fellows, fighting to get $50 billion for highways, talking about the danger of federally controlled highways. This is really a convenient excuse to hide behind.

We are for Federal aid but we are for local control because we believe that education ought to be close to the people and ought to be controlled at the lowest level of democratic government. However, we also know that realistically the budget of State and local governments cannot carry the excessive burden associated with overcoming a deficit accumulated during the war years, when we could not build schools and we also could not do other things and that, therefore, the Federal Government, of necessity, has to assist in overcoming this tremendously large educational deficit. However, as you can see, because we have our values out of focus, people get mixed up.

I can remember that the Chairman of the White House Conference on Education (and I believe the gentleman's name was McElroy) was asked, at a press conference, "Why do you think that this discussion on education is so controversial?" He explained, it's really simple, for, whenever you mix up two of your most important values, you get explosions and, of course, education mixes up our pocketbook and our children."

Therefore, whenever you equate your pocketbook with your children, then your values are out of focus, because you should never mention your children as a value in the same sentence with your pocketbook for the reason that they do not belong in the same class. However, this is precisely what we do—we always equate human values and somehow they always come out a little bit below the material value.

I say that it is about time that America had the moral courage and the good sense to put our children and their future on top of the list and our pocketbooks down further on the list of priorities. [Applause.]

Now, we worked hard in Washington to get a bill—the Kelly bill. It was only a small step in the right direction, totally inadequate when measured by the dimensions of the deficit. However, even at that we could not get support. The administration had a bill even less adequate. Finally the people decided that maybe the best chance of getting some legislation was to support the

administration's bill, even though that was less adequate than the Kelly bill.

Now, then, when the effort was made in the last hours of that fight on Federal education what happened? Well, we had an * * * alliance led by Mr. HOWARD SMITH * * * and Mr. CHARLES HALLECK * * *, who together, pulled off a nice, cute, parliamentary maneuver and killed the whole bill. Unfortunately, we did not get the kind of aggressive leadership from any branch of the Government that we wanted and, further, the White House was also very quiet on that particular day.

Now then, what happened? Well, 112 Democrats voted for the administration's inadequate educational bill and only 57 Republicans followed their leader, and this in spite of the fact that this was the bill that they had talked about all these many weeks and that this was the bill that they had promised that they would telescope—that instead of taking 5 years that they would do it in 4 year—and yet the bill sponsored by the President was voted against by 139 Republicans, with only 57 voting for it. That is the kind of political immorality that we are faced with.

If the politicians don't believe in Federal aid to education, then they ought not to campaign on that. But when they campaign on supporting Federal aid to education and then go down and vote against it, I say that is hypocrisy and that they should, on election day, be called to an accounting with regard to it. Yes, that is precisely what happened.

Now then, while we worked to try to get that bill through Congress, because we felt that even that bill was a step in the right direction, we did not fool ourselves into believing that it was an adequate bill. What we need to do is to raise our sights—get this question of education up here (indicating eye level) in terms of these new dimensions in which freedom and tyranny are waging this contest of survival; up into the dimensions of the atom, automation and the progress that is being made in the physical sciences.

The President's bill provided for, roughly, $300 million a year for 4 years. How much is $300 million a year? Well, everything is relative. Compared to what we spent in connection with waging the last war, it is peanuts. Three hundred million dollars a year is less than what we paid for waging 8 hours of war during the last war.

I ask you this question—isn't there something basically wrong with the moral fiber of a free people if they have the courage and the collective will, through the instruments of Government which they control and through the exercise of the right to vote—when they do not have the courage, the will and the determination to spend (especially when they spend billions and billions for war for the purpose of training our young people to die on the battlefields) the small amount of money necessary in order to train our people to live in peace?

What do you think that it costs to train a jet pilot or pursuit bomber pilot? You can train many teachers, doctors, and engineers and also scientists for what it costs to train one jet pilot and, of course, the minute he is trained, then his term is quickly over, he retires, and then they again commence to train another fellow. You know, when you train a doctor or an engineer, they are in those professions for a long time, and, of course, that is equally true of the teacher. However, we spend millions to train young people how to die but then we just do not seem to have the good sense to spend millions to train people how to live in peace.

This is the problem, the moral problem that I am speaking of and where our values are out of focus. Therefore, what I have been attempting to do is to get people to realize that we need to raise our sights—to get all of these values into the framework of these new dimensions that I have been talking about.

I have been proposing a Federal-aid-to-education budget for a 5-year period equal to 1½ or 2 percent of our gross national product. Just think of that—1½ to 2 percent of our gross national product as a Federal-aid-to-education budget for 5 years in order to overcome our deficits. Well, when I proposed this all sorts of brickbats started coming in my direction. They say this is fantastic, impossible, inconceivable, unrealistic, that it is from six to eight billion dollars a year. Well, that amount is less than we paid to wage the last war for 1 week.

Aren't we willing, as a free people, to spend in 1 year to help overcome the educational deficits what we were willing to spend in 1 week of winning the war or are people only capable of fighting in terms and sacrificing in terms of their common fears and their common hatreds in the negative pursuits of war?

I share the belief that free people will fight and work for their common hopes and their common dreams and aspirations, if they have the leadership. Why can't we work and fight for the things that we believe in as well as the things that we are opposed to?

Yet, because these things are really all relative, you have always got to measure a budget in terms of your resources. What is six to eight billions of dollars a year in terms of the American economy? It is a small amount of money relatively speaking.

The other day I read in the paper that they are going to build the first atomic aircraft carrier at a cost of $340 million—costing $40 million more than the aid to education bill for a whole year which they had defeated. However, they will just not defeat anything in connection with aircraft carriers. They will wave the flag and most everyone will be for that.

That is the problem and, of course, as I stated, we need to find a way to overcome this problem or we are in trouble as a people and a Nation. I am pointing out that 1½ to 2 percent of our gross national product, measured against what we are losing in the American economy because we are failing to mobilize its full productive capacity, its full potential, is a small amount of money compared to what we are losing.

If you take the years from 1950 through 1953 and measure the economic growth of the American economy in that period as compared to what happened in the last 4 years, compare it to what happened in the last 4-year period, you will find that if the American economy had expanded the last 4 years at the same relative growth as it expanded in the previous 4 years, starting with 1953, that the American economy would have yielded $67 billion greater gross national product and, of course, out of that we could have met the cost of a six-to-eight-billion-dollar Federal aid-to-education bill; that we could have raised the salaries of teachers to where they ought to be; we could have built 300,000 new schoolrooms; we could have built 400,000 hospital rooms, fully equipped; we could have doubled the social-security payment of 11 million people who are on social-security retirement and we could also have done many other things with that money—something which we failed to create because we were not realizing the maximum growth in our economy.

The great tragedy today, you see, is that there are some of these people in high places who are men of little faith and little vision, who are so accustomed to getting their share of the economics of scarcity that they have never fully comprehended the economics of abundance.

We can meet the educational deficits only within the framework of the economics of abundance; only as we realize this potential that is now going to waste and gear that potential to these basic needs. Only as we pound away at this problem will we get more people to understand it and, of course, out of that greater understanding you will get action.

Now then, when you talk economics people ultimately get around to saying, "Well, if we spend that much more money won't that be feeding the fires of inflation?" Well, you know, we have a peculiar kind of inflation in America, it is completely cockeyed. [Laughter.] If you take into consideration what all of the economists have said (and, of course, Dr. Taft here is an economist and so I am sure he will support me in this) you will find that they have explained inflation as the result of a situation in which the demands exceed the capacity of industry to supply the things that people are competing for. In our situation, of course, there are no shortages of basic commodities. The automotive industry can make more than the 2 million cars that they will make this year; the steel industry can roll more steel; the appliance industry is operating at around 70 percent of capacity; the textile industry is even lower than 70 percent. The problem with regard to these industries that I have mentioned is that all of them have a shortage of consumers. These people who make all of these various things make more of them than there are customers with the purchasing power prepared to pay the price and, so, of course, we have a rigged inflation.

This is not the result of the pressure of demands upon limited supply but it is based upon the fact that in many of America's basic industries the control of a few giant corporations is so dominant that they can artificially and arbitrarily rig the price, unrelated to the laws of supply and demand. That is what is feeding the fires of inflation. However, that is something that they would also like to blame on the wage earners. Of course, there is one thing about all of this and that is that they cannot blame it upon the schoolteachers for the reason that you are already so far behind. [Applause.]

However, if you look at the figures you will find that from 1953 through 1956 wages were up 20 percent; dividend income take-home pay was up 33 percent; interest income (payoff on hard-money policy—the bankers' paradise) up 54 percent. You can take consolation from one fact, that there is one group in America who is worse off than the teachers and that is the American farmers. Their income went down 22 percent during that period. You are somewhere between the average wage earner and the farmer. [Laughter.] Of course, you yourselves can figure out whether you are on either the low or the high side.

Of course, the automobile industry, the other day, being very much concerned with the problem of inflation and the higher cost of living, which keeps mounting—it is again going up today and reaching an alltime high, with, however, the automobile workers being protected from this through an escalator clause but also being concerned about the wage earners, the schoolteachers, and millions of other families who do not have these escalator clauses and also with the retired people living on fixed incomes—had a proposal made to it by us the other day. Of course, here I have reference to the General Motors Corp., who, with Ford and Chrysler, make about 97 percent of all of the automobiles.

We proposed to them that together we make a small beginning toward creating the climate in connection with which we could reverse the inflationary measures and pressures and trends and so we proposed that they reduce the price of their 1958 models (instead of raising them, which they had contemplated doing) $100, which, of course, would mean a reduction of $140 at the dealer level. We made this proposal in all good faith and in the sincere hope that they

would accept it. We further said that if they would make that contribution that we would sit down at the bargaining table and that we would negotiate within the framework of the economics that would flow from this hundred-dollar price reduction.

Well, they pondered this proposal for several days and when I arrived at the Chicago airport, I was paged, found that my office was on the phone, and was informed that the president of General Motors, Mr. Curtice, had replied to my letter. Well, it was the longest "no" in history and it took six pages to say it. [Laughter.]

Of course, Mr. Curtice attempts to twist the proposal and to make it look as though this is a propaganda matter, that this is a fancy public-relations maneuver. I can assure Mr. Curtice and the American people that this is not a public-relations maneuver because all that they have to do is to say "yes" and we will translate that into a practical proposal, where, together, labor and management can both contribute to checking inflation in America and protecting the American consumers against high prices. [Applause.]

I think that General Motors stockholders are entitled to a fair return on their investment. I also think that American wage-earners and automobile workers are entitled to a fair wage for their contribution in creation of economic wealth. I think that the American consumer is entitled to share with the stockholder and the wage-earner in the fruits of our advancing technology, and I contend that a corporation like General Motors is keeping a disproportionately large share of the fruits of our advancing technology. [Applause.]

In 1955 the General Motors Corp. made over $2½ billion in profits in 1 year. That is, of course, fantastic but it is true. This is before taxes but then you figure wages and prices before taxes and not after taxes.

Well, what did they make per worker per hour worked? Listen to this—for every hour worked by every hourly rated General Motors worker (and there were over 400,000 of them) General Motors, in the first 9 months of 1955, made a profit per hour worked by every worker of $2.93. We received a 20-cent an hour wage package and they could have paid that out of their profits and still have made a profit of $2.73 an hour per worker. However, they didn't. They raised the price of cars 4½ percent on the 1956 model and then they came back on the 1957 model with a 6½-percent price increase.

Well, they had a bad year in 1957. [Laughter.] It is true that their production dropped, in the first quarter, 25 percent below the level of 1955. Volume is the key in the auto industry, because they put roughly $600 million into tooling, and so volume has to retire that, and then it goes on and profits skyrocket. However, despite the fact that their volume went down 26 percent in the first quarter of 1957, they still make a profit of $2.78 per hour for every hourly rated General Motors employee.

That is why we say that it is about time that the American consumer got his share, and I say that Mr. Curtice, when he turned down our proposal, was shortchanging the American consumer and that the General Motors Corp. is keeping the consumer's share of the fruits of advancing technology.

I could give you many other facts, but then I do not have the time. However, I would merely like to say that these fantastic profits are possible because of the new technology.

You ought to see what is happening in these automobile plants. This is only the beginning, and we are just on the threshold of the second phase of the industrial revolution.

I went to work at Ford back in 1927. I fell out of a green apple tree down at Wheeling, W. Va., and came to Detroit. I went to work for Ford when they were making the final model T's. Those were very simple machines and pieces of mechanism. In those days it took some thirty-odd hours of independent operation by thousands of workers to put together these machines. However, today we have a new plant in Cleveland, built in 1951, where they make the V-8 Ford engines. A rough casting is fed into the automatic machine operation, and without a human hand touching it, and 14.6 minutes later, it comes out the other end fully machined.

Is that good or bad? Well, that depends upon what we do with it. This is not a decision which an engineer with a slide rule is going to make. This is a decision in the human and social sciences—of finding a way to equate this great technical progress with human progress.

Last year, when they had a model change, they scrapped 75 percent of the machines in that plant because they were already obsolete. They now have a way to even do it faster; and that, of course, is more fantastic.

When I went through that plant I was asked: "Aren't you worried about not being able to collect union dues from all of these machines?" I replied: "Well, I hadn't thought of that—that isn't what bothers me—but how are you going to sell Ford cars to all of these machines?" [Laughter.]

These are the areas in which freedom is going to win or lose the struggle over tyranny. The H-bomb is essential, but that is a negative instrument. It is an attempt to maintain a kind of stalemate balance in the world with the hope that if we have the H-bomb that nobody will dare use one against us or anyone else. Of course, freedom cannot win merely by making a bigger bomb because, when that happens, then our enemies will come up with a still bigger one and the rat race will continue on. These bombs are merely the holding operation. Positive, affirmative leadership must be provided in the areas that touch upon the basic well-being of human beings. It is in the area of education, civil rights, the kinds of economic and social policies that motivate and direct, the utilization of the new tools of abundance that science and technology has given us, each tying into a new framework, that we see our future. Yesterday will not solve tomorrow's problems.

These are the things that we are thinking about. We in America have an opportunity for world leadership because we are blessed with all of the resources, both human and material; we have a rich heritage as a free people, democracy has deep roots in America and the respect for human freedom and human values is deeply ingrained in our people. We have everything that it takes to provide the kind of positive leadership against which the forces of immorality and communism cannot prevail provided, of course, that we lead; provided that we fashion this leadership in the image of our own hopes and aspirations and not in the image of our fears and hatreds; provided that we begin to mobilize the great spiritual power of a free people so that they can work and build and sacrifice because they do share common ideals, common faith in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.

That is the great challenge and we shall not be equal to that challenge so long as our educational system is deficient, so long as our classrooms are inadequate, so long as our teachers are inadequately compensated and treated as second-class citizens.

It is a great challenge. I have unlimited faith, however, in the capacity of free people. I believe that somehow we can find a way to commit America's resources to these challenges and to meet them successfully. On this kind of occasion, when you gather in your convention to draw inspiration from one another and leave with a resolve to go back into your respective communities and work harder, I hope that the whole labor movement can help you in organizing teachers, in getting them together to fight the good fight for education and the good fight for first-class economic citizenship.

I think that together we can do this. Together, as the labor movement has demonstrated, we can move mountains.

I would like to say to you that it has been a real privilege to be with you. Go home and carry on the good fight knowing, of course, that there are millions with you in your struggle.

I am confident that though the challenge be difficult and the road may be rough that, together, we can build that better tomorrow and fashion it in the image of peace, in the image of human freedom, in the image of social justice, and in the image of human brotherhood.

Thank you, and may God bless all of you. [Rising applause ensued.]

Review of the First Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, as the 1st session of the 85th Congress closes, we can, I believe, look back upon it and its accomplishments with a degree of pride.

It is true that it had some disappointing features, but that could be said of each of its 84 predecessors.

The late adjournment date is evidence that it was a hard-working Congress.

The enactment of the civil-rights bill was an example of the American legislative process functioning in the highest order. In our deliberations the Congress sought and discovered the areas within which it could come to an agreement and concentrated upon those issues. While it is true that the bill, as enacted, may have disappointed some—and I will admit that I would have personally preferred the extension of the jury-trial processes to include all cases of criminal contempt—I firmly believe that we have strengthened the right of all citizens to vote and we have buttressed our judicial system.

On the debit side I was keenly disappointed when the President backed away from the school-construction program which was defeated in the House by the narrowest of margins.

I was also disappointed that various proposals to protect some of our domestic industries were not reported by committees and enacted by the Congress.

I think we can all be proud of the economies made in President Eisenhower's swollen budget. I trust we may be able to follow through in the next session with some tax relief for all the people.

It is good to realize that while we were curtailing Federal expenses, we provided sufficient funds to enable the continuation of some programs vital to the people.

Some examples of these include the provision of sufficient money to enable Hill-Burton grants to several hospitals in the Third Congressional District of West Virginia; to give continued life to the lease-purchase program which, if

efficiently administered by the executive branch, will enable the construction of a research building for the Bureau of Mines in Mount Hope, W. Va.; the authorization of channel improvement work at Elizabeth, W. Va.; and for the orderly advance of the Sutton Dam.

Hard Scratch for a Dollar—Military Thrift

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I attach two editorials which appeared in the Washington Daily News on July 6, 1957, and the Wall Street Journal on July 8, 1957:

[From the Washington Daily News of July 6, 1957]

HARD SCRATCH FOR A DOLLAR

With most people it's hard scratch to make a dollar. With the Government it's even harder scratch to get a dollar saved.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, could tell about it.

Last Monday the Senator made a valiant effort to cut a mere half billion or so from the military budget of $34.5 billion.

He had the reports of investigators to show why. He had tables and statistics from the Defense Department itself to show why. He had done an immense amount of homework. He cited chapter and verse—waste, luxury, indifference, plain nonsense.

He mentioned $12,072 for ashtrays, $10,000 worth of diaper service at a single Army base, air conditioners for the Navy on the rock-bound coast of Maine, $62,750 for stairs at an inactive camp, buffet tables for the marines, swimming pools for the Air Force, etc., etc.

Even more impressive were the Senator's statistics on military inventories—$134 billion worth. And how much was excess or disposable.

All in all, it was a staggering indictment of the way the military spends fortunes of taxpayer money.

But after 2 days of struggle, only 6 Senators joined Mr. DOUGLAS in support of his amendment to cut the military budget by one sixty-ninth of the total.

It was eloquent testimony to the trepidation with which the United States Senate views the military demand for money. It was stirring evidence of the lack of understanding in the Senate, despite all its facilities for gathering information, of what goes on in the Armed Forces.

It was a defeat for Senator DOUGLAS, but it is the taxpayers who will pay.

[From the Wall Street Journal of July 8, 1957]

MILITARY THRIFT

"The military do have great virtues but thrift is not one of them," Senator DOUGLAS noted the other day. He was trying to get Congress to cut the $34.5 billion Defense Department appropriations bill, and also to get some of the "fat" replaced by "muscle."

As examples of things that could have been cut he cited Navy spending of $562,000 for an officers' mess and swimming pool in Florida. He noted, too, that the Air Force wants an eighth-of-an-acre swimming pool in the same State. He reported several other examples: The armed service that had spent $12,072 for "ash receiver, tobacco"; the diaper laundry planned by the Army at Fort Bragg; the Marine Corps' new buffet table; the alterations to the golf professional's shop at Fort Meade; and the rehabilitation of the putting greens at Eglin Air Force Base.

In short, said the Illinois Senator, there are places where military spending still can be cut without damage to the national security—military protestations to the contrary. "The military," he noted, "have a built-in bias against economizing."

Well, the Senator built his case so strongly there's scarcely anything that can be added by us. One would naturally assume, too, that the other Senators after all their talk about economy would agree with Mr. DOUGLAS. And that they would have gone along with the House in the $2.5 billion slash it had recommended in the military budget.

But that just isn't the way the senatorial minds work. The Senate voted to restore almost all the $2.5 billion slash. Plainly that will buy a lot of swimming pools, buffet tables, and putting greens for the Nation's warriors.

Joseph L. Carr, of Revere, Mass., Outstanding Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the way in which immigrants and children of immigrants have succeeded in spite of obstacles, and their devotion to the United States, is the recurring miracle of freedom that develops the best in men and women.

Freedom, Inc., has requested every city and town to choose an outstanding immigrant, or son or daughter of an immigrant, to receive a citation for good citizenship.

Joseph L. Carr, of Revere, Mass., has been nominated by Mayor Harry Della Russo to receive the honor in that community.

Joe Carr is the son of an Irish immigrant and is 1 of 8 children.

He went to work at the age of 12, because the lot of an immigrant's family was hard in those days. Youngsters did not have the opportunity to enjoy the long and carefree days of adolescence, or the blessings of an education. By sheer effort, and alone, they had to make their way in life. Some were embittered by this early experience with stern reality, but not Joe Carr. As he climbed the ladder of success, he developed an understanding of, and a consideration for, his fellow man. He gave himself unsparingly to every community endeavor.

When he finally retired as superintendent of mails of the Revere post office, Joe Carr was beloved by all the community.

In tribute to him, and to the spirit that animates the good citizenship awards, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the article about Joe Carr that was published in a recent edition of the Revere Journal:

CARR SCHEDULED TO GET AWARD FOR CITIZENSHIP—NOMINATED BY MAYOR FOR OUTSTANDING COMMUNITY SERVICE

Joseph L. Carr, retired superintendent of mails of the Revere Post Office and resident of Revere for about 35 years, has been nominated by Mayor Harry Della Russo to receive a citation for citizenship from Gov. Foster Furcolo in conjunction with Constitution Day exercises Tuesday at the Halls of Flags at the statehouse at 3 p. m.

Thirty-nine cities and three hundred and eight towns were asked by Freedom, Inc., to select an immigrant, or son or daughter of an immigrant, who has become an outstanding citizen in the city or town to receive the award.

Carr's many years of activity in civic and church organizations, and his years of service to the community as superintendent of the Revere Post Office have made him an outstanding citizen and well qualified to receive the citation, Mayor Harry Della Russo said.

Carr is the son of an Irish immigrant who worked for the city of Boston as a laborer. He was born in East Boston August 17, 1881, 1 of 8 children. During most of his boyhood years he lived in the Orient Heights section.

He began work at the age of 12 at McQueeny's dry goods store in East Boston for a wage of $2 per week, all of which he turned over to his mother. When his boss advanced him to $2.50 per week, he was given a weekly allowance of 10 cents. He worked for the dry goods store for 6 years until he reached $6 a week at the age of 18.

His next job was with the B. F. Hovey store in Boston as a clerk in the dry goods department. He advanced to the position of sales manager in a department with 30 clerks. The top salary paid to anyone in the Hovey store, except executives, was $25 a week, which Carr decided was not good enough.

He took the Federal examinations for postal carrier, got the job, and rose through the ranks to become superintendent of mails. Carr joined the United States Postal Service in 1907. His first assignment was to the Winthrop Post Office. He was then transferred to the Back Bay Branch Post Office as a substitute carrier, a job he held for 6 years.

He became a regular carrier in 1914 in the parcel post division and was informed that he and all other carriers in that department must learn to ride a motorcycle for use in delivering parcels. Carr protested and all the others joined in the protest. As punishment, he was assigned to Revere as a carrier in 1916, which he has always regarded as a great blessing.

In 1934 Carr was appointed superintendent of mails for Revere. The post office was located at that time at the corner of Beach Street and Ocean Avenue.

The present post office building was opened in 1938 with Carr as its first superintendent. He served in this capacity until his retirement in 1951 after 35 years as carrier and as superintendent of Revere mail.

He served for many years as president of the Revere Kiwanis Club, a member of the Revere District Council, Boy Scouts of America, first president of the Revere Memorial Hospital, as a leader in charity drives, such as the Red Cross, Community Chest, Salvation Army. Carr was the first president of the Revere Chamber of Commerce, a position which he still holds.

He has been active in church affairs as a member of Immaculate Conception parish since he came to Revere 35 years ago.

Carr is married to the former Juliet Booth. The couple live at 30 Javrin Avenue. Their four children are Lawrence, employed by the Journal Publishing Co.; Mrs. Alice Pedonti, who is living at Hull, Mass.; Joseph, who is married and is living in New Hampshire, employed by Craig Systems in Danvers; and William, who is in business for himself. He has seven grandchildren.

Freedom, Inc., with headquarters in Boston, is a nonprofit educational organization dedicated to the furtherance of the ideals of freedom.

The 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the observation has been made by one of my distinguished colleagues that in the ensuing 2d session of the 85th Congress the Eisenhower administration should adopt a policy, hold fast to it, and hew to the line.

This, I submit, is specious reasoning. In all logic there is no foundation for such a position by the opposition.

There is, in the English parliamentary system, a label styled "His Majesty's loyal opposition." Suffice to say, we cannot, in conscience, apply such a term to the gentlemen and gentlewomen who sit across the aisle.

It is my thought that much of the confusion of the first session of this Congress was deliberately engineered, promoted, and fostered by that opposition.

When the Eisenhower administration came before the session with reasonable and productive proposals, we witnessed, day after day, the process of obstruction at work.

A mismated political marriage between northern Democrats and the southern wing of the party, held together only through necessity born of mutual dependence, saw to it that a debate on civil rights, prolonged and unbearably lengthy, effectively blocked the passage of vital measures.

While the Congress devoted thousands of words on hundreds of pages in this RECORD, and spawned innumerable headlines on civil rights, nothing was done. The Members of this House recall well the month we spent while a handful of Democrat Senators monotonously ground out manifold hours in underlining the basic fact that the opposition party is a hybrid agglomeration of organizations whose basic philosophies are as far apart as the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn.

For instance, in the North there is the Americans for Democratic Action. This is a liberal group whose aim it is to equalize all of our citizens to a general standard of mediocrity. In essence, the ADA is the counterpart of the British Socialist Party which brought proud Albion from the rank of first-rate world power to a present position well below the top.

In the South, the antithesis of the ADA exists. There we have a conservative group, well exemplified by some of my warmest friends in this House, men and women for whom I hold the deepest respect and affection. They, I submit, Mr. Speaker, are in strange company when they consort and accompany the darlings of the ADA when legislation is under consideration here.

In every administration, there are some things, inevitably, which are indefensible to Members of the House and Senate.

I would recall, for the benefit of my colleague who asked that the next session see a definite set of Republican standards adopted, that it was his own beloved Franklin D. Roosevelt who, in 1937, attempted to stultify the Supreme Court and reduce it to an atrophied branch of government through his packing plan.

At that time, the members of his own party left him, and defeated that plan by a great majority, the fires of the struggle blazing so hotly that his own majority leader, the late, and I may add without partisanship, great Alben Barkley threatening to resign in the face of Mr. Roosevelt's capricious, audacious, and dangerous demand.

Members of the opposition control this Congress. Because of that inescapable fact, the fact that a majority of 233 Democrats has faced a 200-member Republican delegation, the administration has had, from time to time, to improvise and cut its cloth on a moment's notice.

If there has been any vacillation, any confusion, any inability upon the part of this Congress to be about the public's business, the fault becomes the fault of the Democratic Party.

On the score of economy, I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, that this Democrat-controlled Congress attempted to compel more than $2.7 billion in present and future expenses not provided for in the original budget.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that there has been no lack of a policy downtown. They have been in the position of men with their backs to the wall, taking calculated risks, absorbing political punishment daily, trying to do a constructive job in the face of opposition devoted solely to the ideal of obstructionism.

And for what gain do members of the opposition pursue this course?

The answer returns clearly and unmistakably—control of the White House in 1958.

Report to My Constituents in the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey on My First Session in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the 1st session of the 85th Congress I am making a report to the people I represented in this Congress of its activity and achievements. This was one of the longest sessions of a peacetime Congress, opening on January 3 and closing its work August 30. There were more rollcalls and quorum calls—220 of them—than in any other Congress since the start of the Korean war.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THE BUDGET

We who are Members of this body agree on one fact—we were mandated by the American people to reduce Fed spending, balance the budget, and oth wise get the Government's finan affairs in order. By every means of co munication at their command, the peo let the Congress know they wanted pr ent levels of Government spending c That is what Congress did. It must understood that there are two kinds budgets—an appropriation budget a an expenditure budget. We reduced t President's appropriation budget fiscal year 1958 in the sum of $4,91 355,584. In addition, we reduced de ciency budget requests which were pr sented to Congress during this session the sum of $134,023,395. These de ciency requests were for the fiscal ye ending June 30, 1957. The total budg reductions during this session of Co gress have therefore been $5,048,378,97 I supported this reduction recommend by the Appropriations Committee an adopted by the Congress. My attitu toward the budget was to support all Ap propriations Committee efforts at eco omy—to trim fat and waste and to pos pone projects that could be postponed but to refuse to adopt the meat-ax ap proach of simply slashing at random.

SALARY INCREASES FOR POSTAL AND OTHER FEDERAL EMPLOYEES JUSTIFIED

Because of these substantial savings the budget I feel that my votes and effor to bring about long-delayed salary in creases for postal and other Federal em ployees are justified and not antieconom ical, especially since such increases woul help efficiency by reducing employmen turnover.

CIVIL RIGHTS; PROTECTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS

The 1957 session of Congress will for ever be remembered for its accomplish ment in enacting a civil-rights law pro tecting the right to vote of all person regardless of race, color, or creed—th first such national law to be enacted sinc Civil War Reconstruction days. It estab lishes a Federal commission with sub pena power to investigate facts as a basi for additional protective legislation; i creates a new Civil Rights Division in th Office of the Attorney General, and au thorizes injunction proceedings to re strain violations of voting rights. De nial of the right to vote cannot b countenanced—and should be pun ished—if the Bill of Rights in our Na tional Constitution is to be given fu meaning. I am very proud that this wa one of the achievements of my firs Congress.

FBI FILES

I voted for and am glad to report tha the legislation was enacted to safeguar and protect the files of the FBI.

FURTHER ECONOMY POSSIBLE THROUGH CORDINER REPORT, HOOVER COMMISSION REPORTS, AN SEPARATION OF FEDERAL AND STATE TAXATION PROVIDING BASIS TAX CUT

On June 7, 1957, I introduced H. R 7990, a bill embracing the provisions o the Cordiner Report on the Armed Serv ices. This bill would result in several billion dollars being saved by a recasting of pay scales designed to keep skilled personnel in the Armed Forces, where now they leave for private industry and thereby require the Government to go to the expense of training their replace-

ments. Many of the carefully prepared Hoover Commission reports ought to be adopted, because they show that billions of dollars can be saved by more efficient Government budget and purchasing and operational practices. I was delighted at President Eisenhower's proposal to the Governors at their Williamsburg conference in June that there be set up a Federal-State task force to reallocate the functions and revenues of the two levels of government. As many of you will recall, I made repeated mention of this necessity as an economy measured during my campaign for election to the Congress. In fact, a study is now being made by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce designed to prove that the States can take over many of the activities now engaged in by the Federal Government. These are huge possibilities for economizing, and I am hopeful that many will be put into effect during the next session of Congress, thus providing a basis for a tax cut and, at the same time, leave funds for protecting and improving the health, welfare, and education of our people.

SOME IMMIGRATION LIBERALIZATION ENACTED

On June 25, 1957, I introduced H. R. 8358, to facilitate the entry into the United States of certain adopted children and relatives of citizens and legally registered aliens. A bill identical to this one was adopted by Congress and is now a public law. State Department officials estimated the revision will open the door to 62,556 additional immigrants. These are expected to include 4,000 orphans adopted by American citizens, 14,556 refugees from Iron Curtain countries and 36,000 persons who will be granted special nonquota status. This will result in reuniting many fine families in my district, but will not give as much relief as I had anticipated would be coming out of this Congress. I have also introduced H. R. 7991 and other immigration bills which are much broader in scope. I am confident that these will be favorably considered in the next session of the 85th Congress.

PROTECTING SMALL- AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESS

The Small Business Administration was extended for 1 year during the session just concluded. In the 1958 session it is my hope that this Government body will be made a permanent agency, that its powers will be enlarged, and that the delaying redtape which now hamstrings it will be materially reduced. Protecting and encouraging the small-business concern requires action on many fronts. Our corporate income tax structure needs overhauling so as to reduce the tax rate for the smaller corporations. And in the field of military procurement, where today big business has a virtual monopoly of Government contracts, a program is needed to increase the small-business man's share. All of these things require action in the forthcoming 1958 session of Congress.

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANCE TO OUR SENIOR CITIZENS AND SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

I have long felt the need for better care of our senior citizens. They are having a hard time paying today's prices on yesterday's pensions. I have introduced H. R. 3963, a bill to increase civil-service retirement annuities and H. R. 6793, to prohibit discrimination in employment against individuals on account of their age, and worked hard for their enactment. I also introduced H. R. 9203, to broaden the coverage and extend certain benefits under the Social Security Act. Among other things this bill would increase ultimate benefits for those who continue to work after age 65 by 1 percent a year delayed retirement benefit. It would also increase maximum monthly payments to a retired individual from $108.50 to $118.50 and for a married couple from $162.80 to $177.25, without increasing contributory tax rates.

MEDICAL EXPENSES DEDUCTION FROM INCOME TAX

On May 8, 1957, I introduced H. R. 7347, to eliminate the provision which presently restricts the deduction for medical expenses to those exceeding 3 percent of gross income. If this bill were enacted it would be possible to deduct the total amount of medical expenses from gross income. It is my feeling that this would give tax relief where it is sorely needed among lower income families. I will continue to press for action on this vital measure.

BAD CONDUCT DISCHARGES REVIEW

On June 27, 1957, I introduced H. R. 8412, which would authorize the appropriate military review boards to consider and take into account the good conduct, habits, character, activities, and rehabilitation of an individual in civilian life who has been discharged or dismissed from any of the Armed Forces not less than 3 years previous, or any of the discharges other than honorable—except by sentence of a general court martial. The military authorities maintain that existing statutes do not now authorize such consideration and such rehabilitation in civilian life is not now recognized as legal or appropriate grounds by the military boards for correction of discharge or dismissals. If enacted, it would erase the stigma and employment handicap in many worthy cases. Many of these discharges are given to teen-agers when under great stress or strain and without due consideration of results.

FEDERAL AID FOR LOCAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

A temporary program for Federal aid to local school construction was considered by the House but was defeated when several Members attempted to add a crippling amendment regarding integration to this worthwhile legislation. Federal aid for local school construction is not one of Federal charity or random spending. It is a temporary program aimed largely at those States which have no State education agencies and leaves school construction to local communities. Its purpose is to compel these States to provide State programs for school construction in those poorer communities which have insufficient real estate to float school bonds. The northern States have to bear a disproportionate share in providing boys for military service because so many of the boys from southern States are rejected for illiteracy, and the Armed Forces spend about $30 million in an effort to educate the illiterate. Education is a national problem, a national responsibility. I shall do all I can in the 1958 session, believing as I do that the program is urgent, to help in enactment of a Federal program of aid for local school construction.

FHA-INSURED LOANS

An important bill that was enacted will lower downpayments on FHA-insured loans, but because the hard-money policy continues to increase interest rates, little improvement has yet been felt in the ailing housing market.

PROTECTION OF PUBLIC THROUGH POULTRY INSPECTION AND OPPOSITION TO NATURAL GAS BILL

Consumers received a break through the passage of a poultry inspection bill which will put fresher and better products on the market. We have had compulsory meat inspection, for the protection of the public health, for many years. Now we also have protection through inspection of poultry.

There was sufficient opposition among House Members to keep this bill from being considered in the first session of Congress.

TITO OF YUGOSLAVIA

I was one of the Members of Congress who signed the petition to keep Tito from visiting the United States this spring. As a result of this petition the State Department rescinded the invitation.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

Laws were enacted increasing rates of compensation for disabled veterans, increasing and extending veterans' home loan program, consolidation and simplification of laws on veterans' benefits and liberalization of requirements for veterans' widows' benefits. I supported these measures.

MEMBER OF MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE

I cannot end this report without reference to the committee upon which I serve—the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. It was at my request that I was assigned to this committee. I felt that because of the physical makeup of my district with its waterfront problems, this is where I could do the most good. It has been a happy experience to see the way the committee has worked so diligently as a group, and I am proud and privileged to be a member. I am sure it has given me a keener insight into the problems of our waterfront and has made me more capable of coping with them.

Hon. Samuel K. McConnell, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with extreme regret that I view the retirement of our esteemed colleague, SAMUEL K. MCCONNELL, JR. My regret is tempered with the knowledge that in his new post he will continue to promote the cause of humanity.

SAM MCCONNELL and I have been closely associated in working for the boys and girls of America. Beginning in 1950 when we established the principle of Federal obligation to assist education in impacted areas through July of this year when the lack of leadership from the head of his own party pulled the rug from under SAM MCCONNELL, we have worked closely to promote the cause of better education in the United States.

In the field of mine safety legislation, another important issue with which I have been closely associated, I can safely state that what progress has been made is a direct result of the interest and hard work of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

As he leaves the Congress, I wish to pay my respect and tribute to a good friend and able ally and a conscientious Congressman.

Doubletalk

SPEECH
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this has been a most unusual legislative year. It started with much promise. The 1956 election had returned the people's hero to the Presidency with an unheard of popular vote.

At the same time, they showed their confidence in the Democratic Party by continuing it in control of both Houses of Congress.

Obviously, the American people agreed that control of the 84th Congress by the Democrats under a Republican President was indeed good for our country.

With the 1st session of the 85th Congress behind us, I believe we can demonstrate that the country would have been better off under a Democratic President. I, for one, am certain we would have had more real leadership and much less doubletalk.

Under our system of government we have a right to look to our President for leadership. Our Constitution requires him to send an annual message to Congress on the state of the Union. Traditionally, our Presidents have interpreted that to mean that they are required to submit a legislative program to the Congress.

Never before in our history have we experienced such a lack of leadership by the President, coupled with so much doubletalk.

Absenteeism is bad enough of and in itself, in high places. Vacillation and indecision is much, much worse. I will concede that few persons reading the President's message to the Congress can disagree with the fine, high-principled generalities contained therein. But, by the same token, so were his campaign speeches in 1952 and again in 1956.

But what are the specifics? What about the implementation of these fine principles?

Some of the President's supporters, even some of the members of his Cabinet, have been brash enough to label his campaign addresses as merely campaign promises. But his messages to the Congress were not campaign speeches.

It is all well and good for our Republican friends to say, "Oh, this is a Democratic Congress, the Democrats are in control. They can pass any legislation they want to."

Such statements, too, are mere doubletalk. The hard, practical facts of political life are that, in a Congress where the majority party does not have an overwhelming majority in both Houses, neither party can pass legislation without the cooperation of at least some members of the other party.

Wise congressional leadership avoids bringing to the floor of the Congress legislation that the leadership knows will be opposed by enough members of the opposition party to defeat the bills.

In all those spheres of activity where our party platforms are in agreement, the President should have been in a position to deliver enough Republican votes to offset the defections in Democratic ranks, so as to give the people of the country a working majority in the Congress.

Permit me now to document my case with some specifics.

PARTY PLATFORMS AGREE, BUT THE PRESIDENT IGNORES THEM

Both parties agree that the minimum wage laws should have wider application; that distressed labor areas require Government aid; that the Taft-Hartley law requires amendment; that all Federal employees and, more particularly, the postal employees, are entitled to increased compensation. In most of these instances the President talked gently and fairly but in generalities. As to the Federal employees and postal employees he spoke specifically. He said they were underpaid. He said they were entitled to increased wages.

In none of these instances, except as to the increase of salaries for Government employees, were we able to enact any legislation, because the President and his appointed officers in the executive departments not only refused to help but actually opposed congressional action.

As to the increases of salaries for Government employees, the President signed the bill which gave those in the highest brackets, big increases and more pay.

As to the little fellows, the civil-service employees, the career employees, the post office workers, he sent word to us that if we dared so legislate he would veto the bills. Unfortunately, we couldn't get the bills to him in time to override a veto. As of today—the last day of this session—it seems certain that the President will veto these bills which do only what he said was fair and just; that is, to give to the little fellow, the civil-service worker and the post-office employee, a cost-of-living increase.

BIG BUSINESS GETS BIGGER AND SMALL BUSINESS GOES TO THE WALL

Other spheres of activity where we go the same kind of doubletalk involve monopolies, trusts, and big business. The mergers continue. Big business get bigger. Their profits grow. The small business man goes into bankruptcy. The big-business man gets more and bigger tax cuts by way of fast writeoffs and ob solescence and depletion allowances and Government giveaways, and the little fellow gets the tax bills.

The President is still advocating a natural gas bill. One day he advocates an amendment to that bill, to protect the consumer, and the next day he said he would take the bill without the amendment.

He opposes the development of public power and tries to give the natural resources of the country to the big utilities. By his appointment to various Government agencies and commissions he does all within his power to destroy TVA, rural electrification, and the other important Government agencies.

HUMAN RIGHTS ARE FORGOTTEN

He says he is for statehood for Alaska and Hawaii but will not life a finger to bring that about. He says he is for liberalization of our immigration laws and instead of trying to liberalize them, he condones the action of his State Department and his Attorney General in keeping out immigrants clearly entitled to entry into this country under existing law.

The civil-rights muddle in the Congress was as much his doing as that of anyone else. He did not know from press conference to press conference what was in the bill labeled "the Eisenhower bill." It is surprising that we got a bill at all under the circumstances. Time will demonstrate, in my opinion, that the bill will accomplish very little except to give him and some of his supporters an excuse for new campaign doubletalk. And all the time, the demagogs will continue to rabble-rouse.

He talked big about Federal aid to education. When it came to a showdown in the House, the bill was lost on a very close vote. It could have been won if the President had made three telephone calls. He could have telephoned one of his erstwhile campaign supporters who left the Democratic Party to urge the people to reelect Mr. Eisenhower and who was absent on the day this important bill was defeated. The other 2 calls could surely have changed 2 opposition votes into 2 votes for the bill. These were not just two votes of Republican members of the House. These two men are the President's leaders of his party in the House. The three Members of the House referred to, Mr. Speaker, go unnamed as a matter of traditional congressional courtesy. The record vote discloses who they are.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONTINUE TO BE BUNGLED AFFAIRS

The muddle in foreign affairs is the direct responsibility of the President and his Secretary of State. Those matters of maladministration have no direct bear-

upon the legislative function of the ngress. I therefore make no further ention of them here, particularly since at subject alone would require much re time than I can devote today, and remarks pertain merely to the legis- ive program.

Those who are interested may read my tements before the House Foreign Af- rs Committee and on the floor of the use on this vital subject.

Suffice it to say, I foretold precisely at to expect with reference to the Mid- East, including the recent events in ypt and Syria. Although I did not tend to set forth any time table, the uence of events was exactly as I pre- ted.

The so-called Eisenhower doctrine is eventing the spread of communism d sovietism exactly nowhere.

THE HIGH COST OF EVERYTHING

The increase of interest rates on Gov- nment and private debt is the direct sponsibility of the President and his cretary of the Treasury. They have creased the cost of living of every an, woman, and child in the country by creasing the expense of operation of ery business enterprise in the country. The increase in cost of Government is ggering. At the same time, while tell- g us that the people should save more oney and spend less, the President and Secretary of the Treasury keep the terest rates on Government savings nds under other interest rates, destroy- g the incentive of our citizens to save. He insists that mortgage interest rates raised and because Congress refuses to crease the interest rates on veterans' rtgages, he threatens to veto the ex- nsion of the GI mortgage bill.

I, and many of our colleagues, have en urging that the veterans are en- led to direct loans from the Govern- ent. This would not be using Gov- nment money but would be using their n life-insurance funds.

Banks, trust companies, life-insurance mpanies, pension funds, all invest their oney in real-estate mortgages. But me shortsighted people urge that the terans' life-insurance funds should be vested only in low-interest Govern- ent bonds instead of into 4-percent vet- ans' mortgages.

We could not prevail upon our col- agues to go that far. The bill we sent the President, which he now threat- s to veto, merely extends existing law, rmitting veterans to get mortgages in ose areas of the country where FHA is t operating and for reasons mainly convenience, cannot or will not oper- e.

The President glibly talks about con- oling inflation and urges voluntary re- raint by labor and business to keep ts down.

Then he ridicules labor's promise to go wage increases if big business will wer prices.

At the same time, he permits price in- eases in all Government restaurants rving the very employees whose wages will not increase. He allows their nts and those of all others in FHA uses to be increased, thus setting the example for increased rents by all land- lords.

That is not doubletalk; it is double- dealing.

SOME HOPE FOR SMALL BUSINESS

The House passed a Small Business Administration Act to make that agency permanent and to make it more effective in serving the small-business community of our Nation. Despite the fact that the President has not talked out in favor of this bill, we hope that in the next session of Congress, the Senate will pass the House version of that bill.

By that time, too, I hope we will have a good bill ready to give the small-business men some sorely needed tax relief.

FUNNY FIGURES MAKE PHONY BUDGETS

The worst example of doubletalk on the part of the administration, however, came with reference to the budget and the request for appropriations for defense, for foreign aid, and for operation of the Government.

In this field, too, no one knew where the President or his appointees stood from one day to the next. All sorts of ridiculous claims were submitted to the Congress for exaggerated sums. Probing by alert members of the Appropriations Committees showed how farcical some of these claims were.

Despite the disclosure of tremendous waste of money and property during the last 5 years, heads of the departments, aided and abetted by the President, came forth again urging more money than they needed and more money than they could spend.

After the money was appropriated and the bills approved into law by the President, he then directed the heads of various departments not to spend the sums appropriated.

I will refer to only two of the many instances of this heinous maladministration.

The United States Public Health Service has indicated its need for funds to prevent a yellow fever epidemic threatening the United States. The money was appropriated. The bill was signed. The Budget Bureau, under the direction of the President, has directed the department not to expend those moneys, the sole purpose of which was to control the disease.

This is the Government that is conservative where property is concerned and liberal where human values are concerned. That is not my language. That is the modern Republicanism of President Eisenhower.

One more instance of the same kind. After the appropriation for the Defense Department had been approved into law by signature of the President, he then directed that the money not be spent. Mind you, this is the very appropriation request, which when cut by the Congress, was declared by the President to be insufficient for our national security. Now he says to his department heads that they may not spend as much money as was appropriated.

Practically all of the Members of Congress from metropolitan New York attended a conference with Navy Department officials, urging them not to release skilled career employees. It was admitted that if these men were discharged their skills and services would probably be forever lost to the Government. It was further conceded that the full sum necessary to keep these men employed for the next year had been appropriated and that the men were being dismissed solely in order to come within the President's directive to spend less money than had been appropriated. The question of national defense and security was subordinated to the demand to save a few paltry dollars.

WASTE AND CORRUPTION

Congressional committees continue to uncover waste and corruption in every department of Government. At another time, I will discourse at length upon this subject, which continues to be ignored by our President, except on those occasions when he awards a medal or a certificate of merit to the head of the department whose misconduct is exposed.

All of these facts are borne out by the record.

Amend Section 406 (b) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN W. HESELTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5822) to amend section 406 (b) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 with respect to the reinvestment by air carriers of the proceeds from the sale or other disposition of certain operating property and equipment.

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Chairman, I am not vigorously opposed to the bill as it is now presented, with the elimination of section 2. I think there are some reasons for believing that the bill, if properly administered, may be of assistance to some of the small lines. But with section 2 in the bill I feel certain that the results would not be those which the membership of the House would like to see.

However, I think there is a very real question of sound judgment involved in this legislation at this time. I attempted to outline that in the minority report I filed. The questions asked by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] as to the wisdom of bringing this matter up at this time are well taken. It is true that we are entitled to establish a policy and should establish a policy. On the other hand, it is well known by this body that last year, when a predecessor bill was before this body, an adversary proceeding was commenced before the Civil Aeronautics Board. That proceeding was begun on April 6, 1956. The hearings have been completed. Briefs have been filed. The matter is now in the hands of the examiner.

I have a letter today from Mr. Chan Gurney, Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, in which he advised me

that it was not possible at this time to state a definite date as to when the initial decision will be served since the examiner who heard the case has been engaged in hearing another proceeding. Barring unforeseen contingencies, it is hoped that an initial decision can be served by early October. If that can be done and if exceptions should be filed to the initial decision, together with briefs in support thereof, as the parties have a right to file under the Board's regulations, it should be possible for the Board to hear oral argument in November or early December.

There is in the minority report a listing of the capital gains realized in 1956, at the request made by a member of the committee. That listing has been broken down to April 5, 1956, the day when the proceeding began. I shall place that listing in the RECORD, but I call attention at this time to the fact that Pan American is listed with capital gains from January 1, 1956, to April 5, 1956, $3,505,000 out of a total of $3,774,000.

That excerpt is as follows:

During consideration of this bill by the full committee, questions were raised as to the effect of making it retroactive to January 1, 1956, as provided in section 2, and specifically as to what that retroactive date would mean in dollars to the several airlines concerned. That information was not available at that time but the following information was submitted later to the committee:

1956 capital gains of subsidized carriers (before taxes)[1]

Local service	$212,000
Allegheny	169,000
Bonanza	2,000
Central	----------
Frontier	—1,000
Lake Central	----------
Mohawk	4,000
North Central	1,000
Ozark	—1,000
Piedmont	1,000
Southern	35,000
Southwest	2,000
Trans Texas	----------
West Coast	----------
Trunklines: Continental	[2]331,000
Foreign and overseas:	
Alaska Airlines	5,000
Braniff	3,000
Pacific Northern	10,000
Panagra	165,000
Pan American	[3]4,937,000
Territorial	[4]15,000

[1] Information obtained by committee staff from records.

[2] Continental sold 3 aircraft for this gain, only 2 of which were while on open rate. Total involved, $218,544.

[3] Pan American sold 6 aircraft and parts for $3,505,000 while on closed rate January-March 1956. Only capital gains realized on open rate was for loss of Boeing in Pacific in October. Gain, due to insurance, $967,000. Miscellaneous sales, $187,000.

[4] For intra-Alaska carriers.

I am not able to analyze this statement at this time in terms of the retroactive date of January 1, 1956, except to note that, by reference to the minority report I filed in 1956, it appears that the so-called capital-gains proceedings before the Civil Aeronautics Board were instituted on April 6, 1956.

My sole reason for bringing that to the attention of the House at this time is because I have no idea as to what the ultimate result will be. I think the passage of this legislation places upon the committee which has recommended this legislation to the House the responsibility to follow closely the developments, even if this whole proceeding is terminated after many weeks of hearings, to see that there is no injustice done to the small feeder lines or to anybody else, and that there is no injustice done to the taxpayers who ultimately will have to pay the bill if there should be windfalls as a result of the passage of this legislation.

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HESELTON. I yield.

Mr. MORANO. I appreciate the gentleman's statement concerning Pan American's capital gains, but I do not see why we should discriminate against a company because it has grown large and happens to be one of the biggest airlines.

Mr. HESELTON. I understand the gentleman's position. I do not want to discriminate against anybody. I want to make certain that this is fair legislation and that it treats everybody properly, particularly the taxpayers of this country.

We have had a great deal of talk here this year about the tax burden; there has been much concern as to whether we could reduce that tax burden. One of the ways to reduce it would be through seeing there is no unwarranted special interest legislation passed by us in connection with anybody. I do not care whether that interest is big or little.

Mr. MORANO. I agree with the gentleman, but would not the gentleman agree with me that we must be equitable in legislation as far as we can be? We can never pass legislation that would be equitable in every possible sense, of course.

Mr. HESELTON. We should do the best we can. One way would be to be sure that we did not anticipate a decision and try to undo it before it comes down. I think that is very poor judgment, although some of my colleagues I know sincerely disagree with me.

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HESELTON. I yield to the gentleman from Utah.

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. I want to compliment the gentleman for calling the matter to our attention. I think it is something we need to look out for. If the gentleman had not been diligent in getting into matters of this kind, many of us would not have had any knowledge of it. I think he has done a service to the country in calling it to our attention.

Mr. HESELTON. I am sure the committee will follow the matter closely now that they have recommended this legislation. But the committee's action in striking out section 2 is vitally important, and it must be supported if this bill is to be justified in any sense.

First Things First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I introduced H. R. 9119, companion to H. R. 6452 introduced earlier by Representative A. N. SADLAK, Connecticut. The bills provide for scheduled personal and corporate income-tax reductions. In connection with this legislation, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Journal of Commerce, New York City, of August 2, 1957. The editorial follows:

FIRST THINGS FIRST

It is a good general rule that efficiency is greater when the horse precedes the cart rather than vice versa.

The same goes for the statement by J. Cameron Thomson, Vice Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development that "moderation of Government spending must come ahead of tax reduction and reform." Mr. Thomson's statement occurs in an article published by the CED which highlights the private business organization's views on taxation for growth, printed somewhat earlier. In any sensible and customary order of events, it would be logical, as Mr. Thomson says, that the Government should cut back its outlays prior to a decision that it can back the revenues it will receive to pay for them.

The difficulty is that, in recent years, the logic of this wholly desirable course of action has proved to be altogether abstract, suggesting that there may be some instances when it may make sense to put the cart before the horse; for instance, if the horse is pretty sick, or even just plain ornery. In the event of a breakdown in progress or an impasse, it may, then, prove necessary to depart from the ordinary rules.

This necessity has been recognized in the legislation proposed by Representative A. S. SADLAK, Republican, of Connecticut, which is already proving controversial. The simple logic of Mr. SADLAK's plan is to schedule tax cuts first and then fit the budget pattern to the size of the cloth that remains. H. R. 6452, which would implement this plan, bears watching for the important role that it is bound to play in the tax debate coming up for 1958.

It is the first farsighted legislative program for advance tax cut scheduling to win national attention.

This plan would preschedule tax reductions for a 5-year period in amounts which would not reduce Government revenues absolutely, but simply skim off the additions to revenues which accrue as a result of economic growth. These additions from growth so far, have for the most part been used up by increased Government outlays.

Actually, the SADLAK approach to tax reduction had been advocated earlier by the National Manufacturers Association, as a kind of productivity-geared tax-cut program. That H. R. 6452 will meet with opposition in the congressional session which will convene next January has been conceded by Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California, who last week launched a bitter attack which he promises to continue on a running basis. Mr. ROOSEVELT argues that

an amounts to putting a growing boy in all-sized pants to keep his height in unds.

The growing boy analogy, unfortunately, eals the true Democratic attitude. It pre-oposes that there is something healthy out the indefinite proliferation of govern-ental expenditures. The failure of the mocrats to come up with any kind of oposal for cutting back taxes appears to m from the deep-rooted conviction that e Government can spend the money more ely than the taxpayer.

If, however, it so happens that Mr. Roose-r's growing youth threatens to become a nt, then it would be smart to take a look his glands to see if something cannot be e to keep his pants size in bounds. owth beyond a certain point may menace e health both of youths and governmental dgets.

It is a detail, if an important one, of the dlak plan that the prescheduled tax re-uctions would bring the individual and rporate income taxes down to an ultimate percent maximum. While Mr. SADLAK is ght in holding that the extreme progres-ity of the present income-tax structure ust be corrected, there is nothing sacro-nct in the precise formula which he pro-es for the scheduling of tax cuts. This a matter which must be debated and de-rmined, as well as the point at which an ding or rationalizing of the present excise-x structure would become also a competing iority for relief.

In the first case, however, there ought to e no doubt that relief from the undue pro-ressivity of the present income tax and a duction of the corporate-income tax should ve top place in remedial action.

There is no reason why the orderly sched-ling of tax relief should hobble important tional programs. What the Sadlak plan es is emphasize that tax relief is an alter-tive to governmental spending. As the ED has pointedly said, the cost of increased ending must be recognized in terms of the rfeiture of tax reductions which it involves.

There is certainly a point at which social d economic objectives are better served by dividual spending and savings decisions an by governmental. That point must be und.

Address Delivered by Congressman Charles A. Wolverton at the 80th Anniversary of Camden Lodge, Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, on Saturday, April 13, 1957, at Camden, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it as my privilege to address the member-hip of the Camden Lodge of Firemen nd Enginemen on the 80th anniversary f the Camden Lodge held at Camden, . J., on Saturday, April 13, 1957. In ccordance with the unanimous consent ranted to me by the House, I herewith nclude in my remarks the address I de-vered on the above occasion. It is as llows:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gen-emen. I appreciate very much this oppor-unity to renew acquaintances with so many f my old friends. As you know, I have had a very pleasant relationship with your organization and your members that goes back a little bit longer than we might like to recall. This has been a fine association and I am proud to be invited here to talk with you on the occasion of your 80th birthday.

It is especially gratifying to address a meeting of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, in the light of the situation that we find in Washington today. The revelations of the Senate Committee on Improper Activities in the Field of Labor-Management Relations causes me to be even more respectful of a fine organization such as yours.

The revelations of the McClellan committee are indeed sobering. The leadership of the AFL–CIO is to be congratulated for the firm steps that they have taken to meet this challenge. I am sure that this challenge will be more than adequately met by the railroad brotherhoods. Your history has been a noble one and I am certain that your organizations will continue to remain as strong as ever.

I think it fitting that we discuss at least briefly some of the things that we are attempting to do in this Congress in which you are interested. I have introduced, along with Mr. HARRIS, of Arkansas, the chairman of our committee, H. R. 4353 and H. R. 4354. These bills, similar in every respect are known as the Harris-Wolverton bills. They are being strongly supported by all of the railway labor organizations. Mr. HARRIS and I introduced the bills after careful consideration and working with the leaders of your brotherhoods and others, as well as experts from the Railroad Retirement Board.

The objectives of our present legislation are threefold. First of all, we propose to increase by 10 percent the monthly checks of everyone covered by the Railroad Retirement Act. We intend that this increase be provided for widows—dependent children—old-age annuitants—pensioners—and those drawing spouse's benefits.

In considering improving benefits in the Railroad Retirement Act, Congress is constantly faced with requests from railroad people for assistance. Retired employees and their families throughout the Nation appeal to us time and again for assistance in meeting their problems. The plight of the widows and helpless children is indeed pitiful. Every day I receive letters from people who are trying to get by on incomes as small as $45 and $50 a month. I sometimes wonder how they keep body and soul together on these meager amounts. It is for this reason that we are determined that these senior citizens must be given relief.

With each succeeding month, the cost of living figures seem to go up. This means that all of the necessary staples of life increase in cost to those who live on fixed amounts. We all know that any time we increase benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act, we must necessarily provide the money. On the other hand, I am sure that you will all agree with me that our responsibility to these retired employees is so great that we must increase these benefits.

Secondly, our legislation provides for adequate financing to make sure that the railroad retirement system continues in a sound position. As you know, we adopted in the last Congress a bill which increased benefits by approximately 10 percent. Because of the legislative situation at that time, we were not able to provide the necessary financing for this increase. We are, therefore, in a position of being required to meet that obligation at this time.

We all know that increased taxes is not a pleasant subject to discuss. I have heard it said that no man in public life ought to go before a group of his constituents and talk about the need for increasing taxes. I am sure that our friendship is such that you would want me to talk frankly with you about this matter. In order to pay for the benefits we voted last year in Congress, we must have more income into the system. In order to pay for the benefits that we want to make now, we need more money. Therefore, it will be necessary to increase the tax rate and the tax base of railroad employees. On the other hand, the leaders of your brotherhood are asking Congress to exempt the amounts that you contribute into the railroad retirement system from income-tax coverage. The effect of both of these programs will be to increase your railroad retirement taxes, on the one hand, and to reduce your personal taxes, on the other hand. After it is all over, you will be contributing just about the same amount into the railroad retirement system that you now pay.

Thirdly, our legislation provides for substantial improvements in the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Probably no organization in the railroad field is more concerned with this problem than your brotherhood. You are faced with the extremely serious effects of automation and technical progress. This is a matter which all of you are deeply concerned with. As you know, there have been thousands and thousands of railroad firemen and enginemen who have lost their jobs in the last 15 years as a result of the dieselization program. Other forms of automation, such as calculating machines—automatic message transmitters—and electronic remote-control of switching facilities, are having a similar effect on other types of employment in your great industry.

It is for these reasons that I have been deeply concerned with doing something to soften the impact of these changes on the people who work on the railroads. The most regrettable phase of this problem is that, in a great many instances, the people who are losing their jobs because of these changes are considered too old for employment in other industries—at the same time they are not old enough to retire under railroad retirement.

We have provided in our bill for extended unemployment insurance coverage for persons who are affected by these changes. I am not sure that the proposals in our bill are perfect, nor am I positive that the periods of time that we allow for extended benefits are exactly what is needed. I am sure, however, that we have a responsibility to these long-time employees on the railroads who are finding themselves thrown out of work after devoting a lifetime to the industry. We must make some kind of an arrangement that is fair to everyone to cover this most serious problem.

As you know, the cost of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance System is paid for by the railroad companies. Therefore, the increased taxes that will be required as a result of these improvements in unemployment insurance will not affect the employees. Many years ago, when the Unemployment Insurance Act was passed, we established the tax rate at 3 percent of covered payroll. After a few years it developed, however, that it was possible to reduce the tax rate substantially below 3 percent. Our present bill simply provides that that tax rate go up again to 4 percent in consideration of the needs of these lifetime railroad employees who are being put out into the streets.

In connection with the Harris-Wolverton bills on railroad retirement, H. R. 4353 and H. R. 4354, there is pending before the Ways and Means Committee of the House another bill in which you are interested. This is H. R. 5551 by Mr. MCCARTHY of Minnesota. This bill would remove the tax on a tax which you now pay on the amounts that you are forced to contribute to the railroad retirement system. There are some who have described this proposal as being an effort to force the Federal Government to pay for the railroad retirement system. I do not believe

that this is the case. It is a simple matter of eliminating a tax on a tax now being paid by railroad people. This is not a fair means of taxation. It is wrong in principle to regard as income, money taken out of your pay checks for taxes. You never see this money, nor do you use it. Every time that we pass a bill in Congress that increases the retirement benefits of people who are already retired, you who are now working are performing a social service. I believe that this ought to be recognized by the Government and that this tax on a tax should be eliminated.

In addition to the railroad-retirement matters that I have been discussing, your industry is faced with many other serious problems. The competitive position of the railroads in comparison with trucking and other forms of transportation is of great importance. There is a constant shifting of the freight haulage from the railroads to trucks. One of the reasons that the trucking industry has been able to get a larger share of this business is because it has been able to provide faster and more efficient service. The railroad industry must constantly search for ways of improving its service to the public. Faster through-freight service and more efficient methods of handling small shipments must be devised by your industry.

On the other hand, we in public life must be careful to make sure that your industry is not harmed by unfair competition. As you know, the railroad industry is pretty thoroughly regulated with regard to equipment safety and rate structure. On the other hand, it is generally known that the trucking industry is not nearly so well regulated. Undoubtedly this has contributed to the ability of the trucks to take over more freight business. To the extent that the trucking industry is getting business by using unsafe operating methods, we must make corrections.

We cannot afford to permit giant trucks to race up and down the Nation's highways with inadequate brakes, inadequate lights, inadequate weight limits, and overworked drivers. These are conditions that we have found in alarming proportion in the trucking industry. In my judgment, they have contributed heavily to the death tolls on our highways. We now have before our committee a bill which will correct some of these problems.

The history of World War II reveals that the railroad industry made a very important contribution. You will recall that at the time the war started in 1941 the railroad industry was in not too healthy a condition. The competition of the trucking industry was beginning to be felt and many, many railroads were in poor financial condition. The result was that the equipment of the railroads was not in the best condition. Despite this, however, when our country suddenly shifted to all-out war, the railroads assumed a staggering burden. All of the old equipment that had been laying on sidings for many years was pressed into service and almost overnight the railroad industry doubled its volume of business. Millions of troops were transported throughout the country for training in newly built military bases. Billions of tons of military equipment was moved rapidly and with very little loss. Everyone agrees that the railroad industry met the challenge of World War II in magnificent fashion.

I am wondering whether or not this industry is now in a position to meet the challenge of a new war should one develop. I am concerned with the failure of the Government and the railroads to provide an adequate pool of standby equipment for use in emergencies. I believe that extra freight cars, passenger cars, and locomotives ought to be distributed around the country strategically in case of an emergency. For example, if the great Altoona works of the Pennsylvania Railroad were to be destroyed in a bomb attack, we ought to have reserve supplies of equipment in other sections of the country. No matter what kind of an emergency we get into in the future, we will need the railroads and we will need railroad equipment. I hope that all of us can keep this problem in mind and do what is necessary to improve our ability to meet this situation.

Another problem that we are dealing with in Congress is a condition of employment in your particular craft or service. We are now considering legislation which will provide for more adequate power brakes on railroad locomotives. Studies of a long series of railroad accidents convince me that it is possible to improve railroad safety by insisting upon adequate power brake equipment. Only yesterday I had a visit with your president, Mr. H. E. Gilbert, and your vice president and national legislative representative, Mr. A. M. Lampley, about this bill. I am working closely with them in promoting this legislation.

The railroad industry has a long and a rich history. It was your industry that tied the Pacific coast to the Atlantic seaboard so many years ago. These lifelines of steel that went across mountains, rivers, and prairies provided the initial circulatory system for the great economic health that our Nation has grown to know. The great agricultural Middle West had its start and its development by the railroad builders of the 1800's. The mineral development of the Rocky Mountain area was encouraged and developed after the railroads had broken the trails. Golden California was only an isolated tropical paradise until the railroads made it possible to ship citrus fruits and other California products to the eastern markets.

There is still pioneering that the railroad industry is capable of doing. There are many things that you can do to further improve the welfare of our Nation. For example, in the congested Eastern States, the problem of commuting from a sprawling suburb to metropolitan centers has become increasingly difficult. No matter how many superhighways and turnpikes we build, they seem to be outmoded and overcrowded before they are completed. In my opinion, in the years to come we will have to return to the use of railroad facilities, perhaps of the monorail type, in commuting. We now have 170 million population in our great country. At the rate we are going, we are not too far away from owning and operating one or more automobiles for each family of these 170 million people. Obviously, when that day comes our streets, parking lots, and highways are just not going to be able to take care of the load. It is because of this that I am sure that in the next 20 or 30 years the railroads will again resume their very important function of moving large numbers of people over safe, private rights-of-way in the congested metropolitan areas.

The so-called piggyback freight service is, in my opinion, in its infancy. I am certain that in the future, this principle of mass movement of trucks on railroad freight cars will increase in great proportion. There are many other areas in which the railroad industry can meet the challenge of the times and I want to assure you that as always I shall be doing all that I can as a Member of Congress in dealing with the problems of your industry to make sure that your jobs are secure, your retirement is protected, and that your industry is healthy. Thank you.

Accomplishments of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 85th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I desire to submit for the RECORD a statement on the activities of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I have the honor to be chairman, during the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee approved 80 percent of the President's program coming within its jurisdiction during the first session of the 85th Congress. One Presidential recommendation is already law. Additionally, the committee approved scores of other bills, dozens of which are already law. Some of these are of major importance and benefit.

Here follows committee action on the five Presidential recommendations:

1. Legislation amending the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956, to restrict congressional committee veto power over contracts, is now Public Law 47.

2. Authorization of the Fryingpan-Arkansas project was approved by the Senate June 27. The bill (S. 60) is at a stalemate in the House Interior Committee as a result of the opposition of certain Republican members to irrigation and reclamation in general and narrow partisanship with respect to Hells Canyon in particular.

3 and 4. Bills providing statehood for Alaska and Hawaii were favorably reported and are on the Senate Calendar.

5. The so-called long-range minerals program was not presented to the committee until June 4, several days after it had been released to the press and a full 3 years after the administration began promising that its submission was imminent. It contained realistic suggestions for only two minerals—lead and zinc. The Senate Finance Committee considered portions of the recommendations. The administration hedged and backed away from its own proposals. The Interior Committee promptly conducted hearings on other parts of the minerals program. Their weakness and defects were too great to permit reporting of a bill during the brief time between the unveiling of the recommendations and the end of the session.

In addition to the above-mentioned action on the President's program, the Interior Committee reported the following 16 major legislative proposals, 8 of which are now law:

1. S. 846: Provides for establishment of a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission to study the outdoor recreation resources of the public lands and other land and water areas of the United States. Passed Senate.

2. Senate Joint Resolution 35: Provides for observance and commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the 1st conference of State governors for the protection, in the public interest, of the natural resources of the United States. In Senate-House conference.

3. S. 42: Provides for construction of San Angelo Federal reclamation project, Texas. Public Law 152.

4. S. 555: To authorize construction of a gh Hells Canyon Dam. Passed Senate.

5. S. 1031: Authorizes construction of four nits of the greater Wenatchee division, hief Joseph project, Washington. Passed nate.

6. Senate Joint Resolution 12: Provides for ansfer of right-of-way for Yellowtail Dam, ont., and payment to Crow Indians. Passed nate. Companion measure reported to ouse.

7. S. 334: Increases acreage of phosphate ases or permits on public domain which rsons may hold in any one State. Public w 122.

8. S. 677: Permits States of North Dakota, uth Dakota, Montana, and Washington to e certain public lands granted them for nstruction, reconstruction, repair, renova-on, etc., of public buildings in their cap-ls. Public Law 6.

9. H. R. 5538: Provides that withdrawals, servations, or restrictions of more than 00 acres of public lands for certain mili-ry purposes shall not become effective until pproved by act of Congress; and directs that nting, fishing, and trapping at military in-allations or facilities be in accordance with h and game laws of State or Territory here located. In conference.

10. S. 1556: Grants consent of Congress to tates of Montana, North Dakota, South Da-ta, and Wyoming to negotiate and enter to a compact for the apportionment of the aters of the Little Missouri River and its ibutaries. Public Law 184.

11. S. 2069: Promotes development of coal public domain by permitting individuals, sociations, or corporations to hold an ad-tional 10,240 (present limitation is 5,120) res of public lands if the Secretary of the terior finds that the increased acreage is cessary for an economic business opera-n. Passed Senate.

12. S. 1086: Grants consent and approval Congress to the Bear River compact en-red into by States of Idaho, Utah, and yoming. Passed Senate.

13. S. 1996: Authorizes amendatory repay-ent contract to be executed with Casper-cova Irrigation District, the water-user or-nization on the Kendrick project in Wyo-ing. Public Law 283.

14. S. 1396: Broadens scope of land-grant ovision in Act of Admission of the State of yoming. Public Law 97.

15. S. 1894: Amends law with respect to coupment of funds expended in coopera-on with school board of Klamath County, reg., because of attendance of Indian chil-en. Public Law 72.

16. S. 977: Suspends and modifies applica-on of excess-land provisions of the Federal clamation laws to lands in East Bench unit of Missouri River Basin project. Public Law 112.

17. Senate Resolution 148: Requesting executive agencies to supply certain information in connection with water conservation and other public-works projects with a view to improving procedures in the consideration for authorization of new projects. On Senate Calendar for action in second session.

18. S. 2757: Authorizing Burns Creek project on upper Snake River in Idaho. Passed Senate.

19. S. 1426: Extending time in which Secretary of the Interior may enter into amendatory repayment contracts on reclamation projects. Senate substituted H. R. 5492 for S. 1426 having same purpose. Public Law 85–156.

20. S. 42: Authorizing San Angelo project, Texas. Public Law 85–152.

21. S. 2120: Authorizing rehabilitation of Mercedes division, Rio Grande rehabilitation project, Texas. Passed Senate.

22. Senate Joint Resolution 39: Authorizing certain water conservation projects and providing more adequate supply of irrigation water in Pecos River Basin, Tex.-N. Mex. Passed Senate.

23. Senate Joint Resolution 35: Providing for observance and commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the first conference of State governors for the protection, in the public interest, of the natural resources of the United States. Passed both Houses, but still in conference.

24. S. 77: Establishing the Chesapeake and Ohio National Historical Park, and providing for a scenic parkway. Reported to Senate.

25. S. 342: Implementing the 10-year mission 66 program for the national parks. Reported to Senate.

26. H. R. 5538: Limiting military withdrawals of public lands to not more than 5,000 acres without the consent of Congress. House has not yet concurred in Senate amendments.

27. S. 2363: Authorizing creation of national shrine symbolizing ideals of democracy to be paid for by public contributions. Passed Senate.

S. 2536: Granting to Alaska title to "tidelands" out to pierhead line in Alaskan municipalities. House bill, as amended by Senate, enacted as Public Law 85–303.

In addition, the Senate Interior Committee approved many other bills of considerable and perhaps even greater importance to particular sections of the country and Territories or to Indian tribes.

I believe the committee can take pride in its accomplishments during this first session. As chairman of the committee, I take this opportunity to extend my thanks to all members of the committee, of both parties, for their diligence and effort which has enabled me to present this record of accomplishment.

I desire to express my appreciation particularly to the chairmen of the subcommittees for their cooperation and the efficient and effective manner in which they handled measures referred to them. They are as follows:

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, chairman, Indian Affairs.

Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, chairman, Irrigation and Reclamation.

Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, chairman, Public Lands.

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, chairman, Territories and Insular Affairs.

I am chairman of the Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels.

Voting and Attendance Record of Hon. Gerald R. Ford, Jr., of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report of my voting and attendance record during the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

The record includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. The description of bills is for the purpose of identification only; no attempt has been made to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record.

It will be noted that out of a total of 220 rollcalls I missed on only 7 occasions for an attendance record of 97 percent. The footnotes at the end of the compilation will indicate the reason for the absences and how I would have voted if present.

The report follows:

Voting and attendance record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, JR., 5th District of Michigan, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1957		
1	Jan. 3	Quorum call	Present.
2	Jan. 3	Election of Speaker. (RAYBURN 227, MARTIN 199.)	MARTIN.
3	Jan. 29	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
4	Jan. 29	H. Res. 123, to conclude debate on this resolution which provided for consideration of H. J. Res. 117. (Passed 262 to 146)	Absent.[2]
5	Jan. 30	H. J. Res. 117, to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the Middle East. (Passed 355 to 61.)	Absent.[2]
6	Feb. 5	H. R. 4249, to amend a supplemental appropriations bill to place a limit of $15,728,000 on amount to be spent for State and local administration of public assistance grants. (Passed 206 to 167.)	Yes.
7	Feb. 6	H. R. 2367, to establish a deferred grazing program and protein-feed program as part of relief available to drought-stricken areas and for other purposes. (Passed 270 to 108.)	No.
8	Feb. 19	Quorum call	Present.
9	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
10	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
11	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
12	Mar. 5	Quorum call	Present.
13	Mar. 6	Quorum call	Present.
14	Mar. 7	Quorum call	Present.
15	Mar. 7	H. Res. 188, agreeing to Senate amendments to H. J. Res. 117 to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in Middle East. (Passed 350 to 60.)	Yes.
16	Mar. 12	Quorum call	Present.
17	Mar. 12	H. Res. 192, a rule to take up for discussion H. Res. 190 requesting the President to suggest reductions in the budget for fiscal 1958. (Passed 219 to 185.)	No.
18	Mar. 12	H. Res. 190, to recommit the resolution and to substitute therefor a commendation to the President for his decision to request each Department to recommend where budget cuts could be made. (Defeated 185 to 214.)	Yes.

Footnotes at end of table.

Voting and attendance record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, JR., 5th District of Michigan, 85th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1957		
19	Mar. 12	H. Res. 190, to pass resolution requesting the President to suggest where reductions may be made in budget for 1958. (Passed 219 to 178)	No.
20	Mar. 13	Quorum call	Present.
21	Mar. 13	Quorum call	Present.
22	Mar. 13	H. R. 4901, to recommit the amended bill to committee. (Defeated 168 to 237)	No.
23	Mar. 13	H. R. 4901, to pass the bill which had been changed by the adoption of the Harrison amendment providing for a 1-year program and giving commercial corn farmers a choice of programs. (Defeated 188 to 217.)	Yes.
24	Mar. 14	Quorum call	Present.
25	Mar. 14	Quorum call	Present.
26	Mar. 20	Quorum call	Present.
27	Mar. 21	Quorum call	Present.
28	Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
29	Mar. 26	Quorum call	Present.
30	Mar. 27	Quorum call	Present.
31	Mar. 27	H. Res. 85, to authorize Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate the monetary and credit structure of the United States. (Defeated 174 to 225.)	No.
32	Mar. 28	Quorum call	Present.
33	Mar. 29	Quorum call	Present.
34	Apr. 1	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
35	Apr. 2	Quorum call	Present.
36	Apr. 3	Quorum call	Present.
37	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287 (appropriations for Departments of Labor, and of Health, Education, and Welfare), to cut $30,000 from salaries and expenses of Office of Secretary of Labor. (Passed 286 to 126.)	Yes.
38	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $204,000 from salaries and expenses of Office of Solicitor, Department of Labor. (Passed 241 to 171)	Yes.
39	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $46,300 from salaries and expenses of Bureau of Labor Standards. (Passed 246 to 169)	Yes.
40	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $136,000 from funds provided for Bureau of Veterans Reemployment Rights. (Defeated 137 to 275)	Yes.
41	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $442,000 from funds for grants to States for unemployment compensation, etc. (Passed 220 to 200)	Yes.
42	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $12,186,000 from funds for grants to States for unemployment compensation, etc. (Passed 220 to 200)	Yes.
43	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $1,500,000 from unemployment compensation for Federal employees. (Passed 253 to 167)	Yes.
44	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $236,800 from salaries and expenses of the Mexican farm labor program. (Passed 342 to 77)	Yes.
45	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $346,800 from salaries and expenses of Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Passed 217 to 204)	Yes.
46	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $31,000 from funds for Women's Bureau. (Defeated 206 to 210)	Yes.
47	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $288,000 from salaries and expenses of the Wage and Hour Division. (Passed 214 to 205)	Yes.
48	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to reduce by $1,327,000 the funds of the Food and Drug Administration. (Defeated 130 to 285)	No.
49	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to cut $1,482,000 from Office of Education. (Defeated 206 to 207)	No.
50	Apr. 4	H. R. 6287, to eliminate provision for $50,000,000 for grants to States for waste treatment construction. (Defeated 185 to 231)	Yes.
51	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
52	Apr. 8	H. R. 6306, to authorize construction of bridge to replace present 14th Street Bridge over Potomac. (Passed 190 to 131)	Yes.
53	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
54	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
55	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
56	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
57	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
58	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
59	Apr. 10	S. J. Res. 72, to approve an agreement amending the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of 1945 relative to deferment of certain interest payments. (Passed 218 to 167.)	Yes.
60	Apr. 11	H. Res. 191, to increase from $100,000 to $350,000 funds for investigative studies by House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. (Passed 225 to 143.)	No.
61	Apr. 15	Quorum call	Present.
62	Apr. 16	Quorum call	Present.
63	Apr. 17	Quorum call	Present.
64	Apr. 17	H. R. 6871, to make a further reduction of $7,039,958 in the appropriation for contributions to international organizations. (Defeated 166 to 205.)	No.
65	May 7	Quorum call	Present.
66	May 8	Quorum call	Present.
67	May 9	Quorum call	Present.
68	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
69	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
70	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
71	May 14	Quorum call	Present.
72	May 14	Quorum call	Present.
73	May 15	Quorum call	Present.
74	May 15	H. R. 7441, to adopt an amendment suspending operation of the "acreage reserve" aspect of the soil-bank program on June 30, 1957, and deleting a provision of $500,000,000 for the 1958 program. (Passed 192 to 187.)	No.
75	May 21	Quorum call	Present.
76	May 22	Quorum call	Present.
77	May 22	H. R. 7599, to recommit the bill in order to eliminate an appropriation of $7,500,000 for the construction of a 3d House Office Building. (Defeated 176 to 206.)	Yes.
78	May 22	H. R. 7599, to approve the legislative appropriations bill totaling $78,470,285. (Passed 278 to 93)	No.
79	May 22	H. Res. 254, to adopt a rule providing for the consideration of H. R. 2, the Lake Michigan water diversion bill. (Passed 267 to 102)	No.
80	May 22	H. R. 2, to recommit the bill to Committee on Public Works until the discussions between United States and Canada on further diversion of water from Lake Michigan have been concluded. (Defeated 143 to 224.)	Yes.
81	May 22	H. R. 2, to adopt the bill authorizing a test on a 3-year basis the effect of increasing the diversion of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway. (Passed 222 to 143.)	No.
82	May 23	Quorum call	Present.
83	May 23	H. R. 985, to recommit to committee the bill providing that chief judges of circuit and district courts shall cease to serve as such upon reaching age 75. (Defeated 47 to 293.)	No.
84	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
85	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
86	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
87	May 27	Quorum call	Present.
88	May 27	Quorum call	Present.
89	May 28	Quorum call	Present.
90	May 29	Quorum call	Present.
91	May 29	H. R. 7665, to recommit to committee the Department of Defense appropriation bill in order to restore $313,000,000 of the committee reduction. (Defeated 151 to 242.)	Yes.
92	May 29	H. R. 7665, to adopt the Department of Defense appropriation bill of $33,500,000,000. (Passed 394 to 1)	Yes.
93	June 3	Quorum call	Present.
94	June 4	Quorum call	Present.
95	June 5	Quorum call	Present.
96	June 6	H. Res. 259, to adopt an open rule providing for 4 days of debate on H. R. 6127, a "civil rights" bill. (Passed 260 to 117)	Yes.
97	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
98	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
99	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
100	June 7	Quorum call	Present.
101	June 7	Quorum call	Present.
102	June 7	Quorum call	Present.
103	June 7	Quorum call	Present.
104	June 10	Quorum call	Present.
105	June 10	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
106	June 10	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
107	June 11	Quorum call	Present.
108	June 13	Quorum call	Present.
109	June 14	Quorum call	Present.
110	June 17	Quorum call	Present.
111	June 18	Quorum call	Present.
112	June 18	H. R. 6127, to recommit to committee the civil-rights bill in order to amend the bill to provide for a jury trial for those accused of violating an injunction or restraining orders issues under this act. (Defeated 158 to 251.)	No.

Footnotes at end of table.

Voting and attendance record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, JR., 5th District of Michigan, 85th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1957		
113	June 18	H. R. 6127, to pass the bill which would provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. (Passed 286 to 126.)	Yes.
114	June 18	Quorum call	Present.
115	June 18	H. R. 7221, to accept a Senate amendment providing for $14,000,000 for initiation of a Federal flood-insurance program. (Defeated 186 to 218.)	No.
116	June 19	Quorum call	Present.
117	June 20	Quorum call	Present.
118	June 21	Quorum call	Present.
119	June 21	H. R. 6974, to extend for 1 year the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. (Passed 344 to 7)	Yes.
120	June 24	Quorum call	Present.
121	June 25	Quorum call	Present.
122	June 25	H. R. 7963, to make the Small Business Administration a permanent agency, to increase the authorization for loans to small business, and to reduce the interest rate on loans. (Passed 392 to 2.)	Yes.
123	June 26	Quorum call	Present.
124	June 26	H. R. 6287, to recommit to conference committee the Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill for a change involving the highway trust fund. (Defeated 73 to 321.)	No.
125	June 27	Quorum call	Present.
126	June 27	Quorum call	Present.
127	June 27	S. 1428, to recommit to committee the bill to authorize furniture and furnishings for the new Senate Office Building. (Defeated 135 to 231)	No.
128	June 27	S. 1429, to recommit to committee the bill authorizing enlargement and remodeling of present Senate Office Building in order to obtain specific cost figures. (Defeated 148 to 216.)	Yes.
129	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
130	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
131	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
132	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
133	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
134	July 9	Quorum call	Present.
135	July 9	Quorum call	Present.
136	July 10	H. R. 8240, to amend the bill authorizing certain construction at military installations by deleting sec. 411 which would require Congress to review attempts of Department of Defense to eliminate its Government-owned business operations. (Defeated 183 to 230.)	Yes.
137	July 10	H. R. 7390, to recommit to committee this bill concerning the use of advisory committees in the Government, in order to receive further testimony from the Post Office and Defense Departments. (Defeated 183 to 225.)	Yes.
138	July 10	H. R. 8364, to recommit to committee the bill making certain amendments to the Reorganization Act of 1949. (Defeated 44 to 336)	No.
139	July 11	Quorum call	Present.
140	July 11	Quorum call	Present.
141	July 12	Quorum call	Present.
142	July 12	H. R. 72, to recommit the bill which would amend the World War Veterans Act of 1924 to provide for the disposition of certain benefits which are unpaid at the death of the intended beneficiary to the committee for further study. (Passed 191 to 161.)	No.
143	July 15	Quorum call	Present.
144	July 16	Quorum call	Present.
145	July 16	Quorum call	Present.
146	July 17	Quorum call	Present.
147	July 17	Quorum call	Present.
148	July 19	S. 2130, to recommit to committee the Mutual Security Act for the purpose of deleting the provisions creating the development loan funds. (Defeated 181 to 227.)	No.
149	July 19	S. 2130, to adopt the Mutual Security Act of 1957. (Passed 254 to 154)	Yes.
150	July 22	Quorum call	Present.
151	July 23	H. R. 2474, to increase the basic salary of employees in the postal field service by a flat $546. (Passed 379 to 38)	No.
152	July 23	Quorum call	Present.
153	July 25	Quorum call	Present.
154	July 25	H. R. 1, to strike the enacting clause from the School Construction Assistance Act of 1957. (Passed 208 to 203)	No.
155	July 29	Quorum call	Absent.[6]
156	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
157	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
158	July 31	Quorum call	Present.
159	July 31	S. 1856, to approve the Airways Modernization Act of 1957. (Passed 375 to 17)	Yes.
160	July 31	Quorum call	Present.
161	July 31	H. R. 2147, to recommit to committee the bill authorizing the San Angelo Federal reclamation project. (Defeated 189 to 202)	Yes.
162	July 31	H. R. 2147, to approve the authorization of the San Angelo (Texas) Federal reclamation project. (Passed 201 to 190)	No.
163	Aug. 1	Quorum call	Present.
164	Aug. 1	H. R. 8643, to authorize the construction of certain works of improvement in the Niagara River for power, and for other purposes. (Passed 313 to 75.)	Yes.
165	Aug. 1	Quorum Call	Present.
166	Aug. 1	H. Res. 375, to take up for debate H. R. 6767, a bill to authorize construction of a tunnel under the Potomac River. (Passed 296 to 76)	Yes.
167	Aug. 1	H. R. 6767, to strike the enacting clause from the bill providing for a tunnel under the Potomac. (Defeated 175 to 194)	No.
168	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
169	Aug. 2	H. R. 6767, to continue discussion of the bill authorizing a tunnel under the Potomac. (Passed 275 to 59)	Yes.
170	Aug. 2	H. R. 6767, to amend the bill to provide for a 6-lane bridge with a bascule span. (Passed 225 to 107)	Yes.
171	Aug. 5	H. R. 6709, to implement a treaty and agreement with the Republic of Panama, amended. (Passed 280 to 91)	Yes.
172	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
173	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
174	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
175	Aug. 7	H. R. 9131, recommittal motion designed to reduce the TVA funds by $9,784,000. (Defeated 158 to 244)	Yes.
176	Aug. 7	H. R. 9131, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1958. (Passed 330 to 75)	Yes.
177	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
178	Aug. 7	H. R. 362, on open rule providing for the consideration of 1 hour of debate on H. R. 7244, amending the Packers and Stockyard Act of 1921 to permit deductions for a self-help meat-promotion program. (Defeated 175 to 216.)	No.
179	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
180	Aug. 8	H. R. 4813, to accept conference report on bill to extend the life of the District of Columbia Auditorium Center. (Defeated 115 to 284)	No.
181	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
182	Aug. 8	H. R. 8992, to adopt amendment to delete language providing for congressional authority over distribution of special nuclear materials and authorizing the matching of nuclear material of the other members of the Agency by the United States. (Passed 298 to 100.)	Yes.
183	Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
184	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to accept Patterson amendment to bill authorizing appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with sec. 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. (Defeated 197 to 201.)	Yes.
185	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to authorize appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with sec. 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. (Passed 382 to 14.)	Yes.
186	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to accept amendment to bill to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with sec. 261 of Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. (Passed 213 to 185.)	Yes.
187	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996, to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with sec. 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. (Passed 382 to 14.)	Yes.
188	Aug. 8	H. R. 2462, to recommit to committee the bill to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of Federal Government. (Defeated 70 to 319.)	Yes.
189	Aug. 9	H. R. 2462, to adopt a committee amendment to Federal pay-increase bill that supplied new text providing an 11-percent increase with a $1,000 limitation. (Passed 329 to 58.)	No.
190	Aug. 13	Quorum call	Present.
191	Aug. 13	H. R. 8090 (public works appropriations), to adopt motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 3 relating to preparation of plans for Bruces Eddy project on Clearwater River, Idaho. (Defeated 23 to 363.)	No.
192	Aug. 13	H. R. 5836, to readjust postal rates and to establish a congressional policy for the determination of postal rates. (Passed 256 to 129)	Yes.
193	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
194	Aug. 14	S. 2130, to adopt the conference report on Mutual Security Act of 1957 and clear bill for Presidential action. (Passed 226 to 163)	Yes.
195	Aug. 14	S. 1383, to amend sec. 410 of the Interstate Commerce Act to change the requirements for obtaining a freight forwarder permit. (Passed 177 to 176.)	No.
196	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
197	Aug. 15	H. R. 9302, to adopt motion to recommit the bill for restoration of committee cuts in funds for military assistance, defense, support, and development loan fund. (Defeated 129 to 254.)	Yes.

Footnotes at end of table.

Voting and attendance record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, JR., 5th District of Michigan, 85th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1957		
198	Aug. 15	H. R. 9302, to make appropriations for mutual security for fiscal year 1958. (Passed 252 to 130)	Yes.
199	Aug. 19	S. 2229, to pass bill amended to contain the text of H. R. 7993, to provide for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers. (Passed 242 to 94.)	No.
200	Aug. 20	H. R. 1937, to accept conference report on bill to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation by the District of Columbia Armory Board of a stadium in the District of Columbia. (Defeated 134 to 234.)	Yes.
201	Aug. 20	S. 1520, to recommit act to amend an act which provides for disposal of federally owned property at obsolescent canalized waterways. (Defeated 135 to 232.)	Yes.
202	Aug. 21	H. R. 9131, on motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 6 (Burke Airport) to bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year ending June 1958. (Defeated 125 to 233.)	No.
203	Aug. 21	H. R. 9131, on motion to recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 54 (Columbia River; Rathburn Dam) relating to an additional $475,000 for general construction under civil functions Department of Defense. (Defeated 140 to 216.)	No.
204	Aug. 21	H. R. 9379, to adopt Cole amendment to restore $30,000,000 for industry cooperative program of Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 214 to 135.)	Yes.
205	Aug. 22	H. Con. Res. 17, to adopt resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of H. Doc. No. 232 (84th Cong.). (Passed 183 to 129)	No.
206	Aug. 23	Quorum call	Present.
207	Aug. 23	H. R. 9131, on motion to recede on amendment No. 54 (Rathburn Dam) to bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1958. (Passed 166 to 121.)	No.
208	Aug. 23	H. R. 9131, to concur in a Senate amendment providing for a supplemental appropriation of $425,000 for the Rathbun Dam project on Columbia River. (Passed 165 to 120.)	No.
209	Aug. 23	S. 2229, to adopt conference report providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers for purchase of aircraft and equipment. (Passed 203 to 77.)	No.
210	Aug. 23	H. Res. 407, citing Louis Earl Hartman for contempt of the House of Representatives by his refusal to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities. (Passed 276 to 0.)	Yes.
211	Aug. 23	H. Res. 409, citing Bernard Silber for contempt of the House of Representatives by his refusal to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities. (Passed 261 to 0.)	Yes.
212	Aug. 27	Quorum call	Present.
213	Aug. 27	H. Res. 410, on ordering previous question on resolution providing for disposition of Senate amendments on H. R. 6127 (the civil rights bill). (Passed 274 to 101.)	Yes.
214	Aug. 27	H. Res. 410, to agree to resolution providing for disposition of Senate amendments to H. R. 6127 (civil rights bill). (Passed 279 to 97)	Yes.
215	Aug. 27	H. R. 7915, to adopt committee amendment to amend ch. 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for production of statements and reports of witnesses (FBI files). (Passed 351 to 17.)	Yes.
216	Aug. 28	Quorum call	Present.
217	Aug. 28	S. 2792, to amend Immigration and Nationality Act to facilitate entry into the United States of certain adopted children and other relatives of United States citizens. (Passed 293 to 58.)	Yes.
218	Aug. 30	Quorum call	Present.
219	Aug. 30	S. 2377, to amend ch. 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for the production of statements and reports of witnesses (FBI files). (Passed 315 to 0.)	Yes.
220	Aug. 30	H. R. 9302, to make appropriations for mutual security for fiscal year, 1958. (Passed 194 to 122)	Yes.

[1] Hospitalized.
[2] Hospitalized. If present, would have voted "yea."
[3] Hospitalized. If present, would have voted "yea."
[4] In Grand Rapids to keep speaking appointment.
[5] Fulfilling a longstanding speaking engagement.
[6] Attending funeral of Mark Foote.

An Explanation of Provisions Contained in the Natural Gas Bill, Reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, That Protects the Consumer and the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, after long and extensive hearings on the Harris natural gas bill, reported favorably a bill to regulate the production, distribution and sale of natural gas.

In order to give a clear understanding of the purpose and effect of the proposed bill as reported, it is my desire to make a summary explanation, setting forth the salient features of the bill intended to protect consumers in the price to be paid and to provide adequacy of supply.

The underlying conditions that must be considered in arriving at a proper decision as to character of legislation that is necessary and proper with respect to the production, distribution and sale of natural gas are numerous and important. The individual welfare of our people, as well as the economic and industrial welfare of our Nation and its progress, requires careful, sane and thoughtful consideration. To give the subject any less can result in harm that can be disastrous to our welfare.

The basic issues that exist with respect to natural gas legislation are such that they can readily lend themselves to appeals directed to the emotions rather than to reason. Consequently, we have statements being issued in many instances by individuals who have little or no knowledge or understanding of the basic facts, economic conditions and the many technical considerations that enter into and have a bearing on the issues and a correct decision.

It is regrettable that too often untrue, deceptive and misleading statements have been made by some who have improperly sought to create a feeling that all that has been done has been solely and entirely to the benefit of big interests and to the complete detriment of the consumer. For instance, the charge has been made that it will add millions of dollars to the cost of living and that every month the average consumer will be saddled with an extra cost and will mean an increase of gas charges to the consumers of upward of $800 million. There is no reasonable basis upon which any such claim can be justified if the provisions of this bill are properly administered.

The figure of $800 million that is being used is the same that was used against the bill which passed 2 years ago and which was vetoed by President Eisenhower. I fought against the enactment of that bill zealously and aggressively. I sought to have it recommitted to the committee for further study. Failing in that, I voted against its passage by Congress. In fact, I was a leader in the fight against its adoption.

I believed then, and I still believe, that the bill was so obnoxious that if its provisions had been carried out it co[uld] have meant in time the loss to consum[ers] totaling $800 million. But, that was [pre]der the terms of the bill of 2 years a[go]. The same thing does not apply to t[he] present bill.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION AND STATE UTI[LITY] COMMISSIONS REGULATE PRICE

The present bill is entirely differ[ent] from the above-mentioned bill. T[he] very purpose of the bill is to prov[ide] against any unreasonable price increa[se]. The Federal Power Commission, as t[he] guardian of the public interest, was i[n]augurated during the Roosevelt admi[n]istration to prevent unfair treatment [of] all interested parties. It was gi[ven] strong regulatory powers to be exerci[sed] in the public interest. The pending b[ill] does not seek to interfere with nor d[e]tail such, and, is designed to meet exi[st]ing conditions.

Of course, no one can say positiv[ely] that future conditions of an econom[ic] character would not arise to affect t[he] price structure, but, the bill is given d[e]nite power to regulate prices in the pu[b]lic interest. We are living in a per[iod] that the economic conditions are co[n]tinually causing an increase in liv[ing] costs. Today, for instance, railro[ad] fares are greatly increased, but we h[ave] the Interstate Commerce Commission [set] up as a regulatory body to make cert[ain] that all rates shall be just and reasona[ble]. The Federal Power Commission has b[een] given power under this bill to likew[ise] require that prices of gas to consum[ers] shall be just and reasonable.

Furthermore, under the proposed [bill] to insure this, every interested pa[rty] even to the humblest citizen and inc[lud]ing city and State officials are given

to oppose and be heard before there y increase in price.

is is something that did not exist fore. It is all for the benefit of onsumer. There can be no increase e price of gas unless the Federal r Commission so orders and permits. rthermore, it should be realized that nly does the Federal Power Com- on have the power to control the of gas that enters into interstate nerce, but, also the rate that can be ged by the pipelines that convey it the producing fields to the States e it is to be consumed. And, in ion to this, when the gas reaches onsuming State, New Jersey for in- e, then the State utility commis- has the power to fix the price that e charged by the distributing com- to the individual consumer.

us, from the time the gas leaves the ucing State until it enters the homes ividual consumers, or, the fur- of any industrial user, it is subject gulations affecting the price to be ed the consumer.

e bill before Congress gives regu- control to the Federal Power mission while the gas is subject to al jurisdiction, and the State util- ommissions have control when it es the consuming State. Thus, ghout its entire course the price of as is subject to the control of pub- odies set up by the Congress and legislatures to insure a fair and nable price. This is all done to ct the consumer and in the public est. This is as it should be.

l, while I am of the opinion that resent bill does give every reason- protection to the consumer consis- with our American way, yet, when ill is under consideration in the ress if it should appear that any dment is necessary and proper to then the bill, then such would cer- have my support.

m anxious to provide the very best ction to the public interest. That he purpose and intent of the com- e in reporting this bill to the Con-

ould have been unfair and undem- c for the committee to have ed" congressional consideration of important matter by refusing to a bill. The action of the com- e now permits every Member of the to express their views represent- he different sections of the Nation its differing viewpoints.

EQUATE SUPPLY OF GAS NECESSARY

our consideration of this subject, so must not overlook the impor- and necessity of giving the con- assurance of an adequate supply . In our present day economy an ate supply and reasonable price nd in hand. Each is important consumer.

course, the consumer is interested ce and the public interest requires uch shall at all times be so regu- that it shall not exceed what is able and fair. To make certain s, the bill gives the Federal Power ission the power to fix prices for interstate commerce that is rea- sonable and just. However, while it is important and appropriate to emphasize a proper price to the consumer, yet, we cannot discount nor should we overlook the fact that it is also important to make certain that the consumer has an adequate supply of gas. Without such the facilities, that are now in use and that have cost millions of dollars, would go for naught and the consequences would be disastrous to consumers.

In considering the question of providing an adequate supply, I ask in all seriousness what happens if the gas producer is not satisfied with the price? What then can happen to the consumer? If the producer does not receive what he considers a fair price for his gas, then he can refuse to sell it in interstate commerce. He can retain it in the well or sell it only within the State where produced and thus avoid Federal regulation.

Under such circumstances, I ask again, What happens if the gas producer is not satisfied with the price? What becomes of the consumer who is depending upon the gas being sold in interstate commerce and thus finally reaching him in his home in a State that does not produce gas? There is no power existing in our Federal Government under our present system of Government that can compel the producer to sell. This could be done in Russia, but not in America.

The same principle applies here as applies to labor. No worker can be compelled to sell his labor for any price that he does not wish. He can refuse to work. So can the owner of natural-gas wells refuse to sell his gas for a price that he does not consider fair and just.

There is also a further possibility that can happen with results that are disastrous in nonproducing States, if and when the price is not fair and just to the producer. This situation was pointed out to the committee in a statement of the Federal Power Commission, namely:

> The present situation appears to encourage the use of natural gas within the States where produced rather than in the more populous areas where it has the greatest usefulness.

In this connection, we are all aware of the tendency of many industries to remove their plants to Southern and other States where the wage scale and taxes are less than in the North and Northeastern States. Already this tendency has caused many textile mills to move away from present and long-established locations.

This has left many towns dead industrially. Labor unions, CIO and AFL, through their representatives have held many conferences with Members of Congress from the affected areas to find ways and means of stopping this tendency from becoming general. The fact that seasonal conditions make living costs cheaper has also been an influence.

Now, if we add to this a moving of industry because of a more beneficial price structure for natural gas in the producing States, we can readily understand the force of the statement made by the Federal Power Commission, "that without some legislation such as that here proposed domestic and other natural-gas consumers may find themselves facing not only diminishing supply of such gas but the fact that some of the industries upon which the economy of their communities depend may have removed from their midst and gone to the producing areas." This is no idle fear when we realize that Federal jurisdiction does not extend into the producing State and only applies if and when the gas moves in interstate commerce.

And, then there is the further danger pointed out to the committee, "Nor does the present regulation—existing law—appear to encourage further exploration and development which are essential to continued supplies." And, then, the committee very wisely directs attention to the necessity for remedial legislation in these words, "It is certainly not beyond the bounds of reason, therefore, to believe that without some legislation such as that here proposed domestic and other natural-gas consumers may find themselves facing the situations above outlined."

Under the circumstances as outlined by the Federal Power Commission, whose duty it is to study the question from every standpoint and report to Congress, would it not be foolish to cast aside its recommendations and ignore its warnings? The duty of the committee was clear and impelling. It met its obligation by reporting to the Congress what was considered by a majority of the committee as the most effectual way to solve the problem in the public interest.

Therefore, the purpose of the bill, as reported by the committee, in providing that the Federal Power Commission shall have regulatory powers to fix a reasonable price and transportation charges is intended not only to protect the consumer against unreasonable prices, but also to make certain that a fair and reasonable price is made available to the producer as an incentive to supply gas and make explorations for additional gas to meet the ever-growing demand in consuming States.

Thus, the fixing of a fair and reasonable price has its advantages to both parties—the producer and consumer. It thereupon becomes the duty of the Federal Power Commission and the local State utility commission at all times in fixing the price to be paid by the eventual consumer to do so with the thought in mind that the public interest must in all respects be kept paramount.

CAREFUL CONSIDERATION GIVEN BY COMMITTEE

In its effort to solve the important issue involved in this matter, the committee held extensive hearings. Witnesses to the number of 171 appeared and testified or submitted statements for the consideration of the committee. These covered wide and varied interests, including individuals, Federal, State, municipal, and other groups, each expressing their viewpoint and recommendations.

Agencies of government supplied much factual information, as well as conclusions, based upon experience gained in this and other regulatory matters. Altogether this testimony covered 1,742 printed pages. All of this was studied carefully and analyzed. The bill as reported to the Congress for its considera-

tion is the result. Certainly, there could not have been a more careful, conscientious, and sincere effort to reach a proper solution even though there may be differing viewpoints in some particulars.

NECESSITY FOR LEGISLATION

In recent years as a result of decisions made by our Federal courts, many complications have arisen. As a result of this, the Federal Power Commission has requested Congress to rectify and improve the situation so as to make the Natural Gas Act more adaptable to the regulation of gas producers and for the benefit of consumers.

The committee in complying with this respect has had at all times in mind the underlying policy of the Natural Gas Act, reading as follows:

It is hereby declared that the business of transporting and selling gas for ultimate distribution to the public interest and that Federal regulation in matters relating to the transportation of natural gas and the sale thereof in interstate and foreign commerce is necessary to the public interest.

I actively participated in the adoption of that statement of policy, believing as I do that the public interest is paramount.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION APPROVES COMMITTEE BILL

It seems to me that there is great significance and importance to be attached to the fact that the Federal Power Commission has given its approval to the bill as reported by the committee.

This is the Commission that since its inauguration in 1938 has been charged with protecting the public interest in the transportation and distribution of natural gas. This is the Commission that has had the experience of regulating that industry for approximately 20 years. It is to be assumed that the members of the Commission and its talented staff have gained much knowledge of what is necessary and proper for effectual regulation in all the varied phases of the natural-gas industry. It is with this background of experience that it has made its study, presented its recommendations and given its approval to the committee bill.

CONCLUSION

The Federal Power Commission in its report to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce concerning this legislation has very properly said: "While the public is interested in reasonable rates, it is equally concerned with the continued maintenance of adequate gas service to all of the ultimate consumers who have invested in the aggregate millions of dollars in gas furnaces, stoves, and other gas-using equipment."

Thus, the Commission points out that there must be a dual objective which legislation on the subject should achieve. To accomplish this purpose the Commission set forth five basic considerations that in its opinion were necessary to accomplish this purpose. These recommendations or suggestions have been incorporated in the pending bill. Whereupon, the Commission after a study of the proposed bill has reported to the committee its approval in these words:

The Commission favors the basic principles and objectives of the bill and believes that such legislation is necessary for practicable, workable, and efficient regulation of gas producers in the national interest. Early enactment is recommended.

In coming to this final decision it is appropriate to emphasize, and it cannot be emphasized too often or too strongly, the importance of having a regulatory law that will not only protect the price to the consumer, which is in itself a very important matter, but will also make certain an adequate supply to the consumer. Each is important and must be given consideration. I remember when—the time was a few years ago—the local distributing company in the Camden, N. J., locality had to refuse any more customers because of the insufficiency of supply. We certainly do not want this to happen again with a resulting disastrous effect on the millions of dollars of gas equipment our people now have and depend upon. Nor do we want to have to resort again to manufactured gas which would be prohibitive in price.

It has been, and will continue to be, my aim to protect in every way that is within my power the public interest in this and any other legislation that comes before the Congress during my membership in that body. This has always been, and will continue to be, my first and only consideration in the performance of my public duty.

Congressman Tewes Has 100 Percent Voting Record on Legislative Rollcalls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD E. TEWES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. TEWES. Mr. Speaker, with the adjournment of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, I have compiled a report to the people I am privileged to represent. Included is my complete voting record on rollcalls and quorum calls. Nothing has been omitted, and I have exercised no censorship of any kind.

At the risk of sacrificing technical accuracy, I have eliminated all parliamentary terms such as recommit and recede from disagreement from the Senate. Instead I have attempted to phrase briefly and impartially the question which was at issue when my vote was cast.

The accompanying tables show that I was present and signified my position on every rollcall for a voting record of 100 percent. I was absent from the Chamber on 3 days when there were quorum calls not involving legislative issues. Including these unavoidable absences, my general attendance for the session was about 97 percent.

Because brief summaries cannot reflect the full significance of each vote, I invite my constituents to write me or contact me personally on any matters on which they desire additional information.

The report follows:

Roll-call No.	Date	Explanation	Vote
1	Jan. 3	Call of the House	Present.
2	Jan. 3	Election of Speaker	MARTIN.
3	Jan. 29	Quorum call	Present.
4	Jan. 29	H. R. 123: Shall the House consider the Middle East resolution under "closed" rule which limits debate? (262 yea to 146)	Nay.
5	Jan. 30	H. J. Res. 117: Shall the President be authorized to undertake military and economic cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East? (355 yea to 61.)	Yea.
6	Feb. 5	H. R. 4249: Shall there be a $15,728,000 limit on the amount which States can spend for administration of public assistance grants? (206 yea to 167.)	Yea.
7	Feb. 6	H. R. 2367: Shall ranchers be paid drought relief for deferring grazing? (270 yea to 108)	Nay.
8	Feb. 19	Quorum call	Present.
9	Feb. 20	Quorum call	Present.
10	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
11	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
12	Mar. 5	Quorum call	Present.
13	Mar. 6	Quorum call	Present.
14	Mar. 7	Quorum call	Present.
15	Mar. 7	H. R. 188: Shall the House agree to Senate amendments to the Middle East resolution? (350 yea to 60)	Yea.
16	Mar. 12	Quorum call	Present.
17	Mar. 12	H. R. 192: Shall the House consider a resolution demanding that the President indicate where reductions can be made in the budget? (219 yea to 185.)	Nay.
18	Mar. 12	H. R. 190: Shall a resolution be substituted commending the President for requesting department heads to advise the House on where budget cuts can be made? (214 nay to 185.)	Yea.
19	Mar. 12	H. R. 190: Shall a resolution be passed demanding that the President indicate to the House where reductions can be made in the budget? (219 yea to 178.)	Nay.
20	Mar. 13	Quorum call	Present.
21	Mar. 13	Quorum call	Present.
22	Mar. 13	H. R. 4901: Shall the bill establishing corn acreage allotments be returned to committee for further study? (237 nay to 168)	Nay.
23	Mar. 13	H. R. 4901: Shall the bill which establishes corn acreage allotments be passed? (217 nay to 188)	Yea.
24	Mar. 14	Quorum call	Present.
25	Mar. 14	Quorum call	Present.
26	Mar. 20	Quorum call	Present.
27	Mar. 21	Quorum call	Present.

Date	Explanation	Vote
Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
Mar. 26	Quorum call	Present.
Mar. 27	Quorum call	Present.
Mar. 27	H. R. 85: Shall the House Committee on Banking and Currency make an investigation into the monetary and credit structure of the United States? (225 nay to 174.)	Nay.
Mar. 28	Quorum call	Present.
Mar. 29	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 1	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 2	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 3	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $30,000 be cut from the Labor Department for posts in South America? (286 yea to 126)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $204,000 be cut from the Solicitors Office in the Labor Department? (241 yea to 171)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $46,300 be cut from the Bureau of Labor Standards? (246 yea to 169)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $136,000 be cut from the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights? (275 yea to 137)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $442,000 be cut from the Bureau of Employment Security? (214 yea to 206)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $12,186,000 be cut from the estimate of unemployment grants to States? (220 yea to 199)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $1,500,000 be cut from the estimate of unemployment contributions for Federal employees? (253 yea to 167)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $263,800 be cut from the Mexican farm labor program? (342 yea to 167)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $346,000 be cut from the Bureau of Labor Statistics? (217 yea to 201)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $31,000 be cut from the Women's Bureau? (209 nay to 206)	Yea.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $288,000 be cut from the Wages and Hours Division? (214 yea to 205)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $1,327,000 be cut from the Food and Drug Administration? (285 nay to 130)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $1,482,000 be cut from the Office of Education? (207 nay to 206)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H. R. 6287: Shall $50,000,000 Federal grants for local sewerage disposal plants be eliminated? (231 nay to 185)	Yea.
Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 8	H. R. 6306: Shall the House authorize a new bridge across the Potomac in Washington? (190 yea to 131)	Nay.
Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 10	S. J. Res. 72: Shall revising amendments to the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of 1945 be approved? (218 yea to 167)	Yea.
Apr. 11	H. R. 191: Shall an extra $250,000 be appropriated for investigations by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce? (225 yea to 143.)	Nay.
Apr. 15	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 16	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 17	Quorum call	Present.
Apr. 17	H. R. 6871: Shall $7,039,958 be cut from the United States share of the administrative costs of international organizations of which we are a member? (205 nay to 166.)	Nay.
May 7	Quorum call	Absent.
May 8	Quorum call	Present.
May 9	Quorum call	Present.
May 13	Quorum call	Present.
May 13	Quorum call	Present.
May 13	Quorum call	Present.
May 14	Quorum call	Present.
May 14	Quorum call	Present.
May 15	Quorum call	Present.
May 15	H. R. 7441: Shall the soil-bank program be terminated? (192 yea to 187)	Nay.
May 21	Quorum call	Present.
May 22	Quorum call	Present.
May 22	H. R. 7509: Shall the legislative appropriation be returned to committee with instructions to eliminate $7,500,000 for construction of a new House Office Building? (206 nay to 176.)	Yea.
May 22	H. R. 7509: Shall the legislative appropriation including $7,500,000 for a new House Office Building be passed? (278 yea to 93)	Nay.
May 22	H. R. 254: Shall the House consider the bill allowing Illinois to divert Lake Michigan water? (267 yea to 102)	Nay.
May 22	H. R. 2: Shall the bill allowing Illinois to divert Lake Michigan water be returned to committee with instructions to delay action until discussions between Canada and the United States on this matter are completed? (224 nay to 143).	Yea.
May 22	H. R. 2: Shall Illinois be allowed to divert Lake Michigan water? (222 yea to 143)	Nay.
May 23	Quorum call	Present.
May 23	H. R. 985: Shall the bill requiring chief judges of Federal courts to retire at 75 be returned to committee for further study? (293 nay to 47)	Nay.
May 24	Quorum call	Present.
May 24	Quorum call	Present.
May 24	Quorum call	Present.
May 27	Quorum call	Present.
May 27	Quorum call	Present.
May 28	Quorum call	Present.
May 29	Quorum call	Present.
May 29	H. R. 7665: Shall the Defense Department appropriation bill be returned to committee with instructions to reinsert $313,000,000? (242 nay to 151.)	Yea.
May 29	H. R. 7665: Shall the Defense Department appropriation be passed? (394 yea to 1)	Yea.
June 3	Quorum call	Present.
June 4	Quorum call	Present.
June 5	Quorum call	Present.
June 5	H. R. 259: Shall the House consider the civil rights bill? (290 yea to 117)	Yea.
June 6	Quorum call	Present.
June 6	Quorum call	Present.
June 6	Quorum call	Present.
June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
June 7	Quorum call	Absent.
June 10	Quorum call	Present.
June 10	Quorum call	Present.
June 10	Quorum call	Present.
June 11	Quorum call	Present.
June 13	Quorum call	Present.
June 14	Quorum call	Present.
June 17	Quorum call	Present.
June 18	Quorum call	Present.
June 12	H. R. 6127: Shall the civil rights bill be returned to committee with instructions to add the jury trial amendment? (251 nay to 158)	Nay.
June 18	H. R. 6127: Shall the civil rights bill be passed? (286 yea to 126)	Yea.
June 18	Quorum call	Present.
June 18	H. R. 7221: Shall the House accept a Senate proposal to provide $14,000,000 for a Federal flood-insurance program? (218 nay to 186)	Nay
June 19	Quorum call	Present.
June 20	Quorum call	Present.
June 21	Quorum call	Present.
June 21	H. R. 6974: Shall the Agricultural Trade Development Act providing for foreign sales of surplus agriculture products be extended for 1 year? (344 yea to 7.)	Yea.
June 24	Quorum call	Present.
June 25	Quorum call	Present.
June 25	H. R. 7963: Shall the Small Business Administration be made a permanent agency? (392 yea to 2)	Yea.
June 26	Quorum call	Present.
June 26	H. R. 6287: Shall the appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare be returned to committee for further study? (321 nay to 73.)	Nay.
June 27	Quorum call	Present.
June 27	Quorum call	Present.
June 27	S. 1428: Shall the bill authorizing furniture for the new U. S. Senate Office Building be returned to committee with instructions to limit cost? (231 nay to 135.)	Yea.

Roll-call No.	Date	Explanation	Vote
128	June 27	S. 1429: Shall the bill authorizing remodeling of the old U. S. Senate Office Building be returned to committee with instructions to limit cost? (216 nay to 148.)	Yea.
129	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
130	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
131	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
132	July 8	Quorum call	Absent.
133	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
134	July 9	Quorum call	Present.
135	July 9	Quorum call	Present.
136	July 10	H. R. 8240: Shall the Defense Department be authorized to discontinue activities that compete with private business without securing prior congressional approval? (230 nay to 183.)	Yea.
137	July 10	H. R. 7390: Shall this bill limiting the use of advisory committees by the executive branch be returned to committee for further study? (225 nay to 183.)	Yea.
138	July 10	H. R. 8364: Shall this bill which applies the 1949 Reorganization Act to new reorganization plans of the Government be returned to committee for further study? (336 nay to 44.)	Nay.
139	July 11	Quorum call	Present.
140	July 11	Quorum call	Present.
141	July 12	Quorum call	Present.
142	July 12	H. R. 72: Shall this bill restricting the transfer of the pension funded estates of incompetent veterans to near relatives be returned to committee for further study? (191 yea to 161.)	Nay.
143	July 15	Quorum call	Present.
144	July 16	Quorum call	Present.
145	July 16	Quorum call	Present.
146	July 17	Quorum call	Present.
147	July 19	Quorum call	Present.
148	July 19	S. 2130: Shall the Mutual Security Act be returned to committee with instructions to delete the Development Loan Fund? (227 nay to 181)	Nay.
149	July 19	S. 2130: Shall the Mutual Security Act be passed? (254 yea to 154)	Yea.
150	July 22	Quorum call	Present.
151	July 23	H. R. 2474: Shall the basic salary of postal workers be increased by $546 per year? (379 yea to 38)	Yea.
152	July 23	Quorum call	Present.
153	July 25	Quorum call	Present.
154	July 25	H. R. 1: Shall the House terminate consideration of this bill to provide Federal assistance to states for school construction without opportunity to debate or amend? (208 yea to 203)	Nay.
155	July 29	Quorum call	Present.
156	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
157	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
158	July 31	Quorum call	Present.
159	July 31	S. 1856: Shall a new Airways Modernization Board be established to develop and modernize air navigation and traffic control? (375 yea to 17.)	Yea.
160	July 31	Quorum call	Present.
161	July 31	H. R. 2147: Shall the authorization for a $32,000,000 reclamation project in San Angelo, Tex., be returned to committee for further study? (202 nay to 189.)	Yea.
162	July 31	H. R. 2147: Shall a $32,000,000 reclamation project in San Angelo, Tex., be authorized? (201 yea to 190)	Nay.
163	Aug. 1	Quorum call	Present.
164	Aug. 1	H. R. 8643: Shall construction of power improvements on the Niagara River be authorized? (313 yea to 75)	Yea.
165	Aug. 1	Quorum call	Present.
166	Aug. 1	H. R. 6763: Shall the House consider the bill to authorize a tunnel under the Potomac River? (296 yea to 76)	Yea.
167	Aug. 1	H. R. 6763: Shall the House terminate all further consideration of the bill to authorize a tunnel under the Potomac River? (194 nay to 175)	Yea.
168	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
169	Aug. 2	H. R. 6763: Shall the House consider the bill to authorize a tunnel under the Potomac River? (275 yea to 59)	Yea.
170	Aug. 2	H. R. 6763: Shall the bill be amended to substitute a bridge for a tunnel? (225 yea to 107)	Yea.
171	Aug. 5	H. R. 6709: Shall the House approve the implementation of a treaty with the Republic of Panama? (279 yea to 91)	Yea.
172	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
173	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
174	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
175	Aug. 7	H. R. 9131: Shall the supplemental appropriation be returned to committee with instructions to reduce new TVA funds by $9,784,000? (244 nay to 158.)	Yea.
176	Aug. 7	H. R. 9131: Shall the supplemental appropriation bill be passed? (330 yea to 75)	Yea.
177	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
178	Aug. 7	H. R. 362: Shall the House consider a bill to permit deductions for a self-help meat promotion program? (216 nay to 175)	Yea.
179	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
180	Aug. 8	H. R. 4813: Shall the acquisition of certain land for a District of Columbia auditorium be authorized? (284 nay to 115)	Nay.
181	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
182	Aug. 8	H. R. 8992: Shall the House delete a Senate proposal for congressional control over distribution of nuclear material in the International Atomic Energy Agency? (298 yea to 100.)	Yea.
183	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
184	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996: Shall $3,000,000 for design estimates on a plutonium reactor be cut? (201 nay to 197)	Yea.
185	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996: Shall $55,000,000 for Government construction of a natural plutonium recycle reactor be cut? (211 yea to 188)	Yea.
186	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996: Shall provisions for Government ownership and operation of atomic-energy generating plants be deleted? (213 yea to 185)	Yea.
187	Aug. 9	H. R. 8996: Shall the House pass the appropriation for the Atomic Energy Commission? (382 yea to 14)	Yea.
188	Aug. 9	H. R. 2462: Shall the bill providing for an 11-percent pay increase for Federal employees be returned to committee for further study? (319 nay to 70.)	Nay.
189	Aug. 9	H. R. 2462: Shall the bill providing for an 11 percent pay increase for Federal employees be passed? (329 yea to 58)	Yea.
190	Aug. 13	Quorum call	Present.
191	Aug. 13	H. R. 8090: Shall the House agree to a Senate amendment which appropriated $500,000 for the Bruces Eddy project in Idaho? (363 nay to 23.)	Nay.
192	Aug. 13	H. R. 5836: Shall postal rates on 1st, 2d, and 3d classes be increased? (256 yea to 129)	Yea.
193	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
194	Aug. 14	S. 2130: Shall the House accept Senate amendments appropriating $250,000,000 additional funds to mutual security? (226 yea to 163)	Yea.
195	Aug. 14	S. 1383: Shall the Interstate Commerce Act be amended to change requirements for obtaining a freight forwarders permit? (177 yea to 176)	Nay.
196	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
197	Aug. 15	H. R. 9302: Shall the appropriation for mutual security be returned to committee with instructions to reinsert $715,000,000? (254 nay to 129.)	Yea.
198	Aug. 15	H. R. 9302: Shall the appropriation for mutual security be passed? (252 yea to 130)	Yea.
199	Aug. 19	H. R. 7993: Shall the Government guarantee private loans of certain airline carriers? (242 yea to 94)	Nay.
200	Aug. 20	H. R. 1937: Shall the District of Columbia be authorized a stadium to be financed with private funds? (234 nay to 134)	Yea.
201	Aug. 20	S. 1520: Shall Federal contribution be limited to $50,000 in the disposal of a dam in West Virginia? (232 nay to 135)	Yea.
202	Aug. 21	H. R. 9131: Shall the House accept Senate amendment striking out funds for a new airport in Washington? (233 nay to 125)	Nay.
203	Aug. 21	H. R. 9131: Shall the House accept a Senate amendment adding $475,000 for the Columbia River project? (216 nay to 140)	Nay.
204	Aug. 21	H. R. 9379 (Atomic Energy Appropriation): Shall House restore $30,000,000 for a program of cooperation with private industry? (214 yea to 135.)	Yea.
205	Aug. 22	H. Con. Res. 176: Shall $95,000 be appropriated for 500,000 copies of an illustrated booklet to be distributed free by Congressmen? (183 yea to 129.)	Nay.
206	Aug. 23	Quorum call	Present.
207	Aug. 23	H. R. 9131: Shall the House accept a Senate amendment adding $475,000 for the Columbia River project? (166 yea to 121)	Nay.
208	Aug. 23	H. R. 9131: Shall the House accept a Senate amendment adding $475,000 for the Columbia River project? (165 yea to 120)	Nay.
209	Aug. 23	S. 2229: Shall the Government guarantee private loans to certain airline carriers? (203 yea to 77)	Nay.
210	Aug. 23	H. R. 407: Shall Louis Hartman be cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the Un-American Activities Committee? (276 yea to 0.)	Yea.
211	Aug. 23	H. R. 409: Shall Bernard Silber be cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the Un-American Activities Committee? (261 yea to 0.)	Yea.
212	Aug. 27	Quorum call	Present.
213	Aug. 27	H. R. 410: Shall the House accept Senate jury-trial amendments to civil-rights bill with further limitations in criminal contempt proceedings? (274 yea to 101.)	Yea.
214	Aug. 27	H. R. 410: Shall the House accept Senate jury-trial amendments to civil-rights bill with further limitations in criminal contempt proceedings? (279 yea to 97.)	Yea.
215	Aug. 27	H. R. 7915: Shall there be legislation clarifying Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case concerning use of FBI files? (351 yea to 17)	Yea.
216	Aug. 28	Quorum call	Present.

Roll-call No.	Date	Explanation	Vote
217	Aug. 28	S. 2792: Shall the immigration laws be amended to facilitate the entry into the United States of certain adopted children and other close relatives of United States citizens? (293 yea to 58.)	Yea.
218	Aug. 30	Quorum call	Present.
219	Aug. 30	H. R. 7915: Shall the House accept certain compromise amendments to legislation clarifying the Jencks decision? (315 yea to 0.)	Yea.
220	Aug. 30	H. R. 9032: Shall the House accept the mutual security appropriation compromise agreed upon in a Senate and House conference? (194 yea to 122.)	Yea.

A Report to My Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, because I have the honor and great privilege of serving the people of the Seventh Congressional District of Maryland, I feel it is only fitting and proper that the voters have an accounting of my record in Congress. I have always believed that a Member should be truly representative of the people who sent him to Washington, and, as such, he should endeavor to do his utmost on their behalf and act on measures that promote and further the best interest of his city, State, and Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a report of my voting record on the major legislative actions taken during the 1st session of the 85th Congress, together with my views on some of the important issues considered this year.

BUDGET AND TAXES

The budget submitted by the President proposed that the Federal Government spend $71.8 billion during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1957. This is the highest peacetime budget in American history and such a tremendous rate of spending would, unquestionably, add to inflationary pressures in the country's economy. Since I deemed it essential that this huge budget be brought under control, I voted in favor of cutting the requested appropriation for many items which I believed warranted such action.

I favor a reduction in Federal income taxes, and a repeal of all the so-called wartime excise taxes. I have introduced legislation to increase personal exemptions, for income-tax purposes from the present $600 to $800 per person. Federal budgets which require huge taxes naturally consume the savings which are required to finance private industry. Also high tax rates, which take such a large share of income, undermine the incentive to save and invest in normal business enterprises.

ESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

In attempting to hold Government spending within reasonable bounds, we should not hold back on essential defense programs in the interest of national safety during the present world tension caused by the Russians in their ever-widening spheres of influence. Unfortunately, it is clear that the Communists are bent on world conquest and our Nation must be ready to cope with this growing menace to world peace by having the very best and newest weapons of defense and bolstering and aiding our friends across the seas through mutual security authorizations.

In like manner, we should not hold back on needed civilian programs. The heavy demands now being urged at all levels of government for roads and schools, for instance, are largely the result of failure to keep pace with the growth of the country. I believe in paying Federal and postal employees proper salaries commensurate with the increased cost of living. Such expenditures also help to keep up the general prosperity of America and provide essential facilities and services. Therefore, I favor appropriations for adequate defense to keep our country strong and reasonable appropriations for civilian programs to keep our economy healthy.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I voted in favor of the civil-rights bill, because I do not believe any citizen in the United States should be deprived of his right to vote.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As an American, I am unalterably opposed to the admission of Red China as a member of the United Nations, because I believe such action would further the cause of international communism. For the same reason, I am opposed to trading with Red China.

NATURAL-GAS BILL

During the last session of Congress, as well as during the present one, I registered my emphatic protest against the passage of any measure that would exempt the producers of natural gas from Federal control, because the removal of such controls might lead to increased cost to the millions of consumers of gas who use it not only for cooking but also for heating. I shall always continue to be vigilant and oppose legislation which is against the interest of the public at large.

TRAFFIC SAFETY

I take considerable pride in the fact that I was the first Member of the Congress to introduce a resolution calling for the creation of a committee to investigate traffic safety on our Nation's streets and highways, in order to find means to reduce the toll of lives and countless damage caused by traffic accidents. This matter is now under active investigation by the Congress, and it is hoped that it will be productive of results to accomplish the desired end.

BALTIMORE AND MARYLAND

I have endeavored to promote the interest of Baltimore and the State of Maryland at all times, in all matters on the Federal Government level. I am happy to report that the prospects for full utilization of Baltimore's Friendship Airport are brighter than ever before. Although funds have been provided to start construction of another airport in the Baltimore-Washington area, assurances have been given that the Civil Aeronautics Board will divert some of the Washington traffic to Friendship.

Construction of the new Social Security Building at Woodlawn will begin in the near future, as a result of an amendment to an appropriation bill, which was adopted at my request.

Baltimore is America's second largest port, providing employment for hundreds of people, and it is important that its interests be guarded, particularly in view of the fact that it will face formidable competition from the St. Lawrence seaway project. For this reason, I worked diligently to have legislation enacted permitting 24-hour quarantine service, in the port of Baltimore. I am pleased to report that my efforts were successful and as a result of this legislation, a saving of more than $1 million a year will be realized.

I also supported legislation providing for widening and deepening of the harbor and several other measures which will aid commerce and redound to Baltimore's lasting benefit.

Ever since the Secretary of the Navy announced the closing of the Office of the Supervisor of Shipbuilding and Assistant Industrial Manager, I have exerted every effort to have this order rescinded. Although my efforts did not meet with success, I have received assurance that the employees now working at that installation will be offered comparable positions at Newport News and Portsmouth.

Likewise, I have worked diligently to preserve the Recruit Training Command at Bainbridge, and the Curtis Bay storage facility.

IN GENERAL

At all times I have considered the best interest of my district and the Nation as being paramount, therefore, I have avoided blind partisanship. My record clearly reflects that I have supported the President many times when I deemed his recommendations right, such as my affirmative vote for the Middle East resolution. On other occasions when I did not agree with the Chief Executive's recommendations, I did not hesitate to raise my voice in opposition and vote against proposals which I considered contrary to the best interest of the Nation as a whole.

VOTING RECORD

In order that the people of my district may be informed as to how I voted on major legislation which was presented during the past session of Congress, I submit the following detailed record:

Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
Jan. 30	H. J. Res. 117, authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East. On passage. (Passed 355 to 61.)	Yea.
Mar. 12	H. Res. 190, requesting the President to indicate where substantial reductions in the 1958 budget may best be made. (Passed 219 to 178)	Yea.
Mar. 27	H. Res. 85, authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct studies and investigations, and to make inquiries relating to operation of the monetary and credit structure of the United States. (Defeated 174 to 225.)	Yea.
	H. R. 6287, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies for fiscal year 1958:	
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $30,000 the appropriation for 3 new positions in the Department of Labor to handle international labor affairs in South America and the Near East. (Passed 286 to 126.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $204,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of the Solicitor, Department of Labor. (Passed 241 to 171)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $46,300 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor. (Passed 246 to 169.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $136,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights. (Passed 137 to 275)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $442,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor. (Passed 214 to 206.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $12,186,000 funds for grants to States for unemployment compensation, thus eliminating an increase requested by Bureau of Budget over departmental request and eliminating contingency funds. (Passed 220 to 199.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $1,500,000 funds for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and provide same amount used in 1957. (Passed 253 to 167.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $263,800 the appropriation for new positions in the Mexican farm labor program. (Passed 342 to 167)	Yea.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $346,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Passed 217 to 201)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $31,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Women's Bureau. (Rejected 206 to 209)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $288,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor. (Passed 214 to 205)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $1,327,000 the increase in funds for expansion of the Food and Drug Administration. (Rejected 130 to 285)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to reduce by $1,482,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of Education. (Rejected 206 to 207)	Nay.
Apr. 4	On amendment to delete language providing $50,000,000 to municipalities for waste treatment works construction. (Rejected 185 to 231)	Nay.
May 15	H. R. 7441, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration for fiscal year 1958. On amendment to suspend operation of the soil-bank program at the end of fiscal year 1957 and to delete provision for $500,000,000 for the 1958 program. (Passed 192 to 187.)	Yea.
May 22	H. R. 7599, making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal year 1958:	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete $7,500,000 for construction of an additional House Office Building. (Rejected 176 to 206)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 278 to 93)	Yea.
May 29	H. R. 7665, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1958:	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to restore $313,000,000 of the committee cut of $2,586,775,000. (Rejected 151 to 242)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 394 to 1)	Yea.
June 5	H. Res. 259, providing for the consideration of H. R. 6127, providing means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons in the jurisdiction of the United States. On passage. (Passed 290 to 117.)	Yea.
June 18	H. R. 6127, providing means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States:	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to add provision for jury trial in contempt proceedings. (Rejected 158 to 251)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 286 to 126)	Yea.
June 18	H. R. 7221, making supplemental appropriations for 1957. On motion to agree to Senate amendment providing $14,000,000 for initiation of Federal flood-insurance program. (Rejected 186 to 218.)	Nay.
June 25	H. R. 7963, amending the Small Business Act of 1953, making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency. On passage. (Passed 392 to 2)	Yea.
June 26	H. R. 6287, making appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for fiscal year 1958. On motion to recommit the conference report. (Rejected 73 to 321.)	Nay.
July 10	H. R. 8240, authorizing certain construction at military installations. On amendment deleting from bill section requiring congressional review of action by Defense Department to eliminate activities competing with small business. (Rejected 183 to 230.)	Nay.
July 10	H. R. 7390, providing for limitation and regulation of the use of advisory committees within the executive branch. On motion to recommit to the Committee on Government Operations with instructions to receive further testimony from the Department of Defense and the Post Office Department. (Rejected 183 to 225.)	Nay.
July 12	H. R. 72, amending the World War Veterans' Act of 1924 to restrict the transfer of estates of incompetent veterans derived from compensation and pensions. On motion to recommit. (Passed 191 to 161.)	Nay.
July 19	S. 2130, the Mutual Security Act of 1957:	
	On motion to recommit to delete provisions creating the development loan fund. (Rejected 181 to 227)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 254 to 154)	Yea.
July 23	H. R. 2474, providing for a $546 increase in basic salary of employees in the postal field service. On passage. (Passed 379 to 38)	Yea.
July 25	H. R. 1, providing for Federal assistance to States for school construction. On motion to strike the enacting clause (and prevent further consideration of the bill). (Passed 208 to 203.)	Nay.
July 31	S. 1856, establishing the Airways Modernization Board to provide for the development and modernization of navigation and traffic-control facilities. On passage. (Passed 375 to 17.)	Yea.
Aug. 7	H. R. 9131, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1958:	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce appropriation of new funds for TVA by $9,784,000. (Rejected 158 to 244)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 330 to 75)	Yea.
Aug. 7	H. Res. 362, providing for the consideration of H. R. 7244, amending the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, permitting deductions for a self-help meat promotion program. On passage. (Defeated 175 to 216.)	Nay.
Aug. 9	H. R. 2462, providing an 11 percent across-the-board salary increase for classified Federal employees:	
	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 70 to 319)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 329 to 58)	Yea.
Aug. 13	H. R. 5836, increasing certain postal rates. On passage. (Passed 256 to 129)	Yea.
Aug. 14	S. 2130, the Mutual Security Act of 1957. On adoption of conference report increasing amount authorized by House by $250,000,000 and extending development loan fund to 1960. (Adopted 226 to 163.)	Yea.
Aug. 14	S. 1383, amending the Interstate Commerce Act to change the requirements for obtaining a freight forwarder permit. On passage. (Passed 177 to 176)	Yea.
Aug. 15	H. R. 9302, making appropriations for mutual security for fiscal year 1958:	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to increase various items by $715,000,000. (Rejected 129 to 254)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 252 to 130)	Yea.
Aug. 19	H. R. 7993, providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. (Passed 242 to 94.)	Yea.
Aug. 21	H. R. 9131, making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1958 (conference report). On motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment striking out funds for construction of an additional airport in or near Washington, D. C. (Rejected 125 to 253.)	Yea.
Aug. 21	H. R. 9379, making appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal year 1958. On amendment restoring $30,000,000 for industry cooperative program. (Passed 214 to 135.)	Yea.
Aug. 27	H. Res. 410, providing for House agreement to Senate amendments to H. R. 6127 (civil rights bill) with a further amendment limiting jury trials in criminal contempt proceedings:	
	On ordering the previous question. (Passed 274 to 101)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 279 to 97)	Yea.
Aug. 27	H. R. 7915, clarifying the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case which opened FBI files to perusal of defendants under certain circumstances in Federal court cases. On passage. (Passed 351 to 17.)	Yea.
Aug. 28	S. 2792, amending the immigration laws so as to facilitate the entry into the United States of certain adopted children and other relatives of United States citizens. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. (Passed 293 to 58.)	Yea.

A Report to the People of the Fourth Congressional District of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I intend to comment today on the work of the 1st session of the 85th Congress which in some way affects the residents of Oregon's 4th Congressional District.

There are areas in which I believe this Congress could have dealt more effectively.

Certainly the problems of inadequate school construction continue to plague us. Inadequate farm legislation is a monument to a kind man's tragic inability to see that the modern farm family is being cast adrift.

The small-business man, and there are thousands in my district, continues to suffer. He is thwarted by a law which limits to $250,000 the money he may borrow for firm improvements or expansion.

Congressional pressure and lusty howls from citizens did force the President to follow congressional direction and lower Federal Housing Administration down-payment loans. This will bolster the economy of the Fourth District. The Housing Act of 1957 falls far short of the legislation I introduced, which would have decreased interest rates, expanded

the lending facilities of the Federal National Mortgage Association and speeded public housing starts previously authorized by Congress.

Statehood bills for Alaska and Hawaii once again failed to reach the floor.

An Alaskan bill was reported favorably from committee, but was bottled up in the Rules Committee. Hawaiian legislation is pending in the Interior and Insular Affairs Territories Subcommittee.

Inequities in our social-security laws have not been corrected. That will be a major problem facing Congress next session.

A postal rate-increase bill passed by the House was held up in the Senate.

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which I am a member, approved legislation increasing first-class mail to 4 cents, airmail to 7 cents, and the once penny postcard to 3 cents. Costs in second- and third-class mail were increased. More than 100 persons testified before the committee during the session.

Like most of the people who write to me, I oppose the suggested increases until thorough study is made. I agree that first-class mail, which is nearly self-sufficient, should not have to bear the burden of second- and third-class mail.

I have introduced legislation—H. R. 7138—which asks that congressional policy for the determination of postal rates and fees be established. The bill is pending before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

WAR, PEACE, AND THE HYDROGEN BOMB

Beyond the boundaries of the Fourth District, yet directly affecting every resident, are the problems of war and peace and nuclear energy. Joint Atomic Energy Committee hearings definitely established that no one really knows the good and bad aspects of nuclear testing. Atomic Energy Commission experts disagree with other leading physicists as to fallout hazards. It is difficult for citizen or Congressman to know what to believe.

Early this session Senator NEUBERGER and I introduced identical legislation which would provide for research, study, and prevention and treatment of effects of atomic and nuclear radiation on human health, development, and living conditions. The bill—H. R. 4820 in the House—calls for the establishment of a radiation health institute.

Later I introduced H. R. 8269, which would prohibit further testing by explosion of nuclear devices as long as all other countries refrain. This proposal is supported by such world citizens as Dwight Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, and Albert Schweitzer.

MAJOR LEGISLATION

Among the more important issues to face the House this year were the following:

First. The President's Mideast doctrine authorizing him to undertake a program of military and economic cooperation with Middle Eastern nations in order to counteract communism. Agreed to, 355 to 61, January 30, 1957—Democrats, 188 to 35; Republicans, 167 to 26. A yea vote supported the President's position. I voted "yea."

Second. Patman resolution authorizing an investigation of national monetary and credit policies by the House Banking and Currency Committee. Rejected, 174 to 225—Democrats, 172 to 38; Republicans, 2 to 185—March 27, 1957. President opposed resolution by Representative PATMAN, of Texas. I approved the resolution.

Third. Civil-rights bill: Passed the House June 18, 1957, 286 to 126—Democrats, 118 to 107; Republicans, 168 to 19. I voted "yea."

Fourth. Legislation to amend the Small Business Act of 1953 and make the Small Business Administration a permanent agency—H. R. 7963—passed House, 392 to 2, June 25, 1957—Democrats, 205 to 1; Republicans, 187 to 1. I voted "yea."

Fifth. Mutual Security Act of 1957—S. 2130—passed House, 254 to 154, July 19, 1957—Democrats, 135 to 78; Republicans, 119 to 76. I approved passage.

Sixth. Postal pay-increase bill passed House, 379 to 38, on July 23, 1957—Democrats, 217 to 9; Republicans, 162 to 29. I voted for passage. President opposed.

Seventh. School Construction Assistance Act of 1957—H. R. 1—killed when enacting clause struck by vote of 208 to 203—Democrats, 97 to 126; Republicans, 111 to 77. I voted "nay"; that is, against killing bill.

Eighth. Postal Rate Increase Act of 1957—H. R. 5836—raising first-, second-, and third-class mail rates. I opposed passage of bill, which passed, 256 to 129—Democrats, 85 to 125; Republicans, 171 to 4. President supported bill.

SECURITY, NOT WASTE

Before continuing to less-controversial matters, I want to comment on the so-called loyalty-security bill, S. 1411. As passed by the Senate, the legislation was noncontroversial and clarified suspension provisions relative to Government employees. As amended in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, it became a threat to every Government worker.

Because Representative HOLIFIELD and I believe this is an attempt, for no good reason, to create a security interest where none exists, we have filed a minority report against the bill as amended. We believe it is an unreasonable attempt to reverse the Supreme Court and is spite legislation. We urge full hearings on it.

BUILDING THE FUTURE

Too many promising students drop out of college or never have an opportunity to further their study because of inadequate finances. A need for Federal study in this field is evident. The question is: Should aid be in the form of self-sustaining loans or as outright gifts based on ability?

My H. R. 6212 would provide for national scholarships for college and university undergraduate study. It is pending before the Education and Labor Special Education Subcommittee. Hearings on this subject are scheduled, including one in Portland this fall. The Soviet Union provides higher education for capable scholars free of charge. This sort of assistance is pushing the Soviets ahead of the United States in such fields as science and engineering.

HELP FOR TODAY

Throughout the world thousands of orphans are neglected, spurned and even disliked by their countrymen. They are children of mixed blood, and the homes they need and seek seem to be waiting in the United States.

I introduced H. R. 3783 on January 28, 1957, which would amend the existing immigration laws and permit entry into the United States of 10,000 orphans who are under 12 years of age. This was identical to legislation originated and introduced by Senator NEUBERGER. Our bills became the basis for a section of the Immigration Subcommittee chairman's bill which passed Congress. In its final form it permits entry of an unlimited number of orphans under age 14 until June 30, 1959. Proxy adoptions are permitted.

FEDERAL-STATE COOPERATION—WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

The Federal Government and individual States join forces in many areas to improve living conditions and boost living standards.

For example, more than $300,000 in Federal assistance went to the cities of Albany, Lebanon, North Bend, and Roseburg in fiscal 1957 under provisions of the Water Pollution Control Act. Congress has appropriated $45 million for fiscal 1958 and Oregon's share is $651,575. Communities interested should contact the Oregon State Board of Health, Portland.

The Fourth District's share last fiscal year was $387,241.59 of the State's $1,080,054, distributed as follows:

Albany, $18,060 of $60,200 for sewage-treatment plant.

Lebanon, $13,300.09 of $44,334 for sewage-treatment plant.

North Bend, $5,881.50 of $19,605, raw sewage pump station.

Roseburg, $250,000 of $995,915 for sewage-treatment plant.

Drain, $19,781.40 of $65,938 for treatment plant and outfall sewer.

LIBRARY SERVICES ACT

Another area in Federal aid in rural library development. By July 1, 1958, Oregon will receive $116,941 from the Library Services Act, designed by the 84th Congress in 1956. Fourth District benefits include services of a consultant field worker, bookmobile exhibits in Josephine and Coos Counties and bookmobile sampling and cooperative cataloging in Jackson County. Congress authorized maximum $7,500,000 for each of the 5 years the program is to run. This Congress appropriated $5 million, double the fiscal 1957 amount. Oregon's EDITH GREEN helped draft initial legislation.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Existing housing legislation makes possible urban planning assistance and the urban renewal programs which benefit the district. Under the former at least $10,400 has come to Fourth District cities whose planning programs were approved. A lump sum is awarded the State and then used by the Univer-

sity of Oregon's bureau of municipal research to aid in providing planning assistance. Urban planning goals aid smaller cities and help prevent slum conditions. 1957 grants in the district are as follows:

Albany, $3,000, February 21; one pending.

Grants Pass, Medford, North Bend, pending.

Sutherlin, $6,400, February 21.

Sweet Home, $1,000, February 21, one pending.

Eugene-Springfield, continuing project underway, $12,000 application pending.

Urban renewal, a second program, was initiated in the 1949 Housing Act, and provides for city improvement. Springfield has qualified and a sum of $445,757 has been reserved for that city's Third Street project. To date $65,975 approved by URA for preliminaries. Last March 31, the city received $18,900. Communities interested must display initiative and interest. Contact point in region is Housing and Home Finance Agency office: Flood Building, Ninth Floor, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, Mr. M. Justin Herman.

HOUSING LEGISLATION

The new housing legislation contains these major provisions:

First. Authorizes lowering of down payments on FHA-insured home loans to 3 percent on the first $10,000 of appraised value, 15 percent of the next $6,000, and 30 percent of the excess up to a maximum of $20,000 for a 1- or 2-family residence.

Second. Increases Federal National Mortgage Association authority to borrow from the public by $650 million to finance its purchase of FHA and VA-backed mortgages in the secondary market.

Third. Authorizes an additional $360 million in capital grants for slum clearance and urban renewal for 1 fiscal year.

Fourth. Directs the FHA and VA to impose discount controls, but permits them to vary in accordance with mortgage terms, geographical area, and other pertinent factors.

The conference report eliminated Senate proposals to allow over-income tenants to remain in public housing projects and to abolish the workable program requirement for such projects, but it also killed the House-approved amendment restricting future public housing units to those necessary to house families displaced by governmental action.

There are many areas which should be improved. However, there is, in the legislation as approved, considerable hope for the improvement of the slowed-down housing industry.

I believe that my bill, H. R. 4821, prepared after considerable work on the part of many persons, would have been more helpful. I intend to press for its enactment. It contains six major points:

First. Better the field of sales housing mortgage insurance by increasing the maximum mortgage amount to be insured by FHA and to decrease the required down payment. It would boost the mortgage loan insurance provision from the single-family residence maximum of $20,000 to $30,000 and decrease the FHA loan rate from 5 to 4½ percent.

Second. Benefit middle-income housing by replacing present inadequate programs for middle-income housing.

Third. Amend the National Housing Act by authorizing the Commissioner to make direct loans to eligible borrowers up to $10,000.

Fourth. Release for construction as needed 810,000 low-rent public-housing units authorized by Housing Act of 1949.

Fifth. Make direct supplemental veterans' loans available in urban areas as well as rural areas, and make $1 billion available for direct loans to veterans.

Sixth. Use money now in trust funds of SSA by VA through its National Service Life Insurance operation and make money available to eligible borrowers to correct the tight-money problem in home-loan field, create general increase in borrowing for home construction, and a following upsurge in the use of lumber and lumber products.

DISTRICT ECONOMY

Army civil works functions and a big Bureau of Reclamation project will bring $13,062,000 in Federal funds to the Fourth Congressional District in fiscal year 1958.

Each project is aimed at developing the district to a point where maximum usage of natural resources is possible. It should be noted that the nearly $20 million my district receives is a portion of the United States total of $858 million. The following chart provides a summary of appropriations and their use in the district:

Summary—Appropriations, Army civil functions and Bureau of Reclamation

Projects	Cost	Benefit	Status	Amount in administration budget	Engineers state amount usable in fiscal 1958	Recommended by Congressman PORTER	Final appropriation
ARMY CIVIL FUNCTIONS							
A. NOT STARTED							
I. Navigation, channels and harbors:							
Coos-Millicoma River	$487,000	Navigation	Authorized	0	$19,000	$19,000	(1)
Rogue River Harbor, Gold Beach	3,950,000	Provides jetties, channel improvement.	do	$21,000	250,000	250,000	$21,000
II. Flood control, local protection:							
Willamette River Basin, channel improvement, major drainage.	2,480,000	Flood control	do	0	86,000	86,000	(1)
Willamette River Basin, channel cleaning, snagging.	2,480,000	Reduce bank erosion, rectify channel.	do	0	25,000	25,000	(1)
Blue River Reservoir	13,700,000	Flood control	do	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Fall Creek Reservoir	18,800,000	Flood control, irrigation	do	0	150,000	150,000	150,000
Holley Reservoir	12,500,000	Flood control	do	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
III. Multiple-purpose projects including power: Green Peter.	58,400,000	Flood control, power	do	225,000	500,000	500,000	225,000
B. CONTINUING PROJECTS							
I. Navigation, channels and harbors: Chetco River small boat channel and jetty.	425,000	Navigation, stabilization of channel.	Over half completed	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
II. Flood control, local protection:							
Amazon Creek	1,168,000	Flood control	⅔ completed	446,000	446,000	446,000	446,000
Willamette River bank protection	11,600,000	Flood control, bank protection	52 percent complete	300,000	800,000	800,000	450,000
III. Multiple-purpose projects including power:							
Cougar Reservoir	39,900,000	Power, storage, flood control	Under construction	6,570,000	6,570,000	6,570,000	6,570,000
Hills Creek Reservoir	34,500,000	Power, flood control	do	4,800,000	4,800,000	4,800,000	4,800,000
C. EXAMINATIONS AND SURVEYS							
Rogue River and tributaries survey report	134,900	Flood control, power, irrigation	Underway	0	44,000	44,000	[2] 40,000
Umpqua Harbor-River	7,000	Navigation	Authorized February 1956	0	7,000	7,000	[2] 7,000
Coquille River and tributaries	35,000	Flood control	Underway	25,000	25,000	25,000	[2] 25,000
Coquille River resurvey report	3,500	Navigation	Authorized	0	3,500	3,500	[2] 3,500
Umpqua River report	140,600	Flood control	Underway	27,100	27,100	27,100	[2] 27,100
Umpqua River at Winchester Bay	5,000	Navigation	do	2,800	2,800	2,800	[2] 2,800
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION							
CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION							
Rogue River Basin talent division	19,200,000	Flood control, irrigation, power	Under construction	6,041,000	6,041,000	6,041,000	[2] 6,041,000

[1] No appropriation.

[2] Funds from a general increase with distribution as corps deems necessary.

SUMMARY

It is difficult to describe in the few words available here all of the things that a Congressman does to represent his constituents. One of his biggest, and in many ways most rewarding, jobs is reading and answering the mail from the district, providing information on specific subjects, giving advice on problems involving legislation, smoothing the way in contacts by constituents with Federal agencies, agreeing—and sometimes disagreeing—with correspondents regarding certain bills up for action.

I estimate that my office staff and myself spend at least half of our time answering mail from the seven counties of southwestern Oregon. The office receives between 40 and 60 letters on an average day, most of them from the Fourth District of Oregon, nearly all of them requiring answers, and many of them requiring considerable time and effort to gather the information necessary for an intelligent reply.

It has been my intention to answer every inquiry received from my constituents. I believe that I have accomplished that goal.

It seems to me that the people I represent may be interested in what I consider to have been the major events, the highlights, of the past 8 months of operation of my Washington, D. C., office. Therefore, I am including in the RECORD the following outline report:

MONTHLY HIGHLIGHTS—JANUARY

Congress urged to increase Cougar Dam appropriation to $6,720,000, $150,000 above President's request. United States Corps of Engineers asked to consider $400,000 for flood-control project protecting Oakridge and Willamette City from further flood threats. Legislation introduced to authorize Florence harbor improvement—$1,693,100 to extend north jetty at Siuslaw mouth and deepen channel entrance to 18 feet at bar and provide 16-foot inner channel 200 feet wide. Engineers say not feasible to undertake emergency flood-control works to protect Willamette City from high water on the Middle Fork of Willamette, say Hills Creek Dam will do job 3 years hence. Mysterious disappearance of Gerald Lester Murphy, Eugene, linked with disappearance of famed Basque scholar, Jesus de Galindez, New York City. Eugene Water Board asked to explain publicly future plans for Beaver Marsh. Green Peter Dam listed for only $225,000 in President's budget, Oregon delegation Democrats fight for increase. Engineers budget $21,000 for Rogue River harbor for fiscal 1958 and list Chetco River proposed construction at $200,000. Talent project becomes economy victim, sliced $1 million by Bureau of Budget to $6,041,000.

FEBRUARY

Life magazine says Gerry Murphy piloted plane carrying Professor Galindez to Dominican Republic. I introduce legislation to reinvest portion of yearly profits from national forests in forest maintenance and development. I am named to Post Office and Civil Service Committee and to Subcommittee on Civil Service. Senator NEUBERGER and I introduce National Radiation Health Institute bill. I push for installation of Navy oceanographic installation near Coos Bay. Navy announces it will place installation at Coos Head. Keith Skelton, my district office manager, initiates congressional clinics. Army engineers approve $200,000 to start improvements on Siuslaw Harbor in work to open port eventually to oceangoing trade. I ask House Appropriation Subcommittee to increase funds for access roads in national forests, ask that $2,664,000 be added; I note that Department of Interior this year has requested full authorized amount for timber access roads in the O. and C. lands under their jurisdiction but that Department of Agriculture did not for national forests. Senators MORSE and NEUBERGER and I term United States Department of Agriculture decision to reduce Three Sisters Wilderness Area by 53,000 acres hasty, point out a wiser decision would have resulted when land use and scientific studies in progress are completed. I join Representatives ULLMAN and GREEN in fight against limitation to public assistance administration funds placed in the urgent deficiency appropriation bill. I introduce housing legislation—described in detail above.

MARCH

Intention of introducing bill to authorize construction of remaining structures proposed in Rogue Basin project announced. Ways and Means Chairman JERE COOPER tells me excise tax on transportation will command our most serious attention. Oregon Democratic delegation works for $500,000 to complete reconstruction engineering and design work on Green Peter Dam project. Sum is more than twice that requested in budget and would speed actual construction by 1 year. I press for appropriations for review survey looking to development of deepwater channel at mouth of Umpqua. Effort to get Port Chicago Navy ammunition supply depot relocated in Coos Bay area nixed by Navy. Legislation introduced to provide 100,000 national scholarships. EWEB indicates continuing interest in Beaver Marsh hydroelectric project. Oregon Representatives and Senators introduce legislation asking for special stamp to honor Oregon's 100th anniversary in 1959. Hawaiian Delegate JOHN BURNS and I propose U. S. S. *Arizona* memorial at Pearl Harbor, funds to be raised by public subscription. I ask Federal Power Commission to cancel EWEB license extension to build Beaver Marsh project on upper McKenzie. Roseburg receives $250,000 Federal grant for pollution control.

APRIL

I demand Postmaster General Summerfield resign on grounds he has acted as a poor businessman and in bad faith in connection with deficiency appropriation request. Conference with United States Department of Agriculture officials on need for aid to Croft Easter-lily bulbgrowers in Curry County where symphylids did $100,000 damage in 1956. Medford receives $48,750 grant-in-aid from Civil Aeronautics Board for municipal airport under 1958 Federal-aid airport program. Grants Pass receives $56,611 under Federal aid airport program. Eugene receives $137,403 under Federal-aid airport program. EWEB withdraws FPC application for preliminary permit to build power features at Cougar Dam. I visit district during Easter recess and attend more than 20 meetings. Introduction of legislation to give Lillie Moore property in Roseburg to Douglas County Historical Society.

MAY

Federal assistance authorized in preparation of works plan on Lynx Hollow watershed near Cottage Grove under authority of Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. I introduce legislation to establish National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, calling for genuine examination and appraisal of recreation values. I testify before House Small Business Committee, say high interest, tight-credit policies have not helped Oregon economy; point out need to increase loan ceiling of $250,000. National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth writes me that recreation survey of McKenzie River headwaters will be made at earliest opportunity "in accordance with your request." Vote against soil-bank program. Testimony before Public Works Committee for increased Green Peter appropriation, pointing out project will prevent annual damages of $1,589,700. Receive special recognition from Jackson County Young Farmers for attempting to obtain adequate recreation, irrigation, and flood-control program in Rogue Basin. Oregon Democratic delegation ask House Appropriations Subcommittee to add $14,118,880 to funds proposed by administration for Oregon water-resources development. National Rivers and Harbors Congress meeting in Washington, D. C., recommends United States Congress speed studies of Rogue River flood-control project and navigation project at Florence. I voice opposition to first-class mail price increases. Press for $19,000 Federal grant to get Coos-Millicoma Rivers dredging project underway; project removed from budget in economy move.

JUNE

I visit on different weekends Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, Colombia in effort to gain further information on Gerald Murphy case and return convinced United States policy in Latin America is ruining United States prestige. Introduce legislation to wipe out all fast tax writeoffs, except for new weapons, retroactive to January 1, 1957. Regretfully decline invitations to visit other Latin American countries opposing dictatorships until after session ends. Receive letter from Regional Forester J. Herbert Stone, Portland, stating that Beaver Marsh project on McKenzie would detract in a substantial way from upper river beauty. I write that public works projects are seed corn rather than pork barrel. House subcommittee does not increase Green Peter funds. Substantial increase in allowable cut in Siuslaw Forest predicted by me. Testimony before public works subcommittee

of House Committee on Appropriations to call for $20 million for Army Civil Works and Bureau of Reclamation projects in fourth district. Tentative Rogue bill redrafted; bill calls for construction of Lewis Creek Dam, Reservoir, and powerplant, and so forth, but could be amended if engineers' survey report deems necessary. AFL–CIO requests Congress to initiate full-scale investigation of Galindez-Murphy case and all its ramifications. I move for permanent subcommittees on Federal salaries, pensions, civil-service matters, and postal affairs to spread work of Post Office and Civil Service Committee and reduce control of chairman, lose in 11 to 11 tie vote in committee session. I introduced resolutions requesting study of Canada's family allowance program. Inquiry by me reveals that a nylonlike fiber may be manufactured from lignin, a substance which binds wood fibers in a tree. Harry Holt brings to Washington information regarding need for passage of orphan legislation. Learn Federal grand jury started study of Gerald Murphy case in March.

JULY

Dominican Republic hires New York State attorneys to conduct investigation into death of Dr. Galindez. My amendment banning aid to Latin American dictators overwhelmingly defeated. Coos-Curry Cooperative receives $702,000 REA loan for expansion. Nickel Corporation of America executive praises me for sincere concern with anything which will build up the economy of the area he represents in the national legislature. I ask investigation of Southern Pacific log hauling rates, after terming them discriminatory. Suggest Southern Pacific try diesel car passenger service for 1 year between Eugene and Ashland; Southern Pacific says no. Public works projects in fourth district uncut by Senate Appropriations Committee; Willamette River bank protection increased $150,000; Fall Creek Dam allocated $150,000. Bill introduced to rescind authorization for Waldo Lake tunnel in eastern Lane County to preserve lake in natural state. I inspect prefabrication plant in Lafayette, Ind., learn plant managers need lumber of specified lengths. I suggest Organization of American States investigate disappearances of Murphy and Galindez. Save the McKenzie River Association expresses appreciation for my work on behalf of Beaver Marsh. Rogue River bill introduced, $66 million would be authorized for completion.

AUGUST

Jose Figueres, President of Republic of Costa Rica, writes me about my anti-dictator stand: "destiny placed you in a position to do a great deal of good for democracy in the American Hemisphere, and fitted you with the appropriate qualifications for the job." Southern Pacific sees no serious boxcar shortage to hamper late summer shipping demands for lumber and harvested grain in western Oregon. Meet the Press has me as guest. Western Congressmen urge more Federal contracts for west coast shipyards. Introduction of legislation to use Railroad Retirement Act funds for investment in FHA mortgages to boost interest for the pension fund and help the building industry. Funds tentatively available for Army engineer surveys for six proposed projects in southwestern Oregon for about $105,000: $40,000 for report on Rogue River and tributaries; $7,000 to complete the Umpqua harbor and river report; $2,500 for Coquille River report to determine advisability of extending north jetty and deepening entrance channel; $27,100 for Umpqua River flood control report; $25,000 to complete flood control survey of Coquille River and tributaries; $2,800 for survey at Salmon Harbor, Winchester Bay. House passes U. S. S. *Arizona* memorial legislation. Subcommittee unanimously okays transfer of part of Lillie Moore property to Douglas County Historical Society; House to act on measure next session. Resolution to authorize survey on feasibility of small boat basin for Siuslaw Harbor delayed until next year. I introduce legislation to save National Grange headquarters.

POSTSESSION

In September the President signed orphan legislation into law, vetoed Federal employees' pay raise legislation.

Headlines Cannot Hide Labor's Great Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts as printed in a recent issue of the Machinist from a timely radio interview given by the able and conscientious Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] on the work of the Senate committee investigating improper activities in the labor-management field and on the constructive record of American labor.

There has been a welter of unfavorable and unfair publicity recently directed at labor generally. It is heartening, therefore, to have one who has sifted the evidence carefully, as Senator KENNEDY has, present this well-balanced and thoughtful analysis of the abuses revealed on the part of a tiny fraction of labor leaders, the means of clearing them up, and the many positive contributions of labor to American life.

Senator KENNEDY's warnings against shotgun legislation against all labor are timely. The complicity of businessmen in the abuses is also noted. He properly points out the responsibility of rank-and-file union members, employers, local government officials, and the public generally for helping to improve present conditions.

I hope many Members of Congress and citizens generally will study this helpful and informative interview.

There being no objection, the excerpts of the radio interview were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEADLINES CAN'T HIDE LABOR'S GREAT WORK

Mr. HAMILTON. Senator KENNEDY, do you believe that the labor movement will benefit or suffer from these hearings?

Senator KENNEDY. Well, I think the long-range objectives of our hearings, of course, should be, and I believe are, to help the labor movement. And I'm confident the trade-union movement as a whole will, in the long run, recognize that this investigation has been beneficial.

That certainly has been the position that the leadership of the AFL–CIO under George Meany has taken. They've given wonderful cooperation to our committee. They're taken steps with us to oust these corrupt officials. They have taken what I consider to be the most significant and admirable step in the history of the American trade-union movement by adopting an excellent hard-hitting set of ethical practices codes.

I don't think any other group in the country at any time in our history has gone so far as the labor movement has in setting up standards, fiduciary trusteeship standards, for labor-union officials.

And I think that it's an appropriate time, in considering where we're going in this investigation, for all of us in the Congress, particularly we in the Senate who serve on that committee, to remember that there is no basis for any general denunciation of labor based on these hearings.

There are, roughly, half a million local union officials in this country, another half a million business agents, lawyers, and other paid officials, and another 750,000 shop stewards and other employed in serving the labor movement. Of these nearly 2 million labor leaders, our committee has neither investigated nor received complaints about more than the tiniest fraction—considerably less than one one-hundredth of 1 percent.

The union movement, like any other part of American life—including political life—has its share of wrongdoers and corruption. When we hear about bankers who embezzle funds or financiers who use money entrusted to them in order to further their own interests, or politicians who betray the public trust, we don't condemn all bankers and all financiers and all politicians. So I hope the American people will keep a perspective about this investigation. It's a job that needs to be done, but it's a job that should be considered in the light of the great contribution that labor has made.

Mr. CONN. Senator KENNEDY, you're highly regarded as a friend of organized labor. I would like to ask you whether you feel that there are others in addition to Congress who have, perhaps, the primary responsibility to help clean up this situation?

Senator KENNEDY. Very definitely. And I say that with well over 11 years in the Congress, over 6 years in the House and 5 in the Senate of being a member of the Labor Committee, I'm aware of what we can do and I'm aware of what we cannot do. And I think that this problem is not one for the Congress alone, or really even primarily.

First, I think that local union members have the most important responsibility of all to police their own operations and provide their own safeguards. They must attend their union meetings, insist upon their rights, review carefully the use of their dues, select wisely the leaders whom they will entrust with their union's good name and authority, and purge those leaders (however popular or powerful) who fail to live up to that trust.

When they do that, of course, it makes it easy for those of us who are friends of labor to say that there is no need for any repressive legislation; that labor itself is doing

the job. And I think that's the theory that's activated the ethical practices committee of the AFL–CIO.

Of course it is true that in some of these cases we've looked into, it's not been the fault of the rank and file. These mobsters don't gain control through honest ballots and can't be ousted through honest ballots. In fact, under some union trusteeships, no ballots are ever cast. Officials are appointed from the outside and remain in office indefinitely.

And then I think it's important to realize that employers and businessmen also have a major responsibility in this field. We've seen cases where employers engaged in collusive deals with some of these racketeers to prevent unions from coming in, or in order to have a sweetheart contract in which an abnormally low wage is paid.

I think it's a shocking fact that so many employers, large and small, have collaborated in and benefited from these labor racketeering practices; obtaining monopolies for themselves and forcing their competitors in some cases out of business. I think these businessmen, too, must perform their civic responsibilities before this cancer of racketeering can be eliminated from our economic system.

And then, of course, local government has an important responsibility. Most of the things we've investigated have been against the law locally. If the local laws are administered effectively, then there's no need for overriding Federal laws.

And then I think, of course, the general public has the greatest responsibility of all to insist on the highest ethical standards by businessmen, by labor leaders, and by public officials.

Mr. HAMILTON. Senator KENNEDY, you're chairman of the permanent Labor Legislation Subcommittee, and I believe this committee will have the final responsibility for considering and sending to the Senate floor all the legislative proposals that may result from the McClellan hearings.

Well, now I wonder is there not a danger that some Members of Congress, including perhaps even some members of the investigation committee, will seek to use these hearings to justify unduly restrictive antilabor legislation.

Senator KENNEDY. Well, I think that there's obviously that danger that these hearings will be used for that purpose. I think there's a danger of injuring honest union leaders and members with legislation that's fired in a shotgun fashion to get rid of some racketeers, but, nevertheless, also limits the honest union activity of responsible union leaders.

For example, I don't see anything that we've looked into that justifies the passing of a national right-to-work law under which Congress would not permit employers and employees to bargain for a union shop, regardless of whether State law permits them to do so or not.

Nor has anything been disclosed by our investigation to justify the necessity of placing unions fully under the antitrust laws, as though union membership were a commodity bought and sold on the market. Union collusion with employers in order to restrain trade to obtain a monopoly, of course, is already covered by those laws.

Nor have the hearings disclosed any necessity of denying the right of union members to contribute voluntarily to candidates of their choice, Republicans or Democrats, since it's apparent that the racketeers have other means of obtaining their goals.

Mr. CONN. To sum it up, Senator KENNEDY, how do you think the reputation of the labor movement in general is emerging from this investigation? Isn't there a danger here, too, that some of the enemies of labor will seek to use these hearings to tarnish the whole labor movement and the leadership?

Senator KENNEDY. Yes, I think there is that danger, of course, against which responsible officials in the labor movement and in the Government and in the press and the general public must be on guard. These hearings have brought some sensational headlines, which some people will read as representing the whole picture. Others make sweeping statements generalizing from a few bad examples in order to prove their previous prejudices against the whole labor movement.

Moreover, these are sometimes complex matters, and there will inevitably be some who see extortion in every proper union attempt to bargain with employers, some who see conspiracies in every labor-union boycott permissible under the law and traditional in our history.

But these people don't belong in the labor movement and I think that we're helping the labor movement get rid of them. So this is a difficult period for the labor movement; but, of course, labor and the public and all of us will be much better off when these people who don't belong in the labor movement are thrown out.

After all, the labor movement has made a great contribution to the country, and its many members. It has raised the standard of living, brought beneficial legislation and the 40-hour week and all the rest of these things. And I think it's important that that movement continue, that it be free and honest and responsible; and I'm hopeful that this investigation will serve as a right arm to those great many hundreds of thousands of responsible union leaders who only want to serve their membership and advance the reasonable and responsible interests of the labor movement as a whole.

Activities of the House Committee on Government Operations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE M. KILGORE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to present the following interim report on the activities of the Committee on Government Operations in the first 8 months of the 85th Congress.

JURISDICTION

The jurisdiction and duties of the Committee on Government Operations are set forth in rule XI (8) of the House of Representatives as follows:

All proposed legislation, messages, petitions, memorials, and other matters relating to * * * (a) budget and accounting measures, other than appropriations, and (b) reorganizations in the executive branch of the Government shall be referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

The Committee on Government Operations shall have the duty of—

(1) receiving and examining reports of the Comptroller General of the United States and of submitting such recommendations to the House as it deems necessary or desirable in connection with the subject matter of such reports;

(2) studying the operation of Government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and efficiency;

(3) evaluating the effects of laws enacted to reorganize the legislative and executive branches of the Government;

(4) studying intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities and between the United States and international organizations of which the United States is a member.

ORGANIZATION

In order to perform its functions and to carry out its duties as fully and as effectively as possible, the committee, under the leadership of its chairman, the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, of Illinois, at the beginning of the 84th Congress established seven regular subcommittees having agency and functional jurisdiction similar to corresponding subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations. These seven regular subcommittees, which cover the entire field of executive expenditures, were continued in the 85th Congress. Their names and chairmen are as follows:

Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee, Hon. WILLIAM L. DAWSON, chairman.

Military Operations Subcommittee, Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman.

Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, Hon. L. H. FOUNTAIN, chairman.

Public Works and Resources Subcommittee, Hon. EARL CHUDOFF, chairman.

International Operations Subcommittee, Hon. PORTER HARDY, JR., chairman.

Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee, Hon. JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman.

General Government Activities Subcommittee, Hon. JACK BROOKS, chairman.

In addition, three special subcommittees were organized to handle special problems. The first two listed are continuing their studies, and the last has almost completed work on the report of its investigations. The special subcommittees and their chairmen are:

Special Donable Property Subcommittee, Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, chairman.

Special Government Information Subcommittee, Hon. JOHN E. MOSS, chairman.

Special Subcommittee on Water Resources and Power, Hon. ROBERT E. JONES, chairman.

REPORTS

In the 1st 8 months of the 85th Congress, the Committee on Government Operations approved and submitted to the Congress 16 reports of an investigative nature. In addition, five committee prints consisting of staff studies or compilations were published. At the close of the first session a considerable number of reports and staff studies were under preparation. These will be considered by the subcommittees and the full committee early in the second session. A substantial number of hearings covering a wide range of subjects have been programed for the recess between sessions.

For convenience the published reports and committee prints are listed here with the name of the originating subcommittee. A more detailed discussion of the material will be found below in the breakdown of the committee's activities by subcommittee. In all cases where the hearings were held the transcripts have been printed.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

First report: No. 10, United States Aid Operations in Iran. Subcommittee on

International Operations, Congressman PORTER HARDY, JR., chairman.

Second report: No. 157, Availability of Information From Federal Departments and Agencies, Progress of Study, July–December 1956. Special Subcommittee on Government Information, Congressman JOHN E. MOSS, chairman.

Third report: No. 213, Private Electric Utilities' Organized Efforts To Influence the Secretary of the Interior, Ebasco Services, Inc., and Rocky Mountain Group. Subcommittee on Public Works and Resources, Congressman EARL CHUDOFF, chairman. Minority report filed.

Fourth report: No. 218, Availability of Power to Public Preference Customers From Central Valley Project, Roosevelt, Calif. Subcommittee on Public Works and Resources, Congressman EARL CHUDOFF, chairman. Minority report filed.

Fifth report: No. 449, Review of the Budget Formulation and Presentation Practices of the International Cooperation Administration. Subcommittee on International Operations, Congressman PORTER HARDY, JR., chairman.

Sixth report: No. 575, Replies from State and Local Governments to Questionnaire on Intergovernmental Relations. Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, Congressman L. H. FOUNTAIN, chairman.

Seventh report: No. 822, Defense Standardization Program. Subcommittee on Military Operations, Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman.

Eighth report: No. 839, Status of Civil Defense Legislation. Subcommittee on Military Operations, Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman. Minority report filed.

Ninth report: No. 840, Operations of the Virgin Islands Government and the Virgin Islands Corporation. Subcommittee on Public Works and Resources, Congressman EARL CHUDOFF, chairman.

Tenth report: No. 958, Military Tank Procurement. Subcommittee on Military Operations, Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman.

Eleventh report: No. 1166, State Department Public Opinion Polls. Subcommittee on International Operations, Congressman PORTER HARDY, JR., chairman.

Twelfth report: No. 1167, Railroad Accounting Procedures—Prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs, Congressman JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman.

Thirteenth report: No. 1168, Military Clothing Procurement. Subcommittee on Military Operations, Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman.

Fourteenth report: No. 1169, Letter Contracts and Contract Terminations in Military Procurement. Subcommittee on Military Operations, Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman.

Fifteenth report: No. 1175, Activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Relating to Polio Vaccine. Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, Congressman L. H. FOUNTAIN, chairman.

Sixteenth report: No. 1185, Army-Interior Reservoir Land Acquisition Policy. Subcommittee on Public Works and Resources, Congressman EARL CHUDOFF, chairman. Minority report filed.

COMMITTEE PRINTS

Questionnaire on administrative organization for public information activities.

Economic appraisal of the sugar operations of the Virgin Islands Corporation.

Reorganization by plan and by statute, 1946–56.

The budget process in the Federal Government.

Actions taken by departments and agencies on the lending agencies recommendations of the Hoover Commission.

LEGISLATION

The legislative jurisdiction of the Committee on Government Operations encompasses a wide range of very important governmental operations. It includes all matters relating to budgeting and accounting measures other than appropriations and all matters relating to reorganizations in the executive branch of the Government. In addition, property disposals and matters relating to Federal property and administrative services are referred to the committee. The committee studied a large number of legislative proposals and reported 15 favorably to the House. These are discussed more fully under the subcommittee breakdown below, but those reported are listed here for convenience, with the name of the subcommittee which initially considered them:

H. R. 3028, to provide for the relief of certain female members of the Air Force, and for other purposes. Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee.

H. R. 4945, providing for the conveyance of certain real property in West Palm Beach, Fla., to the Port of Palm Beach District. General Government Activities Subcommittee.

H. R. 5110, Public Law 85–51, amending the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended. General Government Activities Subcommittee.

H. R. 6182, to provide for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States to the former owners thereof. General Government Activities Subcommittee.

H. R. 6900, amending section 206 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, so as to enable the Comptroller General to make certain examinations of expenditures and more effectively to assist the Appropriations Committees in considering the budget. Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee.

H. R. 7081, providing for the removal of a cloud on the title to certain real property located in the State of Illinois. General Government Activities Subcommittee.

H. R. 7390, to amend the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, and for other purposes. Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee.

H. R. 7964, removing the limitation on the use of certain real property heretofore conveyed to the city of Austin, Tex., by the United States. General Government Activities Subcommittee.

H. R. 8002, to provide for improved methods of stating budget estimates and estimates for deficiency and supplemental appropriations. Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee.

H. R. 8195, to facilitate the payment of Government checks, and for other purposes. Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee.

H. R. 8364, further amending the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1959. Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee.

H. R. 8795, amending section 507 and subsection 602 (a) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended. Special Donable Property Subcommittee.

S. 806, Public Law 85–100, authorizing the Administrator of General Services to quitclaim all interest of the United States in and to a certain parcel of land in Indiana to the board of trustees for the Vincennes University, Vincennes, Ind. General Government Activities Subcommittee.

S. 1141, Public Law 85–81, authorizing and directing the Administrator of General Services to donate to the Philippine Republic certain records captured from insurrectors during 1899–1903. General Government Activities Subcommittee.

REORGANIZATION PLAN

Only one reorganization plan was transmitted to the 1st session of the 85th Congress by the President. This, Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1957, made a further distribution of the functions and assets of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and abolished the corporation.

No resolutions of disapproval were introduced in the House and the plan was allowed to take effect after study by the committee staff and consideration by committee members indicated no serious objection to the measure.

STUDY ON ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION, PROCEDURE AND PRACTICE

A comprehensive study of the administrative organization, procedure and practice of the Federal departments and agencies was commenced at the beginning of the 85th Congress. The committee staff had prepared a searching questionnaire on procedure and practice and asked 42 Federal departments and agencies to respond. The questionnaire was designed to provide an accurate and up-to-date picture of the status of administrative practice and procedural reform within the Federal agencies.

The staff has undertaken thorough and minute analysis of the responses. In addition, preparations have been made for hearings which will throw additional light on the current problems and suggested reforms in administrative procedure. A major product of the study will be making available in a single, authoritative source an evaluation of the effects of earlier proposals for adminis-

trative reform and the current status of administrative practice.

In the course of analyzing the responses to the questionnaire and preparing for hearings, the staff has conferred with interested persons and experts in administrative procedure. These include law professors, former and current Government officials, private practioners, and members of the staff of the Office of Administrative Procedure in the Department of Justice. A succinct and complete report encompassing all phases of the study will be ready by January 1958.

REVIEW OF AUDIT REPORTS BY THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

Pursuant to the duty and responsibility of the Committee on Government Operations as set forth in the rules of the House and by statute, the committee has established a procedure of review and analysis of the audit reports referred to it by the Comptroller General. Upon the direction of the chairman, a program of conferences between members of the committee staff and representatives from the General Accounting Office was established. These conferences were held after the staff had an opportunity to review, analyze, and study the audit reports. Staff conferences and other communications with agency officials were accomplished where it was deemed necessary or desirable to develop more fully the General Accounting Office findings and recommendations, or to assure proper compliance by the agency involved.

During the first 6½ months of this session the staff held conferences with representatives of the General Accounting Office on 20 different occasions discussing a total of 40 audit reports, involving a great many different and varied governmental activities and establishments. A report to the Congress on these audit reports is being prepared.

In addition members of the committee staff have undertaken advance work on a study and investigation of the European branch of the General Accounting Office and its audit reports. A report will be submitted to the Congress upon the completion of that study.

COMPILATION OF LEGISLATIVE ACTION ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT (HOOVER COMMISSION)

The committee has prepared an up-to-date and simplified compilation of all bills introduced in the House and Senate and of legislative action to carry out the recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government—Hoover Commission—in the 84th Congress and in the 1st session of the 85th. This document will be published in the form of a committee print in the very near future.

SUBCOMMITTEE BREAKDOWN

Following is a more detailed description of the committee's activities arranged according to the subcommittee's primarily interested in the subject matter involved:

EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION SUBCOMMITTEE, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, CHAIRMAN

First. Legislation: Seventy-four bills were referred to this subcommittee for consideration. Twenty-five dealt with budget and accounting matters. Fourteen proposed the creation of new departments or agencies of the Federal Government. Eleven dealt with Government competition with private enterprise. The other bills involved various matters under the jurisdiction of the subcommittee. All of these measures were carefully studied by the members and the staff and reports were requested and obtained from the various departments affected. Background material of various types was collected from proper outside sources where necessary for the information of the subcommittee and the proper evaluation of the measures.

(a) Improving Federal budgeting and appropriations procedures: After careful study and extensive hearings on all of the bills on this subject which provided a variety of approaches the subcommittee acted favorably on H. R. 8002 and H. R. 6900. Both of these measures were subsequently reported by the full committee with recommendations that they be passed by the House. H. R. 8002 would place Federal budgeting and appropriations on an annual accrued expenditures basis. It was based on a recommendation of the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government and supported by the Bureau of the Budget and the Comptroller General—see printed hearings and House Report No. 572. H. R. 6900 would enable the Comptroller General to make certain examinations of expenditures and more effectively assist the Appropriations Committees in considering the budget. This bill was approved by the Comptroller who recommended an amendment that was accepted by the subcommittee—see printed hearings and House Report No. 567.

(b) Standards for Government advisory committees: During the 84th Congress this subcommittee made an extensive inquiry into the operations of advisory committees to the various departments and agencies—see House Report No. 2894, 84th Congress, 2d session. The subcommittee's recommendations were put in the form of a bill, H. R. 7390, which established certain definite standards for the creation and functioning of such committees. The bill was approved after hearings and passed the House on July 10, 1957—see printed hearings and House Report No. 576.

(c) Validating certain improper payments to female Air Force personnel: At the request of the Department of Defense, Chairman DAWSON introduced and the subcommittee considered a bill, H. R. 3028, to validate certain payments made to female Air Force personnel by the Department of the Air Force and which were subsequently ruled illegal by the Comptroller General. The subcommittee recommended approval of the measure because of (a) the hardship which otherwise would be put on those who received the payments and (b) the expense of recoupment to the United States Government. The bill was reported favorably by the full committee and passed the House—see House Report No. 144. The House subsequently concurred in a Senate amendment designed to further insure that the situation could not arise again—Public Law No. 85-272.

(d) Procedures in the payment of Government checks: At the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, Chairman Dawson introduced H. R. 8195, a bill to facilitate the payment of Government checks, and for other purposes. This measure, a part of the joint accounting program, will produce economies in both the Treasury Department and the General Accounting Office. It will simplify and improve the accounting methods and procedures incident to the payment of Government checks which are lost, stolen, or destroyed, and related accounting operations now prescribed by law. Upon the subcommittee's recommendation, the bill was reported favorably by the full committee and passed the House—see House Report No. 666.

(e) Extending Reorganization Act of 1949: At the request of the President, the chairman introduced a bill, H. R. 6711, to extend the authority of the President to submit reorganization plans to the Congress. Prior authority expired on June 1, 1957. After hearings and deliberations, the subcommittee recommended that this authority be extended for 2 years and that the Reorganization Act of 1949 be amended to provide that reorganization plans could be disapproved by a simple majority vote of either House rather than by a constitutional majority.

H. R. 8364, a clean bill was reported favorably by the full committee and passed the House—see printed hearings and House Report No. 657. The Senate agreed to the House amendment and the bill became law—Public Law No. 85.

Second. Hoover Commission reports:

The subcommittee has continued its study of the reports of the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch referred to the Committee on Government Operations by the Speaker of the House. In the committee report on the Hoover report on food and clothing—House Report No. 2013, 84th Congress, 2d session—released on April 18, 1956, the recommendation was made that semiannual reports be made to the Congress by the Secretary of Defense on the integration of supply management. These reports have been referred to this subcommittee and are being studied to see if the intent of Congress is being carried out.

The subcommittee sent a questionnaire to the various departments and agencies affected by the Hoover Commission recommendations on lending agencies for information on what steps had been taken, if any, to put these recommendations into effect. The replies have been put into the form of a committee print and made available to Members of the House.

A similar questionnaire was circulated on the recommendations of the Hoover Report on Transportation. Replies have been received and are being studied.

Third. Budget procedures: The subcommittee has been making an intensive study of budget procedures in the executive branch in connection with the large number of bills before it. A committee print, The Budget Process in the Federal Government, was prepared and made available to the Members of the House.

Fourth. Federal real and personal property inventory report:

In December 1956, the committee issued a committee print entitled "Supplementary Real and Personal Property Inventory Report, Civilian and Military, of the United States Government—Located in the Continental United States, in the Territories, and Overseas, as of July 30, 1956." This report was refined and broadened in scope from an earlier Federal property inventory report—House Report No. 1930, 84th Congress, 2d session—in that it listed a realistic value for public domain lands, heretofore listed on the books of the Government at no value. Public domain lands were appraised by the individual departments and agencies and an estimated present-day value was placed on them. In some instances, estimated present-day values were placed on buildings, structures, and facilities located on these lands, but these values were not included in the overall totals used in the report; rather, they were included merely for information purposes. Acquisition cost figures were used for all Federal realty—exclusive of public domain lands—buildings, structures, and facilities.

Personal property inventory figures of the Federal Government were increased as a result of refinements brought about by improved accounting procedures employed within the Government. The Treasury Department was instrumental in furnishing the committee with refinements in this area. Also, the latest report reflects additional figures in areas of construction-in-progress, leasehold improvements, and real estate collateral acquired.

The committee expects to issue in December of this year another Federal property inventory report, covering real and personal property inventories as of June 30, 1957. The report will be prepared along the same lines and in the same manner as the report issued last year. Further refinements in personalty and realty inventories will be reflected in this year's report, particularly in inventories of the Department of Defense.

Fifth. Reorganization plans: Only one reorganization plan was submitted to the Congress during the first session. This constituted a further liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The subject matter was carefully studied by the staff and members of the subcommittee. No objections were registered to the plan and it was permitted to take effect.

Sixth. Other matters: The subcommittee continued its study of past reorganization plans; advisory committees, w. o. c. personnel practices and management contracts; the curtailment of Government functions and the feasibility of the creation of a Federal Department of Urban Affairs.

Hearings were also held on H. R. 7694, introduced by Congressman McCORMACK, to constitute the General Services Administration a Federal department.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE,
L. H. FOUNTAIN, CHAIRMAN

The Committee on Government Operations delegated to its Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee responsibility for studying intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities. Since July 1955, the subcommittee has also had before it for study the report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations—the Kestnbaum Commission; this Commission had been established by Congress in 1953, at the request of the President, to study and clearly define the proper role of the National Government in relation to the States and their political subdivision. In addition, the subcommittee has been delegated responsibility for studying the operation of the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare and their related agencies at all levels with respect to economy and efficiency. This report on the activities of the subcommittee during the 1st session of the 85th Congress will, for convenience, separately state the work of the subcommittee in each of these areas of responsibility.

First. Intergovernmental relations:

During the first 7 months of 1957 the subcommittee continued and intensified a comprehensive study of intergovernmental relationships begun in 1955.

From the beginning, the subcommittee's activities in this field have been planned with two objectives in mind: First, to carry out the subcommittee's general responsibility for studying Federal-State-local relationships, and second, to evaluate the recommendations of the Kestnbaum Commission.

In December 1955, each Federal department and agency was asked to provide a detailed description of its programs and activities involving intergovernmental relationships. Each department and agency was also asked to list all recommendations of the Kestnbaum Commission which applied to it, and to describe any action taken to adopt such recommendations. A 776-page staff report on these replies was published in August 1956. A compilation of the recommendations and major statements of the Kestnbaum Commission identifying the Federal agency and program concerned was also prepared at the request of the subcommittee and published in 1956, as was a selected bibliography on intergovernmental relations in the United States.

In 1956, all State governors and a large number of major and county officials were asked to give their views on a series of broad questions relating to Federal programs of an intergovernmental nature. Replies from 42 of the 48 States, from 53 cities, and from 44 counties were received and analyzed in 1956 and early 1957. A 542-page report was prepared by the subcommittee containing the complete replies from all State and local officials and an analysis of the views they expressed; however, this report did not attempt to render any judgment as to the merits of such views.

The Report on Replies from State and Local Governments was unanimously adopted by the Committee on Government Operations on June 13, 1957, as its sixth report to the 85th Congress—House Report No. 575. The subcommittee has filled a large number of requests for this document from Federal, State, and local officials, educators, libraries, and other interested organizations and individuals. These same sources are continuing to send in a substantial number of requests for the subcommittee's earlier documents. The subcommittee is filling these requests, to the extent permitted by its limited supply, and has received a number of letters from recipients commenting on the usefulness of the subcommittee's series of documents on intergovernmental relations.

Much of the subcommittee's time and effort during the 1st session of the 85th Congress was devoted to preparing for a series of nine regional hearings on intergovernmental relations to be held throughout the country in October, November, and December. At these hearings, the subcommittee will seek particularly to obtain evidence bearing on two broad questions: First, whether the existing division of responsibility between the national and other levels of government is satisfactory, and second, whether intergovernmental cooperation can be improved in existing grant-in-aid programs in order to make their operation more efficient and economical. Governors of all 48 States will be invited to testify, as will a number of mayors, county officials, and State legislators.

The subcommittee's series of documents on intergovernmental relations is expected to serve as extremely valuable background material for its regional hearings. Further information useful in planning regional hearings was obtained during 3 days of public hearings in Washington on July 29, 30, and 31. Witnesses at theses hearings included Meyer Kestnbaum, who served as chairman of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and Representatives Brooks Hays and Harold Ostertag, former members of that Commission. Other witnesses included representatives of the United States Conference of Mayors, the American Municipal Association, the International City Managers' Association, and the National Association of County Officials. The subcommittee also heard testimony from representatives of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the AFL–CIO.

Second. Department of Agriculture:

(a) Cheese and butter transactions: As a direct result of the subcommittee's investigation of cheese and butter purchase resale transactions of the Department of Agriculture, a Federal court in Baltimore, Md., on July 3, 1957, ordered three companies to repay more than $252,000 to the taxpayers. The decision was the first in a series of lawsuits filed by the Justice Department; it is expected that other pending actions, if successful, will eventually lead to the recovery of an additional $2 million. The court cases were brought after the Comptroller General, at the request of the subcommittee and on the basis of its investigation, ruled that the 1954 purchase and simultaneous resale of 85 million pounds of cheese and 5 million pounds of butter was unauthorized and improper. The cheese and butter involved was never moved from the warehouses in which it was stored, but the Department of Agriculture paid the

owners the difference between the purchase and resale prices.

(b) Wheat storage: On July 22, 23, and 24 the subcommittee held public hearings concerning transactions involving storage of Government-owned wheat by the Burrus Mills Co., of Dallas, Tex. Beginning in 1954, this company stored 37 million bushels of wheat in huge plastic tents at St. Joseph, Mo., and Fort Worth, Tex. As a result of spoilage of a large percentage of this wheat, millions of dollars in claims by the Department of Agriculture's Commodity Credit Corporation are being made against the Burrus Co. Because of the extremely complicated nature of these transactions, the subcommittee's investigation is only partially finished; it is expected that several more months will be required to complete it.

(c) Agricultural drainage: On August 15, the subcommittee held a public hearing concerning drainage activities of the Department of Agriculture in the pothole or wetland areas of North and South Dakota and Minnesota in order to determine whether these activities, as presently carried on, conflict with or are inconsistent with other Federal activities relating to reduction of surpluses in agricultural commodities or wildlife conservation. Testimony was received from witnesses from the Department of Agriculture, the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Interior, and from the director of the Department of Game, Fish, and Parks of the State of South Dakota and the former fish and game commissioner of North Dakota. The subcommittee has not yet made any findings with respect to this matter; however, at the conclusion of the hearings the chairman requested the representatives of the Departments of Interior and Agriculture to meet with each other and, insofar as possible, to resolve their policy differences.

(d) Other agricultural matters: Within the limitations necessarily imposed by the size of its staff and the time available, the subcommittee has conducted a continuing study of many other activities of the Department of Agriculture. The subcommittee has been particularly interested in the operation of the soil bank program and in transactions involving export of surplus agricultural commodities.

Third. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:

(a) Polio vaccine: On October 11 and 12, 1956, the subcommittee held public hearings concerning expenditure of Federal funds for polio vaccine. Witnesses from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Public Health Service, and the Justice Department were called to testify. Disclosures at these hearings led to a Federal grand jury investigation, now in progress at Trenton, N. J., of a possible price-fixing conspiracy in the sale of polio vaccine. If such a conspiracy is shown to exist, Federal and State Governments could recover any excessive charges which were paid for polio vaccine as a result of the conspiracy.

On March 21, 1957, an additional public hearing was held at which witnesses from the Public Health Service testified concerning activities relating to assisting State and local governments in the prevention of polio; the supply of, demand for, and distribution of vaccine; and the collection and dissemination of information concerning polio vaccine.

A report on activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare relating to polio vaccine was prepared by the subcommittee and, on August 14, unanimously adopted by the full committee as its 15th report to the 85th Congress—House Report No. 1175. The subcommittee is continuing to study further developments relating to polio vaccine activities of the Department and will hold further hearings and make a further report if necessary.

(b) Other matters: The subcommittee is studying a number of other activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is particularly interested in those activities relating to air pollution control and to Asian influenza.

Fourth. Department of Labor: The subcommittee staff studied activities of the Department of Labor during the 1st session of the 85th Congress. It is expected that this phase of the subcommittee's work will be expanded during the second session.

PUBLIC WORKS AND RESOURCES SUBCOMMITTEE, HON. EARL CHUDOFF, CHAIRMAN

A. Investigations: A brief outline of the subject matter of the investigations and public hearings in connection therewith follows:

First. The Virgin Islands Government and the Virgin Islands Corporation:

The subcommittee held comprehensive hearings on the operations of the Virgin Islands Government and the Virgin Islands Corporation. These hearings took place in the Virgin Islands during November and December of 1956 and in Washington, D. C., during March and May of 1957. A wide range of problems were investigated and a number of serious deficiencies were uncovered. The subcommittee's findings were adopted by the full committee in its ninth report, entitled "Operations of the Virgin Islands Government and the Virgin Islands Corporation."

The subcommittee looked into the problem of the recurring grave water shortage on the Island of St. Thomas and found that the Interior Department's and the island Governor's approach to solving the problem has been one of delay, indecision, and waste. No new water facilities have been constructed there since 1949.

Among other important findings of the subcommittee are:

(a) Accounting and budget controls have not yet been set up by any of the island Governors, this despite statutory requirements for such controls.

(b) The office of the island's government comptroller suffers from basic organizational flaws which seriously impede its effectiveness.

(c) Major inadequacies exist in local procedures and records affecting taxation and assessment.

(d) The office of the government secretary could, if properly established, provide the key to sound management of the operations of the island's government.

With respect to the Virgin Islands Corporation, the subcommittee's chief findings are:

(a) While the Corporation appears on the verge now of bringing its sugar operations out of the red, a test period of 3 to 5 years should be used to gage the ultimate trend and to determine whether the sugar operations should be disposed of to private industry or closed down altogether.

(b) The Corporation, in effect, subsidizes the rum industry by selling molasses to the distilleries at less than market value.

(c) Certain apparent conflict-of-interest situations exist involving officials of the Corporation.

At the request of the subcommittee chairman, the Commodity Stabilization Service prepared an "Economic Appraisal of the Sugar Operations of the Virgin Islands Corporation," which was published as a committee print.

Second. Army-Interior reservoir land-acquisition policy:

The subcommittee held hearings during June and July of 1957 into the matter of the joint-reservoir land-acquisition policy adopted in October of 1953 by the Army and Interior Departments. Under the new policy much of the reservoir area subject to periodic inundation is now acquired as a mere flowage easement instead of the full fee simple interest generally acquired under the previous policy. The subcommittee's findings were adopted by the full committee in its 16th report, entitled "Army-Interior Reservoir Land Acquisition Policy."

The report concluded that the change in policy has not been in the best interest of the Government and the people of the United States. More specifically, it was found that—

(a) Contrary to the claims of the Departments, there is little if any monetary saving to the acquiring agency when it acquires flowage easements instead of fee simple title.

(b) Contrary to the claims of the Departments, there is no overall loss of tax revenue to the local units of Government when the Government acquires the fee interest.

(c) There is less flexibility in reservoir operations when much of the land subject to inundation by the reservoir is held by the Government in easement rather than fee.

(d) The need for conservational and recreational use of reservoir lands is skyrocketing. Congress has recognized both uses. Nevertheless, the easement-taking policy markedly restricts such uses.

(e) The policy was adopted despite contrary advice of top officials of the Corps of Engineers.

Third. Morningside Hospital, Portland, Oreg.: As a result of extensive investigations by the staff, the subcommittee will hold hearings in Portland, Oreg., during the week of September 16, 1957, into the operations of the Morningside Hospital in connection with the care and treatment of mental patients committed there from the Territory of Alaska. The major problems to be examined are al-

legations as to improper care and treatment of mental patients, including the use of patient-labor; the relationships between the Department of the Interior, the Territory of Alaska, and the Sanitarium Company of Portland (which operates the hospital); and the financial aspects of the operating contract between the company and the Government.

Fourth. Alaska native loan program: The subcommittee will hold hearings in Juneau, Alaska, during the week of September 23, 1957, on the operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs loan program as it affects Alaska native associations and individuals. The loans are authorized by the Wheeler-Howard Act, as amended—title 25, United States Code, sections 470, 473. The subcommittee is primarily concerned with the policy back of the making and administering of loans to native associations for the acquisition and operation of fish canneries and for relending to association members for purchase or repair of fishing boats. This inquiry stems from a memorial of the Alaska Territorial Senate, passed February 15, 1957, and addressed to, among others, the House Committee on Government Operations, which urges the correction of certain alleged practices and attitudes on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the handling and administration of the loan program.

Fifth. Federal Power Commission's report that utilities have improperly charged propaganda expenses: After formal notification by the chairman of the subcommittee of Recommendation No. 4 of House Report No. 231, 85th Congress, on private electric utilities' organized efforts to influence the Secretary of the Interior—Ebasco Services, Inc., and Rocky Mountain group—the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission reported to the subcommittee on May 17, 1957, that 59 major electric utility companies had improperly accounted for expenditures to publish either 1 or both of 2 anti-public-power propaganda booklets. In fact, not one company had properly accounted for the expenditure. In his report, the FPC Chairman held the private- against public-power question to be a political controversy and the propaganda booklets to represent political expenditures not properly chargeable to operating expenses. All future expenditures of similar nature must be excluded from the utility companies' operating expense accounts. Another far-reaching implication of the report is that the many millions of dollars spent by the industry in the past for political propaganda purposes may also have been improper deductions for income-tax purposes.

Sixth. Bonneville Power Administration claim against Alcoa for defected Chukar conductor: In response to a request by the subcommittee, the Comptroller General of the United States investigated allegations that the Aluminum Company of America had furnished defective high-voltage Chukar conductor to the Bonneville Power Administration. Thereafter, a supplemental agreement dated February 6, 1957, was entered into under which the Bonneville Power Administration received a consideration of approximately $330,000 for waiving its claims against the company.

Seventh. Proposed repayment contract with Kings River Conservation District, Pine Flat Dam, Calif.: The subcommittee has continued its study of developments in the Department of the Interior surrounding a proposed repayment contract between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Kings River Conservation District in California. Under the proposed contract it was sought to permit the district, and also any corporation or individual to pay out in not more than 10 years—instead of the normal 40 years—and thereby escape the restrictions of the provisions of law which limit land eligible for project water to a maximum of 160 acres for any one landowner. Investigation had revealed that such a proposed contract had been negotiated in the field with approval of former Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay and Assistant Secretary Aandahl. After the committee and the subcommittee communicated their interest in the subject to the Department, final approval of the proposed contract in Washington was held up for some 19 months. On July 12, 1957, Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton announced that he had determined not to approve the proposed contract in its present form because to permit individuals or corporations to escape the 160-acre limitation provisions by prepayment would be contrary to reclamation law.

Eighth. Rural telephone cooperative loan requirements: The subcommittee recently inquired of the Rural Electrification Administration for an explanation as to why equity requirements for telephone loans have been liberalized for commercial borrowers without a corresponding liberalization for rural telephone cooperatives. A subsequent announcement by REA indicates that this discrimination has now been removed.

B. Legislation: The subcommittee had referred to it the following bill:

H. R. 83, to provide for a survey of the production of fertilizer by the Tennessee Valley Authority, and for other purposes.

The committee has received adverse reports from the 2 of the 3 Government agencies most immediately concerned, and a partially adverse report from the third. In a letter to the committee dated January 28, 1957, the Comptroller General of the United States stated that he did not recommend favorable consideration of the bill. Likewise, in a letter to the committee dated February 6, 1957, the Chairman of the TVA declared that enactment of the bill would not be in the public interest. The Secretary of Agriculture advised by letter April 11, 1957, that only that portion of the bill be considered at this time which would authorize a Comptroller General's study of the cost of fertilizer production.

INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, PORTER HARDY, JR., CHAIRMAN

First. United States aid operations in Iran:

The first report approved by the Committee on Government Operations in the 85th Congress was one submitted by this subcommittee. The report, United States Aid Operations in Iran, House Report No. 10, was based on hearings conducted by the subcommittee in the 84th Congress. It analyzes the economy and efficiency with which technical and economic assistance was furnished to Iran in the period 1951 through 1955. A number of serious defects in the formulation and administration of this program are discussed, some of which reflect certain weaknesses in the general handling of the United States aid program. The report includes recommendations designed to strengthen the administration of the program and to prevent recurrence of the defects.

Second. International Cooperation Administration's budget practices:

Beginning in February, the subcommittee conducted an inquiry into the budget formulation and presentation practices of the International Cooperation Administration. Hearings were held on April 4, 5, and 10 to receive testimony from the Director of ICA, the Comptroller General, and members of their staffs. On the basis of these hearings, study of a number of audit reports made by the Comptroller General, and of past studies made by the subcommittee with respect to specific areas—Latin America and Iran—the subcommittee submitted and the full committee approved the report entitled "Review of the Budget Formulation and Presentation Practices of the International Cooperation Administration," House Report No. 449.

This report discusses the existing budget practices of ICA and recommends a number of changes to improve the administration of the program and to provide better information regarding control of appropriations by Congress.

Third. State Department public opinion polls:

In May, the subcommittee initiated an inquiry into the conduct of public opinion polls by the Department of State. Five days of open hearings were held in July. A hearing in executive session on June 21 was subsequently included in the published hearings.

This inquiry resulted in the 11th report of the Committee on Government Operations, entitled "State Department Public Opinion Polls," House Report No. 1166. The report concluded that the polls were illegally financed with funds from the appropriation entitled "Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular Service." The report raised serious questions regarding the selection of questions and the validity of the sampling in connection with the polls, and regarding the possibility that violations of law had occurred when the poll results were released.

Fourth. Other investigations:

The subcommittee has been and is currently engaged in an investigation of the operations of certain projects of the foreign aid program in the Middle East and Indochina areas.

The subcommittee has been engaged in a continuing study of the administrative management of the Department of State, with particular emphasis on its person-

nel and budgetary operations. The subcommittee has made inquiries concerning the implementation of the recommendations contained in its report, No. 1663, 84th Congress, regarding Foreign Service promotions under the Wriston program.

Fifth. Legislation: No legislation was referred to this subcommittee during the first session.

LEGAL AND MONETARY AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE, HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK, CHAIRMAN

First. Interstate Commerce Commission:

The subcommittee investigated charges that ICC prescribed railroad accounting procedures resulted in overstatement of rail earnings and that the ICC was protecting the investing public by leading them to a shearing. Also at issue were other ICC prescribed accounting practices allegedly at variance with generally accepted accounting principles. Witnesses at the subcommittee hearings included accountants, representatives of the railroad industry, the American Institute of Accountants, New York Stock Exchange, investment analysts from member firms of the New York Stock Exchange, as well as Interstate Commerce Commission officials.

As a result of its investigation, the committee recommended that railroad reports to stockholders conform to generally accepted accounting principles and particularly that savings resulting from tax amortization be incorporated in the body of such reports—not tucked away in footnotes.

The subcommittee also commended the ICC for instituting rulemaking procedures concerning replacement accounting for rail and track structure; rejected a suggestion to transfer jurisdiction over railroad securities from the Interstate Commerce Commission to the Securities and Exchange Commission; recommended that the Civil Service Commission take early action to reappraise the salary structure for critically needed ICC accountants; recommended that the District of Columbia Committee inquire into the failure of the District of Columbia to accord credit to Government experience for accountants' certificates.

Subsequent to the commencement of the subcommittee's hearings, the Interstate Commerce Commission commenced rulemaking procedures on correction of six accounting variances. These corrections are scheduled to become effective as of January 1, 1958.

Rulemaking procedures were also instituted to determine whether replacement or depreciation accounting is more appropriate for track structure.

The subcommittee's report and recommendations are contained in House Report No. 1167, 85th Congress, 1st session.

Second. False and misleading advertising: The subcommittee initiated its investigations into false and misleading advertising with studies of filter-tip cigarettes and weight-reducing remedies. Hearings were held on the above matters, to gage the effectiveness of enforcement actions of the Post Office Department and the Federal Trade Commission in the field of false and misleading advertising. Time did not permit the submission of reports on these matters as hearings were held during late July and in August.

(a) Cigarettes: The subcommittee heard testimony from leading medical and scientific experts on the casual relationship of cigarette smoking and lung cancer, as a background to evaluating advertising claims of filter cigarettes. Experts heard on this phase of the hearings included representatives of the American Cancer Society, the Surgeon General of the United States, the director of the National Cancer Institute, and medical and technical researchers.

On the issue of false and misleading cigarette advertising, the subcommittee heard from representatives of Consumers' Union, Reader's Digest, and the Federal Trade Commission.

The subcommittee's report will be submitted to the full committee at the earliest opportunity.

(b) Weight reducing remedies:

The subcommittee investigated no-diet-reducing claims of widely advertised alleged reducing remedies and the effectiveness of enforcement and policing of this advertising by the Post Office Department, Federal Trade Commission, and the Food and Drug Administration.

Testimony was received from leading medical experts on obesity, from the National Better Business Bureau, as well as officials of the above Federal agencies.

The subcommittee's report will be submitted to the full committee at the earliest opportunity.

Third. Legislation:

A report on S. 916—H. R. 4499—has been prepared following subcommittee resolution to report on this bill favorably to the full committee. This report will be presented to the full committee at the earliest opportunity.

This bill would permit continuation of Post Office Department accounts in the name of the deceased, resigned, separated, or discharged disbursing officer for a limited period pending the appointment of a successor.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES SUBCOMMITTEE, HON. JACK BROOKS, CHAIRMAN

First. Review of negotiated sales:

The subcommittee reviewed 54 proposed negotiated sales of surplus property set to sell for a total of $7,798,611, largely emanating from the General Services Administration.

(a) Exhaustive examination was made of 14 of these proposed sales, set to sell for a total of $7,071,389, and the proposed prices in 5 instances were disapproved. It is anticipated that subsequent public auctions of these five properties will bring in a possible $500,000 more than would have the negotiated prices.

(b) A striking example of how persistent vigilance by the subcommittee has resulted in cash gains for the Nation is evident in the case of the so-called Haster property at Garden Grove, Calif. The subcommittee thrice thwarted efforts to sell this surplus land to the former owners for as little as $400 an acre, or as much as $1,800 an acre, and GSA finally sold it at public auction, at the subcommittee's urging, on August 29, 1957, for $5,350 an acre.

The subcommittee stopped proposals to sell the land at negotiated prices of some $1,800 an acre during both the first and second sessions of the 84th Congress, recommending that fair market value be sought via public auction. During the 85th Congress, the subcommittee held a hearing June 18 and 19, 1957, on H. R. 2519, which would have permitted the former owners to buy the tract for as little as $400 an acre, and recommended instead that the GSA go ahead with plans to sell it at public auction. This auction found 59 acres bringing $5,350 each, a total of $315,650. This sum is $209,450 more than the same tract would have brought at the proposed negotiated sale prices.

Second. Legislative matters:

On legislative matters during the session, the subcommittee has had for consideration 55 House bills and 3 Senate bills. All bills were reviewed in detail and hearings were held on 18 of the House bills and 3 of the Senate bills. A major portion of the remaining House bills were determined to be inconsistent with subcommittee views and, after explanation to the authors, were not scheduled for hearings. Of those bills on which hearings were held, the subcommittee reported favorably on 7 of the House bills and 3 of the Senate bills. Study on some recently submitted bills is continuing.

(a) In the case of the proposed negotiated sale of the surplus aircraft facility at Chula Vista, Calif., to the Rohr Aircraft Corp., the subcommittee recommended to the General Services Administration that, contrary to the terms of the proposed sale, the Government receive rentals from the lessee-proposed buyer until the date the sale is consummated—means whereby the revenue in the matter would be increased by at least $130,000 from the rental, whether or not a recommended higher sale price was obtained.

(b) A hearing on the proposed negotiated sale of a communications system at the Naval Station in Newport, R. I., raised various facets of the question whether a Government agency can lawfully and properly, under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, report property to the GSA as excess to its needs when, in fact, such property is vital to its operations and is continued to be used after being reported as excess. The subcommittee halted the proposed Newport sale and the Comptroller General has now interpreted the definition of "excess" and "surplus" property, under the aforesaid act, as within the purview of the head of the Federal agency concerned. A positive sales price was not included in the negotiated sale proposal and the subcommittee still has the proposed sale under examination.

Third. Federal Housing Administration:

(a) The subcommittee surveyed leasehold practices of the Honolulu office of the Federal Housing Administration and recommended changes in procedure which may result in a repeated saving

to the Government of several hundred thousand dollars a year. The FHA officially welcomed the subcommittee's recommendations, dubbing them very useful, and has made resulting special studies of the situation, leading to a proposed revision in the method of appraising leased fees in Hawaii. The FHA is presently investigating the possibility of immediately putting the new method into actual practice.

(b) Alleged irregularities in the Federal Housing Administration office in Kansas City, Mo., have been investigated extensively with a view to a possible public hearing on the matter when the investigating phase is completed.

Fourth. Metal program:

(a) The subcommittee has continued studies on the expansion, operation, and disposition of the Government-owned nickel plant at Nicaro, Cuba, and has begun to check into the recent GAO audit of the neighboring Cuban-American Nickel Co., subsidiary of Freeport Sulphur Co.

(b) Information and material collected on the procurement of tungsten in California and other Western States has been reviewed and is being evaluated.

MILITARY OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, HON. CHET HOLIFIELD, CHAIRMAN

First. Subcommittee reports on investigations and studies:

(a) Defense standardization program:

On July 17, 1957, a subcommittee report on the Defense standardization program was approved as the seventh report of the Committee on Government Operations, House Report No. 822.

The report was based on hearings held by the subcommittee on cataloging and standardization in the Department of Defense on January 30, 31, and March 12, 1957. Major emphasis was given to standardization because this area has received less attention from the Congress than cataloging and because systematic progress of standardization is much less evident.

The report, which was unanimously approved by the full committee, was submitted to the Department of Defense and other interested Government agencies. It contained 11 recommendations for speeding up the standardization program and for achieving greater economy and efficiency in military supply management. The Department of Defense has acknowledged the basic validity of the subcommittee's findings and recommendations and has promised to give special attention to improvements in defense standardization. The Department of Defense will submit to the subcommittee a report within 6 months showing where improvements will have been made.

The verbatim transcripts of the hearings have been printed and are available for the public.

The General Services Administration, which has standardization responsibilities for civilian government agencies, also has commended the report.

The Bureau of the Budget and the General Accounting Office have likewise studied the report and have promised to give close attention to the defense standardization program.

(b) Status of civil-defense legislation:

On July 22, 1957, the subcommittee's report on the status of civil-defense legislation was approved as the eighth report of the committee, House Report No. 839.

Following the comprehensive investigation of civil defense and the subcommittee report which was approved by the full committee in 1956—House Report No. 2946, 84th Congress, 2d session—legislation was prepared embodying the subcommittee's recommendations on civil defense. All members of the subcommittee and several other Members of Congress introduced identical bills—H. R. 2125 and others.

Continuing its study and investigation of civil defense, the subcommittee held hearings on the proposed new civil defense legislation on February 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, 18, March 5, 6, and 7, 1957.

The verbatim transcripts of the hearings have been printed and are available for the public.

The objectives of the proposed legislation were widely endorsed by national organizations and civic associations interested in civil defense. Numerous minor amendments were suggested. These are the subject of subcommittee staff study. In the meantime the subcommittee decided to make an interim report, as identified above.

The subcommittee also is investigating certain features of Federal Civil Defense Administration management and operations and is studying atomic-weapons test data relating to civil-defense shelters.

(c) Military-tank procurement:

On July 31, 1957, the subcommittee's report entitled "Military Tank Procurement" was unanimously approved as the 10th report of the committee, House Report No. 958.

This report, which reviewed the development of the heavy-tank program and specific procurement contracts, was the subject of hearings in public and executive session on March 21 and 22, 1957.

The verbatim transcripts of the public hearings have been printed and are available for the public.

In view of the complex contractual matters involved, the subcommittee that the General Accounting Office audit the tank procurement under inquiry with specific attention to the matters designated by the subcommittee.

The report has been submitted to the Department of Defense for comment.

(d) Military-clothing procurement:

On August 14, 1957, the subcommittee's report on military-clothing procurement was unanimously approved as the 13th report of the committee, House Report No. 1168.

This report covered military-clothing contracts let by the military agencies to companies owned or controlled by Herman D. Wynn. It examined also the specific contract let to Wynn Enterprises, Inc., headed by the wife of Robert Tripp Ross when he was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative and Public Affairs.

Public hearings were held on April 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, 1957.

The verbatim transcripts of the hearings have been printed and are available for the public.

The subcommittee made 30 recommendations for improving military procurement in clothing and related fields. The report has been submitted to the Department of Defense and other interested agencies for analysis and comment.

(e) Letter contracts and contract terminations in military procurement:

On August 14, 1957, the subcommittee's report on letter contracts and contract terminations was unanimously approved as the 14th report of the committee, House Report No. 1169.

This report embodied 3 surveys made by the General Accounting Office at the request of the subcommittee at the conclusion of its investigation, during the 84th Congress, of the Navy procurement of Demon aircraft. The surveys covered the use of letter contracts and the termination of procurement contracts by the 3 military departments for the fiscal years 1954, 1955, and 1956.

The subcommittee's work in this field has been noted by the House Committee on Appropriations in its own procurement studies. As a result of the subcommittee's earlier investigations into Navy procurement, the Comptroller General has decided to examine letter contracts and contract terminations as a regular part of his defense audit program.

(f) Air Force and Navy rocket launcher procurement:

The report of these matters is being prepared and will be submitted at the next session of Congress.

Public hearings were held February 8, 11, 12; March 26, 27, 28, 29; and April 1, 1957.

The verbatim transcript of the hearings is being published and will be available for the public.

Second. Miscellaneous investigations and studies: The subcommittee conducted numerous inquiries into military procurement and other matters referred to it by Members of Congress. It also conducted followup inquiries into projects which were the subject of investigation and report during the 84th Congress. Some of these projects may be identified as follows:

(a) Surplus property:

The subcommittee staff examined military surplus disposal actions, investigating more closely those which indicate dissipation of valuable Government resources.

In several cases the subcommittee was instrumental in calling attention of the Federal Civil Defense Administration to military surplus items needed for civil-defense purposes which would otherwise be sold for a small fraction of acquisition cost. Use of such surplus property for civil-defense purposes was authorized by Public Law 655 of the 84th Congress. The subcommittee also was instrumental in getting the Department of Defense to change its demilitarization policy which required the scrapping of military goods, such as aircraft, even though they have considerable commercial utility. Many thousands of dollars are being saved the

Government by disposal of usable aircraft to commercial outlets.

(b) Followup on Navy jetplane procurement: Following up its investigation and report of Navy procurement of Demon aircraft—84th Congress, 2d session, House Report No. 1891—the subcommittee inquired into recent developments concerning that program. The Navy replied to a detailed list of questions by the subcommittee. The information, which is classified, is under study by the subcommittee staff.

(c) Missile programs: The subcommittee is studying developments in the missile field in connection with its civil-defense inquiries and in terms of competing activities among the military services from the standpoint of economy and efficiency.

Third. Legislative matters:

(a) Civil-defense bills: The following bills relating to civil defense were referred to the subcommittee: H. R. 2125, H. R. 2149, H. R. 2159, H. R. 2213, H. R. 2214, H. R. 2223, H. R. 2239, H. R. 4219, H. R. 4295, H. R. 4415, H. R. 4418, H. R. 6313, H. R. 6467, House Joint Resolution 78, and House Joint Resolution 88. H. R. 2125 and identical bills were the subject of hearings and an interim report, as described in part I.

(b) Other bills: H. R. 84, providing for a survey by the Comptroller General of the operation by the Department of Defense of commissary stores and post exchanges, was referred to the subcommittee. The bill was considered by the subcommittee but was not reported out.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON DONABLE PROPERTY, HON. JOHN W. M'CORMACK, CHAIRMAN

First. Bills referred and investigated—not reported out:

H. R. 242, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation of surplus property to certain community organizations.

H. R. 543, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation and other disposal of property to tax-supported public-recreation agencies.

H. R. 737, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the disposal of certain surplus property to State defense forces.

H. R. 2504, to provide that Government surplus property may be donated to 4-H Clubs for the construction, equipment, and operation of camps and centers.

H. R. 2552, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation of surplus property to volunteer fire-fighting organizations.

H. R. 3406, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation of surplus property to volunteer fire-fighting organizations.

H. R. 4007, to amend section 203 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the disposal of surplus property to publicly owned water districts and publicly owned sewer districts.

H. R. 4107, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation of surplus property to volunteer fire-fighting organizations, volunteer reserve services, squads, and first-aid crews.

H. R. 5448, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to make rehabilitation facilities and sheltered workshops eligible for donations of surplus real personal property.

H. R. 5451, to amend section 203 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the disposal of surplus property to municipalities.

H. R. 5460, to amend section 203 (j) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to provide that surplus property which is not used in the donable property program shall be offered for sale to States and political subdivisions thereof.

H. R. 5470, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to make municipalities eligible for donations of surplus real and personal property.

H. R. 6316, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation of surplus property to volunteer fire-fighting organizations, volunteer reserve services, squads, and first-aid crews.

H. R. 6537, to authorize the disposition of certain obsolete and excess property to the United States Volunteer Life Saving Corps.

H. R. 7067, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation and other disposal of property to tax-supported public recreation agencies.

H. R. 7929, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to permit the donation of surplus property to volunteer fire-fighting organizations.

The above mentioned bills were carefully studied in conjunction with the interested executive agencies. Each bill would have had added to the list of eligible donees for surplus property and accordingly would have increased the administrative expense for the donable surplus property program and would also have reduced the amount of property available for education, health, and civil defense purposes as provided by Public Law 61 of the 84th Congress, 1st session, and Public Law 655 of the 84th Congress, 2d session.

The responsible executive agencies namely, the Bureau of the Budget, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the General Services Administration opposed extension of the benefits of the donable act to other donees at the present time. Accordingly, hearings were not held on any of the bills but the matter will be kept under strict surveillance for the next year or so.

Second. Bills referred and investigated—reported out:

H. R. 8795, to amend section 507 and subsection 602 (a) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended.

This bill would place the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, under the provisions of the Presidential Libraries Act. Hearings were held by the subcommittee on July 29, 1957, and the bill was reported to the full committee which approved it on July 31, 1957—see report No. 957. The Senate has not acted on the bill to date.

Third. Donable surplus property program:

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reports surplus personal property amounting to $234,862,274 at acquisition cost was allocated to education, health, and civil defense agencies during the fiscal year 1957 Real property valued at $6,729,682, acquisition cost, was likewise transferred to these activities. It is agreed that the program will continue at this volume for some time to come.

Several problems arose in the operation of the donable program during the fiscal year, 1957. Through the cooperation of the interested Federal and State agencies they were satisfactorily resolved to the mutual satisfaction of all parties.

Fourth. Foreign excess property: The subcommittee was also successful in having the Department of Defense issue instructions pursuant to section 402 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 making foreign excess personal property available for donations to specified agencies. In many instances executive agencies operating in foreign countries have excess property which has no commercial value or the estimated cost of care and handling of which would exceed estimated proceeds from its sale. Such property will be eligible for donation to meritorious organizations.

Fifth. Sale of TBM planes:

Through subcommittee action 87 TBM planes which had been scheduled for sale as scrap were made available as commercial flyable planes. This resulted in a direct saving to the Government of $184,984.87.

In addition 10 TBM planes were transferred to the United States Forest Service for fire-protection purposes and the military regulations dealing with demilitarization were amended to make additional property available for sale for its original utility rather than for scrap purposes.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT INFORMATION, HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR., CHAIRMAN

During 1957, the Special Subcommittee on Government Information has held 9 hearings with 24 witnesses to carry out the instructions from Congressman WILLIAM L. DAWSON, who chartered the subcommittee on June 9, 1955. At that time, Congressman DAWSON instructed the subcommittee to determine the restrictions placed on information from Federal executive and independent agencies and to suggest remedies for the unjustifiable restrictions.

First. Legislation:

(a) In January 1957, bills were introduced as an amendment to title 5, United States Code, section 22, by Congressman JOHN E. MOSS, H. R. 2767; Congressman DANTE B. FASCELL, H. R. 2768; and Congressman WILLIAM L. DAWSON, H. R. 2769. Title 5, United States Code, section 22, is the executive

department's basic housekeeping statute which has been twisted into a claim of authority to withhold information from the public. Similar legislation was introduced by Congressman CLARE E. HOFFMAN—H. R. 2810.

On July 22, 1957, the initial hearing on the proposed amendment was held and although each of the 10 executive departments filed statements objecting to the amendment, representatives of only 2 executive departments attended the hearing. Plans have been made to permit other executive departments to testify and to hear proponents of the legislation.

In addition to the hearing on the proposed amendment, questions were asked of the executive departments by letter and numerous civic organizations were contacted for their opinions on the legislation. Among those organizations supporting the principle set forth in the Dawson-Moss-Fascell bills is the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

(b) Other legislative developments include cooperation with the staff of the Ways and Means Committee of the House to work out legislative opening to the public the applications for tax-exempt status of nonprofit, nonpolitical organizations. Although this legislation was included in a general tax revision bill approved by the committee, there has been no final House action.

(c) A major development affecting the availability of information from the Federal Government was House approval of H. R. 7390, by Congressman DANTE B. FASCELL, a subcommittee member. The report on this bill includes the statement that minutes of meetings of the myriad governmental advisory committees shall be available to the public, subject only to security and other restrictions specifically provided by law.

(d) In April 1957, Congressmen DAWSON, MOSS, and FASCELL introduced legislation to amend the public-information section of the Administrative Procedure Act, removing many of the objectionable phrases which have been misused to refuse information to the public, the Congress, and the press. This legislation has been referred to the House Judiciary Committee. These bills are: H. R. 7172, DAWSON; H. R. 7173, FASCELL; and H. R. 7174, MOSS.

(e) Another important legislative development in the information field was action by both the House and Senate, abolishing the Office of Strategic Information in the Department of Commerce. Funds for this agency—found to be uneconomical and inefficient by the House Government Operations Committee following hearings by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information—were deleted from the Department of Commerce budget by the House and Senate Appropriations Committees.

(f) An important part of the subcommittee's effort during 1957 has been devoted to legislative matters and to a continuation of the study of the Defense Department's information practices and policies.

On March 11 and 12, 1957, the subcommittee held hearings to discuss the report of the so-called Coolidge Committee—the Defense Department's Committee on Classified Information. On April 10, 11, and 12, the subcommittee held hearings to discuss directives which the Defense Department had issued to put into effect some of the Coolidge Committee's recommendations. On July 1 and 8, hearings were held with the public-information chiefs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. On July 22, the initial hearing was held on the proposed amendment to title 5, United States Code, section 22.

Second. Elimination of restrictions on information: In addition to developments as a result of these hearings, however, the subcommittee has, by letters and staff contacts, followed up a number of complaints against unjustifiable restrictions on information. The following are some of the results of the hearings and of the additional contact work:

(a) The Department of Agriculture revised a regulation which permitted censorship of television films, news releases, and similar information items prepared by private groups through cooperation with the Department. The objectionable features have been deleted from the new regulation.

(b) The Defense Department has made available information about concessionaires' rented space in the Pentagon. Contracts for such space previously were not made public.

(c) The Defense Department revised a "verbal" classification of a weather broadcast which was available through an unclassified telephone number.

(d) The General Services Administration withdrew a proposed form which all resigning employees would have had to sign, stating they would never divulge administratively controlled information.

(e) The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission also has stopped using a form prohibiting the dissemination of administratively controlled information.

(f) The Defense Department reversed an earlier decision to prohibit reporters from the launching of the first earth satellite.

(g) The Defense Department took action to declassify a roomful of World War II scientific documents at Harvard University's Widener Library.

(h) The Department of Justice declassified portions of a report on trips by border patrol inspectors to rifle and pistol matches and made classified sections of the report available to the appropriate House Government Operations Subcommittee.

(i) The General Services Administration revised an administrative order which restricted contacts by Congressmen, their staffs, and congressional committees' staffs with GSA employees.

(j) The Treasury Department issued Treasury Decision 5421—August 27, 1957, Federal Register, Document 57-7099—permitting the disclosure of statistical data on exports from United States ports which has been restricted since World War II.

(k) The General Services Administration clarified a regulation on photographic access to Federal buildings so that the Federal district court in Denver, Colo., would not impose restrictions on photographers in public corridors in the Denver Federal Building.

(l) An initial investigation disclosed that many of the so-called leaks by the press of security information cited by the Coolidge Committee came from properly cleared Defense Department statements.

(m) An initial investigation of charges by the Commission on Government Security that the press was guilty of using purloined documents and of frequent unauthorized disclosure indicates that this charge is unsubstantiated and unwarranted.

(n) The Department of Defense has undertaken a general revision of regulations affecting the flow of information from the Department, including a complete rewriting of the Department's regulations on classification of information and eliminating the requirement that all Defense Department information must make a constructive contribution to the primary mission of the Department.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON WATER RESOURCES AND POWER, HON. ROBERT E. JONES, CHAIRMAN

This special subcommittee was established to review the recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government—Hoover Commission—with respect to water resources and power. During the 84th Congress, the subcommittee held hearings in 15 different cities, compiling a record of over 5,500 pages. The subcommittee completed work on a proposed report as the 1st session of the 85th Congress closed which it is expected will be presented to the full committee for consideration early in the second session.

Status of Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, many Members of the House have asked me, as chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, about the present status of legislation to amend the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act pending before this committee. I should, therefore, like to take this opportunity to explain the status of this legislation in some detail.

At the close of the first session of this Congress there were pending before the committee 65 bills to amend the Railroad Retirement Act. Some of these bills, like H. R. 4353 and 20 other bills identical to it, also proposed to amend the Railroad Retirement Tax Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. There were only two bills to amend the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act proper.

The committee proceeded to hold hearings on this legislation very promptly

this session of the Congres. A subcommittee under the chairmanship of Hon. PETER F. MACK, JR., opened hearings on March 11, 1957, at which time only Members of Congress who had introduced bills on this subject were given the opportunity to testify. Then the entire Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce opened public hearings in March 14, 1957, and continued these hearings for 5 additional days in March. More than 50 bills which were pending before the committee at that time were the subject of these hearings.

The committee was confronted with a serious problem right at the outset of the hearings. Most Members of the House will recall that during the closing days of the 2d session of the 84th Congress, legislation was adopted granting generally a 10-percent increase in benefits. It became Public Law 1013, of the 84th Congress. The principal exceptions to this 10-percent increase were those widows, spouses, and survivors who were then receiving benefits under the social security minimum guaranty provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act.

There was no provision made for the financing of the cost of these benefits which amounted to $83 million a year on a net level cost. The Congress was told that enactment of this legislation was an emergency measure and was necessary to help thousands of retired railroad employees, their wives, and the widows of such employees to meet their day-to-day living expenses. The Congress was assured that legislation would be considered promptly during the 1st session of the 85th Congress to finance the cost of these benefits. Representatives of railroad labor organizations also gave firm assurances that they would propose, at the opening of the 85th Congress, a legislative program to assure adequate financing of the railroad retirement system. The President, in a statement accompanying the signing of this bill, S. 3616, stated in part:

> It is imperative that satisfactory legislation for this purpose—to assure adequate financing of the railroad retirement system—be proposed and enacted.

As you know, the railroad retirement system is financed entirely by employee and employer payroll contributions. The employees pay 6¼ percent on taxable compensation up to $350 a month and employers pay an equal amount. Immediately prior to the enactment of Public Law 1013, 84th Congress, an actuarial valuation of the assets and liabilities of the railroad retirement system showed that the net level cost of the system was 14.13 percent of taxable payroll, assuming a level taxable payroll of $5.3 billion annually. That is to say, a combined employer-employee tax rate of 14.13 percent of taxable payroll was required to finance indefinitely the benefits payable under the Railroad Retirement Act as of that time. Since the combined employer-employee tax rate was only 12.5 percent of taxable payroll, there was an indicated deficiency of 1.63 percent of taxable payroll, or $86,390,000 a year on a level cost basis. Enactment of Public Law 1013, 84th Congress, therefore, increased this deficiency to approximately 3.20 percent of taxable payroll, or $169,390,000 a year on a level cost basis. The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was acutely aware of this fact at the time of the hearings on railroad-retirement legislation in March of this year.

The principal interest during these hearings centered around H. R. 4353 and 18 other bills identical to it which were pending before the committee at that time. These bills were sponsored by all the standard railway-labor organizations. The principal provisions of these bills are as follows:

AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

First. Annuities, pensions, and lump-sum payments—other than the residual lump sum—would be increased generally by 10 percent.

Second. The maximum amount of compensation creditable under this act would be increased from $350 to $400 a month.

Third. Women employees having 10 years of service could elect to retire on a reduced annuity at age 62 instead of waiting until age 65. The same privilege is provided for wives of annuitants.

Fourth. The earnings test now applicable to disability annuitants, under which any disability annuitant under age 65 does not receive an annuity for any month in which he is paid more than $100 in earnings, would be modified by the addition of a provision that, if the annuitant's earnings in any calendar year do not exceed $1,200, the annuity otherwise not payable because of his earnings in any month in that year would become payable.

Fifth. The insurance lump sum now payable on the death of an employee only if no annuity is payable, on application, to a survivor, would be payable irrespective of this circumstance, but would be subject to a maximum of $750.

Sixth. The formula for computing the residual lump sum would be amended in conformity with the amendments proposed to the Railroad Retirement Tax Act by increasing the percentage factor applicable to compensation after 1956 to 7½ percent and to 8 percent after 1957, and increasing the maximum amount of compensation for any month to which such factors are applicable from $350 to $400 for any month after June 30, 1957.

AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT TAX ACT

The tax rate on employees and employers would be increased from 6¼ percent to 7½ percent and the tax would be applicable to $400 instead of $350 of the employee's compensation earned in any month after June 1957. The tax rate would be increased with respect to compensation paid after 1969 by the same number of percentage points by which the then current social-security-tax rate exceed 2¾ percent, which is scheduled to be increased in 1965.

AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT

First. A new schedule of daily benefit rates would increase the present daily benefits from 50 cents to $1.70. The alternative rate, which is now 50 percent of the employee's daily rate of pay in his last employment with an employer in the base year, would be increased to 60 percent of such daily rate of pay. The maximum daily benefit rate would be increased from $8.50 to $10.20.

Second. The maximum amount of compensation for a month for which credit would be given and contributions required would be increased from $350 to $400, effective with respect to compensation paid for service rendered in calendar months after June 1957.

Third. The minimum amount of earnings in a base year which would qualify an employee for benefits would be increased from $400 to $500, effective with respect to base years after 1956.

Fourth. An employee with 5 years or more of railroad service who is out of work through no fault of his own and has exhausted current rights to normal unemployment benefits, would receive additional benefits during an extended benefit period. The duration of such extended benefit period would vary in accordance with the length of the employee's previous railroad employment, so that an unemployed man with 20 years or more of service could receive benefits, under special conditions, for as much as 4½ years longer than he might under present law.

Fifth. The maximum number of days of unemployment in the first registration period in a benefit year for which benefits may be paid would be increased from 7 to 10 days, the same as it is now with respect to all subsequent registration periods.

Sixth. Sundays and holidays would be treated the same as other days for unemployment benefit purposes.

Seventh. The additional funds necessary to finance these benefits would be raised by increasing the taxable earnings from $350 to $400 a month and by providing for a tax rate of not less than 2 percent when the balance in the railroad unemployment insurance account is $450 million or more; and this rate would be increased, by steps, to 4 percent when the balance in the account falls below $300 million.

The additional cost of the railroad retirement benefits proposed by H. R. 4353 is estimated at 2.81 percent of taxable payroll or $162 million a year on a level cost basis, assuming a level taxable payroll of $5.75 billion annually, based on the increase in tax rate and tax base proposed by the bill. One-half of this amount would be paid by the railroads and one-half by the railroad employees. The additional revenue for the support of the railroad retirement system, to be derived by increasing the combined employer-employee tax rate from 12.5 percent to 15 percent of taxable payroll, and by increasing the taxable base from $350 to $400 a month, would amount to 5.42 percent of taxable payroll, or $312 million a year on a level cost basis. Hence, the added revenue proposed by the bill would exceed the cost of the additional benefits by 2.61 percent of taxable payroll, or $150 million a year on a level cost basis. Since the actuarial deficiency of the retirement system for the

present law would be 2.98 percent of taxable payroll, assuming a level taxable payroll of $5.75 billion annually based on the increase in the tax rate and tax base proposed in H. R. 4353, the enactment of the retirement benefits and tax provisions of this bill would leave the railroad retirement system with an actuarial deficiency of only 0.37 percent of taxable payroll, or approximately $21 million a year on a level cost basis.

The additional cost of unemployment insurance benefits proposed by H. R. 4353, as nearly as can be ascertained, is estimated at $83 million a year on a level cost basis, all of which would be payable by the railroad industry. A witness for the railroad industry stated that the immediate additional cost of the proposed unemployment benefits would be $100 million a year.

However, H. R. 4353 does not embody the complete program of recommendations which the standard railway labor organizations are asking the Congress to pass in the field of railroad retirement benefits. An integral part of this program is a separate bill, H. R. 5551, pending before the Committee on Ways and Means, which provides for the exclusion of employee retirement contributions from gross income for purposes of the employee's income tax and from withholdings at the source. A spokesman for the standard railway labor organizations advised the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce that these organizations would not support H. R. 4353 unless they got favorable action on H. R. 5551. These organizations felt that they could not justify to their membership an increase in the tax rate from 6¼ percent to 7½ percent of taxable payroll, and an increase in the tax base from $350 to $400 a month, unless the employees got some-offsetting income-tax relief. Failure to get such relief, this spokesman stated, would mean that these organizations would have to reconsider the whole benefit program. He, however, assured the committee that these organizations would keep the commitment they made last year that they would recommend a program for putting the railroad retirement system on a sound financial basis, irrespective of what happens to the program they are recommending in H. R. 4353.

As I have stated, H. R. 5551 is the complementary part of the program recommended in H. R. 4353. The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has been waiting to see what action the Committee on Ways and Means might take with respect to H. R. 5551 before proceeding with the further consideration of pending railroad retirement bills. No action was taken on H. R. 5551 at the time the Congress adjourned this year.

The railroads have strongly opposed favorable action on H. R. 4353 principally because of the increased taxes that this bill would impose on the industry. The industry urged favorable action instead on H. R. 6016, which would substantially revise the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Railway labor organizations opposed H. R. 6016.

That is how matters stood at the close of the 1st session of the 85th Congress. The fundamental problem of how to make up the existing deficiency in the railroad retirement account of $169,390,000 annually on a level cost basis remained unresolved. Until this deficit can be made up, it would be imprudent to enact legislation providing for additional retirement and survivor benefits. The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is unanimously of the opinion that regardless of the desirability of certain proposals for the liberalization of benefits payable under the Railroad Retirement Act, no amendments should be made to this law which would jeopardize the financial soundness of this retirement system. This principle is accepted by all the standard railway labor organizations as well as by railroad management.

In conclusion, I should like to remind my colleagues that benefits payable under the railroad retirement system have improved continuously in recent years, and will continue to improve within the limits of the funds available. When the Railroad Retirement Act was passed in 1937, the maximum retirement annuity was $120 a month. Today the maximum is $184.30, and this maximum is scheduled to rise to $191.90 by January 1967, and to $260.30 by January 1977, without any further changes in the law. The present maximum for a retired employee and his eligible spouse is $238.60, and this maximum is scheduled to rise to $246.20 by January 1967, and to $314.60 by January 1977, without any further changes in the law. Since 1937, the following additional benefits have been provided: Survivor benefits to widows, widowers, parents and children, spouses' benefits, more liberal disability annuities, lowering of the age requirements for survivor benefits from age 65 to age 60; benefits to widowed mothers or wives with disabled children over 18 years of age; repealing the dual benefit restriction on retirement and survivor annuities; increasing the permissible earnings for disability annuitants and for survivors, and so forth. In other words, benefits have been improved wherever possible to the maximum level possible without endangering the financial soundness of the railroad retirement system.

Every member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and every Member of the Congress, I am sure, has every desire to be helpful to retired railroad workers and their families. However, we must also be mindful of our grave responsibilities toward the currently active railroad workers and future railroad workers who will retire many years hence. We must make certain that when they retire the financial status of the railroad retirement system will be sound and that they will receive the benefits accruing to them, their dependents, and survivors. With these objectives in mind, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce will proceed early during the next session of the Congress to reconsider the retirement and unemployment-insurance bills pending before it, and I am confident that we can make progress in solving some of the problems which I have outlined.

An All-American Product

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I as unanimous consent to have printed i the Appendix of the RECORD a statemen prepared and submitted to me by th American Vodka Council.

The statement follows:

A STATEMENT BY THE AMERICAN VODKA COUNCIL

The American Vodka Council is determine to bring to the attention of the America people a series of facts designed to puncture the fiction that Vodka, one of the most popular beverages on the American scene, is anything other than a pure American product.

American life has been enriched by association with other cultures and traditions. It would be a mistake, however, to be retiring or hesitating about the values of our own discoveries. We have been so hesitating about one such American contribution, modern American Vodka, and it is this hesitation which has the potential of damaging a great American industry.

American Vodka bears very little relationship to the cheaper Russian product which has the same name. In spite of that, many Americans remain under the misconception that Vodka is primarily a Russian drink. Our newspapers help to perpetuate that myth. Regardless of what the Russian leaders may, in fact, be drinking, the press labels it as Vodka. As a result, newspaper clippings by the score continue to call Vodka a Russian drink and question its patriotism. The truth of the matter is that Vodka consumed by Americans is an American product, made in the United States, sold in the United States, and consumed by citizens of the United States. Wolfschmidt Vodka is an example of this point. Its name is foreign sounding and it originates from a special process formulated in Riga, Latvia, in 1817. Its label reads "Original and Genuine" and yet every drop of this beverage is made in the United States with distinctive American skills and techniques.

A recent research study at the Brusch Medical Center in Cambridge, Mass., which was published in the April 1955 issue of the American Journal of Proctology, indicates that vodka produces less distress from use than do other kinds of liquor. This is due to the high purity of the neutral spirits used. This test was made by four physicians: Charles A. Brusch, medical director of the Brusch Medical Center; Calvin M. Cerrato, instructor, Harvard Medical School; Promodos N. Papas, emeritus clinical professor of urology, Tufts College School of Medicine and emeritus teaching assistant at Harvard Medical School; and Frank A. Straccia, associate instructor, Tufts College School of Medicine.

Vodka is a colorless, odorless, and tasteless liquid. It is made in the United States of pure grain, mellowed and purified by various charcoal filtering processes. The charcoal used is of a special variety including vegetable, hickory, and cork.

This highly purified and carefully manufactured beverage bears little if any resemblance to the Russian version, which is a drink made of potatoes. It is interesting to note that the Russian drink is primarily a Slovak drink and stems from the poverty of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania where the drink was born and where the only vege-

able that grew in quantity was the potato. Many immigrants came to the United States from Czarist Russia and brought with them this potato vodka. The American vodka, which has emerged from it, is the result of American ingenuity and genius. It is as fully American as are the sons, daughters, and grandchildren of the original Slovak and Russian immigrants.

The term "vodka" has a Russian source and means "little water"—and this beverage does indeed resemble water. Aside from the name, however, it is as American as blueberry pie and ice cream.

The American Vodka Council hereby resolves that it will bring this message to the American people so that this American industry can be proud of the fine American product which it is creating with the help of American skill and genius.

Accomplishments of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a report on the accomplishments of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which I am chairman.

There being no objection, the report was ordered and printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, I am proud to report to the Senate today that your Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which I am chairman, accomplished more business this year than we did in the 1st session of the 84th Congress, with more legislation referred to us, more reported to you, more bills passed by the Senate, and more of our bills signed by the President than in the session 2 years ago.

This year our committee had referred to it 199 Senate and House bills, resolutions, and amendments as compared to 155 such pieces of legislation 2 years ago.

We reported 54 of them to the Senate, of which 52 were passed. This was nine more than was approved in the 1st session of the 84th Congress. House committees reported 10 of the bills to the House and passed a total of 19 Senate bills, since 9 of our approved measures were substituted for House bills when the legislation reached the House floor.

The President signed 30 of our bills this year as compared to 23 2 years ago. Sixteen of our bills remained in the House committee this year as compared to 13 in 1955.

We had 506 routine nominations referred to us in 1957, all of which were approved by us and confirmed by the Senate. We handled 14 major nominations which were approved and confirmed.

Our full committee held 30 days of open hearings this year as compared to 21 days of open hearings in 1955, while our subcommittees held 34 days of open hearings compared to 30 2 years ago.

Our full committee held 18 executive sessions the same as 2 years ago, but I want to emphasize that all except a very few were short sessions following open hearings to vote upon matters discussed at the open hearings. I recall only three full executive sessions and each of these were called at the request of Government officials.

Our subcommittees held 9 executive sessions the same as 2 years ago.

The tabulation of our record follows:

1st sess. of 84th Cong. as compared to 1st sess. of 85th Cong.

	1955	1957
Number of Senate and House bills, resolutions, and amendments referred to committee	155	199
Number of bills reported by committee (Senate and House)	46	54
Number of bills passed by Senate (Senate and House)	43	52
Number of Senate bills pending in House committees	13	16
Number of Senate bills reported by House committees	20	10
Number of Senate bills passed House	21	19
Number of bills signed by President (Senate and House)	23	30
Number of routine nominations:		
Referred to committee	572	506
Confirmed	545	506
Number of major nominations:		
Referred to committee	14	14
Confirmed	14	14
OPEN HEARINGS		
Number of days of open hearings of full committee	21	30
Communications Subcommittee	2	----
Surface Transportation Subcommittee	4	11
Aviation Subcommittee	13	10
Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee	7	6
S. 2060 (to improve Standards Bureau fiscal practices)	1	----
Air Agreement Subcommittee	1	----
Freight Car Shortage Subcommittee	2	----
S. 86 (rain making)	----	2
S. 1552 (fish farming)	----	1
Automobile Marketing Subcommittee	----	4
	51	64
EXECUTIVE MEETINGS		
Number of executive meetings of full committee	18	18
Surface Transportation Subcommittee	2	5
Communications Subcommittee	1	----
Aviation Subcommittee	3	2
Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee	1	----
Auto Marketing Subcommittee	2	----
S. 86	----	1
Operations of Petroleum Industry Subcommittee	----	1
Total	27	27

This record was made possible by the wholehearted cooperation of every one of the 15 members of our committee. Members of both the majority and minority worked shoulder to shoulder to move legislation which was referred to us.

I have appreciated the willing help of the Honorable JOHN W. BRICKER, ranking Republican on our committee, and the willing hard work put in by other minority members.

I want to express my gratitude to the chairman and members of our subcommittees who put in long hours holding public hearings to gather testimony on proposed legislation.

Our Surface Transportation Subcommittee, headed by the Honorable GEORGE A. SMATHERS, held 11 days of hearings on transportation subjects and reported the transportation bills the committee eventually sent to you.

Our Aviation Subcommittee, headed by Hon. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY held 10 days of public hearings and worked long hours preparing such legislation for the committee. My Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries put in 6 days on public hearings.

During the year we created a Subcommittee on Foreign Commerce which intends to go thoroughly into the question of the Nation's foreign commerce during the 2d session of the 85th Congress. We also created a special subcommittee which will investigate the operations of the Military Air Transport Service and the Military Sea Transportation Service to determine how their operations affect the operations of our commercial sea and air services.

Mr. President, the work of our committee covered a wide range of important subjects, from establishment of a 3-man Airways Modernization Board which will develop and test plans for safe navigation and traffic control of all civil and military aircraft, to 9 changes in our transportation laws which will have important effect upon the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Airways Modernization Board is required to submit to Congress by January 1959 a plan for general reorganization of Federal aviation functions, looking to the establishment of an independent aviation authority. The committee looks to this report to lay down the plan for legislation to get away from the hit-and-miss aviation program now followed in the handling of our civilian and military aviation.

The committee also reported favorably S. 1423, a bill to amend the Civil Aeronautics Act by limiting the President's authority to overrule CAB certification decisions involving foreign air transportation. The measure requires that Government agencies permit a greater participation by a representative of domestic airlines in negotiations with foreign governments, and that such a representative be designated as a member of the United States negotiating delegation.

We also reported favorably a bill granting permanent certification to airlines operating in the States-Alaska service. These are the Alaska Airlines, Inc., Pacific Northern Airlines, and 1 of the 2 routes operated to Alaska by Northwest Airlines.

Upon the recommendation of your committee the Congress enacted Public Law 163, which redefines contract carriage under the Interstate Commerce Act. This is considered one of the most important steps taken regarding our interstate traffic laws. This, and the seven other amendments made to the Interstate Commerce Act, did much to meet the Cabinet Committee recommendations for revision of our transportation laws.

We held hearings on many other proposed amendments to the ICC Act and work on those bills will be resumed when Congress returns in January.

One of our aviation bills, S. 1753, to exclude from other income computations in determining subsidy needs the amount of capital gains realized by air carriers from the disposal of obsolete flight equipment was made the pending business when Congress reconvenes in January.

Another bill to aid air carriers to rejuvenate their equipment was S. 2229, a bill to provide Government guaranty of private loans to certain local air carriers, territorial airlines, and certificated helicopter companies. The guaranty would be for 90 percent of the loan and would enable the carriers to replace their obsolete equipmeut, modernize their fleets in interest of national defense, and increase comfort for the traveling public.

Our Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported favorably 14 bills that became laws. These included legislation to implement the 1955 treaty with Panama, repeal the 50–50 escapement of salmon in Alaska limitation contained in the White law; authorize construction of vessels in United States shipyards; authorize additional funds for Coast and Geodetic Survey vessels and to postpone for 2 years the Coast Guard regulations appyling to small boats carrying 6 or more passengers for hire.

During the year we held extended hearings on proposals to restrict transfers of vessels from United States registry to foreign registry. We also held hearings on some 20 bills calling for the sale of ships from the national defense reserve fleet to foreign governments or foreign nationals.

Reports on these measures are being prepared and will be taken up by the committee in the 2d session of the 85th Congress.

Mutual Security Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, during the last several months committees of Congress as well as Congress itself have been looking into the mutual security program in great detail. Their efforts are reflected in the Authorization Act and in the Appropriation Act passed at the end of August. I know that much has been written and spoken on this subject. But I think it timely to highlight some of the major features of the program for this year.

As to the amounts involved, in January the President's budget message referred to a program of $4.4 billion. By the time the Committee on Foreign Affairs began its consideration of the measure last spring that sum had been reduced to $3.8 billion as a result of various savings effected by the administration. As the authorization bill emerged from the Senate it carried a sum of $3.6 billion. The House reduced this to $3.1 billion. The compromise that resulted was an authorization of $3.3 billion. The appropriations made pursuant to this authorization were $2.7 billion. Thus the reduction made by Congress from the President's request was almost 29 percent.

Economic aid has been drastically reduced. Such economic aid as is given now extends only to a few countries in the Near and Far East that need such assistance to support the forces our military authorities believe essential for the free world's defense.

An innovation in this year's law is the development loan fund. The fund has been established with a capital of $300 million to extend assistance in the form of loans and credits to the underdeveloped nations of the world, particularly the newer governments of Asia and Africa. There is a popular demand in those countries for improved living conditions. No government can remain in power in any of those nations if its people do not believe that it is dedicated to bringing them better living conditions.

Many of those nations know little about the Soviet Union. They believe that the Soviet system has brought great improvement in the standard of living of the people in Russia and in Communist China. At the same time, they regard their national sovereignty and independence as more important than anything else.

Events of the last year have made it clear that the future welfare and security of the United States are bound up to an increasing extent with the nations of Asia and Africa. If, in that period, we can maintain the confidence and respect of these nations, we can expect that the lives of our children will be more peaceful and secure than they are today. On the other hand, if these people believe us to be uninterested in their development, we may expect to live in a world of increasing international tension.

The development loan fund offers the underdeveloped people a reasonable expectation that the United States will extend them assistance if they come forward with feasible plans for their own development. Many of the projects necessary for their economic improvement may take several years to complete. It is important that, if we extend credit to start a project such as land reclamation, we follow through. Otherwise it would be better that we never start it. We want nations to feel confident that if they do their part of the job, they can count on us to carry out our commitments. I think the inclusion of the development loan fund is one of the most far-reaching steps we have taken in our foreign aid program. This is much better than outright grants from which we could expect no return.

The technical cooperation program, originally called point 4, has been continued although at a level below that planned by the administration. Those programs are almost entirely demonstration-type programs designed to impart our skills and information to other peoples in basic fields such as education, public health, agriculture, and public administration. By their very nature they have made a deep impress on many peoples in the underdeveloped countries and have garnered for us an important measure of goodwill and understanding at the grassroots level.

It is easy to be critical of parts of a program that is global in scope. I have no doubt that there is some waste, some inefficiency, some poor personnel, and some unwise programing. But these defects must always be weighed against the benefits that we Americans derive from a stronger world of free people.

Relief Assistance Under Public Law 875

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, late in June of this year, the city of Fargo, N. D., sustained a terrific loss as a result of one of the most devastating tornadoes in the history of this area. Various church organizations, civic groups, individuals, and the Red Cross have contributed greatly to the relief of the stricken people in the city of Fargo. The Federal Government, through Public Law 875, the Small Business Administration, and other organizations, particularly the Federal Civil Defense Administration, which administers Public Law 875, have given considerable relief.

There has been some misunderstanding regarding the relief assistance that can be provided under Public Law 875. The senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], on August 28, made a statement on the Senate floor concerning the assistance provided by the Federal Government under Public Law 875.

Mr. President, with reference to the statement made by the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], I ask unanimous consent to have inserted as a part of my remarks a letter directed to me at my request by Mr. Lewis E. Berry, Deputy Administrator of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, explaining their action with respect to the assistance given Fargo.

Also, Mr. President, at my request, Mr. Theo W. Sneed, a staff member of the Senate Public Works Committee, gave me an interpretation regarding the scope and limitation of public assistance under Public Law 875. I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Sneed's interpretation inserted as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., August 30, 1957.

Hon. MILTON R. YOUNG,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: At your request, I submit the following report with respect to Senator ESTES KEFAUVER'S statement to the Senate on August 28 about the Fargo, N. Dak., tornado of June 20. Senator KEFAUVER said that in administering Public Law 875, the Federal Disaster Relief Act, FCDA had not followed congressional intent and that the law had been interpreted in a narrow and limited manner.

The section of the law in question reads as follows:

"SEC. 3. In any major disaster, Federal agencies are hereby authorized when directed by the President to provide assistance (a) by utilizing or landing, with or without compensation therefor, to States and local governments their equipment, supplies, facilities, personnel, and other resources, other than the extension of credit under the authority of any act; (b) by distributing, through the American National Red Cross or otherwise, medicine, food, and other consumable supplies; (c) by donating to States and local governments equipment and supplies determined under then existing law to be surplus to the needs and responsibilities of the Federal Government; and (d) by performing on public or private lands protective and other work essential for the preservation of life and property, clearing debris and wreckage, making emergency repairs to and temporary replacement of public facilities of local governments damaged or destroyed in such major disaster, and making contributions to States and local governments for purposes stated in subsection (d). The authority conferred by this act, and any funds provided hereunder shall be supplementary to, and not in substitution for, nor in limitation of, any

her authority conferred or funds provided der any other law. Any funds received by deral agencies as reimbursement for serv- s or supplies furnished under the authority this section shall be deposited to the credit the appropriation or appropriations cur- tly available for such services or supplies. e Federal Government shall not be liable any claim based upon the exercise or per- rmance or the failure to exercise or per- rm a discretionary function or duty on the rt of a Federal agency or an employee of e Government in carrying out the provi- ons of this section."

Damage caused by the Fargo tornado was incipally to private dwellings, churches, rochial schools, a public school fully cov- ed by insurance, and certain public facili- s including streets. The Governor of North kota requested $20,000 in Federal funds pay for damage to public facilities, tem- rary repairs, and for debris removal, all which were eligible under Public Law 5.

Since the debris was removed from the reets and public facilities were soon in eration, the city and State offices were ked to submit the necessary forms and oject application for Federal payment for bris removal on June 25, 5 days after the rnado. The June 25 cutoff date was agree- le to State Disaster Coordinator Tharalson d R. A. Shaw, disaster reconstruction su- erintendent of Fargo. This date had no aring whatever on FCDA's consideration of ems eligible for health or public safety easures, or for temporary replacement or mergency repair.

Applications for Federal funds for other ems eligible under Public Law 875, were to e submitted in 60 days. A further extension f 60 days was given the State on August 20 nd the State presumably advised the mayor. he mayor did not on June 25, nor for several eeks, raise objections to the initial 60-day eadline date.

Mr. Kenneth Lake, FCDA Disaster Co- rdinator, had an official of the United tates Public Health Service inspect the ealth situation in Fargo. After a thorough nvestigation, this official declared that there as no health hazard, that the local author- ties were doing everything necessary, and herefore that he would not certify to FCDA he existence of a health hazard as required efore Federal funds could be expended. he fact that there has been no epidemic or lnesses resulting from the disaster would ppear to bear out the judgment of the ederal health official. While Fargo health fficials desired that a mosquito spray job e done at a cost of $7,000, it was deter- mined that mosquito spraying was a recur- ng need and had been scheduled by the city hortly before the tornado hit. On several occasions, the mayor was requested by Mr. Lake to submit substantiated evidence of ny health hazard work performed, other han that of mosquito spraying and he did ot do so.

The mayor in a meeting with the North Dakota congressional delegation and an FCDA official said the city expected a blank check from the Federal Government of from $250,000 to $400,000 to pay for such items as:

1. Repair of churches.
2. Rebuilding of parochial schools.
3. Construction of new public school building, although the one damaged was fully insured.
4. Compensation for business concerns and trucking companies which had volunteered their services.
5. Federal reimbursement of individuals, businesses, etc., for work days and business lost as a result of damage.

The above items mentioned by the mayor were ineligible under any interpretation of the law because it would have meant the expenditure of Federal funds for religious and private organizations, and on private property.

I assure you that every effort, within the law, has been made to relieve the suffering and damage caused by the Fargo tornado. In addition to the assistance under Public Law 875, other Government agencies, particularly Small Business Administration and Housing and Home Finance Agency, assisted the people of the area whose homes and businesses were lost or damaged. Emergency welfare needs were cared for by the American National Red Cross.

I assure you that the city of Fargo has received the same treatment as have other cities struck by tornadoes, i. e., Worcester, Mass., Waco, Tex., Flint, Mich., Kansas City, Mo., and others.

Please advise me if you need additional information.

Sincerely,

LEWIS E. BERRY.

The matter of Federal assistance in emergency relief during major disasters has been the subject of considerable controversy for several years. Bills were introduced in the 80th Congress on which the Committee on Public Works held public hearings. The bill, S. 2831 (80th) was reported by the committee and passed the Senate, but was not acted on by the House.

During the 81st Congress, the matter was revived, and the Senate Committee on Public Works held hearings on S. 2415. The House bill, H. R. 8396, was passed by the House and reported by the committee without amendment, and became Public Law 875. Copies of the law, committee report, and hearings are enclosed.

It is believed that the intent of Congress in enacting Public Law 875 was to provide a standing authorization for the President to make use of all available Federal agencies to supplement State and local agencies in providing immediate and emergency assistance during and immediately after major disasters to alleviate suffering and damage, and to remove the threat of loss of life and property and to improve health conditions.

It was the intent that such relief of damage and hardship would be on an emergency basis only, with only temporary repair or major replacement of public facilities made during and immediately after such disaster, without making permanent repairs or rehabilitation. It was thought that after the work performed by the Federal agencies in alleviating the immediate effects of the disaster had been completed, for protection of the facilities of the individual or the community and so that the disaster would cause no further damage to life or property, the Federal activities would cease. The restoration, replacement, or permanent improvement of public facilities was believed to be a responsibility of the local governments.

I would certainly interpret the law as not being applicable to most of the items listed in Mr. Berry's letter to Senator YOUNG. The intent was for Federal coordination and advice toward use of local agencies, manpower, material, and equipment, during and immediately after the disaster. For instance, repair of churches and schools might be limited to repair of roofs, windows, or walls, to prevent further immediate damage to such buildings and permits its immediate use. I believe that the estimated cost of such emergency repairs could be paid a local agency to apply on the permanent repairs.

You will note in the hearings and in the report, S. 2415, contained section 6 that would permit Federal grants of funds to local governments for restoring or reconstructing public facilities on a permanent basis. This section was deleted from the bill, for reasons stated in the report. Items listed by the mayor for reimbursement go far beyond the terms of section 6, which was deleted from the bill.

I know of no additional Federal aid the city of Fargo can obtain, other than under some of the loan authorizations. I am also enclosing House Document No. 479, the president's report on the act, which discusses the administration of the act.

THEO. W. SNEED,
Technical Staff Member, Committee on Public Works.

Activities of the Committee on Un-American Activities During the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report on the activities of the Committee on Un-American Activities during the 1st session of the 85th Congress:

REPORT BY CHAIRMAN FRANCIS E. WALTER ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES DURING THE 1ST SESSION OF THE 85TH CONGRESS

Through hearings and investigations conducted in key cities across the United States, the Committee on Un-American Activities thus far in 1957 has uncovered significant new aspects of the operation of the Communist conspiracy.

Paradoxically, the committee has found that at the very moment the Communist Party itself claims that its formal organization is disintegrating, the Communist apparatus has, in fact, been able to record some of its most important accomplishments.

The results of the committee's inquiries have shown that despite the brutal chronicle of communism in this country and abroad, and the Kremlin's patent goal of world enslavement, a great number of Americans still maintain allegiance to the program of conspiracy of international communism.

One major focus of the committee's work was Communist propaganda—material imported from overseas and newspapers and other literature published by the Communist-controlled foreign-language press and Communist publishing houses in the United States.

Public hearings were held in Washington, New York, Chicago, and New Orleans, as a continuation of the committee's propaganda hearings conducted last year in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, and San Francisco.

In New York the committee called before it 28 witnesses from foreign-language publications, periodicals, publishing firms, and book stores. During these hearings, Irving Fishman, Deputy Director of Customs in New York City, testified that 6,947,000 pieces of Communist propaganda were imported into the United States last year as bulk mail; this, he added, does not include Communist propaganda imported via first-class mail or diplomatic pouches.

In Chicago the committee heard 9 witnesses, among them the editors and business manager of the Lithuania daily Vilnis, whose circulation of 32,000 makes it even larger than the Daily Worker. The hearings in both New York and Chicago provided further proof that the Communist-dominated foreign-language press constitutes the Kremlin's most important propaganda pipeline to nationality and minority groups in the United States.

In order to present to the American people a complete picture of the international Communist conspiracy, the committee this year extended its series of consultations with experts who have had firsthand contact with the global program of the Kremlin. Together their testimony confirms that the operations of the Communist apparatus in the United States comprise only one segment of a worldwide complex of subversion and treachery.

In one of these consultations, Dr. Frederick Charles Schwarz, executive director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, predicts that international communism will achieve its goal of world domination within the next 16 years if its present rate of expansion continues unabated.

In another, three experts warned that trade with the Soviet Union and other Communist nations is a one-way street that can lead only to the ultimate destruction of United States economy.

Reviewing the Communist threat in the Far East, Kuo-Shuen Chang, a former Singapore newspaper editor, reported that Communist labor union and student organizations, backed by combat-trained guerrillas, are preparing to seize control of Singapore and Malaya in the vacuum created by termination of the British rule there.

Another witness, Dr. Augustus Rei, former President of Estonia, revealed that the Soviet Union has now converted the conquered Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into a vast staging area for a future world war. Dr. Rei and two Hungarian officials who fled after the revolution was crushed last fall, presented an appalling description of Soviet terror.

Dr. Rei testified that more than 170,000 of a total Estonia population of 1,200,000 had fallen victim to Soviet murder and deportation after the seizure of his country by the Kremlin.

The two leaders of the Hungarian revolution, Janos Jorvath and Sandor Kiss, reported that Hungary is now in the grip of a reign of terror imposed by the Red army and the reconstituted Hungarian security troops. Significantly, all of the witnesses who testified on international communism urged severance of diplomatic relations with the Kremlin and the satellite governments.

The Committee on Un-American Activities this year also inaugurated publication of biographies of leaders of the Soviet Union and international communism. Those released thus far have dealt with Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin, Marshals Georgi Zhukov and Ivan Konev of the Soviet Union; and Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai of Red China. The information contained in these biographies demonstrates beyond any doubt the hopelessness of attempting to negotiate with the leaders of international communism as if they were men of good faith.

Distribution of the staff consultations with experts on international communism and the biographies has been made throughout the country. The response that they have occasioned indicates that they have helped fill a need in the knowledge of the American people about the true nature of international communism.

Another need was filled with the publication by the committee of an extensive report on Communist Political Subversion—the campaign to destroy the security programs of the United States Government. The report resulted from hearings held by the committee in key cities across the United States, during which the committee heard dozens of witnesses and compiled thousands of documents dealing with the Communist program. The testimony and committee documents have been published in two massive volumes reflecting one of the most exhaustive inquiries ever made by a congressional committee into any aspect of communism.

The committee found that a prodigious campaign of political subversion, clandestinely directed by a nationwide apparatus of Communist agents, menaces the entire security system of the United States. The essence of this campaign, the committee found, is the perversion of our democratic process of Government. If it continues unabated, it promises the Kremlin a degree of success that never could have been achieved by the classic means of force and violence.

The chief targets of the Communist Party in its political subversion campaign, the committee found, are the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act, the Internal Security Act, the Smith Act and, indeed, all other legislative and executive actions aimed against the Kremlin's operations in the United States.

The Committee on Un-American Activities found that the Communist Party has succeeded in establishing over 200 organizations to execute this campaign of political subversion. While these individual organizations claim to be independent and autonomous, the committee found that they are in fact, controlled in every instance by the Communist Party. Through these organizations the Communist Party has been able to subject both major political parties, State legislatures, and the Congress to an impact of letters, petitions, and personal appeals, all of which are designed to fabricate the impression that a popular sentiment exists for enfeebling the safeguards presently established by our immigration and security systems.

To cope successfully with aspects of the Communist apparatus not treated adequately in current laws, the Committee on Un-American Activities formulated and presented to the Congress proposals for legislation coordinating all individual recommendations that have been made in this field. Together they would greatly strengthen the Government's hand in dealing with all manifestations of Communist activity.

While it was impossible for the Congress to consider the legislation in the few days that remained of the session after it was introduced, it is hoped that action can be taken as soon as possible when Congress reconvenes.

One of the most acute problems presented by the Communist conspiracy continues to be that of espionage. Through testimony obtained from Boris Morros, the American counterspy whose work for over more than a decade has resulted in the exposure of nine key Soviet spies, the committee has been able to obtain connection links which it hopes will enable it to trace the pattern of Soviet espionage in yet undivulged areas.

Federal Aid to Dallas County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. F. SISK
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, on August 21, 1957, starting at page A6887 the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reported my remarks under the heading "Fantastic Federal Aid to Dallas County Revealed." In those remarks I detailed some of the very large Federal Government expenditures in the form of grants, gifts, loans, subsidies, guaranties, and other programs for the benefit of Dallas County, Tex.

Two errors in the figures cited have now come to my attention. Although these inaccuracies did not materially alter the total, I want to be entirely fair in the matter and would therefore like to indicate appropriate corrections.

On the basis of information supplied by the Department of Agriculture I stated Dallas County programs received $7,496,000 in agriculture funds during the fiscal years 1955 through 1957. The Department now advises that through error it included sums actually allocated to other Texas counties by the Rural Electrification Administration, so that it appears the correct amount should have been $916,000.

I am also advised that cost figures furnished by the Veterans' Administration covering construction of a veterans' hospital were misinterpreted to indicate real estate costs of $10,358,263 which were actually included in total costs of $11,397,652. The separate real-estate costs should be eliminated.

I stated the incomplete expenditures in Dallas County detailed in my remarks reached the sum of $902,105,597. With these corrections, the total should be $885,167,334.

United States Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, on October 19, 1957, the American Legion Post, No. 1089, of New Hyde Park, N. Y., will begin its second celebration of a United States Week. The program will commemorate that glorious victory of Gen. George Washington at Yorktown, on October 19, 1781, when independence was won for the United States of America.

Many patriotic groups throughout the country hold similar celebrations and I hope many more will follow the pattern of the New Hyde Park post and set aside the week of October 19 to 26 to honor our flag and our patriots, who have made possible the freedom we now know.

I am pleased to request that there be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from the adjutant of New Hyde Park Post 1089, Harold A. Sandford, and a paper prepared by him on the events at Yorktown.

The letter follows:

NEW HYDE PARK (NEW YORK) POST 1089,
AMERICAN LEGION.

CONGRESSMAN STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DEROUNIAN: On October 19, 1957, the American Legion Post 1089, New Hyde Park, will begin its second celebration of a United States Week from October 19 to 26.

The purpose of such a program is to commemorate the glorious victory of Gen. George Washington at Yorktown, on October 19, 1781.

Through the wonderful cooperation of our Congressman, STEVEN B. DERDUNIAN, the mayors of various communities, American Legion posts, public and parochial school officials, Boy Scout and Girl Scout leaders and many patriotic citizens, we were very successful in starting the movement here in 1956. During the week of October 19–26 we have an opportunity to honor our flag, our patriots, our historical documents and events of the past. We hope that our good citizens all over the country will join us this year to again celebrate our magnificent heritage on United States Week.

For God and country.

HAROLD A. SANDFORD, *Adjutant.*

YORKTOWN AND THE SIEGE OF 1781

On the level fields outside the small colonial village of Yorktown occurred 1 of the great decisive battles of world history and 1 of the most momentous events in American history. Here, on October 19, 1781, after a prolonged siege, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to an allied French and American army under George Washington, virtually ending the American Revolution and assuring American independence. Although the hostilities did not end formally until 2 years later—on September 3, 1783—in reality the dramatic victory at Yorktown had ended forever the subservience of the American colonies to a foreign power. Because of this victory the United States became truly a free and independent nation.

THE VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN

The early campaigns of the Revolutionary War were fought mostly in New England and the Middle Atlantic States. After 1778 the greatest activity was to the South. In 1780 and 1781, Lord Cornwallis led his British army victoriously out of Charleston and through North and South Carolina, not, however, without feeling the effective use of American arms at Kings Mountain and at Cowpens.

On March 15, 1781, Gen. Nathanael Green accepted the challenge to battle and met the British forces at Guilford Courthouse, N. C. Although this battle was a British victory it left the victor weakened to the extent that he was unable to capitalize on his success. In April Cornwallis decided to proceed to Wilmington (N. C.) for the purpose of recruiting and refitting. Thus the stage was set for the final campaign of the war.

Cornwallis, believing that he had to reduce Virginia before he could hope to hold the southern provinces, marched to Petersburg, Va., on April 25, and made junction with other British forces in Virginia on May 20. He now commanded a reasonably well supplied and able field force of some 5,300 troops and was opposed by the Marquis de Lafayette, commanding a small force not strong enough to risk battle. The role of this youthful commander was "that of a terrier baiting a bull." In the weeks that followed he harassed, threatened, feinted, and retreated from the superior British forces. Cornwallis continued his destruction of arms and supply depots until about June 15, when, with the season hot, his troops tired, and Lafayette still evading him, decided to return to Williamsburg.

On June 10 General Wayne joined the American forces with 1,000 men. Two days later Col. William Campbell provided an additional 600 mountain men, and Von Steuben appeared with a detachment. With these reinforcements Lafayette felt strong enough for more aggressive action.

By this time a misunderstanding between Cornwallis and Sir Clinton, his superior in New York, over matters of strategy and troop deployment, began to shape the direction of affairs in Virginia. Cornwallis received instructions to take defensive station at Williamsburg or Yorktown, reserve troops for his protection, and send the remainder by transport to New York. In the execution of these orders Cornwallis left Williamsburg on July 4 for Portsmouth, where he could dispatch the troops to New York. It was during this march that General Wayne, with small advance unit, came face to face with the major part of the British Army. There was sharp action and after a daring charge which stopped the British advancement, momentarily, Wayne was able to effect a retreat with reasonable success. Actual military victory again rested with the British, but the battle of Green Spring was another good test of the training and discipline of the American troops.

When Cornwallis arrived at Portsmouth the troops requested by Clinton were made ready and he was notified on July 17. A few days later, on July 21, it was learned that all plans had been drastically changed. He was instructed to hold a position on the peninsula. After careful study it was decided to fortify Yorktown and Gloucester. On July 30 transports sailed for Yorktown, the remainder of the forces crossed Hampton Roads by small boat and proceeded to Yorktown by road. The construction of defenses was begun immediately and soldiers wrote that Camp Yorktown was a place of hard labor. Lafayette took up a position some 30 miles away, near West Point, and instructed General Wayne to remain where he was near Portsmouth.

STRATEGY OF THE SIEGE

As the year 1781 opened, Washington continued to be troubled by the lack of assistance to his units to the south, and the inability to achieve anything decisive in the north. New hope came when the French Government approved of a sizable naval force for operation in American waters, under the command of the Count de Grasse. There was already an excellent French Army corps under the Count de Rochambeau, ready to cooperate with Washington, at Newport, R. I.

From February 10 to August 14 Washington was engaged with the French in working out a plan of action. The plan was that if Clinton's position became vulnerable the French fleet would move inside Sandy Hook. The alternate plan was an operation to capture the British force in Virginia. In July diversionary action by Washington in New York caused Clinton to request troops from Cornwallis and resulted in the movement of British forces to Portsmouth, as already described. When Washington received dispatches from the Count de Grasse, on August 14, informing him that the French fleet was sailing for Chesapeake Bay with a substantial fleet and 3,200 land troops, he saw that a combined land and naval operation in Virginia was the only possible plan.

Leaving less than 4,000 men before New York, Washington, with 4,000 French and 2,000 American troops, started the movement to Virginia on August 19. They used three separate and distinct routes to confuse Clinton, who did not fully understand what was happening. At Princeton the forces joined and continued through Trenton, Philadelphia, Chester, Pa., and Wilmington to the head of Chesapeake Bay.

On September 5 Washington heard that de Grasse had arrived in Chesapeake Bay with 28 ships, some frigates and sloops and 3,200 troops which had already joined Lafayette forces near Yorktown. Plans were made to transport the allied armies down the bay by ship, after which Washington, Rochambeau and Chastellux proceeded by land to Williamsburg, stopping enroute for several days at Mt. Vernon. This was Washingtons first visit home in 6 years. On his arrvial at Williamsburg September 14, Washington assumed command of the American and French forces.

BATTLE OF THE VIRGINIA CAPES

This naval action of September 5 was a most important phase of the siege of Yorktown. At a critical point the French had seized control of the sea and had sealed in the British at Yorktown. Thus preventing the evacuation of Cornwallis and ending his hopes of reinforcements and supply.

De Grasse had arrived off the Virginia Capes on August 30, and after disposing the two British lookout ships, landed his troops who joined Lafayette. He was no doubt wondering how he had been able to reach Virginia without British interference. At 4 p. m. on September 5 the British fleet was sighted and de Grasse moved his French fleet into the Atlantic to allow more room to maneuver. Heavy action started and continued for 2½ hours, when it became dark. During the night the two fleets remained close together. For the next 2 days they remained within sight of each other but both hesitated to resume the action. On the 9th contact was lost and Rear Admiral Graves decided that it was too hazardous to renew the action.

THE SIEGE

On September 7 Lafayette started moving his forces to where he could temporarily block Cornwallis. During the next day his army was enlarged by the arrival of French forces from de Grasse's ships. When Washington arrived on September 14 there was great rejoicing. The American and French forces continued to arrive by ship from the upper Chesapeake and by September 27 all was in readiness for an allied movement against Yorktown.

On the morning of the 28th French and American units began to move up. Contact was made with the British pickets who fell back giving the alarm. Some shots were fired as the allied forces assumed positions, forming a semicircle around Yorktown. In the days that followed there was much scouting and probing at the enemy defenses. Heavy guns and mortars were arriving continually and British artillery maintained a steady and effective fire. Up to October 3 there had been several encounters with the British, their unsuccessful encounter on this day was responsible for them remaining behind their defenses until the end of the siege.

On October 6, the allies started digging in to form their first siege line. Numerous trenches were dug and mortars and howitzers were set into position. On October 9 the first guns went into action. For 3 days there was no letup in the concentrated and methodical bombardment of Yorktown. It was on October 11 that Washington started his forces to work on a second siege line, which was much closer to the British lines.

To complete the second siege line it was necessary to reduce 2 British redoubts, Nos. 9 and 10. On the night of October 14 this was accomplished by 400 Americans who took No. 10 redoubt in 10 minutes, and the French who took No. 9 redoubt. The action on this night was called the most dramatic and heroic movement in the siege. On the nights of October 15 and 16 Cornwallis made 2 unsuccessful attempts to break the allied lines and as a result called a council with his officers and requested a parley with the allied commander on October 17.

THE SURRENDER, OCTOBER 19, 1781

On October 17, after 8 days of devastating artillery fire, the British flag of truce was raised. There followed a cessation of hostilities during which two officers from each side met to settle the terms of surrender.

On the morning of October 19, Washington sent his Articles of Capitulation to Cornwallis, who signed them with Captain Symonds, commander of the British naval

units. Washington and Rochambeau appear to have signed in captured redoubt No. 10.

At noon two British redoubts were occupied by an American and a French unit.

At 2 p. m., the British Army, led by Brigadier General O'Hara (Cornwallis was sick) marched out from Yorktown to the tune of an old British march entitled "The World Turned Upside Down." Major General Lincoln accepted his sword—the token of surrender—and then returned it. Following this the British Army marched down Surrender Road between columns of allied troops to a large level field where the formal surrender took place.

Thus the siege of Yorktown ended. The climax of the Revolution had passed and America could look forward to a free and independent status. A new nation was born.

A Report to the People of Berks County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as has been my custom in years past, I take this opportunity of reporting to my constituents, the people of Berks County, the 14th Congressional District of Pennsylvania.

PURPOSE OF REPORT

This report deals with the work and the record of the 1st session of the 85th Congress. It summarizes my activities during the past year and the position I have taken on important issues in the Congress.

During the session, I have made weekly radio reports and have written a report for the weekly newspapers of Berks County. This printed report supplements the weekly radio broadcasts and news columns so that all citizens of Berks County may have the opportunity to know my legislative record and the record of the Congress as a whole.

REPRESENTATION

As a Representative of the people of Berks County in the Congress, I have made every effort to serve to the best of my ability. The views of every person who has written me on legislative issues have been afforded full consideration. Individual problems of constituents have been promptly handled. Every possible effort has been made to be of assistance to those persons who have come to my office for information, advice, or service. Again in the 1st session of the 85th Congress, I was present for every rollcall vote.

READING OFFICE

My office in the Reading Post Office Building has been open 6 days a week for the convenience of constituents who have problems or who wish to present their views and suggestions. I have spent every other weekend in Reading during the session and have fulfilled numerous appointments with constituents who called at my office.

WASHINGTON VISITS

An increased number of school groups, religious organizations, women's clubs, Boy and Girl Scout groups have come to Washington this year and visited me in the Capitol. With the help of Mrs. Rhodes, I have tried to make these visits interesting, educational, and enjoyable.

COMMITTEE WORK

During the 85th Congress I have served on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Committee on House Administration. The Commerce Committee has wide jurisdiction over matters pertaining to transportation, communications, health, science, and research. I am also a member of the Health and Science Subcommittee. Last February I served as chairman of a special committee which was named to represent the Commerce Committee at a meeting of deans and directors of schools of public health, held in San Juan, P. R.

My views on pending legislation were presented to other committees of the House and Senate on such subjects as railroad retirement, postal rates, assistance to the handicapped, civil-service retirement, postal pay, and tax exemption on nonprofit community swimming pool associations.

BILLS INTRODUCED

I have sponsored legislation to raise income-tax exemptions to $800, establish a Bureau of Older Persons, reduce the retirement age under social security, establish an agency to assist the handicapped, reduce small-business tax rates, stabilize employment in the textile industry, and to increase railroad retirement benefits. Other bills I have introduced would curb arbitrary cancellation of health, accident, and hospitalization insurance, prohibit destruction of the National Grange headquarters, grant tax deductions to handicapped persons, provide grants to schools of public health, liberalize public-assistance provisions of the Social Security Act, and limit subsidies paid to second-class mail users.

CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE

I have taken part in important debates on the floor of the House on such issues as postal rates, public-health funds, pension increases for Spanish-American War widows, exemption of nonprofit swimming-pool groups from Federal excise taxes, and providing additional wheat-acreage allotments for feed grain use on the farm.

CONSERVATIVE COALITION

A coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats was again a dominant force in the 85th Congress. This coalition succeeded in blocking or weakening many important measures which minority liberal Members of Congress considered essential.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF THE 85TH CONGRESS

The 85th Congress took an important step forward in enacting civil-rights legislation but failed to act favorably or to act at all on other important issues necessary to meet successfully the challenge of automation, abundance, and surpluses.

The average citizen did not properly share in the prosperity created by increased production, scientific and technical advances. Those of us who wanted to channel some of this prosperity to aged, retired, disabled, and handicapped citizens were in a minority.

Listed below are some of the important proposals which came before the 85th Congress.

COST OF LIVING—HARD MONEY POLICIES

The cost of living has gone up each month during the past year to a new record high. Inflation is particularly hard on retired persons and others living on fixed incomes since it reduces the amount of goods and services which they can afford. The American dollar today is worth less than ever before in our history.

The administration's monetary and fiscal policies have not stopped inflation. Many Members of Congress and recognized economic experts have been critical of these policies as the cause of the inflationary trend. The national debt has risen by $8 billion during the past 4 years; the Federal budget is the largest single peace time budget in our history. Interest rates which the Government must pay are now at their highest level since the depression years of the 1930's. In Federal taxes alone this costs the people an additional billion dollars a year. This has also raised interest rates on private borrowing to a similar record high, making it difficult for small businesses to expand, increasing costs of home-buying, automobile financing, and other consumer time-purchasing transactions. It has also increased costs of local governments in the issuance of bonds to finance new schools, streets, sewers, and other public improvements.

TAX REDUCTION

No tax cut was considered in the 1st session. But next January the House Ways and Means Committee will begin consideration of ways to reduce income taxes. Among the plans to be considered is my proposal to increase the exemption for taxpayers and dependents from $600 to $800. This would give substantial tax savings to the great majority of American taxpayers in the low and middle income brackets. It would put additional purchasing power into the hands of people and will contribute substantially to business activity and economic progress.

RETIREMENT LEGISLATION

Bills to increase benefits under the Railroad Retirement and Civil Service Retirement Acts made progress this year, but did not receive final approval before adjournment. Hearings were held on both measures, at which time I presented statements in support of an increase in benefits needed to offset the rising cost of living. There is a strong possibility that this legislation, which has my support, will be favorably acted on early in the next session.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Congress did nothing in this important field, despite the fact that rising costs cut the living level of retired persons receiving social-security benefits. At the end of 1956 more than 9 million persons in the United States were receiving old-age and survivors' insurance benefits. Over 18,000 of these persons reside in Berks County.

More than 73 million American wage earners are now covered. If death

uld take the family breadwinner, the thers and children of 9 out of 10 fam- s would be eligible for survivors' efits.

nder amendments enacted last year, lly disabled individuals are now eligi- for full benefits at age 50. However, d interpretation of the new disability visions has denied many thousands of ericans of these benefits.

Much remains to be done to make the al-security program fully adequate in eting the needs of our retired and dis- ed folks. The rising cost of living kes an increase in the benefits an ent necessity. The retirement age both men and women should be low- d to age 62 and 60, respectively. Dis- ity benefits should be paid immedi- y upon disability, regardless of age. n sponsoring legislation to make these provements in the law.

Congress enacted a law to extend for ther year the time limits for dis- ed persons to file applications for dis- ity freeze to preserve their rights to -age, survivors', and disability insur- e.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM

joined a group of northern and west- liberal Democratic Members of Con- ss in offering a positive legislative gram to meet the needs and chal- ges of our modern civilization.

Our program calls for tax reform, im- ved social security, aid to small busi- s, strengthening of the antitrust laws, hool construction, civil rights, im- ved utilization and conservation of natural resources, a positive foreign licy, an adequate and modern na- nal defense, expanded health and re- rch, public-works projects, and an proved and realistic farm program.

All of these objectives cannot be hieved in one session or in one Con- ss. They are the types of programs ich we feel are necessary to the long- ge welfare of the American people. ogress on some of these measures has n made during the past session. On hers, we have received setbacks. Con- ering the conservative makeup of the sent Congress, I feel that our progress s been encouraging.

We will continue to work for this type liberal and progressive program in e months and years ahead.

FARM LEGISLATION

Many farmers are being caught in the ueeze between rising living costs and clining farm income. They have not ared well in the Nation's increased oduction and wealth.

A bill which will benefit Berks farmers d my active support. It permits farm- s to grow up to 30 acres of wheat for ed, without being subject to penalty der the acreage-allotment program. e new law was backed by Berks farm ganizations.

Congress increased funds for the farm rplus disposal program, under which trade our farm commodities for for- n currencies. These, in turn, are used purchase strategic materials and to ster their economies.

A limitation of $3,000 was placed on l-bank acreage reserve payments, ile conservation reserve payments were limited to $5,000 per farm unit. These limitations were enacted as a result of abuses of soil-bank payments among large corporation farms in the West. One such farm received $209,000 for not planting crops last year. The new law corrects this unwarranted situation.

CIVIL RIGHTS

For the first time in 82 years a civil-rights bill has been passed by Congress. It is a compromise measure, designed to protect the voting rights of all citizens. It also establishes a Commission on Civil Rights and a Civil Rights Section in the Justice Department. The measure is an important step forward on civil rights; it received my full support.

VETERANS

Legislation was enacted to increase by an average of 10 percent the rates of compensation for veterans suffering service-connected disabilities. Allowances for dependents of these veterans were also increased. This meritorious bill had my full support.

I spoke and voted for a House-passed bill to increase the pensions of Spanish-American War widows to $75 a month; the Senate failed to act on the measure this year. No action has yet been taken on World War I widows' pension legislation. Legislation to incorporate the Veterans of World War I made progress in the Judiciary Committee and is expected to come before the House next session.

An amendment to the Social Security Act permits disabled veterans to draw both service-connected disability compensation from the VA and social-security disability benefits without any reduction.

CONSERVATION

Conservationists in Congress turned back a powerful attack on the water pollution control program. Under the guise of economy, funds to provide grants to States to build sewage-treatment plants were first eliminated from the appropriation bill. They were finally restored on a rollcall vote. I voted for the grants, which are needed to control pollution to safeguard the public health and prevent destruction of fish in our rivers and streams.

GOVERNMENT FISCAL PROBE

The Senate Finance Committee began an extensive investigation of the administration's monetary and fiscal policies, including such problems as hard money, high interest rates, inflation, the public debt, and the budget.

It has already been disclosed that these policies had benefited big speculators and financial interests and seriously hurt small business, farmers, retired folks, professional and industrial workers.

POSTAL RATE INCREASE

The House passed the bill increasing first-class postal rates from 3 to 4 cents and making increases in second- and third-class mail. My amendment to limit publisher's subsidies to $100,000 for any one year was adopted by the House. I feel that it is unfair to require the average citizen to pay more for his letter postage unless subsidies to big magazine publishers, which now amount to as much as $9½ million a year for one publisher, are substantially reduced.

This legislation is now in the Senate committee where it will be considered next session.

NATURAL GAS

A bill to exempt producers of natural gas from effective Federal regulation is again before the Congress. Vetoed last year after oil lobbyists attempted to bribe a Senator, the bill was again pushed through committee. Final action was put off until next session. I am opposed to the bill, because it is special-interest legislation which would cost the American gas-consuming public hundreds of millions of dollars in higher gas rates.

HOUSING

Increased grants for slum clearance and urban-renewal programs were authorized by Congress in the 1957 Housing Act. The Walnut Street redevelopment and parking project in Reading was approved by Federal housing officials during the year.

Downpayment requirements on FHA-insured homes were lowered after much administration reluctance. FHA interest rates were raised again, costing home buyers many additional millions of dollars a year.

The new housing measure failed to provide for special housing for elderly folks, a program for which I have been working.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RACKETEERING PROBE

A special Senate subcommittee has conducted lengthy hearings on improper activities in the labor-management field. The AFL–CIO has moved to expel labor leaders whose actions have been contrary to the best interests of their membership. The hearings will continue in the next session.

Legislation to require more strict regulation of union welfare funds has been considered by various congressional committees but no final action was taken in the first session.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

Legislation to provide Federal assistance to States in building school classrooms to meet critical shortages was blocked in the House by a coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats by a narrow margin of 5 votes.

Although the President said he favored school-construction legislation, he gave it little positive support in the crucial stages. Three of his top four House leaders voted to kill the school bill, along with 108 other Republicans; I joined 125 other Democrats in voting for the school bill. The fate of school-construction legislation in the next session is now in doubt.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND POWER DEVELOPMENT

Congress provided funds for the construction of three atomic-power reactors by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The Niagara River project was approved by Congress authorizing the construction of a hydroelectric power project by the New York State Power Authority. Power generated will be divided between private utilities and municipally owned public utilities and coopera-

tives. Pennsylvania and other nearby States will share 10 percent of the power.

NONPROFIT SWIMMING POOLS

My bill to exempt dues and fees paid to nonprofit community swimming pools from the 20-percent Federal excise tax has passed the House as part of a broad excise-tax-revision measure. These pools serve a useful purpose in the community in providing healthy recreational facilities for children and young people.

Repeal of the tax would stimulate the growth of these nonprofit pool organizations throughout the country. The Senate is expected to act on my proposal in the next session.

DISTRESSED LABOR AREAS

Senate hearings were held on legislation to provide assistance to areas of our country suffering from chronic unemployment and severe economic distress. No action was taken in the House committee. I strongly favor this legislation and will continue to work for its enactment in the next session.

HEALTH AND HANDICAPPED

Funds for medical research were increased by the 85th Congress, assuring a continuation of the fight against heart disease, cancer, mental illness and other major diseases. Vocational rehabilitation programs to assist mentally retarded children, the blind, deaf, and other handicapped individuals were also extended. Legislation to assist in the training of job placement personnel to assist handicapped persons made progress in committee.

As a member of the Health and Science Subcommittee, I introduced and worked for legislation to improve our public health facilities and to help the handicapped achieve a happier and more productive way of life.

Our subcommittee held hearings on the potential dangers to the public from the use of untested chemical additives in food and other products. Legislation to require more extensive testing before these additives are approved by the Food and Drug Administration is pending before our group.

FOREIGN POLICY

Congress approved President Eisenhower's request for a Middle Eastern doctrine to discourage further Communist aggression. Some $200 million in military and economic aid funds for Middle Eastern countries was approved by Congress. Yet the Soviet threat continues to grow in that part of the world.

Congress ratified United States membership in the International Atomic Energy Agency to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy for the good of mankind.

The mutual-security program was extended by Congress after reducing the administration's original fund request. A long-term economic loan program was authorized, along with funds for military aid, direct economic aid, and technical assistance programs.

In disarmament talks between the United States, Britain, France, and Russia, efforts have been made to limit the production of nuclear and hydrogen weapons. No tangible results of disarmament conferences have yet been forthcoming.

GOVERNMENT FISCAL POLICIES

President Eisenhower submitted to Congress the largest peacetime budget in our history. Congress cut the budget by over $5 billion, while, in the meantime, the administration instructed all Government agencies to hold fiscal 1958 expenditures to the fiscal 1957 levels.

Administration leaders themselves differed sharply over the size and necessity of recommended programs. I voted for reductions of the budget in areas where it was clear that the public welfare was not endangered. I opposed drastic cuts in the fields of public health, research, education, and other programs essential to the well-being of our people.

DEFENSE PROCUREMENT POLICIES

Procurement policies of the Defense Department have continued to favor large companies over their small-business competitors. Over 90 percent of defense contracts have been awarded without competitive bidding, contrary to sound public policy. The small-business share of defense prime contracts has now dropped to a record low.

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

During the next session it is my plan to issue a newsletter summarizing congressional activity each month. If you would be interested in receiving this newsletter, write your name and address on a post card and mail it to me at my office, Room 1640, New House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

AVAILABLE FOR MEETINGS

In a brief report such as this it is not possible to discuss in detail the issues before Congress. I welcome the opportunity to appear before any group in Berks County to speak and answer questions on the work of this session. Contact my Reading office with any such requests or on any other matter in which you may be interested.

Nationalized Tin Properties in Bolivia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me with respect to the nationalized tin properties in Bolivia.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR GREEN

Mr. President, for some time I have been concerned with respect to the situation of the nationalized tin properties in Bolivia. At this particular time I would like to call to the attention of my Senate colleagues an exchange of correspondence between myself and the Department of State with respect to our Government's policy toward the present Government of Bolivia:

JUNE 6, 19

The SECRETARY OF STATE,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: With reference to previous communication of March 19 subsequent replies from the Department State on March 19 and April 3, I am wri to request further information in regar the situation of the nationalized tin p erties in Bolivia.

I am particularly interested in knowin the Department has available any infor tion as to when the Bolivian Government dispose of the mining properties which confiscated and nationalized almost 5 y ago. As you know, one of the mining c panies whose mines were nationalized American firm with many American st holders. Over the years, more and m Americans have invested in the develop of industry abroad, particularly in L America. Therefore, I know you will a that this matter has special significance cause the very foundations of our econo free enterprise are endangered when vate property is confiscated and not comp sated for fairly and properly.

There have been many press reports f Bolivia regarding this problem, but the c rent facts are unmistakable—namely, t the Bolivians have done little to compen for the property they have confiscated. cording to these press reports, the Boliv have studiously avoided an agreement s the value of these nationalized proper even though they have discussed the ma many times at meetings with interes parties.

I am not writing to discuss whether Bolivians were wise in confiscating t properties or whether they have been succ ful in the operation of them. It has b reported that the mining properties h been dissipated and that there is a very s ous drop in production. Those factors h been reported by various United States ag cies of the Government and also by the livian Government. It is believed, howe that, if the Bolivians have failed in operation of these properties, there is no reason for the owners and stockholders confiscated properties to suffer financially

As the United States has extended ass ance to Bolivia in the form of loans, it d seem that the American taxpayer who stockholder in companies located in t country should be entitled to a fair accou ing of the operation and value of these pr erties.

I trust that you can favor me wit complete, detailed report on the matter question.

Yours sincerely,

THEODORE FRANCIS GREE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D. C., June 21, 195

Hon. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Rela tions, United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR GREEN: I refer to your le of June 6, 1957, in which you requested f ther information in regard to the situati of the nationalized tin properties in Boli

The background of this situation and cent significant developments, as well as views of the Department of State, have already been covered in my letter to Sena George of May 25, 1956, and in my letter you of April 3, 1957.

Since I last wrote you, the Bolivian G ernment has continued to make the peri payments to the former owners of the tionalized mines. These payments are ba on percentages of the sales proceeds of m erals extracted from the property. Payme are currently being made to the former m owners in accordance with the higher v schedule which was agreed upon in Decem

last year. According to the latest informa-
n available to the Department, the total
payments made to Patino Mines & Enter-
ses Consolidated, Inc., from 1953 through
rch 31, 1957, was $1,624,043. The com-
ed total of payments to all the former
ners of expropriated mining properties is
derstood to be slightly over $12 million.
tino Mines & Enterprises Consolidated,
., is the only one of the mining companies
olved in which it is understood there is
American ownership. Unfortunately, the
mission composed of representatives of
Bolivian Government and of the Patino
up which was organized for the purpose of
ablishing the bases of a final settlement
s made little progress since the first meet-
in March 1957.

The Department heartily concurs in your
w that free enterprise is in danger when
vate property is confiscated and not com-
sated for, fairly and properly. The De-
rtment considers that when United States
izens are deprived of their properties in
other country by nationalization or by
her governmental acts they should have
mpt, adequate, and effective compensa-
n for that property in conformity with
ternational law. The Department and our
bassy at La Paz have continued to urge
on the Government of Bolivia an early
olution of this problem.

United States economic assistance to Bo-
ia was initiated at a time when there was
imminent threat of economic and political
lapse in Bolivia which could adversely
ect our interest in this hemisphere. The
we have extended has been designed to
rt this collapse and to make possible a
versified economy stable enough to achieve
elf-supporting status. At the end of 1956,
e Government of Bolivia, at our urging and
th our technical and financial support,
barked upon an economic stabilization
gram designed to arrest the extreme in-
tion which had existed and to create con-
ions conducive to orderly development of
e Bolivian economy. Although there are
ll many problems to be overcome, much
ogress toward stabilization has been made.
livia's ability to effect a final settlement
th the former owners of the nationalized
ining properties will depend in good part
further progress of the stabilization pro-
am.

I can assure you that the need for prompt
d adequate compensation for the Ameri-
n stockholders in the company whose
ining properties were nationalized by the
vernment of Bolivia is uppermost in our
nds, and the Department is continuing to
rt its efforts toward that end.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. HILL,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

The reasons why I have made this inquiry
garding Bolivia are based upon growing
ubts and concern over the policy which
have adopted for dealing with the con-
uing Bolivian crisis. My study of the
uation convinces me that the United
ates has acted toward Bolivia as a good
ighbor must: First, by nonintervention
the conduct or policy of the Bolivian Gov-
ment and by respecting that Govern-
ent's self-determination. This is impor-
t because the present national revolu-
nary movement Government of Bolivia has
opted some practices which may be con-
ered socialistic and which are alien to our
ncept of government.

Secondly, when Bolivia indicated that it
eded massive help, the United States re-
onded to this appeal in the most humani-
rian manner. Since 1953 we have expended
re than $67 million in loans, grants, and
her types of direct aid. My committee and
e Senate have been prompt in responding
all of the President's requests for help for Bolivia, and we have passed the legislation which has made this help possible.

Now, let us view this question conversely, or from the viewpoint of whether or not Bolivia has been faithful in discharging its obligations to the United States.

On the basis of the volume and intensity of the criticism which has been leveled at our Government's policy in Bolivia, and which has come from many responsible, respectable sources in the United States and South America, I have become increasingly concerned as to whether the Bolivian Government is justifying our faith in its willingness to satisfy its obligations.

The most important reason for this concern is the fact that Bolivia, which nationalized its large privately owned mining properties in 1952, has thus far not fulfilled its obligation to compensate fully and justly the owners of these properties.

In less tense and troublesome times, this failure of a nation in a democratic bloc to meet an obligation to compensate after it has nationalized properties might be considered a minor problem. But, we are living in perhaps the most revolutionary period in recent history. One of the most disturbing phenomena of our times is the spread of the type of nationalism which believes that the nationalization of private property and the adoption of Socialist economic policy are the basic solutions for all economic ills.

The political philosophy of the United States is firmly rooted in the concept that the individual is entitled to enjoy and hold private property. We, therefore, cannot be indifferent to the growth of this problem.

I believe that the United States through its Government is obliged to take a positive stand on this matter of Bolivia's seizure of its large mines. There is no question that the world is looking to us for guidance in these troubled times and that socialistically inclined politicians in many countries will interpret the actions of the United States for their own purposes if we fail to take a firm stand.

The Department of State has established as a principle that an acceptable compensation is only that compensation which is prompt, adequate, and effective.

The President has established also as a principle that the Government of the United States requires respect for international obligations in all questions of nationalization, whether the financial interests involved are those of our friends or those only of American nationals.

With regard to Bolivia, I believe that it has now been clearly established that the action of the present government has not led to prompt, adequate, and effective compensation, nor has it fulfilled its international obligations with respect to American investors.

As time goes on, and as the United States continues to expend large sums to help the Bolivian Governmen to support itself, we have been identified more and more openly with the policy of the present Government of Bolivia. This is most unfortunate, because it has led to misinterpretation of United States Government policy with respect to nationalization. The time has come, it seems to me, for clarification of this anomalous situation.

We owe this, not merely to the people of the United States who support Bolivia as taxpayers, but also to our many friends in countries in the Western Hemisphere, in Europe and Asia who look to the United States for clear and intelligent guidance in these troubled times.

When Congress reconvenes I shall propose that my committee look into all the facts with a view to making sound recommendations for the future conduct of our foreign policy toward the Government of Bolivia.

Montana and the REA's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the farms and rural communities of America today enjoy the use of the same modern equipment and conveniences that are enjoyed by urban areas. These include the many necessities and luxuries operated by electric current. In the past 20 years we have witnessed a vast transformation in the mode of rural living due largely to electricity—electricity brought to farms and communities at reasonable rates.

This could have been done only with the cooperation of the Federal Government. The job of bringing electricity to the isolated areas of this Nation has been a tremendous one and the accomplishments have been great. I commend the many rural-electric cooperatives who in cooperation with the Rural Electrification Administration have made all of this possible.

Farm electrification advanced very slowly in the United States during the period after 1882, when the first central generating system went into service, until 1935 when the Rural Electrification Administration was created. In 1944 Congress extended for an indefinite period of time the life of this lending agency.

It is quite important that we distinguish between the REA and the individual rural-electric cooperative. The REA is an arm of the Federal Government empowered to make loans to qualified borrowers, with preference to nonprofit and cooperative organizations and to public bodies. The REA is not in the power business. It does not operate rural-electric facilities and makes no grants or subsidies. Its loans are repaid from the operating revenues of the locally owned, locally managed cooperative, the other partner in this program of rural electrification. The REA serves principally as a banker to the local system and contributes technical advice. The rural cooperative constructs the power lines and other electric facilities to serve persons in rural areas who are without central-station electric service. The loans the cooperatives receive bear a 2-percent interest rate and are repaid over a maximum period of 35 years.

Few farmers were connected to central-station power prior to World War I. The early twenties saw a short-lived spurt in which the progress made in electrical engineering was reflected by a small increase in the number of farms served. However, only 10.9 percent of all farms in the United States were receiving central-station electric service by 1935. Few power lines had been built beyond the immediate vicinities of cities and towns.

Farmers and farm organizations, chafing at the slow rate of progress, increased their demands for Government action in the field of rural electrification.

The result was the establishment of REA, with an action program designed primarily to make electric service available to those farm people who were without electricity.

REA estimated as of June 30, 1956, that approximately 95 percent of the Nation's farms were electrified.

Many of the remaining unelectrified farms are situated in isolated areas, or in areas of relatively low farm income. Consequently, the most difficult part of the rural electrification job remains to be completed. However, the REA program has succeeded in establishing a pattern which eventually can provide virtually every unserved farm in the country with electric service.

Membership in rural electric cooperatives is not confined to farmers. It is open to all people in a rural area who can be reached and who want electric service. More than three-fourths of all consumers on REA-financed cooperative lines are farms. But also included are many thousands of rural nonfarm dwellings, schools, churches, stores, community buildings, and similar facilities. REA borrowers also serve thousands of rural industries and other commercial enterprises. Many of these rural industries themselves are operating on a cooperative plan.

Rural electric cooperatives have proved the most effective instrument for carrying out the REA program because of their advantages as a method of making reasonable cost electric service available to farmers in rural areas. These advantages include:

First, REA-financed cooperatives operate on a nonprofit basis. This enables them to provide electric service at cost to their members.

Second, directors of REA-financed cooperatives are elected because of their known interest in making electric service available to rural people at reasonable rates. They serve without compensation and keep operating expense at the lowest possible level consistent with good service.

Third, members of REA-financed cooperatives also are interested in electric service at reasonable cost. For example, they help reduce operating expense by voluntarily reporting potential causes of service interruptions such as tree limbs touching the lines. Most of them read their own meters, and many make out their own bills.

Fourth, previous experience of farmers with other types of cooperatives helps them to organize and operate rural electric cooperatives on a sound basis with a minimum of effort and expense.

Lines constructed by REA borrowers are built to serve entire areas, including less densely settled sections as well as those of greater population. This is known as area coverage. The test is no longer whether an individual line or section will be self-supporting, but whether the entire system as a whole is feasible. This policy has become increasingly important as the rural electrification job has progressed. Only through area coverage can electric service be extended to many of the more isolated farms, and to others which are remotely situated in pocketed areas far removed from any established source of power.

In every region in the United States rural electric cooperatives have demonstrated that farm electrification, far from constituting an additional cash drain on low-farm incomes, actually brings about a higher real-farm income and better farm living. It brings more business into rural communities. It encourages new local enterprises which come about when low-cost power is available. It stimulates private business, both locally and nationally. Surveys indicate that for every dollar invested in rural power facilities the farmer invests an additional $4.50 in wiring, plumbing, and electrical appliances.

The use of electric power in farm production and processing is constantly expanding. To date about 400 farm uses for electricity have been reported. Electric power on the farm is an economic necessity which can pay its way with handsome profits for the farmer. Guidance is given consumers on REA-financed lines as to which uses are the most efficient and the most profitable in these times of power shortages.

In the State of Montana, at the time REA was established in 1935, only 2,768 farms, or 5.5 percent, were receiving central station electric service. REA estimated as of June 30, 1956, that 28,450 farms, or 86.1 percent of all farms in the State, were served. An estimated 4,600 farms in the State still were without service.

The first REA loan in Montana was approved in May 1936, and the first REA-financed line placed in operation on December 5, 1937, by the Lower Yellowstone Rural Electric Association at Sidney, Mont.

As of July 1, 1957, REA had approved $56,828,109 in loans in the State to 25 borrowers, all of them cooperatives. The loans will enable these borrowers to finance the construction of 28,774 miles of line and other rural electric facilities to serve 42,938 rural consumers. Most of these facilities already are in operation and additional lines are being built.

As of July 1, 1957, REA had advanced $45,915,174 as loans in Montana, and the State's borrowers were operating 27,554 miles of line serving 40,322 farms and other rural consumers.

The average monthly consumption on REA-financed lines in this State increased from 238 kilowatt-hours per farm in 1949 to 501 kilowatt-hours in 1956.

This increase reflects greater use of electrical equipment to save time and labor in performing farm and household tasks to help bring about a more comfortable rural living.

REA's latest debt-service summary, covering all transactions to July 1, 1957, shows that the Montana borrowers have paid $3,854,122 interest on their Government loans, and repaid $5,855,291 of the principal on their Government loans. In addition, they had paid $3,128,118 ahead of schedule—for a total repayment record of $12,837,531

No payments are overdue.

This is a great record for a great pro
gram in a great State. It is my hop
that the day is not too far distant whe
every farm in Montana is electrified.

If the rural areas of Montana are
continue to enjoy the benefits of electri
power purchased at reasonable rate
there are several things which we mus
do:

First, we must be assured of an ade
quate supply of cheap electric powe
This is the basis of the entire program
We must fight for equal rights in th
purchase of wholesale power from suc
great projects as Hungry Horse, Canyo
Ferry and Fort Peck. Public power an
private power development must kee
pace with one another.

Second, the preservation of the prefer
ence clause as it was written into th
Reclamation Act of 1906 is essential t
the continued success of the program
The preference clause is not discrimina
tory in any sense; to the contrary i
injects an element of competition in th
business of selling electricity.

It is essential that each electric coop
erative in Montana and the Natio
maintain control of its own electric busi
ness. Those of you here in Montana
have worked hard to enjoy the benefit
of electric service and you must mak
sure that it is not taken away.

During the recent session of Congres
the one word which would summarize it
activities would be "economy." Th
most dominant issue of the session wa
inflation. One way is not to increas
rates. Higher interest rates help onl
the bankers. Rates have gone up o
various Government loans and there i
going to be a concerted effort to doubl
the REA interest rate in the next sessio
of Congress.

The REA program in Montana is pay
ing off with adequate and dependabl
service, with an orderly and economica
construction pattern. We want to con
tinue this pattern of progress. In
creased interest rates will place an ob
struction in your way. You can b
assured that the Montana congressiona
delegation will act in the interests o
Montana's rural electric cooperatives.

It was a distinct pleasure to work wit
Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, Congressmen
LEE METCALF and LEROY ANDERSON. We
worked together—held periodic confer
ences—in connection with all matter
affecting Montana's welfare and endeav
ored at all times to work as a unit in
furthering the development and bes
interests of our State.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con
sent to have printed in the Appendix o
the RECORD a tabulation of each Mon
tana electric cooperative, their loans, re
payments, the number of consumer
served, and the counties in Montana
served by each. The time covered i
from 1953 to date. I use this period t
include the term I have served as a
United States Senator from Montana.

There being no objection, the tabula
tions were ordered to be printed in th
RECORD, as follows:

Borrower	Amount of gross loans, fiscal years—						Repayments						Consumers served as of June 30					Location of facilities by counties
	1953	1954	1955	1956	1947	Total	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Total	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	
Ravalli County Electric Cooperative, Inc., Corvallis, Mont.	$195,000					$195,000	$17,572	$17,572	$18,091	$24,299	$28,951	$106,485	1,005	942	978	974	975	Ravalli.
Sun River Electric Cooperative, Inc., Fairfield, Mont.			$415,000			415,000	77,261	83,958	254,012	91,838	94,706	601,775	2,293	2,334	2,337	2,374	2,395	Cascade, Chouteau, Judith Basin, Lewis and Clark, Pondera, Teton, Toole.
Lower Yellowstone Rural Electric Association, Inc., Sidney, Mont.	385,000					385,000	29,967	85,500	51,624	51,623	67,689	286,403	1,397	1,506	1,512	1,569	1,575	Dawson, Richland, Roosevelt in Montana; McKenzie in North Dakota.
Yellowstone Valley Electric Cooperative, Inc., Huntley, Mont.	270,000			$350,000		620,000	84,177	42,781	119,868	54,868	60,384	362,078	2,305	2,364	2,457	2,531	2,603	Big Horn, Carbon, Musselshell, Stillwater, Yellowstone.
Vigilante Electric Cooperative, Inc., Dillon, Mont.		$440,000		840,000		1,280,000	67,450	65,151	118,369	91,996	110,578	453,544	1,836	1,926	1,935	1,950	1,999	Beaverhead, Broadwater, Deer Lodge, Gallatin, Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, Madison, Silver Bow in Montana; Clark in Idaho.
Missoula Electric Cooperative, Inc., Missoula, Mont.		450,000		327,000		777,000	15,357	27,720	36,958	47,007	50,873	177,915	1,053	1,153	1,163	1,211	1,248	Granite, Mineral, Missoula, Powell, Ravalli.
Flathead Electric Cooperative, Inc., Kalispell, Mont.	780,000				$755,000	1,535,000	32,460	33,342	33,343	67,328	87,651	254,124	1,958	2,539	2,124	2,085	2,272	Flathead, Lincoln.
Fergus Electric Cooperative, Inc., Lewistown, Mont.	145,000	225,000	180,000			550,000	82,786	239,142	98,083	106,675	115,824	642,510	2,413	2,562	2,636	2,685	2,722	Cascade, Chouteau, Fergus, Golden Valley, Judity Basin, Musselshell, Petroleum, Stillwater, Wheatland.
Park Electric Cooperative, Inc., Livingston, Mont.	250,000		295,000			545,000	79,610	40,165	40,164	90,831	44,834	304,604	1,164	1,198	1,158	1,155	1,187	Gallatin, Park, Sweetgrass.
Mid-Yellowstone Electric Cooperative, Inc., Hysham, Mont.		185,000		192,000		377,000	20,125	21,427	25,543	65,747	25,746	158,588	691	717	778	886	916	Big Horn, Custer, Rosebud, Treasure.
Beartooth Electric Cooperative, Inc., Red Lodge, Mont.							52,042	47,097	53,031	53,031	53,031	258,832	1,646	1,664	1,696	1,784	1,805	Carbon, Stillwater, Sweetgrass in Montana; Park in Wyoming.
Big Horn County Electric Cooperative, Inc., Lodge Grass, Mont.	380,000			180,000	204,000	764,000	31,268	41,953	49,619	54,354	54,354	231,546	1,262	1,286	1,327	1,388	1,410	Big Horn in Montana; Sheridan in Wyoming.
Big Flat Electric Cooperative, Inc., Malta, Mont.		280,000				280,000	19,903	21,682	56,682	21,682	71,733	191,682	677	763	871	887	897	Blaine, Phillips, Valley.
Sheridan County Electric Cooperative, Inc., Medicine Lake, Mont.		75,000			1,526,000	1,601,000	41,724	51,956	78,661	121,573	121,573	415,487	1,947	1,990	2,040	2,069	2,074	Daniels, Roosevelt, Sheridan, in Montana; Divide in North Dakota.
Northern Electric Cooperative, Inc., Opheim, Mont.	270,000		108,000		874,000	1,252,000	93,487	64,937	62,936	69,295	71,412	362,067	1,052	1,025	1,050	1,039	1,045	Daniels, Roosevelt, Valley.
Valley County Electric Cooperative, Inc., Glasgow, Mont.					319,000	319,000	18,686	33,110	35,861	28,936	41,929	158,522	781	776	807	884	888	Phillips, Roosevelt, Valley.
McCone County Electric Cooperative, Inc., Circle, Mont.		1,120,000	400,000	50,000	770,000	2,340,000	45,341	35,973	86,649	128,442	179,935	476,340	2,174	2,294	2,626	2,792	2,923	Dawson, Garfield, McCone, Petroleum, Prairie, Richland, Roosevelt, Rosebud.
Goldenwest Electric Cooperative, Inc., Wibaux, Mont.							29,154	45,840	50,841	50,637	49,958	226,430	718	736	732	749	736	Dawson, Fallon, Wibaux in Montana; Golden Valley, Slope in North Dakota.
Glacier Electric Cooperative, Inc., Cut Bank, Mont.		1,180,000				1,180,000	32,088	41,712	41,712	79,841	79,839	275,192	2,623	2,753	2,980	3,258	3,424	Flathead, Glacier.
Marias River Electric Cooperative, Inc., Shelby, Mont.					358,000	358,000	58,454	74,279	78,941	84,844	90,746	387,264	2,314	2,400	2,511	2,641	2,746	Liberty, Pondera, Toole.
Hill County Electric Cooperative, Inc., Havre, Mont.	650,000				403,000	1,053,000	17,819	133,225	102,625	117,773	126,014	497,456	1,622	1,715	1,786	1,826	1,865	Blaine, Chouteau, Hill, Liberty.
Tongue River Electric Cooperative, Inc., Ashland, Mont.		75,000	465,000		719,000	1,259,000	3,210	19,513	44,012	89,966	96,086	252,787	846	936	1,249	1,291	1,351	Big Horn, Custer, Dawson, Powder River, Prairie, Rosebud.
Southeast Electric Cooperative, Inc., Ekalaka, Mont.	170,000	433,000	68,000		363,000	1,034,000	0	4,428	158,950	73,470	43,469	280,317	705	1,019	1,043	1,113	1,103	Carter, Fallon in Montana: Harding in South Dakota.
Lincoln Electric Cooperative, Inc., Eureka, Mont.	395,000		530,000			925,000	150	37,823	34,659	77,677	75,535	225,844	566	1,017	1,040	1,107	1,110	Flathead, Lincoln.
Elmo Electric Cooperative Association, Inc., Proctor, Mont.							32,816	33,048	13,895	11,366	12,106	103,231	190	190	190	190	190	Lake, Sanders.
Total	3,890,000	4,463,000	2,461,000	1,939,000	5,521,000	19,044,000	982,905	1,343,934	1,745,129	1,764,099	1,854,956	7,691,023	35,238	37,805	39,026	40,438	41,459	

The story of the REA telephone system in Montana since its inception is as follows:

REA rural telephone loans in Montana

Borrower	Fiscal years 1950 through 1957		Miles of line			Number of subscribers			Location of facilities by counties
	Total net loans	Total funds advanced	Existing	To be added	Total	Existing	To be added	Total	
Valley Rural Telephone Cooperative Association, Glasgow, Mont.	$504,000	$309,723	----	397	397	34	729	763	Phillips, Roosevelt, Valley.
Northeastern Montana Telephone Cooperative Association, Scobey, Mont.	1,087,000	1,009,586	51	3,149	3,200	487	2,135	2,622	Daniels, Roosevelt, Sheridan, Va... in Montana; Divide in N... Dakota.
Mid-Rivers Telephone Cooperative, Circle, Mont	1,638,000	1,574,341	----	2,042	2,042	224	1,848	2,072	Dawson, Garfield, McCone, Fra... Richland.
Three Rivers Rural Telephone Co-op, Fairfield, Mont	2,023,000	693,538	1	1,739	1,740	321	2,136	2,457	Cascade, Chouteau, Judith Ba... Lewis and Clark, Pondera, Teton.
Northern Telephone Association, Shelby, Mont	891,000	628,152	----	939	939	111	943	1,054	Glacier, Liberty, Pondera, Too...
Triangle Telephone Association, Havre, Mont	1,625,000	1,088,778	44	2,074	2,118	522	1,517	2,039	Blaine, Chouteau, Fergus, Hill, Li...
Blackfoot Telephone Cooperative Association, Missoula, Mont.	536,000	283,150	8	403	411	72	573	645	Lake, Missoula, Powell.
Range Telephone Cooperative, Forsyth, Mont	245,000	163,051	33	329	362	51	264	315	Custer, Powder River, Rosebud.
Project Telephone Co., Worden, Mont	280,000	----	27	82	109	351	285	636	Yellowstone.
Total	9,729,000	6,650,319	164	11,154	11,318	2,173	10,430	12,603	

Accomplishments of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, During 1st Session, 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which I have again been honored to serve as chairman, has established during the 1st session of the 85th Congress just ended what I believe to be an outstanding record of performance of its legislative responsibilities, and I take this opportunity to summarize for my colleagues the major accomplishments of the committee. The achievements of the committee were made possible through the cooperation and diligence of all members of the committee. I especially want to recognize the energy and leadership of the subcommittee chairmen and the continuing cooperation of Dr. MILLER, the ranking minority member. I am particularly pleased, too, with the work of the committee staff which has again met a high standard of performance in committee activities and in service to members.

First, I wish to comment briefly on the statistical aspects of the committee's functions; and, second, I want to comment on the legislative activity of the committee, breaking down the legislation under the five categories reflecting the basic jurisdiction of the subcommittees.

STATISTICAL ASPECTS WITH RESPECT TO COMMITTEE'S WORKLOAD AND PERFORMANCE

During the 141 legislative days of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House convened a total of 157 separate meetings—125 subcommittee meetings and 32 full committee meetings. Of the 572 House and Senate bills, resolutions, joint resolutions, and concurrent resolutions referred to the committee, 257 were disposed of through reporting or tabling. A total of 78 bills or resolutions were reported to the House by the committee, of which 54 were enacted into law, 2 concurrent resolutions were approved, 3 bills are pending before conference committees, 12 have passed the House and are pending in the Senate, and 7 are pending in the Rules Committee or in the House.

With respect to subcommittee responsibilities, 15 of the 78 bills and resolutions reported by the committee fall into the category of irrigation and reclamation, 18 in Territories and insular affairs, 3 in mineral resources, 25 in public lands, and 17 in Indian affairs. Of the 315 bills pending before the committee at the end of the session, 23 are Senate-passed bills.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMITTEE

The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is responsible for legislative measures, first, providing for maximum development, utilization, disposition, management, and conservation of the natural resources of the United States, its Territories and possessions; second, involving the government and the administration of our Territories and possessions; third, affecting the Indians, Indian tribes, trust lands, and claims of Indians of the United States and Alaska, including Alaska natives. This legislative responsibility is divided among five standing subcommittees and the summary of legislative activity of the committee which follows reflects the basic jurisdiction of such subcommittees.

I. IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

The Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee, chairmaned by Hon. WAYNE N. ASPINALL, of Colorado, has jurisdiction over all legislation relating to the Federal reclamation program and over other legislation relating to the development of the Nation's water resources. During the 1st session of the 85th Congress, 115 bills and resolutions were referred to the Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee, of which 15 were reported, 43 were tabled, and 57 remain as pending business of the subcommittee. Of the 15 reclamation bills reported by the committee, 12 were enacted into law. Of the 3 bills not enacted, 1 is pending in the Senate and 2 are pending in the House Rules Committee. The legislation enacted into law includes the authorization of 1 new reclamation project, 2 amendments to general reclamation law, 7 acts relating to specific irrigation districts or projects, and 2 acts relating to interstate compacts.

NEW PROJECT AUTHORIZED

The new reclamation project authorized—Public Law 85-152; S. 42; H. R. 2147, FISHER—is the San Angelo reclamation project in Texas. This is a $[illegible] million multiple-purpose project for irrigation, municipal and industrial water supply, flood control, the protection and enhancement of fish and wildlife, and recreation.

AMENDMENTS TO GENERAL RECLAMATION LAW

The two changes in general reclamation law are an amendment to the Small Reclamation Projects Act—Public Law 85-47; H. R. 2146, ENGLE—and an amendment to the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 relating to amendatory repayment contracts—Public Law 85-[illegible]; H. R. 5492, RUTHERFORD. Enactment of the amendment to the Small Reclamation Projects Act makes it possible for the much-needed small-projects program to get underway. The basic act was enacted in the 84th Congress but the President objected to certain language and the program had not been initiated by the administration. The amendment to the Reclamation Project Act of 1[illegible] continues through December 31, 19[illegible] the authorities given the Secretary of the Interior to enter into amendatory repayment contracts and, more important, makes it possible for the Secretary to continue to grant deferments of construction charges in special hardship cases.

SPECIFIC PROJECT LEGISLATION

Seven measures relating to specific irrigation districts or projects were enacted, including 2 relating to the Columbia Basin project, 3 relating to repayment contracts with irrigation districts, 1 relating to the East Bench unit of the Missouri Basin project, and 1 relating to the Shoshone reclamation project. The first act—Public Law 85-264; [illegible] 1482; H. R. 4802, MAGNUSON; H. R. 49[illegible]

MES—relating to the Columbia Basin ject amends the Columbia Basin ject Act by modifying the rigid own- ip restrictions, thereby bringing this ject more in line with other similar deral reclamation projects. It per- s delivery of water to ownerships of acres in the case of an individual or acres for a family. While modifying ownership limitation, this amend- nt does not change the Federal settle- nt program whereby only one farm t can be sold to an individual or ily. The second act—Public Law 240; S. 1574; H. R. 3389, HORAN—re- ing to the Columbia Basin project vides for disposal of certain Federal perty in the vicinity of Grand Coulee m and provides assistance in the ablishment of the town of Coulee Dam a municipality incorporated under the s of the State of Washington.

The acts approving amendatory re- yment contracts are Public Law 85- —H. R. 3071, MILLER of Nebraska— thorizing an amendatory repayment ntract with the Northport Irrigation strict, Nebraska, Public Law 85-160— R. 5679, MILLER of Nebraska—author- ng an amendment to an existing re- yment contract with the Mirage Flats igation District, Nebraska, and Pub- Law 85-283—S. 1996; H. R. 7254, OMSON of Wyoming—authorizing an endatory repayment contract with the sper-Alcova Irrigation District, Wyo- ng.

The act relating to the East Bench it of the Missouri River Basin project Public Law 85-112—S. 977; H. R. 4410, TCALF—which modifies the excess land ovisions of Federal reclamation law they apply to this unit. The act re- ing to the Shoshone project is Public w 85-33—House Joint Resolution 287, OMSON of Wyoming—which author- s temporary delivery of water to the art Mountain division of that project ile a long-term repayment contract is ing negotiated.

INTERSTATE COMPACTS

The two acts relating to interstate mpacts are Public Law 85-222—S. 31; H. R. 8465, ENGLE; H. R. 8472, ULL- N—which gives congressional consent the completed Klamath River com- ct, and Public Law 85-184—S. 1556; R. 5878, KRUEGER—which gives con- essional consent to the States of Mon- na, North Dakota, South Dakota, and yoming to negotiate and enter into a mpact with respect to the waters of e Little Missouri River.

LEGISLATION REPORTED BUT NOT ENACTED

In addition to the measures enacted, e committee reported a bill—H. R. 40, ENGLE—to supplement general rec- mation law by authorizing reimburse- nt for moving expenses to owners of nds acquired for public-works projects. is bill passed the House and is pending the Senate. The committee also re- rted two bills which are pending in the ouse Rules Committee. One of these— nate Joint Resolution 39; House Joint solution 179, RUTHERFORD—provides r salvaging additional water for irri- tion purposes and for salinity reduc- n in the Pecos River Basin in New exico and Texas. The other bill—H. R. 5309, KILGORE—would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, rehabilitate, operate, and maintain the Mercedes rehabilitation project, Texas.

OTHER LEGISLATION CONSIDERED BY THE COMMITTEE

Other legislation considered by the committee but not finally acted upon includes the Hells Canyon, Fryingpan-Arkansas, Greater Wenatchee and Burns Creek reclamation projects.

II. TERRITORIAL AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

The Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, chairmaned by Hon. LEO W. O'BRIEN, of New York, is responsible for legislation affecting Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, and for exercising a continuing oversight of the administration of these areas by the Department of the Interior.

Of the 101 bills referred to the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, 18 were reported by the committee, 24 were tabled, and 59 remain as pending business before the subcommittee. Of the 18 reported, 10 were enacted into law, 6 are pending in the Senate, and 2 in the House.

STATEHOOD LEGISLATION

While statehood for neither Alaska nor Hawaii was approved in the first session, this legislation received major attention in the committee. Alaska statehood legislation—H. R. 7999, O'BRIEN of New York—was reported to the House following 18 days of hearings and is presently pending in the Rules Committee. Three days of hearings were completed on Hawaiian statehood legislation—H. R. 629, ENGLE; H. R. 848, O'BRIEN of New York; H. R. 1243, SAYLOR; H. R. 339, MACK of Washington; H. R. 8739, DELLAY; and H. R. 49, BURNS—but consideration was not completed and the bills remain as pending business in the subcommittee.

REVISION OF ORGANIC ACTS

As usual, a considerable portion of the subcommittee's time was taken up with legislation to revise the various organic acts. Legislation was enacted—Public Law 85-224; H. R. 8126, O'BRIEN of New York—which amends the Virgin Islands Organic Act with respect to the establishment of boards, authorities, or commissions. This act gives the electorate of the Virgin Islands the maximum degree of responsibility, home-rule authority, and self-government consistent with and equal to the demonstrated capacity and willingness of the persons affected.

The committee reported a bill—H. R. 8673, BURNS—which would delete language in the Hawaiian Organic Act requiring semiannual reports covering the executive proceedings of the Territory. Experience over the years has demonstrated that the semiannual reports serve no useful purpose. This bill is pending in the Senate. The committee also reported a bill—H. R. 4215, O'BRIEN of New York—which would amend the Organic Act of Guam by increasing the salary of the district judge. This bill is pending in the House.

ALASKA DEVELOPMENT MEASURES

Consonant with its desire to accelerate resource and economic development of Alaska, the committee approved 12 measures to achieve that purpose. Of these 12 bills, 7 were enacted into law. One act—Public Law 85-11; H. R. 4939, MILLER of Nebraska—conveys a 10-acre tidal flat area, including improvements, to the Territory of Alaska. Two measures relate to the area along the Chilkat River—one of these was enacted—Public Law 85-271; H. R. 6562, BARTLETT. This act enlarges the Klukwan Reservation for the use of the Indians residing thereon, including lease for mining purposes. The other measure—H. R. 6785, BARTLETT—amends existing statutes by permitting mining for gold and other precious minerals in certain parts of the Chilkat River. Another measure enacted—Public Law 85-303; H. R. 6760, BARTLETT—grants the Territory of Alaska title to certain lands beneath tidal waters in or near Juneau, Ketchikan, Cordova, and Valdez.

The committee reported two bills relating to Alaska financial matters, one of which was enacted. The measure enacted—Public Law 85-88; H. R. 3477, BARTLETT—increases the Territory's share of mineral royalties and places the responsibility for the disposition thereof in the Alaska Legislature. The other measure—H. R. 4183, BARTLETT—amends existing municipal corporation or public-utility bonding laws in Alaska. H. R. 4183 is pending in the Senate.

With respect to public recreational facilities in Alaska, legislation was approved—Public Law 85-225; H. R. 7864, BARTLETT—amending the act of May 4, 1956, by providing specific authority for the Secretary to convey public recreational facilities, including lands, to the Territory.

Two bills reported by the committee, passed by the House, and presently pending in the Senate concern mineral deposits in Alaska. One of these—H. R. 4635, BARTLETT—would amend existing statutes by permitting entry on public lands which may contain oil, gas, or coal for homesites, headquarter sites, trade or manufacturing sites, or for a serviceman's additional homestead entry. The other bill—H. R. 8054, BARTLETT—would provide for the leasing of oil and gas deposits in lands beneath inland navigable waters of Alaska.

The committee reported 2 measures relating to Alaska land grants, 1 of which was enacted. The measure enacted—Public Law 85-265; H. R. 3940, BARTLETT—grants to the Territory 640 acres of public-school lands in Anchorage. The other bill—H. R. 3358, BARTLETT—supplements the land-grant provisions of the Alaska Mental Health Enabling Act of 1956. This bill is pending in the Senate.

The last of the Alaska development measures enacted into law—Public Law 85-233; H. R. 8646, BARTLETT—amends the Alaska Public Works Act of 1949 to clarify the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the Territory federally owned land utilized in the construction of public works.

MISCELLANEOUS

Miscellaneous Alaska legislation enacted into law includes one measure—Public Law 85-16; H. R. 4271, ENGLE—

providing that the Delegate from Alaska be a member of the Alaska International Rail and Highway Commission, and another measure—Private Law 85–287; H. R. 3877, BARTLETT—clarifying the title of Carl E. Robinson to 160 acres of land at Anchor Point, Alaska.

With respect to Antarctica, hearings were held on 10 bills providing for the creation of the Richard E. Byrd Antarctic Commission which would assemble, catalog, and diffuse knowledge and information with respect to Antarctica. No final action was taken by the committee on this legislation.

III. MINES AND MINING RESOURCES

The Subcommittee on Mines and Mining, chairmaned by Hon. WALTER ROGERS, of Texas, has jurisdiction over mining interests generally, mineral resources of the public lands, mineral-land laws, and claims and entries thereunder, geological survey, mining schools and experimental stations, and petroleum conservation on the public lands, and conservation of the radium supply in the United States.

The committee reported three measures relating to mining and mineral resources which were enacted into law. In addition, hearings were held on several other matters of concern to the mining industry. Also, the Special Subcommittee on Coal Research, chairmaned by Hon. ED EDMONDSON, of Oklahoma, concluded a coal study which was started in the 84th Congress.

MINERAL LEASING ACT AMENDMENTS

One of the measures enacted—Public Law 85–122; S. 334; H. R. 2131, BARING; H. R. 4787, METCALF—amends the Mineral Leasing Act by removing the State acreage limitation—5,120 acres—on Federal phosphate leases. Public Law 85–122 permits the leasing of 10,420 acres of phosphate-bearing lands without regard to State boundaries.

The committee held hearings on additional legislation—H. R. 8204, THOMSON; H. R. 7496, EDMONDSON; H. R. 7497, ALBERT; H. R. 7498, PATMAN—to amend the Mineral Leasing Act but took no final action. This legislation would amend the Mineral Leasing Act so as to, first, increase the basic limitation on the aggregate acreage of coal leases which may be held by 1 person in any 1 State to twice the present limitation of 5,120 acres; second, permit the Secretary of the Interior to increase the acreage by an additional 10,240 acres under certain circumstances; and, third, repeal section 2 (c) of the existing act, thereby putting railroad companies on the same footing as other companies with respect to coal leases.

TIME EXTENSION FOR ASSESSMENT WORK

One other measure reported by the committee and enacted into law—Public Law 85–68; H. R. 4748, BERRY—extends for 1 additional year the time during which annual assessment work may be performed on unpatented mining claims based on the discovery of uraniferous lignite.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION

One private measure enacted—Private Law 85–168; H. R. 5341, ASPINALL—directs the Secretary to grant to an individual extensions with respect to certain oil and gas leases.

MULTIPLE-USE MINING LAW

The committee held hearings on the administration and operation of section 5 of the multiple-use mining law, which relates to title uncertainties and surface rights on mining claims. The hearings were printed and contain valuable information for those interested in or affected by section 5 of this act.

DOMESTIC TUNGSTEN PURCHASE PROGRAM

The committee also held hearings to review the matter of appropriations to implement the domestic tungsten, asbestos, fluorspar, and columbium-tantalum purchase program and adopted a resolution urging the House of Representatives to make available in the third supplemental appropriation bill, 1957, $30 million to implement this program. These funds, however, were not appropriated.

COAL STUDY

A special Subcommittee on Coal Research concluded its study on the need and possibilities of a research and development program for the coal industry of the United States. The findings and recommendations of the subcommittee are contained in a 91-page report printed as House Report No. 1263.

IV. PUBLIC LANDS AND NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

Through the Public Lands Subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Hon. GRACIE PFOST, of Idaho, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has legislative responsibility for utilization, conservation, and development, including entry, easements and grazing thereon, of more than 459 million acres of public lands and associated resources in the United States and Alaska, together with more than 24 million acres embraced within some 180 units of the national park system and nearly 160 million additional acres of land within national forests created from the public domain.

One hundred and ninety-five bills and resolutions were referred to the Public Lands Subcommittee of which 25 bills were reported, 67 were tabled, and 103 remain as pending business of the committee. Of the 25 bills and resolutions reported by the committee, 15 were enacted into law—10 public and 5 private laws—2 concurrent resolutions were approved by Congress, and the remainder await further action either in the House or in the Senate. In addition, hearings were held on several other measures on which no committee action was taken and which are now pending before the subcommittee or the full committee.

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AND CEMETERIES

The committee considered several measures relating to the National Park System and national cemeteries, two of which were enacted into law. One of these acts—Public Law 85–5; H. R. 3845, MCCORMACK—extends for 1 year the time which the Boston National Historic Sites Commission has to complete its work. This Commission is investigating the feasibility of establishing a coordinated program in the vicinity of Boston for preserving historic properties, objects, and buildings. The other act—Public Law 85–41; S. 1274; H. R. 5687, PFOST—amends the act of March 3, 1911, by removing restrictions on the use of 3.5 acres of the Springfield Confederate Cemetery which are excess to its needs.

Eight other measures relating to the National Park System were considered by the committee, 4 of which were reported and are pending either in the House or in the Senate. Legislation to authorize the appropriation of $7,250,000 for development of the Independence National Historical Park—H. R. 1244, SAYLOR; H. R. 694, JAMES; H. R. 1925, BYRNE of Pennsylvania; H. R. 9141, PURTON—was reported by the committee and is pending before the House Rules Committee. The specific bill reported was H. R. 1244—SAYLOR.

H. R. 4115—MURRAY—relating to the Shiloh National Military Park passed the House and is pending in the Senate. This bill would authorize the conveyance to the State of Tennessee of about 200 acres of land at Shiloh Military Park for highway relocation purposes and would assure use for recreational purposes of lands abutting the relocated highways.

H. R. 2170—REECE—would authorize exchange of not more than 200 acres within the Great Smoky National Park for privately owned land within the park. This legislation to facilitate park administration passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

Several bills—H. R. 8290, ASPINALL; H. R. 8301, WESTLAND; H. R. 8296, JONES of Alabama; H. R. 8300, SMITH of Wisconsin—to grant authority to the National Freedom Shrine Foundation to erect a national monument to the five freedoms were considered by the committee and H. R. 8290—ASPINALL—was reported and is pending in the House. The monument would be located in Virginia, just south of the Iwo Jima Monument. Funds for the construction, estimated at about $24 million, would be raised by public subscription.

Other bills relating to national parks which the committee considered but took no final action on are H. R. 5450—BENNETT of Michigan—to authorize the enlargement of the administrative headquarters site for the Isle Royale National Park in Michigan, H. R. 6641—FASCELL—and H. R. 6653—ROGERS of Florida—to fix the boundary of Everglades National Park, Fla., and to authorize the acquisition of land therein, H. R. 4964—MAGNUSON—and H. R. 5421—WESTLAND—to authorize the exchange of approximately 6,609 acres of land adjacent to the Olympic National Park for lands and interest in lands within the boundaries of the park, and H. R. 2549—HOLMES—to authorize the acquisition of an additional 50 acres of land for the Whitman National Monument in Washington.

LAND, TITLE AND RESOURCE CONVEYANCES

Several measures relating to land title and resource conveyances were considered by the committee. Of these, 4 were enacted into public law and 5 into private law. Public Law 85–35—H. R. 2401, BERRY—reconveys to the city of Spearfish, S. Dak., 1 acre of land adjacent to the city's park, which was transferred to

the Federal Government in 1936 for expansion of a fish hatchery and is no longer needed. Public Law 85-193—S. 556—directs the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the State of Nevada something less than 2 acres located in the city of Las Vegas for use of the Nevada Fish and Game Commission. Public Law 85-139—S. 1773; H. R. 6519, BARING—validates the conveyance of certain railroad right-of-way land in Reno, Nev., to the State of Nevada to use for hospital purposes. Public Law 85-153—H. R. 3473, UTT—provides for the sale at public auction of about 172 acres of public domain land near Plaster City, Calif., to use as a construction site for a portland cement plant.

The private laws enacted were Private Law 85-57—S. 1352; H. R. 5297, KRUEGER; H. R. 5570, BURDICK—to direct the Secretary to convey a 20-acre tract of acquired lands in Richland County, N. Dak., to the Fairview Cemetery Association, Inc., of Wahpeton, N. Dak.; Private Law 85-208—H. R. 1826, THOMSON of Wyoming—to permit Mr. Bud E. Burnaugh, of Green River, Wyo., because of a land classification error, to purchase a 5-acre tract of public land in Wyoming under the Small Tract Act; Private Law 85-38—S. 1319—renouncing Federal interest in certain lands in Harlowton, Mont., to remove any possible cloud on the title of such lands; Private Law 85-285—H. R. 1394, FASCELL—to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to sell 11 tracts of land aggregating 13.82 acres in the Florida Keys area to individuals who previously purchased the tracts from the State believing that title to the lands was in the State; and Private Law 85-116—H. R. 7522, ENGLE—to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to extend for a 2-year period the right of the McCloud River Lumber Co. to cut and remove certain timber which it owns on a 160-acre tract of land within the Shasta National Forest, Calif.

Two measures relating to land title and resource conveyances were reported by the committee but were not enacted. One of these bills—H. R. 8928, JENSEN—would delete from an 1880 act language imposing certain public use conditions on a title conveyance by the United States to the city of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and thereby remove a cloud on the city's title to about 375 to 400 acres of land. This bill passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

The other measure—S. 1568; H. R. 2393, BARING—has passed both the House and the Senate and is pending in conference committee. This legislation would authorize conveyance, under certain conditions, to the State of Nevada of approximately 126,775 acres of land owned by the United States in southern Nevada. The area is desert in nature but large portions are suitable for agricultural purposes and for homesites and suburban developments, provided water can be made available. It is the State's intention to use a portion of its allotted share of the Colorado River water for development in this area.

PUBLIC LAND CONTROL AND UTILIZATION

One of the most important land and associated resources policy measures in many years is the socalled military land withdrawal legislation—H. R. 5538, ENGLE; H. R. 608, DAWSON of Utah; H. R. 931, SAYLOR; H. R. 1148, JOHNSON; H. R. 3403, METCALF; H. R. 3661, THOMPSON of Wyoming; H. R. 3788, UDALL; H. R. 3799, BARING; H. R. 3860, PFOST; H. R. 5739, DIXON. The committee reported H. R. 5538—ENGLE—and this bill passed both the House and the Senate and is awaiting agreement between the two with respect to Senate amendments. This legislation would accomplish two principal purposes—first, it would require that no single area embracing more than 5,000 acres of public domain lands can be withdrawn for exclusive military use without approval by Congress; second, it would make applicable within all military reservations the hunting and fishing laws of the States or Territories in which such reservations are located.

In addition to the military land withdrawal legislation, the committee has requested a temporary halt to nonmilitary land withdrawals pending an examination of current Federal land and resource use and development policies. This request was formally made to the Secretary of the Interior and to the Secretary of Agriculture on July 29, 1957.

There are several bills—H. R. 3594, ENGLE; H. R. 3592, ASPINALL; H. R. 3593, SAYLOR; H. R. 3595, METCALF; H. R. 3596, RHODES of Arizona; H. R. 4819, PFOST; H. R. 4822, PORTER; H. R. 5238, HAGEN; H. R. 6884 and H. R. 7230, DOYLE—under consideration by the committee which would establish a bipartisan National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission composed of 15 members to study the outdoor recreation resources of the public lands and other land and water areas of the United States. Although some hearings were held on this legislation, the committee's consideration was not completed principally because time was not available. It is expected that the commmittee will return to this legislation next year.

Several bills—H. R. 1960, METCALF; H. R. 500, SAYLOR; H. R. 361, O'HARA of Illinois; H. R. 540, BALDWIN; H. R. 906, REUSS; H. R. 2162, MILLER of California; H. R. 7880, PORTER—are before the committee which would establish a national wilderness preservation system on the public lands of the United States. Three days of hearings were held on this legislation but the hearings were not completed and the committee took no action.

FEDERAL LAND GRANTS TO STATES

Several measures relating to Federal land grants to States were enacted. One of these acts—Public Law 85-180; H. R. 8079, DEMPSEY; H. R. 7705, MONTOYA—deletes certain provisions of the New Mexico-Arizona Enabling Act which restricts the degree of discretion those States may exercise in the establishment, deposit, and investment of funds derived from Federal land grants to them.

Three measures were enacted which broaden the permissive uses of revenues from lands granted to States for public buildings at the capitals of such States to include construction, reconstruction, repair, renovation, and other permanent improvements of such buildings, the acquisition of necessary land for such buildings, furnishings and equipment for such buildings, and the payment of principal and interest on bonds issued for such purpose. They are Public Law 85-6—H. R. 348, METCALF—amending the Enabling Act of the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, Public Law 85-84—S. 1794—amending the Enabling Act for the State of Idaho, and Public Law 85-97—S. 1396; H. R. 7708, THOMSON of Wyoming—amending the Enabling Act for the State of Wyoming. A fourth measure—H. R. 5149, RHODES of Arizona—containing similar provisions but general in nature, passed the House and is pending in the Senate. This bill would apply to any State that has been granted lands for the purpose of erecting certain public buildings at the capital of such State.

RESOLUTIONS

Two concurrent resolutions were approved by the Congress. One of these—House Concurrent Resolution 91, BASS—expresses the sense of Congress that the altar of the Nation, located in the Cathedral of the Pines, Rindge, N. H., has been dedicated to the glory of God as a memorial to all American war dead and is so recognized. The other—Senate Concurrent Resolution 32; House Concurrent Resolution 183, EDMONDSON; House Concurrent Resolution 178, BERRY; House Concurrent Resolution 177, DEMPSEY; House Concurrent Resolution 181, ALBERT; House Concurrent Resolution 182, BELCHER; House Concurrent Resolution 184, MORRIS; House Concurrent Resolution 185, STEED; House Concurrent Resolution 186, JARMAN—gives congressional recognition to the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum as a memorial to western pioneers.

V. INDIAN AFFAIRS LEGISLATION

The Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, chairmaned by Hon. JAMES A. HALEY, of Florida, has legislative responsibility over matters involving the relationship of the Federal Government with the approximately 435,000 Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos of the United States and Alaska. Indian landholdings and reservations subject to varying degrees of Federal control total approximately 52 million acres in some 28 States and Alaska.

During the first session, substantial progress was made in the committee's continuing efforts to aid effectively in the management and conservation of Indian human, natural, and economic resources and funds, to assist in improving individual and tribal economic conditions, and to resolve difficulties arising from claims against the United States. Of the 113 bills referred to the Indian Affairs Subcommittee, 17 were reported, 28 were tabled, 1 is pending in full committee, and 67 remain as pending subcommittee business. Of the 17 bills reported by the committee, 14 were enacted into law, 1 is pending in conference committee, 1 is pending in the Senate, and 1 in the House.

TERMINATION AND READJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

Among the major items of legislation considered by the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs were those relating to the termination of Federal supervision over Indian tribes and the need for assistance

in the development of readjustment programs.

One measure enacted—Public Law 85–132; S. 469; H. R. 2471, MILLER of Nebraska; H. R. 2518, ULLMAN—authorizes the appropriation of not more than $550,000 to assist the Klamath Tribe of Indians in preparing for termination of Federal supervision and defers the final termination date for 18 months.

Several bills—H. R. 2824, Moss; H. R. 6364, ENGLE; H. R. 2838 and H. R. 8072, SISK; H. R. 2576, SCUDDER—relating to California rancherias were considered by the committee. The committee reported H. R. 2824, providing for the distribution of lands, minerals, water rights and improvements on 14 Indian rancherias and reservations in California. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is required to furnish assistance in this program. The legislation is purely permissive and does not impose the program on any of the groups who do not want it. This bill is pending in the Senate.

The committee reported one measure—H. R. 6322, LAIRD—relating to the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin, which is pending in conference committee. This legislation would defer for 2 years the date for formulating and submitting the Menominee tribal plan for the future management and control of the tribal property after termination. It would also postpone the final termination date for 2½ years.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Two measures were enacted which will improve Indian land and resource development. One of these—Public Law 85–86; H. R. 3836, HALEY—repeals existing law prohibiting the sale of livestock issued to or purchased in trust for Indians without the consent of the superintendent in charge of the tribe. This law is no longer necessary and it places undue burden upon the purchasers of Indian livestock. The other act—Public Law 85–186; H. R. 7051, ULLMAN; H. R. 3942, BERRY—will stimulate industrial development near certain Indian reservations by authorizing the transfer of certain surplus Federal property at McNary Dam, Oreg., and Pickstown, S. Dak., to Indian tribes.

INDIAN LAND AND PROPERTY CONVEYANCE

As usual, a number of measures concerning Indian land and property conveyance were considered by the committee during the first session. Six such measures were enacted into law. Public Law 85–34—H. R. 676, HEMPHILL—authorizes the city of Rock Hill, S. C., to acquire approximately 49 acres of tribal lands on the Catawba Indian Reservation to serve as a site for a new sewage disposal plant.

Public Law 85–91—H. R. 6692, SCUDDER—terminates Federal supervision over the members of the Coyote Valley Indian Rancheria in California and provides for the transfer of certain Indian lands to the Secretary of the Army in connection with the construction of the Coyote Valley Dam.

Public Law 85–188—H. R. 993, WESTLAND—authorizes the exchange and conveyance of certain land on the Makah Reservation to the Cape Flattery School District in the State of Washington.

Public Law 85–205—S. 999—directs the Secretary of the Interior to convey 70 acres of land to the State of North Dakota for the use of the North Dakota State School of Science, in return for which the school will provide tuition to 10 Indian students each year for the next 10 years.

By enactment of Private Law 85–217—H. R. 1259, SCRIVNER—the United States disclaims its interest in 86 acres of land in Miami County, Kans., and confirms a judgment of the county district court.

Public Law 85–31—S. 998; H. R. 3995, PFOST—amends in certain respects existing law which authorizes the conveyance to local governmental agencies land and improvements used for Federal Indian school purposes after they are no longer needed for that purpose.

EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

Two Indian educational measures were enacted. One of these acts—Public Law 85–89; H. R. 3837, HALEY—permits teachers in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools to take leave for attending educational meetings which are in the interest of the Federal Government. The other act—Public Law 85–72; H. R. 7050, ULLMAN—provides for the recoupment of funds expended in cooperation with the school board of Klamath County, Oreg., because of the attendance of Indian children.

INDIAN RECLAMATION

One Indian reclamation bill was reported by the committee but was not enacted. House Joint Resolution 2—ANDERSON—provides for payment to the Crow Indian Tribe for transfer to the United States of certain tribal lands necessary for the construction of the Yellowtail Dam and Reservoir. This resolution is pending before the House Rules Committee.

MISCELLANEOUS

Miscellaneous Indian legislation enacted includes a measure—Public Law 85–154; H. R. 4830, SHUFORD—authorizing revision of the roll of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, a measure—Public Law 85–195; H. R. 6521, BERRY—authorizing payment of claims to certain Sioux Indians for losses incurred during wars with the United States, and a measure—Public Law 85–192; S. 1417; H. R. 4912, EDMONDSON—extending the tribal government of the Osage Indians for 25 years.

Although not reported, the committee held extensive hearings on H. R. 3789—UDALL—to determine the rights and interests of the Navaho and Hopi Tribes.

Awarding of Television Station Franchises Important to the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the granting of television station franchises is of great interest not only to the broadcasting industry but also to the general public. The developments which precede such decisions are sometimes lost sight of because they often stretch over a long period of tme. The allocations in Indianapolis over a 4-year period can be summed up in the following résumé:

In 1953 there were 6 applicants for the 2 VHF television channels which had been designated for Indianapolis. The applicants for channel 8 were:

First. Crosley Broadcasting Corp.
Second. Television Indianapolis, Inc.
Third. Universal Broadcasting, Inc.

The applicants for channel 13 were:

First. Indianapolis Broadcasting, Inc.
Second. Midwest TV Corp..
Third. WIBC, Inc.

Of the six applicants all but the Crosley Broadcasting Corp. were composed of or dominated by local Indiana people.

Late in 1953 Crosley withdrew its application for channel 8 and applied for channel 13. After the Crosley withdrawal, Television Indianapolis, Inc., dropped its application, which left Universal as the only applicant for channel 8, and this grant was made in December 1953. Subsequent to the withdrawal of Television Indianapolis, Inc., and prior to the grant to Universal, there was a reorganization of Universal Broadcasting, Inc., in which may of the stockholders of Television Indianapolis, Inc., were brought into Universal.

It is perhaps understandable that some of the stockholders of Television Indianapolis, Inc., would think it wise to drop their application and later to obtain stock in Universal Broadcasting, Inc. It is more difficult to understand why Crosley would drop out of a race with 2 other applicants to enter a race with 3 applicants, each of which was a completely local organization. Playing this long shot proved successful, however, for in March 1957 the FCC, by a 4–3 vote, awarded channel 13 to Crosley.

The awarding of these franchises throughout the country deserves the continued scrutiny of us all. They are not only valuable properties, they are factors of vital importance to the public interest.

Good Labor-Management Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call attention to an outstanding example of good labor and management relationship. In these days when the press is filled with the accounts of wrongdoings of a few union officers and members, the public is inclined to attribute all the wrongs of labor and management relations to organized labor. Unfortunately, the sensationalism of a widely publicized investigation often obscures the vast amount of good things

that go on as a matter of routine day by day and which are the product of enlightened work of progressive union labor leaders and their counterparts in management.

Such an example is the progressive activities of the electrical industry in New York City. There, almost 15 years ago, labor and management decided to join together in a team to work out their own problems. Labor wanted employment opportunities, job security, and a measure of security in old age and in event of disaster. Management sought a high level of production, responsibility in its dealings with labor, and all of those conditions that make it possible to produce to the satisfaction of the public. This team was called the Joint Industry Board of the Electrical Industry and it was formed on April 1, 1943. Ten members from management and 10 out of labor comprised this team of members of Local No. 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Electrical Contracting Industry in New York City.

This team had three purposes:

First. To find ways and means to expand harmony between management and labor.

Second. To work out plans for increasing the services of electrical contractors to the public.

Third. To develop new tools and methods of installation to increase production and cut costs.

Suffice to say that in the intervening time the team has more than justified the faith in the plan of such industry leaders as Harry Van Arsdale, of the union, and Harry F. Fischbach and A. Lincoln Bush, of the electrical contractors.

The public is getting the benefit of the widest use of all types of labor-saving tools and methods and production is very high. The worker has obtained the benefit of a high hourly wage, plus medical, pension, and educational benefits and apprenticeship and training which is a pace setter for the entire construction industry.

I am pleased to note that these good things have, indeed, been given some measure of recognition. The September 3, 1957, issue of Look magazine has a picture story of this fine relationship which comes from effective union leadership. It is entitled "What Should a Union Be?" The January 1956 issue of Reader's Digest contains another excellent article on this relationship entitled "The Union That Gives More to the Boss," by Lester Velie.

This team has produced many unusual but effective methods to achieve better labor-management relations. For example, members of the union themselves have stepped up production by eliminating incompetence on the job. This was accomplished by the setting up of a union school and through the elimination by union members themselves of loafing on the job. The ancient practice of featherbedding has been eliminated. Union members have invented various tools and methods raising the production throughout the industry. Union members are assured of efficient administration within their union and through financial reports rendered at their monthly meetings at which attendance is almost a matter of compulsion.

A joint union-employer hiring office was established. Members of the union have obtained pensions, free dental care and medical checkups, and were the first in the building trade to receive paid vacations.

A joint management-union committee administers the welfare system in the industry, thus the employers now plan with the union instead of fighting a welfare system.

This same team has produced low-cost apartments for members of local No. 3. A convalescent home has been established for union members. One of the most recent progressive steps has been the establishment of scholarships for the children of union members.

Thus, this combination of labor and management has established a remarkable welfare program which provides not only lifetime protection against illness, accidents, and unemployment, but a substantial retirement income after the age of 65.

The funds that provide these benefits throughout the industry are amply protected by sound fiscal requirements and management.

It is, indeed, a point of personal satisfaction for me to call attention to this outstanding example of progressive labor-management relationship, for one of the founders and leaders of this program is a personal friend of long standing, Harry F. Fischbach, a man for whom I have the highest regard and who typifies by his industrial and personal life a true leader, a great leader in a progressive industry.

Ten Years of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, the past 10 years have been 10 years of perhaps the greatest progress against disease that our country has ever seen.

As a recent article said, "You're living in medicine's golden age." It pointed out that new medical knowledge had meant the saving of 1,240,000 lives since World War II. It stressed the fact that "this miracle of medical progress has come largely within the last 10 years."

As I look back over the past decade, I am proud to have had the opportunity to work in Congress, year by year, to provide through congressional appropriations the share of Federal aid that has helped achieve the progress of these 10 years. This aid has been a major influence in increasing and stepping up our Nation's medical research that has meant the saving of those million and more lives.

This year marked the ninth time that it has been my privilege to present to my colleagues in the House of Representatives, on behalf of our Committee on Appropriations, a bill which represented the consensus of the House and Senate committees on the support for health and medical research to be provided through the Federal Government. The bill represented, at the same time, carefully considered judgments as to the interests of economy. It reflected what was needed to strengthen and speed up just as much as scientifically and humanly possible this year's attack on the many problems of disease and disability.

This year, we believe, will see further medical advances, in which the continuing and new programs to which we have given adequate and needed support will play, as in the past, a vital role.

Let us glance back for a moment into the field of health research achivements to see what may lie ahead in the way of returns on the tax dollars invested.

The decline in death rates since World War II from some of the major illnesses dramatically shows how over a million lives have been saved by modern medicine.

Influenza has gone down over 90 percent in its death rate. I should mention here, and emphasize, too, that there is not only great concern with the threatened invasion of the Asian flu, but there is concerted action underway—to set up a great network of protection for the American people.

We in Congress have already acted by appropriating the $800,000 which will be used in providing diagnostic materials to the States and also have authorized an additional $2 million out of the President's reserve fund if an outbreak should occur, which would be used in those areas where needed.

The Public Health Service, American Medical Association, State health authorities, the medical societies, and individual physicians are all alert to the problem and are joined in the nationwide collaborative endeavor against this threat.

To return to the past 10 years of progress, we see the striking fact that once great killers like acute rheumatic fever, tuberculosis, diseases that cause maternal deaths, and appendicitis have had the rate at which they cause death reduced over 70 percent in each case. Syphilis' death rate has been brought down 63 percent, pneumonia's over 40 percent, some kidney disorders 60 percent, and infant death rates have dropped 33 percent. Even high blood pressure, one of the greatest medical problems in terms of numbers afflicted, has seen some decline in death rates in the past few years—and, authorities say, is going to be subject to even better control through new and improved drugs for treatment.

This is what the recent past has brought. What of the work under way today, the challenging and promising new areas of medical research that will pay off increasingly?

The medical research and health programs under way in our State of Rhode Island offers splendid examples of the

march of progress and some of its new areas of promise.

As a result of these programs, Rhode Island is taking a place of leadership among the States in the forefront of medical research, modern medical teaching and practice and public health advances.

Our State institutions and organizations, both public and private, and Rhode Island's researchers, medical teachers, physicians, nurses, and allied hospital and health agencies workers of all kinds—these men and women and their institutions are placing our State in this new position of leadership—as well as bringing its people the very best in medical and health benefits.

Supplementing and aiding them, and helping make many of the forward looking programs in Rhode Island possible, is support such as that which we are providing through congressional appropriations.

For health and medical research and related work in Rhode Island there was provided in fiscal year 1957, which ended June 30, almost $3 million in grants and awards from the programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. From the Public Health Service's National Institutes of Health, about $1 million aided research, research training, building and equipping of research facilities, and other activities in institutions in our State.

Some $881,000 last year from the Public Health Service's Bureau of State Services helped a variety of public health programs in Rhode Island, such as control of water pollution, tuberculosis, mental illness, heart disease, cancer, and poliomyelitis. Through the Service's Bureau of Medical Services, Rhode Island in fiscal year 1957 had available for medical facilities and hospital construction some $788,000. Of this, almost half a million dollars was for hospital construction for needed facilities at the Providence lying-in hospital, the State hospital at Cranston—Howard—and Roger Williams General Hospital at Providence.

Through the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, our State health department had about $235,000 for services for crippled children and for maternal and child-health activities. Also, from the Dpartment's Office of Vocational Rehabilitation came a research grant of $39,415 to Butler Health Center at Providence to evaluate the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs for both physically and mentally disabled persons.

Speaking of mental illness, which is one of our gravest health problems of today, we can be proud of the progressive work that is being undertaken in Rhode Island on this.

Butler, as well as another institution in Rhode Island, has recently been awarded mental-health project grants by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. The Emma Pendleton Home, a children's psychiatric hospital, is using the mental-health project-grants funds to study a special group program for acting-out children. This study will shed light on the effectiveness and application of group work to special diagnostic categories of disturbed children. This project, begun in August of this year, will extend over a 4-year period.

Butler Health Center, which recently open an inpatient unit, the fourth of its major programs, has been awarded two mental-health project grants. One of these projects has been set up to investigate the nature of attitudes, interactions, and activities by the patients and personnel, which help recovery of chronically ill psychotic patients. This project will continue, according to present plans, over a 3-year period.

The other research program at the Butler Mental Health Center supported by a mental health project grant is one essentially designed to discover and test effective alternatives to the conventional inpatient psychiatric treatment. Through the operation of a new kind of outpatient department, a day hospital and a hospitalization program for emergency services to patients in periods of intense panic, the Butler Health Center hopes to do pioneering work in treatment and care of the mentally ill. Present plans for this project cover a 3-year period.

Grants have also been made to Rhode Island institutions to participate in the large scale evaluations of the tranquilizing drugs—that have been so useful in mental illness and other conditions, but that need a great deal of study before we understand just how they act and produce their effects. This kind of study will lead to even greater eventual usefulness on the part of these drugs which affect the central nervous system. Indeed, the whole knowledge of the brain and its chemistry—an area our scientists say that they need much more information on before it is fully understood—is being opened up tremendously through new investigations today.

In the field of cancer research, Rhode Island institutions are participating in the vast new endeavor that has been implemented through National Institutes of Health grants to screen all chemical compounds that might have possible use in the treatment of cancer.

Moreover, in the field of cancer control, Rhode Island is actively engaged in a new program aimed at cancer of the uterus, the second largest cause of death from cancer among women, which claims the lives of nearly 15,000 American women each year. Now a test, known as the cytologic test, makes possible the early detection of this type of cancer.

Unfortunately uterine cancer, which is highly curable in its earliest stage, presents no detectable symptoms until the disease reaches a stage when cure is more difficult. By means of the cytologic test, women with a suspicion of uterine cancer can learn about its presence long before they ordinarily would. Numerous investigators and clinicians believe that, if widely used, this test could reduce mortality by as much as 75 percent.

The test is completely painless and usually takes less than 5 minutes. The technique consists simply in taking samples of vaginal fluid which contains cells shed by the internal organs of the body. Microscopic examination of slides made from these samples enables trained laboratory workers to distinguish cells which are suspected of being cancerous from those that appear to be normal. Scientists recommend that women take the test once a year to be sure that they do not have uterine cancer.

In collaboration with the Rhode Island Medical Society and Rhode Island Society of Pathologists, the Rhode Island State Department of Health is, for the second year, making the cytologic test available to women over 20 in the State. The project, which was aided by a grant of $70,000 from the National Cancer Institute in 1956, is receiving additional assistance this year in the form of a $100,000 grant from the same source.

The program is being conducted through hospitals, private practitioners, and State-sponsored cancer-detection centers, and is endorsed by the Rhode Island Medical Society and the Rhode Island Society of Pathologists.

The Rhode Island cytology program is one of several which were recently established in this country after the effectiveness of the technique as a case-finding procedure was successfully demonstrated in Memphis, Tenn. The Memphis project, now in its fifth year, led to the discovery of about 800 cases of uterine cancer among 108,000 women who were examined for the first time.

Half these 800 cases were found in the very earliest stages, and most of these were entirely unsuspected. Many of the 400 cases of advanced cancer were also unsuspected.

The first year of the Rhode Island project was spent in tooling up and training technicians to examine slide tubes as a part of the test. Since operations were started, 10,000 women have been screened as of September 1. Carcinomas in situ proved by biopsy totaled 51. These are the tumors that this program is designed to discover, because they can be cured in the early stage. There were also 13 other cancers of the uterus diagnosed which were somewhat more advanced but not dangerously so. This is a total of 64 early cancers of the uterus discovered and proved so far by this cytology laboratory. In 14 other cases, biopsies have been requested and will be done soon.

There are between 225,000 and 250,000 women over 20 in Rhode Island. It is hoped that the project will eventually make it possible for 50,000 a year to take this test. For the great majority, it will mean peace of mind and relief from needless worry. For those who have uterine cancer, it will mean the discovery of their disease at a time when cure is most probable. In my opinion, this is one of the best run programs in the country.

Rhode Island is playing a key role in another project which has a direct bearing on the health and well-being of millions of Americans. I refer to the recently launched nationwide investigation directed to studying and evaluating the factors which are believed to bring on such diseases as cerebral palsy and mental retardation—disorders which are

often due to damage to the brain of an infant before, during, or shortly after birth.

This investigation is being coordinated by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness in Bethesda, Md. Eleven medical schools and hospitals—in key communities throughout the Nation—are working with the Institute. Among these is our own Brown University in Providence.

I have had occasion to hear testimony on this nationwide study from medical men in position to know a good deal about cerebral palsy and related disorders. It is my feeling that this study—which may go on for a decade or longer—may bring the effective treatment and prevention of such disorders a generation or more closer to achievement.

What are some of the causative factors which the project will be evaluating? Well, there are many. Among these are such factors as lack of oxygen, brain injuries, infections occurring during pregnancy, and the so-called Rh factor which is actually a blood incompatibility between mother and child. Heredity, which is believed to play only a minor role in cerebral palsy and mental retardation, will also be evaluated.

Brown University, I am pleased to say, was among the first institutions to join in this important study and its program is well underway. The university's initial grant—a grant covering the last fiscal year—was for just short of $100,000—$97,633.

I might say here that Providence is truly blessed in terms of its fitness for this kind of project. Brown University, which has an unusually fine department of biology, is working closely with the Providence Lying-In Hospital on one hand and the Meeting Street School on the other.

Providence Hospital is one of the largest lying-in hospitals in the country and the Meeting Street School is a unique semicustodial institution for cerebral palsied children. Thus, we have a coordinated approach to the research problem posed in which the onset and impact of cerebral palsy can be studied and evaluated through pregnancy, birth, and the early years of life.

Dr. Glidden Brooks, director of the project, brings to the study not only years of research experience but a number of major contributions to our knowledge of cerebral palsy and related disorders.

Why is this collaborative program—in which Brown University and its associated organizations are playing a key role—of such importance?

One answer, of course, lies in its humanitarian aspects—in the promise it holds for the development of effective treatments and preventive techniques for coping with cerebral palsy, mental retardation, and related disorders. But the problem can also be sketched in terms of statistics—statistics of vital concern to all of us.

Today, there are an estimated 500,000 people in the United States who have cerebral palsy traceable to brain damage occurring in the year or so surrounding birth. There are an estimated 4,500,000 Americans with mental retardation, about one-third of them children. There are thousands of others with related disorders—thousands who stand to be benefited by the results of the study.

Clearly, then, the severity and scope of the problem cannot be questioned.

Eventually, it is expected that about 15 medical schools and hospitals will be collaborating with the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness and about 8,000 cases will be coming under investigation each year. Whenever possible, the mother will be studied through the entire period of pregnancy. Infants showing signs of neurological stress or brain damage at birth will be closely observed. They will be given detailed psychological and neurological tests. Normal infants will serve as controls to provide an adequate basis for comparison with those who show stress.

This broad-gaged investigation may go on for a decade or even longer. But, as I have said, its implications for future and present generations are considerable. It is among the most hopeful and most comprehensive studies in the medical field that the Congress has been called upon to consider during my service in Washington.

Turning to another field of disease, rheumatic fever, Rhode Island also offers a splendid example of how researchers, physicians, health workers, school authorities, and others team up to apply new medical knowledge through their alertness and cooperative action.

As knowledge about rheumatic fever developed, Rhode Island was one of the first States to develop and carry on a good, sound program against this killer and crippler that strikes hardest at children and that does its damage through causing rheumatic heart disease.

The Rhode Island rheumatic-fever program, as long as 10 years ago, was selected as the subject of an educational film because our State exemplified how community resources could be brought to bear on this disease. The film was made with the sponsorship of the United States Children's Bureau, whose funds have aided the rheumatic-fever program along with our own private and public funds in our State. Shown widely throughout the country, this fine educational motion picture, called We See Them Through, is still being used, I understand, for health-education purposes.

With this background, we can understand why, early this year when there seemed to be a good deal more scarlet fever showing up than there ought to be, our people in Rhode Island were in a position to do something about it. With cooperative programs already well grounded in the heart as in other fields, they, of course, were alert to and acting against rheumatic fever through these programs. Therefore, they would merely need to see what new or intensified action was necessary. There were meetings of the groups, and the medical society, State and city health departments, school authorities, and heart association joined forces to take any desirable and necessary action.

The United States Public Health Service was invited to cooperate and a team of epidemiologists of the Service came to Providence and aided in studying the how, when, where, and why of the scarlet fever cases.

The situation, it was decided, needed an action program to prevent first attacks of rheumatic fever by treating or preventing scarlet fever in the areas where it had shown up heavily. Moreover, with measures to do this established along with other measures to strengthen the general rheumatic fever program, the data that could be gathered and the techniques that could be studied offered a vital research opportunity, which the Public Health Service assisted in starting and carrying on.

I understand that the intensified activity has been very successful and that our people, particularly our children, have been well protected through the physicians' and community's efforts. Alertness averted what might have been a grave situation. The combined forces of medicine, voluntary and official health agencies, school authorities, and parents and the people generally showed how activities could be intensified when needed. The research experiment has not been completed, but I am told by the Public Health Service that the splendid cooperation of the people in Rhode Island made possible gathering of important data which will be of value in the nationwide heart program.

Another first in Rhode Island of which we are very proud is the special clinic that was organized jointly by the Our Lady of Fatima Hospital, the State Committee on Aging, and the Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, at an annual cost of $40,000—$30,000 provided by Congress and $10,000 by Our Lady of Fatima Hospital.

Its purpose is to demonstrate the extent to which vocational rehabilitation for older workers can be achieved through an intensive program of diagnostic, evaluation and rehabilitation services. These services are primarily for workers 45 to 65 years of age, who are eligible for the OAIS disability freeze program and for other persons in the same age category identified by the State rehabilitation agency as persons whose readjustment can be only effected by the clinic's total, coordinated and intensive program of restorative services.

The operation of the clinic involves the participation of multiple professions including rehabilitation counselor, social worker, doctors, nurse, therapists and an employment specialist. The clinic got underway in the middle of 1956 and has since provided services for over 100 older disabled persons. These persons had a variety of handicaps including cerebral vascular accidents, arthritis, multiple sclerosis and other orthopedic involvements.

The last report of the clinic reveals that 21 of these persons had been rehabilitated into employment. National statistics indicate that less than 10 percent of this age group is restored by the official State Vocational Rehabilitation Agencies throughout the country. The

25 percent rate of rehabilitation in the Our Lady of Fatima Clinic documents the efficacy of this special program.

As a result of its accomplishment the Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation chose the Our Lady of Fatima Clinic as a selected demonstration project in vocational rehabilitation and recommended State rehabilitation agencies throughout the country to help in organizing similar clinics in their communities with Federal grants coming from the demonstration appropriation.

The clinic is now in its second year of operation and will continue through a third year.

With these examples of current progress in our fine State of Rhode Island, let me turn now to a glimpse of what may lie ahead for us as a result of the medical research and public health measures that the people want and that we in Congress are aiding through providing supportive funds.

I think—and my opinion is based upon the best thinking of the many authorities in medical and scientific fields whom I am in constant touch with—that the foreseeable future will bring even greater gains.

The past 10 years' advances have exceeded those of the previous half century. I think it likely that the next 10 years' gains will surpass those of the past decade.

Why? Because, in almost every one of the great disease fields that cause most of the death and disability each year in the United States, there has been a tremendous opening up of new and promising avenues of research where just a few years ago there seemed to exist only blind alleys.

Hardening of the arteries is an outstanding example. Instead of previous, complete darkness, and little research interest and few researchers working on this disease whose consequence is 400,000 or more deaths each year, there is today a burgeoning of research. Already many, many new clues have been turned up, and some of the causative factors are being intensively researched and being broken down into firm specifics. We may well look for treatments and preventives of real effectiveness in the coming years.

Cancer, another stubborn and difficult enemy, may yield, at least in part, within a reasonable time. It would require a volume to list the many pathways of new knowledge that are being charted today. To mention one effort, being implemented on a scale and with an intensity never before seen in history, there is the great search for chemotherapeutic agents, drugs, that may be effective. This is highly promising—as are, indeed, other avenues of approach, such as the new one that involves the possibility of training viruses to attack cancer without harming the host.

In the field of mental illness, that affects so many in our Nation today, we may see very exciting developments. As I mentioned earlier, the tranquilizing drugs and others that act upon the central nervous system are already bringing benefits, but the most encouraging thing about them is the new roads that they will open up into understanding. A broad-scale program is just getting underway, for example, in psychopharmacotherapy that will mean both basic and clinical studies of a wide range and great magnitude.

The answer to the riddles of brain chemistry, an outstanding medical research authority has very recently said, may well come by 1967. Predicting tremendous strides in the next 10 years, he feels that we are on the threshold of great discoveries. These, he says, could mean that many mental illnesses could prove to be chemically remediable.

These are only a few examples of the many cheering and promising new developments, yet they serve to show why I feel so strongly that the past 10 years of progress are but a prelude of greater things to come.

This is why, too, I believe that the work we do in Congress to increase and speed up medical research is work that my own constituents desire me to do and at the same time a real fulfilling of my responsibilities to the whole electorate of the country, who look to Congress to establish and maintain programs that will protect and better their health and welfare.

The Scandal in TV Licensing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I have been greatly disturbed recently by the manner in which licenses for television stations are handed out by the Federal Communications Commission. These licenses are worth millions of dollars. They involve deep-reaching principles of mass communication as regulated by Government. The statutory possibilities exist for arbitrary awards of licenses in such a way that the type of broadcasting permitted as well as the type of ownership condoned can be decided by an administrative agency without any very good code of ethics or aims except what is arrived at by the agency itself.

The possibilities for arbitrary bureaucratic decision—and monopoly in a powerful medium of communication—exist in the structure of the FCC and the laws affecting that agency. There is some evidence that authority has been abused. The problem is stated very succinctly in the following article by Louis L. Jaffe, Byrne professor of administrative law at Harvard, from a recent issue of Harper's magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SCANDAL IN TV LICENSING

(By Louis L. Jaffe, Byrne professor of administrative law, Harvard Law School)

In recent months the air in Washington, New York, and Boston has been thick with rumors of political favoritism in the Federal Communications Commission. Some of them have been circulated by disgruntled losers, but the case against the FCC does not rest on these. It rests on the record of the Commission's decisions in licensing television stations, and the reaction of the bench and bar. And on the basis of this record it seems clear that the FCC is dealing a heavy blow to good government.

Congress is becoming aware of this threat. Recently a House antitrust committee condemned behind-doors discussion of pending cases between representatives of the industry and members of the Commission. "This practice," says the committee, "is repugnant to fundamental principles of quasi-judicial procedure." But the committee neglects to mention that Congressmen themselves set the example by intervening on behalf of favored constituents.

Not long ago a TV license was sold for over $9 million. It is shocking to realize that a legally protected monopoly of such value can be awarded on the basis of bureaucratic caprice. But this is not the most serious aspect of the phenomenon. Doubt as to the rationality and integrity of administrative action poisons the wellsprings of government. Our democratic virtues of mutual respect, regard for the attitudes of our neighbors, and resort to persuasion and compromise can in such a situation become vices.

It has been a stereotype of political wisdom that the bureaucrat is ever ready to exercise authority arbitrarily. But there is the far greater danger that the second-rate, insecure personality who often finds his way into bureaucracy will become uncomfortable at having to exercise authority and will anxiously seek to placate as many interests as possible. This fear to offend, complaisance, and readiness to listen and be "fair" and "reasonable" clog the muscles of the will, and what begins in amiability can end in corruption. Undeniably there are great values in the widespread consent to Government which our democracy produces. Nowhere in the world has government regulation made more brilliant creative contributions to society. But if the administrator is not disinterested, government will surely lose the credit which is a necessary condition for its moral leadership and creative initiative.

The trouble with the Communications Commission begins with the statute under which it operates. Originally it was passed to take care of a crisis: the courts had decided that the Secretary of Commerce was without authority to limit the number of broadcasters. As a result many programs could be broadcast at the same time on the same wavelength, and their chaotic interference with each other threatened to destroy the usefulness of radio. Consequently, in 1927 power was conferred on the Radio Commission (later the FCC) to limit the number of broadcasters. But Congress gave the Commission no guides whatever to enable it to choose among rival applicants, or to regulate the performance of those who were licensed. The statute simply provided that a license should be granted to an applicant if "public convenience, interest, or necessity will be served thereby," and, very generally, that the Commission should "study new uses for radio, provide for experimental uses of frequencies, and generally encourage the larger and more effective use of radio in the public interests."

Perhaps Congress failed to see the difficult problems that were to arise in licensing and regulating broadcasting—a not unlikely assumption since the legislation was first adopted in 1927 and reenacted in 1934. But the problems have since become glaringly acute, and though Congress has unceasingly criticized and investigated the Commission, it has not in all these years made a single contribution to policy, except through

threats of committees and pressure exerted over the telephone.

A broad delegation of power to an administrative agency is not unusual. Both our railroad and public-utility commissions are authorized to fix the rates for service and otherwise regulate utilities. But when the utility legislation was passed, there was a precisely isolated problem, and the legislative attitudes for dealing with it were well understood, if not explicitly expressed. The Communications Commission, however, began life in a legislative vacuum.

WHO GETS THE PLUMS?

When faced with two applicants for the same broadcasting facility, therefore, the Commission had to devise some technique for determining which one should get the license. Furthermore, since by statute the license is good only for 3 years, each time its renewal is in question, the Commission is once again faced with the question of whether the licensee or some other entrepreneur should have the frequency.

The Commission decided that the choice should be made on grounds which were relevant to the effective use of the broadcast medium. Gradually it developed criteria which purported to enable it to choose, in the first instance, from among two or more applicants, and then to decide, at the end of 3 years, whether the licensee was entitled to a renewal.

In devising these criteria it was treading on treacherous ground. What, indeed, are good radio and good TV? If the people want cakes and ale, does it lie in the mouth of a public authority to state that they shall have only so much cakes and ale and the rest physic? And if good radio can be defined, what kind of organizations and persons are best fitted to provide it? It takes little imagination to sympathize with the predicament of an agency which is called upon to answer such touchy and unprecedented questions without any guidance whatever from Congress, the authorized voice of the people.

Yet, up to a point, the Commission did not hesitate to grasp this thorny nettle. It started with the large concept that radio has public functions, of both entertaining and educating the citizenry; of providing a platform for the dissemination of the arts, the discussion of public questions, the propagation of news, and, somewhat more delicate, for religious observation and worship.

The Commission has not dictated precisely what the balance should be among the desirable and inevitable uses. It has done no more than announce that some balance there must be; and it has been persistently attacked for its hesitant timidity in enforcing this policy. But it must be recalled in its defense that it has no express statutory warrant for any policy in these areas; that in this country, as opposed to Britain with its governmentally produced radio, there is little or no tradition for controlling communications or for administering authoritative cultural or moral dispensations.

A more controversial and difficult task was the formulation of criteria for choosing among applicants. It is elementary and basic that the applicant must be decent and law abiding, with sufficient intelligence and integrity to fulfill the public responsibility placed upon the broadcaster. He must also be required to make a tolerably concrete demonstration that his proposed program will have the necessary variety and interest, and that he has the means for delivering what he promises. The Commission has further indicated that an applicant whose management and proposed personnel are ultimately connected with the community and prepared to devote most of their time to a study of the community's needs will be preferred to an absentee owner.

Most controversial of all the Commission's criteria—and the one in which it is today foundering most dangerously—is the so-called diversification policy. It is a commonplace that the current trend is toward fewer and fewer newspapers and other outlets of communication. Many American cities are already one-newspaper towns. Newspapers were quite understandably interested in radio in its earliest beginnings, and have been successful in securing an important number of the most valuable AM and TV licenses. Furthermore, a newspaper licensee may own a number of newspapers, sometimes within a well-defined region, as well as a number of AM and TV stations—since the rules of the Commission which prohibit the ownership of more than 7 AM and 7 TV stations say nothing about other mediums.

The dangers of this concentration of communication facilities are obvious. A monopoly of channels of communication is a monopoly of the approaches to the mind of the citizenry. The lack of competition may produce a deterioration in the tone and extent of the service provided, and so ultimately of the cultural level of the community. And in those communities in which there are still two or more newspapers, a grant of a TV license to one may spell the doom of the other. Because a TV license is by its nature a monopoly, the profit is out of all proportion to the investment. The favored newspaper may offer special advantages to advertisers and readers below cost, and retrench its losses from its TV earnings. Ultimately its rival will be compelled to withdraw.

Because of these various considerations the Communications Commission has formulated a so-called policy of diversification. Thus, if two applicants are equal in other respects, the applicant who is not affiliated with other newspaper or communications mediums will be preferred. Some think the Commission should have a firm rule against ever granting a license to a newspaper. But whenever it has been suggested that the Commission was pursuing such a policy, there has been such strong protest in Congress that the Commission has been compelled to disavow the action.

These, then, are the purported criteria for making choices among competing applicants. They are, in my opinion, relevant criteria. They further important social and economic interests. They have secured the approval of the courts.

But they are unfortunately extremely imprecise, and they are capable of infinite manipulation. They can become—and, in my opinion, the record shows that they have become—spurious criteria, used to justify results otherwise arrived at.

It is, of course, obvious that a charge of this sort cannot be demonstrated with the kind of certainty that would be necessary to hang a man. But two cases decided by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in the last year must cause any thinking man, any man who looks hopefully to government, acute discomfort.

THE CLARKSBURG AND M'CLATCHY CASES

The first is *Clarksburg Publishing Company* v. *Federal Communications Commission*. In this case, the Clarksburg Publishing Co., a publisher of a newspaper in Clarksburg, W. Va., protested the grant of a TV license to the Ohio Valley Broadcasting Corp. If Ohio Valley's application were granted it would have direct or indirect ownership interests in two television stations serving Clarksburg. It already had similar interests in nearby radio stations. News Publishing Co., an affiliate, published morning, evening, and Sunday newspapers in Wheeling, 58 miles away, and papers in 8 other cities in Wese Virginia. Nine communities in West Virginia, including Wheeling, Parkersburg, and Fairmont—the third, fifth, and sixth largest cities, respectively—were completely dependent on Ohio Valley for their local daily newspapers.

Out of only 9 cities in the State which have both morning and evening daily papers, Ohio Valley controlled both papers in 3: Fairmont, Parkersburg, and Wheeling. It also controlled 6 of the 12 single daily newspapers published in the State. The combined circulation of all daily newspapers published in the northern, north central, and eastern portions of West Virginia—where Ohio Valley Broadcasting Corp. interest predominated—was 191,922. Of this figure 121,005 represented the daily circulation of newspapers published or controlled by News Publishing Co.

Originally there had been a rival applicant for the TV license, and the two applications had been set down for a comparative hearing. Then the rival withdrew, after being paid $14,390 by Ohio—purportedly its out-of-pocket expenses in pressing the application. The next day an award was made to Ohio, without reference to the Commission's policy of diversification and without investigation of whether or not the payment to the rival applicant covered merely bona fide expense.

Clarksburg Publishing Co. protested the grant of a TV license to so formidable a rival in the communications field, and asked for a hearing. This request was denied by the Commission. The court, reversing the action of the Commission, found nothing in the record to justify the Commission's disregard of its own announced policy: "Nothing in the * * * record dispels the strong impression that, on the concentration of control issue alone, the grant would not be in the public interest." The matter was returned to the Commission for, at the very least, a hearing and a statement by the Commission justifying its departure from its announced standards.

Compare this with the actions of the Commission in the McClatchy Broadcasting case. McClatchy was the owner of a chain of newspapers and radio stations in the Central Valley of California. It applied for a TV station in Sacramento. Another company, Telecasters, made a rival application. Initially Telecasters was permitted to amend its application to increase the height of its antenna so that its coverage might be equal to that proposed by McClatchy.

Following the usual Commission procedure, the hearing was conducted by a so-called trial examiner. The examiner found that McClatchy was superior to Telecasters in all respects except "diversification of control of the mediums of mass communication." He discovered, however, that McClatchy had never engaged in the practices frequently associated with monopolistic conduct in the public-information field, e. g., cutthroat rate-slashing or personnel pirating. He noted also that there was a multiplicity of mass-communication mediums in the area to be served. He awarded the license to McClatchy. The Commission, reversing him, disagreed as to the relative superiority of McClatchy and Telecasters and then rejected McClatchy almost solely on the diversification issue.

McClatchy appealed to the court of appeals, which, holding that the Commission had acted within the legitimate area of its discretion, upheld the decision. But during the appeal curious things were happening. Immediately upon receiving its construction license, Telecasters petitioned the Commission to permit it to reduce the height of its antenna, and the Commission forthwith agreed. McClatchy protested and asked for a reopening of the comparative hearing. This the Commission denied. And all this time the case was on appeal. McClatchy appealed a second time, and the court stated indignantly that it was unseemly for the Commission without the knowledge or permission of the court to substitute another

grant for that which is being judicially examined on appeal. It ordered the Commission to reopen the hearing.

Thus, in the Clarksburg case the Commission refused even to consider diversification; in the McClatchy case diversification became the controlling consideration.

A more recent decision awarding the immensely valuable TV channel 5 in Boston adds to this picture of contradiction. There were originally 6 applicants, 4 of whom held the course to the end. The winner was the Boston Herald, already the owner of a morning, evening, and Sunday newspaper, and licensee of an AM and TV radio station. The Commission, duly noting its diversification policy, nevertheless awarded the license to the Herald.

How did the Commission rationalize its action? The reason given was that the Herald's experience in operating its radio station assured a good TV performance. Is this not the very heart of contradiction? If, on the basis of its past performance, one already in the communications business is to be preferred, what room is there for the diversification policy?

A further feature of the case underlines the doubts raised by the decision. The Herald's chief newspaper rival, the Globe, after the close of the hearing, offered affidavits of its officers showing that the Herald had put constant pressure on it to merge the two newspapers, and when the proposals were refused said: "Wait until we get the television station and see what happens."

The Globe asked for a reopening of the hearing to present this evidence. The Globe's move came very late, it is true, but the information was quite unknown to the other applicants until the affidavits were filed. The Commission rejected the motions to reopen, partly because of their lateness, but also because the alleged behavior of the Herald was magnified out of proportion and its threats should be attributed to pique—thus cavalierly disposing of these serious charges without giving the parties even a chance either to prove them or to explore their relevance.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

These are not isolated instances. But by their striking character they cast a strong light on much that has been ambiguous, and bring into focus a pattern of administration which has been growing steadily more disturbing over the past few years. There is not space here to evaluate the whole performance, but enough has been shown, I think, to cause alarm. Standards are announced only to be ignored, ingeniously explained away, or so occasionaly applied that their very application seems a mockery of justice.

There are, unfortunately, no immediate or easy remedies for the situation. The present modes of regulation and the existing structure of broadcasting are powerfully entrenched. It might have been possible at an earlier time to have taxed the monopoly profits of broadcasting; to have levied, for example, an annual license fee proportional to profit, and thus to have reduced the pressures for administrative irregularity. But the enormous investments which have been made preclude such a drastic revision of the legal structure.

Congress might, to be sure, clarify and reinforce the already developed licensing criteria, most of which are in themselves quite sound. Statutory enactment would somewhat strengthen the hand of the courts in reviewing and controlling wayward administrative activity. But it must be confessed that such legislation would not substantially narrow the range of administrative discretion. We must face the fact that the nature of the broadcasting problem does not lend itself to solution by formulas which would eliminate the need for official judgment.

In this it is like most Government regulation today. Regulation assumes legislative determination only of the major policy conflicts, with a resulting firm declaration of the regulatory principles to be applied; a grant of sufficient discretion to find the best ways and means to adapt these policies to a constantly developing situation; and a well-informed, imaginative, disinterested bureaucracy operating in a judicial spirit.

Though Congress has been notably weak during the past few years in providing policy guides, strong administration would have in some measure filled the void. But in our administrative, as in our legislative, life, compromise, camaraderie, and trafficking are eating away at the fabric of the legal structure. This is a massive trend and can be fought only if there is a public opinion aware of this threat to effective Government.

The challenge is a tremendous one. In our present context it will require an unwonted discipline and restraint in many quarters. We must reestablish the notion that commissioners when they have a case before them are quasi-judicial officers. Congressmen, high officials of the administration, and party politicos must refuse to approach commissioners. The commissioners in their turn must close their doors and ears to everything except the record made openly before them. A litigant would not dare procure his Congressman to intercede with a judge. We must establish a tradition which makes the show of influence equally unthinkable in an administrative proceeding. It would be an important step in the building of such a tradition for Congress by statute to give authoritative expression to these principles.

Integration in Southern Schools Advances in All but Five States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by the able education reporter of the New York Times, Mr. Benjamin Fine, from the Times for Sunday, August 25, 1957, reviewing the successes and failures in the Southern States in carrying out the public-school desegregation decisions of the Court.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] on August 26, very properly placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at pages 14554–14555 a companion article by the same reporter from the Times for August 26, giving a similar report for the Northern States.

I hope these reports may be considered together, for, in my opinion, they clearly establish the point in the case of our schools, that our problem of protecting racial minorities against denials of their constitutional rights is nationwide. Not one section alone, but many, need the assistance in securing compliance with the Constitution that would be afforded by carefully drawn Federal legislation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS ADVANCES IN ALL BUT FIVE STATES

(By Benjamin Fine)

NASHVILLE, August 24.—Racial integration is gaining in the schools of the South.

When schools open next month a record total of 350,000 Negroes will attend classes under integrated situations. They will go to school with 2 million white pupils.

Despite all kinds of obstacles integration is spreading. Only five hard-core States remain untouched by either school or college integration—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi.

Two others—Virginia and Louisiana—have mixed classes on the college level, but not in their public schools.

Virginia faces a number of court suits; it is believed to be only a matter of months before a breakthrough is made.

In Louisiana, integration in parochial schools is expected ultimately although not for this year.

Integration will reach the strong outposts of the South within the next 2 weeks. Three of the largest cities in North Carolina—Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem—will have mixed classes when schools open on September 3.

Nashville will integrate on a limited scale, starting with the first grade. Although schools open there on September 9, advance registration for first-graders will take place next Tuesday. This is expected to be a big test for the city, as threats have been made to prevent mixed classes.

Another major test will take place September 3, when Little Rock and four other Arkansas cities integrate their schools. At Little Rock integration will start with the high schools, and gradually work down to the elementary grades. Open threats have come from opposing forces in Arkansas. The new policy will not be accepted by the opposition without a last-ditch struggle.

This fall a total of 707 school districts in 17 Southern States and the District of Columbia will be integrated. This is a gain of 57 districts in the past 12 months. Twenty-three districts will operate on a mixed-class basis for the first time. Of the 9,000 school districts in the South, fewer than 6,000 are biracial. The rest are all white. Some 3,000 biracial districts still remain segregated.

"We are making progress," one southern educator observed. "Some say that the progress is too slow, while others believe we are going too fast. We just have to move ahead at the pace that the community is ready to accept."

SNAIL'S PACE IRKS SOME

Many officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other groups favoring integration are unhappy at what they call the snail's pace of desegregation.

At any rate, when schools reopen soon, these districts will join the integration camp:

Arkansas: Little Rock, North Little Rock, Fort Smith, Van Buren, and Ozark.

Kentucky: Lebanon, Clay, and Sturgis.

Maryland: St. Mary's County.

Missouri: Bend, Malta, Lebanon, Gallatin, Pacific, Mendon, and Clinton.

North Carolina: Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem.

Oklahoma: Marietta, Hugo, and Sand Springs.

Tennessee: Nashville.

Although progress has been made, large sections of the South remain untouched by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing separate but equal schools.

The term "integrated situation" is used by the southern school news headquarters to describe conditions under which Negro children attend mixed schools or reside in districts where mixed classes have been authorized.

Thus, although 350,000 Negroes are under integrated conditions, far fewer than that number actually attend mixed classes. Because of residential patterns, many Negroes attend segregated schools, even though they are legally entitled to go to mixed schools. This de facto segregation exists in the North as well as the South.

CONCLUSIONS OF SURVEY

As the schools start their fourth year since the historic Supreme Court decision, these conclusions emerge from a study of the 17 States and the District of Columbia made by the New York Times:

Integration is spreading rapidly in the border States of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, and Oklahoma.

The District of Columbia has completely integrated its school system.

Resistance continues strong in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Many Southern States have passed laws during the last 2 years that would abolish the public schools and set up privately supported institutions, if segregation is enforced. Some 7 million white pupils and 2,450,000 Negroes still remain in segregated situations.

Greater reliance is placed by the South on the use of the courts to delay action on integration as long as legally possible.

Serious trouble appears possible in several of the new districts that will integrate their schools this fall.

KASPER IN NASHVILLE

There is organized opposition in Little Rock, Nashville, and the three North Carolina cities.

Although indicted twice by the courts, Frederick John Kasper, executive secretary of the Tennessee White Citizens' Council, has come to Nashville to "alert" the public. The New Jersey born segregationist has begun a campaign similar to the one he organized at Clinton, Tenn., to prevent Negroes from attending schools with white pupils. Whether he is successful depends upon how much of a following he can muster here. Kasper has also threatened to move into other communities this fall. Moreover, the White Citizens' Councils in other States are girding for battle.

The legal counsel for the Capital Citizens' Council in Little Rock launched the first legal attack last week against high school integration. Little Rock has ordered its high schools integrated; complete integration is to take place by 1963.

Arkansas, in common with Texas and most of the other Southern States, finds that the State laws conflict with the Federal laws. Four segregation laws are on the Arkansas State books; recently 10 Negro ministers asked a Federal court to rule these illegal.

TEXAS PLANS HALTED

In Texas, where more than 100 districts with a white enrollment of 500,000 have been integrated, all further plans for desegregation have been temporarily halted. A law prohibits future integration until approved at a local election, with loss of State funds and fines against administrators for violation.

As a result, plans to integrate schools in Galveston, Port Arthur, Stamford (west Texas), and several other communities have been abandoned. Lawsuits have been filed in Federal courts to require Houston and Dallas to integrate their schools. The court has held Dallas must desegregate, but has set no specific time for it. Dallas has made several studies of the question; the school officials say they need more time to choose the best plan.

The Houston officials argue that they need several years to complete a building program. Without such a program, they say, Negroes and whites would be compelled to attend the same schools, even thought a free-choice integration system might be ordered.

Several Southern States have adopted a pupil-assignment law, which they hope will keep integration to a legal minimum. Under this law, pupils are assigned to those schools that would be best for their general health, safety, and welfare. Officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have called this a ruse to circumvent an honest application of the integration policy.

FEW NEGROES ACCEPTED

The first test of this policy is now taking place in North Carolina. Although many Negro pupils applied, only a dozen or so were accepted in the three cities that will desegregate this fall. For example, the Charlotte School Board accepted only five Negro children in the white schools. Twenty-four others were rejected. The board did not explain why some were permitted to go to the all-white schools, while others were turned down.

The Raleigh School Board did not accept any Negro students. And in Marion, the McDowell County Board of Education vetoed the applications of 66 Negroes who had sought admission to the white school at Old Fort. The pupils had asked to be assigned to the Old Fort school rather than the consolidated Negro school at Marion, 13 miles away.

The legal counsel for the North Carolina NAACP, C. O. Pearson, said, concerning the rejection of pupils through the pupil-assignment laws:

"I think everyone understands that this procedure will be tested legally."

It is expected that one of the strongest efforts to end segregation in the South will be made in Virginia this fall. Virginia is an island of segregation. She is surrounded by Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, all now under complete or token integration.

Lawsuits to bring about integration are pending in courts in at least five areas—Norfolk, Newport News, Charlottesville, Arlington, and Prince Edward County. NAACP lawyers have indicated they will make efforts to place Negro children this fall in white schools at Arlington and Charlottesville.

A 15-year-old Negro girl in Arlington has applied for admission to the Washington-Lee High School, now all white. Her application is in the hands of the pupil-placement board. This board is empowered under Virginia law to assign pupils to specific schools for reasons other than race.

The constitutionality of the board is being challenged in the courts. At a special session last year a law was passed that requires the withholding of State funds from a locality's public schools when any integration takes place. That, too, will be ultimately tested in the courts.

"As I see the picture now," Gov. Thomas B. Stanley said recently, "I am very hopeful that schools will open on a segregated basis in September as they have in the past."

Another likely trouble spot this fall is western Kentucky. Although the integration program in Louisville has received national attention, threats have been made against it. But school officials, headed by Dr. Omar Carmichael, and the police have said that they would not stand for any tampering with the integration rulings.

Webster County officials have announced they will integrate in September on a voluntary basis. They have not spelled out the meaning of "voluntary." Last fall trouble broke out at Clay, in Webster County; the State militia was called out by Gov. A. B. Chandler.

"We will, of course, comply with the Federal Court order," said Wilbur Collins, superintendent of Webster County schools.

Integration has also been ordered for other counties in western Kentucky. Union County (Sturgis) plans to integrate the ninth grade this fall; 10th grade in 1958, and 11th and 12th in 1959. Hopkins County proposes integrating first through fourth grades now, and the others through 1960.

There is no single pattern for gradual integration. Some school systems want to start with the first grade, as at Nashville; others are starting with the high-school division, as in Little Rock.

The Kentucky Citizens' Councils have threatened to forestall integration in some areas. If trouble develops, observers believe, it will come in the rural areas of western Kentucky, where feeling is still strong against the Governor for calling out the militia last September.

James A. Crumlin, a Louisville lawyer and president of Kentucky State conference of the NAACP, observed:

"We're just hoping that everything is going to work out all right. We'll continue to hope that to the very last."

Summary of Three Addresses Made by Dr. Frank P. Graham, Former United States Senator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask consent to include in the RECORD the following summary of speeches made by Dr. Frank P. Graham, former United States Senator, at the Chautauqua Institution, on August 14, 1957.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In the course of three addresses on the United Nations at the 84th Chautauqua assembly of people from 48 States and 14 foreign countries, Dr. Frank P. Graham, 19 years president of the University of North Carolina, former United States Senator, and U. N. mediator in two Asian conflicts, made some timely observations on: (1) the development among southern people of the sense of obligation to prepare all their children, including Negro children, for full citizenship; and (2) the faithful way in which Negro youth have prepared themselves for full citizenship, including the right to vote as the most fundamental right in a democracy on which other rights so largely depend.

He remarked that despite heavy lags and unfair procedures and pressures in many communities in many States there has yet been a steady increase in the number of Negro voters through the initiative of Negro organizations and the widening of the religious conscience and a sense of democratic responsibility. The opportunity is at hand, he said, for the first time in almost fourscore years to adopt measures without a Senate filibuster, which in a few years will likely more than double the rate of increase in the number of Negro voters in 12 Southern States.

The southern people, Dr. Graham remarked, on the basis of their own commitments, have a special legal and moral responsibility to join in the program for local-State-Federal cooperation in removing obstructions and ending the evasion of the right of Negroes to vote. When Negroes were disenfranchised by grandfather clauses in amendments to State constitutions at the turn of the century, the promise was made that, after an early terminal date, they would again have the right to vote on the basis of

a literacy test to be applied equally under the law.

In North Carolina—one of the three Southern States with more than a million Negroes—when some political leaders insisted that the terminal date of 1908 be indefinitely postponed for Negroes and that the taxes paid by the two races be segregated in support of their respective schools in the biracial structure, Gov. Charles B. Aycock declared in that event he would resign as governor in protest against his broken word and the dishonor of his State. He proclaimed all over the region that the first obligation of the people was to provide public schools so that "every child could burgeon out all that is in him."

Bearing on the preparation for the right to vote based on literacy are the following developments: (1) In 1875 9 Southern States spent a little over $5 million for the maintenance of the public schools, mainly for white children; (2) in 1952 13 Southern States spent $1,200 million for the maintenance of the public school in that year for all children; (3) in the last decade North Carolina, for example, has maintained a statewide State-supported 12-grade, 9-month school system for all children, rural and urban, white or colored; (4) in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia teachers of Negro children, because of their longer experience and training, receive, on the average, higher salaries than the teachers of white children; (5) The southern people of both races invest a larger proportion of their income in the education of their children than the people of other regions; and (6) although one-tenth of the Negroes in the world are in the United States, more Negro youth are in colleges in the United States, mainly in the Southern States, than in all the rest of the world.

These facts emphasize, said Dr. Graham, the moral obligation to remove any barriers still unfairly placed in the way of the promised right to vote. Six Southern States require a poll tax as a qualification for voting. The inclusion of unpaid back poll taxes as a part of the poll tax of any year works unfairly against the universal suffrage rights of low-income groups to which the Negroes largely and often unfairly belong.

While 60 percent of the white people of voting age register in the 12 Southern States, it is roughly and sincerely estimated that approximately 1,250,000 Negroes register, out of 5 million Negroes of voting age in these 12 States. In the last 5 years there has been an increase of almost one-quarter of a million Negro registrations in these States.

The present searchlight of public opinion turned against the threats, subterfuges and other unfair procedures and pressures against the equal right of Negroes to vote, the debates in Congress regarding present feasible and effective provisions, and the commitments made by southern leaders in Congress, in newspapers and in public assemblies, all indicate a growing public opinion in the South for the cooperation of local, State, and Federal authorities in behalf of the equal right to vote as the very foundation of our democracy.

One of the alternatives recently before the country was whether it was wise to resort to Federal threats and measures of coercion and thereby not only increase the largely mistaken, but widespread deep anxiety of the majority of the people in the Southern States, but also, to cause a massive southwide solidification of the resistance of this majority. Is it not wiser to adopt presently feasible measures without a filibuster which will win the cooperation of an increasingly larger number of southern people in support of the equal right of suffrage, acknowledgedly now long overdue for fulfillment in many communities in many Southern States?

Without threats of coercion the city of Charlotte desegregated the buses without either local commotion or global notice. A large proportion of Negroes vote in the city of Charlotte. Twice a Negro janitor in the State university led the ticket for the town council by the decisive vote of the town and gown majority. A large number of Negroes vote in Chapel Hill. Beginning steps in the admission of Negro children to formerly all-white schools in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem have been made both in obedience to the law of the land and for the preservation of the public schools. A large proportion of Negroes vote in these cities.

Without a Marshall plan, with full responsibility in difficult decades for the pensions and rehabilitation of Confederate veterans, with part responsibility for the pensions and rehabilitation of Union veterans, with the disproportionate loads of tariffs and discriminatory freight rates, and with the responsibility during recent decades of educating one-third of the Nation's children with one-sixth of the Nation's financial ability, the southern people, amid almost the universal poverty of the war's desolation, rose from the ruins as unconquerable in spirit in the duties of defeat as they were brave on the battlefields against the heavy odds of a long and exhausting war.

As a vital part of the southern people, the Negro people, despite all the wrongs to these people, compounded by centuries of slavery and discrimination, have in the recent decades of their freedom and labor made a progress unsurpassed by any people in a like period in human history. In their spiritual faith and patient upward struggles, their zest for living and laughter, songs merry and sad, and creations of enterprise and spirit, they have revealed the innate capacity of a great people in their rich, various, and enduring contributions to the making and meaning of America.

In the free minds and generous hearts of millions of southern people of both races who have long cooperated in works of personal loyalty and kindness, will live and grow the unfulfilled teachings of our religion for the equal freedom, dignity, and opportunity of all human beings, the struggles of freedom for a higher freedom, and the renewing faith of the American dream with its message of hope and brotherhood in this age of suspicion and fear.

Those who today look down on the ideas and pioneering work of Henry W. Grady, Booker T. Washington, and Charles B. Aycock must stand on their broad shoulders from which to look down. Rather may we all look up with them for the next feasible advance of democracy in America. The gospel of love and understanding preached by Martin Luther King, who draws his inspiration from Jesus, his techniques from Gandhi, and his advice from his noble teacher, Benjamin Mays, of Morehouse College, will yet prevail in our time over fear and hate. The cross, warm with the blood of human brotherhood, will triumph over all the crosses lighted with the hot oil of prejudice, privilege, and power.

The great adventures in creative cooperation of the different peoples, without violation of the rights of privacy, friendship, and personal choice, will tend to preserve their racial identity and diversities to the enrichment of the South, release and unite their highest energies in the upbuilding of America, and increasingly compose their interracial tensions in working together in equal freedom and opportunity in the local communities and the world neighborhood.

Marketing in United States Steel Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, during the closing days of the present session, the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee heard several officials of the United States Steel Corp. discuss administered prices and the relationship of price increases and wage increases to our national economy. I ask unanimous consent that the prepared text by Richard F. Sentner, executive vice president, commercial, United States Steel Corp., be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARKETING IN UNITED STATES STEEL CORP.

(By Richard F. Sentner, executive vice president, commercial, United States Steel Corp.)

United States Steel is successful. We are successful because we satisfy the requirements of our customers. We strive to do this better than other steel producers. At the thousands of customers' plants where various steel producers attempt to serve an individual buyer's needs, the competition is vigorous and intense.

These hearings have been directed principally at one element of this competition—that is, prices and pricing. To describe prices, terms have been employed during these proceedings which are not used or thought of in the steel business. No useful purpose would be served by my attempting to discuss the propriety of these terms. Rather, it would appear that my contribution to your deliberations could best be made by describing what happens in the area of our commercial planning and pricing, and their significance in the sale of our steel products.

In order to appreciate the significance of price competition in the steel market, it is first necessary to understand the relationship which exists between the supplier of steel and the consumer of steel. The need for continuity over an extended period of time is the single most important consideration in each buyer-seller relationship, and one which differentiates competition in steel markets from competition in markets for many other common articles of commerce. Let me explain why this is so.

The market for steel mill products is made up of the requirements of thousands of large and small individual plants, which process, fabricate, and assemble steel products into end items for sale. At each consuming plant the steel mill product which we sell is stamped, cut, fitted, welded, and combined with other materials to produce an end product. The user of steel mill products has invested his money in the facilities and organization required in these processes. He hopes to realize a profit by selling the item which he produces in competition with other manufacturers of the same item. His daily decisions are made in the light of his objective to maintain a high rate of operations over a continuing period of years. In this way he can maintain his own position in his market, and realize a profit on his own in-

vestment. To achieve this objective, he must have assurance of a constant and reliable source of steel mill products available to him at a cost low enough and of a quality high enough to enable him to compete in his own market.

This, then, is the market for which we compete. How do we plan for this continuing customer-supplier relationship which is essential to our participation in the market?

We have invested huge sums of money in sources of raw materials and in steelmaking facilities which are costly and long-lived. We have invested in these facilities to provide each of our large and small customers continuity of supply. It is obvious that our daily sales decisions must be made in the light of the need for a continuing flow of orders from customers to keep our facilities operating profitably, not only today but in all the tomorrows in which we and our customers will be in business.

Because the day-to-day decisions of both the buyer and the seller of steel are influenced by long-range considerations, the soundness of each sales decision is proved only over an extended period of time. To guide our daily selling activity, United States Steel has a commercial policy made up of the several aspects of our total marketing effort. Among these are:

The detailed study of markets in total, by consuming industry, by customer, by area, by product—today, tomorrow, and in the distant future;

The availability of the products which we have for sale;

The quality of our products;

The service which we render to our customers; and

The factor of prices.

Let me describe briefly the role which these factors play in determining our participation in the market.

To be competitive, we must stand ready to provide a continuing supply of steel products to each of our customers. The basis of the sales planning necessary to accomplish this lies in the study of markets. Markets are the collective desires and needs of thousands of buyers of steel mill products in all parts of the country, in businesses both large and small. We understand steel markets by knowing all we can about the individual needs of steel buyers, consumer by consumer, in substantial product detail. Only with this detailed market knowledge can we know what the customer will want to buy and how we can best supply his needs.

The total steel market requires thousands of steel products of particular specifications. Each customer order specifies a particular product by the grade, chemistry, and size required for a particular end-use. The steel mill product is produced only after the customer's order is on hand. Thus, the steel to satisfy markets cannot be made in advance and placed on the shelf for future sales.

As a practical matter, we cannot consider the steel market in terms of an isolated moment in time. We must examine markets both in the near-term future and over longer periods of time. We cannot plan our solicitation efforts, our sales force, our supply of raw materials, our facilities, or our pricing on the basis of what we think the market might be next week or 3 months from now. The steel market is an enduring opportunity. The market must be served today, tomorrow, and far into the future, and, assuredly, we must conduct our business in such a way that our customers today will still be our customers tomorrow. We are, of course, sensitive to the fact that the total steel market moves upward or downward with changing conditions; but we cannot base our commercial planning on sporadic week-to-week or month-to-month fluctuations.

Our pricing is the product of management judgment applied to long-range commercial planning, as well as to the day-to-day administration of our commercial affairs. It, of course, recognizes the need for sustaining long-term sales relationships with customers.

United States Steel endeavors—to the extent competition permits—to sell its products at prices which will recover its costs and yield a profit which will prove attractive to investors in United States Steel. Let me distinguish the role which costs and profits play in our pricing.

Knowledge of costs is fundamental to the successful operation of any business. The costs involved in assembling enormous quantities of basic raw materials, providing modern steelmaking facilities, and efficiently combining these with millions of man-hours of skilled labor, present a complex accounting job. Nevertheless, through the application of modern techniques, we identify these many and varied costs with each of the products we offer for sale. This detailed cost identification permits us to seek constant improvement in individual product costs. It also is important in considering the prices of individual steel products.

Now, let me turn to the element of profit. Earning a profit attractive to investors is fundamental to the successful operation of any business. If United States Steel is to fulfill its responsibilities to its owners, to its employees who depend on it for continued job security, to the thousands of customers who look to it for ever-increasing quantities of improved steel products, and to the American people who expect United States Steel to be ready to serve the national interest in time of emergency, then it must prosper. If United States Steel did not endeavor to prosper it would fail to fulfill these responsibilities.

But the actual attainment of such a profit is the difficult problem. Business profits are merely a residual between the seller's costs and the proceeds realizable on products sold. The fact that a steel buyer will not pay more for our steel mill products than for our competitors' products is a vital factor in the attainment of a profit.

Our mill price must permit us to sell the product of our mills; to develop mutually beneficial long-term individual customer relationships; to maintain our position in the market with respect to competitive nonferrous materials.

To the steel buyer, the "price of steel" is actually the cost of steel at his plant. Ordinarily, he simply will not pay more to one supplier than to another. To obtain his business on a continuing basis, we must be prepared to meet a lower delivered price if offered by another steel producer.

Such factors as changes in transportation costs and revision of competitors' mill prices exert a constant influence on the competitiveness of our prices. These changes require continuous reappraisal of our prices.

There are some who hold that similarity between prices of competing steel producers is evidence of a lack of competition. Nothing could be further from the truth. Actually, similarity is real evidence of the high degree of competition existing among sellers. We pride ourselves on the quality of the products which we produce, on our dependability as a source of supply; and on the technical service which we offer to a customer. All of these factors are important to our customers. Nonetheless, we know from practical experience that when we are not competitive in prices, we are not fully competitive.

Full recognition of the significance of this is reflected in that portion of our commercial policy dealing with price. It is simple and clearly understood by our customers. We have published f. o. b. mill prices for standard steel mill products at each of our producing mills. This is the price we quote to all of our customers, large or small. In other words, we have a one-price policy. When a change is made in our f. o. b. mill price, the new price applies to all of our customers and to all unshipped orders on the books as of the date of change.

The antithesis of a one-price policy would be one in which we had many prices for the same product. Every customer would like a lower price than his competitor. On the other hand, no customer wants his competitor to enjoy a lower price than himself. We believe our one-price policy is the sound and equitable manner in which to conduct our business. Each of our individual customers faces competition in his own market. If we were to charge one customer more for his steel than we charged a competitor of his, we would be impairing his ability to compete. Not only would such a practice result in price discrimination, but also it would almost certainly conflict with our plans to maintain enduring customer reltaionships.

It has been suggested that when demand is temporarily in excess of supply, steel mill products should be sold to the highest bidder. During such periods this type of expedient pricing might indeed yield a handsome quick profit. However, this would be a short-sighted policy and would surely lead to serious discrimination among our customers.

As the availability of space on our producing facilities neared the sellout point, we would be weighing price offers as each customer bid higher and higher amounts in an effort to obtain a supply essential to his operations in future weeks and months. Not only would this result in discrimination in price but also in discrimination in the distribution of our products. In the end, their inability to bid successfully would mean that some customers would be denied any steel at all. The net result would be that some customers would prosper; some customers would sustain losses, and might even be forced out of business by the lack of their needed raw material.

Once peak demand had subsided, many of those who had been bidding for our supply would turn to other steel suppliers who gave promise of a stable continuing supply. We would be left without the broad base of thousands of continuing large and small customer relationships which we need to operate our mills year after year.

Thus, there is no place in our commercial planning or policy for auction-type pricing of our steel products. In periods of strong demand we exercise restraint in our pricing. The reasons are obvious. First, we have no desire to exploit our customers. Second, good business judgment, based on long-term market considerations, tells us that exorbitant prices would only encourage our customers to engineer their own operations away from the use of steel or turn them to another steel supplier at the earliest possible moment.

Up to this point, we have discussed competition in the steel industry largely in terms of price. The practical business of selling steel, however, involves vigorous competition in other areas as well.

It is not enough merely to have a product which can be offered for sale. The product must be of a quality at least equal to that offered by our competitors. Steels of improved quality mean market advantages for the manufacturers of products made from steel. For example, railroad freight cars made from a steel slightly more expensive than ordinary steel, have a 50-percent longer life. With an improved product, the steel user has considerably improved his position in his own markets.

Each steel producer is compelled by competition to seek constant improvement in the quality and utility of his products and to develop new types of steels which can be made available to his customers. This is one of the most intensely competitive factors in the steel industry. In fact, survival in the

steel industry depends upon the continuing ability to produce steels of a quality and type equal to or better than those of any competitor.

Customers record the quality performance of products received from each competing steel supplier. The supplier whose material is unsatisfactory for a given application loses participation in that customer's business, and the supplier who maintains his quality above that of his competitors increases his participation. Competition through improved steel quality is real, and causes changes in the amount of steel bought from various suppliers.

May I emphasize again, the market for steel cannot be considered in terms of an isolated moment in time. Each of our day-to-day decisions must reaffirm our position as a supplier with whom our customers will want to continue a long-term relationship. We must have such relationships to assure the continued operation of our facilities. Our commercial policy—based on these long-term considerations—serves the best interests of both our customers and United States Steel.

North Dakota's Incredible American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "North Dakota's Incredible American Legion," by Robert B. Pitkin.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTH DAKOTA'S INCREDIBLE AMERICAN LEGION

(By Robert B. Pitkin)

The approach of fall heralds the American Legion's annual membership drive. The thoughts of every elected and appointed official turn to the more necessary than enjoyable question of how to get the old members to pay their dues promptly, and how—most efficiently—to enroll desirable new members.

It is a time to speculate more than usual on how North Dakota does it. The American Legion in North Dakota—a vast, thinly populated State—is the colossus of membership achievemeent in the Legion. Just about half of all the war veterans in the State—whose total population is roughly that of Newark, N. J.—are Legionnaires.

Nationally, this is the best record in attracting eligible vets; so there is a general conviction that North Dakota knows something worth learning.

As a matter of fact, there is very little in the American Legion in North Dakota that is not familiar elsewhere. When asked directly what his membership "secret" is, North Dakota Adjutant Jack Williams—who has been on the job ever since 1919—pulls on his nose and says: "We just have an active Legion and we try to run an efficient operation, I guess."

Jack doesn't guess. He knows. Active Legion programs, a general dedication of the membership to Legion ideals, and a high-class leadership interested in the good of the Legion are the chief "secrets" North Dakota has.

More than anything else, North Dakota's operation proves again that the way to have a lot of members is to hew to Legion fundamentals all year, with precise attention to the many details that will produce the highest level of Legion accomplishment.

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North Dakota Legion leadership is not infiltrated and stagnated by gloryseekers more interested in titles than in duties. Committees are small and exactly as numerous as necessary, and each appointment carries with it a burden of responsibility. There aren't any honorary appointments, so there is only one way for an ambitious individual to use a Legion office for his own personal prestige, and that is to do a whale of a job for the Legion.

Anyone can imagine the results of such a commonsense arrangement. During 37 years, North Dakota has built up a corps of present and past officeholders whose ability, sincerity, influence, experience, and dedication are assets still available.

Even those who have long gone elsewhere maintain a keen interest in their home State Legion. Past Department Committeeman Tommy Whelan, now United States Ambassador to Nicaragua; North Dakota's only past national commander, Lynn Stambaugh, now an executive of the Export-Import Bank in Washington; C. L. "Dad" Dawson, of Beach, the first department commander, who admonished the State Legion in 1919 to "do always in the present what is best in the circumstances" and is now a prominent Washington attorney. T. O. Kraabel, North Dakota's first director of veterans' affairs and now the Legion's national rehabilitation director—also in Washington—maintain a lively interest in their favorite department and return for the department conventions whenever the occasion permits.

Oldtime Legion leaders still at home seldom quit. State Supreme Court Justice Pames Morris, of post 1, in Bismarck, was an early youth activities leader in the department. Increased responsibilities and advancing years do not prevent him, today, from presiding over a mock trial at American Legion Boys State in Fargo each year. The Morrises have been another great Legion family team. Mrs. Morris was national auxiliary president in 1938–39.

Adrian Pfusch, a founder of Valley City Post 60, may still be found of an evening, drilling a young bugle corps in the basement of the post home.

North Dakotans are sharply watchful of who leads them, and their judgment ranks high. John E. Davis, from the little prairie town of McClusky, was the Legion's choice for its first World War II department commander in 1946. Last fall, Davis was the people's choice for Governor of North Dakota.

To provide a testing ground for the new generation of Legion officials after World War II, North Dakota Legionnaires increased the number of department vice commanders from 1 to 3, assigning a region to each. Starting with Davis, a long succession of capable and dedicated young veterans has filled the State commandership via this route since World War II.

The zeal of Commanders John Preboske and Wayne Seelhammer in the last 2 years has been almost alarming. They hit a tireless pace of visiting posts which, some fear, will set a precedent that may break future commanders in their efforts to do better.

Comradeship and mutual helpfulness in the North Dakota Legion go hand in hand with dedication to the Legion. During the drought and depression of the thirties the western half of the State, particularly, was parched brown and desolate. To those who stubbornly hung on, money and food became equally scarce.

The relatively more prosperous eastern Legionnaires shipped food in. Meanwhile there was not enough cash in sight to maintain the Legion dues of many of the most ardent members. Some paid their dues in kind with what little farm produce they could salvage. Others had nothing from one year's end to the next and find it hard now to recall how they survived.

In the stanch little western town of Beach, where the rainfall is everybody's business, "Stub" Noyes was among those who, having some cash, kept Beach Post 5 going by paying the dues of other members.

"You know," he recalls, "when times got better, every one of those fellows paid me back."

Internal Legion politics are healthy in North Dakota. Most political conniving is aimed at improving the Legion. Power struggles are rare. An exception was a sectional fight years back when a block of central posts tried to upset the power of the more populous Red River Valley in the east, centered in Fargo.

Adj. Jack Williams was made the issue, on the basis of his power in the Legion and his marked influence in North Dakota politics. Williams is a potent figure in State politics whenever he chooses to be, and is conceded to be one of the most astute politicians in the American Legion.

Both sides won the sectional fight. The central coalition failed to unhorse Williams, but served healthy notice that it could combine to be a force to reckon with.

Frank Traynor, of New Town, and Perry Goss, of Carrington, both members of the original central combination, recall with relish how Williams beat them, at one point leaping over a table on the stage at the department convention to answer charges made against him.

"Greatest speech I ever heard," says Goss.

"I'd be sorry, today, if we'd beat him," says Traynor.

Williams was not the real issue. Those not part of the sectional fight couldn't be convinced that Jack did not invariably use his power and ability for the good of the Legion. So the western cattle and wheat men, even more remote from Fargo than the central posts, went down the line for Jack.

No effort is ever made to have a closed race for any Legion office in North Dakota. If there is a ganging up against a candidate, it takes the form not of closing the door but of enticing others, thought more desirable, to enter an open race. Everybody considers it a sad convention if the delegates do not have a goodly choice of aspirants to vote for or against.

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Most of the larger clubhouses are run by full-time paid managers. Fargo has found it advantageous to combine the offices of post adjutant and club manager in one man, Glen Rott, a disabled veteran of Guadalcanal. Nobody can enter a Legion clubhouse in North Dakota without showing his current membership card. If a post slips on this, you will soon hear grumbling about it 300 miles away.

There is nothing unique about the kind of programs that Legion posts carry out in North Dakota. The standard Legion programs, plus community service activities, fill the bill.

What is amazing and undemonstrable in anything short of a book-length report is the scale on which 238 scattered posts in a State with about 60,000 veterans spread over 70,000 square miles activate the Legion programs.

Boys State is limited to 550 boys by the capacity of the State college dormitories in Fargo. It is always full, and towns of 5,000 to 15,000 will send 2, 5, 10, 20, and more boys. Posts urge other civic groups to sponsor boys. A dozen boys go from Jamestown, sponsored by the Legion, its auxiliary, and every civic group in town. Sponsor pays $33 Boys State fee, plus expenses and transportation.

It's 300 miles from Killdeer to Fargo, and Killdeer is a little western street scene with 700 people and 126 Legionnaires. But Killdeer Post 46 always aims to send at least two boys to Boys State. Killdeer Legionnaires kicked themselves this year because they sent the boys' names in too late, and their quota was immediately taken up by sandbys elsewhere.

American Legion junior baseball, which began locally in the Dakotas in 1922, is so enthusiastically backed by North Dakota posts that the State has two leagues, A and B in the national program. A B team can challenge into the A competition if it wants to take a crack at the national playoffs. Many A class posts have a second team in the B league. Midget boys' baseball teams and leagues sponsored by Legion posts abound.

Bismarck and Fargo posts spend as much as $4,000 a year on junior baseball. Bismarck has its own bus to haul the boys to "away" games. Post 3 in Dickinson owns its own floodlighted $75,000 American Legion Memorial Ball Park and keeps 257 boys busy playing summertime baseball.

Jamestown has an A and B team, plus a peewee and 4 midget teams in separate leagues.

Earnie Schmit, of Beach, the newly elected department commander, says: "Our little post spends about $1,000 a year for baseball coaches and transportation for the team. Kids follow the games, and there's great excitement at them. Nobody has any problem with kids all summer. They practice ball—swim—then go to ball game either to play or cheer."

Where there's no Legion post in a small town, a neighboring post may sponsor a kids' ball team. Post 153 in Wyndmere (114 members) sponsors its own junior baseball team and another in Barney. Post 88 in Hankinson (91 members) sponsors teams in Great Bend and Mantador as well as its own.

Fargo Post 2 built up midget baseball to the point where, with 600 enthusiastic players, it got too big to handle. The post had 4 coaches on the payroll, with a northside and a southside midget league as well as 2 regular junior baseball teams. It finally persuaded the city park board to take over the midgets.

A full listing of the community projects of posts in North Dakota is an impossibility here. The Fargo post alone publishes a list of 26 annual projects for which $12,500 is budgeted by the post.

A major community charity drive in the capital city of Bismarck is the open-your-heart campaign. Conducted by Post 1 for 27 years, it raises from $5,000 to $7,000 annually, which is turned over to the city nurse for welfare administration.

Many posts, such as 139 in Tioga and 290 in New Town, help underwrite the local medical clinics. Gifts to hospitals and the maintenance of onloan equipment needed for the sick at home are commonplace of the North Dakota posts. The 40 & 8 at Devils Lake places onloan hospital beds and other equipment in posts for issue where needed. Recent post hospital aid projects include $2,500 for hospital improvement at McVille, and $5,000 toward an operating room at Linton, where the post also gave 4½ acres of land to the city for its community swimming pool.

Richardton Post 180 legionnaires provide and man the local ambulance.

In February 1956, 6 of them made a 1,000-mile round trip to Minneapolis to give blood to a 2-year-old Richardton girl.

The Lutheran home for crippled children in Jamestown, is well endowed with 40 & 8 equipment.

Fargo Legionnaires work all year remaking old toys that they collect. At Christmastime they deliver about 1,200 remodeled toys from their Santa's workshop, along with Christmas baskets, to children in hundreds of needy families.

Minot's Post provides a continuing scholarship for a deserving student picked by the regents at Minot State Teachers College, and puts on entertainment one night each week for hospitalized veterans at the Minot VA hospital.

Legionnaires at Antler Post 263 own and maintain a 27-acre park for community use. Almont Post 261 recently raised $1,200 to help the family of a sick girl. Abercrombie Post 128 Legionnaires lend their manpower annually to maintain the State park and grounds at Fort Abercrombie.

Thousands of Legionnaires sprang to relief work when a tornado smashed through the middle of Fargo last June.

Such listings of Legion community efforts aren't news anywhere in the American Legion. But nearly every post in North Dakota could provide a list as impressive as the above statewide sampling.

North Dakota's membership secret is not just its well-organized membership drive. Its secret is everything stated above and more—a statewide saturation of the best in commonsense legionism which gives the organization the public esteem and attractiveness that make member getting easy, and which circumvents the familiar organizational evils that make member getting hard.

The question remains: How has such a high level of Legion ideals been maintained? North Dakotans say that the State's chief commodity is people. At any event, if anything characterizes the North Dakota Legion it is that it has good leaders, and that it has members who are intensely jealous and watchful of their leadership. Nothing that the department has accomplished could have come to pass if the people who make up the organization hadn't wanted it that way, and worked hard for what they wanted.

Bill Stern, who has been North Dakota's national executive committeeman since 1925, is a remarkable paradox. Bill is nothing like anyone else in North Dakota or elsewhere, yet his basic characteristics typify North Dakota's Legionnaires.

The salty, 71-year-old president of the bright, modern Dakota National Bank in Fargo has four loves: his bank; Northwest Airlines (of which he is a director); the American Legion (of which he was a founder); and politics.

His language is usually fit only for a pirate's parrot, and his ideas are younger than Bill is old.

He gads about all over the country and the world (he was dining with General MacArthur in Korea when word came that President Truman had relieved the general of his command).

Wherever Stern is he sells his four loves. You have to belong to the Legion if you're a veteran; if you travel you have to fly; you should vote for the candidates of Bill's party; and even if you're a bellhop in the Carlton Hotel in Washington, D. C., where Bill puts up, you'd better have a savings account in the Dakota National Bank.

North Dakota Legionnaires who are nothing like Bill still share his chief attributes: rugged individualism, good humor, leadership, enthusiasm, sociability, and hardiness.

And it is generally agreed in North Dakota that Jack Williams, the department adjutant, bears a full share of the credit for the Legion's outstanding achievements in the State.

The son of an Irish railroad worker from Minnesota who moved to Fargo, Williams worked as a youngster in printshops in Fargo. Coming home from World War I, he threw in with an able group of returned veterans who were forming the North Dakota Legion, and was their unanimous choice for secretary, then adjutant.

Williams had a flair for politics, a vast interest in and a quick intuition about people. His talents are those of a born political leader. He can listen interminably, is universally liked, and his opinion in political matters is sought and respected not only within the Legion but at the highest level of State government.

The remarkably sensible internal organization of North Dakota's Legion is largely attributable to Williams' guidance. It was at his own insistence that he should stand for election every 2 years, at a time when friends sought to protect him by arranging long-term appointments for the office of adjutant.

For 38 years, Williams has devoted most of his political acumen to the good of the Legion.

On this subject, Jack recently said: "The Legion must keep out of partisan politics, but you have to be a pretty good politician to know what to keep out of."

In the State capital, where he is known and respected as a political power, Williams' talents have mainly been used to bring about a sound set of State veterans' laws. He serves extra duty as the Legion's State legislative director.

His wife, affectionately known as Hans (pronounced "Hance"), has lived and breathed the Legion with Jack ever since she first came to work as his secretary in 1919.

Jack Williams and Jim Boyle, of Maine, are the only men who, today, have served continuously as their department adjutants since 1919. It is a pretty good tribute to both of them.

Record of the Activities of the Committee on the Judiciary, 1st Session, 85th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the concentration of the activities and operations of the Committee on the Judiciary is evidenced not only by the number of bills considered, but by the very nature of the legislation itself. Major legislation enacted into law which came out of this committee includes, among others, the civil rights legislation, which bears the chairman's name, the first revisions in the Immigration and Nationality Act since 1952, the legislation dealing with the production of statements and reports of witnesses arising out of the case of Jencks against United States.

Out of the total of 10,711 bills, joint resolutions, concurrent resolutions, and House resolutions included, 4,181 were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Add to that 375 Senate bills referred to this committee and we find that 4,556 were referred to this committee. Thus, 39 percent of all bills and resolutions introduced in the House came before us. Thirty-three bills were enacted into public law. Approximately 2,660 individuals were beneficiaries of private bills and resolutions who, otherwise, would have been inadmissible of permanent residence in this country under the immigration law. Private laws enacted

arising out of the work of our subcommittee on claims totaled 105, granting to these people equitable relief for losses sustained.

A list of the special reports issued by this committee during the first session reveals the scope of the operations of this committee in addition to the consideration of the bills routinely referred. A list of these special reports follows:

Antitrust Problems in the Exploitation of Patents.

Judicial Doctrine of Primary Jurisdiction as Applied in Antitrust Suits.

Spanish Sheepherders.

Refugee Relief Act of 1953, as amended.

ICEM and Land Resettlement.

Presidential Inability.

The Television Broadcasting Industry.

Japanese Agricultural Workers.

Airlines.

Problems Relating to a Federal Constitutional Convention.

As stated above 33 public laws resulted from the activities of this committee, and it is to be noted that this list reveals the wide rang of subject matter which comes before this committee. The statistics themselves, of course, do not reveal the intensive nature of the work since the statistics themselves cannot reveal the amount of preparation and deliberation that entered into both favorable and adverse reports of the work before us.

Public bills and resolutions enacted into law

No. of law	Title	No. of bill or resolution
85-32	Requesting the President to designate the 3d Friday of May of each year as National Defense Transportation Day	S. J. Res. 22.
85-60	To implement the convention between the United States of America and Norway, which entered into force on Nov. 9, 1948, for disposition of the claim against the Government of the United States of America asserted by the Government of Norway on behalf of Christoffer Hanneviz.	H. J. Res. 193.
85-70	To amend the act of Dec. 2, 1942, and the act of Aug. 16, 1941, relating to injury, disability, and death resulting from war-risk hazards and from employment, suffered by employees of contractors of the United States and for other purposes.	H. R. 3373.
85-71	To amend the Federal Employees' Compensation Act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries from war-risk hazards or during detention by a hostile force or person.	H. R. 6523.
85-140	For the relief of the Sergeant Bluff Consolidated School District	H. R. 1942.
85-202	To amend sec. 331 of title 28, United States Code, to provide representation of district judges on the Judicial Conference of the United States	H. R. 3819.
85-214	For the relief of the village of Wauneta, Nebr	S. 364.
85-216	To authorize the designation of Oct. 19, 1957, as National Olympic Day	H. J. Res. 354.
85-219	To provide for the maintenance of a roster of retired judges available for special judicial duty and for their assignment to such duty by the Chief Justice of the United States.	H. R. 3818.
85-243	Designating the week of Nov. 22-28, 1957, as National Farm-City Week	H. J. Res. 313.
85-248	For the relief of the town of Medicine Lake, Mont	H. R. 7384.
85-252	To suspend the application of certain Federal laws with respect to personnel employed by the House Committee on Ways and Means in connection with the investigations ordered by H. Res. 104, 85th Cong.	H. J. Res. 320.
85-255	To authorize settlement for certain inequitable losses in pay sustained by officers of the commissioned services under the emergency economy legislation, and for other purposes.	H. R. 293.
85-259	To amend sec. 1867 of title 28 of the United States Code to authorize the use of certified mail in summoning jurors	H. R. 3367.
85-261	To amend sec. 372 of title 28, United States Code (resignation and retirement of judges)	H. R. 110.
85-262	To establish a Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission	H. J. Res. 331.
85-268	To amend sec. 1716 of title 18, United States Code, so as to conform to the act of July 14, 1956 (70 Stat. 538-540)	H. R. 4193.
85-269	To amend ch. 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for the production of statements and reports of witnesses	S. 2377.
85-274	To provide reimbursement to the tribal council of the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation in accordance with the act of Sept. 3, 1954	H. R. 5810.
85-275	To amend subdiv. b of Sec. 14—Discharges, when granted—of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended, and subdiv. b of Sec. 58—Notices—the Bankruptcy Act, as amended.	H. R. 5811.
85-276	To amend sec. 633 of title 28, United States Code, prescribing fees of United States commissioners	H. R. 4191.
85-291	For the relief of Jackson School Township, Ind	S. 807.
85-293	To provide for the conveyance to the State of Florida of a certain tract of land in such State owned by the United States	H. R. 7636.
85-295	To amend sec. 116 of ch. X of the Federal Bankruptcy Act, to make certain equipment trust provisions applicable to aircraft and aircraft equipment of air carriers.	H. R. 7671.
85-297	To authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation in connection with the centennial of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt	S. J. Res. 18.
85-298	To amend sec. 124 (c) of title 28 of the United States Code so as to transfer Shelby County from the Beaumont to the Tyler Division of the eastern district of Texas.	H. R. 2136.
85-299	To amend sec. 1871 of title 28, United States Code, to increase the mileage and subsistence allowances of grand and petit jurors	H. R. 3370.
85-305	To establish a commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, and for other purposes	H. J. Res. 32.
85-306	To amend the act of Jan. 12, 1951, as amended, to continue in effect the provisions of title II of the First War Powers Act, 1941	H. R. 7536.
85-310	To clarify the authority of the President to fill the judgeship for the district of South Dakota authorized by the act of Feb. 10, 1954, and to repeal the prohibition contained in such act against filling the next vacancy occurring in the office of district judge for such district.	S. 2413.
85-313	To amend title 17 of the United States Code entitled "Copyrights" to provide for a statute of limitations with respect to civil actions	H. R. 277.
85-315	To provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States	H. R. 6127.
85-316	To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes	S. 2792.

The enactment of this committee's legislation into public and private law does not take into account the work done on some 19 bills now pending before the Senate, a number of bills pending before the House Rules Committee for its consideration. It is for this reason that I attach hereto a detailed account of the work of each of our 5 subcommittees and the 4 special subcommittees set up to consider matters coming within the jurisdiction of the committee, although of singular interest and complexity demanding separate concentrated attention.

Throughout the session this committee, together with the subcommittees, held approximately 190 meetings. Without the unflagging interest and sustained work of the members of this committee and the devotion of its staff, none of this would have been possible.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 1: GENERAL JURISDICTION OVER BILLS AS ASSIGNED, SPECIAL JURISDICTION OVER IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

The principal public legislation considered by Subcommittee No. 1 in this session of the 85th Congress was the bill, H. R. 8123, to facilitate the entry into the United States of certain adopted children, and other relatives of United States citizens, and for other purposes, which was introduced by Representative WALTER on June 13, 1957. The bill was reported by the House Judiciary Committee on August 19, 1957, with amendments, and was placed on the Union Calendar. A Senate bill, S. 2792, described as a companion bill to H. R. 8123, sponsored jointly by Senators KENNEDY, WATKINS, DIRKSEN, PASTORE, LAUSCHE, CLARK, NEUBERGER, JACKSON, and KEFAUVER, passed the Senate on August 21, 1957. The Senate bill, with amendments, was brought up on the House floor, under suspension of rules on August 28, and was approved as amended, becoming Public Law No. 316.

Public hearings were held by a special subcommittee of Subcommittee No. 1, on Japanese temporary workers, on May 15, 1957. A report, with recommendations dealing with the problems involved in the importation of these agricultural laborers, was issued by Subcommittee No. 1 on July 10, 1957—House Report No. 780.

Hearings were also held by Subcommittee No. 1 on May 23, 1957, on the bills: H. R. 1011, by Representative WILSON of California, and H. R. 4452, by Mr. SAUND, on the crossing of the international borders by juveniles.

A careful review was made by the subcommittee of the circumstances and conditions of employment of skilled sheepherders, mainly imported from Spain. House Report No. 67 containing the recommendations of Subcommittee No. 1 was issued on February 14, 1957.

Following the last session of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration last October, an intensive study was made of the problems involving land resettlement, specifically the resettlement of European migrants in Latin America. House Report No. 203 was issued by Subcommittee No. 1 on March 18, 1957.

The extent of work of this subcommittee cannot be appreciated without a review of its activity in the area of pri-

vate legislation. The following table sets this forth:

House bills:	
Private laws:	
Individual bills	30
House bills incorporated in 25 House joint resolutions which became private law	279
Pending in Senate:	
Individual bills	6
Bills incorporated in 5 House joint resolutions	54
Adverse action by Senate: Individual bills deleted from House joint resolutions	22
Recommitted	1
Tabled	288
Deferred	38
Pending before committee	1,794
Total	2,512
House joint resolutions:	
Private laws	28
(Joint resolutions, referred to above, incorporating individual bills: 25)	
(Joint resolutions granting relief to 205 persons who were not subjects of individual bills: 3)	
Pending in Senate	5
Not acted upon	1
Total	34
House concurrent resolutions:	
Confirming the findings of the Attorney General in cases submitted to the Congress under the provisions of sec. 6 of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, as amended	2
(Of the 1,677 applications considered by the committee, 1,375 were included in the 2 concurrent resolutions; 21 were withdrawn by the Attorney General, 261 were not approved, and 20 were held for further investigation.)	
Confirming the findings of the Attornel General in cases submitted to the Congress under the provisions of sec. 4 of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, as amended	1
(Of the 92 applications considered, 79 were included in the concurrent resolution; 3 were withdrawn by the Attorney General, 5 were not approved, and 5 were held for further investigation.)	
Not considered	1
Total	4
Senate bills:	
Private laws	160
Awaiting concurrence of the Senate in amendments of the House	3
On House Calendar	1
Tabled	50
Deferred [1]	59
Not acted upon [1]	55
Total	328
Senate concurrent resolutions:	
Confirming the findings of the Attorney General in cases submitted to the Congress under the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1917, as amended, and under the provisions of sec. 244 (a) (5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act	4
(Of the 586 applications considered, 510 were included in the above resolutions; 5 were withdrawn by the Attorney General, 10 were not approved, and 11 were held for further investigation.)	
Senate concurrent resolutions—Continued	
Withdrawing suspension of deportation cases (pursuant to sec. 246 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act	2
Total	6

Footnote at end of table.

[1] Action on approximately 75 percent of the bills deferred or pending will be unnecessary, since administrative relief will be available by the enactment of Public Law 85–316.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 2—GENERAL JURISDICTION OVER JUDICIARY BILLS, AS ASSIGNED; SPECIAL JURISDICTION OVER CLAIMS

During the first session of the Congress the subcommittee conducted hearings on 16 different days. These covered public as well as private claims measures.

Consideration was given to a total of 327 bills and resolutions.

The subcommittee considered several bills relating to statutory provisions governing claims handled by the Armed Forces. Two of the bills recommended by the Treasury Department and approved by the subcommittee, H. R. 3820 and H. R. 4370, provide for an amendment of title 14, the title of the United States Code relating to the Coast Guard. H. R. 3820 provides for the amendment of section 490 so that the Secretary of the Treasury can have the same authority to settle claims of the military and civilian personnel of the Coast Guard as is now possessed by the Secretaries of the military departments with respect to their personnel. The bill was reported favorably and passed by the House, but no action was taken on it in the Senate prior to adjournment. H. R. 4370 would amend section 645 of title 14 so that its provisions would conform to those of section 2733 of title 10, United States Code, relating to similar claims for damage to property, personal injury, or death which are asserted against the Army, Navy, or Air Force. This bill was also reported favorably and passed by the House but was not acted upon in the Senate.

Another bill relating to claims handled by the military departments, H. R. 1061, was favorably reported by the subcommittee and the committee and was passed by the House. That bill would grant the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of the Air Force the same authority now possessed by the Secretary of the Navy to settle claims for damage to or the loss of private property. The bill would further expand the authority to include settlement of claims for personal injury and death within the limitations of the new section which would be added to title 10, Armed Forces, of the United States Code. No action was taken on this measure in the Senate.

A number of bills granting relief to States or political subdivisions within States were referred to the subcommittee. Among the bills recommended favorably was H. R. 7636, authorizing the Attorney General to convey a site of land to Florida for use as a State road department shortwave-radio tower upon the payment of a fair value for the land conveyed. This bill became Public Law 85–293. The bill, H. R. 1942, provided for the payment of the amount due the Sergeant Bluff Consolidated School District of Iowa for the tuition of children of Air Force personnel—Public Law 85–140. Another bill favorably recommended was S. 807, to provide payment to the Jackson School Township of Indiana the amount of $193,392, in exchange for the conveyance of the school building and land, which was necessitated by the proximity of the school to an airfield—Public Law 85–291. S. 364, providing for payment of compensation to the village of Wauneta, Nebr., for the demolition of a dam by the United States, was favorably reported and became Public Law 85–214.

The subcommittee also recommended H. R. 4768, to confer jurisdiction on a United States district court to adjudicate a controversy relating to certain lands in San Jacinto County, Tex. That bill passed the House, but no action was taken in the Senate prior to adjournment.

A bill providing for the payment of $581,721.91 to the State of Washington for the replacement of a road previously located on land taken for use by the United States, H. R. 2224, was considered and passed by the Congress, but was the subject of a pocket veto. This is the claim on which hearings were held by the subcommittee in the State of Washington during the 84th Congress.

A bill, H. R. 293, authorized the payment of amounts due certain commissioned officers during the years 1932, 1933, and 1934 for advancement in rank, which were not paid because of an application of the Economy Act of 1932. This bill became Public Law 85–255.

Prior to July 1, 1954, certain officers were placed on active duty with the armed services while they were interns or resident physicians in non-Federal hospitals. These persons received the usual compensation, including meals and living quarters in kind, which normally attached to the positions. The Comptroller General subsequently ruled that these amounts should have been regarded as having been received in behalf of the United States and should be refunded. The situation was not clarified finally until 1953, and the affected individuals were not given clear notice of the situation until that time. The subcommittee made a favorable recommendation as did the committee and the bill was passed by the House; however, no action was taken in the Senate.

The Secretary of the Army recommended a bill which became H. R. 5810, and which provided for the reimbursement to the Tribal Council of the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation for expenses incurred in negotiations relating to an agreement between the United States and the tribal council. The payment authorized was in accordance with the provisions of the agreement set out in the act of September 3, 1954—68th United States Statutes at Large, page 1191. The bill became Public Law 85–274.

House Joint Resolution 185 authorized the reference to the Court of Claims of a claim asserted against the United States by Norway. This reference was in line with an agreement previously entered into between the two countries providing that the matter, with the consent of Congress, would be referred to that court in the event that it could not be settled by

negotiation. This bill became Public Law 85–60.

The settlement of a group of claims arising as the result of the crash of an airplane at Worcester, Mass., on July 18, 1957, would be provided for under the provisions of H. R. 8868. The bill was reported and passed the House, but was not acted upon in the Senate prior to adjournment.

The subcommittee held hearings on several bills which remained pending in the subcommittee at the time of adjournment, and further consideration of such bills is contemplated in the coming session. One of those bills was H. R. 105, which is a bill to cancel certain bonds posted in accordance with the Immigration Act of 1924. Based on the testimony presented at the hearing, a substitute bill was introduced, H. R. 8439, which is presently before the subcommittee. Also, an extensive hearing was held on H. R. 6681, which is a bill to make the Federal tort claim provisions of title 28 of the United States Code the exclusive remedy for persons injured or damaged as the result of accidents involving Government vehicles instead of permitting suit against individual Government drivers. This bill, too, remained pending in the subcommittee at the end of the session.

The following tabulation indicates the workload of this subcommittee in connection with claims against the Government:

Referred to subcommittee:	
Private, House bills	685
Private, House joint resolutions	2
Private, House resolutions	6
Private, Senate bills	30
	723
Public, House bills	51
Public, House joint resolutions	1
Public, House resolutions	1
Public, Senate bills	3
	56
Total	779
Reported to committee:	
Private, House bill	235
Private, House resolutions	3
Private, Senate bills	12
	250
Public, House bills	13
Public, House joint resolution	1
Public, Senate bills	2
	16
Total	266
Private, House bills adversely	41
Public, House bills, adversely	7
	48
Reported to House:	
Private, House bills	224
Private, House resolutions	3
Private, Senate bills	10
	237
Public, House bills	12
Public, House joint resolutions	1
Public, Senate bills	2
	15
Total	252
Passed House:	
Private, House bills	222
Private, House resolutions	3
Private, Senate bills	9
	234
Public, House bills	12
Public, House joint resolutions	1
Public, Senate bills	2
	15
Total	249
Pending in Senate:	
Private, House bills	124
Public, House bills	6
Total	130
Public laws enacted	8
Private laws enacted	105
Bills vetoed:	
Public (H. R. 2224)	1
Private	8
Claims settled administratively	5

Five public bills were referred to Subcommittee No. 2 dealing with such varied subjects as the War Contractors Relief Act, a Commission on the Office of the President, the appellate review of sentences in criminal cases, the law relating to perjury and the provision of an additional remedy for claims arising out of contracts of the United States relating to certain vessels. The subcommittee heard testimony on H. R. 6609, a bill to amend the War Contractors Relief Act and adversely reported it to the full committee.

Number of public bills referred to subcommittee	5
Number of hearings held	1
Number of public bills reported to full committee	1

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 3—GENERAL JURISDICTION OVER JUDICIARY BILLS AS ASSIGNED—SPECIAL JURISDICTION OVER PATENTS, TRADE-MARKS, COPYRIGHTS, AND REVISION OF THE LAWS

During the first session of this Congress 99 bills were referred to the subcommittee. They included such subjects as appellate review, juvenile delinquency, interstate compacts, patents and copyrights, constitutional amendments, and the classification and codification of laws of a general and permanent nature to the United States Code. Some 58 bills were considered by the subcommittee. In connection with this work, hearings were held on 41 bills. In some instances favorable action was taken; in others action has been deferred pending the submission of additional information and Government agency report. There follows a three-part statement pointing up the work of the subcommittee and highlighting some of the particular items of legislation which were processed.

GENERAL LEGISLATION

Because of the great difficulty experienced in recent years by the States with juvenile delinquency, the subcommittee, after hearings, took favorable action on House Joint Resolution 10, granting the consent of Congress to 23 States and the Federal Territories and possessions, to enter into compacts by which they may cooperate for the apprehension, return, and supervision of delinquent juveniles. This legislation is urgently needed, especially where States are seeking to erect and maintain, on a joint and cooperative basis, specialized institutions for the rehabilitation of delinquent juveniles and runaways.

In order to reduce the current heavy workload of the Federal courts and to help in eliminating the great backlog of cases now pending on the court calendars, the subcommittee held hearings on legislation (H. R. 2516 and H. R. 4497—diversity of citizenship) which would increase from $3,000 to $10,000 the monetary jurisdiction of the courts, and which would either eliminate completely corporations from the diversity of citizenship provision of our Federal statutes or restrict their use of the Federal courts by declaring them citizens of those States where they have their principal places of business. Because of the legislation's widespread effect, the subcommittee decided, instead of taking final action at this time, to have the hearings printed and made available for wide distribution so that during the congressional recess, interested parties may study the material and submit recommendations for the subcommittee's consideration in the next session of Congress.

Recent bomb scares and bomb explosions in public transportation facilities such as railroads, trains, airplanes, and their terminals caused the subcommittee to take early favorable action on H. R. 4193, which makes the mailing of bombs Federal offenses. The bill also makes the giving of false information or "tips" on these matters Federal offenses.

Several identical bills on which the subcommittee took favorable action reconcern legislation authorizing the President of the United States to veto individual items in appropriation bills. Proponents of the measure were heard and the subcommittee will hear those who would oppose such legislation in order that it may be apprised of all of the arguments before taking action.

Important legislation upon which the subcommittee took favorable action relates to abbreviated records on appeals—H. R. 6788. This bill will permit the several courts of appeal to adopt rules authorizing the abbreviation of the transcript and other parts of the record made before Federal agencies when the orders of those agencies are reviewed by the courts of appeal. In many instances much of the record before such agencies is not relevant to the questions actually raised on appeal. This legislation, in permitting an abbreviated record to be transmitted, should result in substantial savings of time and money to the Government without interfering with appellate rights.

The subcommittee also acted favorably on H. R. 7915 which would authorize Federal courts, after a witness has testified, to require the Government to submit prior statements and records of the witness in its possession for the court's inspection for the purpose of turning relevant material over to defendants who seek to impeach the credibility of the witness. This legislation resulted from the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Jencks* v. *United States* (353 U. S. 657).

The subcommittee approved other matters, such as the use of certified mail for summoning jurors—H. R. 3367—

which will result in monetary savings to the Government; peremptory challenges—H. R. 3368—giving to plaintiffs the same advantages which defendants now have; H. R. 7261, bringing the District of Columbia under the Federal probation laws, thereby making the laws uniform throughout the Federal districts; H. R. 7153, consenting to the agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington reestablishing their boundary line along the Columbia River; and H. R. 6789, authorizing interested parties to seek temporary injunctive relief from the orders of administrative agencies on reasonable notice where irreparable harm might result if the agency order became immediately effective.

PATENTS, TRADEMARKS, AND COPYRIGHTS

Favorable action was taken again this year on H. R. 103, which would reward persons, both Government and non-Government employees, who make inventive contributions to the national defense.

The subcommittee also reaffirmed its favorable position and reported H. R. 7151 which raises generally patent and trademark fees. It is estimated that these fee rises will offset the expenses of the Patent Office by 70 percent.

Another measure approved by the subcommittee is H. R. 277 which sets a 3-year statute of limitations on civil copyright actions, thereby establishing a statute of limitations which would be uniform throughout the United States.

The subcommittee took unfavorable action on H. R. 1656, a private patent bill and on a series of bills relating to patent extensions.

Bills referred	99
Bills on which hearings were held	41
Bills favorably reported to full committee	14
Bills reported to House	13
Bills passed House	10
Senate bills processed	0
Bills pending in Senate	6
Bills which became public law	4

REVISION OF THE LAWS

The work of classifying the general public laws to the appropriate title in the United States Code and the general laws of application in the District of Columbia to the District of Columbia Code has been carried on since the beginning of the session. These laws and the balance of the laws enacted at this session will be incorporated into supplement V of the United States Code and into supplement VI of the District of Columbia Code. With respect to the supplement of the District of Columbia Code all the decisions of the courts affecting the Code from August 1, 1956, to July 31, 1957, have been examined and notes have been prepared for insertion under the appropriate sections in the next supplement.

The reading of page proofs on supplement IV of the United States Code and supplement V to the District of Columbia Code was completed early this year and the supplements have been published and distributed.

At the last Congress Public Law 1028 was enacted codifying the laws relating to the armed services and the National Guard. Inasmuch as the bill had been pending in the Congress for more than a year, Public Law 1028 did not contain all the laws on the subject as of the date of enactment—a cutoff date of March 31, 1955, had been decided upon when the bill was reported by the committee during the 1st session of the 84th Congress. During the recess at the end of the 84th Congress and for several months during the present session the law revision staff cooperated with the codification group at the Pentagon in the preparation of a bill and constructive report intended to incorporate in titles 10 and 32 the applicable laws enacted between April 1, 1955, and January 2, 1957. This bill, consisting of almost 200 pages, has passed the House and is now pending in the Committee on the Judiciary in the Senate. In addition the bills to enact into law Title 20, Education; Title 21: Food, Drugs, and Animals, and Title 39: the Postal Service, have been brought up to date as of the beginning of the present session and introduced. We are now awaiting reports from the departments concerned with a view of reporting the bills favorably to the House at the earliest moment.

Work has also progressed on bringing up to date and eliminating changes in substantive law from the bills to enact into law Title 16: Conservation, and Title 43: Public Lands.

With respect to the District of Columbia Code a bill has been prepared by the staff to enact into law part IV consisting of titles 22, 23, and 24. In addition, the services of a publishing corporation have been engaged to assist in the preparation of a bill to enact into law part II consisting of titles 11 to 17.

After the adjournment of the present session work will be continued in conjunction with the West Publishing Co. and the Edward Thompson Co. in preparing copy for the Government Printing Office for supplement V of the United States Code and in reading proofs. Also copy for supplement VI for the District of Columbia Code will be sent to the Government Printing Office and proofs will be read as received.

During the session the staff has continued its cooperation with other committees of the Congress and with numerous Government departments and agencies with regard to the form and style of proposed legislation affecting the United States Code.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 4—GENERAL JURISDICTION OVER JUDICIARY BILLS AS ASSIGNED—SPECIAL JURISDICTION OVER BANKRUPTCY AND REORGANIZATION

During the 1st session of the 85th Congress, Subcommittee No. 4 held hearings and reported a number of bills improving the substance and administration of the bankruptcy law. H. R. 106 gives bankruptcy courts jurisdiction to determine the effect of a discharge. At present, with some exceptions, bankruptcy courts are determining only the right to a discharge. This bill was passed by the House and sent on to the Senate. The subcommittee has held comprehensive hearings on H. R. 5195, dealing with the difficult problem of circuity of liens embodied in section 67 (c) of the Bankruptcy Act. To make administration of the bankruptcy system more efficient, H. R. 5811 was favorably reported and passed the House. The bill eliminates one of the notices now required in bankruptcy proceedings and results in a substantial saving of money. Impelled by the reequipment financing problems of the air lines, the subcommittee favorably reported and both House and Senate passed H. R. 7671, making chapter X proceedings inapplicable insofar as they effect title and the right to repossess aircraft and aircraft equipment. In the area of railroad reorganizations, the subcommittee favorably reported H. R. 982, which provides that a former lessor whose properties are being operated under section 77 (c) (6) of the Bankruptcy Act shall have the same right as other carriers to receive a division of revenue accruing from operations over its lines, in accordance with the criteria fixed by section 15 (6) of the Interstate Commerce Act.

General legislation assigned to Subcommittee No. 4 has covered a wide variety of subjects, including over 60 holiday and celebration bills. Among these were bills establishing both a Civil War Centennial Commemoration Commission and a Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. In addition, action was taken extending certain temporary legislation. These included war-risk hazard and detention benefits for direct-hire Federal employees and employees of Federal contractors. The subcommittee also favorably reported the extension of title II of the First War Powers Act, enacted into law. H. R. 3370, increasing the mileage and subsistence allowances of Federal jurors, was also passed and has been signed by the President.

Number of public bills referred to subcommittee	117
Number of hearings held	19
Number of public bills reported to full committee	22
Number of reports filed	19
Number of public bills passed House	18
Number of public bills pending in the Senate	4
Number of Senate bills disposed of	2
Number of public bills approved by the President	11

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5—GENERAL JURISDICTION OVER JUDICIARY BILLS AS ASSIGNED—SPECIAL JURISDICTION OVER ANTITRUST MATTERS

This subcommittee exercised jurisdiction over a variety of subjects, with specialization over bills concerning antitrust and the Federal judicial system. Under its general jurisdiction, the subcommittee considered several bills relating to the improvement of the Federal judicial system. Among these bills were bills providing for a roster of retired judges, for representation by district judges in the judicial conference of the United States and for the retirement of the chief judges of the circuit and district courts, as chief judges, upon reaching the age of 75. In addition, the subcommittee approved a bill increasing the fees of the United States commissioners. The subcommittee has under consideration additional bills creating a number of new judgeships throughout the entire Federal judiciary as well as bills relating

to the organization of the judicial districts and places of holding court.

This subcommittee devoted considerable time to the consideration of approximately 60 bills relating to various civil-rights proposals. It conducted several days of hearings on these bills which constituted over 1,000 printed pages. As a result of its considerations and deliberations of civil-rights bill H. R. 6127 was enacted in to law.

During the 1st session of the 85th Congress the subcommittee had referred to it 187 bills—186 being House bills and one being a Senate measure. Hearings were conducted on 68 of these measures. It disposed of 74 bills of which 8 were favorably reported to the House. There were seven bills enacted into public law during the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

Number of bills referred to Subcommittee No. 5	187
Hearings conducted	68
Number of bills reported to the full committee	74
Number of bills reported to the House	8
Number of bills enacted into public law	7

ANTITRUST JURISDICTION

In March, the subcommittee held hearings on three bills, H. R. 264, H. R. 2143, and H. R. 7698, that would require advance notification to antitrust enforcement officials of certain corporate mergers and acquisitions. Based on amendments recommended by the subcommittee and additional amendments adopted by the Judiciary Committee, a new bill, H. R. 7698, was reported by the Judiciary Committee with the recommendation that it be enacted by the House—House Report 486. At the close of the first session, H. R. 7698 was pending in the Rules Committee.

H. R. 7698 provides that when a corporation subject to the Clayton Act acquire the stock or assets of another corporation engaged in commerce, if the combined capital, surplus, and undivided profits of the 2 corporations exceed $10 million, 60 days' advance notification must be given to the Attorney General and to the Federal Trade Commission or other appropriate commission or board. Together with this notice, the corporations must supply specifically enumerated information to the Government, in order to enable a determination to be made of the transaction's probable effect on competition. The bill requires the Government officials vested with jurisdiction to establish procedures for the waiver of all or part of the waiting requirement in appropriate cases or categories of cases. Willful failure to give the notice or to give the information required by the bill subjects the offending corporation to a fine of not less than $5,000 nor more than $50,000 in a civil action brought by the Attorney General.

In addition to the broad exemption for mergers and acquisitions where the combined capital, surplus, and undivided profits of the corporations are $10 million or less, the bill also exempts from its notification and waiting requirements a number of specific types of transactions. Fifteen specific types of transactions are enumerated in H. R. 7698 that are not likely to have substantial antitrust significance and, therefore, are not required to be reported in the interest of effective enforcement in the antitrust statutes.

H. R. 7698 also would amend the Clayton Act to provide the Federal Trade Commission with authority to seek a district court order to prevent and restrain a merger in violation of Clayton Act section 7, pending issuance of a complaint and completion of the Commission's administrative proceeding. This amendment would give the FTC, which has concurrent jurisdiction with the Attorney General to enforce the merger provisions of the Clayton Act, authority similar to that now possessed by the Attorney General to seek a preliminary court injunction to restrain consummation of a merger pending adjudication of its legality.

In June, the Antitrust Subcommittee jointly held hearings with the Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on a series of bills designed to vest in the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction over unfair or monopolistic trade practices in the meatpacking industry. The subcommittees held joint hearings in order to consider conveniently and expeditiously, H. R. 5282, H. R. 5283, H. R. 5454, H. R. 7764, and H. R. 7796 which were referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and H. R. 7038 and H. R. 7319, which were referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Under existing law, jurisdiction over the trade practices of meatpackers is vested in the Secretary of Agriculture, by virtue of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921. That act ousted the Federal Trade Commission of jurisdiction over unfair methods of competition by companies engaged in the meatpacking industry. The bills were introduced to cope with the recent criticisms of the lack of enforcement by the Secretary of Agriculture of his jurisdiction over allegedly unfair and monopolistic practices in the meatpacking industry. It has been contended that for a number of years meatpackers have enjoyed a virtual immunity for their trade practices from supervision by any Federal agency. Further, recent Federal Trade Commission cases disclosed a situation where certain food stores and other elements of the food-distribution industry escaped Federal supervision of their trade practices by the simple expedient of acquiring minority interests in a meatpacking plant.

Because of these criticisms, bills were introduced to amend title II of the Packers and Stockyards Act in a manner to transfer to the Federal Trade Commission responsibility for supervising the unfair and monopolistic practices of companies engaged in the meatpacking industry. At the end of the first session public hearings had been completed and the bills were under consideration by the subcommittees.

In June, July, and August, the Antitrust Subcommittee held hearings on a series of bills that would clarify the applicability of the antitrust laws to organized professional sports enterprises. These bills were introduced in response to recent Supreme Court decisions which have had the effect of placing under antitrust coverage all organized professional sports with the exception of baseball.

In the Toolson case in 1953 the Supreme Court reaffirmed its 1922 ruling that organized baseball is not subject to the antitrust laws. In its decision the Supreme Court signified that baseball in effect is a unique enterprise. By contrast in February 1954 the Supreme Court in the Radovich case held not only that professional football is subject to the antitrust laws but implied that all other professional organized sports, like other interstate businesses, are subject to the antitrust laws. In the Radovich case, the Supreme Court recognized that its ruling, in light of baseball's unique exemption, might be regarded as "unrealistic, inconsistent or illogical." It indicated, however, it would have no doubt as to baseball's coverage under the antitrust laws were it considering this question for the first time upon a clean slate.

In explanation of its position, the Supreme Court said, "The orderly way to eliminate error or discrimination, if any there be, is by legislation and not by court decision. Congressional processes are more accommodative, affording the whole industry hearings and an opportunity to assist in the formulation of new legislation. The resulting product is therefore more likely to protect the industry and the public alike."

Three types of solution to the sports problem were suggested by the bills that were referred to the subcommittee. H. R. 5319 and H. R. 5307 provide that baseball, like other professional sports activities, shall be subject to the antitrust laws. Under these bills, the courts would be permitted to determine upon the facts of each individual case whether or not any particular agreement or trade practice constituted an unreasonable restraint of trade.

Other bills, H. R. 6876, H. R. 6877, and H. R. 8023, include all professional sports under the antitrust laws, with the exception of certain enumerated practices which are specifically exempted. H. R. 8023 also provided that a reserve clause in a player's contract of employment would enjoy an antitrust exemption only if it did not exceed 5 years in duration and if the amount of compensation for the last 2 years were increased by 15 percent each year.

Finally, H. R. 5383 provides a complete antitrust exemption for all professional sports enterprises, as well as for acts in the conduct of such enterprises.

During its extensive hearings, the subcommittee received testimony from representatives of the American and National Baseball Leagues, National Football League, National Hockey League, National Basketball Association, owners of team sports enterprises and from a number of players. At the end of the session, hearings had been completed with respect to professional team sports and the bills were pending before the subcommittee.

INVESTIGATIONS

The subcommittee completed and published two reports that contain the results of its investigations during the 84th

Congress of the airlines and television industries.

On June 7, 1957, the subcommittee released its report on the television-broadcasting industry. The record on which the report was based contains the testimony of 58 witnesses and comprises 3,342 pages of transcript.

Among the matters examined into by the report on the basis of this record was the manner in which the Federal Communications Commission has discharged its antitrust responsibilities in important areas of broadcasting; the UHF problem and competitive television; the network programing and time sales with reference to alleged tendency of networks to favor their own programs; network talent contracts; network time sales and discounts; the role of the advertising agency in the sale of TV time; the FCC chain-broadcasting regulations; network affiliation contracts; network ownership of stations and the multiple-ownership rule; network must-buy policy; network time options; the first-call rule; regulation by the FCC of coaxial cable and microwave relay rates and private relay systems; and activities by broadcasters in the field of music. The report was particularly critical of testimony and documentary evidence disclosed in its investigation in which references were made to informal private conferences and discussions between Commissioners of the FCC and representatives of industry, some of whom were directly interested in problems pending before the Commission.

On September 3, 1957, the subcommittee released its report on airlines. In its hearings on the commercial airlines industry, the subcommittee received the testimony of 38 witnesses and compiled a record that includes 3,106 pages.

In its report the subcommittee gave particular attention to the following: The present structure of the airlines industry; analysis of Federal administrative controls with respect to airlines operations; the record of the Civil Aeronautics Board with respect to the antitrust problems involved in competition and entry into commercial aviation; the antitrust implications of the activities of the Air Transport Association and an analysis of its operations; the role of travel agents in civil aviation; the results of the activities of the International Air Transport Association; and a case study of the Pan American World Airways System.

Particular attention was given to ATA, the trade association of the certificated carriers. The close relationship with the Board's responsibilities that has been established by the certificated industry through its trade association provides the means for a result that frequently has been deplored by critics of Government regulation. It is here that there is the greatest danger that the "regulated" may become the "regulators."

On April 3, 1957, the Antitrust Subcommittee initiated a study into the procedures and competitive effects of the consent decree program administered by the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. In this study, the subcommittee is seeking to ascertain how effective consent decrees have been in the elimination of conditions that caused the Government to institute its antitrust proceedings, and to restore a competitive climate in the industries concerned.

In addition, the subcommittee in this study is interested in determining the impact of consent decrees upon competitors of the defendants. As part of its study, the staff of the subcommittee has secured relevant information from the Department of Justice and has conducted file examinations of certain companies that are parties to specific consent decrees. During the first session this investigation was in preliminary stages and hearings were not scheduled by the subcommittee.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE OPERATION OF SUBMERGED LANDS LEGISLATION

The Special Subcommittee on the Operation of Submerged Lands Legislation was instituted under the authority granted to the Committee on the Judiciary to conduct studies and investigations, including the operation and administration of the Submerged Lands Act and the Outer Continental Shelf Act. The subcommittee is composed of Messrs. EDWIN E. WILLIS, chairman, WILLIAM M. TUCK, JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR., KENNETH B. KEATING and PATRICK J. HILLINGS.

The purpose of the special subcommittee is to conduct a study and analysis of the problems arising from the operation and administration of those laws. The need for such a study was predicated upon a preliminary survey conducted by the staff of the Committee on the Judiciary as well as other studies conducted by agencies outside of the Government. Such preliminary studies have pointed up many and varied problems arising out of the operation and administration of the existing law. Examples of such problems are the question of double jeopardy in criminal law over violations committed in the area of the outer Continental Shelf; the peculiar problem of contract law resulting from the drilling and building operations in the same area. Also, there are serious questions of workmen's compensation as well as problems in the field of insurance such as the type of underwriters and of policies. Of course, there are many others.

Therefore, the special subcommittee will undertake the task of gathering sufficient facts and knowledge from the time and experience of operation under the existing laws in order that a conclusion may be reached as to what, if anything, should be done in the way of amendatory legislation to the existing law. It is believed that sufficient time has passed in which to garner experience in the administration and operation of these laws so that whatever improvements may be necessary will be in the best interests of all the parties involved, including the Government of the United States.

The subcommittee held an executive conference with representatives of the various governmental departments concerned with submerged lands legislation.

In the near future the subcommittee will conduct a study of the problem at which time representatives of private industry engaged in operations under this legislation will be heard.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON STUDY OF PRESIDENTIAL INABILITY

The Special Subcommittee on the Study of Presidential Inability is composed of Messrs. EMANUEL CELLER, chairman, FRANCIS E. WALTER, JACK B. BROOKS, KENNETH B. KEATING, and WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH. It was originally constituted in the 84th Congress. During that time an exhaustive study was made of this subject and hearings held in which the views of eminent political scientists and constitutional lawyers were heard. In addition to these hearings, that subcommittee published a document setting forth replies to a detailed questionnaire on the problem.

This subcommittee in the 1st session of the 85th Congress conducted a hearing on the problem at which time the Attorney General testified. The subcommittee also published a document which was an analysis of the replies to the questionnaire and hearing held on the subject during the 84th Congress. The subcommittee had referred to it several bills relating to the subject. After considerable deliberation and consideration, the subcommittee reported four bills, House Joint Resolution 293, House Joint Resolution 295, H. R. 6510, and House Joint Resolution 334, to the full committee, where they are pending at the present time.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE

Eleven bills have been referred to the Special Subcommittee on Administrative Procedure. These cover problems such as pay for hearing examiners, legal career service, admission to practice before Federal agencies, etc. Several comprehensive bills, notably H. R. 3350, dealing with all of these topics are now before the subcommittee and information and departmental reports are now being compiled and analyzed with a view toward conducting extensive hearings at the beginning of the next session. The subcommittee is composed of FRANCIS E. WALTER, chairman, ROBERT T. ASHMORE, DEWITT S. HYDE, and RUSSELL W. KEENEY.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO STUDY SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

This subcommittee was established by the Judiciary Committee and authorized to conduct an inquiry and make findings and recommendations, legislative or otherwise, with reference to those questions raised by decisions of the Supreme Court, rendered at its last session which affect the power of Congress to investigate Federal laws relating to subversive activities and the enforcement of Federal criminal laws. The subcommittee is composed of Messrs. EDWIN E. WILLIS, chairman, BYRON G. ROGERS, EARL CHUDOFF, WILLIAM C. CRAMER, and ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

The subcommittee initiated hearings during the 1st session of the 85th Congress with reference to the particular decision of the Supreme Court in Mallory against the United States, which affects Federal law enforcement. A series of hearings was held on this case and witnesses represented Federal and local law authorities as well as representatives of bar associations.

Further hearings on this and other Supreme Court decisions in these particular fields will be held both during the adjournment period and the second session.

Cost of Living Hits Record High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, I have just received permission from the author of an article entitled "Selective Inflation, 1957," which appeared in the September issue of the Democratic Digest, to have it placed in the RECORD so that all of you might have an opportunity to study the much-discussed subject of our present cost of living.

The article follows:

SELECTIVE INFLATION, 1957

The cost of living has risen every month for the last 10 months and now stands at an alltime high. Dwight Eisenhower, who campaigned on the claim he "stopped inflation," warns of inflation controls. Members of his administration blame creeping inflation on "soft wage settlements" and argue that wage increases have forced prices upward. In fact, wage increases have fallen far behind price increases in basic industries, and the largest jumps in living costs have been in areas not affected by wage increases. Farm and small-business income is falling, while the largest corporations and banks are reporting record profits.

Following are a few of the facts that indicate the real nature of 1957's "selective" inflation:

COST OF LIVING HITS RECORD HIGH—RISING PRICES HURT ONLY SOME SECTIONS OF ECONOMY

Cost-of-living index hits alltime high in June 1957. Rises for the tenth straight month. Prices 3.4 percent higher than in June 1956. Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts still higher prices in July. The dollar is now worth almost 5 cents less than it was 18 months ago.

Farm income plummets as food prices soar

Retail food prices are up 16 percent in 10 years, while farm prices are down 14 percent.

Farmers received only 40 cents of each consumer food dollar in 1956, compared with 52 cents in 1946.

Here's what happened to items in the typical market basket between 1946 and 1956:

Bakery products and cereals, retail cost up 34 percent, farm value down 7 percent; dairy products, retail cost up 15 percent, farm value down 5 percent; meat products, retail cost down only 5 percent, farm value down 29 percent; poultry and eggs, retail cost down 13 percent, farm value down 21 percent; fruits and vegetables, retail cost up 12 percent, farm value up only 7 percent.

In 1947 farmers got 2.9 cents for the wheat in a 12.5-cent loaf; in 1955 farmers got 2.7 cents for the wheat in a 17.7-cent loaf.

In 1947 farmers got 10.3 cents for a quart of milk retailed at 18.8 cents; in 1955 farmers got 10.2 cents for a quart of milk retailed at 22.5 cents.

Food industries claim they can't absorb wage and salary increases and must pass them on to the consumer in the form of higher prices and backward to the farmer in the form of lower returns.

But wage and salary increases in the food industries account for only a fraction of the terrific drop in farm receipts.

Food-industry profits have actually been increasing. In 1952 food industries earned 7.6 percent after taxes on stockholders' equity; in 1955, they earned about 9 percent after taxes on equity; in 1956 food processors' profits rose 7 percent over 1955 and retail chainstore profits were up 29 percent.

Retail food costs remain high as farm prices keep dropping

	Retail food prices paid by consumers [1]	Prices received by farmers [2]
1950	101.2	258
1951	112.6	302
1952	114.6	288
1953	112.8	258
1954	112.6	249
1955	110.9	236
1956	111.7	235
1957—January	112.8	238
February	113.6	234
March	113.2	238
April	113.8	242
May	114.6	243
June	116.2	244
July	117.4	247

[1] Consumer Price Index, Department of Labor (1947–49=100).
[2] Department of Agriculture (Index, 1910–14=100).

Uneven inflation in cost-of-living items: Percentage of increase, January 1955–March 1957

	Percent
All items	4
Food	2.4
Apparel	3.4
Housing, rent	3.8
Housing, total (includes rent, homeowner costs, utilities, house furnishings)	4.4
Transportation	5.9
Medical care	7.8
Personal care	8.1

(Source: Department of Labor, Consumer Price Index.)

Labor's share of national income falls

While the cost-of-living index rose steadily in the first 4 months of 1957, average weekly earnings dropped from $82.41 to $81.59.

Labor income rose only 3.2 percent from 1953 to 1956, while dividend income rose 5.5 percent and personal interest income rose 6.8 percent.

Between November 1955 and November 1956, average hourly earnings of workers in steel mills rose 6.5 percent, while wholesale iron and steel prices rose 11.2 percent. Average hourly earnings of automobile workers increased 3.8 percent, while wholesale prices of motor vehicles were up 7.4 percent.

March was the first month in more than 2½ years in which real spendable earnings of factory production workers fell below what they had been the year before. The trend continued in April and May.

The largest jumps in living costs have been in areas not affected by wage increases. Rent is up 12 percent since 1952; mortgage interest is up 30 percent; medical care is up 15 percent.

Profits up for banks and dividend holders

Commercial banks' net income after taxes increased by 11 precent between 1955 and 1956. The New York Times reported (March 26, 1957): "The largest banks * * * expanded their loan portfolios and income from loans substantially more than smaller banks."

Dividend income rose 3.3 percent between June 1956 and June 1957—was 38 percent up from 1952.

Personal interest income jumped 7 percent between June 1956 and June 1957—by 1957 was 52 percent higher than in 1952.

Small business is caught in price squeeze

There were more small-business failures in March 1957, than in any month since 1933.

In the last quarter of 1956 firms with assets under $1 million netted 1.2 cents per dollar of sales, compared with 9.3 cents for companies with assets over $1 billion.

In 1948, firms with assets of less than $1 million earned 6.4 percent of total manufatcuring profits after taxes; in 1955 these firms earned only 4.5 percent of these profits. Meanwhile, firms with assets over $100 million were increasing their share of total profits from 48.6 percent to 65.4 percent.

SELECTIVE INFLATION TRACED TO TIGHT MONEY AND PRICE BOOSTS IN BASIC INDUSTRIES

Eisenhower administration's tight money policies increase costs to consumers, profits to banks

Utilities are citing higher borrowing costs in filing applications for rate increases. "The tight-money market of the past 2 years is about to raise a little mischief with consumers' electricity, telephone, and gas bills," reported the Wall Street Journal in March after a survey of over half the Nation's public service commissions.

State and local governments must pay more to borrow money. Costs of new schools, roads, and other services are growing steadily higher for the taxpayer. Average interest charges on municipal bonds rose from 1.96 percent in April 1951 to 2.4 percent in April 1955 to 3.16 percent in April 1957.

Federal taxpayers must pay $1.5 billion more annually now than in 1952 to met inflated interest charges on the national debt with big banks, investment houses, and insurance companies profiting from administration's inflated interest payments on public debt.

Mortgage interest rates are up 25 percent since 1952. The average-income family today pays $2,500 to $3,000 more to finance a 30-year $10,000 home mortgage than it would have paid in 1952.

Interest rates climbing: February 1957 compared with 1950

National debt, interest rate up 23.6 percent.

State and local government bonds, interest rates up 69.6 percent.

Three-to-five-year United States Government obligations, interest rates up 122 percent.

(Source: U. S. Treasury, Economic Indicators.)

Net income of leading corporations rising

	Percent increase in reported net income after taxes, 1955–56	Percent return on net assets, 1956
Iron and steel	(1)	14
Petroleum products and refining	14	13
Machinery	36	13

[1] Growth in profits affected by steel stoppage in 1956. Steel profits, 4th quarter, 1956, highest on record.

Source: First National City Bank of New York.

Large corporation profits jump as prices rise

Corporate profits in the first quarter of 1957 were 6.5 percent higher than first quarter 1956—42.9 percent higher than 1952.

Between 1955 and 1956 leading corporations in the electrical machinery and equipment industries raised their profits by more than 16 percent; in the petroleum industry by 17 percent; in retail food chains by 27 percent; in the construction industry by 52 percent.

Between first quarter 1955 and first quarter 1956, net profits after taxes of 822 leading corporations increased 9 percent. In the iron and steel group, the increase was

7 percent; in food and beverages, 8 percent; in petroleum, 18 percent; in electrical equipment, 75 percent.

In the steel industry, after tax profits gave stockholders a 12.9 percent rate of return on investment in the first half of 1955. After the mid-1955 price rise, the rate of return rose to 14.2 percent; in the first half of 1956, it rose again to 14.9 percent. Nevertheless, in June, the industry announced an average $6-a-ton across the board increase in steel prices.

Price inflation highest in giant industries

	All commodities	Iron and steel	Electrical equipment and machinery	Petroleum and products
1955—January	110.1	135.8	126.8	111.7
February	110.4	135.8	126.7	111.7
March	110.0	136.2	126.4	111.7
April	110.3	136.4	126.4	111.5
May	109.9	135.6	126.5	111.5
June	110.3	135.8	126.5	111.5
July	110.5	143.1	126.7	111.6
August	110.9	144.9	127.7	113.0
September	111.7	145.0	130.6	114.0
October	111.6	145.7	130.7	114.2
November	111.2	146.0	131.4	115.0
December	111.3	147.2	132.1	115.6
1956—January	111.9	149.4	132.4	117.2
February	112.4	149.1	133.2	117.5
March	112.8	149.4	133.6	116.8
April	113.6	151.0	135.6	117.5
May	114.4	150.8	137.0	118.3
June	114.2	149.5	137.6	118.3
July	114.0	149.9	137.4	118.8
August	114.7	150.4	138.0	118.3
September	115.5	161.5	142.0	118.4
October	115.6	161.1	143.2	118.3
November	115.9	162.5	145.2	117.5
December	116.3	163.3	145.4	120.9
1957—January	116.9	164.3	146.0	124.9
February	117.0	163.9	147.1	131.0
March	116.9	163.8	147.5	130.7
April	117.2	161.9	147.8	130.4
May	117.1	162.9	148.2	129.8
June	117.4	165.4	148.3	128.4

Source: Business Statistics, Department of Commerce, wholesale prices.

Inflation traced to selected price boosts and fast tax writeoffs

Since mid-1955 wholesale iron and steel prices have jumped 20 percent. Electrical machinery prices are up 15 percent and flat glass prices up 8 percent. Wholesale prices of motor vehicles are up 10 percent.

"Standard Oil's unpublished report must reveal that despite the fact that labor is getting most of the blame for the postwar inflation, the pricing practices of some of our basic industries have been the more important reason for the cost of living spiral."—Sylvia Porter, June 3, 1957.

"The rising price trend is helping to sustain corporate profits in the face of a flattening out of sales and cost increases."—New York Journal of Commerce, April 2, 1957.

"A good part of the inflationary tendencies that cropped up in 1956 came from the strong surge of business spending on capital equipment. By the end of this year, capital spending will probably be about 20 percent higher than in 1955."—Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, Business Review, December 1956.

Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey told a Senate committee that quick tax writeoffs for plant expansion granted business in 1956 would cost the Government roughly $3 billion in interest costs. He warned such writeoffs have the stimulating effect which can temporarily add to inflation with the possibility of a lag later."

Some price jumps brought excessive profits

	Percent increase in reported net income after taxes, 1955–56	Percent return on net assets, 1956
Food chains	27	16
Clothing and apparel	16	8
Construction	52	10
Household appliances	9	12
Building, heating, and plumbing	7	11
Total public utilities	11	10
Drugs and medicines	30	19

Source: First National City Bank of New York.

United States and India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, to have a friend, you have to be one. At this juncture in world affairs, we certainly need friends and we especially need them in Asia. An opportunity will soon present itself whereby we can extend the hand of real friendship to India. India is seeking a loan of $1 billion from the western democracies for the next 3 years and it is contemplated that the United States Government will be asked to contribute one-half thereof, or $500 million. The remainder may come from Britain and further loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as well as from private sources. India has been receiving about $60 million a year in United States foreign aid. Fifty million of this is for economic development but mostly on a loan basis. Ten million thereof is in the nature of technical assistance.

India has inaugurated a second 5-year plan, and if this aid is not given, the same will have to be cut drastically or unfortunately abandoned. Most essential projects in its second 5-year plan of industrialization would have to be postponed for many years, or even abandoned. This second 5-year plan has already run into difficulties. The amount of outside financing needed by the Indian Government and private enterprises proved larger than the original plan's estimates. As a result of the import of capital goods required by the plan, India's foreign-exchange reserves have dwindled by some $435 million in 1956–57. It is now certain that the total balance-of-payment deficit during the 5-year plan will be much higher than the original estimate of $830 million. These loans are essential or the plan may go a-glimmering.

Premier Nehru has stressed India's economy as being fundamentally sound and that there is great potential wealth in India. He stresses that the present foreign-exchange difficulties have been brought about by heavy investments in wealth-producing goods and not by the importation of luxuries. India is most anxious to raise the standard of living of her teeming millions. For this the second 5-year plan is most necessary.

Toward the end of September, Indian Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari will come to Washington, to attend a board meeting of the International Monetary Fund. At that time, he will discuss the matters of loans with the Secretary of State, if not with President Eisenhower. It is interesting to note that Secretary Dulles has stated that the United States would give sympathetic consideration to any Indian request for economic assistance.

I personally cherish the hope that the Congress will not unduly interfere with efforts to effectuate a substantial loan to India.

I hope, too, that India and her representatives will not try to pressurize the administration by saying that if we do not make the loan, they will go to Moscow for it. I am quite sure that argument will not wash. Frankly, it is a baseless argument and should fall on deaf ears. I do not think that Moscow could or would make a loan of such magnitude without imposing conditions that would stultify India.

India has made considerable industrial progress latterly. There has been a minimum increase of 30 percent in production in all sections of Indian industry. Beyond that, the rate of capital formations in India have been rather rapid. When India obtained her independence, there was a notable dearth of engineering industries. This has all been changed. For example, almost 95 percent of all component parts of bicycles used in India are of native manufacture. India is making rapid strides in the production of automobiles. India mined 30 million tons of coal annually at the time she achieved independence. The figures today are around 44 million. In 1947 she produced 860,000 tons of steel. In the current year, the production is 1,340,000 tons. In 1947 she produced 1,400,000 tons of cement. Current production is 6,100,000 tons. Many more figures could be presented to indicate the great strides made in India's production.

There are many in this country who deplore the so-called nonalinement foreign policy maintained by India. They claim India must make a choice between the two power blocs. I personally would prefer to have India aline herself with the West. But there is an old adage attributed to our own Indians: "Let me not pass judgment on my brother before I have walked 6 months in his moccasins." Perhaps we should try and see this situation through Indian eyes, especially in the light of her geographical location, with her vast common border with Red China, and the other factors

which make her hesitate to come over emphatically to our side. Also, I am a bit intolerant of those who say "If you are not with us, you are against us." I am confident that India is not against us. On the contrary, I would estimate that India's attitude toward us is one of benevolent neutrality. I say this despite some intemperate remarks registered by representatives of India at the United Nations and elsewhere.

Beyond all this, remember that India asks for a loan and not a handout. India has vast resources. With hard work and increased productivity, the loan will be paid on the due dates. India might well follow the hard toil that is being put forth by the Germans. It was their industry, perseverance, and hard labor that pulled West Germany out of her economic difficulties. Be it remembered, also, that India's basic economy is capitalistic, although in many instances that economy is controlled due to local conditions.

I am well aware also that the attitude of Krishna Menon, chief delegate of India to the United Nations at the last session, was hardly to our liking, particularly when he said that the Hungarian revolt was an internal affair. It is even difficult to understand an Associated Press dispatch out of New Delhi dated as late as September 9, which reads as follows:

Prime Minister Nehru said today, "Condemnation of the Soviet Union for suppressing the Hungarian revolt would only make the situation worse."

I am in utter disaccord, and I am sure the Western democracies are in disaccord, with Mr. Nehru when he so cavalierly says that we should not condemn the Soviet Union. Also, it was a sad commentary when India abstained on the Hungarian resolution of the United Nations.

Frankly, it is expressions of this character which makes it very difficult for the well-wishers of India in the United States to be helpful to her. Both Premier Nehru and his dynamic Defense Minister and Chief Delegate to the United Nations, V. K. Krishna Menon, might well leave unsaid some of their unjustified criticisms against the United States and mute their unjustified yet favorable comments of Soviet Russia.

In any event, I do indeed hope that the administration will look with kindly eye upon the applicatoin which India may make for this loan. Without this loan, the prime targets of India's 5-year plan will not be reached. Then, the Government of India might have to resort increasingly to centralization and regimentation of her economy and a regimented economy might tend toward gradual elimination of political and individual freedom. Communism would beckon and might take hold.

It is possible, with the help of the United States and other western democracies, to participate in the underwriting and guaranteeing of the success of Indian development. We dare not allow Indian efforts to fail. If there is economic failure or—worse still—collapse in India, the failure or collapse would spread throughout south Asia. We cannot, dare not, permit such a catastrophe. If we fail to help, the day will surely and bitterly come when we will reproach ourselves.

Record of Committee on Public Works in the 85th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I include the following summary of public-works legislation reported by the Committee on Public Works during the 1st session of the 85th Congress:

LAWS ENACTED

Public Law 85–3: Extends time for report of President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space.

Public Law 85–23: Gives consent of Congress to Merrimack River flood-control compact entered into between the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire creating the Merrimack River Valley Flood Control Commission and defining its powers and functions relating to approval of flood-control projects constructed by the United States.

Public Laws 85–85, 85–93, and 85–95: Provides for remodeling the existing Senate Office Building, increases the limit of cost on the new Senate Office Building, and authorizes furnishings for the new building.

Public Law 85–106: Extends the times for commencing and completing the toll bridge over the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn.

Public Law 85–108: Increases the borrowing authority and clarifies the general powers of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.

Public Law 85–113: Reenacts authorization for the highway bridge over the Pigeon River below High Falls, Minn.

Public Law 85–130: Conveys lands at McNary lock and dam project, Oregon and Washington, to the port of Walla Walla, Wash.

Public Law 85–138: Designates the lake created by the Jim Woodruff Dam, Apalachicola River, Ga., as Lake Seminole.

Public Law 85–143: Authorizes payment by Bureau of Public Roads of transportation and subsistence costs to temporary employees on direct Federal highway projects.

Public Law 85–146: Authorizes municipal water supply from Lake Texoma for the city of Sherman, Tex.

Public Law 85–148: Extends period for amortization of indebtedness of bridge over the Missouri River near Rulo, Nebr.

Public Law 85–159: Authorizes the construction of a hydroelectric power project on the Niagara River at Niagara Falls, N. Y., which would utilize all of the United States share of the amount of water in the Niagara River made available for power redevelopment under the terms of a treaty between the United States and Canada entered into in 1950. Such development is to be accomplished by authorizing and directing the Federal Power Commission to issue a license, pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Power Act, to the New York State Power Authority, an instrumentality of the State of New York. The State power authority would finance, construct, and operate the project, including the United States share, under the 1950 treaty, of the cost of remedial works without aid or assistance from the Federal Government. Provision is made for inclusion in the license of specific conditions relating to the disposition of project power. This law affords an acceptable basis for the long-delayed development of a great natural resource.

Public Law 85–169: Transfers ownership to Allegany County, Md., of a bridge loaned by the Bureau of Public Roads.

Public Law 85–178: Conveys Bunker Hill Island in Lake Cumberland near Burnside, Ky., to the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Public Law 85–221: Authorizes an additional bridge across Bear Creek at or near Lovel Point, Baltimore County, Md., and collection of tolls.

Public Law 85–230: Increases the storage capacity of the Whitney Dam and Reservoir, Tex.

Public Law 85–242: Amends the act of June 3, 1896, to provide for construction of new terminal facilities between 17th Street on the south shore of Gowanus Creek and Fort Hamilton, N. Y.

Public Law 85–245: Returns to former owners certain mineral interests in lands acquired for Arkabutla, Sardis, Enid, and Grenada Reservoirs, Miss.

Public Law 85–294: Authorizes expenditure of Federal funds to reconstruct lock and dam No. 3 on Little Kanawha River, West Virginia.

BILLS PASSED BY THE HOUSE AND PENDING IN THE SENATE COMMITTEE

H. R. 2: Authorizes the State of Illinois and the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army, to test, on a 3-year basis, the effect of increasing the diversion of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway, and for other purposes.

H. R. 2548: Authorizes payment for losses sustained by owners of wells in the vicinity of the construction area of the New Cumberland Dam project by reason of the lowering of the level of water in such wells as a result of the construction of New Cumberland Dam project.

H. R. 3770: Renames the Strawn Dam and Reservoir project in the State of Kansas as the John Redmond Dam and Reservoir.

H. R. 4260: Authorizes the Chief of Engineers to publish information pamphlets, maps, brochures, and other material.

H. R. 4683: Authorizes adjustment, in the public interest, of rentals under leases entered into for the provision of commercial recreational facilities at the Lake Greeson Reservoir, Narrows Dam.

H. R. 6660: Provides that the lock and dam referred to as the Tuscaloosa lock and dam on the Black Warrior River,

Ala., shall hereafter be known and designated as the William Bacon Oliver lock and dam.

H. R. 6701: Grants the consent of Congress to the Tennessee River Basin water pollution control compact.

H. R. 8576: Authorizes the conveyance of certain lands within the Old Hickory lock and dam project, Cumberland River, Tenn., to Middle Tennessee Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, for recreation and camping purposes.

H. J. Res. 382: Grants the consent and approval of Congress to an amendment of the agreement between the States of Vermont and New York relating to the creation of the Lake Champlain Bridge Commission.

BILLS PASSED BY THE SENATE AND PENDING IN THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

S. 1003: Provides for adjustments in the lands or interests therein acquired for the Albeni Falls Reservoir project, Idaho, by the reconveyance of certain lands or interests therein to the former owners thereof.

S. 1587: Authorizes the construction of protective measures in the city of New Bedford and the town of Fairhaven, Mass., to afford hurricane tidal flood protection for New Bedford, Fairhaven, and Acushnet, Mass.

S. 1726: Authorizes certain construction for the protection of the Narragansett Bay area against hurricane tidal flooding.

S. 1785: Designates the reservoir located above Heart-Butte Dam in Grant County, N. Dak., as Lake Tschida.

S. 1869: Amends the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, as amended.

S. 2108: Amends the Public Buildings Act of 1949, to authorize the Administrator of General Services to name, rename, or otherwise designate any building under the custody and control of the General Services Administration.

S. 2109: Amends an act extending the authorized taking area for public building construction under the Public Buildings Act of 1926, as amended, to exclude therefrom the area within E and F Streets and 19th Street and Virginia Avenue NW., in the District of Columbia.

S. 2228: Amends section 5 of the Flood Control Act of August 18, 1941, as amended, pertaining to emergency flood-control work.

S. 2676: Authorizes the Secretary of the Army to make a survey of a water route from Albany, N. Y., into Lake Champlain, N. Y. and Vt., with ultimate connection with the St. Lawrence River.

REPORTED AND PENDING ON HOUSE CALENDARS

S. 497: Authorizes construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, beach erosion, and other purposes. This is the omnibus bill of 1957 and is divided into two parts: Title I, river and harbor projects—navigation and beach erosion control—and title II, flood-control projects. There are four general types of authorization in the bill: First, individual project authorizations or modifications of existing authorizations; second, increases in river basin monetary authorizations; third, matters of general legislation not pertaining to specific projects; and fourth, surveys.

S. 2261: Authorizes construction of Federal buildings by direct appropriation and repeal of lease-purchase program. Primary purposes of the bill, as amended by the committee, are as follows:

First. To authorize appropriations totaling $1,500 million for the 5-year period ending July 1, 1962;

Second. To authorize for construction by direct appropriation all building projects previously approved under the lease-purchase program by the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and the House of Representatives, with the exception of certain projects within the District of Columbia and one project at Rock Island, Ill.

Third. To amend the act of May 25, 1926—which is the basic authority for direct appropriation construction—to provide that before appropriations shall be made for direct construction in the future, a prospectus of each proposed project will have to be submitted and approved by the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and the House of Representatives in order to insure the equitable distribution of projects throughout the United States with due regard for the comparative urgency of need for such projects.

Fourth. To repeal those sections of Public Law 519, 83d Congress, which authorized the Administrator of General Services and the Postmaster General to enter into lease-purchase agreements for periods ranging from 10 to 25 years for acquisition of real property.

H. R. 4266: Amends the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, as amended, to authorize TVA to issue and sell revenue bonds to finance needed additions to its power system. Such bonds would not be obligations of, nor guaranteed by the United States. The principal of, and the interest on, such bonds would be payable solely from TVA's power revenues, and TVA would be directed to charge rates for power sufficient to cover debt service on the bonds as well as other expenses and payments for which provision is made under the bill. Proceeds of the bonds could be used for construction, acquisition, enlargement, improvement, or replacement of any plant or other facility used for the generation or transmission of electric power or in connection with lease-purchase transactions.

H. R. 7870: Amends the act of July 1, 1955, to authorize an additional $10 million for the completion of the Inter-American Highway.

SURVEY RESOLUTIONS

In addition to the bills considered and acted upon by the committee, a number of river and harbor and flood-control resolutions proposed by individual Members of Congress, which require only committee action, were approved. These resolutions authorized review survey studies by the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, that will ultimately result in project reports submitted to Congress if the projects are found feasible and are approved by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, the Chief of Engineers, and the Secretary of the Army.

GENERAL ACTIVITIES

The committee had 447 bills for consideration during the 1st session of the 85th Congress dealing with such subjects as navigation improvements, flood control, water pollution, beach erosion, highways, public buildings, land conveyances, and water supplies. The committee gave particular study and attention to the needs of every section of the country in reporting the omnibus river and harbor and flood-control bill of 1957 and in acting upon survey resolutions pertaining to civil-works projects, especially with respect to flood-control remedial works necessary as a result of the last three major flood disasters—the hurricanes and floods of 1955, which left such a widespread path of destruction through the New England and Middle Atlantic States, the unprecedented rainfall and floods in California and adjacent States during the Christmas holidays of 1955, and the floods throughout the Southwest United States during May and early June of this year. In this last instance the committee appointed a special subcommittee which made an exhaustive, on-the-ground inspection, the results of which are contained in a report made by the subcommittee on June 29—The Southwest Flood of 1957, Committee Publication No. 85–4.

In all of these accomplishments I have had the active cooperation and valuable aid of all committee members. I pay special tribute to Representatives GEORGE H. FALLON, CLIFFORD DAVIS, JOHN A. BLATNIK, and ROBERT E. JONES, who served as chairmen of the subcommittees. I want to give credit, too, to our efficient and hard-working staff. The committee is fortunate in having capable and experienced staff members and I commend them for a job well done.

Burrus and the CCC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Burrus and the CCC."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BURRUS AND THE CCC

A unique figure in American milling, Jack P. Burrus, president of the Burrus Mills, Inc., with headquarters in Dallas, Tex., attracted national attention in recent days through a series of advertisements in newspapers over the United States carrying open letters addressed to 170 million red-blooded, fairminded, American Joe Doaks. The letters told the story of the tragic financial experience of the Burrus organization, which has a record of successes through its 89-year history, in engaging in a tent storage venture for the Commodity Credit Corpora-

tion. The letters concluded with a plea for intercession by the 170 million Americans, who are in reality the stockholders of the CCC, either through votes to Burrus Mills, Inc., or communications to various officials and legislators to help assure a settlement between the CCC and Burrus Mills on the basis of justice, equity, morality, and commonsense.

Briefly, Mr. Burrus, in these advertisements, pointed to an accumulation of losses of $15,015,900.56 on an aggregate of 37,839,239 bushels of wheat of the Commodity Credit Corporation involved in the tent storage arrangement. The losses resulted from various unexpected causes, including a deluge of rain, 22 inches, from May through October 1954 at St. Joseph, Mo., 1 of the 2 storage points, the other having been Fort Worth, Tex., and from windstorms and attacks of thousands of starlings that literally pecked hundreds of holes through the tent coverings. The unpaid portion of these losses, which Burrus Mills, Inc., is not fully admitting, is approximately $8 million.

The CCC is demanding full payment of that sum by October 1, 1957. Its demand threatens the existence of Burrus Mills. Mr. Burrus is asking instead that the CCC give the company time to settle the debt by funding it through notes payable in 24 quarterly installments at the lowest interest rate which the CCC charges in extending credit on sales to foreign buyers of its surplus commodities or to farmers to whom it makes loans. The CCC is charging Burrus interest of 4½ percent, while its interest rate on credit to foreign buyers is 3¾ percent and its loan rate to farmers is 3½ percent.

Unfortunately, it appears that political influences have affected the negotiations for the settlement of the losses and the grant of some of the counterclaims of Burrus, which seem to be in line with established grain-trade practices.

What should be kept in mind in this extraordinary and unprecedented situation is the fact that, when the Burrus Mills originated the idea of the vast storage undertaking, the CCC, after accepting it, commended that organization and cited it as an example in service at a time of emergency storage conditions. The CCC invited other storage-space offers of a similar nature, and even suggested informally to Burrus that it undertake additional tent-storage projects. The CC has a moral obligation in this instance to a well-meaning servant that now admits a tragic mistake in entering into the tent-storage operations. Furthermore, Burrus is offering ample security, while the CCC, with authorizations of $14,500,000,000 of capital funds, of which $13,372,000,000 were last reported in use, is able financially to make the extension of payments on the unpaid losses.

We join our fellows among the 170 million redblooded, fairminded American Joe Doaks in casting our votes and in urging others to cast their ballots for the settlement for which the Burrus Mills pleads—on the basis of justice, equity, morality, and commonsense.

Tax Relief Big Issue in 1958 and 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the issues in the political campaigns of 1958 and 1960 will not be the party platforms or the personalities campaigning for office. The big issue will be tax relief.

Since 1930, while the personal per capita income has risen from $569 to an average of $1,940 in 1956, the percent of income taken by the Federal Government from such incomes has risen from 1.64 percent to 12.77 percent in 1956. To be more specific, where the Federal Treasury collected $9.34 per capita in personal income taxes in 1930 the collection in 1956 averaged $247.77. Meanwhile, the Federal per capita public debt was increased from $131.51 in 1930 to $1,622.64 in 1956.

To further illustrate the changing pattern in income payments to individuals and the effect of Federal income taxes for 1930 and the years between 1950 and 1956, I submit for the RECORD the following tables prepared by Paul O. Peters, editor of the Washington News Bulletin:

The Office of Business Economics in the Department of Commerce has again published in the Survey of Current Business, a detailed study of personal incomes, by State and regions for the calendar year 1956 together with revised data for the years 1954 and 1955.

From our own files, the table following has been prepared. It shows the gross personal income, the reported population, and the computed per capita income for the year 1930 as compared with the years 1950 through 1956:

Calendar year	United States average		Per capita personal income
	Midyear population	Gross persona. income	
1930	122, 775, 046	$73, 325, 000, 000	$569
1950	151, 683, 000	225, 473, 000, 000	1, 491
1951	154, 360, 000	252, 260, 000, 000	1, 649
1952	157, 028, 000	269, 050, 000, 000	1, 727
1953	159, 636, 000	283, 140, 000, 000	1, 788
1954	162, 417, 000	284, 823, 000, 000	1, 767
1955	165, 270, 000	303, 268, 000, 000	1, 846
1956	168, 174, 000	324, 281, 000, 000	1, 940

To properly evaluate the actual gain or loss to the individuals who received the incomes in the years under study, there is presented a compilation from official Government reports showing the revenues collected on personal or individual incomes and the per capita amount in current dollars with a column showing the relative purchasing power of the current dollar as reflected by the wholesale price index for the year 1926—$1.

Year	Revenue collected from incomes	Population mid-year	Revenue per capita	Value of $1
1930	$1, 146, 844, 763. 68	122, 775, 046	$9. 34	$1. 157
1950	18, 566, 957, 588. 15	151, 683, 000	122. 40	.570
1951	26, 849, 750, 916. 00	154, 360, 000	173. 94	.543
1952	33, 269, 505, 721. 00	157, 028, 000	211. 87	.528
1953	36, 783, 850, 714. 00	159, 636, 000	230. 42	.528
1954	36, 919, 986, 858. 00	162, 417, 000	226. 32	.527
1955	36, 980, 678, 132. 00	165, 270, 000	223. 81	.521
1956	41, 670, 881, 000. 00	168, 174, 000	247. 77	.494

In any study of what personal incomes mean in an economy primarily based upon the expansion of credit and debt, it is important to have for ready reference statistical tables of various kinds.

It must be understood that the whole economy depends for its operation on individuals who labor in the productive enterprises which furnish the payrolls for those engaged in the public service and the service trades. It also must be understood that the wealth of the Nation is dependent primarily upon its natural resources and the ability and willingness of the people to convert natural resources into things useful to man individually and society collectively. Thus in considering personal per capita incomes over the years, consideration should be given to the fact that after the Federal Government has taken its toll, there still remains an almost unidentifiable toll which is included in the cost of all purchases of capital, producer, and consumer goods since they are part of the purchase price.

Also, not to be overlooked, is the impact of State and local taxes of all kinds. In this study we will cover only the impact of Federal taxes on incomes and the relationship of the Federal debt to the income which apparently caused the depreciation in the purchasing power of $1.

As a part of this study there is here presented a table showing the percent of per capita incomes absorbed by Federal income and withholding taxes together with the per capita public debt:

Year	Per capita personal income	Per capita income tax and percent		Per capita Federal debt
1930	$569	$9. 34	1. 64	$131. 51
1950	1, 491	122. 40	8. 21	1, 606. 68
1951	1, 649	173. 94	10. 54	1, 653. 42
1952	1, 727	211. 87	12. 66	1, 650. 06
1953	1, 788	230. 42	12. 88	1, 666. 74
1954	1, 767	226. 32	12. 81	1, 670. 14
1955	1, 846	223. 81	12. 12	1, 660. 15
1956	1, 940	247. 77	12. 77	1, 622. 64

The Continuing Progress of REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the rural electrification in our country continues to make progress. The job is being done. We must not be confused by the criticism of those who are constantly trying to put the REA into politics. This Administration is doing an outstanding job in bringing the benefits of electricity to rural America.

I wish to include as part of my remarks a table I have obtained from the Rural Electrification Administration showing a breakdown by classes of the number of REA consumers now receiving central station service for the calendar year 1955. The figures for 1956 are not yet available.

Number REA consumers and usage, 1955 calendar year

	Number	Average monthly kilowatt-hours of consumers	Average annual kilowatt-hours use (in thousands)
All consumers	4, 135, 019	312	15, 457, 623
Less, REA borrowers	49		222, 470
Total	4, 134, 970		15, 235, 153
Rural:			
Farms	2, 406, 061	246	7, 223, 129
Nonfarms	1, 061, 225	239	2, 918, 606
Seasonal cottages	72, 318	43	37, 582
Pump irrigation	20, 575	2, 467	609, 114
Total	3, 560, 179		10, 788, 431

Number REA consumers and usage, 1955 calendar year—Continued

	Number	Average monthly kilowatt-hours of consumers	Average annual kilowatt-hours use (in thousands)
Nonrural: Town residential	260,010	310	967,763
Other:			
Small commercial	216,341	558	1,449,620
Large commercial	8,527	15,529	1,589,002
Schools, utilities, street lights, etc.	89,913		440,337
Total	574,791		4,446,722

The High Cost of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the GTA Daily Radio Roundup of Wednesday, August 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the radio broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Democratic leader of the Senate, JOHNSON of Texas, rose in the Senate the other day, and commented on what he called a "truly sad day for America." JOHNSON was referring to last Thursday, when Washington announced that the cost of living had gone up for the 11th straight month. He went on to predict that, in the months ahead, the high cost of living may become the dominant issue on the American scene.

Well, Senator JOHNSON has got a wide reputation as a political strategist. Chances are good that he knows what he's talking about. These rising costs could well become the No. 1 issue in the political battles leading up to the 1958 congressional elections. Now, 11 straight months of inflation is a long stretch. Consumers can't be blamed for hurting at the very thought of it. But, on the other hand, it could have been worse for consumers. It could have been worse, if farmers hadn't been forced to take the blow of falling farm prices on the chin. It wasn't fair, but it happened just the same.

That worries a good many of us, including McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He's the man at the very center of the Nation's money controls. Earlier this month, Martin was testifying before the House Banking and Currency Committee on the country's fiscal policies. Let's get Martin's statement in his own words. Here's what he told the committee: "Now, the great shame to me and the thing that worried me the most, starting in 1955, was that we kept stability in the dollar from 1953 on to the early part of 1956 by a decline in farm prices, which was being offset in the picture by a rise in manufactured prices."

In short, Martin was saying that the purchasing power of the dollar held pretty steady during that period because the drop in farm prices was offsetting the rise in prices of manufactured goods. He went on to say that this "stability was not a balanced stability; it was farm products going down and manufactured products going up, and the net result being stability." Congressman BREEDING of Kansas then put this blunt question to the money manager: "In other words, the farmer had to pay the cost there, didn't he?" Martin didn't quite meet that one head on, but he replied that the farmer "was caught in a problem, and his situation was worsening even though we could claim that we had a stable dollar."

The whole point of this part of testimony by Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board is this: He's conceding that the much-vaunted economic stability in the early years of the present administration was made possible only because the farmer was the victim of falling farm prices. Those drops in farm prices hid from view the upward spiral of industrial goods.

It's important that consumers understand this fact, and why farmers, caught in a price-cost squeeze while the rest of the country has enjoyed prosperity, deserve a better break.

This is GTA, the co-op way.

ICFTU Resolution on Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolution on the problem of Cyprus passed by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—ICFTU—at its fifth world congress held in Tunis, July 5–13, 1957. The ICFTU represents over 55 million workers throughout the world, including the AFL–CIO and the British Trade Union.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ICFTU RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS

The Fifth World Congress of the ICFTU, meeting in Tunis, July 5–13, 1957, after having examined with grave concern the causes that led to bloodshed in Cyprus since 1955 and the present situation there, reaffirms its full support of the right of the people of Cyprus to self-determination, as resolved by the fourth world congress and subsequent executive board meetings; notes that a resolution adopted by the 11th General Assembly of the United Nations calls for the resumption of negotiations for a peaceful, democratic, and just solution of the Cyprus question, in accordance with the aims and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations; expresses its great disappointment at the fact that this resolution has not yet been implemented; notes with satisfaction that the truce offered by the Cypriote National Freedom Organization to the Cyprus Government in March 1957 has been faithfully observed and that no clashes have since then occurred; urges, in view of the new circumstances, the British Government to lift the emergency regulations and detention of persons law; to release all detainees against whom no charges have been made; to investigate publicly all complaints of ill treatment; to discuss with the Ethnarch and Archbishop Makarios the terms of a settlement in accordance with the right of self-determination; to allow the return to Cyprus of Archbishop Makarios, of the general secretary of the Cyprus Workers' Confederation, as well as of all other persons banned from the island on the ground of political activities; to restore full trade union rights and to release all detained trade unionists; and authorizes the president and general secretary of the ICFTU to send on behalf of the congress an urgent appeal, both to the Governor of Cyprus and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to grant a reprieve for two Cypriotes condemned to death, Michael Rossides and Nicos Sampson, in order to provide an atmosphere which would facilitate an early settlement.

Enshrine the "Enterprise"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, Congress now has completed action on my resolution to preserve the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* as a shrine on the Potomac in our National Capital.

Soon the success of our "save the *Enterprise*" efforts will be measured by the response from thousands of individual citizens joining Adm. William F. Halsey and his committee in this important effort.

America's youth will play a vital role in this effort.

How important a role they are prepared to take is indicated in the article a Brooklyn schoolboy, Fred Tarter, wrote for the August 17 issue of Navy Times.

I would ask unanimous consent at this time so that Fred Tarter's article can be entered in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEEN-AGERS CALL ON AMERICANS TO SAVE "BIG E" FROM SCRAPPING

(By Fred Tarter)

(This is the letter written recently by a Brooklyn schoolboy, Fred Tarter, to urge contributions to enshrine the carrier *Enterprise* as a memorial.—EDITOR.)

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Although this story carries my byline, it is written by the actions of the teen-agers of America.

My name is Fred Tarter and when I heard that the "Big E" was to be scrapped, I offered my services to Fleet Adm. William F. Halsey and the 1,400 men of the Enterprise Association. I was volunteering for all the teen-agers.

The American teen-ager owes a great deal to the *Enterprise* and her fine men. It is because of the combined efforts of the "Big E" and the rest of the Armed Forces during World War II that I was able to be born in a free Nation and to be free from worry and fear. The *Enterprise* didn't ask to be repaid—she did her job and received "well done" from all the men in the Navy. It would be a disgrace to let the "Big E" die in this manner. To quote Oliver Wendell Holmes' immortal Old Ironsides, "Oh, better that her battered hulk should sink beneath the waves; her thunder shook the mighty deep and there should be her grave."

To destroy her in a scrapyard is a little like burying a general in potter's field because no one cared. We care, the American teen-ager.

Many men spend all their lives to attain fame—the "Galloping Ghost" took the short-cut. She was up and down the Pacific like a yo-yo on a string, first in the north and then in the south.

Teen-agers spend millions of dollars each year on such things as gum, candy, ice

cream, comic books and all the other so-called vital items of survival. Let's all chip in and give the lucky "E" a place to spend her days for all to see and pay homage to her deeds and the deeds of her men.

A few weeks ago a cartoon appeared in one of the New York papers showing a ship destined to be destroyed, an angry sailor standing on her gangplank and two sailors on deck, one saying to the other, "He says that Hitler and Tojo couldn't do it and that he doubts that we can." I think that the cartoonist was thinking of the *Enterprise* when he wrote that. Maybe economics will do what the enemy couldn't.

Admiral Halsey has been quoted as saying, "A million dollars is a small amount in comparison to the large amount that the enemy would have paid to send the *Enterprise* to the bottom of the sea during World War II."

A million dollars is the amount needed in order to overhaul the "E" so that she will be in a fit condition because, as you know, she took some beating during the war and has many battle scars.

The *Enterprise* was the only American aircraft carrier to serve through the entire Second World War.

The Japanese sent as many as 84 planes against the *Enterprise* in a single day. Six times they had claimed their planes had destroyed her, but the elusive galloping ghost would always turn up to batter them once more.

Her sprawling hangar deck will never again echo to the roar of aircraft, her guns are silenced forever, her future is uncertain, but the glorious history and traditions of the *Enterprise* have made her a part of America's wonderful and proud heritage.

On April 23, 1957, the Secretary of the Navy halted the scrapping of the *Enterprise* until November 1, 1957, when at such time as the Enterprise Association has raised the required $1 million the Navy, in turn, would give the ship to the city that has been mutually agreed upon by both the Navy and the association.

Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, of Washington, on May 21, 1957, at the request of Admiral Halsey, introduced in the Senate Joint Resolution 96 which says in part, "The *Enterprise* is to be enshrined at the Nation's Capital as a memorial to be supported by private funds at no expense to the United States Government."

On November 1, 1945, President Harry Truman recommended that the *Enterprise* be preserved as a national shrine. Twelve years later to the day the "Big E" is due to be destroyed.

Many brave men died so that the *Enterprise* could keep on battering the Japanese forces.

The *Enterprise* has truly lived up to the line of poetry that was quoted when she was christened by Mrs. Claude Swanson, wife of the then Secretary of the Navy, in 1936, "I have done the state some service," from Othello.

The fate of the *Enterprise* is in the hands of the people of the country that she loved. The teen-agers are trying to do their share; how about you?

The Problem of Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech by Archbishop Makarios, of Cyprus, at the luncheon of the Overseas Press Club, New York City.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I wish to thank the Overseas Press Club for their gracious hospitality in arranging this luncheon and affording me the opportunity of a more intimate exchange of views with distinguished members of the American press on the problem of Cyprus, which has brought me once more a visitor to this great country of yours—the seat of the United Nations.

I am indeed glad to be in the United States again. During my previous visits here I came to appreciate deeply the moral background of the American people and their wholehearted dedication to freedom and democracy. The remarkable progress of the American Nation and its present-day moral leadership of the world has come from its own early achievement of independence, without which the world would have been much poorer. Since that time, America has been carrying forward the torch of liberty and civilization, that was first lit and carried by ancient Greece and later held against all adversity by modern Greece, as recent history shows.

It is in seeking to insure to the Cypriote people this great heritage of freedom that I have the privilege of being now in the States.

The Cyprus issue has become a major problem in the international field. Yet the question is simple in its essentials. It is the demand of the Cypriote people to become independent and decide their own political future. Various solutions have been suggested. None however can be a real solution without the will of the Cypriotes. The simplest way, therefore, and the fairest, would be to allow the people of Cyprus to decide for themselves on their future, in accordance with the well established principle of self-determination under the Charter of the United Nations.

I am afraid the question of Cyprus has been unduly complicated and involved by matters wholly unconnected with the island and its people. In refusing self-determination to Cyprus, the British Government has used at various times different arguments. Originally it was the strategic importance of the island to Britain that stood in the way of self-determination; emphasis was at first laid on free world defense; later it was shifted to that of Middle East oil. Both have eventually been put aside. The British Government now puts forward Turkey's opposition as the main obstacle to Cypriote freedom, seeking thereby to make the solution of the Cyprus problem dependent upon the wishes of Turkey. But Turkey has no legal or moral right to have a veto on the future of Cyprus, and in any case neither Turkey nor any other country can be entitled to frustrate the will of the Cypriote people and bar their way to independence.

As to the Turkish minority in the island, it should be given the same consideration and protection as has been accorded to the minorities in all other similar cases. We would willingly agree to minority rights and privileges being guaranteed to the Turkish Cypriotes by an international instrument, in addition to the full and equal rights of citizenship which they will enjoy in a free Cyprus. It is our sincere wish to have a satisfied and happy Turkish community in our midst as a symbol of Greco-Turkish cooperation.

The Cyprus issue is coming up before the United Nations for the fourth time. Last year a resolution calling for a peaceful, democratic, and just solution was adpoted by the General Assembly. In compliance with it the Cypriote people did all in their power to contribute toward the creation of an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression, so that an agreed solution by negotiation might be possible. There has been no British initiative for the resumption of negotiations between the British Government and the people of Cyprus, and my offer of last May for talks to be resumed was rejected.

It seems as though there were a desire on the part of the British Government to bypass the Cypriote people's will on the question of their own future—a matter which directly concerns them and no one else. British diplomacy increasingly seeks to present to the world the question of Cyprus as a Greco-Turkish difference, and assume the role of a disinterested third in an issue in which Britain is the real party to the dispute. Hence the British moves toward a tripartite conference between Britain, Greece, and Turkey. It should be made clear, however, that the question of Cyprus is in no way a Greco-Turkish difference, nor one between the three countries. It is an issue between the people of Cyprus on the one part and the British Government on the other. No negotiations, therefore, between third parties can provide a solution, or affect the question, in the absence of the Cypriote people. Any international aspect of the problem cannot be restricted to those three countries. It is in fact a matter for the United Nations.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the United Nations will respond to their aims and purposes on an issue on which they have great responsibility, and will this year by a resolution on the substance actually contribute to a democratic and just solution of the problem in the interests of world freedom and peace.

Coal Research Subcommittee Publishes Excellent Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, the Coal Research Subcommittee is to be congratulated for the excellent report just published. We West Virginians have been vitally interested in activities and studies conducted by this group over the past 15 months, for we recognize that from these findings can come new opportunities and new hopes for families in mining communities. I spoke in support of the resolution to establish the Coal Research Subcommittee when Congressman SAYLOR introduced it in the 84th Congress. In the next session of Congress beginning in January I shall make every effort to bring about passage of legislation to implement these recommendations.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, a number of the subcommittee's recommendations can be carried out without waiting for Congress to reconvene if the administration is willing to view the overall energy panorama with objectivity rather than to proceed with policies that are detrimental to the best interests of the Nation and to the welfare of the coal industry. In the first place, the White House should take immediate steps to correct a situation that is described thusly on page 42 of the subcommittee report: "Government agencies disregard fuels cost."

The very first case history in the report in support of this accusation relates

to the new Air Force Academy, whose boilers are scheduled to use natural gas despite an abundance of coal within the immediate area. I submit that, even if gas supplies were at the moment available at costs below those at which coal can be delivered, it is incumbent upon the Department of Defense to use the more plentiful solid fuel. This observation is inspired by figures published by the United States Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey which show that coal accounts for well over 90 percent of our total mineral fuels resources, as compared to less than 1 percent for natural gas; furthermore, the Federal Government has repeatedly acknowledged that coal should be utilized wherever feasible in preference to our depleting supplies of oil and natural gas.

The Department of Defense itself has from time to time recommended that all military facilities choose coal over oil and natural gas not only to conserve the scarce energy resources but also to preclude shortages in an emergency.

Other Government installations listed in the Coal Research Subcommittee report as currently burning gas or oil when coal is the logical fuel include the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, the naval ordnance plant at Louisville, Ky., Bainbridge, Md., Naval Training Center, the new Army hospital at Fort Dix, N. J., the Social Security Building at Baltimore, and a number of other Government bases within close proximity of coal-producing areas.

The administration need not wait until January to correct these abuses. If the White House is aware of the contents of the subcommittee report, then it should act quickly in implementation of the recommendations. If the report has been withheld from the President, responsible administration officials are obligated to send a copy to Newport immediately.

Elsewhere the subcommittee reviews the havoc wrought in coal communities by imports of residual oil. The administration, through a series of investigations by Cabinet members and others close to the White House, has accumulated tons of evidence in proof that excessive imports are counter to the public welfare. Again, it is the responsibility of the administration to substitute action for delay and procrastination if the coal industry is to improve its economy and at the same time get in position to accelerate its production to the levels that would be required under emergency conditions.

Gas imports is another subject covered by the subcommittee. At this very moment hearings are in progress before the Federal Power Commission on applications to pipe Canadian gas into markets now being served by bituminous coal. Unless these applications are rejected, the coal industry will be further victimized by irrational Government policies that subordinate the interests of American citizens to those of international fuel profiteers.

The following paragraphs, which appear on pages 41 and 42 of the subcommittee report, speak for themselves. A word from the administration would be sufficient to include remedial provisions in the gas legislation that is to be considered when Congress reconvenes; meanwhile, the Federal Power Commission should exercise its general authority by restraining gas transmission companies from further usurpation of coal markets through exploitation of loopholes in the Natural Gas Act.

Coal has been driven out of the market in many areas by the practice of interstate pipeline companies of selling gas to certain consumers and distributors at below cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges. Prospective consumers are induced to turn to the use of natural gas through contract proposals calling for the delivery of interruptible gas at extremely low, unrealistic rates. Subsequently, as the demand increases for the higher priced, firm contract (uninterruptible) gas, the supply of interruptible gas is reduced. Sooner or later those who have installed gas-burning equipment on the strength of the below-cost gas rates dangled before them must either contract to purchase a firm supply of gas at higher rates or turn to the use of a lower priced fuel—which would entail considerable cost and inconvenience if the standby fuel-burning facilities are not designed for the use of the cheaper fuel. In the meantime, the pipeline companies have captured additional customers and have inflicted considerable damage on the competitive fuels industries.

The President's Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy noted that sales either for resale or direct consumption below actual cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges which drive out competing fuels constitute unfair competition and are inimical to a sound fuels economy and recommended that appropriate action be taken that will prohibit such sales. The subcommittee also notes that the Office of Defense Mobilization is on record as favoring legislation which would amend the Natural Gas Act of 1938 so as to prohibit below-cost sales of natural gas. Until such legislation is enacted, natural gas will continue to be sold at below-cost rates wherever and to the extent such practice serves the purpose of some interstate pipeline companies. The impact of such sales will continue to be felt by the coal industry already weakened by such practices.

Mr. Speaker, the case for coal will be determined when legislation to carry out the recommendations of the subcommittee is presented in January. Meanwhile, many of the inequitable policies which redound to the disadvantage of the industry can and should be corrected by the administration without delay.

Revise Military Justice Code

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include a very able, forceful statement by one of my constituents highly qualified and experienced in his field, Attorney Herbert F. Murphy, of Leominster, Mass., regarding the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Manual for Courts-Martial.

The statement discusses some of the more important problems involved in administering military justice and also presents some excellent recommendations for amendment of the code. Inasmuch as I was a member of the subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee that drafted the original law, I have continued to be very much interested in this subject matter, and, therefore, find this statement most helpful and worthy of thought and attention.

I think the Congress must continually have in mind the objective of improving and perfecting the code so as to conform with basic concepts of American justice, thus enabling all members of our armed services to secure justice, as we conceive it in the American sense.

It would be desirable also, I think, to amend the code so as to give the judges of the Court of Military Justice permanent tenure. This court is the supreme court of all the armed services. As such, it should be clothed with the same dignity, the same prestige, and the same prerogatives in its field that are accorded to every other high Federal court of appellate jurisdiction.

Also important is the need for divorcing the administration of military justice from the chain of command. The revision of the code demands our most earnest study and early action.

The statement follows:

DO OUR BOYS GET JUSTICE IN MILITARY COURTS?—A MASSACHUSETTS LAWYER REPORTS TO THE MOTHERS OF THE NATION

On August 3, 1954, I was drafted into the United States Army. When I boarded the bus for Fort Dix, N. J., I carried with me a red-bound volume entitled "The Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951." This precious book contains most of the rights and obligations of every soldier, sailor, coast-guardsman, marine, airman, and reservist or national guardsman on active duty. This book was my "bread and butter" during the 2 years of my military service.

After I arrived in Germany, I was assigned to an infantry regiment for the purpose of reporting special courts-martial and giving legal assistance to those soldiers and their families who needed it. Before I was sent to the regiment, I was trained for approximately 1 month in the judge advocate section of an infantry division (legal and court-martial section). During that time I read the Manual for Courts-Martial thoroughly and learned the "do's and don'ts" of military court reporters. The job of court reporter involves summarizing the testimony of witnesses and recording the proceedings of special courts-martial. By the end of my Army career I had attended over 200 special courts-martial. Here is my opinion of military justice:

I think that in the vast majority of trials the defendants are given a fair shake. From my observation I believe that the officers who are the judges and jury try hard to get the true facts and come to a right verdict of guilt or innocence. Yet, 100 percent of the enlisted men with whom I have discussed military trials believe that in a military court "A man is presumed to be guilty until proved innocent." The vast majority of enlisted men feel that their chances of being acquitted by a military court are very, very slim. The statistics back them up. From my own experience with special courts-martial, only about 1 man out of every 17 defendants is acquitted of all charges against him. The percentage of defendants who are found not guilty by summary courts is even smaller. This estimate includes those defendants who plead guilty to the charges against them. Most of the convicted men are found guilty

of a. w. o. l. (absent without leave; i. e., not present at the appointed place at the appointed time). Many are found guilty of drunkenness and disorderliness in public, using false passes to get off post, assault and battery, and disobedience or disrespect toward a superior commissioned or noncommissioned officer. I think I can explain why relatively few defendants escape the gavel of military justice.

First, it is necessary to understand the function of courts-martial. Under our military system of discipline the only way a commanding officer can punish one of his men for a fairly serious offense is to have him court-martialed. The maximum punishment that the immediate commanding officer can impose without a trial is 14 days restriction to specified limits, 2 hours of extra duty each day for 14 days, or a 1-grade reduction in the case of privates and privates first class only. If he thinks a soldier deserves more punishment he must prefer charges against him and have him tried by summary, special, or general court-martial.

A summary court-martial consists of one officer, usually a captain or major, who acts as prosecutor, defense counsel, and judge. If a serviceman denies his guilt in a summary court-martial, the summary-court officer cross-examines him on his alibi and questions witnesses against him. The defendant has the right to present his own witnesses. After hearing all the evidence the summary court officer decides whether the defendant is guilty or innocent. If the serviceman is found guilty, he is given a chance to plead for a light sentence. Thereafter, the summary court officer may sentence him to as much as 1 month in the stockade or 45 days of hard labor (which can be much more than 2 hours of extra duty per day), or may demote him in grade or rank, and may also deprive him of two-thirds of his pay for 1 month.

A special court-martial must consist of at least 3 members and usually comprises from 5 to 7 ranging from the grade of second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel. Every enlisted man who is tried by special court has the right to demand that one-third of the court members be enlisted persons. Because of the fact that master sergeants with long years of service are customarily selected as enlisted, court members, it is very rare that enlisted defendant uses this right.

The maximum punishment that a special court-martial can adjudge is 6 months in the stockade, plus a bad-conduct discharge, plus a forfeiture of two-thirds pay per month for 6 months. A special court may also reduce the defendant to the grade of private. (The authorized punishments for officers are different.)

The time that a soldier spends in the stockade is "bad time" and he must remain in the service that much longer after his normal tour of duty is completed.

A general court-martial is reserved for the most serious offenses. It must consist of five or more court members and may sentence the defendant to the maximum penalty provided for each offense, including death and life imprisonment.

Most court-martial cases are thoroughly investigated before they come to trial. If the evidence against an accused serviceman is insufficient to establish his guilt, the battalion, regimental, division, or other comparable commander will order that the charges against him be vacated. So, if a serviceman is tried before a court-martial the evidence against him is usually strong.

The second, main reason why relatively few servicemen are found "not guilty" by special courts-martial is the fact that the accused serviceman is judged not by his "peers" or "equals" as in civilian trials, but rather by his "superiors." The members of a court-martial are usually career officers who have a strong interest in the enforcement of military discipline. They are less willing to allow offenses to go unpunished than are civilian jurors.

The Manual for Courts-Martial and the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which is its heart and core, give every accused serviceman many rights. The purpose of these rights is to guarantee the serviceman a fair trial. Among the most important of these are the following: The right to select his own defense counsel, civilian or military, provided that if the counsel selected is a military person, he or she must be reasonably available; the right to remain silent during the trial; the right to decline to make any statement before the trial; the right to demand that one-third of the court members be enlisted persons; the right to have any member of the court disqualified if it appears likely that the member is prejudiced or has a preconceived opinion as to the defendant's guilt, etc.; the right to have one member of the court dismissed without a reason; the right to examine all papers in the possession of the prosecutor; and the right to obtain the names of the witnesses against him.

Perhaps the worst defect in our special courts-martial is the frequent unpreparedness of the appointed defense counsel. The Manual for Courts-Martial specifically states that they should be relieved from other duties as far as is necessary for them to prepare an adequate defense. However, in actual practice, they are unwilling or afraid to ask for time off for this purpose. Court-martials are often considered an extramilitary duty and battalion commanders or comparable commanders may be unwilling to allow time-off for court-martial preparation. They are prone to feel that defense counsel should prepare their cases in the evening during off-duty time. Appointed (not requested) defense counsel are often unwilling to sacrifice their off-duty time for this purpose.

Another defect in special courts-martial is the unfamiliarity of defense counsel with military law and military procedure. Comparatively few, appointed defense counsel understand the military rules of evidence. For example, they commonly fail to object to hearsay testimony (testimony of one witness as to what another witness said about how the offense occurred). Few have any comprehension of the "best evidence rule" which forbids oral testimony concerning the contents of a written document if the written document is available as evidence).

Yet, there are thousands of enlisted lawyers in the United States Army who do understand the military rules of evidence (which are very similar to the civilian rules of evidence). They could be thoroughly trained in military law in a few weeks. These men are 2-year draftees performing jobs in the Army which may have no relation to law

Appointed defense counsel are often too timid to fight for their defendants if the president of the special court-martial is their own company, battalion, or comparable commander. These commanders write the military efficiency reports of all officers under their command. This fact certainly does not encourage a subordinate defense counsel to argue a point of law with the president of the court who is his senior commander.

Certain changes to the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Manual for Courts-Martial are now being studied by Members of the United States Congress. After observing over 200 special courts-martial I recommend the following changes:

1. Enlisted lawyers should be eligible for appointment as defense counsel and should be appointed where possible. (At the present time they are not eligible.)

2. Defense counsel should be automatically relieved of all other military duties (except during wartime) until they have had reasonable time to prepare an adequate defense.

3. Where reasonably possible, the appointed defense counsel should not be under the direct chain of command of the president of the court.

4. The term "summary court-martial" should be eliminated from both the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Manual for Courts-Martial because of the disgrace that is associated with trial by court-martial. Minor offenses such as traffic violations and 1 or 2 hour a. w. o. l. (absence without leave) are often tried by summary courts. Punishment for such minor offenses should not be recorded on a serviceman's record as a "court-martial." After all, an informal hearing before a single officer does not jibe with our traditional concept of "court-martial." Instead, this form of punishment should be designated as an "Article — punishment," just as punishments imposed by company commanders are designated as "Article 15 punishment." Nevertheless, I believe that the summary court-martial procedure should be preserved just as it is now. It provides a relatively impartial judge and an informal and inexpensive proceeding.

If these changes are made, I believe it will do much to improve the respect of the average serviceman for military justice.

HERBERT P. MURPHY,
Attorney at Law.

LEOMINSTER, MASS.

An Excellent Example of Expanding Trade With Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, the level of appropriations to be established for foreign aid has been a matter of vital and continuing concern to us for some time. It is fitting, therefore, to call attention to worthy efforts that have as their purpose the bolstering of the economies of underdeveloped countries through accelerated trade with the United States. Such activities are especially important because each dollar that a friendly country earns in trade with us is, obviously, of more significance than the dollars which we might give her in aid—this is certainly as true in international affairs as it is in one's own personal affairs.

I cite these facts because I have had occasion to note recently an outstanding job performed by an individual with limited resources in behalf of an area of the world which sorely needs the expansion of trade with this country. The area I refer to is Africa—a continent that deserves a much higher priority of our attentions and intentions in the days ahead. Africa is allocated an almost negligible portion of our foreign aid—less than $25 million or only 1.6 percent of the total. Africa, also, enjoys a relatively small amount of commerce with the United States. Thus, I am always glad to note private, nongovernmental efforts to help establish a higher level of mutually beneficial trade with Africa.

First, however, may I state that my visit to Africa some months ago made

e especially aware of the need and the gic of placing our relationships with his continent on the same footing as ith the other great area groupings of he world. To help attain this goal, I ntroduced a resolution in the Senate on March 12 calling for the creation of the ost of Assistant Secretary of State for frican Affairs. As I have stated on ore than one occasion, I am deeply oncerned that United States policies ave failed to keep pace with develop- ents in Africa and that our policies ave not anticipated the fact that the rive toward political independence in frica has been gaining momentum at an nparalleled rate.

The foregoing facts prompt me to tate that the work performed over the ast few years by Miss Ronda Robins, di- ector of International Arts and Crafts f Washington, merits mention and en- ouragement. It may be characterized uite aptly as the establishment of a iniature point 4 program in East Af- ica. The creative talent she has ex- ressed in guiding and developing the arving of new and unusual products has esulted in the expansion of operations or the skilled craftsmen in Kenya, Tan- anyika, and Uganda. Moreover, the unds they receive for their primitive and sculptures is helping a large num- er of people in this continent of the fu- ure to earn important dollars for essen- ial purchases. In this way, Miss Robins as helped improve the standard of liv- ng for many East Africans who have een existing on the edges of poverty and amine.

Since Miss Robins first saw and was ascinated by a few Kenya carvings at a rivate exhibit 7 years ago, she meticu- ously studied these crafts and began the mportation of her collection which is ow believed to include the largest as- ortment of fine quality contemporary ast African sculptures in the United tates. For the past several years she as been offering exhibitions of her su- erior hand carvings and authentic cu- ios to art galleries and museums hroughout the country where they have een displayed without charge to a wide nd enthusiastic audience. Her efforts ave been manifold, and they have been irected at bringing an awareness and ppreciation of primitive East African rtworks to those unfamiliar with them n this country; in turn, her efforts have rought some beneficial stability to the aphazard and unorganized carving in- ustry in East Africa.

I had the opportunity of seeing an ex- ibit of Miss Robins' East African won- ers in wood when I visited the United States World Trade Fair at the New York Coliseum a few months ago. I was truck by the fact that, at her own ex- ense and with the encouragement of he East African government officials, he displayed the finest handcrafts of East Africa and successfully portrayed he very purpose of the fair—tangible emonstration of our desire to work with nd help peoples in all nations, through ree and competitive enterprise, to build world trade as a keystone of world peace nd world prosperity.

During and since the World Trade Fair, I have noted with interest the press reports about Miss Robins' activity. Pertinent as it is to the current reconsideration of foreign-aid appropriations, I believe that her project may well be termed an excellent example of private enterprise and initiative at work to foster mutually beneficial trade between friendly nations. It is a symbol of the need to encourage such countries to help themselves—to rely upon trade and not aid—and I therefore request permission to place in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the syndicated United Press article by Vivian Sande about Miss Robins' East African wonders in wood, together with the feature stories which appeared in the Washington Star on April 7, 1957, and in the New York Herald Tribune on April 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAST AFRICAN ART SOON MAY FIT AMERICAN DECOR

(By Vivian Sande)

NEW YORK.—Ronda Robins' enthusiasm for the art of wood carving in east Africa soon may be influencing the decor of American homes. It also may open a new phase of international commerce.

Her interest in trade began with a job in a New York shipping company office when the Canadian-born Ronda was in her teens. During the days of World War II she worked with the United States Government's Economic Defense Board, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Office of International Trade of the Department of Commerce.

Now she heads a foreign and domestic trade consulting business in Washington. She began it when the war ended, and is a one-woman enterprise to promote the import of fine carvings from east Africa.

INTEREST BEGAN

Miss Robins said that 7 years ago she saw a few carvings from Kenya at a private exhibit in Manhattan. The workmanship and wood grains fascinated her, though she never had had any special interest in wood sculpture before.

She learned more about the primitive art, and began a collection which turned into an adventure by mail. As her collection grew, she began to think in terms of importing the sculptures—for sale.

She has made contact with five tribes who have skilled craftsmen.

The paperwork was painful. Imagine what it is like to do business with people who know little of the written word, and nothing of international rules and regulations.

But the enthusiastic Miss Robins would not be discouraged by difficulty. She collected thousands of good works, with the cooperation of the east African governments interested in developing an industry and traders who saw opportunity for themselves and the carvers.

SCULPTURED JEWELRY

So far Miss Robins has exhibited the works in museums and art galleries across the country, and filled about 1,000 individual orders. Now she has designed a line of jewelry of small carvings, and introduced an animal of the month club which would make it possible for a child or adult hobbyist to collect carved animals of Africa.

Now on the threshold of introducing her east African art to the general public in the United States, Ronda Robins sees advantages to both sides of the trade

In Africa, she said, good craftsmen will be able to increase their incomes—from the average $10 to $20 a year, to about that figure per month.

In the United States, she added, purchasers will be able to have original artworks for their homes, without spending a fortune.

[From the Washington (D. C.) Sunday Star of April 7, 1957]

EAST AFRICAN CARVINGS TO BE SHOWN AT FAIR

A Washington offering to the United States World Trade Fair, April 14–27, in New York City will be an interesting exhibit of east African wood carvings sponsored by a local import firm.

Miss Ronda Robins, director of the International Arts and Crafts firm, 2000 P Street NW., is in charge of the display.

The exhibit will feature hundreds of carefully selected, distinctive, one-of-a-kind wood sculptures secured over the past few years, Miss Robins has announced.

The carvings represent the finest specimens of this contemporary primitive art carved by the skilled craftsmen of Kenya and the three other territories making up east Africa, she pointed out.

NATIVE CRAFTSMANSHIP

Included will be oil paintings, animal skins, drums, spears, shields, symbolic beadwork, carved replicas, and caricatures of the inhabitants of the jungle, as well as some items which never before have been imported into this country.

Also highlighted will be the unveiling of an exclusive and newly created line of "wonders in wood," jewelry items for men, women, and children.

Miss Robins first viewed a few Kenya carvings in a private exhibit in New York City nearly 7 years ago. Fascinated with the workmanship and grains of hardwood, she decided to learn more about these primitive art works. This study led to her importation of the many pieces of east African sculpture.

The local exhibit will be the only one of its kind at the fair for all of East Africa, with the exception of displays by those travel services that include this faraway part of the globe, Miss Robins explained.

Colorings of the carvings vary from the deep brown and reds of the acacias to the marble grains and stone colors of the Euphorbias to the fuchsian African ebony. Among the woods most preferred by the better carvers, however, are the wild and brown olive, the Kikuyu muhugu, and the ebony.

Today in East Africa—under the shady acacia trees, in cultured and antique shops, and outside the gleaming hotels—hundreds of tribesmen squat, chipping and rubbing away at their carvings. Generally, this work is performed under the most primitive conditions, with but a sharp pocketknife, sandpaper, and wax.

Their finished products on display at the fair combine painstaking workmanship, chiseled details, and classic features into some of the finest primitive carving to be found anywhere in the world.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of April 24, 1957]

KENYA CARVINGS HIGHLIGHT TRADE FAIR—"WONDERS IN WOOD" FROM EAST AFRICA

(By Joan Danforth)

When Ronda Robins first exchanged glances with a tribal mask etched in ebony, she had no inkling of its binding spell. Now, 7 years later, she and her husband share their apartment with 5,000 pieces of east African sculpture.

The family favorites reserved for home consumption are just a part of the vast collection Miss Robins has imported from

Africa as director of International Arts and Crafts in Washington. In New York this week, she is displaying her "Wonders in Wood" at the first United States World Trade Fair in their initial showing outside museums and art galleries across the country.

CARVINGS DEPICT LIVES

There's rich variety in masks, miniatures, animals and figures handcrafted of exotic native woods. Armed with just their pocketknives, the carvers of Kenya depict life around them with a keen eye for movement and detail. It may be a native woman stooped beneath her burden of kindling or a graceful gazelle poised for flight. The young warrior killing his first lion in the traditional manner of his tribe is one of many carvings that reflect a people and their ways.

No one carving is like any other. As Miss Robins puts it in her vivacious way, "every one is as distinct and personal as a fingerprint."

CARVED JEWELRY DEBUT

Her latest venture is hand-carved jewelry from east Africa, making a world debut at the Trade Fair. Animal heads and mobile African faces in miniature have been fashioned into tie bars and cuff links, earrings, and scatter pins. The carvers use midnight ebony and many fine-grained woods shading through rich reds and browns to the muted stone hues.

There's an air of easy serenity about Miss Robins, but her eyes flash an abundant store of energy. From the start, she's made a one-woman foray into international commerce and her problems grew with the collection. "Carving in east Africa just isn't an organized industry," she explains. "The carvers carve what they feel like, when they feel like it, and that's that. It's all a matter of whim."

NO HURRY FILLING ORDERS

She buys her carvings directly from the Wakamba, Kikuyu, and other east African tribes whose master carvers lead their craft. Once orders are placed, though, she may have to wait a year before the shipment arrives. "And even then I'm suprised by what I get," she adds with a rueful smile.

Transportation alone may take 2 months or more—if the shipments arrive at all. In recent years, Mau Mau terrorists in Kenya have destroyed whole carving centers, dispersing craftsmen and their families across Africa. Miss Robins lost hundreds of carvings when marauding raiders waylaid and burned an entire shipment on its way to port.

Intent in broader horizons for primitive African art, Miss Robins places orders for many items the carvers have never made or even seen before. She suggests a salad bowl, a shoehorn, or a letter opener, and sends along drawings and measurements to guide the carvers in their work. Results are seldom dull.

The collection has had its "growing pains." Miss Robins devoted years to weeding out second-rate carvings mass-produced to meet growing demands in Europe and America from the masterful pieces turned out by leading east African craftsmen. Along with artistic merit, she sought the most fascinating grains of hardwood, properly seasoned, and the satin finish that comes from careful sanding, waxing, and the oil of many hands.

The World Trade Fair is open to the public during the evenings and several afternoons through Saturday, the final day. Miss Robins' bailiwick is booth 306, where she presides as east Africa's sole representative at the fair. But as soon as the coliseum doors swing shut on the current international festivities she's off to Kenya to help unravel the problems of new carvings, shipping, and expanding the industry to match American interest.

Statement on Majority Report, Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee No. 5, Regarding Regulated Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, for years our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has given careful and constant attention to the problems of aviation. The act of 1938 was a most carefully prepared legislative program for the development of aviation to meet the needs of our country.

The act contains a declaration of congressional policy which authorizes, directs, and charges the Civil Aeronautics Board with the responsibility of (a) the enccuragement and development of an air-transportation system properly adapted to the present and future needs of the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States, of the postal service, and of the national defense; (b) the regulation of air transportation in such manner as to recognize and preserve the inherent advantages of, assure the highest degree of safety in, and foster sound economic conditions in, such transportation, and to improve the relations between, and coordinate transportation by, air carriers, as being in the public interest and in accordance with public convenience and necessity.

During these 20 years, tremendous developments in the field of aviation have resulted.

We have experienced progress in this field of transportation almost beyond comprehension. We have seen our commercial aviation program exceed the progress of most any other field in history. We have watched the dawn of a new age with jets, electronic devices, in air navigation aids, unmatched by anything in our experience. This progress and development has resulted under the act of 1938, providing regulatory procedure for commercial aviation attributing to the national defense and in cooperation with communication, advancement as a necessary entity to this program.

With the transition which our commitee has followed closely in these past few years, we have observed some highly complicated and difficult problems. Mistakes have been made and, no doubt, there have been errors of judgment. With such fantastic developments in this field, trial and error process is necessary. Millions and millions of dollars of the taxpayers have gone into this development which has provided us with the difference between victory and defeat in the recent wars and perhaps our own preservation instead of destruction.

Even so in this regulatory field, close scrutiny is necessary by the regulatory agencies and with added consideration of any legislative changes to met this fast-moving program. I would like to call attention to the recent report of our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce filed with the House, House Report No. 1272, on some of these problems and the approaches being made to them. We shall continue to give the multiplicity of problems our closest and careful consideration to meet these ever-developing problems.

And, because, Mr. Speaker, of the intricacies involved in the development of this service in our transportation requirements and the monopolistic features which accompany any regulated industry, antitrust considerations cannot be overlooked if the public is to be adequately protected.

In consideration of this important problem, I am constrained to refer to the report of the Antitrust Subcommittee—Subcommittee No. 5—of the great Committee on the Judiciary, issued on April 5, 1957. This report was apparently issued to the Committee on the Judiciary by the subcommittee but was not submitted as a House report.

In view of the responsibilities of the committee on antitrust problems, and particularly the overlapping considerations of our own Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I have read the report with much interest.

This report is the result of extensive hearings of the subcommittee during the 84th Congress. It purports to be a rather full and complete inquiry, which, in my opinion, goes far beyond the monopolistic features and antitrust considerations. It is for this reason that I feel constrained to make these comments about it.

In many respects, the report contains constructive considerations, proper and appropriate within its jurisdiction. In other respects, the committe has gone, in my opinion, beyond its scope, and it is with some of these considerations which I feel constrained to take exceptions.

I cannot agree with the majority report concerning the subcommittee's investigation of commercial air transport. There is much in the voluminous report restating fundamental antitrust principles with which I am, of course, in agreement. Where I must depart from the complete report, however, is in regard to numerous conclusions and voluminous detail which I do not find fully supported by the record compiled in the subcommittee's hearing, or which are characterized by a one-sidedness failing accurately or fairly to reflect the whole record.

A comprehensive record consisting of four volumes compiled from that subcommittee's hearings was published and available for study by interested Members of the Congress for more than 6 months. From my own interest in the future welfare of this Nation's commercial air transport systems, I was not only shocked and surprised at the majority's report, purporting to be drawn from that record, but in my opinion from reading the hearings and from my personal knowledge of the facts, the report was issued in substantial disregard for the actual record, and exceeded the authorized purposes for the subcommittee's concerning itself with the aviation field.

I firmly believe in the essential policies and purposes of our antitrust laws to prevent monopoly, restraint of trade, and unfair or deceptive competitive practices to which the subcommittee should properly give its attention under its jurisdiction. Such policies and purposes should be applied to regulated industries to the maximum extent, with exceptions permissible only where other controlling public and national interest considerations are paramount. Where deficiencies in the effectiveness of antitrust policies are found to exist either in the regulatory statute or in its administration by the agency responsible, appropriate corrective measures should be taken. If the statute is deficient from an antitrust standpoint, legislation is in order. If not the statute but its administration by the agency charged with the responsibility therefor has been inadequate, remedial legislation or other guidance by the Congress are among the available remedies.

From the subcommittee's investigation of commercial air transport, apparently no major or glaring deficiencies in the regulatory statutes as such appear to have been developed. The Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, by specific provisions in sections 2, 403, 404, 408, 409, 411, 412, 1002 (d) and (e) and 1107, among others, makes basic antitrust principles specifically applicable to commercial air transportation.

Furthermore, in view of the original developmental and promotional as well as regulatory purposes of that act, and the grant of grandfather certification by direction of the Congress to airline entities and route patterns as they existed at the time of enactment of such act, irrespective of whatever early Government policies may have accounted for their origins, development, and existence by that time, I find no record support or legitimate purpose for the subcommittee's now undertaking, retrospectively at such late date, to criticize phenomena in the early origins of this industry antedating the Civil Aeronautics Act. Much of the historic discussion seems to stem from sources foreign to this subcommittee's record. For example, alleged secret meetings and spoils conferences involving the Post Office Department during sometime prior to enactment of the Civil Aeronautics Act were not matters covered in the subcommittee's hearings. If they were to be of sufficient concern to require review by this subcommittee, appropriate hearings would first be in order. Otherwise conclusions in this report drawn in reliance upon outside sources seems to me not appropriate. I assume it to be a fair observation that all elements of the airline industry have endeavored to stimulate support for their particular interests in both the executive and legislative branches of the Government. However, I do not believe this record adequate for concluding that such efforts are an outstanding characteristic of the airline industry in comparison with other types of American businesses, even many of them which are not regulated industries.

Whether the activities permitted or countenanced by the Civil Aeronautics Board in its administration of the regulatory statute thereafter, however, have been in accord with the intent of Congress is quite another matter. It is this subject, insofar as of antitrust import, to which concern of the House Judiciary Subcommittee properly may be directed. The comparatively recent origin of the air transport industry and phenomena which have accompanied it in what is still a developmental stage are circumstances which would lead me to oppose recommendations at this time for any precipitous action. It is my belief that the report proposed from the subcommittee's inquiry has given inadequate attention to at least three important factors:

First. The report does not adequately analyze or treat the extent to which interplay of congressionally directed policies and purposes set forth in the regulatory statute properly may have required relegation of some antitrust concepts in specific instances to positions of inferior importance. As I read the Civil Aeronautics Act, and as it appears to have been interpreted by the Civil Aeronautics Board and the courts, antitrust principles are included in public interest concepts along with a variety of others, the relative importance of which in a given situation has been entrusted for determination by the Civil Aeronautics Board subject to review by higher authority. The report, however, fails to consider as I think it should, whatever weight the Civil Aeronautics Board properly may have given to other policies and purposes necessary for promotion and development of a sound air transportation industry in the interests of best serving the foreign and domestic commerce, the postal service and the national defense of the United States.

Nor does the report consider the importance of continuously decreasing cost to the American taxpayer through reduction of subsidies. For example, the proposed report implies that absence of competition, consummation of mergers, establishment of uniform standards under Civil Aeronautics Board approved machinery and other cooperative working arrangements among airlines must be condemned per se. This, to me, represents a rather superficial concern with only one criterion of public interest as defined in the Civil Aeronautics Act. From the record of the subcommittee's hearings, I am not in position to reach firm convictions as to the adequacy of the Civil Aeronautics Board's exercise of its responsibilities in all situations. However, I feel that the conclusions drawn in the report are unjust and perhaps unfounded, unless examination is undertaken of other reasons for which the Government has countenanced such activities and arrangements within the overall regulatory pattern prescribed for air transportation.

Second. The report contains characterizations in considerable detail and some conclusions which are of a derogatory nature from an antitrust standpoint. I am unable to find adequate support for many of them in the record of the subcommittee's hearings, and others I find specifically disproved by the record.

Third. Numerous items commented on in the report appear to me to constitute irrelevancies going beyond the subject of appropriate concern by the subcommittee and prejudicial to the agencies, organizations or companies to which they are related. Similarly, the report is deficient in failing to mention or properly evaluate countervailing evidence weighing upon a variety of disputed issues.

In the interests of brevity, I do not propose in this statement to deal with each detail concerning which my views of the record are in agreement with or dissent from the report.

I do not find record support in these hearings to the effect that the basic techniques of regulatory bodies are necessarily anticompetitive in nature.

As respects Government regulation of air transportation, I am in full accord with the principle that where actions taken pursuant to administrative approval receive specific exemption from prosecution under the antitrust laws, regulatory officials must still make an independent determination as to what weight is to be given to competitive standards in promulgating regulations or approving industry accords. The same is and should be true in licensing under the Civil Aeronautics Act.

The intended role of competition is, in my opinion, adequately covered in the Civil Aeronautics Act, the very terms of which clearly illustrate that Congress has combined conflicting economic policies and has required the Civil Aeronautics Board to exercise its authority so as to accommodate all such policies, determining whichever must be regarded as paramount in weighing the public interest in any given situation under the Board's jurisdiction.

It is for these reasons, together with the scope of the subcommittee's record that I regard generic criticism of other statutes and agencies administering them as irrelevant to and not a proper subject for discussion in this report.

In the subcommittee's discussion of the role of competition in air transportation over the years since enactment of the Civil Aeronautics Act, I must register firm objection to detailed reference to and quotations from those identified with only one side of a contention, and summary dismissal of extensive presentations, analyses, and record data on the other side. The weight and importance of this evidence are, in my opinion, understated merely by commenting: "These allegations were vigorously contested by the representatives from the certified air carriers who also testified at the hearing." The report, I feel, is deficient in not setting forth and weighing the reasons, argument, and data submitted in such vigorous contest. It is from such examples as this that I find a basic one-sidedness reflected throughout the entire report.

I infer from the report the definite implication that failure by the Civil Aeronautics Board earlier to authorize new competitive air services automatically must be viewed as a disservice to the public interest. I do not believe such implications sustainable in disregard of whatever other considerations and circumstances may have contributed to the

Board's various decisions. The Board's decisions are also guided by desire to avoid uneconomic duplication of or multiple service in markets of limited traffic opportunity and consequently avoiding adverse effect on Government subsidy requirements. Certainly I am not, nor do I believe the subcommittee was upon that record, in any position to reach conclusions as to overall propriety of route patterns established by the Board unless the subcommittee were to undertake more critical analysis of the stated reasons for the Board's actions and the detailed record upon which a particular decision by the Board was reached. This the report does not do. The record before the subcommittee explains, but the report does not mention, the Board's efforts to transform the operations of certain grandfather carriers from their original character of subsidized local and feeder services into self-sufficient trunk line operations. An alternate choice for the Board would have been to forever confine such pioneer grandfather carriers to their original subsidized status and open up the more lucrative long-haul markets to newcomers. Whether in retrospect the Board's choice in any such instance provided the greater protection of the public interest, I am not prepared to say, but from the record I do not believe that the subcommittee is entitled to arbitrary acceptance of the adverse view.

In my opinion the discussions devoted to the Air Transport Association, the International Air Transport Association, carrier relationships with those entrusted with dealing with the public as their authorized agents, and the extent of Civil Aeronautics Board control over such matters, are characterized by a onesidedness not representing a fair evaluation of the whole record.

Upon the basis of the record, I am unable to fully agree with the manner and detail in which the report deals with Pan American World Airways, Inc. I do not believe that the report accurately analyzes the intensely competitive atmosphere in which international air services are now operated or the competitive positions of carriers operating in those fields.

Moreover, by adopting the technique of accepting as fact a variety of accusations made in years past against Pan American by its competitors, and failing to give weight to the testimony and other evidence submitted by Pan American, the report, in my opinion, leaves misleading impressions.

No weight is given to a statement submitted by Pan American calling the subcommittee's attention to the fact that a collection of attacks against Pan American accumulated over the years, long since had been examined into and thoroughly aired in adversary proceedings before the Civil Aeronautics Board. This is borne out by the North Atlantic Route Transfer case in which the Civil Aeronautics Board's Assistant Chief Examiner weighed the full record on many of these matters in 1949, and found:

These charges lose much of their significance and color when the testimony is read * * *.

There are some incidents * * * where the acts of Pan American * * * can hardly be described as gracious to their competitors. For that matter, it is a rare matter to find any airline extending itself to welcome competition in its territory, so Pan American's attitude on that point is not unusual. However, the testimony does show that there were two sides to most of the controversies and incidents and it does not prove the charges, many of which have been made on numerous occasions * * *.

* * * there is no occasion for considering the imposition of conditions (upon the North Atlantic route transfer) unless it should be concluded that the transaction as presented will not be consistent with the public interest, but will result in creating a monopoly or monopolies and thereby restrain competition and jeopardize another air carrier not a party to the purchase. On the basis of the evidence of record and the contentions and arguments of the parties, and all the foregoing considerations, the examiner cannot so find.

I cannot find that any new evidence was presented before the subcommittee to support any reason or basis for disputing the correctness of the above findings.

It is for these reasons that I do not feel that Pan American World Airways, Inc., has received the judicious treatment in the report that it or any other responsible business enterprise or private citizen should receive.

I would assume, and the Congress should expect, that the Civil Aeronautics Board will continue to regard consideration of antitrust policies as essential to its guardianship of the public interest in the maintenance and further development of sound United States-flag air-transport systems. However, I do not believe that the character of the majority report of the Judiciary Subcommittee makes any substantial contribution toward those ends; yet, I think it has done a great disservice to the elements of the airline industry with which it chose to deal.

Magazines Get Cheap Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me on the postal rates for magazines.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, for many years, the publishers of Life magazine have been getting away with murder on postal rates. In 1947 and 1948 when I was chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee they offered to increase their rates 10 percent for 3 consecutive years. This was refused because the record showed that they should pay a great deal more. Some of these magazines charged as much as $40,000 a page for advertising.

That they are making a terrific amount of money is shown by the following report on Time and Life magazines to the stockholders on January 16, 1957:

"The most important thing about the year is that 1956 was the best year that Time, Inc., and its magazines ever enjoyed. We estimate our net profit for the year 1956 at approximately $6.75 per share (exclusive of the capital gains on the liquidation of our Houston Oil Co. stock) as compared with $4.72 per share in 1955. * * * A historical footnote to our special letter of 19 years ago: We believe that the level of earnings attained by Life in 1956 has never ben equalled by any other magazine in the history of publishing. * * * In early December we announced jointly with Rockefeller Center, Inc., our proposed joint venture for the construction of a new 47-story building adjacent to the Center which will house our future operations and provide several of the country's largest corporations with what we believe will be the finest office space available in New York City for the coming years."

The raising of postal rates to these magazines has ben far, far, far too long delayed. The taxpayers are stuck millions of dollars a year to pay these postal rates for these magazines, and there isn't any earthly reason why they should not pay their way as does any other business.

I hope that when we meet in January it will be the first order of business on the part of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to get these rates adjusted and save the taxpayers some money.

Report to the Voters of the 10th Congressional District of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 85th Congress is ending. The heated debates, the deliberations, and the controversies are all a picture of the true American scene. Let me remind my readers that on the other side of the world where communism rules, there are no debates, only ultimatums; no opinions, only foreordained plans; and no controversies for fear of liquidation. In controversies over legislation, I have tried to keep in mind the common good and I have voted for the kind of strong America in which my constituents want to live, where the rights of man guaranteed by our Constitution prevail.

The question of the rights of individuals and the sovereignty of nations is a basic issue both nationally and internationally. Much of the legislation considered during this session concerned itself with these principles on which the Government of the United States was founded. In a free democracy, legislation can be enacted to correct the ills and injustices that exist. The accomplishment of these social reforms needs the cooperation of all citizens, particularly in this era when the enemies of freedom use, without compunction, the weapons best known to them—propaganda, insurrection, subversion, infiltration, and intrigue. We must keep this in mind when we consider present-day

problems. For the purpose of clarifying the issues, I will separate them into categories of international and national.

With these thoughts in mind, I analyzed and voted on legislation. The bills and resolutions which were enacted are embodied in this report to the people of the 10th Congressional District of New York. Due to the strong, constructive leadership of the Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN, and of the majority leader in the Senate, LYNDON JOHNSON, there are accomplishments on the credit side of the ledger of history for the 1st session of the 85th Congress. Their determination to withstand the vacillating approach and the indecisions of the administration brought to a successful conclusion, issues which otherwise would have been shelved.

INTERNATIONAL

The foreign policy of the United States rests upon the foundation formulated under a Democratic administration when the United States reluctantly accepted leadership of the free world. This involves a duty to keep the free world united and to cooperate with the nations of the free world in the fight against the common enemy. This policy is known as collective defense. The free world must be alert to every situation where a gain can be scored in the fight against international communism.

As long as the Communist threat exists, the United States is interdependent with the free nations of the world. Whether the leaders of international communism call themselves Socialists, national Communists, or international Communists, their objective is the same—to destroy the United States of America, the most powerful Nation standing in the way of their avowed domination of the world. The power of the atom bomb which threatens the annihilation of civilization is held by the most diabolical enemies of freedom the world has ever known—the leaders of the Kremlin.

But, to be effective, this policy of the United States must have consistent leadership to inspire confidence in our intentions and objectives. The Eisenhower administration has not been firm enough nor sufficiently definite. Consequently, the Soviet Union has been able to obtain a propaganda advantage before world opinion. It is an admitted fact that the unity of the free world has been ruptured by the events of the past few years, particularly, the past year.

MUTUAL SECURITY ACT

The backbone of United States foreign policy is the mutual security program which embodies foreign aid. This has proved to be not only useful but also necessary. It is the bulwark against communism and it is a foundation for world stability. It represents the first line of defense of the United States and our share of the cost of collective security. As a great industrial nation, we are dependent on world markets for strategic materials. As a nation blessed with surpluses, humanity demands that we share our goods with the less fortunate.

The United States cannot afford to falter again as we did in the Suez crisis and in the Hungarian crisis last fall. The United States leadership must seek and obtain free world loyalty and cooperation among members of the entire free world. Had the United States exerted true leadership last fall, the difficulty between Great Britain, France, and Israel would not have arisen.

The Mutual Security Act is the expressed desire of Congress to bear our responsibility in authorizing and appropriating funds necessary to carry out United States responsibility toward the mutual defense of the free world. The administration of these funds is the responsibility of the President.

The fact is that the mutual security program has strengthened free Europe. For example, in 1956, when our contribution to the NATO countries amounted to $1.7 billion, our NATO partners in Europe expended for defense, $13 billion or almost 90 percent of their combined defense expenditures. In addition, the nations receiving military assistance from us have spent for defense $5.50 for every dollar that we have put into such assistance.

I question the policy of the Eisenhower administration in the vital area of the Middle East. Lack of action in halting Russian arms to Egypt and Syria in 1955 gave Russia a foothold in the Middle East. While President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles were in Geneva seeking peace with the Soviet, the free world was stabbed in the back by the Russian deal in arms with Egypt. A strong policy by President Eisenhower at that time would have borne fruit.

The mutual security program for the fiscal year 1958 has been under congressional consideration since early last spring. Before that, it had been the target of searching legislative and executive investigations.

The executive branch originally asked for $4.4 billion, which was scaled down to $3.8 billion. The appropriation for defense support for fiscal year 1958 was reduced by $336,700,000 from the previous year. This reduction is justified by the more rigid definition of defense support and the improved economic conditions of some countries that hitherto have received such assistance. The principal shift in emphasis has been to the countries in the Near East and the Far East. More than 80 percent of the sum requested by the executive branch has been planned for use in Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, and, more recently, Jordan. New funds for military assistance for fiscal year 1958 were reduced $334,200,000 from the previous year. There is at present in the pipeline $4,380,594,000. In addition, this country holds currencies of other countries in the amount of $2.5 billion resulting from the sales of agricultural commodities. We can draw from these so-called counterpart funds to further mutual security and its objectives.

The mutual-security program makes greater emphasis on loans rather than gifts. No new funds were appropriated for fiscal year 1958, but an unobligated balance of $52 million remains. In lieu of appropriating new funds for development assistance, the development loan fund was created with an appropriation of $300 million for 1 year only. Originally the executive branch requested an appropriation of $500 million for fiscal year 1958 and borrowing authority for $7,500,000 for 1959 and 1960, respectively. I opposed this latter authorization for 1959 and 1960 because this would have been added to the national debt. The bill when passed carried the appropriation for 1 year only.

It is contemplated that the fund will operate on a revolving basis, with the payments and principal on loans being reloaned as they become available. Repayment of loans in foreign currencies will be accepted when necessary to meet the requirements of the program. Such currencies could be reloaned or they might be sold for dollars to United States Government agencies needing such currencies, thus providing dollars for use by the fund.

The details as to how the fund will be administered have not been worked out completely. Information concerning the activities of the fund will be announced soon.

I firmly believe the mutual-security appropriation and the carryover funds give the program more than can be spent in the current fiscal year.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 117 (ALSO CALLED THE EISENHOWER MIDDLE EAST DOCTRINE)

This was a joint resolution to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations of the Middle East to strengthen the defense of their independence.

The request by the Eisenhower administration for the adoption of this resolution was an admission that a Communist threat to the free world and the security of the United States existed in the Middle East, Secretary Dulles, in referring to this legislation, stated publicly:

> Congress would have to take responsibility for the risk that the Middle East would be lost in a great and maximum disaster unless it backs the President.

As a matter of fact, the resolution was overdue by at least 2 years. It meant little at this late hour, as events in that area of the world have proved. The time for its adoption and efficient operation was in 1955 when the U. S. S. R. slipped into the Middle East by furnishing arms to Egypt at the very time its perfidious leaders were negotiating with the administration. No policy was formulated. The wait-and-see attitude continued until the situation exploded and action was demanded.

But, what did this resolution seek to do? This can best be explained by quoting section 2:

> The United States will employ the Armed Forces of the United States if invited and the President deems it necessary, if there is an overt act by international communism.

As we well know, an overt act by international communism could well be the start of world war III. The grave defect in this resolution is that it does not deal in any way with subversion, that new look of the U. S. S. R. so well known by the leaders and governments of the Middle East and so stated by the present administration.

At a Foreign Affairs Committee hearing, Secretary of State Dulles said that, although there was Soviet influence in the area, he believed the Eisenhower program would keep international communism from taking control. Congress responded to the President's request by adopting the Eisenhower Middle East doctrine. A mission—headed by former Congressman James P. Richards—was sent to that area to explain this doctrine, but all the mission did was pledge $119 million out of the $200 million authorized to bolster the economies of the countries against the Communist threat. The countries alining with Russia refused to invite the Richards mission for consultation. At this writing, Syria has fallen into the Russian entanglement which Nasser had already embraced. Thus, the weakness of the Eisenhower doctrine has brought the free world again to the brink which was the fear I had expressed in my questioning of Secretary Dulles during the committee hearings on this doctrine. Following are my questions and the Secretary's replies:

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Secretary, since you and the President have stated that this resolution does not deal with the peaceful solution of the critical problems in this area, for example, (1) settlement of international use and operation of the Suez Canal, (2) establishment of a just peace between Israel and the Arab nations, including settlement of a refugee program, and so forth, and since it does not deal with indirect aggression, does not this resolution almost secure the position of the U. S. S. R. in the Middle East rather than displacing her, by almost guaranteeing the status quo, which we are all against?

Secretary DULLES. In my opinion the best way to deal with these problems is for us to undertake the program here, which is not being dealt with by the United Nations at the present time and which could not effectively be dealt with by the United Nations, and support the United Nations in its dealings with the other problems of the area. It is dealing very actively with the problem of the relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. As you know, the United Nations has an observation mission watching the borders as to these raids. There is a United Nations mission looking after the refugees. Mr. Hammarskjold, the Secretary General, went on two missions to the area last spring and summer to deal with that problem and to study it. He is dealing with it actively and we are supporting him.

There is the problem of the future of the Suez Canal. That is a problem before the Security Council of the United Nations and it is also being dealt with by the General Assembly, and Mr. Hammarskjold is dealing with that problem.

I believe the best way is for us to support the United Nations in the areas where it is acting and can act effectively, and for us, through this legislation, to deal with areas which the United Nations cannot cover adequately because of the veto power of the Soviet Union in the Security Council and its disregard of the General Assembly as evidenced in the case of Hungary.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Secretary, you emphasized international communism's breakthrough in this area. Since the U. S. S. R. established herself in the Middle East during these 2 years in Egypt and Syria, and so forth, and since we are not going to deal with this indirect aggression, are we not accepting the establishment of national communism by saying that if those nations accept aid from Russia we will stand by and let them and thereby perhaps establish national communism?

Secretary DULLES. The Soviet influence, of course, is in the area. It has been there for a long time in fluctuating degrees. But we do not believe international communism has yet gained control of any Middle Eastern state, and this program that we outline is designed to take all the measures which I think are available to prevent that happening; or, if it happens, to be sure it is of very brief duration.

I indicated that I do not think we should attack any country by armed force because we think it has a government controlled by communism. We are not going into the business of using armed force to accomplish that purpose. There are other ways it can be done.

KELLY RESOLUTION ON HUNGARY (H. CON. RES. 204)

One of the most important resolutions adopted in the 1st session of the 85th Congress was the Kelly resolution on Hungary which was unanimously agreed to by the House and the Senate. This measure expressed the sense of Congress that the President and the United States delegates to the United Nations General Assembly should seek adoption of the report of its Committee on the Hungarian Revolution and work for measures to bring about the freedom of captive nations.

The following recommendations are included in this resolution:

First. Consideration and adoption of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary and other available information on the brutal action of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

Second. Join in seeking the most effective way of dealing with the report of the U. N. special committee in order to advance the objectives of the United Nations regarding the situation in Hungary.

Third. To prevent further repressive action by the Soviet Union and seek all practical redress of the wrong which has been committed in violation of the principles of the United Nations and the elemental requirements of humanity.

Fourth. Implement policies through the United Nations or in cooperation with the peoples of the free world to work toward the freedom and independence of the captive nations, and to effectively utilize the position of the United States through the proper means, to the end that the Hungarian tragedy shall not be repeated anywhere.

If the United Nations is to be more than a debating society, positive action must be taken on all these recommendations.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 16 (ON THE STATUS-OF-FORCES AGREEMENTS)

This resolution provides for a revision of the Status of Forces Agreement to remove armed services personnel from criminal jurisdiction of foreign countries.

I voted to bring this resolution to the House floor for action because I felt the rights of our military personnel overseas should be brought to the attention of the United States Senate. While the House of Representatives has no power in the ratification of treaties, it does have a grave responsibility to make known its views so that legislation will be truly representative.

My previous support of the Status of Forces Agreement was based on the assurance that servicemen were under the jurisdiction of the United States in respect to offenses committed on duty. The following is quoted from the statement of the Deputy Under Secretary of State at the hearings on this resolution before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs:

In the first place, the Status of Forces Agreement provides that the United States servicemen remain under United States jurisdiction with respect to offenses committed while on duty. In other words, foreign governments have voluntarily limited their jurisdiction to criminal offenses occurring while soldiers are off duty, on leave, or a. w. o. l. President Eisenhower once addressed himself to this important feature of the agreement. He said in effect that he believed servicemen deserved special treatment while carrying out their assignments, but that when these servicemen were on leave and were following personal interests they should be subject to the same basic responsibilities as other citizens.

Since the recent decision of the President and the Court to the effect that they have the authority to waive this jurisdiction, I feel a clarification should be made in our agreement and I therefore will support an amendment to prohibit such waiver of the "on duty" clause by our Government.

AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT EXTENSION

The Agricultural Trade Development and Assitance Act—Public Law 480 of the 83d Congress—authorized the sale of our agricultural surpluses to friendly nations. Public Law 128 of the 85th Congress, 1st session, extended the original act of June 30, 1958, and it increased from $3 billion to $4 billion the amount of surplus commodities for sale and from $500 million to $800 million the amount for relief of needy persons abroad. To date, the cost of this program has been $3 billion for moving $1 billion of agricultural surpluses to nations abroad. To me, this is not only unsound—it is morally wrong. The sale of these surpluses to needy Americans is denied. True, a small portion of our agricultural surpluses is given to school lunch programs and to welfare agencies, but this Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act provides for the sale of such surpluses to foreign nations.

In 1954, the Congress adopted my amendment to the original act in limiting the sale of surpluses to friendly nations and prohibiting the sale to the U. S. S. R. and those nations under Soviet domination or controlled by Communist organizations. In 1957 during the consideration of the bill to extend this law, I offered an amendment to continue to prohibit the sale of surpluses to the U. S. S. R. and to those nations under Communist control or Communist organizations unless Congress passed a resolution declaring the nation friendly. I regret to have to report that this amendment was not adopted. The Eisenhower administration believes these surpluses should be sold to nations behind the Iron Curtain.

We must not forget that we are engaged in a sinister cold war with a ruth-

less, diabolically clever enemy. It will require the full, positive force of the Congress of the United States in conjunction with the executive branch to counteract the Soviet exploitation of our kindness, humanity, decency, adherence to treaties, and adherence to the pledged word. The executive branch desires to retain absolute discretion in determining which nation is friendly. Perhaps it would like to consider Syria a friendly nation. Or North Vietnam. Or North Korea. Or Red China. Recent developments should give us pause for great fear on this score. Surplus agricultural commodities to Red China? Recognition of Red China? Admission of her representatives to represent China in the United Nations?

The issue is really not the Congress versus the executive branch of our Government. The issue here is whether it shall be the executive branch in conjunction with the Congress, or just the executive branch alone making a vital determination.

RELAXATION OF TRADE RESTRICTIONS

A further demonstration of the attitude of the Eisenhower administration toward Communist nations and the satellite countries was the announcement in 1957 that the United States had agreed to relax the curb on trade with Red China.

The Mutual Security Control Act of 1951 prohibits the shipment of strategic material to Communist-dominated countries. The United States, with the free world allies, has agreed on this principle for many years. The listing of items of trade fall into qualitative and quantitative categories. Since 1953, the Eisenhower administration has agreed to relaxation of the restrictive items on this listing. In 1957, the relaxation extended to about 160 new items for our allies while no relaxation was planned on the United States embargo.

Agreement among free nations on the easing of trade restrictions with Russia and Red China may be the new policy but the fact remains that there is grave danger in easing trade barriers with Communist nations and Communist-controlled nations. European nations have the greatest concentration of industrial production in the world. The U. S. S. R. does not want to destroy this potential. If the U. S. S. R. can achieve business agreements with European powers, it can control the economy of those nations by severing exports and imports at will. It must be remembered that Russia's support of Egypt in the seizure of the Suez Canal proved the dependence of European economy on the importance of the international control of this canal.

Easing of East-West trade could, in the long run, bring economic ruin to Europe and could outweigh the immediate relief to the economy of Europe in the increase of East-West trade at this time. Reducing the East-West trade barriers could be more helpful to the U. S. S. R. at this time by the free world's relieving the Kremlin of bearing the responsibility for their failure of their Communist economic theories. The failure of the Communist theory is proven by conditions within Russia and within Communist-controlled nations. The Polish and the Hungarian revolutions have proven this fact. The big question for the free world is: "Butter or guns?" Should the free world furnish the butter so that the U. S. S. R. can continue the buildup of her guns?

Other enactments international in scope are as follows:

Public Law 21 approves amendment of Anglo-American Financial Agreement of December 6, 1945, to permit deferment of payments on loan to the United Kingdom.

Public Law 55 extends the operating authority of the Export-Import Bank for 5 years to June 30, 1963.

Public Law 27 extends for 1 year, to June 30, 1958, the suspension of duties and import taxes on metal scrap.

Public Law 14 authorizes agreements for construction of atomic reactors in Berlin, West Germany.

Public Law 220 authorizes the sale of 4 and the loan of 45 naval vessels to friendly nations in Europe, Latin America, and the Far East, to facilitate mutual security agreements.

House Concurrent Resolution 115 declares the sense of Congress that Spain should be admitted to membership in NATO.

NATIONAL

The recommendations of the President on domestic issues were marked by the same shifting of position. This caused complete misunderstanding by Congress of what the President sought to accomplish and because of the failure of the President and his Cabinet to clarify the position of the administration. Congress was forced to sift from among the various propositions, the ones which would serve the country best.

BUDGET

It was the budget and its presentation that snarled the work of the 85th Congress. The President requested Congress to grant the authority to spend $73.3 billion. Congress responded by appropriating $67.7 billion. This cut of over $5 billion does not include the permanent authorization of $8 billion which represents interest on the national debt. When President Eisenhower took office in 1952, the national debt was $258 billion, the interest on this amount being $5.9 billion. The national debt today is $274 billion with an interest of $8 billion.

Coming hard on the heels of the much publicized economy drive by the Republicans and their cries of extravagance, waste, and mismanagement by the Democrats, the budget request was a shock. It is the largest peacetime budget in the history of our country. The Secretary of the Treasury declared it was too high and requested that Congress reduce it. The President defended the Secretary's stand, thus failing to support his own request. Congress fulfilled its responsibility and reductions were recommended by committees after months of searching study and hearings. The defense budget was reduced by $2.6 billion. Last year, the Department of Defense had available $74.7 billion, of which, $36.2 was a new appropriation by Congress. The carry over funds were for ships, aircraft, and other long lead-time items. The Department of Defense has $70.8 billion for the current fiscal year, of which, $35.9 billion is new appropriation with the exception of $590 million which represents transfers from unneeded funds. Thus, out of the available total of $70.8 billion, the Department of Defense expects to spend about $38 billion.

There have been many news reports in recent months of announcements from the Pentagon concerning cutbacks in personnel and the slowing down of many programs. The reductions in the defense budget are not responsible for these cutbacks. It became apparent to the Defense Department a few months ago that if defense spending took its natural course during this fiscal year, it would range between $40 and $42 billion. Adequate funds are in the hands of the Defense Department to finance a defense program this year in the sum of $42 billion, or more, out of a total availability of $70.8 billion.

DISARMAMENT

On this subject, the administration's attitude has not been firm enough and consequently, the Soviet Union has been able to obtain a propaganda advantage before world opinion. It is felt that basic goals and policies of the United States have been so obscured in a morass of detail, that a clear statement of fundamentals is obviously necessary.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

Public Law 63 continues to July 1, 1959, suspension of 2,000,500 statutory limitation on personnel strength of Armed Forces.

Public Law 62 provides for induction of doctors, dentists, and allied specialist categories into the Armed Forces, as needed, with reserve commissions, and it ends the special doctor-dentist draft.

Public Law 116 extends to June 30, 1959, authority for enlistment of aliens in the Regular Army.

Public Law 269 establishes a uniform procedure for production in court of statements by Government witnesses and limits admissibility to such as the court deems relevant. This law is designed to protect the secret files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation against unlimited exploration by attorneys for defendants in criminal trials. It bans pretrial disclosure of the files. After hearing the testimony of the prosecution witnesses, the trial judges must screen the FBI documents and turn over to the defense only those relevant to the testimony.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Public Law 4 increases the lending authority of the Small Business Administration by $80 million to the total of $455 million.

Public Law 10 increases the borrowing power of the Federal National Mortgage Association by $0.5 billion to $1.6 billion to help ease the mortgage-money market.

Public Law 12 extends to July 1, 1958, the 52 percent corporate income tax and present schedule of excise taxes on alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, automobiles, and parts and accessories.

Public Law 17 authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to pay nterest up to 3.26 percent on savings bonds.

IMMIGRATION

Public Law 316 represents substantial progress toward a revision of our immigration laws and it exhibits a recognition by the Congress of its responsibilities in the field of legislation. The most important provision in this new law is its effect on those cases which involve family hardship. It allows the admission of about 28,000 alien members of immigrant families and it permits the admission of 2,000 orphans over a 2-year period. The new law calls for a redistribution of 18,656 visas which remained unused at the expiration of the Refugee Relief Act. Fourteen thousand of these will be allocated to refugees from persecution in Communist nations and the general area of the Middle East. It cancels all mortgages on national quotas which were incurred by the Displaced Persons Act and the Refugee Relief Act. Approximately 8,000 people from countries whose quotas were in some cases, mortgaged up to the year 2274, can now hope to migrate to America. Other features of the bill are: it will permit to stay here 15,000 people from behind the Iron Curtain who made fraudulent representations about their birthplace for fear of prosecution; it provides for the admission of 840 skilled specialists; it permits the Department of Justice to waive the requirement of fingerprints of nonofficial visitors to the United States; and it gives illegitimate children the same immigration rights as all others.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The civil-rights bill of 1957 is the first legislation of its kind that has been enacted in 82 years. This fact in itself is important although the weakness of this legislation must not be minimized. The original civil-rights bill, sponsored by my colleague, Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, survived the delaying tactics and other methods of obstruction and was passed by the House of Representatives. It became the 10th civil-rights bill passed by the House in the last 24 years. In the Senate, the main features of the Celler bill were eliminated.

The civil-rights law does not establish a new set of rights. It does create a new procedure whereby the Department of Justice may intervene and the Federal courts may act, to prevent denial of the right to vote. I supported the Celler bill and I voted for the compromise bill when it was finally agreed that we had the choice of the compromise measure or nothing. Despite its weakness, this law is a step ahead in our determination to wipe out discrimination which can have no place in our democracy. It is the first legal attempt to provide the machinery for making the 14th amendment a reality.

Briefly, the civil-rights law provides:

First. For the creation of a special Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice.

Second. For the creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission to investigate charges that constitutional rights are being violated. This Commission is to be a bipartisan body of six members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It will have broad powers to illuminate abuses of civil powers. Ultimately, its objective is to suggest to Congress how the civil-rights laws could be improved. Out of such study may emerge further action by Congress.

Third. For injunctions against interference with the right to vote and any defendant can demand a new trial before a jury if a judge rules him guilty in a criminal case and fines him more than $300 or sentences him to more than 45 days in jail.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

Public Law 168 increases rates of compensation for service-connected disabilities and for dependency allowances.

Public Law 209 liberalizes eligibility standards for widows and veterans.

Public Law 217 makes permanent the Missing Persons Act authorizing continued pay to next of kin for personnel missing in the course of duty.

The bill to extend direct home loan and loan guaranty programs for World War II veterans to July 25, 1959, was vetoed by the President. This bill carried provisions to increase the maximum amount of loans and to encourage new construction in rural and small-town areas.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Public Law 159 authorized $600 million Niagara River power development by the New York Power Authority under Federal license, providing preference to public agencies of 50 percent power. It directs the Federal Power Commission to award a license to the New York State Power Authority to build and operate hydroelectric facilities at Niagara Falls with a capacity of 1.8 billion kilowatts. This is equal to about one-fifth of New York State's present production capacity. The State Power Authority is prepared to start work immediately and plans to finance the project by the sale of revenue bonds. Under the provision of the law, half of the power will be reserved for municipal distribution systems, cooperatives, and other public bodies.

The Niagara Power Cooperative would be guaranteed about 445 million kilowatts of the nonpreference power to replace the Schollkopf plant in Niagara. This plant was destroyed by a rock slide on June 7, 1956.

This authority has been a controversial subject between public and private power for over 6 years. Public power advocates sought priority for all the power while private power advocates fought any firm preference clause. The measure, as enacted, was a compromise acceptable to both public and private advocates, and it will benefit the consumers.

POSTAL RATE INCREASE BILL

The Eisenhower administration recommended a postal rate increase for all classes of mail, including the increase from 3 cents to 4 cents per ounce on first-class mail. I have long felt that the rates for second-, third-, and fourth-class mail should be adjusted before an increase is imposed on first-class mail rates. All of us are aware that the Post Office Department operates at a loss, but the deficit is to be found in second- and third-class mail. In 1956, the second-class mail deficit was $269,210,078 and the third-class mail deficit was $207,305,500. The Government, therefore, is in the position of subsidizing the newspaper and magazine publishers, the mail order firms, and the direct mail advertisers, all of them, profitmaking organizations. As an example, the following list shows but a few of the annual losses sustained by the Government in handling magazines and newspapers:

Publication:	Loss to Government in 1956
Life	$9,310,000
Saturday Evening Post	6,087,000
Reader's Digest	4,800,000
Chicago Tribune	1,788,000
New York Times	1,700,000

There are those, however, who contend that the post office is a service to all and that it should not be expected to base its rates entirely on its costs.

This bill was passed by the House late in the session, but action in the Senate has been deferred until the next session of the 85th Congress.

POSTAL PAY RAISE BILL

A bill to raise the salaries of 500,000 postal employees and the bill to increase the salaries of Federal employees were passed by the House and the Senate late in the 1st session of the 85th Congress. In my appeal for this legislation I said, in part:

Mr. Speaker, I submit that we are dealing with the career employees of the United States Government—the richest and most powerful Government in the world. Many of these career men and women are the principal wage earners of their families. Let us pay them a family wage and not just a living wage.

I regret that the President vetoed this bill. New bills on the subject will be presented in the next session and I feel confident that favorable action will be taken on them.

FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

This bill authorized a 5-year $1.5 billion program of Federal aid to States for school construction. It was defeated in the House of Representatives for many reasons. Many Congressmen believe that the schoolroom shortage is not nationwide and that the States and local communities are handling the problem satisfactorily and that the preservation of our States as vigorous, powerful government units is essential to permanent, individual freedom, and the growth of our national strength. The need for economy was a factor in some cases, but in many more, there was a reasonable fear that a precedent would be set which would be difficult to overrule. President Eisenhower sought to distribute Federal aid on the basis of need. Under the plan sponsored by the Democrats, funds were to be allocated on the basis of school-age population. A compromise measure for an even distribution of funds was found acceptable. The bill which was defeated was one sponsored by Representative AYERS, of Ohio. It called for a distribution of funds according to the Eisenhower formula. Congress did not have the opportunity to vote directly on the bill. The vote by which the measure

was defeated was on a motion to strike out the enacting clause. A vote in favor of striking out the enacting clause meant a vote against Federal aid for school construction and a vote against striking out the enacting clause meant a vote in favor of Federal aid for school construction. The final vote was 208 to strike the enacting clause and 205 against such action.

The White House claimed that President Eisenhower was greatly disappointed in the failure of Congress to act favorably on this legislation. Informed observers are of the opinion that it was well within the power of the President to save this issue during the session, particularly since a wire was kept open to him until the last moment.

It is hoped that a school-aid bill of the future will carry a more equitable arrangement affecting New York and that the taxpayers of our State will not have to raise $74,445,000 in order to get $18 million in Federal aid to education.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH AND WELFARE

Public Law 104 authorizes $1.9 billion for the housing program; it increases the borrowing authority to purchase mortgages; it lowers downpayments on FHA insured homes, and provides $350 million for urban redevelopment and slum clearance for 1 year.

Public Law 109 extends to July 1, 1958, the time for disabled persons to file applications to preserve their rights to old-age, survivors' and disability insurance, and permits veterans with service-connected disabilities to receive both social security and VA benefits.

Public Law 110 revises the formula for computing Federal social-security grants to States for medical and other assistance to provide for more effective distribution.

Public Law 172 provides for compulsory inspection of poultry and poultry products.

CONCLUSION

Any criticism for the lack of accomplishment on the part of the 1st session of the 85th Congress should be placed where it belongs; not upon the House of Representatives, nor upon the Senate, but on the lack of prior consultation between the administration and Congress.

What could be termed an oblique approach in government has been used instead of the strong and unquavering leadership so necessary. A statement of principle without a followup, of legislative correctives is valueless. On many occasions, President Eisenhower has reaffirmed his resolve to remake the Republican Party. The Democratic policies on social welfare and economic reform can point the way for him. I am referring to the Democratic programs of social security, custodianship of natural resources, taxation predicated on ability to pay, protection for small business, and fair employment practices, to name but a few. Under these programs, benefits have been given without concern for race or creed, based only on the need for equity and justice in our social and economic structure.

It has been my privilege and responsibility to serve you for over 7 years. If you desire to write me, may I point out that letters sent to my Washington office receive my immediate attention. My office is open 6 days a week; my address: EDNA F. KELLY, Member of Congress, Washington 25, D. C. During adjournment, I am at the Madison Club, 739 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, on Monday and Thursday evenings for appointments with my constituents.

Free World Divided in Its Resistance to Communism—There Is No Common Front Against It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, until the free world can unite on basic principles in its opposition to communism, the cold war will continue for many years. It must present a common front against the common enemy.

This fact is obvious when it is recalled that the free nations as members of the United Nations have been unable to agree on a statement that would suggest the proper structure of human dignity.

The eighth session of the Commission on Human Rights which lasted for 9 weeks was the longest ever held and one of the longest held by any committee or commission of the United Nations. Yet all that the Commission was able to complete of its agenda was 3 or 4 items out of a total of 20.

The objective of the Commission was to work out an international bill of rights which now appears to have been strictly illusory. It did not take the Commission long to discover that there was a deep division between East and West on basic concepts but it was rather surprising to find that even the free nations were unable to agree on a basic statement of principle.

This became quite apparent when an effort was made to include an article on the right to own property. Mr. Speaker, this is basic so far as free men are concerned and article 17 of the Universal Declaration proclaimed this right but that is as far as it has gone to date.

At one time, the French delegation made a proposal which seemed reasonable but so many objections were raised, particularly in regard to expropriation and compensation for property, that finally the Commission tired of the apparent hopelessness of the situation and decided to adjourn debate on it.

Mr. Speaker, it has been well said that the concept of property and its ownership is at the heart of the great ideological conflict of the present day between communism and the free world. It was not only the Communists who ridiculed this concept of private property and expropriation but a goodly proportion of the non-Communist world had itself succumbed to these doubts.

An obvious deduction that can be made in light of this position by the non-Communist world is that it has been frightened and terrified by the philosophy of communism.

Mr. Speaker, it is incredible that in these economic matters which reflect much more than economic divergencies, the free world, or the West, is so divided among itself as to be incapable of presenting a common front against communism.

Mr. Speaker, we have and are spending billions of dollars in a cold war on the theory that it will stop communism. Our taxpayers' dollars have been freely advanced not only for military and economic support to counter Communist aggression but our dollars have been given to nations we call free who today seem unwilling to oppose the basic concepts of communism.

How much longer will the people of the United States continue to support other nations until all agree on a common front against the tyranny of the Kremlin?

Pacific Northwest Projects Ahead of Payout Schedule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, Comptroller General Joseph Campbell has just advised me that the National Treasury has earned $137,702,337 in interest from our Federal power projects in the Pacific Northwest.

In addition, these projects are $77,145,585 ahead of schedule in repaying funds borrowed in the form of congressional appropriations for their construction.

If Mr. Campbell's figures had reflected principal and interest payments made by the projects since June 30, 1956, these totals would be even larger.

I would ask unanimous consent at this time so that the complete report, contained in a letter from Mr. Campbell, may be entered into the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES,
Washington, August 20, 1957.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: In repsonse to your letter dated July 1, 1957, we are furnishing you information on the amounts returned to the Federal Treasury and the status of repayment for certain power and reclamation projects. We have selected the Columbia River Basin for coverage inasmuch as nearly all such projects in the States of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho fall within the Columbia River watershed, and the basin is a more easily defined entity than the Pacific Northwest. We are enclosing, along with two financial schedules, a map excerpted from a Bonneville Power Administration report which shows the Columbia River Basin

in relation to that agency's concept of Pacific Northwest.

Schedule 1, attached, presents a year-by-year breakdown of the amounts returned to the Federal Treasury by power and reclamation projects of the Columbia River Basin. At June 30, 1946, the accumulated funds returned amounted to $546,929,439. Of this amount, the sum of $456,596,191 has been returned by the Columbia River Power System and related activities. The Columbia River Power System consists of the Bonneville Power Administration and the generating facilities for commercial power purposes of the multiple-purpose projects for which the Administration acts as the transmitting and marketing agency. Related activities of the Columbia River Power System are irrigation, flood control, and navigation.

Schedule 1 also identifies all basin receipts deposited to the Treasury with power, irrigation, and other purposes to the extent possible. The special accounting for the Columbia River Power System makes it possible to segregate receipts for those projects, but present accounting practices for the other Basin multiple-purpose projects do not permit such analysis. All receipts deposited for single-purpose irrigation projects, however, can be attributed to irrigation. A summary of schedule 1 shows the following:

	Total	Columbia River power system	Other basin projects
Commercial power	$449,691,188	$449,691,188	
Irrigation	18,675,525	6,674,283	$12,001,242
Nonreimbursable	230,720	230,720	
Unclassified	78,332,006		78,332,006
Total	546,929,439	456,596,191	90,333,248

It should be borne in mind that, with minor exceptions, receipts from power and irrigation are not available for expenditure and must be returned to the Treasury. Accordingly, funds for operation and maintenance must generally be obtained through appropriations by the Congress and a large share of the receipts are applicable to repayment of these operation and maintenance appropriations rather than capital investment. Power receipts are also applied to interest expense before any repayment of capital investment occurs.

We are including a schedule (schedule 2) prepared by the Bonneville Power Administration, which compares the repayment of commercial power investment of the Columbia River Power System with the scheduled repayment established in accordance with law or administrative policy pursuant to law. Schedule 2 shows that the Columbia River Power System is $77,145,485 ahead of schedule insofar as repayment of commercial power investment is concerned. The factors used in setting commercial power repayment requirements are briefly explained on page 3 of schedule 2. The Bureau of Reclamation, which markets the power from other basin power projects (Minidoka and Boise), does not prepare scheduled payout requirements for comparison with realized returns.

Irrigation investment repayment is not susceptible to scheduling as is repayment of power investment. Irrigation construction costs to be repaid by basin irrigators are covered by contract and repayments are on schedule unless there is a delinquency. Repayment of irrigation construction costs to be repaid by power are on schedule to the extent that power repayment is on schedule.

We hope that the information we have been able to compile will satisfy your requirements. Should you require any additional data or amplification of that presented herewith, we are prepared to assist you.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH CAMPBELL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

SCHEDULE 1

Columbia River Basin—Funds returned to the U. S. Treasury for fiscal years 1950 through 1956 and cumulative to June 30, 1956

Project	Location	Columbia River Basin total	Columbia River Power System				Other basin projects		
			Total	Commercial power	Irrigation	Nonreimbursable	Total	Single-purpose irrigation	Multiple-purpose unclassified
Cumulative to June 30, 1949		$213,249,502	$148,893,915	$148,438,535	$455,380		$64,355,587	$7,230,438	$57,125,149
Fiscal year 1950:									
Bonneville Power Administration		14,353,107	14,353,107	14,353,107					
Bonneville Dam	Washington and Oregon	5,418,000	5,418,000	5,418,000					
Columbia Basin	Washington	5,723,049	5,723,049	5,582,885	140,164				
Baker	Oregon	6,258					6,258	6,258	
Bitter Root	Montana	28,424					28,424	28,424	
Boise	Idaho and Oregon	1,280,945					1,280,945		1,280,945
Burnt River	Oregon	14,993					14,993	14,993	
Deschutes	do	279,541					279,541	279,541	
Frenchtown	Montana	7,644					7,644	7,644	
Lewiston Orchards	Idaho	122					122		122
Minidoka	Idaho and Wyoming	2,842,889					2,842,889		2,842,889
Missoula Valley	Montana	961					961	961	
Okanogan	Washington	19,107					19,107	19,107	
Owyhee	Oregon and Idaho	686,244					686,244	686,244	
Palisades	Idaho and Wyoming	3,968					3,968		3,968
Rathdrum Prairie	Idaho	4,750					4,750	4,750	
Umatilla	Oregon	35,177					35,177	35,177	
Vale	do	65,984					65,984	65,984	
Yakima	Washington	792,604					792,604		792,604
King Hill	Idaho								
CPA, region 1		377					377		377
Total, fiscal year 1950		31,564,144	25,494,156	25,353,992	140,164		6,069,988	1,149,083	4,920,905
Fiscal year 1951:									
Bonneville Power Administration		20,461,065	20,461,065	20,461,065					
Bonneville Dam	Washington and Oregon	3,537,093	3,537,093	3,537,093					
Columbia Basin	Washington	17,250,106	17,250,106	17,024,934	225,172				
Baker	Oregon	12,428					12,428	12,428	
Bitter Root	Montana	17,635					17,635	71,635	
Boise	Idaho and Oregon	738,064					738,064		738,064
Burnt River	Oregon	7,496					7,496	7,496	
Deschutes	do	363,645					363,645	363,645	
Frenchtown	Montana	−38					−38	−38	
Lewiston Orchards	Idaho	550					550		550
Minidoka	Idaho and Wyoming	924,796					924,796		924,796
Missoula Valley	Montana								
Ochoco	Oregon	4,625					4,625	4,625	
Okanogan	Washington	9,883					9,883	9,883	
Owyhee	Oregon and Washington	437,473					437,473	437,473	
Palisades	Idaho and Wyoming	4,623					4,623		4,623
Rathdrum Prairie	Idaho	4,750					4,750	4,750	
Umatilla	Oregon	3,202					3,202	3,202	
Vale	do	41,023					41,023	41,023	
Yakima	Washington	716,066					716,066		716,066
King Hill	Idaho								
CPA, region 1		1,262					1,262		1,262
Total, fiscal year 1951		44,535,747	41,248,264	41,023,092	225,172		3,287,483	902,122	2,385,361
Fiscal year 1952:									
Bonneville Power Administration		23,741,125	23,741,125	23,741,125					
Bonneville Dam	Washington and Oregon	3,812,430	3,812,430	3,812,430					
Columbia Basin	Washington	9,828,447	9,828,447	9,476,219	352,228				
Arnold	Oregon	4,206					4,206	4,206	
Baker	do	3,031					3,031	3,031	
Bitter Root	Montana								
Boise	Idaho and Oregon	881,021					881,021		881,021

Columbia River Basin—Funds returned to the U. S. Treasury for fiscal years 1950 through 1956 and cumulative to June 30, 1956—Continued

Project	Location	Columbia River Basin total	Columbia River Power System				Other basin projects		
			Total	Commercial power	Irrigation	Nonreimbursable	Total	Single-purpose irrigation	Multiple-purpose unclassified
Fiscal year 1952—Continued									
Burnt River	Oregon	$14,979					$14,979	$14,979	
Deschutes	do	312,627					312,627	312,627	
Frenchtown	Montana	7,500					7,500	7,500	
Lewiston Orchards	Idaho	532					532		$532
Minidoka	Idaho and Wyoming	854,784					854,784		854,784
Missoula Valley	Montana								
Ochoco	Oregon								
Okanogan	Washington	10,879					10,879	10,879	
Owyhee	Oregon and Washington	450,763					450,763	450,763	
Palisades	Idaho and Wyoming	3,357					3,357		3,357
Rathdrum Prairie	Idaho	4,750					4,750	4,750	
Umatilla	Oregon	3,354					3,354	3,354	
Vale	do	89,477					89,477	89,477	
Yakima	Washington	876,481					876,481		876,481
King Hill	Idaho								
CPA, region 1		557					557		557
Total, fiscal year 1952		40,900,300	$37,382,002	$37,029,774	$352,228		3,518,298	901,566	2,616,732
Fiscal year 1953:									
Bonneville Power Administration		25,635,339	25,635,339	25,635,339					
Bonneville Dam	Washington and Oregon	3,499,999	3,499,999	3,499,999					
Columbia Basin	Washington	12,183,472	12,183,472	11,351,615	$831,857				
Hungry Horse	Montana	604,893	604,893	449,556		$155,337			
Arnold	Oregon	5,859					5,859	5,859	
Baker	do	5,820					5,820	5,820	
Bitter Root	Montana	29,764					29,764	29,764	
Boise	Idaho and Oregon	1,866,734					1,866,734		1,866,734
Burnt River	Oregon	15,468					15,468	15,468	
Deschutes	do	143,773					143,773	143,773	
Frenchtown	Montana	2,500					2,500	2,500	
Lewiston Orchards	Idaho								
Minidoka	Idaho and Wyoming	886,762					886,762		886,762
Missoula Valley	Montana								
Ochoco	Oregon								
Okanogan	Washington	14,610					14,610	14,610	
Owyhee	Oregon and Washington	275,342					275,342	275,342	
Palisades	Idaho and Wyoming	5,065					5,065		5,065
Rathdrum Prairie:									
Post Falls	Idaho	4,750					4,750	4,750	
Hayden Lake									
Umatilla	Oregon	3,137					3,137	3,137	
Vale	do	66,341					66,341	66,341	
Yakima	Washington	1,007,976					1,007,976		1,007,976
King Hill	Idaho								
CPA, region 1		5,186					5,186		5,186
Total, fiscal year 1953		46,262,790	41,923,703	40,936,509	831,857	155,337	4,339,087	567,364	3,771,723
Fiscal year 1954:									
Bonneville Power Administration		19,800,867	19,800,867	19,800,867					
Bonneville Dam	Washington and Oregon	3,350,436	3,350,436	3,350,436					
Columbia Basin	Washington	13,994,783	13,994,783	12,789,190	1,205,593				
Hungry Horse	Montana	5,262,576	5,262,576	5,212,294		50,282			
Albeni Falls	Idaho	475,000	475,000	475,000					
McNary Dam	Washington and Oregon	4,565,900	4,565,900	4,565,000					
Detroit-Big Cliff	Oregon	1,590,000	1,590,000	1,590,000					
Arnold	do	6,599					6,599	6,599	
Baker	do	5,758					5,758	5,758	
Bitter Root	Montana	12,799					12,799	12,799	
Boise	Idaho and Oregon	1,149,212					1,149,212		1,149,212
Burnt River	Oregon	14,979					14,979	14,979	
Dalton Gardens	Idaho	12					12	12	
Deschutes	Oregon	240,883					240,883	240,883	
Frenchtown	Montana	9,238					9,238	9,238	
Lewiston Orchards	Idaho	21,232					21,232		21,232
Minidoka	Idaho and Wyoming	408,967					408,967		408,967
Missoula Valley	Montana								
Ochoco	Oregon								
Okanogan	Washington	20,101					20,101	20,101	
Owyhee	Oregon and Washington	148,255					148,255	148,255	
Palisades	Idaho and Wyoming	15,034					15,034		15,034
Rathdrum Prairie:									
Post Falls	Idaho	7,264					7,264	7,264	
Hayden Lake									
Umatilla	Oregon	10,446					10,446	10,446	
Vale	do	7,982					7,982	7,982	
Yakima	Washington	703,884					703,884		703,884
King Hill	Idaho								
CPA, region 1		2,903					2,903		2,903
Total, fiscal year 1954		51,825,110	49,039,562	47,783,687	1,205,593	50,282	2,785,548	484,316	2,301,232
Fiscal year 1955:									
Bonneville Power Administration		17,353,159	17,353,159	17,353,159					
Bonneville Dam	Washington and Oregon	3,413,016	3,413,016	3,406,486		6,530			
Columbia Basin	Washington	14,461,251	14,461,251	12,839,158	1,622,093				
Hungry Horse	Montana	3,672,863	3,672,863	3,663,290		9,573			
Albeni Falls	Idaho	600,060	600,060	600,060					
McNary Dam	Washington and Oregon	9,013,205	9,013,205	9,012,876		329			
Detroit-Big Cliff	Oregon	1,800,000	1,800,000	1,800,000					
Lookout Point-Dexter	do	801,341	801,341	800,345		996			
Arnold	do	6,618					6,618	6,618	
Baker	do	5,805					5,805	5,805	
Bitter Root	Montana								
Boise	Idaho and Oregon	961,778					961,778		961,778
Burnt River	Oregon	14,990					14,990	14,990	
Crescent Lake	Oregon	2					2	2	
Dalton Gardens	Idaho	71					71	71	
Deschutes	Oregon	38,147					38,147	38,147	
Frenchtown	Montana	6,735					6,735	6,735	

Columbia River Basin—Funds returned to the U. S. Treasury for fiscal years 1950 through 1956 and cumulative to June 30, 1956—Continued

Project	Location	Columbia River Basin total	Columbia River Power System				Other basin projects		
			Total	Commercial power	Irrigation	Nonreimbursable	Total	Single-purpose irrigation	Multiple-purpose unclassified
Fiscal year 1955—Continued									
Lewiston Orchards	Idaho	$21,232					$21,232		$21,232
Minidoka	Idaho and Wyoming	1,031,086					1,031,086		1,031,086
Missoula Valley	Montana								
Ochoco	Oregon								
Okanogan	Washington	15,665					15,665	$15,665	
Owyhee	Oregon and Washington	281,786					281,786	281,786	
Palisades	Idaho and Wyoming	13,768					13,768		13,768
Rathdrum Prairie:									
Post Falls	do	7,264					7,264	7,264	
Hayden Lake									
Umatilla	Oregon	7,113					7,113	7,113	
Vale	do	40,660					40,660	40,660	
Yakima	Washington	807,260					807,260		807,260
King Hill	Idaho								
CPA, region 1		808					808		808
Total, fiscal year 1955		54,375,683	$51,114,895	$49,475,374	$1,622,093	$17,428	3,260,788	424,856	2,835,932
Fiscal year 1956:									
Bonneville Power Administration		22,888,758	22,888,758	22,888,758					
Bonneville Dam	Washington and Oregon	3,400,149	3,400,149	3,400,075		74			
Columbia Basin	Washington	14,476,678	14,476,678	12,668,145	1,808,533				
Hungry Horse	Montana	3,642,455	3,642,455	3,636,963		5,492			
Albeni Falls	Idaho	1,300,062	1,300,062	1,300,060		2			
McNary Dam	Washington and Oregon	10,082,365	10,082,365	10,080,158		2,207			
Detroit-Big Cliff	Oregon	1,900,069	1,900,069	1,900,039		30			
Lookout Point-Dexter	do	1,900,029	1,900,029	1,900,326		−297			
Chief Joseph	Washington	1,700,800	1,700,800	1,700,800					
Yakima project, Kennewick division	do	206,061	206,061	172,798	33,263				
The Dalles Dam	Washington and Oregon	2,268	2,268	2,103		165			
Arnold	Oregon	5,833					5,833	5,833	
Baker	do	5,730					5,730	5,730	
Bitterroot	Montana	20,515					20,515	20,515	
Boise	Idaho and Oregon	703,388					703,388		703,388
Burnt River	Oregon	15,025					15,025	15,025	
Crescent Lake	Oregon								
Dalton Gardens	Idaho								
Deschutes	Oregon	32,124					32,124	32,124	
Frenchtown	Montana	6,735					6,735	6,735	
Lewiston Orchards	Idaho	21,232					21,232		21,232
Michaud Flats	do	9					9	9	
Minidoka	Idaho and Wyoming	1,259,127					1,259,127		1,259,127
Missoula Valley	Montana	575					575	575	
Ochoco	Oregon								
Okanogan	Washington	11,765					11,765	11,765	
Owyhee	Oregon and Washington	196,230					196,230	196,230	
Palisades	Idaho and Wyoming	7,117					7,117		7,117
Rathdrum Prairie:									
Post Falls	Idaho	7,264					7,264	7,264	
Hayden Lake									
Umatilla	Oregon	18,385					18,385	18,385	
Vale	do	21,307					21,307	21,307	
Yakima	Washington	384,034					384,034		384,034
King Hill	Idaho								
CPA, region 1		74					74		74
Total fiscal year 1956		64,216,163	61,499,694	59,650,225	1,841,796	7,673	2,716,469	341,497	2,374,972
Cumulative through June 30, 1956		546,929,439	456,596,191	449,691,188	6,674,283	230,720	90,333,248	12,001,242	78,332,006

SCHEDULE 2

Columbia River power system—Comparison of repayment and scheduled repayment of commercial power investment, at June 30, 1956

	Total	Bonneville Power Administration	Bonneville Dam project	Columbia Basin project	Hungry Horse project	Albeni Falls project	McNary Dam project
Repayment of capital investment in commercial power:							
Accumulated funds returned	$449,691,188	$219,768,055	$55,632,519	$125,428,046	$12,962,103	$2,375,120	$23,655,926
Less amounts equivalent to—							
Operation and maintenance expense	109,810,627	72,943,360	11,012,786	20,703,459	1,117,570	298,370	2,308,390
Interest charged to operations	137,702,337	43,227,304	19,956,839	52,752,518	7,061,125	1,435,680	8,413,706
	247,512,964	116,170,664	30,969,625	73,455,977	8,178,695	1,734,050	10,815,196
Remainder applied to amortization of capital investment	202,178,224	103,597,391	24,662,894	51,972,069	4,783,408	641,061	12,840,730
Scheduled repayment of capital investment at June 30, 1956, established by law or administrative policy pursuant to law	125,032,739	49,869,000	12,708,000	51,972,069	3,322,000	627,000	3,987,670
Excess of funds returned over scheduled repayment	77,145,485	53,728,391	11,954,894		1,461,408	14,061	8,852,730

Columbia River power system—Comparison of repayment and scheduled repayment of commercial power investment, at June 30, 1956—Con.

	Detroit-Big Cliff project	Lookout Point-Dexter project	Chief Joseph project	Yakima project, Kennewick division	The Dalles Dam project	Ice Harbor project	Cougar Dam project	Hills Creek Dam project
Repayment of capital investment in commercial power: Accumulated funds returned	$5,290,039	$2,700,671	$1,700,800	$172,798	$2,103			
Less amounts equivalent to— Operation and maintenance expense	593,814	294,821	427,213	19,835				
Interest charged to operations	2,651,538	1,352,498	817,737	31,293				
	3,245,352	1,647,319	1,244,950	51,128				
Remainder applied to amortization of capital investment	2,044,687	1,053,352	455,850	121,670	2,103			
Scheduled repayment of capital investment at June 30, 1956, established by law or administrative policy pursuant to law	1,378,000	651,000	397,000	121,670				
Excess of funds returned over scheduled repayment	666,687	402,352	58,850		2,103			

BASIS FOR SCHEDULED REPAYMENT OF COMMERCIAL POWER INVESTMENT IN THE COLUMBIA RIVER POWER SYSTEM

The Bonneville Power Administration has the responsibility of fixing commercial power rates at a level which will, over a number of years consistent with the requirements of law, insure repayment of the investment in commercial and the investment in related irrigation activities assigned for repayment from commercial power revenues. Repayment requirements for the Columbia River Power System are found in the varying provisions of the several acts authorizing construction and in the administrative interpretations thereof. Accordingly, system power rates reflect a composite of the requirements of these acts applied to the individual projects and the administration. An allocation of system power receipts among the generating projects and the administration, designed to satisfy their respective requirements, is made annually pursuant to agreements reached by the Administration with the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation.

Schedule 2 is intended to compare, at this interim date, the repayment of Federal investment in commercial power achieved by current power rate levels with the scheduled repayment established by law or administrative policy pursuant to law. Power receipts returned to the Treasury have been first applied to the repayment of operation and maintenance and interest expenses, with the remainder being applied to amortization of the capital investment in commercial power. In projects in which part of the irrigation investment is assigned for repayment from commercial power revenues, the assistance is assumed to begin after repayment of the commercial power investment. Commercial power rate and repayment requirements are affected by irrigation assistance to the extent that the assistance makes necessary the recovery of commercial power investment in a shorter period of years.

The rate and repayment requirements established by law or administrative policy pursuant to law for the individual projects and the Administration are as follows:

Bonneville Dam project, Bonneville Power Administration, and McNary Dam project: The Bonneville Project Act provides that rate schedules shall be drawn having regard to the recovery of the cost of producing and transmitting electric energy excess to project needs, including the amortization of the capital investment over a reasonable period of years. This provision of the Bonneville Project Act was also applied to McNary Dam project by the authorizing legislation.

In determining the rate and repayment requirements for the Bonneville Dam project, the Bonneville Power Administration, and the McNary Dam project, interest at a rate of 2.5 percent on investment has been included as a part of the cost of producing and transmitting electric energy. The amortization of the capital investment over a reasonable number of years has been administratively determined to be the recovery, during the periods of their respective service lives, of the original cost of the power facilities having lives of less than 50 years, and the amortization of the remainder of the capital investment in power facilities over a period of 50 years subsequent to the in-service date of such facilities.

Albeni Falls, Detroit-Big Cliff, Lookout Point-Dexter, and Chief Joseph projects: Rate and repayment requirements for these projects are governed by section 5 of the Flood Control Act of 1944. The provisions of this section are similar to the corresponding provisions of the Bonneville Project Act and state that rate schedules shall be drawn having regard to the recovery of the cost of producing and transmitting electric energy excess to project needs, including the amortization of the capital investment over a reasonable period of years. The act of July 27, 1954 (68 Stat. 568), authorized the Secretary of the Interior to construct irrigation facilities comprising the Foster Creek division of the Chief Joseph project under reclamation law and provided that surplus power revenues should be used to assist in repayment of the irrigation investment.

Rate and repayment requirements for these projects have been determined by Bonneville Power Administration in the same manner as for Bonneville Dam project, McNary Dam project, and the Administration. It has been assumed in the preparation of schedule 2 that the assistance to irrigation investment in the Foster Creek division of the Chief Joseph project will not be required until after repayment of the project commercial power investment.

Hungry Horse project: Construction of Hungry Horse Dam and Reservoir was authorized by the act of June 5, 1944 (43 U. S. C. 593a). The act made no provision for allocations of cost, rate and repayment criteria, or the application of revenues. There has been a question as to whether the Hungry Horse project is subject to the requirements of reclamation laws, including the rate and repayment requirements of section 9 of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939. The Department of the Interior has this matter under consideration.

Rate and repayment requirements for this project have been determined in the same manner as for Bonneville Dam project and other projects of the Corps of Engineers.

Columbia Basin project: Reclamation law, as supplemented, and Executive Order 8526 require that payments be made into the reclamation fund of the United States Treasury, for the account of Columbia Basin project, of such revenues received by Bonneville Power Administration from the sale of electric energy as may be properly allocable to the project. By agreement between Bonneville Power Administration and the Bureau of Reclamation, entered into to effect these requirements, the Administration is making payments which will, together with revenues from other sources credited to power, over a period of 80 years equal:

1. Operation, maintenance, and replacement of facilities allocated to commercial power.

2. Interest at 3 percent on unamortized investment in facilities allocated to commercial power.

3. Investment in commercial power facilities.

4. Assistance to irrigators in repaying the investment in irrigation estimated to require about $470 million.

The rate and repayment study by the Bureau of Reclamation indicates that commercial power investment will be repaid in about 33 years (1975) and that net power revenues after that date will render the assistance necessary to repay the irrigation investment over the remaining 47 years of the project payout period. Inasmuch as the annual payments by Bonneville Power Administration are incorporated in the rate and repayment study itself, repayment at Columbia Basin project is considered to be just on schedule.

Yakima project (Kennewick division): Rate and repayment requirements for the Kennewick division of the Yakima project are governed by the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 and the authorizing act of June 21, 1948 (62 Stat. 382). The latter act provides an overall payout period of 66 years for the reimbursable investment in power and irrigation, with power revenue assistance to irrigators in repayment of the irrigation investment. It provides also for a 2.5 percent return on the investment in commercial power and authorizes the use of one-fifth of such interest to assist in repayment of the irrigation investment.

Repayment of investment in commercial power is expected to require 38 years, and net revenues after that date are to render the assistance necessary to repay the irrigation investment (about $4,500,000) over the remaining 28 years of the project payout period. Inasmuch as the annual payments by Bonneville Power Administration are incorporated in the rate and repayment study itself, repayment is considered to be just on schedule.

Resolution Favoring Change in Social-Security Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a joint resolution passed by the Illinois House of Rep-

resentatives and Senate be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. This favors a change in the social-security laws with respect to the definition of children, so that children of common-law marriages may be permitted to obtain survivorship benefits under that act.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Joint Resolution 29

Whereas the Social Security Act so defines the term "children" that in Illinois and many other States which do not recognize the validity of common-law marriages, social-security survivorship benefits are denied to children of a deceased father, who is a party to a common-law marriage, although it can be established that the father had lived with the children, supported them, acknowledged parentage on birth certificates, claimed them for income-tax purposes, and in other ways formally and informally acknowledged paternity of such children; and

Whereas there is a substantial number of these children in this and other States who are being deprived of benefits to which they should be entitled; and

Whereas in many cases the public aid and assistance agencies of the State must provide and care for these children at a cost to the States of millions of dollars; and

Whereas the definition of "children" in the Social Security Act should be so amended as to prevent further injustice and financial loss to these children, to enable them to receive the social-security survivorship benefits to which they are entitled and to relieve part of the financial burden which has been placed on this and other States: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois (the Senate concurring herein), That this general assembly respectfully request the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to enact legislation which will redefine the definition of "children" in the Social Security Act so that children of common-law marriages may be permitted to obtain survivorship benefits under the Social Security Act upon the death of the father of such children; and, be it further

Resolved, That a suitable copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to every Member of the United States Senate and House of Representatives from Illinois.

Adopted by the house, June 4, 1957.

WARREN L. WOOD,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
FRED W. RUEGG,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

Concurred in by the senate, June 19, 1957.

JOHN WM. CHAPMAN,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD E. FERNANDES,
Secretary of the Senate.

Report to Constituents on Work of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice for the 15 years I have been a Member of Congress to make a yearly report to the people I represent. I want them to know how I voted and to have my views on all public questions. It is their right and it is my responsibility.

NEWSPAPER AND RADIO REPORT EACH WEEK

In my humble opinion, it is the duty of every Member of Congress to keep in close touch with the people that he represents, to know their wishes and keep them informed of pending legislation. I have tried to do this each year by writing a weekly newsletter which goes to approximately 90 newspapers and 14 radio stations, and a number of interested individuals in the district.

I tape a weekly radio program entitled "What's Happening in the Nation's Capital." This program has been carried over the years by all of the radio stations in the district. There has been an occasional TV film. The newspapers and radio and TV stations have been most kind to use these efforts of mine as a public service. I deeply appreciate their help in bringing these reports to the people.

VISIT TO 38 COUNTIES AND 100 TOWNS IN THE DISTRICT

I make it a practice when Congress is in session to stay here on the job. In doing so I have missed out on many invitations to attend various meetings in Nebraska. By staying on the job I have kept one of the best voting records in Congress, in the upper 5 percent.

When Congress is not in session, I make it a practice to be out in the District talking with people at county fairs, service clubs, church groups, farm meetings, and similar gatherings.

In off-election years I hold Government clinics in each of the 38 courthouses for the purpose of discussing problems of Government with my constituents.

LEADERSHIP BY CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT

This Nation is entering the fifth year of a world at peace, a period that began with the ending of the Korean war in 1953. It seems to me that we have progressed, day by day, to a more permanent, enduring, and solid structure for conducting our world affairs. It is to be hoped that the disarmament conference will bear good fruits.

This Nation and the world have advanced far in the production of death-dealing weapons. The guided missile is about to take the place of the airplane. The atomic age has burst upon us and if used properly could promise a better world with better living conditions.

The budget has been balanced for the third straight time. Deficit spending has become a thing of the past. Corruption in Government has been held at a minimum. The Communists no longer hold positions of responsibility. Our leadership in world affairs has been firmed. This Nation no longer jumps from crisis to crisis. We have demonstrated a sincere desire for peace by positive, constructive acts and deeds. We can be thankful we do live in a world of peace. Tense though it may be, it has given us a prayerful respite from the slaughter and destruction of two major wars.

If this Nation continues to enjoy wise political, economic, and spiritual leadership, we can rise to new heights of position and power in this world.

BUDGET

One of the greatest roars of protest in the history of the Nation began to batter at the ears of Congress after the President announced his budget for the 1958 fiscal year. It was the largest peacetime budget in history.

I wrote the President and made a protest about the enormous budget and the growth of Federal Government. I pointed out that with proper management we could cut $8 to $10 billion from the budget without injuring a single vital, necessary function of government. I suggested:

First. Adopt all of the Hoover Commission recommendations.

Second. Cut down on foreign economic aid.

Third. Trim the payroll by 10 percent. Stop hiring to fill vacancies.

Fourth. Stop new matching and grant-in-aid programs.

The administration did adopt some of the suggestions and it looks like there will be a savings of around $5 billion of the original proposed budget of $71.8 billion.

I have had hundreds of letters from Nebraska protesting the budget. They were indignant letters. They were detailed and sound in their reasoning. I am mighty glad of the response.

I consider myself a conservative-moderate Republican. I believe in spending when the money goes for the current and future needs of a growing American economy.

I have not been able to go along with the administration on Federal aid to education, increased spending for foreign aid, and additional spending for new welfare programs. I cannot and will not be a rubber stamp.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

For several years I have announced my opposition to Federal aid to education. I have worked and voted against such aid. I have done so because I believe these problems should be left to the people in the local communities. I want no big government in Washington controlling our county and State school systems. As a former teacher in a rural school, it is my conviction that communities should build, operate, and maintain their schools at the local level and without Federal interference.

FOREIGN AID

In the past 10 years, the American taxpayer has been called upon to send more than $65 billion to some 70 countries around the world. I have long been opposed to foreign aid with the exception of food, medicine, clothing, and technical help for needy people. It seems to me we have wasted billions of dollars in the past few years trying to buy friends that cannot be bought. I voted against foreign aid.

HELLS CANYON

Of course, you heard the rumbling over the Hells Canyon issue. Here was a case where proponents of Federal power wanted to spend half a billion dollars of Federal money to construct a high dam over the Snake River out in the North-

west at the very same place where a private power company is already building a series of three dams to accomplish the very same purpose.

The private company has spent about $58 million. The Federal power people wanted to bury this construction and start over. As a matter of fact the production of power would be nearly the same, whichever plan was used.

Nebraska's public power is entirely different from Federal power. We elect our own directors; our electric energy is not controlled from Washington. We do have good local control. I have supported 93 percent of public-power projects in other States.

At the same time I am a firm believer in the free enterprise on which this Nation was founded. It is my steadfast conviction that the Government should not do for the people what the people are able to do for themselves.

There is room in our country for both private and public power—it should not become a political football.

SUPREME COURT

Decisions made by the Supreme Court during the past year have been very disturbing to me. Of course, the one which hit the Nation with the greatest impact was the Girard case, the young soldier who was turned over for trial to the Japanese after he killed a woman.

The case drew a lot of protest. Few tried to argue that Girard was innocent but all demanded that he be tried by an American court-martial. The status-of-forces agreements came in for a great deal of criticism. I am sure some more effective legislation is needed than we have now.

The Supreme Court also freed a confessed rapist on the technical ground that he had been held too long before arraignment. This man walks the streets of Washington today. There were other cases where Communists were turned loose on technical grounds.

Perhaps the worst of all was in the case where the Court in effect opened up the secret files of the FBI and thus weakened the powers of law enforcement. Some corrective legislation was passed in the final days of the session.

IRRIGATION AND FLOOD CONTROL

We had a severe setback this past session when the Ainsworth and Farwell irrigation districts were denied starting funds. Recognized as two of the best projects in the Missouri River Basin, the projects were denied because of a poor presentation of the facts by the Department of the Interior and the fact that the Nebraska Legislature had passed a misinterpreted resolution against grants-in-aid projects.

These latter projects have no relation to irrigation or reclamation, but opponents made hay with the resolution.

The Democratic leadership effectively prevented the omnibus rivers and harbors bill from coming to the floor. The Gering Valley flood-control project was a valued item in this bill, but too many unsound, unauthorized projects had been included. We tried hard to get a clean bill introduced, leaving out the unapproved items. The leadership prevented this. Of course, we will try again next year.

Sufficient funds were granted this year by Congress for the completion of the Sargent Irrigation District. Funds also were approved for the completion of Glendo Dam, which will provide more power for Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado. We were successful in getting adjusted contracts for the Northport Irrigation District and the Mirage Flats Irrigation District.

The 230-kilovolt line from Fort Randall to Grand Island is still an uncertainty. The Appropriations Committee refused to consider it. I believe we would be better off if the power interests in Nebraska joined together, borrowed the money from REA, and built it themselves. Three years ago we could have had the line, but at that time some of the power interests were against it. They thought a 115-kilovolt line would do the job. They refused to look into the future.

FARM PROGRAM

The farm program is in somewhat of a mess. There are many differences between the cotton, tobacco, wheat, and corn farmers and the individuals living in the city.

The best news for Nebraska, however, is that the drought seems to have been broken. There was a good small-grain crop, the best hay and alfalfa crop we have ever had. It is good news to know that the price of hogs and cattle is satisfactory. In general, over the Nation agriculture seems in a better position than it was a year ago. The farm income is up 7 percent in the last year. New discoveries in better feeds, better fertilizer, and better farming methods have helped cure an agriculture that had been quite sick.

Next year I hope there is good sound farm legislation. I believe that discoveries can be made that will find ways and means of using surplus agriculture products for industrial uses. The Commission inquiring into further industrial uses of grains and other farm crops has made its report, which calls for more research in finding new methods of using surplus crops. I feel sure that American scientists will discover these new methods that will tie industry and agriculture closer together.

PEACE AND TAXES

The world has been at peace, I think, partly because we have spent a great deal of money in a sound defense program. Of course, this has caused taxes to remain high. About two-thirds of the tax dollar goes to maintain the peace and to pay for past wars. Recent military manpower cuts indicate a speeding up as we change to more modern methods of war. The national defense is being streamlined to meet the requirements of the nuclear age.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The civil-rights issue occasioned many days of debate in the Senate. This is the question of protecting the Negro and his voting rights. It seems to me that in the last discussion there was more politics than there should have been. The issue has little effect in Nebraska. I supported the administration for a good bill which, in revised form, went to the White House after the Senate's one-man filibuster ended.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

This Congress has proved one of the most frustrating, difficult, and inconclusive that I can remember in my 15 years as a Member of the House of Representatives.

The Congress has been more productive of political maneuvering than of constructive legislation. There has been much partisan bickering. There has been too much logrolling and vote trading.

The vacillation comes about because of the different political complexions of the President and the Congress. When the Chief Executive is of one political complexion and the Congress another, legislation becomes extremely difficult. There have been too many roadblocks thrown in front of good legislation.

The President has shown restraint in dealing with Congress. There are times when he seems to have had poor advice.

The President said he was bitterly disappointed with the results of this Congress. He made some 203 recommendations but less than half of them were approved.

It seems to me that in all legislation there is some good and some bad. I have often wished it were possible to vote for the 70 percent that might be good and reject the balance in any bill. That is not possible.

I have always felt that legislation should be considered on its merits. I have supported those measures which I thought were right. If my conscience told me a measure was wrong, I have withheld my support.

Many controversial bills which should have come to the floor at this session were bypassed by the Democrat-controlled Congress and will have to wait until next year for action. I am not satisfied with the record we made. I believe we could have done better with a Republican President and a Republican Congress.

It has been a great privilege and a great responsibility to represent the people who live in the Fourth District for with every privilege comes responsibility.

As long as I am a Member of Congress I shall try to discharge my responsibility to the very best of my ability.

Federal Expenditures in Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, economy was the theme of the 1st session of the 85th Congress and the budget submitted to Congress by President Eisenhower for the operation of the Federal Government in fiscal year 1958 was

reduced by nearly $5 billion in funds appropriated by Congress.

However, estimated Federal spending in Montana was increased by an additional $11,197,134 for fiscal year 1958. Appropriations totaling $220,909,849 have been programed for Montana for the 12-month period which began on July 1 of this year. In fiscal year 1957 the Federal Government spent $209,712,715 in Montana. These annual appropriations continue to be the largest single source of income to the State.

Federal income and excise taxes collected in Montana for fiscal year 1956 was in the amount of $128,991,000. On the basis of the above figures Federal expenditures in the State will be at the rate of approximately $1.71 for every $1 collected in Montana.

The Agriculture Department contributed the most to the State and the Commerce Department and the Defense Department are the next two largest sources of Federal monies.

These appropriations do not include public works projects such as Helena Valley, the second powerplant at Fort Peck and others as portions of these are repayable.

It was a distinct pleasure to work with Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, Congressmen LEE METCALF, and LEROY ANDERSON. We worked together—held periodic conferences—in connection with all matters affecting Montana's welfare and endeavored at all times to work as a unit in furthering the development and best interests of our State.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a table of the major Federal departments and agencies who programed funds in Montana.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Federal expenditures in State of Montana by departments

Departments	Fiscal year 1957	Fiscal year 1958	Increase (+) or decrease (−)
Commerce: Census Bureau, Weather Bureau, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Bureau of Public Roads, Civil Aeronautics Administration	$35,505,173	$44,194,235	+$8,689,062
(Highway program)	(31,915,857)	(40,297,442)	(+8,381,585)
Treasury: Bureau of Customs, Internal Revenue and Savings Bonds Division	1,169,405	1,234,896	+65,491
Labor: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Wage and Hour Division, employees compensation, apprenticeship and training, employment security	2,024,771	2,008,674	−16,097
Post Office	7,840,000	8,133,000	+293,000
Justice: Legal activities, Immigration and Naturalization Service	557,647	645,000	+87,353
General Services Administration: Government buildings and services, minerals purchase programs	6,887,060	7,212,516	+325,456
Veterans' Administration: General administration, medical and hospital services, benefit payments	14,634,166	14,634,166	
Defense: Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force	32,260,000	31,854,000	−406,000
Interior: Bonneville Power Administration, Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Reclamation, Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, National Park Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife	$14,480,392	$17,971,256	$+3,490,864
Health, Education, and Welfare: American Printing House for the Blind, Office of Education, Vocational Rehabilitation, Public Health Service, and Social Security Administration	8,961,571	9,704,805	+843,234
Agriculture: Agricultural Research Service, Extension Service, Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, Conservation Program Service, Marketing Service,[1] soil-bank program, Commodity Stabilization Service, Commodity Credit Corporation, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation,[2] REA, FHA, Office of General Counsel	85,492,530	83,317,301	−2,175,229
Total	209,712,715	220,909,849	+11,197,134

[1] Since it is not practicable to estimate in advance the availability or demand for surplus commodities, the estimate for 1958 is not included.

[2] Since it is not practicable to estimate the amount of crop insurance indemnity payments in advance an estimate for 1958 is not included. Estimate premium income is as follows: 1957, $1,429,511; 1958, $1,500,000.

The Recent June Decisions of the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 18, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the recent June decisions of the Supreme Court have caused more comment among all groups of Americans than any other decisions of the Court within the last 50 years.

The hurricane of protests is not confined to just people in right-wing groups, nor to those citizens who write letters to the editor. Neither is this indignation confined to the speeches of—as the liberal press likes to say—hotheaded rural Congressmen, but to bar associations, judicial councils, Federal judges and 3,000 members of the American Bar assembled in London, who all speak out openly against these June decisions.

What is the basic cause of all this alarm regarding these decisions? In the opinion of most observers, this outcry is caused by the well-founded belief that for many long years the Congress—and for the last 5 years the Presidency—has been pointing out the necessity of passing laws to curb the inroads of communism at home and to build roadblocks against communism all over the world with United States tax dollars.

This expressed attitude by the Congress and the Presidency can now well be destroyed by these recent decisions.

It is an obvious fact that any government exists to protect the well-being of its whole society. It seems highly significant that our country which has spent billions upon billions within the last 8 years fighting international communism throughout the world and now by these decisions to be told by this Warren Court that communism is no present danger.

Something seems to have happened to the thinking of this Court, because just a few years ago in a Supreme Court decision we find these words: "It"—communism—"is a clear and present danger."

That was the sentiment expressed with regard to the theft of bomb secrets.

It is now frequently asked, "What does the Court mean? If the Communists can destroy nations by subversion and infiltration, why maintain and spend untold billions for military defense?"

I am sure that even the man in the street, far removed from the semantics of legal phrases, full well knows that if our Government goes down he will have nothing to hope for from the communistic system that will take its place. The average American believes that self-preservation should be the first duty of this Government. He does not expect his Government to be so virtuous about theoretical citizens' rights that he, Mr. Average American, will become a mere number in a slave camp or just a corpse.

And, above all else, Mr. Average American is not so naive as to believe that communism is just another shade of political opinion.

There is another belief held by most American citizens which is simply this: The Supreme Court should be just as anxious to protect the Nation itself as to the theoretical rights of Communists who have openly avowed their belief in the forceful overthrow of our Government.

Most of the criticism now directed at the Supreme Court is not at the third branch of our Government, but at the individuals on this bench. Most Americans believe that these men who write decisions on the Supreme Court should not be swayed by pressure groups.

Most assuredly, most citizens did not approve of the Supreme Court Justices going to New York City to testify as to the "sterling and unimpeachable character" of Alger Hiss, who was convicted for perjury for denying he turned over stolen documents to Communist agents.

It might also be well to remember that Alger Hiss in his early years was one of these bright young law clerks who help Justices of the Supreme Court in writing decisions.

I am sure it was never intended by the founders of our Government that political expedient politicians should be ap-

pointed to the Court instead of men well founded in the law. When mere political expediency creeps into decisions, the whole governmental structure is in danger. These recent Warren Court decisions seem to all point to the fact that anyone whose loyalty to the United States is questioned always receives a favorable decision.

These June decisions on communism were particularly denunciatory of the Committee on Un-American Activities and its investigations. The Court found fault with the resolution creating the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938.

Here is a copy of the resolution of Congress creating the committee:

The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (I) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propoganda activities in the United States; (II) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (III) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Read it again. Do you have difficulty in determining what this committee was authorized to do or to investigate?

The intent seems to be plain to most citizens, but not the Supreme Court.

Here is what they said in one of their recent decisions:

It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of un-American?

What is the basic form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution? It would seem that someone on the Court has failed to remember section 4 of article 4, a provision in the Constitution which says:

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion * * * and against domestic violence.

The Court apparently does not recognize the dangers of infiltration, sabotage, the designs of fellow travelers, or the complexities of a modern society. This decision seems to point out that only when armed resistance breaks out would the States or the Federal Government be justified in protecting themselves from the Communist menace that everyone seems to be aware of except the Warren Court.

This decision to me points out most convincingly that the rights of the Congress, the Executive, and the States have been usurped by the Court.

It is all very well to say, "Oh, yes, Congress has the right to investigate for purposes of writing legislation." But the words are a bit hollow sounding in view of the Supreme Court's repeated decisions of communism.

It is all very well for Chief Justice Warren to write about academic freedom and political expression in the classrooms as he did in the Sweezy case, but it is difficult for some to see the difference between a professor lecturing his students on the benefits of communism and another professor's teaching his students the art of secret writing and making microfilm and how to set fires secretly. The basic design in both is to destroy our form of government.

But of course, these new guardians of Communist liberties might see a difference, but it is doubtful.

It will be somewhat difficult for future historians to find the basic reason why the judicial branch of our Government became the chief foe of the anti-Communists in America. To date, these anti-Communist foes, through their decisions, seem to be in the ascendancy; namely, Warren, Frankfurter, Black, and Douglas.

Running through many of these comments on the June decisions is this one question: "Who writes these opinions?"

In the U. S. News & World Report, July 12, 1957, is an article entitled "The Bright Young Men Behind the Bench." This article infers that these law clerks freshly arrived from law schools are influential in the opinions expressed.

Before we start condemning and blaming the faceless and almost nameless clerks, let us examine some records and recall from our memories a few well-known facts. It seems strange that memories can be so short.

Who is the most powerful man on the Court? It is Earl Warren, because he is the Chief Justice. He can wield terrific power, if he so desires.

From the intellectual aspect, many would say Felix Frankfurter holds the reins of power. All informed persons know of Frankfurter's background, training, ancestry, and close associates. One only has to read his decisions since he has been a member of the Court to see through the semantic smokescreen of his judicial decisions.

In looking into the background and writings of Felix Frankfurter, we sometimes find strange words that seemed a bit puzzling at the time they were written.

The Justice said this:

If facts are changing, law cannot be static. So-called immutable principles must accommodate themselves to the facts of life, for facts are stubborn and will not yield. In truth, what are now deemed immutable principles once themselves grew out of living conditions. (Law and Politics.)

Does that mean, since we have long since passed out of an agricultural economy into an industrial one, that we must now adopt socialistic-communistic principles?

Here are some more direct words written by Justice Frankfurter:

The history of the Supreme Court is not the history of an abstraction, but the analysis of individuals acting as a court who make decisions and lay down doctrines * * * and sometimes even overrule the decisions of their predecessors, reinterpreting and transmitting their doctrines. (Law and Politics.)

Did the famous liberal Justice have the present decisions in mind when he wrote the foregoing?

Justice Hugo Black, whose court experience was only as a police judge in an obscure village in Alabama. His decisions reveal through the years no sign of any approach to a basic American problem except that "We can't hunt witches or burn books." He has lived peacefully, bouncing back and forth from one side to the other.

Justice Black on several occasions in the past has upheld the right of congressional committees to investigate all corporate practices and was severe in his comments that corporations had no right of secrecy nor could they withhold necessary information from a congressional committee.

Listen to him rave at a corporation:

There is no power on earth that can tear away the veil behind which powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups operate, save the sovereign legislative power armed with the right of subpena and search.

A great many people will wonder why the Justice from Alabama will not see any dangers from Moscow's agents and that none of them are powerful, audacious, unscrupulous in their attempt to infiltrate schools, homes, churches, and factories of America with but one ultimate objective in mind—destroy America.

Justice Brennan has no long record on the bench, but before coming to the Supreme Court he was no Judge Medina in his approach to this country's gravest world problem, namely communism.

William O. Douglas, the climber of Asiatic peaks in far-off lands, has never been noted for climbing any American peaks of lofty ideals. He has just been going along for the ride, except for "occasional bird walks on obscure trails." He is a westerner who succumbed very easily to the "taints and tarnish" of the international aspect of all domestic problems.

Let us take a little look into the background of the Chief Justice, Earl Warren. There are perhaps quite a number of people who over the past years have heard Earl Warren say, "We have nothing to fear from communism."

The chief source of Warren's so-called influence is that he assigns the cases to the various justices for the writing of the opinions. It is apparent that the man who writes the opinion makes a lot of difference, because the reasoning behind the decision in many cases is important as the decision itself. It is well to remember also that Warren assigned himself to write the sociological opinion in the school case in 1954, and in some of the recent Communist cases, Warren wrote the opinion.

Communists and socialists have long recognized socialized medicine as the first step in organizing a totalitarian state. Warren in California always worked for and advocated socialized medicine.

He and CIO bosses and Harry Bridges advocated socialized medicine and Warren in California always advocated an FEPC law.

In 1944 Warren helped Harry Bridges and other CIO leaders defeat a right-to-work law in California. This law would have freed the unions from the despotic rule of labor racketeers.

Warren was against the ruling of the board of regents in California requiring loyalty oaths for professors.

It is reported at the 1950 governors' conference, at which Dean Acheson

spoke, only Governor Warren praised Dean Acheson's speech.

During the campaign of 1948, both Time and Newsweek reported that Warren had asked the national campaign managers to soft pedal the issue on communism.

And always remember, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, as Governor of California, twice tried unsuccessfully to put over socialized medicine in California.

Justice Holmes once wrote in an opinion:

> The life of the law is not logic but experience.

It is to be hoped that the good Chief Justice will listen to those words and remember law and precedent are fundamental if we are to survive as a Nation.

The Watkins case was one of those decided in the recent so-called June decisions:

> We must condemn the practice of imputing a sinister meaning to the exercise of a person's constitutional rights under the fifth amendment * * *. The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to hollow mockry if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive assumption of perjury.

Yet let us look back a few years in the Supreme Court decision with regard to the Teapot Dome scandal. This decision is quite different, the Court said:

> Men with honest motives and purposes do not remain silent when their honor is assailed. * * * These gentlemen have the right to remain silent * * * but a court of equity has the right to draw reasonable and proper inferences in the case.

That clearly represents a changed view of the Court. When some barrels of oil were involved, you can use those inferences. But when the decision involves the control of communism in the United States and the protection of this country against the menace of international communism, you must not draw any inferences because a witness refuses to answer questions.

In final analysis it will be most tragic if a majority of the Court continues to follow the Warren, Black, Frankfurter, Douglas line. It may be too much to hope for but hope springs eternal.

Let us hope that this Supreme Court can again revert to law and precedent rather than expediency and an expanding sociological concept of a planned blueprint society, in which the social engineers are preeminent.

Law and precedent stabilize and give society a permanent base for a complicated society.

These opinions and beliefs are pointed out simply to point up the fact that it is often difficult to throw overboard some firmly ingrained beliefs. And for some—even while sitting on the bench—to again not hear voices in the air of some phony political philosophers of times long past.

These are members of the Court, and their personal past history should be remembered when these June decisions on communism are discussed. It is also to be remembered that these men were not elected—they were appointed.

It has always been assumed that the President and Congress made the basic policies in all matters concerning the welfare of the people of the United States. Hence, these policymaking decisions in regard to the control of communism by the Warren Court came as quite a shock to many people. It was a great shock because most thinking Americans have believed for a long time that their heavy tax load, with American soldiers stationed in 69 countries of the world, 30,000 dead American soldiers in Korea, the continued draft of their own sons and relatives, was all due solely to the dangers of worldwide communism.

Not only does the rank and file American know what communism means, but students of history, both amateur and professional, realize the method used by the Communists and intellectual fellow travelers has always been the Trojan-horse approach. Everyone seems to know of this except the black-robed men on the Warren Court.

There is no other conclusion that can be reached except that this Warren Court has now thrown its protective cloak around the fellow travelers and Commmunists. The Court is simply blind to the reality of our times.

These decisions grant an absolute immunity and aid to known Communists and fellow travelers. They place individual Communist rights above national security.

Very few people seem to realize that these June decisions of the Warren Court wiped out not only Federal legislation but State legislation. And again the field of States rights was invaded not by the President, not by the Congress, but by the Court.

When you wipe out another States rights concept that States can not pass their own sedition laws, you just put one more nail in the coffin they are constructing to destroy all States rights.

Jefferson once said:

> There is no danger I apprehend so much as the consolidation of our Government by the noiseless and therefore unalarming instrumentality of the Supreme Court.

We should also remember that ancient Rome existed for 800 years under the classic maxim that the safety of the nation was the supreme law. There are some who seem to think that the Warren Court's attitude toward communism can best be summed up by saying it seems more concerned about protecting the big bad wolf of communism than of Little Red Riding-hood.

Perhaps some will doubt the propriety of a Member of Congress pointing out some of the anticipated effects of these decisions. Justice Clark, a member of this Supreme Court in a dissenting opinion in the Watkins case, put it this way:

> The Court has become the grand inquisitor and supervisor of congressional investigations.

But why has the Court suddenly become so enamored with its position and why seek so much power? The answer to this question is not hard to find if one only remembers, reads, listens, and looks at the mores of the times. The attitude of the Court and its decisions is nothing more nor less than the natural product of 20 years of New Deal-Fair Deal and now modern Republicanism concepts.

These June decisions and others for the past several years clearly show that the Court is listening to the siren voices for the substitution of demagogic political welfare state panaceas instead of equal justice under law.

And all history points out the necessity of trying to curb unlimited power. Lord Chatham expressed it this way:

> Unlimited power corrupts the possessor and this I know, that where the law ends, there tyranny begins.

The President can only be elected now to two terms. During his second term he cannot control with the unseen power he has in his first term. As his second term diminishes, his power and political prestige declines.

There are few persons of mature stature and judgment who believe that maybe some of the members of the Supreme Court see an opportunity in this amendment to the Constitution to assume and arrogate to themselves more power.

That it will permit the Court to assume more power because after all the Court in final analysis is the creature of the President. This danger is apparent because this present Warren Court is superliberal, if not radical. Maybe some members think they can assume the cloak of more false liberalism because of the waning power of the Executive in the last years of his final term.

What will be the eventual outcome of these pro-Communist decisions? It seems clear that Congress should take the lead in wiping out these incredible decisions. It is to be hoped that the Judicial Subcommittee appointed to investigate these decisions will come up with the necessary answer.

There is a famous motto cut in the marble canopy in letters 3 feet high above the entrance of the Supreme Court Building, it reads: "Equal justice under law."

The general American public wants the Supreme Court to follow this motto and forget the theory that they should write sociological decisions to achieve their false ideas of social justice for enemies of this Republic.

This Warren Court seemingly is determined to build up the doctrine that the idea of a limited government must give way to the ideal of totalitarianism.

Congress still has the power to change this direction of travel, but it cannot do it by sitting idly by and letting these decisions go unnoticed. Congress has still not been completely captured by the leftwingers and the internationalists.

Congress still controls the purse strings and can create such inferior courts as it deems advisable and designate the duties and procedures of these courts.

Congress has always had and still has the power to curb a bad court because the Congress gets its powers from the people and the courts gets theirs from the Congress.

Educational Capacity of the Negro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 14, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include a statement by Kenneth Green, research director, of the Chicago Urban League, which conclusively answers with clarity and authority the implication of a year ago in a magazine of national circulation that the Negro has less capacity for education than the white man. The contention made by Frank C. J. McGurk, in the U. S. News & World Report in September of 1956 is being widely quoted by those most violently opposed to integration in our public schools. It is a contention that strikes at the very concept of democracy and is without a shred of substantiation in the facts of history and in the realities of the present world in which we live.

In the world in which we live the white man is in the great minority. Neither the white man nor the man of color has a monopoly on the qualities of brain and of soul. These qualities are to be found in equal measure among all races when opportunities for development are equal. It is unfortunate that a man once on the teaching staff at West Point should have revived the discarded theory of white superiority at this period when we are making such progress in reaching a plane of brotherhood. It is even more regrettable that a national magazine of large circulation should have made itself the vehicle for its dissemination. I congratulate and commend the Chicago Urban League for its constructive and scholarly job of debunking.

Mr. Green's statement follows:

SELECTED EXCERPTS FROM A CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE STAFF REPORT ON AN ARTICLE BY FRANK C. J. MCGURK, PH.D.

(By Kenneth Green, research director of the Chicago Urban League)

The national magazine U. S. News & World Report in its September 21, 1956 issue printed an article by Frank C. J. McGurk, Ph. D. Dr. McGurk was identified in the article by U. S. News & World Report as being born and educated in Pennsylvania, been doing research in racial psychology since 1939, just left the staff of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and at the time of the publishing of the article was an associate professor of psychology at Villanova University. In other words, McGurk has some of the trappings of a scientist.

In summary, McGurk's article stated that Negroes as a group do not possess as much capacity for education) as whites as a group." McGurk utilized intelligence tests as his basic tool of analysis. McGurk further claims in the article that increased improvements in the social and economic status of the Negro have not changed his relationship to the whites regarding capacity for education." McGurk concludes, "There is something more important, more basic, to the race problem than differences in external (socioeconomic) opportunity." This is a clever way of concluding that Negroes are in an inherent sense mentally inferior to whites.

The Chicago Urban League became concerned about this article in the U. S. News & World Report and is still concerned about it for the following reasons:

1. The position held by McGurk is contrary to accepted scientific knowledge on the subject.

2. The weight of authority maintains that psychological test results do not support the idea of inherent differences between the intelligence levels of various racial groups.

3. McGurk fails to maintain either a logical consistency or an understanding of the nature of the data utilized.

In spite of the above the league was forced to recognize the importance of the article regardless of its merits because:

(a) It was prepared by a man wearing the trappings of science.

(b) The article was advertised as being scientific in nature.

(c) It appeared in a magazine national in scope.

(d) It is an attack on the feasibility and acceptability of racial integration in our schools.

(e) It is an attack on programs to raise the social and economic levels of Negroes as being ultimately ineffective.

(f) It will be used again and again as a scientific prop in those programs promoting bigotry.

(g) While its initial target is integration of the public-school system in the South, it has a dangerous potential in other areas including Chicago.

(h) Rabid opponents of integration have already carried their message north to the State of Vermont. U. S. News & World Report reported a speech by James F. Byrnes before the State of Vermont Bar Association where he used McGurk as a scientific prop in his arguments against Supreme Court decision on integration in our schools.

(i) McGurk's work is still being cited as exemplified by reference to it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD early in 1957.

The league's reaction to McGurk was to compile a complete report of the observations of prominent Chicago area social scientists. The title was "A Chicago Urban League Staff Report on a Scientist's Report on Race Differences by Frank C. J. McGurk, Ph. D." This report is on file at various libraries in the Chicago area, at libraries of prominent American universities and the Library of Congress. However, it is now out of print as far as public distribution is concerned.

SUMMARIES OF CRITICISMS OF M'GURK BY CHICAGO AREA SCIENTISTS

1. The first criticism is by Willard Kerr, Ph. D., assistant professor in applied psychology at Illinois Institute of Technology. Dr. Kerr states that:

"Dr. McGurk's theory rests upon a presentation which is riddled with false assumptions, on the one hand, and glaring omissions of relevant research on the other." Kerr further states that "it is encouraging for the future that most psychologists, unlike Dr. McGurk, concede also that the psychological-social-economic status of the Negro, despite inherent mental equality, is still sufficiently less stimulating than the psychological-social-economic status of the white citizen to produce a differing tendency in test scores."

2. The next criticism was by the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago which was based on an analysis directed by Dr. Charles T. O'Reilly, director of research at the Loyola School of Social Work. O'Reilly criticizes as follows:

"It would appear that Dr. McGurk has taken facts out of context, ignored the cautions of the researchers who made the studies that he quotes, arrived at conclusions entirely unwarranted by the data he has used. We feel that he has misused the work of reputable scholars."

3. Dr. Leonard Breen, assistant professor in sociology at the University of Chicago, most decisively protests:

"As a person actively conducting research in social sciences, I resent the description given by the editor of Mr. McGurk's paper as 'scientific.' The methodological framework such as that employed in his paper would not even be acceptable as a term-paper framework in an undergraduate course."

4. Peter Jacobsohn, instructor in sociology and race relations at Illinois Institute of Technology, could have his criticism summed up in the following quote:

"In light of all the above (Jacobsohn's) objections, McGurk's article emerges, at best, as a diatribe, haphazardly assembled and shoddily executed. A scientist's unscientific report."

All of the above scientists probed in an intensive way the inconsistencies and inaccuracies of the McGurk article. In order to give an example of the depth that the scientists pursued their subject, the statement of the social scientists consultant to the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago is presented below. This group was led by Dr. Charles T. O'Reilly, director of research at the Loyola School of Social Work.

"In a recent issue of a national magazine (A Scientist Reports on Race Differences, U. S. News & World Report, Sept. 21, 1956, pp. 92–96) Dr. Frank G. J. McGurk, a Villanova University professor, stated that 'Negroes as a group do not possess as much (capacity for education) as whites as a group' (p. 96). Dr. McGurk's article claims that increased social and economic opportunities for Negroes have increased the psychological differences between Negroes and whites, and he reaches the conclusion that, 'There is something more important, more basic, to the race problem than differences in external opportunity' (p. 96). His clear implication is that there is something in the Negro as a person which makes him unable to benefit from educational opportunity. This is a neat way of saying that Negroes are mentally inferior to whites. In his article, Dr. McGurk says that his ideas are at variance with those of two other professors. He might better have said that they are at variance with the vast majority of psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and other scholars interested in the problem discussed by Dr. McGurk.

"Dr. McGurk relies on six articles to support his theory about the Negro's, he says, inability to profit from education. These six were selected, he says, because they permitted a comparison between the World War I performance of Negroes on psychological tests and latter-day performance. In limiting himself to these articles, Dr. McGurk has ruled out many other articles and reports of research that shed light on the problem. Such tactics raise serious questions about the adequacy and objectivity of his research efforts.

"Dr. McGurk says that if cultural (social and economic) opportunities are important in determining capacity for education, an improvement in cultural opportunities should result in an improvement in capacity for education. He then says that the social and economic condition of the Negro has improved since World War I and at a faster rate than for whites. Although possibly true, such a statement needs qualification. One should not forget that even an enormous rapid improvement would leave the average Negro still far behind the average white and, more importantly, still subject to limitations in the form of discrimination and closed doors to advancement. Such things minimize the effect of socio-economic advances. Dr. McGurk has not made this clear.

"To answer his question whether Negroes have more capacity for education due to all of this social and economic improvement, Dr. McGurk turns to certain articles in the literature of psychology. He considered that six articles had enough information to permit a comparison of the Negro's World War I test performance with latter-day performance.

"Several of these articles have been examined to evaluate Dr. McGurk's claims."

Study I (H. A. Tanser—The Settlement of Negroes in Kent County, Ontario, 1939): According to Dr. McGurk, Tanser's study showed that "The social and economic advantages of Canadian life did not increase the relative standing of the Negro children to white children." McGurk apparently accepted Tanser's statement that social and economic opportunities had always been equal for all Negroes and whites in the area, "except for a few minor outbreaks of oppression directed toward the Negroes." Since so much depends upon this alleged equality, it is interesting to note that Bruce, in an article also quoted by McGurk, said of Tanser's study, "although the schools are identical for Tanser's white and Negro groups, the environmental factor of the home has not yet been adequately controlled" (Bruce, p. 94). Other psychologists also claimed that there were significant differences in socio-economic level between the two groups. (A. Anastasi and J. P. Foley, Differential Psychology, 1949, p. 759). These comments make cultural opportunities less equal than McGurk's statement would lead one to believe.

Study II (M. Bruce, Factors Affecting Intelligence Test Performance of Whites and Negroes in the Rural South, Archives of Psychology, N. 292, 1940, pp. 5–99): This was a study of rural white and Negro children from an impoverished area in economic opportunity, which, although low, did not improve the psychological test-score relationship between Negroes and whites.

Bruce found that Negro children made lower test scores than white children but also said, "This, however, cannot be considered proof of the innate inferiority of the Negro sample. One obvious difficulty is that the equation of the two groups was not entirely valid" (p. 95). Bruce was "inclined to believe that there is an innate difference between particular white and Negro groups studied. However, the fact that all the Negro I. Q. distributions * * * are positively skewed with the highest score * * * suggest selective migration and possible social equality. In any event the positive skewness of the Negro I. Q. distribution prevents this study from being used as evidence of the superiority of the white race to the Negro race" (p. 97).

Although Dr. McGurk claims that the children in Bruce's study lived in "equivalent social and economic conditions," Bruce herself states that the equation of the two groups was not entirely valid. Dr. McGurk also did not mention that the education of the Negro and white children had been equated only by choosing Negro and white schools which had the same teacher-pupil ratio, thus leaving uncontrolled a host of other important educational factors.

Study III (A. Shuey, A Comparison of Negro and White College Students by Means of the ACE, Journal of Psychology, 14, 1942, pp. 35–52): Shuey reportedly tested a "very highly selected" group of Negro and white college freshmen. What Dr. McGurk means by highly selected is not clear. Shuey's article says that they were students entering a New York college and apparently no special effort was made to select any of them.

Shuey found that the whites averaged higher test scores than Negroes. Dr. McGurk uses her findings to support this conclusion that equal socio-economic opportunities do not improve Negro test performance.

Shuey matched 43 Negro and 43 white students. The 43 Negroes were all the Negroes in the freshman class at New York University's Washington Square College. They were matched with 43 whites chosen from 3,608 white freshmen. Although Dr. McGurk felt that the students had the same general cultural status and identical social and economic backgrounds, Shuey said: "It obviously cannot be inferred that all environmental factors which conceivably might influence the mental test scores of college students have been equated in this study."

Study IV (Fred Brown, "An Experimental and Critical Study of the Intelligence of Negro and White Kindergarten Children," Journal of General Psychology, 1944, 65 pp. 161–175): Brown's study was made with Minneapolis kindergarten children, and found that Negro children made lower average scores than the white children. Dr. McGurk said that "whatever socioeconomic benefits accrued to the Negro children in Minneapolis in 1944 were not sufficient to change their standing, relative to the white children with whom they were compared, when the World War I data are the basis for comparison."

When Brown found that the Negro children made lower scores he looked for an explanation and after examining his data, said, "Negro children at the kindergarten level in the Minneapolis public schools are not inferior to white children of nominally similar socioeconomic status, in general intellectual capacity" (p. 168). He went on to discuss why the Negroes scored lower, although they lived in the same socioeconomic environment. Brown suggested that Negroes are hemmed in in terms of opportunity, that their aspirations are reduced, their spontaneity in verbal behavior limited and general intellectual development constricted.

These are things that impose real barriers between the Negro and genuine equality, regardless of certain socioeconomic advances. They were overlooked by Dr. McGurk.

Inflation Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution on the subject of inflation, Government economy, and the establishment of a commission on this subject, passed by the Illinois House of Representatives.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Resolution 64

Whereas the problem of inflation is national in scope and poses the danger of destroying our economic system, and with the failure of such system, the Nation itself; and

Whereas the scope of the problem is too broad for any one State to solve; and

Whereas the consumer price index has gone up 3.4 points in the past 12 months, thus reflecting an additional outlay for living expenses by consumers of $2.5 billion per point; and

Whereas in addition to other causes, the swollen national budget, through increased spending, will result in more inflation; and

Whereas Government spending is a prime cause of inflation in that spending does not increase the Nation's productivity, but rather increases demand of raw materials in direct competition with consumer items, and as a result raises the price of said consumer items, making them too costly, or removing them from the market altogether, and further, the taxes that are collected to pay for these expenditures reduce the funds that otherwise would be available to increase productivity: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That it is the sense of this house that the Congress of the United States should establish a commission to study all aspects of the inflation problem, especially that segment of this problem that affects fixed income groups, widows, pensioners, etc., and those whose pay raises are few and far between and not in keeping with national rise in prices.

That Congress should curtail spending so as to lessen the outlay of money in nonproductive channels and that said Commission shall make recommendation to the next Congress for means and methods of curbing the inflationary spiral; and that suitable copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary of state to all Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the House, June 27, 1957.
WARREN L. WOOD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
FRED W. RUEGG,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Samuel K. McConnell, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, one of our most valued and most respected Members will not be in the House when Congress convenes in January. It is SAM MCCONNELL's own decision, and he is to be admired for accepting the directorship of the National Association of Cerebral Palsy, in which position he is further dedicating himself to the interests of his fellow men. Yet we who have been associated with him cannot help but be reluctant to see him take leave of his service in Congress, for SAM MCCONNELL has always been a courageous leader and an inspiration to his colleagues.

The Honorable SAMUEL K. MCCONNELL was a legislator whom I came to admire from the time that he joined the Pennsylvania delegation as a Member of the House. Upon my own election to Congress several years later I found him to be all that I had envisioned: a warm and enthusiastic individual, a conscientious and industrious Congressman. While we have a number of times disagreed on policy or legislation, I have nevertheless always appreciated his points of view and conclusions on all controversial matters. On most of the major issues that came before the House during the past 8 years, SAM MCCONNELL and I were in hearty accord, and I can assure you that having so able a combatant on the same side provides the confidence that is often necessary for a winning effort.

SAM MCCONNELL has established a record in Congress that will increase his stature in Pennsylvania and in the whole Nation with the passing of years. Meanwhile his contributions to mankind in the field which he is now entering will further establish him as one of the century's outstanding Americans. I join my colleagues in wishing him success and continued happiness.

Ethnic U. S. S. R.—The Non-Russian Nations in the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Georgetown University Forum has for 11 years maintained a nationwide reputation for its informative and objective discussions of issues commanding public interest and attention. As a tribute to its stature in television and radio, the Georgetown Forum, which is under the able direction of Rev. Francis J. Heyden, S. J., and Rev. Daniel E. Power, S. J., has received over a dozen awards and public acclaims from various parts of the Nation.

Recently the forum presented an outstanding and valuable program devoted to an analysis of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately there are few people in our Government who have any understanding or practical grasp of the importance of these captive non-Russian nations to American national strategy and security. Few realize that the first victims of Russian Communist aggression and imperialism were the once independent countries of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cossackia, Turkestan, and several others. Twenty years before Moscow's subjugation of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, these nations were forcibly incorporated in the legal fiction of a multinational federation, known as the U. S. S. R. Our neglect of these captive non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. might in the long run prove to be as tragic for us as the brutal Nazi treatment accorded them in World War II was for Germany.

The participants in this forum are all competent students of the many nations making up the U. S. S. R. Col. Charles W. Hostler, of the United States Air Force is the author of Turkism and the Soviets, an excellent work dealing in part with the 23 million Moslem Turkestanis. Dr. James D. Atkinson, a political scientist at Georgetown University, is an analyst of Russian Communist propaganda techniques. Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University and also national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, has written extensively on the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R.

From the viewpoint of American foreign policy and national strategy, the Georgetown University Forum has rendered a real public service down through the years. The directors of the forum are to be commended for their latest contribution to a better understanding of the basic structure of the U. S. S. R. Future efforts in this direction will go a long way in lifting the veil of ignorance from the agelong struggle of a large segment of humanity to be free and independent.

Under leave previously obtained, I insert in the RECORD the program of the Georgetown University Forum of August 25, 1957, on Ethnic U. S. S. R.—The Non-Russian Nations in the Soviet Union, as follows:

ETHNIC U. S. S. R.

Mr. WARREN. Ethnic U. S. S. R. is the topic for the 562d consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown Forum was founded in 1946.

This is Matthew Warren speaking by transcription from the Raymond Reiss Studio, on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital.

Today's discussion will be Ethnic U. S. S. R. The participants are Col. Charles W. Hostler, United States Air Force, author, Turkism and the Soviets; Dr. James D. Atkinson, department of government, Georgtown University; Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, department of economics, Georgetown University.

The Soviet Union is often thought of as a nation in the sense of a unified people. In fact, it is multinational and not homogeneous. Western statesmen occasionally talk of the possibility of a splintering-away of non-Russian peoples within the Soviet orbit and the consequent weakening of the U. S. S. R. Relatively little attention has been given to the nationalities within the U. S. S. R. Today the Georgetown University Forum devotes its program to two such races, the Turks and the Ukranians in our discussion of Ethnic U. S. S. R.

Dr. Dobriansky, what is the meaning of "ethnic"?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. "Ethnic" is a demographic term which refers to a people in a given area or contiguous area differentiated from other peoples by history, language, customs, arts, and even general psychological and sociologic disposition. We use the term "ethnic" here in the United States during some political campaigns when we make reference to such groups as the Polish-American group or the Hungarian-American group and the like. Actually, that is not an accurate description of these groups, for the simple reason that despite the fact that some of them maintain their lingual capacity in the respective language, yet they are in process of assimilation and, above all, they look upon themselves as being part and parcel of the American national fabric. However, when we look at the Soviet Union, the elemental basis of the Soviet Union is ethnic, in that you have many different peoples. They are concentrated in given areas. And consequently, the Soviet Union is not made up of any Soviet people or one nation. It really is a composition of many ethnic groups. I would go even further than that, in that ethnic is the base concept for a more general concept of nation, where you have all of these factors that I have enumerated within the ethnic concept serving as a basis for the concept of nation. When you have a nation, there you have a consciousness on the part of the people that unifies the people and gives them a basis for their aspirations which usually is manifested in a desire for independence of any foreign element. Consequently, the Soviet Union is not only ethnic U. S. S. R., I would say it is a multinational state in which one finds not only the Russian nation of about 92 million people, but also various non-Russian nations of about 110, 112 million people.

Mr. WARREN. Thank you, Doctor. Now, to the book itself under discussion today, Turkism and the Soviets. Colonel Hostler, what was your reason for writing this book?

Colonel HOSTLER. My objective was to expose to the people of the West in a certain amount of detail the existence of this very large Turkish-speaking group of approximately 54 million peoples. They are divided with about 20 million people residing in the Turkish Republic, 5.4 million in Iran, 1.7 million in Afghanistan, making slightly over 27 million in the West. However, on the other side of the Iron Curtain we find the Kazakhs, the Uzbeks, the Kirgizs, the Turkmen, the Azerbaidzhanis, the Kara-Kalpaks, who total another 20 million. To them must be added the approximately 7 million Turkish-speaking peoples who live in Sinkiang, which is now in Red China.

Mr. WARREN. Colonel, what experience have you had in this area?

Colonel HOSTLER. I was first in Turkey during World War II, and afterward was in the first group that went to Turkey during the Truman Aid Program in 1947, and was there for several years. After that I spent several years in the area again at the American University of Bierut, where I continued my Near Eastern studies.

Mr. WARREN. Now to the questions pertaining to the book, Dr. Dobriansky.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Colonel Hostler, I would like to raise this particular question, namely, the relationship of the peoples or these republics within central Asia and the general concept of Turkestan. I just mention that you have various nations within the U. S. S. R., and you in turn refer to the Kazakhs, the Turkmen, and the like. Would it be proper to regard these five republics as falling within the concept of a Turkestanian nation and, on top of that, by virtue of their Moslemic basis, having a very close affinity to the entire Moslemic world?

Colonel HOSTLER. Of course, these people are basically, because of their Moslem religion and Islamic background, oriented toward the Middle East culturally and religiously. I believe that their ties to their brethren in the Turkish Republic are very strong. Their likes are cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic. These strong ties have been manifested on a number of occasions.

Dr. ATKINSON. Mr. Warren, I should like to, first of all, congratulate Colonel Hostler for this book, which is certainly a pioneer study in its field. I think it illustrates two things which are worth mentioning. Number 1, the way in which our professional soldiers, sailors and airmen today are making a definite contribution in various intellectual fields, which I think is most necessary, because national security today certainly involves people who are well informed. I think we may well take pride in people such as Colonel Hostler, who indicate what the Armed Forces are doing quite apart from their professional studies, that is, on their own in their spare time in advancing frontiers of knowledge. Secondly, it would seem to me worth pointing out we have many distinguished universities who are part of the network that we are now with, and that it might well be that some of the students in these universities would consider the particular field which has so far been so well advanced by this book of Colonel Hostler's. I am quite sure many of these people are inquisitive about these areas and would like to explore various other facets of the work

that Colonel Hostler has called "Turkism and the Soviets," in other words, the groups in these areas.

I think certainly, from the standpoint of our own national security, as well as undoubtedly an eventual just peace in the world, nothing could be more advantageous than that the nations which make up this rather rickety Soviet Union, rickety in the sense, let us say, that it is the creation of many, many different national groups that are brought together largely by force, secret police, and so forth, of the Soviets, that nothing could be better than that further questions should be explored by students who are working perhaps for their masters or doctorate, or even undergraduate students who would like to explore this in the way of writing term papers.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I should like to supplement your remarks on this score, Dr. Atkinson, by mentioning the fact that here at Georgetown University, we have established the Institute of Ethnic Studies, which will certainly look into this area of central Asia. I agree with you most heartily that Colonel Hostler has made a pioneering contribution in this respect.

The thing that, however, perturbs me in many respects, after having 5 years or so experience in trying to educate certain circles with regard to the multinational composition of the U. S. S. R., is this: How is it that despite this knowledge, despite, let us say, Colonel Hostler's contribution in telling us about the Turkestanian nation, its affinity to the Turks and the entire Moslemic world, that you still have people on high level, and I could cite quite a number of sources, speaking in terms of the Soviet nation, the Soviet people, and if they make references to these various nations, non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R., they will use such terms as "minorities," "nationalities," just like the so-called ethnic groups here in the United States. Have you had experience along those lines in preparing your magnificent work, Colonel Hostler?

Colonel HOSTLER. Well, the U. S. S. R. is not a national state. It is a heterogenous federation of nationalities. Out of the approximately 200 million persons in the Soviet Union, the Russians number over one-half. The U. S. S. R. is remarkably varied ethnically, and the 11 important ethnic groups number more than 100 separate peoples.

To answer your question directly, it is true that this question has not received sufficient recognition here in Washington. And I hope that in some small way the work that you have discussed today will help to bring that to the attention of people here.

Dr. ATKINSON. There is possibly another thing, Dr. Dobriansky, which I believe is worth mentioning as to some of the confusion or whatever one might like to call it around this problem, and that is it seems to me that sometimes people make a hasty generalization about ethnic groups in the United States and seem to feel there is a contrast between the United States and the Soviet Union. Again, I may be quite wrong. It seems to me that this is falling into a rather easy trap, in this respect: The United States is, if it is anything, the product of an idea, namely, the product of the idea that what is important here is freedom and the dignity of the individual, and that when people came here, whether they were Ukranians, whether they were Poles, or whether they were Hungarians, or whether they were Germans, or Irishmen, or whatever they were, they came here with the idea of making something new which would embody this aspect of freedom. So that the United States has always centered around more an idea. By contrast, the peoples in the Soviet Union, I would say, represent nations that have tended to become submerged under the impact of conquest. Would you agree, Colonel Hostler?

Colonel HOSTLER. Yes. There are a great many problems in this connection. The American tradition involves the right of self-determination. This should apply to the U. S. S. R., and the Soviet Constitution acknowledges this. In the future, these ethnic groups will either be assimilated or dissolved in the Russian state or they will regain their national individuality. The 20th century is an era of the revival of nationalities. Nationalism is the strongest opponent to international communism. Economic units should be preserved. But I personally believe in the case of a third world war or intensification of the cold war, or in case of internal troubles involving disintegration of Soviet power, there is great hope for the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Turkestan, to regain their independence.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I feel still that you gentlemen haven't met my point. There we have these high-level people using concepts that simply do not have factual and real foundation. Now, let us look at this from another angle. I think the economic should be of some concern to us. In your work, Colonel Hostler, you refer to the economic wealth of Kazakstan and that general area. Now, from a national strategic viewpoint, let's say if we were thinking in terms of a third world war, a global war, of what economic and strategic importance would Turkestan be to us?

Colonel HOSTLER. Well, of course, in Azerbaijan and the surrounding areas are the important oil fields of the Soviet Union. This is of tremendous importance to them and would be to us in case of the contingency you mention. Obviously, we should know more about this area. I think perhaps in these kinds of studies that we are making we can call these facts to the attention of the people of the West and make them more aware of the potential of this question.

Mr. WARREN. Colonel, do we have any indication concerning the sympathies and attitudes of the people, the Turks, behind the Iron Curtain and those in the West?

Colonel HOSTLER. Well, I think one extremely important indication occurred during World War II when approximately 200,000 of these Turkish-speaking peoples left the Soviet armed forces and came into the hands of the Germans, and in turn were formed into military units which fought against the Soviets. Now, if a person is willing to go beyond the step of just believing and feeling, and into the field of action, this is very important.

Dr. ATKINSON. I must say, as Colonel Hostler has pointed out quite well in his book, "Turkism and the Soviets" of the extent of the defection from the Soviet forces during the Second World War of the Turkish peoples. And, by the way, one could also list the Ukranian peoples by battalions, regiments, and so forth, and by many other groups, the Georgians, for example, the way in which, as Colonel Hostler has said, these people have indicated their devotion to the fact that they are national groups, that they are real nations by being willing to fight for it.

Now, if we take this, that these people did this even though Hitler gave them very little to hope for, because he simply represented another totalitarian idea, another brutalitarian force, such as the Soviets, if we take it in spite of that this happened, and it did happen, then I think something further comes out of this, and that is this: The extent to which Soviet propaganda has tried to keep the West from being aware of the fact that this constitutes the great weakness to them. And their sensitivity, I think, is further revealed in what happened last November in Hungary, very appropriate since just this past week we have celebrated the Hungarian National Day, that is, St. Stephen's Day, King St. Stephen, the great patron of Hungary, and the day to which the Hungarians rightly look with a great deal of respect. The Soviet leaders were at great pains to try to paint that uprising as some kind of thing inspired by western imperialism or similar propaganda terms that they have used. Actually, as we know quite well, it was on exactly the same scale, one can find precise duplication of the type of thing that the Turkish peoples, Georgians, Ukranians, and others, tried to liberate themselves during the Second World War. The Hungarian response was again a nationalistic response, I believe we can say rather certainly.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I am glad you brought up the matter of the Hungarian revolution because there are certain aspects to it that people tend to overlook. For example, there are carloads, freightloads, I should say, of Hungarians, that were being transported to the East. Yet, at Kiev, you had many Ukrainian students and others that rose up in protest, and there was quite a tumult. The observer asked himself what relationship is there between this Ukrainian opposition in Kiev at this time when Hungarian refugees are being deported to the East. I submit here that if we look at this, and indeed, as Colonel Hostler so well points out in his work, as a developmental sequence of the expansion of this Muscovite base from the time of 1917 right on to the present, that we would have a firmer understanding of this entire area. These areas, take Turkestan, Ukraine, the nations in the Caucasian area, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and the various Kazagi groups and White Ruthenia, which is close to Poland, all these areas were overrun in the first wave of Russian Communist imperialism in the period from 1918 right up to 1922. In the area of Turkestan, again where Colonel Hostler so well points out, the Basmachi movement got underway and continued right into the thirties opposing Russian Communist domination from Moscow. So here we have a very wide and broad periphery of non-Russian nations. In the Second World War, three more non-Russian nations were incorporated, namely, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, and with that kind of springboard you had the further addition of captive states, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and numerous others. Now, as a matter of fact, with this expanded empire, they are pressing into the Middle East, into southeast Asia, and I think, from the viewpoint of policy matters we should look at it in this developmental sense. But I again reiterate that despite all this knowledge, despite your contribution in this respect, Mr. Hostler, when I look at people like say, Mr. Jordan, he has been writing a series on the peoples within the U. S. S. R., it has appeared this last week in the New York Times, yet the caption reads, "The People of Russia." He gives an article on Armenia. Another on the Ukrainian farmer. Why, the ordinary American will tend to believe, "Why, these are Russians." Another case. For example, Mr. George Sokolsky, who knows better, yet, in an article of his on June 7, pointed out, Khrushchev is a Ukrainian and we mustn't let this wily Ukrainian pull the wool over our eyes. As a matter of fact, that is crass misinformation. Mr. Khrushchev is no more Ukrainian than I am a Buddhist priest. The fact here is that we tend to misidentify, misinform, using concepts that have no realistic bearing. When one looks at all of this, one begins to fear as to what sort of basis exists for our policy formulation.

I just want one more point here, if I may put it in, and that is from the Djilas book, the New Class. Fortunately, there are some people who are very well informed about these matters. On page 102, if I may quote, Djilas says: "Who knows anything nowadays about Ukrainian writers and political figures. What has happened to that nation, which is the same size as France and was once the most advanced nation in Russia? You would

think only an amorphous and formless mass of people could remain under this impersonal machine of oppression. However, this is not the case. Here is a most fertile area for American policy in a period, if you will, of peaceful liberation. And the question is, What are we doing? What can we do?" How would you answer those questions, Colonel Hostler?

Colonel HOSTLER. Well, as a military man, you are touching on an area that is very sensitive for me, and naturally I am unable to give you the answer perhaps you would like to hear. As a matter of fact, I would prefer to toss that question to Dr. Atkinson.

Dr. ATKINSON. Colonel Hostler, I must say that it seems to me that you have perhaps unwittingly given certain answers to the question actually in your book; in other words, the situation which exists here is one which may possibly be exploited by us. And I would say in that connection that I certainly don't envisage that it necessarily would be exploited only through another war. Quite the contrary. And I think that is one of the excellent points in your book, proving, I think, once again that the military people are the last to be wanting war since they know so much what it involves. Actually it is a favorite Soviet propaganda trick to accuse the leaders of our Armed Forces, the recent attack on Admral Radford, and so on, of being this way. We know the truth is quite the opposite. I think that you certainly have given some indications there that these people aspire like all people everywhere who are conscious of the dignity of man under God to having their own freedom. And if these forces can be in some way set underway, it seems to me there is a possibility of generating sufficient pressure to help bring this rickety Soviet structure down. And I say "rickety" because I don't believe they are as strong as some of our scared people in this country sometimes think. I think they are much weaker actually than what we sometimes think.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. How would you do that concretely, Dr. Atkinson? What concrete measures should we use in this area of psychological warfare in order to preclude, to prevent the outbreak of a third world war or the further penetration of other areas by Russian Communist propaganda and agents, and the like?

Dr. ATKINSON. I think we should begin a propaganda campaign of our own at the present time and use representatives of these groups. I don't think we are doing it. Perhaps we are. I see no evidence of it.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Would you say the Moscow policy toward these non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union may well serve as a good guide for us?

Dr. ATKINSON. I think so; yes, indeed.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I am glad to hear that, because as a matter of fact, in connection with the Ukraine, for example, in the twenties, you had a sort of national communism after the Tito type. Then in the thirties another phase came up, Russianism, Russification. In the forties they witnessed the opposition, the rebellion of over 2 million Ukrainians in the area of Kiev and other areas, some Russians to be sure, going to the German side, anxious to take up arms against Moscow. Then the Khrushchev policy, since 1954, if I were to enumerate all that is being done in order to ingratiate himself in spite of the fact that he is looked upon as the hangman of Ukraine, as so well shown in a pamphlet, Who Are They?, by the House Un-American Activities Committee, showing that Mr. Khruschev is the most hated man in Ukraine. And yet you find that they go ahead and set up an airlines series, the new Turbo-propelled planes, where they call the series, Ukraine. They also have turned over the Crimea to Ukraine, and numerous other gestures.

Mr. WARREN. Gentlemen, I am sorry our time is up for further discussion of today's topic, Ethnic U. S. S. R. You have attended the weekly discussion program, the Georgetown University Radio Forum, broadcast of which was transcribed in the Raymond Reiss Studio on the campus of historic Georgetown University in Washington, D. C. Today's participants are Col. Charles W. Hostler, United States Air Force, author, Turkism and the Soviets; Dr. James D. Atkinson, Department of Government, Georgetown University; Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, department of economics, Georgetown University.

Comment on United States Foreign Trade Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a column written by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch for Friday, June 14, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

In this article Mrs. Roosevelt deals with the question of American membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation and calls attention to an informative pamphlet on the subject of trade by the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENT ON UNITED STATES FOREIGN-TRADE POLICY

(By Eleanor Roosevelt)

DENVER.—I am afraid that too few people in this country fully understand how much the present protectionist backsliding in our foreign-trade policy is playing into the hands of Soviet Russia, which has started an economic and propaganda offensive based on it. In Italy, for instance, the Communist sympathizers have put out a slogan: "The United States is willing to take our sons, but not our goods."

President Eisenhower has endorsed a recent statement by the United States delegation to the U. N., which said, "We could lose this economic contest [with the Russians] unless the country as a whole wakes up to all its implications."

A most interesting fact sheet and a pamphlet called "The Returns Are In" have been issued by the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc. I wish everyone could see them. The aim of this committee is to expand public interest in the United States tariff-trade policy and to stir abroad, popular support for a liberalization of that policy.

Trade is important to good will and understanding among the nations of the world. Some of our leading businessmen understand this. But many of us, who have not made a careful study of trade problems, fail to realize that if we wish to sell goods to the rest of the world we must also buy goods from the rest of the world.

Countries like Great Britain and Japan are beginning to trade with Red China and Russia. They are seeking these new markets because they cannot depend on us and they do not think we understand their situation.

We are expanding our field of protective influence tremendously and our own population is growing rapidly. Both facts mean that our foreign trade must grow, also. The fact sheet before me says, "Imports and exports combined should reach well over $30 billion by the end of 1957. Even now, however, 4 million American families are directly dependent on foreign trade."

Those who believed in high tariffs and a system of protection for our infant industries many years ago must revise their thinking. Today we need a new kind of protection for a forgotten man who is left out in the tariff-trade fight—the consumer.

It is obvious that in making trade agreements someone always must be hurt, so one must make them in the interests of the great majority of people. It has been suggested that when any particular group really is hurt by a trade agreement with a foreign country, some adjustment can be made in that particular industry. It seems to me we have the intelligence to make these adjustments.

I think it is essential that the United States become a member of the Organization for Trade Cooperation this year. This is one of the moves necessary to give an efficient, day-by-day administration to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (known as GATT), which is the international trade agreement to which we and 34 other nations have belonged since 1947.

Already, through GATT, the United States has received well over $7 billion worth of tariff concessions from foreign countries—which is more than the concessions we have given in return. With the help of OTC (Organization for Trade Cooperation), GATT would become even more useful to us than it has been.

Report of the Committee on House Administration for the 85th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OMAR BURLESON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on House Administration, of which I have the honor to be chairman, has had a busy schedule this 1st session of the 85th Congress with activity in each of the committee's four regular subcommittees plus the work of the Special Subcommittees To Study Federal Printing and Paperwork, the Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment, and the Special Subcommittee on Parking. A total of 75 bills and resolutions were reported from the committee and passed the House. The carryover of items to the second session is negligible. A breakdown of activity by subcommittee is given below:

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTS, HON. SAMUEL L. FRIEDEL, CHAIRMAN

The Subcommittee on Accounts approved a total of $2,894,500 for studies and investigations to be conducted by committees of the House of Representatives during the 85th Congress. In each case hearings were held by the subcommittee prior to final approval by the full

committee. Following is a list of the committees and the amount of funds approved for each:

Committee	Amount requested	Amount approved
Agriculture	$50,000	$50,000
Armed Services	150,000	150,000
Banking and Currency	105,000	105,000
District of Columbia	10,000	7,000
Education and Labor	150,000	125,000
Foreign Affairs	75,000	75,000
Government Operations	627,000	575,000
House Administration	130,000	130,000
Interior and Insular Affairs	60,000	57,500
Interstate and Foreign Commerce	350,000	350,000
Judiciary	200,000	190,000
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	60,000	60,000
Post Office and Civil Service	50,000	50,000
Public Works	125,000	125,000
Small Business	250,000	225,000
Un-American Activities	305,000	305,000
Veterans' Affairs	75,000	75,000
Ways and Means	250,000	250,000
Total	3,012,000	2,894,500

Four resolutions were referred to the Subcommittee on Accounts which would provide supervision and a residence for congressional pages. Hearings were held by the subcommittee, but action was deferred until the second session. Participating in the hearings were the president of the Parent-Teachers Club of the Capitol Page School, the assistant superintendent of senior high schools in the District of Columbia, the principal of the Capitol Page School, the president of the student council of the Capitol Page School, the Doorkeeper of the House and the authors of the pending legislation. The consensus of the subcommittee members was that there was a definite need for some legislative action which would provide the pages with more supervision, including housing, and better study and recreational facilities.

Legislation was reported by the Subcommittee on Accounts looking to greater efficiency in the administration of congressional offices. This included:

H. R. 790, allowing Members to be reimbursed for official office expenses incurred outside the District of Columbia. The previous law confined such reimbursement to expenses incurred within the Member's district.

H. R. 9282, increasing from 1 to 2 offices the space authorized for each Member in his home district, and increasing the annual allowance for rental of such office space from $900 to $1,200.

H. R. 9406, authorizing the computing of each Member's telephone and telegraph allowance on a biennial rather than an annual basis.

House Resolution 399, increasing each Member's allowance for special-delivery and airmail postage from $200 per annum, and the postage allowance for standing committees from $80 to $180 per annum.

A hearing was held on H. R. 7683, which would simplify payroll administration in the House by providing that salaries of certain employees of the House, and the clerk-hire allowance of Members, shall consist of aggregate annual amounts rather than basic annual amounts plus adidtional amounts.

Fifty-five items of legislation were referred to the Subcommittee on Accounts, 37 of which were reported to the full committee for final action.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS, HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE, CHAIRMAN

The principal activity of the Subcommittee on Elections centered around contested election cases and a study of proposals to amend the Hatch Act.

In the contested election case of Dolliver against Coad, the subcommittee conducted three hearings and received the direct testimony of both contestant and contestee. It was determined no contest existed by virtue of the fact that no valid notice of intention to contest the election was filed as contemplated by the appropriate statute governing contested election cases. This finding was reported to the full committee and on April 11, 1957, House Resolution 230 passed the House declaring, in effect, no contest existed.

In the contested election case of Carter against LeCompte, two hearings were conducted by the subcommittee to consider side issues related to the contested election, both involving requests by Mr. Carter. The House adjourned prior to the receipt by the subcommittee of all material involved in the case, thus further action has been deferred until the House convenes for the 2d session of the 85th Congress.

Two hearings were conducted on the bills H. R. 1167 and H. R. 433 which pertain to the Hatch Act. These hearings resulted in the formation of a Special Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration which will study the Hatch Act and related laws restricting political activity.

While 32 items of legislation were referred to the Subcommittee on Elections there was an unusually large percentage of identical or similar bills.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND ENROLLED BILLS, HON. PAUL C. JONES, CHAIRMAN

Thirty-three bills and resolutions were referred to the Subcommittee on the Library and Enrolled Bills, several of which were exact duplicates.

In 5 meetings, the subcommittee took 13 of the measures under consideration, reporting 7 favorably to the full committee. Two of these were laid on table and the Senate bills passed in lieu.

Action was deferred on six bills.

Hearings were held on 3 bills, 2 of which passed and 1 of which failed. The former were House Joint Resolution 233, by Hon. GEORGE MILLER of California, and House Resolution 7813, by Hon. JOHN MCCORMACK. The bill upon which action was deferred, after a hearing with several citizens of Newport News and the Peninsula area of Virginia, was House Resolution 2574, by Hon. EDWARD ROBESON.

Former President Truman appeared as a witness in support of House Resolution 7813; Justice Frankfurter testified in favor of House Joint Resolution 233.

Finally, members of the Library subcommittee who are also members of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library met with the latter on July 18, 1957, to hear testimony from the Librarian of Congress, Mr. L. Quincy Mumford, and other Library officials, on the matter of codifying the many statutes under which the Library presently functions.

House bills passed:

House Joint Resolution 23—CANNON, appointing Arthur Compton as Smithsonian regent.

House Joint Resolution 202—CANNON, appointing J. N. Brown as Smithsonian regent.

House Joint Resolution 345—KEAN, authorizing extension of Second Division Memorial.

House Resolution 7234—JONES of Missouri, fixing responsibility of Library certifying officers.

House Resolution 7813—MCCORMACK, microfilming Presidential papers in Library.

House bills laid on table; Senate bills passed in lieu:

House Joint Resolution 233—MILLER of California, Senate Concurrent Resolution 31 passed in lieu: Encouraging historical societies to participate in program of National Historical Publications Commission.

House Resolution 8228—THOMPSON of New Jersey, S. 2434 passed in lieu: Removing statutory ceiling on appropriations for books for the blind.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINTING, HON. WAYNE L. HAYS, CHAIRMAN

There were 44 items of legislation referred to the Subcommittee on Printing during the 1st session of the 85th Congress for consideration, 34 from the House and 10 from the Senate. The subcommittee met 7 times and reported 32 of the 44 measures to the Committee on House Administration, all of which passed the House.

Legislation was approved which provided for the printing of additional copies of hearings, reports, and publications in which widespread interest had been indicated. Examples of these items are listed below:

House Concurrent Resolution 17, providing for the printing of additional copies of House Document No. 232 (The Capitol in Story and Pictures), 84th Congress, with emendations.

The Superintendent of Documents sold 40,000 copies of this publication, and has received to date approximately 2,000 requests that could not be filed. The names and addresses of these interested persons have beeen filed and they will be notified if the publication becomes available.

House Concurrent Resolution 62, requesting the printing of additional copies of House Report No. 2966, dealing with the subjects of price discrimination, the Robinson-Patman Act and the Attorney General's National Committee To Study the Antitrust Laws.

House Concurrent Resolution 82, providing for the printing of additional copies of hearings held on the national highway program. Because of the general interest in this program, additional copies were needed.

House Concurrent Resolution 104, providing for the printing of additional copies of the hearings on excise taxes. This request was made due to the great

amount of interest manifested in this subject.

House Concurrent Resolution 215, providing for the printing of additional copies of hearings on The Nature of Radioactive Fallout and Its Effect on Man for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Requests for copies of the hearings are very great due to the widespread interest in the subject.

House Concurrent Resolution 179, providing for the printing of additional copies of report to accompany H. R. 7125, a bill to make technical changes in the Federal excise tax laws.

House Resolution 199, requesting the printing of additional copies of the Synopsis of Benefits Available to Veterans and Their Dependents, prepared by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 85th Congress.

House Concurrent Resolution 188, to print as a House document, and additional copies of the document entitled "Congress and the Monopoly Problem, 1900–1956."

House Resolution 97, to print as a House document the document entitled "United States Defense Policies Since World War II."

Senate Concurrent Resolution 22, a request to have printed additional copies of the Internal Security Annual Report for 1956.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 30, providing for the printing of additional copies of a compilation of studies and reports on the foreign-aid program.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 45, authorizing the printing of additional copies of the hearings on the mutual-security program for fiscal year 1958 for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL PRINTING AND PAPERWORK, HON. WAYNE L. HAYS, CHAIRMAN

The Subcommittee To Study Federal Printing and Paperwork of the Committee on House Administration, authorized pursuant to House Resolution 128, 85th Congress, continued with its work in a number of phases of the overall study, with emphasis on the following:

First. Survey of libraries designated as depositories of Government publications: As a result of hearings held last year on the sale and distribution of Government publications by the Superintendent of Documents, the subcommittee has completed a comprehensive survey by the medium of detailed questionnaires sent to the 571 depository and some 623 nondepository libraries. The staff had the cooperation of the American Library Association's public document committee, both in the preparation and analysis of these questionnaires, response to which was most gratifying. On the basis of information thus gathered and from intensive research into the subject, a bill has been introduced (H. R. 9186) to revise the laws relating to depository libraries. Hearings have been scheduled to be held in key cities, namely, Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Boston, on October 7, 10, 14, and 17, respectively, in order to resolve the best thinking on this legislative proposal designed to meet present-day needs.

Second. Procurement and supply of paper for printing, duplicating, and office use in the Federal Government: A study was prepared by the subcommittee staff on this subject, based on data received in reply to inquiries directed to the Government departments and agencies engaged in the purchase and supply of paper for governmental use. The information thus developed constituted the basis for a hearing which was held on May 1 with officials of the General Services Administration and the Government Printing Office in order to amplify the data contained in the staff study. The hearings on this subject, including the staff study, present a picture of overlapping activity and indicate the need for coordinated supply and distribution of commonly used items of paper. Proposed legislation to correct existing conditions which result from outmoded laws is being formulated for presentation to the Congress in the next session.

Third. Government printing facilities—study of wages, hours, and overtime at the Government Printing Office: The data pertaining to wages, hours, and overtime at the Government Printing Office, furnished by the Public Printer at the request of the subcommittee chairman, has been reviewed and analyzed. This data is being studied in relation to the whole subject of Federal printing facilities. Related information, including the procurement of Government printing services from commercial sources, is currently being studied to develop a subject for consideration by the subcommittee during the next session of Congress.

Fourth. International exchange distribution of United States Government publications: The staff is now in the process of obtaining additional information from the United Nations Library, in Geneva, Switzerland, which will assist in the appraisal of existing methods of distributing United States Government publications to other governments. Any needed changes indicated by the information received will be discussed with officials of the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution, who are responsible for this function.

Fifth. Free distribution and sale of identical Government publications: The paradoxical situation which permits many Government publications to be acquired gratuitously, if requested from issuing agencies or from Members of Congress out of quotas available to them, but for a price if ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, is being studied with a view toward the formulation of needed corrective legislation. This condition was cited among several set forth in House Report No. 2945, part II, on the subject of publications management, which the subcommittee issued during the 84th Congress.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTRICAL AND MECHANICAL OFFICE EQUIPMENT, HON. PAUL C. JONES, CHAIRMAN

The subcommittee through the session viewed demonstrations of the latest developments in the field of office equipment. The list of equipment approved for purchase was revised to remove obsolete equipment and make available newer models of authorized items. Further revisions made available entirely new items which have a practical value in the operation of congressional offices.

The subcommittee has been in almost daily contact with the office of the Clerk of the House, which officer administers the equipment program, to work out the various problems which continually arise and to seek ways and means to improve the program. The transition from manual to electric equipment has been moving along steadily with the result that few congressional offices and committees do not have the most modern office equipment available.

PARKING SUBCOMMITTEE, HON. GEORGE S. LONG, CHAIRMAN

The subcommittee has continued the established parking procedures and rules, working to distribute fairly and equitably the available space. The availability of additional parking space in the areas south of the new and old House Office Buildings has greatly alleviated the parking problem for the time being. The subcommittee is continuing its study of the problem particularly with the view toward shortage of space which will develop as work on the third House Office Building proceeds.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution passed by the Senate of the State of Illinois favoring statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Resolution 35

Whereas the United States of America has become the greatest power in the history of mankind because it is a united nation of equal and sovereign States and not an empire; and

Whereas the people of the United States devised a method and program of incorporating Territories, which method, as a first step leading to the full privileges of statehood, imposes on the people of such Territories the obligations of the citizens of the several States, while withholding from such Territorial citizens, however, the basic rights of self-government and full representation in the councils of the United States; and

Whereas Alaska and Hawaii have been incorporated as Territories of the United States for many years, and by the very act of such incorporation as United States Territories have been promised the full privileges of statehood with first-class citizenship for the peoples of Alaska and Hawaii; and

Whereas both political parties have recognized that every consideration of fairness demands that the people of these Territories be given the full privileges of American citizenship in their platforms and other policy declarations; and

Whereas the granting of statehood to these Territories will strengthen the United States immeasurably in human resources and in its foreign relations, particularly as regards the great Pacific Basin area: Therefore be it

Resolved, by the Senate of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we do hereby petition the Congress of the United States to grant statehood to Alaska and Hawaii; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be prepared by the secretary of state and forwarded to each Senator and Congressman from Illinois.

Adopted by the Senate June 29, 1957.

JOHN WM. CHAPMAN,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD E. FERNANDES,
Secretary of the Senate.

Engle Water Plan Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the early response to my proposal, whereby the Federal Government would make nonreimbursible contributions for flood control and interest-free loans for irrigation features of State projects constructed primarily for development of municipal and industrial water, has been most gratifying.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include some of the articles and editorials appearing in leading newspapers in northern and southern California, with comments on the proposal, as follows:

[From the Sacramento Bee of August 12, 1957]

ENGLE PROPOSES UNITED STATES-STATE WATER PLAN SPEEDUP

(By Edward H. Dickson)

WASHINGTON.—Chairman CLAIR ENGLE of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee today disclosed a new legislative plan which he said is designed to speed joint Federal-State construction of water projects in California and the other Western States.

Under the program, the Federal Government for the first time would be allowed to participate in projects designed primarily to furnish domestic and industrial water rather than irrigation water.

ENGLE, a Democrat representing the Sacramento Valley and Sierra Nevada district, made known his views in a letter to Assemblyman Carley Porter, of Los Angeles Country, chairman of the subcommittee of the joint interim committee on State water problems of the State legislature.

He urged that congressional and State legislative water committees meet this fall in California to discuss his suggested legislation and also the financing of future State water projects.

OUTLINES STATE ROLE

Under the Engle plan, the States would build the projects where the prime purpose is the development of domestic and industrial supplies with the State responsible for the financing of these features plus any hydroelectric power development.

The Federal Government would make an outright contribution for flood-control benefits as a recognized Federal responsibility and also make an interest-free loan for benefits ascribed to irrigation.

While many multiple-purpose projects built now by the Federal Government provide for flood control and domestic and industrial water, historically Congress has insisted that the primary purpose be the irrigation of farmland.

[From the Sacramento Bee of August 13, 1957]

FEATHER RIVER PROJECT BACKERS LAUD ENGLE WATER PLAN

Grover C. Shannon, of Yuba City, Sutter County, president of the Feather River Project Association, and Samuel B. Morris, of Los Angeles, a vice president of the group, today lauded a new proposal to speed joint Federal-State construction of water projects.

The water development leaders from the northern and southern sections of the State praised a suggestion made yesterday by Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, of Red Bluff, Tehama County, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Under ENGLE's plan the States would build the projects where the prime purpose is the development of domestic and industrial supplies, with the State responsible for the financing of these features plus any hydroelectric power development.

The Federal Government would make an outright contribution for flood-control benefits and also make an interest-free loan for benefits ascribed to irrigation.

MOST ENCOURAGING

"It is most encouraging to learn of Congressman ENGLE's proposal that will make it possible for the Federal Government to grant benefits to State projects like the Feather River project," Shannon said.

"The Feather River Project Association has just adopted a broad financing policy for State water projects. ENGLE's reported suggestions are covered by our program and would aid in the solution of Feather River project financing which is so important to millions of Californians."

Morris called the ENGLE plan a major step in encouraging local initiative to undertake large multipurpose water projects such as the Feather River project.

STATE LEADERSHIP

"Instead of depending upon Uncle Sam to do these jobs, California and other States can take the leadership to solve their own problems, where the major interest is domestic and industrial water supply, with assurance they would get the same degree of financial support for other purposes that would be given a strictly Federal project."

Historically, Congress has insisted that the primary purpose of Federal water projects be the irrigation of farmland. With California's expanding population the domestic and industrial demands are increasing but the cost of supplying them is considered by some water experts as prohibitive for State financing alone.

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of August 13, 1957]

WATER AID PLAN BACKED

Representative CLAIR ENGLE'S proposal that Federal aid be extended to big State projects designed primarily to take water to cities and industries was commended here yesterday by Samuel B. Morris, a Feather River Project Association vice president.

The effect of Engle's proposal, it was indicated, would be that the Federal Government, now limited to aid for or building of projects in which flood control and irrigation of farms is paramount, could help the Feather River project.

In other words, the Government would put up the cash for flood control and provide interest-free loans for the important irrigation aspects of this big project which mainly is concerned with serving big growing cities.

MAJOR STEP

Morris, now a consulting engineer, retired Los Angeles Department of Water and Power general manager, said of Engle's proposal:

"This is a major step in encouraging local initiative to undertake large multipurpose projects such as the Feather River project.

"Instead of depending on Uncle Sam to do these jobs, California and other States can take the leadership to solve their own problems, where the major interest is domestic and industrial water supply.

"This could be done with assurance that they would get the same degree of financial support for other purposes, such as flood control and irrigation, that would be given a strictly Federal project."

LOWER RATES

"The result would be more economical construction and lower water rates for users."

ENGLE, a Democrat from Red Bluff, is chairman of the important House Interior Committee.

He made his proposal to Assemblyman Carley Porter, of Compton, chairman of a subcommittee of the legislature's joint interim committee on State water problems.

ENGLE suggested that this committee and a House group hold hearings this fall on financing the $11,500,000,000 California water plan, of which the Feather River project would be the backbone.

[From the Los Angeles Times of August 14, 1957]

WATER DISTRICT OFFICIALS BACK ENGLE'S PLAN

Officials of the metropolitan water district yesterday joined the Los Angeles Water and Power Department in praising a proposal by Representative CLAIR ENGLE that the Federal Government help pay for, but not control, large municipal and domestic water projects.

Joseph Jensen, chairman of the metropolitan water district board of directors, said ENGLE's suggestion "should go far to advance Federal-State partnership on a fair and sound basis."

ENGLE had suggested, in a letter to Assemblyman Carley Porter, that the Federal Government should remove its ban on financial aid for water projects other than flood control and irrigation works. "Then," ENGLE said, "the Government could help pay for domestic and municipal water projects but control of the works would remain with the State."

Samuel B. Morris, former general manager and now consultant with the Los Angeles Water and Power Department, already had said Engle's suggestion for Federal grants would tremendously increase prospects for a Feather River project to bring water to southern California from the North.

[From the Los Angeles Times of August 15, 1957]

ENGLE'S WATER AID IDEA GAINS FAVOR—PROPOSAL FOR NEW TYPE FEDERAL HELP ON PROJECTS WINS FEATHER RIVER GROUP O. K.

(By Ed Ainsworth)

Additional support, on a statewide basis, was given yesterday to a proposal by Representative CLAIR ENGLE, of California, for a new type of Federal financial aid to State water projects for domestic and industrial use.

The Feather River Association, made up of members all over the State, endorsed the ENGLE suggestion as being in line with its own recently adopted policy statement on water project financing.

WORD ON APPROVAL

Grover C. Shannon, of Yuba City, president of the Feather River Association, made the announcement approving the Engle plan. It already had been approved by Samuel B. Morris, consultant of the Los Angeles Water

and Power Department, and by the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.

Representative ENGLE, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, proposed early this week that Federal grants and loans be made on domestic and industrial water projects, with no strings attached.

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Express of August 14, 1957]

FEATHER RIVER PLAN AID

New hope is raised for the planned construction of the giant Feather River project which would bring irrigation, domestic, and industrial water to Los Angeles and other sections of southern California by announcement by Congressman CLAIR ENGLE of proposed new Federal legislation.

Congressman ENGLE, California Democrat, who is chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, is proposing legislation under which the Federal Government would advance interest-free loans for projects in which the principal purpose is to provide municipal and industrial water supplies.

If this legislation is passed, it could mean that the funds required would be provided by the Federal Government and the State would carry out the construction and operation.

Thus one of the biggest hurdles which has faced the Feather River project, obtaining of the necessary funds, would be surmounted.

The other principal obstacle, of course, is lack of agreement of the California legislature on proposed constitutional amendments determining the rights of northern California "counties of origin" and southern California counties to the flow of water from the Feather River.

Southern Californians interested in the future of this end of the State, where the growing water needs of an ever-increasing population are of vital importance, should immediately write to their Congressmen and Senators in Washington requesting that they join forces in helping Congressman ENGLE in his campaign for the proposed legislation.

Samuel B. Morris, nationally known consulting engineer, retired former general manager of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power and now a vice president of the Feather River Project Association, assesses the new proposal as follows:

"This is a major step in encouraging local initiative to undertake large multipurpose water projects such as the Feather River project.

"Instead of depending upon Uncle Sam to do these jobs, California and other States can take the leadership to solve their own problems, where the major interest is domestic and industrial water supply, with assurance that they would get the same degree of financial support for other purposes that would be given a strictly Federal project.

"The result should be more economical construction costs and lower rates to water users."

[From the Sacramento Bee of August 16, 1957]

ENGLE PLAN WOULD AID NEEDED WATER PROJECTS

Congressman CLAIR ENGLE of the Second California District suggests a new concept of Federal-State cooperation in water resources development which merits the most careful study.

He proposes the Federal Government be authorized to make financial contributions to State projects which are designed primarily to provide water for domestic and industrial purposes.

Historically the Federal Government's role has been confined to irrigation undertakings in order to bring the semiarid lands of the West into useful production.

ENGLE's plan recognizes that, because of the amazing population growth and the shift to an industrial economy, the development of domestic and industrial water supplies is of vital importance to California.

The requirement for an irrigation supply, of course, will persist. And the Federal Government should and under the Engle plan would continue its part in financing such projects as San Luis and the Auburn Dam.

But certainly the Federal Government's responsibility is no less in seeing that cities and towns have enough water.

The difficulty is that the cost of providing such supplies often is prohibitive to the local governments, especially when the sources of water are far removed from the centers of population.

Under ENGLE's proposal, for projects whose primary purpose is a domestic and industrial water supply, Congress would make outright grants for flood control, which is a traditional responsibility of the Federal Government. It also would make interest-free loans for irrigation, as presently is the practice.

The States would finance the dams and incidental hydroelectric installations.

The plan appears to be sound and represents an equitable division of the cost. It would enable States to go ahead with projects which they presently cannot finance. It would represent the highest order of partnership which the Eisenhower administration professes to support.

Moreover, it is a plan which easily would be expanded to aid eastern localities where the problem is not one of irrigation but of domestic water supplies and should appeal to Congressmen from beyond the 100th meridian whose interest in western reclamation often has been remote.

Congress Asked To Declare Korean Conflict a War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution passed by the Illinois House of Representatives, calling for the Congress officially to declare the Korean conflict a war in order that those who fought there might receive the same recognition and benefits as those who fought in World Wars I and II.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Resolution 98

Whereas the war in which members of the Armed Forces of the United States were engaged in Korea has been designated "police action," "Korean conflict," and various terms other than "war"; and

Whereas in Korea the Armed Forces of the United States engaged the enemy in mortal combat, and in winning this victory thousands of our valiant men were killed and thousands more were wounded and disabled. In every sense of the term, this action was definitely a war; and

Whereas because this war in Korea has not been officially designated as a war, the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in Korea have been unjustly denied the benefits and recognition which are granted to veterans of wars: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we respectfully request and urge the Congress of the United States to officially designate and declare the armed conflict in Korea as a war in order that the valiant and courageous men who fought in that war will be entitled to receive the benefits and recognition awarded to veterans of wars; and that a suitable copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to each Member of the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives from Illinois.

Adopted by the house, June 28, 1957.

WARREN L. WOOD,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
FRED W. RUEGG,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

Resolution on Hoover Commission Recommendations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution concerning certain Hoover Commission recommendations was sent to me by business and professional men of Atchison, Kans. I think it is significant to note that this is not an organization or group sending a resolution to their Congressman at the insistance of some national organization, but rather it is individual taxpayers in the so-called grassroots. Compelled by their interest in promoting good and efficient government, they felt it necessary to inform their Representative in Congress of their thinking on certain Hoover Commission recommendations.

Concerning the first point covered in the resolution, I have yet to see any constructive specific or factual information presented to convince me that this particular Hoover Commission recommendation should not be adopted.

In view of the uniqueness of this resolution, I feel such merits the attention of all Members of Congress. The resolution with the names of those who signed such follows:

Be it—

Resolved, That we, the undersigned, assembled this 22d day of August 1957 in Atchison, Kans., endorse and commend the work of the Hoover Commission and urge the administration and Congress to cooperate vigorously, on a bipartisan basis, in prompt and full consideration of the recommendations of the Commission; and be it further

Resolved, That we, the undersigned, particularly urge the passage of legislation (1) converting the entire Government financial structure to an accrued-expenditure basis requiring agency budgets to be determined on a cost basis with funds granted on a yearly basis and limited to extimates of expenditures actually to be made during that year so as to eliminate carryover appropriations and the disobligation of carryover appropriations; (2) to establish a civilian-managed agency in the Defense Department to unify the procurement, storage, and distribu-

tion of nonmilitary items for all branches of the armed services and to manage services common to all branches of the armed services; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to (a) Senators CARLSON and SCHOEPPEL, representing the State of Kansas, and Representative AVERY, of this congressional district; and (2) the Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report, 777 14th Street NW., Washington 5, D. C.

Norman Maugh, Floyd E. Sappington, Philip S. Harris, J. W. Lowry, John Adair, Fred Stein, Delbert Ehret, Fred Martin, Claude Van Dyke, George W. Intfen, Jr., Floyd E. Thelan, Victor W. Yarrington, Chester Keating, Richard A. Dempster, Fritz Smith, Robert O. Johnstone, Gerald W. Foley, Stanley Munson, Addison Mize, N. C. Greenlund, W. M. Lehman, Lowell F. Dagenais, Scott Pulliver, Robert G. Volk, Archie Davis, John Dobbin.

Engle Offers New Water Resources Development Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, water enough for the needs of its growing population is a dominant issue in California. The impasse on our water problems, I believe, stems from trying to divide too little water among too many people. I am advancing a proposal which strikes at the real problem—the financing of additional water development. In a letter to State Assemblyman Carley Porter, I have suggested a new Federal-State relationship for construction of large multiple-purpose projects, where the major cost is for the development of municipal and industrial water. A subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I am chairman, will meet in Los Angeles in November with Mr. Porter's subcommittee of the California Legislature's joint interim committee on State water problems to go into this proposal.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of my letter to Assemblyman Porter:

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR
AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
Washington, D. C., August 8, 1957.

Hon. CARLEY PORTER,
Chairman, Subcommittee of Joint Interim Committee on State Water Problems, Compton, Calif.

DEAR CARLEY: I am very anxious this fall to hold joint hearings with your subcommittee and a subcommittee of our committee on the financial problems relating to California's State water plan.

Specifically, it is my intention to propose a new Federal-State relationship for the construction of large multiple-purpose projects where the major cost is for the development of municipal and industrial water.

As you are no doubt aware, the Federal Government at the present time constructs projects primarily for irrigation through the Bureau of Reclamation and under the reclamation law. In addition, under the small-projects legislation, of which I am the author, the Federal Government advances interest-free money to public agencies for the construction of small irrigation projects costing not in excess of $10 million. The Watershed Protection Act, through the Department of Agriculture, makes provision for Federal grants and loans for the construction of small upstream conservation projects. With reference to flood control, the Federal Government has historically built on a nonreimbursable basis projects primarily dedicated to flood control.

You are, I am sure, familiar with all of these existing Federal water programs. There is one obvious gap: no provision exists in present Federal law for the Federal Government's participation in projects primarily for the development of industrial and municipal water, which is a field of growing importance in all areas of our Nation. I would venture the guess that the major undeveloped water projects in California will be mainly for industrial and municipal water, rather than for irrigation and flood control. Consequently, I have been studying for some months the introduction of legislation to establish the basis and lay down the principles for Federal cooperation in such water-development projects where the major cost is allocated to industrial and municipal water.

I expect, therefore, to propose the joint financing of Federal-State projects where the major cost is for industrial and municipal water, as follows:

First, that the Federal Government contribute to such projects on a nonreimbursable basis an amount equal to the portion of the project allocated to flood-control benefits. This is a recognition of the traditional responsibility of the Federal Government for flood control and follows the precedent established in H. R. 8677, which, as you know, is the bill I introduced providing for the Federal contribution for the flood-control benefits from the Oroville Dam on the Feather River project. This principle has since been merged in the omnibus public-works bill which passed the House last year and was vetoed (for other reasons) by the President, and is currently embodied in this year's omnibus public-works bill (S. 497) which has passed the Senate and was recently voted out of the House Committee on Public Works. Congress has therefore indicated that this is an acceptable principle for Federal-State cooperation in the building of multiple-purpose projects.

Second, that the Federal Government provide a non-interest-bearing loan for the amount of the project cost allocated to irrigation. This procedure would apply the principles of the 50-year-old reclamation law under which non-interest-bearing money is provided by the Federal Government for the development of irrigation projects. It is an expansion of the principle laid down in the small-projects legislation, but of course in this instance is limited to multiple-purpose projects primarily for industrial and municipal water where irrigation water is developed incidental to the main purpose. It is my feeling that Congress would not approve the advance of non-interest-bearing money for construction by the State of a large project primarily for irrigation, but would insist that such a project be built under the present reclamation law if it is to be financed by the Federal Government. I think it important that the traditional function of the Federal Government in building projects under the reclamation law not be invaded. However, I believe there is a good chance of getting Congress to authorize a non-interest-bearing loan to a State for incidental irrigation features of a major project primarily built for industrial and municipal water.

Third, the Federal Government will require a contract to be executed under which the State would agree that the project should be managed in such a fashion as to produce the benefits for which the Federal contribution is made. This follows the present provision for the Federal contribution for the flood-control benefits on the Oroville Dam. As to irrigation, Congress, I am sure, would require that the non-interest-bearing loan for irrigation be subject to the general provisions of reclamation law. However, I expect to propose with reference to the operation of the 160-acre limitation that the same formula be applied as is set forth in the small-projects legislation, namely, that the non-interest-bearing loan apply only to lands in compliance with the 160- or 320-acre limitation and that excess acreage be required to pay an interest charge on the capital cost of supplying those lands with water.

This proposal is intended to be the basis of establishing under general law the character and extent of Federal participation in projects primarily devoted to the supplying of municipal and industrial water. However, I would like to try it on for size in the State of California which, so far as I know, is the only State capable of major financing of its own projects and with water plans of large magnitude already drawn and planned primarily for supplying municipal and industrial water. I have in mind particularly the possible application of this proposal to the financing of the Feather River project, the Biemond plan for the North Bay Aqueduct, and construction of all or part of the projects planned in the north coastal area on the Klamath, Trinity, and Eel Rivers. However, the priority of projects for construction under the State water plan is a matter that rests with State officials and the legislature. Some projects such as the Auburn project are logical and proper extensions of the Central Valley project and should be reserved for Federal construction as a part of that project.

I am especially anxious that this principle be set in motion to develop new water supplies in California. It appears to me that the impasse on California water problems stems from trying to divide too little water among too many people. Southern California interests understandably do not want to buy a pig in a poke—that is, contribute their money to the construction of northern California projects without assurance that southern California will receive benefits from such development. Northern California, on the other hand, doesn't want to promise water deliveries south of the Tehachapis, which may in the future literally leave northern California high and dry.

You will recall that in 1951 I brought a subcommittee to California which sat jointly with the State water committee for the purpose of studying the water problems in the Central Valley project area. We came to the conclusion then that the developed water supplies in the Central Valley project area were overcommitted. We recommended immediate construction of the Trinity River project, and that project has since been authorized and is under construction. However, the water contribution of the Trinity is specifically dedicated to Central Valley project operation. It is contended, as you know, that the Feather River project will not produce sufficient water to permit water deliveries to southern California with adequate margins of safety for future water demands in the north. At the hearings in 1951, serious legal questions were raised as to whether or not the applications made on the Feather River were in conflict with the applications already assigned to the Bureau of Reclamation for operation of the Central Valley project. (See Central Valley project documents, pp. 683 and 701.) I am informed there are interests in California that are prepared to litigate this matter if water deliveries outside of the Central Valley project area

are authorized by the State legislature or by constitutional amendment.

I am not saying which side of this argument is right, but with this state of affairs my strictly legal approach will, in my opinion, wind up in the courts for years. There may or may not be a surplus which is physically and legally exportable, but I am sure that, unless new water supplies are developed, the whole proposition will end up in court, delaying water progress in California for as much as a decade. It seems to me imperative that action be taken now to avoid creating a legal Frankenstein that will paralyze water development. The answer is more water—not litigating over what we have.

The importance of this proposal is that it strikes at the real problem, which is the financing of additional water development. I am advised that your subcommittee has announced that it will investigate the economic and financial feasibility of the State water plan. The foregoing proposal has a direct relationship to that study, and I am therefore suggesting that we arrange this fall for another joint meeting of the State and congressional legislative committees dealing with this subject matter, similar to the one which was so productive in 1951. I have already in draft form legislation to implement the proposal which I have just outlined and would be glad to submit it at an appropriate time to your subcommittee and staff. If this proposal appears to be attractive to you and to your subcommittee, I will be glad to discuss the matter of such a joint hearing. Your early comment on this proposal and the feasibility of a joint meeting with your subcommittee will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

CLAIR ENGLE,
Chairman.

Welfare Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, there is so much adverse publicity concerning welfare funds, it seems to be popular today to show the worst instead of the good which is being done for the betterment of the worker.

The following story written by a very capable correspondent, Mr. James F. McCarthy of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph Washington bureau, states in a few words what the welfare fund means not only to the individuals securing the welfare pensions but to an entire community.

Without the welfare fund of the United Mine Workers of America, a little town of Richeyville would have contained bankrupt storekeepers, empty bank vaults, and a complete collapse of this miners' village.

It is too bad that more publicity is not given to the good things that have been obtained by labor organizations, instead of singling out only those few who have no place in the labor movement.

I hope the Members of Congress will read this small item and realize that this is the real purpose of some of the demands made by unions, which benefit not only the union members but all the people.

The article follows:

MINERS' WELFARE
(By James F. McCarthy)

A story of deep human impact lies so often in the most unlikely places—even among the pages of a thick financial report.

Thousands of miners and their families and hundreds of businessmen in communities of western Pennsylvania and West Virginia would have spotted such a story this week in the financial report of the world's largest non-government-administered welfare operation—the United Mine Workers health, welfare, and retirement fund.

The report told how a little town in Washington County was kept alive by the fund's pension checks after the closing of one of the industry's largest captive mines.

At a time when a few companies and unions are reluctant to tell all about the operation of their welfare funds, the mineworkers issued a comprehensive report on their fund's 11th year of operation.

And they used the report to good public-relations advantage.

Richeyville, between Washington, Pa., and Brownsville, was threatened with financial ruin last April 1, when Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. closed its Vesta No. 4 mine.

Nearly 800 miners were out of work, and worrying with them and their families as the mine closed were many small businesses in the Richeyville area.

The fund's policy precludes revealing the exact number of beneficiaries in any one community, but most of the Richeyville miners qualified for a $100-a-month pension from the fund in addition to social-security benefits.

Many of the miners were aged between 60 and 66, with service ranging from 26 to 49 years.

Once a month since the mine closing, the miners have been waiting on Jane Street in front of the Richeyville Post Office for the pension checks, which in large measure have kept the town going as before.

In telling the Richeyville story, the report reprinted a 1948 statement by John L. Lewis in which the UMW president said:

"Pensions for coal miners are a community asset. We find now that the businessman and professional man in mining communities recognize that a pension turns a family from a state of pauperization to an asset to the community. The pensioners have purchasing power.

The report by fund trustees Josephine Roche, Charles A. Owen, and Mr. Lewis carried another point of importance for a workshop of the world like Pittsburgh.

It may serve as a guide to the type of reports which will be required from all such funds in the future. Audited reports were made documents of public record and distributed to all operators paying fund royalties.

The fund wound up the fiscal year with a balance of $145,321,221 as compared with $130,172,370 last year.

Revenue amounted to $157,093,034. Expenditures reached $141,944,183. But 97.2 percent of this was paid in direct benefits to 215,702 persons.

Administrative costs were held to a low 2.8 percent of total fund expenditures.

More than 63,000 retired miners received pensions which cost the fund $75,002,584.

The $59,584,594 spent for hospital and medical care benefits paid for 1,631,144 days of hospitalization for 93,679 beneficiaries and millions of visits by physicians and treatments by specialists.

The fund also has in operation all of the 10 hospitals it built in West Virginia, Virginia, and Kentucky in sections where entire communities had lacked adequate medical care.

Mr. Lewis has told House and Senate committees no new Federal legislation is needed in the health, welfare, and retirement fund field.

Other top labor leaders do not agree with him and legislation of some type appears on the way.

But reports like the one issued by the miners this week may set the pattern for welfare-fund reports of the future, either through new laws or the pressure of public opinion.

St. Benedict's Abbey in Atchison, Kans., Celebrates 100th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, during the month of August the St. Benedict's Abbey in Atchison, Kans., celebrated its 100th anniversary. Today the Abbey has more than 165 monks but it had only 2 when established at Doniphan, Kans., near Atchison, in April 1857.

In the early 1870's, the struggling monastery fought for its very existence because of drought, grasshopper plagues, and loans at 12 percent. The Benedictine monks overcame the obstacles and today operate St. Benedict's, a college of arts and sciences for more than 600 men, and Maur Hill High School for 210 students.

The combination of financial circumstances that almost terminated the history of St. Benedict's Abbey in the 1870's included the depression after the panic in 1873, the Kansas grasshopper plagues in 1874 and the following years, and debts that the monks incurred in maintaining a frontier college and a crops of priest-missionaries who rode many circuits tending the spiritual needs of settlers.

The Atchison Daily Globe newspaper on August 11, presented a special St. Benedict's centennial section. Among the many excellent articles was the following concerning the work of the monks:

The Atchison monks have given a century of service to God in working with people of the Middle West. Their story begins on the steamboat landing at Doniphan, Kansas Territory, in April 1857, when two monks of St. Vincent's Abbey, Latrobe, Pa., arrived to open a priory there. They were the Reverend Augustine Wirth, O. S. B., the prior, and a seminarian ready to be ordained, the Reverend Casimir Seitz, O. S. B. Another Benedictine had been in Doniphan the year before—the Reverend Henry Lemke, O. S. B. He had built the first Catholic church there and had begged his abbot at Latrobe to open a priory there.

The Benedictine monks on the frontier served the settlers in two ways, as missionaries and as teachers. In 1857 Prior Augustine opened a school at Doniphan. In October 1859, less than a year after he had removed the priory to Atchison, 6 miles south on the Missouri River, he opened St. Benedict's College.

But the small band of Kansas monks made their biggest contribution in the fron-

tier years by a saddle apostolate — the settlers. Quickly they developed three missionary circuits: the first a chain of stations in Atchison and Doniphan counties, the second a string of towns upwards along the Missouri River into Nebraska Territory, and the third a line of Catholic settlements on or near the road to Fort Kearney and the West.

An early superior of the Atchison Benedictines became bishop of the old Leavenworth diocese. He was the Reverend Louis Mary Fink, O. S. B., who after 2 years as prior in Atchison was named by Pope Pius IX in 1870 to be coadjutor to Bishop John Baptist Miege, S. J., Vicar Apostolic of the Kansas Vicariate. Bishop Fink succeeded Miege when the latter resigned in 1874.

In April 1876, St. Benedict's priory at Atchison was raised to the status of an abbey by papal act, and in September the monks elected a Benedictine of Latrobe, the Reverend Innocent Wolf, O. S. B., as their first abbot. He held office until a second abbot, the Reverend Martin Veth, O. S. B., was elected November 10, 1921. The present—the third—abbot of St. Benedict's, the Right Reverend Cuthbert McDonald, O. S. B., was elected July 6, 1943, to succeed Abbot Veth, then in his last illness.

Abbott Cuthbert carries out his many duties in a most commendable manner. He is dedicated to the service of God. He manages the business affairs of the monastic community and the college with professional efficiency. So far in his 14 years as superior, two residence halls, and a new abbey church have been constructed. Abbott Cuthbert and the fathers of the abbey are to be commended on the pioneering and progress which has been recorded. They can point with pride to their courageous heritage.

Four special dates in August marked the official observance of the founding of the monastery. All of the events took place in the new abbey church. The official opening of the St. Benedict's centennial year was coordinated with the first religious ceremony in the new church.

On August 11, the Benedictines set aside the day as Atchison Day, so that their many friends in Atchison and the Atchison populace could see the new church. On that day, Father Abbott Cuthbert McDonald blessed the church and sang a pontifical high Mass with Archbishop Edward Hunkler, Kansas City, Kans., preaching the sermon. Some 4,000 persons visited the church during the blessing ceremony and for the tours following.

On August 16, over 500 Catholic Sisters from northeast Kansas and 5 bordering States formed the choir at a mass sung by Abbott Cuthbert and were then dinner guests of the abbey in the college gymnasium.

On August 28, 30 Benedictine and Trappist abbots from the United States and Canada consecrated—simultaneously—30 minor alters of the new abbey church. Each abbot had some 5 or 6 assistants, which meant that approximately 180 persons were involved in the religious ceremony.

This is believed to be the largest multiple-alter consecration ceremony in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in North America.

On the following day, August 29, the apostolic delegate to the United States, the Most Reverend Amleto G. Cicognani, Washington, D. C., celebrated a pontifical high Mass which culminated the opening centennial activities. This day was set aside for out-of-town guests. An overflow crowd of former Atchison residents, relatives of monks, and graduates of St. Benedict's College attended.

My congratulations and best wishes to the reverend fathers of St. Benedict's. Through the years they have clearly demonstrated their faith in God and the future of America.

Organized Labor Continues Fight To Advance Health of Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in the midst of all the furor in our newspapers and other mediums of public communication over the few members in the ranks of organized labor whose actions have been subject to inquiry and judicial action, I should like to call the attention of the Senate to the pioneer work now being done by a much larger and more responsible segment of organized labor in the fight against a terrible and mysterious killer of children which medical science has labeled "cystic fibrosis."

The William Green Memorial Fund committee raised over a million and a quarter dollars to endow philanthropic works as memorials to the late president of the American Federation of Labor, who served with distinction as the head of that great organization from 1924 until his death in 1952 without one single voice ever having been raised to question his honesty and integrity. This memorial fund came from a "head tax" of 1½ cents a member a month for a year—18 cents a member in 1 year if you please—contributed by the international unions. This demonstrates graphically what a great force for good organized labor has been, is at the present time, and will continue to be in the future.

One ordinary rank-and-file member of organized labor here in Washington lost his 9-year-old daughter to this mysterious killer, which is being fought on a national scale by the National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation in Philadelphia. He joined the local chapter of the research organization and interested himself in the chapter's work. Last year he made application for a grant from the Green Memorial Foundation to establish a CF clinic to give the extra care to other parents' children that his child did not have. George Meany and the other labor leaders who administer the William Green Memorial fund granted his request and endowed a clinic for cystic fibrosis victims at Children's Hospital in Washington, D. C., with $25,000 which was, incidentally, $5,000 more than he had requested.

There is now operating, at Children's Hospital, the William Green Children's Clinic; conceived, planned, endowed, and supported by organized labor. I have been informed that it is believed to be the first such endowed clinic ever established especially for the diagnosis and treatment of cystic fibrosis.

This disease, which is hereditary, attacks the children with malfunctions of the digestive and respiratory systems, I have been told. While some progress has been made in the past 10 years, including some research at the National Institutes of Health, much still remains to be accomplished to control this disease which medical experts have declared kills more children than any other chronic disease.

I believe that organized labor, which has a magnificent record of service for children, should receive full recognition for this additional piece of good work. It is really pioneering; it is spearheading the assault on this very real danger to the lives of our babies and young children in the Nation; cystic fibrosis.

It is for this reason that I ask to have inserted in the RECORD the action taken by the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union as it expressed its appreciation for the help which the national AFL-CIO is giving to this great humanitarian work.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That we express our appreciation to our parent body, the AFL–CIO, for its encouragement and material help in assisting research and treatment intended to wipe out this scourge of children, cystic fibrosis. This action of our parent body is in line with the services for the health and well-being of all children which has characterized our labor movement from its inception. It is, in a sense, a memorial to those children who have given their lives, we trust not in vain, in order to focus the attention of good men everywhere on this mysterious and merciless killer. We commend the AFL–CIO and urge that similar support be given this movement by State and local federations of labor throughout the Nation.

WASHINGTON CENTRAL LABOR UNION,
C. F. PRELLER, *President*.
F. H. MCGUIGAN, *Secretary*.

An Increase in the Import Duty on Lead and Zinc Is Unnecessary, Unwise, and Against Our National Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I look with considerable alarm upon the effort that is being made by certain interests to build an import barrier against lead and zinc. I am fearful that the adoption of a policy as now being advocated might result to our national disadvantage, harmful to the economy of friendly nations, without benefit to the producers of these metals in our own

Nation, and distinctly detrimental to our national security.

The situation that would be created by the adoption of pending legislation requires that the matter should have careful and serious consideration. Of course, there is naturally a desire to protect our own lead and zinc producers from unfair competition from other countries. But, from such study as I have made, I am not satisfied that any necessity exists at this time for legislation of the kind suggested. In fact, I am inclined to the belief that, in addition to it not being necessary for the protection of our domestic mining industry, it would prove to be highly disadvantageous to our manufacturing industries that use the metals, and also to our own national interest. Thus, praiseworthy though it may be to protect our domestic lead and zinc mining industry, yet, we must be careful that we are not at the same time doing more harm than good.

Aside from the great harm that the adoption of the proposed legislation would have upon the economies of friendly nations in this Western Hemisphere that supply our national needs, both industrial and defense, the fact remains that such a policy is contrary to the defense policy we have sought to build between the nations of North, Central, and South America and ourselves.

The basis of this defense policy has been to strengthen and stabilize the economies of these nations. The result of pending legislation, if adopted, would be to break down all the good that has been accomplished by the neighborly policy of good will and helpfulness to which I have referred.

As an illustration of the injury that would result to the friendly relations existing between this nation and our neighbors to the North and South of us, permit me to make reference to the favorable reaction that followed the announcement of President Eisenhower in 1954 that import duties on lead and zinc would not be increased. The news was received with a great sense of relief in Mexico and as a proof of good will toward Mexico and the other lead and zinc importing countries. The President of Mexico expressed these sentiments in his annual state of the Union message to the Mexican Congress as follows:

> The decision of President Eisenhower of not authorizing the increase in lead and zinc tariffs has been greatly appreciated by the Government of Mexico and by the Mexican people who derive their livelihood from mining, because it contributed to avoid a new crisis in our mining industry.

Could anything be more impressive? Could anything be said that would more clearly demonstrate the buildup that a continuation of the Eisenhower policy would have in further strengthening the friendly relationship that now exists between Mexico and ourselves? And, by the same token, is it not easy to realize that a discontinuance or curtailment of that policy could create a very unfavorable attitude? The same considerations and reactions prevail with respect to the other nations similarly affected as Mexico.

It is most gratifying to note that this announcement by President Eisenhower was accepted by the exporting nations of lead and zinc in the spirit of mutual understanding. For instance, when President Eisenhower announced he would not increase the import duty on lead and zinc, he expressed the hope that the exporting countries would not take undue advantage of the solution that he gave to the problem confronting the producing countries by unduly increasing their exports to the United States. And, it is particular gratifying to further note that the Mexican mining industries observed and complied fully with the wishes of President Eisenhower. Zinc exports from that country to the United States were kept in 1956 at the same level as that of 1953 and lead exports were reduced to about 45 percent of the 1953 figure.

Before any precipitous action is taken by increasing the import duties on lead and zinc, it would be well to study carefully the fact that some of the producing countries which would be adversely affected are among our best customers in the purchase of our products. This is particularly true with respect to Mexico. We should not overlook the fact that Mexico is the third highest United States customer in the entire world. In 1956, for example, Mexico bought from this country goods amounting to $831,100,000, and sold to the United States $404,500,000, leaving an unfavorable balance against Mexico of $426,600,000. These figures taken from the United States Department of Commerce publications—FT-950-1 and 950-E—tell a story too important to be ignored when considering legislation of the kind proposed, which, if adopted, could be highly detrimental to our trade relations with a friendly nation.

There can be no doubt that the adoption of a policy that would eliminate, or even curtail, the exportation of Mexican lead or zinc to this country would strike a vital blow at the Mexican mining industry and could greatly harm the economic status of that country. In this connection, it must be borne in mind that the mining industry is one of Mexico's most important industries. Lead and zinc production in Mexico together represent 55 percent of all mining production. Its importance to the economy of that country can be further understood when it is realized that other metals, such as silver, gold, arsenic, bismuth, and cadmium, are obtained as byproducts of lead-zinc operations. The complete lead-zinc group of metals accounts for 90 percent by value of the total mining production of Mexico.

A further understanding of the vital part the mining industry occupies in the total economy of Mexico can be readily seen when we consider the fact that it employs 70,000 workers in Mexico. Each has an average of 4 dependents, which makes 350,000 persons directly affected, plus thousands who work in allied and related industries. Thus, unemployment, whole or partial, would cause considerable hardship to this large number of people. Furthermore, such restrictions could create political and social problems in Mexico. I have used facts, figures, economic and social considerations based on data relating to Mexico. The same could be duplicated with similar illustrations from other nations that would be equally appropriate.

The closing of mines, wholly or in part, the unemployment that would result, reduced railroad traffic, reduced business activity and foreign trade, independently of foreign exchange complications, could cause a slump in the Mexican economy and that of some other producing countries that would be very serious.

There are many additional considerations that could be appropriately offered as objections to a policy that would increase the import duty on these strategic metals. For instance, the United States is not now and cannot be expected to become self-sufficient in the production of lead and zinc. Thus, aside from the purely economic point of view the proposal is also unsound and unwise from the standpoint of our national security. The United States must depend upon imports for approximately one-third of its requirements for lead and zinc. This has been verified by a report issued by the United States Bureau of Mines in 1956. And, in this connection, it is also well to point out that Mexico and Canada are the only foreign sources of supply that are in a position to ship these strategic materials to us by overland transportation. Incidentally, the same is true of shipments of oil. This should also have our serious consideration as a part of our national security and defense.

It is also worthy to note and emphasize, as we consider this question from the national security and defense angle, that during World War II Mexico supplied the United States with approximately 52 percent of its lead imports and 35 percent of its zinc imports, and that Mexico sold to the United States during the war at prices which were lower than those received by the United States producers. And, as evidence of a close association with the purposes and objectives of the United States in World War II the Mexican Government in agreement with our on Government, prohibited the exportation of strategic materials to any country outside the American Continent and to any American countries that had not adopted similar restrictions, and, at the same time, agreed to supply such materials to our country. All of this was done without formal treaty and on a voluntary basis to enable our two nations in fullest cooperation make a worthwhile contribution in the winning of the war.

The cooperation that existed during the war has continued during the years following the war. Great progress has been made in building strength and power among the nations of this Hemisphere by adopting agreements that bind us and these other nations in strong ties of mutual understanding and cooperate defense, based on the principle of "one for all and all for one."

The value of any such inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance depends upon the individual economic and industrial strength of each. For this Nation

to take any action that would weaken the economic strength of any of our copartners in this great undertaking to maintain the peace and security of each would be against our own best interests.

The adoption of a policy that would produce the adverse results that I have sought to show is inherent in the proposal to increase import duties on lead and zinc and is extremely unwise and should be unthinkable.

The Girard Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, much has been written, much has been said in recent weeks concerning the Supreme Court ruling on the Girard case.

Grave doubts and apprehensions have been created in the minds of thousands upon thousands of American parents whose sons are obligated to serve in the Armed Forces of our Nation at some future date. They fear because they know that their sons have now been deprived of some of their constitutional rights.

This betrayal of the protection of our courts to the men who serve our flag is the subject of an article entitled "The Girard Decision," by Mr. T. D. Horton, an able student and authority on our Constitution.

The article draws attention to the constitutional remedy which the House has the exclusive power to apply to the political encroachments and depredations of the judiciary:

THE GIRARD DECISION

(By T. D. Horton, member, executive council, Defenders of the American Constitution)

There has been a reassuring public reaction against the Girard case ruling of the Supreme Court—a court that subscribes in its entirety and perpetrates what Van Buren called "the dangerous heresy that the Constitution is to be interpreted, not by the well-understood intentions of those who framed and of those who adopted it but by what can be made out of its language by ingenious interpretation" (Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, p. 551, published as vol. II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1918).

But the widespread public indignation at the Supreme Court's heresy has been lacking in one important element—a realization that the Supreme Court in its Girard decision has committed an impeachable offense under the Constitution of the United States, which provides that all officers of the United States shall be removed by impeachment for "high crimes and misdemeanors." The following quotation from Blackstone's commentaries on the common law clearly defines the offense which the Supreme Court has committed in the Girard case:

"And by the Habeas Corpus Act (31 Car. II. c. 2) (that second Magna Carta and stable bulwark of our liberties) it is enacted that no subject of this realm who is an inhabitant of England, Wales, or Berwick shall be sent prisoner into Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, or places beyond the seas (where they cannot have the full benefit and protection of the common law), but that all such imprisonments shall be illegal; that the person who shall dare to commit another contrary to this law shall be disabled from bearing any office, shall incur the penalty of a praemunire, and be incapable of receiving the King's pardon; and the party suffering shall also have his private action against the person committing, and all his aiders, advisers, and abettors, and shall recover treble costs, besides his damages, which no jury shall assess at less than 500 pounds" (Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. I, pp. 137, 138, 17th edition London, 1830).

This common law was in force at the time of the adoption of the Constitution; and in the Girard case the Supreme Court has committed at least a "misdemeanor," which should subject the Court to wholesale removal from office.

Representative Bowler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 18, 1957

Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, one of the oldest and wisest and most useful and most valued Members of the House has answered his last rollcall.

I felt that I knew Mr. BOWLER for many years before I met him and men acquainted with public affairs over the Nation knew him by reputation long before he came to the House of Representatives.

In the eventful 82 years of his life he had witnessed and had participated largely in the making of the history of the most fruitful and most progressive half century of the 2,000 years since the establishment of the calendar.

In his own beloved city of Chicago he had been an inspiring and dominant force for progress and achievement every one of those crucial 50 years. While we shall miss him here in the House and in the Nation his loss will be particularly deplored in the great central city of the continent where he rendered such invaluable service to his community and all mankind.

His assignment to the Committee on Appropriations came earlier than usually comes to the average Member. As a rule a Member serves a longer period of apprenticeship on some legislative committee before coming to the Appropriations Committee. But his wide experience, his intimate knowledge and understanding of basic metropolitan problems brought him to the committee after two terms in the House and we looked forward to having the benefit of his wise counsel and technical experience in Government with warmest anticipation.

Although he passes on in the fullness of years and after distinguished service and eminent success crowned by honors and every evidence of the approval and grateful appreciation of his city and his Nation, it is to be deeply regretted that we could not longer have had the benefit of his association and cooperation.

I join with those who knew him and loved him best in extending our deepest sympathy to his family and his constituents.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the 18th Congressional District of New York which I am privileged to represent has always depended upon its Congressman for leadership, both in Washington and in the community. From January 3, 1957, the day I first took office as Congressman, I have tried to provide leadership to our community. Now that the congressional session has drawn to a close, may I give you a résumé of the highlights of my community service.

In order to serve the residents of my congressional district, I have maintained two congressional offices. One is located at 1434 First Avenue and the other at 208 East 116th Street. My First Avenue office has been open every evening and on Saturdays. It has been staffed by five lawyers and secretarial help. On Saturdays I personally interviewed my constituents and rendered whatever assistance was possible. My 116th Street office is open every Monday and Thursday evening. Two representatives work there and are ready to serve. In both offices during these past 7 months, over 2,500 people have had occasion to ask for advice and assistance. My office has furnished this help without charge and without regard to politics. Our objective has been to help.

In order to better understand the needs of our people, I have called together an advisory council, consisting of various organizations, trade unions, parent-teachers' associations, churches, settlement houses, civil groups, tenant associations, and social and athletic clubs. Once a month, I made an oral report of my legislative work in Washington, my activities in the community, and asked for a discussion of the problems which beset our area. These problems were discussed, and after deliberation, action was taken by myself and the organizations which were cooperating with me.

This procedure has proved helpful. When the New York State Legislature was contemplating an end to rent control, we organized a newspaper and letter campaign to urge the retention of residential rent control. During the legislative rent hearings, I appeared in Albany with a member of my staff to urge the legislature to extend residential rent control. Our newspaper campaign, publicized in the El Diario, the Spanish newspaper, brought in approximately

10,000 letters to the New York State legislative leaders. As you know, public pressure caused a reversal of attitude and caused the legislature to give to tenants much needed protection for an additional 2 years, and I was pleased to play a role in that change of policy.

My advisory council brought to my attention the plight of the east Harlem businessmen and merchants who were being dislocated without adequate compensation and with no provision being made for sufficient stores in new projects. Apart from the legislation which I introduced in Washington providing for payment up to the maximum of $3,000 for expenses to business in relocating, I conferred with the merchants of east Harlem, our City Councilman, Mr. Merli, our state assemblyman and senator, and the commissioner of borough works. As a result of our conference, we have brought about the construction of additional stores in the new Benjamin Franklin project between 106th and 108th Streets, and for adequate lighting facilities along Second and First Avenues.

When 400 families were threatened with an eviction in Yorkville with a luxury apartment house, I appeared before the New York City Board of Estimates and pleaded for a halt to this program unless relocation of families was provided for. I am happy to state that because of concerted efforts of an aroused community, this program was abandoned and irreparable harm was avoided.

Just as I fought to protect civil rights on the floor of Congress, I fought in our community to protect the innocent and the elderly men who belonged to social clubs. Several social clubs were being unjustly raided and its members arrested without cause by the police department. My office staff represented successfully these men in the magistrate's court, but I also took preventive action. I took up personally with the police department the matters of these arrests, and after conference and investigation, received assurances that decent social clubs would not be harassed or arrested. Today I am proud to report that a police sergeant participates in my advisory council and offers suggestions for the improvement of community activities.

Our activities have taken all forms. On May 17, we participated in the prayer pilgrimage in Washington to commemorate the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision which struck down discrimination in public schools. I have organized a committee in the advisory council for the saving of Benjamin Franklin High School, whose continuation is being threatened as a high school. In addition, I obtained from the board of elections the use of Benjamin Franklin High School for the use of permanent personal registration so that the voting public could register more easily and would not be inconvenienced. Furthermore, we called upon, and received from the city of New York, additional funds for East Harlem in order to obtain additional educational and vocational counselors for our area in order that we might give our area the tools for developing a better youth and to provide conditions leading to better citizenship. Newspaper reports have indicated that juvenile delinquency has decreased in East Harlem.

The personal contact which I have enjoyed with these various organizations and with individuals has offered a great opportunity to serve my people. I have been able with the assistance of my staff and volunteers to represent numerous tenants who were being evicted or displaced, to obtain welfare for needy persons, to obtain apartments in low-income projects for families who need housing, to obtain employment from the division of employment and from the post office for people who can work and want to work, to halt deportation of several residents in our area and to facilitate the issuance of visas to persons rightfully entitled to enter America, to prepare and process applications for immigration visas, to secure compassionate transfers for veterans with a serious problem, and to adjust service discharges. The type of assistance which I have given has depended to a large degree upon the complexity of the problem involved. Frequently, my efforts met with a certain degree of success, but even if they were not successful, I have tried to help. These services have been rendered without fee or without regard to politics.

I hope that I shall be of continuous service to my constituents in the years to come.

Sam McConnell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues from Pennsylvania and from other States in wishing SAM MCCONNELL the very best of everything as he leaves the Halls of Congress.

We will sorely miss him as our colleague in this House but he may be assured that the affection in which he is held here will not subside. We insist that he keep in touch with us and no doubt we will have opportunities to see him from time to time.

His devotion to his duties as a Member of this House and of the Education and Labor Committee is well known and need not be recounted here. National recognition has attended his efforts in behalf of the American people, and those who know him best are especially mindful of his sincerity of purpose.

SAM MCCONNELL has also rendered devoted and tireless service to his political party. His accomplishments as chairman of the Montgomery County Republican Committee have marked him as one of the most astute party leaders in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Undoubtedly, his activities on the county level have been a major factor in his thorough appreciation of the problems confronting State and local governmental authorities.

Since I became chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, I have worked closely with SAM on numerous congressional campaign problems, particularly in Pennsylvania. He has been Pennsylvania's member on the congressional committee, and I have sought his advice and assistance on a regular basis.

I will miss his wise counsel in this important area of my responsibilities. Pennsylvania Republicans will hope that SAM will maintain his interest in Republican affairs.

In his new position of trust, SAM MCCONNELL will give further evidence of his great ability in handling matters of vital public concern. We wish him well.

Now 40 Million Get Checks From Federal, State, and Local Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, back in 1952 I had a compilation made which showed that at that time 36,983,248 persons were getting checks for services, subsidies, or relief payments from Federal, State, and local government sources.

Previously I have called the attention of the Congress to the fact that the Federal bureaucracy had grown from 604,948 employees in 1930 with total payrolls of $1,100,273,000 to more than 2,400,000 civilian employees in 1953 with payrolls totaling $10,499,000,000 for that year. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed by the trend toward socialism in our society and Government, and to say at least I am deeply disappointed at the results of a new survey made for me by Paul O. Peters, an economist and statistician, of Washington, D. C., which shows that as of June 30, 1957, more than 40 million persons received checks during fiscal year 1957 for services or other reasons from Federal, State, and local government sources. The details are given in the table following:

Forty million eight hundred and ten thousand six hundred and ninety-nine persons received checks from Federal, State, and local governments during the fiscal year 1957 for services, grants-in-aid, social security, and veteran benefits, agricultural subsidies, and a myriad of other reasons. Included in the number receiving such financial assistance were 48,528 foreign residents, many now living in such Communist-controlled countries as Albania, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and even in the Soviet Union.

Payrolls for Federal, State, and local employees of government, including teachers and other employees of educational institutions total well over $25 billion a year with the Federal employees alone getting more than $11 billion.

Benefit payments under the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund in fiscal 1957 totaled $6,514,580,758 and withdrawals by the States from the unemployment trust

fund during fiscal 1957 amounted to $1,510,749,527.

The civil service retirement fund disbursed $588,073,111 during fiscal 1957 to 246,362 living beneficiaries with 80,749 persons entitled to survivor benefits.

During the month of July 1957, the first in fiscal 1958, benefit payments from trust and other funds exceeded income by $362,170,296 and it is estimated that social security benefits during all of 1958 will exceed withholding receipts by over a billion dollars.

Besides the more than 40 million persons receiving checks from Federal, State, and local governments, an additional 5,274,036 benefited from Veterans' Administration loan guaranties and more than 5 million others received either loan guaranties or aid in the form of insurance of one kind or another.

Included in this group are the clients of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation which operated with a capital deficit (loss) of $20,811,599 in fiscal 1957 while the taxpayers of the country furnished an additional $6,210,000 from the public till for administrative expenses. Another of the agencies of the Federal Government which operates on a deficit basis is the Farmers' Home Administration with an actual cumulative deficit of $54,100,826 in fiscal 1956 and an estimated cumulative deficit of $78,120,389 by the end of fiscal 1957.

The table following shows the number of persons receiving checks from Federal, State, and local governments during the fiscal year 1957:

Checks issued by Federal, State, and local Governments for services, grants-in-aid or loans of various kinds

1. Federal civilian employees, June 1957	2,401,292
Foreign national employed in executive branch	276,823
State and local employees, May 1957	5,154,000
Teachers and other educational employees	2,341,500
Total	10,173,615
2. Public assistance programs (June 1957):	
Old-age assistance	2,503,823
Aid to dependent children and parents	2,398,693
Aid to the blind	108,441
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	283,901
General relief assistance	294,000
Total	5,588,858
3. Old-age and Survivors Insurance Act: Monthly benefits in current-payment status, at the end of June 1957	10,342,119
4. Unemployment Insurance Act, June 30, 1957:	
Average weekly insured unemployment	1,592,478
Railroad unemployment insurance	42,000
Total	1,634,478
5. Civil Service Retirement Act, June 30, 1957:	
Retired personnel	246,362
Survivor benefits	80,749
Total	327,111
6. Railroad Retirement Act, June 1957:	
Retired personnel	340,240
Survivors benefits	178,000
Total	518,240

Checks issued by Federal, State, and local Governments for services, grants-in-aid or loans of various kinds—Continued

7. Veterans' Administration, June 1957:	
Disability compensation or pensions, all wars	2,794,877
Death compensation or pensions, all wars	862,955
Veterans educational and vocational assistance Public Laws 346 and 550	362,812
Total	4,020,644
8. Agricultural programs, payees:	
Conservation programs, payees number	2,162,972
Beet- and cane-sugar producers, subsidy—farmers receiving parity payments	600,000
Total	2,835,533
9. State and local retirement programs:	
Retired personnel	310,000
Survivor beneficiaries	52,000
Disability benefits	46,000
Total	408,000
10. State and local unemployment benefits: Number of persons receiving benefits in 1956	893,600
11. Personnel in Defense Department:	
Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps	3,082,244
Defense Reserves	219,598
Army and Air National Guard	469,700
Coast Guard	[1] 26,209
Grand total	3,807,751
Total number of persons receiving monetary checks of services, etc	40,810,699
Veterans administration loan guaranties, number	5,274,036
Business and housing loan guaranties, estimated number	600,000
Total number of persons getting checks or having loans or loan guaranties	46,684,735

[1] In Treasury Department in peacetime.

A Report to the People on the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, as the 1st year of the 85th Congress comes to a close, I wish to report to the people whom I am privileged to represent in the 18th Congressional District of New York. This first session, which lasted from January 3, 1957, to August 30, 1957, was the longest in the last 25 years. Much has been accomplished, much has been left undone, and analysts who demand clear-cut verdicts will be disappointed.

The major drives of this session were to economize, to reduce expenditures without impairing our defenses, and to forge a civil-rights bill. The major legislation dealt with civil rights, the mutual-security program, the revision of the immigration law, postal rate and pay increases, pay increases for classified employees, aid to stimulate private housing, aid to school construction, the Middle East doctrine, the protection of the FBI files, and, of course, the money appropriations to run the governmental agencies.

This session has rejected some of the President's proposals, but some of the Presidential defeats, as, for example, in the death of the school-aid bill, were caused largely by members of his own party and were compounded by his occasional lack of enthusiastic leadership. While everybody seemed to like Ike, no one knew for certain what Ike liked. Perhaps, the President's lack of influence with his party rests with the fact that under the Constitution this is his last term. Of necessity, therefore, the President had to appeal to bipartisan support to offset the alliance between southern Democratic conservatives and Republicans. This bipartisan support prevented the runaway economy movement and held the cuts to $5 billion where, in the beginning, it appeared that the total reduction might run about $10 billion.

As a first-term Congressman, I have taken a keen interest in the debate and, on many occasions, participated.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The civil rights legislation which was considered and passed was arrived at after many skirmishes and compromises. The results did not fully satisfy those who demanded a strong civil rights bill nor did the final measure please those who sought to limit the measure. Here was an issue, harsh, passionate and highly explosive. Never have I heard greater and more inspiring oratory on any subject matter. This issue divided the Democratic Party. On this basic civil-rights bill, the President neither wholly won nor wholly lost. The Deep South, the anti-civil-rights section of the country, was not totally defeated or victorious.

After 87 years the Congress finally enacted a measure affecting civil rights. The measure which finally passed protected only the right to vote and had these features: First created a Federal Civil Rights Commission; second, established a Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice; third, gave formidable new powers to the Federal Government to protect a single but basic civil right to vote—that is to say, Federal prosecutors are empowered to obtain injunctions with or without the consent of the victim against actual or threatened interference with the right to vote; fourth, gave to the judge in minor instances the discretion to proceed without a jury, but it also gave to the defendant charged with criminal contempt, a procedure whereby he could obtain a jury trial after conviction by a judge for criminal contempt, but imposed a possible increased jail sentence or fine if he selected a trial by jury and was found guilty.

The absolute right to a trial by jury, hich was sought as an amendment to e original bill, was defeated in the ouse, but was passed by the Senate d finally compromised in the final l.

I was happy to participate in the de- te on this bill affecting human rights d the right to vote. I voted for the al bill and against the amendment in e House which would require a jury al when a defendant was 'n contempt court.

MIDDLE EAST DOCTRINE AND FOREIGN AID

The first great issue to confront Con- ess was the Middle East crisis. The esident on January 5, asked the Senate d House to support him in an unusual terprise, a joint Executive-congres- nal proclamation pledging this coun- y to use its military forces to keep ace in the Middle East. He also re- ested unrestricted authority to spend to $200 million in already appro- iated foreign-aid funds for special ojects in the Middle East. This pro- am would assist those countries that re or might become friends of the mocracies.

This approach heralded and signaled turning point in the President's for- n policy relationship with Congress. retofore, Congress had responded ickly, but not this year. After lengthy d bitter debate, which many Congress- en questioned the wisdom and effec- eness of the Eisenhower doctrine, the use approved the resolution. The nate refused to follow blindly and after months' debate, fixed the ultimate re- onsibility on the President directly. e Senate refused the President's re- est for unconditional authorization to e troops as he might see fit and in- ad proclaimed that the United States s prepared to act militarily if the esident should deem it necessary. e House concurred in this resolution 6 to 61 with 188 Democrats, including yself, and 167 Republicans for the easure.

FOREIGN AID

The foreign aid policy received severe rutiny and cold reappraisal by an nomy-minded Congress. The struggle oceeded on two legislative courses. rst, on the matter of policy, called thorization, and second, on the matter money appropriations. The President quested authority to grant long-term nomic assistance. The House cut wn the Senate authorization of 3 years 2 years. The House appropriation l slashed deeply into the estimated nds and provided $2,524,760,000. The use spokesman resisted Presidential d Senate pressures and demonstrated t sufficient funds were still available m former appropriations. The House easure cut 25.4 percent from the esti- tes. The Senate, at the importunities the President, sought to increase the propriation. The final measure was ,768,760,000 and 18.2 percent cut from e estimates. The outcome was a modi- d defeat for the administration, but t so severe a defeat as seemed certain m the belligerent atmosphere of the use whose Members were listening to e demands of their voters to reduce governmental spending. I voted for the foreign-aid bill with the reductions. Congress, therefore, cut foreign aid by $1 billion and cut from the defense appropriations for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, $2,368,150,000 out of approximately $36,128,000,000. It was the considered judgment that too much fat was in the estimates for defense and that billions of dollars from last year's appropriations were neither spent nor obligated and were still available for defense spending.

POSTAL RATES AND PAY INCREASES

After lengthy hearings by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, a postal rate increase was approved, subsequently passed by the House, and not acted upon by the Senate. When the chairman refused to call hearings for postal pay raises, a petition was circulated, discharging the committee from further consideration and bringing the pay raise bill to the floor without committee aprpoval. The required 218 signatures were obtained and brought about action by the Post Office Committee to hold hearings. After full hearings an increase of $546 across the board was recommended. The administration opposed the modest increases as inflationary, while it did nothing about rising prices of steel with its concomitant rise of prices of basic commodities, such as refrigerators, stoves, and other articles using steel. Classified employees also clamored for justifiable pay increases, and the Post Office Committee approved a 12-percent increase. I was privileged as a member of the Post Office Committee to fight for pay increases for our postal employees and classified governmental workers who cannot bargain or strike. I participated actively in the debate for decent wages to permit our governmental servants to work in dignity and not labor in debt.

SCHOOL AID

A major disappointment was the defeat of the school construction bill by a close margin of five votes. The House considered a $1½ billion authorization for construction over a period of 5 years as a starter, but because of lack of Republican support, the motion by a southern conservative Democrat to strike out the enacting clause, that is to say to kill the bill, was approved. Among those who voted to kill this bill were ranking Republicans. Despite the importunities of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Marion Folsom, to the President to call Republicans to support the bill, no help came from the White House. One hundred and eleven Republicans and ninety-seven Democrats voted to kill the bill. Despite the Republican platform advocating aid for school construction, this bill was defeated.

In summary, I wish to point out those bills which I supported and which I opposed. I voted for the Mideast doctrine in the original and in its final form. I supported foreign aid with the cuts. I supported Federal aid to school construction, the protection of civil rights, and the right to vote. I opposed the jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill which would have made impossible the enforcement of the legislation. I voted for aid to small business and aid to private housing. I supported the immigration law which passed the House at the close of the session, which bill, while not completely satisfactory, was a step in the right direction. I voted against postal rate increases because of the unfair provisions against the users of first-class mail while favoring the users of the second class and junk mail. I voted for postal pay and classified employee increases. I voted for the bill for the protection of FBI files from indiscriminate inspection and at the same time would permit a defendant the right to inspect statements by a Government witness if the court determined it would not prejudice the safety of the United States.

Last year while running for Congress, the voters of my district, in response to a questionnaire circulated by me, indicated their viewpoints and preferences. I have voted my conscience with the knowledge of what my contituents desired. It was an honor and a privilege to be a Member of the House of Representatives.

Despite the enforced absence from my five young children, family, and wife, this session was enlightening, stimulating, and pleasant. Many of my burdens and difficulties were eased by an extremely efficient staff in Washington and New York and by the House employees who were always ready to assist and help.

Endorsing Report of Commission on Government Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include Resolution No. 258, approved by the 58th National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, August 25–30, 1957, Miami, Fla., endorsing the report of the Commission on Government Security.

As you know, the Commission on Government Security reported to the Congress this past June and the highly important recommendations of the Commission will be before the 2d session of the 85th Congress.

RESOLUTION 258, ENDORSING REPORT OF COMMISSION ON GOVERNMENT SECURITY

Whereas the commander in chief served as a member of the Citizens Advisory Committee of the 12-man nonpartisan Commission on Government Security, established by Congress in 1955 to review the various Federal security programs; and

Whereas the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States is firmly convinced that there is a real and formidable danger to the Nation from international communism; and

Whereas the recommendations of the Commission on Government Security, if put into effect, would enhance the protection afforded national security while substantial-

ly increasing the protection of the individual: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the 58th National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That the President and the Congress should, without delay, take the recommended administrative and legislative action to implement the proposals of the Commission, excepting any which might tend to weaken the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved by 58th National Encampment, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Miami Beach, Fla., August 25–30, 1957.

Disguised as Freedom Fighters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 85th Congress, I introduced H. R. 4189, a bill to admit 10,000 orphans into the United States.

Through the hyperopic view of my dear friend, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, this and other perplexing immigration questions are readily resolved. I am certain that millions of freedom-loving people all over the world join me in expounding the deeds of one of America's foremost statesmen.

I am pleased to include for printing in the RECORD an editorial from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of August 26, 1957, which is of lasting interest.

The editorial follows:

DISGUISED AS FREEDOM FIGHTERS

At the time of the Hungarian uprising last October and November the free world's sympathy flowed out to the freedom fighters.

These heroic men and women boldly stood up to their Communist overlords, then flew for safety abroad when the Russians brutally put down the revolt with hundreds of tanks, thousands of cannon, more than 200 bombing and strafing planes and massive, cruel footsoldiers in many divisions.

The United States offered haven to thousands of these freedom fighters in excess of normal immigration quotas on a parole basis.

So far, Congress has shown little disposition to lift the parole and certify these refugees as bona fide immigrants.

One of the reasons for Congress's reluctance is the disclosure that at least one and possibly more of these freedom fighters are hoaxes—they are Red spies posing as refugees.

An admitted former Soviet Russian Army captain who entered the United States with his family disguised as a freedom fighter is now being deported. Under the law such persons may be deported without the filing of a formal charge so long as they remain on parole.

At the time of the Hungarian uprising and while refugees were streaming through gaps in the Iron Curtain, Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, went personally to the Hungarian border to observe the operation. He went with open mind, open eyes, and sympathetic heart.

He warned then that although most of the refugees were, in truth, fleeing freedom fighters, it was probable that among their number would be spies, provocateurs, and agents of the Soviet Communists.

Whether the former Russian Army captain, Jyula Paktorovich (now nabbed), actually acted as a spy or a Soviet agent has not been disclosed by American officials. Probably he has.

And chances are there are others who slipped in as freedom fighters who this very minute are plotting and conspiring with the Communist apparatus in this country to overthrow our Government.

Representative WALTER is to be commended for his foresight in warning that refugees seeking admission to the United States should be carefully screened.

He is to be commended also for being among the congressional leaders who refuse to be hurried into granting legal residence to freedom fighters among whose number may be spies and enemy agents, yet who by their sympathy and practical aid, help keep alive the still-burning fires of freedom behind the bloody Hungarian curtain.

Republican Money Policies Versus Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, anyone who questions the administration's money and credit policies is promptly labeled an "inflationist." Since the first great "crusade," our Republican friends have somehow established—at least in their own minds—that they are the party of sound money, while the Democratic Party is the party of inflation.

Actually, the record shows that just the opposite is true. From the very beginning of World War II through the Korean hostilities, the Republican Party, the Republican press, and the Republican Members of the House waged a bitter and highly vocal fight against all of the measures that were adopted in these years to combat inflation. Our Republican friends fought last-ditch battles against price and rent controls, against rationing, and against allocations of production materials and against all of the other measures designed for keeping prices down during the periods of shortages. And at the same time they opposed adequate taxes to sop up purchasing power and to check the rise in the Federal debt.

Indeed, unless my memory of the last two decades is completely faulty, the only policy offered in the name of combating inflation that has received enthusiastic support from the Republican leadership, and from the great majority of Republicans in this body, is the present administration's tight-money and high-interest policy. Certainly, the Republican leadership has not otherwise followed an anti-inflationary course, even since it acquired control of the Government and presumably became "responsible." As soon as this administration took office it set about making tax concessions to high-income families and giving all kinds of tax bonuses to the big corporations. And it has created both the framework of Government and the attitude of Government which has been favorable to the repeated big-business price increases which are continually increasing the cost of living.

REPUBLICAN RECORD HAS NOT BEEN ANTI-INFLATIONARY

Our Republican friends' single effort at combatting inflation is, to say the least, of doubtful value in restraining inflation. Both logic and experience suggest that the tight-money high-interest policy is causing prices to go up, not down. Curiously enough, however, the tight-money high-interest policy does result in more interest income for the bankers and big investors; and it is resulting in the big industrial corporations gaining greater monopoly control over markets, with less threat of competition from small businesses.

When this administration took office at the beginning of 1953, the cost of living had been almost completely stable for 18 months. Yet the administration immediately embarked upon a high-interest tight-money policy for the purpose of stabilizing prices. The Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board have been coordinating their actions in pursuit of this policy, with increasing dosages of high interest, ever since. It is true that these agencies backed away from the policy in late 1953 and early 1954, after an overzealous application of the policy brought on a business recession, but the country's reprieve was quite brief. Late in 1954, the money managers were on a new spree of raising interest rates, only to find with each increase in interest rates there was a further increase in industrial prices. For many months these mounting industrial prices were not reflected in the cost of living, for the simple reason that the props were being pulled from under farm prices and farm prices were falling correspondingly. But when farm prices finally sank to the new floor, the cost of living index started rising; it has now risen for the 12th consecutive month—to the highest level in history.

Where do we stand now? Interest rates have been raised to the highest level since the bank holiday of 1933, yet the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board is calling for even tighter bank credit, and the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, is calling for even lower farm price supports.

Now to question this administration's policies does not mean that the questioner is in favor of inflation. Obviously, there are times when the Federal Government should conduct its affairs so as to counter inflationary forces; there are times when Federal policies should be calculated to counter deflation and depression; and there are times to be neutral.

HOW DO WE HAVE INFLATION WITHOUT SHORTAGES?

The pertinent question today is therefore: Are we in a period when anti-inflationary measures are appropriate? I say, "no," certainly not the kind of

measures that are being used for the purpose.

It may be true, as many people say, that some new kind of Government machinery is needed to restrain price increases in those industries where monopoly power has been acquired, and prices can be raised arbitrarily. But this is not a problem that is peculiar to a period of inflation; the monopoly power which can raise prices in times of inflation can be used, and is used, to raise prices also in times of depression.

As for the kind of inflation which comes from shortages of goods, productive capacity or labor—this has long since disappeared. True, the official spokesmen for "tight money" still think they can see such shortages at work. For more than 18 months now, the chairman of the Federal Reserve has been proclaiming that "too many dollars are chasing too few goods," and the recently retired Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey, insisted too, that shortages are at the bottom of the price increases.

Several committees of Congress have been asking where, specifically, are these shortages to be found? Where are there shortages of materials? Where are there shortages of labor? And where are there shortages of plant capacity? The truth is that there are substantial surpluses of both goods and productive capacity in most sectors of the economy, but it is rather difficult to find any place where there is any shortage of either goods or productive resources.

The argument about shortages should have been exploded by now. The chairman of the Federal Reserve System has been invited again and again to point to some specific shortages which he thinks he sees. He has finally agreed that he can point to no specific shortages of any consequence. On August 1 of this year, he finally told the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House that there are today no basic shortages. He said:

> Now the problem today, as I see it, is that we have had a high level of activity for some time, and there are no basic shortages in the economy with the exception of the shortage of savings, but this high level activity is at inflated prices.

Yet, while Chairman Martin has finally agreed that there are no specific shortages, he now maintains that there are shortages in general. He told the Senate Finance Committee, on August 13, that—

> As a nation, we have been trying to spend more than we earn through production.

In other words, we are now being given a theory that the total is bigger than the sum of its parts. With all due respect for Chairman Martin, I say that his thesis is nonsensical.

In such an economic system as ours, it is, of course, possible to purchase more than is produced—for a brief period of time. But such a period of dissavings would come about only when the Nation's store of business goods is being used up faster than it is being replaced. Manufacturer and retailer inventories have been increasing, not decreasing. And new productive equipment is being acquired at a phenomenal rate—an estimated $37 billion per year—which must certainly be greater than the rate at which existing plant and equipment is being worn out or becoming obsolete.

CAN CONSUMERS CREATE BIG-BUSINESS COMPETITION?

Under these circumstances it is both foolish and misleading to say that the Nation is trying to buy more than is being produced. It would be more to the point to recognize that the big-business industries are trying to sell what they produce at higher and higher prices.

But the official explainers seem to prefer to go anywhere and everywhere, except to the point. After many months of being treated to a propaganda line which has strongly suggested that labor has been responsible for the increasing prices, we are now treated to a shift in emphasis which, of all things, blames consumers for the price increases. Faulty diagnosis of the disease will not lead to a cure, but to bad treatment. Thus, as I see it, the President's new call for action, which is to admonish consumers to buy wisely—not to go on a buyers' strike, but to shop around and avoid paying foolish prices—involves the absurd notion that consumers should take on the burden of stimulating competition among the Nation's suppliers, while the administration pursues money and credit policies that bring about a state of competition which gives consumers even less protection.

TIGHT MONEY IS THE WRONG CURE FOR THE WRONG DISEASE

But perhaps I misjudge the balance of inflationary forces at work today. Let us assume for a moment that inflationary forces are in the ascendency, and let us assume also, despite all of the evidence to the contrary, that the increases in interest rates, which add to the cost of the retailer, the wholesaler, the manufacturer, and the raw materials producer, have not been multiplied and reflected in consumer prices. Let us assume further that the present tendency of big business toward high-price and low-production policies is not encouraged by the tight-money squeeze on consumers and small business. In short, let us assume—contrary to all appearances—that some active measure for combating inflation is actually needed. Making these assumptions, then let us ask what is wrong with the tight-money high-interest method of fighting inflation?

I say that everything is wrong with this method of fighting inflation. It benefits no one but the bankers and the big investors, it has unwholesome effects on the Nation's education and health, and it involves discriminations and distortions in the economic system which will bring about more monopoly control and more high prices.

In the first place the high interest rates—which are claimed to be a necessary part of tight money—are causing the greatest cutback in the very activities which are most needed. These are the activities of building schools, building homes and building hospitals, and building other badly needed State and municipal facilities. The high-interest rates have simply priced out of the market much of the activity of these kinds. It is in these activities that the effect of increased financing costs are most clear; and it is in these activities that the cure is at least no better than the disease.

TIGHT MONEY SQUEEZES SMALL BUSINESS—HELPS BIG BUSINESS

But within the business system itself tight money does make a vital difference. The tight-money policy is rapidly weakening and undermining the position of small business. Yet this policy has little, if any, effect on the volume of capital available to the big corporations; it has not even succeeded—if it were intended to succeed—in dampening the big corporations' recordbreaking capital expansion. In short, the policy affects the big corporations not at all, except to promise them a future of more secure control over markets with less rivalry from small competitors. The reasons for this are not hard to trace.

In the first place, the mechanics of the tight-money policy are to limit the growth of commercial banks' credit. This means that the credit squeeze is put on about the only source of capital available to small firms.

The big corporations can still sell stock, issue bonds, and borrow from the insurance companies and the investment bankers. But these sources of capital are not, as a practical matter, generally open to small firms.

Furthermore, not only has bank credit been limited, but the high-interest policy has caused the big corporations to shift their credit demands on to the commercial banks, and thus to cut into the credit supply which would otherwise be available to small firms. According to the press reports, managers of many of the big corporations are not convinced that the new high-interest rates on bonds and other long-term debentures can be made to stick. Consequently, the big corporations with expansion programs are turning to the commercial banks for temporary financing, hoping to postpone permanent financing until interest rates come down again.

Thus we are told that the banks are in a position of having to ration a limited supply of credit among small and large borrowers—and, of course, there have been some claims from the bankers that they are rationing fairly, and taking care of their small-business customers as a matter of policy. Why would we expect the banks to ration a supply of credit to small borrowers, when the big corporations, the banks' biggest depositors, are demanding the same credit—any more so in a period of tight money than in normal periods of easy money?

The truth of the matter is that the rationing of bank credit is not new or peculiar to periods of tight money. If it were, we would have to find that the bankers have adopted a new way of doing business and acquired new motivations in place of their normal motivations. Actually, the supply of bank credit is never allocated by the price of money. But, as we know, the banks set interest rates and then choose between the applicants at predetermined rates. Bank interest rates then are a matter of

convention, determined by current notions of what is proper and ethical and, particularly, by what the Federal Reserve System is willing to agree to.

TIGHT MONEY AND HIGH INTEREST ARE SEPARATE POLICIES

It is for the very reason that there is no direct and necessary connection between the supply of bank credit and interest rates that the Federal money-managers could have tightened bank credit, had they cared to do so, without raising interest rates. This has been clearly recognized by the Federal Reserve System over the years past whenever the System wanted to loosen credit. On these occasions the Federal Reserve did not reduce interest rates, as a means of increasing the credit supply, but it reduced required bank reserves. For example, in July 1953 and again in June of 1954, when the money-managers had a temporary policy of loosening credit, the Federal Reserve did not reduce interest rates, it reduced reserve requirements of its member banks. This meant that each dollar reduction in reserve requirements was a dollar freed for lending; and under our fractional-reserve banking system, it actually meant that the banks could lend up to $6 for each dollar reduction in required reserves.

Since each time the Federal Reserve System wanted to loosen credit, it reduced reserve requirements and thus made more money available, why, we might ask, has it not raised reserve requirements on any of the dozen or so occasions in the past 2 years when it has acted to tighten credit? The record shows that on each of these occasions the Reserve System has either initiated a general rise in interest rates by raising the Reserve banks' discount rate, or it has shown a ready willingness to raise the discount rate immediately after 1 or 2 big banks announced a raise in their commercial rates. In either case, the results are the same: all bank rates go up correspondingly with an increase in the discount rate—which demonstrates a remarkable instance of the tail wagging the dog. The Reserve banks' loans, discounts, and advances outstanding—in short the amount of credit on which the discount rate applies—amounts to less than 1 percent of the commercial banks loans outstanding.

The tight-money policy and the high-interest policy would not therefore seem to be directly connected, except for the possibility that our Federal money managers may have felt that the high-interest policy would be fair compensation to the bankers for their accepting the tight-money policy. Or possibly the tight-money policy has been advanced only as an excuse to justify the high-interest policy. These observations are arguable, of course, but certainly the great majority of the banks very much like the net result of the two policies. Indeed, the banking community has taken the lead in demanding and propagandizing for these policies.

TIGHT MONEY HAS THE EFFECT OF REPEALING ANTITRUST LAWS

Under the tight-money policy, the volume of loans outstanding to small business has probably not declined. On the contrary, it is probable that there has been some expansion in the volume.

But those of us who have been especially concerned about a continuing place for small business are not concerned merely with whether the small firms already in business will survive. A proper perspective of the values at stake require that we be concerned also over whether there is a continuing opportunity for new small firms to be created and for small firms to keep pace in the tremendous expansion of business capacity now taking place. It is against the backdrop of the tremendous expansion of business capacity now taking place—all of which requires capital—that we get the import of the tight-money squeeze on small business.

Prof. Kenneth Galbraith, of the Harvard School of Economics, recently caught the import, and he summed it up this way:

> We should recognize that monetary policy as it is now being practiced is a magnificent instrument for promoting centralization. A move at the present time to repeal the anti-trust laws would, without doubt, excite considerable opposition. But it might contribute less markedly to industrial concentration than a long continuation of monetary restraints in their present form. These deny to the smaller and weaker firm the funds on which growth or even survival may depend. The large and the strong tend to get them. The consequences must be clear.[1]

Such ideas as these expressed by Professor Galbraith are, of course, quite contrary to the impression that some of the big bankers, and the banker associations have tried to give by the various speeches, reports, and so forth, which they have been circulating. These bankers have been trying to knock down all criticisms of the tight-money policy and hence have felt it necessary to assure the public that big borrowers really are not in any favored position, when it comes to obtaining bank credit, but that the banks are all judiciously dividing up their limited credit so as to give small borrowers at least a proportionate share. Noting these banker statements, Professor Galbraith remarked in the same article, that—

> In recent months commercial bankers have been sensitive about the suggestion that the smaller and weaker borrowers have been losing out. Some have come perilously close to claiming that their least valued clients get their first consideration.

NEW CLAIMS THAT BANKERS FAVOR WEAKEST CUSTOMERS

None of the bankers, to my knowledge, has made any direct or outright claim that they are showing a preference for their least valued and least influential clients. But recently they have found a college professor who makes the claims for them.

Recently I received a letter from the public relations department of the American Bankers Association enclosing a paper titled "Monetary Policy, Tight Money, and Small Business," by Prof. R. G. Thomas, of Purdue University. The publicity man's letter assures me that because of my interest in small business I will be interested in the contents of Professor Thomas' paper, a paper which not only argues a justification for the tight-money policy in general—on the grounds of excessive pressure upon the productive capacity of the country—but concludes that small business has not been "the victim of tight money discrimination to the advantage of the large business firms."

Since I suspect that other Members of the House have received copies of that paper, I would like to take a few moments to point out what seems to me the technical weaknesses in the facts and arguments which led Professor Thomas to conclude that small business has not borne a disproportionate burden of the tight-money policy.

Specifically, the factual basis for the professor's conclusions consists of certain extremely skimpy statistics pertaining to the very small commercial banks and to the very large commercial banks. No reference is made, and no statistic is offered, bearing on the question of whether the banks in the size range between $10 million in deposits and $250 million in deposits have increased or decreased their loans to small business in the tight-money period.

According to a survey made by the Federal Reserve Board of its member banks in October of 1955, banks with between $10 million and $250 million in deposits accounted for 57 percent of all the member bank credit extended to business firms having assets of less than $50,000, and such banks accounted for 56 percent of the credit extended to borrowers having assets of less than $250,000.

Nevertheless the professor draws conclusions about the effects of tight money on the lending of all commercial banks, even though the facts are missing for banks which supply about half of the small-business credit.

SMALL BANKS LEND TO BIG BORROWERS

What about the smaller banks? According to the Federal Reserve survey, member banks having less than $10 million in deposits supply between 26 and 32 percent of the member-bank credit extended to small firms. The professor reasons thusly: Since banks with less than $10 million in deposits usually cannot, as a matter of law, lend more than $100,000 to a single borrower, then—

> Clearly these 11,500 banks must lend mainly to the small, local business firms and even if they wished they could not discriminate in favor of big business against the smaller firms.

That conclusion is clear only because it overlooks certain important facts. First, the legal limit refers only to the amount which a bank can lend to a single borrower; it does not limit the amount which a big borrower can borrow from a number of different banks. It is common practice for big corporations to maintain multiple banking connections, and to split their borrowings among the banks.

Second, it is common practice for the small banks to have their loans made for them by larger, correspondent banks, in which case they usually participate in pool loans to large borrowers. It is by

[1] Are Living Costs Out of Control? by John Kenneth Galbraith, the Atlantic Monthly, February 1957, p. 40.

way of indirect payment to the larger banks for service in placing loans that small bankers keep funds on deposit, interest free, with the larger banks.

So much for the facts and the arguments about the smaller banks and the medium-size banks—banks which together supply about 70 to 75 percent of all the small business credit. The statistics cited by Professor Thomas reveal nothing. They do not tell us whether these banks made more or less credit available to small business, in a period of tight money, nor do they indicate whether big firms have obtained more or less credit from these banks.

BIG BANKS LEND TO BIG BORROWERS

What now about the very large banks? For his facts on this subject, Professor Thomas leans on a survey conducted by the American Bankers Association covering 78 of the Nation's largest banks. The survey made comparisons for August 31, 1955 and August 31, 1956, a period when bank credit was being tightened. This survey indicated that the 78 of the Nation's largest banks increased their loans to small business—or at least their business loans in small amounts— in this period of tightening credit. Specifically, the survey indicated that outstanding loans in amounts of less than $50,000 increased by 14 percent within the year, and that outstanding loans in amounts of less than $100,000 also increased by 14 percent.

These facts greatly impressed Professor Thomas and led him to assume that there had been a 14-percent increase in all small business loans, a percentage which he proceeded to compare with a 5.5-percent increase in the gross national product for the same period.

A 14-percent increase in the dollar amount of loans to small business during a period of tight money certainly does not appear unreasonably restrictive in the face of an increase of only 5.5 percent in the gross national product for the same period.

As the reports of the House Small Business Committee have pointed out, however, the volume of small business loans extended by the 78 biggest banks is in no sense a measure of whether commercial banks as a whole have extended more or less credit to small business. The 78 top banks in the ABA survey are in no sense typical of the banks from which small firms obtain credit. Among other things, the smaller banks lacked the foresight exercised by the big banks in unloading their Government bonds, before the price drop, thus acquiring added loan funds. Turning again to the Federal Reserve survey, we find that the 97 biggest banks—those having deposits of more than $250 million—accounted for 77 percent of all the business loans outstanding; but they accounted for only 25 percent of the loans outstanding to firms having assets of under $50,000; and they accounted for only 30 percent of the loans outstanding to firms having assets of under $250,000. Clearly the Nation's biggest banks are not the main supply of credit for small firms.

ABA'S STATISTICS OMIT COMPARISONS

How, then, we might ask, did the ABA's 78 very untypical banks' increased lending in small loans compare with their lending in large loans? Did the total business loans of these banks go up more or less than 14 percent between August 1955 and August 1956? Unfortunately, this is a fact that the ABA report neglected to supply, although it is the one easy fact that such a survey is automatically expected to supply.

BIG FIRMS GET CREDIT AND EXPAND

Professor Thomas' paper does, however, make reference to published Federal Reserve data which bears on the subject. These data show that in the same period when small-business loans of the 78 top banks increased 14 percent, total commercial loans made by central Reserve city banks—New York and Chicago—increased by 28 percent, and total commercial loans made by Reserve city banks—49 cities—increased by 18 percent. In light of these facts, Professor Thomas poses the question, "Does this not indicate that the big borrowers in the big cities were under less restraint than were the small borrowers?"

And in answering his question, the professor shifts the grounds of his argument. He observes that "the relatively greater increase in loans to big borrowers by the big city banks does not necessarily mean that these borrowers were not subject to credit restrictions," because "the pressure on large business for loan accommodation was probably greater than on the smaller firms."

And why was the "pressure for loans greater on large firms"? Principally because "many of these firms, with expansion plans under way, found the long-term capital markets unappetizing because of higher interest rates and turned to the big city banks for temporary financing."

In other words, the firms which are expanding most need to raise the most capital—which is what the critics of the tight-money policy have been saying all along, except that we have added two pertinent facts. One, the firms that expand are the firms that can obtain the capital for expansion. Two, while the long-term capital markets may presently seem merely "unappertizing" to the big corporations, these markets at all times are closed to small firms, so when the big corporations shift their capital demands onto the commercial banks they are taking up the only credit normally available to small business.

COST OF BIG FINANCE POLICIES IS TOO HIGH

Sometimes I think the country is paying too high a cost for having too much big banker and big business control over the Government. When we fight inflationary forces that do not exist, by methods that increase prices, the cost is too high. When we have a high interest policy which flattens the bankers at the expense of sacrificing needed schools, hospitals, and homes, the cost is too high. When we have a tight-money policy that weakens small business, weakens competition, and weakens consumer protection, the cost is too high.

Foreign Trade and Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the Foreign Trade Club of the Greater Providence Chamber of Commerce.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the Foreign Trade Club of the Greater Providence Chamber of Commerce, and guests, it is a pleasure for me to be with you here this evening and to be given this opportunity of speaking to you, especially on matters which are of particular interest to your group.

Thomas Macaulay once said: "Man is so inconsistent a creature that it is impossible to reason from his belief to his conduct, or from one part of his belief to another." As evidence of the accuracy of Mr. Macaulay's observation, I offer the following lively example:

Some years ago a public-opinion poll showed that a substantial majority of the people of this country favored the reciprocal trade agreements program. A second poll, conducted at about the same time, revealed that a majority was against lowering tariff barriers to imports of foreign products.

To you people interested in international trade, I need hardly point out that these two polls reflect at least some slight inconsistency in the attitudes of the people of the United States. As a writer, Mr. Macaulay might dismiss this inconsistency with a wave of his pen. A Senator is not in the same situation. He exists, along with ministers and psychiatrists and judges, not only because man is frequently inconsistent with himself but also because there are substantial inconsistencies among men. The Senator's job is largely to understand these inconsistencies and to do what he can to reconcile them through legislation.

The inconsistency in public attitudes toward foreign trade, as reflected in the two polls I mentioned, is the one to which I want to direct your attention tonight. There is little point in ignoring this inconsistency. There is much to be said for recognizing that it exists. There is much more to be said for seeking to deal with it through foreign policy as well as in other ways.

If we examine the implications of the two polls, I believe we find that they add up to this: The people of the United States generally believe that foreign trade is a good and helpful thing for this country. At the same time, many of them have reservations about one aspect of it—imports. They may even approve of that aspect in the abstract, but they are, not infrequently, downright suspicious of it in the specific case. They are suspicious of imports as something which may hurt them or even the country as a whole.

Those of you who are especially interested in this matter will fully appreciate the fact that a foreign trade cannot flourish without both exports and imports. We cannot dismiss the inconsistency to which I referred, however, as merely an attitude of the uninitiated. Some of you who are jewelry man-

ufacturers or textile producers may well share it.

Rather than dismiss it, I believe we ought to try to see what lies beneath the inconsistency. What are the realities of foreign trade which tend to produce it? Why do we both love and hate this trade at the same time?

We can begin, I believe, by noting that foreign trade, as a general proposition, is a good and helpful thing for the country, and most of us recognize it as such. The reasons for this attitude relate directly to the well-being of the Nation. They are to be found on both the export and import sides of the foreign-trade coin.

On the import side, this Nation is consuming various raw materials at a fantastic rate in order to maintain our present high standards of living. Ten percent of these materials now come from abroad, and conservative estimates indicate that this percentage will double by 1975.

Ten percent may not appear to be a very significant proportion of our total raw material requirements. However, if we divide this total into its components, we find that our dependency on imports of certain strategic commodities is very great indeed. At the present time, for example, we import 50 percent or more of our total needs in chromite, tin, manganese, tungsten, wool, cobalt, and bauxite. By 1975, it may well be that copper, lead, and zinc will be added to this list and iron ore will not be far behind.

In addition to these strategic items, we import substantial amounts of many other products which are highly useful in keeping the wheels of our industrialized society turning. We also obtain from abroad thousands of other products which, while they may not be absolutely essential, certainly serve to add a little extra to the comfort of our lives. Few of us here today, for example, failed to set out this morning without coffee from Latin America or tea from India or Ceylon. Some of us, moreover, find pleasure in a work of art imported from the Orient, Europe, or Africa. Others like to move about the streets in a British or Germany automobile or on an Italian motor scooter, rather than in a streetcar or on foot. Even though I do happen to be a member of this automotive avant-garde, I can understand the sentiments of one who is a member.

The examples I have cited could be multiplied many times. The point I am trying to make, however, should be clear. It is this: Imports are essential to the highly developed economy of the United States, and they are a significant element in the richness and diversity of our daily life. They are also a substantial factor in employment. One conservative estimate I have seen, places the total number which stem directly from the processing, transporting, and distributing of imports at well over a million jobs.

Public awareness of the importance and benefits of imports—in the sense that I have just been discussing them—is growing in this country. That may be one reason why foreign trade, as a general proposition, is looked upon with increasing favor here. So much for imports.

How about exports? Of course, they have long contributed to building a favorable attitude towards our trade abroad. Except in times of temporary shortages at home or when they take the form of foreign aid, there has been little disagreement on the part of the public as to the desirability of expanding the Nation's exports to the maximum possible extent. This attitude has deep historical roots. You will recall that Congress is expressly forbidden by the Constitution any power to levy a tax or duty on exports.

This favorable attitude toward exports also has a very practical modern application. Exports are a major source of profits and employment. We can obtain some idea of the importance of exports to our prosperity if we consider that over 3 million jobs are directly dependent on the export trade. Our export sales abroad are larger than the sales of the automobile industry in this country. Nearly 11 percent of the production of our soft coal industry is sold abroad; and about 5 percent of our output of synthetic textiles. As for major farm products, more than 25 percent of all the wheat, rice, cotton and hops is exported.

Without export markets many businesses in the United States would be forced to close their doors; others would find themselves with severely curtailed profits. We would be confronted with a widespread unemployment problem. Agricultural surpluses would overwhelm us.

As in the case of imports, so is the case of exports. I could cite hundreds of specific examples of their importance to the national economy. There is neither the time nor the need to do that, especially with you people here this evening.

Let me place this importance, however, in a broader perspective. I suppose that if our foreign trade were suddenly stopped completely—both imports and exports—this country would not collapse in an economic sense, although we would suffer a major dislocation. In time, inventive genius might conceivably develop substitutes for essential commodities which are now imported. We might stimulate production of marginal domestic sources of raw materials, at high cost. We might find substitutes for coffee and tea. People now dependent on foreign trade might find other jobs or other businesses

While we might survive a drastic change of this kind, one thing is certain. The price of survival without foreign trade would be a sharp drop in our standard of living and the elimination of the so-called extras, which have added variety and flavor to our lives.

What would be to us a major dislocation, would be to other free nations an immediate and unmitigated disaster. Foreign trade, profitable to us, is vital to them. That is especially true of the nations of Western Europe. Without trade they would be confronted, not only with a drastic decline in living standards, but even with actual starvation. There do not exist in Western Europe the basic natural resources for decent survival without extensive worldwide trade, including a substantial trade with us. The nations of that region are deficient in fiber, fuels, and raw materials. They can make up these deficiencies only by imports from abroad. They can obtain these imports only in the form of aid or by paying for them with exports of the goods and services of their own advanced economies.

Under the Marshall plan, Western Europe did receive, in effect, a substantial portion of its imports in the form of aid from this country. In recent years, however, the Europeans have paid for these imports out of the products of their industries with their highly skilled services. Such aid as has continued to go to Europe since the Marshall plan terminated has been largely in the form of military equipment to provide for the common defense of the Western World.

The economies of Western Europe are now operating at record levels. The Europeans have reached these levels and are maintaining them largely as a result of a vast expansion in trade with each other, with us and with other free nations. However, in spite of the great increase in their productivity, their trade and their consumption, Western Europe generally has little reserve to meet an economic catastrophe. It can ill afford any recession in trade. That such is the case is illustrated by the effect of the blocking of the Suez Canal last year. This incident was, in effect, an example of a major interference with international trade, not unlike what would happen if imports and exports were drastically curtailed as a result of Government policies on tariffs. It compelled Britain to seek a postponement of payments on the loan which we had made to that country in 1946. In short, without trade there would have to be aid. Had Suez remained closed for any length of time, not only Britain but most of the other nations of Western Europe would have been in deep economic difficulties and would have had to seek our help.

The United Kingdom, and indeed any country worthy to be called free, is not happy when it is forced to seek aid abroad, and it does not please us to have to give it. Yet in this instance, as in others, we were confronted with a choice between economic assistance and economic chaos. We did what I believe most of you would have done. We chose to provide assistance. We did so because the political consequences of not doing so would have been so adverse as to jeopardize this country's vital security interests.

Unless Western Europe remains in economic health, and that, as I have noted, requires an extensive foreign trade—both exports and imports—the whole system of cooperative defense of freedom is threatened. Yet, it is on that system that the security of this Nation ultimately depends. No matter how high and at what cost we build our defenses, the United States can hardly survive as an isolated island of liberty in a sea of totalitarian hostility.

So much, then, for the advantages of foreign trade. It brings this country both economic and political benefits of great magnitude. The favorable disposition of this country towards foreign trade as a general proposition in all probability arises from an awareness of some or all of these benefits.

Why, then, is there still suspicion of import trade on the part of an important segment of this country? Why are Members of Congress so frequently urged by various citizens to do something to curb imports? The reason, I believe, is this. While foreign trade is clearly of benefit to the Nation as a whole, that does not preclude it from working a hardship in specific localities, specific industries and specific classes of workmen within the United States. I need hardly remind you that here in Rhode Island we are not unfamiliar with this phenomenon. We have been, for example, adversely affected by jewelry and textile imports from Japan. I have received numerous letters from citizens of the State dealing with the situation, and needless to say I have made efforts to cope with this problem.

I have done so because it is small comfort to tell a businessman whose firm faces insolvency as a result of foreign competition, that this state of affairs is good for him because it is good for the Nation. I have made these efforts because I do not like to see workmen lose their jobs as a result of this competition.

I suppose if I were callous enough I might tell the workman to get another job and the businessman to get into another line or retire. However, having no desire to do either myself, I do not feel that I can offer such advice with good grace. Furthermore, such advice as to changing jobs or changing lines of business is advice more easily given than followed.

It seems to me that, if a businessman operates his business efficiently and a workman is conscientious and productive, neither ought to be victimized by changes in Government policy or other factors which might tend to bring on a sudden rise in imports. It is all very well to talk about the general benefits of imports, but for some, they are not a benefit at all. Some of our citizens are being asked, in effect, to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of what is admittedly of value to the entire Nation.

If they resent this inequity, it is understandable. If they appeal to their Senator to do something about it, it is certainly understandable. And if their Senator tries to do something about it as I have tried to do in regard to Japanese textile imports, that, too, is or ought to be understandable.

For me to take this attitude does not men that I am opposed to foreign trade or that I am unaware of the economic and political value of imports as a part of that trade. It means, simply, that I do not believe foreign trade can be measured in this country, any more than in any other country, in purely economic terms. There is a human side to it which should not and must not be ignored.

Certainly our economy is not static. Businesses are constantly coming into or going out of existence; and they frequently alter their lines of production. Workmen shift jobs. Many factors go into this process of economic change, and foreign trade is one of them. I believe it is the duty of government, however, to see to it that change does not come so rapidly as to create major dislocations. It is also a duty of government to see to it that the burdens of change do not fall inequitably on any particular locality or segment of the population. This is particularly the case when change is the result of a Government policy designed to benefit the whole Nation.

So I would suggest to you who are especially interested in foreign trade, that you devote continued study to this problem. It seems to me that clubs like yours may make a great contribution to the expansion of international trade if you offer constructive suggestions on how to cushion the shock of change that is felt in particular industries and areas as a result of a sudden rise in imports. You know, of coufse, that some devices already exist for this purpose. There is, for example, the so-called peril-point system which calls for action by the President to curb imports in some instances. By diplomacy, we have also induced the Japanese to set up voluntarily quotas on certain textiles which they export to this country. I am not satisfied, however, that existing devices are sufficient. They have certainly not been sufficient insofar as this State of Rhode Island is concerned. If you have any advice on the matter, therefore, I would be delighted to receive it. It seems to me that effective devices for cushioning the changes and equalizing the burdens of foreign trade will do a great deal to stimulate the greater acceptability of this trade—in all its ramifications.

Even more important, however, than devices for easing changes, is an effective foreign policy. If a foreign policy is such as to encourage an expanding volume of trade, its benefits will be spread more broadly within this country and the adjustments and transitions which result from this trade will be made much easier. In this connection, the Marshall plan and the point 4 program of technical cooperation are both examples of highly effective measures of foreign policy. Not only did the Marshall plan save Western Europe in a political sense, it also contributed to a vast increase in our trade with that region over the past decade.

As for the point 4 program which I have seen in operation in all parts of the world, it is laying the groundwork for expanded trade and investment opportunities with respect to the less-developed countries. The effects of this program on trade are already visible in Latin America. In that region, it has helped in many ways to increase productivity. As a result, the Latin Americans are better and more reliable customers for our products than ever before. They, in turn, are able to sell us more of the commodities we need. There is every reason to believe that the point 4 program is proving beneficial in a similar fashion with respect to the Far East. As for Africa, which I visited last year, I believe that the technical cooperation program is likely to provide an important key to this great trading area of the future.

Foreign policy which can stimulate trade can also multiply the problems of foreign trade. An example of this has been the embargo on trade with China. This was a necessary and inevitable measure while the conflict in Korea was in progress. It was continued after the truce was reached in 1953. Whether in the long run it has helped or hurt the Peking government, only time will tell. In any event, a total embargo on trade is still maintained by this country on the China trade. Most allied nations went along with our policy to the extent of enforcing an embargo on strategic goods until a few months ago. But now the embargo has been relaxed by our principal allies except for actual materials of war.

While the application of the embargo was necessary a few years ago from the point of view of national security, the fact remains that it did tend to divert Japanese trade and, to some extent, the trade of European countries from long-established channels on the Chinese mainland. It is logical to assume moreover, that it also had the effect of intensifying the drive of these countries to increase their exports to this country.

To the extent that interference with trade by our Government is essential to the Nation's security, we must and will accept it. This policy, however, should be kept under close and continued scrutiny.

The question is, of course, one which the President and the Secretary of State are better equipped to deal with than I am. They have all the facts, or should have them, and they know that one of the foundations of a genuine peace is trade with other nations.

All matters relating to foreign trade will, no doubt, be discussed when the resolution providing for an extension of reciprocal trade is under consideration at the next session of Congress.

I thank you heartily for letting me address you on this subject which is near my heart.

The Status and Future of Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I place in the RECORD a speech made in Pennsylvania last fall by Reed Benson, son of the Secretary of Agriculture, in which he discusses the status and the future of agriculture:

I have certainly enjoyed the program thus far this evening—the entertainment. I come from a singing family. I have 4 sisters who form a very beautiful quartet—Barbara, Beverly, Bonnie, and Beth—4 B's. Although I'm not a married man, I have helped burp, change, and paddle them—every one. With my brother and I and dad and mom, we have a fine family group.

I learned some very basic lessons, when I was overseas a number of years ago, because I happened to be in a country that went down the road to State regimentation and planning. And as a result of what I saw there I became a little anxious and concerned about my own country because when I came home I found a few of the seeds of regimentation and socialization being sown here.

This was a few years ago. But I found out and I jelled in my mind a few lessons I thought were very basic and I'd like to pass them on to you tonight because the truth bears repetition.

The first lesson I learned was what Old Ben Franklin said about 200 years ago and he was absolutely right—that any body of people that keep giving up their liberties in behalf of so-called security will eventually get neither liberty nor security. That was the first lesson.

The second lesson was that you can't permanently help a body of people by doing for them what they could and they should do for themselves.

And the third and the fourth lessons were just as basic—that you don't strengthen the weak by weakening the strong and you can't build character by taking away man's initiative and his independence.

When I learned those lessons I found they began to jell themselves into kind of a political philosophy. Oh, I nearly left out the fifth lesson—we kid about it in our family—that New Deal or Fair Deal socialism—or shall I say just socialism—will never work except in heaven, where you don't need it, or in hell where you've already got it.

And in passing before I tell you about that I'd just like to briefly say this. We've come to learn the President—come to appreciate—learn to know the President a little more than we did before. I'd just like to say this in passing. I think he's a man of character. And you know folks where there isn't character in this life there isn't much that's worthwhile, because character is the one thing we make in this life which we take with us into the life to come. And you can educate a man all you want to and if you educate him without moral principles you just make him a clever devil.

So I pay tribute to that man and I think this country will be fortunate no matter which political party occupies the White House in the future, if in the future we may have in the White House men of the character and the caliber of our present Commander in Chief, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Well, we went back to Washington in January of 1953. On what we discovered when we got there I'd like to brief you, because American people need to be reminded once in a while of what we inherited when we went back. We came into office in January of 1953 and when we came in we discovered first—we found the Department of Agriculture machinery for what we felt would eventually result in a regimentation of the rural people of America.

We found out when we went back to the Department in January 1953 that except for the peak of the Korean war in 1951 farm income had declined every year from 1947—every year. You remember that. And it continued to decline after we took office. But practically all of the decline that ever occurred, both before and since we took office, occurred under laws which we inherited from our predecessors—the wartime rigid price support laws which didn't go out of effect until this last fall's crop. May I say now, since we have gotten in the Eisenhower approach of some sound peacetime legislation, the farm prices, the farm index, the farm income has shown a rise now, the first rise since the Second World War without the impetus of a wartime economy.

We found out when we came into office that two-thirds of the decline in farm income occurred before we ever came into office. I've mentioned that practically all of the decline occurred under the laws we inherited from our predecessors while we have been in office and the sharpest drop in farm income occurred in the last 23 months of the Truman administration when the farm parity index dropped by 19 points.

We found out when we came into office that this wartime law, which was a high in-

centive to farmers to produce and produce and produce, was gradually building up surpluses. We had a $3 billion surplus on our hands when we stepped into office. Administrative action which had been started before we came into office under which a $6 billion surplus was to accrue, and close to $14 billion of food supplies were to move into Government hands under this same program which we inherited. Then we found that our predecessors did not invoke legal production controls to cut the farmers back in their production because they didn't think it was politically feasible to do it and so the surpluses began to accumulate and accumulate until we found out when we stepped into office we didn't have sufficient legislation on our books to get rid of the surpluses. All these things were handed to us the day we stepped into office. I tell you folks, it wasn't of our doing. We were handed a time bomb and we have been blamed because the explosion went off during our administration. We have been spending the last 3 years cleaning up the debris and putting out the brushfires of our predecessors.

I used to be a chaplain. I never thought I'd quote the Scripture in politics but it comes to the fore right now, one from the Old Testament that goes something like this: "The sins of the fathers have been visited upon the heads of the children." The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are still on edge. I'll tell you we inherited a mess—a real mess. And yet some men have had the audacity to toss us their dirty linen and then stand on the sidelines and point their fingers at us who had to catch it.

So what did we decide to do? We decided when we came into office that we'd conduct the broadest review of agricultural policy ever conducted. That we'd invite in the best brains of agriculture—the land-grant colleges—the farm experts, the major farm organizations—the bureau—the Grange—the Farmers Union—for their ideas, their suggestions—their help. We conducted the broadest review of grassroots policy ever conducted because we felt from the rural people of America scattered all over we could get more ideas and better and sound suggestions than any 2 or 3 men just sitting in Washington. And so when all the suggestions came in—and may I just say this—we didn't ask a man, not a single man what his politics were—not once did we ask one of those experts or those men what their politics were. Do you know why? Because agriculture is neither Democratic nor Republican. The land responds to both political parties. It's not right that agriculture should be used as a political football or that farmers have to be put on the political auction block and sold to the highest bidder—it's not right.

So when those ideas came in and those suggestions, we pulled out ideas that were economically sound and usable and helpful, and we drafted the Agricultural Act of 1954, which, bless the hearts of the Republican Congress and bipartisan support, the President was able to sign. This act got us back to a peacetime economy for agriculture. This act got us back to producing food for stomachs—not for storage. This act got us back to encourage farmers to produce for free markets, not Government bounty. This act got us back to the old law of supply and demand which can't eternally be violated without suffering some kind of repercussions. This act got us back to a little flexibility in price supports, to adjust them so we would be able to bring forth sufficient production for consumption—not more than we need. And folks, when we mentioned the word "flexible" you should have heard the howl.

Well, may I just say this about this flexible principle which Republicans have been championing. Flexible price supports are nothing new. Every Secretary of Agriculture for the last 20 years, while he has been in office, has advocated flexible price supports in peacetime. Even President Truman in 1948 sent a special message to the Congress pleading that we get back to flexibility in price supports now that we were in peacetime. Even in 1948 flexible price supports were a part of both political platforms. Even the Farmers Union in 1948 advocated flexible price supports. Then why the desertion of former principles. Under Eisenhower we got the peace. Now we wanted flexibility in price supports.

May I just give you a little background on this? When the Second World War broke out and the Government came out among the rural people of America and said to them, "Look, farmers, food will win the war and write the peace—produce." And to give the farmers the incentive to produce, so that we'd have enough supply on hand, they guaranteed them a high price on certain given commodities. They called them basic—basic commodities. I'm afraid there was a little politics in the selection of which commodities were basic. It's pretty difficult when you select certain commodities among all the commodities there are and call them basic.

So what happened. Anyway, the Government wanted production of certain commodities. And so they guaranteed them a high price. They set a high incentive level—a level of 90 percent rigid price supports to encourage farmers to produce. But what happened. When war broke out, the full scale of war, and the inflation that goes with war, where did farm prices go? Did they go to the floor that the Government had set—the high floor of 90 percent of parity? They didn't. Where did they go? They went to 100 percent of parity, 110 percent of parity, 114 percent of parity. They would have gone even higher had not Government set price ceilings on farm commodities. And so what brought farm prosperity during the war. Was it the 90 percent support, the rigid support of parity they talk about? It wasn't. That was the floor. And guess where farm prices went. They went way up to 114, and would have gone even higher. So what brought farm prosperity during the war? It was the war and the insatiable demands of war and the inflation that goes with and follows war, and yet, unfortunately, in the Democratic platform they drafted in Chicago, they say they are willing to take credit—willing, and they say they are going to take credit for the high farm prices enjoyed during the 11 years prior to the Eisenhower administration—the 11 years in which we had the war—the insatiable demands of war, and the inflation that follows war. Well, if that's what they are going to do now, I'd just like to say this. That any political party, group or organization that wants to take credit for the high farm prices during the war better take credit for the war also.

Well, the war is over. But the Congress did not have the moral courage after the Second World War to get back to a peacetime program for agriculture. Instead they continued those high incentive levels up there, and guess what happened. When the war ended and we had no need for all that food and fiber, the Government still kept that high incentive level. They passed a law to get back to flexibility, but they wouldn't let it take effect. They put it off. They didn't think it would be politically feasible so they put it off for 2 years. And they waited and put it off for a few more years, and then a couple of more years, like the drunk who is always going to repent tomorrow and tomorrow never seems to come. And so what happened, because they put it off and put it off?

Finally, when Eisenhower came into office he decided that somebody was going to have to pay the fiddler. And he decided it was time to pay him. During the war, the fiddler's wages had compounded and his interest had gone up, we had surpluses on hand—we were in a mess. And what happened when the Government continued those high incentives when we had no need for all that food and production?

Well, let me tell you. What happened to a lot of men when their Government guaranteed them a high price on a given commodity without regard to what the market would take, they'd guarantee them a price and if it piled up in Government storage, they'd still guarantee them a price. And guess who got into farming. The person with a good business head on his shoulders. When the Government would guarantee him a price on given commodities, he wouldn't stay out of it. He got into it to make a fast buck. Hope I'm not offending anybody here. But he got into it to make a fast buck. He got into it with a lot of other drugstore cowboys and suitcase farmers. And guess what happened. They started producing too. And the farmers were producing. And land began to see a plow that never should have seen a plow. We talk about a dust bowl today. One of the reasons is because of unwise Government policy that encouraged the farmers when we had no need for all of that food and fiber at the close of the war. They started producing. So what happened.

Well now folks, it's like the old three-legged stool that some of you used to sit on to milk the old family cow. The first leg is a high incentive. Guarantee the farmer a high given price for a certain commodity and that sounds interesting. That tickles his ear. And if he is not careful he will believe it. He'll believe that that is wonderful. Well, if he doesn't turn the record over and hear the other part of that siren song, he might be sold a bill of goods. But pretty soon he decides when you set him a high incentive level that there is a second leg that counts. Because when you set that incentive level up so high that he wants to produce that commodity, and so do a lot of other people want to produce that commodity, then what happens. Then the commodity starts building up in Government warehouses. Because you can't sell it on the market. After all you've put the price so high in some cases, you've priced it out of the market. And the only buyer—the major buyer, is the Government. And they have to take it. That's what we did with butter. We priced butter right off the market and into Government storage. And the American housewife decided that she didn't have to eat butter. She could eat something else.

The farmer finally realized that a Government warehouse was not a market. And gradually he lost his market. Folks, whenever you ask Government to do something for you, you best be careful lest Government do something to you. So what do we have? The first leg, incentive. The second leg, surpluses—without regard to what the market will take. When you get surpluses building up and building, then what have you got to institute—the third leg.

And what's that? That's Government controls. Then you tell the farmer he's got to cut back—he's got to cut back his production—pull it back—pull it back. And last year we cut back the Kansas wheat farmer 5 million acres.

Well, great scott, folks, if you guarantee a price on a given commodity and a farmer can only plant half of his land, pretty soon he's going to operate an uneconomic unit; isn't he? Because it's price times volume minus expenses that equals net farm income. And so we start cutting the farmer back and we cut him back and we cut him back. And who do we hurt? The suitcase farmer, the doctor, the lawyer, the merchant, the chief. Yes, but who do we hurt most of all—we hurt the guy who has been in the business

all his life. That's who. And so we cut him back and we cut him back and we cut him back. And we tried to control all this surplus that was building up by pulling him back and pulling back. Oh, the farmer wasn't so dumb. Sure it hurt him. But what did he do with the land that he was allowed to plant? He just put his rows closer together and poured on some more fertilizer. But what about the land that he couldn't plant in that surplus commodity? The land that he couldn't raise the surplus crops on, he put it into other crops. And pretty soon those other crops began to get in surplus. And after a while we started chasing acres around. Trying to pull him back, because whenever you start regulating 4 or 5 commodities, and show them preference, then you have to be careful.

And once a problem child begins to spread its disease to another, let me tell you what happened. We had a surplus of wheat. So we told them to cut back in wheat, and so what did he plant on his land? He planted feed grains. And so did a lot of other farmers. We didn't have a surplus of feed grains, particularly, but when they started using up their other land for feed grains, then we got a surplus of feed grains. The price for feed grains in the market place was very low, and the farmers, instead of selling their feed grains in the market place for the low price they could get with quite a surplus on hand, decided they could get more money if they put it into hogs. And so they took their surplus feed grains and put it into hogs, and pretty soon we have a surplus of hogs. And so what happens? You would hardly think it had any connection, yet it started around in a circle. And one disease spread its problem child to another.

Well, what happened? The surpluses began to build up. And, folks, it's hard to get rid of surpluses—it's just hard to get rid of surpluses. These surpluses build up and they are hanging over the market, and farm prices can't rise to where they ought to rise while all these surpluses are hanging over the market.

And so the President this January recommended a soil bank. A soil bank so when we asked the farmer to cut back his production he couldn't raise anything else on that land—nothing—and he could do one of two things with the land that he didn't plant anything on—so that he didn't create a surplus of any other commodity. He could do one of two things: He could take out of the surplus that the Government had on hand the commodity that he would have raised on that land, and that way we'd keep him from growing more commodities, and we'd also start pulling down the surplus; or, second, we'd give him a certificate which would be redeemable in cash, which certificate would make up part of the difference of the crop he would have accrued had he planted his land and marketed his crop.

Now, when we recommended the soil bank, both political parties said it was great. Both of them said it was wonderful. One of them accused us of not getting it into operation sooner. Well, maybe their accusation is just. They said they had been thinking about it for 20 years. We decided to do something about it. Nevertheless, both of them said it was wonderful. And I don't care who gets the credit for it; it was a good idea, and so we asked the Congress if they would pass it.

O. K., what happened? Folks, this is when politics reaches its low ebb. When both political parties said they wanted it, then one by hedge; wait, stymie, delay—the Congress waited for 6 weeks before they called upon my father to testify before the House Agriculture Committee. When every day was of the essence, and farmers can't wait until Congress passes a law, you know, before they lay out their operations, because when the seasons break they've got to plant their land. When the Congress hedged and stymied, the Democrats waited long enough until all over America farmers were beginning to lay out their operations.

What happened? Such tactics as this, when they were debating, talking about the soil-bank bill, one of the Democrat Senators stood up in the Senate and took up 3 days reading a 350-page manuscript, and by his tactics was able to delay the bill even longer, until what happened? All over America farmers began to plant without the benefit of the soil bank; without the idea they were to pull down the surpluses so their incomes could naturally rise in a free market. But not to appear as though they were the enemy of the American farmers, they gave the President a bill, and guess what the bill included.

They put in the soil bank—too late, of course, for the farmers to enjoy the full benefits—and guess what they tagged onto the coattails of the soil bank—90-percent rigid wartime price supports. Now look; they wanted to pay the farmers a million dollars or so to pull back their production, and they tagged 90-percent price supports onto the bill to encourage them to produce. The two of them canceled each other out. The farmer would hardly be any better off; the American taxpayer would be out several million dollars. It's so stupid, and they thought they had the President in a box.

"Mr. President, if you sign that bill, you are going to have to stomach a lot of uneconomic principles, which will be hard on you, or (2) if you don't sign the bill, we're going to make you out as though you are the enemy of the American farmer."

Now, that was their tactics. And the good President, bless his heart—in an election year, mind you; they didn't think he would do it—but in an election year he had the moral courage to veto a farm bill and to tell the people why. It isn't an ordinary thing for a President to veto a farm bill in an election year. But we don't have an ordinary President.

Well, he got another farm bill; it came closer to what we wanted. But they hedged and delayed long enough that the farmers are now only receiving one-fifth or one-sixth of the benefits they could have enjoyed had the Congress just passed it sooner, which they could have done.

And do you know why they waited and hedged and delayed? Because there were some politicians that were so scared that the farmer would enjoy some good sound economic benefits between now and fall that they couldn't make the political capital out of his plight they had planned to.

Well, where do we go from here? We'll do everything that is economically sound, right, and fair to all of our people but we are not going to be stampeded into programs that we will have to repent of later. My mother tells me the Devil's pill always kills, but some people like them because they are sugar coated.

Now, agriculture isn't going to pot—don't you believe it. Land values are rising—land values are at an alltime high. If agriculture is going to pot, why have farmers bid land values up to an alltime high? The mortgage ratio is at an alltime low. More farmers in proportion own their own farms than ever before. For the first time since the war, the prices are beginning to rise. Sure it's an adjustment from wartime to peacetime economy, but I'd rather make the adjustment than prolong the war.

Yes, I know the opposition has brought high prices to the farmers. Sure. But do you know when they brought them? During the First World War; during the Second World War; during the Korean war. Well, it's my belief that farmers can prosper in peacetime and I'd sure rather see my son prosper by riding on a tractor than driving a tank. Now we're moving in that direction.

We're moving out of this now. We're working in the right direction. We're not accepting programs just for the political applause meter. We're not going back to those bankrupt programs of the past. I'll tell you to go back to that rigid price-support program, which the opposition says is the answer to the farm problem, the very problem which those rigid price supports created, it's as stupid as eating sour apples to cure the stomachache that was caused by sour apples.

Now we're moving in the right direction, folks. We're working out of it and like old Billy Sunday used to say, "I'd rather be 1 foot out of Hell headed in the right direction, than 40 miles from Hell heading toward it."

Now we're working out—and we need your support—and we need your help. We've got a lot at stake in this thing. If you compare the two platforms you'll see simply this—the one advocates more control, more regimentation, more dictation, more telling the farmer what to do. I'll tell you folks—if you want to know what the real issues in this battle are—why so many State planners and leftwingers are so interested in this farm vote—I'll tell you because the issues are these. Is Government going to be the servant or the master of farmers? Is the farmer going to be able to make the decisions on his own farm, or is he going to have to wait for someone in Washington to tell him what to do? Is the farmer going to be a freeman, or the pawn of the State? That's the difference. One platform geared to more control—more regulation. The other would lead up the road to freedom, to encourage the farmer to help himself, to market his product, to get out and sell in a free market, to move in the direction of research and assistance—but not to dominate.

Now, it's just as clear as black and white. Well, I love the rural people of America—there's no better citizen. I'll tell you, once you regimentize the rural people of America, then you'd just better check off the very things this country believes in because they are the one segment of the economy that is the last to accept these crackpot theories and foreign ideologies. By and large they are sound citizens. I'll tell you there is no group of people who know better that "as you sow, so shall you reap."

Attention, Parents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, our Nation each year observes S–D Day, a 24-hour period dedicated to safety on the road. The large number of people who drown each year suggests that a similar campaign for safe swimming ought to be instituted and that a Safe Swimming Day might be established to give the same nationwide prominence and emphasis to water safety.

With this thought in mind I include here 2 articles, 1 an editorial, from the Trentonian, of Trenton, N. J., which deal with this matter.

The articles follow:

[From the Trenton (N. J.) Trentonian of August 7, 1957]

ATTENTION, PARENTS

Several weeks ago we sat at a local pool and watched a very small child toeing her way around the edge of the water, beckoning to a rubber tube that floated out of reach.

At times, she leaned precariously forward. Beneath her, the water plunged to more than 5 deep, breathless feet. At the side of the pool sat the child's mother, sunning herself, deeply absorbed in a women's magazine—a potential murderer.

For it is such circumstances as these that result in the most inexcusable and expensive of deaths—the drowning of our children. Summer spawns a unique state of affairs. The guardian becomes the killer of the ward. The crime: Murder by negligence.

The sponsors of the Safe Swimming Day campaign are determined to meet this deadly disinterest with a relentless drive for awareness about every phase of knowledge about the water. Backed by the local branch of the American Red Cross, radio station WTTM and the Trentonian, 11 pools at all points of the city are now engaged in a 9-day program which will culminate in Safe Swimming Day, an intensive all-day water safety demonstration, on August 14. The emphasis will be on the preservation of life through the prevention of mishaps, a program of expert vigilance and heightened knowledge of the techniques for safety.

It is not enough that we know ourselves. We must know, and, as Richard Alexander, champion swimmer and originator of S–S Day, pointed out, we must respect the water. Too often we have designed our tragedies with the weave of disrespect, and given our children death to wear.

We cannot afford to ignore S–S Day or to assign it our complacency. We cannot afford not to know how to apply artificial respiration or to rescue ourselves from a sinking boat or to tow a drowning swimmer to shore. Finally, we cannot afford to forget that water and fun is not the only combination in summer swimming. Another is water and death.

It is the absolute duty of every parent to take the initiative and bring his children to one of the participating pools on S–S Day, and to take active part in insuring the year-round success of the campaign. We owe it to our children to prepare them for the serious business of swimming and boating. Either this, or we had better heed the saying, "Don't go near the water."

The problem of the high number of drownings in this area is one worthy of our time, our attention, and our deepest efforts. For when shall we devote ourselves to a greater cause than the saving of one very small child?

[From the Trenton (N. J.) Trentonian of July 12, 1957]

URGES S–S (SAFE SWIMMING) DAY BE SET UP

(By Dick Alexander)

Our Nation each year observes S–D Day, a 24-hour period dedicated to safety on the road, but the tragic drownings of the last few days have convinced me that an S–S Day—Safe Swimming Day—ought to be instituted immediately and given the same nationwide prominence and emphasis as our driving campaigns.

Every year thousands of people are drowned—needlessly, sad to say—because they don't observe the most elementary rules of water safety.

Jay and I have been lifeguards for many years and during that time we've managed to save scores of lives. This may sound like we think we're Jack Armstrong, the all-American boy, but I don't mean to brag. The point I want to make is that over 90 percent of those folks we had to pull out never would have needed assistance if they had used a little commonsense.

It's an awful thing to see the bodies of the drowned after they've been pulled from the water by rescue squads. My brother and I know. One summer after we were finished with our lifeguard duties and were on the way home, we saw cars clustered around a lake and throngs of people milling about. We learned that two young brothers had perished in the water. I wish all the people I know could have seen those boys when they brought them out.

From my experiences at the shore I've found out that most people who require help are those who've been caught in a strong tide and are yanked out to sea.

A tide thats' strong enough can take anyone out—and that goes for a lifeguard, too, so you just have to be careful when you swim at the shore. The first thing to do if you get swept up in a tide is to relax. If you're calm enough to think out your situation you may not need aid. Then slowly get to the top of the water to avoid the undercurrent, which is what does the pulling.

Then, instead of trying to swim directly back to shore, proceed diagonally, using the breast stroke, which is the best to use in this case because it'll keep you higher in the water and it's less tiresome than any other.

Cramps cause many drownings, too, and they usually could have been avoided had the persons involved followed a few simple rules. You shouldn't go swimming right after you eat. If you eat something very light—ice cream, pop, or a hot dog—wait at least a half-hour. If you've packed away a full dinner better wait for 2 or 3 hours and give your system a chance to digest the repast.

Secondly, wet your body before you enter the water. This way you'll accustom yourself to the water and the chilliness won't bother you. A full stomach and a sudden change of temperature form an invitation to cramps.

Here's something I can't stress too strongly. Don't show off in the water; it's there for your enjoyment and not your danger. When you show off, you're asking for trouble; by swimming hard and fast you'll merely tire yourself out and you won't have the strength to meet an emergency.

And remember this: Don't swim where there's no one around to lend you assistance. I consider myself a good swimmer and yet I won't go swimming where there's no lifeguard.

I'd also like to impress this upon you: A lifeguard is trained in the ways of water safety. He must pass periodic tests to show he's an able lifesaver so if someone needs assistance and there's a lifeguard around, let that lifeguard do his job unhindered. More than one well-meaning person had drowned trying to save another.

I'd like to see every day in the water be known as Safe Swimming Day. You've got to learn to respect the water or your summer fun could well end in catastrophe.

The Chairman's Report on Activities of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am presenting at this time the chairman's report covering the activities of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives. This committee was created in the 85th Congress by House Resolution 56 agreed to on January 31, 1957.

Pursuant to the provision of that resolution the following Members were appointed to serve thereon: Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, chairman; Representative JOE L. EVINS, Democrat, of Tennessee; Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER, Democrat of New York; Representative SIDNEY R. YATES, Democrat of Illinois; Representative TOM STEED, Democrat, of Oklahoma; Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California; Representative CHARLES H. BROWN, Democrat, of Missouri; Representative WILLIAM S. HILL, Republican, of Colorado; Representative R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, Republican, of New York; Representative HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., Republican, of Connecticut; Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio; Representative TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, Republican, of Illinois; and Representative CRAIG HOSMER, Republican, of California.

INTRODUCTION

This is intended to constitute not only a report accounting for the work of your Small Business Committee during the 1st session of the 85th Congress but also a brief summary concerning economic conditions and various activities affecting the small-business community directly and the Nation's economy indirectly.

ECONOMIC HEALTH OF SMALL BUSINESS

The problem of maintaining an economic climate in which small business can survive is ever present. Downward trends in the general health of small business which have been in evidence for the past several years continue, and are disturbing.

In the first 8 months of this year, there were 9,520 business failures—according to Dun & Bradstreet reports—an increase of 8 percent over the same months of last year. Yet business failures last year had set a previous postwar high. If business failures continue throughout the year at the rate established in the first 8 months, this will mean a failure rate of 53.7 failures per each 10,000 firms in operation. This will be the highest failure rate since 1941—when numerous small firms became "war casualties"—and it will be twice the average annual rate—26.9 percent—of the previous 15 years.

The mounting toll of small business failures becomes a warning signal for most serious concern when considered against the backdrop of general business conditions. These conditions are generally regarded as representing a high rate of business growth and a state a general prosperity. In reality, increases in the Nation's output of actual goods and services, during the past few years, have not kept pace with the annual productivity increases of the postwar years. For example, from 1948 through 1952 the gross national product, measured in constant prices, increased at an average rate of 5 percent per year whereas the annual rate of growth from 1952 through 1956 has been at the rate of only 3 percent per year. Nevertheless the national output has continued to increase, with the actual physical volume of goods and services produced in 1956 representing a 12 percent increase over the physical output in 1952. And, in fact

same period, the population of the country has grown by 16 percent.

The most striking feature of business activity over the past few years, moreover, has been the increasingly large investment in new business capacity. Expenditures for new plants and business equipment of all kinds have risen to unprecedented highs, reflecting an expectation of increasing production in future years—at least on the part of those firms that are able to make the expansions. If the estimate of approximately $37.5 billion to be spent for new capital goods in 1957 proves correct, this will be 5 percent more than was spent last year, and 42 percent more than was spent in 1952.

Furthermore, corporate profits—taking businesses of all sizes together—continue to mount to new highs. In the first quarter of this year corporate profits exceeded the previous all-time high reached last year, and this was true both on before-taxes and after-taxes basis.

MORE ON PROFIT RATES

How then has this general growth of busines affected small business? Has there been a corresponding growth in opportunity for small business to accommodate the Nation's increased population?

Between the end of 1952 and the end of 1956 the total number of business firms in operation increased from 4.2 million to 4.3 million—a rise of only 2 percent to accommodate a population increase of 16 percent, and a physical increase in goods and services of 12 percent. The stunted growth of small business during this period involved a cost of 1,313,500 discontinued businesses and 1,330,220 transeferred businesses, including both mergers and businesses sold to new owners.

What also, it might be asked does the present boom in capital expansion portend for small business in the future? Since present productive capacity, with a few exceptions, is already substantially in excess of the immediate foreseeable consumer demand, there is a grave question whether the tremendous new investment in productive facilities being made by the giant corporations foreshadows a corresponding outpouring of consumer goods and services, or whether the new capacity being acquired by the larger corporations is not destined—in large part—to replace capacity now in the hands of smaller firms.

MAJOR CAUSES OF SMALL-BUSINESS DECLINE

Undoubtedly there are many factors working toward the diminution of small business in our economic system. Your Small Business Committee has tried, and will continue to try, to discover what the important factors are and point out those which can and should be corrected.

There are several factors, however, which bear with such overwhelming weight on small business that they warrant extraordinary attention.

First, the Federal antitrust and trade regulation laws contain serious weaknesses, permitting trade practices which create artificial advantages to bigness and destroy smaller competitors without respect to technical efficiency or other merits. Foremost among these is the practice of discriminatory pricing which has reemerged since the Supreme Court reinterpreted the Clayton Antitrust Act, as amended, in the Standard Oil—Indiana—case. Your Small Business Committee investigated this matter thoroughly during the 84th Congress and made a full report to the House. In addition, during the present Congress, the House's attention has been called to the need for legislation to plug this loophole in the antitrust laws.

Second, the present Federal tax structure alone could be expected to contribute importantly to the possible elimination of small firms from the business system within not a great many years. Differences between the impact of the individual income tax and the impact of the corporate tax allow the large corporations to retain earnings and accumulate growth capital—with relative ease, whereas there is no commensurate opportunity for proprietorship and partnership firms to retain profits on which to expand. Furthermore, the corporate income tax places a vastly heavier burden on the smaller corporations than it does on the bigger corporations. The tax cuts heavily into the retained earnings of the smaller corporations, since, as a general rule, the forces of competition are present to limit the prices and profits which smaller corporations may take, but little affects the capital accumulation of the bigger corporations which are much more able to shift the tax onto other taxpayers.

These considerations were set out in the committee's final report in the last Congress and, at other times, the attention of the House has been called to the need for tax adjustments which will bring about a more equitable distribution of the tax burden among business firms.

Third, as has long been recognized, there is a problem of small firms gaining adequate access to the sources of capital. On top of this chronic problem, it now appears that to the extent that business firms are being squeezed by the tight money and high-interest policies, small firms are bearing the brunt of these policies. While your Small Business Committee has made no recent recommendations concerning the small-business financing problems, it does have an investigation underway by which it is hoped that at least the sources of this continuing problem will be better identified and understood, with the result that constructive recommendations will be forthcoming.

WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

The interest of your Small Business Committee has pointed primarily at those matters having a direct bearing upon the establishment, growth, and survival of small-business concerns. These matters include problems arising from the financing and the taxing of small-business enterprises as well as studies of business practices and activities of Government in the enforcement of laws relating to business practices, financing, procurement and numerous other matters affecting small business.

CASE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

In addition to the program of the committee and its subcommittees regarding the studies, investigations, hearings, and reports covering the matters referred to above, the staff of the committee, under the direction of the chairman, from day to day throughout the 1st session of the 85th Congress carried a heavy work load of case work. The term "case work" is used to identify those problems pertaining to small business which were referred to your Small Business Committee principally by Members of the House. In the handling of each of these day-to-day problems, the committee and its staff operated as a service agency for the Members. In doing so it served as a special link between the Members and parties from whom information was needed. Frequently the needed factual information was secured from agencies of the executive branch of the Government. In other instances it was obtained from offices of large corporations. In each instance your Small Business Committee located the proper source, secured the pertinent data, arranged for appropriate consideration of the small-business concern's problem, and thereafter reported to the interested Member. These matters, as indicated, were quite numerous and some of them involved such knotty problems as to require the members of the staff to devote a substantial part of their time in handling them to completion.

FINANCING PROBLEMS OF SMALL BUSINESS

It goes without question that with each increase in price on the items needed for the operation of small-business concerns the latter are faced with an increasing need of more financial resources in order to carry inventories and to satisfy other needs for working capital, growth, and survival.

When any business concern is faced with a condition of depleted financial resources and his suppliers and the local banks tighten up and refuse to extend him lines of credit, he is indeed in a precarious situation. Small business faced with such difficulties is quite limited in its opportunities to secure financial assistance. Therefore, it is natural for small business concerns to look to and expect from the Federal Government not only sympathy but assistance in such situation. Indeed, to meet that problem Congress enacted Public Law 168 of the 83d Congress in 1953 to establish a Small Business Administration to provide among other things financial assistance to small business. Thereafter, the Small Business Administration was renewed and strengthened by Public Law 268 of the 84th Congress in 1955. In the closing days of the 1st session of the 85th Congress, S. 2504 was passed and approved extending the life of SBA to July 31, 1958. In the meantime, Congress will be considering additional legislation regarding the Small Business Administration and for providing needed financial assistance to small business.

By comparison with its present rate of activity, SBA did much less to provide financial assistance to small business during the period of 1953 and 1954 than

it has done in 1956 and 1957. According to a press release from the SBA dated August 28, 1957, it increased its approval for financial assistance during July 1957 to an amount more than double what it had approved for small business during July 1956. The rate of SBA's activity in that respect had more than doubled in 1956 over what it had been during 1954 and 1955. Prior to 1955 a larger proportion of small business concerns applying to the SBA for financial assistance was denied assistance than is the case today. Also the growing need for financial assistance is reflected in the additional activity of the SBA.

The increasing need of financial assistance for small business has been of deep concern to your committee. Consequently, the House Small Business Committee decided to make an investigation into the financing problems of small business. That investigation has been started.

An effort has been made to determine how well private financial institutions are serving small business. We are attempting to get a clear picture on how well the present policies of the Federal Government have served the needs of small business in its efforts to secure financial assistance and whether other policies of the Federal Government have worked against small business satisfying those needs. In that connection, the committee has undertaken factual surveys with the cooperation of life-insurance companies and other segments of the financial community. Efforts are now underway to secure the cooperation of commercial banks in securing data concerning this matter. Also, your committee is watching with interest and giving study to proposals that the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System make a study in the field of small-business financing.

In addition to the staff work which has been undertaken under the direction of the Chairman concerning the financing problems of small business, the committee has decided to hold hearings on that subject in Washington, D. C., and these hearings will commence before the end of the year. They will be resumed early in the 2d session of the 85th Congress in January 1958.

It is planned that at the hearings testimony and other evidence will be introduced which will show how well private financial institutions and Government policies are serving small business in its effort to secure needed capital. In addition, the inquiry will cover the extent to which the boards of directors and advisers of the big financial institutions and the big industrial and commercial corporations are interlocked and how these interlocking boards and advisers affect the ability of smaller industrial and commercial companies to obtain financing. Of course, within the purview of that inquiry will be a probing of the policies and practices of such groups in their relation to the flow of capital into and through free and competitive financial markets for the financing of business enterprises.

IRON AND STEEL SCRAP PROBLEMS

Proposals for Government intervention to restrict exports of scrap iron and steel have been the subject of a periodic controversy for several years. Manifestly, such limitations, or the failure to impose such limitations, affect numerous small-business firms, both in the scrap trade and in the metal-using industries, such as the iron and steel foundries and the semi-integrated steel companies.

In addition, the committee has received numerous complaints from members of the scrap trade concerning conditions and practices alleged to be growing up within the industry. These have included complaints of exclusive dealing, or near-exclusive dealing, on the part of foreign scrap-buying cartels with certain favored members of the United States industry; they have included complaints that similar exclusive dealing or near-exclusive dealing has become a common practice of United States steel mills in their purchases of scrap; and they have included a variety of other alleged private trade restrictions which are said to threaten the continued welfare of small firms in the scrap industry.

As a consequence, at the beginning of this session of Congress, the committee undertook the task of making a more thorough investigation and study than had previously been made of this industry for the purpose of trying to reach a resolution of some of the chronic issues and conflicts.

Shortly after the study was begun, the committee's attention was abruptly focused on new problems in the export phase of the industry. On May 6 the Department of Commerce suddenly announced that it was invoking its authority to embargo further exports of heavy melting scrap to three geographic regions of the world which constitute the principal foreign markets for these materials.

The committee held open hearings during the week of May 19, and hearings in executive session during the week of June 16.

Testimony was directed primarily to export problems and to conditions in the export markets about which exporters and dealers were disturbed, although considerable testimony was also heard about problems in the domestic markets.

While the committee has not yet made its findings, certain uncontroverted highlights can be pointed out.

Scrap dealers were disturbed at what seemed a new policy of restricting exports of scrap steel—and were protesting the adoption of such a policy on the grounds (a) that there was insufficient reason for it and (b) that such a policy would be inequitable in view of the fact that there was no proposal to limit exports of either new steel, iron ore, or pig iron. Testimony of officials of the Department of Commerce point out, however, that the United States Government had in fact adopted the policy in question early in the previous year and that restraints on exports of steel scrap in the calendar year 1956 had been effectuated by working out voluntary quotas with the governments, or their buying agencies, representing the three foreign markets in question. The three principal foreign markets are: (a) the United Kingdom, (b) Japan, and (c) the European Coal and Steel Community, which is comprised of the steel industries of France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. In each case, purchase of United States scrap for importation to these areas is made through a central buying agency.

An export license from the Department of Commerce is required to ship scrap to most of the other countries of the world, but there has been no quota limitation as to the tonnages which these countries may purchase.

During the calendar year 1956, the Japanese purchasing cartel had made purchases substantially in excess of its voluntary quota for that year. The voluntary quotas for the calendar year 1957 were in controversy on May 6 of this year, although at least one of the foreign purchasers with whom quotas were then being negotiated had already placed orders aggregating the total quantities of scrap which it had received from the United States in the previous year. It was for these reasons—according to Department of Commerce officials—that the Department had reached the decision to limit exports to the tonnages of the previous year—pending an understanding on the 1957 quotas. An additional reason given for this decision and for the Department's intention of working out "voluntary quotas" again for the year 1957 was the fact that the Department was then newly in receipt of a report prepared by the Battelle Memorial Institute at the Department's instigation. The Battelle report appraised the supply-demand outlook for scrap and concluded that there is a "potential shortage" of the heavy melting grades of steel scrap in the United States in the years ahead.

Following the committee's first week of hearings, the Department of Commerce announced that an understanding had been reached with the foreign purchasers as to "voluntary quotas" for the year 1957. These quantities, in general, allow each of the 3 principal foreign purchasers tonnages amounting to approximately 13 percent more than the tonnages which these purchasers actually imported from the United States in the year 1956. These quotas, it might be added, apply only to the heavy melting grades of scrap, as the lighter grades are considered to be in plentiful supply and may be freely exported.

On this point, witnesses representing the foundry industries and the semi-integrated steel companies said that in their operations heavy melting scrap is an essential raw material for which neither iron ore nor pig iron is a substitute, and in many cases new steel is also not a practical substitute. One foundry man testified that he had been forced to raise the price of his products because of a long period of rising prices for scrap.

Scrap exporter witnesses testified that, since lifting of United States export controls at the end of 1953, it had been the practice of the central purchasing agency for the European Coal and Steel Community to purchase all or substantially all of its scrap requirements from the United States on contract with a syndi-

cate of a small group of United States exporters, the group including the dominant factor in the United States market. Some of the most vigorous complaints heard from both exporters and dealers went into this situation.

The attention of the Department of State was called to the transcript of the committee's hearings, and the State Department in turn called attention to the transcript to the High Authority, which is the governing body of the European Coal and Steel Community. Subsequently, the High Authority advised the State Department that it was instructing the OCCF, its purchasing agency, to promulgate "standards and criteria" for a new method of purchasing scrap from the United States, whereby normal "commercial considerations" would determine which and how many United States suppliers might have access to that market.

Finally, on July 11, the High Authority sent a communique to the State Department setting out the standards for a new purchasing procedure. These state that "all scrap dealers of the United States shall be entitled to make offers under the same conditions," and "that when examining the offers the OCCF will take into account (a) prices and other conditions relating to prices, (b) compatability and regularity of quality, (c) date of delivery, and (d) dependability and regularity of shipment." It thus appears the restrictive features which have heretofore obtained in the European market will be removed and that all United States suppliers of "good reputation" will have equal opportunity to compete in the OCCF market.

Several exporter-witnesses made complaints about the purchasing practices of the Japanese cartel, similar to those which have been made about the OCCF. Testimony is to the effect that immediately following removal of the export embargo in 1953, the Japanese cartel first entered into an exclusive supply contract with one United States firm, an arrangement which continued, however, for only approximately 6 months. Since that time the Japanese cartel has widened its "cartel list" of acceptable suppliers to the extent that six United States exporters have contracts or orders from the Japanese. There was testimony, however, to the effect that the practice of limiting orders to six exporters is highly arbitrary, and that other aspects of the cartel's purchasing practices appear to be motivated by other than normal commercial considerations.

Statements from officials of the State Department indicate also that that Department considers that the Japanese cartel's present method of doing business with United States firms falls short of the objectives of United States policy to encourage competitive conditions and practices in foreign markets as this policy has been enunciated in the Mutual Security Act.

In its invesigation of the iron and steel scrap industry the committee must necessarily open up for inspection points around which sharp conflicts of commercial advantage or disadvantage revolve. Under these circumstances it is regretable, but perhaps inevitable, that all parties would not be pleased or give enthusiastic welcome to the committee's investigation. Thus, for example, shortly before the committee's hearings opened, the executive vice president of the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel—which is the largest trade association of yard dealers and scrap brokers—made a speech which was then published in one of the trade journals in which he described the committee's investigation as an "attack on business" by Members of Congress who have been associated with the New Deal movement.

On the other hand, following the first week of the committee's hearings, the board of directors of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., adopted a resolution commending and thanking the committee for its investigation.

In addition, the committee has received, and continues to receive, large numbers of letters from members of the trade commending or approving the committee's investigation.

This resolution and excerpts from many of these letters appear below:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT SCRAP YARD DEALERS, INC.,
New York, N. Y., June 7, 1957.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Select Committee on Small Business, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATTON: I take pleasure in enclosing herewith text of a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., at its meeting in New York City on Monday, June 3, 1957.

It not only expresses the views of the board but, I feel, fairly reflects the attitude of the approximately 4,000 independent scrap yard dealers in the United States.

We have had several meetings with members of your staff. I take this opportunity to state to you the great regard which I have for their work and to note the high level of efficiency and courtesy on which the current study is being conducted, judging from my personal experience.

Very truly yours,

STANLEY ASRAEL,
President.

Resolved, That the board of directors of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., at a meeting assembled, extends its thanks to Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the House Small Business Committee, for the splendid work being conducted by the committee and its staff in its trailblazing study of the vital scrap industry, composed for the greatest part, numerically, of small-business men; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of the board of director of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., that the current study fills a sorely needed review of this industry which has too long been regarded as being merely on a standby basis and has been denied proper recognition for the indispensable role which it plays in our national economy as one of the few remaining major noncaptive components of the steel industry.

JUNE 7, 1957.

We note with great pleasure the recent announcement made by the State Department to the effect that the European coal and steel community is planning to take steps to eliminate the monopoly purchasing practices by the Luria Bros. & Co., Inc. We feel that this was a very necessary step, as it will enable the independent scrap dealers in this country to participate in a larger way in the export program to the OCCF countries, as we will now have a free and competitive situation in the export scrap industry, which will be helpful to the United States of America as well as to the OCCF countries.

Once again we want to congratulate you on the wonderful stand you have taken.

* * * * *

I wish to congratulate you and the committee on the very fine and conscientious study which you and your staff has made of the scrap industry.

As a small-business man we are conscious of the fine results. * * * It is very gratifying and we wish to express our appreciation for a job well done.

* * * * *

It is heartening to see the wonderful results you and your committee have attained. * * * We are a relatively small scrap organization, and at times it is very difficult for us to maintain our independence and not become a pawn of others. We have been discriminated against and have found certain markets closed to us, but we will still maintain independence. Again, thank you for your sincere efforts on our behalf.

* * * * *

Congratulations on a job well done. To your, your committee and the staff of your committee, our hats are off and for a very thorough study of the scrap industry. * * *

We as an industry are very grateful to you for accomplishing this worthwhile program.

* * * * *

Our small company has watched with interest the work of yourself and your committee in its study of the scrap industry. A very fine job has been done which is a credit to you and the committee.

The industry is extremely grateful for what you have done for it. We trust that this small measure of appreciation will show you that your efforts have not been wasted.

* * * * *

The recent announcement to the effect that the European Coal and Steel Community is planning to take steps to eliminate restrictive purchase practices of the OCCF was indeed good news to me, as well as to all my colleagues in the scrap export field. I wish to thank you and all the members of your staff for the stand you have taken in this matter.

This growing monopoly situation was bound to have widespread effects upon independent scrap dealers in the United States who, because of location and other economic circumstances, depend upon the export market for a large volume of their business. We believe that the best interests of the Community and the United States are served by a truly free and competitive situation in the scrap-export industry.

We hope that the Select Committee on Small Business will continue the vigilance which it has exhibited in the past to prevent a recurrence of the monopoly situation that has existed.

* * * * *

May we extend to you, and your committee, our congratulations on the study you have made of the scrap industry and the fine results forthcoming therefrom.

Speaking for ourselves, and our friends, in the industry, we express to you and your staff our gratitude.

* * * * *

As one engaged in the humble industry of buying and selling scrap—I want to thank you and your committee for the valuable services rendered the scrap dealers through your untiring efforts in the study of the situation in the scrap industry.

* * * * *

We conduct a small scrap yard operation here in Rochester, N. Y., and are members of the scrap industry.

At this time we would like to pass along to you and your committee congratulations for the wonderful job done on your study of the scrap industry.

• • • • •

It is my pleasure to take this opportunity to congratulate you, your committee and staff on the excellent and revealing study the committee has made of the scrap industry.

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Please accept our humble thanks, for the worthwhile program, set up by both you and your committee.

As a small-business man, also a member of the scrap industry, excellent results seem to have been obtained, and we are very grateful.

• • • • •

We wish to congratulate you, your committee, and the staff of your committee on the time, effort, and consideration which you have given to the study of the scrap industry.

Bringing into the open various phases of operation will help to preserve the independence and advancement of the small dealer, collector, and broker in a free and competitive atmosphere.

As a whole the industry is thankful to have a champion such as you have demonstrated and appreciate the accomplishments of your program.

• • • • •

Several days ago I received a press release of the Department of State, which contained information pertinent to the hearings before your committee. • • •

Certainly the information contained in this press release indicates that your committee has accomplished at least part of what it set out to do, and this is, of course, gratifying to us as it must also be to you and the members of your committee.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and all of your staff for your firm stand in this matter, and to assure you of my cooperation and that of other members of our industry should the necessity arise in the future.

I sincerely hope that most of the members of your committee are convinced that a real monopoly situation exists in connection with the activities of Luria Bros. Co., Ltd., and that this is not just a case of certain members of an industry requesting governmental aid in a normal competitive situation.

Again please accept my sincere appreciation for your efforts on behalf of our industry.

• • • • •

From our trade papers, we note that the European Coal and Steel Community is planning to take steps which will eliminate the monopoly purchasing practices of a certain group of large brokers in this country. This is certainly a step in the right direction and we know that this was brought about to a large extent by the actions of the United States Department of State and your committee. You realize that we as small independent dealers look at this action selfishly from our point of view. However, the writer feels certain that the well-being of the entire industry, of this country, and that of the OCCF countries will be in much better shape since the independent scrap dealers are enabled to participate in the export program to these countries.

Going still further, and along the same line, we also feel certain than an examination into the competitive situation and to a certain degree restrictive buying practices of several domestic steel mills could be corrected to the betterment of all concerned. I mean to the benefit of the scrap dealer, the scrap broker, the steel mill, and the economy of the country.

May I take this opportunity to thank you for the work which your committee has done in our behalf.

• • • • •

We wish to congratulate and thank you for the recent announcement that the European Coal and Steel Community is planning to take steps to eliminate the monopoly purchasing practices by the Luria group. We feel that this will save the day for the independent scrap dealers in our country.

A free and independent scrap business enabling competing participations in foreign markets will prove helpful to the United States of America as well as to the OCCF countries.

• • • • •

We understand that you, your committee, and the staff which worked with you has made a very thorough study of the scrap industry, which should go far toward promoting an understanding of our complex business.

• • • • •

This is to express my appreciation to you for inviting me to present testimony to your committee last Thursday, June 30, 1957, in connection with its hearings on ferrous scrap.

I am grateful, too, for the courtesy which you and your colleagues extended to me while I was before your committee.

• • • • •

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating you as chairman of the House Select Committee on Small Business for the accomplishments of that committee with regard to the recent developments in the alleviation of restrictive purchase practices of the OCCF. The feeling of many dealers like myself is that it is a direct result of the efforts of this hard working and fair minded committee and you are to be commended. We can only hope that the hearings will have the same effect on the domestic scene.

As the daughter of a man who immigrated to this country at the age of 10, I have since childhood been taught that this is truly a democratic country where a person can rise as high as his own capabilities will permit and anyone can be heard by its government. My father is living proof that there are opportunities in this country but I must confess that until last week, I was cynical about having anyone listen to the voice of "the little man."

My appearance before the committee changed my cynicism to admiration and respect. I sincerely appreciate the courtesy of the committee when I gave my statement and feel that the questioning by its members showed interest in and a good knowledge of the scrap industry. Now I not only say, "Thank God for America," but also, "Thank God for those dedicated representatives who give so much of themselves to make sure that it remains a Government of, by, and especially for the people."

I wish you continued success in all your endeavors and want to assure you of my wholehearted cooperation at any time.

• • • • •

We wish to thank you for your efforts which resulted in the recent announcement to the effect that the European Coal and Steel Community is planning to take steps to eliminate the monopoly purchasing practices by certain groups.

We feel that this will be very beneficial to the independent scrap dealers of this country.

• • • • •

As a member of the Institute of Scrap Iron & Steel, Inc., and the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, Inc., permit me to take this opportunity to extend congratulations to you.

Speaking as an individual member, we are very grateful to you and your staff.

• • • • •

I noted with great interest the recent State Department announcement that the European Coal and Steel Community is planning steps to eliminate certain practices of the OCCF which have resulted in restraint of normal trade in iron and steel scrap in this country.

The monopolistic situation developed by the OCCF practices resulted in harmful effects on many individual scrap operators in the United States who depend upon the export market for the movement of a large percentage of their materials. I know that you will agree that the best interests of small business firms in this country are served by a free competitive situation, not only in the export trade but also in normal domestic activities. The logical extension of restraining practices would have soon forced the breakup and dissolution of many small firms who have actively served American industry in stress periods of iron and steel scrap requirements.

Our Nation should certainly support the operations of such small-business men and maintain their strength for service during periods of heavy domestic and military need for raw materials.

We trust that the Select Committee on Small Business will continue its unceasing efforts toward furthering a normal flow of iron and steel scrap, and thus prevent a recurrence of any monopolistic practices in the handling of this vital raw material.

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I want to take a moment to thank and congratulate you, your committee and its staff. • • •

I am a small-business man and a member of the scrap business for many years.

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I am pleased to submit my congratulations to you, your staff, and your committee for the very extensive and productive study of the scrap-metal industry just completed by your committee. As an owner of a scrap metal firm, a small-business man and a member of the National Federation of Independent Scrap Yard Dealers, I am gratified at the results that you have achieved, and I am certain that my fellow members of the scrap industry will aptly demonstrate their mutual appreciation of the fine work performed by you and your committee.

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ACTIVITIES OF SUBCOMMITTEES

In order to carry out the detailed work connected with a variety of specific investigations agreed upon by the full committee, 6 subcommittees were established and designated as subcommittees, numbered 1 to 6, inclusive.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 1

This subcommittee is composed of Hon. JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee, as chairman; Hon. SIDNEY R. YATES, of Illinois; Hon. CHARLES H. BROWN, of Missouri; Hon. WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio; and Hon. CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

The matters referred to this subcommittee for study, investigation, and report related to law enforcement and subsidies affecting small business.

This subcommittee has initiated an investigation covering the policies and practices pertaining to Federal research and development contracts, as well as other Federal subsidies and incentives to business, with particular attention to the effect of these Federal activities as they relate to national antitrust policies. The study involves a review of the small

business interests in Federal policies pertaining to the acquisition and control of patents on federally financed inventions.

On November 19, 1956, the Attorney General of the United States, in reporting to Congress, made the following pertinent observations regarding this problem. He stated in part:

The impressive factual indications * * * may point a warning that the total effect of the research and development effort may well tend to increase concentration of economic power. Moreover, that evidence indicates that this tendency toward concentration may be accentuated and not retarded by the administration of Government financing of research and development.

As noted * * * the agencies administering the program have made no adequate compilation of statistical materials in this important area. The few analyses made have not adequately considered the problem of economic concentration.

The vital importance of preserving our economic system makes obvious the need for greater effort in this regard by the administrative agencies concerned. * * * A comprehensive delineation of the exact problem is a necessary first step to its solution. That delineation should include in detail the distribution of federally financed research and development projects among the various size classifications of industry, as well as the exact scope and distribution of other tangible benefits, such as patents and subsequent procurement, which result from participation in these projects.

The study undertaken by the subcommittee has, therefore, seriously considered the concentration of economic power flowing from these policies of the Government and the manner in which they have affected small business.

It is apparent that what happens in research and development might well spell out what will happen to small business in the future.

One of the major purposes of this project is to ascertain why officials and agencies of the Federal Government have adopted policies and procedures in connection with grants and subsidies for research and development programs which provide attractive opportunities for big business but seem to foreclose more and more the opportunities of small business to receive such favors.

In connection with this study, a letter of inquiry was forwarded to 100 representative large and small companies who were recipients of research and development grants from the Federal Government. The companies were requested to submit to the committee a list of all patents secured on inventions derived through research and development grants, awards, or contracts obtained from any agency of the Federal Government. The companies were also requested to submit copies of license agreements executed under each of these patents. Virtually all of the companies have responded thereto, and the staff of the committee is presently evaluating and studying these replies.

The problem is serious in view of the most recent available Department of Defense statistics revealing that small business is receiving less than 5 percent of these grants. It would seem, therefore, that small business is not receiving its fair share and that the Department of Defense apparently has failed to follow congressional intent. An outline of proposed hearings covering this problem of small business is being prepared.

In addition to the foregoing, the subcommittee has been studying problems affecting small business, which involve agencies of the Federal Government and their enforcement of laws designed to protect small business from unfair, predatory, and restrictive trade practices. This study has been prompted by the fact that small-business concerns which have requested Federal agencies to enforce laws prohibiting destructive trade practices have now complained that the Federal agencies in question had failed to act or if they had acted the action had not been taken timely. In addition, it appears that small-business men have complained to the Federal agencies about certain practices which, although made the subject of formal proceedings, those proceedings were concluded without provision for stopping the alleged unlawful practices. Therefore, before this subcommittee completes its study it will review not only the practices covered by the formal complaints issued by the agencies but also those covered by orders and decrees which made disposition of the formal complaints relating to the practices affecting small business. Likewise, the subcommittee is studying the effectiveness of the action taken by the agencies to enforce their orders and decrees for the purpose of determining whether small and independent business is being adequately protected in this regard.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 2

This subcommittee is composed of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, as chairman; Hon. SIDNEY R. YATES, of Illinois; Hon. TOM STEED, of Oklahoma; Hon. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, of New York; and Hon. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., of Connecticut.

The matters referred to this subcommittee for study, investigation, and report related to small-business problems connected with the Small Business Administration and those pertaining to Government procurement, loans, and disposal activities.

During the early days of the first session of this Congress, this subcommittee conducted a searching inquiry into all of the operations of the Small Business Administration in order to disclose the degree of efficiency attained by its staff under current management, the effectiveness of its operations, and the needs for strengthening or improving the basic act. It was the intent and purpose of the subcommittee to develop full and comprehensive information concerning the activities of this Agency and their effect upon the related problems of small business in order that appropriate recommendations thereafter could be made to the Committee on Banking and Currency and the House of Representatives. Eight days of hearings were held during March and April 1957, at which evidence was elicited which proved to be of valuable help to the membership of the House in connection with their ensuing debate regarding the merits of proposed legislation dealing with this Agency.

Turning to other fields, it can be reported that the subcommittee carried out a number of field inspection trips and conferences. Such meetings were held in Los Angeles, Calif., Seattle, Wash., and Hawaii. Basic subjects covered in these field investigations were:

First. Certain problems of small business in the financial assistance field.

Second. Problems of small business in Government procurement.

Third. The operation and efficiency of the Small Business Administration in disaster areas.

In general, the subcommittee found that small business is not receiving its fair share of Government procurement, is not receiving equal or equitable opportunity to compete in Government business, and is being squeezed by the tight-money policies. In the tidal wave disaster area in Hawaii, the subcommittee found that unfortunately the Small Business Administration had not performed its mission in an expeditious manner. However, as a result of the findings and report submitted to the Small Business Administration by the subcommittee covering its investigation in Hawaii, the program was accelerated and the victims of the disaster received assistance somewhat seasonably.

The subcommittee has received reports and has been advised that as a result of these field trips, the Small Business Administration has improved upon its administration of business loans and procurement in the regional areas visited in California and Washington.

In making these field trips it was learned that the small-business man who cannot come to Washington to tell his story to Congress was extremely anxious to voice his opinion on these important problems to the visiting members of the subcommittee, and was definitely grateful for being given the opportunity of doing so.

As a part of its work in studying the problems affecting small business flowing from Federal Government procurement policies, the subcommittee gave special study to a case arising out of Atomic Energy Commission procurement. The case originated as a result of a letter from a small-business man complaining to the committee that it had not received a proper opportunity to compete for furnishing the Atomic Energy Commission with the item in question and that the bid of the successful bidder was neither responsive nor was the bidder responsible. The subcommittee in studying this procurement problem carefully reviewed all information made available to it by the complaining small business concern and the Atomic Energy Commission. The Commission failed to supply the committee with all of the information requested but upon the basis of all of the information that it did receive, the subcommittee concluded that the Atomic Energy Commission was not fair in its treatment of the complaining small business concern. It was found that the Commission had not taken into consideration the sums of money invested by this small business concern, the establishment of a plant which was more than satisfactory, that it had met all of the requirements of the Commission, that it

had never failed in its delivery of goods and had never defaulted at any time on any of its prior contracts with the agency. Nevertheless, the Atomic Energy Commission, in disregard of these factors, made the award to a less qualified bidder. The subcommittee requested that the Atomic Energy Commission, in the handling of similar future procurements, advertised, and set the same aside for small business. The Commission failed to give assurance to the committee that it would accede to that request. Therefore, the subcommittee has recommended that in the future procurements of this kind be by sealed bids and set aside for small business.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 3

This subcommittee is composed of Hon. SIDNEY R. YATES, of Illinois, as chairman; Hon. JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee; Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York; Hon. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, of Illinois; and Hon. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, of New York.

The matters referred to this subcommittee for study, investigation, and report related to developments arising within the minerals and raw-materials industries which affect small business.

Since January of this year the attention of the subcommittee has been devoted to those situations adversely affecting small business which stem from recurring shortages of certain basic raw and strategic materials, such as aluminum, copper, nickel, steel, and so forth. The facts are that from time to time during the past several years these shortages have arisen, and during these periods of time it is imperative that steps be taken to make sure that small business is permitted to obtain its fair share of the short supply. This is true because the minerals and materials in question in many cases are vital to the continuing operation of the small companies affected.

It appears that the shortages in question arise due to a variety of developments, including accelerated industrial expansion, newly discovered uses for the materials, stockpiling for national defense, and so forth. Evidence and information thus far supplied the subcommittee indicate that our stockpiling programs at times have had an adverse effect upon small- and medium-size manufacturers, fabricators, and processors. There are further indications that our national policy pertaining to our domestic mineral and metal industries is unrealistic and has contributed to a situation causing smaller manufacturers and processors to face a price squeeze on semifabricated and semifinished products.

The subcommittee has agreed that an investigation should be conducted covering the aluminum industry, with particular reference to the stockpiling programs and the overall importance of aluminum on small business. Problems involving the supply and usage of aluminum scrap, insofar as they affect small business, are now being considered. Contracts entered into between the Government and the integrated producers of aluminum respecting the new and expanded facilities will be scrutinized and, in addition, the privileges granted to the producers to place unlimited supplies of basic aluminum in the stockpile will be reviewed.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 4

This subcommittee is composed of Hon. TOM STEED, of Oklahoma, as chairman; Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York; Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California; Hon. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., of Connecticut; and Hon. CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

The matters referred to this subcommittee for study, investigation, and report related to problems found within the aircraft industry affecting small business.

The aircraft parts industry is largely, a small-business industry. It is composed of firms which make a countless variety of parts, pieces, components, instruments, and so forth, which go into the assembled aircraft.

Changes in types of aircraft, as well as other weapons, always produce a severe impact on small contractors. Renegotiation, taxation, and financing are continuing problems. There are other problems of course; for example, at this time the effect of the cutback in the manufacture of military aircraft recently announced by the Department of Defense is expected to pose serious problems for all segments of the aircraft industry, including both the large aircraft companies as well as their smaller subcontractors.

The staff of the subcommittee has been instructed to observe and study the effects that these cutbacks may have on small business within this industry. In the past, when other cutbacks have occcurred, large manufacturers canceled their contracts with many small subcontractors, thereby causing severe hardships, considerable unemployment, and bankruptcies. The subcommittee plans to conduct an investigation and hold hearings during the coming session of Congress covering these problems.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5

This subcommittee is composed of Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California, as chairman; Hon. TOM STEED, of Oklahoma; Hon. CHARLES H. BROWN, of Missouri; Hon. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, of Illinois; and Hon. CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

The matters referred to this subcommittee for study, investigation, and report related to distributional problems effecting small business.

This subcommittee received many complaints from distributors of petroleum products concerning alleged coercion and discriminatory practices applied by the major oil companies, as well as the destructive effects of gasoline price wars. Wholesalers, independent refiners, and producers, as well as dealers, voiced their grievances.

It was decided that an investigation of the distribution practices in the petroleum industry should be made. Thereafter hearings were held in Washington on April 10, 11, 12, and 13, 1957, in Denver on April 16, 1957, in Los Angeles on April 24, 25, and 26, 1957, and in Chicago on April 30 and May 1, 1957.

As a result of the investigation and the hearings, the subcommittee issued its interim report—House Report No. 1157—which received the unanimous approval of all the members of the committee.

During the hearings in Chicago, efforts by the major oil companies to dictate retail gasoline prices in the South Bend, Ind., area were disclosed. This led the Department of Justice to initiate a grand jury investigation.

In its report, the subcommittee outlines a further suggested program in regard to the problems still unresolved in the petroleum industry to which attention is being directed at this time.

In addition to all of the foregoing, the subcommittee received a considerable volume of correspondence concerning a variety of problems relating to the distributional field in industries other than the petroleum industry. Generally, these complaints and inquiries constituted reports concerning alleged practices in restraint of trade being applied by manufacturers in a variety of industries. Replies were transmitted to all such parties and wherever possible helpful information supplied. The subcommittee is continuing to devote attention to the matters thusly received with the view in mind of determining whether investigations and hearings should be undertaken.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 6

This subcommittee is composed of Hon. CHARLES H. BROWN of Missouri, as chairman; Hon. JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee; Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California; Hon. WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio; and Hon. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, of Illinois.

There was referred to this subcommittee the task of studying, investigating, and reporting upon practices and conditions existing in certain food industries for the purpose of determining whether the facts are as alleged that changed patterns and methods and distribution, coupled with business practices and relationships of a few large concerns, are operating to "ruin the smal operators." Almost immediately the subcommittee announced plans for investigation and hearings regarding the poultry industry. It had received numerous complaints from small poultry hatcheries, processors, dealers, and feed manufacturers to the effect that business practices of their larger competitors and other factors to which reference is made above were destroying the small and independent businessmen in the poultry industry. The investigation led to hearings which were held during May, July, and August 1957.

The testimony and other materials which were made a part of the record during the course of the hearings throw considerable light on the changing patterns and methods of production and distribution in the poultry industry and the concentration of the industry in the hands of large operators, as well as the business practices and the relationships of those operators with one another and their effect upon smal business. Copies of the testimony adduced at these hearings have been printed and distributed.

A report dealing with the facts of that record is in the course of preparation and when completed it is expected to contain not only the subcommittee's

findings as to the facts but also conclusions and recommendations. The report should be available before the end of 1957.

The problems covered by this investigation are of relatively recent origin and therefore it is fortunate for all concerned that the subcommittee has seen fit to conduct this study at this particular time. So often it develops that information revealing changes or new trends in an industry are brought to light too late to permit corrective measures to be taken seasonably. Not so in this case and accordingly there is reason to believe that highly beneficial results may be expected to flow from the hearings which this subcommittee has conducted. This conclusion is buttressed by the observations of several important members of the industry who thanked the subcommittee for its timely interest in their problems and for the highly objective and constructive fashion in which the proceedings were conducted.

"Why Should Food Spoil While They Hunger?"—Comments on Congresswoman Sullivan's Food Stamp Bill To Distribute Surplus Commodities to Needy Americans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, those Members of the House who voted earlier this year against adding my food stamp bill to help needy Americans to the law for giving away surplus food to people and nations abroad will find their position backed up and supported by Secretary of Agriculture Benson, who apparently believes all Americans are prosperous and well fed.

When asked recently at a news conference whether he had changed at all from his bitter opposition to the Sullivan bill, he said he thought the whole idea unnecessary and extravagant.

He acknowledged that a food stamp plan for distribution of surplus commodities to the needy had worked well in the final years of the great depression prior to World War II, when, he said, "people could not afford to buy good food" but that it was entirely unnecessary now in this period of prosperity and high employment.

Those of our citizens who must get along on public assistance—those who are on aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, aid to the disabled, and so on, as well as those on local relief rolls—will be curious, indeed, to know how they are to afford good food on, say, $50 a month. Mr. Benson does not say.

I am heartsick over the defeat of the food-stamp plan this year, but I certainly intend to keep pressing for it next year. I am encouraged by the support voiced for my plan during the House debate on this issue by the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, Mr. COOLEY, and by many other Members concerned for the welfare of the low-income American family.

SHOULD NOT BE PARTISAN ISSUE

As we know, the vote by which my amendment was killed this year was in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, under procedures by which the names of the individual Members and how they voted were not recorded. Had the legislative situation been such that I could have succeeded in my attempt to obtain a rollcall vote on the issue, I am positive the result would have been different. Very few Members, I believe, would care to be recorded as voting against a proposal to channel some of this vast surplus to people in our own country we know very well are hungry—actually not getting enough to eat.

Although the vote was not recorded, we do find in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a reference to the fact that only one Member of the House from the Republican Party—Mr. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania—defied Secretary Benson and the Eisenhower administration's cruel position on this matter and voted in support of my amendment. I am appreciative of Mr. SAYLOR's courage and help. I know that many residents of his congressional district have benefited from distribution of some of this surplus food in the past, and thus he knows of the good it can do.

Mr. Speaker, this should not be a partisan issue and I was sorry to see it made into one. Every Republican Member of the House has some people in his district who needs some of this food. Every person on relief, on public assistance of any type, would be eligible for food stamps under my bill and would receive them automatically, with no costly administrative redtape. I hope that next year, when I am assured we will receive an opportunity to go into this plan on its merit rather than as a amendment on other legislation, Republicans as well as Democrats will be found voting for it. Among Democrats, I am pleased to say, my bill has widespread and wholehearted support.

It has also received outstanding support from one of the greatest newspapers in our Nation, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and I include now two editorials on my food-stamp plan, H. R. 949, and on the recent developments in connection with it, as follows:

HUNGER IN THE LAND

The inching up of the cost of living may have made some Americans less inclined to boast that "we never had it so good," but in general they are well fed, well clothed, well housed. In general, for there are roughly 6 million persons on relief. (And all the needy are not on the public-assistance rolls.) These people go to bed hungry despite all the food in Government warehouses. Why?

That is the question which Representative LEONOR SULLIVAN, of St. Louis, has been asking in Congress more and more insistently since she first proposed her food-stamp plan in 1954. This has again been sidetracked in the House. This time she offered it as an amendment to the bill which authorizes the distribution of surplus food abroad, and it was narrowly rejected as irrelevant. Now she has carried her appeal to the Senate Committee on Agriculture, asking:

"Perhaps I should not be emotional about this. But I just cannot help being heartsick over the contrast between the food we have and can grow and the hunger we have in our midst—all these hungry people. I mean hungry; I don't mean going without sirloin steak and fresh oranges; I mean hungry. Just try to feed even one person, and pay rent, and keep body and soul together, on $55 a month. We have misery and poverty and hunger, and mountains of spoiling food. Why can't we get this food to those we know need it?"

Mrs. SULLIVAN knows, of course, that some surplus food is being distributed to needy Americans by the Department of Agriculture. But she also knows that this is being done on such an unsatisfactory basis that only 10,366 Missourians have received an occasional sack of flour or beans even though 232,909 Missourians are on the public-aid rolls. She knows that no surplus food has been sent to Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, North Carolina, the Virgin Islands, Washington, and the District of Columbia. She knows, too, that Pennsylvania, which has taken more of this food than other States, is planning to refuse more of it as too expensive.

The chief objection has been to the Department's demand that the receiving States—or their relief agencies—accept shipments and then pay the storage charges until the food is distributed. As part of her food-stamp plan, Mrs. SULLIVAN would have the Department pay these charges at the distribution points, instead of only at the points of origin as it must do under the present law.

This would mean some increase in storage and shipping costs. There also would have to be more processing and packaging since wheat, for example, could be distributed only in the form of flour. It is hard to say how much more expensive this would be than the food surplus program to which the Government now is committed. But granting that food stamps would cost more, is it truly more economical to let food spoil than to pay the cost of getting it to the hungry?

Why, then, is the plan not given at least a trial? Will the Senate force the House to take a second look at a sensible suggestion for reducing the hunger in our land?

SECRETARY BENSON AGAINST FOOD STAMPS

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson has again vetoed a food-stamp plan such as that proposed by Representative LEONOR SULLIVAN, of St. Louis. The Secretary acknowledged that this device for distributing surplus foodstuffs had worked well "when people could not afford to buy good food," but he said there is no need for it in a period of prosperity and high employment.

Such assistance certainly is not needed by the prosperous and the employed. But what of the millions of Americans—and there are literally millions of them—on meager public assistance programs? It is these that Mrs. SULLIVAN has in mind. Prosperity and its accompanying inflation only make life harder for those who are trying to keep body and soul and family together on about $50 a month. Why should food spoil while they hunger?

The food-stamp plan, of course, would add somewhat to the cost of the farm price program since wheat can be used by the needy only in the form of flour. But a nation which taxes itself to keep up the farmer's income might be willing to tax itself just a trifle more to help the distressed. Or does Secretary Benson doubt this? If so, he could say as much instead of intimating that everybody is prosperous.

TEXT OF H. R. 949

Mr. Speaker, the provisions of H. R. 949 for a food stamp plan are as follows:

[85th Cong., 1st sess., in the House of Representatives, January 3, 1957, Mrs. SULLIVAN introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture]

H. R. 949

A bill to provide for the establishment of a food stamp plan for the distribution of $1 billion worth of surplus food commodities a year to needy persons and families in the United States

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to promote the general welfare, raise the levels of health and of nourishment for needy persons whose incomes prevent them from enjoying adequate diets, and to remove the specter of want, malnutrition, or hunger in the midst of mountains of surplus food now accumulating under Government ownership in warehouses and other storage facilities, the Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is hereby authorized and directed to promulgate and put into operation, as quickly as possible, a program to distribute to needy persons in the United States through a food-stamp system a portion of the surpluses of food commodities acquired and being stored by the Federal Government by reason of its price-support operations or other purchase programs.

SEC. 2. In carrying out such program, the Secretary shall—

(1) distribute surplus food made available by the Secretary for distribution under this program only when requested to do so by a State or political subdivision thereof;

(2) issue, or cause to be issued, pursuant to section 3, food stamps redeemable by eligible needy persons for such types and quantities of surplus food as the Secretary shall determine;

(3) distribute surplus food in packaged or other convenient form on the local level at such places as he may determine;

(4) establish standards under which, pursuant to section 3, the welfare authorities of any State or political subdivision thereof may participate in the food-stamp plan for the distribution of surplus foods to the needy;

(5) consult the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Secretary of Labor, in establishing standards for eligibility for surplus foods and in the conduct of the program generally to assure achievement of the goals outlined in the first section of this act; and

(6) make such other rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to carry out the purpose of this act.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall issue, to each welfare department or equivalent agency of a State or political subdivision requesting the distribution of surplus food under section 2 (1), food stamps for each kind of surplus food to be distributed, in amounts based on the total amount of surplus food to be distributed and on the total number of needy persons in the various States and political subdivisions eligible to receive such food. The food stamps shall be issued by each such welfare department or equivalent agency to needy persons receiving welfare assistance, or in need of welfare assistance but ineligible because of State or local law, and shall be redeemable by such needy persons at local distribution points to be determined by the Secretary under section 2 (3).

SEC. 4. Surplus food distributed under this act shall be in addition to, and not in place of, any welfare assistance (financial or otherwise) granted needy persons by a State or any political subdivision thereof.

SEC. 5. In any one calendar year the Secretary is authorized to distribute surplus food under this act of a value of up to $1 billion, based on the cost to the Federal Government of acquiring, storing, and handling such food.

SEC. 6. The distribution of surplus food to needy persons in the United States under this act shall be in place of distribution to such needy persons under section 32 of the act entitled "An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and for other purposes," approved August 24, 1935 (7 U. S. C., sec. 612c), as amended, and section 416 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended: *Provided, however*, That nothing in this act shall affect distribution of surplus food presently provided for in such sections other than to needy persons as defined in section 7 of this act.

SEC. 7. For the purposes of this act, a needy person is anyone receiving welfare assistance (financial or otherwise) from the welfare department or equivalent agency of any State or political subdivision thereof, or who is, in the opinion of such agency or agencies, in need of welfare assistance but is ineligible to receive it because of State or local law.

SEC. 8. The Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Secretary of Labor, shall make a study of, and shall report to Congress within 6 months after the date of enactment of this act, on the feasibility of, the costs of, and the problems involved in, extending the scope of the food stamp plan established by this act to include persons receiving unemployment compensation, receiving old-age and survivors insurance (social security) pensions, and other low-income groups not eligible to receive food stamps under this act by reason of section 7 of this act.

SEC. 9. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

The Tobacco Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, far-reaching changes in existing farm price-support programs have recently been proposed. These programs, of course, are a central part of our total effort to protect, stabilize, and increase farm income so that farmers may share more fully in, and contribute more effectively to, the general prosperity and economic welfare of our country. Their effectiveness concerns us all, and I do not doubt that new approaches to the farm problem will be widely discussed and considered in the next session of Congress.

In view of the widespread interest in this subject, I have prepared a point-by-point appraisal of the price-support program of greatest interest to the farmers of my State—the tobacco program. In it I discuss some of the achievements of that program, and analyze the reasons why a separate and distinct price-support plan is needed for tobacco. I believe my prepared address on this subject presents basic facts, and that these facts clearly call for the continuation of this program which has been such an outstanding success.

In order to make these facts conveniently available in more concise form, I ask that a brief summary of the full statement setting forth my position on this matter be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGHLIGHTS OF SPEECH BY SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER ON THE TOBACCO PROGRAM

The price of tobacco is a matter of vital concern to some 200,000 rural Kentucky families, because it directly affects their income, their standard of living, and their future opportunities. That price is determined not alone by the well-established demand for quality cigarette tobaccos, but also by the effective operation of the production-control program for tobacco—through which growers cooperate with their Department of Agriculture to maintain a balanced supply in line with that demand. This plan of controlling the supply, so that farmers may realize the benefits of the demand for their tobacco, has proved itself workable, effective, popular, economical, and fair to all segments of the industry and to the Nation as a whole.

The tobacco program is in a class by itself. For example, it is the one program having fixed supports, at 90 percent parity, established by law. Yet, tobacco is not subsidized. Effective production control has made 90 percent support work for tobacco—to the advantage of growers, the Federal Government, and taxpayers. In fact, while billions have been spent in honest efforts to solve the problems of a lagging farm economy in general, the tobacco farmer has stuck to his program of balancing supply with demand.

The only question involved here is whether three-quarters of a million farmers, working together, are entitled to the help and assistance of their Government in carrying out the program of their choice so long as they keep that program sound. My answer is that their performance in good faith entitles tobacco growers to the continuation of their present program. I oppose lowering supports for tobacco.

We have this distinct tobacco program today because the production, marketing, and consumption of tobacco itself is in many ways unique. It therefore requires a different price-support and production-control program. I will describe here 11 of the basic differences which both require a separate program for tobacco and make that program workable.

First, tobacco is a high-labor crop. A full year and 410 man-hours of labor are required to produce an acre of Burley. When 4 or 5 baskets of Burley from that acre are set out on the warehouse floor, a year of the farmer's toil, hope, and fears is sold at auction. Our tobacco growers must depend, then, to an unusual degree on their price-support program.

Second, tobacco production is not mechanized. The technological revolution in agriculture as a whole has scarcely affected tobacco. The second acre costs the farmer nearly as much to raise as the first. It takes more, not less, labor to raise an acre of tobacco today than 15 years ago. Support at 90 percent of parity is needed to provide tobacco farmers a decent minimum-wage floor.

Third, tobacco is an intensive crop. Its high value per acre makes it well suited to our small family farms. The average Burley allotment in Kentucky, although only 1.37 acres, last year produced over a ton of high-quality cigarette tobacco—worth $1,400 to the farmer and enough for 2 million cigarettes.

Hundreds of thousands of farmers owning modest family farms are therefore able to rely on their tobacco allotment as a

major source of income. These are the men who know tobacco best—and who produce the world's finest tobacco. I do not believe they will agree that it is worth less than parity, or that their years of experience and months of toil should be sold cheaper.

Fourth, tobacco is a highly specialized, regional crop. Its peculiar dependence on soils and climate makes rigid allotments based on historical production patterns more equitable than for other crops. Tobacco producers feel that this program, in which they join together in a cooperative effort to comply with the law of supply and demand, provides them essential freedom in the market place to sell their product for what it is worth.

Fifth, our cigarette tobacco is sold exclusively through central auction markets. This system, developed after years of trial and error and travail, works well. It makes possible a firm price floor, not only supporting the tobacco crop as a whole, but under each farmer's individual lots of tobacco. The farmer is the direct beneficiary of this support operation—receiving immediately 90 percent of parity in cash. The whole operation is handled without loss by farmers' marketing cooperatives under contract with the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Sixth is the limited field of buyers for tobacco. As I stated in 1948, when the Congress adopted my amendment first establishing in law 90 percent of parity as a separate provision for tobacco, the major buyers competing for the tobacco offered by 750,000 farmers can be counted on the fingers of both hands. "The farmer who has spent a year in back-breaking toil to produce a crop of tobacco, which is his cash crop and his principal source of income, must sell his tobacco to one of the few buyers, or else lose his year's labor. The Federal Government offers through its parity and support-price program the only substantial assurance the tobacco growers have that they will receive a reasonable price for their product."

Seventh is the excellent storage quality of cured tobacco, which, in fact, increases in value as it is aged. Without a fixed level of support, however, this very storability would operate to the farmers' disadvantage—as it did for the hundred years when 1 year of good prices was followed by 2 or 3 years of starvation prices.

Eighth, there are no alternative uses for tobacco. In other crops, flexible supports may be used to seek alternative uses and new markets. Tobacco has no such opportunity. However, the single-use market does give farmers a clear demand-supply picture so they can support, and do support, a program which meets these realities, and which gives each of them a fair share of the market at a fair price.

Ninth is the relatively inelastic consumer demand. Consumer demand plays a minor role in determining the price farmers receive for their leaf. Also, farm price plays a small part in retail price. For the tobacco in a 25-cent pack of cigarettes, the farmer gets only 3½ cents. I believe American consumers are willing and able to pay our farmers this very reasonable price for their tobacco.

Tenth, the tobacco program does not result in burdensome Government-owned stocks. CCC does not own a pound of tobacco. Tobacco is not subsidized. The program has, in fact, made several million dollars in interest profits on CCC loans. This remarkable record must be credited to the farmers who have made the sacrifices necessary to keep their part of the bargain in this program. The Government can do no less than to keep its part of the bargain and maintain 90-percent support prices so long as growers continue to demonstrate their willingness to keep this program sound.

Eleventh, tobacco is the only farm commodity on which excise taxes are imposed. Federal and State revenues from the growers' efforts ($2 billion yearly) are about double the return to the growers themselves. Thus, while operation of our price-support program for tobacco has not cost the Government anything, tobacco has brought immense revenues to local, State and Federal Governments. This fact surely merits continuation of a tobacco program which insures stable prices and balanced supplies.

The most eloquent testimony as to what farmers think of their tobacco program is found in the referendum votes—where the growers have approved burley and flue cured marketing quotas by 95 to 98 percent in all the elections held since 1948. Here is what the tobacco program has meant to farmers in dollars and cents: Burley prices tripled, and the value of the crop to farmers increased six-fold from $40 million to one-quarter billion dollars in the first 15 years of the program. These gains have been improved in recent years, so that last year the burley crop sold for the highest prices on record—averaging 63.5 cents a pound for a crop which brought farmers $322 million. The current flue-cured crop is also bringing record prices.

Thanks to the joint efforts over many years of a great many conscientious and devoted people, and to the active cooperation of tobacco farmers everywhere, the tobacco program has been conspicuously successful. I believe it is a basically sound, helpful and essential part of our total farm program today. I believe it can continue to serve faithfully and well the tobacco growers of my State, the rural economy of the South, and hence the general welfare of our country.

In support of this position, I can do no better than to quote the President's Agricultural Message of 1954. President Eisenhower stated then: "Tobacco farmers have demonstrated their ability to hold production in line with demand at the supported price without loss to the Government. * * * It is recommended that the tobacco program be continued in its present form."

The record of accomplishments since that time fully justifies the President's faith in our farmers and in this program. No more dramatic demonstration of farmers' willingness and ability to keep their tobacco programs sound could be asked than the substantial production adjustments made by both burley and flue-cured growers in the last 3 years. The President's conclusion, therefore, is still valid. And I believe his recommendation is as sound today as it was 3½ years ago.

Week After Week, Dun & Bradstreet Reports the Largest Percentage of Bankruptcies Among Companies With Liabilities Between $5,000 and $10,000—Small Firms by Any Yardstick

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the weekly average of business deaths has increased to 272, far above the average of any year since World War II. Failures so far in 1957 are close to the 10,000 mark. The toll of weekly failures is now climbing above the depression era level set in 1939. In fact, this is the first year the 1939 record of the depression years has been challenged.

Week after week, Dun & Bradstreet reports the largest percentage of bankruptcies among companies with liabilities between $5,000 and $10,000—small firms by any yardstick.

Only recently Miss Porter and the Journal of Commerce reported that administration leaders in Washington were saying, in effect, that "what we need to end the wage-price spiral in this country is a little recession, and the quicker it comes the better."

Now, it appears, the administration is getting its wish.

I include here an article by Sylvia Porter from the Washington Evening Star on this thoroughly alarming situation:

CHRISTMAS IN JULY

(By Sylvia Porter)

"The President's tax proposals for the benefit of small business make me feel as though Christmas had come in July for small business," exulted Small Business Administrator Wendell Barnes the day after President Eisenhower had sent one of his restrained, ineffectual letters to Congress asking for minor tax relief for small business.

Christmas in July? Or August? Or September? Or etc.?

Every prediction for small business bankruptcies in 1957—even the most somber—will have been topped by the year end.

The weekly average of business deaths has increased to 272, far above the average of any year since World War II. Failures so far in 1957 are flirting with the 10,000 mark.

The toll of weekly failures is now climbing above the level set in 1939. This is the first year the 1939 record has been challenged.

Just about every field of business is contributing to the statistics. The biggest year-to-year increases in failures are being reported by manufacturing, construction, and service firms, but retailers and wholesalers are failing in large numbers, too.

And week after week, Dun & Bradstreet reports the largest percentage of bankruptcies among companies with liabilities between $5,000 and $10,000—small firms by any yardstick.

NAGGING PROBLEMS

The biggest problem nagging the smaller businessman today is getting capital and maintaining enough cash in his business to permit him to operate aggressively, compete successfully and grow.

So, what's being done?

Beginning today, the Senate Small Business Committee is taking to the road to build up support behind a tax-relief bill in 1958.

It's opening hearings today in Phoenix, Ariz. Then it goes on to Los Angeles, Boston, New York, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Wichita, Miami, Minneapolis, Oklahoma City, Portland. Senator SPARKMAN, the Alabama Democrat who heads the committee, is certainly trying hard to develop a tax relief bill that will win acceptance in Congress.

But what are the chances of this sort of action? Slim. Any important tax cut next year will go to individuals, not small-business men. There are more individuals who vote, and it's an election year.

ACTION DOUBTFUL

Anything else? Yes, the Federal Reserve Board is making a comprehensive study of the financing problems of small business to see what gaps exist and what might be done. The hope is that the Reserve Board will complete its study in the next 18 months and make constructive suggestions.

What are the chances for action? Slim—for quite some time.

And, yes, there is something else. In Washington between September 23 and

September 25, there'll be a Conference on Technical and Distribution Research for the Benefit of Small Business. Mr. Eisenhower will speak at the conference and so will Mr. Barnes.

This is the situation as the small-business man moves into the cycle of the fiercest competition in decades—a cycle which even the giants are approaching with concern.

And how high, Mr. "Christmas in July" Barnes, do you think the small business failure rate will go now?

Report to the People of New York, Autumn 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD my final report on the 1st session of the 85th Congress to the people of New York.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK, AUTUMN 1957

(This is the final report on the 1st session of the 85th Congress. It is the second of this Congress intended to keep citizens of our State informed of my activities, of the work of the Senate and the state of the Nation.)

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The most important phase of foreign policy dominating the world scene is disarmament. Since the 1955 Geneva Conference the United States has been working toward a first-step disarmament agreement with the U. S. S. R. I have worked to have included measures to improve the peace machinery of the United Nations, including an established U. N. police force like that now functioning in the Near East. Our country continues to insist on U. N. inspection and control in some form as essential to any secure plan for disarmament or ending nuclear-weapons testing.

Congress authorized a foreign-aid appropriation of $3,435,810,000. The new Mutual Security Act has as its principal feature a $300 million economic development fund on a loan, rather than a grant basis; $1.9 billion for military assistance; and $725 million for defense support.

The 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine remain as the most nettling problem in the Near East and their resettlement is a prerequisite to a permanent, peaceful solution there.

Plans must be accelerated for alternates to the petroleum supply routes in the Middle East on which 70 percent of free Europe's oil supply depends, presently threatened by Communist infiltration and subversion in Syria, Egypt, and Yemen.

If we are to resolve the struggle against communism without war, the foreign-aid program is indispensable to our national security and must be adequate to meet the tremendous task. Our foreign economic policy must emphasize international trade expansion and Congress should approve joining the Organization for Trade Cooperation. The Syrian crisis, the Soviet claims to an intercontinental ballistics missile and developments at the London disarmament conference underline these hard realities.

I sponsored legislation which passed calling for a special study by Government and private industry of the barriers to international travel with a view to its increase.

In line with the President's historic 1953 atoms-for-peace proposal, the Senate ratified the treaty for United States participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency. Due safeguards for the national security are included and I opposed efforts to weaken our participation.

I have protested constantly the situation of Americans held prisoner by Communist China contrary to international law.

I introduced a measure to promote the interchange of students with the European Soviet bloc countries to help break down the Iron Curtain and promote people-to-people understanding.

AGRICULTURE

About $3.6 billion was appropriated for the Nation's farm programs for this fiscal year. The soil-bank program, a major effort to reduce farm surpluses without wastefully high Government price supports, has been continued for another 4 years.

I joined in sponsoring the Agricultural Research and Industrial Act of 1957 for the increased use of agricultural products for industrial purposes, a necessity if we are to reduce our vast farm surpluses.

The $50 million Federal flood indemnity insurance program failed of passage. Though the Senate approved $14 million, the House eliminated it. I hope next year we will be successful with this program as we have affected areas in New York.

BUDGET AND TAXES

The 1957 fiscal year was concluded with a surplus of $1.6 billion. This has been applied to reducing our $270.6 billion national debt, the interest on which comprises some 10 percent of the budget.

In appropriations for the current fiscal year Congress cut some $4.9 billion from Presidential requests. I supported budget cuts where I believed they were consistent with the national interest.

The Senate passed S. 434 requiring Federal budget estimates on an annual accrued expenditure basis, a Hoover Commission recommendation.

Legislation was passed restricting rapid tax amortizations to new or specialized defense and for research and development facilities for defense, in line with recently adopted administration policy.

Hearings commence January next on legislation to revise the tax structure. It is hoped that the Congress will be able to give relief to small business, those on pensions and individuals of moderate income, where such relief is most needed.

CONSUMERS

Inflation is a major domestic problem; and calls for the unremitting corrective effort of every legislator. I am sponsor of the resolution authorizing the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to study consumers' services of the Federal Government and how they may be best utilized for lower living costs. I fought for lower interest rates and lower FHA downpayment requirements to ease the heavy burden imposed upon those who wish to purchase their own homes. As a member of the Small Business Committee, I have been active in efforts to fight against economic monopolies and oligopolies which prove so costly to the consumer. Also, I am sponsor of legislation for a Federal Department of Housing and Urban Affairs.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

The most significant action this session was the passage of the civil rights bill, the first such legislation enacted in over 80 years. This bill provides (1) a six-member bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights, with subpena power, to study any deprivation of voting rights and to appraise civil rights laws and enforcement; (2) an additional Assistant Attorney General for civil rights enforcement; (3) action at the discretion of the Attorney General for an injunction in the Federal courts to stop interference with the right to vote in Federal elections; (4) that Federal judges may issue orders to safeguard equality in the right to vote under State laws; and (5) extending to many Negroes in the South the opportunity to serve on a Federal court jury. A compromise provision was adopted permitting a judge in criminal contempt to fine up to $300 or imprison up to 45 days without a jury; in all other criminal contempt actions a jury is required upon request of the defendant.

While the civil-rights bill fails to do all it should to secure equal civil rights, it is an effective step ahead in the key area of voting. It contains a practical, constitutional solution to the jury amendment. I shall continue to seek other civil-rights legislation essential to our people and our times.

The O'Mahoney bill designed to protect FBI files as a result of the Jencks case, has been enacted into law. I worked with Senator O'MAHONEY to insure that the bill would not be unconstitutional, to make clear its purposes to deal with statements or reports made to a Government agent and to make airtight the safeguards against a "fishing expedition" into FBI files.

The Special Subcommittee on Senate Rule XXII, the filibuster rule, of which I am co-chairman, held extensive hearings and a report is soon to be forthcoming. Rule XXII should permit full debate but bar filibusters designed solely to block congressional action. The recent one-man filibuster during the civil-rights debate—the longest on record—emphasized the need for reasonable changes.

Congress passed amendments to the Virgin Islands Organic Act giving its popularly elected legislature greater authority. This is another forward step to full self-government.

SOCIAL SECURITY, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH

By an amendment which I supported, New York State policemen and firemen may now obtain social security coverage on the same basis as other State and local employees after a referendum.

The time for disabled persons to file to preserve old-age, survivors, and disability insurance has been extended to July 1, 1958.

The House of Representatives killed the $1.5 billion Federal aid to school construction measure, thus preventing Senate action. Assistance to school construction in areas of special Federal activities like Army camps, however, was continued for 1 additional year.

I supported passage of authorizing grants to the States to aid nearly 1 million mentally retarded children of school age. Only 15 percent of these are now receiving help. I am working on a proposal for a national health program to give all our citizens an opportunity for medical care through cooperation fostered by the Federal Government within the private economic system.

HOUSING

The fight in which I actively engaged to achieve lower downpayments on FHA home purchases under the new Housing Act was successful; thus on a $15,000 home, the downpayment is now $800 instead of $1,950. The new housing law also authorizes $1.99 billion for housing programs of various types, including $965 million for new lending authority for the Federal National Mortgage Association to provide a secondary market for home mortgages; $350 million for urban renewal or slum clearance grants to cities; $25[illegible] million for mortgages on housing adjacent to military establishments; $175 million for college housing mortgages; $100 million for cooperative housing mortgages; and $150 million for a special Presidential fund largely for mortgages on housing for the elderly and families displaced by slum clearance.

Instances of flagrant maladministration of title I slum clearance projects in New York City have been disclosed. I am following closely the investigation of the Federal Housing and Home Financing Agency of the former Manhattantown project, to see that the public is fully apprised of the results and if new legislation is needed.

Housing starts, now at an annual rate of 1,000,000, are the lowest in 5 years and insufficient to take care of new family formations and necessary home replacements; the subject demands constant attention.

IMMIGRATION

The compromise immigration bill which was overwhelmingly passed permits an estimated additional 60,000 immigrants to come to the United States. The new law provides during the next 2 years for unlimited entry of alien orphans adopted by United States citizens; grants nonquota status to spouses and children of skilled aliens following to join their families; gives the Attorney General discretion to grant visas to aliens previously convicted of minor crimes or afflicted with TB; gives discretion to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General to waive visitors' fingerprinting; authorizes issuance of 18,655 visas, under the expired Refugee Relief Act of 1953, to German expellees, Dutch refugees, refugees in the Far East and persons escaping persecution by the Communists and includes an amendment of mine and others including Egyptian and other escapees from the Middle East. It terminates the mortgages placed on immigration quotas by the Displaced Persons Act.

The new law does not regularize the entry on parole of 25,000 Hungarian refugees here as a result of the anti-Communist revolt last fall—a serious omission. In addition, it fails to start modernization of the quota system and elimination of inequities in the present McCarran-Walter immigration law as advocated by the President, a whole host of voluntary organizations and millions of Americans, and contained in legislation of which I am a cosponsor. This is a No. 1 objective for the next session, vital alike to justice at home and our peace leadership abroad.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The U. S. S. R.'s announcement about its development of an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and the termination of the London disarmament negotiations without tangible results intensify consideration of our present national defense policy. While we emphasize defense and offense with modern nuclear means we cannot omit means to deal with local Communist aggressions or to contribute our share to U. N. police action.

I have been urging action on the Cordiner committee report for modernizing the compensation system for our Armed Forces personnel. This is vital to training and retaining the skilled personnel modern defense requires.

I am working with other Senators and the Army to see what can be done to facilitate transfer into a 6-month program of men drafted for 2 years.

I was a cosponsor of the bill to increase Federal help to State maritime academies or colleges, such as Fort Schuyler, which passed the Senate. Also, there was enacted a law to provide career incentives for badly needed nurses and medical specialists in the Armed Forces.

Congress continued reduced travel fares for servicemen on leave; a measure I originally sponsored in the House of Representatives.

LABOR

Disclosures by the McClellan committee of misuse of union funds, racketeering in labor-management relations, and other abuses continue. I am supporting the President's proposal for protective regulation of union welfare funds to help assure honest and effective administration for the benefit of the working people. The Senate passed a bill providing for public disclosure of financial reports and other statements filed with the Department of Labor under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. Also, assurances of internal democracy and grievance machinery is vital to the future of industrial statesmanship in trade unions.

The President has appealed to labor and management for self-discipline to hold back inflation. Walter Reuther has suggested his $100 per car price-decrease plan and the motorcar companies have asked for a wage-increase standstill. The problem is clear in any case and I shall support policy declarations and legislation effective to deal with it.

Modernization and improvement in pensions, annuities, benefits, and other factors in the laws governing railroad retirement are past due, considering costs of living and wages today. Hearings have been held on this necessary legislation but further action will wait until means are found to finance the increased expenditure. I supported actively the railway-brake bill, for greater safety, which passed the Senate.

NIAGARA POWER AND NATURAL RESOURCES

A major accomplishment this Congress was the enactment, after a 7-year effort, of legislation, sponsored by Senator IVES, myself, and Representative MILLER, authorizing construction by the New York State Power Authority of the $532 million self-financed power project at Niagara Falls as allowed by the 1950 United States-Canadian Treaty. The law provides fair preferences for power to defense needs, public bodies, nonprofit cooperatives, and neighboring States; while allotting adequate power to replace the loss from the 1956 Schoelkopf disaster, and for the industrial needs and development of the Niagara frontier.

The full development of Niagara power is one of the greatest concepts of economic development in our country. Joined with the St. Lawrence power development it should stimulate tremendous growth in the underdeveloped areas which exist even in our great Empire State.

In legislation authorizing Government assistance in the domestic development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes I supported the middle position which finally prevailed. It provides Federal help for research and pilot-plant development, gives electric cooperatives a chance to participate, but encourages commercial development of ultimate production facilities.

I opposed the $500 million Hells Canyon Dam which was to have been financed by the United States as I believed there had to be some finality some time even in Government. The 3-dam privately financed project had been approved by the Federal Power Commission and the courts, after the Senate had rejected the federally constructed dam in 1956 and had proceeded with extensive construction estimated at $50 million. I could not find an adequate justification to flood out this work.

I supported the Fryingpan-Arkansas project as the reclamation and power factors involved indicated Federal development to be the best alternative.

Legislation to limit billboard advertising on highways constructed with Federal aid remains in committee; it is a problem deserving our utmost consideration.

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

In the closing days of the session the Congress passed measures granting an 11-percent pay raise to Federal civil service and a $546 pay raise to postal workers. I worked actively both in committee and on the Senate floor for passage of this long-overdue legislation and urged the President to sign them. Unfortunately a veto seems indicated and we must do our utmost next year, I believe, with better hope of success.

A measure to increase postal rates as an offset against the $527.5 million annual postal deficit passed the House. Hearings are being held in the Senate to afford an opportunity for all points of view to be thoroughly presented. Responsibility demands action in this matter as it does for pay increases.

SMALL BUSINESS

I am a member of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business and am participating actively in this vital work.

Congress enacted 11th-hour legislation extending the life of the Small Business Administration 1 year, and authorizing an additional $75 million for making small-business loans. It is hoped that next year the Small Business Administration will be made permanent legislation for which I am a cosponsor.

Government contracts set aside for exclusive award to small business increased nearly 50 percent during this fiscal year over the previous year.

VETERANS

Pensions for veterans with service-connected disabilities were increased 10 percent or more. I strongly supported the new provision in the law permitting veterans with a service-connected disability to receive both Veterans' Administration and social-security benefits.

The measure providing an additional $200 million of direct veteran-housing loans by the Government and extending the direct loan and GI mortgage-guaranty programs for a year was passed, but a veto is indicated.

As a member of the Senate Rules Committee, I have been working for the establishment of a standing Veterans' Affairs Committee in the Senate similar to the one in the House.

MATTERS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO NEW YORK STATE

Bills I had joined in sponsoring were passed to amend limitations imposed by an 1896 law, thus permitting construction of a new shipping terminal in Brooklyn; authorizing a survey of a water route from Albany into Lake Champlain with ultimate connection with the St. Lawrence River; clearing the last obstable to the construction of the Throggs Neck Bridge; and facilitating creation of a Lake Champlain Bridge Commission by New York and Vermont.

I worked in the Rules Committee, of which I am a member, to report out a measure for strengthening our election campaign expenditure control laws; action is expected next year. I joined in sponsoring a measure providing for an official residence and sufficient allowances for the Vice President.

I joined with Senator IVES in special representations to the Senate seeking to protect the interests of the Seneca Indians of New York (granted them by a 1794 treaty) incident to the flooding of lands in the construction of the Kinzua Dam.

The Senate passed Senator IVES' and my bill for additional Federal circuit and two district-court judges to relieve the overcrowded court dockets in the Metropolitan New York area, and I will seek to get this enacted next year. I introduced legislation for national recognition of the Baseball Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N. Y.

I was active in efforts to retain the Veterans' Administration regional office in Brooklyn, to save the Scotia naval installation in Schenectady, to protect employee rights at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and similar matters of concern to individual citizens.

CONCLUSION

The thousands of letters from New Yorkers I receive weekly show lively citizen interest in Federal Government activities. These communications serve as an invaluable guide in my work here, and I sincerely hope that the people of this State will continue, as they have for over a decade now, to give me their views on matters of national importance.

Prolonged Illness-Absenteeism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Journal of the American Medical Association of July 13, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STATEMENT CONCERNING THE BOOK, PROLONGED ILLNESS-ABSENTEEISM, SUMMARY REPORT, PUBLISHED BY THE RESEARCH COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY, CHICAGO

The American Medical Association was one of over 200 sponsors of the study on prolonged nonoccupational illness among employed persons which was initiated by the Research Council for Economic Security in 1952. Financial support was granted this project on at least two occasions by the board of trustees in view of the objectives originally stated. They were to determine the extent of the problem of prolonged nonoccupational illness, and its impact upon the employed population, and also determine whether measures were necessary to deal with the problem, if one existed, when all the facts essential for the objective evaluation became available.

Such participation in sponsorship and financing in no manner carried with it agreement with or approval of the findings or conclusions of the study. In fact the American Medical Association had no opportunity to review the findings of the study in its entirety, the conclusions drawn, or certain sections of the report prior to publication. Therefore, the American Medical Association cannot be considered as giving endorsement to some of the highly questionable conclusions of this study.

A review of the published report shows that it not only fails to fulfill the objectives as originally stated but draws conclusions which are neither valid nor substantiated by the limited and meager data released for publication. Moreover, there appear to be serious errors of omission, and the data presented could be considered inadequate.

The chief finding that has been widely quoted in the American press is that the net cost of prolonged illness per worker amounted to 13 percent of annual income. On the basis of this publicized finding, moreover, the authors have drawn a basic conclusion, stated on page 14 of the report, "when the illness is serious and a period of disability is prolonged, the financial burden may well be insurmountable. The catastrophe is augmented when such illness involves a worker, a wage earner—faced with both the loss of income and the medical care cost * * *. With these cases multiplied by the thousands across the Nation we indeed, are faced with a social-security problem."

For reasons presented below, there is objection to both the basic finding and the inference which the authors have drawn from it. The 13 percent cannot be other than an inflated figure. Neither the net wage loss per worker nor the net medical care expenditure per worker used in this figure is completely net. In making the deductions from the gross wage loss the authors did not allow for all offsetting forms of compensation; e. g., the income-tax deduction to which the worker would be entitled. With respect to the medical care expenditure, the authors state, when shifting from the average (mean) to median value, that for the average value only benefits from group plans were deducted from gross medical care expenditures, but that for the median value, benefits accruing from individual policies were also deducted. Since neither of the components, wage loss or medical care expenditure, is truly net, the 13 percent can be considered inflated. By how much this figure was inflated, cannot be stated, because the authors themselves did not publish enough data for making such a correction.

An objection may also be lodged against the lumping of the wage loss and the medical care expenditure. In particular, it should be emphasized that the medical care expenditure portion of this cost of prolonged illness was by far the smaller part. When the average (mean) figure of 13 percent is employed, the net wage loss, which was not truly net was more than twice as great (9.3 percent) as the medical care expenditure (3.7 percent), which was far from net. When the cost of prolonged illness is expressed in terms of the median worker, and the netting of medical care expenditures carried out more carefully, the wage loss (6.7 percent) was more than 5 times as great as the medical expenditure (1.2 percent). As a matter of fact, relative to this median worker, the annual medical care expenditure per year for prolonged illness was $41, and this figure refers to only 2.5 percent of all total absence periods. It is believed that this finding, also presented in the final report, flatly contradicts the introductory generalization that the financial burden of such illness is catastrophic and reveals a social-security problem.

Nowhere does the text justify the conclusion that the findings would "Provide the information upon which the in-plant or industrial medical program can plan appropriate measures for nonoccupational disabilities as effectively as they are now caring for occupational disabilities." Nor is it understood how the data provided can show the need for "governmental action at Federal or State levels."

There are many reasons for questioning the adequacy, validity, and use of the data. Tables 30 and 31 on page 77 of the report illustrate a recurring deficiency in the form of excessive use of percentages without reference to the absolute values they represent. The percentages in the same two tables according to their footnote "are based on a subsample," the source and size of which are not given. In table 81 on page 169, and in other tables, the mean and median annual earnings are both represented by the same figure; namely, $3,485. (The mean is another form of average, excessively influenced by a few high values in a distribution. The median, still another form of average, is much less subject to such influence. It is the midvalue above and below which an equal number of cases appear.) Since it would not seem possible for these two kinds of averages to be equal with income so unevenly distributed, it would appear that an error in statistical method has been made. Since this same figure, $3,485, has been used as the basis for computing both the mean and median percentage of income lost through prolonged illness per American worker, it is difficult if not impossible to tell what reliability either of these percentages has and how to compare them.

Tables 32–33 on pages 88–89 are demonstrably incorrect, as any physician or research worker could ascertain by referring to the "International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries and Causes of Death," WHO, 1948. In fact, the so-called WHO numbers appearing on pages 88–89 are not the same as those appearing in Appendix H of the report.

The American Medical Association has always supported and encouraged research to provide objective information on the basis of which the medical profession, the allied professions, and other groups interested in the problem of illness can provide medical care to the American people. Its cooperation with the United States Public Health Service in the current National Health Surveys reflects its continuing interest in the problem of sickness absence. It gave financial support to the Research Council study for the same reason. However, when the reports of the results of research state or imply that the research has fulfilled its objectives, when in fact it has not, the American Medical Association feels bound by its duty to the medical profession and the public to reject such reports.

It is unfortunate that the Research Council did not fulfill or even consistently pursue its own stated objectives of eliciting and reflecting "all facts essential for objective evaluation."

Why Does Organized Labor Oppose Right-to-Work Laws?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union Council in Pittsburgh, Pa., each year conducts an essay contest among those graduating from the various high schools in each State senatorial district. The subject of the essays concern the controversial subjects pertaining to the American Labor Movement. The winner of each district is given a 4-year scholarship to the University of Pittsburgh by the State senator of each respective district.

The writer of the following essay received the highest scholarship award by Lieutenant Governor Furman of Pennsylvania.

The interest in these essays is increasing each year, and the result is that the graduating class is doing considerable research and securing valuable information on labor problems.

I think that the reading of this essay by the Members of Congress would be profitable as it clearly demonstrates the thinking of young Americans who shall be the leaders of the America of tomorrow.

The essay follows:

WINNING ESSAY IN PITTSBURGH CENTRAL LABOR UNION, AFL–CIO, SCHOLARSHIP CONTEST ENTITLED "WHY DOES ORGANIZED LABOR OPPOSE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS"? BY LEO CZABAN, SOUTH HIGH SCHOOL

From the very beginning of our industrial revolution, workers realized that some kind of security was necessary to protect and secure the objectives of labor. As time went on, labor unions realized the great advancement of industry and worked to bring about the great gains achieved for the workingman which have enabled him to live a respectable life.

Today we are living in the atomic age where labor unions are more significant than ever before in our history, because new problems arise in industry every day and labor unions are needed to serve as a guide for the workingman. The headlines in our newspapers, the propagandists, and the orators tend to make a furious conflict over the right-to-work laws. What are these laws

passed by 18 States and voted down by 17? On one side the argument is that no person should be compelled to join a union. On the other the contention is that those who don't contribute their share are "free riders." Labor leaders are firmly convinced that this right-to-work movement aims to weaken unionism.

Organized labor today stands as an exceedingly strong organization. Its membership is over 18 million people, which is about 22 percent of all the working people in the United States. It took many years of strenuous work to establish this strong organization, which represents this large percentage of the working people, but nevertheless it was done and its principles stand as safeguards for the workingman through the darkest periods of our history.

From the very beginning of the labor union its objectives were: Higher wages, shorter working hours, better safety measures, and paid vacations. These objectives triumphed over the whole world because no other country has such high standards for labor. Before these objectives were put into effect, people were working as long as 14 hours a day with very low wages and little or no security whatsoever, but today the workingman is altogether a different person because labor unions have fought and will continue to fight for his rights. Labor unions have insured peace, prosperity, and wealth during the past few decades of their smooth operation. With the passing of the right-to-work laws, by 18 States, the battle pro and con is on. Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell said, "In the first place they (right-to-work laws) do not create any jobs at all. In the second place, they result in undesirable and unnecessary limitations on the freedom of working men and women and their employers to bargain collectively and agree upon conditions of work. Finally, they restrict union security provisions and thereby undermine the basic strength of a labor organization." He also states, "I have never quarreled with the right of States to enact such legislation; what I have done is to question the wisdom of the States in so doing."

The right-to-work laws are not only unfair to union members but also unfair to the union by weakening it or eventually destroying it. Under these laws a person may seek employment without joining the union, but the union member has to pay dues to the union and resents the "free rider" who enjoys the benefits but pays nothing for them. This law is altogether unfair for the obvious reason that those people who work without joining the union simply hang on the back of somebody who belongs to the union, and yet they seek and enjoy the same privileges. Surely union leaders are right in seeking to block the spread of the right-to-work movement into additional States and to repeal such laws where they now exist.

Every intelligent person should have realized the danger in the right-to-work laws, but I fear the American people are living too luxuriously to look into this disastrous movement. Many people think that right-to-work laws simply mean the right to work, but what they really mean is the right of workers to earn a living without paying dues to the labor union.

Some people, although they may think unions are fine, feel that it is undemocratic to compel anybody to belong to a union, but we must remember that, under the union shop, it is the employer rather than the union who decides what person shall be hired for a job. An applicant is hired only on the qualification of his education and ability, and after he has been hired, he must join the union within a certain period—usually 30 to 60 days—to retain his job. Unions have nothing whatsoever to say as to whom the employer shall hire. The fact is that in the union shop the majority rule is the very basis of our society and civilization.

Our trade unions have helped Americans to be proud of our country's ability to produce an increasing volume of goods, the greatest the world has ever known. Labor unions have helped to increase buying power of the average worker, because of increased wages and the added protection that unions have won for him. In communities where unions are strong, wage and salary incomes improve, and so the volume of sales improves, too. Where unions are weak, wages are low, and the sales of different commodities are also low.

So-called right-to-work laws, which tend to weaken unions, also tend to weaken their ability to improve the economic status of their members. That's why right-to-work laws weaken the economy of each community. The advocates of right-to-work laws have one fundamental aim—to weaken free American labor unions by denying them their right to gain union security provisions through the collective bargaining procedure. The right-to-work laws have the effect of keeping unions from growing. The right-to-work laws also have another effect—where there are no unions, the pay is low and working conditions poor, and organization of labor unions are very likely to be not accomplished. President Dwight Eisenhower has pointed out: "Only a fool would try to deprive workingmen and workingwomen of the right to join the union of their choice."

The 18 States which now have the right-to-work laws are very small and not highly industrious; for instance: Mississippi, where factory workers earned an average of only $50 a week; and in South Carolina, the average weekly earning of factory workers was $53, so we can easily see that those Southern States cannot affect our economy in the East and Middle East. Their right-to-work laws have been also introduced in our State but we have voted them out for the simple reason right-to-work laws simply do not fit into the American tradition of government impartiality. Unions want justice and equality for both labor and management, but right-to-work laws tilt the scales of justice in favor of the employer against the workingman and this is contrary to our best American traditions. Now Americans have the highest standard of living in the world and this was brought about from our organizations and sponsorship of labor unions. If we want to maintain our high production and standards of living we must outlaw the right-to-work laws and continue to have the union shop where every employee is under the influence of democracy.

An Experiment in the Administration of Adrenalin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, on August 21 I inserted on page A6891 of the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a leaflet published by the National Humane Association of Chicago entitled "An Experiment Concerning the Administration of Adrenalin to Cats Which Have Been Skinned Alive" (department of physiology, University of Buffalo School of Medicine).

On the same day, prior to inserting this material, I announced on the floor of the Senate:

"I am a little disturbed, Mr. President, about some of the material I have received from representatives of antivivisection groups. They have asked me to put some material in the RECORD, and, by request, I shall do so.

"In doing so, Mr. President, I want to make it clear to the antivivisectionists that I am not an antivivisectionist. I am in favor of humane policies in animal experimentation. In our medical laboratories I have always taken the position that I did not favor the dissection of animals for any useless purpose. * * *

"Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD certain material sent to me by the antivivisectionist group. I know nothing about the facts, true or alleged, which are set forth in the material, but I think the group referred to is entitled to have this material available for the reading of Senators."

Although the leaflet was inserted with the foregoing precautionary remarks, Prof. Fred R. Griffith, Jr., who was mentioned in the leaflet, objected to the insertion in the Appendix of the RECORD. Professor Griffith supplied me with a report of the actual experiment involved in this case. I ask that this report, designated as "An Experiment Concerning the Administration of Adrenalin to Cats Which Have Been Skinned Alive." (department of physiology, University of Buffalo School of Medicine) be inserted at the conclusion of my remarks.

I assure Professor Griffith that if he cares to supply appropriate comments in answer to the statements contained in the leaflet of the National Humane Education Association, I shall be pleased to include his comments in the RECORD early in the next session.

The report follows:

"A POSSIBLE ROLE OF THE SKIN IN THE EFFECT OF ADRENALIN ON BODY TEMPERATURE AND RESPIRATORY METABOLISM

"(Reprinted from the American Journal of Physiology, vol. 156, No 1, January 1949)

"(By Charles E. Whitcher and Fred R. Griffith, Jr., from the department of physiology, University of Buffalo School of Medicine., Buffalo, N. Y.)

"Administration of adrenalin in physiological dosage to the intact animal invariably leads to increased respiratory metabolism and body temperature, which appear without discoverable dissent to be accepted as cause and effect, respectively. On the other hand, attempts to demonstrate a calorigenic action on isolated tissues have led to results so contradictory as to be completely inconclusive. In the face of this, the idea suggested itself that the uniformity of result in the intact animal might be due to a simple reversal of sequence: increased body temperature due to cutaneous vasoconstriction might be responsible, at least in part, for the increase in metabolic rate. As will be shown in what follows this appears to be true.

"Procedure

"The experiments were made with fasting cats, anesthetized with dial-urethane (Ciba). Oxygen consumption was measured in a closed-circuit system from which carbon dioxide was removed by soda lime. Body temperature was recorded with a rectal thermometer. Freshly prepared adrenalin hydrochloride (Parke Davis) in saline was injected intravenously for 5 minutes at the rate of 0.004 mg/min/kg. body weight. Oxygen consumption was recorded continuously before, during, and for 25 minutes following the injection. Rectal temperatures were

read each minute. Following a normal run, the skin was removed except from the head, feet and tail; all denuded parts were covered with vaseline and cotton. Rectal temperature, which fell during the operation, was brought back to the previous normal with artificial heat; when it and oxygen consumption were stabilized adrenalin was again injected and oxygen consumption and rectal temperature recorded as before.

"Results

"The cats fared well throughout the experimental period. Skinning caused little loss of blood, and had no apparent effect on pulmonary ventilation, blood pressure, pulse rate, or the pressor response to adrenalin. In addition, it seemed to have no effect on normal oxygen consumption, the average for which, in the period preceding injection, was 12.6 in the normal and 12.9 ml/min. in the skinned animals. This small difference probably was related to the slightly unequal rectal temperatures which as a consequence of failure exactly to control body temperature with artificial heat were 38.41 and 39.49° C., respectively.

"Figure I [not printed in the RECORD] shows the average results obtained on 14 animals. Oxygen consumption of the intact animal was increased 7 percent during the 5-minute injection period and 14 percent during the interval 5 to 15 minutes after injection; at the end of the experiment, 25 minutes after injection, it was still 6 percent above the normal. These results gain credence by being almost exact replicas of a previous observation of the effect of the same dosage of adrenalin.[1]

"In the skinned animal oxygen consumption rose only slightly, 4 percent during the 5-minute injection period. The maximum increase, which was only 5 percent, occurred in the 10-minute interval following injection and was followed by a sharp fall to 2 percent below normal 25 minutes after injection.

"As to body temperature, the intact animal showed a rise of 0.03° C. during the 5-minute injection period; this continued to a maximum of 0.11° C. during the first 5 minutes after injection and was still 0.08° C. above normal 25 minutes after injection.

"In contrast, the skinned animal showed an actual fall of temperature, amounting to 0.03° C., during the injection period itself. A maximum rise to only 0.01° C. above normal occurred during the 5 minutes following the injection. This was succeeded by a steady fall, which persisted for the remainder of the experimental period, leading to a temperature of 0.17° C. below the starting normal 25 minutes after injection.

"Discussion

"These results appear to substantiate, at least in part, the hypothesis that cutaneous vasoconstriction in the intact animal by reducing loss of heat through the skin effects a rise of body (rectal) temperature. This, in turn, would be expected to increase the metabolic rate. In the skinned preparation there were no cutaneous vessels to constrict and so to conserve heat. Therefore it, as seems probable, the vessels in the splanchnic viscera were constricted as normally, the blood supply of the exposed striated muscles would be increased with the possibility of augmented heat loss. This could account for the general reduction, rather than increase, of rectal temperature and oxygen consumption in the skinned animals during and after injection. The source of the small increases which still occurred after skinning are being further studied.

"Summary

"A skinned animal preparation is described which appears to be new and which may be useful in subsequent investigations. In this work the calorigenic response to adrenalin shown by intact cats is found to be reduced after the removal of the skin."

[1] Griffith, F. R., Jr., F. E. Emery and J. E. Lockwood. American Journal of Physiology, 128: 281, 1940.

The Prepayment Principle in Health Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Cooperative Health Federation of America had what has been reported to be its finest meeting ever at Two Harbors, Minn., early in July. The well-known executive director, Mr. Jerry Voorhis, summarized the conference in his customarily excellent way in his column, the People's Business, for July 25, 1957.

The distinguished Governor of Minnesota, the Honorable Orville L. Freeman, gave an outstanding address at that conference when he dedicated the community health center at Two Harbors.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Voorhis' column and Governor Freeman's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The column and address follow:

THE PEOPLE'S BUSINESS

(By Jerry Voorhis)

In Two Harbors, Minn., two battle monuments have been built. They aren't statues of soldiers or airmen or sailors or marines. They aren't even obelisks. They are neat, attractive buildings dedicated to the health of all the people of a whole area of the north country of Minnesota.

They are a fine, new hospital and a beautiful, medium-sized clinic building.

But they are battle monuments just the same.

Governor Freeman told why when he dedicated the buildings on July 18. He said, "We honor the Community Health Association of Two Harbors as a pioneer in the field of organization to meet human needs. As is true of all pioneers, it had to meet new problems; and it had to struggle against the kind of resistance and inertia that always serve as bulwarks of the status quo.

"This pioneering spirit, this willingness to explore new methods to meet changing needs, this courage to lead the way in the face of long-established methods that no longer serve their purpose, is an urgently needed spirit and attitude in our rapidly changing world of today."

For many years the doctors who were curing the diseases and delivering the babies and maintaining the health of the people of Two Harbors were denied membership in the local medical society. This meant that as membership in the cooperative health plan—Community Health Association—increased it was extremely difficult to persuade new doctors to join the staff.

Now that is changed. The Two Harbors doctors are members of the society. What is more, they compose most of the staff of the new community hospital. And the new clinic is their own place of professional practice. For it belongs to the people whose needs these doctors serve.

Like the battles of Washington, D. C., Elk City, Okla., New York City, San Diego, Seattle, Chicago, and a lot of others before it, the battle of Two Harbors was won by the people. It was won for the right of the people to join cooperative health plans.

The two buildings stand as witness to that fact.

Charles Wilkinson, moving spirit in the early organization of the Two Harbors health plan, presided. Dr. Michael Shadid, who founded the first cooperative hospital in America, was there as honored guest. So was George Jacobson, whose Group Health Association has been the best support of the Cooperative Health Federation—now Group Health Federation of America—through its 11 years since it was founded at Two Harbors in 1946. So was Dr. Dean Clark, president of the federation, general director of Massachusetts General Hospital, and America's No. 1 authority on prepayment health plans. So were representatives of group health prepayment plans and cooperative health insurance plans from all over the United States and Canada. Horace R. Hansen was there, GHFA's legal counsel who guided the Two Harbors plan through its struggle to success. And so were scores of other people from the ranks of labor and from professional associations of the medical professions, and from the rural areas—to see what this was all about and whether and how they could do the same in their communities or for their groups.

There were the ladies of the Two Harbors Community Health Center who by bake sales, by sewing, by every kind of means raised no less than $25,000 to make their own clinic possible.

And somewhere in the background where they didn't belong were two modest men. One was Dr. William Kosiak, for many years the medical director of the Two Harbors plan, the man who stood his ground with the people—and took care of them when it was, to say the least, hard to do. The other was "Bill" Detweiler, the administrator of the Two Harbors plan, who saw on this July 18 the dreams of years of struggle and doubt and worry and care and abuse—come true.

There weren't many dry eyes that crisp, sunny day in Two Harbors.

But the moisture was for joy, not for sorrow. It's good to make the most of it when the people win a battle as important as this one.

THE PREPAYMENT PRINCIPLE IN HEALTH ECONOMICS

(Dedication address by Orville L. Freeman, Governor of Minnesota, on the occasion of the dedication of the Community Health Center, Two Harbors, Minn., July 18, 1957)

At this dedication of the Clinic of the Community Health Association of Two Harbors, we are honoring an organization and a community for its contribution to the solution of one of our greatest human problems—the provision of better health care to more people. At the same time, we are affirming our belief in a method of approach to the solution of such problems—a method that involves voluntary action, cooperation, community participation, and the principles of democratic action.

I am particularly happy to participate in this dedication, not only because of the material achievement represented by the physical plant we are dedicating today, but even more because of the principles it represents. It is particularly fitting that this observance should take place at a meeting of the Group Health Federation of America and of the Group Health Institute. For 11 years ago this summer the Group Health Federation was organized here at Two Harbors—to extend and further the same principles that are being carried out here by the Two Harbors Community Health Association.

We honor the Community Health Association of Two Harbors as a pioneer in the field of organization to meet human needs. As

is true of all pioneers, it had to meet new problems; and it had to struggle against the kind of resistance and inertia that always serve as bulwarks of the status quo.

This pioneering spirit, this willingness to explore new method to meet changing needs, this courage to lead the way in the face of long-established methods that no longer serve their purpose, is an urgently needed spirit and attitude in our rapidly changing world of today. In the field of health, as well as in every field of human relations, we face great changes—changes resulting from rapid growth of population, from revolutionary scientific discoveries, and from the impact of these on our economic patterns and social organization. Human happiness, progress, and well-being depend upon how well we can adjust to these changes. And, therefore, our need for this pioneer spirit is greater than ever before.

In paying this tribute to the pioneers of the Two Harbors Community Health Association, it is only fitting that the tribute be extended to all of the organizations represented here in the Group Health Federation. Each of them has pioneered in its own area, under differing, but difficult circumstances. This, it seems to me, indicates the great possibilities and promise that lie in the Group Health Federation. Motivated by a common purpose, you meet together to share experiences, to help each other, and to give encouragement to others who would join in the task of bringing improved health benefits to more people, under the changing circumstances of the new world of 1957.

In bringing to Minnesota its first plan for complete medical care on a prepayment basis, Two Harbors represents not only the courageous spirit of the pioneer, but also the spirit and principles of cooperation. The doctors in Two Harbors and the people of this community and its surrounding rural area cooperate in a common effort to provide themselves with the kind of prepayment medical care that is usually found only in large metropolitan areas.

I believe the extension of such a program to a rural population is of real significance, and I am happy to learn that the Community Health Association has been awarded this year's citation for its contribution in the rural-health field. We all know how extensive are the wide expanses of rural areas and smaller towns in which medical personnel and facilities are not as readily available as they are in our large cities. And therefore there is a special value in the contribution to rural-health care that we observe today.

I am happy to be able to extend to the association and to this community my warmest personal congratulations on this great achievement. I know most of you personally, and I know of the ability, the dedication, and the hard work that you have devoted to this program. I am confident that you are on the way to even greater success in the future.

I would turn now to the larger field, of which the Community Health Center Clinic is a part. The Group Health Federation of America is of great significance today because it represents an approach to meeting one of our most urgent human needs, through methods that offer great promise. These methods include cooperation, voluntary citizen participation, observance of the highest professional and scientific standards, and the spirit and practice of democracy.

As Governor, I know the value of these methods and principles. It is also part of my business to know how great is the need for health care, particularly as it applies to those for whom the Government shares the responsibility. I am deeply concerned with the maintenance and extension of the principles of democracy and freedom in our Government and in all areas of our society. And I know that the surest way to extend these democratic principles, and to make them secure, is to see that, under their operation, the basic human needs of all of our people are met adequately and effectively.

These principles of freedom and democracy need face no serious threat here in America, unless we fail to extend and make available to all of our people the benefits of our great resources. Certainly our respect for human values, and the ethical and spiritual principles on which our way of life is based, demand that the essential standards of human physical needs—be they food, clothing, shelter, or medical care—should be available to all. We in America can and must offer to all of our people the best care that medical science has developed.

I am sure that there is general agreement on these objectives. But we must constantly ask ourselves how effectively we are progressing toward these goals. Can we improve our methods and our approach? Can we reach more people than we are now?

I would note here only a few highlights with regard to the urgent human need for health. We all know that it is basic to human welfare. We all know that American doctors, hospitals, scientists, and technicians have made astounding progress in their ability to prevent and cure human ills. We are told that in the last decade alone they have added 5 years to the life expectancy of the average American.

You have studied in much more detail than I the extent to which the people are getting the full benefit that our great scientific progress has made possible. Again we all know that these increased benefits mean increased costs, and that, therefore, the cost of medical care is increasing rapidly. Expenditures for physicians' services in the United States have more than doubled in the last 10 years. They are worth these increased costs. And I am sure than on the average, as a whole, and in the long run the American people can afford to pay. But medical care expenses do not affect the head of a family on the average, as a whole, and in the long run. They hit hard, and unexpectedly, and without regard for his ability to pay.

This fact plays an important part in the problems faced by millions of people in securing adequate health care. It makes it imperative for us to consider the importance of prepayment, of some form of insurance in the field of medical care. Statistics, carefully studied and analyzed, can reveal much about the extent of our progress toward our objectives. One little item in the recent Health Information Foundation survey of medical costs and voluntary health insurance is of impressive significance. Among persons in families with surgical insurance there were 7 surgical procedures per 100 persons—among persons in families without surgical insurance, in comparable economic levels, there were 4.

The prepayment principle in health economics is relatively new, yet it has made tremendous progress in the past 10 or 20 years. Plans providing varying, limited amounts of hospital and surgical care, or indemnity for their cost, operated by Blue Cross and Blue Shield and by scores of insurance companies, provide some protection for more than half of the people of the United States.

The value of this kind of protection should not be overlooked. It constitutes genuine progress toward our goals, but it does not represent achievement of those goals. A survey published last year by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare shows that among families having all types of illnesses the bulk of the average expenditures was for items for which this kind of protection is not generally available. The Health Information Foundation reports that in 1953 only 15 percent of the total medical and hospital charges incurred by families surveyed was covered by insurance benefits.

It is true that insurance is more general when applied to hospitalization and to those very serious illnesses that result in the greatest economic hardship. But, as Dr. Baehr, the president and medical director of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, said last year: "To collect from a major medical expense policy you must usually come close to the pearly gates. This is not health insurance." And he pointed out that while sickness insurance provides financial aid when illness occurs, health insurance should more adequately safeguard health. It should make available the kind of preventive care, and early attention in case of illness, that our most widespread prepayment methods fail to do.

It is in regard to the need for this kind of health care that you in the Group Health Federation are making such a great contribution. I am encouraged by the progress that is being made; by the number and size of the plans represented here; by the quality and extent of the services you provide; by the growing interest that organized labor is taking in plans of this kind; by the instances of cooperation between Government and prepayment health care plans whereby governmental units contribute to the payments made by their employees to such a plan. I am particularly encouraged that here in Minnesota another prepayment complete health care plan is about to begin operations, when Group Health of St. Paul, of which I am a member, launches its program next month.

My greatest concern is whether these prepayment plans, that offer really complete health care, can expand fast enough, and can be extended to enough people, to meet our real needs.

Many of the free countries in Europe have adopted government plans, more or less universal and with some element of compulsory participation, to provide health care. In my judgment, compulsion is never desirable—unless it is essential to achieve a socially necessary goal. Compulsory participation may not be needed in the United States, if voluntary prepayment plans can be extended to meet the need.

I should like to see all possible support and assistance for such voluntary programs. I believe that support and assistance from three sources would be of real value in making it possible to offer voluntary, prepayment, complete medical-care programs to all of the people, on financial terms which they are able and willing to pay.

First, I sincerely hope that voluntary prepayment health-care plans, organized by the people who need such care, will receive the cooperation of the medical profession. The willingness to cooperate that is evident here in Two Harbors, and also in St. Paul, encourage me to believe that clear understanding of the programs involved, and a common dedication to the goal of better health care for more people, will insure such cooperation.

All of your plans, I know, rightly place the complete control of medical care itself in the hands of those professionally qualified to perform this function. But many of your plans provide for lay, or consumer, ownership of the physical facilities; and for consumer participation in the business and economic aspect of the plan. This is not a new and untried principle, but rather one that long experience has proved successful in the operation of hospitals.

More than 90 percent of the hospitals in the United States are owned by the people, either through their governmental units or through churches and other voluntary, nonprofit organizations. The capital invested by the people in these hospitals now amounts to

$3 billion, and is increasing by $200 million a year. If the approximately 100,000 doctors who use these hospitals had had to make this investment themselves, it would have amounted to $30,000 each, and an annual investment for replacement of at least $2,000 each. Obviously this would be neither possible nor desirable. And this lay or public ownership of hospitals has worked very well.

It seems logical to me that this method would be equally applicable to medical care facilities other than hospitals. I therefore believe that a like degree of cooperation can be worked out between the medical profession and those voluntary prepayment plans in which laymen join together to assume the financial burden of providing the physical facilities and the business and economic arrangements for payment.

No other group is more concerned with the extension of better health care than is the medical profession. For that reason I believe that, with adequate understanding and in a spirit of good will, our doctors will extend their indispensable cooperation to any sincere program for extending the benefits of medical services to more people. Such cooperation with prepayment health care plans will insure high standards and the control of professional services by professionally qualified personnel; and will contribute immeasurably to the growth of such plans.

A second source of real impetus and encouragement to voluntary prepayment plans is their support by organized labor—and by other economic organizations, particularly of farmers, that can make a like contribution even if on a smaller scale. Group Health of St. Paul pioneered in providing health insurance to farmers through their memberships in cooperative creameries; and more recently projects are under way to make available such insurance for the first time to farmers through their REA memberships.

Organized labor is, however, taking the lead in gaining for its members more adequate health-care services. In many of the plans represented here, including Two Harbors, labor has played a major role.

In this field, labor, with its millions of members and its growing health and welfare funds, has an opportunity to make a contribution of immeasurable value. It can choose between accepting provisions for ordinary kinds of indemnity insurance (sickness insurance rather than health insurance), or using its great influence to help to organize and build plans that will provide complete health care. It cannot only proceed, through collective bargaining, to provide its members with payment for such care, but it can also, through education, further among its membership an understanding of the importance of preventive and complete care.

Organized labor has also, in this field, an opportunity to cooperate with other groups in the community in a common effort to meet an urgent need that applies to members and nonmembers alike. It can earn for itself greater public understanding. It can develop a more widespread recognition of the fact—that is becoming more and more in evidence each year—that responsible union labor is concerned with more than just bread-and-butter unionism—that it is concerned with achieving for all people higher standards and a better way of life.

A third source of support and assistance for voluntary prepayment medical care plans can come from government.

It is traditional in America for government at all levels to provide protection, service, and assistance of various kinds of private enterprise that is clearly in the public interest. In carrying out this tradition our Government provides protection for the right to do business, and the use of public facilities. In many cases our Government has provided special economic incentives for such enterprises as private utilities, publishers who use the mails, privately own transportation facilities—to note only a few—even though these are profitmaking enterprises. Such Government assistance is justified on the basis that the growth and success of such enterprise will be of benefit to all of the people. I, for one, believe that voluntary prepayment plans offering complete health care are of equal or greater importance to the public interest, and as such they should receive such assistance from Government as is appropriate and desirable.

Government, as an employer, has already demonstrated the assistance it can give to health-care plans by helping to obtain coverage for its employees under such plans. One of the largest of such plans, the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, was given substantial impetus by such assistance. I am informed that another of our largest cities, Philadelphia, is now embarking on a program to bring to its employees the benefits of a health-care plan sponsored initially by organized labor in that area. Governmental units at many levels could extend this kind of cooperative participation to voluntary health-care programs.

Perhaps the most challenging way in which government could assist in the expansion of such plans lies in the area of utilizing them in the provision of medical care for some of those people for whose care the various units of government are now responsible.

Many examples of the provision of medical care directly by Government are well known. For veterans, Government provides care in facilities which it owns and operates through the services of physicians and others directly employed by Government. For those suffering from serious and prolonged illness, such as tuberculosis and mental illness, Government has likewise carried nearly all of the burden.

Our State and local governments carry nearly all of the costs of medical care for others who cannot afford to pay for such care. Our biggest problem in this field is with regard to our growing population of older people. In Minnesota the cost of medical care provided under the old-age assistance program is well over $17 million per year, and is increasing at the rate of nearly $2 million a year. Only about 10 percent of this amount is covered by the Federal Government—the State and the counties share in the remaining 90 percent.

All available information indicates that these costs will continue to rise. This is not only because people live longer, but because social security retirement benefits are rarely enough to cover serious medical expense. Thus, while a lower proportion of our older people will be dependent on public aid for ordinary living expenses, more of them will need to depend on assistance in case of illness.

Right now, Minnesota pays for a monthly caseload of about a thousand who need and get assistance for medical care although they have sufficient incomes of their own to cover other living costs. These payments on behalf of men and women who, aside from health care needs, would otherwise be self-supporting, are estimated to be about 7 percent, or $1,200,000, of our medical care expenditures in the old-age assistance program.

In 1956 our medical care costs amounted to 40 percent of our total old-age assistance payments. It is expected that in 1957 this percentage will rise to 43 percent. Estimates indicate that 75 percent of those receiving old-age assistance payments receive medical care payments some time during the year.

I know that other States face similar situations and problems, although Minnesota's burden may be greater than most because we are one of the few States that have no ceiling on medical care for the aged. We provide them with the care they need. And under no circumstances, it seems to me, can we attempt to lighten our burden by adopting a ceiling that would deny them care that they need. But we can, and must, ask whether we could provide that necessary care by a better method.

I am deeply concerned with the many problems related to services for our aging, and I know that health is among the most important. I have urged State matching funds to assist counties and nonprofit organizations to build nursing homes, for this is the biggest single part of the cost of our medical care for the aged. We must also give careful consideration to the most effective and economical way by which we can carry out our responsibility to provide really good health care for our older people.

I hope that we can explore the possibilities of extending the voluntary prepaid medical care principle to a greater proportion of our aging citizens. We should consider whether some assistance should be given toward prepayment charges for those over 65. We should study carefully whether cooperation between government and voluntary health plans might offer a more constructive use of the money we now spend on medical care for the aging. Greater emphasis on preventive care might not only lower the cost, but also contribute materially to the health and happiness of the people involved.

We should also consider whether government should offer assistance to make it possible for other groups of people, such as those in lower income brackets, for whom voluntary plans now seem too costly, to participate in such prepayment plans. Government assistance here would not be a new expenditure, for when illness strikes severely in these groups now the public must assume the major share of their medical care costs. Many in these groups are often described, along with 80 percent of those over 65 years of age, as "medically indigent." I do not like this term, because it applies a description that is resented by most Americans to a situation that could occur to most of us unless we participate in some kind of insurance or prepayment plan. For even in this period of prosperity, very few of us could meet the costs of a catastrophic and prolonged illness (such as, for example, care and treatment for polio) out of current income.

But, by whatever description or term we use, we know there are millions of people whose incomes enable them to meet their needs under ordinary circumstances, but are not large enough to cover the entire cost of participation in voluntary health care plans. There are others who, during periods of unemployment, lose the group coverage they have. If we could devise an equitable and practical method by which government assistance would enable many of these to participate in prepayment plans we would add very little to the cost that government must now assume in cases of illness within such groups. And we might provide for better health care than they now receive, certainly in the preventive field.

Any such program would have to be based on cooperation between the governmental unit involved and the voluntary plans. It could be a kind of partnership between, on the one hand, the people as represented by their Government, and the doctors and the people as organized and represented in prepayment plans. I believe this might develop into a major contribution to success in our efforts to meet human needs.

For we in America have, I believe, demonstrated the value of voluntary action, of the participation of citizens through their own organizations in efforts toward social and economic improvement. We resent anything that is totalitarian or monopolistic or arbitrary. We even dislike the term compulsory, unless it is applied to something universally accepted as necessary for the public good, like school attendance. We tend to decide whether or not Government

all enter any field of enterprise on a real-tic and pragmatic basis—and we do not k Government to provide services the peo-e need unless those services cannot or e not being provided by other means. e try, as I am suggesting here in the field health care, to develop methods of Gov-nment cooperation and assistance in work-g with voluntary and private groups to-rd a socially desirable goal.

I believe that we can—and will—meet the ed of all of the people for complete med-al care, under economic arrangements that volve no undue hardship. I believe that is can be done best by the utilization of e prepayment principle. It must be done a way that insures the highest standards care, and the control of professional serv-es by the doctors themselves. It must available to all without discrimination.

These principles are among those for hich the Group Health Federation of Amer-a stands. You have earned the highest mmendation for your leadership in this eld for the courage you have demonstrated facing tough problems under difficult rcumstances. You have already made in-luable contributions, and are on the way, am confident, to even greater progress.

As we dedicate this clinic of the Two Har-rs Community Health Association, we rec-gnize and pay tribute to one material sign that progress, and we dedicate ourselves intensified effort and greater cooperation ward the achievement of that goal we ll seek—better health for the people of merica.

Economy Versus Spending—Analysis of All Rollcall Votes in the House of Representatives Involving the Expenditure of Federal Funds During the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower expected the Congress to effect any possible economy in considering his budget. He never suggested that we approve it without exercising our constitutional responsibilities to examine carefully any proposed expenditure.

If we are to reduce the crushing burden of taxation, further substantial reductions in the budget must be made. The Republican record on rollcalls concerned with economy is good. I have reviewed the 100 record votes during this session of the Congress to see which party really saved money for the American taxpayer. I find that there are 49 of these 100 issues which reflect the position of the Members of the House of Representatives on economy. Immediately following my remarks there is a list of these 49 issues. The votes recorded on these issues have been assembled in a subsequent table. The tabulations speak for themselves.

The Republicans cast 63 percent of all economy votes. The Democrats cast 70.7 percent of all spending votes. The support scores by members of each party show a Republican support score for economy of 68 percent, and an opposition score of 32 percent. The Democratic support score for economy is 34 percent, and the opposition score is 66 percent.

Many will remember the charges hurled at President Eisenhower's budget last January by Democrats. Those who were responsible for committing the Federal Government to long-term spending programs were suddenly going to produce economy for the American taxpayer.

The record has now been completed, and the facts are there for all to read. Once again the record shows that the true advocates of efficient economic government are the Republicans. The Democrats have continued in their traditional role of fostering spending programs which must result in either higher taxes or inflation.

List of record votes involving economy in Government

Record vote No.	Vote for economy position	Description
4	Y	1957 deficiency appropriations (H. R. 4249)—Lanham amendment placing a $15,728,000 limitation on amount to be spent for State and local administration of public-assistance grants. Passed 205 to 168.
5	N	Drought relief (H. R. 2367)—Providing for payment to ranchers for deferred grazing as part of relief available to drought-stricken areas of the Southwest Passage. Passed 270 to 100.
13	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $30,000 the appropriation for 3 new positions in the Department of Labor to handle international labor affairs in South America and the Near East. Passed 286 to 126.
14	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $204,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of the Solicitor, Department of Labor. Passed 241 to 171.
15	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $46,300 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor. Passed 246 to 169.
16	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $136,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights. Rejected 137 to 275.
17	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $442,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor. Passed 214 to 205.
18	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $12,186,000 funds for grants to States for unemployment compensation, thus eliminating an increase requested by Bureau of Budget over departmental request and eliminating contingency funds. Passed 220 to 200.
19	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $1,500,000 funds for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and provide same amount used in 1957. Passed 253 to 167.
20	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $263,800 the appropriation for new positions in the Mexican farm labor program. Passed 342 to 77.
21	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $346,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Passed 217 to 202.
22	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $31,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Women's Bureau. Rejected 206 to 210.
23	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $288,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor. Passed 214 to 205.
24	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $1,327,000 the increase in funds for expansion of the Food and Drug Administration. Rejected 130 to 285.
25	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $1,482,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of Education. Rejected 206 to 207.
26	Y	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to delete language providing $50 million to municipalities for waste treatment works construction. Rejected 185 to 231.
29	N	Committee expenses (H. Res. 191)—Providing $350,000 (in lieu of $100,000) for purpose of investigating studies by House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Passage. Passed 225 to 143.
30	Y	1958 appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Judiciary (H. R. 6871)—Amendment to reduce by $7,039,958 the appropriation for the United States share of the cost of international organizations of which we are a member. Rejected 167 to 205.
31	Y	1958 appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and the Farm Credit Administration (H. R. 7441)—Amendment to suspend operation of the soil-bank program at the end of fiscal year 1957 and to delete provisions for $500 million for the 1958 program. Passed 192 to 187.
32	Y	1958 appropriations for the legislative branch (H. R. 7599)—Motion to recommit with instructions to delete $7,500,000 for construction of an additional House Office Building. Rejected 176 to 206.
38	N	1958 appropriations for the Department of Defense (H. R. 7665)—Motion to recommit with instructions to restore $313 million of the committee cut of $2,586,775,000. Rejected 151 to 242.
43	N	3d supplemental appropriations for 1957 (H. R. 7221)—Motion to agree to Senate amendment providing $14 million for initiation of Federal flood-insurance program. Rejected 186 to 218.
47	Y	Senate Office Building (S. 1428)—Authorizing furniture and furnishings for the additional office building for the U. S. Senate. Motion to recommit with instructions that the House Public Works Committee insert specific cost figures. Rejected 135 to 232.
48	Y	Senate Office Building (S. 1429)—Authorizing the enlargement and remodeling of Senators' suites, and other changes and improvements in the existing Senate Office Building. Motion to recommit with instructions that the House Public Works Committee insert specific cost figures. Rejected 148 to 216.
52	N	Veterans' benefit (H. R. 72)—Amending the World War Veterans' Act of 1924 to restrict the transfer of estates of incompetent veterans derived from compensation and pensions. Motion to recommit. Passed 191 to 161.
55	N	Postal pay increase (H. R. 2474)—Providing for a $546 increase in basic salary of employees in the postal field service. Passage. Passed 379 to 38.
56	Y	School construction (H. R. 1)—Providing for Federal assistance to States for school construction. Motion to strike the enacting clause (and prevent further consideration of the bill). Passed 208 to 203.

List of record votes involving economy in Government—Continued

Record vote No.	Vote for economy position	Description
58	Y	San Angelo project (H. R. 2147)—Providing for the construction of the San Angelo Federal reclamation project, Texas. Motion to recommit. Rejected 189 to 202.
59	N	San Angelo project (H. R. 2147)—Passage. Passed 201 to 190.
66	Y	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—Motion to recommit with instructions to reduce appropriation of new funds for TVA by $9,784,000. Rejected 158 to 244.
69	N	District of Columbia Auditorium Commission (H. R. 4813)—Extending the life of the District of Columbia Auditorium Commission. Adoption of conference report, authorizing the acquisition of certain land for a District auditorium-cultural center. Rejected 115 to 284.
71	Y	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Amendment deleting $3,000,000 for design and construction estimates of a plutonium reactor. Rejected 197 to 201.
72	Y	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Amendment deleting $55,000,000 for construction by the Commission of a natural uranium and plutonium recycle reactor. Passed 211 to 188.
73	Y	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Amendment revising cooperative power reactor demonstration program and deleting provision for Government ownership and operation of generating plants. Passed 213 to 185.
74	Y	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Passage. Passed 383 to 14.
75	Y	Federal employees pay raise (H. R. 2462)—Providing an 11 percent across-the-board salary increase for classified Federal employees. Motion to recommit. Rejected 70 to 319.
76	N	Federal employees pay raise (H R. 2462)—Passage. Passed 329 to 58.
77	N	Public works appropriation (H. R. 8090)—Making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army and certain agencies of the Department of the Interior for fiscal year 1958. (Conference report.) Motion to agree to Senate amendment earmarking $500,000 for preparing plans for Bruces Eddy project on Clearwater River, Idaho. Rejected 23 to 363.
78	Y	Postal rate adjustment (H. R. 5836)—Increasing certain postal rates. Passage. Passed 256 to 129.
81	N	1958 appropriations for mutual security (H. R. 9302)—Motion to recommit with instructions to increase various items by $715,000,000. Rejected 129 to 2
83	N	Air-carrier loans (H. R. 7998)—Providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers. Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bi Passed 242 to 94.
84	N	District of Columbia Stadium (H. R. 1937)—Authorizing the construction, maintenance, and operation by the District of Columbia Armory Board of a stadium in the District of Columbia. Adoption of conference report. Rejected 135 to 234.
85	Y	West Virginia Dam (S. 1520)—Providing for the disposal of dam on Little Kanawha River in West Virginia (conference report). Motion to recommit to conference with instructions to insist on House provision limiting Federal contribution to $50,000 as recommended by Corps of Engineers instead of $112,000 as provided in report. Rejected 137 to 232.
86	Y	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R 9131)—(Conference report.) Motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment striking out funds for construction of an additional airport in or near Washington, D. C. Rejected 125 to 233.
87	N	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—Motion to agree to Senate amendment providing an additional $475,000 for the Columbia River project. Rejected 141 to 216.
90	N	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131) (conference report)—Motion to recede from disagreement on Senate amendment providing an additional $475,000 for the Columbia River project. Passed 166 to 121.
91	Y	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—Motion to agree to amendment providing for $425,000 for Columbia River project. Passed 165 to 130.
92	N	Air-carrier loans (S. 2229)—Providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers. Adoption of conference report. Passed 203 to 77.
100	N	1958 appropriations for mutual security (H. R. 9302)—Adoption of conference report. Passed 194 to 122.

List of record votes involving economy in Government, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Record vote No.	Vote for economy position	Votes cast			
		For economy		Against economy	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
4	Y	153	52	21	147
5	N	100	9	78	192
13	Y	173	113	22	104
14	Y	153	88	42	129
15	Y	139	107	57	112
16	Y	107	30	88	187
17	Y	142	72	55	150
18	Y	156	64	41	159
19	Y	163	90	34	133
20	Y	186	156	10	67
21	Y	134	83	62	140
22	Y	145	61	29	161
23	Y	142	72	55	150
24	Y	99	31	94	191
25	Y	133	73	61	146
26	Y	150	35	45	186
29	N	139	4	40	185
30	Y	100	67	77	128
31	Y	38	154	141	46
32	Y	147	29	34	172
38	N	39	202	140	11
43	N	129	89	59	127
47	Y	118	17	52	180
48	Y	121	27	49	167
52	N	94	67	70	121
55	N	29	9	162	217
56	Y	111	97	77	126
58	Y	135	54	47	155
59	N	147	43	32	169
66	Y	156	2	25	219
69	N	140	144	42	73
71	Y	177	20	6	195
72	Y	176	35	6	182
73	Y	163	50	19	166
74	Y	178	205	3	11
75	Y	50	20	125	194
76	N	46	12	128	201
77	N	159	204	15	8
78	Y	171	85	4	125
81	N	83	171	86	43
83	N	73	21	77	165
84	N	125	109	42	93
85	Y	133	4	37	195
86	Y	92	33	68	165
87	N	122	94	39	102
90	N	98	23	19	147
91	Y	9	156	106	14
92	N	65	12	49	154
100	N	52	70	87	107
Total		5,890	3,466	2,777	6,717

Need for a Protective Tariff Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 85th Congress has concluded its work without having considered legislation bearing directly upon the tariff policies of the Nation. This is a regrettable omission. However, to those of us who believe that Congress should reassert its constitutional powers over tariff policy, it is not proper to conclude that the tariff issue has been ignored.

Legislation has been proposed to offer tariff protection to our domestic industries which are being harmed by competing products of foreign industries in our local markets. Although formal congressional attention was not given to these bills, there has been, I believe, a significant strengthening of support in the Congress for such bills. One test of this growing awareness that a protective tariff law is needed is obvious when we realize that legislation which would threaten the further lowering of tariffs has also failed to be considered by the 85th Congress. I refer to the proposal that the United States join the international organization known as the Organization for Trade Cooperation.

The passage of the OTC bill has been urged most vigorously in the past 2 years. I believe that the explanation of its that the philosophy of "free trade" which failure to be considered lies in the fact has dominated congressional thinking in the past several decades has lost some of its appeal as more and more Members of Congress have witnessed the economic deterioration in areas they represent because of the application of those "free trade" principles.

The OTC bill, at first glance seems simple and harmless enough. It would allow this Nation to participate in an organization composed of many nations to administer another international entity known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Thus, tariff agreements among all of the participating nations could be decided in this international arena.

I have opposed this bill for several reasons. First, because the Federal Constitution specifically gives to Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations." This power is given in the same clause which makes the Congress solely responsible for taxation. It is unthinkable that the power to tax the American people be delegated by the Congress to the executive branch of our Government or to some international organization. In past years, the tariff power has been delegated to the Tariff Commission, thence to the President, thence to the State Department, and now it is proposed to an organization of nations. The ebbing away of this congressional power becomes even clearer when we realize that although our Nation's tariffs are being affected by the international conferences of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, this agreement which has such an outward appearance of a treaty has never been ratified by the Congress. Thus, if Congress agrees to our becoming a participating nation in the OTC, it is, at the same time, ratifying the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

I do not believe that in the complex world in which we live today that the United States can isolate itself from the

mmunity of nations. We are clearly terdependent in a very large degree for r economic and military security. wever, the zeal with which we have ven away our economic substance in ny programs during the last two dec- es is alarming. The tariff question is ly one aspect of this pell-mell race to ove that we can solve all of the world's oblems and quicken the time when a lcyon state of social and economic well ing for all mankind will be achieved. hile this purpose may be a worthy one, would be better advised to set our als in more realistic terms and preserve is Nation's strength for the long strug- against our enemies who would re- ce us to the roll of peons of the Soviet ion.

In 1955, the extension of the Recip- cal Trade Agreements Act assured the ntinuation of low tariff policies. Many us fought against this legislation in e belief that our international trade licy must prevent the further eroding ay of many American industries. At e international bargaining table, our presentatives have been too anxious to ree to the demands of other nations rmitting them to invade American arkets with an increasing volume of eir products. This was, unfortunately, nored by the Congress when the re- ocal trade legislation was enacted.

In southeastern Ohio, we know well at low tariff policies can mean to com- unities whose economies are struck by mpetition from imported products. ere are few areas of the Nation where is problem is so apparent. In our pot- ries, ceramic tile factories, and coal nes, economic depression in the midst national prosperity has become an forced way of life. What this has eant in terms of hardship to com- unities, families, and individuals in the th Congressional District cannot be erstated.

The extension of the Reciprocal Trade reement Act authorizing bargaining Geneva which resulted in even lower riffs on pottery and tile products. We n predict that even greater damage ll result from this unwise action. For stance, under the Geneva negotiations GATT, the tariff on imported earthen t ware would be reduced 15 percent er 3 years with annual 5 percent re- ctions effective in 1956, 1957, and 1958. ariffs on chinaware, stoneware, and e great bulk of dutiable tile would also affected. This is a direct and serious ow at domestic producers and their nployees already greviously suffering om the effects earlier of tariff reduc- on.

I wish to present for the record, some dication of the amount of foreign-pro- ced household pottery items which ve been and are now flooding our mar- ts. The following figures, compiled in ugust 1957 by the United States Tariff ommission, show the generally increas- g volume of imports into this country:

Household pottery: United States imports for consumption,[1] by kinds and by principal sources, 1954, 1955, 1956, and January–June 1956 and 1957

[Quantity in dozens of pieces, value in thousands of dollars]

Type and year	United Kingdom	West Germany	Italy	Japan	Other countries	Total
	Quantity					
Earthenware household table and kitchen articles: [2]						
1954	977,000	(3)	155,000	2,462,000	227,000	3,821,000
1955	885,000	(3)	187,000	4,662,000	301,000	6,035,000
1956	874,000	(3)	202,000	6,147,000	312,000	7,535,000
1956 (January–June)	421,000	(3)	81,000	3,118,000	122,000	3,742,000
1957 (January–June)	537,000	(3)	91,000	2,395,000	245,000	3,268,000
	Foreign value					
1954	3,027	(3)	708	1,867	646	6,248
1955	2,811	(3)	868	3,158	795	7,632
1956	2,765	(3)	953	4,326	811	8,855
1956 (January–June)	1,325	(3)	346	2,069	340	4,080
1957 (January–June)	1,672	(3)	347	1,968	440	4,427
	Quantity					
Chinaware household table and kitchen articles:						
1954	434,000	552,000	(3)	5,192,000	89,000	6,267,000
1955	516,000	667,000	(3)	5,714,000	73,000	6,970,000
1956	422,000	655,000	(3)	6,826,000	90,000	7,993,000
1956 (January–June)	183,000	289,000	(3)	3,223,000	33,000	3,728,000
1957 (January–June)	202,000	373,000	(3)	3,288,000	52,000	3,915,000
	Foreign value					
1954	3,010	2,823	(3)	6,986	628	13,447
1955	3,100	3,307	(3)	7,866	605	14,878
1956	2,926	3,120	(3)	9,085	734	16,465
1956 (January–June)	1,342	1,419	(3)	4,577	262	7,600
1957 (January–June)	1,432	1,713	(3)	4,635	365	8,145
	Quantity					
Earthenware and chinaware art and ornamental articles: [4]						
1954	56,000	161,000	173,000	7,693,000	179,000	8,262,000
1955	79,000	216,000	179,000	8,799,000	169,000	9,442,000
1956	65,000	208,000	212,000	11,508,000	227,000	12,220,000
1956 (January–June)	31,000	87,000	84,000	4,924,000	65,000	5,191,000
1957 (January–June)	48,000	125,000	123,000	5,356,000	116,000	5,768,000
	Foreign value					
1954	649	1,285	1,652	8,003	981	12,570
1955	750	1,481	1,643	8,897	1,148	13,919
1956	689	1,595	1,789	11,233	1,222	16,528
1956 (January to June)	312	692	775	4,865	422	7,066
1957 (January to June)	320	840	786	5,882	659	8,487

[1] Preliminary. Beginning Jan. 1, 1954, the Bureau of the Census discontinued complete compilation of import statistics of certain formal entries (or separably classifiable parts of larger entries) valued at $250 or less. Estimates of these omitted imports, based on an officially tabulated monthly sample of the omitted entries, are included in this table; such estimates represent up to 11 percent of the totals shown above.
[2] Includes small amounts of hotel-type table and kitchen articles.
[3] Included in "Other countries" because of the unreliability of the sample of low-valued entries.
[4] Includes small amounts of earthenware and chinaware other than art and ornamental articles.

For ceramic tile, the following figures show the tremendous increase of foreign imports since 1947:

Ceramic floor and wall tile: Imports (total and by principal sources), 1947–56

[Quantity in thousands of square feet; value in thousands of dollars]

Year	Imports for consumption [1]							
	All countries	Mexico	United Kingdom	West Germany [2]	Spain	Italy	Japan	Other countries
	Quantity							
1947	291	101	49	2	(3)	84	----------	59
1948	241	66	48	----------	9	101	(3)	17
1949	424	17	87	(3)	10	185	121	4

Footnotes at end of table.

Ceramic floor and wall tile: Imports (total and by principal sources), 1947–56—Continued

[Quantity in thousands of square feet; value in thousands of dollars]

Year	Imports for consumption [1]							
	All countries	Mexico	United Kingdom	West Germany [2]	Spain	Italy	Japan	Other countries
	Quantity							
1950	1,884	15	1,356	4	3	226	263	17
1951	6,800	235	3,725	123	1,108	494	975	140
1952	4,121	35	1,720	51	640	642	952	81
1953	3,937	26	1,969	194	425	420	819	84
1954	5,358	221	2,105	343	718	373	1,511	87
1955 [4]	16,258	3,445	2,680	385	4,282	640	4,473	353
1956 [4]	23,479	4,495	2,646	88	5,531	1,336	8,885	498
	Foreign value							
1947	89	34	15	1	(3)	22		17
1948	80	20	14		9	28	(3)	9
1949	145	5	42	(3)	4	34	53	7
1950	475	6	347	1	3	48	60	10
1951	1,749	63	1,035	34	250	113	219	35
1952	1,076	12	537	14	142	138	205	28
1953	986	7	598	35	95	91	132	28
1954	1,356	67	661	79	162	89	272	26
1955 [4]	3,910	894	835	106	931	167	870	107
1956 [4]	5,628	1,208	854	25	1,244	341	1,830	135

[1] Beginning in 1954, figures do not include individual importations for immediate consumption that do not amount to more than $250 under a statistical classification.
[2] Includes East Germany prior to 1952.
[3] Less than 500 square feet.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Less than $500.

Source: Compiled from official statistics of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

What we are witnessing here is a direct challenge to more than the pottery and tile industries. The challenge is to the American standard of living. The prices of these imported products in the domestic market are based upon production costs. I am informed that almost 65 percent of the cost of most pottery items represents the cost of labor. For example, at the prevailing wages of a Japanese pottery worker, his production can be shipped to the United States, undersell the American product, and still produce a fantastic margin of profit for the Japanese pottery producer. The conflict, then, is between the American employee and the foreign worker. The competition is between subsistence or "rice bowl" standards and wages to sustain the decent way of life which has become the standard in this Nation. Unless we revise our tariff regulations in terms of essential human values and competing standards of living, we are by a calculated national policy writing the destruction of any American industry where such forces are brought into play.

This is clearly happening now in the pottery industry. It will become apparent in other of our industries if the past and present trends are not reversed. I can cite the American textile industry as an example where import competition is already causing serious economic dislocations in regions depending upon it for a source of income.

In view of our Nation's unprecedented prosperity, it may seem unusual to express concern in such grave terms. However, I believe we allow our prosperity to obscure the pressing need to come to grips with economic problems carrying serious implications. This is certainly a good example of a national refusal to look around us to understand what is happening. It is long past the time to restudy our tariff policies, admit our past errors, and correct the distress which our trade policy has created. Another opportunity will come early in 1958 when the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will be considered again for extension. It is my earnest hope that each Member of Congress will during the next several months study the economy of his own district to understand how existing tariff policies affect the people he represents here. I feel certain, then, that when the battle of our foreign trade policy is joined early next year, the ranks of those opposing a continuation of past policies will number many members who have previously given their support to those policies.

Evolution of Price-Support Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following is a factual report compiled by the Department of Agriculture regarding the evolution of the price-support program:

Price support was undertaken for the first time in 1933 when loans were made on corn and cotton. But the evolutionary process that produced the price-support program started at least as early as 1920, with the collapse of agricultural prices.

1920–28

The severity of the price break that began in 1920 was unparalleled. Already inflated by World War I needs, agricultural prices had been pushed even higher after the end of the war by heavy demands from European countries. In May 1920 the general level, or index, of prices received by farmers stood at 236 percent of the 1910–14 average. P... this peak the decline started. By Septem... the index had dropped to 201, and by Dec... ber to 148. In March 1921 it reached 127 ... by June, 112. Prices recovered some ... the June 1921 low point, but they stayed ... relatively depressed levels for the next ... years, a circumstance which brought ... siderable agitation for farm relief.

Most of the relief proposals revol... around two-price plans, which, in ess... would have provided a price for foreign ... considerably lower than the price for ... portion sold in the United States. Alth... the two-price plans differed in detail, ... theoretical bases were similar: Low ex... prices were expected to expand foreign ... kets for American farm products; the ... creased export flow, it was believed, w... shorten domestic supplies, thereby stren... ening domestic prices; and the blend of ... export prices and high domestic prices wo... it was hoped, mean improved returns ... producers. The two-price schemes propo... in the 1920's went under various name... export debenture plan, domestic allotm... plan, and equalization fee plan. The lat... incorporated in a legislative proposal kn... from its Senate and House sponsors as ... McNary-Haugen bill, was introduced in C... gress five times in various forms. Congr... approved the bill twice, in 1927 and 19... but it was vetoed both times.

1929–32

In the meantime, a proposal to estab... a special Government board to assist farm... in setting up and managing cooperative m... keting organizations had received strong ... dorsement from some groups. This id... eventually was adopted, with passage of ... Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929. Th... legislation provided for a Federal farm boa... "to promote the effective merchandising ... agricultural commodities * * * and to pl... agriculture on a basis of economic equal... with other industries" and provided a revol... ing fund of $500 million for carrying ... these purposes. The Board in its operati... stressed the development of nationwi... farmer-owned cooperative marketing syste... to which it made loans. With the borrow... funds the cooperatives attempted in vario... ways, including advances to farmer membe... on stored commodities, to promote orde... marketing and stabilize prices. When pric... continued to decline, the Board made loa... to stabilization corporations (owned by ... operatives), for the purchase of commodit... chiefly cotton and wheat. Still prices fe... and the stabilization corporations were forc... to acquire larger and larger stocks until ... 1932, with most of its $500 million revolv... fund tied up in commodity inventories, t... oBard discontinued making new loans. ... May 1933 the Board was abolished and ... assets transferred to the Farm Credit Admi... istration.

1933–37

The Federal Farm Board's experie... helped to shape the Agricultural Adjustme... Act of 1933, which provided production co... trols on wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, ... hogs, and dairy products—the commodit... affected by the act's price stabilizat... features. The controls were implemented ... Government payments to cooperating pr... ducers, the payments being financed out ... taxes imposed on processors of the contro... commodities.

It became apparent within a matter ... months, however, that enhancement of ag... cultural prices and incomes through cont... of acreage and livestock numbers would ... a slow process, and that some immediate ... tion was needed. In this economic clim... the Commodity Credit Corporation (CC... was created under the President's emergen... powers in the fall of 1933 and given w... authority "to purchase * * * hold * ... deal in * * * sell * * * any and all ag...

cultural * * * commodities * * * and to loan * * * money upon the same." The first price-support operations started on a permissive basis in October 1933 when loans were made on corn at the rate of 45 cents a bushel and on cotton at 10 cents a pound. Up to 1938, prices of corn, cotton, tobacco, and naval stores were the only ones that had been supported. In the meantime, however, some events were taking place which were to increase greatly the importance of price support.

The Supreme Court in January 1936 declared unconstitutional the production control features of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 and also ruled against processing taxes on the ground that they were an inseparable feature of the production control plan. Later in the year, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936 became law; but this act, although it made for improved land use, was inadequate for production control. Heavy crops of wheat and cotton in 1937, accentuating the twin problems of surpluses and low prices, led to passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

1938–48

The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 which, in amended form, is still in effect, provided for (1) mandatory price-support loans at 52 to 75 percent of parity on corn, wheat, and cotton; (2) when necessary, marketing quotas on tobacco, corn, wheat, cotton, and rice, keyed to acreage allotments, which were intended to keep supplies in line with market demand; and (3) permissive supports for other agricultural commodities. (Curiously, there were no specific upper limits on support for permissive commodities other than the overall objectives of the act, whereas the mandatory commodities could not be supported above 75 percent of parity.)

CCC, of course, already had authority under its charter to support prices of virtually any agricultural commodity—and still has. CCC has supported at one time or another since 1933 prices of well over 100 different permissive commodities, if fruits for processing, vegetables for processing, and various types of seeds are included.

Price support increased in importance during the 1941–48 period, supports being used as an incentive to encourage the heavy production of farm products required to meet war and immediate postwar needs. Supports for the mandatory basics—a list expanded early in the war period to comprise corn, wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, and peanuts—were brought, generally speaking, to the 90 percent of parity level, although cotton was supported in the 1944–48 period at somewhat higher levels.

Support also was made mandatory during the 1941–48 period on the Steagall commodities, which took their name from the late Henry B. Steagall, Representative from Alabama. Congressman Steagall introduced Federal legislation calling for mandatory supports, first at not less than 85 percent and later not less than 90 percent of parity, on nonbasic commodities for which the Secretary of Agriculture had publicly asked for an expansion of production for war purposes. This support was made mandatory for the duration of the war and for 2 years following the end of hostilities which, as it turned out, meant through December 31, 1948.

1949–54

By 1949 the agriculture of Europe and Asia had recovered to a considerable extent from the disruptions of World War II and foreign demand for American farm products declined sharply. In the meantime, however, crop production in this country had been on the upgrade. This supply-demand situation had several results: Prices received by farmers for their commodities declined, increased support activity became necessary, and surpluses began to build up. Postwar support legislation reflected to some extent the changed economic climate.

Title I, Agricultural Act of 1948, which replaced wartime price-support legislation, maintained rigid support levels for the basic commodities and certain of the Steagall commodities until January 1, 1950, but provided flexible supports for the other Steagall commodities during this period. It extended until June 30, 1950, the fixed-support level for wool.

The Agricultural Act of 1949 authorized and directed even wider departures from World War II price-support patterns. It retained mandatory supports on the basic commodities, but provided for eventual use of flexible-support levels.[1] It wiped out the Steagall classification and made support mandatory at flexible levels for a new list of designated nonbasic commodities—wool and mohair,[2] tung nuts, honey, milk, butterfat, and Irish potatoes.[3] It provided for permissive supports on other commodities.

In June 1950, the free world took action in Korea to stop Communist aggression. The outbreak of hostilities in that country stimulated both domestic and foreign demand for American agricultural commodities. As a result, the general level of prices received by farmers rose sharply, advancing in 1951 about 17 percent above the 1950 level. As prices rose, support activity declined and surpluses began to move. Demand continued strong, and the Department of Agriculture suspended all acreage allotments then in effect, except on tobacco and peanuts. Production goals, which had been initiated for cotton in 1950, to stimulate output, were established in 1951 for a number of other crops.

American agriculture has a high production potential in time of war or peace. Despite shortages of manpower, machinery, fertilizer, and other essentials, output rose steadily and by 1953—when the cease-fire agreement was negotiated in Korea—was considerably in excess of effective demand. Prices received by farmers weakened somewhat; increased price-support activity became necessary; surpluses accumulated; marketing quotas were proclaimed for 1954-crop wheat, peanuts, tobacco, upland cotton, and extra long staple cotton; and acreage allotments were proclaimed for 1954-crop corn.

During the 1950–54 period, support levels for the basic commodities were maintained, generally speaking, at 90 percent of parity.[4] (There was one exception: The price of 1951-crop peanuts was supported at 88 percent.)

1955–56

Surpluses continued to mount. By October 1954, the cost value of CCC inventories exceeded $4 billion. By November 1955 the inventory had a value in excess of $6 billion.

The Agricultural Act of 1954 provided flexible supports for 1955 basics within a range of 82½–90 percent of parity. For the first time since early in the 1940's, prices of wheat, corn, extra long staple cotton, and rice were supported at less than 90 percent. For 1956 crops, supports could range between 75–90 percent, minimums to be based on the supply situation. Supports for all basics except tobacco were established at less than 90 percent.

The Agricultural Act of 1956 provided for a soil-bank program to assist farmers to divert a portion of their cropland from the production of excessive supplies.

The computation of parity and various other parity provisions were affected by the Agricultural Acts of 1948, 1949, and 1956.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Parity price support levels directed or authorized by Federal legislation, 1933–57

BASIC COMMODITIES

Crop years	Commodities	Support levels directed or authorized
		Percentages of parity
1933–37	Corn, cotton	(55–76).[1]
1938–40	Corn, wheat, cotton	52–75.
1941	Corn, wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco	85.
	Peanuts	50–75.
1942–43	Corn, wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, peanuts	90.[2 3]
1944	Corn, wheat, rice, tobacco, peanuts	90.[3]
	Cotton	95.
1945–48	Corn, wheat, rice, tobacco, peanuts	90.[3]
	Cotton	92½.
1949–50	Corn, wheat, rice, cotton, tobacco,[4 5] peanuts	90.
1951	Corn, wheat, rice, cotton, tobacco,[4 5] peanuts	80–90.[6]
1952	Corn, wheat, rice, cotton, tobacco,[4 5] peanuts	75–90.[6]
1953–54	Corn, wheat, rice, cotton, tobacco,[4 5] peanuts	90.
1955	Corn, wheat, rice, upland cotton, tobacco, peanuts	82½–90.
	Extra long staple cotton [7]	75–90.
1956–57	Corn, wheat, rice, upland cotton, extra long staple, cotton, tobacco,[4 5] peanuts.	75–90.

NONBASIC COMMODITIES FOR WHICH SUPPORT WAS (OR IS) MANDATORY

1933–40	None	None.
1941	"Steagall" commodities: Manufacturing milk, chickens, eggs, hogs [8]	Not less than 85.
1942–48	"Steagall" commodities: Manufacturing milk, butterfat, chickens, eggs, turkeys, hogs, dry peas, dry beans, soybeans for oil, flaxseed for oil, peanuts for oil, American Egyptian cotton, Irish potatoes, and sweetpotatoes.[8]	Not less than 90.
1947–48	Wool	The 1946 support level—42.3 cents a pound for shorn wool, grease basis.
1949	Manufacturing milk, butterfat, chickens, eggs, hogs, and Irish potatoes harvested in the calendar year 1948 and marketed in the calendar year 1949.	90.
	Dry beans, dry peas, soybeans, flaxseed, peanuts for oil, American Egyptian cotton, turkeys, sweetpotatoes, and Irish potatoes harvested and marketed in the calendar year 1949.	Not less than 60 nor more than the 1948 level of support.
	Wool	The 1946 support level—42.3 cents a pound for shorn wool, grease basis.

See footnotes at end of table.

Parity price support levels directed or authorized by Federal legislation, 1933–57—Continued

Crop years	Commodities	Support levels directed or authorized
		Percentages of parity
1950	Milk, butterfat, and products of milk and butterfat	75–90.
	Tung nuts, mohair, honey, wool,[9] Irish potatoes [10]	60–90.
1951–54	Milk, butterfat, and products of milk and butterfat	75–90.
	Tung nuts, wool,[9] mohair, honey	60–90.
1955–57	Milk, butterfat, and products of milk and butterfat	75–90.
	Tung nuts, honey	60–90.
	Wool [11]	Not over 110.[12]
	Mohair [11]	Not more than 15 percent above or below the comparable percentage of parity at which shorn wool is supported.

OTHER COMMODITIES

Some commodities are supported even though supports are not mandatory. Commodities in the "permissive" category, supported at one time or another since 1933, but which are not now supported, include flax fiber, hemp fiber, hempseed, castor bean seeds, olive oil, canned fruits, canned vegetables, concentrated grapefruit juice, hops, figs, dates, prunes, raisins, pecans, walnuts, numerous kinds of hay and pasture seeds, several different kinds of winter cover crop seeds, lamb, mutton, Puerto Rican blackstrap molasses, and sugar beets.

Permissive commodities under support in 1957 include barley, oats, rye, grain sorghums, flaxseed, soybeans, dry edible beans, cottonseed, and crude pine gum. These commodities can be supported at any level between 0 and 90 percent of parity, but supports actually range from 65 to 90 percent.

[1] Support which was nonmandatory, was established at specific cents-per-bushel and cents-per-pound rates. The percentages shown reflect support prices in relation to parity prices. Cotton was not supported in 1936.

[2] The Stabilization Act of 1942 called for support at 90 percent, but sec. 8 (c) of that act permitted support at lower levels in order to hold down feed costs and to aid in prosecution of the war. Corn, wheat, and rice in 1942 and corn and wheat in 1943 were supported at 85 percent of parity.

[3] Mandatory levels shown applied to loans only. Cotton of the 1944 and 1945 crops was purchased for support at 100 percent of parity.

[4] The act of July 28, 1945, specified support on fire-cured tobacco at 75 percent of the burley rate and on dark air-cured and Virginia sun-cured at 66⅔ percent of the burley rate.

[5] The Agricultural Act of 1949 calls for tobacco supports at 90 percent of parity if marketing quotas are in effect.

[6] Because of the Korean war, supports for the basics were held at 90 percent of parity, except that 1951-crop peanuts were supported at 88 percent.

[7] Extra long staple cotton must be supported at the minimum indicated by the supply level as of the beginning of the marketing year.

[8] Although "floors" were set for supports on the Steagall commodities, there were no upper limits on the level of price supports. Some commodities, including flaxseed and soybeans, were supported above 100 percent of parity or comparable price for a while during World War II.

[9] The Agricultural Act of 1949 required support at the level necessary to encourage annual production of 360,000,000 pounds of shorn wool. This provision meant support at the 90-percent level.

[10] Although the Agricultural Act of 1949 made support mandatory for Irish potatoes, the act of Mar. 31, 1950, provided that potato prices could not be supported unless marketing quotas were in effect. Because there was no legislative authority for marketing quotas on potatoes, the act of Mar. 31, 1950, had the effect of prohibiting price support for potatoes. The Agricultural Act of 1954 removed potatoes from the category of designated nonbasic commodities and also repealed the section of the act of Mar. 31, 1950, which prohibited price support on Irish potatoes unless marketing quotas are in effect.

[11] Referred to elsewhere in this publication as "National Wool Act" commodities.

[12] The maximum level is 110 percent if the incentive payment method is used. If other methods are used, the maximum level of support is 90 percent.

[1] As originally enacted, the legislation provided for mandatory supports at 90 percent of parity on any 1950-crop basic commodity if producers had not disapproved marketing quotas for that commodity, and within a range of 80–90 percent on 1951-crop basics, minimum levels, as now, to depend upon the supply situation.

[2] Price support for wool and mohair is now mandatory under the National Wool Act of 1954, not the Agricultural Act of 1949. Wool and mohair, therefore, are no longer considered designated nonbasic commodities.

[3] Although the Agricultural Act of 1949 made support mandatory for Irish potatoes, the act of March 31, 1950, provided that potato prices could not be supported unless marketing quotas were in effect. Because there is no legislative authority for the use of marketing quotas on potatoes, the act of March 31, 1950, had the effect of prohibiting price support for potatoes. The Agricultural Act of 1954 removed potatoes from the category of designated nonbasic commodities and also repealed the section of the act of March 31, 1950, which prohibited price support on Irish potatoes unless marketing quotas are in effect.

[4] Supports at 90 percent of parity were assured under a provision of the Agricultural Act of 1949 for any 1950-crop basic commodity for which producers did not disapprove marketing quotas. Although flexible provisions at the 80–90 percent of parity range became effective for 1951-crop basics, supports were kept at 90 percent, except for 1951-crop peanuts, because of war in Korea. Flexible provisions at the 75–90 percent range became effective for 1952-crop basics, but supports in 1952 again were maintained at 90 percent because of the Korean situation. An amendment to the Defense Production Act provided 90 percent supports on 1953-crop basics. An amendment to the Agricultural Act of 1949, furthermore, made supports mandatory at 90 percent of parity on any 1953- or 1954-crop basic commodity for which producers did not disapprove marketing quotas.

Human Relations: A Plan for Federal Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Prof. Jay Murphy, of the School of Law of the University of Alabama, has sent me a copy of his excellent article entitled "Human Relations: A Plan for Federal Action."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUMAN RELATIONS: A PLAN FOR FEDERAL ACTION

Now that the Supreme Court has acted in the segregation cases, it would seem to be clear that more Americans have thought about the crisis in human relations growing from the condition of the American Negro than at any time since the Civil War.

The Supreme Court has done its share. Is there something which the executive and legislative branches of the Government can do? The purpose of these comments is to suggest one thing at least which could be done.

The essence of the matter is that the solution has yet to be found. It must be searched for. Searching for it requires the cooperation of many disciplines, such as sociology, political science, psychology, law, economics, theology, biology, and the creative arts, to mention a few. The courts and policemen offer only partial solutions. Men's minds must be made to think about problems which the men are prejudging—like judges deciding cases without looking at the evidence. There is need for more basic rights legislation, such as was called for by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in its report of 1947. But such laws are not the main need. The main need would be to help people see the problem, to understand it, and to communicate about it. Needed laws would flow incidentally from this process. The problem is nationwide. It is taking a grave toll of our human resources. Local areas need help urgently. There is no other help in sight except the slow processes of social adjustment most optimistically viewed, and too much is at stake to await such processes. The Federal Government has clearly the constitutional power to appropriate money and spend it for the general welfare of the Nation. The question is, Do we wish to spend some of our money to search for ways to make democracy real to millions of our citizens and to further make the symbol of democracy real to men everywhere of all races, colors, and creeds?

If the problem is serious enough to warrant Federal action, then what might the Federal Government do? The following is designed to suggest some possible courses of action. The writer fully recognizes that there are others who could do a better job in stating them.

So without more, it is suggested that the Federal Government could set up a Department of Human Relations with adequate funds for regional, State, and local offices, and choose expert personnel to study in every area and in every activity, the whole phenomena of prejudice in the United States growing from race. Such a Department with its vast resources and opportunities for the most skilled personnel could do all those things which a gigantic research and action agency in the field of human relations could do. It could coordinate the activities and lend every assistance to State and county and local agencies, and to private agencies, and persons throughout the land. It could coordinate all the aspects of Federal activities as they concern or touch upon race relations. (Note the term "race relations" is used in these examples because that is the primary concern of these comments. A Department of Human Relations would deal with all questions of basic rights, not just those confined to race relations.) By its mere existence it would aid States in their projects, and give assistance to States not only in technical matters but in making it respectable for the States to consider the questions involved. It could sponsor and arrange or work with meetings of leaders from all parts of the country to get an exchange of views on racial prejudice and promote the discussion of the subject by bringing it out in the open. It could sponsor a series of publications or materials written or compiled so as to be under-

standable by all levels of intelligence in the Nation. It could participate in world conferences on the problem of racial relations in the world, and join with other nations willing to sponsor such programs to bring the problem of racial prejudice before the peoples of the world; thus permitting this Nation as well as others to see their problems in the perspective of the world situation.

It could set up pilot projects of many types. Similar projects in the fields of education, health, economic rehabilitation, and others have been effectively conducted by the United States, UNESCO, Great Britain, and other groups in an intensive attack on critical social, economic, and cultural problems. It could conduct widespread experiments in areas of intense racial prejudice in efforts to find the clues to the eradication or lessening of such prejudice. It could conduct intensive programs of education in racial relations on a scale totally impossible by private agencies. In this connection, it might acquaint citizens with other areas in the world where racial prejudice has been satisfactorily dealt with by developing a program of foreign visits by our citizens. We bring citizens here to understand us. Perhaps we could take some of our citizens there to help them get a different perspective concerning themselves.

It could serve as the central gatherer and analyzer of data for essential legislation on the subject and could be utilized by Congress for special technical services in connection with drafting and advising on legislative action.

It could make available to the unprejudiced in our society the deep motivations of the prejudiced in order that the proper framework of understanding might be possible. It could assist each area through helping with the exchange of people, ideas, and experiences from area to area. The Louisville experience in desegregation of schools is an excellent example of an experience which might be of value in other places. There must be hundreds of other experiences which are to be found in this and multitudes of other areas of race relations which are dying on the vine because they are not known or transplanted into areas where they could be of value.

It could serve as a coordination agency for all groups and institutions today in the United States which are working toward the solution of the race question. The mere seeing of who and what are acting in respect to this matter would be of inestimable value to all workers in the field and to the Government itself. This, likewise, would make people see that thinking and acting in this field can be respectable.

It can go over all Federal agencies with a fine-tooth comb to see how the subject of race relations fits into their activities, thoughts, and objectives, and how they can further the curing of this disease.

It can call a conference of the best minds in the country to explore this gigantic problem in the direction of finding ways to make the role of the Federal Government more effective.

Doubtless, Federal action would not be warranted unless some sound justification could be given for the action. The ultimate test would probably be how the action would fit in with the aims of democratic society today. No one can doubt that progress in race relations has been made in recent years in the United States. Nor can one doubt the intense interest in the subject by institutions, not to speak of the people represented by them, which heretofore have not considered the subject to be of primary concern. Yet, very probably most students of the American Negro's status would agree that vast numbers of them in our society are substantially forbidden from freedom. For example, no one would doubt that vast numbers cannot vote, cannot speak freely about their attitudes and feelings, cannot get preferred jobs, cannot get legal defense, cannot move from place to place without fear of what might happen to them should fortuitous circumstances occur, and cannot look forward to any decent participation in the social, political, professional, artistic, scientific, or other creative life of the community. Doubtless all students would agree that prejudices among people would not disappear if all of them had the same color of skin, yet these same students would agree that the Negro is singled out because he is black. Blackness is the conception which sets off whole streams of impressions about him. Unexamined premises go into gear when blackness is mentioned. It is almost impossible to imagine the creativeness, the discoveries, the happiness, and the strength of democratic society which it is within the realm of possibility for America to achieve by helping this group participate in more of the living processes.

If we recognize the present condition of the American Negro, then can we find further justification in seeking to help him by seeing if his plight fits into the present goals of the United States in world affairs? One need not bother here to wonder at the ultimate reasons why the United States is so active in spending and doing abroad—whether it is to fight communism, to promote trade, to help others achieve their potentialities with the belief that through this new freedom man can live in peace, or whether or not the galaxy of motivations have been thought through in part or in whole by responsible decision makers. Suffice it to say, for our purposes, that one objective of spending billions abroad is surely to help maintain world stability and to create friends and allies. The United States seemingly wishes the people of the world to accept some leadership from it, to like it, to want to live peacefully with it, to have relations with it, and to work and trade with it. To do the foregoing the United States would wish other peoples to look at it and see a nation working for principles of freedom of men to participate in society. At least, to the vast segment of the world's population which is awakening on a scale unprecedented in history, such a wish would seem to be an obvious wish.

Yet, might it not seem strange that with these present and real objectives which the United States must have that practically the whole of the race relations problems is ignored by the executive and legislative branches of the Government? Would one be unreasonable in suggesting that the United States is permitting a hard core of totalitarianism to exist deep within itself? It would be difficult to prove the negative, particularly if one were a white man and awakened one morning and found that the pigments of his skin had for some unknown reason changed to black. Perhaps, the problem on this level is hardly more complex than practicing what one preaches.

Why is there need of Federal action to work with and strengthen local action? Of course, in some areas in the border States, and further beyond the border, there are strong segments of the local population searching and striving for peaceful adjustment. But even in those areas there would seem to be great opportunities for the kind of leadership envisioned by these comments. The need is, of course, on a different scale and of a different nature in the Deep South. An example will perhaps illustrate the point. Those of us in Tuscaloosa, Ala., who work in biracial groups (and we are not local leaders in the sense used here) know that the local level comprising the mass of persons influential in community affairs have not been able to even openly discuss and consider the problems because of elaborate pressures exerted on all of them by persons and groups which they feel would not stop until their businesses and careers were ruined. We likewise know that the mere fact that one is a local leader is no qualification per se of insight into complex questions of human and racial relations. So-called local people need guidance, and assistance, and sustenance and support before they are able to get a good start. Indeed, the exclusive discussion that one hears openly is antagonistic, except for a few still small voices of a small percentage of the pulpit and an occasional fearless newspaper editor. So if the local level leaders cannot meet, cannot openly discuss, cannot communicate, then it would appear safe to say that the local level is almost nonexistent, so far as solving the fundamental issues are concerned.

It is doubtless true that men have mostly justified their action by appeals to some ultimate standard of rightness. How, for example, have local levels reacted to the Supreme Court decision on segregation? They have been inventive in some areas and traditional in others. Antagonism against the Supreme Court is justified by the following (to mention a few): the Court acted unconstitutionally, the decision will lead to impurity of race, abolition of family, loss of jobs for white workers, victory for communism, and it is against the will of God. Now, these are rather strong supports for justifying men's action. Multiply these reactions to the decision with the vast tradition throughout the United States of racial prejudice and include the very real and present danger of failure of law and order, and the reason for assistance to the local level would seem to become more apparent.

Now, the problem is far deeper than one which can be solved by sending Federal troops to guard streets and buildings for a period of time. Federal minds geared to solution seeking and supported with organization and funds for the gigantic purposes are the instruments for solving this problem. Yet, local law and order is one real facet of the problem. Its preservation is indispensable for any ameliorative action. If an American boy or girl were stranded on a floating raft in the ocean, few would feel astonished if the United States sent the Atlantic Fleet, if need be, to the rescue. But if the same American boy or girl were seeking to enter school as very American is now entitled to do, he or she would be virtually alone without protection in almost every community of the Deep South. And those who would destroy this boy or girl and this root of democratic being would say they were doing so in order to preserve the Constitution, family, Nation and will of God. Yet, it is felt that the vast majority of them are as sincere in believing their position is righteous, as is the writer in believing that they weakening themselves, the Nation, and the world.

Is there a precedent for this suggested legislative and executive leadership. Precedents are rarely if ever in exact point. Yet, take the case of workers and employers in the 1930's. When they were fighting and producing chaos in the production and flow of economic goods and other resources of the Nation, the Federal Government established a national, regional, State, and local system to help these groups get together. The prejudices against each other were unbounded. They did not understand each other. They could not communicate. There was no duty to communicate. So, the National Labor Relations Act was adopted. Its success has been phenomenal, as both employers and workers would agree. It has not eliminated all prejudice. But it has made possible solutions of vast numbers of problems among these two groups of Ameri-

can peoples. No one would doubt the vast loss to our society caused by worker and employer antagonism and prejudice prior to the National Labor Relations Act. Yet, even with such astronomical losses which did occur, one might venture to suggest that the losses caused to this Nation by racial prejudice outweigh by far these caused by workers' and employers' inability to discuss their problems. On any scale the writer can imagine (dollars and cents, scope of impact on creativity of the Nation and of individuals, strength of the Nation internally and abroad, strength of national morale, etc.) the racial prejudice losses appear to me to be heavier. What then, one might ask, would a National Human Relations Act do for this Nation?

There are other examples which might be termed as precedents. The Armed Forces, and housing programs, Federal contracts requirements, and President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights all clearly point the direction and set the stage. But the complete job remains to be approached. Many areas exist where the Federal Government has stepped in to further our goals of progress. The arrival at our present position in the world is a symbol of such steps. Securities, food, farms, health, transportation, power, unemployment, to mention only a few, have been subjects which required and received national attention.

One might illustrte an aspect of the problems as follows: At present there is no one whom one might write in the Federal service for extensive help in problems of racial relations. However, if you should have a problem of one chicken in your flock pecking another chicken to death or ostracizing another then you could write to the Department of Agriculture to receive specialized information from an authoritative source. If your old sow eats her pigs you can get much-needed governmental help in diagnosing the psychologic disturbances giving rise to infanticide in sows. Such is valuable information and there is no intention here to suggest the contrary. The device is used here merely as a rather weak way to help look at ourselves from several angles. Somehow when the writer reflects on the Federal function in connection with disturbed chickens and sows his mind appears to approach poetic insights, certainly insights not empirically verifiable, concerning Federal functions in matters of racial relations. He cannot help but think, although he is at least verbally aware of the fallacy of reasoning from chickens and sows to humans, that something is wrong.

To summarize: The time is ripe to actively consider the whole subject of race relations throughout the United States; there are many things which the Federal Government can do; the intimate meaning of a successful handling of this problem is directly associated with achieving democratic ideals; Federal action is indispensable in this national subject matter; and there are ample precedents for this Federal action.

As a beginning, it would be the source of the greatest enthusiasm of millions in the United States (and of many more millions in the world if they but knew about it) if the Federal Government took only the first step of calling in the best-trained specialists in the Nation to study what it could do to help man keep from dissipating his vast powers for creativity, and sharing of experience by irrational hate. This, indeed, would be a point-4 program set in motion which would nourish men's souls and set sparkles in their eyes because it would give men hope. This means men everywhere.

JAY MURPHY,
Professor of Law, University of Alabama School of Law, University, Ala.

The Eisenhower Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, on August 8, 1957, Senator CAPEHART, of Indiana, offered a report on the 4½-year period of the Eisenhower administration. I wish to reprint portions of this report and then to indicate some of the advancements which Kentucky has enjoyed since the beginning of the 85th Congress.

Mr. CAPEHART said in his report to the Senate:

"Mr. President, I believe the facts show that this Nation is well on the way to an even more enduring peace and to an expanding economy which will assure gainful employment and happy, comfortable living for every family making up the rapidly increasing population of our Nation.

"The way to these achievements is not easy.

"On all counts it is fraught with fatal dangers—suicidal war and/or economic collapse, or both.

"That is why we have a weighty obligation to proceed with a maximum of caution and a minimum of strictly partisan consideration toward the enactment of those laws—the establishment of those policies—most likely to avoid ruinous inflation, international chaos, or economic stalemate.

"Thus, it is obvious that the dominant reason for our phenomenal growth is the fact that we established, developed, and encouraged a private enterprise system under which the tenant farm boy of today can become the farm owner of tomorrow; the factory worker of today can become the factory owner of tomorrow; the poor immigrant boy of today can become the leading citizen of tomorrow; and all of us possess the right to progress in proportion to our own initiative and ability.

"Thus, I say that one of the most important accomplishments of this administration has been to restore confidence in and encourage the development of the basic principle of our greatest asset, the American system of Government.

"LABOR HAS BENEFITED

"The national product, national income, and employment are necessarily tied together.

"I mentioned that employment is nearly 67 million, more than 4 million above the same time in 1952.

"Since we are talking about workers, let us see how labor has fared.

"Legislatively speaking, the Republican record shines.

"When Republicans controlled the 83d Congress the following legislation was passed:

"1. Provision for increasing the amount of vocational rehabilitation.

"2. Railroad retirement benefits were increased.

"3. Unemployment insurance was strengthened.

"4. Unemployment insurance was extended to 4 million more employees.

"5. Tax deduction was granted for private pension benefits.

"6. Federal workers were given unemployment compensation and many fringe benefits, including life insurance.

"7. District of Columbia unemployment insurance increased.

"Since that 83d Republican Congress, only 2 of the administration's 13 recommended labor programs have been approved by the Congress, but those 2 can be credited to the Republican administration.

"They were:

"1. Increase from $35 to $50 the maximum compensation benefits for longshoremen, District of Columbia residents, and others in Federal jurisdiction.

"2. Regulation of interstate transportation of migratory workers. The other 11, including revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, went by the boards.

"The lack of progress legislatively after the 83d Republican Congress did not prevent the Department from making a sensational record by enforcement of the laws which existed.

"For example:

"Under the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healey Act the Department recovered $1,250,000 in back wages for workers.

"That's half a million dollars more than in the 4 years before Eisenhower.

"A total of $1,443,800 was recovered under the Walsh-Healey Act, 5 times as much as in the previous 4 years.

"Over $833,000 has been recovered for workers under the Davis-Bacon Act, almost 3 times as much as in the previous 3 years.

"Investigations alone prompted the payment of over $7 million in back wages for 88,800 employees in 14 months.

"From 1950 through 1952 one contractor paid $502 fine for failing to pay his workers for overtime under the 8-hour law.

"In 1956 alone, 19 contractors were found guilty of the same offense and paid fines totaling $22,665. For all 4 years the penalties totaled $41,145 as compared with $525 in the previous 4 years.

"Davis-Bacon enforcement cases under Eisenhower Republicans totaled 1,143 in 3 years and 453 more were started in the fourth year as compared to a total of 476 cases in the previous 3 years.

"From 1935 through 1952—17 years—only 4 contracting firms were blacklisted under the Davis-Bacon Act. Since 1953, 50 firms and 64 individuals have been forced to comply with the law.

"The administration before the present Republican administration took 89 enforcement actions under the Walsh-Healey Act. Under this administration the total is 108 with 35 blacklisted contractors compared to the 17 blacklisted by the previous administration.

"Let me tell you what this administration faced with the farm problem, what it has been doing, and what it is doing at the moment toward a solution.

"FARM RECOVERY

"A decline in farm prosperity took place since the Korean war peak of February 1951, but the parity ratio shows that three-fifths of the decline took place prior to this administration.

"The record shows that in February 1953 the parity index was at 113. It was 94 in January 1953 when Mr. Eisenhower became President. It was 86 in December of 1954, 82 in August of 1956, and 84 in July 1957.

"The drop has been halted.

"The decline was halted in 1956 by increasing wheat price supports from $1.80 to $2 per bushel; by increasing corn supports from $1.40 to $1.50 per bushel; corn grown outside acreage allotments was supported at $1.25 per bushel; rice supports went from $4.04 to $4.50 per hundredweight;

milk supports went to $3.25 per hundredweight; butterfat was raised from 56.2 cents a pound to 58.2 cents.

"Other actions were taken such as:

"Adoption of the soil bank plan.

"Expansion of the barter plan of farm goods for strategic materials.

"Commodity program strengthening through action on corn, rice, sugar, school-milk programs.

"Rural-development pilot funds.

"Great Plains conservation program.

"More research funds.

"Improved loan programs of Farmers' Home and Farm Credit Administrations.

"Tax refund on farm gasoline.

"RURAL ELECTRIFICATION INCREASED

"In the 4 years of the Republican administration of agricultural programs we find a great deal more to boast about.

"The backlog of REA loans was reduced from $192 million to $90 million by faster processing of applications.

"Four times as many loans for rural telephone facilities were made in the Republican 4 years than in all prior years and as a result those facilities have doubled since 1953.

"There has been added to the services of the Farmers' Home and Farm Credit Administration livestock loans to maintain herds in drought and severe weather areas; emergency loans to aid farmers temporarily unable to get credit; soil- and water-conservation loans to aid farmers in developing water supplies.

"The Farm Credit Administration was reestablished as an independent agency and more than $2½ billion in credit was granted in 1955.

"Disaster loans totaled $231 million; large discounts were allowed on 5½ million tons of surplus feed grains; 461 million pounds of beef and pork were bought to stabilize the market after the drought; erosion damage was met with a $21 million program.

"In the Republican 4 years, 494 million bushels of grain-storage facilities were added; 200 million bushels more were added through guaranteed occupancy arrangements with commercial warehouses; producers used Government loans to construct facilities on farms for 142 million bushels; farmers and warehousemen were permitted to charge off storage-construction costs over a 5-year period for tax purposes; many farmers built additional storage through private financing.

"We go on and on with the progress of the Republican administration in developing a farm program aimed at permanent prosperity.

"SURPLUS DISPOSAL

"The Commodity Credit Corporation disposed of over $6 billion worth of surplus commodities from storage.

"Agricultural attachés abroad were placed under the Department of Agriculture to assist in the trade program.

"Stocks of commodities have been offered for export at competitive prices.

"The program to barter surpluses and sell for foreign currency was expanded.

"Farm exports in fiscal 1957 were the highest in history.

"I have always said that if somebody gives you a lemon, make lemonade out of it. The Republicans were certainly handed a lemon in the surplus commodity problem, and they have done a good job of making lemonade out of it.

"What is the farmer's situation today after 4 years of Republicanism in Government?

"Let's have a look:

"Three-fourths of the Nation's farmers today own their farms.

"Farm tenancy is at an alltime low.

"FARM ASSETS $10 BILLION UP

"Total farm assets are more than $170 billion, nearly $10 billion more than before President Eisenhower took office.

"The farm debt is about 11 percent of the assets, a near alltime low percentage of debt.

"Seven of every 10 farmers have no mortgage debt.

"Four-fifths of those mortgaged are mortgaged for less than 50 percent of market value and half for less than 30 percent of market value.

"The farmer now has social security, something he couldn't get for 19 years.

"FOREIGN POLICY—PEACE

"The free world, on the other hand, is growing stronger; closer knit.

"Our friendly nations are growing economically stronger; more able to stand on their own feet; more capable of contributing to western defense against communism.

"Mr. President, I submit it is difficult to argue successfully against a foreign policy which has contributed to such a situation in the free world."

The achievements in my own State are many. I would like to list just a few, which I feel are of outstanding value.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

During fiscal 1957, REA approved a total of $18,157,000 in loans to 18 of the 28 active REA electric borrowers in Kentucky. Their plans called for the construction of 925 miles of line to serve an additional 5,136 rural consumers. Five million eight hundred and five thousand dollars of the total amount loaned was obtained by distribution cooperatives. The balance, $12,351,000, went to the Eastern Kentucky Rural Electric Cooperative Corp., in Winchester, for the construction of a 66,000-kilowatt steam-generating plant and transmission facilities. This power-type borrower provides electric power for 16 member distribution cooperatives.

The Rural Electrification Administration, during fiscal 1957, loaned a total of $2,801,000 to 8 active telephone borrowers in Kentucky; there are a total of 16 telephone borrowers in the State. The loan funds will be used for new construction and system improvements to provide improved service to 4,411 additional rural subscribers over 1,011 miles of pole line, 630 of which will be new pole line. At the close of fiscal 1957, Rural Electrification Administration borrowers were providing modern dial service to 16,191 rural subscribers over 8,821 miles of line.

TVA FINANCING

Over the last few years, there has been an increasing reluctance on the part of the Congress to appropriate the tremendous sums needed to increase the power-producing capacity of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Several bills were introduced this year to authorize TVA revenue bonds. The Senate enacted, and has sent to the House, a bill embodying the main principles of the bill I introduced: limitation on total amount, provision for consultation with the Treasury Department regarding times of issuance, limitation of geographical expansion of TVA, and repayment of the Government's appropriation investment, with interest.

FLOOD CONTROL

The Congress appropriated funds totaling over $40 million for expenditures during fiscal 1958 on flood control and navigation projects benefiting Kentucky. They are as follows:

Examination and survey

Little Sandy River and Tygarts Creek	$30,000
Kentucky River	54,500
Laurel River	19,800
Upper Cumberland	15,000
Cypress Creek	5,000
Clark River	16,100
Lynn Camp Creek	20,000

Advance engineering and design (planning)

Pound Reservoir (Big Sandy)	$140,000
Nolin Reservoir	138,000
No. 2 Barren River Reservoir	50,000
New Richmond lock and dam, Kentucky and Ohio	175,000

Construction

Buckhorn Reservoir	$1,900,000
Rough River Reservoir	3,000,000
Barkley Dam	5,000,000
New Richmond lock and dam	825,000
Catlettsburg floodwall	2,000,000
Greenup locks and dams, Kentucky and Ohio	13,500,000
Markland locks and dams, Kentucky and Indiana	9,500,000
Lock and dam No. 41, Kentucky and Indiana, Louisville	4,000,000

In addition to the 4 new projects included in the above list (New Richmond lock and dam, Pound Reservoir, upper Cumberland survey, and Lynn Camp Creek survey), a local flood protection project is being commenced by the Corps of Engineers at Prestonburg at a cost of $265,000.

RURAL LIBRARY SERVICES

The rural areas of Kentucky have enjoyed the innumerable advantages of the library services program. Through the appropriations made available by the Congress, and the cooperation of private organizations, the circulation of books in the counties of Kentucky has spread from 2 million in 1953–54 to 6 million books last year.

Kentucky's basic allotment for library services was $40,000, but through the appropriation for fiscal 1958 authorized by this Congress, the share of our State will total $137,929. This more than triples the opportunity of bringing books to thousands of people who live in the remote areas and who are not able to share in the service of city libraries.

AGRICULTURE

A number of the actions of Congress this year are of particular interest to Kentucky farmers. In the field of agriculture as a whole, our problems continue to be those of surplus and price, not of shortage and hunger. The two most important legislative acts to lower surpluses and control production in order to protect farmers' income were extension of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and continuation of the full soil-bank program.

Congress fulfilled a Presidential request when it authorized a 1-year, $1.3 billion expansion of agricultural trade development and assistance, under Public Law 480 which extends this program to June 30, 1958. Authorization for sales of American farm surpluses for foreign currencies was raised from $3 billion to $4 billion, and for gifts to needy nations from $500 million to $800 million. Under its provisions, $111 million worth of tobacco has been sold to 19 foreign countries, and it is expected that the total will approach 200 million pounds by this time next year—in effect increasing our tobacco exports by one-eighth.

The soil-bank program, which seeks to hold production more nearly in line with consumption while protecting farmers' income and guarding future productivity of America's soil, was continued for 1 year. In addition, the provisions of the conservation reserve, of particular interest to Kentucky farmers, have recently been strengthened administratively by increasing some payment rates and making the tree-planting program more attractive.

The administration's new rural-development program is being continued. Kentucky has 3 trade areas covering 25 counties in the rural-development program, centered around the pilot counties of Butler, Metcalfe, and Elliott.

The agricultural-conservation program was continued for 1958 on the same basis as in the past. This long-established pro-

gram, under which farmers receive cost-sharing payments for a number of important conservation practices, was unexpectedly threatened with drastic limitations until Congress encouraged its full continuation.

In a special appropriation near the close of the session, $20 million in emergency agricultural-conservation program funds were made available for rehabilitating farmlands and reestablishing conservation measures on farms damaged by flood and other natural disasters. Fifty-five thousand dollars for this purpose has already been allocated to eastern Kentucky from a previous appropriation, and it is expected that additional amounts will soon be made available.

The Congress passed unanimously a modification of the price-support program for the dark-leaf tobaccos, H. R. 7259. This grower-sponsored measure provides price supports for Kentucky producers of dark-fired and dark air-cured tobacco at the 1957 level, 90 percent of parity, or a percentage of burley parity, whichever is higher. It is already helping to preserve their markets.

Depressed Mining Industry Pinpoints the Cause: Foreign Aid, Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. MALONE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful and well-done article from the Reno Evening Gazette. The situation which exists goes back to 1934 when, through the Trade Agreements Act, the constitutional responsibility of Congress to regulate our foreign trade was transferred to the President with full authority to put this responsibility in Geneva where it now resides. At the present time 34 competitive nations are sitting in Geneva regulating our foreign trade, which affects every industry and every product in the United States of America.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GLOOMY GATHERING

Business conventions are generally regarded as gatherings of cheerful delegates who talk optimistically about their particular endeavors, and nearly always forsee a happy future.

That was not the kind of convention that the mining industry held this week in Salt Lake City. The American Mining Congress closed its 4-day session on a dismal note. The 2,500 industry representatives had talked gloomily about the latest drop in copper prices, the shutdown of the American tungsten mines, cutbacks in the production of lead zinc, and the virtual end of mining of precious metals. It was a sad picture of an industry that once was all powerful in the West.

It wasn't a business depression that reduced the mining industry to its present low state. It was done by the American Government, which is committed to a policy of free trade, and this alone has long worked against the American metal miners and producers. But even more serious is the insensate program of foreign aid, which has built up foreign competition at the expense of American workers and employers, and which has delivered a portion of the domestic market to cheaply produced foreign metals.

And there is no sympathy from Washington, for economic meddlers on a global scale are not concerned with the plaint or plight of an important American industry. They are more concerned with spending millions abroad to purchase doubtful friendships, and to build up competition for taxpaying American enterprise.

East-West Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, one of the most imaginative and constructive commentators on our foreign policy in recent years has been Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, retired. Through the letters to the editors of our important national newspapers and through frequent contributions to our public opinion magazines, General Hester has been widely recognized as one of the most provocative commentators on East-West relations. I do not always agree with everything General Hester has to say; on other matters we are in wholehearted accord.

In either case, I am impressed with the value of the contributions he has made to the national thinking.

General Hester has recently returned from the Soviet Union. On August 11, 1957, he sent some of his impressions to me in a personal letter. I believe his comments are worthy of wider attention and ask unanimous consent that his letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 11, 1957.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have just completed a 12,000-mile, 30-day trip through the Soviet Union which included stops in 8 of her 15 Republics. Naturally a trip of such wide scope within such a brief time does not permit as much detailed study as is desirable, but for whatever it is worth here are some of my observations and comments:

We saw many factories, farms, and cooperatives, including one artel, schools and universities, hospitals and sanatoria, including nurseries and kindergartens. We visited playgrounds in the parks for children, pioneer camps and one children's railway train and operating system. All capital cities and other large towns have these miniature railway systems for training the youth in railway operations. They are not so very small as I took a ride in one of them. This is important for the future of the Soviet Union is backward in its railway system and even more so in its highway system.

We conferred at length with Communist officials, both in the municipalities and at the Republic level, also Komosomol directors, and finished our tour with a 2½-hour conference in the Kremlin with Mr. Khrushchev.

Their two greatest problems are housing and transportation and they will require several 5-year plans and peace to solve them. They are alert to both of these and on the constructive side are currently making a great effort to meet the housing shortages caused by a rapidly increasing population and urbanization, the result of industrialization. The transportation system is perhaps their greatest weakness and we could find little effort at improvement in this field.

We travelled by air, by bus, boat, and rail. Air and bus travel are excellent, boat not so good, and train travel is second and third class. The secondary roads are almost entirely dirt. Eventually they must spend billions and billions on motor and railroad expansion and improvement. They know this and this recognition is no doubt one of the many reasons why so much emphasis is placed upon peace with all nations and people.

At the top on any conclusions about the Soviet Union I would place both the desire for and need for peace. The need gives vitality and genuiness to the desire for peace. There is nothing artificial about this propaganda. Everybody, including the leaders, is sincere about this. This view was confirmed in a conference with one of the ablest and oldest from the standpoint of service of western Ambassadors to the Soviet Union.

The second most important conclusion is that the present regime is stable and can only be overthrown as a result of an unsuccessful world war. The present leaders know this and this fact adds fundamentally to their desire for peace. The damage and cruelties of war are still evident all through eastern European Russia. While the ruins of war have been mostly removed, many of the former buildings have not been restored and the crippled and maimed can easily be seen on all sides. Russia was terribly wounded by the first and second wars, and the civil wars in between.

Every leader, student, and ordinary individual we talked with at every level—and they ran into the hundreds—began and ended on the theme of peaceful coexistence. They really know what war is and want no part of any future war. They are frightened over our encirclement policy and are deeply concerned over statements of some of our officials and military concerning our ability to destroy them. They were deeply appreciative when we told them that the American people wanted peace as much as the Russian people, but they were still apprehensive of some of our leaders.

The deep concern of the people for peace, plus their dire need for it, cannot fail to convey its meaning to their leaders. And their leaders know that the only thing they really have to fear is war. The Socialist system is now just as secure in the Soviet Union as capitalism in the United States. In peace it may be expected to evolve as will capitalism, but barring a world catastrophe it is here to stay.

My third conclusion is that cooperative coexistence is clearly possible and the leadership of the United States should bend all efforts in that direction. It serves no useful purpose to parrot "you cannot trust the Russians under any circumstances" ad infinitum. It is not only not true, but "old hat" in the cold war propaganda game. And it makes no sense to insist that the Marxists publicly denounce their aim as leadership of the world. No great movements, political or religious, has ever done so. Like the Christians who still believe in the second coming of Christ, they have no fixed timetable for its accomplishment after 40 years of struggle in the world of reality.

Mr. Khrushchev, in answer to one of our questions, stated that the greatest aid to peace would be the establishment of normal trade relations with the Socialist bloc. In the course of the interview he expanded this to include trade in ideas and cultures as well as goods and services. He said, also, he would

like to see the two countries exchange students and stated the Soviet Union was prepared to defray the expenses of United States students in Russian universities if the United States would do the same for an equal number of Soviet students in the United States.

I could continue at length about the progress in education, medicine, recreation, retirement, and culture, such as ballet, opera, and music, but space and your time prevent this. By czarist standards, and this is the only yardstick that makes any sense, since it is the only one known to the Soviet people, the present regime has made fabulous progress. The fact that they have not reached our position in many material respects is really unimportant to them and much of the rest of the world. The allegiance of the people of the underdeveloped world may be expected to be reserved for those who by precept and example can show them how they can achieve a tolerable material standard of living and help them to achieve it; not for that people or nation which presently and under totally different circumstances has already reached the pinnacle of plenty. We can, in my opinion, win this allegiance, but only if we are willing to pursue a policy of international cooperation instead of Communist containment.

Cordially,

HUGH B. HESTER,
Brigadier General, United States Army (Retired).

G. H. (Wad) Williamson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, Erath County, Tex., and the Nation have suffered a great loss in the recent death of G. H. (Wad) Williamson, of Stephenville. His life was one in keeping with the traditions and democratic faith of his pioneer family. His courage and forthright battle against the forces of corruption and villification which threaten the democratic ideals which he upheld have served and will continue to serve for years to come, as an inspiration to all who believe in the American heritage of freedom.

Wad Williamson served as my campaign manager throughout the cross timbers area of Texas during three long campaigns. His deep devotion to democratic ideals and his outstanding leadership was a responsible factor in the ultimate victory.

Mr. President, the May 17, 1957, issue of the Stephenville Empire-Tribune paid tribute to this great man.

"Mr. Williamson was known for his many deeds of kindness to those in distress. In a quiet way he extended a helping hand to scores of elderly people in Erath County. Frequently he made no charge for his legal service. However, as a prosecutor he was vigorous and unyielding to those who violated the rule of principle and the laws of the State."

In this same paper, 1 week later, the sterling character of Wad Williamson again was reflected in editorial comment:

"The night was never too dark for Wad to come to the relief of one of his friends, regardless of what the circumstances were."

Mr. President, Wad Williamson has left a heritage worthy of guarding because he was courageous and steadfast in fighting for the preservation of that heritage of freedom which was his. I shall always cherish his memory as I did his friendship.

Average Family Pays "Through the Nose" While Favored Groups Enjoy Income-Tax "Gimmicks"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, every wage earner knows what it is to fill out income tax forms each year, and most of our wage earners pay a heavy proportion of their earnings in these taxes. They do not object to helping to pay their share of the tremendous expenses of Government, since we all enjoy precious privileges as citizens of this great country.

But the average wage earner and taxpayer bitterly resents having to pay a disproportionately high income tax in order to make up for the legalized shenanigans practiced by those who enjoy special tax benefits not available to the average family.

And they are perfectly justified in resenting this sort of unfair treatment.

As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, the committee which originates all tax legislation for the Congress, I have always battled for a fair break for the average taxpayer. I make no apologies for the many battles I have waged for this purpose, and I intend to keep up this fight to assure fair tax treatment for all.

Beginning early next January, our committee plans to make a comprehensive review of current tax laws and tax policies to remove those provisions which are unfairly generous to some wealthy taxpayers and to corporations while being unfairly discriminatory against the average family.

Such a study is particularly necessary now to repair the damage to the tax structure—the damage to fairness in the tax structure—caused by the passage in 1954 of a rich man's tax law which had practically nothing in it of help to the average wage earner and the average family.

EVENTS JUSTIFY MY 1954 STATEMENTS

Looking back over the debates in 1954, I find that I made quite a number of speeches on the House floor condemning some of the very provisions of the bill which are now causing Uncle Sam extensive losses in revenue and thus making the average taxpayer pay more than a fair share.

I find, too, that the Eisenhower administration and its chief congressional spokesmen denied my charges in 1954 and insisted the rich man's tax bill we were then debating would not do the very things that experience now shows it has done to the revenues of this country.

Well, Mr. Speaker, there is perhaps little to be gained in going back through the old issues of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to point to chapter and verse in order to prove that what I said would happen has actually occurred. Suffice it to say that the record proves it. Suffice it to say that the American public knows now that it was—yes, swindled, is the word—by that tax bill of 1954.

But while there is perhaps little to be gained in going back over the bygones of that historic debate of 1954 merely in order to prove that Mr. Eisenhower and his Secretary of the Treasury and all of his officials and advisers were responsible for pushing an extremely bad tax law through that Republican Congress of 1954, there is much to be gained in reviewing now the deficiencies of that tax law and correcting them.

That is one reason why I look forward to the investigation by our Committee on Ways and Means next January. We have a tremendous and an urgent task to perform.

DIVIDEND GIVEAWAY SHOULD BE REPEALED

In the meantime, Mr. Speaker, I have personally introduced several pieces of legislation which I hope will form a keystone of the tax-reform bill we eventually vote out of committee for consideration by the House and later by the Senate.

One of these bills of mine would repeal the special tax gimmick which gives wealthy taxpayers with large incomes from common stocks a vast handout—and it is a handout—of your money and mine by permitting them to avoid a fair tax on their incomes from stock dividends.

I do not want to dwell on the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury who was most active and vigorous in insisting that this stock dividend tax gimmick be passed in 1954 has, in his own private capacity as an investor, reaped a great bonanza from this same provision of the tax law.

Mr. Humphrey has made no secret of the fact that he had vast holdings in common stocks while serving in the Treasury, and apparently he was within his legal rights if not his moral rights in doing so. I do not want to dwell either on the fact that firms in which he was a large investor benefited tremendously from policies of this administration which he helped to put into effect.

But I do think it was improper for a man who enjoys great income from common-stock dividends to insist upon—and fight for—and push through into law—a provision of the tax code which allows him special tax treatment on stock dividends of a sort which the average taxpayer does not enjoy on his earned income.

WHY IS WAGE EARNER'S INCOME TREATED DIFFERENTLY?

Is there something particularly sacred about income derived from dividends on

common stocks that it should not be taxed to the recipient in the same way a steelworker, or a meatcutter, or a taxi driver, or a white-collar worker, or a salesman, or any other wage earner is taxed on his earnings?

This administration insisted there is such a special virtue in holding common stocks that the stockowners should not have to pay full taxes on their dividends.

My bill would repeal that discriminatory feature of the 1954 law. It would require that income from common-stock dividends be taxed in the same way a wage earner's pay check is taxed. Why not?

Another of my bills introduced in anticipation of our comprehensive review of tax legislation early next year is one which I introduced just today, which carries out a principle for which I have been fighting for the full 3 years since the law was changed in this respect.

I refer to the special depreciation allowance which the present tax law gives to businesses on new plants and equipment.

The average taxpayer does not get much advantage out of the depreciation features of the law. If he uses his car on his job, or if he rents out a house to tenants, then he is familiar with the depreciation provision of the law. This provision allows you to deduct from income each year a certain percentage of the original cost of the property used to produce income.

REGULAR DEPRECIATION FAIR TO ALL

Under the previous law, you were allowed to deduct for depreciation each year only an amount equal to 1 year's estimated proportion of the cost of the investment, based on the average useful life of that piece of property or equipment.

That still holds true on a piece of property or equipment which was built since 1954. But on any plant or other facility built new by a corporation since enactment of the 1954 law, the owners can now deduct a much higher percentage for depreciation in the early years of the life of the plant.

Under the old law, a corporation building a new plant would deduct about 5 percent a year for depreciation—based on an average estimated useful life of the plant of 20 years. The same depreciation allowance would then continue for each of the 20 years until the entire cost of the plant was written off for tax purposes.

Thus, on a $1 million plant, the corporation each year would deduct from its profits one-twentieth of the original cost of the plant and not pay taxes on this part of the profits, and at the end of the 20 years, it would have the plant paid for out of tax-free profits.

That is a good arrangement, and fair to all. It applies to used property even now—and to any plant already built which a corporation might now purchase. And it is the only way the average taxpayer with some income-producing property ever gets any help out of the depreciation allowance.

NEW GIMMICK DOUBLES RATE IN EARLY YEARS

But the new law doubles the rate of depreciation for the early years of a plant's useful life. Instead of 5 percent a year for 20 years, for instance, a new plant can be depreciated at the rate of 10 percent the first year, 9 percent the next, and so on, on a declining scale.

Over the full 20 years of the life of that plant, the depreciation allowance would work out to just about the same under both plans.

But here is what is happening and can happen: Using this special gimmick, many corporations have built new plants, using the latest automation equipment to reduce manpower needs, and have been milking these plants for quick profits under the tax laws. Then they can sell out after reaping the cream through the depreciation allowance, and move elsewhere and build a new plant.

SPUR TO RUNAWAY PLANTS

Needless to say, much of this new plant and equipment goes to the low-wage areas, often to areas where bitterly anti-union local or State laws are in effect to discourage union organization and hold down wage rates. And, needless to say, such runaway plant practices react adversely against established industrial centers such as Pittsburgh where wage rates are fair and labor is able to defend its rights.

Mr. Speaker, we have just recently enacted a law to repeal the so-called rapid amortization program which, under the guise of promoting construction of necessary defense facilities by private enterprise, has cost the Federal Government literally billions of dollars in unfair tax concessions to big business. This wartime law—enacted to serve a wartime purpose—was so badly abused by this administration in handouts to big business that it became a national disgrace. It permitted favored companies to write off plant costs in a very short period of time.

PRINCIPLE THE SAME AS RAPID AMORTIZATION PROGRAM

We have repealed the wartime law for depreciation handouts, but the same principle still exists, although to a less flagrant degree, in the regular tax laws. That, too, should be repealed. And I have introduced a bill to repeal it.

Let us see how this double-rate depreciation allowance now in effect works out for big corporations. They put aside twice as much of their profits tax free in the early years of a new plant's existence. They enjoy, at the very least, an interest-free loan of this extra money for years, if they hold the plant through the full 20 years. They enjoy a wonderful bonanza if they sell out before then after skimming the cream by huge tax-free extra profits through the depreciation gimmick.

In any event, imagine how nice it would be if you or I could, in effect, borrow huge amounts of money now without paying interest on it. When anybody on the inside in any organization is able to borrow big sums without paying interest, we are all horrified by it, particularly if it happens in a union.

INTEREST RATES EXTREMELY HIGH FOR MOST PEOPLE

But it is happening every day on a vast scale as corporations in effect borrow money from Uncle Sam—without interest—through this special depreciation allowance. Thus they borrow it from you—the taxpayer.

The average home buyer now pays nearly 6 percent interest on his mortgage. GI loans are virtually unobtainable at 4½ percent. FHA loans are up to 5¾ percent, and even then, the builder may have to pay a substantial "gray market" side payment in order to get a loan at all on a house he is trying to sell FHA.

Installment loans carry very high interest rates now. Automobile loans cost the average citizens dearly, too, in interest.

But big business gets this handout of interest-free loans from the Government merely by taking advantage of the depreciation allowance in the tax laws as passed by the Republican 83d Congress in 1954.

This must end. The law should be made fair to all.

NEW LAW SHOULD REPEAL "GIMMICKS," HELP AVERAGE FAMILY

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am looking forward to our hearings and investigations in January, through the Committee on Ways and Means, and I intend to do everything I can to promote the passage of better tax laws.

The average family needs tax relief. It pays through the nose. The revenues which have been lost to the Government as a result of the tax gimmicks for big business and the wealthy stockowner in the 1954 law could more than cover the cost of a substantial and significant tax reduction for everyone.

We have cut Eisenhower's budget and we have taken many other steps to economize on Government costs. The need now is to cut the loopholes out of the tax laws—remove the gravy which goes to the few—repeal the slick gimmicks—and thus put taxpayers on the same basis—put them all on a fair basis.

No true American would deny his Government the necessary funds and revenues to maintain our country's greatness and to do the things which only Government can do.

By the same token, no American should be made a fall guy, to have to pay more than his fair share of the tax burden in order to provide handouts in taxes to friends of the Eisenhower administration and to those who put up the huge campaign contributions to elect this administration.

What is fair is fair. We must make fairness the keystone of new tax legislation.

Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the threat of inflation is one of the great problems with which we are

confronted today. No one has put forth greater efforts to make our people aware of this danger than EDWARD MARTIN, the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania.

Two leading columnists have paid tribute to Senator MARTIN's activities in this most important field, and I believe their articles warrant the careful attention of my colleagues. The column by Mr. Holmes Alexander appeared in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin on August 15, 1957, while the one by Mr. Robert Taylor appeared in the Pittsburgh Press on January 20, 1957.

[From the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of August 15, 1957]

THE PRIMROSE PATH OF INFLATION—SENATOR MARTIN PAINTS VIVID PICTURE OF AN ERA

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—Senator EDWARD MARTIN, Republican, of Pennsylvania, who will be 78 on his next birthday, is not running for reelection as Senator, but he already is doing service in a still more honored post, that of elder statesman.

It is a fairly new title in America where we have no House of Lords and where a few years ago the aging, out-of-office politician was considered an object of pity, even derision. But the Honorable Herbert Hoover, who has had a whole new career since his Presidency, has almost singlehandedly elevated the elder statesman to a recognized and revered status in American public life.

During the marathon hearings of the Senate Finance Committee on fiscal monetary policies, Senator MARTIN has been a standout in a show of all-star personalities. The committee's stellar witness for nearly 3 weeks was then Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey. The committee's chairman was the incomparable Senator HARRY BYRD, and its members included such Members of the Senate brain trust as CLINTON ANDERSON, PAUL DOUGLAS, JOHN WILLIAMS, and RALPH FLANDERS.

LIKE THE YANKEES

It was as chairman of this erudite committee that the late Walter George, Democrat, and Eugene Millikin, Republican, became famous. As with the New York Yankees, it is hard enough just to make the team. To be a standout is a very great feat indeed.

Senator MARTIN has accomplished this, as I have followed the hearings, by treating the subject under discussion—inflation—with deep seriousness. Other committee members have tried to attract attention to themselves either by badgering the witnesses or by making anti-inflation orations. There has been a tendency to try to name a villain, some of the nominees being labor, big business, high interest rates, low tariff rates, and, of course, communism.

Senator MARTIN has avoided all these temptations to put the limelight on himself or the dunce cap on somebody else. He has treated the witnesses as experts in their field and has attempted to draw from them some constructive answers.

SENATOR'S SKETCH

The other day, in the course of questioning Under Secretary of the Treasury W. Randolph Burgess, Senator MARTIN unconsciously did what is often done by the police, when, attempting to establish the identity of an unknown culprit. He did a sketch which emphasized the known and salient features of the missing villain, as follows:

Greedy mouth: "We have wanted to enjoy," said Senator MARTIN, "more than we have produced." Considering the massive productive capacity of this Nation, the desire for still more almost amounts to gluttony on the part of our consuming public. The use, actually the overuse, of our private, corporate, and Government credit systems has created an economy of superabundance based on a towering structure of unsteady debt.

Grasping fingers: "This effort, said Senator MARTIN, "has (resulted in) increases in profits and wages greater than increases in productivity." The laudable desire for making money and drawing good wages has become something of an obsession with us. The American instinct for acquisition has outrun even the American genius for man-hour and machine-hour production.

"PRIMROSE PATH"

Myopic vision: "Many people in this country do not sincerely object to mild inflation. In moderate doses, it gives the impression of well-being to many of our people. Yet * * * the apparent primrose path of inflation can lead only to disaster." Apparently, the business executive, the labor leader, and the statesman just don't have the eyesight to see the end of the primrose path.

This composite picture of the drooling, clutching, squinting fiend called inflation is in each part, of course, of some features of ourselves. But the Senator's picture, I think, is not intended as a caricature, much less a slander, on the American people.

Senator MARTIN points out that the American system, itself, is sound.

Despite the criticism about the high cost of money, our interest rates are lower than in most other countries. Despite all the talk about the devaluation of our dollar, the American purchasing power, 1947–57, stands third to Switzerland and India in stability. Our money is off 20 percent, but money in strictly controlled Red China is off 94 percent, and even in Canada it is off 29 percent.

"KNOW THYSELF"

Senator MARTIN is not trying to shame us or blame us, as much as he is trying to make us face our own faults in the honest mirror of truth. He is passing on the wisest advice which age can give to youth in any generation: "Know thyself."

The cause and the cure for inflation lie within us.

[From the Pittsburgh Press of January 20, 1957]

IKE SETS RECORD BUDGET

(By Robert Taylor)

President Eisenhower's new budget is going to be a bitter pill for leaders of the Republican delegation from Pennsylvania in Congress.

They've been crusading for years against big government, big spending, handout government, high taxes, and giveaways. Now the President of their own party presents the biggest peacetime budget in history—$71,800,000,000 worth.

With the Democrats in control of both Houses of Congress, Ike is going to need the support of the Pennsylvania Republicans, who are a large and influential group in Congress. But for some of them, it's going to take some delicate balancing to support the President.

United States Senator EDWARD MARTIN, for instance. He's the ranking Republican member of the Senate Public Works Committee, and thus a big wheel in passing on much of the spending program.

ED MARTIN'S whole political career has been one of unending battle against big government, big spending, and big taxes. He hasn't taken a pinch-penny attitude toward public works, but he has advocated a sort of old-fashioned policy of frugality.

PAID DEBTS

When he was Governor of Pennsylvania, during the latter part of World War II, the tax revenues came rolling in at a time when the State couldn't spend it all, on account of wartime scarcities. He reduced taxes and used the surplus to wipe out some debts.

Back in 1953, in Ike's first year as President, Senator MARTIN was saying that the "increase of big government in the past two decades is most alarming." He said then that he feared "the results of Government financial collapse from within more than invasion of an enemy army from without."

Senator MARTIN was an advocate of the big highway building program which finally was enacted last year, because he recognized that we had fallen behind in our roadbuilding. But he was an early advocate of the pay-as-we-go principle, which finally was adopted.

DEFENSE SPENDING

Representative HUGH D. SCOTT, JR., of Philadelphia, was Republican national chairman in 1948 and 1949, and he, too, was a critic of the Roosevelt and Truman budgets. Representative SAMUEL K. MCCONNELL, of Montgomery County, top Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee, is another critic of big government.

One saving feature of the new Eisenhower budget is that it doesn't call for any deficit spending. It should produce, if the estimates hold up, a surplus of $1,800,000,000. Deficit spending has been one of the favorite targets of Republican campaigners for lo, these many years.

Another angle which will ease whatever pain the Republicans in Congress may feel is that most of the increase in the new budget over the present budget is accounted for by defense spending.

The uncertainties of international affairs, the rapid development of new weapons and the necessity for constant research and improvement of defense forces are pointed to as reasons for the increase.

Supplemental Report on Chicago Water Diversion of Committee on International and Foreign Law of Chicago Bar Association

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the supplemental legal opinion and report, dated August 1, 1957, issued by the Chicago Bar Association concerning the Lake Michigan water diversion legislation, H. R. 2.

This opinion and report supplements the able report on the same subject approved by the bar association last year. It clearly refutes a number of the legal contentions of the governmental officials of Ontario, which were placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 26 by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] and proves that both under the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty and under general international law the proposed diversion of water is proper and legal.

In the report of the Army engineers, which is appended to and made a part of the bar association's report, the engineering and technical data are set forth which demonstrate the minimal and highly speculative character of the losses which some have claimed would result from the proposed diversion.

I hope Members concerned with this issue will study this able supplemental legal opinion and report with care.

There being no objection, the legal opinion and report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPPLEMENTAL LEGAL OPINION AND REPORT ON CHICAGO WATER DIVERSION OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN LAW OF CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION ON H. R. 2 (85TH CONG.) AS TO 1,000 CUBIC FEET PER SECOND INCREASE IN DIVERSION OF WATER FROM LAKE MICHIGAN AT CHICAGO, FOR A 3-YEAR PERIOD, TO PERMIT STUDY BY SECRETARY OF ARMY AS TO ITS EFFECT ON LAKE MICHIGAN AND ON ILLINOIS WATERWAY, AUGUST 1, 1957

I. INTRODUCTION

On March 1, 1956, the Chicago Bar Association approved the report of its committee on international and foreign law regarding the legal aspects of proposed legislation (H. R. 3210, 84th Cong.) contemplating an increase from 1,500 cubic feet per second to 2,500 cubic feet per second in the amount of water diverted from Lake Michigan into the Illinois waterways. This bill was passed by Congress but was subsequently vetoed by the President. H. R. 2 (85th Cong.), a bill substantially identical to H. R. 3210, has been passed by the House and is now pending in the Senate.

The 1956 bar association report made the following conclusions on lake diversion at Chicago:

I. Congress has power under the commerce clause of the Constitution to authorize the additional diversion.

II. Authorization of additional diversion would not violate the constitutional barrier to giving a preference to the ports of any State.

III. The power of Congress to authorize increased diversion is not affected by the fact that the Supreme Court has in the past considered the subject matter and has retained jurisdiction to modify its decree.

IV. Congressional action authorizing additional diversion at Chicago would not violate the mandatory provisions of the International Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 or the Niagara Treaty of 1950. Whether Congress should await the report of the International Joint Commission pursuant to the 1952 reference under article IX (1909 treaty) is a question of policy to be decided by Congress. There are no rules of international law or principles of comity which introduce considerations different from those considered in connection with the 1909 treaty.

The 1956 report, widely circulated, has served to stimulate discussions of the legal problems of diversion. This supplemental report explores further the law relating to Chicago diversion previously mentioned in IV–C of the original report. This report also takes cognizance of certain articles in the public press which have suggested that the United States would be in an inconsistent position if it were to permit diversion at Chicago and at the same time oppose Canada's proposed diversion of water from the Columbia River.

The conclusions reached in this supplemental report of the committee, discussed below, are the following:

A. The 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty as applied to the proposed diversion may make rules of general international law inapplicable and the treaty itself may authorize that diversion.

B. If international law, independent of the 1909 treaty, prevails, still the proposed diversion is proper.

C. The authorization of additional diversion at Chicago should have no legal effect upon the right of the United States to object to the proposed diversion by Canada from the Columbia River.

II. NEITHER THE 1909 TREATY NOR INTERNATIONAL LAW PREVENT THE PROPOSED DIVERSION

A. The 1909 boundary waters treaty as applied to the proposed diversion may make rules of general international law inapplicable and the treaty itself may authorize that diversion

A well-established rule of international law is that if states involved in a controversy have concluded an agreement governing an issue in dispute, this agreement, rather than the general international law, determines the rights and duties of the states until it is abrogated. This rule concerning the effect of agreements and treaties has been applied to water diversion cases. Diversion of Water from the River Meuse (Publications of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Ser. A/B, No. 70, 1937).

While the rule stated as to the effect of treaties is undoubtedly correct, there is a question whether the International Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 includes a determination of the rights of the two countries over diversion of water from Lake Michigan. The preliminary article defines the term "boundary waters" in a manner that obviously includes Lakes Superior, Huron, Ontario, and Erie, which flow along the common border, and which clearly excludes Lake Michigan, lying wholly within the territorial limits of the United States. The purpose of the treaty is recited to be "to prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters" and to settle all pending questions involving rights, obligations, and interests "'along their common frontier." Lake Michigan in some respects thus appears to be outside the general scope of the treaty. It is outside the scope of article III, which subjects diversion questions on boundary waters to the jurisdiction of the International Joint Commission (see this committee's 1956 report, pp. 21–25).

Article II, on the other hand, may specifically define the rights of the United States over Lake Michigan. Article II provides:

"Each of the high contracting parties reserves to itself or to the several State governments on the one side and the Dominion or Provincial Governments on the other as the case may be, subject to any treaty provisions now existing with respect thereto, the exclusive jurisdiction and control over the use and diversion, whether temporary or permanent, of all waters on its own side of the line which in their natural channels would flow across the boundary or into boundary waters; but it is agreed that any interference with or diversion from their natural channel of such waters on either side of the boundary, resulting in any injury on the other side of the boundary, shall give rise to the same rights and entitle the injured parties to the same legal remedies as if such injury took place in the country where such diversion or interference occurs; but this provision shall not apply to cases already existing or to cases expressly covered by special agreement between the parties hereto.

"It is understood, however, that neither of the high contracting parties intends by the foregoing provision to surrender any right, which it may have, to object to any interference with or diversions of waters on the other side of the boundary the effect of which would be productive of material injury to the navigation interests on its own side of the boundary."

The language of the first portion of the first paragraph of article II, taken alone, apparently vests in the United States the exclusive jurisdiction and control over the use and diversion of water from Lake Michigan. The second portion of the first paragraph may preserve certain rights of injured parties to object to certain diversions, but exception is made for "cases already existing." Since more water was being diverted at Chicago when the treaty became effective in 1909 than the 2,500 cubic feet per second now sought to be diverted under H. R. 2, Chicago diversion is clearly a case already existing within the meaning of the exception. Thus the first paragraph of article II, taken as a whole, appears to grant exclusive jurisdiction over the matter to the United States.

The second paragraph of article II preserves the right, if any, of Canada to object to diversions from Lake Michigan which are productive of material injury to its navigation interests. On the findings of either International Lake Ontario Board of Engineers or the United States Army Engineers (see exhibit A), the proposed Chicago diversion would not result in material injury to Canadian navigational interests.

Considering article II as a whole, it can therefore be strongly argued that its overall effect is to vest exclusive jurisdiction and control over the proposed Chicago diversion in the United States, regardless of whether Canada would have had a right to object under international law independent of the treaty. As a corollory, by entering into the 1909 treaty, Canada has waived any rights under international law to object to any diversions from Lake Michigan except those which would be productive of material injury to navigation.

There is contrary opinion, to the effect that international law governs regardless of the article II provisions. As an example:

"So far as the Chicago diversion is concerned, the effect of the (1909) Treaty is clearly to preserve the existing rights of the parties under the general rules of international law." H. A. Smith, the Chicago Diversion (10 British Yearbook of International Law 144 at 148 (1929)).

See the extract from Anderson, Records 1909–11, quoted as note 82 in the article of James Simsarian entitled "The Diversion of Waters Affecting the United States and Canada," 32 American Journal International Law 488 at 506 (1938). There Chandler P. Anderson, the American delegate in the treaty negotiation, writing Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, stated that Anderson's correspondence with his Canadian counterpart and article II as agreed to by the two delegates imposed no restriction with reference to diversion of water from Lake Michigan for the Chicago drainage canal, nor did Great Britain surrender any right which it may have had to object to any interference with or diversion of such water in case the effect would be productive of material injury to the navigation interests on the Canadian side of the boundary.

This committee is not able, on the basis of its present study, to render a definite opinion that article II determines the rights of the two countries in this problem, affirmatively granting power to the United States. It may be that article II leaves the rules of international law in force. Our conclusions as to the effect of international law, however, assuming its applicability, make unnecessary and final decision on that point. The committee also recognizes that even if article II does grant exclusive power over the question to our Government, the United States, in exercising that power, might not desire to act contrary to any accepted principles of conduct among nations, if such principles would dictate a different result. We therefore proceed to discuss the principles of international law which bear upon water diversion questions and to ask whether the proposed Chicago diversion is not proper under prevailing rules of international law.

B. International law, independent of the 1909 treaty, prevails, still the proposed diversion is proper

It is the conclusion of the committee that, even if article II of the 1909 treaty does not

give the United States exclusive jurisdiction over Lake Michigan diversion, the proposed diversion conforms to accepted principles of international law. There have been two views on the principles of international law involved. One, the older view, is that of absolute territorial sovereignty. Its proponents state that when a waterway crosses two or more countries in succession, each of the countries traversed possesses complete ownership and jurisdiction of that section flowing through its territory. The other and newer view, which is strongly favored by most international legal scholars, is the rule of equitable apportionment. This doctrine requires that where several nations have an interest in a common waterway, each nation should get an equitable share of the common water.

The old territorial sovereignty view was at one time adhered to by the United States. See the opinion of United States Attorney General Harmon (21 Ops. Att'y. Gen. 267 (1895)). The United States subsequently repudiated the Harmon view and in 1944 the United States entered into a treaty with Mexico relating to the use of certain rivers. It was ratified by the Senate. This treaty involves a recognition of equitable apportionment of waters as a governing principle. In recommending ratification of the treaty of 1944 the Secretary of State said that it "must be realized that each country owes to the other some obligation with respect to the waters of these international streams." See generally the reported hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Treaty with Mexico Relating to the Utilization of the Waters of Certain Rivers, 79th Congress, 1st session, part 1, 19 (1945). This newer position taken by the United States brought it in line with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in determining water apportionment problems among the States, *Wyoming* v. *Colorado* (286 U. S. 494 (1931)); *Kansas* v. *Colorado* (206 U. S. 46 (1906)). The United States view likewise came into conformity with preponderant opinions elsewhere in the world. England and Canada have long adhered to the doctrine of equitable apportionment.

Under either view the proposed Chicago diversion is permitted. Absolute territorial sovereignty would allow the diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second or any other amount.

Under the new accepted rule of equitable apportionment the proposed diversion would likewise be proper. This is evident when consideration is given to the factors involved in making an equitable apportionment. These factors, as outlined in the report of the International Law Association on the Dubrovnik conference in 1956 (article V) are:

(a) The right of each State to a reasonable use of the water.

(b) The extent of the dependence of each State upon the waters of that river.

(c) The comparative social and economic gains accruing to each and to the entire river community.

(d) Preexistent agreements among the States concerned.

(e) Preexistent appropriation of water by one State.

The three primary factors set out above which indicated that Chicago diversion is proper under the rule of equitable apportionment are: (a) social needs of the entire river community, primarily sanitation, (b) preexistent appropriation of water by Chicago diversion, and (c) reasonable use of water, i. e., damage resulting in de minimis.

(1) The Social Needs—Sanitary Purposes

The paramount interest of society in health and sanitation urges strongly that diversion which benefits health of a nation should be permitted.

A primary purpose of the Chicago diversion is cleansing of the Illinois waterway and the sanitary removal of waste from the Chicago metropolitan area. Chicago's sewage now receives, and has since the 1940's received maximum treatment (see committee's report), but some effluent remains after treatment. The additional diversion should assist materially in the removal of this effluent. Such assistance is of great importance to the health of the residents along the Illinois waterway and to the crews employed on craft passing through it.

It is significant to note that article VIII of the 1909 treaty which grants jurisdiction over boundary waters to the International Joint Commission specifically gives preference to diversions for domestic and sanitary purposes over considerations of navigation and power. The treaty is expressive of an international policy which should be accorded some weight in arriving at an equitable water distribution as between the competing factors of Chicago's needs and St. Lawrence power potential and the minimal effect upon navigation.

(2) Preexistent Appropriation at Chicago

The proposed legislation seeks a diversion of an additional 1,000 cubic feet per second, or a total of 2,500 cubic feet per second, substantially under the 8,500 cubic feet per second to 10,000 cubic feet per second which were previously diverted. The diversion of waters from Lake Michigan commenced in 1899 and has continued to the present date in amounts varying from a maximum of 10,000 cubic feet per second to the present diversion of 1,500 cubic feet per second. Canada had no part in the procedure by which this diversion was decreased. The decrease was ordered by the United States Supreme Court upon objections by four States, on the ground that the diversion authorized by the Secretary of War exceeded his powers. Since the time in 1938 when reduction to 1,500 cubic feet per second was achieved, the Court has kept jurisdiction over the case and as recently as 1957 has allowed a temporary increase upon cause shown.

(3) Reasonable Usage—i. e., No Substantial Injury

International law uses the doctrine of substantial injury as the common law uses the doctrine of de minimus non curat lex.

The proposed diversion appears to be nominal. This Committee has not undertaken to discuss the merits of the proposed diversion or to evaluate technical data submitted by various interested parties. However, the attention of the Committee has been called to a comprehensive report by the division engineer, North Central Division, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, addressed to the Secretary of the Army, dated January 29, 1957. This report was prepared in response to the suggestion contained in the President's veto message dated August 9, 1956, of H. R. 3210. The report reflects a study covering the effect of both a temporary 3-year diversion and a permanent diversion of an additional 1,000 cubic feet per second. A copy of the letter transmitting the report to the Secretary of the Army which summarizes the results found in the study is attached as exhibit A to this supplemental report.

This engineering report evaluates the quantum of effect of the proposed diversion on hydroelectric power, Great Lakes shipping and onshore properties. It finds that most of the results are too slight to be measured and those which are measurable seem indeed to be very nominal. Since, under the doctrine of equitable apportionment, Canada could object only to damage which is material, it would appear that the maxim of de minimus is properly applicable.

C. The authorization of additional diversion at Chicago should have no legal effect upon the right of the United States to object to the proposed diversion by Canada from the Columbia River

It has been intimated (see, for example, the Financial Post, Toronto, February 9, 1957) that the allowance of additional diversion at Chicago might prejudice the United States in its dispute with Canada over the proposal of the latter to divert 15 million acre-feet annually from the Columbia River Basin. The argument, briefly put, is that vital power interests of the United States in the Columbia Basin will be jeopardized for, if the United States as upper riparian sovereign diverts water at Chicago, and at the same time argues that Canada as upper riparian sovereign cannot divert in the Kootenai-Columbia system.

In the opinion of the committee, the factual situations in the two areas are not analogous. The amount of diversion at Chicago is insignificant when compared to the amounts mentioned in the Kootenai-Columbia area. The relative power loss at Niagara is slight by comparison. Under the rule of equitable apportionment, now supported by most writers, by our Government since 1944 and by the Canadian Government for many years previously, the diversion at Chicago would be proper. Measured by the same standards, the propriety of the proposed Columbia River diversion is questionable. The enormity of the power uses at the Grand Coulee Dam and elsewhere on the American side demonstrate that damage resulting from so large a diversion would necessarily be, at the very least, substantial. Hence, the de minimus principle is not involved.

Further, article II of the 1909 treaty offers no protection to Canada against complaints by citizens who might be injured by a Columbia River diversion. With respect to Chicago diversion, however, any legal remedy is precluded for cases already existing.

Respectfully submitted.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN LAW.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, D. C., January 29, 1957.

Subject: Effect on Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River of an increase of 1,000 cubic feet per second in the diversion at Chicago.

To: The Secretary of the Army.

1. I submit herewith a special report on the effects of increased diversions from Lake Michigan at Chicago prepared at the request of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to meet a need for information on this subject as pointed out in the President's memorandum of disapproval of H. R. 3210, 84th Congress, a bill to authorize a 3-year test increase of 1,000 cubic feet per second in the diversion from Lake Michigan at Chicago.

2. The basic report of the division engineer, north central division, of the Corps of Engineers, submitted herewith, was prepared from data available in part through studies being made for a report on Great Lakes water levels in response to a resolution of the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives, adopted June 26, 1952 and in part from information available to the Corps of Engineers through its participation in preparation of a report of the International Lake Ontario Board of Engineers to the International Joint Commission dated June 14, 1955.

3. In general, an increase in the diversion from Lake Michigan at Chicago would affect the levels and outflows of Lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, all of which are downstream, and would not affect the levels or outflows of Lake Superior, which is upstream from the diversion. A temporary increase in the diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second for 3 years would have temporary effects that would reach a maximum in about 3 to 3½ years and then gradually diminish and disappear about 15 years after the temporary diversion was discontinued. The effects of

a permanent diversion would increase progressively to a maximum in about 15 years and would then continue permanently at that amount.

4. The computed effects of temporary and permanent diversions in terms of lowering of mean stages and reduction in average outflows are as follows:

Maximum temporary effects of a 3-year diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second [1]

	Lakes Michigan and Huron	Lake Erie	Lake Ontario
Time required to reach maximum effect	36 months	39 months	42 months.
Lowering effect on lake levels [1]	0.05 foot (or 5/8 inch)	0.03 foot (or 3/8 inch)	0.03 foot (or 3/8 inch).
Reduction in outflow [1]	625 cubic feet per second.	585 cubic feet per second.	570 cubic feet per second.

[1] These maximum temporary effects would diminish gradually and would disappear approximately 15 years after the temporary diversion was discontinued.

Ultimate effects of a permanent diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second [1]

	Lakes Michigan and Huron	Lake Erie	Lake Ontario
Lowering effect on lake levels [1]	0.08 foot (or 1 inch)	0.05 foot (or 5/8 inch)	0.05 feet (or 5/8 inch).
Reduction in outflow [1]	1,000 cubic feet per second.	1,000 cubic feet per second.	1,000 cubic feet per second.

[1] Reached progressively in 15 years and continuing thereafter.

5. The foregoing reductions in outflows that would result from increasing the diversion at Chicago could not be compensated for except by increases in diversions into the Great Lakes system. The lowering of lake levels, however, could be compensated for in various ways. For Lakes Michigan and Huron the lowering could be offset by construction of a deeply submerged sill in the St. Clair River at an estimated cost of $1,530,000. The lowering effect in Lake Erie could be compensated for by operating the control gates of the Niagara River remedial works now nearing completion in such a way as to hold the level of the pool immediately above the works at a stage 0.22 of a foot higher than presently specified. For Lake Ontario the approved plans for regulation that will be put into effect when the St. Lawrence power structures are completed can be readily adjusted within the prescribed 4-foot range of stage so that there would be no significant change in levels as a result of the increased diversions. All of the foregoing measures would require coordination with Canada.

6. The estimated reduction in generation of hydroelectric energy that would result from a 3-year increase in the diversion at Chicago would fall between a minimum of 188 million kilowatt-hours and a maximum of 443 million kilowatt-hours, depending on when the diversions were started and when proposed additional hydroelectric plants are put into operation. This amount of reduction is a small fraction of 1 percent of the total energy production at the plants affected. Excluding the possible reduction at existing and proposed plants on the St. Lawrence in Quebec for which data for evaluation are not available, the estimated value of the maximum possible reduction at plants in New York and Ontario, representing 72 percent of the total involved, would be $918,000 over the entire period that the increased 3-year diversion would have any effect. The total value of the minimum reduction if scheduled new capacity is not added during this period would be $408,000. During this period the increased flow in the Illinois Waterway would permit an increase in generation at the existing Lockport plant of 70,400,000 kilowatt-hours, an offset of about 16 percent of the estimated maximum reduction in generation on the Niagara and St. Lawrence. This increase would have a total value of about $202,000. The temporary diversions would affect the dependable capacity of the hydroelectric plants, causing theoretical reductions of 2,750 kilowatts at plants in New York, 2,600 kilowatts in Ontario, and 5,000 kilowatts in Quebec; and a theoretical increase of 2,700 kilowatts at Lockport on the Illinois Waterway; but these changes are small in relation to the capacity of the power systems involved and would be of such temporary character that assignment of any value to them is not warranted.

7. The estimated effects on hydroelectric power generation that would result from a permanent increase of 1,000 cubic feet per second in the diversion at Chicago would be continuing effects and have been computed on an annual basis rather than on a total basis as in the case of the temporary 3-year diversion which would have effect for only a limited time. Assuming that proposed additional installations of generating capacity are made as scheduled the permanent diversion would result in a reduction in generation of 123,400,000 kilowatt-hours annually at plants in New York, 123,400,000 kilowatt-hours in Ontario, and 56,300,000 in Quebec. The monetary value of the New York and Ontario reductions, representing 81 percent of the total, would be $708,000 annually. The increase in possible generation at Lockport on the Illinois Waterway would be about 8 percent as much as the foregoing reductions or 23,500,000 kilowatt-hours annually, valued at $67,000 annually. The changes in dependable capacity would be a theoretical reduction of 36,800 kilowatts on the Niagara and St. Lawrence and a theoretical increase of 2,700 kilowatts at Lockport on the Illinois Waterway. These changes in theoretical dependable capacity are small with respect to the total capabilities of the generation systems involved and assignment of value to the changes is not warranted from a practical operational standpoint.

8. The lowering of lake levels of from three-eighths to five-eighths of an inch and from five-eighths to 1 inch that would result, respectively, from the 3-year and permanent diversions would tend to be beneficial in lessening possible damage to shore property during storms and high lake stages but the lowering effect is too small to permit monetary evaluation.

9. The temporary lowering effects of the 3-year diversion, ranging from three-eighths to five-eighths of an inch, would tend to adversely affect navigation during low lake stages but the effect is so small and of such temporary nature that it is impracticable to evaluate the effect in monetary terms. The ultimate and continuing lowering effect of five-eighths to 1 inch of a permanent diversion, however, would be likely to affect the loading plans of the vessels expected to comprice the Great Lakes fleet in the United States as of 1985 such that an estimated average annual economic loss of $240,000 would result. No monetary evaluation has been made of the possible adverse effect on the Canadian fleet which currently has 22 percent as much carrying capacity that would be affected as compared with the present United States fleet. The foregoing appraisal applies to traffic on Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie. Neither the temporary nor permanent diversion would have measurable effect on navigation on Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River.

10. The increased diversions would not affect navigation on the Illinois Waterway in any way that warrants monetary evaluation. Estimated beneficial effects of 2 inches and 1.5 inches, respectively, in stages at Alton Lock on the Mississippi and in the reach from St. Louis to Cairo have not been assigned a value because of other measures which have been planned and which are expected to correct the conditions which would be alleviated in part by increased diversions from Lake Michigan.

11. In summary, the desirability of a temporary diversion for 3 years to determine if sanitary conditions could be improved thereby should be considered in the light of: (1) an adverse effect on hydroelectric energy generation evaluated, in part, at from $408,000 to $918,000 depending on timing and amount of future additions to generating capacity, (2) an offsetting increase in generation valued at $202,000, (3) changes in theoretical dependable capacity which are not considered practicable of monetary evaluation, (4) effects on shore property tending to be beneficial but not measurable, (5) temporary effects on Great Lakes navigation tending to be adverse but not measurable and (6) effects on Mississippi River navigation tending to be beneficial but not of measurable monetary value on a temporary basis. Similar considerations, in amounts that would be somewhat greater and more susceptible of measurement and evaluation, would be involved if consideration is to be given in the future to the cost and justification of a permanent increase in diversion.

12. I recommend that this report on the effect of increased diversion from Lake Michigan be made available for the consideration of all concerned with such possibilities. This would include officials of the States and local organizations bordering the Great Lakes, Members of Congress and the congressional committees concerned, and interested Federal agencies, particularly the Department of State, in order that discussions can be held with Canadian interests.

E. C. ITSCHNER,
Major General, United States Army,
Chief of Engineers.

Producers in Each State Receiving the Five Largest Cotton, Wheat, Rice, and Corn Loans for the 1955 Crop

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the Agricultural Act of 1954 which provided for continued price supports for agricultural products, I included with my speech in the RECORD, July 1, 1954, pages 9556–9557, a list prepared for me by the Department of Agriculture listing individual farms and

corporations in each State receiving the largest corn, wheat, and cotton crop loans for 1953.

On August 2, 1955, I included in my remarks in the RECORD, page A6236 a similar list of recipients of the 1954 loans. Similarly, the breakdown of the 1955 crop loans appeared under my remarks in the RECORD on July 27, 1956 on pages A6638 through A6642.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD at this point a breakdown I have just received from the Department of Agricultural listing producers in each State with the five largest cotton, wheat, rice and corn loans for the 1956 crop. The breakdown follows:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

Producers with largest quantity of corn under loan, 1956 crop

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
ALABAMA		
	Bushels	
Wilson Mann, Owens Cross Roads, Ala	12,050	$18,970.00
Guy L. Gannaway, Lincoln, Ala	9,950	13,532.00
C. B. Williams, Opp, Ala	8,573	11,659.28
Wade Hatcher, Hartford, Ala	7,901	9,841.99
W. B. Shaw, Tanner, Ala	6,082	8,271.52
Estimated State average per corn loan		970.54
ARIZONA		
J. L. Kidd, Jr., Willcox, Ariz	20,904	29,683.68
Dale G. King, Willcox, Ariz	21,133	30,008.86
Grant Anderson, Willcox, Ariz	7,207	10,306.30
R. C. Miller, Willcox, Ariz	5,408	7,679.74
Lyle Trimble, Mesa, Ariz	5,254	7,460.68
Estimated State average per corn loan		7,164.51
ARKANSAS		
Donald Parks, Newark, Ark	6,900	9,326.40
Arnold P. Huenefeld, Gregory, Ark	5,830	7,870.50
Ray Huffman and Floyd Priest, Weiner, Ark	5,022	6,729.48
Royce Stubblefield, Caraway, Ark	4,492	6,019.28
Robert Bruce, Powhatan, Ark	2,496	3,294.72
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,724.30
CALIFORNIA		
Vernon Reigel, Chico, Calif	27,763	37,583.17
George Stutz, Chico, Calif	18,296	23,876.28
Hooper, Bros., Chowchilla, Calif	15,087	20,639.02
Harry S. Taylor, Chico, Calif	10,588	13,790.02
Jonathan and Perry Garst, Vina, Calif	10,003	13,715.88
Estimated State average per corn loan		6,958.22
DELAWARE		
S. Rodman Smith, Jr., Odessa, Del	11,800	19,470.00
Reese O. Gordy, Laurel, Del	11,148	18,394.20
Draper Foods, Inc., Milford, Del	10,750	17,737.50
Harry B. Roberts and James C. Shallcross, Odessa, Del	9,659	15,937.35
Randall C. Willin, Seaford, Del	9,171	15,132.15
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,128.00
FLORIDA		
D. G. McMullen, Madison, Fla	3,057	4,156.96
Paul Bunge, De Funiak Springs, Fla	2,808	3,818.88
C. A. Armistead, Lloyd, Fla	2,179	2,963.88
W. R. Bennett, Jennings, Fla	1,530	2,080.25
E. H. Finlayson, Greenville, Fla	1,260	1,713.10
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,177.84
GEORGIA		
Emery S. Brannen, Register, Ga	6,549	8,906.64
G. E. Daniel & Son, Americus, Ga	5,090	6,922.21
Clayton Sexton, Colquitt, Ga	4,907	6,672.95
J. E. Parramore, Thomasville, Ga	4,894	6,655.42
H. O. Turner, Pavo, Ga	4,293	5,838.47
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,133.66
IDAHO		
Glenn Lyons, Grandview, Idaho	6,002	8,102.70
Dale C. Lyons, Grandview, Idaho	4,066	5,489.10
Paul W. Fredericks and Robert J. Messenger, Grandview, Idaho	3,451	4,658.85
Sam Schmitt, Parma, Idaho	2,918	3,939.30
Joe Dolence, Parma, Idaho	2,576	3,477.60
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,600.00
ILLINOIS		
Charles R. Dartals, Saint Marys, Mo	71,058	109,429.32
Cote Farms, Inc., Saint Anne, Ill	64,341	97,798.32
Funk Farm Trust, Shirley, Ill	50,267	76,908.51
Arthur K. Qualfe, Annawan, Ill	45,104	68,107.04
Rebecca Lowrie, Galesburg, Ill	34,321	52,167.92
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,005.69
INDIANA		
	Bushels	
Richard Gumz, North Judson, Ind	91,202	$138,627.04
Emil Savich, Rensselaer, Ind	76,057	96,592.39
Arthur Gumz, North Judson, Ind	67,876	102,492.76
Moore Bros., Rensselaer, Ind	43,484	55,224.68
Graham Farms, Inc., Washington, Ind	40,959	62,667.27
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,398.13
IOWA		
B. L. Ditto and tenants, Burlington, Iowa	29,521	44,281.50
Gus Ostermann & Sons, Ocheyedan, Iowa	31,039	43,764.99
Olaf Twedt, Estherville, Iowa	42,416	45,839.19
Dale Fraser, Humboldt, Iowa	47,620	55,715.40
Wayne Van Duzer, Mora Springs, Iowa	30,486	35,668.62
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,940.15
KANSAS		
Walter Kaimig, Atchison, Kans	25,588	38,229.97
A. L. Broderick, Fall River, Kans	16,061	23,930.89
Armstrong & Sons, Muscotah, Kans	16,947	21,183.75
Vernon Laipple, Wathena, Kans	11,799	17,308.56
James F. Dale, Wathena, Kans	7,819	11,657.08
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,454.39
KENTUCKY		
S. S. Wathen, Owensboro, Ky	42,770	63,476.28
W. B. Wickliffe, Henderson, Ky	33,329	52,326.53
James Wilson, Wickliffe, Ky	25,071	39,862.89
James C. Bower, Evansville, Ind	23,314	36,599.40
James Wilson and Dr. Paul Harmon, Wickliffe, Ky	22,348	35,533.32
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,127.06
MARYLAND		
Roy C. Mitchell, Kennedyville, Md	17,921	29,570.47
Remington Farms, Chestertown, Md	9,794	16,160.10
R. T. White, Gaithersburg, Md	8,561	14,125.65
Roland M. Mullinix, Woodbine, Md	8,145	11,077.20
John Luthy, Jr., Cambridge, Md	5,898	9,731.70
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,798.00
MICHIGAN		
Mueller Bros., Britton, Mich	27,081	41,975.55
Albert Heath, Milan, Mich	19,456	30,156.80
Haddix & Sons, Monroe, Mich	20,862	27,120.60
Gerald Wright, Vandalia, Mich	16,455	25,177.19
Bainbridge, Inc., Glenwood, Mich	13,319	20,378.07
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,260.23
MINNESOTA		
Martin Bustad, Austin, Minn	51,723	60,515.91
Leslie C. Boler, Winnebago, Minn	47,906	55,091.90
Thomas N. Benson, Appleton, Minn	29,638	41,789.58
Cashman Nurseries, Owatonna, Minn	27,551	32,234.67
Parker Sanders, Redwood Falls, Minn	26,922	37,960.02
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,764.53
MISSISSIPPI		
O. C. Carr, Jr., Clarksdale, Miss	11,391	15,491.76
J. J. Erickson, Yazoo City, Miss	6,236	8,480.96
Kirby-Wills Plantation, Robinsonville, Miss	3,432	4,688.04
John J. Plaster, Yazoo City, Miss	3,217	4,375.12
McIvor Cotton & Cattle Co., Sardis, Miss	2,380	3,236.80
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,892.00
MISSOURI		
Saline County Farms, Marshall, Mo	71,245	109,004.85
Meadow Brook Farms, Elisberry, Mo	40,075	61,715.50
Albert Painton Co., Inc., Painton, Mo	35,703	53,696.68
Finely Thompson, Charleston, Mo	34,001	53,041.56
Dr. A. H. Marshall, Charleston, Mo	32,509	51,338.04
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,171.08

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION—Continued

Producers with largest quantity of corn under loan, 1956 crop—Continued

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
NEBRASKA	*Bushels*	
Morrison & Quirk, Hastings, Nebr	92,220	$134,641.07
Hundahl Farms, Tekamah, Nebr	87,011	126,165.95
W. H. Bohlke, Hastings, Nebr	30,886	41,343.18
W. H. Dobson & Sons, Cedar Rapids, Nebr	30,707	44,218.08
John Schneider, Tekamah, Nebr	27,694	33,232.80
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,935.96
NEW JERSEY		
Edward Brasch, Red Bank, N. J	13,792	19,032.36
Jay C. Garrison, Elmer, N. J	5,800	9,686.00
Francis Wilczynski, Lawrenceville, N. J	4,715	7,874.05
George H. Combs, Trenton, N. J	4,610	7,698.70
George C. Probasco, Red Bank, N. J	4,579	6,319.02
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,219.60
NEW YORK		
Edward DeGraff, Mount Morris, N. Y	7,959	10,983.42
Estate of Frank E. Parker, Bouckville, N. Y	5,568	7,683.32
Roy A. Tuttle, King Ferry, N. Y	3,020	4,167.60
David Secor, Ransomville, N. Y	2,893	3,992.34
Dr. Lyman Fisher, Ithaca, N. Y	2,832	3,908.16
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,200.00
NORTH CAROLINA		
Parrott Farms, Kinston, N. C	19,067	29,590.50
Romaine Howard, Tarboro, N. C	15,784	26,043.60
E. P. Leary, Camden, N. C	13,408	19,851.47
G. E. Small & Sons, Elizabeth City, N. C	11,101	17,367.67
R. S. Chappell, Jr., and C. M. Chappell, Elizabeth City, N. C	10,032	16,552.80
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,280.00
NORTH DAKOTA		
Grotelueschen Bros., Ludden, N. Dak	8,759	9,985.26
Charles O. Herman, Wyndmere, N. Dak	8,697	9,914.58
Ed Goerger, Barney, N. Dak	7,811	10,779.18
Robert Nagel, Wyndmere, N. Dak	6,580	8,826.54
Niel McDougall, Mooreton, N. Dak	6,221	8,584.98
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,287.00
OHIO		
Hoggsett Farm, West Mansfield, Ohio	53,107	68,508.40
Orleton Farm, London, Ohio	38,999	60,448.45
Case Farms Co., Prospect, Ohio	43,029	55,937.86
Hartman Farm, London, Ohio	35,703	55,339.65
Chaswil Farm, Sabina, Ohio	29,683	45,712.12
Estimated State average per corn loan		2,000.00
OKLAHOMA		
Paul L. Kohler, Boise City, Okla	1,904	2,323.23
Henry F. Polson, Eufaula, Okla	1,600	2,096.79
George McNeff, Tuttle, Okla	1,046	1,370.26
Homer Saunders, Henryetta, Okla	1,046	1,359.80
Joe Varnum, Luther, Okla	477	619.44
Estimated State average per corn loan		965.28
OREGON		
Jim Clayton, Nyssa, Oreg	3,936	5,510.40
Peter F. Countryman, Ontario, Oreg	2,453	3,434.20
Joe Hobson, Ontario, Oreg	2,200	3,080.00
Frank Porter, Stanfield, Oreg	2,199	3,078.00
Clifford Daniels, Stanfield, Oreg	2,161	3,025.40
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,981.17
PENNSYLVANIA		
Peter J. Camiel, Phoenixville, Pa	6,574	10,653.85
Joseph E. Klock, Easton, Pa	4,994	8,240.10
PENNSYLVANIA—continued		
Howard B. Kreider, Danville, Pa	4,870	$8,035.50
Irwin H. Hostetter, Thomasville, Pa	4,230	6,979.50
A. B. and W. S. Haines, Lansdale, Pa	3,974	6,557.10
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,502.82
SOUTH CAROLINA		
S. A. Haruia, Sumter, S. C	9,174	11,651.45
C. E. Causey, Jr., Furman, S. C	6,640	8,437.93
J. H. Lightsey, Brunson, S. C	5,390	7,330.40
J. C. Oswald, Jr., Allendale, S. C	5,185	7,051.60
R. L. Lightsey, Fairfax, S. C	4,618	5,772.50
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,130.00
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Bones Hereford Ranch, Parker, S. Dak	16,184	22,495.76
Milton Ayres, Madison, S. Dak	15,325	21,301.75
W. M. Scott Livestock Co., Hecla, S. Dak	14,687	16,890.05
Glendale Colony, Frankfort, S. Dak	13,445	15,465.20
Huron Colony, Huron, S. Dak	13,322	15,187.08
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,330.49
TENNESSEE		
R. V. Taylor, Guthrie, Ky	8,210	13,382.10
G. S. Harris, Guthrie, Ky	6,741	10,987.98
C. P. Chapleau, Hickory Valley, Tenn	5,235	8,205.06
Clyde Moore, Guthrie, Ky	5,193	8,464.92
Smith & Reynolds, Union City, Tenn	4,541	7,174.46
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,550.09
TEXAS		
James and Herman Nund, Hereford, Tex	5,309	7,140.77
B. A. Grainger, Richardson, Tex	3,046	3,553.90
Tarlton Willingham, Hamlin, Tex	2,300	3,035.75
C. M. Dillar, Hereford, Tex	1,431	1,903.86
Charlie Dolezel, Bruceville, Tex	1,365	1,801.80
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,215.00
UTAH [1]		
Thomas A. Phillips, Layton, Utah	1,364	1,868.68
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,868.68
VIRGINIA		
Cahoon-Wright-Cahoon, Norfolk, Va	10,604	17,496.47
G. C. Nicholas, Northwest, Va	9,238	15,243.11
W. E. Hudgins, Jr., Fentress, Va	8,538	14,172.30
A. T. Harwood, Charles City, Va	8,301	13,612.97
N. B. Perry, Fentress, Va	7,727	12,826.63
Estimated State average per corn loan		3,577.72
WASHINGTON		
Glen Rose, Toppenish, Wash	13,067	18,294.31
Maurice Rowe, Brownstown, Wash	12,177	17,048.36
John Norquist, Toppenish, Wash	9,571	13,[illegible]
Ernest Levning, Toppenish, Wash	7,368	10,315.27
Jean Korsberg, Zillah, Wash	7,178	10,048.77
Estimated State average per corn loan		3,215.00
WISCONSIN		
Ole Basby & Sons, Cambridge, Wis	24,699	31,130.74
Len Mar Farms, Avalon, Wis	16,362	20,779.74
Orrin House, Prescott, Wis	12,440	17,998.65
Arthur Spannum, Cambridge, Wis	9,987	15,035.07
Atkinson Farms, Inc., Beloit, Wis	9,788	14,877.76
Estimated State average per corn loan		1,341.20

[1] Corn loan made to only 1 producer in Utah.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

Producers with largest quantity of wheat under loan, 1956 crop

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
ALABAMA		
	Bushels	
Helen Waddell, Rogersville, Ala	2,220	$3,552.00
Vernon P. Crockett, Leighton, Ala	1,637	2,618.66
J. H. McWilliams, Tuscumbia, Ala	1,223	1,923.16
Henry J. Evers, Florence, Ala	800	1,171.21
H. H. Evans, Falkville, Ala	574	883.96
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,627.21
ARIZONA		
Rancho Tierra Prieta, Inc., and John F. Nutt, Eloy, Ariz	40,020	76,471.20
J. R. Norton, Blythe, Calif	24,012	37,458.80
Rancho Tierra Prieta, Inc., and Blackland Farms, Inc., Casa Grande, Ariz	10,355	16,153.80
Paul Brophy, Casa Grande, Ariz	8,893	13,872.30
M. H. Montgomery, Casa Grande, Ariz	8,357	13,002.72
Estimated State average per wheat loan		16,646.29
ARKANSAS		
Keiser Supply Co., Keiser, Ark	22,406	43,686.04
E. B. Chiles, Jr., Jonier, Ark	18,025	36,490.54
Lewis Gin Co., Manila, Ark	14,633	30,102.53
Dr. Porter R. Rodgers, Searcy, Ark	15,070	29,885.47
Red Gum Plantation, Hughes, Ark	13,474	27,621.70
Estimated State average per wheat loan		3,716.00
CALIFORNIA		
Jackson & Reinert, San Luis Obispo and Monterey Counties, Calif	75,143	140,220.75
Employees Enterprises, Inc., Fresno County, Calif	40,361	87,566.33
Anderson, Clayton & Co., Fresno County, Calif	37,029	80,983.73
Pinole Land & Cattle Co., San Luis Obispo County, Calif	31,358	63,900.54
The Desert Ranch, Fresno County, Calif	20,850	47,194.75
Estimated State average per wheat loan		12,985.84
COLORADO		
Sprague Bros., Holyoke, Colo	33,130	62,085.45
Jean Eichheim, Nunn, Colo	16,974	34,081.26
Johnson & Peterson, Sedgwick, Colo	14,927	28,380.83
L. I. Hart, Nunn, Colo	14,594	27,653.60
Ross and Gilbert Evans, Craig, Colo	14,559	25,933.55
Estimated State average per wheat loan		2,250.00
DELAWARE		
Richard S. Rodney, New Castle, Del	1,997	4,198.26
G. Raymond Carrow, St. Georges, Del	1,492	3,117.19
Tull Bros., Seaford, Del	1,482	3,186.69
Joseph Quigley, New Castle, Del	1,437	3,021.76
William Parker, Harrington, Del	1,287	2,626.15
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,551.00
GEORGIA		
F. H. Willis, Louisville, Ga	12,139	25,182.56
Estate of T. B. Kelly, Louisville, Ga	9,455	19,113.54
A. P. Jones, Louisville, Ga	9,013	18,394.90
Gunn Farm, Byron, Ga	6,067	13,187.65
Marvin Hartley, Davisboro, Ga	5,711	12,047.60
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,246.00
IDAHO		
Ira McIntosh & Sons, Lewiston, Idaho	29,322	68,621.00
Shayne Linderman, Newdale, Idaho	35,220	60,931.00
T. S. Vanderford, Aberdeen, Idaho	26,602	48,215.00
E. C. Hay & Sons, Inc., Tekoa, Wash	26,667	47,333.00
A. E. and DeMar Bott, Newdale, Idaho	26,760	46,205.00
Estimated State average per wheat loan		3,002.00
ILLINOIS		
Shafer & Losch, East Alton, Ill	14,509	30,690.73
Hancock Land Co., Warsaw, Ill	11,928	32,241.51
Charles R. Bartels, St. Marys, Mo	11,927	24,335.62
Alfred Vogt, East St. Louis, Ill	11,453	22,867.27
Greengold Farms, Inc., Springfield, Ill	10,782	23,397.86
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,563.30
INDIANA		
Graham Farms, Inc., Washington, Ind	18,676	37,911.61
William Rader, Hebron, Ind	6,194	12,325.72
L. C. and G. A. Steckler, Decker, Ind	5,325	10,907.40
Chris Wuethrich & Son, Francesville, Ind	4,628	9,743.18
James C. Bower and Luther Jones, Vincennes, Ind	4,570	9,334.09
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,330.00

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
IOWA		
	Bushels	
Varro E. Tyler, trustee for Martha P. Cresap, Nebraska City, Nebr	16,854	$36,977.26
M. M. Payne estate, care of M. M. Payne III, Hamburg, Iowa	10,341	22,705.03
W. B. Hays, Malvern, Iowa	4,938	10,811.02
Bobbit Bros., care of Basil Golden, agent, Sidney, Iowa	4,992	10,793.14
R. C. Good, Glenwood, Iowa	3,555	7,828.50
Estimate State average per wheat loan		1,550.51
KANSAS		
Garvey Farms, Colby, Kans	30,453	68,153.17
Ellsworth Sherman, Garden City, Kans	31,712	65,062.48
W. E. Orth, Sublette, Kans	23,967	46,017.27
J. D. Burkham, Johnson, Kans	20,472	38,492.08
Forrest Cox, Sublette, Kans	19,273	37,004.46
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,596.00
KENTUCKY		
E. G. LaMotte, Hopkinsville, Ky	8,295	16,341.15
D. C. Dawson, Olmstead, Ky	8,064	15,886.08
Henry R. Vinson, Gracey, Ky	6,506	13,612.48
S. L. Boddie, LaFayette, Ky	5,808	12,269.66
Mrs. Vannie Gorrell, Russellville, Ky	4,957	10,048.38
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,246.00
MARYLAND		
The B. F. Shriver Co., Westminster, Md	7,874	17,026.33
Herbert Carter, Queenstown, Md	4,760	9,873.04
Pascal H. Renn, Frederick, Md	4,117	8,825.77
Woodland Farms, Perryville, Md	3,647	7,815.51
Tulip Forest Farming Cooperative, care of Marion Dixon, Chestertown, Md	3,447	7,169.91
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,180.00
MICHIGAN		
Arthur Segerdahl, Schoolcraft, Mich	4,390	8,911.70
Tony Kulhanek, St. Charles, Mich	3,959	7,918.00
Herman Kulhanek, Chesaning, Mich	3,744	7,488.00
C. A. Mallow & Sons, Bronson, Mich	3,682	7,407.59
Frank Kulhanek, St. Charles, Mich	3,543	7,086.00
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,218.00
MINNESOTA		
Victor Younggren, Hallock, Minn	22,816	44,491.20
McGrew & Swenson, Donaldson, Minn	19,853	42,476.16
Leonard Driscoll & Sons, East Grand Forks, Minn	14,060	29,526.00
Duane and Henry Lindberg and Ronald Larson, Kennedy, Minn	12,723	25,725.93
Joe and James Fanfulik, Angus, Minn	12,126	26,602.65
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,681.46
MISSOURI		
Dearmont Oliver, East Prairie, Mo	19,344	41,187.80
C. O. Donath, Palmyra, Mo	18,898	39,118.86
Wise Bros., Stephens, Mo	17,097	35,509.27
David M. Barton, Catron, Mo	15,477	33,739.14
James H. Pettijohn, Oregon, Mo	14,223	28,256.79
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,704.80
MONTANA		
Campbell Farming Corp., Hardin, Mont	172,159	312,998.02
Bill McCarter, Galata, Mont	69,631	124,146.35
McNutt Bros., Eugene, Oreg	62,531	122,641.57
E. G. Onstad, Carter, Mont	55,050	102,740.19
Donald Meyer and John Meyers, Iverness, Mont	58,051	102,023.00
Estimated State average per wheat loan		4,992.50
NEBRASKA		
Morrison & Quirk, Hastings, Nebr	52,359	109,059.19
Phelps Bros., Trumbull, Nebr	18,939	37,132.31
Eugene Schefcik, Alliance, Nebr	18,593	37,186.00
Carl Beard Properties, Lewellen, Nebr	18,570	40,799.99
Robert Ellicott, Salvang, Calif	17,229	35,284.44
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,645.00
NEVADA [1]		
Ezekiel Seminario, Smith Valley, Nev	3,690	5,055.30
Mervin Tony, Vya, Nev	1,281	1,895.89
George Hay, Winnemucca, Nev	377	512.26
Estimated State average per wheat loan		2,487.81

[1] Footnote at end of table.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION—Continued

Producers with largest quantity of wheat under loan, 1956 crop—Continued

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
NEW JERSEY		
	Bushels	
Cross Bros., Holmdel, N. J.	6,123	$13,409.37
William D. Clayton, Freehold, N. J.	6,008	13,217.60
Alice Smith, Freehold, N. J.	5,164	11,309.16
J. Ernest Snyder, Englishtown, N. J.	4,858	10,437.14
R. Ardell Lowing, Freehold, N. J.	2,690	5,891.10
Estimated State average per wheat loan		2,829.00
NEW MEXICO		
Gene Loveless, Texico, N. Mex.	18,630	36,887.40
Roy Williams, Clovis, N. Mex.	11,475	21,457.41
J. N. Ross, Rogers, N. Mex.	9,953	19,408.85
J. B. Jennings, Clovis, N. Mex.	6,888	12,879.94
Albert Matlock, Clovis, N. Mex.	6,844	12,798.13
Estimated State average per wheat loan		3,000.00
NEW YORK		
L. L. Lamb & Sons, Hamilton, N. Y.	11,723	27,159.41
Everett I. Blazey, Canandaigua, N. Y.	5,215	11,368.70
Charles Torrey, Elba, N. Y.	3,585	7,619.63
J. B. Martin & Sons, Brockport, N. Y.	3,384	7,071.99
MacPherson Harmon, LeRoy, N. Y.	3,089	6,769.76
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,571.48
NORTH CAROLINA		
A. M. Waddell, Rockingham, N. C.	5,003	8,825.52
John Crowder, Lattimore, N. C.	4,049	8,546.33
A. F. Craven, Mooresville, N. C.	3,514	6,817.16
J. M. Yost, Salisbury, N. C.	2,765	5,608.25
Clayton Davis, Salisbury, N. C.	2,675	5,739.22
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,065.00
NORTH DAKOTA		
The Witteman Co., Mohall, N. Dak.	51,422	102,131.99
Robert Becker, Des Lacs, N. Dak.	25,602	52,740.12
L. M. Mondry, Ardoch, N. Dak.	25,524	54,262.93
F. L. Barthel, Pingree, N. Dak.	24,828	50,710.23
Reginald and Kenneth Henry, Westhope, N. Dak.	24,048	48,168.74
Estimated State average per wheat loan		2,050.00
OHIO		
Orleton Farms, London, Ohio	14,994	30,889.00
Dale Roe, Rudolph, Ohio	7,739	15,866.65
Case Farms Co., Prospect, Ohio	6,075	12,394.37
Alpha Realty Co., Mount Sterling, Ohio	5,673	10,949.83
Dale Walton, Upper Sandusky, Ohio	5,437	11,200.80
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,007.32
OKLAHOMA		
Stephens Bros., Anadarko, Okla.	28,348	56,985.95
Frank McArthur, Alva, Okla.	17,619	35,163.18
Elmer Graham, Temple, Okla.	15,677	29,159.22
John A. Francis, Kingfisher, Okla.	15,427	30,556.63
E. B. Mitchell & Sons, Enid, Okla.	15,127	30,263.66
Estimated State average per wheat loan		2,073.00
OREGON		
King Ranches, Helix, Oreg.	44,221	85,346.53
Amanda Duvall, Heppner, Oreg.	41,784	82,187.10
Lester F. King, Helix, Oreg.	39,165	75,540.18
Storie & Storie, Pendleton, Oreg.	35,957	65,099.69
Charles Carlson, Ione, Oreg.	35,055	69,449.84
Estimated State average per wheat loan		5,491.72
PENNSYLVANIA		
John H. Douglas, Red Lion, Pa.	3,494	7,258.30
Schoeneck Farms, Allentown, Pa.	3,367	6,872.42
Hanover Canning Co., Hanover, Pa.	3,099	6,439.36
Wentz Bros., Ambler, Pa.	2,919	6,291.60
Willow Brook Co., Catasauqua, Pa.	2,846	5,891.22
Estimated State average per wheat loan		892.00
SOUTH CAROLINA		
J. V. Singleton, Sr., Allendale, S. C.	6,940	14,017.18
Garrett Bros. & T. H. Copeland, Mountville, S. C.	5,316	11,642.40
R. V. Segars, Oswego, S. C.	4,559	9,904.13

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
SOUTH CAROLINA—continued		
	Bushels	
W. L. Long, Estill, S. C.	3,894	$7,878.00
Bruce Harter, Fairfax, S. C.	3,507	7,082.28
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,323.00
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Orville Schwarting, Batesland, S. Dak.	24,837	49,674.00
William Hanneman, Batesland, S. Dak.	20,575	41,355.75
J. E. Cheek, Pierre, S. Dak.	15,984	31,892.36
Fred Weimer estate, Martin, S. Dak.	14,494	28,842.86
John Knecht, Martin, S. Dak.	12,312	25,551.44
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,439.00
TENNESSEE		
Dale Glover, Obion, Tenn.	3,945	8,297.99
Mrs. Jim S. Brock and H. A. Dewberry, Lawrenceburg, Tenn.	3,819	6,979.74
McGregor Bros. & Buckner, Guthrie, Tenn.	3,267	6,833.43
James Walker, Clarksville, Tenn.	3,066	6,506.14
R. V. Taylor and Larry Teeter, Guthrie, Tenn.	3,110	6,428.03
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,050.00
TEXAS		
W. T. Waggoner estate, Vernon, Tex.	29,650	56,335.00
Fred Zimmerman, Jr., Floydada, Tex.	24,110	48,924.10
F. W. Barnett, Friona, Tex.	19,547	36,356.70
R. L. Porter, Spearman, Tex.	17,829	33,796.81
Elizabeth Herring estate, Amarillo, Tex.	16,563	36,094.82
Estimated State average per wheat loan		2,700.00
UTAH		
Wayne and Dallas Sandall, Tremonton, Utah	25,606	44,554.44
Lawrence Hawkes, Howell, Utah	13,101	22,926.75
A. Denton Rich, Garland, Utah	11,892	20,811.00
John N. Lamborn, Logan, Utah	11,409	19,851.66
Clark Bros., Morgan, Utah	10,603	18,573.97
Estimated State average per wheat loan		3,540.00
VIRGINIA		
Adolph Hula, Charles City, Va.	9,357	20,353.02
Brandon Farm, Spring Grove, Va.	8,686	17,755.98
Evelynton Plantation, Charles City, Va.	7,554	16,370.12
Talor & Caldwell, Walkerton, Va.	6,982	15,358.37
Paul Kreynus & Sons, Tunstall, Va.	6,904	13,811.73
Estimated State average per wheat loan		1,154.00
WASHINGTON		
Don Damon, Cunningham, Wash.	68,201	126,711.27
L. R. Garver, Walla Walla, Wash.	62,762	117,832.24
Frank LeRoux, Walla Walla, Wash.	45,303	89,299.83
Cecil Anderson, Walla Walla, Wash.	41,420	75,587.28
Ralph A. Gering & Sons, Ritzville, Wash.	40,514	74,545.24
Estimated State average per wheat loan		6,16[illegible]
WEST VIRGINIA[1]		
H. A. Kimble, Upper Tract, W. Va.	490	1,041.60
J. B. Shreve, Brushy Run, W. Va.	229	478.61
Willard O. Lloyd, Charles Town, W. Va.	342	731.98
Estimated State average per wheat loan		750.00
WISCONSIN		
Leo Hribar, Sr., Franksville, Wis.	1,246	2,629.06
Randolph Runden, Union Grove, Wis.	937	1,995.81
Arno Voss, Sheboygan, Wis.	687	1,428.96
Carl Dalgard, Racine, Wis.	639	1,329.12
Edward Morgan, New Holstein, Wis.	571	1,181.97
Estimated State average per wheat loan		931.50
WYOMING		
Kirby Tremian, Lagrange, Wyo.	10,321	20,482.00
W. P. West, Sheridan, Wyo.	8,266	15,956.00
E. C. Lund, Cokeville, Wyo.	7,861	13,802.00
Honstein & Sterkel, Meriden, Wyo.	6,438	12,490.00
Raymond Wilson, Slater, Wyo.	5,939	11,819.00
Estimated State average per wheat loan		2,000.00

[1] Wheat loans made to only 3 producers in West Virginia and in Nevada.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

Producers with largest quantity of cotton under loan, 1956 crop

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
ALABAMA		
	Bales	
J. B. Hain Co., Sardis, Ala.	926	$152,123.15
W. C. Gray, Mathews, Ala.	491	73,310.77
James Bros., Brent, Ala.	392	63,421.61
J. C. Moore Merchantile Co., Marion, Ala.	272	45,486.78
Ellis Bros., Center, Ala.	272	45,013.10
ARIZONA		
Morrison Bros. Ranch, Higley, Ariz.	3,544	553,669.86
C. W. Neely, Gilbert, Ariz.	2,270	350,723.02
W. R. Neely, Chandler, Ariz.	2,349	348,222.45
Charles Urrea & Son, Mesa, Ariz.	2,072	319,851.90
Hooper & Rugg, Casa Grande, Ariz.	1,711	268,668.94
ARKANSAS		
Tillar & Co., Tillar, Ark.	2,328	332,120.37
W. M. Smith & Co., Birdeye, Ark.	1,212	204,146.61
E. H. Clarke Co., Hughes, Ark.	1,313	203,028.94
Miller Lumber Co., Marianna, Ark.	1,051	174,311.06
J. F. Twist Plantation, Twist, Ark.	1,152	169,011.24
CALIFORNIA		
Kern County Land Co., Bakersfield, Calif.	3,517	531,362.55
Westlake Farms, Inc., Stratford, Calif.	3,278	508,667.49
Reynold M. Mettler, Bakersfield, Calif.	2,642	416,698.28
Schwartz & Circle L Farms, Stratford, Calif.	2,666	395,539.46
Wheeler Farms Co., Bakersfield, Calif.	2,288	353,063.28
FLORIDA		
Pace Farms, Milton, Fla.	40	6,546.18
C. O. Godwin, Jay, Fla.	32	4,831.43
L. Crabtree, Atmore, Ala.	23	3,266.39
John R. Johnson, Baker, Fla.	22	3,234.91
Hubert C. Johnson, Crestview, Fla.	20	2,782.21
GEORGIA		
Quinton Rogers, Waynesboro, Ga.	566	84,657.90
J. H. Rowland, Midville, Ga.	404	65,032.54
W. M. Clemones, Rome, Ga.	407	60,364.82
F. H. Willie, Louisville, Ga.	332	55,755.79
T. B. Bedingfield, Wadley, Ga.	191	29,894.05
KENTUCKY		
Robert Sanger, Hickman, Ky.	36	5,113.46
Jack Lowrance, Tiptonville, Tenn.	31	3,982.79
Stone & Ledford, Hickman, Ky.	18	2,455.84
Helen Tyler, Hickman, Ky.	8	1,316.54
George Helm, Hickman, Ky.	10	1,236.59
LOUISIANA		
Epps Plantation, Epps, La.	1,715	295,942.07
George B. Franklin, Holly Ridge, La.	1,666	281,042.18
Hollybrook Land Co., Inc., Lake Providence, La.	1,227	192,404.21
Maxwell Plantation, Inc., Mound, La.	779	126,274.62
M. P. Utz Estate, Tallulah, La.	800	121,888.62
MISSISSIPPI		
Delta & Pine Land Co., Scott, Miss.	8,967	1,446,605.67
Roy Flowers, Mattson, Miss.	1,924	326,210.95
S. H. Kyle, Clarksdale, Miss.	1,952	319,565.38
MISSISSIPPI—continued		
	Bales	
M. S. Knowlton Co., Perthshire, Miss.	1,536	$237,313.74
Delta Co., Belzoni, Miss.	1,485	229,525.70
MISSOURI		
Leo A. Fisher, Parma, Mo.	3,157	504,471.20
A. C. Riley, New Madrid, Mo.	691	108,604.07
E. P. Coleman, Jr., Sikeston, Mo.	769	105,961.52
Walter Richardson, Marston, Mo.	562	91,635.79
Crouther Farms, Inc., Lilbourn, Mo.	352	51,809.65
NEW MEXICO		
Hayner Ranch, Las Cruces, N. Mex.	1,167	208,220.27
R. H. Wamel, Jr., Animas, N. Mex.	850	148,043.08
Richens Farms, Animas, N. Mex.	824	143,651.29
J. F. Apodaca, La Mesa, N. Mex.	673	117,984.43
L. G. Guaderrama, Las Cruces, N. Mex.	540	97,780.94
NORTH CAROLINA		
Long Bros., Garysburg, N. C.	311	49,908.80
T. B. Upchurch, Inc., Raeford, N. C.	308	47,394.68
Mrs. Agnes U. Johnson, Raeford, N. C.	307	45,960.73
Lewis Farms, Jackson, N. C.	283	43,201.66
Morgan Farm & Mercantile Corp., Laurel Hill, N. C.	231	36,953.54
OKLAHOMA		
Wayne Winsett, Altus, Okla.	681	105,936.79
Clarence Rowlett, Altus, Okla.	313	45,813.42
Dennis Shelby, Hollis, Okla.	223	36,450.49
E. R. Fowler, Roosevelt, Okla.	231	33,861.16
Forrest Motley, Hollis, Okla.	196	33,814.45
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Cokers Pedigree Seed Co., Hartsville, S. C.	768	122,935.46
J. E. Mayes, Mayesville, S. C.	619	90,427.59
J. H. Chappell, Chester, S. C.	511	77,636.27
H. T. Everett, Summerton, S. C.	478	72,902.72
M. E. Bland & Co., Mayesville, S. C.	405	56,685.55
TENNESSEE		
H. S. Mitchell, Millington, Tenn.	1,129	194,455.59
W. F. Yarbro, Burlison, Tenn.	258	45,517.52
N. J. Henderson, Ripley, Tenn.	246	39,704.11
Tomlin Bros., Oakland, Tenn.	169	28,395.12
O. P. Chaplean, Hickory Valley, Tenn.	151	27,813.50
TEXAS		
C & L Ranch,[1] El Paso, Tex.	2,221	360,979.07
Lowe Midlands & Lowe Bros.,[1] Pecos, Tex.	2,091	360,084.09
Worsham Bros.,[1] Pecos, Tex.	1,895	344,440.91
A. J. Hoelscher,[1] Pecos, Tex.	1,794	314,158.19
Martha M. Russell, San Benito, Tex.	1,908	304,844.57
VIRGINIA		
William H. Ligon, Emporia, Va.	118	20,365.24
George B. Ligon, Skippers, Va.	51	8,270.42
R. A. Davis, Emporia, Va.	49	7,414.71
B. B. Vincent, Skippers, Va.	38	6,764.88
B. E. Moore, Emporia, Va.	32	5,282.03

[1] Does not include the amounts of other loans in which these producers have an interest as copledgors or otherwise.

Producers with largest quantity and amount of rice under loan, 1956 crop

Name of producer and address	Quantity	Amount
ARKANSAS	*Hundredweight*	
George Smith, and tenants, Dewitt, Ark.	56,234	$294,868.21
Southern Rice Farms, Inc., and tenants, Carlisle, Ark.	41,090	225,007.02
W. B. Bynum Cooperage Co., Dermott, Ark.	32,794	166,079.90
Harold E. Scroggins, Monticello, Ark.	25,783	125,073.06
Sam Stewart, Pat Henderson, and tenants, Scott, Ark.	23,593	122,182.20
Estimated State average per rice loan		8,301.00
CALIFORNIA		
E. L. Wallace, Yolo County, Calif.	43,439	195,568.39
Newhall Land & Farming Co., Sutter County, Calif.	34,179	154,147.29
E. L. Wallace & Son, Yolo County, Calif.	23,816	104,707.32
Roy Otterson, Glenn County, Calif.	22,386	100,289.28
Edgar B. Sills, Sutter County, Calif.	22,071	93,303.15
Estimated State average per rice loan		18,425.68
LOUISIANA		
Louisiana Rice Growers, Inc. (cooperative), Crowley, La.	67,347	353,332.86
W. J. Gayle & Son, Gueydan, La.	21,978	130,397.00
Alfred J. Hardey, Lake Providence, La.	19,746	108,136.30
J. K. Petitjean, Lake Arthur, La.	17,818	99,251.83
J. C. Larrison and Garrard Mountjoy, Little Rock, Ark.	18,147	85,726.71
Estimated State average per rice loan		4,500.00
MISSISSIPPI	*Hundredweight*	
James K. and Cecil E. Greer, Isola, Miss.	36,158	$188,137.68
Pee Dee Plantation, Greenwood, Miss.	23,391	127,759.77
J. S. Dollahite, Lake Cormorant, Miss.	14,385	73,038.15
J. R. Dockery, Cleveland, Miss.	11,807	63,071.59
Longshot Planting Co., Shaw, Miss.	10,307	59,053.93
Estimated State average per rice loan		13,042.00
MISSOURI		
Bayless Taylor, Jr. and Sr., Dudley, Mo.	4,123	19,187.19
Dirl Bagby, Dexter, Mo.	3,829	17,039.05
M. J. Bombolaski, Dudley, Mo.	3,672	16,049.86
D. A. Hendrix and F. J. Schweitzer, Poplar Bluff, Mo.	2,678	12,800.84
Hovie Eaton, Frank and Lee Dorroh, Knobel, Ark.	2,243	10,550.26
Estimated State average per rice loan		7,519.75
TEXAS		
South Texas Rice Farms, Roshoron, Tex.	125,160	705,648.83
Briscoe Production Co., Alvin, Tex.	36,283	205,586.21
Koop Bros., Edna, Tex.	34,501	191,484.95
George P. Nelson, Katy, Tex.	33,343	173,757.09
Pierce Ranch, Pierce, Tex.	32,035	177,993.18
Estimated State average per rice loan		11,350.00

Lake Michigan Water Diversion Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Mayor Richard J. Daley, of Chicago, a letter and brief from Hon. Casimir Griglik, trustee of the metropolitan sanitary district, and a letter from the Association of Commerce and Industry of Chicago, all setting forth strong reasons for the enactment of H. R. 2, the Lake Michigan water diversion bill, which has passed the House and is now pending in the Senate Public Works Committee.

I might normally have withheld these materials until the hearings on H. R. 2 which the chairman of the committee, Senator CHAVEZ, has announced will be held early next year. But the able senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] placed in the RECORD on August 26, at pages 14482–14485, a number of items in opposition to the bill, including a brief of the government of Ontario and another by the Ontario Power Commission.

For the information of Members of the Senate and others who want to consider both sides of the issue, therefore, I believe the printing of the materials mentioned would be appropriate at this time.

As these submissions clearly prove, the small proposed added diversion of water from Lake Michigan which the bill would authorize on a 3-year experimental basis only, will have minimal effects on shipping and power interests of Canada and the Great Lakes cities of the United States. But it will serve important health needs of the city of Chicago, which has shown its good faith in seeking to meet its own problems by spending over $300 million on sewage disposal plants. And the added diversion will also benefit shipping, fishing, and recreational interests in the Illinois River system.

The requested engineering studies for lack of which the President has vetoed previous diversion legislation, are now completed, and the materials I am now inserting review the relevant findings of these studies.

Also included is a recent editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer favoring the bill and suggesting that the interests of Illinois residents in the diversion deserve friendly consideration in the light of the estimate that no substantial damage will be done to other States' and cities' interests.

I am glad to make this data available for the study of all who are concerned with this legislation.

There being no objection, the items mentioned above were ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
CITY OF CHICAGO,
August 29, 1957.

The Honorable PAUL DOUGLAS,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The city of Chicago is joining with the sanitary district and the State of Illinois on behalf of bill H. R. 2 because it directly affects the health of the citizens of our city and county.

The sanitary district system is acknowledged to be 1 of the 7 modern engineering wonders of the Nation. This engineering achievement was accomplished through the efforts of all the people of the county of Cook. Eighty million dollars alone were spent in 1900—an overwhelming sum in that year—to reverse the flow of the river. Since then, more than $320 million have been spent to furnish the most vital service that any government can provide for its people—the protection of their health.

At the present time, the sewage treatment of this entire metropolitan area is the most efficient in the Nation. Despite this wonderful accomplishment, the additional flow of water is essential if the health of the community is to be protected.

It is obvious that the experience of the past 50 years has proven conclusively that an additional flow of 1,000 cubic feet per second would cause no adverse effect to any other governing body or private interests.

Health has no boundary lines. The people of Chicago, of Cook County—yes, indeed, of the Mississippi Valley, literally millions of people—are looking to the Congress of the United States to help them protect the health of their communities.

The people of Chicago, the people of Illinois, and the great Midwest have faith that the Congress of the United States will not permit any foreign government to determine the health standards of the citizens of our country. There can be no economic interests which could have greater weight than the continuing health of our population.

As chief executive of a great metropolitan city, I urge the passage of this bill which has as a single purpose to rid our rivers of pollution and thus protect the health of the millions of people in this great area.

Sincerely,

RICHARD J. DALEY,
Mayor.

THE METROPOLITAN SANITARY
DISTRICT OF
GREATER CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., August 29, 1957.

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The following facts are submitted for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on behalf of the adoption of H. R. 2, and are in reply to the speech in the United States Senate, August 26, 1957, by Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, and the documents then submitted bp him for the record in connection with H. R. 2, the Lake Michigan water diversion bill (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Senate, August 26, 1957, pp. 14482 to 14485). These documents were:

(a) Resolution by city officials of Milwaukee.

(b) Editorial from the Milwaukee Journal, April 8, 1957.

(c) Brief by the Government of the Province of Ontario, May 6, 1957.

(d) Brief by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

Senator WILEY in his presentation referred to the diversion of water from the Lake Michigan watershed, at Chicago, as the "Chicago water steal," regardless of the fact that when this diversion began, in 1848, or 109 years ago, it was not made for any local purpose of the city of Chicago, but primarily for the navigation needs of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. This canal was constructed by the State of Illinois, under an act of Congress, in 1827, which granted the State 284,000 acres of the public land to finance its building. Diversion through this canal continued, from 1848 to 1907.

Later the Chicago Drainage Canal was constructed with a capacity flow of 10,000 cubic feet per second, 1892–1900, and the Secretary of War, May 8, 1899, granted The Sanitary District of Chicago a permit "to open the channel constructed and cause the waters of Chicago River to flow into the same."

Thereafter the Secretaries of War issued subsequent permits to The Sanitary District of Chicago, as follows:

December 5, 1901, limiting the flow to 4,167 cubic feet per second.

March 3, 1925, limiting the flow to 8,500 cubic feet per second annual average, in addition to domestic pumpage, until December 31, 1929.

December 31, 1929, limiting the flow to 8,500 cubic feet per second annual average, including domestic pumpage.

June 26, 1930, limiting the flow, after July 1, 1930, to 6,500 cubic feet per second annual average, in addition to domestic pumpage, until December 31, 1935; then to 5,000 cubic feet per second annual average, in addition to domestic pumpage, until December 31, 1938; thereafter and at present to 1,500 cubic feet per second in addition to domestic pumpage.

The last permit was in accord with the decree of the United States Supreme Court, April 21, 1930, in the Great Lakes case of *Wisconsin et al.* v. *The Sanitary District of Chicago and the State of Illinois* (278 U. S. 367 at 417, 73 L. ed., 426 at 434, and 281 U. S. 179 at 199, 74 L. ed. 799 at 805).

This decree was in accord with the finding of Special Master Charles Evans Hughes, who heard the evidence and concluded that a diversion of 1,500 cubic feet per second of water was "necessary for the purpose of maintaining navigation in the Chicago River, as a part of the Port of Chicago."

The right of the city of Chicago, or any municipality for that matter, to take whatever water it needs for domestic purposes and thereafter to dispose of such water (then sewage) as it deems fitting, cannot and is here not being disputed.

In the trial of the Great Lakes case, the navigation needs of the Illinois waterway, then under construction, were not considered. After the Illinois waterway had become a Federal waterway, under act of July 3, 1930, an official report made under the provisions of this 1930 congressional act by the Secretary of War, included a recommendation that after the completion of the treatment plants of the sanitary district, and a period of not more than 2 years of observation and study be made to determine whether the 1,500 cubic feet per second in addition to domestic pumpage was sufficient to meet the needs of a commercially useful waterway. This report stated:

"Then, and only then can it be determined with reasonable certainty whether any additional diversion is necessary in order to provide decent and healthful living conditions for boat crews and river-terminal operators."

No such study or observation has been made, since the completion of the sanitary district's sewage treatment plants, by the Secretary of War or any other Federal agency.

H. R. 2 (the pending O'Brien bill) would authorize a temporary diversion of 1,000

cubic feet per second of additional water, for sufficient time only to allow the Army engineers and the United States Public Health Service to make the study recommended in the official report made in accordance with the congressional act of July 3, 1930.

In this record, as noted above, there certainly therefore is no indication of a "water steal." Every action taken by the advocates of increased diversion has been based on sound commonsense and in the interest of public policy for the entire Midwest region.

The resolution signed by municipal officials of the city of Milwaukee, Wis., is another document registering routine opposition to any additional diversion of water, whether it be for the benefit of navigation, or not. It mentions the expenditure of $10 million for modern navigation facilities and deep-draft channels. An analysis of these expenditures would show that only a small part of them was for additional draft and that of this part, the amount for five-eighths of 1 inch of depth would be insignificant indeed.

The editorial in the Milwaukee Journal of April 6, 1957, states that it would be a dangerous precedent to authorize a diversion which would lower lake levels three-eighths of 1 inch, which lowering would be added to the decline in levels of 3 feet since the 1952 high.

This is quibbling indeed. Lake levels may decline 2 feet more, before another rising trend begins. The periodic fluctuation in lake levels, based on monthly averages, is more than 6 feet. The Canadian diversion since 1943 of 5,000 cubic feet per second of water into the Great Lakes system at Lake Superior has raised the natural level of the lakes about 3 inches.

A precedent for interferenece with the natural levels of the lake has therefore been established long since by Canada, and Milwaukee and the opposing Lake States were silent.

In contrast to the Milwaukee Journal's consistent editorial opposition, it is interesting to note the contrary position of reversal of their previous opposition by the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Peoria Journal Star. Photostatic copies of the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 26, 1957, as reprinted in the Chicago Daily News on May 29, 1957, and of the Peoria Journal Star of August 24, 1957, are herewith submitted for the record. They state:

[From the Chicago Daily News of May 29, 1957]

"OHIO PAPER BACKS LAKE DIVERSION

"(Editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sunday, May 26)

"Round 57 of the Chicago water battle has just ended in favor of the Windy City by a 222–143 point count. The round number approximates the years this famous debate has fumed; the points are symbolic of the most recent House of Representatives vote approving increased diversion.

"(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Senate Public Works Committee will shortly take up the measure.)

"If the Senate and President Eisenhower (who twice previously has vetoed like efforts) concur, for a 3-year test period Chicago will be allowed to flush 2,500 cubic feet per second down her barge and sewage canal.

"That's 1,000 cubic feet per second more than at present. In gallonage it would total 1.62 billion per day. A trifle when compared to the 126 billion gallons which daily go down the drain at Niagara Falls, it still represents no mean stream. Greater Cleveland, on the steamiest of summer days, consumes less than a third that amount.

* * * * *

"Over the years we've listened to some fairly vivid language on diversion. From a position or resisting Chicago's efforts the Plain Dealer has come around to approving them—with reservations.

"The main reason is that the health and welfare of a great metropolitan area are paramount over lake shipping interests and any considerations of hydroelectric development.

"An unpolluted Lake Michigan—at least in the Chicago area—where the public can play and bathe in safety, puts other Great Lakes cities to shame.

"In no way do we underrate the importance of ore carrying to Cleveland. But we do dispute the argument of the Lake Carriers Association that three-eighths of an inch of lowered water is a serious financial threat.

"The three-eighths figure is what the Army engineers estimate a 3-year, 1,000 cubic foot per second additional siphon will do to Lake Erie.

"If diversion were a genuine menace, the various steel companies would be loud to say so. They'd be getting less ore cheaply by water and paying more for rail haulage.

"United States Steel Corp., Republic, and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, all operators of mills near Chicago on Lake Michigan, have stayed remarkably silent. Yet Lake Michigan's level would be lowered more than any of the others. Inland Steel Corp., another Chicago area producer, also is indifferent toward diversion.

"Next week much to-do will be made over at Detroit when dredging is inaugurated on the $150 million 'connecting channels' project.

"This will deepen passageways between the lakes to accommodate St. Lawrence seaway traffic. Depth will be 27 feet, enough to clear vessels drawing 25½ feet.

"It may appear inconsistent to be spending major sums to provide more water and at the same time to allow Chicago to take a little bit of that water away. Once completed, the dredging will provide ample clearance for any type of vessels; diversion won't matter."

[From the Peoria Journal Star of Saturday, August 24, 1957]

"The Lake Michigan diversion bill is sidetracked again in Congress, with no chance to get on the main track until January.

"Ten years ago we would have considered this good news, but not now. Chicago's treatment of its sewage is now such that the Illinois Valley would welcome a greater volume of lake water coming through the sanitary district and down the Illinois River, at least as a 3-year experiment.

"Only flimsy objections to this experiment have been heard from other lake States and Canada.

"A good case has been presented for the experimental increase in diversion, but it has been endlessly delayed by votes and parliamentary technicalities.

"Illinoisans in Congress should step up their fight for diversion in January. And the people of Illinois should give them hearty support."

The brief of the government of the Province of Ontario, submitted upon invitation to the Government of Canada, expressing opposition to the proposed temporary increase of Lake Michigan water at Chicago, as provided in H. R. 2, was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (p. 14483) by Senator WILEY, on August 26, 1957.

This Ontario brief, in part, stated:

"In making the protest the Province of Ontario is mindful of the terms of article 2 of the Boundary Waters Treaty between Canada and the United States, signed at Washington, January 11, 1909, and which states in part that the Province in common with other contracting parties has the right to 'object to any interference with or diversions of water on the other side of the boundary the effect of which would be productive of material injury to the navigation interests on its own side of the boundary.' Ontario feels that Lake Michigan is an integral link in the Great Lakes system and that any alteration in the natural flow should only be accomplished through agreement of abutting jurisdiction."

With respect to the foregoing, it may be noted that on March 1, 1956, the Chicago Bar Association approved the report of its committee on international and foreign law regarding the legal aspects of the then proposed legislation (H. R. 3210, 84th Cong., similar to H. R. 2, 85th Cong.) regarding the temporary increase of diversion of Lake Michigan water at Chicago.

That 1956 Chicago Bar Association report has heretofore been presented to the Congress at the hearings on the diversion bills. Its conclusions were:

"I. Congress has power under the commerce clause of the Constitution to authorize the additional diversion.

"II. Authorization of additional diversion would not violate the constitutional barrier to giving a preference to the ports of any State.

"III. The power of Congress to authorize increased diversion is not affected by the fact that the Supreme Court has in the past considered the subject matter and has retained jurisdiction to modify its decree.

"IV. Congressional action authorizing additional diversion at Chicago would not violate the mandatory provisions of the International Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 or the Niagara Treaty of 1950. Whether Congress should await the report of the International Joint Commission pursuant to the 1952 reference under article IX (1909 treaty) is a question of policy to be decided by Congress. There are no rules of international law or principles of comity which introduce considerations different from those considered in connection with the 1909 treaty."

In 1957 (August 1, 1957) the Chicago Bar Association approved a supplemental legal opinion and report of its committee on international and foreign law as to H. R. 2, 85th Congress.

The conclusions of this supplemental report of the Chicago Bar Association on this phase are:

"A. The 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty as applied to the proposed diversion may make rules of general international law inapplicable and the treaty itself may authorize that diversion.

"B. If international law, independent of the 1909 treaty, prevails, still the proposed diversion is proper."

The foregoing legal conclusions of both the original 1956 opinion and the supplemental 1957 opinion of the Chicago Bar Association are directly contrary to the interpretation placed on article 2 of the 1909 treaty in the brief of the Province of Ontario.

A copy of the aforesaid 1957 supplemental legal opinion and report of the Chicago Bar Association on H. R. 2 (85th Cong.) is herewith submitted for the RECORD.

In passing it may be noted that the brief of the Province of Ontario is predicated upon a diversion on the other side of the boundary which "would be productive of material injury to the navigation interests on its own side of the boundary."

That there is no material injury to navigation interests by the proposed temporary diversion is clearly shown by the Army engineers' report (exhibit A of bar association's 1957 supplemental opinion), which held that the effect of a temporary diversion as proposed by H. R. 2 "is so small and of such temporary nature that it is impracticable to evaluate the effect in monetary terms."

The brief of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, also submitted for the RECORD (pp. 14484–14485) by Senator WILEY,

cites the same figures that were used by General Berrigan in his report, January 1957, on the effect on the Great Lakes of an increase of 1,000 cubic feet per second in the diversion at Chicago. The Hydro-Electric Power Commission arrived at conclusions somewhat different from the conclusions of General Berrigan, division engineer, and General Itschner, who reviewed his report. The monetary value of the power which would be lost by the temporary diversion, as figured by the hydro commission, is about the same as that computed by General Berrigan. The Hydro-Electric Power Commission figures this to be a serious matter, even though it is a theoretical loss of less than one-half of 1 percent of the total energy produced.

In regard to power, General Itschner stated:

"That the changes in theoretical dependable capacity are so small with respect to the total capacities of the power systems that assignment of value to the changes is not warranted, from a practical operational standpoint."

In regard to power, General Berrigan stated:

"For a 3-year increase in diversion, the temporary character of the effects on dependable capacities is such as not to warrant evaluation."

In regard to navigation, General Berrigan stated:

"However, it is not believed practicable to evaluate such effects because of the small extent of the lowering and also because of the temporary nature of the lowering there would be no means of estimating the lake stages which would prevail at the time lowering of lake levels is effective."

At the previous Senate subcommittee hearings on H. R. 3210 of the 84th Congress, it was suggested that Canada probably could increase its present diversion into Lake Superior and thereby offset the contemplated diversion of Lake Michigan water at Chicago.

Apparently in response to this proposal, the briefs of both the Province of Ontario and of the Hydro-Electric Commission of Ontario as submitted for the RECORD by Senator Wiley, rejected this recommendation, stating, in substance, all of the water so available for diversion into Lake Superior is presently being diverted and cannot be increased.

The brief of the Province of Ontario states:

"It has been suggested by some of the supporters of water diversion from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway that the Province of Ontario might counteract any adverse effects of such diversion by increasing the Long Lac-Ogoki flow into Lake Superior. Our engineers advise us that such an increase is not possible however, since virtually all the inflow from the Albany River system is being diverted to the south. The present flow is approximately 5,000 cubic feet per second and Ontario regrets that there is no way in which this can be increased."

On the same phase, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario's brief states:

"It is not possible to compensate for the increased diversion at Chicago by diverting additional flow into Lake Superior by way of the Long Lake and Ogoki Diversions, as all flow that can be so diverted is being diverted."

The statement in the Province of Ontario's brief that "virtually all of the inflow of the Albany River is being diverted to the south" is factually misleading. The Albany River is one of the largest rivers in Canada, and maps indicate that about 6,000 square miles of its upper watershed drain to a point about 120 feet higher than the Ogoki River pool, from which water is diverted into Lake Superior. A statement that "virtually all of the inflow of the Ogoki River is being diverted to the south," would be correct; and this may be what the author of the brief really intended to state but did not do so.

While the brief of the Province of Ontario, as above quoted, stated their engineeds advise that an increase of diversion as suggested into Lake Superior is not possible, may be respectfully offer the following action as a possiblity of Canada's increasing such diversion into Lake Superior and recommend that a study be made to that end.

The following recommendation, as to a possibility of Canada's increasing the diversion into Lake Superior was originally presented, at their request, July 1957, to the Great Lakes Commission by our Horace P. Ramey, chief engineer of the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago. Mr. Ramey is recognized as one of the Nation's outstanding hydraulic engineers and as an authority on Great Lake levels. In 1952 he was awarded the Octave Chanute Medal (established 1901) by the Western Society of Engineers for his prepared article on Great Lake Levels and Their Changes.

The present diversion from the Albany River watershed into Lake Superior by Canada started in 1939 by a diversion of approximately 1,000 cubic feet per second of water from the Kenogami River, a tributary of the Albany River, through Long Lake into Lake Superior.

In July 1943, 4,000 cubic feet per second annual average of water from the Ogoki River, above Waboose Rapids was diverted. This represented an average yield of about 0.75 cubic foot per second per square mile from the Ogoki River watershed of 5.545 square miles above Waboose Rapids.

The foregoing diversions at Lake Superior, into the Great Lakes system, of about 5,000 cubic feet per second has raised Great Lakes water levels an estimated 3 inches.

The capacity of the diversion works, from the Ogoki River to the Jackfish River, then Lake Nipigon and into Lake Superior is about 10,000 cubic feet per second. At present it is probable that all the water divertable from the Ogoki River watershed is being thus diverted.

However, the watershed of the upper Albany River, above Rat Rapids, including Lake St. Joseph (elevation 1.172) is approximately 6,000 square miles in area, and should yield an average of about 5,000 cubic feet per second of water. A dam 40 feet high could raise the water level of Lake St. Joseph to elevation 1.200 or about 127 feet higher than the level of the Ogoki River Pool. This difference in levels should be sufficient to cause a flow of 5,000 cubic feet per second from the Albany River Pool, through a proper cut through the Albany-Ogoki Divide. Maps indicate a low place in this divide on the line between Rat Rapids (on the Albany River) and Pike Lake (on the Ogoki River).

This suggested avenue of possible additional diversion, from the Albany River into the Ogoki River and thence into Lake Superior, as here presented by our chief engineer, we believe merits thorough investigation and serious consideration by Canada and is respectfully submitted to that end. * * *

Respectfully submitted.

CASIMIR GRIGLIK,
Trustee, Chairman, Special Committee on Federal Relations.

CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY,
LEGISLATION AND TAXATION DIVISION,
Chicago, Ill., August 29, 1957.

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
United States Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The August 26, 1957, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD carries the remarks of Senator WILEY together with certain material inserted in the RECORD by him, all in opposition to H. R. 2, the Lake Michigan water diversion bill. These remarks and the included material may be read and accepted by some as accurately portraying the Lake Michigan water diversion matter. Some answer should be made to the Senator's remarks since the RECORD does not accurately present the lake diversion problem or the justifiable need for the diversion of such water as provided by H. R. 2. On behalf, therefore, of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, it is suggested that the contents of this letter be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Senator WILEY in his remarks states "Our past opposition to the Chicago water steal continues, and many reasons have arisen as well." To call the lake diversion legislation "the Chicago water steal" shows the lengths to which the opponents of lake diversion will go, not only to distort the true facts, but to prejudice the minds of those who may be trying to seek a true picture of the situation. It would seem needless to say that the 6 million people of the Chicago metropolitan area are not trying to steal water that is so badly needed for our health, safety, and welfare. People in the Chicago metropolitan area are asking the Congress, which has twice approved their plea by passage of this legislation, and the President, who has twice vetoed this legislation, to permit the diversion of such Lake Michigan water for the protection of their health. Certainly, this is not an effort to steal the water as the Senator stated.

Included in the material inserted into the RECORD is a letter addressed to Senator WILEY from the mayor of Milwaukee, the Milwaukee City Council, and the Milwaukee Port Authority which asks for defeat of H. R. 2 for the reason that the city of Milwaukee is spending $10 million in its port development. They advocate that the diversion provided by H. R. 2 would handicap shipping on the Great Lakes. It would see that we are to assume that this expenditure by Milwaukee and the Federal Government would be to no avail if H. R. 2 were passed since this minor diversion of Lake Michigan water would be, in their view, such a handicap to shipping. Their argument is without foundation. It should be of interest to the Senate as well as to the Milwaukee officials that 10 times what they are spending; namely, $100 million, is either now being expended or is planned for expenditure for the development of the Chicago harbor and the Cal-Sag Channel, all of which will be expended before the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway. It may further be of interest to know that some $1 billion in new industrial plants and facilities will be invested in the Chicago metropolitan area as a direct result of the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway project, the widening of the Cal-Sag Channel, and the port of Chicago developments. It would seem, therefore, that anyone who honestly desires to appraise the situation would agree that the vast Chicagoland manufacturing and shipping interests as well as the whole Chicagoland community would not spend these vast amounts if there were any reason to fear a loss of shipping due to the diversion of Lake Michigan water into the Illinois Waterway.

The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry hopes that you advise the Senate that it has made its own study and given consideration to the recent reports of the United States Corps of Engineers with respect to this matter. We are firmly convinced that the passage of H. R. 2 will not adversely affect shipping in the Great Lakes.

Adequate consideration must be given to the importance of diversion for sanitary reasons. Just as the opponents to diversion in the early days of Chicago gave no consideration to the typhoid epidemic, later solved by our engineering science, is there no consider-

ation today by some opponents for the plea that diversion is needed for the health and welfare of a great metropolitan area. Science cannot correct today's situation. The dissolved oxygen required to clean and keep clean the Chicago River and the Illinois Waterway can only be provided by the diversion of Lake Michigan water. Today the metropolitan sanitary district of Greater Chicago, which has been cited as one of the seven engineering wonders of the world, serves some 4,600,000 people and some 125,000 industrial and business firms covering some 900 square miles of area. It handles the sewage of some 4,600,000 humans and the industrial waste equivalent to over 3½ million people, making a total waste equivalent to well over some 8 million persons. Today the sanitary district is able to purify this sewage to the extent of 90 percent, meaning that some 10 percent of microscopic waste which cannot be treated or purified to any greater extent is left in the effluent that is put into the Chicago River and the Illinois Waterway. This means that the equivalent of the untreated waste of some 800,000 persons is daily dumped into the Illinois Waterway. This is necessary even by the finest treatment plant in the world.

With respect to the legal aspects of the lake diversion legislation, the Chicago Bar Association, at the request of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, prepared an opinion in 1956 which has been heretofore presented to the Senate in connection with H. R. 3210, 84th Congress. Recently, a supplemental opinion on this matter was prepared by the committee on international and foreign law of the Chicago Bar Association under the chairmanship of Sidney G. Craig. It is my understanding that the 1957 supplemental opinion of the Chicago Bar Association has heretofore been placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and should make adequate reply to any recently developed legal phases of this legislation.

Within the decade ending in 1960, it is estimated the population of this metropolitan area may increase some 1 million persons, and this with the corresponding industrial expansion will mean the equivalent of the untreated waste of some 1 million persons will be dumped daily into the Chicago River and the Illinois Waterway. The situation is serious. The benefits of H. R. 2, the lake diversion legislation, cannot in good conscience be postponed much longer.

With kindest personal regards.

Yours very truly,

PRESTON E. PEDEN,
Director.

Majority Rule Wanted by American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the United American Veterans at their meeting on August 28, 1957, in Washington, D. C., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A special meeting of the board of directors of the United American Veterans was called for the purpose of discussing majority rule. This meeting was held on August 28, 1957, at national headquarters, 1129 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

Whereas daily our lawmakers introduce bills in the Senate and in the House; and

Whereas the lawmakers who introduce such bills, feel that those bills have merit, or they would not introduce them; and

Whereas when those bills are introduced they are sent to the proper committee. This committee then sends the bill to the subcommittee entitled to pass on said bill; and

Whereas the chairman of each committee should take each bill in turn, pass on it; and

Whereas if that committee approves the bill it should be sent to the floor of the Senate, or House for action; and

Whereas if the committee disapprove of said bill, that committee should state the reason, and send the bill to the floor of the Senate, or House for action; and

Whereas as matters stand today, the chairmen of the different committees pass judgment on said bill, and if he feels that said bill does not suit his ideas, he pigeonhole said bill and it dies for want of action: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the United American Veterans go on record as calling upon the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and the House to take whatever action is needed in order to compel a chairman to send each and every bill to the floor of the Senate or House so that each body may vote on said bill; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the majority and minority leaders of the Senate, and to the majority and minority leaders of the House, and to the press.

THOMAS DIXON,
National Commander.
FRANCIS F. LEBRUN,
National Adjutant.

A National Cultural Center Plan for the Mall Area in the Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on August 8, 1957, the House voted 2 to 1 against a plan to locate the National Cultural Center in the so-called Foggy Bottom area of the District of Columbia.

Since that time I have been working on a draft bill to provide for the construction of the National Cultural Center in the District of Columbia on part of the land made available for the Smithsonian Gallery of Art.

My bill, on which I completed work recently, directs the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to utilize so much of that tract of land in the District of Columbia referred to in the first section of the resolution of May 17, 1938—title 20, United States Code, section 76—as is bounded by Fourth Street SW., on the east, Seventh Street SW., on the west, Independence Avenue on the south, and Adams Drive on the north, title to which is in the United States, and shall construct thereon a public building which shall be known as the National Cultural Center. The National Cultural Center shall be under the supervision and control of the Regents.

The Congress for a century has thought of the Mall area between 4th and 14th Streets, and Constitution and Independence Avenues, as the location for cultural activities and buildings devoted to them. The Congress, as a result of this conviction, has placed there the Smithsonian Institution and its branches: the Freer Gallery, the National Gallery of Art, the National Museum, the new Museum of History and Technology, and it authorized the building there of a Smithsonian Gallery of Art.

During the 84th Congress I campaigned to have this administration reverse itself regarding the historic Patent Office Building which had been designed by Robert Mills, one of our country's great architects who designed the Treasury Department Building and the Washington Monument.

This administration seriously recommended to the Congress that the Patent Office Building be razed for a parking lot on the site.

When the administration finally reversed itself as a result of this campaign it tried to take credit for saving the building.

Saved it was, and the plan now is to use it as a great art gallery.

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, and I have sponsored legislation in the 85th Congress which would utilize the building for the century-old National Collection of Fine Arts and a National Portrait Gallery.

These measures, if enacted into law, would leave the Mall site, set aside for the Smithsonian Gallery of Art by the 75th Congress, free for other purposes. In the absence of any better proposal, some of the officials of the Smithsonian Institution have suggested that the Mall site be used for a National Air Museum.

The bill which I have developed provides, instead, that the National Cultural Center be located on the site set apart for a cultural center in 1938. My bill also provides that the National Cultural Center shall be a branch of the Smithsonian Institution in the very same way that the Freer Gallery, the National Gallery of Art, and the National Collection of Fine Arts are branches of that Federal agency.

The Congress in its wisdom has provided a site on the Capitol Grounds for a memorial to the late Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio. It has also established a Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission to plan a fitting memorial to former President Roosevelt.

President Roosevelt was deeply interested in the fine arts as was proved by the role he played in establishing the National Gallery of Art and the American National Theater and Academy. He has been cited by knowledgeable people as "the most intelligent President about art since Jefferson."

I think it would be fitting to provide that the National Cultural Center shall include a Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Theater in the spirit of the resolution entitled "Joint resolution to establish a commission to formulate

plans for a memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt," approved August 11, 1955 (69 Stat. 694).

Finally, my bill provides that the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution shall solicit subscriptions, gifts, and bequests of money, securities, and other property of any character whatsoever, for the purpose of constructing, furnishing, equipping, and presenting cultural programs at the National Cultural Center.

The National Cultural Center, under my bill, shall be self-financed.

This is the reason that I am of the opinion that my plan for a National Cultural Center will work.

I include here the text of my bill for the information of my colleagues, in the hope that they will join with me in sponsoring it.

Also, I include an article from the Washington Evening Star which gives some of the background of my plan. Although the article was written in 1955 it seems to me to be very timely in connection with my new measure.

A bill to provide for the construction of a National Cultural Center, to include a Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Theater, in the District of Columbia on part of the land made available for the Smithsonian Gallery of Art, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc.—

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This act may be cited as the "National Cultural Center Act."

NATIONAL CULTURAL CENTER

SEC. 2. (a) In order to provide a suitable building for the presentation of music, opera, drama, dance, and poetry which is deserving of recognition as a part of the great heritage of our civilization, and to memorialize our great artists (both living and dead) who have contributed to the advancement of these arts, the regents of the Smithsonian Institution (hereafter in this act referred to as the "regents") shall utilize so much of that tract of land in the District of Columbia referred to in the first section of the resolution of May 17, 1938 (20 U. S. C. 76), as is bounded by Fourth Street SW. on the east, Seventh Street SW. on the west, Independence Avenue on the south, and Adams Drive on the north, title to which is in the United States, and shall construct thereon a public building which shall be known as the National Cultural Center. The National Cultural Center shall be under the supervision and control of the regents.

(b) The National Cultural Center shall include a Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Theater in the spirit of the resolution entiled "Joint resolution to establish a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt," approved August 11, 1955 (69 Stat. 694).

(c) (1) The regents shall utilize, insofar as possible, the design for a national theater developed by the American National Theater and Academy and presented to President Truman in 1951, as the design for the National Cultural Center. Provision shall be made for parking facilities in the vicinity of the National Cultural Center and for landscaping the grounds surrounding the National Cultural Center. The National Cultural Center shall not include facilities designed specifically for conventions, trade fairs, or commercial exhibits.

(2) The regents shall authorize the preparation of the site referred to in subsection (a) of this section and the construction of the National Cultural Center thereon, including approaches, landscaping, and other related facilities.

(3) The Administrator of General Services shall supervise the preparation of plans and specifications and the actual construction of the National Cultural Center without reimbursement. For such purposes the Administrator of General Services shall make all necessary contracts and may employ such consultants as he may deem necessary.

DUTIES OF THE REGENTS

SEC. 3. In carrying out their duties under this act the regents shall—

(1) present at the National Cultural Center classical and contemporary music, opera, drama, dance, and poetry of the highest type from this and other countries;

(2) establish resident repertory companies in such arts as an activity of the National Cultural Center;

(3) promote public interest in the arts of music, opera, drama, dance, and poetry by publishing a periodical devoted to the activities of the National Cultural Center and by making the programs presented at the National Cultural Center available for dissemination by radio, television, and motion picture;

(4) take such other steps as will, in the judgment of the regents, encourage the study and presentation of such arts in the schools, and as an activity of State and local governments;

(5) solicit subscriptions, gifts, and bequests of moneys, securities, and other property of any character whatsoever, for the purpose of constructing, furnishing, equipping, and presenting programs of such arts at the National Cultural Center;

(6) receive and administer moneys, securities, and other property received pursuant to paragraph (5) of this section; and

(7) consult with the National Cultural Center Commission established by section 5 of this act with respect to the most suitable means of carrying out the duties of the regents under this section.

POWERS OF THE REGENTS

SEC. 4. The regents may for the purposes of this act—

(1) appoint and fix the compensation and duties of a Director of the National Cultural Center;

(2) employ such other personnel to work under the supervision of the Director of the National Cultural Center as they may deem to be necessary for the efficient operation and administration of the National Cultural Center;

(3) sell or exchange such securities and other properties received pursuant to section 3 (5) as they may deem advisable;

(4) invest or reinvest moneys and the proceeds of securities and other properties received pursuant to section 3 (5), in such investments as they may deem advisable;

(5) place moneys, securities, and other property received pursuant to section 3 (5) in such depositories as they may deem suitable for that purpose; and

(6) expend moneys and the proceeds and income from securities and other property received pursuant to section 3 (5) to carry out the purposes of this act.

NATIONAL CULTURAL CENTER COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) There is hereby established a National Cultural Center Commission (hereafter in this act referred to as the "Commission"). The Commisison shall consist of—

(1) the Librarian of Congress, the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and the Chairman of the District of Columbia Recreation Board, who shall be ex officio members of the Commission;

(2) seven persons appointed by the President of the United States;

(3) seven persons appointed by the President of the Senate at least four of whom shall be Members of the United States Senate; and

(4) seven persons appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives at last four of whom shall be Members of the United States House of Representatives.

Any vacancy occurring in the Commission among members appointed pursuant to paragraph (2), (3), or (4) shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment was made.

(b) Persons appointed to the Commisison other than Members of the Congress and officers or employees of the United States shall be persons who are recognized for their knowledge of or experience in, or for their interest in one or more of the arts referred to in section 3 (1). In making such appointments the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall give due consideration to the recommendations for nomination submitted by leading organizations concerned with the arts referred to in section 3 (1) including but not limited to thefollowing national organizations: Actors' Equity Association, American Council on Education, American Council of Learned Societies, American Educational Theater Association, American Federation of Musicians, American Federation of Radio-TV Artists, American Guild of Musical Artists, American Guild of Variety Artists, American National Theater and Academy, Associated Actors and Artists of Ameri , Association of American Colleges, Children's Theater Conference, Council of Living Theater, Dramatists' Guild, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Association of Concert Managers, National Association of Legitimate Theaters, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, National Association of Schools of Music, National Education Association, National Federation of Music Clubs, National Music Council, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., Music Educators National Conference, and Screen Actors Guild.

(c) The Commission shall—

(1) advise and consult with the regents with respect to financing the construction of the National Cultural Center;

(2) advise and consult with the regents with respect to the duties of the regents under section 3 of this act; and

(3) assist the regents in carrying out section 3 (5) of this act.

(d) The term of office of each member of the Commission appointed pursuant to paragraph (2), (3), or (4) of subsection (a) shall be for 4 years.

(e) (1) The Commission shall meet at the call of the regents but not less than six times each year.

(2) Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation, but each member of the Commission shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by him in connection with the work of the Commission.

INTERAGENCY COMMITTEES

SEC. 6. The President is authorized to create such interagency committees as in his judgment may be of assistance to the regents in performing their functions under this act. Such committees shall include individuals having special knowledge and experience in the arts of music, opera, drama, dance, and poetry, as well as individuals whose knowledge and experience in other fields will assist the regents in performing such functions; and may include representatives of each department and agency of the Federal Government which carries on any activities related to any of such arts whether or not such department or agency has any primary concern or responsibility with respect of any of such arts. The provisions of section 214 of the act of May 3,

1945 (31 U. S. C., sec. 691), shall be applicable to any interagency committee created pursuant to this section.

REPEAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 7. The following acts are hereby repealed—

(1) the act entitled "An act to incorporate the National Conservatory of Music of America," approved March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. 1093); and

(2) the act entitled "An act creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an inaugural hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center," approved July 1, 1955 (69 Stat. 243).

[From the Washington Sunday Star of September 18, 1955]

FUNDS FOR AUDITORIUM AVAILABLE, OFFICIAL SAYS

(By Farncis P. Douglas)

NEW YORK, September 17.—Robert W. Dowling, member of the commission being formed to plan a civic auditorium for the Capital, is confident $15 million can be raised for the project.

This money would be in outright donations. It would make unnecessary planning the financing of the structure on a self-liquidating basis, as directed by Congress.

"If the Federal Government donates the land," he said, "it should do it contingent on the money being raised and it should set a time limit," Mr. Dowling said. "I think there ought to be a 2-year restriction."

He said the money can be raised on a nationwide basis from individuals, the foundations, the theater—"it could raise a great sum through benefit performances"—the moving-picture industry, and other groups.

EXPERIENCED FUND RAISER

Mr. Dowling takes time from business—big business—for an enthusiasm for the theater. And he knows about raising money. He is engaged in the real-estate and building business in New York. He is president and director of the City Investing Co. and a director of Starrett Bros. & Eken, the largest in their fields. He is director of almost a dozen other companies. His interests control the National Theater, the Playhouse, and the Du Pont Theater in Washington.

He is chairman of the American National Theater and Academy (ANTA). This is a nonprofit foundation chartered by Congress in 1935 to promote the American theater. It is in charge of this country's international exchange program, which sends American plays like Porgy and Bess overseas.

When the French Government suggested last summer that the United States stage an American Festival of Arts in Paris, the State Department accepted. But there was no money for the project. Mr. Dowling raised the necessary $400,000 through private subscriptions. The American program in Paris included the presentation of Thornton Wilder's Skin of Our Teeth, with a topnotch cast.

INTEREST LONGSTANDING

Mr. Dowling's interest in an auditorium for the Capital is of a number of years' standing. He testified in favor of the bill setting up the Commission to plan a civic auditorium, to include an inaugural hall of the Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

It was natural that the seven members named to the Commission by Speaker RAYBURN should include Mr. Dowling. Vice President NIXON named 7 members Friday and announcement of President Eisenhower's 7 appointees is expected shortly.

The law specifies that the Commission shall report by next February 1. Mr. Dowling believes that allows plenty of time.

"There is no mystery involved," he said. "It is not like splitting the atom or launching a satellite. An auditorium can be established using the arts and skills already developed."

He suggested that the auditorium should seat 4,000, but said that is something for the Commission to work out. He mentioned it as a fair guess, just as he had mentioned $15 million as "not an exact sum, but a good start."

ACCORDION PLAN FAVORED

Of the auditorium he said:

"I should like to see it built on what I would call the accordion plan—an auditorium seating 4,000 one night and contracting to seat 1,000 the next night, with no vacant seats. It is of enormous importance always to have the room full.

"This accordion plan is entirely practical. It can be accomplished in either of two ways. One is by movable walls. The second is by movable drapes suspended from ceiling tracks.

"In the case of the walls, they could either be raised from the floor or, again, suspended from ceiling tracks.

"The hall should be fitted to the performance. You could have a magnificent chamber music concert but in a big hall the three or more players would be like flies on the distant stage. For a full-scale opera or ballet you would want the entire hall."

NOT JUST THEATER

He dismissed the idea that the auditorium should be for the theater alone. He said it could be used for important meetings of state, for international meetings, and to provide a chamber for the inauguration of Presidents, as the law contemplates.

The building, he said, should also provide facilities for schools of music, the drama and painting and it could become a great center in those fields. This would help in raising money, he pointed out, because some give more quickly to education than to other purposes.

In the auditorium he would like to see 50 boxes, probably more. He explained there should be a presidential box and suggested a box named for each State in which the Governor of the State or the State's representatives would be welcome.

Discussing the need for the building he said many factors are obvious but some are not so obvious.

"When we send abroad an exchange program, exchange is a misnomer if we can't receive something here in return. These have been making friends for our country. But then artists, producers, musicians ask when they can come here."

NO THEATER AVAILABLE

"There is no commercial theater you can book them into in midseason. Every New York theater manager hopes to book his house for a whole season. With the exception of the National in Washington, where you might find a couple of weeks in the winter, there is no other place to play. New York is practically closed.

"You just have to have an adequate house, not only for the theater, but for ballet, opera, concerts—all the performing arts need it."

As far as Mr. Dowling is concerned, the site is an open question. Asked about a site on L'Enfant Plaza in the projected Zeckendorf development of Southwest Washington, Mr. Dowling said a consideration would be what other buildings—assets of national importance—would form the surroundings.

Parking, he said, should be an important consideration in the site selection. "We want this to be a theater of the people," he said, stressing that parking facilities must be available.

Suggestions were made initially that the building should include a big convention hall. Mr. Dowling thought this would be a mistake. It would put Washington in competition with other cities which seek big conventions. He would rather, he explained, keep the building to the field of culture and artistic achievement.

He saw no hurdle in the way of working out an acceptable manner of control. The building might be under the National Park Service, he suggested. Or it might be administered by a board of trustees similar to the board which administers the National Gallery of Art. Someday, he speculated, there might be an American counterpart to the ministers of culture of other countries and the center would be in his department.

Illustrating Mr. Dowling's longtime interest in such a project here is an incident which occurred more than 5 years ago. He and Belvins Davis, producer of Porgy and Bess, came to Washington and proposed a civic auditorium to President Truman.

The True Story of the Texas Tech Firings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, recently we had a great miscarriage of justice in Texas. Three highly qualified professors were fired without a hearing and in secrecy by the board of directors of Texas Tech at Lubbock, Tex.

Since the unwarranted firings, which were motivated by political reasons, the press of Texas has almost unanimously joined in condemning the action.

One of the great editors of Texas, H. M. Bagley of the Tulia Herald, was one of the first to deplore the undemocratic action. His fearless editorials and his great reporting of the incident has won the praise of all Texans. In the July 25, 1957, issue of the Herald, Editor Bagley runs a collection of comments from many of the papers in the State. Almost to a paper the comments deplore this injustice. In the same issue, Editor Bagley's Town Topics column, one of the top award-winning columns in the State, deals with the same issue in his usual fearless, enlightened and entertaining manner.

I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to insert these two articles in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXAS EDITORS UNLEASH STINGING CENSURE OF TECH DIRECTORS

Texas newspapers, large and small and of varying political philosophies, reacted summarily and with overwhelming unity in censuring Texas Tech regents for firing two professors in secret session, without a hearing, and without the advice of the professors' department heads. Many also condemned the political undertones of the scandal, feeling that the action of the regents is a threat to free speech.

Even ultraconservative Dallas News and Fort Worth Star-Telegram editorially condemned the regents. The conservative Lubbock Avalanche-Journal deplored the action.

As this is written, no editorial has yet appeared in defense of the regents. A num-

ber of papers have strangely avoided the incident, but none have defended it.

Here is a sample of the editorial comment:

Bascom Nelson in the Castro County News (Dimmitt): "We have often been amazed at the vicious tactics employed by the former Shivercrats who are known now simply as conservatives * * *. Firing the Tech professors is perhaps no worse than other things they have done, but this act points up a test of the type of man our present Governor will choose to be. If he lets the Tech board of directors' action go without saying anything, then we are still saddled with an administration that is greedy, corrupt, and power-seeking * * *. Things have reached a sad state when men cannot practice their political convictions without fear of losing their jobs * * *. To make it look even more ridiculous, J. Evetts Haley, who isn't qualified to be on the public-school board of Podunk Hollow, is a member of the Tech board. There probably isn't a more radical outspoken, leftwing politician in the country * * *. Political observers over the State on both sides of the fence have noted that political morals are degenerating from what our Founding Fathers envisoned."

Cecil Waggoner in the Claude News: "We should bombard the Texas Legislature immediately with requests to close down Texas Technological College. When a board of regents can tamper with the academic freedom of its teachers and dictate their politics, that institution ceases to be a place of learning."

Elton Miller in the White Rocker (Dallas): "He (Abernethy) was kicked off the faculty because he dared to speak his mind. His mind does not run in the same channels as such men as J. Evetts Haley * * *. It is difficult to believe that in modern America, a professor or a teacher cannot be a good citizen and express his political beliefs. Narrow-minded bigots like J. Evetts Haley make it so * * *. These are dangerous times."

Troy Martin in the Olton Enterprise: "The Shivers regime is still with us. The man in the vortex of the trouble apparently is J. Evetts Haley, a Shivers appointee to the Tech board of directors. Trouble seems to gravitate to Mr. Haley. His tenure since appointment, according to Lubbock sources, has been marked with strife * * *. The only reasons advanced for the firing were given by Haley who questioned the competence of the professors * * *. We submit that such a statement on the part of Mr. Haley, without giving the men affected the right to answer publicly in front of the board, showed a marked lack of courage and a lack of plain commonsense."

Ernest Joiner in the Ralls Banner: "Reasons for their ouster have remained as secret as the meeting itself. But no reasons were necessary, considering the board is constituted, among others of J. Evetts Haley of Canyon. Haley believes in (and in this order) General MacArthur, Joseph McCarthy and God. Another is concerned with keeping the Democratic Party firmly in the hands of Republicans and hyphenated, hybrid political crumbs who haven't got the guts to call themselves Republicans * * *. Outside the classroom, and as a good citizen interested in good Government, he (Abernethy) is active in a political party. He is doing exactly what this drugstore cowboy-self-styled philosopher from Canyon has been doing for years. Haley is one of those superpatriots. He officers such organizations as Texans for America. If the America First outfit were alive today, our guess is that he'd be shuffling his booted foot on the speaking platform, rolling Bull Durham cigarettes with one hand, and with the other slapping his critics silly with the American flag neatly wrapped around a lead pipe. He has had a lot of things to say about returning this country to the principles of the Constitution, yet few men have done more to deprive some Americans of their rights under the same Constitution than he. He's been in politics up to his blue-jeaned rump ever since he first discovered there was "dough in them political hills." He's got about as much right to be vindictive toward Dr. Abernethy as this editor has to deny that Haley's beloved plains buffalo chips fire the best coffee this side of the Pecos * * *. To discharge Dr. Greenberg for advocating the enforcement of the supreme law of the land is like unfrocking a priest for believing in God * * *. We hate to see some 8,000 students turned into jackasses through the actions of a minority of crackpots handpicked by Allan Shivers to do just what they're doing now * * *. The way educational institutions and honest professors have been kicked around since Joe McCarthy crawled out of the ooze is on the way to becoming an accepted facet of our existence. Personally, though, if drugstore cowboy Haley will park his brace of Gene Autry .45's, we still think we can whip hell out of him in a fair fist fight—Constitution or no Constitution."

W. H. Curry in the Crosbyton Review: "West Texas, in general, and Texas Tech in particular, have no place in governing circles for such small, vindictive men as J. Evetts Haley, of Canyon, and at least three other men on the college's board of directors have proved themselves to be. Petitions asking for Haley's and his cohorts' resignations should be circulated all over this area, and anyone who recognizes Texas Tech's value to west Texas should be happy to sign them. It seems west Texas is still paying for the administration of Allan Shivers as Governor, as it is his appointees to the Tech board who were the ringleaders in the infamous action of the group * * *. Even the highly conservative Lubbock Avalanche and Fort Worth Star-Telegram took the board to task for an action that can possibly result in Tech's being thrown out of the Southern Association of Colleges."

Lubbock Avalanche: "A regrettable incident occurred at Texas Tech Saturday * * *. The morning Avalanche questions the board's method on such matters, taken in secret and closed session. Texas Tech is a tax-supported institution. Funds for its operation come from the people. Therefore, any action taken by the college board is of concern to the people. Any action should be open and aboveboard and taken in an open meeting so that the people may know not only of the action but the motives and objectives behind it. The people have a right to know * * *. Two professors have been fired without apparent cause, except on the presumption that they differ in political views and activities from members of the board."

Editor Morris of the Eastland Telegram: "Far be it from me to criticize Haley. He might be governor some day and run me out of Texas."

Jimmy Gillentine in the Hereford Brand: "Firing through "executive session' and keeping back the reason may work out for the Ole Cowboy (Haley) on his ranch, but not when the folks in question are being paid through tax-collected funds. Maybe someday we will get the whole story."

Jacob Shoaf in the Wood County Democrat (Quitman): "Dr. E. N. Jones, president of the college, has vigorously protested the secret meeting of the board. He believes in the right of fair play and thinks that a man should be given the right to defend himself before his accusers. To us this is simple American justice, and Haley, who claims to be a Constitutional Conservative, thought that he was doing Texas a favor when he ran for Governor last election. We don't need men of this caliber on the board of our State colleges, much less in the Governor's chair."

D. E. Alford in the Moore County News (Dumas): "Secret, or so-called 'executive,' sessions chalked up more victims in Texas this week. This time it was two professors at Texas Tech * * * These actions of dismissal were not taken behind the Iron Curtain, but in a closed-door session * * * Tech's board of directors, or that portion that was present when these men were dismissed, should be strongly censured for their unreasonable actions—which they refused to conduct in open session—and should be required to conduct an open hearing on the matter." Alford titled his editorial, "Red Tactics in Texas."

Orlin Brewer in the Levelland Sun News: "The current furor over at Texas Tech is indicative of what can happen when men in public positions of responsibility forget that their first duty is to the people they serve and that they have no right to hide the basic facts from the people. Secret meetings have no place in the American way of life, whether it is a college board, a public-school board, a commissioners court, city council, or other organizations of government * * * Only one possible good can come from the fiasco perpetrated by men who should have had better sense. It can serve as an example for men in public places everywhere of how not to conduct public affairs."

There are many facets to the now famous Texas Tech debauchery in which the Shivers-Daniel board of regents met in secret session, expelled the president of the college from the meeting, and fired two of the college's top faculty members of long tenure—all this without consultation with the president, the heads of the departments in which the professors taught, or with the professors themselves.

This jewel on the board from Canyon, J. Evetts Haley, offered the explanation that the two professors "did not measure up to the high intellectual and academic standards set by the board for the college." The president of the college and the professors' department heads promptly replied, in so many words, that Haley was all wet.

Speaking of Haley, we are reminded of the profoundness of his conversation by some remarks penned by Editor Archer Fullingim, of Kountze, last summer during the gubernatorial race in which Haley was asking us to name him chief executive of this State:

Wrote Fullingim:

"Are we Texans first, southerners first, or Americans first? We all know the answer to that one. We are Americans first and we all react the same to dangers to our country. When chips are down, it's our country right or wrong, but our country.

"Thus only a screwball or a stupid demagog could have declared in Hearne at the Alfalfa Festival that only in the South do 'people have character, courage, and the stamina to stand up and fight.' That remark made by one J. Evetts Haley, a radical candidate for governor, seemed to imply that the rest of the American people are cowards—if he didn't imply that, what was he implying?"

Many northern, eastern, and western men, stationed at a nearby camp, were in the audience when Haley made this asinine remark, and one by one they got up and walked out.

Whereupon Judge RALPH YARBOROUGH, who was on the platform, almost engaged Haley in a fist fight.

One facet to be considered is the position in which Dr. E. N. Jones, Tech president, has been placed.

As Editor Jacob Shoaf wrote in the Wood County Democrat, "Dr. Jones is one of the finest educational figures in the Nation. He was one of the pillars upon which Baylor University rode through the great depression of the thirties, and every student who attended Baylor while he served as dean of that school would vouch for his sincerity and integrity * * * Regardless of which way the political winds blow in this controversy,

Dr. Jones will be standing on the side of right, fairness, and uprightness."

Dr. Jones was not directly involved in the incident. To protect himself and his position, he could have remained neutral and aloof; he could have quietly permitted the professors to have been thrown to the wolves. But honor would not permit him or any other honorable man to take this course. At the risk of his own job, he stepped forward to challenge this miscarriage of justice and simple honor.

An obvious breach now exists between Dr. Jones and the regents. If he stays on at Tech, there necessarily will be tension; his job will not be pleasant.

Here we have a dark cloud brought into this man's life by several bigoted regents who alone are to blame for the unfortunate incident. Who will suffer from this stupidity? Will it be the regents who alone are responsible?

Certainly not. It's just one more page in their lives. They'll continue with their professions and positions unscarred. Dr. Jones, the innocent one, will be the one who suffers from the wrongdoings of the guilty.

Such is life.

Another facet to be considered is the part the big utilities may have played in this travesty of justice, honor, and decency.

Since Price Daniel is the tool of big oil, big gas, and big business in general, it came as no surprise to any observant person when in the opening days of his administration he hurriedly filled a number of vacancies with big-business appointees. It was logical that he turn to oil and gas and to the Texas Manufacturers Association to find men to run our institutions of higher learning. What peculiar qualifications big business has to run a school, we don't know. Nevertheless, he turned to C. I. Wall, of Amarillo, president of Pioneer Natural Gas Co., and Harold Hinn, of Plainview, a wheel in the Texas Manufacturers Association.

We do not know what part Mr. Wall or Mr. Hinn played in the un-American activities of the regents when they met a week ago Saturday. This we do know: We have read of no protests made by either against the action taken. They voted with Haley.

It is not surprising that the big utilities and the TMA would give their blessing to slapping down Democrats wherever they might be found, particularly those teaching in our colleges. We have already seen what has happened in many church colleges where big business dominates their boards of directors.

Quite piously, the big utilities do a lot to muster favor with the public. They are big and powerful, but they still operate in our communities by franchise. They still have to come before city councils and ask for rate increases.

It isn't often that they outwardly take part in controversial issues. Outwardly they are expert fence straddlers as they try to court the public.

Only in rare instances does the light of publicity discover their efforts to represent big business instead of the people whom they are supposed to serve.

No doubt the Tech regents felt quite secure as they sat in their secret session in Lubbock on black Saturday.

Little did they dream that their treachery would be exposed in 96-point headlines in the Avalanche-Journal the next morning.

There is perhaps one difference between Haley, alleged perpetrator of the nefarious act, and the other regents.

Being the extrovert that he is, Haley isn't at all embarrassed when he sees his name in the newspapers as a result of some of his screwball political antics. Some of the others may think like Haley, but no doubt they are more sensitive to adverse public relations. Some of these men represent organizations which don't need public censure such as is being heaped upon them at the present time.

Consider Mr. Wall's position. Perhaps he is too close to his circle of oil and gas friends down at the Amarillo Club to know what the masses of people are thinking about him at the present time. Maybe he just doesn't know how the people who buy his gas think.

Mr. Wall might mull over the fact that there are many more people in Amarillo and in the many west Texas communities his company serves who think like Dr. Abernethy than who think like his bay-windowed Republican friends at the Amarillo Club.

The last several elections have proved this.

Since this incident happened at Tech, we have talked to hundreds of persons concerning the matter. To date we haven't discovered a person who doesn't censure the regents. We haven't read a word in any newspaper favorable to the regents.

We regret that Mr. Wall has incurred the wrath of the public as a result of his part in the unfortunate incident right at a time when Swisher farmers are boiling over the cost of their natural gas.

Many Swisher farmers, within recent months, have at their own expense put in their own natural gas lines to serve their irrigation wells. The investment has been terrific. Then almost before the lines were installed, up went the rates on natural gas.

They are in a position of having to stay with natural gas because their investment in their lines is too great to abandon it.

Realizing that the gas company has them over a barrel, farmers have been calling us by telephone, cornering us on the streets, asking us to let the public know what has been happening and urging that the matter be investigated by the legislature.

It's a funny thing—30 years of goodwill in a community have been known to melt like a snowball because of one false step.

We hope it doesn't happen to Pioneer Natural Gas Co.

In all fairness to Mr. Wall, and we are trying to lean over backward in an effort to be fair, may we say that if he is not guilty of concurring with the infamous action taken by the board of which he is a member, let him publicly issue his own minority report. Let him deny that he approved the board's action. We'll be glad to publish his denial in this same space.

And the same goes for Hr. Hinn who, as a flour manufacturer, also cannot afford to incur ill will of the people.

And there is something else that bears watching. Most of our readers are aware that Lubbock is served by two electrical systems. The city of Lubbock operates its powerplant, just as does Tulia, and Southwestern Public Service also serves Lubbock. The two systems are highly competitive. Both would like to have all the customers they can get.

In the past, Texas Tech, which must use a tremendous amount of electricity, has patronized the city of Lubbock.

There is a rumor in circulation that the possibility of switching to the big utilities company has been mentioned.

Should such a switch be made, it is inevitable that many will see a connection between the switch and the appointment of a utilities man to the board of regents.

We're making no accusations.

We're just sitting on the sidelines with a wary eye on events as they happen. We hope that Mr. Wall will publicly fight any effort to switch from the city of Lubbock so as to avoid even the appearance of evil.

Despite the fact that the regents are Shivers-Daniels appointees, we refuse to believe that their recent action is indicative of their character. We believe that they are better men than they appear to be. We believe that unfortunate things sometimes happen in board meetings as a result of many things.

Sometimes the less aggressive members of a board are guilty of letting a determined minority run things, they won't speak up, they follow the course of least resistance.

Sometimes good men make an honest mistake. All men are frail. None is incapable of poor judgment.

But it must also be added that good men, when they realize their error, will correct it. Good men's pride is not wounded when they come forth with honesty and frankness and admit that they acted in haste, that they failed to give the issue as much consideration as it deserved.

The public will admire them for it. The public loves humility and readiness to admit a mistake. The public despises the bullheaded official who, even though he secretly knows he is wrong, is not big enough to admit it—chocsing instead to be despotic and arbitrary.

We have no doubt but what some men on the Tech board regret their unfair action. There just must be some good men on the board.

But will they admit their mistake?

We doubt it.

Veto of Salary-Raise Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith two editorials concerning the salary-raise bills recently voted for our postal and civil-service employees and which were pocket-vetoed by the President. One is from the Washington, (D. C.) News and the other is from the Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator. Both of them express in a general way my thinking on this matter. I certainly trust that the Congress next year will approach this subject in a realistic manner and pass legislation which will have the prior approval of the administration so that it can be enacted into law. Then these deserving employees of our Government will receive a salary increase that is fair and reasonable and one that will be consistent with their individual responsibilities.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Daily News]

CRUEL TRICK

The pay-raise maneuver was a cruel trick on 1,500,000 Federal employees who, like other people, are troubled by the high cost of living.

The bills were passed by Congress in full knowledge they would be vetoed by the President. They were passed so late in the session that Congress spared itself the embarrassment of overriding the veto.

President Eisenhower's objections to the bills were valid. As written they would have emphasized existing distortions in pay scales, would have required large supplemental appropriations, and might have forced an increase in the $275 billion debt ceiling. As an example of distortion, the flat increases would have been up to 19 percent for least responsible jobs, only 3.5 percent at higher skilled jobs.

The best hope for a reasonable pay raise which would be logical, fair, and discriminating lies in a study being made by a Cabinet committee. This should be ready

for the next session of Congress and should have prompt consideration.

[From the Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator]

NECESSARY VETOES

President Eisenhower's pocket vetoes of 2 bills which would have raised the pay of more than 1,500,000 postal and civil-service workers had, of course, been expected.

The bills would have meant pay boosts averaging more than 10 percent. Cost to the Government would have exceeded $800 million and probably would have forced another increase in the statutory debt limit.

Furthermore, Mr. Eisenhower pointed out that the proposed raises would have unfairly accentuated existing disparities in the Federal pay scales. The flat increases would have given up to 19 percent raises for least responsible jobs, while employees with greater skills would have received as little as 3.5 percent.

Sponsors of the two bills in Congress, who would have ignored the economic consequences, now will try to reap whatever political capital than can gain out of the vetoes.

The President, however, could hardly have approved such inflationary and ill-advised measures at a time when he has appealed to business and labor alike to negotiate wage adjustments with full regard to the Nation's spiraling living costs. Mr. Eisenhower has taken a wise and fair course; he has promised that if a study which he has ordered of the Federal wage structure shows a need for logical, fair and discriminating salary increases, he will recommend them to Congress next year.

Postal and civil service employees, meanwhile, owe no thanks to Congressmen who voted them a hollow raise in pay, knowing full well that the country's best interests gave the Chief Executive no alternative but to reject the bills.

The Honorable George M. Humphrey: Statesman and Patriot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, during the period from January 21, 1953, to July 29, 1957, the Honorable George Magoffin Humphrey has rendered to the American people exceptionally outstanding public service.

Mr. George Humphrey took office as Secretary of the Treasury at a time when the fiscal affairs of our Nation had reached a chaotic state. The previous administration had left a Federal debt equal to 89 percent of our annual national income. The previous administration had a planned deficit of $9.4 billion for 1953 and a scheduled deficit of almost $10 billion for 1954. Inflation was unrestrained and had reduced the purchasing power of the dollar from 100 cents in 1939 to 72 cents by 1945 and to 52 cents by 1952. With the advent of the Republican administration in January 1953 and under the aegis of George M. Humphrey as Secretary of the Treasury, deficit financing was first sharply reduced and then entirely eliminated. The budget was balanced for the years 1956 through 1958 which represented the first time since the years 1929 through 1931 that our Nation had had three successive balanced budgets. Federal expenditures were substantially reduced during the time that Secretary Humphrey was in office. This fiscal solvency was achieved despite the granting to the American people of the greatest tax reduction in the history of our Nation—an annual tax saving of approximately $8 billion. These objectives were primarily accomplished during the time that a Republican administration was working with a Republican Congress and I am privileged to say during the time that I was honored to serve as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

The responsible management of our national finances under George M. Humphrey had a far-reaching effect and inspired previously unequaled economic growth in the United States. During the 4½ years Secretary Humphrey held office, employment increased in the United States by almost 4 million jobs so that an average of 65 million of our people were gainfully employed. In the same period average annual family income increased from less than $4,600 to an estimated $5,200. The insidious inflation was substantially retarded so that the cost of living rose an average of only six-tenths of 1 percent per year during his tenure in office as compared with an average increase at the rate of about 7 percent per year for the preceding 13 years. The personal financial security of our American families was markedly enhanced, and business assumed an unprecedented volume of investment in new plant and equipment.

Secretary Humphrey would be the first to acknowledge that considerably more progress must be promptly achieved in reducing Federal expenditures, taxes, and public indebtedness. I am confident that his successor, the Honorable Robert B. Anderson, will prove unrelenting in his endeavors to further the policies of his distinguished predecessor in office. This recitation of facts and statistics establishing the economic well-being and growth of America in the period of Mr. Humphrey's public service could be greatly expanded. A large measure of responsibility for this growth must be attributed to the fiscal policies established by, and the fiscal integrity exemplified by, George Humphrey.

The fiscal policies instituted and pursued by our National Government during Secretary Humphrey's tenure in office diverted us from the path of an encroaching Federal bureaucracy with its inevitable culmination in state socialism and restored us to the traditional American path of free enterprise and individual initiative. It has been free enterprise and individual initiative that have given to America our present-day greatness, and George Humphrey was properly convinced that America's even greater future lay in the same economic philosophy.

After rendering distinguished and selfless public service George Humphrey resigned his position of public trust and returned to private life. Every American citizen has personally benefitted from the fact that George M. Humphrey has served as the Secretary of the Treasury.

At the time of his leaving public office the Republican members of the House Committee on Ways and Means joined in signing a letter addressed to Secretary Humphrey expressing their appreciation for the privilege of being associated with him. Mr. Speaker, I will at this time make that letter a part of my remarks at this place in the RECORD:

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 29, 1957.

The Honorable GEORGE MAGOFFIN HUMPHREY,
The Secretary of the Treasury.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The undersigned Republican members of the House Committee on Ways and Means wholeheartedly join in commending your distinguished public service as Secretary of the Treasury during the period from January 21, 1953, to July 29, 1957.

On the advent of your assuming office, other than the quest for peace, no other problem confronting any Cabinet officer with a more urgent challenge to effective action than the task confronting you with respect to the fiscal affairs of our Nation. To the solution of these problems you brought vast measures of patriotism, integrity, and ability. The outstanding results you accomplished stand as an enduring memorial to your dedication to public service. Without endeavoring to set forth in this letter a recitation of these accomplishments, we are confident American history will record your tenure of office as an outstanding era in our Nation's fiscal affairs.

It is inevitable that the wisdom, foresight, and principle that you have lent to your responsibility will endure as an inspiring example to your successors in office.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL A. REED, New York; THOMAS A. JENKINS, Ohio; RICHARD M. SIMPSON, Pennsylvania; ROBERT W. KEAN, New Jersey; NOAH M. MASON, Illinois; HAL HOLMES, Washington; JOHN W. BYRNES, Wisconsin; ANTONI N. SADLAK, Connecticut; HOWARD H. BAKER, Tennessee; THOMAS B. CURTIS, Missouri.

Contradiction in Our Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, one of my constituents in Minneapolis recently sent me newspaper clippings dated 1 day apart.

One of them was from the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of Monday, August 26, and the headline read, "African Student Fined for Failing To Take Rear Seat." The Associated Press dispatch told how an African ministerial student studying in Texas was hit with a policeman's blackjack after he refused to move to the rear of the bus.

The second clipping was from the Wall Street Journal of Tuesday, August 27. The headline read: "Accent on Africa—

United States Steps Up Efforts To Win Friends."

Mr. President, these two headlines serve to point up a contradiction in our society. It is the contradiction between all that we want the world to think we are, and all that we are doing to destroy that image. This contradiction is causing us untold embarrassment in the conduct of our foreign policy and is causing untold sleepless nights for all of us who have any conscience about the problem at all.

Mr. President, I heartily endorse everything that my constituent's letter says, and I feel that it represents the basic goodness and generosity of most of the people of this land. How long this basic contradiction between our pretenses and our practice remains will in the last analysis depend on each and every one of us.

I ask unanimous consent that the two clippings as well as the letter from my constituent be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of August 26, 1957]

AFRICAN STUDENT FINED FOR FAILING TO TAKE REAR SEAT

HENDERSON, TEX.—An African ministerial student hit with a blackjack by a Henderson policeman after he refused to move to the rear of a bus was out of jail Sunday after a college official paid his fine.

The student, Essin Essin, was fined $25 by City Judge Barto Giles, Saturday after pleading guilty to charges of disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. He was placed in jail because he had only $14 with him.

The 30-year-old Negro was released after an official of Southwestern College, Terrell, TEX., where Essin is a theological student, paid his fine.

Patrolman L. L. Boatright, answering a call from a Continental Trailways driver, said he found Essin sitting in the middle of the bus. He grabbed the student and took him to the back.

"When he reached into his pocket, I had to tap him with a slapjack," Boatright said. Essin said he was reaching for his passport to show the officer.

[From the Wall Street Journal of August 27, 1957]

Accent on Africa—United States steps up efforts to win friends.

AUGUST 28, 1957.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: The enclosed clippings are of interest. Incidents such as the one described can undo more good than the Government can do in a year in the field of international relations.

In my opinion, if the facts were as stated in the article, the student or the college should be immediately reimbursed by the Federal Government for the amount of the fine and bus fare, and an apology offered.

A scholarship from some college where Mr. Essin would not be insulted and mistreated would show him that towns like Henderson are in the minority in the United States.

If there are millions of dollars available to spend abroad to promote international understanding, if should be possible to find a few to spend at home for the same purpose.

Very truly yours.

Data Covering the 111 Record Votes During the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, at the conclusion of the 84th Congress I compiled statistics showing the support President Eisenhower's program had been accorded by the members of our two parties in the United States Senate. Once again I have compiled similar data covering the 111 record votes during the 1st session of the 85th Congress. A listing of each rollcall follows my remarks.

They have been divided into four groups. Group 1 lists those rollcalls which did not concern the President's program. Group 2 includes rollcalls where a majority of the Senators from each party voted in support of the President. Group 3 lists the seven instances where a majority of the Republican Senators voting were in opposition to President Eisenhower. Group 4 includes the rollcalls where a majority of the Republican Senators supported the President and a majority of the Democrats opposed him.

A careful review of each issue shows that 81 of the 111 issues were concerned with the President's program. On these 81 issues the Republican support score is 82 percent and the opposition score only 18 percent. The Democratic support score is 56 percent; the opposition score is 44 percent. The 81 issues included treaties and other matters on which there was no recorded opposition.

Twenty-seven rollcalls out of the 81, or 33.3 percent, were on issues on which the 2 parties were divided. A majority of the Republicans supported the President and a majority of the Democrats were recorded in opposition to him. On these 27 issues the Republican support score is 82 percent; the opposition score is 18 percent. What is even more significant, on these issues the Democrats supplied only 22 percent of the support accorded President Eisenhower and 78 percent of all the opposition votes.

On many occasions the President has indicated that he did not want rubberstamp support by Republicans for his program. Republican Senators have discharged their constitutional obligations and have considered each issue on its merits. Nevertheless, the Republicans have supported President Eisenhower on those measures recommended by the President where we were given an opportunity to vote. I say advisedly that there were many issues on which we would have supported the President if we had had an opportunity to do so. Since we are the minority party in this Congress, and the committees are controlled by the Democratic Party, many measures were not reported by committees and placed on the calendar for our consideration.

While our support quite properly has not been unanimous, I find that of the 81 rollcalls there were only 7 on which a majority of the Republicans voting did not support the President's program. Incidentally, on 6 of the 7 issues a majority of the Democrats were also recorded in opposition. Thus, it is clearly apparent that the President needs a Republican Congress if he is to achieve his goals.

On June 13 I took exception to a study by the Congressional Quarterly which attempted to record the support accorded the President by the 2 parties based on 7 Senate rollcalls. I stressed the fact that last year my study, based on the entire record, showed that the President's program had been supported by the Republican Members. I was confident that such a review would again show that the Republican Party, as represented in the Senate of the United States, would supply the main support for the President.

Now that the record is complete, we can all let the chips fall where they may. Eighty-one Eisenhower rollcalls, constituting the entire record, furnishes a fair basis for my evaluation.

In my remarks of July 26 I said:

"The difference between my table and the statements by the Congressional Quarterly lie in the fact that I am willing to submit the entire record, including all of the details, to public scrutiny. I do not expect anyone to accept summary figures because I say they are correct" (p. A6047).

I am, accordingly, again including tables which I prepared covering every recorded vote during the first session of the 85th Congress. They are self-explanatory. Anyone can check and audit my figures.

Republican Senators and the President can take pride in our record.

Classification of all Senate rollcalls, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Group	Description
1	----------	1	Election of Senator Carl Hayden as President pro tempore of the Senate.
2	----------	1	Johnson motion to table Anderson et al. motions re adopting Senate rules.
3	Y	4	Urgent deficiency appropriations, 1957—Knowland amendment to committee amendment re cottonseed feed. Rejected 49 to 32.
4	Y	2	Urgent deficiency appropriations, 1957—Hayden amendment re $30 million for strategic minerals. Passed 64 to 17.
5	----------	1	Middle East resolution—O'Mahoney amendment re use of Armed Forces.
6	N	4	Middle East resolution—Modified Russell amendment re military cooperation with nations in Middle East. Rejected 58 to 28.
7	----------	1	Middle East resolution—Modified Mansfield amendment re facilities and military assistance to U. N. Emergency force in the Middle East.
8	----------	1	Middle East resolution—Morse amendment re notice of prior use of Armed Forces.
9	N	2	Middle East resolution—Modified Curtis amendment re expiration date of resolution. Rejected 58 to 30.
10	Y	2	Middle East resolution—Passage. Passed 72 to 19.
11	----------	1	Financial Institutions Act of 1957—Douglas substitute amendment re establishing branches of Federal savings and loan institutions.
12	----------	1	Financial Institutions Act of 1957—Douglas amendment re mandatory cumulative voting.

Classification of all Senate rollcalls, 85th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Group	Description
13	----------	1	Financial Institutions Act of 1957—O'Mahoney amendment re mergers in violation of law.
14	N	4	Tax Rate Extension Act or 1957—Fulbright substitute amendment re changing corporate normal tax and surtax rates. Rejected 52 to 33.
15	Y	4	River and Harbor and Flood Control Act of 1957—Hruska motion to recommit. Rejected 55 to 27.
16	N	4	River and Harbor and Flood Control Act of 1957—Passage. Passed 42 to 22.
17	Y	2	Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker—Confirmation as brigadier general in the Regular Army. Confirmed 70 to 2.
18	N	3	Extension of Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954—Knowland amendment to strike sec. 304 of the act re Presidential authority to assist friendly nations. Rejected 54 to 23.
19	Y	4	Establishment of base acreage for 1957 corn—Passage. Defeated 45 to 35.
20	Y	2	Continuing appropriations for fiscal 1957 re deficiency funds pending enactment of the 1st urgent deficiency appropriation—Committee amendment re Federal funds for public assistance. Passed 75 to 0.
21	N	4	Scott McLeod—Motion to recommit nomination as Ambassador to Ireland. Rejected 54 to 22.
22	Y	4	Scott McLeod—Confirmation as Ambassador to Ireland. Confirmed 60 to 20.
23	Y	2	Protocol to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (Ex. F, 85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Resolution of ratification. Agreed to 82 to 0.
24	N	3	Appropriations for State, Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies, 1958—Committee amendment re funds for U. S. Information Agency. Passed 61 to 15.
25	----------	1	Appropriations for State, Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies, 1958—Passage.
26	Y	2	3d supplemental appropriation bill for fiscal 1957—Hayden amendment re additional amount of $30 million for "Acquisition of strategic materials." Passed 61 to 17.
27	Y	4	3d supplemental appropriation bill for fiscal 1957—Williams amendment re 25 percent State contribution for emergency feed and seed assistance. Rejected 51 to 27.
28	----------	1	3d supplemental appropriation bill for fiscal 1957—Passage.
29	N	2	Housing Act of 1957—Gore amendment increasing mortgage-purchasing authority of FNMA by $2,250,000,000; prohibiting discounts; and increasing by $250,000,000 the amount of FNMA preferred stock. Rejected 61 to 17.
30	Y	2	Housing Act of 1957—Bricker amendments en bloc reducing authorizations in bill by $1,255,900,000 and limiting urban renewal provisions. Passed 67 to 11.
31	----------	1	Appropriations for Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies—Agreeing to conference report.
32	N	2	Housing Act of 1957—Morse amendment increasing annual authorization for public low-rent housing units from 35,000 to 200,000. Rejected 54 to 20.
33	Y	3	Housing Act of 1957—Bush amendment changing formula for computing interest rates on loans for college housing. Rejected 54 to 16.
34	Y	4	Housing Act of 1957—Bennett amendment to eliminate committee-proposed increase of the cost of urban renewal projects. Passed 38 to 32.
35	Y	2	Housing Act of 1957—Passage. Passed 69 to 1.
36	----------	1	Appropriations for Department of Commerce and related agencies for fiscal 1958—Agreeing to conference report.
37	Y	2	Protocol between the United States and Canada to Committee for the Protection of Sockeye Salmon Fisheries—Resolution of ratification. Agreed to 85 to 0.
38	Y	3	Appropriations for the District of Columbia for fiscal 1958—Morse amendment to increase from $20,500,000 to $23,000,000 the Federal payment. Rejected 62 to 23.
39	----------	1	Appropriations for the District of Columbia for fiscal 1958—Morse amendment to increase by $440,250 funds for teaching personnel.
40	----------	1	Appropriations for the District of Columbia for fiscal 1958—Passage.
41	Y	4	Appropriations for Agriculture Department and Farm Credit Administration—Mundt amendment re annual rental payments. Passed 40 to 38.
42	N	2	Appropriations for Agriculture Department and Farm Credit Administration—Russell amendment reducing the annual authorizations for the conservation reserve program by $100,000,000. Rejected 52 to 26.
43	N	2	Appropriations for Agriculture Department and Farm Credit Administration—Lausche amendment to prevent use of funds re acreage reserve and limit payments to $2,500. Rejected 71 to 7.
44	----------	1	Appropriations for Agriculture Department and Farm Credit Administration—Passage.
45	----------	1	Independent offices appropriations for fiscal 1958—Passage.
46	----------	1	Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations for fiscal 1958—Passage.
47	N	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Long amendment eliminating defense support authorization. Rejected 55 to 34.
48	N	4	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Long amendment reducing defense support appropriations by $90,000,000. Rejected 49 to 40.
49	N	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Ellender amendment reducing authorized ceiling on military assistance by $500,000,000. Rejected 61 to 26.
50	N	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Long amendment reducing military assistance authorization by $100,000,000. Rejected 52 to 33.
51	N	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Morse and O'Mahoney amendment eliminating development loan authorizations. Rejected 54 to 32.
52	N	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Morse amendment reducing President's discretionary authorization by $150,000,000 plus notice Rejected 61 to 22.
53	----------	1	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—O'Mahoney amendment requiring executive departments to keep congressional committees informed.
54	Y	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Passage. Passed 57 to 25.
55	----------	1	Resolution of ratification of the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency—Bricker amendment re availability of special fissionable materials.
56	Y	2	Resolution of ratification of the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency—Passage of resolution of ratification. Agreed to 67 to 19.
57	N	4	Protection of civil rights of persons—Russell point of order to Knowland's objection to further proceeding after second reading of bill. Overruled 45 to 39.
58	Y	4	Protection of civil rights of persons—Knowland motion to table Dirksen motion to reconsider vote by which Russell point of order was overruled. Agreed to 49 to 36.
59	N	4	Hells Canyon Dam, authorizing construction of—Passage. Passed 45 to 38.
60	----------	1	Appropriations for the Interior Department and related agencies for fiscal 1958—Passage.
61	----------	1	United Nations consideration of the Hungarian problem—Passage of resolution.
62	Y	2	Resolution of ratification of agreement between the United States and the Republic of Austria re certain bonds of Austrian issue—Passage. Agreed to 78 to 0.
63	N	2	Defense Department appropriations, 1958—Douglas amendment re cut of $971,000,000, but providing $500,000,000 for additional combat units. Rejected 65 to 7.
64	N	2	Defense Department appropriations, 1958—Dworshak amendment re cut of $182,000,000. Rejected 49 to 24.
65	----------	1	Defense Department appropriations, 1958—Passage.
66	Y	2	Protection of civil rights of persons—Knowland motion to proceed to consideration of bill. Agreed to 71 to 18.
67	N	4	Protection of civil rights of persons—Morse motion to refer bill to Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it back within 7 days either with or without amendment. Rejected 54 to 35.
68	----------	1	Protection of civil rights of persons—Knowland-Humphrey amendment to add language to pt. III of the bill repealing sec. 1989 of the Revised Statutes relating to the power of President to use troops to aid in executing certain existing civil-rights statutes.
69	----------	1	Protection of civil rights of persons—Bricker amendment requiring the Attorney General, when directed by the President, to institute civil action for preventive relief in a variety of civil-rights cases.
70	----------	1	Protection of civil rights of persons—Cooper amendment authorizing the Attorney General to institute civil action for preventive relief against conspirators who attempt to prevent a governmental body from complying with a court order issued to secure equal protection of the laws.
71	N	4	Protection of civil rights of persons—Anderson-Aiken-Case (South Dakota) amendment to eliminate section of bill which would have authorized the Attorney General to institute civil action for preventive relief in a variety of civil-rights cases. Passed 52 to 38.
72	Y	2	Defense Department appropriations, 1958—Johnson (Texas) motion that Senate proceed to consideration of conference report. Agreed to 89 to 0.
73	N	4	Protection of civil rights of persons—O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment providing jury trials in proceedings to punish criminal contempts in Federal cases and establishing qualifications of Federal jurors. Passed 51 to 42.
74	N	4	Protection of civil rights of persons—Case (South Dakota) amendment making permissive instead of mandatory the exercise of district court jurisdiction in proceedings protecting the right to vote, without regard to whether administrative remedies have been exhausted. Rejected 47 to 34.
75	Y	2	Protection of civil rights of persons—Passage. Passed 72 to 18.
76	----------	1	Public works appropriation bill, 1958—Passage.
77	Y	2	Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and the Republic of Korea (Ex. D, 83th Cong., 1st sess.)—Passage. Agreed to 86 to 0.
78	Y	2	Protocol amending the International Sugar Agreement of 1953 (Ex. L)—Resolution of ratification. Agreed to 86 to 0.
79	Y	2	Resolution of ratification of Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations (Ex. C, 84th Cong., 2d sess.)—Passage. Passed 86 to 0.
80	Y	2	Protocol to the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (Ex. E, 85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Resolution of ratification. Agreed to 86 to 0.
81	Y	2	Ratification of amendment to the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Seas (Ex. M, 85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Passage. Passed 86 to 0.
82	Y	2	Resolution of ratification for Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals (Ex. J, 85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Passage. Passed 86 to 0.
83	Y	2	Resolution of ratification for Convention between United States and the Republic of Austria (Ex. A, 85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Passage. Passed 85 to 0.
84	Y	2	Resolution of Ratification for Convention between the United States and Canada (Ex. B, 85th Cong., 1st sess.)—Passage. Passed, 86 to 0.
85	Y	2	Protocol with Japan, supplementing the Convention of Apr. 16, 1954, relating to taxes on income—Resolution of ratification. Agreed to 86 to 0.
86	N	2	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Goldwater motion to recommit to Committee on Public Works. Rejected 63 to 22.

Classification of all Senate rollcalls, 85th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Group	Description
87	Y	4	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Saltonstall amendment providing congressional approval. Rejected 46 to 37.
88	Y	2	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Case (South Dakota) amendment requiring a repayment of $10,000,000 annually by TVA to the U. S. Treasury to be applied to the reduction of the appropriation investment. Passage 76 to 6.
89	Y	2	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Passage. Passed 61 to 20.
90	----------	1	Retirement benefits for District of Columbia employees—Williams motion to recommit bill to committee.
91	----------	1	Retirement benefits for District of Columbia employees—Williams motion to recommit bill to committee with instructions to bring retirement benefits in line with those of other employees holding hazardous jobs under the civil service retirement system.
92	----------	1	Retirement benefits for District of Columbia employees—Passage.
93	N	3	Government guaranty of private loans to air carriers—Passage. Passed 72 to 9.
94	----------	1	Niagara River power development—Clark amendment to strike the word "reasonable" from requirement that licensee shall make available a certain portion of project power for use within reasonable economic transmission distance.
95	Y	4	Jerome K. Kuykendall—Confirmation as member of the Federal Power Commission. Confirmed 50 to 25.
96	Y	4	Don Paarlberg—Confirmation as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Confirmed 42 to 32.
97	Y	4	Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission—Dworshak substitute amendment eliminating project 58-e-14 to authorize $500,000 for study and design work for project 58-e-14, natural uranium power reactor prototype. Rejected 40 to 37.
98	Y	4	Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission—Hickenlooper amendment to eliminate authorization for $40,000,000 for natural uranium power reactor prototype (project 58-e-14) and $15,000,000 for plutonium recycle experimental reactor (project 58-e-15). Rejected 42 to 34.
99	Y	4	Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission—Hickenlooper substitute amendment to strike out mandatory requirement that Commission contract directly with equipment manufacturers for construction of reactor plant, and with cooperative or public organization for operation of plant and sale of steam; and substitute therefor provision for discretionary power in Commission to contract directly with either supplier or coop erative. Rejected 42 to 34.
100	Y	2	Immigration and Nationality Act, amendment to—Passage. Passed 65 to 4.
101	N	2	Interstate Commerce Commission policy regarding free or reduced rates on Government traffic—Kefauver motion to postpone further consideration of the report until Jan. 30, 1958. Rejected 62 to 19.
102	Y	4	Protection of FBI files—1st Dirksen amendment. Rejected 45 to 30.
103	Y	4	Protection of FBI files—2d Dirksen amendment. Rejected 43 to 37.
104	Y	2	Mutual security appropriations, 1958—Foreign Relations Committee amendment increasing military assistanc e from $1,250,000,000 to $1,475,000,000 Passed 59 to 28.
105	Y	2	Mutual Security appropriations, 1958—Passage. Passed 62 to 25.
106	N	3	Postal pay increase—Passage. Passed 69 to 17.
107	N	3	Civil service pay increase—Passage. Passed 64 to 22.
108	N	2	Protection of civil rights of persons—Thurmond motion to refer the bill, as amended, to the Committee on the Judiciary. Defeated 66 to 18.
109	Y	2	Protection of civil rights of persons—Passage. Passed 60 to 15.
110	Y	2	Mutual Security appropriations, 1958—Agreeing to conference report. Agreed to 59 to 19.
111	Y	2	Protection of FBI files—Agreeing to conference report. Agreed to 74 to 2.

GROUP 2

TABLE 1.—*Issues included in President's program supported by majority of both parties*

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Eisenhower position, vote cast		Opposed to Eisenhower position, vote vote	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
4	Y	25	39	15	2
9	N	28	30	17	13
10	Y	42	30	3	16
17	Y	35	35	2	----------
20	Y	40	35	----------	----------
23	Y	42	40	----------	----------
26	Y	22	39	15	2
29	N	41	20	----------	17
30	Y	30	28	2	9
32	N	32	22	3	17
35	Y	32	37	1	----------
37	Y	38	47	----------	----------
42	N	29	23	8	18
43	N	34	37	2	5
47	N	29	26	14	20
49	N	36	25	6	20
50	N	29	23	13	20
51	N	30	24	11	21
52	N	37	24	3	19
54	Y	31	26	8	17
56	Y	32	35	10	9
62	Y	39	39	----------	----------
63	N	38	37	----------	7
64	N	25	24	13	11
66	Y	42	29	----------	18
72	Y	42	47	----------	----------
75	Y	43	29	----------	18
77	Y	42	44	----------	----------
78	Y	42	44	----------	----------
79	Y	42	44	----------	----------
80	Y	42	44	----------	----------
81	Y	42	44	----------	----------
82	Y	42	44	----------	----------
83	Y	42	44	----------	----------
84	Y	42	44	----------	----------
85	Y	42	44	----------	----------
86	N	22	41	21	1
88	Y	41	35	1	5
89	Y	25	36	15	5
100	Y	35	30	----------	4
101	N	36	26	4	15
104	Y	34	25	8	20
105	Y	32	30	10	15
108	N	40	26	----------	18
109	Y	37	23	----------	15
110	Y	29	30	7	12
111	Y	35	39	1	1
Total	----------	1,676	1,577	213	390

GROUP 3

TABLE 2.—*Issues on President's program on which he did not receive support from a majority of the Republicans voting*

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Eisenhower position, vote cast		Opposed to Eisenhower position, vote cast	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
18	N	19	35	21	2
24	N	14	1	23	38
33	Y	16	----------	16	38
38	Y	6	17	32	30
93	N	6	3	35	37
106	N	14	3	26	43
107	N	17	5	24	40
Total	----------	92	64	177	228

GROUP 4

TABLE 3.—*Issues where majority of Republican Members voted to support President Eisenhower's program and majority of Democratic Members voted in opposition to his program*

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Eisenhower position, vote cast		Opposed to Eisenhower position, vote cast	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
3	Y	31	1	9	40
6	N	38	20	5	23
14	N	37	15	5	28
15	Y	22	5	18	37
16	N	17	5	14	28
19	Y	20	15	19	20
21	N	39	15	----------	22
22	Y	42	18	----------	20
27	Y	22	4	13	38
34	Y	28	10	5	27
41	Y	36	4	3	35
48	N	28	21	15	25
57	N	34	11	5	34
58	Y	37	12	3	33
59	N	33	5	5	40
67	N	38	16	4	31

TABLE 3.—*Issues where majority of Republican Members voted to support President Eisenhower's program and majority of Democratic Members voted in opposition to his program*—Continued

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Eisenhower position, vote cast		Opposed to Eisenhower position, vote vote	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
71	N	25	13	18	34
73	N	33	9	12	39
74	N	34	13	4	30
87	Y	31	6	11	35
95	Y	36	14	2	23
96	Y	35	7	2	30
97	Y	33	4	3	37
98	Y	32	2	4	38
99	Y	32	2	5	37
102	Y	30	----------	6	39
103	Y	35	1	5	38
Total	----------	390	248	195	867

TABLE 4.—*All Eisenhower rollcalls*

Group No.	Eisenhower position				Opposed to Eisenhower position			
	Republicans		Democrats		Republicans		Democrats	
	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent
2	1,676	51.5	1,577	48.5	213	35.3	390	64.7
3	92	59.0	64	41.0	177	43.7	228	56.3
4	860	77.6	248	22.4	195	18.4	867	81.6
Total	2,628	58.2	1,889	41.8	585	28.3	1,485	71.7

TABLE 5.—*Republican and Democrat support scores, 85th Cong., 1st sess.*

	Number of roll-calls	Republican				Democratic			
		Support		Opposition		Support		Opposition	
		Votes cast	Per-cent	Votes cast	Per-cent	Votes cast	Per-cent	Votes cast	Per-cent
All Eisenhower rollcalls	81	2,628	81.8	585	18.2	1,889	56.0	1,485	44.0
Divided issues (group 4)	27	860	81.5	195	18.5	248	22.2	867	77.8

National Economic Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I recently engaged in some correspondence with a constituent of mine which has been most enlightening and helpful. Mr. Evan J. Henry, of Winona, Minn., has provided me with some constructive thinking on monetary and fiscal matters, some of which I believe to deserve wide circulation. Consequently, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Mr. Henry written to me on July 31, 1957, as well as some additional material which he sent me on August 22, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. President, it is through such exchanges as these that Senators can reach untapped sources of information in their homes and communities. Mr. Henry's correspondence has been a further indication to me of the immense popular interest in the economic policy of the Government. Mr. Henry himself has a wealth of experience in the field of taxation and fiscal policy, and his views are worthy of attention. As far as I am concerned, it would be an excellent idea if the Government, including the executive agencies, would make a better attempt to seek out grassroots' views even on matters as complicated as that of national economic policy.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WINONA, MINN., *July 31, 1957.*

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Senator from Minnesota,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you for your letter of July 26. It is very gratifying to know that in this country the opinion of just one citizen is recognized.

The point, of course, that I take issue with the FRB is that the Board's policy of manipulating credit has proved an utter failure in providing sound money. Also, it has failed to provide the answer to inflation. I do agree with the Board, however, that the bubble of credit be constricted rather than expanded, but not by such artificial means as is now applied and that have been so unsuccessful.

As I see it, the real cure for inflation is:

1. Increased production (to meet the needs of an expanding population).

2. Reduction in private debt (to restore consumer solvency).

3. Reduction in national debt (to maintain the value of the dollar).

In only one of these categories (reduction in national debt) has the Eisenhower administration made any progress, and then only superficially. Actually, what reduction has been made in the national debt has been made possible only through an increased gross national product created from further expansion of private debt. For while reducing national debt $6 billion private debt expanded $32 billion, as is shown from statistics quoted from Department of Commerce's Survey of Current Business:

Comparative summary of public and private debt [1]

	1955	1956	Increase (decrease)
Total net Government and private debt	657.7	683.8	26.1
Less net Government debt	231.5	225.4	(6.1)
Private debt	426.2	458.4	32.2

[1] As of Dec. 31 in billions of dollars.

With kindest regards and my sincere thanks for bringing this matter to the attention of other Congressmen, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

EVAN J. HENRY.

WHERE THERE IS OR SHOULD BE GENERAL AGREEMENT

To merely increase the money supply with more paper credit of one form or another is to deflate the monetary value thereby causing a corresponding rise in prices. This, I understand, is quite generally accepted and few responsible Congressmen would suggest the restoration of credit supply by fictitious creation of watered stock money. It also seems evident that the Federal Reserve Board has accurately represented the situation when it maintains that the demand for incurring of debt far exceeds the supply of available credit and that rationing of credit is necessary until the supply can be restored. With 458.4 billions in private debt outstanding as of December 31, 1956, and expanding more and more, it is or should be the desire of all to halt the trend and possible reverse it. So far, I believe, there is quite general agreement. A difference develops, however, in the manner and effect of the Board's method of rationing and of its opinion as to how best the supply may be restored.

THE EFFECT OF FRB'S RATIONING

Originally the restrictive credit policy of the Federal Reserve Board was adopted with the intent of influencing the tempo of the economy. It was to be a tranquilizer to the highs and a stimulant to the lows. Thus, when the first signs of inflation occurred after its adoption, the so-called credit brakes were applied by raising discount interest rates and reserve requirements throughout the country. However, as inflation persisted and private debt continue to increase, discount rates were again raised. Yet inflation persisted and finally the policy of intentionally influencing interest rates by Federal Reserve Board was abandoned and disclaimed by both Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Burgess, Mr. Burgess stating before the Senate Finance Committee on July 30, 1957, "The Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury shouldn't deliberately go out and increase interest rates, but natural market forces should be allowed to operate freely." It was a frank admission the policy was not working according to plan.

Quite evidently, it had neither the expected influence on the tempo of the economy nor had it been anti-inflationary; in fact, due to its responsibility for spiraling costs of refunding matured bonds, its failure to effectively restrain the expansion of private credit, and its stagnating effect on the expansion and development of productive capacity and output, it rapidly became evident the Board's method of rationing credit was neither tranquilizing nor anti-inflationary. Indeed quite the opposite.

PRODUCTION OF NATIONAL WEALTH, THE REAL ANSWER

Heretofore, as long as you or I can remember, production and more production has always been considered the real and only answer to inflation. Immediately following the removal of price controls after World War II, goods were in short supply but money and credit supply plentiful. Prices soared but not for long. Soon production closed the gap and prices stabilized. Yet today, by some other reasoning, former Treasury Secretary Humphrey declares it is now fortunate for the economy that some curtailment of capital expenditures has occurred. While population is expanding at about 2 percent a year and creating an ever-increasing demand for goods and services, what manner of logic is this?

Yet, quite understandably, the question might be raised, if inventories are at an all-time high of 52.9 billions [1] indicating an adequate supply of goods and services, how can any curtailment of capital expenditures be inflationary? Or perhaps, to turn it around, if inventories are at an alltime high, how is it the FRB contends the demand for credit has outraced available goods and services?

UNDERCONSUMPTION, NOT OVERPRODUCTION

To both questions there is, I believe, a common answer. Actually the large supply of goods in inventory constitutes instead, a backlog of underconsumption brought about by a long and continuing reduction in consumer solvency [2] that has restrained consumption thereby creating inventory buildup and adversely affecting the production of national wealth through a restriction of commerce. As evidence of this, between 1954–1956, there has occurred a disparity or difference between the increase in consumer debt and the increase in production debt of $13.7 billion * * * indicating thereby that consumers as a whole are and have been falling behind in consumption in relation to production and the incurrment of debt is making up the difference. Thus it seems evident that this disparity difference has caused and continues to intensify the shortage of lendable funds (credit supply) and, despite its intention, the monetary policy of the Federal Government has proven ineffective in restoring the supply. In fact it would appear that debt incurrment is approaching the saturation point unless: (a) Money and credit supply is temporarily and artificially restored by a loose-money policy; or (b) consumption and production debt are brought into closer aline-

[1] As of May 31, 1957 per July issue Survey of Current Business.

[2] Consumer solvency: the ability of consumers as a whole to absorb the country's production currently from income without increasing debt beyond that debt necessary to produce the products consumed.

ment, thereby restoring consumer solvency.[1] In my opinion the latter course offers the only real cure to inflation. If neither action is instigated, this free economy, I fear, may undergo a serious change.

Thus, in my opinion, the real and only cure for inflation is, (a) national solvency, that is, a balanced budget and a reduction of national debt (so as to maintain the value of the dollar in terms of what it will buy), (b) individual or consumer solvency as defined herein and brought about by specific credit controls on all purchases where credit is necessary to the sale and by an increase in purchasing power.

National and individual solvency, I believe, are the only real cures to inflation and economic stability.

Presently, to my knowledge, no plan exists to control inflation save President Eisenhower's threat to impose wage and price controls should inflation persist. I submit that it is imperative a plan be developed at the earliest possible moment and respectfully suggest the foregoing for your consideration.

Respectfully yours,

EVAN J. HENRY.

Increases between Jan. 1–Dec. 31

	1954	1955	1956	Total
Consumption debt increases:				
Home mortgages	10.9	14.1	12.9	37.9
Consumer	.6	6.1	5.7	12.4
Total	11.5	20.2	18.6	50.3
Production debt increases:				
Corporate	(1.3)	19.4	11.4	29.5
Other business	3.0	4.1	(2.7)	4.4
Farm	.8	1.3	.6	2.7
Total	2.5	24.8	9.3	36.6
Disparity difference in billions	9.0	(4.6)	9.3	13.7

[1] Reduction in consumer solvency as evidenced by increase in consumption debt over increase in production debt:

Record of the Committee on Ways and Means in the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman and the entire membership of the Committee on Ways and Means are to be congratulated on their devotion to duty and on the performance of their responsibilities as members of the committee and as Members of the House of Representatives during the 1st session of the 85th Congress. I would particularly like to extend my congratulations to my esteemed friend and chairman, the gentleman from Tennessee, the Honorable JERE COOPER, for his wise guidance and leadership as chairman of our great committee.

Mr. Speaker, unfortunately the record of the Ways and Means Committee for achievement during this session of Congress has not been matched or anywhere near approached elsewhere in the Congress of the United States. Much of the legislation on which favorable committee action was taken failed to receive the consideration it deserved in the House of Representatives or in the Senate.

This breakdown in the legislative process must be attributed to a failure of the Democrat majority in the Congress to provide the essential guidance and leadership that is so necessary to the accomplishment of an effective legislative program. Such a legislative failure is perhaps inevitable with the Democrat Party in the majority; a party that is sharply divided on legislative issues involving civil rights, a strengthened farm program, and the development of natural resources; a party that is composed of the traditional spenders in Congress who now for political purposes give brazen lipservice to being the proponents of Government economy, while at the same time irresponsibly urging the enactment of legislation to create an ever bigger Federal bureaucracy. The cleavage in the Democrat ranks is made apparent by an examination of the issues and the record. The Democrat from Boston cannot agree with the Democrat from Atlanta on the issue of civil rights. The Democrat from Detroit cannot agree with the Democrat from Nashville on the issue of public power. The Democrat from New York City cannot agree with the Democrat from Minneapolis on the essentials of an effective farm program. Mr. Speaker, the national issues on which the Democrat Party is divided could be enumerated ad infinitum.

Because of this Democrat intraparty strife and division it is little wonder that the 1st session of the 85th Congress was characterized by a breakdown in Democrat leadership and failure of achievement.

This absence of general accomplishment in the 85th Congress to date causes be to be particularly gratified to be able to report achievement by the Committee on Ways and Means during this period.

In the 85th Congress, 1st session, the Committee on Ways and Means had referred to it a total of 1,517 bills and 20 resolutions. The committee reported 50 bills to the House of Representatives of which 43 were passed by the House. Twenty-two of these bills were favorably reported by the Senate Finance Committee and 21 bills passed the Senate. Since the convening of the 85th Congress the full committee held 8 days of public hearings and received testimony from 119 witnesses. The committee also met 61 times in executive session. In addition the subcommittees of the committee have been active within the areas of their respective jurisdictions.

The legislation acted on by the committee included subject matter covering virtually every major subject within the committee's jurisdiction. With one exception no major legislation on which the committee acted completed the legislative course to become public law. In this connection the committee prepared and reported to the House of Representatives two major tax bills. One of these bills, the Excise Tax Technical changes in our Federal excise-tax strucported by the Committee on Ways and Means on May 24 and passed the House on June 20. Despite the fact that this legislation contained many beneficial changes in our Federal excise-tax structure, the Senate took no action on the legislation. The other somewhat major tax bill was H. R. 8381, the Technical Amendments Act of 1957, to provide significant changes in the income, estate and gift tax provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. This legislation was favorably reported by the committee on July 9, but the Democrat House leadership failed to schedule it for floor consideration in the House of Representatives. The remaining tax bills were of a somewhat minor nature with the exception of H. R. 4090 which provided for a 1-year extension of existing corporate and certain excise-tax rates and which became Public Law 12.

On the subject of tariff and customs legislation, the most significant bill on which action was taken was H. R. 6006 relating to the Antidumping Act of 1921. This legislation which was originally recommended by the Department of the Treasury would make important improvements in the antidumping law to provide more effectively for the enforcement and administration of the act. This bill did not pass the House of Representatives until August 29 so that it was not possible for the Senate to consider the legislation in time for it to become public law this year.

Minor but important changes were made in the Social Security Act including the extension of a coverage option to policemen and firemen in my State of New York and certain other designated States as well as a change in the law so that veterans sustaining a service-connected disability would not be deprived of their benefits under the disability provisions of the old-age and survivors insurance program by virtue of their receiving another Federal disability pension. In addition the coverage option avalable to ministers under the OASI program was liberalized.

Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that the list of meritorious legislation that did not become public law is longer than the list of such legislation that was enacted into law. On August 16, 1956, the Republican members of the Committee on Ways and Means called upon the Democrat leadership to promptly enact certain legislation vitally affecting the citizens of our Nation. None of this legislation was enacted into law to the consequent detriment of our citizens.

The first legislative proposal that the Republican Members urged be favorably considered by the Congress pertained to the tariff protection accorded our domestic lead-zinc industry. This legislation would have imposed a sliding scale import tax on lead and zinc imports. Hearings were held by the Committee on Ways and Means but no further legislative action was taken or scheduled by the Democratic majority.

The second legislative matter on which the Republican committee membership urged prompt action on August 16, 1957, pertained to amendments to the Antidumping Act, and I have already described the disposition of that meritorious legislation taken late in the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

The third legislative matter on which

the Republican Members concurred in urging prompt actio pertained to proposed tax reforms for small business. These tax recommendations constituted a minimum legislative program to improve the applicability of our Federal tax structure to small business. These changes were derived from recommendations made by the President of the United States in a letter to the chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means dated July 15, 1957. These recommendations are as follows: First, purchasers of used property not exceeding $50,000 in any 1 year should receive the same liberalized depreciation that was made available to purchasers of new property by the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; second, corporations with 10 or fewer stockholders should be given the option of being taxed as a partnership; third, the payment of estate taxes should be allowed in installments over a period of up to 10 years in cases where the estate consists largely of investments in closely held business concerns; and, fourth, an original investor in a small business should be allowed to deduct from income up to some maximum amount prescribed by Congress any loss realized on a stock investment in such business. These tax recommendations were noncontroversial and would have been of significant benefit to our small business community. To the list of unfinished legislative business must be added proposals to extend unemployment compensation coverage to ex-servicemen, to further simplify customs administration, to simplify OASI reporting, and several other important legislative matters.

Mr. Speaker, if in this review of the record of the Committee on Ways and Means in the 1st session of the 85th Congress, I have dealt at greater length with the failure of the Democratic leadership in the Congress than I have with the record of accomplishment achieved by the Ways and Means Committee, it is because of my conviction that despite the best efforts of any legislative committee, such efforts will be for nought in the absence of effective leadership in our two great legislative Chambers. It is essential, if the 2d session of the 85th Congress is not to duplicate the failure of the first session, that the Democratic leadership cast aside political motivations and machinations and work conscientiously for the strengthening of our Nation and the improvement in the well-being of our citizens.

Mr. Speaker, it is my fervent hope that the reconvening of the 85th Congress next January will mark the beginning of a session that will find such productive accomplishment realized.

Continuing Policy on Antarctic Sought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following article from the Christian Science Monitor of August 12, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVERAL BILLS PUSHED—CONTINUING POLICY ON ANTARCTIC SOUGHT

(By Herbert B. Nichols)

WASHINGTON.—Hopes are riding high for passage of enabling legislation establishing an official commission "to spearhead a continuing Antarctic policy in the Government of the United States."

With several similar bills introduced before both Houses of Congress in the current session, the one most favored was introduced by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, and 22 cosponsors.

This bill provides: A depository of Antarctic information. A director and two deputies (assisted by a revolving counsel of 12 "eminently qualified members"). It will assist and advise in establishment of territorial claims for the United States in the Antarctic.

It will aid in matters of national defense; publishing scientific, technical, historical, and general information about the white continent; and conduct the Commission's own housekeeping tasks—all within the executive branch of the Government.

When introduced on May 30, Senate Majority Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Democrat, of Texas, placed it in the category of a bipartisan proposal.

SUCCESSOR TO BYRD

A similar bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, of California. At a hearing held before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs August 7, Mr. ENGLE presiding, Adm. George J. Dufek appeared before the committee of 23 of 25 committee members on invitation from the chairman.

Following in footsteps of the late Admiral Byrd, Admiral Dufek has recently been designated to succeed the famed explorer-flier as United States Antarctic projects officer, advising on political, scientific, and legislative activities while serving also as commander of United States naval forces in the Antarctic.

Under Admiral Dufek's direction the extensive work of establishing 7 Antarctic stations, 5 in connection with United States participation in the International Geophysical Year, has been accomplished.

QUESTIONS VARY

Dr. James F. Mooney, who accompanied Admiral Dufek, was formerly president of the University of Tampa and author and lifelong friend and confidential adviser to Admiral Byrd, has borne much of the burden of drafting pending legislation for establishment of the Commission.

Questions put to the admiral ran all the way from "How cold is it down there?" and "How thick is the ice on which you unload all those tons of supplies," to intimate details of Navy procedure and the inevitable "How about United States territorial claims in the Antarctic?"

"Mighty Casey"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 20, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the great American game of baseball is about to come to an end for another season. How thrilling it has been for Americans of all ages and what a wholesome sport it is for the youth of our country to teach them the principles of good sportsmanship. I am happy to insert for the RECORD a news item from the Washington Daily News of August 19, 1957, written by Henry Fankhauser about one of baseball's greats, "Mighty Casey," and an appropriate tribute to his wife as a "living baseball legend."

The article follows:

MRS. CASEY, TOO, IS A LIVING BASEBALL LEGEND

(By Henry Fankhouser)

Tomorrow 70 years ago a memorable event rocked baseball—"Mighty Casey" struck out.

It set the stage for the famous baseball poem, Casey at the Bat.

Wednesday Casey's widow, Mrs. Daniel Maurice Casey, will celebrate her 94th birthday. She lives alone in a small 3-room first-floor apartment at 403 Clayborn Avenue, Takoma Park, Md.

Mrs. Casey is extremely alert for her age. She remembers distinctly that day her husband made history. It was in Philadelphia in 1887. She remembers their good friend, Poet Ernest Lawrence Thayer, talking to her husband. Dan later told her Mr. Thayer was going to write a poem about him.

"Baseball did more harm than good to Dan, though," she recalls. "Pitching so much hurt his arm. I was never much interested in the game," the tiny, talkative little old lady added.

Her peak in sports was croquet. She admits though, that she was a pretty fair horsewoman back on her dad's farm in Binghamton, N. Y.

Painting is her specialty. Mrs. Casey is another "Grandma Moses." She's still creating and selling beautiful oils. Been doing it since she was 15. And she's an architect, too. Drew plans for several spacious homes near Colesville after moving to this area 30 years ago to be nearer her daughter and grandson.

"Mr. Casey was a hitter before he became a pitcher," Mrs. Casey explains. His performance that big day in 1887, before his immortal strike out, proved it. His ninth-inning double tied the score at 5–5 for the Phillies against the Giants.

"He was a handsome, sweet boy," she smiled. "When he played in a town he thought I'd enjoy, he'd always take me along. We stayed at the best hotels, too. I was the luckiest girl in my crowd."

Casey was a husky 6-foot, 200-pounder. Mrs. Casey is a small lady, 5 feet tall, and "Just say I weigh 100."

"Worry is the worst disease anyone can contract," she explains. "I trust my luck. If I can't get things done today, there's always a tomorrow." She has had 94 years of tomorrows to prove it.

Mrs. Casey has never been a patient in a hospital. "Haven't had time." She gave birth to her daughter at home. It's been 6 years since she's seen a doctor. "He charged me $10. I swore I'd never see another one." Dan never worried, either. "He never came home discouraged or talked baseball," Mrs. Casey recalls. His only illness finally took his life in 1943. Mrs. Casey doesn't recall what it was; she didn't bother to find out, but stayed at his bedside at Washington hospitals for 7 long months.

Casey was a powerful pitcher. Won 29 games in 1887 and 26 in 1886. He pitched for the Phillies four seasons. He won 99 games in pro ball and lost 91.

Casey's the only ballplayer to make the Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N. Y., by striking out. A copy of the immortal Casey at the Bat is in a prominent spot on the east wall upstairs. It's autographed by the author. A large color painting of Casey is directly above.

Binghamton, Casey's hometown, gave him a day in 1915.

Wednesday will be Mrs. Casey's day. She's a living baseball legend.

Record of Votes in the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, the Congressional Quarterly of August 2 once again published a misleading report. It gives the impression that Democratic Members of the Senate were more concerned with economy than the Republicans. While the economy-support score was 33 percent for each party, the opposition score was 52 percent for the Republicans and 50 percent for the Democrats.

The Congressional Quarterly study was based on their selected group of issues, which they claim reflect the attitude of Senators on economy. It did not include many issues which were of great significance. For example, just prior to completion of this study the Senate had voted for the Hells Canyon program. This vote was not included in the group of issues reflecting attitudes on Government economy, yet it is difficult for me to conceive of a single rollcall which was more important in terms of committing the taxpayers to unnecessary expense.

Now that the record of the 1st session of the 85th Congress has been completed, I have reviewed the 111 record votes. There were 38 such rollcalls which directly or indirectly affect the expenditure of public funds.

Immediately following these remarks I have listed these issues and the position which represents a vote in favor of economy. My study shows that 63.7 percent of the economy votes were supplied by Republicans. Only 36.3 percent were supplied by the Democrats. On the other hand 62.3 percent of the votes in favor of increased spending were cast by the Democrats, and only 37.7 percent by the Republicans. Once again the whole record completely refutes the Congressional Quarterly study.

A study of these issues clearly shows that the Republican Party has made every effort to reduce Government spending consistent with our platform pledges. We know that needed tax reduction can only result from our continued efforts to reduce the cost of Federal Government programs.

List of record votes involving economy in Government

Record vote No.	Vote for economy position	Description
3	Y	Urgent deficiency appropriations, 1957—Knowland amendment to committee amendment re cottonseed feed. Rejected 49 to 32.
4	N	Urgent deficiency appropriations, 1957—Hayden amendment re $30,000,000 for strategic minerals. Passed 64 to 17.
15	Y	River and Harbor Flood Control Act of 1957—Hruska motion to recommit. Rejected 55 to 27.
16	N	River and Harbor and Flood Control Act of 1957—Passage. Passed 42 to 22.
24	Y	Appropriations for State, Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies, 1958—Committee amendments re funds for U. S. Information Agency. Passed 61 to 15.
26	N	3d supplemental appropriation bill for fiscal 1957—Hayden amendment re additional amount of $30,000,000 for acquisition of strategic materials. Passed 61 to 17.
27	Y	3d supplemental appropriation bill for fiscal 1957—Williams amendment re 25 percent State contribution for emergency feed and seed assistance. Rejected 51 to 27.
29	N	Housing Act of 1957—Gore amendment increasing mortgage-purchasing authority of FNMA by $2,250,000,000; prohibiting discounts; and increasing by $250,000,000 the amount of FNMA preferred stock. Rejected 61 to 17.
30	Y	Housing Act of 1957—Bricker amendments en bloc reducing authorizations in bill by $1,255,900,000 and limiting urban renewal provisions. Passed 67 to 11.
32	N	Housing Act of 1957—Morse amendment increasing annual authorization for public low-rent housing units from 35,000 to 200,000. Rejected 54 to 20.
33	Y	Housing Act of 1957—Bush amendment changing formula for computing interest rates on loans for college housing. Rejected 54 to 16.
34	Y	Housing Act of 1957—Bennett amendment to eliminate committee-proposed increase of the cost of urban renewal projects. Passed 38 to 32.
38	N	Appropriations for the District of Columbia for fiscal 1958—Morse amendment to increase from $20,500,000 to $23,000,000 the Federal payment. Rejected 62 to 23.
39	N	Appropriations for the District of Columbia for fiscal 1958—Morse amendment to increase by $440,250 funds for teaching personnel. Rejected 57 to 28.
42	Y	Appropriations for Agriculture Department and Farm Credit Administration—Russell amendment reducing the annual authorization for the conservation reserve program by $100,000,000. Rejected 52 to 26.
43	Y	Appropriations for Agriculture Department and Farm Credit Administration—Lausche amendment to prevent use of funds re acreage reserve and limit payments to $2,500. Rejected 71 to 7.
47	Y	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Long amendment eliminating defense support authorization. Rejected 55 to 34.
48	Y	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Long amendment reducing defense support appropriations by $90,000,000. Rejected 49 to 40.
49	Y	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Ellender amendment reducing authorized ceiling on military assistance by $500,000,000. Rejected 61 to 26.
50	Y	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Long amendment reducing military assistance authorization by $100,000,000. Rejected 52 to 33.
51	Y	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Morse and O'Mahoney amendment eliminating development loan authorizations. Rejected 54 to 32.
52	Y	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (authorization)—Morse amendment reducing President's discretionary authorization by $150,000,000 plus notice. Rejected 61 to 22.
59	N	Hells Canyon Dam, authorizing construction of—Passage. Passed 45 to 38.
63	Y	Defense Department Appropriations, 1958—Douglas amendment re cut of $971,000,000, but providing $500,000,000 for additional combat units. Rejected 65 to 7.
64	Y	Defense Department Appropriations, 1958—Dworshak amendment re cut of $182,000,000. Rejected 49 to 24.
86	Y	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Goldwater motion to recommit to Committee on Public Works. Rejected 63 to 22.
87	Y	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Saltonstall amendment providing congressional approval. Rejected 46 to 37.
88	Y	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Case of South Dakota amendment requiring a repayment of $10,000,000 annually by TVA to the U. S. Treasury to be applied to the reduction of the appropriation investment. Adopted 76 to 6.
89	N	Authority for TVA to issue revenue bonds—Passage. Passed 61 to 20.
90	Y	Retirement benefits for District of Columbia employees—Williams motion to recommit bill to committee. Rejected 47 to 19.
91	Y	Retirement benefits for District of Columbia employees—Williams motion to recommit bill to committee with instructions to bring retirement benefits in line with those of other employees holding hazardous jobs under the civil-service retirement system. Rejected 32 to 30.
92	N	Retirement benefits for District of Columbia employees—Passage. Passed 45 to 19.
93	N	Government guaranty of private loans to air carriers—Passage. Passed 72 to 9.
97	Y	Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission—Dworshak substitute amendment eliminating project 58-e-14 to authorize $500,000 for study and design work for project 58-e-14, natural uranium power reactor prototype. Rejected 40 to 37.
98	Y	Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission—Hickenlooper amendment to eliminate authorization for $40,000,000 for natural uranium power reactor prototype (project 58-e-14) and $15,000,000 for plutonium recycle experimental reactor (project 58-e-15). Rejected 42 to 34.
99	Y	Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission—Hickenlooper substitute amendment to strike out mandatory requirement that Commission contract directly with equipment manufacturers for construction of reactor plant, and with cooperative or public organization for operation of plant and sale of steam; and substitute therefor provision for discretionary power in Commission to contract directly with either supplier or cooperative. Rejected 42 to 34.
104	N	Mutual security appropriations, 1958—Foreign Relations Committee amendment increasing military assistance from $1,250,000,000 to $1,475,000,000. Passed 59 to 28.
106	N	Postal pay increase. Passage. Passed 69 to 17.
107	N	Civil service pay increase. Passage. Passed 64 to 22.

List of record votes involving economy in Government, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Record vote No.	Vote for economy position	Votes cast			
		For economy		Against economy	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
3	Y	31	1	9	40
4	N	15	2	25	39
15	Y	22	5	18	37
16	N	17	5	14	28
24	Y	23	38	14	1
26	N	15	2	22	39
27	Y	23	4	13	38
29	N	41	20	----	17
30	Y	39	28	2	9
32	N	32	22	3	17
33	Y	16	----	16	38
34	Y	28	10	5	27
38	N	32	30	6	17
39	N	33	24	7	21
42	Y	8	18	29	33
43	Y	2	5	34	37
47	Y	14	20	29	26
48	Y	15	25	28	21
49	Y	6	20	36	25
50	Y	13	20	29	23
51	Y	11	21	30	24
52	Y	3	19	37	24
59	N	33	5	5	40
63	Y	----	7	38	27
64	Y	13	11	25	24
86	Y	21	1	22	41
87	Y	31	6	11	35
88	Y	41	35	1	5
89	N	15	5	25	36
90	Y	18	1	13	34
91	Y	26	4	3	29
92	N	18	1	12	33
93	N	6	3	35	37
97	Y	33	4	3	37
98	Y	32	2	4	38
99	Y	32	2	5	37
104	N	8	20	34	25
106	N	14	3	26	43
107	N	17	5	24	40
Total	----------	797	454	692	1,142

Protecting the Public Purse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, one of the most pressing problems which faces Congress year in and year out is the need for protecting the public purse. It is especially imperative in this age of international uncertainty and huge defense outlays that Congress squeeze out every possible drop of waste in Federal spending. Our high tax levels cut into the living standards of virtually every income group and reduce economic incentives to produce for a more abundant America.

Excessive expenditures burden the national economy and make the control of inflation exceedingly difficult. Indeed, if the past 3 years are any indication, Government spending has helped to boost the price level far beyond what it should be, resulting in great hardships among the aged, veterans, schoolteachers, and others who live on relatively fixed incomes.

With the headache of Government economy always before us, I was especially impressed with the thesis advanced by Robert A. Wallace in his doctoral dissertation which he wrote for the University of Chicago. Dr. Wallace maintains that Congress needs better information before it in order to do a more effective job of controlling Federal expenditures. He has considered the nature of the appropriations process and analyzed proposals to improve it. He advocates using the General Accounting Office to make expenditures analyses on a continuing basis as the best proposal to help Congress.

I have worked with Bob Wallace on various occasions and have found him extremely capable. He took his Ph. D. degree in political science at the University of Chicago and taught that subject at the Illinois Institute of Technology.

In 1949, Dr. Wallace came to Washington with Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois. In my judgment, he has proved himself one of the best staff men on Capitol Hill, first as Senator DOUGLAS' assistant, and then as staff director of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Therefore, I believe we in Congress should carefully consider his study.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary of Dr. Wallace's expenditures study.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered printed, as follows:

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC PURSE

(By Robert A. Wallace, staff director, United States Senate Banking and Currency Committee)

I. THE IMPACT OF FEDERAL SPENDING

The degree of congressional power vis-a-vis the President ebbs and flows with the particular periods and personalities. Nevertheless, Congress has managed through the years to maintain its most constantly exercised and consistently important power, the constitutional right to pass judgment on all money matters. Through the spending prerogative, Congress shoulders the formidable responsibility of deciding the volume, range, and direction of each Federal program. Every citizen feels the effect of these decisions, not only through the operation of national programs, but also by the impact of spending levels on the national economy and the amount of money siphoned out of his pockets in the form of taxes.

Both the Senate and the House of Representatives devote a vast amount of time to the exercise of the spending power. Dr. George Galloway, one of the leading authorities on Congress, estimates that "perhaps nine-tenths of the work of Congress is concerned, directly or indirectly, with the spending of public money."[1] Federal expenditures, then, have a tremendous effect on all national programs, a direct consequence on the average citizen's take-home pay, and a substantial impact on the national economy as a whole. The exercise of the spending power thus looms as a function of Congress requiring the most careful study and analysis.

The Federal spending process begins with the background of authorizing legislation on the statute books. It then proceeds through four phases: (1) Budget preparation, (2) budget authorization, (3) budget execution, and (4) budget review. Budget preparation and execution belong exclusively to the executive branch of the Government, although both interlock with the congressional functions of budget authorization and review. Scholarly treatises and Government reports have dealt with all four phases of the budgetary process, but currently, the most vexing problems appear to arise during the period of budget authorization—the time of congressional consideration and enactment of appropriations measures.

II. THE NEED FOR BETTER CONTROL

The Congress of the United States simply does not, at present, have access to sufficient analytical data to exercise fiscal control. Instead, such control is necessarily held in the hands of those who possess detailed information with respect to the various administrative needs and the adequacy of this or that amount of money for carrying out a particular program. This does not mean that the President, rather than Congress, really controls expenditures by virtue of his position as chief administrative officer of the entire executive branch. The President theoretically makes the final decisions on the estimates of financial needs, a process that stretches from unit chief to Cabinet officer. Yet, like Congress, he must often rely on 20th-hand information.[2]

Even the Bureau of the Budget, which can acquire more information on programs for expenditures than any other governmental body and comes closest of all to having financial control, does not have sufficient staff to assemble and analyze the detailed data necessary to exert such controls.[3] There is no central point of control of expenditures except in terms of lump sums; rather the determination of expenditures is highly decentralized, resting with the myriad of administrative units.

Over 2,000 component units of Government nestle in the vast reaches of the executive branch, and 2½ million civilian employees stream in and out of Government offices—the Federal Establishment maintains nearly 6 million on its payroll if we include members of the Armed Forces. At work in this gargantuan, intricate maze of governmental units and employees are all kinds of centrifugal forces, divided loyalties, and crisscrossing of authority. Lines of responsibility run upward to the President, sideways to Congress, and crabwise to economic interest groups. Dr. Ernest Griffith, Director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, labels the result of these diverse forces "Government by whirlpools,"[4] which cause dispersive legislation, dispersive administration, and, in toto, a dispersive state. Another student of Congress, James M. Burns, declares that policy and administrative responsibilities are shrouded in a fantastically complicated network of ever-shifting relationships among President, administrators, staff agencies, Senate, House of Representatives, committees, subcommittees, chairman, individual legislators, and among infinite combinations and permutations thereof.[5]

The problem facing Congress is basically one of securing adequate information and analytical data. More adequate information and interpretive materials would permit a factual approach to efforts to achieve economy rather than such techniques as meat-ax methods and hamstringing restrictions on the administrative agencies. In short, we ought to let Congress exercise its spending prerogative with as much understanding as possible.

III. PATHWAYS AND PITFALLS

The congressional difficulties in assessing money issues begin during the formulation of the Federal budget, prepared exclusively by the executive branch of the Government, which tends to work in behalf of the agency interests. After the President presents the budget to Congress, the agencies and the Bureau of the Budget maintain the fiction that all estimates are equally sound. It becomes the President's budget and agency and Bureau representatives will explain it only in a context of justification. Criticism by these officials of any of its features would be construed as an attack on the President's

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ogram. Thus, Congress cannot rely on ency personnel for objective commentary the executive requests.

The focal point of the congressional power er the purse lies within the appropriations bcommittees, which take first crack at the dget estimates. Both the full committee d the full membership may alter the recmmendations of the subcommittees, but ese tight-knit little groups wield a tredendous influence, since they shoulder the rden of item-by-item scrutiny of the bills. he subcommittees hold hearings, study the ems with the staff, and mark up the bills r submission to the full committee. The ct that the subcommittee members labor r weeks and possibly months on an appro riations measure virtually precludes oppotion to their recommendations except on road policy matters. Moreover, barring parsan splits or uncompromisable differences f opinion, subcommittee members will reach greements on all items and act as a unit efore the full committee. On the same asis, the full committee will present a nited front before the full membership of he House or Senate.

In the Senate, seniority settles the quesion of who fills subcommittee vacancies—embers with the longest service on the ommittee get first choice. In the House, owever, the committee chairman allocates he subcommittee membership of the maority party and the ranking minority mem er determines the minority party membership. This difference in the assignments to ubcommittees accounts for a marked difference in the makeup of House subcommittees compared with that in the Senate. Those who serve on the House subcommittees represent regions that have little stake in the appropriations under their subcommittee's jurisdiction, and subcommittee members do not quaver at the thought of substantial reductions. The opposite is true of the Senate subcommittees. Since these are filled according to individual choice backed up by sufficient seniority, members of the Senate Appropriations Committee will seek to serve on subcommittees which consider funds important to their States. Consequently, they tend to seek increases and certainly to oppose cuts in programs dear to the hearts of their constituents. Moreover, seeking reductions, even in programs not affecting their districts, would mitigate against their chances of securing the appropriations they want.

Subcommittee hearings develop information about particular expenditures and programs, but the witnesses almost invariably represent agencies defending the budget requests or individuals and pressure groups demanding larger expenditures. For example, House subcommittee hearings on the civil functions of the Army appropriations bill (rivers and harbors, and flood control) in 1952 consisted of two volumes. Part 1 contained about 500 pages of testimony of Army representatives exclusively. It took another 910 page volume to hold all the testimony of 110 Members of Congress from 35 States and 300 other organizations or individuals who wanted appropriations for rivers and harbors and flood control projects in their areas.[6] While hearings are helpful to Congress and to the subcommitees in gathering information, suggestions for cuts usually face a barrage of arguments gathered by men who have been in constant touch with the budget process, and who have access to those particular facts which will back them up.

When an appropriations bill comes before the full membership for debate, the Appropriations Committee exerts tremendous power. A large number of Members in both Houses of Congress, knowing little of the details of an issue, will side with the committee on all questions. When a Member of Congress, who does not sit on the committee, challenges its recommendations, he often finds himself charged with something akin to insubordination. Moreover, other Members hesitate to vote with him for fear of incurring the wrath of committee members who, perhaps, have wrangled for weeks reaching agreements among themselves. These committee members have little patience with nonmembers who vote to upset tenuous committee compromises on amounts and questions the judgment of the committee.

Although far from perfect, the appropriations process itself presents few really troublesome problems. Nevertheless, reviewing the process points up glaring difficulties which face Members of Congress, especially those who do not serve on Appropriations Committees. The problem of control, having access to sufficient information to take action with knowledge of the consequences, looms large. Witnesses at hearings usually represent agencies or private groups interested only in justifying the budget requests or seeking even higher appropriation. And there is, of necessity, too much reliance on members of the Appropriations Committees which involves the twofold problem of representation of narrow interests and lack of information itself.

IV. REMEDIES FOR BETTER CONTROL

Perhaps the most grossly oversimplified recommendation to help Congress more adequately control spending is to give them a huge staff of budget experts. Congress is not equipped to supervise a large bureaucracy directly and some Congressmen fear losing control of policy by staff getting out of hand. Members must concern themselves with such a broad area of policy that day-to-day supervision of a large research operation would probably fail so miserably that some policies might be furthered by the staff without Members having sufficient understanding of the actions taken in their names.

Staffwise, the Appropriations Committees, and Members of Congress, too, must steer a course between Scylla and Charybdis—between inadequate help and an unwieldy bureaucracy. For this reason, flat recommendations for larger staffs fall short of the mark. Only the Members can decide what is best for them in this regard.

The three major recommendations for improving congressional control of expenditures include: (1) the use of the omnibus, or consolidated appropriations bill, rather than 10 or 12 separate bills, (2) creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on the Budget, and (3) permitting the General Accounting Office to make expenditures analyses on a continuing basis. The item veto, empowering the President to veto parts of an appropriation bill without nullifying the entire measure, has been suggested as an improvement to the appropriations process but it would obviously decrease rather than increase congressional spending control.

A. The omnibus bill

The most prevalent point raised in favor of the omnibus bill is that it allows Congress and the public to view the budgetary picture as a whole. This relates to criticisms that the present process is "piecemeal," that it "breaks up the budget into bits and pieces" and that a consolidated bill would permit an overall comparison of total appropriations with total receipts, making pruning more orderly and less haphazard. This position, however, ignores four pertinent facts: (1) the budget document already gives the overall picture containing both appropriations and expenditures estimates, (2) the consolidated bill cannot give an overall picture because of permanent appropriations and reappropriations, (3) appropriations are not the same as expenditures since they merely authorize expenditures, and (4) the only procedural difference between the omnibus and the separate bill approach is that, under the former, the committee holds up the separate bills until all are ready for reporting. The net effect is to report some 12 bills simultaneously in the form of chapters in a single measure.

In 1950, Congress tried the omnibus bill method of appropriating. This approach was used only once, however, and Congress has not gone back to it.

B. Joint Committee on the Budget

Bills providing for a Joint Congressional Committee on the Budget would create a highly generalized committee which, itself, would be relatively unimportant.[7] The real purpose of the proposals is apparently to create a Joint Committee similar to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, with a staff of 25 or 30 experts to help the Appropriations Committees in their evaluation of budgetary requests. Senator McCLELLAN implied this in his explanation of a bill of this type which he introduced. He declared that the Appropriations Committees were "simply not staffed and equipped to adequately examine the budget."[8]

One of the main difficulties with the Joint Committee proposal is its asumption that better congressional staffing will do the job. This is, at best, an oversimplified recommendation. Staff personnel attached to individual Members and to the committees represent the plane of the smallest diameter in the funnel of information to Congress, but this diameter, once so small as to provide Members with only a trickle of knowledge, has steadily grown since the enactment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Many informed persons, including some who serve on congressional staffs, feel that a further general enlargement could possibly result in a funnel mouth so wide as to cause a deluge of information impossible of absorption. The problem here is not one of size, or even quality; rather, the difficulties lie with the quality of knowledge flowing in at the other end of the funnel.

Since it merely provides additional staff assistance for the committees, the Joint Committee on the Budget proposal adds little. If, however, such a staff of experts would help individual Members of Congress who do not sit on the appropriations committees, then the proposal would have substantial merit. For it is primarily the individual Members who lack information on appropriation matters, a factor which increases the power of the committee vis-a-vis Congress as a whole. Still, two problems would arise. First, committee staffs, hired by the committees themselves, are nearly as much responsible to committee members, and especially committee chairmen, as employees of the Bureau of the Budget are responsible to the Budget Director and the President. Second, a staff of 25 or 30 experts would probably fall far short of covering the broad area of expenditures. Yet a larger staff might saddle Congress with a sizable bureaucracy which it cannot manage.

A Joint Committee on the Budget would not do any great harm, might help, but could not possibly approach a substantial solution to congressional needs on appropriation matters.

C. Use of the General Accounting Office

Congress lacks its own Bureau of the Budget as an aid in passing judgment on appropriations, but it does have at its disposal an agency which should possess detailed knowledge about agency spending practices. The General Accounting Office has furnished to Congress extremely helpful information in

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this regard. On his own initiative, the Comptroller General has issued numerous reports on financial situations exposed during the regular course of work in the GAO. These, however, have been sporadic and mostly concerned with transactions of questionable legality or practices correctable by legislation rather than amounts of money appropriated or conditions of appropriation. The experience of the GAO and its broad range of activity relating to expenditures have led to opinions in many quarters that Congress should make greater use of that congressional agency in the appropriations process.

As a result of the hearings on the Legislative Reorganization Act in March 1945,[9] and the report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress,[10] section 206 of that act was enacted, providing for expenditure analyses by the Comptroller General. By its terms, the Comptroller General is authorized and directed to make an expenditure analysis of each agency in the executive branch which, in his opinion, will enable Congress to determine whether public funds have been economically and efficiently expended. These reports are to be submitted to the Committees on Government Operations, Appropriations, and to the legislative committees having jurisdiction over legislation relating to the operations of the respective agencies.

The final report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress recommended "that the scope of the work of the General Accounting Office be enlarged to include a service audit of the agencies of Government." Such a service audit was to include reports on the administrative performance and broad operations of the agency, together with information to "enable Congress to determine whether public funds were being carelessly, extravagantly, or loosely administered and spent." [11]

Ten years after its enactment, Congress had not utilized section 206. A 1949 House report stated: "Up to the present time, no appropriation has been made by Congress to the General Accounting Office to carry out this program," [12] and the same situation prevailed through 1956.

V. GAO COULD HELP

A congressional budget office in the GAO could provide accurate data during congressional hearings. It could represent the public interest rather than interests of particular agencies and their friends. While it might influence policy, as it now does with its occasional reports, it should neither determine nor undermine policy. It could, however, provide information necessary for a greater degree of control over the purse by the legislative branch. And every Member of Congress, on an equal basis, should have access to the information developed, with staff of the GAO available to furnish budget details to any Congressman seeking them.

Thus Congress should probably try out section 206 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. On the one hand, continuing studies of the executive agencies in operation by GAO experts should help members of appropriations committees by giving balance to the programmatic presentations of the executive agencies. On the other hand, making these studies available to all Members of Congress would lessen the power now exercised by members of appropriations committees. Some Members of Congress may be too busy to give detailed consideration and study to GAO information. Nevertheless, the fact that all Members would not use it should not be employed as a justification for denying it to those who would.

With a careful approach, the GAO could become a valuable tool to Congress by the implementation of section 206 of the Legislative Reorganization Act. Expenditures analyses made by the GAO on the basis of broad financial knowledge of Government operations, generally, should enable Congress to take actions on appropriations matters with a greater degree of knowledge about the consequences.

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[1] George B. Galloway, The Legislative Process in Congress (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953), p. 91.

[2] In a sense, the President has firsthand information of the various requests, certainly lumped together and compared with each other, along with estimates of the political power behind different requests and of major consequences that may follow this or that integrating determination.

[3] In 1954 the Bureau of the Budget had approximately 170 budget examiners who reviewed budgetary requests. This was about 1 person for every 25,000 on the Federal payroll; or, to put it another way, 1 person for every $400 million of annual expenditures.

[4] Ernest S. Griffith, The Impasse of Democracy (New York: Harrison-Hilton Books, 1939), p. 182.

[5] James M. Burns, Congress on Trial (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 115.

[6] U. S. Congress, House subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, hearings, civil functions, Department of the Army appropriation bill for 1953, pts. 1 and 2, 82d Cong., 2d sess., 1952.

[7] See U. S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, hearings on S. 913 and H. R. 7885 to Create a Joint Committee on the Budget, 82d Cong., 2d sess., 1952, p. 9. The measure before the 85th Congress is S. 1585. See U. S. Congress, Senate Government Operations Committee, Joint Committee on the Budget, S. Rept. 165, 85th Cong., 1st sess., 1957.

[8] U. S. Congress, Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, hearings on S. 913, to Create a Joint Committee on the Budget, 82d Cong., 1st sess., 1951, p. 1.

[9] U. S. Congress, Joint Committee on Organization of Congress, report, S. Rept. 1011, 79th Cong., 2d sess., 1946.

[10] U. S. Congress, Joint Committee on Organization of Congress, report, Senate Report No. 1011, 79th Cong., 2d sess., 1946.

[11] Ibid, p. 22.

[12] U. S. Congress, House Expenditures Committee, study of GAO, H. Rept. 1441, 1949, p. 21.

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Capitol Commentary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my Capitol Commentary covering the period January through June 27. I send these reports to my constituents in the First District of Nebraska periodically in an effort to keep them informed of what their Congressman is doing.

The commentary follows:

CAPITOL COMMENTARY (JANUARY 28, 1957)

This is the first in a series of newsletters which will come to you during the 1st and 2d sessions of the 85th Congress. The purpose of Capitol Commentary is the same as any newsletter—to bring to your attention important questions of the day that concern you as citizens and taxpayers. An expression from you on these matters is solicited, welcome, and helpful so that, as your Representative, I will know exactly what your viewpoints are and the consensus of thinking of folks back home. Please feel free to drop me a line at 440, Old House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. When you finish with this newsletter, pass it on to a friend or acquaintance. If you are not presently receiving it, a card with your name and address is all that is necessary for you or a friend to be added to our mailing list or to correct your present listing. Check your local paper for radio and TV schedules concerning reports from your Congressman in Washington.

THE 85TH CONGRESS

On January 3, 1957, the 85th Congress officially convened and its membership took the solemn oath of office as pronounced by the Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas. This was the 8th time Mr. RAYBURN has taken the oath as Speaker and the 23d time as Member of Congress. Only one other Member has repeated this vow as many times in the history of our country, that being the late Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois.

It was my privilege to repeat in the Chamber of the House of Representatives this oath for the second time:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

The Honorable CARL VINSON, of Georgia, who entered the same Congress as Mr. RAYBURN, the 63d, but who was elected some months later to fill a vacancy, administered the oath to Mr. RAYBURN. This Congress is unique in the fact that for the second time in the history of the United States we have a President of one party and both Houses of Congress of the opposite party. This previously occurred during the administration of Zachary Taylor as a result of the election of 1848. With the convening of the 31st Congress in January of 1849, both Houses of Congress were controlled by the Democratic Party while the President, Zachary Taylor, was a Whig. Nebraska is 1 of the 6 States out of 48 that has an all Republican delegation in the House and Senate; the others are Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, North Dakota, and Utah.

INAUGURATION

Many Nebraskans journeyed to Washington to attend the inaugural ceremonies of Dwight Eisenhower and RICHARD NIXON and to participate in the festivities of this historic occasion. It was a pleasure for me to welcome so many citizens of our State who were here to witness this impressive event including Governor Anderson and the Sidney, Nebr., High School Band. The presence of these young people in the inaugural parade was one of the highlights for all Nebraskans in Washington as well as for those who watched on TV back home. Townspeople of Sidney are deserving of a real pat on the back for their civic pride and interest in making possible this display of Nebraska youth and talent in our National Capital.

THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

The President's state of the Union message was a comprehensive and general review of the administration's program. On the domestic front, school construction and civil rights will probably be the most controversial. Concerning Federal aid to education—it has always been my feeling that the people of Nebraska want to handle their school problems in their own way and dislike Fed-

eral interference. Our State has developed a fine educational system where we have local control and the people of the First District and other sections of Nebraska have indicated to me on numerous occasions their desire to work these problems out on matters pertaining to education.

A number of proposals that would keep Federal interference at a minimum will undoubtedly came before the Congress. Our neighbor, ERRETT SCRIVNER, of Kansas, has again introduced the so-called Scrivner plan. His bill provides that the collector of internal revenue of each State would remit to the State treasurer each quarter for educational purposes (or school construction) only 1 percent of the personal and corporate income taxes collected during that quarter. As an example, the income and corporate taxes collected from Nebraska for the fiscal year 1956 amounted to $343,254,000. That share which Nebraska would retain under the Scrivner plan would amount to $3,432,540. I agree with Mr. SCRIVNER'S statement, "Federal aid is a myth, that the money for any Federal program comes from taxes earned in each State." In the last session of Congress, I supported the Scrivner proposal and will do so again this year if it is before the House.

I was particularly pleased with that part of the President's message which referred to our soil; and to water as rapidly becoming our most precious natural resource. No one could be more aware or conscious of the full meaning of that statement than the people of Nebraska who for years have witnessed the scourge of these two extremes—drought and floods. With that thought in mind, we must be alert to a sound and realistic appraisal and canvas of our irrigation, reclamation, and power potential—not for next year but for the future needs of our State and Nation. It is incumbent upon us to be guided by the tone of the President's words: "Of making the best use of each drop of water from the moment it touches our soil until it reaches the ocean."

PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

Here in Washington, many members of both parties take a dim viewpoint of the budget outlook and consider it anything but a pleasant one. There are very few, I feel, who honestly know where the line should be drawn as to our defense expenditures in this present stage of international unrest. However, I know that many Congressmen and the majority of the people I represent in Nebraska share my viewpoint that foreign-aid spending must be stopped and that our overall budget must be reduced. A percentage cut across the board with the possible exception of the most essential defense items of our security (B-52's, intercontinental ballistic missiles, etc.) might be the proper approach. At least such a proposal would be an answer to the many agencies of Government which apparently cannot and have not realistically appraised their money needs. I am in full agreement with Congressman BEN JENSEN, of Iowa, who has called for open hearings on appropriation matters that come before the various Appropriations Subcommittees and the full committee of the House. Such a suggestion, if adopted, would, I feel, through public hearings eliminate much of the fat in this request of some $72 billion, which the people of Nebraska and the other 47 States must pay with their hard-earned tax dollars.

THE MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION

Very shortly this forthright expression of policy by the President will come before Congress. It is similar in many respects to the Formosa Resolution passed almost unanimously in the beginning days of the 84th Congress—to put the enemy on notice that the Eisenhower foreign policy is "dedicated to a program of confining world communism to the borders it now occupies, and to resisting further Communist aggression in the free world." I am confident that this policy of firmness and decision, as it was in the case of Formosa, will promote the cause of world peace. However, the foreign-aid aspects of this question are controversial and it is a great disappointment to me that they are completely tied in with the resolution itself. This measure will come before the House under the so-called gag rule. If the rule is adopted and prevails in the consideration of the resolution, then this would preclude any amendments.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS FOR 85TH CONGRESS

Veterans' Affairs Committee: Subcommittees to be announced.

Interior and Insular Affairs Committee: Subcommittee: Irrigation and Reclamation, Territories, Public Lands.

Consent Calendar: Assisting Republican leadership on Consent Calendar items.

YOUR VIEWPOINTS (FEBRUARY 20, 1957)

In my last newsletter I requested all of you to pass on your comments concerning matters of Government and important questions before the Congress. May I express my thanks and appreciation for this fine response. It is this keen and continuing interest by you that will make for even better Government. Effective and direct representation through your elected Representatives who serve you in Washington is contingent upon the thinking of the majority of people back home. Please continue to write me so that I can have the benefit of your counsel and suggestions.

SPENDING IN GOVERNMENT

Of great concern to me, and certainly to those of you at home, is the amount of money requested in the budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1957—nearly $72 billion, the largest in the peacetime history of our country. This is the time we should be getting our own house in order, and I pledge to you a firm determination to continue to oppose and resist vigorously unnecessary spending in Government. There can be a reduction in spending on many fronts without impairing essential items of security for America. Foreign-aid spending and its many ramifications have brought a feeling of dependence by people in other parts of the world upon the initiative and thrift of American citizens.

Just a few days ago I received a letter from Mrs. William Landgraf, whose home is at Elwood, Nebr.; and I would like to quote several sentences from her letter: "My husband and I were missionaries in the southern part of India for many years. We saw the results of continuous material aid—it caused the people to become dependent upon these benefactors and demanded continued aid. It did not teach them self-reliance and desire to help themselves attain what they wanted or needed. Won't this continuous handout do the same to all countries receiving this aid? It is far easier to be careless and wasteful with someone else's money—there is the responsibility of receiving more."

WHO HANDLES THE PURSE STRINGS?

And while we are talking about money and spending in Government, I want to urge all of you to make your views known to the chairman of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. They and their membership handle the purse strings of the Federal Treasury. CLARENCE CANNON, Democrat, of Missouri, runs the House committee, and CARL HAYDEN, Democrat, of Arizona, is the chairman on the Senate side.

Our President and his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey, have urged the Congress to appraise carefully the budget recommendations of the executive branch, with the hope that further cuts can be made by the Congress in these money requests. Senator BYRD, of Virginia, has been one of the watchful stalwarts in saving your tax dollars, and again this year is working in earnest to effect additional and further savings. Members of both parties are wary of the size of the budget, but the ultimate responsibility as to how much money is spent rests with the Democrats, because, after all, they control both Houses of Congress.

Last week in the initial appropriations measure submitted by the Eisenhower administration action by the House Appropriations Committee and the House itself cut nearly $47 million from this deficiency money bill—from $382 million to $335 million. But the Senate Appropriations Committee then put back nearly all of the $47 million—1 item alone was $30 million for a minerals buying program which was unnecessary and which the House had cut out completely.

PERMANENT STATUS FOR THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

A few days ago I introduced legislation in the House of Representatives to give the Small Business Administration permanent status. Early in January the House passed a measure to increase the amount of money available for small-business loans. This legislation seeks to increase the Small Business Administraton's lending authority by $80 million—from $375 million to $455 million. Following the action of the House, the Senate took steps to approve this increase and passed the measure on January 29. It was signed into law by President Eisenhower on February 11, 1957.

Established under the first year of the Eisenhower administration in 1953, the Small Business Administration came into existence for an interim period expiring on June 30 of this year. This agency grants loans up to $250,000 on terms up to 10 years to small-business people. It is imperative, I feel, that this agency be maintained on a permanent basis, and that these additional funds be made available for loans. My proposal would provide indefinite operations and continued stability of the Small Business Administration. Address any inquiry to the Small Business Administration, Washington, D. C.

AMENDMENT TO THE BANKHEAD-JONES FARM TENANT ACT

On Monday of this week, I introduced a measure in the House to help our farmers refinance their loans with the Farmers' Home Administration. My bill would amend the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act as amended so that, in addition to real estate, livestock, and farm equipment, a farmer, at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, could list stored agricultural commodities as well as other personal property as assets. Flexibility is necessary in any farm-credit program if we are going to restore our basic industry of agriculture to its rightful place in our overall economy. With extended drought and lower farm prices, we must remove unnecessary credit obstacles if the farmer is to survive. This suggested legisla'ion will permit a farmer applying for a loan with the Farmers' Home Administration to present a financial picture that correctly reflects his total assets and total liabilities and not a onesided picture that overlooks part of his true net worth.

RURAL MAIL ROUTE EXTENSIONS

I have just asked the Post Office Department to review its policy which now requires that three families per mile be benefited before a rural mail route can be extended. Many requests for rural-mail route extensions which have come into this office and to my attention during the past 2 years have been denied by the Post Office Department due to this arbitrary ruling.

In a letter to the Postmaster General, I pointed out that the present law provides that rural-mail delivery shall be extended so as to serve, as nearly as practicable, the entire rural population of the United States, and that the three-family policy was out-

moded and discriminated against many rural citizens in less heavily populated areas. Costs of investigations for these extensions by postal authorities would probably more than offset any increase in cost to provide this additional service. It is my contention that the Post Office Department now places too much emphasis on its three-family rule and not enough on other factors. If the Post Office Department does not liberalize this policy, then I plan to introduce and press for enactment of legislation which would remedy this injustice to our farm families.

NATIONAL GUARD

Recently an unnecessary and unfortunate statement about the National Guard was made by the civilian leader of our Armed Forces, Secretary of Defense Wilson. During World War II, my service was with airborne troops overseas and not with the National Guard. However, I know of the splendid overall record of Company B, 134th Infantry, from my hometown of Falls City. The exemplary conduct of this unit in battle bespeaks the record of similar units throughout our State and Nation. I am proud of our National Guard and its contribution to our country in peacetime as well as in war.

The proposal by the National Guard calling for 11 weeks' basic training contains merit. It would solve the present problem of National Guard recruit training because this period of instruction could be accomplished during vacation months at a substantial saving in manpower and dollars. You can be assured that I will give careful consideration to both sides of this question. I intend to support measures in Congress that will keep the National Guard strong so that it will retain its time-honored position in our Defense Establishment.

EMERGENCY LOAN DESIGNATION FOR NEBRASKA MARCH 29, 1957

The entire State of Nebraska has been designated through June 30 of this year as eligible for emergency loans under Public Law 727 of the 83d Congress. Such loans are based on the need for credit arising from general economic conditions where no other credit is available privately or under regular Farmers Home Administration credit programs. These loans are for the purpose of purchasing items such as feed, seed, fertilizer, etc., considered to be expense items necessary for conducting farming operations. It is expected that the processing of applications for these loans will start the first week in April.

A REVIEW OF THE RECORD

While serving as your Representative, I have conscientiously tried to practice what I preach as far as effecting economy in government. Nothing can be clearer in this respect than my recorded voting record. A brief rundown of some of these votes show where I stand.

Against increasing the salaries of Members of Congress and United States judges and attorneys.

Against increasing the salaries of the judges of various courts in the District of Columbia.

Against extending for 1 year the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit.

Against appropriations for foreign aid and Federal aid to education.

In addition, there have been many other items that I have opposed because they represented waste, duplication, and extravagance in Government. I intend to continue to work and vote against those measures that I do not consider justified or necessary in the conduct of the affairs of our country. Letters from many of you in recent weeks confirm that you wholeheartedly agree with my position.

FOREIGN AID

In recent weeks, I have had many visits with various members of the House Appropriations Committee concerning excessive spending and particularly that phase which I think is the worst of all, continuation of foreign aid. The members of this committee are diligently attempting to reduce every budget request because most of them are too high. This is certainly in evidence by substantial cuts in each appropriation measure that has been considered so far this session by this committee. It is further evidenced by actual cuts of about $140 million made by the House. I was tremendously pleased to find so much unanimity of opinion to meet this challenge and particularly on the subject of foreign aid. It is my impression that this committee may cut upwards of $2 billion from the foreign aid program. I will be in complete agreement with the committee members and the Congress only when all foreign aid is eliminated. Such a gesture would effect an enormous savings with which we could reduce our national debt and then hopefully look forward to necessary and needed tax relief for our citizens. The challenge is ours and we must face up to our responsibilities.

EXTENSION OF THE VETERANS DIRECT LOAN PROGRAM, H. R. 4602

The House this week passed H. R. 4602, a bill to encourage new residential construction for veterans in rural areas and small communities. The maximum amount in which direct loans can be made was raised from $10,000 to $13,500 and the interest rate was maintained at 4½ percent. This bill is to assist veterans in obtaining home loans in those areas where private financing has not been, and in most instances, is not now available.

At the end of 1956 there were about 20 million veterans of World War II and Korea. It is significant to note that of this number about 5 million have secured VA guaranteed or insured loans while some have obtained VA direct loans or conventional loans from private sources. Thus, some 15 million veterans of both Korea and World War II have not used any or part of their loan guaranty entitlement. This is quite revealing when we see that 40 percent of our veterans, who are still eligible for loans, live in 2,700 out of 3,076 counties in the United States which have been designated as in the direct-loan area. The other 60 percent live in the metropolitan areas. A report from our Veterans' Affairs Committee states: "The inequity of opportunity to obtain a home loan in various sections of the country is demonstrated by the fact that 3,234,438 veterans live in 1,635 rural counties where less than 10 percent have obtained a home loan, as compared with 2,857,307 veterans who reside in 126 metropolitan counties where more than 40 percent have obtained home loans." I feel that this constitutes a discrimination of the worst type.

In the consideration of this measure the matter of raising interest rates from 4½ percent to 5 percent came up. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee had previously voted this proposal down. I strongly feel that the veterans' home-loan program is a veterans' program and not a program designed as a basis for supporting the homebuilding industry. In the lengthy hearings that were conducted before our committee, the building and lending groups, in essence, urged that the interest rates be increased from 4½ percent to 5 percent. However, there were no assurances that such an increase would produce any additional money for veteran home loans. It was disclosed also that the life insurance companies had about $900 million in outstanding commitments for home loans with $150 million of this committed for 4½ percent VA loans. Therefore we must consider other factors. An increase of one-half percent interest on a $15,000 loan over a 25-year maturity will add $1,278 to the cost of the veteran's home. Furthermore, the eligibility of a veteran for a VA loan is contingent upon credit standards set up by the monthly home payment for principal, interest, insurance, and taxes. A veteran seeking a $15,000 loan at 4½ percent must have net earnings of $351 a month. If the rate is increased by one-half percent, he is required to have a monthly net earning of $370 a month. It is apparent then that a rate increase of one-half percent will render ineligible many veterans in the lower-income group who are seeking a loan and will saddle them with this additional cost. A desire to protect these veterans played a great part in a determination not to raise the interest rate.

The Wall Street Journal recently carried an article stating that the mortgage market is easing and quoted several banking officials as saying that future increases in interest rates are out and that some of the lenders are now looking for loans. I trust that this is a nationwide trend and, if it is, I believe veterans will be able to continue to obtain mortgage financing at an interest rate of 4½ percent. Nebraska is typical of the Nation. Only 17.4 percent of the World War II veterans in the first district have been successful in getting a VA loan as compared with the national average of 25.2 percent. Nothing was presented to our committee to indicate that an increase in the interest rate would cause morgage financing to flow into the areas where the least opportunity for the veterans has existed. H. R. 4602 will encourage the construction of homes for veterans removed from the more populous areas and give them the opportunity to own a home.

We must not look to the VA home-loan program as a means of supporting the home building industry. Our objective should be a liberalized FHA program for all prospective home owners. The future of the home building industry is dependent upon the development of a long-range housing program which will provide a reasonable basis for housing credit for all of the people of the Nation. H. R. 5315 which I have introduced is designed to carry out this purpose. I shall continue to seek its enactment since it is my contention that such a program will be necessary if the future of the home building industry so vital to the Nation's general economic health is to be assured.

THE BATTLE OF THE BUDGET (APRIL 29, 1957)

General opposition to the size of the budget along with close scrutiny of appropriation bills has jammed, to some extent, the legislative machinery of Congress. The House so far has acted on 8 appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1958. Cuts have totaled approximately $1,141,000,000. The Senate has not, as yet, acted on any of these bills. And the record will show that the Senate traditionally ups the figures set by the House. For example, for the fiscal year 1957, the budget recommendation was for $60,892,000,000. The House cut this to $58,584,000,000. The Senate then restored not only the $2,308,000,000 cut by the House but added another $367 million to it. With the record that the House has made to date in effecting substantial reductions in expenditures, the burden now rests with the Senate if these economies are to be a reality.

NEBRASKA PRINCESSES COME TO WASHINGTON

Nebraskans in Washington were happy to welcome recently two talented young ladies from the First Congressional District. Miss Jean Dibble of Bennet, Nebr., who represented our State as a princess in the annual Cherry Blossom Festival, and Miss Shari Lewis of Daykin, Nebr., who is the American Dairy Princess for 1957. Congratulations, Jean and Shari; we are proud of you.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The greatest loss today to the Post Office Department is in the handling of second- and third-class mail consisting primarily of

newspapers, magazines, and circular material. This deficit must be made up by general appropriations. As a result we are confronted with a postal subsidy in which the costs of handling the mail exceed rates charged for the service. For example, the Post Office Department has made the following estimates of the 1956 postal subsidy for 4 magazines: Life, $9.5 million; Saturday Evening Post, $6.1 million; Reader's Digest, $4.8 million; and Look magazine, $3.5 million. We must put the Post Office Department on a paying basis so that it can operate in the black. Corrective action, I feel, should be directed primarily at the class of mail causing the deficiency and not at the tax-paying general public.

WEST POINT, ANNAPOLIS, AND AIR FORCE APPOINTMENTS

All young men between the ages of 17 and 22 who want to attend one of our service academies should write to me in care of 440 House Office Building, Washington, D. C. Nominations for classes beginning in 1958 will be made this fall and I am interested in selecting the best qualified young men. A competitive examination will be held in July of this year to assist in this determination. Upon receipt of these letters, I will return an application form and full information on the academies.

UNITED STATES LOAN TO BRITAIN

A few days ago the House considered Senate Joint Resolution 72. Specifically the question was whether we were to postpone the interest and principal payments due the United States from England on a loan made to them in 1946. The facts are briefly this. At the end of World War II, a balance of $622 million was due the United States in settlement of the lend-lease account from World War II. In addition, the Truman administration in 1946 encouraged the making of a new loan to England of some $3¾ billion dollars. Therefore, the total amount of money involved was $622 million left over and due from lend-lease, plus the $3¾ billion of the new loan made in 1946, less 6 annual payments of $138.4 million paid by England beginning in December of 1951 and continuing through December of 1956. However, no interest was paid on the latter payment of principal. The entire loan was set up for 50 years to come due in the year 2000. It appears that the original loan agreement made with the British during the Truman administration had a number of compassionate features which provided among other things that under certain conditions the British might waive the entire interest payments in any given year. Along in 1953 the British intimated that if we did not renegotiate this loan with them to relax some of its terms, then the alternative would be for them to go to the International Monetary Fund to assert and claim their right of waiver of interest. And by waiving it, it meant writing this interest completely off. It did not mean postponement but it meant complete cancellation and forgiveness of interest due the United States.

In 1953 the English began their negotiations in an effort to take advantage of some of these weak provisions. They continued, however, to make principal and interest payments until December 31 of last year, and on this date they said, "Here is the principal but we claim waiver of the interest." The proposed new agreement presently under consideration by our Government would give the British an extension of 7 years—any 7 they select of the 44 years remaining on the original loan so that they could postpone the interest and principay payments for that year until a year beginning with the year 2001 and on up until the year 2007. So this year, for example, they could postpone principal and interest payments due in December until the year 2001, next year they could postpone it until the year 2002 and so forth with a maximum of 7 extensions or until the year 2007—7 years after the year 2000 which was the maturity date of the original loan. I could not support this measure to delay the payment of an honest debt to us. Each year since 1951 and until last year, payments have been made and the British claimed no right for waiving the interest. Principal was paid in 1956, but the interest amount was put in escrow. Now, for reasons of their own choosing, their claim a forgiveness of interest and wish to compel us to regegotiate the original agreement to their advantage. As Representative GROSS, of Iowa said, "In other words, we are financing the British backward and forward and now we are asked to fix it so they can go on into eternity refusing to pay their just obligations to this country."

The whole thing boils down to this—it was a poorly and loosely drawn hangover from the Truman-Acheson regime. Loopholes were left at our expense with concessions to the British if they desired to take advantage of them. I wanted no part of delaying a bad one-sided agreement any longer. Under these circumstances I would not responsibly be a part of any such proposition, and particularly in view of the fact that the British have just announced a general tax reduction for their own people—possible because of American dollars.

Here is what we have done for our British friends since 1917. These pertinent figures in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD were quoted by Representative GAVIN, of Pennsylvania, from the U. S. News & World Report of March 22, 1957. "In 1917 we gave the British as a World War I loan $8 billion. In 1941, RFC loan, $390 million; 1941 to 1945, lend-lease, $22 billion; 1946, postwar loan $3,750,000,000. In 1948 to 1950, Marshall plan grants amounted to $2,400,000,000. In 1948 to 1950, Marshall plan loans amount to $337 million. In 1951 to 1956, defense aid grants of $851 million, and defense aid loans, $48 million. Or total aid from the United States of $37,776,000,000.

Our Government must stop this foolishness of doling out American dollars. We must diligently pursue a course that will bring about reductions in our national debt and tax relief for our citizens.

The House granted the British this extension by a vote of 218 to 167 and my vote was cast against it.

SOIL BANK (MAY 23, 1957)

The soil bank, as of this report, is dead after June 30 this year. An amendment was adopted in the House last week which knocked out $500 million for this program. The Senate must reverse this action for the program to be operative next year.

The soil bank was enacted too late last year to give it a real chance to work and it should have been given a fair test before being so abruptly stopped. Partisan politics played a large part in ending the program with 38 Republicans, mainly from the metropolitan areas, joining 154 Democrats to do the job. This same opposition defeated the recent emergency corn bill. While many programs have been ended by a denial of funds by Congress, and some rightly so, it is not a responsible way to legislate. It is not the responsibility of the Appropriations Committee to evaluate farm matters. That is the function of the House Agriculture Committee which conducts the hearings and makes the studies. Southern Democrats successfully led the attack against the soil bank. Why does the South have so much power in Congress? Congressman ARENDS, of Illinois, has this to say about it—

"The question has been asked why the South should have so much power in Congress. It is simply because the South, largely a one-party (Democratic) section of the country, reelects its Members of Congress, thereby gaining the seniority of committees. It is only after years of service that one, by virtue of his seniority, can become a committee chairman."

A sectional breakdown by residence of the 8 senior members of each party on the 19 committees of the House, lists 38 southerners in these key spots.

FOREIGN AID

Most of you are familiar with my stand on foreign aid. I have consistently voted against this gigantic giveaway. I would like to quote in part a recent letter from a constituent.

"Our giveaway in Europe is gaining us no good will. I know because I have traveled and visited most of the European countries several times in the last 15 years. I have many relatives in Denmark, where 3 of my cousins wrecked and tore down better barns than I have on my farm here, and built $30,000 and $40,000 fireproof barns (this is my estimated cost if built in this country), completely modern in every way with forced air-conditioning and heating, also running water. When I asked them how come, they stated they were helping their Government to use up the Marshall plan money for that year, so the Government's allotment would not be cut down for next year. Two other cousins built new large silos. None of them really needed help for themselves, but were helping their Government make use of the money. They laughed at us and thought we must be nuts."

This may demonstrate to some extent the lack of appreciation for our tax dollars abroad and why America has lost prestige and has, maybe, fewer friends the world over than we had before this program was started some 10 years ago.

THE DEFENSE BUDGET

The House Appropriations Committee has cut the Defense Department budget by $2½ billion. I intend to scrutinize this reduction very closely when it comes before the House to be certain that only nonessential items have been eliminated so that we will not impair, cripple, or endanger the security and defense of our country and our people.

POSTAL PAY RAISE

Many bills have been introduced in this Congress which would grant a pay raise to postal employees. Representatives of our postal people in Nebraska were in Washington recently to seek congressional support for this legislation. In order that my position may be made clear on this matter, I am taking this means to express my viewpoints to all of the constituents I represent. First, I am sure all of us are grateful to these faithful and loyal employees of the Government for the services they perform so that our mail quickly and safely reaches our homes and offices. When this matter came up in 1955, the facts then justified a reasonable salary increase, which I supported and which was passed by the Congress and signed into law by the President. It was my feeling at that time, as it is today, that we should be guided by a reasonable yardstick in decisions dealing with parceling out of public funds. On any expenditure we must always consider the cost because it is the taxpayer who ultimately foots the bill; and as you well know, since serving as your representative, I have consistently supported legislation which would reduce the cost of government.

H. R. 2474 is the bill prominently identified with postal groups seeking a pay raise. This measure would increase the average postal salary about $1,800 a year, or an increase of about 41 percent over the present salary scale. It is estimated that the additional per annum cost of the bill would approximate $1.3 billion for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1957. To make this measure

retroactive to January 1 of this year, as provided for in the bill, would add another half billion dollars to its cost. If similar salary increases were granted to other Federal employees and to the military, as has happened in the past, the cumulative cost of this action on the part of Congress in approving this specific legislation could run well over $5 billion a year.

There may be specific cases, particularly in the metropolitan areas, where the rise in the cost of living would warrant adjustments in the pay scale of postal and other Federal workers at this time. If these facts can be substantiated, then upon that basis, I would support an increase, providing it was reasonable and fair. A study is in progress at this time so that appropriate recommendations in this respect can be made. It is my duty as a Member of Congress to study legislation carefully, including committee and departmental reports, and then determine what is fair, not only for the people to be benefited, but for all the citizens I represent in the first district. I do not intend, for political advantage, to favor proposals which, in all probability, will not become law. Adverse reports on postal salary increase bills of the magnitude requested by H. R. 2474 have been received from the Post Office Department and the Bureau of the Budget. The administration itself has expressed opposition to this particular bill because of the excessive cost involved. This would indicate that, even though this legislation were passed by the Congress, it would almost surely be vetoed by the President. In 1955, the President pointed out, "There can be no compromise with the principle of fairness, and any pay legislation must be fair to all to whom it applies. It must be workable administratively and not be excessive in cost." This view expresses my thoughts in this regard.

Many postal employees have requested me to sign a discharge petition which would, in effect, discharge the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Rules Committee of the House from further consideration of H. R. 2474 and bring it directly to the floor of the House for action. The House operates on a committee system and the members of the various committees study and conduct hearings on numerous proposals with respect to specific legislation. Committee consideration of proposed bills is essential if Members of Congress are to be fully informed. Therefore, I do not think it would be proper or desirable for me to sign a discharge petition on a measure of this scope which, in the final analysis, would bypass this necessary part of our legislative process. There is no assurance that any bill brought to the House floor by this method would retain its original identity and remain intact. Very likely the sponsors of such legislation, by petition, in their effort to secure its passage might be compelled to accept amendments that would be unwise and irresponsible. History will show that this has sometimes been the case. I cannot be a party to any such proposition if I am to do this job right. Only two bills have become law by way of the discharge petition since the rule providing for them was adopted by the 61st Congress almost 50 years ago. As an illustration, from the 80th through the 84th Congress, 84 discharge petitions were filed. Four received the necessary 218 signatures to place the bills on the House Calendar. Two passed the House, but only one passed the Senate and became law.

DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE (JUNE 27, 1957)

The biggest single item today in our budget is the money we spend for the security of America. The cost is very high but it is cheap if we compare dollars with the lives of our sons. Next year's defense spending called for $36 billion. The House sliced $2.5 billion from this request which left it still $1,100,000,000 below the amount appropriated for the current fiscal year ending on June 30. The Senate must still act on this measure. An effort was made in the House to put back some $300 million for aircraft, missiles, research and development, and I supported this proposition. Here in this instance was the exception and not the rule for me, on where economy begins. It is apparent that we must keep pace if we are going to keep the peace. In these critical phases of our defense program, we must stay in a competing position with Soviet Russia and be certain, without doubt, that the security forces of the United States are not impaired, and that we are not letting down our guard. We cannot afford to lag behind in these highly technical and advanced scientific fields or find ourselves lulled into a false sense and feeling of security. No one wants waste, duplication, or extravagance in government, and we must be objective in searching these things out; however, we cannot afford to gamble on needed essential items of defense—particularly aircraft and missiles, when the very freedom of America is at stake.

Let's take a look at some of the costs of these defense items. A B–29 bomber of World War II cost about $600,000. The B–36 of Korea cost $4 million, and now the B–52 which is taking the place of the B–36 will average out at about $8½ million each. Submarines of World War II cost $4.7 million, then the cost went up during the Korean war to about $22 million, and today our nuclear submarines cost between $40 and $60 million. Many of the increases may be attributed to the growing complexity of these and other weapons now being procured, and price and wage boosts which the Defense Department must pay like anyone else for any goods and services that it wants. Prices for petroleum and petroleum products, metals and metal products and machinery have risen significantly during the last several years. In addition to the fuel price increase, modern jet aircraft are more expensive to operate because of increased fuel consumption. For example; one of the new jet engines consumes more fuel in an hour than you use in your car in a year, and the fuel costs of a B–52 for just 1 hour are $330. The cost of overhauling aircraft and other complex equipment is steadily increasing. Today it costs $44,000 to overhaul an Air Force F–102 fighter, more than double the amount it used to cost to overhaul an earlier model. So when we add everything up, we can see that a strong program of defense for our country is expensive, and as one Member of Congress has so many times said, "I would rather err on the side of strength than on the side of weakness," and I might add, "Because then it would be too late."

Congratulations to J. LeRoy Welsh, of Omaha, for his capable leadership as chairman of the five-man bipartisan Commission appointed by the President to study and make recommendations for the increased industrial use of agricultural products. We are determined that the rural citizens of America will come in for a greater share of our national prosperity, and the contributions by him and his associates in this field will greatly encourage the advancement of this program.

SP3C. WILLIAM S. GIRARD

During the past few weeks I have received numerous wires and letters from citizens of Nebraska protesting the trial of Sp3c. William S. Girard in the Japanese courts. First, may I say that I am in complete agreement with these expressions from home. On the basis of the facts that have been brought to light, Girard should have been tried by Army authorities. When this matter first came up, I went to the Pentagon and discussed the Girard incident personally with the Secretary of the Army, Wilber Brucker. Although the matter was then beyond his jurisdiction and authority, I can honestly say to you that he was in sympathy with my position and had so made known his views to his superiors but his recommendations were overruled. It might be well to review briefly the background of the United States-Japanese treaty adopted in 1953. Under the terms of this agreement the authorities of Japan have the prior right or jurisdiction to try members of the United States Armed Forces for an injury caused to a Japanese national unless—and this is the crux of the argument—such injury is one "arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty." Since the commanding general of Girard's division certified that Girard's action was done in the performance of official duty, it is my feeling that the Army authorities should have jurisdiction over him.

This specific treaty with Japan is not technically a Status of Forces Treaty but in most respects it has the earmarks of one and the end results are the same. Therefore the whole Girard case focuses attention on the "Status of Forces" Treaty made with the NATO countries which was ratified by the Senate in 1953 by a vote of 72 to 15, and comparable arrangements similarly entered into since then between our Government and other foreign powers. As a Member of Congress, I have opposed this type of agreement which repeals international law followed for more than a century. In the absence of any treaty provisions and according to international law, our soldiers stationed abroad enjoy an immunity from civil and criminal jurisdiction. Yet, under these so-called Status of Forces Treaty arrangements with foreign governments, the United States must surrender to that country and its courts, a soldier who may be charged with violating the criminal laws of that nation. I shall continue to challenge the proponents of such international agreements—of a statuts-of-forces nature—which will permit an American boy who violates the law of a foreign nation to be tried and punished in a foreign court where the violation may have been unintentional, where there may have been no criminal motive, and where the act committed was not criminal under American laws.

From time to time amendments to legislation have been considered on the floor of the House which were designed to insure American boys an American trial if they committed a crime in a foreign country. I have always vigorously supported these amendments and will continue to do so in the interest of justice and equality to members of our Armed Forces. In 1955, Mr. Bow, Republican, of Ohio, and Mr. BUDGE, Republican, of Idaho, both introduced amendments to repeal portions of the Status of Forces Treaty agreements. The Budge amendment would have prevented any country where the Status of Forces Treaty is in effect from participating in our foreign-aid programs, unless that country waived a claim to try American soldiers in their civil courts and agreed to turn these American soldiers over to the United States authorities to be tried under our principles of justice. The Bow amendment would have restricted the sending of American troops to any nation refusing to comply in similar manner. In my newsletter under date of July 15, 1955, I stated, "Although both measures were rejected, I supported them as did many other Members of the House who believe that an American soldier should not be denied, as would be true in so many cases, a trial by jury."

Representative POFF, Republican, of Virginia, an able lawyer and a member of the House Judiciary Committee, says that advocates of the status-of-forces treaties argue that these treaties contain a list of nine rules, which guarantee a fair trial in foreign courts. However, according to Mr. POFF,

"A close examination of that list discloses that they do not guarantee a public trial, a jury trial, presumption of innocence, freedom from compulsory self-incrimination, freedom from double jeopardy, freedom of worship, speech, press or assembly, or a protection against hearsay evidence, excessive bail or cruel and unusual punishment," and finally, Mr. POFF says, "It is significant to note that in some nations of the world where food is scarce, the penalty for stealing a chicken is the removal of a hand and in nations where the cow is considered holy, a person convicted of killing a cow may receive the death penalty."

Status of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, in recent months there has been a number of reports in the press and elsewhere with respect to the actuarial solvency of the old-age and survivors insurance and disability insurance trust funds. For the most part these reports have concerned themselves with the imminence of the so-called cross over whereby annual fund surpluses become deficits as the result of an excess of disbursements over collections.

The old-age and survivors insurance program is an integral part of virtually every American's planning for his retirement security and for the security of his dependents in the event of his untimely death. To millions of American citizens the OASI system constitutes the basic foundation of retirement security and survivorship protection. Because of that fact I believe it appropriate that the Members of Congress and the American people have made available to them the most recent statement of the operation of the OASI trust fund issued by the Board of Trustees and a report of July 23, 1957, by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with respect to the financial status of the fund.

Mr. Speaker, because disbursements from the fund closely approximate OASI tax collections, because of the great fiscal implications contained in even modest reforms in the OASI system, and because of the public reliance on a soundly based program of OASI protection, it is extremely important that substantive amendments in the OASI program be carefully considered in public hearing, in executive session, and in debate on the floor before such changes are enacted into law. It was for that reason that at the time of the enactment of the meritorious social security amendments of 1954 during the Republican 83d Congress, careful and deliberate study of the proposed amendments was made by the Congress. In the 83d Congress a group of highly skilled nonpartisan experts made a thorough study of their social security system. As a result of their study, as a result of study by the appropriate departments in the administration, and as a result of study by the Congress, the social security amendments of 1954 were developed. These amendments constituted in my judgment the most important and the most beneficial changes made in the law since the program's inception.

These Republican improvements included the following changes in the law:

First. Coverage was extended to an additional 10.2 million American workers and their families, including farmers, State and local government employees, and self-employed professional individuals;

Second. Monthly benefits were increased for those already on the retirement rolls and an improved benefit formula was provided for those retiring in the future;

Third. Average benefit payments were raised by allowing the dropout of up to 5 years of lowest earnings;

Fourth. Benefit recipients were allowed to earn as much as $1,200 annually without loss of benefits;

Fifth. Benefit rights of individuals were protected during periods of total disability and other important improvements were made in the law that I shall not take the time to enumerate.

I stress the fact that these improvements were made possible by, and were the result of, thorough and complete consideration of the legislation in public hearings, in executive sessions, and in expert study.

In the Democrat-controlled 84th Congress social-security amendments were again enacted, but unfortunately such amendments did not receive the extensive study that circumstances warranted be given to them. The Republican members of the House Committee on Ways and Means constructively endeavored to have public hearings held on proposed changes to the Social Security Act at the time the Democrat members of the committee undertook to hastily prepare what they hoped would be a politically popular social security bill. This occurred in 1955 during the first session of the 84th Congress, and the Democrat majority ussed as an excuse for not holding hearings the fact that time remaining in the 1955 session of Congress did not permit a mature consideration of the proposed changes. The Democrats took this position despite the fact that they were proposing a multibillion dollar increase in the cost of the program, despite the fact that they proposed to increase the social security tax burden imposed on the American people, and despite the fact that there were many other meritorious proposals for improving the OASI system that were to be arbitrarily disregarded by the Democrat majority. The soundness of the Republican position on the legislation to the effect that hearings should be held so that the proposed amendments could be perfected and so that a priority could be established to determine the changes that would be most beneficial to the American people was clearly supported by the fact that the Senate took no action on the bill during 1955 and that the legislation did not become public law until August 1, 1956. The Republican Party supported the resulting amendments to the law but pointed out the need for more deliberate consideration of the proposed changes.

It is important to recount this legislative record of Republican responsibility and Democrat political motivation with regard to social-security legislation because of its implications with respect to future improvements in the social-security law that may become possible and may be deemed desirable and necessary. Under existing law the ultimate tax on covered wages is projected to become 9 percent effective in 1975 shared equally by employees and their employers. The self-employment tax would become 6¾ percent at that time. To evaluate the highness of these rates it must be remembered that the tax applicable to wages is a tax on gross wages without any allowance for personal exemptions, dependents, or other deductions. The tax on self-employment income is a tax on adjusted gross income and permits only certain business deductions. Consequently, as a percentage of net income, the tax is substantially higher than would be indicated by the actual rates. Mr. Speaker, these facts make it obvious that meritorious improvements in the social-security law which affect millions of Americans must be the subject of the most careful legislative study at such time as they are enacted. Democrat-controlled executive sessions are not enough. The public's stake in a sound social-security program is so great that the Democrat Party cannot responsibly pursue a course of closed-door sessions in the preparation of social-security amendments as they did in 1952 and again in 1954. Such legislation must not be brought up under suspension of the rules in the House of Representatives allowing only 40 minutes of debate in regard to a program that is so vital to the economic security of our great Nation.

As chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means during the 83d Congress it was my privilege to be the author of the legislation which made sweeping improvements in our social-security program and which became known as the Social Security Amendments of 1954. As chairman of the committee at that time I insisted, with the support of my colleagues on the committee, that public hearings be held on the legislation and that full discussion be had on the subject before further legislative action was taken. It is my hope that further improvements in the law will come about only after such consideration in public session has occurred. As I stated previously I will include two documents relating to the actuarial status of the OASI trust fund for the information of all interested persons at this point in the RECORD:

Statement of operations of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund during the fiscal year 1956

Total assets of the trust fund, June 30, 1955			$21,141,001,461.71
Receipts, fiscal year 1956:			
Insurance contributions:			
Appropriations	$6,336,804,603.39		
Deposits arising from State agreements	171,565,577.42		
Gross insurance contributions	6,508,370,180.81		
Less payment into the Treasury for taxes subject to refund	66,000,000.00		
Net insurance contributions		$6,442,370,180.81	
Interest and profit:			
On investments	$487,450,075.05		
On amount held in railroad retirement account to credit of trust fund	7,439,000.00		
Total interest		494,889,075.05	
Total receipts		6,937,259,255.86	
Disbursements, fiscal year 1956:			
Benefit payments		5,360,813,247.00	
Administrative expenses:			
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	$94,892,621.97		
Treasury Department	29,516,077.17		
Preparation for construction of building for Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance	61,876.35		
Gross administrative expenses	124,470,575.49		
Less receipts for sale of surplus material, supplies, etc	131,867.92		
Net administrative expenses		124,338,707.57	
Total disbursements		5,485,151,954.57	
Net addition to trust fund			1,452,107,301.29
Total assets of the trust fund, June 30, 1956			22,593,108,763.00

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION,
July 23, 1957.

FINANCIAL STATUS OF THE OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE TRUST FUND

The trustees of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, in their report to Congress dated March 1, 1957, state that the old-age and survivors insurance system is in actuarial balance. That is, for the long-range future the system will have sufficient income from contributions, based on the tax schedule now in the law, and from interest earned on investments, to meet all future payments for benefits and administrative expenses. Disbursements will grow, but so too will contribution and interest income.

It was widely recognized when the old-age and survivors insurance program was first established that the number of beneficiaries on the rolls, and hence the amount of benefit payments, would increase steadily for the next 50 or 75 years. This is due not only to the rising number of aged persons in the population but also because in the future a much larger proportion of aged persons is expected to be eligible to receive benefits under the program than at present.

To meet this expected future rise in benefit payments Congress has provided for gradually rising contribution rates. The combined employer-employee contribution rate to finance the retirement and survivor benefits under the program is now 4 percent of the first $4,200 of an employee's anual earnings. The combined rate is scheduled to rise to 5 percent in 1960; to 6 percent in 1965; to 7 percent in 1970; and to 8 percent for 1975 and later years. (Beginning in 1957, an additional one-half percent of taxable earnings is paid into a separate fund—the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund—to finance the payment of monthly insurance benefits to disabled workers between the ages of 50 and 65.)

Because of the long-run upward trend in benefit payments the excess of income over disbursements declines each year during the 5-year periods between scheduled tax increases. As a result, it has been recognized that the year-to-year growth in the trust fund would be smallest—the fund might even decline—for a time before each change in rate became effective. However, aggregate income of the fund over many years will exceed aggregate outgo, and thus the long-range trend in the size of the fund will be upward.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENT

1. Trust fund income has exceeded outgo in every year since the program started operations in 1937. As expected, the amount of this excess of income over disbursements—in other words, the net increase in the fund—has been declining for the past several years. Thus during the calendar year 1954 the fund increased by $1,869 million; during 1955, by $1,087 million; during 1956, by $856 million. Estimates now indicate that during calendar year 1957 the trust fund will increase by more than $100 million. The assets of the fund at December 31, 1957, are estimated at $22.6 billion. During 1958 the fund may increase slightly or decrease slightly. (A precise estimate of the direction of movement in 1958 is not possible because a slight variation in estimated income or in estimated disbursements can completely change the close balance that will apparently prevail for that year.) In 1959 it seems quite likely that the fund will decline. Then under the impetus of the rate increase beginning in 1960 the fund will rise substantially during the first 2 or 3 years of the next 5-year period, 1960–64.

2. Although contribution income to the trust fund is in line with and is expected to continue in line with estimates, current benefit expenditures are somewhat higher than was originally estimated. As a result, the temporary halt in the growth of the fund which was foreseen as a part of the general pattern of trust-fund growth has come about somewhat earlier than was expected.

3. Legislation in 1954 and 1956 extended coverage under the program to a number of occupational groups that were formerly excluded. More aged persons have become insured and filed claims for benefits as a result of these extensions of coverage than was originally estimated. Self-employed farmers are a major group among these claimants. Some 375,000 self-employed farm operators filed applications for retirement benefits by June 30, 1957. These higher than expected claims, coming primarily from a backlog of farmers, many of whom were well beyond the minimum retirement age under the program, represent largely a one-time event. The resulting additional benefit payments, although significant from a short-range viewpoint, have virtually no significance in relation to the program's aggregate disbursements over the long-range future and thus have virtually no effect on the financial soundness of the system.

4. A minor element in raising the amount of benefit payments over the short-range future beyond what was expected is a result of the provision, enacted in 1956, which lowered from 65 to 62 the minimum eligibility age for benefits to women. Benefits under this provision first became payable for the month of November 1956.

On November 1, 1956, there were an estimated 1,300,000 women between the ages of 62 and 65 who were eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits. Of this total, some 860,000 could draw benefits for November if they filed an application; the remaining 440,000 women were either workingwomen or wives whose husbands were working.

The number of women between 62 and 65 on November 1, 1956, who it was estimated would file applications for benefits before reaching age 65 was 740,000. About 710,000 have actually filed by June 30, 1957. It is estimated that an additional 80,000 such women will file applications before they reach age 65, bringing the total to 790,000, or some 7 percent in excess of the original estimate. However, current experience indicates that the excess over the estimate is the result of claims filed by women workers and wives. (It is not the result of claims filed by widows—who can receive full-rate benefits at age 62.) The higher disbursements arising from these additional claims will have no significant effect on the long-range cost of the system. This is because a woman who elects a retired worker's or a wife's benefit when she is between age 62 and age 65 will receive a reduced benefit both before and after age 65, which is, on an actuarial basis, virtually equivalent to the full-rate benefit that would have been payable at age 65.

CONCLUSION

The earlier-than-expected temporary halt in the anticipated future growth of the trust fund will have no significant effect on the long-run actuarial balance of the system. Moreover, there is nothing in recent experience under the old-age and survivors' insurance program which suggests the need for changes in the present contribution schedule in order to assure the continued financial soundness of the system.

Qualifying To Vote in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, a few days ago speaking to a group of Democrats at San Antonio, Tex., I pointed out the necessity for poll-tax payments in Texas, beginning October 1, 1957, in order to qualify to vote in 1958. I request unanimous consent to include my remarks in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The first job for Democrats right now is getting the Democrats ready to vote in 1958. In a few weeks, on October 1, 1957, to be exact, the poll-tax paying period will open at the county tax collectors offices all over Texas.

Those of us who want democracy to flourish in Texas must work to wipe out the poor record we have had by qualifying ourselves to vote. Too few people in Texas qualify to vote and then vote. Government is everybody's job. You have a stake, a privilege, a duty, and an opportunity.

Wry should Texans bother to pay $1.75 this year? Well, the reasons are many. In the cities, there will be city elections and school board elections. There will be important bond elections. They will affect the tax rate of millions of Texas homeowners.

In the rural areas there will be elections on watershed flood prevention districts. There will also be some school elections and some county bond elections. Then there will be the elections of 150 members of the Texas House of Representatives and 15 members of the Texas Senate. Those elections are particularly important to rural people because of the attacks on their REA power program and on their rural roads program.

It is clear that the enemies of rural electric cooperatives have control of the machinery and a majority in the Texas Legislature, and there's just one cure for that—for the 230,000 Texas families who belong to the REA co-ops to pay their poll taxes and be ready to vote next July. Just recently, an attack has been launched on the farm-to-market road program. The enemies of this program were defeated in 1951, when they set out to do away with rural roadbuilding. They said the job was finished, that the farmer was out of the mud. They were defeated, and since that time, more than 12,000 miles of farm-to-market roads have been built in Texas. But school buses still travel thousands of miles of dusty, muddy, unpaved roads.

Now they are back at it again, with the same old song. They say there is no longer any need for paving rural roads, that the money ought to be switched to other uses. The issue will be decided at the polls in July and August of 1958. And it will be decided by the Texans who step up to the tax collector's window and ante up $1.75 for the right to be a practicing citizen in this State of ours. And you must pay that $1.75 by January 31, 1958, to vote to save REA and farm-to-market roads in Texas.

A large number of constitutional amendments will be submitted, to the qualified voters in November of next year. Then we have to elect a United States Senator, a governor, a lieutenant governor with power to appoint committees with life or death power over all legislation, a commissioner of agriculture, an attorney general, a land commissioner, a State treasurer, a railroad commissioner, and a comptroller.

But that is not all you get to decide on for the sum of $1.75. We have 22 Congressmen in Texas, and they'll all be up for reelection next year, except 1 who is talking about running for another office.

And then there are the precinct conventions of the Democratic Party, on the fourth Saturday in July of next year. You can't attend those conventions unless you have a poll tax or an exemption certificate for 1957. And here in Texas, the Democratic Party machinery is, as someone said the other day, the machinery of the State Government. Unless real Democrats qualify themselves and take part in those conventions, the party machinery will speak only for the few—perhaps those who have been trying to destroy the Democratic Party before, and who will do it again if we give them the chance. Right now our Democratic Party is headed in Texas by some officers who in 1952 tried to destroy the party, and who came back in 1956 and took charge again. Until the year-in-and-year-out Democrats who can be trusted to be faithful hold the party's top offices in Texas, we can continue to see the same thing happen again.

Let me put in a word of warning right now. The drought and Ezra Benson have driven many Texans off the farms and into the cities. Mama and papa, if they are past 60, have been voting each year in the country without getting exemption certificates. But if they've moved to town, to a city of 10,000 or more, they must get a new exemption every year. It broke my heart last spring to talk with dozens of fine Texans who wanted to help us, but hadn't known that they had to get an exemption each year now that they've moved to town.

You must pay your poll tax or get your exemption certificate between October 1, 1957, and January 31, 1958, so that you can vote in all elections and participate in the conventions in 1958.

So pay your poll tax or get your exemption, and get it early so you won't forget. Let's all be citizens in 1958, not just residents of Texas. Government is everybody's job. Hard money and high interest rate aren't accidents. Get ready to vote.

Analysis of All Rollcall Votes in the House of Representatives During the 1st Session of the 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at the end of the 84th Congress I presented a statistical record which portrayed the support accorded President Eisenhower's legislative program by the members of both parties in the House of Representatives. Once again I have prepared similar tables covering the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

During this session there were 100 record votes. I have classified these rollcalls into four groups. Group 1 includes 26 issues which are not concerned with the President's program. Group 2 includes 23 issues on the President's program which were supported by a majority of the members of both parties. Group 3 includes 24 issues where a majority of the Republicans voted in opposition to the President's program. Although this looks like a great many rollcalls, I must add that 13 of these rollcalls involved amendments to a single bill, H. R. 6287, the appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare. One of these amendments involved a vote on a $30,000 item. I have no way of weighing rollcalls and hence have included the entire 24 in the group of Eisenhower rollcalls. However, these 13 are hardly representative of support for the President's overall program. Group 4 comprises 27 issues. These are the issues where the parties were clearly divided, a majority of the Republicans voting in support of the President and a majority of the Democrats in opposition to him. It is significant that this is the most numerous group.

Immediately following my remarks I have included the classification of each of the 100 rollcalls together with complete statistics for the Eisenhower rollcalls.

When we consider the entire list of 74 Eisenhower rollcalls, we find that of all the votes cast in support of President Eisenhower's position, Republicans account for 53.8 percent, and Democrats, 46.2 percent. Of all the votes cast in opposition to President Eisenhower's position, the Republicans were responsible for 36.6 percent, and the Democrats for 63.4 percent.

When we compute Republican and Democrat support scores for the entire list of 74 Eisenhower rollcalls, we find a Republican support score of 64.7 percent and an opposition score of only 35.3 percent. The Democrat support score is 47.7 percent, the opposition score, 52.3 percent. Mr. Speaker, let me add that these percentages include the 13 rollcalls already discussed, as well as the 23 issues where a majority of both parties supported the President.

The support score for the 27 issues where the parties were divided is most revealing. The Republican support score was 82.4 percent, and the opposition only 17.6 percent. On the other hand, the Democrat support score for these issues was only 16 percent, and their opposition score 84 percent.

The President needs a Republican 86th Congress so that he may complete the task he has undertaken.

Classification of all House rollcalls, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Group	Description
1	----------	1	Election of Speaker.
2	Y	2	Middle East policy (H. Res. 123)—Providing for the consideration of H. J. Res. 117, authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East. Passed 262 to 146.
3	Y	2	Middle East policy (H. J. Res. 117)—Authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East. Passage. Passed 355 to 61.
4	----------	1	1957 deficiency appropriations (H. R. 4249)—Lanham amendment placing a $15,728,000 limitation on amount to be spent for State and local administration of public-assistance grants. Passed 205 to 168.
5	N	4	Drought relief (H. R. 2367)—Providing for payment to ranchers for deferred grazing as part of relief available to drought-stricken areas of the Southwest. Passage. Passed 270 to 109.
6	Y	2	Middle East policy (H. Res. 188)—Providing for House agreement to Senate amendments to H. J. Res. 117, authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East. Passage. Passed 350 to 60.
7	N	4	Budget (H. Res. 190)—Requesting the President to indicate where substantial reductions in the 1958 budget may best be made. Passage of H. Res. 192, providing for consideration of H. Res. 190. Passed 219 to 185.
8	Y	4	Budget (H. Res. 190)—Motion to recommit and substitute resolution commending President for requesting departments to review budget requests to determine where cuts can be made, and requesting the President to make information received available to the House of Representatives. Rejected 185 to 214.
9	N	4	Budget (H. Res. 190)—Passage. Passed 220 to 178.
10	N	4	Corn program (H. R. 4901)—Establishing a minimum acreage allotment for corn. Motion to recommit. Rejected 168 to 237.
11	Y	4	Corn program (H. R. 4901)—Passage. Rejected 188 to 217.
12	N	4	Monetary and credit investigation (H. Res. 85)—Authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct studies and investigations, and to make inquiries relating to operation of the monetary and credit structure of the United States. Passage. Rejected 174 to 225.
13	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $30,000 the appropriation for 3 new positions in the Department of Labor to handle international labor affairs in South America and the Near East. Passed 286 to 126.
14	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $204,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of the Solicitor, Department of Labor. Passed 241 to 171.
15	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $46,300 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor. Passed 246 to 169.
16	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $136,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights. Rejected 137 to 275.
17	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $442,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor. Passed 214 to 205.
18	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $12,186,000 funds for grants to States for unemployment compensation, thus eliminating an increase requested by Bureau of Budget over departmental request and eliminating contingency funds. Passed 220 to 200.
19	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $1,500,000 funds for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and provide same amount used in 1957. Passed 253 to 167.
20	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $263,800 the appropriation for new positions in the Mexican farm labor program. Passed 342 to 77.
21	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $346,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Passed 217 to 202.
22	N	3	1958 appropriation for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $31,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Women's Bureau. Rejected 206 to 210.
23	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $288,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor. Passed 214 to 205.
24	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $1,327,000 the increase in funds for expansion of the Food and Drug Administration. Rejected 130 to 285.
25	N	3	1958 appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to reduce by $1,482,000 the appropriation for new positions in the Office of Education. Rejected 206 to 207.
26	Y	4	1958 appropriations for Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Amendment to delete language providing $50 million to municipalities for waste treatment works construction. Rejected 185 to 231
27	----------	1	14th Street Bridge (H. R. 6306)—Increasing the authorized cost of construction of 4-lane bridge to replace the existing 14th Street Bridge across the Potomac River. Passage. Passed 190 to 131.
28	Y	3	British loan (S. J. Res. 72)—Approving an agreement amending the Anglo-American financial agreement of Dec. 6, 1945, relative to deferment of certain interest payments. Passage. Passed 218 to 167.
29	N	4	Committee expenses (H. Res. 191)—Providing $350,000 (in lieu of $100,000) for purpose of investigating studies by House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Passage. Passed 225 to 143.
30	N	3	1958 appropriations for the Department of State, Justice, and Judiciary (H. R. 6871)—Amendment to reduce by $7,039,958 the appropriation for the United States share of the cost of international organizations of which we are a member. Rejected 167 to 205.
31	N	4	1958 appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and the Farm Credit Administration (H. R. 7441)—Amendment to suspend operation of the soil bank program at the end of fiscal year 1957 and to delete provisions for $500,000,000 for the 1958 program. Passed 192 to 187.
32	----------	1	1958 appropriations for the legislative branch (H. R. 7599)—Motion to recommit with instructions to delete $7,500,000 for construction of an additional House Office Building. Rejected 176 to 206.
33	----------	1	1958 appropriations for the legislative branch (H. R. 7599)—Passage. Passed 279 to 93.
34	N	4	Lake Michigan water diversion (H. R. 2)—Authorizing the State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago to divert additional water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway. Passage of H. Res. 254, providing for consideration of H. R. 2. Passed 267 to 102.
35	Y	4	Lake Michigan water diversion (H. R. 2)—Motion to recommit until the bilateral discussions between the United States and the Dominion of Canada with respect to the further diversion of water from Lake Michigan have been concluded. Rejected 143 to 225.
36	N	4	Lake Michigan water diversion (H. R. 2)—Passage. Passed 223 to 144.
37	N	2	Judicial retirement (H. R. 985)—Providing that chief judges of circuit and district courts shall cease to serve as such upon reaching the age of 75. Motion to recommit. Rejected 47 to 293.
38	Y	4	1958 appropriations for the Department of Defense (H. R. 7665)—Motion to recommit with instructions to restore $313,000,000 of the committee cut of $2,586,775,000. Rejected 151 to 242.
39	----------	1	1958 appropriations for the Department of Defense (H. R. 7665)—Passage. Passed 394 to 1.
40	Y	2	Rule, civil rights (H. Res. 259)—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 6127, providing means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. Passed 290 to 117.
41	N	4	Civil rights (H. R. 6127)—Providing means of further securing and protecting civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. Motion to recommit with instructions to add provision for jury trial in contempt proceedings. Rejected 158 to 251.
42	Y	2	Civil rights (H. R. 6127)—Passage. Passed 286 to 126.
43	Y	3	3d supplemental appropriations for 1957 (H. R. 7221)—Motion to agree to Senate amendment providing $14,000,000 for initiation of Federal flood-insurance program. Rejected 186 to 218.
44	Y	2	Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (H. R. 6974)—Extending for 1 year. Passage. Passed 345 to 7.
45	Y	2	Small Business Act (H. R. 7963)—Amending Small Business Act of 1953, making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency. Passed 393 to 2.
46	----------	1	1958 appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H. R. 6287)—Motion to recommit the conference report. Rejected 73 to 321.
47	----------	1	Senate Office Building (S. 1428)—Authorizing furniture and furnishings for the additional office building for the U. S. Senate. Motion to recommit with instructions that the House Public Works Committee insert specific cost figures. Rejected 135 to 232.
48	----------	1	Senate Office Building (S. 1429)—Authorizing the enlargement and remodeling of Senators' suites, and other changes and improvements in the existing Senate Office Building. Motion to recommit with instructions that the House Public Works Committee insert specific cost figures. Rejected 148 to 216.
49	Y	4	Military public works bill (H. R. 8240)—Authorizing certain construction at military installations. Amendment deleting from bill section requiring congressional review of action by Defense Department to eliminate activities competing with small businesses. Rejected 183 to 230.
50	Y	4	Federal advisory committee (H. R. 7390)—Providing for limitation and regulation of the use of advisory committees within the executive branch. Motion to recommit to the Committee on Government Operations with instructions to receive further testimony from the Department of Defense and the Post Office Department. Rejected 182 to 225.

Classification of all House rollcalls, 85th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Group	Description
51	N	2	Reorganization Act of 1949, amendment to (H. R. 8364)—Amending so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to Congress at any time before July 1, 1959. Motion to recommit. Rejected 46 to 338.
52	----------	1	Veterans' benefit (H. R. 72)—Amending the World War Veterans' Act of 1924 to restrict the transfer of estates of incompetent veterans derived from compensation and pensions. Motion to recommit. Passed 191 to 161.
53	N	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (S. 2130)—Motion to recommit to delete provisions creating the development loan fund. Rejected 181 to 227.
54	Y	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (S. 2130)—Passage. Passed 254 to 154.
55	N	3	Postal pay increase (H. R. 2474)—Providing for a $546 increase in basic salary of employees in the postal field service. Passage. Passed 379 to 38.
56	N	3	School construction (H. R. 1)—Providing for Federal assistance to States for school construction. Motion to strike the enacting clause (and prevent further consideration of the bill). Passed 206 to 203.
57	Y	2	Airways modernization (S. 1856)—Establishing the Airways Modernization Board to provide for the development and modernization of navigation and traffic control facilities. Passage. Passed 375 to 17.
58	----------	1	San Angelo project (H. R. 2147)—Providing for the construction of the San Angelo Federal reclamation project, Texas. Motion to recommit. Rejected 189 to 202.
59	----------	1	San Angelo project (H. R. 2147)—Passage. Passed 201 to 190.
60	Y	2	Niagara power (H. R. 8643)—Authorizing the public construction of certain works of improvement in the Niagara River for power, and for other purposes. Passage. Passed 313 to 75.
61	----------	1	District of Columbia tunnel (H. R. 6763)—Providing for the construction of a 4-lane tunnel under the Potomac River in the vicinity of Constitution Ave. in lieu of a bridge previously authorized. Motion to consider the bill. Passed 297 to 76.
62	----------	1	District of Columbia tunnel or bridge (H. R. 6763)—Motion to strike enacting clause (and prevent further consideration of the bill). Rejected 175 to 194.
63	----------	1	District of Columbia tunnel or bridge (H. R. 6763)—Motion to consider the bill. Passed 275 to 59.
64	----------	1	District of Columbia tunnel or bridge (H. R. 6763)—Amendment changing the bill to provide for a 6-lane bridge in lieu of a tunnel. Passed 226 to 109.
65	Y	2	Panama (H. R. 6709)—Implementing a treaty and agreement with the Republic of Panama. Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. Passed 279 to 91.
66	N	3	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—Motion to recommit with instructions to reduce appropriation of new funds for TVA by $9,784,000. Rejected 158 to 244.
67	----------	1	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—Passage. Passed 330 to 75.
68	----------	1	Meat-promotion program: Rule (H. Res. 362)—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 7244, amending the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, permitting deductions for a self-help meat-promotion program. Passage. Rejected 175 to 216.
69	----------	1	District of Columbia Auditorium Commission (H. R. 4813)—Extending the life of the District of Columbia Auditorium Commission. Adoption of conference report authorizing the acquisition of certain land for a District auditorium-cultural center. Rejected 115 to 284.
70	Y	2	International Atomic Energy Agency (H. R. 8992)—Providing for United States participation in the organs of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Motion to delete provision for congressional control over distribution of nuclear material and deleting authorization for matching of material with other members. Passed 298 to 100.
71	Y	4	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Amendment deleting $3,000,000 for design and construction estimates of a plutonium reactor. Rejected 197 to 201.
72	Y	4	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Amendment deleting $55,000,000 for construction by the Commission of a natural uranium and a plutonium recycle reactor. Passed 211 to 188.
73	Y	4	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Amendment revising cooperative power reactor demonstration program and deleting provision for Government ownership and operation of generating plants. Passed 213 to 185.
74	Y	2	Atomic Energy Commission authorization (H. R. 8996)—Passage. Passed 383 to 14.
75	Y	3	Federal employees pay raise (H. R. 2462)—Providing an 11-percent across-the-board salary increase for classified Federal employees. Motion to recommit. Rejected 70 to 319.
76	N	3	Federal employees pay raise (H. R. 2462)—Passage. Passed 329 to 58.
77	----------	1	Public works appropriation (H. R. 8090)—Making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army and certain agencies of the Department of the Interior for fiscal year 1958. (Conference Report.) Motion to agree to Senate amendment earmarking $500,000 for preparing plans for Bruces Eddy project on Clearwater River, Idaho. Rejected 23 to 363.
78	Y	4	Postal rate adjustment (H. R. 5836)—Increasing certain postal rates. Passage. Passed 256 to 129.
79	Y	2	Mutual Security Act of 1957 (S. 2130)—Adoption of conference report increasing amount authorized by House by $250,000,000 and extending development loan fund to 1960. Passed 226 to 163.
80	----------	1	Freight forwarders (S. 1383)—Amending the Interstate Commerce Act to change the requirements for obtaining a freight forwarder permit. Passage. Passed 177 to 176.
81	Y	4	1958 appropriations for mutual security (H. R. 9302)—Motion to recommit with instructions to increase various items by $715,000,000. Rejected 129 to 254.
82	----------	1	1958 appropriations for mutual security (H. R. 9302)—Passage. Passed 252 to 130.
83	N	3	Air-carrier loans (H. R. 7993)—Providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers. Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. Passed 242 to 94.
84	Y	3	District of Columbia Stadium (H. R. 1937)—Authorizing the construction, maintenance, and operation by the District of Columbia Armory Board of a stadium in the District of Columbia. Adoption of conference report. Rejected 135 to 234.
85	----------	1	West Virginia Dam (S. 1520)—Providing for the disposal of dam on Little Kanawha River in West Virginia (conference report). Motion to recommit to conference with instructions to insist on House provision limiting Federal contribution to $50,000 as recommended by Corps of Engineers instead of $112,000 as provided in report. Rejected 137 to 232.
86	N	3	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—(Conference report.) Motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment striking out funds for construction of an additional airport in or near Washington, D. C. Rejected 125 to 233.
87	N	4	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—Motion to agree to Senate amendment providing an additional $475,000 for the Columbia River project. Rejected 141 to 216.
88	Y	4	1958 appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission (H. R. 9379)—Amendment restoring $30,000,000 for industry cooperative program. Passed 214 to 135.
89	----------	1	H. Con. Res. 176—Authorizing the printing of 500,000 additional copies of an illustrated booklet on the Capitol at cost of $95,000. Passage. Passed 183 to 129.
90	N	4	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—(Conference report.) Motion to recede from disagreement on Senate amendment providing an additional $475,000 for the Columbia River project. Passed 166 to 121.
91	N	4	1958 supplemental appropriations (H. R. 9131)—Motion to agree to amendment providing for $425,000 for Columbia River project. Passed 165 to 120.
92	N	4	Air-carrier loans (S. 2229)—Providing for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers. Adoption of conference report. Passed 203 to 77.
93	----------	1	Contempt citation, Louis Earl Hartman (H. Res. 407)—Citing Louis Earl Hartman for contempt of the House of Representatives by his refusal to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities. Passage. Passed 276 to 0.
94	----------	1	Contempt citation, Bernard Silber (H. Res. 409)—Citing Bernard Silber for contempt of the House of Representatives by his refusal to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities. Passage. Passed 263 to 0.
95	Y	2	Civil rights, H. Res. 410 (H. R. 6127)—H. Res. 410, providing for House agreement to Senate amendments to H. R. 6127 (civil-rights bill) with a further amendment limiting jury trials in criminal contempt proceedings. Ordering the previous question. Passed 274 to 101.
96	Y	2	Civil rights, H. Res. 410 (H. R. 6127)—Passage. Passed 279 to 97.
97	Y	2	FBI files (H. R. 7915)—Clarifying the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case which opened FBI files to perusal of defendants under certain circumstances in Federal court cases. Passed 351 to 17.
98	Y	2	Immigration (S. 2792)—Amending the immigration laws so as to facilitate the entry into the United States of certain adopted children and other relatives of United States citizens. Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. Passed 295 to 58.
99	Y	2	FBI files (H. R. 7915)—Adoption of the conference report. Adopted 315 to 0.
100	Y	2	1958 appropriations for mutual security (H. R. 9302)—Adoption of the conference report. Adopted 194 to 122.

TABLE 1

GROUP 2.—*Issues included in President's program supported by majority of both parties*

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Eisenhower position, vote cast		Opposed to Eisenhower position, vote cast	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
2	Y	144	118	51	93
3	Y	167	188	26	35
6	Y	164	186	27	33
37	N	157	136	3	44
40	Y	178	112	10	107
42	Y	168	118	19	107
44	Y	163	182	6	1
45	Y	188	205	1	1
51	N	174	164	10	36
53	N	117	110	78	103
54	Y	119	135	76	78
57	Y	181	194	1	16
60	Y	116	197	65	10
65	Y	99	180	74	17
70	Y	138	160	47	53
74	Y	178	205	3	11
79	Y	100	126	74	89
95	Y	150	124	15	86
96	Y	151	128	15	82
97	Y	166	185	-------	17
98	Y	154	141	9	49
99	Y	139	176	-------	-------
100	Y	87	107	52	70
Total	----------	3,398	3,577	662	1,140

TABLE 2

GROUP 3.—*Issues on President's program on which he did not receive support from a majority of the Republicans voting*

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Eisenhower position, vote cast		Opposed to Eisenhower position, vote cast	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
13	N	22	104	173	113
14	N	42	129	153	88
15	N	57	112	139	107
16	N	88	187	107	30
17	N	55	150	142	72
18	N	41	159	156	64
19	N	34	133	163	90
20	N	10	67	186	156
21	N	62	140	134	83
22	N	49	161	145	61
23	N	55	150	142	72
24	N	94	191	99	31
25	N	61	146	133	73
28	Y	85	133	99	68
30	N	77	128	100	67
43	Y	59	127	129	89
55	N	29	9	162	217
56	N	77	126	111	97
66	N	25	219	156	2
75	Y	50	20	125	194
76	N	46	12	128	201
83	N	73	21	77	165
84	Y	42	93	125	109
86	N	68	165	92	33
Total	----------	1,301	2,882	3,176	2,282

TABLE 3

GROUP 4.—*Issues where majority of Republican Members voted to support President Eisenhower's program and majority of Democratic Members voted in opposition to his program*

Record vote No.	Eisenhower position	Eisenhower position, vote cast		Opposed to Eisenhower position, vote cast	
		Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
5	N	100	9	78	102
7	N	183	2	5	214
8	Y	184	1	1	213
9	N	175	3	10	210
10	N	162	75	25	143
11	Y	125	63	61	156
12	N	187	38	2	172
26	Y	150	35	45	186
29	N	139	4	40	185
31	N	141	46	38	154
34	N	93	9	86	181
35	Y	131	12	39	186
36	N	134	10	37	186
38	Y	140	11	39	203
41	N	139	112	45	113
49	Y	167	16	23	207
50	Y	183	-------	7	218
71	Y	177	20	6	195
72	Y	176	35	6	182
73	Y	163	50	19	166
78	Y	171	85	4	125
81	Y	86	43	83	171
87	N	122	94	39	102
88	Y	148	66	4	131
90	N	98	23	19	147
91	N	106	14	9	156
92	N	65	12	49	154
Total	----------	3,845	888	819	4,648

TABLE 4

All Eisenhower rollcalls

[85th Cong., 1ss sess.]

Group No.	Eisenhower position				Opposed to Eisenhower position			
	Republicans		Democrats		Republicans		Democrats	
	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent
2	3,398	48.7	3,577	51.3	662	36.7	1,140	63.3
3	1,301	31.1	2,882	68.9	3,176	58.2	2,282	41.8
4	3,845	81.2	888	18.8	819	15.0	4,648	85.0
Total	8,544	53.8	7,347	46.2	4,657	36.6	8,070	63.4

TABLE 5.—*Republican and Democrat support scores, 85th Cong., 1st sess.*

	Number of rollcalls	Republican				Democratic			
		Support		Opposition		Support		Opposition	
		Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent	Votes cast	Percent
All Eisenhower rollcalls	74	8,544	64.7	4,657	35.3	7,347	47.7	8,070	52.3
Divided issues (group 4)	27	3,845	82.4	819	17.6	888	16.0	4,648	84.0

The Embattled 85th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BROWNSON. The 1st session of the Democratic-controlled 85th Congress adjourns today, unwept and unmourned.

The House met for 585 hours on 141 days and enacted 166 public bills on which there were 100 rollcall yea-and-nay votes. Everyone went through all the accepted motions but it was a session of inactivity and frustration, especially for a Republican. For this Congress was different. It was the first Congress since 1848 to be elected in a presidential election year by the party in opposition to the one winning the White House. And it was the first to serve with a President barred by constitutional amendment from seeking another term. Referring to the accomplishment of the 1st half of the 85th Congress, Democratic leaders are saying:

It is sufficient to say it was a job well done. (Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Democrat, of Texas, Senate majority leader, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 30.)

One of the most fruitful I have ever attended. * * * Very impressive. (House Speaker SAM RAYBURN, Democrat of TEXAS, Washington Post and Times Herald, August 30.)

We can leave here with a feeling of having done a great job. (Representative JOHN W. MCCORMACK, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 30.)

The Congress has made a record of solid legislative accomplishment. (Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, New York Times, August 31.)

High praise for sitting on their hands.

The liberal Democrats came to this session convinced that the Republicans' loss of the Congress was a mandate for them to resurrect every public power, public housing, Federal aid to education and social welfare bill which had been voted down in the past, and pass it in 1957. Early in the session 80 northern Democrats signed a so-called manifesto advocating social legislation which would have added at least $10 billion a year to the budget—this year and every year in the future.

President Eisenhower's $71.8 billion budget shocked the conservative Members of Congress, and, more important, it shocked the American public. The people considered the fact that we must continue to arm with conventional weapons, which will soon be obsolete, while we pour billions into the development of missiles and nuclear arms. They still thought the budget was too high and contained fat which could be eliminated. From constituents in every walk of life came letters by the thousands. On tablet paper, perfumed note sheets, business

stationery, and in telegrams, they protested this high rate of spending tax moneys.

In Congress, we fought the battle of the budget from February, when the first appropriation bill came before us, right up to the last day of the session when I voted against final passage of the foreign-aid appropriations. Up to August 2, the best available figures indicate that House Republicans, as a whole, supported economy 60 percent of the time, while House Democrats have an economy support record less than half that good, 29 percent.

BROWNSON'S ECONOMY VOTING SCORE HIGH

According to Walter Trohan's article in the Chicago Sunday Tribune—August 4, 1957—I supported economy on 22 out of 25 votes. This earns for me an economy support score of 81 percent. This score compares with such widely known economy advocates as Congressman NOAH MASON, Republican, of Illinois, who supported economy 22 times out of 24 for an economy score of 81 percent, the same as mine. Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, widely recognized advocate of cutting Government spending, supported economy 16 times out of 20 in the Senate for a percentage score of 70 percent. The 2 Democratic Congressmen from Indiana are each listed as having voted for economy 4 times and against economy 23 times for an economy score of 15 percent.

As your representative, I voted for every budget cut to pass the House, and for many which did not. Had a majority of Congress agreed with all my economy votes, an additional $3,064,584,958 would have been saved over and above the actual $4,914,355,584 Congress succeeded in cutting from the budget. In addition to reducing the 1958 fiscal budget, we also sliced $134,023,395 from 1957 supplemental appropriations.

An ironic sidelight on the budget battle was the role played by the Democrats, traditionally the party of big spending, who desperately tried to parlay the demand for economy into a partisan issue. When public sentiment became too obvious to ignore they were quick to talk economy although they continued to quietly proud behind the scenes for increases in various appropriations, notably in foreign aid. As the taxpayers became more vocal in their demand for budget cuts, the Democrats became increasingly vocal in proclaiming their frugality—this despite the fact that earlier in the session 80 northern Democrats in the House signed the manifesto calling on the President to vastly expand Federal spending programs. Their lack of sincerity is obvious when you compare the overall economy support record of the House Republicans—60 percent, and the House Democrats, 29 percent.

THE NEED FOR H. R. 8002

In the wake of the budget cuts came conflicting pronouncements of the exact amount by whih the budget actually was reduced. This annual confusion stems from our present clumsy budgeting procedures involving an obligation budget and expenditures estimates. Congressional appropriations are presently geared to the obligation budget, and congressional action on the 1958 budget relates to agency obligation budgets totaling $73.3 billion and not to the $71.8 billion that the Executive estimated for expenditures.

One of the greatest disappointments I experienced this year was the stubborn inaction of the Democrat-controlled House on H. R. 8002, a bill implementing Hoover Commission proposals, and designed to modernize Federal budgeting. The bill would increase congressional control over the annual rate of Federal expenditures by requiring an annual review to be taken by Congress on both existing and proposed programs. It will minimize carryover balances of appropriations given in one year and expended in later years. This annual accrued expenditure method would be applied on a gradual basis to the extent, in such manner, and at times as may be determined by the President.

The legislative history of H. R. 8002 thus far has been stormy. I fought for and voted for the bill in my Government Operations Committee, with the result that it ultimately was placed on the Consent Calendar. There, members of the Democrat-controlled House Appropriations Committee, from less than unselfish motives, successfully blocked it from coming to the floor. Transferred to the general calendar, the bill once again was stalled, this time by being ignored by the Democrat leadership. What the fate of H. R. 8002 will be next year, I hesitate to predict; that there is a crying need for it is a certainty.

FOREIGN AID

Results of the economic portions of the foreign aid program appear so nebulous when considered in proportion to the heavy burden it places on the American taxpayers and the administration of this program is still so loose that I felt compelled to vote against both the original authorization bill and final passage of the appropriation bill. One of my very last legislative acts of the first session was on adjournment day, August 30, when I voted "nay" on the foreign aid conference report appropriating $2,768,760,000. Personal investigations in line with my committee assignments have disillusioned me with the manner in which our tax dollars are being spent abroad, and with the vague justifications brought to Congress to substantiate the need for these funds.

FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

By a shockingly narrow margin of only 5 votes—208 to 203—we managed to defeat the Federal aid to school construction bill. I twice took the floor to speak at length against this inherently dangerous measure, and while relieved that it was defeated, I wish I could be sure that this year's victory was not only temporary. Already two new school aid bills have been introduced in Congress, one in the Senate, the other in the House. Each day's mail brings printed material from organized, professional proponents of Federal school aid. Dues have been doubled by the National Education Association, chief advocate of the program, to make possible a $7 million budget for the coming year. More than $677,000 has been set aside for NEA Federal relations lobbying, to be conducted both in the Capitol and in grassroots areas. I am extremely anxious for the future of State-supported educational systems.

The fact that former NEA Legislative Committeeman Lawrence G. Derthick is still United States Commissioner of Education is not cheering, especially in view of his statement in a recent Newspaper Enterprise syndicated story. Commissioner Derthick told reporters that "the fight for Federal aid to school construction will continue in spite of the defeat" of the "proposal recently suffered in Congress."

My 11th District constituents, who have done a commendable job in providing the finest of educational facilities for their own youngsters, made me proud by supporting wholeheartedly my fight against Federal school aid. In the letters they wrote me, their opposition to this program was in a ratio of 20 to 1.

POSTAL AND CLASSIFIED PAY

Both House and Senate approved pay raises for postal and Federal classified workers, but the Democrat-controlled Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee delayed reporting the pay bills until so late in the session that passage came right on the heels of adjournment. This move made possible the Presidential pocket veto and prevented Congress from having an opportunity to override that veto if it so chose. The veto was almost inevitable because of the Senate's failure to pass the postal rate increase bill to provide funds for the operation of the Post Office Department, putting the President in the position of having little alternative but to veto the pay bill.

AGRICULTURE

Congress passed legislation calling for compulsory inspection of poultry and poultry products, and extended to June 30, 1958, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. It failed to act on a humane slaughter bill, although such legislation has been in effect for many years in European countries, and it also defeated a program to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn and to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and feed grains.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

At a time when much lipservice was being given to economy, one of the greatest failures was a complete lack of Democratic leadership in passing Hoover Commission recommended bills. More than 100 bills implementing these recommendations were introduced this year; only 1 was passed. H. R. 8364, which extends the Reorganization Act, represents the sum total of Hoover Commission-inspired legislation to be enacted. Among the many other bills introduced on which no action has been taken are several of my own, including H. R. 5808 to severely curtail Federal competition with private enterprise.

An Airways Modernization Board was established to assure safe and efficient navigation systems for all civilian and military planes. Legislation also was passed requiring the Atomic Energy Commission to obtain specific authorization of Congress for civilian power proj-

ect appropriations. No action was taken on statehood for either Hawaii or Alaska.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

I was one of a lonely 61 who voted against authorizing the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations of the Middle East when that House Joint Resolution 117 was passed through the support of 355 House Members on January 30. This Mideast doctrine cost the United States an estimated $174 million during its first 4 months, March through July. I opposed the measure because in essence it puts the cart before the horse. It starts out with $200 million then searches for foreign projects to use the funds. That this method does not result in economy or efficiency, was fully documented in my committee's report, United States Aid Operations in Iran issued just a few days before voting on the doctrine in the House.

A much more sensible method is to let countries develop their own projects and bring them to us, together with their justifications so that we can screen them and sponsor only the worthwhile activities, rather than begging them to find some way of using the funds they have available.

The current tense Syrian situation threatens to involve use of United States troops as well as United States funds. I have not regretted my vote.

Congress—my vote 1 of 167 dissenting in the House—agreed to approve amendment of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement to permit deferment of payments on our loan to the United Kingdom.

The United States became a participant in the International Atomic Energy Agency through an act of Congress, and operating authority of the Import-Export Bank was extended for 5 years. Unfortunately, no executive or legislative action was taken on the matter of the status of forces agreement, or on a bill requiring the Armed Forces not to surrender personnel for criminal trial except in special circumstances, in cases where it is determined that the Armed Forces have primary jurisdiction.

An amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act was passed which eases restrictions mainly on a temporary basis to deal with hardship cases. It permits the admission of alien orphans under nonquota visas who are under 14 years of age, and who are adopted by United States citizens, this program to run under congressional scrutiny for 2 years. It authorizes the Attorney General to adjust the status of about 400 skilled specialists now in this country temporarily but whose services have been deemed necessary, and it authorizes him to admit, after consultation with the Surgeon General, the spouses, parents, and minor children of United States citizens or law residents. It also makes available to the Department of State certain unused nonquota immigrant visas which remain unissued to those for whom intended.

While I frown on liberalization of the act to a point where the floodgates would be let down, this minor adjustment, introduced by Congressman FRANCIS WALTER in the House, and author of the act, appeared to me to be good commonsense. Heretofore, time consuming private bills introduced by individual House and Senate Members have cleared for those who will be covered by the new amendment.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Lending authority of the Small Business Administration was increased from $375 million to $530 million, and that agency was extended to July 31, 1958. Congress authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to pay up to 3.26 percent on savings bods. Although the House agreed that the cabaret tax should be reduced from 20 to 10 percent, the Senate did not see fit to act on the measure, nor did it take action on a House-approved bill making numerous technical changes in excise-tax provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. Neither body took action on a House-reported bill making changes in income, estate, and gift-tax provisions of the code.

No legislative action was taken, or appears immediately forthcoming, on the Nation's gravest problem, inflation.

NATIONAL DEFENSE—INTERNAL SECURITY

Congress moved with commendable swiftness to protect Federal classified files and sources. Of the 17 who voted against this legislation to correct the Supreme Court's Jencks decision, not one was a Republican.

H. R. 8850, authorizing deferments in certain cases to raise the standards of the selective service, passed the House but was not reported in the Senate. A Senate-passed bill, bringing all Federal employees under the loyalty-security program, received no House action.

NATURAL RESOURCES

The Democrat majority was sufficient to permit passage of a bill calling for a $382.6 million program for the Atomic Energy Commission, including $21 million for reactors to produce electric power. It also increased from $105 million to $140 million the borrowing authority of the St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation, while deferring its interest payments. At the time I proposed private financing of the St. Lawrence Seaway, I predicted their expense estimates were inaccurate and they would be back for more money before it was completed. It now appears doubtful that operating tolls will ever be sufficient to make a significant return of the taxpayers' investment in this waterway which serves only a small part of the country and benefits a few big businesses.

Authorization of TVA expansion through issuance of up to $750 million in revenue bonds was postponed until next year, at which time I will take the floor to oppose it. Only a stubborn and hard-fought battle by Republicans in the House Public Works Committee prevented the Senate-approved Hells Canyon bill from coming to the House. The Senate passed a bill authorizing construction, operation, and maintenance of a $172-million Fryingpan-Arkansas reclamation project in Colorado, but action in the House was held over until next session.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

Congress approved a $1.9-billion housing program, which increases FNMA borrowing authority to purchase mortgages, lowers downpayments on FHA-insured homes, and provides $350 million for urban redevelopment and slum clearance for 1 year.

It is interesting to note that the Brownson amendment to the Housing Act of 1955 reduced downpayments on FHA loans to virtually the same level as this new bill. Federal Housing Administration officials never used their discretionary authority under the Brownson amendment.

It favorably reported, but took no action, on annuity increases for retired or disabled civil-service workers, nor did it act on a bill which requires the Secretary of Labor to make available to the public financial and other reports filed by labor unions.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

Rates of compensation for service-connected disabilities and for dependency allowance were increased, and the direct home loan and loan guaranty programs for World War II veterans were extended to July 25, 1959. Widows of Spanish-American War veterans once again were passed by; the House approved a pension increase, the Senate apparently plans to take no action at all. The Senate took no action.

CIVIL RIGHTS

When it adjourned on August 30 after the longest session since 1951, the 85th Congress had achieved still another distinction. After months of hearings, debate, political maneuvering and compromise, it passed in its final week, the first civil-rights bill since the Reconstruction days after the Civil War. This bill seeks to protect the individual rights of all our citizens guaranteed by the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments in those cases where the individual States have shown they are unable or unwilling to do so. Its primary protection is extended to the right of the individual to vote. This Republican inspired measure is the first such legislation enacted in 88 years and is designed to provide the muscle necessary to prevent the 14th and 15th amendments from becoming mere scraps of paper.

Only once, in the Republican 83d Congress, has President Eisenhower been given a cooperative Congress of his own political party. Through that cooperation, $11 billion was slashed from the Truman budget and Federal taxes were cut $7.4 billion a year. In the ensuing years, over $50 billion has been saved the taxpayers as a result of the tax reductions passed by that Republican Congress, and the budget has remained in balance, too.

As your representative I have fought against extravagance, waste, duplication, and big government in committee, on the floor of the House and in the votes I cast for you. Our common objective of economy in government and tax reduction would be nearer were the Republicans in control of Congress with a substantial

majority to back them up and with the powerful committee chairmanships in Republican hands. It is a tough fight to buck that segment of the opposition whose only political philosophy is to spend more money to buy more votes to elect more liberal Democrats. You do not effect an honest reduction of taxes that way, either.

Voting record of CHARLES B. BROWNSON on major legislation of 1st sess., 85th Congress

House rollcall	Description and result	Date	BROWNSON vote	Economy position	Eisenhower position
5	H. J. Res. 117—Authorized President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East, expenditures not to exceed $200,000,000 from unexpended foreign-aid funds and authorized use of United States Armed Forces if deemed necessary by the President. Passed 355 to 61.	Jan. 30	Nay		Yea.
19	H. Res. 190—Requested President for certain information pertaining to the 1958 budget. Adopted 220 to 178	Mar. 12	Yea	Yea	
23	H. R. 4901—To establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn and to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and feed grains. Defeated 217 to 188.	Mar. 13	Yea		Yea.
	H. R. 6287—Labor and Health-Education-Welfare appropriation. Various amendments to reduce appropriations by—				
37	$30,000—Adopted 286 to 126	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
38	$204,000—Adopted 241 to 171	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
39	$46,000—Adopted 246 to 169	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
40	$136,000—Rejected 275 to 137	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
41	$442,000—Adopted 214 to 205	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
42	$12,186,000—Adopted 220 to 200	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
43	$1,500,000—Adopted 253 to 167	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
44	$263,800—Adopted 342 to 77	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
45	$346,000—Adopted 217 to 201	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
47	$288,000—Adopted 214 to 205	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
48	$1,327,000—Rejected 285 to 130	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
49	$1,482,000—Rejected 207 to 206	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
50	$50,000,000—Rejected 231 to 185	Apr. 4	Yea	Yea	
59	S. J. Res. 72—Approval of an amendment of the Anglo-American financial agreement relative to deferment of certain payments. Passed 218 to 167.	Apr. 10	Nay	Nay	Yea.
64	H. R. 6871—State, Justice, Judiciary appropriation amendment to reduce by $7,039,958 contributions to international organizations. Rejected 205 to 167.	Apr. 17	Yea	Yea	
74	H. R. 7441—Department of Agriculture appropriation. Amendment to suspend operation of soil-bank program at end of fiscal 1957 and to delete provision of $500,000,000 for 1958 program. Adopted 192- to 187.	May 15	Yea	Yea	
77	H. R. 7590—Legislative branch appropriation. Motion to recommit with instructions that appropriation of $7,500,000 for property, construction, and equipment of 3d House Office Bldg. be stricken. Rejected 206 to 176.	May 22	Yea	Yea	
78	On final passage of H. R. 7590—Passed 279 to 93	May 22	Nay	Nay	
91	H. R. 7665—Department of Defense appropriation. Motion to restore $313,000,000 of $2,500,000,000 cut, for Army research and development, naval airpower, Air Force aircraft, and related procurement. Rejected 242 to 151.	May 29	Yea	Nay	Yea.
112	H. R. 6127—Civil rights bill—Motion to recommit to include trial by jury amendment. Rejected 251 to 158	June 18	Nay		Nay.
113	H. R. 6127—Civil rights bill—Final passage. Passed 286 to 126	June 18	Yea		Yea.
115	H. R. 7221—Supplemental appropriation. Motion to recede and concur with Senate amendment 15 to provide $14,000,000 for initiation of Federal flood insurance program. Rejected 218 to 186	June 18	Nay	Nay	
119	H. R. 6974—To extend for 1 year the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. Passed 345 to 7.	June 21	Yea		Yea.
122	H. R. 7963—Small Business Act of 1932, making it a permanent agency, increasing authority for loans to small business, and reducing interest rates on loans. Passed 393 to 2.	June 25	Yea		Yea.
124	H. R. 6287—Motion to recommit Health, Education, Welfare conference report to committee. Defeated 321 to 73.	June 26	Nay	Yea	
127	S. 1428—Senate, furnishings and furniture for new Senate Office Bldg. Motion to recommit with instructions to report bill back specific figures on cost of projects involved. Rejected 231 to 135.	June 27	Yea	Yea	
128	S. 1429—Improvements in present Senate Office Bldg. Motion to recommit with instructions to report bill back with specific figures covering costs. Rejected 216 to 148.	June 27	Yea	Yea	
148	S. 2130—Foreign-aid authorization bill. Motion to recommit. Rejected 227 to 181	July 19	Yea	Yea	Yea.
149	S. 2130—Foreign-aid authorization. Final passage. Passed 254 to 154	July 19	Nay	Nay	Yea.
151	H. R. 2474—Postal pay raise, increasing basic salary of postal workers. Passed 379 to 38	July 23	Yea		Nay.
154	H. R. 1—Federal aid to school construction. Motion to strike out the enacting clause. Agreed to 208 to 203	July 25	Yea	Yea	Nay.
175	H. R. 9131—Supplemental appropriation. Recommital motion to reduce TVA funds by $9.7 million. Rejected 244 to 158.	Aug. 7	Yea	Yea	
176	H. R. 9131—Supplemental appropriation. Final passage. Passed 330 to 75	Aug. 7	Nay	Nay	
213	H. R. 6127—Civil-rights compromise bill. On ordering previous question. Agreed to 274 to 101	Aug. 27	Yea		Yea.
214	H. R. 6127—Civil rights. On final passage. Passed 279 to 97	Aug. 27	Yea		Yea.
215	H. R. 7915—To protect FBI and other Federal records. Passed 351 to 17	Aug. 27	Yea		Yea.
217	S. 2792—Amending the Immigration and Nationality Act to permit admission of certain all Passed 293 to 58.	Aug. 28	Yea		Yea.
220	H. R. 9302—Foreign-aid appropriation bill. Passed 194 to 122	Aug. 30	Nay	Nay	Yea.

Benefits Under the Sugar Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Hon. True D. Morse, Under Secretary of Agriculture, and President, Commodity Credit Corporation, before Denver Agricultural and Livestock Club, Denver, Colo., September 20, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BENEFITS UNDER THE SUGAR ACT

(Address by True D. Morse)

During much of the 26 years that I spent in managing farms, I worked with farmers and ranchers growing sugar beets here in the West. Some of the farms and ranches were in this Denver area—on north through the productive Greeley section, into Wyoming. One sugar beet farm was near Scotts Bluff, Nebr.—and I was working with other farmers near Pueblo, Colo., and on east to Kansas.

I want therefore to speak of sugar beets that are so vital to the economy of many areas of the West—and of the Sugar Act that is not only important to farmers but to all 171 million consumers in the United States.

The Sugar Act is considered sound by Congress. Each time it is renewed by practically a unanimous vote—Senators and Congressmen representing consumers voting solidly along with those representing farm and ranch areas.

The title of the Sugar Act sets forth four specified purposes:

(1) To regulate interstate and foreign commerce;

(2) To protect the welfare of consumers of sugar;

(3) To protect the welfare of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry; and

(4) To promote export trade of the United States.

The legislation gives no one of these objectives precedence over any of the others.

The Department of Agriculture, in administering the act, is required to apply the legislation to both foreign and domestic commerce and to administer it in a manner that will protect the welfare of consumers as well as the welfare of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry.

National policy: The United States Senate Committee on Finance under the chairmanship of Senator HARRY F. BYRD, recommending extension of the Sugar Act, said:

"For many years it has been the policy of the United States Government for defense and strategic reasons to preserve within the United States the ability to produce a portion of our sugar requirements. This has been done because sugar is an essential and vital food product needed by American consumers, the supply of which on a worldwide scale has been marked by periods of alternating scarcity and surplus.

"A large portion of the world's sugar production is grown in tropical countries with essentially one-crop economies, where cheap labor is abundantly available. An additional large portion is distributed among the majority of the countries of the world which, like the United States, provide protection to their sugar industries. In these circumstances, it is unlikely that a significant amount of sugar would be grown in the continental United States if American producers had to compete on the open world market

with sugar produced with cheap tropical labor."

The price insurance of sugar beet contracts that farmers get in their agreements with processors made a lasting impression on me, as we were able to use sugar beets to pull farm families through the terrible depression days of the thirties. It is a fine example of mutually beneficial contracts between farmers who want or need sure income at an insured price and sugar beet companies who want to be assured of the volume of beets they need to operate their factories and to supply consumers.

In more recent years of greater prosperity, we have also seen the same insistent demand for sugar beet acreage, as young farmers and new farmers—or those with debts—have wanted dependable income such as comes from a contracted crop. This demand has been very noticeable as veterans and others took land under new irrigation projects and needed sure income to meet fixed water costs, taxes, and other obligations.

With the renewal of the Sugar Act of 1956, provision was made so the sugar production of our farmers—both cane and beet growers—could expand as consumption goes up. Now we are able to allot some acreage to veterans and others who want the price insurance of sugar-beet contracts.

In the establishment of proportionate shares for farms, the Secretary of Agriculture is required under the Sugar Act, insofar as practicable, to protect the inteests of new producers and small producers and the interests of producers who are cash tenants, share tenants, adherent planters, or share-croppers.

Under the Sugar Act program, the Secretary is given a great deal of discretion in the imposition of restrictive regulations. While the act itself imposes quotas on all producing areas on the quantity of sugar which may be distributed by them each year, allotments of these quotas to processors, and the imposition of acreage restrictions on farmers, depend upon the Secretary's appraisal of the need for such regulations.

Actually prior to 1955 restrictive acreages were undertaken in the beet area only in 1939 and 1941. During this period the reduction in the number of farms and the increases in the average acreage per farm throughout the beet-sugar industry were reflections of the increasing mechanization of sugar-beet production.

Mechanization, now virtually complete for the harvest operation, together with the tremendous strides recently made in increased yields per acre, accounts for the outstanding record of the domestic sugar-beet industry in producing sugar with so few man days of labor.

The expensive, specialized machinery required can be utilized most efficiently on farms where there is an adequate acreage of sugar beets. Under the restrictive proportionate share program, the acreage per farm was cut rather drastically in California, the Red River Valley, and the Pacific Northwest in 1955, as it had been earlier under the program of 1941.

We are now in the third successive year in which the acreage of beets has been restricted on individual farms under a proportionate share program. However, under the Sugar Act as renewed in 1956, acreages are being expanded. It means more freedom for farmers to produce—a major objective that should be a key part of every farm program.

A dependable supply of sugar at relatively stable prices is among the reasons why all who use sugar benefits by the Sugar Act. It benefits every family—every kid who feasts on an ice cream cone or a candy bar—the older folks who put sugar in their coffee or on their breakfast food. Yes, sugar goes into our daily bread and makes possible delicious cakes and pastries—and is an important food to provide energy.

Sugar is one of our most easily assimilated energy foods—and one of the cheapest. The housewife buys about one-third of our sugar, industry buys the rest for a great variety of uses, from bakery goods to pharmaceuticals.

The Sugar Act gives consumers the protection of assured supplies at stable prices. This is particularly important during periods of world tension which creates shortages and sends prices soaring on the so-called world market, periods such as those following the Korean crisis and the explosive Suez incident of last year. These periods dramatize the importance of the sugar program to American consumers, but just as important to American consumers, are the continuous week-to-week and month-to-month benefits accruing to them in less dramtic periods.

Evidence of the high degree of stability which the Sugar Act has brought about in the domestic market is indicated by the fact that during the postwar period the range between high and low monthly prices each year has been nearly twice as great in the world market as in the domestic market. During 1956 and the first 7 months of 1957 the range has been nearly 3 times as great in the world market as in the domestic market. Stability of prices is of major benefit to industrial users and every housewife as well as sugar producers.

The maintenance of healthy sugar producing industries in widely separated areas increases the probability of adequate supplies in peace and in war.

Senator WALLACE F. BENNETT, before the United States Senate on February 7, 1957, said:

"In reaction to recent international events, the price of raw sugar in the so-called world free market in a brief period of 60 days * * * increased 100 percent above the level of prices prevailing in this market for the last 3 years. * * *

"In contrast, United States raw-sugar prices, at the highest point reached during this 60-day period, were only 4 percent above prices at the beginning of this 2-month period, and are today even lower than they were at the start of this period. * * *

"The important thing to note is that, despite the sudden increase in demand in our market above normal expectations, plenty of sugar was available in this country at all times. * * *

"Taking the 1947–49 price as a base—which is the base period used for general price comparisons, and which is now used in the Sugar Act—1956 prices were only 4 percent above those in the base period."

We do not produce all the sugar used in the United States. Under the act we obtain from foreign countries—especially Cuba—about 45 percent of the sugar we need. This is a major reason for concern that there be a sound and time-tested sugar program. It was with some alarm that we saw, within the past 12 months, the surplus sugar of Cuba and other foreign countries disappear.

United States farmers now get more beet acreage under the amended Sugar Act. For the first time since 1947 domestic sugar producers have been permitted by law to participate in supplying the rising domestic sugar demand—to grow with the growth of their own country.

The national proportionate share acreage for farmers this year is 12 percent greater than a year ago—950,000 acres as compared with 850,000 acres last year. These extra acres were thus planted to a crop for which there is now an expanding market. They did not need to be put in the soil bank to keep them from adding to surpluses. The crop may set a new alltime high record production of well over 2 million tons.

When the Secretary of Agriculture finds it necessary to make additional sugar supplies available, 55 percent of these added supplies come from domestically produced sugar supplies, not subject to foreign influence. And in the case of the supplies drawn from the mainland sugar-beet and sugarcane areas, the increased supply becomes available for consumption the very minute the Secretary decides it is needed.

The sugar program is well adapted to a deficit crop for which there are fixed marketing channels for the raw agricultural product and a very uniform pattern of uses for the finished commodity.

The present administration recommended in 1955 that the law be modified to provide that domestic areas again share in the growth of the United States sugar market. While only a short period of time has elapsed since the law was changed, events already have demonstrated that these 1956 amendments to the Sugar Act are sound and in the interest not only of domestic sugar producers but consumers as well.

We are fortunate in having an able administrator in Mr. Lawrence Myers, who has served in that capacity for the past 9 years. Because of his ability, he was elected to serve a term as Chairman of the International Sugar Council.

As a final word on sugar, I take this opportunity, as I speak here in the West, to congratulate the beet-sugar industry upon the manner in which it has met the production and marketing demands placed on it as a result of the unusual and unexpected circumstances which have existed since the fall of 1956.

The membership of the Denver Agricultural and Livestock Club and those you so effectively serve from this major livestock and agricultural center of the Mountains and Plains States have broad interests which I wish to discuss briefly.

Cattle prices are much higher and the 5-year outlook is good. This deserves emphasis in this great cattle country. Feeder cattle have been moving at $3 to $4 per hundredweight above a year earlier and little seasonal decline is expected this fall. Cattle numbers are expected to decline further this year—and in the immediate years ahead. This should mean a further strengthening of the cattle market.

The United States Department of Agriculture economists expect favorable prices for meat animals until the summer of 1958. After that more hogs may be coming to market.

There is growing confidence in lamb and wool prices for the future. Sheep numbers are about stable. Government stocks of wool should be liquidated by the end of this year.

The price outlook for turkeys is improving.

There is steady progress and improvement in agriculture, although conditions are not generally satisfactory.

United States realized net farm income last year was 4 percent above 1955—the first peacetime year in which such net farm income increased since 1947. On a per-farm basis the increase was 7 percent.

For the first half of 1957, realized net farm income was at a rate of approximately $12.1 billion—2½ percent higher than in the first half of 1956. Farm income is increasing for the second consecutive year.

Exports of farm products, after disastrous declines of 30 percent prior to 1953, are now at record high levels.

Wheat carryover was cut last year by 128 million bushels—and surpluses will be reduced further in this marketing year.

Cotton exports during the past marketing year were pushed up to the very high level of 7.5 million bales—and the surplus is being reduced.

Total government-owned surpluses are being reduced. Commodity Credit Corporation investments in price support were about $7.6 billion on May 31, 1957, a net reduction of about $900 million since May 31, 1956, and

a reduction of about $1.3 billion below the peak holdings of February 1956.

An all-time high in total agricultural assets was again set January 1, 1957—over $176 billion. Assets of farmers are going up faster than debts. Only about 1 farm of each 3 has a mortgage. Last year assets of farmers increased $8.6 billion—debts increased $600 million.

Land values continue to go up each year. A new alltime high in farm values per acre was again set in March 1957—up 7 percent during the previous year.

Farm ownership is at an alltime high. There are fewer tenants as compared to owners than ever before.

Never before has there been so much soil and water conservation.

Yields per acre for crops and production per unit of livestock continues to be pushed up.

Our goal is expanded production of the crops that farmers want to grow. Market expansion is being emphasized.

This year long-staple cotton acreage was almost doubled after growers got Congress to change the law to allow price supports to be reduced from 90 to 75 percent of parity. The surplus was sold and now they can grow more of this high value crop.

The Sugar Act was amended, as I have explained—now farmers are able to grow more of this cash crop.

Over 94 percent of farms have electricity.

Farm are better equipped and have better homes than in former years. There are growing numbers of tractors and larger amounts of modern equipment.

Family farms continue to dominate. Large scale farms are about 4 percent of all commercial farms—about the same as 30 years ago.

I have deliberately listed primarily evidences of strength and progress in the agricultural economy. There are, of course, problems. Among the most difficult is the persistent advance in costs.

The primary surplus problem is in the six "basic crops" which continue to be shackled by unworkable laws.

Strength in American agriculture is being developed in an era of peace.

For the Nation as a whole the total of businesses and services pushed above the $400 billion mark during the latter part of 1955. It went on up to $424 billion in 1956 and is moving on up to even higher levels this year. This prosperity gives stronger markets for farm products.

This is a great era of peacetime progress.

Small Business and the Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, there is abroad in the land an assertion that the welfare of independent business in this country is a political issue. The accusation has been made and no doubt will be continued to be made that this administration is not doing everything that may possibly be done to foster our free competitive enterprise system. This type of argument is to me without any foundation based on fact.

There are approximately 4½ million business enterprises in the United States. Each of these businesses, no matter how small or how large, is an integral part of the trade and commerce of our country.

The smallest business enterprise is as important within its sphere of activity as is the largest business enterprise. The underlying fear of many is that our largest business enterprises will through the power economically inherent in such enterprises eventually control all trade and commerce in our country.

This is not a fancy or something which we can say "won't happen here," but it is a possibility with which we must now and always reckon.

It was in recognition of these facts of business life that the Sherman antitrust law was enacted. It was in recognition of these facts that the Federal Trade Commission Act, which established the Federal Trade Commission, the Clayton Act, the Robinson-Patman Act, and other regulatory acts of Congress were placed in the body of our antitrust-law structure.

It is not a question of large or small, but the question is, Shall our national policy be that of constantly strengthening our free enterprise system in order that every person who desires to engage in business in these United States has an equal opportunity. Since 1890 the Federal Government, regardless of the party in power, has answered the foregoing question in the affirmative. We must and we shall continue to use every resource at our command to strengthen and maintain the capitalistic system of free enterprise. The Congress of the United States as a coordinate branch of our Government has always played an important part by taking the initiative when danger to our economic well-being was threatened.

The Eisenhower administration by aggressive action has built up a substantial and impressive record of antitrust enforcement. Through the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business the Small Business Administration and other agencies of our Government, this administration has demonstrated by act and deed its interest and concern in the small and independent enterprises of our Nation. The administration, after full consideration of the Small Business Administration's contribution, recommended that the Small Business Administration be made a permanent agency of our Government. The record is impressive and has been made with a total lack of partisanship.

THE CONGRESS AND SMALL BUSINESS

The Congress has recognized that the basic problem is concerned with the health and welfare of the small business concerns of this country; and were it otherwise, we would have no antitrust laws and the Congress would not have established laws and agencies concerned with the welfare of small business. I think it is worth repeating, as I have stated in former speeches, that the Small Business Administration is the third and most wholesome attempt of the Congress to carry out the ultimate for which we strive. The time, the study, and the labors of the Congress have not quite achieved, however, the desired goal of establishing a permanent agency dedicated to the enhancement of opportunity for small business. This we hope will be achieved during the 2d session of the 85th Congress. Consequently, there is no political issue involved; it is simply a question of the Congress fulfilling its obligation to small and independent businesses and collaterally to our free competitive enterprise system.

A PERMANENT AGENCY FOR SMALL BUSINESS

During the closing days of this session of Congress, the Members of the House of Representatives overwhelmingly expressed their desire to assist the small business concerns of the Nation by voting 392 to 2 to make the Small Business Administration a permanent agency. This bill will not be acted upon by the Senate before the end of this session, but I am reliably informed that it will be given early consideration when the Congress reconvenes in January. I am confident that the Senate will vote just as overwhelmingly to provide assistance so vital to small business.

I have personally urged such action since the inception of the Small Business Administration in 1953, both on the floor of the House and when testifying before congressional committees. The majority of my colleagues on the Select Committee on Small Business have joined me in this plea for a permanent small business agency. In our own minds and in the minds of the small-business men across the country there exists no doubt that such an agency is essential to the well-being of our economy.

The reasons for the establishment of the Small Business Administration and for its continuation on a permanent basis are well known to all Members of Congress. More than ever in this era of rapid technological change, of constantly increasing demand for consumer goods and of vast purchases by the Federal Government itself there have been tremendous pressures exerted on the competitive structure of our economy. For 20 years forces have developed which threaten the existence of the small-business man who, as I have said, is the basis of our competitive economy.

Mr. Speaker, I have said that these forces exist and are extremely active, but I have not said that the battle to preserve our economy has been lost. Our business population continues to increase, and profits are being made. Many thousands of small-business men retain the incentive to produce and distribute for civilian and defense markets. They are still willing to take risks, and when given equal opportunity, they are strong and successful competitors.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND SMALL BUSINESS

It is extremely important, however, that the Federal Government do everything possible to alleviate the position of small business since the Federal Government itself has been partially responsible for exerting pressure on the competitive position of small business. By responsibility I mean that two wars have resulted in heavy tax burdens, in accelerated depreciation of assets connected with production for defense, in increasing dependence upon a thorough knowledge of technological developments and

in Federal Government procurement policies and procedures, in rapidly changing civilian markets, in heavy demands upon the credit sources of our Nation and in a host of other factors. I freely admit, of course, that such responsibility has been in many cases unavoidable. But I also believe that such developments have been detrimental to small business and, particularly, that the Federal Government can and should do something about it.

These areas of difficulty for small business have, as I said, been prevalent for many years and will presumably continue to affect their well-being. I wish to comment briefly at this time on the developments which have taken place in two areas of extreme importance to small business; namely, tax relief and assistance provided through the various programs of the Small Business Administration.

AN EQUITABLE TAX STRUCTURE FOR SMALL BUSINESS

The members of the House Small Business Committee have long advocated that the most important step to be taken by Congress to provide relief for small business so that they may have an equitable opportunity to compete is to reduce their tax burden. To this end the minority members of the Small Business Committee introduced in this session of Congress an omnibus small business tax bill. To date there have been over 20 tax bills introduced, identical to H. R. 5631, which I introduced.

It is our strong feeling that tax adjustments will do much to solve the financing problem of small firms, that the number of mergers will be reduced, that the number of business failures will decline and that small firms will have greater incentive and greater resources with which to compete against the larger members of the business community.

The minority members of the Small Business Committee have also introduduced the administration proposal to provide tax relief to small firms in four particular areas. The bills follow the President's suggestions which are necessarily predicated upon the present budget situation.

I earnestly hope that the Ways and Means Committee of the House will give most serious consideration to the proposals contained in all small business tax bills submitted during the 1st session of the 85th Congress. It is my understanding that the Ways and Means Committee will commence its tax hearings in the near future.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 2 OF THE HOUSE SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE

Mr. Speaker, during this session of Congress, Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Small Business Committee, with the Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, as chairman, investigated in great detail the operations of the Small Business Administration. The Honorable SIDNEY R. YATES, of Illinois, the Honorable TOM STEED, of Oklahoma, the Honorable R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, of New York, and the Honorable HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., of Connecticut, are the other members of this subcommittee. The most thorough examination made by this subcommittee revealed some areas in which improvement could be made in program administration. It showed other areas in which additional legislation was desirable. In its overall operations, however, it was found that a good job was being done and that positive and essential assistance was being rendered to the small firms of our economy. I wish to review briefly the operations of the Small Business Administration.

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION RECORD

The Small Business Administration was established on July 30, 1953, and, after a brief period of organization and establishing policy, began its financial-assistance program on September 30, 1953.

During the subsequent 4 years, as of July 31, 1957, the agency had approved some 7,398 small-business loans, totaling $341,009,000.

This sum represents credit that this agency of the Federal Government has made available to qualified small firms of all types and in all sections of our country. In every case these firms were unable to obtain private credit. They came to the Government for assistance only as a last resort, and many of these firms would have had very hard going, indeed, had they not been able to get prompt assistance. As my colleagues know, it has always been the desire of Congress, and is so expressed in the Small Business Act, that a borrower first attempt to secure credit from private sources before going to the Small Business Administration.

During the fiscal year just ended, the Small Business Administration approved 3,536 business loans, totaling $159,094,000, nearly double the number of loans approved the previous fiscal year.

It is more than commendable that two-thirds of the Small Business Administration's loan approvals are made in participation with banks. By adhering closely to the policy of cooperating with the banks, the agency helps the individual businessman establish a line of private credit in his home city.

REGIONAL SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION OFFICES OF PRIME IMPORTANCE

Of importance, also, is the fact that most of the loan applications to the Small Business Administration are now handled entirely by the agency's regional offices, under the guidance and supervision of the Washington officials. For the most part, only the larger loan applications are approved in Washington. Through this policy of delegating responsibility to the regional offices, the agency is able to act on applications for loans with a minimum of paperwork. Our committee has consistently urged such delegation of authority and that every means be utilized to expedite processing of loan applications.

DISASTER LOAN PROGRAM

The Small Business Administration also has the responsibility for making disaster loans to help homeowners and businesses rehabilitate their property when a disaster strikes. While not confined strictly to small business, this program has been of immeasurable assistance to virtually every area in the country.

Here, again, the agency has made an excellent record. On a cumulative basis, through June of this year, the agency had approved 6,149 disaster loans for $66 million. I know we are all familiar with the personal and property losses resulting from hurricanes on the east coast 2 years ago and only recently with the hurricane in Puerto Rico and floods in Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Louisiana, and Texas. All those disasters resulted in heavy losses which the Small Business Administration was able to alleviate through its disaster-loan program.

The Small Business Administration also makes disaster loans to aid firms which suffer economic damage as a result of prolonged drought. So far it has approved 143 drought disaster loans totaling $3 million.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS FOR SMALL BUSINESS

Another important activity of the Small Business Administration is that of helping small firms get a fair share of Government contracts.

During the fiscal year ended on June 30, 1957, the Small Business Administration made impressive progress in its programs of having suitable Government purchases set aside for exclusive award to small-business firms. Through cooperative action by the Small Business Administration and the Government purchasing agencies, some 12,000 procurements totaling $744 million were restricted to small firms. Since the beginning of the agency, procurements estimated at more than $1,800,000,000 have been set aside for small-business firms. The amount set aside for small business in fiscal year 1958 is expected to be appreciably higher than it was this past year. Congress has expressed many times its insistence that small business receive a fair share of Government contracts. I feel that the Small Business Administration set-aside program is a most important tool in accomplishing this objective.

The Small Business Administration also provides small firms with procurement counseling. In its counseling service, the Small Business Administration renders assistance to individual small-business owners and managers in determining what products or services their firms can supply to the Government and which agencies and purchasing offices are their prospective customers.

Explanation to the businessman is made concerning how and where they can obtain Government specifications for the particular products or services, and how to have their firms listed on the appropriate bidders lists. They also provide a wide range of other services—advising small firms how they can become registered as planned wartime materiel suppliers, helping them resolve difficulties with Government procurement officers, assisting them in having their products listed on qualified products lists, helping them obtain financing on Government contracts, and informing them of Government purchases for which additional suppliers are needed.

WORK OF SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION FIELD OFFICES

Field offices of the Small Business Administration handled more than 30,000 cases of procurement-assistance counseling and other case assistance to small firms during fiscal year 1957, as compared to about 21,000 cases during fiscal 1956. In addition, about 10,000 small firms were assisted to bid on specific procurements, compared to about 5,500 during the previous fiscal year.

To help small-business firms obtain subcontracts, Small Business Administration field offices through June 1957 had contacted about 5,000 prime contractors to develop subcontract opportunities and had made over 7,000 referrals. This compares to about 3,100 contacts to develop subcontract opportunities and approximately 3,100 referrals in the entire fiscal year 1956.

When a small-business concern requests assistance in obtaining Government business, Small Business Administration regional offices refer procurement opportunities to the firm until it has had time to obtain listing on the appropriate bidders' lists of Government purchasing installations. More than 51,000 such referrals have been made to assist small-business firms.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY MEETINGS

The Small Business Administration has also sponsored a series of business-opportunity meetings for small firms in many cities throughout the country. These meetings, held in cooperation with other Government agencies, chambers of commerce, and trade associations, provide a means whereby the manufacturer or supplier can learn at firsthand what articles the Government is purchasing that he might supply. During 1956, 21 such meetings were held, and the prospects are that an even larger number of meetings will be held this year.

Estimates indicate that approximately 3,000 small-business owners and managers annually attend these business-opportunity meetings to learn how to do business with the Government.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION CERTIFICATES OF COMPETENCY

From the start of operations in August 1953 through June 30, 1957, the Small Business Administration had issued 317 certificates of competency, covering procurements valued at $38 million. These certificates are issued to aid small firms whose low bid on a Government contract has been rejected on the grounds that the firm lacks the necessary financial and productive capacity. Of course, a certificate is issued by the Small Business Administration only when careful study by the Agency indicates that the firm actually is capable of performing the contract. Once such a certificate is issued, procurement officers are directed under the law to accept it as conclusive, as far as financial and technical requirements of the contract are concerned.

EXAMINATION OF GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT POLICIES

A Task Force for Review of Government Policies and Procedures, established in line with the recommendation of the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business, is receiving the full cooperation of the Small Business Administration.

This agency, along with the Bureau of the Budget and General Accounting Office, is making available to the task force specific examples of inequities, inconsistencies, and complexities in Government procurement procedures.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SPECIAL COURSES IN MANAGEMENT

The Small Business Administration, in cooperation with colleges and universities throughout the country, arranges special courses in administrative management for proprietors of small firms.

Through June of this year more than 8,300 businessmen and women had attended management training courses cosponsored by the Small Business Administration. Since the program began, 264 educational courses have been conducted in cooperation with 100 educational institutions. This last fiscal year the agency cosponsored 109 more courses than in 1956.

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION PRODUCTS ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The Small Business Administration also has a products assistance program designed to acquaint small companies with new products and inventions which may be of interest to them in diversifying into additional or alternate products, to assist inventors in finding buyers or producers for their inventions, and to furnish information to small producers about current or newly developed manufacturing methods and processes.

POLICY REVIEW OF SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION ACTIVITIES

The Small Business Administration programs and policies are constantly under review by the agency's two advisory groups, the National Council of Consultants, and the National Board of Field Advisers. This is a 2-way street, however, for members of the National Council and the National Board of Field Advisers provide the Small Business Administration with their thinking on the problems affecting small business throughout the entire country. The National Council of Consultants will convene in Washington on September 26, 1957, for its sixth meeting, and the Council members have been invited to attend the President's Conference on Technical and Distribution Research for the Benefit of Small Business which begins on September 23 and continues through September 25.

The President's Conference is being held to assist small manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers in the use of modern methods and techniques for developing and improving their products and increasing sales. The conference has been planned and will be conducted primarily by leaders from business, research and education, with the cooperation of the Small Business Administration and the Department of Commerce.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I repeat, Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives voted on June 25, 1957 to make the Small Business Administration a permanent and independent agency. It is imperative that the problems of small firms continue to be attacked through assistance in meeting the need for credit and in supplying information and assistance in areas of Government procurement and production and technical matters. Additionally, the Small Business Administration must continue to serve as a spokesman for small business within the Federal Government itself. The intent of Congress with respect to small business can never be fully carried out unless and until the Small Business Administration achieves the status of permanency.

Meeting the Educational Challenge of the Exceptional Child—A Proposed Bill and a Program To Train Needed Teachers

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 28, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, since this 1st session of the 85th Congress is so near adjournment that no new legislation introduced now could possibly be considered in these final hours, I should perhaps apologize to the membership for asking for this special allotment of time today in order to discuss a bill which has not yet even been introduced.

On the other hand, this proposed measure deals with a matter of such really desperate concern to so many millions of American families and to so many charitable and educational organizations that I feel I am wafranted in bringing it to the attention of the House now as a basis for discussion and analysis and study over the coming months of the congressional recess.

For one thing, I know that a large number of Members share my interest in this urgent problem of meeting the educational challenge of the so-called exceptional child, and I invite their review of the approach which I have attempted to develop. I have been working on this proposal for many months and still have 1 or 2 details to iron out but I believe I can do that in time to introduce the bill itself before we adjourn this week. In the meantime, I would like now to outline its general features and provisions.

Subsequently, during the recess period, until the 2d session convenes in January, I am hopeful that this proposal will receive the widest possible discussion and analysis among all of the many groups directly interested or concerned. Then, if it is determined to be as workable as I believe it can be, I hope we can obtain prompt action on the bill early next year, in time to put it into operation for the last half of this present fiscal year.

During the recess, I would be more than pleased to receive any comments or criticisms on the bill from interested Members of the House and Senate, and from any other individuals or groups concerned with the need for providing more

adequate educational opportunities for exceptional children.

COVERS ALL AREAS OF EXCEPTIONALITY

While there is nothing revolutionary or unprecedented in the approach my proposed bill would take, I am informed that the bill will be, when introduced, the first and only bill before Congress to establish in one single, broad, unified Federal grant program a plan to help train urgently needed teachers in every major category of exceptional children.

Most of the congressional activity in this respect up to now has been directed at the problems of educating the mentally retarded child. Thanks to the pioneering work in this field by the House Appropriations Subcommittee for the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the subcommittee headed by Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island—one of our great humanitarians in the Congress—we now have under way through the Office of Education an extensive research program on teaching techniques for helping mentally retarded children.

In addition, both last year and this year the Senate has passed bills to establish a scholarship and fellowship program for training teachers in this same field of teaching the retarded. Furthermore, Mr. FOGARTY'S subcommittee this year has called for some new thinking by the Office of Education on the best methods of providing better educational opportunities for children with speech and hearing defects—another sizeable group of exceptional children; in fact, I think it is the largest single category of such children.

The bill which I plan to introduce in the next few days, on the other hand, will cover not only these groups but all other major categories of what the educators call exceptionality. It will provide a program of Federal scholarships and fellowships to individuals, and grants to colleges and universities to stimulate the training of some of the many thousands of specially equipped professional people needed in all of these fields, as teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, as supervisors of such teachers, and, at the college level, as teachers of advanced education courses and as researchers in the areas of exceptional children.

THE PROBLEM FACED BY THE EXCEPTIONAL CHILD IN SCHOOL

Mr. Speaker, while all of us are endowed with individual qualities and characteristics which distinguish us from each other, most of us are blessed with a kind of normal averageness, if that is the word, of physical appearance and mental capacity which enables us from childhood on to submerge comfortably in the group—in the crowd—if we so desire, and travel life's road at a comparatively easy pace. Most of the institutions with which we come in contact, the tools we must use, the clothes we wear, the homes in which we live, the specifications for most jobs, and the schools in which we learn, particularly the schools, are geared or tailored pretty much to the norm. I said we are blessed with this averageness because certainly as children we shrink at the idea of being visibly or demonstrably different.

But while most children seem to fit a comfortable pattern, others, a very select few, are touched by God with such great gifts of mind and perception as to stand out for their brilliance; and still others, millions of others, are chosen for reasons known only to God for the special testing and trial of another form of differentness, that is, in having to shoulder physical, mental, or emotional handicaps or disabilities.

To romanticize this situation, it is easy to think that the gifted child has everything in his favor with the world as his oyster, and the handicapped child inevitably has some inner fire and drive to enable him to overcome his physical limitations and achieve the greatness which has come to so many in similar circumstances, great poets, musicians, teachers, physicians, and so on, who were handicapped and who nevertheless achieved great things in spite of, if not because of, those physical handicaps.

But let us not forget that children do not suck knowledge out of their thumbs. They must be taught and often it is a painstakingly difficult—incredibly difficult—and skilled task to teach some unfortunate children anything, to teach others the minimum of those things they must learn and know in order to live useful lives, and to teach still others all they can learn profitably.

WASTAGE OF HUMAN RESOURCES

In this respect, the greatly gifted child and the handicapped child share some common and often serious problems in the educational process and thus are placed together by educators under the heading of exceptional. For the procedures set up to teach the so-called normal or average child do not begin to reach the educational needs of the different child—the exceptional one. As a consequence, the exceptional child—gifted or handicapped—is robbed of some of his educational birthright.

Some millions of children of school age are not in any school at all because of the existence of this problem. Some of these receive some help from the school system, but the problem is enormous, and the needs generally are not being met.

In addition, many others attend school but find it often a frustrating experience, a place of confusion and torment, because they are just not geared for the classroom routine. They need classroom work specially planned for their abilities or handicaps. A capable youngster with a serious speech or hearing or visual defect can be made to feel dumb; an emotionally disturbed youngster can be a distracting influence on an entire class; a gifted youngster can sit and vegetate in pure boredom in a class which he tends to find a prison for his imagination or feel out of it in a class of older children who are nearer his mental capacity.

This is the problem faced by the exceptional child, and by his parents, and by all of us. Because the specialized equipment or the special techniques—or, most important, the specially trained teachers—are not available, the exceptional child suffers from unrealized educational opportunities, and his family is often caught in an agonizing situation. I think all of us know of such families and the problems they face. And lastly, we as a nation suffer in terms of a tragic wastage of human resources, of skills and abilities we cannot afford to waste.

I am not going to put this in terms of cold war or West versus East or the fact that the Soviet Union is outstripping us in the education of scientists and engineers and technicians. True, a gifted child whose talents are wasted because he is not stimulated to learn to his full capacity might otherwise become a great inventor or scientist whose discoveries could bolster our defenses, but that is not the point I wish to make. I should like to present this problem not in terms of national defense but in terms of what is right and fair to American children and to our society, which could be enriched by the contributions of all of these exceptional children if given the opportunity to learn and contribute to their full capabilities.

FOUR TO SIX MILLION SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN

Who are these children? And how many are there?

They are, as I said, the mentally superior, on the one hand, and the mentally retarded, on the other. In addition, they include the crippled and deformed, including the cerebral palsied; the deaf and the hard-of-hearing; the blind and the partially seeing; the speech-defective; the undervitalized; those with special health problems, including the cardiopathic, epileptic, and tuberculous; the emotionally malajusted, and the delinquent.

There is no exact count available on the number of children in each of these groups, but the estimates considered most reliable, based on spot studies by localities and national organizations, place the total somewhere between 4 and 6 million children in the school ages between 5 and 17.

In 1954, Romaine P. Mackie and Lloyd M. Dunn of the United States Office of Education reported—"with some reluctance," they said, because of the lack of exact information—that informed estimates showed the following incidence of exceptional children of school age for the year 1952:

Blind and partially seeing	68,000
Crippled	510,000
Special health problems	510,000
Deaf and hard of hearing	510,000
Speech handicapped	680,000
Socially maladjusted	680,000
Mentally retarded	680,000
Gifted	680,000

Mr. Speaker, I think there might well be some surprise at the size of those in the gifted category, those with I. Q.'s of above 125, for according to this tabulation, the intellectually superior equal in round numbers the number of mentally retarded children of school age.

THE AMERICAN PROMISE OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

As I said, most of our attention in the Congress has been focused on the admittedly serious educational problems of the mentally retarded. They need help.

They deserve help. And we are providing research, at least, in this field, with the good prospect of enacting legislation to help train more teachers in the specialized skills of teaching mentally retarded children. The Senate has twice passed such a bill.

But this overall problem is so big we cannot restrict any solution just to this one group of exceptional children. And certainly our resources are adequate to enable us to provide help in all of these categories I mentioned.

In 1954, the Office of Education held a conference on qualification and preparation of teachers of exceptional children, and in the course of the conference a proposed Creed for Exceptional Children was presented by Leonord Mayo director of the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, and was accepted by the conference and by the Office of Education, which has since published it. I am going to include the full text of that Creed for Exceptional Children at the conclusion of my remarks, as exhibit A, but right now I would like to quote a few passages from it.

This document states:

We believe in the American promise of equality of opportunity, regardless of nationality, cultural background, race, or religion.

We believe that this promise extends to every child within the borders of our country no matter what his gifts, his capacity, or his handicaps.

We believe that the Nation as a whole, every State and county, every city and hamlet, and every citizen has an obligation to help in bringing to fruition in this generation the ideal of a full and useful life for every exceptional child in accordance with his capacity: the child who is handicapped by defects of speech, of sight, or of hearing, the child whose life may be adversely influenced by a crippling disease or condition, the child whose adjustment to society is made difficult by emotional or mental disorders, and the child who is endowed with special gifts of mind and spirit.

TRAINED MIND AND WARM HEART

The final paragraph of this document states:

Above all, we believe in the exceptional child himself; in his capacity for development so frequently retarded by the limits of present knowledge; in his right to a full life too often denied him through lack of imagination and ingenuity on the part of his elders; in his passion for freedom and independence that can be his only when those who guide and teach him have learned the lessons of humility, and in which there resides an effective confluence of the trained mind and the warm heart.

Mr. Speaker, I have quoted only portions of the document, the Creed for Exceptional Children, and I hope those who read these remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will read the full text of this inspiring declaration. I prize a framed copy of it in my office, and I will readily acknowledge that I have borrowed very heavily from it, deliberately, for the language of the preamble of the bill which I am introducing.

I think those few passages I quoted sum up a philosophy with which we must agree wholeheartedly if we truly mean to see to it that each child in this great country shares equally in the opportunity to learn. We know that each cannot learn at the same speed or to the same degree. But for those who can absorb knowledge and skills, we must make sure the opportunity exists for the child to benefit to the full extent possible.

We do that now for adults, and for children reaching maturity, in connection with vocational training and vocational rehabilitation. We provide the means by which men and women and young men and young women, with physical handicaps can be helped and taught to qualify for skilled employment. Wonders are being performed under this program.

But why must we wait until the handicapped child is almost grown and ready for employment to begin thinking of his need in this respect? If we can perform wonders now in the rehabilitation process—and we can—then think how much more we could accomplish with that same individual if we began his specialized education as a youngster and geared it to his capabilities just as we later gear the vocational rehabilitation program to the physical capabilities of the individual?

SPECIALIZED TEACHING TECHNIQUES

Special educational techniques for the exceptional child would eliminate a tremendous amount of emotional stress for many of these children in the growing-up stage and thus help make better citizens of them and better communities for all of us.

Special education does not always and invariably involve special classes, but it does involve specialized teaching. In this connection, I think one of the best statements of the problem which I have seen was made in the annual report of the Ames, Iowa, public schools for 1954–55, in which Walter L. Hetzel stated:

It must always be remembered that the education of exceptional children has basic concepts and goals in common with the education of all children. The same principles of child development prevail. A deaf child is a child with a hearing handicap. As a child, he has all the needs, desires, and physical energy of children in general. Basically, the only way in which he differs from an average child is his inability to hear; and because of this hearing handicap, he is unable to speak.

This difference makes it necessary to plan his education with special consideration for his disabilities. The mentally retarded child, the child with visual impairment, the crippled child, and every other exceptional child has fundamental motives and drives common to children in general; but along with those common characteristics, there is in each case a specific handicap or exceptional condition that requires an adjustment or special service in his educational program.

That program should be designed with full recognition of (a) his likeness to normal children, and (b) his special needs. This, in brief, constitutes the modern approach to the education of exceptional children.

EDUCATORS AWARE OF AND DISTURBED BY PROBLEM

Mr. Speaker, in discussing this problem today and in presenting my bill for referral to committee in the next few days, I do not want to give the impression that this is some new and uncharted field, or that I have discovered the existence of a previously unrecognized problem. Every family which has an exceptional child knows of the existence of this problem. So does every teacher who struggles with the task of trying to accommodate such a child in a group of 35 or 40 or more other youngsters, when there is insufficient space and not enough teaching hours in the day to cope with such tremendous classes. Our school administrators know of the problem, and so does the Office of Education, which has published much on it.

Many schools and many school systems are trying determinedly to meet the challenge which this problem presents. I was amazed at the number of Catholic schools, for example, set up specifically to meet the needs of exceptional children. I was also deeply impressed by the tremendous amount of literature on this problem. I am going to include, I might say, for printing in the RECORD, an excellent digest of this material as prepared for me in the Library of Congress.

TEACHER SHORTAGE IS BASIC FACTOR

One theme runs through all of this material, and is voiced again and again by Federal officials, State and local school administrators, and all of the experts in this field. It is this:

The problem is serious not because there is a lack of techniques or knowledge for helping these children, but because of a lack of trained teachers specially qualified to use these techniques and skills.

If it were possible to underline any of my remarks or place them in italics in the RECORD for emphasis, that is the one sentence in this whole report which I would underline. For it is the key to the problem, and thus I have made it the basic factor in my bill.

According to the research material prepared for me by the Library of Congress, there are today perhaps 25,000 specially trained schoolteachers equipped or certified to provide the specialized teaching required for various types of exceptional children. Some of the States have gone into the leadership on this in setting up certification standards for teaching exceptional children and many have established on a mandatory basis classes for certain physically handicapped and mentally retarded children.

Furthermore, at least 133 colleges and universities are now presenting sequences of courses leading to degrees for teachers or supervisors or researchers in various areas of exceptionality, and the increase in interest in this work on the part of the colleges and universities in recent years has been extremely gratifying.

Nevertheless, the number of teachers specially trained in these fields is so small compared with the magnitude of the need that any program to help in the education of exceptional children must start—and must concentrate on—assuring the training of many more teachers, and men and women to teach such teachers.

I am informed that a conservative guess on the number of elementary and secondary schoolteachers needed in these fields would be 100,000—4 times the 25,000 teachers now reported to have these specialized skills. And even that number, I am told, would not assure a

desirable or practical ratio of teachers to students needing this specialized help.

PURPOSE OF PROPOSED BILL

One estimate which has been submitted to me—and the reasoning behind it can be found in the research material provided by the Library of Congress analyzing the ratio of teachers in various categories of exceptionality to the number of children in each group—shows a need of not 100,000 such specialized teachers right now, but rather 223,500. Of course, when we only have 25,000 now, it is perhaps idle to think in terms of obtaining 10 times that many. I would be happy, indeed, in the coming decade, if we could just double the number of those presently available. But while the bill I have prepared is ambitious for this program, it cannot even begin to do that job, or anything remotely approaching it.

The purpose of my bill is not to have the Federal Government proceed to do the job, but just lead the way, to provide a limited number of scholarships and fellowships to teachers and prospective teachers to encourage them to go into this field where they are so desperately needed; to provide some assistance to the colleges and universities pioneering in this work to enlarge facilities or obtain specialized equipment; and, above all, to stimulate the States and the localities not only to recognize their obligations—most of them do now—but rather to see the way to setting up the specialized classes or programs which are so necessary, knowing that under this bill more and more qualified teachers will be coming out of the advanced training courses prepared to take over such programs and build their effectiveness.

The Sullivan bill would work in this fashion:

AWARDS TO INDIVIDUALS

Beginning in this present fiscal year, and extending over 7 years, the Office of Education could award a total of $18,500,000 to teachers and prospective teachers for specialized training, primarily at the graduate level, in the field of education of exceptional children. The appropriations authorized for this purpose would be limited to $500,000 for the current fiscal year ending next June 30, increasing each fiscal year thereafter by $1 million until a maximum of $3,500,000 a year was reached in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961. This amount would continue each year, then, until the end of the fiscal year 1964. These grants would carry such stipends as the Commissioner of Education would determine, but the basic idea is that, by providing for living expenses as well as tuition or other expenses, they particularly enable men and women already engaged in the teaching profession to feel that they can afford to go back to school for this specialized advanced training.

UNDERGRADUATES COULD BE INCLUDED

The money would be allocated on a strict ratio among the States, based on the school populations of the respective States. If there were not enough successful applicants from any State to use up the State's full allocation in any 1 year, the remaining amount would revert to the Treasury. It could not be reallocated among other States.

Although the program is intended primarily to attract teachers with degrees for advanced training at the graduate level, there is a special provision in the bill to permit the Commissioner, when he deems that advisable, to make awards also for study at the undergraduate level. Thus, if there should be a limited number of graduate teachers in a particular State who were interested in going into this field, there would still be opportunity for the Commissioner to make awards to teachers who have not yet earned degrees or to residents of the State who have never taught professionally but who want to enter this field of teaching the exceptional child. But the primary emphasis of the bill, as I said, is on work at the graduate level.

The awards of scholarships and fellowships would be made directly to the individual recipient, not to the colleges or universities offering specialized courses. Since more institutions of higher learning are entering this field year by year, the recipient would thus have a free choice of institutions, providing, of course, that the recipient attended an accredited institution which offered appropriate courses in this field.

AWARDS TO INSTITUTIONS

An additional total amount of $2,500,000 would be authorized for appropriation during the 7-year program for grants to colleges and universities, primarily for installation of specialized equipment or facilities for training teachers in the fields of exceptional children. This particular item is not allocated on a State-by-State basis, nor is there a limitation on how much of the $2,500,000 could be appropriated in any 1 fiscal year. The basic idea in connection with this phase of the bill is to give the Commissioner of Education an opportunity to help schools actively engaged in teacher-training work to expand facilities, to put in necessary laboratories, and so on.

The Commissioner would be free to use some of it in order to help an institution of higher education expand its faculty in order to establish courses in teacher training in the exceptionality categories. But I repeat, the emphasis intended on the use of this money is for things, rather than personnel. The amount of money involved is really so small that it could be used up quickly and to little overall effect if much of it were to go to schools to hire personnel, but I would not want to tie the Commissioner's hands too tightly if it should be determined by those best in a position to know the facts, that substantial portions of the awards to institutions should be made for that purpose.

Conceivably the best use to which this $2,500,000 might be put could even be for the purpose of setting up summer workshops or institutes at a number of centrally located colleges and universities. I just throw that out as a possibility, knowing that the summer institute idea has been used with very great success in the National Science Foundation program for high school teachers of science and mathematics.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Rather than try to spell out in every detail how these funds would have to be used to achieve the greatest effectiveness, I have provided in the bill for the creation of an advisory committee to assist the Commissioner in determining the areas and priorities of need in the award of grants to individuals and institutions, and in setting the standards for making the awards.

The advisory committee would be composed of people conversant with the overall educational needs of exceptional children, which is broad enough in phraseology, I hope, so that it could include outstanding lay people and other professionals not just professional educators. To assure full participation by the professional educators now engaged in this work, I suggest in the bill the establishment of advisory panels of specialists in special education for each of the various categories of exceptional children who could advise the Commissioner on particular problems and needs in their respective fields.

COOPERATION WITH THE STATES

There is one other provision of the proposed bill which I believe warrants mention at this time, a provision calling for close and continuing and affirmative cooperation with the various State educational agencies to keep them fully informed of all developments under this program.

In this connection, the Commissioner of Education is instructed to notify the appropriate State officials of the names and home addresses of each resident of their State who is studying under a scholarship or fellowship grant under this program, and the field of study each is pursuing, so that the States can then bring up whatever ammunition they can to attract these teachers to positions back in their home States.

Of course, no teacher receiving a grant would or could be required to promise to teach in a particular State as a condition to receiving the award; so they will be free agents in that respect. But the States should be encouraged to try to get these people to come back to the home State so that the schools there can benefit, and the children can benefit, from the skills which these teachers will have acquired with Federal help.

The theory behind this section on cooperation with the States is that if the State agencies are keyed into the program, and are kept fully informed of all developments under it, and are consulted on the needs for specialized teachers in their States, they in turn will develop a greater awareness of those needs and the potentials of educating their exceptional children more effectively. They will thus also be encouraged, I believe, to develop more statewide programs and stimulate the local communities to set up special classes in these areas of specialized need.

That, in substance, Mr. Speaker, is the bill which I am getting ready for introduction in the next few days. Those Members who have been interested in this field of legislation will recognize in my bill some similarities as well as many differences in comparison with those

bills which have been introduced heretofore, and which deal only with the stimulation of teacher training for the mentally retarded.

COMPARISON WITH BILLS FOR MENTALLY RETARDED

The leading bill on that subject, S. 395 by Senator HILL and others, which just passed the Senate for the second time a few days ago, would authorize a program of grants to colleges and universities to enable them to set up training courses in this field, and also to enable the colleges to award fellowships, with the institutions themselves selecting the recipients. A second part of that bill would authorize grants to State educational agencies to enable them to award fellowships and traineeships for training personnel in working with mentally retarded children.

As I said earlier, the needs of the mentally retarded children are urgent, but so are those of the children in other areas of exceptionality. That is why I have attempted to cover all of them in one bill. And having the grants to individuals made directly from the Federal Government to the recipients rather than through intermediary agencies will make it possible for these fellowships to be allocated on a strict State formula basis, with due consideration for the needs in each area of exceptionality on a national basis—since this is a national problem. If they were to be awarded through the schools, for instance, it is inevitable, I believe, for the emphasis to shift toward the specialties of each school involved. Furthermore, I would rather see the recipients of these awards have freedom of choice in selecting their school, rather than have to go to a particular college or university in order to qualify for an award under this program.

In this respect, my bill follows the example of the GI bill and also the pattern of the fellowships awarded each year by the National Science Foundation for advanced study in the sciences. The National Science Foundation, however, is directed in its authorization act only to seek where possible—it is not hard and fast—to allocate its fellowships among residents of the various States on an equitable basis, whereas my bill requires a strict allocation of the fellowships among the States on a formula basis.

BILL FOR RETARDED STIMULATED THINKING ON PROBLEM

Mr. Speaker, I have made several comments on the bill for teacher training and assistance in the field of retarded children in comparing it with the bill I have been preparing, and in pointing out that I do not think it covers the full area of urgent need. But I certainly do not want to give the impression of being critical of that bill. I readily admit that it started my thinking on this whole problem.

After having received some correspondence on this problem of the mentally retarded child from people in the St. Louis area. I became quite interested in the bill proposing the program for mentally retarded work and seriously considered introducing in the House a companion measure to the one introduced in the Senate by Senator HILL.

In pursuit of that thought, I found myself learning more and more about the scope of the problem involving all of these exceptional children, including the very gifted or mentally superior child, and eventually came more and more to the conclusion that all of these areas of exceptionality required our attention and our help.

For instance, a communication, I received on this from a mother in St. Louis, who forwarded some material from the St. Louis Association for Retarded Children, Inc., placed this problem first in terms of the mentally retarded. I include her letter of last October and my reply, as follows:

OCTOBER 9, 1956.

Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
Congresswoman, Third District, Missouri,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: Enclosed is a statement made by Mr. Ackerman before the Missouri legislative committee on June 7, 1956. It lists reasons why classes for trainable mentally retarded children are badly needed and gives specific amendments to the present law, a copy of which you will also find enclosed.

I am availing myself of the kind invitation in your newsletter to express my views on legislation with which I am directly concerned. My child is retarded because of a severe emotional disturbance and our public-school system has no place for him. For his sake and for the sake of other retarded children and those who love them, I am asking you to do what you can toward securing educational legislation that will help all children.

Though mine is a personal and humanitarian reason, you will find that Mr. Ackerman has also mentioned some practical reasons.

Thank you for the newsletters. You show such genuine and sincere concern for the welfare of all people that it is indeed a pleasure to read them and a privilege to be able to state my problem personally.

Sincerely yours,

———— ————.

OCTOBER 12, 1956.

DEAR ————: Thank you for sending me the statement by Frank Ackerman on behalf of the various Missouri organizations interested in a State educational program for retarded children. I am extremely interested in this problem. Of course the amendment Mr. Ackerman favored is one involving State law rather than Federal law, but at the same time there is a very necessary role by the Federal Government it seems to me in this whole problem.

I think what I will do is refer this matter to the United States Commissioner of Education for his views on the kind of legislation that we can pass in Washington which would best help Missouri and other States to solve their problems in providing the best educational program possible for retarded children.

I appreciate your writing to me. I will do everything I can to follow up on it.

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. (Mrs. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, Third District, Missouri.

REQUEST TO OFFICE OF EDUCATION FOR INFORMATION

I then, Mr. Speaker, addressed the following letter to the Acting United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. Wayne Reed:

OCTOBER 12, 1956.

Dr. WAYNE REED,
Acting Commissioner, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. REED: Could you please tell me in some detail what the Federal Government, through the Office of Education, or through the vocational rehabilitation program or through any other program or agency, is doing to help the States in the matter of educating mentally retarded children. There has been some discussion of this problem in the Missouri Legislature and in that connection it has been noted that Federal grants to schools and fellowship stipends to trainees to help finance teacher-training programs have been assured. I would like to know just exactly what is being done.

Along the same lines, I would appreciate very much your views on what the Federal Government could do and what it should do in meeting what is certainly a serious need affecting a great many families in a most heartbreaking way. Have you recommended any legislation? Could you give me your thinking on what would be the most practical type of legislation to help meet this problem?

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. (Mrs. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, Third District, Missouri.

His reply, on October 24, spelled out in some detail the activities of the Office of Education in the field of the mentally retarded and other exceptional children, and discussed the mentally retarded bill as an administration measure. The letter follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., October 24, 1956.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 12, requesting information as to what the Federal Government, through the Office of Education or through the vocational rehabilitation program or other programs or agencies, is doing to help the States in the matter of educating mentally retarded children.

For many years, the Office of Education has given attention to the educational needs of mentally retarded children. The Office maintains a Section on Exceptional Children and Youth which serves the mentally retarded as well as other exceptional children. The Section collaborates with other units of the Office and outside agencies in preparing studies and reports, gives consultative service and information particularly to State departments of education, colleges, and universities preparing teachers of exceptional children, national organizations, other Government agencies, citizens' groups, and individuals. It conducts certain special studies on such needs as the education of mentally retarded children, instruction to children in hospitals, or the special school housing needs of handicapped children. Currently a new special study is being undertaken on the needs of severely retarded (trainable) children. Examples of publications reporting such studies are enclosed.

You point particularly to the need for teacher-training programs. Within the last 3 or 4 years, the Office has been giving leadership to a nationwide study on the qualification and preparation of teachers of exceptional children. This study has been guided by both a national committee and an Office of Education policy committee and includes the opinions of about 2,000 educators in various parts of the Nation. Copies of four of the reports from this study are en-

closed. The reports from this study include also Teachers of Children Who Are Mentally Retarded, now in press.

During the current year, another activity has been added to the Office of Education which is specifically for the mentally retarded. As you know, the regular appropriation to the Office made by the 84th Congress for the current year provided $675,000 for research on educational problems of the mentally retarded. This program, which is conducted under the provisions of Public Law 531, 83d Congress, is just now beginning. The United States Public Health Service also is conducting research in this field.

At the request of this Department, the bill S. 3620 "to encourage expansion of teaching and resarch in the education of mentally retarded children through grants to institutions of higher learning and to State educational agencies" was introduced in the 2d session of the 84th Congress and passed by the Senate on June 11, 1956. Congress adjourned, however, before action on the measure was completed by the House. Companion bills, H. R. 10620, H. R. 11253, H. R. 10452, and H. R. 11674, had been introduced in the House and were pending before the Committee on Education and Labor. Accordingly, no Federal funds are now available for traineeship purposes in this field.

The Federal-State vocational rehabilitation program extends rehabilitation services to mentally retarded persons of employable age. During fiscal 1955, a total of 531 mentally retarded persons were established in employment through this progrem. In addition, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation is supporting several research and demonstration projects in the vocational rehabilitation of the mentally retarded.

Your interest in this important field of education is appreciated and if we can be of further service to you in this or other matters, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

WAYNE O. REED,
Acting Commissioner of Education.

Last January, shortly after returning to Washington, I took up this problem with the new Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lawrence G. Derthick, in the following letter:

JANUARY 28, 1957.

DR. LAWRENCE G. DERTHICK,
United States Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DERTHICK: I would like very much to be brought up to date on the subject of research on educational problems of the mentally retarded as a followup to the letter from the Office of Education of last October 24, in reply to my letter of October 12.

According to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Senator HILL has introduced S. 395, which I assume is the same as S. 3620 of the 84th Congress. Is this substantially the same legislation the President said in his budget he would recommend in a later message to Congress? Or is something further or different planned? If so, can you tell me, generally, what is intended?

The letter of October 24 stated that out of the 1957 fiscal year appropriation of the Office of Education, $675,000 had been allocated for research on educational problems of the mentally retarded. This was more than half the appropriation for research projects, I note. The new budget, for the 1958 fiscal year, shows a substantial increase in the overall amount for the Office of Education for research projects; $2,300,000 as against $1,020,190 for the current year. Do you intend allocating a proportionate amount of this higher figure for mentally retarded studies?

I would appreciate any further information you can provide at this time on the study now underway, plus any information you may have on what the Public Health Service is doing in this field. How is that budgeted—under NIH?

Please excuse so many demands upon you in one letter but, as I am sure you understand, I feel I should have this information if I intend to try to help on getting funds for this work.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. (MRS. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District, Missouri.

MISSOURI DOING OUTSTANDING WORK

At the same time, and in view of the outstanding work which was being done in this field by the Department of Education of Missouri, I wrote as follows to H. Pat Wardlaw, assistant commissioner:

JANUARY 28, 1957.

MR. H. PAT WARDLAW,
Assistant Commissioner, Department of Education, State of Missouri, Division of Public Schools, Jefferson City, Mo.

DEAR MR. WARDLAW: Some time ago, a St. Louis mother of a mentally retarded child wrote to me and sent me a copy of the material the St. Louis Association for Retarded Children had presented before the Missouri legislative committee last June, dealing with the need for classes for trainable mentally retarded children. She said she just wanted to keep me informed on this in case there was any way I could help.

I subsequently inquired of the commissioner of education on just what the Federal Government was doing or was planning in this field, and what kind of legislation would be helpful. I particularly noted in the St. Louis association's statement that the appeal to the State legislative committee was based, to some extent, on the assurance of Federal grants to schools and fellowship stipends to trainees to help finance teacher training. As you probably know, however, the assured Federal funds were not actually authorized in the 84th Congress, although the bill did pass the Senate to authorize such appropriations.

My writing to you came about in this way: Among the material sent to me by the office of education to show the kind of research work now under way into the problems of teaching the mentally retarded (I think something like $675,000 was appropriated for that for the current fiscal year—1956–57) was a very impressive publication put out by the Missouri Department of Education. I noted that you had a part in that and wrote a preface for it—the publication, Education of Adolescents Who Are of Retarded Mental Development, prepared by a committee headed by Richard S. Dabney. In view of your direct interest in and knowledge of this serious social and educational problem, I would like your advice on the merits of the legislation passed by the Senate last year (S. 3620 of the 84th Congress) and whether you think it would be a good idea for me to introduce it in the House.

In his budget for the 1958 fiscal year, the President said he intended recommending new legislation dealing with the problems of educating the mentally retarded but I suspect it is pretty much this same bill of last year. I have asked the Office of Education about that but so far have not had any reply on that point.

I would like your guidance on what you think would be the best approach insofar as Federal legislation is concerned—whether the kind of bill which passed the Senate which provided for these grants to the schools and colleges for training of teachers—or what. I would also like to be brought up to date on what the State is doing about special classes for these children.

Incidentally, in leafing through the budget, I note that the President this year is asking the full $29,267,081 for vocational education, plus $4 million for practical nurse training, plus $228,000 for fishery trades, or a total of $33,750,881 (if the Budget Bureau's addition is correct—I haven't added those up myself). Knowing how concerned you were in previous years about the reluctance of the White House to ask for the full $29 million amount (which Congress provided, anyway), I thought you'd like to have this information (if you don't already have it).

I hope you don't mind my turning to you for the kind of information outlined above. As I said, I thought of you in this connection after seeing the very excellent booklet your Department put out on teaching the mentally retarded. You have every right to be proud of that booklet.

With my kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. (MRS. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District, Missouri.

In his reply, which I include below, Mr. Wardlaw gave me the best insight I had obtained up to that time into the real scope of the problem. As his reply indicates, I apparently failed to include in the letter I had sent him a copy of the bill I was asking him to analyze for me and he was not completely familiar with all of the details of S. 395 or its predecessor. I might explain that I subsequently sent him a copy and he agreed its provisions for training teachers for work with mentally retarded children would be very helpful in Missouri and elsewhere.

DIRE NEED FOR TEACHERS IN ALL SPECIAL AREAS

But in his reply of February 1, he really started me thinking on this overall problem by two statements which I want to emphasize now.

Pointing out how the National Science Foundation fellowships provide not only tuition but an additional stipend which serves as a financial inducement in getting teachers to take advanced training in science and mathematics instruction, Mr. Wardlaw said:

It is generally believed that the best teachers in the area of special education are good, experienced elementary teachers with additional training in the areas necessary for the teaching of handicapped children. Such people, however, are already trained as regular elementary teachers and are regularly certified as such. They will not, therefore, generally go on to school to obtain additional training as special education teachers without some sort of scholarship or financial inducement.

He then added this paragraph which I believe in looking back on it probably sparked the bill which I am introducing:

The special education program for orthopedics, mentally retarded and deficient, speech defectives, deaf and hard of hearing has undergone some slight changes in Missouri during the past 2 years because of State legislation, but the program is very effective and is expanding rapidly. Much interest is being shown at the present time, and bills have been introduced in the Missouri General Assembly which will no doubt cause the program to be improved and increased very rapidly. There is a dire need for teachers in all of these special areas in Missouri at the present time.

His letter follows in full:

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
STATE OF MISSOURI,
Jefferson City, February 1, 1957.

The Honorable LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
United States Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS SULLIVAN: We greatly appreciate your remarks about the bulletin of the Missouri Department of Education in the special education area. We have certainly received many favorable comments on it from people both inside and outside our State. Two additional publications in the special education area are in the process of development, and I am sure that the three of them will help very much in the development of our special education program. There is so much interest in special education throughout the country at the present time that I am sure we cannot neglect its promotion.

The University of Missouri at Columbia has a fine program for the training of teachers in special education areas, and many of the other colleges and universities also do fine work in that area. Our problem in Missouri is not in the area of setting up training programs but in getting teachers and prospective teachers to enroll in such programs. There are perhaps other States whose colleges and universities have not yet developed programs and might, therefore, have more information than do we regarding the need of such legislation as was proposed in S. 3620 of the 84th Congress. It is very probable that the United States Office of Education in Washington would have information regarding need in this area, and it is also possible that such information in this area might be obtained from Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary, National Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D. C. He can well speak the general concensus of the 48 State departments of education regarding any proposed legislation.

Apparently the efforts of various organizations and foundations to further the training of science and mathematics teachers are producing results, because such efforts usually are of the nature of the provision of scholarships and financial inducement. It is generally believed that the best teachers in the area of special education are good, experienced elementary teachers with additional training in the areas necessary for the teaching of handicapped children. Such people, however, are already trained as regular elementary teachers and are regularly certified as such. They will not, therefore, generally go on to school to obtain additional training as special education teachers without some sort of scholarship or financial inducement.

The special education program for orthopedics, mentally retarded and deficient, speech defectives, deaf and hard of hearing, has undergone some slight changes in Missouri during the past 2 years because of State legislation, but the program is very effective and is expanding rapidly. Much interest is being shown at the present time, and bills have been introduced in the Missouri General Assembly which will no doubt cause the program to be improved and increased very rapidly. There is a dire need for teachers in all of these special areas in Missouri at the present time.

I appreciate your very fine letter and also the information about the budget requests in vocational education. We are certainly able to make fine use of funds under the full appropriation of the George-Barden Act and hope that the same appropriation can be continued for the coming year. We have also employed a fine supervisor for our practical nurse training program, and the program is well underway. Because of all of these things we are rather optimistic in Missouri, and I want personally to thank you for all of the fine things you have done to help. You have certainly been responsive to my previous letters, and I appreciate it. I wish I could give better suggestions than I have regarding S. 3620 or any similar bill. If I understand that bill correctly, it would provide help to schools and colleges for the training of teachers, and I am not too well versed on such needs. I do know we need more well-trained teachers in all areas. If the bill concerned appropriations or grants which would be distributed through this department, I assure you that we would have the necessary information and very definite opinions about it. It is difficult, though, for us to advise regarding grants that go directly to colleges and universities, because we do not have responsibility regarding them and really do not have the necessary information.

Kindest personal regards and best wishes to you. Please write whenever you feel that we may be able to provide information that will be helpful to you.

Respectfully yours,

H. PAT WARDLAW,
Assistant Commissioner, Division of Instruction, Director, Vocational Education.

By that time, Mr. Speaker, I was able to make the following status report to the mother who had written me earlier describing the problems of training or educating mentally retarded children:

FEBRUARY 6, 1957.

DEAR ———: Sometime last fall you wrote to me to express your interest in improved educational opportunities for trainable mentally retarded children and sent me a copy of the material presented before the Missouri legislative committee by the St. Louis Association for Retarded Children, Inc.

Since then, although I have written to you only once before to acknowledge the material you sent me and to express my interest, I have been in touch with a number of agencies to find out more about the possible role that the Federal Government could play in this important area of education. I am now waiting for some follow-up material from the United States Commissioner of Education.

In the meantime, I thought you would be interested in these facts:

The United States Office of Education is currently spending $675,000 on research on educational problems of the mentally retarded under a new law which we passed in the 83d Congress. I have inquired of the Commissioner whether an increase is being sought for next year. If so, I will certainly support it.

A bill to encourage the expansion of teaching and research in the education of mentally retarded children through grants to State institutions and agencies was passed by the Senate last year but was not acted on in time for approval by the House. A new bill has been introduced this year in the Senate. I am looking into it and may introduce a companion measure in the House although that will depend on advice I receive from certain experts in this field.

The Missouri State Department of Education has been doing some outstanding work, according to the United States Office of Education, in the preparation of material for teachers to help them teach the mentally retarded. I have written to Mr. H. Pat Wardlaw, assistant commissioner of the Missouri Department of Education, for suggestions on possible Federal aid in this field. His view is that the greatest help could be through the scholarship approach. Mr. Frank Ackerman, in the statement which you sent me last year, indicated such an approach would be extremely helpful.

I am writing you now not to attempt to persuade you that any of these battles have been won but just to keep up to date on what I have been doing in response to the letter you sent me last October. I am impressed by the need in this field and I am glad you took the time to interest me in it as you did.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. (MRS. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District of Missouri.

WHAT OFFICE OF EDUCATION IS DOING FOR RETARDED

In March, I received the following reply from Dr. Derthick:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C. March 1, 1957.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
United States House of Representatives.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I am pleased to respond to your letter of January 28, 1957.

You inquired whether S. 395 is the same as S. 3620. The bill, S. 395, is identical with S. 3620, 84th Congress, which was introduced at the request of this Department to carry out its recommendations in this field.

The appropriation for the Office of Education in fiscal year 1957 carried $1,020,000 for cooperative research. Of this amount, $675,000 has been reserved for cooperative research on educational problems of the mentally retarded; and $345,000 was set aside for support of cooperative research in other educational fields. The appropriation of these funds was authorized under Public Law 531, 83d Congress.

As of February 15, 1957, the Office of Education has negotiated 30 contracts for research on education of the mentally retarded and 25 contracts for research in other fields. We are currently negotiating contracts for additional studies which have received favorable review by our Research Advisory Committee; of these, 18 are in the field of the mentally retarded, and 10 are in other fields. These contracts will utilize either the full amount, or very nearly the full amount, of the congressional appropriation for fiscal year 1957.

With regard to fiscal year 1958, the total amount requested in the President's budget for the cooperative research program is $2,300,000. Most of this money will be required for the continuation of contracts entered into in the fiscal year 1957. The continuation of these projects is, of course, dependent upon the appropriation of the necessary funds by Congress. If Congress grants the $2,300,000 requested, we estimate that approximately $1,200,000 will be required for the continuation of research on the mentally retarded, and approximately $500,000 for the continuation of research on other projects. This will leave about $600,000 for new projects to be started in fiscal year 1958. Since we cannot forecast exactly what kinds of proposals for research we will receive in 1958, it is difficult to estimate what proportion of the $600,000 will be devoted to research on education of the mentally retarded. According to Public Law 531, all proposals are first screened by a group of educational research specialists. The recommendations of this group will weigh heavily in deciding which proposals for research are accepted and supported by the Office of Education. There is no doubt that we will continue to receive research proposals in the field of the mentally retarded; and that research in this area will continue to receive favorable recommendation by the Research Advisory Committee and support by the Office of Education.

The Department has a fourfold attack now in progress on the general problem of the mentally retarded. Participating in this attack are the Office of Education, the National Institutes of Health, the Children's Bureau, and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. We are sending copies of your letter to the other agencies for their response.

I trust that I have answered your requests and will be pleased to answer any further

questions. Your interest in our program is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

L. G. DERTHICK,
Commissioner of Education.

NEEDS IN FIELD OF SPEECH AND HEARING DEFECTS

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Speaker, I received letters from several educators in the St. Louis area urging my support of an amendment to provide an appropriation of $1 million for speech and hearing rehabilitation work. As the correspondence which follows would indicate, I was quite puzzled at first in trying to learn if this was for vocational rehabilitation, for the Office of Education, or what. As I recall, a number of Members were interested in pursuing this matter but we had difficulty for a while in running it down. The following sample of this correspondence with the Reverend R. A. Johnston, director of our outstanding department of speech at St. Louis University, shows how this developed:

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY,
March 16, 1957.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, Third Congressional District of Missouri, 1313 New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I understand that Congress is at this time considering an amendment to the bill appropriating funds for educational advancement. It is my understanding that this amendment involves Federal grants totaling $1 million to be allocated to educational institutions offering post baccalaureate graduate teaching programs at the master's degree level, in the science of hearing and speech for rehabilitation workers and teachers. It would provide for salaries of faculty members, fellowships for graduate students and accessory costs.

The field of speech and hearing rehabilitation has become a highly specialized science with a great need for teachers trained at the graduate level. I should like to call to your attention that the department of speech at St. Louis University has initiated such a program in teacher training at the graduate level. Our chief problem arises from the fact that students in this area who take professional positions in the public-school system after being graduated with college degrees, find it very difficult to leave their practices and take up further graduate study without some sort of financial aid. Training programs such as ours at St. Louis University will never be able to meet the needs of the community unless qualified graduate students are given the financial aid they need to pursue advanced study.

Might I urge you not only to lend your support to this amendment, but also to bring to the attention of Congress the importance of having a national organization, such as the Speech and Hearing Association of America, designated to participate in planning the standards and methods of disbursement of this much needed educational fund.

Sincerely,

R. A. JOHNSTON, S. J.,
Director, Department of Speech.

MARCH 19, 1957.

Rev. R. A. JOHNSTON, S. J.,
Director, Department of Speech, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR FATHER JOHNSTON: We have contacted just about every agency of the Government which would have anything whatsoever to do with the matter you brought to my attention and I am afraid that what it comes down to is this:

Your organization, the Speech and Hearing Association, has apparently alerted all of its members to write to Members of Congress on this matter but has neglected to contact us directly to explain exactly in what appropriations item this fund is to be placed or how it might be done. Even the Appropriations Committee staff reported it was in the dark of this thing.

Would you make sure that the association itself sends me a letter explaining just how it is propsing that this fund be setup—that is under the specific appropriations item?

With kindest regards, I am,

Respectfully yours,

LEONOR K. (Mrs. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District, Missouri.

Rev. R. A. JOHNSTON, S. J.,
Director, Department of Speech, St. Louis University, 3650 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR FATHER JOHNSTON: The House Appropriations Committee has just reported out the appropriation bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and has also made public the hearings which it conducted behind closed doors. I have found in the transcript of their hearings enough information to enable me better to understand the request that you sent to me in your letter.

As I piece it together from the hearings, apparently a Dr. Bill Wilkinson, of Nashville, Tenn., spoke privately with Congressman FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee, about the desirability of a training program for teachers. However, since there never has been any legislation to authorize Federal grants for scholarship or teacher training, no appropriation could be provided for that purpose.

We have the same problem in connection with mentally retarded children. There is a research program in effect through the Office of Education but the big need now seems to be to train teachers and that would require separate legislation.

Chairman FOGARTY asked the Office of Education to make a study of what could be done in this field with, say $1 million, and the answer was that they could probably provide 2 scholarships of $4,200 each, per year, for 2 years to 15 universities for doctoral advance graduate study to prepare teachers to work with teachers—in other words, for college and university staff people; an average of 2 doctoral training grants of $4,200 each for 1 year to each State and Territory for promising teachers; plus a flat amount of $15,000 each to 20 universities for improving facilities for practice teaching, observation, and personnel.

Now this was nothing more than a rough idea of what they could do. The Appropriations Committee had the following to say about it in its report which has just been submitted to us:

"It has been conservatively estimated that, exclusive of the deaf, there are 1½ million school-age children with speech and hearing disorders. The schools have an unusual opportunity to help these children. Many with defects, especially if discovered early in childhood, could be made completely normal; others have conditions which cannot be corrected but could be improved. Children with speech disorders comprise our largest single group of handicapped children. According to leading authorities, 2 to 5 percent of our school-age population have speech defects sufficiently severe to interfere with their educational, social and emotional adjustment. An additional number have sufficient hearing impairment to require special educational provisions. They number from one-half to 1 percent of the school-age population. While something is being done by the Nation's schools to meet the special needs of these children, it is estimated that not more than 1 out of 4 speech-handicapped pupils is receiving remedial speech instruction. There are no reliable estimates of the number of neglected hard-of-hearing children, but it is known that services for these children are even less adequate. In view of the seriousness of this situation the committee requests the Office of Education to be prepared to present a program, next year, aimed at solving this problem of giving adequate educational opportunities to children with speech and hearing defects. While the most obvious program would seem to be teacher training the committee will leave to the professional judgment of the officials of the Office of Education, the determination of what will best meet this situation."

So you can see that what they are saying is for you people in the field and for the Office of Education to come forward with a good solid proposal. Perhaps the bill I have been considering introducing regarding retarded children could be made to cover also this area for grants to teachers of children with speech and hearing disorders. I will look into that possibility and let you know.

I am sorry that I sounded so puzzled by your previous letter but the appropriation process is so very complex that unless we know what the item is or where it is to appear, it is almost impossible to do anything about it until the appropriations bill has been reported out.

With kindest regards, I am,

Respectfully yours,

LEONOR K. (Mrs. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District, Missouri.

APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE EXAMINES PROBLEM

As this correspondence shows, the Fogarty subcommittee had gone into this matter in closed hearing and it was only after the transcript of the hearings was made public that we could learn what had been discussed. I was tremendously impressed by the discussion on this whole matter of exceptional children which occurred in the hearings.

I am going to include those few pages out of the transcript because they show in very interesting fashion the work of the Office of Education in this field of exceptional children. I particularly want to point up, first, however, what Commissioner Derthick said at one point in those hearings:

I have been a local school superintendent and, knowing that if we could have competent instruction for these little fellows, 5 and 6 and 7 and 8 and 9 years of age, we could correct their speech problem so they wouldn't suffer social and economic handicaps as adults; every time I see a grown person with a speech difficulty it is just a tragedy to think that could have been prevented.

About 10 years ago when we started the program, we couldn't get a trained teacher. It was just practically impossible. Now and through the years, we couldn't attract them very well from outside, but what we have done is to send them away to colleges where the training is given. It is given a great many places now, but there again it is pretty hard to ask teachers on their relatively low salaries, and not paid during the summer, to go ahead and take this training after maybe they have master's degrees. So what we have tried to do is to get local civic clubs and junior chambers of commerce to raise money to send them away; but that

isn't the way it ought to be done, and you can't get enough of that to meet the demand.

I would say a program of fellowships and scholarships in this field would be an awfully good thing.

TERRIFIC SHORTAGE OF TRAINED TEACHERS

Later in the hearing, when asked about the idea of a $1 million program for fellowships in the speech and hearing area of exceptionality, Dr. Derthick said:

If a practical program of scholarships could be devised, it would speed up relieving this urgent need.

These people are in terrific short supply—and not only in this phase of education with exceptional children, special education, but in the field of the educable mentally retarded and the trainable mentally retarded and the other phases—those who work with children with cerebral palsy and general crippling conditions and so forth. There is a terrific shortage of trained teachers in all of these fields. We finally had to resort—and it was inadequate—to the method of trying to raise a little scholarship money and encouraging teachers to spend their own money to begin to get this training.

Now the colleges and universities have responded to the challenge, and they have expanded their programs of training tremendously, but the difficulty is getting teachers to staff the positions.

Mr. Speaker, the text of the appropriations hearing transcript on this discussion of the exceptional children problem, and also a subsequent report filed with the subcommittee by Dr. Derthick showing how $1 million could be used, or might be used, to help meet the educational needs of children with speech and hearing defects now follow:

EXCERPTS FROM HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EXCEPTIONAL AND MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN

Mr. FOGARTY. What is the difference between exceptional children and mentally retarded children?

Dr. CONRAD. The exceptional children include the crippled, the blind, the hard of hearing, the cerebral palsied——

Mr. DERTHICK. As well as the gifted.

Dr. CONRAD. As well as the gifted.

So, it includes the whole gamut of exceptionality.

Mr. FOGARTY. But many people refer to a mentally retarded child as an exceptional child?

Dr. CONRAD. He is.

Mr. DERTHICK. He is.

He is one category in that big classification.

Mr. FOGARTY. That certainly is a field where much more work can be done than is being done.

Mr. DERTHICK. Yes.

Mr. FOGARTY. I have found this stimulation by the Federal Government is reaching in the different States and localities; also many more private groups have been formed in the last year or two, and there is a general increase in concentration on this particular problem.

Mr. DERTHICK. It is remarkable. It is remarkable, the amount of interest that is being generated in the local communities over this country.

BENEFIT TO CEREBRAL-PALSIED CHILDREN FROM MENTAL RETARDATION RESEARCH

Mr. FOGARTY. Cerebral palsy is very close to that question of mental retardation, isn't it?

The line of demarcation there is very thin; isn't that so?

Mr. DERTHICK. Of course, the cerebral-palsied child may oftentimes be a very bright child.

Mr. FOGARTY. But many with cerebral palsy have some degree of retardation?

Mr. DERTHICK. Yes; that is true.

Dr. CONRAD. In other words, it is matter of multiple defects.

Mr. FOGARTY. And work that might be accomplished through this program on research for the mentally retarded could be effective as far as those with cerebral palsy is concerned?

Dr. CONRAD. We are certainly open to good research studies in the line of cerebral palsy, and so on; but they have to come forward or we have to stimulate them.

Mr. DERTHICK. As Mr. Fogarty well says, some of the products of the research here might be applicable to these other fields.

Dr. CONRAD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MCKONE. I think we might say, also, we are tied in very closely with the National Institutes of Health on this program.

We have Dr. Van Slyke, of the National Institutes of Health, on our advisory committee.

COMMITTEE INTEREST IN RESEARCH ON MENTAL RETARDATION

Mr. FOGARTY. You know, this committee stimulated interest in this field of research on mental retardation a couple of years ago in asking you to do something about it in the field of education. Also 2 years ago we gave the Public Health Service $750,000 to start a medical research program in this field; last year we gave the Children's Bureau a couple of million dollars in the field. So, we hope this program won't get lost by being mixed in with other programs. We hope we will get some results shortly, and I think we will.

I think this advisory committee you have is a good one and, now that we are really started in that field, I think you are headed in the right direction.

It might be a little more money than some people want to spend; but, as far as I am concerned, I think we can spend a lot more than we are spending.

Dr. REED. One of the problems that concerned us a great deal in the early stages of the research program was a matter of how we could get projects that would cover many of the problems that we are facing in the field of mental retardation; and it has been surprising now, as we see in the projects that have already been approved in this area, that if the research materializes the way it seems to be going now, we will have some good answers to many of the problems in the whole area of mental retardation.

OTHER RESEARCH PROJECTS IN EDUCATIONAL FIELD

Mr. DERTHICK. I wonder if you would be interested in any thumbnail sketches of some other research projects?

Mr. FOGARTY. Yes. Go ahead.

Mr. DERTHICK. There are a number of these that interest me from my local experience.

This whole field of education for exceptional children has been one that has fascinated me because these children have been neglected so long and because we had none of it in the system in which I served.

There is a project going on in Indiana to study why the 10 percent of the top 25 percent of high-school graduates didn't go to college, because that is a fact in Indiana—that 10 percent of this top 25 dropped out between high school and college. Of course this study is going to probe into and open up areas of interest and investigation in the relationship of the universities to the field—what could these universities do to attract these young people that they are not doing; the whole question of guidance programs in high schools; the financial factors involved, and why these bright youngsters in such large numbers do not go to college; what about the home situations; how do those influences come to bear on this situation, and so on.

That is only one of the many contracts that have been signed, and I think when the results of this study come out it is going to mean that universities are going to change their whole relationships with the field.

It is going to mean that high schools are going to adapt curricula. They are going to change guidance programs. It is going to influence relationships with the homes. It will probably promote the visiting-teacher program.

It is really exciting to contemplate what is going to happen by way of change when these answers to questions that we haven't had the answers for come forward.

Up in Syracuse, they are doing a job on the educational factors in juvenile delinquency; there again, they will be exploring: What are the conditions in the home? What are the conditions at the school? What does the school need to do or can it do that it is not doing to reduce these factors and to control them?

I, myself, have seen this partnership between the school worker that we call the visiting teacher who goes into the home and sees what influences are playing upon the child, enlist other community agencies, reorganizes the forces playing on that child and brings about transformations.

Sometimes, it's very small things in a child's life that frustrates it and turns it in the wrong direction at the wrong time.

So, I see in this research program, small though it is, one of the most promising developments in American education, cutting across many phases of American life and educational activities. Certainly I think we should be indebted to the initiative this committee is taking also in encouraging this program.

TEACHING CHILDREN WHO HAVE DEFECTIVE HEARING OR SPEECH

Mr. FOGARTY. What about this problem of training or teaching hard-of-hearing children and those who have speech defects?

Mr. DERTHICK. I think we might make use of Dr. Mackie, who is a specialist in this whole field of special education, in telling us about that.

NOTE.—In the following, the transcript of Dr. Mackie's verbal testimony was rewritten to read as printed.

Dr. MACKIE. I appreciate the opportunity of saying something about this.

We have made a study in the Office of Education on the qualifications and preparation needed by teachers of various types of exceptional children. This broad study included the collection of information and opinions about the competences and professional preparation required to teach hard-of-hearing children and children with speech disorders. The purpose of the study was to try to identify and describe the distinctive competences that are needed by personnel who are to work with these children as well as with other types of handicapped children.

Mr. FOGARTY. Now, right there, as far as the teaching of the deaf are concerned, or doing research with the deaf, as distinguished from those who are hard of hearing, Gallaudet College is interested in doing some research——

Dr. MACKIE. That is right.

Mr. FOGARTY. On just the deaf.

Dr. MACKIE. Yes.

Mr. FOGARTY. They would have nothing to do with the hard of hearing.

Would there be any overlapping in your work?

Dr. MACKIE. There are 22 colleges in this country training teachers to work with the deaf, and Gallaudet is one of them, and it would be one good laboratory for study.

Mr. FOGARTY. But Gallaudet is the only college that teaches the deaf?

Dr. MACKIE. That teaches only for deaf college students; that is right.

Mr. FOGARTY. It is the only one in the world, isn't it?

Dr. MACKIE. It is the only one specifically for them, although there are many deaf students at hearing colleges throughout the Nation, and deaf students in these hearing colleges are sometimes partly supported by State funds.

STEPS TO OBTAIN COMPETENT HEARING AND SPEECH PROFESSIONALS

Mr. FOGARTY. You go ahead now and tell me what you are doing in the field of education of and training teachers for those who are hard of hearing and those with speech defects.

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY ON COMPETENCE NEEDED BY TEACHERS

Dr. MACKIE. In the study we just conducted, which was a cooperative study—and not quite completed—the Office worked with about 2,000 people in the Nation securing opinions about the competences needed by teachers and the types of experiences that contribute to their preparation. We used two methods to do this:

We used a questionnaire and we used committees of experts.

We are issuing statements, reporting the findings of people, and in doing this we worked with colleges and universities, the State departments of education and local school systems.

RESULTS OF SURVEY

Mr. FOGARTY. What about the results?

Dr. MACKIE. Well, I didn't come prepared particularly today on the deaf and hard of hearing, but I think I could summarize by saying the teachers——

Mr. FOGARTY. This isn't the deaf and hard of hearing now. It is those who are handicapped with deficits in speech and hearing. I am trying to confine it to that area.

Dr. MACKIE. All right.

Mr. FOGARTY. I am interested right now in the speech and hearing defects.

Dr. MACKIE. Well, they do come up with some results like this: That there are distinctive competences. There is a body of knowledge that these teachers need to have. They need to understand the physical aspects of the voice mechanism or of the hearing mechanism——

Mr. FOGARTY. These special teachers?

Dr. MACKIE. Yes, these special teachers—and they need to be able to understand and to interpret the doctor's report.

Some of the hard-of-hearing children are quite severely hard of hearing, and they may need to do a good deal of speech correction. Even though they are able to speak, they may not speak correctly. For example the teacher needs to read and to help them regain voice control. She may also need to teach lipreading.

STEPS TO CORRECT TEACHER SHORTAGE

Mr. FOGARTY. Now that we know what is needed in these teachers, what have we done to see to it that we have some trained teachers in that field?

Mr. DERTHICK. May I, Mr. Chairman, turn the question just a little?

Mr. FOGARTY. I will tell you point I am trying to make. I have in mind correspondence which I have received: "Assuming the population of Rhode Island to be 1 million," although it is only eight hundred and some thousand, "and, without knowing the school population, one could assume that a minimum of 50 hearing and speech professional workers are needed in the State, 5 persons are now registered from Rhode Island in the directory of the American Speech and Hearing Society and only 1 is certified.

"This picture varies little in other States as personnel is not available."

Now, what are we doing in that field to see to it that that situation is corrected?

Dr. MACKIE. Speech-handicapped children comprise the largest area of handicapped children, and although something is being done to prepare teachers there is a great shortage—I think there were 115 colleges and universities preparing teachers for speech correction in 1954. There are not as many preparing teachers in the hard of hearing.

This is more generally considered a dual function and although in actual practice the colleges are placing more emphasis on preparing teachers in speech than in hearing. Most of them are being prepared as speech correctionists.

Coming from the Office of Education studies are some general recommendations for preparation of teachers. Colleges should have people who have experience in the field; laboratory facilities—places where student teachers can go and work with children who have speech and hearing defects.

POSSIBLE PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN WITH SPEECH AND HEARING DEFECTS

Mr. FOGARTY. What would you do if you were given a million dollars in this field for fellowships and salaries of faculty members, with funds for research, in connection with teaching programs for——

Mr. DERTHICK. Mr. Chairman, would you pardon me for just a minute?

It is hard for me to keep still on that, because I have been frustrated by the problem.

I have been a local school superintendent and knowing that if we could have competent instruction for these little fellows, 5 and 6 and 7 and 8 and 9 years of age, we could correct their speech problem so they wouldn't suffer social and economic handicaps as adults; every time I see a grown person with a speech difficulty it is just a tragedy to think that could have been prevented.

About 10 years ago, when we started the program, we couldn't get a trained teacher. It was just practically impossible. Now and through the years, we couldn't attract them very well from outside, but what we have done is to send them away to colleges where the training is given. It is given a great many places now, but there again it is pretty hard to ask teachers on their relatively low salaries, and not paid during the summer, to go ahead and take this training after maybe they have master's degrees.

So what we have tried to do is to get local civic clubs and junior chambers of commerce to raise money to send them away; but that isn't the way it ought to be done, and you can't get enough of that to meet the demand.

I would say a program of fellowships and scholarships in this field would be an awfully good thing.

Dr. MACKIE. Yes, thank you, Dr. Derthick.

Mr. FOGARTY. What would you think——

Dr. MACKIE. Probably every State——

Mr. FOGARTY. Excuse me just 1 minute.

Dr. MACKIE. Excuse me.

GRANTS FOR SCHOLARSHIPS AND TRAINING

Mr. FOGARTY. What would you think of a proposal of Federal grants-in-aid to institutions for about a million dollars for a post-baccalaureate teaching program at the master's degree level in the science of hearing and speech and for training of teachers and professional workers?

How would that sound to you?

Mr. DERTHICK. You mean for the institutions to use this grant in scholarships?

Mr. FOGARTY. These would be Federal grants to the institution.

Mr. DERTHICK. Of course. I haven't thought through the method of doing it, but I do know, to meet the short supply, if a practical program of scholarships could be devised, it would speed up relieving this urgent need.

Mr. FOGARTY. Have you heard of Dr. Bill Wilkinson, of Nashville, Tenn.?

Mr. DERTHICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. FOGARTY. He has been very active in this field, I know.

Mr. DERTHICK. Yes.

Dr. REED. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FOGARTY. Is that all you want to say about it?

Mr. DERTHICK. No.

Dr. MACKIE. Could I say something on this?

SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS AND COMPETENCE NEEDED BY TEACHERS

I think there are some specific competences needed by teachers that may be different from those needed in working with adults.

This opinion was reported by the teachers and educators who made contributions to the nationwide study. Speech teachers need to have some competences and certain experiences to work with groups of children in schools'.

There may be some common elements with rehabilitation, but there are some different—very different—requirements for teachers.

Mr. FOGARTY. Could that be possible—assuming a State like Rhode Island had a million population, that a minimum of 50 hearing-speech professional workers are needed; and they only have 5?

Is it that bad, nationwide?

Dr. MACKIE. Yes.

Mr. DERTHICK. Well, it doesn't sound too far out of line to me, because these people are in terrific short supply—and not only in this phase of education with exceptional children, special education, but in the field of the educable mentally retarded and the trainable mentally retarded, and the other phases—those who work with children with cerebral palsy, and general crippling conditions, and so forth.

There is a terrific shortage of trained teachers in all these fields. We finally had to resort—and it was inadequate—to the method of trying to raise a little scholarship money and encouraging teachers to spend their own money to begin to get this training.

Now the colleges and universities have responded to the challenge, and they have expanded their programs of training tremendously, but the difficulty is getting teachers to staff the positions.

PERCENT OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN WITH SPEECH AND HEARING DEFECTS

Dr. MACKIE. About 5 percent of the school-age population—3 to 5 percent—have speech and hearing problems.

Mr. FOGARTY. What is the school population?

Dr. MACKIE. About 34 million. And the speech group is the largest group of all exceptional children—the children with speech handicaps—and the next largest would be those with mental retardation.

Dr. CONRAD. Yes.

Dr. MACKIE. So, every State ought to have some facilities for preparing teachers in at least these two fields.

OPTIMUM NUMBER OF STUDENTS FOR ONE TEACHER

Dr. CONRAD. How many students can one teacher take care of?

Dr. MACKIE. If the children have completely speech problems, 75 to a hundred children. Seventy-five is considered a reasonable load; but if you have children who are hard of hearing, especially, the severely hard of hearing may need to be grouped in classes where you would have maybe 1 teacher to 15 children; something like that.

Mr. FOGARTY. So, we have over a million children——

Dr. MACKIE. Yes.

Mr. FOGARTY. Going to school who need some sort of attention in that field——

Dr. MACKIE. That is right.

Mr. FOGARTY. Of hearing and speech defects?

Mr. MACKIE. That is right.

Mr. FOGARTY. When you deal with the ones who are hard of hearing, you put your finger on one of our most acute problems, because many of the hard-of-hearing children have not been identified.

Mr. DERTHICK. Of course, methods of detection are being improved all the time, but in most of the schools I would say they might go on without being detected; and maybe they have got good minds, but they are not achieving in school and neither the parents nor the teachers have found out what is wrong.

Dr. MACKIE. Could I say what this research program in mental retardation has done? It has brought new life to the whole educational program. We have had many requests for funds for study, and in other fields of the handicapped, people ask: "Can we get money to study the hard-of-hearing child? Can we get money to study the blind? Can funds be obtained only if the topic is about the blind, mentally retarded, and so on?"

Increasingly we are getting more requests of this nature.

COVERAGE UNDERTAKEN IN STUDIES ON MENTAL RETARDATION

The studies we now have under cooperative research cover problems of mentally retarded children of a wide age range. They cover urban and rural problems; they cover the residential, the day school, and so on; they are pretty widely distributed in the States. At first, we didn't think we were going to get enough requests on the basic problem of learning. How do these children learn? If we can get a better understanding of what they learn and how do they learn and under what circumstances, then we can begin to plan our programs; we can improve our programs.

We have a good many studies now on basic learning.

FACILITIES FOR CEREBRAL PALSIED CHILDREN

Mr. FOGARTY. It is a pretty sad thing when a child, 8, 9, 10 years of age is refused education because he happens to have cerebral palsy or some form of mental retardation, which happens in many, many areas. The teacher just doesn't have the time to spend with 1 or 2 such children in that classroom of 25 or 30 or 40 and, as a result——

Dr. MACKIE. Or she may not have the competence to deal with the problem.

Mr. FOGARTY. No.

Dr. MACKIE. The problem of cerebral palsy is quite complicated.

Mr. DERTHICK. I have had citizens and taxpayers tell me that program costs too much. I have said, "If you had a child with that handicap, would it cost too much?"

Mr. FOGARTY. That is right. It wouldn't cost too much if they had a child in that condition.

Dr. MACKIE. There are two ways of looking at it: One is the humanitarian, which you just pointed out; and the other is from the cold economic standpoint. We just can't afford it.

Mr. FOGARTY. That is a cold approach.

Dr. MACKIE. That is a cold approach, but maybe it isn't quite so cold, either. If we don't take care of them, we leave it to the family.

Mr. FOGARTY. That is a good approach to that person who says it costs too much money.

METHOD PROPOSED FOR HANDLING GRANTS IN FIELD OF SPEECH AND HEARING DEFECTS

Dr. REED. Mr. Chairman, to come back to your original question, if we were going to make grants in the area, if we tried to do something about having more teachers in the area that you just mentioned, we would probably have to approach it from the trainee and fellowship grants to train at the doctor's level for professors at colleges and universities and the researchers and the supervisors in local systems and State departments first. Then, after you get the highly prepared individuals, later on you could come into the preparation of teachers; but if we had a scholarship program to train teachers, there simply would not be the professional people at the colleges and universities. So, it seems to me you would have to approach it first in getting the higher level people first, and then probably have some grants to help the institutions establish training areas.

You see, some of the colleges and universities train just one area, and very few of our colleges train in all areas. In other words, that is the approach we are using in this proposed bill for fellowship and trainee grants in the field of mental retardation.

Dr. MACKIE. If I might go one step further, you asked a question which I didn't answer. You asked how we would go about it if money were available.

I think the first thing would be to take this group of colleges and universities which we studied rather thoroughly to find out about their resources and select those that have sequences of preparation, that is, those that are giving enough instruction so they give a fairly well-balanced program, and then explore to see if they have enough community resources to give the student-teacher the kinds of practice teaching and observation that ought to be given, and then try to get programs through the colleges and universities in those States. Then I suppose the next step would be to work with colleges and universities that have the resources and wish to open new programs.

One of the things that teachers all over the Nation have indicated is that they want instructors who have had experience in teaching in the areas in which they instruct students. They also want places where they can see children. This means that communities which do not have any classes or opportunities to observe in clinics, do not have very good resources for training special teachers.

Mr. FOGARTY. All right.

Mr. MACKIE. I think we should say the nationwide response to the cooperative research funds for mental retardation shows the appreciation of eagerness of people to get the answers to many of the questions.

Mr. FOGARTY. When it is possible to see what can be done with some of these children, I don't know why more work wasn't attempted in this field long, long ago, because you can get results.

Mr. DERTHICK. You can.

Dr. MACKIE. Definitely.

Mr. FOGARTY. In the past, they were given up.

Mr. DERTHICK. Yes.

REPORT TO HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

POSSIBLE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN WITH SPEECH AND HEARING DEFECTS

(The following was submitted at the request of the committee. Discussion of this subject appears in connection with hearings on the salaries and expenses of the Office of Education which begin on p. 301.)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
March 8, 1957.

Hon. JOHN FOGARTY,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. FOGARTY: In accordance with your request, our staff has prepared the enclosed draft plan for educational programs for children and youth with speech defects and impaired hearing. The plan was pointed specifically to your question of what could be done with approximately $1 million to meet educational problems in this field.

It should be pointed out that the enclosed plan has not been cleared through the usual budgetary channels and is not a proposal to increase the Office of Education budget.

If there is any further information which you desire, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

L. G. DERTHICK,
Commissioner of Education.

THE NEED FOR PERSONNEL TO CONDUCT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH WITH SPEECH DEFECTS AND IMPAIRED HEARING

It could be conservatively estimated that, exclusive of the deaf, there are 1½ million school-age children with speech and hearing disorders. The schools have an unusual opportunity to help these children. Many with defects, especially if discovered early in childhood, could be made completely normal; others have conditions which cannot be corrected but could be improved. Most hard of hearing children, even though cure for them is not possible, can be helped through speech training and lipreading to obtain an education and a means of communication with their fellows.

Children with speech disorders comprise our largest single group of handicapped children. According to leading authorities, 3 to 5 percent[1] of school-age population have speech defects sufficiently severe to interfere with their educational, social, and emotional adjustment. An additional number (although not deaf) have sufficient hearing impairment to require special educational provisions. They number from one-half to 1 percent[2] of the school-age population.

While something is being done by the Nation's schools to meet the special needs of these children, it is estimated that not more than 1 out of 4 speech-handicapped pupils is receiving remedial speech instruction; the number of neglected hard-of-hearing children is difficult to estimate, but it is known that services for these children are even less extensive or adequate.

Both the speech and hearing-impaired children represent a group for whom the schools could render a most valuable service. The most serious obstacle to progress is the lack of qualified teachers. Many more with distinctive competence and specialized preparation will be required. These educators are needed not only to work directly with children, but also to staff the teacher-education institutions and to give supervisory leadership to State and local school systems.

According to recent statistics,[3] about 3,000 teachers of speech-defective and hard-of-hearing children were reported to be working in the Nation's public schools.[4] It is well known that many of these teachers are carrying such large enrollments of speech-defective children that their work is ineffective. It is probable that 15,000 to 18,000 teachers would be needed to meet the demands of the schools.

The colleges and universities in this country have recoginzed this problem, and are making an effort to meet the need for speech correctionists and teachers of the hard of hearing, but many of these teacher-preparation institutions are understaffed and lacking in the facilities essential for the technical program of training educators for this work.

Through a recent study[5] of the Office of Education, 115 colleges reported some oppor-

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[1] Report of the American Speech and Hearing Association Committee on the Mid-Century White House Conference, Speech Disorders and Speech Correction, Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 17: 129–137 (June) 1952.

[2] Figures supplied by the American Hearing Society.

[3] Mabel C. Rice and Arthur S. Hill. Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1952–54, ch. V; Statistics of Special Education for Exceptional Children, 1952–53, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1954.

[4] Only approximately 1 out of 20 of this number were working with the hard of hearing.

[5] Romaine P. Mackie and Lloyd M. Dunn. Colleges and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Office of Education Bulletin, 1954, No. 13.

tunities for the preparation of speech correctionists,[6] but the same colleges reported only 112 full-time staff members in speech correction and only 61 in speech and hearing. Relatively few of these colleges and universities—perhaps 15 to 25—appear to have the facilities to conduct doctoral programs. Many of the others seem to be inadequately staffed and otherwise ill equipped even for the training of undergraduate students in this area. These colleges participating in the Office study granted, in 1953 (according to their reports), only 30 doctor's degrees in speech correction, and 3 in speech and hearing. Further, they reported only about 250 master's degrees in these areas. A poll was made in the study just referred to on the types of special teachers which were in greatest demand. Replies showed that the largest number of requests was for teachers of the mentally retarded, and the second largest for teachers of speech and hearing.

Increasingly, it is also being recognized that these teachers should be prepared to work with both speech defectives and hard-of-hearing children. Evidence of this is found in the State certification requirements.[7] In 1953, 30 States had State certification standards for teachers of the speech handicapped and 27 for teachers of the hard of hearing. Of this number, 10 had joint certification standards for speech-handicapped and hard of hearing.

In order to solve this problem, fellowships and scholarships should be made available specificaly for the preparation of such personnel. While this ultimate purpose would be to increase the number of well-qualified teachers to work directly with children and youth, the first step should be the provision of fellowships at the doctoral level and financially adequate to attract promising teachers and supervisors. Emphasis in the next 2 or 3 years should be on this part of the program. Some of these individuals would then become professors in colleges and universities—thus increasing the teacher-education capacities of the existing programs. Others could head programs in other colleges. Still others would assume positions of leadership and supervision in State and local school systems and give their attention directly to the expansion and improvement of educational programs for children in the Nation's schools.

If approximately $1 million were available, funds might best be used in the following way:

1. Training grants to qualified colleges and universities for grants for doctoral advanced graduate study to prepare teachers to work with children who have speech and hearing disorders. The purpose would be to prepare individuals to give leadership to programs of teacher-preparation in colleges and universities, to serve as college and university staff members, and to serve as supervisors in State and local school systems. (2 scholarships of $4,200 each per year for 2 years to 15 universities)	$252,000
2. An average of 2 doctoral training grants in the education of speech and hearing disorders to each State and Territorial department of education to be awarded to promising teachers or supervisors in the respective State or local school systems. (2 scholarships of $4,200 each for 1 year to 53 States or Territories)	$445,200
3. A flat amount to colleges and universities to aid in improving the facilities for practice teaching, observation, and for personnel in the 20 universities. (15,000 each)	300,000
4. For administration of the program in the Office of Education	50,000
Total	1,047,200

[6] About half of this number also listed opportunities for the preparation of teachers for hard-of-hearing children.

[7] Romaine P. Mackie and Lloyd M. Dunn. State Certification Requirements for Teachers of Exceptional Children. Office of Education Bulletin 1951, No. 1.

REQUEST FOR DRAFT OF BILL COVERING ALL EXCEPTIONALITIES

Mr. Speaker, following the extended, almost knockdown battle in the House over every item in the appropriation bill for the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, during which we came within a single vote of having the item slashed to ribbons for research through the Office of Education on the problems of educating the mentally retarded, I wrote again to Commissioner Derthick asking his office to draft for me a bill to carry out the overall kind of program I had by then become convinced was needed. That letter follows, along with Dr. Derthick's reply explaining that while the Office of Education would be glad to give me all the information I might need, they could not draft the bill I had requested:

APRIL 11, 1957.

DR. LAWRENCE G. DERTHICK,
United States Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. DERTHICK: Those of us in the House who opposed the indiscriminate slashing of the budget for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are still shaking a bit over the narrow escape of the Office of Education on your cooperative research fund and I am glad enough votes were switched on the rollcall to save the appropriation but it was too close for comfort, as I am sure you will agree.

Thanks to the extensive correspondence which I have had with the Office of Education since last October, I was conversant with the needs for this money, particularly in the field of research in the training of retarded children, and I like to think that my efforts had some effect in switching votes to get the appropriation through the House. Now I want to make a bargain with you.

As you know, I have been inquiring about the kind of legislation which would be effective in establishing Federal scholarships or fellowships to encourage the training of teachers in this field of working with retarded children. Since taking up that matter with your office, I have learned of a similar need for encouraging graduate work among teachers going into the fields of teaching children with speech and hearing defects.

I know from the Appropriation Committee hearings that you submitted an outline of how a $1-million-a-year-grant program could be operated in this field if you had legislative authority and if it were considered desirable. I am also familiar with your reservations about it and the fact that no such program has been recommended by your agency or the Bureau of the Budget, so I know that your hands are tied somewhat in that respect.

But the more I think about this whole subject, the more I am convinced that what we need is not a piecemeal special program for training grants for teachers of retarded children under one law and other piecemeal program under a different law for grants for teachers of children of hearing and speech defects, and then perhaps a third law dealing with grants for teachers of gifted children or other children in the so-called exceptional category. Why not 1 bill, 1 law, which sets up a program for Federal scholarships to encourage teachers to take graduate training, or perhaps specialized undergraduate training, covering all of these fields, applying to both the handicapped and the gifted children, applying to all of them very unusual teaching situations?

I repeat that I know your hands are tied in voicing opinions on this matter or in recommending legislation except through regular departmental and governmental channels. On the other hand, I know that your office has the knowledge and the know-how when it comes to drafting legislation in this field, and so I am turning to you to ask you if you can have prepared for me in your agency, not as an official Office of Education bill or recommendation, but just as a favor to a Member of Congress specifically requesting it, a bill which would carry out the purposes I have outlined and which would apply to teachers of retarded children, teachers of children with speech and hearing defects, teachers of any other so-called exceptional children, covering this entire field.

I would want the kind of bill that you people feel would cover the areas of greatest need in this respect. I would want the authorization it contained to provide for sufficient funds to carry out a really meaningful program based on the best judgment of the experts in your agency.

Can this be done? How long would it take? Would you have to get any special clearance from the Secretary or from the Bureau of the Budget to provide this service to me?

Please let me know if there would be any difficulty in this respect, because I can always go the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, or to the office of the Legislative Counsel in the House for services of this nature, but if I did so, I would have to specify exactly what the legislation I wanted drafted should contain and I am not sure that I know, that is why I turn to you and your agency where you have the expert knowledge in this field.

With kind regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,
LEONOR K. (Mrs. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District, Missouri.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
April 24, 1957.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: This is in reply to your good letter of April 11 in which you requested our help in the preparation of a bill to provide for assistance to encourage the training of teachers of exceptional children.

Permit me first to express our sincere appreciation for your stanch support of the Department's budget, which included the necessary funds for the Office of Education. The interest and concern that you and other Members have shown regarding our programs is most gratifying.

We are pleased to have the opportunity, upon request, to supply information and render technical services to Members of the Congress on matters coming within the competence of the Office. We are not equipped, however, to do technical drafting of legis-

lation, nor, as a matter of policy, do we recommend to individual Members of Congress specific proposals for inclusion in draft bills.

However, I feel certain that we can be of assistance to you in developing specifications for a bill. We can furnish you pertinent facts, so far as they are available to us, concerning the quantitative need for teachers in this field, existing training programs, problems in obtaining suitably trained teachers of exceptional children, and information regarding the administration of grant programs. We may also be able to suggest alternative approaches to the problems involved.

Such information would enable you to determine what specifications your bill should contain. The House legislative counsel could then do the technical drafting from your specifications. If this arrangement is satisfactory to you, please let me know and we shall make arrangements to develop information for your purposes.

I want to thank you again for your helpful interest in the Office of Education and in the cause of education generally. Also, with the thought that you may find it useful, we are enclosing a recent report on the provisions of State laws relating to education of exceptional children.

Sincerely yours,

L. G. DERTHICK,
United States Commissioner of Education.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE UNDERTAKES RESEARCH TASK

Subsequently, therefore, I addressed the following letter to Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress:

May 8, 1957.

Dr. ERNEST S. GRIFFITH,
Director, Legislative Reference Service,
The Library of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. GRIFFITH: I have become very interested in the problem of providing improved educational opportunities for various types of children, broadly referred to as in the exceptional category. My interest was aroused originally by parents of mentally retarded children in my district who referred to the difficulties of having such children trained or educated to their full capacities.

The Office of Education has a program underway now of research into the problems of teaching the mentally retarded child—and this is very useful and important—but as I understand it, one of the greatest needs is for specially trained teachers in this field. In the last Congress, the Senate passed a bill, S. 3620, to authorize the granting of fellowships and traineeships to assist the colleges in developing teachers in this specialized field, but the bill did not come up in the House.

A similar bill, S. 395, has been introduced by Senator HILL in this Congress. I had been thinking of introducing its companion in the House until certain other things were called to my attention. I have been told that the problem is equally serious in training teachers who can in turn train children with speech and hearing defects. I have also been informed that we have a similar problem in training teachers who can specialize in the education of exceptionally able children. In other words, there is a shortage of adequately trained teachers for teaching a great many different groups of so-called exceptional children, and it is not restricted just to the mentally retarded group.

For that reason, I recently wrote to the Office of Education asking if they could prepare for me a bill which would carry out their best judgment as to the kind of legislation which would be most effective in meeting this overall problem. I enclose a copy of my letter and also of Dr. Derthick's reply which arrived during the Easter recess.

You will note from Dr. Derthick's reply that he offers to be of assistance to me in providing pertinent facts and so on, but says the Office of Education cannot actually draft a bill or even recommend specific proposals for it.

I think, under the circumstances, therefore, my best approach would be to ask you to put one of your fine people to work getting from the Office of Education the kind of facts Dr. Derthick's letter says they are prepared to give. I would be more than willing to depend upon the informed judgment of the Legislative Reference Service, then, in determining for me what the bill I have in mind should actually include.

There is a job here which has to be done if we are to meet a serious social problem and a serious educational problem. We have rather elaborate programs under way now for Federal scholarship aid in the scientific fields. I think it is equally important to make sure that we have the trained teachers we need to get the most out of the educational capabilities of the handicapped children and of the exceptionally gifted children.

I would appreciate it very much if the Legislative Reference Service could undertake this assignment.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. (MRS. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District, Missouri.

That probably constitutes enough background correspondence, Mr. Speaker, to show the origin and development of portions of this bill. I have always felt that in introducing a measure, especially one which seeks to chart a somewhat new approach, a Member can perform a valuable service to those interested in the subject matter of the bill by showing how the idea happened to come into being. Perhaps I have overdone it here. I hope not.

But I have traced the sources responsible for planting the idea in my mind of having one overall program for all of these areas of exceptionality, rather than a series of separate, piece-meal programs.

What I have not mentioned is the truly outstanding help in determining the details of the legislation given me by the Legislative Reference Service in response to my letter to Dr. Griffith.

LIBRARY EXPERTS EXTREMELY HELPFUL

Mr. Charles Quattlebaum, specialist in education for the Legislative Reference Service, who has provided committees of Congress time after time with outstanding analyses of educational issues, directed the research on this for me, interviewed the experts in the Office of Education, and described for me the areas of need and the various approaches which would be attempted. Many things in the bill represent ideas which he suggested. The actual drafting of the bill, of course, was not done in the Library of Congress. A draft was prepared by the House Legislative Counsel based on Mr. Quattlebaum's research, and subsequently I have been working out refinements to fit the final decisions which I have made on the bill's provisions. In any effort of this nature there are many alternatives, and the Member must make these final choices and decisions—others can advise us but we must decide exactly what we want our bills to provide.

But I deeply appreciate the work of Mr. Quattlebaum and of Mr. Herman A. Sieber, research assistant in Education and Government in the Legislative Reference Service Senior Specialists Division, who assisted Mr. Quattlebaum in this project and prepared, under Mr. Quattlebaum's direction, a comprehensive digest of information on the issue which gave me the facts I needed to make my decisions.

That digest, and also a compilation made for me by Mr. Sieber listing the colleges and universities in each State offering courses in special attention in the field of exceptional children provide very valuable background material, Mr. Speaker, and I am including those two documents for printing at the end of my remarks, as separate exhibits B and C, following the Creed for Exceptional Children.

In expressing appreciation for the assistance I have received on this proposal from many sources, I must certainly include Mr. Charles B. Holstein, who organized the project for me and assisted me on it at every stage of the way.

COLLEGES BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED

In the research material which will appear at the conclusion of my statement, I would like to call attention particularly to the listing of colleges because it shows that in most of our States there are at the present time outstanding institutions offering courses of teacher-training in one or more areas of exceptionality. A bill such as this will stimulate these colleges to expand this work, and will encourage other institutions to get into it. The fact that each State would have an allotment of fellowships or scholarships would be a spur to institutions in those States not now offering programs in this field to get into it quickly.

The colleges and universities seem to be most interested at this time in courses in speech correction, followed by those in the area of hearing defects, and, of course, this is understandable since these groups together represent probably the largest numerical concentration among exceptional children.

But it is interesting to note that a couple of universities have initiated courses to train teachers equipped to teach gifted children; a few more have entered the partially seeing, the blind, the special health problem, the crippled and the socially maladjusted areas, and a substantial number offer specialized courses in the fields of teaching the deaf and mentally retarded.

A report for 1954 showed 4,600 students were majoring in these specialized areas, a total of 5,700 took single courses in specialized areas, and 1,549 received degrees in one or another of these areas of exceptionality.

So it is evident that much is being accomplished by the schools in training teachers and prospective teachers. But the problem is so great and the needs so acute that we must take effective action through a Federal program—not to do the job for the States and localities; it is primarily their problem and their

task—but rather to stimulate their efforts, to provide guidance and assistance, and especially to help now to train the specialists who in turn can train more teachers, supervisors and researchers in these areas.

Make it worthwhile for the skilled teacher to go on in this work—to take advanced training—and you will have really dedicated people on the college faculties and in the elementary and secondary school classrooms.

Perhaps then we can again read the Creed for Exceptional Children in the next 7, 8, or 9 years and know that we did not hide from the problem—that we saw the need and we rose to its challenge.

We believe—

Says this creed in one paragraph—

that the teachers of exceptional children must possess the personality, develop the understanding, and acquire the knowledge and skill through special preparation that will enable them to inspire and motivate, as well as teach, the art of making a living and a life.

Mr. Speaker, for a fraction of the money we spend in this Federal Government on less urgent, less vital and less lasting causes than the happiness of millions of handicapped American children, we could go a long way toward providing just that kind of dedicated teacher.

Through the bill which I have prepared, the Exceptional Children Educational Assistance Act, we can pave the way for the education of thousands of such teachers.

Mr. Speaker, if we spent on the average over the next 7 years only three one-hundredths of 1 percent of what we spend on alcoholic beverages alone each year, we could help assure the specialized teachers needed to enable these 6 million or so schoolchildren to get the kind of education they need and deserve. $3 million a year represents only about one thirty-three one thousandths of our annual spending for alcoholic beverages.

It only represents about 36 hours—one and a half day's—operation of the soil bank, that is all, or about 30 minutes' worth of expenditures for defense.

The entire $21 million this program would cost over the 7 years is hardly enough to buy a few bombers—perhaps 2 B–52's and a B–58, without spare parts.

Certainly we cannot neglect our defense needs, and I do not suggest it. But I deeply feel that this $21 million, at an average cost of $3 million a year for 7 years, would be the best bargain in the entire Federal budget.

EXHIBIT A—CREED FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN ACCEPTED BY THE UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION CONFERENCE ON QUALIFICATION AND PREPARATION OF TEACHERS OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

(Presented by Leonard Mayo, director, Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, on October 29, 1954)

We believe in the American promise of equality of opportunity, regardless of nationality, cultural background, race, or religion.

We believe that this promise extends to every child within the borders of our country no matter what his gifts, his capacity, or his handicaps.

We believe that the Nation as a whole, every State and county, every city and hamlet, and every citizen has an obligation to help in bringing to fruition in this generation the ideal of a full and useful life for every exceptional child in accordance with his capacity; the child who is handicapped by defects of speech, of sight, or of hearing, the child whose life may be adversely influenced by a crippling disease or condition, the child whose adjustment to society is made difficult by emotional or mental disorders, and the child who is endowed with special gifts of mind and spirit.

We believe that to this end the home of the exceptional child, the schools, the churches, and the health and social agencies in his community must work together effectively in his behalf.

We believe that for most exceptional children their parents and teachers are the master architects essential to the planning and building of their future.

We believe, therefore, that every appropriate resource of the community must be mobilized, if need be, to aid in maintaining his family life at an adequate social and economic level, and in furnishing guidance and encouragement to his parents.

We believe that the teachers of exceptional children must possess the personality, develop the understanding, and acquire the knowledge and skill through special preparation that will enable them to inspire and motivate, as well as teach, the art of making a living and a life.

We believe that the cooperative efforts of parents and teachers must be encouraged, sustained, and supplemented by teacher education institutions with curricula and programs based on the knowledge and skills needed in the education of exceptional children by State departments that will develop challenging standards of program operation and work with teachers in establishing sound certification procedures; by local school systems that will recruit and employ teachers who are qualified by personality and special preparation; by health and welfare agencies that will provide diagnosis and evaluation, medical and psychiatric care, and social services.

We believe that research designed to increase present knowledge of personality and the learning process and studies aimed at the improvement of programs of special education are essential to further progress.

We believe in the sensitive interpretation of the exceptional child and his needs by taechers and others in order that an attitude favorable to his acceptance and development may be engendered and sustained in the community.

Above all, we believe in the exceptional child himself; in his capacity for development so frequently retarded by the limits of present knowledge; in his right to a full life too often denied him through lack of imagination and ingenuity on the part of his elders; in his passion for freedom and independence that can be his only when those who guide and teach him have learned the lessons of humility, and in whom there resides an effective confluence of the trained mind and the warm heart.

EXHIBIT B

SPECIAL EDUCATION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN—A DIGEST OF FACTS, FIGURES, AND COMMENTS

The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Legislative Reference Service. Prepared by Herman A. Sieber, research assistant in Education and government, under the direction of Charles A. Quattlebaum, specialist in education

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PART I. ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

A. The children concerned. The term, "exceptional children," applies to those boys and girls whose physical, social, intellectual, and emotional characteristics represent an exceptionality.[1] Estimates of the number of exceptional, or atypical, children, for whom special education programs are usually considered necessary, range from 4 to 6 million.

B. Identification of exceptional children. In almost all fields of exceptional children, there are, on the average, two secondary handicaps per child. Other markworthy factors complicating the gathering of accurate data as to the total number of exceptional children are: (1) the degree of accuracy of diagnosis and measurement of the exceptionalities concerned, (2) reluctance of some parents to identify homebound children, and (3) local differences in classification standards.[2] No complete census has ever been made of the number of exceptional children in the United States.

The United States Office of Education has undertaken a conservative estimate of the number of exceptional children of school age. Mackie and Dunn who prepared the Office of Education estimate, have written:

"The best that can be done is to use the percentage of incidence based on spot studies made by national organizations and local communities. The figures are presented with some reluctance, since there is need for research to determine better estimates. * * * In the estimates which follow, it is assumed that the exceptionalschild is included once—under the major handicapping condition, although it is known that many of these children have secondary disabilities."[3]

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[1] National Society for the Study of Education. Forty-ninth Yearbook. Pt. II. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950, p. 3.

[2] Baker, Harry J. Introduction to Exceptional Children. New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. 458–465.

[3] Mackie, Romaine P. and Lloyd M. Dunn. College and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 3. (U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1954, No. 13.)

TABLE 1.—*Incidence of exceptionality and estimated number of school-age exceptional children, 1952*

Area of exceptionality [1]	Estimated number of school-age children (in round numbers)	Percentage of incidence
Blind and partially seeing	65,000	0.20
Crippled	510,000	1.50
Special health problems	510,000	1.50
Deaf and hard of hearing	510,000	1.50
Speech-handicapped	680,000	2.00
Socially maladjusted	680,000	2.00
Mentally retarded	680,000	2.00
Gifted	680,000	2.00
Total	4,318,000	12.70

[1] There is disagreement as to how the areas of exceptionality should be defined. All told, 13 areas of primary exceptionality have been noted: (1) Intellectually incapable, neither trainable nor educable, I. Q. below 25; (2) mentally deficient but trainable, I. Q. between 25 and 50, (3) educable mentally retarded, I. Q. between 50 and 75; (4) crippled and deformed, including the cerebral palsied; (5) deaf; (6) hard of hearing; (7) blind; (8) partially seeing; (9) speech-defective; (10) undervitalized, those with special health problems, including the cardiopathic, epileptic, and tuberculous; (11) emotionally maladjusted; (12) delinquent; and (13) intellectually superior, highly gifted, I. Q. usually above 125.

Mackie and Dunn made the following comment on the significance of their incidence table:

"This * * * is not the complete story. To include only children in the age group 5 through 17 would not give an adequate picture of those in need of assistance from the schools." [4]

A report on State provisions for special education, prepared by the Laws and Legislation Branch of the United States Office of Education in 1956 indicated that:

"Most States, recognizing the need for early identification and admission of handicapped children, specify an early age or leave the minimum open; a few States extend the maximum beyond the legal school age." [5] Legally specified age limits for the physically and mentally handicapped range from age 3, in 8 States, to age 35, in 4 States.[6]

C. The specialness of exceptional children. The Creed for Exceptional Children, accepted by the United States Office of Education Conference on Qualification and Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children, points to the specialness of exceptional children:

"We believe in the American promise of equality of opportunity, regardless of nationality, cultural background, race, or religion.

"We believe that this promise extends to every child within the borders of our country no matter what his gifts, his capacity, or his handicaps.

"We believe that the Nation as a whole, every State and county, every city and hamlet, and every citizen has an obligation to help in bringing to fruition in this generation the ideal of a full and useful life for every exceptional child in accordance with his capacity; the child who is handicapped by defects of speech, of sight, or of hearing, the child whose life may be adversely influenced by a crippling disease or condition, the child whose adjustment to society is made difficult by emotional or mental disorders, and the child who is endowed with special gifts of mind and spirit.

"We believe that for most exceptional children their parents and teachers are the master architects essential to the planning and building of their future.

"We believe that the teachers of exceptional children must possess the personality, develop the understanding, and acquire the knowledge and skill through special preparation that will enable them to inspire and motivate, as well as teach, the art of making a living and a life.

"Above all, we believe in the exceptional child himself; in his capacity for development so frequently retarded by the limits of present knowledge; in his right to a full life too often denied him through lack of imagination and ingenuity on the part of his elders; in his passion for freedom and independence that can be his only when those who guide and teach him have learned the lessons of humility, and in whom there resides an effective confluence of the trained mind and the warm heart.[7]

"'Remember,' wrote Graham and Barrow in the Nation's Schools, 'the exceptional child in your community is asking only for his birthwright—an equal opportunity to obtain a full education which will help him acquire the social pattern necessary to live well with his fellow man.'[8]

"Describing them as 'the forgotten ones,' Jenks reminded: 'These exceptional children are, first and foremost, children—more like the average child than unlike him.'[9]

In the Annual Report of the Ames (Iowa) Public Schools, 1954–55, Schoolman Hetzel elaborated:

"It must always be remembered that the education of exceptional children has basic concepts and goals in common with the education of all children. The same principles of child development prevail. A deaf child is a child with a hearing handicap. As a child he has all the needs, desires, and physical energy of children in general. Basically, the only way in which he differs from an average child is his inability to hear; and, because of this hearing handicap, he is unable to speak. This difference makes it necessary to plan his education with special consideration for his disabilities. The mentally retarded child, the child with visual impairment, the crippled child, and every other exceptional child has fundamental motives and drives common to children in general; but along with those common characteristics there is in each case a specific handicap or exceptional condition that requires an adjustment or special service in his educational program. That program should be designed with full recognition of (a) his likeness to normal children and (b) his special needs. This, in brief, constitutes the modern approach to the education of exceptional children." [10]

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, called by President Herbert Hoover, in 1931 declared that few investments of taxpayers' money had yielded as large a return as that invested in vocational rehabilitation. The conference asked:

"If such results can be obtained by the special training of disabled adults, who have in large measure lost the plasticity and adaptability of youth, how much more can be accomplished through the special treatment and training of handicapped children? [11]

D. Special education, what it is and how it got started: The term "special education" refers to all those adjustive instructional services which are especially planned for exceptional children of preschool, elementary, and secondary, schol age. It does not include remedial instruction in subject matter for those children of approximately normal behavior and ability who, for some reason, fall short of expected achievement.

The approach of special education is defined by Jenks as follows:

"Since these children cannot accommodate themselves to the curriculum, we must adjust the curriculum to them. The school is built for the children and not vice versa. We must consider the whole child, his abilities as well as his disabilities." [12]

Modern special education is usually considered to have started in the Halle, Germany, experiment in 1859, and the Boston day class for the deaf 10 years later. The following chart, compiled from several sources, presents a brief summary of the historical beginnings of special education.[13]

TABLE 2.—*Chronology of "special education" programs, 1700–1957*

Program	Date	Place
Selection of gifted children for special education.	(1)	Ottoman Empire (Saleiman).
1st classes for blind	1784	Paris, France.
1st residential school for handicapped in United States (for deaf).	1817	Hartford, Conn.
1st school for mentally retarded.	1859	Halle, Germany.
1st day class for deaf	1869	Boston, Mass.
1st class for speech defectives.	1887	Potsdam, Germany.
1st school for mentally retarded in United States.	1897	Springfield, Mass.
1st day classes for blind, crippled.	1900	Chicago, Ill.
1st school for gifted in United States.	1901	Worcester, Mass.
1st open-air program for undervitalized.	1908	Germany.
1st school for hard-of-hearing.	1904	New York.
1st special classes for crippled children.	1907	Massachusetts.
1st public school class for speech-defective.	1908	New York.
1st open-air class for undervitalized.	1908	Providence, R. I.
1st class for partially seeing.	1908	England.
1st American classes for partially seeing.	1909	Cleveland, Ohio.

[1] 16th century.

E. The State programs. Some type of special education has been authorized, with or without financial assistance, in all 48 States. The following table indicates the number of States with legal provisions for special education in the various fields of exceptionality, as of December 1955: [14]

[4] Mackie, Romaine P. and Lloyd M. Dunn. College and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., p. 4.

[5] A Report on State School Law: Special Education of Exceptional Children. School Life, November 1956, p. 7.

[6] Ibid., p. 7.

[7] Mayo, Leonard W.

[8] Graham, Ray and J. M. Barrow. Plan a Place for the Exceptional Child. The Nation's Schools, July 1956, p. 54.

[9] Jenks, William F., C. SS, R. The Forgotten Ones—Our Exceptional Children. Washington, the Catholic University of America Press, 1955, p. III.

[10] Hetzel, Walter L. Annual Report of the Ames (Iowa) Public Schools, 1954–55, as quoted by the American School Board Journal, December 1955, p. 16.

[11] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Special education—the handicapped and the gifted. New York, Century, 1931, p. 4.

[12] Jenks, William F., C. SS. R. The Forgotten Ones—Our Exceptional Children. Op. cit. p. iii.

[13] Prinrcipal sources: Baker, Harry J. Introduction to Exceptional Children. Op. cit. 500 pp. Jenks, William F., C. SS. R. The Exceptional Child in Catholic Education. National Catholic Educational Association Bulletin, May 1954. Reprint, unpaged.

[14] A report on State school law: Special Education of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., pp. 7–10.

TABLE 3.—*Number of States with legal provisions for special education, by fields of exceptionality, as of December 1955*

Field of exceptionality	Type of provision		Number of States
	Mandatory [1]	Permissive [2]	
Physically handicapped	17	31	48
Educable mentally retarded	15	31	46
Trainable mentally deficient	6	13	19
Maladjusted and delinquent	3	12	15
Gifted [3]		1	1

[1] Mandatory legislation requires establishment of services under certain conditions.
[2] Permissive legislation states that local districts may provide services for exceptional children.
[3] Pennsylvania.

Because of the differing needs of the children in the various areas of exceptionality, special education of today follows five organizational patterns: (1) Special schools and classes for longtime placement, (2) special classes for shortterm placement, (3) home or hospital instruction, (4) special supplementary instructional services, and (5) residential school programs.[15]

These organizational patterns reflect 3 types of programs: (1) Cooperative, in which the child carries on part of his program in a regular classroom but receives help and/or equipment and instruction, (2) segregated, in which special classrooms are used, and (3) integrated, in which a visiting teacher serves the child in his regular classroom.[16]

According to Jenks:

"The vast majority of our exceptional children can be integrated into the regular class; another large segment will need special services, but only a small group will need special classes. All will need certified trained teachers."

F. The number of special teachers available. It is usually estimated that there are 25,000 special teachers. The most recent United States Office of Education statistics show:

"Fourteen thousand three hundred and sixteen special-education teachers in city school systems. Approximately 3,000 teachers working in residential schools, and at least 2,500 giving hospital and home instruction. Still others not reported are in nursery schools * * * in private schools * * * (and) in small local school systems in rural areas. If allowance is made for the teachers not reported, the total number 25,000 is easily justifiable." [17]

The following table, showing the number of exceptional children and their teachers in special schools and classes only, is based on data reported by the United States Office of Education in its Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1952–54: [18]

TABLE 4.—*Number of pupils, elementary and secondary, and teachers, full time and part time in special schools and classes, 1952–53*

Area of exceptionality	Pupils		Teachers [1]		Approximate number pupils per teacher
	Elementary	Secondary	Full time	Part time	
Mentally retarded (educable)	80,363	28,540	6,411	300	[2] 16
Mentally retarded (severe)	4,515	147	320	36	[2] 16
Special health problems	10,166	1,289	788	80	13
Crippled	15,924	1,889	1,378	120	12
Deaf	3,446	489	451	28	8
Speech defective	254,179	52,568	2,011	245	136
Blind	658	181	89	6	9
Gifted	3,683	19,233	722	204	23
Partially seeing	6,544	1,470	621	26	13
Hard of hearing	9,680	2,252	400	80	24

[1] A teacher serving more than 1 type of exceptional child is reported only with the type to which she devotes the major portion of time.
[2] Represents the average number of pupils per teacher for both educable and severely mentally retarded pupils.

G. The Supply-Demand Ratio. A good indicator of the teacher need for each area of exceptionality is the supply-demand ratio.

The following table presents the rank order of the frequency of special teachers needed and available in the various areas of exceptionality. These rankings are based on a response to a questionnaire sent to 329 school administrators and professors of special education by the United States Office of Education.[19]

Mackie and Dunn commented:

"A comparison of the requests for teachers and their availability is both interesting and significant. There are few requests, for example, for teachers of the partially seeing and for teachers of the blind, but even so, it is rather difficult to find qualified persons in the areas when they are needed." [20]

H. The number of special teachers needed. The literature in special education usually expresses the teacher-need as 4 times the available number; that is, 100,000.

Mackie and Dunn wrote that probably the teacher-need figure of 100,000 should be reexamined. They gave one example to illustrate this:

"On a basis of an average class enrollment of 18, it seems reasonable to estimate that approximately 40,000 teachers are needed in the area of mentally retarded alone. This leaves only 60,000 for all other types of exceptionality and for personnel who would occupy administrative and college teaching positions." [21]

TABLE 5.—*Demand-supply frequency of special teachers*

Area of exceptionality	Rank order (frequency of requests)	Rank order (difficulty in securing teachers)
Mentally retarded	[1] 1	4
Speech handicapped	2	[3] 10
Deaf	3	[4] 1
Hard of hearing	4	5
Crippled	5	8
Socially maladjusted	6	3
Blind	7	2
Partially seeing	8	6
Special health problem	9	9
Gifted	[4] 10	7

[1] Highest demand.
[2] Highest availability (supply).
[3] Lowest availability (supply).
[4] Lowest demand.

Generally, the pupil-teacher ratios for exceptional children are, as might be expected, lower than the one existing in the regular classroom. Dividing the number of pupils per teacher into the estimated number of school-age children (table 1) will support the conclusion that certainly no less than 100,000 special teachers will be needed to provide adequate instructional services for the four to six million exceptional children.

I. The practical pupil-teacher ratio. Representations of a summary pupil-teacher ratio for exceptional children have little if any value. Furthermore, it is not possible to establish an ideal and practical pupil-teacher ratio which would not have to be continually revised as more severely handicapped children are accepted for special education. During the period 1947–52, the average number of pupils per teacher of crippled childen declined from 14.3 to 11.9 and, for children with special health problems, from 24.4 to 13.2. Rice and Hill commented that:

"It seems quite evident that the smaller classes which are characteristic of service in these two areas of special education are the result of emphasis upon the acceptance of children who are more severely handicapped." [22]

Approximate pupil-teacher ratios for the various areas of exceptionality are useful, however (as has already been pointed out), to the extent that they can be applied against the estimated incidence of children in the various areas of exceptionality in order roughly to determine the present need for teachers.

The following table gives relevant data:

TABLE 6.—*Practical pupil-teacher ratio and number of teachers needed, by field*

Area of exceptionality	Estimated number of school-age children [1]	Practical pupil-teacher ratio [2]	Number of teachers needed (rounded)
Blind and partially seeing	66,000	11	6,000
Crippled	510,000	12	42,500
Special health problems	510,000	13	39,000
Deaf and hard of hearing	510,000	23	22,000
Speech handicapped	680,000	136	5,000
Socially maladjusted	680,000	25	27,000
Mentally retarded	680,000	16	42,500
Gifted	680,000	23	29,500
Total	4,316,000		223,500

[1] Table 1.
[2] Table 4.

[15] Rice, Mabel C., and Arthur S. Hill. Statistics of Special Education, 1952–53. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 1–3. (Biennial Survey of Education in the United States.)

[16] Jenks, William F., C. SS. R. The Exceptional Child in Catholic Education. Op. cit. unpaged.

[17] Mackie, Romaine P., and Lloyd M. Dunn. College and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., p. 4.

[18] Rice, Mabel C., and Arthur S. Hill. Statistics of Special Education for Exceptional Children, 1952–53. Op. cit., pp. 15–16; table 1, p. 19.

[19] Mackie, Romaine P. and Lloyd M. Dunn. College and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 6–7. (U. S. Office of Education Bull. 1954, No. 13).

[20] Mackie, Romaine P. and Lloyd M. Dunn. College and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., p. 7.

[21] Mackie, Romaine P. and Lloyd M. Dunn. College and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., p. 5.

[22] Rice, Mabel C. and Arthur S. Hill. Statistics of Special Education for Exceptional Children, 1952–53. Op. cit., p. 16.

Table 6 has its obvious shortcomings, but it does show that many special teachers are needed. Furthermore, it indicates that the teacher-need figure of 100,000, in Mackie and Dunn's words, "should be reexamined."

J. The effect of the shortage. The obvious effect of the teacher shortage is that education-needy exceptional children are not sharing in the American educational experience.

A publication by the United States Office of Education has indicated that "not more than a quarter of the Nation's handicapped and gifted children are receiving the special help which they need. In almost every case, the lack of qualified teaching personnel is the basic reason for this unfortunate situation. In many communities where public support is excellent and financing assured, school systems are unable to establish programs because they cannot find a teacher with the special competencies essential to effective work with the particular type of exceptional child for whom the service is to be established." [32]

Baker made the same point:

"The training of teachers for exceptional children has been one of the major problems in the development of an adequate program. Often a school system has been forced to abandon its proposed program for some type of special class when no teachers were available in that particular field. * * * It was a very striking phenomenon that during the days of the greatest general teacher surplus there was a shortage of teachers trained for special education. When there is a general shortage of teachers the problem becomes very acute." [34]

K. What is being done. The following table shows, for the academic year 1953–54, (1) the number of universities offering sequences of preparation, (2) the number of students enrolled in those courses, (3) the number of faculty members involved, and (4) the number of degrees conferred. These data are based on responses to a United States Office of Education questionnaire sent to institutions of higher learning offering much sequences of preparation. One hundred and twenty-eight institutions, representing approximately nine-tenths of the colleges and universities, gave information on these items.

TABLE 7.—*Statistical summary of faculty strength and student enrollment at colleges and universities, academic year 1953–54,*[1] *showing number of institutions offering sequences of preparation; faculty members, students enrolled, and degrees conferred*

A Area of exceptionality	B Universities offering sequences of preparation	C Total full-time and part-time faculty members	D Total students majoring in specialized areas	E Total students taking single courses in specialized areas	F Number of degrees granted [3]
Blind	3	7	33	67	20
Crippled	14	35	156	136	58
Deaf	24	94	195	76	67
Gifted	2	2	21	34	2
Hard of hearing	68	26	61	100	7
Mentally retarded	40	137	805	624	285
Partially seeing	7	10	30	66	9
Socially maladjusted	10	8	82	174	20
Special health problems	5	3	60	18	3
Speech correction	116	342	2,330	2,719	725
Speech and hearing	1	167	600	423	230
2 or more areas of exceptionality other than speech and hearing		55	226	20	122
Overall		11		[4] 1,255	1
Total	[4] 128	897	4,601	5,712	1,549

[1] Mackie, Romaine P. and Lloyd M. Dunn. Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op.cit., pp. 12, 137, 42, 44, 91 (errata).
[2] Jan. 1–Dec. 3, 1953.
[3] Enrolled in survey courses.
[4] Number of institutions in the United States offering sequences of preparation for teachers in 1 or more areas of exceptionality. 42 institutions offer specialized curricula in only 1 area; 73 offer specialized curricula in 2 to 5 areas; 7 offer specialized curriculums in 6 or more areas.

L. The need for meeting the shortage with qualified teachers. The need for meeting the shortage of teachers in special education with qualified teachers is understood in two-thirds of the States where special credentials for teachers in one or more areas of exceptionality are required by law. The following table breaks down the incidence of such certification requirements in the 32 States, by areas of exceptionality.[33]

TABLE 8.—*Number of States with requirements for special credentials for teachers of exceptional children*

Area of exceptionality	Number of States
Speech	30
Hard of hearing	27
Mentally retarded	22
Crippled	22
Socially maladjusted	9
Blind	13
Partially seeing	21
Deaf	18
Gifted	1
Special health problems	12
Special credential valid for teaching in area of exceptionality, no special certification required	16
Special credentials for teachers in 1 or more area of exceptionality required	32

Mackie and Dunn wrote:

"The close relationship between the extent of special certification and number of teacher-education and public school programs is striking." [35]

M. A. continuing problem. The percentage of incidence of exceptional children has not been reduced appreciably by modern medical science.

It is true, of course, that many diseases have been demobilized, thereby saving countless boys and girls from the consequent disabling effects of the diseases.

It is also true, however, that medical progress in another field has made it possible for just as many boys and girls, who would have died in a former day, to survive. These children unfortunately survive with physical, emotional, or mental disabilities that will distinguish them educationally as exceptional.

Furthermore, it appears that it will take quite some "doing" to remove the factors responsible for the shortages in special education. Mackie and Dunn concluded:

"Many factors are responsible for this lag on the part of the schools. Among these are lack of personnel, inadequate housing, transportation problems, and difficulties encountered in screening, diagnosis, and placement. Most serious of all is the lack of qualified teachers." [37]

PART II. SOME COMMENTS BY AREAS OF EXCEPTIONALITY

A. The visually defective (blind and partially seeing). Mackie and Cohoe, in a publication on teachers for partially seeing children, have written:

"Generally a child is considered partially seeing if his visual acuity in the better eye, with correction, is 20/70 or less and he uses sight as his chief channel of learning. Special services and materials should be available insofar as they are needed to assist the child in realizing his optimum physical, mental, social, and vocational potentialities. Specialized knowledge, skills, and abilities, over and above those required by the regular classroom teacher, are required by the teacher of partially seeing children." [38]

Berthold Lowenfeld, pleading for special education for the blind, has written:

"The blind want to live as independent individuals who are conscious and desirous of fulfilling their economic and social obligations to the community, but do not hesitate to be bold if ignorance or prejudice denies them their full rights as citizens." [39]

Jacobus Tenbroeck has called for a bill of rights for the blind, "not declaring our independence from society but our need of being integrated into it; not guaranteeing special favors and position, but equality of treatment; not glossing over our weaknesses or limitations, but recognizing us for what we are, normal human beings, or at least as normal as human beings are; a bill of rights according us a fair chance to live socially useful lives." [40]

B. The speech defective. Johnson said in 1950 that: "there should be 1 speech correctionist to approximately every 4,000 pupils. Estimating very conservatively that only 5 percent of the pupils will be found to have significant speech problems, there will be 200 children needing speech correction among every 4,000 pupils." [41]

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[32] Mackie, Romaine P., and Lloyd M. Dunn. College and University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., p. 1.

[33] Mackie and Dunn. State Certification Requirements for Teachers of Exceptional Children. Bulletin 1954, No. 1 U. S. Government Printing Office. 60 pp.

[34] Baker, Harry J. Introduction to Exceptional Children. Op. cit., pp. 455–457.

[35] Mackie and Dunn. State Certification Requirements for Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., p. 7.

[37] Mackie and Dunn. State Certification Requirements for Teachers of Exceptional Children. Op. cit., p. 1.

[38] Mackie, Romaine P. and Edith Cohoe. Teachers of Children Who Are Partially Seeing. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 1, 5, 44. (U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1956, No. 4.)

[39] Lowenfeld, Berthold. The Child Who Is Blind, in What Is Special About Special Education. Washington, D. C., International Council for Exceptional Children, 1953, pp. 5–11.

[40] Tenbroeck, Jacobus. A Bill of Rights for the Blind. Outlook for the Blind, December 1948, pp. 310–314.

[41] Johnson, W. Speech Handicaps. Part II. The Education of Exceptional Children. Forty-Ninth Yearbook, National Society for

Pintner, Eisenson, and Stanton defined defective speech as follows:

"Speech may be considered defective when it is not easily audible and intelligible to the listener. Speech is defective if it is vocally or visibly unpleasant or labored in production. Finally speech is defective if it is inappropriate to the individual in regard to his mental and chronological age, sex, and physical development." [23]

C. The maladjusted. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1931 commented:

"Hospital facilities for mental patients in the United States * * * outrank the combined total of all other diseases. If the cost of crime and court procedures of cases with mental disease or with advance symptoms of delinquency are added to the hospital costs already cited, the price will become more exorbitant than even a wealthy and charitable minded nation can long afford.

"The nervous and emotionally unstable constitute a large majority of the total number of behavior problems. The third group is know as the delinquent. * * * The establishment of special schools and special classes should be greatly increased in order to meet this need." [24]

Carrington said:

"Emotionally and socially handicapped children * * * have hostilities, idiosyncrasies and psychic disfigurements of such dimension that they need individual care not always available in the classroom. These pupils need security, affection, and satisfaction out of life of a socially approved sort. They need to be helped on their way to emotional maturity." [24]

Walsh, on the scope of the problem, has written:

"The socially maladjusted child who is most frequently in the forefront of public attention is the child who is labeled 'the juvenile delinquent.' The problem is of such scope that the entire community must be concerned. A democratic philosophy of education holds the school responsible for the education of all the children of all the people." [25]

The National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, on the need for special teachers for the maladjusted, said:

"An atmosphere of mutual respect and affection should permeate the classroom and should result in wholesome and effective teacher-pupil relationship. Since all the classroom activities center about the teaching personality, the teacher herself should be a well-adjusted and wholesome individual." [26]

In defining the regular teacher, an Arizona workshop on the problem pointed out the need for special teachers of the maladjusted: "a skilled, professionally trained person, an expert in the field of education. It is not to be expected, or even desired, that she should also be an expert in treating emotional problems. Helping children now, while they are still children, in school, is especially important, because for many it is the only help they will ever get." [27]

Baker, in an article about the problem child, commented:

"It was the job of the school to teach those who were able to learn, and if learning did not take place or there was maladjustment in behavior, it was not the duty of the school to do anything about it. In recent years the concept that the school must teach good social living and citizenship as well as subject matter has changed the point of view." [28]

D. The gifted: On the shortage of developed mindpower a publication of the Fund for the Advancement of Education has said that:

"The importance of accommodating the individual differences of young people of similar age is widely recognized, yet many of our conventional academic arrangements inhibit the nurturing of these individual talents and capacities.

"The most critical requirement is to attract into teaching enough of the Nation's finest quality manpower, for it takes talent to produce talent." [29]

On the need for teachers of the gifted Brown wrote:

"In short, among the various devices we have discussed for aiding gifted children, there is no cheap substitute for skilled teaching by highly educated and resourceful and devoted teachers." [30]

Shaffer said:

"Interest in the pupil of unusual mental capacity has been stimulated by the Nation's growing need for highly trained specialists. Roughly 5 percent of the general population rates 125 [I. Q.] or higher. Such children need superior teachers who are fully versed in their special field and have talent for creative teaching." [31]

Passow wrote about the need for enrichment of the curriculm for the gifted:

"Enrichment for the gifted child is of particular concern to the public school because a curriculum which satisfies a large majority of children may not necessarily care for outstanding students. Society must expect rewarding returns from the gifted child to warrant additional investment in his education. Are we short changing the gifted? When we deny precious youngsters the full development of their potential, we not only cheat them—we rob society of precious human resources." [32]

E. The Crippled. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1931 made the following observation:

"The education of the crippled child is not philanthropy—it is enlightened self-interest. It is manifest that teachers of crippled children must have exceptional qualifications and training. Michael Dowling said: 'I believe that the saddest sight in the world is that of a crippled child sitting at the window each morning watching his brothers and sisters go forth to school.' " [33]

F. The Deaf and Hard of Hearing. The United States Office of Education, in a publication on teachers of deaf children, declared:

"The education of the deaf child is a difficult process. Who is competent to teach the deaf child? It is in the teacher herself that the dynamic power for development of competencies resides. Those who administer or supervise State and local programs have an obligation to foster the greatest possible development of their teachers in service. Instruction of the deaf is one of the more technical fields. Because teachers of the deaf are more difficult to secure than any other in the field of education, and because their preparation is relatively expensive, it would seem that additional scholarships should be made available to those wishing to teach the deaf." [34]

Baker, in his textbook on exceptional children, has written:

"The Federal census has been making special listings of the deaf, beginning in 1830. In round number the number of the totally deaf approximately equals the number of blind. * * * A committee on hard-of-hearing children of the American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing reported in 1926 that 14 percent of pupils have hearing defects. Whether this estimate is entirely correct or not, it is probably close enough to the real facts to show that impaired hearing is a problem of great magnitude.

"The education of the deaf is a highly specialized and intensive type of education. The teachers must be especially well-trained. When it is considered what education really accomplishes for deaf children in training them to speak and otherwise live normal lives socially, as well as psychologically, the greater cost is well repaid." [35]

G. The undervitalized. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1931 commented:

"Under the term 'lowered vitality' are included all those types of cases which, without distinct or visible evidence, physically handicap a child. There is a great need for special education and training of all cases of lowered vitality. Educators in America have believed, for the most part, that American schools were providing equal opportunity for all children to develop their abilities to the fullest extent. It is gradually becoming apparent that such is not the case.

"The slogan of the educators of the handicapped should be: 'An expert and technically trained teacher for every physically handicapped child in the United States.' The teacher is the basic factor in educating, training, and placement." [36]

H. The Intellectually Impaired. The United States Children's Bureau has estimated:

"Out of each 1,000 of the population, 30 are mentally retarded. Of this 30, 25 are educable and 4 are trainable and 1 is totally dependent." [37]

On degrees of impairment, an article in the Encyclopedia of Educational Research contains this statement:

"From an educational standpoint, those children who appear to be permanently in-

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the Study of Education. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. 185–86.

[23] Pintner, R., J. Eisenson, and M. Stanton. The Psychology of the Physically Handicapped.

[24] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1931, Op. cit., pp. 491, 496, 502.

[24] Carrington, Evelyn M., the Exceptional Child—His Nature and His Need. Texas State College for Women, 1951, p. 13.

[25] Walsh, Mary E., the Socially Maladjusted Child and the School. In Jenks, William F., C. SS. R., the Atypical Child. Washington, the Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. 68–92.

[26] National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency. Report on School and Teacher Responsibilities. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947, p. 21.

[27] Workshop in the Education of the Exceptional Child, Tempe, Arizona State College, 1955, pp. 59–69.

[28] Baker, Harry J. The Problem Boy in School. Federal Probation, VI, No. 2, 1942, p. 23.

[29] The Fund for the Advancement of Education. They Went to College Early. Evaluation Report No. 2, New York, 1957, p. 11.

[30] Brown, Spencer. How Educate the Gifted Child? Commentary, June 1956, p. 539.

[31] Shaffer, Helen B. Schooling for Fast and Slow Learners. Editorial Research Reports, November 23, 1955, pp. 824, 826.

[32] Passow, A. Harry, Are We Short Changing the Gifted? The School Executive, December 1955, pp. 55, 57.

[33] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, op. cit, pp. 19, 73, 85.

[34] Machie, Romaine P., et al., Teachers of Children Who Are Deaf. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1955, pp. 1, 2, 53, 54 (U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1955, No. 6).

[35] Baker, Harry J. Introduction to Exceptional Children. New York, MacMillan, 1953. Pp. 82, 123.

[36] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Op. cit., pp. 385, 397, 407–408.

[37] The Child Who Is Mentally Retarded, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1956, p. 11 (U. S. Children's Bureau Folder No. 43, 1956).

capable of profiting to any considerable extent from the regular curriculum of the schools and who are regarded as trainable rather than educable, and, hence, permanently socially inadequate and vocationally incompetent, have been most frequently classified as mentally defective, mentally deficient, or feebleminded, in contrast to those who are rated as merely backward, retarded, or dull normal, and who are potentially capable of achieving social and economic independence." [48]

Spencer has added:

"While the educational goal for the retarded child is essentially the same as for normal—the fullest possible development of the individual—it must be approached through somewhat different approaches and techniques." [49]

Hill wrote:

"About three-quarters of a million school-age children in the United States are mentally retarded with respect to their learning abilities. Most of them are capable of making considerable progress in the basic educational skills; a much smaller number have competence only for personal and social improvement; only a very small percentage require permanent custodial care.

"One of the most baffling problems met in establishing new programs for severely mentally retarded children concerns the employment of qualified teachers." [50]

[48] Encyclopedia of Educational Research, (Revised edition.) New York, Macmillan, 1950, p. 726.

[49] Spencer, Steven M., Retarded Children Can Be Helped, The Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 11, 1952, p. 110.

[50] Hill, Arthur S., The Forward Look: The Severely Retarded Child Goes to School, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1952, p. 32 (U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1952, No. 11).

EXHIBIT C

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES OFFERING COURSES IN SPECIAL EDUCATION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

(Prepared at the request of the Honorable LEONOR SULLIVAN, by H. A. Sieber, research assistant)

Colleges and universities having programs for the preparation of teachers of exceptional children, academic year 1954

State	Institution	Special education program
Alabama	University of Alabama	Speech correction.
	Birmingham, Southern College.	Speech and hearing.
Arizona	University of Arizona	Speech correction, speech and hearing.
Arkansas	University of Arkansas	Speech correction.
	Arkansas State College	Deaf.
California	Chico State College	Speech correction, speech and hearing.
	College of the Pacific	Speech correction, speech and hearing, socially maladjusted.
	Fresno State College	Speech correction.
	Los Angeles State College	Deaf, mentally retarded, speech correction, speech and hearing.
	Occidental College	Speech correction.
	San Diego State College	Mentally retarded, speech correction.
	San Francisco State College.	Blind, crippled, deaf, hard of hearing, mentally retarded, partially seeing, socially maladjusted, speech correction, blind and partially seeing, deaf and hard of hearing, and others.
	San Jose State College	Speech correction, speech and hearing.
	Stanford University	Do.
	University of California at Berkeley.	Mentally retarded, socially maladjusted, mentally retarded and socially maladjusted.
	University of California at Los Angeles.	Speech correction.
	University of California at Santa Barbara.	Do.
	University of Southern California.	Deaf, hard-of-hearing, speech correction.
	Whittier College	Speech correction
Colorado	University of Denver	Mentally retarded, speech correction, speech and hearing.
Florida	Florida State University	Mentally retarded, speech correction, speech and hearing, overall.
	University of Florida	Mentally retarded, speech correction, speech correction and hearing, overall.
	University of Miami	Speech correction.
Georgia	University of Georgia	Do.
Illinois	Bradley University	Do.
	College of St. Francis	Do.
	Eastern Illinois State College.	Do.
	Elmhurst College	Do.
	Illinois State Normal University.	Crippled, deaf, hard-of-hearing, mentally retarded, partially seeing, socially maladjusted, special health problem, speech correction, overall.
	Northern Illinois State Teachers College.	Speech correction.
	Northwestern University.	Speech correction, hearing.
	Rockford College	Do.
	Southern Illinois	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing.
	University of Chicago	Socially maladjusted, speech correction.
	University of Illinois	Deaf, mentally retarded, speech correction.
Indiana	Ball State Teachers College.	Speech correction, hearing.
	Indiana State Teachers College.	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing.
	Indiana University	Speech correction, hearing.
	Purdue University	Do.
Iowa	Grinnell College	Speech correction.
	State University of Iowa	Crippled, speech correction, hearing.
Kansas	Fort Hays Kansas State College.	Speech correction.
	Kansas State Teachers College.	Mentally retarded, socially maladjusted, speech correction.
	Municipal University of Wichita.	Crippled, deaf, hard-of-hearing.
Kansas	Municipal University of Wichita.	Speech correction, hearing, deaf, crippled, hard-of-hearing.
	University of Kansas	Deaf, hard-of-hearing, mentally retarded, socially maladjusted, speech correction.
Kentucky	University of Kent cky	Speech correction, hearing.
Louisiana	Louisiana State University.	Speech correction.
Maryland	University of Maryland	Speech correcting, hearing.
Massachusetts	Boston University	Blind, speech correction, hearing.
	Emerson University	Speech correction, hearing.
	Smith College	Deaf.
Michigan	Michigan State Normal College.	Crippled, deaf, mentally retarded, partially seeing, speech correction.
	Wayne University	Crippled, deaf, hard-of-hearing, mentally retarded, partially seeing, socially maladjusted, special health problem, speech correction, others.
	Western Michigan College of Education.	Speech correction, hearing.
Minnesota	University of Minnesota	Crippled, mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing, others.
Mississippi	Mississippi Southern College.	Do.
	University of Mississippi	Speech correction, hearing.
Missouri	Central Missouri College	Speech correction.
	St. Louis University	Do.
	Southwest Missouri College.	Do.
	University of Missouri	Speech correction, crippled.
	Washington University	Deaf, hard-of-hearing, speech correction.
Nebraska	University of Nebraska	Speech correction, hearing.
New Jersey	New Jersey State Teachers College.	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing, others.
New York	Brooklyn College	Mentally retarded, speech correction.
	City College of the City of New York.	Mentally retarded.
	Hunter College of the City of New York.	Blind, crippled, deaf, gifted, partially seeing, special health problems, others.
	New York University	Mentally retarded.
	Queens College of the City of New York.	Speech correction, hearing.
	State University of New York College for Teachers at Buffalo.	Crippled, mentally retarded, speech correction, partially seeing, others.
	State University of New York Teachers College at Geneseo.	Mentally retarded, speech correction.
	Syracuse University	Crippled, deaf, mentally retarded, partially seeing, speech correction, hearing, others.
	Teachers College of Columbia University.	Deaf, hard-of-hearing, mentally retarded, partially seeing, crippled, special health problems others.
North Carolina	Eastern Carolina College	Speech correction.
North Dakota	State Teachers College	Do.
	University of North Dakota.	Speech correction, hearing.
Ohio	Bowling Green State University.	Do.
	Kent State University	Mentally retarded, speech correction, deaf, hard-of-hearing.
	Ohio State University	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing, others.
	Ohio University	Speech correction, hearing.
	Western Reserve University.	Speech correction, deaf, hard-of-hearing.
Oklahoma	University of Oklahoma	Mentally retarded.
	University of Tulsa	Speech correction, hearing.
	Oklahoma College for Women.	Deaf.
Pennsylvania	Franklin and Marshall College.	Speech correction, hearing.
	Marywood College	Mentally retarded.
	Mount Mercy College	Speech correction.

Colleges and universities having programs for the preparation of teachers of exceptional children, academic year 1954—Continued

State	Institution	Special education program	State	Institution	Special education program
Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania State University.	Gifted, mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing.	Texas	University of Houston	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing.
	State Teachers College, Bloomsburg.	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing.		University of Texas	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing, others.
	State Teachers College, California.	Mentally retarded, speech correction.	Utah	University of Utah	Speech correction, deaf, hard-of-hearing.
	Temple University	Speech correction.	Virginia	University of Virginia	Speech correction, hearing.
	University of Pittsburgh	Deaf, mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing.	Washington	University of Washington	Do.
South Dakota	University of South Dakota.	Speech correction, hearing, others.	Wisconsin	Marquette University	Speech correction.
Tennessee	George Peabody College for Teachers.	Mentally retarded, speech correction, hearing, others.		University of Wisconsin	Do.
	University of Tennessee	Deaf, others.		Wisconsin State College	Mentally retarded, speech correction, deaf, hard-of-hearing, others.
	Vanderbilt University	Speech correction, hearing.	Wyoming	University of Wyoming	Speech correction.
Texas	North Texas State College.	Speech correction.	District of Columbia.	Catholic University of America.	Do.
	Southern Methodist University.	Do.		Gallaudet College	Deaf.
	Southwest Texas State Teachers College.	Crippled, mentally retarded, speech correction.		George Washington University.	Speech correction.
	Texas State College for Women.	Speech correction.			

H. R. 9591 by Mrs. Sullivan—The Exceptional Children Educational Assistance Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 30, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, several days ago, in a special order during proceedings of the House, I outlined a bill which I was preparing to introduce before adjournment designed to stimulate and assist the training of urgently needed teachers for instructing so-called exceptional children—that is, the gifted and also those children with physical, mental, or emotional handicaps. I have today introduced the bill, and it is numbered H. R. 9591.

H. R. 9591, as its title states, is a bill to provide for the establishment of a special $18,500,000 7-year program of Federal scholarship and fellowship grants to individuals, and a $2,500,000 program of grants to public and nonprofit institutions of higher education, to encourage and expand the training of teachers for the education of exceptional children.

The preamble of the bill states:

The Congress believes that the American promise of equality of opportunity extends to every child within our country, no matter what his gifts, his capacity, or his handicaps, whether he is handicapped by defects of speech, of sight, or of hearing, or crippling disease or condition, whether his adjustment to society is made difficult by emotional or mental disorders, or whether, on the other hand, he is endowed with outstandingly brilliant gifts of mind and of spirit. All such exceptional children require special educational guidance for development of their total educational potential.

The Congress finds that the educational problems presented by such exceptional children are of national concern, and that there is an acute national shortage of, and urgent national need for, individuals professionally qualified to teach such children, to supervise the teachers of such children, to train such teachers and supervisors, and to conduct research into the problems relating to the education of exceptional children.

While the Congress recognizes that the primary responsibility for meeting these problems lies with the States and local communities, national interest in the training of self-reliant and useful citizens demands that the Federal Government assist and encourage and stimulate the initiation of adequate programs in the States to meet these problems.

Therefore, this act provides, on a temporary, 7-year basis, a program to further the training of teachers, supervisors of teachers, and researchers in special education for exceptional children, and to encourage and assist public and nonprofit institutions of higher education to expand their training work in these fields.

DEFINITION OF "EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN"

Mr. Speaker, among the definitions carried in H. R. 9591, covering various phases of the program this bill would authorize, is the definition of the children it is specifically intended to help—"exceptional children"—as follows:

The term "exceptional children" means those children determined in accordance with regulations issued by the Commissioner (United States Commissioner of Education) to present special educational problems, such as (a) children who are unusually intelligent or gifted; (b) children who are mentally retarded; (c) children who are deaf or hard of hearing; (d) children who are blind or have serious visual impairments; (e) children who have serious health problems due to heart disease, epilepsy, or other debilitating conditions; (f) children who suffer from speech impediments; (g) children who are crippled (including those who have cerebral palsy); and (h) children who are maladjusted emotionally and socially, including the institutionalized delinquent.

Under the bill, Mr. Speaker, fellowships or scholarships would be authorized, with such stipends as the Commissioner should determine, totaling $500,000 for the remainder of this current fiscal year ending next June 30; $1,500,000 for the 1959 fiscal year; $2,500,000 for the 1960 fiscal year; and then $3,500,000 a year for fiscal years 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964, when the temporary 7-year grant program would end. Thus, $18,500,000 would go to individuals for tuition, other scholastic expenses, living expenses and such other stipends as the Commissioner should provide. The idea, as I said in outlining the plan originally, is to make it worthwhile for experienced teachers to go back to college to take this advanced training, without feeling they were making a difficult financial sacrifice.

SECTION ON GRANTS

In addition to the grants to individuals, $2,500,000 would be authorized altogether—not a year, but over the 7 years—for grants to public and nonprofit institutions, making a total of $21 million for the entire program.

The language of this section of the bill on grants, section 5, is as follows:

GRANTS BY THE COMMISSIONER

SEC. 5. (a) The Commissioner is authorized to award scholarships and fellowships, with such stipends as he may determine, to individuals for the purpose of taking advanced training, at institutions selected by the recipients, for stated periods of time, in order to engage in employment as teachers of exceptional children, or to train or supervise teachers in this field, or engage in research in the teaching of exceptional children: *Provided*, That, in his discretion, the Commissioner, in order to accomplish the objectives of this act, may also make these awards for study at the undergraduate level.

(b) The Commissioner is also authorized to make grants to public and nonprofit institutions of higher education to construct, install, improve, or expand specialized facilities and equipment in connection with courses of instruction for persons preparing to engage in employment as teachers of exceptional children, or to train such teachers, or to supervise such teachers, or to engage in research in special education for exceptional children: *Provided*, That the Commissioner, in his discretion, may also make grants to establish specialized courses in this field in such institutions.

(c) The amount of scholarship and fellowship grants made in any fiscal year to residents of a State under section 5 (a) shall not exceed, in the aggregate, an amount which bears the same ratio to the total funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (a) for such fiscal year as the school-age population of such State bears to the total school-age population of all the States.

(d) Payments of grants pursuant to this act may be made by the Commissioner from time to time, on such conditions as the Commissioner may determine, including conditions requiring public and other nonprofit institutions to make such reports, in such form, and containing such information as the Commissioner may from time to time reasonably require to carry out his functions under this act, and conditions requiring compliance with such provisions as the Commissioner may from time to time find necessary

to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

(e) The Commissioner shall consult with an advisory committee as described in section 6 (a) which shall assist him in determining the areas and priorities of need in the award of these grants, and in setting the standards for the granting of such fellowships, scholarships, and grants.

TEXT OF BILL

Mr. Speaker, the full text of H. R. 9591 is as follows:

[85th Cong., 1st sess., in the House of Representatives, August 30, 1957, Mrs. SULLIVAN introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor]

H. R. 9591

A bill to provide for the establishment of a special $18,500,000 7-year program of Federal scholarship and fellowship grants to individuals, and a $2,500,000 program of grants to public and nonprofit institutions of higher education, to encourage and expand the training of teachers for the education of exceptional children

Be it enacted, etc.—

SHORT TITLE

This act may be cited as the "Exceptional Children Educational Assistance Act."

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE OF ACT

SEC. 2. The Congress believes that the American promise of equality of opportunity extends to every child within our country, no matter what his gifts, his capacity or his handicaps, whether he is handicapped by defects of speech, of sight or of hearing, or crippling disease or condition, whether his adjustment to society is made difficult by emotional or mental disorders, or whether, on the other hand, he is endowed with outstandingly brilliant gifts of mind and of spirit. All such exceptional children require special educational guidance for development of their total educational potential.

The Congress finds that the educational problems presented by such exceptional children are of national concern, and that there is an acute national shortage of, and urgent national need for, individuals professionally qualified to teach such children, to supervise the teachers of such children, to train such teachers and supervisors, and to conduct research into the problems relating to the education of exceptional children.

While the Congress recognizes that the primary responsibility for meeting these problems lies with the States and local communities, national interest in the training of self-reliant and useful citizens demands that the Federal Government assist and encourage and stimulate the initiation of adequate programs in the States to meet these problems.

Therefore, this act provides, on a temporary, 7-year basis, a program to further the training of teachers, supervisors of teachers, and researchers in special education for exceptional children, and to encourage and assist public and nonprofit institutions of higher education to expand their training work in these fields.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. As used in this act—

(1) The term "State" means a State, Alaska, Hawaii, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico;

(2) The term "Commissioner" means the United States Commissioner of Education;

(3) The term "school-age population" means that part of the population which is between the ages of 5 and 17, both inclusive, determined by the Commissioner on the basis of the population between such ages for the most recent year for which satisfactory data are available from the Department of Commerce;

(4) The term "State educational agency" means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools in a State, or, if there is no such agency or officer, an agency or officer designated by the governor or by State law;

(5) The term "nonprofit institution" means an institution owned and operated by one or more corporations or associations no part of the net earnings of which inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual; and

(6) The term "exceptional children" means those children determined in accordance with regulations issued by the Commissioner to present special educational problems, such as (a) children who are unusually intelligent or gifted; (b) children who are mentally retarded; (c) children who are deaf or hard of hearing; (d) children who are blind or have serious visual impairments; (e) children who have serious health problems due to heart disease, epilepsy, or other debilitating conditions; (f) children who suffer from speech impediments; (g) children who are crippled (including those who have cerebral palsy); and (h) children who are maladjusted emotionally and socially, including the institutionalized delinquent.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 4. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated $500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958; $1,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959; $2,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960; $3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961; $3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962; $3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963; and $3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964; for grants to individuals for scholarships and fellowships in accordance with the provisions of section 5 (a) of this act.

(b) There is also authorized the sum of $2,500,000 to be expended during the existence of this program in the form of grants to public and nonprofit institutions in accordance with the provisions of section 5 (b) of this act.

GRANTS BY THE COMMISSIONER

SEC. 5. (a) The Commissioner is authorized to award scholarships and fellowships, with such stipends as he may determine, to individuals for the purpose of taking advanced training at institutions selected by the recipients, for stated periods of time, in order to engage in employment as teachers of exceptional children, or to train or supervise teachers in this field, or engage in research in the teaching of exceptional children: *Provided*, That, in his discretion, the Commissioner, in order to accomplish the objectives of this act, may also make these awards for study at the undergraduate level.

(b) The Commissioner is also authorized to make grants to public and nonprofit institutions of higher education to construct, install, improve, or expand specialized facilities and equipment in connection with courses of instruction for persons preparing to engage in employment as teachers of exceptional children, or to train such teachers, or to supervise such teachers, or to engage in research in special education for exceptional children: *Provided*, That the Commissioner, in his discretion, may also make grants to establish specialized courses in this field in such institutions.

(c) The amount of scholarship and fellowship grants made in any fiscal year to residents of a State under section 5 (a) shall not exceed, in the aggregate, an amount which bears the same ratio to the total funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (a) for such fiscal year as the school age population of such State bears to the total school age population of all the States.

(d) Payments of grants pursuant to this act may be made by the Commissioner from time to time, on such conditions as the Commissioner may determine, including conditions requiring public and other nonprofit institutions to make such reports, in such form, and containing such information as the Commissioner may from time to time reasonably require to carry out his functions under this act, and conditions requiring compliance with such provisions as the Commissioner may from time to time find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

(e) The Commissioner shall consult with an advisory committee as described in section 6 (a) which shall assist him in determining the areas and priorities of need in the award of these grants, and in setting the standards for the granting of such fellowships, scholarships, and grants.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND ADVISORY PANELS

SEC. 6. (a) The Commissioner shall appoint an advisory committee of not more than eight persons who shall be conversant with the overall educational needs of exceptional children and who shall assist the Commissioner in developing general policies under this act. The Commissioner shall be ex officio a member of this committee and shall act as chairman thereof.

(b) The Commissioner is also authorized from time to time to establish advisory panels of specialists in special education for any of the categories of exceptional children enumerated in this act. Each such panel shall consist of not less than five persons, who shall meet at the call of the Commissioner.

DELEGATION OF FUNCTIONS

SEC. 7. The Commissioner may delegate to any officer or employee of the Office of Education any of his functions under this act except the making of regulations.

PUBLICIZING AVAILABILITY OF GRANTS

SEC. 8. The Commissioner shall take such steps as are practicable to publicize to the fullest extent possible the availability of fellowships, scholarships, and grants under this act among teachers and prospective teachers, and among all colleges and universities offering accedited courses of study leading to advanced degrees in nursery, kindergarten, elementary, or secondary education.

COOPERATION WITH STATES

SEC. 9. In the administration of this act, the Commissioner shall consult and advise with the various State educational agencies to determine the extent of need for teachers of exceptional children in the respective States and to keep the State educational agencies fully informed of all developments under this program in order to encourage them to establish special programs or special classes for exceptional children. In this connection, the Commissioner shall advise the State educational agencies of the names and home addresses of all individuals from their respective States who have received fellowships, scholarships, or grants for training in the field of education of exceptional children, and the particular field of study each is pursuing, so that the respective State educational agencies can then take appropriate steps to seek to attract such persons to positions in their home States in order to utilize the advanced education and skills which they have acquired under this program: *Provided*, That no individual receiving a scholarship, fellowship, or grant for advanced study under this act shall be required, as a condition of such scholarship or fellowship or grant, to promise to take employment subsequently in any State.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

The following certificate of election was received by the Secretary of the Senate on September 6, 1957:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
THE STATE OF WISCONSIN,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 27th day of August 1957 WILLIAM PROXMIRE was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Wisconsin a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the residue of the unexpired term of 6 years, ending on the 3d day of January A. D. 1959.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Wisconsin to be affixed. Done at the capitol, in the city of Madison, this 5th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1957.

[SEAL] VERNON W. THOMSON,
Governor.

By the Governor:
ROBERT C. ZIMMERMAN,
Secretary of State.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

REPORT ENTITLED "TEXTILE PROCUREMENT IN THE MILITARY SERVICES" (S. REPT. NO. 1166)

Under authority of the order of the Senate of August 29, 1957,

Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on Government Operations, on September 6, 1957, submitted a report prepared by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, entitled "Textile Procurement in the Military Services," which was ordered to be printed.

REPORT ENTITLED "CONTROL AND REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS" (S. REPT. NO. 1167)

Under authority of the order of the Senate of August 28, 1957,

Mr. HUMPHREY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, pursuant to Senate Resolution 93, Senate Resolution 185, and Senate Resolution 286, 84th Congress, and extended by Senate Resolution 61, Senate Resolution 151, and Senate Resolution 192, 85th Congress, submitted, on September 6, 1957, a report prepared by the Subcommittee on Disarmament, entitled "Control and Reduction of Armaments," which was ordered to be printed.

REPORT ENTITLED "DAYTIME RADIO STATIONS" (S. REPT. NO. 1168)

Under authority of the order of the Senate of August 15, 1957,

Mr. MORSE, from the Select Committee on Small Business, on September 11, 1957, submitted a report entitled "Daytime Radio Stations," which was ordered to be printed.

REPORT ENTITLED "SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES" BY COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY (S. REPT. NO. 1169)

Pursuant to the order of the Senate of August 29, 1957,

Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, on September 19, 1957, submitted a report of that committee entitled "Summary of Activities," which was ordered to be printed.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 230, agreed to August 30, 1957, the President pro tempore, on August 31, 1957, signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 1007. An act for the relief of Sgt. Donald D. Coleman;

S. 1636. An act for the relief of Delfina Cinco de Lopez;

S. 1791. An act to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1959;

S. 1996. An act to approve the contract negotiated with the Casper-Alcova irrigation project, to authorize its execution, and for other purposes;

S. 2377. An act to amend chapter 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for the production of statements and reports of witnesses;

H. R. 580. An act to authorize the exchange of certain land in the State of Missouri;

H. R. 1315. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Page;

H. R. 1411. An act for the relief of George H. Meyer Sons, Brauer & Co., Joseph McSweeney & Sons, Inc., C. L. Tomlinson, Jr., and Richmond Livestock Co., Inc.;

H. R. 1419. An act for the relief of Mrs. Hannah Mae Powell;

H. R. 1474. An act for the relief of Mrs. Jennie Maurello;

H. R. 1502. An act for the relief of Homer Cazamias;

H. R. 1677. An act for the relief of Gilbert B. Mar;

H. R. 1883. An act for the relief of Benedict M. Kordus;

H. R. 2486. An act to authorize Commodity Credit Corporation to grant relief with respect to claims arising out of deliveries of eligible surplus feed grains on ineligible dates in connection with purchase orders under its emergency feed program;

H. R. 4174. An act for the relief of Filomena and Emil Ferrara;

H. R. 4335. An act for the relief of Ramon Tavarez;

H. R. 4351. An act for the relief of G. H. Litts;

H. R. 5719. An act for the relief of Clara M. Briggs;

H. R. 7014. An act for the relief of Madame Henriette Buaillon and Stanley James Carpenter;

H. R. 7096. An act to amend paragraph 1684 of the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to istle or Tampico fiber, to admit free of duty a beta-ray spectrometer for use at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., and for other purposes;

H. R. 7900. An act to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to sell to individuals land in Ottawa County, Mich., which was acquired pursuant to the provisions of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act;

H. R. 7964. An act to remove the limitation on the use of certain real property heretofore conveyed to the city of Austin, Tex., by the United States;

H. R. 7972. An act to provide for the conveyance to the city of Warner Robins, Ga., of certain lands and any improvements located thereon in such city;

H. R. 8374. An act for the relief of Virginia Ray Potts;

H. R. 8576. An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands within the Old Hickory lock and dam project, Cumberland River, Tenn., to Middle Tennessee Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, for recreation and camping purposes;

H. R. 9280. An act to facilitate the conduct of fishing operations in the Territory of Alaska, to promote the conservation of fishery resources thereof, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 253. Joint resolution to establish a commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED SUBSEQUENTLY TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The Secretary of the Senate presented to the President of the United States on August 31, 1957, the following enrolled bills:

S. 281. An act for the relief of Jaffa Kam;

S. 684. An act for the relief of Ilse Striegan Bacon;

S. 880. An act for the relief of Necmettin Cengiz;

S. 882. An act for the relief of Pauline Ethel Angus;

S. 1007. An act for the relief of Sgt. Donald D. Coleman;

S. 1049. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ahnapet Gamityan;

S. 1271. An act for the relief of Daniel Alcide Charlebois;

S. 1321. An act for the relief of Junko Matsuoka Eckrich;

S. 1456. An act for the relief of Refugio Guerrero-Monje;

S. 1467. An act for the relief of Itsumi Kasahara;

S. 1635. An act for the relief of Maria Talioura Boisot;

S. 1636. An act for the relief of Delfina Cinco de Lopez;

S. 1791. An act to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1959;

S. 1835. An act for the relief of Maria Domenica Ricci;

S. 1921. An act for the relief of Maria Goldet;

S. 1972. An act for the relief of Letizia Maria Arini;

S. 1996. An act to approve the contract negotiated with the Casper-Alcova Irrigation Project, to authorize its execution, and for other purposes;

S. 2028. An act for the relief of Sherwood Lloyd Pierce;

S. 2041. An act for the relief of Sala Weisbard;

S. 2204. An act for the relief of Margaret E. Culloty;

S. 2377. An act to amend chapter 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for the pro-

duction of statements and reports of witnesses;

S. 2413. An act to clarify the authority of the President to fill the judgeship for the district of South Dakota authorized by the act of February 10, 1954, and to repeal the prohibition contained in such act against filling the next vacancy occurring in the office of district judge for such district; and

S. 2792. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes.

APPROVAL OF SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President of the United States, subsequent to sine die adjournment of the Senate, notified the Secretary of the Senate that, on the following dates, he had approved and signed the following bills and joint resolutions:

On August 28, 1957:

S. 364. An act for the relief of the village of Wauneta, Nebr.;

S. 959. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to exempt certain wheat producers from liability under the act where all the wheat crop is fed or used for seed or food on the farm, and for other purposes;

S. 999. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land to the State of North Dakota for the use and benefit of the North Dakota State School of Science;

S. 1631. An act to amend certain sections of title 13 of the United States Code, entitled "Census"; and

S. 1866. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to require the inspection and certification of certain vessels carrying passengers," approved May 10, 1956, in order to provide adequate time for the formulation and consideration of rules and regulations to be prescribed under such act.

On August 29, 1957:

S. 336. An act for the relief of Angela Ferrini;

S. 465. An act for the relief of Maria Concetta Di Turi;

S. 976. An act for the relief of Charles A. Sidawi;

S. 1685. An act for the relief of Sic Gun Chau (Tse) and Hing Man Chau;

S. 1736. An act for the relief of Rosa Sigl; and

S. J. Res. 96. Joint resolution to authorize establishment of the U. S. S. *Enterprise* (CV-6) in the Nation's Capital as a memorial museum.

On August 30, 1957:

S. 397. An act for the relief of Willem Woeras;

S. 398. An act for the relief of Benjamin Wachtfogel;

S. 441. An act for the relief of Jose Ramirez-Moreno;

S. 463. An act for the relief of Pedro Ampo;

S. 485. An act for the relief of Luigi Lino Turel;

S. 499. An act for the relief of Daniela Renata Patricia Zei;

S. 562. An act for the relief of Hideko Taguchi Pulaski;

S. 567. An act for the relief of Vida Djenich;

S. 660. An act for the relief of Ursula Rosa Pazdro;

S. 662. An act for the relief of Howard I. Buchbinder;

S. 796. An act for the relief of Zacharoula Papoulia Matsa;

S. 1308. An act for the relief of Carmen Jeanne Launois Johnson;

S. 1387. An act for the relief of Rebecca Jean Lundy (Helen Choy);

S. 1496. An act for the relief of Nicoleta P. Pantelakis;

S. 1574. An act to provide for the disposal of certain Federal property in the Coulee Dam and Grand Coulee areas, to provide assistance in the establishment of a municipality incorporated under the laws of Washington, and for other purposes;

S. 1767. An act for the relief of Eileen Sheila Dhanda;

S. 1783. An act for the relief of Randolph Stephan Walker;

S. 1804. An act for the relief of Marjeta Winkie Brown;

S. 1848. An act for the relief of Michelle Patricia Hill (Patricia Adachi);

S. 1896. An act for the relief of Maria West;

S. 1902. An act for the relief of Belia Rodriguez Ternoir;

S. 2165. An act for the relief of Gertrud Mezger;

S. 2431. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Klamath River Basin compact between the States of California and Oregon, and for related purposes; and

S. 2460. An act to authorize the transfer of certain housing projects to the city of Decatur, Ill., or to the Decatur Housing Authority.

On August 31, 1957:

S. 268. An act to provide that the United States shall return to the former owners certain mineral interests in lands acquired for the Arkabutla, Sardis, Enid, and Grenada Reservoirs, Miss.;

S. 939. An act to amend section 22 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended;

S. 1290. An act for the relief of Lee-Ana Roberts;

S. 1293. An act for the relief of Eithaniahu (Eton) Yellin;

S. 1306. An act for the relief of Pao-Wei Yung;

S. 1307. An act for the relief of Toribia Basterrechea (Arrola);

S. 1421. An act for the relief of Ansis Luis Darzins;

S. 1815. An act for the relief of Nicholas Dilles;

S. 1817. An act for the relief of John Panagiotou;

S. 1838. An act for the relief of Charles Douglas;

S. 1910. An act for the relief of Salvatore Salerno;

S. 1962. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey a certain tract of land owned by the United States to the Perkins Chapel Methodist Church, Bowie, Md.;

S. 2003. An act for the relief of Jozice Matana Koulis and Davorko Matana Koulis;

S. 2095. An act for the relief of Vaclav Uhlik, Marta Uhlik, Vaclav Uhlik, Jr., and Eva Uhlik; and

S. 2603. An act to amend the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1896.

On September 2, 1957:

S. 524. An act for the relief of Robert F. Gross;

S. 1035. An act for the relief of Alice Eirl Schaer (Mi On Lee);

S. 1050. An act for the relief of Hrygory (Harry) Mydlak;

S. 1167. An act for the relief of John Nicholas Christodoulias;

S. 1335. An act for the relief of Sandra Ann Scott;

S. 1370. An act for the relief of Wanda Wawrzyczek;

S. 1482. An act to amend certain provisions of the Columbia Basin Project Act, and for other purposes;

S. 2063. An act for the relief of Guy H. Davant;

S. 2377. An act to amend chapter 223, title 18, United States Code, to provide for the production of statements and reports of witnesses;

S. 2438. An act to amend the District of Columbia Business Corporation Act; and

S. 2500. An act to make uniform the termination date for the use of official franks by former Members of Congress, and for other purposes.

On September 4, 1957:

S. 281. An act for the relief of Jaffa Kam;

S. 684. An act for the relief of Ilse Striegan Bacon;

S. 807. An act for the relief of Jackson School Township, Indiana;

S. 880. An act for the relief of Necmettin Cengiz;

S. 882. An act for the relief of Pauline Ethel Angus;

S. 1049. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ahsapet Gamityan;

S. 1153. An act for the relief of Zdenka Sneler;

S. 1175. An act for the relief of Helene Cordery Hall;

S. 1241. An act for the relief of Edward Martin Hinsberger;

S. 1271. An act for the relief of Daniel Alcide Charlebois;

S. 1321. An act for the relief of Junko Matsuoka Eckrich;

S. 1456. An act for the relief of Refugio Guerrero-Monje;

S. 1467. An act for the relief of Itsumi Kasahara;

S. 1520. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the disposal of federally owned property at obsolescent canalized waterways, and for other purposes";

S. 1635. An act for the relief of Maria Talioura Boisot;

S. 1636. An act for the relief of Delfina Cinco de Lopez;

S. 1645. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant easements in certain lands to the city of Las Vegas, Nev., for road-widening purposes;

S. 1791. An act to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1959;

S. 1835. An act for the relief of Maria Domenica Ricci;

S. 1921. An act for the relief of Maria Goldet;

S. 1972. An act for the relief of Letizia Maria Arini;

S. 1996. An act to approve the contract negotiated with the Casper-Alcova irrigation district, to authorize its execution, and for other purposes;

S. 2028. An act for the relief of Sherwood Lloyd Pierce;

S. 2041. An act for the relief of Sala Weissbard;

S. 2204. An act for the relief of Margaret E. Culloty; and

S. J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation in connection with the centennial of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt.

On September 7, 1957:

S. 1007. An act for the relief of Sgt. Donald D. Coleman;

S. 2080. An act relating to the computation of income for the purpose of payment of death benefits to parents or pension for non-service-connected disability or death in certain cases;

S. 2229. An act to provide for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers for purchase of modern aircraft and equipment, to foster the development and use of modern transport aircraft by such carriers, and for other purposes;

S. 2413. An act to clarify the authority of the President to fill the judgeship for the district of South Dakota authorized by the act of February 10, 1954, and to repeal the prohibition contained in such act against filling the next vacancy occurring in the office of district judge for such district; and

S. 2434. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide books for the adult blind."

On September 11, 1957:

S. 2792. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes.